


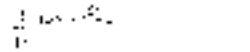
VOLUME ONE

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




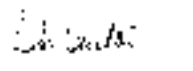
The report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was presented to President Nelson Mandela on 29 October 1998.

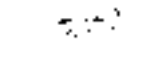

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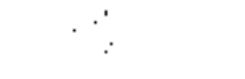

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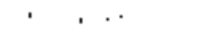

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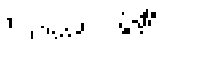

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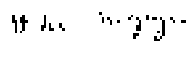

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Foreword by Chairperson

THE MOST REVD D M TUTU ARCHBISHOP EMERITUS

- 1 All South Africans know that our recent history is littered with some horrendous occurrences - the Sharpsville and Langa killings, the Soweto uprising, the Church Street bombing, Magoo's Bar, the Amanzimtoti Wimpy Bar bombing, the St James' Church killings, Boipatong and Sebokeng. We also knew about the deaths in detention of people such as Steve Biko, Neil Aggett, and others; necklacings, and the so-called 'black on black' violence on the East Rand and in KwaZulu Natal which arose from the rivalries between IFP and first the UDF and later the ANC. Our country is soaked in the blood of her children of all races and of all political persuasions.
- 2 It is this contemporary history - which began in 1960 when the Sharpsville disaster took place and ended with the wonderful inauguration of Nelson Mandela as the first democratically-elected President of the Republic of South Africa - it is this history with which we have had to come to terms. We could not pretend it did not happen. Everyone agrees that South Africans must deal with that history and its legacy. It is how we do this that is in question - a bone of contention throughout the life of the Commission, right up to the time when this report was being written. And I imagine we can assume that this particular point will remain controversial for a long time to come.

■ **ON PREPARING THE REPORT OF THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION**

- 3 One of the unique features of the South African Commission has been its open and transparent nature. Similar commissions elsewhere in the world have met behind closed doors. Ours has operated in the full glare of publicity. This means that some of the information contained in this report is already in the public domain. Nonetheless, some significant and new insights are included in the pages that follow.
- 4 The work of the South African Commission has also been far more extensive than that of other commissions. The volume of material that passed through our hands

will fill many shelves in the National Archives. This material will be of great value to scholars, journalists and others researching our history for generations to come. From a research point of view, this may be the Commission's greatest legacy.

- 5 The report that follows tries to provide a window on this incredible resource, offering a road map to those who wish to travel into our past. It is not and cannot be the whole story; but it provides a perspective on the truth about a past that is more extensive and more complex than any one commission could, in two and a half years, have hoped to capture.
- 6 Others will inevitably critique this perspective - as indeed they must. We hope that many South Africans and friends of South Africa will become engaged in the process of helping our nation to come to terms with its past and, in so doing, reach out to a new future.
- 7 This report has been constrained by a number of factors - not least by the extent of the Commission's mandate and a number of legal provisions contained in the Act. It was, at the same time, driven by a dual responsibility. It had to provide the space within which victims could share the story of their trauma with the nation; and it had to recognise the importance of the due process of law that ensures the rights of alleged perpetrators. Several court rulings emphasised the importance of the latter. Obviously, the Commission respected these judgments. They did, however, sometimes make our efforts to obtain information about the past more difficult. This, in its turn, caused us to err on the side of caution in making our findings. Despite these difficulties, however, we can still claim, without fear of being contradicted, that we have contributed more to uncovering the truth about the past than all the court cases in the history of apartheid.
- 8 There are a number of important points I would like to make before moving to a discussion of this report.
- 9 First, because the Amnesty Committee has not completed its statutory responsibilities and will not have done so until it has considered every application for amnesty before it, this report cannot, strictly speaking, be considered to be final. Once the Amnesty Committee has completed its work, the Commission will be recalled to consider the implications of the hearings that have taken place and to add a codicil to the report. Only at that stage can the Commission's report be regarded as final.

- 10 The second point is to stress that, in preparing this report, we have followed procedures common to many other national and international commissions. It would have been totally impossible for seventeen commissioners to write a single report. We have thus leaned very heavily on our Research Department to produce drafts for consideration by commissioners. Further, we have used group methods and different commissioners have been given responsibilities in respect of different chapters. The product is thus a joint effort of staff and commissioners, but each section was formally adopted by the full Commission in plenary sessions. Thus, the ultimate responsibility for this report lies with the commissioners.
- 11 The third point I would like to make concerns lustration - the disqualification or removal from public office of people who have been implicated in violations of human rights. The Commission considered this question carefully and finally decided not to recommend that this step be pursued. It is suggested, however, that when making appointments and recommendations, political parties and the state should take into consideration the disclosures made in the course of the Commission's work.
- 12 Fourth, a few words need to be said about that great difficulty South Africans experience when describing their fellow compatriots. The former government defined every person according to a racial category or group. Over the years, these became the badges of privilege and of deprivation. For the purposes of the report, the significance of this racial branding is simply that these categories are reflected in statistics produced over the years and, in their own way, provide a guide to the inequities of the past.
- 13 From the late 1960s and 1970s, the Black Consciousness Movement campaigned for the use of the word black to describe all those defined as other than white. However, this was by no means universally accepted and many members of the so-called black group still prefer to be described as coloured, Indian and so on. Another debate arises around the term African. Does this or can this refer only to black Africans? The debate is not really capable of being resolved. Generally in this report, black Africans are referred to as Africans. Coloured people, people of Indian or Asian origin and white people are referred to as such. No disrespect is intended to any group or political perspective. It is simply impossible to write a history of South Africa without erring on one side or another of the argument.
- 14 Finally, every attempt has been made to check, recheck and check again the spelling of the names included in this report. If there are errors, please forgive us.

- 15 Ultimately, this report is no more than it claims to be. It is the report of a commission appointed by Parliament to complete an enormous task in a limited period. Everyone involved in producing this report would have loved to have had the time to capture the many nuances and unspoken truths encapsulated in the evidence that came before us. This, however, is a task which others must take up and pursue.
- 16 A Dutch visitor to the Commission observed that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission must fail. Its task is simply too demanding. Yet, she argued, “even as it fails, it has already succeeded beyond any rational expectations”. She quoted Emily Dickinson: “the truth must dazzle gradually ... or all the world would be blind”. However, the Commission has not been prepared to allow the present generation of South Africans to grow gently into the harsh realities of the past and, indeed, many of us have wept as we were confronted with its ugly truths. However painful the experience has been, we remain convinced that there can be no healing without truth. My appeal to South Africans as they read this report is not to use it to attack others, but to add to it, correct it and ultimately to share in the process that will lead to national unity through truth and reconciliation.
- 17 The past, it has been said, is another country. The way its stories are told and the way they are heard change as the years go by. The spotlight gyrates, exposing old lies and illuminating new truths. As a fuller picture emerges, a new piece of the jigsaw puzzle of our past settles into place.
- 18 Inevitably, evidence and information about our past will continue to emerge, as indeed they must. The report of the Commission will now take its place in the historical landscape of which future generations will try to make sense - searching for the clues that lead, endlessly, to a truth that will, in the very nature of things, never be fully revealed.
- 19 It has been the privilege of this Commission to explore a part of that landscape and to represent the truths that emerged in the process. And we have tried, in whatever way we could, to weave into this truth about our past some essential lessons for the future of the people of this country. Because the future, too, is another country. And we can do no more than lay at its feet the small wisdoms we have been able to garner out of our present experience.

■ TRANSITIONAL OPTIONS

- 20 We could not make the journey from a past marked by conflict, injustice, oppression, and exploitation to a new and democratic dispensation characterised by a culture of respect for human rights without coming face to face with our recent history. No one has disputed that. The differences of opinion have been about how we should deal with that past; how we should go about coming to terms with it.
- 21 There were those who believed that we should follow the post World War II example of putting those guilty of gross violations of human rights on trial as the allies did at Nuremberg. In South Africa, where we had a military stalemate, that was clearly an impossible option. Neither side in the struggle (the state nor the liberation movements) had defeated the other and hence nobody was in a position to enforce so-called victor's justice.
- 22 However, there were even more compelling reasons for avoiding the Nuremberg option. There is no doubt that members of the security establishment would have scuppered the negotiated settlement had they thought they were going to run the gauntlet of trials for their involvement in past violations. It is certain that we would not, in such circumstances, have experienced a reasonably peaceful transition from repression to democracy. We need to bear this in mind when we criticise the amnesty provisions in the Commission's founding Act. We have the luxury of being able to complain because we are now reaping the benefits of a stable and democratic dispensation. Had the miracle of the negotiated settlement not occurred, we would have been overwhelmed by the bloodbath that virtually everyone predicted as the inevitable ending for South Africa.
- 23 Another reason why Nuremberg was not a viable option was because our country simply could not afford the resources in time, money and personnel that we would have had to invest in such an operation. Judging from what happened in the De Kock and so-called Malan trials, the route of trials would have stretched an already hard-pressed judicial system beyond reasonable limits. It would also have been counterproductive to devote years to hearing about events that, by their nature, arouse very strong feelings. It would have rocked the boat massively and for too long.

- 24 The Malan trials and the Goniwe inquest have also shown us that, because such legal proceedings rely on proof beyond reasonable doubt, the criminal justice system is not the best way to arrive at the truth. There is no incentive for perpetrators to tell the truth and often the court must decide between the word of one victim against the evidence of many perpetrators. Such legal proceedings are also harrowing experiences for victims, who are invariably put through extensive cross-examination.
- 25 In his judgement in the case brought by AZAPO and others against the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Judge Mahomed, then Deputy President of the Constitutional Court and now our Chief Justice, quoted Judge Marvin Frankel. In his book, *Out of the Shadows of the Night: The Struggle for International Human Rights*, Judge Frankel wrote:

The call to punish human rights criminals can present complex and agonising problems that have no single or simple solution. While the debate over the Nuremberg trials still goes on, that episode - trials of war criminals of a defeated nation - was simplicity itself as compared to the subtle and dangerous issues that can divide a country when it undertakes to punish its own violators.

A nation divided during a repressive regime does not emerge suddenly united when the time of repression has passed. The human rights criminals are fellow citizens, living alongside everyone else, and they may be very powerful and dangerous. If the army and police have been the agencies of terror, the soldiers and the cops aren't going to turn overnight into paragons of respect for human rights. Their numbers and their expert management of deadly weapons remain significant facts of life.... The soldiers and police may be biding their time, waiting and conspiring to return to power. They may be seeking to keep or win sympathisers in the population at large. If they are treated too harshly - or if the net of punishment is cast too widely - there may be a backlash that plays into their hands. But their victims cannot simply forgive and forget.

These problems are not abstract generalities. They describe tough realities in more than a dozen countries. If, as we hope, more nations are freed from regimes of terror, similar problems will continue to arise.

Since the situations vary, the nature of the problems varies from place to place.

- 26 There were others who urged that the past should be forgotten - glibly declaring that we should 'let bygones be bygones'. This option was rightly rejected because such amnesia would have resulted in further victimisation of victims by denying their awful experiences. In Ariel Dorfmann's play, *Death and the Maiden*, a woman ties up the man who has injured her. She is ready to kill him when he repeats his lie that he did not rape or torture her. It is only when he admits his violations that she lets him go. His admission restores her dignity and her identity. Her experience is confirmed as real and not illusory and her sense of self is affirmed.
- 27 The other reason amnesia simply will not do is that the past refuses to lie down quietly. It has an uncanny habit of returning to haunt one. "Those who forget the past are doomed to repeat it" are the words emblazoned at the entrance to the museum in the former concentration camp of Dachau. They are words we would do well to keep ever in mind. However painful the experience, the wounds of the past must not be allowed to fester. They must be opened. They must be cleansed. And balm must be poured on them so they can heal. This is not to be obsessed with the past. It is to take care that the past is properly dealt with for the sake of the future.
- 28 In our case, dealing with the past means knowing what happened. Who ordered that this person should be killed? Why did this gross violation of human rights take place? We also need to know about the past so that we can renew our resolve and commitment that never again will such violations take place. We need to know about the past in order to establish a culture of respect for human rights. It is only by accounting for the past that we can become accountable for the future.
- 29 For all these reasons, our nation, through those who negotiated the transition from apartheid to democracy, chose the option of individual and not blanket amnesty. And we believe that this individual amnesty has demonstrated its value. One of the criteria to be satisfied before amnesty could be granted was full disclosure of the truth. Freedom was granted in exchange for truth. We have, through these means, been able to uncover much of what happened in the past. We know now what happened to Steve Biko, to the PEBCO Three, to the Cradock Four. We now know who ordered the Church Street bomb attack and who was responsible for the St James' Church massacre. We have been able to exhume the remains of about fifty activists who were abducted, killed and buried secretly.

- 30 I recall so vividly how at one of our hearings a mother cried out plaintively, "Please can't you bring back even just a bone of my child so that I can bury him." This is something we have been able to do for some families and thereby enabled them to experience closure.
- 31 The lies and deception that were at the heart of apartheid - which were indeed its very essence - were frequently laid bare. We know now who bombed Khotso House. We can recall how Mr Adriaan Vlok, a former Minister of Law and Order, lied publicly and brazenly about this; how he unashamedly caused Shirley Gunn to be detained with her infant son as the one responsible for this act. It must be said to his credit that Mr Vlok apologised handsomely to Ms Gunn during his amnesty application.
- 32 Thus, we have trodden the path urged on our people by the preamble to our founding Act, which called on "the need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not retaliation, a need for *ubuntu* but not for victimisation."

■ CRITICISMS AND CHALLENGES

- 33 It would have been odd in the extreme if something as radical as this Commission had met with universal approval and acceptance. It would have been even more odd had we been infallible and made no mistakes as we undertook the delicate task of seeking to help heal the wounds of a sorely divided people.
- 34 Some of the criticism levelled against the Commission has been legitimate. However, there has been much which was merely political point scoring, ignoring the facts in favour of taking up cudgels against us. There were those who decided from the outset, long even before the Commission had begun its work, to discredit us by trying to paint the Commission as a witch-hunt of, especially, Afrikaners; by claiming that we were biased in favour of the ANC, and as having failed in the end to advance the course of reconciliation. This latter kind of criticism was a clever ploy to seek pre-emptively to discredit the Commission and hence its report.
- 35 Those who have cared about the future of our country have been worried that the amnesty provision might, amongst other things, encourage impunity because it seemed to sacrifice justice. We believe this view to be incorrect. The amnesty applicant has to admit responsibility for the act for which amnesty is being sought,

thus dealing with the matter of impunity. Furthermore, apart from the most exceptional circumstances, the application is dealt with in a public hearing. The applicant must therefore make his admissions in the full glare of publicity. Let us imagine what this means. Often this is the first time that an applicant's family and community learn that an apparently decent man was, for instance, a callous torturer or a member of a ruthless death squad that assassinated many opponents of the previous regime. There is, therefore, a price to be paid. Public disclosure results in public shaming, and sometimes a marriage may be a sad casualty as well.

- 36 We have been concerned, too, that many consider only one aspect of justice. Certainly, amnesty cannot be viewed as justice if we think of justice only as retributive and punitive in nature. We believe, however, that there is another kind of justice - a restorative justice which is concerned not so much with punishment as with correcting imbalances, restoring broken relationships - with healing, harmony and reconciliation. Such justice focuses on the experience of victims; hence the importance of reparation.
- 37 The Commission has also been harshly criticised for being loaded with so-called 'struggle'-types, people who were pro-ANC, SACP or PAC. We want to say categorically we did not choose ourselves, nor did we put our own names forward. We were nominated in a process open to anyone - whatever their political affiliation or lack of it. We were interviewed in public sessions by a panel on which all the political parties were represented. Moreover, when the President made his choice from a short list, it was in consultation with his Cabinet of National Unity, which included the ANC, the IFP and the National Party. No one, as far as we know, objected publicly at the time to those who were so appointed. Indeed, many of us were chosen precisely because of our role in opposing apartheid - which is how we established our credibility and demonstrated our integrity. I am myself, even today, not a card-carrying member of any political party. I believe, on the other hand, that some of my colleagues may have been chosen precisely because of their party affiliation, to ensure broad representivity.
- 38 Many here and overseas have criticised us sharply for having been so conciliatory and accommodating towards Mr PW Botha. We have been accused of handling him with kid gloves; of bending over backwards whilst he has responded with arrogant defiance and intransigence. It is not too difficult to imagine the reaction in certain quarters had Mr Botha been a member of the ANC.

- 39 We were told that we revealed our true colours when blanket amnesty was granted to thirty-seven ANC leaders. This accusation is understandable when it comes from those who are not familiar with the law that brought the Commission into being. At the insistence of the National Party, it was decided that the Amnesty Committee should be completely autonomous in all matters relating to the granting or refusal of amnesty. The Commission was thus prevented from interfering in any way in this process. The decision to grant amnesty to the thirty-seven ANC members was taken by three judges who could not be accused of being ANC lackeys.
- 40 Nevertheless, at our very first Commission meeting after this Amnesty Committee decision, we agreed unanimously to apply to the High Court for a judicial review of the Committee's decision, which was the only course open to us. We then tried to persuade the ANC to agree to a judgement by consent in order to save time and money. Despite this, a certain political party, fully aware that the matter was in hand, sought to derive political capital by rushing its own application. If we were biased in favour of the ANC, why did we take the action we did?
- 41 When the ANC suggested that its members would not apply for amnesty because they were involved in a just war, I threatened to resign from the Commission. Happily, the ANC changed its mind so I was not forced to do so. It should be noted that I have not taken such a position about the action of any other party. Can you imagine the outcry if the Commission had put a National Party member through the kind of nine-day gruelling hearing to which Ms Madikizela-Mandela was subjected?
- 42 We have been accused, too, of an ANC bias for refusing to hold public hearings over the gross violations that allegedly took place in the ANC camps in Angola. The fact is that a few people did come forward to testify at human rights violations hearings about what they say happened to them in Quatro. Indeed, one of these people testified when President Mandela was visiting the Commission to attend a hearing in Gauteng. He had to sit through a tirade against the ANC. Had we been ANC lackeys, is it not likely that I would have stopped this witness to spare the ANC President this embarrassment?
- 43 We held, in addition, a special hearing on prisons where evidence about conditions in Quatro was led. The ANC provided considerable information in the Stuart, Motsuenyane and Skweyiya Commissions, which it had itself appointed to investigate allegations of these abuses. There are likely to be amnesty hearings involving those involved in these violations.

- 44 It is thus mischievous to suggest that we have not wanted to investigate incidents that might prove embarrassing to the ANC. We would urge our over-enthusiastic critics to read our findings in this report relating to those abuses of which the ANC might be guilty.
- 45 These examples should surely be sufficient to establish that we are politically independent and not biased in favour of any particular political party or group.
- 46 Another frequent criticism has been that we have allowed people such as Ms Madikizela-Mandela, Mr PW Botha and Dr Wouter Basson, in a manner of speaking, to 'get away with murder'. In response to this, we have pointed out that we are not a court of law. Ms Mandela, for example, was cross-examined by a panel of lawyers and gave the answers she chose to give. We announced that we were not going to pronounce a verdict at the end of that sitting but would be making our finding (contained in this report) based on the evidence and our impression of the witness.
- 47 In both her case and that of Dr Basson, one almost has the impression that people would like us to squeeze satisfactory responses from the witnesses. However, short of putting them on a rack and torturing them, there is in fact nothing one can ultimately do in a constitutional democracy beyond making an appropriate finding. After all, even in a court of law there is nothing the prosecution can do to force witnesses to give satisfactory answers except to charge them with contempt. Even that will not necessarily elicit the facts.
- 48 Equally, in the case of Mr Botha, all we could do was to lay a criminal charge - which we did, however reluctantly. Even while the court case was in progress, we continued to seek an acceptable solution - both in the interests of reconciliation and because we did not want to see him humiliated. We offered to have an *in camera* hearing and to provide him in advance with the list of questions we wanted to ask him. Only a thoroughly biased person could accuse us of harassing a hapless old man. In the face of his obduracy, we were faced with no choice but to lay charges. The decision to prosecute was taken independently by the Attorney-General. But we did thereby demonstrate that nobody is above the law.
- 49 Others have taken us to task because they were unhappy when the Amnesty Committee gave amnesty to certain perpetrators - such as those responsible for the St James' Church killings or the murder of Amy Biehl. Clearly these people have

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

- 50 As a matter of fact, the Amnesty Committee has granted only about 150 amnesties out of 7 000 applications, with a further 2 000 still to be dealt with. This can hardly be described as an avalanche of reckless decisions.
- 51 I think some people have wrongly thought that we were targeting former security force members because there has been so much about them and their misdeemeanours in the media. This, in very large measure, is because most of the violations of which the liberation movements are guilty were already in the public domain. Most of the perpetrators had been arrested; often they had been convicted and sometimes even executed - as for example in the case of the Magoo's Bar bombers, the Amanzimtoti Wimpy Bar bomber and those responsible for various necklacings. The South African Police used to preen itself about its successes in these operations. Concerning events such as the PEBCO Three, the Cradock Four and so on, the police engaged in elaborate and effective cover-ups. Now that their nefarious deeds are coming to light on their own admissions, the white community especially is appalled to discover that their 'boys' were not always the paragons of virtue they had presented themselves as. The disillusionment is shattering. But it is not the Commission that should be blamed for this. The truth has always been there. It had simply been hidden from the public gaze.
- 52 Some have criticised us because they believe we talk of some acts as morally justifiable and others not. Let us quickly state that the section of the Act relating to what constitutes a gross violation of human rights makes no moral distinction - it does not deal with morality. It deals with legality. A gross violation is a gross violation, whoever commits it and for whatever reason. There is thus legal equivalence between all perpetrators. Their political affiliation is irrelevant. If an

ANC member tortures someone, that is a gross violation of the victim's rights. If a National Party member or a police officer tortures a prisoner, then that is a gross violation of the prisoner's rights.

- 53 The supporters of the previous regime have been at great pains to insist that the reason they did many of the unsavoury things that have since come to light was largely because they were fighting against an evil and predatory Communism. This shows that they *do* accept that the use of force is subject to moral judgement and distinctions. When a woman kills a person who tries to rape her, she has committed homicide; yet, society and the law would argue that she was not criminally culpable. Society might even commend her. If a hijacker kills the driver of the car he was hijacking, he has committed a homicide. Society heaps condemnation and opprobrium on him and the law finds him guilty of culpable homicide.
- 54 Hence, the same kind of act attracts different moral judgements. A venerable tradition holds that those who use force to overthrow or even to oppose an unjust system occupy the moral high ground over those who use force to sustain that same system. That is when the criteria of the so-called 'just war' come into play - as discussed in *The Mandate* chapter in our report. This does not mean that those who hold the moral high ground have *carte blanche* as to the methods they use. Thus, to hold this particular view is not to be guilty of a bias. It is to assert that we move in a moral universe where right and wrong and justice and oppression matter.
- 55 It would be the height of stupidity as well as being self-defeating for the Commission to subvert its work by being anything less than fair and even-handed. This is, after all, required by the law that brought it into being. We want our work to be generally accepted. Unfair discrimination would be prejudicial to such acceptance. Some of us have been characterised by an independence that has led us to condemn wrong wherever it happened or whoever was the culprit, and have done so without fear or favour. We could not change this critical independence when so much hinged on it.
- 56 We have sought to carry out our work to the best of our ability, without bias. I cannot, however, be asked to be neutral about apartheid. It is an intrinsically evil system. But I *am* even-handed in that I will let an apartheid supporter tell me what he or she sincerely believed moved him or her, and what his or her insights and perspectives were; and I will take these seriously into account in making my finding. I do believe that there were those who supported apartheid

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

- 57 A last word to those who have made it their obsessive business in life to discredit and vilify the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It has been wonderful to see the high regard in which the Commission is held in the international community. Almost without exception, foreign heads of state visiting this country have insisted on paying a visit to the Commission. The royal couples of Norway, Sweden and Denmark have been among such visitors. Presidents of the German Republic, Portugal, France and most recently of the Swiss Confederation have met with the Chair of the Commission, as did the First Lady of the United States and the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr Kofi Annan. The international community has supported our work financially, and through staff secondments and generous donations to the President's Fund.
- 58 Some of us have been awarded the highest decorations of some of these countries; others have received honorary doctorates, and some of my colleagues have gone on from the Commission to take up prestigious appointments. One, for example has been appointed vice-chancellor of the University of Durban-Westville; another as an acting Judge of Appeal. Others have been given fellowships to eminent universities.
- 59 Surely, if the institution were so thoroughly discredited, nobody respectable would want to touch us with a bargepole. The opposite is clearly the case. The world is waiting expectantly for this report because the world has marvelled at how we South Africans have gone about trying to deal with our past. Many are wondering whether they can learn from our experience. In December 1998, Switzerland will host a seminar to consider the contribution of truth and reconciliation commissions in other post-conflict situations in the world. We have been asked to contribute to this by sharing our unique experiences with other countries.

- 60 I have been at great pains to demonstrate the Commission's independence and lack of bias because we are concerned that its work and report should gain the widest possible acceptance. This could well prove to be a futile exercise if those who think that the best way of responding to a report they suspect is going to be less than favourable to them is to come out with all guns blazing to attack the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and hope thereby to discredit it and its report.
- 61 This would be a shortsighted approach - what one might call the Esau option, seeking a short-term advantage at the cost of a longer-term but greater benefit. Thus, when the Commission declares apartheid a crime against humanity, its most ferocious critics will say: "What did we tell you; what did you expect from such a skewed Commission packed with 'struggle' types, hell bent on a witch-hunt against Afrikaners and so obviously biased in favour of the ANC?"
- 62 Mercifully the international community, and not just the Communist bloc, has already declared apartheid to be a crime against humanity. For the international community, indeed, this is no longer a point of debate. The world Christian community has declared that the theological justification of apartheid is a heresy. Closer to home, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk has said that apartheid is a sin. Some of the most senior judges in our country - who could not by any reasonable person be described as demagogues or lackeys of the ANC - have called apartheid a gross violation of human rights. Thus, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is a latecomer in this area. The world would indeed be surprised if the Commission had not found apartheid to be a crime against humanity.
- 63 This means that we cannot hope properly to understand the history of the period under review unless we give apartheid and racism their rightful place as the defining features of that period. People would be surprised if anyone wanting to describe or understand the post World War II period were to ignore Soviet Communism or not give it a central, indeed pivotal, place in the geopolitics of that period. We know that nations defined themselves in terms of their relationship to Communism. That is what determined the politics, economics and foreign policies of the different protagonists at the time. It is what determined the nature of the Cold War period. The attitude towards Communism defined who one's allies and enemies were, what sort of defence budget was necessary and which surrogate states to support. The threat was seen as so serious that the world's greatest Western democracy saw nothing wrong with supporting some of the world's worst dictatorships - for example, Pinochet's Chile, other Latin American military dictatorships and

Marcos' Philippines - simply because these declared themselves to be anti-Communist. The USA was ready to subvert democratically-elected governments by supporting internal dissidents in their efforts to overthrow legitimate regimes - such as the Contras in Nicaragua and UNITA in Angola - because the elected governments were Communist-influenced or fellow-travellers. The West did not seem to care too much about the human rights records of their surrogates. What we are underlining is that, to understand this Cold War period, one has to acknowledge the key role of Soviet Communism.

- 64 I want to suggest that apartheid and racism played a similar defining role in the history of the period under review. The vast majority, if not all, of the gross violations of human rights that were perpetrated in this period happened at the hands either of those who sought to defend the unjust apartheid and racist dispensation or those who sought to resist and ultimately overthrow that system.
- 65 This is not the same as saying that racism was introduced into South Africa by those who brought apartheid into being. Racism came to South Africa in 1652; it has been part of the warp and woof of South African society since then. It was not the supporters of apartheid who gave this country the 1913 Land Act which ensured that the indigenous people of South Africa would effectively become hewers of wood and drawers of water for those with superior gun power from overseas. 1948 merely saw the beginning of a refinement and intensifying of repression, injustice and exploitation. It was not the upholders of apartheid who introduced gross violations of human rights in this land. We would argue that what happened when 20 000 women and children died in the concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer War is a huge blot on our copy book. Indeed, if the key concepts of confession, forgiveness and reconciliation are central to the message of this report, it would be wonderful if one day some representative of the British/English community said to the Afrikaners, "We wronged you grievously. Forgive us." And it would be wonderful too if someone representing the Afrikaner community responded, "Yes, we forgive you - if you will perhaps let us just tell our story, the story of our forebears and the pain that has sat for so long in the pit of our stomachs unacknowledged by you." As we have discovered, the telling has been an important part of the process of healing.
- 66 To lift up racism and apartheid is not to gloat over or to humiliate the Afrikaner or the white community. It is to try to speak the truth in love. It is to know the

real extent of the sickness that has afflicted our beloved motherland so long and, in making the right diagnosis, prescribe the correct medicine. We would not want to be castigated as the prophet Jeremiah condemned the priests and prophets of his day (Jeremiah 6:13-14):

*For from the least to the greatest of them,
every one is greedy for unjust gain;
and from prophet to priest,
everyone deals falsely.
They have healed the wound of my people lightly,
saying "Peace, peace,"
when there is no peace.*

- 67 It is to give substance to our cry from the heart that politicians should really stop playing ducks and drakes with our future - for the greatest sadness that we have encountered in the Commission has been the reluctance of white leaders to urge their followers to respond to the remarkable generosity of spirit shown by the victims. This reluctance, indeed this hostility, to the Commission has been like spitting in the face of the victims.

■ RECONCILIATION

- 68 Some have been upset by the suggestion that the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission could have resulted in making people angrier and race relations more difficult, as indicated by a recent survey. It would be naïve in the extreme to imagine that people would not be appalled by the ghastly revelations that the Commission has brought about. It would have been bizarre had this not happened. What is amazing is that the vast majority of the people of this land, those who form the bulk of the victims of the policies of the past, have said they believe reconciliation is possible.
- 69 The trouble is that there are erroneous notions of what reconciliation is all about. Reconciliation is not about being cosy; it is not about pretending that things were other than they were. Reconciliation based on falsehood, on not facing up to reality, is not true reconciliation and will not last.

- 70 We believe we have provided enough of the truth about our past for there to be a consensus about it. There is consensus that atrocious things were done on all sides. We know that the State used its considerable resources to wage a war against some of its citizens. We know that torture and deception and murder and death squads came to be the order of the day. We know that the liberation movements were not paragons of virtue and were often responsible for egging people on to behave in ways that were uncontrollable. We know that we may, in the present crime rate, be reaping the harvest of the campaigns to make the country ungovernable. We know that the immorality of apartheid has helped to create the climate where moral standards have fallen disastrously.
- 71 We should accept that truth has emerged even though it has initially alienated people from one another. The truth can be, and often is, divisive. However, it is only on the basis of truth that true reconciliation can take place. True reconciliation is not easy; it is not cheap. We have been amazed at some almost breathtaking examples of reconciliation that have happened through the Commission. Examples abound in the chapter on reconciliation. I want to make a heartfelt plea to my white fellow South Africans. On the whole we have been exhilarated by the magnanimity of those who should by rights be consumed by bitterness and a lust for revenge; who instead have time after time shown an astonishing magnanimity and willingness to forgive. It is not easy to forgive, but we have seen it happen. And some of those who have done so are white victims. Nevertheless, the bulk of victims have been black and I have been saddened by what has appeared to be a mean-spiritedness in some of the leadership in the white community. They should be saying: "How fortunate we are that these people do not want to treat us as we treated them. How fortunate that things have remained much the same for us except for the loss of some political power."
- 72 Can we imagine the anger that has been caused by the disclosures that the previous government had a Chemical and Biological Warfare Programme with projects that allegedly targeted only black people, and allegedly sought to to poison President Nelson Mandela and reduce the fertility of black women? Should our land not be overwhelmed by black fury leading to orgies of revenge, turning us into a Bosnia, a Northern Ireland or a Sri Lanka?
- 73 Dear fellow South Africans, please try to bring yourselves to respond with a like generosity and magnanimity. When one confesses, one confesses only one's own sins, not those of another. When a husband wants to make up with his wife, he does not say, "I'm sorry, please forgive me, but darling of course you

too have done so and so!" That is not the way to reach reconciliation. That is why I still hope that there will be a white leader who will say, "We had an evil system with awful consequences. Please forgive us." Without qualification. If that were to happen, we would all be amazed at the response.

■ APPRECIATION

- 74 It has been a distinct honour and privilege to have been asked to preside over and participate in the crucial process of attempting to heal a traumatised and deeply divided people. We want to say thank you to the President, Mr Nelson Mandela, for having appointed us to this noble task. He has been an outstanding example and inspiration for the work of reconciling our alienated and polarised people.
- 75 We owe a great debt of gratitude to the Minister of Justice, the Honourable Mr Dullah Omar, who has been readily accessible and wonderfully supportive of us all in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It has been a great pleasure to have worked under the auspices of his department. He and his staff have spared no efforts in assisting us.
- 76 The Department of Safety and Security and the South African Police Services (SAPS) have been efficient in providing security to our buildings and personnel as well as at our various hearings. They have proved friendly and efficient and a splendid example of the kind of transformation we would like to see. They have increasingly become friends of the people.
- 77 We also want to express our appreciation to various other government departments at national, provincial and local levels.
- 78 Our difficult work would have been even more so had it not been for the outstanding contributions of the various faith communities, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other organisations of civil society, so many of whom have facilitated our work at different levels and in all kinds of ways. We have benefited from the participation of many volunteers and we want them to know that we are deeply indebted to them for their invaluable contribution.
- 79 We have been fortunate that the media, both print and electronic, have helped to carry the Commission and its work into every corner of our own land and

other lands. We are particularly grateful for the work of SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) radio, which communicated in all our official languages to ensure that even the illiterate did not miss out. We want to mention, too, the special television programme that was broadcast on Sunday evenings - giving a summary of the previous week's events at the Commission and a preview of the coming week's events. No wonder these television and radio programmes won prestigious awards - on which we congratulate them. The media helped to ensure that the Commission's process was as inclusive and as non-elitist as possible.

- 80 I am honoured to express our gratitude to all those over 20 000 persons who came forward to tell us their stories - either at the public hearings of our Human Rights Violations Committee or in the statements recorded by our statement takers. They were generous in their readiness to make themselves vulnerable; to risk opening wounds that were perhaps in the process of healing, by sharing the often traumatic experiences of themselves or their loved ones as victims of gross violations of human rights. We are deeply in their debt and hope that coming to the Commission may have assisted in the rehabilitation of their human and civil dignity that was so callously trampled underfoot in the past. We pray that wounds that may have been re-opened in this process have been cleansed so that they will not fester; that some balm has been poured on them and that they will now heal.
- 81 We want to thank the various organisations, professional bodies and individuals who made written submissions as well as those who appeared before the Commission during the special institutional hearings. We are disappointed that certain bodies rejected our invitation to make submissions and are particularly distressed that judges refused to appear before the Commission, although a significant few did send written submissions. We have not been persuaded by the judges' arguments as to why they did not appear.
- 82 We are grateful, too, for the support we have received from the international community - in personnel as well as financial aid. Our work would have been severely hampered had it not been for the generosity of foreign donor nations. They provided us with experienced police officers and investigators who strengthened our Investigation Unit quite considerably. They gave us funds to help to pay for the live radio and television broadcasts that made the Commission so much a part of the South African landscape. We are equally grateful to them for the generous donations they have already made to the President's Fund from which reparations will be disbursed.

- 83 I want to pay a very warm tribute to all my colleagues, my fellow commissioners, our committee members and our dedicated staff. My fellow commissioners are gifted persons, frequently leaders in their particular fields. They have worked themselves to a frazzle, committed and conscientious to a fault.
- 84 None will take it amiss when I single out for special mention the vice-chairperson, Dr Alex Boraine. We were fortunate to have had him because frankly he performed nothing short of a miracle in getting the ball rolling, employing staff and procuring premises for the Commission in record time. Without his remarkable energy and competence, we would not have started as soon as we did. I would not want to wish such a project - starting up a massive undertaking such as this *de novo* - on my worst enemy. We made it very largely because of Dr Boraine. He has taken a lot of flak from those who have delighted in taking political pot shots at him. He is a man of unshakeable integrity and commitment. I want to assure those who might have thought of him as a political opponent from his parliamentary days that he is scrupulously fair.
- 85 We have been served by a team of outstanding individuals - starting from Dr Minyuku, our indefatigable chief executive officer, to the most junior staff member. They have had to gel quickly, despite knowing that this intense and gruelling task would last only two years or so. This knowledge could have been thoroughly debilitating, sapping morale and energy, but I have been amazed that almost all our staff members have been so dedicated and so conscientious. Most have gone well beyond the call of duty, working many overtime hours as proof of their dedication.
- 86 The Research Department led by Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio has played a major role in producing this report. Our thanks are due to them for their sterling work.
- 87 It has been a gruelling job of work that has taken a physical, mental and psychological toll. We have borne a heavy burden as we have taken onto ourselves the anguish, the awfulness, and the sheer evil of it all. The interpreters have, for instance, had the trauma of not just hearing or reading about the atrocities, but have had to speak in the first person as either a victim or the perpetrator,

They undressed me and opened a drawer and shoved my breast into the drawer which they then slammed shut on my nipple! [or] I drugged his coffee, then I shot him in the head. Then I burned his body. Whilst we were doing this, watching his body burn, we were enjoying a braai on the other side.

88 The chief of the section that typed the transcripts of the hearings told me:

As you type, you don't know you are crying until you feel and see the tears falling on your hands.

89 We have been given a great privilege. It has been a costly privilege but one that we would not want to exchange for anything in the world. Some of us have already experienced something of a post traumatic stress and have become more and more aware of just how deeply wounded we have all been; how wounded and broken we all are. Apartheid has affected us at a very deep level, more than we ever suspected. We in the Commission have been a microcosm of our society, reflecting its alienation, suspicions and lack of trust in one another. Our earlier Commission meetings were very difficult and filled with tension. God has been good in helping us to grow closer together. Perhaps we are a sign of hope that, if people from often hostile backgrounds could grow closer together as we have done, then there is hope for South Africa, that we can become united. We have been called to be wounded healers.

90 I pay a warm tribute to all my fellow wounded healers. You have done a splendid job of work. You have given it your best shot. It has been an immense privilege to captain such a superb team.

■ CONCLUSION

91 Ours is a remarkable country. Let us celebrate our diversity, our differences. God wants us as we are. South Africa wants and needs the Afrikaner, the English, the coloured, the Indian, the black. We are sisters and brothers in one family - God's family, the human family. Having looked the beast of the past in the eye, having asked and received forgiveness and having made amends, let us shut the door on the past - not in order to forget it but in order not to allow it to imprison us. Let us move into the glorious future of a new kind of society where people count, not because of biological irrelevancies or other extraneous attributes, but because they are persons of infinite worth created in the image of God. Let that society be a new society - more compassionate, more caring, more gentle, more given to sharing - because we have left "the past of a deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice" and are moving to a future "founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful co-existence and development opportunities for all South Africans, irrespective of colour, race, class, belief or sex."

92 Like our Constitution, the Commission has helped in laying-

the secure foundation for the people of South Africa to transcend the divisions and strife of the past, which generated gross violations of human rights, the transgression of humanitarian principles in violent conflicts and a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge.

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

94 The Commission has done its share to promote national unity and reconciliation. Their achievement is up to each one of us.

95 I am honoured to commend this report to you.

Historical Context

■ GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN POLITICAL & HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

- 1 Chief Justice DP Mahomed has said:¹

For decades South African history has been dominated by a deep conflict between a minority which reserved for itself all control over the political instruments of the state and a majority who sought to resist that domination. Fundamental human rights became a major casualty of this conflict ... the legitimacy of the law itself was deeply wounded as the country haemorrhaged in the face of this tragic conflict ...

- 2 The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act) charged the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) with investigating and documenting gross human rights violations committed within or outside South Africa in the period 1960-94. In doing so, it was to compile as complete a picture as possible of these events and violations. In its report, therefore, the Commission seeks to reflect fairly and fully the motives and perspectives of both the alleged perpetrators of gross human rights violations and of their victims.
- 3 Before starting on the long journey through these volumes, two major points or themes need to be developed in order to place their context in fuller political and historical perspective. The first of these relates to the fact that this report covers only a small fraction of time - although possibly the worst and certainly, in regard to the wider region, the bloodiest in the long and violent history of human rights abuse in this subcontinent. The second point to be made is that the report tells only a small part of a much larger story of human rights abuse in South and southern Africa.
- 4 In developing these two themes in this chapter, special attention will be given to the role and contribution of two phenomena or factors in the shaping of this country's history, namely violence and the law, and the relationship between them.

¹ Judgement, *The Azanian Peoples Organisation, Ms NM Biko, Mr CH Mxenge and Mr C Ribeiro v the President of the Republic of South Africa, the Government of the Republic of South Africa, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Safety and Security and the Chairperson of the Commission in the Constitutional Court*, Case No 17/96.

■ THE LIMITED TIME FRAME OF THE COMMISSION

- 5 Reference was made in the opening paragraphs to the limited time frame imposed on the Commission. The purpose was to place in historical context what happened in Southern Africa in the period 1960-94. In a continental context, this represented the last great chapter in the struggle for African decolonisation. In a South Africa-specific context, it was the climactic phase of a conflict that dated back to the mid-seventeenth century, to the time when European settlers first sought to establish a permanent presence on the subcontinent.
- 6 Thus, it is evident that it was not the National Party government that introduced racially discriminatory practices to this part of the world. Nor is it likely that the National Party government was the first to perpetrate some or most of the types of gross violations of human rights recorded in this report. The probable exception is that category of abuse that falls under the general rubric of contra-mobilisation - exemplified by the deployment of surrogate forces such as the Caprivi-trained Inkatha supporters, the *Witdoeke*, the A-team and other politicised gangs, as well as those forces, such as UNITA, that were used to destabilise the region.
- 7 Hence, the types of atrocities committed during the period falling within the mandate of the Commission must be placed in the context of violations committed in the course of:
 - a The importation of slaves to the Cape and the brutal treatment they endured between 1652 (when the first slaves were imported) and 1834 (when slavery was abolished).
 - b The many wars of dispossession and colonial conquest dating from the first war against the Khoisan in 1659, through several so-called frontier conflicts as white settlers penetrated northwards, to the Bambatha uprising of 1906, the last attempt at armed defence by an indigenous grouping.
 - c The systematic hunting and elimination of indigenous nomadic peoples such as the San and Khoi-khoi by settler groups, both Boer and British, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
 - d The *Difaquane* or *Mfecane* where thousands died and tens of thousands were displaced in a Zulu-inspired process of state formation and dissolution.

- e The South African War of 1899-1902 during which British forces herded Boer women and children into concentration camps in which some 20 000 died - a gross human rights violation of shocking proportions.²
 - f The genocidal war in the early years of this century directed by the German colonial administration in South West Africa at the Herero people, which took them to the brink of extinction.
- 8 It is also important to remember that the 1960 Sharpsville massacre (with which the mandate of the Commission begins) was simply the latest in a long line of similar killings of civilian protesters in South African history. It was, for example, not a National Party administration but the South African Party government, made up primarily of English-speaking South Africans, that in July 1913 crushed a series of miners' strikes on the Reef - sending in the army and killing just over one hundred strikers and onlookers. Thrice in 1921 and 1922, this same governing party let loose its troops and planes: first, against a protesting religious sect, the Israelites at Bulhoek, killing 183 people; second, against striking white mineworkers on the Reef in 1922, resulting in the deaths of 214 people³; and third, when the Bondelswarts people, a landless hunting group of Nama origin in South West Africa, in rebellion against a punitive dog tax in 1922, were machine-gunned from the air. One hundred civilians, mostly women, were killed.
- 9 Thus, when the South African Defence Force (SADF) killed just over 600 men, women and children, combatant and non-combatant, at Kassinga in Angola in 1978, and when the South African Police (SAP) shot several hundred black protesters in the weeks following the June 16 events at Soweto, they were operating in terms of a well-established tradition of excessive or unjustifiable use of force against government opponents. This is not, of course, to exonerate them or the force they employed, but simply to put those events and actions in historical context.
- 10 Mention has been made of the social-engineering dimension of the policy of apartheid. Again, it needs to be made clear that the National Party was not the first political party or group to have been accused of social engineering on a vast scale in this part of the world. The post-South African War administration of Alfred Milner was, for example, similarly accused concerning its Anglicisation schemes.

2 In his evidence to a Commission workshop on reconciliation, Mr Ron Viney indicated that a similar number of black people was exhumed from British concentration camps. (Johannesburg, 18 – 20 February 1998).

3 Those killed included seventy-six strikers, seventy-eight members of the troops that took them on, thirty African non-strikers who were killed by the strikers, and thirty bystanders.

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

12 An observer of the impact of the Act on the African people, Solomon Plaatje, commented:

For to crown all our calamities, South Africa has by law ceased to be the home of any of her native children whose skins are dyed with a hue that does not conform with the regulation hue ... Is it to be thought that God is using the South African Parliament to hound us out of our ancestral homes in order to quicken our pace heavenwards?⁴

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

A squatter called Kgobadi got a message from his father-in-law in the Transvaal. His father-in-law asked Kgobadi to try to find a place for him to rent in the Orange 'Free' State.

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

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

4 Solomon Plaatje, Native Life in South Africa, originally published in 1916 and republished by Ravan Press, 1981, pp 83-4.

So, both Kgobadi and his father-in-law had nowhere to go. They were wandering around on the roads in the cold winter with everything they owned. Kgobadi's goats gave birth. One by one they died in the cold and were left by the roadside for the jackals and vultures to eat.

Mrs Kgobadi's child was sick. She had to put her child in the ox-wagon which bumped along the road. Two days later, the child died.

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

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

- 15 TM Dambuzu described the Land Act in these words:

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

- 16 But if this was an act of wholesale dispossession and discrimination, so too was the 1909 South Africa Act which was passed, not by a South African legislature, but by the British Parliament. In terms of the South Africa Act, Britain's four South African colonies were merged into one nation and granted juridical independence under a constitutional arrangement that transferred power in perpetuity to a minority of white voters. No firm provisions were made for the protection or improvement of the civil and political rights of the indigenous black majority.
- 17 Admittedly, the British government of the day was responding to pressure from the all-white South African constitutional convention, but Britain had a juridical responsibility to all, and not simply its white, subjects.
- 18 No less of a betrayal was the 1936 Representation of Natives Act, by which Cape African voters were disenfranchised or the 1956 Senate Act, by which the membership of that body was enlarged to enable the National Party to summon a two-thirds majority to strip Coloured males of the vote. This latter piece of constitutional chicanery was only the end of a process of black disenfranchisement begun by the British in 1909.

⁵ Solomon Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa*, originally published in 1916 and republished by Ravan Press, 1981, pp 83-4.

■ THE LIMITED FOCUS OF THE MANDATE

- 19 As noted in the *Mandate* chapter later in this volume, the Commission's governing Act limited its investigation to gross violations of human rights defined as the "killing, abduction, torture or severe ill-treatment" and the "attempt, conspiracy, incitement, instigation, command or procurement to commit" such acts. In essence, therefore, the Commission was restricted to examining only a fraction of the totality of human rights violations that emanated from the policy of apartheid - namely, those that resulted in physical or mental harm or death and were incurred in the course of the political conflicts of the mandate period.
- 20 The Commission's focus was, therefore, a narrow or restricted one, representing what were perhaps some of the worst acts committed against the people of this country and region in the post-1960 period, but providing a picture that is by no means complete. For, simultaneous to the 'gross' abuses documented later in this report, millions of South Africans, and more particularly those who were not white, were subjected to racial and ethnic oppression and discrimination on a daily basis - in pursuit of a system which the *Mandate* chapter describes as "systemic, all-pervading and evil".
- 21 Furthermore, in applying this system and in seeking to perpetuate it, the government of South Africa let loose upon the wider region a reign of terror and destruction. It was for this reason that Parliament mandated the Commission to include within its scope gross human rights violations that occurred outside South Africa.
- 22 Conceptually, the policy of apartheid was itself a human rights violation. The determination of an individual's civil and political rights by a factor - skin colour - over which he or she has no control, constitutes an abuse of those rights. Of course, such discrimination existed before 1948 and had its roots far back in South Africa's colonial past. Nevertheless, the apartheid state that was constructed after 1948 had dimensions that made it different from the discriminatory orders that preceded it.
- 23 Thus, although many of its laws built on or updated a *de facto* pattern of segregationist legislation (for example, an industrial colour bar and limited African property and voting rights), the apartheid system was of a qualitatively different type. No longer content to tolerate a *de facto* pattern of segregation in which 'grey' areas of social mixing remained - such as in urban residential patterns

and inter-racial personal contacts and relationships, including marriage - from 1948, the new government set out to segregate every aspect of political, economic, cultural, sporting and social life, using established legal antecedents where they existed and creating them where they did not. Although making use of the forms of democracy (elections, proper legislative processes and so on), it constructed a totalitarian order that was far from democratic in substance.

- 24 Apartheid sought to maintain the *status quo* of white supremacy through the implementation of massive social change. It was thus an ideology, simultaneously of change and of non-change; or alternatively, perhaps, of reactionary change. To achieve its goals, Parliament:
- a transformed the *laissez-faire* pattern of pre-1948 segregation into a systematic pattern of legalised racial discrimination, and
 - b constructed a huge internal security apparatus and armed it with awesome legal powers to crush opposition generated by the first process.

Legislation

- 25 With regard to the first process, the key legislative enactments were:

Population Registration Act 1950

- 26 This Act formed the very bedrock of the apartheid state in that it provided for the classification of every South African into one of four racial categories. To achieve this end, it came up with definitions of racial groupings which were truly bizarre:

A White person is one who is in appearance obviously white - and not generally accepted as Coloured - or who is generally accepted as White - and is not obviously Non-White, provided that a person shall not be classified as a White person if one of his natural parents has been classified as a Coloured person or a Bantu ... A Bantu is a person who is, or is generally accepted as, a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa ... a Coloured is a person who is not a white person or a Bantu.

- 27 Despite the crude and hopelessly imprecise wording of these definitions, the Act was imposed with vigour and determination.

28 President Nelson Mandela wrote:

Where was one was allowed to live and work could rest on such absurd distinctions as the curl of one's hair or the size of one's lips.⁶

29 The result, especially for the coloured people, was human devastation. As John Dugard put it in 1972:

No words can capture the misery and human suffering caused by this legislative scheme which sometimes results in divisions of families owing to the different racial classification of members of the same family⁷.

1950 Group Areas Act

30 In terms of the Group Areas Act, the entire country was demarcated into zones for exclusive occupation by designated racial groups. Implemented from 1954, the result was mass population transfers involving the uprooting of (almost exclusively) black citizens from their homes of generations, and the wholesale destruction of communities like Sophiatown, District Six, Cato Manor and South End in Port Elizabeth. Again, in human terms, the consequence was immense suffering and huge losses of property and income.

The 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and 1950 Immorality Amendment Act

31 According to this legislation, all future interracial marriages were prohibited, as were all forms of sexual contact across colour lines. Like the Population Registration Act, the Immorality Act was energetically implemented for some two to three decades, resulting in untold suffering in the form of harassment, public humiliation and the destruction of marriages and family bonds. Suicide by those caught in the web of the provisions of this Act was not unknown.

1950 Suppression of Communism Act

32 This Act provided not only for the banning of the Communist Party, but also for the legislative means to crush or curb all forms of dissent - communist, radical,

6 Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, Macdonald Purnell: Randburg, 1994.

7 John Dugard, 'The Legal Framework of Apartheid' in N. J. Rhodie (ed.) *The Legal Framework of Apartheid*. Johannesburg: McGraw-Hill, 1972, p. 83.

liberal, radically religious and just plain annoying. It did this through the inclusion of a definition of communism that was absurd in its breadth and vagueness.

1953 Separate Amenities Act

- 33 This Act designated all public amenities and facilities (parks, libraries, zoos, beaches, sports grounds, and so on) for the exclusive use of specified racial groups. The allocation was made on a wholly unequal basis with the result that most facilities and amenities were closed to black people.

1953 Bantu Education Act

- 34 The Bantu Education Act laid the basis for a separate and inferior education system for African pupils. Based on a racist notion that blacks needed only to be educated, in the words of Dr Verwoerd, “in accordance with their opportunities in life”, the Act transferred the control of African schools from the provinces to a central Bantu Education Department headed by Dr Verwoerd himself.
- 35 In addition, state subsidies to mission schools were first reduced and later stopped altogether. This meant that they were either forced into the state school system or had to close - which many (often the better) schools did. The result, in the short term, was the destruction of black mission education in South Africa - that sector of African education that had produced some of the country's finest minds and political leaders. It also stifled the development of a private African school sector by requiring that all non-state schools be registered with the then Native Affairs Department.
- 36 In the longer term, the consequence was exactly what had been intended: namely, the under-skilling of generations of African children and their graduation into an economy for which they were singularly under-equipped. The critical shortage of skills in the economy forty years later and the massive numbers of unemployed African people bear witness to the legacy of this legislation.
- 37 In the next decade - the 1960s - legislation brought coloured and Indian education under state control with similar, though not as severely deleterious, effects.

1959 Extension of University Education Act

- 38 This perversely named law, far from extending opportunities for tertiary education, actually had the opposite effect by denying black students the right to attend their university of choice. It imposed apartheid on the tertiary sector, making it illegal for the existing largely (in the case of the Afrikaans campuses exclusively) white universities to admit black students except with ministerial permission. It resulted in the creation of separate ethnic colleges for Indians, coloureds and Zulu, Sotho and Xhosa-speaking Africans.
- 39 This Act, which was first published in draft form in 1957, was significant in another sense. It signalled a shift in government thinking in relation to the challenge posed by the growing force of African nationalism of the time. Having laid out the framework for the racial compartmentalisation of, particularly, urban South Africa, the government's provision for African tertiary education along ethnic lines flagged an intention to engage in a further bout of racial and social engineering. This theme will be discussed later in this chapter.
- 40 These eight pieces of legislation laid the foundation of the new apartheid order in South Africa. However, other important pieces of legislation passed in the first decade of apartheid rule stripped coloured male voters of their common-roll franchise rights, further limited the rights of African workers to strike and bargain collectively and, by extending pass laws to African women, further restricted the rights of Africans to move from the reserves to the cities and to sell their labour to the highest bidder.⁸

The effects of apartheid legislation

- 41 Overall, what the National Party did in its first ten to twelve years of power amounted, in Leo Kuper's words⁹, to "a white counter-revolution" to forestall the perceived (although, as will be noted later, misinterpreted and exaggerated) growing threat to white supremacy from both local forces and the rising tide of African nationalist sentiment on the continent. This concern was often presented in the popular media as the 'Mau-Mau factor', reflecting a real fear of what African independence represented for the white minority.

⁸ See chapter on *Chronologies and Submissions*.

⁹ Leo Kuper, 'African Nationalism in South Africa', 1910-1964 in Leonard Thompson and Monica Wilson (Eds.) *Oxford History of South Africa: vol. ii, South Africa 1870-1966*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.

- 42 It was also a social engineering project of awesome dimensions through which, from about the mid-1950s and for the next thirty or so years, the inherited rural and urban social fabric of South Africa was torn asunder and recreated in the image of a series of racist utopias. In the process, as indicated earlier, millions of black people and a handful of mainly poor whites were shunted around like pawns on a chessboard. Forced to relocate to places that often existed only on the drawing boards of the architects of apartheid, entire communities were simply wiped out. These included urban suburbs and rural villages, traditional communities and homelands, schools, churches and above all people. Sometimes the demolition was total, as in Sophiatown; sometimes an isolated temple, mosque or church was left intact, as in District Six, South End and Cato Manor; sometimes simply the name remained, as in Diagonal Street.
- 43 Thus, it needs constantly to be borne in mind that, while the state and other operatives were committing the murders and abductions and other violations documented in this report, a much larger pattern of human rights violations was unfolding. These may not have been 'gross' as defined by the Act, but they were, nonetheless, an assault on the rights and dignity of millions of South Africans and they were, in large part, the product of the core legislation, and subsequent amendments, outlined above.
- 44 This point is eloquently developed in the *Mandate* chapter. For the vast majority of South Africans, human rights abuse was:

for nearly half a century ... the warp and weft of their experience ... defining their privilege and their disadvantage, their poverty and their wealth, their public and private lives and their very identity ... the system itself was evil, inhumane and degrading ... amongst its many crimes, perhaps its greatest was the power to humiliate, to denigrate and to remove the self-confidence, self-esteem and dignity of its millions of victims.

- 45 Thus, while only some 21 300 persons filed gross human rights violations petitions with the Commission, apartheid was a grim daily reality for every black South African. For at least 3.5 million black South Africans it meant collective expulsions, forced migration, bulldozing, gutting or seizure of homes, the mandatory carrying of passes, forced removals into rural ghettos and increased poverty and desperation. Dumped in the 'national states' without jobs, communities experienced powerlessness, vulnerability, fear and injustice.

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

■ THE LAW AND ETHNICITY

- 47 The legislation of the early apartheid years and the implementation of those laws were countered by considerable political activity and campaigning in the 1950s. This took the form of non-violent resistance campaigns in the cities, such as the Defiance Campaign of 1952/53, the Congress of the People in 1955, the 1956 bus boycotts, the anti-pass laws campaigns in 1959 and 1960 and so on. There were also sporadic and scattered but sustained rural uprisings in Zeerust, Witzieshoek, Sekhukuneland, Marico, Harding and Pondoland, which involved some levels of violence.
- 48 In the context of this domestic activity, together with growing international hostility and the fever of decolonisation then sweeping Africa, the government responded in two ways. The first was to introduce a battery of security laws; the second took the form of what might be described as its ethnic project.

Domestic opposition

- 49 Internal resistance forces at the end of the 1950s were weak. Despite the militant rhetoric contained in such policy documents as the 1949 Programme of Action, the 1955 Freedom Charter and the 1959 founding document of the Pan Africanist Congress, the nationalist movement lacked the capacity to translate its intentions into effective action. First, it was internally divided: the 1959 break-away of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was the result of a decade of division within the African National Congress (ANC). Second, neither of these organisations had a mass base and their capacity outside of the cities was

small. Third, neither organisation had an effective strategic counter to the state's willingness to employ violence against black protesters. Time and again in the 1950s, non-violence as a vehicle of struggle was shown to be an impotent and ineffective counter to state action.

- 50 Even after the abandonment of non-violence and the adoption of various forms of armed struggle, the South African government had little difficulty containing opposition until well into the 1980s. The reasons for this need not be discussed extensively here, but they bear out the proposition of the American political scientist, Harry Eckstein, that :

*In the real world of phenomena, events occur not only because forces leading towards them are strong, but also because forces tending to inhibit, or obstruct, are weak or absent.*¹⁰

Politics in the region

- 51 One of the factors that inhibited or obstructed the liberation movements in their efforts to mount a serious armed threat was their inability to develop secure and permanent rear bases in the neighbouring states from which they were obliged to operate. Ironically, the explanation for this is to be found in the very circumstances the Pretoria government had viewed with such trepidation - the recent decolonisation of these states. Thus while, up until 1960, South Africa had, on the whole, enjoyed co-operative alliances with the British and Portuguese colonial administrations in the region, these latter would never have tolerated the cross-border violations undertaken by elements in the South African forces from the mid-1970s. However, the new national entities, politically weak and economically bonded to South Africa, were largely helpless in the face of South African aggression. Moreover, and perhaps to South Africa's surprise, it found that it had the covert support of at least some of the governments and/or their security establishments in parts of the region.
- 52 Given this situation, it is worth asking why it was that South Africa found it necessary from 1975 to wage what became a thirteen-year long full-scale war in Angola. The answer lies in two factors.

9 Harry Eckstein, 'On the Etiology of Internal Wars' in Claude Welch and Mavis Taintor Bunker (Eds.) Revolution and Political Change. New York: Duxbury Press 1972, p. 70.

The Namibian question

- 53 One of these factors related to the position of Namibia which, because of its contested status in international law, had become the Achilles heel of the South African government. Eventually, South Africa would have to surrender its control over the protectorate. Its ambition was, therefore, to thwart SWAPO (South West African Peoples Organisation) in its ambitions to win independence for a democratic Namibia. From the late 1970s, Angola became SWAPO's forward base.
- 54 The other factor was the spectre of the Cold War, which continued to haunt the global scene in the 1970s and 1980s. In this latter period of Cold War politics, the 'hot spot' or focus shifted from Europe to remote parts of the globe like Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Ethiopia. With British and American encouragement, the major powers came to see Angola as one of a number of regional arenas of Cold War confrontation.
- 55 Thus, largely as a consequence of a particular moment in the politics of the twentieth century, the way in which southern African was perceived underwent a change of perspective. From an arena of racial conflict, it became a scene of active Cold War confrontation. This perception was the result of a chance coalition of interests between the United States and Britain (and their so-called 'special alliance') and a government regarded almost everywhere else as a pariah. Hence, the coming to power in the United States and Britain of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, whose political mindset on international issues represented a throwback to the 1950s and its obsession with Communism and the Soviet Union, presented the South African government with a window of opportunity which it adroitly exploited.
- 56 In essence, the struggle to maintain white minority privilege was 'repackaged' as an effort to maintain so-called western civilised values against the godless and evil forces of Communism. Thus it was that conscripts, when they turned up for basic training in the 1980s, could be expected to believe (as one witness related to the Commission): "this story that people tell you that there is a Communist behind every bush is nonsense. There are in fact two."
- 57 This is not to suggest that there were not some - even amongst top state and security officials - who genuinely believed in the threat and who saw themselves as anti-Communist crusaders. It is, however, the view of the Commission that, at heart, the struggle for South and southern Africa was a racial one, and that

notions of the 'red peril' were manipulated to justify the perpetration of the gross human rights violations this Commission was charged to investigate.

The 'Vorster' laws

- 58 Details of security legislation introduced in the 1960s are contained in a separate chapter. Suffice it to say here that they amounted to a sustained assault on the principles of the rule of law. The suspension of the principle of *habeas corpus*, limitations on the right to bail, the imposition by the legislature of minimum gaol sentences for a range of offences and limitations on the ability of the courts to protect detainees all contributed to a mounting exclusion of the authority of the courts from the administration of justice, thereby seriously eroding their independence.
- 59 Security legislation also introduced into the law a definition of sabotage so broad and all encompassing as to render virtually all forms of dissent illegal or dangerous. Peaceful protest and non-violent civil disobedience no longer seemed a viable option and, faced with the choice 'to submit or fight', as Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) expressed it in its launch statement, the resort to illegality and armed struggle was inevitable. With the benefit of hindsight, it is now possible to see how, in its efforts to crush all opposition in the early 1960s, the government sowed the seeds of its eventual destruction.

The 'ethnic project'

- 60 The second response of the government, as indicated earlier, was an attempt to counter the growing sense of racial or African nationalist identity, with its aspirations to replace white minority hegemony with majority rule. This it did by attempting to deflect these sentiments along particularistic (ethnic) lines and endeavouring to create avenues for political expression within ethnic categories.
- 61 This was the intention of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act in 1959. This piece of legislation simultaneously abolished indirect political representation of Africans in Parliament and made provision for the transformation of the African reserves (or 'homelands' as they came to be called in the 1960s) through various stages of self-government to eventual fully-fledged independent status.

- 62 There was nothing particularly new or unique to this approach. In fact, it was a resort to long-established colonial practice in Africa. As Mamdani¹¹ has noted, other European colonisers had:

confronted the dilemma that the institutions of racial supremacy inevitably generated a racial identity not only amongst its beneficiaries, but also amongst its victims. Their solution was to link racial exclusion to ethnic inclusion: the majority that had been excluded on racial grounds would now appear as a series of ethnic minorities, each included in an ethnically-defined political process. The point was to render racial supremacy secure by eroding the racial identity of the oppressed, by fracturing it into so many ethnic identities.

- 63 While acknowledging that the National Party was “primarily concerned with maintaining our right to self-determination”, former President De Klerk¹² argued that the bantustan project “was not without idealism”:

We thought we could solve the complex problems that confronted us by giving each of the ten distinguishable black South African nations self-government and independence within the core areas they had traditionally occupied. In this way we would create a commonwealth of South African states - each independent but all co-operating on a confederal basis with one another within an economic common market

- 64 Beyond political idealism, Mr De Klerk articulated a development dimension, pointing to the construction of ten capital cities:

each with its own parliament, quite impressive government buildings ... several well-endowed universities ... By 1975 some 77 new towns had been established and 130 204 new houses had been built. Between 1952 and 1975 the number of hospital beds in the homelands increased from some 5 000 to 34 689. Decentralised industries were developed and hundreds of millions of rands were pumped into the traditional areas in a futile attempt to stem the flood of people to the supposedly ‘white’ cities.

11 Mahmood Mamdani, ‘Reconciliation without Justice’, *Southern Review of Books*, November/December 1996.

12 In his second submission to the Commission on behalf of the National Party, 23 March 1997.

- 65 Such intentions notwithstanding, as a political project it failed; though it could be argued that it bought the government some time. However, far from producing the hoped-for political nirvana for the African majority, the bantustans degenerated into what one commentator once described as a “constellation of casinos”. More seriously, they became riddled with corruption and, as the expenditure referred to by Mr De Klerk suggests, a never-ending drain on the central government’s treasury.
- 66 More significantly, the political idealism of an envisaged ethno-nationalist commonwealth was undermined by homeland leaders who displayed varying degrees of despotism. Far from becoming part of the government’s solution, therefore, the bantustans rapidly became part of the problem, acting as a spur and a means to mobilise for the alternative inclusive and non-racial nationalism of the ANC and its allies.
- 67 Despite this, the manipulation of ethnicity represented by the bantustans became a critical component of the government’s contra-mobilisation or counter-revolutionary warfare programme in the 1980s. It was a line of approach which spawned the Caprivi hit squads in KwaZulu and countrywide vigilante forces like the *Witdoeke*, as well as the surrogate armies or elements in the region, like UNITA, RENAMO, the Lesotho Liberation Army and Zimbabwean dissident groups.

■ THE LAW AND VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

- 68 Violence has been the single most determining factor in South African political history. The reference, however, is not simply to physical or overt violence - the violence of the gun - but also to the violence of the law or what is often referred to as institutional or structural violence.
- 69 White dominance in South Africa in the period covered by the Commission’s mandate was founded on colonial conquest, a condition consequent upon more than 200 years of near-continuous interracial conflict which began with the first migration of white settlers in the mid-seventeenth century. Initial penetration was relatively simple as the first encounters of these new northward-moving migrants were with nomadic pastoralists with little or no military tradition.

- 70 Beyond them, however, were more formidable opponents. Originally southward-moving migrants themselves, these were now independent and, in some cases, powerful nations; state systems with hierarchic authority structures and deep-rooted military traditions. Like the northward-moving migrants, they farmed land, exploited natural resources and raised stock. Conflict was inevitable and, contrary to the myth propagated by some schools of local historiography, it did not take the form a series of one-sided victories and defeats.
- 71 The reality is that the conquest of the South African interior was achieved only in slow stages and was interspersed with setbacks and even defeats for the white intruders. Inevitably, however, the contest between firearms and assegais could have only one ending. By the twentieth century, the backbone of armed black resistance was broken and the independence of the people surrendered or ceded to 'protectorate status'.
- 72 Indigenous resistance did not, however, cease. It transformed itself into political and constitutional forms of struggle. But neither did the violence of the victors end. Subjugation by the gun gave way to legislative subjugation as one law after another sought to consolidate the gains of two centuries of overt violence. Stripped bare, the 1913 Land Act was an act of violence, a brutal separation of people from their essential means of sustenance. So too was much of the repressive legislation that followed down the years. Laws tore millions of workers from their families, forcing them to work in white areas and live in enclosed compounds to which their families had no access. Laws forced people to work for grossly insufficient remuneration and to endure the indignity of pay scales determined not by competence or experience, but by race. Laws forced people from their homes and communities and from their ancestral lands. Laws dictated with whom one might and might not have sex, marry or even drink. Laws allowed people to die rather than violate 'whites-only' hospital edicts, and then determined in which plot of ground they could be buried.
- 73 This preoccupation of the government with the law, with due constitutional process, with obtaining a legislative mandate for whatever acts (however heinous) it or its security forces committed, was frequently commented upon favourably by political analysts of the 1960s and 1970s. It was also often used to mount a defence of the system. The argument made was that it was at least a system of law, albeit bad law, and thus preferable to the military or political dictatorships to the north.

- 74 What these analysts failed to acknowledge was that the law was a veneer. Twentieth century law in South Africa, to paraphrase Hannah Arendt, made crime legal. Mamdani made a similar point to the Commission when he described apartheid law as “crime which was institutionalised as the law”.¹³
- 75 Thus, these laws arose not out of reverence for justice and due process, but out of a wish to legitimise the system. Beyond that even, the process of legitimation provided a means to self-justification for those whose task it was to pass, enforce and defend the law.
- 76 However, in the 1980s, when the state was in crisis, it became clear that the law had run its course; that it could no longer do the job. The law had become ineffective, an apparent obstruction to the restoration of what government leaders, seemingly oblivious to the irony, called ‘law and order’. At this stage, real rule-making power shifted from Parliament and the Cabinet to a non-elected administrative body, the State Security Council (SSC) which operated beyond public scrutiny. Nominally a sub-organ of the Cabinet, in reality the SSC eclipsed it as the key locus of power and authority in matters relating to security.
- 77 In his presentation to the Commission on the state’s counter-revolutionary warfare principles and strategy¹⁴, Craig Williamson provided an explanation of how this situation came about. He argued that, in the context of insurgency and counter-insurgency theory (particularly as developed by McKuen), a democratic state is often “limited by its laws, values and norms in the methods it can use to defeat an insurgent movement”. Its solution is to resort to “extra-legal counter-revolutionary acts, as long as they are done secretly”. The South African state, he argued, reached this stage in the 1980s:

The counter-insurgency elements of the police and military ... felt that a democratic state using democratic methods could never withstand a concerted Soviet-backed revolutionary effort. Their solution was to suspend democratic freedoms and to militarise South African society ...

13 Commission symposium, 1997.

14 Craig Williamson, ‘Aspects of State Counter-revolutionary Warfare Principles and Strategy: Republic of South Africa in the 1980s’, submission to the Commission, 9 October 1997.

78 The result was a:

drift ... more and more towards a militarily dominated state. This expressed itself in para-military action in support of the state, while ensuring that the state's sponsorship thereof was kept secret ... In this context results become more important than legality. The eleventh commandment was well known, especially to those in the covert/special force elements of the security forces. This was 'Thou shalt not be found out'

79 It was not Parliament therefore, but the State Security Council that stood at the apex of the secretive National Security Management System. Initially it targeted members of 'terrorist' groups operating outside of South Africa, as well as their supporters and hosts. Then, from the mid-1980s, it began focusing on its opponents inside South Africa. Of course, the word murder was never used but euphemisms like '*eliminassie*', '*verwyder*', '*neutraliseer*' and '*uitwis*' are to be found in some of the SSC policy documents adopted in the 1980s.

80 To many, notably those in the leadership in the government and security forces in the 1980s, the conclusion that the state sanctioned murder may and probably will be an unpalatable assertion. It is also probably not what the Commission expected to find when it started its work two years ago. It is, however, a 'truth' to which it has been drawn by the evidence.

Setting up the Commission

■ SETTING UP

- 1 The President appointed the following persons as commissioners of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and their names were published in the Government Gazette (No. 16885) on 15 December 1995. They were Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Chairperson), Dr Alex Boraine (Vice-Chairperson), Ms Mary Burton, Adv Chris de Jager, the Revd Bongani Finca, Ms Sisi Khampepe, Mr Richard Lyster, Mr Wynand Malan, the Revd Dr Khoza Mgojo, Ms Hlengiwe Mkhize, Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza, Dr Wendy Orr, Adv Denzil Potgieter, Dr Mapule F Ramashala, Dr Fazel Randera, Ms Yasmin Sooka and Ms Glenda Wildschut.
- 2 The Commission held its first meeting at Bishopscourt, the residence of the Archbishop of Cape Town, on the Day of Reconciliation, 16 December 1995. It was decided that the national office of the Commission would be in Cape Town, and commissioners were allocated the following committees:
 - a The Human Rights Violations Committee: Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Chairperson), Mr Wynand Malan (Vice-Chairperson), Ms Yasmin Sooka (Vice-Chairperson), Dr Alex Boraine, Ms Mary Burton, the Revd Bongani Finca, Mr Richard Lyster, and Dr Fazel Randera.
 - b The Amnesty Committee: Adv Chris de Jager, Ms Sisi Khampepe and Adv Denzil Potgieter.¹
 - c The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee: Ms Hlengiwe Mkhize (Chairperson), Dr Wendy Orr (Vice-Chairperson), the Revd Dr Khoza Mgojo, Dr Mapule F Ramashala and Ms Glenda Wildschut.
 - d Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza was appointed as head of the Investigation Unit.²

¹ After taking legal advice to the effect that only two commissioners could serve on the Amnesty Committee, it was decided that Adv Potgieter should serve on the Human Rights Violations Committee. A number of changes were made to the composition of the Amnesty Committee later in the life of the Commission. See the administrative report of the Amnesty Committee in this volume.

² It was subsequently agreed that Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza should also serve on the Human Rights Violations Committee.

- 3 It was also agreed that the Department of Justice would assist in the process of establishing the offices and infrastructure of the Commission.
- 4 On 8 January 1996, the Human Rights Violations Committee held its first meeting at the Johannesburg International Airport. A work plan for the Committee was tabled and discussed. It was agreed that the Committee would need to function in a decentralised manner.
- 5 The full Commission held its second meeting on 22 - 26 January 1996 when a wide range of topics was discussed and decisions were made. After reviewing and discussing the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act), the Commission agreed that it would maintain regional offices in four centres, namely Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and East London. It agreed further that the headquarters of the Amnesty Committee would be in Cape Town, while the headquarters of both the Human Rights Violations Committee and the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee would be in Johannesburg. There was a series of discussions on the role of the Investigation Unit, the management of information, the need for a sophisticated database, a media and communication strategy for the Commission, and the need for the safety and security of Commission staff and resources. An organisational plan outlining the staffing structure of the Commission was tabled and discussed, and the Commission agreed to advertise for staff without delay. Other matters discussed included the recording and transcription of meetings and hearings, and assistance offered by international donors.
- 6 The third full meeting of the Commission was held on the 13 and 14 February 1996. This meeting approved a full staffing plan together with job descriptions and the appointment of a finance manager, a head of research, a human resources manager and a human resources officer. The finance manager was mandated to draw up a budget without delay. Finally, the meeting agreed that the following commissioners would be responsible for the Commission's regional offices: Dr Wendy Orr (Cape Town), Dr Fazel Randera (Johannesburg), the Revd Bongani Finca (East London) and Mr Richard Lyster (Durban).

■ THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL AND REGIONAL OFFICES

The national office and Cape Town regional office

- 7 At its second meeting in January 1996, the Commission agreed that the national office would be at 106 Adderley Street, Cape Town and, to save costs, the Cape Town regional office would be located in the same building.
- 8 The lease was signed to commence on 1 March 1996, and the offices were renovated and certain structural changes were made. They were ready for occupation shortly prior to that date. It took almost the entire month of March to equip and furnish the offices properly and to put proper administrative systems in place. The office was only fully functional from early April 1996.

The Johannesburg regional office

- 9 At its second meeting in January 1996, the Commission agreed that the Johannesburg regional office would be located in the Sanlam Building at the corner of Jeppe and Von Wielligh streets in Johannesburg.
- 10 Temporary office space was provided in the Sanlam Building from 15 January 1996. Floor plans for the Johannesburg office were complete by mid-February 1996, and the offices were constructed and ready for occupation by the third week of March 1996. Furniture and office equipment were installed at this time, and a few administrative and secretarial positions were filled in order to allow the office to begin to function. The office was fully staffed and functional by early May 1996.

The East London regional office

- 11 At its third meeting in February 1996, the Commission agreed that the East London regional office would be located in the NBS Building, 15 Terminus Street.
- 12 The first phase of occupation began on 1 March 1996 and entailed the provision of offices for one commissioner, two committee members and two secretaries. The second phase of occupation began on 5 March 1996, when the regional

manager was employed. From that time on, new office space and furniture were acquired as new staff members were employed. The core staff was in place by 25 March 1996.

- 13 A satellite office was opened in Port Elizabeth and staffed by personnel previously based in East London together with some new appointees.

The Durban regional office

- 14 At its third meeting in February 1996, the Commission agreed that the Durban regional office would be located in Metlife House, 391 Smith Street, Durban.
- 15 The offices were ready for occupation by 15 March 1996. Twelve staff members had been employed by 25 March 1996 and basic office equipment and furniture had been purchased. The majority of staff had been employed by 13 May 1996 at which stage the office was fully operational.
- 16 A satellite office was opened in Bloemfontein in May 1996, where staff was recruited quickly because of its relatively small size. The office became functional almost immediately.

■ CONCLUSION

- 17 The Commission moved relatively rapidly to establish itself. It was virtually inoperative during December 1995 and early January 1996, partly because this is traditionally a holiday period, and partly because certain commissioners had to terminate or arrange leaves of absence from their previous employment. It took an additional three to four months, with some regional variation, for the Commission to establish its infrastructure and to advertise and employ sufficient staff to begin functioning close to full capacity. The Commission was satisfied that the start-up phase was completed in a professional and efficient manner.

The Mandate

■ INTRODUCTION

I have the privilege and responsibility to introduce today a Bill which provides a pathway, a stepping stone, towards the historic bridge of which the Constitution speaks whereby our society can leave behind the past of a deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and commence the journey towards a future founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful co-existence, and development opportunities for all South Africans irrespective of colour, race, class, belief or sex.

Its substance is the very essence of the constitutional commitment to reconciliation and the reconstruction of society. Its purpose is to provide that secure foundation which the Constitution enjoins: ‘...for the people of South Africa to transcend the divisions and strife of the past, which generated gross human rights violations... and a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge’.

Dullah Omar, Minister of Justice introducing the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act in Parliament, 17 May 1995

- 1 The spirit and intention of the Postamble to the interim Constitution is captured in the Preamble of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No 34 of 1995 (the Act) and provides the framework within which the establishment and mandate of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) must be understood.
- 2 The Commission was conceived as part of the bridge-building process designed to help lead the nation away from a deeply divided past to a future founded on the recognition of human rights and democracy. Its purpose needs to be understood in the context of a number of other instruments aimed at the promotion of democracy, such as the Land Claims Court, the Constitutional Court and the Human Rights, Gender and Youth Commissions, all institutional ‘tools’ in the transformation of South African society.

- 3 One of the main tasks of the Commission was to uncover as much as possible of the truth about past gross violations of human rights - a difficult and often very unpleasant task. The Commission was founded, however, in the belief that this task was necessary for the promotion of reconciliation and national unity. In other words, the telling of the truth about past gross human rights violations, as viewed from different perspectives, facilitates the process of understanding our divided pasts, whilst the public acknowledgement of 'untold suffering and injustice' (Preamble to the Act) helps to restore the dignity of victims and afford perpetrators the opportunity to come to terms with their own past.¹
- 4 In the course of fulfilling its mandate, it became clear to the Commission that organs of civil society – such as faith communities, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs) and ordinary citizens - all have a role to play in achieving the goal of national unity. South Africans will need to continue to work towards unity and reconciliation long after the closure of the Commission. In the words of a participant at a public meeting of the Commission, we need to ensure that "reconciliation is a way of life". Another acknowledged that the Commission could do no more than 'kick start' the process.
- 5 This chapter describes the specific contribution of the Commission to the bridge-building process in post-apartheid South Africa. It will provide a brief overview of the historical and legislative origins of the Commission and of the objectives and functions of the Commission as prescribed by the Act. It will also deal in some detail with the Commission's interpretation and implementation of its mandate. The difficult and often contested decisions taken by the Commission in this regard will be highlighted.

■ HISTORICAL AND LEGISLATIVE ORIGINS

- 6 The first call for a South African truth commission came from the African National Congress (ANC) before the first democratic elections in 1994. Professor Kader Asmal mooted the idea on his installation as Professor of Human Rights Law at the University of the Western Cape on 25 May 1992, saying:

We must take the past seriously as it holds the key to the future. The issues of structural violence, of unjust and inequitable economic social arrangements, of balanced development in the future cannot be properly dealt with unless there is a conscious understanding of the past.

¹ See chapter on *Concepts and Principles*.

- 7 Soon afterwards, Asmal's call became a firm proposal of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, following an investigation of accusations that the ANC-in-exile had perpetrated human rights violations in some of its camps. In response to the allegations, the ANC set up its own internal commissions of enquiry, the Stuart, Skweyiya and Motsuenyane commissions. The reports of these commissions confirmed that gross human rights violations had taken place in the camps. The National Executive Committee accepted the criticisms levelled at the organisation. It expressed the view, however, that the violations committed by the ANC should be seen against the background of the human rights violations that had taken place in South Africa over a much longer period. It proposed the appointment of a truth commission as a way of achieving this. This was perhaps the first time in history that a liberation movement or government-in-waiting had called for an independent investigation of this kind, aimed at enquiring into allegations of violations of human rights not only by the previous regime, but also by its own members.
- 8 In the meantime, the negotiations that would bring apartheid and political conflict to an end and herald the introduction of democracy in South Africa had begun. They took place within an international framework, which increasingly emphasised the importance of human rights and the need to deal with past human rights violations.
- 9 The negotiations process began seriously with the Groote Schuur Minute in early May 1990. In terms of the Minute, a working group was established to make recommendations, amongst other things, on a definition of political offences in the South African situation, and to advise on norms and mechanisms to deal with the release of political prisoners. On 21 May, the working group found that, while there was legislation allowing for the pardon or release of people who had already been sentenced or were awaiting appeals, new legislation would be required in respect of people who had not been charged. This resulted in the 1990 Indemnity Act.
- 10 The working group also produced findings concerning political offences. It recommended that, as there was no generally accepted definition of a political offence or political prisoners in international law, principles of extradition law should be used to develop guidelines. In terms of these principles, the working group concluded that cases should be dealt with on an individual basis; that certain offences (such as treason) were of a purely political nature, and that criminal acts of a serious nature ('even murder') might be regarded as political offences.

- 11 The working group also proposed that an adaptation of the Norgaard Principles² be used in making the relevant decisions. These took into account aspects such as motive, context, the nature of the political objective, the legal and factual nature of the offence (for example, rape could never be considered a political offence), the object of the offence and whether the act was committed in the execution of an order and with the approval of the organisation concerned.
- 12 The recommendations were accepted with some amendments in terms of the Pretoria Minute on 6 August 1990. However, in the Government Gazette, recording acceptance of the Pretoria Minute, published on 7 November, the words 'even murder' were inexplicably left out – an omission that caused significant problems subsequently.
- 13 It was agreed that the South African Constitution, the Prisons Act and the 1990 Indemnity Act would be used and that 'a group of wise men' would be appointed to deal with releases and the granting of indemnity. Although the group was supposed to consist of three government and three ANC-appointed judges, the three ANC nominees refused to participate because of a ruling that deliberations had to be held in secret and they felt they could be compromised if the Indemnity Board rejected a recommendation.
- 14 In early 1992, negotiations collapsed completely for a number of reasons, including the fact that some fifteen to twenty key ANC members were still in prison. Negotiations were finally resumed after the signing of the Record of Understanding, which signalled a commitment to begin talks again and contained an agreement to review the whole question of political prisoners. Critical to this was a review of the contentious category of 'murder', one of the causes of the dispute that brought negotiations to an end. The Record of Understanding contained the following sentence:

The two parties are agreed that all prisoners whose imprisonment is related to political conflict of the past and whose release could make a contribution to reconciliation should be released.

- 15 One hundred and forty-nine prisoners were released with immediate effect and without any formal process at all. However, when the third Indemnity Act of 1992 was passed, the category of 'murder' was still not included, despite the undertaking in the Record of Understanding to review the contentious issue of political prisoners.

² Professor Carl Aage Norgaard is former President of the European Commission on Human Rights. He developed criteria to help define politically-motivated offences in Namibia, which became known as the Norgaard Principles.

- 16 A day or so before the elections in 1994, President De Klerk, allegedly without consultation with the ANC and other political parties, authorised the release and indemnity of about eighty to one hundred people. However, by this stage, anyone who had committed a crime which, according to the terms of the Record of Understanding, involved some political motivation was up for possible release.
- 17 During the pre-election period, very few members of the security forces had applied for indemnity, possibly in the expectation of a general amnesty. However, only days before the election, when it became clear that there would be no general amnesty, a relatively large number of security force members applied for indemnity under the 1992 legislation. Their applications were unsuccessful because they failed to disclose details about acts for which they were seeking amnesty as required by the legislation.³
- 18 After the conclusion of the Record of Understanding, the focus shifted to the question of how a future democratic government would deal with amnesties for political offences and especially for the security forces. Two matters were settled relatively early. It was agreed, in the first place, that actions taken in terms of apartheid law would not merely for that reason be regarded as illegal and that there would be no Nuremberg-type trials for the many human rights violations legally committed in the course of implementing apartheid.
- 19 Furthermore, it was agreed that there would be some form of amnesty for politically-motivated offences committed in the past. The government insisted on a form of blanket amnesty, while most other parties demanded that amnesty should be linked to some form of truth commission process. A compromise was eventually reached only after the finalisation of the rest of the interim Constitution and was recorded in what became known as the 'Postamble'. This provided that there would be amnesty for politically-motivated offences, and that future legislation would provide the criteria and procedures to regulate the process.
- 20 A number of NGOs and others played a role in preparing the ground for a truth commission. There were one or two major conferences, attended by leading scholars and human rights practitioners, that stimulated wide debate in civil society and in Parliament.
- 21 The new government introduced the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Bill in Parliament in November 1994. The Bill provided for

³ After the elections, the Minister of Justice set up what became known as the Currin committee to deal with some 1 000 outstanding applications, using previous releases as a yardstick. The majority of the recommendations made to President Mandela and his two deputy presidents were accepted.

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

- 22 It is important to note the uniquely open and transparent nature of the process that preceded the adoption of the Bill. Civil society played an influential role in the months of debate and compromise leading to its adoption. The parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Justice conducted extensive public hearings. As a direct result of these public hearings and the pressure exerted by civil society, the parliamentary Portfolio Committee made a significant change to the Bill, as follows.
- 23 One of the compromises reached between the ANC and the National Party (NP) when the Bill was discussed in Cabinet had been that amnesty hearings should be held behind closed doors. Human rights organisations and other NGOs successfully contested this and the principle of open hearings, except where it defeated the ends of justice, was won. The Bill was signed into law by the President on 19 July 1995⁴ and came into effect on 1 December 1995 after the Commissioners had been appointed. The appointment process was also open and transparent. Despite the fact that the legislation gave the President the authority to decide who would serve on the Commission, President Mandela decided to appoint a broadly representative committee to assist him in the process of identifying the commissioners. Organisations of civil society participated in the process by nominating prospective commissioners and monitoring the hearings which led to the appointments. The committee called for nominations and 299 names were received. After the public hearings, a list of twenty-five names was submitted to President Mandela. The President consulted with his Cabinet and with the heads of the political parties and appointed the required seventeen commissioners.

⁴ The Freedom Front voted against the adoption of the Bill because the cut-off date for amnesty was not advanced from 5 December 1993 to 10 May 1994 (leaving white right-wingers vulnerable to prosecution for politically motivated crimes committed during that period). There had been reluctance to extend the cut-off date as the previous date had been set in order to provide for a peaceful climate in which to prepare for and conduct elections. It was later agreed between the Commission and the President that the date should be extended for the sake of reconciliation. The Inkatha Freedom Party abstained on the grounds that it feared a lack of even-handedness.

■ WHY THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMISSION IS DIFFERENT FROM OTHER COMMISSIONS

- 24 In order to appreciate the difficulties the Commission faced in implementing its mandate, it is helpful briefly to consider some of the unique features of the South African Commission and how it compares with other similar commissions created in recent years.
- 25 The most important difference between the South African Commission and others was that it was the first to be given the power to grant amnesty to individual perpetrators. No other state had combined this quasi-judicial power with the investigative tasks of a truth-seeking body. More typically, where amnesty was introduced to protect perpetrators from being prosecuted for the crimes of the past, the provision was broad and unconditional, with no requirement for individual application or confession of particular crimes. The South African format had the advantage that it elicited detailed accounts from perpetrators and institutions, unlike commissions elsewhere which have received very little co-operation from those responsible for past abuses.
- 26 Another significant difference can be found in the Commission's powers of *subpoena*, search and seizure, which are much stronger than those of other truth commissions. This has led to more thorough internal investigation and direct questioning of witnesses, including those who were implicated in violations and did not apply for amnesty. None of the Latin American commissions, for example, was granted the power to compel witnesses or perpetrators to come forward with evidence, and these commissions have had great difficulty in obtaining official written records from the government and the armed forces.
- 27 The very public process of the South African Commission also distinguishes it from other commissions. While a few have held public victim hearings (such as Uganda in the late 1980s), such hearings have been far fewer in number than in South Africa. The Latin American truth commissions heard testimony only in private, and information only emerged with the release of the final reports.
- 28 The South African hearings also included aspects of enquiry not seen elsewhere: for example, the institutional and special hearings. These allowed for direct contributions by NGOs and those who were involved in specific areas of activism, policy proposals and monitoring in the past. Few other commissions have included such interaction with 'non-victim' public actors.

- 29 The South African Commission was the first to create a witness protection programme. This strengthened its investigative powers and allowed witnesses to come forward with information they feared might put them at risk.
- 30 Finally, the South African Commission was several times larger in terms of staff and budget than any commission before it.⁵

■ OBJECTIVES AND FUNCTIONS AS PRESCRIBED IN THE ACT

- 31 The Act identified the following objectives and functions:

3. (1) The objectives of the Commission shall be to promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflicts and divisions of the past by-

- a establishing as complete a picture as possible of the causes, nature and extent of the gross violations of human rights which were committed during the period from 1 March 1960 to the cut-off date, including the antecedents, circumstances, factors and context of such violations, as well as the perspectives of the victims and the motives and perspectives of the persons responsible for the commission of the violations, by conducting investigations and holding hearings;*
- b facilitating the granting of amnesty to persons who make full disclosure of all the relevant facts relating to acts associated with a political objective and comply with the requirements of this Act;*
- c establishing and making known the fate or whereabouts of victims and by restoring the human and civil dignity of such victims by granting them an opportunity to relate their own accounts of the violations of which they are the victims, and by recommending reparation measures in respect of them;*
- d compiling a report providing as comprehensive an account as possible of the activities and findings of the Commission contemplated in paragraphs (a), (b) and (c), and which contains recommendations of measures to prevent the future violations of human rights.*

⁵ Based on an analysis by Priscilla Hayner. See also Kritz, N.(ed), 1995. Transitional Justice, Volumes 2 and 3. Washington: United States Institute of Peace.

(2) The provisions of subsection (1) shall not be interpreted as limiting the power of the Commission to investigate or make recommendations concerning any matter with a view to promoting or achieving national unity and reconciliation within the context of this Act.

4. The functions of the Commission shall be to achieve its objectives, and to that end the Commission shall-

- a facilitate, and where necessary initiate or co-ordinate, inquiries into- (i) gross violations of human rights, including violations which were part of a systematic pattern of abuse; (ii) the nature, causes and extent of gross violations of human rights, including the antecedents, circumstances, factors, context, motives and perspectives which led to such violations; (iii) the identity of all persons, authorities, institutions and organisations involved in such violations; (iv) the question whether such violations were the result of deliberate planning on the part of the State or a former state or any of their organs, or of any political organisation, liberation movement or other group or individual; and (v) accountability, political or otherwise, for any such violation;*
- b facilitate, and initiate or co-ordinate, the gathering of information and the receiving of evidence from any person, including persons claiming to be victims of such violations or the representatives of such victims, which establish the identity of victims of such violations, their fate or present whereabouts and the nature and extent of the harm suffered by such victims;*
- c facilitate and promote the granting of amnesty in respect of acts associated with political objectives, by receiving from persons desiring to make a full disclosure of all the relevant facts relating to such acts, applications for the granting of amnesty in respect of such acts, and transmitting such applications to the Committee on Amnesty for its decision, and by publishing decisions granting amnesty in the Gazette;*
- d determine what articles have been destroyed by any person in order to conceal violations of human rights or acts associated with a political objective;*
- e prepare a comprehensive report which sets out its activities and findings, based on factual and objective information and evidence collected or received by it or placed at its disposal;*

- f make recommendations to the President with regard to- (i) the policy which should be followed or measures which should be taken with regard to the granting of reparation to victims or the taking of other measures aimed at rehabilitating and restoring the human and civil dignity of victims; (ii) measures which should be taken to grant urgent interim reparation to victims;*
- g make recommendations to the Minister with regard to the development of a limited witness protection programme for the purposes of this Act;*
- h make recommendations to the President with regard to the creation of institutions conducive to a stable and fair society and the institutional, administrative and legislative measures which should be taken or introduced in order to prevent the commission of violations of human rights.*

32 Briefly stated, the Commission was given four major tasks in order to achieve the overall objectives of promoting national unity and reconciliation. These were:

- a analysing and describing the “causes, nature and extent” of gross violations of human rights that occurred between 1 March 1960 and 10 May 1994, including the identification of the individuals and organisations responsible for such violations;
- b making recommendations to the President on measures to prevent future violations of human rights;
- c the restoration of the human and civil dignity of victims of gross human rights violations through testimony and recommendations to the President concerning reparations for victims;
- d granting amnesty to persons who made full disclosure of relevant facts relating to acts associated with a political objective.

■ INTERPRETING THE MANDATE

- 33 The interpretation of the mandate was the outcome of a long process of wrestling with how the Commission should deal with the above-mentioned objectives and functions.
- 34 It was recognised at the outset that the Commission could not carry out all the tasks required of it simultaneously. Thus, it first gave attention to the question of the restoration of the human and civil dignity of (individual) victims of past gross human rights violations. It did so by creating opportunities for victims “to relate their own accounts” of the violations they had suffered by giving testimony at public hearings across the length and breadth of South Africa between April 1996 and June 1997. These highly publicised hearings were coupled with an extensive statement-taking drive, investigations, research and so-called ‘section 29’ hearings (where witnesses and alleged perpetrators were *subpoenaed*) in order to “establish the fate or whereabouts of victims” and the identity of those responsible for human rights violations.
- 35 During the second half of the Commission’s life (from approximately the middle of 1997), the Commission shifted its focus from the stories of individual victims to an attempt to understand the individual and institutional motives and perspectives which gave rise to the gross violations of human rights under examination. It enquired into the contexts and causes of these violations and attempted to establish the political and moral accountability of individuals, organisations and institutions. The goal was to provide the grounds for making recommendations to prevent future human rights violations. Features of this phase were public submissions by, and questioning of, political parties, and a range of institutional, sectoral and special hearings that focused on the health and business sectors, the legal system, the media and faith communities, prisons, women, children and youth, biological and chemical warfare and compulsory national service. It was also during this period that the majority of amnesty hearings took place.
- 36 In the process of interpreting the mandate, a number of difficult and often highly contested decisions had to be taken.

■ TERMINOLOGY

Victims or survivors

- 37 From the outset, the commissioners expressed some discomfort with the use of the word 'victim'. Although the term is commonly enough used when talking about those who suffered under apartheid, it may also be seen to imply a negativity or passivity. Victims are acted upon rather than acting, suffering rather than surviving. The term might therefore be seen as insulting to those who consider that they have survived apartheid or emerged victorious. Unlike the word 'victim', the word 'survivor' has a positive connotation, implying an ability to overcome adversity and even to be strengthened by it. This does not, of course, mean that many (if not all) survivors were not still experiencing the effects of the trauma they had suffered. It also does not mean that all survived. There were, indeed, many who did not survive and on whose behalf others approached the Commission.
- 38 However, when dealing with gross human rights violations committed by perpetrators, the person against whom that violation is committed can only be described as a victim, regardless of whether he or she emerged a survivor. In this sense, the state of mind and survival of the person is irrelevant; it is the intention and action of the perpetrator that creates the condition of being a victim.
- 39 For the sake of consistency, the Commission ultimately decided, in keeping with the language of the Act, to use the word 'victim'. In doing so, however, it acknowledged that many described as victims might be better described and, indeed, might prefer to be described as 'survivors'. Many played so crucial a role in the struggle for democracy that even the term 'survivor' might seem an inadequate description.

Perpetrators

- 40 The use of the word 'perpetrator' to describe all persons found by the Commission to have committed gross violations of human rights was also the source of some discomfort as it made no distinction between the kinds of acts committed, the reasons why they were committed, their consequences or their context. It also does not distinguish between 'perpetrators' who committed one act and those whose entire operation and purpose was the commission of such acts.
- 41 Again, however, the Commission chose to adhere to the terminology of the Act, while recognising sharp differences in the nature and degree of the acts committed.

■ WHO WERE VICTIMS OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS?

42 The Act states that:

... 'gross violation of human rights' means the violation of human rights through - (a) the killing, abduction, torture or severe ill treatment of any person; or (b) any attempt, conspiracy, incitement, instigation, command or procurement to commit an act referred to in paragraph (a), which emanated from conflicts of the past and which was committed during the period 1 March 1960 to 10 May 1994 within or outside the Republic, and the commission of which was advised, planned, directed, commanded or ordered, by any person acting with a political motive (section 1(1)(ix).

43 This definition is a reminder that the responsibility for building the bridge between a dehumanising past and a just and democratic future does not belong to the Commission alone. Furthermore, in making its own limited contribution, the Commission had to walk a tightrope between too wide and too narrow an interpretation of gross violations of human rights. The Commission would have neither the lifespan nor the resources to implement a broadly constituted interpretation. Too narrow an interpretation, on the other hand, might have added insult to the injuries and injustices experienced by the many victims who would have been excluded.

44 Segregation policies and practices have their roots far back in South Africa's colonial past. Building on an inherited social practice, apartheid imposed a legal form of oppression with devastating effects on the majority of South Africans. The NP government came to power in 1948 and, over almost half a century, apartheid became the warp and weft of the experience of all who lived in South Africa, defining their privilege and their disadvantage, their poverty and wealth, their public and private lives and their very identity.

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

I have seen the bewilderment of simple rural people when they are told they must leave their homes where they have lived for generations and go to a strange place. I have heard their cry of hopelessness and resignation and their pleas for help. I have seen the sufferings of whole families living in a tent or a tiny tin hut. Of children sick with typhoid, or their bodies emaciated with malnutrition and even dying of plain starvation.⁶

- 46 Apartheid redrew the map of South Africa. The wealth, the cities, the mines, parks and the best beaches became part of white South Africa. A meagre thirteen per cent of largely barren land was parcelled out in a series of homelands in which African people were forced to live, while the able-bodied were driven to seek a living as migrant labourers in the cities. And, as legislation formalised the divide between African, Indian, coloured and white, so the apartheid government sought, too, to divide African people on the basis of ethnicity.
- 47 ‘Separate development’ was the magic formula. All over South Africa, public buildings and amenities were divided and sometimes even duplicated according to race group, retaining the best for the white group. African, Indian and coloured children were thrown out of city parks. Beaches and benches, trains and buses, and other public facilities and spaces were allocated according to the racial divisions of apartheid. Separate meant far from equal and often resulted in no facilities at all for those who were not white. Private sector space was also subjected to rules: banks, restaurants, shops, places of worship, bottle stores, hotels and cinemas were all segregated, often by legislation and often by self-imposed segregation.
- 48 Private life too was dominated by apartheid. Who you knew, whom you consorted with, whom you worked with and how you conducted your relationships all depended on remaining within your group. Law prohibited marriages and sexual relationships across the colour line. Even entertainment between races was severely restricted by curfews and a prohibition on serving drink to African people.
- 49 One of the most iniquitous acts of apartheid was the separation of educational facilities and the creation of the infamous system of Bantu education. Mission schools which had provided some schooling to African people were closed down and generation after generation of African children were subjected to teaching that was deeply inferior in quality to that of their white counterparts.

⁶ Dumping Grounds, Christian Institute: Johannesburg, Second Edition, circa 1970.

Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, the 'architect' of apartheid, said:

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

- 50 Indian and coloured people were subjected to similar restrictions. The notorious Group Areas legislation moved people out of their homes and trading areas and onto the fringes of the cities. Separate education, separate amenities and other restrictions bounded their lives.
- 51 It is this systemic and all-pervading character of apartheid that provides the background for the present investigation. During the apartheid years, people did many evil things. Some of these are the gross violations of human rights with which this Commission had to deal. But it can never be forgotten that the system itself was evil, inhumane and degrading for the many millions who became its second and third class citizens. Amongst its many crimes, perhaps the greatest was its power to humiliate, to denigrate and to remove the self-confidence, self-esteem and dignity of its millions of victims. Mtutuzeli Matshoba expressed it thus:

*For neither am I a man in the eyes of the law,
Nor am I a man in the eyes of my fellow man.*⁸

- 52 In a submission to the Commission, Justice Pius Langa, currently the Deputy President of the Constitutional Court, wrote of his life under apartheid:

My first real encounter with the legal system was as a young workseeker in Durban ... in 1956. It was during that period that I experienced the frustration, indignity and humiliation of being subject to certain of the provisions of the Population Registration Act, no. 30 of 1950, the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, no. 25 of 1945 as well as other discriminatory legislation of that time... The immediate impact on me was severe disillusionment at the unfairness and injustice of it all. I could never understand why race should have been the determinant of where I should live and where I could work. I was never able to understand why, whilst still a teenager, I was expected to live at a men's hostel and needed a permit to

⁷ Quoted in *Illustrated History of South Africa: the Real Story*, Readers Digest: Cape Town, 1988.

⁸ Mtutuzeli Matshoba, *Call Me Not a Man*, Ravan Press, 1979, page 18.

stay with my parents in the township... In that first flush of youth, I had thought I could do anything, aspire to anything and that nothing could stop me. I was wrong. My dreams came up against the harsh apartheid realities. The insensitive, demeaning and often hostile environment it had created around me proved to have been crafted too well; it was designed to discourage those who, like me, sought to improve their circumstances and those of their communities...

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

It was one thing, however, having the overtly discriminatory and repressive laws on the statute book. Their ugliness was exacerbated to a large degree by the crude, cruel and unfeeling way in which many of the officials, black and white, put them into operation. There was a culture of hostility and intimidation against those who came to be processed or for assistance. The face presented by authority, in general, was of a war against people who were unenfranchised and human dignity was the main casualty.

- 53 A deep awareness of this systematic discrimination and dehumanisation made it very difficult for the Commission to concentrate only on those whose rights had been violated through acts of killing, torture, abduction and severe ill treatment.

- 54 For example, during the earlier information-gathering phase of the Commission's work, the category that required most attention was that of 'severe ill treatment'. The ordinary meaning of 'severe ill treatment' suggests that all those whose rights had been violated during the conflicts of the past were covered by this definition and fell, therefore, within the mandate of the Commission. This view was expressed in the submissions of a number of organisations and groups representing, for example, victims of forced removals and Bantu education.
- 55 While taking these submissions very seriously, the Commission resolved that its mandate was to give attention to human rights violations committed as specific acts, resulting in severe physical and/or mental injury, in the course of past political conflict. As such, the focus of its work was not on the effects of laws passed by the apartheid government, nor on general policies of that government or of other organisations, however morally offensive these may have been. This underlines the importance of understanding the Commission as but one of several instruments responsible for transformation and bridge-building in post-apartheid South Africa.
- 56 The mandate of the Commission was to focus on what might be termed 'bodily integrity rights', rights that are enshrined in the new South African Constitution and under international law. These include the right to life⁹, the right to be free from torture¹⁰, the right to be free from cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment¹¹ and the right to freedom and security of the person, including freedom from abduction and arbitrary and prolonged detention¹².
- 57 But bodily integrity rights are not the only fundamental rights. When a person has no food to eat, or when someone is dying because of an illness that access to basic health care could have prevented - that is, when subsistence rights are violated - rights to political participation and freedom of speech become meaningless.
- 58 Thus, a strong argument can be made that the violations of human rights caused by 'separate development' - for example, by migrant labour, forced removals, bantustans, Bantu education and so on - had, and continue to have, the most negative possible impact on the lives of the majority of South Africans. The

9 SA Constitution, section 11; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), article 6.

10 SA Constitution, section 12(1)(d); ICCPR, article 7.

11 SA Constitution, section 12(1)(e); ICCPR, article 7.

12 SA Constitution, sections 12(1)(a)-(b) and 35(1)(d); ICCPR, article 9.

consequences of these violations cannot be measured only in the human lives lost through deaths, detentions, dirty tricks and disappearances, but in the human lives withered away through enforced poverty and other kinds of deprivation.

- 59 Hence, the Commission fully recognised that large-scale human rights violations were committed through legislation designed to enforce apartheid, through security legislation designed to criminalise resistance to the state, and through similar legislation passed by governments in the homelands. Its task, however, was limited to examining those ‘gross violations of human rights’ as defined in the Act. This should not be taken to mean, however, that those ‘gross violations of human rights’ (killing, torture, abduction and severe ill treatment) were the only very serious human rights violations that occurred.

■ EVEN-HANDEDNESS

- 60 The Commission was obliged by statute to deal even-handedly with all victims. Its actions when dealing with individual victims were guided, amongst other things, by the principle that “victims shall be treated equally without discrimination of any kind”(section 11(b)). In so doing, it acknowledged the tragedy of human suffering wherever it occurred.
- 61 This does not mean, however, that moral judgement was suspended or that the Commission made no distinction between violations committed by those defending apartheid and those committed to its eradication.
- 62 In this regard, it is important to remember that other aspects of the Commission’s mandate required that it:
- a facilitate inquiries into the nature, causes and extent of gross violations of human rights, including the antecedents, circumstances, factors, context, motives and perspectives that led to such violations;
 - b establish organisational involvement and responsibility and identify all persons, authorities, institutions and organisations involved in gross violations of human rights;

- c determine whether gross violations of human rights were part of deliberate planning on the part of the state or an organisation;
 - d discuss whether gross violations of human rights were part of a systematic pattern of abuse;
 - e make recommendations on the creation of institutions conducive to a stable and fair society and on institutional, administrative and legislative measures to prevent the perpetration of human rights violations.
- 63 This part of the mandate, together with the overall objective of promoting reconciliation, clearly required that the Commission be sensitive to a wide range of different perspectives and beliefs concerning past conflicts. In its attempt to reflect accurately and to understand these perspectives, the Commission endeavoured to include people representing different positions in its public hearings. It also made repeated attempts to include those political groupings, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), that chose not to participate in the activities of the Commission.

■ **JUST ENDS, JUST MEANS AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY**

- 64 In making judgements in respect of the above requirements, the Commission was guided by criteria derived from just war theory (which was referred to in several submissions made to the Commission by political parties), international human rights principles and the democratic values inherent in the South African Constitution. By using these criteria, the Commission was able to take clear positions on the evils of apartheid, while also evaluating the actions of those who opposed it.
- 65 The application of some of the principles and criteria of just war theory have proved difficult and controversial, especially when dealing with unconventional wars, that is, wars of national liberation, civil wars and guerrilla wars within states. The distinction between means and cause is a dimension of just war theory that cannot be ignored. Often this distinction is made in terms of justice in war (*jus in bello*) and justice of war (*jus ad bellum*).
- 66 Justice of war evaluates the justifiability of the decision to go to war. The two basic criteria guiding this evaluation are: first, the justness of the cause (the

underlying principles for which a group is fighting), and second, whether the decision to take up arms was a matter of last resort.

- 67 The doctrine of justice in war states that there are limits to how much force may be used in a particular context and places restrictions on who or what may be targeted. Two principles dominate this body of law:
- a the use of force must be reasonably tailored to a legitimate military end;
 - b certain individuals are entitled to specific protections, making a fundamental distinction between combatants and non-combatants. Thus an enemy soldier who is armed and ready for combat may be harmed and even killed, but a civilian or a sick, wounded or captured soldier may not be harmed.
- 68 What implications did this have for the Commission? Can the acts of political violence by those who struggled against apartheid, on the one hand, and by the agents and defenders of the apartheid state, on the other, be morally equated?

Justice of war

- 69 As far as the question of the justice of the South African conflicts was concerned, the Commission was faced with competing claims of just causes from various parties to the conflicts of the past. In seeking to address these, the Commission took into consideration factors such as the Cold War and the international and regional contexts. These were raised by the NP and the Freedom Front (FF) in many amnesty applications and in the submission by Mr Craig Williamson. The Commission accepted that many people had clearly believed that they were fighting against Communism and anarchy and not, in the first place, for apartheid.¹³
- 70 At the same time, these acts of war were also ultimately undertaken in defence of the ruling white minority and the apartheid state. In international law, this system of enforced racial separation and discrimination was itself found to be a crime against humanity (see the appendix to this chapter). Thus, those who fought against the system of apartheid were clearly fighting for a just cause, and those who sought to uphold and sustain apartheid cannot be morally equated with those who sought to remove and oppose it.

13 See also report on *Compulsory Military Service (Conscription)*

- 71 The application of ‘the last resort’ criterion in just war theory obviously yields a less straightforward answer. Submissions to the Commission by the NP, FF and the IFP contested the necessity for the resort to armed resistance by the liberation movements. This matter will always be the subject of debate. However, any analysis of human rights violations which occurred during the conflicts of the past, and any attempt to prevent a recurrence of such violations, must take cognisance of the fact that, at the heart of the conflict, stood an illegal, oppressive and inhuman system imposed on the majority of South Africans without their consent. There had, over many decades, been numerous attempts by those opposed to this system to bring about change by non-violent means, before resorting to armed resistance.
- 72 The immorality and illegality of apartheid was acknowledged by most of the political party submissions and thus does not reflect the bias of any one perspective. Indeed, in his appearance before the Commission in May 1997, former State President de Klerk himself described apartheid as a system that caused great suffering to millions of people. This recognition was reflected in numerous other important submissions to the Commission, including:
- a five of the most senior judges, on behalf of the judiciary past and present, declared in a submission to the Commission that apartheid was, in itself, a gross violation of human rights;
 - b four former NP cabinet ministers, testifying in the Commission’s hearing on the State Security Council, acknowledged that apartheid had no moral basis;
 - c the Western Cape regional synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, in conformity with the position adopted by most major religious institutions, declared that apartheid as a system of enforced racial discrimination was wrong and sinful, not only in its effects and operations, but also in its fundamental nature.
- 73 The recognition of apartheid as an oppressive and inhuman system of social engineering is a crucial point of departure for the promotion and protection of human rights and the advancement of reconciliation in South Africa. It is thus a great sign of hope to the Commission and to the future of the South African nation that, during the 1980s, the early 1990s and during the life of the Commission, increasing numbers of those who formulated and implemented apartheid have recognised not only the political unsustainability but also the immorality of this system.

Justice in war

- 74 The Commission's confirmation of the fact that the apartheid system was a crime against humanity does not mean that all acts carried out in order to destroy apartheid were necessarily legal, moral and acceptable. The Commission concurred with the international consensus that those who were fighting for a just cause were under an obligation to employ just means in the conduct of this fight.
- 75 As far as justice in war is concerned, the framework within which the Commission made its findings was in accordance with international law and the views and findings of international organisations and judicial bodies. The strict prohibitions against torture and abduction and the grave wrong of killing and injuring defenceless people, civilians and soldiers 'out of combat' required the Commission to conclude that not all acts in war could be regarded as morally or legally legitimate, even where the cause was just.
- 76 It is for this reason that the Commission considered the concept of crimes against humanity at both a systemic level and at the level of specific acts. Apartheid as a system was a crime against humanity, but it was also possible for acts carried out by any of the parties to the conflicts of the past to be classified as human rights violations.

State and non-state actors

- 77 Thus, the Commission adopted the view that human rights violations could be committed by any group or person inside or outside the state: by persons within the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the IFP, the South African Police (SAP), the South African Defence Force (SADF), the ANC or any other organisation.
- 78 It is important to note, however, that this wider application of human rights principles to non-state entities is a relatively recent international development. Traditionally, human rights focused on relations between state and citizens and on protecting the individual from the power of the state. Private non-state entities were not subject to the same restrictions and scrutiny. The traditional exceptions to this have been found in the area of war crimes and crimes against humanity which, even under the traditional definition of human rights, can be committed by any individual or entity.

- 79 The Act establishing the Commission adopted this more modern position. In other words, it did not make a finding of a gross violation of human rights conditional on a finding of state action. This extended view of human rights prohibitions reflects modern developments in international human rights law. It also contributes to national unity and reconciliation by treating individual victims with equal respect, regardless of whether the harm was caused by an official of the state or of the liberation movements.
- 80 At the same time, it must be said that those with the most power to abuse must carry the heaviest responsibility. It is a matter of the gravest concern when the state, which holds the monopoly on public force and is charged with protecting the rights of citizens, uses that force to violate those rights. The state has a whole range of powerful institutions at its disposal - the police, the judicial system, the mass media, parliament - with which it may denounce, investigate and punish human rights violations by private citizens or non-governmental groups. When this power is used to violate the rights of its citizens, as described in the report of the Chilean commission, their normal vulnerability is transformed into utter defencelessness.
- 81 This sensitivity to the unequal power relationships between state and non-state agents should be seen as an attempt to help lay the foundation for the rehabilitation of state institutions in order to hold present and future governments accountable for their use and abuse of power. It is thus central to the effort to prevent future violations of human rights.

■ DEFINING GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

- 82 The Act did not provide clear guidelines for the interpretation of the definition of “gross violations of human rights”. In order to determine which acts constituted gross violations of human rights, it was important to interpret the definition and to consider whether there were any limitations excluding particular acts from this definition. The Act used neutral concepts or terms to describe the various acts that constituted a gross violation of human rights. For example, ‘killing’ and ‘abduction’ were used rather than murder or kidnapping. Clearly, the intention was to try to avoid introducing concepts with a particular content in terms of the applicable domestic criminal law. This was to avoid equating what

was essentially a commission of enquiry with a court of law. If the full array of legal technicalities and nuances had been introduced into the work and decision-making functions of the Commission, its task would have been rendered immensely complex and time-consuming. It would also have contradicted the clear intention that the Commission should fulfil its mandate as expeditiously as possible. It could also have opened the way for a repetition of past injustices, with victims of the political conflict being excluded by legal technicalities from claiming compensation for their losses. Thus, it was clear that the underlying objective of the legislators was to make it possible for the Commission to recognise and acknowledge as many people as possible as victims of the past political conflict. This objective, in its turn, was central to the Commission's overall task to promote national unity and reconciliation.

- 83 Two distinct enquiries were envisaged by the Act insofar as it concerned the question of gross violations of human rights:
- a Was a gross violation of human rights committed and what was the identity of the victim? (section 4(b))
 - b What was the identity of those involved in such violations and what was their accountability for such violations? (section 4(a)(iii), (v))
- 84 The first is a factual question about the conduct involved: in other words, does the violation suffered by the victim amount to one of the acts enumerated in the definition? This enquiry does not involve the issue of accountability. The question of whether or not the conduct of the perpetrator is justified is irrelevant. This was in accordance with the intention to allow as many potential victims as possible to benefit from the Commission's process.
- 85 The second enquiry is stricter and more circumscribed, involving technical questions like accountability. Findings emerging at this level of enquiry may have grave implications and impinge upon the fundamental rights of alleged perpetrators. This enquiry involves, therefore, both factual and legal questions.
- 86 Hence, the Commission could find that a gross human rights violation had been committed because there was a victim of that violation. It had, however, to apply a more stringent test in order to hold a perpetrator accountable for that violation.

- 87 It was in relation to this more rigorous test that issues such as justification were taken into account. A perpetrator could not be held accountable if the conduct in question was legally justified. Thus, for example, a person who killed in self defence could not be held accountable as a perpetrator of a gross violation of human rights. This raised the question of whether the notion of unlawfulness was implicit in the definition of gross violations of human rights in the Act. In other words, must a particular act be unlawful for it to amount to a violation of human rights in the sense of a crime or a delict? In order to answer this question, it is important to take into account the fact that the issue of justification (for example, self defence and necessity) does not affect the nature of conduct but excuses its consequences. A legitimate killing in self defence still amounts to the deprivation of life and a violation of the right to life, but the law does not hold the perpetrator liable for the consequence of this conduct. Thus, although justification does not affect the nature of the act, it does affect the issue of accountability.
- 88 As a consequence, the position adopted by the Commission was that any killing, abduction, torture or severe ill treatment which met the other requirements of the definition amounted to a gross violation of human rights, regardless of whether or not the perpetrator could be held accountable for the conduct.
- 89 It is important to note that the categories of victims and perpetrators are defined in terms of specific acts, such as killing. The categories are not, however, mutually exclusive. Thus, for example, a person who may, in one situation, be a victim of severe ill treatment by the police may, in another, become a perpetrator of a gross violation of human rights through his or her killing of a political opponent.
- 90 This position was applied to a large majority of violations which took place as a result of what might loosely be termed civilian conflict: for example, conflicts between IFP and ANC or United Democratic Front (UDF) supporters or between youth and the police in townships.

Armed conflict between combatants

- 91 The political conflicts of the past were not only of a 'civilian' nature. Several of the political groupings had an armed wing. The state used its armed forces to put down resistance and to engage in military actions in the southern African region. The Commission had particular difficulty in attempting to define and reach consensus on its mandate in this respect. Some argued that all killed and injured combatants should be included as victims of gross human rights violations. Others wanted to maintain a distinction between those defending the apartheid state and those seeking to bring it down. It was noted that members of the armed forces involved in these combat situations did not expect to be treated as victims of gross violations of human rights. This was illustrated in the submissions of political parties such as the NP and the ANC, which did not identify their members killed in combat as victims. In the end, the Commission decided to follow the guidelines provided by the body of norms and rules contained in international humanitarian law.
- 92 Armed conflicts between clearly identified combatants thus provided the only exception to the Commission's position that victims of gross violations of human rights should include all who were killed, tortured (and so on) through politically-motivated actions within the mandated period.
- 93 With regard to specific aspects of the armed conflicts referred to above, the Commission was guided by international humanitarian law, particularly as contained in the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the two Additional Protocols of 1977. Since the Commission was not a tribunal and therefore not required to pass legal judgements, only the basic concepts and principles underlying these laws were taken into consideration.
- 94 International humanitarian law attempts to provide as much protection as possible to those faced with the harsh realities of armed conflicts, irrespective of what caused them. It therefore places limits on the means and methods used in warfare, declaring certain acts impermissible, while other acts, even some of those involving killing, are not regarded as violations. To understand this distinction, the two essential concepts of 'combatant' and 'protected person' need to be clarified.
- 95 Article 43 (paragraphs 1 and 2) of Additional Protocol 1 of 1977 defines combatant as follows:

The armed forces of a Party to the conflict consist of all organised armed forces, groups, and units that are under a command responsible to that Party for the conduct of its subordinates...

Members of the armed forces of a Party to the conflict are combatants; that is to say, they have the right to participate directly in hostilities.

96 Protected persons include the following categories of persons:

wounded, sick and shipwrecked members of the armed forces and civilians¹⁴; prisoners of war¹⁵; civilians, including those interned and those on the territory of the enemy or in occupied territories.¹⁶

97 The basic principle is that combatants have the right to participate directly in hostilities. This does not mean that combatants have an unlimited right to kill. What it does mean is that the combatant is allowed to use (lethal) force against enemy combatants in the process of trying to subdue the enemy as quickly as possible. It remains preferable that these enemy combatants should be captured or wounded and not physically destroyed. But deaths do occur in war; that is its inherent evil. While the laws of war may not prohibit such deaths, they are a source of profound moral regret. Combatants who comply with the restrictions imposed by the laws of war are not, therefore, personally liable for the consequences of their acts. Thus, the laws regulating justness in war provide no prohibition on certain acts of violence committed by any party to an armed conflict, regardless of the justness of that party's cause.

98 However, when a combatant uses force in an armed conflict against a protected person – that is someone who does not or who can no longer use force and thus cannot defend him or herself – such acts break international humanitarian law and those responsible must be held accountable. The laws of war provide minimum protections that apply in all armed conflicts. These protections are found in Common Article 3 of the four 1949 Geneva Conventions, which reads:

Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of the armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed hors de combat [outside combat] by sickness, wounds, detention, or any other cause, shall in all

14 Geneva Convention I,II,IV, art 13

15 Geneva Convention III, art 4.

16 Geneva Convention IV, art 47; Protocol I, articles 48-50. At 32, 'Civilians' are those who are not 'combatants'.

circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth, or any similar criteria.

To this end, the following acts are and shall remain prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever with respect to the above-mentioned persons:

- (a) violence to the life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture;*
- (b) taking of hostages;*
- (c) outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment;*
- (d) the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgement pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognised as indispensable by civilised peoples. (See also Protocol I, art 75).*

- 99 Historically, when such violations have occurred in an international, as opposed to internal, armed conflict they constitute ‘grave breaches’¹⁷ which may be prosecuted by any state. This distinction between international and internal armed conflicts is less relevant today, as the laws of war have evolved to regulate more closely the use of force in all situations of armed conflict.
- 100 It is, furthermore, very important to note that the Geneva Conventions, both in their terms and as they have been interpreted, are inclusive in the protections they offer. In other words, if there is doubt about whether a particular person is entitled to certain protections provided by the Conventions, then it is presumed that such an individual should be protected. (See Protocol I, art 45.1, 50.1).
- 101 It must also be emphasised that the concepts of combatant and protected person are not necessarily opposites. When a combatant is wounded or surrenders, he or she becomes a protected person without losing combatant status. In other words, in order to decide whether someone was killed or injured as a combatant, two questions must be asked: first, was the person a member of an organised or regular armed force, and second, was the person in or out of combat?

¹⁷ Geneva Convention I, art 50; Protocol I, art 85. ‘Grave breaches’ include the following acts against persons or property protected by the Convention: wilful killing, torture or inhuman treatment, wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health.

102 The practice followed by the Commission was in accordance with these two considerations. The Commission also adopted the principle of giving the benefit of the doubt to those whose status as combatants or protected persons was unclear. These norms were applied as follows to the acts of killing, attempted killing and severe ill treatment falling within the Commission's mandate:

- a SADF soldiers or SAP members acting as soldiers (for example members of the Koevoet Unit) who were killed or seriously injured in combat (during, for example, the Namibian and Angolan 'border wars') and Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) or Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (APLA) soldiers killed or seriously injured in combat were not viewed as victims of gross violations of human rights as defined by the Act. This is consistent with the position taken in the submissions made to the Commission by the NP, FF, the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and the ANC.
- b Those combatants who were killed or seriously injured while they were unarmed or out of combat, executed after they had been captured, or wounded when they clearly could have been arrested were held to be victims of gross violations of human rights, and those responsible were held accountable.
- c In cases where the Commission could not determine whether a combatant was out of combat, and therefore regarded as a protected person, it followed the precedent set by international humanitarian law. The Commission gave the benefit of the doubt to people killed or seriously injured in uncertain circumstances and found them to be victims of gross violations of human rights.
- d Conscripted soldiers in the SADF were defined as combatants, even where the system of conscription obliged them to perform military service against their will, threatening heavy penalties if they did not do so. Like all combatants, they may have qualified as victims of a gross violation of human rights in certain circumstances, such as being subjected to torture or killed when injured.

Victims of the armed conflict

103 Soldiers on either side of the political divide, whether they were permanent force soldiers, conscripts or volunteers, as well as their families and loved ones, were, of course, victims in a more general sense. They were victims of the

armed political conflict of the past and their deaths, injuries and losses should be remembered and mourned.

- 104 In a number of cases that came before the Commission, however, the decision was more complex.
- 105 In respect of the first consideration - namely, whether the person was a member of an "organised force ... under a command responsible to [a] Party to the conflict"¹⁸ - the Commission was faced with the problem of how to categorise members of a variety of more or less organised armed groupings. These ranged from relatively well to poorly organised self-defence units (SDUs), self-protection units (SPUs) and vigilante groupings, under varying degrees of control by the ANC, the IFP, the state or other political formations. Some units were well trained and ostensibly under military control, although at times they operated on their own initiative. Others were little more than bands of politically motivated youth, acting on example and exhortation. Many SDUs, for example, were 'acknowledged' by MK, and even given some weapons and training, but were far from its chain of command.
- 106 The Commission had great difficulty in dealing with these cases. In the end, given the lack of information on the degree of control and the nature of the combat situation, it decided to employ the narrow definition of combatants. This meant that, in general, cases involving members of the above organisations were treated in the same way as non-combatants (as described above). However, where clear evidence emerged, on a case-by-case basis, of direct military engagement by members of these groupings, they were regarded as combatants.
- 107 A second difficulty arose around the question of whether members of the SAP and of other armed forces (such as the SADF and homeland defence forces) were in or out of combat when called upon to perform policing duties in the townships (the word used to describe residential areas for people classified as black). Further, should those who killed or injured police in the townships be regarded as in or out of combat? In general, the Commission did not treat these as combat situations, although it remained open to treating specific cases as combat situations where there was sufficient evidence to do so.

¹⁸ *Additional Protocol 1*, Article 43, para 1.

108 Thus, the Commission made a conscious decision to err on the side of inclusivity – finding that most killings and serious injuries were gross violations of human rights rather than the result of the legitimate use of force. Where the evidence of a combat situation was clear, however, the traditional laws of war were applied.

■ MAKING FINDINGS OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

109 As the Commission embarked on the road of seeking to restore the dignity of victims through extensive statement taking and public hearings, it was confronted with the sometimes difficult task of interpreting the categories of acts contained in the definition of gross violations of human rights, and of formulating criteria to determine the ‘political’ motivation of these acts of killing, torture, abduction and severe ill treatment.

Torture and abduction

110 ‘Torture’ and ‘abduction’ were relatively easy to define. The following internationally accepted definition of torture guided the Commission in its work:

The intentional infliction of severe pain and suffering, whether physical or mental, on a person for the purpose of (1) obtaining from that or another person information or a confession, or (2) punishing him for an act that he or a third person committed or is suspected of having committed, or (3) intimidating him or a third person, or (4) for any reason based on discrimination of any kind. Pain or suffering that arises only from, inherent in, or incidental to, a lawful sanction does not qualify as torture.¹⁹

111 ‘Abduction’ was defined as the forcible and illegal removal or capturing of a person. This definition did not include arrests and detentions that satisfied universally recognised international human rights standards, nor the capturing of an enemy soldier in a situation of armed conflict. It was a category applied in the majority of cases where people ‘disappeared’ after having last been seen in the custody of the police or of other persons who were using force.

19 Article 1(1), Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

Killing

- 112 In defining the category of 'killing', some difficulties were presented by the killing of combatants. The Commission's position in this regard is discussed earlier in this chapter. Many killings reported to the Commission were of people described as innocent bystanders caught in the crossfire. These were found to be victims of gross violations of human rights if the other conditions were fulfilled.
- 113 The Commission considered the executions of activists or other persons for politically-motivated crimes both within the established legal system and in other settings (for example, in 'peoples' courts', or in tribunals or summary hearings conducted by the liberation movements). After considerable debate, the Commission agreed to consider all such executions, whether carried out by the state or the liberation movements, as gross violations of human rights. This decision was taken in the light of the need to promote a national and international human rights culture. It also took into account the lack of legitimacy of the legal system and the laws of the time, as well as the absence of minimal due process protections and proper forums of adjudication.

Severe ill treatment

- 114 'Severe ill treatment' is not a term that is recognised either in South African or in international law, although South African law recognises concepts such as grievous bodily harm and ill treatment. Both South African constitutional law and international law do, however, recognise cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, which is sometimes colloquially referred to as ill treatment.
- 115 Severe ill treatment can be broadly defined.²⁰ The legislators included this category to give the Commission some discretion or flexibility in determining the breadth of the mandate. In defining severe ill treatment, the Commission was mindful of the general principle of legal interpretation which holds that terms found in sequence are presumed to be similar in kind. In other words, the acts constituting 'severe ill treatment' were intended to be interpreted as similar in degree to other acts described (that is, killing, torture, and abduction). The

20 Generally, human rights prohibitions are defined broadly rather than narrowly. See, for example, 'Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment', (G.A. res. 43/173, annex, 43 UN GAOR Supp (No. 49) at 298, UN Doc. A/43/49 (1988)). Principle 6 holds that the prohibition against cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment should be interpreted "so as to extend to the widest possible protection of abuses."

Commission also examined similar concepts in South African and international law to provide contextual support for a working definition. The international prohibition against cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, for example, clearly encompasses a broader category of violations than that intended by severe ill treatment.²¹ The category of ill treatment found in South African law is also clearly broader in scope than severe ill treatment.²² The Commission's definition of severe ill treatment was thus designed to include the extreme acts of "cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment" under international law, and ill treatment under South African law.

116 In the light of these considerations, the following definition of severe ill treatment was adopted:

Acts or omissions that deliberately and directly inflict severe mental or physical suffering on a victim, taking into account the context and nature of the act or omission and the nature of the victim.

117 Whether an act or omission constituted severe ill treatment was thus determined on a case-by-case basis²³. The Commission determined that, in order to qualify as severe ill treatment, an act should meet the general criteria that apply to all gross violations of human rights.²⁴

118 In addition, the following factors were to be taken into account in determining whether particular suffering or hardship was severe: first, duration (the longer the suffering or hardship lasted, the more easily it qualified as severe); second, physical or mental effects (the more serious and permanent the physical or mental effects, the more severe the treatment); third, the age, strength and state of health of the victim. The very young and the very old, the weak and the infirm required less suffering or hardship to meet the criteria of severe. These criteria

21 In a memorandum to the parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Justice, the Chief State Law Adviser defined severe ill treatment as 'extreme maltreatment or cruelty.' This narrowing of the scope of severe ill treatment is not inconsistent with the generally broad definition of human rights prohibitions. The Commission was not created to prevent or prohibit all contemporary violations of human rights on an ongoing basis, but to analyse and describe a particular subset of human rights abuses that occurred in the past.

22 In determining the scope of the prohibition against inhuman or degrading treatment, the European Court of Human Rights has noted that there are certain acts of violence that do not reach the minimum level of severity necessary to fall under the prohibition. Thus certain rough treatment of prisoners in custody, such as a few slaps or blows of the hand to the head or face would not be prohibited and do not qualify as severe ill treatment. (However, repeated blows to the head resulting in severe injury would clearly fall under the prohibition of both cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment and severe ill treatment). See European Commission on Human Rights Appl. No. 5310/71; 1976 Yearbook, European Convention on Human Rights 512. See also Denmark, France, Norway, Sweden and Netherlands v Greece (1969) 12 Yearbook 501 (European Commission of Human Rights), and Ireland v United Kingdom, Opinions of 1976, at pp. 388-389 (Commission opinion of 25 January 1976).

23 This case-by-case approach with an emphasis on context is, in fact, the approach taken by South African courts with respect to 'illtreatment'. See *S v Lewis*, 1987 (3) SA 24 (C) (Brennan, J.) where it was argued that severe is a relative concept, meaning more severe than the circumstances warrant.

24 See above definition of gross violations of human rights.

were interdependent - the more one criterion was satisfied, the less relevant were the others. In other words, a severe beating of a sick, elderly person might have qualified as severe ill treatment even though the beating lasted less than a minute.

119 By applying the above criteria, the following acts were regarded as constituting severe ill treatment:

- a rape and punitive solitary confinement;
- b sexual assault, abuse or harassment;
- c physical beating resulting in serious injuries;
- d people shot and injured during demonstrations;
- e burnings (including those caused by fire, petrol, chemicals, and hot liquid);
- f injury by poison, drugs or other chemicals;
- g mutilation (including amputation of body parts, breaking of bones, pulling out of nails, hair, or teeth or scalping);
- h detention without charge or trial;
- i banning or banishment (a punishment inflicted without due process, consisting (a) of the restriction of a person by house arrest, prohibition from being in a group, prohibition from speaking in public or being quoted, or (b) of the enforced transfer of a person from one area to another without the right to leave it);
- j deliberate withholding of food and water to someone in custody with deliberate disregard to the victim's health or well-being;
- k deliberate failure to provide medical attention to ill or injured persons in custody;
- l the destruction of a person's house through arson or other attacks which made it impossible for the person to live there again.

- 120 This list is illustrative and not exhaustive. It consists primarily of acts that have been generally recognised as prohibited under international law. While the above acts and omissions would normally qualify as severe ill treatment, individual cases may not, in fact, have met all the criteria of the definition above and thus may not have qualified as severe ill treatment.

■ POLITICAL CONTEXT AND MOTIVATION

- 121 To implement its mandate, the Commission had, furthermore, to determine the ‘political motive’ of the acts of torture, abduction, killing and severe ill treatment which “emanated from the conflicts of the past” (section 1(1)(x), the Act). Given the complexity of the conflicts that occurred in the past and the fact that the enforcement of apartheid legislation affected every sphere of society, the political nature of specific acts was hard to define.
- 122 In interpreting this part of the definition of gross human rights violations, the Commission was guided by the definition of an “act associated with a political objective” (section 20(2) and (3)). However, it also went further and employed the less restrictive notion of ‘political motive’ (section 1(1)(x)).
- 123 The framework applied in implementing the political requirement was that a violation of human rights within the prescribed period was found to constitute a gross violation of human rights if it was advised, planned, directed, commanded, ordered or committed by:
- a any member or supporter of a publicly known political organisation or liberation movement on behalf of or in support of that organisation or movement, in furtherance of a political struggle waged by that organisation or movement (section 20(2)(a)). This included not only membership of or support for political organisations like the PAC or the ANC, but also membership of youth and community-based organisations. Trade unions were also included in this description (given the suppression of purely political organisations and the resultant political role that unions played), as was general resistance to the previous state through, for example, rent boycotts.
 - b any employee of the state (or any former state) or any member of the security forces of the state (or any former state) in the course and scope of his or her duties and directed against a publicly known political organisation or

liberation movement engaged in a political struggle against the state (or former state) or against any members or supporters of such organisation or movement or any person in furtherance of a political struggle. The act in question must have been committed with the objective of countering or otherwise resisting the said struggle (section 20(2)(b)).

124 Whether these violations “emanated from the conflicts of the past” was decided with reference to the following criteria:

- a the context in which the violation took place, and in particular whether it occurred in the course of or as part of a political uprising, disturbance or event, or in reaction thereto (section 20(3)(b)), for example, protests, ‘stay aways’, strikes and demonstrations;
- b the objective being pursued, and in particular whether the conduct was primarily directed at a political opponent or state property or personnel or against private property or individuals (section 20(3)(d));
- c whether it was the result of deliberate planning on the part of the state (or former state) or any of its organs, or on the part of any political organisation, liberation movement or other group or individual (section 4(a)(iv)).

125 In a number of cases that came before the Commission, it was difficult to apply this framework. These included cases of the following types:

Labour conflicts

126 In the case of gross violations of human rights primarily related to labour conflicts (and not to the more narrowly defined political conflicts of the past), it was possible to differentiate further between:

- a those which fell outside the Commission’s mandate because, on closer examination, there was no clear political context. Typical of this type were cases relating to the abuse of farm workers;
- b those that fell inside the mandate because a deeper probe revealed that the context was clearly political. For example, where a labour union linked to a specific political organisation was used to attack workers from a union linked

to another political organisation (as in the Durnacol coal mine conflicts in Northern KwaZulu-Natal in 1990), or where a labour-related conflict became the basis for clear political protest (as in Saldanha in 1987), or many actions in the course of trade union activity. The banning of political organisations often made trade unions the vehicles through which political struggles were waged.

Racism

- 127 There were cases in which people were victims of racist attack by individuals who were not involved with a publicly known political organisation and where the incident did not form part of a specific political conflict. Although racism was at the heart of the South African political order, and although such cases were clearly a violation of the victim's rights, such violations did not fall within the Commission's mandate.
- 128 Cases which were interpreted as falling inside the Commission's mandate included instances where racism was used to mobilise people through a political organisation as part of their commitment to a political struggle, or where racism was used by a political organisation to incite others to violence. Examples of these were instances when white 'settlers' or farmers were killed by supporters of the PAC or the ANC, or where black people were killed by supporters of white right-wing organisations.

Criminality

- 129 These included cases that appeared to be criminal but which had a strong political overlay. Classic examples were many of the violations committed by 'special constables'²⁵ while engaging in unlawful activities or off-duty harassment of local residents. It could be argued that these were criminal and not political acts and therefore fell outside the mandate. The Commission's response was to view these acts within their political context - the nature, purpose and function of this kind of police force had been to institute a permanent armed presence. Clearly, the violations and the patterns of violations that resulted from deploying these poorly trained, politicised and armed people in communities should have been foreseen by those who were behind this contra-mobilisation force. Unless acts committed were clearly aberrations - for example, shooting the owner of a *shebeen*, or raping someone in circumstances which indicated that it was a random crime - the Commission concluded that these acts were politically motivated.

²⁵ Nicknamed *kitskonstabels* (instant constables) because they were admitted to the police after a crash course.

- 130 These also included acts by so-called 'bad apples' within the security forces; in other words, it was claimed that certain acts had fallen outside the duties and orders given to, for example, security police based at Vlakplaas. In some cases, there were disputes between former state agents and former politicians about whether these acts were reasonable interpretations of deliberately vague, unwritten orders to 'deal firmly with the unrest', to 'do what has to be done' and so on. In such cases, the Commission gave the benefit of the doubt to victims and included them in its mandate where an interpretation of such an order was reasonable, taking into account all the facts and circumstances. Many of these acts were clearly criminal. However, the fact that they took place over a long period and that little or no action was taken against these employees of the state, gave the Commission grounds to regard them as political. By failing to act, the state condoned these 'private' acts, thus neglecting its duty to protect its citizens against crime.
- 131 These also included 'third force' related actions, for example, drive-by shootings, train violence, and some manifestations of the taxi violence and similar events. Even where it was not possible clearly to identify the perpetrator as acting for a 'third force', victims of such incidents were found to have suffered gross human rights violations if the circumstances of the cases warranted it. All such matters were considered on a case-by-case basis.

Convictions for politically motivated acts

- 132 One of the most difficult decisions related to whether conviction and sentencing (often to unusually long periods of imprisonment) for 'public violence', or for offences defined in terms of other legislation specific either to the apartheid period or state of emergency regulations, could be considered gross violations of human rights. Factors that had to be taken into consideration were whether such provisions would now be in contravention of the South African Constitution, whether the severity of the sentence was out of proportion to the offence and whether there had been abuses in relation to due process. It was clear that the Commission could not recreate a court situation and review a conviction. Nevertheless, the Commission decided that, in certain cases, people who had been convicted in such circumstances could be deemed to have suffered a gross violation of their human rights. Again, these were dealt with on a case-by-case basis. If there was clear and compelling new evidence, the matter might be referred to the authorities for a possible re-opening of the trial. As with capital punishment, the Commission's task was not to make a 'perpetrator finding' in relation to the court which had passed the sentence, but to decide whether or not there had been a gross violation of human rights.

■ CLOSED LIST OF VICTIMS

- 133 The decision to establish a finite list of victims was taken fairly late in the process of gathering information about violations. Initially, in keeping with the spirit of inclusivity that governed the work of the Commission, it was felt that all victims of gross violations of human rights that had been shown to have taken place should be considered.
- 134 As the work of taking statements and investigating allegations progressed, however, it became increasingly clear that there would be no value in simply handing the government a list which included a broad category of unidentified persons for consideration as victims deserving of reparations.
- 135 After a great deal of discussion, it was acknowledged that the Commission had the capacity to corroborate only those statements that it had actually received. There was, moreover, an inherent justice in dealing with the statements of those who had taken the trouble to approach the Commission to make a statement. After all, the Commission had made considerable efforts to reach all parts of the country and to disseminate information on how to make a statement. Those who had chosen not to do so should not, therefore, be included. It was recognised, however, that some had elected not to make statements as a matter of political choice, a position that was respected.
- 136 Furthermore, it would have been unrealistic to give the government what would, in effect, have been an open-ended list and, on this basis, to expect the state to make a commitment to paying reparations. The Commission resolved, therefore, to confine the number of victims eligible for reparations to three areas:
- a victims who personally made statements to the Commission;
 - b victims named in a statement made by a relative or other interested person (for example a colleague, friend or neighbour); in other words, statements made on behalf of and in the interests of specific persons.
 - c victims identified through the amnesty process.

■ WHO SHOULD BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE?

- 137 The Commission was obliged to identify all persons, authorities, institutions and organisations involved in gross violations of human rights. This meant that it had to go beyond the investigation of those that had actually committed gross violations of human rights and include those who had aided and abetted such acts. This is consistent with the definition of gross violations of human rights, which includes attempts, conspiracy, incitement, instigation, command or procurement to commit such acts.
- 138 The Commission based its conclusions on the evidence brought before it, firstly by people who made statements concerning gross violations of human rights, and secondly, by those who applied for amnesty. It also drew on the Investigation Unit's inspections of inquest records, court records, prison and police registers and on corroborative evidence produced by witnesses. Research into historical documentation produced additional information, and submissions to the Commission, especially from political parties, shed further light. The effort to apportion responsibility for planning, commanding, inciting and so on is discussed in a later chapter.
- 139 Individual responsibility could be laid at the door of specific perpetrators of abuses only once several factors had been taken into account. These included the question of self defence, of proportionality and, in several well-known cases, the doctrine of common purpose.

Accountability: legitimate self defence

- 140 A recent Constitutional Court judgement states that:

Self-defence is recognised by all legal systems. Where a choice has to be made between the lives of two or more people, the life of the innocent is given preference over the life of the aggressor. To deny the innocent person the right to act in self-defence would deny to that individual his or her right to life. ²⁶

- 141 The right to act in self-defence means essentially that, while the use of force against another person is normally unlawful, it is justified in defence of persons, property or other legal interest against an imminent, unlawful attack, provided that the defence is directed against the attacker and is not excessive. Defence against an anticipated future attack or a completed attack is not justified.

²⁶ The State v T. Makwanyane, Case No. CCT/3/94

Defence cannot be a form of punishment or revenge.²⁷ This means that, in cases of legitimate self defence, the person who had no alternative but to kill or seriously injure a person posing an imminent threat to his or her life should not be held criminally responsible for his/her actions.

- 142 The legitimacy of self-defence is often difficult to establish. The task was even more difficult for the Commission, which had to deal with large numbers of cases in a limited period and, therefore, had limited information at its disposal on many specific cases.
- 143 Amongst the most difficult issues the Commission faced in this regard were cases involving SDUs and SPU's and conflicts between ANC- and IFP-aligned people in KwaZulu-Natal, where it was usually not clear who was 'innocent' (defending) and who was 'guilty' (attacking).

Accountability and law enforcement: exercise of police powers

- 144 States normally enjoy a monopoly over the legitimate use of force. Certain bodies and officials, primarily the police services, are empowered to use force to uphold the rule of law and to maintain public order. As in the case of armed conflict, however, the authority to use force to uphold domestic order is not unlimited. Generally, members of the police services are authorised to use a reasonable amount of force in proportion to the threat being addressed or the legitimate ends being pursued. Lethal force should be used only when someone's life is in imminent danger and there is no other reasonable way to control the situation.
- 145 These norms are captured in the Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 17 December 1979 (Resolution 34/169). For the purposes of this part of the Commission's mandate, the most important articles are articles 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 which state:

Law enforcement officials shall at all times fulfil the duty imposed upon them by law, by serving the community and by protecting all persons against illegal acts, consistent with the high degree of responsibility required by their profession.

In the performance of their duty, law enforcement officials shall respect and protect human dignity and maintain and uphold the human rights of all persons.

²⁷ The means must be reasonable under the circumstances; the defence must not cause more harm than that which is necessary to repel the attack. See LAWSA, vol. 6, par 38-46.

Law enforcement officials may use force only when strictly necessary and to the extent required for the performance of their duty.²⁸

No law enforcement official may inflict, instigate or tolerate any act of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, nor may any law enforcement official invoke superior orders or exceptional circumstances such as a state of war or a threat of war, a threat to national security, internal political instability or any other public emergency as a justification of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Law enforcement officials shall ensure the full protection of the health of persons in their custody and, in particular, shall take immediate action to secure medical attention whenever required.

- 146 These norms governing the use of legitimate state power are particularly difficult to apply to the period of South African history prescribed by the Commission's mandate. The large majority of people inside and outside the country increasingly rejected the legitimacy of the state, and activists fighting against apartheid were defined as criminals through the enforcement of harsh, unjust and discriminatory laws.
- 147 However, individual police officers saw it as their duty to enforce laws that many of them did not, at the time, believe to be unjust. Indeed, in the South African context, the police were given very wide powers to use lethal force through, for example, the Criminal Procedure Act. In the overwhelming majority of inquests involving allegations of excessive force, the police members involved were cleared of any misconduct. These included cases arising out of Sharpville, Soweto 1976 and the 'Trojan Horse' incidents in Athlone and Despatch, where local and international human rights organisations condemned the laws which made these acquittals possible and their uncritical application by the judiciary (see submissions on the judicial system).
- 148 Since the Commission had to decide whether specific acts by the SAP or homeland police forces constituted human rights violations and not necessarily whether they were legal or illegal in terms of the relevant domestic laws, it employed the internationally accepted principle of unnecessary or excessive force (described above). In the light of these international norms, the Commission found that, although the applicable South African laws at that time

²⁸ The Commentary on this Article states that "the use of firearms is considered an extreme measure. In general, firearms should not be used except when a suspected offender offers armed resistance or otherwise jeopardises the lives of others and less extreme measures are not sufficient to restrain or apprehend the suspected offender".

might not have been broken, fundamental human rights were often clearly violated. In a number of cases, the Commission was also presented with new and compelling evidence (for example corroborated statements by victims or witnesses) which strengthened the basis upon which it reached conclusions that differed from those reached at most inquests and criminal proceedings regarding police misconduct.

- 149 In determining whether excessive force was used, the Commission determined that it should be guided by the following considerations. First, as a body working to assist in the establishment of a culture of human rights, the Commission followed the inclusive approach to protection found in international humanitarian law. It thus interpreted human rights protections broadly to ensure maximum protection against violations. Second, since the primary duty of the police is to uphold law and order through the apprehension and arrest of those who break the law, the use of lethal force is justified only in extreme situations.

Non-state perpetrators of gross human rights violations

- 150 There were many cases where the Commission found that the use of force by the police was excessive and thus constituted a gross violation of human rights. There were also cases where the Commission found that violence against the police constituted a gross violation of human rights: for example, attempted killings (arson attacks when police were inside their homes) and killings of off-duty police. The latter cases were, however, fewer in number than those involving the police as perpetrators - an unsurprising result given the near monopoly of force exercised by those acting on behalf of a militarily powerful state.
- 151 Killings and severe ill treatment of people seen as informers or collaborators, attacks on people and places seen as part of the oppressive government and conflict between different political groupings, all formed part of the picture of gross human rights violations committed with a political motive.

Naming

- 152 The Act required the publication of the names of those who received amnesty in the Government Gazette. These individuals had already identified themselves as perpetrators by applying for amnesty. The Commission had therefore, to resolve which of the other perpetrators identified in the course of its work should be named in accordance with its mandate - to enquire into "the identity

of all persons, authorities, institutions and organisations” involved in gross human rights violations, as well as the “accountability, political or otherwise, for any such violation” (section 4(a)(iii), (v), the Act).

- 153 In fulfilling this part of its mandate, the Commission was again required to walk a tightrope. This time, it was faced with the tension between the public interest in the exposure of wrongdoing and the need to ensure fair treatment of individuals in what was not a court of law; between the rights of victims of gross violations of human rights to know who was responsible and the fundamentally important question of fairness to those who are accused of crimes or serious wrongdoing.
- 154 The risk of personal injury and hurt to those who are identified as perpetrators is inherent in any attempt to seek the truth through a public enquiry. This can be justified to some extent by:
- a acknowledging the public importance of the Commission's truth-seeking role;
 - b the limited outcome of these findings (the Commission is not a court with the power to punish those identified; legal rights and obligations are not finally determined by the process);
 - c the adoption of a procedure which is fair within the context of an investigative process. (See chapters, *Legal Challenges* and *Methodology and Process*).
- 155 Given the investigative nature of the Commission's process and the limited legal impact of naming, the Commission made findings on the identity of those involved in gross violations of human rights based on the balance of probability. This required a lower burden of proof than that required by the conventional criminal justice system. It meant that, when confronted with different versions of events, the Commission had to decide which version was the more probable, reasonable or likely, after taking all the available evidence into account.
- 156 The kinds of evidence which guided the Commission in identifying those responsible for gross violations of human rights on the basis of the balance of probability included:
- a Identification through court records, confessions, statements implicating people in police dockets, police inquests, and/or previous applications for indemnity.

- b Instances where the Commission's investigations (section 29 hearings or investigative and research work) produced a high degree of corroboration (for example, other witnesses present at the time who supported the victim's statement). An example of a 'high' level of corroboration would be a situation where a witness confirmed the identity of the actual person committing the gross violation of human rights; a 'low' level of corroboration would be where the witness confirmed the event but not the identity of the perpetrator.
- c Instances where names consistently recurred in the statements of people making allegations concerning gross violations of human rights (for example, vigilante groups). Even in such cases, perpetrators would not be named without first being sent a section 30 notice advising them that the Commission intended to name them and allowing them an opportunity to respond. This procedure applied to all instances where persons were at risk of being the subject of an adverse finding.

157 In view of the Commission's commitment to human rights, it approached the issue of naming perpetrators in a number of different ways:

- a No naming occurred where the identities of individuals and institutions involved were unclear.
- b In many cases, where the Commission had insufficient information to send out section 30 notices (see chapters on *Legal Challenges* and *Methodology and Process*) to persons allegedly implicated in gross violations of human rights, such alleged perpetrators were not named.
- c Institutions but not individuals were named where only the institution could be identified. In addition, only the institution was named where the identities of both individuals and institutions were clear, but where it was not possible to verify or clearly determine excessive force or illegitimate claims of self defence. In these situations, it was important to protect the accused individual against potentially unfair accusations.
- d Naming of both individual(s) and institution(s) occurred where sufficient evidence was available to make a finding on the balance of probability and after completion of the correct procedure. This was not a finding of (legal) guilt, but of responsibility for the commission of a gross violation of human rights.

■ CONCLUSION

- 158 This chapter has provided an overview of the historical and legislative origins, as well as the objectives and functions of the Commission. More importantly, it has outlined the Commission's interpretation of its mandate. This was, in many ways, a difficult and highly contested arena, and the resultant interpretation was the result of many hours of debate and careful consideration.
- 159 In subsequent volumes of this report, the mandate is applied to a range of individual cases of alleged gross violations of human rights.

■ APPENDIX: A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY²⁹

- 1 It has been stated that the Commission - as part of the international human rights community - affirms its judgement that apartheid, as a system of enforced racial discrimination and separation, was a crime against humanity. The recognition of apartheid as a crime against humanity remains a fundamental starting point for reconciliation in South Africa. At the same time, the Commission acknowledges that there are those who sincerely believed differently and those, too, who were blinded by their fear of a Communist 'total onslaught'.
- 2 This sharing of the international community's basic moral and legal position on apartheid should not be understood as a call for international criminal prosecution of those who formulated and implemented apartheid policies. Indeed, such a course would militate against the very principles on which this Commission was established.³⁰
- 3 It is important to note that the definition of what constitutes a crime against humanity has evolved considerably since it was first applied after World War II during the Nuremberg trials. There is still some debate about certain technical aspects of this definition. However, there is almost total unanimity within the international community that apartheid as a form of systematic racial discrimination constituted a crime against humanity. Given the confusion in public debates in South Africa surrounding the definition of 'crimes against humanity', it is important to state that a finding of a crime against humanity does not necessarily or automatically involve a finding of genocide. The latter involves conduct "with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, an ethnic or racial group" as required by Article 1 of the Genocide Convention of 1948.³¹

29 The information contained in this appendix has been enhanced through comments by John Dugard, Professor of International Law, University of the Witwatersrand. See also Memorandum of law in support of concluding that apartheid is a crime against humanity, submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission by Lowenstein International Human Rights Law Clinic of Yale Law School, Lawyers Committee for Human Rights and Catherine Admay, Abdullahi An-Na'im, Philip Alston, M. Cherif Bassiouni, Thomas Buergenthal, William S. Dodge, John Dugard, Richard Falk, Gregory H. Fox, Thomas M. Franch, Claudio Grossman, David J. Harris, Cynthia Crawford Lichenstein, Elliot Milstein, Steven R. Ratner, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Ronald C. Slye, Henry Steiner, Ralph G. Steinhardt, Johan D. van der Vyver and Richard J. Wilson.

30 See chapter on *Concepts and Principles*. There was no call for trials by the international community during or after the peaceful transition from apartheid to democracy between 1990 and 1994. It was recognised that the National Party had become an active participant in this transition and that the South African situation was no longer a threat or a potential threat to international peace. At former State President De Klerk's second appearance before the Commission in May 1997, the Commission placed on record its recognition of the vital role Mr De Klerk had played in the dismantling of the apartheid system. See Dugard 1997:275-6. 'Retrospective Justice and the South African Model' in *Transitional Justice and the Rule of Law in New Democracies*, Ed by AJ McAdams, Nôtre Dame: University of Nôtre Dame Press.

31 See Dugard (1997) and submission by Professor Don Foster to the Commission, May 1997.

- 4 As indicated earlier, the definition of crimes against humanity can be applied at two levels. The first level of application, namely to apartheid as a system, flows from the Commission's obligation to enquire into the causes, nature and extent of gross violations of human rights, including the antecedents and context of such violations (section 3(a)). The Commission has concluded that the nature of the conflicts in general and the causes of the violations which occurred in the course of these conflicts cannot be understood without examining the system of apartheid within which they took place.
- 5 The Commission was also required, at a second level of application, to enquire which of the specific acts constituting gross violations of human rights "were part of a systematic pattern of abuse" (section 4(a)).

Organisations, instruments and judicial decisions that declared apartheid a crime against humanity

The United Nations

- 6 The General Assembly on numerous occasions labelled apartheid a crime against humanity³².
- 7 In 1976, the United Nations Security Council unanimously stated that "apartheid is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind."³³
- 8 Subsequent Security Council resolutions expressed agreement with the 1976 resolution.³⁴
- 9 On 13 December 1984, the Security Council passed Resolution 556, which, in Paragraph 1, declared that apartheid is a crime against humanity³⁵.

International conventions and other instruments

- 10 Article 1 of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid adopted by the General Assembly in 1973 stated that apartheid was a crime against humanity.

32 GA Res. 2189; GA Res. 2202; GA Res. 39/72A; GA Res. 2074.

33 Para 3 of Security Council Resolution 392 (19 June 1976) and Security Council Resolution 473 (13 June 1980).

34 See Security Council Resolutions 418 (1977), 473 (1980) and 591 (1986).

35 The Security Council declared that apartheid is a crime against humanity on several other occasions: S.C. Res. 282, Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 25 UN SCOR at 12 (1970); S.C. Res. 311, Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 27 UN SCOR at 10 (1972); S.C. Res. 392, Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 31 UN SCOR at 11 (1976).

- 11 The Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity³⁶ stipulated that “inhuman acts resulting from the policy of apartheid are condemned as crimes against humanity”.
- 12 The 1991 Draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind³⁷ specifically lists apartheid,³⁸ together with other crimes such as genocide³⁹ and exceptionally serious war crimes,⁴⁰ as crimes against the peace and security of mankind.
- 13 Although the 1996 Draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind⁴¹ no longer makes specific reference to apartheid as a separate crime, it does list a set of acts that specifically constitute crimes against humanity. Article 18(f) states:

A crime against humanity means any of the following acts, when committed in a systematic manner or on a large scale and instigated or directed by a government or by any organisation or group: ... (f) institutionalised discrimination on racial, ethnic or religious grounds involving the violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms and resulting in seriously disadvantaging a part of the population.

- 14 The Preamble to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, to which South Africa became a party in 1996, affirms that African states have a duty to:

...achieve the total liberation of Africa, the peoples of which are still struggling for their dignity and genuine independence, and undertak[e] to eliminate colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid [and] Zionism...

- 15 The international community is presently engaged in the establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court which will be given competence to try persons responsible for crimes against humanity. The proposed definitions of crimes against humanity encompass acts of the kind included in the Draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind (1991); that is the kind of acts

36 GA Res. 2391 (XXIII), 23 UN GAOR, Supp. No 18 at 40, UN Doc. A/7218 (1968).

37 Report of the International Law Commission on its Forty-third Session, UN GAOR, 46th Session, Supp. No. 10, at 198, UN Doc. A/46/10 (1991).

38 *Ibid.* Article 20.

39 *Ibid.* Article 19.

40 *Ibid.* Article 22.

41 Report of the International Law Commission on its Forty-eighth Session, UN Doc. A/CN.4/L.522 of 31 May 1996.

committed in execution of the policy of apartheid. The proposed permanent international criminal court will not have retrospective jurisdiction, with the result that those who have committed crimes of apartheid will not fall within its jurisdiction.

The International Law Commission (ILC).

- 16 In its Draft Articles on state responsibility, the ILC defines an international crime as a breach of an international obligation so essential for the protection of the fundamental interests of the international community that it is recognised as a crime by that community as a whole. Among such crimes, the ILC lists slavery, genocide and apartheid⁴².

International courts

The International Court of Justice (ICJ)

- 17 In 1971, the ICJ asserted that:

*Under the Charter of the United Nations, the former Mandatory had pledged itself to observe and respect, in a territory having an international status, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race. To establish instead, and to enforce, distinctions, exclusions, restrictions and limitations exclusively based on the grounds of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin which constitute a denial of fundamental human rights is a flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter.*⁴³

- 18 In the Barcelona Traction Judgement, the ICJ held that:

an essential distinction should be drawn between obligations of a State towards the international community as a whole, and those arising vis-à-vis another State in the field of diplomatic protection. By their very nature the former are the concern of all States. In view of the importance of the rights involved, all States can be held to have a legal interest in their protection; they are obligations erga omnes. Such obligations derive, for example, in contemporary international law, from the outlawing of acts of aggression, and of genocide, and also from the principles and rules concerning the

⁴² Report of the International Law Commission, 28th Sess., UN GAOR, 31st Sess., Supp. No. 10, UN Doc. A/31/10 (1976).

⁴³ Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), 1971 ICJ at 45.

*basic rights of the human person, including protection from slavery and racial discrimination. Some of the corresponding rights of protection have entered into the body of general international law; others are conferred by international instruments of a universal or quasi-universal character.*⁴⁴

- 19 The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia has recently handed down its historic first judgement. The Tribunal found a Bosnian Serb guilty of, *inter alia*, 'crimes against humanity'. The significance of this judgement is evident from the first paragraph of the ruling:

*It is the first determination of individual guilt or innocence in connection with serious violations of international humanitarian law by a truly international tribunal, the International Tribunal being the first such tribunal to be established by the United Nations. The international military tribunals at Nürnberg and Tokyo, its predecessors, were multinational in nature, representing only part of the world community. The International Tribunal was established by the Security Council of the United Nations in 1993, pursuant to resolution 808 of 22 February 1993 and resolution 827 of 25 May 1993.*⁴⁵

- 20 The judgement confirms the view in international law that apartheid is a crime against humanity:

*The customary status of the Nürnberg Charter, and thus the attribution of individual criminal responsibility for the commission of crimes against humanity, was expressly noted by the Secretary-General. Additional codifications of international law have also confirmed the customary law status of the prohibition of crimes against humanity, as well as two of its most egregious manifestations: genocide and apartheid.*⁴⁶

Specific acts classified as crimes against humanity

- 21 The Commission chose to employ for its purposes the most recent definition adopted by the International Law Commission in its 1996 Draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind⁴⁷. It was satisfied that this definition reflects and incorporates many of the legal developments that have occurred since Nuremberg. Article 18 of the 1996 Code defines crimes against humanity thus:

44 Barcelona Traction Light and Power Company, Ltd. (Second Phase, Belgium v Spain), ICJ Reports 1970, p. 32.

45 Judgement of Tadic case, 7 May 1997, para 1. <http://www.un.org.icty/970507it.htm>

46 Judgement of Tadic case, 7 May 1997, para 622. <http://www.un.org.icty/970507it.htm>

47 Report of the International Law Commission, 48th Sess. (6 May – 26 July 1996) U.N. GAOR, 51st Sess., Suppl. No. 10 (A/51/10).

A crime against humanity means any of the following acts, when committed in a systematic manner or on a large scale and instigated or directed by a government or by any organisation or group: (a) murder; (b) extermination; (c) torture; (d) enslavement; (e) persecution on political, racial, religious or ethnic grounds; (f) institutionalised discrimination on racial, ethnic or religious grounds involving the violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms and resulting in seriously disadvantaging a part of the population; (g) arbitrary deportation or forcible transfer of population; (h) forced disappearance of persons; (i) rape, enforced prostitution and other forms of sexual abuse; (j) other inhumane acts which severely damage physical or mental integrity, health or human dignity, such as mutilation and severe bodily harm.

- 22 The following brief commentary on the meaning of certain aspects of the definition allows it to be applied with greater certainty.

Systematic violations or violations on a large scale

- 23 The requirement that crimes against humanity must be committed in a systematic manner or on a large scale excludes acts which, although they are serious violations of human rights, occur in an isolated or random manner. The requirement is framed disjunctively, clearly indicating that it is not necessary for both requirements to be simultaneously satisfied. Simply, acts which occur on a large scale must occur in large numbers, while acts which occur systematically must follow a similar pattern and occur at different times and different places.
- 24 A question recently raised before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia was whether it is possible for a single act to constitute a crime against humanity. In the Tadic judgement, the Tribunal quotes with approval an earlier decision which stated that:

*Crimes against humanity are to be distinguished from war crimes against individuals. In particular, they must be widespread or demonstrate a systematic character. However, as long as there is a link with the widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population, a single act could qualify as a crime against humanity. As such an individual committing a crime against a single victim or a limited number of victims, might be recognised as guilty of a crime against humanity if his acts were part of the specific context identified above.*⁴⁸

- 25 The Commission was in agreement with this ruling.

⁴⁸ Judgement of Tadic case, 7 May 1997, para 649. <http://www.un.org/icty/970507it.htm>

Crimes committed by a government or by any organisation or group

- 26 Earlier definitions of crimes against humanity presumed that such crimes could only be committed by a government or those acting on behalf of a government. Implicit in this approach was an assumption that only an institution with the power and resources of a government would have the capacity to commit crimes on the scale necessary to qualify as crimes against humanity. Over the past fifty years, it has become clear that certain organisations or groups outside government are capable of committing crimes on a large scale or in a systematic manner. The Commission therefore endorsed the definition of crimes against humanity contained in the 1996 ILC Draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind which includes acts committed by non-state actors.

Persecution

- 27 Clause (e) of the definition of the International Law Commission adopted by the Commission reads as follows:

persecution on political, racial, religious or ethnic grounds;

- 28 In the application of this clause, the following definition of 'persecution' has been adopted:

*Action or policy adopted by a government, organisation or group leading to the infliction upon an individual of harassment, torment, oppression, or discriminatory measures, designed to or likely to produce physical or mental suffering or economic harm, because of the victim's beliefs, views, or membership in a given identifiable group (religious, social, ethnic, linguistic, etc.) or simply because the perpetrator sought to single out a given category of victims for reasons peculiar to the perpetrator.*⁴⁹

Inhumane acts

- 29 Clause (j) of the proposed definition reads as follows:

other inhumane acts which severely damage physical or mental integrity, health or human dignity, such as mutilation and severe bodily harm.

49 This definition has been articulated by Bassiouni, M. C. in Crimes against Humanity (1992) at 317. The definition has been slightly modified so as to include actions taken by non-state actors.

- 30 The Commission has chosen to interpret this clause in the same way in which it interpreted the term ‘severe ill treatment’.

Crimes against humanity: supplementary definitions from recent cases

Barbie (1988) 78 International Law Report 136 at 137 (France)

- 31 The definition of ‘crime against humanity’ closely follows Article 6c of the Nuremberg Charter:

persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds ... performed in a systematic manner in the name of a State practising by those means a policy of ideological supremacy, not only against persons by reason of their membership of a racial or religious community, but also against the opponents of that policy, whatever the form of their opposition.

Touvier (1992) 100 International Law Reports 337 at 351 – 352 (France)

- 32 The definition of ‘crime against humanity’ has two elements, one substantive, and one of specific intent. The substantive element is guided by Article 6 of the Nuremberg Charter. To satisfy the intent element, however, more than simple criminal intent or general illegality is required. One must have the actual:

intention to take part in the execution of a common plan by committing in a systematic manner, inhuman acts or persecutions in the name of a State practising a policy of ideological supremacy.

- 33 The Touvier case also supports the notion that crimes against humanity are not synonymous with war crimes.

the elements constituting crimes against humanity within the meaning of Article 6c of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal of 8 August 1945 ... are not the same as the requisite elements for war crimes within the meaning of Article 80 of the Code of Military Justice and the crime of maintaining contact with the enemy laid down by Article 70 of the Criminal Code.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ See p. 348.

- 34 The definition of crimes against humanity, as contained in section 6(1.96) of Canada's criminal code, means:

murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, persecution, or any other inhumane act or omission that is committed against any civilian population or any identifiable group of persons, whether or not it constitutes a contravention of the law in force at the time and in the place of commission, and that, at that time and in that place, constitutes a contravention of customary international law or conventional international law or is criminal according to the general principles of law recognised by the community of nations.

- 35 This supports the notion that the apartheid system in South Africa was a crime against humanity, in spite of the fact that it was perfectly legal within that country, because it contravened international law.

Concepts and Principles

■ INTRODUCTION

National Unity and Reconciliation

This Constitution provides a historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and a future founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful co-existence and development opportunities for all South Africans, irrespective of colour, race, class, belief or sex. The pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all South African citizens and peace require reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society.

The adoption of this Constitution lays the secure foundation for the people of South Africa to transcend the divisions and strife of the past which generated gross violations of human rights, the transgression of humanitarian principles in violent conflicts and the legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge. These can now be addressed on the basis that there is a need for understanding but not vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for ubuntu but not victimisation.

In order to advance such reconciliation and reconstruction, amnesty shall be granted in respect of acts, omissions and offences associated with political objectives and committed in the course of the conflicts of the past...¹

- 1 The previous chapter emphasised the importance of viewing the Commission as part of the broader national process of 'building a bridge' between a deeply divided past of "untold suffering and injustice" and a future "founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy, peaceful co-existence, and development opportunities for all". This chapter seeks to clarify the concepts and principles underlying the Commission's work. Judge Richard Goldstone highlighted the importance of these concepts and principles thus:

¹ Postamble to the Interim Constitution (Act no 200 of 1993), after section 251.

*On the one hand, there is the vital legal underpinning of the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission] without which such a commission could not succeed and would not exist. On the other hand, there are philosophical, religious and moral aspects without which the commission will be an empty legal vessel which would do a great deal of harm and achieve nothing*²

- 2 The Commission was founded in the belief that, in order to build the “historic bridge” of which the interim Constitution speaks, one must establish as “complete a picture as possible” of the injustices committed in the past. This must be coupled with a public, official acknowledgement of the “untold suffering” which resulted from those injustices. It is to these goals that the Commission must contribute.
- 3 The task assigned to the Commission proved to be riddled with tensions. For many, truth and reconciliation seemed separated by a gulf rather than a bridge. Moreover, in the process of implementing its obligation to consider amnesty for perpetrators (as required by the interim Constitution), the concept of justice also came under constant scrutiny. “We’ve heard the truth. There is even talk about reconciliation. But where’s the justice?” was a common refrain.
- 4 Before explaining how the Commission dealt with the overlapping and apparently contradictory goals of truth, reconciliation and justice, it is necessary to highlight two more general sources of tension.

The public nature of the Commission

- 5 A distinctive feature of the Commission was its openness to public participation and scrutiny. This enabled it to reach out on a daily basis to large numbers of people inside and outside South Africa, and to confront them with vivid images on their television screens or on the front pages of their newspapers. People saw, for example, a former security police officer demonstrating his torture techniques. They saw weeping men and women asking for the truth about their missing loved ones. The media also helped generate public debate on central aspects of South Africa’s past and to raise the level of historical awareness. The issues that emerged as a consequence helped the nation to focus on values central to a healthy democracy: transparency, public debate, public participation and criticism.

² Judge Richard Goldstone in *Healing of a Nation*, Eds. Alex Boraine and Janet Levy, Cape Town: Justice in Transition, 1995, p 120.

- 6 The sword wielded by the media is, however, double-edged. The fact that much of the Commission's work was transmitted by the media meant that public perceptions were formed by what people saw on television, heard on the radio or read in the newspapers. Thus, while the 'soundbites', headlines and photographs of what happened in the public domain contributed significantly to the work of the Commission, they also had the effect of making aspects of its work more vulnerable to criticism. For example, the Commission was accused of accepting untested allegations, primarily because the activities that led to its findings (investigation, research, enquiries in closed hearings and the actual decision-making process by commissioners) were less visible. Similarly, the first steps towards reconciliation, such as private encounters between victims and perpetrators or pre- and post-hearing community visits by commissioners, usually took place out of sight of the media. Although, clearly, the envisaged reconciliation could not be accomplished in the lifespan of the Commission, a number of serious initiatives were taken to promote it.

The Commission's three sub-committees

- 7 Many people found it difficult to understand how the work of the three separately functioning subcommittees, with apparently contradictory aims, could contribute to the overall goals of promoting national unity and reconciliation.
- 8 A major source of conflict in public debate concerned the question of amnesty. As already mentioned, the decision to grant amnesty was a feature of the negotiated political settlement and became a central responsibility of the Commission. Many participants, however, saw a contradiction between the work of the Human Rights Violations Committee, which devoted its time and resources to acknowledging the painful experiences of victims of gross violations of human rights, and the work of the Amnesty Committee, which freed many of the perpetrators of these violations from prosecution (and from prison) on the basis of full disclosure.
- 9 This tension was deepened by the fact that the Amnesty Committee was given powers of implementation, while the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee could, by and large, only make recommendations. Perpetrators were granted immediate freedom. Victims were required to wait until Parliament had accepted or rejected the recommendations of the Commission.

■ PROMOTING NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION

- 10 The overarching task assigned to the Commission by Parliament was the promotion of national unity and reconciliation. Debates within and outside the Commission demonstrated that the interpretation of this concept was highly contested.³ While there is no simple definition of reconciliation, the following essential elements emerged.

Reconciliation is both a goal and a process

- 11 When introducing the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation legislation to Parliament, the Minister of Justice said:

[This is] a Bill which provides a pathway, a stepping stone, towards the historic bridge of which the Constitution speaks whereby our society can leave behind the past of a deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and commence the journey towards a future founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful co-existence, and development opportunities for all South Africans irrespective of colour, race, class, belief or sex.

Its substance is the very essence of the constitutional commitment to reconciliation and the reconstruction of society. Its purpose is to provide that secure foundation which the Constitution enjoins: '...for the people of South Africa to transcend the divisions and strife of the past, which generated gross human rights violations...and a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge'.

- 12 The Minister of Justice made it clear that the 'journey' itself must be a conciliatory one. Thus, reconciliation is both a goal and a process.

Different levels of reconciliation

- 13 The work of the Commission highlighted the many different levels at which reconciliation needs to take place. Some of these levels, and the complex links between them, are illustrated in the chapter on *Reconciliation*. They include:

³ See, for example, the transcripts of the series of four public meetings organised by the Commission on the theme of reconciliation.

Coming to terms with painful truth

- 14 In some cases, especially where the remains of loved ones were exhumed and dignified reburials were made possible, the Commission's disclosure of truth helped people to reach 'closure', to make peace with what had happened. However, the reconciliation of victims with their own pain is a deeply personal, complex and unpredictable process. Knowing the complete picture of past gross human rights violations, or even the facts of each case, may not lead to reconciliation. Truth may, in fact, cause further alienation.
- 15 The Commission's work, in particular that of the Amnesty Committee, also illustrated the difficulties faced by perpetrators (with varying degrees of responsibility for past violations) in coming to terms with their guilt and shame.

Reconciliation between victims and perpetrators

- 16 The contribution of the Commission to reconciliation between specific victims and perpetrators was necessarily limited (by its time frame, mandate and resources). In some cases, however, the Commission assisted in laying the foundation for reconciliation. Although truth does not necessarily lead to healing, it is often a first step towards reconciliation. Father Michael Lapsley, who lost both arms and an eye in a near fatal security police parcel bomb attack in Harare in 1990, told the Commission: "I need to know who to forgive in order to endeavour to do so".

Reconciliation at a community level

- 17 The effects of human rights violations were multiple, inflicting lasting damage on social relations. At a national level, the main dimension of the conflict was between the oppressed black population and the former state. However, within and between communities, conflict played itself out in various, often insidious, ways. Internal divisions occurred between the young and the old, men and women, neighbours, as well as between different ethnic and racial groups. All these aspects required attention.
- 18 In some cases, the Commission was able to assist in the process of reconciliation at the micro-level. In others, local conflicts may have been additionally complicated by the different levels of recognition and priority brought into being by the Commission itself.

Promoting national unity and reconciliation

- 19 The experiences of the Commission illustrated the particular difficulty of understanding the meaning of unity and reconciliation at a national level. They also highlighted the potentially dangerous confusion between a religious, indeed Christian, understanding of reconciliation, more typically applied to interpersonal relationships, and the more limited, political notion of reconciliation applicable to a democratic society.
- 20 Many people within and outside the Commission warned against expecting too much, too soon from the reconciliation process at a national level. They were concerned about the imposition of a notion of reconciliation - associated with contrition, confession, forgiveness and restitution – on a diverse and divided society attempting to consolidate a fragile democracy. They argued that the most the Commission could and should hope for, at least in the short term, was peaceful coexistence. Thus, a healthy democracy does not require everyone to agree or become friends. However, a culture of human rights and democracy does require respect for our common human dignity and shared citizenship, as well as the peaceful handling of unavoidable conflicts.
- 21 Others cautioned against accepting too limited a notion of reconciliation. They argued that the Commission should not underestimate the vital importance of apologies - by individuals, representatives of institutions and political leaders - coupled with forgiveness by those who had been violated. They saw such gestures as important in the public life of a nation attempting to “transcend the divisions and strife of the past...leaving a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge”. In the chapter on *Reconciliation*, there are many extracts from testimonies which illustrate these different perspectives.
- 22 The following aspects of the Commission’s contribution to the promotion of national unity and reconciliation need to be noted:
 - a The democratic, transparent, inclusive process of the Commission and the extensive public debates surrounding its work attempted to nurture and promote the central values of open debate and a democratic culture.
 - b The Commission made significant progress in establishing “as complete and reliable a picture as possible of past violations”.

- c The Commission facilitated the official, public acknowledgement of these violations. In so doing, it sought to restore the dignity of those who had suffered.
 - d By holding accountable not only individuals, but also the state and other institutions, and by making recommendations aimed at preventing future violations, the Commission sought to help restore trust in these institutions. Such trust is necessary for the functioning of a healthy democratic system.
- 23 Reconciliation is needed, not only at an individual level, nor only between individuals, but also within and between communities and the nation as a whole. Another very important dimension of reconciliation was emphasised by an unidentified thirty-nine year old man from Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn:

What does reconciliation mean for you as a young person? Reconciliation means people forgiving each other and working together as one nation. It does not matter as to what one has done to another in the past. Well, at some stages it does matter...

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

Reconciliation and redistribution

- 24 The broad challenge of reconciliation between those who benefited from the past and those who continue to be disadvantaged by past discrimination is central to the vision contained in the postamble to the interim Constitution.
- 25 Gross socio-economic inequalities are the visible legacy of the systematic, institutionalised denial of access to resources and development opportunities on grounds of colour, race and sex. But they are also the less tangible consequences of centuries of dehumanising devaluation of 'non-Europeans', 'non-whites' and 'non-males'. The *Mandate* chapter explains the limited focus of the work of the Commission in this broader context.
- 26 Many years ago, Albert Luthuli, the first South African recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, articulated a vision of South Africa as "a home for all her sons and

⁴ This is an extract of an interview that was read into the record of the post-hearing follow-up programme in Oudtshoorn, 19 February 1997.

daughters". This concept is implicit in the interim Constitution. Thus, not only must we lay the foundation for a society in which physical needs will be met; we must also create a home for all South Africans. The road to reconciliation, therefore, means both material reconstruction and the restoration of dignity. It involves the redress of gross inequalities and the nurturing of respect for our common humanity. It entails sustainable growth and development of the spirit of *ubuntu* (see below). It implies wide-ranging structural and institutional transformation and the healing of broken human relationships. It demands guarantees that the past will not be repeated. It requires restitution and the restoration of our humanity - as individuals, as communities and as a nation.

- 27 Given the magnitude of this exercise, the Commission's quest for truth should be viewed as a contribution to a much longer-term goal and vision. Its purpose in attempting to uncover the past had nothing to do with vengeance; it had to do, rather, with helping victims to become more visible and more valuable citizens through the public recognition and official acknowledgement of their experiences. In the words of Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso, former chairperson of the Commission on Gender Equality and currently Deputy Secretary General of the ANC, at the opening the Commission's hearing on women in Johannesburg, 29 July 1997:

[This hearing] is the beginning of giving the voiceless a chance to speak, giving the excluded a chance to be centred and giving the powerless an opportunity to empower themselves.

- 28 In addition, by bringing the darker side of the past to the fore, those responsible for violations of human rights could also be held accountable for their actions. In the process, they were given the opportunity to acknowledge their responsibility to contribute to the creation of a new South African society.

■ TRUTH

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

Factual or forensic truth

- 30 The familiar legal or scientific notion of bringing to light factual, corroborated evidence, of obtaining accurate information through reliable (impartial, objective) procedures, featured prominently in the Commission's findings process (see chapter on *Methodology and Process*).
- 31 The Act required that the Commission "prepare a comprehensive report which sets out its activities and findings, *based on factual and objective information and evidence* collected or received by it or placed at its disposal" (emphasis added). In pursuing this factual truth, the Act required the examination of two essential areas.
- 32 The first of these related to findings on an individual level. The Commission was required to make findings on particular incidents and in respect of specific people. In other words, what happened to whom, where, when and how, and who was involved? In order to fulfil this aspect of its mandate, it adopted an extensive verification and corroboration policy to make sure that findings were based on accurate and factual information (see chapter on *Methodology and Process*).
- 33 The second area related to findings on the contexts, causes and patterns of violations. In this respect, the Commission was required to report on the broader patterns underlying gross violations of human rights and to explore the causes of such violations. To do this, it had to analyse, interpret and draw inferences from the information it received. In this regard, it became necessary for the Commission to adopt a social scientist's approach - making use of the information contained in its database and from a range of secondary sources. However, all truth commissions have their limitations. In the words of Michael Ignatieff:

All that a truth commission can achieve is to reduce the number of lies that can be circulated unchallenged in public discourse. In Argentina, its work has made it impossible to claim, for example, that the military did not throw half-dead victims in the sea from helicopters. In Chile, it is no longer permissible to assert in public that the Pinochet regime did not dispatch thousands of entirely innocent people...⁵

- 34 Applying Ignatieff's notion of reducing the number of lies, one can say that the information in the hands of the Commission made it impossible to claim, for

5 From 'Articles of Faith', *Index on Censorship* (5) 1996, p 113.

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

Personal and narrative truth

- 35 At a hearing of the Commission in Port Elizabeth on 21 May 1996, Archbishop Tutu said:

This Commission is said to listen to everyone. It is therefore important that everyone should be given a chance to say his or her truth as he or she sees it...

- 36 By telling their stories, both victims and perpetrators gave meaning to the multi-layered experiences of the South African story. These personal truths were communicated to the broader public by the media. In the (South) African context, where value continues to be attached to oral tradition, the process of story telling was particularly important. Indeed, this aspect is a distinctive and unique feature of the legislation governing the Commission, setting it apart from the mandates of truth commissions elsewhere. The Act explicitly recognised the healing potential of telling stories.⁶ The stories told to the Commission were not presented as arguments or claims in a court of law. Rather, they provided unique insights into the pain of South Africa's past, often touching the hearts of all that heard them.
- 37 By providing the environment in which victims could tell their own stories in their own languages, the Commission not only helped to uncover existing facts about past abuses, but also assisted in the creation of a 'narrative truth'. In so doing, it also sought to contribute to the process of reconciliation by ensuring that the truth about the past included the validation of the individual subjective experiences of people who had previously been silenced or voiceless. The Commission sought, too, to capture the widest possible record of people's perceptions, stories, myths and experiences. It chose, in the words of Antjie

⁶ This was highlighted in section 3 (c) of the Act, which stated that one of the objectives of the Commission was to "restore the human and civil dignity of victims by granting them an opportunity to relate *their own accounts* of the violations of which they are the victims" (emphasis added).

Krog, a South African writer and poet, “the road of... restoring memory and humanity”.⁷ It is what Oxford University historian, Timothy Garton Ash, sees as “the most promising” way – a way that offers “history lessons” as an alternative to political trials, uncovering what happened and identifying lessons for the future.⁸ As such, the Commission sought to recover parts of the national memory that had hitherto been officially ignored.

- 38 It is impossible to capture the detail and complexity of all of this in a report. The transcripts of the hearings, individual statements, a mountain of press clippings and video material are all part of an invaluable record which the Commission handed over to the National Archives for public access. This record will form a part of the national memory for generations yet to come. In this report, the Commission has tried, through a range of detailed ‘window cases’ and selections from the testimonies of many victims, to capture some part of the richness of the individual accounts heard before it.

Social truth

- 39 While narrative truth was central to the work of the Commission, especially to the hearings of the Human Rights Violations Committee, it was in its search for social truth that the closest connection between the Commission’s process and its goal was to be found.
- 40 Judge Albie Sachs, a prominent participant in the debates preceding the establishment of the Commission and now a Constitutional Court judge, made a useful distinction between what he called ‘microscope truth’ and ‘dialogue truth’. “The first”, he said, “is factual, verifiable and can be documented and proved. ‘Dialogue truth’, on the other hand, is *social truth, the truth of experience that is established through interaction, discussion and debate*”⁹ (emphasis added).
- 41 In recognising the importance of social or ‘dialogue’ truth, the Commission acknowledged the importance of participation and transparency. Its goal was to try to transcend the divisions of the past by listening carefully to the complex motives and perspectives of all those involved. It made a conscious effort to provide an environment in which all possible views could be considered and weighed, one against the other. People from all walks of life were invited to

7 Antjie Krog in *Healing of a Nation*, Eds. Alex Boraine and Janet Levy, Cape Town: Justice in Transition, 1995, 118

8 Timothy Garton Ash, ‘The Truth about Dictatorships’, *New York Review of Books*, 19 February 1998.

9 Albie Sachs in *Healing of a Nation*, Eds. Alex Boraine and Janet Levy, Cape Town: Justice in Transition, 1995, 105.

participate in the process, including faith communities, the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and political parties. The public was engaged through open hearings and the media. The Commission itself was also subjected to constant public scrutiny and critique.

- 42 It is particularly important to emphasise that establishing the truth could not be divorced from the affirmation of the dignity of human beings. Thus, not only the actual outcome or findings of an investigation counted. The process whereby the truth was reached was itself important because it was through this process that the essential norms of social relations between people were reflected. It was, furthermore, through dialogue and respect that a means of promoting transparency, democracy and participation in society was suggested as a basis for affirming human dignity and integrity.

Healing and restorative truth

- 43 The preceding discussion rejects the popular assumption that there are only two options to be considered when talking about truth - namely factual, objective information or subjective opinions. There is also 'healing' truth, the kind of truth that places facts and what they mean within the context of human relationships - both amongst citizens and between the state and its citizens. This kind of truth was central to the Commission.
- 44 The Act required that the Commission look back to the past and forward to the future. In this sense, it was required to help establish a truth that would contribute to the reparation of the damage inflicted in the past and to the prevention of the recurrence of serious abuses in the future. It was not enough simply to determine what had happened. Truth as factual, objective information cannot be divorced from the way in which this information is acquired; nor can such information be separated from the purposes it is required to serve.
- 45 It is in this context that the role of 'acknowledgement' must be emphasised. Acknowledgement refers to placing information that is (or becomes) known on public, national record. It is not merely the actual knowledge about past human rights violations that counts; often the basic facts about what happened are already known, at least by those who were affected. What is critical is that these facts be fully and publicly acknowledged. Acknowledgement is an affirmation that a person's pain is real and worthy of attention. It is thus central to the restoration of the dignity of victims.

■ THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION

- 46 It was frequently suggested that the Commission's quest for more truth and less falsehood would result in deepened divisions rather than in the promotion of national unity and reconciliation. This concern must be taken seriously, although some of the mistaken assumptions underlying (much of) this criticism must be noted.
- 47 There can be little doubt that gross violations of human rights and other similar abuses during the past few decades left indelible scars on the collective South African consciousness. These scars often concealed festering wounds that needed to be opened up to allow for the cleansing and eventual healing of the body politic. This does not mean, however, that it was sufficient simply to open old wounds and then sit back and wait for the light of exposure to do the cleansing. Nor could the Commission be expected to accomplish all the healing that was required. These basic underlying principles were expressed in the submission of Dr Leslie London, at the health sector hearing in Cape Town, 18 June 1997:

The [Health and Human Rights] Project operates with the premise that the health professions and society cannot afford to ignore the past, and that the costs of this selective amnesia, which we see so much of with regard to past human rights abuses, are enormous. It is very difficult to see how any trust within the health sector and also between the health professionals and the broader community can be achieved until the truth is disclosed.

We believe that only by fully acknowledging and understanding what took place in the professions under apartheid is it possible to achieve reconciliation in the health sector. Any apologies that are made without this understanding will fail to achieve meaningful progress in moving the health sector to a human rights culture.

And while the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission] has played an important role in stimulating this process, the real challenge that faces the health sector is for health professions to accept human rights as a fundamental responsibility. Real truth and reconciliation can only come from below, from within our institutions, and should be seen as part of a larger project to rehabilitate the health sector and build a culture of human rights within it.

- 48 Many people also saw reconciliation as an activity that could take place without tears: they felt threatened by the anger of victims. It is, however, unrealistic to expect forgiveness too quickly, without providing victims with the necessary space to air their grievances and give voice to previously denied feelings. "It would not have been even remotely decent for a non-Jewish person to have suggested to Jews that they ought to become reconciled to the Germans immediately after World War II", observed a Dutch visitor to the Commission. Relationships can only be healed over time and once feelings of hurt and anger have been acknowledged. The resistance and hostility of some victims, directed at times at the Commission itself, required understanding and respect.
- 49 At the same time, many of those who had suffered gross violations of their human rights showed a remarkable magnanimity and generosity of spirit, not only through their willingness to display their pain to the world, but also in their willingness to forgive. Such forgiveness should never be taken for granted, nor should it be confused with forgetting. The importance of respectful remembrance was clearly expressed by Mr Haroon Timol, testifying about the death in detention of Mr Ahmed Timol, at the Johannesburg hearing, 30 April 1996:

As a family what we would like to have, and I am sure many, many South Africans would like to have, is that their loved ones should never, ever be forgotten...in Ahmed's case a school in his name would be appropriate. But at the end of the day I believe that South Africans in future generations should never, ever forget those that were killed in the name of apartheid.

- 50 Many victims justifiably insisted that they were not prepared to forgive if this meant that they must 'close the book on the past', 'let bygones be bygones' or 'forget about the past and focus on the future'. Forgiveness is not about forgetting. It is about seeking to forego bitterness, renouncing resentment, moving past old hurt, and becoming a survivor rather than a passive victim.
- 51 The Commission sought to uncover the truth about past abuses. This was part of "the struggle of memory against forgetting" referred to by Milan Kundera.¹⁰ But it was, at the same time, part of the struggle to overcome the temptation to remember in a partisan, selective way; to recognise that narrow memories of past conflicts can too easily provide the basis for mobilisation towards further conflicts, as has been the case in the former Yugoslavia and elsewhere. An inclusive remembering of painful truths about the past is crucial to the creation of national unity and transcending the divisions of the past.

10 Kundera, Milan, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1983.

- 52 This means that one must guard against such simplistic platitudes as ‘to forgive is to forget’. It is also crucial not to fall into the error of equating forgiveness with reconciliation. The road to reconciliation requires more than forgiveness and respectful remembrance. It is, in this respect, worth remembering the difficult history of reconciliation between Afrikaners and white English-speaking South Africans after the devastating Anglo-Boer/South African War (1899-1902). Despite coexistence and participation with English-speaking South Africans in the political system that followed the war, it took many decades to rebuild relationships and redistribute resources - a process that was additionally complicated by a range of urban/rural, class, and linguistic and other barriers. Reconciliation requires not only individual justice, but also social justice.

■ AMNESTY, TRUTH AND JUSTICE

- 53 The postamble of the interim Constitution states:

In order to advance such reconciliation and reconstruction [of society], amnesty shall be granted in respect of acts, omissions and offences with political objectives and committed in the course of the conflicts of the past.¹¹

- 54 The implementation of this amnesty agreement proved to be very difficult indeed:

[The granting of amnesty] is a difficult, sensitive, perhaps even agonising, balancing act between the need for justice to victims of past abuse and the need for reconciliation and rapid transition to a new future; between encouragement to wrongdoers to help in the discovery of the truth and the need for reparations for the victims of that truth; between a correction in the old and the creation of the new. It is an exercise of immense difficulty interacting in a vast network of political, emotional, ethical and logistical considerations.¹²

- 55 Two particular tensions need to be noted:

- a First, if justice is seen merely as retribution, it becomes difficult to make the appropriate connections between amnesty and justice. While both the interim Constitution and the Commission expressed strong opposition to acts of revenge, it is necessary, nevertheless, to acknowledge that the desire for revenge is an understandable human response. Suppressed anger undermines reconciliation.

11 See also Preamble of Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, no 34 of 1995.

12 Mahomed J, AZAPO and others v the President of the RSA and others, 1996 (8) BCLR 1015 (CC) at par 21.

Nonetheless, the tendency to equate justice with retribution must be challenged and the concept of restorative justice considered as an alternative. This means that amnesty in return for public and full disclosure (as understood within the broader context of the Commission) suggests a restorative understanding of justice, focusing on the healing of victims and perpetrators and on communal restoration.

- b Second, amnesty as an official act of pardon can all too easily be misinterpreted as ignoring responsibility and accountability. As such, amnesty can be seen to be encouraging a culture of impunity. Some victims felt that amnesty results in insufficient social repudiation and that, by refusing to punish those responsible and allowing perpetrators to walk free, it constitutes a failure to respect their suffering.

56 It is important, therefore, clearly to understand the various justifications for the concept of amnesty implemented by the Commission, with its unique focus on individual accountability. Similarly, the relationship between the Commission and the formal justice system merits attention:

The context of transition: accountable amnesty versus impunity

57 The negotiated agreement in South Africa averted the costly return to the politics of confrontation and mass mobilisation. It made the historic bridge provided for by the interim Constitution possible. It did not, however, allow for a choice between amnesty and justice in the sense of large-scale prosecutions and punishment. Indeed, Nuremberg-style tribunals were simply not a viable political option, given the balance of military and political forces that prevailed at the time.

58 The postamble of the interim Constitution thus placed an obligation on South Africa's first democratic government to make provision for the granting of amnesty, while giving it some discretion as to the circumstances in which amnesty could be granted. The choice was, essentially, between blanket amnesty and qualified amnesty.

59 Through extensive negotiations, which included broad-based public debate, the notion of a blanket amnesty for undisclosed deeds was rejected as an inadequate basis for laying the past to rest. A middle path was required, something that lay between a Nuremberg option and total amnesia. The choice, ultimately, was for amnesty with a considerable degree of accountability built into it.

60 Section 20 of the Act stipulated that amnesty could be granted on the following conditions:

- a Applicants were required to apply for amnesty for each offence committed.
- b Applications had to be made within the time frame laid down in the legislation.
- c Perpetrators were required to make full disclosure of their crimes in order to qualify for amnesty.
- d Amnesty hearings involving gross violations of human rights were to take place in public, save in exceptional circumstances.
- e Amnesty had to be granted on the basis of a set of objective criteria.
- f Amnesty could not be automatic; it would not be granted for certain heinous crimes.
- g The name of the persons to whom amnesty had been granted, together with information relating to the crimes for which they were granted amnesty, would be published in the Government Gazette and in the report of the Commission.
- h The amnesty provisions in the Act required applicants to declare the nature of their offences – effectively acknowledging their culpability. In cases where amnesty applications were not made or were unsuccessful, the way was left open for conventional criminal trials, where the prosecuting authority decided that there were sufficient grounds for prosecution.

61 Most people do not, of course, wish crimes merely to be condemned. For many people, justice means that perpetrators must be punished in proportion to the gravity of their crimes. If one accepts, however, that punishment is not a necessary prerequisite for the acknowledgement of accountability, it is possible to see that qualified amnesty does contain certain of the essential elements required by justice. Thus, individual perpetrators were identified and, where possible, the circumstances that gave rise to the gross violations of human rights they had committed were explained.

- 62 Furthermore, while successful amnesty applicants could not be punished, the impact of public acknowledgement should not be underestimated. Perpetrators were not able to take refuge in anonymity or hide behind national amnesia. In the words of Anglican Bishop David Beutge at a post-hearing follow-up workshop, in Reiger Park, 19 April 1997:

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

- 63 The extension of the cut-off date for amnesty applications from 5 December 1993 (when the negotiation process was completed) to 10 May 1994 (when President Mandela was officially inaugurated) was a reminder of the transitional context in which this unique, accountable amnesty process needed to be understood. The extension of the date was due largely to pressure by, on the one hand, the white right-wing (the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and Afrikaner Volksfront) which opposed the elections by violent means and, on the other, black groups such as the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (APLA), which had continued the 'armed struggle' during the negotiation process. It became clear to the Commission in the course of its work that such an extension would enhance the prospects of national unity and reconciliation, because it would allow these groupings to participate in the amnesty process.

The quest for truth

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

- 65 For many victims, the granting of amnesty was a high price to pay for the public exposure of perpetrators. It was made even more difficult by the fact that those who applied for amnesty did not always make full disclosure; perpetrators recounted versions of events that were sometimes different. The inability to reach a clear version of truth in respect of particular incidents led to confusion and anger on the part of victims' families and members of the public.
- 66 Yet, as many commentators noted, trials would probably have contributed far less than did the amnesty process towards revealing the truth about what had happened to many victims and their loved ones.
- 67 In helping reveal details of gross human rights violations and the systems, motives and perspectives that made such violations possible, the amnesty process assisted the Commission in compiling as "complete a picture as possible of the nature, causes and extent" of past gross violations of human rights. The information acquired also helped the Commission in formulating recommendations aimed at the prevention of future human rights violations. In this sense, the work of the Commission complemented the work of the broader judicial system in the following ways.

Preventing future violations

- 68 Disclosures made during the amnesty process, together with information emerging at hearings, in victim statements and during investigations, contributed significantly to the Commission's understanding of the broad pattern of events during the thirty-four year mandate period. They also assisted the Commission in its analysis of key perpetrator groupings and institutional responsibility, and in the making of findings on the root causes of gross violations of human rights committed during the conflicts of the past. These insights provided the basis on which recommendations could be made - aimed both at helping prevent future human rights violations and complementing the necessarily narrower focus of formal trials.
- 69 A further limitation of the formal justice system emerged in relation to the need to make recommendations to help prevent future human rights abuse. A functioning and effective justice system is, of course, crucially important in this regard - reinforcing the rule of law, vindicating victims and so on. However, even a justice system functioning at its optimum level cannot provide all the answers. Prosecution and punishment are responses to abuses that have already taken place. While they may act as a deterrent, other initiatives are required to prevent

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

- 70 Thus, although the Commission did not offer retributive justice, placing the amnesty process within a broader framework is likely to contribute to formal justice in the long term. Instead of trading justice for truth, amnesty might, in the end, prove to have been a more profitable option than the stark choice between truth and trials. In societies in transition at least, truth must be viewed as an important element in restoring the rule of the law.

Constraints on the South African judicial system

- 71 Arguments against amnesty are based on the assumption that it is both preferable and possible to prosecute perpetrators. The response to the former – that it would be preferable to prosecute – has already been discussed. In a fragile, transitional context, there are strong arguments for the adoption of a truth commission rather than Nuremberg-type trials. But, even if the South African transition had occurred without any amnesty agreement, even if criminal prosecution had been politically feasible, the successful prosecution of more than a fraction of those responsible for gross violations of human rights would have been impossible in practice. The issue is not, therefore, a straight trade-off between amnesty and criminal or civil trials. What is at stake, rather, is a choice between more or less full disclosure; the option of hearing as many cases as possible against the possibility of a small number of trials revealing, at best, information only directly relevant to specific charges.¹³
- 72 The South African criminal justice system is already under severe pressure. Police have very limited capacity to investigate and arrest. Attorneys-general have limited capacity to prosecute. The courts and judges have limited capacity to convict and correctional services are limited in their capacity to accommodate prisoners. The prospects for successful prosecutions seem even gloomier when

13 See Michael Marrus, 'History and the Holocaust in the Courtroom', paper delivered at a conference, *Searching for Memory and Justice: the Holocaust and Apartheid*, Yale University, 8-10 February 1998. He identifies a range of factors inherent to the due process of law, concluding that criminal trials are "far less effective vehicles than many people think for registering a historical account" of past atrocities. He contends that: "Knowing what happened in the past demands an alternative method of enquiry".

one considers the complexity of attempting to prosecute political crimes. Political crimes are committed by highly skilled operatives, trained in the art of concealing their crimes and destroying evidence. They are thus notoriously difficult to prosecute and to prove guilty beyond reasonable doubt. In the words of Chief Justice DP Mahomed:

Much of what transpired in this shameful period is shrouded in secrecy and not easily capable of objective demonstration and proof...Secrecy and authoritarianism have concealed the truth in little crevices of obscurity in our history. Records are not easily accessible; witnesses are often unknown, dead, unavailable or unwilling. All that often effectively remains is the truth of wounded memories of loved ones sharing instinctive suspicions, deep and traumatising to the survivors but otherwise incapable of translating themselves into objective and corroborative evidence which could survive the rigours of the law.¹⁴

- 73 Trials of this nature are extremely time-consuming and expensive and require large teams of skilled and highly competent investigators. It took over eighteen months to secure a single conviction in the 'de Kock' trial.¹⁵ A specialised investigative unit, consisting of over thirty detectives and six civilian analysts, spent more than nine months investigating and preparing the indictment in the 'Malan' trial.¹⁶ The trial itself lasted a further nine months. Furthermore, since the accused in many of these trials were former state employees, the state was obliged to pay for the costs of their legal defence. In the Malan trial, these costs exceeded R12 million; and in the de Kock trial, the taxpayer had to pay more than R5 million. These figures do not include the costs of the teams of investigators and prosecutors, nor do they reflect the costs of supporting large numbers of witnesses, some of them placed in expensive witness protection programmes. Despite this massive expenditure of time and money, the former General Malan was found not guilty, although numerous allegations continue to be made against him. The costly and time-consuming Goniwe inquest also failed to answer the numerous questions concerning the death of the 'Cradock Four'. Judicial enquiries into politically-sensitive matters rarely satisfy the need for truth and closure. As such, they should not necessarily be seen as superior alternatives to the Commission.

14 AZAPO and Others v The President of the RSA and Others, 1996 (8) BCLR 1015 (CC) at para 17.

15 S v Eugene Alexander de Kock, 1995-96, Transvaal Supreme Court, CC26/94.

16 S v Msane and nineteen others, 1996, Durban and Coast Local Division, CC1/96.

Amnesty and social justice

- 74 One of the consequences of granting amnesty is that the civil liability of both the perpetrator and the employer (often the state) is extinguished. While the wish to encourage individual perpetrators to tell the truth does not, in itself, justify indemnifying the state against civil liability, state indemnification may assist in meeting the fundamental objectives of reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society. Two arguments support this.
- 75 First, by indemnifying the state in this way, prolonged litigation is avoided. Such litigation is likely to lead to a preoccupation with anguish and rancour about the iniquities of the past and may thus divert the energies of the nation from the long-term objectives of national reconciliation and the reconstruction of society.¹⁷ Second, the achievement of reconciliation and the reconstruction of society demands that the limited resources of the state be deployed in a way that brings relief and hope to as many South Africans as possible. Faced with competing demands between the formidable claims of victims of gross human rights violations and their families, and the desperate need to correct massive wrongs in the crucial areas of housing, education and health care, the framers of the interim Constitution favoured the reconstruction of society.
- 76 The immunity awarded to the state does not remove the burden of responsibility for state reparations. It does, however, give the new, democratic government discretion when making difficult choices about the distribution of scarce resources between the victims of gross human rights violations (who fall within the mandate of the Commission) and those many victims who fall outside of the Commission's mandate. The Minister of Justice has said:

*We have a nation of victims, and if we are unable to provide complete justice on an individual basis - and we need to try and achieve maximum justice within the framework of reconciliation - it is possible for us...to ensure that there is historical and collective justice for the people of our country. If we achieve that, if we achieve social justice and move in that direction, then those who today feel aggrieved that individual justice has not been done will at least be able to say that our society has achieved what the victims fought for during their lifetimes. And that therefore at that level, one will be able to say that justice has been done (emphases added).*¹⁸

¹⁷ Judgement by Didcott J. *AZAPO and Others v The President of the RSA and Others*, 1996 (8) BCLR 1015 (CC) at para 59.

¹⁸ Dullah Omar in Rwelamira, Medard and Gerhard Werle (eds), *Confronting Past Injustices*, Johannesburg: Butterworth, 1996, xii.

- 77 The basis for this transition towards social justice lies in the replacement of unjust, minority rule with a democratic state. The amnesty agreement and the way it was implemented were key factors in making the transition possible. It therefore makes at least an indirect contribution to social justice. By extension, it also contributes to the less visible, non-material dimensions of social justice. It will indeed, as Judge Mahomed has said:

take many years of strong commitment, sensitivity and labour to 'reconstruct our society'...developing for the benefit of the entire nation the latent human potential and resources of every person who has directly or indirectly been burdened with the heritage of the shame and the pain of our racist past.¹⁹

- 78 Through the Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation, however, the Commission was mandated to focus on the immediate, visible need for subsistence of many victims (suffering, for example, from the loss of a breadwinner). Although no amount of reparations could ever make up for the losses suffered by individuals, families, and communities because of gross human rights violations, the nation has an obligation at least to try to transform abject poverty into modest security.
- 79 Other fundamental human needs needed to be addressed under the banner of reparation and rehabilitation. Victims and/or their families, dependants and friends needed to understand why gross violations of human rights took place. They needed to be free from the legacy of fear that prevented their full participation in the life of the community, stifled their creativity and undermined their dignity. Victims needed to know that, in the future, they would be protected from similar gross violations of human rights.

■ **UBUNTU: PROMOTING RESTORATIVE JUSTICE**

- 80 A principal task of the Commission was "restoring the human and civil dignity of victims". The work of the Commission as a whole, together with the specific contributions of its three committees, underlined the need to restore the dignity of all South Africans. In the process, the sons and daughters of South Africa would begin to feel truly 'at home'.

¹⁹ AZAPO and Others v The President of the RSA and Others, 1996 (8) BCLR 1015 (CC) at 43.

- 81 Thus, the tensions and links between amnesty, truth and justice, and the relationship between the Commission and the criminal justice system in South Africa were meant to help prepare the way for the Commission's contribution to the restoration of civil and human dignity. This was particularly important in view of the many ways in which the previous legal order, and the socio-political system within which it operated, "traumatised the human spirit" and "trampled on the basic humanity of citizens".²⁰ In the words of Constitutional Court Judge O'Regan:

... Apartheid was a denial of a common humanity. Black people were refused respect and dignity and thereby the dignity of all South Africans was diminished. The new Constitution rejects this past and affirms the equal worth of all South Africans. Thus recognition and protection of human dignity is the touchstone of the new political order and is fundamental to the new Constitution .²¹

- 82 This was the background to the constitutional commitment to "a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for *ubuntu* but not for victimisation". It was a commitment that called for a respect for human life and dignity and for a revival of *ubuntu*; a commitment that included the strengthening of the restorative dimensions of justice.

Restorative justice can be broadly defined as a process which:

- a seeks to redefine crime: it shifts the primary focus of crime from the breaking of laws or offences against a faceless state to a perception of crime as violations against human beings, as injury or wrong done to another person;
- b is based on reparation: it aims at the healing and the restoration of all concerned – of victims in the first place, but also of offenders, their families and the larger community;
- c encourages victims, offenders and the community to be directly involved in resolving conflict, with the state and legal professionals acting as facilitators;
- d supports a criminal justice system that aims at offender accountability, full participation of both the victims and offenders and making good or putting right what is wrong.²²

20 S v Makwanyane and another 1995 (3) SA 391, at para 310.

21 S v Makwanyane and another 1995 (3) SA 391, at para 329.

22 See South African Law Commission, Issue Paper 7, 'Sentencing Restorative Justice', page 6.

83 Restorative justice challenges South Africans to build on the humanitarian and caring ethos²³ of the South African Constitution and to emphasise the need for reparation rather than retaliation - despite growing anger and insecurity in the midst of high levels of crime in South Africa.

84 We are also required to look again at the restorative dimensions of various traditions in South Africa, such as the Judaeo-Christian tradition and African traditional values. Neither is monolithic in its approach; both contain strong sources of communal healing and restoration. As such, they are sources of inspiration to most South Africans.

85 As far as traditional African values are concerned, the fundamental importance of *ubuntu* must be highlighted. *Ubuntu*, generally translated as 'humaneness', expresses itself metaphorically in *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* – 'people are people through other people'. In the words of Constitutional Court Justice Makgoro: "Its spirit emphasises respect for human dignity, marking a shift from confrontation to conciliation."²⁴ Constitutional Court Justice Langa has said:

*During violent conflicts and times when violent crime is rife, distraught members of society decry the loss of ubuntu. Thus, heinous crimes are the antithesis of ubuntu. Treatment that is cruel, inhuman or degrading is bereft of ubuntu.*²⁴

86 He goes on to observe that:

We have all been affected, in some way or other, by the 'strife, conflicts, untold suffering and injustice' of the recent past... But all this was violence on human beings by human beings. Life became cheap, almost worthless.

87 It is against this background, vividly illustrated by the Commission process, that "a spontaneous call has arisen among sections of the population for a return to *ubuntu*".

88 This call was supported by Ms Susan van der Merwe, whose husband disappeared in 1978 after allegedly being abducted and killed by an Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) unit. At the Human Rights Violation hearing in Klerksdorp, on 23 September 1996, she said:

23 Mahomed J. in *S v Makwanyane and another* 1995 (3) SA 391at para 293.

24 *S v Makwanyane and another* 1995 (3) SA 391, at para 307-8. See also Chaskalson P, at para 130-1; Mahomed J, at para 263; Sachs J, at para 374-382.

25 *S v Makwanyane and another* 1995 (3) SA 391, at para 225-6.

The Tswanas have an idiom which I learned from my husband which goes 'a person is a person by other people, a person is only a person with other people'. We do have this duty to each other. The survival of our people in this country depends on our co-operation with each other. My plea to you is, help people throw their weapons away...No person's life is a waste. Every person's life is too precious.

Restorative justice: victims

- 89 One of the unique features of the Act was that it provided guiding principles on how the Commission should deal with victims. These principles constituted the essence of the Commission's commitment to restorative justice.²⁶ The Act required that the Commission help restore the human and civil dignity of victims "by granting them an opportunity to relate their own accounts of the violations of which they are the victim". Through the public unburdening of their grief - which would have been impossible within the context of an adversarial search for objective and corroborative evidence - those who were violated received public recognition that they had been wronged.
- 90 Many people who witnessed the accounts of victims were confronted, for the first time, with the human face of unknown or silenced victims from the conflicts of the past. The public victim hearings vividly portrayed the fact that not only were international or domestic laws broken, not only was there a disrespect of human rights in the abstract, but the very dignity and 'personhood' of individual human beings were centrally violated.
- 91 At the same time, it must be remembered that, without the amnesty process, many victims would never have discovered what had happened to their loved ones. For many victims, therefore, the amnesty process itself played a role in the reparation and rehabilitation process. Their greater understanding of events helped restore dignity and dispel the lies they were told about 'criminals', 'terrorists' or 'informers'. This challenges the popular perception that amnesty exists only for the sake of perpetrators.
- 92 The fact that the state has accepted responsibility for providing reparations to victims of gross human rights violations provides an important counterbalance to the denial of the right of victims to lay civil charges against perpetrators who were granted amnesty. At the same time, however, the limitations of both the

²⁶ See section 11 of the Act and the UN Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power. General Assembly resolution 40/34 of 29 November 1985.

Commission's mandate to recommend and the state's capacity to provide reparation measures must be recognised. The Commission itself only had the power to place before the State President and Parliament its proposals for the provision of reparations. It could not implement reparations, nor could it take the final decision as to the type of reparation measures to be implemented. This responsibility lies with government.

- 93 The plight of those who, through the legacy of apartheid, need assistance in the form of social spending (for housing, education, health care and so on) must also be remembered. The provision of reparations to the (relatively) few victims of gross human rights violations who appeared before the Commission cannot be allowed to prejudice apartheid's many other victims. The need to provide reparations for the former cannot be allowed to constitute so great a drain on the national fiscus that insufficient resources remain for essential social upliftment and reconstruction programmes.
- 94 Beyond these considerations, it must also be acknowledged that many victims of gross human rights violations would never have had the opportunity to seek redress through civil trials, given evidentiary constraints, proscription of civil claims, lack of information about the identity of perpetrators and the costs involved in pursuing claims. Overall, victims will have received far greater benefit from the Commission's processes than they would otherwise have done, although those few who had valid civil claims will have received less. In this sense, too, the Commission can be seen as having contributed to the promotion of restorative justice.
- 95 Recommendations on reparations are also wider in scope or more holistic than those customarily awarded as damages in successful civil claims. Such broad recommendations include the provision of symbolic reparations to victims, such as the continuing public, official acknowledgement through monuments, living memorials, days of remembrance and so on. In addition, as part of the Commission's general commitment to reparations, some interim reparations were provided in the course of its work. For example, in cases where (through the amnesty process) the bodies of activists killed and secretly buried by the security forces were discovered, the Commission assisted families with official and dignified reburials. These kinds of reparations emphasise the importance of placing individual reparations within a wider social and political context.

Restorative justice: perpetrators

- 96 The Commission not only condemned acts of killing, torture, abduction and severe ill treatment as violations of human rights. The concrete experiences of victims and the human impact of these violations were put before the nation. At the same time, the Commission sought to identify those responsible for such violations - seeking political accountability as well as moral responsibility.
- 97 The Act required the Commission to “promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflicts and divisions of the past” by establishing, amongst other things, “the motives and perspectives of the persons responsible”. This obviously forms part of the search for as “complete a picture as possible”. This need for understanding must, however, be placed within the context of an attempt to promote restorative justice. Without seeing offender accountability as part of the quest for understanding, the uncovering of motives and perspectives can easily be misunderstood as excusing their violations.
- 98 The potential of an individualised, accountable amnesty process as a contribution to the rehabilitation of perpetrators and their reintegration into the new society should not be underestimated. Judge Mahomed has stressed that amnesty also exposed perpetrators to “opportunities to obtain relief from the burden of guilt or an anxiety they might have been living with for years”. Without this opportunity, many might remain “physically free but inhibited in their capacity to become active, full, and creative members of the new order”. Without this kind of amnesty:

both the victims and the culprits who walk on the ‘historic bridge’ described by the epilogue will hobble more than walk to the future with heavy and dragged steps delaying and impeding a rapid and enthusiastic transition to the new society at the end of the bridge.²⁷

- 99 By concentrating only on individual, or on a limited number of prominent human rights violators, as was the case in the Nuremberg and Tokyo war tribunals, many perpetrators and co-conspirators remained in obscurity. The structures of society and its most formative institutions remained unchallenged. Recognising the need for social and institutional reparations is an important part of restorative justice.

²⁷ Judgement, AZAPO and Others v The President of the RSA and Others, 1996 (8) BCLR 1015 (CC) at para 18.

- 100 Restorative justice demands that the accountability of perpetrators be extended to making a contribution to the restoration of the well-being of their victims. Although neither the interim Constitution nor the Act provide for this, this important consideration was highlighted by the Commission. The fact that people are given their freedom without taking responsibility for some form of restitution remains a major problem with the amnesty process. Only if the emerging truth unleashes a social dynamic that includes redressing the suffering of victims will it meet the ideal of restorative justice.

■ RESPONSIBILITY AND RECONCILIATION

- 101 The emergence of a responsible society, committed to the affirmation of human rights (and, therefore, to addressing the consequences of past violations), presupposes the acceptance of individual responsibility by all those who supported the system of apartheid (or simply allowed it to continue to function) and those who did not oppose violations during the political conflicts of the past.
- 102 It is, therefore, not only the task of the members of the Security Forces to examine themselves and their deeds. It is for every member of the society they served to do so. South Africa's weapons, ammunition, uniforms, vehicles, radios and other equipment were all developed and provided by industry. South Africa's finances and banking were controlled by institutions that went so far as to provide covert credit cards for covert operations. South African chaplains prayed for 'victory' and South African schools and universities educated for war. The media carried propaganda and the enfranchised white community voted the former government back into power, time after time, with ever-increasing majorities.²⁸
- 103 This moral responsibility goes deeper than legal and political accountability. Such individual and shared moral responsibility cannot be adequately addressed by legislation or this Commission. What is required is that individuals and the community as a whole must recognise that the abdication of responsibility, the unquestioning obeying of commands (simply doing one's job), submitting to the fear of punishment, moral indifference, the closing of one's eyes to events or permitting oneself to be intoxicated, seduced or bought with personal advantages are all essential parts of the many-layered spiral of responsibility which makes large-scale, systematic human rights violations possible in modern states. Only this realisation can create the possibility for the emergence of something new in South

28 See testimony by Craig M Williamson, at the Military Forces hearing, Cape Town, October 1997.

African society. In short, what is required is a moral and spiritual renaissance capable of transforming moral indifference, denial, paralysing guilt and unacknowledged shame into personal and social responsibility.

104 At the practical level, the vexed issue of apartheid as a crime against humanity impinges perhaps more directly on moral than on legal culpability. A simple focus on the criminal culpability of isolated individuals responsible for apartheid can ignore the broader responsibilities presently under discussion. It is not enough merely to identify a few high-profile 'criminals' as those responsible for the atrocities of the past – and thus give insufficient attention to a deeper analysis of the underlying nature, cause and extent of apartheid. The essential nature of a crime against humanity, suggests Professor Denys Schreiner, does not lie in the detail or nature of the actual deeds involved in a particular system that is judged to be a crime.²⁹ Rather, it relates to the political structures which result in sections of the society being seen as less than fully human. It condemns the identified group to suffering and violence as a matter of birth, over which the individual concerned has no influence, control or escape. It excludes a section of the population from the rights afforded to others. It denies that same group participation in the selection of government and in government itself. It facilitates the promotion of extra-legal actions by the dominant group further to suppress those judged to be the 'enemy' - whether Jews, slaves or blacks. Finally, it promotes moral decline within the dominant group and the loss of a sense of what is just and fair. Briefly stated, it involves systematic racial discrimination which, by definition, constitutes the basis of apartheid.

105 A pertinent question is the extent to which individual South Africans can be regarded as responsible for the premises and presuppositions which gave rise to apartheid. The kindest answer consists of a reminder that history suggests that most citizens are inclined to lemming-like behaviour - thoughtless submission rather than thoughtful accountability. This is a tendency that needs to be addressed in ensuring that the future is different from the past and serves as a reminder that the most penetrating enquiry into the past involves more than a witch-hunt. It involves, rather, laying a foundation against which the present and all future governments will be judged.

106 The need for political accountability by the leaders and voters of the nation, and the varying degrees of moral responsibility that should be adopted by all South Africans, have (both by design and default) not been given sufficient emphasis

²⁹ *Mail and Guardian*, 11 December 1995.

by the Commission. These issues must be addressed if South Africans are to seize the future with dedication and commitment.

- 107 One of the reasons for this failure of emphasis is the fact that the greater part of the Commission's focus has been on what could be regarded as the exceptional - on gross violations of human rights rather than the more mundane but nonetheless traumatising dimensions of apartheid life that affected every single black South African. The killers of Vlakplaas have horrified the nation. The stories of a chain of shallow graves across the country, containing the remains of abducted activists who were brutalised, tortured and ultimately killed, have left many South Africans deeply shocked. The media has understandably focused on these events - labelling Eugene de Kock, the Vlakplaas commander, 'Prime Evil'. The vast majority of victims who either made statements to the Commission or who appeared at public hearings of the Human Rights Violations Committee to tell their stories of suffering simply did not receive the same level of public attention. Indeed, victims of those violations of human rights that were not included in the Commission's mandate received no individual public attention at all.
- 108 This focus on the outrageous has drawn the nation's attention away from the more commonplace violations. The result is that ordinary South Africans do not see themselves as represented by those the Commission defines as perpetrators, failing to recognise the 'little perpetrator' in each one of us. To understand the source of evil is not to condone it. It is only by recognising the potential for evil in each one of us that we can take full responsibility for ensuring that such evil will never be repeated.
- 109 A second reason for the insufficient focus on moral responsibility beyond the narrow, direct responsibility of specific perpetrators of gross human rights violations was the widespread failure fully to grasp the significance of individual victims' testimony before the Commission. Each story of suffering provided a penetrating window into the past, thereby contributing to a more complete picture of gross violations of human rights in South Africa. The nation must use these stories to sharpen its moral conscience and to ensure that, never again, will it gradually atrophy to the point where personal responsibility is abdicated. The challenge is to develop public awareness, to keep the memories alive, not only of gross violations of human rights, but of everyday life under apartheid. Only in this way can South Africans ensure that they do not again become complicit in the banality that leads, step by step, to the kinds of outrageous deeds that have left many 'good' South Africans feeling that they can never be expected, even indirectly,

to accept responsibility for them. In the words of President Nelson Mandela:

*All of us, as a nation that has newly found itself, share in the shame at the capacity of human beings of any race or language group to be inhumane to other human beings. We should all share in the commitment to a South Africa in which that will never happen again.*³⁰

- 110 Thus, a key pillar of the bridge between a deeply divided past of “untold suffering and injustice” and a future “founded upon the recognition of human rights, democracy, peaceful co-existence, and development opportunities for all” is a wide acceptance of direct and indirect, individual and shared responsibility for past human rights violations.
- 111 In this process of bridge building, those who have benefited and are still benefiting from a range of unearned privileges under apartheid have a crucial role to play. Although this was not part of the Commission’s mandate, it was recognised as a vital dimension of national reconciliation. This means that a great deal of attention must be given to an altered sense of responsibility; namely the duty or obligation of those who have benefited so much (through racially privileged education, unfair access to land, business opportunities and so on) to contribute to the present and future reconstruction of our society.³¹

30 Speech in National Assembly, 15 April 1997.

31 See chapters on *Reconciliation* and *Recommendations*.

Methodology and Process

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 Section 4 of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act) sets out the functions that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) is required to perform. It reads as follows:

Functions of Commission

The functions of the Commission shall be to achieve its objectives, and to that end the Commission shall-

- a facilitate, and where necessary initiate or co-ordinate, inquiries into-*
 - (i) gross violations of human rights, including violations which were part of a systematic pattern of abuse;*
 - (ii) the nature, causes and extent of gross violations of human rights, including the antecedents, circumstances, factors, context, motives and perspectives which led to such violations;*
 - (iii) the identity of all persons, authorities, institutions and organisations involved in such violations;*
 - (iv) the question whether such violations were the result of deliberate planning on the part of the State or a former state or any of their organs, or of any political organisation, liberation movement or other group or individual; and*
 - (v) accountability, political or otherwise, for any such violation;*
- b facilitate, and initiate or co-ordinate, the gathering of information and the receiving of evidence from any person, including persons claiming to be victims of such violations or the representatives of such victims, which establish the identity of victims of such violations, their fate or present whereabouts and the nature and extent of the harm suffered by such victims;*

- c facilitate and promote the granting of amnesty in respect of acts associated with political objectives, by receiving from persons desiring to make a full disclosure of all the relevant facts relating to such acts, applications for the granting of amnesty in respect of such acts, and transmitting such applications to the Committee on Amnesty for its decision, and by publishing decisions granting amnesty, in the Gazette;*
- d determine what articles have been destroyed by any person in order to conceal violations of human rights or acts associated with a political objective;*
- e prepare a comprehensive report which sets out its activities and findings, based on factual and objective information and evidence collected or received by it or placed at its disposal;*
- f make recommendations to the President with regard to - (i) the policy which should be followed or measures which should be taken with regard to the granting of reparation to victims or the taking of other measures aimed at rehabilitating and restoring the human and civil dignity of victims; (ii) measures which should be taken to grant urgent interim reparation to victims;*
- g make recommendations to the Minister with regard to the development of a limited witness protection programme for the purposes of this Act;*
- h make recommendations to the President with regard to the creation of institutions conducive to a stable and fair society and the institutional, administrative and legislative measures which should be taken or introduced in order to prevent the commission of violations of human rights.*

- 2 Even a cursory examination of this section of the Act reveals that the task facing the Commission was both daunting and formidable. Not only was it required to perform the extensive activities listed in section 4, but it had to do so in an extremely difficult context.
- 3 The Commission was required to consider cases that had occurred over a thirty-four year period, stretching from 1 March 1960 to 10 May 1994. In so doing, it found itself responsible for the examination of over 50 000 cases of gross violations of human rights. As described in the *Mandate* chapter, these violations were narrowly defined in the Act. This means that numerous other violations of human rights – all heinous and, in their own way, ‘gross’, were not considered. It is in this context that this chapter will examine the ways in which the Commission chose to complete its work.

■ THE START UP

- 4 One of the greatest challenges the Commission faced was that the two-year period within which it was required to complete its work began on the day that the commissioners were formally appointed. The Act made no provision for a start-up period during which offices could be located and established, staff sought and appointed, and a *modus operandi* carefully developed. There was little time for reflection. The result was that the methodology of the Commission evolved and changed quite considerably throughout its term of operation.
- 5 In addition, although the Act listed a set of functions that the Commission was required to fulfil, it provided very little guidance on how these functions were to be performed. While this gave the Commission the freedom and flexibility to develop appropriate systems and staffing structures, it also posed a tremendous challenge. It was difficult to design, in a short period, systems that adequately addressed the extensive, at times competing, priorities of the Commission. This meant that many of the Commission's systems had to be adapted as priorities changed and new needs and challenges emerged.

■ DECENTRALISATION

- 6 One of the first decisions the Commission was required to take was whether it should operate from one central location or on a decentralised basis. Because of the sheer size of South Africa (1,2 million square kilometres) and the uneven and far-flung distribution of its population, the Commission decided to set up a head office (in Cape Town), four regional offices (in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and East London) and a subregional office (in Bloemfontein). These regional operations were designed to help reduce logistic difficulties associated with holding hearings, taking statements and conducting investigations over an extremely large area. They also allowed the Commission to respond more effectively to the significant differences and characteristics of various regions. It needs to be recognised, however, that the regional offices themselves had jurisdiction over what were, in their own right, very large geographical areas with significant intra-regional differences.

- 7 One of the major challenges, therefore, was to find ways to ensure that people everywhere could access the Commission with relative ease. Despite the fact that the Commission made a conscious effort to communicate and interact proactively with communities throughout South Africa, the sheer size of the country made this an extremely difficult endeavour.

■ COMMITTEE MEMBERS

- 8 The Act allowed for the appointment of additional committee members, other than commissioners, to serve on the Human Rights Violations and Reparation and Rehabilitation Committees. The Commission decided to appoint such members, not only to assist in discharging the functions and responsibilities of these committees, but also to ensure that their membership was representative in terms of race, gender and geographical origin. The Commission felt that it was important that the membership of the committees reflected the life experiences of all South Africans - black and white, men and women, urban and rural.

■ THE PROTOCOLS

- 9 At the outset, the Commission decided that the primary means by which it would establish the identity of victims was by inviting them to make statements. In order to ensure that as much relevant information as possible was gathered from these statements, a protocol was developed which attempted to structure and systematise the evidence given by each victim. The protocol was also designed to promote uniformity and consistency in the way statements were taken from victims. The Commission appointed specially trained statement takers to ensure that information provided by victims was captured as accurately as possible.
- 10 Every effort was made to ensure that statement takers could speak the major languages of the region in which they worked to allow victims to tell their stories in their mother tongues. Statement takers were also trained to identify signs of emotional distress presented by those from whom they took statements. This allowed them to offer preliminary assistance to victims who found the process of making statements difficult or traumatic, and to refer those in need of professional assistance to appropriate mental health care facilities where these existed and were accessible.

- 11 As the early statements were received and analysed, it became clear that the initial protocol, developed before the Commission began its work, was inadequate. This may be attributed to two factors. First, the structuring of information gathered from long and complex narrative statements imposed some technical difficulties: narrative statements might contain information on gross violations of human rights which occurred on one or more occasions, at one or more places, to one or more victims and carried out by one or more perpetrators. As different kinds of evidence of varying degrees of detail and complexity were gathered, it became clear that there was a need to adjust and fine-tune the structure of the protocol in order to ensure that all necessary information was captured in a uniform manner.
- 12 Second, as the Human Rights Violations Committee and the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee confronted various policy issues, it became clear that new and additional information would be required. For example, the Human Rights Violations Committee's policy on the corroboration of victim statements set out a range of 'corroborative pointers'¹ designed to assist in the process of finding whether or not a deponent was, in fact, a victim of a gross violation of human rights. The first draft of the protocol was not structured in a way that prompted victims to provide as many as these pointers as possible. As these new requirements were identified, the protocol evolved, with the result that the final version of the protocol, on which the majority of victim statements were captured, was the fifth version.
- 13 This demonstrates the point made at the beginning of the chapter: it is difficult to embark on work and simultaneously develop systems to manage it. Yet, despite the number of different protocols used to take statements, and some slight variations in the kind of information captured, the Commission was satisfied that neither the overall integrity of the information gathered nor the quality of the findings was affected.

1 'Corroborative pointers' were pieces of information or evidence concerning a particular act or event which might assist the Human Rights Violations Committee in establishing that the information provided by victims in their statements was true.

■ THE INFORMATION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

- 14 The Commission decided to establish an information management system to ensure that all information gathered from victims was captured, processed and corroborated according to a uniform methodology. This was viewed as essential in ensuring that the findings of the Human Rights Violations Committee were as rigorous and defensible as possible. The information management system prescribed that each statement received should be processed according to certain specified and consecutive steps - resulting in what was described as the Commission's 'information flow'. Seven major steps were involved: statement taking, registration, data processing, data capture, corroboration, regional 'pre-findings' and national findings. Each is discussed in detail below.

Statement taking

- 15 The Commission employed trained statement takers and volunteers (called 'designated statement takers') from non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs), religious and civic organisations to take statements from deponents. The statement taking process served two different functions. First, it helped to ensure that information on gross violations of human rights was gathered from victims of these violations. Second, it served a therapeutic purpose in that it provided victims with an opportunity to speak about their suffering or that of their families to people who listened sympathetically and acknowledged their pain. The methodological difficulties of attempting to serve both functions in the statement taking process will be discussed in greater detail.
- 16 The Commission took statements in three different ways.
- a It took statements at its offices. In other words, trained statement takers, employed by the Commission, were available to take statements from victims who travelled to the Commission's offices in their region.
 - b It took statements in communities. In these instances, statement takers attended hearings held by the Commission in various communities throughout South Africa. Because these hearings generated interest and awareness, they usually had the result of prompting people to come forward and make statements. In other instances, the Commission generated awareness about its work, either by holding public meetings in various communities, or by implementing a communications strategy in specific areas. Thereafter statement takers made themselves available to take statements in these areas.

- c The third way in which the Commission solicited statements was through the designated statement taker programme.² This programme was launched by the Commission in order to extend its reach and to ensure that as many communities as possible were given the opportunity to make statements. The designated statement taker programme was funded by a foreign donor and involved training staff based in community organisations throughout the country to take statements on behalf of the Commission. The project increased the number of statements taken by the Commission by almost 50 per cent and allowed for a focus on victims in rural communities or those communities that had experienced a high incidence of human rights abuse. It also concentrated on communities in which the Commission did not hold hearings and in which, therefore, there may not have been knowledge about the Commission and its work. The local recruitment of statement takers meant, too, that victims could tell their stories in their mother tongue, often to people they knew, thereby enhancing the quality and reliability of the testimony and reassuring victims who felt apprehensive. Some, however, chose not to share intimate details with neighbours and others from their own communities – not least where differences between rival groups was a continuing factor.

Registration

- 17 The statements were brought back to the regional offices where they were registered on the Commission's database. They were then photocopied and the originals stored in strong rooms.

Data processing

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

² After the first six months of the Commission's operation, it became obvious that the existing statement-taking channels were inadequate. The Commission decided, therefore, to increase its reach by building working relationships with non-governmental and community-based organisations throughout the country. One community liaison officer per region was assigned the task of identifying partner organisations from the faith community, legal aid clinics, advice offices, paralegal organisations and others. Each organisation appointed staff to be trained as designated statement takers, each of which was responsible for completing twenty statements a month. On this basis, organisations were refunded their travel and infrastructural costs. Particular attention was paid to rural victims, thus helping to overcome the inevitable urban bias of the Commission's statement taking. In the three months during which the designated statement takers operated on a full time basis, they managed to gather almost 4 000 statements. This represented over 20 per cent of all statements taken by the Commission during its entire period of operation.

each statement in order to provide those working on corroboration and findings with a quick overview of the salient facts.

- 19 The data processors identified the nature of each violation, its date and place, its consequences for the victim and the political context in which it occurred. They also noted the organisational affiliations of the victims and alleged perpetrators. Each violation of human rights was captured on the Commission's database as a separate act. This provided the basis for a powerful and sophisticated analysis of the data gathered. It allowed, for example, for an analysis of the number and kinds of violations suffered by each victim over a period, as well as an assessment of the categories of victims who experienced the largest number of violations over certain periods in time. This analytic capacity greatly enhanced the quality of the final report.

Data capture

- 20 Once the statement had been perused, the details of each violation were entered onto the database. Because the database was connected to the regional offices by means of a wide-area network, data were shared between the four offices, helping to ensure that each data processing unit followed a standardised approach.

Corroboration

- 21 Once the statements had been entered onto the database, it was the task of a team of investigators to corroborate the basic facts of each matter according to a standard list of corroborative pointers (for example, by obtaining court records, inquest documents, death certificates, newspaper clippings and so on).
- 22 In addition, regional researchers conducted literature searches and field trips in order to produce briefing documents on the political conflicts that had taken place in areas where gross violations of human rights had occurred. This allowed them to generate valuable background material and information on the political context in which the violations took place. This corroborative material and background research provided the commissioners with the additional information they needed to make their findings – establishing whether the allegations in the statements were, on a balance of probability, true.
- 23 Corroborating the evidence gathered in more than 20 000 statements received in the two years between 14 December 1995 and 14 December 1997 proved one of the

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

- a incidents that had occurred more than 1 000 km away from the closest office;
 - b incidents that had occurred more than twenty, and in some cases thirty, years ago;
 - c incidents that had occurred at a police station at which either no records of the event existed or all records had been destroyed;
 - d incidents in which all victims had been killed, or were dead, and the whereabouts of the only eye-witness were unknown;
 - e incidents that had occurred in a neighbouring state or in Europe.
- 24 It is clear from the above that the corroboration of statements was an extremely difficult and time-consuming task. It was complicated by the large numbers of statements involved and because each statement, on average, referred to between two and three victims. The Human Rights Violations Committee was, as a result, faced with the task of corroborating over 50 000 individual cases. The enormity of this task cannot be overemphasised.

Regional pre-findings

- 25 The information taken from the statements, the corroborative material gathered by the investigators and the background research material provided by the researchers were presented on a regular basis to the Human Rights Violations Committee, which would then make 'pre-findings' at a regional level.
- 26 Making 'pre-findings' involved either rejecting statements of alleged violations as untrue or outside the mandate of the Act, or sending them back for further corroboration, or finding them true on a balance of probability. In instances where the 'pre-finding' process confirmed the truth of the statement, and that statement included the names of a perpetrator or perpetrators, those named were sent letters

(in terms of section 30 of the Act). The letters informed them that they had been adversely implicated in a statement upon which the Commission was contemplating making a finding, and informed them of their right to respond to the allegations.

- 27 The virtually insurmountable practical difficulties the Commission faced in attempting to corroborate each statement served to crystallise a profound dilemma at the heart of the findings process. On the one hand, the Commission was a legal institution with the responsibility of making defensible findings according to established legal principles. This was particularly important, both to safeguard the credibility of the Commission's final report and to ensure that those who received reparations were genuinely victims as defined in the Act. On the other hand, the Commission embodied a moral and therapeutic process that aimed at acknowledging suffering and giving victims an opportunity to tell their stories. This aspect of the work would have been greatly diminished had the findings process been approached in too technical a manner, focusing narrowly on rules of evidence and requirements of proof. The methodology of the Commission sought to reconcile these potentially conflicting objectives in various ways.
- 28 By holding public hearings or granting private interviews, the Commission attempted to diminish the legal, and at times adversarial, nature of its work and to focus on the restorative and therapeutic dimensions of its mandate. Witnesses were not cross-examined by the Commission and, unless there were glaring inconsistencies and falsehoods, their oral testimony was generally accepted. As a result, the interaction of the vast majority of victims with the Commission was a positive and affirming experience. This meant, however, that at times not all relevant information was obtained when the victim testified in public, placing an additional burden on those attempting to corroborate the statement at a later stage. In general, the Commission sought to be both therapeutic in its processes and rigorous in its findings, but sometimes the effort to satisfy one objective made it more difficult to attain the other.

National findings

- 29 After a 'pre-finding' had been made at a regional level, it was ratified at a national level and recorded on the database. The process of making national findings was greatly facilitated by the work of the National Findings Task Group. This group met regularly to discuss policy issues and to ensure that policy on findings was applied in a consistent manner in each region. The task group also appointed two commissioners to review a sample of each region's findings so as to ensure that the findings process conformed to agreed standards.

■ THE DATABASE³

- 30 Any organisation that deals with large quantities of data must ensure that they are accessible. It must also ensure that information gathered from a wide range of sources and locations is properly integrated to allow for meaningful analysis. The Commission decided to establish a state-of-the-art database system to allow it to administer and analyse all victim statements received. The database operated across a wide area network (WAN) which linked the four regional offices, giving each regional office immediate access to all information collected in the other offices. This helped to ensure that existing or new information regarding individual victims gathered in each office was stored in one location, thus assisting with the integration of information and helping prevent unnecessary duplication.
- 31 The database proved an invaluable analytic tool that allowed researchers in each of the regional offices to access all information in the possession of the Commission regarding particular themes or their specific research areas. The database also performed a crucial 'housekeeping' function by allowing the Commission to monitor developments constantly - such as the number of statements it had received and the rate of processing and corroborating statements.

■ HEARINGS

- 32 The Commission gathered an enormous amount of important information and evidence at the hearings held by the Human Rights Violations Committee. There were five types of hearings.

Victim hearings

- 33 At the victim hearings, some of the victims who had made statements to the Commission were given the opportunity to testify in public. Typically, these hearings lasted over three to five days and involved testimony from between twenty to sixty victims. In certain remote communities, the Commission held single-day hearings. In most instances, the Commission received more statements from victims in specific communities and areas than could be heard in the allotted time period. It was therefore necessary to make a careful selection of victims who would be invited to testify in public. In making this selection, the Commission was careful to stress that whether or not a person appeared in

3 For a theoretical discussion on the design of the database and design methodology for the information flow, see appendix 1.

public was irrelevant to the process of making a finding that he or she was a victim. In other words, the Commission made no distinction in respect of the findings process between those victims who appeared at a public hearing and those who did not. In selecting which persons should be afforded a public hearing, the Commission took the following considerations into account:

- a The nature of abuse in the community or area: the Commission attempted to select a group of victims whose experiences represented the various forms of human rights abuse that had occurred in the area.
 - b The various groups which had experienced abuse: the Commission attempted to select a group which included victims from all sides of the conflict so as to present a picture of abuse from as many perspectives as possible. In many instances, this required that the Commission proactively seek out victims from particular communities.
 - c Representivity in relation to gender, race, age and geographical location in the area where the hearing was to be held.
- 34 Before, during and after each hearing, the Commission tried to ensure that victims who testified and their families could access appropriate psychological support services. The Commission appointed several people with either formal or informal training in mental health care to act as 'briefers' in each of its regional offices. The decision to appoint briefers was an aspect of the Commission's commitment to a 'victim-centred' approach as required by its mandate. The task of the briefers was to ensure that victims were provided with appropriate support. In many instances, the Commission also held follow-up meetings in communities where hearings had been held. These meetings were designed to elicit feedback as to how the community had experienced the hearing and to explore the possibility of building co-operation and unity in areas where there had been conflict and division. However, they did not always succeed in this task. The Commission was often cautioned, not without good cause, for failing to ensure that follow-up counselling for those who testified before the Commission and others was being provided. In many instances, co-operation between the Commission and those who were able to provide counselling services at a local level was inadequate.
- 35 The Commission was determined that victims be allowed to testify in the language of their choice. It believed that the therapeutic effects of giving testimony about abuse, hardship and suffering would be greatly diminished if victims were required

to speak in languages in which they were not comfortable. As a result, the Commission retained the services of a company which provided simultaneous translation services. This allowed victims, members of the Commission and those attending hearings to speak in the language of their choice and to listen to a simultaneous translation of a language that they did not understand or in which they were not fully conversant.

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

Event hearings

- 37 In the event hearings, the Commission focused not on the individual experiences of victims, but on specific events in which gross violations of human rights occurred. These hearings explored the context in which a specific event occurred and typically involved testimony not only from victims but also from alleged perpetrators and experts with specific knowledge about the event or issues related to it. These hearings were selected as 'window cases' and aimed to provide detailed insights into particular incidents that were representative of broader patterns of abuse. Event hearings also provided affected communities and their representatives with the opportunity to speak about collective experiences of abuse, thus offering a more global perspective of human rights abuse. The following event hearings took place:

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

- e The 1985 Trojan Horse ambush by the security forces in the Western Cape.
- f The 1986 killing of the 'Gugulethu Seven', following security force infiltration of African National Congress (ANC) structures in the Western Cape.
- g The 1990 Seven-Days War, resulting from IFP-ANC clashes in the Pietermaritzburg area.
- h The Caprivi Trainees, who were trained by the South African Defence Force (SADF) and deployed in KwaZulu-Natal as a covert paramilitary force in 1986.
- i The 1960 Pondoland Rebellion, in response to the imposition of the Bantu Authorities Act which prepared the way for the independent homelands.
- j The 1992 Bisho Massacre, in response to an ANC national campaign for free political activity in the homelands.

Special hearings

- 38 Special hearings sought to identify patterns of abuse experienced by individuals and groups. An attempt was made to elicit the experiences of vulnerable persons who had suffered gross human rights violations. Specific attention was given to the prevention of future human rights violations and recommendations to promote reconciliation. Hearings were held on:
- a Children and youth
 - b Women
 - c Compulsory national service (conscription)

Institutional hearings

- 39 At the institutional hearings, the Commission sought to receive evidence from various professions, institutions and organisations about the role they had played in committing, resisting or facilitating human rights abuse. The purpose of these hearings was to enrich the Commission's analysis of human rights abuse by

exploring how various social institutions contributed to the conflicts of the past. The hearings often provoked considerable public debate about, for example, the role of the legal and medical professions during the Commission's mandate period. They also triggered or encouraged introspection and self-analysis by these professions and organisations. In addition, they helped the Commission to formulate some of the recommendations made to the President concerning legislative, institutional and administrative measures that should be taken to prevent future human rights abuse. Institutions were often criticised for failing to acknowledge adequately their complicity in gross human rights violations. In certain instances, however, institutional hearings served as a catalyst for professions and organisations themselves, triggering transformation from within.

40 The following institutional hearings were held:³

- a health sector hearings
- b legal hearings
- c media hearings
- d business hearings
- e prison hearings
- f faith communities hearing

Political party hearings

41 The Commission provided political parties with an opportunity to offer their perspectives on the causes and nature of the conflicts of the past, together with an account of their involvement in and/or responsibility for gross violations of human rights. The hearings examined as carefully as possible the question of accountability for gross violations of human rights. In most instances, these hearings consisted of two phases. In the first phase, the Commission allowed the political parties to make their submissions and asked questions only for purposes of clarification. In the second phase, the Commission put substantive questions to the various parties, based on a detailed study of their submissions and of evidence gathered through investigations and research.

³ See chapters on institutional hearings.

■ INVESTIGATIONS

- 42 Section 28 of the Act provided for the establishment of an investigation unit to be headed by a commissioner. The work of the Investigation Unit clearly illustrates the general comment made above: it is difficult to develop a clear *modus operandi* in a context where an institution is constantly changing and evolving in response to both internal and external developments. The structure and functioning of the Investigation Unit altered as the institutional priorities of the Commission changed.
- 43 The initial focus of the Commission's work was the holding of a large number of hearings in many locations throughout the country. At this stage, the task of the Investigation Unit was to assist in the verification of statements provided by victims who were to testify at hearings. The Unit also engaged in a range of logistic activities associated with the hearings, such as locating and transporting witnesses. In addition, it assisted in gathering evidence and preparing questions for event, institutional and political party hearings.
- 44 From the beginning of the hearings process, it was apparent that the number of victims who would give statements to the Commission would be far greater than the number of victims who would actually testify. There was, as has been mentioned, recognition by the Commission that all statements received from victims, regardless of whether or not they testified, would need to be corroborated in order for findings to be made. After the first year of operation, given the large number of statements being taken, the Investigation Unit's responsibilities became more focused on the task of verifying and corroborating statements.
- 45 Finally, in the last quarter of the Commission's life, it became evident that the Amnesty Committee would require considerable investigative support in order to deal with the large number of people who had applied for amnesty. Again, the Investigation Unit was required to shift resources to meet this institutional need. The shifting priorities of the Commission and their impact on its methodology are discussed in greater detail in the analysis section of this chapter.
- 46 In addition to assisting with hearings, undertaking corroborative work and supporting the work of the Amnesty Committee, the Investigation Unit had other functions to perform. One of these was to embark on proactive investigations into a range of strategic areas relating to the mandate of the Commission. These investigations focused on various themes, patterns and trends relating to human rights abuse

that occurred during the mandate period. The results of these investigations were the subject of ongoing discussions and interaction with the Research Department. A specialised 'analysis function' was established within the Investigation Unit in order to assist these strategic investigations.

- 47 A further function of the Investigation Unit was to convene and undertake the necessary preparatory work for enquiries held in terms of section 29 of the Act. The primary purpose of these hearings was to question persons who may have had information relevant to the investigations and work of the Commission. In addition to section 29 hearings involving a range of individuals, hearings also focused, *inter alia*, on the following enquiries:

- a Vlakplaas
- b Witdoek violence in KTC
- c Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB)
- d Security Police in KwaZulu and Natal
- e Mandela United Football Club
- f Chemical and biological warfare

■ RESEARCH

- 48 The Commission established a research department in order to assist with the analysis and contextualisation of the enormous amount of data, evidence and information that it received. Although the department was principally concerned with primary data received from various sources, it also considered a range of secondary sources on issues relevant to the Commission's work. By continually evaluating the Commission's primary data in the light of material already written on the subject, the Research Department was able to enhance the evidence presented to the Commission.
- 49 The Research Department began its work by generating regional chronologies of human rights abuses that had occurred during the Commission's mandate period. These chronologies were used to isolate fifteen strategic research themes which helped to explain the causes and nature of various modalities of human rights abuse. These themes were constantly revised and updated as more information and evidence was placed before the Commission. The Research Department then analysed each statement received by the Commission and categorised it according to theme. This helped ensure that any explanation or analysis generated by the Commission would be based primarily on information gathered by the Commission itself.
- 50 The Research Department considered and analysed almost all of the information gathered and received by the Commission. This included submissions made by various institutions (political parties, state structures, non-governmental organisations and so on); evidence received at the various hearings of the Commission; evidence received in amnesty applications and hearings; archival material; transcriptions of section 29 enquiries; interviews conducted by experts or relevant persons, and secondary material.
- 51 This research and analysis on the nature and genesis of human rights abuse in various regions or according to various themes also assisted the Human Rights Violations Committee in making findings on the statements it received. Similarly, the work of the Research Department provided valuable background material which assisted the Amnesty Committee in its deliberations. The Research Department, guided by the work of the Commission as a whole, also facilitated the drafting of the various chapters of the Commission's final report and managed the editing and production process.

■ THE AMNESTY PROCESS

- 52 In terms of section 20(c) of the Act, one of the preconditions for the granting of amnesty was that the applicant made full disclosure of all relevant facts. The amnesty process was thus one of the most important sources of information regarding gross violations of human rights. In particular, the amnesty process provided vital insights into the motives and perspectives of perpetrators and offered important evidence regarding the authorisation of gross violations of human rights.
- 53 Information derived from the amnesty process took two forms. First, it was contained in the written applications submitted by those applying for amnesty. Second, it was derived from the testimony given at the amnesty hearings themselves. The latter information was usually considerably richer and more detailed than the former, and it must be noted that, at times, significant discrepancies emerged between information contained in applications and that adduced at hearings. This presented a difficulty in the drafting of the Commission's report, which is discussed below.
- 54 Members of the Research Department and Investigation Unit perused all amnesty application forms. These applications were classified based on the identity of the applicant according to a classification system developed by the Commission. Broadly speaking, the applicants were divided into three categories:
- a those working within the previous state system or in support of the *status quo*;
 - b those working to overthrow the state;
 - c the white right wing.
- 55 Once this classification was complete, each sub-category was further analysed in order to identify key themes common to each. These themes, together with a list of amnesty applications relevant to each of them, were made available to the Research Department and Investigation Unit to assist them in their work. This process allowed for the information contained in amnesty applications to be considered during the process of drafting relevant chapters of the final report. For example, researchers responsible for providing an account of the role played by the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (APLA) in the commission of gross violations of human rights were able to refer to all amnesty applications

submitted by members of APLA or the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). They were also able to scrutinise these applications according to certain themes, for example: attacks on 'soft targets' (urban); attacks on 'soft targets' (rural); attacks on the South African Police/South African Defence Force.

- 56 This allowed the evidence collected from sources such as victim statements and section 29 enquiries to be integrated with the information contained in amnesty applications. The result of this process of gathering information from a range of sources and representing a range of perspectives was a more nuanced and sophisticated analysis of the nature, causes and extent of gross violations of human rights.
- 57 A cause for concern, alluded to above, was the fact that the analysis of information derived from the amnesty process (reflected in various chapters of the report) was, in many instances, based on written amnesty applications and not on the proceedings before the Amnesty Committee. This is because not all amnesty applications had been heard prior to the submission of the report.

■ WITNESS PROTECTION

- 58 Persons who were offered protection by the Commission's witness protection programme provided a certain amount of information to the Commission. This information was generally recorded either by the witness protector or an investigator and forwarded to the Investigation Unit.

■ OVERVIEW OF THE COMMISSION'S WORK

- 59 The evolution of the Commission's work through three broad phases had a direct bearing on its methodology. Although the phases overlapped to a large extent, it is nevertheless useful to characterise them as distinct phases for the purpose of understanding the various ways in which the Commission's work changed during its term of operation. The phases can be defined as the hearings phase, the statements phase and the amnesty phase.

The hearings phase

- 60 The first hearing held by the Commission attracted both national and international attention. It created a tremendous demand from communities throughout the country to hold hearings in their areas. As a result, each of the Commission's regional offices developed a fairly extensive hearings schedule, aimed at ensuring that as many communities as possible were accessed and provided with an opportunity to testify. On numerous occasions, two and sometimes three regional offices held hearings on the same day in different parts of the country. This illustrates the extent to which the work of the Commission was driven by public hearings.
- 61 The prioritisation of hearings meant that a large proportion of the time, energy and resources of the Commission was devoted to this activity. Commissioners and committee members spent a significant percentage of their time preparing for hearings and presiding over them. Regional office staff provided the necessary logistic and administrative support for hearings. Researchers provided background briefs on the communities in which hearings were held, and the Investigation Unit allocated a large number of investigators to the task of locating victims and transporting them to and from hearings.
- 62 The holding of hearings throughout the country, and the public attention they attracted, resulted in a dramatic increase in awareness about the Commission and its work. This, in turn, resulted in a significant increase in the number of victims wishing to provide statements to the Commission. At the same time, the Commission initiated the designated statement taker programme (see above), which also resulted in a large increase in the numbers of statements made. This large influx of statements put considerable pressure on the staff and infrastructure of the Commission, which had, up until then, been oriented towards the holding of hearings and not the processing of large numbers of statements. It quickly became clear that staff and resources should be allocated towards the Commission's information management system and that functions associated with the holding of hearings should be scaled down.

The statements phase

- 63 As soon as it became evident that the information management system would not be able to cope with the large influx of statements, the Commission decided to

reduce the number of hearings and to increase the Commission's capacity to take and process statements. This involved increasing the number of staff members involved in the capture, processing and corroboration of statements and placing greater emphasis on the efficient and professional processing of statements. This shift in priorities required that the Commission devote greater attention to the legal and administrative dimensions of its work (the processing of statements and the making of findings) and less attention to the public and symbolic aspects of its activities (the holding of hearings). It also resulted in an inevitable reduction in emphasis on the therapeutic and restorative dimensions of statement taking and an increased bias towards the information-gathering and fact-finding nature of the exercise. Such institutional reorientation is not easily achieved and, although the Commission recognised the necessity for change, there was also considerable concern that it would become driven by technical rather than moral considerations. In developing priorities on how best to achieve its objectives, the Commission constantly grappled with the tension between attempting to acknowledge in a meaningful manner the suffering of each person who made a statement to the Commission and attempting to process and corroborate tens of thousands of statements.

- 64 In the final weeks before the 14 December 1997 cut-off date for submission of statements to the Commission, the Durban regional office received approximately 5 000 statements. This meant that over 40 per cent of all statements received in Durban were submitted in the last two weeks before the cut-off date. The Commission took a decision to enlarge the data processing and corroborative capacity of the Durban office to enable it to cope with this massive influx of statements.

The amnesty phase

- 65 The initial cut-off date for amnesty applications was 14 December 1996. This was, however, extended to 10 May 1997 in order to allow persons who had previously not been entitled to apply for amnesty to submit their applications⁴. By early 1997, it was already apparent that the Commission would receive thousands more amnesty applications than had been anticipated. It was also clear that each individual amnesty application would take far longer to settle than initially envisaged. Reasons for this included: the public nature of the proceedings; the right of victims

⁴ People who committed acts associated with political objectives as defined by the Act between 1 March 1960 and 5 December 1993 were entitled to apply for amnesty. This cut-off date was extended to 10 May 1994 after an appeal by the Commission to President Nelson Mandela.

and their legal representatives to be present, adduce evidence and ask questions, and the complex and contested nature of many of the applications. The Commission's projections indicated that, if amnesty hearings were to continue at the same pace, it would take many years to hear the cases of the thousands of people who had applied for amnesty. It was on this basis that the Commission approached Parliament with a request that it be allowed to enlarge substantially the capacity of the Amnesty Committee and that funds be made available to allow for the simultaneous holding of up to six hearings. This was agreed, and the Amnesty Committee appointed additional committee members, leaders of evidence, logistics officers, secretaries and investigators.

- 66 By 1998, the Commission devoted virtually all of its resources to ensuring that statements were properly processed and corroborated so that findings could be made, and that amnesty applications were dealt with as expeditiously as possible. By the end of its term of operation, the Commission had succeeded in making findings in respect of all statements submitted to it, but had been unable to hear and decide upon all amnesty applications.
- 67 Once the Amnesty Committee has completed its work, the Commission will file a codicil based on the amnesty hearings.

■ APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGY AND THE INFORMATION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Terms of reference

- 1 In February 1996, the Commission's Database Development Group⁶ reviewed the Act to determine sources of information legally available to the Commission, and the kinds of reports and analysis that would be necessary to satisfy the functions defined by the Act as objectives of the Commission.
- 2 The group developed the specifications for an information management system aimed at providing a rigorous and consistent process through which raw information given to or collected by the Commission would meet the analytical and reporting objectives set out in the Act - particularly in section 4, 'Functions of the Commission'.
- 3 Requirements that the system had to satisfy were:
 - a In accordance with section 4(b), the Commission would receive human rights violations statements from tens of thousands of individual deponents and from thousands of amnesty applicants.
 - b Such a large volume of data required methodical and consistent treatment to ensure that each statement and amnesty application received a fair and equal evaluation of its content and balance of probabilities.⁷
 - c The information stored by the Commission had to be accessible to each of the four regional offices because each statement or amnesty application might have implications for hearings or investigations in any of the other offices.
- 4 The Commission adopted an eight-stage information flow to collect information, process it into standard internal formats, capture it in a computerised database and then analyse it using quantitative and qualitative techniques. This analysis fulfilled three requirements of the Act, in terms of which the Commission was obliged to:

⁶ The Database Development Group consisted of Commissioners Mapule F. Ramashala and Glenda Wildschut, Charles Villa-Vicencio (Director of Research), Paul van Zyl (Executive Secretary) and consultants Patrick Ball, Brandon Hamber, and Lydia Levin. Gerald O'Sullivan (Information Systems Manager) implemented the design.

⁷ See, in this context, Sections 11(b) and 11(c) of the Act.

- a identify those violations that constituted a “systematic pattern of abuse” (section 4(a)(i)). To achieve this, the Commission used quantitative analyses to show statistical regularity.
- b describe the “nature ... and extent” of gross human rights violations (4(a)(ii)).⁸ The ‘nature’ of violations means the types of violations that were committed and in what ways; the ‘extent’ of violations was interpreted to mean how many violations were committed.
- c produce a report on its “activities and findings” (Section 4(e)). Given the importance and magnitude of the Commission’s ‘activities’, it was considered necessary to include a statistical description of the population who gave statements to the Commission or applied for amnesty.

The structural complexity of human rights violations

- 5 Every effort was made to avoid errors in representation and analysis of the information collected by the Commission. A deponent who gives a statement presents a narrative account of great potential complexity.⁹ To avoid errors of representation and analysis, the Commission’s database was designed to address the following complexities:
 - a **Many victims:** the deponent may speak about violations that happened to one or many victims. The deponent may or may not herself be a victim. She may discuss her own detention and subsequent torture in addition to her son’s killing or her husband’s disappearance.
 - b **Many violations:** each of the victims described in a particular statement may have suffered one or several gross violations. For example, the deponent’s son may have been detained and tortured on several separate occasions before he was killed. These violations may have been connected to other violations that occurred at the same time and place (for example, several different people detained and tortured together), or they may have been isolated incidents.
 - c **Many perpetrators:** each of the violations described in the statement may have been committed by one or many perpetrators. Furthermore, each of the identified perpetrators in the narrative may have been responsible for one or

⁸ Section 1(ix) of the Act defines a gross violation of human rights as killing, abduction, torture, or severe ill treatment.

⁹ See Patrick Ball, *Who Did What to Whom? Planning and Implementing a Large Scale Human Rights Data Project*. Washington, DC: AAAS. 1996, especially chapter 2, for a detailed discussion of the biases introduced by oversimplifying assumptions in human rights information management systems.

more violations. For example, a deponent might identify Mr A as the man responsible both for her torture and for her daughter's killing.

- 6 The Commission took great care to build a system that was sufficiently flexible to accept any combination of these complexities, without simplifying deponents' stories in ways that led to the distortion or systematic concealment of certain kinds of information. Accepting a reduced version of a complex story is a frequent cause of this kind of distortion.
- 7 The data was very carefully managed at every stage of the information management process, in order to maximise validity, reliability and precision of analysis from the information given to the Commission. This was done for the following reasons:
 - a The Act required that findings be "based on factual and objective information" (section 4(e)). For the information to be factual, it had to be collected and stored without introducing oversimplifying distortions. For the information to be objective, it had to be coded in standard forms and according to clear and consistent definitions.
 - b Respect for deponents and victims¹⁰ involved treating statements with integrity, and keeping them intact to the limits of the available technology. Integrity, in this sense, meant that deponents' narratives should not be fragmented; nor portions discarded through decisions of the Commission¹¹ or inadequate representation. There was a need for information to be maintained in a secure fashion and protected from theft or abuse, and the analysis needed accurately to reflect the information given in statements and qualified by findings.

Sources for the design

- 8 The Commission drew on a variety of prior human rights data projects in order to design its database. These included the experience of the Haitian National Commission for Truth and Justice and the United Nations Commission for Truth in El Salvador - at the time, the only two truth commissions to have undertaken quantitative analysis of human rights violation data on the scale proposed by the South African Commission. Consultants from the Investigative Task Unit (a special unit established by the Minister of Safety and Security to investigate alleged hit

¹⁰ Mandated in terms of section 11(a) of the Act.

¹¹ When the Commission makes negative findings about particular aspects of a statement, the information is not deleted from the system. Instead it is marked as not found or as unable to find, and thereby excluded from analysis. However, if one wanted to see what a statement actually said, the database maintains a record of all the material in that statement, including material that was confirmed and that which was not confirmed.

squad activities in KwaZulu-Natal) and non-government organisations (NGOs) that had participated in the Human Rights Documentation Project also made suggestions on the information flow.

- 9 The instrument most extensively used by the Commission's Database Development Group was developed by representatives of six human rights NGOs with experience in the design of human rights information systems.¹² Full evaluations of the Commission's information flow were conducted in September 1996 and April 1997¹³. In addition, numerous periodic office-specific or stage-specific evaluations were conducted.

Theoretical basis for the information flow

- 10 The Commission based its work on the assumption that objective¹⁴ knowledge about the social world in general, and about human rights violations in particular, is possible. Some analysts, in particular academic anthropologists, have questioned this assumption. Their criticism is directed primarily at the decontextualised nature of human rights reporting in anecdotal presentations or legal casework, but it is equally - possibly even more - relevant to quantitative analysis.
- 11 In brief, analysts such as Richard A Wilson are concerned that "violence, like any other social process, is expressed and interpreted according to sets of metaphors about the nature of power, gender relations, and human bodies."¹⁵ Any report of political violence must place the violence within the relevant web of social networks and contingent cultural meanings. However, Wilson does *not* conclude that objectified or universalised human rights analysis is somehow fundamentally meaningless; only that, on its own, legalistic or quantitative analysis is inadequate. He thus calls for a blend of methods at different levels to explain human rights violations.

12 Patrick Ball, Ricardo Cifuentes, Judith Dueck, Romilly Gregory, Daniel Salcedo, and Carlos Saldarriaga, 'A Definition of Database Design Standards for Human Rights Agencies,' American Association for the Advancement of Science/HURIDOCS, November 1994.

13 See Patrick Ball, 'Evaluation of Commission's Information Flow and Database, with Recommendations', Memorandum to the Commission, 9 September 1996, 34 pp; see also Ball, 'Statistical Analysis and Other Research Using the Commission Database: Notes for Analysts', Memorandum to the Commission, 11 April 1997.

14 Or at least knowledge that is inter-subjectively reliable, that is, knowledge on which the involved actors can agree is held in common between them. This is a weaker assumption than objective knowledge but it has the same practical effect.

15 Richard A. Wilson, 'Representing Human Rights Violations: Social Contexts and Subjectivities', pp. 134-160 in Human Rights, Culture, and Context, Richard A. Wilson, Ed. London: Pluto P. 1997: p. 148.

- 12 Wilson's call provides an anthropological parallel to the Act's legal requirements. The Act demands methodological pluralism. As argued above, it required that the Commission gather information and analyse it rigorously. Beyond rigour even, it requires an analysis of "systematic patterns" and of "context, motives and perspectives which led to such violations" (4(a), sections (i) and (ii)). The first level implies a quantitative treatment, and the second necessitates historical or ethnographic reflection.
- 13 In short, the Act echoes classical sociologist Max Weber's definition of the sociological method, whereby "historical and social uniqueness results from specific combinations of general factors, which when isolated are quantifiable."¹⁶ Like the Commission, Weber is concerned that social analysis should be sufficient to draw general conclusions, but that it simultaneously preserve and reflect on individual case details. Weber recommends that analysts identify general factors in the universe of examples by applying ideal types - "controlled and unambiguous conceptions" - which illuminate particular phenomena of study. However, the general factors must be understood in terms of the particularities of individual cases. This definition of a set of 'ideal types' is then applied to a universe of narrative (or semi-structured) statements taken in interviews with deponents.
- 14 At the Commission, the data processing teams implemented these 'ideal types', using a controlled vocabulary and a coding frame. The teams coded deponents' statements in standard forms before capturing the information on the database.
- 15 Weber was careful to note that this method is most useful as a comparative device. That is, the aggregation of examples of a particular ideal type with one set of characteristics provides a basis for evaluation of a second aggregation of examples of a similar but distinct ideal type with a different set of characteristics.¹⁷ The comparison of patterns of violations - among regions, across time, between types of victims, and among groups of perpetrators - is the basis for the quantitative analysis presented in the report.¹⁸

16 Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, 'Methods of Social Science', in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Oxford UP. 1946: p. 59. This paragraph and the following one follow Gerth and Mills' description of Weber's methodology.

17 See Gerth and Mills, pp. 59-60.

18 See Richard Claude and Thomas Jabine, 'Exploring Human Rights Issues with Statistics', pp 5-34; Robert Goldstein, 'The Limitations of Using Quantitative Data in Studying Human Rights Abuses', pp 35-61; George Lopez and Michael Stohl, 'Problems of Concept Measurement in the Study of Human Rights', pp 216-234 in *Human Rights and Statistics: Getting the Record Straight*, edited by Thomas Jabine and Richard Claude, University of Pennsylvania, 1992. See also the pioneering work of Judith Dueck and Aida Maria Noval, *HURIDOCS Standard Formats Supporting Documents*, Geneva: HURIDOCS, 1993 and Ball, 1996.

Statistical limitations and sampling

- 16 Section 4(b) of the Act required that the Commission accept statements from all South Africans who wished to make them. Hence, the Commission did not carry out a 'survey' of violations in the sense of drawing a probabilistic sample of victims.¹⁹ Those who chose to come forward defined the universe of people from whom the Commission received information.
- 17 Human rights data are almost never taken from probabilistic samples. Instead, people decide for themselves if they will make statements. This 'self-selection' of the sample introduces a number of factors that must be taken into account when interpreting findings:²⁰
- a people who live in areas very far from where the data are being collected have less chance of being in the sample than those closer to the offices in which statements are taken, because of transport difficulties, for example, or the relative inaccessibility of rural areas;
 - b people who are energetic are more likely to give statements than those who are ill, injured, elderly, traumatised, or suffering profound depression;
 - c deponents who died before the Commission began work cannot give statements; hence events that took place in the past are under-reported;
 - d people with no access to the media (radio, newspapers or television) are less likely to approach the Commission;
 - e people from constituencies that are hostile to the Commission are less likely to make statements.
- 18 Since the Commission's sample was not a probabilistic sample, it was not possible to use the data to calculate how many violations, in total, took place in South Africa. Without knowing what proportion of all potential victims actually came to the Commission, the overall total cannot be estimated. What is known is that there were *at least* 21 000 gross violations of human rights.

¹⁹ Statistical projection of findings and analysis from a sample to the society at large can only be made if a probabilistic sample is used - one that is drawn randomly from the population so that every member of the population has an equal or fixed chance of being included in the sample.

²⁰ See, for example, Ignacio Cano, 'Evaluating Human Rights Violations', pp 221-233 in *Evaluation for the 21st Century*. Edited by Eleanor Chelinsky and William Standish. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Press 1997.

- 19 However, the data gathered from the human rights violations statements do permit the kinds of analyses to which they are subjected in the various chapters of this report. It is important to note that the Commission's data were based on corroborated findings. This means that, at a minimum, these violations (if not many more) definitely happened in these places at these times. Furthermore, none of the conclusions in the Commission report are based on quantitative data alone; in each case, the quantitative data is linked to the accounts of contemporary journalists, histories of the various regions, and analyses of reported situations by NGO human rights groups.
- 20 The quantitative results on which arguments in this report are made are not subtle. Only where there are great differences in relative rates, or very distinctive patterns that are stable across regions, does the report interpret the statistics as findings.
- 21 The Commission's database represents an unequalled collection of data on a set of events that took place during a unique period of South Africa's history. It may only have scratched the surface, but that surface has been scratched in unprecedented detail.

■ APPENDIX 2: WHO CAME TO THE COMMISSION?

Introduction

- 1 In order to establish as complete a picture as possible of the conflicts of the past, the Human Rights Violations Committee focused the bulk of its energy and resources on gathering and processing statements from deponents²¹. The corroborated allegations of gross violations of human rights contained in these 21 000 statements form the basis for the Human Rights Violations Committee's conclusions about the nature of the conflict.
- 2 The purpose in describing *who* came to the Commission and *what* they talked about is to allay fears that these conclusions are flawed because, for example, the constituency that approached the Commission was in some way partisan, or because the Commission itself did not reach out to a sufficiently broad cross-section of people.
- 3 The methodology of the statement-taking process was such that deponents came to the Commission of their own volition. The Commission did not carry out a survey of human rights violations in the sense of a conventional 'market research' approach using a stratified random sample, nor did it carry out a census of violations. The information gathered came from those who wished to tell the Commission about the gross violations of human rights they had experienced. In other words, the sample was self-selecting²².
- 4 This section of the report looks at the cross-section of people who came to the Commission, in terms of their broad demographics and what they spoke about, in order to build up a picture of this constituency.

²¹ The term 'deponent' is used to describe those who made a statement to the Human Rights Violation Committee of the Commission. They may or may not be victims of a gross violation of human rights themselves.

²² See Appendix 1 to this chapter: *Methodology and the Information Management System*.

Geographical coverage

- 5 The Commission's four regional offices gathered statements in all nine provinces²³. The table below shows the number of statements taken in each of the provinces, starting with the provinces that took the largest number. For purposes of comparison, it also shows the total population of each province and the average number of statements taken per 1 000 people in the province.

PROVINCE	OFFICE RESPONSIBLE	NUMBER OF STATEMENTS TAKEN IN EACH PROVINCE	STATEMENTS FROM EACH PROVINCE %	TOTAL POPULATION IN EACH PROVINCE, IN 1,000's ²⁴	AVERAGE NO. OF STATEMENTS TAKEN PER 1,000 PEOPLE
KWAZULU-NATAL	Durban	9,506	44.6	7,672	1.24
GAUTENG	Johannesburg	3,511	16.5	7,171	0.49
EASTERN CAPE	East London	2,847	13.4	5,865	0.49
WESTERN CAPE	Cape Town	1,320	6.2	4,118	0.32
MPUMALANGA	Johannesburg	1,112	5.2	2,646	0.42
NORTH WEST PROVINCE	Johannesburg	861	4.0	2,470	0.35
FREE STATE	Durban	862	4.0	3,043	0.28
NORTHERN PROVINCE	Johannesburg	723	3.4	4,128	0.18
NORTHERN CAPE	Cape Town	450	2.1	,746	0.60
OTHER		106	0.5		
Total		21,298	100.0	37,859	0.56

- 6 The Durban office gathered the largest number of statements. Thus nearly half of all statements made to the Commission came from KwaZulu-Natal, and almost three times as many statements as were taken in the next most populous province, Gauteng.
- 7 In general, as might be expected, the more populous the province, the larger the number of statements taken. However, certain provinces had experienced greater political instability than others, resulting in more violations of human rights and a consequently larger number of deponents.

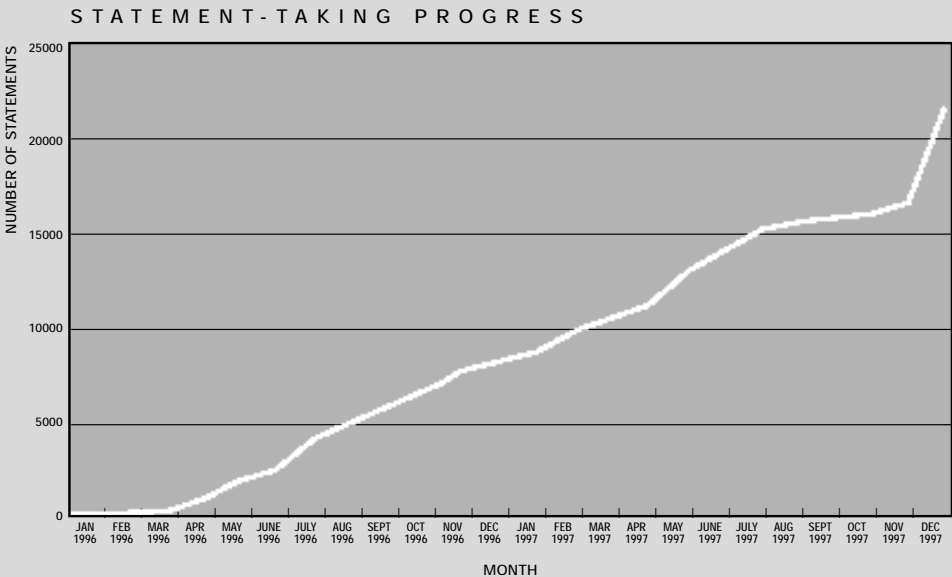
²³ Note that the post-1994 provinces are used here, because we are considering the whereabouts of deponents in 1996/1997.

²⁴ Census 96 - Preliminary estimates of the size of the population of South Africa, Central Statistics Services, June 1997.

- 8 The number of statements taken per 1 000 provincial residents²⁵ illustrates this. Had the political conflict affected all regions equally, the average number of statements per 1 000 residents would have been the same for each province; but it is not.
- 9 The average number of statements per 1 000 people for KwaZulu-Natal, where levels of violence were very high, was more than double that of the national average. This was especially surprising since the climate of hostility to the Commission from many areas in that province discouraged many people from making statements. Had the Commission received a more positive response from these constituencies, the figure would almost certainly have been even higher.
- 10 The rate of statement taking in each province was also affected by the ability of the Commission to reach deponents. The very high rate of statements taken in the Northern Cape was the result of intensive statement taking in an under-populated province, rather than an above-average number of people who suffered gross violations of human rights.

Statement taking

- 11 Statements were taken from deponents over a period of two years - from the moment the Commission began work until the cut-off date for human rights violations statements in December 1997. The graph below shows the progress made by the Commission in taking statements.



25 For ease of analysis, the total provincial population is used, rather than that of the adult population. The age-pyramids across the provinces are sufficiently similar that the point remains the same.

- 12 Statement taking was carried out steadily throughout the two-year period. There was a lull towards the end of 1997, followed by intensive activity in the very last month as deponents rushed to meet the deadline.

Population groups²⁶

- 13 The apartheid state was fundamentally based on racial and ethnic groupings and this is still one of most important explanatory variables in any sociological and historical analysis of contemporary South Africa. Moreover, the conflicts of the past affected ethnic groups in very different ways, as did the consequences of the violations. Therefore, statement-takers asked deponents to which population group they had been allocated in terms of apartheid terminology. The responses are listed below, together with the national breakdown, for comparison²⁷:

POPULATION GROUP	NUMBER OF STATEMENTS	% STATEMENTS FROM EACH GROUP	% TOTAL POPULATION IN EACH GROUP ²⁸
African	19,144	89.9	76.1
Coloured	354	1.7	8.5
Asian	45	0.2	2.6
White	231	1.1	12.8
Total statements	21,297	100.0	100.0

- 14 If the conflicts of the past had affected the population groups equally, one would expect that the numbers of deponents in each category would be proportionate to the national population. However, the table shows that the number of deponents who described themselves as African is much higher than would be expected from the population statistics. It was, indeed, overwhelmingly Africans who came to tell the Commission about gross violations of human rights.
- 15 The low number of white deponents is not wholly a consequence of hostility towards the Commission by large sections of the white community. Indeed, the Commission made a concerted effort to reach *all* sections of the community.

²⁶ The apartheid state classified people into one of four population groups, namely African, Coloured, Asian and White. Since the Commission's focus is on violations in the political context of apartheid, this terminology is retained.

²⁷ There are 1 523 statements from deponents whose population group is unknown. Since it is likely that the cross-section of these deponents is the same as those whose population group is known, the results are not likely to be significantly affected.

²⁸ Sidiropoulos, E., et al, South Africa Survey 1995/1996, Race Relations.

Special appeals for whites to come forward were made through the media and the Commission held several sectoral hearings focusing on issues of interest to the white community. The reality is that the conflicts of the past affected very few whites in comparison to the rest of the population, so very few came forward to make statements.

Men and women

16 The breakdown of deponents by gender and population group is as follows:

POPULATION GROUP	FEMALES		MALES		TOTAL STATEMENTS ²⁹
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	
African	10,571	55.9	8,329	44.1	18,900
Coloured	134	38.0	219	62.0	353
Asian	9	20.5	35	79.5	44
White	91	40.1	136	59.9	227
Total	10,805	55.3	8,719	44.7	19,524

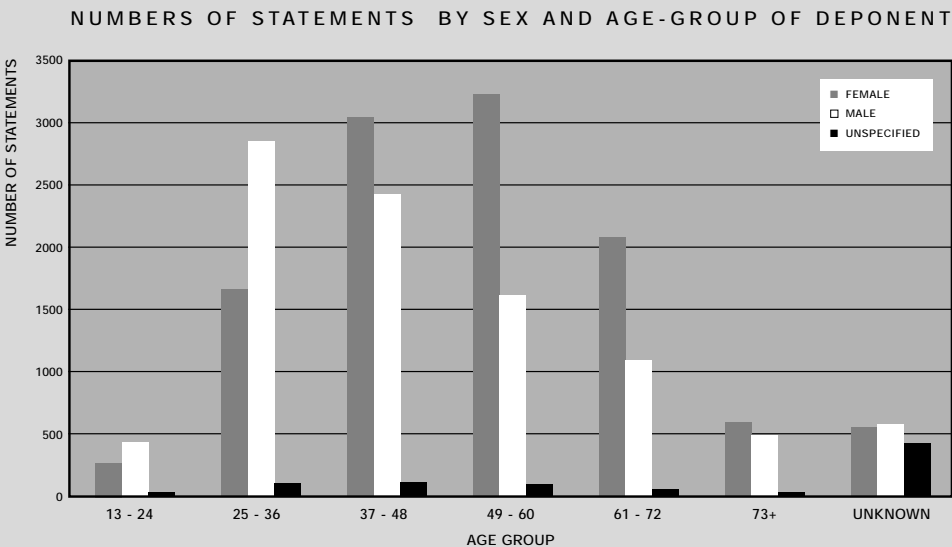
- 17 In total, more women came to the Commission than men, because many more African women came to the Commission than any other category. Men dominate the white, Coloured and Asian deponents.
- 18 Nationally, the proportion of women to men is 54: 52³⁰, so the higher number of African women is not simply a demographic consequence. As will be shown, the violence of the past resulted in the deaths mainly of men.

29 There are 716 statements from deponents whose sex was not recorded. Since it is likely that the proportion of females to males of these statements is the same as those where the sex is known, the results are not likely to be significantly affected.

30 Census 96, *ibid*.

Age groups

19 The Commission took statements from deponents of all age groups, except children³¹.



20 The chart below shows the number of statements made by women and men in each age group. Most statements were made by those aged thirty-seven and above, with men dominating the younger age groups (youths and young adults), and women in the majority in the middle-aged to elderly age groups. The reason for this pattern is explained by looking at who the victims were and when the violations took place.

What did they talk about?

21 Deponents came to the Commission to tell about gross violations of human rights that had been experienced, either by themselves or by someone close to them. In total, the 21 000 statements made to the Commission contained nearly 38 000 allegations of gross violations of human rights³², of which nearly 10 000 were killings.

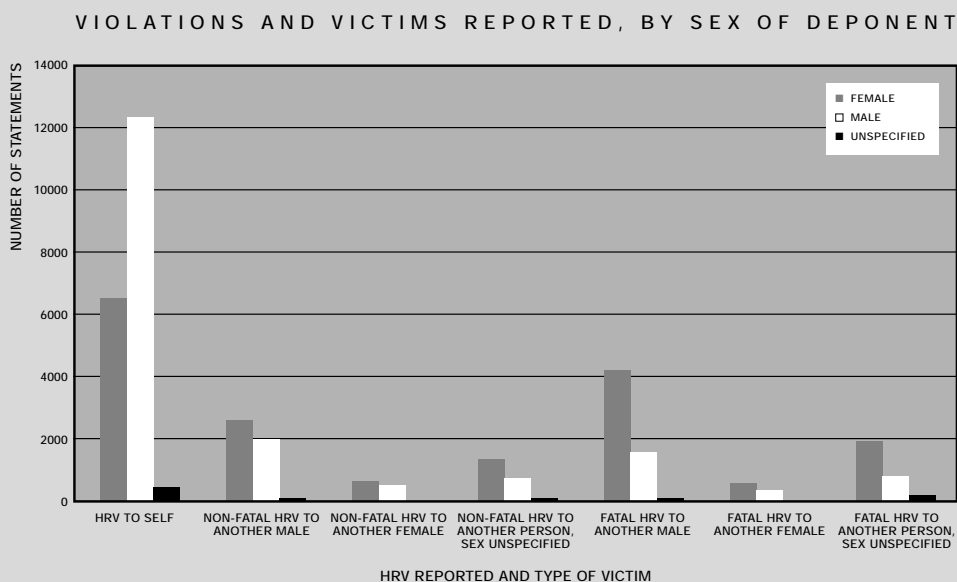
31 i.e. those below the legal age of majority.

32 The total number of violations reported is a count of all gross violations reported, whether the Commission found the violation to be a gross violation in terms of the Act or not. We are only considering deponents' testimony here, not the final decisions of the commission. In addition to gross violations, deponents also described several thousand 'associated' violations that do not fall into the categories specified by the Act. These have been excluded from this analysis.

- 22 The table below shows the number of violations, fatal and non-fatal³³, reported by deponents and who suffered from the violation:

VICTIMS AND TYPE OF VIOLATION	NUMBER OF VIOLATIONS REPORTED
Non-fatal HRV to men	17,050
Non-fatal HRV to women	7,880
Non-fatal HRV to victims of unspecified sex	2,762
Fatal HRV to men	5,980
Fatal HRV to women	1,031
Fatal HRV to victims of unspecified sex	2,969
Total reported violations	37,672

- 23 Men were the most common victims of violations. Six times as many men died as women and twice as many survivors of violations were men³⁴. Hence, although most people who told the Commission about violations were women, most of the testimony was about men. The graph below shows clearly how the testimony of women deponents differed from that of men:



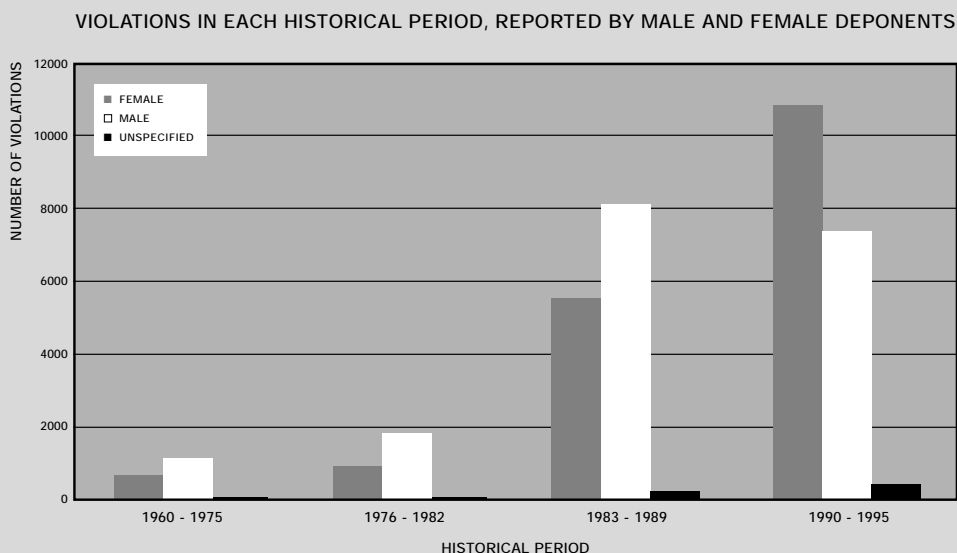
33 Non-fatal human rights violations include attempted killings, torture, severe ill treatment and abductions.

34 The large numbers of victims of unspecified sex are a consequence of the time-pressures on Commission staff to load the data onto the computer systems. With more time and resources, this data can be improved. However, it is very likely that the proportion of men to women victims amongst those of unspecified sex is the same as that where the sex is known, so the overall results are not likely to be significantly affected by the unknowns.

- 24 Most men who came to the Commission reported violations they had experienced, whereas women tended to talk about violations experienced by others. This is not to say that women did not suffer violations themselves - they certainly did suffer - but the focus of women's testimony was more often about someone other than themselves and those victims tended to be men.³⁵

Historical periods

- 25 The Commission's mandate period covered four major historical periods, from 1960 to 1994. The graph below shows that most violations reported by deponents took place in the period after the unbanning of political parties (1990-1994) followed closely by the years in which states of emergency were in force (1983-1989).



- 26 The lower number of reported violations in early periods is partly a consequence of the different political climate during those years, but is also partly due to the fact that people from that time were either too old to come the Commission, or had passed away.

³⁵ In order to ensure that the voices of women speaking on their own behalf were heard, the Commission held hearings specifically for this purpose. These are reported on in a later chapter.

- 27 A significant point is that violations reported to have taken place in the period after the unbannings were more commonly reported by women. This is because the nature of the violence changed dramatically in that period, during which whole communities were indiscriminately affected.

Concluding remarks

- 28 The Commission did not try to carry out a census of violations of human rights. It had neither the time nor the resources to do so. Consequently, we will never know exactly how many people suffered during the mandate period.
- 29 Instead, the Commission appealed to South Africans to come forward to tell the Human Rights Violation Committee what had happened to them. By the end of the Commission's lifespan, 21 000 people had come forward, women and men, old and young, and told the Commission about nearly 38 000 gross violations of human rights. In the process, the broad outlines of the past emerged with undeniable clarity. Ninety percent of those who came forward were black. Most of them were women. The greatest number of these approached the Commission on behalf of dead men to whom they were related.

Legal Challenges

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 In the two and a half year period of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's existence, it faced a number of legal challenges. At a macro level, the application filed on behalf of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO), the Biko, Mxenge and Ribeiro families against the Government of South Africa, challenging the constitutionality of the amnesty provisions, struck at the heart of the Amnesty Committee's very existence. The Constitutional Court judgement upholding the amnesty provisions allowed the Amnesty Committee to begin its task, secure in the knowledge that there could be no further legal challenge to its existence.
- 2 Once the public hearings of the Commission commenced, a series of applications were launched by Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg against the Commission in the Cape High Court regarding the provisions of section 30 of the founding Act. These culminated in a judgement by the Appellate Division. This judgement had a profound effect on shaping the policy and procedures of the Commission.
- 3 From then onwards, the Commission faced a barrage of litigation, including an application from the National Party (NP) seeking the censure of the chairperson of the Commission and the removal from office of the vice-chairperson. A further application from the NP in the Cape High Court sought an order that amnesty decisions handed down by the Amnesty Committee in respect of thirty-seven African National Congress (ANC) members be declared void. Another political party, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) filed a complaint with the Public Protector about its perceived treatment by the Commission. A group of South African Defence Force (SADF) generals also filed a complaint with the Public Protector complaining of bias by the Commission.
- 4 The Commission also faced challenges from perpetrators in respect of amnesty decisions.
- 5 One of the interesting legal challenges arose in the Chemical and Biological Hearing when Dr Wouter Bassoon, the project leader, who had been *subpoenaed*

to give evidence, launched an application in the Cape High Court contending that his rights in terms of section 35 of the interim Constitution would be infringed if he was compelled to testify. The High Court ruled that he should testify.

- 6 During its lifetime, the Commission was so often involved in litigation that one could be forgiven for thinking that it was under siege. All of these matters are dealt with in detail in this chapter.

■ CHALLENGING THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE ACT

The Azanian Peoples Organisation, Ms NM Biko, Mr CH Mxenge and Mr C Ribeiro v the President of the Republic of South Africa, the Government of the Republic of South Africa, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Safety and Security, and the Chairperson of the Commission, in the Constitutional Court¹.

- 7 The case was significant for a number of reasons. The applicants applied for direct access to the Constitutional Court and for an order declaring section 20(7) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act) unconstitutional. The effect of section 20(7), read with other sections of the Act, is to permit the Amnesty Committee to grant amnesty to a perpetrator of an act associated with a political objective and committed before 6 December 1993 (later changed to 10 May 1994). A perpetrator cannot be criminally or civilly liable for an act or acts for which he or she has received amnesty. Similarly, neither the state nor any other body, organisation nor person that would ordinarily have been vicariously liable for such act can be liable in law.
- 8 In a judgement delivered by the Deputy President of the Constitutional Court, Judge Mahomed, the court unanimously upheld the constitutionality of the section. In doing so, it acknowledged that the section limited the applicants' right in terms of section 22 of the interim Constitution to "have justiciable disputes settled by a court of law, or ... other independent or impartial forum". However, it held that, in terms of section 33(2) of the interim Constitution, violations of rights are permitted either if they are sanctioned by the interim Constitution itself or if they are justified in terms of subsection 1 of the limitations clause (section 33(1)).

¹ Case No CCT 17/96.

9 The Court held that the postamble, which was part of the interim Constitution², sanctioned the limitation on the right of access to court. Amnesty for criminal liability was permitted by the postamble because, without it, there would be no incentive for offenders to disclose the truth about past atrocities.

10 Judge Mahomed said that he understood why the applicants wished to:

insist that wrongdoers who abused their authority and wrongfully murdered and maimed or tortured very much loved members of their families who had, in their view, been engaged in a noble struggle to confront the inhumanity of apartheid, should vigorously be prosecuted and effectively be punished for their callous and inhuman conduct in violation of the criminal law (para 16).

11 However, he argued that there was good reason to believe that the granting of amnesty might assist in uncovering the truth about the past, thus assisting in the process of reconciliation and reconstruction.

Much of what transpired in this shameful period is shrouded in secrecy and not easily capable of objective demonstration and proof. Loved ones have disappeared, sometimes mysteriously, and most of them no longer survive to tell their tales. Secrecy and authoritarianism have concealed the truth in little crevices of obscurity in our history. Records are not easily accessible; witnesses are often unknown, dead, unavailable or unwilling. All that often effectively remains is the truth of wounded memories of loved ones sharing instinctive suspicions, deep and traumatising to the survivors but otherwise incapable of translating themselves into objective and corroborative evidence which could survive the rigours of the law.

The Act seeks to address this massive problem by encouraging these survivors and the dependants of the tortured and the wounded, the maimed and the dead, to unburden their grief publicly; to receive the collective recognition of a new nation that they were wronged and, crucially, to help them to discover what did in truth happen to their loved ones, where and under what circumstances it did happen, and who was responsible (para 1).

That truth, which the victims of repression seek so desperately to know is, in the circumstances, much more likely to be forthcoming if those responsible

2 Part of the wording of the postamble provides thus: "amnesty shall be granted in respect of acts, omissions and offences committed in the course of the conflicts of the past. To this end Parliament under this constitution shall adopt a law determining a firm cut-off date, which shall be a date after 8 October 1990 and before 6 December 1993, and providing for mechanisms, criteria and procedures, including tribunals, if any though which amnesty shall be dealt with at any time after the law has been passed".

for such monstrous misdeeds are encouraged to disclose the whole truth with the incentive that they will not receive the punishment which they undoubtedly deserve if they do (para 17).

- 12 Thus, he noted, the alternative to granting immunity could well have the effect of keeping relatives of victims ignorant of what happened, thereby perpetuating:

their legitimate sense of resentment and grief and correspondingly [allowing] the culprits of such deeds to remain perhaps physically free but inhibited in their capacity to become active, full and creative members of the new order (para 18).

- 13 Judge Mahomed noted that amnesty was a crucial component of the negotiated settlement itself, without which the interim Constitution would not have come into being. If the court kept alive the prospect of continuous retaliation and revenge, the agreement of those threatened by its implementation would never have been forthcoming (para 19). The Court held that amnesty for civil liability was also permitted by the postamble (para 2), again because the absence of such an amnesty would constitute a disincentive for the disclosure of the truth.
- 14 The court held that the postamble permitted the granting of an amnesty for any civil liability to the state, entitling Parliament to adopt a wide concept of reparations. This would allow the state to decide on proper reparations for victims of past abuses, having regard to competing demands on the limited resources of the state. Further, Parliament was authorised to provide for individualised and nuanced reparations that took into account the claims of all victims, rather than preserving state liability for provable and unprescribed delictual claims only. In this regard, Judge Mahomed noted, the families of those whose fundamental human rights were invaded by torture and abuse were not the only victims who have endured “untold suffering and injustice in consequence of the crass inhumanity of apartheid which so many have had to endure for so long”. Indeed:

Generations of children born and yet to be born will suffer the consequences of poverty, of malnutrition, of homelessness, of illiteracy and disempowerment generated and sustained by the institutions of apartheid and its manifest effects on the life and living for so many (para 43).

The election made by the makers of the Constitution was to permit Parliament to favour “the reconstruction of society” involving in the process a wider

concept of “reparation”, which would allow the state to take into account the competing claims on its resources but, at the same time, to have regard to the “untold suffering” of individuals and families whose fundamental human rights had been invaded during the conflict of the past (para 45).

- 15 The negotiators of the interim Constitution and the leaders of the nation were thus compelled to make hard choices and “were entitled to permit a different choice to be made between competing demands inherent in the problem”.
- 16 The Court held, therefore, that the postamble authorised the granting of amnesty to bodies, organisations or other persons who would otherwise have been vicariously liable for acts committed in the past. Without the granting of amnesty, the truth might not be told. Indeed, the interim Constitution itself might not have been negotiated had amnesty not been provided for.
- 17 The application was dismissed by the Constitutional Court on the 25 July 1996.

Application for an interdict to restrain the Commission from granting amnesty

- 18 Before the delivery of the above judgement, the applicants - namely AZAPO, Ms Biko, Mr Mxenge and Mr Ribeiro - brought a further application seeking an urgent order from the Court directing that the respondents be interdicted and restrained from granting amnesty to any person pending the outcome of the Constitutional Court decision.
- 19 On 25 April 1996, the Commission gave an undertaking that it would not grant any amnesties pending the finalisation of the application. However, the other functions and processes of the Amnesty Committee would continue in the interim.
- 20 On 9 May 1996, the court dismissed the application. It found that there was sufficient indication that the word ‘amnesty’ intended in the Postamble of the interim Constitution included the conferring of immunity in respect of civil liability in addition to criminal liability. It found, further, that the applicants had established neither a clear right nor a *prima facie* (face value) right to an interdict.

■ APPLICATION OF THE PROVISION OF SECTION 30

- 21 From the inception of its work, the Commission sought to interpret the provisions of section 30. Section 30 reads as follows:

Procedure to be followed at investigations and hearings of Commission, committees and subcommittees

- (1) The Commission and any committee or subcommittee shall in any investigation or hearing follow the prescribed procedure or, if no procedure has been prescribed, the procedure determined by the Commission, or, in the absence of such a determination, in the case of a committee or subcommittee, as the case may be.*
- (2) If during any investigation by or any hearing before the Commission -*
- (a) any person is implicated in a manner which may be to his detriment;*
 - (b) the Commission contemplates making a decision which may be to the detriment of a person who has been so implicated;*
 - (c) it appears that any person may have suffered harm as a result of a gross violation of human rights, the Commission shall, if such person is available, afford him or her an opportunity to submit representations to the Commission within a specified time with regard to the matter under consideration or to give evidence at a hearing of the Commission.*

- 22 The Commission took statements from witnesses (potential victims) about gross human rights violations. In the event that a statement contained allegations implicating persons to their detriment, the Act envisaged that the Commission should give the implicated person an opportunity to address it on the issue, either in writing or orally.
- 23 In particular, where a witness was to testify at a public hearing and an alleged perpetrator was to be implicated, the Commission was required to inform the alleged perpetrator, in writing, of the substance of the allegations against him or her. In these circumstances too, the Commission was required to give the alleged perpetrator an opportunity to make representations to it either in writing or orally.

- 24 In endeavouring to ensure compliance with its legal obligations in terms of the Act, the Commission ran into problems with its East London office. The result was a series of actions and counter actions concerning a number of crucial questions:
- a Could alleged perpetrators be named publicly without having been given proper and/or sufficient notice?
 - b Could alleged perpetrators appear and make oral representations at the hearing at which a witness was testifying?
 - c Was an alleged perpetrator entitled to all the documentation pertaining to him or herself, including the witness's statement?
 - d Was an alleged perpetrator entitled to cross-examine the witness?
- 25 One of the first cases in this respect was that of Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg who sought to prevent the mother of Mr Sphiwe Mthimkulu from testifying about them.

Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg: first application

- 26 The application was brought by Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg³ in the Cape of Good Hope Division of the Supreme Court.

Background to the case

- 27 The testimony in dispute involved the case of Mr Sphiwe Mthimkulu whose mother was scheduled to testify to the Commission about the death of her son.
- 28 Sphiwe Mthimkulu was a political activist in the Eastern Cape. He was detained on a number of occasions and subjected to severe forms of torture. He was shot in the arm and faced constant police harassment. In 1981, after his release from yet another arrest, his health deteriorated rapidly and he was diagnosed as having been poisoned with thallium. His body swelled, his hair fell out, he could not urinate and he was confined to a wheel chair. Despite the poisoning, he fought to recover and began slowly regaining his health. In 1982, he left his home for a check up at the Livingstone Hospital. He was never seen again.

³ Case No 3334/96. Reported as Truth and Reconciliation Commission v Du Preez and Another 1996 (3) SA 997.

- 29 On 30 April 1990, Captain Dirk Coetzee alleged that, after the poison had failed to kill Sphiwe Mthimkulu, he was killed by Brigadier Jan du Preez and Colonel Nick van Rensburg. This circumstance was reported in the press and was to be the subject of Ms Mthimkulu's testimony.
- 30 Consequently, on 13 April 1996, the Commission sent notices to Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg (addressed to the Commissioner of the SAPS). The notices were issued in terms of section 30 of the Act and informed Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg that: "an unnamed witness would testify that they were involved in, or had knowledge about, the poisoning and disappearance of a person, also unnamed" in Port Elizabeth in 1981 or 1982. They were informed that the hearing would take place in East London between 15 - 18 April 1996. Because Commission representatives in East London were concerned that the witness would be in danger if her identity became known, the notices were cautiously and vaguely worded.
- 31 The respondents objected to the notices on the basis that they were "vague in the extreme"; that they were unable to investigate the allegations and would not be able to do so before the 15 April 1996. They also said that the procedure proposed by the Commission contravened section 24 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 200 of 1993 (the interim Constitution).
- 32 On the 15 April 1996, Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg launched an urgent interim application. The applicants sought to interdict the Commission from hearing evidence or permitting the presentation of evidence by any person before they had been given "proper, reasonable and timeous notice" of the Commission's intention to receive evidence that would implicate them; and before they had been provided with "such relevant facts and information as might be reasonably necessary" to enable them to exercise and protect what were said to be their rights in terms of section 30 of the Act.
- 33 During the application hearing, the Commission conceded that "insufficient notice and insufficient particularity had been given to the applicants". However, it reserved its position "that the applicants are not entitled to notice of the date of the proposed hearing" and that the Commission was "entitled to hold the hearings without prior notice or the prior furnishing of witness statements". In effect, the applicants were seeking a prior right of rebuttal.

The decision of the court

- 34 On the 30 April 1996, Mr Justice King issued an order restraining the Commission from receiving or allowing evidence during its hearings “which would affect” the applicants. He ruled that the Commission had to give the applicants proper, reasonable and timeous notice of its intention to hear evidence presented by any person which might detrimentally implicate or prejudicially affect the applicants, and of the time and place of the proposed hearings.
- 35 He also ruled that the Commission had to furnish Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg with sufficient facts and information as they would reasonably need to identify the events, incidents and persons concerning which it was proposed to present evidence that might detrimentally implicate them. This would enable them properly to exercise their rights in terms of Section 30.
- 36 The Commission requested leave to appeal against Judge King’s decision.

Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg: second application

- 37 Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg brought a second application in the Supreme Court, Cape of Good Hope Division⁴ in which they alleged that the Commission had acted in contravention of the judgement of Mr Justice King.

Appeal to the full bench of the Cape Provincial Division: first appeal

- 38 The Commission requested that Judge King recuse himself from the appeal hearing. Following the recusal, the Judge President directed that the appeal be heard by a full bench on 20 of June 1996.⁵
- 39 The court held that, in the context of its objectives, functions, powers and the limited time frame within which it had to complete its work, the Commission was not obliged to give prior notice to any person who might be implicated in a human rights violation hearing. However, if and when the Commission contemplated making a decision that might be detrimental to an implicated person after a hearing, that person should be granted an opportunity to submit representations or give evidence to the Commission. Moreover, at that time, the Commission should

⁴ Case No 6250/96.

⁵ Case No 444/96 in the Cape Provincial Division

give the person involved whatever information it had at its disposal in order to enable him or her to answer the allegations.

- 40 Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg petitioned the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein for leave to appeal against the judgement.

Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg: appeal to the Appellate Division⁶

- 41 The appeal was heard before five judges of the Appellate Division, with Chief Justice Corbett presiding.
- 42 The Commission argued that Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg had ignored the fact that the hearing was an investigative procedure and not a judicial matter. It noted, however, that even where a witness may be implicated in impending legal proceedings, he or she has no right to prior notice or an opportunity to be heard at the hearing. The appropriate remedy where adverse publicity might result is afforded by a defamation action.
- 43 In support of this argument, the Commission's counsel submitted a paper by Sir Richard Scott who argues that the fundamental and significant differences between litigation and enquiries make comparisons unsafe.⁷ Counsel also cited an earlier article by Sir Louis Blom-Cooper QC⁸ who rejects the adversarial procedure adopted in the legal system as wholly inappropriate to an enquiry.

The decision of the court

- 44 Judge Corbett stated that the solution to the issues could be found in the common law which requires persons and bodies (statutory and other) to observe the rules of natural justice by acting in a fair manner. He held that the application of the *audi alteram partem* (hearing the other side) principle was applicable, irrespective of whether the body was quasi judicial or administrative. He supported the view that the principle comes into play whenever a statute empowers a public official or body to give a decision that could prejudicially affect an individual. He stated further that the *audi* principle would be enforced unless Parliament expressly or by necessary implication enacted that it would not apply, or if there were exceptional circumstances justifying the court in not giving effect to it. He held

⁶ Case No 4443/96

⁷ Scott (1995) 'Procedures at Inquiries - The Duty to be Fair', *Law Quarterly Review* 596

⁸ Blom-Cooper (1993) 46 CLP 204

that there was nothing in the Act that expressly or by implication restricted or negated the duty to give reasonable and timeous notice; nor did he consider that there were exceptional circumstances in the present case.

It seems to me that in a case such as this, procedural fairness demands not only that a person implicated be given reasonable and timeous notice of the hearing, but also that he or she is at the same time informed of the substance of the allegations against him or her, with sufficient detail to know what the case is all about. What is sufficient information would depend upon the facts of each individual case (page 41).

- 45 In answering the question, therefore, as to what the duty to act fairly demands of a public body, Judge Corbett held that, in the present case, this meant reasonable and timeous notice of such a hearing, so as to enable the persons or their legal representatives to be present to hear the evidence, to see the demeanour of the witness(es) and to provide the implicated person with an opportunity to rebut the evidence. In these circumstances, he said that the Commission might well be under a duty to hear the rebutting evidence or permit immediate cross-examination.
- 46 Judge Corbett held further that such granting of reasonable and timeous notice would not inconvenience the Commission, save in circumstances where a witness implicates a third party for the first time in *viva voce* (oral) evidence.
- 47 Judge Corbett allowed the appeal with costs and reinstated the order of Judge King with the addition of a new paragraph that stated that nothing in the order should be construed as necessarily obliging the Commission to disclose the identity of any witness.
- 48 The implications of the court's decision were that the Commission was now compelled to give prior notice to alleged perpetrators of human rights violations before evidence was heard publicly, and to provide them with sufficient information about the allegations against them to enable them to make representations.

Follow up by the Commission

- 49 On the 9 May 1996, the Commission provided Brigadier Du Preez and Major General van Rensburg with relevant extracts from the statement implicating them. On 15 May, at their request, a full copy of the witness's statement was issued to

them. The hearing was set for the 23 May. In an attempt to accommodate Brigadier Du Preez and Major General Van Rensburg, the Commission undertook that the witness, Ms Mthimkulu, would not mention either applicant by name at the hearing.

Implications for the work of the Commission

- 50 Following the court ruling, the Commission adopted the procedure of sending section 30(2) notices to alleged perpetrators twenty-one clear calendar days in advance of the hearings. Notices were accompanied by all documentation necessary to provide the alleged perpetrator with sufficient detail of the substance of the allegations against him or her. The procedures applied to notices for human rights violations hearings, section 29 investigative hearings and amnesty hearings.
- 51 The Commission expressed concern about the impact of the court ruling on public opinion, feeling that the Commission was coming to be seen as too 'perpetrator-friendly'. There were also concerns that the environment of the hearings would become too legalistic and formal, hampering the already painful and emotional process of giving public testimony and risking secondary trauma. Indeed, at the hearing where the Mthimkulu family was due to testify on the death of Siphiwe Mthimkulu, the audience became visibly upset when it was informed that the Commission could not permit members of the family to testify as the applicants had interdicted them from giving evidence.
- 52 The judgement raised further questions about the rights of victims: namely their right to legal representation and cross-examination of perpetrators.
- 53 The judgement imposed an administrative and logistic burden on the Commission, requiring it to employ further staff and allocate further resources to identify and trace implicated persons. In many instances, the alleged perpetrators were no longer in the same employment as previously and their addresses were not easily available.
- 54 In addition, the Commission had to contend with perpetrators demanding to be heard at the same hearings as victims and requesting that they be allowed to cross-examine witnesses. This had a traumatising effect on many victims who had finally found the courage to testify.

Impact on the report

- 55 However, once the public hearings had been completed, the full impact of the judgement became clear. Where the Commission contemplated making a finding against a person to their detriment in the report, the person would need to be notified of the decision contemplated as well as afforded the opportunity to make written representations to the Commission.
- 56 This meant that the Commission had to trace the alleged perpetrator and furnish him or her with the contemplated decision together with the supporting documentation. In essence, the Commission found itself in a position in which it was obliged to give alleged perpetrators a prior view of its report - a highly unusual circumstance for a report on a commission of enquiry.
- 57 The Commission also received correspondence from lawyers seeking to prevent publication of their clients' names in the report.
- 58 Despite these concerns, the Commission complied with the ruling of the Appellate Division to the best of its ability.

Gideon Nieuwoudt v the Truth and Reconciliation Commission⁹

Background

- 59 Mr Gideon Nieuwoudt, a member of the Security Branch in the Eastern Cape brought an application requesting that the Commission be interdicted from allowing evidence which would affect and/or implicate him, until and unless he had been given proper, reasonable and timeous notice of any evidence presented and until he had been provided with copies of all relevant documentation.

The decision of the court

- 60 In delivering judgement, Judge Buchanan commented on the first ground for argument by the applicant, that is, the judgement of King (above):

With the greatest respect to the learned judge in that matter, I am not at all convinced that the provisions of the Act or of the Constitution necessarily require the form of prior notice and disclosure envisaged in the order granted in that matter and also sought in this application....

⁹ Case No 1136/96 in the South Eastern Cape Local Division

It seems to me that Section 30(2) of the Act does not, on a proper construction thereof, require prior notice to any person who may be implicated during the course of a hearing by a witness, even should the Commission itself have prior notice of such implication. Section 30 (2), in my view, merely requires that if a person is so implicated such person shall be afforded a proper and appropriate opportunity to submit representations to the Commission to answer and deal with any such implications.

Furthermore, it does not seem to me that the Constitutional right to procedurally fair administrative action entitles the Applicant to the relief sought in this application. It seems to me that it is inappropriate to equate the hearings of the Commission's Committee on Human Rights Violations with an administrative or quasi-judicial hearing. The Act envisages rather a procedure which is unique and which, in the national interest, is designed to investigate and establish as complete a picture as possible of the nature causes and extent of gross violations of human rights committed during the relevant period.

- 61 Judge Buchanan went on to state that it would be undesirable, except where absolutely necessary, to place procedural obstacles before witnesses wishing to make full disclosure:

Whilst this may cause prejudice to a person who may be implicated is unfortunate... Such prejudice, however, should in my view, nevertheless be weighed against the laudable and important objects which the Act seeks to achieve. In addition, the prejudice which may be caused to persons should, at least to an extent, be offset by the opportunity for reply and answer entrenched in the Act itself.

- 62 Commenting on the second ground relied upon by the Applicant (the written and unequivocal undertaking), Judge Buchanan noted that, in terms of section 30 (1), the Act provided for the Commission to establish a prescribed procedure. Although it appeared that the Commission had determined no specific procedure in respect of the Committee on Human Rights Violations, in this particular case the letter of the Commission dated 6 May 1996 indicated that the Commission had bound itself to a procedure in respect of the applicant.

The agreement

- 63 The matter was settled by agreement between the parties on 5 June 1996 on the basis that no evidence would be received or allowed to be presented during the Commission's hearing, until and unless:
- a the respondent had been given proper, reasonable and timeous notice of its intention to hear evidence which might detrimentally implicate or prejudicially affect him, and
 - b the Commission had furnished the applicant with such facts and information necessary to enable him to identify the events, incidents and persons concerning which or whom it proposed to present or allow evidence that could detrimentally implicate him. In other words, such notice and facts as were sufficient and adequate to enable the applicant properly to exercise his rights in term of section 30 of the Act.
 - c in the event of any person testifying before the Commission, who had not furnished a statement affecting or implicating the applicant, the Commission would ascertain beforehand whether the person testifying would mention the applicant. If so, the witness's evidence would be postponed and stand over until the above provisions had been complied with; and
 - d where, in the course of testimony, a witness attempted to implicate the applicant, the Commission would immediately prevent the giving or receiving of such evidence and would take reasonable steps to prevent a recurrence of this - provided that such testimony could be admitted once the aforementioned provisions had been complied with.

- 64 The agreement was made an order of the court.

Gideon Nieuwoudt v the Truth and Reconciliation Commission: second application

- 65 On 22 May 1996, the applicant brought contempt of court proceedings against the Commission in terms of the order obtained on 20 May 1996.¹⁰
- 66 Nieuwoudt alleged that, at the human rights violations hearing held in New Brighton on 21 May, the Commission had allowed evidence to be given by Mr Mlandile

¹⁰ Case No 1152/96 South Eastern Cape Local Division

Quntu, who alleged that Nieuwoudt had harassed and intimidated him in 1984. He also alleged that, in giving evidence, a Mr Dennis Neer had mentioned Nieuwoudt's name and had implied that Nieuwoudt had threatened to kill him.

67 The matter was settled and the settlement was made an order of court.

Gideon Nieuwoudt v the Truth and Reconciliation Commission: third application

68 On 6 June 1996, Nieuwoudt brought a further application alleging contempt of court against the Commission, the chairperson of the Commission, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the vice-chairperson Dr Alex Boraine, the Reverend Bongani Finca and three others¹¹.

69 Nieuwoudt argued that, whilst witnesses were told not to mention his name, they were allowed to refer to him as "the man whose name they shouldn't mention" or "Mr X", making it clear to all that he was the person being referred to. He also stated that this received wide media coverage and constituted a violation of paragraphs 2(i-iii) of the order of 22 May 1996.

70 Nieuwoudt alleged that he had been given no notice of such evidence being led and that the Commission had failed to comply with its undertaking to prevent the giving of evidence which clearly affected, implicated and caused prejudice to him.

71 The following settlement was reached between the two parties and made an order of the court:

- a Nieuwoudt would have the opportunity to submit representations or give evidence, either immediately or at a mutually convenient time.
- b The Commission would take all reasonable steps in good faith to furnish Nieuwoudt with any witness statement in its possession which might implicate him in the violation of human rights prior to any such evidence being led, together with information about when and where such evidence was to be heard.
- c The Commission undertook to pay Nieuwoudt's costs in respect of the application.

72 This agreement substituted the agreement of 22 May 1996.

¹¹ Case 1253/96

Implications for the work of the Commission

- 73 Following the terms of the settlement, the Commission formally adopted procedures to comply with the provisions of section 30.
- 74 There were now two judgements that substantially supported each other: that of the Full Bench of the Cape High Court and that of Judge Buchanan. These were in conflict with the earlier decision of Judge King.
- 75 The Commission awaited the decision of the Appellate Decision in order to deal conclusively with the issues.

Postscript

- 76 It is important to note that Gideon Nieuwoudt (a member of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch between 1977 and 1989) applied for amnesty for the following: the kidnapping and killing of Siphwe Mthimkulu and Topsy Madaka in April 1982; the kidnapping and death of the 'Pebco Three' in May 1985; the Motherwell incident in which four people were killed in December 1989; the assault on Peter Jones and Steve Biko in September 1977 and the assault on Mkhuseleli Jack in August 1985.

■ CHALLENGES TO THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE COMMISSION

The National Party v Desmond Mpilo Tutu and Others

- 77 The case was brought by the National Party of South Africa against Desmond Mpilo Tutu, Alexander Lionel Boraine, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the President of the Republic of South Africa and the Minister of Justice.

Background

- 78 At a press conference on 15 May 1997, members of the Commission expressed certain views concerning the testimony presented to the Commission by former State President, Mr FW de Klerk on 14 May 1997.

- 79 Following the press conference, on 2 June 1997, attorneys acting on behalf of the NP wrote to the Commission alleging that the conduct of both the chairperson and the vice-chairperson of the Commission had contravened certain provisions of the Act, in particular sections 36(5)(a) and 36(6)(a). The letter demanded an unconditional apology and an undertaking that the said members of the Commission would comply with the provisions of the Act. It also threatened urgent legal action in the event of a failure to comply with these demands.
- 80 The gravamen of the relief sought by the NP amounted to a censure of the chairperson and the removal from office of the vice-chairperson of the Commission.
- 81 After an exchange of various letters and unsuccessful attempts on the part of the Commission to arrange a meeting with the NP to discuss and settle the matter, the NP launched an urgent application in the Cape Provincial Division of the High Court.
- 82 The matter eventually came before the court on 5 September 1997, when further inconclusive steps were taken to settle the matter. The matter was eventually postponed after the presiding judge urged the parties to take serious steps to settle. In view of the fact that the chairperson of the Commission was abroad at the time, it was decided that the matter should stand over pending his return, whereafter the parties would meet with a view to effecting a settlement.

Settlement

- 83 At a meeting on 19 September 1997, both the chairperson and vice-chairperson of the Commission issued personal apologies for criticising the evidence presented by Mr FW De Klerk on behalf of the NP.
- 84 It was further agreed that the issue of co-operation between the NP and the Commission would be pursued in further discussion between the parties.
- 85 Consequently, the NP withdrew its application and it was agreed that each party should pay its own legal costs.

■ CHALLENGES TO AMNESTY DECISIONS

Leonard Veenendal v Minister of Justice, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Government of Namibia¹² and DG Stopforth v Minister of Justice, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Government of Namibia and Minister of Safety and Security¹³

- 86 The applicants were members of the organisation known as Orde Boere Volk and were both involved in attempts to disrupt the elections in Namibia. They committed various criminal acts in Namibia, including an attack upon an election office during which a security guard was killed. They afterwards fled to South Africa where they were arrested during September 1989 and were returned to Namibia. In December 1989, they managed to escape from custody and returned to South Africa where they were again arrested. The Namibian authorities applied for their extradition to face criminal charges in Namibia.
- 87 Both applicants applied for amnesty and launched high court applications in the Transvaal Provincial Division (citing the Commission as one of the respondents) to have the application for extradition suspended pending the outcome of their amnesty applications.
- 88 The Court found that the acts forming the subject matter of the applicants' amnesty applications did not fall within the ambit of acts associated with a political objective in terms of section 20 of the Act and that they would not, therefore, qualify for amnesty.
- 89 The applications were accordingly dismissed with costs.

Gerber v Amnesty Committee, Truth and Reconciliation Commission¹⁴ and Van Wyk v Amnesty Committee, Truth and Reconciliation Commission¹⁵

- 90 Gerber and Van Wyk brought separate applications to the Transvaal Provincial Division to have the decisions of the Amnesty Committee refusing their applications for amnesty set aside, or alternatively referred back to the Amnesty Committee for reconsideration. The applications were based on the allegation that the Amnesty Committee discriminated against them. They claimed that their applications

12 Case No 24709/96

13 Case No 25042/96

14 Case No 21544/96

15 Case No 16602/97

were identical to another application heard by the Committee where amnesty was granted.

- 91 The Commission argued that the applicants had failed to satisfy the criteria of the Act, particularly the requirement that the offences be associated with a political objective.

Background

- 92 Cornelius Johannes Van Wyk, one of four members of the Nasionale Sosialiste Partisane (NSP), faced twelve charges: for motor vehicle theft, three counts of murder, attempted robbery with aggravating circumstances, two charges of contravening the Weapons and Ammunition Act, housebreaking, two counts of robbery, housebreaking and illegal possession of weapons. He applied for amnesty in respect of the above charges on the basis that he committed them in pursuance of the political objectives of the NSP. He was refused amnesty on the 6 December 1996.
- 93 Gerber was employed by Fidelity Security Guards. He tortured, burnt and killed a co-worker whom he suspected of working for the Pan Africanist Congress.
- 94 The Court found that the Committee had approached the applications properly and that the decisions were not reviewable. The cases were dismissed with costs.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission v Coleman and 36 Others¹⁶ and the National Party and Another v the Chairperson, Committee on Amnesty and Others¹⁷

- 95 On 28 November 1997, the Amnesty Committee considered and granted the amnesty applications by thirty seven members - in some instances high profile leaders - of the ANC. The applications were considered in chambers and granted without hearing any evidence. The Committee's order indicated that amnesty was granted "for all offences associated with a political objective as defined by the Act and which fall within the ambit of the Act, committed or authorised" by the applicants. The applications were largely identical. They were based on the fact that, as members of the leadership at the time, they assumed responsibility for all acts committed by members of the ANC in execution of the policy decisions of the organisation.

¹⁶ Case No. 3729/98

¹⁷ Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division, case no. 3626/98.

- 96 No specific acts or omissions were specified in the applications. In fact, the applicants indicated that they were not aware what acts had been committed by their followers and said that they had not themselves committed any specific acts.
- 97 On 13 January 1998, the Commission issued a public statement giving notice of its intention to have the decision of the Amnesty Committee reviewed.
- 98 Other political parties also indicated an interest in attacking the decision of the Amnesty Committee and, indeed, the NP launched an application a few days before the Commission had issued court papers. The result was that two separate applications were placed before the Court in respect of the same matter.
- 99 The Commission's application was launched on 13 March 1998, seeking an order declaring the decision of the Amnesty Committee void. Alternatively, it sought an order reviewing and setting aside the decision and directing the Amnesty Committee to consider the applications for amnesty afresh.
- 100 In his founding affidavit, the chairperson of the Commission noted that the amnesty decisions were invalid by virtue of at least four irregularities:
- a The Amnesty Committee failed to grant amnesty in respect of identified acts, omissions or offences and failed to identify specific offences for which amnesty was granted.
 - b The Amnesty Committee failed to consider whether each offence for which amnesty was granted was a political offence as required by the Act.
 - c The Amnesty Committee did not satisfy itself that full disclosure had been made in respect of the acts for which amnesty was granted.
 - d The Amnesty Committee could not have satisfied itself that there was no need for a hearing, since it did not enquire whether these offences involved gross violations of human rights as specified by the Act.
- 101 The court granted the application by the Commission and set aside the amnesties. The matter was referred back to the Amnesty Committee for reconsideration.

■ REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

The State v Dirk Johannes Coetzee and four others¹⁸

- 102 Dirk Johannes Coetzee issued a *subpoena* to the head of the Investigation Unit of the Commission, calling on him to produce the transcript of evidence given to the Commission by Joseph Tshepo Mamasela.
- 103 The Commission responded that it was not required to produce the information as the Act entitles the Commission to refuse disclosure (Section 29(5)); that it would not be in the public interest, and that it would defeat the object of the Act. It responded further that the videotape requested was not compellable in terms of section 179 of the Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977.
- 104 The accused argued that there was no absolute privilege and that large portions of the evidence had already been made public.

The decision of the court

- 105 The Court held that the accused was entitled to the evidence sought on the basis that:
- a there was no absolute privilege;
 - b Coetzee had a right in common law to a fair trial, including the right to adduce and challenge evidence;
 - c the Commission had not established that Mamasela's evidence was so sensitive and important that it outweighed the rights of the accused to a fair and proper trial;
 - d no grounds had been set out as to why the court should restrict the information sought; and
 - e the video *subpoenaed* was issued in terms of the rule 54(5) of Uniform Rules of the Court and not the Criminal Procedure Act and was therefore compellable.

¹⁸ Durban and Coast Local Division, CC137/96

■ COMPLAINTS TO THE PUBLIC PROTECTOR

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)

- 106 On 9 October 1997, the Commission was notified by the Office of the Public Protector (the Public Protector) of a complaint received from Mr Baldwin Siphon Ngubane, national chairperson of the IFP, on behalf of his party. The complaint related to the treatment of the IFP at the hands of the Commission.
- 107 The complaint stated that, in conducting its affairs and functions, the Commission had acted in a biased manner against the IFP and thereby:
- a violated the IFP's constitutional rights;
 - b impaired its dignity and prerogatives in terms of the constitutional system;
 - c acted in contravention of its own statutory objectives to promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflict and divisions of the past.
- 108 It claimed further that certain actions of the Commission had hindered rather than assisted in the achievement of its statutory objective to promote national unity and reconciliation. The IFP cited a number of specific incidents, decisions of the Amnesty Committee and examples of what it described as the Commission's partisan approach.
- 109 The Public Protector requested that the Commission respond to the IFP's complaints. The request was complied with.

Former SADF members

- 110 On 29 January 1998, the Public Protector received a complaint from Generals JJ Geldenhuys and Liebenberg based on a mandate received from 350 members of different ranks of the former South African Defence Force (SADF) during a symposium held on 30 August 1997 to the following effect :

The [Truth and Reconciliation Commission] and some of its members have displayed continuous prejudice, bias and lack of impartiality towards the former South African Defence Force and its members. This attitude and these actions

by the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission] are also considered to be probably in violation of the constitutionally-guaranteed human rights of the SADF members concerned as described in chapter 2 sections 9 and 23 of Act 108 of 1996. The disregard which resultantly (sic) developed in the minds of members of the former SADF undermines the overall mission of the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission] to promote reconciliation and national unity.

111 The symposium registered a number of specific complaints.

Further complaint by former SADF members

112 On 6 February 1998, the Commission received a document from Generals Malan, Viljoen, Geldenhuys and Liebenberg, Major General Marais and Warrant Officer Holliday. This contained an assessment of the treatment of the former SADF by the Commission with the view "to making constructive suggestions with the aim of promoting national reconciliation".

113 The document raised concerns reflected in the previous complaint and made a number of suggestions to the Commission.

■ MR PW BOTHA'S REFUSAL TO APPEAR BEFORE THE COMMISSION

114 On 5 December 1997, the Commission issued a section 29 notice to former State President Mr PW Botha, asking him to appear before the Commission to answer questions about the State Security Council. The notice was issued in terms of section 29 of the Act.

115 Mr Botha failed to appear and a criminal charge was brought. He was prosecuted at the magistrate's court in George on 1 - 5 June 1998, with Mr Victor Lugaju presiding.¹⁹ Amongst the witnesses for the state were Archbishop Tutu and other members of the Commission. Mr Eugene de Kock also gave evidence.

116 On 21 August 1998, Mr Botha was found guilty of failing to attend at the time and place specified in the *subpoena*. He was sentenced to a fine of R10 000 or twelve months imprisonment, and twelve months imprisonment suspended for five years.

¹⁹ Case No GSM 15/98

■ DR WOUTER BASSON AND THE CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE PROGRAMME

Wouter Basson v the Truth and Reconciliation Commission: application to the Commission

Background

117 The Commission conducted a public hearing into the Chemical and Biological Warfare programme (CBW) of the former apartheid government (8 and 12 June 1998). A number of witnesses involved in the CBW programme were *subpoenaed* to testify, amongst them a Dr Philip Mijburgh and Dr Wouter Basson, the project leader.

Application

118 During the course of the hearing, an application was lodged by lawyers for the two witnesses, Drs Basson and Mijburgh, requesting that the taking of their evidence be held over, or alternatively that the proceedings be stayed pending the finalisation of their criminal trials.

119 At the time of the hearing, only Dr Wouter Basson had been formally charged for offences that ranged from murder and fraud to the manufacture of dependence-producing substances. The Attorney-General also indicated that the charge sheet was still provisional.

120 In the case of Dr Mijburgh, no charges had been preferred and there was only a possibility that he too, would be charged.

121 Their application was premised on a submission that compelling the witness to testify would amount, amongst other things, to a breach of the witnesses' right to remain silent as well as a right against self-incrimination as entrenched in section 35 of the South African Constitution. Both witnesses had been *subpoenaed* to appear and give evidence in terms of section 29 of the Act.

122 The application was opposed by the Commission's Legal Adviser, Mr Hanif Vally, who contended that:

- a the testimony of the two witnesses was critical as it concerned matters of grave importance to the nation which vitally affected the mandate and obligations of the Commission;

- b although the provision of section 35 of the South African Constitution applied to this matter, the obligation of the two witnesses to testify did not amount to a breach of their fundamental right to remain silent and their right against self-incrimination.

123 He submitted further that section 31(3) of the Act provided sufficient immunity and safeguards and stated that, if there was a breach of the witnesses' rights in terms of section 35, this was permissible given the overriding social and other objectives pursued by the Commission and the discreet and narrowly tailored interference with the witnesses' right crafted by section 31(3).

Decision

124 The Commission, through Adv Potgieter SC, ruled that the proceedings would not be stayed; nor would the testimony of the witnesses be held over. The Commission ruled that the witnesses were compelled to testify.

125 In considering the matter, the Commission took the following facts into account:

- a Any potential prejudice that the witnesses would suffer by disclosing elements of their case prior to the criminal trial was sufficiently accentuated by the provisions of section 31(3);
- b The importance of the testimony of the witnesses for the Commission and issues relating to its mandate.
- c The fact that the testimony of the witnesses would not be available to the Commission if they did not testify at this time, as there was uncertainty in regard to the finalisation of the prospective criminal trial. In view of the termination of the Commission's mandate to conduct hearings from 31 July 1998, it would be precluded from establishing the fullest possible picture of the CBW programme in accordance with its mandate.

Application to the Cape High Court by Dr Wouter Basson²⁰

126 On the 25 June 1998, Dr Wouter Basson launched an application in the Cape High Court reviewing the decision of the Commission of 12 June 1998 and requesting that the High Court set it aside.

²⁰ Case No 9073/98

Basis

- 127 Dr Wouter Basson contended that he would be prejudiced in his pending criminal case should he be compelled to testify before the Commission before his criminal matter was dealt with. He also contended that he had a right, amongst other things, to enforce his right to remain silent and his right against self-incrimination in terms of section 35 of the South African Constitution.
- 128 Dr Basson also claimed that the Commission's ruling of 12 June 1998 was a violation of his rights in terms of section 35 of the Constitution and in direct conflict with the South African Constitution.

Counter application by the Commission

- 129 The Commission opposed Dr Basson's application and filed a counter application, asking that the matters in the two applications be urgently dealt with.
- 130 The Commission sought a further order compelling Dr Basson to appear before the Commission's Human Rights Violations Committee on Wednesday, 29 July 1998, and to answer all questions lawfully put to him.
- 131 Dr Basson's application had been set down by way of normal motion court rules. If the Commission had not asked that the matter be dealt with as a matter of urgency, it would have been heard after the date of expiry of the Commission's Human Rights Violations Committee, the Committee competent to hear the evidence.
- 132 The Commission sought a further order that the filing of an application for leave to appeal by Dr Basson in respect of any of the prayers in the Commission's Notice of Motion should not suspend the operation or execution of the court's order.

Order

- 133 On the 25 July 1998, Judge Hlope of the Cape High Court dismissed Dr Basson's application with costs and granted the Commission's counter application. Judge Hlope ordered Dr Basson to appear before the Human Rights Violations Committee on 29 July 1998 and to answer all questions lawfully put to him.

The Destruction of Records

■ INTRODUCTION

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

■ CONTEXT OF THE ENQUIRY

- 2 The focus of the Commission's enquiry into the destruction of records must be considered within the framework of its need to access documents pertaining to gross human rights violations in the period under review. While an enormous number of records was destroyed, not least as South Africa moved towards democratic rule, many crucial documents survived. These included Cabinet minutes and minutes of the State Security Council. Notable amongst those that could not be traced were the records of the National Security Management System (NSMS), a substructure of the State Security Council.
- 3 The story of the Commission's quest to locate these records cannot be fully told in the pages that follow. The correspondence between the Commission's investigators, researchers and others on the one hand, and nodal points in the various departments of government and security structures on the other, provides a limited insight into some of the difficulties involved in the retrieval process.

This correspondence is now in archival custody along with the remainder of the correspondence attached to the retrieval exercise.

- 4 Extensive requests were made for records in the keeping, especially, of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), the South African Police Services (SAPS) and the National Intelligence Agency (NIA). These ranged from requests for the personnel files and financial records of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) and Teen Rewolutionere Inligtings Taakspan (TREWITS) to requests for information on military and police operations inside and outside the country and a range of other activities. There were, for example, investigations into: the East Rand uprisings; train violence; necklace murders; vigilante groups in the Western Cape; the *Ama-Afrika* movement in Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth; the conflict between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) or the Azanian Youth Union (AZANYU) in the Eastern Cape; the A-team in Chesterville; the Midlands war, and the conflicts between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in KwaZulu-Natal and the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in exile.
- 5 While some of this documentation was located and made available, many specific documents were not found. Sometimes this was because the reference numbers of documents identified by Commission staff did not correspond to the index numbers in the inventories of records made available by the SAPS, SANDF, NIA and the South African Secret Service (SASS). In some cases, documents were traced to the inventories of other departments of government although, even where individual files were located, either in hard copy or in electronic form, there were often large gaps. At times, the files contained no more than a single document. Sometimes they were completely empty.
- 6 The Commission was frequently informed, both by local police station commanders and regional military personnel as well as by nodal (liaison) points in the SANDF and SAPS, that specific documents or whole series of files had been destroyed. At a higher level, for example, General George Meiring is on record as stating that, after the completion of the work of the Kahn Commission of Enquiry into Special Secret Projects, files relating to a number of covert operations were destroyed – providing that no auditing irregularities had been involved. He also said that all files that impacted on the safety of individual persons (which would have included intelligence sources) were destroyed in terms of a 1993 State Security Council (SSC) decision. General Meiring added that Justice van der Walt, who was appointed arbitrator between members of

the SANDF and CCB, authorised the disposal of the CCB's personnel and financial plans.¹

- 7 Although, initially, the quest for files related to particular incidents, it became clear that a more systematic scrutiny of SANDF, SAPS, NIA and SASS files was necessary for purposes of general research and investigation. It also became apparent that the nature and extent of the destruction of documentation for purposes of concealing violations of human rights required further investigation. The Harms and Goldstone commissions of enquiry and the Goniwe inquest had already revealed substantial evidence of this phenomenon and the Currin court case, discussed later in this chapter, indicated that there had been ongoing destruction of documentation. An investigation into the destruction of documents was, in any case, required in terms of the Act.
- 8 It was initially extremely difficult to obtain access to files in the possession of the SANDF for purposes of systematic research and investigation, due to a number of perceived legal restrictions governing files in the possession of Military Intelligence and other structures within the SANDF. This had a serious impact on the research and investigative work of the Commission which, in turn, significantly affected the outcome of aspects of the findings of the Commission. The Commission also experienced difficulties in initiating an enquiry into the destruction of documentation by the former SADF.
- 9 The intervention of the chairperson and the vice-chairperson of the Commission, and that of the Minister and Deputy Minister of Defence eventually resulted in some progress. However, the difficulties were only adequately overcome in the later part of 1997, very late in the life of the Commission. This limited the extent to which military documentation could be scrutinised and restricted the enquiry into the destruction of documents by the military, while indicating that there were significant archives which were not adequately examined.
- 10 On the other hand, the co-operation of the Minister of Safety and Security, the secretariat of the SAPS, the Commissioner of Police and other ranking officials in police structures allowed for a more extensive investigation into records management by the SAPS. Co-operation was also received from the Deputy Minister for Intelligence and the structures of the civilian intelligence services, as well as those who facilitated the enquiry into the records of Correctional Services and the Department of Justice. This ensured a very adequate, though

1 In a letter dated 16 June 1997 in response to an enquiry over the signature of the Deputy Chairperson of the Commission.

due to time and logistic constraints, necessarily selective enquiry into the record keeping of these departments.

- 11 The Act specifically required that the Commission “determine what articles have been destroyed by any person in order to conceal violations of human rights or acts associated with a political objective” (section 4(d)). Sections 29 and 32 of the Act gave the Commission wide-ranging powers (to secure, examine and copy articles; to gain entrance to, inspect and search premises; and to seize and remove articles) of vital importance to fulfilling this mandate.
- 12 This task was both complex and extensive in scope, posing a number of inter-related questions:
 - a How to determine the motive behind an individual's destruction of a particular document, especially when the content of the document was unknown and related documents had not been located?
 - b How could the Commission even determine the existence of a particular record when it had been destroyed, together with all documentation that pointed to its existence?
 - c How was the Commission to investigate, comprehensively and impartially, the record-keeping practices of private individuals, businesses, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), trade unions, liberation movements, other structures of civil society, political parties, three levels of government and other state structures over more than three decades?
- 13 Given the constraints imposed by time and resources, such a task was not feasible and more narrowly defined parameters had to be identified. Therefore, the investigation was limited to the destruction of *state* records for a number of reasons. First, their status as public records accords them a high level of public interest. Second, statutory regulation of record keeping by state structures provides a comprehensive measure against which to judge the management of records, including their authorised and unauthorised destruction. Third, state records constitute by far the largest coherently defined aggregate of records. Fourth, scrutiny of state records offers a high level of insight into the system that gave rise to so many of the gross human rights violations under the spotlight of the Commission. And finally, the destruction of state documentation probably did more to undermine the investigative work of the Commission than any other single factor.

- 14 Given the complexity and extent of the former state, however, adequate coverage even of *all* state structures and records systems proved impossible. It was therefore decided to limit the investigation to the records of government structures that were governed by national archival legislation². This excluded parastatals, statutory bodies that had not voluntarily submitted to the operation of the Archives Act, 'privatised' bodies and 'homeland' structures.
- 15 Homelands were responsible for the management of their own records, sometimes governed by their own archival legislation. While some state documentation originating in the homelands has been incorporated in the record systems of the post-apartheid state, the Commission could not reasonably undertake a systematic enquiry into record keeping or destruction of documents by the homelands.
- 16 There was one exception to the decision to focus on state records. The Commission decided to investigate the destruction of huge volumes of non-public records confiscated by the state from individuals and organisations opposed to the system.
- 17 It is, of course, true that the state destroyed many other non-public records in the course of its raids and bombings of the structures and premises of liberation movements both inside and outside the country. This, however, is a story that remains to be told elsewhere. Also of significance was the impact of apartheid on the record-keeping practices of anti-apartheid organisations, many of which were reluctant to commit certain kinds of information to paper. Many also destroyed records rather than allow them to fall into the hands of state operatives.
- 18 During the conceptualisation of the investigation, the possibility of addressing the record-keeping practices of the liberation movements was considered. However, given the dispersal of these movements across many countries, and the distortions imposed on their record keeping (alluded to above), this task was clearly beyond the capacity of the Commission. Its inclusion would also have severely undermined the investigation's rationale as outlined in the preceding paragraphs - not least because these holdings were not subject to national archival legislation. In the light of this decision, the records of other political groupings and parties were also not investigated.
- 19 In the initial stages of the investigation, Commission researchers studied relevant legislation, state record-keeping procedures, professional literature

² The Archives Act of 1953, No. 22 of 1953, and the Archives Act of 1962, No. 6 of 1962. See in particular the definition of 'government office' in section one of the latter.

and media reports. They also engaged intensively with the State Archives Service (SAS) – the body responsible for the proper management of state records, including the authorisation for their destruction and the investigation of unauthorised destruction. Numerous meetings were held with SAS officials, and SAS documentation of the destruction processes was carefully studied.

20 Through this process, researchers were able to identify ‘hot spots’: that is, structures that had attracted a number of allegations that they had destroyed records without authorisation from the SAS. These ‘hot spots’, all within the security establishment, were thoroughly researched and subjected to the scrutiny of joint investigative teams, composed of representatives of the structure under investigation, the Commission, the Human Rights Commission and the National Archives³. The destruction of records by the following bodies was investigated:

- a the Security Branch of the South African Police (SAP);
- b government civilian intelligence bodies (including the internal and external divisions of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), intelligence services of the former homelands governments, the State Security Council, and other structures of the National Security Management System under the control of the NIS);
- c the South African Defence Force (SADF), particularly Military Intelligence;
- d the Department of Prison Services;
- e the Security Legislation Directorate of the Department of Justice.

21 Even within the parameters defined for the investigation, and despite using all the investigative procedures provided for in sections 29 and 32 of the Act, it remained beyond the capacity of the Commission to gain more than a broad outline of the process of state records management. Some of the general investigations, however, resulted in more detailed case studies.

22 Owing to constraints of time and resources, all possible deceptions relating to records-management could not be explored. The joint investigative teams simply had to rely on the integrity of those appointed by the management structures of the SAPS, the SANDF, the Department of Correctional Services, the civilian

³ The State Archives Service was converted into the National Archives on 1 January 1997 in terms of the National Archives Act, No. 43 of 1996.

intelligence services and the Department of Justice to guide and assist them in their work. At the same time, the teams did all they could to verify the information and insights provided by those appointed to assist them.

- 23 This chapter begins with the legal framework and its manipulation by those who were intent on destroying state records. This is followed by an account of specific investigations into the various structures of the security establishment, conclusions and the findings of the Commission on the destruction of state records. The chapter ends with recommendations on how a democratic South Africa can, on the one hand, guard against the sanitising of official memory in the future and, on the other, redress the imbalances imposed on that memory by the actions that have been recounted.

■ THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND ITS MANIPULATION

Apartheid and official secrecy

- 24 Perhaps all governments are, to a greater or lesser extent, uncomfortable with the notion of transparency, preferring to operate beyond the glare of public scrutiny. In apartheid South Africa, government secrecy was a way of life. The fundamental guideline governing public access to state records was provided in section 9(6) of the 1962 Archives Act. This established that access was a privilege to be granted by bureaucrats, except where specific legislation recognised the right of access to specific categories of records. The number of record categories covered by such legislation was limited to, for instance, records older than thirty years in the custody of SAS and deceased estate files in the custody of Masters of the Supreme Court.
- 25 The discretionary power enjoyed by bureaucrats was, in turn, severely circumscribed by a range of laws containing secrecy clauses. These included, amongst others, the Official Secrets Act, the Protection of Information Act, the Statistics Act, the Nuclear Energy Act, the Petroleum Products Act, the Criminal Procedure Act, the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act, the Inquests Act and the Internal Security Act. Thus, information on business, foreign trade and sanctions, capital punishment, conscientious objection to military service, corruption and fraud, detention without trial, liberation movements, mental health institutions,

military action (particularly beyond South Africa's borders), nuclear power and weapons, oil supplies and reserves, police involvement in repression, prisons, the territorial 'consolidation' of homelands and weapons procurement and development was, in varying degrees, circumscribed.

- 26 A range of tools served the obsessive secrecy of the state across the legislative, judicial and executive functions. The Commission's probe into record keeping by the security establishment (recounted later in this chapter) revealed an almost claustrophobic culture of secrecy whose transformation requires concerted action. But the most effective tool, ultimately, was the *selective* destruction of memory, and it is in this context that the destruction of state records must be considered.

Destruction of state records: parameters and processes

- 27 Section 1 of the Archives Act of 1962 charged the Director of Archives (the chief executive official of SAS) "with the custody, care and control of archives..."⁴. 'Archives' were defined as:

[A]ny documents or records received or created in a government office or an office of a local authority during the conduct of affairs in such office and which are from their nature or in terms of any other Act not required then to be dealt with otherwise than in accordance with or in terms of the provisions of this Act.

- 28 The Archives Act provided the SAS with wide-ranging powers over the management of state records from the moment of their creation or acquisition. Other provisions of the Archives Act elaborated on specific aspects of records management: the physical care of records; their classification according to an approved system; their conversion into microform, and their accessibility, inspection and ultimate disposal.⁵ In comparison with the archival legislation of other countries, the effective powers enjoyed by the SAS over the active records of the state were amongst the most extensive of any national archive service in the world.
- 29 The legal disposal of state records involved either their transfer into the custody of an SAS repository or their destruction in terms of a disposal authority. Until 1979, it was the responsibility of the Archives Commission, a statutory body

⁴ Section 3(2)(a). This Act remained in force until 31 December 1996, and was amended in 1964, 1969, 1977 and 1979.

⁵ See sections 3 and 9(6) of the Act.

appointed by the government minister responsible, to authorise the destruction of state records. While this authority had been vested in the Archives Commission since 1926, by the 1960s it appears to have become a 'rubber-stamp' for recommendations made by the Director of Archives. A 1979 amendment to the Archives Act recognised the *de facto* situation by empowering the Director of Archives to authorise the destruction of documents. Section 12 of the Act made it a criminal offence to damage a state record wilfully, or to remove or destroy such a record otherwise than in terms of the Archives Act or any other law.

Challenging the ambit of the Archives Act

- 30 The authority of the Archives Act over specific categories of state records was regularly challenged by state structures. These challenges are crucial to understanding what constituted 'unauthorised destruction', and some of them defined the terrain on which the mass destruction described later in this chapter took place.
- 31 As soon as the Archives Act had been passed, it was challenged from several quarters. In 1962, there were four challenges, two of which were to prove highly significant. In that year, the Department of Justice argued that 'non-prescribed' records kept by magistrates were 'from their nature' not subject to the operation of the Archives Act. In the same year, a public service inspector argued that active or current records in government offices were similarly excluded 'from their nature'. State legal opinions rejected these arguments and confirmed the applicability of the Act to state records from the moment of their creation or acquisition.
- 32 Although unsuccessful, these challenges exposed the vulnerability of the Archives Act to divergent interpretations of the words 'from their nature'. It is not clear what the Act's drafters intended to exclude by these words although, in a speech to the Senate on 31 January 1962, the Minister of Education, Arts and Science indicated that the words were designed to accommodate the management of secret records.⁶ It was a loophole that would later be ruthlessly exploited by state bodies seeking to avoid the strictures imposed by the Archives Act.
- 33 In 1978, all government departments received guidelines, signed by the Prime Minister, for the protection of classified information (EM9-12). The guidelines empowered department heads to authorise destruction outside the ambit of the

⁶ Debates of the Senate, 1962.

Archives Act. The guidelines did not explicitly challenge the authority of the Archives Act; they simply authorised destruction without mentioning the Archives Act at all.⁷ The NIS updated the guidelines in 1984⁸ under the State President's signature.

- 34 It is not clear how widespread or stringent the application of the guidelines was but, certainly within the security establishment, they were implemented rigorously. SAS, however, only became aware of their existence in 1991. This is confirmed in letters addressed to the Commission by four former directors of the SAS. The SADF had implemented similar guidelines from at least 1971. Like its civilian counterpart, the SADF Archives appear not to have been aware of the existence of the guidelines in question.
- 35 The more recent debate on the destruction of records was thrust on the nation with the widely publicised disclosure in 1991 that the NIS had destroyed the sound recording of the meeting between Nelson Mandela and PW Botha held in 1989. SAS challenged the legality of the destruction on the grounds that the Director of Archives had not authorised it. On 10 December 1991, the State President's Office secured a state legal opinion⁹ indicating that 'sensitive' documents – those requiring secrecy – were in their nature not 'archives' and therefore not subject to the Archives Act. Subsequently NIS also acquired a state legal opinion¹⁰, which not only confirmed the previous one but also argued that sound recordings, because they are not 'written' documents, are not in their nature 'archives'. These opinions had alarming implications: any state record regarded as 'sensitive' could be destroyed by the body holding it without even consulting with the Director of Archives.
- 36 A crucial development in the systematic destruction of 'sensitive' records occurred on 3 July 1992. Following the enquiry of the Kahn Commission into Special Secret Projects, the then Minister of Justice and National Intelligence, Mr Kobie Coetsee, authorised the destruction by the NIS of financial and related records outside of parameters laid down by Treasury.

⁷ Paragraphs 31 and 32, pp.20/1

⁸ SP 2/8/1

⁹ 299/1991

¹⁰ 308/1991, 17 December 1991

- 37 According to guidelines for the disposal of 'state sensitive' records approved by Cabinet on 2 June 1993, all ministers were empowered to authorise similar destruction.¹¹ These guidelines had their origin in meetings of NIS top management in 1990 and 1991, where it was decided that the NIS's own destruction guidelines would be used as a point of departure for the preparation of government-wide guidelines. The proposal was taken to the State Security Council which subsequently secured Cabinet approval for the guidelines. In addition to the provision for financial records, the guidelines authorised departmental heads to destroy all categories of 'state sensitive' records that met certain loosely defined criteria.
- 38 It is difficult to assess the impact of these guidelines outside the security establishment. The evidence suggests that implementation was extremely uneven and was directly shaped by the relationship of individual offices with the coercive aspects of the previous administration.
- 39 In July 1993, all government departments were advised by the Security Secretariat to destroy classified records received by them from other sources, with the exception of those constituting authorisation for financial expenditure or 'other action'. Special mention was made of the need to destroy documentation related to the NSMS that had been developed in the 1980s.

[It] is recommended that state departments should take care that all classified documents that were not created by the department concerned be destroyed as soon as possible except in cases where the relevant document serves as authorisation for financial expenditure or other action ... This applies, inter alia, to copies of documentation made available by the then security management system. (Head: Security Secretariat, July 1993)

- 40 This step had explicit Cabinet approval. The primary intention seems to have been to erase from government offices all documentary traces of the NSMS that had not been erased by the NIS disposal exercise of 1991 (discussed later in this chapter). The impact of the July 1993 communication was immediate and severe. Government officials across the country destroyed classified records in a sustained and systematic manner. Mr Johan Mostert, head of the Security Secretariat, sent a circular to all government departments recommending the destruction of all classified records they had received from *other* sources, with the exception of those

¹¹ The guidelines are reproduced as Appendix A and are discussed in a later section of this chapter. They offer no definition of 'state sensitive documentation'. However, they implicitly equate the term with classified records. A 'classified record' is one classified as top secret, secret or confidential. When the State Security Council adopted the guidelines in May 1993 it instructed the NIS to investigate comparative practice internationally. There is, however, no evidence that the NIS complied with the instruction.

constituting authorisation for financial expenditure or 'other action'. Special mention was made of the need to destroy documentation related to the NSMS.

- 41 SAS disputed the legal validity of the circular, but its attempts proved futile. However, when the resultant mass destruction of records was reported in the media, Mr Brian Currin, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, challenged the circular's validity in the Supreme Court. He identified the respondents as the State President, the Minister of National Education, the Director of Archives and the Director-General of NIS. In his application, Currin argued that state legal opinions 299/1991 and 308/1991 were "wrong", and that the nature of 'sensitive' records, including classified material, did not exclude them from the operation of the Archives Act. On 27 September 1993, all the parties reached an agreement that, in future, no state records would be dealt with otherwise than in terms of the Act, "simply by virtue of the fact that they are classified, or they are classified into a category denoting some degree of confidentiality".¹²
- 42 The settlement had not, however, incorporated Currin's broader arguments, and the state quickly showed its intention to find reasons (other than the fact of classification) to exclude 'sensitive' records from the ambit of the Archives Act. An inter-departmental working group prepared a draft circular to government departments providing advice on which records fell outside the ambit of the Act. Through the Director-General of National Education, the SAS sought a state legal opinion on the validity of the circular. This opinion¹³ did not refer to the Currin settlement and reaffirmed the findings of opinion 299/91, thus reviving the option of destroying 'state sensitive' records without reference to the Archives Act. The opinion did, however, contain the assertion that decisions on destruction should not be left to individual department heads and recommended that an advice mechanism ('*adviesmeganisme*') be created. This was never done. As late as November 1994, the NIS issued Guidelines for the Protection of Classified Information to government offices. These guidelines empowered the heads of offices to destroy classified records because they were classified, without authorisation from the Director of Archives. This was a direct violation of the Currin settlement. The Director of Archives challenged the NIS and the Guidelines were revised and re-released in February 1995. These were, *de facto*, an updated version of the earlier guidelines distributed in 1978 and again in 1984, both authorised by the head of state. It could be argued that the failure by the NIS explicitly to withdraw the 1984 guidelines in the wake of the Currin settlement also constituted a violation of the settlement.

¹² Case No. 19304/93, Supreme Court of South Africa, Transvaal Provincial Division.

¹³ 220/93, 2 November 1993

43 With the April 1994 general election looming, and despite the destruction of records which had been taking place, the government of the day clearly became anxious about which state records the new government would inherit. Late in 1993, the President's office requested an opinion from the Chief State Law Advisor as to whether representatives of his government could retain custody of certain records after April 1994. A draft memorandum preceding the formal request indicated that one of the motivations was to "keep this information out of the hands of future co-governors".¹⁴ The records referred to were '*gebruiksdokumentasie*' (documents in use), including cabinet minutes, and the minutes of cabinet committees, ministers' committees and the State Security Council. At the time, none of these records had been transferred into the custody of the SAS, on the grounds that their 'sensitive nature' excluded them from the operation of the Archives Act. The Chief State Law Adviser indicated (207/1993 of 22 December 1993) that such records could not be removed from the state's custody after the election in April 1994. Also in December 1993, President De Klerk referred the same question to Advocate SA Cilliers for an opinion. Advocate Cilliers responded on 13 January 1994¹⁵, confirming the Chief State Law Adviser's opinion. Indeed, he went further, disagreeing with opinion 299/91 and its affirmation of the legality of the destruction of 'state sensitive' records on the authorisation of department heads. Subsequently cabinet and cabinet committee records were transferred to the SAS, albeit with a cabinet-imposed ten-year embargo on access.¹⁶ In March/April 1995, some State Security Council and related records were also transferred to SAS from offices of the former NIS. And, in December 1997, Mr Johan Mostert, general manager of the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (NICOC), transferred additional material to the National Archives.

Moratoria on record destruction

44 It was the ANC Commission on Museums, Monuments and Heraldry that first mooted a moratorium on the destruction of state records in March 1992. The idea was subsequently elaborated by the ANC Commission's Archives Subcommittee, the ANC's Conference on Culture and Development (1993) and the Arts and Culture Task Group (1995). In June 1995, NICOC introduced a moratorium on the destruction of all 'intelligence documents'. On 29 November 1995, Cabinet imposed a moratorium on the destruction of all records of the state - irrespective of their age and of whether or not the Director of Archives had

14 Among documentation made available to the Commission by Mr Marius Ackermann through the joint investigative team enquiry into records management by the civilian intelligence services.

15 Advocate Cilliers' opinion is dated 13 January 1993, but this is clearly a dating error, as the opinion was only requested in December 1993.

16 The embargo was ignored, with access being managed in terms of access provisions contained in the Archives Act.

authorised their destruction. Initially the moratorium was intended to remain in place until the passing of the National Archives of South Africa Act. When the Act was passed in October 1996, however, Cabinet extended the moratorium until the completion of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's work.

- 45 It was against this background that the Commission initiated its enquiries into the records management systems and destruction of documents within the security establishment.

■ CHALLENGING THE AMBIT OF THE ARCHIVES ACT: A CHRONOLOGY

1962:

Department of Justice argues for exclusion of 'non-prescribed' records.
Rejected.

1962:

A public service inspector argues that current records are excluded.
Rejected.

1978:

The Prime Minister authorises government-wide guidelines for the routine destruction of classified records.

1984:

Guidelines for the routine destruction of classified records are updated with the approval of the State President.

1991:

It is revealed that the NIS has destroyed a tape recording of the meeting between Nelson Mandela and PW Botha. This leads to state legal opinions 299/1991 and 308/1991, which argue that 'sensitive' records fall outside the ambit of the Archives Act.

1992:

The Minister of Justice and National Intelligence authorises the destruction of financial and related NIS documents.

2 June 1993:

Cabinet approves guidelines for government offices to destroy 'state sensitive' records.

July 1993:

The Security Secretariat advises government offices to destroy certain categories of classified records.

27 September 1993:

Mr Brian Currin challenges the Security Secretariat advice, which leads to a settlement whereby all parties agree that classified records are not excluded from the operation of the Archives Act simply because they are classified.

2 November 1993:

State legal opinion 220/93 confirms the view that 'state sensitive' records fall outside the ambit of the Archives Act.

December 1993:

State President's office attempts unsuccessfully to secure legal sanction for certain categories of state record to be withheld from a new government.

November 1994:

The NIS reissues its Guidelines for the Protection of Classified Information which authorise the destruction of classified records without any reference to the Currin settlement.

February 1995:

The NIS revises and again reissues its Guidelines after the Director of Archives challenges these.

■ ENQUIRIES INTO THE DESTRUCTION OF RECORDS BY THE SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT

- 46 In order to enquire into the destruction of records, the Commission appointed a series of joint investigative teams to conduct probes into the various structures. In order to ensure optimum professionalism and impartiality, the Commission proposed in each case that, in addition to its own staff, personnel from the Human Rights Commission, the National Archives and representatives of the

body under consideration should form part of the investigative team. This arrangement was agreed to in all cases by all parties.¹⁷ The scope and duration of the investigations varied according to specific circumstances, but each probe included on-site inspections of records and records management facilities. Throughout this complex process, the Commission received outstanding support and assistance from the National Archives.

Security Branch of the South African Police

- 47 The joint investigative team enquiring into the SAP decided to focus its investigation on two categories of Security Branch records. The first category consisted of operational files, especially those documenting the surveillance of individuals and organisations, Security Branch investigations, and the detention of individuals; the second consisted of records confiscated from individuals and organisations. In addition, the investigation focused on Security Branch operations in six areas: Pretoria/national, Johannesburg, Pietersburg, Port Elizabeth/Cradock, Durban and Cape Town. The SAPS supplied twelve investigators (two for each area) to conduct on-site investigations on behalf of the team. These were appointed after consultation and a selection process that involved the joint team. Subsequently, all areas in which the Security Branch had operations were drawn into the ambit of the investigation on the written instructions of the National Commissioner of the SAPS. Established in March 1997, the team completed its work in November 1997¹⁸. Subsequently, a smaller joint team made up of Commission and Safety and Security Secretariat members conducted an exhaustive examination of the records located during the investigation. This was finalised in February 1998.
- 48 Throughout the period covered by the mandate of the Commission, SAS had been of the view that all Security Branch records were fully subject to the Archives Act. With the approval of the Director of Archives, the Security Branch managed their records in terms of records classification systems approved by the director for use throughout the SAP, but in physically separate record sets classified as secret or confidential. Standing SAP instructions indicated that no secret or confidential records could be destroyed without written authorisation from the Director of Archives. In the period 1960 – 1994, no such authorisations were given.

17 The composition of each investigative team was unique. However, Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio (Commission) and Mr Verne Harris (National Archives) served on all the teams. Jody Kollapen (Human Rights Commission) and Mr Arthur Fraser (Commission) also served on several investigative teams. Additional members of the Commission's research department, as well as outside consultants to the research department, all of whom underwent the normal 'top secret' security clearance, were on several occasions brought in to assist in the scrutiny of records.

18 The investigations conducted both by the teams in the areas mentioned, as well as in the more wide-ranging initiative by the National Commissioner of the SAPS, uncovered a number of files that had not been destroyed. These files are described later in this report.

- 49 It emerged, however that, throughout this period, Security Branch records were routinely destroyed in accordance with internal arrangements for retention or disposal. In the main, this seems to have applied to support functions rather than operational records. Huge volumes of operational records were generated at head office, regional and local levels. To cope more effectively with them, a microfilming project was initiated in the 1970s. Originals of microfilmed records were apparently destroyed, but not on a systematic basis. From 1983, a computerised database of operational records was implemented. Again, it appears as if certain original documents were destroyed after the core data had been captured on the database.
- 50 In March 1992, an instruction emanating from head office ordered the destruction of all operational records, including records confiscated from individuals and organisations. The Commission was unable to determine either the precise source of this instruction or its exact content. The evidence suggests that a verbal instruction was received at both regional and local levels, following receipt by the SAP from the NIS of the December 1991 state legal opinions exempting 'state sensitive' records from the operation of the Archives Act. The instruction embraced paper-based originals, microfilms and the computerised database, and required the destruction not only of records but also of all documentation relating to the records.
- 51 The investigation revealed that, in the months following the issuing of the instruction, massive and systematic destruction of records took place. In some cases, records were removed to head office for destruction. In other cases, destruction took place on-site. In other instances, the facilities of private companies like Nampak and Sappi were utilised.
- 52 It would appear that Security Branch offices implemented the instruction to destroy records to the letter. In fact, some offices destroyed most, if not all, support function as well as operational records. But there were exceptions. Certain operational records were not destroyed in the Ficksburg, Kimberley, Pietermaritzburg, Pietersburg, Port Elizabeth, Potchefstroom, Rooigrond, Thaba Nchu, Thoyandou, Tzaneen and Welkom offices. The Ministry of Safety and Security secured these to the satisfaction of the joint investigative team. Several thousand files also survived in the SAPS head office, although most of them post-date 1990. Eleven back-up tapes of the head office computerised database were located. With the assistance of the SAPS Data Technological Services, the readability of seven of these tapes was confirmed and the tapes immediately

secured. Contrary to the March 1992 instruction, the Port Elizabeth, Empangeni and Cape Town offices also kept lists of files forwarded to head office for destruction in terms of the instruction. These lists were also secured.

53 Security Branch records located by the investigation fell into three categories:

a General files, all post-dating 1990

b Computer data tapes containing data on anti-apartheid organisations.
It appears that these data were captured in the 1980s

c Individual case records in eight sub-categories: contraventions of emergency regulations; dockets; detainees under security legislation; surveillance of individuals (both anti-apartheid and right wing); surveillance of right wing organisations; security incidents (post-dating 1990); applications for indemnity; and returning exiles.

54 Inventories of these records were made available. The Commission scrutinised the records and obtained copies of such documentation as was relevant to ongoing research and investigation. To facilitate this process, a significant number of files were transferred to the SAPS offices in Port Elizabeth at the request of the Commission's researchers.

Government civilian intelligence bodies

55 The joint investigative team responsible for this investigation worked from August 1997 to March 1998. Excellent support was received from the NIA and the SASS.

56 The Bureau of State Security (BOSS) was established in 1968. Its functions were taken over by the Department of National Security in 1978 and by the NIS in 1980. Three of the former 'homelands' - Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana - established civilian intelligence services. As explained later in this chapter, the KwaZulu Intelligence Service was a NIS project that was terminated in 1991. From 1 January 1995, the four remaining services were amalgamated, together with the intelligence structures of the liberation movements, to form the NIA and the SASS.

57 For obvious reasons, the management of records in the NIS was tightly controlled. Comprehensive directives covered paper-based, microfilm and electronic systems, as well as the management responsibilities of head office and regional structures.

NIS top management assumed that the records and records systems fell outside the ambit of the Archives Act. The first formal contact between NIS and SAS took place only in 1991 at the time of the controversy surrounding the destruction of the sound recording of the meeting between Nelson Mandela and PW Botha. Thereafter top management explicitly adopted the position that NIS records were exempt from the Act's operation. This position was defined by the two 1991 state legal opinions discussed earlier in this chapter.

- 58 Acting independently of the Archives Act, the regular, routine destruction of NIS records began at least as early as 1982.¹⁹ On 1 December 1982, top management adopted a set of guidelines (Directive 0/01) which authorised divisional heads and regional representatives to destroy records no longer of security relevance on an annual basis. However, in 1990 it was decided to replace this system with a far more rigorous re-evaluation process to be managed by an inter-divisional Standing Re-evaluation Committee. Guidelines were given to the Committee in October 1991. These required the destruction of paper-based records unless there were very good reasons for their retention. 'Security relevant' records were to be kept on microfilm or in electronic form, where they were most secure and easier to destroy or erase quickly. Continued retention was to be reviewed on an annual basis. In addition, documentation of covert operations was to be categorised according to sensitivity and security relevance criteria, with references to the most sensitive documentation to be removed from the electronic information retrieval system. None of this documentation was to be kept for longer than six years.
- 59 The new records management policy outlined above had not taken into account Treasury requirements for the management of financial records. In 1992, after conferring with the Auditor-General and the Director of Archives, the NIS Director-General requested ministerial approval for the destruction of financial authorisations, vouchers and related documentation. As indicated earlier, the Minister of Justice and National Intelligence, Mr Kobie Coetsee gave his approval on 3 July 1992.
- 60 Implementation of the policy gained momentum in 1992, but reached its most intense levels in 1993. At this time mass destruction of records took place, embracing all media and all structures. In a six to eight month period in 1993, NIS headquarters alone destroyed approximately forty four tons of paper-based and microfilm records, utilising the Pretoria Iscor furnace and the Kliprivier facility outside Johannesburg. The evidence suggests that many operatives took the opportunity to 'clean up' their offices, irrespective of the guidelines. Systematic destruction exercises

19 It has been impossible to determine record disposal procedures in the BOSS era. However, it is assumed that NIS procedures were applied to any records which survived from that era.

continued until late in 1994. Many of the surviving minutes of chief directorate, directorate and divisional meetings and most administrative records covering the period 1989 - 1994 were destroyed at this late stage. It is unclear whether a position, adopted by the Heads of Civilian Services (HOCS)²⁰ in about September 1994, that all record destruction should cease, was fully complied with. What is clear, however, is that, throughout the phase of systematic destruction, NIS's own requirements for the preparation of destruction certificates were seldom complied with.

- 61 The result of the destruction was a massive purging of the NIS's corporate memory. This was supplemented by the unauthorised *ad hoc* removal of documents by individuals for their own purposes. Any attempt to quantify this phenomenon was beyond the resources of the joint investigative team. Very little pre-1990 material survives in the paper-based, microfilm and electronic systems. The one seemingly intact series of records are the minutes of senior management meetings for the period 1980 - 1994. Other documentation from the period 1990 - 1994 was substantially sanitised.
- 62 It is clear that the main purpose of purging the records of the NIS was to deny a new government access to records documenting state action against the opponents of apartheid. Subsidiary aims, outlined in NIS top management elaborative outlines issued in 1992, included the protection of sources and the sanitisation of the image of both government and the NIS in a new political environment (see appendices B and C).
- 63 Crucial to a complete picture of record destruction is the fact that, in addition to its own records, the NIS was the custodian of documentation generated by the NSMS, including the State Security Council and its numerous sub-structures. On 29 November 1991, when the system was being dismantled, a circular was sent to all government departments requiring them to transfer all State Security Council Secretariat records in their custody to the NIS. The stated purpose of the exercise was to enable the Security Secretariat to assemble a complete set of all such records. Interviewed in the course of the investigation into the civilian intelligence bodies, Mr Johan Mostert, who was head of the Security Secretariat in 1993, reiterated the position he took in the public debate at the time, insisting that a full set of such documentation had been kept by the NIS. Indeed, he subsequently provided the Commission with a sworn affidavit to this effect. When the extant records were transferred from the former NIS offices into the custody of SAS in March and April 1995, however, it became clear that this was not the case. The transferred records covered the period 1979 - 1989, but contained numerous and

²⁰ HOCS consisted of heads of component services, and was responsible for managing the transition from the old intelligence dispensation to the new.

substantial gaps²¹. According to Mr AP Stemmet, who was a senior official in the State Security Council Secretariat and responsible for the management of these records between 1980 and 1990, the gaps were primarily the result of routine destruction exercises undertaken throughout the 1980s. The suspicion remains, however, that the 1991 exercise was designed to secure not the preservation but the destruction of certain records.²² Supplementary documentation transferred to the National Archives by Mr Mostert in December 1997 (covering the period 1990-1994) contained similar gaps.

- 64 During 1995, the remaining former 'homelands' intelligence services were integrated into the new civilian intelligence services. It seems that, before then, very little records destruction had taken place. However, between April and October 1995, a NIA Chief Directorate Research and Analysis Co-ordinating Committee subjected some of the records inherited from these services to a thorough re-evaluation process. Working both on-site and with records that had been transferred to NIA headquarters, the Committee was mandated to identify for preservation records of value to the NIA, from both an operational and an historical perspective. Committee members estimated that about 5 per cent of the records evaluated were identified for preservation. On-site inspection by the joint investigative team suggests that a far smaller percentage was preserved, with almost nothing pre-dating 1990, and that in practice the sole criterion for preservation seems to have been security relevance. The remaining documents were subsequently destroyed: the last destruction exercise took place as late as November 1996. These destruction exercises defied the moratoria on the destruction of state records introduced in 1995 by both NICOC and Cabinet. However, after completion of the re-evaluation process, large volumes of additional records from the offices of all three former services were secured at NIA headquarters. The periods covered by these records are as follows: Bophuthatswana Intelligence Service (1973 - 1995), Bophuthatswana National Security Council (1987 - 1994), Transkei Intelligence Service (1969 - 1994) and Venda Intelligence Service (1979 - 1994).
- 65 The KwaZulu Intelligence Service (KWAZINT) was unique in that it was a NIS special project (code named *Aalbessie*) fully funded by the NIS. KWAZINT existed between 1986 and 1991, when NIS terminated it. It included the NIS and KwaZulu government officials and all project records were either sent to or managed by

21 A NIS official involved in the 1991 exercise, Mr Kallie Pretorius, while unable to comment on its purpose, claimed that the exercise was a complete failure - according to him, other government offices transferred no records to NIS. (Interview, 10 February 1998.) This is strongly refuted by members of the ex-SADF, who insist that the SADF transferred substantial quantities of NSMS records to the NIS in response to the circular. See section on the SADF above.

22 The National Archives is attempting to fill these gaps by identifying accumulations of NSMS records still in government offices. Up to now they have identified substantial accumulations in the SANDF Archives and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

the NIS. As far as the joint investigative team could determine, none of these records has survived. For this account of KWAZINT's existence, the joint team relied on the testimony (both written and verbal) of ex-KWAZINT operatives.

South African Defence Force

66 In June 1997, the Commission began trying to set up the joint investigative team. It was hoped, at that stage, to conduct a broad investigation of record destruction by SADF structures. However, the team was only finally constituted in December 1997, after several unsuccessful attempts by the Commission to initiate the enquiry. As indicated earlier, by the time the SANDF finally offered its co-operation, much time had been lost and it became necessary to adopt objectives that were more modest. These included:

- a the securing of an overview of SADF records management practice; and
- b focused probes into record keeping by Military Intelligence and other particularly sensitive structures and operations.

67 The investigation was completed in March 1998 and received good support from the SANDF personnel involved.

68 Throughout the period under review (1960 - 1994), the SADF was fully subject to both the Archives Act and the professional supervision of SAS. However, the SADF enjoyed a special status within this framework. It managed its own archival repository (the SADF Archives) and, from the late 1960s, provided its own records management service (through the SADF Archives) to SADF structures. Both functions were supervised by SAS. Standing orders required that records be destroyed only in terms of authorisations signed by the Director of Archives, and that destruction certificates be submitted to the SADF Archives.

69 However, from at least 1971, conflicting standing orders authorised the routine destruction of classified records without reference to the SADF Archives, the Director of Archives or the Archives Act. The evidence provided by extant internal destruction certificates suggests that substantial volumes of records were destroyed in this way without any archival intervention. Neither the SADF Archives nor the Director of Archives appears to have been aware of the existence of these orders.

70 In November 1991, the SADF received the instruction from the NIS, referred to earlier, requiring it to collect and transfer to that body all records in its custody

related to the State Security Council Secretariat. The instruction was interpreted to embrace all NSMS records, which were systematically secured and prepared for transfer to NIS. While the joint investigative team could find no documentary evidence of the transfer, an executive plan was identified which, according to strong verbal evidence, had been put into effect by 1993.

- 71 In 1992 Lieutenant-General Steyn, the then SADF Chief of Staff, was appointed to investigate SADF intelligence activities. On 23 November 1992, all SADF structures were informed that from then on records were only to be destroyed with the express approval of Steyn.
- 72 However, in mid-1993, the Cabinet-approved guidelines for the disposal of 'state sensitive documentation' were received. The Chief of the SADF ordered their immediate implementation, thus effectively repealing General Steyn's instruction. Two joint teams, consisting of inspector general and counter intelligence personnel, were appointed to visit all units and to identify records for destruction. A country-wide destruction exercise followed. This exercise failed, by and large, to produce the required destruction certificates, making analysis of its impact extremely difficult.
- 73 Several processes sustained the disposal of SADF records outside the ambit of archival legislation. Not mentioned above, and impossible to quantify, were the unauthorised *ad hoc* removals and destruction undertaken by individuals. Assessing the overall impact of these processes was beyond the joint investigative team's capacity. However, several probes sought to arrive at a general sense of their impact.
 - a Although subjected to close scrutiny during the 1993 destruction exercise, a large volume of Military Intelligence files survived. The joint investigative team identified three discrete file groups at the SANDF Archives: group number 14, comprising 299 boxes of files covering the period 1977 - 1987; group number 21, comprising 254 files covering the period 1975 - 1987; and group number 30, comprising 529 boxes of files covering the period 1976 - 1996. However, significant gaps were identified. For instance, no record accumulations of the Directorate Special Tasks or the Directorate Covert Collection could be found, and only a small accumulation of Contra-mobilisation Projects (COMOPS).
 - b No record accumulation relating to the CCB could be found.
 - c Spot checks revealed that not all personnel files could be made available, raising the question as to whether or not such files had been destroyed.

- d Spot checks suggested that substantial documentation of cross border operations in neighbouring countries had survived.
 - e Very little NSMS documentation managed by the SADF had survived. The only significant accumulation comprised fifty-four boxes of files (now in the SANDF Archives), generated in the Eastern Cape and preserved for use in the Goniwe Inquest. However, some other NSMS documentation was identified in each of the three military intelligence file groups described above.
- 74 The joint team also conducted two supplementary probes:
- a A task group authorised by the Chief of the SANDF in June 1994 managed the acquisition by the SANDF Archives of all extant records of the former defence forces of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. These forces had been amalgamated with the SADF and non-statutory forces to form the SANDF in April 1994. Apart from the 1 544 boxes of files secured from the former Bophuthatswana Defence Force, relatively insignificant documentary traces were secured: eighty boxes of files from the Transkei, 115 from the Ciskei and 331 from Venda. Personnel files have been excluded from these figures, as they were integrated with the SANDF's personnel file series.
 - b The records of the South West Africa Territory Force were subjected to systematic appraisal in an exercise initiated in December 1988. Decisions about which records were to be destroyed were authorised by the commanding officer. There was no consultation with the civilian archives repository in Windhoek, the SADF Archives, or the State Archives Service. Records that survived this exercise were placed in the custody of the SADF Archives.

Department of Prison Services

- 75 The joint investigative team responsible for this investigation conducted its work between November and December 1997. It received excellent support from the Department of Correctional Services.
- 76 In terms of records management policy and practice, the Department of Prison Services was in most respects a model governmental body. From the early 1960s, it secured SAS approval for its records classification systems, regularly reported revisions to them, and was diligent in securing disposal authorisation from the Director of Archives for all records categories. Records were destroyed in terms of these authorities, and the requisite destruction certificates were forwarded to the

Director of Archives. SAS documentation demonstrates that the Department was also diligent in reporting cases of records lost or destroyed other than in terms of the authorities. These cases were all investigated by the SAS, and no evidence of sinister motives was uncovered.

- 77 However, from at least 1985 the Department routinely destroyed classified records in terms of the NIS Guidelines for the Protection of Classified Information. This was done without any consultation with the SAS. Moreover, the 1993 Cabinet-approved guidelines for the disposal of 'state sensitive' records and the circular received by all government offices from the Security Secretariat in July 1993 recommending the destruction of certain categories of classified records were both acted upon. The circular was understood to constitute an instruction from a higher authority than the SAS, and was implemented to the letter. A substantial volume of classified records was destroyed. Appropriate destruction certificates were prepared.
- 78 In probing the Department's records management practice, the joint investigative team focused on records documenting security and political prisoners or detainees, and prisoners sentenced to death. The findings were as follows:
- a The files of each security and political prisoner were transferred to Pretoria on the prisoner's release. These files were investigated by the team and found to be intact, in excellent condition and under the careful management of the Department's Directorate of Security. The historical value of this documentation is extremely significant.
 - b A separate visit to the strongroom containing the files of the ANC Rivonia trialists and several other ANC leaders showed these files to be in a similar state of excellent preservation. The files are those of President Mandela and Messrs Harry Gwala, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi and Walter Sisulu. There was a total of 208 personal files as well as a number of registers, *dagboeke* and additional documents. Again, the historical value of these records demands the utmost care and protection.
 - c The Department kept no record of security and political detainees. The latter were under the direct control of the Security Branch of the SAP, which managed the relevant documentation.
 - d Documentation of prisoners sentenced to death had been preserved, and was under the control of Correctional Services' Regional Commissioner for Gauteng.

The Department of Justice's Security Legislation Directorate

- 79 This investigation was conducted by representatives of the Commission and the National Archives with the excellent co-operation of the Ministry of Justice. Because of the small size of the Department of Justice's Security Legislation Directorate, and the concentration of all its records into a single Ministry of Justice strong room, it was possible to complete the investigation without any logistic problems within one week during December 1997.
- 80 The Directorate was established in 1982 and endured until 1991. Its predecessor was the Internal Security Division and, before that, the function was performed (beginning in 1949) by various individuals in the Department. Its function was to make recommendations to the Ministers of Justice and Law and Order concerning the administration of security legislation. For example, whether an individual or organisation should be banned; whether an individual should be restricted; whether a gathering should be allowed, and so on. Legislation falling within its ambit included the Suppression of Communism Act, the Internal Security Act, the Affected Organisations Act, the Terrorism Act, the Unlawful Organisations Act and the Public Safety Act. It is worth noting that its involvement with Section 29 detainees was terminated in 1987, and that it played no role concerning state of emergency regulations. Its recommendations were made on the basis of investigations initiated by the Security Branch of the SAP. These recommendations were supported by information gathered on its behalf by the Security Branch, the NIS and Military Intelligence. It had no information-gathering capacity of its own.
- 81 The evidence suggests that the Directorate's records management practice was impeccable. Records were kept in accordance with SAS and departmental directives, and disposal was performed in terms of disposal authorities issued by the Archives Commission and the Director of Archives. While the Directorate did routinely destroy classified documents received from other government offices in terms of NIS guidelines, it ignored the 1993 Cabinet-approved disposal guidelines and the 1993 Security Secretariat circular advising the destruction of certain classified records.
- 82 The Directorate's extant records constitute a comprehensive and extremely valuable collection. Kept in excellent condition by the Ministry of Justice, it comprises the following:
- a a series of case files for individuals, spanning the period 1949-1991;

b series of case files for organisations and for publications. It should be noted that the series for organisations includes files inherited by the Directorate dating back to the 1920s;

c policy, administrative and other subject-based correspondence files.

83 The Ministry of Justice readily made this documentation available to the Commission.

■ CONCLUSIONS

Destruction in terms of the Archives Act

84 No state has the resources to preserve permanently all the records generated by it. The information 'explosion' of the second half of the twentieth century has made it essential that rigorous selection policies be applied to records which have served their shorter term functional and accountability purposes. In the United States, for example, between 1950 and 1985, the authorised destruction of 120 million cubic metres of federal records took place.²³ The selection policies of some countries' national archives secure for archival preservation as little as 1 per cent of all state records²⁴; the SAS estimates that the policies implemented in South Africa between 1960 and 1994 secured the preservation of approximately 15 per cent of state records.

85 In this period, huge volumes of state records were destroyed with the authorisation of either the Archives Commission (until 1979) or SAS (under the signature of the Director of Archives). While there is evidence that SAS attempted to secure a degree of professional autonomy, it is highly improbable that apartheid imperatives did not mould selection decisions. Indeed, numerous instances of this can be cited: for instance, in 1968 Military Intelligence was given authorisation (SV-35) to destroy classified records on a 'read and destroy' basis; it took the post-February 1990 winds of change to stimulate a review of an earlier decision not to preserve even a sample of Group Areas Act case files; and, as is recounted earlier in this chapter, the Director of Archives colluded with NIS in 1992 in securing authorisation for the quick destruction of financial and related records.

86 Clearly, a comprehensive account of state record destruction requires a thorough analysis of archival selection policies and practices. However, the over 4 000 record disposal authorities issued to state offices in the period under review

23 R. Sink, "Appraisal: The Process of Choice", *The American Archivist* 53, 3 (1990), p. 453.

24 Verne Harris, "Public Access to Official Records and the Record Management Function of the South African State Archives Service", *Innovation* 4 (1992), p.14.

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

Destruction outside the operation of the Archives Act

- 87 In the period 1960 - 1989, the SAS investigated numerous cases of alleged or actual destruction of state records, which had occurred without archival authorisation. Most cases of such destruction involved disasters such as fires and flooding, or resulted from negligence in the management of records. In not a single instance was the SAS able to identify sinister motivation – for example, the deliberate destruction of documentary evidence. This does not mean, of course, that such destruction never took place.
- 88 The evidence recounted earlier in this chapter demonstrates that the security establishment did, in fact, routinely destroy documentation without archival authorisation in the pre-1990 era. With the exception of the Department of Prison Services and the SADF, the SAS chose to avoid exercising its managerial responsibility in relation to these bodies' records systems. There is, indeed, no evidence of pre-1990 professional liaison between the SAS and other components of the security establishment. The reasons for this abrogation of responsibility are not clear. What is clear is that the State Archives Service was not in a position to detect the unauthorised destruction that was taking place.
- 89 It is also of significant interest that, when the Department of Justice transferred the Rivonia Treason Trial records into the custody of the SAS in 1995, it was discovered that most of the records were *missing* – although, again there is no evidence which suggests these records were in fact *destroyed*. An intensive investigation by the SAS failed to reveal what had happened to them.²⁵
- 90 After February 1990, security establishment structures became increasingly apprehensive about certain state records passing out of their control at some future date. This resulted in a marked shift towards a more systematic and vigorous attempt to destroy state records. The NIS began a systematic destruction programme in 1991, the Security Branch of the SAP in 1992 and the SADF in 1993. At the same time operatives apparently began removing state records as 'insurance policies' for the future. This was done, for instance, by several CCB operatives. The Harms Commission of Enquiry revealed that the remaining CCB records had been systematically destroyed.²⁶

25 While the investigation was under way, Mr Percy Yuttar, chief state prosecutor in the trial, sold his trial records to the Brenthurst Library. The SAS maintained that the records were state property and subject to the operation of the Archives Act. Subsequently Brenthurst and the National Archives reached an agreement in terms of which the latter would receive a full set of copies.

- 91 In the course of its routine work in 1997, the NIA discovered several trunks of classified documents on South Africa's Chemical and Biological Warfare (CBW) programme and apparent hit-squad activities. These had been placed in the premises of a former colleague by Brigadier Wouter Basson, previously head of the SADF's CBW programme. This documentation, which had been removed from the custody of the state, highlights the extent to which 'state sensitive' employees of the state appropriated documentation for their own purposes. In this instance, the documentation was returned to and scrutinised by the NIA as well as Commission personnel as a basis for their enquiry into the nature and extent of the CBW programme.
- 92 In November 1991, the NIS instructed all government departments to collect documentation of the State Security Council Secretariat in their custody and to transfer it to the NIS. As argued earlier, the purpose of the exercise appears to have been the systematic selective destruction of such documentation. In 1993, it was revealed that all Koevoet records had disappeared while in transit between Windhoek and Pretoria.²⁷
- 93 By May 1994, a massive deletion of state documentary memory within the security establishment had been achieved. To what extent the systematic destruction was co-ordinated, and the question of whether or not it was sanctioned by Cabinet in its preliminary phase, is unclear. However, as recounted earlier, by 1993 Cabinet was both aware of the phenomenon and had authorised its expansion to involve all state offices. The motivation for this purging of official memory was clearly to prevent certain categories of record falling into the hands of the incoming government. The apartheid state was determined in this way to sanitise its image and protect its intelligence sources. It was also apparently intent on eliminating evidence of gross human rights violations. In this regard, the security establishment had most cause to destroy records.

26 Christopher Merrett, A Culture of Censorship: Secrecy and Intellectual Repression in South Africa (David Philip and University of Natal Press, Cape Town, 1994), p.106.

27 *Ibid.* p. 193 (footnote 263).

■ THE PURGING OF OFFICIAL MEMORY : A CHRONOLOGY

From at least the 1970s:

Government offices, particularly within the security establishment, routinely destroy 'sensitive' records.

1978:

The Prime Minister authorises government-wide guidelines for the routine destruction of classified records. These are updated, with the State President's approval, in 1984.

1988:

Records of the South West Africa Territory Force are appraised and large volumes destroyed.

1991:

NIS begins a systematic destruction programme which continues until late in 1994. The guidelines are channelled to the State Security Council as a basis for government-wide guidelines.

November 1991:

NIS attempts to collect all NSMS records, apparently to implement selective destruction.

1992:

The Security Branch of the SAP begins a systematic destruction programme, which continues into 1993.

3 July 1992:

Minister of Justice and National Intelligence authorises the destruction of NIS financial and related records outside parameters laid down by Treasury requirements.

2 June 1993:

Cabinet approves government-wide guidelines for the destruction of 'state sensitive' records. The guidelines are submitted to Cabinet by the State Security Council and incorporated the principles of the 3 July 1992 authorisation referred to above. Immediately, the SADF and other government structures begin systematic destruction programmes.

July 1993:

The Security Secretariat advises government offices to destroy certain categories of classified record. Widespread implementation follows.

From 1991:

All the above processes provide a cover for widespread *ad hoc* removals and destruction of records by individuals.

1995:

In June, NICOC introduces a moratorium on the destruction of 'intelligence documents'. In November, Cabinet imposes a moratorium on the destruction of all categories of state record.

April 1995 – November 1996:

NIA systematically appraises and destroys certain records inherited from the intelligence services of the former homelands.

The issue of legality

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

- a The SAS disagreed with these legal opinions.
 - b The basis of Mr Brian Currin's legal intervention in 1993 was a rejection of the two 1991 opinions.
 - c In the wake of the Currin settlement, the Minister of Justice issued a media statement to the effect that that "Cabinet is of the view that state documentation should be dealt with in terms of the Archives Act."²⁸ However, the destruction of 'state sensitive' records beyond the operation of the Act continued. And, as recounted earlier, within months of the media statement Cabinet attempted to secure legal sanction for the removal from state custody of Cabinet minutes and other 'sensitive' records outside the operation of the Act.
 - d The state used the legal opinions selectively. For instance, the 1993 opinion's recommendation that an advisory mechanism on records destruction be created was simply ignored.
 - e Cabinet's approval of the destruction of financial records outside the parameters laid down by the Treasury requirements was of dubious legal validity.
 - f The legal opinions begged the question, 'in terms of what law are 'state sensitive' records to be destroyed?' Several officials involved in such destruction pointed to the Protection of Information Act, but this Act makes no reference to the destruction of documents.
- 95 Ultimately the question of legality is perhaps largely a non-issue. On the one hand, the former government created rules and performed actions, which were perfectly legal but lacked legitimacy and often bore little or no relation to the rule of law. On the other, it is clear that the sanitisation of official memory would probably have taken place irrespective of legal constraints. As Mr Brian Currin said of the 1993 settlement, the only way to enforce it would have been to "tie up their [government's] hands and confiscate all the relevant machinery they can use to destroy documents."

The role of the State Archives Service

- 96 Given its legislative mandate, the SAS was the principal state agent responsible for acting against destruction without the required archival authorisation. While it investigated numerous cases of alleged or actual illegal destruction, lack of

²⁸ The statement was issued in Afrikaans on 29 September 1993. This is a translation of the original text.

resources and an abrogation of responsibility led to its failure even to detect the routine destruction of classified records by the security establishment in the pre-1990 period. In the 1990-1994 period of mass destruction, SAS intervention achieved little. It followed up every case of alleged illegal destruction, engaged the security establishment in debate around the issue, registered its disagreement with the two 1991 legal opinions, and forced revision of the NIS's 1994 Guidelines for the Protection of Classified Information. However, it was hamstrung by the government's disregard for accountability, by its junior status within government, and by a leadership that was apparently intimidated by the security establishment. The evidence suggests that, while junior staff was pushing for decisive action, the leadership chose not to act. For instance :

- a In June 1992, the Department of Foreign Affairs requested authority to destroy certain special projects files. When the Director of Archives indicated that they should be transferred into the custody of the SAS, Foreign Affairs withdrew its application and claimed that the files were in fact merely empty file covers. The Director refused calls by SAS junior staff for an investigation.
- b When SAS staff became aware of the Security Secretariat's 1993 circular concerning the destruction of classified records, and secured evidence of its implementation in government offices, they pushed for an urgent intervention. When the Director of Archives failed to do so, one of these staff members is reported to have leaked the circular first to the press and then to Mr Brian Currin of Lawyers for Human Rights.²⁹
- c On no occasion in the period 1990 - 1994 did the Director of Archives authorise an investigative inspection of an office suspected of destroying records. Not once was the Archives Act used to institute an investigation of possible criminal charges in terms of the Act.

The role of the liberation movements

- 97 As is recounted elsewhere in this chapter, from 1992 ANC structures began calling for a moratorium on the destruction of state records. Already there was a strong suspicion that the state was planning, or had already embarked upon, a process of systematic destruction. In September 1993, the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity issued a media release in support of Currin's attempt to stop the destruction of classified records. However, the ANC leadership

29 Interviews with Mr Brian Currin and Mr Verne Harris.

failed to put the issue on the table during the multi-party negotiation process, and the liberation movements further failed to ensure that it was addressed in the Transitional Executive Council Act (No. 151 of 1993). Moreover, the Transitional Executive Council failed to act in the wake of the Currin settlement - the Council was, in the words of Currin, "just paralysed and didn't respond". When the moratoria were introduced in 1995, they came too late. It is also not clear how effectively the moratoria were communicated to and enforced within security establishment structures. Certainly, the NIA continued systematically destroying records of the ex-homelands intelligence services after the introduction of the moratoria, until as late as November 1996. Of course, it could be argued that more decisive intervention by the ANC and the other liberation movements would not have prevented the mass destruction. Nevertheless, this was a lever that, sadly, was never utilised.

■ FINDINGS

- 98 A clear distinction has been made in this chapter between the routine destruction of state records outside the parameters of the Archives Act which took place before 1990, and the systematic destruction that took place between 1990 - 1994. The same distinction is made in the following analysis.

The Commission finds that:

- 99 Before 1990, 'sensitive' records were routinely destroyed by state bodies, particularly those within the security establishment. This was based on an assumption that such records fell outside the ambit of the Archives Act, an assumption that was not tested by a state legal opinion until 1991. The assumption was sanctioned by NIS guidelines authorised by the head of state. The protection of state security was the stated objective of these destruction processes, but they went further in ensuring that certain aspects of the inner workings of the apartheid state remained hidden forever.
- 100 Accountability rests ultimately with the heads of state at the time, although the NIS carries a heavy burden of responsibility for the key role it played in formulating and disseminating the guidelines mentioned above. The SAS is accountable for having failed to uncover the destruction processes.

101 The massive destruction that took place in the period 1990 - 1994 is a different matter. Here the intention, irrespective of legal considerations, was to deny a new government access to apartheid secrets through a systematic purging of official memory. Evidence assembled in this chapter demonstrates that, from at least 1993, this endeavour bore the explicit sanction of Cabinet. To this extent, Cabinet is culpable. However, a number of other parties must share culpability:

- a Both the NIS and the SAP Security Branch began purging exercises long before formal Cabinet sanction was secured in 1993.
- b The Cabinet-approved destruction guidelines of 1993 were first passed by the State Security Council and originated with the NIS's internal destruction guidelines.
- c In failing to revise its Guidelines for the Protection of Classified Information in the wake of the Currin settlement, the NIS clearly defied the terms of the settlement.
- d As custodian of the NSMS records, the NIS failed to take appropriate steps to ensure that a complete set of such records was preserved. In fact, evidence suggests that the NIS played a key role in ensuring that the records were also purged.
- e Numerous individual state officials used the cloak provided by the destruction endeavour to destroy or remove documents without authorisation.

102 Other parties must, in turn, be held accountable for their role:

- a In 1993, and again in his appearance before the joint investigative team enquiry into the record management of the civilian intelligence service, Mr Johan Mostert maintained that a full set of original NSMS documentation had been preserved. This documentation had, however, been purged in over ten years of routine destruction. Mr Mostert, who appeared in his capacity as former head of the Security Secretariat, said that he recommended the destruction of certain categories of state records. In his sworn affidavit to the Commission, to which reference has already been made, he acknowledged "sole responsibility for the content of the letter" which was sent to all director-generals in the public service.

- b SAS must be held accountable for the indecisive and ineffective steps it took to halt the destruction endeavour.
 - c The liberation movements failed to exercise all the leverage at their disposal in acting against the endeavour.
- 103 Although these activities fall outside the Commission's mandate period, the NIA was still destroying records systematically as late as November 1996, in defiance of two government moratoria on the destruction of state records. Culpability rests with the officials directly responsible, but the Agency's top management must be held accountable.
- 104 The mass destruction of records outlined above has had a severe impact on South Africa's social memory. Swathes of official documentary memory, particularly around the inner workings of the apartheid state's security apparatus, have been obliterated.
- 105 Moreover, the apparent complete destruction of all records confiscated from individuals and organisations by the Security Branch of the SAP has removed from our heritage what may arguably have been the country's richest accumulation of records documenting the struggle against apartheid.
- 106 Clearly, the work of the Commission suffered as a result. Numerous investigations of gross human rights violations were hampered by the absence of documentation. Ultimately, of course, *all* South Africans have suffered the consequences - all are victims of the apartheid state's attempted imposition of a selective amnesia.

DISPOSAL OF STATE SENSITIVE DOCUMENTATION

1 Introduction

- 1.1 The vast volume of classified material in the state set-up and the relevance thereof in changing circumstances in the country have raised practical questions about disposing of such documentation.
- 1.2 The intelligence security subcommittee of CIC has approached the subject in the light of the following principles in consultation with a working group appointed by cabinet:
 - There is a need for a simplified, orderly system which will entail fewer prescriptions but will nevertheless provide greater protection in cases where it will really be necessary;
 - it is about state sensitive documentation or information that is worthy of protection from a state point of view, and not about shielding against mere political embarrassment;
 - no disposal will be aimed at the obstruction of justice.

2. Legal requirements

- 2.1 The Archives Act, 1962 applies in brief to all documents that are created or received in state offices and that cannot be dealt with in another way as a result of the nature thereof or the relevance of other legal requirements.
- 2.2 Section 9 of the Act gives the public the right to have access to all “archives” or documentation older than thirty years, except in those cases where the Minister of National Education refuses or regulates access on the basis of “public policy”. By the same token, the Minister may also allow access to archives younger than 30 years.

- 2.3 In the case of state sensitive documentation, the Archives Act does not apply as a result of the confidential nature of the material and/or the provisions of the Protection of Information Act, 1982. In these circumstances, the relevant head of department has complete power of disposal, including destruction. (See Guidelines for protection of classified information SP 2/8/1 Chapter 4, paragraph 12).
- 2.4 In another context, an opinion was sought from state legal advisers with regard to the claim of outgoing political office bearers over state documentation. According to the legal advisers the state documentation remains the property of the state and these office bearers have no claim to it. The State Archive has a filing system that is meant to maintain the difficult distinction between a political office bearer's political and state activities. This is made available to the personal staff of office bearers when they assume office.
- 3 Administrative Requirements
- 3.1 Each head of department has the power to dispose of documents of a classified nature in his department within the provisions of the Guidelines for Protection of Classified Information - SP 2/8/1, Chapter 4, Paragraph 12 (taking into account existing legislation) by way of his own departmental procedural prescription. This includes destruction.
- 3.2 Where the destruction of authorisations, evidentiary material and other financial records of state sensitive projects is concerned, the normal disposal periods can be deviated from after sufficient motivation and subject to the following conditions:
- 3.2.1 Destruction may only take place after the Auditor-General (AG)'s auditing cycle had expired. This implies that destruction may only take place once the discussion of the AG's report on Secret Funds by the Joint Committee over Public Accounts has taken place and after all outstanding auditing queries with regard to a specific financial year have been dealt with. A certificate similar to that prescribed in Treasury Instruction M 1.3.2 Annexure 1, must still be provided.
- 3.2.2 However, where circumstances dictate that some documents have to be destroyed immediately after the audit, the relevant minister must decide on this in the light of a full oral or written motivation.

3.2.3 Documentation dealing with expenditure that does not yet form a final debit against a special account and/or budget post, for instance in the case of outstanding advances, may not be destroyed. It is also necessary to preserve documents/evidentiary material relating to the following aspects:

- Assets that have not been finally disposed of
- Shareholdings in institutions outside the State set-up like companies and close corporations
- Outstanding loans or debits
- Incomplete projects that cover more than one financial year and for which permission for final closure has not yet been obtained.

3.2.4 There are also some documents that may only be destroyed in certain limited circumstances. The following are examples:

- In all cases (except the SADF) the relevant minister can personally authorise directives for destruction. Such authorisation can however not be obtained once off for all sensitive projects and each project has to be approached separately. The recommendation is however that approval, in principle, should also be obtainable in advance from the Department of State Expenditure.
- The Defence Force's Special Defence Account falls under the Treasury Act and provisions for destruction are clearly contained in the Financial Guide to the Treasury, Chapter M. Authorisations in these cases must be given by both the Ministers of Defence and of State Expenditure.

3.2.5 In summary: The matter of the destruction of authorisations and documentation with regard to sensitive projects must be cleared by each department with the responsible minister(s).

4 Problem

4.1 Inadequate procedural provisions have the result that a significant number of documents may be destroyed because they have become irrelevant and redundant.

Destruction of documents in order to get rid of the information contained therein, also arises. If a responsible person is currently in possession of documents, the publication of which could endanger human lives, sour international relationships and derail the negotiation and transition process, he cannot be expected to speculate about the identity and responsibility of future co-rulers. The interests that are endangered, are far too weighty.

- 4.2 The injudicious destruction of documentation can harm relations in a transitional government. Gaps in records will raise questions that will be based on negative deductions. These suspicions etc. can be more prejudicial than the documentation destroyed in the destruction process.
- 4.3 It must be accepted that copies of some of the documentation, the destruction of which is now being contemplated, already exist and are kept in private ownership with ulterior motives. The destruction of this documentation can, in the case of malicious publication of copies, lend a sinister hue to something that can be explained reasonably. An original document would also be necessary to expose a falsification thereof.
- 4.4 Special care must be taken not to destroy documentation that can be used to allay untrue allegations/charges.
- 4.5 Apart from the above, it is possible that original documentation may be necessary to enforce contractual obligations in some instances.
- 4.6 The rationalising of tasks and departments in the broader state set-up has resulted in the dividing up of relevant documentation as well. It is difficult, if not impossible, to provide a full record of such documentation. Regard is had specifically to the disbanding of the Department of Development Assistance.
- 4.7 The Department of Administration (House of Assembly) has already handed a portion of its documentation over to the central archive and the SADF has transferred a large portion of its documentation to its own archives.
- 4.8 With the disbanding of the Special Services Divisions in state departments, many of the officials are no longer in service of the relevant departments either. This results in certain people who may not have the necessary background and knowledge, handling the expertise about the handling and disposal of certain documents and information.

5. Recommendations

- 5.1 Subject to any central directives there may be, each head of department is in the best position to dispose of documentation (specifically state sensitive documentation) in his department. The head of department may obviously ask his political head for a political decision.
- 5.2 The Sub-committee for Information Security of the Co-ordinating Intelligence Committee can advise heads of department on matters such as the applicability of the Archives Act and the considerations mentioned in par 5.7.
- 5.3 The following state sensitive documents may not be destroyed under any circumstances, but must be held in safekeeping by the Cabinet Secretariat:
 - The signed minutes of cabinet meetings and meetings of cabinet and ministers' committees (except SSC and CCSS);
 - one set of agendas and memoranda that were tabled at the aforementioned meetings.
- 5.4 State President's minutes and actions and accompanying memoranda must obviously not be destroyed and are currently dealt with in accordance with the Archives Act anyway.
- 5.5 The Secretariat of the SSC and the WVVS (Security Secretariat) must keep one copy of agendas and minutes of the SSC, CCVS and the WVVS and obtain proof of destruction from all other institutions that were in possession of copies of those documents.
- 5.6 Where documentation was obtained from another department or state institution, it should, after oral consultation, be returned or satisfactory proof of destruction should be provided to that department. Such consultation must be formulated briefly for later reference.
- 5.7 In considering the question whether state sensitive documentation should be destroyed for the sake of protection of information, the head of department must consider weighty factors such as the following:

- the protection of human lives;
- the protection of legitimate individual, corporate and state interests (including inter-state interests);
- the proper course of the normal legal process; and
- the need for continuing good government.

■ **APPENDIX 2**

TOP MANAGEMENT GUIDELINES WITH REFERENCE TO CATEGORY A INFORMATION

- 1 Category A, or sensitive information, must include the following and must be either destroyed or kept under circumstances where it can be destroyed quickly.
 - 1.1 That which can compromise sources and co-workers;
 - 1.2 Cooperation with liaison service with regard to operations or projects, especially those against any party currently taking part in negotiations. Intelligence Conferences and the exchange of information are naturally not included in this category;
 - 1.3 Projects where funds are/were involved. Documentary evidence exceeding 18 months must be destroyed. (Especially note private corporations).
 - 1.4 Information that can cause embarrassment to the Service, the Government or a public figure or cause harm to the political negotiation process.
 - 1.5 All copies of source reports (covert reports) after having been processed as NIS products because these could be compromising. As microfilms could also potentially compromise, this medium must only be used in extreme circumstances.

NORMS FOR DETERMINING SENSITIVITY

1. With regard to the norms for determining sensitivity, the principal point of departure is not what security relevant information is or is not, or the security classification of a document, but rather what the norms are that determine what is sensitive and specifically politically sensitive. To determine general valid norms, the following can be considered:
 - 1.1 All information, when compromised, that can lead to the endangering of human lives. This includes Service members/Agents/Sources and Co-workers.
 - 1.2 All information, when compromised, that can seriously damage RSA foreign relations on all terrains or embarrass the RSA.
 - 1.3 All information, when compromised, that could harm the current Government's bona fides as an honest and open negotiating party/participating party to the political processes of the land.
 - 1.4 All information, when compromised, that would/could damage the image of the Service and the bona fides that its employees are politically impartial, objective, professional and committed to the law and values of the total strategy. Any information that could show that the Service breached the values and norms that exist in a free and democratic community or violated the rights and freedom of individuals, could be considered sensitive. This implies that specific information (especially covert) on the internal political terrain carries a high level of sensitivity.
 - 1.5 Information, when compromised, disclosed or accidentally made known can put unnecessary suspicion on individual Service members' loyalty, honesty and trustworthiness in a new political dispensation as well as continued employment within the intelligence service/community.

Report of the Chief Executive Officer and Chief Accounting Officer

■ STATUTORY IMPERATIVES

- 1 The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act) provided for the appointment of a chief executive officer and outlined the obligations, roles, responsibilities and reporting relationships of this function. These included the obligation of the chief executive officer to act as the chief accounting officer of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) for the purposes of section 15 of the Exchequer Act (no 66 of 1975).
- 2 Section 36 (1) of the Act set out the clear intention that the Commission should be independent, stating that:

the Commission, its Commissioners and every member of its staff shall function without political or other bias or interference and shall be independent and separate from any party, government, administration or any other functionary or body directly or indirectly representing the interests of any such entity.

- 3 The Act also provided for the establishment, development and nurturing of co-operative relationships between the Commission and, in particular, the Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Finance to help facilitate and/or expedite all legal and financial matters aimed at achieving the statutory objectives of the Commission.
- 4 The Chief Executive Officer was appointed to fulfil the above objectives and to provide leadership in managing the Commission.

■ ORGANISATIONAL CHALLENGES

- 5 In order to ensure that work began as soon as possible after the appointment of the Commission, certain essential steps were undertaken. Through its vice-chairperson Dr Alex Boraine and two consultants, the Commission:
 - a contracted out some aspects of work and services to selected vendors without prior tenders or bids;
 - b developed a simple, 'flat' organisational structure;
 - c compiled job descriptions for staff that were immediately required;
 - d put together the rudiments of a staff salary structure based on the median salaries for public servants, the Public Service Commission's graded salary structure and the Patterson Job Evaluation Grades;
 - e procured the Commission's national and regional offices.

■ MANAGEMENT CHALLENGES, OPERATIONAL DYNAMICS AND PRIORITIES

- 6 The organisation consisted of national and regional structures with complex reporting and accounting relationships. This required the appointment of dedicated and professional staff, drawn from a variety of political persuasions and backgrounds.
- 7 Because of the unique and critical nature of its work, the Commission was under continuous public scrutiny and pressure to ensure efficiency and effective management. In order to sustain its impact, it was also required to be transparent and accountable to the public.
- 8 On his appointment to the Commission on 1 March 1996, the chief executive officer defined the immediate, medium and long-term goals and objectives.

Action research and action learning

- 9 Given the short time span within which the Commission was required to complete its work, the chief executive officer adopted the strategies of research and action learning. Action research assisted with the analysis and synthesis of work, with a view to solving managerial challenges and problems. It also provided valuable lessons in transformation, development, principled leadership and participation.

Co-ordination and management

- 10 The co-ordination and management of strategic day-to-day operational activities were conducted through the standing committees of the Commission, its executive secretaries, portfolio heads and regional managers.
- 11 The management style focused on the delegation of work to competent professionals who reported to the chief executive officer on a regular basis. However, in the closing months, a more hands-on management style became necessary.
- 12 Overall, the focus was people-centred and aimed at meeting the needs and aspirations of staff within the context of the Commission's goals and objectives. Inevitably, however, the driving needs of the Commission took precedence.

Consolidation, streamlining and effective co-ordination of national and regional offices

- 13 By establishing a national and four strategically located regional offices, the Commission adopted a conscious strategy of diversification. Policies, operational procedures and programmes were developed at national office level, while implementation and refinement took place in the regional offices. Within this framework, it was necessary to maintain operational uniformity and integrity.
- 14 National and regional activities were co-ordinated through the portfolio heads, regional commissioners, convenors and managers.

Co-operative relationships

- 15 Through its regional offices, the Commission also entered into co-operative relationships and working partnerships with human rights non-governmental organisations (NGOs), faith communities and related grassroots and community-

based organisations. International donors assisted in this process, principally by providing funding support for statement taking and the delivery of interim urgent reparations.

- 16 As mentioned above, the Act also provided for co-operative relationships between the Ministries of Justice and Finance to help facilitate and expedite legal and financial matters.
- 17 The spirit of co-operation within and beyond the Commission was expressed by the chairperson, Archbishop Tutu, whose example and counsel went a long way towards unifying the Commission and enabling it to relate to society.

Financial accountability

- 18 The chief executive officer was responsible for ensuring that the Commission was adequately resourced and that its obligations with respect to financial practices and reporting procedures were met. In order to ensure sound fiscal management, a director of finance and support services was given responsibility for refining the Commission's salary structure, preparing the Commission's revenue and expenditure forecasts and estimates, budgeting for funding proposals and preparing annual budgets for each year of the Commission's operation. In addition, monthly financial statements were prepared and presented at the meetings of the Finance Committee and the Commission.
- 19 The director of finance and support services was also delegated the tasks of preparing financial statements for the auditor and procuring the Commission's physical and movable assets.
- 20 Together with the chief executive officer, the financial director took responsibility for negotiating fiscal arrangements with the Audit Commission and the Ministry of Justice, in consultation with Ministry of Finance.
- 21 The Commission's statutory financial accountability remained, however, with the chief executive officer as chief accounting officer of the Commission.
- 22 Human resources were delegated to the human resources director.

Developing an integrated plan of action

- 23 In order to meet the statutory goals and objectives of the Commission within limited time and financial resources, controls were necessary. In order to identify its critical strategic activities, therefore, the Commission prepared an integrated action plan. Its purpose was to ensure that the Commission anticipated rather than reacted to the demands of its mandate.
- 24 This careful planning manifested itself in streamlined processes, programmes and activities, strategies, agendas and schedules of formal meetings and hearings, as well as in the Commission's ultimate staff roll out and close down plans.
- 25 The action plan also included methods whereby the Commission could communicate its ideas and strategies to portfolio heads and, through them, to staff members and stakeholders. However, when these strategies proved inadequate, a system of decision advisories was introduced.
- 26 The structure of the Commission was unique in that it incorporated and integrated the features of centralised, decentralised and organic types of organisations of differing sizes and complexities. In this context, the Commission, its standing committees and management system represented the structure of a learning organisation that allowed for the continuous devolution of power to middle management. Individual managers were empowered to make decisions and account for their respective portfolios, and they were able to evaluate, rationalise, streamline, classify and promote smooth functional relationships and reporting lines within a climate of mutual trust and respect.
- 27 The structure also aimed to ensure broad consultation and co-ordination across the spectrum of the Commission. This served to facilitate the team approach and helped in the resolution of issues and problems facing management. Such a structure was, by definition, task-orientated and highly interactive. It respected consultation as a means to accommodating creative and constructive tensions. According to this system, the team (and not the individual) was the source of power. Hence effective systems, learning organisations, national projects and policy planning processes could be redesigned by individuals according to their different functions.
- 28 Beyond the field of direct control there are, of course, other relationships that need to be taken into account – characterised by influence, power and the

transactional environment. These matters required the constant attention of the chief executive officer.

Helping prepare agendas of Commission meetings

- 29 In order to keep and maintain proper records of the various processes, policies, decisions, programme activities and strategies of the Commission, it became necessary to request items, appropriate reports and documentation (on a monthly basis) in order to put together formal agendas for the Commission's business meetings.

Developing and streamlining the Commission's operational policies and procedures

- 30 Operational policies and procedures (such as financial controls, human resources policies and procedures) were developed and adopted in order to enhance the Commission's decision-making process and to ensure that such processes and activities were rationalised, anchored and undertaken within reasonable and clear guidelines. This allowed for better co-ordination of efforts to achieve the Commission's statutory objectives.

Ensuring that the Commission enjoyed maximum publicity

- 31 To achieve this objective effectively, the Commission developed and adopted a media and communications strategy whereby it:
- a developed strategic working partnerships with human rights and other community-based organisations;
 - b developed and distributed information booklets on the work and activities of the Commission's committees;
 - c developed an advertising campaign aimed at informing the public on the location of the Commission's national and regional offices. The campaign ran in various national and community-based newspapers with a view to reaching out to and communicating with a wider range of South African communities, readers and supporters.

d used the professional services of the media and communications departments to take advantage of the South African print, broadcast and electronic media and communicate its message through newspaper, television and radio.

- 32 The Commission also made use of its outreach activities (such as statement-taking workshops, think-tanks, planned and scheduled public hearings) to profile itself and its activities. The hearings became the public face of the Commission.

Safety and security

- 33 The goal was to ensure that the Commission's processes, activities and assets (human, intellectual and physical) were safe and secured.
- 34 This was achieved through the assistance and guidance of the Commission's national safety and security co-ordinators and the Safety and Security Functional Committee who together developed and implemented a safety and security plan on a national scale.
- 35 An assets register was created and periodically updated in preparation for the handover of the Commission's assets. As the Commission's programme ended, it created and adopted a second assets register to record its intellectual assets – also required to be handed over in terms of the guidelines and regulations and the amendment of the founding Act.

■ THE COMMISSION'S ADOPTED STRATEGIES

- 36 The chief executive officer took ultimate managerial responsibility for the execution of the work of the Commission's statutory committees. This included:
- a Statement taking.
 - b Amnesty applications.
 - c Section 29 investigative enquiries.
 - d Submissions to the Commission.

- e Research reports.
 - f Hearings.
 - g Meetings (of the Commission, its executives, its standing management and functional committees).
 - h Think-tanks.
 - i Seminars, workshops and conferences.
 - j Designated statement takers.
- 37 The chief executive officer designated responsibility for the following areas of work, while taking overall responsibility for its execution:
- a Research (the Research Department).
 - b Investigations (the Investigation Unit).
 - c Audits (both operational and financial).
- 38 The Commission also procured and trained data processors, information analysts, researchers, investigators and corroborators in data coding, capturing and analysis with a view to translating its collected data into usable information.
- 39 This information was used to refine its policies and procedures and to make appropriate decisions and findings.

■ **AN OVERVIEW OF THE COMMISSION'S MANAGEMENT ACTIVITIES**

- 40 The Commission's activities were guided by commissioners who were allocated to statutory standing and management functional committees.
- 41 At the tactical and administrative level, the Commission's activities were driven by the executive secretaries of the statutory standing committees and the portfolio heads, including four regional commissioners, convenors and managers, who accounted and reported directly and/or indirectly to the chief executive officer.

Operations and support services

- 42 Some critical aspects of the Commission's operations and support services included:
- a Research activities, including a coding framework, background and political context, special projects and a summary of themes.
 - b Investigative work, including corroboration, human rights violations-related work, amnesty applications-related work, special investigations, disappearances and exhumations.
 - c Deponent statements received by the Commission.
 - d Amnesty applications received and dealt with to date.
 - e The number of witnesses in the Commission's witness protection programme.
 - f Hearings, think-tanks and workshops held by the Commission.
 - g Records of the Commission's transcription services.
 - h Data and information analysis, including coding framework, capturing, processing, analysis, cleaning.
 - i Findings on gross human rights violations.
 - j Victim status and enquiries.
 - k Human resources-related activities, including staff profiles, staff complement, challenges by staff.
 - l Financial activities, including forecasts, budget negotiations and allocations, audited financial statements.
 - m Policies and operational procedures, including urgent interim reparation, reparation and rehabilitation policies and procedures, other operational policies and procedures.

- n Legal activities, including amendments and challenges.
- o Media liaison and communications.
- p Safety and security, including assets, information/intellectual assets register, processes, activities, and members of the Commission.
- q Psychosocial support services.
- r Audits, evaluations and appraisals, including programme activities, quality of work, staff performance, financial books and statements, progress to date.
- s Contracted services.
- t Support to the Commission, including Vodacom, NGOs and international donors.
- u Handing over of assets, including physical assets register, intellectual assets register, files, special reports and records.
- v Staff roll out and Commission close down plans.

■ **ANALYSIS OF SELECTED PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED**

‘Grey’ and contradictory areas in the Act

- 43 The Act was by no means perfect. While it purported to clarify intricate legal principles and relationships, it correctly left many moral principles undefined and implied. Thus, while many of the tough, hardcore decisions made by commissioners can be corroborated, some remain value-laden and can be defended only as value judgements by people of integrity.
- 44 The Act was also silent on a variety of practical issues, one of which was the relationship between the chief executive officer and the commissioners.
- 45 With regard to victims, the Commission was not able to implement decisions and could only recommend policies and procedures to Parliament and the President

for implementation. However, the Commission could and did (via its Amnesty Committee) grant amnesties. This glaring contradiction in the founding Act led to sharp national and international focus and debates on a number of issues.

The roles and functions of the commissioners and portfolio heads

- 46 Owing to the short life of the Commission and the nature of its structure, there was a very thin line between the roles and functions of commissioners and portfolio heads concerning the formulation, development and implementation of operational policies. This explains the structural overlaps and operational duplication that occurred.

Income and expenditure forecasts, budget negotiations and allocations

- 47 Because the Commission was without precedent, initial budgeting was based on broad estimates of what might be required. The initial amount allocated in the budget of the Department of Justice was not, therefore, based on any precedent and required ongoing adjustments.
- 48 The Commission, while of the utmost national significance, was only one of many critical national priorities requiring funding from the national fiscus. Like many other projects, therefore, the Commission was restricted by limited national resources. This resulted in drastic cuts to the budget which made it impossible to negotiate with staff, especially regarding salaries and the termination of contracts.

Bidding/tendering

- 49 Owing to the very short period in which it was required to complete its work, the Commission had no alternative but to move quickly from the outset. For this reason, the Commission decided (without going through the State Expenditure Regulations and the State Tender Board's required bidding procedures) to contract out certain aspects of its work (in particular, furniture, equipment and other services). This proved to be the only significant point on which the Auditor-General took issue with the Commission.
- 50 It also needs to be noted that the above decisions were made during the first three months of the Commission, before the chief executive officer and finance and support services director came on board. From that point on, the Commission adopted its own internal financial policies and controls procedures.

- 51 The Commission formally requested authorisation for the above expenditures and/or an exception from the State Expenditure regulations and/or the State Tender Board requirements. At the time of reporting, it had still not received a reply.
- 52 It was clear that both the State Expenditure regulations and State Tender Board procedures are extremely cumbersome and liable to act as hindrances for accelerated start-up and smooth functioning of any project of short duration. Thus, reasonable internally developed procurement policies and procedures need to be adopted to facilitate the fast pace, smooth operations and accountability of such short-term projects.

The Commission's adopted *modus operandi*

- 53 The Commission adopted a number of strategies to attain its objectives. As reported elsewhere in this report, these included the gathering of data, converting data into usable information, corroborating information received, research and investigation work and victim and perpetrator findings.

Safety and security

- 54 Given the nature and national significance of the Commission's work, the need for the appropriate safety and security of our Commission's processes, programmes, activities and members was of great importance. Thus, a risks and threats analysis was done on each of the commissioners when the Commission began work.
- 55 Based on this analysis, the chairperson, the vice-chairperson and one commissioner in the Durban Regional Office were initially afforded in-transit and static safety and security officers.
- 56 The need for effective safety and security was underscored when a bomb threat stopped the proceedings of the first victim-oriented hearing in East London on April 16 1996.
- 57 From then on, safety and security plans, arrangements and efforts before, during and after hearings were intensified, constantly reviewed and consolidated. This work was co-ordinated by the Safety and Security Functional Committee through two safety and security co-ordinators, assisted by the established nodal (liaison) point in conjunction and consultation with members of the National Safety and

Security Department and the established on-site Joint Operations Commands (JOCs).

- 58 As other overt threats were directed at particular Commission members, further risks and threats analyses were performed. Consequently, in-transit safety and security officers were also afforded to the head of the Commission's Investigation Unit. Periodic patrols were also provided around the residential premises of the established at-risk and/or threatened members of the Commission.
- 59 Managing safety and security risks and threats and sustaining vigilance over time was dependent on the awareness and conscientiousness of those under threat, including the recording and reporting all manifestations of risks and threats they experienced.
- 60 One of the most difficult of the threats identified was that presented by leaks of critical and sensitive information - threatening the integrity of the work of the Commission. Whilst only commissioners and very few staff members handled very sensitive material, it became virtually impossible to establish the source of the many leaks that plagued the Commission.

■ POSSIBLE LESSONS

National honour, privilege and forgiveness

- 61 It remains an honour and a privilege to have led the management of this extraordinary Commission.

Truth and reconciliation

- 62 Transformative change and development requires a unity of purpose, driven by collective will and commitment from the government of the day. This necessitates material and political commitment.

Respect for democratic values

- 63 While openness, transparency and accountability must at all times underscore the activities of projects of national significance, it is equally important to maintain a balance between the right to know and due process of law designed to protect

alleged offenders. Within reasonable bounds, a Commission must respect the confidentiality of those who approach it, while using the media as a means to build and consolidate the new culture of human rights. This requires the media to show respect, professionalism and responsible journalism.

Partnerships

- 64 Given the depth and breadth of its work, the Commission realised early in its life that it would never have sufficient capacity to allow it to tackle its work and complete its mandate. Hence, in order to advance its causes, it established strategic alliances and partnerships with international donors and local human rights and other NGOs of repute.
- 65 Through partner NGOs, the Commission was able to reach out to a wider spectrum of both potential and declared victims of gross human rights violations. Through international donors, the Commission was able to strengthen its operational capacities.

Stewardship

- 66 Stewardship means placing service over self-interest and choosing responsibility over entitlement. It also means holding oneself accountable to those over whom one exercises leadership.

National assets

- 67 As a project of national significance, the Commission sought to broaden the capacities and widen the horizons of its staff members, as well as sharpening their skills. These become part of the human wealth of the broader society.
- 68 The Commission generated both physical and intellectual assets. The physical assets will be handed over to the Ministry of Justice. The intellectual assets will be transferred to the national archives. Indeed, commissioners and staff are encouraged to share their skills in ways that will enrich the nation.

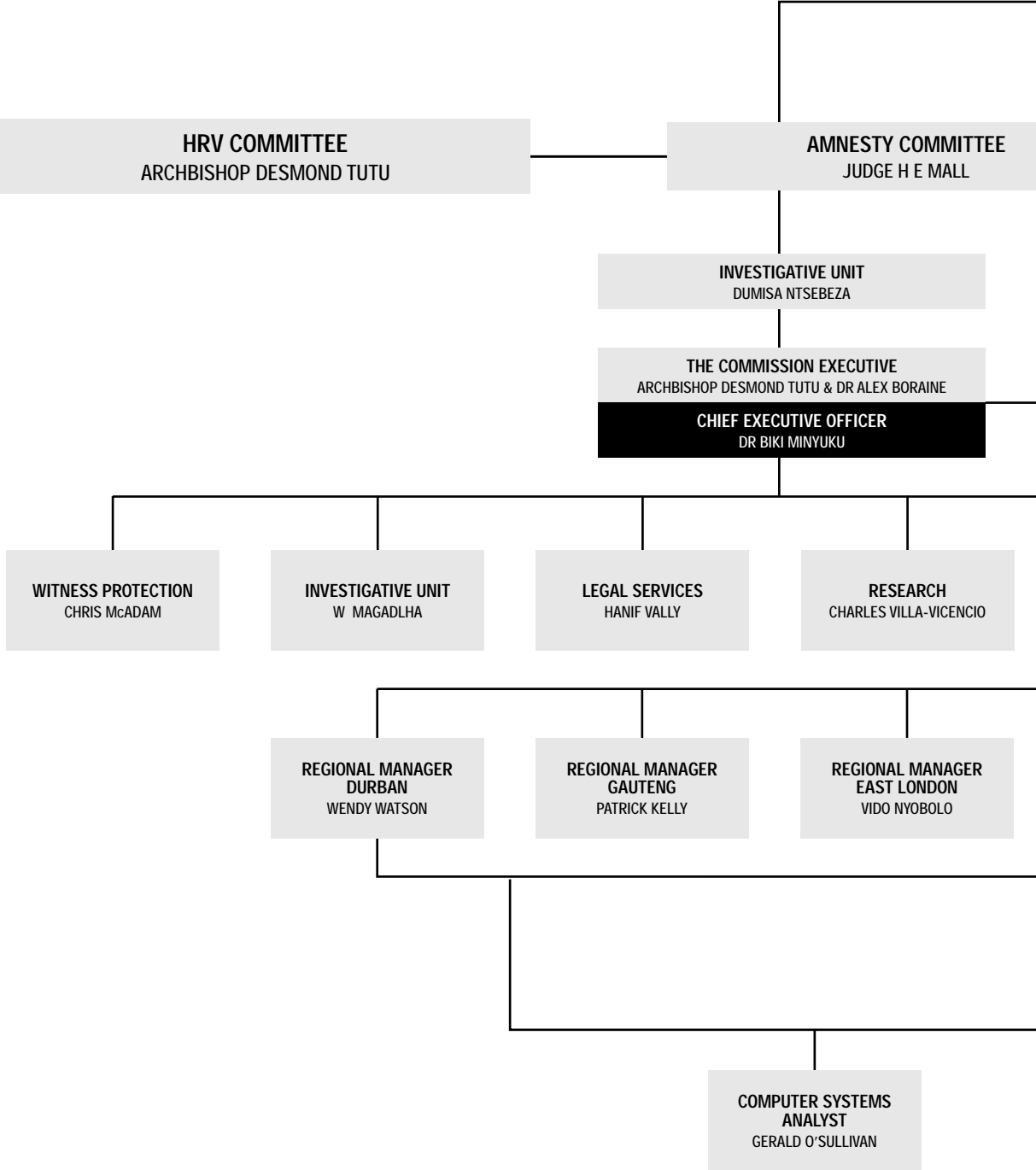
Focus on debates

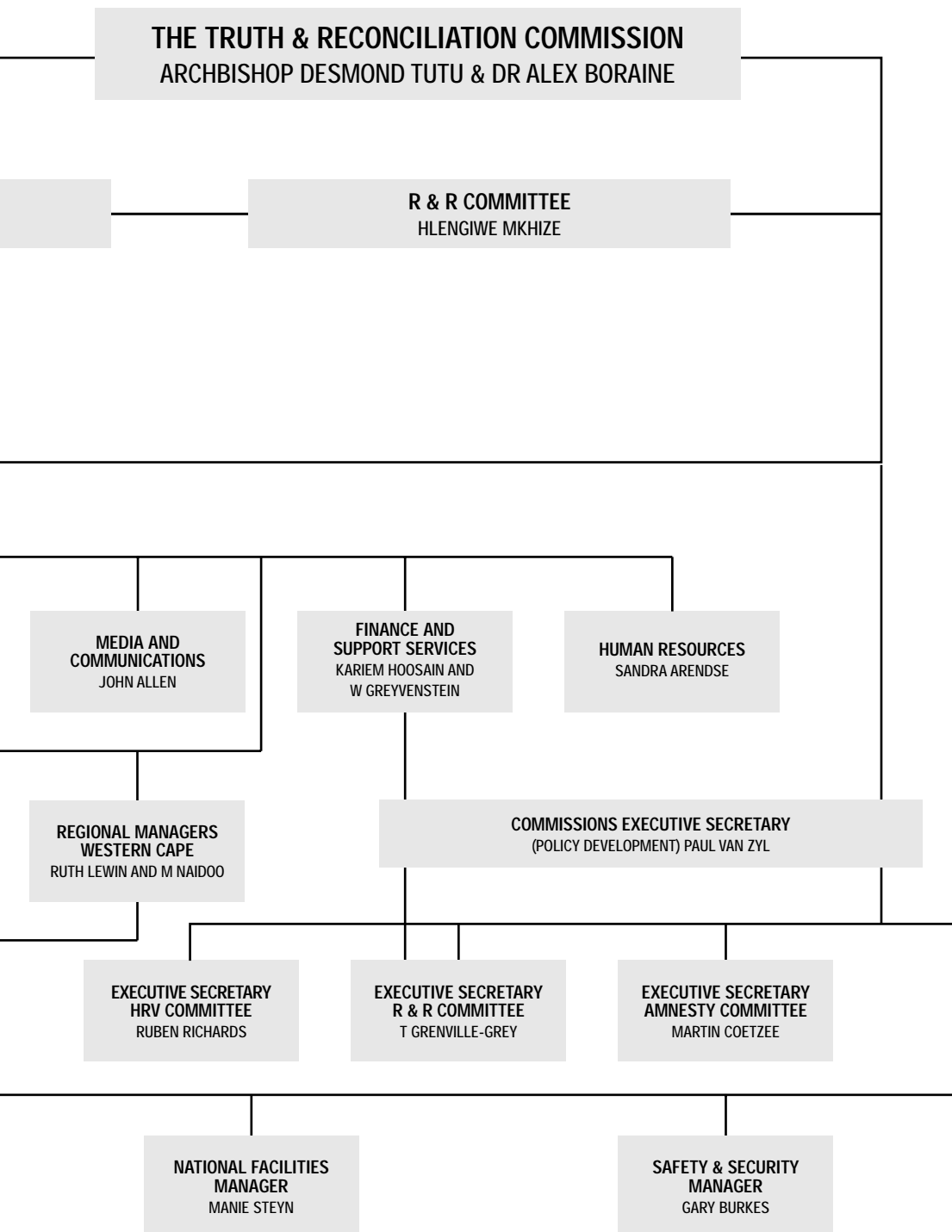
- 69 The Commission generated a range of national and international debates on human rights issues. The success of the South African transition is dependent on the continuation of these debates.

APPENDIX 1

■ THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION
COMMISSION FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURE

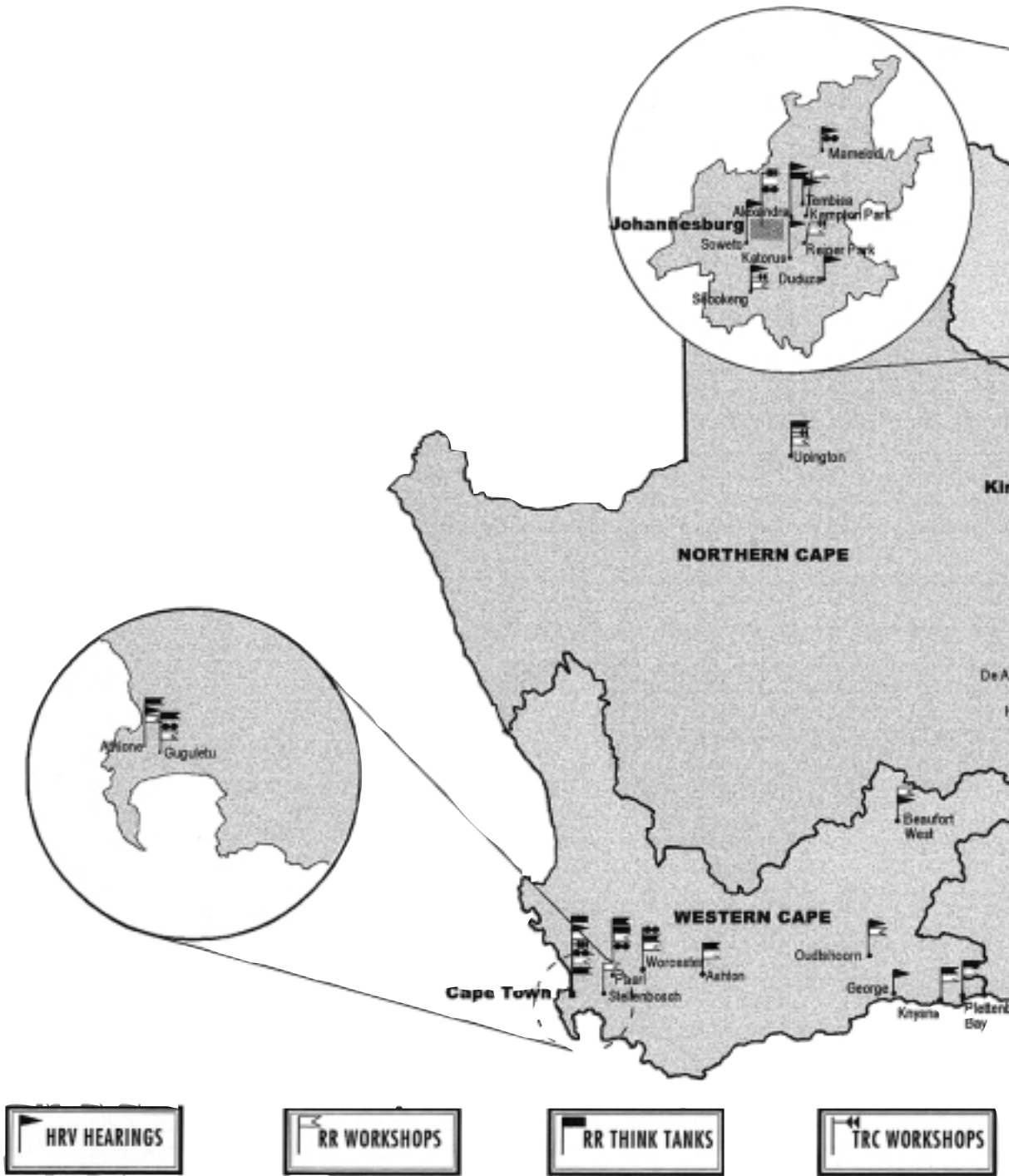
UPDATED AS AT 13 AUGUST 1998





APPENDIX 2

■ NATIONAL HEARINGS, THINK TANKS
AND WORKSHOPS





SPECIAL HEARINGS

RR NETWORKING

SECTION 29 HEARINGS

Staff

People have served this Commission in a range of different capacities and for different periods of time. Every attempt has been made to identify and record the names of all those who have served the Commission on a full-time, part-time and voluntary basis up until the time of reporting.

Abrahams, A
Abrahams, I
Abrahams, KA
Abrahams, Z
Ackerman, S
Ajam, N
Akoojee, MJ
Ali, N
Allen, JP
Allie, A
Ally, RT
Alpman - Dwane, PN
Ambler, LL
America, C
Andrews, JD
Arendse, N
Arendse, SAJ
Arendse, WPA
Ashabangu, OM
Barends, Z
Barnardo, MR
Barolsky, VE
Bassier, S
Bernard, W
Black, RS
Bodibe, R
Bolo, MW
Boltman, M
Booi, F
Booley, S
Bosman, FJ
Bosman, SM
Botha, DJ
Breytenbach, JW
Brink, RB
Brown, F
Brown, S
Buckley, L
Burts, MC
Caga, BM
Camagu, Z
Cappe'pe Leonval, CD

Carr, Z
Cawe, N
Cengani, BI
Chaskalson, J
Cherry, JM
Chili, DO
Claasen, JA
Clark, JP
Cloete, ER
Cloete, PA
Cooper, IM
Crawford-Browne, L
Crichton, JM
Dade, N
Daniel, J
Davids, VA
Daweti, NN
Dayimane, T
De Kock, LT
De Villiers, S
Desai, LM
Dhoda, YM
Dithlage, G
Dladla, D
Dladla, EN
Dlamini, M
Dlamini, MC
Dowman, PG
Du Plooy, LJ
Dubase, MN
Dukumbana, PM
Durczak, NM
Engel, GC
Engel, JD
Erasmus, FR
Esau, AS
Esau, VF
Faragher, RNE
February, TJ
Filizwe, LC
Fillies, S
Flanagan, LJ

Flanders, JL
Fourie, TV
Fredericks, F
Fullard, SM
Gambushe, JG
Gasa, LTT
Gaven, KP
Gayiya, N
Gaylard, MS
Gcabashe, L
Gcabashe, TV
Goba, SC
Gobodo-Madikizela, P
Gobodo, N
Godloza, C
Golding, J
Goldstone, M
Goosen, GG
Goss, S
Gould, CM
Govender, P
Govender, S
Govinder, R
Granville-Grey, T
Green, V
Greyvenstein, JW
Grobbelaar, JI
Groenewald, L
Grove, M
Gubevu, TA
Gumede, BK
Gumede, TNT
Gumede, UM
Gutuza, IE
Guy, JW
Guy, KH
Gxalaba, V
Hams, S
Hassen Mia, R
Haupt, PC
Henna, LJ
Heslop, APH

Hine, JV
Hlati, M
Hlongwane, Z
Hobungwana, PA
Holmes, B
Holmes, SR
Hoosain, AK
Horne, P
Hosking, TA
Ingerfeld, S
Irving, MM
Isaacs, DM
Isaacs, S
Jack, NA
Jackson (Khoisan), CZ
Jacobs-Motshabi, ZA
Jaffer, M
Jaffer, N
Janakk, A
Janse van Rensburg, WH
Japtha, JF
Jeken, LR
Jeme, ZP
Jeram-Patel, RC
Jonas, D
Jones, FJ
Joyi, M
Kalaote, R
Kana, T
Kango, N
Karriem, F
Kassan, DG
Keegan, M
Kelly, PJ
Kema, P
Khuzwayo, P
Kilian, SJ
Killian, M
King, SC
Kinnars, AN
Kippie, F
Klaas, N
Koch, E
Kodisang, HM
Koffie, NL
Kondlo, KM
Koni, T
Konkwane, K
Kooijmans, C
Kruger, K
Kubheka, ST
Kunene, TM
Kungwane, KAS

Laher, FB
Lamfiti, M
Lax, I
Le Cordier, SB
Ledimo, MV
Ledwaba, MP
Lembede, MD
Lenger, V
Levin, LB
Lewin, HF
Lewin, RA
Lewin, SI
Lewis, RB
Lockhat, L
Lopez, P
Louis, BS
Louw, CA
Lubbe, JG
Lumko, L
Mabaso, M
Mabaso, TC
Mabizela, M
Mablane, PG
Madiba, BI
Madlala, M
Madondo, SE
Mafanya, S
Mafojane, LL
Mafu (Basopu), NN
Mafumadi, SM
Magadhla, LW
Magwaza, A
Maharaj, P
Mahaye, LW
Mahopo, AG
Makgatho, SD
Makgonye, TL
Makhubu, NG
Maki, SS
Malan, DF
Malata, TC
Mali, HE
Maluleka, BR
Maneli, SK
Manie, LK
Mantata, TM
Manthe, MA
Manyndu, S
Mapitse, WM
Mapoma, Z
Maqekeza, DZ
Maqolo, X
Marais, HE

Maree, JL
Marias, PC
Martin, MR
Mashabane, QR
Mashiane, LL
Masina, MZ
Masondo, NL
Masters, DJ
Mateman, CU
Mathaba, DS
Mathiane, N
Matsepe, BL
Matshaka, GL
Matsolo, LD
Maya, JYT
Mayunda, S
Mbalo, N
Mbane, KT
Mbatha, G
Mbatha, L
Mbatha, N
Mbete, MM
Mbuli, FX
Mc Glen, CMP
McAdam, RC
McCathie, P
Mdleweni, A
Mdlozini, MD
Meiring, P
Mentor, CV
Mercer, E
Meyer, C
Mgolombane, P
Mgquba, Z
Mgugulwa, SW
Mgxashe, M
Mhlongo, NA
Miller, S
Minyuku, B
Mkhavele, CJ
Mkhize, KNM
Mkhize, SAA
Mkosi, PT
Mlotshwa, RF
Mndai, L
Mngadi, LN
Mngese, M
Mngomezulu, A
Mnonopi, P
Mnyimba, V
Mogale, ON
Mohapi, DF
Moima, J

Mokhesi-Mkosana, NS
 Mokoena, NS
 Mokuele, LM
 Molapo, MF
 Molebatsi, MG
 Moleshe, WM
 Molete, LJ
 Moloi, KJ
 Moloi, LS
 Momberg, EJ
 Monakali, M
 Moodley, K
 Moodley, L
 Moosmann, GM
 Moothoosamy, E
 Mosoetsi, EM
 Mosoetsi, JM
 Mosome, MT
 Mosuhli, MM
 Motasi, LM
 Motata, J
 Motlhamme, PM
 Motloli, JM
 Mpama, GM
 Mpanza, SS
 Mphande, NB
 Mphumela, JN
 Mpoyiya, PP
 Mpshe, JM
 Mpumlwana, LKB
 Mpumuse, EN
 Msomi, SEHP
 Msomi, T
 Mtanga, HL
 Mthembu, NN
 Mthethwa, A
 Mthethwa, P
 Mthetwa, P
 Mtwisha, S
 Mtya, E
 Mtyobile, PB
 Muller, MR
 Murphy, M
 Murray, IT
 Murugan, R
 Mvambo, S
 Mwale, LS
 Mxobo, JM
 Mzimela, T
 Naidoo, K
 Naidoo (Patel), MA
 Nakanyane, S
 Nawa, F

Ncholu, JM
 Ndimma, GV
 Ndlovu, JL
 Ndlovu, LM
 Ndlovu, N
 Ndlozi, GM
 Nduvane, S
 Neer, JR
 Newton, L
 Ngalo, S
 Ngcanga (Nyakati), DV
 Ngcobo, FV
 Ngcobo, NF
 Ngcobo, RMB
 Ngcobo, SB
 Ngcobo, SD
 Ngcobo, Z
 Ngidi-Mkhize, SS
 Ngoato, HS
 Ngoepe, BM
 Ngoma, M
 Ngombane, NN
 Ngqumba, PC
 Nieftagodien, N
 Nielsen, DL
 Njozela, PM
 Njozela (Lucky), PM
 Nkgoang, K
 Nkwanca, NP
 Norman, VG
 Nqabeni, NE
 Ntikinca, Y
 Ntsandeni, TG
 Ntshanyana, ON
 Ntuli, NM
 Nxumalo, FS
 Nxumalo, NS
 Nyar, A
 Nyide, NA
 Nyobo, S
 Nyobole, VG
 Nyoka, M
 Nzama, ZJ
 Nzimande, NN
 Nzimande, PZ
 Oakes, CA
 Odhav, P
 Ogle, KL
 Olieslager, LA
 Olifant, MJ
 Oliphant, XV
 Orie-Mufamadi, TD
 O'Sullivan, GS

Oxche, CD
 Palmer, JM
 Parbhoo, L
 Parlevliet, M
 Parsley, J
 Patel, DJ
 Pather, VF
 Paulse, TC
 Pearce, OM
 Pedrito, AA
 Pelston, AA
 Penzhorn, N
 Petersen, RD
 Petros, B
 Phatudi, CSM
 Pigou, PA
 Pillay, R
 Pinckaers, J
 Pitman, CV
 Pitso, M
 Pitso, SD
 Plaatjie, KD
 Pollecutt, LM
 Pollock, CD
 Poswa, SG
 Prior, PC
 Qangule, VN
 Quin, DP
 Quinn, YM
 Qwanyashe, P
 Rabinowitz, SR
 Rabothata, S
 Radebe, IN
 Rakate, PTKV
 Ralane, NV
 Ramkilawan, Y
 Ramncwana, NA
 Ramphomane, NJ
 Rankoe, M
 Reagon, G
 Reagon, RA
 Reddy, L
 Reynolds, PF
 Richards, RR
 Richards, Z
 Richen, AV
 Roberts, D
 Rousseau, N
 Rubushe, BP
 Sali, OS
 Salie, G
 Sandi, NJ
 Sandla, ZA

Sangweni, TPZ
 Sayer, G
 Schaubé-Kuffler, ALB
 Sealey, SA
 Sebifelo, DM
 Seedat, IM
 Sepanya, TMJ
 Seroke, JN
 Sethibe, MJ
 Setshedi, KH
 Shabalala, BNF
 Shabalala, NT
 Shabalala, NT
 Shongwe, L
 Sibanyoni, JB
 Sichinga, T
 Sigodi, S
 Sikweza, GN
 Simon, AC
 Singh, A
 Singh, A
 Singh, GT
 Siphika, NP
 Sithole, TO
 Siyabulela, N
 Siyoko, NF
 Skade, Z
 Smit, DP
 Sobey, I
 Sokoyi, S
 Sompeta, V
 Sompetha, MH
 Sonaba, N
 Steenkamp, WHL
 Stent, AJ
 Steyn, HJE
 Stoffels, S
 Stofile (nee Dingaan), B
 Strydom, F
 Strydom, H
 Stuurman, AM
 Swarts, K
 Sydow, F
 Tayi, PP
 Temilton, E
 Terreblanche, JC
 Thabethe, TG
 Thompson, WM
 Tikly, AZ
 Tilley, SM
 Time, M
 Tofile, P
 Tokwe, NC

Tsengiwe, BL
 Tseuoa, TF
 Tsipha, LL
 Tsoabisi, TRJ
 Tsotsi, WM
 Tuge, BN
 Tuswa, Z
 Vally, HM
 Van Breda, GE
 Van Dieman, LE
 Van Diemen, SG
 Van Eck, CE
 Van Rooyen, M
 Van Sensie, G
 Van Zyl, P
 Vanyaza, ME
 Verwoerd, VW
 Vilikazi, P
 Villa-Vicencio, C
 Wannenbergh, G
 Watson, EB
 Watson, WP
 Weidena, J
 Whittle, P
 Wiilan-Brown, SD
 Williams, JRK
 Williams, LC
 Williams, R
 Williams, Z
 Wilson, A
 Wolff, JR
 Wood, ER
 Wort, FF
 Xaba, TC
 Xundu, MO
 Yeki, PP
 Zama, N
 Zifo, M
 Zokufa, GM
 Zondi, LO
 Zwane, NF
 Zwane, P
 Zwane, VM

Foreign Interns

Breckweg, H	Klingst, K	Roquitte, S
Brink, H	Köhler, P	Rutz, J
Dodds, S	Kraus, M	Sandager, A
Durczak, N	Kreutzkamp, H	Schuon, C
Fischer, M	Ledig, B	Soltau, B
Foitzik , R	Llewellyn, J	Stegmann, C
Goyle, R	Lyons, B	Steiner, C
Grieger, D	Mathews, F	Stewart, E
Hurd, J	Mazamisa, P	Strietzel, B
Jasch, HC	Namgalies, C	Von Woellworth, K
Jones, K	Rehboch, E	Zirpel, B

APPENDIX 5

Foreign Investigators

Munch, A	Lueks, J	Sande, T
Kjaergaard, E	Pinckaers, J	Kjellberg, JA
Kristensen, K	Von Berkel, S	Rosenberg, U
Kleinschmidt, C	Jacobsen, E	Sigg, A
Witte, K	Vanvik, K	Zust, D
Ginty, S	Kyllesoe, K	Holm, TT
Kooijmans, C	Nesse, O	

APPENDIX 6

Outside Researchers

Aitchison, J	Green, D	Puttergill, C
Argall, J	Harris, V	Rauch, J
Badat, S	Henry, Y	Scott, D
Ball, P	Hughes, H	Segal, S
Budlender, D	Kockett, F	Slye, R
Bussiek, C and H	Lue, M	Smith, K
Cawthra, G	Makhale-Mahlangu, P	Southall, R
Coleman, M	Mare, G	Storey, D
Corder, H	Martin, S	Varney, H
Dogon, T	Meyer, C	Viljoen, A
Federl, M	Minckley, G	Young, J
Foster, D	Natrass, N	Zulu, P

**ADMINISTRATIVE REPORTS
OF THE COMMISSION'S STATUTORY COMMITTEES**

Amnesty Committee

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The primary function of the Amnesty Committee was to consider applications for amnesty that were made in accordance with the provisions of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act).
- 2 Initially, applicants could apply for amnesty in respect of any act, omission or offence associated with a political objective committed between 1 March 1960 and 6 December 1993. The cut-off date was later extended to 10 May 1994 by an amendment to the interim Constitution. The final date for the submission of applications was midnight 30 September 1997.
- 3 The total number of applications received before the deadline was 7 127.

■ CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATIVE COMPONENT

Constitution of the Amnesty Committee

- 4 In terms of section 17 of the Act, the Amnesty Committee consisted initially of a chairperson, a vice-chairperson and three other members who were South African citizens, fit and proper persons, appropriately qualified and broadly representative of the South African community. Owing to the heavy workload, the number of additional members was twice increased in order to complete the process in the shortest possible time. On 27 June 1997, an amendment to the Act (18 of 1997) increased the number of committee members to eleven, and on 10 December 1997, a further amendment (84 of 1997) increased the number to a chairperson,

a vice-chairperson and seventeen members. The full committee included six High Court judges, eight advocates and five attorneys, namely:

- a Judges Hassen Mall (Chairperson), Andrew Wilson (Vice Chairperson), Selwyn Miller, Sandile Ngcobo, Bernhard Ngoepe, Ronnie Pillay.
- b Advocates Francis Bosman, Chris de Jager SC, Leah Gcabashe, John Motata, Denzil Potgieter SC, Ntsiki Sandi, Jonas Sibanyoni, Sibongile Sigodi.
- c Ms Sisi Khampepe, Mr Ilan Lax, Mr Wynand Malan, Mr Jake Moloi, Dr Wycliffe Tsotsi (attorneys).

Committee staff

- 5 From the date of its establishment in 1996, the Amnesty Department was based in the national office in Cape Town. At that time, there were two evidence leaders, two candidate attorneys (later referred to as evidence analysts), an administrative secretary, a filing clerk and a senior secretary.
- 6 Until the end of 1996, the Amnesty Department was managed by the chief leader of evidence, assisted by an administrative secretary. Both reported directly to the chief executive officer of the Commission.
- 7 At the beginning of 1997, the department's personnel was increased through the addition of an executive secretary, five secretaries to assist committee members and professional staff, an office assistant and a filing clerk.
- 8 As work increased, however, the staff component was expanded. In August 1997, the first executive secretary resigned and was replaced by a person seconded from the Department of Justice. By that time, the Amnesty Department had grown substantially to include an executive secretary, a chief leader of evidence, six leaders of evidence, eight evidence analysts, an administrative secretary, an administrative co-ordinator, six administrative assistants, an amnesty victim co-ordinator, five senior secretaries, six logistics officers, two data administrators, two secretaries and twenty-four investigators. In addition, three international interns and nine international investigators were assisting the department.

Administrative procedures

Registration

- 9 All 7 127 amnesty applications were registered on the database and allocated a serial number. Original applications were then filed in strong rooms, and a working file was created for each application.

Perusal

- 10 During September 1997, all applications were perused and divided into:
 - a 'hearable matters' (those applications involving gross human rights violations which required a public hearing in terms of the Act);
 - b 'chamber matters' (applications involving violations of human rights which were not 'gross' as defined by the Act);
 - c 'possible refusals' (applications that, at least superficially, did not qualify for amnesty in terms of the Act).

Operational themes

- 11 The 'hearable matters' were divided into themes. This assisted evidence analysts and evidence leaders in the perusal of the applications for consideration by the Committee. The themes were selected at a workshop attended by the Research Department, the Investigation Unit, data capturers and Amnesty Committee personnel. The themes were as follows:
 - a the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and its alliances
 - b the African National Congress (ANC) and its alliances
 - c the white right wing
 - d pro-state organisations
 - e the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and its alliances.

Data gathering

- 12 The Amnesty Committee gathered data from a variety of sources, as did the other committees of the Commission. Evidence analysts and evidence leaders read and perused each application received with a view to verifying the information it contained. In addition, use was made of information gathered by the Research Department and the Investigation Unit or contained in submissions made to the Commission by political organisations and liberation movements. The section 29 *in camera* hearings were another source of information used to verify and corroborate information provided in applications.

Corroboration

- 13 The Investigation Unit and, to a certain extent, the Research Department assisted with the corroboration of statements made by applicants. The Investigation Unit was asked to obtain police dockets and other relevant information from institutions like the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the Department of Justice. In certain instances, evidence leaders and analysts interviewed individuals, applicants and/or victims to corroborate information contained in particular submissions.

Document retrieval

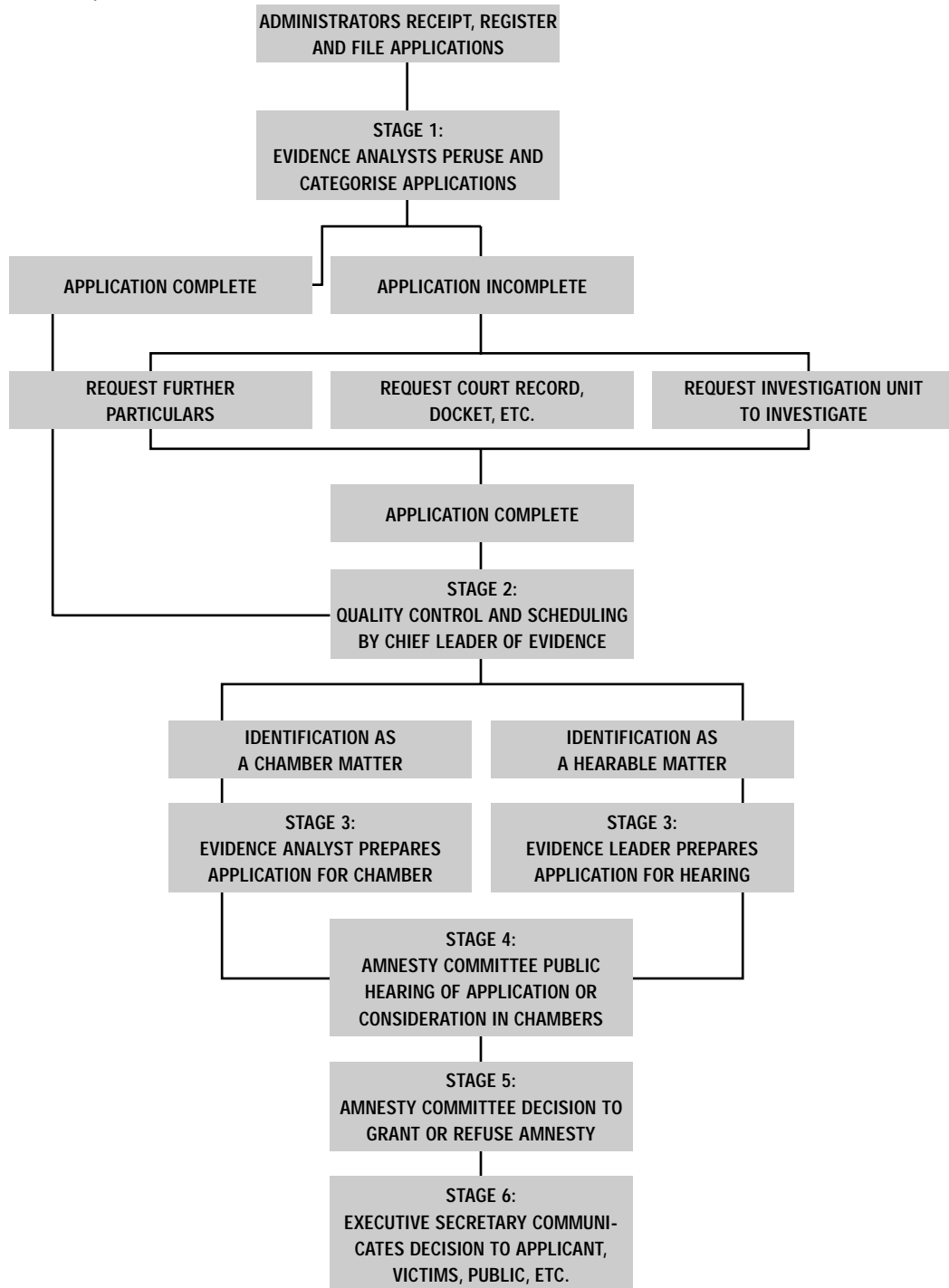
- 14 In an endeavour to assist the Committee in assessing and considering particular amnesty applications, documentation was retrieved from (amongst others) the NIA, the SAPS, the attorneys-general, and masters and registrars of the Supreme Court.

Workshops

- 15 The Amnesty Department held three workshops aimed at streamlining and assuring the proper execution of its work:
- a for evidence leaders and investigative personnel in October 1996;
 - b for evidence leaders, analysts and the Investigation Unit in November 1997;
 - c for logistic officers in December 1997.

■ FLOW CHART OF AMNESTY PROCESS

- 16 The purpose of the flow chart is to give an oversight of the whole amnesty process.



Notes on the flow chart

- 17 The process should be seen as overlapping and integrated and cannot be demarcated into clear-cut compartments. In order to understand the flow process in its entirety, the following points should be noted:

Starting point

- 18 By the time the starting point was reached, a great deal of work had already taken place. Steps performed by the administrative personnel included:
- a the registering of the application and the allocation of a reference number;
 - b sending an acknowledgement of receipt to the applicant;
 - c creating a working file;
 - d filing the original application and the working copy;
 - e capturing the information in the application on the database;
 - f compiling spreadsheets on group applications, applicants, political affiliation and incidents;
 - g ongoing correspondence and telephonic discussions with applicants, victims and legal representatives regarding non-legal matters;
 - h controlling and maintaining the flow of applications between filing rooms, evidence analysts, leaders, investigators, researchers and committee members.

Stage one

- 19 Evidence analysts were divided into 'specialisation groups'. They were provided with computer spreadsheets that prioritised applications (priority was generally given to applications from people in custody). The analysts then drew the applications and took whatever steps were necessary to prepare them. It is estimated that fewer than 10 per cent of all applications were complete and required no further preparation. Where further work was required, it may have included one or more or all of the following steps:

- a ascertaining whether the application complied with the formal requirements of the Act;
 - b requesting further particulars from the applicant or his or her legal representative;
 - c obtaining the relevant prison records from the Department of Correctional Services;
 - d requesting a criminal docket from the SAPS;
 - e securing transcripts of all relevant court records from the registrars or clerks of the court;
 - f acquiring a report from the attorney-general concerned;
 - g asking the Investigation Unit to investigate the application;
 - h making recommendations to the Amnesty Committee or evidence leaders.
- 20 The analysts and the analyst co-ordinator held fortnightly meetings to deal with problems and chart the progress of work.

Stage two

- 21 This was the quality control stage. One of the following routes would be followed. Incomplete applications were referred back to the analyst with further instructions. Completed applications were forwarded to the Committee by different routes. If the application did not involve a gross human rights violation and a public hearing was, therefore, not required, it was referred directly to the Committee which dealt with it in chambers. If a completed application involved a gross human rights violation, a public hearing was held. In the latter case, the application was scheduled for a hearing (in consultation with the legal representatives of the applicants, implicated persons and victims) and allocated to an evidence leader for preparation and finalisation.

- 22 Various factors determined the process of scheduling hearings including, amongst others:
- a the place where the violation took place (to allow for the public to attend the hearing);
 - b the current location of the applicant;
 - c the location and availability of victims;
 - d whether other similar applications could be heard simultaneously;
 - e the availability of legal representation for applicants, victims and implicated persons (some applications involved no less than fifteen legal representatives);
 - f the availability of the necessary logistic services, for example, a suitable and secure venue, translation services, sound and recording facilities, accommodation, transport and witness protection facilities and services;
 - g financial costs and constraints.

Stage three

- 23 The preparation of an application depended on whether it was a 'hearable' or a 'chamber' matter.
- 24 In the case of chamber matters, the analyst prepared a memorandum setting out the recommended decision and reasons for it. The application was then forwarded to the Committee in chambers and the recommendation to the chief leader of evidence.

- 25 In the case of ‘hearable’ matters, preparation was far more complex. First, the application was assigned to an evidence leader. The evidence leader and the analyst who prepared the application then served the necessary section 19(4) notices on all interested parties at least twenty-one days prior to the hearing date. They requested and confirmed all logistic requirements and arrangements with the logistics officers in the area concerned. The evidence leader and analyst then prepared the hearing bundle, comprising all relevant documentation and ranging in length from 50 to 500 pages. Copies of these bundles were made for the members of the hearing panel, applicants, victims and implicated persons, and forwarded to them by courier. Finally, as part of the general preparations for the hearings, the evidence leader and analyst presented the application to the Committee to assist it in coming to a correct decision.

Stages four and five

- 26 The Amnesty Committee then considered the application either in public hearings or in chambers. It should be noted that, owing to unforeseen circumstances, it often happened that a hearing could not be finalised in the time allotted and had to be postponed. This meant that the detailed process of scheduling would have to begin again.
- 27 Once a hearing was concluded, it remained for the Committee to make a decision on whether or not to grant amnesty.

Stage six

- 28 The last administrative steps were taken and the file closed.
- 29 All of the above steps were managed and supervised by the executive secretary.

■ STATISTICAL INFORMATION

Status of amnesty applications at 30 June 1998

APPLICATIONS FINALISED	
Amnesty application withdrawn	18
Amnesty granted	122
Amnesty not applicable: applicant acquitted	1
Amnesty not applicable: no offence specified	1
Amnesty not applicable: outside jurisdiction	281
Amnesty refused: denied guilt	158
Amnesty refused: no full disclosure	138
Amnesty refused: no political objective	2629
Amnesty refused: no political objective, denied guilt	211
Amnesty refused: no political objective, personal gain	275
Amnesty refused: outside cut-off date	564
Amnesty refused: personal gain	45
Subtotal	4443
APPLICATIONS NOT FINALISED	
Amnesty granted in part	9
Hearable matters	1239
Incomplete applications	160
Matters for chambers	602
Refusal: refused in part	2
Waiting for further particulars	672
Subtotal	2684
Grand Total	7127

**ADMINISTRATIVE REPORTS
OF THE COMMISSION'S STATUTORY COMMITTEES**

Human Rights Violations Committee

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The duties and functions of the Human Rights Violations Committee were clearly stipulated in section 14 of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act). With reference to gross violations of human rights, the Committee was mandated, amongst other things, to enquire into systematic patterns of abuse, to attempt to identify motives and perspectives, to establish the identity of individual and institutional perpetrators, to find whether violations were the result of deliberate planning on the part of the state or liberation movements and to designate accountability, political or otherwise, for gross human rights violations.

■ MEMBERSHIP

- 2 The Human Rights Violations Committee was made up of commissioners and committee members. In accordance with section 13(a) and (b) of the Act, the following commissioners were appointed to serve on the Human Rights Violations Committee. The regional offices in which they were located are indicated.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu (*Chairperson, Cape Town*)

Ms Yasmin Sooka (*Vice-Chairperson, Johannesburg*)

Mr Wynand Malan (*Vice-Chairperson, Johannesburg*).¹

Dr Alex Boraine (*Cape Town*)

Ms Mary Burton (*Cape Town*)

The Revd Bongani Finca (*East London*)

Mr Richard Lyster (*Durban*)

¹ Reassigned to and appointed as Amnesty Committee member in November 1997.

Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza (*Cape Town*)
Adv Denzil Potgieter (*Cape Town*).²
Dr Fazel Randera (*Johannesburg*)

- 3 In accordance with section 13(c), a further ten persons were appointed as Human Rights Violations Committee members.³ These were:

Dr Russell Ally (*Johannesburg*)
Ms June Crichton (*East London*)
Mr Mdu Dlamini (*Durban*)
Ms Virginia Gcabashe (*Durban*)
Ms Pumla Gobodo-Madikezela (*Cape Town*)
Mr Ilan Lax (*Durban*).⁴
Mr Hugh Lewin (*Johannesburg*)
Ms Judith 'Tiny' Maya (*East London*).⁵
Ms Motho Mosuhli (*East London*).⁶
Adv Ntsikilelo Sandi (*East London*).⁷
Ms Joyce Seroke (*Johannesburg*)

- 4 An executive secretary was appointed to the Human Rights Violations Committee.

■ MODUS OPERANDI

- 5 The Committee met on a regular basis. As a rule this was once a month in Johannesburg. The recorded minutes of these meetings reflect all the policy decisions adopted. A monthly activity report with recommendations was submitted to the Commission for inclusion on its agenda for discussion and adoption.
- 6 The Human Rights Violations Committee Findings Task Group, which included the vice-chairpersons, the executive secretary and one representative from each region (either a commissioner or committee member), met prior to each national meeting to make policy recommendations regarding the findings process and to report on regional pre-findings. Towards the end of the process, a representative from the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee joined the

2 Reassigned to and appointed to the Amnesty Committee in July 1997.

3 Their contracts were due to end in March 1998, although some ended their work with the Commission earlier. Two contracts were extended for a short period.

4 Reassigned and appointed to the Amnesty Committee in early 1998.

5 Resigned from the Commission at the end of 1997.

6 Replaced Ms Tiny Maya.

7 Reassigned to and appointed as Amnesty Committee member in March 1998.

group. The Findings Task Group tabled reports and policy recommendations for approval and acceptance by the national business meeting held the following day.

- 7 While the Act outlined certain statutory obligations for the Human Rights Violations Committee, it gave it the latitude to develop its own unique operational procedures. Inevitably, a primary focus of the regular, national business meetings was to provide an operational policy framework for work in progress and anticipated work, processes and procedures. As a result, the development of policies that would govern the work of the Human Rights Violations Committee was both reactive and proactive. It was reactive in the sense that the experience of gross violations of human rights differed from region to region. It was proactive insofar as one could anticipate emerging processes. Policy formulation was thus a dynamic context-driven process that tried to be sensitive to regional dynamics within a national operating framework.⁸
- 8 The evolving methodological framework was comprehensive, ranging from the development of regionally sensitive policy on the gathering, processing and interpretation of data on gross human rights violations to mundane operational considerations such as the timing of business meetings.
- 9 The work of the Human Rights Violations Committee was extensively supported by the Investigation Unit, especially concerning the pre-findings and findings process. The Research Department also contributed by establishing the political context of the violations alleged by victims. It also provided an analytical capacity to enquire into the systematic patterns of abuse and the motives and perspectives that led to gross human rights violations.

■ FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES

- 10 Many of the operational activities of the Commission were driven by the need of the Human Rights Violations Committee to fulfil the terms of its mandate. Areas of operational policy included the following:

Public awareness

- 11 Public awareness initiatives, aimed at communicating the mandate of the Commission to ordinary South Africans, were co-ordinated by a Media and Communications Department.

⁸ See Volume One, *Methodology and Process*.

Liaison with stakeholders and others

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

Public ‘victim hearings’

- 13 Public victim hearings were hosted. These had to take into account:
- a the safety and security of all activities and participants;
 - b representivity of victims appearing at hearings;
 - c sensitivity with regards to choice of hearing venues;
 - d seating arrangements at hearings;
 - e simultaneous translation services;
 - f the format and length of hearings;
 - g the length of testimony of victims;
 - h legal assistance to victims;
 - i psycho-social support for victims and their families who testified;
 - j the issuing of section 30 notices to alleged perpetrators;
 - k policy on ‘cross examination of victims’ by alleged perpetrators;
 - l policy on the types of public hearings to be held, including victim hearings, where the focus was on the individual victim testifying on her or his experience of suffering.

Theme hearings

- 14 Theme and event hearings were hosted with the aim of understanding patterns of abuse, motives and perspectives. Although the focus was on victims, theme hearings focused on groups of hearings rather than on individuals. These included hearings on:

⁹ See this volume, *Administrative Report of the Safety and Security Department*.

- a women as subjects of gross human rights violations
- b youth and children
- c Caprivi trainees in KwaZulu-Natal
- d Moutse/KwaNdebele incorporation conflict
- e Soweto 1976
- f the killing of the 'Guguletu Seven'
- g the 'Bisho massacre'
- h the 'Seven Day War' in KwaShange/Imbali in 1990
- i the 'Trojan horse' incident (Athlone, Cape Town)
- j the issue of compulsory military service
- k the special hearing on the disappearance of Siphiwe Mthimkulu in the Eastern Cape

Institutional hearings

- 15 Institutional hearings focused primarily on organisations as opposed to individuals within those organisations. These hearings examined:
 - a the prison system
 - b the media
 - c the legal system
 - d the role of business during apartheid
 - e the health care sector
 - f the faith communities

- g the state security system
- h the role of the armed forces
- i the involvement of the former state in chemical and biological warfare

Statement taking

- 16 Policy was also developed to govern the gathering and processing of information, including for example:
 - a designing a statement (protocol) form, which would serve as the information gathering instrument to record the experiences of victims;
 - b training statement takers to enable them to record the oral testimony of victims in a professional manner, recognising that the language of the oral testimony might differ from that used in the record;
 - c designing and developing a database management system that would serve the analytical needs of the Commission, and in particular the Human Rights Violations Committee;
 - d appointing and training appropriate staff to operate the database;
 - e determining what would constitute a sufficiently 'corroborated' statement in order that findings could be made;
 - f identifying technical enhancements to the database, such as the pre-findings screen, the corroboration details screen and the findings register;
 - g preventing political parties and organisations from using their submissions for political or publicity purposes.

■ THE POLICY FRAMEWORK

- 17 The activities of the Human Rights Violations Committee, namely the hosting of public victim hearings and the not-so-public processing of victim statements by the information management system, took place within the policy framework.

Public victim hearings

- 18 The most visible activity of the Human Rights Violations Committee was its public victim hearings programme, which commenced on 15 April 1996 in East London. The rapid proliferation of public victim hearings necessitated the scheduling and streamlining of pre-hearings preparation. This required a number of steps, which included making information available in each area in which statements were to be taken, the logistics of statement taking, the briefing of statement takers, statement taking and follow-up visits after the hearings.
- 19 The statements themselves were processed in accordance with the policy developed for the database.
- 20 In addition, an extraordinary number of operational considerations had to be taken into account when hosting the hearings. An important concern of the Human Rights Violations Committee was to ensure that the human and civil dignity of victims was restored by granting them an opportunity to relate their own accounts of violations (as emphasised in section 3(1)(c) of the Act). It was, therefore, incumbent on the Human Rights Violations Committee to make sure that the environment at the hearing was conducive to achieving these objectives. Two examples illustrate the kinds of sensitivities that were enshrined in the policy.
- 21 First, the Committee had to ensure the availability of appropriate translation services for victim testimony. It was policy that victims should be allowed to tell their stories in the language of their choice, even if such languages fell outside of the eleven official languages of South Africa. The multi-lingual nature of South African society posed the unique challenge of ensuring that all the victims testifying across the country enjoyed the same access to translation services. However, the shortage of translation services meant that hearings schedules had to be carefully co-ordinated. To this end, the Committee later decided to allocate to each region a specific week of the month for hearings. The translation service could then travel between regions and be available for all hearings.
- 22 A second illustration of contextual and victim-sensitive policy development, within the context of public hearings, was the provision of adequate psycho-social support services (in co-operation with the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee) for victims before they testified. Victims selected to give public testimony were debriefed before and after the hearing by specially trained Commission personnel known as briefers. The briefers accompanied the victim

throughout the process of public testimony, ever ready to be the shoulder on which victims could lean for emotional support.

- 23 It was also anticipated that commissioners, committee members and staff involved in the public hearing process might be affected by the collective trauma of receiving and processing victim testimony. To this end, the Commission employed mental health specialists to facilitate the debriefing of those involved.

Processing of victims' statements

- 24 The most time-consuming and costly (though invisible) activity of the Human Rights Violations Committee was the information gathering and processing operation, known as 'Infocom'.
- 25 The collection of data was done manually by trained statement takers who were required to deal sensitively with the person giving the statement. In many instances, the person testifying would be disclosing his or her experiences of gross human rights violations for the first time. It was also realised that 90 per cent of the victims coming to the Commission would not be appearing at a public hearing and that their experience of the Commission would be through making a statement to one of the Commission's statement takers. It was, therefore, important to ensure that statement takers were able both to act with empathy and to record accurately the stories told to them by victims.
- 26 In order to capture this data, the Commission opted for an information management system that used an electronic database, as opposed to the traditional manual hard copy or cardex system approach to data management. In order for such a process to work, standard operating procedures needed to be developed.
- 27 Statement taking needs to be seen against the broader backdrop of other information gathering processes: for example, section 29 investigative enquiries or the receiving of written submissions from political parties and others. The above discussion on the hosting of public victim hearings and processing of victim statements shows how the Human Rights Violations Committee had to use broad sensitivities in order to develop policy on what often seemed, at first glance, to be basic operational procedures.

**ADMINISTRATIVE REPORTS
OF THE COMMISSION'S STATUTORY COMMITTEES**

Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee

■ **FUNCTIONS OF THE REPARATION AND REHABILITATION COMMITTEE**

- 1 The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act) gave the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee the following responsibilities:
 - a to consider matters referred to it by the Commission, the Human Rights Violations Committee and the Amnesty Committee;
 - b to gather evidence relating to the identity, fate and whereabouts of victims, and the nature and extent of the harm suffered by them;
 - c to make recommendations to the President on appropriate measures for reparation and rehabilitation of victims and on measures to be taken to restore the human and civil dignity of victims;
 - d to make recommendations which might include urgent interim measures on reparation to victims;
 - e to make recommendations on the creation of institutions conducive to a stable and fair society, and on the measures to be taken in order to prevent the commission of human rights violations.

■ COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP AND STAFF

- 2 In each regional office, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was represented by commissioners and/or committee members.
- 3 The commissioners allocated to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee were:

Ms Hlengiwe Mkhize (*Chairperson, Johannesburg*)

Dr Wendy Orr (*Vice-Chairperson, Cape Town*)

The Revd Dr Khoza Mgojo (*Durban*)

Dr Mapule F Ramashala (*Cape Town*)

Ms Glenda Wildschut (*Cape Town*)

- 4 The committee members were:

Dr S'Mangele Magwaza (*Durban*)

Mr Tom Manthata (*Johannesburg*)

Professor Piet Meiring (*Johannesburg*)

Archdeacon Mcebisi Xundu (*East London*)¹

Ms Mandisa Olifant (*East London*)²

- 5 A regional co-ordinator was appointed in each region. Each regional office appointed briefers, who were managed by the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee regional co-ordinator. The Committee office in Johannesburg employed three additional staff members: an executive secretary, a Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee administrator and a mental health specialist. All members of the Committee met on a regular basis to co-ordinate activities at a national level.

■ METHOD OF WORK

- 6 The minutes of the Committee's meetings reflected its decisions. These minutes and a monthly activity report were included in the monthly agenda of the Commission. In order to fulfil its obligations and duties, the Committee developed an operational strategy to provide:

¹ Resigned end January 1998.

² Replaced Archdeacon Xundu on his resignation.

- a networking activities
- b psycho-social support programmes and follow-up workshops for witnesses
- c information management
- d policy development
- e Commission-related business activities.

■ OUTREACH AND NETWORKING ACTIVITIES

- 7 It became evident from the outset that, in order to fulfil its brief, the Commission would have to engage a wide range of groups and community structures to provide information and enlist support. This was done in a number of ways.
- 8 Public meetings, radio, television and the print media were used to inform the public about the Commission generally, and the work of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee in particular.
- 9 International visitors were hosted and shared their thoughts on the work of the Committee. Special groups interested in reparation corresponded with the Committee, thereby enriching its work. International literature was used extensively. Some members of the Committee were also invited to participate in conferences in other countries, thus increasing the international exchange of ideas.
- 10 Early in 1996, contact was established with academics nationally in order to get their input on policy development, while the regional offices made contact with local medical and tertiary institutions. In some instances, these institutions provided direct support, such as medical care and counselling services.
- 11 The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee received significant assistance from the various church structures in its work, especially the South African Council of Churches which has a well developed infrastructure in both urban and rural communities and played an historical role in supporting victims. Its support for the activities of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was invaluable. Interaction with other faith communities also played a part in the development of reconciliation programmes and reparation recommendations.

- 12 The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee recognised the need to enlist the assistance of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs), particularly in order to provide support to deponents (people making statements) after their old 'wounds' had been re-opened. To avoid or minimise the re-traumatisation of deponents and to strengthen capacity, regional co-ordinators and briefers attempted to involve interested organisations in the provision of services to deponents. These organisations also provided support before, during and after hearings. To ensure that the services provided were adequate, staff provided training to these volunteers.
- 13 The fragmented nature of service provision posed a challenge for the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee, and attention was given to establishing constructive relationships and alliances. Thus, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee established an audit of existing resources, including existing service organisations and their capacity. This information is included elsewhere in the final report, along with recommendations to the President on essential services that are needed and where they should be located.
- 14 All regions established NGO and CBO networks, although the success of these varied from region to region, depending on the availability of community resources. In rural areas, churches, family structures and traditional support systems were used in the absence or scarcity of formal NGOs and CBOs.
- 15 Many of the deponents had needs which could be met through government agencies such as clinics, hospitals and schools. However, access was often denied or payment levied where those seeking help did not pass the means test. As a result, the Commission approached Members of the Executive Councils³ in the provinces to negotiate concessions for Commission-related requests to support victims of gross human rights violations. A useful result of this exercise was the opportunity to assess the capacity of these state institutions to assist victims. This served to highlight, for example, the glaring disparity of services between rural and urban areas. The issue of such services forms part of the recommendations made to the President.
- 16 As reparations are to be granted by government to established victims of gross human rights violations, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee maintained a formal relationship with government through an inter-ministerial committee at Cabinet level⁴. The aim was to facilitate the discussion and adoption of the

³ Members of Executive Councils (MECs) are 'ministers' in charge of provincial departments.

⁴ The Inter-Ministerial Committee is a Cabinet committee set up to look at regulations issues. It includes the Ministries of Welfare, Health, Justice, Finance and Minerals and Energy.

Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee's policy recommendations and to ensure the speedy delivery of reparation and rehabilitation to victims.

■ **ESTABLISHING APPROPRIATE PSYCHO-SOCIAL SUPPORT PROGRAMMES (WITNESS SUPPORT)**

- 17 From the outset, the Commission recognised the need to provide an environment that supported and respected the dignity of all who approached it. It was also agreed that, as far as possible, there should be sensitivity to the immediate needs of deponents and that they should be referred to existing service agencies.
- 18 In order to achieve this, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee provided an internal training programme for briefers and statement takers. This training was then extended to those outside the Commission who would assist in providing support. Working with victims of violence exposed helpers to the high levels of trauma and pain that had been experienced. To deal with this effectively, they needed a certain level of skills. In view of the fact that specialised facilities for trauma services are very limited in South Africa, and tend to be situated mainly in urban areas, the challenge was to train counsellors living in areas that were accessible to deponents.
- 19 Treatment of trauma is also a long and slow process. It was, therefore, essential to provide deponents with a sustainable service that would be available long after the Commission had concluded its work. For this reason, the emphasis was on building capacity in existing community structures.
- 20 Statement takers were exposed to the traumatic accounts of deponents and needed training on how to solicit their stories sensitively, while containing their pain. A team of counsellors, experienced in trauma counselling, was contracted to provide this training, monitored by the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.
- 21 The goals identified in the training and re-training of statement takers concerned the ability to take a statement empathetically in accordance with the format or structure of the form. From the very first training programme conducted by mental health professionals, a strong focus was placed on some of the emotional and crisis management elements of statement taking. In retrospect, others who had been involved in processing statements should have been included, in particular representatives of the Investigation Unit, the Research Department and the Legal Department.

- 22 Briefers were responsible for supporting deponents who testified at public hearings. To do this work they needed special skills, including the ability to debrief deponents after testimony and to control their own emotions when faced with the pain of victims. Their training consisted of:
- a sensitisation to inter-personal dynamics;
 - b role playing with a focus on person-centred and fact-centred listening and the effects on the interviewee of different types of questioning style;
 - c the paralinguistic aspects of listening, such as body language, pace of speech and eye contact;
 - d an introduction to post traumatic stress syndrome symptoms;
 - e an introduction to basic crisis management skills;
 - f an introduction to stress management, using systems theory;
 - g an accent on defining the boundaries of the briefers' role.
- 23 The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee maintained a presence in the development and presentation of training, in order to ensure that the concept of reparations remained in the forefront.
- 24 The training of briefers and statement-takers was co-ordinated by the regional co-ordinators and the mental health specialist. Community briefers were trained to increase the Commission's capacity to provide emotional support to those who participated in its activities, and assisted with the briefing and debriefing of deponents before, during and immediately after the hearings. After the hearings, they continued to provide support to people who gave statements, ensuring that support was available to them in their communities. The Commission undertook training in such a way as to strengthen already existing structures. It also ensured that support was provided by people who were trusted by the victims and who shared the same language and culture. Sensitivity to such aspects was part of the commitment of the Commission to provide a service that was victim-friendly, culturally appropriate and respectful of the dignity of witnesses.

- 25 Briefers were familiarised with the Commission's processes. Trauma counselling and training manuals were developed. Special training was also provided to psychologists and social workers in the South African Medical Service of the South African National Defence Force in Pretoria and Cape Town in order to prepare their staff to assist the Commission. Students working at SHAWCO (a student health and welfare organisation based at the University of Cape Town) were also trained.
- 26 After the first round of human rights violations hearings in 1996, it became evident that there was a need for post-hearing follow-up. In some areas, the hearings opened up old conflicts that threatened stability in the community. It also became clear that the hearings did not themselves provide opportunities for reconciliation. The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee therefore formulated a policy of arranging follow-up visits to help communities to:
- a evaluate the impact of gross human rights violations;
 - b contribute towards the formulation of reparation and rehabilitation policy recommendations;
 - c devise strategies to promote reconciliation and healing in those neighbourhoods;
 - d begin to 'own' the reconciliation process and create community-based initiatives that would continue after the Commission's work had ended.

■ INFORMATION MANAGEMENT

- 27 The Human Rights Violations and Amnesty Committees also referred information to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee. In addition, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee generated information through its own activities, such as briefers' reports, post-hearing follow-up visits and so on. The Committee established a task team whose role it was to recommend a national strategy to process such information.

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

■ A RESEARCH COMPONENT

- 29 In order to evaluate the impact of gross human rights violations on people's lives, the Research Department facilitated an investigation in two areas: first, identifying the consequences of gross human rights violations on individuals, families and communities, and second, assessing people's expectations of the Commission. This research provided an empirical foundation for the chapter on the consequences of gross human rights violations contained elsewhere in the report.⁵ As the potential variables under study were limitless and both areas were extremely complex, that chapter provides a broad overview of these areas. It identifies patterns and trends, using illustrative case studies extracted from the statements and hearing transcripts, supplemented with statistics drawn from the database.
- 30 The research investigated four areas of differentiation. These were regional variances, gender differentiation, the impact on children and youth, and the effects on families and communities. Underlying questions that guided the research included: What enduring effects have the conflicts of the past had on social values and ways of life? What were the spiralling implications for families and communities? What had been identified as necessary action for dealing with these problems? What contribution could the Commission make in addressing these problems?

⁵ It was also captured in the chapters on *Women and Children and Youth*.

■ THE ROLE OF THE REPARATION AND REHABILITATION COMMITTEE IN OTHER COMMISSION ACTIVITIES

- 31 The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee's commissioners, committee members and staff were involved in planning, preparing and conducting different hearings held throughout the country. Some of the event hearings (for example, the children and youth hearings held in all four of the Commission's regions) were the specific responsibility of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.
- 32 A Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee briefer was present at many of the amnesty hearings, and either commissioners or committee members endeavoured to attend sessions of these hearings. Special efforts were made not only to support the victims, but also (when necessary) to give support to perpetrators and their families and to lay the groundwork for victim-offender mediation.
- 33 At most of the follow-up hearings, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee explored different views on reconciliation with communities. The committee also co-ordinated all Commission activities aimed at facilitating reconciliation.

Management and Operational Reports

FINANCE DEPARTMENT

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 Section 46(2) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act) set out the financial duties of the Commission and provided for the appointment of a chief executive officer who would also act as the chief accounting officer¹. Thus the financial accountability for the Commission rested with the chief executive officer.
- 2 Section 46(5) of the Act required that the Commission prepare an estimate of revenue and expenditure for each year of its operation, using a format to be determined in consultation with the Audit Commission.²
- 3 Section 9(1) of the Act directed the Commission to determine remuneration allowances in consultation with the Ministries of Finance and Justice, as well as terms and conditions of employment of staff members who were not state employees.
- 4 Section 36(1) of the Act determined that “the Commission be independent and separate from any party, government, administration or other functionary or body directly or indirectly representing the interest of any such entity.”
- 5 Thus, a certain number of fairly unusual financial measures applied to the Commission. Although it was intended that the Commission should enjoy a degree of financial independence from normal state financial structures, there were a number of procedural and regulatory ambiguities in the setting up of the Commission.
- 6 First, there were questions about the applicability of State Expenditure regulations (the Treasury Instructions) and State Tender Board regulations.

1 This served to satisfy section 15 of the Exchequer Act (66 of 1975).

2 Section 2 of the Audit Arrangement Act (122 of 1992).

- 7 Second, there was a six-week delay from the time that the Commissioners were appointed until operations could be set up. This was because these appointments came into operation on 15 December 1995, immediately before the holiday season, at a time when most services and equipment providers close down for the year.
- 8 Third, the Commission had to set up operations very rapidly and did not have time to comply with all the procedures of the State Tender Board. The executive commissioners took a proactive decision to the effect that the Commission would procure its own goods and services.
- 9 The mandate of the Commission was also such that it required a number of specialised sets of equipment, goods and services for its operational activities, for example:
- a the establishment of an Investigation Unit with all its personnel and logistical support (section 28(1) of the Act);
 - b the conducting of Commission hearings in public (section 33(1) of the Act);
 - c the provision of legal representation (section 34(1) of the Act);
 - d the establishment of a limited witness protection programme (section 35(1) of the Act);
 - e the provision of measures to allow victims to communicate in the language of their choice (section 11(f) of the Act);
 - f special provisions for dealing with victims (section 11 of the Act).
- 10 The Commission's own methodology³ had to be developed, and its decision to hold hearings in communities where gross violations of human rights had taken place required extensive travel requirements and logistic support.
- 11 In complying with the financial mandate as directed by the Act and interpreted by the Commission, the chief executive officer delegated responsibility to the director of finance. One of the first tasks of the director was to assist the Commission by preparing an estimate of revenue and expenditure.

3 See chapter on *Methodology and Process*.

■ OPERATIONS

- 12 The national Finance Department consisted of a financial director, a financial manager, a facilities manager, two bookkeepers, four administrative clerks, two facilities clerks and a senior administrative secretary.
- 13 Each regional office employed a bookkeeper, whose job description was later upgraded to that of administrator.
- 14 The national financial director reported to the Commission's chief executive officer.
- 15 The financial director's activities were diversified to include support services, and the description of the portfolio changed to director of finance and support services. At a later stage, human resources were added to the portfolio.

■ EXPENDITURE

- 16 In the early stages of the Commission, before most of its management and operational staff were in place, it was extremely difficult to conceptualise all of the areas of expenditure the Commission might encounter. The approach taken was that the Commission would operate on a quasi-judicial basis and that its operations would be directed around this concept.
- 17 It was clear from the beginning that the Commission would be a people-intensive organisation and that staff costs would form the bulk of its expenditure. Thus, the first major tasks were to design and develop an organisational structure that would meet the Commission's mandate and determine its staffing requirements.
- 18 The design and development of the organisational plan was a particularly difficult challenge. After extensive consultation with, amongst others, the vice-chairperson of the Commission, the human resources director and consultants, the first major substantive organisational plan was compiled over a weekend in late February 1996.

Determination of salaries

- 19 After the appointment of the commissioners, the vice-chairperson, Dr Alex Boraine, asked a personnel consultant to assist in setting up the staffing structure. Dr Boraine provided the consultant with a draft organisational design and a proposed salary outline, which originated in the Department of Justice. The organisational design and salary structure were based on a formula incorporating state grades, ranks and salary scales. The consultant also studied the salary structures of the Constitutional Assembly to obtain some guidance in developing salary structures for the Commission's staff.
- 20 Because the Commission would only have a short lifespan, it opted for a simple and straightforward 'cash package' approach, with salaries offered as a package with no benefits attached.
- 21 The human resources director, the financial director and the Commission's consultants assisted in developing a staffing plan and salary structure. The job evaluation and remuneration structure was based on the Paterson plan.
- 22 Remuneration specialists provided information on market-related salaries for the appropriate job classifications using the Paterson Job Evaluation Plan. A September 1995 survey of national median remuneration packages (according to the Paterson Job Evaluation System) was used for reference. Other factors taken into consideration in establishing the salaries were that no benefits were to be offered and that staff would effectively be employed on short-term contracts.
- 23 As a result of this work, detailed job descriptions were compiled and an appropriate remuneration package prepared. The median salaries and the staffing plan were then incorporated into the staffing budget of the Commission.
- 24 In negotiations with Commission staff members, the budgeted salaries were used as a median guideline, and actual salaries were determined according to professional qualifications, experience and ability. This resulted in certain people being offered salaries above the median mark and others below.

Capital outlay

- 25 The next major item of expenditure was the Commission's projected capital outlay. It was clear that the Commission would not be able to fulfil its mandate without an

extensive information management system. The Commission entered a contract with an international expert on information management from the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The consultant, together with the Commission's head of information systems, conceptualised and developed the database and laid the groundwork for the necessary hardware and support infrastructure.

Travel and accommodation arrangements

- 26 The Commission was necessarily a highly mobile organisation and as such required extensive travel arrangements. To meet its needs, it called for limited tenders for discounted air travel, hotel accommodation and car hire facilities. The Commission also established its own in-house travel agency, which was contracted out on the basis of limited tenders.
- 27 Commission staff, particularly investigation and logistics support staff, had extensive transport requirements. Thus, the Commission entered into extensive contracts with an international motor vehicle dealership to purchase over fifty motor vehicles.

Space, furniture and office equipment

- 28 Offices were obtained for the various regions, and furniture and office equipment were procured locally, using a limited tender process.

Security arrangements

- 29 Because of its high political profile, the Commission faced unique security risks. As a result of this, extensive security arrangements, equipment and infrastructure were put in place in order to safeguard premises, assets and lives.
- 30 Also on a limited tender basis, surveillance equipment, x-ray machines, bomb scanners, security disks and access control systems were acquired and installed at the Commission's national and regional offices. The expertise of consultants from the South African Police and other state security services was extensively utilised.

Translation and interpretation services

- 31 The Commission also set the precedent for a fairly new concept in South African governmental structures: the introduction of a simultaneous interpretation service.

The founding Act provided for persons to be able to use the language of their choice when accessing the Commission. This presented an interesting challenge to the Commission, given South Africa's eleven official languages. Special equipment was imported from Belgium, and a special team of simultaneous interpreters was recruited and trained. After a limited tendering process, the University of the Free State Language Facilitation Program was engaged to provide this very specialised service.

Internal communication facilities

- 32 One of the keys to the success of the Commission was effective communication. To achieve this, the Commission installed fax machines and e-mail on its computer systems. Cellular telephones were acquired and played a strategic role in facilitating the work of the Investigation Unit and the Witness Protection Unit. A local cellular telephone service provider also assisted the Commission with free use of eighteen cellular telephones.

Contracted services

- 33 Other operating expenditure was budgeted for after wide consultation with various other organisations. In particular, the Commission looked at the operating costs of legal practices to get a reasonable idea of the type and extent of the expenditure it might incur.
- 34 The Commission subcontracted the Legal Aid Board, which already had the necessary infrastructure, to provide legal aid services on its behalf.

Revenue

- 35 The Commission's revenues were allocated as a separate line item in the Department of Justice's budget, which was voted on and approved by Parliament.
- 36 In addition, many international donor countries expressed an interest in the Commission and offered their financial assistance to add value to the process. The Commission was initially under the impression that it could accept donations directly. Legal opinion provided by the state legal advisers, however, indicated that all donations received by the Commission had to be formally approved by the Department of State Expenditure through the Reconstruction and Development Fund.

- 37 These bureaucratic procedures resulted in a number of delays in the launching of projects for which the Commission had obtained donor funding. The net result of these delays was that the Commission was not able to extract optimum value from the various projects funded by donors. The various donations and their purposes are set out in an attached schedule (Appendix 3).
- 38 National economic challenges and priorities meant that the Commission operated under strained financial conditions virtually all the time. The Commission was originally allocated a budget of R8 million for the 1995/1996 fiscal year and a budget of R29 million for the 1996/1997 fiscal year. After completing the required estimates of income and expenditure, it was abundantly clear that this budget was inadequate. The projected budget requirement for the 1996/1997 fiscal year was in fact R79 million. This meant that the Commission had to approach the Treasury Committee for additional funding.
- 39 There was strong resistance from the Treasury Committee to making further funding available. After much negotiation and a line-by-line budget item evaluation, the Treasury Committee agreed to make a total of R69.419 million available for the 1996/1997 fiscal year.
- 40 At the same time, the Treasury Committee indicated that the total budget available for the 1997/1998 fiscal year would not exceed R50 million. The Commission's budget requirements, however, (based on its operating levels at the time) were in the region of R82 million. This meant that the Commission had to downscale its operations much earlier than envisaged and step up its requests for donations.
- 41 As the Commission's work progressed, it also became clear that it would not be able to complete all its work within the prescribed eighteen-month period, or even after a further six months' extension. After consultations with the Ministry of Justice, the Commission's lifespan was extended by an additional four months in order to give it enough time to complete all its work. In order to fund this extension, an additional R15.716 million was made available to the Commission for the 1997/1998 fiscal year and R21.904 million for the 1998/1999 fiscal year.
- 42 At the time of drafting this report, the audit for the 1996/1997 fiscal year had just been completed, and the Commission had remained within its approved budget of R69.419 million. Financial statements for the completed fiscal periods 1995/1996 and 1996/1997 are attached as appendices 1 and 2.⁴

⁴ Annual Financial Statement for 1997/8 were not available at the time of reporting.

■ APPENDIX 1

THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

Chief Executive Officer's Report

FOR THE PERIOD 15 DECEMBER 1995 TO 31 MARCH 1996

The Chief Executive Officer hereby presents his report and submits the first annual financial statements for the period ended 31 March 1996.¹

■ GENERAL REVIEW

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was constituted in terms of The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 on 15 December 1995. During this first financial period the Truth and Reconciliation Commission commenced starting up operations which involved the setting up of its head office in Cape Town as well as three offices in Gauteng, the Eastern Cape and Kwazulu-Natal. The financial activities of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for the above period were essentially dominated by this set up phase and the results thereof are clearly reflected in the attached financial statements and may be summarised as follows: -

Operating Surplus for the period	R 3 758 562
Capital Expenditure	R 4 683 480
Net Cash Flow Deficit	R 924 918

The Cash Flow Deficit represents an over expenditure in relation to funds received from the Department of Justice and other interest and Commission earnings. This is to be funded out of the 1996/1997 budget.

¹ See also Report of the Auditor-General on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for 1995/6.

■ CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER AND SECRETARIES

In terms of S46(1) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 the following appointments have been made:-

Chief Executive Officer Dr B S V Minyuku

Date of Appointment: 1 March 1996

Secretary to the Reparation and

Rehabilitation Committee B Watson

Date of Appointment: 1 May 1996

The following positions are still vacant:-

Secretary to the Human Rights Violations Committee

Secretary to the Amnesty Committee

■ FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

The Chief Executive Officer acknowledges his responsibility for the fair presentation in the financial statements of the financial position and results of operations in conformity with generally accepted accounting practice.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

14 April 1997

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 MARCH 1996 • BALANSSTAAT SOOS OP 31 MAART 1996

	Notes Aant.	1995-96 R	
Capital employed			Kapitaal aangewend
Accumulated fund		3,758,801	Opgehoopte fonds
		3,758,801	
Employment of capital			Aanwending van kapitaal
Fixed assets	4	4,663,976	Vaste bates
Net current liabilities		905,175	Netto bedryfslaste
Current assets		1,271,234	Bedryfsbates
Accounts receivable	5	647,704	Agterstallige inkomste
Bank and cash balances		623,530	Bank en kontantsaldo's
Less: Current liabilities		2,176,409	Min: Bedryfslaste
Accounts payable	6	2,116,409	Agterstallige uitgawes
Provisions		60,000	Voorsienings
		3,758,801	

B. S. V. MINYUKU,

Date • Datum, 01/04/97.

Accounting Officer • Rekenpligtige Beamptes.

INCOME STATEMENT • INKOMSTESTAAT**FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1996 • VIR DIE JAAR GEËINDIG 31 MAART 1996**

	Notes Aant.	1995-96 R	
Income		8,037,319	Inkomste
State and other contributions		8,000,000	Staats- en ander bydraes
Other income	7	37,319	Ander inkomste
Expenditure		4,278,518	Uitgawes
Salaries		2,182,880	Salarisse
Other operating expenditure	8	2,095,638	Ander bedryfsuitgawes
Retained income		3,758,801	Onaangewende inkomste

NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS • AANTEKENINGE BY DIE FINANSIËLE STATE

31 MARCH 1996 • 31 MAART 1996

1. Formation and primary objectives

- 1.1 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was constituted in terms of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995 (Act No. 34 of 1995). The Commissioners were appointed by the President in terms of section 7(2)(a) of the Act on 15 December 1995.
- 1.2 The objectives of the Commission are to promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflicts and divisions of the past by establishing a complete picture of the causes, nature and extent of gross violations of human rights by conducting investigations and holding hearings; facilitating the granting of amnesty to persons who make full disclosure of all the relevant facts relating to these acts; establishing and making known the fate or whereabouts of victims and recommending reparation measures in respect of them; and compiling a report providing a comprehensive account of the activities and findings of the Commission.

2. Accounting policy

The financial statements have been prepared in accordance with generally accepted accounting practice. The principle accounting policy is as follows:

- 2.1 *Basis of preparation*
The financial statements are prepared on the historical cost basis.
- 2.2 *Fixed assets and depreciation*
Fixed assets are stated at cost price less accumulated depreciation. Leasehold improvements are written off over the expected life span of the Commission. All other assets are depreciated over their useful lives on the straight line method.
- 2.3 *Income and expenditure*
Income and expenditure is recognised on the accrual basis.

1. Stigting en primêre oogmerke

- 1.1 Die Waarheids- en Versoeningskommissie is ingevolge die Wet op die Bevordering van Nasionale Eenheid en Versoening, 1995 (Wet No. 34 van 1995) gestig. Die Kommissaris is ingevolge artikel 7(2)(a) van die Wet op 15 Desember 1995 deur die President aangestel.
- 1.2 Die oogmerke van die Kommissie is om nasionale eenheid en versoening te bevorder in 'n gees van begrip wat uitstyg die konflikte en die verdeeldheid van verkry van die oorsake, aard en omvang die verlede, deur 'n volledige beeld te van growwe skendings van mense-regte deur ondersoek te doen en verhoor te hou; die verlening van amnestie te vergemaklik aan persone wat alle tersaaklike feite met betrekking tot die dade ten volle openbaar; die lot of verblyfplek van slagoffers vas te stel en bekend te maak en herstelmaatreëls ten opsigte van hulle aan te beveel; en 'n verslag saam te stel wat 'n volledige oorsig gee van die Kommissie se bedrywighede en bevindinge.

2. Rekeningkundige beleid

Die finansiële state word in ooreenstemming met algemeen aanvaarde rekeningkundige praktyk opgestel. Die hoof rekeningkundige beleid is soos volg:

- 2.1 *Grondslag van aanbieding*
Die finansiële state is op die historiese koste grondslag voorberei.
- 2.2 *Vaste bates en waardevermindering*
Vaste bates word teen kosprys minus opgehoopte waardevermindering getoon. Huurverbeterings word oor die verwagte lewensduur van die Kommissie afgeskryf. Alle ander bates se waarde verminder oor hul bruikbare lewensduur op die reguitlynmetode.
- 2.3 *Inkomste en uitgawes*
Inkomste en uitgawes word ooreenkomstig die toevallingsgrondslag erken.

NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS • AANTEKENINGE BY DIE FINANSIËLE STATE

31 MARCH 1996 • 31 MAART 1996
(continued/vervolg)

**3. Cash flow statement and
comparative figures**

No cash flow statement and comparative figures have been presented as this is the first year of operation of the Commission.

**3. Kontantvloeistaat en
vergelykende syfers**

Geen kontantvloeistaat en vergelykende syfers is voorgelê nie aangesien hierdie die eerste jaar van die Kommissie se bedrywighe is.

4. Fixed assets	1995-96			4. Vaste bates
	Cost price Kosprys	Accumulated depreciation Opgehoopte waarde- vermindering	Book value Boek- waarde	
	R	R	R	
Computer equipment	310,549	7,502	303,047	Rekenaartoerusting
Furniture and fittings	1,718,461	11,813	1,706,648	Meubels en uitrusting
Office equipment	163,345	1,954	161,391	Kantoortoerusting
Motor vehicles	2,358,852	49,496	2,309,356	Motorvoertuie
Leasehold improvements	191,260	7,726	183,534	Huurverbeterings
	<u>4,742,467</u>	<u>78,491</u>	<u>4,663,976</u>	

NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS • AANTEKENINGE BY DIE FINANSIËLE STATE

31 MARCH 1996 • 31 MAART 1996
(continued/vervolg)

1995-96		
R		
5. Accounts receivable		5. Agterstallige inkomste
Value Added Tax (VAT) refund	519,798	Terugbetaling van Belasting op Toegevoegde Waarde (BTW)
Refundable deposits paid on leased premises	17,200	Terugontvangbare deposito's op gehuurde geboue
Prepaid expenses	81,161	Vooruitbetaalde uitgawes
Interest receivable	15,424	Agterstallige rente
Commission receivable	14,121	Agterstallige kommissie
	<u>647,704</u>	
6. Accounts payable		6. Agterstallige uitgawes
Accruals for accounts payable	2,101,950	Voorsienings vir rekeninge betaalbaar
Travel management fees	14,459	Reisbestuursfooie
	<u>2,116,409</u>	
7. Other income		7. Ander inkomste
Interest	21,062	Rente
Discount received	3,870	Korting ontvang
Commission	12,387	Kommissie
	<u>37,319</u>	

NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS • AANTEKENINGE BY DIE FINANSIËLE STATE

31 MARCH 1996 • 31 MAART 1996

(continued/vervolg)

1995-96

R

8. Other operating expenditure		8. Ander bedryfsuitgawes
Audit fees	60,000	Ouditfooie
Bank costs	1,011	Bankkoste
Communication	2,979	Kommunikasie
Conferences and workshops	32,851	Konferensies en werksinkels
Consulting fees	90,367	Konsultasiefooie
Consumables	16,794	Verbruikbare items
Depreciation	78,491	Waardevermindering
Entertainment, teas and refreshments	16,609	Onthaal, tee en verversings
Insurance	4,262	Versekering
Legal costs	6,737	Regskoste
Maintenance	17,037	Onderhoud
Equipment	1,230	Toerusting
Premises	6,391	Persele
Motor vehicles	9,416	Motorvoertuie
Postage	1,124	Posgeld
Printing	8,407	Drukwerk
Publications and subscriptions	5,554	Publikasies en subskripsies
Rentals	137,037	Huur
Equipment	4,109	Toerusting
Offices	132,928	Kantore
Staff recruitment	601,674	Werwing van personeel
Stationery	80,073	Skryfbehoeftes
Telefaxes	2,096	Telefakse
Telephones	117,255	Telefone
Telkom	86,893	Telkom
Cellular	30,362	Sellulêr
Transport	8,713	Vervoer
Freight	5,615	Vraggeld
Motor vehicle expenses	2,898	Motorvoertuiguitgawes
Use of private motor vehicles	200	Gebruik van private voertuie
Training	45,700	Opleiding
Travel and subsistence	746,408	Reis en verblyf
Travel management costs	14,459	Reisbestuurskoste
	2,095,638	

■ APPENDIX 2

THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

Chief Executive Officer's Report

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1997

The Chief Executive Officer hereby presents his report and submits the first annual financial statements for the year ended 31 March 1997.¹

■ GENERAL REVIEW

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was constituted in terms of The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 on 15 December 1995. During this fiscal year, the Truth & Reconciliation Commission started to operate on a full functional basis which also saw its first hearings being held during April and May of 1996. As an evolving organisation adaptations had to be made on the run. In addition to this and in recognition of national priorities, stringent fiscal control resulted in the approved budget of the Commission being limited to R70 million. The additional operating expenditure required by the Commission to make a meaningful contribution to national healing and reconciliation was facilitated through extremely generous foreign donors. In particular we wish to recognise the European Community, the Royal Danish Embassy, the Royal Netherlands Embassy, the Swedish International Development Agency, USAID, the Flemish Community, the Norwegian Embassy, the Austrian Government as well as the Belgian Government.

The results of the activities of the Commission are clearly reflected in the attached Financial Statements and may be summarised as follows:

Operating Surplus for the year	R12,483,372
Capital Expenditure	R10,804,671
Net Cash Flow Surplus	R 4,768,649

The Cash Flow Surplus represents an under expenditure in relation to funds received from the Department of Justice, approved donations, interest and Commission earnings.

¹ See also Report of the Auditor-General on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for 1996/7.

■ CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER AND SECRETARIES

In terms of S46(1) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 the following appointments have been made:-

Chief Executive Officer Dr B S V Minyuku

Date of Appointment: 1 March 1996

Secretary to the Reparation and

Rehabilitation Committee B Watson

Date of Appointment: 1 May 1996

Secretary to the Human Rights

Violations Committee Dr R Richards

Date of Appointment: 1 September 1996

Secretary to the Amnesty Committee L Matshaka

Date of Appointment: 13 February 1997

Subsequent to the year end the Executive Secretary of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee and the Executive Secretary to the Amnesty Committee resigned. The position of the Executive Secretary of the Amnesty Committee has been filled but the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee position is still vacant.

■ FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

The Chief Executive Officer acknowledges his responsibility for the fair presentation in the financial statements of the financial position and results of operations in conformity with generally accepted accounting practice.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

21 November 1997

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 MARCH 1997 • BALANSSTAAT SOOS OP 31 MAART 1997

	Notes			
	1996-97	Aant.	1995-96	
	R		R	
Capital employed				Kapitaal aangewend
Accumulated fund	<u>16,241,934</u>		<u>3,758,562</u>	Opgehoopte fonds
	R16,241,934		3,758,562	
Employment of capital				Aanwending van kapitaal
Fixed assets	11,473,285	4	4,683,480	Vaste bates
Net current assets/(liabilities)	4,768,649		(924,917)	Netto bedryfsbates/(laste)
Current assets	19,557,049		1,268,872	Bedryfsbates
Sundry debtors	1,582,387	5	645,342	Diverse debiteure
Bank and cash balances	17,974,662		623,530	Bank en kontantsaldo's
Less: Current liabilities	14,788,400		2,193,789	Min: Bedryfslaste
Sundry creditors	4,401,092	6	2,133,790	Diverse krediteure
Unapproved donations	10,313,347		-	Ongemagtigde donasies
Provisions	73,960		60,000	Voorsienings
	<u>R 16,241,934</u>		<u>R 3,758,563</u>	

Cape Town • Kaapstad

Date • Datum, 14/10/97.

B. S. V. MINYUKU,

Accounting Officer • Rekenpligtige Beamptes.

INCOME STATEMENT • INKOMSTESTAAT

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1997 • VIR DIE JAAR GEËINDIG 31 MAART 1997

	Notes		
	1996-97	Aant.	1995-96
	R		R
Income	74,383,577		8,031,416
State and other contributions	70,042,034		7,996,105
Donations	2,336,221		-
Other income	2,005,323	7	35,311
Expenditure	61,900,205		4,272,854
Salaries	31,746,636		2,183,180
Other operating expenditure	30,153,569	8	2,089,674
Retained income for the year	12,483,372		3,758,562
Retained income at beginning of the year	3,758,562		-
Retained income at end of the year	R 16,241,934		R 3,758,562
Inkomste			
Staats- en ander bydraes			
Skenkings			
Ander inkomste			
Uitgawes			
Salarisse			
Ander bedryfsuitgawes			
Onaangewende inkomste vir die jaar			
Onaangewende inkomste aan begin van die jaar			
Onaangewende inkomste aan die einde van die jaar			

CASH FLOW STATEMENT • KONTANTVLOEISTAAT

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1997 • VIR DIE JAAR GEËINDIG 31 MAART 1997

	Notes Aant.	1996-97 R	
Cash flows from operating activities			Kontantvloei uit bedryfsaktiwiteite
Cash generated from operations	A	26,354,785	Kontant uit bedrywighede voortgebring
Interest received		1,617,546	Rente ontvang
Interest paid		(23,805)	Rente betaal
Net cash inflow from operating activities		27,948,525	Netto kontantinvloei uit bedryfsaktiwiteite
Cash flows from investing activities			Kontant vloei uit beleggingsaktiwiteite
Additions to equipment		(10,804,671)	Aankoop van toerusting
"Sale" of fixed assets		207,277	"Verkope" van vaste bates
Net cash outflow from investing activities		(10,597,394)	Netto kontantuitvloei uit beleggingsaktiwiteite
Net increase in cash and cash equivalents		17,351,132	Netto toename in kontant en kontantekwivalente
Cash and cash equivalents at beginning of period	B	623,530	Kontant en kontantekwivalente aan die begin van die tydperk
Cash and cash equivalents at end of period	B	R 17,974,682	Kontant en kontantekwivalente aan die einde van die tydperk

NOTES TO THE CASH FLOW STATEMENT • AANTEKENINGE BY DIE KONTANTVLOEISTAAT

31 MARCH 1997 • 31 MAART 1997

A. Reconciliation of net surplus to cash generated from operations		A. Rekonsiliasie van netto surplus met kontant uit bedrywighede voortgebring
Net surplus	12,483,372	Netto surplus
Adjustments for:		Aansuiwerings vir:
Depreciation	3,817,576	Depresiasie
Investment income	(1,617,546)	Beleggings inkomste
Interest expense	23,805	Rentekoste
Profit on disposal of assets	(9,988)	Wins op bates afgeskryf
Operating profit before working capital changes	14,697,219	Bedryfs surplus voor bedryfskapitaal veranderinge
Working capital changes		Bedryfskapitaalveranderinge
Increase in accounts receivable	(937,045)	Toename in diverse debiteure
Increase in accounts payable	12,594,611	Toename in diverse krediteure
Cash generated from operations	26,354,785	Kontant uit bedrywighede voortgebring
B. Cash and cash equivalents		B. Kontant en kontantekwivalente
Cash and cash equivalents consist of cash on hand and balances with banks.		Kontant en kontantekwivalente bestaan uit kontant voorhande en saldo's by banke.
Cash and cash equivalents included in the cash flow statement comprise the following balance sheet amounts:		Kontant en kontantekwivalente wat by die kontantvloeistaat ingesluit is, bestaan uit die volgende balanstaatbedrae:
Cash and cash equivalents with banks	17,974,662	Kontant voorhande en saldo's by banke

NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS • AANTEKENINGE BY DIE FINANSIËLE STATE

31 MARCH 1997 • 31 MAART 1997

1. Formation and primary objectives

- 1.1 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was constituted in terms of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995 (Act No. 34 of 1995). The Commissioners were appointed by the President in terms of section 7(2)(a) of the Act on 15 December 1995.
- 1.2 The objectives of the Commission are to promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflicts and divisions of the past by establishing a complete picture of the causes, nature and extent of gross violations of human rights by conducting investigations and holding hearings; facilitating the granting of amnesty to persons who make full disclosure of all the relevant facts relating to these acts; establishing and making known the fate or whereabouts of victims and recommending reparation measures in respect of them; and compiling a report providing a comprehensive account of the activities and findings of the Commission.

2. Accounting policy

The financial statements have been prepared in accordance with generally accepted accounting practice. The principle accounting policy is as follows:

- 2.1 *Basis of preparation*
The financial statements are prepared on the historical cost basis.
- 2.2 *Fixed assets and depreciation*
Fixed assets are stated at cost price less accumulated depreciation. Leasehold improvements are written off over the expected life span of the Commission. All other assets are depreciated over their useful lives on the straight line method.
- 2.3 *Income and expenditure*
Income and expenditure is recognised on the accrual basis.

1. Stigting en primêre oogmerke

- 1.1 Die Waarheids- en Versoeningskommissie is ingevolge die Wet op die Bevordering van Nasionale Eenheid en Versoening, 1995 (Wet Nr. 34 van 1995) gestig. Die Kommissaris is ingevolge artikel 7(2)(a) van die Wet op 15 Desember 1995 deur die President aangestel.
- 1.2 Die oogmerke van die Kommissie is om nasionale eenheid en versoening te bevorder in 'n gees van begrip wat uitstyg die konflikte en die verdeeldheid van verkry van die oorsake, aard en omvang die verlede, deur 'n volledige beeld te van growwe skendings van mense-regte deur ondersoek te doen en verhoor te hou; die verlening van amnestie te vergemaklik aan persone wat alle tersaaklike feite met betrekking tot die dade ten volle openbaar; die lot of verblyfplek van slagoffers vas te stel en bekend te maak en herstelmaatreëls ten opsigte van hulle aan te beveel; en 'n verslag saam te stel wat 'n volledige oorsig gee van die Kommissie se bedrywighede en bevindinge.

2. Rekeningkundige beleid

Die finansiële state word in ooreenstemming met algemeen aanvaarde rekeningkundige praktyk opgestel. Die hoof rekeningkundige beleid is soos volg:

- 2.1 *Grondslag van aanbieding*
Die finansiële state is op die historiese koste grondslag voorberei.
- 2.2 *Vaste bates en waardevermindering*
Vaste bates word teen kosprys minus opgehoopte waardevermindering getoon. Huurverbeterings word oor die verwagte lewensduur van die Kommissie afgeskryf. Alle ander bates se waarde verminder oor hul bruikbare lewensduur op die reguitlynmetode.
- 2.3 *Inkomste en uitgawes*
Inkomste en uitgawes word ooreenkomstig die toevallingsgrondslag erken.

NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS • AANTEKENINGE BY DIE FINANSIËLE STATE

31 MARCH 1997 • 31 MAART 1997

(continued/vervolg)

3. Cash flow statement**comparative figures**

No comparative figures for the cash flow statement have been presented as last year was the first year of operation of the Commission.

3. Kontantvloeistaat se**vergelykende syfers**

Geen vergelykende syfers vir die kontantvloeistaat is voorgelê nie aangesien die vorige jaar die eerste jaar van die Kommissie se bedrywigheede was.

4. Fixed assets**1996-97**

	Cost price Kosprys	Accumulated depreciation Opgehoopte waarde- vermindering	Book value Boek- waarde
	R	R	R
Computer equipment	3,010,355	811,115	2,199,240
Computer software and installation	1,003,441	1,003,441	-
Furniture and fittings	2,671,545	514,136	2,157,409
Office equipment	2,607,430	379,353	2,228,077
Motor vehicles	5,083,435	861,644	4,221,791
Leasehold improvements	619,401	251,709	367,692
Security equipment	347,679	48,604	299,075
	<u>15,343,286</u>	<u>3,870,001</u>	<u>11,473,285</u>

4. Vaste bates

	1995-96			
Computer equipment	310,549	7,502	303,047	Rekenaartoerusting
Furniture and fittings	1,733,691	11,813	1,721,878	Meubels en uitrusting
Office equipment	163,345	1,954	161,391	Kantoortoerusting
Motor vehicles	2,358,852	49,496	2,309,356	Motorvoertuie
Leasehold improvements	195,534	7,726	187,808	Huurverbeterings
	<u>4,761,971</u>	<u>78,491</u>	<u>4,683,480</u>	

NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS • AANTEKENINGE BY DIE FINANSIËLE STATE

31 MARCH 1997 • 31 MAART 1997
(continued/vervolg)

	1996-97	1995-96	
	R	R	
5. Sundry debtors			5. Diverse debiteure
Commission receivable	89,332	10,379	Agterstallige kommissie
Income receivable	63,754	-	Inkomste ontvangbaar
Interest receivable	158,559	15,424	Agterstallige rente
Prepaid expenses	329,266	89,419	Vooruitbetaalde uitgawes
Refundable deposits paid on leased premises	43,272	17,200	Terugontvangbare deposito's op gehuurde geboue
Salary advances	69,906	-	Salarisvoorskotte
Value Added Tax (VAT) refund	828,298	512,920	Terugbetaling van Belasting op Toegevoegde Waarde (BTW)
	<u>1,582,387</u>	<u>645,342</u>	
6. Sundry creditors			6. Diverse krediteure
Accruals for accounts payable	4,401,092	2,119,331	Voorsienings vir rekeninge betaalbaar
Travel management fees	-	14,459	Reisbestuursfooie
	<u>4,401,092</u>	<u>2,133,790</u>	
7. Other income			7. Ander inkomste
Interest	1,617,546	21,062	Rente
Discount received	13,508	3,870	Korting ontvang
Profit on Assets written off	8,428	-	Wins op bates afgeskryf
Commission	365,840	10,379	Kommissie
	<u>2,005,323</u>	<u>35,311</u>	

NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS • AANTEKENINGE BY DIE FINANSIËLE STATE

31 MARCH 1997 • 31 MAART 1997

(continued/vervolg)

1996-97 1995-96

8. Other operating expenditure

Audit fees	109,610	60,000
Bank costs	57,030	1,022
Communication	2,952,863	3,396
Conferences and workshops	275,724	32,560
Consulting fees	330,861	80,907
Consumables	313,201	17,391
Diginet lines	107,714	-
Depreciation	3,817,576	78,491
Entertainment, teas & refreshments	114,046	16,609
Exhumation costs	12,677	-
Hearings costs	939,322	-
Insurance	419,788	11,165
Interest paid	23,805	-
Legal costs	36,455	6,738
Legal aid	122,615	-
Maintenance	154,765	17,026
Computers	3,802	-
Equipment	21,726	1,209
Premises	26,757	6,391
Motor vehicles	102,480	9,426
Postage	22,878	1,124
Printing	348,573	8,407
Publications and subscriptions	125,841	5,655
Relocation costs	179,363	-
Rentals	3,597,814	124,449
Equipment	3,084	4,109
Offices	3,594,730	120,340
Staff recruitment	831,198	603,374
Stationery	402,437	80,073
Telephones	2,175,609	105,521
Telkom and Faxes	1,354,044	75,159
Cellular	821,565	30,362
Transport	848,556	3,532
Freight	90,676	434
Motor vehicle expenses	538,859	2,898
Use of private motor vehicles	219,021	200
Training	17,728	45,700
Transcription costs	145,843	-
Translation costs	3,228,313	-
Travel and subsistence	7,985,643	772,075
Travel management costs	347,004	14,459
Witness protection program	108,717	-
	30,153,569	2,089,674

8. Ander bedryfsuitgawes

Ouditfooie
Bankkoste
Kommunikasie
Konferensies en werksinkels
Konsultasiefooie
Verbruikbare items
Diginetlyne
Waardevermindering
Onthaal, tee en verversings
Opgrawingskoste
Verhoringkoste
Versekering
Rente betaal
Regskoste
Regshulp
Onderhoud
Rekenaars
Toerusting
Persele
Motorvoertuie
Posgeld
Drukkerwerk
Publikasies en subskripsies
Hervestigingskoste
Huur
Toerusting
Kantore
Werwing van personeel
Skryfbehoeftes
Telefone
Telkom en fakse
Sellulêr
Vervoer
Vraggeld
Motorvoertuiguitgawes
Gebruik van private motorvoertuie
Opleiding
Transkripsiekoste
Vertalingskoste
Reis en verblyf
Reisbestuurskoste
Getuiebeskermingsprogram

■ APPENDIX 3

DONATIONS RECEIVED BY THE TRUTH & RECONCILIATION COMMISSION UP TO MAY 1997

Danish Government	R 490 000.00
Dedicated to various forms of research	

Government of Sweden

Contribution to salary of Special Advisor to the Vice-Chair	R1 527 280.00
Contribution to salary of Executive Assistant to the Vice-Chair	
Computer hardware, software and database development	
Amnesty Committee Extension	R4 475 000.00

Netherlands Government

Specific research assignment to be undertaken by the Institute for Southern Africa in the Netherlands and Kairos.	R 167 240.00
To be paid at the completion of the work	R 41 785.00

Netherlands Government - 2nd donation

Computer software to be utilized by the Investigation Department in crime analysis work.	R 163 020.00
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Netherlands Government - 3rd donation

Specific research assignment to be undertaken by the Institute for Southern Africa in the Netherlands and Kairos.	R 368 545.00
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Austrian Government

For general use	R 634 678.00
For general use	R 583 720.00

Flemish Government

To be used to fund the Designated Statement Taker Program	R1 629 480.00
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European Community

Secondment of European investigators dedicated to research work	R7 907 218.97
Interpretation and translation services equipment	
Interpreters' salaries and costs	
Contingent expenditure	

Human Sciences Research Council Research purposes.	R 31 750.00
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USAID

Communications, R&R Workshops and Think-Tanks, Briefers' Training, Technical Assistance, Accommodation and Car Hire, R&R Air Travel	\$ 400 000.00
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Final Report Writing, Special Investigations, Close Down Process, Legal Challenges	\$ 250 000.00
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Radio Coverage, Video Recordings of Hearings, Fieldworker Project, Rehabilitation and Reparation Notification and Inquiries Desk Project, Finishing the Work of the Commission (Database Cleanup and Findings Report Summaries), Investigating and Analysing Amnesty Applications	\$ 750 000.00
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Norwegian Embassy

SABC Radio Broadcast	R2 586 017.09
	R1 946 000.00

Local Donation - Justice in Transition

Towards Communication Budget	R 99 000.00
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Belgian Donation

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Management and Operational Reports

HUMAN RESOURCES DEPARTMENT

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The tasks of the Human Resources Department were:
 - a policy development, implementation and maintenance
 - b recruitment and selection of staff
 - c administration and maintenance of salary structures, procedures and systems
 - d staff management
 - e strategic planning and implementation plans to release contracted staff in line with the Commission's roll out plan
 - f office planning
 - g written and verbal reporting at various levels within the Commission and in response to parliamentary requests on staff-related matters
- 2 At its peak, the national staff complement was 438 and reflected the diversity of the population. In order to address the previous imbalances in South African employment practices, the policy of affirmative action was applied in making all appointments.

■ POLICY AND PLANNING

- 3 The human resources function was considered by the Commission to be central to the operations of what was to become a people-intensive organisation. One of the first appointments made by the commissioners, therefore, was that of director of the Human Resources Department – before even the chief executive officer took up his position or offices had been established. The role of the director was to develop strategies and draw up policies and practices.
- 4 Thus, from February to June 1996, the unit focused on developing systems, structures, policies and procedures. Office planning was based on the principle of providing workstations for each staff member and providing appropriate space for the Commission's various functions.
- 5 Although the view was expressed that the procedures adopted were lengthy (given the short time frame of the Commission), they were founded on the legal principles of equity and justice and reflected the victories of the long struggle by the marginalised workforce of South Africa. These formed the cornerstone of equity in the working relationship of employee and employer.

■ STAFF RECRUITMENT AND MANAGEMENT

- 6 In view of its two-year life span, the Commission needed to hire staff with existing skills and competency. The emphasis of recruitment policy could not, therefore, be on staff development. Speed and sometimes extreme haste were necessary, with the result that competence, skill and compatibility were also sometimes compromised for availability.
- 7 Various agencies recruited staff. Ongoing recruitment for new and vacated positions continued throughout the life of the Commission.
- 8 Personnel (or human resource) policies and procedures integrated public and private sector practices with the requirements of the Commission's founding legislation, and were constantly amended and updated in line with new legislation or the Commission's requirements.
- 9 Job descriptions were developed for each function. These were constantly amended and updated in response to changing requirements.

- 10 Because the Human Resources Department was based in the national office, the regional managers were empowered and mandated to perform general human resource functions in the regions, including recruitment and selection.
- 11 The Commission's staff formed regional staff associations, each of which reflected different concerns. The regional associations aligned themselves into a unified, although neither permanent nor structured, national staff association. Their concerns ranged from normal worker/employer conflicts to legislated Commission benefits.
- 12 Industrial relations policies and procedures were used to resolve disputes, some of which were referred for resolution to the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration and to the Department of Labour.
- 13 As the Commission approached the end of its mandate, a four part staff roll out plan was put in place. The plan made the following provisions:
 - a by 31 July 1997, approximately 22 per cent of staff would leave the Commission's employ;
 - b by 30 September 1997, another approximately 22 per cent of staff would leave;
 - c by 30 December 1997, approximately 43 per cent of staff would leave;
 - d finally, by 14 March 1998, another approximately 13 per cent of staff should leave the Commission.
- 14 The plan provided that the remaining few staff members remain until the Commission completed its work at the end of June 1998. It was agreed that the very last group would remain to wind down the Commission's assets, to facilitate the presentation of the Commission's last audit report, and to switch off the lights on 31 December 1998.
- 15 However, as the Commission's work programme progressed, it became clear that it would not be able to complete all its work within the prescribed eighteen-month period. The Commission's lifespan was extended, initially by six months and then through to October 1998. The amendments to the Act allowing for this extension also made provision for the Amnesty Committee to continue until its work was completed. The staff roll out plan was adjusted accordingly.

Management and Operational Reports

INFORMATION MANAGEMENT

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The electronic infrastructure of the Commission was put in place as soon as office space became available. Equipment was procured within extremely tight deadlines (the whole network had to be functional within weeks) and was achieved before substantial organisational structures were in place.
- 2 Potential vendors of computer hardware and software supplies were shortlisted. Companies selected were required to have: a national presence; a proven track record; a reputation for delivery; the technical capacity to implement the proposed solutions; cost-effectiveness and a commitment to affirmative action. Vendors who met the criteria were asked to put together proposals for the system, including costs and time frames. These proposals, followed by face-to-face discussions with likely candidates, were used to make the final appointments, which were ratified by the Commission.
- 3 The Commission appointed DCE Networking to supply the hardware, Zervos (Pty) Ltd to install and support the network, Microsoft to supply the software for office administration and Oracle Corporation to supply software for the database.

■ NETWORK CONFIGURATION

- 4 Each of the four regional offices had a local-area network (LAN), consisting of Compaq Prolinea workstations that ran Microsoft Windows 95 and were connected together by a 10-Base T Ethernet network. Each workstation was loaded with a copy of Microsoft Office, providing staff members with a word-processor, a spread-

sheet and e-mail facilities. A computer officer in each of the Commission's four regional offices provided training and support.

- 5 At the centre of each LAN was a Compaq Proliant file server running Microsoft NT. The file server provided centralised file storage and hosted the regional copy of the Commission's database.
- 6 The LANs in each of the four regional offices were connected together to create the Commission's wide-area network (WAN). Each office was connected to its two nearest neighbours by means of a 64KB Diginet line, leased from Telkom. These lines carried the inter-office e-mail and shared the data between the regional copies of the database, using the X21 transport protocol.
- 7 For security reasons, there was no direct connection between the WAN and the Internet. Use of the Internet in the four regional offices was through a free-standing computer with no network connection. See diagram 1.1 below.

DIAGRAM 1.1

**THE TRC
WIDE-AREA
NETWORK**

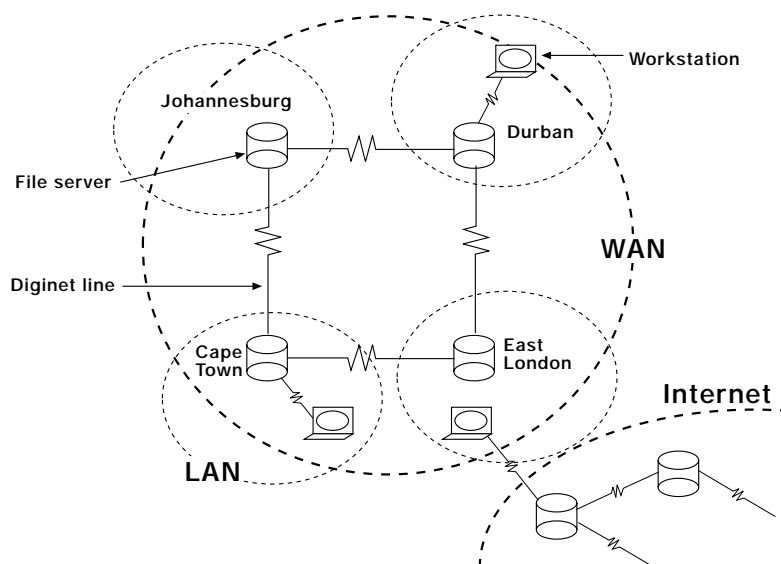


Diagram 1.1 shows a sample of three workstations. One of these is a free-standing machine connected to the Internet.

■ THE DATABASE

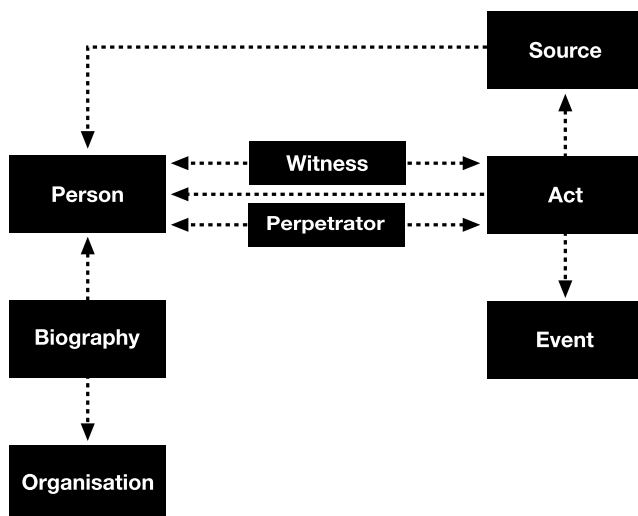
- 8 The Commission's database was the backbone of the information flow. All human rights violations statements and amnesty applications were loaded onto the database.

- 9 The database was designed and built from scratch by a small team consisting of consultants from Oracle Corporation, the information systems manager and a researcher. It was based on a design by a consultant from the American Association for the Advancement of Science, who specialises in the recording of human rights violations data. The design also drew on the work done by the Human Rights Documentation and Information System (Huridocs).
- 10 The database was designed on the assumption that any narrative description of human rights violations could be broken up into a series of time- and place-specific acts of violence, succinctly summed up in the phrase 'who did what to whom'. For example, an activist may have had his or her house burnt down, then been detained in solitary confinement before being subjected to electric shock treatment. These would be recorded as three separate violations - arson, detention and torture - as opposed to recording the incidents as a composite violation ('the harassment and torture of Mrs X').
- 11 This positivist approach allowed for more complex quantitative analyses to be carried out, to supplement the normal qualitative analysis to which narrative data are usually subjected. For example, by recording detention separately from torture, one could analyse the incidence of torture in the context of detention. If a strong correlation was shown to exist, this in turn informed policy recommendations about detention, to prevent a recurrence of the circumstances or conditions that give rise to the torture of prisoners.
- 12 The approach of breaking up the data into logical components lent itself to implementation on a relational database, which was why Oracle software was chosen. Once the logical model of the database was finalised, it was built in record time (it took exactly one month from the start of the design phase until it was ready for use by the Commission's data capturers).
- 13 The central part of the database design was a tabular list called 'Acts', which recorded the actual substance of the violation: the victim, the place, the date and time, the nature of the violation and the human rights violation category into which it fell (for example, attempted killing, torture, abduction, severe ill-treatment). Each violation committed by one or more perpetrators was recorded in a separate table called 'Perpetrators'. An act that could have been witnessed by one or more people was also recorded in the 'Witnesses' table.

- 14 The Commission's database was an advance on other such models because it allowed for people to be victims, perpetrators and witnesses at the same time. People were only defined as victims, witnesses or perpetrators in the context of the violation itself. This is illustrated in the diagram below, where the personal details of people (names, identification numbers, addresses) appear together in a separate table called 'Persons'. By searching the table for a name, users were able to find the person irrespective of whether they were a victim, a witness or a perpetrator. This represented the real South African context much more realistically, since it was entirely possible that an individual could have been victimised and then perpetrated an act of violence in revenge and, thus, could have been both a victim and perpetrator.

DIAGRAM 2.1

**UNDERLYING
LOGICAL
MODEL OF
THE TRC
DATABASE**



- 15 The database was enhanced to add new functions as needs arose. For example, facilities were added to record the corroboration carried out by the Investigation Unit as, for instance, in the registration of victims.
- 16 The database was the primary repository of data for all three of the Commission's standing committees. By integrating the data in this way, powerful cross-checks between amnesty information and human rights violations data was possible, while the identity of victims and details of the harm they suffered were immediately available to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.
- 17 In addition to its original role as the source of all the raw data needed by the Research Department to write the final report, the database was integrated with the investigative software used by the Investigation Unit to provide a huge data bank of corroborative material for investigations.

Management and Operational Reports

INVESTIGATION UNIT

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 One of the unique features of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Commission) was that, unlike commissions elsewhere in the world, it retained a permanent Investigation Unit as an integral component. Indeed, central to the endeavour of the Commission was its capacity to probe, enquire into and unravel the truth about the conflicts of the past. It is therefore not surprising that the Commission's founding Act made provision not only for the establishment of an Investigation Unit, but also provided a number of investigative powers to be used by the Commission in fulfilling the terms of its mandate.

■ STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF THE INVESTIGATION UNIT

- 2 The Investigation Unit was made up as follows:
 - a the head of the Unit, who was a commissioner
 - b a civilian component consisting of investigative journalists, researchers, human rights lawyers and members of non-governmental organisations (NGOs)
 - c a trained police personnel component consisting of secondments from the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the National Intelligence Agency (NIA)

- d an international component consisting of trained police personnel, information technology specialists (using *Kortex* and *Analyst Notebook*) and human rights lawyers.
- 3 The national director was directly accountable to the chief executive officer in respect of all managerial matters, and to the head of the Investigation Unit in respect of policies, strategies and their implementation. In addition, from March 1997, all investigations, including proactive amnesty investigations, were nationally co-ordinated by a deputy national director.
 - 4 The regional heads oversaw staff, resources, communication, planning and operations. In these matters, the regional head's primary line of responsibility was to the national director. The regional heads, however, were also required to keep regional management properly informed of matters relating to the effective functioning of the region.
 - 5 The Unit staff included: current and former members of the police, magistrates, former members of the National Intelligence Service, former journalists and researchers, advocates, attorneys, public prosecutors, human rights specialists (including NGO workers, monitors and researchers) and international specialists. Thus, the Unit had a broad range of skills and expertise at its disposal.
 - 6 The total staff component for the Investigation Unit was initially set at sixty members, excluding the national director and administrative assistant. It was envisaged that the staff complement would comprise forty-eight locally employed members and twelve international investigators (finally, sixteen international experts assisted the Unit). Staffing levels were determined on the basis of broad budget criteria and not in accordance with any assessment of staffing needs in any of the regions.
 - 7 Of the sixty members of staff, forty-eight went to the regions. Each regional unit consisted of a regional head, nine local and two international investigators. Twelve staff members were assigned to the national office. These included four international and eight local investigators (five special investigators and three analysts, including an amnesty co-ordinator). There were also investigators from neighbouring countries.
 - 8 The Investigation Unit, however, only reached its full staff complement at a later stage. In July 1996, it was at 85 per cent of its strength, with fifty-one persons appointed and an additional five SAPS members seconded.

- 9 When funding from the European Union became available in April 1997, the Investigation Unit was restructured and extended. Provision was made for the employment of twenty-seven corroborative assistants to accommodate the ever-increasing volume of work in the Commission. The principle behind the appointment of staff was to ensure a broadly representative balance, so that the Unit reflected the broad spectrum of South African society with the requisite skills and knowledge. Where advertisements had failed to secure an appropriate body of prospective employees, efforts were made to elicit applications from different sectors of the population and from persons with a range of political backgrounds.
- 10 In order to achieve the requisite staff mix, it was necessary to obtain the secondment of members from the SAPS. This process proved cumbersome, however, and many logistic support problems were encountered. There was a lack of interest from certain sections of the SAPS, as evidenced by the relatively small number of applications to the Investigation Unit. The process of secondment presented a number of problems.
- 11 In addition, it was decided at an early stage that the Investigation Unit's staff should comprise both formally trained investigators drawn from the SAPS and persons with other skills and expertise. It was felt that a 'civilian component' would provide not only a multi-disciplinary skills base, but would also lend a greater degree of credibility to the investigative process. This approach accorded with the Commission's overall commitment to be accessible and sensitive to the victims of gross human rights violations.
- 12 A number of European governments provided support and assistance to the Commission in the form of seconded staff. The Commission benefited from the expertise of personnel from the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Ireland, Germany and Switzerland.
- 13 The international component of the Unit consisted of persons with a great deal of investigative and general police experience drawn from foreign police agencies. Invariably, the governments who provided assistance seconded very senior police officers whose expertise was not restricted to investigative work. In this regard, the internationals provided valuable input.

■ METHODS OF WORK AND CRITERIA

- 14 A code of conduct was drafted as a basis upon which the behaviour of staff could be evaluated. In general, members maintained high levels of discipline and conducted themselves in a committed and dedicated fashion.
- 15 For official identification purposes, all investigators had to have some form of authentic identification when accessing documents and information from other agencies or institutions. Investigators also had a duty to produce identification to any witnesses they approached. There were, however, delays in the issuing of identity cards by the Safety and Security Committee.
- 16 Where required, members of the Investigation Unit received 'top secret' security clearance from the NIA.
- 17 The Investigation Unit adopted guidelines requiring that investigations show at least one of the following:
 - a a high level of authorisation
 - b involvement of particular institutions or organisations
 - c a systematic pattern of abuse or particular forms of abuse
 - d an international element (for example, cross-border raids)
 - e the possibility of an organised counter-response (for example, an attempt to conceal information or undermine an investigation).
- 18 The planning of all investigations involved staff from the regional office concerned as well as the national office.

Workshops and training

- 19 At the outset, it was firmly believed that the Unit would be able to identify and appoint investigators with the skills to begin investigations without training. This approach was a response to the major time constraints imposed on the Commission. Regrettably, identification of skilled investigators was not always possible, and

as a consequence, regional units had to conduct individual training sessions for investigators and corroborative assistants to meet the standards required.

- 20 National and regional workshops, arranged by the national director, identified the focus and type of investigative work to be done.
- 21 Strategic planning workshops were held in each of the regions with the objective of developing a framework to govern the work of the Unit. These workshops resulted in a much broader picture of the objectives in the regions, the strengths and weaknesses of the teams, and the major issues and priorities. The workshops also served as initial orientation and training exercises for newly appointed staff.
- 22 Time and workloads prevented any extensive training. Since the Unit (together with the rest of the Commission) was organised to function in a computer-assisted environment, the lack of computer skills proved problematic. However, on-the-job coaching and training and more formal training sessions improved computer skills levels dramatically.
- 23 As far as investigative skills were concerned, the Unit attempted to ensure that the more experienced investigators interacted with their less experienced colleagues, so that skills would develop through practice.

■ FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

- 24 The Act envisaged the establishment of an investigation unit as one of four critical components of the Commission. It was, however, silent on the specific functions to be performed by the Unit and on its relationship to the three standing committees.
- 25 Chapter 6 of the Act established the legislative framework within which investigative activities of the Commission were to be carried out. This chapter defined the fact-finding process of the Commission and provided a useful starting point for examining the process the Commission would use to make its findings and recommendations.
- 26 The role and functions of the Investigation Unit were developed and refined during the first year of operation. Between March and August 1996, the Investigation Unit grew to a staff of approximately fifty people. In this period, its function was largely to service wave after wave of public hearings held by the Commission throughout the country.

- 27 Between September 1996 and February 1997, the Investigation Unit reformulated its approach and reorganised itself in keeping with the general recognition within the Commission of the need to focus resources not only on public hearings, but also on processing the large numbers of statements received. And again, once the amnesty application deadline date had passed and the extent of work in amnesty matters became apparent, the Investigation Unit adapted and organised itself to serve these new needs.

■ **DEVELOPING PROCESSES AND PHASES OF WORK**

- 28 To begin with, the Unit was decentralised internally into a national unit and four regional units: one in each of the Commission's four centres. Regional heads were responsible for the management of the regional units and reported to the national director. The Investigation Unit interacted with other components of the Commission within this framework. An internal communication system was designed in an attempt to ensure the exchange of information and reporting.
- 29 To facilitate the management function of the Investigation Unit, day-to-day contacts were established with the chief executive officer and the Finance, Human Resources and Research Departments.
- 30 As seen above, the work undertaken by the Investigation Unit fell into a series of phases, each characterised by shifts in policy and emphasis in the Commission's work. The Unit underwent constant development as it responded to changing conditions in the Commission. Although structural changes were introduced, the management framework that had been put in place remained largely the same throughout. In terms of this framework, areas of responsibility were assigned to the different components of the Unit, governed by both internal and external lines of communication.

■ **FIRST PHASE: GETTING STARTED**

- 31 Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza was named as the commissioner in charge of the Investigation Unit. The national director was appointed in March 1996, marking the beginning of a phase which came to an end in September/October 1996, when the

Commission and its senior management conducted a two-day *bosberaad* to assess and plan the way forward.

- 32 In the early months, the Unit concentrated on setting up structures and policies to guide its work. In order to achieve this and meet the challenge posed by round after round of public hearings, it was decided to appoint sufficient staff in each regional office to service the immediate needs of the Commission, and then attend to the completion of the staff component.
- 33 The fact that public hearings were launched in mid-April 1996, before the Investigation Unit was fully established and prior to the formulation of any policy regarding the selection of matters for public hearings, caused some difficulties.
- 34 Another problem was the fact that investigative tasks were formulated on the basis of statements which would feature at public hearings. In many instances, the process of selecting statements for public hearings, often at the last minute, meant that little or no investigative work could be done prior to hearings. However, investigators and researchers succeeded to some extent in providing background material, tracing witnesses and taking further statements from persons wishing to provide evidence to the Commission. The lack of policy at this stage also made post-hearing investigative work extremely difficult.
- 35 By May 1996, a basic management framework and a number of internal strategic and operational policies were in place. In terms of these, the Investigation Unit was required to provide an investigative service to the Commission's committees (principally the Human Rights Violations and Amnesty Committees) and to initiate independent investigations as determined by the Commission.
- 36 The policy framework sought to ensure that the Unit provided a service to the committees in a regulated and systematic fashion. Although the implementation of this framework was not uniform across regions and was hampered by the slow development of related components in the Commission, it served as a point of reference for the Unit and provided a means of systematising the service it provided.
- 37 At this stage, the Unit was structured into four regional investigation units, each managed by a regional head, and a staff component based in the national office. It was composed of a head of special investigations, a team of investigators (some of whom were based in different regional offices), a small group of analysts and management and administrative staff.

- 38 The 'hearings-driven' nature of investigative work continued well into the year. It resulted in a backlog in the processing of statements unrelated to hearings.
- 39 It became apparent that the vast majority of statements received by the Commission would need to be dealt with by the Human Rights Violations Committee outside of public hearings. As a consequence, a distinction was drawn between those statements that would require only a minimum level of investigation to establish the veracity of a claim and those that would require a more thorough investigation of the contents. The former would be dealt with by a process of 'low level corroboration', while the latter would form the subject of 'investigations'.
- 40 At a strategic planning meeting convened by the Commission in September/October 1996, it was recognised that more resources needed to be devoted to the process of making findings in respect of all the statements received. It was accepted that public hearings should be more focused and geared towards particular events or institutions. It was also agreed that there was a need to strengthen truth-seeking efforts by utilising the investigative powers of the Commission to encourage persons to apply for amnesty.

■ SECOND PHASE: TACKLING THE BIG ISSUES

- 41 The second phase commenced in October 1996 and extended until May/June 1997. In order to be effective, the Investigation Unit had to develop the capacity to corroborate claims made by victims or witnesses, and then to launch a programme of investigative enquiries in each of the regions.
- 42 Stringent budget cuts made the necessary increases in the staff component difficult, and donor assistance was sought and eventually received. Because state expenditure regulations delayed the receipt of funds, it was not until March/April 1997 that regional offices began to have the capacity to corroborate claims. Once funding was available, regional investigation units were able to identify and employ staff to serve as corroborative assistants. In consequence, the work output of corroboration teams increased, and the Unit could begin to address the tremendous backlog that had developed.
- 43 The other major component of the Commission's shift in strategy involved the launching of a programme of investigative inquiries. The shift was motivated by

the perception that the Commission should get tough on perpetrators and begin to provide answers to the many victims who had expressed a desire to know the truth about their own experiences. To achieve this, the Commission made use of powers granted in section 29¹ of the Act.

- 44 In November and December 1996, investigative inquiries commenced in each region. In early 1997, regional investigation units developed programmes based on investigations that were being conducted in the regions, as well as on scheduled special event hearings and institutional hearings convened by the regional offices.
- 45 By embarking on this strategy, the Unit was able to bring significant pressure to bear on potential amnesty applicants and thereby made significant breakthroughs in the Commission's understanding of the nature and extent of gross human rights violations committed during its mandate period.
- 46 As the Commission began to confront the challenge of delivery to victims and to the public at large, it was forced to resolve a number of key strategic and policy issues. In a similar vein, the Unit was forced to examine its own internal structures in order to determine whether they could be refined and improved.
- 47 It was at this stage, for example, that the national special investigation team was decentralised, and its members and resources were reallocated to regional investigation units. Regional units became responsible for investigations in their regions and reported results to the deputy director, who had to oversee the integration of material provided and to advise and co-ordinate the 're-tasking' of investigators.

■ THIRD PHASE: AMNESTY AND THE EXTENSION OF THE COMMISSION

- 48 The third phase began after the amnesty deadline had passed. In August/September 1997, the chief executive officer, assisted by the executive secretary of the Human Rights Violations Committee, drafted a report and the extent of the outstanding work was assessed. It was established that the committee had received more than 7 500 applications, and that more than 1 500 of those needed

¹ Essentially, section 29 allowed the Commission to issue a *subpoena* calling on a person to appear before it and answer questions relating to a matter under investigation. Unless otherwise determined by the Commission, the enquiry would take place *in camera* and the witness would be compelled to answer questions, even though the answers might be self-incriminating.

to be heard in public. It was at this stage that the Commission decided to approach the government to extend its life until April 1998.

- 49 The Investigation Unit was under great pressure to ensure that its corroborative work could be completed. The Unit was operating under a policy injunction determined in August 1997 that resources should be allocated to two areas of work: corroboration of statements and amnesty-related investigations. All other work, including the 'special' human rights violations investigations, was brought to completion as rapidly as possible.
- 50 Given these pressures and the obvious need to provide some basis upon which amnesty investigations could be conducted, a reorganisation of the Investigation Unit was proposed and approved by the Commission. Central to this new *modus operandi* was a far more direct line of communication between investigators and amnesty evidence leaders, as well as clearly defined and specific investigative instructions. To give effect to this, it was decided to allocate a number of investigators to the Amnesty Department to work in small teams to prepare matters for amnesty hearings. The Amnesty Department took over management responsibility for these investigators.
- 51 At the same time, it was recognised that the *de facto* regional control of the corroboration teams represented the most efficient way of organising the regionally-based findings process. It was decided to formalise this situation by transferring management responsibility for the corroboration teams to the regional representatives of the Human Rights Violations Committee.
- 52 The Investigation Unit's national office was left with a residual function and was responsible for the analysis of information in conjunction with the Research and Information Departments. Provision was also made for the resurrection of a special investigations team, comprising ten investigators (including international experts), to complete outstanding investigations into human rights violations.

■ **FOURTH PHASE: REORGANISATION AND RESTRUCTURING**

- 53 The fourth phase involved the redeployment of twenty-four of the investigators to the Amnesty Committee with a view to adding value to 'hearable' amnesty applications. Six of the twenty-four investigators were assigned back into the Investigation Unit in order to complete the remaining investigations into human rights violations and special investigations. This phase was in line with the Commission's staff roll out and close down plans.
- 54 This phase also involved the redeployment of approximately sixty low level corroborators from the Investigation Unit to the Human Rights Violations Committee, appropriately spread between the four regional offices in line with the population density and demographics of the areas they covered.

■ **ACTIVITIES OF THE INVESTIGATION UNIT: PATTERNS AND THEMES**

Human rights violations investigations

- 55 The Investigation Unit facilitated this activity on behalf of the Human Rights Violations Committee.

Amnesty applicants investigations

- 56 Amnesty applications were co-ordinated from the national office in Cape Town with the units in the four regions. The co-ordinator liaised with and reported to the Amnesty Committee and channelled investigations to the appropriate regions. The co-ordinator was also responsible for perusing applications that might assist in the linking of applications, extracting applications which might help complete human rights violations investigations, and identifying general patterns which would not necessarily be apparent if applications were sent directly to the regions.
- 57 The Investigation Unit handled amnesty applications as follows. First, the evidence analysts made an initial investigative request to the amnesty co-ordinator. The amnesty co-ordinator perused the application and referred it either to the head of the Investigation Unit in the appropriate region(s) for investigation or back to the evidence leader if the application was not ready for investigation or there was

some other problem. Next, the Investigation Unit examined the application and request and assigned a specific investigator to deal with the matter. Finally, the investigative report was completed and sent to the evidence analyst co-ordinator, who examined the report and directed it to the relevant evidence leader. If the evidence leader was satisfied with the report, the necessary logistic steps were taken to organise a hearing.

THE ANALYSIS FUNCTION²

- 58 The analysis function was established as a component of the national Investigation Unit in order to create a capacity for ongoing processing and analysis of information gathered.
- 59 It was envisaged that a small group of analysts could provide support to investigators engaged in fieldwork, and compile general, overall analyses of trends and patterns, for example, in gross human rights violations or in perpetrator or victim groupings.
- 60 Whereas the original concept of the analysis function was based on the notion of a crime analysis support unit - used by criminal investigation departments in most foreign (and more recently in South African) police departments - it was not possible to create such a structure. First, the nature of the investigative work being conducted by the Unit differed considerably from routine police work, and second, the scale of the Commission's work made it impossible to provide dedicated analytical and intelligence support to investigators in the field.
- 61 The analysis function was seen rather as a mechanism whereby the information gathered by investigators could be centrally processed and analysed in line with broad themes in order to identify trends or patterns. In this way, general support was provided.
- 62 The purpose of the analysis function was to establish whether there were any patterns, trends or common features in the types of cases being referred to the Investigation Unit, and to provide cross-referencing and analysis which would serve as the basis for national feedback to regional units and the Research Department. Further, analysts had to explain how gross human rights violations occurred, who the perpetrators were and on what authority they had acted; they had to discover the identity and affiliations of the victims, and they also had to assess the consequences of these gross human rights violations.

² See Appendix B: Progress Report, Statistical Analysis Unit

- 63 A small group of staff was assigned this task and provided with access to advanced computer equipment and sophisticated software (the *Kortex* and *Analyst Notebook* systems). The project was initiated in the second half of 1996. The group comprised three members and was later expanded to seven (including members of the NIA and international experts who were seconded to assist with the development of this capacity).
- 64 The analysis function was headed by a co-ordinator. Restructuring of the function led to the creation of three subsections: Data Capturing and Documentation, Research and Analysis, and Intelligence Gathering and Information Security Management. Each of these subsections had a co-ordinator with specific functions.
- 65 A group of analysts was engaged to examine documents, to assist investigations and to contribute to a broader understanding of specific events. They were most effective and efficient when there was a clear task coming from client departments, whether from the Human Rights Violations Committee, the Research Department or the Amnesty Committee. Basic documents used in this regard were reports from regional units; records from the Research Department, the Human Rights Violations Committee and the Amnesty Committee, and other documents, such as inquests and reports from the Goldstone Commission and the Harms Commission.
- 66 The investigators dealt with strategic, statistical and general analysis, and cross-referenced on a daily basis to deliver added value to investigations taking place in the regions. They gave responses to regional units through both qualitative and quantitative analyses of reports that had been processed. They reported to the national director on progress made.
- 67 One area of work that proved very valuable was statistical analysis based on the data available in the Commission's database. It represented one of the largest databases recording occurrences of gross human rights violations in the world. As such, it offered tremendous scope for analysis to determine patterns, trends and links between perpetrator groups and types of violations. This formed a significant part of the analysis function, notwithstanding the fact that it did not immediately assist the investigative process. In this way, the analysis function was able to play a broader support role within the Commission.
- 68 The analysis function served to identify prevailing trends and patterns of gross human rights violations based on case studies (the so-called 'window cases') and evaluate the

correlation between political developments and gross human rights violations, if that could be established. The primary sources were the database, section 29 interviews, victim and perpetrator statements to the Commission, political party and other institutional and individual submissions, amnesty applications, investigation reports and research notes.

- 69 The aim of the analysis was to paint a broader picture of gross human rights violations both at the national and regional levels, establishing patterns such as types of abuses, levels of authority, methods used, institutions and personalities involved and links between events.
- 70 In addition to the collation of material, the Analyst Notebook software assisted investigators with complex amnesty applications. This proved to be the area in which the analysis function was most effective. The use of programmes like the Analyst Notebook and IAS augmented the performance of the analysts, but did not decide the analytical results, which were determined by the analysts themselves.

■ STRUCTURES IN THE INVESTIGATION UNIT

Regional units

- 71 Because the Commission required only a relatively low level of corroboration of the violations alleged in the statements before it, the Investigation Unit structured the regional units in a way that would ensure that they had the capacity to conduct corroborative inquiries in a rapid and efficient manner.
- 72 In order to build a low level corroboration capacity, it was anticipated that the units would need to employ personnel who would liaise with various institutions to gather information to test facts raised in statements and with the national office, to obtain and share information, to access the databases when available and to manage the corroborative process.
- 73 There were, however, different understandings and conceptions as to what was meant by the term 'low-level' corroboration. It was not clear exactly what level of information the Commission needed in order to make a finding that a person was a victim of a gross human rights violation as described in the Act. The initial development of some corroboration 'pointers' and training were introduced to overcome this problem.

Database

- 74 The timely development of a comprehensive database, based on the information gathered from statements made by victims and their relatives, was central to the successful implementation of the information management system. There were, however, delays in setting up the database in the early stages.

■ LINKS WITH OTHER STRUCTURES

- 75 Access to information from government and non-government agencies was an important part of the investigative process, and from an early stage, the Investigation Unit made efforts to establish lines of communication with a variety of agencies and institutions.
- 76 Early discussions between members of the Commission and various government ministries resulted in the establishment of nodal points – an approach preferred by the SAPS and the Department of Defence.
- 77 Nodal points consisted of appointed officials whose function it was to facilitate communication and access to information sought by the Commission. All requests and responses were to be channelled through these nodal points.
- 78 The rationale for this approach was founded on the notion that the government department was best placed to utilise its internal communication systems to access the necessary information and respond appropriately. In the case of the police and the military, the documentary holdings were vast and not necessarily sufficiently well organised to allow for easy access. In addition, certain holdings contained information which was irrelevant to the work of the Commission or not for public disclosure.
- 79 This nodal system generated a great deal of tension, as there were real concerns in the Investigation Unit that the Commission's access to information was being 'managed'. Indeed, the Investigation Unit's initial experiences suggested an attitude of non-co-operation from sections of the SAPS and the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). The Commission, however, continued to rely upon these structures, and as the Commission became a fact of South African life, many initial obstacles were overcome. In addition, Commissioners and senior members of the Investigation Unit worked relentlessly and persistently to open doors.

- 80 Structures with which the Investigation Unit developed lines of communication included:

The South African Police Service

- 81 By agreement with the Ministry of Safety and Security, a nodal point for facilitation of communication between the police and the Commission was established. Although its initial function was to deal with the secondment of police to the Commission, it was recognised that it would play a broader role in facilitating access to information required by the Commission.
- 82 It was agreed that the Commission's investigators would request dockets and documentation held by the police from the police facility which had originally dealt with the matter. If the information was not available or a concern was raised regarding the Commission's access to the information, the matter would be considered by a regional liaison officer appointed in the office of the regional Commissioner of Police. Only if the matter could not be finalised at that level would the national nodal point be activated.
- 83 Implementation of this agreement proved very difficult. At various stages, the police chose to ignore the agreement and in some regions adopted differing approaches. In the Gauteng region, for example, the sheer volume and type of information requested resulted in a very slow rate of response to the requests. In this region, the police insisted that requests be directed via the national nodal point office, which further complicated relations and resulted in long delays.
- 84 In view of difficulties experienced, the regional investigation units (in accordance with the agreement) adopted a direct approach and sought information from individual police stations after having informed the nodal points of their request. Whilst this occasionally resulted in tensions between the Unit and the police, it proved the most effective means of obtaining the information needed to conduct investigations.
- 85 Notwithstanding problems experienced by the Unit as a whole, regions experienced different and varying degrees of co-operation from the SAPS. In some regions, investigators enjoyed total co-operation and assistance, while elsewhere the work of the investigators was made onerous by an overly bureaucratic and uncooperative attitude.

The South African National Defence Force

- 86 The Commission met with the Ministry of Defence to facilitate communication between the Defence Force and the Commission and to establish a nodal point for this purpose. It was agreed that all requests would be directed through this nodal point. The Commission, nevertheless, retained its right to proceed by way of executing a search warrant if it decided that such a step was appropriate.
- 87 The nodal point structure never operated smoothly, and a measure of suspicion and mistrust dogged the relationship between the Commission and the SANDF. Ultimately, these difficulties were communicated to the Ministry, and alternative arrangements were made.

National Intelligence Agency

- 88 A meeting was held with the Deputy Minister for Intelligence and senior members of the NIA, the South African Secret Services and the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee. In consequence of this, a nodal point to facilitate communication between the NIA and the Commission was established.
- 89 In the light of the general assistance that the NIA offered to the Commission, liaison was handled jointly by the director of research and the director of investigations. This communication took place at a national level, and very little contact occurred regionally.
- 90 In respect of certain information held by the NIA, it was necessary to restrict access to persons who had been granted an appropriate security clearance or classification. Members of the national office of the Investigation Unit and members of the Research Department were appointed for this purpose. Their function was to evaluate the material in order to determine whether it was relevant to the Commission's work.
- 91 The question of security clearances generated considerable tensions within the Investigation Unit and indeed in the Commission as a whole, and a clear system was never implemented.

Attorneys-General

- 92 In terms of the Act, the Commission was required to conduct its activities with due regard to the interests of the administration of justice. This injunction presented unique challenges to the Commission in view of the fact that attorneys-general were active in the investigation and prosecution of matters which clearly fell within the mandate of the Commission.
- 93 In particular, the establishment of a Special Investigation Unit prior to the establishment of the Commission, under the direction and auspices of Dr Jan D'Oliviera, Attorney-General of Gauteng, necessitated communication between it and the Commission's Investigation Unit. Tensions emerged in respect of what was perceived as interference in investigative work, a lack of co-operation regarding information or dockets available and a perceived slow progress in investigations. Most of the problems were experienced over the many matters being investigated by both the Commission and the D'Oliviera unit.
- 94 Communication channels were also established with other attorneys-general and regional units were encouraged to establish contact with offices in their areas. Essentially, these channels were established to enable regional units to obtain access to material to assist with the corroboration work being conducted in the regions and to enable consultation to occur in respect of the conduct of investigative inquiries in terms of section 29 of the Commission's founding Act.

Other institutions and organisations

- 95 The Investigation Unit established sound relations with the Investigative Task Unit in KwaZulu-Natal. A procedure for obtaining access to information held by the Investigative Task Unit was established, and numerous meetings were held to facilitate proper co-ordination of activities.
- 96 Relations were also maintained with numerous NGOs, human rights organisations and political parties with the purpose of obtaining access to information both to facilitate corroboration work and as part of an information-gathering strategy.

Management and Operational Reports

LEGAL DEPARTMENT

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The Legal Department had the following functions:
 - a overall responsibility on a national level for all legal matters regarding the Commission;
 - b drafting legal opinions and advice for all the Commission's committees and its Investigation Unit;
 - c reviewing all legal documents and contracts and drafting contracts between the Commission and other interested parties;
 - d preparing legal matters and instructing the State Attorney in these matters;
 - e liaising with state attorneys and advocates with regard to legal actions brought by and against the Commission;
 - f leading evidence at section 29 hearings;
 - g handling legal aspects of human resources up to and including representing the Commission at the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration at the Labour Court;
 - h responding to all legal enquiries from legal representatives of witnesses and amnesty applicants involved in the Commission's legal processes;

- i liaising with the Department of Justice and with Parliament's portfolio and select committees on justice regarding proposed amendments to the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act);
- j drafting and settling responses to complaints to the Public Protector;
- k co-ordinating the provision of legal aid, as required by section 34 of the Act, through the Legal Aid Board;
- l monitoring criminal prosecutions based on charges laid by the Commission.

■ STAFFING

- 2 Although the Commission initially budgeted for one national legal officer and four regional legal officers, it was decided early on not to employ regional officers. A regional legal officer was appointed to the East London office in June 1996, but was transferred first to the national office in December 1996 and then to the Amnesty Committee in January 1998, where he served as an evidence leader until replaced by another attorney. The Legal Department, then, consisted of the national legal officer, an additional legal officer and a senior secretary.

■ LEGAL MATTERS DEFENDED BY THE COMMISSION

- 3 The Legal Department represented the Commission in the following legal cases.
- 4 **Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), the Biko, Mxenge and Ribeiro families v State President, Minister of Safety and Security and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Constitutional Court Case No CCT17/96).**
In their application, AZAPO and the Biko, Mxenge and Ribeiro families asked the Constitutional Court to declare the Act establishing the Commission as unconstitutional, or alternatively, to declare as unconstitutional those sections that dealt with the granting of amnesty (sections 20(7), 20(8) and 20(10)). The Court dismissed the application and declared the relevant sections not unconstitutional.¹

¹ *AZAPO and others v the TRC, Case No. CCT17/97, 25 July 1996.*

- 5 **Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), the Biko, Mxenge and Ribeiro families v the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Others (Case No 4895/96).**
In this application, AZAPO and the Biko, Mxenge, and Ribeiro families applied to the High Court (Cape Provincial Division) for an order staying the Commission from granting amnesty, pending the outcome of their application to the Constitutional Court. The High Court dismissed their application in a judgement dated 9 May 1996.
- 6 **The National Party v Desmond Tutu, Alex Boraine, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Minister of Justice and the State President (Case No 8034/97).**
Following alleged public criticism by the chairperson of the Commission of the evidence presented by the National Party (NP) to the Commission, the NP applied to the High Court (Cape Provincial Division) for an order declaring that the he had behaved in a manner unbecoming of a chairperson of the Commission; that the vice-chairperson be held to be unfit to be a commissioner, and that the Commission should conduct its investigations impartially. The chairperson was away when the application was made. His return coincided with the appointment of the new leader of the NP. At that time, both parties expressed an eagerness to settle, which led to a meeting on the 19 September 1997. The matter was settled², each party bearing its own costs.
- 7 **Gerber v Amnesty Committee, Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Case No 21544/96) and Van Wyk v Amnesty Committee, Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Case No 16602/97).**
In two separate cases, individuals asked the High Court (Transvaal Division) to review and set aside the Amnesty Committee's decisions to refuse their amnesty applications. Gerber's application was dismissed with costs. Van Wyk's application was still pending at the time of finalising this report.
- 8 **Leonard Veenendal v Minister of Justice, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Government of Namibia (Case No 24709/96) and DG Stopforth v the Minister of Justice, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Government of Namibia and the Minister of Safety and Security (Case No 25042/96).**
In these two related cases, former members of the security forces applied to the High Court (Transvaal Division) for an order staying the Minister of Justice's

2 Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boraine personally apologised for publicly criticising the evidence brought to the Commission on behalf of the National Party by Mr. FW de Klerk. The Commission expressed concern for the perception that such public criticism reflected negatively on its objectivity and impartiality. It acknowledged the legal requirement that it function without political or other bias and that it undertook to refrain from acting in such a way that would contravene the Act. It was agreed that Archbishop Tutu and Mr Van Schalkwyk (the new leader of the NP) would discuss the details of future co-operation between the NP and the Commission. In light of this, the NP withdrew its application, and it was agreed that the parties would bear their own legal costs.

decision to have them extradited to face criminal charges in Namibia, pending the outcome of their amnesty applications to the Commission. Although the Commission was cited as the second respondent, it did not oppose the application but simply undertook to abide by the court's decision. The High Court dealt with the two cases as one and dismissed the applications with costs.

9 **Gideon Nieuwoudt v the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Case No 1136/96).**

Mr Nieuwoudt was a former member of the South African Police security forces. He applied to the High Court (Port Elizabeth) for an order interdicting the Commission from hearing public evidence that would implicate him in any human rights violation until and unless he had been given proper, reasonable and timeous notice. He also asked that the Commission be required to furnish him with copies of documents relevant to the incidents raised in the evidence. It was agreed, amongst other things, that the Commission would not allow the presentation of evidence implicating an applicant without prior notice being given to that applicant. The case was settled on 5 June 1996, and the application was withdrawn.

10 **Gideon Nieuwoudt v the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Others (Case No 1253/96).**

Mr Nieuwoudt brought contempt of court proceedings against the Commission and those commissioners who sat on the panel during the Human Rights Violations hearing in Port Elizabeth. He contended that the Commission was in contempt of the rule *nisi* obtained under case number 1136/96 (above). The case was settled to the satisfaction of both parties and the settlement was made an Order of Court³.

■ **CASES BROUGHT BY THE COMMISSION**

11 **TRC v Coleman and 37 others (case no 3729/98).**

The Commission brought an application to establish legal certainty on a decision by the Amnesty Committee to grant amnesty to thirty-seven members of the African National Congress (ANC). Before the lodging of the application, the NP applied to the High Court (Cape Provincial Administration) for an order to review, set aside or correct the decision of the Amnesty Committee to grant

3 The Commission agreed to give Mr Nieuwoudt the opportunity to respond as soon as was reasonably possible to any evidence given at a hearing that implicated him in any human rights violations. It also agreed to take all reasonable steps to forward to him statements that implicated him in human rights violations before evidence was heard, and to inform him when and where it would be heard. The Commission agreed to pay Mr Nieuwoudt's legal costs in the matter.

amnesty to the respondents. The Commission lodged an application for an order to void or to review and set aside the decision and to direct the Amnesty Committee to consider the applications afresh. The matter was settled, and the court ruled in favour of the Commission.

- 12 The Commission also brought an application for the recovery of the salary paid to the former regional head of investigations employed in the East London office, based on his fraudulent misrepresentation. The application was still pending at the time of finalising the report.

■ HUMAN RESOURCES-RELATED LEGAL MATTERS

- 13 The Legal Department also handled human resources-related legal matters such as staff contracts and discipline.⁴

■ THE LEGAL AID BOARD

- 14 Section 34 of the Act, quoted above, set out the Commission's obligations regarding the funding of legal representatives.
- 15 Special meetings were held with the Legal Aid Board leading to agreements on the set forms that people would use when applying to the Commission for legal assistance and on the form of letters approving or refusing applications for legal assistance. The Commission prepared a manual on its statutory obligations in terms of section 34.
- 16 In consultation with the Legal Aid Board and the Department of Justice, the Commission promulgated the tariff of fees payable to legal practitioners who provided legal assistance in terms of section 34 of the Act.⁵ Leading Evidence at Commission Hearings
- 17 The Legal Department was directly involved in the preparation and the leading of evidence at hearings on the ANC, the Mandela United Football Club and the PW Botha hearing. In respect of the latter, only preparation work was done as Mr PW Botha did not attend the hearing and criminal action by the attorney-general was still pending at the time of reporting.

⁴ See Annexure 1.

⁵ The legal practitioners assisted and the amounts disbursed are set out in Annexure 2.

■ LEGAL ASSISTANCE

- 18 Section 34 of the Act provided that:

Any person questioned by an investigation unit and any person who has been subpoenaed or called upon to appear before the Commission is entitled to appoint a legal representative.

The Commission may appoint a legal representative, at a tariff to be prescribed, to appear on behalf of the person concerned if it is satisfied that the person is not financially capable of appointing a legal representative himself or herself, and if it is of the opinion that it is in the interests of justice that the person be represented by a legal representative.

- 19 The Commission created a scheme to provide for the granting of legal assistance to those who qualified. The Legal Aid Board in Pretoria administered the larger part of this scheme on behalf of the Commission.

■ LEGAL AID BOARD-RELATED CASES

- 20 In a few instances, lawyers who worked for the Commission through the Legal Aid Board disputed the tariff paid. The Legal Department represented the Commission in these cases.⁶

■ LEGAL DOCUMENTATION AND CONTRACTS

- 21 The Commission referred most of its contracts, including leases for the rental of premises, to the Legal Department for vetting and/or drafting. These included: staff contracts; a contract with the University of the Free State for the provision of translation services; a contract with Giant Video Screens for the leasing and usage of technical equipment to record hearings proceedings; a contract with the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) for radio broadcasts of the Commission's hearings, and contracts of leases with the various owners of the premises being rented by the Commission.

⁶ Belinda Hartle v the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Case no. 2006/97) and Soller v the Legal Aid Board and the TRC (Case No. 5563/98).

■ COMPLAINTS TO THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR

- 22 The Legal Department responded to complaints to the Public Protector from the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and from certain former South African Defence Force (SADF) generals.
- 23 The IFP had complained that the Commission had shown bias in its conduct towards the IFP, violating the party's constitutional rights, impairing its dignity and contradicting the Commission's own statutory objectives.
- 24 Certain former SADF generals also complained to the Public Protector that the Commission had prejudged the former SADF and that the Commission's approach bordered on a political vendetta or witch-hunt.

■ DRAFTING PROPOSED AMENDMENTS AND REGULATIONS

- 25 In some instances, the Legal Department drafted regulations or made recommendations to the government for amendments to the Act, including the promulgation of a tariff of fees for legal practitioners, regulations on reparation and rehabilitation, amendments to the Act, and amendments to the Constitution extending the 'cut-off date'. The Department monitored these amendments as they progressed through the various stages of the legislative process.

■ CRIMINAL CHARGES

- 26 In four cases, the Commission instituted criminal charges against individuals. These included:

- a **State v Godfrey Matiwane.**

In this case, a witness who perjured himself was convicted and sentenced to one year's imprisonment in terms of section 39 of the Act.

- b **State v Loyiso Mpumlwana.**

In this case a charge of fraudulent misrepresentation was laid against a former employee of the Commission's East London office. The matter was still pending at the time of reporting.

c **State v PW Botha.**

In this case, a criminal charge was laid against former state president Mr PW Botha following his refusal to appear before the Human Rights Violations Committee. The matter was still pending at the time of reporting.

d **State v Bennet Sibaya.**

In this case, a charge of perjury was laid with the attorney general on the recommendation of Judge Goldstone. The matter was still pending at the time of finalising the report.

■ CONCLUSION

- 27 For a full discussion of details and consequences of legal challenges to the Commission, see chapter on *Legal Challenges*.

Management and Operational Reports

MEDIA & COMMUNICATIONS DEPARTMENT

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 From the outset, the Commission identified the mass media as critical in drawing all South Africans into the Commission process. It resolved, in particular, that one way of helping to restore the dignity of victims of violations of human rights - and of reporting to the nation such violations and victims - would be to promote maximum publicity for the Commission's activities, and in particular its hearings, by opening them fully to both broadcast and print media.
- 2 In addition, advance publicity was given in the media of workshops, public meetings, and opportunities for victims to make statements and of hearings (both human rights violations and amnesty hearings) which victims and members of the public could attend.
- 3 Particular attention was also paid to the use of radio to ensure that the proceedings and activities of the Commission were covered in all the country's official languages.
- 4 The Commission drew a distinction between the communication of its own messages, which it controlled (and usually paid for), and the distribution of news and information through journalists in the print and broadcast media which, by definition, resulted in publicity over which the Commission had no final control. This was reflected in a distinction in the structural operation of the media and communications functions during the first year of operation.

- 5 The Commission's communications work was summarised in an article written by Archbishop Tutu for the *Sunday Times* in December 1996:

One of our most substantial achievements, however, has been to bring events known until now only to the immediately affected communities – and sometimes to the small readership of alternative newspapers – into the centre of national life.

Millions of South Africans have heard the truth about the apartheid years for the first time, some through daily newspapers but many more through television and, especially, radio.... Black South Africans, of course, knew what was happening in their own local communities, but they often did not know the detail of what was happening to others across the country. White South Africans, kept in ignorance by the SABC and some of their printed media, cannot now say they do not know what happened.

■ MEDIA LIAISON

- 6 Media liaison was made a high priority from the first meeting of the Commission on 16 December 1995. The volume of news which the Commission's activities promised made this essential. It was also clear that if the Commission could meet the demands of the media for newsworthy material, this would help it fulfil its mandate to report to the nation on human rights violations and allow it to do so on a continuous basis throughout the life of the Commission.
- 7 The public image of the Independent Electoral Commission in 1994 gave warnings of the pitfalls that would lie ahead. The Commission had an enormous task; it could not begin to deliver on all expectations, and there was considerable potential for journalists to focus on areas that the Commission would not be able to cover. The Commission began operating on the premise that the fundamental task of the media liaison officers was to ensure that the Commission's public image reflected the reality of what the Commission was and did. The objective was, thus, not to manipulate the Commission's image, but to project accurately the challenges, the successes and the difficulties.
- 8 In implementing media liaison policy, the Commission attempted to adhere to the following principles.

Transparency

- 9 While the chairperson, the vice-chairperson and the chief executive officer were appointed the Commission's only spokespersons on matters of policy and implementation, the media had direct access to all commissioners and portfolio heads on matters that lay within their individual jurisdiction. The media liaison office was not used as a means of filtering inquiries or providing a 'public relations front' for the Commission. The Commission held that, if journalists were to inform the public accurately, they needed to speak directly to those who made and implemented decisions in the organisation. Thus, the media liaison office's task was to provide strategic and technical advice to the Commission on how best to convey news and to provide support for and be constantly available to journalists when Commissioners were unable to respond to media inquiries.

Proactive Release of Information

- 10 The Media Liaison Office promoted the pre-emptive release of news, whether it reflected well or badly on the Commission. The office also sought to encourage the simultaneous release of information to all the media in an attempt to achieve circumstances conducive to an early, single, full and thorough explanation of what the Commission was doing. The following extracts from reports of the Media Liaison Office during September and October 1996 illustrate the approach which the Commission attempted to follow:

The need for speed and flexibility needs to be stressed: when the Commission hesitates for too long before releasing news, it often trickles out bit by bit to individual journalists. This reduces the interest of other journalists, who do not like to carry late, second-hand news. It also forces us into a reactive position, where those with interests other than those of the Commission make the running in how the news is presented.

It goes without saying that anonymous leaks of important information by individuals acting without a mandate destroy our capacity to present the information in a co-ordinated, proactive way. They need to be avoided if we are to avoid constantly being caught on the back foot. At the same time it needs to be said that the longer we delay in releasing important information, the more we are held hostage by the agendas of those responsible for leaks.

It is strongly recommended that the Commission should run its media liaison operation in a manner which draws the public into its decision making. Thus,

the Commission should constantly give consideration to releasing draft documents indicating proposals under discussion before they are finalised. This does involve risks, such as public perceptions being influenced by ideas which are not eventually adopted. But the exposure of proposals to public debate before decisions are taken enhances the credibility of the final decisions.

- 11 The following extracts, also from the media liaison reports, concerning problems the Commission was facing in 1996 also illustrate the approach of the Department:

We discuss our intentions instead of announcing our actions, or at least too far ahead of implementing our intentions, leading to days and weeks of questions from the media about when we are going to act, and to allegations that we talk and don't act. And when unexpected developments delay the gap between the declaration of an intention and implementation, we lose credibility.

Through our failure to think through the release of news thoroughly enough, we do not give journalists comprehensive enough briefings, and misunderstandings and distortions arise. Journalists who do not regularly cover the Commission misunderstand developments, especially when they do not have written statements.

- 12 The sensitivity - even explosiveness - of information at the disposal of the Commission led to constant consideration as to when information should be released. This involved balancing a number of factors:
- a the right of victims of gross violations of human rights to early access to information;
 - b the right of those implicated to their detriment to information in advance of its publication by the Commission;
 - c the right of the public to information about violations;
 - d the potential of the publication of information to prejudice ongoing Commission investigations into the violations.
- 13 At various times in the life of the Commission, it was criticised from all sides over the timing of the release of information.

■ MEDIA COVERAGE

- 14 The print and broadcast media devoted extensive coverage to the Commission. Hearings, in particular, generated probably as much coverage as Parliament during the main periods of activities of the Commission.
- 15 Many newspapers appointed specialist correspondents to cover the Commission, virtually on a full-time basis. Among these were *Beeld*, *Business Day*, *City Press*, *Rapport*, the *Sowetan* and *The Star* in Johannesburg, *The Cape Argus* and *The Cape Times* in Cape Town and the *Daily News* in Durban. The appointment of journalists who built up a specialist knowledge of the workings of the Commission meant that there was a high quality of reportage of Commission activities, informed by a detailed understanding of the processes, and that a close watch was kept on the Commission's internal operations. *Business Day* carried regular, often lengthy and informed editorial comment; the *Sowetan* carried extensive features as well as news coverage, and *The Star* carried a weekly feature on the Commission, devoting most of its editorial page to activities of the Commission. The *Mail and Guardian* regularly carried probing material on the Commission, including incisive commentaries or editorial features by the poet Antjie Krog.
- 16 The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) Radio appointed a pool of journalists to ensure that the activities of the Commission were covered in all languages. Between April 1996, when hearings commenced, and September 1996, extensive news and current affairs coverage was supplemented by a weekly 'wrap-up' of Commission activities on all language stations, as well as live coverage of hearings on Radio 2000.
- 17 Financial constraints forced cancellation of the weekly summary programmes and the live coverage from 1 October 1996. However, the Commission secured a grant from the Norwegian government which enabled it to contract SABC Radio to restore these two features on a full-time basis from June 1997. An essential element of the agreement between the Commission and the SABC was full recognition of the latter's editorial independence. The Commission had no control whatsoever over the contents of the SABC's programming. In 1997, the SABC Radio 'TRC team' won the Pringle Medal for outstanding services to South African journalism.

- 18 The reasons for focusing on radio were outlined in the Department's business plan:

In considering the best means of making sure that as many South Africans as possible are enabled and empowered to participate in the life and work of the Commission, it has judged radio the most effective communication medium for its proceedings to the widest number of people. Radio listenership figures far outstrip newspaper readership. In addition, radio broadcasts penetrate all corners of the country in the home languages of the majority of South Africans. For example, SABC radio stations have 3.3 million Zulu listeners, 1.6 million Xhosa listeners, 1.5 million seSotho listeners, one million seTswana listeners, almost 700,000 Afrikaans listeners, 450,000 listeners in English and 116,000 Venda listeners.

The view in the Commission is that the broadcast of its work in a wide range of languages is of paramount importance. Radio provides access to South Africans across-the-board: for the many who listen to radio as well as watch television, for those without television, for those who are not literate and for those in rural areas.

- 19 The Commission's decision to allow cameras in hearings was one of the most important factors in creating the high public profile it enjoyed. The Commission was not a court and did not intend to run its hearings like court hearings, particularly the hearings organised by the Human Rights Violations Committee. Still, the Commission sought to ensure that the hearings had the dignity and decorum of court proceedings. Courts in most parts of the world do not allow cameras to cover their proceedings, and members of the Amnesty Committee, in particular, shared the instinctive reservations of judges on this issue. Because of these concerns, the Commission sought guidance from broadcasters in the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom in the drawing up of guidelines for cameras in hearings. The Commission was particularly grateful to the BBC in London, supported financially by the British High Commission in South Africa, which sent the Commission a senior producer who had been involved in the making of documentary programmes on Scottish court cases. The Commission developed the guidelines with the assistance of broadcasters, and especially the BBC consultant. (It should be noted that, as people participating in hearings became more accustomed to the presence of cameras, the guidelines were relaxed in some instances.)

- 20 A difficulty never fully resolved was the unhappiness of 'stills' photographers from the press. Stills photographers were excluded from hearings because, as they move around, they are potentially more disruptive than television camera operators, who are confined to fixed positions. This meant that television cameras could follow every step of proceedings, while stills photographers could not. This appears to be a difficulty wherever video cameras are permitted in hearings.
- 21 The images relayed to the nation through television news bulletins and the SABC-TV weekly programme 'TRC Special Report' were probably the single most important factor in achieving a high public profile for the Commission. Repeatedly throughout the Commission process, hearings provided compelling images for those South Africans who watch television.
- 22 Commission hearings and activities featured frequently on television news bulletins during the first year of the Commission's work. When multiple hearings were held every week, Commission-related news formed up to one-third of the main evening news bulletins.
- 23 SABC-TV demonstrated a similar commitment to that of the SABC Radio in relaying to South Africans the untold stories of their past in its weekly documentary, 'TRC Special Report'. In 1996, the programme won a special award from the Foreign Correspondents' Association.

■ COMMUNICATIONS

- 24 The communications framework was developed early in 1996.
- 25 One of the Department's first tasks was to advertise for and receive presentations from advertising and communications agencies. The Commission selected Herdbuoy's as its advertising agency and Siyakha Communications as its communications agency.
- 26 The Commission's logo was chosen from seven designs presented by Herdbuoy's. Herdbuoy's also designed and produced a series of posters and stationery using the logo.
- 27 Herdbuoy's also produced a series of radio advertisements during 1996, comprising a generic Commission advertisement, an advertisement for the Human Rights

Violations Committee, an advertisement for the Amnesty Committee and an advertisement encouraging people to make amnesty applications. The radio advertising campaign ran from July to December 1996.

- 28 A number of other proposals were developed with the advertising agency, including taxi advertising, a commemorative stamp, tactical press advertising, a train ticket advertisement, an outdoor campaign and a Christmas advertising campaign. These initiatives, however, were not pursued as a consequence of budgetary constraints.
- 29 Materials developed in conjunction with Siyakha included:
 - a Advertisements announcing the setting up of the Commission's offices were placed in regional and national newspapers;
 - b a generic leaflet on the Commission in the eleven official languages;
 - c booklets on the Human Rights Violations Committee, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee and the Amnesty Committee, translated into all languages but published only in English as a result of budgetary constraints;
 - d a manual, with transparencies and flip-charts, to conduct explanatory workshops on the Commission and its activities;
 - e co-ordinated workshops in various regions of the country;
 - f posters advertising a statement-taking campaign and posters advertising the new amnesty application deadline date in early 1997;
 - g a poster on the Commission for use in high schools.
- 30 Other proposals explored with Siyakha included a public participation programme, an updated pamphlet, a comic book, a radio drama and a paid magazine radio programme. However, again, the development of these proposals was curtailed by budgetary constraints.
- 31 In the earlier stages of the Commission's life, an annual communications budget of R14 million was proposed. However, during negotiations with the government,

this was scaled down to R6 million in the 1996/97 fiscal year and to R2 million in the 1997/98 fiscal year (excluding donor funding subsequently raised). The financial limits on communication initiatives led to, amongst other things, the consolidation of the Commission's Media and Communications Departments into one department. It also led to criticism, particularly from organisations and lobby groups representing the interests of victims who argued, understandably, that the Commission had done too little to communicate directly with the public and with victims and survivors of human rights violations, particularly in South Africa's remote areas.

- 32 After the rationalisation and reconfiguration of the two departments into one early in 1997, the Commission's paid communications were placed very much in 'maintenance mode'.
- 33 During 1997, the posters that had begun to be developed late in 1996 - advertising a statement-taking campaign and the new deadline date for amnesty applications - were produced and distributed.
- 34 Also during 1997, a radio advertising campaign in support of and linked to the statement-taking project was implemented. In conjunction with this, more than 400 000 leaflets calling for victims and survivors to come forward and make statements were distributed. These were distributed particularly in areas where the Commission's regional offices felt that not enough statements had been gathered. In addition, in 1998 the Commission published a booklet in all official languages whose purpose was to report to victims, survivors and organisations on the Commission's reparation and rehabilitation proposals to government.
- 35 The Commission also published an occasional newsletter, *Truth Talk*. This was aimed particularly at its partner organisations in the community, especially non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations. The last two issues of *Truth Talk* were also sent to those who made statements to the Commission.
- 36 During 1997, it was decided to inform students in secondary schools about the structure and work of the Commission. In conjunction with Siyakha Communications, the Media and Communications Department developed an information chart to be used by teachers when addressing classes about the Commission. The chart, generally referred to as the 'Teacher Insert', was inserted in a magazine called *The Teacher*, which is distributed to a wide range of schools throughout the country.

- 37 In July 1997, the Department contracted a ‘stills’ photographer to capture images of the Commission at work in the four regional offices and at hearings. The materials were to be used for *Truth Talk*, for a proposed in-house pictorial publication, *Moments of the TRC at Work*, published as a limited historical edition and for the final report.
- 38 During August 1997, the Department developed and produced a letter of acknowledgement¹ for organisations and individuals who had assisted the Commission with the designated statement taker programme. Certificates of recognition were also produced² and presented to all staff members as they came to the end of their employment contracts with the Commission.
- 39 In response to a number of inquiries from South Africa’s foreign missions, the Media and Communications Department prepared a special information package for use by diplomatic missions. The package was also made available to both domestic and foreign institutions, including visitors to the Commission’s national office in Cape Town.
- 40 The strategy of the Media and Communications Department during the winding-down phase was to convey the core message that the Commission wished to leave with the public as its work ended. To achieve this, in April 1998, the Department published a reparation and rehabilitation policy and proposals handbook. The handbook was published in eleven languages and had a print run of 60 000 copies. It was felt that this was one of the last opportunities for the Commission to communicate directly with victims and survivors, partner organisations in the NGO sector, the public generally and the international community and that the Commission owed them a report-back on its work.

■ STRUCTURES AND STAFFING

- 41 The Media and Communications Committee was established as one of the ‘functional’ committees of the Commission. It was composed of commissioners and, initially, committee members from each of the main, statutory committees of the Commission. The chief executive officer also sat on the committee, which was responsible for overseeing the work of the Department. During 1996, the committee was chaired by Dr Fazel Randera and, thereafter, by Advocate Denzil Potgieter.

¹ Signed by the Commission’s chairperson and chief executive officer as well as the NGO relations committee chairperson.

² Signed by the Commission’s chairperson, the chief executive officer, regional commissioners, convenors and managers.

Media Liaison

- 42 An embryonic media liaison function was started during the week before the establishment of the Commission and was developed into a Media Liaison Department between the first meeting of the Commission on the Day of Reconciliation (16 December) 1995 and the move into the national offices in Cape Town in February 1996. A Communications Department was established later, after the chief executive officer, the financial director and human resources director had been appointed and formal Commission structures began to emerge.
- 43 Following the resignation of the director of communications in 1996 and reductions in the projected communications budget for 1997, the Commission decided early in 1997 to rationalise and consolidate the two departments into one, while keeping the media liaison and communications functions separate to a degree.
- 44 The media liaison function of the Commission was carried out under the control of the departmental director and staff for most of the life of the Commission.
- 45 The staff initially comprised four media liaison officers, who were all senior and experienced professional journalists, and two administrative staff.
- 46 The media liaison officers were attached to each of the four regional offices of the Commission. Their primary responsibilities were co-ordinating media arrangements for public hearings for the Commission and liaising between journalists on the one hand, and commissioners and senior staff members of the Commission on the other. The primary task of the administrative staff involved the control, development and operation of news distribution and monitoring systems.
- 47 Apart from supervising the activities of the Department, the director performed a media liaison function for the chairperson, the vice-chairperson and the chief executive officer, to the degree that this was necessary, and attended Commission and committee meetings and hearings with a view to making recommendations on media coverage.

Communications

- 48 Because of the size of the task of building structures and recruiting staff for the Commission, there were delays in the establishment of a Communications Department. However, a suitably qualified director was employed and began work

in May 1996. The director, assisted by a secretary in the national office, managed the relationship between the Commission and advertising and communications agencies and oversaw the work of the communications officers based in each of the Commission's four regional offices.

- 49 The tasks of the communications officers were to obtain, help distribute and communicate promotional material and news of Commission events to the public. Another important function of communications officers was liaison with NGO, community-based and non-profit organisations.
- 50 After the resignation of the communications director in December 1996, the Communications Department was merged with the Media Liaison Department. The director of media liaison oversaw the combined departments. A communications and marketing manager was appointed to supervise the relationship with advertising and communications agencies and to liaise with regional communications officers.

Management and Operational Reports

MENTAL HEALTH UNIT

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The almost complete lack of reference to the issue of psychological support in the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act created some ambivalence with issues relating to psychological support services remaining an ongoing source of debate throughout the life of the Commission.
- 2 This dynamic was most demonstrably played out in the development of the statement-taking process. Initially, statements took the form of personal story telling to empathetic listeners, who recorded what was being said in a relatively informal manner. Due to the huge volume of statements, however, the process evolved into a more formalised fact-finding effort. In order to capture, process and corroborate each statement, a standard (but comprehensive) form was used to record victims 'stories'. This could be used even where no 'listener' was available.
- 3 It must be acknowledged that this compromised the healing potential of the encounter. It took away much needed emotional space. This affected the experience of making a statement and denied statement takers the opportunity to make broad assessments and, where necessary, refer people to appropriate support services.

■ THE NATURE OF TRAUMA

- 4 The people who suffered most from traumatic episodes fell into five categories: the victim, the perpetrator, their families and dependants, the community and, in a different way, Commission personnel. Commission personnel and some dependants and family members formed a distinct group in that their traumatic experience was often of a vicarious nature. However, all groups vicariously or directly shared classic symptoms

of post-traumatic stress syndrome. Symptoms included lowered self-esteem, depression, emotional blunting, avoidance behaviour, impulsiveness, uncontrollable anger, substance abuse, paranoia, relationship difficulties (social and interpersonal), complicated bereavement and sleep disturbance. Often such symptoms had become a part of life for the sufferer and were so deeply entrenched in the individual that they had to be viewed as part of that person and not merely a passing crisis.

- 5 It was important not to generalise or simplify diagnosis or, indeed, understanding of treatment. Often the trauma that individuals presented had been complicated by a range of socio-economic and medical problems and was also affected by the time that had elapsed since the traumatic event. Often living conditions caused a new range of emotional difficulties that conflated with previous ones, resulting in a complicated traumatic cocktail that demanded more than a mere therapeutic or healing intervention. The mental health of a person could not be seen or understood in isolation from socio-economic realities.

■ SUPPORT FOR WITNESSES AT HEARINGS

- 6 Support for witnesses at human rights violations hearings was the most visible part of the work undertaken by the Mental Health Unit. The public perception was of a briefer giving solace to a witness who had found the process of giving testimony deeply upsetting. This essentially 'snap shot' perception gave an impression of short-term interest and solace on the part of the Commission and did not reflect the interventions made by the Commission both before and after the hearings.
- 7 Such interventions included the preparation and briefing of witnesses before hearings, the containment and advocacy of witnesses during hearings and, after the hearings, the debriefing and referral of witnesses to regionally appropriate service providers who had a knowledge of local resources and who followed up accordingly.
- 8 The development of the Commission's witness support strategy could best be described as the quest to bridge the gap between the need for and the provision of emotional support.
- 9 Although constrained by the limitations of the Act and overwhelmed by witnesses' understandably high expectations of direct and immediate service delivery, the Commission, on the whole, managed to navigate a path that went some way towards restoring human dignity and facilitating the delivery of support.

- 10 The witness support strategy represented a creative and successful response to the problem of service delivery for witnesses in need of urgent follow up. During hearings, the Commission's briefers provided direct support to witnesses. Outside of hearings, they tried to perform a co-ordinating role, auditing regional support services, enlisting the involvement of community briefers, training them in debriefing skills and monitoring the referral process. Community briefers also assumed the critical task of supplying longer-term support to people in need. As local service providers, community briefers endeavoured to ensure that people received the sustained interest and support that they required, although they met with different levels of success. The ability to provide ongoing support to those in need of counselling was ultimately, however, beyond the resources of the Commission.

■ MAKING STATEMENTS

- 11 People who gave public testimony represented only a small percentage (about 10 per cent) of those who approached the Commission. The more usual route was by making a statement, a process that could take from thirty minutes to three hours.
- 12 Three kinds of people made statements: direct victims, family members and witnesses. Each approached the Commission for a range of different reasons. All imagined there would be some benefit in doing so. People's reasons for participating included: contributing to national reconciliation, finding out why family members had disappeared, requesting financial assistance to pay for expenses incurred as a result of human rights violations, and demanding that the perpetrator pay or account to the public in person.
- 13 Statement takers reported that the mental state of deponents varied greatly and that often there was little time to enquire more fully into the state of a deponent's mental health, let alone to make any kind of accurate assessment. The encounter between the statement taker and deponent was always powerful and often painful: full of promise for the deponent and, for the statement taker, often a question of managing expectations and the re-emergence of trauma. The degree to which the deponent was able to benefit from the experience depended on the statement taker's ability to handle the encounter.
- 14 Statement takers reported that often, for the deponent, the statement taker was the Commission and embodied all the Commission stood for. Bonds formed while taking a statement often continued, as the statement taker came to be seen as the only conduit through which the statement giver could follow up with the Commission.

- 15 By the same token, the length of time it took for information and reparations to reach the deponent was often a cause of frustration, and undermined what had begun as a relationship of trust. This was also frustrating for the statement taker who felt helpless at being unable to feed back the required information.
- 16 Making a statement to the Commission brought relief to some. The experience itself helped to break an emotional silence, started the process of integrating experiences that had been repressed or shut out for years, alleviated feelings of shame and, in an atmosphere of acceptance, began to restore dignity and self-respect. The experience initiated more than it closed, however, except perhaps where the statement was made at the end of a process of healing. In the majority of cases, making a statement represented a brave confrontation with something deeply painful. The result was often the re-emergence of trauma that, without an appropriate intervention, might have been 'managed' historically through negative coping behaviour - which would have been counter productive and served to repress traumatic and psychological realities.
- 17 On occasion, individuals were referred to briefers for onward referral to support services. However, by and large the only way (barring final reparations) that the deponents' needs could be identified was through the screening of their statements - particularly the information they provided on the consequences of their experiences, their means of coping and their expectations. The quality of this information varied, depending on the statement taker's ability to probe, as well as the deponent's readiness to articulate a need.
- 18 Support services were given free of charge and depended on the good will of those organisations that had made a commitment to bridge the gap between people's immediate needs and the delivery of final reparations.

■ THE EXPERIENCE OF FAMILIES

- 19 In its endeavour to capture the experience of the individual through personal testimony, the Commission often could not gauge the impact of gross human rights violations on the family system. Family members often gave testimony on behalf of their deceased loved ones without articulating their own suffering. This was especially true of the mothers whose children had been killed. Although the family was often a powerful support system in the event of trauma, the focus on the primary victim drew attention away from the trauma experienced by family

members. The Act made provision for this, describing victims as “such relatives or dependants of victims as may be prescribed”. However, dependants or relatives only received supportive intervention in cases of urgency, which were picked up in consultation at case conferences or at the urgent interim stage.

■ AMNESTY APPLICANTS

- 20 Although the amnesty process was a fundamental part of the Commission's work, it was distinct from the Human Rights Violations and the Reparation and Rehabilitation committees, because it used very different processes and procedures. Amnesty applicants seldom encountered the Commission on an interpersonal level. Their association was through written applications and subsequent hearings. As the content of applications was wholly concerned with making full disclosure on the perpetration of gross human rights violations, applications were analysed by lawyers and judges on a strictly legal basis. Legal representatives usually accompanied amnesty applicants, and information about family situations and reactions, if known at all, was restricted to these parties.
- 21 Essentially, therefore, the Commission did not examine the effects *on the perpetrator* of committing a gross human rights violation. This was understandable, as this was not part of its mandate.
- 22 It should be noted, however, that the Mental Health Unit identified the mental health of perpetrators as an essential concern in respect of the wider goals of national reconciliation. Pursuing this, however, would have resulted in further pressure on limited resources and services available to victims. In addition, there was the danger of creating a public perception of bias and inequity.
- 23 Nevertheless, a commitment to reconciliation and healing means that the psychological plight of individuals who were involved in the perpetration of gross human rights violations and their families should be acknowledged. Like victims, perpetrators need to be given space to examine their emotional reactions and to reintegrate what has probably been disassociated from their emotional life. Simply declaring that one has committed an act does not constitute coming to terms with oneself emotionally. Perpetrators share with their victims the potential for and experiences of post traumatic stress disorder. Significantly, there is a commonality of psychological fall-out involved in a traumatic episode that can form the basis of reconciliatory programmes.

■ COMMUNITIES

- 24 It was acknowledged that the sheer pace of the Commission's hearings programme had counterproductive effects. Perhaps the most significant of these was the perception that the Commission was failing to follow up and consolidate the truths it had uncovered. Although the Commission was unable to provide adequate follow-up meetings in some regions, acknowledgement of the problem led to the development of well thought out strategies and planning which were used in a number of follow-up workshops.

■ POST HEARING FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS

- 25 Post hearings workshops attempted to involve all significant stakeholders in communities, including those individuals who had made statements to the Commission but who did not testify at public hearings. On the surface, these workshops aimed at encouraging communities to assess the impact of gross human rights violations and of the hearing process, and to formulate initiatives to promote reconciliation. In many ways, however, the underlying goal of these workshops was to hand the truth and reconciliation process back to communities and to define clearly the limitations of the Commission itself. Post-hearing follow-up workshops went a long way towards consolidating the process, adding value to the development of reparations policy, and acknowledging the unique problems of different communities.

■ COMMISSION STAFF

- 26 Research indicated that Commission staff, in varying degrees, were vulnerable to suffering vicarious trauma because of the material and personalities to which they were exposed. The *material* (or the narrative content of the statements) was of an emotionally challenging nature. It could challenge the staff member's belief systems and that individual's ability:
- a to stay focused on the task;
 - b to work within the constraints of the legislation;
 - c to integrate her or his own experience as a South African into the emerging truths about past conflicts.

- 27 The Commission engaged with *personalities*, ranging from victims to perpetrators, who encompassed every shade of trauma, from unconstrained expression to dispassionate denial. Failure to acknowledge this would have increased the likelihood of a destructive and negative working dynamic developing in the Commission, with symptoms becoming repressed and eventually finding their expression in a variety of negative coping mechanisms - both at a personal and at an organisational level.
- 28 Using the analogy of a therapeutic relationship, it was the responsibility of Commission staff to be, above all, emotionally and psychologically healthy to ensure that their interventions were appropriate, considered and, as far as possible, unclouded by their own defensive processes.
- 29 As far as the professional encounter was concerned, maintaining emotional and psychological health required:
- a preparedness
 - b knowledge of the emotional and psychological terrain
 - c ongoing appraisal of the staff member's own emotional, psychological and cognitive (thinking) responses
- 30 Only then did interventions have the best chance of being therapeutic and useful to the victim or perpetrator.
- 31 Commission personnel, in varying degrees, represented the first phase in providing responsible and reconciliatory interventions. Failure to provide staff with the necessary support (in terms of criteria a, b and c above) would have undermined both the work and those doing it. For this reason, the Commission acknowledged the need to provide staff with ongoing support groups and allocated one and a quarter work hours a week for this purpose.
- 32 A six-week pilot project in Gauteng initiated the first staff support group, which was facilitated by the mental health specialist (a trained group therapist). Following this, staff support groups were introduced in all the regions. Three group facilitators were employed to work with support groups in the other regions. Regional group facilitators were responsible for making individual referrals on behalf of Commission staff. Services were offered at reduced rates and were paid for by Commission staff themselves.

- 33 The support group's function was to provide a space where Commission staff could express, discuss, share and receive support on matters relating to the emotional effects of working within the Commission and their exposure to traumatic material and traumatised individuals. On the surface, the groups served a dual purpose: debriefing and general support. The respective focuses varied according to exposure levels.
- 34 The groups also worked on maintaining staff members' psychological health: their preparedness, knowledge of the emotional and psychological terrain and ongoing appraisal of their own emotional, psychological and cognitive responses. The facilitator performed a supervisory and a didactic role, offering alternative coping strategies and outlining indications of trauma.
- 35 Finally, bearing in mind that staff was based in the same office, facilitators attempted to keep discussions focused on psychological issues and steered consideration of practical issues to other fora, such as staff meetings.
- 36 An initial assessment was undertaken by the mental health consultant to determine what constituted 'necessary' support for Commission personnel. The method used was arrived at through a series of meetings with various staff groups.
- 37 The support groups did not follow any hierarchical structure, but dealt with issues (for example, traumatising material or personalities) which affected the particular group at any particular moment.

■ CONCLUSION

- 38 The extent of trauma experienced by victims of the policies of the former state is incalculable, reaching far beyond those who approached the Commission. This trauma is part of the legacy of apartheid and it will be many years before its effects are eradicated from society. The best that the Commission could provide was to attempt to cater for the immediate needs of victims and, where possible, to refer them for further help. However, because of the extreme paucity of mental health services in South Africa, the mental health of the many victims of apartheid – and indeed of all South Africans – will depend on the ability of the new government to work towards the provision of adequate services.

Management and Operational Reports

RECORDS MANAGEMENT DEPARTMENT

■ DOCUMENTS USED BY THE COMMISSION

- 1 The activities of the Commission resulted in the creation, use and distribution of volumes of documentation. These ranged from vital confidential documents such as amnesty applications and gross human rights violation statement forms, to Commission newsletters, posters and pamphlets. Such documentation also included research and special reports, transcripts of the Commission's hearings, confidential, secret and top secret records of the security forces, the National Intelligence Agency and the National Archives, computer generated database records and audio and video tapes. A documentation officer was made responsible for the management of records in each region.

■ INTRODUCTION OF A RECORDS MANAGEMENT POLICY

- 2 Initially, the methods employed to manage records varied regionally, as did the type of records collected, with the exception of the human rights violation statements. Furthermore, various committees, units and departments within the Commission operated fairly independently. The lack of uniformity or set policy on classification and storage systems and management and care of the Commission's records resulted in less than adequate record management. This needed to be remedied.
- 3 A better records management policy was subsequently developed and introduced by the Commission. This provided a uniform system of records management and improved the security and care of confidential records kept within the Commission as potential assets of the nation.

- 4 Furthermore, the Commission's records management policy ensured that the Commission's records could be retrieved for the writing of the final report. To this end, all the Commission's records were transferred to the national office to facilitate the writing of the report and a smooth handover process.
- 5 The Minister of Justice indicated that, while the Commission's records were the property of the Department of Justice, they should be located in the National Archives under his protection and made available to the public as he, in consultation with the National Archivist, saw fit.¹ The National Archives assisted the Records Management Department in developing a records management policy to facilitate this transfer.

■ METHOD OF WORK

- 6 The documentation classification system and records management policy was developed and approved by the Commission in consultation with the National Archives.
- 7 A documentation officer in each region was responsible for the proper implementation of this policy and reported progress to the national office on a monthly basis. Each documentation officer was required to present and explain the policy to regional staff and all other units and departments in order to ensure that the proposed systems were being implemented.

¹ See the Recommendations of the Commission in this regard.

Management and Operational Reports

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The primary functions of the Research Department were to:
 - a assess and add value to information before the Commission
 - b provide an understanding of the historical context within which alleged gross human rights violations referred to by the Commission occurred
 - c facilitate the writing of the report submitted to the President in October 1998.
- 2 This, by definition, meant that the work of the Department impacted on a range of activities.
- 3 The work of the Department began with a series of workshops held during the first months of the Commission in the geographic areas covered by the Cape Town, Durban, East London and Johannesburg regional offices. These events brought together a range of community-based people, historians, journalists, human rights activists and others.
- 4 The purpose in each case was to identify gross violations of human rights that occurred in the area, moments of liberation and significant occasions of resistance – including events both well-known and documented, as well as lesser known events in danger of being lost to public memory.

- 5 The outcome of these workshops was the beginning of a national chronology and four regional chronologies.¹ These early workshops and chronologies provided a preliminary overview of the thirty-four years under review by the Commission.
- 6 The chronologies (often disparate in form and substantially developed as a result of statement taking, human rights violations hearings and amnesty applications) provided a framework for the information gathering work of the Commission, the corroboration and investigative phase of its work and the findings process.

■ RESEARCH THEMES

- 7 The early chronologies were carefully scrutinised and analysed in a joint workshop involving the Research Department and the Investigation Unit. This resulted in the preliminary identification of fourteen strategic research themes:
 - a Normative and moral questions, conceptual issues and causal/social analyses.
 - b The Commission in historical context (1960 – 1994).
 - c The development of the security establishment.
 - d The judiciary and the legal system.
 - e Imprisonment and detentions.
 - f The ‘homelands’.
 - g KwaZulu-Natal.
 - h Liberation movements.
 - i Opposition groupings inside South Africa.
 - j White right wing extremism in South Africa.
 - k Vigilantes.
 - l Gender concerns.

¹ These appear elsewhere in the report.

m Children and youth.

n The health sector.

- 8 These themes were researched on the basis of available material to provide a context within which the primary data of the Commission could be understood and interpreted, as information became available. The appropriateness of the themes was subsequently confirmed on the basis of primary data available to the Commission and, in some instances, adjustments were made to the themes.
- 9 Hypotheses were established largely on the basis of secondary material and the lived experience of the Commission, and the primary data were interrogated on the basis of the questions arising from these hypotheses. In the process, the questions asked of the database were often modified. This dialectical encounter between primary and secondary material provided an enriched understanding of the cases under scrutiny by the Commission.
- 10 The integrity of the Commission was dependent as much on its *process* or *methodology* as on its actual *findings*. Each of the statutory committees of the Commission (the Amnesty, Human Rights Violations and Reparation and Rehabilitation Committees) devised appropriate structures to promote their work. The Research Department sought to service the Commission at the levels of data gathering, the verification or corroboration of data and the findings process – which phases are outlined in the chapter on the methodology of the Commission. (See chapter on *Methodology and Process*)

Contracted assignments

- 11 The work of the Research Department was greatly facilitated by the contributions of a range of scholars and others with specific areas of expertise. In each case this work was carefully assessed and integrated, where appropriate, into other aspects of the Commission's work.
- 12 Contracted assignments included the following:
 - a The conflict between the African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) in KwaZulu-Natal; apartheid as a crime against humanity; apartheid legislation; Bonteheuvel Military Wing; the Caprivi trainees (the Caprivi trainees, who were trained by the South African Defence Force

(SADF) and deployed as a covert paramilitary force in KwaZulu-Natal in 1986); commissions of enquiry in South Africa; the medical and social consequences of gross human rights violations; detention in the KwaZulu-Natal region; gender relations; historical overview: 1960-1994; history of conflict in KwaZulu-Natal; homelands policy and development; hostel violence; international human rights law; medical services: 1960-1994; conflict in the Natal Midlands; the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in historical context; political prisoners and detainees in South Africa; the 1960 Pondoland Rebellion (which took place in response to the imposition of the Bantu Authorities Act which prepared the way for the independent homelands); public order policing; the SADF in Namibia and Angola; the 1990 Seven Days War (which resulted from Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)-ANC clashes in the Pietermaritzburg area); State Archives and records management; the Black Consciousness Movement; homelands security forces; legal and judicial system; Moutse/KwaNdebele homeland incorporation conflict; the South African broadcasting corporation and print media; the white right wing; torture in South Africa; torture in the Western Cape; warlords in KwaZulu-Natal; legal structures; the motives and perspectives of perpetrators.

■ DATA GATHERING

- 13 Data were received from a number of different sources.
- 14 Researchers aimed to read each statement taken with a view to providing an initial check on the information captured on the database, inserting the political context within which the particular event occurred and tagging the statement to the relevant chapter in the report. The large numbers of tasks undertaken by the Research Department prevented its staff from reading each of the statements. This meant that the checking of the database was left to others, while the primary data of the Commission (including the hand-written statements) were given priority attention by researchers in the drafting of the report.
- 15 Another major source of data came from submissions made to the Commission by political parties and liberation movements, the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), the South African Medical Services, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), research institutions and a range of individuals within state structures and civil society. The majority of these came from within the country, but some came from organisations and persons outside South Africa.

These submissions were analysed and, in many instances, executive summaries were made. The Commission used this information as the basis for questioning political parties and members of the former liberation movements at hearings and, where appropriate, to question alleged or possible perpetrators in section 29 hearings. The submissions were also used extensively in the report.

- 16 The Research Department undertook extensive work for ‘special event’ hearings on a number of issues: the health sector, the media, business, the judiciary, gender issues and children and youth, and for hearings on specific incidents. These latter included:
 - a The 1976 Soweto student uprising.
 - b The 1986 Alexandra six-day war that followed attacks on councillors.
 - c The KwaNdebele/Moutse homeland incorporation conflict.
 - d The killing of farmers in the former Transvaal.
 - e The 1985 Trojan Horse ambush by the security forces in the Western Cape.
 - f The 1986 killing of the ‘Gugulethu Seven’, following security force infiltration of ANC structures in the Western Cape.
 - g The 1990 Seven-Day War, resulting from IFP-ANC clashes in the Pietermaritzburg area.
 - h The Caprivi Trainees, who were trained by the SADF and deployed in KwaZulu-Natal as a covert paramilitary force in KwaZulu-Natal in 1986.
 - i The 1960 Pondoland Rebellion, in response to the imposition of the Bantu Authorities Act which prepared the way for the independent homelands.
 - j The 1992 Bisho Massacre (which took place in response to an ANC national campaign for free political activity in the homelands).
- 17 Amnesty applications were scrutinised by researchers. This material was employed, amongst other things, in the questioning of political parties and others appearing before the Commission and, specifically, in the special hearings on the armed forces and on state security policy. When it became clear that the Commission

would not be able to hear all amnesty applications prior to closure on 14 March 1998, the Research Department became responsible for the co-ordination of 'Operation Capture'. This involved reading all amnesty applications with a view to categorising these into themes and identifying and accessing relevant material for the final report.

- 18 The transcripts of *in camera* Section 29 hearings provided a further source of information.
- 19 The researchers and others conducted a number of in-depth interviews. These included interviews with perpetrators representing the different political groupings involved in the conflict and with present and former politicians and security force operatives. Information on state security policy and operations obtained through these interviews provided important information for the research initiative. Special attention was given in these interviews to understanding the motives and perspectives of both perpetrators and victims of gross human rights violations.
- 20 Secondary material provided a further source of research information. Research staff consulted the writings, documentation and databases of specialist researchers, investigative journalists and others who had worked for a long time on issues falling under the mandate of the Commission. Databases on human rights violations recorded by other organisations were reviewed and tested against the criteria used in the corroboration and findings process. A small number of these was considered sufficient to provide a sound basis for making findings. Others were used only as a more general research tool and, in some instances, as a basis for corroborating the Commission's information.

■ CORROBORATION

- 21 Researchers assisted in the scrutiny of statements by deponents. To this end, they consulted police records, the databases of human rights organisations, newspaper reports, the records of government departments and archival material as well as amnesty applications. Information received from submissions made to the Commission by political organisations and other bodies was also pertinent to this process, as was the archival material identified above. Where necessary and possible, individual witnesses were interviewed, and organisations of the state and civil society consulted.

■ DOCUMENTATION RETRIEVAL

- 22 Material was retrieved from the National Archives, as well as the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), the South African Police Service and the SANDF archives. Cabinet minutes, minutes of the State Security Council and its substructures and other forms of state documentation were scrutinised by researchers and Investigation Unit personnel, who obtained top secret clearances from the NIA for this purpose.
- 23 The Research Department was also assigned the responsibility of investigating the unauthorised destruction of the records of state departments. The destruction of documents is described in a separate chapter of the report (see chapter on the *Destruction of Documents*).

■ WORKSHOPS

- 24 A number of *ad hoc* workshops was held with resource people outside of the Commission on research-related topics. These included workshops on children and youth, the health sector, the military and security, the homelands, the white right wing and the media. Several regional workshops were also held in each of the Commission's designated regions where and when this was regarded as necessary. In addition, seven national research workshops were held. A number of additional *ad hoc* meetings were held to deal with specific matters of concern.

■ STAFFING AND CONTRACT WORK

- 25 In addition to a director of research, two researchers were appointed to the national office and three to each of the regional offices. Several additional part-time researchers were appointed on a contract basis to work in the various offices of the Commission. A number of interns augmented the work of the Department. In the final phase, further staff was contracted in to assist with the final edit and layout of the report.
- 26 A number of specialist researchers were contracted and made significant contributions. These included researchers located in different academic institutions, research institutes and NGOs – both inside the country and abroad. The European

Union and the Danish government funded much of the contract research inside the country. Some researchers contributed work on a voluntary basis.

- 27 This work was received strictly as *information only*. The insights gained, views expressed and information submitted were all assessed in the first instance by the Research Department and ultimately by the Commission, which takes full responsibility for all information and findings included in the report.
- 28 The internship programme was designed to expose both post-graduate students and young professionals to the work of the Commission as a basis for empowerment and as a means of facilitating the work of the Commission.
- 29 European Union funding also made possible the employment of paid South African interns from educationally underprivileged backgrounds.
- 30 Overseas applicants showed extensive interest in the internship programme. Many of those who participated in the programme received academic and/or professional credit for the internship in their home countries.

■ THE REPORT

- 31 The Research Department was centrally involved in facilitating the drafting of the report. In order to arrive at an outline for the report, a series of regional and national planning workshops was held, involving researchers and others. The Commission adopted the outline, together with a proposal for the drafting process. Beginning in June 1997, regular Commission workshops were held to discuss the report, and the Commission spent the entire month of July 1998 working through the various chapters to be included in the report. In some instances a series of collaborative exercises was undertaken to produce drafts, notably in the case of chapters on regional profiles and those dealing with the various role players in the process that resulted in the gross violation of human rights. In other instances, individuals were given the responsibility of drafting chapters. In each case, however, the Commission as a whole was required to give its imprimatur to the various chapters.
- 32 The exercise was the responsibility of the Research Department which, in addition to drafting the report, co-ordinated the editorial, layout and printing process.

Management and Operational Reports

SAFETY AND SECURITY

■ HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

- 1 After consultation between the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, security was provided for the first meeting of the Commission on 16 December 1995. The meeting took place at Bishopscourt in Cape Town.
- 2 Superintendent Victor of the VIP Unit informed the chairperson and vice-chairperson that, on the instruction of Commissioner Fivaz, static and personnel protection would be provided to them for the duration of the Commission.
- 3 The Director-General of the Department of Justice requested that SAPS provide protection to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for its next meeting on 13-14 February 1996. The protection was co-ordinated by Superintendent Naicker of the National Protection Service, Parliament, and Superintendent Victor.
- 4 The management of the National Protection Service, Cape Town, decided that it was necessary to hold discussions with the Commission before its next meeting in order to address the protection needs of the Commission and to eliminate *ad hoc* requests.
- 5 Subsequently, Superintendent Rhooide and Superintendent Victor were appointed by the National Commissioner as the national co-ordinators for all aspects of security relating to the Commission.
- 6 On 12 February 1996, the National Protection Service of SAPS and the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) jointly briefed the commissioners on personal security and information security. The briefing was held at the Commission's national office in Cape Town.

- 7 The Security Advisory Service of the National Protection Service conducted a survey of all commissioners' residences, except that of Mr Wynand Malan, who requested that no survey be conducted of his residence.
- 8 By instruction of the Head: Operational Function of National Protection Service, protection was given to the chairperson and the vice-chairperson of the Commission. The National Protection Service was also to guard the Commission's national office in Cape Town.
- 9 The two co-ordinators were requested to work out guidelines for the protection of the Commission and also to set up national structures for better co-ordination in respect of the Commission's activities.

■ SETTING UP

- 10 Initially, safety and security structures were set up only in KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and the Eastern Cape. The *modus operandi* was for the Commission to send requests to the SAPS representative in that particular province to arrange the necessary protection. However, the first public hearing with its attendant problems forced the co-ordinators to re-examine the structure.
- 11 At that stage, the newly appointed chief executive officer of the Commission, Dr B Minyuku, established a safety and security committee whose mandate was to determine structures for and policy on safety and security matters. This committee decided that a proper national structure should be set up and that the National Protection Service should be requested to second the two national co-ordinators to the Commission. This request was turned down by National Protection Service management, which proposed instead that a 'nodal point' be established. The safety and security committee agreed to this.

■ STRUCTURES

- 12 The Commission's safety and security structure functioned at two critical levels, namely at the strategic (policy formation) level and at the operational (day to day) level.

Strategic level

- 13 The safety and security standing committee oversaw policy formation and national co-ordination. It had thirteen members, including the two national co-ordinators of SAPS and the national nodal point commander. This committee reported to the chief executive officer who was responsible for overseeing the safety and security efforts of the Commission.

Operational level

- 14 The co-ordination of operational safety and security occurred on three levels.
 - a The first level involved day to day, tactical safety and security issues and national co-ordination. A separate, 'functional' safety and security committee was established to deal with this. It consisted of nine members, including the national co-ordinators and the national nodal point commander, and was chaired by the chief executive officer.
 - b The second level was regional co-ordination. This involved a partnership between the regional managers, the appointed provincial co-ordinators of SAPS and the national nodal point commander.
 - c The third level was area co-ordination. This involved a partnership between the Commission's logistic officers, the assigned provincial area co-ordinators of SAPS and the national nodal point commander.
- 15 The above structure was established after a national 'brain storm' involving the chief executive officer, the national safety and security co-ordinators, the nodal point commander, representatives of SAPS in all nine provinces, the four regional managers of the Commission and their logistic and support officers.

■ THREATS

- 16 Threats to the Commission were not unexpected and, from its inception, precautionary measures were put in place to protect both personnel and assets.
- 17 These measures included: lectures to staff on personal security; security surveys of buildings and the commissioners' and committee members' residences, and

continued threat analysis in respect of commissioners, committee members and the Commission as a whole by the SAPS Internal Security Division and the NIA.

18 Verbal and written threats were registered against the following members and events of the Commission:

- a Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Chairperson)
- b Dr Alex Boraine (Vice-Chairperson)
- c Revd Dr Khoza Mgojo (Commissioner)
- d Dr Wendy Orr (Commissioner)
- e Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza (Commissioner and Head of the Investigation Unit)
- f Ms Kate Pitt (Staff member)
- g Ms Virginia Gcabashe (Human Rights Committee member, Durban)
- h the Commission's first hearing in the Eastern Cape
- i the Commission's first Western Cape hearing
- j Archbishop Tutu at the Commission's Bloemfontein hearing.

19 Another security issue concerned security of information. Each commissioner and staff member was required to take either an oath or affirmation of secrecy. Despite this precaution, there were a number of information leaks that were investigated by the functional safety and security committee. These included: two leaks relating to amnesty applications, one relating to a section 29 investigative enquiry and two from meetings of the Commission.

■ PROCEDURES

20 Superintendents Victor and Rhooode set up standard operational procedures for hearings. They used principles based on communication, needs, purpose and outcome to define the procedures, which were adhered to by SAPS provincial

co-ordinators and the Commission's provincial managers. There were initial teething problems arising from issues relating to line of command, small security breaches and territorial attitudes. These problems were effectively addressed.

- 21 The standard of performance of the provincial co-ordinators was high, and co-operation was excellent. Reports received from hearings, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal (where political instability was at times feared), showed that the Commission and SAPS established good relationships before, during and after hearings. Feedback from police sources proved that, in areas where hearings were conducted, the police, who were seen as perpetrators in the past, moved closer to their communities and vice versa. Positive and genuine attitudes were expressed toward the Commission process, and the police experienced general feelings of relief and freedom from political pressure.
- 22 As the aims and goals of the Commission became clear, owing to widely published and televised reports, the concept and process became more acceptable to police personnel.
- 23 Generally, the task of the Commission was made easier through the assistance of the police in various ways. During the initial stages of the Commission's investigations, police provided protection to statement takers working in volatile regions. The police assisted with investigations to corroborate statements and with the delivery of documents and case dockets. The Commission was given access to police archives, and commissioners were protected when engaged in briefing and pre-hearings activities during the Commission's community awareness programmes. Police expertise and technology were made available to the Commission in exhuming bodies, helping with evidence and logistics, protecting witnesses and protecting perpetrators in custody and in transit, and generally ensuring that the process ran smoothly.
- 24 Initially, permanent VIP protection was provided only to Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boraine. This was extended to Mr Ntsebeza after he received threats to his life and also given the nature of his portfolio. *Ad hoc* VIP protection was extended to the Revd Dr Mgojo, Ms Gcabashe and Dr Orr.
- 25 The SAPS, the National Protection Service, and the VIP Units performed these functions in Cape Town, Gauteng and Durban. However, given the nature of the Commission's mandate, these functions were also performed by the respective provincial protection units in the other provinces.

Management and Operational Reports

WITNESS PROTECTION PROGRAMME

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act required that protection be made available to any person giving evidence, before, during and after any Commission hearing. This included any member of a witness's family who had been placed in danger as a result of his or her evidence. The Commission's witness protection programme was to be set up in terms of regulations prescribed by the President, and a witness protector appointed. Pending the promulgation of these regulations, the Minister of Justice would be responsible for the establishment of the programme using, as an interim measure, the criminal justice system witness protection programme.
- 2 As a result, in late 1995 the Minister of Justice appointed a broadly representative task group to formulate a witness protection programme for the Commission. Advocate RC Macadam, a Deputy Attorney-General in KwaZulu-Natal, was appointed to lead the task group in producing a draft set of regulations and an implementation plan. The task group identified a number of problems with the existing legislation on witness protection, and concluded that the Commission's programme would have to break new ground by establishing a programme unique to the work of the Commission.
- 3 The draft regulations and implementation plan were presented at the first meeting of the Commission in December 1995 and were unanimously accepted. The Commission's witness protection programme was instituted on 1 May 1996. The original programme was subsequently refined due to lack of available funds. The new regulations were finally promulgated on 20 December 1996.

■ METHOD OF WORK

- 4 The regulations provided for a three tier personnel structure, including the Commissioner in charge of the Investigation Unit, the witness protector and security officers.
- 5 The task of the security officers was to receive applications for protection, to grant temporary protection and to investigate the circumstances surrounding each application. The task of the witness protector was to evaluate all applications for protection in terms of the requirements, to enter into agreements with witnesses and to manage the programme. The task of the Commissioner in charge of the Investigation Unit was to confirm all decisions made by the witness protector in consultation with the Commission's chief executive officer and to represent the programme at Commission level.
- 6 Owing to delays in setting up the programme, witnesses began applying for protection long before either budget or staff was in place. In the interim, the cases were attended to and the costs paid by the Department of Justice. From May to July 1996, the witness protector attended to each case personally, paying for and being remunerated for the costs of the operation. By August 1996, however, the programme was operational.
- 7 Given the limited budget, it was clear that witnesses could only be placed under protection as a last resort. Rigorous admission criteria were set, requiring a thorough investigation of a witness's case and allowing for admission to the programme only on evaluation by and recommendation of the witness protector, and finally confirmed by the Commissioner in charge of the Investigation Unit. This procedure protected the programme from abuse by persons who were either offering untruthful evidence or were in no danger.
- 8 Once a witness had met the admission criteria, a further evaluation was conducted in order to determine the nature of the risk. Persons assessed as low risk were placed in community-based projects, and only persons assessed as medium- or high-risk were placed in safe houses.

- 9 In order to maintain a community base, the project used non-governmental organisations involved in combating crime in their communities, community police forums and visible policing structures. This method of protecting witnesses, which had not been previously attempted in South Africa, proved highly successful and had the following advantages:
- a the witness's life was not disrupted and the attendant problems of loneliness, boredom, alienation and potential loss of employment were avoided;
 - b the police, previously viewed as enforcers of the apartheid system, now became the protectors of victims, thus helping place the relationship between communities and the police on a better footing;
 - c witness protection officials were free to devote their attention to cases which warranted protection;
 - d the notion of the need to protect witnesses was promoted in communities.
- 10 Another innovative concept involved assigning VIP protectors to protect witnesses in their own homes. This saved the costs of obtaining safe houses and ensured that witnesses' lives were not disrupted.
- 11 Where there was justification for placing witnesses in safe houses, the witness protector persuaded various state organisations to make accommodation available free or at reduced cost.
- 12 In the regions, contact was made with persons in each area who could, at no cost to the Commission, deal with emergencies in their communities until the regional official became available. This kept staff appointments to a minimum. For example, a single officer was appointed in Cape Town to cover a region extending as far as Upington, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth.
- 13 Unofficial nodal points were established to assist in the gathering of intelligence. These included the National Intelligence Agency, the D'Oliviera investigative unit (a special unit set up by the Gauteng Attorney-General), the Investigation Task Unit and the Department of Justice witness protection programme. In addition, security officers were encouraged to maintain contact with their former units and dip into their informer networks.

- 14 At the outset, requests for protection came from three sources: first, victims who were being terrorised by vigilante groups linked to various political parties; second, potential witnesses who feared for their safety and security should they disclose what they knew or had done, and third, confidence tricksters who, often motivated by financial enrichment, wished to mislead the Commission by falsely professing knowledge of cases under investigation. Such misrepresentation was easily achieved because of the media publicity accorded to such cases over the years, the absence of independent eyewitnesses and the destruction of official documentation. It is a tribute to the calibre of the security officers that the confidence tricksters were identified without compromising the programme. In one extreme case, the culprit was prosecuted on a charge of making a false statement to the Commission, convicted and sentenced to a year's imprisonment.
- 15 Geographically, most applications were received from the politically unstable KwaZulu-Natal region, followed by the former 'Vaal Triangle'. Because of this, an early decision was taken to transfer the East London officer to Durban, where one officer on his own could not be expected to cope with the demand.
- 16 By October 1996, the emphasis had changed. During this period, requests were received from potential amnesty applicants who feared reprisals when testifying at public hearings. The protection of persons at hearings was labour intensive and involved bringing together security officers from various regions. This process led to further public exposure of the programme. These ventures could not have succeeded but for additional assistance provided by the South African Police Services (SAPS) Special Task Force and public order policing units.
- 17 By this stage, the witness protection programme had succeeded in placing a large number of witnesses under protection, well within the allocated budget. In November 1996, the Commissioner in charge of the Investigation Unit decided that the Witness Protection Unit should also be used for investigation work. As the Unit's staff had long experience in the investigation and prosecution of political crimes, this decision was welcomed and regarded as a tribute to its success.
- 18 While maintaining its role as witness protector, the Unit achieved the following successes. A senior member of the security police compound at Vlakplaas was persuaded to make a complete disclosure. His statements, particularly as regards secret orders issued by generals, were passed on to the Investigation Unit and made a major impact on section 29 inquiries. As a direct and immediate result

of this disclosure, a group of former security officers headed by an ex-director decided to 'come clean' and were debriefed by the Witness Protection Unit. In response to these developments, the Eastern Cape Security Branch, which had previously vehemently resisted the Commission's investigations, made direct contact with the Unit. Consequently, the following cases were solved: the disappearance and murder of Madaka and Mthimkulu; the 'PEBCO Three'; the 'Cradock Four'; Steve Biko; Kondile and Mkhuseleli Jack. Thereafter, the Unit extensively debriefed a significant number of members of the Directorate of Covert Intelligence of the South African Defence Force Military Intelligence. In addition, considerable low key assistance was given to regional investigation units.

■ STAFFING

- 19 Six posts were created for security officers. Given the circumstances surrounding the setting up of the programme, a decision was taken to fill the posts with persons seconded from the SAPS. One officer was posted at each regional office of the Commission, and two additional national appointments were made.
- 20 The two national security officers were given the titles of VIP protector and intelligence officer. The former was required to attend to all high-risk cases where witnesses required twenty-four hour a day protection. The latter acted as a link between the regional officers and the witness protector and also conducted risk evaluations.
- 21 The VIP protector and the Cape Town officer cancelled their secondments shortly after their appointment and were replaced with secondments from the offices of the Commissioner of Police, Pretoria and the regional Police Commissioner in the Western Cape. In January 1997, the intelligence officer cancelled his secondment; the Johannesburg officer followed suit in July 1997. A member of the uniform branch of the SAPS at Brixton and a member of the Department of Correctional Services filled their posts in March 1998.
- 22 A senior secretary/administrator was appointed to assist the witness protector.

Regional Office Reports

CAPE TOWN OFFICE

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The Cape Town regional office was located in the same building as the Commission's national office, and served the Commission's activities in the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces. It was also given responsibility for many national events, such as political party submissions, health sector hearings and section 29 hearings. The regional information unit took responsibility for overseeing the data processing requirements of the Amnesty Committee and for the distribution of applications for urgent interim relief. Such relief was made available in terms of reparation and rehabilitation policy. These additional responsibilities created huge pressures on regional staff but, due to the high level of commitment, both regional and national demands were met.
- 2 The office did extensive work on the widespread repression that had occurred in towns in the Boland, Southern Cape, Karoo and Northern Cape. However, many rural communities (particularly farm workers) expressed disappointment that the Commission's mandate did not extend, except in exceptional circumstances, to human rights violations relating to land and labour. This was of particular concern in Namaqualand and other areas of the Northern Cape.
- 3 An issue of particular sensitivity in the region was the perception that the Western Cape was representing the Northern Cape where no staff members were employed for financial reasons. This factor also had a bearing on travel to the Northern Cape, which was largely determined by the statement taking and planning required for the Kimberley and Upington hearings.
- 4 The regional office also experienced some difficulties in attempting to document repression on the Cape Flats. A number of activists were reluctant to come forward to talk about their experiences or to refer others to the Commission. Many expressed discomfort with the fact that the legislation did not allow for formal court proceedings.

■ IDENTITY AND EXTENT OF REGION

- 5 A number of features distinguish the political and social terrain of the Northern and Western Cape provinces from the rest of the country. The demographic profile is unique: the majority of the population is coloured and only a minority is African. This was partly a reflection of the declaration of the Western Cape as a 'coloured labour preference area' with very restricted opportunities for African people. The region also experienced extreme social and spatial engineering through the Group Areas Act, with significant cleavages developing between coloured and African communities, as well as between rural migrants and urban residents. As a result, the Western Cape developed historically distinct political groupings and ideological approaches, which often differed from developments in the rest of the country.
- 6 The Western Cape province can be divided into six distinct sub-regions: the Cape Metropolitan Area; the West Coast; the Boland and Breede River area, including the Cape winelands; the Southern Cape, including the Little Karoo; the Overberg, and the Central Karoo. The Northern Cape includes the Kimberley commercial area, Upington and the greater Namaqualand region.

Population

- 7 The Western Cape has a population of 3.6 million people, comprising 8.9 per cent of South Africa's total population. According to the 1993 census, the population composition is: 58.4 per cent coloured people, 23.7 per cent white people, 17.1 per cent African people and 0.8 per cent 'Asian' people. Sixty-eight per cent of the entire population of the province (or 2.5 million people) lives in the Cape Metropolitan Area. By contrast, the West Coast has a population of 235 000.
- 8 Although the Northern Cape has the largest surface area in the country, only 1.9 per cent of the total South African population (or 764 000 people) live there. The annual population growth rate lies far below the South African average, indicating a steady outflow of people. According to the 1993 census figures, the population composition is: 52 per cent coloured people, 31.3 per cent black people, 16.1 per cent white people and 0.2 per cent Asian people.

Income/poverty profile

- 9 The Western Cape has the second highest degree of urbanisation (95 per cent) in the country. However, it also has the highest human development index (HDI) in South Africa, meaning that it is marked by extreme social and economic inequalities.
- 10 There is little heavy industry in the Cape Metropolitan Area, which supports instead light industries such as garment and textile manufacturing and small factory food processing. Over half a million people are employed in the textile industry, which is the largest single employer in the Western Cape. However, the textile industry is currently declining and experiencing job losses. Only 57 per cent of the labour force are engaged in the formal sector; the remainder work in the informal sector or are self- or unemployed.
- 11 The West Coast is dominated by agriculture, which focuses mainly on the production of wheat, wine and citrus fruit. While white farmers have flourished, African and coloured seasonal farm workers are locked into impoverished dependence, earning an average of forty-seven rand a week. Coastal towns like Saldanha Bay and Lamberts Bay are dominated by the fishing industry and provide 80 per cent of South Africa's fishing catch. Large national companies have decimated independent fishing communities through the quota system, resulting in wide-scale poverty in the area. The unionisation of the fishing industry in turn led to an intensification of industrial and political conflict.
- 12 The Karoo is predominantly a sheep farming area. There has, however, been substantial migration of coloured families out of the area and into urban areas, leading to a population decline in Karoo towns.
- 13 The major city in the Northern Cape is Kimberley. The main economic activities in this area are the mining of diamonds, asbestos and copper and agriculture, mainly cattle and maize. Industrial and commercial activity in the Northern Cape is limited to areas around Kimberley, Kuruman, Sishen and Postmasburg. Migrant labour comes mainly from the former independent homelands of Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei.

Languages

- 14 The major languages in the Western Cape Province are Afrikaans (the home language for 47 per cent of the population), English (19 per cent) and Xhosa (15 per cent).

The main home languages in the Northern Cape are Afrikaans (65 per cent) and Tswana (22 per cent).

■ METHOD OF WORK

Commissioners allocated to the region

- 15 As in other regions, the Cape Town regional office included a Human Rights Violations Committee and a Reparation and Reconciliation Committee. Commissioners Adv Denzil Potgieter, Ms Mary Burton and committee member Ms Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela were assigned to the Human Rights Violations Committee, while commissioners Dr Mapule F Ramashala, Dr Wendy Orr and Ms Glenda Wildschut were assigned to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.

Staffing

- 16 The total staff complement was seventy-four. After some staff contracts came to an end, further appointments were made in order to cope with additional national tasks assigned to the regional office.
- 17 The regional manager and the Reparation and Rehabilitation co-ordinator started work on 18 March 1996. The statement takers and briefers started a week later and commenced immediately with training.
- 18 At this stage, recruitment was done through agencies that assisted with the work of sifting through hundreds of applications. However, the application of affirmative action policies proved problematic. This was resolved, in the main, by the appointment of people who understood the communities they were to work with. In the beginning, job descriptions often proved inadequate and staff members were re-deployed in line with needs that only became apparent after work had begun.

Accommodation, resources and equipment

- 19 The national finance director managed the allocation of office space and resources for the Western Cape regional office. This removed much of the responsibility from the regional manager and allowed the region to focus on other aspects of the work such as planning the work of the region.

- 20 Although there were many advantages to being based in the same building as the national office, there were also difficulties, including a blurring of the distinction between national and regional staff. National demands often made regional planning very difficult and, despite the advantages of the close proximity of the Finance Department, it was often difficult to maintain effective cost controls.
- 21 A policy of frugality and conscientious cost saving guided the allocation of resources, and the region put in place systems to monitor the use of equipment like vehicles and cell phones.

Methodology and assessment of work

- 22 The Cape Town regional office held a weekly regional management meeting, weekly regional commissioners' meetings, team meetings (for hearings and statement taking) and meetings of the Investigation Unit, Support Services Unit, statement takers and briefers.

■ WORK OF THE REGIONAL OFFICE

- 23 The daily work of the Commission was divided into five areas: statement taking, information flow, investigations, hearings and co-operation with other organisations.

Statement taking

- 24 To ensure that statement takers covered the Western and Northern Cape effectively, the area was divided into eleven manageable sub-regions that were each visited by a team of statement takers over a period of two to three weeks. Where there were sufficient statements to warrant it, a hearing was held at a central point in that sub-region.
- 25 The Research Department supplied statement takers with a chronology of political events and a brief account of documented cases of gross human rights violations - giving them a useful point of entry. In addition, workshops were held for Commission staff statement takers and local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations before statement takers worked in a sub-region. These workshops helped further familiarise statement takers with political events and with the people in the community who had been involved in these events, as well as engaging useful assistance from the organisations invited to the workshops.

- 26 In 1996, statement takers followed a demanding schedule of visiting the various sub-regions or, alternatively, taking statements from people at the regional office. Towards the end of the year, the sub-regional visits were near completion while, at the same time, the number of people arriving at the regional office to make statements began dropping off.
- 27 It was observed that large numbers of people on the Cape Peninsula itself were not coming forward to make statements and that a more proactive strategy would need to be pursued. The approach adopted was to research newspapers for the period under review for articles and reports on political violence as a basis for creating specific chronologies of events for each part of the Peninsula. In addition, community-based organisations were asked for information in order to locate potential deponents. The voters' roll was used to try to establish their current whereabouts.
- 28 This shift from passive to proactive statement taking involved a change in the job requirements of the statement takers. There was also a need for more caution as they were now required to approach potential statement givers, rather than receiving statements from people who had come forward of their own volition. This new direction also required more managerial supervision from an already over-stretched information manager who could not always meet the increased demands.
- 29 In line with this more proactive stance, the team of statement takers analysed the many misconceptions and fears they encountered from people who were reluctant to make statements. They tried to address these by producing a radio play, based on the enactment of a statement-taking interview. Fears that had been identified, such as the need for confidentiality in areas that were still feeling the effects of conflict, as well as the problems of facing the overwhelming publicity of a televised hearing, were talked through in the play. In this way, it was hoped that some of the reservations would be overcome. The radio play was broadcast in English, Xhosa and Afrikaans.
- 30 The Commission's narrow mandate was disappointing to some, especially in the rural areas, where many people had to be turned away from making statements on matters that fell outside the Commission's mandate. Issues such as the abuse of farm labourers, loss of land rights, police thuggery and racial beatings were raised, and it was difficult for statement takers to explain to the victims of these experiences that, in most cases, they could not take their statements.

Referrals to other organisations were made where possible. In many cases, however, there was no obvious possibility of redress of any kind.

- 31 In the small towns, statement takers found that white people generally would not even co-operate with requests, for instance, to leave pamphlets and posters at their shops. The attitude of white people was generally negative, and there was a poor turnout of white people at the hearings.
- 32 Statement takers felt that many more statements could have been taken if more resources had been available for publicity and education about the Commission. The limited media and communication budget was a true constraint.
- 33 It was also regrettable that the official designated statement taker programme did not get off the ground earlier in the region, especially in the rural areas. In 1996, a total of sixty-two community statement takers were trained in four of the eleven sub-regions in anticipation of the launch of this programme; but funding only became available in April 1997, too late to be of significant use.

Information flow

- 34 Once a statement arrived at the regional office, the information contained in it was entered into the information flow process and database.
- 35 The information manager was charged with the enormously difficult task of making the 'information flow' a reality - ensuring that the material was seen by researchers, corroborated by investigators and reviewed by commissioners and committee members so that findings and recommendations for reparations could be made.
- 36 To a large extent, this process was made more difficult by the regional nature of the Commission's work. Despite the call for standardised national procedures, interaction between regions was poor, and each region tended to develop its own system. In addition, the work schedules of over-stretched commissioners and committee members made it difficult to ensure their regular attendance at 'Infocom' meetings or regional findings meetings. Many of these problems arose from the unique nature of the work of the Commission. There were no established precedents and policy, and success depended entirely on very hard work and a flexible approach.

- 37 The database evolved, as did the requirements for processing and interpreting information.
- 38 The Cape Town information manager was also required to cater for national needs, taking responsibility for centralising all documentation from the regions and for the processing of all amnesty applications (stored at the national office) on the Commission's database.

Investigations

- 39 The regional investigation unit was assigned to conduct investigations on behalf of the Human Rights Violations and Amnesty Committees. Because the national Human Rights Violations Committee did not set guidelines on levels of corroboration, the process of investigation devolved on the investigation units themselves. This accounts for regional variations in the investigative process.
- 40 Each investigator was assigned to the corroboration of cases by collecting and analysing information. Information was obtained by interviewing complainants and witnesses and retrieving a wide range of documents. These included inquest records, medical records, institutional records - for example, those of the South African Police (SAP), the liberation movements and the South African Defence Force (SADF) - commission reports, legal records, newspaper reports and *post mortem* reports.
- 41 The South African Police Service (SAPS), the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), the African National Congress (ANC) and other structures each established a central nodal point through which requests could be filtered. In the case of the SAPS, security police and police stations in the region were generally approached directly for records, and the nodal point used only where problems were experienced with document retrieval. This worked, except where documentation had been destroyed - either in terms of specific legislation, such as that governing the National Archives, or sometimes without authorisation. Specific mention must be made of the serious lack of co-operation from the SANDF which, to a significant degree, did not comply in supplying documentation concerning gross human rights violations.
- 42 Section 29 enquiries proved a valuable mechanism for conducting investigations. Due to logistical, budgetary and resource constraints, they were limited in the regions to cases chosen for in depth investigation such as the 'Gugulethu

Seven' (3 March 1986), KTC (9/10/11 June 1986) and the 'Trojan horse' killings (15 October 1985).

- 43 The 'Gugulethu Seven' enquiry initiated a significant sequence of events which began with statement taking and culminated when two people who had been *subpoenaed* applied for amnesty. An important result of the investigation was the discovery of involvement by security police operatives based at Vlakplaas in the killing of these seven young black men. In addition, it was revealed that some of the alleged perpetrators still occupied senior positions in the command structure of the SAPS in the Western Cape.
- 44 Other special investigations undertaken in this region included: the death of Coline Williams and Robert Waterwich (1989); the national gun-running project in the 1990s (which was implicated in the destabilisation of Khayelitsha) and the taxi conflict (a national Investigation Unit project to which all regions contributed); the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB) killing of Peaches Gordon (1991); the killing of Ashley Kriel (1987); the *Amasolomzi* in the Boland (so-called vigilantes in these areas in the 1980s); the St James Church massacre (1993); the Heidelberg Tavern attack (December 1993) and the killing of Pro Jack (1991).

Hearings

- 45 In order to reach as many people as possible and to involve local communities and organisations, the regional office held as many hearings as it could. These covered the Peninsula, Boland, Southern Cape, Karoo, Northern Cape and West Coast. Decentralised hearings were also held in many suburbs and rural towns.
- 46 For hearings purposes, the region was divided into six geographical areas: the Northern Cape, the Peninsula, the Boland, the south-western Cape, the Karoo, and the West Coast/ Namaqualand. Staff and commissioners were divided into three teams, each consisting of a Human Rights Violations and a Reparation and Rehabilitation commissioner or committee member, two statement takers, a briefer, a driver, a researcher and a logistics officer, later joined by an investigator. Each team was co-ordinated by the logistics officer who was responsible for administration and logistical support, and a commissioner who was largely responsible for information flow ('Infocom') and helping to set themes for the hearing. Administrative staff members were not officially part of the team, but were integrated at different levels to ensure the smooth running of the hearing.

At times, for example in the rural areas, the media (whose presence was crucial at hearings) were treated as part of the team.

- 47 Each team worked within a ten-week cycle that consisted of a pre-hearings, hearings and post-hearings phase. During the pre-hearings phase, the team held meetings with strategic people in the various towns. It also held public education and information meetings and set up the process of collecting statements from witnesses. Researchers prepared information to help each team decide where to focus on statement taking and in which towns to hold hearings. Each team passed on the statements it collected to the 'Infocom' group for processing.
- 48 During the hearings stage, the team planned, set up and held hearings in selected towns. The availability of suitable venues and the need to accommodate the needs of the media determined where hearings were held. Occasionally, however, the chosen location proved inaccessible. This limited the participation of communities. For example, it was decided on the basis of the aforementioned criteria to hold the southern Cape hearing in George, without taking into account the fact that human rights violations took place predominantly in Oudtshoorn. This limited the involvement of members of the Oudtshoorn community and informed a later decision to hold a reparation and rehabilitation programme in Oudtshoorn in February 1997.
- 49 The post-hearings stage included individual follow-up of people who had testified, as well as referrals. In addition, community workshops were held after each of the public hearings. These focused on the community's experiences of the Commission's activities in the area, possible ways forward and workshopping of possible human and financial solutions that could be implemented using local resources. In many instances, these workshops became the vehicle to start addressing the issue of reconciliation in a community. For example, the hearing in Paarl and the special reparation and rehabilitation programme in Oudtshoorn focused specifically on ways in which reconciliation and rehabilitation could be addressed, and on how to initiate discussions and make constructive links to the everyday experience and life of people in these communities.
- 50 The teams met weekly to plan, implement and evaluate the various stages of work. Special attention was paid to ensure that commissioners were as prepared as possible for hearings in regions where it was believed there might be an additional opportunity for investigation. Participating commissioners were provided with a 'case file', which contained statements, the Investigation Unit report and research

notes. Commissioners were given a final briefing on the eve of each hearing. In the case of the event hearings, commissioners on the panel were also furnished with a specific set of questions for the witnesses assigned to them.

- 51 During 1996, the work of the Commission was largely driven by hearings. Later in the year, this strategy came under criticism because of the low number of statements collected in comparison to other regions. The Commission found that a hearings-driven approach militated against the collection of statements, since the team was only able to set aside two of the ten weeks of each cycle to statement collection.
- 52 The introduction of the designated statement taker programme was seen as one way to overcome this problem. In addition, in November 1996, the region decided to divide its workforce into two teams - one for hearings and one for statement taking - in order to ensure equal attention to and promotion of proactive statement taking. Thereafter, the hearings team became responsible for all the hearings which had been diarised by the region earlier that year.
- 53 Two hundred and eighty-nine cases were investigated for presentation at twelve public hearings. In general, cases at these public hearings were chosen to highlight human rights violations that had been committed in each sub-region. There was criticism that the Cape Town office showed a bias towards investigations and hearings on violations committed by the security forces rather than those committed by the liberation movement. However, 90 per cent of statements demonstrated the involvement of the security forces in human rights violations.
- 54 Hearings were scheduled to fit into the national schedule that allocated one week per month to each region to avoid competition for the media, commissioners' time and other resources. Some hearings (in the south-west Cape, West Coast and central Karoo) were cancelled because there were not sufficient statements to justify a hearing. Research had already indicated that these geographical areas would not yield a significant number of statements on gross human rights violations. In addition, the statements collected reflected a number of violations falling outside the Commission's mandate.
- 55 Area hearings dealt with a variety of human rights violations cases. Some of the hearings focused on specific events or themes.

a **Peninsula (Cape Flats) (24 - 26 April 1996).** This was the second hearing to take place nationally and the first to be held in the Western Cape. The cases

heard were drawn from events spanning the three decades under scrutiny by the Commission and were examples of the widespread resistance which took place. Some of the better known events referred to in the hearing included the ambush and killing of the 'Guguletu Seven', the shoot-out and killing of Anton Fransch in Athlone and the shooting of Yvette Otto in Valhalla Park. The hearing also drew attention to the death of Looksmart Ngudle, the first detainee to die in detention, and also to human rights violations committed by the liberation movement, such as the St James Church massacre.¹

b Northern Cape (Kimberley) (10 - 11 June 1996). This hearing focused on events that happened in the towns surrounding Kimberley, drawing particular attention to the indiscriminate shooting of civilians in this region. Other cases heard included the shooting and torture of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres, and the confession by Walter Smiles that he was responsible for a hand grenade attack for which two men were then serving a jail sentence (the Smiles case became the subject of an amnesty hearing).

c South East Cape (George) (17 - 19 June 1996).

This hearing focused on the human rights violations committed by *kitskonstabels* and the torture of young teenage activists who had their testicles, penises or breasts slammed in drawers. The hearing also heard about human rights violations committed by perpetrators from political organisations fighting apartheid, such as the killing of a community councillor and the attack on a Plettenberg Bay teacher.

d Boland (Breëriviervallei, Worcester) (24 - 26 June 1996).

This hearing focused on the actions of the *Amasolomzi* (vigilantes supported by municipal police), the recurrent shooting and killing of youths by the police and torture in police cells.

e Peninsula (Helderberg/Tygerberg) (5 - 7 August 1996).

This hearing focused on women, of whom two were activists and another had been caught in the crossfire. The hearing also highlighted violations committed against the Bonteheuwel Military Wing, the killing of the MK cadre Ashley Kriel and the Pollsmoor march.

¹ This was verified in an amnesty application.

f Karoo (Beaufort West) (12 -14 August 1996).

This hearing focused on community violence, such as the burning of residents who did not support the comrades, and the arrest and incarceration in 1968 of 100 men who allegedly conspired to poison the Victoria West water supply. Another case highlighted the torture of a young woman whose breast was slammed in a drawer.

g Northern Cape (Upington) (30 September - 2 October 1996).

The first day of the hearings was dedicated to the killing of the policeman, Jetta Sethwale, and the trial of the 'Upington Twenty Six'. The hearing gave valuable insights into conditions in prison and the trauma of being on death row. Investigation of the Upington cases showed that the police records of political cases between 1985 and 1993 are no longer available. The panel also heard evidence from the mother of the policeman who was killed, shedding light on her alienation and isolation. The case demonstrated the fact that, in communities as small as Pabalello, perpetrators and victims continue to live in close proximity to each other.

h Karoo (Colesburg) (7 - 9 October 1996).

The cases dealt with the torture of youth, attacks on *impimpi* (informers) on community councillors and police officers. The hearings were decentralised and held in De Aar, Hanover and Colesberg to make them more accessible to the communities concerned.

i Boland (Paarl & West Coast) (14 - 16 October 1996).

This hearing was accompanied by an exhibition at the museum that provided insight into gross human rights violations. A particularly moving exhibit concerned a conscript who died in combat. A statement of apology from the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk was read. The hearing also focused on the clashes between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), the 1960 killing of a suspected informer, and the killing of Vivian Matthee and others in the 1985 cross-border raid. This hearing was unique in that the pre-hearing preparation was specifically geared towards the process of building reconciliation in the community.

- 56 After the Boland hearing, the Cape Town regional office held event hearings. These focused on events that had attracted a great deal of public interest or had involved extensive legal proceedings. They were significant because they

confirmed long held beliefs about the role of the state in fomenting violence (as in KTC), the involvement of the police in provoking unrest in order to kill (as in the 'Trojan horse' incident) and the involvement of security forces based at Vlakplaas in the Western Cape (as in the 'Guguletu Seven' incident). All these hearings provided a window into understanding human rights violations during the period of intense resistance and repression that characterised the 1980s. These violations included:

- a 'Guguletu Seven' (Peninsula, 25 -27 November 1996 and 18 - 19 February 1997). The hearing concerned the ambushing and killing of the Guguletu Seven cadres and highlighted the Vlakplaas connection.
- b 'Trojan horse' (Peninsula, 20 - 21 May 1997). The Trojan Horse hearing highlighted the killing of three youths. Evidence was led to show that the police were not reacting, but deliberately set out to provoke unrest in order to kill.
- c KTC (Peninsula 9 -11 June 1997). The hearing highlighted *witdoek* and police complicity in an attack on the KTC community.

57 The region also organised other hearings, some of which were initiated at a national level. These included:

- a a health sector hearing
- b submissions by the SADF
- c political party submissions and recall
- d the Oudtshoorn reconciliation programme
- e section 29 hearings (national and regional)
- f children and youth
- g chemical and biological warfare

■ WORKING WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

- 58 From the start, the Cape Town regional office sought to develop meaningful and constructive interaction with different organisations and structures in order to maximise the Commission's activities in all areas. In the Western Cape, a strong lobby of interested NGOs had already expressed its desire to be involved in various aspects of the Commission's work. At the outset, it seemed likely that relationships with organisations could be built to assist the Commission in various ways. First, such organisations could help communicate the Commission's aims and objectives to local communities. Second, they could help it arrange public hearings, take statements or provide support for statement taking. Third, they could support people who testified before the Commission by providing individual and community support networks. Finally, they could help the Commission think through problematic or contentious issues at research seminars.
- 59 The Cape Town regional office benefited in particular from three experiences in formulating its strategies and determining its relationships with NGOs and community based organisations in the region: first, a workshop held with major stakeholders on 20 July 1996; second, on the ground experience gained during the first ten week hearing cycle and, third, lessons drawn from training sessions with designated statement takers. As a result of these, the region identified five categories of organisations it could work with.
- a those interested in providing mental health support: social welfare officers, psychiatric nurses, religious groupings, respected local community workers and organisations such as the Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture and Ilitha Labantu;
 - b those interested in promoting human rights: including advice offices, the Human Rights Commission, religious organisations and institutions and the Land Commission;
 - c those interested in promoting and supporting the Commission in general: Re-construction and Development (RDP) forums, local councils and political parties;
 - d those interested in the debates and policy issues that arose in the course of the work of the Commission;
 - e academics and others.

- 60 When the Commission moved into an area, an initial workshop was held to bring people together in order to find out how they could assist. Groups that were interested in supporting the work of the Commission helped logistics officers set up pre-hearing meetings and organisations volunteered to assist in the hearing preparation process. A similar gathering concluded activities in the area, including people who had made statements to the Commission. Support was solicited from a wide range of role players and stakeholders. These included the local councils, NGOs and community-based organisations, religious groupings and community leaders. As a result of such workshops, organisations assisted with communication (pamphleteering, putting up posters and loud-hailing) and logistics (helping to find and prepare venues for hearings and assisting with catering), and community briefers were trained to provide support to witnesses and to assist with debriefing and follow-up work.
- 61 The national office provided general communications materials and event-specific material for distribution by local organisations. The regional office produced posters, pamphlets (in the language(s) spoken by local people) and banners for each of the areas in which a hearing was held or where statement taking took place. Logistics officers often used loudhailers to inform community members of the time and venue for hearings. Community-based organisations and NGOs distributed pamphlets and posters and directed the logistics officers to the most appropriate places to call people to hearings.
- 62 It became clear that the pamphlets distributed were not necessarily reaching potential statement makers, so the communications strategy was broadened through the use of radio. Radio was used as a means of communicating with the public at large and with potential statement makers. Talk shows became a popular way to address specific issues that related to statement taking. Radio Xhosa, Bush Radio, Radio 786 and Voice of the Cape gave the Commission regular slots.
- 63 In general, the regional office found it difficult to draw white South Africans to hearings. The Paarl hearing provided an opportunity to try new ways to encourage members of that community to participate. As noted earlier, the hearing was preceded by an exhibition held at the local museum, which included material from conscripts, newspaper clippings and photographs which told of the struggles of the people of Paarl and the surrounding communities. In addition to the exhibition, the Commission organised a number of church services in Paarl, Pinelands and Bellville.

- 64 Organisations repeatedly expressed the need to know about the work of the Commission and how they could assist. A national newsletter was issued, and teams working in different communities made efforts to keep interested role players informed. Similarly, many schools and churches, university and women's groups invited commissioners to make presentations at their meetings.
- 65 A recurring theme was that of payment for services rendered. The Commission's policy was that it could not raise funds on behalf of organisations, but could provide letters of support for organisations that did work that assisted the Commission. Despite a decision to pay for the performance of or assistance with core tasks, this too proved impossible.
- 66 The socio-economic realities in rural areas added a particular dynamic to partnerships with NGOs and community-based organisations based there. NGOs in the vast rural areas of the Karoo, the southern and northern Cape and the West Coast and Namaqualand are severely under-resourced in contrast to NGOs in urban areas. They were particularly concerned to receive payment for their work. They were also often less able to provide the necessary services. It proved, for example, very difficult to set up support networks for deponents in the Karoo, where there was no NGO working in the mental health care field and where government services were scarce.² Thinly spread Commission, church and other resources made it impossible to provide coherent services in these areas.
- 67 Organisations (especially in rural areas) assisted with logistic arrangements for statement taking and hearings. These were normally conducted on a very short-term basis and were event focused. Unlike relationships with support networks, these contacts were normally short-lived, and the Commission found it difficult to arrange long-term assistance.
- 68 In all areas where the Commission worked, it identified advice office structures, as well as organisations and individuals that would be able to provide mental or medical health care and support to deponents. In most cases, the Commission negotiated an agreement that they would provide services to people referred by the Commission.

² For example, during the life of the Commission, only one psychiatrist supported by two psychiatric nurses served the area stretching from De Aar to Colesberg and Noupoort.

- 69 In the early stages, the Cape Town regional office identified the possible positive aspects of using designated statement takers recruited from local organisations. Local statement takers enjoyed levels of trust in their communities and had a good understanding of and were proficient in the language of the community involved. Thus, the regional office gave the go-ahead for the training of volunteers in the Peninsula as well as in the areas where the first three hearings were planned (George, Worcester, and Kimberley). The regional office also spear-headed the training manual for statement takers. Lack of resources, however, led to the suspension of most of these activities until the formal introduction of the designated statement taker programme.
- 70 Support networks extended not only to people invited to testify at hearings, but enabled statement takers to refer people who made statements to appropriate organisations and individuals. Informal referrals were also discussed at case conferences on a basis of urgency. A good example of such a network was the Mental Health Response set up in the Cape Peninsula. Unfortunately this type of network only functioned in the greater Cape Town area because of the lack of resources in rural areas.
- 71 Community briefers were also identified and trained to assist at all public hearings. These people were normally linked to community or NGO structures and provided their services free of charge. This strategy provided a positive answer to the lack of language representivity on the part of the briefers employed by the Commission. It had the further advantage that, after the Commission had left an area, people in the community could themselves provide support or set up peer support groups.
- 72 The regional office also developed post-hearing follow-up workshops in response to the 'circus-left-town syndrome' experienced after the first hearings. The close involvement of NGOs was the key to the effort to link people who made statements to existing support services in their immediate vicinity. Post-hearing workshops also provided feedback and a way of challenging individuals and organisations to take control of the ideas developed at the workshops. The issue of reconciliation was discussed, and it was made clear that the Commission could only initiate this process. Ultimately, reconciliation was something that the community would have to come to terms with itself.

- 73 Finally, research seminars took place on a monthly basis. These were the responsibility of the Research Department. The seminars took the form of panel discussions on issues of public interest, focusing largely on reconciliation and amnesty. Invitations were circulated widely amongst academic institutions and human rights organisations in the Peninsula and Boland areas.

Regional Office Reports

DURBAN OFFICE

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The Durban regional office operated across the two provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and the Free State – each with widely differing political and social dynamics. Although the office served a total population of just over ten million people (over 25 per cent of the total population of South Africa), KwaZulu-Natal has almost three times the population of the Free State. For this reason, the greater part of the work was concentrated in KwaZulu-Natal, where some eighty permanent staff members were employed, while a satellite office with a staff of seven people was set up in the Free State.
- 2 The Commission was designed to be implemented in a society in which transition had at least begun, and in which there was a degree of political tolerance. In KwaZulu-Natal, the ruling Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) had not been party to many of the transitional negotiations and had, in fact, only come into the election process days before 27 April 1994. From its inception, the Commission was treated with mistrust and scepticism by the IFP and, in spite of written representations and personal requests by the most senior members of the Commission, it was not willing to encourage its members to take part in the process. However, at a very late stage, approximately one month before the cut-off date for submission of statements, the IFP called on its members to apply for reparations. Some 5 000 people subsequently made statements, a small percentage of whom were declared members of the IFP.

■ IDENTITY AND EXTENT OF REGION

- 3 The total area of KwaZulu-Natal (comprising the former KwaZulu homeland and the Natal province) is just over 92 000 square kilometres, with a sub-tropical coastline on the eastern border and the Drakensberg Mountains to the west. The province includes two large industrial areas: the ‘Durban Functional Region’

(the third fastest growing urban area in the world in the past decade) and Richards Bay. Together, these two ports are responsible for the bulk of sea-based export and import for southern Africa.

- 4 The Free State is larger than KwaZulu-Natal and occupies a total area of 129 000 square kilometres. Its major urban centre is Bloemfontein, which is the judicial capital of South Africa.

Population

- 5 KwaZulu-Natal has a population of just over eight million people. The Durban area has the largest population of Asians outside of the Indian sub-continent, many of whom came to South Africa as labourers to work on the sugar plantations during the last century. In terms of the categories created by apartheid legislation, 81 per cent of the population of the province is African, 9.6 per cent Asian, 6.2 per cent white and 3.2 per cent coloured.
- 6 The Free State is much more sparsely populated and, although a larger geographical area, the population is under three million people. Approximately 83 per cent of people living in the Free State are African, 12 per cent white, and 5 per cent coloured. Very few Asians live in the Free State because, historically, apartheid legislation forbade their settlement in the area.

Languages

- 7 Most of the people in KwaZulu-Natal speak Zulu as a home language, and the majority of the white population is English-speaking. Other prevalent languages are South Sotho, Xhosa, Gujarati and Hindi.
- 8 In the Free State, the majority of the population is South Sotho speaking. Most of the white population is Afrikaans-speaking; ten times more people speak Afrikaans as a home language than English. Other major languages spoken include Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana.

Income/poverty profile

- 9 In KwaZulu-Natal, about 50 per cent of the economically active population is unemployed. The annual per capita income is R3 288. Nearly two million people in the 'Durban Functional Region' still live in informal settlements. Many people depend on informal employment, such as street trading, for their survival.

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

■ METHOD OF WORK

Commissioners allocated to region

- 11 Two of the national commissioners were allocated to this region: the Revd Dr Khoza Mgojo and Mr Richard Lyster. Both had a record of extensive work in KwaZulu-Natal.
- 12 The Commission appointed four committee members to support its work in the region: Mr Mdu Dlamini, Ms Virginia Gcabashe and Mr Ilan Lax¹ for the Human Rights Violations Committee and Dr S'Mangele Magwaza for the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee. In addition, Judge Hassen Mall and Judge Andrew Wilson of the Amnesty Committee were both based in the Durban office, although they travelled widely throughout the country for amnesty hearings. Ilan Lax also served on the national legal working group and acted as the regional legal aid committee representative.

Staffing

- 13 Several hundred applicants submitted *curriculum vitae* for consideration for employment. A personnel agency initially assisted with short-listing applicants, but the region soon took full responsibility for the staff selection process to ensure that appointments responded to political sensitivities and followed affirmative action criteria.
- 14 Of the first thirty people appointed, twenty had been unemployed and, of these, many had never worked previously. They were employed for their potential to do good work. This policy was maintained, with preference given to unemployed people where possible. The racial mix at all levels strongly reflected that of society. In addition, a gender balance of 50 per cent men and 50 per cent women was maintained. A staff member with a disability was also employed.
- 15 The Durban office came to employ a permanent staff of eighty. The satellite office in the Free State employed a staff of seven, including a manager.

¹ Later redeployed to the Amnesty Committee.

- 16 A regional manager and an information manager were appointed in March 1996. The region appointed a head of the Investigation Unit who was functionally responsible to the national office, but administratively responsible to the region. A support services manager was appointed in April 1996 and was responsible for the administrative functioning of the office. A regional bookkeeper was appointed together with three logistics officers. Other staff included an information manager and an assistant to the Human Rights Violations Committee. The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was supported by a regional co-ordinator and briefers, and the Amnesty Committee was supported by two secretaries. Three logistics officers were responsible for organising hearings and venues for statement taking, workshops, briefings and amnesty and section 29 hearings.

Accommodation, resources and equipment

- 17 The regional office was based in Durban and, despite some initial difficulty in finding suitable premises due to the tense political climate², a lease was finally signed for two floors of a new building. A corporate interior designer assisted with the design of the offices and acquisition of furniture and fittings.
- 18 The necessity for a satellite office in Bloemfontein quickly became evident. Staff from the main regional office tried to visit the satellite office regularly and to keep in touch, but staff in Bloemfontein often felt unsupported, under-resourced and out of touch with regional work. Despite these drawbacks, work done in the Bloemfontein office was extremely effective.

Methodology and assessment of work

- 19 The regional manager oversaw work in the region, made sure that national decisions were implemented regionally, ensured the control of finances, and regularly reported on regional work to the chief executive officer.
- 20 The core of planning took place at weekly management meetings. Other meetings supplemented these. The Reparation and Rehabilitation and the Human Rights Violations committees held regular meetings and, about every six months, there were regional strategic planning meetings to prepare for briefings and hearings, and devise an overall vision for the region.
- 21 An attempt was made to evaluate the work of the region regularly, using procedures where staff, colleagues and managers evaluated themselves. However, time

² The offices and equipment of the Independent Electoral Commission had been damaged, and many property owners were wary of leasing property to the Commission in a tense political climate.

constraints made this process rather difficult to implement.

- 22 The Commission was, in many respects, a very hurried process. To investigate and produce a satisfactory product in only two years was very difficult both in terms of time and resources. Even at a very late stage of operations, attempts to interpret the Act revealed that practical implementation of some aspects was impossible, despite several changes to the Act and to the regulations. Furthermore, owing to delays in appointments of staff and in the full operation of the database, the office only began working at full capacity in June 1996. Then, in July 1997, hearings and proactive statement taking had to stop, as the Commission began to release staff in the gradual process of closing down. This meant that, although the legislation provided for a two-year life span, the Commission was only fully operational for just over a year.
- 23 As in other regions, groups of staff left at the end of July 1997, at the end of September 1997 and in mid-December 1997. This roll out plan was managed as sensitively as possible, with assistance given to staff to find jobs where feasible, to improve their interviewing skills and to prepare *curriculum vitae*. A four-week course by a counselling psychologist also helped staff to cope. There was also an attempt to fill longer-standing posts where staff resigned. The roll out plan left the region very short staffed in some departments.
- 24 The regional office was granted two extensions, however, initially until March 1998 and then to the end of June 1998. Most of the remaining staff stayed on until the end of May, and a small staff component remained until the end of June in order to provide support for the commissioners, the Amnesty Committee and investigators.

■ WORK OF THE COMMISSION

Statement taking

- 25 Eight regional statement takers worked throughout the region, often spending days out of the office as they visited rural areas. Preparation included briefings, pamphlet distribution and radio publicity. In many areas, hostility was shown towards the statement takers and, on several occasions, they had to be withdrawn when their safety could not be assured. In some cases, the Public Order Policing Unit of the South African Police (SAP) was asked to accompany statement takers, and arrangements were made with local *indunas*³ for permission to enter certain areas.

3 Zulu headmen

- 26 The designated statement taker programme was launched in Durban in April 1997. Archbishop Tutu made a special plea for the involvement of the IFP, either directly with the Commission or through the non-governmental community. Once again, the success of the plea was limited.
- 27 The designated statement taker programme employed two community liaison officers, one in Bloemfontein and the other in Durban. By forging contractual relationships with over forty organisations, they greatly increased the statement taking capacity of the office and its ability to reach out to remote areas in the two provinces.

Information flow

- 28 The Information Department was responsible for the collection of statements, the control of all documents within the regional office, data capturing, coding and processing, as well as the maintenance of the database. Later, the capturing, coding and processing functions were combined.
- 29 Information meetings were held weekly to discuss the development and implementation of the information flow policy and to evaluate cases, the quality of statements taken and progress made.

Investigations

- 30 The Investigation Unit was divided into sections dealing with general investigations, corroboration, amnesty applications and special investigations. The Investigation Unit employed four members of the police and four civilians, two of whom were seconded from the Department of Justice.
- 31 A sub-unit dealing specifically with corroboration was formed in early 1997 and employed a co-ordinator assisted by seven staff members. Separate funding was raised nationally for this purpose. This unit was later enlarged to include twenty staff members. It had the enormous task of corroborating all the late statements, many of which related to arson and were difficult to prove. Victims had been unwilling to report such instances to the police for fear of further retaliation.
- 32 Three police observers from Denmark and Sweden were assigned to this unit and played an important role in its functioning.

- 33 The Investigation Unit held weekly meetings to share information, plan work and report on progress.

1996 hearings in the KwaZulu-Natal/Free State Region

- 34 There were only two commissioners assisted by four committee members in the region and the burden of the public hearing schedule was heavy. Commissioners and most of the committee members attended most hearings. This was particularly demanding during 1996 when there was more than one hearing a month.
- 35 In the early days, briefings and workshops were held in many areas, and it was difficult to fit all the events into the programme. Yet, despite the regular planned briefings, there were many additional requests for briefings from rural and urban communities who felt that they were insufficiently informed about the process.
- 36 The IFP criticised commissioners, committee members and some staff members in this region throughout the process. From the time that the first hearing took place, when several deponents gave evidence of IFP involvement in violence, hostile accusations of bias were received by letter and in newspaper articles, many in the form of personal attacks on certain commissioners and committee members. As indicated, the IFP refused to take part in the process and, despite many approaches, the Commission in the region had very little success in changing its attitude. Representation at the hearings was, therefore, inevitably skewed.

a Durban (7-10 May 1996).

The first human rights violations hearing in this region took place at the Jewish Club in Durban. The hearing was organised so as to give as wide a view as possible of human rights violations which occurred in the two provinces, and forty-three cases were heard from all over the region. Testimony was heard about the killing of the parents of a one year old child in a cross border raid into Lesotho and a bomb in central Durban which killed the parents of a young boy. The Commission also heard the testimony of the mother of Stompie Seipei, who was killed in Soweto, as well as a submission on difficulties with the justice system.

b Bloemfontein (2-4 July 1996).

The second hearing took place in Bloemfontein, where forty cases were heard from all over the Free State with the aim of painting a broad picture of human rights violations in that province.

c Pietermaritzburg (23-25 July 1996).

The third hearing took place in the City Hall, Pietermaritzburg. Forty-nine cases were heard, including testimony relating to the murder of prominent trade unionists in Mpophomeni Township. The hearings were very well attended.

d Port Shepstone (12-14 August 1996).

At the Port Shepstone hearing, thirty-nine cases were heard from an area torn apart by political violence, especially in the rural areas surrounding the town. Evidence was heard of close co-operation between the police and the IFP in this region. It was difficult to find a suitable venue for these hearings because people feared reprisals, and very few community members attended.

e Durban (28-30 August 1996).

The second hearing in Durban took place at the Christian Centre. Witnesses described incidents such as the death of fifteen young people who were amongst the mourners attacked after the killing of activist attorney, Victoria Mxenge. Of the thirty-six cases heard, twenty-four were directly associated with murders. The majority of the victims were members of the African National Congress (ANC), but four were from the IFP, and eleven were of uncertain political affiliation. Most of the cases dealt with were from Umlazi in the Durban region, and there was much evidence to demonstrate a relationship between the police (both the SAP and the KwaZulu Police (KZP)) and the IFP. Many of the deponents were women, but only two spoke of their own experiences. The rest spoke of crimes against their families.

f Northern Natal (10-12 September 1996).

The sixth hearing took place at Newcastle. Twenty-nine cases were heard, including that of the brutal slaying of trade unionist and ANC activist, Professor Hlalanathi Sibankulu, whose burnt body was found in his car. Most of the cases involved murder, harassment and detention at the hands of the Security Branch of the SAP or the KZP, sometimes in collaboration with the IFP in the region. There were also cases where the Special Branch worked in the townships without the participation of the KZP. In the case of the Hlobane Mine massacre, where eleven people were killed, witnesses implicated mine management in addition to the Special Branch and the IFP. Another trend that emerged at this hearing related to disappearances. Some children had not been seen by their families since they went into exile, which left unanswered questions as to their whereabouts.

g Welkom (8-10 October 1996).

The focus of this Free State hearing was on the roles played by black vigilante

gangs in fomenting violence. Allegations were made against the A-team, the Eagles and the 3 Million gang, all of which operated with the collusion of the SAP against the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the area.

h Hearing on assassinations, Durban (24 October 1996).

This event focused on specific assassinations. Ms Daphne Mnguni spoke about the death of her brother Mr Msizi Dube, who had been an activist since the 1950s and was shot in 1983 on his way home from a meeting. Four men served prison sentences for his murder, and one received the death penalty. Fatima Meer and Harold Strachan told of attempts on their lives, allegedly by the Security Branch, and several members of the family of leading anti-apartheid intellectual Rick Turner gave testimony about his death. He was shot through a window of his house in the presence of his two young children.

i Hearing on women, Durban (25 October 1996).

Following the testimony on assassinations, a second day was set aside to hear testimony from women. It had become apparent that, although many women gave evidence at the hearings, very few spoke about their own experiences. The hearing was open only to women; even the technicians on site were women. Ten women spoke very eloquently about their own suffering and brutal treatment at the hands of men. In two of the three rape cases heard, the women had never spoken about their experiences before. In one of these instances, a woman was gang-raped by some ANC youths over a period of a month and conceived a child. She reported that one of the men who raped her began visiting her home regularly and claimed parenthood of the child, which she was finding very difficult. Some of the women targeted were not themselves activists, but were family members of activists. Nosizwe Madlala-Routledge, Phyllis Naidoo and Marie Odendaal-Magwaza read special submissions on their experiences as women activists. A large number of deponents asked for psychological counselling to assist them in dealing with their trauma.

j Empangeni (4-6 November 1996).

Testimony was heard from twenty-five people in the highly volatile Empangeni area. Of the eighty deponents whose cases could potentially be used, only twenty-eight were prepared to appear in public, which was an indication of the political intolerance and intimidation in this region. In addition, one-third of the selected witnesses failed to arrive at the hearings because of intimidation. Testimony was heard about three massacres that resulted in twenty-three deaths. One of the cases concerned the death of Dr Henry Vika Luthuli, who was gunned down in his

surgery. In that instance, the investigating officer was killed, and other detectives were afraid to pursue their investigations. Ms Mary de Haas of the University of Natal gave a background submission on the political history of the area, and the failure of the SAP and KZP to investigate properly and deal with the situation.

k Hearing on the 'Seven Day War', Pietermaritzburg (November 1996).

The eleventh and final hearing of 1996 took place in Pietermaritzburg. This was an event hearing that heard evidence on the 'Seven Day War', which took place in March 1990. Evidence pointed to very close co-operation between Inkatha members and the riot unit of the SAP, leading to the deaths of hundreds of people. Tensions at this hearing ran high when a local IFP leader, David Ntombela arrived, accompanied by his lawyer and several IFP members. Ntombela's lawyer read a statement as to why his client would not testify.

l Vryheid (16-17 April 1997).

The Vryheid hearing attempted to reflect a cross section of human rights violations. Evidence pointed to collaboration between the KZP and the IFP in collective action against the ANC and the UDF in over 85 per cent of the cases.

m Parys hearing (28-30 April 1997).

Many witnesses alleged that there was state complicity in violence in the form of police involvement with black vigilante gangs working to destabilise communities.

n Children's hearing (14 May 1997).

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

o Bruntville (27-29 May 1997).

The Bruntville hearing dealt with political violence in the area and also with the 'Bruntville massacres' where Inkatha hostel residents attacked local township residents, killing many women and children. Because of the unwillingness of the IFP to appear at these hearings, Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) researcher Dr Anthony Minnaar was asked to give an overall impression of what happened in this part of the Midlands.

p Hearing on the 'Caprivi trainees' (4-15 September 1997).

A special hearing was scheduled to deal with the role of the Caprivi trainees.

Owing to the volume of advance research and preparation needed, this hearing – vital to an understanding of violence in this region - was twice delayed. Witnesses alleged that the South African Defence Force had trained members of Inkatha for the purposes of forming a covert offensive para-military unit to be deployed against the political enemies of the state. Evidence also indicated that this group was responsible for killings and attacks in many communities and showed, too, that very few convictions for these attacks had succeeded.

q Second children's hearing (June 1997).

A further special hearing was held for children in the Free State.

r Ladybrand (24-26 June 1997).

The final hearing of the Durban regional office took place at Ladybrand, which dealt with evidence regarding cross-border raids.

- 37 In addition to these hearings on human rights violations, section 29 hearings (*in camera* investigative enquiries) were held at the regional office. Several amnesty hearings were also held in various centres in the two provinces.
- 38 As was the case for national events, media coverage of the hearings was excellent. The media liaison officer had very good relationships with the print media and television, and there was thorough press coverage of hearings and other work over the entire period, often on the front pages of several publications.

Reparation and rehabilitation

- 39 The region's four briefers were supervised by co-ordinators in the Durban and Free State offices. Briefers provided support and counselling services to victims and witnesses who had made statements, especially to those who appeared at hearings. They also set up structures to continue to provide support for victims after the life of the Commission.
- 40 It was noted in the second Durban hearing and the Northern Natal hearing that the material expectations of those testifying were low. Most expressed a wish for an investigation into deaths that had occurred to establish who had committed the violations and why. Many requested assistance with schooling and expenses for families of victims, assistance with tombstones and pensions for the elderly. At the women's hearing, counselling was requested. Very few people asked for direct financial compensation.

■ WORKING WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

- 41 Workshops were held with non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations, relevant government departments and churches to ensure a close relationship with organisations in the region. Areas of co-operation included planning, policy formulation for reparation and rehabilitation, and trauma counselling and support for victims.
- 42 The regional office established a close association with the Programme for Survivors of Violence, the Diakonia Council of Churches, the Natal Church Leaders' Group, and other NGOs and community based organisations involved in providing psychological and legal support and advocacy. Many members of staff had come from and had close ties with these organisations, and existing relationships were strengthened in this way.
- 43 The Natal Church Leaders' Group was involved in getting a Reconciliation Committee working in the region, as it was felt that the churches should be part of the process and would, indeed, carry on the work after the end of the official life of the Commission.
- 44 A very close relationship developed with the Mennonite Central Committee, represented by Dr Karl and Ms Evelyn Bartsch, which trained Commission staff and associates from the NGO communities in trauma counselling. Their book on healing for victims of trauma was also widely distributed to support groups in KwaZulu-Natal and in the Free State.

Regional Office Reports

EAST LONDON OFFICE

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The East London regional office of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Commission) faced its first real challenge with the announcement that the launch of the Human Rights Violations Committee hearings would be held in the Eastern Cape. This was met with threats of legal action and interdicts aimed at preventing the event from taking place.
- 2 There was some popular discontent as well. People had difficulty in understanding some of the changes that were taking place, particularly with regard to the integration of the security forces of the former Ciskei and Transkei with the South African Defence Force (SADF), Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) and the Azanian National Liberation Army (AZANLA). In addition, the redeployment of numbers of former security police meant that many perpetrators of human rights abuses were now in the service of the new African National Congress (ANC)-led government. Considerable bitterness was expressed by those who had suffered abuse at the hands of the former state and who felt that the 'negotiated settlement' (of which the Commission was a product) had benefited people other than themselves. Not only did they feel that they had not seen justice done concerning perpetrators of human rights abuses but, in some cases, those same perpetrators were still in positions of power. This scenario was not particularly conducive to the desired culture of respect for human rights and a positive attitude towards the work of the Commission.
- 3 Some families of victims of human rights violations, such as the family of Steve Biko and Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge, were deeply suspicious of the Commission's ability to address their deeply felt grievances towards those responsible for the deaths of their loved ones. At the time of the launch of the Commission, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (AZAPO) and members of some of the victims'

families repeatedly and publicly voiced their objections. The same organisation, together with the Biko and Ribeiro families, took the matter to the Cape Provincial Supreme Court Division for an order to restrain the Commission from conducting hearings until the Constitutional Court had ruled on the validity of their constitutional challenge. Former members of the security forces also launched a legal action. Human Rights Violations Committee was legally justified, in the course of its public hearings, in receiving evidence from witnesses adversely implicating any person as a perpetrator without prior notice being given to them.

- 4 This legal action took its toll on the Commission's work, both in the region and nationally. Apartheid victims resented the fact that they could not mention the names of those they alleged were their persecutors without giving them warning. Some were further embittered by the fact that the legal challenges imposed incalculable expense on the taxpayer. Under the principle of vicarious liability, the new government continued to be financially responsible for the defence and litigation of those who served the previous government if the matter or criminal charge related to acts committed in the execution of their duties. The Commission, however, was obliged to abide by the ruling of the courts and sought to uphold what were seen as the natural justice rights of alleged perpetrators.

■ IDENTITY AND EXTENT OF REGION

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

Population

- 6 The region has a population of about six million, the third largest in the country. While roughly half of the total population is urbanised, the majority of the African population lives in rural areas that previously fell under homeland administrations.

- 7 The overwhelming majority of the population (approximately 87 per cent) is African. Six per cent of the population is made up of white people who live mainly in the industrial cities and generally in the western half of the province. Coloured people constitute 6.7 per cent of the population. A small number of Indians also resides in this province.

Languages spoken

- 8 African people in the area are almost entirely Xhosa-speaking. White people are fairly evenly divided between English and Afrikaans speakers, and the coloured population consists of both Afrikaans and English speakers.

Income/poverty profile

- 9 The Eastern Cape Province is the second poorest of the nine South African provinces (following the Northern Province). Unemployment is estimated at 65 per cent of the economically active population. The 1991 Development Bank figures show that over half the adult population received no formal education. Levels of literacy and life expectancy are lower and levels of poverty higher in the Eastern Cape and Northern Province than in any other provinces. This poverty is concentrated in the former homeland areas, which are under-resourced and lacking in infrastructure and basic health care facilities.

■ METHOD OF WORK

Commissioners allocated to region

- 10 The regional office was allocated a single commissioner, the Revd Bongani Finca, formerly of the Border Council of Churches. Four committee members were assigned to it: Mr Ntsikilelo Sandi, Ms Judith 'Tiny' Maya and Ms June Crichton for the Human Rights Violations Committee and Archdeacon Mcebisi Xundu for the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee. Ms Motho Mosuhli was later appointed to replace Ms Maya, who resigned from the Commission.

Staffing

- 11 The total staff component in the region was seventy persons, although numerous vacancies were experienced throughout the life of the Commission. Several organisations helpfully released staff to the Commission without insisting on proper notice periods. Some staff members were seconded to the Commission, but most were hired directly. The lack of skilled persons was severely felt in the East London office and a large staff turnover was experienced.
- 12 The Investigation Unit was hardest hit by staffing problems, enduring three different heads of unit. Its work was further hampered by the lack of proper hand-over between the successive co-ordinators. It also proved extremely difficult to find and retain suitable investigators. All this had a serious effect on the unit's work.
- 13 Bonding between staff who came from different political, work and racial backgrounds was a challenge, and major efforts were made to build relationships, trust, communication and understanding. A staff association played an invaluable role and enjoyed support from almost all members of staff.

Accommodation, resources and equipment

- 14 After some teething problems, accommodation for the entire East London regional office was eventually located within the same building. Offices were spread across four floors, with the Commission occupying only two of these floors in their entirety. This made security of the building, people, equipment and documentation an ongoing problem.
- 15 A small satellite office was later set up in Port Elizabeth to augment the work taking place in East London.
- 16 Despite excellent computer facilities, there was a lack of computer skills in the office. An e-mail link helped communications with staff in Port Elizabeth.
- 17 A shortage of office equipment and vehicles also created problems.

Methodology and assessment of work

- 18 The regional office used unit and departmental meetings to facilitate greater co-ordination and management of its work. Regular meetings included staff meetings,

regional management meetings and regional committee meetings for committee members, the commissioner and the regional manager.

- 19 It took a considerable time before systems adopted by the Commission nationally were properly implemented in the East London office. This was owing in part to a lack of understanding of the systems by staff, and partly to the shortage of departmental heads. This particularly affected work on human rights violation cases.
- 20 The lack of systems and crucial personnel resulted in a lot of unnecessary initial confusion and uncoordinated work in the office. However, many staff used their own initiative to get work underway, with several staff members performing duties beyond those described in their job descriptions.
- 21 Fiscal and other controls were put in place in the office, although the absence of a regional budget undermined the effective monitoring and control of expenditure at regional level.

■ WORK OF THE COMMISSION

Statement taking

- 22 Statement taking began early. Both statement takers and briefers helped to get the first human rights violation hearing off the ground in April 1996 by taking a significant number of statements. During the first hearing, the statement takers and briefers also helped transport witnesses to the hearing and protected them from crowds of journalists and other interested people.
- 23 The East London office eventually employed eight statement takers, based mainly in towns throughout the region (Umtata, Butterworth, Queenstown, Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth) for easy access by deponents. After a few months, however, it became clear that few people were coming forward to make statements, and a more proactive strategy was needed. By the beginning of 1997, personnel were re-deployed: one each in Umtata and Grahamstown and three each in Port Elizabeth and East London.

- 24 Poor access to vehicles impacted on statement taking programmes and vehicles were rotated in an attempt to accommodate the needs of statement takers, whose responsibilities also included fetching witnesses for the hearings on human rights violations and identifying which communities had not yet been contacted for statement taking. The shortage of vehicles meant that statements were taken largely in cities and towns and at the human rights violation hearing venues. Rural villages were, of necessity, often ignored.
- 25 Later assessment revealed that there should have been closer links between the investigation work and statement taking. Despite setbacks and problems, by June 1997 statement takers had recorded over 2 000 statements in the Eastern Cape.

Information flow

- 26 The job of the data analyst was to do a basic analysis of the hand-written human rights violation statements and capture details on the Commission's database.
- 27 Because the Commission's database was not functioning until mid-1996, analysts were not hired until long after the office had been set up. There was also no clarity in the East London office about what the job entailed, which resulted in the hiring of people without the correct qualifications. In addition, with no information manager to oversee the process, work was done in a haphazard and unco-ordinated fashion for several months. This contributed to a filing crisis which dogged the East London office for much of its existence.
- 28 Despite these obstacles, the data analysts managed to work speedily through the backlog of hand-written cases, logging almost all of them onto the database by the end of 1996. Some learnt rapidly on the job, showing a remarkable determination to get the work done.

Hearings in the Eastern Cape

- 29 The office held fifteen human rights violation hearings (ten during 1996 and five in 1997) in twelve different towns throughout the province. Nearly 700 witnesses were heard, including some alleged perpetrators and a small number of witnesses who made submissions on behalf of organisations or provided background information. Thus, about one-third of the people who made human rights violation statements by June 1997 were given the opportunity to testify at the public hearings.

- 30 The success of the first hearing in East London gave the office a great boost of confidence, despite a bomb scare during the morning session. Thousands flocked to the hearing and, by the end of the first day, support for the Commission and its work was confirmed. Twenty witnesses testified about their direct and/or indirect experiences of gross human rights violations - including killings, disappearances, torture and various forms of severe ill treatment at the hands of either the state security forces or liberation movements. This set the standard for the rest of the hearings organised by the East London office.
- 31 Almost all the Eastern Cape hearings were very well attended, with crowds sometimes filling halls to beyond capacity. Generally, staff felt that the hearings had been successful both in giving victims and their families an opportunity to be heard and in working towards reconciliation.
- 32 Hearings were often logistic nightmares, and the fact that they were all fairly successful is a tribute to the hard work and dedication of the staff involved in them. The frequent changes to the schedule for human rights violation hearings - necessitated by efforts to cover as much of the province as possible - meant that planning was disrupted, often resulting in last minute rushes.
- 33 Staff went to a lot of trouble to identify different types of cases for the human rights violation hearings so that both high and low profile cases were heard, witnesses from across the political spectrum were given a voice, and both individual and group cases were heard. Occasionally alleged perpetrators were able to give their side of the story at the same hearings as their accusers. The hearing at Lusikisiki, for example, became a landmark in uncovering the history of rural rebellions from the early 1960s.
- 34 Amnesty hearings were difficult because there was no member of the Amnesty Committee in the office. There were also no clear guidelines on how to conduct the hearings. A lengthy amnesty hearing in late 1997 put a great deal of pressure on the office at a time when staff numbers and morale were low because of the roll out plan.
- 35 Inevitably, the hearings took priority, but there was a need to focus on other cases too. As noted earlier, while about one-third of the cases collected by the East London office by June 1997 were dealt with in public hearings, other cases required the same level of attention. Each case needed to be investigated and an eventual finding made by the Human Rights Violations Committee.

36 Following is a list of the human rights violations hearings organised in the Eastern Cape and a short description of important trends or cases dealt with:

a East London (15 - 18 April 1996).

This was the national launch of Human Rights Violations Committee hearings, the first of its kind. It received overwhelming media coverage and community support. For the first time, the South African community across the racial divide was exposed to the gruesome human rights violations that happened in the past. This was the hearing that was disturbed by a bomb threat.

b Port Elizabeth (21 - 23 May 1996).

The second hearing was equally enthusiastically received by the community, with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) giving counselling and support. The Commission's legality was also tested by a court application, lodged by the attorney of an alleged perpetrator of human rights violations, which consequently prevented the Mthimkulu case from being heard.

c Umtata (18 - 20 June 1996).

These hearings were a departure from the first two in that they concentrated on abuses that occurred in rural areas under the homeland system. The homelands security forces proved to have been more brutal than those of the South African state.

d Port Elizabeth (26 - 27 June 1996).

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

e Queenstown (22 - 24 July 1996).

Forty cases, which included the massacre of eleven people in a church hall, were heard.

f Uitenhage (26 - 28 August 1996).

This was an event hearing and looked at the 1985 'Langa massacre' in which forty-three people were killed. The conflict between the United Democratic Movement (UDM) and *Ama-Afrika* featured prominently.

g Bisho (9 - 22 September 1996).

This hearing focused on the 'Bisho massacre'. It was the first time that testimonies of victims and those of the alleged perpetrators were heard in the same hearing. Also, the way in which submissions of the alleged perpetrators were scrutinised and interrogated was a clear demonstration of the Commission's determination to present as full a picture as possible.

h Duncan Village, East London (23 - 24 September 1996).

This event hearing focused on the killing of twenty-one people who were returning from a funeral service of the political activist, Victoria Mxenge.

i Aliwal North (21 - 23 October 1996).

The regional office tried to reach out to small, rural towns, where *kitskonstabels* operated. Sixty-one deponents from Aliwal North, Barkly East, Burgersdorp and Sterkspruit gave testimony. The Human Rights Violations Committee observed that human rights violations in small towns did not receive much publicity, and people consequently suffered in silence, without adequate legal representation, at the hands of the state apparatus.

j Bisho (18 - 19 November 1996).

This was a follow-up to the 'Bisho massacre' hearing and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo testified. After the hearing, there were allegations that the Commission's panel was biased against the perpetrators.

k Cradock (10 - 11 February 1997).

Testimony included that of two young people aged fifteen years who were caught in the crossfire when they were very young. They were, according to the records, the youngest people ever to testify before the Commission.

l Lusikisiki (24 - 26 March 1997).

The hearing took place in a deep rural area and was hampered by logistic problems, such as the lack of electricity. However, it was successful in giving insights into lesser-known South African history, like the 1960 Pondoland revolt.

m Grahamstown (7 - 9 April 1997).

A number of shooting incidents by the security forces and 'necklacings' were reported at this hearing. This was the first hearing where a number of alleged perpetrators had legal representatives.

n King William's Town (12 - 14 May 1997).

Sixty-six witnesses testified about struggles with headmen, especially when Oupa Gqozo's party in the Ciskei homeland sought to oppose progressive movements.

o Mdantsane (9 - 13 June 1997).

This hearing focused on killings that occurred during the 1983 bus boycott. Wreaths were laid at Egerton and Highgate, where Ciskei and Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (APLA) armed forces had attacked people. Human rights violations relating to women were also given a full day at this hearing.

p Youth hearing, East London (18 June 1997).

Youth structures and surrounding schools made submissions.

q Faith communities hearing (17 - 19 November 1997).

The faith communities hearing was a national hearing, hosted by the region. Prominent faith community leaders spoke about their role during the apartheid era.

Reparation and rehabilitation

- 37 The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee had a relatively small presence in the East London regional office, with a committee member based in the Port Elizabeth office and three staff members in East London. Although the size of the group made communications and sharing responsibilities easier, it meant that staff had to work under pressure, as there were large numbers of victims to deal with.
- 38 The Committee actively participated in briefing witnesses during and after hearings. It provided support and counselling services to victims and witnesses and found time for home visits in urgent cases. It focused on referrals of victims to psychological and counselling services, and worked on setting up structures to continue supporting victims beyond the Commission.
- 39 Work included the referral of children of deponents to various government departments for bursaries; accessing assistance from the Department of Health and Welfare and local universities; helping organise a youth hearing, and promoting the erection of monuments (as for the victims of the 'Ngquza Hill massacre' in Pondoland and the 'Bisho massacre').

- 40 Individual examples of the committee's work included assistance to the family of murdered activist Phumezo Nxiweni, whose bones were exhumed from a farm in KwaZulu-Natal and reburied; and the accessing from private donors of a wheelchair and physiotherapy for activist Ernest Malgas.
- 41 The Committee held workshops with interested parties to feed into national reparation and rehabilitation policy. In addition, a local psychologist was retained as support for the emotional needs of staff members.

■ WORKING WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

- 42 Public relations were crucial for the Commission throughout its life, but particularly in the difficult early months. Without either a communications or a community liaison officer, many of these tasks fell to the statement takers.
- 43 The most notable opposition came from the Biko and Mxenge families and their supporters and, while their right to oppose the Commission was respected, they continued to make their views known when they attended some of the Commission's hearings.
- 44 In general, the East London office was extremely fortunate in the support it received from communities. However, staff did encounter a number of problems in outreach and fieldwork, including a great deal of ignorance about the Commission. Amnesty issues particularly needed explanation. Many NGOs in the region were closing down, and those that remained often did not have the resources to help. Some found that communities strongly associated the Commission with the government, rather than seeing it as an independent body. Finally, statement takers found that, in some areas, branches of the ANC were promoting the Commission as an instrument of their own party rather than as something for all.
- 45 A substantial number of those who made statements to the office were illiterate, which often affected their knowledge of the process and impacted on the Commission's ability to stay in contact with them.
- 46 In 1997, the designated statement taker programme was set up and became a crucial addition to internal statement taking programmes, freeing staff to work in other areas. Three NGOs were contracted to assist with the programme: Lawyers for Human Rights, through its links with advice offices and the

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

- 47 Training of the designated statement takers went well, and the quality of the statements was high. However, the programme was very slow to get off the ground, due to time constraints and financial misunderstandings. Moreover, there were problems and delays in getting statements to the office. Unfortunately the programme was not very successful; by mid-July, fewer than seventy statements had been received from designated statement takers.

Regional Office Reports

JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The Johannesburg regional office was located in the heart of downtown Johannesburg and served four provinces: Gauteng, Mpumalanga, the North West Province and the Northern Province. The area includes some of South Africa's biggest and most industrialised urban areas, including Johannesburg, the East Rand, the Vaal Triangle, Pretoria and Pietersburg. Yet most of the territory is rural, with vast stretches of bushveld dotted with remote villages.
- 2 A total of 6 200 statements was made to the office; twenty-five Human Rights Violations hearings were organised at which witnesses gave oral testimony of gross human rights violations, and six post-hearing follow-up meetings were held in the different areas.
- 3 The biggest challenge facing the Johannesburg office was how, with limited human and logistic capacity, to deal with the large population and the wide scope of human rights violations that occurred in this region. The office was allocated a similar staff component to the other regional offices, even though the area it served houses over half the nation's population. However, through a combination of creative strategies and hard work by the Commission's staff, the Johannesburg office managed to cover a good many areas that would otherwise have remained untouched. Yet, because of the shortage of resources, the office was not able to cover the full area comprehensively.

■ IDENTITY AND EXTENT OF REGION

Population

- 4 The Johannesburg office served a population of 16.9 million people, out of a total population of 37.9 million people countrywide. Its area of responsibility included the old Transvaal province and the former homelands of Bophuthatswana, Venda, KwaNdebele, Lebowa and Gazankulu.

Income/poverty profile

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

Languages

- 6 All of South Africa's eleven official languages are spoken in this area.

■ METHOD OF WORK

Commissioners allocated to region

- 7 As the convening commissioner, Dr Fazel Randera assumed overall responsibility for the work of the office. He was also a member of the Human Rights Violations Committee. Joint deputy chairpersons of that committee, lawyers Ms Yasmin Sooka and Mr Wynand Malan¹ were based in this office. These commissioners were assisted by Human Rights Violations Committee members Dr Russell Ally, Mr Hugh Lewin and Ms Joyce Seroke.

¹ Dr Malan was later re-deployed to the Amnesty Committee and replaced as vice-chairperson by Mr Richard Lyster.

- 8 Ms Hlengiwe Mkhize, a psychologist and chair of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee, was based in the office and was assisted by Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee members Mr Tom Manthatha and Professor Piet Meiring.
- 9 Amnesty Committee members included commissioners Ms Sisi Khampepe and Adv Chris de Jager and committee member Judge Bernard Ngoepe. Although nominally based in this office, they spent almost all of their time elsewhere.

Staffing

- 10 A national staffing plan was drawn up for the entire Commission before any staff was actually employed. The plan distributed staff equally between the four regional offices, with an additional component for the national office in Cape Town. No cognisance was taken of the territory, population or extent of human rights violations each office was required to service. This meant that the Johannesburg office was, proportionally speaking, understaffed from the outset.
- 11 Interviews for staff were conducted in March 1996 and, by the end of April 1996, approximately 75 per cent of the envisaged staff complement had been employed. Panels of commissioners selected senior staff, and other staff were interviewed and selected by management teams (often with the participation of a commissioner).
- 12 One of the first groups to be employed were the statement takers, and a statement taking form and training programme was developed by a team of consultants. It soon became evident, however, that the training focused too exclusively on the psychological aspects of interacting with victims. As a result, a more legally orientated training course was developed. The statement takers were the only team in the office to receive any formal training at the beginning of their employment.
- 13 Almost everyone who came to work in the Johannesburg office was driven by a desire to contribute to the process of truth recovery and national reconciliation. This meant that it was possible for the office to develop a synergy in the difficult months of setting up the Commission, while the diversity of members ensured active debate on all issues.
- 14 Many recruits were unemployed at the time of coming to the Commission, which enabled them to start immediately. Many were young, and most had a background in statutory or non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Very few came from the private sector.

- 15 Recruitment policy was guided by criteria of representivity and merit. During the period of fullest employment, 44 per cent of staff were men and 56 per cent were women; 55 per cent were African, 12 per cent coloured, 26 per cent white and 7 per cent Indian.

Accommodation, resources and equipment

- 16 The Johannesburg office had a particular advantage over all of the Commission's other regional offices in that it was on one floor, and the ability of office workers, management and commissioners to communicate easily with each other enhanced productivity.

Methodology and assessment of work

- 17 The office had a dynamic and cohesive management team, consisting of a regional manager, a support services manager and an information manager. Regular meetings played a pivotal role in defining roles and plotting policy directions.
- 18 The smooth flow of information was central to the Commission's success. Weekly 'Infocom' meetings evaluated the work of the Information Department and monitored and charted the flow of information.
- 19 The Commission had extensive national and regional research needs that often pulled the team in conflicting directions. Fundamentally, the regional work of the Research Department fell into four areas:
- a compiling geographically-based background reports on areas to be covered by statement takers and hearings;
 - b preparing thematic surveys for use by the Commission as a whole;
 - c evaluating statements to identify trends and ascertain the political content of statements, and
 - d writing sections of the final report.
- 20 Eight statement takers were employed, one of whom acted as a co-ordinator. Although the team was initially managed by the information manager, it later

became more practical for this task to be performed by the support services manager as part of the Commission's outreach programme.

- 21 The Support Services Unit dealt with office administration and outreach work.
- 22 The office bookkeeper was the backbone of the office's efficient administration and finance and was also responsible for all office supplies, maintenance and catering.

■ WORK OF THE COMMISSION

Statement taking

- 23 Statement takers acted as the front line of the Commission's work with communities. Working in teams of up to five, their formal job description entailed only the recording of stories of gross human right violations. Yet statement takers often had to run education workshops, negotiate with local leaders, organise venues and take statements from those who arrived at hearings.
- 24 Statement taking fell under the banner of the Human Rights Violations Committee and was the primary information-gathering activity of the Commission. It was often the only channel open to victims to tell their story to the nation. The pressure this implied, coupled with having to listen to traumatic stories of victims under conditions that were often difficult, made the job of statement taking one of the most stressful in the Commission.
- 25 The designated statement taker programme was launched in 1997 in order to provide communities with greater access to the Commission. The aim was to involve NGOs, faith communities and community based organisations in taking statements and was particularly important in the light of the extremely low staff to population ratio in the office. Co-ordinated by the community liaison officer, almost 100 designated statement takers from twenty-three NGOs, faith communities and community based organisations in twenty towns and cities were involved in taking statements on gross human rights violations. Through this programme, almost 2 000 statements were collected.

Information flow

- 26 The Information Department managed the flow of information in the office from the starting point of statement taking to the point at which commissioners made findings. As discussed earlier, the weekly 'Infocom' meeting co-ordinated the process.
- 27 Once statements had been recorded, they were registered on the Commission's database, and a letter of acknowledgement was sent to the deponent. Each statement was copied, the original was placed in the archives, and a copy was sent for processing and capture on the Commission's database.
- 28 The Data Unit was initially divided into processors (analysts) and capturers. Late in 1996, however, an efficiency review recommended the merging of these tasks. The efforts of the co-ordinator of this unit and the constant vigilance of the information manager ensured the high quality and quantity of work produced.
- 29 The presence of the national information systems manager meant that the unit was able to participate in the development of the database, thereby enhancing its appreciation of the database's uses and applications.

Investigations

- 30 Towards the end of 1996, the concept of low level corroboration gained popularity as a way of fulfilling the Commission's promise to do some investigation on every statement.
- 31 A Dutch investigator managed the process of conducting these administrative investigations. The low level corroboration team comprised one section of the Investigation Unit, the largest department in the regional office. It took responsibility for presenting a complete product to the Human Rights Violations Committee for a finding. The team initially included two local investigators who worked on amnesty applications and substantive human rights violations cases. Later, however, the team took on board up to twenty corroboration assistants.
- 32 Amnesty investigators spent much of their time tracking down the victims of perpetrators. Despite the heavy workload caused by the large number of applications in the area, investigators often carried the increased burden of having to make logistic arrangements for victims and their families to participate in the Commission's work.

- 33 The Investigation Unit used section 29 of the Act to assist in its investigations. This section gave the unit the power to *subpoena* suspects to a hearing in which they were obliged to answer all questions.

Hearings in the Johannesburg region

- 34 More by default than design, the holding of public human rights violations hearings became the dominant activity of the Commission. Very little thought had been given to the process of organising these hearings before the Commission began its work, and it was left to commissioners and management to work out a format. An eight-week cycle was devised which started with public education meetings, moved into statement taking and logistic arrangements, and closed with a media campaign, a selection of cases for public attention and the hearing itself.
- 35 Three multi-functional teams were established to cover (1) the North West province and the West Rand in Gauteng; (2) Mpumalanga province, Johannesburg, Soweto, Alexandra and the East Rand in Gauteng, and (3) the Northern Province and Pretoria in Gauteng. These teams consisted of commissioners and committee members, a logistics officer, a briefer, two statement takers, a secretary, and a researcher. The media liaison and communications officers were members of all three teams.
- 36 In 1997 these three teams were collapsed into one. This allowed commissioners to specialise in their areas of focus (some on hearings, some on investigations). The new arrangement also provided for tighter control in organising public meetings, statement taking and hearings.
- 37 Another reason for this change of strategy was a concern that the Human Rights Violation Committee had become too hearings-driven and needed to be more statement-driven. However, with systems in motion and work already underway, the office never really succeeded in making the transition to statement taking as its prime activity.
- 38 Each member of the team played a distinct role in the hearings process. Logistics officers organised meetings with stakeholders and communities, taking care of venues, catering, security and transport. Commissioners and committee members oversaw the hearings process from the initial meetings with stakeholders up to the hearings themselves. They met with the local community, selected the cases to be heard and sat on the panel. Four to five commissioners and committee members usually attended each hearing.

- 39 Briefers were the primary interface between the Commission and witnesses at hearings. They provided emotional support to witnesses before, during and after testifying and by so doing carried out the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee's mandate regarding rehabilitation. The Reparation and Rehabilitation regional co-ordinator oversaw the work of the briefers. The briefing team, in turn, was responsible for informing deponents that they would be testifying at hearings and ensuring that they arrived. In addition to providing individual support to witnesses who testified at hearings, briefers prepared resource lists of support services, including counselling centres, hospitals and government social workers, to which they could refer witnesses after hearings. Community briefers provided post-hearings support, complemented by the resource list.
- 40 The communications officer took responsibility for organising educational workshops, publicising hearings through posters and pamphlets and periodically liaising with the media. Unfortunately, budget cuts and problems in establishing an effective national communications office severely hampered the work of the communications officer. There was only limited success in publicising hearings in this region and almost none in educating communities about the mandate and operation of the Commission. As will be discussed below, however, a variety of community-based organisations and NGOs stepped in to help fill the gaps.
- 41 The primary work of the Media Liaison Department was to assist the press at hearings. From time to time, it arranged talk shows in the run-up to hearings.
- 42 In 1997 the Johannesburg office embarked on a series of follow-up visits to centres where hearings had been held. Briefers were responsible for organising these workshops, which focused on identifying possibilities for reconciliation and reparation in the communities. Meetings were held in Ermelo, Pietersburg, Johannesburg, Boksburg, Sebokeng and Pretoria.
- 43 Much logistic work went into the organisation of hearings. The office tried to ensure that hearings were held in as many towns as possible throughout the fourteen or so months during which they took place. Efforts were made to use venues that were accessible to the communities which had suffered violations, although this consideration was sometimes outweighed by the need for adequate facilities and to minimise expense. The Commission was generously assisted by the municipal government in each town it visited, which allowed free use of facilities, such as the town hall, for the hearing.

44 The Johannesburg regional office hosted the following hearings:

a Johannesburg (29 April - 3 May 1996).

The first hearing organised by the Johannesburg office took place at the Central Methodist Church. The whole office worked on preparing different aspects of the event. Not much statement taking had taken place prior to the hearing, and commissioners tried to identify the better known cases. The hearings acted as a public showcase of the kind of work in which the Commission would be involved. Some of the cases dealt with were bombings by liberation movements, the assassinations of David Webster and Bheki Mhlange and the death in detention of Ahmed Timol.

b Mmabatho (8-11 July 1996).

Although this hearing took place in the former capital of Bophuthatswana, a large number of the witnesses came from Huhudi in Vryburg. Many of the cases emanated from conflict in the 1980s involving the local youth congress. Several incidents of torture by the South African Police (SAP) at 'die Lang Boom' were reported.

c Pietersburg (17-19 July 1996).

This was the first hearing in the Northern Province. There were reports from Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) members who had been detained and tortured by members of the South African and Lebowa police. Violations stemming from politically-related tribal conflicts in the KaMatlala area were reported by several witnesses. The Commission also heard of the death of activist Peter Nchabaleng and the disappearance of Stanza Bopape.

d Soweto (22-26 July 1996).

The first two days of this hearing focused on the events of the 1976 student uprising. Many activists and observers of that time made submissions about the activities and repression of the uprising. The rest of the hearing heard about a wide range of violations, including allegations of murder against Ms Madikizela-Mandela by the Sono and Tshabalala families.

e Sebokeng (5-8 August 1996).

Testimony at this hearing ranged from the Sharpsville massacre of 1960 to the 'night vigil massacre' of the 1990s. The Commission heard about the murders of community councillors in the 1980s and the killing of 'the Vaal Monster', Victor Kheswa, by the community. Residents from both sides told the

Commission about the conflict between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC).

f Pretoria (12-15 August 1996).

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

g Nelspruit (2-5 September 1996).

The Mpumalanga provincial government provided substantial logistic support for this event by providing an office for the committee, which continued to function for as long as the Commission was active in the province. Besides human rights violations including killing, torture and harassment by the security forces, the Commission heard testimony about the activities of the vigilante Kabasa gang, which wreaked havoc in the townships around Nelspruit in the 1980s.

h Klerksdorp (23-26 September 1996).

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

i Venda (3-4 October 1996).

Allegations of torture against the SAP and former Venda security forces were frequently made to the Commission during this hearing. Victims said that their torturers sometimes accused them of harbouring activists before they went into exile. Violations flowing from politically-related chieftaincy conflicts were common in this predominantly rural area.

j Alexandra (28-30 October 1996).

This township was the site of resistance and repression for many decades. Witnesses told the Commission of violations including killings, torture and shootings at protest marches. Deponents also related events concerning political violence between the ANC and the IFP that erupted in the early 1990s.

k Krugersdorp (11-14 November 1996).

The Krugersdorp hearing covered the whole of the West Rand. The Commission

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

l Tembisa (26-28 November 1996).

Commissioners heard stories of state repression in the 1980s in this township and in the neighbouring Ivory Park informal settlement. In the 1990s, the IFP-aligned Toaster gang committed many violations in the context of violence between the ANC and the IFP.

m Moutse (2-5 December 1996).

For the first time, victims, perpetrators and analysts appeared at the same hearing to tell their different versions of the same conflict. The hearing focused on the strife generated by the incorporation of Moutse into the KwaNdebele homeland. In particular, violations allegedly committed by the Mbokodo vigilante group were discussed. Testimony was given on the murder of KwaNdebele government minister Piet Ntuli.

n East Rand (4-7 February 1997).

This week-long hearing took place in Duduza, Benoni and Vosloorus. The East Rand experienced more intensive violence between the ANC and the IFP in the early 1990s than any other part of the country. For this reason, the Commission went out of its way to collect statements from IFP-aligned victims. Testimony relating to this conflict covered incidents such as attacks on hostels, train violence, activities of the Khumalo gang and battles between ANC-aligned 'self-defence units' and IFP-aligned 'self-protection units'. The Commission also heard about the Duduza hand grenade incident in which several youths were killed by a booby-trapped hand grenade allegedly given to them by Vlakplaas operative Joe Mamasela. The first victim of the notorious necklacing method, Maki Skosana, was killed in response to the hand grenade event. A white mother told the Commission how the South African Defence Force continued to feed her disinformation about the death of her son in Angola.

o Messina, Louis Trichardt and Tzaneen (8-10 April 1997).

Situated in the far north of the country, many farmers in these districts had been the victims of landmines laid by the liberation movements. However, although the

Commission was in possession of statements by some of these victims, and despite extraordinary efforts to persuade them otherwise, only three victims (Johannes van Eck, Lindiwe Mdluli and Johannes Roos) were willing to testify in public. The Commission heard about the torture and harassment of activists and how the security forces had fired on a protest march, killing at least one person.

p Zeerust, Rustenburg, Mabopane (6-8 May 1997).

This three-day hearing in different towns in the North West Province focused on the violations committed by the erstwhile Bophuthatswana government.

q Piet Retief, Ermelo, Balfour (21-23 May 1997).

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

r Witbank, Leandra (3-5 June 1997).

At this hearing, the Commission heard about members of a unit of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) who were killed while on their way to Swaziland and about life in the liberation movement's underground. Members of the PAC made a submission on the Bethel treason trial. Relatives of former community councillors testified about attacks on them by activists aligned to the ANC.

s Children's hearings (12-13 June 1997).

Very few child victims testified at this hearing, which consisted mainly of submissions from organisations that had dealt with children and children's issues for many years. The Commission heard about the physical and mental abuse of children when they were detained and about the efforts that were made to assist these victims.

t Women's hearings (28-29 July 1997).

Women suffer different forms of human rights violations, and these were the focus of this two-day hearing. Deponents told of rape and other forms of sexual harassment. They also related the difficulties of being the family breadwinner when state repression had resulted in the deaths of husbands and sons.

u National hearings.

The regional office provided logistic support for several national hearings that were held in Johannesburg. These focused on prisons (21-22 July 1997), the

media (15-17 September 1997), the legal system (27-29 October 1997), business (11-13 November 1997), and the State Security Council (14-15 October 1997).

v Mandela United Football Club hearing (24 –28 November, 1 – 4 December 1997).

The hearing focused on allegations of gross human rights violations by members of the Mandela United Football Club, including the death of Stompie Seipei.

■ WORKING WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

- 45 Without the co-operation of civil society organisations, the Commission would not have been able to do its work. Before every hearing, in many small towns, Commission representatives met with local faith communities, NGOs and community organisations. These organisations took the word of the Commission to the people on the ground. They put up posters, organised meetings, accommodated staff in emergencies, distributed pamphlets, made use of loudhailers and even assisted with logistical requirements such as finding venues and caterers.
- 46 Several organisations in the area ran workshop programmes aimed at educating members of different communities about the Commission. The Centre for the Study of Violence, for example, developed its own audio-visual educational materials for this purpose. The communication officer met frequently with these organisations in order to co-ordinate their workshop programmes with the Commission's publicity needs.
- 47 Local organisations helped the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee provide psychological support by counselling witnesses at hearings. These community briefers would attend a one-day training course about a week before a hearing. Social workers, priests, nurses and Life Line counsellors provided invaluable comfort to victims during and after hearings.
- 48 As discussed earlier, statement taking was greatly enhanced by the contribution of local organisations. During 1996, the office ran a voluntary statement-taker programme in which local organisations assisted the in-house statement takers to reach as many victims as possible. These local statement takers proved invaluable in identifying and reaching victims in both urban and rural areas and gathered most of the statements in preparation for the Vaal Triangle hearing in Sebokeng. This voluntary programme became formalised in 1997 as the designated statement taker programme.

Chronology of Apartheid Legislation¹

■ INTRODUCTION

This chronology seeks to record all major apartheid legislation as a context within which gross human rights violations occurred, but is not exhaustive of all legislation passed in the period under consideration by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission). Legislation of 'independent' and 'self-governing' homelands is given separately. The homelands chronology is not, however, as comprehensive as that on the legislation enacted by the South African Parliament. Much of the homelands legislation was similar to South African parliamentary legislation. In several instances it proved extremely difficult to trace and record all details of homelands legislation.

The chronology is divided into two parts: Part 1 examines legislation in South Africa while Part 2 focuses on the 'independent' states - Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (the TBVC states) - and the 'self-governing territories'.

The naming of legislation follows *Statutes of the Republic of South Africa Classified and Annotated from 1910* (Butterworths). Where an alternative name is in use, this is provided in brackets.

The commencement: date of the legislation is underlined and, where applicable, the repealing act is in italics. Where the legislation was still in force in September 1996, the name of the Butterworths title (subject category) is cited in upper case italics. Only the most important amending legislation (as this impinges on the mandate of the Commission) is cited. Where amendments contain extended detail which is relevant to the mandate of the Commission, appropriate references only are provided for the sake of brevity. Dates of some major events are included as historical landmarks; these are given in italics.

Note: For the purposes of this chronology, the term 'black' is taken to exclude coloured and Asian persons except where otherwise indicated.

¹ We acknowledge the work of the following in the compilation of this chronology: Meryl Federl, Zubair Khan, Humphrey Mashiyane and Khotso Ramolefe in the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand; Paula McBride, Sharon Ekambaram, Britta Strietzel, Holger Kreuzkamp and Jennifer Llewellyn. The library resources of the law firm Denys Reitz are also gratefully acknowledged.

■ PART I: SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT

The legislation in this section is flagged as follows for ease of reference:

Basic apartheid laws (A):

The most important legislation relating to segregation of race groups.

The workplace (W):

Laws which determined racially based job reservation, employment practices and labour relations.

Security legislation (S):

The history of security legislation in South Africa is very convoluted. Only those laws mentioned in the *Race Relations Surveys (RRS and SRR)* and John Dugard's *Human Rights and the South African Legal Order* (1978) are listed. In particular, those laws relating to the tightening up of detention legislation are included. Only a brief description of the various state of emergency regulations is given.

Political representation (P):

Discriminatory legislation related to political rights, including freedom of movement of homeland residents.

Land and property (L):

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

Education (E):

Racially discriminatory laws which relate to primary, secondary and tertiary education.

Urbanisation (U):

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

Note: Only discriminatory legislation is listed; laws and amendments that are purely administrative and not race-based are excluded.

1856-1910 Masters and Servants Acts:

- W** These Acts, which had been passed between 1856 and 1904 in the four territories, remained in force after Union. They made it a criminal offence to breach the contract of employment. Desertion, insolence, drunkenness, negligence and strikes were also criminal offences. Theoretically these laws applied to all races, but the courts held that the laws were applicable only to unskilled work, which was performed mostly by black people (Dugard 1978: 85; Horrell 1978: 6).
Repealed by s 51 of the Second General Law Amendment Act No 94 of 1974

1911 Mines and Works Act No 12:

- W** Permitted the granting of certificates of competency for a number of skilled mining occupations to whites and coloureds only.
Repealed by s 20 of the Mines and Works Amendment Act No 27 of 1956

1913 Admission of Persons to the Union Regulation Act No 22:

- U** Required Indians to obtain permission to travel from one province to another.
Commenced: 1 August 1913
Repealed by s 57 of the Admission of Persons to the Union Regulation Act 59 of 1972

1913 Black Land Act No 27:

- L** Prohibited blacks from owning or renting land outside designated reserves (approximately 7 per cent of land in the country).
Commenced: 19 June 1913
Repealed by s 1 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991

1923 Native (Black) Urban Areas Act No 21:

- U** Made each local authority responsible for the blacks in its area. 'Native advisory boards' regulated influx control and removed 'surplus' people, i.e. those who were not employed in the area. The country was divided into prescribed (urban) and non-prescribed areas, movement between the two being strictly controlled (Horrell 1978: 2-3). This Act was consolidated by the 1945 Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act.
Assent gained: 14 June 1923; commencement date not found
Repealed by the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No 25 of 1945

1924 Industrial Conciliation Act No 11:

- W** Provided for job reservation. Excluded blacks from membership of registered trade unions, prohibited registration of black trade unions.
Commenced: 8 April 1924
Repealed by s 86 of the Industrial Conciliation Act No 36 of 1937

1926 Mines and Works Amendment Act No 25:

- W** Re-enacted the 1911 Mines and Works Act.
Repealed by s 20 of the Mines and Works Amendment Act No 27 of 1956

1927 Immorality Act No 5:

- A** Extra-marital intercourse between whites and blacks prohibited (Horrell 1978: 8). (Extended in 1950 to include coloureds and Asians.)
Commenced: 30 September 1927
Repealed by s 23 of Sexual Offences Act No 23 of 1957

1927 Black (Native) Administration Act No 38:

L,U Section 5(1)(b) provided that 'whenever he deemed it expedient in the public interest, the minister might, without prior notice to any persons concerned, order any tribe, portion thereof, or individual black person, to move from one place to another within the Republic of South Africa' (Horrell 1978: 204).

S Section 29(1) prohibited the fomenting of feelings of hostility between blacks and whites. Amended by s 4 of the Black Laws Further Amendment Act No 79 of 1957. This was extended to all racial groups in terms of s 1 of the 1974 Second General Law Amendment Act (see below). 'All the reported cases concern charges of inciting hostility among blacks towards the white section of the community' rather than cases of whites who cause feelings of racial hostility by racially abusive comments (Dugard 1978: 178). Used extensively to carry out forced removals. Later amended by the 1973 Bantu (Black) Laws Amendment Act.

Commenced: 1 September 1927, except ss 22, 23 & 36: 1 January 1929

Sections 5(1)-(5) repealed by the Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68 of 1986; repealed in full by the Abolition of Restrictions on Free Political Activity Act No 206 of 1993

1930 Riotous Assemblies (Amendment) Act No 19:

S Authorised the Governor-General to prohibit the publication or other dissemination of any 'documentary information ... calculated to engender feelings of hostility between the European inhabitants of the Union on the one hand and any other section of the inhabitants of the Union on the other hand' (Dugard 1978: 177).

Commenced: 21 May 1930

Repealed by s 20 of the Riotous Assemblies Act No 17 of 1956

1936 Representation of Blacks Act No 12:

P Removed black voters in the Cape from the common roll and placed them on a separate roll (Dugard 1978: 90). Blacks throughout the Union were then represented by four white senators.

Commenced: 10 July 1936

Repealed by s 15 of the Representation between the Republic of South Africa and self-governing Territories Act No 46 of 1959

1936 Development Trust and Land Act No 18:

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

Commenced: 31 August 1936

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

1937 Aliens Act No 1:

P Restricted and regulated the entry of certain aliens into the Union and regulated the right of any person to assume a surname.

Commenced: 1 February 1937

Repealed by s 33 of the Births and Deaths Registration Act No 51 of 1992

- 1937 Industrial Conciliation Act No 36:**
W Provided for the registration and regulation of trade unions and employers' organisations, the settlement of disputes between employers and employees, and the regulation of conditions of employment.
Repealed by s 56 of the Industrial Conciliation Act No 28 of 1956
- 1937 Black (Native) Laws Amendment Act No 46:**
U Prohibited acquisition of land in urban areas by blacks from non-blacks except with the Governor-General's consent (Horrell 1978: 3).
Commenced: 1 January 1938
Sections repealed by the Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68 of 1986 and the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991. The only section remaining in force is s 36, which amended s 7 of the Agricultural Holdings (Transvaal) Registration Act 22 of 1919 and has no discriminatory implications.
- 1939 Aliens Registration Act No 26:**
U Provided for the registration and control of aliens.
Assent gained: 14 June 1939; commencement date not found
Repealed by s 60 of the Aliens Control Act No 96 of 1991
- 1945 Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No 25:**
U Introduced influx control - applicable to black males only (Horrell 1978: 172). People who were deemed to be leading idle or dissolute lives or who had committed certain specified offences could be removed from an urban area (Horrell 1978: 173).
Commenced: 1 June 1945
Repealed by s 17 of the Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68 of 1986
- 1946 Asiatic Land Tenure (and Indian Representation) Act No 28:**
P Granted Indians separate representation by three white members of Parliament and two senators in the Central Parliament. This chapter of the law was rejected by the Indian population and the Act *was repealed by the Asiatic Laws Amendment Act No 47 of 1948. The chapter on land tenure was repealed by the Aliens Control Act No 96 of 1991.*
Commenced: 6 June 1946
- 1948 *Nationalist Party comes to power*
- 1948 Asiatic Laws Amendment Act No 47:**
P Repealed the chapter on Indian representation of the 1946 Asiatic Land Tenure (and Indian Representation) Act.
Commenced: 12 October 1948
Repealed by s 55 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991
- 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act No 55:**
A Prohibited marriages between whites and members of other racial groups (Horrell 1978: 19).
Commenced: 8 July 1949
Repealed by s 7 of the Immorality and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act No 72 of 1985

1950 Immorality Amendment Act No 21:

- A** Extended the 1927 Immorality Act to all black people - including coloureds and Asians (Dugard 1978: 70).
Commenced: 12 May 1950
Repealed by s 23 of the Sexual Offences Act No 23 of 1957

1950 Population Registration Act No 30:

- A** Required people to be identified and registered from birth as belonging to one of four distinct racial groups. This Act was more rigid than earlier race classification laws.
Commenced: 7 July 1950
Repealed by s 1 of the Population Registration Act Repeal Act No 114 of 1991

1950 Group Areas Act No 41:

- U** Provided for areas to be declared for exclusive use of one particular racial group. It became compulsory for people to live in an area designated for their classification group.
Commenced: 7 July 1950
Repealed by s 44 of the Group Areas Act No 77 of 1957

1950 Internal Security Act (Suppression of Communism Act) No 44:

- S** Prohibited certain (listed) organisations and persons from promoting 'communism', which was broadly defined.
Commenced: 17 July 1950
Repealed by s 33 of the Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Act 138 of 1991

1951 Suppression of Communism Amendment Act No 50:

- S** Related to situations where people conspired to overthrow the government, or alternatively to those where people harboured, concealed, failed to report, or assisted those intent on committing so-called acts of terrorism against the state.
Commenced: 18 June 1951
Repealed by s 73(1) of the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982

1951 Separate Representation of Voters Act No 46:

- P** This attempt by the National Party to remove coloured people from the common voters' roll was declared invalid by the Supreme Court: A group of coloured voters in *Harris v Minister of the Interior* 1952(2) SA 428(AD) challenged the Act, which the Appellate Division unanimously declared invalid. In response, the government, via an 'ingenious and devious' (Dugard 1978: 31) process of increasing the numbers of Appellate Division judges from five to eleven (where an Act of Parliament was in issue) and increasing the size of the Senate from forty-eight to forty-nine, introduced the 1956 South Africa Act Amendment Act (see below).
Commenced: 18 June 1951; revalidated after challenge: 2 March 1956
Repealed by s 4 of the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act No 50 of 1968

1951 Black Building Workers Act No 27:

- W** Prohibited blacks from performing skilled work in the building industry in white urban areas (Dugard 1978: 87).
Repealed by s 11 of Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act No 95 of 1980

1951 Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No 52:

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

Commenced: 6 July 1951

IN FORCE (This Act has been amended several times - see O'Regan 1990): CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

1951 Bantu Authorities Act No 68:

P Gave recognition to traditional tribal authorities.

Commenced: 17 July 1951

Repealed by s 69 of the Black Communities Development Act No 4 of 1984

1951 Black (Bantu) Authorities Act No 68:

L Provided for the establishment of tribal, regional and territorial authorities in the reserves.

Commenced: 17 July 1951

IN FORCE as on September 1996: LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1952 Black (Native) Laws Amendment Act No 54:

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

Commenced: 27 June 1952

Sections 1-17 repealed by s 33(1) of the Black Labour Act No 67 of 1964, s 18 repealed by s 1(g) of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991; ss 27-32 by s 17 of the Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68 of 1986; and ss 33-8 by s 69(1) of the Black Communities Development Act No 4 of 1984

- 1952 Blacks (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act No 67:**
U Repealed the laws relating to the carrying of passes by blacks. These laws had differed from province to province. This new Act provided for the issuing of reference books to all black persons in all provinces (Horrell 1978: 173).
Commenced: 11 July 1952
Repealed by s 23 of the Identification Act No 72 of 1986
- 1953 Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No 49:**
A Allowed for public facilities and transport to be reserved for particular race groups.
Commenced: 9 October 1953
Repealed by s 1 of Discriminatory Legislation Regarding Public Amenities Appeal Act No 100 of 1990
- 1953 Public Safety Act No 3:**
S This Act, passed in response to the ANC's civil disobedience campaign, provided for a state of emergency to be declared. The first state of emergency was declared only in 1960. Under a state of emergency the Minister of Law and Order, the Commissioner of the South African Police (SAP), a magistrate or a commissioned officer could detain any person for reasons of public safety. There was no commission to which a detainee could appeal, nor was there a body with the power to decide objectively whether a state of emergency was justified or not. This legislation also empowered a magistrate or the Commissioner of Police to ban meetings and gatherings.
Commenced: 4 March 1953
Repealed by the State of Emergency Act No 86 of 1995
- 1953 Criminal Law Amendment Act No 8:**
S Made civil disobedience punishable by a three-year jail sentence.
Commenced: 4 March 1953
Repealed by s 73 of the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982
- 1953 Black Education Act No 47:**
E Formalised segregation of black education and laid the foundations for Bantu Education.
Commenced: 1 January 1954
Repealed by s 45 of the Education and Training Act No 90 of 1979
- 1953 Black Labour Relations Regulation Act (Black Labour and Settlement of Disputes Act) No 48:**
W Amended the 1937 Industrial Conciliation Act, changing the definition of 'employee' to exclude blacks so that they could no longer be members of registered unions (Horrell 1978: 281). The Act also incorporated the War Measure No 145 of 1942, which prohibited strikes by black workers. In addition, it made lock-outs of blacks, the instigation of strikes and lock-outs, and sympathetic strikes illegal (Horrell 1978: 281).
Commenced: 1 May 1954
Repealed by s 63 of the Labour Relations Amendment Act No 57 of 1981

1954 Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Act No 15:

W The Minister of Justice was 'empowered to prohibit listed persons from being members of specific organisations or from attending gatherings of any description without giving them the opportunity of making representations in their defence or furnishing reasons'. The Minister was also 'authorized to prohibit any particular gathering or all gatherings, in any public place for specified periods'.

Commenced: 15 April 1954

Repealed by s 73 of the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982

1954 Blacks Resettlement Act No 19:

U Established a Resettlement Board which would remove blacks from townships. This authorised the Sophiatown and other removals.

Commenced: 1 August 1954

Repealed by s 69 of the Black Communities Development Act No 4 of 1984

1955 Black Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Act No 59:

W Amended the 1953 Black Labour Relations Regulation Act. Provided for separate industrial conciliation machinery which applied to black workers other than those employed in farming operations, in domestic service, governmental or educational services or coal and gold mining industries (Horrell 1978: 288).

Repealed by s 63 of the Labour Relations Amendment Act No 57 of 1981

1955 Criminal Procedure Act No 56:

S Consolidated the laws relating to procedure and evidence in criminal proceedings. The Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act No 31 of 1917 and its numerous amendments were all repealed.

Commenced: 1 July 1955

Repealed by s 344(1) of the Criminal Procedure Act No 51 of 1977

1956 Riotous Assemblies Act No 17:

S Prohibited gatherings in open-air public places if the Minister of Justice considered that they could endanger the public peace. Also included banishment as a form of punishment (Dugard 1978: 137).

Commenced: 16 March 1956

Repealed in part (ss 1-9 inclusive and ss 19-20) by ss 10-15 of the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982.

IN FORCE: Sections 16, 17 & 18 as at September 1996 (Section 17 covers the common-law offence of incitement to public violence): CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

1956 South Africa Act Amendment Act No 9:

P Effectively revalidated the 1951 Separate Representation of Voters Act (see above), which had been challenged and declared invalid.

Commenced: 2 March 1956

Repealed by the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act 32 of 1961

1956 Mines and Works Act No 27:

W Commenced: 4 May 1956

*IN FORCE (as amended by the Mines and Works Amendment Act No 51 of 1959):
MINES, WORKS AND FACTORIES*

1956 Industrial Conciliation Act (Labour Relations Act) No 28:

W Replaced the 1924 and 1937 Industrial Conciliation Acts. A new provision, s 77, provided for job reservation. Although excluded from the provisions of the Act, blacks were included in the definition of 'employee' for the purposes of this section. Black trade unions, though they could not be registered under the Act, were not illegal (Horrell 1978: 263, 281).

Commenced: 1 January 1957

Repealed by the Labour Relations Act No 66 of 1995

1956 Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act No 30:

P Amended the 1951 Separate Representation of Voters Act to remove coloureds from the common roll. The Senate was enlarged to obtain the required majority.

Commenced: 18 May 1956

Repealed by s 4 of the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act No 50 of 1968

1956 Bantu (Black) Administration Amendment Act No 42:

L Amended the 1927 Black Administration Act so that a person being banished in terms of s 5(1)(b) could no longer present her/his case to the Governor-General (Dugard 1978: 140). (See also: Black (Native) Laws Amendment Act No 54 of 1952, above.)

Commenced: 1 June 1956

Repealed by the Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68 of 1986

1956 Blacks (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act No 64:

L Prohibited 'Africans from obtaining a court interdict to suspend the operation of any banishment order pending an attack on the validity of any such order' (Dugard 1978: 78).

Assent gained: 15 June 1956; commencement date not found

Repealed by s 17 of the Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68 of 1986

1957 Sexual Offences Act (Immorality Act) No 23 (s 16):

A Made it an offence for a white person to have intercourse with a black person or to commit any 'immoral or indecent act' (Dugard 1978: 69). This Act repealed the 1927 Immorality Act and the 1950 Immorality Amendment Act.

Commenced: 12 April 1957

IN FORCE, although s 16 was repealed by the Immorality and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act No 72 of 1985: CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

1957 Group Areas Act No 77:

U Consolidated the law relating to the establishment of group areas and the control of the acquisition of immovable property in those areas.
Assent gained: 24 June 1957; commencement date not found
Repealed by s 49 of the Group Areas Act No 36 of 1966

1958 *24 August: Strijdom dies.*
2 September: Three candidates are suggested as successors, including Dr Verwoerd.
3 September: Dr Verwoerd assumes office as Prime Minister and leader of the National Party.

1959 Extension of University Education Act No 45:

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

1959 Representation between Republic of South Africa and Self-Governing Territories Act (Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act) No 46:

P Provided for the transformation of reserves into fully fledged independent bantustans, dividing blacks into ethnically discrete groups. Abolition of parliamentary representation for blacks.
Commenced: 19 June 1959
Repealed by Sch 7 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No 200 of 1993

1960 Extension of University Education Amendment Act No 32:

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

1960 Unlawful Organisations Act No 34:

S Provided for organisations threatening public order or the safety of the public to be declared unlawful. The ANC and the PAC were immediately declared unlawful.
Commenced: 7 April 1960
Repealed by s 73 of the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982

1960 *21 March: Sharpeville*
Sixty-seven people were killed and 186 wounded by police at the Sharpeville police station during a PAC anti pass law demonstration. In September, 224 civil claims for damages were served on the Minister of Justice. He stated on 21 October that legislation would be introduced into the next parliamentary session to indemnify the government and its officials retrospectively against claims resulting from action taken during the demonstration (SRR 1959/60: 57). The passing of the 1961 Indemnity Act (assented to on 28 June 1961 - see below) can be explained in terms of the ministerial announcement of 21 October 1960.

- 1961 *A state of emergency was declared on 30 March 1961, lasting until 31 August. Regulations made provision for the arrest of persons without warrant and for their detention without charge for a period of twelve days (Horrell 1978: 440). Regulations under Proc 91 of 30 March, which included indemnity for persons exercising powers under these regulations, were passed in May (SRR 1959/60: 73, 78).*
- 1961 General Law Amendment Act No 39:**
- S** Provided for twelve-day detention. Amended:
- the Arms and Ammunition Act 28 of 1937 regarding the issuing and cancellation of firearm licences;
 - the 1955 Criminal Procedure Act regarding powers of the Attorney-General to prohibit release on bail or otherwise; and
 - the 1956 Riotous Assemblies Act.
- Commenced: 19 May 1961
Sections 6 and 7 repealed by the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982
- 1961 Indemnity Act No 61:**
- S** With retrospective effect from 21 March 1960. This Act indemnifies the government, its officers and all other persons acting under their authority in respect of acts done, orders given or information provided in good faith for the prevention or suppression of internal disorder, the maintenance or restoration of good order, public safety or essential services, or the preservation of life or property in any part of the Republic.
Commenced: 5 July 1961
- 1961 Urban Blacks Council Act No 79:**
- P** The first provision for black 'self-government' in the urban townships.
Assent gained: 30 June 1961; commencement date not found
Repealed by s 14 of the Community Councils Act No 125 of 1977
- 1962 General Law Amendment Act (Sabotage Act) No 76:**
- S** Increased the State President's power to declare organisations unlawful. Further restrictions could be imposed in banning orders, restricting movement. Persons could now even be banned from social gatherings, including having more than one visitor at a time. The Minister could list banned persons in the *Government Gazette* (GG).
- This Act created the offence of sabotage by providing that any person who committed any wrongful and wilful act whereby he/she injured, obstructed, tampered with or destroyed the health or safety of the public, the maintenance of law and order, the supply of water, light, power, fuel or foodstuffs, sanitary, medical, or fire extinguishing services could be tried for sabotage (Horrell 1978: 443).
Commenced: 27 June 1962
Section 16 repealed by the State of Emergency Act No 86 of 1995
- 1963 General Law Amendment Act No 37:**
- S** Section 17, the ninety-day detention law, authorised any commissioned officer to detain - without a warrant - any person suspected of a political crime and to hold them for ninety days without access to a lawyer (Horrell 1978: 469). In practice people were often released after ninety days only to be re-detained on the same day for a further

ninety-day period. The 'Sobukwe clause' allowed for a person convicted of political offences to be detained for a further twelve months. The Act also allowed for further declaration of unlawful organisations. The State President could declare any organisation or group of persons which had come into existence since 7 April 1960 to be unlawful. This enabled the government to extend to Umkhonto we Sizwe and Poqo the restrictions already in force on the ANC and the PAC (Horrell 1978: 416).

Commenced: 2 May 1963, except ss 3, 9 & 14, which came into effect at different times.

Sections 3-7 and 14-17 repealed by the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982

1963 Transkei Constitution Act No 48:

P Self-government given to Transkei.

Commenced: 30 May 1963

Repealed by Sch 7 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No 200 of 1993

1963 Extension of University Education Amendment Act No 67:

E Amended the 1959 Extension of University Education Act and the University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act No 64 of 1959.

Commenced: 3 July 1963

Repealed by s 21 of the Tertiary Education Act No 66 of 1988

1964 Black Labour Act No 67:

U Consolidated the laws regulating the recruiting, employment, accommodation, feeding and health conditions of black labourers.

Commenced: 1 January 1965

Repealed by s 69 of the Black Community Development Act No 4 of 1984

1964 General Law Amendment Act No 80:

S Amended the 1963 General Law Amendment Act so that the Minister of Justice could extend the operation of the Sobukwe clause in individual cases. Sobukwe was thus imprisoned until 1969. This clause was re-enacted in amended form in 1976.

Commenced: 24 June 1964

Repealed by the Corruption Act No 94 of 1992

1965 Criminal Procedure Amendment Act No 96 (180-Day Detention Law):

S Provided for 180-day detention and re-detention thereafter. The Attorney-General was empowered to order the detention of persons likely to give evidence for the state in any criminal proceedings relating to certain political or common-law offences. Unlike the ninety-day provision, this did not specify interrogation as part of the detention. Detainees could be held for six months in solitary confinement and only state officials were permitted access. No court had the jurisdiction to order the release of prisoners or to rule on the validity of the regulations under the Act.

Commenced: 25 June 1965

Repealed by s 344 of the Criminal Procedure Act No 51 of 1977 except for ss 319(3) and 384

1966 Group Areas Act No 36:

U While in theory this was not discriminatory legislation, it was implemented in a way that was advantageous to whites (Dugard 1978: 82).

Commenced: 26 October 1966

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

1966 Industrial Conciliation Further Amendment Act No 61:

W Prohibited strikes and lock-outs for any purpose unconnected with the employee/employer relationship (Horrell 1978: 279).

Commenced: 4 November 1966

Repealed by Labour Relations Act No 66 of 1995

1966 General Law Amendment Act No 62:

S Designed in response to guerrilla activities on the northern borders of the then South West Africa (Dugard 1978: 116). Section 22(1) was amended to provide for the detention of suspected 'terrorists' for up to fourteen days for purposes of interrogation. The Commissioner of Police could apply to a judge to have the detention order renewed. This was essentially a forerunner of the 1967 Terrorism Act.

Commenced: 4 November 1966

Sections 3-6 & 22 repealed by the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982

1967 Suppression of Communism Act No 24:

S Prohibited certain persons from making or receiving donations for the benefit of certain organisations; prohibited others from practising as advocates, attorneys, notaries and conveyances, and extended the grounds for deporting people from the Republic.

Commenced: 8 March 1967

Repealed by s 73 of the Internal Security Act 74 of 1982

1967 Terrorism Act No 83:

S According to Horrell (1978: 473), this Act signalled the beginning of the struggle against 'Red arms' as opposed to purely 'Red ideology'. It authorised indefinite detention without trial on the authority of a policeman of or above the rank of lieutenant colonel. The definition of terrorism was very broad and included most criminal acts. No time limit was specified for detention; it could be continued until detainees had satisfactorily replied to all questions or no useful purpose would be served by continued detention. Fortnightly visits by magistrates were provided for 'if circumstances permit'. No other visitors were permitted. The Act was operative retrospectively to 27 June 1962 and also applied to South West Africa retrospectively (Horrell 1978: 445). It differed from the ninety-day and 180-day detention laws in that the public was not entitled to information relating to the identity and number of people detained under the Terrorism Act (Dugard 1978: 118).

Commenced: 27 June 1962

All sections except s 7 repealed by s 33 of the Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Act 138 of 1991

1967 Environmental Planning Act No 88:

W Placed restrictions on the number of blacks who could be employed in the manufacturing industry in the larger industrial areas.

Assent gained: 19 June 1967; commencement date not found

IN FORCE: LAND

1968 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act No 21:

A Invalidated any marriage entered into outside South Africa between a male citizen and a woman of another racial group (Dugard 1978: 69).

Commenced: 27 March 1968

Repealed by the Immorality and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act No 72 of 1985

1968 South African Indian Council Act No 31:

P Established the Council consisting of twenty-five members appointed by the Minister of Indian Affairs. The number was increased to thirty members, of which fifteen were appointed by the Minister and fifteen indirectly through electoral colleges in the provinces (Dugard 1978: 100). Unlike the Coloured Persons Representative Council, the South African Indian Council was not granted legislative powers.

Commenced: 26 March 1968

Repealed by s 23 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act No 110 of 1983

1968 Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act No 50:

P The Coloured Persons Representative Council was formed with forty elected members and twenty nominated members. It had legislative powers to make laws affecting coloureds on finance, local government, education, community welfare and pensions, rural settlements and agriculture. No bill could be introduced without the approval of the Minister of Coloured Relations, nor could a bill be passed without the approval of the white Cabinet (Dugard 1978: 98).

Assent gained: 27 March 1968; commencement date not found

Repealed by s 101(1) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act No 110 of 1983

1968 Prohibition of Political Interference Act No 51:

P Prohibited non-racial political parties (ss 1 & 2) and foreign financing of political parties (s 3). The Act was later renamed the 'Prohibition of Foreign Financing of Political Parties Act' by the 1985 Constitutional Affairs Amendment Act.

Sections 1 and 2 relating to the ban on non-racial political parties repealed by the same Act (No 104) of 1985.

Section 3 repealed by Abolition of Restrictions on Free Political Activity Act No 206 of 1993

1968 Dangerous Weapons Act No 71:

S Prohibited the possession of weapons which could cause bodily injury if used in an assault. The Minister of Justice could prohibit the possession or manufacture or supply of such objects.

Commenced: 3 July 1968

IN FORCE (as amended by the Dangerous Weapons Amendment Act No 156 of 1993): ARMS AND AMMUNITION

- 1969 Public Service Amendment Act No 86:**
S Established the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) (Horrell 1978: 449).
Commenced: 1 April 1969
Repealed by s 37 of the Public Service Act No 111 of 1984
- 1970 Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act (National States Citizenship Act) No 26:**
P Required all black persons to become citizens of a self-governing territorial authority. As Minister Connie Mulder stated: 'No black person will eventually qualify in terms of section 10 because they will all be aliens, and as such, will only be able to occupy the houses bequeathed to them by their fathers, in the urban areas, by special permission of the Minister,' i.e. black people are forced by residence in designated 'homelands' areas to be citizens of that homeland and denied South African nationality, the right to work in South Africa etc.
Assent gained: 26 March 1970; commencement date not found
Repealed by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No 200 of 1993
- 1971 Bantu Homelands Constitution Act (National States Constitutional Act) No 21:**
P Provided for the granting of increased powers to homeland governments, thus facilitating their eventual 'independence'.
Commenced: 31 March 1971
Repealed by Sch 7 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No 200 of 1993
- 1971 Extension of University Education Amendment Act No 29:**
E In order to prevent students from changing courses after admission, the Minister would give consent only in respect of a specific university and a specified qualification. He could withdraw his consent if the student concerned changed her/his course of study (SRR 1971:288).
Commenced: 12 May 1971
Repealed by s 21 of the Tertiary Education Act No 66 of 1988
- 1971 Black Affairs Administration Act No 45:**
P Provided for black self-government in townships.
Commenced: 26 November 1971
Repealed by s 69 of the Black Communities Development Act No 4 of 1984
- 1972 Suppression of Communism Amendment Act No 2:**
S Amended provisions regarding the participation of certain persons in the activities of certain organisations as well as ministerial powers regarding the registration of newspapers.
Commenced: 8 March 1972
Repealed by s 73(1) of the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982
- 1972 Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act No 59:**
U Consolidated the laws relating to prohibited persons and to the admission of persons to the Republic or any of its provinces.
Commenced: 2 June 1972
Repealed by s 60 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991

1972 Security Intelligence and State Security Council Act No 64:

S Commenced: 14 June 1972

Repealed by s 7 of the National Strategic Intelligence Act No 39 of 1994

1972-77 *Between 1972 and 1977, all the homelands were given self-government similar to that of the Transkei (Dugard 1978: 91). All enactments of the Legislative Assemblies of the homelands required the approval of the State President of the Republic of South Africa.*

1972 *Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Lebowa proclaimed a self-governing territories*

1973 *Venda and Gazankulu proclaimed a self-governing territories.*

1973 Black Laws Amendment Act No 7:

L Designed to speed up the planning for partial consolidation of homelands. The 1927 Black Administration Act was amended so that 'a removal order might be served on a Bantu Community as well as on a tribe or portion thereof' (Horrell 1978: 205). If a tribe refused to move, and Parliament approved the plan, the tribe was unable to appeal to Parliament. Commenced: 21 March 1973

Repealed by the Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68 of 1986

1973 Aliens Control Act No 40:

U Exempted Indians from the need to obtain permits for travel between provinces. However, in terms of provincial legislation, Indians were not allowed to stay in the Orange Free State and parts of northern Natal for more than a brief period unless prior permission had been obtained (Dugard 1978: 73).

Repealed by s 60 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991

1973 Black Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act 70:

W This Act was passed in response to a wave of strikes in 1972 and 1973 (Bendix 1989: 302) and included a limited right to strike. Previously black workers had been completely prohibited from striking.

Repealed by s 63 of the Labour Relation Amendment Act No 57 of 1981.

1974 *OwaQwa proclaimed a self-governing territory*

1974 Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act No 30:

S Redefined 'gathering' and removed the reference to 'public'. A gathering could comprise any number of persons.

Commenced: 15 March 1974

Sections 1-8 and 11 repealed by the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982.

IN FORCE: Sections 9 and 10 (dealing with ss 16-18 of the Riotous Assemblies Act No 17 of 1956): CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

1974 Affected Organisations Act No 31:

S Provided for the declaration of Affected Organisations. Such organisations could not solicit foreign funds.

Commenced: 15 March 1974

Repealed by s 7 of the Abolition of Restrictions on Free Political Activity Act No 206 of 1993

1974 Second General Law Amendment Act No 94

(as amended by Acts No 87 of 1977, No 99 of 1978, No 74 of 1982, No 110 of 1983, Nos 84 & 95 of 1986 and No 101 of 1987):

W Repealed the Masters and Servants Acts (1856-1910). Section 1 of this Act prohibits any words or acts intended to cause feelings of hostility between different population groups of the Republic. Section 2 prohibits the furnishing of information about business carried on in or outside the Republic to any person outside the Republic without the permission of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Commenced: 20 November 1974

1976 Parliamentary Internal Security Commission Act No 67:

S Established a parliamentary Internal Security Commission and set out its functions. It differed little from the USA House Committee on Un-American Activities except that the South African law had more sanctions at its disposal (Dugard 1978: 173).

Commenced: 21 May 1976

Repealed by s 7 of the Abolition of Restriction on Free Political Activity Act No 206 of 1993

1976 Internal Security Amendment Act No 79:

S Removed the requirement that internment be linked with states of emergency. It amended five other Security Acts and embodied the 1967 Suppression of Communism Act with some amendments. The 'Sobukwe' clause for indefinite detention was deleted and a new provision for indefinite preventive detention was created instead. A Review Committee was established to review detentions within two months and could recommend further detention. Prohibition of bail and detention of potential witnesses were provided for. Restrictions on movement of banned persons were included.

Commenced: 16 June 1976

Repealed by the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982 and the Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Act No 138 of 1991 except for s 10. Section 10 was repealed by the State of Emergency Act No 86 of 1995.

1976 *Inter-Cabinet Council formed by the Prime Minister with members drawn from the Coloured Persons Council and the Indian Council and the white cabinet. First meeting boycotted by the Coloured Labour Party (Dugard 1978: 101).*

1976 *2 October: Republic of Transkei Constitution Act
26 October: Transkei becomes the first independent homeland.*

1977 *Bophuthatswana independence
KwaZulu proclaimed a self-governing territory*

1977 Community Councils Act No 125:

P Provided for the establishment of community councils, and for civil and criminal judicial powers to be conferred in certain black townships.

Assent gained: 11 July 1977; commencement date not found

Repealed by s 56 A of the Black Local Authorities Act No 102 of 1982

1977 Indemnity Act No 2:

S Retrospective to 16 June 1976

Commenced: 16 March 1977

IN FORCE: PUBLIC SERVICE

1977 Criminal Procedure Act No 51:

S Consolidates the law relating to procedure in criminal proceedings. Repeals the 1955 Criminal Procedure Act and its numerous amendments except for ss 319(3) and 384.

Commenced: 22 July 1977

IN FORCE (as amended by the Criminal Procedure Second Amendment Act No 75 of 1995): CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

1978 Blacks (Urban Areas) Amendment Act No 97:

U Introduced a ninety-nine-year leasehold system. Full ownership was not attainable until 1986.

Commenced: 17 November 1978

Repealed by s 17 of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108 of 1991

1979 *Venda independence.*

1979 Education and Training Act No 90:

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

Commenced: 1 January 1980

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

1979 Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act No 94:

W Permitted certain blacks, excluded under the 1953 Act, to join unions. However, the exclusion of migrant workers and frontier commuters remained in force until it was lifted in the *Government Gazette* No 6679 of 28 September 1979 (SRR 1979: 285). This Act prohibited the existence of mixed trade unions (SRR 1979: 281) and repealed s 77 of the 1956 Act (see above) regarding job reservation (SRR 1979: 282).

Commenced: 1 October 1979

Repealed by the Labour Relations Act No 66 of 1995

Between 1980 and 1983 important amendments were made to the 1979 Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, but by 1983 the following major changes had been made:

- The term 'employee' was redefined to include all persons working for an employer.
- Racially mixed unions were allowed.
- Ministerial approval was no longer required for the registration of mixed unions.
- Job reservation was repealed (Bendix 1989: 305).

1980 Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act No 95:

W Commenced: 1 August 1980

Repealed by the Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995

1980 Republic of South African Constitution Fifth Amendment Act No 101:

P Abolished the Senate, which was replaced with a multiracial President's Council, consisting of sixty white, coloured and Indian nominated members. The council was charged with creating a new constitution that would give expression to coloured and Indian political ambitions. The recommendations of this body would lay the basis for the constitution of a tricameral Parliament.

Commenced: 1 August 1983

Repealed by the Constitution of Republic of South Africa Act No 200 of 1993

1981 KwaNdebele proclaimed a self-governing territory

Ciskei independence

1981 Labour Relations Amendment Act No 57:

W Redefined 'employee' to cover all black workers, including local and foreign migrants and commuters (SRR 1981: 202). The Act deleted the 1956 provision which prohibited the establishment of new unions (SRR 1981: 203). It gave black workers the right to organise and abolished job reservation. However, it clamped down on unions' involvement in politics by, for example, prohibiting any union, federation or employers' organisation from giving financial assistance to a person involved in an illegal strike (SRR 1981: 203-4). Union headquarters could not be established in independent states (SRR 1981: 203). This Act repealed the 1953 Black Labour Relations Regulation Act which provided for works and liaison committees, and replaced these with works councils (SRR 1981: 203).

Commenced: 1 November 1981, excluding the provisions of s 21(b):

1 November 1982 and s 63(1): 1 March 1982

Repealed by the Labour Relations Act No 66 of 1995

1982 Intimidation Act No 72:

S Repealed s 10-15 of the Riotous Assemblies Act No 17 of 1956.

Commenced: 2 June 1982

1982 Internal Security Act No 74:

S Following the recommendations of the Rabie Commission of Inquiry, this Act provided for the following:

- Sections 4 and 6: Banning of organisations, if the Minister had reason to believe than an organisation was using, encouraging, or threatening violence or disturbance in order to overthrow or challenge state authority or bring about change.
- Sections 5 and 15: Banning of publications.
- Sections 19(1) and 20: Banning of people, including confinement to a particular district, prohibition from attending any kind of meeting and prevention from being quoted. Also provided for house arrest.
- Section 28: Indefinite preventive detention.
- Section 29: Indefinite detention for interrogation. Detainees were held in solitary confinement.

- Section 29(2): The validity of a detention order was not subject to court challenge.
- Section 31: Detention of potential witnesses for not longer than six months or for the duration of a trial.
- Section 30: Empowerment of the Attorney-General to order that prisoners arrested be refused bail.
- Section 50: Fourteen-day preventive detention. A low-ranking police officer could detain a person deemed to be threatening public safety. For the detention to be extended beyond fourteen days, a magistrate's permission was required.
- Sections 46-53: Prohibition of meetings.
- Section 54: Redefinition of 'communism' to include campaigns of civil disobedience and creation of racial hostility between European and non-European races of the Republic (SRR 1982: 222). This definition was removed by the 1991 Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Act.
- Section 54(2): Proscription of such activities as the promotion of 'general dislocation' or the causing of 'prejudice or interruption' to an industry or undertaking 'with the purpose of effecting social, political, constitutional, industrial or economic change'.
- Section 56(1): A ban on the publication or dissemination of any statement made by a listed person, except with the permission of the Minister of Law and Order.
- Section 62: Prohibition of actions causing, encouraging or fomenting feelings of hostility between different population groups.

Commenced: 2 July 1982

IN FORCE: CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

1982 Black Local Authorities Act No 102:

- P** Provided for the establishment of local communities, village councils and town councils for blacks in certain areas.

Commenced: 1 August 1983

Repealed by the Local Government Transition Act No 209 of 1993

1983 Republic of South Africa Constitution Act No 110:

- P** Provided for the establishment of a tricameral Parliament consisting of separate legislative houses for whites, coloureds and Indians. Matters before Parliament were to be divided into 'general affairs' (to be discussed by all houses and applying to all South Africans) and 'own affairs' (relevant to one particular race group). The Constitution also made PW Botha both the formal and executive head of state and Commander-in-Chief of the South African Defence Force.

Commenced: 3 September 1984, except ss 48, 49(1)-(3), 50 & 102(9): 24 February 1984.

Repealed by the Constitution of Republic of South Africa Act No 200 of 1993

1984 Black Communities Development Act No 4:

- U** Introduced freehold ownership (Budlender 1989: 5). The Act stated that only a 'competent person' could lease or rent property. A person was 'competent' if she/he had section 12 rights in terms of the 1945 Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act. (For further information see RRS 1984: 161-3.)

- P** This Act provided for purposeful development of black communities outside the national states and amended and consolidated certain laws which applied to such communities.

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

1984 Aliens and Immigration Laws Amendment Act No 49:

U Amended the 1937 Aliens Act, the 1939 Aliens Registration Act and the 1972 Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act, used against squatters (*RRS* 1984: 345-6). Several critics warned that the 'amendment act would lead to a massive clamp-down on Africans present in white-designated areas but officially regarded as citizens of the "independent" homelands' (*RRS* 1984: 345). It is not clear from the *Race Relations Survey* whether this did in fact occur. What is more than clear is that those South Africans eligible to carry passes, if found not carrying one, were arrested and prosecuted for a wide range of influx control related offences (e.g. being in a pre-scribed area for longer than 72 hours without permission or having taken up employment without the necessary permission being granted).

Commenced: 18 June 1984

Repealed by s 60 of the Aliens Control Act No 96 of 1991

1984 *KaNgwane proclaimed a self-governing territory*

1984 Group Areas Amendment Act No 101:

U Amended the 1966 Act in order to give effect to the policy of declaring certain central business districts as free trade areas (*RRS* 1986: 11). Free trade areas were not permitted in black townships since these were established in terms of the 1945 Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act and other laws and not in terms of the 1966 Group Areas Act.

Commenced: 30 May 1985

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

1984 Public Service Act No 111:

S Provided for the organisation and administration of the public service, and laid down terms of office and conditions of employment and discharge for members of the public service.

Assent gained: 12 July 1984; commencement date not found

Repealed by s 43 of Proc 103 of 1994

1985 *20 July midnight: State of emergency declared in terms of Public Safety Act No 3 of 1953, affected 36 magisterial districts.*

Regulations (Proc R 121 of 1985) were amended as follows:

- The power to detain was extended to every member of the police, railways police, prisons and army.
- Detainees had no right to visitors or a lawyer, nor were they entitled to receive letters or any reading material other than the Bible.
- No member of the force could be brought to account, by civil suit or criminal charge, for unlawful actions in carrying out emergency laws.
- It became a crime to disclose the identity of any detainee without prior disclosure by the Minister of Law and Order.
- The Commissioner of Police was authorised to impose blanket censorship on press coverage of the emergency.

- The Minister of Law and Order was empowered to ban organisations, individuals, or publications which were 'calculated to endanger the security of the State or the maintenance of public order'.

Courts were denied jurisdiction to set aside any order or rule issued under emergency regulations.

1985 *2 November: Emergency regulations amended to prevent TV coverage of unrest without police approval*

1985 Immorality and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act No 72:

A Repealed s 16 of the 1957 Sexual Offences Act.

Commenced: 19 June 1985

1985 Constitutional Affairs Amendment Act No 104:

P Amended the 1968 Prohibition of Political Interference Act to allow non-racial political parties. Separate voters' rolls remained. However, s 3, which prohibited a political party from receiving foreign financial assistance, was re-enacted with technical amendments. The 1968 Act was also renamed to the 'Prohibition of Foreign Financing of Political Parties Act' (RRS 1985: 57).

Commenced: 2 July 1985

Repealed by s 230 of the Constitution of Republic of South Africa Act No 200 of 1993

1986 *7 March: State of emergency lifted (RRS 1985: 455).*

12 June: Countrywide state of emergency declared in terms of the Public Safety Act No 3 of 1953.

Far-reaching regulations prevent the dissemination or publication of information relating to police conduct or any incidents categorised as 'unrest' incidents.

- Regulation 16 provided that the security forces were indemnified from prosecution or civil liability for unlawful acts committed in good faith.
- Regulation 16(3) attempted to exclude the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to set aside regulations issued in terms of the Act.
- Regulation 10 provided for the prohibition of publication or dissemination of 'subversive' statements.

Numerous challenges to the regulations resulted in further amendments. Commissioners of Police were authorised to restrict township funerals, impose curfews, prohibit school pupils from being outside their classrooms during school hours and prohibit indoor gatherings by named organisations.

1986 Public Safety Amendment Act No 67: 20 June

S Allowed for any area to be declared an 'unrest area' by the Minister of Law and Order, thus avoiding the negative consequences of declaring a national state of emergency. Denied the Supreme Court the jurisdiction to set aside any regulations in terms of the Act.

Commenced: 26 June 1986

Repealed by s 4 of the State of Emergency Act No 86 of 1995

1986 Internal Security Amendment Act No 66:

- S** Created a new section 50(a) of the 1982 Internal Security Act to allow for continued detention for a period of 180 days on the authorisation of a policeman at or above the rank of lieutenant colonel, if he was of the opinion that such detention would contribute to the 'termination, combating or prevention of public disturbance, disorder, riot or public violence at any place within the Republic'.
Commenced: 26 August 1986
Repealed by s 33 of the Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Act No 138 of 1991

1986 Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68:

- L** Amended the 1927 Black Administration Act in order to repeal sections relating to the removal of black communities as well as individual black persons (RRS 1986: 339).
Commenced: 1 July 1986
IN FORCE: LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1986 Abolition of Influx Control Act No 68:

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

1986 Identification Act No 72:

- U** Repealed the 1952 Blacks (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act and large portions of the 1950 Population Registration Act (RRS 1986: 338). Identity numbers would no longer reflect a person's race group in terms of the 1950 Population Registration Act or any other law (RRS 1986: 7).
Commenced: 1 July 1986
IN FORCE (as amended by the Identification Amendment Act No 47 of 1995: CENSUS AND STATISTICS

1986 Restoration of South African Citizenship Act No 73:

- P** Granted South African citizenship to TBVC citizens who were born in South Africa prior to their homeland's independence or who resided in South Africa permanently. TBVC citizens who remained in South Africa temporarily while seeking employment, working, studying or visiting and whose permanent home was one of the TBVC areas remained 'aliens' (RRS 1986: 94-5). Citizenship was restored to about 1 751 400 TBVC citizens, but eight to nine million still remained subject to the provisions of the 1937 Aliens Act. There was, however, according to Budlender (1989: 4), no official attempt to enforce this new migrant labour system.
Commenced: 1 July 1985
Repealed by s 7 of the Restoration and Extension of South African Citizenship Act No 196 of 1993

1986 Black Communities Development Amendment Act No 74:

U Introduced freehold rights in urban black townships and extended the definition of 'competent person' such that TBVC citizens could acquire leasehold or ownership (Budlender 1989: 5). The 1984 Black Communities Development Act was amended to allow 'South African' citizens and certain other blacks to acquire freehold property rights in black townships (RRS 1986: 343).

Commenced: 15 September 1986

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

Both the above Acts introduced freedom of movement for South African citizens (i.e. excluding the TBVC states) (RRS 1986: 343). However, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations, 'shifting the basis of discrimination from race to foreign nationality would fool nobody' (RRS 1986: 343). According to the Black Sash, about 7.5 million TBVC citizens who did not have urban residence rights in South Africa remained aliens in 'South Africa' (i.e. South Africa excluding the TBVC states) (RRS 1986: 344).

1987 *11 June: State of emergency declared*
Regulations governed security, media and black education. Initial period of detention extended from fourteen to thirty days.

1988 *24 February: The State President amended the emergency regulations to allow the Minister of Law and Order to restrict the activities of organisations or people. Orders prohibiting organisations from performing any activities whatsoever could be gazetted (RRS 1987/88: 587).*

1988 Black Communities Development Amendment Act No 42:

U Amended the 1984 Black Communities Amendment Act and made further provisions for the development areas and townships. Also regulated the rights of holders of mineral rights and mining titles where townships were established on the surface of the land in which these rights were held.

Commenced: 15 April 1988

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

1988 *10 June: State of emergency reproclaimed*

1988 Tertiary Education Act No 66:

E Repealed the 1959 Extension of University Education Act and others.

Commenced: 29 June 1988

IN FORCE: EDUCATION

1989 *Desegregation of Residences:*
In June, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning announced that 'the government had accepted ... that the right to desegregate residences at tertiary institutions should rest with the governing bodies' (Budlender 1989: 24).

1989 *10 June: State of emergency declared*
Security regulations broadened to prohibit certain acts, wearing of specific clothes etc. Blanket renewal of restrictions on ex-detainees. Education, prison and media regulations re-imposed.

1989 Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act No 26:

S Provides for the regulation of foreign donations by or for certain organisations and persons.

Commenced: 18 August 1989

Repealed by s 7 of the Abolition of Restrictions on Free Political Activity Act No 206 of 1993

1990 Discriminatory Legislation Regarding Public Amenities Repeal Act No 100:

A Repealed the 1953 Reservation of Separate Amenities Act as well as various other Acts '...so as to abolish the distinction made therein between persons belonging to different races or population groups'.

Commenced: 15 October 1990

IN FORCE: CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

1990 *2 February: ANC, SACP and PAC unbanned;*

Emergency restrictions on 33 organisations and 225 listed people lifted

11 February: Mandela released

1990 Indemnity Act No 35:

S Granted temporary or permanent indemnity against prosecutions for exiles returning to South Africa.

Commenced: 18 May 1990

Repealed by s 48 of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No 34 of 1995

1990 *8 June: Countrywide state of emergency lifted; partial emergency declared in Natal. Wide-ranging powers of arrest and detention remain in place.*

1990 *27 townships declared unrest areas in terms of the Public Safety Act No 3 of 1953*

1990 *18 October: Natal state of emergency lifted*

1991 *January: 205 white government schools admit black children for the first time (RRS 1991/2: xxxiii)*

1991 *June: The quota system for universities repealed (RRS 1991/92: 184)*

1991 Black Communities Development Amendment Act No 77:

U Amended the 1984 Black Communities Amendment Act to further regulate the granting and transfer of leasehold and the conversion of leasehold into ownership.

Commenced: 29 May 1991

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

1991 Aliens Control Act No 96:

U, P Replaced all previous legislation regarding foreigners entering, leaving or being resident in the country.

Commenced: 1 October 1991

IN FORCE: ALIEN AND CITIZEN

1991 Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No 108:

L, U Provided for the repeal of the 1913 Black Land Act, the 1936 Development Trust and Land Act, the 1966 Group Areas Act and the 1984 Black Communities Development Act. 'A total of 189 sections and acts that had supported racial discrimination in respect of land legislation regarding rural areas under the administration of the House of Representatives and the non-independent homelands were also repealed by the Act' (RRS 1991/1992: 385; see also 339-42). The promulgation of this Act 'did not affect the legal status of the non-independent homelands, their geographical definitions or their administrative structures' (RRS 1991/92: 385).

Promulgated: 28 June 1991

Commenced: 30 June 1991, except s 72: 1 September 1991, s 23: 1 April 1992, ss 4(1), 14(1), 17(1), 18(1), 19(1), 27(1), 35(1), 41(1), 43(1), 46(1): to be proclaimed *IN FORCE: LAND (as amended by the Housing Amendment Act No 6 of 1996: HOUSING)*

1991 Population Registration Act Repeal Act No 114:

A Repealed the 1950 Population Registration Act. The population register as compiled by the 1986 Identification Act was to remain in effect until the 1983 Republic of South Africa Constitution Act was repealed.

Commenced: 28 June 1991

IN FORCE: CENSUS AND STATISTICS

1991 Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Act No 138:

S Abolished indefinite detention without trial and limited detention without trial to ten days. Abolished s 55, which had prohibited the furthering of the aims of communism (RRS 1991/92: 466).

Repealed:

- the 1950 Internal Security Act (parts not repealed earlier);
- the General Law Further Amendment Act No 93 of 1963 (s 22);
- section 23 of the 1966 General Law Amendment Act;
- the 1967 Terrorism Act (parts not repealed earlier);
- sections 13-14 of the 1976 Internal Security Amendment Act;
- the 1986 Internal Security Amendment Act in its entirety.

Commenced: 31 July 1991

IN FORCE: CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

1992 *February: Carrying of dangerous weapons prohibited:* Participants in gatherings in unrest areas are prohibited from carrying listed weapons and firearms, excluding traditional cultural weapons and/or objects not specifically designed to inflict injury (Government Notice 719, GG 13801 of 28 Feb 1992).

1992 Births and Deaths Registration Act No 51:

P Regulated the registration of births and deaths.

Commenced: 1 October 1992

IN FORCE (as amended by the General Law Third Amendment Act No 129 of 1993, the Home Affairs Laws Rationalisation Act No 41 of 1995 and the Births and Deaths Registration Amendment Act No 40 of 1996): BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS

1992 Corruption Act No 94:

S Provided anew for the criminalisation of corruption.

Commenced: 3 July 1992

IN FORCE: CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

1992 Indemnity Amendment Act No 124:

S Amended the 1990 Indemnity Act to provide for the disposal of articles seized in connection with the investigation of events for which a particular person has been granted indemnity.

Commenced: 10 July 1992

Repealed by s 48 of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No 34 of 1995

1992 Internal Peace Institutions Act No 135:

U Provided for the establishment of a National Peace Secretariat and local dispute resolution committees to combat and prevent public violence and intimidation.

Commenced: 4 November 1992

Repealed by s 1 of the Internal Peace Institutions Act Repeal Act No 28 of 1995

1992 Judicial Matters Amendment Act No 143:

U Amended the Investigation of Serious Economic Offences Act No 117 of 1991 in order to regulate the appointment of a Director, and amended the Attorney-General Act 92 of 1992 to provide for the appointment of attorneys-general to perform certain functions.

Commenced: 6 November 1992

Amended by the Internal Peace Institution Act Repeal Act No 28 of 1995

1992 Further Indemnity Act No 151:

S Extended indemnity to state offenders and provided for total secrecy regarding the actions for which individuals sought indemnity.

Commenced: 10 November 1992 (unless otherwise indicated), ss 2-25: September 1992

Repealed by s 48 of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No 34 of 1995

1993 Restoration and Extension of South African Citizenship Act No 196:

P Restored and extended South African citizenship to citizens of the TBVC states who would still have been citizens of South Africa but for the South African Citizenship Act No 44 of 1949.

Commenced: 1 January 1994

Repealed by s 26 of the South African Citizenship Act No 88 of 1995

1993 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No 200:

P Commenced: 27 April 1994, except ss 248, 249: 28 January 1994;
ss 6, 40, 42, 127, 132, 143(1), Sch 2: 9 March 1994.

IN FORCE: CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

1993 Regulation of Gatherings Act No 205:

- S** Repealed ss 46(1) & (2), 47-9, 51, 53, 57 & 62 of the 1982 Internal Security Act. Section 46 measures were related to certain gatherings. Section 62 dealt with actions causing and/or encouraging feelings of hostility between different population groups.
Only Commenced: 15 November 1996
IN FORCE: CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

1993 Abolition of Restrictions on Free Political Activity Act No 206:

- S** Repealed:
- section 29 of the 1927 Black Administration Act;
 - the whole of the 1968 Prohibition of Foreign Financing of Political Parties Act (Prohibition of Political Interference Act);
 - the whole of the 1974 Affected Organisations Act ;
 - the whole of the 1976 Parliamentary Internal Security Commission Act;
 - sections 29, 58-61 & 71 of the 1982 Internal Security Act;
 - the whole of the 1989 Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act.
- Commenced: 28 January 1994, except s 7: 29 April 1994
IN FORCE: CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

1993 Local Government Transition Act No 209:

- P** Provided for revised interim measures to promote the restructuring of local government and facilitate the establishment of Provincial Committees for local government of the provinces.
Commenced: 2 February 1994
IN FORCE: LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1994 National Strategic Intelligence Act No 39:

- S** Defined the functions of members of the National Intelligence Structures and established a National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee. It repealed the 1972 Security Intelligence and State Security Council Act.
Commenced: 1 January 1995
IN FORCE: DEFENCE

- 1995 *January: Compulsory schooling introduced on a gradual basis for black children in January starting with the enrolment in Sub A of all six-year-olds (RRS 1994/95: 267). In a draft white paper on education published in September 1994, it was proposed that children between the ages of five and fourteen be required by law to attend school. This differed from the existing provisions for other race groups: it had been compulsory for white and coloured children to attend school between the ages of six and sixteen years; for Indian children the upper limit was fifteen years of age (RRS 1989/90: 808).*

1995 Internal Peace Institution Act Repeal Act No 28:

- U** Repealed the 1992 Internal Peace Institutions Act and provided for matters connected to it.
Commenced: 21 July 1995
IN FORCE: CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

1995 Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No 34:

S Provided for investigation towards the establishment of as complete a picture as possible of the nature, causes and extent of gross violations of human rights committed during the period from 1 March 1960 to the cut-off date contemplated in the Constitution.
Commenced: 1 December 1995

IN FORCE (as amended by the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Amendment Act No 87 of 1995): CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

1995 Identification Amendment Act No 47:

U Amended the 1986 Identification Act so as to repeal certain obsolete provisions, and ordered, with retrospective effect, that a new population register be compiled and maintained.

Commenced: 4 October 1995

IN FORCE: CENSUS AND STATISTICS

1995 Labour Relations Act No 66:

W Repealed the 1956 Industrial Conciliation Act and all its amendments.
Commenced: 11 November 1996.

1995 State of Emergency Act No 86:

S Provides for the declaration of a state of emergency as well as empowering the President to make regulations in consequence of such a declaration.

Commenced: 6 October 1995

IN FORCE: CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

1995 South African Citizenship Act No 88:

P Provides for the acquisition, loss and resumption of South African citizenship. Unlike the 1993 Restoration and Extension of South African Citizenship Act, this Act deals, *inter alia*, with situations where citizenship was renounced or lost on such grounds as, for example, being a child or already being a citizen of another country.

Commenced: 6 October 1995

IN FORCE: CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

■ PART II: HOMELANDS

Introduction: Self-governing territories and independent homelands

The major pieces of legislation governing both the 'independent homelands' and the self-governing states were the National States Constitution Act 21 of 1971 and the National States Citizenship Act No 26 of 1970. (Both of these Acts were repealed by Schedule 7 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No 200 of 1993.)

The legislative powers of the self-governing territories were contained in section 30(1) of the National States Constitution Act 21 of 1971. Any national state which was self-governing was entitled to ask for full independence from the Republic.

The Act made provision for three stages of autonomy: Homelands could progress from territorial authority status, in which no legislative power was conferred to the territory, to responsible government (the second stage) to self-government (the third stage).

The final stage of full independence was catered for in the National States Citizenship Act 26 of 1970. This Act provided for the establishment of ten so-called homelands to which eventually all black South Africans were to belong as citizens according to their ethnic, linguistic and cultural affiliation. This policy of denationalisation may be traced back to even before the National Party came to power in 1948.

Self-governing national states had their own symbols of state such as a national flag, anthem, and official language. Their legislation could repeal or amend any law listed in Schedule 1 of Act 21 of 1971, including Acts of the South African Parliament dealing with such matters.

No new South African law relating to Schedule 1 matters was applicable once the territory had become self-governing. This included Acts of Parliament but excluded laws made by the State President or any section 6(2)(a)(ii) or (iii) Act or ordinance. South African laws remained fully applicable in matters *not* listed in Schedule 1.

The constitutions of the homelands were based solidly on the South African Constitution. The president was elected by the National Assembly. The Constitution expressly provided that the president of a homeland possessed the same powers by virtue of prerogative as the South African President possessed at the time when the Constitution came into operation, and the conventions applicable in South African law continued to apply.

The legislature of the self-governing territory was composed of the president and the National Assembly. The latter body was not wholly elected: half the members were elected and the rest were traditional headmen and chiefs.

In each of the independent homelands, government-paid, nominated chiefs formed at least half of the parliament and dominated the various cabinets. They wielded inordinate power over the people under their jurisdiction and were one of the key methods of control. This in itself was a substantial restraint on democratic opposition to the system; consent was engineered through the chiefs and an armoury of security laws backed by the police, who earned a reputation for heavy-handedness.

The homelands' claim of 'independence' from South Africa was generally ridiculed. On the surface, all the trappings of a sovereign state were there: parliament, government and judiciary, even military forces and diplomatic missions, though ambassadors were exchanged only with the other independent homelands and with the Republic of South Africa. In reality, however, all were totally subservient to Pretoria. This was quite obvious in the economic sphere - the homelands formed a monetary and customs union with South Africa.

Security Legislation of the Homelands:

It is in the security sphere that the independent homelands demonstrated their willingness and ability to pass and administer legislation to great effect. In legal terms, the four independent homelands had complete sovereignty, with their own police and defence forces to administer laws operative in those areas. The Ciskei government, for example, had the power to implement laws and detain people, even in the case of a family feud, and the Transkei re-imposed a state of emergency in July 1983 with extensive powers not subject to any judicial control.

In the non-independent self-governing territories the security laws were the same as those for the rest of South Africa, but in some cases the control of the police within the territories was transferred to the homeland government. In KwaZulu, for instance, control of the police was transferred in 1983 to the then Minister of Police, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was also Chief Minister of the territory.

Notes to the chronology of homelands legislation

Listings related to the independent homelands are given in alphabetical order followed by those of the self-governing homelands, also alphabetically.

With the independent homelands, the focus is on the security legislation, particularly where it differed from that of South Africa. Security matters were, however, also addressed through regulations and proclamations, which proved difficult to trace in many instances. While specific attention is given to emergency regulations, the inventory does not fully cover other security regulations or proclamations.

In the case of the self-governing homelands, all the legislation has been listed since it did not differ significantly from that passed by the South African Parliament. It has proved very difficult to describe this legislation the laws themselves were very difficult to access. Security orders passed by the self-governing territories are not listed here as the chronology focuses only on legislation, not subordinate legislation.

The legislation of the homelands was not all repealed by a single act, but has been and is being repealed piecemeal. As a result, the repeal dates of legislation have not been included here.

BOPHUTHATSWANA

1977 Proclamation R174: (Government Gazette 5716 of 19 August 1977)

Laid down certain regulations for the administration of declared security districts in Bophuthatswana (*SRR* 1977: 331-2).

1977 6 December: *Bophuthatswana becomes an independent homeland*

1978 Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act

Amended the 1956 Riotous Assemblies Act [SA] and made provisions relating to the prohibition of gatherings and the dispersal of unlawful gatherings.

1979 Republic of Bophuthatswana Constitution Further Amendment Act No 21:

Provided for the detention of individuals 'in the interests of national security or public safety' (s 12(g)).

Commenced: 9 March 1979

- 1979 Internal Security Act No 32:**
Empowered Government to declare an organisation unlawful and to control the distribution of publications. Meetings of more than twenty persons were declared unlawful unless authorised by the magistrate. This Act repealed the whole of the 1950 Internal Security Act [SA] and related Acts, with the exception of the 1960 Unlawful Organisations Act which declared that any organisation which threatened public safety was unlawful. Included in this category were the ANC and the PAC (SRR 1979: 312).
Commenced: 27 April 1979
Sections 27-9 inclusive repealed by the State of Emergency Act No 86 of 1995 [SA]
- 1983 Prisons Amendment Act No 8:**
Prohibited any publications about prisons and prisoners without the permission of the Commissioner of Prisons.
Commenced: 3 June 1983
- 1984 Industrial Conciliation Act No 8:**
Prohibited unions with head offices outside the homeland from organising within the homeland. COSATU continued despite these restrictions.
Commenced: 1 July 1983
- 1984 Internal Security Amendment Act No 22:**
Prohibited any meeting of more than twenty persons to be held without the permission of the Minister of Law and Order.
Commenced: 31 August 1984
- 1985 Internal Security Amendment Act No 39:**
Empowered the President to close certain educational institutions in certain circumstances (notably circumstances of unrest etc.), in particular the University of Bophuthatswana.
Commenced: 20 December 1985
- 1985 Security Clearance Act No 40:**
Required security clearance of people as a prerequisite to their employment in certain educational or training institutions and certain parastatal bodies.
Commenced: 20 December 1985
- 1986 Internal Security Amendment Act No 5:**
Granted further control over illegal gatherings.
Commenced: 17 April 1986
- 1986 Security Laws Amendment Act No 13:**
Imposed imprisonment for up to ten years for disruption of any educational institution, unlawful strikes, boycotting of consumer goods, civil disobedience, obstruction of public places, or attending a restricted funeral.
Commenced: 11 June 1986
- 1986 Special Offences Act No 6:**
Made it an offence to possess a tyre or similar object, or any inflammable liquid, in circumstances in which it could be inferred that such things could be used to commit an offence.
Commenced: 17 April 1986

1987 Electoral Amendment Act No 7:

Provisions of section 16(a) allowed for the refusal of registration to political parties. Parties could be disqualified if their object was deemed to be 'hostile to the state'.
Commenced: 5 June 1987

1988 Internal Security Amendment Act No 2:

Amended the 1979 Internal Security Act (RRS 1988/89: 58).
Commenced: 15 March 1988

1990 Proclamation No 4:

Gave the President power to make emergency regulations and to govern the state of emergency which had been declared in some districts under Proclamation 3 of 1990.
Commenced: 10 March 1990

1991 Industrial Relations Act No 27:

Prohibited worker bodies from registering with unions based outside the homeland, and unions from contributing or to receiving money from any organisation banned under the 1979 Internal Security Act or any other security law.

1991 Internal Security Amendment Act No 5:

Continued to bar registered political parties other than the ruling party from holding meetings without official permission.
Commenced: 28 March 1991

CISKEI

1975 Proclamation No 86:

Provided that the Legislative Assembly could, by petition, request the State President to remove a minister from office and order the appointment of another.
Commenced: 29 April 1975

1977 Proclamation R 252:

Gave the government of Ciskei powers to declare a State of Emergency. Powers repealed by the 1982 National Security Act, below (SRR 1977: 348-9).

1981 The Status of Ciskei Act No 110:

Enabled Ciskei to get its independence.

1981 *4 December: Ciskei becomes an independent homeland*

1982 National Security Act No 13:

Replaced Proclamation R252 of 1977. Provided for detention without trial, banning of individuals and outlawing of organisations and publications. Offences were defined in typically broad terms (SRR 1982: 386-7).
Commenced: 27 August 1982

- 1982 *The Ciskei National Assembly amends its Constitution so that no law in effect in the territory can be declared invalid by any court of law on the grounds that it contravenes fundamental human rights.*
- 1983 National Security Amendment Act No 35:**
Empowered police officers to detain and interrogate persons suspected of having committed or intending to commit an offence.
Commenced: 15 February 1983
- 1983 Arms and Ammunition Amendment Act No 17:**
Removed several clauses in the old Act (Arms and Ammunition Act 75 of 1969) adopted from South Africa.
Commenced: 5 August 1983
- 1983 Explosives Amendment Act No 18:**
Amended the Explosives Act 26 of 1956 [SA] to include, under 'explosive', petrol bombs and other apparatus which could cause an explosion.
Commenced: 5 August 1983
- 1984 Citizenship Act No 38:**
Specified who were citizens, who could become citizens and who could lose their citizenship.
Commenced: 1 July 1985
- 1984 Supreme Court Act No 2:**
Provided for the separation of the Ciskei judiciary from South Africa.
Commenced: 16 July 1984
- 1984 Republic of Ciskei Constitution Amendment Act No 10:**
Removed the post of Vice-President.
Commenced: 27 July 1984
- 1985 Defence Amendment Act No 11:**
Incorporated the Department of Defence into the Ciskei defence legislation.
Commenced: 26 July 1985
- 1985 National Security Amendment Act No 24:**
Empowered the Minister of Justice to lift banning orders.
Commenced: 23 August 1985
- 1985 Indemnity Act No 31:**
Indemnified the Ciskei administration against any court proceedings arising from their actions.
Commenced: 25 July 1985
- 1985 Explosives Amendment Act No 30:**
Widened the definition of explosives.
Commenced: 7 February 1986

- 1985 National Security Second Amendment Act No 33:**
Empowered the Attorney-General to prohibit the release on bail of people in seventy different cases (*RRS* 1985: 264-5).
Commenced: 23 August 1986
- 1985 Repeal of Laws Act No 22:**
Further eliminated legislation adopted from South Africa.
Commenced: 23 August 1985
- 1986 Defence Act No 17:**
Established a Ciskei defence force.
Commenced: 26 September 1986
- 1986 Elite Unit Act No 18:**
Established an intelligence organisation which could investigate almost anything.
Commenced: 1 August 1986
- 1986 National Key Points Act No 16:**
Empowered the Minister of Defence to declare any premises a 'national key point'. Such premises could not be destroyed.
Commenced: 1 August 1986
- 1988 National Security Amendment Act No 5:**
Provided for the arrest of any person who directly or indirectly rendered any assistance to persons suspected of being 'terrorists', or failed to report them (or have them reported) to the police.
Commenced: 19 August 1988
- 1990 Proclamation No 3:**
Provided for security emergency regulations and for external assistance to be sought from a neighbouring country in order to maintain law and order (*RRS* 1989/90: 490-96).
Commenced: 9 March 1990
- 1991 National Security Amendment Decree No 4:**
Declared a state of emergency in the residential areas of Shiloh, Ekuphumeleni, Sada and Whittlesea, and in the industrial area of Sada, in the magisterial district of Whittlesea.
Commenced: 9 March 1990
- 1993 Ciskei National Security Decree No 19:**
Provided for indefinite detention without trial.
Commenced: 3 September 1993
Sections 14-17 repealed by the State of Emergency Act No 86 of 1995 [SA].

TRANSKEI

1960 Proclamation No 400 and Proclamation No 413:

Emergency regulations contained in Proclamations 400 and 413 were issued under pre-union statutes (Dugard 1978: 110). Proclamation 400 was only repealed in 1977 by the Public Security Act No 30.

1964 Education Act No 2:

Overrode South African apartheid schooling systems and provided for black schooling and subsidies.

Commenced: 1 April 1965

1964 Transkei Authorities Act No 6:

Set in place mechanisms for the recognition of the Transkei government.

Commenced: 28 August 1964

Repealed by the Transkei Authorities Act No 4 of 1965

1965 Transkei Authorities Act No 4:

Made further provisions for the recognition of local bodies.

Commenced: 11 February 1966

1966 Transkeian Police Act No 5:

Provided for a national policing service and the various powers vested in it.

Commenced: 6 January 1967

1966 Transkeian Authorities Amendment Act No 7:

Amended the list of authoritative bodies in the homeland.

Commenced: 30 June 1966

1966 Education Act No 9:

Enacted various schooling mechanisms.

Commenced: 6 January 1967

1967 Labour Laws Amendment Act No 4:

Amended South African labour laws for Transkei.

Commenced: 1 September 1967

1972 Marriage Act No 4:

Created a local marriage recognition regime, distinct from that of South Africa.

Commenced: 19 April 1973

1973 Legal Aid Act No 2:

Provided legal aid for blacks, which was absent in the South African setting.

Commenced: 24 August 1973

1974 Prisons Act No 6:

Set out prison services in Transkei.

Commenced: 1 August 1975

- 1976 Bantu Administration Amendment Act No 2:**
This Act was similar to the 1927 Black Administration Act [SA], with a few amendments.
- 1976 Extension of the Application of Transkeian Laws Act No 6:**
Attempted to define areas of function for Transkeian laws.
Commenced: 19 July 1976
- 1976 Republic of Transkei Constitution Act No 15:**
Created a Transkei Constitution.
Commenced: 20 October 1976
- 1976 Population Registration Act No 24:**
Provided for census and citizenship rights in Transkei and for the compilation of a population register.
Commenced: 4 March 1977
- 1976 Citizenship of Transkei Act No 26:**
Set out requirements for citizenship.
Commenced: 4 March 1977
- 1976 *26 October: Transkei becomes an independent homeland*
- 1977 Labour Relations Act:**
Transkei's equivalent of the Labour Relations Act [SA].
Commenced: 1 October 1977
- 1977 Labour Act No 14:**
Set out further requirements for labour in Transkei.
Commenced: 1 October 1977
- 1977 Wage Act No 15:**
Provided for a minimum wage and wage regulation bodies.
Commenced: 1 October 1977
- 1977 Intelligence Service and State Security Council Act No 16:**
Provided for a state security advisory board in which South Africa played a role.
Commenced: 22 July 1977
- 1977 Publication Act No 18:**
Provided for state-sanctioned censorship.
Commenced: 14 April 1978
- 1977 Newspaper and Imprint Registration Act No 19:**
Required newspapers to be registered and conform to a code of conduct.
Commenced: 28 October 1977

- 1977 Acquisition of Immovable Property Control Act No 21:**
 Provided for state expropriation and other powers.
Commenced: 2 September 1977
- 1977 Military Discipline Act No 23:**
 Specified punishment for military disobedience.
Commenced: 12 August 1977
- 1977 Aliens and Travellers Control Act No 29:**
 Provided for the control and monitoring of aliens, and for refusal of entry.
Commenced: 18 August 1978
- 1977 Public Security Act No 30:**
 Repealed all security laws applicable in South Africa (including the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act, the 1930 Riotous Assemblies Act and the 1960 Unlawful Organisations Act). Further, it repealed the Proclamation 400 of 1960 but retained some of its provisions (Horrell 1978: 230; *SRR* 1977: 336; Dugard 1978: 96).
Commenced: 7 October 1977
Sections 44 and 45 repealed by the State of Emergency Act No 86 of 1995.
- 1978 Undesirable Organisations Act No 9:**
 Granted the state power to act against illegal organisations.
Commenced: 19 May 1978
- 1978 Marriage Act No 21:**
 Made further amendments to the Marriage Act No 4 of 1972, largely in keeping with South African trends.
Commenced: 2 July 1979
- 1979 Police Act No 16:**
 Granted the police further powers with regard to search and seizure.
Commenced: 3 August 1979
- 1979 Births and Deaths Registration Act No 20:**
 Specified persons who could be registered as Transkeian citizens by birth.
Commenced: 3 October 1980
- 1979 State Land Disposal Act No 23:**
 Set out mechanisms for the disposal of state land.
Commenced: 8 June 1979
- 1980 Public Security Amendment Act No 6:**
 Made further amendments to state security legislation, allowing for greater control by state security mechanisms.
Commenced: 1 August 1980
- 1980 Public Security Further Amendment Act No 20:**
 Made further amendments regarding the declaration of states of emergency.
Commenced: 6 June 1980

- 1980 Second Public Security Further Amendment Act No 31:**
As above.
Commenced: 1 August 1980
- 1983 Public Security Amendment Act No 10:**
As above.
Commenced: 5 August 1983
- 1983 Aliens and Travellers Control Amendment Act No 16:**
Regulated the control of travellers during states of emergency.
Commenced: 21 October 1983
- 1984 Diplomatic Privileges Act No 4:**
Regulated the recognition of diplomats and privileges afforded in reciprocity.
Commenced: 22 February 1985
- 1984 Proclamation No 8:**
Concerning a state of emergency.
Commenced: 21 June 1984
- 1984 Government Notice No 66:**
Restricted the movement of certain persons at institutions of learning.
Commenced: 21 June 1984
- 1984 Government Notice No 149:**
Authorised the arrest and conviction of people found loitering within a municipal area.
Commenced: 5 December 1984
- 1985 Government Notice No 76:**
Provided for emergency regulations for the maintenance of law and order.
Commenced: 7 July 1985
- 1985 Government Notice No 109:**
Gave power to a district commissioner or non-commissioned officer of the Transkeian Police, or a chief having jurisdiction in respect of a place where a meeting is held, to cancel such a meeting and/or impose conditions to be adhered to.
Commenced: 30 August 1985
- 1985 The National Key Points Act No 26:**
Aimed at tightening up security following sabotage in Umtata.
Commenced: 8 November 1985
- 1985 The University of Transkei Amendment Act No 17:**
Empowered the Transkei Minister of Education to veto, without giving reasons, the appointment of any person to a post at the University.
Commenced: 8 November 1985
- 1986 Government Notice No 72:**
Defined curfew regulations.

- Commenced: 1 July 1986
- 1986 Defence Amendment Act:**
Dealt mainly with various ways of combating terrorism.
Commenced: 4 December 1986
- 1987 Intelligence Service and State Security Council Act No 20:**
Granted further powers to the security mechanisms.
Commenced: 6 November 1987
- 1987 *11 June: State of emergency declared in South Africa*
- 1987 Government Notice No 68:**
Repealed curfew regulations.
Commenced: 24 June 1987
- 1987 Proclamation No 8:**
Declared a state of emergency in Transkei.
Commenced: 30 June 1987
- 1987 *30 December: Bloodless coup d'etat. Martial law declared (SRR 1987/88: 936).*
- 1988 Establishment of Military Council Act No 1**
Established a Military Council and a Council of Ministers to rule the Transkei until civilian rule was restored. Although the Act was published on 5 January 1988, it was deemed to be in effect from 30 December 1987.
Commenced: 30 December 1988
- 1988 Explosive, Public Security and Criminal Procedure Amendment Act No 10:**
Controlled public activity and possession of contraband.
Commenced: 22 December 1988
- 1989 *8 November: State of emergency lifted in Transkei (RRS 1989/90: 522).*
- 1990 Enforcement of Foreign Civil Judgements Decree No 13:**
Provided for civil judgements given in designated countries (mainly South Africa and the other homelands) to be enforceable in Transkeian magistrates' courts.
Commenced: 1 September 1990
- 1990 Second Public Security Amendment, Decree No 10:**
Prohibited any demonstration or gathering of people without the written consent of the magistrate of that district.
Commenced: 20 June 1990
- 1991 Cross Border Arrest, Decree No 12:**
Provided mechanisms for cross-border raids.
Commenced: 1 January 1991

- 1993 Application in Transkei of Certain South African Laws Relating to Transitional Democracy, Decree No 13:**
Gave recognition to the democratic processes in South Africa.
Commenced: 7 December 1993
- 1994 Dispute Resolution, Peace Structure and Support Administrative Forums No 1:**
Provided mechanisms for dispute resolution.
Commenced: 7 March 1994
- 1994 (Consequential, Transitional and Temporary Provisions) Constitution**
Further legislation making transition possible.
Commenced: 26 April 1994

VENDA

- 1977 Proclamation No 276:**
Passed in response to an outbreak of trouble in Venda schools. It is 'identical to Proclamation 252 of the Ciskei except that an additional clause includes in the definition of subversive statements or actions, the threatening of a scholar or by any means influencing him to refrain from attending classes or sitting for any examination' (*SRR* 1977: 360).
- 1979 Republic of Venda Constitution Act No 9:**
Provided for a Venda Constitution.
Commenced: 13 September 1979
- 1979 *13 September: Venda becomes an independent homeland.*
- 1980 National Security Intelligence and National Security Council Act No 4:**
Enacted mechanisms for state security.
Commenced: 30 May 1980
- 1980 Preservation of Good Morals Act No 14:**
Dictated segregation similar to that required by South African apartheid laws.
Commenced: 15 August 1980
- 1982 Venda Advisory Council Act No 8:**
Provided for a state advisory council to dictate state policy.
Commenced: 9 March 1982
- 1982 Labour Act No 18:**
Enacted labour legislation similar to that of South Africa.
Commenced: 29 April 1983
- 1983 National Security Intelligence and National Security Council Amendment Act No 8:**
Granted further powers to the intelligence mechanisms.
Commenced: 17 June 1983

- 1983 Publications Act No 15:**
 Provided for state censorship of the media.
Commenced: 19 August 1983
- 1983 Electoral Act No 18:**
 Provided for state elections and the creation of a voters' roll.
Commenced: 17 February 1984
- 1985 Prisons Act No 3:**
 Provided for prisons and prison protocol.
Commenced: 1 April 1985
- 1985 Venda Police Act No 4:**
 Created a police service and granted policing powers of search and seizure.
Commenced: 9 March 1985
- 1985 Maintenance of Law and Order Act No 13:**
 Provided for state declaration of states of emergency and suppression of uprising.
 Repealed a number of South African Acts but not the 1953 Public Safety Act [SA].
 This was not repealed until the 1995 State of Emergency Act [SA] was passed.
Commenced: 1 April 1986
- 1987 The Republic of Venda Constitution Amendment Act No 4:**
 Had the effect of making Venda a one-party administration (s 24(1)).
Commenced: 30 March 1987
- 1987 The Electoral Amendment Act No 8:**
 Stipulated that no person could be nominated as an election candidate without being a registered member of the Venda National Party.
- 1987 Venda Border Extension Act No 31:**
 Included further territory into Venda.
Commenced: 13 September 1979
- 1988 National Intelligence Act No 31:**
 Created state security bodies.
Commenced: 1 April 1989
- 1989 Foreign States Immunity Act No 4:**
 Attempted to create diplomatic relationships.
Commenced: 31 March 1989
- 1991 Venda Reincorporation Forum Act No 5:**
 Provided for the reincorporation of Venda into South Africa.
Commenced: 6 September 1991
- 1991 Demonstration in or near Court Buildings Prohibition Act No 10:**
 Prohibited certain public gatherings and demonstrations.
Commenced: 27 September 1991

- 1992 Council of National Unity Constitution Amendment Proclamation No 23:**
Created unity bodies and mechanisms.
Commenced: 5 April 1990
- 1993 Application in Venda of Certain South African Laws Relating to Transition to Democracy Proclamation No 26:**
Recognised certain South African Legislation as enforceable in Venda.
Commenced: 3 December 1993
- 1995 State of Emergency Act No 86 [SA]**
Repealed the 1953 Public Safety Act [SA], as amended.

GAZANKULU

- 1973 *Gazankulu proclaimed a self-governing territory*
- 1973 Education Act No 7:**
Commenced: 1 January 1974
- 1973 Social Pensions Act No 7:**
Commenced: 24 September 1976
- 1979 Black Administration Amendment Act No 4:**
Commenced: 1 April 1980
- 1979 Criminal Procedure Amendment Act No 7:**
Commenced: 1 April 1980
- 1980 Police Act No 5:**
Commenced: 1 July 1981
- 1980 Divorce Act No 7:**
Commenced: 1 April 1981
- 1982 Business and Trading Undertakings Amendment Act No 7:**
Commenced: 1 April 1983
- 1984 Application of Laws to Added Areas Amendment Act No 7:**
Commenced: 25 October 1985
- 1985 Police Amendment Act No 5:**
Commenced: 1 January 1984
- 1986 Labour Regulations Repeal Act No 4:**
Commenced: 6 February 1987

- 1987 Civil Protection Act No 5:**
Commenced: 25 April 1988
- 1987 Social Pensions Amendment Act No 7:**
Commenced: 24 December 1987
- 1988 Control of Access to Public Premises and Vehicles Act No 5:**
Commenced: 20 January 1989
- 1988 Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Act No 15:**
Commenced: 30 June 1989
- 1990 Immorality and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act No 6:**
Commenced: 25 March 1991
- 1992 Criminal Procedure Amendment Act No 9:**
Commenced: 25 September 1992

KANGWANE

- 1979 Public Services Act No 3:**
Commenced: 28 March 1980
Repealed by s 37 of the Public Service Act No 5 of 1989.
- 1984 *31 August: KaNgwane proclaimed a self-governing territory*
- 1986 Labour Relations Repeal Act No 6:**
Commenced: 25 June 1987
- 1988 Police Act No 4:**
Commenced: 27 January 1989
- 1988 Control of Access to Public Premises and Vehicles Act No 5:**
Commenced: 15 February 1989
- 1988 Local Authorities Act No 9:**
Commenced: 17 March 1989
- 1989 Public Service Act No 5:**
Commenced: 16 March 1990
- 1991 Regulations for Administration and Control of Townships in Black Areas Amendment Act No 3:**
Commenced: 16 August 1991
- 1991 Black Areas Land Regulation Amendment Act No 5:**
Commenced: 16 August 1991

- 1992 Child Care Harmonisation Act No 2:**
Commenced: 21 August 1992
- 1992 Criminal Procedure Amendment Act No 6:**
Commenced: 21 August 1992
- 1993 Deeds Registry Amendment Act No 4:**
Commenced: 4 February 1994
- 1993 Births and Deaths Registration Act No 5:**
Commenced: 4 February 1994

KWANDEBELE

- 1981** *20 March: KwaNdebele proclaimed a self-governing territory*
- 1981 Public Services Act No 3:**
Commenced: 1 July 1981
- 1986 Labour Regulations Repeal Act No 3:**
Commenced: 5 September 1986
- 1986 Police Act No 11:**
Commenced: 1 May 1987
- 1987 Public Safety Act No 5:**
Commenced: 4 September 1987
- 1987 Civil Defence Act No 7:**
Commenced: 12 February 1988
- 1988 Criminal Procedure Amendment Act No 8:**
Commenced: 5 January 1989
- 1988 Mines and Works Amendment Act No 19:**
Commenced: 28 July 1989
- 1989 Traditional Hearings of Civil Cases Act No 7:**
Commenced: 16 March 1990
- 1990 Traditional Authorities Amendment Act No 7:**
Commenced: 1 April 1990
- 1991 Labour Relations Act No 19:**
Commenced: 10 January 1992

- 1992 Land Tenure Act No 11:**
Commenced: 21 January 1994
- 1992 Intimidation Act No 13:**
Commenced: 22 January 1993
- 1992 Corruption Act No 14:**
Commenced: 5 February 1993

KWAZULU

- 1973 Medium of Instruction and Language Act No 5:**
Commenced: 19 October 1973
- 1974 Chiefs and Headmen Act No 8:**
Commenced: 20 September 1974
- 1974 Labour Amendment Act No 11:**
Commenced: 1 September 1975
- 1975 Public Services Act No 7:**
Commenced: 5 December 1975
- 1977** *1 February: KwaZulu proclaimed a self-governing territory*
- 1978 Education Act No 7:**
Commenced: 8 December 1978
- 1978 Black Taxation Amendment Act No 13:**
Commenced: 1 March 1978
- 1979 Black Authorities Amendment Act No 6:**
Commenced: 14 December 1979
- 1979 Criminal Procedure Act No 14:**
Commenced: 1 June 1979
- 1979 Financial Regulations for Tribal and Community Authorities Act No 7:**
Commenced: 15 February 1980
- 1980 Labour Amendment Act No 9:**
Commenced: 28 November 1980
- 1980 Divorce Act No 10:**
Commenced: 28 November 1980

- 1981 Act on the Code of Zulu Law No 6:**
Commenced: 29 October 1982
- 1981 Police Amendment Act No 11:**
Commenced: 2 October 1981
- 1982 Marriage Amendment Act No 9:**
Commenced: 25 February 1983
- 1985 Wage and Basic Conditions of Employment Act No 9:**
Commenced: 10 April 1987
- 1985 Tribal, Community and Regional Authorities Amendment Act No 20:**
Commenced: 22 August 1986
- 1986 National Welfare Act No 9:**
Commenced: 24 July 1987
- 1985 KwaZulu Education Amendment Act No 17:**
Empowered the Minister of Education and Culture to close schools and to suspend or transfer teachers.
Commenced: 1986
- 1987 The KwaZulu Act on the Tracing and Detention of Offences:**
Empowered the KwaZulu Police and South African Police to detain without warrant, for the purposes of interrogation and for a period of up to ninety days, any person suspected by the police of intending to commit or having committed a crime.
Commenced: 1987
- 1991 Labour Relations Amendment Act No 13:**
Commenced: 19 November 1991
- 1992 Land Affairs Act No 11:**
Commenced: 30 November 1993

LEBOWA

- 1972** *20 October: Lebowa proclaimed a self-governing territory*
- 1974 Education Act No 6:**
Commenced: 24 January 1975
- 1976 Criminal Procedure Amendment Act No 11:**
Commenced: 20 August 1976
- 1977 Bantu Administration Amendment Act:**
Commenced: 21 October 1977

- 1978 Social Pensions Act No 11:**
Commenced: 1 September 1979
- 1984 Royal Allowance Act No 3:**
Commenced: 1 January 1984
- 1985 Police Act No 6:**
Commenced: 24 August 1979

QWAQWA

- 1974 *1 November: QwaQwa proclaimed a self-governing territory*
- 1976 Education Act No 4:**
Commenced: 3 December 1976
- 1980 Police Act No 7:**
Commenced: 27 February 1981
- 1981 Special Taxation Act No 8:**
Commenced: 1 January 1981
- 1985 Welfare Act No 10:**
 (Commencement date not found)
- 1986 Labour Regulations Repeal Act No 7:**
Commenced: 1 September 1986
- 1987 Education Act No 7:**
Commenced: 1 July 1988
- 1988 Labour Regulations Act No 13:**
Commenced: 13 June 1989
- 1988 Local Authorities Act No 18:**
Commenced: 2 October 1989
- 1989 Police Amendment Act No 8:**
Commenced: 26 July 1989
- 1989 Criminal Law Amendment Act No 10:**
Commenced: 26 July 1989
- 1989 Land Act No 15:**
Commenced: 6 August 1989
- 1990 Immorality and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act No 6:**
Commenced: 4 March 1988

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Commissions of Enquiry from 1960 - 1995

1960 Commission of Inquiry into Sharpville, Evaton and Vanderbijlpark Location Riots

Mandate: To inquire into and report on the events in the district of Vereeniging (especially in Sharpville and Evaton) and Vanderbijlpark, Transvaal.

Date of Report: 1960

Chair: WESSELS, P.J.

Ref: Ann. 125-61

1961 Judicial Commission on Langa Location Riots

Mandate: To inquire into and report on the riots in Langa, district of Wynberg, Cape of Good Hope, on 21 March 1960.

Date of Report: 1961

Chair: DIEMONT, M.

Ref: Ann. 126-61

1963 Commission appointed to inquire into the events on 20-22 November 1962 at PAARL and the causes which gave rise thereto

Mandate: To inquire into and report on the events at Paarl in the province of the Cape of Good Hope on the stated dates, and the causes of these events.

Date of Report: 20 June 1963

Chair: SNYMAN, J.H.

Ref: RP 51/1963

1963 Commission of Inquiry into the Postal Vote System and Registration of Voters

Mandate: To inquire into the postal vote system.

Date of Report: 1963

Chair: VAN DEN HEEVER, D.J.G.

Ref: RP 12/1963

1964 Commission of Inquiry into South West African Affairs 1962-1963

Mandate: To inquire thoroughly into further promoting the material and moral and the social progress of the inhabitants of South West Africa, and more particularly its 'non-white' inhabitants, and to submit a report with recommendations for a five-year plan for the accelerated development of the various 'non-white' groups of South West Africa (inside and outside their own territories) and for the further development and building up of such 'Native' territories in South West Africa.

Date of Report: 1964

Chair: ODENDAAL, F.H.

Ref: RP 12-64

1964 Commission of Inquiry into Secret Organisations

Mandate: To inquire into and report on the conduct of any secret organisation, including Freemasonry, the Afrikaner Broederbond and the Sons of England, and on the secret activities of any other organisation which comes, or is brought, to the Commission's attention and which, in the opinion of the Commission, calls for inquiry in terms of the purpose of its appointment.

Date of Report: 12 December 1964

Chair: BOTHA, D.H.

Ref: RP 20/1965

1966 Commission of Inquiry into the Circumstances of the Death of the late Dr Honourable Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd

Mandate: To inquire into and submit a report on all aspects relating to the death of the late Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd which the said Commission deems to be in public interest.

Date of Report: December 1966

Chair: VAN WYK, J.T.

Ref: RP 16/1967

1967 Commission of Inquiry into Improper Political Interference and the Political Representation of the various Population Groups

Mandate: To investigate, report on and make recommendations with regard to the matters referred to by the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill (A.B. 81-'66) and any matters concerning the political representation of the various population groups.

Date of Report: 20 November 1967

Chair: MULLER, S. L.

Ref: RP 72/1967

1969-70 Commission of Inquiry into matters relating to the Security of the State [BOSS]

Mandate: To inquire into and submit recommendations and a report on -

1. whether the State Departments concerned with security function properly and act in a co-ordinated manner so as to ensure the greatest measure of efficiency, and to what extent each State Department concerned plays a necessary and an efficient part;
2. any matter which, in the opinion of the Commission, constitutes a threat to the efficient functioning of the security organisations; the harmful effects, if any, which their activities might have on the State or its citizens, and the anomalies which might arise as a result of the operations of any of the said organisations or of individuals attached to or in control of them;
3. any further aspect concerning the security structure of the State;
4. whether, and to what extent, present legislation concerning the Bureau for State Security should be amended in the light of the report and recommendations on the above matters;
5. the release to the public of as much of the Commission's report as would not, in opinion of the Commission, be in conflict with the security of the State.

Date of Report:

Report I: 27 November 1969

Report II: 4 August 1970

Chair: POTGIETER, H.J.

Ref: Report I: RP 17/70

Report II: RP 102/1971

1973-75 Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organisations

Mandate:

- 1) To inquire into and (taking into account the evidence, memoranda and exhibits submitted to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Certain Organisations) report on -
 - a) the objects, organisation and functioning of the National Union of South African Students, the South African Institute of Race Relations, the University Christian Movement, the Christian Institute of Southern Africa and any related organisations, bodies, committees or groups of persons;
 - b) the activities of the above-mentioned organisations and the direct or indirect results or possible results of such activities;
 - c) the activities of individuals in or connected with the aforementioned organisations, and the direct or indirect results or possible results of those activities; and
- 2) to make recommendations as necessary.

Date of Reports: (see specific dates listed after ref. for each report)

Chairpersons: KRUGER, J.T. (4 July 1972 - 1 August 1972)

SCHLEBUSCH, A.L. (1 August 1972 - 14 May 1974)

LE GRANGE, L. (14 May 1974 - completion)

Refs: Reports 1 and 2, concerning the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS): unnumbered, signed 23.2.73, tabled 27.2.73, S297/43 and S297/43a

Date: 1973

Report 3, concerning same as above: unnumbered, signed 11.4.73, tabled 25.4.73 **Date:** 1973

Report 4: Final Report concerning the National Union of South African Students: RP 33-74 **Date:** 1974

Report 5, concerning the South African Institute of Race Relations: RP 62-74 **Date:** 1974

Report 6, concerning the University Christian Movement: RP 64-75 **Date:** 1975

Final Report, concerning the Christian Institute of Southern Africa: RP 44-75 **Date:** 1975.

1975 Commission of Inquiry into Certain Matters Relating to the University of the North

Mandate: To inquire into and report on -

- 1) the events on 25 September 1974 on the campus of the University of the North to determine their causes and the part played by the University management, the student representative council and any other organisation of either students or faculty, with specific attention to-
 - a) the relationship on the campus between black and white academic staff, as well as between the black academic staff and the students; and
 - b) related matters concerning the present and future management of the university, including possible interference by the black academic staff association;
- 2) any related matter which comes to the notice of the Commission and which in its view calls for inquiry.

Date of Report: 30 June 1975

Chair: SNYMAN, J.H.

Ref: G68 E: EDUC 1/75

1976 Commission of Inquiry into the Penal System of the Republic of South Africa
Mandate: To inquire into the penal system of the Republic of South Africa and to make recommendations for amendments: in this respect the question of the death penalty should not be inquired.
Date of Report: 1976
Chair: VILJOEN, G.
Ref: RP 78/1976

1976 Commission of Inquiry into Matters relating to the Coloured Population Group
Mandate: To inquire into, consider, and report on-

- a) progress of the coloured population group since 1960 in –
 - i) the social sphere, including housing and health conditions, community development, education, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - ii) the economic field, including commerce and industrial development, agricultural development, general economic development, occupational participation, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - iii) the constitutional field and all matters relevant hereto;
 - iv) local government and all matters relevant hereto;
 - v) the sports and cultural fields and all matters relevant hereto;
- b) hindrances in the different fields which constitute obstacles;
- c) any other relevant matter within the scope of the designated field of inquiry which may come to the attention of the Commission and which in its opinion necessitates inquiry.

Date of Report: 9 April 1976
Chair: THERON, E.
Ref: RP 38/1976 [Also a white paper on the report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters relating to the Coloured Population Group, W.P.D./'77; and an Interim Memorandum stating provisional comments by the government on the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters relating to the Coloured Population: W.P.S./'76]

1979-90 Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation
Mandate: To inquire into, report on and make recommendations in connection with the following matters:

- a) Industrial Conciliation Act, 1956
- b) Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act, 1953
- c) Wage Act, 1957
- d) Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act, 1941
- e) Shops and Offices Act, 1964
- f) Apprenticeship Act, 1944
- g) Training of Artisans Act, 1951
- h) Bantu Building Workers Act, 1951
- i) Electrical Wiremen and Contractors' Act, 1939
- j) Workmen's Compensation Act, 1941
- k) Unemployment Insurance Act, 1966
- l) Registration for Employment Act, 1945

The mandate was extended to include:

- m) Mines and Works Act, 1956 or any other act administered by the Department of Mines.

Date of Report: 1979/1990

The report was made in six parts (see separate references below)

Chair: WIEHAHN, N.E.

Ref: **Part 1:** RP 47-79 (E&A)

Part 2: RP 38-80 (E&A)

Parts 3 & 4: RP 82-80 (E), RP 87-80 (A)

Part 5: RP 27-81(E&A)

Part 6: RP 28-81 (E&A).

1978-79 Commission of Inquiry into Alleged Irregularities in the Former Department of Information

Mandate: To evaluate and make findings and recommendations on certain evidence of alleged irregularities in the former Department of Information which had come to light through other authorities and through the press; and [for the supplementary report] to extend the inquiry into new facets and areas brought to light in the course of the Commission's first inquiry.

Date of Report: 1978, supplementary report 1979

Chair: ERASMUS, R.P.B.

Ref: RP 63/1979 (supplementary report)

1979 Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and Elsewhere from 16 June 1976 to 28 February 1977

Mandate: To inquire into and report on the riots at Soweto and other places in the Republic during June 1976, and their causes.

Date of Report: 1979

Chair: CILLIÉ, P.M.

Ref: RP 55/1980 (E), RP 106/1979 (A)

1980-81 Commission of Inquiry on the Constitution

Mandate: To inquire into and report on the introduction of a new Constitution for the Republic of South Africa

Date of Report: Interim Report: 6 May 1980

Final Report: 4 February 1981

Chair: SCHLEBUSCH, A. L.

Ref: Interim Report: RP 68/1980

Final Report: RP 23/1981

1980 Commission of Inquiry into Reporting of Security Matters regarding the South African Defence Force and the South African Police Force

Mandate: To inquire into and make recommendations on -

- a) the delimitation of, on the one hand, the interests of the news media and the public's right to be informed on affairs of the state and, on the other hand, the interests of the state and of its citizens as entrenched by section 118 and other provisions of the Defence Act of 1957 and the Police Act of 1958, which require that newsworthy information should sometimes not be made known;
- b) ways of reconciling these interests and any changes that might be needed to the Defence Act of 1957 and the Police Act of 1958.

Date of Report: 1980

Chair: STEYN, M.T.

Ref: RP 52-80

- 1981 Commission of Inquiry into Security Legislation**
Mandate: To inquire into, report and make recommendations on the necessity, adequacy, fairness and efficacy of legislation pertaining to the internal security of the Republic of South Africa.
Date of Report: 21 November 1981
Chair: RABIE, P.J.
Ref: RP 90-81
- 1982 Commission of Inquiry into the Monetary System and Monetary Policy in South Africa**
Mandate: To inquire into and report on the oversight on the monetary system and the monetary policy in South Africa.
Date of Report: November 1982
Chair: DE KOCK, G.P.C.
Ref: RP 93/1982
- 1982 Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media**
Mandate: To continue with and build on the work of the Van Zijl Commission (1950-64), the Commission of Inquiry on Security Matters regarding the Defence Force and the Police Force (1979-80) and the Meyer Commission (1969-71), which investigated the desirability of establishing a television service.
Date of Report: 1982
Chair: STEYN, M.T.
Ref: RP 89/1981 (3 vol.)
- 1984 Commission of Inquiry into South African Council of Churches**
Mandate: To inquire into and report on –
 a) the inception, development, objects and activities of the South African Council of Churches, including the way it functions and is managed;
 b) the way in which the South African Council of Churches and individuals connected with it solicit or obtain money and assets (at present or in the past), the purpose for which these funds are used and the organisations and individuals from or through whom they are solicited or received.
 c) any other matter pertaining to the South African Council of Churches, its present and past office bearers or officers and other persons connected with it, on which the Commission is of the opinion that a report should be made in the public interest.
Date of Report: 1984
Chair: ELOFF, C.F.
Ref: RP 74/1983
- 1984 Commission of Inquiry into Township Establishment and Related Matters**
Mandate: To inquire into, report on and make recommendations regarding –
 a) methods and proposals for the accelerated provision of affordable new housing by giving particular attention to simplifying and expediting township establishment by, for instance, removing or streamlining any impeding legislation and regulations;
 b) ways of transferring land to competent institutions, or any other measures in cases where township establishment does not proceed as desired;

- c) ways to facilitate efficient use of land, for example by relaxing some of the restrictions on the subdivision or the placing of more than one housing unit on an erf or holding; and
- d) any other methods which may promote the provision of sufficient residential erven and reduce their cost.

Date of Report: 29 March 1983

Chair: VENTER, A.A.

Ref: RP 20, 21 and 54/1984

First report: RP 20/1984.

Second report: RP 21/1984.

Third report: RP 54/1984.

1985 Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Incident which occurred on 21 March 1985 at Uitenhage

Mandate: To investigate the circumstances surrounding the incident on the date mentioned, in which people were killed and injured, and to submit an urgent report.

Date of Report: 4 June 1985

Chair: KANNEMEYER, D.D.V.

Ref: RP 74-85; S297/103

1985 Commission of Inquiry into the Violence which occurred on 29 October 1983 at the University of Zululand

Mandate: To inquire into and report on the circumstances surrounding the violence at the University of Zululand on 29 October 1983.

Date of Report: February 1985

Chair: MIDDLETON, A.J.

Ref: RP 80/1985

1988 Commission of Inquiry into alleged misappropriation of funds of the Lebowa Government Service

Mandate: To inquire into, report on and make recommendations on-

- a) the possible misappropriation of funds of the Lebowa Government Service by -
 - i) the financing of the erection of a house on the farm Majeabaskraal and
 - ii) the granting of a loan to Kgosi L.C. Mothiba;
- b) the methods employed and malpractices committed in connection with any irregularities or advantage accorded anyone, or any misappropriation the Commission may find;
- c) steps to end such practices, and action to be taken against those involved.

Date of Report: 18 October 1988.

Chair: DEKKER, L.W.

Ref: RP 45-89; S291/141 (Bilingual)

1989 Commission of Inquiry into Certain Alleged Across-Border Irregularities

Mandate: To accept the findings made by the 'Alexander Commission' and to attempt to clear up alleged irregularities found but not fully investigated by that commission with regard to the processing and granting of gambling rights and related licences by Transkeian authorities.

First report: The Matter of S.G. Palazzolo-De Pontes.

Second report: Transkei Gambling Rights.

Date of Reports: 1989

Chair: HARMS, The Hon L.T.C.

Ref: Anns 11, 12/1989 or S297/145 (E)

1989 Commission of Inquiry into Allegations Concerning the Involvement of any Member of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates or any Member of the House of Delegates in any Irregularities

Mandate: As above.

Date of Report: 13 March 1989.

Chair: JAMES, N.

Ref: An 119-89 or S297/136 (E)

1990 Commission of Inquiry into the Death of Clayton Sizwe Sithole

Mandate: To investigate the circumstances surrounding the death in detention of Clayton Sizwe Sithole on 30 January 1990.

Date of Report: 20 February 1990

Chair: GOLDSTONE, R.J.

Ref: S297/143 (E)

1990 Commission of Inquiry into Certain Alleged Murders

Mandate: To inquire into and to report on certain alleged murders and other unlawful acts of violence committed in the Republic of South Africa (including self-governing territories). If such murders and acts of violence are found to have occurred, to investigate what bodies and organisations were responsible for these acts. The mandate was extended to include an investigation into and report on the allegation that one Anton Lubowski was a paid agent of the SADF: Military Intelligence Section.

Date of Report: September 1990

Chair: HARMS, L.T.C.

Ref: RP 108-90 (A); RP 109-90 (E); S297/151 (A); S297/152 (E).

1990 Commission of Inquiry into the Salvage on the 'An Hung No. 1' and Related Matters

Mandate: To investigate and report on the effectiveness of existing measures and their application with regard to the salvage of the stranded fish trawler 'An Hung No. 1' and its cargo, and to make recommendations accordingly.

Date of Report: 2 October 1990

Chair: DE BEER, J.

Ref: RP 104/1990

1990 Commission of Inquiry into the Incidents at Sebokeng, Boipatong, Lekoa, Sharpsville and Evaton on 26 March 1990

Mandate: To investigate all the factual circumstances around the violent incidents at Sebokeng, Boipatong, Lekoa, Sharpsville and Evaton on 26 March 1990 during which people were killed or injured, and to report urgently.

Date: 27 June 1990

Chair: GOLDSTONE, R.J.

Ref: G68 E2 15/90

1992-93 Commission of Inquiry into the 1986 Unrest and Alleged Mismanagement in KwaNdebele

Mandate: To inquire into and report on any mismanagement that has occurred in the governmental department of KwaNdebele, the KwaNdebele National Development Corporation or the KwaNdebele Utility Company, with special reference to -

- a) any malpractices or irregularities in the above-mentioned department, corporation and company; and to any irregular favouring of individuals or institutions;
- b) any abuse of authority or position by persons in the board of such a corporation or company;
- c) any losses suffered by a department or organisation as a result of misallocation of funds;

and to determine steps to be taken to halt such mismanagement or to prevent their recurrence, in order to ensure that funds put at the disposal of KwaNdebele are used to the best advantage of KwaNdebele and its inhabitants.

The mandate was extended in *Government Gazette* No 13586 (25 October 1991) to include any such matters irrespective of whether they occurred before or after 28 November 1988.

Date of Report: see below

Chair: PARSONS, B.J.

Ref(s):

Report 1: RP 119-92 [topic and date not available];

Report 2: Concerning police functions of the Department of Law and Order as one of the Departments of Government of KwaNdebele; RP 120/1992; 19 May 1992

Report 3: --- [not available]

Report 4: Concerning the Department of Water Affairs and Public Works; RP 91/93; 10 March 1993

Report 5: Concerning the Department of Civil Relations and Information; RP 137/1993; 24 August 1993

Report 6: Concerning the KwaNdebele National Development Corporation and the KwaNdebele Utilities Company; RP 146/1993; 9 November 1993

1992-95 Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation

Mandate: The chairperson and members of the Commission were appointed for three years to investigate the issue of public violence and intimidation in South African society. With regard to specific incidents of violence, the Commission's approach was to inquire into paradigm situations where, on the face of it, the symptoms were common to other areas of violence. The Commission's major aim with these investigations was to act as a catalyst in the process of transforming the police force into a body that had the confidence, respect and co-operation of the vast majority of the people of South Africa.

Dates of Reports: Reports spanned a number of topics and were given at various points between 1992 and 1995. The final report was submitted in October 1994.

Chair: GOLDSTONE, R.J.

Ref: The references are different for the different reports of the Commission, which were being processed at the Parliamentary Library, Cape Town, at the time of writing. (See appendix)

**1995 Commission of Inquiry into Unrest in Prisons -
Appointed by the President on 27 June 1994**

Mandate:

- 1) To inquire into, consider and report on the causes, course and consequences of the unrest that occurred in South African prisons during the period 26 April 1994 to 13 June 1994;
- 2) to investigate the circumstances and causes of any deaths or injuries which occurred in the said unrest;
- 3) to recommend steps that can be taken to prevent the future occurrence of such unrest or to minimise its risk; and
- 4) to inquire into and report to the President on any matter which seems to the Commission to be relevant to the proceedings.

Date of Report: February 1995

Chair: KRIEGLER, J. C.

Ref: R 125/1994

1995 Commission of Inquiry into Alleged Arms Transactions between Armscor and one Eli Wazan, and other Related Matters

Mandate:

- 1) To inquire into, consider and report on-
 - a) all aspects and surrounding circumstances of the transaction/s between Armscor and one Eli Wazan for the sale of weapons, arms components and related materials;
 - b) the facts relating to other arms deals and other transactions relating to arms components and related material since 2 February 1990, with a view to identifying any possible similarities between such other transactions and the transaction/s referred to in paragraph (a) above;
 - c) the identity of all persons, parties and/or countries involved in such transactions and their antecedents;
 - d) whether there was any connection between such transactions and any other matter;
 - e) whether such transactions violated-
 - i) any law and/or
 - ii) any international embargo;
 - f) whether *prima facie* evidence exists indicating that any person committed-
 - i) a criminal offence; or
 - ii) serious misconduct, negligence or impropriety.
- 2) To comment, in the context of South Africa's national and international obligations and responsibilities, on the appropriateness of-
 - a) South Africa's current trade policy with regard to weapons, arms components and related materials; and
 - b) decision-making processes with regard to such trade.
- 3) To submit an interim report (and further interim reports) as soon as possible.

Date of Report:

First Report: 15 June 1995

Second Report: 20 November 1995

Chair: CAMERON, E

Ref: First Report: S 297/208

Second Report: S 297/215

■ APPENDIX

REPORTS OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY REGARDING THE PREVENTION OF PUBLIC VIOLENCE (GOLDSTONE COMMISSION)

- First Interim Report (Jan 1992)
- Interim Report: Violence at Mooi River, Natal (Feb 1992)
- Further Interim Report on Mooi River (Feb 1992)
- Report: Incidents at President Steyn Gold Mine, Welkom (Feb 1992)
- Report: Press statement by IFP on 24 March 1992 (Apr 1992)
- Second Interim Report (Apr 1992)
- Report: Conduct of members of 32 Battalion in April 1992 (Jun 1992)
- First Interim Report: Violence in the taxi industry (Jun 1992)
- Second Interim Report: Violence in the taxi industry (Jul 1992)
- Interim Report: Train violence (Jul 1992)
- Interim Report: Violence in hostels (Sept 1992)
- Report: Preliminary inquiry into the Bisho incident on 7 September 1992 (Sept 1992)
- Report: Allegations of planning or instigation of acts of violence by the SAP in the Vaal area (Oct 1992)
- Report: Violence in Tokoza (Nov 1992)
- Third Interim Report: Taxi violence (Dec 1992)
- Report: Presence of Renamo soldiers in KwaZulu (Dec 1992)
- Third Interim Report (Dec 1992)
- Final Report: Violence at Mooi River, Natal (Dec 1992)
- Report: Regulation of gatherings (Jan 1993)
- Fourth Interim Report: Taxi violence in Groblersdal and surrounding areas (Feb 1993)
- Interim Report: APLA (Mar 1993)
- Final Report: Regulation of gatherings (Apr 1993)
- Final Report: Train violence (May 1993)
- Report: Allegations published in the *Vrye Weekblad* dated 30 October 1992 concerning a third force (May 1993)
- Report: Allegations concerning front companies of the SADF, the training by the SADF of Inkatha supporters in 1986 and the 'Black Cats' (Jun 1993)
- Report by the committee appointed to hold a workshop to consider events after the assassination and during the funeral of Mr. Chris Hani (Jun 1993)
- Report of the multi-national panel to inquire into the curbing of violence before, during and after the forthcoming election (Aug 1993)
- Fifth Interim Report: Taxi violence in the Western Cape and in general (1993)
- Report: Illegal importation, distribution and use of firearms, ammunition and explosive devices (Oct 1993)
- Report: Crossroads (Cape) during March to June 1993 (Nov 1993)
- Report: Incidents of violence at Mossel Bay: July 1993 (Oct 1993)
- Fourth Interim Report (Dec 1993)
- Report: Incidents in Katlehong on 9 January 1994 (Jan 1994)
- Interim Report: Criminal political violence by elements within the SAP, the KwaZulu Police and the Inkatha Freedom Party (Mar 1994)
- Interim Report: Wallis Committee - causes of the incidents between IFP and ANC (Mar 1994)
- Second Interim Report: Wallis Committee - specific matters (Mar 1994)
- Final Report: Attacks on members of the SAP (Apr 1994)
- Report: Preliminary inquiry into the shooting incidents which took place in the centre of Johannesburg on 28 March 1994 (Apr 1994)
- Report: Preliminary inquiry into the attempted purchase of firearms by the KwaZulu government from Escom (Apr 1994)
- Report: Attack on the Power Park squatter camp on 27 July 1993 (May 1994)
- Fifth Interim Report (May 1994)
- Sixth Interim Report: Violence in the taxi industry in the King William's town area (Jul 1994)
- Seventh Interim Report: Violence in the taxi industry in the Queenstown area (Aug 1994)
- Report: The effects of public violence and intimidation on children (Oct 1994)
- Final Report by the Commission (Oct 1994)


NOTE: All these reports can be found in the Parliamentary Library in Cape Town (not yet catalogued as of July 1997).

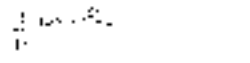
VOLUME TWO

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




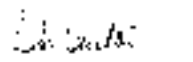
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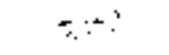

Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Chairperson


Ms Hlengiwe Mkhize


Dr Alex Boraine
Vice-Chairperson


Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza

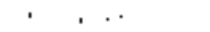

Ms Mary Burton



Dr Wendy Orr



Revd Bongani Finca


Adv Denzil Potgieter

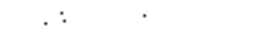
Ms Sisi Khampepe

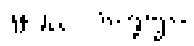

Dr Fazel Randera


Mr Richard Lyster


Ms Yasmin Sooka


Mr Wynand Malan*


Ms Glenda Wildschut


Dr Khoza Mgojo

* Subject to minority position. See volume 5.

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National Overview

■ PREFACE

- 1 This chapter seeks to provide an overview of the context in which conflict developed and gross violations of human rights occurred. Other chapters in this volume focus specifically on the nature and extent of violations committed by the major role-players throughout the mandate period. The volume focuses specifically on the perpetrators of gross violations of human rights and attempts to understand patterns of abuse, forms of gross violations of human rights, and authorisation of and accountability for them.

Sources

- 2 In identifying the principal organisations and individuals responsible for gross violations of human rights in its mandate period, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) had a vast range of information at its disposal. In addition to court records and press reports, it received over 21 000 statements from individuals alleging that they were victims of human rights abuses and 7 124 from people requesting amnesty for acts they committed, authorised or failed to prevent. In addition, the Commission received submissions from the former State President, Mr P W Botha, political parties, a variety of civil institutions and organisations, the armed forces and other interested parties. All these submissions were seriously considered by the Commission. Through its power to *subpoena* witnesses, the Commission was also able to gather a considerable amount of information in section 29 and other public hearings.
- 3 While the Promotion of National Reconciliation and Unity Act (the Act) gave the Commission free access to whatever state archives and documents it required, in practice, access to the holdings of various security agencies was difficult, if not impossible, with the exception of the National Archives. It was also discovered that literally tons of security files were destroyed on the instructions of the previous government.

- 4 Despite these difficulties, a vast corpus of documentation was collected – more material than has been available to any previous enquiry into human rights in South Africa. However, the sources of information, while rich, were not evenly distributed, presenting difficulties in the identification of organisations and individuals who became perpetrators of torture, killing and other gross violations. The amnesty applications received from former members of the South African Police (SAP) represent an invaluable new source of material. The Commission received many applications from serving or retired police officers specifying their role in gross violations of human rights. Some of these cases, such as the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko, were well known both at home and abroad; others were unknown outside a very small circle of the perpetrators themselves. The information contained in amnesty applications revealed a deeper level of truth about the fate of a number of individual victims.
- 5 The Commission received notably fewer amnesty applications from members of the former South African Defence Force (SADF), notwithstanding the fact that the SADF was involved in a series of regional conflicts over a period of more than fifteen years. Many of these conflicts transgressed the ‘laws of war’ as laid down in international protocols. The Commission was unable to determine whether fewer gross violations are attributable to military personnel than to police officers or whether, in the belief that they would be less likely to face future prosecution, military personnel were more reticent than police officers in applying for amnesty.
- 6 Moreover, the Commission found the South African Police Services (SAPS) considerably more helpful with regard to the transmission of documents, the identification of former personnel and so on than officers of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). The latter was frequently reticent about supplying documents, often imposing unduly severe restrictions and constraints on access to military documentation, including the screening of documentary material made available to the Commission.
- 7 With regard to applications for amnesty, the Commission noted that individual applications received from personnel of the African National Congress (ANC), some of whom now hold senior positions in government, frequently lacked the depth of detail found in police amnesty applications. The Commission acknowledged the fact that the ANC’s political leadership accepted collective political and moral responsibility for violations committed by its members. However, lack of detail made it difficult for researchers to ascertain with precision the role of

individual members of the ANC in the commission of gross violations of human rights. The writing of this volume was also severely constrained by the fact that the majority of security force amnesty applications had not been heard at the time of reporting. This affected the ability of the Commission to include in this report assessments of the planning and authorisation of gross violations. Observations in these respects are therefore tentative and will be dealt with more fully in the final report of the work of the Amnesty Committee.

- 8 The Commission attempted to resolve these difficulties by identifying patterns and trends in the gross violations reported, as well as patterns of behaviour in groups and parties responsible for their perpetration. In so doing, it aimed to achieve a broader and more accurate picture of the history of human rights violations during the mandate period, 1960–94.
- 9 As elsewhere in this report, researchers and writers in the Commission have made use of secondary source material. The reports and publications of research institutes and monitoring bodies, both at home and abroad, have been extensively used. Affidavits collected for other enquiries and investigations have been used where they apply to the cases before the Commission. Published monographs, press reports and ‘unrest reports’ of the South African Police (SAP) have been extensively used.

External violations

- 10 While few statements were been received from deponents and victims outside South Africa, it has been argued that the *majority* of victims of gross violations of human rights were in fact residing outside the country’s borders at the time the violations were committed. One of the biggest single incidents of gross violation which occurred during the mandate period was the assault by the SADF on a base of the South West African People’s Organisation (SWAPO) located at Kassinga, Angola in 1978. More than 600 people were killed at Kassinga in one day. According to SWAPO, these were unarmed refugees. According to the South African government, Kassinga was a guerrilla base and thus a legitimate military target. This is discussed in this volume.
- 11 Second, from evidence before the Commission, it would appear that conflicts in southern African states, particularly in Mozambique, Namibia and Angola, were often inextricably linked to the struggle for control of the South African state. Hence there is a sense in which the large number of people who died in wars

and conflicts in the neighbouring states since 1960 did so, to some extent, in the furtherance of the South African struggle. While it is impossible to specify how many of these deaths were directly connected to the struggle for South Africa, the Commission believes that the number of people killed *inside* the borders of the country in the course of the liberation struggle was considerably lower than those who died *outside*.

- 12 It is for this reason that a distinction has been made in this volume between security activities and gross violations of human rights *outside* and *inside* South Africa's borders. This does not imply that the two spheres were separate. It is, however, clear that some of the most powerful protagonists in the conflict in South Africa recognised at an early stage that the contest was occurring to a large extent outside South Africa. In its first submission to the Commission, the SADF stated emphatically that "national security policy made explicit provision for pro-active actions beyond the borders of the RSA"¹. This was consistent with a view frequently expressed at State Security Council (SSC) meetings that the defence of South Africa should take place outside its borders. The South African government's principal armed opponent, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) also recognised, after the arrest of many of its personnel and the destruction of its internal organisation in the early 1960s, that its war had of necessity to be waged from outside South Africa.
- 13 Evidence before the Commission shows that members of the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in exile were also involved in the commission of gross violations of human rights, particularly within their own ranks.

Internal violations

- 14 The difficulty of attributing precise responsibility for human rights violations committed outside South Africa applies also to the internal situation. As the political conflict in the country gained intensity, many more people were drawn into activism. In the 1990s particularly, more gross violations were carried out by members of South African society acting in what they considered to be the pursuit of a political aim than by members of political organisations acting on the express orders of their superiors. Both the state security services and guerrilla organisations such as MK aimed to supply such social actors with the means to achieve their aims – including weapons, information, trained personnel, and, in the case of the state, funding. It was therefore difficult to attribute direct responsibility for many violations, such as the lynchings or necklacings carried

¹ p. 12.

out by crowds loosely aligned to the ANC/UDF in the 1980s, and attacks carried out by social groups such as the 'witdoeke' in Crossroads, encouraged and endorsed by state security forces.

- 15 The political authorities that promoted these actions, such as the chief of staff (intelligence) of the SADF, or the ANC propaganda station *Radio Freedom*, can be seen to have encouraged them or created the climate in which they occurred. They cannot, however, be described as direct perpetrators.
- 16 By the 1990s, the great majority of human rights violations, especially killings, were being carried out by persons who were not bound to a political authority. In some cases, weapons were supplied by organised groups. The Commission sought to establish a proper balance between individual cases where an identified perpetrator could be shown to have violated the rights of a specific victim, and the many more cases where large numbers of people, hundreds or even thousands, were killed in the course of 'collective' violence. Examples of the latter included drive-by shootings, indiscriminate massacres on trains or in certain residential areas, and armed political conflicts in KwaZulu-Natal and the East Rand where the responsibility of individual actors cannot be identified with precision.
- 17 Volume Three of this report deals with human rights violations in the different provinces and regions of the country. In many ways, the division between that volume and this is an arbitrary one and has resulted in an inevitable overlap in certain instances. In others, detail is included in one volume and simply sketched or referred to in the other. Ideally, the two volumes should be read together and seen as complementary.

■ SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND TO THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN CONFLICT: 1960 -1990

- 18 By far the largest proportion of amnesty applicants from the security forces and, to a large extent, the leadership of the liberation movements, were children and teenagers in the 1960s. They grew up in a world that was dominated by racism – a powerful socialising principle. The period was further characterised by two major historical phenomena: decolonisation and the cold war.

Racism

- 19 Race was a powerful organising framework, drawn on, to varying degrees, by all parties in the conflict.
- 20 White South Africans were constantly told by their parents, schools, the media and many churches that black people were different from them and at a lower stage of development. With the emergence of the bantustan scheme, they were told that blacks were not even South Africans. Thus a distinction emerged in their minds about the citizenship of South Africans. Whites were the South Africans while their fellow black residents were now foreigners, temporary sojourners in white South Africa, no different from other disenfranchised migrants working outside of their home countries. They became 'the other', a short remove from what they were to become, 'the enemy'. An SADF amnesty applicant relates how, on arriving in what was then South West Africa, he and his fellow conscripts were told by their commander: "*Boys, hier gaan julle duisende kaffers doodskiet*" (Boys, here you will shoot dead thousands of 'kaffirs').
- 21 For the PAC 'the enemy' was just as unequivocally based on race. Thus in the words of Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) commander Brigadier Mofokeng:

The enemy of the liberation movement of South Africa and of its people was always the settler colonial regime of South Africa. Reduced to its simplest form, the apartheid regime meant white domination, not leadership, but control and supremacy ... The pillars of apartheid protecting white South Africa from the black danger, were the military and the process of arming of the entire white South African society. This militarisation, therefore, of necessity made every white citizen a member of the security establishment. [Transcript of Commission hearing on the armed forces]

- 22 Even where parties to the conflict, such as the ANC, held to a strongly non-racial policy, the experience of their members and those they sought to organise drew centrally on the racial realities of South Africa.

Decolonisation

- 23 The tide of decolonisation sweeping through Africa served only to reinforce the tendency of whites to regard blacks as 'the enemy'. The creation of a substantial number of new member-states of the United Nations and the shift in public

perceptions in the former colonial metropolises greatly increased the pressure on the former government to grant full civil and political rights to all its inhabitants. British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan shocked and angered many members of the South African government when, in an address to the South African Parliament in February 1960, he spoke of “winds of change” blowing through Africa, implying the need for the South African government to adapt to changing times. Its response was to do all in its power to ensure that this wind changed course before reaching South African borders. It did so, moreover, in the face of rising expectations of black South Africans that the days of white minority rule were numbered and that it was a matter of time before South Africa, too, would be ruled by a black majority.

The Cold War

- 24 Another important factor shaping the South African government's actions in the 1960s was the anti-Communist zeal of the cold war, in which the West was seen to be engaged in an effort to stem an encroaching and creeping Communism. Despite the South African government's diplomatic alienation from Britain and the Commonwealth in the early 1960s, the notion of a common struggle against the forces of Communism gained increasing popularity among key security policy-makers. The adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955, the relationship between the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1960, and the ANC's later links to China and then the Soviet bloc, entrenched the National Party (NP) government's perception of a link between Communism and the struggle against white domination.
- 25 A number of NP leaders, including Mr FW de Klerk, have acknowledged in varying degrees that the racial policies pursued by the NP government in its attempt to ensure continued white rule were ‘a mistake’ and ‘morally indefensible’. The struggle against Communism nevertheless continues to be put forward as an explanation and justification for security force actions. In the words of former Security Branch and Military Intelligence operative, Major Craig Williamson:

[The] South African security forces gave very little cognisance to the political motivation of the South African liberation movements, beyond regarding them as part and parcel of the Soviet onslaught against the ‘civilised/free/democratic’ Western world. This fact, I believe, made it easier for the most violent actions to be taken against the liberation movements and their supporters, because such violence was not aimed at our own people, but at a ‘foreign’ enemy ...

- 26 Thus, in the period 1960–94, virtually all opposition was labelled ‘Communist’ in its overwhelmingly negative ‘Cold War’ sense. Extra-parliamentary, and particularly black, opposition was considered illegitimate, and those associated with such opposition were effectively criminalised.
- 27 The liberation and later internal opposition movements were undeniably increasingly influenced by the tide of national liberation struggles sweeping the globe, many of which were deeply influenced by socialist ideas. The ANC, SWAPO (South West African People’s Organisation), MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) all increasingly presented themselves as part of this process and, to a greater or lesser degree, articulated their struggles as part of an international struggle against colonialism and imperialism, sometimes within the framework of socialism and Marxism.

■ THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSURGENCY AND COUNTER-INSURGENCY STRATEGIES 1960–1990

- 28 The history of resistance in South Africa was frequently associated with shifts in the patterns and forms of gross violations of human rights, as well as in the changing identities of perpetrator groups. In response to the events of 1960 and the liberation movements’ adoption of the armed struggle, the former state invoked the full force of its security legislation to curb resistance. Detention of political activists became the primary means of intensifying repression. Torture of detainees and other abuses associated with detention were the main forms of violation reported to the Commission for this early period. The most frequently reported perpetrator grouping was the security police.
- 29 The growing influence of counter-insurgency thinking – associated with South Africa’s involvement in the wars in the former South West Africa and Rhodesia – had a substantial impact on the patterns and modes of abuse reported. In the first place, it introduced a regional dimension to gross violations of human rights. Victims were increasingly non-South Africans. Secondly, as the political temperature rose within South Africa, models of crowd control employed by both the SAP and the SADF were informed by a counter-insurgency perspective. Thus counter-insurgency thinking was turned not only on a foreign but on a domestic civilian population. Increasingly, gross violations were attributed to those responsible for public order policing, among them the riot police and later the

SADF. Thirdly, counter-insurgency thinking legitimated and facilitated the emergence of covert units such as Vlakplaas, and resulted in an increase in the number of reported abductions and killings of political activists. This trend intensified from the mid-1980s, as the rationale of counter-revolutionary warfare took hold within dominant quarters of the security establishment.

- 30 The insurrectionary model of resistance adopted by the ANC in the 1980s was based on the notion of a 'people's war'. Associated with this shift in strategic thinking was the fact that, increasingly, gross violations of human rights were perpetrated not by members under the direct command of the ANC or MK, but by civilians who saw themselves as ANC supporters and acted in line with what they perceived to be the ANC's strategic direction. Thus violations associated with the liberation and mass democratic movements in the 1980s were not, in the main, the result of armed actions and sabotage, but tended to target those perceived to be collaborating with the policies and practices of the former government.

1960–1964: Internal repression and the emergence of armed opposition movements

- 31 The NP government responded decisively to the events of 21 March 1960 at Sharpsville, Langa, Cato Manor and elsewhere, and to the attempted assassination of Prime Minister Verwoerd on 5 April 1960. It banned both the ANC and PAC and declared a nation-wide state of emergency during which it detained over 1 600 people. It banned all public gatherings in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act and sent the PAC leader, Mr Robert Sobukwe, to jail for three years. He would not, in fact, be released for nine – the one and only victim of a clause (the 'Sobukwe clause') in the 1963 General Laws Amendment Act that enabled the police to continue to detain individuals after the expiration of their sentences.
- 32 While the government was facing widespread opposition in urban areas like Sharpsville, it also faced a sustained rural uprising in eastern Pondoland. Again, the government's response was uncompromising. After several clashes in which protesters were killed, the police launched a helicopter assault on a meeting at Ngquza Hill in June 1960, killing at least eleven people. A state of emergency declared in eastern Transkei towards the end of that year remained in force for the next twenty years. During this period, twenty individuals were sentenced to death for offences relating to the Pondoland uprising, and eleven were executed.

- 33 The end of the national state of emergency in August 1960 led to a re-evaluation of tactics and strategies of resistance on the part of a number of political movements opposed to the government. The first to adopt an armed strategy was a new underground grouping, the African Resistance Movement (ARM), composed largely of disaffected white members of the Liberal Party and anti-SACP Trotskyites. The ARM launched a campaign of sabotage directed at strategic installations or non-human targets in October 1961.
- 34 A development of more lasting significance was the abandonment of non-violence as the preferred mode of protest by both the ANC and PAC as well as other groupings like the SACP, and the adoption of one or other form of armed struggle. In 1961, the ANC and the SACP both supported the establishment of an underground guerrilla army, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), which formally declared war on the Republic of South Africa on 16 December 1961.
- 35 During the 1960s and most of the 1970s, armed actions by MK resulted in few human rights violations. Targets were symbolic or economic and care was taken not to endanger civilians. The first sabotage actions of MK resulted in some damage to property, notably to electricity pylons and similar infrastructure, but the intention of such actions was, according to the MK Manifesto, to “bring the government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late” rather than to initiate a revolution.
- 36 MK’s *Operation Mayibuye* was a more ambitious plan which envisaged small groups of armed combatants infiltrating the country and “sparking off” a guerrilla war, by means of the recruitment of “armed auxiliaries” inside the country, political agitation, and urban sabotage. This strategy was thwarted by the arrests of the MK High Command at Rivonia in 1963. Police evidence showed that proposed targets of MK included administration board buildings and policemen. The trial led to sentences of life imprisonment for Mr Nelson Mandela and a number of other ANC leaders.
- 37 Over the next three years, MK carried out a widespread campaign of sabotage of government buildings and infrastructure. At this time, leaders of the liberation movements were working on a new strategy of guerrilla warfare, which entailed members undergoing military training abroad.
- 38 The PAC explained in its submission how it turned towards violence. Until March 1960, the PAC’s policy, as expressed by Mr Robert Sobukwe, was that while

"[w]e are ready to die for our cause; we are not ready to kill". However, the Sharpsville massacre led to the "formation of rudimentary armed units comprising mainly ... Task Force members." Armed operations were carried out at Mbashe (Bashee) Bridge, Paarl, Ntlonze and Queenstown between 1960 and 1962. Poqo was formally established as the military wing of the PAC and the decision to embark on an armed struggle was taken in Maseru in September 1961. The "Task Force/Poqo" was later transformed into APLA.

- 39 Poqo targeted white suburbs and individuals seen to be 'collaborators'. The popular theme at its branch and cell meetings was the overthrow of white rule by force. It also believed that the way to liberation was through a 'bloodbath'. Part of the blood to be spilt was that of black informers, spies and collaborators with the government. Hence bantustan chiefs like Mr Kaiser Matanzima also became targets. Any who questioned the legitimacy and constitutionality of certain developments could be included in the category of 'enemy agents'. While the PAC disciplinary code encouraged members to air their views "and to agree or disagree with all or any member of the movement, including the leader", there were instances where action was taken against those who disagreed openly with the leadership.
- 40 Following the events of the early 1960s, the South African government began to implement its bantustan policy. All Africans were to be stripped of South African citizenship and forced to become citizens of separate, ethnic bantustans or homelands. Ten homeland administrations were set up, although the South African security forces remained at least partially in control of security in the homelands.
- 41 The government also sought to strengthen and re-organise its security forces and security legislation. During the 1950s, the government had passed a range of security laws including the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the Public Safety Act of 1953, the Police Amendment Act of 1955 and the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956. During the 1960s, the government enacted further laws to counter the influence of political organisations which had been banned by law, notably the ANC, PAC and SACP.
- 42 One of the first such acts was the Indemnity Act of 1961 which granted indemnity to police officers for acts committed in good faith. It was made retrospective to 21 March 1960 (the date of the Sharpsville and Langa massacres) and began the process of placing the police above and beyond public scrutiny.

- 43 The General Law Amendment Act (1962), one of many to amend the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, built on the general premise that new security legislation was necessary to fight the perceived threat from 'Communist' organisations and Marxist ideology. During the second reading of the bill in Parliament, Minister of Justice Mr BJ Vorster noted that, considering the balance between personal liberty and the interests of the state, the state should offer protection only to the law-abiding citizen. In view of the brutal acts of sabotage that had been committed, the state now needed protection against subversion and the legislation was intended as a pre-emptive measure to maintain order and calm within the state.
- 44 The Act increased the government's power to declare organisations unlawful, as well as to impose a host of restrictions in the form of banning orders on designated persons. The Act also created the offence of sabotage which encompassed broad-based elements such as "wrongful and wilful" acts designed to "obstruct, injure, tamper with or destroy ... the health and safety of the public" or "the supply of water, light, power, fuel or foodstuffs". The penalties were the same as those for treason, ranging from a minimum five-year sentence to the death penalty. Further, the Act transferred the burden of proof to the accused, rather than maintaining the traditional stance that the accused was innocent until proven guilty.
- 45 The Act was followed by a series of measures aimed at strengthening the legal powers and effectiveness of the police as well as the powers of provincial Attorneys-General and the Minister of Justice. Simultaneously, the government curbed the ability of the judiciary to review the new security laws or to release people detained under these provisions. A further amendment to the General Law Amendment Act (1963) made provision for *incommunicado* detention for a period of ninety days. In practice, people were often released after ninety days only to be immediately re-detained for a further three-month period. This Act was later replaced by other laws providing for detention without trial – the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act of 1965, providing for a 180-day period of detention and re-detention, and the Terrorism Act of 1967, allowing for indefinite detention.
- 46 These laws were critical in establishing an environment of surveillance and repression in which the police were seen to be beyond public scrutiny and 'untouchable' by the judiciary.

- 47 In 1961, responsibility for the police was added to Justice Minister Vorster's portfolio. In 1962, he appointed Lieutenant General JM Keevy as commissioner of police and, in 1963, Hendrik van den Bergh as head of the Security Branch. According to the official history of the SAP, the three were a formidable triumvirate whose major objective was "to safeguard and protect the country."² They obtained significant increases in the police budget, a large proportion of which was absorbed by the Security Branch, which grew substantially in the 1960s.
- 48 A special unit, the so-called 'Sabotage Squad' was set up, drawn from the SAP's investigative section. In addition, a covert intelligence section was established as part of the Security Branch in 1963. Known as Republican Intelligence (RI), it largely ran 'informers' and aimed to penetrate the liberation and specifically the armed opposition movements. Many of the informers so recruited were journalists. Mr Gordon Winter, author of the book *Inside BOSS*, credits RI with the Rivonia bust, helping to smash Poqo, infiltrating the ARM and compiling extensive dossiers on white liberals connected to the Liberal Party. Winter was initially handled by Mr Johan Coetzee and later Mr Mike Geldenhuys, both of whom were later to lead the Security Branch before going on to become commissioners of police.
- 49 By utilising this legislative and institutional framework, the NP government effectively put the lid on extra-parliamentary opposition by the mid-1960s. The life sentences imposed on the leadership of MK at the Rivonia trial in November 1964 marked the end of this period of internal underground resistance.

1965–1973: The regionalisation of conflict

- 50 Prior to the 1960s, the South African government saw the southern African region as an exploitable resource, a source of cheap labour and a ready market for the country's products. The continued subordination of the region could be ensured and was achieved through institutions like the Southern African Customs and Monetary Union which came into existence in the early twentieth century.
- 51 This attitude began to change in the early 1960s, in response to the rise of African nationalism and the steady withdrawal of the European colonial powers from the continent. NP politicians and senior security strategists began to conceptualise the region, and particularly the minority-ruled and colonial territories of Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and South West Africa, primarily as a military buffer zone.

2 Marius de Witt Dippenaar: *The South African Police Commemorative Album*, p. 308.

- 52 Conversely, black opposition groups drew inspiration from the nationalist movements in other parts of Africa which had led to the independence of most former European colonies in the continent by the end of 1960. Some also became increasingly influenced by Soviet, Chinese or other models of political thought and organisation.
- 53 From the early 1960s, the ANC, the SACP and the PAC all established administrative headquarters outside South Africa and actively sought financial, diplomatic and military help to launch armed campaigns in South Africa. Following the Rivonia trial, the ANC established bases in exile – initially in Tanzania, later in Zambia and Angola – and began to develop fraternal links with other liberation movements.
- 54 By the mid-1960s, South Africa's stance towards the region was becoming more interventionist. In the SANDF's second submission on the SADF, the country's military strategy at the time was described as "defensive" but "more outward", prompted by the perception that there was now, "for the first time, the potential threat of conventional war on the northern borders of the sub-continent". The SADF's "strategy was to keep the 'defence line' as far as possible away from South Africa itself". This notion was the direct consequence of the fact that the security establishment's strategic thinking was deeply immersed in the logic of the cold war. Thus all forms of conflict and instability in Africa were seen as "avenues for Soviet involvement", with the SADF arguing that South Africa was faced with "a Soviet-backed revolutionary war".
- 55 Consequently, from the mid-1960s, the government undertook or authorised a number of defensive and pre-emptive operations outside of South Africa's borders. The first of these was the establishment of an SAP security police camp in the Caprivi Strip in northern South West Africa in March 1965, under the guise of an engineering company. The camp was under the command of former sabotage squad member, Major Theunis 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel. The role of the camp was to monitor SWAPO activity. Sixteen months later, SAP units were deployed to the area in response to SWAPO's decision to move its trained cadres into South West Africa. On 26 August 1966, SAP forces attacked SWAPO's first military base inside South West Africa at Omgulumbashe, marking the beginning of South Africa's armed intervention in the region.
- 56 The first armed campaigns launched by a foreign-based South African liberation movement were the Wankie and Sipolilo campaigns of 1967 and 1968. According to the ANC's second submission to the Commission, its Rhodesian campaigns were launched with the aim of "infiltrating trained MK operatives into South

Africa in line with the concept of rural-based guerrilla warfare". The idea was that MK soldiers would thus create a "corridor" along which to infiltrate guerrillas into South Africa. The campaigns were not a military success and resulted in the death and capture of a number of MK combatants.

- 57 In response to this development, SAP units were sent to Rhodesia in September 1967 to assist Rhodesian forces fighting ZIPRA (ZAPU) and MK (ANC) guerrillas in the north west of the country. In the SANDF's first submission on the SADF, it was explained that the SAP units were dispatched to Rhodesia "to fight against men who originally came from South Africa and were on their way back to commit terrorism in South Africa". By 1975, when the police contingent was withdrawn, 2 000 South African policemen were involved in combat operations inside Rhodesia.
- 58 In the period up to 1974, South African military support to Portuguese forces engaged in operations in Angola and Mozambique took the form of the supply of medicines, the pooling of intelligence information, helicopter support, some joint commando training and occasional joint commando operations. In Angola it included the secondment of a small number of experienced SADF trackers who wore Portuguese military fatigues, and were used to track UNITA fighters operating in alliance with SWAPO at that time.
- 59 In order to draw lessons from the Portuguese counter-insurgency effort, a number of the SADF's promising military strategists were appointed to 'diplomatic' posts in the two colonies. In December 1965, General Jannie Geldenhuys (later both Chief of the Army and of the SADF) was sent to Luanda as Vice Consul. According to his biography, his brief was "to study the Angola war". From 1971–75, the post was held by Major (later Major General) Marius Oelschig. After Angolan independence in 1975, Oelschig became the most senior SADF official operating in liaison with UNITA.
- 60 Similar links developed in Mozambique where SADF officers were seconded to the Portuguese regional military headquarters in Nampula from the latter 1960s. One of these was Brigadier Cornelius 'Cor' van Niekerk who was a liaison officer at Nampula in 1972/73. In 1979, he was appointed to head the Military Intelligence Division's Directorate of Special Tasks. In that capacity he was responsible for running the RENAMO operation against the Mozambican government from 1980.
- 61 According to the second submission on the SADF, the SADF began working alongside the Rhodesians and Portuguese in the region because of shared perceptions of threat. The SADF also responded to the changing regional security

scenario by initiating a study programme on 'revolutionary war'. In the late 1960s, the SADF's Lieutenant General CA 'Pop' Fraser, then chief of the army, produced his *Lessons Drawn from Past Revolutionary Wars*, which in later years became a blueprint for South Africa's counter-revolutionary strategy. The SADF introduced formal instruction in counter-insurgency into its training in 1968; the SAP had already done so a year earlier.

- 62 In July 1969, senior security figures from the newly formed Bureau of State Security (BOSS), the Portuguese International Police for the Defence of the State (PIDE), and the Rhodesian Security Police met in Lisbon for a week of talks designed to bring about closer collaboration in their counter-insurgency efforts. Several further such tripartite meetings were held in the next five years, coinciding with the development by the SADF of a high-level think-tank focusing on strategic options in the region. Senior Rhodesian officers also participated in the project.
- 63 In the 1970s, the SADF actively propagated its views on counter-insurgency throughout the state sector through courses and lectures to groups from both the security and non-security sections of the public service. It was in this period, too, that General Jannie Geldenhuys introduced the military to the ideas of the American security theorist, JJ McCuen. Further US influence was evident in the co-operation between the security forces and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which considered South Africa a local ally against the Soviet Union. Examples include the role of the CIA in providing information which led to the capture of Nelson Mandela in 1962, as well as training given to General van den Bergh prior to the creation of BOSS.
- 64 Counter-insurgency spoke of 'national security' rather than 'defence of national territory', thus drawing political conflict into the domain of the security establishment. A successful counter-strategy was seen as being dependent on accurately recognising the particular stage of development of the insurgency war and arresting its development by instituting a counter-phase. The theorists on whom the South African securocrats drew stressed the need for a co-ordinated and organised counter-offensive involving the police, the military and bureaucracy.
- 65 The South African government drew on Cold War theories to argue that its opposition to local liberation movements with Soviet sympathies or links was part of the same battle that the US and Western Europe were waging against Eastern Europe and the USSR.

- 66 A few years after the Wankie campaign, the South African security forces began to develop a strategy of clandestine warfare, later known as destabilisation. Although this was widely acknowledged as a policy in the 1980s, there is evidence that it had its origins in a much earlier period. Most of the evidence concerns *Operation Plathond*.

Operation Plathond

- 67 *Operation Plathond*, a joint BOSS and SADF operation, involved the training of a surrogate force of Zambians for operations against the government of President Kaunda, the ANC's most important backer in Africa. Under the command of the head of South Africa's first special forces unit, Colonel Jannie Breytenbach, this operation is said to have trained some 200 Zambians for destabilisation operations inside Zambia. It was abandoned in 1973 or 1974, when President Kaunda made public allegations of South African interference in Zambian affairs.
- 68 Information about *Plathond* was given to the Commission by a former member of BOSS, Mr Mike Kuhn. The SADF nodal point informed the Commission that it had no knowledge of any project code-named *Plathond*.
- 69 Some evidence to back Kuhn's claims is found in Jannie Breytenbach's book, *Eden's Exiles: One Soldier's Fight for Paradise* (1997). Breytenbach reveals that, in 1971, he was given a mission "to train a hundred guerrillas as a nucleus around which a bigger irregular force could be built. Everything was to be done in utmost secrecy". Whilst he does not state that those being trained were Zambians, he writes that, as part of the training, operations were carried out in south-western Zambia "where small groups from our base would harass SWAPO bases and Zambian army garrisons which gave them support".
- 70 In June 1974, the journal *X-Ray on Southern Africa* (IV, 9) published by the Africa Bureau in London reported that the SADF had been training a force of dissident Zambians in the Caprivi with the objective of toppling the Zambian government. The report was largely based on two court cases in which Zambians were charged with actions related to the training of Zambians in the Caprivi.
- 71 In a report prepared in 1989 by the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) in Harare for the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers and published under the title *Apartheid Terrorism: The Destabilisation Report*, the point is made that Namibia, and particularly the SADF bases in the Caprivi, had been used from the mid-1960s as a "springboard for ... incursions into Zambia".

- 72 While it has not been possible to obtain definite corroboration of Kuhn's claims regarding *Operation Plathond*, there is much stronger evidence of South African involvement in the creation of a Zambian dissident force during the 1980s, in the form of the Mushala Gang. What is significant about this Zambian case is that it pre-dates by several years the conventional wisdom as to when surrogates like UNITA, RENAMO and the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) became key components of South Africa's regional counter-mobilisation strategy.
- 73 The security establishment was further restructured with the creation in 1968 (retroactively legislated in 1969) of the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), a 'super-security' structure to which both the security police and military intelligence were required to submit intelligence on an ongoing basis. Appointed to head the agency was the special security adviser to Prime Minister Vorster, General Hendrik van den Bergh.
- 74 Whilst BOSS's supremacy as an intelligence-gathering and assessment agency has never been in doubt, there has been much speculation as to whether BOSS also possessed an operational capacity in the form of the 'Z-squad'. A former senior National Intelligence Service (NIS) counter-intelligence operative confirmed in a briefing to the Commission that a covert Z division did exist, but asserted that it had never been involved in the elimination of political opponents. An interview with one of the alleged few surviving members of this division also confirmed its existence and its involvement in *Operation Plathond*, in the rehousing of former PIDE officers and agents in South Africa following Mozambican and Angolan independence, and subsequently in covert intelligence collection in southern Africa. Other claims have been made that Z division specialised in interrogating South Africans who had been captured fighting alongside nationalist guerrillas in Rhodesia and Mozambique. Some of those interrogated were later killed.
- 75 Appearing before the Erasmus Commission of Inquiry into the so-called 'Infogate' scandal in the late 1970s, General van den Bergh hinted that his department had an operational capacity and that murder was not beyond its line of duty:
I am able with my department to do the impossible ... I can today tell you here, not for your records, but I can tell you, I have enough men to commit murder if I tell them, kill ...
- 76 Two amnesty applications revealed that members of the South African security forces were engaging in targeted assassinations at the time of BOSS's early existence. Brigadier WAL du Toit [AM5184/97] applied for amnesty for the production of

explosive devices intended for unknown victims in 1969 and 1970, and Brigadier Willem Schoon [AM4396/96] for the abduction, arrest and killing of two ANC combatants in Zeerust in July 1972.

- 77 By the end of the 1960s, the SAP and the SADF, backed by powerful ministers, had both undergone processes of expansion and re-organisation, with the result that the security-related structures had moved from the margins of the state to its very centre. This move was symbolised Mr BJ Vorster's accession to power following Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's assassination in 1966. The transition had not come about without conflict and without a significant degree of rivalry between the different members of the security establishment. The tensions were greatly exacerbated by the establishment of BOSS and the near 'untouchable' status that General van den Bergh enjoyed.
- 78 One consequence of these tensions was the appointment in 1969 of the Potgieter Commission. The report spoke, for the first time, the language of a 'total onslaught'. It resulted in the establishment of the State Security Council (SSC) to replace the old Cabinet State Security Committee. In terms of the Security Intelligence and State Security Council Act of 1972, this council was to play an advisory role to cabinet in respect of intelligence priorities, security policy and strategy.
- 79 In 1969, the ANC held its first general conference since its establishment in exile. The conference, held in Morogoro, Tanzania, adopted a new programme called "Strategy and Tactics of the ANC". The problems experienced in Rhodesia had led the ANC to realise that military success was unlikely to be a rapid process, and that the Cuban 'foci' model was not applicable in South Africa. The strategy document thus detailed the strategic need for a "protracted armed struggle" depending on "political mobilisation". According to the ANC's first submission to the Commission:

A decision was made to shift the ANC's approach from sending armed groups of cadres into the country to 'spark off' guerrilla warfare, and instead emphasised that ... [it] was necessary first to extend and consolidate an ANC underground machinery and to generally mobilise the people, especially the black working population, into active mass struggle ...

- 80 A Revolutionary Council was established to co-ordinate military and political work. A formal alliance between the ANC and the SACP was announced, with members of the Revolutionary Council drawn from both bodies.

1974–1978: The collapse of the buffer and the re-emergence of internal opposition

- 81 After the crushing of the liberation movements in the early 1960s, there was a period of relative calm in resistance politics inside South Africa. Simultaneously, workers' organisations began to emerge from the early 1970s. Their presence and impact was felt in the Durban strikes of 1973, and later in the formation of the independent black trade union movement. In the late 1960s, the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and other organisations influenced by the ideology of Black Consciousness began to emerge. This came about due to growing disaffection by some black student activists with the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the leadership composition of the University Christian Movement (UCM). This mobilisation culminated in country-wide mass resistance in the 1976–77 period, popularly known as the 'Soweto uprising'.
- 82 The uprising, though largely spontaneous, was of tremendous political significance. It contributed to the reconstitution of mass extra-parliamentary politics in South Africa and helped revitalise the exiled liberation movements. Moreover, it stimulated a rethink on the part of big business as to how their interests were to be best safeguarded, and impelled the state to engage in extensive restructuring of institutions, past policies and practices.
- 83 The most obvious threat to South Africa's regional security, however, came from developments abroad. Most notable was the collapse of the Portuguese dictatorship that opened the way to independence for its Southern African colonies, Mozambique and Angola. According to the first submission on the SADF: "The unexpected coup in Portugal on 25 April 1974 brought the RSA's defence line to its borders and this changed the government's perceptions of security in a very dramatic way".
- 84 Inside South Africa, the liberation of these countries inspired the resistance movement, which held celebration rallies in their honour. Indeed, the collapse of the buffer surrounding South Africa opened up new possibilities for the liberation movements. By the time of Mozambique's independence in June 1975, the ANC had established a sizeable diplomatic presence in Maputo and it was clear that the new FRELIMO government would allow MK guerrillas transit facilities to both Swaziland and South Africa. By this time too, senior ANC figures like Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr Albert Dlomo were in Swaziland, resuscitating the ANC's political presence and re-establishing links to the ANC underground inside South Africa. By 1976, a reliable 'underground railway' had been established between Swaziland and both the Durban and Witwatersrand areas.

- 85 The Central Committee of the PAC, weakened by internal struggles in the early 1970s, met in 1975 and resolved to work together towards the “final push” of the struggle. Members of the High Command were dispatched to the front-line states to prepare an underground trail for the infiltration of arms and guerrillas into the country.
- 86 By the mid-1970s, the PAC had begun military training amongst refugees in Swaziland. The refugees had fled a chieftaincy dispute amongst the Mngomezulu clan of northern KwaZulu and had been allocated land in the area. However, in 1977 the Swaziland government suddenly moved against the PAC by banning the organisation in Swaziland and rounding up all its known members and supporters. All were eventually deported via the United High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to countries other than South Africa, in some cases after lengthy periods in detention.
- 87 On South Africa's western flank, SWAPO had by this time opened a diplomatic mission in Luanda and had been given permission to establish military training bases, transit camps and refugee camps in central and southern Angola.
- 88 The government responded in a way that which suggests that the previous domination of state security policy by the SAP and BOSS was on the wane while that of the SADF, in particular with regard to external military policy, was becoming increasingly influential. This was reflected at a number of levels. Firstly, in 1975 the SADF took over the SAP's previous responsibility for counter-insurgency operations in the border areas of northern Namibia. Secondly, it appeared that the government was preparing to become involved in the conflict that developed in Angola after the collapse of the agreement signed by the three Angolan liberation groups in January 1975.
- 89 The next critical development was the occupation by the SADF of Calueque in southern Angola in August 1975. The immediate aim was the protection of the joint South African–Portuguese funded Calueque–Ruacana hydro-electric scheme but a general aim, according to the second submission on the SADF, was to counter “further Soviet-led expansion in the region”. As it turned out, the move into Calueque formed the initial phase of *Operation Savannah*, the SADF's secret invasion of Angola in 1975.
- 90 The failure of *Savannah* held three important lessons for the SADF.

- a First, it exposed the SADF's urgent need to update its weapons systems which, according to the SANDF submission on the SADF, "led to major developments in the armaments industry in South Africa over the next decade". One of these was the launch in 1980 of *Project Coast*, the SADF's chemical and biological weapons programme.
 - b Second, it impressed upon the SADF the need for and utility of surrogate forces as allies. With UNITA regarded as "one of the few remaining buffers against further East bloc expansion in Southern Africa", it now became integrated as a central component into the SADF's military strategy on its western flank. Assistance took effect on 1 April 1977 with the launch of *Operation Silver*, the codename by which aid to UNITA was referred until 1983, when it was changed to *Operation Disa*.
 - c Third, it made the SADF aware of a need for increased "intelligence, reconnaissance and a wide spectrum of covert capabilities". In order to meet this demand it was essential "to continue with the development of its special forces and their covert and clandestine capability". In October 1974, a Special Forces division was set up as a separate and autonomous arm of the SADF with its command structure headed by a general officer commanding (GOC) reporting directly to the chief of the SADF.
- 91 By the time of the SADF's intervention in Angola in 1975, a third arm of Special Forces had been created in the form of 5 Reconnaissance Regiment into which some 500–600 former members of the Portuguese military in Mozambique had been integrated. These were largely specialists in landward and airborne counter-revolutionary warfare. After *Savannah*, and to incorporate some 1 600–1 800 Portuguese-speaking former members of the defeated Angolan army, a specialist unit of the army, Battalion 32 (the so-called 'Buffalo Battalion'), was established. Headed by Colonel Jannie Breytenbach, this unit grew in time to number as many as 9 000 troops.
- 92 Thirty-two Battalion was, in fact, the second such special army unit formed by the SADF. In 1974, it had formed a special tracking unit composed of white officers and !Xu or 'Bushmen', many of whom, according to testimony presented to the Commission, were forcibly recruited into the SADF. This unit was Battalion 31 (originally 201), often also called the 'Bushman Battalion'. Its headquarters were at the Omega camp in the Caprivi, close to the border of Zambia.

- 93 Another essentially ethnic unit was 101 Battalion, also known as the 'Owambo Battalion'. This seems, in the eyes of the SADF, to have been an highly effective outfit. In the SADF's *1986 Yearbook*, 101 is described as:

the reaction force of Sector 10 (Kaokoland and Owambo with headquarters in Oshakati) and is a force without equal. It accounted for many of the terrorists eliminated by the Security Forces during 1986, and had the best combat record of all SWA and RSA units during the year.

- 94 In 1978 the 44th Parachute Brigade was formed, as well as 4 Reconnaissance Regiment, a seaborne Special Forces unit based at Saldanha Bay.

The San and Battalion 31

- 95 The information below is drawn from a submission to the Commission by the *!Xu & Khwe Vereeniging vir Gemeenskaplike Eiendom* (the !Xu and Khwe Union for Common Property/Ownership). The submission suggests that the bulk of the approximately 350 !Xu and Khwe were forcibly recruited into 31 Battalion. One of the !Xu leaders, Mr Agostinho Victorino, is quoted as saying they were given two choices by the South African military – "either join the army or we'll bomb your villages". The submission also suggests that, within the battalion, the trackers were subjected to a regime of harsh discipline and that dissent was dealt with ruthlessly.
- 96 Two examples of the latter are cited in the submission. The first relates to an alleged attempted mutiny by twenty-seven members of 31 Battalion during an operation in Zambia in October 1979. It draws on the evidence of a national serviceman present at the time in the Caprivi:

After they were found guilty the SADF sent them to UNITA headquarters in southern Angola. Their women and children were collected at Omega base in Caprivi and reunited with the men. We never saw them again. On their return, horrified drivers said they witnessed how the men, women and children were killed by black Portuguese-speaking soldiers who slit their throats with knives.

- 97 The submission also includes statements taken from the wives and relatives of four !Xu killed in a separate incident in 1979. Ms Joachina Dala, wife of murdered soldier Paulino Dala stated that:

The men were beating him up and made him suffer. We just sat and had to watch. I cannot describe what we had to witness. We were crying all the time but the soldiers didn't care ... My husband's eyes were beaten shut and he was covered in blood ... when the white troops left they waved at us and shouted 'viva'. My husband was first beaten to death and then shot. They dug a hole and put him in there and covered him with sand.

- 98 In 1975, the SAP established an elite anti-terrorist unit known as Unit 19 or the Special Task Force. The Special Task Force played an important role in the training of the police Riot Units established at more or less the same time. Based in several centres around the country, its recruits were drawn largely from those with counter-insurgency training. Thus, for example, Colonel Theunis 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel, veteran of the sabotage squad and Ongulumbashe, was drafted into Soweto on 16 June 1976 to command a riot unit which was responsible for a high number of civilian casualties. Interviewed in the 1980s about the operations of his unit in Soweto, he stated that he regretted only not using more force. "You can only stop violence by using a greater amount of violence".
- 99 The security police, severely criticised for their poor intelligence and thus lack of forewarning regarding the Soweto uprising, also underwent a process of expansion and reorganisation. The Security Branch continued to play a role in South West Africa, despite the fact that the SADF had assumed control of the war. 1976 saw the beginning of Security Branch special operations under the codename 'K', which later developed into Koevoet.
- 100 Security legislation underwent a process of consolidation with the passing of the Internal Security Amendment Act, effectively rationalising five other security acts. In response to public pressure to the sharp rise of deaths in detention during the 1976/77 period, the detention provisions of the Act required the State President to appoint a review committee to assess detainees' custody at intervals of not more than six months.
- 101 This period also saw independence being granted to the first homeland government – Transkei – and a number of other homelands acquiring greater autonomy, although they remained wholly financially dependent on South Africa. These developments also resulted in the creation of homeland police forces and, in the case of independent homelands, defence forces. Such security structures continued to be run by seconded South African security force personnel; structures and legislation mirrored South African models. However, limited oppositional structures, a weak civil society,

and little national or international media interest meant that homeland security structures operated with far less restraint than the South African security forces.

- 102 The liberation movements did not play a military role in the events that began on 6 June 1976. Although a limited number of ANC underground activists attempted to give some direction through the spread of propaganda, the youth involved in these events were influenced by Black Consciousness ideology on the one hand, while responding to genuine grievances on the other. The ANC did, however, benefit from the events of 1976 and 1977, as it was the only liberation movement able to absorb, train, educate and direct the thousands of youth who left South Africa as a direct result of these events. MK established its second battalion from these new recruits, who were sent to Angola for training in the newly established bases there.
- 103 In addition to military camps in Angola, the ANC developed residential centres in Tanzania and had a diplomatic presence in many countries. In 1979, it established a Department of Intelligence and Security (DIS). This body, together with the military headquarters of MK, controlled the Angolan camps – including a special camp established to hold ‘dissidents’, known as Camp 32 or the Morris Seabelo Rehabilitation Centre (popularly known as Quatro).
- 104 The PAC claims in its submission to be at least partially responsible for the Soweto uprising in 1976. Mr Zephaniah Mothopeng, at the time an “internal leadership member of the banned PAC”, was tried with seventeen others in the Bethal 18 ‘secret trial’ for their role in “fermenting revolution” and for “being behind the Soweto uprising”. Mothopeng and others were jailed for their alleged involvement.
- 105 These internal events together with events in the sub-region formed the backdrop for a series of shifts both in state policy and in oppositional politics in the second half of the 1970s. For a variety of reasons – the improved organisation of the SADF, Mr PW Botha’s expertise in building empires and the SAP’s inability to deal effectively with the 1976 uprising – PW Botha possessed a far stronger power base than Prime Minister Vorster. Moreover, the notion that South Africa was facing a ‘total onslaught’ was gaining greater acceptance within government circles. Two influential reviews, the Venter Report in 1974 and the Van Dalsen Report in 1977, began to put forward the need for a co-ordinated national security management strategy to cope with this onslaught. The first public airing of this developing strategy was in the 1977 Defence White Paper.

- 106 Within the security establishment, the growing influence of the military was evident in the rise to power of PW Botha. Through a series of manoeuvres involving the intelligence structures of the SADF, information about the Department of Information was leaked to the press, precipitating the 'Infogate' scandal³ and the demise of both Vorster and Van den Bergh. On 28 September 1978, PW Botha became Prime Minister and moved rapidly to implement a policy soon dubbed the 'total strategy'.
- 107 The late 1970s saw a regrouping following the bannings of Black Consciousness organisations in 1977 and the growth of independent black trade unions. It also saw the emergence of local community organisations involved in mass mobilisation and campaigns on basic issues such as housing, rents, electricity, and transport. These structures initially adopted a strategically low political profile, while more explicitly political organisations such as the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and student organisations such as Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) articulated a more strongly political perspective. Rivalry and conflict developed, however, between activists aligning themselves with Black Consciousness and those increasingly supportive of the ANC.

1979–1984: The 'total strategy', regional destabilisation and resistance

- 108 'Total strategy' was based on the premise that South Africa was the object of a total onslaught, supported or even co-ordinated by the Soviet Union. The objective of this onslaught was to overthrow the government of South Africa. In a graphic illustration of this, at a briefing to the Commission, a former secretary of the SSC described a scene in the government's operations room in the 1980s. A large map filled the wall. A series of markers and labels linked activists in a local township to larger co-ordinating structures nationally. From there a line was drawn linking exile structures in Lusaka to the offices of the KGB in Moscow.
- 109 The government understood the onslaught as being in the tradition of guerrilla warfare. This type of warfare is characterised by the relative unimportance of military operations in the sense of combat operations carried out against opposing armed forces. Rather, the aim of the revolutionary forces is to gain control of government by gaining the support of the people through a combination of intimidation, persuasion and propaganda.

³ The Department of Information had been engaged in a massive and extremely costly propaganda drive both inside and outside the country, attended by instances of self-enrichment and corruption.

- 110 The Botha government's riposte was a 'total strategy' of counter-revolution, in which every sphere of government activity was to be co-ordinated so as to prevent the perceived revolutionary onslaught from succeeding. The task of the armed forces was to prevent the enemy – chiefly the ANC–SACP alliance, but also the PAC and others – from establishing a viable rear-base outside South Africa while, in its domestic operations, the government developed the necessary political initiatives to win the support of the population, thus enabling it to survive the revolutionary onslaught.
- 111 There were four main pillars to the 'total strategy':
- a the maintenance of state security at all costs;
 - b reform of the political environment;
 - c efficient and 'clean' government;
 - d the co-ordination of all state action.
- 112 The importance of a 'total strategy' was underlined by developments within the ANC. A joint meeting of the ANC's National Executive Committee and Revolutionary Council received a report from senior members of the ANC, the SACP and MK who had undertaken a study tour of Vietnam in October 1978 as part of a strategic review. The delegation had spent some time with General Giap, the architect of victories over both French colonial and US forces. Based on insights gained on this mission, the ANC/MK decided on an adaptation to its insurgency strategy.
- 113 Abandoning an earlier emphasis on rural guerrilla warfare, the strategy aimed now at integrating political and military activity, while attributing particular importance to urban areas. A Politico-Military Strategy Commission consisting of Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Moses Mabhida, Mr Joe Gqabi and Mr Joe Modise was established to oversee the new strategic direction and, in 1979, a Special Operations Unit was formed which reported directly to the ANC president.
- 114 Militarily, a campaign of 'armed propaganda' attacks by a specially-trained elite unit ('Special Ops') was designed less for immediate military effect than to advertise the existence of MK and to win publicity and support. This was to lead to a general uprising or, to use the idiom of the time, a 'people's war'.
- 115 The 'lessons from Vietnam' were contained in a report which became known as *The Green Book*, finalised in March 1979. It envisaged a strategy involving the

escalation of armed attacks combined with the building of mass organisations. A strengthened underground movement inside the country would provide the link between the two. However, while underground political units of the ANC began to organise around some of the above aims, the military imperative remained the focus of ANC strategy in this period. At that time, the PAC was beset by splits and internal problems.

- 116 It was largely in response to the ANC/SACP mission to Vietnam, and the subsequent strategy overhaul, that Mr PW Botha convened an elite gathering of high-ranking cabinet ministers and security officials at Fort Klapperkop. Those attending the Fort Klapperkop conference included Mr Pik Botha, General Magnus Malan, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, Generals Jannie Geldenhuys and Johan Coetzee, and a General D'Almeida, a visitor from Argentina.
- 117 D'Almeida's presence reflected an emerging alliance between South Africa and a set of allies of 'pariah' status internationally and with a reputation for ruthlessness, involving the use of violence and terror, towards their opponents. With Argentina in this group were Chile, Israel and Taiwan, all of whom had in recent years entered into some form of security co-operation with Pretoria.
- 118 Co-operation with Argentina continued. SAP commissioner, General Mike Geldenhuys, and some of his senior officers, including Brigadier Albertus Wandrag, head of the Riot Unit visited both Argentina and Chile in 1982. These trips led to mutual visits and agreements on the exchange of information. In May/June 1982, the British journal X-Ray reported "there was growing evidence of the use of new forms of torture in South Africa, which are known to have been used in Argentina".
- 119 One of the major decisions of the Klapperkop Conference was to authorise the military's Special Forces units to undertake counter-guerrilla operations outside of the country in order to prevent MK from developing rear-bases within striking distance of South Africa and, consequently, an effective logistical network.
- 120 General Magnus Malan, chief of the SADF and, from 1980, Minister of Defence, was first exposed to the theories of counter-insurgency in the United States where he completed the regular command and general staff officer's course in 1962–63. As officer commanding of South West Africa Command from 1966–68, he acquired first-hand experience of a war conducted largely on the principles of counter-insurgency. During his tenure as chief of the army (1973–76), a series of joint inter-departmental counter-insurgency committees was established to

help manage the war in Namibia, creating a model for the National Security Management System (NSMS).

- 121 In August 1979, the establishment of the NSMS was officially announced. It strengthened the SSC through the appointment of a permanent secretary and the establishment of a full-time Secretariat and Working Group and rationalised cabinet committees to four; namely, the Cabinet Committees on Constitutional Affairs, Economic Affairs, Social Affairs and Security. The latter, the Cabinet Committee on Security, was the already existent SSC and sat at the pinnacle of the NSMS. Later, the NSMS was divided into two arms – a Security Management System and a Welfare Management System. The former was headed by the SSC while the latter was headed by the remaining three cabinet committees (Constitutional Affairs, Economic Affairs and Social Affairs). In the mid-1980s these two systems were integrated into a National Co-ordinating Committee.
- 122 The SSC was the policy and decision-making body of the NSMS. It was assisted by a Work Group and between twelve and fifteen Interdepartmental Committees (IDCs). Decisions taken at the fortnightly SSC meetings were sent to the heads of the respective departments for implementation. From 1979 onwards, some 500 regional, district and local Joint Management Centres were put into place, theoretically enabling a co-ordinated security system to reach from the highest level to the smallest locality. The first national strategy of the SSC, known as *Boek 1/Beleid: Die RSA se Belange en die RSA-Regering se Doel, Doelstellings en Beleid*⁴ was approved by cabinet in March 1980.
- 123 The establishment of the NSMS was followed by a related restructuring of the intelligence services – an outcome of the Klapperkop Conference and an accompanying initiative, the Coetzee Committee. A conference held at Simonstown in January 1981 focused, inter alia, on the establishment of a co-ordinating intelligence body known by its Afrikaans acronym as KIK (the Co-ordinating Intelligence Committee). The conference also looked at the areas of responsibility of the various structures. The result was a division of labour between the police and the military. In regard to extra-South African territories, Swaziland was assigned to the SAP while the rest of the world, but more particularly the region, became an SADF responsibility. The agreement also made provision for joint SAP–SADF operations. As a consequence, the powers of the NIS (the reconstituted BOSS) were considerably reduced, while those of the SADF substantially increased.

⁴ Book 1/ Policy: The RSA's Interests and the RSA Government's Aims, Objectives and Policy.

- 124 In 1979, the Vlakplaas unit was established under section C of the Security Branch. It was originally a rehabilitation farm where former ANC and PAC activists were 'turned' into police informers, known as *askaris*. Other branches of the security police could call on the *askaris* to infiltrate ANC activists and glean information. In August 1981, several white policemen were transferred to the unit and the *askaris* were divided into four groups, each headed by a white policeman. By the end of 1982, Vlakplaas operatives were increasingly becoming the 'special forces' of the Security Branch. Vlakplaas, and more broadly the C Section, also worked closely with the SADF – indeed, for significant periods, an SADF liaison officer was assigned to work full-time with Vlakplaas. To a large extent, Vlakplaas owed its existence to the SAP's experience first with the Selous Scouts in Rhodesia and then with setting up Koevoet in South West Africa.
- 125 In 1978, MK began attacks in the PWV (Pretoria, Witwatersrand and Vereeniging region) and western Transvaal. The Special Operations Unit engaged in some successful acts of economic sabotage (such as Sasol II) in the early 1980s. These had the additional strategic aim of raising the profile of MK among the general public. It was largely in anticipation of the growth of such campaigns from outside the country that the state began planning pre-emptive action in the form of what became generally known as destabilisation.
- 126 In February 1979 the SSC adopted the *SSC Guidelines for a Long-term National Strategy in regard to Self-defence Actions*. The preamble to the document noted that, while international law made provision for a state to undertake self-defence actions in order to protect its territorial integrity, not all the actions proposed in this document could readily be brought under the juridical concept of 'self-defence actions' and that some of the operations proposed would necessarily be clandestine.
- 127 The five types of operations proposed and adopted were:
- a Planned operations: actions against bases on foreign territory undertaken on the basis of long-term planning.
 - b Hot pursuit operations: actions permissible if
 - the state whose territory was to be entered was either unwilling or unable to act against those being pursued;
 - the goal of the operation was the capture and arraignment of the person or persons being pursued before the courts of the state executing the action;
 - violence or force was to be used only where those pursued resisted arrest and only directed against those being pursued.

The Commission received considerable evidence of abductions from foreign territories of real or perceived opponents of the South African government. None of these, however, conform fully, or even nearly, to the prescribed requisites of the 'hakkejag' variety. They were rather carefully planned, clandestine kidnapping raids either by the security police or their Vlakplaas unit, and the fate of those abducted was more often to be killed or forced into becoming an *askari* than to appear in court. The one exception was Mr Ismail Ebrahim who, after his kidnapping from Swaziland in 1986, was eventually tried and convicted of treason.

- c Reconnaissance operations: top-secret operations undertaken in order to acquire intelligence on planned enemy actions.
- d Clandestine operations: similarly top-secret operations which were unrestricted.
- e Arresting actions: involving police crossing a border for distances of up to approximately one kilometre for the purpose of arresting the criminal elements whom they were following.

128 By 1979, the SSC was clearly geared up to take the fight to the 'enemy' and to confront it in its regional strongholds rather than wait for it to penetrate the South African interior. The priorities at this point were the outer-periphery states of Angola, Rhodesia and the eastern front of Mozambique and Swaziland which, in the words of an SADF general, was "leaking like a sieve".

129 The late 1970s saw the internal emergence of both black trade unions and a range of student and community based structures. Within these structures, some owed allegiance to black consciousness, while an increasing number of activists within such structures began to move towards support for the ANC or 'Congress tradition'. While the development of internal structures was broadly in line with ANC policy as expressed in the *Green Book*, and key activists strengthened links with the banned movement, such structures seem to have developed rather from an increasingly politicised climate and around specific local demands. Indeed, the banning of Black Consciousness organisations in 1977 had further restricted free political space, and activists responded to this by organising in communities around local 'bread and butter' issues. During the late 1970s, the divide between the Black Consciousness and Congress movements was neither wide nor rigid and was straddled by many individuals and organisations. Only in the early 1980s would conflicts around principles and strategies cement and harden.

- 130 During 1982–83 the government introduced new constitutional proposals which sought to incorporate Indian and coloured people as junior partners in political decision-making. In addition, two bills were introduced which proposed new measures to regulate the presence of Africans in cities. The Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 gave a range of new powers and responsibilities to the highly unpopular and frequently corrupt township governments. In order to protest and frustrate these new state initiatives, and also as an indicator of the schism within anti-apartheid politics, anti-apartheid organisations launched two separate national formations in 1983. One was the United Democratic Front (UDF) – comprising over 500 decentralised, local and regional civic, youth, women's, political and religious anti-apartheid organisations, together with national student organisations and trade unions. The other was the smaller National Forum, a loose association of some 200 Black Consciousness-oriented organisations and small left-wing groups.
- 131 Although the UDF had co-ordinating structures at national and regional levels, affiliate organisations retained their autonomy in terms of policies and programmes of action. Office-bearers were required to be accountable to the membership of their affiliate organisation. In its submission to the Commission, the former UDF leadership conceded that, by the mid-1980s, the UDF was consulting with the ANC in exile.
- 132 From its establishment, the UDF vehemently challenged the government and its apartheid policies. As a driving force behind resistance politics in the 1980s, the UDF spearheaded a number of campaigns aimed at mobilising the broader population. While the UDF itself never adopted a strategy involving the use of violence, in the context of heightened mass resistance following 1984, such campaigns were increasingly associated with violence at a local level. Targets of such violence included community councillors, black policemen, those who broke boycotts and groups such as Inkatha.
- 133 There were a few ANC acts of sabotage in this period that resulted in civilian casualties, such as the Goch Street shooting in 1977. For the most part, however, MK operations in this period did not lead to civilian casualties.
- 134 While such armed attacks continued to raise the profile of the ANC, individual members of ANC underground political units played a crucial role in the formation of mass organisations such as COSAS, civic structures and militant trade unions that were to unite under the banner of the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Such mass organisations formed one of the 'four pillars'

of struggle, which together constituted the ANC's strategy for the liberation of South Africa. These four pillars were: the armed operations of MK, the building of mass organisations, the building of an underground movement inside South Africa to provide the link between the two, and the campaign for the international isolation of the South African government.

- 135 During its life-span, the UDF went through states of emergency, mass detentions of its members and leadership, and victimisation of its leaders, mainly by state surrogate forces. The state tightened its laws, and banned the UDF and many of its affiliates in 1988. During that process, UDF supporters clashed with several other oppositional groupings and vigilante forces, some of which were state sponsored. In the late 1980s, together with COSATU and other sympathetic non-aligned organisations, they formed a loose coalition termed the Mass Democratic Movement (popularly known as the MDM). The UDF organisations worked with the ANC after the unbanning of the latter in 1990. The UDF was formally disbanded on its eighth anniversary in August 1991.
- 136 In May 1983, MK exploded a car bomb in Pretoria's Church Street. Nineteen people were killed and 217 injured. The incident is identified by many security force members as the moment at which they realised the significance of the threat facing them and began to see the ANC as a 'terrorist organisation'. In addition to such armed actions, the first of a number of planned assassinations of individuals labelled as 'enemy agents' or 'collaborators' took place in this period.
- 137 Two months after the Church Street bomb, the SSC held a three-day meeting in the operational area of South West Africa where it reviewed the security situation in the region. In an intelligence briefing at the start of the meeting, SSC secretary Major General Groenewald noted that, with the help of the SADF, UNITA's troop strength had reached 36 000 and was growing by 2 400 per year. However, in regard to Mozambique, he noted that if FRELIMO succeeded in overcoming RENAMO, the Soviet Union's hold on the African east coast would be strengthened and the spread of its influence to the landlocked states of Southern Africa facilitated; so too would the establishment of ANC bases in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lesotho.
- 138 To counter the threat, the SSC agreed that 'terrorism' had to be fought beyond South Africa's borders; that, with or without the co-operation of neighbouring governments, proactive and defensive operations against South Africa's enemies, their supporters and their hosts must be undertaken; and that South Africa had

to develop the capacity to destroy/neutralise 'terrorist concentrations' and their headquarters, as well as foreign troop concentrations such as the Cuban presence in Angola. The proposed options included the encouragement of internal conflict in other countries to the extent of active support for a change of government in a country like Lesotho, as well as continuing to promote instability in Zimbabwe – *'dat die pot van interne konflik in Zimbabwe subtiel aan die kook gehou word'* ([so] that the pot of internal conflict in Zimbabwe is subtly kept on the boil).

- 139 The kinds of operations undertaken by the security forces in the light of the 1979 guidelines and the 1983 priorities, and gross human rights violations which resulted from such operations are examined in this volume.

1985–1989: The war comes home

- 140 By the end of 1984, the government appeared to have believed that it had turned the corner. The signing of the Nkomati Accord and a similar earlier negotiated agreement with Swaziland, together with the considerable success of the Security Branch's anti-terrorist units, held out the promise that MK's supply and infiltration routes had been severely compromised if not totally cut off. The Tricameral system, albeit widely rejected, was in place and unrest was still relatively localised. Moreover, the decision in August 1984 to deploy the army in the townships strengthened the capacity of the security forces on the ground.
- 141 However, by the second half of 1985, unrest had spread throughout South Africa. Whereas previously unrest had occurred sporadically in the homelands and in the rural areas, in the post-1985 period it became more sustained. The wide-spread demonstrations and more violent forms of dissent and opposition which began in the Vaal Triangle in August 1984 surprised not only the government, but also the ANC.
- 142 At its Kabwe Conference in 1985, the ANC formulated a strategic response which it hoped would enable it to capitalise on the 'popular revolt' and turn it into a people's war, possibly even an insurrection. However, the Kabwe Conference had to deal with other problems. These included the dissatisfaction of the many trained MK combatants who had been kept in camps in Angola, and could not be deployed inside the country because of logistic problems.
- 143 While the ANC, with hindsight, claims credit for the development of the strategy of people's war and 'rendering the country ungovernable', and the security police

argue similarly that the ANC was behind the violence which prevailed, there are two important caveats to this interpretation. The first is that the ANC was responding to violence which had already erupted and was spreading largely spontaneously around the country. The pamphlet released on 25 April 1985, calling on people to “Make apartheid unworkable! Make the country ungovernable!” was an attempt to keep up with the rising militancy in the townships. The second is that the ANC’s Kabwe conference was called primarily in response to the dissatisfaction of its soldiers in the Angolan camps and the mutinies of 1984. In the event, the ‘uprising’ gave the Kabwe conference strategic focus, and the problems of the camps were not given much time.

- 144 The military operations of MK in this period can be categorised as follows: Firstly, there were bomb attacks on urban targets. The targets selected were meant to be security force related, but the reality is that more civilians than security force personnel were killed in such explosions. The reasons included technical incompetence, faulty devices, poor reconnaissance and poor judgement or misunderstanding by operatives. In addition, there was some deliberate ‘blurring of the lines’ which gave operatives the leeway to vent their anger by placing bombs in targets that were not strictly military. Lastly, there were instances when explosives were tampered with or security force infiltration resulted in civilian deaths.
- 145 The second type of military operation was the ‘landmine campaign’ of 1985–86 in the northern and eastern Transvaal. The thinking behind this campaign was that these areas were defined by the South African security forces as being part of a ‘military zone’, and the white farmers were conscripted into a commando. The ANC halted this campaign when it became clear that most victims of such explosions were civilians, including black farm labourers and the wives and children of farmers.
- 146 The third type of operation involved engaging in combat with South African security force members, sometimes offensively and sometimes defensively. The casualty rate was very high for MK guerrillas in urban areas, with few losses to the security forces; in rural encounters MK seemed to fare somewhat better.
- 147 The fourth type of activity involved the killing of individual security force personnel and people who were deemed to be ‘traitors’ or ‘enemy agents’. Security policemen were naturally considered to be important targets; but as the South African government reinforced its security forces by using rapidly-trained black policemen – both in support of the Black Local Authority councillors and in support

of the riot police – these police became targets as well. Key leaders of violent vigilante movements or ‘warlords’ also came to be considered ‘legitimate’ targets for MK soldiers, even though they were not formally defined as members of the security forces.

- 148 The ‘people’s war’ strategy meant the blurring of distinctions between trained, armed soldiers and ordinary civilians who were caught up in quasi-military formations such as the *amabutho* or the self-defence units (SDUs). On the one hand, the MK guerrillas were not identified by uniforms and used the civilian population as ‘cover’. On the other, *amabutho* or ‘comrades’ were youth who, in the 1980s, formed themselves into quasi-military formations. While neither the UDF nor the ANC controlled these structures directly through any ‘chain of command’, they were seen at the time as being broadly ‘in line’ with the strategy of a ‘people’s war’.
- 149 MK attempted to ‘marry’ the armed struggle and the mass formations by infiltrating guerrillas who then selected youths from such formations for short military training courses. Sometimes this occurred ‘on the spot’; sometimes they were taken to front-line states for further training. In the process of implementing such a strategy, the general population, especially the youth, became militarised and ‘hardened’ to violence and brutality. Encouragement or sanction by the liberation movements, combined with a lack of direct control, can be seen as having led to many gross violations of the rights of others through ‘people’s courts’, ‘necklace murders’ and other brutal acts. Many innocent civilians suffered as a result – killed either by security forces for ‘harbouring’ combatants, or by *amabutho* for their association with state representatives.
- 150 In Natal, the anger of UDF-supporting youth became focused on Inkatha members, who often served as the equivalent of councillors in KwaZulu, controlling local resources and operating under a system of patronage. This conflict became violent in 1984 and escalated towards the end of the decade. After the unbanning of the ANC and the transformation of Inkatha into the Inkatha Freedom Party (in 1990), the prevalence of weaponry led to the further escalation of conflict. The ANC denied that it ever engaged in a policy of attacking members of other political parties, including the IFP. However, during the period when the ANC was still banned, many people from Inkatha and other rival political groupings, such as AZAPO, were attacked by UDF supporters. Such actions were often perceived as ANC attacks.

- 151 Meanwhile, internal support for the ANC began to be displayed publicly in an increasingly defiant manner. Moreover, this support, traditionally confined to African areas, appeared to find significant resonance in coloured and Indian areas. Increasing support by major Western powers for a democratic settlement was combined with a small but vocal sense of disquiet from local business. For the first time since it assumed power, the government appeared unable to control, let alone quell, resistance.
- 152 These internal and external events led to a reappraisal by the SSC. By 1985, the SSC saw the situation as a growing spiral of threat. The realisation that the war had come home, and the move to an aggressive internal proactive policy was encapsulated in an SSC minute on 18 July 1985: "The chairman points out that he is convinced that the brain behind the unrest situation is situated inside South Africa, and that it must be found and destroyed. Action thus far has been too reactive, and the security forces must attend to this urgently." (18 July 1985, translated from Afrikaans.)
- 153 In accordance with these sentiments, police reaction to the demonstrations and other dissent became increasingly robust, and a considerably hardened approach began to develop. However, the more intensive police and army surveillance of the townships became, the more the vulnerable underbelly of the security forces came under attack – councillors, black policeman living in the townships, suspected informers, anyone associated with such people and increasingly even those who did not adhere to boycotts initiated by the mass democratic movement. The centrality of such individuals and groups to the success of the government's reform initiative put further pressure on the state's political programme.
- 154 The extent of the challenge posed by the internal unrest and the ANC can be gauged by a special meeting convened by the KIK in October 1985 to discuss whether it was possible to avoid a settlement with the ANC. Attended by top-level generals and intelligence personnel, the meeting referred to the massive national and international support for the ANC and to the widespread perception that the government was losing ground. While clear differences of emphasis are evident, the consensus was that any negotiation should take place from a position of strength, not weakness and a settlement should be avoided until the balance of power could be shifted. In the words of General Groenewald: "This is the stage when one can negotiate from a position of strength and can afford to accommodate the other party, given that it has largely been eliminated as a threat." (Translated from Afrikaans.)

- 155 The need to 'eliminate' the ANC as a threat led to the adoption of an internal strategy of counter-revolutionary warfare. A number of developments reflect this change.
- 156 First, there was a marked shift in the terminology used in SSC and related documentation. Words such as '*neutraliseer*', (neutralise), '*vernietig*' (destroy), '*elimineer*' (eliminate), '*uit te wis*' (wipe out) and so forth became common parlance.
- 157 Second, this shift was accompanied by an increasing dominance of the military in formulating and driving security perspectives. Former military intelligence officer HC Nel told a section 29 hearing:

Out in the commandos, in the commands, in the territorial areas of the country the army was in charge whenever there was a crisis. The Defence Force would take charge because of our arrogant stance of "we know how to plan..." The police jump in a van and go and try and solve a problem and they normally end up in an ambush and run away. While the military have a much more structured role, and we have the force levels to our capability and we have the resources. And we assume that superior part and role. And in most areas where former Western Front guys were in charge of commands, that was obvious that the army was always controlling the situation.

- 158 This shift is further evidenced by the adoption of significant sections of the influential text on counter-revolutionary warfare written by the SADF's Brigadier CA Fraser. Thus an extra-ordinary meeting of the SSC on 18 July 1985 adopted eleven principles for the 'countering of the revolutionary onslaught,' closely based on Fraser's text. Indeed, much of Fraser's book was later reproduced, with a foreword by PW Botha and circulated among state functionaries.
- 159 Third, and in keeping with the language used in SSC documents as well as the main tenets of counter-revolutionary warfare, there was an increasing use of the same methods 'of the enemy against the enemy'. This led to an approach in which violence was met with greater violence and the security forces themselves became covertly involved in extra-judicial killings, acts of arson and sabotage and other reprisals.
- 160 Fourth, there was an increasing emphasis on covert support for conservative groupings within black communities. This took a variety of forms. It included *Operation Marion*, in which a paramilitary and offensive capacity was given to

Inkatha; *Operation Katzen*, which aimed to overthrow the existing homeland governments in the Ciskei and Transkei and establish a regional resistance movement (*Iliso Lomzi*) to counter the UDF/ANC influence in that region; and the provision of financial and other support for a range of conservative individuals and vigilante groupings. Central to the latter aspect was the attempt to exploit divisions within organisations and communities, thus weakening the support base of the liberation and mass democratic movements.

- 161 Fifth, there was an increasing emphasis on co-ordination of security action, and significant resources were poured into the NSMS. The inter-departmental committee on security was upgraded and by 1987 was co-ordinating the activities of regional Joint Management Committees (JMCs), under the full-time direction of the Deputy Minister of Law and Order. JMCs were fully activated and thirty-seven 'hotspots' were designated as 'oilspots' where security would be normalised before urban renewal projects put in place. Indeed, the new strategic direction was characterised by the idea that reforms did not go hand in hand with law and order but could only be implemented once political stability had been achieved.
- 162 At the same time, however, emphasis was placed on co-ordination, several covert structures began to be put in place, including what became known as the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB). In terms of a plan devised by Major General Joep Joubert, Special Forces operatives were deployed to work with selected Security Branch divisions. It was in part the development of this plan and the covert deployment of Special Forces internally that led to the development of the CCB.
- 163 Finally, the above took place in the context of a nation-wide state of emergency that effectively remained in place from June 1986 until mid-1990.
- 164 In the year after the imposition of the national state of emergency, the full force of a strategy of counter-revolutionary warfare unfolded domestically. By the end of 1987, the government succeeded in reasserting control and effectively defused whatever potential existed for an insurrectionary situation. Meanwhile, the international balance of forces changed as the Cold War ground to a halt with policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the Soviet Union.
- 165 The ANC, realising the improbability of seizing state power through an armed insurrection, began genuinely exploring the possibility of a negotiated settlement. The government too began to move secretly towards negotiation. A series of secret meetings between emissaries of the South African government and leading

ANC figures were held in the second half of the 1980s. At the same time, the ANC implemented *Operation Vula* with the intention of returning senior ANC leaders into the country. *Vula* was seen by some ANC leaders as an ‘insurance policy’ in case the negotiation process failed. Others within the ANC possibly still held to a revolutionary dogma that could not contemplate attaining political power through peaceful means, and which still anticipated the arrival of an ‘insurrectionary moment’ after the suspension of armed struggle.

1990–1994: The transitional phase

- 166 The period from February 1990 changed the logic and the rules, written or unwritten, governing the contest for power in South Africa. In July 1989, President PW Botha formally received Mr Nelson Mandela to tea at the Tuynhuys, signalling the beginning of open negotiations. In September 1989 Mr FW de Klerk became president of South Africa, and shortly afterwards independence elections were held in Namibia. In February 1990, De Klerk announced the unbanning of proscribed organisations including the SACP, ANC and PAC, and released Mandela. The next four years saw intensive negotiations towards a democratic transition. The strategic thinking underlying this transition period is dealt with later in this volume.
- 167 This then provides an overview of the development of conflict in South Africa during the mandate period, the context in which gross violations of human rights occurred. The following chapters focus specifically on the nature and extent of violations committed by the major role-players throughout the mandate period.

Postscript

- 168 Reference has been made in several other places in the Report (notably in the *Legal Challenges* chapter in Volume 1 and in the *Findings and Conclusions* chapter in Volume 5) to the difficulties involved in making findings and naming perpetrators of gross violations of human rights. The definitive judgement of Mr Justice Corbett, which required the Commission to give anyone against whom a detrimental finding was being contemplated a reasonable opportunity to respond, made a huge impact on the work of the Commission. Those who may have expected this report to contain a long list of perpetrators of gross violations of human rights will, consequently, be only partially satisfied with what they find in this and other volumes.
- 169 The Commission has sent out numerous section 30 notices during the past few months to persons against whom it anticipated making a finding to their detriment.

The response process has been slow and extremely time-consuming. At the same time, the Commission has sought to be meticulous in taking the representation of those against whom negative findings have been contemplated very seriously before making a final decision on the finding. This process was indeed still under-way at the time of going to print. The outcome is that the chapters that follow do not contain all the names of those who the Commission is likely ultimately to name as perpetrators.

- 170 The amnesty process was also still underway. When this process is complete, a full list of those whom it has seen fit to name as perpetrators will be published in the Codicil to the Report that will appear at that time.
- 171 The Commission received a number of statements from family members of those who disappeared during the Commission's mandate period. While the Commission was able to determine the fate of some of these victims through investigations or as a result of amnesty applications or submissions, numerous cases remain unresolved. However, a number of amnesty applicants have applied for amnesty for abduction or killing of unknown persons, the identity of whom will be canvassed and investigated during the continuing amnesty process. Consequently, the Commission's report on disappearances has been deferred to the end of the amnesty process and this too will appear in the Codicil.
- 172 Great problems have been experienced with the spelling and the inconsistency in names in the writing of this volume. Again, everything possible has been done to resolve these matters. Where there are errors, the Commission apologises. We have also sought to be as accurate as possible in identifying the rank of military and police personnel, recognising that these often changed during the career of the persons concerned. In some amnesty applications and other submissions to the Commission, the rank of a person has been given at the time of the violation. In others, the rank is given as at the time of the amnesty application or submission. Again, everything possible has been done to ensure the greatest possible accuracy.
- 173 Versions of some violations are in certain instances based on the information of amnesty applications that have not yet been heard. We have taken this into account and refrained from naming alleged perpetrators solely on the basis that they were mentioned in these applications. The Commission, however, resolved to make use of these untested applications in a more general sense. Even here restraint has been exercised as it is recognised that, in the hearing of these and/or other applications, conflicting information may emerge.

The State outside South Africa between 1960 and 1990

■ INTRODUCTION

The security forces will hammer them, wherever they find them. What I am saying is the policy of the government. We will not sit here with hands folded waiting for them to cross the borders ... we shall settle the hash of those terrorists, their fellow-travellers and those who help them. (Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, Parliament, 4 February 1986.)

- 1 The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act) charges the Commission with investigating and documenting gross human rights abuses committed “within or outside” South Africa in the period 1960–94. This chapter focuses on the “outside”, specifically the Southern African region and Western Europe. Evidence has been gathered of violations committed by South African security forces or their agents and/or surrogates in nine regional states – Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, and the Seychelles – and in Western Europe – in the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Scandinavia.
- 2 The primary focus will be on killings and attempted killings (including targeted assassinations, cross-border raids and large-scale massacres such as that at Kassinga in Angola in 1978) and on abductions and infrastructural sabotage.
- 3 Another area of focus will be acts which, though they may not in and of themselves have constituted gross violations, were violations of state sovereignty and international law and invariably led to or created the conditions for the perpetration of gross violations of human rights. The reference here is to the wars in Angola and South West Africa (now Namibia), South African Police (SAP) operations in Rhodesia, surrogate-force campaigns in Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Zambia, and the attempted coup in the Seychelles.

- 4 Over three decades, the South African government's involvement in the region expanded from occasional cross-border interventions in the 1960s to a situation in the 1980s where the South African Defence Force (SADF) was involved in various levels of warfare in six Southern African states, while covert units conducted attacks particularly in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (the BLS states). Additionally, in the early 1980s, South African security and intelligence operatives attempted to overthrow the Seychelles government and co-funded a mercenary force of Presidential Guards in the Comores, which became the *de facto* ruling authority of that territory.
- 5 This involvement in the region led to the conclusion that the majority of the victims of the South African government's attempts to maintain itself in power were outside of South Africa. Tens of thousands of people in the region died as a direct or indirect result of the South African government's aggressive intent towards its neighbours. The lives and livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of others were disrupted by the systematic targeting of infrastructure in some of the poorest nations in Africa.
- 6 The South African government's security strategy was shaped by the doctrines of pre-emptive interventionism and counter-revolutionary warfare. By the 1980s, the region had become an arena of cold war confrontation. For the leadership of the government and the SADF, the war in Angola and the other conflicts across the region were good and just wars, part of the West's resistance to a perceived Soviet global offensive.
- 7 It is the Commission's view that the destruction wrought on the region by South Africa's counter-revolutionary war, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, was disproportionate to the threat posed by their post-independence governments and the fact that they played host to groups engaged in armed conflict with the South African government. At the time of their independence in 1975, Angola and Mozambique were severely underdeveloped and posed no credible military threat to the Republic of South Africa. Centuries of colonial exploitation had left them with a legacy of poverty and without the skills to build and manage a modern economy.
- 8 The Commission is, therefore, of the view that factors of race and racism should not be dismissed when attempting to explain South Africa's conduct in the region. It finds it difficult to believe, for example, that *Koevoet* would have been allowed to operate on a bounty basis, or that the SADF would have killed over 600 people,

many of them children and women, in the Kassinga camp in Angola, had their targets been white. From the evidence before the Commission, it appears that, while some acts of regional destabilisation may have been a defence against Communism, the purpose of the war was also to preserve white minority rule in South Africa and was, therefore, a race war.

- 9 The perpetration of gross human rights violations outside South Africa will be discussed through an examination of the following types of security operations:
 - a conventional warfare;
 - b police and military counter-insurgency operations;
 - c surrogate-force insurgency operations;
 - d police and military cross-border operations, including special operations of a sensitive nature or by the Civilian Co-operation Bureau (CCB);
 - e unconventional military operations.

■ CONVENTIONAL WARFARE

The war in Angola

I was then in the military, you know in the paratroopers and the Special Forces, and I was decorated for a couple of operations in South West Africa. I don't know if I must apply for amnesty for Kassinga ... It was probably the most bloody exercise that we ever launched, according to me ... we were parachuted into that target ... It was a terrible thing ... I saw many things that happened there but I don't want to talk about it now because I always start crying about it. It's damaged my life. (Lieutenant Johan Frederich Verster, ex-SADF Special Forces officer, testimony to the Commission, 4 July 1997.)

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

- 10 The targets and objectives of the various security operations conducted in Angola by the security forces of the former South African state were two-fold.

- 11 First, the possibility of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) taking power in Angola was regarded by the former government as a threat to South Africa's security, as the MPLA was viewed as a Soviet surrogate. The introduction of Cuban forces into Angola in support of the MPLA simply confirmed that view. The South African government's initial objective, therefore, was to prevent the MPLA from taking power at independence. When this failed, the goal became its overthrow and replacement by a 'friendly' anti-Communist government led by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).
- 12 Second, the movement of the forces of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) into bases in Angola was regarded as escalating the threat to South Africa's position in South West Africa. Aware that it would ultimately have to implement UN Resolution 435, the South African government was determined to weaken or cripple SWAPO's military capacity in preparation for the time when SWAPO would enter the electoral stakes inside South West Africa.
- 13 South Africa's active involvement in Angolan politics after the collapse of Portuguese colonial rule escalated with the SADF's invasion of Angola, through *Operation Savannah*, in the second half of 1975. Though the operation was undertaken with the covert support of the US State Department, this undeclared act of war did not receive the approval of the South African cabinet. Indeed, the issue was not even raised at cabinet level until the invasion was several months old and no longer a secret.
- 14 The invasion was also illegal in terms of the 1957 Defence Act, which made no provision for the deployment of non-voluntary forces (conscripts) beyond South Africa's borders. To override this legal difficulty, Parliament passed an amendment to the Act in January 1976, sanctioning the deployment of non-voluntary South African troops outside of the Republic's borders. It was made retroactive to August 1975, the month in which *Savannah* was launched.
- 15 The Commission was not able to access any files on *Operation Savannah* in the SADF archives, nor did it have access to any Angolan data. There is no doubt, however, that the human and economic cost of the operation, involving over 2 000 men in mobile columns, was immense. In three to four months, the SADF swept through vast areas of central and eastern Angola, capturing numerous towns, until it was halted on the outskirts of Luanda by stiff Cuban-led resistance.

- 16 Civilian and military casualties on the Angolan side were considerable, given the known extent of damage to the social infrastructure. Thousands of people were displaced internally.
- 17 Though the SADF's intervention failed to prevent the MPLA from taking power at independence in November 1975, and even though SADF forces were withdrawn in March 1976, South African military and political involvement in Angolan affairs continued for the next thirteen years, with human and other consequences of varying degrees of severity for all the parties involved – Angolan, South West African, South African, Cuban and Soviet. South Africa's forces were not entirely withdrawn; the SADF created an eighteen-kilometre-wide demilitarised zone (DMZ) along a 1 000 kilometre stretch of the border, which it retained after the termination of the invasion. By creating a 'free-fire' zone, the SADF effected further large-scale displacement of people, this time of residents from both sides of the border.
- 18 Between 1976 and 1978, the SADF's strategy in respect of Angola focused on establishing a string of bases along the border, on rearming and strengthening UNITA's fighting capacity through the launch of *Operation Silver* and on preventing SWAPO from moving south. This it did by deploying the 32 Battalion in frequent forays against SWAPO in the south of Angola.
- 19 Despite these efforts, by the end of 1977 the SADF believed that SWAPO had established a significant presence in the south and sought authorisation from Prime Minister Vorster for large-scale SADF operations. The concern of the SADF was shared by the administration in South West Africa, where there were plans to hold elections leading to the installation of an interim administration of which SWAPO was not to be a part. Were SWAPO to succeed in establishing a permanent foothold in the south of Angola, both the South African government and the administration in Windhoek feared that its capacity to disrupt the election would be enhanced.

Operation Reindeer: the attacks on Kassinga and Chetequera camps

- 20 In human rights terms, the SADF raid on Kassinga, which killed over 600 people, is possibly the single most controversial external operation of the Commission's mandate period.
- 21 The SADF's view on the situation in southern Angola was spelt out in a communication from the chief of staff operations (CSOPS) to the chief of the SADF on

27 February 1978¹. CSOPS argued that, since the termination of *Operation Savannah*, SWAPO had been successful in building up its strength in Owambo and the Eastern Caprivi, whence it was able to conduct operations in the northern areas of South West Africa. In the opinion of CSOPS, it was now imperative to deploy the full strength of the SADF's air and land capability against SWAPO, instead of counting on a 'hearts and minds' programme. It was also important to counter the enemy's propaganda by demonstrating that South Africa had so far deployed in Angola only a small part of its military capability.

- 22 CSOPS calculated that, by the end of 1978, SWAPO would grow from a force of 3 700 to 5 000 guerrillas, though it estimated that only 1 000 of these could be operationally deployed in the short term. The current estimate was that between 250 and 300 guerrillas were currently active in Owambo. Of SWAPO's five principal bases in the region, CSOPS identified Kassinga as the largest, with an estimated 800 guerrillas in camp. It was, however, also the furthest from the South West African border (198 km north of the border) which made the logistics of an assault complicated.
- 23 In arguing for a raid, CSOPS noted that SWAPO was becoming better organised and that, as a result, the SADF's principal operating unit inside Angola, 32 Battalion, was finding it difficult to operate. UNITA was likewise under pressure. In short, SWAPO was benefiting from the fact that South Africa was not fighting to its full potential. If operations became effective, on the other hand, SWAPO would be forced to disperse its camps into smaller components, making the organisation less effective. This would also make it more difficult for Cuban instructors to work with and easier for UNITA to operate against SWAPO.
- 24 On 8 March 1978, the chief of the army, Lieutenant General Viljoen, sent a communiqué (H/LEER/309) to the chief of the defence force, in which he identified the camp at Kassinga as the planning headquarters of SWAPO's armed wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) – subordinate only to SWAPO's defence headquarters at Lubango. He also noted that the camp was the principal medical centre for the treatment of seriously injured guerrillas, as well as the concentration point for guerrilla recruits being dispatched to training centres in Lubango and Luanda and to operational bases in East and West Cunene. The camp also offered refresher courses in infantry warfare and mine-laying.
- 25 General Viljoen noted that the camp was not heavily defended and that the nearest Angolan army and Cuban forces were at Techumutete, fifteen kilometres to the south. The target lent itself to the maximum use of air power and the

¹ File reference: HSOPS/310/4.

infliction of maximum casualties. Finally, he suggested that, given the presence in the camp of PLAN's commander, Dimo Amaambo, important documents could be captured. Other documents in the SADF files make it clear that it was also hoped that Amaambo and other senior PLAN officials would be captured or killed.

26 Approval for the Kassinga operation – which became part of *Operation Reindeer* – was received in about March 1978. The original operational orders included the following priorities and instructions:

- a Maximum losses were to be inflicted on the enemy but, where possible, leaders must be captured and brought out. Once the attack was completed, no prisoner-of-war was to be shot in cold blood.
- b Documents as well as useful weapons were to be removed.
- c Bases were to be destroyed.
- d Skirmishes with Cuban and Angolan Army forces were to be avoided if at all possible.
- e Photographs were to be taken after the attack to counter “enemy” allegations.
- f Where possible, women and children were not to be shot.

27 The details of the plan were as follows:

phase one: *from ten days prior to the operation (D-10): Low-profile coverage, with selected media references to Alpha (Kassinga);*

phase two: *beginning D-7: The key idea should be to create the impression of a resumption of SWAPO border violations and attacks on SADF patrols, especially against the local population. The intention would be after a relatively quiet period to refocus attention representing it as a seasonal trend. Shortly before D-1, information should be released on a SWAPO build-up. Thereafter, on D minus 1, a grave incident (real or imaginary) must take place. Either attempted assassination or cross-border attack on SADF patrol base. In the case of the latter, some casualties could be attributed to this attack;*

phase three: D to D+4: Media operational:

C Army must ensure that media coverage of the operations (especially Alpha Camp) takes place. Credible coverage and immediate release are essential to counter probable hostile counter-claims of SADF operations and mass killings of civilians, especially women and children. Guidelines: Photo cover must feature: i) military features, for example, weapons, ammunition, communications, headquarter buildings; ii) any dead must have weapons alongside them; iii) any photography of civilians must reflect humane treatment, e.g. being provided with food. Civilians should, however, be avoided altogether; iv) documents captured must feature prominently to add credibility to subsequent disclosures.

- 28 Accompanying this document in the file is an undated message from SWA Command to the chief of the army, which reads: "Contingency plans in progress to create own incidents that can be attributed to SWAPO should insufficient publicity or further SWAPO actions be forthcoming". The signal also emphasised the need to counter any enemy propaganda about attacking civilian targets.
- 29 On 25 April 1978, the SWA Command sent a signal for the attention of either General Viljoen or General Gleeson. It noted that the UN General Assembly was in session on the subject of SWA and that the debate would last until 3 May. D-day should, therefore, be delayed until the conclusion of the debate to avoid making life difficult for those countries favourable to South Africa. On 30 April, higher authority dictated a delay of at least forty-eight hours.
- 30 As the commanders of *Reindeer* waited for the go-ahead from the cabinet, a number of messages were passed on the changing situation. On 2 May 1978, the chief of the defence force signalled the chief of air staff that considerable extensions were being made to Kassinga's defensive installations. It was also now estimated that between 1 000 and 1 500 PLAN recruits were at Kassinga, including fifty to one hundred Cubans. Permission was given for two Mirages to be added to the air component.
- 31 It is clear that from the SADF's perspective, Kassinga was a military facility rather than essentially a refugee camp or refugee transit facility, as SWAPO has always claimed. The photographic evidence shown to the Commission at the SADF archives suggests a military dimension to the camp. This cannot, however, be taken as conclusive evidence that Kassinga was a military base. In the context of the ongoing war in Angola, some defensive fortification of any SWAPO facility, whether civilian or military, would have been standard practice.

- 32 What *is* evident is that human settlement in the Kassinga area had grown considerably in the period since Angola's independence. The site was allocated to SWAPO by the Angolan government in 1976, after an appeal for help to cope with an inflow of thousands of refugees. Under SWAPO's control, the abandoned homes in the village had been converted into offices, a kindergarten and primary school, a clinic, a sewing facility, and storage and vehicle repair workshops. New permanent structures had also been erected, plots cultivated and a set of defensive trenches dug. SWAPO had also installed two anti-aircraft guns in the centre of the village, and the camp contained a self-defence unit of approximately 300 male and female PLAN cadres.
- 33 The fact that Kassinga had a non-military dimension is reflected in a UNICEF report of a visit by a UNICEF delegation from its regional office in Brazzaville, published two days before the raid. Central to the report was the fact that, although well-run and well-organised, the facility was ill-equipped to cope with the rapid expansion in the size of the refugee population as a result of a steady inflow in early 1978. Kassinga was thus both a military base and a refugee camp. It housed a considerable number of combatants, including senior officers. It also housed considerable numbers of civilians. As a large facility, it was easily partitioned into military and non-military sections.

As a result of the ominous build-up of SWAPO forces in southern Angola and the extensive campaign of intimidation of the local inhabitants and the murder of political leaders in SWA, as well as the large number of border violations during the past few weeks, a limited military operation against SWAPO forces has been carried out over the border ... I trust that the limited operation will leave those who wish to threaten us under no illusions ... I have in the past while repeatedly expressed the hope that military bases will not be made available to terrorists in southern Angola, but this apparently has fallen on deaf ears. (Minister of Defence, Mr PW Botha, press release, 4 May 1978)

- 34 *Reindeer* began with an attack at 08h00 on 4 May 1978. Four Canberra jets dropped 300 Alpha bombs, followed one minute later by four Buccaneers which dropped seven 400kg fragmentation bombs. The initial target was the parade ground where between fifty to one hundred 'enemy' were seen immediately before the attack. At 08h04, 370 paratroopers were dropped on the camp, but many of them fell well away from the target area because of high winds. It took just over an hour for the paratroopers to group together, during which time many of

Kassinga's inhabitants were able to flee to safety. These included most of PLAN's senior officers, including Dimo Amaambo.

- 35 Several hundred occupants of the camp were not so fortunate, however. By 10h30, signals from the ground were reporting heavy 'enemy' casualties and the capture of large quantities of weapons. At noon, the first helicopter extractions of SADF personnel began. By this time the chief of the army, Lieutenant General Viljoen, had been taken into the battlefield area aboard a Puma helicopter. General Ian Gleeson (101 Task Force), Colonel 'Blackie' de Swardt (SAAF) and Colonel 'Giep' Booyesen (SA Medical Services) were in overall command of the actual operation and responsible for its planning. Fighting forces on the ground at Kassinga were led by Colonel Jan Breytenbach (32 Battalion), and Commandant Deon Ferreira, and at Chetequera by Major Frank Bestbier.
- 36 At 13h45 between twenty and thirty armoured cars were reported as being *en route* from the nearby Angolan military base at Techumutete, which also housed Cuban troops. Later, other troop carriers were spotted moving towards Kassinga. These convoys were attacked from the air and many were destroyed. According to information drawn from the Cuban archives, approximately 150 Cuban troops died in these attacks – the most serious casualty loss in their involvement in Angola.
- 37 By evening, the assault on Kassinga was complete and all SADF personnel, bar five missing troops, had been withdrawn from the site. The SADF's anxiety about external reaction is reflected in a signal from the chief of the defence force, sent at 19h30, enquiring whether any women and children had been killed. This took priority over a 20h50 signal enquiring whether any Cubans had been captured. In response to the earlier query, SWA Tactical Headquarters sent out a top-secret message that night (OPS/104/04) reporting that there were many women and children at Alpha and that large numbers had been killed. Among the dead women, the message reported, many had been in uniform and many in the trenches.
- 38 At 22h00, SWA Tactical HQ sent a further message which read as follows (translated):

Target Alpha

Enemy losses estimated at 500 (five hundred) dead.

- i. No POWs taken because of the serious threat from the south from enemy tanks and armoured cars. Initially 75 POWs were captured and 15 ear-marked as POWs including women in uniform. Some were in civilian clothing. All looked like young recruits;*

- ii. *Air attack caused extensive casualties and damage. All the buildings within reach were set on fire. Three 14.7 machine guns were damaged but could not be destroyed. Explosions indicated that ammunition dumps had been destroyed. A large number of documents were seized in the OC's house. He could not be found;*
- iii. *After the bombardment considerable numbers of the enemy were noticed in the trenches. They offered reasonably strong resistance;*
- iv. *14.7 machine guns could not be silenced by the ground forces, so close air support was called in. The machine guns fired on the Buccaneers at every opportunity;*
- v. *The enemy resisted firmly and did not run away. Some made out they were dead but were then either killed or captured.*

39 The official death toll (according to an Angolan government White Paper) was 159 men, of whom only twelve were said to be soldiers, 167 women and 298 teenagers and children – a total of 624. In addition, 611 South West Africans were wounded in the attack. These were largely victims of the initial bombing attack. The dead were buried in two mass graves. Foreign journalists who saw the graves before they were covered confirmed that large numbers of the dead were women and young people wearing civilian clothes. This does not necessarily mean that they were all non-combatants. In a guerrilla camp, not all combatants would be wearing uniforms. Moreover, the figure of twelve soldiers cited by the Angolan White Paper is not credible, unless the reference to soldiers is limited to the twelve Angolan government soldiers killed during *Reindeer*. It is known too that PLAN forces contained women and it can be assumed that some of the women casualties were combatants.

40 The Kassinga raid formed only a part of the *Reindeer* operation. There were also attacks on a number of SWAPO facilities in and around Chetequera (an area known by SWAPO as "Vietnam") where over 300 South West Africans were killed and a large number captured. These prisoners – between 200 and 300 in all – were taken to the Oshakati military base where many were tortured. Nearly two years later, in January 1980, the International Red Cross reported that 118 of them were still being held at a detention centre near Mariental in the south of South West Africa (see further below).

- 41 Some 1 200 hundred people – South West African, Angolan, Cuban and South African – died; over 600 others, overwhelmingly South West African and Angolan, were wounded in the attacks on Kassinga and Chetequera that day. It is probable that some died later from their wounds. In addition, several hundred were captured at Chetequera. No prisoners, or perhaps at most a handful, were taken from Kassinga. Those reported in the early despatches as being held as prisoners were released when no room on the evacuation helicopters was available for them.
- 42 All the planning documentation, including aerial photographs, would indicate that the SADF command was convinced that Kassinga was the planning headquarters of PLAN, and thus a military target of key importance. Given the objective (expressed in the CSOPS communication to the Minister of Defence on 27 February 1978) of demonstrating South Africa's military superiority and inflicting major damage on SWAPO's military capacity, it would seem strange if a refugee camp had been chosen as a target. This does not, of course, obviate the possibility of mistaken target identification, though the aerial photographs and the detail of intelligence reports of what was going on at Kassinga obviously guided the SADF command to their conclusions. It is probable therefore, that the SADF could mount a plausible defence of its operation in terms of the doctrine of pre-emptive interventionism and the right of states to defend themselves.
- 43 This argument would, however, have to fail in this case for the simple reason that the state being defended by South Africa was South West Africa, which South Africa was occupying illegally. In terms of UN General Assembly Resolution 2145/66 and UN Security Council Resolution 385/76, South Africa's mandate in South West Africa was revoked and its occupation deemed illegal. Hence any justification of a retaliatory operation cannot be accepted.
- 44 Beyond the issue of the mandate, *Operation Reindeer* violated international humanitarian law on other counts, one of which was the failure to take adequate steps to protect the lives of civilians. International humanitarian law stipulates that the right of parties in a conflict to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited and that a distinction must at all times be made between persons taking part in hostilities and civilians, with the latter being spared as much as possible. There is little evidence that the SADF took sufficient precautions to spare those civilians whom they knew were resident at Kassinga in large numbers.
- 45 The fact that the operational orders for *Reindeer* included the instruction that "women and children must, where possible, not be shot" is evidence of the

SADF's prior knowledge of the presence of civilians. However, this apparent intention to spare their lives was rendered meaningless by the SADF's decision to use fragmentation bombs in the initial air assault, as such weapons kill and maim indiscriminately. Their use, therefore, in the face of the knowledge of the presence of civilians, amounts to an indiscriminate and illegitimate use of force and a violation of Protocol 1 to the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The foreseeable killing of civilians at Kassinga was therefore a breach of humanitarian law.

- 46 The treatment of civilians in this operation may have violated international legal covenants in another respect; in this case a provision of Protocol 11 regarding the treatment of the wounded. If press reports based on a press interview with an officer involved in the operation are accurate (see below), the SADF failed to protect and care for those wounded in the operation. According to this source, some of the wounded, irrespective of their status as combatants or civilians, men or women, were shot.

We were in enemy territory and had to get the hell out of there as quickly as possible. There were just too many wounded. We could have left them on the battlefield to die in pain and agony. We couldn't. I was given an AK-47 and instructed to kill those who couldn't be saved. I had to decide who was not going to live. I was the company leader, so I had to take the lead. I don't know how many people I shot that that day. Some were conscious, some were not. We found this woman clutching her screaming baby. It was only when we saw the terrible wounds inflicted by an Air Force bomb. There was no hope for her. I had to shoot her. She looked at me. I can never describe what it did to me. It was too much. I later broke down. (Anonymous soldier, The Star, 8 May 1993.)

- 47 The Commission has not been able to corroborate the information contained in this quote. It did, however, speak to retired General Chris Thirion who was present at Kassinga and who stated that he was standing next to General Viljoen when he heard him give a command that no wounded were to be killed. He concedes that this does not mean that none were killed but, if so, this would have been contrary to orders. The Commission accepts, therefore, that there were no orders to kill the wounded, but is not convinced that this did not happen. The Commission also has evidence from the war in South West Africa that, on occasion, badly wounded SWAPO fighters were shot and not given medical treatment.

- 48 The Commission, therefore, makes no finding on the treatment of the wounded. It does, however, make a finding on the choice of weaponry used in the attack and on the question as to whether adequate care was taken to protect the lives of civilians. In making a finding, the Commission has taken cognisance of the following international legal provisions: Principles III, IV, VI of the Principles of International Law Recognised in the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal and in the Judgement of the Tribunal 1950:

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT OPERATION REINDEER WAS A VIOLATION OF THE TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA AND THAT IT RESULTED IN THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AGAINST THE CIVILIAN OCCUPANTS OF THE KASSINGA CAMP WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE FOLLOWING PERSONS WHO ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE:

- PRIME MINISTER BJ VORSTER IN HIS CAPACITY AS HEAD OF STATE (PRINCIPLE III);
- MINISTER OF DEFENCE PW BOTHA IN HIS CAPACITY AS POLITICAL HEAD OF THE SADF;
- GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHIEF OF THE SADF;
- LIEUTENANTS GENERAL CONSTAND VILJOEN AND RH ROGERS IN THEIR CAPACITIES AS CHIEFS OF THE ARMY AND AIR FORCE RESPECTIVELY.

The State Security Council and Angola

- 49 With the accession to power of Mr PW Botha in September 1978, the war against Angola became a government priority. In March 1979, the State Security Council (SSC) adopted two strategy documents pertaining to Angola. One was a total national strategy encapsulating a long-term view; the other was a short-term strategy document. In the former, the government spelt out its goals as being to use all means – political, diplomatic, psychological, economic and military – to neutralise the Angolan government's support for SWAPO as well as to bring down the MPLA government, if and when the assurance existed that a more friendly and stable government would replace it.
- 50 The short-term strategy document lists its objectives, stating that the political situation in Angola should be kept as unstable as possible, that support should be rendered to UNITA and other movements, and that clandestine operations should be launched against Angola with the aim of forcing the MPLA government into preventing SWAPO from operating in southern Angola.

- 51 In a section headed *Opdrag en Take* (Mission and Duties), four tasks are detailed:
- a to subject southern Angola to a national strategy for as long as it takes to pressurise the MPLA to abandon its support for SWAPO;
 - b to enlist UNITA and other movements as partners (*"bondgenote"*) against the Marxist onslaught;
 - c to destroy SWAPO bases in Angola through co-ordinated actions;
 - d to make preparations for conventional operations against Angolan, Cuban and SWAPO forces.
- 52 With regard to the first two tasks above, the document talks of establishing a stable anti-Communist government in the south (a UNITA government) as soon as the political situation in the area has stabilised. All tasks and strategies in the short-term plan were to be directed to this end. In other words, the immediate objective of the SADF was to partition Angola and, in effect, to bring about the secession of the south of the country.
- 53 The importance of UNITA and its leader, Mr Jonas Savimbi, to South African strategy at this time was stressed in a letter from the chief of the SADF, General Malan, to CSOPS (chief of staff operations) Major General Earp, dated 6 March 1979, in which he states that *"Mario [SADF codename for Savimbi] se voortbestaan raak direk die toekoms van Suidelike Afrika. Hy het so belangrik geword dat ons sy veiligheid sal moet verseker"*. (His continued existence directly influences the future of Southern Africa. He has become so important that we will have to ensure his safety.)
- 54 Under economic action guidelines, the following steps were listed:
- a to so disrupt the national infrastructure of Angola through clandestine operations, that an unstable situation in the country would be created;
 - b to disrupt, through clandestine operations, the main export harbours and railways leading to the south of Angola;
 - c to handle to the best advantage of South Africa all requests from the Angolan government in connection with electric power from Ruacana (the hydro-electric scheme on the Angola–Namibia border), as well as food supplies.

- 55 The document concludes by emphasising the urgency of the situation and the intensity of the Marxist onslaught in the region. It then goes on to argue that, owing to the abbreviated UN time-scale envisaged for South West Africa (a reference to the pending implementation of UN Resolution 435), the short-term strategy must be implemented as speedily as possible.
- 56 The implementation of this strategy was discussed at a series of meetings in March 1979. At a meeting between Savimbi, the chiefs of the defence force and the army and senior staff officer of special operations in the department of Military Intelligence (MI), it was agreed that UNITA's priority would be to clear the MPLA and SWAPO out of Cuanda-Cubango province and "*dele van die Cunene*" (parts of the Cunene province) so that the nucleus of a UNITA government could be established and so that "*die verbindingslyne tussen Angola en SWA weer daargestel kan word*" (the lines of communication between Angola and SWA could be restored). A *modus operandi* was agreed whereby the SADF would take the initiative in Cunene province (see discussion on *Operation Protea* below) with support from UNITA, while the reverse would apply in Cuanda-Cubango. It was also agreed that, from this point, 32 Battalion would be semi-permanently deployed in southern Angola.
- 57 The post-1979 military strategy in Angola therefore took the form of a series of large-scale conventional military operations against pre-selected SWAPO and Angolan Army targets, while 32 Battalion formed the vanguard of a low-intensity counter-insurgency campaign. The third prong was *Operation Silwer* (see below), which provided ongoing logistical and other support to UNITA.
- 58 The Angolan war was an ongoing, thirteen-year-long occupation, enabling the SADF to achieve one of its aims, namely, the *de facto* secession of the south from central government control. This is certainly the view of former army and SADF chief, General Geldenhuys. Writing in his autobiography, he states:

A few specific cross-border operations made headlines ... Each, in turn, had a positive influence on the course of the war ... in the end ... it was the overall effect of the almost unseen but incessant day-to-day general operations that brought us success.

- 59 The first big operation in this post-1979 phase of the war was launched in June 1980. *Operation Sceptic* began as a lightning attack on a SWAPO base complex called 'Smokeshell', 120 kilometres into southern Angola and developed into an

extended operation which produced the first serious clashes between the SADF and the Angolan Army and mechanised elements of SWAPO. It ended by driving SWAPO from its forward bases; 380 guerrillas and seventeen members of the SADF were killed.

- 60 A year later, in August 1981, the SADF launched *Operation Protea*, the largest mechanised operation undertaken by the South African military since World War II. *Protea* was launched in implementation of the decision made in March 1979 to install UNITA as the *de facto* government of southern Angola. In the initial eighteen-day phase of the operation, the SADF occupied 50 000 square kilometres of Cunene province. Thereafter, parts of the province remained under SADF occupation until 1989, essentially as a support for UNITA which, from January 1982, took effective administrative control of most of the province.
- 61 The information below is drawn from a variety of sources including files in the collection "*Aanvullende Dokumente*" (Supplementary Documents) OD 1968 no. 20 held by the military archives.
- 62 According to this collection, the immediate military objectives of *Operation Protea* were the destruction of PLAN headquarters at Xangongo and Ngiva and the capture of the extensive caches of equipment held at Ngiva. During the initial 1981 phase of *Protea*, several towns in Cunene province such as Cahama, Chibemba, Xangongo, Mongua and the provincial capital Ngiva were extensively damaged by bombing and artillery attacks which also caused civilian casualties.
- 63 After two weeks, all the towns mentioned above, indeed most of the province, had been evacuated. According to the BBC, an estimated 160 000 Angolan civilians were rendered homeless and were forced to flee to sanctuary further north in Lubango. British press reports of the operation spoke of the SADF's use of heavy artillery for long-range bombardment of towns and villages in combination with SAAF carpet-bombing before ground troops moved in to take control. The result in Cahama was that only four out of forty to fifty buildings in the main street were left intact. Amongst the facilities reportedly destroyed were a hospital, a dispensary and a food distribution centre.²
- 64 According to press reports, more than 1 200 SWAPO and Angolan Army soldiers were killed in the operation, along with several Soviet advisers. One Russian warrant officer and seventy-nine Angolans were captured. The SADF files give a casualty toll of 746 Angolan Army and eighty-one SWAPO combatants, and four

² *Focus* No. 38, January–February 1982, pp. 10–14.

Soviet advisers. The number of civilian deaths is not known to the Commission, but, given the systematic and sustained targeting of civilian centres, it must have been large. The SADF suffered fourteen dead and sixty-four wounded.

- 65 In terms of civilian casualties, the mass displacement of civilians and the creation of an internal refugee population, as well as the wholesale destruction of towns and socio-economic infrastructure, *Operation Protea* probably caused more human suffering and physical damage than any other operation in the thirteen-year-long Angola war, resulting in violations of human rights on a vast scale.
- 66 *Protea* was followed by Operations Daisy in 1981, *Super and Meebos* (1982), *Phoenix* and *Askari* (1983), *Boswilger* (1985), *Modulêr* and *Hooper* (1987–88), *Packer* and *Displace* (1988). Each of these was a smaller-scale version of *Sceptic* and *Protea* and resulted in large numbers of casualties. According to the military historian, Colonel CJ Nothling, writing in the 1989 *South African Defence Review*, over 8 000 ‘terrorists’ (SWAPO and Angolan Army forces) were killed in these campaigns. No figures are cited for civilian deaths. The SADF acknowledged 136 fatalities (three each in *Daisy* and *Super*, twenty-nine in *Meebos*, twenty-seven in *Phoenix*, twenty-one in *Askari* and fifty-three in *Hooper* and *Modulêr*).
- 67 The December 1983 *Operation Askari* was aimed at disrupting PLAN’s logistical infrastructure and its command and control systems through ground and air attacks. In its advance towards SWAPO headquarters near Cuvelai, a major battle developed between South African forces and Angolan Army units aided by two Cuban battalions. According to the SADF, this was the biggest encounter between South African and Angolan Army forces of the entire war: 324 Angolan and Cuban troops and twenty-one South Africans were killed. Another casualty was the town of Cuvelai, which was almost totally destroyed. In 1984, when there was a temporary withdrawal, Angolan authorities re-entered the ruined town and reported that facilities and most buildings had been destroyed while livestock had either been killed or taken to South West Africa. There had been extensive civilian casualties.
- 68 During *Operation Hooper*, SADF and Angolan Army forces clashed in a number of large land battles near the town of Cuito Cuanavale. The town was shelled by SADF 155mm artillery for several weeks, and largely destroyed. The SADF failed, however, to capture the town and the stalemate led eventually to negotiations and the signing of the New York Accords in December 1988. These agreements produced an SADF withdrawal from Angola (*Operation Displace*), the implementation of UN Resolution 435 and the independence of Namibia in March 1990.

- 69 The above operations all targeted either SWAPO or Angolan Army facilities. In another SADF raid, the South African Air Force (SAAF) attacked an African National Congress (ANC) camp at Nova Catengue on 14 March 1979. Essentially a transit facility, the camp housed large numbers of recent exiles (the 1976 Soweto outflow). While the facility was severely damaged in the raid, casualties amounted to three dead (including one Cuban) and fourteen wounded. Casualties were comparatively low because advance intelligence had been received and the camp had been evacuated.

The economic and human costs of the Angolan War

- 70 In addition to destroying Angolan towns in the south of the country, the SADF targeted economic installations in Angola, especially its petroleum facilities. These included attacks on the Luanda oil refinery on 30 November 1981, the storage tanks in the port of Namibia in June 1988 and those at Huambo in 1987. On 21 May 1985, a Recce 4 commando unit was intercepted attempting to sabotage the Cabinda Gulf Oil complex and the commander, Captain Wynand du Toit, was captured. Road bridges and the Benguela railway were also frequently sabotaged.
- 71 The effects of the war on Angolan civilians were devastating. UNICEF has estimated that, between 1980 and 1985, at least 100 000 Angolans died, mainly as a result of war-related famine. The cumulative effect of the battering of the economy and social infrastructure in the 1980–85 period produced an even greater escalation in the death rate after 1985. Between 1981 and 1988, again according to UNICEF, 333 000 Angolan children died of unnatural causes. The Angolan government estimated the economic cost of war damage to be US\$12 billion in 1987 alone.
- 72 The environmental effects of the war on the south (and in the Caprivi) were devastating. Both forest lands and wildlife were destroyed. This rape of the environment was sanctioned by the SADF. In the early 1980s, covert front companies were established to facilitate trading in rare woods like teak and kiaat, and in ivory, skins and diamonds. A safari company was also set up through which the hunting of big game was regulated. Ostensibly, these activities were undertaken to raise secret funds for UNITA, but they led quickly to widespread and high-level corruption.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S MILITARY CAMPAIGN IN ANGOLA BETWEEN 1977 AND 1988 LED TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON A VAST SCALE. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE CAMPAIGN CONSTITUTED A SYSTEMATIC

PATTERN OF ABUSE, WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE FORMER CABINET, THE STATE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THESE INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR MEMBERS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE AFORESAID GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

■ POLICE AND MILITARY COUNTER-INSURGENCY OPERATIONS IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The third specific incident that I remember is chasing a SWAPO unit commander or political commissar. We picked up his spoor and chased him for two days ... this was typical of the style of contacts that I was involved in. Five Casspirs, fifty men chasing one or two people running on foot. We finally did catch him, hiding in a kraal. The unit commander ... lined up a bunch of Koevoet people next to the hut he was in and drove over the hut with the Casspir. Everyone then fired into the rubble ... The SWAPO commissar was pulled out of the rubble and given to me to keep alive. He had been shot in the arm and the leg and had been driven over ... because he was a commissar, he would have been carrying a handgun. John Deegan [acting unit commander] started to interrogate him while I was putting up a drip. The purpose of this interrogation was to find the handgun ... We never found the handgun because John shot him in the head out of frustration while I was still attending to him. The incident and the face of this SWAPO commissar haunted me in dreams for years. (Lance Corporal Sean Callaghan, amnesty application, December 1996.)

[The SWAPO commissar] was a veteran ... he would have been an excellent source of information but he was so fucked ... each team had an army medic and Sean started patching up this guy while I was busy interrogating him ... and he was just going "kandi shishi", even at this stage he was denying everything ... and I just started going into this uncontrollable fucking rage and he started going floppy and I remember thinking "how dare you, I'm talking to you, how dare you ignore me...why don't you answer me" and then this is what I was told afterwards. I had my 9mm in my hand and I was just pushing my way through the team ... and apparently what happened was I started ripping ... Sean had put a drip into the guy's arm and started plugging the bullet hole to get him together ... he would have pulled through ... I ripped all the bandages, the drip off the guy, pulled out my 9mm, put the barrel between his eyes and fucking boom I executed him ... and they told me afterwards I was just screaming, I was raging ... (Warrant Officer John Deegan's account of this incident to the Commission's conscript hearing, Cape Town, June 1997.)

- 73 Three factors are central to the human rights situation in South West Africa (Namibia) in the Commission's mandate period. The first is the fact that the South African presence in the territory was a violation of international law, and that the South African administration and its courts and security forces had no right in international law to carry out any actions affecting the South West African people. If this did not apply for the full Commission mandate period, it certainly applied from October 1966 when the UN General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over South West Africa, a decision affirmed by the Security Council in 1969. In June 1971, the International Court of Justice in The Hague declared South Africa's presence in South West Africa illegal and demanded its withdrawal. It further declared invalid all South Africa's acts on behalf of or concerning South West Africa. The Commission's analysis of the situation in South West Africa is informed by this position in international law, from which it follows that all security-related actions initiated by the South African and South West African administrations and their security forces were those of illegal and illegitimate authorities.
- 74 The second factor relates to the fact that, for twenty-three years, these authorities were engaged in a guerrilla war against an indigenous liberation movement whose armed struggle was legitimated both in terms of international law and by the overwhelming moral support of the international community.
- 75 The third factor relates to the sheer enormity of the topic. South Africa's occupation of South West Africa would merit a separate truth commission of its own.
- 76 In the account that follows, emphasis will be laid on two particular factors – torture and extra-judicial killings. In regard to the latter, the focus will be on the bounty or 'cash-for-corpses' policy employed by the police counter-insurgency unit, *Koevoet* (crowbar). Where possible, reference will be made to those human rights violations and amnesty applications pertaining to South West Africa that were submitted to the Commission. These were, however, relatively few: only one human rights violations submission and thirteen amnesty applications were received.

Changes in human rights violations over time

- 77 The pattern of human rights violations in South West Africa varied over time, in accordance with the level and nature of resistance to the South African occupation. This pattern may be periodised as follows:

1960–1966

- 78 During this period, there was little organised resistance to South Africa's occupation and no armed struggle. Even so, the apartheid system was enforced with even more rigidity in South West Africa than in South Africa itself and the human rights of the people of South West Africa were constantly and systematically violated, in particular through the system of contract migrant labour. During the 1960s and 1970s, up to two-thirds of South West African workers were subjected to this form of labour control and coercion. Contract workers were required to leave their families in the 'homelands' and to sign contracts that rendered them powerless to choose their employer or to negotiate a wage. Those who resigned from their jobs or broke their contracts were liable to deportation back to the 'homeland'. This was a systematic violation of basic human rights which established a system of quasi-slavery. It also served to depress wages and prevent labour organisation. While modifications were made to the system after the 1971–72 contract workers' strike, the system remained in place until 1977.

1966–1971

- 79 The second period falls between 1966 and 1971. In 1966, SWAPO launched an armed struggle, although only a few incidents took place in this period, mainly in the Caprivi Strip. In this period, the SAP were in direct control of the counter-insurgency effort. A number of leading members of SWAPO involved in this early phase of the armed struggle were captured and put on trial in Pretoria (see below).

1971–1974

- 80 The third period falls between 1971 and 1974. The Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice in 1971, that South Africa's presence in South West Africa was illegal, triggered a contract workers' strike which involved between 13 000 and 20 000 workers. Subsequent political tensions in Owamboland in the north, where most South West Africans live, resulted in considerable police activity and public floggings carried out by bantustan officials (see below).

1974–1980

- 81 The fourth period falls between 1974 and 1980. This was a period of militarisation. SWAPO established camps and bases in the south of Angola after Angola became independent in 1975 and began operations along the Angola–South West Africa

border. In the same year, the SADF took over counter-insurgency responsibility from the SAP and established an infrastructure of bases throughout the 'operational areas' of Owamboland, Kavango and Caprivi. Human rights abuses by South African troops during this period escalated considerably. One consequence was a dramatic increase in the outflow of refugees, particularly from Owamboland.

1980–1988

- 82 The fifth period falls between 1980 and 1988. From around 1980, the nature of the war began to change. South Africa increasingly relied on *Koevoet*, a newly-formed special police counter-insurgency unit, which became notorious for its human rights abuses during its pursuit operations. A process of indigenising the war effort began and South West Africans were recruited and conscripted into a South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF), a largely locally-staffed military force which took on much of the burden of the war, although it remained under firm South African control at the senior officer level. A South West African Police force (SWAPOL) was established in a similar manner.

1989 onwards

- 83 In 1989, elections were held under UN supervision. South West Africa became independent (as Namibia) the following year and all South African police and military forces were withdrawn.

Categories of abuses

- 84 Human rights abuses in South West Africa fell into the following categories.

Political repression and imprisonment

- 85 While SWAPO was never banned in South West Africa, many of its leaders were harassed, put on trial and imprisoned, either in South Africa or in South West Africa, despite the illegality of South Africa's presence and actions in the territory. South African legislation, including the Terrorism Act of 1967 (introduced specifically to try SWAPO leaders), the Internal Security Act (extended to South West Africa in 1976) and the Riotous Assemblies Act, were employed for these purposes.
- 86 Following the launch of the armed struggle in 1966, thirty-seven SWAPO activists and leaders were arrested and taken to Pretoria where they were held under the

Suppression of Communism Act until the Terrorism Act was passed. This legislation was made retrospective and the SWAPO activists were then tried under its terms. All of the accused reported being tortured, mainly through beatings and electric shocks. All thirty-seven were convicted. Twenty were sentenced to life imprisonment – nine, including Mr Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, to twenty years, while the others received lesser sentences. The trial was condemned as illegal by the UN Security Council. The long-term prisoners were sent to Robben Island to join South Africa's political prisoners.

- 87 After the Pretoria trial, most SWAPO political trials were held in South West Africa. However, until 1984, many of those convicted continued to be sent to Robben Island, where they were kept in the same dehumanising conditions as the South Africans, and sometimes subjected to additional abuses and beatings. By 1984, all South West African political prisoners on Robben Island had been released or transferred to gaols in South West Africa.
- 88 In contrast to the South African situation, no death sentence or judicial execution of a South West African was ever carried out for offences of a political nature. Death sentences were occasionally imposed but were always set aside for fear of incurring the further wrath of the international community.
- 89 Political repression in South West Africa was acute. The 1980 Ida Jimmy case, for example, provides a particular example of severe ill treatment. In 1980, the chairperson of SWAPO Women's Council in South West Africa, Ms Ida Jimmy, was sentenced to seven years in prison (subsequently reduced to five) for calling for support for SWAPO guerrillas at a public meeting. Although seven months pregnant, she was kept in solitary confinement in Windhoek Central Prison. Her baby boy was taken away from her at the age eighteen months, and given to the care of relatives. The boy died a year later. Ms Jimmy was refused permission to attend the funeral.
- 90 As in South Africa, the authorities restricted the movements of opponents through bannings or house arrest. One such victim was the acting president of SWAPO inside South West Africa, Mr Nathaniel Maxuillili, who was banned to Kuisebmond township in Walvis Bay for a seventeen-year period between 1968 and 1985, and prohibited from speaking at meetings or from being quoted by others.

Detention and torture

- 91 Detention without trial was widely used by the South African authorities in South West Africa, mainly for purposes of interrogation, which almost invariably and routinely involved torture. Much of this was carried out under emergency proclamations, notably Proclamation AG26 of 1978 (which provided for indefinite detention) and AG9 of 1977, which became more and more severe and allowed police and soldiers to detain people for up to thirty days without reference to any higher authority. In 1983, the SADF revealed that it had detained a total of 2 883 people during the 1977–83 period, while the security police disclosed that they had detained 2 624 people during the same period.
- 92 Mass detentions in the ‘operational areas’ were common. Many detainees were held secretly and without access to lawyers or relatives for long periods, sometimes years. Such conditions provided opportunities for prolonged abuse and torture. Torture was also used as a method of intimidation by police and soldiers in the war zone, and as a way of extracting ‘operational’ information quickly. Torture methods reported in the South West African press, in affidavits by South West Africans and as a result of international human rights investigations included beatings, sleep deprivation, drowning, strangling and suffocation, suspension from ropes or poles, burnings (sometimes over open fires), electric shocks and being held against the hot exhausts of military vehicles.
- 93 SWAPO’s Administrative Secretary in South West Africa, Mr Axel Johannes, was a victim of repeated detentions, torture and arrests. He was detained in 1964, 1966, 1973, 1974, 1975 (twice), 1977, 1978 (twice) and 1979 (twice). During these periods, he reported being repeatedly tortured and was often held *incommunicado* and in solitary confinement. After his final detention in 1979, restrictions were placed on his movements and he was prohibited from leaving the township of Katutura. He went into exile in 1980.
- 94 Captain Pat King of the South African Security Branch was charged in 1987 with the murder of detainee Mr Johannes Kakuva, who had been killed seven years previously. The trial followed international protests as a result of an official enquiry held in 1983, which had accepted the evidence of seven men detained with Kakuva that they had been assaulted and tortured. The men said that they and Kakuva had been beaten with sticks and subjected to electric shocks on King’s orders, resulting in Kakuva’s death. The trial ended with the acquittal of Captain King.

The case of the Chetequera/Mariental detainees

An estimated 200 to 300 South West African refugees in Angola were captured by the SADF during the raid on Chetequera in 1978 and taken to Oshakati military base, where many were tortured. A year later, UN officials published the names of 130 people whom they said were still being detained, but this was met with a denial by the South African authorities. The position of these detainees was discussed at an SSC meeting on 23 April 1979 where it was noted that 119 of them were still being held at a camp (Keikanachab) near Mariental, a small town south of Windhoek. Of these, three were Angolan citizens while the rest were described as "Wambo's uit Suidwes-Afrika" (Owambos from South West Africa). Six were said to be members of MPLA, while the rest were described as "SWAPO-lede en geharde terroriste" (SWAPO members and hardened terrorists).

The problem the SSC faced was what to do with them. They could not, in the SSC's view, be regarded as prisoners-of-war "omdat daar nie 'n staat van oorlog bestaan nie" (because a state of war did not exist). It was also noted that they were no longer providing any useful information and could not, due to their circumstances, be used as witnesses. In short, the document concluded "hulle het geen verdere nut vir die owerhede nie" (they were of no further use to the government). Even so, the meeting decided not to release the detainees, largely for fear of the propaganda SWAPO would make out of the incident and because the six MPLA members could be used "vir moontlike onderhandelings en ander diplomatieke doeleindes" (for possible negotiations and other diplomatic purposes).

The plight of these detainees was raised by the International Red Cross in 1980 which resulted a short while later in the release of a few of the prisoners – a full two years after their forcible abduction. However, in the case of the other 124, the status quo persisted for another five and a half years. Eventually, in 1984, three South West African bishops, supported by relatives of the detainees, brought an urgent application in the Windhoek Supreme Court for the detainees to be released. The court hearing was prohibited by the South African State President PW Botha, using powers under the Defence Act (section 103 ter (4)). They were, nonetheless, released in two batches in May and October 1984. They reported having being tortured and assaulted and forced to carry out hard labour. For close on seven years, they had been denied family visits and access to lawyers.

THE ABDUCTION OF ANGOLAN CITIZENS AND SOUTH WEST AFRICAN REFUGEES FROM ANGOLAN SOIL, THEIR TORTURE AT THE OSHAKATI MILITARY BASE AND THEIR FORCIBLE DETENTION AT MARIENTAL WHERE THEY WERE DENIED BASIC RIGHTS AND FORCED TO UNDERTAKE HARD LABOUR AMOUNT, IN THE COMMISSION'S VIEW, TO ILL TREATMENT AND DEPORTATION TO SLAVE LABOUR AND, AS SUCH, TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. FOR THIS, THE COMMISSION FINDS PRIME MINISTER BJ VORSTER, MINISTER OF DEFENCE, PW BOTHA, AND THE CHIEF OF THE SADF, GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN, TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PERPETRATION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE CASE OF THE MARIENTAL DETAINEES. IT ALSO REGARDS AS INDIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE (*DOLUS EVENTUALIS*) ALL THOSE PRESENT AT THE SSC MEETING OF 23 APRIL 1979.

- 95 The extent of the torture of detainees and civilians caught up in military operations has been documented by numerous bodies:
- a In 1981, a delegation from the British Council visited South West Africa and conducted extensive interviews with church and community representatives. They reported that torture and intimidation were widespread. Their documentation of more than twenty individual cases included incidents where corpses of alleged guerrillas were dragged through villages behind military vehicles.
 - b A 1982 visit by a delegation led by Archbishop Hurley from the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (Bishops' Conference) detailed further cases of torture, based on interviews with 180 South West Africans. The Archbishop was subsequently charged under the Police Act for making this report and South African and South West African newspapers were threatened with prosecution if they published his statements. The charges were dropped after international protests.
 - c After 1982, the South West African Bar Council began to speak out about torture and assaults. It expressed shock and concern about the abuse of detainees, rapes and deaths in detention and the immunity and secrecy under which 'security force' members operated. It noted that detainees were often kept in makeshift corrugated-iron detention cells in the blazing sun and that, despite the many reported cases of torture, very few incidents were ever brought to court.
 - d In 1989 a Dutch group, acting on behalf of the inter-denominational faith group Kairos, undertook a mission to South West Africa to investigate torture allegations specifically relating to the activities of *Koevoet*.
- 96 The systematic pattern of torture, which was institutionalised as an operational military and policing technique, resulted in few prosecutions or official efforts to

eradicate the practice. Indeed, where military and police officials were found guilty, they were often given derisory sentences. In a 1984 case, two SWATF members were each fined R50 after being found guilty of assaulting sixty-three-year-old Mr Ndara Kapitango, whom they roasted over an open fire, causing extensive injuries. In another case in 1983, two *Koevoet* members were given similarly small fines after the death of a detainee, Mr Kadmimu Katanga, whom they had beaten with an ox yoke.

- 97 In general, police and soldiers could escape prosecution under section 103 of the Defence Act, which granted immunity to members of the security forces for any acts carried out under operational conditions, providing they were done “in good faith”. South African State President PW Botha invoked this clause twice; first in 1986 to stop the trial of four soldiers accused of beating a detainee, Mr Frans Uapota, to death; and again in 1988 to stop the trial of six South African soldiers charged with the murder of SWAPO leader Mr Immanuel Shifidi, who was assassinated at a public meeting.

Extra-judicial executions and killings

- 98 The powers granted to security force personnel, and the secrecy in which they operated, created conditions for summary executions and killings for which they did not have to account. Usually, inquests into deaths were not held in operational areas. When they were, they were usually brief and inadequate, and responsibility was commonly attributed to “persons unknown”. It was common practice for the security forces to leave bodies where they lay or to bury them in shallow graves at the place of death.
- 99 *Koevoet* in particular kept no proper or official records of the identities, numbers or whereabouts of people it killed. It seems that the unit was only really interested in keeping scorecards of those it killed for bounty. These practices were confirmed by journalists who were allowed to travel with security force units, as well as by court testimonies by security force members. At the height of the war, in the early to mid-1980s, *Koevoet* alone claimed a kill rate of around 300 to 500 people a year, for which its members were paid a bounty per corpse. Rough ‘body counts’ were periodically issued by military headquarters, but there was never any independent confirmation as to whether these figures were accurate or whether the victims were civilians or SWAPO fighters.

- 100 The South African authorities refused to accord prisoner-of-war status to captured SWAPO combatants, despite the 1977 Protocol 1 to the Geneva Conventions, which extended the provisions of the Conventions to anti-colonial struggles and wars of national liberation and self-determination.
- 101 While combatants were initially put on trial and imprisoned (see above), there is considerable evidence that, as the war progressed, South African security forces, especially *Koevoet*, resorted increasingly to summary executions of captured combatants. The payment of bounty served as an incentive for the extra-judicial murder of captives. The representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross in South West Africa said in 1981 that “it simply does not happen in any conflict or battle that you have a clash with 200 people and forty-five killed and no prisoners or wounded are taken”³.
- 102 In other cases, captured combatants were kept in makeshift detention centres, such as the camp at Osiri, 160 kilometres north of Windhoek, where they were interrogated and often tortured. Reporters found that Osiri detainees were held in tiny corrugated-iron cages and were always blindfolded in the presence of their interrogators. Though periods of detention were limited to thirty days, detention orders could be renewed indefinitely, running into months and even years.
- 103 After the formation of *Koevoet*, it became standard practice to ‘persuade’ captured guerrillas to ‘turn’ and become *askaris* assisting *Koevoet* in the conflict against their former comrades. This was a practice pioneered by the Rhodesian Selous Scouts, the archetypal model for *Koevoet* and the unit within which most of *Koevoet*’s founding members had learnt their counter-insurgency skills. There is considerable evidence that the process of ‘turning’ was accompanied by torture and that the price of non-compliance was summary execution. Once ‘turned’, these *askaris* and other *Koevoet* members are said to have carried out atrocities while disguised as SWAPO fighters in order to discredit the liberation movement, as the Selous Scouts had done during the Rhodesian war.
- 104 One such incident occurred at the village of Oshipanda near Oshikuku in June 1983. A group of armed black men in camouflage uniforms raided the kraal of Mr Hubertus Mateus Neporo, a modestly prosperous shop-owner who was suspected of giving financial backing to SWAPO. They ransacked the kraal, stealing cash, clothes and a radio, and smashing the family vehicle. Neporo was away that night, but the rest of his family and other occupants of the kraal were lined up against a wall and shot. Neporo lost his wife, children, mother, brother and

3 *The Star*, 18 August 1981.

friends – in all, eight civilians were murdered. The official line from the police, media and magistracy was that they were killed by ‘terrorists’. However, one kraal resident survived and identified the attacker as a certain Nakale from the Koevoet base at Okalongo. Within months of this incident, Koevoet members were reported to be boasting of this successful false-flag operation.

- 105 In an amnesty application, SADF conscript Mr Kevin Hall [AM1383/96] provides an insight into the brutal nature of the conflict with SWAPO as well as the routine use of torture. In May/June 1975, he was stationed at the Mapungeerela base in northern South West Africa. He recounts an incident where he was sent out on a seven-day patrol with instructions “to eliminate or arrest any terrorists”. On the first night of the patrol, the group was “attacked by unknown forces and came under heavy gunfire”. A lengthy gunfight ensued. In the morning, several bodies were discovered, as well as three badly wounded combatants. According to Hall:

I realised that none of them could survive and to save them any further suffering I shot and killed the three of them. When I shot them, I turned my head away as I could not bear their suffering any more.

- 106 Hall’s action in killing the three was a gross violation of human rights for which he applied for amnesty. His commanding officer, whom he names but whom the Commission cannot identify as he has not applied for amnesty, is likewise accountable. So too is the command structure of the SADF at the time.
- 107 A day or two later, while on the same patrol, the group came across four unarmed “terrorists” and arrested them. On their return to base, the four were placed in a hole in the centre of the base “approximately eight foot square by about seven foot deep” which served “as a place of safekeeping of all arrested terrorists”. Hall continued:

They were the only ones in the hole. Whilst I was guarding them some of the troops poured boiling water over their heads; another troop of whom I cannot remember the name jumped into the hole and cut off the left ear and centre finger of the right hand of one of the [still living] prisoners.

- 108 Amnesty applicant Captain Eugene Fourie [AM3767/96] was a member of the Security Branch of the SAP stationed in Oshakati between June 1980 and January 1982. His application covers the death of a “SWAPO terrorist” whom he was interrogating. Fourie describes how, after administering electric shocks,

the victim "*het op 'n stadium inmekaar gesak en sy bewysson verloor en hy is toe agterna oorlede*" (collapsed at one stage and lost consciousness and later died).

- 109 Former security policeman Warrant Officer Paul Francis Erasmus [AM3690/96] served in Owamboland in 1981. He applied for amnesty for the murder of a suspected SWAPO medical officer and for "suspects who were tortured on a regular basis by myself and other SB [Security Branch] members with the full knowledge and consent of commanding officers".
- 110 Another former member of the Security Branch based at Oshakati, Warrant Officer John Deegan, gave a lengthy statement to the Commission on his experiences with the SAP and *Koevoet* in South West Africa and Angola. He describes visiting the Security Branch offices in Oshakati in January 1981 where a round-the-clock interrogation session had been underway for about a week.

We would work in shifts and the prisoners were kept awake, beaten, shouted at, deprived of food and water and toilet facilities and electric shocks were applied ...

- 111 He describes how, during this particular session, the base came under rocket attack. The interrogators reacted by severely assaulting the teacher they were questioning at the time. Deegan joined the assault. Later that night the victim died.

When I was told about his death I was scared and realised that I was a murderer now, but the official lack of response to the incident made me realise that this had happened in reality before; no charges were brought against us and no official inquiry was ever held. Since then even to this day I have vivid nightmares about this man.

Killings, intimidation and harassment of civilians

- 112 Civilians were routinely harassed, intimidated and beaten by security forces in the operational areas, especially by *Koevoet* members in pursuit of SWAPO guerrillas. Many were killed during such operations, either by accident (caught in crossfire) or deliberately. Sometimes the human rights abuses involved detention under emergency proclamations, although it was often difficult to determine when the emergency regulations had been invoked as, under their provisions, any member of the security forces could summarily detain any South West African. Often intimidation happened as a result of a belief that the local population were

assisting guerrillas and knew their whereabouts, although retribution against suspected SWAPO supporters was also a factor. The Bishops' Conference reported in 1982:

The Security Forces stop at nothing to force information out of people. They break into homes, beat up residents, shoot people, steal and kill cattle and often pillage stores and tea rooms. When the tracks of SWAPO guerrillas are discovered by the Security Forces, the local people are in danger. Harsh measures are intensified. People are blindfolded, taken from their homes and left beaten up and even dead by the roadside. Women are often raped ... There is no redress because reporting irregularities or atrocities to commanders is considered a dangerous or fruitless exercise⁴.

- 113 In 1986, in a 'false-flag operation' that went awry, a group of recces placed a bomb near a bank in Oshakati and detonated it. The intention was to make it look like a SWAPO operation in order to justify harsh measures planned against the organisation. The bomb killed one bank employee who turned out to be the wife of a member of the same Recce detachment. No charges were ever brought.
- 114 During 1973, following mass detentions in Owamboland, the SAP began to hand over alleged SWAPO supporters to the bantustan authorities. After cursory hearings, the victims were publicly flogged with *epokolos*, the central ribs of *makalani* palms. Both women and men were subjected to these 'traditional' punishments, which resulted in extensive cuts and bruising, as well as public humiliation.
- 115 Dusk-to-dawn curfews were imposed on much of northern South West Africa for most of the duration of the war, although the application varied from time to time and from place to place. This was a major grievance of the local population, as the curfews caused considerable disruption of day-to-day life, and also gave rise to many killings and assaults as troops and police tried to enforce restrictions on movement. In some areas, security force members were under orders to shoot on sight during curfew hours, and there are many reported incidents of civilians being shot while going to the toilet, seeking medical attention or looking for livestock after dark.

Special Operations K Unit of the South African security police (Koevoet)

The crowbar which prises terrorists out of the bushveld like nails from rotten wood. (Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange.)

⁴ Kairos report on Namibia.

We were basically automatons. We would just kill. That's how we got our kicks. We were adrenaline junkies. (John Deegan, 1997.)

- 116 The police unit *Koevoet*, as noted above, was responsible for many human rights abuses in South West Africa. The unit was set up by Brigadier Hans Dreyer of the SAP Security Branch in June 1979. While its officers were mainly white South African policemen, the unit recruited mostly from the local black South West African population and eventually numbered about 1 000. Cast in the mould of the Portuguese *Flechas* and Rhodesian Selous Scouts, *Koevoet* was established as a mobile unit, using specially designed Casspirs (armoured personnel carriers) to gather intelligence, track guerrillas and then kill them.
- 117 *Koevoet* was established as a consequence of a failed attempt to create a South West African surrogate force along the lines of RENAMO (the Mozambique National Resistance). This project, known as *Operation Vanguard*, involved the training of local Owambos at Fort Dopper in the Caprivi but failed when it could make no inroads in Owamboland because of overwhelming local support for SWAPO. Once *Vanguard* was abandoned, a small group of locals, many 'turned' ex-SWAPO fighters (known locally as *makakunyanas* which means literally blood suckers) and former members of the Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA), were selected and trained as the nucleus of *Koevoet*. Over time, other groups were established, each made up of ten to fifteen *makakunyanas* under a white officer with considerable counter-insurgency experience. At its largest, *Koevoet* comprised approximately 250 white officers and 750–800 Owambos.
- 118 Speaking in Parliament in Cape Town in 1984, in the only public debate ever permitted on the activities of this unit, Minister le Grange explained the reasons for its formation:

As ... the ordinary conventional methods of warfare appeared to be ineffective in combating terrorism in Owambo and the rest of South West Africa, it was decided after consultation between the SADF ... and the SAP to form a special unit to gather information and make it possible for the security police to track down and wipe out terrorist gangs ... [W]ith the passage of time it became clear that the initial basis on which the unit had come into existence, and according to which it would transmit all information it obtained about terrorist movements to the combat units of the security forces while the latter would carry out the pursuit operations, gave rise to problems in practice ... the unit in due course began to operate as a combat unit⁵.

⁵ Hansard, 2 May 1984.

119 *Koevoet* was in many respects an archetypal counter-revolutionary unit, a means of fighting fire with fire. Its top echelon comprised battle-hardened veterans of the Rhodesian war. Amongst these were Dreyer, Colonels Eugene de Kock and Eric Winter, Captains Sakkie van Zyl and 'Beachball' Vorster, Lieutenant Frans Conradie and Warrant Officer 'Snakes' Greyling. *Koevoet* soon gained a reputation for brutality, largely because of its methods of interrogating local people, which invariably involved torture, and for the way its members careered around the operational areas in Casspirs, laying down heavy fire, flattening fences, driving straight through fields of crops, and even people's homes, whenever they suspected a guerrilla contact.

120 In his amnesty application, Lance Corporal Sean Callaghan [AM4026/96] described his experiences on attachment to *Koevoet*:

A Koevoet team spent a week in the bush and a week back in camp. I think I was in a contact every week. There was a scoreboard and a map in the operations room in the Koevoet base and on the weeks that we were not in the bush, we were checking the scores of the teams that were in the bush. Koevoet was much more effective than SADF units because of its bounty policy.

121 *Koevoet's* operational mode involved monetary rewards for killings, captures and the discovery of arms on a graduated scale which rated and rewarded killings most highly. Corpses were also used for purposes of spreading terror and intimidating villagers. Callaghan described another incident:

I can remember ... loading bodies onto and off Casspirs. After a contact bodies were tied onto spare tyres, bumpers, mudguards and were left there until we got back to the base camp, until they could be unloaded. This could be days of driving through thick bush, and the skin could be worn right off the bodies.

122 Space does not permit a detailed description of the violence and torture used by *Koevoet*. However, the Kairos report contains extensive documentation on physical beatings, the destruction of property, sexual assault and various forms of torture (such as solitary confinement, hooding, electric shock, submersion in water, mock burials, mock executions, roasting over fire, and sleep, food and water deprivation) as a means of coercion, intimidation and the extraction of information. Rape was common, and women and girls of all ages were victims. In the Kairos documentation is an account of the rape of an eighty-year-old woman by a *Koevoet* member, and one referring to the rape of a four-year-old girl.

The case of Jona Hamukwaya

Mr Jona Hamukwaya was a thirty-year-old teacher in western Kavango province when he was detained by Koevoet on 18 November 1982. He died the same day.

Hamukwaya was arrested by a Koevoet team headed by Sergeant Norman Abrahams. Abrahams claimed that Hamukwaya was initially taken to a river close to the school from which he had been taken, and briefly interrogated. He was then taken to a police station at Nkurenkuru where, according to Koevoet members, he slipped on the top step of a seven-step stairway and hit the concrete floor with his head. Though he appeared initially to be unhurt, some twenty minutes later, according to Abrahams, he started "making gurgling sounds ... I tried to give him chest massage. I was under the impression that he was having a heart attack ... then I found that he had already expired."⁶

Hamukwaya's wife and other villagers gave a different version. They claimed that, while washing clothes in the river, they heard sounds of beating and screams which Mrs Hamukwaya recognised as coming from her husband. When she and others tried to go to his assistance, they were prevented from doing so by three Koevoet members.

Hamukwaya was a prominent community member and his case received considerable prominence and was taken up by a number of groups. The services of pathologists from Groote Schuur hospital in Cape Town were acquired and the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, Denis Hurley, criticised Koevoet for atrocities committed against the civilian population of northern South West Africa, specifically citing this case. For this he was charged with the offence of "falsely accusing the police".

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

6 Denis Herbstein and John Evenson, *The Devils are among us: The war for Namibia*, London: Zed Books, 1989, p. 91.

7 Kairos report, pp. 26–7.

8 Herbstein and Evenson, p. 91.

Despite this ruling, no charges were ever brought. Ms Hamukwaya sued the security forces for compensation and was paid R58 000 in an out-of-court settlement. The charges against Archbishop Hurley were dropped.

- 123 In operational terms, *Koevoet* was a highly effective unit. It is said to have achieved a killing ratio of some one to twenty-five. According to an article by Mr Helmoed Heitman in *Armed Forces* (December/January 1984), in its first year of operations *Koevoet* lost twenty-three members and killed 511 “insurgents” – a killing ratio of one to forty-two.
- 124 A document supplied to the Commission by a one-time *Koevoet* member gives details of 1 666 “contacts” over a ten-year period by some 250 white former officers and is positive proof that the bounty system encouraged the killing of opponents and discouraged the taking of prisoners. Of these *Koevoet* members, fourteen were involved in more than one hundred contacts. One member, Warrant Officer L Kilino, notched up 221 contacts in which 346 people were killed and only twenty-three captured. For an unknown reason, this document did not include Eugene de Kock, who put his number of contacts at about 400.⁹ He gives no details of his killing rate but popular legend has it that it was the highest of all *Koevoet* operatives.
- 125 *In toto*, these fourteen officers were involved in 1 754 contacts in which 3 323 individuals were killed (an average of nearly two per contact) and only 104 prisoners were taken. The ratio of prisoners to fatalities was thus in the region of 1:32. Heitman describes as *Koevoet*’s “most successful single contact” an encounter in which “34 out of 34 insurgents”¹⁰ were killed.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE *KOEVOET* UNIT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PERPETRATION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA AND ANGOLA. THESE VIOLATIONS AMOUNTED TO A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SAP. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, THE SAP AND THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER ACCOUNTABLE. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE BOUNTY POLICY OF THE SAP, BY WHICH MEMBERS OF *KOEVOET* WERE MONETARILY REWARDED FOR CERTAIN OF THEIR ACTIONS, SERVED AS A POSITIVE INDUCEMENT FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING KILLING.

Pre-election events in 1989 and the assassination of Anton Lubowski

- 126 The New York Accords signed on 22 December 1988 set in motion the implementation of UN Resolution 435 adopted ten years earlier. Actual implementation by

⁹ In his book, *A Long Night's Damage*.

¹⁰ Heitman, p. 12.

a United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) was set to commence on 1 April 1989, culminating in an election seven months later. The agreement also provided for a cease-fire, a phased withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops from Angola and South West Africa/Namibia respectively (to be completed only after the election), the dissolution of *Koevoet* and the deployment of both SWAPO guerrillas and South African forces to designated assembly points or bases.

- 127 With its acceptance of 435 and the end of the armed phase of the conflict, the South African government reverted to other methods – developing a multi-faceted effort to weaken and damage SWAPO and disrupt its electoral campaign. This took a number of forms.

Breach of the cease-fire agreement

- 128 The first of these was the breach of the cease-fire agreement. On 1 April, UN forces moved into South West Africa/Namibia to oversee the transition process. From that day on, both SWAPO and the South African forces were expected to abide by the cease-fire and be confined to base. Instead, the launch of this new era was marred by a series of military battles across a 320-kilometre front in Owamboland. The fighting was prompted by what the South African government referred to as a large-scale SWAPO incursion from Angola. The new UN administration conceded to pressure from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha and permitted the redeployment of *Koevoet* and other military units into northern South West Africa/Namibia.
- 129 SWAPO denied the allegations of an incursion and claimed its guerrillas had crossed the border to link up with UNTAG elements who, in turn, were to deploy them to the bases in terms of the New York agreement.
- 130 Whatever the cause of the fighting, the consequence was the death of more than 300 South West Africans. While the South African authorities argued these were all SWAPO combatants, local residents claimed that some of the dead were civilians. There is *prima facie* evidence that some of the dead may have been summarily executed as many of the victims had single bullet holes to the back of the head. It is possible that some or many of these were SWAPO prisoners shot on the day they were scheduled for release. This suspicion is expressed in the statement of Sean Callaghan:

One of the real questions I have in my mind is what happened to these people when Koevoet pulled out. My suspicion is that they were assassinated ... I further suspect that when Koevoet went on their last killing rampage, breaking

the UN cease-fire in April 1989, that these prisoners were killed at the same time. The reason I think this is because it was their last opportunity to get rid of them. I can't believe they let them all go free.

131 The Commission has not been able to verify this suspicion.

Operations Heyday and Victor

132 A second dimension to the South African government's manipulation of the election took the form of covert disinformation campaigns. Secret funds amounting to R185,5 million were made available and used both to promote the electoral chances of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and to damage those of SWAPO. This was a multi-departmental effort involving the SADF, security police, National Intelligence Agency, Department of Foreign Affairs and Department of Information.

133 *Operation Heyday* was the SADF's contribution to the campaign, and was allocated R125 million – 70 per cent of the total. Run by Brigadier Ferdi van Wyk, it involved gathering intelligence on SWAPO members and supporters for use in disinformation campaigns, intimidating SWAPO's supporters, disrupting SWAPO's election meetings and so on.

134 Another component of the SADF's contribution was a sophisticated media centre run by Major Nico Basson of the South African Army Troop Information Unit. Set up on the authority of the then chiefs of the SADF and army, Generals Geldenhuys and Liebenberg, it operated in civilian guise from an up-market Windhoek hotel. Basson's Africa Communications Project became the first point of reference for the foreign media and UNTAG officials.

135 *Operation Victor* was the security police's contribution, to which R36,5 million was allocated. Run by Brigadier Hein Oliver, it involved the setting up of two front companies through which vehicles and vast amounts of office equipment were purchased. In order to make it appear as if one of these companies, the Namib Foundation, was supported by public contributions, a member of the security police was sent from Pretoria to Durban depositing amounts ranging from R1 to R10 000 in every bank *en route*.

136 A large proportion of the 450 vehicles purchased for the campaign were used by ex-*Koevoet* members to transport residents of Owamboland to the election meetings of parties opposed to SWAPO.

Aksie Kontra 435

- 137 There is also evidence that these funds were used to mobilise the white right wing, which formed an organisation called *Aksie Kontra 435*. One of its members, Mr Horst Klenz, applied for amnesty [AM0316/96] for his involvement, with two others, (Mr Leonard Veneendal and Mr Darryl Stopforth) in a grenade attack on an UNTAG regional office at Outjo in northern South West Africa during which a security guard was killed. Arrested soon afterwards, the three escaped back to South Africa when the police van in which they were travelling was ambushed by two white men (known to the Commission only by the pseudonyms of 'Archer' and 'Barker') who killed one of the police escorts¹¹.
- 138 All five were arrested in South Africa and held *incommunicado* under section 29 of the Terrorism Act. No charges were ever laid and they were all eventually released. During their detention the five were never interviewed by South West African authorities.

CCB covert operations

- 139 Another dimension involved the deployment of CCB members to South West Africa. Testimony in regard to the CCB operation was given to the Commission by the CCB's intelligence head, Colonel Christoffel Nel. He told the Commission:

Prior to the election in Namibia all the regions [of the CCB] were told to do something there. No matter where you worked. And this was a recipe for disaster. Because people who used to work in Europe now had all of a sudden to do covert work in Namibia. Where it normally takes about five years to get a covert system set up, these guys had to do this overnight. And it was not surprising when a kitbag full of limpet mines was found in northern Namibia with a Special Forces' golf membership card in it. It was not surprising to see [people] roaming the blocks around Anton Lubowski's house and still the confusion today about who shot him. Because it could have been anybody from any of these other regions. I was in region one [Botswana] and region four [Angola, Zambia and Tanzania] primarily, we were doing a job in northern Namibia. We had no interest, we had no knowledge of the area but we had to do it. Because we were told double up your production and you will get a production bonus.' (Section 29 hearing, 18 May 1998.)

- 140 There is evidence in the Commission's possession that the task of attacking the UNTAG facility was assigned to a senior CCB member. Captain Pieter Botes.

¹¹ The amnesty application of Klenz had not been heard at the time of writing.

whose area of CCB responsibility was Swaziland and Mozambique. He was assigned five operatives for the mission. As noted above, five detainees were held in South Africa in connection with the UNTAG case.

The killing of Anton Lubowski

- 141 On 12 September 1989, Advocate Anton Lubowski was shot dead outside his home in Windhoek. At the time, he was the secretary general of SWAPO and the highest-ranking white person in the organisation. One human rights violation submission and two amnesty applications were made to the Commission on this case. The human rights violation submission was made by Ms Molly Lubowski, the deceased's mother. She appealed to the Commission to identify her son's killers and to clear him of allegations that he was a South African MI agent.
- 142 Considerable attention was given to this case, including a trip to Namibia and meetings with the judicial authorities there. A vast amount of documentation was supplied to the Commission by various parties.
- 143 Neither of the amnesty applications – by Mr Derrick Nielsen [AM 4792/97] and Mr Horst Klenz [AM0316/96] – provided any evidence of substance. Nielsen originally applied for amnesty for the murders of both Lubowski and David Webster but supplied no details. Later he sent letters to the Commission. In one of these, dated 4 December 1996, he alleges that he supplied an AK-47 to Mr Ferdie Barnard for “a hit” and that three days later Barnard “bragged that they had got rid of a *kafferboetie*”. He said that the name Lubowski was mentioned. The Commission paid several visits to Pollsmoor prison where Nielsen was serving a sentence for a traffic offence in 1997, but he refused to discuss his application and divulged no further details. His main interest seemed to be to bargain information for a speedy release. Given these facts and the developments pertaining to the Webster murder, the Commission is of the view that little credence can be given to this application.
- 144 Horst Klenz's application contained only some hearsay information to the effect that SWAPO had killed Lubowski but contained no corroborating evidence.
- 145 In an amnesty application [AM1909/96] not directly related to this murder, Mr Kevin Trytsman, an associate of Ferdi Barnard, claimed that Barnard had told him that the CCB had committed the murder. This is also the view of Christoffel Nel as expressed in the quote cited earlier. Elsewhere in his hearing, Nel described the

Lubowski murder, along with the killings of Ms Dulcie September and Mr David Webster, as one of the CCB's "successes".

- 146 This was also the conclusion of Judge J Levy of the Namibian Supreme Court, who conducted a lengthy inquest into the case. In a 144-page judgement, Levy named Irish mercenary Donald Acheson as the assassin and, as accomplices, CCB members Joe Verster, Staal Burger, Abraham 'Slang' van Zyl, Calla Botha, Leon 'Chappies' Maree, Johan Niemoller jr, Captain Wouter Basson (aka Christo Britz), Ferdi Barnard, and Charles Wildschudt (formerly Neelse).

THE COMMISSION BELIEVES THERE ARE NO GROUNDS TO CONTRADICT JUDGE LEVY'S GENERAL FINDING PERTAINING TO THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE CCB AND ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONSPIRACY THAT LED TO THIS KILLING.

- 147 The evidence of the CCB's intelligence head, Christoffel Nel, is regarded by the Commission as important corroborating evidence of the CCB's role.
- 148 It is well established that the CCB was set up as a covert grouping with the purpose, among others, of killing political opponents. So, too, is the fact that prior to Lubowski's killing, such opponents were subject to extensive 'target identification' or intelligence-gathering operations. It has been established that Lubowski was the subject of such an exercise, an operation conducted by the West Front (South West Africa and Angola) section of the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) then headed by Brigadier Koos Louw. His deputy, Major Geoffrey Burton Price (aka Arthur Wilshire), was in charge of the South West African arena.
- 149 The actual eavesdropping operation was undertaken by Lieutenant Johan Frederich Verster, who provided this information to the Commission¹². Verster was still running the surveillance/eavesdropping exercise at the time Lubowski was shot. He told the Commission that he was shocked by the killing "because we were busy recruiting him and it was the wrong person ever to have shot". He was instructed to return to South Africa immediately after the shooting.

When I got into Pretoria I was summonsed to go and see Koos Louw ... and also Tolletjie Botha [head of DCC]. I explained to them what had happened ... They went to an office with me ... he [Botha] picked up the telephone and he phoned South West Africa, the head of the Prison Department and also the Police and he said we'll have to use the old boys network ... they phoned up the Brigadier in South West Africa and asked what happened, have they got Acheson? They said yes, they have ...

¹² Transcript, interview 4 July 1997, pp. 29–37.

- 150 This would seem to lend credence to the view expressed by Judge Levy that Acheson was the assassin. The Commission had some reservations about this view. Its investigation suggested that, although Acheson may have been the intended killer and was certainly in the vehicle used for the operation (probably the driver as he had hired the vehicle, a red Toyota Conquest), the fatal shots may have been fired by a passenger, who was probably his CCB handler for this operation. The Commission has been given the handler's name but lacks the corroborative evidence to name him as the killer.
- 151 In a statement to the police which is in the possession of the Commission, Acheson denied that he killed Lubowski. He confirmed that he had been recruited by Chappies Maree and Ferdi Barnard into an organisation which he later learnt was the CCB, and deployed to South West Africa, where he said that one of his tasks was to kill Ms Gwen Lister, the editor of *The Namibian* newspaper, regarded by South African security as a pro-SWAPO organ. He was to use "slow acting poison which could be injected into her toothpaste, placed on her Tampax or put into anything she would eat or drink ... she would keel over in forty-eight hours". Although he tried to fulfil his assignment, he said he was unable to access her household. After his release and return to South Africa, Acheson said he was paid R20 000 and US\$ 4 000 and sent to a hideout in the Greek islands where he remained for several months.
- 152 The allegation that Lubowski was a paid informer for MI was first voiced by General Magnus Malan in 1990 – in Parliament, where he enjoyed the protection of parliamentary privilege. Appearing before the Commission in 1997, he repeated the statement. One of Malan's sources for this allegation may have been Brigadier Koos Louw, the head of the West Front of DCC. When Louw was interviewed by investigators from the Commission, he claimed to be Lubowski's handler. He refused, however, to divulge the names of any other handlers and stated that all the documents pertaining to Lubowski had been destroyed.
- 153 Louw also stated that he paid a sum of R100 000 into Lubowski's account in June 1989 through Global Investments, an MI front company. Despite the alleged destruction of the Lubowski documents, Louw was able to produce the original microfiche of the bank clearing house that processed the payment. Further, Lubowski never used this money. This would seem strange given the claim put out by MI that he was in financial difficulties, a factor which they claim was used to recruit him.

- 154 The allegation is not universally accepted, even by some MI members themselves. Verster, who worked in Louw's DCC section, claims that the documentation was forged:

Signatures were made by Anton and that was carefully changed by artists inside Military Intelligence to make it look like Anton was an agent of ours. But the reports that I had given in, also the tapes and the conversations that I had listened to, was never (sic) that Anton was an agent. Because why, if Anton was an agent, why would Bleny (nickname for Army Intelligence, GS2), the heart of it, want all the tapes and information about him, and the inside stuff.

- 155 Verster's doubts were echoed by Major Nico Basson, who was running a disinformation campaign at the time of the killing. Basson's view is based on the fact that Lubowski had rejected his offer of R250 000 to leave SWAPO and join the DTA. Operative Clive Brink, who operated in South West Africa in the pre-election period, also expressed scepticism and stated that the paying of money into bank accounts to compromise recipients at a later date was a not unusual intelligence practice.
- 156 This latter view is shared by Mr Julian Knight, the Lubowski family lawyer, who argued that the payment was made either as an anticipatory cover-up, a pre-arranged alibi for the planned assassination, or fraudulently as part of a post-killing cover-up.
- 157 Finally, the Commission took note of two factors. The first is the lack of consensus on this issue among those connected to MI structures in South West Africa. The second is a question as to why the agency would have paid a considerable sum of money to someone they were on the point of killing.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ALLEGATION THAT MR ANTON LUBOWSKI WAS A PAID INFORMER OF SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE IS UNPROVEN AND THAT HE IS CLEARED OF THE ALLEGATION.

THE COMMISSION FURTHER FINDS THAT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SADF AND THE SAP IN THE FORMER SOUTH WEST AFRICA BETWEEN 1966 AND 1989 LED TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON A VAST SCALE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUCH ACTIVITIES CONSTITUTED A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE FORMER CABINET, THE SSC AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SAP AND SADF. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THESE INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR MEMBERS ARE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE AFORESAID GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

■ POLICE AND MILITARY COUNTER-INSURGENCY OPERATIONS IN ZAMBIA

- 158 *Operation Plathond* involved training by the SADF of a surrogate force for operations in Zambia in the early 1970s. At the Commonwealth heads of state meeting in 1981, the Zambian Foreign Minister claimed that between 500 and 600 Zambians were being trained in the Caprivi for operations inside Zambia. There is no evidence to support the claim. While there certainly were foreign nationals being trained in the Caprivi for military operations in the region, they are more likely to have been Mozambican members of RENAMO than large numbers of Zambian dissidents.
- 159 Zambia was a target of South African aggression. Between 1978 and 1980, the SADF undertook several conventional military operations inside Zambia, aimed largely at SWAPO installations in the Western Province. The first occurred after a SWAPO rocket and mortar attack on the SADF headquarters base at Katimo Mulilo in the eastern Caprivi in which ten servicemen were killed. The SADF responded by sending combat units 250 kilometres inside Zambia to attack SWAPO camps.
- 160 During the SADF's *Operations Safran* and *Rekstok* in 1979, SWAPO bases in Western Zambia were again attacked. The recurring nature of these attacks in 1979/80, and the civilian casualties they caused, as well as the disruption to rural life (burning of crops, poisoning of local water supplies, killing of cattle, mining of roads) led SWAPO to abandon its camps adjacent to the Caprivi and move further north. However, with Western Zambia under virtual occupation by two SADF battalions for nine months after Zimbabwe's independence in April 1980, and with malnutrition and starvation rife, the Zambian government eventually banned SWAPO from operating any military bases in the country – an early success for the strategy of counter-revolutionary warfare. What was also significant, and a lesson the SADF noted, was that this success owed more to the disruption to civilian life than to the damage inflicted on the military capacity of the 'enemy'.
- 161 With SWAPO now concentrating its military facilities in Angola, large-scale SADF operations inside Zambia largely ceased. One exception was the SAAF raid near Lusaka in May 1986.
- 162 Further information supplied to the Commission by the NIA revealed that, as of June 1985, four people were being held in Zambian prisons for spying for South Africa. Two were current members of the SADF, one a former SADF member and

the fourth a Caprivian working for South African MI. One of the SADF members was Sergeant Isaiah Moyo, a former member of the Rhodesian African Rifles, who had joined the SADF after 1980 and who was placed in Zambia by MI in about 1984/5. He was sentenced to twenty-five years for spying but released in 1991.

■ POLICE AND MILITARY COUNTER-INSURGENCY OPERATIONS IN PRE-INDEPENDENCE RHODESIA AND IN ZIMBABWE

- 163 From the time of the unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia in November 1965, the security situation in that country was a major concern of the South African government. With the launch of joint ANC/ZAPU¹³ military operations in areas of north-west Rhodesia in August 1967, South African police units were deployed inside Rhodesia where they stayed for the next eight years. As a gesture of support for the 1975 Kissinger diplomatic initiative over Rhodesia, South Africa withdrew its police units but left behind all its equipment, which included helicopters, Dakotas, small arms and ammunition. In addition, the South African government met the costs of 50 per cent of the Rhodesian defence budget for 1975–76. This was followed by *Operation Polo*, a secret agreement in terms of which the SADF assisted in the construction of five new military airfields in Rhodesia.
- 164 By 1978 the SADF was supplying sophisticated Mirage III fighters and Impala strike planes, as well as Alouette and ‘Huey’ helicopters. It was also secretly deploying troops into southern Rhodesia from bases inside South Africa and sending conscripts to Rhodesia to fight in local uniforms as ‘members’ of Rhodesian army units.
- 165 Colonel Craig Williamson told the Commission (3 February 1998) that the South African Security Branch also funded out of its secret account the police counter-insurgency unit, the Selous Scouts, in which numerous SAP members also served.
- 166 At its meeting on 26 March 1979, the SSC approved both the setting-up of a Rhodesian Joint Management Centre (JMC) to operate from the South African diplomatic mission in Salisbury, as well as a short-term strategy for Rhodesia. This recommended, *inter alia*, clandestine support (logistic as well as special forces) for the Rhodesian security forces. In July 1979, the SSC approved a stepping-up of military assistance, including covert air support for offensive measures against

13 Zimbabwean African People's Union.

'terrorist' and other targets in their host states (*"gasheerlande"*); unspecified military support with electronic warfare; aerial reconnaissance and support of special operations undertaken by the Rhodesian forces.

- 167 Six weeks later, at an SSC meeting on 27 August 1979, General Malan reported that the situation in Rhodesia had reached a watershed and that it needed further military help. As a result, the SSC authorised special clandestine actions, ordering that these be mounted within the context of a co-ordinated strategy. To this end, it established a Mozambican JMC comprised of representatives of the SADF, the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), South African Railways (SAR), the National Intelligence Service (NIS), the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), the SAP and the Departments of Finance, Trade and Industry and the Information Service. The presence of the SABC should be noted.
- 168 Special Forces operative Johan Verster told the Commission that, in 1979, he participated in parabat attacks on guerrillas moving into the cease-fire assembly points in the Tshipise Tribal Trust area. His group operated from a camp "on the side of the river at Gumbu Mine" in Botswana. The attacks, Verster claimed, were ordered by "military headquarters" using intelligence provided by the Selous Scouts.
- 169 These attacks may have been prompted by the fact that ANC/MK guerrillas were infiltrating Zimbabwe along with returning ZIPRA¹⁴ fighters. A list of ANC members who died in exile was supplied to the Commission and includes the names of fourteen "comrades killed in Rhodesia in 1979". It is possible they were victims of these attacks.
- 170 Most of the ANC infiltrators were eventually returned to Zambia by the new government, but it was largely in response to this MK inflow that the SADF moved a unit of its troops through the Beit Bridge border post towards the end of 1979. According to Mr Pik Botha's statement to the Commission, the movement of troops across the bridge was done with the concurrence of the Muzorewa Government.
- 171 In the run-up to the March 1980 pre-independence election, Rhodesia remained at the top of the SSC agenda. Excerpts from the minutes of the SSC meeting of 28 January 1980 provide an insight into the state's strategic thinking at the time. General Malan asked what would be done if Rhodesia "*verkeerd gaan*" (goes wrong) and argued that Rhodesia and South West Africa were key to South Africa's defence. Arguing for a proactive defence strategy, he asserted that the country's first line of defence had to be beyond the Republic – "*ons*

¹⁴ Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army.

moet die tyd en die plek kan kies" (we must be able to choose the time and place). Mr PW Botha assured the General that the meeting shared his views, arguing that *"as ons op die Limpopo en die Oranje veg, kan die vyand ons hartland aanval"* (if we fight on the Limpopo and the Orange rivers, the enemy can attack our country).

- 172 Early in February 1980, the SSC dispatched a special task team to review the situation in Rhodesia. The most significant of its ten recommendations read: *"Die implikasie van eliminasië van politieke figure in Rhodesie moet voortdurend onder oë gehou word"* (The implication of the elimination of political figures in Rhodesia must be constantly kept in mind.) There is an ambiguity about this statement in that the reference could be to other countries' attempts to assassinate Mr Robert Mugabe. This was the interpretation that both Mr Pik Botha and Dr Niel Barnard gave in their appearances before the Commission and there is no evidence to suggest that South African security forces ever attempted to assassinate Mugabe in the period prior to the election.
- 173 The South African government raised in excess of R12 million in support of Bishop Muzorewa's United African National Council (UANC) in the March 1980 election, approximately half of which came from state coffers, while the rest was raised from the private sector by Foreign Minister Pik Botha. At independence in April 1980, the government of Zimbabwe inherited a total debt over R4 000 million which South Africa was to insist be repaid. Moreover, the long tradition of direct South African involvement in the country's security affairs did not end at independence; it merely changed its form.

Surrogate-force insurgency operations

- 174 The SADF's surrogate-force operations in the 1980s fell under the Directorate of Special Tasks (DST) in the office of the chief of staff intelligence (CSI). (These bodies are discussed in more detail elsewhere in this volume).
- 175 The DST had its origins in the 1976 decision to channel assistance to UNITA (*Operation Silver*) and a special office was set up in Rundu headed by Colonel (later Major General) Marius Oelschig. In the early 1980s, DST was set up and located as a secret project in Pretoria. Its first head was Colonel (later Brigadier) 'Cor' van Niekerk, who was also responsible for managing the RENAMO project in the early 1980s. By the mid-1980s, DST had been incorporated into the Operational Intelligence Directorate headed by General Niels van Tonder. In the mid-1980s, DST developed an internal dimension in the form of Operations *Marion* (assistance to Inkatha) and *Katzen* (targeted at the Transkei and Ciskei).

Zimbabwe: Operation Drama

- 176 The outcome of the independence election was not quite the worst-case scenario feared by South Africa. That would have been a ZAPU victory. Nonetheless, the failure of Muzorewa's UANC to secure a place in the ZANU/ZAPU coalition was a setback. Its initial public response was diplomatically correct; its covert response was counter-revolutionary. At its first post-election meeting on 10 March 1980, the SSC declared Messina an "SADF operational area". This was in order to give the SADF "*meer beweergruimte*" (more room to manoeuvre) to facilitate the clandestine transfer of RENAMO to South Africa which, according to the SANDF's second submission to the Commission, began in March 1980.
- 177 The deployment of RENAMO was part of a much larger exercise involving the transfer to South Africa of various parts of Rhodesia's pre-independence security apparatus. This included several hundred black members of Bishop Muzorewa's Security Force Auxiliaries who were deployed to a farm near Pretoria. Simultaneously, the SADF launched *Operation Winter* to recruit mainly white members of Rhodesia's various counter-insurgency units. The operation was directed by Major General FW Loots, then general officer commanding of Special Forces, who personally travelled to Rhodesia in the last days of the Smith regime to screen potential recruits.
- 178 In all, it is estimated that about 5 000 Rhodesian military personnel were recruited into the SADF in this period. Apart from skilled counter-insurgency specialists, other security personnel who joined this southern exodus at independence or soon afterwards included some Special Branch police officers and intelligence personnel from the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO). Amongst these was Mr Gray Branfield, who was assigned to Daisy farm adjacent to Vlakplaas, to run a Zimbabwe Special Operations Unit. Branfield ran a string of agents inside Zimbabwe, the most important of whom were Mr Christopher 'Kit' Bawden, his cousin Mr Barry Bawden, and Mr Michael Smith.
- 179 Other security and intelligence personnel who moved south and were integrated into MI were Mr Pat Keyser, Mr Eric May, Mr Bob Wishart, Mr Peter Stanton and former Selous Scout Peter Grant. They were integrated either into Special Forces, DST, which ran the surrogate forces, or the DCC. Stanton later became a member of the CCB.

- 180 Their departure notwithstanding, a fifth column of South African agents remained intact inside Zimbabwe, strategically located within the military, the police and the CIO. Possibly the most sensitive of these was CIO operative Geoffrey Burton Price, retained by President Mugabe as his head of close security after independence. Others who have been named as agents working from inside in the immediate post-independence period are CIO members Colin Evans and Philip Hartlebury, and security police officials Alan Trowsdale, Alec West and the CIO head in Bulawayo, Matthew 'Matt' Calloway. Another CIO member who admits to having assisted some of these operatives was Mr Kevin Woods.
- 181 With the above infrastructure in place and large numbers of ex-Rhodesian soldiers in camps in the northern Transvaal, the SADF was well placed to launch *Operation Drama* – a militarily-driven project aimed at destabilising the new independent government of Zimbabwe. Its objective was, *inter alia*, to ensure that the government did not provide concrete support to the ANC and PAC in their armed struggles. To this end, it recruited and trained Zimbabweans, primarily for sabotage operations designed to destroy infrastructure, damage the economy and undermine the military capacity of Zimbabwe's armed forces.
- 182 In a statement to the Commission, Lieutenant Kenneth Gwenzi, who joined the Rhodesian army in 1978, tells how he was recruited into the SADF by members of MI soon after independence. He claims that he and a group of black former Rhodesian soldiers worked under four white former Rhodesian military officers from a camp in Venda. Their brief was to follow ANC cadres leaving South Africa as well as to conduct sabotage operations inside Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Railway lines were the primary targets.

In 1981, four former Rhodesians were killed forty miles inside Matabeleland in a contact with the Zimbabwean army. They were Sergeants Robert Trevor Beech, Peter David Berry, and John Andrew Wessels and a black serviceman known to the Commission only as 'Private Khiwa'. (While the SADF acknowledged the death of the three whites, it has never admitted to the death of Khiwa.)

In the 1970s, prior to Zimbabwe's independence, both Beech and Wessels had been members of the Rhodesian Light Infantry while Berry had served in the Special Air Service (SAS). Berry joined the SADF at Messina in March 1980, two weeks prior to Zimbabwe's independence. Beech and Wessels joined in 1980 when they moved to South Africa after Zimbabwe's independence.

At the time of their deaths, the four were in a party of eighteen SADF members ambushed by the Zimbabwean army. 'Private Khiwa', as well as those who survived the attack and made their way back to South Africa, were black former members of the Rhodesian armed forces based in Venda. At the time, Rhodesian-based diplomats and journalists speculated that the group was on a sabotage mission close to the Mozambique border. This would have been consistent with the objectives of Operation Drama. However, the Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, denied this and claimed that the group was on an unauthorised mission to rescue political detainees held in a camp in Matabeleland.

Ms Mary Beech – the mother of Robert Beech – appeared before the Commission in 1996. In her written submission, she stated that "we as a family find the circumstances surrounding Robert's death strange. We do not believe that he was on a private mission".

- 183 The SADF personnel files of the three white victims reveal that false death certificates were supplied to the victims' families. The official documentation in those files states that the deaths occurred in the "*operasionele gebied*" (operational area) as a result of "*kontak met die vyand*" (contact with the enemy). The certificates issued to the families stated, however, that they died from "multiple injuries" in "Pretoria".
- 184 A reading of the files reveals that the three whites were all active members of Special Forces. Given their short tenure in the SADF, they had considerable experience of SADF special and clandestine operations. There is nothing in these records to suggest that these three soldiers were in any way rogue operators engaged in an unauthorised mission.
- 185 In an interview with journalist Ms Peta Thorneycroft in July 1998, Colonel Jannie Breytenbach – at that time attached to DST, which controlled *Operation Drama* – confirmed the existence of *Drama* and that this mission was authorised by a Major Darrel Watt, one of the white officers based in the Venda camp. However, he added that Watt's action was *ultra vires*, so to speak, in that he had no authority to send troops across the border without approval from his superiors. After the mission, Watt was disciplined and left the army soon thereafter. However, the fact that Watt acted improperly does not alter the fact that members of this mission were acting under orders from their superior officer and believed that they were on an authorised mission.

- 186 It would seem that the SADF recognised this fact, as it paid compensation in terms of the Workmen's Compensation Act to the widow of John Wessels; the significance of this is that only those killed or injured in the line of duty are eligible for such payments. In addition, after the incident, Ms Beech received the *Pro Patria* medal through the mail, awarded posthumously to her son. The accompanying letter from the chief of the army wrote that it was for "the part he played in the defence of our country against the onslaught of terrorism". It seems improbable that anyone killed in an unauthorised mission which caused considerable embarrassment to the SADF and the government would have received such a decoration.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SADF'S PUBLIC DESCRIPTION OF THE MISSION AS UNAUTHORISED WAS MISLEADING AND NOT A FULL AND PROPER DESCRIPTION. IT WAS UNFAIR TO THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN IT AND INSENSITIVE PARTICULARLY TO THE FAMILIES OF THOSE WHO DIED IN IT.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS, THEREFORE, THAT THE SANDF ISSUE AN OFFICIAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT ALL THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN THIS OPERATION DID SO IN THE BELIEF THAT THEY WERE ACTING IN TERMS OF PROPERLY AUTHORISED COMMANDS AND THAT THOSE WHO DIED DID SO IN WHAT THEY BELIEVED TO BE THEIR LINE OF DUTY. SUCH A STATEMENT SHOULD BE MADE PUBLIC AND PLACED IN THE PERSONNEL FILES OF ALL THE PARTICIPANTS.

IT IS ALSO RECOMMENDED THAT CORRECT DEATH CERTIFICATES BE ISSUED TO THE NEXT OF KIN OF THE DECEASED AND PLACED IN THEIR PERSONNEL FILES.

- 187 The Commission was informed by the SADF 'nodal' (liaison) point that all the files on surrogate operations were destroyed by DST when it was closed in the early 1990s. The military archives held only one file on *Drama* [HSOPS/309/4/DRAMA] containing only a letter dated 25 February 1983 from the then chief of staff intelligence, Lieutenant General PW van der Westhuizen, to the chief of the SADF. It was a query from the Department of Foreign Affairs about the whereabouts of some Zimbabweans said to have entered South Africa after April 1980. His reply provides some corroborative evidence on *Drama's modus operandi*. It states that sixteen ZIPRA members were infiltrated back into Zimbabwe on 20 February 1983 and that eighteen married members were to be sent to the SADF base Duku-Duku (in northern Zululand) at the end of February 1983, while the unmarried members would be relocated to 32 Battalion in the Caprivi.
- 188 After the debacle of the 1981 ambush, *Drama* seems mainly to have taken the form of arming, training and infiltrating Zimbabweans for operations primarily in Matabeleland.

■ POLICE AND MILITARY COUNTER-INSURGENCY OPERATIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA: OPERATIONS ALTER/MILA AND SILWER/DISA

- 189 Details of the SADF's military strategies in Angola and Mozambique were discussed above. These surrogate operations were launched in implementation of these strategies, although it must be recalled that *Silwer* formed only a part of the overall strategy for Angola.
- 190 In summary, the goal in respect of both Mozambique and Angola was the establishment of sympathetic, or at the very least, neutral governments which would ultimately form part of a Southern African community of nations. However, the possible overthrow of the Angolan government was not discounted.
- 191 Few specific details are available on *Silwer* and *Mila*, due to the paucity of the archival holdings on these operations. Most of what is known by the Commission on the RENAMO project was supplied by Mr Roland Hunter who, in the early 1980s, was in the SADF, attached to DST as an aide to van Niekerk. He was at the same time supplying information to the ANC, for which he was ultimately arrested and gaoled. The information he gave to the Commission is included in the discussion on DST elsewhere in this volume. It contains details on the staffing and funding of DST head office, the operating heads of the different projects and of the training and other camps of RENAMO in the Transvaal.
- 192 South Africa took over responsibility for RENAMO in March 1980 and the redeployment of RENAMO forces occurred in March and April of that year. They were dispersed over three main bases in the Northern Transvaal, with operational headquarters at Sawong near Phalaborwa. The leader of RENAMO, Mr Alphonso Dlakama, and six senior officers and their families were placed on Vofal, a farm north of Pretoria. The then secretary general of RENAMO, Mr Orlando Christina, who also lived near Pretoria, worked in the DST secretariat in Pretoria and, like Dlakama, was on the SADF payroll.
- 193 Training took place at these bases and at Camp Hippo in the Caprivi. However, the largest element of the assistance comprised material, weaponry, uniforms, clothing, food and agricultural implements. This was supplied not only to the local camps, but in monthly drops by the SAAF into RENAMO-held territory inside Mozambique.

- 194 There was also some deployment of Special Forces troops inside Mozambique. In 1981, Captain Alan Gingles, a former member of the British SAS and Rhodesian military then attached to 5 Recce, was killed in a sabotage mission near Beira. He was attempting to blow up a railway line when the device exploded prematurely.
- 195 In the military archives file on Mila [HSOPS/309/4], there are entries which also confirm the use of Special Forces' troops inside Mozambique. 'Special Op' instruction 10/83 (11 March 1983) states that "a small team presently deployed in the Inhambane province on *Operation Bristol* is to be extracted prior to this exercise" (the monthly drop). A month later on 8 April 1983, 'Special Op' instruction 12/83 reads "there are at present no Special Forces teams deployed with the RNM [RENAMO] ... monthly resupply to be provided to RNM in line with approved objectives". On 25 May 1983, a drop involving four C130 planes included five RNM leaders who were parachuted in, along with sixty palettes containing, *inter alia*, 450 AK-47s, six RPG rocket launchers, 894 888 rounds of bullets of one kind and 40 000 of another, 800 hand grenades, 600 40mm RPG-7s and 180 anti-personnel rockets, along with such provisions as 200 kilograms of soap, forty kilograms of tobacco, 1 656 torch batteries, 240 kilograms of salt, 175 kilograms of sugar, 420 litres of diesel fuel and so on.
- 196 The file indicates that drops on this scale continued monthly throughout 1983. No file is available for 1984, the year in which the Nkomati Accord was signed and when all aid to RENAMO was supposed to cease. In fact, support for RENAMO never ceased; it simply changed its form. As Craig Williamson told the Commission, what had been an official project became a covert one. Evidence before the Commission shows that a two-year stockpile of weaponry was delivered to RENAMO in the two months preceding the signing of the Accord. The Gorongosa diaries found in 1985 also provided firm evidence of continuing SADF involvement with RENAMO in violation of the Accord, including secret visits to the organisation's headquarters by at least one cabinet minister, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. In evidence to the Commission, Pik Botha confirmed the authenticity of the diaries and that they had been a major embarrassment to the government. He was unable to offer a convincing explanation for his deputy's visits, but claimed to have had no foreknowledge of them.
- 197 It appears that both the cabinet and the SSC, including even State President PW Botha, were kept in ignorance of ongoing involvement with RENAMO. Then chief of the SADF, General Viljoen, may have authorised the continuing assistance to RENAMO.

- 198 In the case of aid to UNITA, files from the military archives reveal frequent joint planning meetings between SADF and UNITA military officials. On 2 December 1981, a plan was agreed for a joint operation in Cunene province in order to “help UNITA regain control of its traditional area of strength in north-east Cunene”. Silwer’s goals for 1982 are detailed as “protection of Cunene province, extension of UNITA influence in Cunene and Moxico provinces ... elimination of SWAPO as a realistic threat to South West Africa”.
- 199 The file for 1982 (the only one made available) contains numerous references to supply drops such as those in Mozambique, as well as to several limited military operations to enable UNITA to move into new areas. It is clear that the level of SADF military involvement with UNITA on the ground was far greater than in Mozambique. The presence of MK camps in the country was certainly not an insignificant determining factor in that regard. The list of ANC members killed in exile reveals that considerably more MK combatants were killed in what are termed “UNITA ambushes” than by the SADF in combat. This was, indeed, the single largest cause of unnatural deaths amongst ANC members in exile.

■ POLICE AND MILITARY COUNTER-INSURGENCY OPERATIONS IN LESOTHO: *OPERATION LATSA*

- 200 The Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) – the object of the SADF’s support in terms of *Operation Latsa* – had its origins in events in Lesotho in the 1970s. In 1970, the then pro-South African Basotho National Party (BNP) refused to accept the results of the country’s first post-independence general election, which it lost. With covert South African government support, it held on to power and declared a state of emergency. In 1974, the Basutholand Congress Party (BCP) – the 1970 election winner – attempted an armed seizure of power, which failed. Hundreds of BCP supporters, including its leader Mr Ntsu Mokhehle, fled the country. Initially they found refuge in Botswana and Zambia.
- 201 In the course of the 1970s, the BNP’s stance towards the South African government and the ANC changed radically and large numbers of ANC members and MK combatants found sanctuary in the country. The BNP’s foreign policy shifted as well, to the point that the Soviet Union opened an embassy in Maseru in the 1970s, a move that antagonised the South African government. By the mid-1970s, as far as the South African government was concerned, Lesotho had moved into the camp of the ANC.

- 202 In this context, the South African government and the BCP found common ground in their hostility to the BNP government. By this time, the BCP had developed an armed wing, the LLA, whose major logistical problem was getting its guerrillas through South Africa into Lesotho. Its initial attempts to infiltrate guerrillas into Lesotho in 1978 were disastrous. The first two sets of infiltrators were all captured by the SAP, as was the entire LLA High Command, with the exception of its leader Ntsu Mokhehle, *en route* to a meeting in Welkom. By 1979, however, the LLA had managed to establish a clandestine presence in the Transkei from where it launched operations inside Lesotho in August 1979.
- 203 The Basotho government responded with a major crackdown on the BCP, and by January 1980 over 700 BCP supporters had fled to the Orange Free State. By this time, Mokhehle was in touch with the South African government. By mid-1980, the LLA was receiving weapons and training from the SADF. The LLA was now able to move the bulk of its fighters from the Transkei to Dithotaheng camp in QwaQwa and another camp on a farm called Ferndale, near Bergville in Natal, where the Special Tasks personnel assigned to the LLA project were also based. These were at various times Special Forces members Colonel Hennie Blaauw, Major GC (Dan) Griesel (who was base commander at Ferndale for a period), Captain C 'Pine' Pienaar, Lieutenant Erasmus Steyl (aka Trevor), Colonel MA van den Bergh and Major Johan Opperman.
- 204 Although officially heading the BCP in exile in Botswana, Mokhehle seems to have spent a good deal of time in South Africa in the early 1980s. He is known to have stayed at Port St Johns in the Transkei in about 1983, where he developed close ties with the former Rhodesian military officers then running the Transkei Defence Force. At other times, he is known to have been given accommodation at the secret SAP farms Vlakplaas and Kochfontein. This latter was near Zeerust and was frequently used by the SADF's Special Forces as a base for attacks into Botswana.
- 205 Operations inside Lesotho focused primarily on the sabotaging of infrastructural facilities and the killing of BNP supporters and officials. There is little evidence of LLA operations against ANC/MK targets, with the exception of an attack in February 1981 on the home of a South African refugee, Mr Khelaki Sello, a prominent lawyer who often defended ANC members. He survived the attack.
- 206 The LLA was used by the South African government primarily as an instrument for applying pressure to the BNP government – pressure which was relaxed when the BNP was negotiating or talking with South Africa and intensified when it was

not. It was most active in the 1981–83 period, during which the LLA undertook at least thirty-four operations against targets inside Lesotho, including a number of assassinations of politicians and one pro-government newspaper editor. It was not, however, the LLA which toppled the Basotho government in January 1986, but the Lesotho military with covert assistance from the SADF. With the overthrow of Chief Jonathan's government in 1986 – the fulfilment of the decision adopted at the 1983 special SSC meeting in the operational area – LLA operations inside Lesotho ceased. Many members returned home and some were integrated into the national army. There is evidence that some of those who did not return home became involved in hit squad operations in the Transkei in the late 1980s.

■ POLICE AND MILITARY CROSS-BORDER OPERATIONS

Assassinations, ambushes and abductions

Not even South Africa's borders stopped them ... Nobody had been safe anywhere in the world. (Former Vlakplaas Commander Eugene de Kock's trial evidence in mitigation, 8 October 1996.)

- 207 The cases examined below do not reflect all the incidents known to the Commission. Moreover, the cases dealt with here were not all directly referred to the Commission; some are cases about which the Commission acquired information in the course of its work. The attempt to kill Mr Bafana Duma is included because it represents the first case known to the Commission of an attempted assassination of an ANC chief representative.
- 208 In their forays into foreign territories, the SADF and the security police did not operate alone. Aiding and abetting them was a formidable intelligence and operational infrastructure. This was comprised of five main elements:
- a Sympathetic governments like those of Swaziland and Malawi, as well as Lesotho after the military coup of 1986, when a joint security task force (*veiligheidswerkgroep*) was set up with representatives of the SAP security police and MI, and the Basotho Police and Defence Force. A similar level of co-operation existed with Swazi security.

In his testimony to the Commission, Colonel Christo Nel, the one-time head of the DCC's target-development section, stated that from 1986/7 MI had "a

permanent presence in Swaziland and we had a permanent interrogation centre outside Mbabane ... captured or arrested MK soldiers were taken there by the Swazis and we were given the opportunity to interrogate them".¹⁵

- b Sympathetic security officials of governments less inclined to co-operation than those above. A prominent example here is the one-time commissioner of police in Botswana, Mr Simon Hirshfeldt, who, though not an agent, is said to have worked closely with the security police in Zeerust.
- c Sympathisers amongst the residents of neighbouring states who were prepared to share information with and otherwise assist South African security. This applied, for example, to some white expatriates. A number of amnesty applicants from the South African security police have talked of help in the form of free accommodation at hotels and free meals at restaurants. They have told, too, of farmers whose properties abutted South African territory and who allowed security operatives through their fences. In an amnesty hearing, an eastern Cape security policeman, Colonel Barend du Plessis [AM4384/96] testified how their work in relation to Lesotho was facilitated by an informer network in the Maseru office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Further, there were police members in the BLS states who worked with South African security operatives for payment.

The extent of the above support should not be generalised. Firstly, a significant minority of whites aided the liberation movements. Similarly, while many Swazi, Basotho and Batswana citizens aided South African security, many citizens of those countries helped members of the liberation movements, often at considerable personal cost.

- d Agents and informers operating from within the ranks of the liberation movements. The vast majority of these were coerced in some way into 'turning'. Others were deployed to penetrate the liberation movements from outside.
- e Professional spies operating under cover in the region and internationally. Craig Williamson, Section G deputy head in the early to mid-1980s, ran an extensive African and international spy network. Its African base was in Malawi and was headed by amnesty applicant Captain 'Vic' McPherson [AM7040/97]. Its focus was Zambia and Tanzania.

Amongst the amnesty applicants for the London ANC bombing are two operatives

¹⁵ Transcript, section 29 hearing, 15 April 1998, p. 85.

who at various times ran Williamson's European operation out of Brussels and London respectively. Recruited into that network were South African students studying abroad, a ranking Dutch police officer, some European journalists and a journalist working for the BBC World Service. Not only was the head of the Spanish anti-apartheid movement in the 1980s an apartheid agent, but the organisation was set up at Williamson's suggestion and funded by his section. As head of a European anti-apartheid national group, the Spanish head became part of the broader European anti-apartheid family, thereby allowing for the penetration of South African intelligence.

Zimbabwe was also extensively penetrated by both NIS agents and double agents operating from within Zimbabwe's security service. In a particularly notable case, South African MI infiltrated a DCC operative, Mr Nigel Barnett (aka Henry William Bacon, Nicho Esslin and HW Otto) into Mozambique in 1983. He was still operating there under cover fourteen years later. Other networks were developed in Zambia and South West Africa by DCC operative Geoffrey Burton Price.

209 Despite this array of intelligence resources, a striking feature of the cases presented below is the high number of instances in which the victim or target of the violation turned out to have been the wrong one. The Bheki Mlangeni case is perhaps the best known.

210 Before moving to the individual cases, it should finally be noted that findings are not made on those cases where there were amnesty applications or decisions pending at the time of reporting, or where there was no corroborated evidence to support a finding.

Assassinations and attempted assassinations

1960–1973

211 The Commission has no corroborated evidence of any external assassinations during the 1960 to 1973 period for which South African security operatives can be said to have been responsible.

1974–1979

212 The first known cross-border assassinations in the 1974–79 period occurred in

February 1974, when, within two weeks of each other, MK founder member John Dube (aka 'Boy' Mvemve) and former SASO founder member Abraham Onkgopotse Tiro were killed by letter bombs in Zambia and Botswana respectively.

- 213 The Commission received no amnesty applications for these two killings. Former BOSS agent, Mr Gordon Winter, alleges¹⁶ that the killings were the work of BOSS's recently formed covert unit, the Z-squad. At a Commission briefing, a former BOSS and later senior NIS and NIA member confirmed the existence of the Z-squad and named amongst its small band of original members Mr Phil Freeman, an explosives expert, and Mr Dries Verwey.
- 214 Another former BOSS agent, Mr Martin Dolincheck, also confirmed Z's existence. In an interview published in the *New Nation* (9 August 1991), he named Kuhn and Verwey as "among those responsible for his [Tiro's] death". In an interview with the Commission, Dolincheck stated that Tiro was killed by the insertion of an explosive device into a package addressed to him from the Geneva-based International University Exchange Fund (IUEF). At that time, all mail destined for Southern Africa (including the BLS states, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique and the Seychelles) passed through the airmail sorting office in Germiston near the then Jan Smuts airport. The actual running of that office was contracted out by the Post Office and, according to Dolincheck, South African Airways (then a state corporation) deliberately bid low to gain the contract so that the security police could have easy access to the millions of pieces of mail, including diplomatic traffic, that flowed through it annually.
- 215 According to Dolincheck, in the 1970s and 1980s some 400 police, mostly retired officers, worked in the facility, amongst them Security Branch officers. Dolincheck claims that Tiro's package from the IUEF was "doctored" at this facility. That particular item of mail would have been a strategic choice as the IUEF, an international anti-apartheid non-governmental organisation (NGO), worked closely with SASO and was channelling funds to the organisation. Tiro was in regular contact with the IUEF and a package would not have aroused suspicion.
- 216 In the case of the Mvemve letter bomb, it seems the postal service was not used as, according to Winter, the parcel bomb was posted in Lusaka. It must then have been prepared in South Africa and carried to Lusaka. This is similar to the method used in the letter/parcel bomb killings of Ms Ruth First and Ms Jeanette and Katryn Schoon (see below).

¹⁶ In his book *Inside BOSS*.

WHILE THE COMMISSION IS UNABLE TO MAKE A CONCLUSIVE FINDING IN RESPECT OF THE MURDERS OF MR ONKGOPOTSE TIRO AND MR JOHN DUBE, THE PROBABILITY BASED ON THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO IT IS THAT THEY WERE THE WORK OF BOSS'S Z-SQUAD.

217 According to information contained in Captain Dirk Coetzee's 1989 confession on hit squad activities and in his amnesty application [AM0063/96], in January 1977, an attempt was made to kill the ANC's chief representative in Swaziland, Mr Bafana Duma. The method involved attaching an explosive device to the inside of the post office box of Duma's employer in Manzini. As a messenger, Duma's tasks including collecting the post. Duma lost an arm but survived.

218 According to Coetzee, this operation was undertaken by the Ermelo security police with the aid of the security police's technical division, where the device was prepared by then Lieutenant (later Lieutenant Colonel) WAL du Toit. Major Nic van Rensburg was in charge of the operation, assisted by Colonel Christo Deetlefs and Sergeant Chris Rorich.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ATTEMPT TO KILL MR BAFANA DUMA WAS AUTHORISED BY MAJOR NIC VAN RENSBURG OF THE ERMELO SECURITY POLICE AND UNDERTAKEN BY THOSE OF ITS MEMBERS NAMED ABOVE, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF LIEUTENANT WAL DU TOIT OF THE TECHNICAL DIVISION OF THE SECURITY POLICE.

219 On 28 February 1978, MK member Kehla Nkutha was abducted from Swaziland. He died soon after his forcible return to South Africa.

220 Undercover intelligence operatives from the Pietermaritzburg division of the Security Branch had identified Nkutha as a regular traveller between Maputo and Mbabane for the purposes of transporting MK members.

221 Late in 1977, members of the Pietermaritzburg and Eastern Transvaal divisions of the security police mounted a joint operation to ambush the vehicle in which Nkutha was travelling and to abduct him. A first attempt failed when the vehicle did a U-turn and avoided the ambush. A second attempt some weeks later succeeded. There was a shoot-out, and the elderly passenger, Mr John Majola, and two of the operatives, Eugene 'Jerry' Fourie and Sergeant André 'Basie' Erwee, were seriously wounded. They survived, and Majola managed to escape from his attackers. Nkutha was also wounded, captured and taken across the border, where he died or was killed. The circumstances of his death are not clear.

- 222 On both occasions, the ambush group used the facilities of a farm just inside the Swazi border owned by a South African named by Dirk Coetzee as an agent. The farm also had a helicopter pad for use by South African security forces.
- 223 The operation was jointly commanded by Colonel (later Brigadier) Hans Dreyer and Colonel Johannes van der Hoven of the Pietermaritzburg and Eastern Transvaal security police divisions respectively. Other participants included Security Branch operatives from the Eastern Transvaal and Pietermaritzburg, such as Major Nic van Rensburg and Sakkie van Zyl. The Commission received an amnesty application from a Pietermaritzburg security policeman, Warrant Officer Don Gold [AM3683/96], for his participation in the first ambush. He did not participate in the second operation.
- 224 This raid occurred two years before the SSC adopted regulations authorising cross-border incursions and it is not known what authorisation procedures were followed in this case.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR KEHLA NKUTHA WAS ABDUCTED FROM SWAZILAND IN AN OPERATION CONDUCTED BY MEMBERS OF THE PIETERMARITZBURG AND EASTERN TRANSVAAL DIVISIONS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY BRANCH. HE DIED THEREAFTER IN SOUTH AFRICA.

- 225 On 6 July 1979, six ANC members in exile in Lesotho were injured in a parcel bomb attack in Maseru. One of them, Father John Osmers, had his hand and part of his groin blown away by the bomb which was concealed in a package containing copies of the ANC journal, *Sechaba*. The other victims were a former SASO organiser, Mr Silumko Sokupa, Ms Phyllis Naidoo, Mr Mbuyisela Madaka, Mr Sipiwe Sithole and Mr Wandile Kallipa. No amnesty applications were received for this incident and no information on it was uncovered.

OWING TO A LACK OF CORROBORATED EVIDENCE, THE COMMISSION IS UNABLE TO MAKE A FINDING ON THE PARCEL BOMB ATTACK ON FATHER JOHN OSMERS, MR SILUMKO SOKUPA, MS PHYLLIS NAIDOO, MR MBUYISELA MADAKA, MR SIPHIWE SITHOLE AND MR WANDILE KALLIPA.

1980–1985

- 226 During the 1980–85 period, MK member Patrick Makau and a seven-year-old child, Patrick Nkosi, son of an active ANC member, Mr Mawick Nkosi, were killed in bomb attacks on two houses in Manzini, Swaziland, both on 4 June 1980. These attacks were undertaken by Eastern Transvaal security police in retaliation for the ANC's sabotage of the Sasol oil refinery at Secunda a few days earlier.

- 227 The mission was ordered by Colonel (later General) JJ Viktor, then C section head, who instructed Dirk Coetzee to consult with the head of the Ermelo Security Branch with a view to organising a retaliatory operation. Involved in the actual operation were Warrant Officer Paul van Dyk, Sergeant Wynand Hattingh, Sergeant Chris Rorich and Coetzee, all of whom submitted amnesty applications. Viktor also applied for amnesty. The head of the Ermelo security police did not.
- 228 The two houses targeted were thought to be ANC transit facilities and it was believed that the Sasol squad had stayed in one of them. The bombs exploded within a minute of each other, causing extensive damage. In addition to the two killed, three other persons were hurt. One of these was a Swazi, Ms Eunice Dlamini, one of whose hands was mutilated and her hearing badly impaired. After several months of hospitalisation, she committed suicide by locking herself in her home, dousing herself with petrol and setting herself on fire.
- 229 Vlakplaas Commander Dirk Coetzee [AM0063/96], Corporal Almond Nofemela [AM0064/96] and Constable David Tshikilange [AM0065/96] applied for amnesty for the abduction and murder of a Basotho citizen, Mr George Nkali, on 17 February 1981. It is not clear that there was a political motivation for this killing. Nkali was a diamond dealer with whom the applicants, as well as police agents Mr Ernest Ramatlala and Sergeant Joe Mamasela, had dealings. He was lured across the border and killed by *askaris* after he had apparently sold the South Africans a worthless consignment of diamonds and refused to refund their monies. His body was dumped on the Swazi border.

THOUGH THE AMNESTY HEARING ON THIS INCIDENT HAD BEEN HEARD AT THE TIME OF REPORTING, NO DECISION HAD YET BEEN MADE PUBLIC. THE COMMISSION'S FINDING AWAITS THE RULING OF THE AMNESTY COMMITTEE.

- 230 In mid-1981, Dirk Coetzee was requested by the head of the Ladybrand Security Branch to kill a senior MK member in Lesotho, Mr Lehlonohono Christopher Moloi. He arranged for *askari* Almond Nofemela and a member of the Ladybrand Security Branch, Sergeant Michael Jantjies, to undertake the mission. The plan involved shooting Moloi as he opened his front door and then throwing a grenade into the house. The plan failed, in part because Moloi failed to answer knocks on his front door. Instead, shots were fired at Moloi through a window, but missed him. All those named applied for amnesty for this attempted killing.
- 231 On 31 July 1981, Mr Joe Gqabi [JB00502/01GTSOW], the ANC's chief representative in Zimbabwe as well as its chief of intelligence and an NEC member, was

shot dead in the driveway of his home in Harare. Six months earlier, on 24 February 1981, Gqabi had survived a car bombing attempt on his life.

- 232 Both Gqabi's widow and his close comrade, Mr Shadrack Ganda [JB/00781/01GTSOW], made submissions to the Commission on the murder. The Commission's investigation of the case was hampered by the fact that it did not conduct enquiries in Zimbabwe. Although the ANC was asked to provide the Commission with the statement it received from Ms Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, who was resident in Mr Gqabi's house at the time of his death, the request met with no response.
- 233 The evidence available suggests that Mr Gqabi was killed by a South African hit squad acting on the basis of intelligence supplied by agents of South African MI operating from inside Zimbabwe's CIO. Sometime after the murder, Mr Colin Evans and Mr Philip Hartlebury, two of these alleged agents, were arrested and charged with spying for South Africa.
- 234 Under interrogation, Evans and Hartlebury admitted to spying for South Africa and to supplying intelligence on Joe Gqabi to a contact code-named 'Erasmus', whom the Commission knows to be a long-serving South African Special Forces operative. In their espionage trial, Evans' and Hartlebury's confessions were deemed to be inadmissible owing to the torture to which they had been subjected and they were acquitted. Prior to that, South Africa had admitted that they were agents and had offered to exchange them for a Russian and several Angolan prisoners. After their release from prison, both moved to South Africa.
- 235 The ANC has reports of two alleged agents who confessed to participating in the actual killing of Mr Gqabi. One, Mr Ivan Davids, wrote in his statement: " ... when he opened the door, I ran towards him; when he looked up I was already next to him and the trigger already pulled. I kept on pulling the trigger until my magazine was empty. Piet came up and fired a few shots on him". The Commission was unable to follow up this statement as Mr Davids was executed by the ANC in Angola in 1984. However, Mr Ganda, who lived in Mr Gqabi's house and who discovered the body, provides details in his statement to the Commission consistent with the above description.

ON THE BASIS OF THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO IT, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR JOE GQABI WAS ASSASSINATED BY SOUTH AFRICAN AGENTS OPERATING IN COLLUSION WITH A GROUP OF ZIMBABWEAN AGENTS.

236 By the late 1970s, South African security had identified Mr Chris Hani as the most important MK operative in the immediate region. A former high-ranking MI officer told the Commission that he had attended at least one meeting of senior SADF generals where a senior MI officer presented a plan for Hani's killing. The meeting was chaired by General Viljoen. The plan was vetoed as the safety of Hani's family could not be guaranteed.

237 Clearly, other plans were approved as, in the early 1980s, a number of attempts were made by the security police and the SADF to kill Hani in Lesotho. In addition to the major SADF incursion of December 1982, at least two other attempts were made on his life. The first was in early 1980, when his house was bombed. Later in August of the same year, Mr Ernest Ramatlala, a police informer who had been given training in the handling of explosives by the SAP, attempted to attach a bomb to Hani's car which was parked in the driveway of his house. The bomb exploded prematurely and Ramatlala was seriously hurt. Ramatlala was granted bail but fled back to South Africa where he was given sanctuary at Vlakplaas. He later joined the SAP.

238 Two years later, on 2 August 1982, Hani's home was damaged in a bomb blast. Hani was absent but one person was hurt in the attack. This incident coincided with another attack on the house of a South African exile where a Mr T Banzi was seriously injured. No amnesty applications were received for these operations.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR CHRIS HANI WAS TARGETED FOR ELIMINATION BY SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES AND THAT THEY WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR SEVERAL ATTEMPTS TO KILL HIM IN LESOTHO IN THE EARLY 1980S.

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

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

241 From the police perspective, the operation was not a success in that Masinga (Rola) was out of the country on the night of the attack, while both the occupants of the house, Joyce Dipale and Lilian Keagle, a Batswana colleague, survived despite being badly wounded.

THOUGH THE AMNESTY APPLICATION IN RESPECT OF THIS INCIDENT HAS BEEN HEARD, NO DECISION HAD BEEN ANNOUNCED AT THE TIME OF REPORTING. THE COMMISSION'S FINDING ON THIS ATTACK AWAITS THAT DECISION.

242 On 4 June 1982, acting ANC chief representative in Swaziland, Mr Petros Nyawose (aka Nzima) and his wife, SACTU¹⁷ representative Ms Jabulile Nyawose, were killed in a car bomb explosion outside their flat in Matsapha near Manzini, Swaziland. Two passengers in the car, Mr Thokozane Mkhize and Mr Sipiwe Mngomezulu, were seriously injured. The explosion and murder of their parents was witnessed by the Nyawose's three children. One of them, Nonzamo Nyawose, submitted a statement to the Commission [KZN/NNN/011/DN] and appeared at a public hearing.

243 Intelligence-gathering and surveillance for the assassination was done by Dirk Coetzee [AM0063/96], Almond Nofemela and David Tshikilange [AM0065/96] for which they have applied for amnesty. According to a statement to the Commission by Eugene de Kock, and further oral evidence at a Commission amnesty hearing, the murder of the couple was authorised by Brigadier Willem Schoon, then head of C section. The operation was performed by the then commander of Vlakplaas, Captain Jan Coetzee, assisted by Colonel Paul Hattingh of the SAP Explosives Department and Captain Paul van Dyk of the Ermelo Security Branch. For this operation, the three perpetrators received the SOE medal, a high police decoration.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE MURDER OF MR PETROS AND MS JABULILE NYAWOSE WAS SANCTIONED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, AUTHORISED AT SENIOR MANAGEMENT LEVEL OF THE SECURITY POLICE AND CARRIED OUT BY THE OPERATIVES NAMED ABOVE.

244 Following the spate of sabotage and other covert operations in Zimbabwe, a CID Inspector Mr Eric Roberts was appointed in late 1982 by the Zimbabwean government to investigate these attacks and South Africa's possible involvement in them. In December 1982, Roberts was shot and killed at his home in Bulawayo when he answered a late-night knock on his front door. No arrests were made for this killing. but South African agents are suspected of having been involved.

IN THE ABSENCE OF CORROBORATED EVIDENCE, THE COMMISSION IS UNABLE TO MAKE A FINDING ON THIS CASE.

¹⁷ South African Congress of Trade Unions

- 245 On 17 August 1982, Ms Ruth First, then Director of the Centre for African Studies at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, was killed in her office by a parcel bomb. On 28 June 1984, ANC official Ms Jeanette Curtis Schoon and her eight-year-old daughter, Katryn, were killed by a similar device in their home in Lubango, Angola.
- 246 Craig Williamson [AM 5181/97] applied for amnesty for all three killings. Then a member of the Security Branch's G (foreign intelligence) section, Williamson states in his application that he received instructions from his section head, Captain Piet 'Biko' Goosen, to arrange for the preparation of the bombs and that he assigned the task to Warrant Officer Jerry Raven of the police technical section. Raven's involvement in the manufacturing of the two explosive devices is corroborated by his amnesty application. A third member of the Security Branch, Sergeant Steve Bosch, also applied for amnesty for his role in the preparation of the device.
- 247 In a separate incident in 1981, according to the amnesty application of Brigadier Schoon, he supplied Dirk Coetzee with a revolver and ammunition and instructed him to kill Mr Marius Schoon in Botswana. Coetzee apparently passed the weapon on to an operative who, however, failed in the mission.
- 248 On 22 November 1983, Mr Zwelibanzi 'Zweli' Nyanda, MK commander for Swaziland and head of the ANC's Natal military machinery, and a fellow MK combatant, Mr Keith McFadden, were killed in Manzini, Swaziland. The operation was authorised by the head of the Security Branch and Willem Schoon, [AM4396/96] who applied for amnesty for it. The operation was led by Vlakplaas commander Brigadier Jack Cronjé, while his raiding party included De Kock, Almond Nofemela, Jeff Bosigo, and a number of Eastern Transvaal security police including Sergeant Chris Rorich, Captain Paul van Dyk, and Warrant Officer 'Freek' Pienaar.
- 249 A third person in the house was the second-in-command of the MK's Natal machinery, Mr Edward Lawrence (aka 'Fear', Ralph McGina and Cyril Raymonds). He escaped by jumping out of a window. It later turned out that this was by pre-arrangement as he had, for ten years, been a Security Branch agent or source. 'Fear' supplied the information on Zweli's house and gave the attackers a signal when the occupants were asleep. Nyanda was shot by De Kock and McFadden by Cronje. Those involved in this operation received the Police Star for Outstanding Service (SOE medal) from the then Minister of Police, Louis le Grange.

- 250 Ms EC Majola informed the Commission of the death in exile of her brother Mr Eulogius Trusty Ndlovu (aka George Matlala) [KZN/FS/373/DN]. Ndlovu joined the ANC in 1976 and left the country. The last communication the family had with him was a letter in 1983 in which he stated that he was in Mozambique.
- 251 The Commission has been able to establish that, in December 1977, Ndlovu went from Swaziland to Zambia for military training with ZAPU. In late 1978, he obtained a scholarship to study in Bulgaria for a year. Thereafter, he returned to Angola for further military training. In 1984, he served as secretary to the head of MK's Natal machinery, Mr Thami Zulu.
- 252 On an unknown date in 1984, Ndlovu died in unclear circumstances in Swaziland. He is listed under the name of Matlala on the list of ANC members killed in exile. The fact of his death is confirmed in a statement to the Commission by an MK intelligence official then in Swaziland. This states that he died in a hand grenade attack.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR EULOGIUS TRUSTY NDLOVU WAS KILLED BY UNKNOWN PERSONS IN SWAZILAND ON AN UNKNOWN DATE IN 1984.

- 253 In early 1985, the house of a South African exile, Mr Nat Serache, in Gaborone, Botswana was attacked in an assassination attempt. General Albertus Steyn, Brigadiers W Loots [AM4149/96/] and Willem Schoon and Colonel Philip Rudolf Crause [AM4124/96] applied for amnesty for this operation. In his application, Steyn stated that Serache was suspected of facilitating the infiltration of MK guerrillas into South Africa and that he briefed General Kat Liebenberg of Special Forces and a senior SAP officer. Serache was not in his house at the time of the attack. According to Crause, it was destroyed.
- 254 On 14 May 1985, Mr Rogers Nkadameng, a senior ANC/SACTU official, was killed in a car bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana. This operation was authorised by General Albertus Steyn, then head of the Western Transvaal Security Branch, who applied for amnesty, and carried out by SADF Special Forces personnel. Zeerust Security Branch member, Colonel Philip Rudolf Crause, also applied for amnesty for this operation but gives no details as to his role. According to Krause, the operation had a second target, Mr Jackie Molefe, but it failed in that regard.
- 255 In May 1985, Mr Japie Maponya [JB0290/03WR], brother of an MK activist, was abducted by a team of Vlakplaas operatives led by Eugene de Kock, taken to Swaziland and killed. De Kock acted under the orders of Colonel Johan le Roux,

head of the Krugersdorp Security Branch, where Maponya had previously been detained. This case is discussed more fully elsewhere in this volume.

- 256 On 19 December 1985, a seventeen-strong team of Vlakplaas operatives led by Eugene de Kock attacked two houses in Maseru and killed six South Africans and three Basotho citizens. This incident occurred at a time of severely strained relations between the governments of Lesotho and South Africa. The day after the raid, the SSC authorised intensified measures against Lesotho, including the use of force. At the time, a Special Forces team under Captain Sakkie van Zyl was assembled at the QwaQwa Sun hotel for a cross-border raid. According to De Kock, discussions between the two groups resulted in an agreement that the SAP unit, on the basis of its superior on-the-ground intelligence, should undertake the operation.
- 257 According to a statement given to the Commission by Mr Elvis Macaskill, much of this intelligence was supplied by himself. He was at the time a South African agent resident in Lesotho. Macaskill was instructed by his handlers to organise a Christmas party to which ANC members were invited. The host house was attacked and seven people were killed. They were Mr Vivian Stanley Matthee [CT00431/WIN & CT00692/WIN], Mr Joseph Monwabisi (aka Mayoli), Ms Nomkhosi Mini [EC2098/77PLZ], Mr Mankahelang Mohatle, Mr Morris Seabelo, Ms Midian Zulu and one other Basotho citizen whose name is not known to the Commission. By prior arrangement, Macaskill's sister was not killed. Two of those killed at the party were high-ranking MK members, namely Morris Seabelo, MK commander in Angola, and his chief of staff, Joseph Monwabisi.
- 258 Those in or at the party house were shot by Warrant Officer Willie Nortjé and Eugene de Kock. MK commander Mr Leon Meyer [EC0117/96ELN] had left the party before the attack with his wife Ms Jacqui Quin [KZN/SELF/1161/DN]. De Kock instructed Macaskill to lead Mr Anton Adamson and one other operative to their home, where both were killed. Their infant daughter, Phoenix, was unharmed.
- 259 De Kock was instructed to undertake this operation by C section head, Willem Schoon, who in turn indicated that his orders came from "*heelbo*" (the very top). In his amnesty application, General Johan Coetzee [AM4116/96] confirms that the raid was discussed and approved at the level of the SSC.
- 260 A number of the operatives involved in the raid applied for amnesty for it. They include De Kock and Willie Nortjé [AM3764/96]. Anton Adamson is deceased

and the fourth killer did not apply. Johan Coetzee and Willem Schoon applied for this operation, but others in the chain of command did not.

1986–1989

- 261 On 4 June 1986, a senior MK operative, Mr Philip Nwanematsu (aka Pansu Smith), and two other ANC members, Mr Busi 'Mzala' Majola and Mr Sipho Dlamini, were killed in a raid on a house in the Dalraich section of Mbabane, Swaziland. Pansu was believed by the security police to be running an ANC cell involved in the movement of weapons and giving short courses on the use of limpet mines. Members of the Soweto Intelligence Unit (SIU) had succeeded in infiltrating the cell.
- 262 After the raid its leader, Eugene de Kock, drove through the night to report directly to police commissioner Johan Coetzee. At a 05h30 meeting at Coetzee's home, at which Willem Schoon and Colonels Schalk Jan Visser (head of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch) and Tiekie de Jager of the SIU were also present, a report was given to Coetzee¹⁸. The then head of the security police, General van der Merwe [AM4157/96], applied for amnesty for this operation, although he gives no details of his precise role in it. Mr Chris Hlongwane gave the Commission a statement on his role as an informer in this operation. He states that he was paid R7 000.
- 263 The attacking party comprised a combination of Vlakplaas, the SIU and Eastern Transvaal Security Branch members. They included Captains Willem 'Timol' Coetzee and Anton Pretorius, along with De Jager from the SIU, Colonel Deetlefs and Captain Paul van Dyk from Ermelo and Sergeant Douw Willemse from Vlakplaas.
- 264 On 14 June 1986, Special Forces commandos attacked a house in Gaborone and killed an ANC member, Mr Matsela Pokolela, and injured two other Batswana citizens. Few details are available on this operation other than that, in 1990, a Special Forces member named Mr Willie van Deventer claimed to have participated in the raid as a member of the CCB.

THE COMMISSION HAS BEEN UNABLE TO VERIFY THIS CLAIM AND MAKES NO FINDING ON THIS ATTACK.

- 265 Willem Schoon's amnesty application contains details of an operation he authorised in Ramoutswa, Botswana late in 1986. The targets of the operation were two MK members Mr Aubrey Mkhwanazi (aka 'Take Five') and his wife, Ms Sadi Pule. Both were believed by the security police to be members of MK's Special Operations

¹⁸ E De Kock, *A Long Night's Damage*, p. 136

Unit. The raid, for which the head of the Western Transvaal Security Branch, Brigadier Wickus Loots, has applied for amnesty, was undertaken by members of the Zeerust Security Branch. Aubrey Mkhwanazi and Sadi Pule were out at the time of the raid, but a seventy-two-year-old Botswana citizen, Ms Thero Segopa, was killed.

- 266 On 12 December 1986, a sixteen-strong team of Special Forces operatives conducted an operation in Swaziland in which the head of the ANC's Natal Regional Political Military Council, Mr Shadrack Maphumulo [KZN/NNN/632/DN], and a thirteen-year-old Swazi national, Danger Nyoni, were killed. Four other foreign nationals were abducted. They were Danger's father, Mr Welcome Nyoni, a Swiss couple, Ms Corrine Bischoff and Mr Daniel Schneider, and Ms Grace Cele, the Swazi representative of a Canadian NGO. After protests from the Swazi and Swiss governments, all the foreigners were released and returned to Swaziland. Cele was, however, held for over two months and intensely interrogated and tortured before being released.
- 267 In the attempts to capture Maphumulo, his house was blown up and destroyed. Resisting arrest, he was shot and wounded. He died *en route* to South Africa. Eugene de Kock said that Commandant Corrie Meerholtz, who commanded the operation, shot Danger Nyoni while the boy was trying to protect his father. This information has not been corroborated.
- 268 Information on this raid was supplied to the Commission by three sources, Eugene de Kock, Christoffel Nel and one of the participants in the operation, Mr Felix Ndimene (aka Rob Dickson and Bob Dixon).
- 269 The latter was a Mozambican who was himself a victim of a cross-border operation on 23 August 1982. On this occasion, South African Special Forces commandos wearing FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) uniforms abducted him and another Mozambican by the name of 'Fernando' (who, according to Ndimene, was later poisoned and killed at Phalaborwa) from the Mozambican/Swazi border village of Namaacha. In this raid, two Mozambican civilians (Mr Arnaldo Mahanjane and Mr Aurelio Duzentos Manjate) who, according to Ndimene, "happened to be in the way" were killed. In addition, a Portuguese citizen, Mr Antonio di Figueredo, was shot and killed in one of the houses entered during the raid. After a year of detention, Ndimene was 'turned' and became one of the first black members of Special Forces.

270 In testimony to the Commission, Christoffel Nel stated that he was present in the operations room at Special Forces headquarters on the night of this planned attack. As a mission involving more than one arm of service, Nel claims, "the President would know about it and sanction it"¹⁹. He stated that one of the co-ordinators of the operation was then Brigadier (later General) Chris Serfontein. He further states that a number of other senior military officers, including three generals, were present in the room during the operation.

271 Defending the Swazi raid, the South African government revealed it had been undertaken to pre-empt operations planned to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the launch of MK's armed struggle four days later. When Foreign Minister Pik Botha was asked if he regretted what had happened, he replied: "I do not regret it. If the decision were to be made again, I would make the same decision".

272 This Swazi raid was one part of a two-pronged operation, the other part of which was a planned seaborne raid by Recce 4 members on Maputo, where twelve ANC targets (including Mr Albie Sachs, Mr Indres Naidoo and Ms Sue Rabkin) were targeted for elimination in attacks on ANC houses. The operation was called off when the submarine party stationed at the entrance to Maputo harbour failed to make contact with Mr Dave Tippet, the Special Forces agent in Maputo, who was to guide the operatives to their target.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE OPERATION OF 12 DECEMBER 1986 IN SWAZILAND WAS AUTHORISED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL AND CARRIED OUT BY OPERATIVES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE'S SPECIAL FORCES WHO ARE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE UNLAWFUL KILLINGS AND ABDUCTIONS.

IN THE CASE OF THE ABDUCTIONS OF MR FELIX NDIMENE AND A CIVILIAN KNOWN AS 'FERNANDO' AND THE MURDER OF TWO MOZAMBICAN CITIZENS AND ONE PORTUGUESE CITIZEN IN MOZAMBIQUE IN AUGUST 1982, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UNKNOWN SADF SPECIAL FORCES' OPERATIVES WERE RESPONSIBLE.

273 Over the Easter weekend in 1987, an operation to assassinate a senior member of MK's Special Operations Unit, Mr Johannes Mnisi, failed. Instead, three Batswana citizens were killed and seven injured. Mnisi was believed by the security police to have been involved in the Church Street bombing in 1983. The plan to kill him was developed at a meeting attended by amnesty applicants Brigadiers Loots and Jack Cronje, as well as Colonel PR Crause, an agent by the name of McKenzie and a senior Special Forces commander who has not applied for amnesty. It was then presented to senior management of the security police

¹⁹ Section 29 hearing, transcript, 18 May 1998, p. 170

and approved at that level. The security police's regional co-ordinator for the Western Transvaal, General Albertus Steyn, applied for amnesty for his role in this operation. The then head of the security police was named at the amnesty hearing of Brigadier Cronje as having approved the plan, but did not apply for amnesty.

- 274 The plan involved Mr Keith Charles McKenzie, and agent from Eersterus in the Transvaal, who had successfully infiltrated MK in Botswana. He was to drive a minibus he regularly used to transport MK weaponry, into which a bomb would be built. The vehicle, which had a tracking device, was to be delivered to Mnisi and detonated by remote control once he was in the vehicle.
- 275 Unbeknown to the planners, McKenzie was under suspicion. On his arrival in Botswana, McKenzie was persuaded by MK members to travel to Francistown, where he was arrested by MK security and taken to Lusaka.
- 276 Unaware that the vehicle was carrying a bomb, MK returned it to Gaborone where it was parked outside the home of a Batswana family sympathetic to the ANC. That night it exploded. According to both the ANC and the Botswana government, the bomb was deliberately detonated by the security police once it was realised that the plan had gone awry. A Batswana woman and two of her children, a seven-year-old and an infant, were killed while seven others were hurt.
- 277 The incident caused a considerable rift in relations between the governments of South Africa and Botswana. On 24 June 1987, The DFA issued a formal note in which it denied any South African government involvement in the operation and alleged that McKenzie was an active member of MK. In the light of the information available to the Commission, the DFA either deliberately put out a false statement or unwittingly reproduced falsehoods supplied to it by other agencies.
- 278 On 22 May 1987, the head of MK's Natal machinery, Mr Theophilus Dlodlo (aka Viva) [JB00165/990VE] and two passengers in his car, Ms Mildred Msomi and Mr Tutu Nkwanyane, were shot and killed in Mbabane, Swaziland. Two other passengers, MK member Mr Shezi Msimang and Ms Lungie Zwane, were wounded in the attack. Ms Zwane lost an eye as a result. Although all in the car were South Africans, only Viva and Msimang were ANC activists.
- 279 Six weeks later, on 9 July 1987, Mr Cassius Make, ANC NEC member and senior MK commander, Mr Paul Dikaledi, another senior MK operative, and Mr

Augusto Elizah Tsinini, a Mozambican national and ANC supporter, were killed in an ambush at Lobamba, Swaziland. Make and Tsinini had been collected from Matsapha airport by Dikaledi and were travelling in a taxi driven by a Swazi citizen, Mr 'Boy' Gamedze. He survived the ambush.

- 280 In both of these assassinations, security police informers played important roles. Evidence before the Commission shows that Gamedze was an informer and that he stopped his taxi at a prearranged isolated spot. This view of Gamedze as an informer has been disputed by one of those involved in the operation, Warrant Officer 'Lappies' Labuschagne of the Middelburg security police. He ran a network of sources in Swaziland and is adamant that Gamedze was neither one of them nor an agent of any other operative. Gamedze died sometime after this incident in a car accident.
- 281 Eugene de Kock has linked an informer code-named 'Rasta' to Viva's killing. Moreover, in its second submission to the Commission, the ANC included the confession of Ms Nompumelelo Zakade as one of its case studies of confessions by agents. She is said to have provided information for the killings of Viva and Dikaledi and others, as well as on the house in Dalraich where Pantsu Smith and others were killed in June 1986. For this latter operation another agent, Mr Chris Hlongwane, was paid R7 000. For the Viva and Dikaledi/Make killings, Zakade is said to have been paid R8 500.
- 282 Colonel Johan Botha was involved in these two operations with Labuschagne. Both applied for amnesty.
- 283 Two days after the murder of Viva and his companions, Labuschagne and Botha, authorised by Schalk Visser, head of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch, abducted Ms Sheila Nyanda from Mbabane, Swaziland. An activist in her own right, Nyanda was also the wife of the head of MK's Transvaal machinery, Mr Siphwe Nyanda (aka Comrade Gebuza). They took her to Piet Retief where they unsuccessfully tried to persuade her to become an informer, then placed her in detention. Nyanda's car was retained – in effect stolen – by Botha and Labuschagne and used by them in their ambush of Make, Dikaledi and Tsizini.
- 284 In testimony to the Commission, Labuschagne stated that Sheila Nyanda was abducted in an attempt to draw out her husband.

- 285 The Eastern Transvaal branch of Trewits had identified Dlodlo as a target and there was a general authorisation for the killing of Make in his capacity as an ANC NEC member. Labuschagne told the Commission that he had received a letter of thanks in connection with the latter's death from Law and Order Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok.
- 286 On 11 May 1987, Ms Tsitsi Chiliza [JB05088/02PS], a Zimbabwean citizen and the wife of an ANC member, a Mr Masondo (aka Mhlope) , was killed when a booby-trapped television set exploded. Two young children present in the room survived the explosion. Ms Chiliza was not the intended target of what was a South African MI /Special Forces operation for which their agent, Mr Leslie Lesia was arrested in Mozambique and handed over to the police in Zimbabwe. There he made a confession and was charged with murder. He was never tried, possibly because of the severity of the torture to which he was subjected and the fact that his confession could have been ruled inadmissible. He was, however, kept in detention until July 1990.
- 287 On Lesia's return to South Africa, he voluntarily gave a statement to a human rights organisation in which he confirmed his role as an operative handled by MI agents known to him only as Becker and Brown. He confirmed that he had taken to Mozambique a booby-trapped television supplied to him by Becker.
- 288 Lesia was also used in at least two assassination attempts by poisoning. On a trip to Botswana, he was instructed by Becker to supply a crate of Castle Lager, which had been spiked with poison, to the Soviet embassy in Botswana. The Commission is not aware of any deaths or illnesses as a result of this delivery.
- 289 In 1987, he delivered a consignment of liquor, including beer containing poison, to an ANC contact in Mozambique. Soon thereafter, an ANC member died after drinking beer at a party. An amnesty application has been received from Captain Henri van der Westhuizen [AM4388/96] for supplying the liquor to an agent for use in Mozambique. Van der Westhuizen was at that time responsible for developing DCC target dossiers on Swaziland and Mozambique. Van der Westhuizen refers to the victim as Mr Gibson Mondlane while Lesia refers to him as Gibson Ncube.
- 290 Another MK member killed in similar circumstances in 1988 or 1989 was Mr Knox Dlamini. Based in Swaziland, he died after an agent had been instructed by his handler, DCC operative Commandant Jan Anton Nieuwoudt, to supply Dlamini with poisoned beer. Soon thereafter, Dlamini died in an Mbabane clinic after

developing hepatitis, the intended outcome of the administration of this drug. Nieuwoudt applied for amnesty for this operation. He names his superior officer as instructing him to undertake this task. He cannot be named as he has not applied for amnesty. Nieuwoudt also states that the agent who gave the beer to Dlamini was paid R8 000 for this.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS TSITSI CHILIZA AND AN ANC MEMBER IN MOZAMBIQUE WERE KILLED AS A RESULT OF AN OPERATION MANAGED BY MEMBERS OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE. IT IS UNABLE TO MAKE A CONCLUSIVE FINDING ON THE KILLINGS OF MR GIBSON MONDLANE/ NCUBE AND MR KNOX DLAMINI AS THE AMNESTY APPLICATIONS PERTAINING TO THEIR KILLINGS WERE PENDING AT THE TIME OF REPORTING.

- 291 In September 1987, an attempt was made in Harare on the life of Ms Connie Braam, the head of the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement. Checking into the Bronte Hotel after a conference, Ms Braam found two jackets hanging in a cupboard in her room.
- 292 Later that evening, Ms Braam wore one of the jackets for about an hour while she wrote a report. She awoke in the early hours with severe abdominal pains and was seriously ill for several days, but recovered. It was only after she heard of the attempt to kill the Reverend Frank Chikane through the contamination of his clothes that Ms Braam began to suspect she had been a victim of a similar poisoning attempt.
- 293 The Commission has been unable to corroborate that Ms Braam was subject to an assassination attempt, but accepts that she could well have been a target for elimination by poisoning. This view is based on evidence before the Commission on the use of poisons as a method of elimination by South Africa's security services and on the testimony to the Commission by Christo Nel that he was twice asked to arrange for the supply of poisons to the NIS for use in Zimbabwe. Further, the Commission has considered evidence from Mr Leslie Lesia that, whilst in Chikurubi prison, he was held with South African agents imprisoned who told him that "they took their apparatus into Zimbabwe by plane. This apparatus included poison, bombs ..."²⁰. Court papers filed by Mr Guy Bawden in support of a damages suit against the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, included a statement to the effect that in December 1987 he was asked by his cousin, Mr Barry Bawden, to collect materials parachuted onto his farm by the SADF. What he found was grenades, firearms, clothing and chemicals. This pick-up occurred three months after Ms Braam was 'targeted', but is indicative of the use of contaminated clothing.

²⁰ Statement 8 November 1990, p. 52

294 Questioned about the Braam case, Nel stated that:

It sounded or resembles the typical type of chemical operation where a substance could have been sprayed onto such items of clothing. It was known to me that such capabilities existed due to a planning cycle that we went through to explore the possibilities of contaminating a consignment of clothes destined for Dar es Salaam.

295 On 10 January 1988, Mr Obed Amon Mwanza, a Zimbabwean, was killed and six ANC members injured when the truck Mwanza was driving exploded outside an ANC transit house in Bulawayo. This was a South African security operation undertaken by agents located in Zimbabwe. One of those agents, Mr Philip Masiza Conjwayo, a former member of Zimbabwe's Special Branch, made a statement to the ANC in which he said that he was handled by Captain Mary Baker of the South African security police.

296 According to the ANC document, another South African agent, Mr Henry Thompson, gave Conjwayo Z\$8000 for this operation, to acquire a vehicle and to find a driver. Mwanza was hired at the Bulawayo Employment Exchange and was paid Z\$20.00 to drive the truck. Before he took possession of the truck, it was booby-trapped by Mr Kit Bawden and Mr Michael Smith. They then followed Mwanza as he drove the vehicle to a designated address. As he parked the vehicle, Bawden detonated it by remote control.

297 According to information given to the Commission by one of those involved in the operation, this was a CCB project. The orders were given by a member of the CCB's inner circle, a senior Special Forces operator who did not applied for amnesty and so cannot be named. The orders were passed on to the Zimbabwean agents via Mr Gray Branfield and Mr Alan Trowsdale.

298 Conjwayo, Michael Smith, Barry Bawden and the head of the Bulawayo CIO, Kevin Woods, were arrested for this operation and sentenced to death for murder. The sentences were commuted to life imprisonment after five years. Kit Bawden managed to evade the net by fleeing to South Africa at the time of the first arrests. Woods was not directly involved in the operation and was not even in Zimbabwe at the time of the attack. He also denied being formally recruited but admitted that "he gave a hand" when asked to do so – largely in the form of intelligence. For this, he was paid a retainer, reimbursed for expenses and given 'perks' like a holiday in Durban.

299 Woods applied for amnesty for his role in this and other operations. He claimed that his role in operations inside Zimbabwe was limited to providing intelligence and logistic and surveillance (photographic) assistance for sabotage attacks on ANC facilities in Harare and Bulawayo. He passed his information on to his runners, whom he names as Mr Alec West (NIS) and Mr Alan Trowsdale (DMI).

300 All attempts by the Commission to gain access to Woods and other agents gaoled in Zimbabwe were blocked by the Zimbabwe government.

IN REGARD TO THE MURDER OF MR AMON MWANZA, THE COMMISSION ACCEPTS THE VERDICT OF THE COURTS IN ZIMBABWE.

301 On 13 January 1988, the body of ANC member Mr Jacob Molokwane was found in a car on the road between Francistown, Botswana, and the Zimbabwe border. He had been shot several times. His name appears on the ANC's list of members killed in exile. No amnesty applications were received for this killing and the Commission was unable to uncover any conclusive information on it, or to make a finding.

302 Mr Mazizi 'Mpilo' Maqakeza and Mr Mbulelo Ngona (aka Khaya Kasibe or KK) were underground MK operatives in the Transkei in the mid-1980s. In January 1988, Ngona fled to Lesotho. Sometime thereafter he was joined by Maqakeza.

303 On 25 February 1988, Maqakeza and Ngona, along with a University of Lesotho student, Mr Thandwefika Radebe, were stopped at a roadblock in Lesotho by a group described in different press statements as "Basotho police" and "a group of armed men". After being searched, the three were apparently told by the group they had orders to shoot them. Ngona managed to escaped but Radebe was killed and Maqakeza left for dead on the side of the road. On 15 March 1988, Maqakeza, recovering from his wounds, was shot and killed in his hospital bed. The shooting occurred shortly after his bed had been swapped with another patient and he had been moved under an open window. Uncorroborated information given to the Commission has attributed the shooting to a member of the Ladybrand security police.

304 The fate of Ngona is unknown to the Commission. His mother appeared before the Commission in Port Elizabeth and said that, within days of the shooting, he was seized from his hiding place in Roma, Lesotho, by four men, placed in a vehicle and "tied like a dog between the seats". He has never been seen again.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR MPILO MAQEKEZA AND MR THANDWEFIKA RADEBE WERE KILLED BY UNKNOWN PERSONS, ACTING ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF UNKNOWN PERSONS AND

- 305 Between 1980 and 1988, Mr Godfrey Motsepe [JB00606/02PS] was based in Brussels as the ANC's diplomatic representative to the BENELUX countries. In a submission to the Commission, Mr Motsepe alleged that he had twice been the target of assassination attempts in 1988. In the first, on 2 February 1988, two shots were fired through the window of the office in which he was working, but missed him. In the second, on 27 March 1988, a seventeen-kilogram bomb was discovered in his office. This occurred two days before the killing of Ms Dulcie September in Paris.
- 306 In the course of the Belgian police investigation, Motsepe allegedly recognised Warrant Officer Joseph Klue from photographs as the perpetrator of the shooting. A former military attaché to London in the early 1980s, Klue had been expelled from Britain for his involvement in the sabotage of the ANC mission in London. The Belgian police issued an international warrant of arrest for him, but it was never executed.
- 307 The Commission's investigation led it to doubt Klue's involvement. It believes that the greater possibility is that the attacks on Motsepe and September (see below) formed part of a CCB operation undertaken in collusion with covert French right-wing elements.
- 308 On 29 March 1988, Ms Dulcie September, the ANC chief representative in France, was assassinated in Paris. She died instantly when hit by a volley of five bullets fired at close range. Though no submission was made to the Commission on the murder, it was identified as a priority case for investigation. A delegation travelled to Paris and elicited the co-operation of the French police, who made available to the Commission the files of the investigating judge, Ms Claudine Forkel.
- 309 In her summary document dated 17 July 1992, Ms Forkel stated that she was unable to identify the assassins. However, the document makes clear that it was her view that September was killed in the context of a plan by the South African state to eliminate senior ANC figures in Europe. She noted that September's assassination had followed closely on attempts on the life of Mr Godfrey Motsepe, the ANC chief representative to the BENELUX countries, in Brussels on 4 February and 27 March 1988.

- 310 Ms Forkel's interest focused on Mr Francois Richard Rouget. A former member of the French army, Rouget was said by Ms Forkel to be the leader of a group collecting information on ANC members in Europe. Another member of this group was Ms Antonia Soton, one-time companion of Rouget, who confirmed to a French journalist investigating the murder that she spied on ANC targets.
- 311 In 1985, Rouget joined the Presidential Guard in the Comores, an outfit funded by South Africa. At the time, the Comores was used by South African security as a listening post tracking ANC communications (mainly telex) traffic and as a conduit for sanctions-busting in general and the supply of weapons to RENAMO in particular.
- 312 In January 1987, Rouget left the Comores and moved to South Africa where he worked as a representative of the Europe-Africa Export company. This position required him to visit Europe frequently. Ms Forkel accepted that Rouget was not one of the killers as his looks did not correspond with the description of the two killers, but her conclusion in regard to him was that his character, history, relationship to the world of mercenaries, stay in South Africa and frequent travelling to Europe amounted to "grounds for suspicion".
- 313 In an interview with the Commission in April 1998, Eugene de Kock described the September assassination as a CCB operation managed by Commandant Dawid Fourie, its deputy head, in which the two who pulled the trigger were members of the Comorien Presidential Guard. He named one of these as Mr Jean-Paul Guerrier (aka Captain Siam) who, he claimed, was also involved in the 1989 assassination of President Abdallah. The Commission cannot, however, corroborate the identity of Guerrier as one of the two assassins.
- 314 The Commission was able to corroborate two aspects of this information. One, that Dawid Fourie (aka Heine Muller) was responsible for the CCB's external operations. This information was supplied to the Commission by Christoffel Nel, the CCB's head of intelligence. Two, that in 1996 Guerrier was arrested by the French police and charged along with Mr Bob Denard and another former member of the Presidential Guard, Ms Dominique Malacrino, with the murder of Abdallah.
- 315 Testifying before the Commission on 18 May 1998, Christoffel Nel described the murder of Dulcie September as one of the CCBs "successes". Pressed on this, he stated that " ... from the general atmosphere at the CCB head office whenever

reference was made to Dulcie September's death, I had never any doubt in my mind that it was a CCB operation"²¹.

- 316 Asked whether the trigger-pullers could have been hired from the Comorien Presidential Guard, Nel said: "I would say it would be ludicrous for any South African group to use a South African to kill Dulcie September. I always expected that if this case is exposed that we will find that it's a French Foreign Legion person or something in that order"²²

WHILE IT IS NOT ABLE TO MAKE A DEFINITIVE FINDING ON THE ASSASSINATION OF MS DULCIE SEPTEMBER, THE COMMISSION BELIEVES ON THE BASIS OF THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO IT THAT SHE WAS A VICTIM OF A CCB OPERATION INVOLVING THE CONTRACTING OF A PRIVATE INTELLIGENCE ORGANISATION WHICH, IN TURN, CONTRACTED OUT THE KILLING.

- 317 On 7 April and 13 October 1988 respectively, Mr Albie Sachs [KZN/JD/001/AM] and Ms Joan and Mr Jeremy Brickhill [KZN/JD/001/AM] were severely injured in separate car bomb explosions in Maputo and Harare. Both of these operations were undertaken by Special Forces covert operatives. Based on its investigations and the amnesty application of Henri van der Westhuizen, the Commission believes the attack on Mr Sachs to have been the work of a covert unit under the control of a senior Special Forces operative. However, Van der Westhuizen suggests that the target of the operation was not Sachs but Mr Indres Naidoo, ANC diplomat in Maputo. The bomb was placed in Naidoo's car which, unbeknown to the operatives, Sachs had borrowed on this particular day. Nonetheless, as Sachs was a high-profile ANC member and target, the operation was regarded as a success. The operative who placed the bomb was paid R4 000 for his work.
- 318 The Brickhill bombing was carried out by South African covert agents in Zimbabwe. Mr Christopher 'Kit' Bawden and his brother, Mr Guy Bawden, are known to have been involved in this particular operation. Kit was the leader of a covert unit linked to South African Special Forces, which had operated since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. Guy only became peripherally linked to the group when he moved to Zimbabwe in November 1986. Surveillance of the Brickhills was done by Mr Philip Conjwayo.
- 319 According to press reports, Kit was promised R75 000 for a successful operation. In a filmed television interview in November 1991, Jeremy Brickhill and Guy Bawden met and the latter apologised for his involvement in the attempted killing.

²¹ Transcript, p. 90; p. 131

²² Transcript, p. 134-5

- 320 No amnesty applications were received for direct involvement in these attempted assassinations.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SOUTH AFRICAN SPECIAL FORCES AGENTS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTEMPTS TO KILL MS JOAN AND MR JEREMY BRICKHILL AND MR ALBIE SACHS. THEY WERE ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR THE INJURIES SUFFERED BY CIVILIANS IN THE VICINITY OF THE EXPLOSIONS. THE GROUP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON THE BRICK-HILLS WAS LED BY MR CHRISTOPHER BAWDEN.

- 321 In March/April 1989, a joint Vlakplaas-SADF Special Forces group attacked an ANC transit facility at Ramathlabama, approximately ten kilometres inside Botswana. According to De Kock, information on this facility was passed to South Africa by Botswana's intelligence service. After keeping the facility under surveillance for a week, Brigadier Loots, head of the security police in the Western Transvaal, authorised the assault. It was led by Captain Martiens Ras [AM2735/96] and included De Kock [AM0066/96] and Willie Nortjé, all of whom have applied for amnesty, and three Special Forces members who cannot be named as they did not submit amnesty applications.

- 322 The house was blown up in the attack and, according to the amnesty applicants, three unnamed ANC members were killed in the operation along with one security guard. The ANC list of members killed in operations outside the country contains no names of members killed in Botswana at this time.

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

- 324 According to information supplied by Eugene de Kock and Sergeant Daniel Izak Bosch, a Zimbabwean and former member of the Selous Scouts, Chris Kentane, was contracted for this operation. He was recruited by De Kock and was handled by Bosch. He was, according to De Kock, paid an unspecified amount for this killing and for that of an unnamed and unknown ANC member he claimed to have killed "on a road between Plumtree in Zimbabwe and Gaborone in Botswana".

THE COMMISSION CAN MAKE NO FINDING ON THE KILLING OF MR SADHAN NAIDOO AND MR MOSS MTHUNZI DUE TO THE FACT THAT THE AMNESTY APPLICATIONS RELATING TO THE KILLING WERE PENDING AT THE TIME OF REPORTING.

- 325 In 1989, the Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches, the Reverend Frank Chikane [JB03725/01GTSOW], became seriously ill while on a visit to the United States. When he was admitted to hospital, it was discovered that he had been poisoned by a chemical substance sprayed onto his underwear. According to Eugene de Kock,²³ members of the SADF had gained access to Chikane's suitcase at an airport and applied the toxic substance. Other information has attributed this operation to the CCB. No amnesty applications were received for this incident.
- 326 A statement given to the Commission under oath by a former member of the security police, Mr Manuel Oliphant, confirms that Chikane was a target for possible elimination. Oliphant states that he was instructed by a member of the SIU and two members of MI to undertake photographic reconnaissance on Chikane's house, as an instruction had been received from security police headquarters in Pretoria that Chikane "should be assassinated". The reconnaissance was done but, while Oliphant was waiting for "a go-ahead" on the operation, he read of Chikane's attempted poisoning. In the absence of corroborated evidence, the Commission could make no definitive finding on this case.

Abductions

- 327 Reference has already been made in the above section to a number of cross-border abductions. The perpetrators in each case were either security police or SADF Special Forces members. There were eight victims. Two were killed. One was 'turned' and became a Special Forces member until he was able, following the 1990 change in the South African situation, to return to his home country. The four foreigners taken from Swaziland in 1986 were released. One, Ms Sheila Nyanda, was held in lengthy detention before being released – again after the political situation had changed in 1990.
- 328 The fate of these abductees was not, however, typical. The evidence available to the Commission suggests that the more likely fate of an abductee was to be either 'persuaded' to become security a force operative or *askari* or to be killed.

1960–1969

- 329 The earliest cases of cross-border abductions in this period date from the early 1960s when a number of opposition activists who had taken refuge in some of South Africa's neighbouring states were kidnapped and forcibly returned to

²³ *A Long Night's Damage*, pp. 175–6.

South Africa. In each instance, the sovereignty of the British government in respect of its colonial possessions was violated by South African security agents. In 1961, security agents kidnapped from Basutoland three fugitives from the Pondoland uprising, namely, Mr Anderson Ganyile, Mr Ignatius Ganyile and Mr Mohlova Matseko. In 1962, four SWAPO sympathisers including Mr Kenneth Abrahams and Mr Hannes Beukes were kidnapped from Bechuanaland. In 1964, two alleged African Resistance Movement (ARM) members, Ms Rosemary Wentzel and Mr Dennis Higgs, were kidnapped from Swaziland and Northern Rhodesia respectively. All except Wentzel appealed to the courts for relief from an illegal abduction from foreign soil and were successful.

- 330 While there is no evidence that the British authorities collaborated with the abductors in the above cases, there are other cases where they did. For example, Mr Russel Maphanga [KZN/FS/142/DN], Mr Ndoda Anthony Xaba [KZN/PMB/002/PM] and thirty-six other ANC members were arrested by the Northern Rhodesian police in 1963 while attempting to cross from Southern into Northern Rhodesia. Handed back to the Southern Rhodesian authorities, they were then taken to the Beit Bridge border post and given over to the SAP. All were detained and severely tortured before being tried and convicted of leaving South Africa illegally. On the expiry of their sentences, they were re-arrested, tried and convicted of leaving the country with the intention of undergoing military training. In 1965, they were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.
- 331 In July 1965, a South African refugee, Mr Michael Dingake, was arrested by Southern Rhodesian police *en route* from Botswana (where he had asylum status) to Zambia and handed over to the South African security police. After severe torture at the hands of Major 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel and others, he was tried and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment.

1970–1979

- 332 A South African refugee in Lesotho, Mr Herbert Fanele Mbale, was abducted in 1972 and handed over to the Bloemfontein Security Branch. Mbale had studied in the Soviet Union and was an active member of the ANC in Lesotho. His abduction was witnessed by a staff member of the UNHCR, which resulted in considerable publicity and an official protest by the Lesotho government. Mbale was returned to Lesotho with an official apology from the South African government. Willem Schoon applied for amnesty.

- 333 Two years later, another refugee, Mr Sydwell Phiri [JB00143/010GTSOW] was abducted from Maseru by the South African Police and taken to Bloemfontein in the boot of a car. He was thereafter moved to Barberton, where he was so severely tortured that he suffered permanent brain damage and was left semi-paralysed. The Commission was not able to corroborate the facts alleged in the statement.
- 334 On 20 March 1976, two ANC members, Mr Cleopas Ndhlovu and Mr Joseph Nduli, were abducted from Swaziland. According to the amnesty application of the late Colonel ARC 'Andy' Taylor [AM 4077196], the abduction was carried out by a Special Task Force (STF) formed in 1976 and headed by Captain (later General) JJ 'Blackie' de Swardt. Eight members of the STF were involved in the operation. The abductees were taken initially to a police camp called 'Island Rock' near Sodwana Bay, where they were tortured.
- 335 In July 1976, Nduli, Ndhlovu and eight others (including Mr William Khanyile, who was to die later in the 1981 Matolo raid in Mozambique) were tried on charges under the Terrorism Act. All except Khanyile were convicted. Five were sentenced to life imprisonment, while Nduli and Ndhlovu were given eighteen and fifteen-year sentences respectively. A separate application to the Supreme Court for their release on the grounds of their kidnapping from foreign soil failed when the Court ruled that it had jurisdiction to try them even if they had been abducted.
- 336 In the same month as the Nduli and Ndhlovu abductions, three members of the PAC – Mr Nogaga Morgan Gxekwa, Mr Isaac Mhleka and Mr Stanley Thabo Pule – were also abducted from Swaziland and taken to South Africa. After being held in detention for more than a year, they were charged in terms of the Terrorism Act with training guerrillas in northern Natal and in Swaziland. Gxekwa, a founder member of Poqo and APLA, and Pule were acquitted but immediately re-arrested on other charges. Mhleka was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. As in the Nduli case, defence counsel's argument that the court had no right to try the three on the grounds of their extra-territorial abduction was rejected.
- 337 In January 1978, the Swazi press reported that members of the SAP had forcibly removed two men from a car travelling near Big Bend in Swaziland and taken them to South Africa. They were a South African refugee, Mr Victor Mayisela [JB05926/01GTSOW], and a Swazi sugar worker, Mr Caiphus Mamba. The Commission failed to uncover any information on their fate.

- 338 In another incident, the plane carrying a South African refugee, Mr Zingiva Winston Nkondo (aka Victor Matlou), to Lesotho in December 1979 landed in Bloemfontein due to engine trouble. The passengers were then transported to Lesotho by bus. At the border post, Nkondo was arrested by the SAP and detained for five months. Charged under the Terrorism Act, he appeared in court where an application that his detention was unlawful and a violation of Lesotho's territorial integrity was dismissed. The charges were dropped and Nkondo was released in May 1980 and allowed to proceed to Lesotho.
- 339 In 1978, Mr Peter Nkosinathi Dlamini [KZN/NM/100/NQ] was abducted from Swaziland by unknown members of the security police and forced to become an *askari*.

1980–1989

- 340 By 1981, Dlamini's loyalty as an *askari* was in doubt. So too was that of Mr Vuyani Mavuso, an ANC guerrilla who had been abducted during the Special Forces raid on Matola in Mozambique on 30 January 1981. He and another ANC member, Mr Motidi Ntshakang (aka 'Ghost') and Mr David Ntombela, a Mozambican security guard, were forcibly taken to South Africa. The Mozambican was detained for over two years before being released and returned to Mozambique. Ntshakang became an *askari* but was later imprisoned for murdering his girlfriend.
- 341 Mavuso refused to co-operate. In September 1982, Colonel Schoon, head of C section, ordered that Dlamini and Mavuso be held *incommunicado* in a 'safe house' in Komatipoort. The intention was to change their attitudes. This failed and their elimination was ordered. They were killed by a Vlakplaas squad led by Dirk Coetzee. Brigadier Schoon applied for amnesty for this operation.
- 342 On 19 February 1981, Dirk Coetzee was linked to the abduction from Swaziland of Mr Dayan 'Joe' Pillay, a refugee in Swaziland working as a schoolteacher. Joe Pillay was a relative of a senior MK intelligence operative, Mr Ivan Pillay. It seems that this abduction was a case of mistaken identity. The operation also misfired in that one of the abductors dropped his identity card at the scene and was traced to Manzini where he and three of his fellow abductors were arrested. Portuguese citizens living in Swaziland were contracted for this operation. Others involved in the abduction, and who actually took Pillay into South Africa were Vlakplaas-based *askaris* Petros Kgodi and Jeff Bosigo.

- 343 The four arrested in Swaziland were charged. On the day of their bail hearing, the public prosecutor assigned to the case was instructed by his superior (whose instructions came from the Swazi Prime Minister) not to oppose bail. He refused and was replaced on the case. Granted bail, the four 'disappeared' into South Africa and were housed at Vlakplaas for some time.
- 344 Pillay was held in Pretoria for a period, during which he was tortured as well as having a so-called truth serum administered to him. Following a protest from the Swaziland government, Pillay was eventually returned to Swaziland. Dirk Coetzee [AM0063/97] applied for amnesty for this incident. So too did Brigadier Schoon, although he claims that Coetzee acted on his own without any authorisation. The hearing was pending at the time of reporting.
- 345 In May 1982, Mr Peter Lengene, a student leader who fled South Africa in 1976, was abducted from Gaborone, Botswana. During the course of his exile, he became active in the South African Students Revolutionary Council. His abduction was carried out by members of the SIU. Lured to a house by an informer, he was forced into the boot of a car and taken to Rustenburg where he was held for a period during which he was assaulted and tortured. He finally agreed to join the security police. Amongst those involved in the abduction, for which they have applied for amnesty, were SIU members Captain Willem 'Timol' Coetzee, Captain Anton Pretorius and Lieutenant Colonel Antonie Heystek, who was in charge of the operation.
- 346 On 14 April 1984, four Swaziland-based members of MK's 'Special Operations' unit were abducted from a low-security police station in Bhunya, a small town close to the South African border. They were Mr Chris Gaboutlwelwe Mosiane, Mr Vikelisizwe Collin Khumalo, Mr Michael Dauwanga Matikinca and Mr Ernest Nonjawangu, the last three being referred to in various amnesty applications as 'James', 'Tebogo' and 'Bhuye'. The four were held in a widespread crackdown on the ANC by the Swaziland government in the weeks following the signing of the Nkomati Accord.
- 347 In the months following the Accord, at least five other ANC/MK members were killed in shoot-outs with the Swazi police and there is evidence that South African security personnel assisted in some of the operations. Those killed were Mr Jabulani Ngcobo, Mr Popo Molefe, Mr Sydney Moropa, Mr Elias Khuzwayo (a pseudonym) and Mr Mthunzi Luxomo.

- 348 Ngcobo was killed in December 1984 after, according to the Swazi police, having shot dead Superintendent Petros Shiba, deputy head of the Swazi security police and an alleged South African agent. Eventually the majority of those held in prisons were deported to other African countries, but a few, like the Bhunya four, were handed over to South Africa.
- 349 The Bhunya abduction was undertaken by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch. Schalk Visser ordered and participated in the raid, for which he applied for amnesty, as did Christo Deetlefs and Warrant Officer James van Zweel. A fourth policeman – from Piet Retief – also participated but did not apply for amnesty. There is evidence too, of collaboration with certain Swazi police officers, who were paid for their role.
- 350 The four abductees were held in detention for six months and subjected to intensive interrogation. Their choice was, as Mr Chris Mosiane [AM3768/96] put it in his amnesty application, to “co-operate or simply disappear”; the four eventually agreed to become *askaris* and were moved to Vlakplaas.
- 351 On 1 June 1985, three members of the Mngomezulu refugee community in southern Swaziland, Mr Jameson Ngoloyi Mngomezulu, Mr David Mkethwa Mngomezulu and Mr Leonard Loghudu Mngomezulu, were abducted and forcibly taken to South Africa. The latter two were detained and tortured for information. After six weeks, they were released and returned to Swaziland.
- 352 Jameson Mngomezulu was not so fortunate. An experienced MK commander who had been trained in North Africa in the 1960s, the security police believed he was involved in infiltrating MK guerrillas into South Africa. He died as a result of being severely tortured.
- 353 The abductions were authorised by Eugene de Kock and undertaken by Vlakplaas operatives or *askaris* (including Douw Willemse [AM3721/96], Warrant Officer Gerhardus C Beeslaar [AM5640/97], Almond Nofemela and Corporal Thapelo Mbelo [AM3785/96]) and Captain Paul van Dyk [AM5013/97] and Detective Warrant Officer Johannes Koole [AM3748/96] of the Security Branch. All these applied for amnesty.
- 354 Warrant Officers ‘Freek’ Pienaar [AM5014/97] and Gerhardus Schoon [AM5006/97] and Gerhardus Beeslaar, all amnesty applicants, were involved in the torture of Jameson Mngomezulu and the blowing up of his body.

- 355 In June 1986, Mr Sydney Msibi (aka Twala), a former bodyguard of Mr Oliver Tambo and a senior MK intelligence officer, was abducted from a bus stop in Mbabane, Swaziland, and taken to South Africa. Msibi was the handler of an ANC member, Warrant Officer Vincent 'Speedy' Malaza, who had infiltrated the Eastern Transvaal security police. Under detention in Pretoria, Malaza apparently revealed details of his work for the ANC.
- 356 Msibi's abduction was authorised by amnesty applicant Brigadier Willem Schoon and planned jointly with Schalk Visser. Malaza was taken into Swaziland where he met Msibi under the surveillance of a team led by Eugene de Kock along with amnesty applicants Willie Nortjé, Colonel Daniel Greyling, Captain Joe Coetzer, Steve Bosch, Captain Paul van Dyk, Warrant Officer 'Snor' Vermeulen and Captain Frank McCarter. According to De Kock, Msibi was taken to Vlakplaas and handed over to MI for interrogation. According to the amnesty applications of Greyling and Colonel Gert Visser, he was persuaded to work for the police as a source. De Kock, however, insists he did not reveal any information and did not become an *askari*. What is known is that, in early July 1988, Msibi was shot dead by persons unknown in Soweto.
- 357 Mr Glory Sedibe (aka Comrade September and Lucas Seme) was abducted from the Mankayane prison in Swaziland and taken to South Africa. According to press reports in Swaziland, three Swazi police officers were paid a total of R150 000 for their assistance in abductions from Swaziland, including those from Bhunya and Mankayane. Sedibe was abducted by a raiding party led by Eugene de Kock and including C section members Steve Bosch, Douw Willemse and Almond Nofemela, as well as Christo Deetlefs and Paul van Dyk of Ermelo and 'Freek' Pienaar and Johannes Koole of Piet Retief – all amnesty applicants. The abduction was authorised by amnesty applicants Willem Schoon and Schalk Visser.
- 358 Sedibe was an important MK intelligence officer and a senior member of the Transvaal machinery. He strenuously resisted capture but was eventually overpowered and taken to Piet Retief where he was held in detention for some five months before he agreed to co-operate with the police. Assigned initially to Vlakplaas, he was eventually transferred to MI, where he and fellow kidnap victim Chris Mosiane became members of DCC. Sedibe died in mysterious circumstances in 1992, probably by poisoning.
- 359 On 22 July 1986, an ANC member, Mr Joseph Mothopeng, was abducted from his home in Lesotho by unknown South African Security Branch members from

Ladybrand and killed. Few details are available and no amnesty applications were received for this operation. It is possible Mothopeng may also have been known as Simon Moghetla. This is suggested by DCC member Henri van der Westhuizen in his application for amnesty for an operation in mid-1986 in Lesotho in which an ANC member named by the applicant as Simon Moghetla was abducted and three other unnamed ANC members killed. Van der Westhuizen was at that time engaged in developing targets amongst ANC members in Lesotho. He was attached to the Ladybrand security police. He states that he undertook the target identification for this mission. The attack itself was undertaken by a combined Vlakplaas and Ladybrand security police team. Van der Westhuizen claims he was told the day after the mission that Moghetla had been abducted but that three other ANC members had been killed in a shoot-out.

- 360 The Commission was unable to identify the three or to corroborate Van der Westhuizen's information. Press reports from mid-1986 refer only to an incident in July 1986 in which two Basotho described as ANC sympathisers were killed. One is identified as a medical technologist, Mpho Makete.
- 361 On 15 December 1986, a senior ANC intelligence official, Mr Ismael Ebrahim [CT00940/OUT], was abducted from his home near Mbabane, Swaziland. This operation occurred three days after the abduction from Swaziland of four foreign nationals by Special Forces (see above).
- 362 A member of MK's Natal High Command in the 1960s, Ebrahim had served a lengthy prison sentence for sabotage. On his release, he went into exile and resumed underground activity. No amnesty applications were received for this operation, but information supplied to the Commission by two witnesses suggested that the abduction was carried out by NIS operatives. According to Ebrahim, his abductors were two black men.
- 363 Ebrahim was taken to South Africa and handed over to the Security Branch. He was held for several months, during which time he was interrogated by a team of questioners. In a statement to a hearing in the Netherlands, Ebrahim identified one of his questioners as Major Martin Naudé, head of C2, the intelligence division. He was also subjected to months of solitary confinement.
- 364 Thirteen months after his detention, Ebrahim was brought to trial on a charge of high treason. The presiding judge refused his application for the dismissal of the charges on the grounds of his illegal abduction. Ebrahim was convicted and

sentenced to twenty years. Ebrahim appealed against the right of the South African courts to try him. His appeal was upheld by the Appellate Division in mid-1990, and he was released.

- 365 In December 1987, three members of the ANC based in Lesotho were abducted and taken to South Africa. They were Ms Joyce Keokanyetswe (Betty) Boom [KZN/JRW/051/BL], Ms Nomasonto Mashiya (along with her child), and Mr Tax Sejamane. Three amnesty applications were submitted to the Commission in regard to these abductions. They are from Colonel Colin Anthony Pakenham Robertshaw [AM7163/97] who was attached at the time to the Security Branch at Ladybrand, and two of his colleagues, Sergeant Antonie Jagga [AM7106/97] and Lesizi Michael Jantjies [AM7107/97]. The identical statements allege that contact was made with Boom in Maseru in 1987, and that she agreed to become a source. A little later, when they learnt that Boom was under suspicion, the group agreed that she should be brought to South Africa in an operation which would be made to seem an abduction.
- 366 Boom was thus taken to a farm in the Ladybrand district where she allegedly suggested that contact be made with Mashiya, a fellow cell member, with a proposal that she join Boom. Mashiya allegedly agreed, but insisted that she be accompanied by her one-year-old child. Once she had joined Boom, Mashiya agreed to become an informer and asked the police to deliver her child (with an explanatory letter) to her parents in the Vereeniging area. This was done. Soon afterwards, Tax Sejamane allegedly agreed to become an informer. Having established a network of agents, the three were returned to Maseru where they disappeared soon after.
- 367 This version of events is not accepted either by relatives who gave statements to the Commission or by the ANC. Their view is that the three were forcibly abducted by members of the Ladybrand security police and taken to South Africa, where they were killed and their bodies buried. What is certain is that none of the three has been seen or heard of since they disappeared from Lesotho in 1988.
- 368 In July and October 1988, two MK operatives in Swaziland, Mr Emmanuel Mzimela (aka Deon Cele) and Ms Phila Portia Ndwandwe (aka MK Zandile and Zandi) were abducted, taken to South Africa and killed when they refused to co-operate with the Security Branch. Their bodies were exhumed by the Commission in 1997. The abduction of Ndwandwe was authorised by then Brigadier (later Major-General) Johannes Albertus Steyn of the Durban Security Branch at the request of Colonels Andy Taylor and Hentie Botha, both of whom participated in the

operation along with Lieutenant Colonels Jacobus Vorster and Sam du Preez, Warrant Officer Laurie Wasserman and some others. All those named have applied for amnesty for this operation.

- 369 Cele was persuaded by a colleague, Mr Goodwill Sikhakane, to enter a minibus after leaving night classes in Manzini. Unbeknown to him, Sikhakane was at that time negotiating with the Durban Security Branch to return to South Africa as an agent. The Cele abduction was used by the security police to test Sikhakane. Durban Security Branch members Warrant Officer Laurie Wasserman [AM4508/96] and Colonel Hentie Botha were hiding in the minibus. They subsequently overpowered Cele and drove him to a house belonging to the Pietermaritzburg Security Branch, where they allegedly left him. According to Botha's amnesty application, he was eliminated the following day after refusing to become an informant. Both Wasserman and Botha applied for amnesty for this abduction. Sikhakane became an *askari* but was himself eliminated by his Vlakplaas superiors in 1991.

FULLER DETAILS ON THESE THREE KILLINGS ARE CONTAINED ELSEWHERE IN THIS REPORT. BECAUSE THE AMNESTY APPLICATIONS FOR MOST OF THE ABOVE ABDUCTIONS WERE PENDING AT THE TIME OF REPORTING, THE COMMISSION WAS UNABLE TO MAKE FINDINGS ON THEM BEYOND THE FACT THAT EACH INVOLVED A VIOLATION OF THE TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED.

Border/entrapment killings

- 370 Included here are two cases where the actual killings happened either on the border but not actually in South African territory or where individuals were lured out of South Africa into foreign territory to be killed by South African security forces.
- 371 According to the amnesty applications of Eastern Transvaal security police officers Gert Visser [AM50002/97] and Schalk Jan Visser [AM 5000/97], an MK member was arrested late in 1981 at the Oshoek border post with Swaziland and taken into South Africa for questioning. Under interrogation, he reportedly revealed the names of his commanders and of planned operations inside South Africa. A plan was then made to abduct these commanders 'George' and 'Brown' (real names George Ndlovu [JB00470/01ERKWA] and Kenneth Nungu), and to bring them to South Africa for questioning. In the course of the attempted abduction, there was a shoot-out a few hundred yards inside Swaziland. The vehicle in which the two were travelling caught fire and the two burnt to death.
- 372 This operation was undertaken by the SAP's Special Task Force under the command of General AJ Wandrag [AM4363/96], who applied for amnesty for it. Between

eight and twelve members of the Task Force participated in the ambush, including amnesty applicants FJP Nel, Captain Marthinus Strydom, Gert Visser, Schalk Visser, Captain DJ Steenberg and JJ Viktor snr.

- 373 A member of the ANC machinery who worked under Ndlovu was Ms Nokhuthula Aurelia Dlamini. She operated as a runner-cum-courier between the Swaziland ANC cadres and those in Johannesburg. Dlamini was abducted by the security police outside the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg in 1983 and has never been seen again. Uncorroborated information in the hands of the Commission suggests that Ms Dlamini was held by the security police on a farm near Krugersdorp where she was severely tortured and eventually killed (for more details, see elsewhere in this volume).
- 374 On 12 February 1989, student activists Portia Shabangu [JB03397/02NPLTM], Thabo Mohale [JB03397/02NPLTM] and Derrick Mashobane (aka Mpho Mashoeng) [JB03397/02NPLTM] were killed by a Vlakplaas squad commanded by Eugene de Kock in an ambush in a forested area near Bhunya in Swaziland. The three were allegedly going to Swaziland, *inter alia* to undergo arms training and to smuggle arms back into the country. The three were told to meet their contact in the Swazi Plaza in Mbabane. The contact turned out to be an *askari* who lured the three to an ambush point in a secluded forest area where they were shot and killed. Approximately ten operatives participated in the ambush, including two *askaris*. Of the operatives, those who applied for amnesty were Sergeant Leon Flores [AM4361/96], De Kock and Captains Riaan Bellingan [AM5283/97] and Petrus Snyders [AM5286/97].
- 375 According to De Kock, the operation was planned at a meeting attended by himself and C section commander Willem Schoon, General Gerrit Erasmus from Security Branch head office, Colonel Alfred Oosthuizen of the Intelligence Branch (section D) of the security police, who reported directly to General Erasmus, and Captain Willem 'Timol' Coetzee of the SIU, who was charged with monitoring the three until they crossed the border. De Kock, General Erasmus [AM4134/96] and Colonel Oosthuizen [AM4385/96] applied for amnesty for this incident.
- 376 According to amnesty applicant Leon Flores, this operation was code-named *Cobra* and, according to de Kock, involved the elimination of fifteen to sixteen student leaders of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO).

GIVEN THE FACT THAT THE AMNESTY APPLICATIONS IN REGARD TO ALL OF THESE SO-CALLED ENTRAPMENT KILLINGS WERE PENDING AT THE TIME OF REPORTING, THE COMMISSION WAS

UNABLE TO MAKE FINDINGS IN TERMS OF INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTABILITY.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, DURING THE PERIOD 1963–89, THE SADF AND THE SAP PLANNED AND ENGAGED IN A NUMBER OF UNCONVENTIONAL MILITARY OPERATIONS, CROSS-BORDER RAIDS, ABDUCTIONS, ASSASSINATIONS AND ATTACKS ON PEOPLE AND PROPERTY BEYOND THE BORDERS OF SOUTH AFRICA. SUCH ACTIVITIES OF THE SAP AND THE SADF LED TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON A WIDE SCALE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUCH ACTIVITIES OF THE SAP AND SADF CONSTITUTED A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE FORMER CABINET, THE SSC AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SAP AND SADF. THE COMMISSION FINDS THESE INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR MEMBERS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE AFORESAID GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

■ SPECIAL OPERATIONS OF A SENSITIVE OR COVERT NATURE: THE CCB

Die CCB is die benaming soos ons vanoggend hier sit, van 'n bordjie op 'n tafel, in plaas van om daar te sê Spesiale Operasies van covert aard, staan daar Burgerlike Samewerkingsburo op 'n gewone oggendkonferensie van spesiale magte. Die CCB het net binne spesiale magte gefunksioneer. *The CCB is a designation (developed) at a regular morning conference of Special Forces, just as we sitting here today. Like a sideplate on a table; instead of Special Operations of a covert nature, there emerged the CCB. The CCB functioned only within Special Forces. (Colonel Pieter Johan (Joe) Verster, testimony to the Commission, 18 August 1997.)*

377 The Commission's investigations of the CCB were hampered by the fact that no applications for amnesty were received from CCB members in regard to the organisation's external operations. CCB operatives summonsed to appear before the Commission all, with one exception, refused to discuss its external activities. Another difficulty was the fact that the one state commission (Harms) set up to investigate the CCB was worthless. The Harms Commission focused only on internal operations while the CCB was primarily an externally-oriented organisation. Only the surface of CCB activities was, therefore, scratched.

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

- 379 The four Recce regiments were numbered 1, 2, 4 and 5. For a brief period there was also a Recce 3 but that name seems to have given way to Delta 40 or D40. This unit was formed in response to the independence of Zimbabwe and the large numbers of experienced Rhodesian counter-insurgency personnel who were recruited into the South African security network through *Operation Winter*. This project was headed by the then GOC Special Forces, Major General FW Loots. The other development was a perceived need on the part of South Africa's military strategists for Special Forces to develop a covert arm.
- 380 D40 was headed by ex-Rhodesian Mr Garth Barrett and was comprised almost exclusively of other ex-compatriots. It was members of this unit that undertook the Matola Raid in 1981, in which they lost three members. In 1981, D40's name changed to Barnacle. In about 1983, it appears that many Rhodesians, including Barrett, left the SADF. Nonetheless, a component of Barnacle continued to operate within Zimbabwe right up until the late 1980s.
- 381 In his amnesty application, Colonel PJ 'Joe' Verster stated that, in 1986, certain structures within the security system were reorganised. The impetus came from the retiring chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen. From 1975–81, Verster had been officer commanding of 1 Recce. In 1981, he was assigned to Special Forces' headquarters ('Speskop') initially as staff officer (later senior staff officer) for Special Operations – effectively staff officer to the GOC of Special Forces. In 1986, a new post of senior staff officer: Covert Operations was created and assumed by Verster. He still remained directly accountable to the GOC but now for a different kind of special operation. In his testimony, Verster described his new assignment as "developing a covert force to counter the covert operations of the ANC".²⁴
- 382 The above details are corroborated in the amnesty application of the GOC Special Forces (November 1985–January 1989), General AJM 'Joep' Joubert, where he states that:

In the mid- to late eighties, one of the major goals of national security policy and strategy was to bring the revolutionary organisation and mobilisation by the liberation movements, particularly the ANC, to a halt ... by this time it was also clear that the ANC was not going to be stopped by normal conventional methods and that revolutionary methods would have to be used. As the institution for external operations, Special Forces would also have to intensify its external operations ... since the necessity for unconventional and revolution-

²⁴ Translation of section 29 hearing transcript, p. 13.

ary action was already clear, it was also clear that clandestine and covert operations would have to take place internally, for which Special Forces members would be used. It was more or less then that the name CCB was adopted as a replacement for D40 or Barnacle. The revolutionary and covert nature of the plan, amongst other things, involved:

- a) that ANC leaders and people who substantially contributed to the struggle would be eliminated;*
- b) that ANC facilities and support services would be destroyed;*
- c) activists, sympathisers, fighters and people who supported them would also be eliminated;*

383 The CCB was not therefore planned as an organisation separate from the SADF's institutional framework. Nor was it any kind of 'third force' in the sense of a separate and autonomous entity. What it represented was an additional capacity on the part of Special Forces in its war against 'the enemy'. With the established Special Forces operating as they had for some years – largely in a cross-border capacity with, where necessary, the public backing and acknowledgement of the SADF hierarchy and government – they were now to be supplemented by a secret, apparently civilian strike force, which neither the government nor the SADF would acknowledge publicly.

384 Thus the CCB represented a new method of state-directed warfare in the South African context, part of Special Forces but structured and functioning in a way intended to make it seem it was not.

385 Those who were recruited into the CCB from the ranks of the SADF or police never regarded themselves as operating from outside the rubric of the state security system; nor did most probably know that they were members of an entity called the CCB. It was not a term used outside of the planning and senior administrative level. It was a "*posbenaming*", as Verster put it in his amnesty application. He stated "*omdat die BG Spesiale Magte om sy konferensietafel nie wou praat van die Koverte Operasionele Staf Offisier nie is die benaming Burgerlike Samewerkings Buro geskep*" (because the above-mentioned special forces did not want to speak about the covert operations around the conference table, the name Civil Co-operation Bureau was adopted). The quote at the head of this section reflects that arrangement.

- 386 Though a part of the Special Forces' family, the CCB represented a radically different direction on the part of the SADF. It was in that sense something new, although not unique in an international context. It was an application to the Southern Africa theatre of a form of operational intelligence with a precedent in the wider world of espionage and covert operations.
- 387 In testimony to the Commission, Mr Christoffel Nel, who was the CCB's head of intelligence, explained that the CCB was a long-term project which required at least a ten-year gestation period in which to develop an effective covert capacity. The goal was to create a global subterranean network of companies that would be both legitimate businesses as well as fronts for operational intelligence. The companies would be headed by businessmen who were well integrated into their communities but remained skilled covert operatives able both to run successful firms and to collect intelligence and act on it where instructed.
- 388 In a discussion with a Commission official, Joe Verster confirmed the long-term nature of the CCB project. He described the goal as setting up a "first line of defence" outside the country. He gave the example of ships carrying weapons to South Africa's enemies and argued that it was counter-productive to wait for those weapons to reach their destination rather than develop a capacity to sink those ships before they left for those destinations. For that, an operational intelligence capacity was required.
- 389 The intention was that the CCB would be fully functional sometime in the mid-1990s. Based on the experience of other intelligence agencies, it was recognised that it would take that long for a skilled soldier to transform her/himself into a career businessperson, well integrated into a new working environment. Thus it was that the priorities of those selected for membership of the CCB included training in business practice and the development of what was known as their 'blue-line cover', that is, a proper business which would provide them with civilian cover. The escalating nature of internal unrest in the late 1980s, the needs generated by the declarations of the states of emergency, and the desire to prevent a SWAPO victory in South West Africa derailed the timetable, and the CCB was pulled into the counter-insurgency effort before it was properly ready and set up.
- 390 As stated above, the decision to develop the civilian component of Special Forces was made in 1986. As part of their cover and the plausible deniability framework, Verster and those selected to constitute the 'aware' strata of the organisation were required formally to resign their commissions in the SADF.

Verster did so in late 1986 but was immediately re-hired in terms of a contract with all pension and other benefits. Commandant Charl Naudé did the same, as no doubt did the other core members of the CCB, such as Wouter Basson (aka Christo Britz), Major Lafras Luitingh, Dawid Fourie (aka Heine Muller) and Mr Theuns Kruger (aka Jaco Black). As a CCB operative, Verster assumed the administrative names of Rick van Staden and Dave Martin.

- 391 Despite the 'resignations' of the CCB's top leadership, they were still able to call on the resources of both Special Forces and MI. These included:
- a The chemical and biological warfare (CBW) capacity of the South African Medical Services (SAMS). Christo Nel testified that on a number of occasions he, in his capacity as the CCB and MI link to the CBW programme, submitted requests for various toxic substances.
 - b The explosive and other technological resources of the Electronic Magnetic Logistical Component (EMLC). This was a division of the SADF which developed specialised weapons in the form of letter, car and briefcase bombs, as well as explosive gadgets like umbrellas and radios. Colonel 'Hekkies' van Heerden was the technical specialist at Special Forces' headquarters, and the link to the EMLC.
 - c The intelligence collected by the DCC and particularly its projects section. This latter was, in actuality, its target-development programme. It was started in 1986 by Christo Nel, who moved across to the CCB in 1988.
- 392 Though inaugurated in 1986, it was not until 1988 that the organisation became fully functional. While the CCB had originally been conceived of as a structure for external operations, by 1988 an internal component had been added. This development, according to one witness before the Commission, was imposed upon a reluctant Joe Verster. However, in a discussion with a Commission official, Verster did not express such a view about the internal section (region 6), although he did state that some members were forced on him. He stated that region 6, which did not become fully functional until January 1989, was set up as an extension of the external regions so that if, for example, an MK member was being tracked through the region, the target could be handed over to another section of the organisation once s/he crossed the border into South Africa. Verster explained that the membership of this region was drawn from the police (in contrast to the military background of the members of other regions) because the internal

situation was the primary responsibility of the police. The SADF functioned only in a support capacity.

- 393 Those who were recruited into the CCB from the ranks of the SADF or police did not regard themselves as operating outside the rubric of the state security system. As mentioned, they were probably unaware that they were members of an entity called the CCB, as it was not a term used outside of the planning and senior administrative level.
- 394 The CCB was structured along regional lines. There were ten regions in all, eight geographic and two organisational. These were Botswana (1); Mozambique and Swaziland (2); Lesotho (3); Angola, Zambia and Tanzania (4); International/Europe (5); South Africa (6); Zimbabwe (7); South West Africa (8); Intelligence (9); and Finance and Administration (10).
- 395 Heading this structure was a management board chaired by the GOC Special Forces – Major General Joep Joubert (1985–89) followed by Major General Eddie Webb from the beginning of 1989. Other board members were the managing director (Verster), his deputy (Dawid Fourie), a regional co-ordinator (Wouter Basson), finance (Theuns Kruger) and administrative or production manager (Lafras Luitingh). Others named as members of the CCB's inner core were its intelligence chief, Christoffel Nel, and ex-Special Forces operatives Commandants Charl Naudé and Corrie Meerholtz.
- 396 While this board may have supervised the CCB's operations, it had no policy autonomy separate from the overall command structure of the SADF. Verster stressed that the Board chair "could make certain decisions on his own within his written mandate from the chief of the defence force, but he had to clear it in terms of the hierarchy above him ... He had no mandate to do as he pleased." He confirmed that this liaison with the chief of the SADF included consultation with the SADF's general staff.
- 397 The Commission endeavoured, with limited success, to uncover the identity of those involved at the regional level. It can report that in region 1 (Botswana) the regional manager up to 1988 was Commandant Charl Naudé and thereafter Dawid Fourie, while Christo Nel (aka Derek Louw) handled the intelligence function. In region 2 (Mozambique and Swaziland) the manager was Commandant Corrie Meerholtz (aka Kerneels Koekemoer) until the end of 1988, when he left to take charge of 5 Recce. He was replaced by the operational co-ordinator, Captain Pieter Botes. Fourie was also the manager in region 3 (Lesotho), while the intelligence

function was performed by Peter Stanton, one of the few remaining ex-Rhodesians from the D40 and Barnacle eras.

- 398 Dawid Fourie was also responsible for region 4 (Angola, Zambia and Tanzania), taking it over in 1988 from Meerholtz. Christo Nel handled the intelligence function while Ian Strange (aka Rodney) was also involved in this region. In terms of region 5 (European and International), Joseph Niemoller jr. appears to have been co-ordinator until 1987, when he was suddenly withdrawn following the arrest of a number of individuals living in England on charges of plotting to kill ANC leaders. The intelligence function was performed by Eeben Barlow. Various CCB members co-ordinated region 7 (Zimbabwe) including Wouter Basson and Lafras Luitingh. Others involved in sub-management were Ferdi Barnard (for a brief period) and Alan Trowsdale. Region 8 (South West Africa) was headed by Roelf van Heerden (aka Roelf van der Westhuizen).
- 399 Joe Verster estimated that the CCB undertook between 170 and 200 projects. These included administrative arrangements like the setting up of a blue-line company or a pension plan. As there were some one hundred 'aware' members and therefore approximately one hundred businesses, at least half of all projects were not directly linked to offensive operations.
- 400 There were two types of members in the CCB – aware (*'die bewustelike buitekring'*) and unaware (*'die onbewustelik buitekring'*). The former were recruited from within the ranks of the security organs, mainly the SADF, and were required to set up blue-line covers. They were all required formally to resign from the SADF, or whoever their employer was, and sign a contract of employment with what was known as *'Die Organisasie'*. They operated from a part of Special Forces headquarters known as *'die Gat'*.
- 401 These aware members in turn hired 'employees' to work for them. These were the unaware members. In his appearance before the Commission, Joe Verster estimated that there were about one hundred aware members and some 150 unaware members.
- 402 Christo Nel described the second group as consisting of two types – those who thought they were connected to the government but were unsure of which part, and others who were totally ignorant. He went on, however, to suggest that there was still a third category – "international criminals ... people who were usable for the type of work that was planned"²⁵. Donald Acheson (see the Lubowski

²⁵ Transcript of section 29 hearing, 18 May 1998, p. 28.

case above), Peaches Gordon and Isgak Hardien, internal region 6 unaware operatives, were perhaps some of those he had in mind.

- 403 Region 6 was headed by the one-time head of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit (BMRU), Brigadier Daniel 'Staal' Burger. It became fully operational on 1 January 1989. Its inner circle was comprised of other former BMRU members who were assigned to various sub-regions of South Africa. They were Abram 'Slang' van Zyl (western Cape), Calla Botha (Transvaal) and 'Chappies' Maree (Natal). Another region 6 member, after his re-deployment from Zimbabwe, was Ferdi Barnard. Region 6 operated under the designation of *Project Choice*.
- 404 The objective of the CCB was "the maximal disruption of the enemy". A CCB planning document described disruption as having five dimensions: death, infiltration, bribery, compromise or blackmail, and destruction. In his testimony to the Commission, Christo Nel stated that, when he underwent induction training into the CCB in 1988, this was not the order of priorities. Killing was a goal, but the emphasis, he argued, was on bringing about the death of an opponent by indirect means rather by the organisation's assassins themselves.
- 405 Nonetheless, the CCB did kill some opponents of the government and tried to kill others. There is evidence that the CCB was involved in the killings of Mr David Webster [JB00218/01GTSOW], Mr Anton Lubowski, Ms Dulcie September [CT03027/OUT], Mr Jacob 'Boy' Molekwane and Mr Matsela Polokela in Botswana, and Ms Tsitsi Chiliza [JBO5088/02PS] in Harare. (This last was an operation that went wrong: the intended target was Mr Jacob Zuma in Maputo.)
- 406 It also attempted, or conspired, to kill others. Amnesty applications have been filed by CCB operatives Joe Verster, Wouter Basson, 'Staal' Burger and 'Slang' van Zyl for the plots to kill Mr Dullah Omar and Mr Gavin Evans.
- 407 Other information available to the Commission has linked the CCB to the killings of Ms Florence Ribeiro, Dr Fabian Ribeiro [JB03488/02PS] and Mr Piet Ntuli [JB02306/01MPMOU], the attempted killings of Mr Godfrey Motsepe [JB00606/02/PS] in Brussels, Mr Jeremy Brickhill in Harare, Mr Albie Sachs in Maputo [KZN/JD/001/AM], Comrade Che Ogara (MK *nom-de-guerre*) in Botswana and Mr Frank Chikane [JB03725/01GTSOW]; the plans to kill Mr Joe Slovo in London in the mid-1980s, Mr Oliver Tambo in Harare in 1987, Ms Gwen Lister, Mr Daniel Tjongarero and Mr Hidipo Hamutenya in South West Africa, as well as Mr Jay Naidoo, Mr Roland White and Mr Kwenza Mhlaba in South Africa.

- 408 The CCB also participated in elimination missions with other security force elements, such as the security police and the more overt wing of Special Forces. One such joint mission was the attack on the ANC transit house in Phiring, Botswana in 1988 in which MK regional commander Patrick Vundla was killed.
- 409 Another operation in Botswana in 1988 went badly wrong. On 21 June 1988, a CCB group inside Botswana was intercepted by a Botswana police patrol and a shoot-out ensued. Two CCB members, Mr Johannes Basson and Mr Theodore Hermansen, were captured, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in December 1988.
- 410 A major CCB operation was undertaken in South West Africa in 1989. As part of the South African government's campaign against SWAPO in the run-up to the December 1989 election in South West Africa, every aware member was transferred from their region to shore up the work of the existing South West African CCB set-up. According to Christo Nel, "we were told, 'Double up your production and you will get a production bonus'²⁶". It was in this context that Mr Anton Lubowski was killed.
- 411 As is evident from the above, one aspect of the CCB's *modus operandi* was the use of cash as an incentive to 'produce'. Thus, like other hit-squad or counter-insurgency units such as *Koevoet* and C10, CCB members were provided with a positive inducement to undertake actions which could, and often did, result in a gross violation of another individual's rights.
- 412 As stated above, however, killing was not the sum of the CCB's activities. A great deal of time and effort were expended on disinformation campaigns designed to discredit opposition figures and sow confusion in the ranks. At the time that the CCB was being planned, the SADF also launched its Stratcom (Strategic Communications) programme as a vehicle for the deliberate spreading of disinformation about targets in the hope that this would at least create a sense of suspicion about them, if not result in their elimination.
- 413 The CCB was also heavily involved in campaigns of infrastructural disruption through sabotage. Targets of such operations were bridges, railway lines, oil containers, strategic military targets, offices and houses, especially those used to accommodate guerrillas in neighbouring states. Christo Nel told the Commission of one such operation in Botswana, in which Colonel Hekkies van Heerden of the ELMC placed a car bomb in a minibus and parked it in front of the house it was intended to destroy. The bomb was so powerful that it demolished three homes.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 30–1.

- 414 Another core activity was intelligence collection for operational purposes. There seem to have been only three experienced intelligence operatives amongst the aware members – Nel, Pete Stanton and Eeben Barlow. The CCB could only collect intelligence for specific operational purposes. Again according to Nel, one of its successful projects in this regard was a communications company set up in Maseru by the CCB and staffed by some black Special Forces operators. This firm sold and installed communications (telephone, fax, telex etc.) equipment in offices. One such contract was to a facility used by the ANC, which meant that all calls to and from this office were monitored by the CCB. The information so collected was used against MK structures particularly in the western Cape.
- 415 Another CCB concern was sanctions busting with a view to acquiring arms and technology. According to testimony in a court trial in Johannesburg in 1990, region 6 member Leon ‘Chappies’ Maree conceded that part of his CCB brief was to operate as a covert agent for the import of high-tech military equipment. He testified that he had undertaken a four-month trip to six European countries in early 1990, brokering ‘business’ deals for the acquisition of war materials for the SADF. Other information available to the Commission indicates that sanctions-busting activities formed an important component of some members’ activities.
- 416 The CCB engaged in a range of other miscellaneous activities, one of which was *Project Apie*, involving the nailing of a monkey foetus to a tree in the garden of Archbishop Tutu’s residence. Another was *Project Crawler*, involving the purchase of a so-called spy ship, the *Margit Rye*, from Denmark for use in information-gathering activities on South Africa’s enemies. It was purchased through a company headed by a CCB member, André Groenewald (aka Kobus Pienaar).
- 417 *Project Direksie* was an attempt to free South African agents Michael Smith, Kevin Woods, Barry Bawden, Philip Conjwayo and Rory Macguire from Chikarubi prison in Harare on the day they were due to appear in court. The plan was aborted at the last minute when the South Africans became aware that the Zimbabweans had advance information on the attempt. One of those involved in the escape attempt, Mr Denis Beahan, failed to get the message and was arrested and later sentenced to a long term of imprisonment.
- 418 *Projects Imperial, Maagd and Maxi* each involved the collection of information in other African countries.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE CCB WAS A CREATION OF THE SADF AND AN INTEGRAL PART OF SOUTH AFRICA’S COUNTER-INSURGENCY SYSTEM WHICH, IN THE COURSE OF ITS OPERA-

TIONS, PERPETRATED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING KILLINGS, AGAINST BOTH SOUTH AFRICAN AND NON-SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CCB CONSTITUTED A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CCB AND THE SADF. THE COMMISSION FINDS THESE INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR MEMBERS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE AFORESAID GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

■ CROSS-BORDER MILITARY OPERATIONS/RAIDS

- 419 Several cross-border operations undertaken by the SADF were publicly acknowledged at the time by the South African government.
- 420 In its first submission to the Commission, the SANDF provided information on external operations targeted at what it described as “ANC and PAC bases and facilities”. This list is by no means comprehensive in that it does not include operations undertaken in Angola or against SWAPO facilities in Zambia. The SANDF does not explain these omissions. Those it lists are the following:
- a *Operation Beanbag*: an attack on the Matola area of Maputo, Mozambique on 30 January 1981;
 - b an attack on “ANC facilities” in Maseru, Lesotho on 9 December 1982;
 - c *Operation Skerwe* (fragments, shrapnel): an attack on “ANC facilities” in the Matola suburb of Mozambique on 23 May 1983;
 - d an attack on an “ANC planning facility” in Maputo, Mozambique, on 17 October 1983;
 - e *Operation Plecksy*: an attack on alleged ANC residences and offices in Gaborone, Botswana on 14 June 1985;
 - f *Operation Leo*: co-ordinated SAAF and Special Forces attacks on alleged ANC facilities in Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia on 19 May 1986;
 - g an attack on an “ANC transit facility” in Phiring, near Gaborone, Botswana on 28 March 1988.
- 421 Also listed is an attack on a ‘PAC transit facility’ in Umtata, Transkei on 17 October 1993. This operation is discussed elsewhere in this volume.

- 422 Guidelines for cross-border operations were adopted by the SSC in 1979, and amended in 1985. Most of the raids listed above fell into a category of planned (*oorwoë*) operations which, between 1979 and 1985, required the assent of the SSC. In this regard, the explanation presented in the SANDF submission is misleading. It suggests that the matter rested in the hands of “the Chairman of the SSC for his decision, in consultation with those members of the SSC he decided to involve”. This situation applied only from 1985, when the 1979 guidelines were amended.
- 423 The first Matola raid of January 1981 was planned by section A of the security police, headed by Colonel (later General) Jac Buchner and assisted by Major (later Brigadier) Callie Steijn of MI. Much of their intelligence was derived from interrogated detainees. One of these was Mr Steven Mashamba, who became an *askari*.
- 424 Twenty lives were lost in this raid, in which three houses were attacked and largely destroyed. They included Mr José Ramos, a Portuguese citizen killed at a road-block, three of the attackers – Sergeants Robert Hutchinson and Ian Suttill and Lieutenant Corporal JK Park, all Rhodesians – and sixteen South Africans. Among these were a number of senior MK operatives and members of the elite Special Operations unit, including the commander of the first attack on Sasol, Mr Motso Mokgabundi. The others who died (all males) were Thabang Bookalane, Mandla Daka, Themba Dimba, Mduduzi Gama, William Khanyile, Vikeliswe Khumalo, Mankazana Levinson, Bhukumuzi Magubane, Solomon Mahutso, Daniel Molikisi, Steven Ngcobo, Vusumuzi Nwenya, Krishna Rabilall, Mfanafuthi Radebe, and Sinzino Skweyiya. In addition, as noted earlier, two South Africans and one Mozambican were abducted in the raid.
- 425 The SSC minutes contain no prior authorisation for this raid. In the minutes of the first meeting after the raid, on 2 February 1981, the chair congratulated the defence force on the success of the operation.
- 426 The same planning team of Buchner and Steijn and Special Forces commandos was responsible for the raid on Maseru on 9 December 1982. The midnight attack targeted a number of houses and a block of flats in Maseru and resulted in the deaths of forty-two people. Of these, thirty were South African and twelve Basotho citizens. Four of the SADF attackers were wounded in the operation. Amongst the South African casualties were the ANC’s chief representative in Lesotho, Mr Zola Nqini, and three members of the Marwanquana family – Alfred (imprisoned

on Robben Island in the 1960s for fifteen years) and two of his teenage children, Mzukisi and Thandiswa. Another ex-Robben Islander, Mr Phakamile Mpongoshe, was killed in the same household. Two Basotho families also lost three family members. They were Ms Anna Hlalele and Mr Motlasi Hlalele and Motlasi's seventeen-year old brother, Pondo, and Mr Sefata and Ms Mateboho Jafeta and their four-year old son, Teboho.

- 427 Another South African victim was Mr Jobo Titus who had been in Lesotho for only one day after serving an eighteen-year sentence on Robben Island. Another ex-Robben Island prisoner to die was Mr Jackson Trom. After serving a six-year sentence for membership of a banned organisation, Trom had been banished to a remote area of the Transkei. After ten years, he and his family fled to Lesotho. Another of those killed was an active SACP member, Mr Gene Gugushe (aka Stephen Seroto), a refugee from the Soweto uprising.
- 428 According to General Viljoen, chief of the SADF, five women and two children were killed in the raid. In fact, seven women died. Six of those killed were school-going teenagers. In his statement, General Viljoen described the operation as a "successful raid" on twelve ANC targets which he said were "planning and control headquarters for ANC action against South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei and were used as a springboard for terrorist action". Expressing regret for the fact that "the innocent also had to suffer because they were housed by terrorists to discourage action against them", he claimed that the ANC deliberately located their offices "in civilian houses to complicate action against them". This statement was either an attempt to explain or justify the fact of civilian casualties or reflected an ignorance of the ways in which modern guerrilla wars were fought.
- 429 In addition to those named above, the following died in this raid (males unless otherwise stated): Toto Biza, Ngipe Bantwini, Lizethile Dyani, Mzwandile Fazzie, Zwelindaba Gova, Samson Kana, Sibusiso Khuzwayo, Ms Mapuleng Mafisa, Ngubekhaya Maqhekeza, Lepota Marayi, Ms Florence Mateseliso, Themba Mazibuko, Bongani Mbuso, Siphon Mchunu, Liqwa Mdlankomo, Michael Mlenze, Dumisani Mthandela, Mark Mvala, Cecil Ngxito, Siphon Notana, Faku Ntoyi, Ms Matumo Rabelitso, Ms Mapoloko Sehlabaka, Matikwane Seroto, Peter T'senoli, Naphtali Tsimile, Mzwanele Vasi and Vuyani Ziba.
- 430 There is no reference to the Maseru raid in the SSC minutes, either before or after it took place.

- 431 The SADF's second raid on Maputo – *Operation Skerwe* – on 23 May 1983 was launched in retaliation for the ANC's Church Street bombing in Pretoria three days earlier. The report below is derived from material in MI files (DMI MI/309/2 and MI/204/2/2/9).
- 432 According to the files, the targets comprised a missile site, command post, training centre, logistical base, urban and logistical headquarters. If they were such, they were located in houses described in the files as Gebuza's (Siphiwe Nyanda) house, September's (Glory Sebide) house, Zola's house and Mlangeni's house. Another target appears to have been a state-owned oil refinery.
- 433 Despite the public pronouncements about the success of the raid, a reading of the file shows that it was a disaster. Though the Minister of Defence, General Malan, announced that six ANC bases and a missile battery had been destroyed and forty-one ANC "terrorists" killed, this was a complete fiction. None of the intended targets were hit. Instead, the homes of Mozambican citizens were attacked, as was the crèche of a jam and fruit juice factory. In these hits, five Mozambican civilians – one a child – were killed, along with one South African refugee, Mr Vuyo Ntete (aka Fred Naledi).
- 434 In the initial damage report in the files it is stated that target identification was erroneous and that civilians were killed and private property damaged. A longer communication dated 14 June 1983 from the chief of the SADF (Lieutenant General Viljoen) to the chief of the army (Lieutenant General Geldenhuys) describes the final result of the attack as:

not merely a disappointment but a shock ... our image and credibility with government and abroad has been seriously damaged. This operation is precisely what I referred to after my visits to 32 Battalion near Cuvelai (Angola). We accept poor results far too easily without analysing why they are poor and taking steps to remedy the situation. If we were to analyse our operational effectiveness and to make the results public we would be ashamed.

- 435 The SSC minutes reveal that this raid was discussed at its meeting on the day of the raid and was, according to the Minister of Defence and chief of the SADF, undertaken after consultations with the chairperson. The chairperson explained that it had not been possible to call the whole council together for consultation.

- 436 There was a further raid on Maputo on 17 October 1983. Few details are available on this raid, other than that it was undertaken by SADF Special Forces and that the target was the ANC office located in a block of flats in central Maputo. The office was damaged in a bomb blast and five people were injured.
- 437 While again there is no prior authorisation for this raid in the SSC minutes, General Malan provided the SSC meeting of 17 October 1983 with a report on what he described as a successful raid on the ANC's headquarters in Maputo.
- 438 In a raid not listed in the SANDF submission, a group of SADF commandos from 5 Recce attacked four homes in the Polana area of Maputo in May 1988. This was a combined forces operation. The attackers entered the city in vehicles which they blew up on the beach before being evacuated by sea. Like the raid in May five years earlier, this raid seems also to have suffered from faulty intelligence. Three Mozambicans – all wrong targets – were killed.
- 439 Two ANC houses were attacked, but both were unoccupied at the time, with the result that the only fatality was a Mozambican security guard, Mr Joao Chavane. The raiders also entered a block of flats looking for the apartment used by a co-operant (expatriate) who worked closely with the ANC. Finding that flat empty, the raiders entered the one opposite, which was occupied by Ms Suzana de Souza, sister-in-law of Mozambique's Minister of Culture, and her husband, Mr Antonio Pateguana, brother-in-law of Mozambique's military chief of staff, and their two young children, aged three and five. The two adults were taken out onto the balcony where the raiders checked with other members of the party below in a courtyard as to whether they were the correct targets. The party below gave a positive signal and the two were then shot in front of the two children, who were left with the corpses. Other members of the raiding party attacked a suspected ANC house which turned out to be occupied by a Tanzanian. He returned fire on the attackers and avoided injury.
- 440 On 14 June 1985, twelve people were killed in *Operation Plecksy*, an attack on houses and offices in Gaborone, Botswana. Eight of the dead were South Africans. The others were a Somali citizen, a Basotho child and two citizens of Botswana. This is the only raid for which the Commission received amnesty applications and for which there is clear evidence of state authorisation, albeit not in the form of an SSC resolution.

- 441 General Albertus Steyn (a colonel at the time of the attack) applied for amnesty for his planning and intelligence-collection role in regard to the operation. At the time he was co-ordinator of the Western Transvaal Security Branch based at Zeerust. He states that along with Brigadier Wickus Loots and Special Forces Commandant Charl Naudé, he briefed Generals Johan Coetzee (SAP commissioner), AJ 'Kat' Liebenberg (head of Special Forces) and Constand Viljoen (SADF chief) on the raid "on more than one occasion". Brigadier Loots and Colonel Philip Rudolph Crause of the Zeerust Security Branch also applied for amnesty for their intelligence role.
- 442 In an amnesty application, a member of the Soweto Security Branch, Colonel Lodewyk de Jager, said that his unit was invited to an information-sharing and planning meeting for the raid at Special Forces headquarters. He stated that his unit had in the past attended similar sessions on Mozambique and Lesotho, the site of other cross-border raids staged up to this time.
- 443 Represented at this meeting were head office and the Johannesburg and Western Transvaal sections of the Security Branch, National and Military Intelligence and Special Forces. The raid itself was launched from Nietverdiend and led by the most senior officers of 5 Recce. Others present at the administrative command centre at Nietverdiend included Craig Williamson and members of the Soweto Security Branch. Other members of the Soweto security police who applied for amnesty for their involvement in the planning process are Anton Pretorius, Johannes Meyer and Willem 'Timol' Coetzee.
- 444 In his amnesty application, General Johan Coetzee of the SAP stated that the "trigger for the raid was the attack on the house in Cape Town of a Deputy Minister of the House of Representatives". He also states that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was absent from the SSC meeting at which the raid was discussed. General Coetzee was instructed to contact Mr Botha to inform him of the pending raid and to get his reaction. President Botha had signed the authorisation order but had done so subject to the Foreign Minister's approval. The task of finding Pik Botha was given to Craig Williamson and General Stadler of the SAP. In evidence to the Commission, Coetzee stated that Mr Botha read the order and approved it by signing it.
- 445 The raid was not a success either in military or public relations terms. According to the amnesty application of Anton Pretorius, so-called 'deep cover' agents of the Soweto Intelligence Unit had identified four primary targets as those "responsible

for planning and execution of terror onslaught". They were Mr Tim Williams, Mr Riaz Saloojee (aka Calvin Khan), Mr Patrick Ricketts and Mr Christian Pepani (aka Jeff). None were hit. After the raid, according to Pretorius, three of these deep-cover agents – identified only as R103, RS 276 and RS 283 – were recalled to Lusaka where one was said to have been shot almost on arrival while the other two (including at least one woman) were tortured and killed at Quatro camp.

- 446 Few, if any, of the ANC casualties seem to have been senior military figures, although in the amnesty application of Jan Anton Nieuwoudt he states that he targeted Mr George Pahle. He was killed along with his wife, Ms Lindiwe Pahle. The other South Africans killed were a prominent artist, Mr Thami Mnyele, from whose home the attackers stole a number of paintings; Mr Mike Hamlyn, a draft resister who had just graduated from the University of Botswana with a first-class degree in mathematics; a schoolteacher, Mr Duke Machobane, who was killed along with his six-year-old nephew Peter Mofoka, a Basotho citizen visiting him at the time; Mr Basil Zondi, a seventy-one-year-old refugee and neighbour of one of the missed targets, Mr Tim Williams; Mr Joseph Malaza and Mr Dick Mtsweni. Among the non-nationals killed were a Somalian, Mr Ahmed Geer, whose Dutch wife, pregnant at the time, was seriously injured, and two young Batswana women, Ms Gladys Kesupile and Ms Euginia Kobole. Two other Batswana were wounded at a roadblock.
- 447 So negative was the general reaction to the raid that an elaborate propaganda exercise had to be mounted to justify the operation. This was orchestrated by Craig Williamson and included the planting of stories in newspapers like *The Citizen* and *Sunday Times* under such headlines as "The Guns of Gaborone". In a discussion with the Commission, Eugene de Kock stated that some of the weapons displayed as captured in the raid were in fact borrowed from him by Williamson.
- 448 On 19 May 1986, as part of *Operation Leo*, simultaneous attacks were launched on three Commonwealth capitals, Harare, Lusaka and Gaborone. While the SADF claimed the attacks were in retaliation for recent MK attacks (launched from Mozambique and Swaziland) on the Sasol II facility at Secunda, it was much more likely to have been connected to the mission of the Commonwealth Secretariat's Eminent Person's Group. According to the SANDF submission, the targets were an ANC operational and transit facility in Gaborone, an office and house in Harare and unspecified ANC targets fifteen kilometres south-west of Lusaka, which were bombed by the Air Force. In these strikes, no South Africans were killed; a Batswana, a South West African and a Zambian citizen were killed and approximately twenty people injured.

- 449 In the Botswana leg of the raid, Special Forces commandos under Commandant Corrie Meerholtz launched a helicopter-borne attack on a house in Gaborone located close to the Botswana Defence Force's (BDF) barracks, where a prominent local footballer, Mr Jabulani Masila, was killed. Three members of the BDF were injured. Masila was another case of mistaken identity. The intended target was Mr Ernest Pule, a member of the ANC's Special Operations unit.
- 450 The Harare attacks, on the ANC office in Angwa Street and a house in the suburb of Ashdown Park, were the work of a group of Special Forces commandos aided by Zimbabwean agents. Their role was to provide support for the commandos who were flown in and out of the country by helicopter. The house attacked was the same one occupied by Mr Joe Gqabi when he was killed five years earlier.
- 451 A feature of this raid is that Zimbabwean security forces appear to have had advance warning of it and the three occupants of the house (a South African couple and a Zimbabwean) were fetched from the house by security force members. It was therefore empty at the time of the attack. However, no attempt was made to stop or apprehend the attackers.
- 452 The cabinet and SSC minutes reveal no references to these raids. After weeks of shuttle diplomacy between the government in Pretoria and the ANC in Lusaka, the mission had reached a delicate stage when the attacks occurred. They had the immediate effect of terminating the diplomatic effort.
- 453 Addressing the Commission in October 1997, former Foreign Minister Pik Botha stated that "the EPG [Eminent Person's Group] came closer to success than most people realise", which raises the possibility that it was deliberately sabotaged. Pik Botha also confirmed that the raids "were not discussed at any meeting where I was present". At his appearance before the Commission in December 1997, former Defence Minister Magnus Malan said much the same thing when he confirmed that the issue had not been discussed at either SSC or cabinet level. According to Malan, the SADF had wished to mount the attacks on the capitals in late April. "They approached me. I approached the State President. I explained and he gave his approval ... The State President told me to keep quiet about this, this is very sensitive."²⁷
- 454 For unspecified reasons, however, according to Malan, the raids were postponed until mid-May when he again approached Mr P W Botha and obtained his approval. This time the raids were effected. According to Malan, the Eminent Persons'

27 Transcript of SSC hearings, Cape Town, December 1997, p. 246.

Group issue was not a factor in his considerations. "I was not aware of their programme. I was not aware of what they were doing here. I never met them and I was only concerned with the onslaught against South Africa."²⁸

- 455 The perspective of the SADF was presented in a statement released by its chief, General 'Kat' Liebenberg, who argued that the targets were limited to known "terrorist" ones and that "the South African forces had acted with utmost caution to prevent citizens of our neighbouring states being injured or suffering damage". He also stated that "neighbouring countries cannot plead ignorance regarding the presence of terrorists in their countries". There was no reference in the statement to its timing or the Eminent Persons' Group mission.
- 456 The case of the Eminent Persons' Group would seem to represent an example of the centralised (*'die hoogste vlak'*) mode of decision making that characterised the PW Botha era. Even the international outcry after the raid and the termination of the mission did not result in the issue being discussed by the cabinet. "After that operation no colleague or anybody else came to me and complained about this operation or even mentioned the operation", General Malan told the Commission. Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha was not consulted on the effect of the raids, indicating both the extent to which state policy-making in South Africa had become centralised in the President's office by the mid-1980s, and a telling endorsement of the view expressed to the Commission by former Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels, when he spoke of the lack of a spirit of enquiry in the National Party at that time.
- 457 On 28 March 1988, SADF Special Forces attacked a house at Phiring, near Gaborone, Botswana. Four people were killed in the raid. The primary target of the operation was Mr Patrick Sandile Vundla (aka Godfrey Mokoena and Charles Naledi), whom the security police had identified in a document written by Brigadier Loots as the overall MK commander for Botswana. All those killed in the raid were shot and then doused with petrol and burnt. The other three victims were Botswana women whose names are not known to the Commission.
- 458 Amnesty applications in connection with this operation were submitted by Willem Schoon and then Major (later Colonel) Jan Coetzee of the West Rand Security Branch. In his application, Schoon states that he was summoned to Cape Town prior to the raid to meet with the then police commissioner and chief of the SADF, and requested to arrange for an arms cache which was to be hidden and then discovered. The 'discovery' was to be given significant media

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

coverage in order to provide the SADF with a motivation for a large-scale armed attack on Botswana. Schoon undertook the task with the assistance of Eugene de Kock and C2 head Martin Naudé. They put together a cache comprised of weapons of Eastern bloc origin which Major Coetzee arranged to be hidden in an abandoned mine in the Krugersdorp area. In testimony in mitigation at his trial, De Kock confirmed his participation in what was, in effect, a state-directed 'false-flag' propaganda operation

- 459 The Commission has evidence of other cross-border raids not included in the SADF's list. One occurred on 17 March 1981 when an SADF patrol crossed from northern Natal into the Mozambican resort of Ponto do Ouro in what one source described as a test of Mozambique's border defences. A clash ensued in which one SADF member, Corporal PJ Viljoen, was killed.
- 460 Another raid also allegedly involved Mozambique and may have occurred in January 1992 when FRELIMO troops, conducting a military operation against RENAMO south of Maputo and close to the South African border, were exposed to what may have been a chemical attack. The allegation is based on apparent eye-witness accounts of explosions above the ground and reports that soon thereafter some of the FRELIMO troops began to suffer from nausea and heat exhaustion. Some soldiers required hospitalisation and there are unconfirmed reports that some died.
- 461 The reports of the attack were extensively investigated by scientific teams from five countries – Mozambique, South Africa, Switzerland, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Only the latter expressed a view that a chemical agent had been used. The others were all inconclusive.
- 462 The SADF denied the allegations, and inquiries by the Commission have not uncovered corroborative evidence pertaining to this incident, other than that South Africa had developed a chemical warfare capacity in the 1980s. The Steyn report suggested that the incident may have been caused by a test in the Komatipoort area.
- 463 In the raids discussed in this section on cross-border operations, eighty-two people were killed, of whom four were members of the SADF and twenty-three (more than one-third) non-South Africans and presumably therefore wrong targets. Three others were abducted, of whom one was killed. A total of thirty – all but two non-South Africans – were hurt.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ALL OF THE ABOVE OPERATIONS CONSTITUTED VIOLATIONS OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED AND AN INFRINGEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. THEY ALSO INVOLVED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL THOSE KILLED AND INJURED IN THESE ATTACKS, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR STATUS AS TRAINED COMBATANTS IF SUCH COMBATANTS WERE ATTACKED IN A NON-COMBAT SITUATION. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE OPERATIONS CONSTITUTED A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE FORMER CABINET, THE STATE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SADF AND THE SAP. THE COMMISSION FINDS THESE INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR MEMBERS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE AFORESAID GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

■ SABOTAGE AND ARSON

464 While many of the actions described in this section were not in and of themselves gross human rights violations, they were state-directed acts of extra-territorial aggression and a component of the South African government's counter-revolutionary warfare strategy. They complemented the killings and other gross violations of human rights described earlier and are included as part of the requirement to provide as complete a picture as possible.

465 The targets for these attacks fall into three categories:

- a economic, military and other infrastructural facilities;
- b the offices of liberation and other organisations opposed to the South African government;
- c houses/residences occupied or used by opponents of apartheid.

466 The Commission has accumulated evidence of acts of sabotage directed at socio-economic and military targets, primarily in the countries of the region that offered concrete support to the ANC. However, even targets in friendly countries like Swaziland were sometimes hit.

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

468 One particular target in Mozambique was the Cabora Bassa electricity network, which was so frequently sabotaged as to be inoperative for more than a decade.

The oil pipeline to Zimbabwe and the rail route between Beira and Zimbabwe were other frequent targets. In March 1982, SADF Special Forces' operatives blew up fuel storage tanks at Beira while official records show that the fuel pipeline was ruptured in attacks thirty-seven times between 1982 and 1987, with an estimated loss of over ten million litres of fuel. In an eighteen-month period between February 1986 and September 1987, the Beira railway line was sabotaged by RENAMO on average once a week. Evidence has also been given to the Commission of South African seaborne Recce attacks on port facilities in Beira and Maputo harbours.

- 469 In the case of Angola, the short-term strategy for that country adopted by the SSC in March 1979 stated that attacks on the roads, bridges, rail networks and airfields of the south should be of such a nature that they could not be used again for the rapid deployment of the Angolan security forces. Perhaps the most economically devastating consequence of this strategy was the fact that it rendered the Benguela railway, which linked the south of Angola with the central African interior, inoperative for ten to fifteen years.
- 470 The earliest evidence available to the Commission of an external sabotage operation is of the bombing in mid-1963 of a transit centre for South African refugees in Francistown, Bechuanaland, followed soon afterwards by the blowing up of a plane at Francistown airport. The plane had been chartered to fly Harold Wolpe and Arthur Goldreich to Tanzania. Detained at the time of the Rivonia arrests, these two had escaped from the Johannesburg Fort prison and made their way via Swaziland to Bechuanaland. According to Williamson, only Republican Intelligence (RI) operatives would have had the capacity to perform such an operation at that time.
- 471 In terms of attacks on military installations, South African security forces and their agents were involved in at least four operations in Zimbabwe in the early 1980s. \$250 000 worth of arms were stolen from the Cranbourne Barracks in Harare in December 1980. In the same month an attempt was made to blow up thirty army vehicles at the King George VI Barracks.
- 472 On 16 August 1981, an explosion at the Inkomo Barracks near Bulawayo destroyed weapons valued at approximately \$50 million. The commander of the corps of engineers in the Zimbabwe National Army, Captain Patrick Gericke, was arrested soon after the attack. Gericke was suspected of having led a group in the attack, which resulted in bombs going off at intervals over a four-hour period.

The fact that his release from prison in December 1981 was engineered by a Zimbabwean police inspector, Mr Fred Varkevisser, who may also have been a South African agent, suggests that he may have been acting on South Africa's behalf. Along with Varkevisser's family, they were then flown to South Africa in a light aircraft, after which Gericke joined the SADF.

- 473 Zimbabwean agents and SADF Special Forces operatives were involved in the attack on the Thornhill airforce base near Gweru on 25 July 1982, in which thirteen fighter trainers of the Zimbabwe Air Force were destroyed. Four senior air force officers, including Air Vice-Marshal Hugh Slatter, were arrested for this operation. Under torture, they confessed their involvement but were acquitted when the trial judge deemed their confessions inadmissible. They were almost certainly not involved. Evidence gathered by the Commission suggests that this operation was undertaken by a South African Special Forces group led by a long-serving member of the Recces operating as an agent in Zimbabwe. The Commission has the names of four SADF Special Forces operatives who participated in that attack.
- 474 Two days prior to Thornhill, on 23 July 1983, six foreign tourists (two British, two American and two Australian) were abducted in the Lupare area on the road between Bulawayo and Victoria Falls. They were murdered three days later. The negative publicity badly affected Zimbabwe's tourist industry.
- 475 In October 1996, the Zimbabwean journal *Moto* published a report that the abductions had been the work of eight former Selous Scouts acting "on the orders of ex-agents of the Rhodesian intelligence who also doubled as South African agents" (p. 7). The Commission has obtained no information to corroborate the allegation.
- 476 Six months prior to Thornhill, on 18 December 1981, the offices of the ruling ZANU Party in Zimbabwe were blown up in Harare in an assassination attempt on senior Zimbabwean politicians, including Mr Mugabe. The central committee of the Party was due to meet at the time of the blast but was delayed due to the Prime Minister's late arrival. Seven civilians on the street and in shops nearby were killed in the blast, and 124 were injured. Double (South African and CIO) agents Mr Colin Evans and Mr Philip Hartlebury were arrested for their involvement in the attack. According to a report in a Zimbabwean journal, another double agent alleged to have been directly linked to the blast was Mr Peter Stanton. After leaving Zimbabwe, Stanton became a member of D40 and Barnacle and eventually the CCB.

- 477 ANC offices, or what were described at the time by the South African government as such, were subjected to sabotage attacks in at least seven countries. These were Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, England and Sweden. In addition, attempts were made to assassinate ANC representatives in France and Belgium in their offices – successfully in the French case. South African government involvement in all but the Swedish and Belgian cases has either been admitted or conclusively established. In the two cases in doubt, circumstantial evidence points to the involvement of South African state agents.
- 478 In addition, in July and August 1982, the South African Security Branch was responsible for burglaries of the ANC, PAC, and SWAPO offices in England, for which two agents – Mr Peter Casselton and Mr Edward Aspinall – were imprisoned and a diplomat attached to the London mission, Warrant Officer Joseph Klue, was expelled. The office of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in London was also burgled on at least one occasion in the 1980s.
- 479 Casselton and Klue played a prominent role in the most audacious of these sabotage operations, namely the attack on the ANC's London mission on 14 March 1982. The then head of the Security Branch, General Johan Coetzee, has submitted an amnesty application for his planning role in the operation. The Commission has also received applications from the team of security police operatives assembled for the attack – Craig Williamson, Eugene de Kock, Major John Adam, Jerry Raven, 'Vic' McPherson and Captain Jimmy Taylor. In his application, Coetzee states that the instruction to undertake the operation came from the then Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, and was undertaken in reprisal for the involvement of British subjects in the ANC rocket attack on the Voortrekkerhoogte military base near Pretoria in 1981.
- 480 The task of assembling the team was assigned to Colonel Piet Goosen, then head of section G (foreign intelligence) of the Security Branch. The plastic explosive components for the bomb were developed by Jerry Raven of the police technical division and shipped to London in a diplomatic bag. These parts were collected and delivered by Klue, then a military attaché at the South African Embassy in London, to Casselton's home, where Raven assembled the bomb.
- 481 The false documentation for the detonation team was prepared by a section G member who has not applied for amnesty and cannot therefore be named; nor can the member of the police forensic laboratory who prepared vials of nerve gas. According to one of the operatives, the gas was for "added protection for the

team". The use of the diplomatic bag was a violation of international conventions in regard to diplomatic conduct between nations. At his appearance before the Commission, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, denied any prior knowledge of the use of the bag.

482 The ANC office was empty at the time of the explosion; only the caretaker of the building was slightly injured. Both the AAM's former chair, Lord Hughes (in his appearance before the Commission) and its executive secretary, Mr Mike Terry (in a discussion with the Commission) raised the possibility that the operation may have been an assassination attempt on the life of the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo. They point to the fact that the operation coincided with a large international anti-apartheid demonstration in London that weekend. The gathering and Tambo's participation in it, they claim, had been widely publicised. They also point to the timing of the blast (09h00) and the fact that it was well known that Tambo tended to hold early morning meetings at the ANC office when in London.

483 After the operation, each of the participants was decorated with the Police Star for Excellent Service (SOE) at a ceremony in Minister le Grange's office, attended by General Coetzee and the then SAP commissioner, General Mike Geldenhuys.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE OPERATION AGAINST THE ANC DIPLOMATIC MISSION IN LONDON WAS AUTHORISED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL AND THAT THE PRIME MINISTER, MR PW BOTHA, AND THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER, MR LOUIS LE GRANGE, ARE DEEMED TO BE DIRECTLY ACCOUNTABLE. THE RAID WAS UNDERTAKEN IN VIOLATION OF THE TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND WAS ALSO A VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN TERMS OF ARTICLE 27, PARAGRAPH IV OF THE 1961 VIENNA CONVENTION ON DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN REGARD TO THE USE OF THE DIPLOMATIC BAG.

484 A little over four years after the London bombing, the ANC office on the third floor of an office block in Stockholm, Sweden, was severely damaged in an explosion on 9 September 1986. Three people were present in the office at the time, including the ANC's representative, Ms Lindiwe Mabuza. No one was injured. No arrests were made for the bombing and no group ever claimed responsibility. While the ANC suspected South African involvement, a Swedish police inspector suggested the ANC had organised the explosion itself "because the ANC needed publicity". The Commission uncovered no new evidence on the incident and can make no finding on it.

485 In June 1985, according to the amnesty application of 'Vic' McPherson, the ANC office in Cha Cha Cha Road, Lusaka, was bombed. The plan was 'sold' to the commissioner of police as an attempt to kill Joe Slovo, and involved a Swaziland-

based agent code-named Ali placing a booby-trapped briefcase in the offices. Ali failed to penetrate the office complex and instead placed the bomb at the entrance gate. It caused minimal damage. Ali was paid R15 000 for the attempt.

- 486 Almost exactly a year later, on 17 May 1987, the relocated ANC office in a residence in Lincoln Street, Harare, was hit by a rocket fired from a distance of 200 metres. No one was hurt in the attack.
- 487 The UNHCR office in Swaziland was burgled in the late 1970s in an operation detailed in the amnesty application of Dirk Coetzee. He states that he was tasked with the operation by Major Nic van Rensburg of the Ermelo Security Branch and was assisted by two Eastern Transvaal Security Branch members and some 'friends' based in Swaziland.
- 488 The Ephesus House office in Manzini, Swaziland, was burgled on 17 October 1986. The raid was led by amnesty applicant Eugene de Kock, assisted by nine others including Daniel Izak Bosch, who also applied for amnesty. A refugee support organisation, Ephesus worked closely with ANC and MK operatives and served as a conduit for Scandinavian government funding of the ANC. Files stolen in the raid contained sensitive information on underground operatives. A year before the raid, the chair of the Ephesus Board, Dr John Daniel, had been deported from Swaziland in terms of the Swazi–South African security pact, while the chief administrator in the office, Ms Felicia Forrest, had been detained by the Swazi police. Her feared handover to the South African security police was prevented by the vigorous intervention of the Norwegian embassy in Harare, which sent a senior official to Swaziland. The Norwegian government was one of the funders of the organisation.
- 489 The Commission has information on, and amnesty applications for, attacks on houses which appear to have been undertaken only because they housed ANC members or supporters.
- 490 One attack, for which Eugene Fourie has applied for amnesty, occurred in 1989 and targeted the Swazi home of the then MK commander for Natal, Mr Muziwakhe Ngwenya (aka Thami Zulu). The intention was to kill Zulu and seize documents pertaining to planned MK operations. Documents were seized, but Zulu was away at the time and not apprehended. His wife, Ms Thabisile Mngadi, their two children and an elderly woman were not harmed, although they were bound, gagged and locked in the house.

- 491 Vlakplaas operative Sergeant DJ 'Duiwel' Brits applied for amnesty for a 1985 attack on a house in Botswana alleged to be a transit facility. Explosives were placed and the property extensively damaged. The house was empty at the time of the attack. Brits was accompanied by seven other Vlakplaas members in this operation.
- 492 The Commission has uncorroborated information of an attack in Gaborone in February 1985 in which two exiled South African journalists escaped injury when their home was bombed; of the killing of an unnamed South African refugee in Gaborone in May 1985 when his house was bombed; of a 1986 bomb attack on a house in Gaborone where a Batswana woman was killed and her child hurt; of hand grenade attacks on four houses in Gaborone in December 1987 which caused extensive damage but no injuries. Also hit was the Botswana Book Centre, a repository of progressive literature.

■ UNCONVENTIONAL MILITARY OPERATIONS

The attempted overthrow of the Seychelles government

- 493 On 25 November 1981, a mixed group of mercenaries and SADF members failed in an attempt to overthrow the government of Prime Minister Rene of the Seychelles. Intercepted entering the country via Mahe airport, the mercenaries engaged in a brief gunfight in which two people were killed. One was a Seychellois citizen, the other was one of the plotters, SADF Recce 2 member Johan Fritz. While the group was headed by a well-known mercenary figure resident in South Africa, Colonel Mike Hoare, one of the coup's planners and participants, former BOSS/NIS agent Mr Martin Dolincheck, stated that it had cabinet authorisation.
- 494 There is no prior reference to the operation in the SSC minutes or in any of the SSC's documentation. The failure of the operation, however, was reported to the SSC on 2 December 1981 and discussed briefly. The Minister of Police was authorised to handle the matter.
- 495 The forty-three were never charged with hijacking but with lesser offences relating to air traffic regulations. During the course of the trial, General Malan, in his capacity as Minister of Defence, invoked section 29(1) of the General Laws Amendment Act barring twenty-five of the accused and/or witnesses (all of whom were current or reserve members of the SADF) from giving evidence on matters concerning their involvement in SADF operations prior to 24 November 1981. Without their testimony, only eight of the forty-three accused were convicted.

496 The Commission cannot establish conclusively that this operation was undertaken on the instructions of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs or the heads of the relevant intelligence agencies. This cannot, however, absolve them of representative responsibility for the fact that senior National and Military Intelligence officers and senior officers of the SADF were involved.

497 The following factors led the Commission to believe there is *prima facie* evidence of high-level state involvement in this operation:

- a In his evidence to the Commission, Martin Dolinchek stated that, while attached to the Durban office of BOSS, he was instructed by his divisional head, Mr N Claasen, to link-up with Colonel Mike Hoare and to ask him to prepare a plan for the overthrow of the Seychelles government. The plan, it is alleged, was submitted to the cabinet and rejected. However, according to Dolinchek, the plan was amended and subsequently approved at cabinet level.
- b Dolinchek claims that planning responsibility for the coup was transferred from NIS (the successor agency to BOSS) to MI at this point, but that he remained the NIS liaison to the operation and was in frequent contact with Hoare. The involvement of Mr Claasen of NIS is confirmed by the fact that he was dismissed from the service after the failed operation.

Dolinchek's view of the take-over of the project by MI is supported by Mr Joseph Leyleveld, then a foreign correspondent resident in South Africa. Writing in the *International Herald Tribune* on 11 May 1982, Leyleveld reported that intense infighting between the NIS and MI over control of the project had ultimately been resolved when Prime Minister PW Botha "allocated planning for the Seychelles' coup operation to MI, while the protests of the civilian intelligence services were mollified by the appointment of Martin Dolinchek as a liaison officer on behalf of the NIS".

The contact between Dolinchek and Hoare is confirmed by the official United Nations investigative report into the coup attempt. It records three meetings between them at Hoare's home near Pietermaritzburg in September, October and November 1981. Thereafter, Dolinchek left for the Seychelles as part of an advance party.

In his judgement at the trial of the coup participants, Mr Justice James stated that, while there was no proof of the South African government's involvement,

he accepted that senior SADF and NIS members were involved in the coup's planning. He did not, however, address the question of how such senior security officials could be so involved without either political authorisation or without the government being or becoming aware of their involvement.

- c The South African government paid President Rene three million dollars to secure the release of Dolinchek and the other plotters captured during the coup attempt and subsequently given long prison sentences. Dolinchek was initially sentenced to death, but this was later commuted to life imprisonment. In testimony to the Commission, Mr Pik Botha confirmed the payment, although he could not remember the exact amount and mentioned a figure in the region of R20 million.
- d The profile and composition of the individuals involved in the coup attempt: of the fifty-four participants, only eleven seem to have had no ties with either the SADF or the Rhodesian military. The other forty-three were either serving or reserve military personnel – twenty-five South Africans, members of one or other of the SADF's Reconnaissance Regiments, and eighteen former members of such Rhodesian military units as the Selous Scouts, SAS, Rhodesian Light Infantry (RLI) or the Special Branch. One of the former Congo mercenaries, Mr Jeremiah Puren, was named by a former SADF general and high-ranking MI officer in a discussion with the Commission as an "NIS agent".

Although they were prevented by the Minister of Defence from giving testimony in court, the SADF reservist members of Recce 2 claimed that they joined the coup attempt because they believed it had the backing of the government. Reinforcing this view was the fact that a number of them claimed to have received call-up papers from the SADF and this is what brought them into the operation.

Speaking in Parliament on 13 February 1984, Defence Minister Magnus Malan confirmed that those involved in the coup attempt included "men who were or are employed" by the SADF, but he refused to give any further details on them or their role in the coup.

- e The well-established links between various agencies of the South African state and the Seychellois exile community in South Africa from the time of the overthrow in 1977 of the government headed by Mr James Mancham.

Evidence obtained from the archives of the Department of Foreign Affairs reveals high-level and regular contacts from 1978 between officials of the Department and leaders of the exile community. Two documents²⁹ drafted by a senior DFA desk officer in Pretoria, Mr Carl von Hirschberg, refer to several meetings between the Department and various exiles, and makes it clear that both the DFA and MI were well aware of the intention by the followers of Mancham to attempt a coup and that much of this planning was being done in South Africa.

In his written submission to the Commission, Mr Pik Botha does not actually deny the fact of the government's involvement in the operation. Instead, he quotes at length and without contradiction the conclusions of the UN Commission of Enquiry into the coup. This found that the NIS had been aware from the outset "of the preparations for the mercenary aggression" and that a number of factors clearly established the fact of South Africa's involvement. Amongst these were the SADF's delivery to Hoare of the arms, ammunition and other equipment to be used in the operation (the delivery took place on 6 October 1981 and was made by a Sergeant Major van der Merwe); the participation of an unnamed SADF officer in the preliminary discussions, and the participation by members of 2 Recce in the operation itself.

498 In the light of these and other facts, the UN Commission concluded that "if responsible ministers were not at least aware of what was going on, this indicates both a remarkable lack of control by the South African government over its own agencies and a lack of awareness that is hard to reconcile with the tight and effective control exercised by the security authorities in South Africa".

499 Clearly the UN Commission did not fully accept Prime Minister PW Botha's statement to Parliament on 29 July 1982 that "neither the South African government, the cabinet, nor the State Security Council were aware of the coup". However, like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, they could not establish conclusively otherwise.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE SEYCHELLES GOVERNMENT WAS AN OPERATION UNDERTAKEN BY SENIOR OPERATIVES OF THE NIS AND THE DEPARTMENT OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE WITH THE COLLUSION OF ELEMENTS WITHIN THE SADF. AS SUCH, IT WAS A VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND AN INFRINGEMENT OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEYCHELLES GOVERNMENT. THE DEATH OF A SEYCHELLOIS CITIZEN IN THE OPERATION WAS A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION.

²⁹ Refs 1/194/3 and 1/194/1 dated May 1979 and November 1981.

FOR THESE ACTS, THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FOLLOWING TO BE ACCOUNTABLE IN THEIR CAPACITIES AS HEADS OF AGENCIES OF THE STATE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE OPERATION: PRIME MINISTER PW BOTHA, MINISTER OF DEFENCE GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN, HEAD OF THE OFFICE OF CHIEF OF STAFF INTELLIGENCE LIEUTENANT GENERAL PW VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, AND THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE.

The state inside South Africa between 1960 and 1990

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The security forces used both overt and clandestine methods to suppress resistance and counter armed actions by opponents of apartheid. Overt methods included bannings and banishment, detention without trial, judicial executions and public order policing. More clandestine and covert forms of control included torture, extra-judicial killings and support for surrogate forces.

■ BANNINGS AND BANISHMENT

- 2 Between 1950 and 1990, the former state restricted the lives and activities of political activists and other individuals it considered a threat through the use of orders of listing, banning and banishment. Although listing was an intrusion on civil liberties, the Commission does not regard it as a gross violation of human rights. A listed person could not be quoted, could not hold parliamentary office and could not practise law.
- 3 The laws which provided for such restrictions included the Riotous Assemblies Act (1930), the Suppression of Communism Act (1950), the Public Safety Act (1953), the General Laws Amendment Act (1962), the Suppression of Communism Amendment Act (1967, amended 1972), the Terrorism Act (1976), and the Internal Security Acts (1976 & 1982).

Banishment

- 4 The 1927 Native Administration Act empowered the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (acting through the Governor General) to order “any tribe or native” to proceed forthwith to any designated place and not to leave it again

without permission “whenever [the Minister deemed] it expedient in the general public interest”. No specific reason for the banishment was needed; the ‘removal’ of the individual was in the interest of “maintaining peace and good order in the tribe”. Banished people were not charged in a court of law and had no opportunity to defend themselves.

- 5 By 1960, up to ninety-seven people had been banished, most of them chiefs and headmen who had opposed the Bantu Authorities system and other aspects of government policy. In 1986, over forty persons were still banished. Eleven had died in banishment.
- 6 Banished people were sent to isolated farms on Native Trust land, where they were usually given work as labourers. Some went alone; others were sent to camps built for groups of six or more. Both they and those who visited them speak of their extreme poverty and near-starvation. Those who were not given work were entitled to an allowance of about R4 per month, though not all received this. A banishment order was indefinite and remained in force until the government gave permission for the banished person to return home.
- 7 Mr Ben Baartman [CT00822/BRE], an active African National Congress (ANC) member in Worcester, was forced to move to the Ngwavuma area in Zululand in 1959. In 1961, he fled to Swaziland.
- 8 In 1960, the South African Police (SAP) burnt down the houses of Mr Zetule Siqa [EC1770/97ETK] and his father in Bizana, Transkei, under the orders of the local chief Makhosonko Marhelane Sigcawu. Both Siqa and his father were involved in *iKongo* (ANC) activities. They were then banished to Tabankulu for a period of nine months.
- 9 In June 1969, Mr Rangoezi G Tshikilange [JB01421/02NPVEN] was deposed as chief of Tshififi in the northern Transvaal, and banished to the farm ‘Ardath’ in the Kuruman district. His wife died in childbirth and their baby died soon afterwards due to lack of medical attention. In February 1974, his banishment order was lifted and replaced with a house arrest order. He lost another child when he was unable to take the child to hospital.
- 10 Ms Nozithandiso Olga Siliza told the Commission that her husband, Mr Mzwandile Siliza [EC1287/96NWC], was tortured and that she and her family were severely ill treated in Cradock and Queenstown from 1963 to 1987. Her husband, the

secretary of the Cradock ANC branch, was arrested and imprisoned on Robben Island from 1963 to 1966. He was assaulted by prison warders and his teeth were broken. After his release, the family were banished from Cradock to Queenstown. As a result of the conditions under which they had to live, Ms Siliza's baby died after three months. They had no money for a coffin, so it was buried in a cardboard box.

- 11 Mr Cijimpi Mnyandu [KZN/NN/233/DN] from Umbumbulu on the Natal South Coast was banished to the Sibasa area of Shayandima (later known as Venda). He died of pneumonia at the Tshelethini hospital in 1964.
- 12 Mr Jobo Titus was banished to the Transkei after serving six years on Robben Island. After ten years of banishment, on 8 December 1982, Titus fled to Lesotho. The next day he was killed in the South African Defence Force (SADF) cross-border raid in Maseru.

Banning

- 13 Banning of persons took place between 1951 and 1990. Its purpose was similar to that of 'preventive' detention – to ensure withdrawal from the political arena. The duration of banning orders ranged from one to five years, but an order could be successively applied. The longest period of banning on record is that of Mr Rowley Arenstein, who was banned for twenty-six years from 1960 to 1986.
- 14 A banned person was restricted to a specific magisterial area. When this area was not the banned person's home area, the banning order effectively became a banishment order as well. This is what happened, for example, when Ms Winnie Mandela was banished to Brandfort in the Orange Free State in 1977. Similarly, many prisoners leaving Robben Island after serving their sentences were served with orders banning them to remote areas.
- 15 Banning orders often restricted people's involvement in organisations, as well as their ability to publish. Banned persons were not permitted to communicate with each other and many orders restricted them from attending social gatherings of more than one person.
- 16 Banning orders were imposed on social and political activists from all spheres of civil society. In many cases, the Security Branch provided the Ministry of Justice with flimsy and inadequate reasons for bannings. During 1986, a number of

successful court challenges were brought against banning orders, on the grounds that the reasons the Minister was required to give under section 25 of the Internal Security Act were invalid. From then on, no banning orders were issued under the Internal Security Act. Instead, use was made of wider powers under state of emergency regulations. Many of those released from state of emergency detention during the 1988–89 period were served with restriction orders.

- 17 The terms of restriction orders made people vulnerable to attack. In April 1989, United Democratic Front (UDF) activist Chris Ntuli was stabbed to death in KwaMashu, Durban, shortly after reporting to the police station in terms of the restriction order placed on him after his release from emergency detention. All state of emergency restriction orders were withdrawn on 2 February 1990.
- 18 The Commission heard that Mr Zolile 'Zollie' Malindi [CT00510/FLA] received a two-year banning order in 1961, a further five-year order in 1963 and a third order in 1968. The order cost him his job in the Cape Town magisterial district. When he finally found a job, he lived in fear of losing it as police frequently disturbed him at work.
- 19 Ms Nobuhle Mohapi [EC9997/96PLZ], whose husband Mr Mapetla Mohapi died in detention in 1976, was banned after spending six months in solitary confinement. She told the Commission about the disruption to her family and work:

Then I was released. I took my children from my in-laws. Just a week after I took them, the police came and they arrested me. I had to take my children to my in-laws again and [in] another week I was released again. Thereafter my in-laws preferred that I should leave the children so that they cannot be affected by these removals ... The children were attending school at the time but, because I was under a banning order, I was unable to visit them. I ... could not escort my little one to school like any other parent ... I was unable to get jobs and was labelled as a terrorist ... In 1979 I got a job in a furniture shop. I was employed for five days and the police came again at Ellerines where I was working and they took me again. I was paid for the five days that I worked and was told that the job was finished.

- 20 Submissions describing periods spent under banning orders were also received from Mr George Gangen Poonen [KZN/SELF/098/DN], Ms Mary Turok [CT02912/GAU], Mr Ben Turok [CT00474/GAU], Mr Christmas Fihla Tinto [CT004771/HEL] and Mr Baderoon Ismail Bakardien [CT01112/SOU].

IN ITS DELIBERATIONS OVER WHAT CONSTITUTED SEVERE ILL TREATMENT, THE COMMISSION HAS INCLUDED BANNING AND BANISHMENT ORDERS. IT IS THUS THE FINDING OF THE COMMISSION THAT ALL THOSE UPON WHOM SUCH ORDERS WERE IMPOSED SUFFERED A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH THE FORMER GOVERNMENT AND IN PARTICULAR THE MINISTERS OF JUSTICE AND LAW AND ORDER ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

■ JUDICIAL EXECUTIONS

- 21 The former state was reputed to have one of the highest rates of judicial execution in the world. In the period covered by the Commission's mandate, over 2 500 people were hanged, 1 154 between 1976 and 1985. Some 95 per cent of all people executed were African. Studies have noted that the death penalty was far more likely to be imposed if the victim of a capital offence was white and the perpetrator black.
- 22 While the vast majority of executions were for criminal offences, capital punishment was also used against those found guilty of political offences, in defiance of the Geneva Convention. South Africa was a signatory to the 1949 convention, but declined to sign the 1977 addenda extending the definition of prisoner of war to captured guerrillas.
- 23 The death penalty could be imposed under the General Laws Amendment Act (1962), the Terrorism Act (1967) and the Internal Security Act (1976) (which replaced the Suppression of Communism Act).
- 24 The first 'political hangings' took place in 1959, a year before the beginning of the Commission's mandate period. In 1961, approximately twenty people were sentenced to death after the Pondoland revolt.¹
- 25 In the 1960s, almost one hundred Poqo activists were hanged for involvement in acts of violence in Paarl, Mbashe (Bashee Bridge), Ntlonze Hill, Queenstown, Cofimvaba, Krugersdorp, Pretoria, Umtata, Langa and other areas.²

¹ The Commission received statements in connection with the following persons executed for their part in the Pondoland revolt: Nyamaayipheli Dinwa [EC1684/97 ETK], Shadrack George [EC0656/96ETK], Cenjulwa Hlongwe [EC0337/97ETK], Barnabas Mahlati Magawana [EC1632/97 and 1777/97ETK], Douglas Khewula Magawana [EC1532/97 & 1777/97ETK], Nkanyezi Mdayimani [EC1777/97, 2069/97 & 2169/97ETK], Mtholeni Msolobhana Mfuywa [EC1972/96ETK], Marelana Horace Mgulwa [EC1777/97ETK], Sheleni Mehlokulu [EC0656/96ETK], Mnconco Mjanyelwa [EC0582/96ETK], Ntomisa Ndinwa [EC1683/97ETK], Yiva Ndisile [EC0581/96ETK], Masipalati Ntshkevana [EC0339/97ETK], Majola Shusha [1777/97ETK], and Gavu Mkhize Zadunge [EC0655/96 & 0789/96ETK].

² Among them were: Qqibile Nicholas Hans [CT00269/WIN], Bonakele July [EC2713/97WTK], Bubele Koboka [EC1272/96STK], Lennox Mngambi Madikane [EC1270/96STK], Right Mangqikana [EC2079/97UTA], Zenzele May [EC2661/97WTK], Modi Mbizo [EC2664/97], Nkosinam Ngalo [EC2658/97WTK], Gadavu Johannes Notyhawe [EC1273/96STK], Advocate Mteteleli Ntuli [EC2667/97WTK], Katsekile Pilaphi [EC2683/97WTK], Joseph Bhazalele Qitsana [EC1344/96CTK], Goli Sonamzi [EC2663/97WTK], Nontasi Albert Tshweni [CT01338/ECA] and Mzwandile Leonard Zambodla [EC2710/97WTK].

- 26 On 6 May 1964, three ANC members in the eastern Cape – Mr Vuyisile Mini [EC2097/97PLZ], Mr Wilson Khayinga and Mr Zinakile Mkaba – were hanged after having been found guilty for killing a person suspected of informing on the ANC.

The case of Mpumelelo Bongco

Mr Mpumelelo Washington Bongco [EC 2165/97ETK], the Eastern Cape regional commander of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), was detained at about midnight on 15 February 1963. He alleged that he was handcuffed behind a door, and beaten and kicked during questioning the following day. After he collapsed, the handcuffs were removed. Security Branch members continued to kick him with their boots and also trampled on his face. Knowing that he suffered from tuberculosis, they threatened: "We will kill you with your TB". On his release, he was charged with being in East London illegally and acquitted. He then laid charges against Sergeant Donald Card for assault, and alleges that he was again arrested and assaulted for pressing the charge. Released once again, he was hospitalised for some time.

In July 1963, he was detained under the ninety-day detention law. After repeated threats, he was forced to sign a statement withdrawing the charge against Sergeant Card. He was subsequently charged under the 'Sabotage Act' and sentenced to death in the Queenstown Circuit Court on 23 March 1964 in connection with a petrol bomb attack on the home of Mr Ddomboti Hovi. At this trial, two prosecution witnesses admitted having been assaulted during their detentions.

A security branch member is alleged to have visited Mr Bongco in his death cell and offered to have his death sentence commuted if he gave evidence against the others. Mr Bongco refused and instead went ahead with the assault charge, which was dismissed by the Supreme Court in East London on 17 November 1964.

On 10 December 1964, Washington Bongco was executed.

- 27 On 1 April 1965, Mr John Harris, a member of the African Resistance Movement (ARM), was executed for placing a bomb at the Johannesburg main railway station, resulting in one death and several injuries. Harris was the first and only white person in the mandate period to be hanged for a political offence. His widow, Ms Anne Wolfe, told the Commission:

5.30 am was the time set for the execution. We were all awake, thinking of John ... Not long afterwards the phone rang. Ad Hain answered. The voice said: 'Your John is dead.' She recognised the voice as one of the Special Branch men's.

Andrew Zondo

- 28 From 1976 onwards, a number of MK members were sentenced to death and executed. One of these was Mr Sibusiso Andrew Zondo [KZN/NG/010/DN]. Andrew Zondo (19), from KwaMashu, north of Durban, went into exile in Mozambique at the age of sixteen after a brief period of detention. He intended to study. In May 1983, a bomb detonated outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street Pretoria, killing eleven people. The following week, the SAAF launched a retaliatory raid on a suburb in Maputo, killing six people, including a child in a creche. This changed Zondo's plans and he decided to undergo military training as he saw "violence as the only option for changing the lives of black people in South Africa".
- 29 In December 1985, the South African security forces launched a raid into Lesotho, killing nine people. Three days later, MK members in Durban, including Zondo, retaliated by placing a bomb in an Amanzimtoti shopping centre, killing three adults and two children. Zondo was arrested and charged. The main state witness in his trial was Mr X (Thembinkosi Mofokeng) who, as Zondo's alleged accomplice, was granted immunity from prosecution. Mr X admitted to providing the limpet mine and to accompanying Zondo to the shopping centre. Zondo claimed that he intended to telephone a warning to the shopping centre but could not find a vacant telephone booth.
- 30 Zondo was sentenced to death by Justice Leon and was hanged on 9 September 1986, less than nine months after the bombing.
- 31 The spiral of killing continued. Two other persons suspected of being involved in the Amanzimtoti blast, Mr Phumezo Nxiweni [EC0246/96WTK] and Mr Stanley Siphso Bhila [KZN/NJ/004/DN], were executed by Security Branch members after they were acquitted in court (see below, under *Abduction, interrogation and killing*). At Andrew Zondo's memorial service, his brother was so severely assaulted that he developed epilepsy, which subsequently killed him. Two mourners were shot dead leaving his parents' home after the memorial service. Lembede, one of the security policemen involved in the killing of Zondo's alleged accomplice, was himself later killed, allegedly by members of MK.
- 32 Mr Solomon Kalushe Mahlangu [JB00182/02PS] was executed on 6 April 1979 at the age of twenty. Recently returned from military training in Angola, Mahlangu and Mr Monty Motaung were confronted by police while carrying arms in central

Johannesburg. In the ensuing chase (the Goch Street shooting), two civilians were killed. While evidence suggested that Motaung was responsible for the actual shooting, he had been so badly beaten by police that he was declared mentally unfit to stand trial.

- 33 Mr Thelle Simon Mogoerane [JB04857/01ERTEM], Mr Jerry Joseph Mosololi [JB04958/01GTSOW] and Mr Thabo Marcus Motaung were executed for high treason on 9 June 1982. The three left South Africa after the Soweto uprising and were arrested in December 1981 while on an MK mission near Hammanskraal. In their trial, both Mogoerane and Motaung gave evidence of torture at the Compol Security Branch offices. Mogoerane alleged that he had confessed to MK activities after a pistol had been put in his mouth, followed by a loud bang. Justice Curlewis ruled that their confessions had been freely given.
- 34 Mr Clarence Lucky Payi [KZN/NG/012/FS; EC0855/96STK] and Mr Sipho Brigitte Xulu [KZN/NG/012/FS] were executed for the killing of Mr Benjamin Langa on 9 September 1986. An amnesty application by co-perpetrator Mr Joel George Martins [AM6450/97] indicates that they were acting on the instructions of MK Fear (aka Ralph Mcinga, aka AG Lawrence, aka Cyril Raymonds), an MK commander in Swaziland. MK Fear was subsequently uncovered as a Security Branch agent.
- 35 Mr Michael Lukas [CT00535/GEO] was sentenced to death in August 1987 for killing a bus inspector, Mr William Blouw, on 15 April 1986 during unrest in Oudtshoorn. Lukas was executed seven months later (on 25 March 1988) after he was refused leave to appeal and a petition for clemency to the State President failed. A service held for him in Oudtshoorn on the day of his execution was attended by hundreds of people.

‘Death row’

- 36 At the special hearing on prisons (see Volume Four), Ms Paula McBride, who visited condemned prisoners on death row from 1987 to 1990, told the Commission:

It is a place that was perfectly designed to kill people ... I think that probably the seven-day period before execution is the time that anybody who supports the death penalty should be exposed to and particularly the judges who passed the sentences ... There is a light flurry in the prison, maybe on Tuesdays when the Sheriff arrives with a bunch of notices in his hand and those notices would be for people who the State President had decided were worthy of his clemency.

The other bunch of notices would be for those that he decided weren't fit any more to live. So the Sheriff would take both sets of notices up and prisoners would be called. The warder would then walk down the passages in between cells, while the prisoners waiting inside were wondering whether it was their turn today, whether they were going to get handed notices of release or of death. There was complete and utter silence, while the footsteps went down, everyone waiting to see where the footsteps would go.

All those told to pack would be taken out of their cells, and they would wait in a line outside the office where the Sheriff was waiting. Those who were given a sentence of death were moved into what was known as 'the pot' because it was where you boiled because of levels of stress before your death.

- 37 A warder, Mr Steinberg, testified about his experience as an assistant in the execution of condemned prisoners:

I came on duty before six o'clock in the morning. All of us moved into the section ... The prisoners were unlocked, we searched them. They were then identified in terms of photographs, they were placed in a row or in a queue so that the first person due for execution would be in front. We then took them one by one to a table ... where they again compared their thumb prints and looked at the photographs again ... After they took the finger prints ... we accompanied the people to the church ...

There would then have been a brief church service. Some of the people would receive Communion for the last time and at about half past six ... the Ministers would then move out ... Their [the condemned's] hands were cuffed behind their backs and they had to remove their shoes. At about ten to seven or there about, we would then move with them down the passage and by then it was deadly quiet.

They still sang and prayed, they greeted their people, their friends, then we moved to the gallows room, through the various gates until we were in the first reception room before the gallows. They would then stand against a wall with their faces towards us.

They were then identified again against their photographs and then the executioner would come to them and ask them about their last wishes. They sometimes thanked us, they sometimes said to us, "God bless you", and after the entire story, we would then put their caps on.

You accompany the person [to the gallows room]... Between the trap doors there would have been a pipe railing. The person who was due to be hanged,

would go on the left of the railing and the person accompanying, would go on the right. Then on the trap door, there would be two foot prints painted, and you had to make sure that the person was standing on that mark.

[T]he man who was going to execute the people, came and he placed the rope around their necks and he would then pull the flap on the hood ... and he pulls the lever ... When I looked down, I noted as the people were swinging from the momentum and had their spastic movements, I noted how they moved ... What went through my thoughts is that this person is now dying.³

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ALL EXECUTIONS OF PERSONS CONVICTED OF POLITICAL OFFENCES AND/OR WHICH WERE POLITICALLY MOTIVATED IN THE MANDATE PERIOD CONSTITUTED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF THE RIGHTS OF THOSE SO KILLED, FOR WHICH THE FORMER GOVERNMENT IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

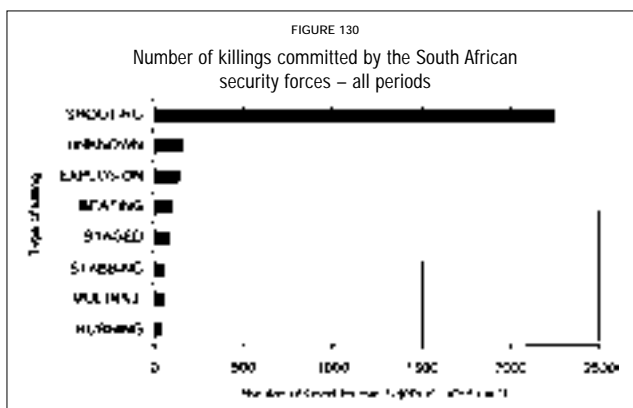
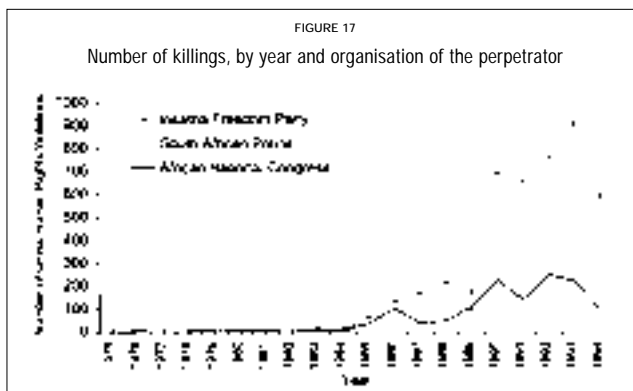
■ PUBLIC ORDER POLICING

- 38 The period under investigation by the Commission saw thousands of incidents of public disorder. Many of these incidents are extensively discussed in the following volume and elsewhere in this report.
- 39 The creation of a specialised riot control function within South Africa's policing agencies was essentially a reaction to the disorder and political unrest arising from resistance to apartheid. Although the names and structures of the units tasked with this specialist function changed a number of times during the three decades under examination, and implementation devolved to various other policing agencies in homeland and self-governing territories, their roles remained the same – the enforcement of apartheid laws, the suppression of political protest and the prevention of 'unrest, intimidation and unrest-related crimes'.
- 40 In the 1970s, as resistance to apartheid grew, the police began to see the need for a specialised capacity to 'control unrest'. The SAP looked to international models and introduced new training methods and full-time riot control units.

3 Other cases of judicial executions for political offences known to the Commission are: Mtutu Apleni, 1963; Mangena Jeffrey Boesman, 1989; Serious Dodo, 1967; Kholisile Dyakala, 1989; Livingstone Fatyela, 1967; Goduka Galeni, 1967; Dumisa Galeni; Nkwenkwe Gaqa; Benjamin Mlondolozo Gxothiwe, 1988; Fezile Jada; Mnyanda Moses Jantjies, 1987; Nto Kani; Joel Leballo; Tsepo Letsoare, 1988; Tobilo Richard Lloyd, 1988; Siphiwo Londe; Ceylon Mabaso; Victor Mahlangu; Solomon Mankopane Maqwasha, 1986; Nkosencinci Maseti, 1967; Isaac Mashigo; Fenele Matikinca; Richard Matsaphae; Alex Matshapa Matsepene, 1986; Mabhongo, May 1964; Mpenze, May 1964; Notimba Mbozwana, 1963; Makhezwene Menze, 1989; Sqwayi Mhlaba, 1962; Matokolo Mhlabeni; Bennet Mhlaleki; Poli Mili; Zwelindulmile Mjekula, 1989; Tembeni Mkoba; Siwana Mlaheki; Phineas Mlotywa; Abraham Mngomezulu, 1989; Siphoh Mohala, 1988; Thomas Molathlghi; Malasella Benjamin Moloise, 1985; Joe Motsumi; Luse Mtembekwana; Petros Mtshobe; Manina Mzanywa; Tusa Mzanywa; Jabavu Mzondi; Jim Ngantweni, 1967; Bonakele Ngcongolo, 1963; Weduwedu Nokulila; Twepe Nonyukela; Jonathan Notyawe; Gladstone Nqulwana; Tembikile Nyovu; Kathazekile Pilapi, 1962; Veyishile Qoba; Lungile Rewu, 1988; Johannes Segwagwa; Ndimiso Silo Sephenuka, 1989; Edward Sikundla; Thwayi Thwayi; Corry Tyini; Wellington Tyobeka, 1967; Maliza Vulindela; Shilegu Vulindela; Bonasi Vulindlele; Elile Webushe, 1987; Mlamili Wellington Mielies, 1987; Patselo Xhego, 1963; Mtalatala Xhego, 1963; Mbaco Xhego. (List drawn up according to names on PAC and ANC documents.)

- 41 The SAP was not equipped to deal with a domestic uprising of the scale they faced in June 1976. Police who faced massive protest marches at that time were ordinary officers drawn from nearby stations, with no special skills or training in crowd control. Their lack of capacity was reflected in their tendency to use maximum force. Minister of Police Jimmy Kruger reported at the cabinet meeting of 10 August 1976 that unrest in Soweto continued and that the children were “well-trained”. The Minister proposed that: “This movement must be broken, and the police should perhaps act a bit more drastically and harshly, bringing about more deaths.” [Commission translation.] This proposal was approved.
- 42 In a parliamentary discussion in July 1976 on the desirability of police wearing protective clothing in unrest situations, Jimmy Kruger responded:
- To have our police running around like knights of the Middle Ages, heavily armoured with coats-of-mail and visors, and goodness knows what else – policemen in such garb pursuing fleet-footed little Bantu all over the veld – is something I can hardly imagine. Not only would it be ridiculous, it is also completely unnecessary. In any case, a police officer will hardly be able to handle his rifle if he is also wearing a heavy flak jacket and a face guard.*
- 43 During the 1980s, the riot policing function was expanded and separated from ‘normal’ police work, and resources were concentrated around what increasingly became a central police role. The first state of emergency was declared in 1985, and the National Security Management System (NSMS), established in 1979, fully activated in 1985/6. This provided a new context for riot control which was in line with the state’s highly militarised and co-ordinated approach to what was being described by the liberation movement as a ‘people’s war’.
- 44 Despite the expansion of its riot functions, the police had insufficient capacity to quell the rising levels of unrest. *Operation Palmiet* saw the deployment of SADF troops in a support capacity during the 1984 Vaal uprising. This deployment was later extended country-wide via *Operation Xenon*. However, it remained only a *support* capacity and the SAP retained primary responsibility for public order policing.

45 Figure 17 reflects a dramatic increase in the level of deaths attributed to the SAP in the 1984–86 period. As Figure 130 illustrates, killings by shooting form the overwhelming proportion of all deaths at the hands of the SAP. According to the Commission's database, the majority of such shootings occurred during the course of public order policing.



46 A signal message containing the minutes of a meeting held in Pretoria on 2 May 1985 by the Joint Security Staff's joint intelligence structure read as follows:

Recommendation: proposed action against ringleaders

- i. *The feeling of this GIS is that before a riot situation can be effectively defused, the ringleaders must be selectively eliminated*
- ii. *The idea around elimination is twofold:*
 - 1 *The physical gunning-down of leaders in riot situations who make themselves guilty of Annexure 1 offences.*
 - 2 *The removal of intimidators*

In the latter case specific thought is given to schools and labour situations. The feeling here is that when ringleaders are removed, they also need to be restricted physically, to such an extent that they are removed from circulation and kept away. [Commission translation.]

- 47 Security Forces also used 'ambush' tactics against civilian protesters in the Western and Eastern Cape. These, like the 'Trojan Horse shootings' in Cape Town, resulted in fatalities and injuries.
- 48 In this period of crisis, arguments for a new approach to the policing of gatherings began to emerge. The 'third force' model was first raised at the State Security Council (SSC) on 4 November 1985, when the Working Committee of the SSC, together with the Security Forces, was tasked to investigate "the possibility of a third force, parallel to the SADF and the SAP"⁴. It was envisaged that such a 'third force' would avoid the danger of politicising the police or the army; would allow the police to concentrate on their primary (crime-related) task; would allow the army to deal with civil war-type insurrection and insurgency in line with its traditional defence function, and would create a force with appropriate training and equipment for such work. The meeting noted that similar models existed in countries such as Germany, Italy and the USA.
- 49 A 'third force' working group was set up, chaired by Deputy Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok. This group was involved in processing a number of proposals on the creation of a possible 'third force' including:
- a An SAP submission drawn up by Major General AJ Wandrag which proposed that special riot police should work in parallel with the SAP and SADF in combating unrest. The proposal did not support the establishment of a 'third force', but recommended instead that the counter-insurgency and unrest components of the SAP be expanded and re-organised under a centralised command structure.
 - b The South African Army report, prepared by Brigadier Ferreira, argued that a 'third force' "should be able to deal internally with all security aspects relating to a revolutionary onslaught and should therefore have the full capacity required" (Commission translation). This should include a unity of command; the full intelligence capacity to deal with national security; the full permanent and part-time operational capacity to deal with a domestic revolutionary onslaught and the full capacity to launch communication operations and psychological warfare. It was the army's view that, if a 'third force' was limited to dealing with unrest, it should be created as part of the SAP. If, however, it was intended to deal with the total revolutionary onslaught, it should resort under the SADF because of its greater and more sophisticated resources.

⁴ 'Third Force' here refers to a 'force' which is established between the military (the 1st force) and the police (the 2nd force). It does not carry the same meanings as the notion of a 'third force' which developed currency in South Africa in the 1990s which intends to imply the covert use of violence.

- 50 Both proposals drew on models of counter-insurgency and counter-revolutionary warfare, rather than less militarised conceptions of public order policing. The overall tendency was to see crowd control and anti-terrorist action through the same lens and as paramilitary functions.
- 51 On 11 and 13 March 1986, the working group appears to have agreed that, rather than establishing a separate 'third force', the existing capacity of the SAP's counter-insurgency and riot units would be expanded and re-organised. The group also recognised that whatever was decided in regard to this issue was not going to solve the problem of the '*stygende rewolusionêre bedreigingspiraal*' (escalating revolutionary threat spiral). It thus began to turn attention to the issue of creating a 'special capacity' to deal more broadly with the revolutionary onslaught. Overall co-ordination and monitoring were identified as particular gaps and there were a number of proposals: for a co-ordination centre or 'war-room'; for the upgrading of the interdepartmental Security Committee (GVS, the Afrikaans acronym for the Joint Security Staff), and for the full activation of Joint Management Centres (JMCs) country-wide.
- 52 At the SSC meeting of 12 May 1986, where the proposals were tabled, the minutes note that the chairperson (Mr PW Botha) said that the security forces must work together on the establishment of a 'third force'; that such a force must have a developed capacity to "effectively root out terrorists"; that it must be willing to be unpopular, even feared, and that the subversives must be dealt with using their own methods.
- 53 While many of the other proposals regarding co-ordination and monitoring were implemented, the 'third force' Botha wished for was not established. The minute of the SSC meeting of 8 May 1989 records that General de Witt reported that the "establishment of the municipal police and the extension of the SAP's unrest unit did away with the need for the creation of a 'third force' ".
- 54 In 1990, a similar proposal regarding the establishment of a 'third force' was raised but the proposal was again rejected by the security forces. An amended version of the idea was manifest in the creation of the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) in 1991 – a separate division of the police specifically tasked with public order functions, instead of a separate force outside of the police or army. The decision to create the ISU was announced in a 1991 speech by the then Minister Adriaan Vlok. He said that he expected the Unit to grow to a strength of 17 500 by

1997/98 – an indication that unrest was seen as a long-term feature of the South African policing landscape.

- 55 The ISU developed a reputation for abuses of power and the unaccountable behaviour of its members, which began to embarrass even senior police managers during the Peace Accord period. In a paradoxical twist of history, some township residents begin to call for troops, rather than the ISU, to patrol the townships.

The legal framework for crowd control

- 56 The regulatory framework before the introduction of the Internal Security Act (1982) was extensive, severely limiting the opportunity to exercise freedom of assembly. The Riotous Assemblies Act (1930) enabled a magistrate, with the authorisation of the Minister of Justice, to prohibit a public gathering if s/he was of the opinion that it represented a serious threat to public peace. The Minister of Justice had wide (and practically unchallengeable) discretion to prohibit a particular public gathering from taking place or a particular person from attending a particular gathering. Further sections of the Act enabled the Minister to impose blanket bans on gatherings in any public place for such period as he specified. Once prohibited, mere attendance at such a prohibited gathering was not an offence, but all actions relating to the organisation of a prohibited gathering were criminalised. The Suppression of Communism Act (1967 & 1972) gave the Minister of Justice absolute administrative powers to prohibit a particular gathering or to ban gatherings in any area and for any period specified.
- 57 In 1976, the Minister of Justice imposed a blanket ban on all outdoor gatherings without permission of the Minister or a magistrate, renewed annually until April 1991. The Internal Security Act (1982) gave magistrates the right to prohibit all gatherings in their district for a period of forty-eight hours if they believed that the gathering would endanger public peace. Alternatively, the magistrate could allow a gathering to take place, but impose conditions on how it took place. The Minister used the Act to re-issue annual government notices prohibiting all outdoor gatherings except *bona fide* sporting and religious activities. Mere attendance at such a gathering constituted a criminal offence.
- 58 The Demonstrations In or Near Court Buildings Prohibitions Act 71 of 1982 was introduced specifically to prevent protests during political trials and against the treatment of persons held under security legislation. Other 'technical' pieces of legislation such as the National Roads Act 54 of 1971, the Trespass Act and by-

laws introduced under the Black Local Authorities Act (1982) were used by state authorities to restrict protest, including the use of pickets during labour disputes. Various city councils passed by-laws requiring, in addition to magisterial permission, council permission (frequently requiring punitive warrants of indemnity) for marches and gatherings.

- 59 The Public Safety Act (1953) allowed the commissioner of police to declare 'unrest areas'. Such declarations, widely used during the 1980s, gave the Commissioner the power to ban gatherings.

Legal provisions for the use of force on crowds

- 60 Under the Riotous Assemblies Act (1956), police were allowed to disperse a gathering by force, provided that a police officer above the rank of head constable had given three warnings to the gathering that force would be used if they did not disperse. It also required that the force used should be proportionate to the need and that lethal force could be used only if other means had not proved successful or if death, serious injury or damage to valuable property had occurred or seemed likely.
- 61 The Internal Security Act (1982) authorised a police officer to order a crowd to disperse and to use force to compel obedience to this instruction. This authority applied equally to legal gatherings if violence occurred or appeared imminent. The dispersal command was supposed to contain a time period before force was used and stated that, where a valid instruction had been given and was disobeyed, the police officer "may order the police under his command to use proportionate force, including ... firearms and other legal weapons". Firearms and other lethal means "shall not ... be used to disperse a gathering", unless lesser means had proved ineffective and actual or imminent violence by the crowd to persons or property was likely.
- 62 The enforcement provisions of the Internal Security Act did not allow for means other than dispersal to deal with a prohibited gathering, ignoring the use of other international public order norms such as negotiation to encourage crowds to disperse. The experience during that period suggests that the police interpreted the provisions narrowly and did not feel that they had the legal authority to negotiate or adopt proactive approaches.

- 63 Public Safety Act (1953) provided indemnity against civil or criminal prosecution for members of security forces acting in good faith. In effect, the “regulations amount[ed] to a conferring of a broad discretion to kill or injure without legal consequences. The onus on the victim to show that a policeman acted in bad faith when he fired recklessly into a crowd, or failed to fire a warning shot, or neglected to use less drastic forms of ‘coercion’, is nearly insuperable”.⁵
- 64 Lethal force in the context of crowds and gatherings could be justified on two other legal grounds – the common law right to protect person or property and the right to use deadly force to effect an arrest under the Criminal Procedure Act (1977). Since the prohibitions on gatherings criminalised mere attendance, arrests at gatherings and the use of force in such situations were justified. Similarly, the use of force by the police often provoked the use of violence by members of the crowd, thus enabling the self-defence argument to apply.

The use of force on crowds and gatherings

- 65 The SAP used riot control to enforce the restrictions on public assembly and association that were enshrined in the legislation of apartheid. The training and equipment of riot police and the deployment ratios of these police relative to the size of the crowds that they confronted were based on the assumption that crowds would be controlled and dispersed through the use of force.
- 66 Most victims of harsh police action were black. The SAP was associated with efforts not only to suppress political resistance, but to enforce the racist organisation of South African society. Moreover, state-controlled media assisted in promoting the view that a crowd of black people equated a ‘mob’, and a mob of black people was by nature barbaric and likely to engage in violence.
- 67 Submissions to the Commission have shown that political and police authorities actively encouraged the use of harsh and punitive methods and many police officers felt obliged to use maximum force. When police were accused of overstepping their extremely wide legal boundaries, they defended and covered up their actions. In addition to the indemnity provisions prevailing during the states of emergency, police accused of using excessive force could rely on the full support of their superiors, the silence of their peers (who would often be used as witnesses) and the indulgence of security-conscious judicial officers. Press restrictions ensured the absence of the media during dispersal and unrest situations, further shielding police actions from public censure.

⁵ N Haysom, ‘License to Kill, Part 1: The SAP and the use of deadly force’, SAJHR 1989, p. 6.

ON THE BASIS OF THE ABOVE AND THE MANY HUNDREDS OF STATEMENTS FROM VICTIMS OF PUBLIC ORDER POLICING, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN RESPECT OF PUBLIC ORDER POLICING, THE SAP, SPECIFICALLY ITS CROWD-CONTROL DIVISIONS (THE RIOT AND INTERNAL STABILITY UNITS), DISPLAYED A GROSS DISREGARD FOR THE LIVES AND/OR PHYSICAL WELL-BEING OF BOTH THOSE ENGAGED IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY AS WELL AS THE GENERAL PUBLIC. THIS WAS MANIFESTED IN A TENDENCY, OFTEN THE RESULT OF HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL PRESSURE, TO RESORT TO THE USE OF DEADLY FORCE IN SITUATIONS WHERE LESSER MEASURES WOULD HAVE SUFFICED FOR THE RESTORATION OR MAINTENANCE OF PUBLIC ORDER. THE CONSEQUENCE WAS THE NEEDLESS DEATHS OF AND INJURIES TO COUNTLESS CIVILIANS. THESE DEATHS AND INJURIES CONSTITUTED A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE, AND WERE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THIS USE OF DEADLY FORCE WAS THE PRODUCT OF THE RACISM AT THE CORE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL ORDER IN THE MANDATE ERA, AIDED AND ABETTED BY INAPPROPRIATE TRAINING, POOR AND INAPPROPRIATE RESOURCING AND A WIDE-SPREAD LACK OF ACCOUNTABILITY ON THE PART OF THE SECURITY FORCES FOR ACTIONS DIRECTED AT BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FOLLOWING TO BE DIRECTLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED IN THE COURSE OF PUBLIC ORDER POLICING: MINISTERS OF POLICE/LAW AND ORDER; COMMISSIONERS OF POLICE; THE COMMANDING OFFICERS OF RIOT/INTERNAL STABILITY UNITS. FURTHER, THE COMMISSION FINDS THE CABINET DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EXCESSIVE USE OF FORCE DURING THE 1976 UNREST AND INDIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE DURING OTHER PERIODS OF SOCIAL UPEHAVAL.

Auxiliary forces

68 The collapse of Black Local Authorities (BLAs) and the climate of ‘ungovernability’ from 1985 saw an expansion of police capacity, demonstrated by the introduction of auxiliary forces, municipal police and special constables into black townships – a cheap way of bolstering the presence of the security forces and defending the BLAs. In line with the adopted strategies of contra-mobilisation, these forces were recruited from the communities they would return to police.

69 Special constables were created according to the Malaysian model of counter-revolutionary warfare, popularised by American counter-insurgency theorist James McCuen. They drew too from the Rhodesian experience. A paper by Major General FMA Steenkamp from SAP headquarters points to the successful deployment of local militias in Rhodesia to regain and protect the *status quo*.

An effective physical counter to the tyranny of the ‘comrades’ should be established from the ranks of the blacks themselves ... the necessity for and value of such an auxiliary service is apparent from research done into the role played by the ‘Security Forces Auxiliaries’ in Rhodesia and the battle against the revolutionary war over there. [Commission translation.]

- 70 Former SAP captain Brian Mitchell [AM2586/96] told the Commission that the function of special constables was to win back areas and towns lost to the ANC/UDF and to act as “a physical wedge against the ‘tyranny of the comrades’”.
- 71 Special constables, also known colloquially as ‘*kitskonstabels*’ (instant police), ‘blue lines’, or ‘*bloupakke*’, were recruited from urban and rural areas, and were usually unemployed African men with few educational qualifications. Many were illiterate and some had criminal convictions. Training for special constables commenced in September 1986 at the SAP’s Koeberg facility outside Cape Town. Initially only six weeks, the training course was later increased to three months. The training was perfunctory and involved only one seven-hour course in *onlusdril* (riot drill). The Commission received evidence from former special constables that the training, given by senior Security Branch officers, presented the ANC/UDF as the enemy to be suppressed.
- 72 Although trained for three months and thereafter paid by the SAP, municipal police (known as ‘greenflies’, ‘greenbeans’ or ‘*amaTshaka*’) were attached to the BLAs, initially falling under the Department of Constitutional Development. In 1989 they were incorporated into the SAP.
- 73 It is estimated that, by the end of the 1980s, approximately 8 000 special constables and 14 000 municipal police had been recruited, trained and deployed in urban and rural towns across the country where unrest was strongest.⁶ Special constables were usually attached to local riot squads. Their powers were largely the same as ordinary SAP and included the state of emergency powers granted to all security forces. They were, however, at the very bottom of the police hierarchy. Wages and working conditions were poor and there were several strikes and desertions from the ranks.
- 74 Special constables and municipal policemen rapidly became associated with numerous violations both on and off duty, and were the subject of several interdicts. It was reported to Parliament in April 1988 that, since August 1987, 349 municipal police had been charged with crimes including murder, robbery, assault, theft, and rape.
- 75 A former member of the Pietermaritzburg Riot Unit told the Commission that “the special constables was one of the biggest mistakes the police ever made”. Two former police officers told the Commission that:

6 ‘The Apparatus of State-Orchestrated Violence in Apartheid South Africa’ Report prepared by the Civilian Support Component, Investigation Task Unit, February 1997.

The special constables were the biggest nonsense introduced by the state. They caused even more problems. They shot people unnecessarily. They were drunk on duty and rude most of the time. The problem was that they did not receive enough training ... They were wild. The problem was that they were uneducated, but given guns and a high position. (Commission interviews, Oudtshoorn.)

- 76 The types of gross human rights violations attributed to the special constables and municipal policemen include *sjambokkings*, beatings with gun butts, general assault, injury by shooting, killing by shooting, torture in custody, sexual assault and harassment, and theft. High levels of excessive and inappropriate use of violence, often arising out of drunken behaviour, ill-discipline and personal vendettas, were reported. They retained the use of shotguns even off-duty.
- 77 Special constables were also the target of attack by both civilian internal opposition groups and the armed forces of the liberation movements. Several killings or attacks on special constables and municipal policemen from late 1986 to 1989 are reported in secondary sources. Few statements were received by the Commission in this regard.

Special constables in the western Cape

- 78 Special constables were deployed in the African townships of Cape Town from October 1986. Most were recruited from the pro-government '*witdoeke*' camps of Crossroads and Khayelitsha. A group of about ninety special constables, based at the Nyanga police station, were sent out on foot patrols, armed with shotguns.
- 79 In December 1986, the Black City squatter camp was twice raided, after which numbers of residents were arrested and severely assaulted. In June 1987, the UDF-affiliated Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) applied for and was granted an urgent Supreme Court interdict after *affidavits* alleged torture, harassment, intimidation, assault, theft and sexual abuse committed by special constables. Indoor CAYCO meetings in KTC had been violently broken up and those arrested were brutally assaulted and tortured at the Nyanga police station.
- 80 Special constables were co-opted into the political and physical defence of the leadership of the pro-government squatter camps run by *witdoeke*, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and Mr Mali Hoza in Crossroads and Khayelitsha respectively.

Hoza had two special constables deployed as '*Hoza wagte*' (Hoza's guards) for his personal use in 1989. 1987 JMC minutes record the deployment of several special constables as 'guards' for Ngxobongwana.

- 81 In rural areas, incidents of violence became common following the deployment of groups of between ten and twenty special constables or municipal police from early 1987.
- 82 In Beaufort West Mr Sidney Yabo [CT00358/BEA] was shot and blinded in June and Mr Jan Molowitz [CT00361/BEA] was shot and injured in July 1987. On 3 December 1988 Mr Thabo Abraham Metsing [CT00360/BEA] was shot and seriously injured by an allegedly drunk special constable who was then himself killed. On 1 January 1988 two residents, including thirteen-year-old Jerry Msindisi Ndishi [CT00565/BEA], were shot dead returning from a New Year's church service.
- 83 In De Aar, Mr Andile Tantsi and Mr Sizakele Mbekhushe [CT00555/KAR] were shot dead by special constables in 1989. No charges followed these deaths. Instead, those present at the killing of Mbekhushe were themselves charged with public violence and attempted murder. In Noupoot Mr Thembekile Mgweba [CT01500/KAR] and one other were shot dead on 14 December 1986. Mr Zenzile Dyantyi [CT01523/KAR] was shot and then assaulted in September 1987.
- 84 At the Commission's public hearings in Upington, municipal policeman Nicholas Makandile 'Oupa' Links voluntarily testified to killing Mr Elliot Mbulelo Jonga [CT01417/UPI] on 31 December 1985. He applied for amnesty for the killing [AM5923/97], expressing deep sorrow and regret and stating that his SAP colleagues had congratulated him on his first killing.
- 85 Several interdicts against special constables were applied for by and granted to individuals, organisations and whole communities, including CAYCO in KTC, Cape Town, six residents of Aberdeen, and the Midlands Council of Churches in Hofmeyr. Upington residents obtained an interdict against the municipal police.
- 86 After widespread violations by sixteen special constables in Oudtshoorn, the Bongoletu Civic Association (BHOCA) applied for a Supreme Court interdict in July 1987 preventing the special constables from assaulting residents. The application detailed assaults, harassment, abuse of power, drunken behaviour and personal vendettas on residents. Despite a police undertaking to desist from such abuses, violence continued and included the shooting of Ms Lindiwe Phillips [CT05701/GEO] and journalist Patrick Nyuka.

- 87 On 16 January 1988 a special constable, with other SAP members, killed Mr Soyisile Douse [CT00328/GEO], Mr Selwyn Botha [CT05601/GEO] and Mr Johnny Karelse [CT00351/GEO] in an alleged 'shooting spree' after a special constable had been stabbed to death in a shebeen. Their funerals were then restricted. An urgent second interdict restraining the special constables was granted thereafter.

Special constables in KwaZulu/Natal

- 88 From 1988, special constables were used to bolster Inkatha in areas around Pietermaritzburg and the Natal Midlands. They were also used to attack UDF supporters. In January 1988, 300 Inkatha supporters were sent for special constable training at Koeberg.⁷ The group included 130 of those who had been given military training in the Caprivi through the SADF's *Operation Marion* and was associated with unlawful acts, perpetrated either alone or in concert with the Riot Unit and Inkatha supporters. Examples are to be found in the Trust Feed killings in 1988 and the Seven Day War in 1990 (see Volume Three).
- 89 The recruitment and deployment of special constables in the KwaZulu/Natal area provided an overt armed capacity for Inkatha, as opposed to the covert capacity provided by *Operation Marion*. The Commission obtained evidence that Inkatha membership became a criterion for recruitment. Former police constable William Harrington of the Riot Unit said that all applications by people to work as special constables had to be counter-signed by an Inkatha chief (*sic*) and by another Inkatha person.
- 90 Special constables in several areas appear to have been recruited into hit squads. For example, in the post-1990 period, both former and serving special constables were implicated in widespread anonymous 'balaclava' killings and attacks in the western Cape, at the behest of town councillors.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SPECIAL CONSTABLES CONSTITUTED A PARTICULARLY POORLY TRAINED AND ILL-DISCIPLINED SECTOR OF THE SECURITY FORCES. THEIR DEPLOYMENT WAS SOON FOLLOWED BY KILLINGS, SEVERE ILL TREATMENT AND TORTURE, AS WELL AS CRIMINAL ACTS. THEIR COMMANDING OFFICERS IN THE POLICE TOOK NO VISIBLE STEPS TO CONTROL THEIR ACTIONS IN ANY MEANINGFUL WAY, DESPITE PUBLIC ALLEGATIONS AND COURT INTERDICTS CONCERNING THEIR BEHAVIOUR. THE COMMISSION FURTHER HAS EVIDENCE THAT IN CERTAIN AREAS OF THE COUNTRY THE RIOT UNITS ACTED IN CONCERT WITH SPECIAL CONSTABLES IN THE PERPETRATION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

⁷ Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's press secretary explained that "police were not allowed to take part in any extremist organisations like the UDF or the AWB, but could be part of an organisation like Inkatha". Quoted in Brian Mitchell's amnesty application.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SPECIAL CONSTABLES AND MUNICIPAL POLICE SERVED TO PROVIDE AN ARMED CAPACITY TO THOSE PRO-GOVERNMENT INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPINGS THAT THE STATE SOUGHT TO DEFEND AND PROMOTE, PARTICULARLY INKATHA.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SPECIAL CONSTABLES AND MUNICIPAL POLICE WERE A PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE SECTOR OF THE SECURITY FORCES AND WERE THEMSELVES THE TARGETS OF VIOLENCE, RESULTING IN INJURIES, DEATHS AND THE DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY. WHEN THIS OCCURRED, AND THEIR OWN RIGHTS WERE VIOLATED, THEY DID NOT BENEFIT FROM THE SAME DEGREE OF PROTECTION AND INSURANCE AS THE REGULAR MEMBERS OF THE SAP.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SPECIAL CONSTABLES COMMITTED GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ON A WIDE SCALE, INCLUDING KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING, TORTURE, ARSON AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT, AND THAT THESE VIOLATIONS WERE PART OF A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE FOR WHICH THE FORMER GOVERNMENT AND IN PARTICULAR THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER AND THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, ARE ACCOUNTABLE.

■ TORTURE AND DEATH IN CUSTODY

- 91 The period 1960 to 1994 saw the systematic and extensive use of detention without trial in South Africa. Such detention was frequently conducive to the commission of gross abuses of human rights. The Human Rights Committee estimated the number of detentions between 1960 and 1990 at approximately 80 000, of which about 10 000 were women and 15 000 children and youths under the age of 18. Detention without trial represented the first line of defence of the security forces. It was only when this strategy began to fail that the killing of political opponents increased.
- 92 Allegations of torture of detainees form a large percentage of all violations reported to the Commission. Most people who told the Commission they had been detained said also that they had been subjected to some form of assault or torture associated with detention.
- 93 Evidence before the Commission shows that torture was used systematically by the Security Branch, both as a means of obtaining information and of terrorising detainees and activists. Torture was not confined to particular police stations, particular regions or particular individual police officers – although certain individuals' names came up repeatedly. Torture was used by the security police and by other elements of the security forces, including the Reaction Unit, the Municipal Police, the CID and, to some extent, by the military intelligence unit of the SADF.
- 94 Many former detainees who experienced torture did not come forward to make statements to the Commission. At least one of the reasons for this was the

deep shame and humiliation often associated with the experience of torture, something the security police understood well and exploited. Describing how he *sjambokked* (whipped) Mr Mkhuseleli Jack [EC0006/96PLZ], former Security Branch member Gideon Nieuwoudt [AM3920/96] said during his amnesty hearing that torture “was one way to diminish his resistance and it also would have been very bad for him, because I was treating him like a child. I was giving him a hiding.”

- 95 The more severe the torture, the more vulnerable the detainee and the greater the silence. Extreme torture such as electric shocks or suffocation frequently resulted in loss of bladder or bowel control that detainees found painfully degrading. Some individuals gave in under pressure of torture and gave evidence against their former comrades. Often such detainees remained silent because of feelings of intense guilt.

- 96 Ms Zubeida Jaffer [CT00776/HEL] described her guilt and shame after she revealed a single piece of information:

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

It completely humiliated me. It completely made me feel like I was worthless, that I had gone against everything that I stood for, that I believed in, and that I’d been too weak to withstand the pressure of this. I was never able to overcome it for many, many years.

- 97 Similarly, Ms Zahrah Narkedien [JB04418/99OVE] (formerly Greta Apelgren), detained in connection with the Magoo’s Bar bomb, testified:

They tortured me for those seven days and the only thing that really made me break in the end was when they threatened to ... kidnap my four-year-old nephew, Christopher, bring him to the 13th floor and drop him out the window ... I felt I could risk my life and I could let my body just be handed over to these men to do what they liked, but I couldn’t hand over someone else’s body so at that point I co-operated.

- 98 Even where detainees did not give information, the mere fact of having broken down and screamed or pleaded for mercy left many unable to speak of their

experiences. Mr Laloo Chiba [JB00667/01GTSOW], who withstood two bouts of interrogation without answering questions, described his feelings thus:

I had screamed out in pain. I had pleaded for mercy from ... a people's enemy ... I had given them the pleasure of listening to my screams and it is something that haunts me up till today.

- 99 The 'silence of vulnerability' was the greater when sexual forms of torture were used. The Commission is aware of individual deponents who made statements about other forms of torture but were unable to discuss their experience of sexual torture.
- 100 Moreover, the example held up by individual activists and in organisations that a 'good comrade' never broke exacerbated the sense of shame and vulnerability of those who had agreed to give the information their interrogators were seeking. The experience of custody, detention and interrogation, involving torture or not, was a threatening one. Different detainees responded in different ways.
- 101 The Commission believes that the harsh judgments meted out to those who may have given information in the past is inhumane and recommends that those who have been cruelly cut off by failing to meet up to such exacting standards be reintegrated into society.

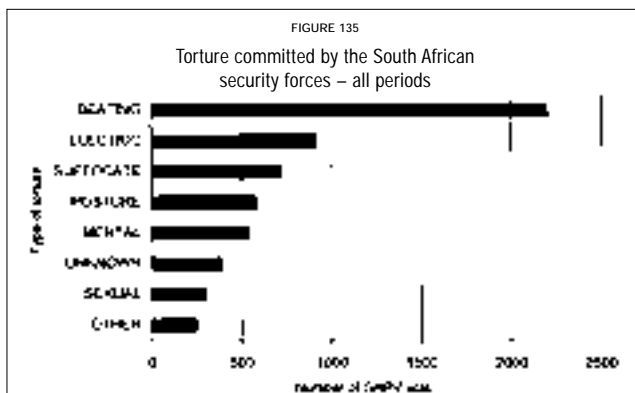
Methods of torture

- 102 The Commission accepted the following internationally accepted definition of torture:

The intentional infliction of severe pain and suffering, whether physical or mental, on a person for the purpose of (1) obtaining from that or another person information or a confession, or (2) punishing him for an act that he or a third person committed or is suspected of having committed, or (3) intimidating him or a third person, or (4) for any reason based on discrimination of any kind. Pain or suffering that arises only from, inherent in, or incidental to, a lawful sanction does not qualify as torture.⁸

⁸ Article 1(1), Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

103 The cases of torture presented to the Commission included a wide range of physical and psychological types. The following graphs indicate the extent to which different techniques of torture were used:



104 Beating was the most commonly used form of torture. The Commission did not distinguish between beating detainees as a form of torture and what appears to have been a routine practice of beating and assault at the point of arrest. The latter was used to instil terror and to ‘soften people up’ before questioning and appears to have been widely and routinely used. This section, however, concentrates mainly on the use of torture to extract information or as a means of recruitment of informers.



105 A range of other techniques were regularly used. Suffocation as a form of torture increased significantly from 1975 to the end of the Commission’s mandate period, when it became the third most common form of torture.

106 Mr Rajeegopal Vandeyar [JB00809/01GTSOW] told the Commission of the torture he experienced while in the custody of the police:

There were a number of policemen, some in uniform, some not, most visibly armed ... They began assaulting me, kicking and punching me, hitting me with gun butts. The policemen were all involved in some way or another as I was beaten from 'pillar to post'. At regular intervals I lost consciousness. They threw water on me to revive me. They kept asking me in derogatory terms – ie calling me "Coolie" ... Lieutenant van Wyk and Rooi Rus Swanepoel were particularly [vicious] ... A certain Major Brits was also present throughout, but did not lay a finger on me. He was in charge of the investigation.

- 107 Mr Ndovela Nxasana [EC0578/96ETK] was arrested in 1960 and kept at the Mkhambathi forest detention camp during the Pondoland uprising. He was one of the first people in the mandate period to describe electric shock torture. Mr Abdulhay Jassat [JB00184/01GTSOW] was also subjected to electric shocks while in police custody:

A hessian bag was put over my head and ... it was tied at my knees ... They then lay me on the floor ... they started ... untying my shoes, shoelaces and removing my socks and I could feel them fiddling around with my big toes. Then I was told I had better start talking otherwise they were going to give me electric shock treatment ... They would torture for about ... thirty seconds to a minute. Then they would stop, ask you a question, when you refused to answer they would say we are increasing it ... They went on until eventually they went up to 220 or 225 volts. Then they untied the electrodes from my toes and they lifted me up, removed the hessian bag and told me to stand on the floor without touching anything. I wasn't able to stand. My body was completely stiff so I tried to lean against the table, and when I did that they came with a ruler or some instrument and just rapped me on my knuckles ...

- 108 Former member of the Durban Riot Unit Sergeant Frank Bennetts [AM4059/96] described the technique from the torturer's side during a section 29 hearing:

I did make use of a shocking device ... They were available from anyone at Telkom. I can go fetch you one now ... It was an old crank telephone ... and you'd take two wires – well, the best one was just two keys, I presume, was the best way to do it. Just a normal key with a hole in the top. Tie a key on to each wire. The guy's got a hood over his head. Dangle them so that they touch the palms of his hands. When the first shock goes through his hands close and he can't open them again. While you keep turning the handle, he can't let go of it.

109 Forced postures or body positions were also used as a form of torture, sometimes involving the participation of the victim, thus inflicting psychological as well as physical stress. Examples included forcing the detainee to stand on a piece of foolscap piece of paper for hours, sometimes days, on end; forcing the detainee to balance on a brick or two bricks or to sit in an imaginary chair for hours on end; forcing the detainee to hold an object above her/his head. Other techniques were imposed by force. These included the 'helicopter' technique which involved manacled detainees' hands above their heads or hanging them upside down for lengthy periods.

110 Mr Archibald Patuleni [EC2636/97KWT], detained in March 1963, experienced the imaginary chair torture:

I knew Charles Sebe because he was a Special Branch ... He told me that I would sit in a government chair, so I must not break it ... It meant to put yourself in suspension as if you're sitting on a chair. When I became tired, I fell. He started punching me ... He then handcuffed me from behind. I praised him, calling him 'Tshawe', begging him to stop. He gave me a good punch on my face.

111 Frank Bennetts described, again from the torturer's side, the method referred to as 'the helicopter', 'boeing' or 'aeroplane':

They would handcuff his feet together round the ankles and handcuff his hands behind his back and then place him on his stomach with his feet in the air and put a broom stick or quite a strong plank of wood between his ankles and then through his legs coming out the top here and pick him up and hang him between two desks like that. The result was similar to crucifixion. It pulled all your muscles. It closed up your chest. You couldn't breathe. Leave the guy there long enough, he's going to talk.

112 Former Security Branch member Jeffrey Benzien [AM5314/97] described and demonstrated one form of suffocation during his amnesty application:

... it would be a cloth bag that would be submerged in water to get it completely wet ... I get the person to lie down on the ground on his stomach ... with that person's hands handcuffed behind his back. Then I would take up a position in the small of the person's back, put my feet through between his arms to maintain my balance and then pull the bag over the person's head and twist it closed around the neck in that way, cutting off the air supply to the person ... On occasions people have, I presume, and I say presume,

lost consciousness. They would go slack and every time that was done, I would release the bag.

- 113 Asked what the reactions of the person being suffocated were, Benzien replied:

There would be movement, there would be head movement, distress. All the time there would be questions asked – “Do you want to speak?” ... and as soon as an indication was given that this person wanted to speak, the air would be allowed back ... the person would moan, cry ...

- 114 Benzien claimed that, with few exceptions, this method yielded results within half an hour.

- 115 Cases of sexual torture included forcing detainees (both male and female) to undress; the deliberate targeting of genitals or breasts during torture; the threat of and, in some instances, actual rape of detainees (male and female); the insertion of objects such as batons or pistols into bodily orifices and placing detainees overnight in cells with common-law prisoners known to rape newcomers. Ms Ntombizanele Zingxondo [CT00860/BEA] testified:

They unbuttoned my shirt, and pulled my breast out of my bra. They emptied one drawer and my breast was squeezed in the drawer. They did this several times on each breast until white sticky stuff burst out of the nipples of my breast.

One evening while I was sleeping, a white policeman was opening the doors ... he was alone. He pulled the blankets off me – ordered me to take off my clothes. I refused and we struggled ... I kept on yelling ... The policeman let go, then ... left.

- 116 Fourteen-year-old Patrick Mzathi [CT06108/GEO] experienced the male version of the drawer method: “They put my penis and my testicles into a drawer, it was the first time I experienced a pain of my private parts. I went unconscious.”

- 117 Aside from sexual forms of torture, security police frequently targeted women in ways related to their gender or as mothers (see also the chapter on *Women* in Volume Four). Ms Nobuhle Mohapi [EC0007/96PLZ] told the Commission:

The first month of my detention, I didn’t get a drop of water to wash myself. I was unable to change and I was in my menstrual cycle ... I requested water so that I can bathe and wash myself, but nobody wanted to help me

... I stayed six months in solitary confinement ... and they would come and report some of the things that are happening at home. They even came and told me that my youngest child is dead. They promised to release me so that I can attend the funeral ... [if] I should sign this paper.

118 Ms Shirley Gunn [CT00792/HEL] was detained at the Wynberg police station in Cape Town along with her sixteen-month-old unweaned son. The hygienic conditions were inadequate and the cell was drafty and cold. Social workers took her son away for a period of eight days. During this time police played a tape of his crying in order to put pressure on her.

119 The Commission received numerous statements detailing the effects of solitary confinement on detainees. Ms Zahrah Narkedien [JB04418/99OVE] describes the experience of being held in isolation in a cell the size of a small bathroom for seven months:

I don't even want to describe psychologically what I had to do to survive down there. I will write it one day but I could never tell you. It did teach me something and that is that no human being can live alone for more than I think a month ... The basement ... was ... at the bottom with high walls. I felt as the months went by that I was going deeper and deeper into the ground ... I became so psychologically damaged that I used to feel that all these cells are all like coffins and there were all dead people in there, because they were not there, no one was there. It was as if I was alive and all these people were dead ...

I'm out of prison now for more than seven or ten years but I haven't recovered and I will never recover ... I have tried to and the more I struggle to be normal, the more disturbed I become. I had to accept that I was damaged, a part of my soul was eaten away as if by maggots ... and I will never get it back again.

The use of torture in the arrest and interrogation of detainees

120 The security legislation providing for detention during the mandate period was as follows:

- a Detention for interrogation: section 21 of General Laws Amendment Act (1963); section 6 of Terrorism Act (1967); and section 29 of Internal Security Act (1982).
- b Preventative detention: section 10 of Internal Security Act (1950); section 28 of Internal Security Act (1982).

- c Short-term detention: section 22 of General Law Amendment Act (1966); section 50 of Internal Security Act (1982).
 - d Detention of state witnesses: section 12 of the Suppression of Communism Act (1950); Criminal Procedures Act (1965); section 31 of Internal Security Act (1982).
 - e State of emergency detention: Public Safety Act (1953); Proclamation R121 (1985).
- 121 Torture of political detainees was reported from the early 1960s. That torture of political detainees was a relatively new phenomenon during that period is evident from the following statement by Mr Joe Slovo:

However firm the old type of policemen were ... they were not torturers ... In a sense, up to about 1960/1, the underground struggle was fought on a gentlemanly terrain. There was still a rule of law. You had a fair trial in their courts. Nobody could be kept in isolation. Up to 1963, I know of no incident of any political prisoner being tortured.⁹

- 122 It was widely believed by many political activists of the time that, in the early 1960s, a special squad of security policemen received special training in torture techniques in France and Algeria and that this accounted for a sudden and dramatic increase in torture. The Commission established that the following officers received training in France at some point during the first half of the 1960s: Hendrik van den Bergh (then head of the Security Branch), TJ 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel, DK Genis, Lieutenant Daantjie 'Kardoesbroek' Rossouw, G Klindt, a Major Brits (from the Railway Police), a Lieutenant van der Merwe and one Coetzee.
- 123 However, the Commission found considerable evidence of the occurrence of torture in the years prior to 1963. While torture does not appear to have been used on urban-based, ANC political detainees until 1963, the Commission received information about the extensive use of *all* forms torture on rural insurgents involved in the Pondoland revolt in 1960 and against members and supporters of the *Poqo* movement of the PAC. Further, it is clear that such methods were widely used in criminal investigations before the 1960s.
- 124 It is more likely, therefore, that the French training promoted the development of other non-physical third degree methods. Indeed, in 1964, there was a marked shift to an approach in which teams working in relays used sleep deprivation

⁹ Quoted in Thomas G Karis and Gail M Gerhardt, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in SA, 1882–1990. Volume 5 – Nadir and Resurgence, 1964–1969*, p.25 or 26.

and non-physical means such as standing on one spot or the 'hard/soft cop' routine. It is probable that the techniques apparent in the 1964 period were the fruit of the French exercise.

- 125 The Commission received confirmation that a number of officers received further training in interrogation and counter-interrogation techniques in France in about 1968. Officers known to have attended this course include: TJ 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel, Major JJ 'Blackie' de Swardt, Hans Gloy, Roelf van Rensburg and Dries Verwey.
- 126 It is further believed that, in the early 1980s, joint co-operation agreements between South Africa, Argentina, Chile and Taiwan led to further training opportunities and an exchange of ideas and experience. Close links with Argentina existed even before this. For example, Alfredo Astiz, a notorious torturer, was one of four torture experts attached to the Argentinian Embassy in Pretoria in 1979. During his stay, there were several seminars at which South African security police and the Argentines exchanged ideas regarding methods of interrogation.
- 127 It is also known that Military Intelligence (MI) operatives received training in interrogation techniques in Italy. According to one MI operative, such training tended to focus on non-aggressive methods of interrogation as the use of torture was seen to result in false confessions or information.
- 128 Finally, the training grounds *par excellence* were Rhodesia and South West Africa where South African police developed hands-on experience in fighting a counter-insurgency war.
- 129 Following the general failure of the Security Branch to conclude investigations in sabotage cases in the early 1960s, a tougher approach was adopted and a group of police was drawn in from outside the ranks of the Security Branch to constitute a special 'sabotage squad'. This was part of a more extensive restructuring of legal provisions relating to detentions and police structures introduced by the new Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, Mr BJ Vorster, his new commissioner of police, Lieutenant General Keevy and new head of the Security Branch, Colonel Hendrik van den Bergh. An SAP *Commemorative Album* records that:

Col van den Bergh decided that the Security Branch should be reorganised to enable it to deal more efficiently with subversive elements in the Republic. The Minister of Justice, who was fully aware of the threat against the Republic,

*agreed with Col van den Bergh and undertook to supply the Security Branch with the necessary arms to ward off the onslaught.*¹⁰

- 130 The 'sabotage squad' was one of these "necessary arms". Officers associated with this squad include: Major TJ 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel, Major George Klindt, a Major Coetzee, Major Britz, Lieutenant DK Genis, 'Kardoesbroek' Rossouw and a Captain or Major JJ van der Merwe. Others who appeared to form part of this team, or who worked closely with them, include Warrant Officer 'Spyker' van Wyk, Captain JJ Viktor, Lieutenant Petrus Ferreira, Lieutenant Erasmus, Lieutenant and/or Captain van Rensburg and Sergeant Greeff. Their approach contrasted sharply with the 'gentlemanly approach' of earlier Security Branch men.
- 131 Arrests of people linked to sabotage campaigns increased markedly in 1963 and the Commission received reports of torture in respect of nearly every detainee interrogated by members of this team. Reports exposed the widespread use of beating, electric shock and terror tactics (see below).
- 132 The first allegations of torture of political detainees arose during the state of emergency declared on 24 March 1960. According to the Minister of Justice, ninety-eight whites, thirty-six coloureds, ninety Indians and 11 279 Africans were detained under the Public Safety Act of 1953. From statements received by the Commission, it appears as though detainees were routinely subjected to beating and other forms of assault. Several Pondoland detainees reported the use of electric shock and torture involving forced posture.
- 133 A second wave of torture allegations came from Poqo members detained under the General Laws Amendment Act of 1961. The main form of torture remained beatings and general assault, although again instances of electric shock and forced posture were reported.
- 134 With the introduction of the ninety-day detention clause provided for by the General Laws Amendment Act of 1963 that torture became far more prevalent. Section 17 authorised any commissioned officer to detain without a warrant any person suspected of political activities and to hold them in solitary confinement, without access to a lawyer, for ninety days. In practice, people were often released after ninety days only to be re-detained on the same day for a further ninety-day period. The Minister of Justice said the intention was to detain uncooperative persons "until this side of eternity"¹¹. Ms Helen Suzman was the only Member of Parliament to vote against the amendment.

¹⁰ Marius de Witt Dippenaar, *SAP Commemorative Album*, p. 308.

¹¹ *SAP Commemorative Album*, p. 12.

135 The ninety-day law came into effect on 1 May 1963 and the first detentions took place eight days later. Between 1 May 1963 and 10 January 1965, when it was withdrawn and replaced with a 180-day detention law, it was used to detain 1 095 people, of whom 575 were charged and 272 convicted.

136 In the course of these detentions, torture went far beyond a routine level of physical assault; carefully honed techniques were put to use, designed primarily to extract information. By the end of January 1964, Minister Vorster conceded in Parliament that forty-nine complaints had been received concerning ill treatment and torture, including twenty-eight allegations of assault and twenty of electric shock. He reported that thirty-two had been investigated and found to be of no substance. Nevertheless, accounts of torture from this period – across region, rank and organisation – bear a remarkable consistency.

137 Mr Laloo Chiba [JB00667/016GTSOW] told the Commission about what appears from other statements to have been a routine experience:

There were about five or six people who were actually present in the room. They started assaulting me, punched me, kicked me and in the process my face was badly bruised. My left eardrum had been punctured. They wanted to know who my contact was in MK ... I pleaded ignorance ... The assault must have lasted half an hour or so. It is very, very difficult for me to assess the passage of time in these circumstances. But what was to follow was far more serious ...

138 Chiba, covered with a wet hessian sack, was then subjected to electric shock treatment:

Every time I resisted answering the questions, they turned on the dynamo and of course, violent electric shocks started passing through my body ... After the electric torture was over, I was unable to walk, I collapsed. They then carried me out.

139 Mr Rajeegopal Vandeyar [JB00809/01GTSOW] described Chiba's condition following this session:

His face was swollen severely. His eyes appeared to be coming out of their sockets. He was walking with great difficulty and was supported by a policeman. His legs were rigid. His knees did not bend. His hands were almost like he had severe arthritis. He looked like a Frankenstein monster.

- 140 Other methods of torture used included being dangled from the window, a range of psychological threats and, particularly from 1964, a combination of solitary confinement, sleep deprivation and forced standing, often for days on end.
- 141 Laloo Chiba, detained again in July 1964, gives his account of this new method:
- I was assured that, unlike the previous time, they won't even lay a finger on me. What they did was, they took a foolscap sheet of paper, A4 size, they put it on the floor and they asked me to stand on that. They said that I was not allowed to move off from that sheet of paper ... I stood there from about nine o'clock on Monday morning until Wednesday early in the evening, late in the afternoon. That was a period of approximately fifty-eight to sixty hours without sleep.*
- 142 The Security Branch worked in teams, ensuring that they were always fresh and clean, in sharp contrast to the exhausted detainees. Teams would also frequently alternate between apparently sympathetic police and those who displayed extreme aggression. Such methods, which left no mark, proved devastatingly effective in extracting confessions. It is important to note, however, that physical violence and electric shock continued to be used as well, particularly against less high-profile African detainees.
- 143 Section 17 of the General Laws Amendment Act was revoked as of 11 January 1965. The Minister of Justice said that it would be re-invoked should the need arise. The Criminal Procedure Amendment Act was enacted in the same year. This provided for 180-day detention and re-detention thereafter. Detainees could be held in solitary confinement but, unlike the ninety-day provision, interrogation was not specified as part of the detention. Nevertheless, it appears that the 180-day provision was used for interrogation as well.
- 144 In response to guerrilla activities on the northern borders of South West Africa, the General Laws Amendment Act was amended in 1966 to provide for up to fourteen days' detention of suspected 'terrorists' for interrogation purposes. The commissioner of police could apply to a judge to have the detention order renewed. This clause was a forerunner of the Terrorism Act (1967) which authorised indefinite detention without trial on the authority of a policeman of or above the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. The definition of terrorism was very broad. No time limit was specified for detention, which could be continued until detainees had satisfactorily replied to all questions. Detentions under the Act were generally for the purposes of extracting information and the practice of routine 'purposive torture' appears to have accompanied most interrogations.

- 145 Section 6 of the Terrorism Act was first used to detain ten South West Africans arrested during the attack on the SWAPO base at Omgulumbashe. The captives vanished from view and were brought to trial in Pretoria after two years of interrogation, intermittent torture and many months of solitary confinement. Section 6 was subsequently used in a series of detentions of suspected ANC members in 1968.
- 146 A further window into the interrogation and torture of detainees under the Terrorism Act is provided by the detention of some eighty South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and Black People's Convention (BPC) activists in November 1974. Many of these were transported to Pretoria where they were intensively interrogated at the Security Branch's Compol offices. It appears that a team of security policemen from around the country were involved in these interrogations. Almost all detainees alleged severe torture.
- 147 Former Durban Security Branch member Colonel ARC 'Andy' Taylor [AM4077/96] played a prominent role in the interrogations. He applied for amnesty for the assault of Ms Bridgette Sylvia Mabandla, Dr Sathasivan Cooper [JB06330/01GTSOW], Mr Revabalan Cooper [KZN/NSS/015/DN], Mr Lindani Muntu Myeza, Mr Nyangani Absalom Cindi and Mr Ruben William Hare. While Taylor claimed not to remember the details of these incidents, statements to the Commission and from Amnesty International indicate a consistent pattern: lengthy interrogations accompanied by assault and torture involving forced posture such as being forced to sit in an imaginary chair. In some instances, electric shocks were alleged to have been administered.
- 148 Numerous claims of torture in detention were made during the May 1976 trial of Mr Harry Gwala and nine others under the Terrorism Act. Over forty people were detained in connection with this trial. One of the detainees, Mr Joseph Mdluli, died in detention (see below). Six of the accused filed a summons against the Minister of Police for not responding to claims for damage as a result of torture. Two of the accused, Mr Joseph Nduli and Mr Cleopas Ndhlovu, had been abducted from Swaziland. In his amnesty application, Taylor stated that Nduli and Ndhlovu

were in charge of recruiting and escorting recruits through Swaziland in transit for training. They were abducted ... and taken to Island Rock near Sodwana, for questioning. They were assaulted with open hands, fists ... kicked. The detainees were also kept awake for long hours and deprived of sleep.

149 A United Nations document gives the following account:

On the morning of 29 March, Cleopas Ndhlovu was blindfolded and led through the forest to a house or hut. A rope was attached to his neck while he remained blindfolded. The rope was affixed to a rafter or similar object above his head. In this position he was repeatedly struck with a stick on his head, knees and feet. His nipples and ears were repeatedly twisted. He was struck with fists on his face and stomach, and threatened that he would be thrown into the sea from a boat.

That night, he was taken and tied to a tree, still blindfolded. His legs were clamped in leg irons. He was left exposed throughout the night of 29/30 March. Early on 31 March 1976, he was dragged by the rope, still attached to his neck, to the sea and compelled to wash himself. He was threatened that he would be taken out to sea and drowned. Throughout this period, he remained blindfolded.

A few days later, he was subjected to electrical shocks.

- 150 Nduli experienced similar methods of torture. During the trial, a Pietermaritzburg surgeon, Mr R Denyssen le Roux, filed an *affidavit* which noted scars on Nduli's forehead, the back of his head, neck, forearms and legs. Major JJ de Swardt and Colonel JG Dreyer denied involvement in his torture. The application for the arrest to be declared unlawful was turned down.
- 151 Durban security police called to testify included Colonel Dreyer, Warrant Officer Botha, Lieutenant CR McDuling, Captain D Wessels and Captain JC Fourie, all of whom denied assaulting the detainees. However, several accused as well as several of those who served as witnesses claimed assault.
- 152 Mr Ndoda Anthony Xaba [KZN/PMB/002/PM] testified that he was assaulted, his head banged against the wall, that he was held out of the window and his right arm broken.
- 153 Mr Harry Gwala alleged that, during a break in his interrogation, Lieutenant Coetzee "walked around like a dog wanting to bite someone's testicles. The Lieutenant said he would catch hold of my testicles and make me pass faeces." Colonel Dreyer said in court that it was possible that Gwala could have been interrogated for two days without sleep. Captain Fourie defended interrogating him for a forty-three-hour stretch because of the crisis in the country.

- 154 In a twenty-hour interrogation session, Mr John Nene was kicked, punched, throttled so that he fainted three times, made to walk with stones in his shoes and threatened with death by shooting or falling through a window. He was kept in a cockroach-infested cell: "In the beginning I didn't like them, but after a time I played with them and looked upon them as people in my cell."
- 155 Mr William Khanyile said he was repeatedly made to sit on an imaginary chair, and was hit and kicked. Mr Vusumusi Magubane was made to stand with stones in his shoes, was throttled and subjected to long hours of interrogation. Mr Zakhele Mdlalose also alleged the 'imaginary chair' and 'stones in shoes' torture in his evidence.
- 156 Mr Michael Gumede told the court that police had hit him, put stones in his shoes and made him stand on tiptoe, and tied a brick around his testicles and threatened to continue torturing him until he confessed to having been recruited for military training.
- 157 Mr Judson Khuzwayo and Mr Russell Maphanga [KZN/FS/142/DN], both defence witnesses, said they were tortured. Mr Frans Kunene, who initially gave evidence for the state, returned to the witness box for the defence. He told the court that he also had stones put in his shoes, was made to squat with his chin and knees against the wall and, when he fainted, was struck with a *sjambok*. His fingernails were banged with the head of the *sjambok*; and as a result he had lost them all. This treatment continued until he agreed to give evidence for the state. He was told not to mention assault in court. When he did, he was declared a hostile witness and charged with perjury.
- 158 After giving evidence for the state, Mr Harold Nxasana returned as a defence witness. He had been held under section 6 of the Terrorism Act for 500 days. He told the court that a cloth had been put into his mouth and a sheet wrapped around his neck and lower face. A policeman had rolled a heavy object like a large metal ball into another cloth and hit him with it. After giving evidence, he broke down, fearing that the Security Branch would kill him for having testified to their actions.
- 159 A number of Johannesburg detainees who were detained with Mr Neil Aggett (see below) in 1981 made statements about torture under section 6 of the Terrorism Act. An amnesty application in this connection was received from Warrant Officer WC Smith [AM5469/97].

- 160 As these cases indicate, torture was used expressly to extract information and admissions, and interrogation was in some instances followed by a trial. Detainees, 'broken' by torture, were frequently used as state witnesses. In some instances, despite the presence of perpetrators in court, such witnesses withdrew their statements, alleging that they had been made under duress. Court cases were increasingly characterised by 'trials within trials' to test the admissibility of such statements. Few judges ruled in favour of detainees. In many cases, however, detainees were eventually released after lengthy spells in detention without having been charged.
- 161 It is also important to note the *modus operandi* of the Nduli and Ndlovu detentions – abduction from Swaziland and interrogation at a police camp rather than a formal place of detention. This foreshadows an extensive pattern of abduction and interrogation in the 1980s. In later years, however, such detainees were frequently killed.
- 162 During the 1976 unrest, the government amended the Internal Security Act in order to provide for what was termed 'preventive detention'. Theoretically, the detention was not meant to exceed twelve months. Proclamation R133 of 16 July 1976 applied the provisions of the Internal Security Amendment Act to the Transvaal, while Proclamation R159 of 11 August 1976 extended its applicability country-wide. This was extended for a further year.
- 163 The Internal Security Act (1982) attempted to consolidate security legislation into one act. Detentions were covered by the following clauses:
- a Section 28: Indefinite preventive detention;
 - b Section 29: Indefinite detention for interrogation, with detainees held in solitary confinement;
 - c Section 29(2): No court could challenge the validity of a detention order;
 - d Section 31: Detention of potential witnesses for not longer than six months or for the duration of a trial;
 - e Section 50: A low-ranking police officer could detain a person deemed to be threatening public safety for fourteen days' preventive detention. For the detention to be extended, the permission of a magistrate was needed.
- 164 Detainees held under section 28 were sometimes questioned, but were primarily detained in order to keep them out of circulation. Section 29 was used chiefly

for detention of those suspected of links with the underground, and particularly military, structures. Detainees held under this clause were subjected to torture. In the mid-1980s, the Internal Security Act continued to be used for specific cases of suspected terrorism and for intensive interrogation. However, detention happened far more widely under the state of emergency provisions.

- 165 State of emergency regulations gave police powers to detain individuals for an initial period of fourteen days on little more than a suspicion that they may have been a “threat to the safety and security of the state”. The period of detention could be extended almost indefinitely. Thousands of people, mostly black men, were incarcerated under these provisions during the states of emergency in the mid- to late 1980s. The wide-ranging powers given to the police, including extensive indemnity provision, and the lack of any censure for excesses, reinforced their understanding that they enjoyed impunity for extensive abuses committed in the interests of state security.

The Red Location detainees

During August 1985, hundreds of male residents of Red Location outside Port Elizabeth were rounded up by police late one night and taken to a police station before being transferred to St Alban's prison. At the police station, they were subjected to random assaults over a period of some hours. Detainees reported having bricks dropped on their feet, being beaten with pick handles, being hit repeatedly on the palm of the hand with a cane and having to run the gauntlet of a row of policemen armed with sjamboks.

Often there seems to have been a deliberate attempt to humiliate detainees. A minister of religion was made to dance naked in front of his neighbours; an old man was forced to sing songs for teenagers; young men were made to lick the boots of police officers; a detainee whose nose had bled as a result of a beating was made to wipe the blood off the floor with his bare hands; another had his hair pulled out and was made to eat it.

Torture also took its more ‘traditional form’ of physical and emotional assault during interrogation, in an attempt to extract information. Trade union leaders, political activists and leaders of student organisations were the prime targets.

While there is no evidence that prison staff were involved in assaults, they were aware of the abuses and did nothing to stop them. In her affidavit to the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court in September 1985¹², Dr Wendy Orr reported a prison warder who said, on seeing a badly beaten and bruised

¹² Case no 2507/85, Ref 129/7. Files are at the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court, Port Elizabeth.

detainee who had just been returned to the prison after a session of interrogation, "Hy het dit seker nodig gehad" (He probably deserved it).

Deaths of detainees held in terms of security legislation

166 The Commission was told of a number of cases where the victim died while detained under security legislation.

'Suicides'

167 In the following cases the police said the death was the result of suicide:

- a Mr Looksmart Ngudle [CT00504/GAU; also see EC0127/96/CCK] died on 5 September 1963 in Pretoria, allegedly a suicide by hanging, following electric shock torture.
- b Mr Suliman Saloojee [JB01711/01ERKWA] died on 24 January 1964 after allegedly jumping from a window.
- c Mr James Thabiso Lenkoe [JB00092/01GTSOW] died in Pretoria Central prison on 10 March 1969. Police claimed he had committed suicide by hanging. A pathologist report established that he had been tortured and possibly killed.
- d Mr Ahmed Timol [JB00173/03WR] died on 27 October 1971 at John Vorster Square in Johannesburg. According to the police, he committed suicide by leaping out of the window of a tenth-floor office.
- e Mr Luke Mazwembe [CT00516/FLA; EC1249/96BUT; CT01307/KAR] died in detention in Cape Town in 1976, after allegedly "hanging himself with a blanket".
- f Mr Mapetla Mohapi [EC0007/96PLZ] died at Kei Road police station, East London, on 5 August 1976. Ms Mohapi was told by the police that her husband had hanged himself with his jeans. However, a 'suicide note' from Mohapi was apparently not in his handwriting.
- g Mr Hoosen Haffajee [KZN/NG/006/DN] died in Brighton Beach police cells, Durban, less than twelve hours after having been detained, on 3 August 1977.
- h Mr Mxolisi Johannes 'Dikkie' Jacobs [CT04205/UPI] died in Upington police cells on 22 October 1986, another alleged suicide by hanging.
- i Mr Phakamile Harry Mabija [CT00135/KIM; also see CT00635/KIM and CT04513/KIM] died in detention in Kimberley on 7 July 1977 in an alleged suicide: he "jumped out of a window" on the sixth floor.

- j Mr George Botha [EC1587/97PLZ] died in security police custody in Port Elizabeth on 15 December 1976, allegedly "suicide through jumping down a stairwell" of the Sanlam Building, the offices of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch offices.
 - k Mr Lungile Tabalaza [EC0002/96PLZ & EC2607/97PLZ] died at 15h00 on 10 July 1978, allegedly after jumping from the fifth floor window of the Sanlam Building in Port Elizabeth. At the inquest, the government pathologist acknowledged that several bruises and lacerations could have been sustained before the fall. A magistrate, Mr Lubbe, who saw Tabalaza less than an hour before his 'suicide', expressed regret for having failed to investigate Thabalaza's fears that he would be beaten if he did not make a statement when he was taken back to the Security Branch offices.
 - l Mr Neil Hudson Aggett [CT00410/FLA] was detained in November 1981 and died on 5 February 1982, allegedly having committed suicide by hanging.
- 168 The security police suggested that detainees had received instructions from the ANC to commit suicide rather than talk. Some claimed that they committed suicide in order to malign the Security Branch. Mr TJ 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel was quoted in a November 1982 press article as saying: "It is a communist plot. If they commit suicide, they can cast doubts on the security forces."¹³
- 169 The Commission has taken into consideration the evidence of victims of torture which could well have led to death, especially those cases in which similar forms of torture *did* lead to death. A number of cases were recorded of detainees having their heads bashed against the wall and of detainees who were suspended by their feet outside windows of buildings of several storeys, raising the strong possibility that at least some of those detainees who allegedly committed suicide by jumping out of the window were either accidentally dropped or thrown.
- 172 Mr Mfene Simon Yoyo [EC0653/96QTN] told the Commission that, during his detention in East London in April 1963, his interrogating officer said: "This person does not want to tell the truth. Then I think let's throw him out of the window ...". Yoyo said they lifted him up and hung him out of the window, threatening to let go.
- 174 Mr Vusumzi Johnson Nyathi [JB02097/03WR], a detainee in the Bethal trial of *the State v Mothopeng and seventeen others*, survived after he was allegedly thrown out of the window during an interrogation session. Nyathi, who suffered spinal injuries, was later charged and found guilty of trying to escape from custody. By

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 November 1982.

the time the Bethal trial opened in December 1977, four persons detained in connection with the trial had died in detention. They were Mr Naboath Ntshuntsha, Mr Samuel Malinga, Mr Aaron Khoza and Mr Sipho Bonaventura Malaza. Nyathi later sued the Minister of Police without success.

- 175 The Commission also heard evidence of *bona fide* cases of suicide and accounts from detainees who said they had contemplated or attempted suicide. Mr Prema Naidoo spoke of his wish to commit suicide after revealing information after six days of unrelenting torture: "I contemplated suicide, not because I was hurt or anything but because I felt I had betrayed the cause, the cause which I believed in."
- 176 The Commission is of the opinion that, given the extensive evidence of physical as well as psychological torture, suicides under conditions of detention should be regarded as induced suicide for which the security forces and the former government are accountable.

'Accidental deaths'

- 177 In at least three cases which came before the Commission, the police claimed accidental death. Mr Nicodimus Kgoathe [JB00113/03NWRUS] and one of his co-accused, Mr Solomon Modipane, both died in detention under the Terrorism Act in February 1969. The police explanation for Kgoathe's death was "bronchial pneumonia after slipping in the shower" and for Modipane's death, "fatal injuries from slipping on a bar of soap".
- 178 Mr Joseph Mdluli [KZN/KM/999/DN], one of the accused in the case against Harry Gwala and nine others, died in detention in Durban on 19 March 1976. The official explanation for his death was "injury to neck after falling against a chair". While Judge Howard rejected allegations of torture made by detainees during the court case, he indicated in his judgement that the injuries sustained by Mdluli could not have been self-inflicted or caused accidentally, and found that most, if not all, of the injuries had been inflicted by the security police. In October 1976, four security police, namely Captain David van Zyl, Andy Taylor, Detective Sergeant H Makhanya and Detective Sergeant Z Mkhize, were charged with culpable homicide. All were later acquitted. In March 1979, the state admitted liability for the death of Mdluli and an out-of-court settlement of R28 616 was paid to his widow.

'Natural causes'

179 In the following cases police claimed death from natural causes:

- a Mr Mzukisi Melvin Nobadula [EC0662/96PLZ] died in detention in Port Elizabeth in December 1977. His brother identified his body in the mortuary and saw that there were scars, burn marks and blood on it. At the *post mortem*, however, the district surgeon, Dr Laing, said he had died of natural causes.
- b Mr Caleb Mayekiso [EC0644/96/PLZ] died in detention in Port Elizabeth in 1969 while being held under the Terrorism Act.
- c Mr Elijah Loza [CT00257/FLA] died in Cape Town in 1977, allegedly of a stroke. His family believes he was "tortured to death".
- d Mr Stanza Bopape [JB00500/02NPPTB] was reported at the time of his disappearance to have escaped while being transported. Amnesty applications received by the Commission indicate that he died in detention, following electric shock, but allegedly from 'natural causes' (see below).
- e Mr Paris Malatji [JB0409/01GTSOW], an AZAPO activist, was shot at point-blank range when in custody in 1983 at Protea police station. Sergeant January Harm van As was convicted and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for the shooting, the first conviction for the death of a detainee.
- f Mr Andries Raditsela, a member of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) and executive member of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), was detained and assaulted so severely at Tsakane police station on 4 May 1985 that he died of head injuries two days later May in Baragwanath hospital, after his release.

Deaths in detention under security legislation

180 The Commission is aware of the following deaths of detainees held under specific security laws, excluding those detained under emergency regulations. The attributed cause of death is included:

1964: *Mr James Tyitya, Port Elizabeth: 'suicide by hanging';*

1965: *Mr Nengeni Gaga, Transkei: 'natural causes'; Mr Pongolosha Hoye, Transkei: 'suicide by hanging';*

1966: *Mr James Hamakwayo, Pretoria: 'suicide by hanging'; Mr Hangula Shonyeka, Pretoria: 'suicide'; Mr Leong Yun Pin, Pretoria: 'suicide by hanging'; Mr Ah Yan, Silverton: 'suicide by hanging';*

1967: *Mr Alpheus Maliba, South West Africa/Northern Transvaal: 'suicide by hanging';*

1968: *Mr Jundea B Tubakwe, Pretoria: 'suicide by hanging';*

1969: Mr Michael Shivute, South West Africa: 'suicide'; Mr Jacob Monakgotla, Pretoria: 'natural causes'; Imam Abdullah Haron, Cape Town: 'slipped down stairs'; Mr Mthayeni Cuthsela, Transkei: 'natural causes';

1976: *Mr William Tshwane, Modderbee: 'shot while trying to escape'; Mr Dumisani Mbatha, Modderbee: 'natural causes'; Mr Fenuel Mogatusi, Johannesburg: 'natural causes'; Mr Jacob Mashabane, Johannesburg: 'suicide by hanging'; Mr Edward Mzolo, Johannesburg: 'undisclosed'; Mr Ernest Mamasile, Transkei: 'suicide by hanging'; Mr Thabo Mosala, Transkei: 'natural causes'; Mr Wellington Tshazibane, Johannesburg: 'suicide by hanging';*

1977: *Mr Nabaoth Ntshuntsha, Leslie: 'suicide by hanging'; Mr Lawrence Ndzanga, Johannesburg: 'natural causes'; Mr Elmon Malele, Johannesburg: 'natural causes'; Mr Twasifeni Joyi, Transkei: 'undisclosed'; Mr Mathews Mabelane, Johannesburg: 'fell out of window'; Mr Samuel Malinga, Pietermaritzburg: 'natural causes'; Mr Aaron Khoza, Pietermaritzburg: 'suicide by hanging'; Mr Hoosen Haffajee, Durban: 'suicide by hanging'; Mr Bayempini Mbizi, Durban: 'suicide by hanging'; Mr Stephen Bantu Biko, Port Elizabeth: 'head injuries'; Mr Sipho Bonaventura Malaza, Krugersdorp: 'suicide by hanging';*

1981: *Mr Manana Mgqweto, Transkei: 'unknown';*

1982: *Mr Ernest Dipale, Johannesburg: 'suicide by hanging';*

1983: *Mr Simon Mndawe, Nelspruit: 'suicide by hanging'; Mr Paris Malatji, Johannesburg: 'shot in the head';*

1984: *Mr Samuel Tshikudo, Venda: 'natural causes'; Mr Mxolisi Sipele, Transkei: 'unknown'; Mr Ephraim Mthethwa, Durban: 'suicide by hanging';*

1985: *Mr Andries Raditsela, Johannesburg: 'head injury';*

1986: *Mr Makompe Kutumela, Lebowa: 'police assault'; Mr Peter Nchabaleng, Lebowa: 'police assault';*

1987: *Mr Benedict Mashoke, Burgersfort: 'suicide by hanging'; Ms Nobandla Elda Bani, Port Elizabeth: 'natural causes';*

1988: *Mr Sithembele Zokwe, Transkei: 'shot by police'; Mr Alfred Makaleng, Johannesburg: 'natural causes';*

1990: Mr Clayton Sizwe Sithole, Johannesburg: 'suicide by hanging';
Mr Lucas Tlhotlhomisang, Klerksdorp: 'natural causes'; Mr Donald Thabela
Madisha, Potgietersrus: 'suicide by hanging'.

- 181 The Commission received statements about the following deaths in police custody. Although the Commission made a positive victim finding in these cases, it was not able to establish the exact legislation under which they were held at the time of their deaths.
- a Political activist Colenso Ninase Mnyane [EC0735/97ETK] died in detention in Tabankulu on 5 November 1967, either of heart failure or of injuries from a fall.
 - b Mr Rocky James [EC0144/96/NWC] was shot dead while in custody in Cradock on 9 November 1977, allegedly while "trying to escape". A statement from a municipal policeman, Michael Adams, said James was severely beaten by a white policeman. When James pleaded for help, Adams attempted to intervene. During the scuffle with the white policeman, James attempted to run away and was shot dead. Adams subsequently lost his job. The family heard that James had been instructed by the police to run away and had then been shot in the back.
 - c Mr Ephraim Thami 'Papi' Mthethwa [KZN/ZJ/146/DN], a UDF member, was detained and died two months later on 24 August 1984 in Lamontville. He was held in solitary confinement at Sentela police station. Police claimed he had hanged himself.
 - d Congress of South African Students (COSAS) activist Sipho Mutsi [KZN/ZJ/115/BL] was detained and died on 14 May 1985 in Odendaalsrus, Orange Free State after being severely beaten.
 - e In August 1985 Mr Thembelakhe George [EC0846/96/KWT] was assaulted by police, first at his home during his arrest in connection with the consumer boycott in Ginsberg, and then at the police station in King Williams Town. His family later found him in hospital where he died from injuries sustained from the assault. The inquest magistrate noted that the head injuries which caused his death could have been inflicted by the police.
 - f Mr Amos Dendeng Sonnyboy Mokoena [JB00264/01GTSOW] died in detention in Pilgrims' Rest on 16 August 1985. The police told his mother he hanged himself in his cell. While the police allege that Mokoena was arrested on criminal charges, his mother alleges that he was politically active and had fled to Pilgrims' Rest to escape detention.

- g Mr Tota Alex Mfazwe [EC1363/96PLZ] was arrested in Queenstown on 5 July 1986, severely assaulted, and is alleged to have committed suicide by hanging himself at Queenstown police station on 6 July. The family reported that there were bruises and a big scratch on his face and that his clothes were badly torn.
 - h Mr Nopola Njatu [EC0427/96/NEC] died after being beaten up in police custody in Sterkstroom in November 1986. Police alleged death due to an epileptic fit; but his family noted an open wound on his forehead. The inquest found that the cause of death was 'not determined'.
 - i Mr Eric Ndongela Nongqo [EC1515/97NWC] died of neck injuries after being arrested and beaten up at the police station in Steynsburg on 18 July 1987.
 - j Mr Paulus Radebe [KZN/ZJ/169/WE] was detained in 1987 in Welkom. He was tortured to death at the Odendaalsrus police station on 31 October 1987.
 - k Mr Anthony Melville Smiles [EC0313/96/ALN], a political activist, was arrested in Dordrecht in 1988, allegedly for being drunk in the street. The police alleged that he had committed suicide in police cells by hanging himself with his overalls. The inquest report indicated that, while suicide was possible, death by other means could not be ruled out. The *post mortem* recorded that either the victim had attempted to loosen the overalls himself or that he had first been strangled and then hanged after death.
- 182 The Commission has received a substantial number of further cases of deaths in police custody. In many inquest reports, magistrates ruled that no one could be held accountable for the deaths of detainees.
- 183 The Commission received amnesty applications in respect of the deaths of only three detainees, namely Mr Stephen Bantu Biko, Mr Sizwe Kondile and Mr Stanza Bopape.
- 184 Stephen Bantu Biko died in police custody in Pretoria on 12 September 1977. He was detained by the Security Branch in Port Elizabeth twenty-four days earlier, and was subjected to interrogation, during which he sustained serious brain injuries. He was examined by both a district surgeon and a medical specialist (see Volume Four, chapter on the health sector hearing). He was then transported naked in the back of a police van from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria. He died from brain damage in a prison cell shortly after his arrival in Pretoria. On hearing the news of his death, Minister Kruger said: "It leaves me cold." He implied that

Biko had died as a result of engaging in a hunger strike. At the inquest, the security police claimed that Biko had “become violent” during interrogation and had to be “subdued” by the interrogation team, in the course of which he hit his head against the wall.

- 185 Mr Harold Snyman [AM3918/96], Mr Gideon Nieuwoudt [AM3920/96], Mr Daniel Petrus Siebert [AM 3915/96], Mr Ruben Beneke Marx [AM3521/96] and Mr Jacobus Johannes Oosthuizen Beneke [AM6367/97] applied for amnesty for Biko’s death. Brigadier Piet Goosen, head of the Security Branch in the Eastern Cape at the time of Biko’s death, is deceased. Amnesty applicants held fast to the explanation they gave at the inquest. The Biko family did not make a statement to the Commission and are opposed to the granting of amnesty.
- 186 Mr Stanza Bopape [JB00500/02NPPTB] was arrested at around midnight on 9 or 10 June 1998, together with his flatmate Mr Bheki Nkosi [JB00500/02NPPTB] at their flat in Hillbrow. About twenty men, armed with guns, bush knives and bullet-proof vests and led by Lieutenant CA Zeelie [AM3751/96], jumped into the room. Zeelie asked Bopape whether he was ‘ST’ or ‘Walk Tall’, MK names by which Bopape was known. Bopape was then punched in the stomach. The last Nkosi saw of Bopape was at the Roodepoort police station. Nkosi himself was later subjected to electric shock torture.
- 187 After several queries from Bopape’s lawyers as to his whereabouts, the SAP informed them that he had escaped. On 13 July 1988, then Lieutenant General Johan van der Merwe, head of the Security Branch, informed the lawyers that Bopape had “wilfully escaped” while “being escorted by motor vehicle to Vereeniging, where certain police investigations were in process. A flat tyre en route necessitated that the police vehicle stop and whilst the spare tyre was being fitted, your client made good his escape.” Van der Merwe said that this escape had not been publicised for fear of jeopardising a sensitive police investigation regarding the movement and activities of trained “terrorists”.
- 188 In an article that appeared in *Business Day* on 26 April 1989, Minister Vlok was reported to have announced that Bopape had been seen in an area where an act of terror took place. Similarly, on 15 June 1989 the *Sowetan* quoted Brigadier Leon Mellett of the SAP as saying that Bopape had been seen by a former colleague, whose name was not disclosed. On 19 June 1990, Vlok reported to Parliament that the investigation into Bopape’s disappearance was continuing. He refused to disclose the names of the officers in whose care

Bopape had been at the time of his disappearance, but indicated his preparedness to do so if the Harms Commission wished him to. The Harms Commission decided that there were insufficient grounds for holding a hearing.

- 189 Bopape's disappearance remained unresolved until amnesty applications were received from Lieutenant Charles Zeelie [AM3751/96], Mr HAB Mostert [AM4403/96], Major AP van Niekerk [AM4353/96] and Mr JL du Preez [AM4404/96] for their role in his death. In addition, the head of the Security Branch, Lieutenant General JV van der Merwe [AM4157/96], Colonel S Visser [AM5000/97], Captain Leon van Loggerenberg [AM5010/97], Witwatersrand divisional commander Major-General GN Erasmus [AM4134/96], and Major General PL du Toit [AM4131/96] applied for amnesty for their role in covering up the death.
- 190 The amnesty applications reveal that a meeting was held on Saturday, 11 June at the offices of the Krugersdorp/West Rand Security Branch. The meeting was attended by about fifteen Security Branch members, including officers Mostert and Colonel Van Niekerk from Johannesburg. They were told that Bopape had been trained by MK member Odirile Maponya, and had been involved in and/or planned several terrorist attacks. Maponya's group, Mr MRA Toka and eleven others, had stood trial on several charges of murder and bombings in Pretoria.
- 191 On Sunday, 12 June 1988, Bopape was taken from his cells to the offices at John Vorster Square for questioning by Mostert and S/Constable Engelbrecht. After Bopape refused to co-operate, Van Niekerk, Zeelie, Mostert and Engelbrecht together decided that Bopape needed to be given a "little fright" to persuade him to co-operate. Colonel Van Niekerk approved the use of the electric shock instrument. A Sergeant du Preez brought the instrument from Sandton where it was kept. Van Niekerk relates:

We decided to tie Mr Bopape to a chair ... His shirt was removed, his hands were tied to the supports of the chair and his feet to the legs ... Sergeant du Preez had the shock device in his hand ... There were two cords running from the device and at the tip of it, these cords, there were two pieces of cloth which were wrapped around the tips of the cords. This device was turned three or four times by Sergeant du Preez and whilst he was turning it, Mr Engelbrecht pushed these cords against his body ... It didn't take very long, maybe two to four minutes, the device was turned, then it was stopped, then someone asked him if he wanted to say something and if there was no reaction to that, then the machine was turned again and this must have happened about three times. By the third time, Mr Bopape's

head fell forward and I realised there was something wrong. We immediately untied him, placed him on the floor and Sergeant du Preez gave him mouth-to-mouth resuscitation. It seemed that he was dead already and I think that all of us standing there ... all thought that he was dead.

- 192 The five officers discussed the possible consequences of Bopape's death and decided that they could be extremely serious. Aside from the negative publicity around yet another section 29 death, June 16 was only a few days away and the Security Branch feared that the news of his death could spark off violence. Colonel Van Niekerk reported the matter to his divisional commander, who discussed the matter with Lieutenant General Johan van der Merwe and they agreed that a fake escape should be arranged. Brigadier Schalk Visser, head of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch, would assist with the disposal of the body.
- 193 As night fell, Stanza Bopape's body was secreted out of the police station. Members of the Johannesburg Security Branch met members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch next to a highway near Bronkhorstspuit, where they handed over the 'sensitive package' to Captain van Loggerenberg. Van Loggerenberg could see that it was a human body covered in plastic. He drove directly to a crocodile hole in the Komati River close to Komatipoort, near a picnic spot frequented by police officers. He pushed the body partially into the hole and it sank away. On his return he reported to Visser.
- 194 The applicants claimed that they only "turned the instrument two or three times" and that this was not sufficient to cause death in a healthy human being. They said that Bopape had previously been treated for a heart complaint at the Princess Clinic, that they had been unaware of this, and that his death must have occurred as a result. The Princess Clinic no longer exists and corroborating records are not available. However, Bopape's girlfriend claims that his treatment at the Princess Clinic was in connection with a nasal complaint.
- 195 Odirile Maponya, who is alleged to have trained Bopape, was blown up while allegedly laying a limpet mine in Pretoria in 1988. Maponya's brother was abducted and interrogated about his brother's network and killed (see below).

Applications for amnesty

- 196 While the Commission received thousands of statements alleging torture, few amnesty applications were received specifically for torture. Amnesty applicant

Andries Johannes van Heerden [AM3763/96] was a member of the terrorist detection unit at John Vorster Square between January 1977 and June 1978, during which time he was involved in the interrogation and beating of those involved in Soweto unrest. Detainees were kicked, slapped and suffocated, using a wet tyre tube. In 1988 he participated – by beating and administering electric shocks – in the interrogation of Mr Peter Dlamini and others connected with the Café Zurich explosion in Hillbrow.

- 197 Amnesty applicant Willem Johannes Momberg [AM4159/96] was a member of the Security Branch in Northern Transvaal (sergeant in 1981, and later lieutenant colonel). Momberg applied for amnesty for the torture of an unidentified MK member, who was killed during interrogation. He also applied for amnesty in connection with the interrogation of a security guard at the United Bank in Pretoria, whose brother was an MK 'terrorist'.
- 198 Amnesty applicant Stephanus Adriaan Oosthuizen [AM3760/96] applied for the beating, kicking and suffocation of an unknown activist on a farm near the Pietersberg freeway.
- 199 Amnesty applicant Colonel PJ Cornelius Loots [AM5462/97] applied for amnesty for his involvement, together with Captain Jacques Hechter [AM2776/96] and Warrant Officer van Vuuren, in kidnapping Father Smangalisso Mkhathshwa from police cells and detaining and interrogating him for several days. Mkhathshwa was made to stand for the entire period of his interrogation. He was blindfolded while gunshots were fired and dustbin covers banged together next to his head, and locusts were made to crawl up his legs.
- 200 Mr Christo Nel [AM6609/97] applied for amnesty in respect of the detention and torture of a detainee in Durban in 1984/5. The victim was made to remove his clothes and to climb onto a table. He was held down by Nel and an unidentified medical practitioner inserted his finger into the victim's anus while he was questioned.
- 201 Lieutenant Colonel Antonie Heystek [AM4145/97] applied for amnesty in respect of the abduction and torture of Mr Peter Moleke Lengene in Soweto during 1982. Lieutenant-Colonel Anton Pretorius [AM4389/96] and Lieutenant-Colonel Willem Helm 'Timol' Coetzee [AM4032/96] also applied for amnesty for the abduction and torture of Lengene as well as the abduction and torture of Ms Nokuthula Simelane.

- 202 Lengene was abducted from Botswana, and, after being rendered unconscious, taken to a garage where he was left naked and handcuffed to a table. He was then taken to what he believed to be a farmhouse belonging to Coetzee's father-in-law. He was interrogated for six days, during which time he was given electric shocks to his genitals, beaten with a hosepipe and kept naked and without blankets. At some point Coetzee's father-in-law came in with a pair of pliers and told the Security Branch officers interrogating them that they were wasting their time. "He just took hold of my penis with a plier. He said, 'Willem, take this and cut the fucking penis with a plier, he will tell you the truth'. They just kept on laughing while I was grieving with pain."
- 203 Lengene became an *askari*, working chiefly with the Soweto Intelligence Unit (SIU), and himself applied for amnesty for a number of operations conducted as part of the SIU.
- 204 Mr Johannes Jacobus Strijdom [AM5464/97] applied for amnesty for torturing activists on a Hammanskraal farm during 1986/7 when he was a member of Vlakplaas and the security police's anti-terrorist unit – using forced posture, beating and intimidation. Strijdom and Major Sarel du Plessis 'Sakkie' Crafford were part of a team of mostly black security force members who were staying on the farm to assist with the interrogations. After interrogating an activist one Saturday, Strijdom and a named colleague left the activist with the black security members and went to Pretoria. When he returned, the activist was hanging from a tree and was being assaulted. His colleague held a pistol to the activist's head, with the barrel facing upwards, and pulled the trigger repeatedly. Strijdom got an empty soda water bottle and hit the man on the head several times. When he lost consciousness, they poured buckets of water on him. The interrogation was authorised by his commanding officer, whose name may not be revealed as the amnesty application had not been heard at the time of reporting.
- 205 Amnesty applicant Warrant Officer Paul van Vuuren [AM6528/97], a member of the Northern Transvaal security police, was involved in several cases of torture in Pretoria and surrounding areas between 1985 and 1989. Torture methods used included beating, electric shocks, placing gas masks over the faces of victims, suffocation using a rubber tube ("tubing"), and strangulation with a piece of electric wiring. Warrant Officer Van Vuuren also applied for amnesty for the torture, interrogation and killing of Mr Jackson Maake, Mr Andrew Makupe and Mr Harold Sefola (see below).

- 206 Colonel Roelof Venter [AM2774/96] applied for amnesty for the interrogation of arrested ANC, PAC and SACP members between 1972 and 1985. Torture methods used included beating, electric shocks, prolonged interrogation to tire the person mentally, insults, humiliation and degradation. He specifically mentioned the interrogation of Ms Regan Shope and also that of Ms Barbara Hogan between December 1981 and June 1982, which was authorised by his commanding officer, whose name is being withheld.
- 207 Mr Eric Goosen [AM4158/96], a member of Northern Transvaal security police, applied for amnesty for beating and severe ill treatment administered to an unknown ANC courier in Mamelodi West between June and December 1987. During the interrogation, he denied any involvement with the ANC. Goosen participated in hitting and kicking him to try to get information, and then put him into the boot of the car.
- 208 Amnesty applicants Marius Greyling [AM8027/97], Karl Durr [AM8029/97] and Frans Bothma [AM8030/97] were involved in the interrogation and assault of Mr Pravin Gordhan in 1990 in Bethlehem. Greyling also assisted in the suffocation of Mr Raymond Lalla.
- 209 Durban security police officer Andy Taylor [AM4077/96] applied for amnesty for numerous acts of assault on detainees. Taylor admits to assault leading to severe swelling and the use of electric shock torture on Mr Raymond Suttner. Taylor died in December 1997, before his application to the amnesty committee had been heard.
- 210 Warrant Officer WCC Smith [AM5469/97] applied for amnesty for the torture of numerous detainees held in Johannesburg in 1981 in connection with underground activities. He said that detainees were subjected to "serious assaults", the details of which he was unable to remember. However, as far as he was aware, he used "normal Security Branch methods". The detainees in respect of whom he applied for amnesty include Mr Benjamin Greyling, Mr Gerhardus van der Werf, Mr Prema Naidoo, Mr Suresh Nanabhai, Mr Michael Jenkins and Ms Esther Levetan.
- 211 Amnesty applicant Jeffrey Benzien [AM5314/97] was a detective at the Bishop Lavis Murder and Robbery Unit until 1986, after which he worked for the security police's Terrorism Tracking Unit. During his amnesty hearing, he admitted to torturing Mr Peter Jacobs, Mr Ashley Forbes, Mr Anwar Dramat, Mr Tony Yengeni, Mr Gary Krusen, Mr Niclo Pedro and Mr Allan Mamba. The main form of torture

was the 'wet bag' method. Lieutenant Liebenberg [AM6369/97], Benzien's superior at the time, applied for amnesty for knowledge of torture. Major General Griebenaauw, who gave corroborating evidence in the amnesty hearing, testified as follows:

During my term in office in Cape Town, extreme pressure was placed by the Joint Security Management System on the Security Branch, in particular to stem the tide of murder and violence. And obviously I gave members under my command instructions to do everything in their power to apprehend people who were guilty of these things and to extract as much information as possible from the detainees so that the entire network operative in the country could be disrupted in time to prevent further loss of life. This was the only way in which we could protect lives and properties ...

I was ... very much aware of the fact that members' success could be ascribed to the use of unconventional questioning or interrogation methods. It would have been naive of me to believe that they would extract information in any other way from a well trained terrorist and to do so quite quickly.

212 Amnesty applicant Gert Cornelius Hugo [AM3833/96], a former MI operative, said that he was part of an operation called *Orpheus* whose aim was to "remove" the leadership of local resistance organisations. He worked with Security Branch members, at least one of whom, Lieutenant Gideon Nieuwoudt [AM3920/96], also applied for amnesty for acts of torture. He mentioned several forms of torture, including the use of "truth serum", submerging in water, electric shocks, forcing people to stand for hours and suffocation with a rubber tube.

213 As can be seen from the above, a number of the applications relate to the torture of people *outside* of official custody. Abuction or 'unofficial' detention was used increasingly during the 1980s. In most instances, those so detained were subjected to extreme torture and were either coerced into becoming *askaris* or killed (see below).

Knowledge or condonation of torture

214 The SAP and the former government have conceded that torture occurred, but have claimed that it represented the actions of a few renegade policemen. Thus, for example, in his submission to the Commission, the former leader of the National Party (NP) and former State President FW de Klerk maintained:

The National Party is prepared to accept responsibility for the policies that it adopted and for the actions taken by its office-bearers in the implementation

of those policies. It is, however not prepared to accept responsibility for the criminal actions of a handful of operatives of the security forces of which the Party was not aware and which it never would have condoned.

- 215 However, the NP's former Deputy Minister of Police Leon Wessels conceded that it was not possible to deny knowledge of torture. At the Commission's special hearing on the role of the State Security Council, Wessels said that "it was foreseen that under those circumstances people would be detained, people would be tortured, everybody in this country knew people were tortured". Wessels also conceded in an interview that, on one occasion, when he had raised the matter of torture with former Minister Louis le Grange, Le Grange had responded: "Leon, but you have such a fantastic image amongst the Police and other people, why are you ... spoiling all of this by getting involved in this".
- 216 While the courts in general failed to protect the rights of detainees, there were cases when magistrates and judges ruled in favour of those in custody. Thus, for example, in the State v Mogale, the Appellate Division established that the security police had severely assaulted a detainee in order to compel him to confess. Such assault had included punching, kicking, throttling with a medallion chain, electric shock and breaking of two teeth with pliers.
- 217 In the State v Mayson, the judge ruled that Mr Cedric Mayson's statement was inadmissible as he had been subjected to torture. Eight months before, one of the officers implicated in the Mayson case admitted at the Aggett inquest that he had "given Lieutenant Whitehead and other officers permission to interrogate Aggett for an extraordinarily lengthy spell said to have covered sixty-three hours". Shortly thereafter, other security police implicated in these cases were ordered to pay Mr Auret van Heerden R5 000 in damages for subjecting him to "unreasonably lengthy periods of detention". Hence, notwithstanding incriminating judgments, security police were allowed to continue torturing detainees unchecked.
- 218 Further evidence of tolerance of torture lies in the promotion, sometimes to the highest levels, of security police officers involved in torture. Statements before the Commission implicate four former heads of the Security Branch, two of whom subsequently became commissioners of police.
- 219 A number of officers commanding of divisional and local Security Branch offices and section heads at headquarters have been implicated either directly or indirectly of having knowledge of torture. These include the divisional commanders of the Eastern Cape, the Eastern Transvaal, Port Natal, Northern Transvaal and Border.

220 The use and condoning of torture allowed for the use of coercion in the investigation of cases. Reinforced by deep racism, this approach increasingly characterised police work and led, furthermore, to serious neglect of investigative police work.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE USE OF TORTURE IN THE FORM OF THE INFLICTION OF SEVERE PHYSICAL AND/OR MENTAL PAIN AND SUFFERING FOR THE PURPOSES OF PUNISHMENT, INTIMIDATION AND THE EXTRACTING OF INFORMATION AND/OR CONFESSIONS, WAS PRACTISED SYSTEMATICALLY PARTICULARLY, BUT NOT EXCLUSIVELY, BY THE SECURITY BRANCH OF THE SAP THROUGHOUT THE COMMISSION'S MANDATE PERIOD.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF DEATHS IN DETENTION OCCURRED, EITHER AS A DIRECT RESULT OF TORTURE OR AS A CONSEQUENCE OF A SITUATION IN WHICH THE CIRCUMSTANCES WERE SUCH THAT DETAINEES WERE INDUCED TO COMMIT SUICIDE.

GIVEN THAT:

- EVIDENCE TO THIS COMMISSION HAS SHOWN THAT TORTURE WAS USED BY THE SECURITY BRANCH AT ALL LEVELS, JUNIOR AND SENIOR, AND IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY;
- MANY OF THOSE ABOUT WHOM EITHER CLEAR EVIDENCE EXISTED OR SUBSTANTIAL ALLEGATIONS HAD BEEN MADE OF THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN TORTURE, RESULTING AT TIMES IN THE DEATHS OF THEIR VICTIMS, WERE PROMOTED TO HIGHER RANKS;
- DESPITE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONCERN AT THE EVIDENCE OF THE WIDESPREAD AND SYSTEMATIC USE OF TORTURE BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES, LITTLE EFFECTIVE ACTION WAS TAKEN BY THE STATE TO PROHIBIT OR EVEN LIMIT ITS USE AND THAT, TO THE CONTRARY, LEGISLATION WAS ENACTED WITH THE SPECIFIC INTENT OF PREVENTING INTERVENTION BY THE JUDICIARY AND REMOVING ANY PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY ON THE PART OF THE SECURITY FORCES FOR THEIR TREATMENT OF DETAINEES,

THE COMMISSION CONCLUDES THAT THE USE OF TORTURE WAS CONDONED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AS OFFICIAL PRACTICE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT TORTURE AS PRACTISED BY MEMBERS OF THE SAP CONSTITUTED A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING BY SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE SAP, AND WAS A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THEREFORE THAT THE FOLLOWING ARE DIRECTLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE USE OF TORTURE AGAINST DETAINEES AND INDIRECTLY FOR ALL UNNATURAL DEATHS OF DETAINEES IN POLICE CUSTODY: THE MINISTERS OF POLICE AND OF LAW AND ORDER; THE COMMISSIONERS OF POLICE; OFFICERS COMMANDING OF THE SECURITY BRANCH AT NATIONAL, DIVISIONAL AND LOCAL LEVELS. THE CABINET IS FOUND TO BE INDIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE.

■ KILLING

221 As levels of conflict intensified, the security forces came to believe that it was no longer possible to rely on the due process of law and that it was preferable to kill people extra-judicially. Evidence of this is contained in numerous amnesty

applications as well as section 29 hearings, in particular the hearing on the armed forces. Major-General 'Sakkie' Crafford [AM5468/97] claimed in his amnesty application that:

In some cases it was necessary to eliminate activists by killing them. This was the only way in which effective action could be taken against activists in a war situation ... to charge someone in the normal court structure and go through the whole process was cumbersome and occasionally totally inadequate and impossible.

- 222 Extra-judicial killing was generally directed at high-profile activists “whose detention in terms of security legislation would give momentum to the liberation struggle. The security police and the country could not afford a Nelson Mandela again.”
- 223 Crafford suggested that the purpose of extra-judicial killing was threefold:
- a It scared off other supporters and potential supporters; it made people reluctant to offer open support; it created distrust and demoralisation amongst cadres.
 - b It gave white voters confidence that the security forces were in control and winning the fight against Communism and terrorism.
 - c The information gleaned during interrogation needed to be protected against disclosure.
- 224 The difficulty posed by extra-judicial killing was that it moved the security forces directly into an arena of illegality. While cross-border assassinations and raids certainly fell outside the scope of international protocols and sometimes law, the security forces perceived them to be legitimate, authorised and thus legal actions. Raids, for example, although organised at a clandestine level, were openly – and proudly – acknowledged after the operation was completed.
- 225 The internal situation was different. Here operations had to be highly covert, ensuring that actions could not be traced back to the security forces. This led to the development of covert units, such as region 6 of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) and Vlakplaas hit squads.
- 226 Evidence before the Commission also suggests that, in some instances, the security forces were able to arrange for killings to be conducted by a third party. A former member of the CCB described it thus:

The emphasis was more placed on disruption by means of indirect means of getting the enemy to kill itself, to detain itself and to disrupt itself. And physically killing them was placed more or less ... [a]s a last resort, sort of method.

- 227 Examples of this form of killing included cases where an impression was deliberately created that someone was in the employ of the Security Branch and the person was subsequently killed by 'comrades' or, as in Natal, dropping UDF supporters in known Inkatha strongholds or 'no-go' areas where they had little chance of survival. At the other end of the spectrum, it included the fomenting of divisions within communities that led to more widespread killings. This approach had the added benefit of conveying the impression to white South Africa and the international community that the problem South Africa experienced was one of so-called black-on-black violence (see below).
- 228 The Commission distinguished between four types of extra-judicial killings: targeted killings; killing following abduction and interrogation; ambushes where seemingly little or no attempt was made to effect an arrest, and entrapment killings. Information about extra-judicial killings was drawn largely from amnesty applications, most of which were yet to be heard at the time of reporting, and thus largely untested. Where these applications are used, no conclusive finding is made by the Commission. Where amnesty applications have been heard and granted, and reliance is placed upon such applications, the Commission has also not made specific findings, as the finding of the Amnesty Committee constitutes the finding of the Commission.
- 229 It needs to be noted, further, that there were often no independent witnesses to these killings. Aside from the difficulties this poses in relation to corroboration, it poses even larger problems for victims. That the last moment in a victim's life should be recorded for posterity through the voices and versions of those who killed them is of itself an act of violence. This needs to be acknowledged and remembered.

Targeted killing

230

Targeted killings refer to those which aimed to ensure the victim's 'permanent removal from society'. In most instances, targets for such killings were those whom the security forces perceived as a threat but were unable to charge, either for lack of evidence or because they feared it would lead to greater mobilisation. The people concerned were frequently high-profile political figures.

- 231 Dr Richard Turner [KZN/KP/001/DN], killed at his Durban home shortly after midnight on 8 January 1978, was one such figure. Details of Turner's killing are documented in Volume Three. The Commission's Investigation Unit concluded that the police investigation that followed his assassination "was so poorly conducted, that it gives the impression of complete lack of competence or deliberate negligence from the investigators and their superiors". Amongst other things:
- a The crime scene was not properly secured; no forensic examination report was made of actions taken at the crime scene; the bullet was found, not by the police, but by Turner's former wife the day after the killing by simply following a line from the bullet hole.
 - b None of the neighbours, their servants or people moving around the area at the time were questioned, including a neighbour, Mr Jack Tubb, who acted as a security police informer and who was seen walking around his garden with a 9mm pistol shortly after Turner's death.
 - c Bureau of State Security (BOSS) agent Martin Dolincheck, whose name appears in the investigation diary on 25 January 1978 with the comment "the integrity and movements of him are strongly to be suspected" was never questioned or asked to give a statement.
 - d On 1 February 1978, investigating officer Brigadier Chris Earle noted that "Due to the delicate nature thereof, not all possible information and leads are written down. The situation will first be explored further."
 - e The investigation was closed by Major Groenewald and/or his superior Brigadier Hansen in November 1978 before the inquest was held and shortly after investigating officers were advised by their superiors not to waste time on the investigation into Dolincheck, because there was no evidence of his involvement.
- 232 While the Commission was unable to establish the exact identity of the assassin, evidence supported the widely held view that Turner had been killed by members of the security forces. In a section 29 hearing, Brigadier Earle was asked whether he believed the killing had been planned and engineered by officers superior to himself. He responded, "I would not say people above me or higher than me but people who were part of the security forces and that they wanted to protect this and not have it known". Martin Dolincheck told the Commission that he had visited Turner shortly before his death, apparently as part of an assessment as

to whether his banning order should be renewed, but denied any part in his killing. He suggested that Turner's death was a result of an intimidation action "gone wrong" and that he had been killed by a ricocheting bullet.

- 233 Suspicion has also been cast on the 'Z-squad,' an operational unit of BOSS that was alleged to have been involved in such operations. A member of the former NIS, now a high-ranking NIA official, confirmed that Z-squad member Phil Freeman had the necessary technical expertise and had allegedly been involved in an intimidation action in which a gunshot was fired through the front door of the Reverend Theo Kotze's house. At the time, Kotze was the Western Cape director of the Christian Institute, a structure that had not only been the target of considerable police harassment but had also initiated the SPROCAS project, in which Turner had also participated. However, a passport held by Freeman reflects that he was in France at the time of Turner's killing.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT DR RICHARD TURNER WAS KILLED BY UNKNOWN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES. THE COMMISSION WAS, HOWEVER, UNABLE TO DETERMINE ON WHOSE ORDERS OR WHICH COMPONENT OF THE SECURITY FORCES WERE INVOLVED. THIS FINDING DOES NOT PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE KILLING OF DR TURNER WAS NOT INTENTIONAL AND THAT THE INTENTION WAS INTIMIDATORY. EVEN IF THIS WAS THE CASE, THE POSSIBILITY OF INJURIES OR DEATH ARISING OUT OF SUCH AN ACTION SHOULD HAVE BEEN FORESEEN.

Griffiths Mxenge

- 234 Mr Griffiths Mxenge, a prominent Durban lawyer, was stabbed to death on 19 November 1981. The Commission received amnesty applications from Captain Dirk Coetzee [AM0063/96], commander of C1, the Vlakplaas unit; Vlakplaas members Constable Butana Almond Nofemela [AM0064/96] and Constable Ntshavheni David Tshikilange [AM0065/96]; and Brigadier WAL du Toit [AM5184/97], a member of the Security Branch's technical division. In addition, Brigadier Willem Schoon [AM4396/96], head of the C section of Security Branch headquarters, said he had knowledge of the killing.
- 235 Coetzee's version was that the Vlakplaas unit was operating under the command of the Durban Security Branch at the time, specifically Brigadier van der Hoven and Andy Taylor. Coetzee had previously been involved in various cross-border actions while stationed at Oshoek (at which time Brigadier van der Hoven had been divisional commander of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch). Before the amnesty application was heard, the above applicants, together with Taylor and Van der Hoven, were charged with Mxenge's murder. Taylor and Van der Hoven were acquitted by the court, but the Commission's Amnesty Committee

noted that, although it could not ascertain exactly who had given the order, it believed that the operation had been authorised by “one or more senior members of the Security Branch”. Amnesty was granted to the above applicants. (See also Volume Four.)

Siphiwe Mthimkulu and Topsy Madaka

- 236 On 14 April 1982, Mr Siphiwe Mthimkulu [EC0034/96PLZ], a COSAS activist with links to the ANC in Lesotho, disappeared with fellow activist Mr Tobekile ‘Topsy’ Madaka [EC0766/96PLZ]. The Commission received amnesty applications for their killing from Captain Gideon Nieuwoudt [AM3920/96], Major General Nick Janse van Rensburg [AM3919/96], Major Hermanus Barend du Plessis [AM4384/96] and Major General Gerrit Erasmus [AM4134/96]. Colonel Eugene de Kock [AM0066/96] said he had knowledge of the operation.
- 237 Mthimkulu was detained in 1981 and subjected to severe torture. After his release, he instituted a claim against the Minister of Police for torture. He later became seriously ill and was diagnosed as having been poisoned with thallium. Thallium is not widely available in South Africa, but had been researched by the security forces and had been in the possession of the security police counter-insurgency unit *Koevoet* since 1979. On 2 April 1982, Mthimkulu instituted a second claim against the Minister of Police, this time for poisoning. On 14 April, Mthimkulu and Madaka disappeared.
- 238 About a week after their disappearance, Madaka’s car was found at Sterkspruit in the Transkei, near the Tele Bridge border post with Lesotho. Ms Mthimkulu searched relentlessly for her son; the Security Branch maintained the fiction that the two had left the country by getting someone to phone Ms Madaka to say they were safe. Police also conducted a search of the Madaka house and, as late as 1986, searched the Mthimkulu house, alleging that Siphiwe had been trained as a guerrilla and was back in Veeplaas. Minister of Police Louis le Grange said in Parliament that the police had no knowledge of Siphiwe’s whereabouts.
- 239 The Amnesty Committee heard that Mthimkulu and Madaka had been abducted and taken to Post Chalmers, an abandoned police station near Cradock, where they were interrogated, drugged and finally shot in the head. Their bodies were burnt on a wooden pyre and their remains thrown in the Fish River. The applicants denied any knowledge of Mthimkulu’s earlier poisoning.

THE COMMISSION IS SATISFIED THAT ALL EVIDENCE POINTS TO THE FACT THAT MTHIMKULU WAS DELIBERATELY POISONED BY THE SECURITY BRANCH, AND HOLDS ACCOUNTABLE THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS DETENTION. IN ADDITION, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE SECURITY BRANCH ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN AN ELABORATE AND SUSTAINED COVER-UP OF THE KILLING OF MTIMKULU AND MADAKA AND THAT THIS COVER-UP WENT AS FAR AS PARLIAMENT.

The PEBCO Three

- 240 Sipho Hashe [EC0003/96PLZ], Mr Champion Galela [EC0005/96PLZ] and Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi [EC0004/96PLZ], members of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO), an affiliate of the UDF, were abducted on 11 May 1985 by members of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch, taken to Post Chalmers and killed. Their bodies were subsequently thrown into the Fish River. *Askaris* from the Vlakplaas unit assisted in the operation. The Commission received amnesty applications for their killing and/or circumstances surrounding their killing from Major Herman Barend du Plessis [AM4384/96], Major GJ Lotz [AM3921/96], Captain Gideon Nieuwoudt [AM3920/96] and Warrant Officer Johannes Koole [AM3748/96], amongst others.
- 241 Shortly before the killing, a high-powered political delegation including State President Botha and Ministers Vlok and Malan visited the strife-torn Eastern Cape. Numerous security force personnel testified to the fact that they were informed that the area had to be stabilised at all costs and that they had to do whatever was required to achieve this – no holds barred. As Port Elizabeth Security Branch member Harold Snyman [AM3918/96] put it: “Pressure was exercised from the Government’s side to act in a drastic way to neutralise activists and to help the security situation to normalise”.
- 242 Evidence led before the Amnesty Committee indicates that Hashe, Galela and Godolozzi went to the Ben Schoeman airport in Port Elizabeth after receiving a telephone call from an English-speaking Security Branch member, posing as a British Embassy official. Security Branch members, with the help of Vlakplaas *askaris*, abducted them before they entered the terminal. They were then taken to Post Chalmers where, according to the Security Branch members, they were given sedatives in coffee, then executed. This version is contradicted by the evidence of *askaris*. The *askaris*’ version is that first Galela was interrogated and tortured to death. With his body in full view, Hashe was brought out and subjected to unrelenting torture until he, too, died. Godolozzi spent the night in a garage with the bodies of Galela and Hashe and the following morning suffered the same fate. Their bodies were thrown into the Fish River.

- 243 Evidence received by the Commission subsequent to the amnesty hearing indicates that a person attached to the British Embassy may well have been involved in setting up the meeting that lured the three to the airport. While the Commission is in possession of this person's name, it was unable to follow up or ascertain whether, if this was so, the person acted in an informed or unwitting capacity.
- 244 The killing of the PEBCO Three demonstrates the co-operation between Vlakplaas and divisional Security Branch offices. Unlike the Mxenge case, the Port Elizabeth security police have said that they were responsible for identifying the targets and initiating and conducting the operation. It is thus clear that Vlakplaas-based *askaris* acted in a supportive capacity, under the command of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch.

The Cradock Four

- 245 Some six weeks after the abduction and murder of the PEBCO Three, UDF activists Mr Matthew Goniwe [EC0080/96NWC], Mr Sparrow Mkhonto [EC0029/96NWC], Mr Fort Calata [EC0028/96NWC] and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli [EC0079/96NWC] were abducted and killed outside Port Elizabeth on 27 June 1985.
- 246 At the time of his death, Goniwe was rural organiser for the UDF. He had previously served time in Transkei for a political offence and while in Cradock had been suspended from his teaching post. An attempt was made to have him transferred to a school outside Cradock, in order to put an end to campaigns protesting against his suspension; this, however, only intensified protest.
- 247 Mkhonto and Calata were members of the Cradock Residents' Association and Mhlawuli was active in the Oudtshoorn Youth Organisation and a community newspaper, *Saamstaan*. Before their deaths, they had all been frequently detained, tortured, threatened and harassed. At the time, great efforts were being made by the security forces to stabilise the security situation in the Eastern Cape, in particular the rising resistance in rural areas. Cradock itself was seen as a model of organisation by the UDF in the eastern Cape and elsewhere in the country.
- 248 The 1987 inquest into the deaths found that they had been killed by unknown persons. The inquest was re-opened in 1993, after the disclosure of a signal message from the SADF's Eastern Province Command to the SSC Secretariat calling for Goniwe's "permanent removal from society". The inquest judge ruled that:

In my opinion there is prima facie proof that it was members of the security forces that in fact carried out the murders. It was proved further that Mathew Goniwe was a thorn in the flesh of the security forces ... referred to as an enemy of the state whose activities had to be curtailed or terminated.

It has also been proved prima facie in my opinion, that the signal sent by Colonel du Plessis on the instructions of Brigadier van der Westhuizen to Major General van Rensburg was a recommendation that Matthew Goniwe, Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata should be killed, and that this was the meaning Colonel du Plessis and Brigadier van der Westhuizen intended the signal to have.

- 249 However, the identity of the perpetrators remained unknown until amnesty applications were received from the following members of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch: Major General Nick Janse van Rensburg [AM3919/96], Major GJ Lotz [AM3921/96], Lieutenant Colonel Eric Taylor [AM3917/96], Colonel Harold Snyman [AM3918/96] and Major Hermanus Barend du Plessis [AM4384/96]. Eugene de Kock [AM0066/96] and Captain JM 'Sakkie' van Zyl [AM 5637/97] applied for amnesty for knowledge relating to the killings.
- 250 The amnesty applications reveal that, on the night of 27 June, the 'Cradock Four' were returning from a UDF meeting in Port Elizabeth, when they were abducted at the Olifantshoek pass. The four were shot and/or stabbed, and their bodies mutilated in order to turn suspicion away from the security forces. Their burnt bodies were found near Bluewater Bay during the following week.
- 251 At the time, an attempt was made to suggest that their deaths were as a result of ongoing and violent conflict between the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and the UDF in the Eastern Cape. The Commission found evidence that this strategy was formulated by the Strategic Communications Branch of the SSC Secretariat.
- 252 One of the amnesty applicants, JM 'Sakkie' van Zyl, was known to be a CCB operative. The Commission was unable to establish whether his link with the SADF preceded the killing of the Cradock Four, thus indicating possible military involvement.

THE COMMISSION WAS UNABLE TO MAKE A FINDING ON THE KILLING OF THE CRADOCK FOUR AS, AT THE TIME OF REPORTING, THE AMNESTY COMMITTEE HAD STILL TO MAKE A DECISION. HOWEVER, THE COMMISSION DOES FIND THAT THE ATTEMPT TO LAY THE CRIME AT THE DOOR OF AZAPO IN THE EASTERN CAPE WAS NOT ONLY A CASE OF DISINFORMATION, BUT A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO STOKE CONFLICT THAT HAD ALREADY CLAIMED LIVES IN THE EASTERN CAPE.

Victoria Mxenge

- 253 Civil rights lawyer Ms Victoria Mxenge (43), lawyer for the UDF treason trialists and wife of slain Griffiths Mxenge, was shot and axed to death outside her Umlazi home in Durban on 1 August 1985. The killing, carried out by four men, two of whom were armed, was witnessed by her son Mbasa and the Reverend Xundu, Natal UDF chairperson. At the time, Mxenge was the instructing attorney for the accused in the Pietermaritzburg UDF treason trial and secretary/treasurer for the Release Mandela Committee (RMC).
- 254 The Commission received various accounts of who was responsible for this assassination. In a statement to the Commission, *askari* Jimmy Mbane says that *askari* Thabiso Sphamla confessed to him, while drunk, that he and three other *askaris* – Eric Maluleke, Peggy Hadebe and ‘Samuel’ – had killed Victoria Mxenge. They were paid for the operation when they returned home from Durban.
- 255 Mr Pat Hlongwane of the Returned Exiles Committee said that he shared a cell with a Mr Bongani Malinga (aka Marvin Sefako) at Quatro camp during 1988, and that Sefako claimed that he had killed Victoria Mxenge on orders from Captain Dirk Coetzee of Vlakplaas. While this version is challenged by the fact that Coetzee had left Vlakplaas long before 1985, the identity of the perpetrator is corroborated in the ANC’s second submission. The ANC alleges that Martin Sefako was recruited by Sergeant Skekheshe Ntombela of the Security Branch in March 1985 or earlier. He was handled by Ntombela and a Brigadier Pieter Swanepoel and underwent training from March 1985 to September 1985. The training is alleged to have included poisoning food and the use of firearms.
- 256 Sefako is alleged also to have been involved with other operatives in other unlawful acts conducted on behalf of the Security Branch, including the fatal stabbing of Mr Eugene Nunu Kheswa on 3 June 1986; a vehicle attack on Nelisiwe Lamola, and the killing of Ms Thandi Poswa, an associate of the Reverend Xundu in Clermont. This latter killing was witnessed and reported to the SAP by Ms Nelisiwe Octavia Lamola, a student at Ziphatele High School. Concerning Ms Mxenge, Sefako is alleged to have confessed: “I shot her five times on the chest but she never fell, where I followed her with an axe and chopped her next to her dining room door”.
- 257 Hlongwane claims that Sefako returned to South Africa after the unbanning of the ANC but was subsequently killed, allegedly by IFP supporters.

258 Aside from Mbane's statement, the above confessions come from people held in ANC custody and thus an element of duress cannot be excluded. However, the assertion that the killing was a security force operation is common to all three versions. (See also KwaZulu/Natal regional profile.)

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS VICTORIA MXENGE WAS KILLED BY, OR ON THE ORDERS OF, UNKNOWN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES, AND THAT HER DEATH WAS A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE SAID SECURITY FORCES.

Toto Roy Dweba

259 The Commission received a statement from Ms Virginia Vuyiswa Dweba [KZN/NN/288/DN] concerning the killing of her son, Mr Toto Roy Dweba, in Mthunzini on the Natal north coast on 20 August 1985. Dweba, a UDF and Natal Freedom Charter Committee member, was the brother-in-law of MK member Mduduzi Guma, killed in the 1981 Matola raid. Evidence given in a section 29 enquiry by Security Branch member Vusi Ismael "Spyker" Myeza indicates that Dweba was suspected of being a courier of guns for the ANC from Swaziland.

260 Dweba's wife, Ms Daphne Dweba [KZN/MR/492/DN], said that her husband was abducted from his place of work on 19 August 1985. He was fatally stabbed and mutilated in Eshowe on 20 August 1985. She said that she had received strange phone calls, and suspected that the caller was responsible for the abduction and killing. On 22 August 1985, the police informed Mrs Dweba that her husband had been found dead. On 27 August, a petrol bomb was thrown at the Dweba house.

261 Toto Dweba was buried on 5 September 1985. Two weeks after the funeral, his hands were found in a plastic bag in a cane field. The hands were taken to Pretoria for forensic tests. Some weeks later, Dweba's uncle, police officer Maxwell Dweba, was contacted by the Empangeni police station and told to fetch his nephew's hands, which were then buried.

262 Three months after the burial, an unknown white man in civilian clothing sought out Maxwell Dweba and took him to a white Ford Escort in Gillespie Street, Durban. In the boot were his dead nephew's clothes, which the unknown white man said were "from Pretoria".

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT TOTO DWEBA WAS KILLED BY, OR ON THE ORDERS OF, UNKNOWN SECURITY FORCE MEMBERS, AND THAT HIS DEATH WAS A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE SAID SECURITY FORCES.

- 263 On 1 December 1986, Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife Florence were assassinated outside their home in Mamelodi. Shortly thereafter, a vehicle identified by witnesses was traced to Mr Noel Robey [AM5470/97], an SADF Special Forces operative. No one was charged with the killing. Those who applied for amnesty in respect of the killing were Brigadier Jack Cronjé [AM2773/96], then divisional commander, Northern Transvaal, Captain Paul van Vuuren [AM6528/97], Captain Jacques Hechter [AM2776/96], Major General AJM 'Joep' Joubert [AM3799/96], then officer commanding SADF Special Forces, Commandant (Lieutenant-Colonel) Charl Naudé [AM5453/96] and Mr Noel Robey [AM5470/97], a Special Forces operative.
- 264 Evidence from amnesty applications suggests that the killing of the Ribeiros was a joint Northern Transvaal and SADF Special Forces operation. Joubert indicates that, in early 1986, he was instructed by the chief of the defence force, General JJ Geldenhuys, that Special Forces was to provide support for the Security Branch. In terms of this instruction he drew up a plan identifying three 'hotspots' – the Northern Transvaal, the Witwatersrand and the eastern Cape – to be stabilised by joint Special Forces and Security Branch operations. According to Joubert, his plan was approved by General Geldenhuys at a social function. Geldenhuys denies this.
- 265 Believing that the plan had been authorised, Joubert assigned Charl Naudé to the Northern Transvaal and Colonel Joe Verster to the Witwatersrand. Because internal security was the responsibility of the SAP, Special Forces operatives were to act in support of the Security Branch. This meant that each operation needed to be authorised by the Security Branch before Special Forces operatives could participate. Their function was to meet with the Security Branch in the assigned areas and decide on joint operations. Such operations included killing. Amnesty applicants further indicate that such killings occurred after targets had been identified at joint meetings attended by other high-ranking SADF officials.
- 266 The assassination of the Ribeiros was conducted according to this plan. At the hearing on the armed forces, the Commission heard that Lieutenant General Ian Gleeson (then acting chief of the SADF) and General JJ Geldenhuys were informed of the involvement of Special Forces in the killing of the Ribeiros. General Geldenhuys conceded that he had not drawn this information to the attention of the Attorney-General or the investigating officers.

267 According to Security Branch amnesty applicants, the Ribeiros were targeted because Dr Ribeiro provided medical assistance to people injured in security force action and allegedly provided financial assistance to those wishing to leave the country. Despite extensive cross-examination, amnesty applicants were unable to provide one specific case of support and conceded that the Security Branch had no file on Ms Ribeiro. Mr Chris Ribeiro [JB3488/02PS] said that, following a period in detention in the early 1980s, his father had decided to limit his political role to providing professional medical assistance.

THE AMNESTY COMMITTEE HAD NOT MADE A FINDING ON THE RIBEIRO CASE AT THE TIME OF REPORTING. HOWEVER, THE COMMISSION DOES FIND THAT, BY WILFULLY WITHOLDING INFORMATION PERTINENT TO THE IDENTITIES OF THE PERPETRATORS FROM THE SAP INVESTIGATING TEAM, GENERAL JJ GELDENHUYS AND LIEUTENANT GENERAL I GLEESON ACTED IN AN OBSTRUCTIVE MANNER FOR WHICH THEY ARE LEGALLY RESPONSIBLE.

Joe Tsele

268 Mr Joe Tsele, a UDF activist who had earlier served time on Robben Island, was shot dead at his home in Bophuthatswana on 6 May 1987. The Commission received amnesty applications from Brigadier Jack Cronjé [AM2773/96], Captain Jacques Hechter [AM2776/96] and Major Sarel 'Sakkie' Crafford [AM5468/97].

269 Crafford says he believed that Tsele was responsible for arranging safe houses for ANC members. Cronjé, Hechter, Mamasela and another *askari* went to reconnoitre Tsele's house to establish whether it was indeed being used as a safe house. Hechter added that, if their suspicions were confirmed, they were to eliminate Tsele.

270 While Cronjé and Hechter waited in the car, Mamasela and a fellow *askari* whom he identifies as Mbatha moved towards the house, armed with AK-47s. Through a window they saw a man watching the television, and identified him, from a photo, as their target. According to Mamasela:

Because there was burglar-proofing across the window and I and Mbata were worried that a bullet could be deflected back against it, we decided to push our AK-47 rifles through the window at the same time and fire at the man on full automatic. We then pushed our weapons through the window and fired at the man. I saw blood splashing and the man's body jerking. Because the weapons were on automatic firing I cannot say how many shots Mbata and I fired. It was quite a number at any rate. (Commission translation.)

- 271 Several days later Cronjé sent Mamasela and Mbatha back to Makapanstad to ascertain whether Tsele had been successfully killed.
- 272 The amnesty applicants claim that Joe Mamasela acted without authorisation in this case. Yet there is no evidence to suggest that he received any kind of rebuke from his superior officers, nor that he was subjected disciplinary procedures. This suggests, at the very least, a *post hoc* authorisation and legitimisation for future actions of this kind.

David Webster

- 273 Dr David Webster [JB00218/01GTSOW] was shot outside his home in Troyeville, Johannesburg on 1 May 1989. He died some twenty minutes later. The Commission received two amnesty applications about the circumstances surrounding his killing, but none concerning the killing itself. During the life of the Commission, however, a CCB operative, Mr Ferdinand Barnard, was charged and convicted with the murder of Webster.
- 274 Dr Webster was a well-known human rights activist, a member of the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee (DPSC) and vice-chairperson of the Five Freedoms Forum, an affiliate of the UDF. As an anthropologist, Webster went on regular field trips to Kosi Bay in Northern Natal and it was rumoured that he had possibly stumbled on evidence of the ongoing supply of weapons to RENAMO or of ivory smuggling. The Hiemstra Commission, set up to investigate a spy-ring with military links in the Johannesburg City Council, heard evidence that Dr Webster had been under surveillance.
- 275 There were several eyewitnesses to the shooting. Ferdinand Barnard was later detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act but, although he gave information leading to the disclosure of the existence of the CCB and the detention of a number of other CCB members, the identity of Webster's killing was not revealed.
- 276 In addition to an official inquest, Webster's killing was examined by the Harms Commission and by an internal military/police investigation into General IJ 'Krappies' Engelbrecht. While the CCB and Barnard in particular were frequently raised as possible suspects, no one was charged with the killing at the time.

277 While the Commission was investigating the matter, however, investigators were informed of the Transvaal Attorney-General's decision to prosecute. In June 1997 the Commission told the Attorney-General's office that it would not continue investigating the Webster case. Mr Ferdinand Barnard was arrested and subsequently charged and convicted of the killing of Dr Webster.

Abduction, interrogation and killing

278 This section deals with a different category of killings – where the primary purpose was to obtain information, and death followed, apparently in order to protect the information received. Victims in almost all of these cases were suspected of having links with underground military structures or with networks that provided support for such structures. The purpose of interrogation was to gather intelligence on issues such as *modi operandi*, guerrilla infiltration routes and possible planned operations. This information was considered vital, not only to enable counter-measures to be taken, but for the ongoing and effective penetration of such structures by agents or *askaris*.

279 Amnesty applicants suggested that such intelligence had value only for as long as the 'enemy' was not aware that the information had been uncovered. Detainees – even those kept in solitary confinement – sometimes managed to smuggle out information about their detention and interrogation. Moreover, in the nature of clandestine work, once a detention was known about, old routines, codes and meeting places would be regarded as compromised and therefore changed. It was for this reason, the Security Branch argued, that it was preferable to abduct rather than officially detain, and to kill the abductee once information had been extracted. In some instances, the Security Branch attempted to 'turn' (recruit) the individual; where this proved unsuccessful, killing was regarded as necessary.

280 This *modus operandi* allowed for greater freedom to torture without fear of consequences. It should also be noted, as is evident in some of the cases below, that confessions and admissions were sometimes obtained only after brutal torture. The possibility that a number of people so targeted had no real link to underground military structures cannot be excluded.

Gcinisizwe Kondile

281 Eastern Cape political activist Gcinisizwe Kondile [EC0021/96STK] was killed by the security police in August 1981. Mr Kondile was first detained by the security police in 1980 while a student at Fort Hare University. After his release, he fled

to Lesotho where he continued to be politically active. In June 1981, he was apprehended by the security police after entering the country in a car owned by Chris Hani.

282 Amnesty applicants have presented two different versions of the circumstances leading to Kondile's death. Captain Dirk Coetzee [AM0063196] says that Kondile was transferred to Jeffrey's Bay in the eastern Cape where he was held for two months and severely tortured. So serious was his condition that the police feared he would die. Deciding they could not afford "another Biko", the upper management of the Security Branch decided he should be killed and all evidence of his existence destroyed. This version is confirmed by a Sergeant Danster who guarded Kondile at the Jeffrey's Bay police station. Danster referred to the use of torture, including 'tubing', electric shock and assault.

283 To cover their tracks, the security police officially released Kondile from custody on 11 August 1981 and then immediately re-arrested and held him secretly in the 'white' quarters of the Jeffrey's Bay police station.

284 C section head, Brigadier W Schoon, ordered Dirk Coetzee to meet with Major Archie Flemington from the local security police office at Komatipoort. The Port Elizabeth Security Branch arrived at Komatipoort with Kondile, who was then taken by a group of security police members – including Coetzee, Flemington, Nick Janse van Rensburg, Sergeant JG Raath [AM4397/96], Captain Paul van Dyk and two others from Ermelo – to an isolated spot near Komatipoort. Here he was drugged with "knock-out" drops acquired from General Lothar Neethling's police forensic laboratory, shot and cremated over a log fire for seven hours until all traces of his body had been destroyed. During the cremation, the group drank and cooked meat at a separate 'braai'. Coetzee related:

The burning of a body to ashes takes about seven hours, and whilst that happened we were drinking and even having a braai next to the fire. Now, I don't say that to show our braveness, I just tell it to the Commission to show our callousness and to what extremes we have gone in those days ... the chunks of meat, and especially the buttocks and the upper part of the legs, had to be turned frequently during the night to make sure that everything burnt to ashes. And the next morning, after raking through the rubble to make sure that there were no pieces of meat or bone left at all, we departed and all went our own way.

- 285 Other amnesty applicants disputed this version of events. The Port Elizabeth Security Branch applicants stated that Kondile was transferred to their region after interrogation in the Orange Free State. After two weeks of interrogation with assault at the Jeffrey's Bay police station, Kondile agreed to act as an informer. However, Major Du Plessis [AM4384/96] alleges that he then personally discovered a concealed note from Kondile to the ANC. Du Plessis realised that Kondile had deceived him. Kondile had been briefed about Du Plessis's informer network (including a person in the UNHCR who provided photographs of refugee applicants to the police) which would now be compromised. After discussions with his immediate superior Nick Janse van Rensburg and the Divisional Commander, then Colonel Gerrit Erasmus [AM4134/96], it was decided that Kondile should be killed.
- 286 Kondile was taken near Komatipoort where they met with Captain Dirk Coetzee. He was tied to a tree and shackled, given some food and cold drinks, after which he became unconscious. Sergeant Roy Otto (now deceased) then shot him through the head, after which his body was placed on a wood fire and burnt until morning.

Nokuthula Simelane

- 287 According to amnesty applicant Lieutenant-Colonel Anton Pretorius [AM4389/96], the Soweto Intelligence Unit (SIU) had in 1983 succeeded in penetrating and infiltrating MK structures in Swaziland. Deep-cover agents RS269 and RS243 had succeeded in gaining information about arms caches, infiltration routes, lines of command and so on. Through a Soweto-based source, SWT 66, they had managed to establish the linkages between the Swaziland structures and MK's Transvaal military structures.
- 288 During 1983, they received information that a courier from Swaziland was expected in Johannesburg. The courier, Ms Nokuthula Aurelia Simelane (aka MK Sibongile), arrived in Johannesburg in September 1983 and was abducted by the SIU from the parking lot outside the Carlton Hotel where she had planned to meet her contact. She was initially taken to the Custodum police flats in Norwood and kept for several days in a tenth-floor storeroom. During this time she was intensively interrogated and, according to an amnesty applicant, badly beaten.
- 289 From Norwood, Simelane was taken to a farm near Thabazimbi, where she was apparently kept in an outbuilding for a month, possibly two.
- 290 According to amnesty applicants Anton Pretorius and Lieutenant Colonel Willem 'Timol' Coetzee, [AM4032/96] then head of the SIU, she agreed during her initial

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

- 291 A number of other members of the unit involved in her abduction also applied for amnesty. At least one of these, however, disputes the Coetzee/Pretorius version. According to this applicant, Simelane continued to be tortured at the farm in Thabazimbi. After about two months, she was put in the boot of the car, hand-cuffed and in leg-irons, and driven away. This was the last that black members of the unit saw of her. Her physical state at the time was such that returning her to Swaziland would not have been possible. "She was very beautiful. But by the time they were finished with her, she could not be recognised."
- 292 The applicant indicated that, after he was back in Soweto, he asked one of his superiors about Simelane and was told not to ask questions. He subsequently heard that she had been shot and buried in Rustenburg.

Japie Maponya

- 293 Mr Japie Maponya [JB02090/03WR] was abducted by Vlakplaas *askaris*, interrogated and subsequently killed. Amnesty applicants included General JH le Roux [AM4148/96]; Colonel Eugene de Kock [AM0066/96] head of C1/Vlakplaas, Warrant Officer Willie A Nortjé [AM3764/96]; Constable TJ Mbelo [AM3785/96] and Sergeant DJ van der Walt [AM3769/96].
- 294 According to applicants, a request for assistance was submitted to security headquarters by Colonel Johan le Roux, head of the Krugersdorp Security Branch (later a general who commanded the Security Branch). On instructions from Security Branch headquarters, a team under Warrant Officer Willie Nortjé, with which De Kock later linked up, was deployed to Krugersdorp. Japie Maponya, a security guard, was abducted from Krugersdorp by Mbelo and two other *askaris* and taken to Vlakplaas for questioning about the activities of his brother, MK operative Odirile Maponya (MK Mainstay), who was suspected of involvement in the death of an SAP member, Warrant Officer Tswane.

- 295 Maponya was severely beaten by the *askaris*. Two security police from the Krugersdorp Security Branch were present during the interrogation and apparently participated. Tear gas was sprayed into his mouth, allegedly by De Kock (who denies this), but all efforts to extract information from him failed. De Kock and Willie Nortjé then took Maponya across the border to a plantation in Swaziland and killed him. De Kock struck him on the head with the sharp end of a spade and Nortjé shot him in the temple with a 9mm pistol. He was buried in the plantation.
- 296 This case had not been heard by the Amnesty Committee at the time of reporting. Among the matters to be canvassed will be whether the decision to kill Maponya came from Le Roux, as De Kock alleges, or whether Le Roux only gave an instruction for his abduction and interrogation. De Kock also alleges that, during the Harms Commission's investigation, the original telex from Le Roux to Special Branch headquarters, requesting Vlakplaas assistance, was destroyed after being brought to the attention of the then head of C section.

Jackson Maake, Andrew Makupe and Harold Sefolo

- 297 Mr Jackson Maake [JB02706/02PS], Mr Andrew Makupe [JB02699/02PS] and Mr Harold Sefolo [JB00104/02PS] were abducted in 1986 or 1987, interrogated and then killed. Amnesty applications in respect of their killings were received from Mr Sampina Bokaba [AM5460/97], Captain Jacques Hechter [AM2776/96], Warrant Officer Paul van Vuuren [AM6528/97] and Brigadier JH Cronjé.
- 298 Bokaba stated that he and a Warrant Officer van Wyk recruited Jackson Maake sometime in 1986. Later, he handled Maake jointly with Hechter and Van Vuuren. Maake was sent to Botswana to infiltrate ANC networks but, on his return, Hechter suspected Maake of being a double agent. He was picked up, taken to a deserted property owned by the Pretoria Portland Cement Mine some five to ten kilometres outside Messina and interrogated. Maake denied the allegation that he was a double agent, but after being subjected to electric shocks confessed that he was working for the ANC and gave the name of Makupe as his MK contact.
- 299 According to Van Vuuren, they then went to the Security Branch offices and drew Makupe's file which confirmed that he was a courier for the ANC. Makupe was abducted, taken to the mine property and interrogated. He told the Security Branch that Harold Sefolo was the MK operative who chose targets and acted as an ANC courier. Makupe was taken to a telephone box and instructed to call Sefola in Witbank, telling him that he would be collected by some ANC comrades

that night. That night, Mamasela and another *askari* abducted Sefolo. His interrogation began the next morning.

- 300 Van Vuuren described how Mamasela “forced a knife in Sefolo’s nose, after which he provided additional information. He also begged for his life.” In order to persuade him to provide more information, they shocked Maake to death in front of him. As they were preparing to do the same to Makupe, Sefola “asked if he could say something”. Van Vuuren said:

I agreed to it. He asked if he could sing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika ... He also claimed that the ANC would govern later, that apartheid would no longer be able to be maintained and that a democracy would be the end of the Boers. He also mentioned that the Security Police and Umkhonto weSizwe were the toys of the politicians. Mamasela had an ANC flag present which was with us then. He threw this over Maake while Sefola sang Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. We then shocked Makupe to death.

- 301 Sefolo himself was then shocked to death. Van Vuuren said they acted “under the instructions of Brigadier Cronjé” and “the purpose was to neutralise the cell”. The three bodies were loaded into a minibus and, somewhere on a road in Bophuthatswana, were placed on top of a landmine, which was detonated. The aim was to create the impression that they had blown themselves up, thus performing the dual function of turning suspicion away from the security forces and making MK soldiers look incompetent.

Unknown activists

- 302 Shortly after this incident, an unknown ANC operative alleged to be part of Harold Sefolo’s cell was abducted by Hechter and Bokaba and driven to a road in Bophuthatswana where Hechter strangled him to force a confession from him. When he refused to talk, Paul Van Vuuren strangled him to death with a wire. A tyre was then put around his neck, he was doused with petrol and set alight. In his amnesty application, Bokaba said that one of the purposes of ‘elimination’ was disinformation: “It was painted to be a struggle between blacks ... Voters were once again persuaded to vote for the National Party in the light of the black onslaught.”

- 303 Lieutenant Colonel WJ Momberg [AM4159/96] applied for amnesty in respect of the killing of an unknown MK member at some time between January and April 1986. The MK member was arrested by the Security Branch and taken to Mamelodi,

Pretoria, in order that he might identify safe houses being used for 'terrorist' operations. After a while, the police concluded that the MK member was misleading them. Momberg and a named captain began to slap him, punch him in the ribs, and knock him around. Despite the assault, they failed to extract any information from the unknown man.

- 304 They then took him to a quiet place in the Pienaar's River area to interrogate him further. The captain began the interrogation behind the minibus. When the victim would not co-operate, the captain grabbed his throat with both hands and shook him so that he landed in the boot of the minibus. When he stepped back from the minibus, the MK member was dead. When told about the death, Brigadier Cronjé gave orders that the body should be blown up with a landmine to render it unrecognisable.
- 305 Paul van Vuuren [AM6528/97] applied for amnesty in respect of the killing, in 1986 or 1987, of another unknown activist at Die Bron in the northern Transvaal. Van Vuuren could not remember why the victim was arrested. At some stage the victim was put into the boot of a car. Van Vuuren said that the activist may already have been dead at this point, but he could not remember much else about the incident. Other applicants include Brigadier JH Cronjé and Captain J Hechter.

Stanley Bhila

- 306 Mr Stanley Bhila, an MK member, was abducted and killed eighteen days after his acquittal in the Durban trial of Dudu Buthelezi and nine others. The charges included the Amanzimtoti bomb blast for which Andrew Zondo had already been convicted and executed.
- 307 Amnesty applicant Captain Frank McCarter [AM4378/96] stated:
- Bhila ... was acquitted ... I met Major Andy Taylor. He informed us ... that Bhila would continue with his terrorist activities now that he had been released. He requested us to kill him and we agreed ... We were fighting a war where the enemy was not bound by any rules ... I had to do things that went against my grain sometimes ... I did not regard them as morally wrong, although I realise that my acts were illegal.*
- 308 On 22 February 1987, Bhila was abducted, taken to a house on the South Coast and shot by McCarter with a 6.35mm pistol. His body was thrown over a

cliff in the Umbumbulu district, south of Durban. Sergeant LG Wasserman also applied for amnesty.

Ntombi Ngcobo (Khubeka)

- 309 Colonel Andy Taylor [AM4077/96], Captain HJP 'Hentie' Botha [AM4117/96], Captain Adrian David Baker [AM5284/97], Lieutenant Sam du Preez [AM4130/96], Sergeant LG Wasserman [AM4508/96], *askari* Jimmy Mbane and Sergeant CA "Cassie" van der Westhuizen [AM4388/96] applied for amnesty for the death of Ntombi Ngcobo (née Khubeka) in custody.
- 310 Security Branch amnesty applicants claim that Ngcobo (Kkhubeka) died of a heart attack during interrogation after having being abducted, and that her body was dumped in violence-torn Bhambayi. However, a body believed to be hers was exhumed by the Commission and was found to have a bullet wound to the back of the head.
- 311 It appears that the Security Branch believed that Ngcobo (Kkhubeka) was acting in a liaison capacity between externally and internally trained 'terrorists'. They suspected her of stashing arms, providing accommodation and gathering intelligence in connection with targets. Both her brother Themba and her sister Sibongile Khubeka were at ANC HQ in Lusaka.
- 312 According to *askari* Jimmy Mbane, he and two other *askaris* were instructed to infiltrate Ngcobo's group. The *askaris* convinced her that they were from exile and needed accommodation. Mbane alleges that, as a result of this infiltration, four people were killed – a man Ngcobo had introduced to *askari* Simon Radebe saying he needed a safe place; a man named Sbu, who was also introduced by Ngcobo (Khubeka) and who was electrocuted; a friend of Sbu's, who was shot, and Ngcobo (Khubeka) herself.
- 313 In May 1987, Mbane took Ngcobo (Khubeka) to the old Railway Police Station in Winkelspruit where Captain Botha, Lieutenant Du Preez, Sergeant Wasserman and others were waiting. Ngcobo was tightly blindfolded, tortured by means of electric shocks and struck on the knees with beer bottles. Taylor claims that Ngcobo (Khubeka) confessed to liaising with four externally trained guerrillas. She agreed to identify them on condition that her identity was not revealed, but then she suddenly went into convulsions and died. Her body was disposed of by Du Preez, Wasserman, and 'Hentie' Botha.

Phumezo Nxiweni

314 Following the abduction and interrogation of Ms Phila Portia Ndwandwe in October 1988 (see chapters on *Gross Violations of Human Rights Committed by the State outside South Africa and Exhumations* in this volume), the Security Branch established that Mr Phumezo Nxiweni [EC0246/96WTK] was the commander of an MK underground structure in Durban. Hentie Botha claims that this unit was responsible for thirteen explosions in the Durban area during 1988. Nxiweni had been charged with these attacks, including the Amanzimtoti bomb, and acquitted.

315 On 4 November 1988, Captain 'Hentie' Botha, Lieutenant Sam du Preez and Cassie van der Westhuizen arrested Nxiweni. He was taken to a safe house in Mount Edgecombe, near Durban, where, according to the Security Branch, he admitted under interrogation to his role in these and other acts of terror. He also admitted to the bombing of Rossburgh Railway station the previous night. They decided to "eliminate" him, the task being given to Andy Taylor, Lawrence Wasserman and Du Preez. Taylor explains:

It was clear to me that he was a dangerous terrorist who would not stop his activities ... It was also apparent that there was insufficient evidence to remove him from society through the normal channels of the Court, due to the fact that he had already been acquitted.

316 Nxiweni was shot and buried in a sugar cane field adjacent to the safe house. His body was exhumed by the Commission.

Vusumuzi Mtshali, Sibusiso Ndlovu and Mazwi Vilikazi

317 In the days following Nxiweni's killing, the Security Branch made contact with other members of his network through informers. An attempt to arrest two members of the unit failed, as they had fled to the Transkei. However, informers were able to infiltrate a KwaMashu unit and reported that this unit was planning to sabotage the Phoenix railway station. Du Preez, Wasserman and Botha arrested three members believed to be Mr Vusumuzi Mtshali, Mr Sibusiso Ndlovu and Mr Mazwi Vilikazi. Botha told the Commission:

After their arrest, they were taken to the safe house where Colonel Andy Taylor was waiting for us, for questioning ... We decided that in the light of the fact that the three terrorists were not cooperative there would be no point in trying to convince them to co-operate ... A conviction would not

have been successful without the statements of the informers and we could not compromise them ... We could not release them because ... they were responsible for the acts of terrorism ... Accordingly we decided that the three must be eliminated by blowing them up on the railway line that they had identified as the target.

Colonel Taylor, Sam du Preez, and Laurie Wasserman rode with the three terrorists to the Phoenix Railway Station ... I ordered them to kneel side by side next to each other ... We each stood behind the person and removed our weapons ... I gave a nod of my head and we each shot the person in front of us with a single shot to the head. Sam put the limpet mines on the railway line and Laurie and I laid out the three corpses on the tracks ... After Sam activated the explosives, we left the scene in a vehicle. We were about a kilometre from the scene when the explosions occurred.

- 318 General JA Steyn (then officer commanding, Port Natal Division), Colonel Andy Taylor [AM4077/96], Captain HP 'Hentie' Botha [AM4117/96], Lieutenant Sam du Preez [AM4130/96] and Sergeant LG Wasserman [AM4508/96] applied for amnesty for the killings.

Blessing Ninela

- 319 Ms Gretina Ninela (KZN/NN/404/DN) made a statement to the Commission about the disappearance of her son Blessing Ninela from Pinetown on 13 June 1988. According to Ms Ninela, her son had been detained with several others in January 1987. On 11 June 1988, some time after his release, two unknown people came to the house and left a note making an appointment for Ninela to meet them at the Pinetown post office on 13 June. He left to meet them and was never seen again.
- 320 Askari Ben Mwelase [AM6436/97] said in his amnesty application that he was involved in the abduction of a man from Pinetown post office while serving under Taylor. At a section 29 investigative hearing, Security Branch member Vusi 'Spyker' Myeza revealed that Ninela had been abducted and killed in Bulwer, and that Lieutenant Sam du Preez [AM4130/97] and Sergeant LG Wasserman [AM4508/96] then blew his body up on a railway line by means of a limpet mine. Ninela's body was discovered soon afterwards. His face was injured beyond recognition and one of his hands was missing. He could not be identified and was given a pauper's burial at Ixopo near Richmond a few weeks later. The remains of Blessing Ninela were exhumed by the Commission in August 1997.

Ambushes

321 The Security Branch and later the SADF (who assumed responsibility for the security of South Africa's borders from 1984) expended much effort in uncovering infiltration routes and attempting to thwart infiltration by trained MK operatives. Such routes appear to have been highly compromised and a number of ambushes were laid for operatives attempting to re-enter South Africa. Because of the large number of ambushes resulting in the death of insurgents, the Commission came to the conclusion that ambushes became part of the proactive policy of the security forces. It appears, moreover, that little attempt was made to arrest those caught in such ambushes. Indeed, in some instances, amnesty applicants make it quite clear that the intention was to kill them.

Jobe Ngwenya, Sihle Mbongwa and Henry Chiliza

322 In April 1977, a Swazi citizen, Mr Jobe Ngwenya, who worked closely with the ANC as a courier, was stopped at a roadblock just inside South Africa. He was travelling with two MK cadres, Mr Sihle Mbongwa (aka Sihle Ndlanzi) and Mr Henry Chiliza. All three attempted to run from the roadblock. Chiliza managed to escape and made it back to Swaziland. Mbongwa was caught, detained and severely tortured. He was eventually released and fled the country.

323 The fate of Ngwenya is unknown; he has not been seen or heard of since. Mbongwa said he had seen a bundle of Ngwenya's bloodstained clothes at the Jozini police station.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ON THE BALANCE OF PROBABILITIES, NGWENYA WAS KILLED BY MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES INVOLVED IN THIS AMBUSH, AND THAT HIS DEATH WAS A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

Bushy Swartbooi, Sikhiri Ramokgopa and Andries Moatshe

324 On 4 May 1983, two MK operatives, Mr Bushy Swartbooi (aka Solomon Mlonzi and Kruschew) and Mr Sikhiri Ramokgopa (aka Karl Marx) and a Botswana citizen and Security Branch informant, Mr Andries Moatshe, were shot and killed at Silver Valley near the Derdebos border post with Botswana. Moatshe was infiltrating the other two into South Africa and had informed Zeerust Security Branch member Colonel Philip Rudolph 'Rudi' Crause [AM4125/96], of this.

325 After deciding to ambush and arrest the two, the head of Zeerust Security Branch, Colonel (later Brigadier) Wickus Loots, decided that they should be killed. That night all three, including the informer Moatshe, were shot and killed, after which a quantity of weapons were planted on their bodies. Others who applied for amnesty for this killing are the then head of Western Transvaal division, Major General Johannes Bertus Steyn [AM4513/97] (later Port Natal divisional commander); then head of the Zeerust Security Branch and later Western Transvaal divisional commander, Colonel Loots, and Lieutenant CJ du Preez Smit [AM4386/96]. Other applicants include: Sergeant Isak Johannes Marais [AM4151/96], Gideon Jacobus van Zyl [AM4372/96], Daniel Johannes Nieuwenhuis [AM4395/96] and Rudolf J Venter [A2776/96].

Victor Mgadi and Oupa Funani:

326 In May 1997, the Commission's Investigation Unit exhumed the bodies of two MK operatives who had been killed by security police near Piet Retief. Mr Victor Mgadi from Inanda in Durban and Mr Oupa Funani from Soweto were killed in separate incidents in 1982 after returning from Swaziland, and were buried in unmarked graves in Thandokukhanya cemetery at Piet Retief.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MGADI AND FUNANI WERE KILLED AS A RESULT OF DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY POLICE, AND THAT THEIR DEATHS WERE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, FOR WHICH THE SECURITY BRANCH OF THE SAP IS ACCOUNTABLE.

Unnamed MK members

327 During 1986, information was received that MK members were planning to infiltrate South Africa via Ramotswa in Botswana. Lieutenant Christoffel Johannes du Preez Smit [AM4386/96] and a Warrant Officer Modise recruited an informant to infiltrate the group. Smit reported to his commander, Captain Frederick Crause [AM4124/96] and to Colonel Loots, divisional commander of the Western Transvaal, in Potchefstroom.

328 In June 1986, the informer was due to pick up armed MK members in the Ramotswa area and take them to Krugersdorp. Loots organised for the Reaction Unit in Potchefstroom to help with the arrests at a place chosen by Smit on the road between the Botswana border and Zeerust. Smit later learned from the informant that the MK members had jumped out of their vehicle with their weapons and run towards the Reaction Unit and that one of them had apparently thrown a hand grenade.

329 Four people were shot dead in the ambush and the informant and Constable Wessels of the Reaction Unit were injured. There were AK-47s and hand grenades with the bodies of the dead. The bodies were taken to the Zeerust mortuary, an inquest was held and the deceased were identified as MK members. Smit does not recall their names.

'Tallmen' Assen Jeremia Thimula, 'Bernard' Mbengeni Kone, Shadrack Sithole and others

330 The 'Amsterdam' operation, which took place on 14 August 1986, was conducted by members of Vlakplaas in association with the Security Branch in Piet Retief in the Eastern Transvaal division.

331 Colonel Eugene de Kock alleged that they received information indicating that two ANC members responsible for planting landmines were planning other attacks, including an attack on a primary school. They decided to kill the operatives as well as those on the other side of the border who assisted with the infiltration.

332 The security police succeeded in recruiting a source who was responsible for transporting the MK operatives. As pre-arranged, the driver pulled over to the side of the road, and Mr 'Tallmen' Assen Jeremia Thimula from Venda, Mr 'Bernard' Mbengeni Kone from Diepkloof, Soweto and Mr Shadrack Sithole, the driver and a Swazi citizen, were all killed. Sithole, who was the brother of one of the *askaris*, was killed allegedly on the grounds that he was only interested in being paid. One of those who had assisted with the infiltration was also killed, while another who had managed to escape was arrested by forest workers the following day.

Ambushes and farm shootings in the Alldays area

333 A joint SAP/SADF ambush, leading to the death of six alleged MK members, took place on the Breslau Road near Alldays on 10 July 1986. The following applied for amnesty for this incident: Mr JH Kruger [AM4147/96], Mr LM Pretorius [AM4366/96], Mr MM Sehlwana [AM3747/96], Mr NS Coetzee [AM4121/96], Mr PA Dreyer [AM 4128/96], Mr JAN Strydom [AM4368/96], Senior Superintendent AJG Erwee [AM4135/96], Mr PTCJ Fourie [AM4137/96], Mr PPF Fuchs [AM4138/96], Mr FCS Swarts [AM4512/96], Mr JP van den Berg [AM4367/96], Mr WJ van der Merwe [AM4380/96] Mr JH van Dyk [AM4370/96] and Mr Josef Venter [AM4381/96].

- 334 The operation was launched in response to information received about a planned infiltration via Botswana of a group of six heavily armed MK guerrillas. Final planning for the operation was conducted in conjunction with the Fifth Reconnaissance Regiment of the SADF's Special Forces.
- 335 The police provided a minibus with its rear window removed, and Constable Sehlwana was appointed to meet the group at the border under the pretext of being a taxi driver. He was instructed to stop the minibus at a designated spot, one side of which was fenced while the other was open. An army Casspir was parked in the road to prevent the occupants of the taxi from escaping; a group of policemen hid in the river bed, about thirty metres from the road; two or three other military personnel waited on the bank to the right of the road to communicate with the occupants of the minibus. A number of other groups were stationed in the vicinity to observe the scene. In addition, an operative hid at the fence to throw a tear gas canister into the vehicle in order to facilitate the arrests and to allow Constable Sehlwana to escape. An aircraft with radio communication monitored the scene, and a helicopter was on stand-by for any emergency.
- 336 According to the amnesty applicants, Inspector Kobus Fourie reported that the six suspects had crossed the border and had climbed into the designated minibus. Sehlwana stopped the vehicle at the appointed place; the tear gas canister was thrown in and Sehlwana escaped. At this point it is alleged that the occupants of the vehicle began firing and that this led to a shoot-out in which five of the insurgents were killed. The remaining guerrilla, alive though badly wounded, was taken away for interrogation. During interrogation, a military medic gave him an injection to stabilise his condition but he died later, on the way to Alldays.
- 337 Because of the sensitivity regarding Sehlwana and an informant from whom they had received intelligence, it was agreed that certain information would be omitted from then Colonel (later Senior-Superintendent) Erwee's statement. The inquest finding was that nobody could be held responsible for the deaths of the unnamed victims.
- 338 The Alldays incident was clearly a carefully planned and executed operation, involving both the police and the military. SADF standing instructions on conducting an ambush include advice on how to identify 'a killing ground': the enemy must be channelled into the killing ground; it must be large enough to accommodate the enemy and must facilitate flat trajectories, providing as little cover for the enemy as possible.

- 339 Several other incidents involving some of the above role-players occurred in the Alldays area during 1987 and 1988, leading to the deaths of some sixteen people.
- 340 On 11 September 1987, one person was shot and two escaped in an incident at Renaissance Farm in the Waterpoort District. The two who had escaped were shot by a named farmer on 12 September. The investigating officer was CJH Bressler. The victims were Mr Nicolaas Moio, Mr Stanley Mehlape, and Mr Frans Mgoasheng.
- 341 On 3 August 1998, five people were shot and buried on Bridge Water Farm, a state-owned farm in the Alldays area. The investigating officer was Warrant Officer Pretorius, an amnesty applicant in this and the Alldays incident.
- 342 On 23 September 1998, a further three people were killed by a farmer near Pondrift, Alldays. One person was arrested, and later became an *askari*. The victims were Mr Mzikayise Mgzangxeni, Mr Mkhathshane Johannes Shangaan and Mr Mark Mkoto; the investigating officer was Barend van der Merwe.

Stephen Bogacu

- 343 Mr Stephen Bogacu [KZN/TIS/006/BL] was killed by members of Unrest Unit 17 in the Ficksburg area on 24 May 1988. An inquest into his death [Inquest 8/88] found justifiable homicide, as the police claimed he was about to throw a grenade at them after they had observed him crossing a river. It appears that they had been lying in wait for him, as members of the Unrest Unit state that they had been given a photo and description of Bogacu.
- 344 The evidence of two other witnesses is conflicting. Mr Mmtali 'Fatty' Letlaka [KZN/TIS/006/BL] from Ficksburg stated that he had taken Bogacu into exile in 1985. In 1988, Letlaka was asked to fetch Bogacu from Leribe (Lesotho) so he could catch a taxi from Ficksburg to Zimbabwe. As they came though the border, a minibus stopped them and Letlaka was told to stand aside while Bogacu was shot several times at point-blank range. He fell to the ground and was shot again. Letlaka was then called to the minibus and searched. One of the policemen appeared to recognise him, and he was told to go home. A Detective Sefatsa from Ladybrand and two white policeman later arrived at Letlaka's house and took Bogacu's suitcase. Letlaka was forced to sign a blank piece of paper and was given R500 and thanked for giving them the suitcase. Subsequently, they visited him on several occasions.

345 Mr Jan Seboi Sekete [KZNNT/009/FB] said he and a Mr Litabe (now deceased) were returning from the Lesotho border and were joined by Steve Bogacu of the ANC and 'Fatty' Letlaka, who had come across the river. He said they were stopped by two uniformed white men near the Caledon Park location in Ficksberg, who shot one of the men. The rest were told to "*fokoff*". As Sekete and Litabe left, they saw Letlaka shaking hands with the policemen and realised that it had been a set-up. Neither Letlaka nor Sekete mention a grenade.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT BOGACU WAS KILLED BY MEMBERS OF THE SAP, THAT HIS DEATH WAS THE RESULT OF A DELIBERATE PLAN AND THAT IT WAS A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

SM Nyoka and others

346 In 1988, two ambushes occurred within days of each other near Piet Retief. All the targets were killed without any arrests being made. Amnesty applications in respect of the first ambush were received from Colonel De Kock [AM0066/97], Mr Gerrie Johan Barnard [AM5004/97], Mr Jury Bernardus Hayes [AM5003/97], Mr Flip Koenraad Theron [AM5012/97], Sergeant Leon William John Flores [AM4361/96] Captain Marthinus David Ras jnr [AM5183/97], DG Willemse [AM372/96] JH Tait [AM3922/96], HC du Plessis [AM4129/96], Brigadier WF Schoon [AM4396/96] Major CP Deetleefs [AM5001/97], then Warrant Officer FHS 'Lappies' Labuschagne [AM5005/97], NJ 'Snor' Vermeulen, Warrant Officer FJ Pienaar [AM5014/97] and Dawid Brits.

347 According to amnesty applicants, a group of recently trained ANC guerrillas under a senior MK official, Mr Charles Ndaba, were set to infiltrate into Natal from Swaziland. According to De Kock, the group had been penetrated by a double agent run by Piet Retief Security Branch member Warrant Officer 'Freek' Pienaar. He had arranged that the first party of infiltrators be driven across the border on 12 June 1988 in a minibus driven by a member of C section, Lieutenant Mose. Mose stopped the vehicle at a pre-arranged spot and jumped out of the van while his four passengers, Mr Surendra Makhosi Nyoka, Ms Lindiwe Mthembu, Mr Lenny Naidoo and Ms June-Rose Cothoza were shot dead. Police officers Marthinus Grobler and James Stevens later fled South Africa fearing for their lives. They had overheard Security Branch operatives saying that the group who had been killed were unarmed and that it had been necessary to plant a Makarov in the minibus as part of the cover-up. The operation was kept out of the press in order to ensure that the second infiltration went ahead.

Jabulani Sibisi, Joseph Boxer Mthembu, Sifiso Nxumalo and Nkosi Thenjekwayo

348 Four days later, a second ambush took place during which Mr Jabulani Sibisi, Mr Joseph Boxer Mthembu, Mr Sifiso Nxumalo and Mr Nkosi Thenjekwayo were shot dead. Minister Vlok stated that the MK operatives had crossed the border in a minibus packed with Russian arms and ammunition and had died attempting to evade a roadblock. The parents of the deceased were refused access to their children's clothing as well as to the scene of the crime. There was no blood on the minibus used by the activists, although the bodies had been riddled with bullets. Those who applied for amnesty for this ambush were *inter alia* De Kock [AM0066/96], Mr Flip Koenraad Theron [AM5012/97], Warrant Officer Willem Albertus, 'Willie' Nortjé [AM3764/96], Mr Gerrie Johan Barnard [AM5004/97], Mr CJ Botha [AM5015/97], Major Christo Petro Deetlefs [AM5001/97], Mr JB Hayes [AM5003/97], Captain Marthinus David Ras jnr. [AM5183/97], Sergeant CS Rorich [AM5011/97], Captain PJ van Dyk [AM5013/97] and JEW van Zweel [AM5017/97].

Unnamed activists

349 At this time, De Kock also sent a team into Swaziland in an attempt to kill Mr Charles Ndaba. They failed in this objective but killed another person. In their amnesty applications, Paul van Dyk and Cornelius Johannes Botha said they were involved in an ambush inside Swaziland on 12 June 1988 in which one person was killed and one escaped. No names are cited but it is likely to have been this attempt on Ndaba. The ANC list of members killed in operations names Mr Israel Pharasi and Mr Sifiso Howard Nxumalo as fatalities in Swaziland at this time and the victim may have been one of these. Charles Ndaba was subsequently killed by the Security Branch while engaged in *Operation Vula*.

THE NUMBER OF AMBUSHES THAT ENDED IN THE DEATH OF THE INSURGENTS LEADS THE COMMISSION TO CONCLUDE THAT, IN MANY INSTANCES, LITTLE ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO EFFECT THE ARREST OF THOSE CAUGHT IN SUCH AMBUSHES.

MK operatives killed in the process of an arrest or while pointing out arms

350 The Commission was informed of a number of cases where alleged MK operatives were killed either in the course of an arrest or shortly thereafter.

Unnamed guerrillas

351 In about November 1984, an ANC guerrilla was arrested by C1 members in Mafikeng. The Zeerust Security Branch was called in to help and Colonel Roelof Venter [AM2274/96] was involved in the interrogation. During the interrogation, “violent methods were employed” and it was revealed that there were already two combatants in hiding in Vryburg and that the guerrilla had been on his way to join them. Venter, Crause, Du Preez Smith, and JJ Wehrmann went to Vryburg, along with members of the uniform branch. They managed to arrest one of the two, who was interrogated, tortured and forced to show them where the other one was hiding. When they arrived at the house, the guerrilla inside threw a hand grenade which failed to explode. He threw another one which exploded against the inside of the door. As the guerrilla ran out, a third grenade exploded between him and a police official. The guerrilla was killed and the police official suffered minor injuries.

Blessing Mabaso, Luvuyo Percival ‘Two Bob’ Mgobhozi, Thembani (Thabane) Memela and Mbongeni Henry Zondi

352 Mr Blessing Mabaso, Mr Luvuyo Percival ‘Two Bob’ Mgobhozi and Mr Thembani (Thabane) Memela [KZN/NN/002/DN] were shot dead in Quarry Road, Durban, on 7 September 1986, allegedly by Security Branch members Andy Taylor, and others. A Security Branch file lists a fourth person killed, namely Mr Mbongeni Henry Zondi. At the time the police claimed that the men had attacked a home in KwaMashu and that a number of weapons had been seized. A Durban inquest magistrate, Mr FM Vorster, found that the police were justified in killing the four men. Three people have applied for amnesty for this incident: JA ‘Bertus’ Steyn [AM4513/97], Sergeant LG Wasserman [AM4508/96] and MC Botha [AM7560/97].

353 In his trial, De Kock said he had been phoned one evening by General Bertus Steyn, head of the Port Natal Security Branch Division. Steyn had asked him to supply four AK-47s because the Durban Security Branch had shot four unarmed people and they needed AK-47s to make them look like combatants. A week or so later, Steyn contacted De Kock with a similar request. De Kock sent an arsenal of weapons for use in the future.

Norman 'Billy Holiday' Pietersen and Zola Michael 'Jabulani' Dubeni

- 354 MK operative Norman 'Billy Holiday' Pietersen [CT00440/WIN] and Mr Zola Michael 'Jabulani' Dubeni [EC2653/97UTA] were shot dead in Cape Town following several armed attacks on members of the SAP. On 9 January 1987, Unrest Unit member GJ Labuschagne was killed and Warrant Officer Barnard seriously injured in a hand grenade attack on their vehicle. Constable WL Mthethwa was shot dead in a second incident three days later.
- 355 Members of the Unrest Unit arrested Pietersen in his bedroom in New Crossroads, Cape Town, on 14 March 1987. At the inquest, the police alleged that, while members of the Riot Unit were searching the contents of a bag of arms in his possession, Pietersen pulled away from the policeman holding him, tried to dive under the bed, grabbed an AK-47 and shot at the police. Two Riot Unit members attempted to pull Pietersen out from under the bed and a third member shot him dead.
- 356 Dubeni was arrested by Western Cape Security Branch members together with Vlakplaas operatives and *askaris* in Nyanga on 14 March 1987. Dubeni was believed by the police to have been responsible for armed actions in the Transkei in 1985, including a shoot-out with police in which one policeman was killed. The following day he was allegedly taken by Warrant Officer JH Nel, Sergeant WR Bellingan and Warrant Officer PJ Theron to a remote bushy area near Faure outside Cape Town to point out an arms cache.
- 357 Nel claimed at the inquest that Dubeni allegedly dropped the spade which which he was digging and picked up a plastic packet from which he produced a grenade. Dubeni was in handcuffs and leg irons at the time. He was then shot in the stomach and face by Nel and Bellingan, and died at the scene. The packet was found to have contained four hand grenades. Lieutenant Desmond Segal was called to investigate the death.
- 358 MK sources told the Commission that there was no arms cache in Faure and that Dubeni had recently been disarmed by vigilantes in Khayelitsha. Notably, no officer or photographer were present at the 'pointing out', nor were photographs taken of the scene at any stage, allegedly because it was raining. This serious violation of police procedure suggests that there was no intention of bringing charges against Dubeni, since the pointing out of the arms cache would have been inadmissible in court without photographic evidence.

Unnamed MK members

359 In April 1987, *askari* Xola Frank 'Jimmy' Mbane's unit [AM8066/97] and Vusi 'Spyker' Myeza from Andy Taylor's unit went to Jozini where they shot one MK member in the legs; another sought refuge in a dam and shot security policeman Captain Frank McCarter. The injured man was left to die. After McCarter had been taken to hospital, the man in the dam attempted to give himself up to the police, but was shot in the head.

Sandile 'Zintlhe' Mahlangu

360 Security Branch file DR53/87 reveals that MK member, Sandile 'Zintlhe' Mahlangu was shot by Lieutenant SJG du Preez and Sergeant LG Wasserman in N Section, Umlazi on 30 June 1987 while running away. The victim had previously applied for political asylum in Lesotho.

'Thanduxolo' and 'Nombini'

361 Two ANC members – 'Thanduxolo' and another, said to be an armed woman and possibly his sister, 'Nombini' – were killed on 7 July 1987 in Motherwell, Port Elizabeth. They died after police used an armoured vehicle as a breaching device and flattened the house they were in. The police claimed to have seized a quantity of munitions including a grenade.¹⁴

Bongani Edwin Cele

362 ANC member Mr Bongani Edwin Cele [KZN/NG/031/DN] was shot dead by the police Murder and Robbery Unit in Mobeni Heights near Durban on 9 July 1987. The police claimed that Cele had tried to detonate a grenade while pointing out a site. The investigating officer, Hentie Botha, stated that Cele had been detained by the Security Branch for questioning about his involvement in attacks on a black councillor's home in Lamontville and the Lamontville police station. He further claimed that Cele had undergone military training in the ANC. On 30 June 1988, a Durban inquest court found that the police had been justified in killing the arrested ANC member.

14 M Morris, *Update: SA Bomb Summary*, 1 May–31 August 1987.

Ashley Kriel

- 363 Mr Ashley Kriel [CT00307/HEL], a young activist from Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, left the country in late December 1985, joined the ANC and underwent military training in Angola. He infiltrated the country in April 1987. On 9 July 1987, Warrant Officer Jeffrey Benzien of the Terrorism Detection Unit and Sergeant AD Abels went to the Athlone house in which Kriel was staying. The two allege that they were only intending to reconnoitre the place. Kriel allegedly opened the door holding a pistol concealed beneath a towel. A scuffle broke out during which Benzien shot Kriel in the back with his own weapon. Warrant Officer Nel of the Security Branch allegedly found a grenade under a pillow on the bed.
- 364 The Commission established that the incident had been planned in the Athlone police station. Further, other members of the Security Branch were concealed in the nearby vicinity.
- 365 Forensic evidence also contradicts the police version of events. Blood was found in the bathroom and on the floor between the bathroom and kitchen door. Further, the bullet entrance wound indicated direct contact with the skin as opposed to passing through his clothing.

Thozama Phoebe Mani

- 366 Ms Thozama Phoebe Mani [EC0170/96PLZ] was detained and tortured in 1987. It is not clear whether she herself was a trained MK guerilla or was assisting an MK cell. She was in hiding in December 1987 when the shack in which she was staying in Veeplaas, Port Elizabeth was surrounded by security forces. She was shot and killed and the shack was crushed by armoured vehicles.

Mxolisi Penwell 'Mubhi' Khumalo

- 367 According to the records of the Centre for Adult Education, two armed policemen arrested Mr Mxolisi Penwell 'Mubhi' Khumalo in Sobantu on 30 July 1988 at about 19h30. According to this version, a hand grenade detonated, killing Khumalo and, according to rumour, the two policemen. Two gunshots were heard immediately after the hand grenade blast. A statement submitted to the Commission by the Khumalo family [KZN/NNN/427/DN] states that Khumalo went into exile in 1986 and returned briefly in July 1988. The family was told that he had died in a bomb blast on a mission at a soccer field in Magqonqo.

368 In a section 29 hearing, Sergeant Bonginkosi Simon Makhaye admitted to involvement, along with other named Security Branch members, in the death of Khumalo. They were acting on information provided by a Colonel Voster or Vosloo. Makhaye said that the three attempted to overpower Khumalo, but he reached into his pocket and detonated a grenade. Two of the police were slightly injured and Khumalo was shot dead.

369 The Commission subsequently located a pauper's grave in Pietermaritzburg where Khumalo had been buried under the name of Sithole. On further forensic examination of the remains, no trace of a grenade explosion was found. A bullet wound was found at the base of the skull (see Volume Three).

Mthetheleli Gcina

370 Mr Mthetheleli Gcina was shot dead in Gugulethu, Cape Town, on 27 September 1988 by *askari* Lucky 'Agrippa' Madubula and Mr David Musimeke. They said that an informer pointed out Mthetheleli to them while they were travelling in a minibus and wearing civilian clothes. Mthetheleli allegedly produced a pistol and fired shots at them, after which they shot and fatally wounded him.

Patrick Welile 'Deks' Dakuse

371 Mr Patrick Welile 'Deks' Dakuse, a well-known political activist, was shot dead by Murder and Robbery Unit members, Lieutenant Des Segal and Sergeant Etsebeth, on January 23rd 1989, allegedly while showing police the site of a buried weapon in the bushes next to Khayelitsha. Dakuse was allegedly a suspect in the killing of a councillor.

372 Segal stated that, after several days of questioning, Dakuse said he would point out where his weapon was buried. With his hands cuffed in front of him, Dakuse allegedly directed them to a bushy area on the outskirts of Khayelitsha and pointed out a site. He then dug a small hole with his hands and produced a plastic packet with an object in it, which he handed to Segal. While Segal was examining this, Sergeant Etsebeth allegedly saw Dakuse produce a grenade and fiddle with the detonator. Etsebeth fired two shots at Dakuse, killing him. A .38 Smith and Wesson revolver was found in the plastic packet. Explosive expert Warrant Officer Theron took possession of a grenade.

373 At the inquest, Wynberg magistrate G Hoffman found that Dakuse was killed by police acting in self-defence. No photographs were presented to the inquest hearing of the position of the hand grenade at the scene. A photograph of the explosive in a plastic bag in an office environment was presented instead.

Anton Fransch

374 Twenty-year-old Anton Fransch [CT03204/FLA] died after a six-hour gun battle with the police on 17 November 1989 at a house in Athlone, Cape Town. A Riot Squad sergeant was finally authorised to throw a grenade into his room, but security forces allege that, before it was thrown, there was a detonation in the room. Police penetrated the house and found the disfigured body of Anton Fransch with the rest of the ammunition. There has been persistent speculation as to whether the last grenade was self-detonated in a final act of suicide, or whether it was thrown by the security forces. The Commission was unable to determine this matter conclusively.

375 The Commission had difficulty in establishing the exact circumstances of each case, not least because the version presented to the media and the courts at the time was in almost all instances the police version. The Commission took into consideration a number of facts about these killings which seriously challenge the official versions. In the first place, several of the incidents happened while the suspect was already in custody, indicating that police did not make appropriate arrangements for the security of detainees. Detainees were routinely handcuffed when transported to courts and even hospitals; one would reasonably expect that extra care would have been taken where the possibility of access to weaponry existed.

376 Secondly, in at least one case, that of Mxolisi Khumalo, the version given to the court has been shown to be false. The fact that a bullet hole was found at the base of his skull would seem to indicate an execution-style killing. The fact that there was no indication of his body having been involved in an explosion further contradicts the police version.

377 Thirdly, the evidence of De Kock points to the fact that, in at least three cases, weapons were planted at the scene after death. It also needs to be noted that senior officers of the Security Branch were involved in the cover-ups. The Durban request for AK-47s came from the divisional commander of the Security Branch, who was later promoted to general. A statement by a Constable Bambatha

attached to the East London *askari* unit further verifies that the planting of weapons was a routine occurrence:

My specific functions in the section ... were to drive askaris around all over the Republic of South Africa so that they could identify and point out terrorist members who had infiltrated the Republic, so that I could arrest them ... I was given an advocate's-type attache case which contained one Makharov pistol and a number of F1 hand grenades. My instructions from the then Captain ... was that, in the circumstances leading to the death of a terrorist in the process of trying to arrest him, I was to send the askaris away and be first at the scene so that I could place the Makharov pistol and F1 hand grenades on the deceased with no person to observe me. The reason ... to do this was to cover the police in the event of a court case ... As it is, in the process of pointing out a terrorist, it was the preference of the askaris that the person be killed as they feared that should ... he speak to other terrorist [sic] about their involvement, they themselves would be killed. This view was also supported by the then Captain ... to prevent the terrorist being released later.

- 378 Several of the deaths occurred shortly after or in connection with MK attacks on police or so-called 'collaborators', creating an impression that the deaths of MK operatives were possibly revenge killings.
- 379 The use of the Casspir or armoured vehicle as a breaching device, a common *Koevoet* practice, indicates scant regard for the principle of minimum force. Its lethal nature makes the possibility of an arrest improbable and the death of the occupants – including civilians – intentional.

Entrapment Killing

- 380 Evidence before the Commission demonstrated that *askaris* were sent to infiltrate open structures of the mass movements, posing as MK operatives, and to identify potential recruits for military training. Such recruits were then killed, sometimes after being trained and armed. This led, in some instances, to Security Branch 'credibility operations' in which targets were attacked in order to enhance the cover of *askaris* posing as MK combatants (see below).

M Madikela, N Matabane and F Nhlapo

- 381 An incident in Krugersdorp led to the deaths of three COSAS activists, Mr M Madikela, Mr N Matabane and Mr F Nhlapo [JB01909/03WR] on 15 February

1982. The operation was conducted jointly by the Soweto Security Branch and Vlakplaas. Brigadier W Schoon [AM4396/96], Captain JC Coetzee [AM4120/96], Sergeant TE Mfalapitsa [AM3592/96], Sergeant CS Rorich [AM5011/97] and Colonel Abraham Grobbelaar [AM4143/96] applied for amnesty.

- 382 According to Jan Coetzee, a group of *askaris*, including Sergeant Joe Mamasela and Ephraim Mfalapitsa, were working in the Soweto area in co-operation with the Soweto Security Branch. Mfalapitsa had been a member of the ANC based in Lusaka, Zambia, from 1976 to 1981. He told the Commission that he had been involved in the torture of ANC cadres suspected of being spies. He defected to the Security Branch towards the end of 1981 and became an *askari*.

COSAS students Hoseo Lengosane, Joseph Mazibuko, John Mlangeni, Samuel Lekatsa, Humphrey Tshabalala, Johannes Mazibuko and Mr Cedric Dladla

- 383 Mfalapitsa made contact with a group of COSAS students, who allegedly wanted weapons training in order to kill a prominent Security Branch member in Kagiso. Following discussion with Brigadier Schoon, it was decided an arrest would expose Mfalapitsa. According to Coetzee, Schoon then obtained authorisation for the killing of the students.
- 384 Rorich, an explosives expert based at the Ermelo Security Branch, said he was approached by Coetzee for assistance and was responsible for making a bomb with an electrical detonator and placing it in the pump house of a mine bunker.
- 385 At a section 29 investigative hearing, Sergeant Joe Mamasela related how Mfalapitsa –
- picked up four youngsters and ... he told them that ... I am a taxi man that he hired. And then I drove them until Mfalapitsa ... said stop here ... Then he climbed off with the youngsters and they moved in the bush in the darkness ... I knew there was already a mine bunker that was prepared for these youths – there was explosive stuff in cement bags and whatever ... So when the youngsters were there, Mfalapitsa ... must leave them and say he is going to fetch the other material. And whilst out the door was made to lock ... and then he must run away so that these people can operate ... a remote control sort of thing to blow these little schoolboys to smithereens...*
- 386 The bomb was detonated by Rorich, killing the three COSAS students and injuring Mr Zandisile John Musi [JB01909/03/WR].

387 A similar operation, known as *Operation Zero Zero* reflected the same basic *modus operandi* as the Krugersdorp incident, but with a significantly new development: the victims died at their own hands. Those who applied for amnesty for the operation were General Johan van der Merwe [AM4157/96], Brigadier Willem Schoon [AM4396/96], Brigadier Jack Cronjé [AM2773/96], Sergeant Daniel Nkala [AM2460/96], Captain Roelof Venter [AM4382/96], Brigadier JL M (Marthinus) Delport [AM4127/96], Mr Francois Steenkamp [AM4383/96], Colonel JF (Kobus) Kok [AM3811/96], Mr JF (Japie) Kok [AM3812/96], Mr LC Prince [AM4382/96], Mr Andre Roos [AM4392/96] and Brigadier WAL du Toit [AM5184/97].

388 In sketching the context for this operation, then head of the Security Branch General Johan van der Merwe said the police were experiencing greater and greater difficulties policing the areas of the East Rand and Vaal Triangle. In particular, there was increasing anxiety about their seeming inability to protect black policemen and community councillors, a core component of their reform strategy but at the same time an increasingly vulnerable underbelly. He told the Commission:

[W]e knew if we could not succeed in protecting our Black members ... the whole system would collapse and that we in no way would be able to defend ourselves against the onslaught ...

389 Van der Merwe said the Security Branch had received reports that a group of activists were planning to launch armed attacks on black policemen living in the East Rand townships. Sergeant Joe Mamasela claims that he was tasked with infiltrating the group of 'troublemakers'. He did this successfully and succeeded in removing a person he regarded as pivotal to the group to a more neutral environment. According to Mamasela, the killing of a white nurse provided the trigger for the operation. He says the anger of the security police was such that they insisted "die mense moet vrek" (the people must die).

390 Explaining why an arrest was not possible, Van der Merwe said:

It became very obvious that any attempts to arrest the activists concerned and bring them before court would be futile to say the least, primarily due to the high intimidation factor which precluded any witnesses from coming forward. It also became equally obvious that the life of the informer concerned would be in grave danger.

391 Van der Merwe sought approval from his superiors to organise the killing of the activists. Direct consent up to the level of the Minister of Law and Order, Louis

le Grange was granted. Police commissioner General PJ Coetzee was allegedly involved in the planning stage of the operation and Van der Merwe reported to him in full at the end of the operation. Van der Merwe assigned the then commander of C1 (Vlakplaas), Brigadier Jack Cronjé to the operation. While Van der Merwe himself implicates no one higher than Minister le Grange, Cronjé claims in his amnesty application that Van der Merwe “specifically indicated to me that this came directly from Minister le Grange and that it had indeed been authorised by President PW Botha, as well as Commissioner Johan Coetzee”.

- 392 Cronjé recalled De Kock from Durban and they made plans to provide the COSAS activists with modified grenades with a zero-timed delay mechanism so that, in the words of Van der Merwe, “any person throwing such a hand grenade at the home of a policemen [*sic*] would be affected first due to the shortened time-delay”. According to Brigadier Willem Schoon, he discussed the technical details with Major General ‘Joep’ Joubert [AM3799/96] of the SADF Special Forces. However, Brigadier WAL du Toit [AM5184/97], an expert from the technical section of the Security Branch, appears to have physically altered the timing devices.
- 393 Van der Merwe states that he was personally in charge of the operation. Just before the incident took place, he travelled to Springs where he held a briefing meeting in the offices of the divisional commander, then Colonel Delport. According to Delport, Van der Merwe stated at this meeting that the C1 Unit (Vlakplaas) would come down to carry out the mission.
- 394 Both Van der Merwe and Cronjé claim that the *askaris* were given strict instructions to supply the weapons only and not to become involved in choosing targets. In practice, the nature of the *askaris*’ interaction with the activists went beyond mere supply. Mamasela and another *askari* arranged a training session with the recruits, using two grenades that had been supplied by De Kock. Mamasela also said that he and other *askaris* working with him had been armed with handguns and a grenade when they had infiltrated the group, to increase their credibility. Mamasela chose 26 June, “Freedom Day”, for the operation, saying to the students, “we are going to celebrate the ... freedom ... day of 26 June ... it will be ideal if you celebrate unity in action, and by that we mean we will ... provide you with training and we ... will arm you so that you can make an armed propaganda”.
- 395 On the night of 26 June 1985, the modified grenades and a limpet mine were handed to Mamasela. Mamasela says that there was some concern that one particular student, Congress, be eliminated because of his ability to identify

Mamasela. Consequently a modified landmine and not a grenade was given to him and he was escorted by Mamasela and Constable Nkala to the electricity sub-station which was to be his target.

- 396 Eight people were killed and seven seriously injured in the ensuing hand grenade and limpet mine blasts. The victims were Mr Hoseo Lengosane, Mr Joseph Mazibuko, Mr John Mlangeni, Mr Samuel Lekatsa, Mr Humphrey Tshabalala, Mr Johannes Mazibuko and Mr Cedric Dladla. A police spokesperson at the time said that the victims were killed while attacking the homes of SAP members and an electricity substation. The hand grenades were identified as being of Russian origin and of the type used only in ANC terror attacks.
- 397 The officer in charge of the investigation, Francois Steenkamp, was aware that it was a Vlakplaas operation. He stated in his amnesty application that he was called in on 25 June 1985 by his superior, Brigadier Delport, who told him that he had to be on standby that night as police were expecting a number of explosions to take place. Later that night he learnt that members of the C1 unit, including De Kock, were in fact planning to distribute booby-trapped hand grenades to activists under the pretext that they were from the ANC.
- 398 Mamasela observes that when he reported back to his Commander, "he was ecstatic about it, he was extremely happy, he jumped like a beheaded chicken". Mamasela was promoted and the other two *askaris* involved received 'kopgeld' (bounty money) of R2 000. Ms Maki Skosana, whom some of the survivors identified as having been seen with Mamasela, was necklaced a few days after the accident.

The Gugulethu Seven

- 399 On 3 March 1986, shortly after 07h00, seven men aged between sixteen and twenty three were shot dead in Gugulethu. They were Mr Mandla Simon Mxinwa, Mr Zanisile Zenith Mjobo [CT00116/FLA], Mr Zola Alfred Swelani [CT00700/FLA], Mr Godfrey Jabulani Miya [CT00818/FLA], Mr Christopher Piet, Mr Themba Mlifi [CT00100/FLA] and Mr Zabonke John Konile [CT00108/FLA]. All sustained numerous gunshot wounds to their bodies; all were shot in the head; one had half his face blown away. Police officers involved on the scene or in the investigation thereafter were Warrant Officers Barnard and McMaster, Majors Johan Kleyn, Dolf Odendal and Stephanus Brits, Captains Charles Brazzelle and Leonard Knipe, Sergeants John Sterrenberg, Grobbelaar and Rian Bellingan, and Constable

Mbelo. Those who applied for amnesty for the killing of the Gugulethu Seven were Sergeant Wilhelm Riaan 'Balletjies' Bellingan [AM5283/97], Mr Xola Frank Mbane [AM8066/97] and Constable Thapelo Johannes Mbelo [AM3785/96].

- 400 The 'Gugulethu Seven' incident was the subject of an inquest in 1986, a trial in 1987 and a reopened inquest in 1989. The outcome of both inquests, despite opposing eyewitness accounts and conflicting forensic evidence, was a finding by Wynberg magistrate Hoffmann that the youths had died in a legitimate anti-terrorist operation.
- 401 Following a lengthy investigation by the Commission's Investigation Unit, the following account emerged. During 1985, there was a dramatic escalation in armed attacks by MK operatives, including a hand grenade attack on security forces in August resulting in casualties. This incident led Major General Griebenouw of the Western Cape security police to request the assistance of Vlakplaas. Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock deployed certain Vlakplaas personnel including Joe Coetzer, Riaan Bellingan and several *askaris*, including Gladstone Moss, Eric 'Shakes Maluleke and Xola Frank 'Jimmy' Mbane. After a final briefing from De Kock at Vlakplaas, Bellingan took charge of the mission. They drove to Cape Town in early January 1986.
- 402 Based at Koeberg, they were briefed by members of the security police. They were shown photographs of some activists in Gugulethu who were alleged to be dangerous 'terrorists'. After an unsuccessful attempt to infiltrate Mbelo into a group in Gugulethu, Jimmy Mbane and Eric Maluleke were sent in. They were given weapons and grenades and arrived at the home of squatter leader 'Yamile', claiming to be commanders from exile. As proof, they opened a concealed panel in the minibus, showing their guns. Yamile believed the *askaris* and, after introducing them to Christopher 'Rasta' Piet, they soon had the core of the group which became known as the 'Gugulethu Seven'.
- 403 Mbane claims to have informed both Bellingan and Liebenberg that these were merely youths rather than hardened 'terrorists' and that only one of them – Rasta Piet – was trained. Liebenberg allegedly informed Mbane that he should see to their training. Over a period of two months, the youths received basic training in military combat work from Mbane and political education from Eric Maluleke.
- 404 The plan was to launch an attack on a police bus which ferried senior police to Gugulethu police station every morning. This plan was reported to both Liebenberg

and Bellingan by Jimmy Mbane. After a meeting of senior officers the night before the incident, and a briefing at Wingfield Naval Base, more than twenty-five heavily armed police were deployed to saturate the area.

- 405 Just after 07h25 on 3 March 1986, Jimmy Mbane, driving a stolen bakery van, began dropping off the 'comrades'. The police operation commenced with a loud noise and then the firing began. It is alleged that, of the seven, the only person who had time to fire back was Rasta Piet. The two *askaris* who led them into the ambush were able to escape and were paid R7 000 each – R1 000 for every victim. Mbelo was paid R1 000.

The Chesterville Four

- 406 According to his amnesty application, Warrant Officer WA 'Willie' Nortjé [AM3764/96] was one of a team of Vlakplaas members sent to Durban. The team was informed by the Durban security police that an ANC self-defence unit, allegedly including Charles Ndaba, was responsible for the unrest. Evidence in possession of the Commission suggests that this was Thabane Memela and not Ndaba as Nortjé indicates.
- 407 In June 1986 a group of seven – Warrant Officer 'Willie' Nortjé, Sergeant Izak Daniel 'Steve' Bosch [AM3765/96] and other Security Branch members and *askaris* – set out, allegedly to arrest Memela. While the white Vlakplaas operatives waited at a nearby graveyard, the *askaris* went to locate Memela. Some time later one of the *askaris* reported that he had found a group of 'comrades' willing to take him to Memela, but they seemed somewhat suspicious. In order to boost the *askari's* credibility, Nortjé gave him an AK-47. About half an hour later, Nortjé heard shooting.
- 408 At the time the *askari* claimed that the youths had opened fire. He later confessed to Nortjé that one of the police team had produced his gun too soon because he was nervous, and that the other members had then begun shooting as well.
- 409 Amnesty applicant Constable Butana Almond Nofemela [AM 0064/96] gives a different version. According to Nofemela, De Kock was in charge of the operation and ordered Nofemela not to participate. Others made contact with a group of Chesterville UDF members and arranged a meeting. De Kock accompanied them to the meeting place and issued certain new recruits with AK-47s. The operatives were ordered to meet the UDF members and kill them. De Kock and

Nofemela waited at the vehicle while the other members shot them. The men then returned and reported a successful operation.

- 410 Those killed were Mr Russel Mngomezulu [KZN/GM/007/DN], Mr Muntuwenkosi Dlamini, Mr Russel Mthembu [KZN/GM/007/DN] and Mr Sandile Khawula.

The KwaNdebele Nine

- 411 A group of nine young activists who had fled from Mamelodi to Kwandebele was infiltrated by the SAP. The activists were told to meet at a house in Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, on 15 July 1986, from where they would be taken for military training. The police surrounded the house, killed all the activists and set the house alight. Those killed include Mr Jeremiah Maqaqula, Mr Jimmy Mabena, Mr Samuel Ledwaba, Mr Zakias Skosana, Mr Obed Mokhonwana, Mr Mabusio Malobala, Mr Abram Makulane, Mr Ngemane Benjamin Mafidi and Mr Jeffrey Hlope.

The Nietverdiend Ten

- 412 In the 'Nietverdiend Ten' incident, a group of ten youths between the ages of fourteen and nineteen were recruited for military training by Sergeant Joe Mamasela and then killed on 26 June 1986. This operation was a joint Northern Transvaal and Special Forces operation. Brigadier J Cronjé [AM2773/96], Captain Jacques Hechter [AM2776/96], Colonel WJ Loots [AM4149/96], Colonel PR Crause [AM4125/96], Major General AJM Joubert [AM3799/96] and Commandant Charl Naudé [AM5453/97] applied for amnesty for the incident.
- 413 The Northern Transvaal had been designated as one of the 'hotspots' in Major General Joubert's plan (see above). Charl Naudé was assigned to co-ordinate support for the Northern Transvaal Security Branch and worked in a covert Special Forces unit from 1984. Cronjé approached Naudé and discussed a plan to eliminate the group of activists. Naudé reported to his superior officer, Major General 'Joep' Joubert, who authorised the plan. The plan involved killing the activists *en route* to Botswana, where they were supposedly destined to receive training, and required the co-operation of the Western Transvaal Security Branch, under the command of Colonel Wickus Loots. Captain Crause from the Zeerust Security Branch drove around with Cronjé and Naudé in order to identify a suitable spot.
- 414 On the night of the 26 June 1986, the anniversary of *Operation Zero Zero*, Sergeant Joe Mamasela collected the group in a minibus and drove towards Botswana.

He stopped at a Zeerust filling station as arranged and picked up another man who was to act as their escort. At this stage, Cronjé, Hechter, Loots, Crause and Naudé began to follow them. The escort later told him to turn left off the road and after approximately thirty to forty metres they entered a dense, bushy area. As he drew to a halt, soldiers wearing camouflage uniform and balaclavas surrounded the vehicle. The youths were instructed to climb out and lie face down. Their trousers were removed and Naudé injected with them with a sedative or other chemical substance. The victims were then returned to the vehicle and driven to a pre-selected spot in Bophuthatswana. The minibus with the activists still inside was left to roll down a steep hill, crashed into a wall and was blown up. Four AK-47s were placed in the destroyed vehicle and a number of AZAPO pamphlets were strewn around the area. It is not clear at what stage the victims died, nor whether their death was caused by the chemical substances, the impact or the explosion.

415 The bodies were charred and could not be identified. The elimination of nine more activists from Mamelodi – the Kwandebile Nine – dealt with above, created further confusion as to the identity of the victims. According to information received from the families, those who are assumed to have been killed in this operation were Mr Abraham Makolane [JB02700/02PS], Mr Samuel Masilela, Mr Siphon Philip Sibanyoni [JB01032/02PS], Mr Thomas Phiri [JB02663/02PS], Mr Jeremiah Magagula [JB02701/02PS], Mr Morris Nkabinde [JB01015/02PS], Mr Matthews Promapana Lerutla [JB00787/02PS], Mr Stephen Makena [JB01005/02PS] and Mr Elliot Sathege. Mamasela also names *'Rooibaard'* Geldenhuys and Umzoki Sibanja as victims.

416 Cronjé says he was congratulated by a named general after the operation. Mamasela was given R1 000 'kopgeld' (bounty money) and two weeks' holiday.

Jeffrey Sibiya

417 In 1987 ANC activist Jeffrey Sibiya [JB03063/01ERKAT] was allegedly involved in petrol bomb attacks, arson and intimidation against the SAP and opponents of the ANC in Mamelodi. Paul van Vuuren [AM6528/97] tried unsuccessfully to persuade Sibiya to become an informer. Information was received that Sibiya was planning an attack on Van Vuuren and Hechter, and a decision was taken to kill him.

418 Mamasela went to Mamelodi to fetch Sibiya and another person, Mpho, under the pretence that he was to take them across the border. Captain Jacques Hechter [AM2776/96], Sarel du Plessis Crafford [AM5468/97] and Paul van Vuuren, among others, waited in a minibus outside Mamelodi. They were taken to a place five kilometres north of Pienaar's River. There the activists were interrogated, kicked, beaten and were strangulated with wire. Both were killed during interrogation. In order to conceal the evidence, the bodies were destroyed using a landmine somewhere in Bophuthatswana. Amnesty applicants include: 'Sakkie' Crafford, Brigadier JH Cronjé, Captain J Hechter and Captain PJ Janse van Vuuren.

The Mofolo Three

419 Lieutenant Colonel Anton Pretorius [AM4389/96], *askaris* Moleke Peter 'Frank' Lengene [AM4033/96], Manuel Olifant [AM4032/96], Mr Sarel Petrus Nienaber [AM4391/96] and Captain Daniel Johan Steenberg [AM4374/96] applied for amnesty in connection with the killing of three activists on 2 July 1989.

420 In his amnesty application, Pretorius refers to the escalation of MK activities from the beginning of 1988. He alleges that the Soweto Intelligence Unit (SIU), which he commanded, identified a number of MK units which were planning to attack SAP targets. The units operated from within organisations such as the Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO) and the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). It was decided to infiltrate such structures via 'credibility operations' – involving the sabotage of buildings to enhance the credibility of the agents and/or *askaris*. Five such operations were conducted in a matter of months and began to have the desired results.

421 In one of these operations, the Security Branch made contact with one Nceba who allegedly had a unit in Mofolo, and infiltrated Peter Lengene into the unit. Lengene was a former SAYCO member who had been abducted from Botswana and, after being tortured, became an *askari*. The infiltration was successful and Lengene introduced Constable Linda Moni, a Vlakplaas member seconded to the SIU, as his commander. Lengene and Moni arranged a meeting at a Hillbrow hotel where they showed Nceba an AK-47, a grenade and an SPM landmine. It was agreed that Lengene would train members of Nceba's unit in the use of mines. A further seconded Vlakplaas member assisted with this training.

422 The Nceba unit then began to plan a terror attack. Following a discussion with the Divisional Commander, an operation similar to *Operation Zero Zero* was

decided on. Pretorius proposed that they lay mines on signal boxes on railway lines and he informed the Divisional Commander that he had three zero-timed VDM-IM switches available. Members of the Security Branch technical division saw to the alteration to the time delay mechanisms.

- 423 The plan was that Lengene, Moni and another Vlakplaas member would say they had received an order from outside instructing them to conduct an operation. The chosen targets were the railway line at Mofolo, Midway and Kliptown. Each of the activists was accompanied by one of the *askaris* armed with AK-47s, allegedly for credibility and to protect themselves from Nceba and his unit. The situation was monitored by the security police from a distance. However, during the operation, only one of the limpet mines detonated. According to Pretorius, when he arrived at the scene he discovered that the detonated mine had killed Nceba and that Lengene and Moni had shot the other two after their limpets failed to detonate. One of the *askaris* gives a different version, saying that he feared that Pretorius would kill him if he failed to shoot the activist.
- 424 Pretorius took the bodies of the two who had been shot and dumped them next to a river near Rustenburg, placed a tyre on them and burnt them so that they could not be identified. On his return, Pretorius claims that he reported to the Divisional Commander only that he had dealt with the matter. He said further that, while they knew the identities of those killed, they did not reveal this to police investigators for fear of exposing the Security Branch's involvement.

Killing of own forces

- 425 Killings were also recorded inside the state or the security forces themselves; the victims were those whose loyalties were questioned or who represented a 'weak link' in the chain. A large number of the victims were *askaris*.

Robert and Jean-Cora Smit

- 426 Mr Robert Smit, a former government representative at the IMF in Washington and National Party parliamentary candidate, and his wife Jean-Cora Smit, were shot and stabbed to death in what has been described as "an extremely professional hit" on 22 November 1977. The letters 'RAU TEM' were painted in red at the scene of the murder. Despite apparent intensive investigations the killings have remained unsolved for over twenty years.

- 427 During this period there have been persistent allegations that the killings were carried out by the South African security forces. A number of possible motives have been put forward: that Dr Smit had uncovered massive corruption and fraud involving extremely high-level government sources; that he was in possession of information relating to South Africa's nuclear programme; or that the reason for the killings related to South Africa's sanctions-busting activities, in which Dr Smit had been involved. Several people confirmed at the time that Dr Smit was in possession of information he had described as "explosive".
- 428 Particular suspicion was directed at former members of BOSS's alleged Z-squad and the SAP's Special Task Team. Three names, Dries 'Krullebol' Verwey, Jack Widdowson and Roy Allen have repeatedly been associated with the killings. Verwey subsequently died in uncertain circumstances; both Widdowson and Allen, identified by two independent sources as having been in the area at the time of the killings, were named in the 1992 Steyn report as being connected to 'third force' activities. In addition, it is known that Dr Smit was due to meet with a Mr McDougal on the evening of his death. McDougal was the codename of a former Z squad operative, Phil Freeman, who has been named as a possible suspect in the Rick Turner killing.
- 429 Further allegations were that the investigation into the killings, conducted by members of the East Rand Murder and Robbery Squad, sought to cover up security force involvement. The investigation was conducted by the same SAP officer later responsible for the cover-up around RENAMO secretary general Orlando Christina's killing. This officer was part of a joint SAP-SADF committee set up to assess the implication of Christina's death and which recommended the killing of a number of people associated with Christina's killing in order to conceal the then covert link between the SADF and RENAMO. Thus, while no evidence exists regarding this officer's role in the Smit killings, his role in activities amounting both to cover-up and further unlawful actions has been established.
- 430 The Commission received no amnesty applications in respect of the Smits' killings. Recent attempts by their daughter Liza to investigate her parents' death, and her subsequent submission to the Commission, have been associated with death threats and possible attempts on her life. This tends to suggest a contemporary interest in ensuring that the facts surrounding the killings remain hidden, and points to a political agenda or at least one in which powerful – possibly financial – interests are vested.

- 431 While the Commission did not make significant headway in respect of these killings, it should be noted that the Attorney-General's investigation confirms a politically motivated killing involving the security forces.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ROBERT AND JEAN-CORA SMIT WERE KILLED BY MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES AND THAT THEIR DEATHS CONSTITUTE A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

'Skorpion'

- 432 According to amnesty applications received by the Commission, Brigadier Schalk Visser [AM5000/97], Mr GS 'Gert' Schoon [AM5006/97], Captain JM 'Sakkie' van Zyl [AM5637/97], Warrant Officer Don Gold [AM3686/96] and Warrant Officer Disre 'Des' Carr [AM5008/97] were involved in an operation in April 1980 to eliminate an alleged Security Branch source who was suspected of being a double agent.
- 433 'Skorpion' or 'Scorpio' (aka Robin, Rupert, Reuben or Robert) was handled by Martin van Rooyen of the Soweto Security Branch and was suspected of having given information to the ANC which resulted in the death of at least one SAP informant in Swaziland. Brigadier Schalk Visser, then officer in command of the Soweto Security Branch, says that he discussed the issue with Brigadier Piet J Goosen, then head of the A section at Security Branch headquarters, and was instructed to make arrangements for Skorpion to be killed.
- 434 Visser contacted an ex-Koevoet colleague, Captain 'Sakkie' van Zyl, then Security Branch commander of Ladysmith, for assistance. Captain Van Zyl decided to use explosives as he had been told that no trace of Skorpion should be left. He contacted the explosives inspector, Warrant Officer Don Gold of the Pietermaritzburg Security Branch, and told him to bring explosives and detonators and meet him in Pongola. Visser and Captain Van Zyl loaded Skorpion, apparently heavily sedated, into a vehicle, met Gold in Pongola and then met up with Gert Schoon and Warrant Officer Des Carr in Jozini.
- 435 Des Carr shot at Skorpion with a Walther hand-machine carbine at an isolated farmhouse while he slept under a tree. Skorpion jumped up and stormed van Zyl, who fired a shot at him, hitting him in the head. He died instantly. His body was wrapped in a tarpaulin and Van Zyl, Gold and Carr drove to the edge of Jozini Dam where Schoon and Visser were waiting with a boat. The body was blown up on an island by Gold. After the first explosion, the remains were collected together and again detonated to ensure complete destruction.

Peter Dlamini

- 436 According to Ms Gertrude Dlamini [KZN/NM/100/NQ], her son, Peter Nkosinathi Dlamini from Nqutu, went into exile in 1978. Before he left he had been regularly harassed by Security Branch members as a result of his involvement in political activities at the University of Zululand. After he left, the Security Branch visited his mother's home and asked for him. She was later informed that her son had been kidnapped and brought back to South Africa, where he was forced to become an *askari*, and was later killed.
- 437 Dirk Coetzee stated that Brigadier Willem Schoon, fearing that Dlamini would return to the ANC, decided he should be killed. In 1981, Dlamini and ANC operative Vuyani Mavuso were taken by Dirk Coetzee and Major Koos Vermeulen to a spot near Komatipoort. Mavuso had been captured in the Matola raid, and after unsuccessful attempts to 'turn' him, it was decided that he too should be killed. The two were given 'knock-out' drops obtained from General Lothar Neethling. These and subsequent drops did not have the desired effect. Eventually the two were shot by Koos Vermeulen and their bodies burnt, while the operatives had a braai.

Isaac Moema

- 438 Another *askari*, Isaac Moema, aka 'Ace Ramela', was similarly killed near Komatipoort in 1981. Moema went into exile in 1978 and trained in Angola. He is said to have taken part in the Zimbabwean war in 1979 and 1980. He was captured by the South African forces along with Mr Jackson Mnisi while infiltrating South Africa sometime in 1981. Moema is said to have become an *askari*, but was killed after Vlakplaas operatives began to question his loyalty. Dirk Coetzee [AM0063/96] applied for amnesty and named other operatives as well as superior officers in this operation.

'Bron 406'

- 439 At some time in 1987 or 1988, Captain (later Major) 'Sakkie' Crafford [AM5468/97] asked DJ Kruger [AM5233/97] and other named officers to assist in carrying an unconscious man from the office to a minibus. Crafford informed them that the person, 'Bron 406' was leading a double life and he had decided to kill him, as his double role was dangerous to the country and the SAP. They stopped in Mamelodi East and placed 'Bron 406' on a landmine. Crafford detonated the mine.

Sergeant Mothasi

- 440 Sergeant Mothasi was based at the Police College at Hammanskraal. He had laid a charge against a Colonel van Zyl who had assaulted him, leaving him with a burst eardrum. Unsuccessful efforts were made to put pressure on him to withdraw charges.
- 441 On 30 November 1987, Hechter, Mamasela and Van Vuuren went to the Mothasi house. After ascertaining that Mothasi was not at home, Mamasela reported back to Hechter and Van Vuuren, who instructed him to return and to take Ms Irene Busi Mothasi into one of the back rooms. Hechter and Van Vuuren then entered the house and sat in darkness until Mothasi returned, when they tackled him. Van Vuuren put a pillow over his head to act as a silencer and then shot him. Mamasela claims that he was also instructed to kill Ms Mothasi and a child, as they would be able to identify him. He killed Ms Mothasi, but left the child. This is disputed by Hechter and Van Vuuren who claim that they were unaware of the child and that Mamasela killed Ms Mothasi of his own accord. Neighbours subsequently reported hearing the child crying through the night.
- 442 Colonel PJC Loots [AM5462/97] Bridadier JH Cronjé, Captain Jacques Hechter [AM2776/96 and Paul van Vuuren [AM6528/97] have applied for amnesty for the killing, but claim that they were told that Mothasi was passing information on to the ANC.

Phumelo Moses Nthelang

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

- 444 Three black security police and an informer died when a bomb placed in their vehicle was detonated by radio control outside Port Elizabeth on 14 December 1989. They were Mr Glen Mgoduka [EC2631/97PLZ], Mr Amos Faku, Mr Daliwonga Desmond Mapipa and an informer, Xolile Shepherd Sakati (aka Charles Jack). It was initially thought that MK, who claimed credit for the operation, were responsible. However, investigations led to a trial of five Security Branch members, at which De Kock testified that he had been told that the killings had been necessary to cover up the assassinations of the Cradock Four. The accused denied this and held that they had killed their colleagues because of a case of fraud involving the Council of Churches. A third version emerged at the amnesty hearing. It was alleged that the four had begun to make overtures to the ANC. Attempts to establish from the ANC whether there was any substance to this were unsuccessful.
- 445 Those convicted were Lieutenant-Colonel Gideon Nieuwoudt [AM3920/96] of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch, Brigadier WAL du Toit [AM5184/97] of the Security Branch's technical division and Major Marthinus Ras, a Vlakplaas operative. Gerhardus Lotz [AM3921/96] and Jacobus Kok [AM3811/96] were acquitted. Others named as being involved in the operation were Nick Janse van Rensburg [AM3919/96] officer commanding the Security Branch, who planned the killing with Nieuwoudt and De Kock in Pretoria; Brigadier J Gilbert, head of the Security Branch in Port Elizabeth at the time of the killings, and state witnesses Daniel Lionel Snyman, Warrant Officer 'Snor' Vermeulen and Eugene de Kock.
- 446 In reviewing the evidence before the Commission, and based on the cases detailed above, it appears that the following divisions and units were involved in extra-judicial killings: Vlakplaas, Port Natal, Northern Transvaal, Eastern Cape, Witwatersrand (Soweto), Eastern Transvaal, Western Cape and Orange Free State Security Branches, SADF Special Forces and possibly BOSS. In relation to internal eliminations, in almost every case the Vlakplaas unit operated under the relevant divisional or local Security Branch.
- 447 While many of the eliminations occurred in border areas that provided access routes for combatants to re-enter South Africa, and thus many of those targeted could be classified as combatants, indications are that a number of those so killed were not in a combat situation at the time. A number of security force personnel acknowledged that the distinction between combatant and non-combatant became blurred. They justified this in terms of the ANC's strategic direction towards a

'people's war', and the enormous pressure placed by politicians on security force members to stabilise the situations at all costs. Members of the security forces whose loyalty was questioned also became victims of extra-judicial killings.

- 448 What is also evident is that a number of operatives were involved in more than one case, supporting the claim put forward by some amnesty applicants that specific Security Branch members operated as 'hit squads.' That these were not just a few low-ranking Security Branch members who had misinterpreted their instructions is evident by the extent to which authorisation or knowledge of such killings frequently involved leadership echelons such as divisional heads of the Security Branch, staff at Security Branch headquarters as well as the commanding officers of the Security Branch, Special Forces, the chief of the SADF and, in at least two cases, the Minister of Law and Order. What is also evident is that many operatives involved in extra-judicial killings, or in authorising them, had previously spent time in then Rhodesia and/or South West Africa.
- 449 The marked increase in eliminations after 1985 coincides with the shift in strategy to counter-revolutionary warfare. In the face of increasing militancy and unrest throughout the country, the threat to South Africa was no longer seen principally as external (in the form of armed MK insurgents infiltrating from neighbouring states), but increasingly as an internal threat. State Security Council (SSC) documentation at the time reflects an increasing anxiety regarding the seeming inability of the security forces to bring an end to internal unrest.
- 450 The shift to a military solution is evident in the increasingly strident language and rhetoric of politicians and security force personnel both in private and on public platforms. State documents and speeches began routinely to speak of 'wiping out', 'eliminating' and 'hunting down' members of the ANC and those who gave them support. In the words of Defence Minister Magnus Malan:

I have often said ... that South Africa would take out terrorists wherever they found them. (Magnus Malan, Parliamentary speech, 15 Sept 1987, Hansard, Column 5912.)

The SADF will not hesitate to root out terrorists wherever they may be – whether it is in South West Africa, the Northern Transvaal or our residential areas and cities ... Events in our residential areas and even city streets demonstrate that we are dealing with textbook examples of communist inspired terrorism ... (Magnus Malan, Cape Times, 10 December 1985.)

- 451 An August 1986 meeting of the SSC adopted a document entitled "*Strategie ter bekamping van die ANC*" (Strategy for the combating of the ANC), which included the the following recommendations: "*Om die ANC leierskap te neutraliseer* (To neutralise the ANC leadership); *Om die magte en invloed van sleutelpersone van die ANC en hulle meelopers te neutraliseer* (To neutralise the power and influence of key persons in the ANC, and their fellow-travellers)."
- 452 On 1 December 1986, the SSC adopted a document entitled '*Konsep Nasionale Strategie Teen Die Rewolusionêre Oorlog teen die RSA: NR 44*' which can probably be regarded as the definitive strategy document for the late 1980s phase of internal counter-revolutionary warfare. Earlier goals are again stressed, and a new dimension is introduced where it is stated that "*Intimiteerders moet dmv formele en informele polisiëring geneutraliseer word* (Intimidators must be neutralised by way of formal and informal policing)". As a follow-up to Konsep NR 44, a strategy document dated 24 January 1987 suggested that the strategy should be to "*identifiseer en elimineer die rewolusionêre leiers en veral dié met charisma* (identify and eliminate the revolutionary leaders, especially those with charisma)".
- 453 The rhetoric did not always readily distinguish between persons engaged in military operations or acts of terrorism and those who opposed apartheid by lawful or peaceful means; nor did it provide a definition of 'terrorists'. Nowhere in any of the SSC documents is a clear and unambiguous definition provided for any of the terms *elimineer* (eliminate), *neutraliseer* (neutralise), *fisiese vernietiging* (physical destruction), *uithaal* (take out) or ander metodes as *aanhouding* (methods other than detention).
- 454 This led to a blurred distinction in the minds of the security forces. As Pik Botha explained to the Commission:

[M]embers of the security forces would have interpreted a phrase like 'wipe out the terrorists' to include killing them, and unless the senior command structures of the security forces made sure that all ranks understood the distinction between a person who is directly engaged in the planning and execution of acts of violence threatening the lives of civilians on the one hand, and political opponents belonging to the same organisations as the terrorists on the other hand, lower ranks would probably not have made that distinction on their own.

- 455 Given both documentary evidence and that given by amnesty applicants, it seems reasonable to believe that there was a growing acceptance in government that

the revolutionary onslaught could not be combated by lawful methods alone. Members of the SSC knew that the overwhelming majority of security policemen were committed supporters of the NP who were implacably opposed to the liberation movements and what they represented. They also knew that conventional methods of combating unrest and terrorism, such as arrest, prosecution and conviction, were becoming less and less effective.

- 456 Further compelling evidence that extra-judicial killing represented deliberate intent is to be found in the development of structures whose function was, among others, to identify and develop targets.

Identification of targets

- 457 In November 1996, Brigadier Jack Cronjé [AM2773/96] told the Amnesty Committee that, in 1985, the security forces had established a structure, called TREWITS – the Counter-Revolutionary Information Target Centre – whose primary task was to identify targets for elimination:

Initially [TREWITS] identified targets in the neighbouring states, terrorist bases, etc, but it was later extended to targets inside South Africa ... Col Tom Louw was responsible, or was initially in command of TREWITS with executive chief Gen Büchner who was functioning in 1987 and after that under Gen Bob Beukes and subsequently under Brig Victor ... There was a representative from Military Intelligence and SADF Special Forces. Each region maintained records with regard to who were activists, who came from what region and who caused trouble.

- 458 General Johan van der Merwe, head of the Security Branch in the late 1980s and a former commissioner of police, while denying that TREWITS had ever been used inside South Africa, confirmed its existence and function in respect of target identification outside of South Africa.

- 459 A submission from the National Intelligence Agency compiled by two former NIS representatives on TREWITS, Mr R Roos and Mr F du Preez, with former SADF representative Mr D Vorster disputed the term 'target' (*teiken*) in the name of the unit, stating that it was officially the '*Teen Rewolusionêre Inligting Taakspan*' rather than the '*Teen Rewolusionêre Teiken Sentrum*':

TREWITS was an official organ of the Coordinating Intelligence Committee consisting of government officials, officially seconded by their respective

departments to serve on TREWITS ... The purpose of TREWITS ... was to coordinate tactical information with regard to the former liberation movements in neighbouring countries. This included detail on facilities, movement of personnel, training camps, infiltrations and planned military operations. TREWITS, however, had no mandate to get involved in the identification and execution of operations as was claimed in media reports.

- 460 The Commission obtained further information on TREWITS from a joint submission by the last chairperson of TREWITS, Assistant Commissioner CJA Victor and a former SAP representative, Superintendent PCJ Vermeulen, from amnesty applications, from a series of section 29 investigative hearings with former ranking police officers and former SADF officers and the questioning of former Director General of NIS, Dr LD 'Niel' Barnard during the State Security Policy hearing in December 1997. The Commission made further attempts to retrieve TREWITS documentation but was informed by the SAP that the official holdings were destroyed when TREWITS closed down in early 1992.
- 461 KIK documentation shows that the decision to form TREWITS was taken in September 1986. Before this, 1986, identification of targets was done by the different security force components separately and often on an event basis. Thus, for example, the Z-squad (a BOSS component) had as early as 1974 been involved in identifying installations in neighbouring countries. Intelligence for the Matola raid in 1981 was allegedly provided by Henk Coetzee and then Commandant Lieutenant-Colonel, later Brigadier) Callie Steijn of Military Intelligence.¹⁵ Steijn was allegedly also involved in identifying targets for the 1983 Matola raid together with Mariette Barends¹⁶ and for the June 1985 Botswana raid. (While the Commission was not able to corroborate this, it did establish that then Commandant Steijn was based in the Chief Directorate of Military Intelligence and worked on target development in the early 1980s. After a short stint as a military attache, he returned to this section and by March 1986 was responsible for the development of targets in respect of the ANC and PAC. It is therefore reasonable to assume that he carried some responsibility for the identification and/or analysis of targets in respect of cross border raids). Commandant (Lieutenant-Colonel) Jan Anton Nieuwoudt (Military Intelligence, SADF) [AM3813/96] was apparently involved in target identification between 1983 and 1988; and Major Craig Williamson [AM5181/97] admitted to being involved in target identification for the Gaberone raid.

¹⁵ See Büchner section 29; interview with Henri van der Westhuizen.

¹⁶ Interview: Henri van der Westhuizen.

- 462 Vlakplaas was also involved in both killings and abductions in neighbouring countries from the early 1980s and there, too, operatives had clearly been involved in a process of intelligence gathering around key ANC/MK personnel in the frontline states. Notably, Commandant (Lieutenant-Colonel) Steijn was the military's full-time liaison person with Section C from 1978/9 to the end of 1982.
- 463 As conflict escalated towards the mid-1980s, the SADF appears to have established a target identification workgroup. One of its initial members, Captain Henri van der Westhuizen, established a sub-group in the Eastern Transvaal in late 1986, drawing on the resources of the NIS, the Security Branch and Military Intelligence. The Eastern Transvaal was seen as the buffer between South Africa and Mozambique and Swaziland and thus the primary infiltration route of MK personnel from those countries. Members of the Eastern Transvaal group included: then Warrant Officer FHS 'Lappies' Labuschagne (Security Branch) [AM5005/97], Henri van der Westhuizen (Military Intelligence), and Mr Daan du Plessis (NIS). As Swaziland was a police responsibility, this group, according to Van der Westhuizen, operated under the overall command of the divisional Security Branch commander Brigadier Schalk Visser and subsequently Brigadier Daan Siebert. Later Van der Westhuizen assisted in establishing a group in Ladybrand (OFS) which had responsibility for developing targets in Lesotho. This group was chaired by Ladybrand Security Branch commander Frik Fouche, with Paul Oeschger as the SADF representative. Similar networks were set up in Zeerust (Western Transvaal) with responsibility for Botswana, where the SADF was represented by Captain HC Nel; and in the Northern Province where Leon Nefdt served as the SADF representative. The Northern Transvaal group had responsibility for Zimbabwe and Nefdt apparently drew extensively on Daan du Plessis who had allegedly developed an extensive source base in Zimbabwe. Nel was also responsible for developing targets in Angola.
- 464 According to Captain Henri van der Westhuizen, SADF authorisation for the establishment of the Eastern Transvaal workgroup came from then Brig Chris Thirion (Chief Director Military Intelligence), Major General 'Joep' Joubert (General Officer Commanding Special Forces) and Major-General Dirk Hamman (Chief of Army Intelligence)
- 465 At about the same time as the Eastern Transvaal target workgroup was established, the decision to set up TREWITS was made. As indicated above, this decision was recorded in the September minutes of KIK. Willem Schoon told the Commission that:

The fact that MK and eventually APLA members started using neighbouring frontline states as a springboard for launching their armed attacks against the Republic led directly to the establishment of a cross-border capability aimed at eliminating or neutralising this very real threat. A counter-Revolutionary Intelligence Task Team was created and comprised members of the NIS, the SAP and the SADF.

466 TREWITS became fully operational on 12 January 1987 when it moved into its new offices on the 7th Floor, Charter House, Bosman St, Pretoria.

Documentation describes TREWITS as being:

‘n nuwe, gesamentlike poging deur die betrokke lede van die IG om ‘n hegte inligtingsbasis vir betekenisvolle teenrewolusionêre operasionele optrede tot stand te bring. (a new, joint effort by the relevant members of the IG to bring about a solid information base for meaningful counter-revolutionary operational action [emphasis added])¹⁷

467 Its function was:

om alle tersaaklike inligting te konsolideer, te evalueer, te vertolk en te versprei met die oog op operasionele optredes ter verwesenliking van die RSA se teen-rewolusionêre strategiese doel (to consolidate, evaluate, interpret and distribute all relevant information with a view to operational actions to realise the RSA's counter-revolutionary strategic aim) [emphasis added].

468 While TREWITS had a range of tasks, the documentation reveals that it was, from the outset, more than simply a coordinated intelligence-gathering structure, but had a clear operational intention.

469 TREWITS' operational imperatives are also confirmed by location and membership. According to General 'Basie' Smit, TREWITS was located within the C Section of the Security Branch, 'Terrorism Investigations'. While the C section had its own intelligence component, it was primarily the operational unit of the Security Branch via C1, more commonly known as Vlakplaas. Thus, while it fell under the direct command of Security Branch headquarters, it was nonetheless a sub-structure of the covert collection subcommittee of KIK. During this period, the sub-committee was chaired by Brigadier J 'Toletjie' Botha, while the CIC was chaired by Dr LD 'Niel' Barnard.

¹⁷ 'Teenrewolusionêre Inligtingtaakspan' document attached to CIC agenda for meeting of 4 February 1987.

- 470 Of the original three TREWITS members, at least two were deployed operationally in the region. During a section 29 investigative enquiry, General Büchner acknowledged involvement in the Matola raid of 13 January 1981 and the raid into Maseru on 9 December 1982 in which forty-two people were killed. The SADF representative, Commandant (Lieutenant-Colonel) 'Callie' Steijn, was involved in target development from as at least as early as 1981 and again in 1985/6. An SADF document, dated 28 March 1986, describes Steijn as being *"baie operasioneel ingestel en behoort in daardie verband aangewend te word"* (very operationally oriented and ought to be applied in that respect).
- 471 Thus two of three TREWITS founding members had been involved in the identification of targets – resulting in actions that included abduction, torture and elimination – outside of South Africa prior to their secondment to TREWITS. Read together with KIK documentation, this would seem to confirm that the purpose of TREWITS was not simply to gather intelligence as members of the security and intelligence communities have currently argued, but rather that intelligence was gathered for specific operational purposes and that the location and personnel chosen were selected precisely for their operational capacity.
- 472 The extent to which TREWITS functioned separately from the SADF-initiated target workgroup(s) is not entirely clear. KIK documentation indicates that a decision was taken on 4 February 1987 that this group should be drawn into TREWITS to avoid duplication. The meeting of 18 February 1987 identified the following as members of the target development group who should be incorporated into TREWITS: Major C Everts (Military Intelligence Division), Major L Nefdt (Army Intelligence), Captain HC Nel (Special Forces), Captain H van der Westhuizen (Military Intelligence Division).
- 473 While the Commission was unable to establish a direct link, it should be noted that the decision to incorporate the target group happened at about the time when there was allegedly concern over who was responsible for the decision to assassinate the Ribeiros (see above) and when, according to Major-General AJM Joubert, a 'new procedure' was being worked out.
- 474 Regarding the integration of the workgroup(s) with TREWITS, evidence from section 29 enquiries appears to suggest that, while the SADF initiated target workgroup functioned on an ongoing basis, its members were drawn into regional TREWITS meetings where targets and target priorities were discussed. National TREWITS members, target workgroup members and possibly other

interested parties would be present at such meetings. In other words, these structures maintained something of a separate identity. This is corroborated by a 1989 Security Branch document which indicates that the “actual development of target studies” was still being performed by a project group of Special Forces:

Die ontwikkeling van teikens, word tans nog, soos in die verlede, deur die projekte-groep van Spes Magte hanteer. Die redes hiervoor is dat die groep nie soos aanvanklik beplan, by die kantore van TREWITS gesetel is nie en die feit dat die groep oor die nodige ervaring, kundigheid en toerusting beskik. *(The development of targets is still, as in the past, handled by the project group of Special Forces. The reason for this is that the group was not based at TREWITS offices as originally planned and the fact that the group has the necessary experience, expertise and equipment at its disposal.)*¹⁸

- 475 This lends credence to the ongoing and somewhat separate existence of the target workgroup. The target section of Military Intelligence was transferred to Special Forces in 1987 where it continued under the direct command of Colonel ‘Mielie’ Prinsloo, then head of Special Forces intelligence. However, individual members from Military Intelligence continued to serve on the workgroups, but were based at Special Forces. Further links were maintained, particularly with the Directorate of Covert Collection, which appears to have enjoyed a closer relationship with Special Forces than other Military Intelligence components.
- 476 According to Captain H Van der Westhuizen, the target development process would work in the following way. First a structure would be identified – for example, the ANC Regional Politico-Military Council in Mozambique; then all its components/sub-structures and various positions assigned and names placed next to positions. The next stage would be to develop dossiers around each individual in the structure including personal and political information. This would lead to a set of new names and so the process would continue. When a target was ‘full’ or ‘complete’, it was then ready for action. Targets, according to Van der Westhuizen, included ANC personnel and not just those associated with MK. This is born out by Nel who indicates that the entire NEC was considered a target, for whom specific authorisation for any action was not required.
- 477 According to the above-mentioned intelligence personnel, targets were discussed at two levels. First, a presentation was made to a group that was possibly the SADF General Staff or, at the least, very senior personnel:

¹⁸ Annexure JJ, Submission General Smit.

We used to get together once a month to do presentations to very high ranking officials. Then General Liebenberg used to come, General Gleeson used to come and I felt very intimidated as this young captain ... this is more or less a round table sort of thing with big boards, sliding walls with all the maps and all the photos of the so-called most prominent, most active people who pose a threat to the RSA were put on those boards. They were developed. We developed targets on persons; we developed targets on facilities. In other words the Revolutionary Council in Lusaka, the so-called RCL, was developed at that stage as a specific target and the houses of certain officials, certain office buildings in Harare, in Botswana were regarded as targets. And then certain activities that takes place, flights ... logistical re-supply ... were also regarded as opportunity targets.¹⁹

- 478 Following this meeting, said Van der Westhuizen, the Chief of Staff Intelligence would brief the Minister and, if targets were agreed upon, they would be handed over to the tactical planning level which usually involved then Colonel 'Mielie' Prinsloo and Chris Serfontein, a high-ranking Special Forces operative. Additionally, there would be a quarterly meeting with the Directorate of Covert Collections (DCC) where priorities would be passed on for further collection and verification. At that stage HW Doncaster was in charge of the Terrorism Section of DCC.
- 479 The second level at which targets were discussed was at the TREWITS regional meetings. Here input would be received from both the NIS and the Security Branch.
- 480 Aside from official TREWITS meetings there was ongoing liaison between individuals and institutions. Target workgroup members received regular telex intercepts from the NIS 'Valkoog capacity,' whereby *all* telex communication between ANC offices both internationally and in the Frontline states was continuously intercepted. Thus, for example, information regarding the delivery of meat to ANC camps in Angola was received via 'Valkoog' and a major operation to poison the meat was planned but, to Nel's knowledge, not carried out. Other intercepts of value were those that related to travel arrangements (see Gibson Mondlane case).
- 481 The project group also liaised extensively with the Security Branch, both at a regional level and with C1 (Vlakplaas) and C2, under Major Martin Naudé. Naudé's unit monitored the movement of activists leaving South Africa and developed an extensive collection of photographs, which was regularly updated and was given to the *askaris* to identify possible military trainees. The *askaris* themselves appear to have been widely used and were seen as extremely valuable sources of information.

¹⁹ HC Nel, section 29 hearing, 15 June 1998, Cape Town.

- 482 As indicated above, the twenty members of the ANC National Executive Council were regarded as priority targets. Van der Westhuizen indicated that the following people were regarded as targets in Mozambique: Mr Jacob Zuma, Ms Sue Rabkin, Mr Mohamed Timol, Mr Bobby Pillay, Mr Keith Mokoape and Mr Indres Naidoo.
- 483 Nel gave evidence as to the extensive infiltration of the ANC's, and to some extent, the PAC's Lesotho networks. Thus, for example, Nel said that "we made available to them an office, a telex, a facility they could use to communicate and all the telephone conversations and everything that happened was available to us". The eventual detention of virtually the entire Western Cape MK machinery arose when this Special Forces facility intercepted a phone call from a Cape Town MK operative to the Lesotho office. It needs to be noted that recruitment was not necessarily aimed at high-ranking targets, but frequently those who had access or were close to such targets. As Nel suggested, "You would get an infrastructure of sources. What we normally say jokingly, 'You start with the cleaner to end up with the General'. You start at the backdoor, you get the cleaner to work for you and the cleaner will tell you about somebody else who's got certain weaknesses and then you go one step higher and as you go higher you discard the more junior sources". Taxi drivers, in particular those who operated on the border areas, appear to have been a particular target for recruitment.
- 484 According to Nel, another strong component of security force strategy at this time was to place emphasis on "disruption by ... indirect means of getting the enemy to kill itself, to detain itself and to disrupt itself. And physically killing them was placed more or less ... [a]s a last resort...". This approach could obviously encompass a wide range of tactics including spreading disinformation which could lead to the detention or killing of individuals by their own cadres; tampering with weapons caches – in particular altering time devices – which appears to have been done by both Security Branch and SADF; and so forth.
- 485 Operations aimed at elimination were sometimes called off for logistical reasons. For example, Nel indicates that the Mozambican leg of the dual Swaziland and Mozambican operation planned for December 1986 was called off because the link-up between the seaward attacking group and Dave Tippet on land failed to materialise. This operation entailed hitting the ANC targets in Mozambique listed above and at the point at which it was called off, the seaward attack group was already in Maputo harbour.

486 Finally, political considerations provided a further factor in determining whether and when targets could be hit. Nel gave some detail about a target he had developed in Angola that was similarly called off at the last moment, this time for political considerations:

[W]hen I arrived at Special Forces headquarters, I was given the responsibility of work on Angola specifically to identify a target with a large concentration of MK soldiers that can be attacked by the SADF ... Then it was decided that Vuyana Camp, which is about 30 km east of Luanda, would be attacked and I went all around the country and I had access to all information and I travelled abroad to Portugal and other places to debrief informers and other people ... And today you can blindfold me, I can draw the base and every little thing that was inside it ...

That operation went all the way up, the reconnaissance team went in and they marked up the base [with flares that would be ignited to guide the planes in] and everything was 100 per cent correct ... I was sitting in the foyer of Genl Malan's office with Colonel Prinsloo many times to present this thing and to be on stand-by and eventually to the disappointment of many people and after a lot of money was wasted and used, of naval operations and air force planning ... it was stopped due to political reasons ... It would have clashed with political initiatives [to start negotiating with the Cubans] at that stage. It was the right target at the wrong time.

487 At other times, however, political considerations dictated carrying out operations based on old or incomplete intelligence. Thus examples were cited when a political decision was made to retaliate against ANC actions and operations would be conducted based on what intelligence personnel regarded as old intelligence, leading frequently to the wrong targets being hit.

488 From evidence before the Commission, it would appear that, while almost all the initial work focused on external targets, a decision was taken later to develop internal targets. Captain HC 'Chris' Nel explained how this came about:

[A]fter doing this total presentation that we worked through all the night ... and we worked through Botswana and Zimbabwe and all the countries and we plotted the individuals' houses and their photos were there and all the facilities ... And then we were very disappointed when Genl Liebenberg said to us: "You are missing the point. I do not see any information about the top structure of the SACP. The whites, where are they? The UDF, where are they?" ... It was explained to us that there were pipelines. The Botswana

machinery may be in Gaborone to day but tomorrow they are somewhere in the Western Transvaal. So should we stop our operation at the border or should we follow the pipelines through to their courier systems and their safe houses inside the country?

489 Following this, Chris Cloete was specifically tasked to look at the internal situation.

490 KIK documentation shows that, from early on, target identification and development was to be one of TREWITS' responsibilities. An item in the KIK minutes for October 1986 (that is, one month following the decision to set up TREWITS) states:

3.3. Teeninsurgensietaakspan en databank

*3.3.1. Die Voorsitter (ie Niel Barnard) deel mee dat NI oor wardevolle inligting beskik wat by die taakspan ingevoer sal word. **Dit behoort te help om sekere belhamels uit die stelsel te verwyder**, dog met groot omsigtigheid behandel word om die betrokke intelligensiebaties {ie sources/ agents} nie to ontbloom nie.²⁰ [Emphasis added]*

491 Although Barnard does not refer to TREWITS by name, in all probability this is what was being referred to. Moreover, a document presented to the KIK meeting of 4/3/87 includes under functions of TREWITS:

Die insameling van alle inligting tov ANC-teikens in die buiteland ... en die byhou van sodanige inligting met die oog op optrede teen ANC-teikens.

492 Similarly, 'Teikenontwikkeling' is added to the list of issues identified for collection of intelligence. This decision was further reiterated at the meeting of 14 and 18 May, where KIK decided that:

TREWITS ook as die sentrale invoerpunt vir teikeninligting vanaf die Intelligensiegemeenskap moet dien.

493 TREWITS was an exclusively national unit, attached to the C section of the Security Branch. However, the unit did liaise with regional intelligence gathering networks on a regular basis. At such meetings, the Security Branch would generally be represented by the regional officer commanding or a senior officer; NIS by a middle level personnel; and the SADF by senior Special Forces or DCC staff.

494 The following people have been identified as having attended regional TREWITS meetings: Captain PR Krause and/or Brigadier Loots (Western Transvaal), Schalk

²⁰ KIK minutes 21 October 1986

Visser, FHS Labuschagne and Major Chris Deetleefs (Eastern Transvaal), Captain Van Jaarsveld and/or Captain Loots and later Captain Roelof Venter (Northern Transvaal), Lieutenant Colonel Anton Pretorius of the Soweto Intelligence Unit and Daan du Plessis from NIS.

495 In addition to formal TREWITS meetings, those who attended TREWITS meetings in the regions enjoyed ongoing and regular liaison with those involved in the target workgroups/ Project Section of Special Forces.

496 Thus, Nel made extensive use of the Western Transvaal networks:

... from all the police structures that I liaised with, the policemen in the Western Transvaal knew what Special Forces wanted. It was seldom necessary for me to develop a target much further. If they give me a target, I can take it like that to Special Forces and it was 99% complete because the Co-operation between Special Forces and the police dated back to the early 1980s... They knew that Special Forces were even interested in the name of the dog and how thick the burglar bars are... They would put together a target the way military people would think, because of previous experience..... They fitted into the TREWITS liaison system ... very easily because TREWITS was there to develop targets and they knew how to do it.²¹

497 The document 'Teenrewolusionêre Inligtingstaakspan' referred to earlier describes the enemy as the ANC, the SACP, the PAC and the UDF. According to the document submitted by former TREWITS chair, CJ Victor and Peet Vermeulen, the target fields were laid down within the Co-ordinating Intelligence Committee guidelines. These included:

Individuê, strukture, fasilitete, wapentuig, infiltrasies, infiltrasieroetes, opleidingsplekke, voertuie, kommunikasienetwerke, modus operandi, ens. Die taakspan het hom bepaal by inligting mbt organisasies en individue wat rewolusionêre – of blote geweldsoogmerke gehad het....²²

498 Schoon described the brief as follows:

It was their task to properly evaluate and co-ordinate all intelligence regarding the revolutionary threat facing the RSA and especially with regard to identifying and prioritising political targets which posed such a threat. These threats could be in the form of an individual, a group, an organisation, an

²¹ Nel, Section 29

²² Document, 'Teenrewolusionêre Inligtingstaakspan (TREWITS) opgestel deur CJA Victor and Superintendent PCJ Vermeulen, n.d.

*accommodation or logistical facility and were prioritised in terms of the level of political destabilisation each target posed.*²³

499 Although TREWITS documents indicate a wider focus than the ANC, it would appear that the focus was almost exclusively on the ANC. There has been some dispute as to whether TREWITS had an internal or an external focus. Thus the NIA document compiled by former TREWITS members as quoted earlier indicates that TREWITS focused exclusively on the liberation movements in neighbouring countries. Regarding the elimination of targets by TREWITS, General van der Merwe, is on record as saying "In the country, no, but overseas, yes".

500 In direct contradiction to these views, the former Director General of NIS, Dr LD 'Niel' Barnard, asserted that: "I cannot remember that TREWITS ever was involved in foreign intelligence but I understand they did that on occasion".²⁴

501 The evidence from other submissions and section 29 investigations would seem to concur that TREWITS dealt with both the external and internal situation. It is possible that the initial function of target identification was to identify targets for cross-border raids, but that this was later broadened to include identifying and tracking particular individuals involved in military and/or underground structures and, according to the 'pipeline' notion, would thus have included the movement of individuals from neighbouring countries to inside South Africa.

502 With regards to Security Branch personnel, it needs to be noted that many were operationally deployed in the region, both before and after the establishment of TREWITS. Similarly Military Intelligence personnel have indicated knowledge, if not participation, in operations. Of the amnesty applicants said to have attended regional meetings, Commission analysis indicates that they have applied for approximately eighty-two killings, seven attempted killings and four abductions and/or acts of torture.

503 A number of points need to be made about the violations referred to above. Firstly, these figures are not complete, but are based on the list of names referred to above as having attended regional TREWITS meetings.

504 Secondly, involvement in killings, primarily cross-border killings, precedes both the establishment of target group(s) and TREWITS. This would indicate that people attending TREWITS meetings as regional representatives had previously

²³ Schoon, Section 29, November 1996, CT

²⁴ Security Policy hearing December 1997 CT

played a significant role at both an intelligence-gathering and operational level and the question needs to be asked as to whether they were chosen to represent the regional security branch at TREWITS meetings for precisely this reason. What is also significant about Security Branch members who were drawn into TREWITS meetings in the regions is that many had been engaged in border duty both in then South West Africa and/or Rhodesia, once again showing the continuity between counter-insurgency warfare in the region and Security Branch work inside South Africa. It would appear that those chosen for service in the regions were chosen precisely for their counter-insurgency experience.

- 505 Thirdly, in the period in which TREWITS existed (post December 1986), there are both internal and external killings and it is reasonable to speculate that these are directly associated with some form of target identification.
- 506 Fourthly, some operatives from different regions/divisions are involved in the same operations. These networks that developed between different operatives are crucial in understanding the culture and pattern of killing that developed.
- 507 Finally, the involvement of senior security branch personnel such as divisional heads (Visser and Loots) and branch heads (Deetleefs) is a significant indicator of the level of sanction.
- 508 There can be no doubt that those identified as attending regional TREWITS meetings saw their function, centrally, as target identification, and that once an individual's name appeared on a TREWITS target list, he/she was seen as a legitimate target. In the words of a participant: "What did they think we were collecting all this information about addresses, cars, movement for? To send Christmas cards?"
- 509 KIK documentation and Commission investigations indicate that the functioning of TREWITS may have declined, particularly after 1988, as a result of internal conflicts and political developments. However, the set of networks that had been established continued to function.

THE COMMISSION REJECTS THE STANDPOINT OF FORMER NIS DIRECTOR GENERAL NIEL BARNARD AND OTHER FORMER NIS OPERATIVES WHO HAVE DENIED INVOLVEMENT AND/OR KNOWLEDGE THAT INTELLIGENCE GATHERED WAS PUT TO OPERATIONAL USES THAT INCLUDED ELIMINATION. IN EVIDENCE BEFORE THE COMMISSION, DR BARNARD CONCEDED THAT INFORMATION WAS PROVIDED BOTH TO THE SECURITY BRANCH AND THE SADF BUT CLAIMED THAT 'THE DEFENCE FORCE WAS NOT UNDER MY RESPONSIBILITY NEITHER THE POLICE. WHAT THE POLICE OR THE ARMY DID WITH THE INFORMATION I DO NOT KNOW.' THE COMMISSION FINDS

HIS VIEWPOINT THAT THE MANNER IN WHICH INTELLIGENCE SUPPLIED BY HIS AGENCY WAS USED, WAS NOT HIS CONCERN, UNACCEPTABLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER, THAT:

- EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS WERE UNDERTAKEN BY A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT SECURITY BRANCH DIVISIONS AND BY THE SPECIAL FORCES AND OCCURRED ACROSS THE COUNTRY BUT WITH A CONCENTRATION IN AREAS ADJACENT TO SOUTH AFRICA'S BORDERS WITH ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURS AS WELL AS WITHIN THOSE STATES;
- EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS WERE OFTEN THE END RESULT OF A PROCESS OF OPERATIONALLY DIRECTED INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION ON TARGETED INDIVIDUALS. ALL THREE PRIMARY SECURITY INTELLIGENCE ARMS – NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (NIS), SECTION C2 OF THE SECURITY BRANCH, AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE – UNDERTOOK SUCH ACTIVITIES AND CO-ORDINATED THEIR INFORMATION THROUGH JOINT PARTICIPATION IN SO-CALLED TARGET WORKGROUPS FORMED IN 1986 IN CERTAIN SELECTED STRATEGIC AREAS (EASTERN TRANSVAAL, SOUTHERN FREE STATE) WHOSE ROLE WAS *INTER ALIA* TO TARGET INDIVIDUALS FOR KILLING OUTSIDE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S BORDERS AS WELL AS CO-ORDINATING STRUCTURES SUCH AS THE TEEN REWOLUSIONERE INLIGTINGS TAAKSPAN (TREWITS);
- EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS WERE TARGETED PRIMARILY AT HIGH-PROFILE ACTIVISTS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA; THOSE BOTH CONNECTED TO BOTH MILITARY (MK AND APLA) AND NON-MILITARY STRUCTURES; AT THOSE ACTIVISTS OR PERCEIVED ACTIVISTS WHOSE CONVICTION HAD NOT BEEN SECURED THROUGH THE JUDICIAL PROCESS OR WHERE IT WAS BELIEVED THAT JUDICIAL ACTION WOULD NOT SUCCEED; AS WELL AS AT OWN FORCES WHOSE LOYALTY CAME INTO QUESTION;
- EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS WERE OFTEN ACCOMPANIED BY THE DELIBERATE PLACING OF WEAPONS ON OR NEAR THE BODIES OF VICTIMS AFTER THEY HAD BEEN KILLED.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUCH EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS TOOK THE FORM OF:

- THE ASSASSINATION OF ACTIVISTS BY STATE OPERATIVES WHERE THE MODUS OPERANDI IN MANY CASES WAS SUCH THAT THE KILLING WOULD BE LAID AT THE DOOR OF A THIRD PARTY;
- AMBUSHES OF COMBATANTS OR THOSE LINKED TO MILITARY STRUCTURES ENTERING SOUTH AFRICA. WHILE THE COMMISSION WAS UNABLE TO ESTABLISH INTENT TO ELIMINATE IN EVERY CASE, THE PATTERN THAT EMERGES IN THE POST-1985 PERIOD IS THAT IN MANY INSTANCES LITTLE OR NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO EFFECT ARRESTS, LENDING CREDENCE TO THE VIEW THAT ELIMINATION WAS THE PRIMARY PURPOSE;
- ENTRAPMENT KILLINGS WHERE SECURITY FORCE PERSONNEL PARTICIPATED IN THE RECRUITMENT AND/OR MILITARY TRAINING AND/OR SUPPLY OF WEAPONRY (SOMETIMES BOOBY-TRAPPED) TO ACTIVISTS WHO WERE THEN ELIMINATED;
- THE KILLING OF PERSONS IN THE PROCESS OF EFFECTING AN ARREST OR WHILST THEY WERE POINTING OUT ARMS. AS IN THE ABOVE CASE, A CLEAR PATTERN EMERGES THAT MANY OF THESE WERE KILLING ACTIONS;

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FOLLOWING STRUCTURES AND INDIVIDUALS TO BE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLING OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS: THE STATE PRESIDENT, MINISTERS OF LAW AND ORDER, DEFENCE, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, COMMISSIONERS OF POLICE, CHIEFS OF THE

SECURITY BRANCH AND HEADS OF C SECTION, CHIEFS OF THE DEFENCE FORCE, OCS SPECIAL FORCES, CHAIR OF THE SADF GENERAL COMMAND COUNCIL, CSI , GENERAL MANAGER CCB, DIRECTOR GENERAL, NIS

FURTHER, ALL MEMBERS OF THE CABINET AND THE SSC ARE FOUND TO BE INDIRECTLY ACCOUNTABLE.

Attempted killings, arson and sabotage

- 510 The Commission received a number of amnesty applications detailing the direct involvement of members of the security forces in acts of sabotage and arson, including an application by former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and Security Branch head General Johan van der Merwe, implicating State President PW Botha. While many of these cases did not result in gross violations of human rights, some can be classified as attempted killings and therefore gross violations.
- 511 Evidence before the Commission reveals that intimidation and disinformation provided the rationale for such attacks. Activists and their supporters needed to be aware that if they got involved in political activities, dire consequences would follow. Furthermore, the idea that the political conflict was a consequence of internecine strife within the black community, commonly referred to as black-on-black violence, was promoted amongst the general public.
- 512 The involvement of the security forces in such attacks appeared to accord with state policy. This is reflected in a document prepared for a working group of the Joint Security Staff in January 1987 which refers to the '*Fisiese vernietiging van rewolusionêre organisasies (mense, fasiliteite, fondse, ens) binne- en buitelands deur enige owerle en koverle metodes*' (Physical destruction of revolutionary organisations (people, facilities, funds, etc) inside and outside the country by overt and covert methods)²⁵.

Cosatu House, Johannesburg

- 513 Cosatu House, which housed the national offices of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and a number of its affiliates, was extensively damaged by two bombs in the early hours of 7 May 1987. The bombs, described at the time as "the most powerful ever detonated on the Reef", were placed in the basement of the building. The damage they caused was such that the building

²⁵ *Strategiese oorwegings ten opsigte van die inisiëring van die kontramobilisasie in die RSA.* (Strategic considerations in respect of the initiation of contra-mobilisation in the RSA.) Document prepared for the GVS-werkgroep, 24 January 1987, 22/3/2/44.

was declared structurally unsafe. At the time of the explosion there were about twenty people in the building, two of whom were slightly injured.

514 This and the Khotso House incident described below are the only instances for which a member of the former government applied for amnesty for an unlawful act. Mr Adriaan Vlok and General JV van der Merwe rationalised this decision, saying that the May 1987 general election had sparked off new levels of resistance. Furthermore, a country-wide strike by railway workers had assumed violent proportions in attacks on railway property and the holding hostage of five strike-breakers by members of the South African Railways' and Harbour Workers' Union (SARHWU) at Cosatu house. Four of the hostages were subsequently taken from the building and killed. Vlok and Van der Merwe said also that the Security Branch was in possession of information showing that underground ANC members and trained MK soldiers were using Cosatu House as a base for planning, among other things, an attack on members of the police. Van der Merwe said that this view was shared with the intelligence community as a whole and the SSC structures.

515 According to both Vlok and Van der Merwe, a crucial factor in their decision to destroy Cosatu House was their conviction that other legal methods to remove the threat posed by Cosatu House would be ineffective, especially after the detention of the SARHWU general secretary, Mike Roussos, whom they believed to be part of underground networks, had been successfully challenged in court. In the words of Van der Merwe:

We detained about 40 000 people at one specific time and I often said to Vlok that this does not lead to anything. We cannot keep them indefinitely. As soon as we detain them we cause that person, not only that person but also his family and all his friends, we brought them all into unrest against the police, in opposition to the government.

516 The hope was that an effective bombing of COSATU House "would cause so much disruption that it would give us a breathing space."

517 Van der Merwe instructed Brigadier Willem Schoon, head of the C section, to get C1 to make the necessary plans. Van der Merwe also briefed the Witwatersrand Security Branch divisional head, Gerrit Erasmus, and instructed Sergeant Bosch, head of the Vlakplaas technical department, to construct the explosive device. It was important to the operation that firearms and explosive devices were the same as those used by the liberation movements.

- 518 Several teams were responsible for the actual operation: the team wearing balaclavas and armed with AK-47s who would penetrate the area; a team to distract the guard, if necessary using 'spiked' alcohol; a team consisting of black members to patrol the area on foot with batons and to ensure, using violence if necessary, that no one passed through the operational area; a team to warn of any approaching traffic or police vehicles; and the command team consisting of Van der Merwe himself and Brigadier Schoon. In addition, Deon Greyling of the Witwatersrand Security Branch was assigned to tune in to the frequencies of the Johannesburg traffic police, the SAP Murder and Robbery Unit, the Uniform Investigation Unit and the Flying and Dog Squads. Eugene de Kock was in overall command.
- 519 Later a braai was held for the white Vlakplaas members to celebrate the success of the operation. It appears that black members may have received R200 each for their participation.
- 520 Under cross-examination at the amnesty hearing, both Vlok and Van der Merwe remained adamant that the action taken at Cosatu House was purely because of the use of the building by persons intent on 'acts of terror' and not linked to the numerous attacks, burglaries and raids that took place on Cosatu offices around the country in May and during the months that followed.

Khotso House, Johannesburg

- 521 Khotso House, the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), was destroyed by explosives on 1 September 1988. Khotso House was also the national headquarters of the UDF. Vlok alleged that incidents of violence had followed meetings held by the UDF and/or its affiliates in the building and that individuals in Khotso House were using it to further 'terrorist' activities.
- 522 In June 1988, President PW Botha requested Vlok to stay behind at the end of a regular SSC meeting, where once again the role of the Council of Churches and other organisations had been discussed:

Mr Botha ... told me ... "I have tried everything to get them to other insights, nothing helped. We cannot act against the people, you must make that building unusable." ... He furthermore also said: "Whatever you do, you must make sure that no people are killed." He didn't say how it had to be done, he just said what had to be done.

- 523 Again the matter was passed on to the C1 unit in co-operation with the Witwatersrand Security Branch.
- 524 Colonel Eugene de Kock foresaw the loss of life, notwithstanding the injunction to prevent it. Khotso House was located near a block of flats in a part of the city which experienced the “permanent flow of human traffic”. The Commission heard that, when De Kock asked what should be done if the team was confronted by other SAP members who would naturally regard them as armed ‘terrorists’, Brigadier Erasmus responded, “Shoot them”.
- 525 During the operation, a black uniformed policeman peered through a window into the basement. This led De Kock to expedite the operation by placing the rucksacks of explosives in front of the two lifts. The operational teams withdrew in the direction of Hillbrow and waited for the devices, activated by electronic time devices, to detonate.
- 526 While no fatalities were incurred, at least twenty-three people were treated for injuries and shock after the explosion. Mr Adriaan Vlok publicly expressed his condolences to those who had been injured. SAP spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet stated that it was believed that the explosion could have originated in the basement of Khotso House where explosives were thought to be stored. General Jaap Joubert (now deceased) was assigned to the investigation into the blast and a disinformation campaign by the STRATCOM section of the Security Branch swung into action.
- 527 Joubert later informed Vlok that a witness had testified to the fact that he had given a lift to a white male, a white female and a coloured male and had, at their request, dropped them close to Khotso House on the day of the explosion. After dropping them, he had seen them make contact with a black male in a red car. The woman was identified as Ms Shirley Gunn and was suspected of involvement in underground military activities. Having been assured by Joubert that Gunn was in any event being sought by the Security Branch, Vlok regarded this information as a ‘godsend’ and it was decided that her name would be publicly released as a prime suspect. Gunn was later detained.
- 528 Vlok said that PW Botha congratulated him, at an SSC meeting, on work well done. Evidence by both Vlok and Van der Merwe at the amnesty hearing further indicated that, at the time of the NP’s second submission to the Commission, former President de Klerk had been aware of their involvement in both the Cosatu and Khotso House bombings.

529 A number of amnesty applicants said that the security forces' involvement in high-profile attacks such as on the London ANC offices, Khotso and Cosatu House was widely suspected by their members and that, given the high-profile nature of such cases, this could only have happened with authorisation at the highest level.

Other sabotage attacks

530 Aside from the above two highly publicised cases, the Commission received numerous amnesty applications from former members of the security forces detailing other attacks on offices, on individuals' homes and on vehicles belonging to opponents of the government.

531 In the *Cry Freedom* incident, bomb threats originating from the Security Branch had the effect of preventing the screening of David Attenborough's film on the life and death of Steve Biko. The Minister of Internal Affairs had failed to persuade the Appeal Board of the government-appointed Publications Committee to reverse its decision permitting the screening. Adriaan Vlok told the Commission:

[W]e had walked the legal way, we had tried everything possible. If you take everything into consideration, I judged the risk that this film would have and it was so enciteful [sic] that this risk was too big.

532 At a meeting in Minister Vlok's office, attended by Security Branch head Johan van der Merwe, General Jaap Joubert and STRATCOM expert Brigadier McIntyre, it was decided that bomb threats would create 'an atmosphere of fear', thus forcing the distributors to withdraw the film from the circuit. Interventions included the placing of a small explosive device outside the Highgate shopping centre in Roodepoort and outside the Metro Cinema in West Street, Durban, as well as bomb threats made to several cinemas by Security Branch members posing as right-wingers. Following these incidents, the commissioner of police, General de Witt, issued an order on 30 July in terms of the state of emergency media regulations, in which further screening of the film was prohibited owing to the danger it presented to public order and security.

533 Those who applied for amnesty for these incidents are AJ Vlok [AM4399/96], General JV van der Merwe [AM4157/96], Major General JH le Roux [AM4148/96], Major General JA Steyn [AM4513/97], CS Heyneke [AM4144/96] and JCWK Louw [AM4150/96].

- 534 An attack on the home of Labour Party MP Allan Hendrickse originated from the Security Branch headquarters in the eastern Cape. According to amnesty applicant Abraham Christoffel Kendall [AM3757/96], a named general at Security Branch headquarters instructed him, in September or October 1998, to consult with the branch commanders of Port Elizabeth and Oudtshoorn to plan hand grenade attacks on the homes of Hendrickse and another Labour Party leader, a Mr April. Kendall said that the reason offered for the attacks was that Hendrickse and April were unwilling to vote on certain legislative changes. Kendall conveyed this instruction to the Port Elizabeth and Oudtshoorn Security Branches. On his return to Johannesburg from the eastern Cape, Kendall heard on the news that Hendrickse's house had been attacked with a hand grenade.
- 535 The Security Branch in the Eastern Transvaal was responsible for several arson attacks on houses in the Kanyamazane area belonging to ANC members in 1986 and 1987. According to amnesty applicant Izak Daniel Bosch [AM3765/96], these attacks were aimed at protecting the lives of Nelspruit Security Branch police informants. Members of Vlakplaas petrol-bombed houses belonging to 'comrades', targets being provided by the Nelspruit Security Branch. In another attack, the house of a black trade unionist was petrol-bombed by Mr Christopher Mosiane [AM3768/96] and another named *askari*.
- 536 Mosiane also applied for amnesty for an arson attack on a church in Witbank, Eastern Transvaal, allegedly on instructions from the Witbank security police. According to Mosiane, the reason was that the church was being used by activists.
- 537 Amnesty applications were received from Josephus DL Coetser [AM3758/96] and Jacques Hechter [AM2776/96] in respect of bombing/s of the house of activist/s in Ekalanga in the Northern Transvaal in 1986 or 1987 (according to Hechter) and February or March 1986 (according to Coetser). It is unclear whether the two applications refer to the same incident.
- 538 On 28 May 1986, an arson attack orchestrated and executed by the Security Branch at Oukasie destroyed the home of David and Joyce Modimeng and resulted in the death of Ms Modimeng. The situation in Oukasie at the time was tense as residents were opposing a government decision for their removal to Lethabile near Brits. Mr MAS Pretorius [AM5467/97] applied for amnesty for the attack. The homes of Mr Sello Ramakobye and ANC member Leonard Brown, both opposed to the removals, were petrol-bombed on 17 May 1988 in attacks perpetrated by security police. Nobody was killed or injured in the incidents.

- 539 Mr Oupa Masuku's home in Atteridgeville was bombed in early 1986 in an attack conducted by Josephus DL Coetser [AM3758/96], Hechter and a black policeman. A day after the explosion, Coetser was informed that Masuku's mother, Ms Esther Masuku, had been killed. Upon hearing that an innocent person had been killed, Coetser decided that he could no longer be involved in these operations and was excused from his duties by Brigadier Cronjé.
- 540 Houses were bombed at Mamelodi and Soshanguve in February 1986 in attacks perpetrated by Coetser, Hechter, JJ Viktor, jnr [AM4371/96] and others. The targets were houses of prominent black political activists. Coetser said that Hechter informed him that one person was killed in one of the Mamelodi explosions.
- 541 In about 1989, Colonel Eugene de Kock received orders to burn down a church building in Pretoria, which was allegedly being used by the ANC to print Communist literature and anti-government propaganda. Members of the Vlakplaas unit planned and executed a petrol-bomb attack on the church. The press reported that several people were in the church at the time of the attack and were rescued by the fire brigade.
- 542 Mr David Jacobus Brits [AM3745/96] applied for amnesty for landmine explosions at Daveyton and Benoni. Others involved were De Kock, Vermeulen, Nortjé, Mentz, Snyman, de Swardt, with De Kock who authorised the operations. The aim was to intimidate ANC members and supporters. Nobody was injured or killed in the explosions.
- 543 Mr JH le Roux [AM4148/96] and other Security Branch members engineered a controlled explosion near an unused railway line at Factoria, Krugersdorp in 1987/8. The operation was set up for an police informer who had successfully infiltrated MK structures in Botswana and who had received orders to commit an act of terrorism in South Africa, to show that he was ready to work as an MK operative. They made sure that the media reported on the explosion so that the informer could report back positively to MK.
- 544 A controlled bombing of a house in Klipspruit, Soweto, was planned and executed by members of the Security Branch in the Witwatersrand in 1985/6 in order to maintain the credibility of an agent by the name of Sebastiaan Reed in the wake of the arrest of an ANC courier who was staying with Reed. The explosion was planned by Reed's handler, Colonel W Coetzee, and Mr L de Jager [AM4216/96].

- 545 Other 'credibility operations' were planned by the SIU, which had recruited MK members allegedly part of the underground based in Soweto and Swaziland. Two of the infiltrated deep-cover agents underwent military training in Swaziland and were assigned by MK to reconnoitre Wits Command and to launch an attack on the morning parade with hand grenades. After their return to South Africa, they were debriefed by the Security Branch. The attack was not carried out. Later, two 'credibility operations' took place, in the form of attacks on a power station and a railway line in Johannesburg. The actions were authorised by Brigadier W Schoon and Brigadier H Muller. These attacks – and further attacks on the railways – were successfully conducted and MK slogans were painted at the scene. This credibility operation helped undercover agents to penetrate more deeply and ultimately facilitated the arrest of various MK leaders in Soweto.
- 546 An operation to damage the Ipelgeng Centre, used for meetings by the Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO) between 1985 and 1988, was authorised by Lieutenant General I Coetzee. Anton Pretorius was informed by De Jager that named Special Forces operatives would be involved. An inflammatory device using a mixture of petrol and diesel was used, but did not cause much damage.
- 547 The 'Why Not' nightclub in Hillbrow was bombed on 22 September 1988 in reaction to the two limpet mine explosions at the Vanderbijl bus terminus. The club was targeted as it was opposite the Café Zurich Club where a hand grenade had been planted by ANC member Peter Dlamini earlier in the year. On the night of the operation, Mr Charles Zeelie, an explosives expert, fetched Warrant Officer AJ van Heerden [AM4134/96] from his home. Warrant Officer Van Heerden, assisted by Zeelie, was personally responsible for planting two mini limpet mines under a seat in the nightclub. While nobody was killed, some people sustained injuries and the building was damaged. Other amnesty applicants include Mr PL du Toit [AM4131/96] and Mr GN Erasmus [AM4134/96], then divisional commander of the Witwatersrand.
- 548 An internal sabotage operation by the CCB was the blowing up of the Early Learning Centre (ELC) in Athlone, Cape Town on 31 August 1989. This was a region 6 project for which all its core members have applied for amnesty. The ELC was targeted because it was frequently used by community organisations for meetings. While the amnesty applicants claimed that great care was taken to ensure that there were no casualties, the explosion happened on a night when the building was routinely used by executive members of the Cape Youth Congress.

- 549 In 1989 a bomb was detonated by the security police at the whites-only public toilets in the Strand, Cape Town during the UDF 'Open the Beaches' campaign. The explosives originated from Vlakplaas. De Kock ordered Wouter Mentz to deliver a minibus loaded with explosives to the Cape Town security police. Mentz, Colonel Dave Baker and Colonel L de Jager accompanied members of the Cape Town security police in this operation. No one was injured in the explosion.
- 550 In Durban, Mr Griffiths Mxenge's house was petrol-bombed by members of the Security Branch linked to Andy Taylor's unit. Taylor provided the material to make the petrol bombs, which were then used on Mxenge's house and one other house in Umlazi.

Contra-mobilisation

Support to surrogate and opposition groups

- 551 Other chapters of this report deal with the former state's use of surrogate forces and covert support to opposition groups outside South Africa. Major Craig Williamson told the Commission that this strategy was adopted and used actively from the 1980s on the principle that "my enemy's enemy is my friend." Several specific operations were undertaken. The strategy was also implemented internally through the practice of 'contra-mobilisation'.
- 552 The two most prominent examples of operations designed to create, bolster or train 'middle groups' to counter the revolutionary threat were *Operation Marion* and *Operation Katzen*. The former was fully implemented; the latter only partially. Both operations were run as DST 2 projects with input and training from Special Forces. Both are dealt with elsewhere in the Commission's report. *Marion* involved the building of the counter-revolutionary capacities of Inkatha as a bulwark against the UDF and ANC. *Katzen* involved efforts to build a traditionalist, ethnically-based bulwark against the resistance movements in the Eastern Cape.
- 553 Contra-mobilisation was essentially the practical implementation of the principles of 'strategic communication' or 'STRATCOM' (also known in military terms as communication operations, or 'COMOPS') – counter-propaganda to motivate the population to oppose the revolution²⁶. At this point the only aspect of STRATCOM covered in this report is that of contra-mobilisation. As there were

²⁶ In 1984/85, the SSC established a special committee to investigate strategic communication and the co-ordination of counter-propaganda among departments. In line with the greater emphasis on STRATCOM, the Strategic Communications Branch of the SSC was reformulated and various state organs allocated responsibilities in this regard.

amnesty applications pending at the time of reporting, the broader issue of STRATCOM will be covered in the Amnesty Committee's report.

Contra-mobilisation

- 554 Contra-mobilisation is an important principle of counter-revolutionary warfare developed by American military and intelligence analysts in the 1960s. It holds that, in revolutionary warfare, the most significant battle is for the 'hearts and minds' of the population, and that security strategies should therefore be 80 per cent political and only 20 per cent military. This approach was increasingly incorporated into the SADF's security perspectives from the 1960s and was reproduced virtually in text book form by senior SADF strategists such as Brigadier CA Fraser.²⁷
- 555 In the South African context, contra-mobilisation was used to organise and support 'moderate blacks' to oppose the revolutionary movements. Of necessity, it was a covert strategy – concealing the hand of the state as provider of logistical, political and financial support – and making use of 'surrogate' forces. Hence, the state would not be seen to be involved in the conflict and violence between groupings and the resistance organisations.
- 556 Elements of the theory and practice of contra-mobilisation can be traced to the early 1980s. From 1985 it received the attention of the State Security Council (SSC), resulting in the January 1987 'position paper' which postulated that the idea was an integral part of 'Strategy 44', which was developed in the Total Strategy Branch of the SSC, and was formally adopted by the SSC in December 1986 as the "*Nasionale Strategie teen die Rewolusionêre Oorlog teen die RSA*" (National strategy against Revolutionary War against South Africa).
- 557 Strategy 44 aimed "to mobilize groups and individuals to defend themselves and to offer resistance against revolutionary actions", giving "moderate blacks" support in political developments. It held also that counter-revolutionary organisations should be "developed on an ethnic basis to prevent radicals from utilising the political vacuum".
- 558 The term contra-mobilisation was used in official documentation to refer to more offensive actions in which the population is seen as a direct vehicle to crush the revolutionary threat. For example, a November 1985 discussion document authored by National Intelligence Service states:

27 Brigadier CA Fraser, *Lessons from Past Revolutionary Wars*.

The activities of the Comrades should be rendered inoperative by the neutralization of the leadership by means of an operation called 'vasvat' [to take a firm grip], or, in a clandestine manner, to make them the target of the 'vigilantes' or 'mabangalala'. ...

*The action against intimidation from anarchists and revolutionaries by the so-called 'vigilantes' or 'mabangalala', should, taking in consideration an organization such as Inkatha, in a clandestine manner, be reinforced, extended and portrayed as a natural resistance by moderates against anarchy.*²⁸

- 559 A specific theme related to South African implementation of the principles of contra-mobilisation can be found in the fostering of conflicts, either in the ethnic dimensions mentioned above or in ideological differences. As early as 1982, the SADF proposed to the SSC that it should "exploit and encourage the division between the ANC, Inkatha and the BCM [Black Consciousness Movement] organizations."²⁹
- 560 The STRATCOM branch of the SSC played an important role in this aspect as well. It is seen, for example, in a 1985 telex directive from the Secretariat of the SSC and the STRATCOM branch to regional JMCs regarding the fostering of differences between the UDF and AZAPO and advancing ideas and suggestions for further inflaming situations of conflict.
- 561 The security arm most directly concerned with the implementation of contra-mobilisation was the SADF. The SADF was made responsible for youth clubs, community organisations, women's organisations, traditional authorities, arts and rural development, with the aim of establishing structures to oppose the revolution. Major Marius Oelschig acknowledged in the *State v Msane* and 19 others that "the South African government ... through the SADF, assisted various dissident groups to create a capability, which they themselves could use ...".³⁰
- 562 In September 1985, the SADF proposed to the SSC that a national contra-mobilisation project be established, a project similar to the Etango/eZuva project in South West Africa/Namibia. The project was approved by the Minister of Defence on 11 September 1985 and the organisational structure and expenses were approved by the Chief of the Defence Force on 19 December 1985.³¹

28 From file 22/3/2/44, Pretoria State Archives, Vol 3, ref NI/B3/17/1/4/19.

29 From file 22/3/2/2 ANC Total Strategy, HSAW 521/2/2/30 Vol 1, Appendix A: Military Strategic Directive (MSD) No 461 HS OPS/HDB/303/11/1.

30 Major Oelschig, *State v P Msane*, vol 54, p. 4225.

31 AMI/KO/328/6/3/ANCOR *Uitbreiding van Kontramobilisasiestrategie* (Extension of Contra-mobilisation Strategy), 21 July 1986, Memorandum from the chief of staff intelligence to chief of the army.

563 The contra-mobilisation methods applied to Etango and eZuva were seen to be successful. It was felt that this was owing to the absence of public involvement of the SADF, which would have damaged the credibility of these organisations. The aim of the Etango project was “to motivate the Owambo people to resist SWAPO and any form of communist infiltration”. It was run largely by the Directorate of Communication Operations (‘COMOPS’) and was intended to establish a tradition-alist tribally oriented Owambo movement. Similarly, the eZuva project targeted the Kavango population.

564 Colonel HC ‘Chris’ Nel suggests that some support for the Etango project came from former SWAPO-supporting members of the local population:

We had a high turnover of suspects, members of the local population, so-called SWAPO chairmen, people who were part of the internal support structure, that were brought in for questioning and we had to release them within thirty days. We had a very high turnover of that. They were all administered by the military police who kept records of everybody who came in there and then were released according to the law. Those who offered to become askaris [i.e. collaborate], they were passed on to a structure called Etango, called Komops. There were people under the leadership of Dr Pasques who established a political organisation called Etango and this is the Ovambo word for rising sun. They had a facility not very far from the POW camp and with the advantage of hindsight, today I can say that they were brainwashed, conditioned ... They were put through an extensive programme to clean their minds of all communist influences and they were recruited to become organisers and members of the DTA. That was where a large percentage of the prisoners went.”

565 Guidelines for contra-mobilisation were issued from command HQ level and were given to the territorial commands. These instructions took the form of memoranda discussed in various conferences. The regional COMOPS divisions met from time to time to exchange notes. Over and above contra-mobilisation projects undertaken by the territorial commands, COMOPS ran national contra-mobilisation projects under Brigadier FJ ‘Ferdie’ van Wyk.

Project Capital

566 The Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (FIDA) constitutes one example of a national project. The 1991 Kahn Committee described the project, code-named *Capital*, as a “moderate alliance of black organisations to combat violence and

advance stability", further stating that "we were told it was a very valuable source of information to the Defence Force on violence in black townships". FIDA had a head office in Johannesburg and was active in thirteen regions with at least sixty-eight employees by 1991. SADF links were terminated in September 1991 with a once-off payment of R1.47 million. Its annual budget by 1991 was at least R3 million per year.

567 *Project Ancor*, which fell under the umbrella of *Project Orange*, was identified as the national contra-mobilisation project. Other projects included *Metros: Mobilisering van tradisionele genesers* (Mobilisation of traditional healers); *Natal Vakbond*; *KwaNdebele project*; *Venda project*; *OwaQwa project*; *Eagle Jeugklubs* (Youth clubs) (OVS); *Vaaldriehoekse Swartjeug projek* (Vaal Triangle black youth project); *Oriënteering Swart onderwysers*; *Globale Kleurling projek*; *Kleurling Parlementariërs* (Coloured parliamentarians); *Mobilisering van gematigde Swart leiers in RSA* (Mobilisation of moderate black leaders in RSA); *Navorsingsprojek Stellenbosch Universiteit* (Stellenbosch University research project); *Caprivi-projek*; *Kaokoland-projek*; *Namaland-projek*; *Mike Wildtuin*; *Rigters*; *Kerkgroep SWA*; *Spesialisgroep Kommunikators SWA*; *SWA Swart Leiers*; and *SWA Bybelskool*. It was anticipated that the annual amounts required to cover these groupings would be in excess of R15 million.

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

569 *Project Kampong*, under which regional projects fell, was a sub-project of *ANCOR*. In the Eastern Cape, an extensive network of MI-funded front companies were established from 1985 onwards with the aim of building an anti-revolutionary base of support. The Eastern Cape COMOPS unit was awarded the '*Vrede Sabel/Peace Sword*' for four years in the late 1980s as the most successful region in this field, an honour previously awarded to the South West African component. Projects included *Pullin* (East Cape Sports Foundation), *Lactone* (Lion Life Resource Corporation), and *Vallex*, and they received funding through the SADF or the STRATCOM branch of the SSC.³² The above projects did not

32 The (empty) files of the SSC STRATCOM branch list the following project in operation during 1985. *Projek 71: Ooskaap - betrek van Gematigde swartmense (HTSK)*.

directly involve the creation of vigilante groupings. However, the individuals who were promoted, trained and supported through the projects were sometimes themselves involved in acts of violence. The clearest example of this is Reverend Maqina and the AmaAfrika movement.

- 570 The SAP adopted some measure of activity regarding contra-mobilisation. Key SAP unrest strategist General Wandrag sent out a set of directives or guidelines for dealing with unrest to all divisional commissioners of the police and railway police, as well as army HQ on 23 March 1986. Point 11 dealt with contra-mobilisation.³³ In the SAP, the key channel through which vigilantes and fomentation of conflict would have been encouraged, sponsored or initiated would have been through agents employed by the Security Branch.

Vigilante Activity

- 571 Not all vigilante activity was a product of state engineering. Intolerant actions and coercive campaigns of the UDF and its adherents mobilised genuine disaffection and anger amongst black residents, forming the basis for retaliatory actions by so-called 'vigilantes'. Nevertheless, Commission investigations produced evidence of a range of levels of endorsement, support and management of vigilante groupings by different security arms of the state.
- 572 The detailed substance of the conflicts that swept through Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage are covered in Volume Three. In summary, during 1985 there were violent conflicts between UDF and AZAPO as well as the Azanian Youth Organisation (AZANYU). By early 1986 the anti-UDF grouping re-emerged as a group called the *AmaAfrika*. Evidence shows that, while there were genuine conflicts between the UDF and AZAPO, the security forces used these as the basis for the creation and support of vigilante groupings which perpetrated serious violations and escalated the conflict.
- 573 A central figure in the conflicts was Reverend Mzwandile Ebenezer Maqina. Initially a member of AZAPO, he was expelled from the organisation in January 1986 after the first wave of violence between AZAPO and UDF members in 1985. Thereafter the Azanian Youth organisation (AZANYU) and the *AmaAfrika* movement became his political vehicles. In addition, he was associated with various welfare bodies such as the Black Crisis Centre (BCC), Save the Child, and the African Person's Concerned Committee (APCC). During the early 1990s

³³ Kriptoberg, 25/3/86, GVS/GOS Instruksie: GVS *Riglyne vir Optredes ter bekamping van die onrus/onlussituasie* (Guidelines for action to combat the unrest situation).

he was again associated with initiatives such as the Siyaakha Peace organisation and youth movement, the Black Crisis Forum and the anti-violence centre in Port Elizabeth. These outfits had offices and vehicles ostensibly supported by the private sector.

- 574 The Commission received evidence that, from the early 1980s to the early 1990s, Reverend Ebenezer Mzwandile Maqina was working with the Security Branch and had links to the SADF, and was the chief individual through whom the security forces sought to create dissension and an anti-UDF power base. Maqina consistently denied any such links. He told the Commission that his ideological sympathies lay with Africanism and Black Consciousness. He further claimed that his actions were aimed at trying to control the situation.
- 575 Commission statements link Maqina to several violations. Commission research indicated that Maqina was recruited by the Security Branch in the early 1980s. A national intelligence document links him to self-confessed ANC spy and Security Branch source Pat Hlongwane and a Colonel van Rooyen as early as 1981. Sources indicate that Billy Strydom of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch was Maqina's handler during 1986. This is further confirmed by a report on Maqina written by Dr Johan van der Westhuizen (Maqina is referred to as M and Henry interchangeably, and SB refers to Security Branch).

M on occasion requested me to organize a firearm. ... It may be that the SB provided him with a firearm. (Billy Strydom – security police handler). M was aware of the fact that Billy and myself knew each other and he, on one night, requested me to convey a message to Billy because he was not able to reach him. ... If you would like to find out, contact Billy Strydom and ask him about M. He is supposed to know what is going on with Henry with regard to a change in the front. M. visibly had a reasonable position of trust with Billy.³⁴

The SAP (SB) has been informed. Lt Billy Strydom, and the attitude is 100 per cent positive in favor of co-operation. Will provide information on demand. They will also organize a firearm upon Henry's request – a telephone for the house will also be expedited.

- 576 Colonel Hermanus du Plessis of the Security Branch attempted to pass Maqina on to Colonel Lourens du Plessis in Military Intelligence (MI) during 1986 when he became an "embarrassment" after being caught by the CID with weapons in

34 Document entitled Projek M, written by Johan van der Westhuizen, no date.

his vehicle. According to Colonel Lourens du Plessis, "the problem was that CID was not fully in the picture".

577 During 1986, Maqina's organisations were logistically supported by MI. This was done through front companies and organisations run by Dr Johan van der Westhuizen, Dr Ben Conradie and others. An organisation was established known as Action for Peace and Prosperity (APP)/*Aksie Voorspoed*, which was funded by MI. Money and goods from MI were channeled through them to Maqina.

578 In documents made available to the Commission, numerous references are made of ongoing financial support for Maqina's various initiatives. Eduguide official Ben Conradie has made public specific details of thousands of rands, food and equipment given to Maqina. He stated:

One of the projects that I took over from Dr JL van der Westhuizen was known as 'Project Henry' and it was regarded as top secret that a Commandant from Eastern Province Command [SADF] was also involved in this ... I was introduced to Rev Maqina by Dr JL van der Westhuizen, who had close contact with Brigadier Joffel van der Westhuizen ... I had to constantly keep in the minds of my target group, inter alia groups identified by Rev Maqina, that the communists such as the UDF and ANC were enemies of the state and that they must be eliminated.

579 Conradie recalls that it was hoped that Maqina could become the 'Buthelezi' of the region.. "These projects involved the founding and building of 'resistance movements' in the black areas of eastern Cape towns so that 'we' could get to Cradock, the 'focus of the revolution'. The aim was to consolidate all Xhosas under one community leader."

580 Maqina was also provided with office space and a vehicle. A logo was designed for the *AmaAfrika* through Ad Ed. Former mayor Thamsanqa Linda was also given a vehicle. Louis Pasques proposed financial support totalling R126 000 to Save the Child, Black Crisis Centre and Maqina's 'youth brigades' [probably AZANYU], all Maqina's initiatives. Food parcels ("food as bait"³⁵) were organised by the SADF for Maqina to distribute to Port Elizabeth residents to garner political support for himself. Anti-UDF pamphlets were arranged and printed for Maqina by the SADF, mainly for distribution in Uitenhage, the heart of the conflict from 1987.

35 Dr JL van der Westhuizen, *Memo: Eastern Cape – AdEd*, early 1987.

581 During 1986 Maqina had contact with the conservative *witdoeke* in Cape Town. Dr JL van der Westhuizen notes that “the longest discussion I have had with M, was with regard to the ‘*witdoeke*’ and his visit to Cape Town. LJP [Pasques] is in possession of the tape recording.”

582 A document written in the first few days of June 1986 states that ‘Henry’ had asked for funds for a “symposium in Cape Town ... probably amongst the moderates in Crossroads”. This was an obvious reference to the *witdoeke*, who had already embarked on their first attack in May and were preparing for the second attack in June 1986.

STRATCOM Fomentation

583 At a special meeting in Port Elizabeth on 8 May 1985, Major General Dirk Genis from SAP HQ in Pretoria stated that “the conflict between the UDF and AZAPO should be exploited as soon as possible. ComCom (Communications Committee) is busy with planning in this regard.”³⁶

584 A telex directive from the STRATCOM branch of the SSC suggested a number of themes for use in actions such as covert pamphlets. The directive was sent out by the Secretariat of the SSC to all regional JMCs on 20 December 1985. The themes/suggestions sought to enhance the differences between the UDF and AZAPO.

585 Dr van der Westhuizen believed that the security police were actively promoting the link between Maqina and AZAPO. “Henry, through public opinion, is still connected to AZAPO and I am of the opinion that this is being fanned by the SB. I have already discussed this with them, but ... cannot interfere with the line function.”

586 The security forces’ appreciation of the role that AZAPO could play is noted in the following recommendation by Brigadier Ferdi van Wyk regarding appropriate language to use concerning AZAPO: “In the current situation it will be difficult to refer to AZAPO as a gang of murderers and agitators due to the fact that in many instances the UDF is being neutralized by AZAPO.”³⁷

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, DURING THE PERIOD 1985 TO 1990, MZWANDILE EBENEZER MAQINA WAS INVOLVED IN THE FORMATION AND SUPPORT OF VIGILANTE GROUPS AND

36 “Notule van spesiale GVS GOS (Port Elizabeth) vergadering gehou op 8 Mei 1985 te Hoofkwartier Kommandement Oostelike Provinsie”, attended by *inter alia* local SAP, SARP, and security police. Major General Genis was sent to Cape Town around the time of the *witdoeke* attack in June 1986.

37 22/5/2/2 Volume 5, H Leër/GS2/328/3/1.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS IN AND AROUND PORT ELIZABETH, EASTERN CAPE, WHICH HAD AS THEIR AIM, INTER ALIA, THE PERPETRATION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE UDF.

MAQINA INCITED MEMBERS OF THE AFORESAID ORGANISATIONS AND GROUPS TO ACT VIOLENTLY AGAINST MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE UDF.

MAQINA COLLUDED WITH MEMBERS OF THE SAP AND SADF IN ORDER TO FURTHER THE AIMS REFERRED TO.

AS A RESULT OF MAQINA'S ACTIONS, SUBSTANTIAL VIOLENT POLITICAL CONFLICT OCCURRED IN THE PORT ELIZABETH REGION BETWEEN 1985 AND 1990, AS A RESULT OF WHICH AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF PEOPLE WERE INJURED AND/OR KILLED.

THE FOLLOWING STATE BODIES OR ORGANISATIONS WERE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH MAQINA DURING THE PERIOD REFERRED TO ABOVE, IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES WITH THE AIMS OF MAQINA AND OF THE ORGANISATIONS AND GROUPS ESTABLISHED AND/OR SUPPORTED BY HIM AS SET OUT ABOVE, FACILITATED THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THOSE AIMS BY PROVIDING MAQINA WITH ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT, AND DELIBERATELY FAILED TO ENSURE THAT THE APPROPRIATE ACTION AGAINST MAQINA WAS TAKEN BY THE SAP: THE SAP, THE SECURITY BRANCH OF THE SAP, THE PORT ELIZABETH JOINT MANAGEMENT CENTRE, EASTERN PROVINCE COMMAND (SADF), IN PARTICULAR ITS COMOPS DIVISION, AND ASSOCIATED FRONT COMPANIES, AND ARMY INTELLIGENCE (GS2) STRUCTURES UNDER BRIGADIER FJ 'FERDI' VAN WYK AND OTHERS.

Witdoeke in the Western Cape

587 The attacks launched by *witdoeke* in the western Cape resulted in the deaths of over sixty people and the destruction of the homes of over 60 000 people in May and June 1986. The Commission uncovered a trail of covert official endorsement of the *witdoeke* (see Volume Three). The subsequent court case, too, points to a sustained and expensive cover-up of these acts.

588 In summary, documented evidence indicates that official approval of the *witdoeke* began in January 1986. At a JMC management meeting on 10 January 1986, following a serious outbreak of violence over the New Year period during which the 'fathers'³⁸ attacked the comrades, JMC chairperson Brigadier AK de Jager of WP (Western Province) Command stated that the actions of the 'old guard' deserved support, though this should occur in a covert manner.³⁹ The minutes were sent to the Secretariat of the SSC.

589 On 25 March 1986, guidelines for managing unrest were sent out to security forces from General Wandrag's office. One of these guidelines specified contra-mobilisation. The guidelines were discussed at a sub-JMC meeting in the western

³⁸ The terms '*witdoeke*', '*fathers*' and '*old guard*' are used interchangeably.

³⁹ Notule 1/86, File 22/8/4/3/13, State Archives.

Cape the same day and it was noted that "SADF WP Command is already working in this direction to get the 'fathers' to resist the comrades".⁴⁰

590 During March 1986, several JMCs nationwide were asked by the chairperson of the SSC to draw up plans to deal with their particular 'trouble spots'. The final plan for the WP JMC included a section stating that the goal was "to remove the influence of the Comrades and other activists on the community", and the tasks were "to support well disposed moderate blacks". The actions specified in this regard were the "covert organising of adult law-abiding black men (fathers) to go against the Comrades in their terror campaign against the residents of black areas".⁴¹

591 This JMC plan was presented to the SSC meeting of 14 April 1986. Present in the meeting were General Magnus Malan (Minister of Defence); Adriaan Vlok and Mr Roelf Meyer, all of whom later issued section 66 notices blocking access to evidence during the subsequent court case. The meeting was also attended by NIS director general Niel Barnard and the police commissioner, General PJ Coetzee.

592 Chief *witdoek* leader Sam Ndima testified to the Commission that he met twice with "men from Pretoria" who, in his understanding, gave permission for the *witdoeke* to take action. Further, the Commission obtained information that, immediately after the conflict, an official of the Administration Board attended a meeting with members of the security forces – including a Brigadier – at which security force support for the *witdoeke* was confirmed.

593 On the morning of the attack on KTC squatter camp, the JMC arranged a flight on an SADF aircraft for several leading *witdoeke* and two Development Board personnel to consult chief *witdoek* leader Johnson Ngxobongwana, who had been sent to the Ciskei in March 1986. The details of this flight request were sent to the SSC.⁴²

594 During the course of the first day of the attack on KTC (9 June), a signal message was sent from the WP JMC by the secretary of the WP JMC to the SSC in Pretoria requesting a sum of R3 000 for buy cattle for a victory feast by the *witdoeke*.⁴³

40 Memorandum with Minutes of Sub GBS Veikom, 1986-03-25, from SAP file C7/6/7/30.

41 Minutes 5/86, File No. 22/2/5/2, Pretoria State Archives.

42 Top Secret fax from WP Command to 5 Air Command and the SSSC, K53/848/JUN86, 061330B, File 22/8/4/1/1, State Archives.

43 WPGBS/888/9 JUN 86, *Ontlonting Wegblyksies* 16 Jun, File 22/8/4/1/1, State Archives.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ORIGINS OF THE CONFLICT LAY IN HISTORICAL RIVALRIES AND POLITICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DIFFERENT GROUPS AND AN INCREASING TENDENCY TO RESOLVE SUCH DIFFERENCES BY VIOLENT MEANS. HOWEVER, THESE CONFLICTS WOULD NOT HAVE RESULTED IN THE SCALE OF VIOLENCE AND DESTRUCTION WITHOUT THE PERMISSION, FACILITATION AND ENDORSEMENT OF THE SECURITY FORCES.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, DURING THE PERIOD JANUARY 1986 TO JUNE 1986, THE STATE – IN THE FORM OF THE SSC AND ITS COMPONENT SECURITY STRUCTURES INCLUDING THE NIS, THE JOINT MANAGEMENT CENTRE, THE WESTERN CAPE REGIONAL COMMAND OF THE SAP, THE WESTERN CAPE COMMAND OF THE SADF AND THE WESTERN CAPE DEVELOPMENT BOARD – COVERTLY CONSPIRED TO ENDORSE AND PROMOTE THE ACTIVITIES OF INDIVIDUALS FROM THE CROSSROADS INFORMAL SETTLEMENT, NAMELY MR JOHNSON NGXOBONGWANA, MR SAM NDIMA AND MR PRINCE GOBINGCA (REFERRED TO HEREINAFTER AS THE *WITDOEK* LEADERS).

THE *WITDOEK* LEADERS SOUGHT TO COUNTER THE ACTIVITIES AND INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL GROUPINGS IN THE CROSSROADS/KTC AREA WHICH WERE SUPPORTIVE OF THE UDF; TO ACHIEVE OVERALL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN THE CROSSROADS/KTC AREA, AND TO TAKE VIOLENT ACTION AGAINST THOSE PERSONS WHO WERE MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE GROUPINGS REFERRED TO ABOVE IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THEIR OBJECTIVES.

FROM 17 TO 21 MAY AND FROM 9 TO 11 JUNE 1986, PERSONS WHO SUPPORTED THE *WITDOEK* LEADERS PARTICIPATED IN A PROLONGED AND VIOLENT ATTACK ON RESIDENTS OF THE CROSSROADS SATELLITE AND KTC INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS, DURING THE COURSE OF WHICH OVER SIXTY PERSONS WERE KILLED AND OVER 10 000 HOUSES WERE DESTROYED.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT STRUCTURES OF THE SSC AND THE SECURITY FORCES IDENTIFIED WITH THE AIMS OF THE *WITDOEK* LEADERS AS SET OUT ABOVE; ENDORSED AND PROMOTED THE *WITDOEK* LEADERS IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO ACHIEVE SUCH AIMS, AND FAILED TO TAKE APPROPRIATE STEPS TO ENSURE THAT THE VIOLENT ACTION REFERRED TO ABOVE WAS AVERTED OR PREVENTED.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE DEATHS OF THE OVER SIXTY PEOPLE AND THE SEVERE ILL TREATMENT SUFFERED BY THOSE PERSONS WHOSE HOUSES WERE DESTROYED IN THE PERIOD SPECIFIED ABOVE, WERE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH, *INTER ALIA*, THE FOLLOWING STATE BODIES, STATE INSTITUTIONS OR INFORMAL GROUPINGS ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE: THE SSC; THE WESTERN PROVINCE JOINT MANAGEMENT CENTRE ; THE SADF'S WESTERN PROVINCE COMMAND COMMANDED BY BRIGADIER AK DE JAGER; THE SAP, IN PARTICULAR THE RIOT UNIT; THE SECURITY BRANCH IN THE WESTERN CAPE, HEADED BY BRIGADIER SJ STRYDOM; THE NIS; THE WESTERN CAPE DEVELOPMENT BOARD, AND *WITDOEK* LEADERS MR JOHNSON NGXOBONGWANA, MR SAM NDIMA AND MR PRINCE GOBINGCA.

The Eagles in the Orange Free State

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

596 After the dissolution of the Administration Boards in 1985, an MI front company was established to sustain the Eagles, who were then registered as a private company. During 1986 they were listed as part of the contra-mobilisation projects falling under *Project Ancor*. The Kahn Committee reports identify the Eagles Clubs as *Project Napper*, a special secret project, described as being active in the OFS, north and west Cape, Vaal Triangle and southern Transvaal, and as “another valuable source of information on violence in black townships”.⁴⁴ By the time of its ‘termination’ by the Kahn Committee in September 1991, the project had an annual budget of over R2 million and was due to continue independently on a reduced scale. At that stage the Eagles were claiming a membership of 600 000, with fifty clubs around the country involving over eighty members of staff. In reality they never managed to establish a strong base outside the Orange Free State.

597 The Eagles are frequently referred to in SSC documentation as a model of contra-mobilisation. Former State President FW de Klerk stated that none of the projects exposed in 1991 were involved in the gross violation of human rights. However, there are several known violations linked to the Eagles. The Eagles came into conflict with UDF youth organisations, SAYCO in particular, and acted against UDF campaigns. They were involved in repressive activities, such as pointing out activists, launching arson and petrol bomb attacks on activists’ homes (including that of Ms Winnie Mandela), and disrupting political meetings.

598 Amnesty applicant Nelson Mphithizeli Ngo [AM2422/96] states directly that a number of vigilante groups, including those of criminal origin, were in close relationship with the Security Branch in the Orange Free State. He identifies the Eagles in this regard, stating that the Security Branch recruited standard ten pupils from Matshidiso High school and Brandfort and sent them to the Rodeval SADF base for ‘indoctrination’ courses:

The main aim of the SADF intelligen[ce] services in conducting such courses in schools was to teach them tactics and strategies of suppressing student bodies like COSAS and SRCs at school and to replace them with the prefect system. Some of the teachers who were in favour of the prefect system were recruited by Security Branch members to strengthen the structure of the Eagles club at school and were also given courses by the SADF members in Rodeval.

599 Active members of student bodies were also targeted and victimised by the Eagles club, with the co-operation of the recruited teachers. Most members of the Eagles club were armed and protected by the security police when engaged in disrupting meetings in schools. Registered members of the Eagles club working

44 Kahn Committee reports.

as informers to the Security Branch received a monthly payment from the security police HQ in Bloemfontein. Eagles members themselves were targets of violence by UDF or ANC-aligned people.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE EAGLES YOUTH CLUBS WERE DIRECTLY CREATED AND SUSTAINED BY THE STATE AND ITS SECURITY FORCES. WHILE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONSERVATIVE YOUTH GROUP WAS PERHAPS A LEGITIMATE, ALBEIT COVERT, ACTIVITY, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE EAGLES WERE GIVEN FREE REIN AND WERE ENCOURAGED AT TIMES TO TAKE VIOLENT ACTION AGAINST MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND THEIR PROPERTY. FURTHER, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SECURITY BRANCH MADE USE OF THESE ANTI-UDF YOUTH TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST THE UDF. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE EAGLES YOUTH CLUBS WERE THEMSELVES SUBJECTED TO VIOLENT ATTACKS IN EFFORTS BY UDF ALIGNED GROUPINGS.

Other vigilante groupings: The Phakathis and the A-Team

- 600 The Phakathi vigilante group emerged in the wake of the student boycott and street resistance that began in Thabong, Orange Free State, from late 1984. They engaged mainly in severe floggings with sjamboks but they also shot and killed several people in their efforts to crush protest activities. At least seven councillors and the mayor were involved in the assaults; numerous unemployed people were also drawn in. The Commission located an Orange Free State JMC report for the period March to May 1985 sent to the SSC, which states that “resistance against agitators is in a covert manner encouraged and allowed.”⁴⁵
- 601 The Chesterville Natal A-Team, active between 1983 and 1990, was a pro-Inkatha semi-criminal grouping that engaged in violent attacks on UDF areas and supporters (see Volume Three).
- 602 The amnesty application and testimony of Mr Frank Sandy Bennetts [AM4059/96] describes the close working relationship between the different branches of the SAP, particularly the Riot Unit and the Security Branch, and the A-Team. He stated that protection and patrols, as well as resources such as petrol, were offered to the A-Team. Members of the A-team were used as informers and for identification purposes.
- 603 Bennetts told the Commission of his belief that the A-Team was a “handled” outfit. He alleged that it was started by a military intelligence agent employed by the Natal Provincial Administration as the township manager to oversee the administration of Chesterville. He describes seeing a particular MI officer in almost daily contact with members of the group.

⁴⁵ Document dated 3 June 1985, file 22/3/2/47, Vol 4, State Archives.

Gangster Vigilantes

- 604 The amnesty application of Mr Nelson Mphithizeli Ngo states that a number of criminal vigilante groups were used by the security police in the Orange Free State, including the Anti-comrades, the Eagles and the Three Million Gang. The Anti-comrades and the Eagles are explicitly referred to as 'dekmantel organisasies' (cover organisations) in an SSC document. In relation to the Anti-comrades, Ngo said:

This gangster [grouping] was also formed by the Security Branch (SB) together with the head of the Local Authority council, who worked as a councillor in Brandfort, and criminals were recruited from Brandfort prison by a prison warder who also worked for this gangster [grouping] to join the Anti-comrades and was the main co-ordinator of these gangsters and the security police.

The main task assigned to this gangster [grouping] by members of the security police was that they must deal with members of political organisations such as the UDF and the Civic organisation in the community.

- 605 He goes on to describe the murder of one Papie Steyn. Ngo's version is corroborated to some degree by other information gathered by the Commission.
- 606 Ngo also identifies the Three Million Gang as one of the gangster groupings used by the police to counter the liberation movements. He states:

This gangster [grouping] operated on a part time basis in Brandfort and was called by Sergeant or the SB when ever there was a need to reinforce the prevailing structures of gangsters in Brandfort. Co-ordination meetings were held at Brandfort police station, where leaders of the gangsters met with members of the SB to receive attacking strategies from the SB, weapons, money and material sponsors like beers and tobacco.

- 607 Conflict between the ANC and the Three Million Gang is described in the Orange Free State regional profile, Volume Three.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THIS POLICY OF CONTRA-MOBILISATION SOUGHT, BY COVERT MEANS, TO CREATE GROUPINGS OPPOSED TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND TO MANIPULATE SOCIAL, ETHNIC AND OTHER DIVISIONS WITH THE INTENTION OF MOBILISING ONE GROUP AGAINST ANOTHER. IN ITS MOST EXTREME FORM, CONTRA-MOBILISATION LED TO VIOLENCE. THE POLICY ENTAILED:

- **COVERT FUNDING OF INITIATIVES TO PROMOTE 'MODERATE' PRO-GOVERNMENT BLACK ORGANISATIONS OR INDIVIDUALS THAT IN SOME INSTANCES WERE USED AS CHANNELS FOR**

RESOURCES TO BE GIVEN TO VIGILANTES, INCLUDING THOSE DIRECTLY USED TO CRUSH ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY, SUCH AS THE EAGLES.

- IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING, THE PROVISION OF LOGISTICAL SUPPORT (INCLUDING VEHICLES AND MONEY IN CERTAIN INSTANCES) OR OTHER FORMS OF ENDORSEMENT OF VIGILANTES, PARTICULARLY REV MZWANDILE MAQINA OF *AMAAFRICA* IN THE EASTERN CAPE, THE '*WITDOEKE*' IN THE WESTERN CAPE AND THE A-TEAM IN NATAL.
- IN THE CASE OF INKATHA AND THE BLACK CATS, MILITARY TRAINING AND WEAPONRY, THE PROVISION OF WHICH RESULTED IN AN ESCALATION OF CONFLICTS AND ENORMOUS LOSS OF LIFE, INJURY AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY.
- THE INCORPORATION OF MEMBERS OF CRIMINAL NETWORKS INTO VIGILANTE GROUPS.
- STRATCOM OPERATIONS AND PROPAGANDA DELIBERATELY DESIGNED TO FOMENT DIVISIONS AND SOCIAL CLEAVAGES.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN CERTAIN INSTANCES, SECURITY FORCES PLAYED A FACILITATING ROLE IN THE ACTUAL VIOLATIONS, AND THAT THE SYSTEMATIC FAILURE TO PROSECUTE INDIVIDUALS, ORGANISATIONS OR GROUPS WHO ATTACKED SUPPORTERS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND THEIR PROPERTY AMOUNTED TO AN ENDORSEMENT OF SUCH ACTIONS AND, IN SOME INSTANCES, A SUBVERSION OF JUSTICE.

APPENDIX

State Security Forces: Directory of Organisations and Structures

■ JOINT SECURITY STRUCTURES

State Security Council and related structures

- 1 The State Security Council (SSC) was established by the Security Intelligence and State Security Act, No 64 of 1972. Its functions were "to advise the government with regard to ..the formulation of national policy and strategy in relation to ... security .. and the manner in which such policy or strategy shall be implemented ... [and] to combat any particular threat to the security ... [and] to determine intelligence priorities."
- 2 Prior to the effective functioning of the State Security Council and the National Security Management System, a number of structures and/or initiatives were put in place to develop security policy and to establish greater co-ordination between the various security and intelligence arms. These include the establishment of: a State Security Committee in 1963; an Intelligence Coordinating Committee in 1964; a State Security Advisory Council (SSAC) which replaced the old State Security Committee in 1966; the Bureau of State Security in 1969; the Potgieter Commission in 1969 whose report in 1971/2 led to the establishment of the State Security Council (SSC) in 1972; a Civil Service Commission, the 'Venter Commission' in April 1973 which reported in early 1975; a government symposium on security on 21 September 1976 which led to the establishment of the Van Dalsen Committee.
- 3 The latter two were central in formulating the need for a 'national security system' and proposed the establishment of a number of sub-structures: inter-departmental committees; regional and area committees to co-ordinate security actions; a national security staff function in the Office of the Prime Minister; a Working Committee and Secretariat to service the SSC. However, when PW Botha became Prime Minister in September 1978, little progress had been made with

the exception of the establishment of fifteen inter-departmental committees and in April 1978 of a Working Committee to support the SSC. Following Botha's accession to power, the eighteen standing cabinet committees were reduced to five to ensure better management. The five were: Constitutional, Economic, Social, Finance and National Security - or as it became known The State Security Council.

- 4 The following people formed the core of the SSC: Prime Minister (after 1983 State President); Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Law and Order, Justice; the Director General of NIS, the Chief of the SADF, the Commissioner of Police, and the Secretaries of Justice and Foreign Affairs. In addition, a number of ministers were co-opted for various periods of time. In the second half of the 1980s, virtually all ministers as well as the Deputy Ministers of Law and Order and Foreign Affairs were drawn into an extended SSC, whose meetings alternated with the 'core' SSC. Secretaries of the SSC were all Lt Generals of the SADF and were: AJ van Deventer (1978-1985), PW van der Westhuizen (1985 -1988) , Charles J Lloyd (1988-1990)
- 5 In the face of rising resistance and apparent inability of the security forces to contain it, the IDC for security was upgraded to a Joint Security Staff (JSS/GVS). The Deputy Minister of Law and Order was relieved of all duties in order to manage the JSS/GVS. Given that membership and functions now overlapped, the NCC was discontinued on 11 August 1986. Following the imposition of a second, this time nation-wide, State of Emergency in June 1986, civilian departments were drawn in and the JSS/GVS was further upgraded to the status of a National JMC (NJMC) in February 1987.
- 6 Further, in the early days of the emergency, a Ministers Committee (MINCOM) chaired by the State President and comprising eight ministers were charged with the overall function of managing the State of Emergency on the advice of a Committee of Senior Officials chaired by the chairperson of the JSS. These committees ceased to function later as the SSC and the WC themselves began to develop 'dual forms' of functioning.

The Co-ordinating Intelligence Committee (CIC/KIK)

- 7 On 14 November 1980, PW Botha issued an instruction that intelligence structures should be rationalised and better co-ordinated. A Rationalisation Committee was set up that met from 14-19 January 1981, in a meeting now known as the

'Simonstown Beraad'. On 30 January, PW Botha approved the establishment of a National Intelligence Interpretation Branch (NIIB/TNV) as part of the SSSC as well as the Co-ordinating Intelligence Committee under the chairmanship of NIS. The NIIB officially came into being on 1 January 1982.

- 8 The Coordinating Intelligence Committee (CIC/KIK) consisted of representatives from all intelligence-gathering structures the Military Intelligence Division of the SADF, the Security Branch of the SAP, the National Intelligence Service and the intelligence component of Foreign Affairs. It was established in 1981 and had several sub-committees including counter-intelligence, technical and covert collection sub-committees. It was under the sub-committee for covert collection that a special counter-revolutionary information task team, TREWITS (Teen Rewolusionere Inligtings Taakspan), was established in late 1986.
- 9 The KIK was chaired by Dr LD Barnard, Director-General of NIS.

■ SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE (SAP)

- 10 The SAP was formed in 1913, the Special Branch (later called the Security Branch) in 1947 or 1948 and the Riot squad in 1975. In 1986 the South African Railway Police were incorporated into the SAP and special constables introduced.
- 11 The following people served as Ministers of Police/ Law and Order Commissioners during the Commission's mandate period: FC Erasmus; BJ Vorster (1961-68); SL (Lourens) Muller (1968-1974); JT Kruger 1974-79); Louis le Grange (1979-1986); Adriaan Vlok (1986-1991); HJ Kriel (1991-94).
- 12 The following people served as Commissioner of Police during the mandate period: Maj Gen Rademeyer (-1960); Lt Gen AJ du Plooy (1960-62); Lt Gen JM Keevy (1962-68); Gen JP Gous (1968 - 1971); GJ Joubert (1971-73); Gen TJ Gous (1973-1975); Gen GL Prinsloo (1975-78); MCW Geldenhuys (1978-1983); Gen PJ Coetzee (1983-87); Gen H de Witt (1987-89); JV van der Merwe (1990-96). Generals du Plooy, Prinsloo, Geldenhuys, Coetzee and Van der Merwe were all former Heads of the Security Branch or had Security Branch experience. Thus in virtually every significant period of unrest, a former security branch head has occupied the post of Commissioner of Police.

The Security Branch

- 13 The Security Branch was created as a fully fledged structure in 1947 or 1948. It was organised in sections. These sections were subject to changes at various times. The following is based on a mid-1980s organogram.
- a Section A: information collection
 - b Section B seems to have collected information on non-mainline groups such as the Detainees Parents Support Committee, SA Council on Sport, etc (by 1992 Section A dealt with 'Revolutionary/Radical' groups; while Section B dealt with 'Reactionary Groups');
 - c Section C: an operative unit responsible for anti-terrorism activities.
 - d Section D dealt with state property, border posts, airports, etc.
 - e Section E dealt with detainees;
 - f Section F covered inter-departmental committees, library, research (By 1992 E is earmarked legal advisers);
 - g Section G was responsible for intelligence (G1), Strategic Communication (G2) and Counter-Espionage (G3). (By 1992 G was responsible for 'interdepartmental linkages' and included links/secondments to Venda, Bophutatswana, Swaziland);
 - h Section H was Secret Funds (by 1992 Secret Funds fell under Group K and Group H had become Constitutional Services and connected into returning exiles and releases);
 - i Section J connected to the SSSRC and the JMCs; by 1992 it had become the Trewits section;
 - j Section K was the Inspectorate (by 1992 Special Account);
 - k Section L was the database or information centre;
 - l Section M was Namibia (by 1992 the Technical Division);
 - m Section N was the Technical Division (by 1992 the Administrative section);
 - n Section O was Training.
- 14 In 1991, the Special Branch merged with the Criminal Investigation Division into a structure known as Crime Combating and Investigation. The section previously known as the Security Branch was renamed the Crime Information Service (CIS). It is now called Internal Security. The change brought a change in the allocation of functions to the different sections, as reflected in the listing above.

- 15 Commanding officers of the Security Branch include: 1960s - Gen Hendrik van der Bergh, Brig PJ 'Tiny' Venter; 1970s - Brig PJ 'Tiny' Venter, Mike Geldenhuys; Lt-Genl CF Zietsman; 1980s - Brig Johan Coetzee; Maj Gen Frans Steenkamp; Maj-Genl S Schutte; Brig Johan van der Merwe; 1990s - Basie Smit.

Section C1: Vlakplaas

- 16 The unit which came to be known by the name of the farm was started in the late 1970s by Col JJ Viktor, then head of the C section, and Col Jan du Preez.
- 17 The purpose of Vlakplaas at this stage was ostensibly as a place to rehabilitate 'turned terrorists' or, as they were called, askaris. The askaris were eventually divided into units and supervised by white security police, and it was this change that transformed Vlakplaas into a counter-insurgency unit. The units responded to requests that were channelled to them via the head of Section C or via branch commanders.
- 18 In the mid to late 1980s similar units to Vlakplaas were established in Camperdown in Kwazulu Natal and in the Eastern Cape.
- 19 Heads of C section under which C1/Vlakplaas resided were Col JJ Viktor (later a Maj-Genl); Brig Willem Schoon; Maj-Genl Nick Janse Van Rensburg and Maj-Genl IJ Engelbrecht. Commanders of Vlakplaas were: Col JJ Viktor (founder of the unit); Capt Dirk Coetzee (1980-81); Capt Jan Carel Coetzee (1982); Lt Col Jack Cronje (1983-1985) - later a brigadier; Col Eugene de Kock (1985-1993)

The Riot Squad

- 20 During the 1960s the SAP established Divisional Anti-Riot Units throughout South Africa.
- 21 Throughout the 1980s, the homeland police forces had also been establishing specialised, separate riot control agencies, with approximately 30 units established by 1993. The riot units in the homelands were usually less organised, less skilled, and even more brutal than those of the SAP. On occasion, when it appeared that homeland forces were unable to contain a particular incident, the SADF (not the SAP) were deployed to assist.

- 22 Forty Internal Stability Units, with over 7 000 members, were operating throughout South Africa by 1994. One of the largest of these, with 1 200 members, was 'Unit 19', the special national unit which was based in Pretoria for rapid deployment to unrest focal points anywhere in the country. The remaining units were spread across the country, but concentrated around flashpoints for unrest in the PWV, Natal, Western and Eastern Cape. An additional thirty-seven similar units had been established in the various homeland police forces.
- 23 For the pre-election transitional period, a special force, known as the National Peacekeeping Force, was created to assist with the maintenance of Public Order.
- 24 From the mid-1980s, Maj-Genl Albertus Wandrag, a senior Deputy Commissioner at SAP Headquarters was in charge of riot control.

■ **BUREAU OF STATE SECURITY (BOSS)/ DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL SECURITY (DONS) / NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE**

- 25 BOSS was established in 1968 but its establishment was only legislated in 1969. Its primary purpose was to co-ordinate intelligence work as well as to create a foreign espionage capacity. The intention was to amalgamate personnel from the security branch, military intelligence and the Department of Foreign Affairs under the overall command of Genl Hendrik van den Bergh.
- 26 With the accession to power of PW Botha, BOSS's name was changed to the Department of National Security (DONS) with Alec van Wyk as caretaker head. In 1980, PW Botha appointed a twenty-seven year old academic, Lukas Daniel Barnard as Director -General. It was at this time that its name was changed to the National Intelligence Service(NIS). At the Simonstown Beraad in 1981 its powers were significantly curbed from 'super-spy' status to a more limited role.
- 27 NIS played a significant role in relation to the SSC, the Secretariat of the SSC (SSSC) and key intelligence sub-structures that formed part of the Secretariat, as well as Joint Management Committees around the country, until it withdrew from this system in 1987.
- 28 Towards the latter half of the 1980's, NIS played a pivotal role in negotiations and performed the role of 'secret messengers' between the SA government and the ANC. By 1988, they were seen to be 'running the negotiations'.

- 29 Around 1989, NIS moved from the Department of Justice to the Office of the State President and, with the sanction of President De Klerk, began to penetrate the security forces to investigate its suspicions of Third Force activity. Later it worked closely with the investigation into such activities run by Genl Pierre Steyn.

■ SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE (SADF)

- 30 The Union Defence Force (UDF) was established in 1912. In 1957, a new Defence Act was passed which changed its name to the South African Defence Force. At that stage the SADF consisted of three arms of service - the Army, Navy and the Air-Force. In 1979, a fourth arm, the South African Medical Service (SAMS), was added.
- 31 The following are some of the components of the SADF that were regarded as significant to the mandate of the Commission:

The Military Intelligence Division (MID)

- 32 The Military Intelligence Division (MID) resided under one of the five staff components of the SADF (personnel, intelligence, operational, logistics, planning and finance). The staff division was run by the Chief of Staff Intelligence (CSI) who was directly responsible to the Chief of the SADF (CSADF).
- 33 In the pre-total strategy period, the MID was relatively small and said to have a staff of less than 100 in the mid-1970s. However, from the late 1970s it underwent significant expansion and its staff complement is said to have stood at an estimated few thousand by the latter 1980s. It had the capacity to recruit personnel from sectors outside the military, including the civilian as well as police and intelligence. With expansion, also went a process of re-organisation. A structural distinction was effected between strategic and tactical intelligence. The latter function was organised into parallel staff divisions within each Arm of Service of the SADF. These were:
- GS2 - Chief of Staff Army Intelligence - colloquially referred to in the intelligence world as 'Blennie';
 - AS2 - Chief of Staff Air Force Intelligence;
 - NS2 - Chief of Staff Naval Intelligence;
 - MS2 - Chief of Staff Medical Intelligence.

- 34 Although the functions of these directorates were co-ordinated by CSI , some developed a degree of institutional autonomy, especially GS2 in regard to operations in Angola and Namibia, and internally after the decision to deploy the SADF in townships.
- 35 Responsibility for strategic intelligence was given to the MID which also underwent processes of expansion and re-organisation. By the mid-1980s, MID was organised into three major sub-divisions - military intelligence, counter-intelligence and intelligence operations - and several directorates, one of which was the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC).
- 36 An Intelligence Staff Council was responsible for the co-ordination of policy and comprised: CSI (Chair); Chiefs of Staff Army, Air Force, Navy and Medical Intelligence; Chief Directors of Military Intelligence, Counter-Intelligence and Intelligence Operations and the Director of DCC.
- 37 The post of CSI became one of the most powerful with, under PW Botha, its incumbents being Lt-Gen. P. W. van der Westhuizen (1978-85), Vice-Admiral Dries Putter (1985-89), and Lt-Gen. R 'Witkop' Badenhorst (1989-91). Following Badenhorst, Lt Genl CJ 'Joffel' van der Westhuizen was CSI. Lt-Gen. PW van der Westhuizen, after his term as CSI, served as secretary of the SSC until well into 1988.

The Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC)

- 38 While most intelligence is gathered through overt means, a small but significant part is collected covertly. Within the SADF, DCC was responsible for such covert collection.
- 39 In 1986 authorisation was given for the formation of a civilian front organisation to be funded out of the Special Defence account. The first DCC front was Pan-Afrikan Industrial Investment Consultants CC (PAIIC CC). Registered on 7 November 1986, it functioned until 28 February 1993 and employed 49 personnel. Other fronts which were created included Africa Risk Analysis Consultants (ARAC), African Information Systems (AFRINFRO) (PTY) LTD and Longreach.
- 40 In the mid-1980s, the DCC was headed by a Director (Brig. JP 'Tolletjie' Botha) who reported direct to the Chief of Staff Intelligence. He had below him five sections, namely, West Front (Namibia and Angola headed by Brig. Koos Louw); East Front (Mozambique and Swaziland, headed by Col. At Nel); International;

Terrorism or Tuis (the home front), later renamed Internal Sub-Theatre which was headed by Col. Col JGC 'Gerrie' Bornman, and Foreign Intelligence Services, basically a counter-intelligence group headed by a Brig. Van Rensburg. The Terrorism Section was responsible for collection in respect of the liberation movements externally, as well as internally during the 1980s. During this period as well, DCC field offices were established in each territorial command.

The Directorate of Special Tasks (DST)

- 41 The DST has its origins in the SADF's involvement with UNITA in the mid-1970s. Later, the SADF became involved with military groupings operating in other Southern African states and DST became the channel for assistance. DST was broadly divided into Western (DST1) and Eastern Fronts (DST2). Thus DST 1 was responsible for liaison with UNITA while DST 2 handled RENAMO, the Lesotho Liberation Army and assistance to Zimbabwean dissidents. In 1985, an internal dimension was added to the functions of the DST with Operations Marion (support for Inkatha) and Katzen (counter-insurgency operations in the Eastern Cape) being added to the portfolio of responsibilities of DST 2.
- 42 DST was a highly clandestine operation. Details of the command structure of DST in its early days are sketchy but it is known that then Col. (later Maj-Genl.) Marius Oelschig was Officer Commanding of DST's Field Office in Rundu from December 1978-82. According to material on DST supplied to the Commission, Brig Daan Hamman headed DST in 1982; he was replaced for six months in 1983 by a Brig. Botha who, in turn, was succeeded by Brig. C.J. 'Neels' Van Tonder who remained until 1986 when he was replaced by Brig. CJ 'Cor' van Niekerk.
- 43 Functionally, DST operated by project. In 1983 the arrangement was:
 - DST 1: OC in 1983 not known but probably Col. Oelschig. By 1985, however, the OC of this section was Brig. Thackwray.
 - *Operation Disa* (formerly Silwer) - aid to UNITA: Commander: Col. Oelschig
 - DST 2: OC Col. Cor. van Niekerk.
 - *Operation Drama* - aid to Zimbabwean dissidents; Commander: Col. Frayne
 - *Operation Latsa* (later Capsize) - aid to Lesotho Liberation Army: Commander: Col. May but replaced during year by Col Benade
 - *Operation Mila* (formerly Altar) - aid to RENAMO; Commander: Col. Cor. van Niekerk

- 44 By the mid-1980s, DST's functions as well as those of some other structures, such as the Directorate COMOPS, were centralised under the Directorate Intelligence Operations which was headed by former DST officer commanding, Brig CJ 'Neels' van Tonder.
- 45 In the SADF, strategic communication ('stratcom') initiatives were known as communication operations, or 'comops'. The responsibility for Comops was divided between CSI/MID and the Arms of Service, specifically the SA Army where it resided under Chief of Staff Army Intelligence (GS2). Within MID two directorates existed, namely Directorate Own Forces and Population and the Directorate of International Communication. Within the Army the following sections existed: Comops Population, Comops Enemy, Comops Own Forces and Media Liason.
- 46 Comops personnel were appointed at all levels of command, including the territorial commands. During the 1986/87 period a new sub-division of MID was established called Intelligence Operations and both COMOPS and DST resided here, headed by Brigadier 'Neels' van Tonder.
- 47 The SADF submission indicates that stratcom projects were suspended after 1992 except in respect of its own forces.

GOC Special Forces

- 48 GOC Special Forces was directly responsible to the Chief of the SADF, bypassing normal channels of command. DST made extensive use of Special Forces in their destabilisation of Southern African countries, in particular in providing training and support to surrogate forces. All sensitive Special Forces operations were vetted by the Minister of Defence and in the case of particularly sensitive operations, by the State President.
- 49 From its inception and until the early 1990s, the GOCs Special Forces were Maj-Gen FW Loots (1974-82); Maj-Gen AJ Liebenberg (1982-85); Maj-Gen AJM Joubert (1985-89); Maj-Gen E Webb (1989-91).

One Reconnaissance Regiment

- 50 1RR was based in Durban and consisted of a training component and an operational wing which provided personnel for cross-border raids such as those

on Matola and Maseru. In the 1980s it was a predominantly black unit with white senior officers and with a strength of approximately 1 000. Officers commanding 1RR were Cmdt JG 'Jannie' Breytenbach (1972-75); Maj (T/Cmdt) JC Swart (1975-81); Col. E Olckers (1981-83); Col. A Bestbier (1983-88); Col. G Keulder (1988-)

Two Reconnaissance Regiment

- 51 2RR was a Citizen Force unit for ex-Recce members, available for emergency deployment on a Citizen Force basis. Its total strength was 2-3 000 but its operational strength only a few hundred. Between 1974-92, its OC was Maj. (later Col.) DS van der Spuy.

Three Reconnaissance Regiment

- 52 3RR was established in 1980 to absorb members of the Rhodesian Special Forces. Its name was later changed to Delta 40 and then Barnacle. It operated as the covert arm of Special Forces. It underwent another name change in 1986 with the formation of the CC. Its first commander was ex-Rhodesian Garth Barrett (1980-83).

Four Reconnaissance Regiment

- 53 4RR was located at Langebaan and its expertise focused on sea-borne skills. It was a relatively small (450-500) mainly white unit, and was involved in special sea-borne operations in Angola and Mozambique. Officers commanding 4RR were Cmdt. M Kinghorn (1978-82), Col. J Venter (1982-94) and Col. K Nel (1994-).

Five Reconnaissance Regiment

- 54 5RR was based outside Phalaborwa. It consisted of at least 1 000 members, mostly Mozambicans, and was organised into five field commandos (three operational; one intelligence and one logistical). Officers commanding 5RR were Maj. PJ (Joe) Verster (1975-81); Cmdt HM Blaauw (1981); Cmdt. HW Snyders (1981-3); Cmdt. AG 'Bertie' Sachse (1983-4); Col. JR Hills (1984-8); Col. CAJ Meerholz (1988-90); Col. AG 'Bertie' Sachse (1990-3); and Col. JW Engelbrecht (1993-).

South African Army

55 Specialist units of the Army included 32 Battalion and the 44 Parachute Brigade.

Battalion 32

56 32 Battalion, often referred to as the 'Buffalo Battalion', was created in 1976 by Col Jan Breytenbach. It was largely a black battalion and contained many foreign mercenaries. Its operational strength was approximately 1 500. Officers commanding 32 Bn were Col JD 'Jannie' Breytenbach (1976-7); Col GJ Nel (1977-8); Col Deon Ferreira (1978-83); Col EG Viljoen (1984-8); and Col MB Delport (88-93).

44 Parachute Brigade

57 44 Parachute Brigade, modeled on the British SAS, contained both a National Service component (one battalion) and a Citizen Force component (two battalions). If the Citizen Force members had all been deployed its strength would have been in the region of 6 000. Recent officers commanding 44 Para Bde were Brig MJ Du Plessis (1978-9); Col. JD Breytenbach (1980-2); Col. FJ Bestbier (1982-5); Col. DJ Moore (1985-9); Col. McGill Alexander (1989-92); and Col. Les Rudman (1992-4).

The Liberation Movements from 1960 to 1990

■ OVERVIEW OF VIOLATIONS

- 1 The Commission has analysed the human rights violations committed by the liberation and mass movements by grouping the violations in the following categories:
 - a Violations committed in the course of the armed struggle by armed combatants;
 - b Violations committed by liberation movements against their own members or against suspected spies or dissidents within their ranks, usually outside South Africa;
 - c Violations committed by supporters of the liberation movements in the course of 'mass struggle', primarily during the 1980s;
 - d Violations committed by members of the liberation movements after their legalisation on 2 February 1990.
- 2 The overall findings in respect of the liberation movements follow. Other findings are located in the text.

IN REVIEWING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) AND THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC), THE COMMISSION ENDORSED THE POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW THAT THE POLICY OF APARTHEID WAS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY AND THAT BOTH THE ANC AND PAC WERE INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNISED LIBERATION MOVEMENTS CONDUCTING LEGITIMATE STRUGGLES AGAINST THE FORMER SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND ITS POLICY OF APARTHEID.

NONETHELESS, THE COMMISSION DREW A DISTINCTION BETWEEN A 'JUST WAR' AND 'JUST MEANS' AND HAS FOUND THAT, IN TERMS OF INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS, BOTH THE ANC, ITS ORGANS THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (NEC), THE NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE (NWC), THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (RC), THE SECRETARIAT AND ITS ARMED WING UMKHONTO WESIZWE (MK), AND THE PAC AND ITS ARMED FORMATIONS POQO AND THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY (APLA), COMMITTED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE COURSE OF THEIR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND ARMED STRUGGLES, ACTS FOR WHICH THEY ARE MORALLY AND POLITICALLY ACCOUNTABLE.

■ THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Preface

- 3 The Commission recognises that it is able to make some very detailed observations and findings about the abuse of human rights in the military camps of the ANC owing to the fact that the ANC had earlier initiated a number of its own enquiries, namely the Stuart report, an investigation into the death of Thami Zulu (both internal ANC commissions) and the Skweyiya and Motsuenyane Commissions. The ANC also made extremely detailed submissions to the Commission.
- 4 The Motsuenyane enquiry, in particular, was a public and independent enquiry to which anyone could bring evidence about such abuses, and a significant number of individuals did so. This enquiry is, in fact, recognised in some of the international literature as a truth commission in its own right.
- 5 The Commission believes that this was an unprecedented step for a liberation movement to take, and that the ANC should be commended for setting a high standard in this regard. It regrets that it did not receive the same level of co-operation from other structures and organisations in the compiling of this report. Much of the detail contained in the section that follows comes from the ANC's own enquiries and submissions to the Commission.
- 6 Following the banning of the ANC in 1960, the organisation established an armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe ('spear of the nation'), popularly known as MK. MK engaged in acts of war from 1961 to 1990 when, following its unbanning on 2 February, negotiations commenced. The armed struggle was suspended in August 1990. The Commission has examined the gross violations of human rights allegedly perpetrated by members of the ANC and MK. Particular attention has been paid to violations committed by MK in planned and unplanned offensive operations; violations against perceived spies, informers and 'collaborators' within its own ranks; violations against other parties in the course of the 'mass struggle' of the 1980s, and violations against other parties after the legalisation of the ANC in February 1990.
- 7 In the course of the armed struggle, a number of military actions took place which resulted in the death or injury of civilians, and where gross violations of human rights can be said to have been committed, despite ANC policy to avoid unnecessary loss of life. Police statistics indicate that, in the period 1976 to

1986, approximately 130 people were killed by 'terrorists'. Of these, about thirty were members of various security forces and one hundred were civilians. Of the civilians, forty were white and sixty black¹.

- 8 The ANC told the Commission that civilian casualties were attributable to poor reconnaissance, faulty intelligence, faulty equipment, infiltration, misinterpretation of policy, anger on the part of individual members of MK and the 'blurring of the lines' between military and civilian targets in the mid-1980s.

Unplanned military operations

- 9 The Commission received submissions from victims of 'unplanned' military operations performed by MK operatives, notably from victims of the January 1980 Silverton Bank Siege in Pretoria. Such operations resulted in civilian casualties. The July 1977 Goch Street shooting in Johannesburg is also documented here for the sake of completeness of the historical record. The Commission received no victim submissions in this case.
- 10 According to the ANC's first submission, in the Silverton Bank Siege, which took place in Pretoria on 25 January 1980, members of an MK unit, Mr Stephen Mafoko, Mr Humphrey Makhubo and Mr Wilfred Madela [JB03888/01GTSOW] were, according to the ANC, confronted by the police while "on their way to carry out a mission". They entered a bank where they held customers hostage. This was followed by a shoot-out with the police in which two civilians and the three MK operatives were killed. In its submission to the Commission the ANC said that the incident took place "on the spur of the moment" and was the only time that its operatives took hostages in the course of MK actions.
- 11 The Commission received submissions in respect of the deaths of Ms Cynthia Valeria Anderson [JB04717/02PS] and Ms Anna Magrieta De Klerk [JB00697/02PS], and from Mr Salmon Knouwds [JB00118/02PS], Ms Annamaria Landman [JB00685/02PS], Ms Janetta van Wyk [JB00698/02PS], Ms Magrietha Christie and Mr Daniel Christie [JB00699/02PS] who were injured in the Silverton Bank Siege.
- 12 In July 1977, Mr Solomon Mahlangu [JB00182/02PS] and Mr Monty Motaung killed two civilians in a shoot-out with the police in a warehouse in Goch Street, Johannesburg. The two MK operatives had taken refuge in the warehouse when the police confronted them. They were captured and later charged. Mahlangu was

¹ Figures drawn from an SAP document headed '*Opsomming van Terreurdade: 1 January 1976 – 31 December 1986*'

hanged on 6 April 1979 for his part in the incident. Motaung was assaulted so severely by police that he suffered brain damage and was unable to stand trial.

IN THE COURSE OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE THERE WERE INSTANCES WHERE MEMBERS OF MK CONDUCTED UNPLANNED MILITARY OPERATIONS USING THEIR OWN DISCRETION AND WITHOUT ADEQUATE CONTROL AND SUPERVISION AT AN OPERATIONAL LEVEL, DETERMINING TARGETS FOR ATTACK OUTSIDE THE OFFICIAL POLICY GUIDELINES.

WHILE RECOGNISING THAT SUCH OPERATIONS WERE FREQUENTLY UNDERTAKEN IN RETALIATION FOR RAIDS BY THE FORMER SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT INTO NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUCH UNPLANNED OPERATIONS OFTEN RESULTED IN THE PERPETRATION OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THAT THEY CAUSED CIVILIAN LOSS OF LIFE AND INJURIES. THE 1977 GOCH STREET SHOOT-OUT AND THE 1980 SILVERTON BANK SIEGE ARE REGARDED BY THE COMMISSION IN THIS LIGHT.

Planned military operations

Bombings

- 13 For the purposes of this report, planned military operations include the sabotage campaigns mounted by the ANC/MK, including urban bombing campaigns and rural land mine campaigns. Attacks on individuals perceived as 'the enemy', as 'collaborators' with the state, as informers and agents of the security forces, as well as attacks on security forces personnel are also documented here. They are not, however, strictly classified as 'planned' military operations, even in cases where they conformed to the general practice, if not the general policy, of the ANC.
- 14 In the Pretoria Church Street bomb explosion on 20 May 1983, the MK Special Operations Unit planted a car bomb outside the building housing the administrative headquarters of the South African Air Force (SAAF). The explosion killed twenty-one people – eleven of whom were employees of the SAAF and two MK operatives – and injured 217. The Commission received statements in respect of eight people who were killed and ten who were injured in the blast. Additional names of victims were mentioned in the amnesty applications of MK operatives Mr Aboobaker Ismail [AM7109/97], Ms Helene Pastoors [AM7289/97] and Mr Johannes Mnisi [AM7096/97].
- 15 Those killed were Mr Sebastian Stephanus Walters [JB00696/02PS], Ms Adriana Johanna Christiana Meyer [JB00689/02PS], Mr Izak Jacobus Henning [JB00963/02PS], Mr Jacob Johannes Ras [JB00690/02PS], Mr Lengoi Moses Maimela [JB05179/02NPPTB], Mr Thomas Jonas Mohlahlo [JB05216/02NPPTB], Mr Mogale Judas Maimela [JB05179/02NPPTB] and Mr Sekgoetsi Jim Magatsela [JB05179/

02NPPTB]. The injured were Mr Gerhardus Ackermann [CT05000/GAU], Mr Zirkie Bernardus Jansen [CT03085/GAU], Ms Marina Louis Geldenhuys [JB00163/01ER], Ms Paula Botha [JB00177/02PS], Mr James Marren Simpson [JB00179/02PS], Ms Hester Catharina Coetzee [JB00181/02PS], Mr Neville Clarence [JB00702/02PS], Mr Petrus Frederik Botha [JB00705/02PS], Ms Annamarië Triegaardt de Villiers [JB00694/01GTSOW], and Mr Christiaan Barnardo [JB00692/99OVE].

- 16 The ANC justified this bombing as having being aimed at a security force target and consistent with its policy of intensifying the struggle by attacking 'the enemy' and avoiding civilian casualties if possible. At the 'recall hearing' of political parties, the ANC told the Commission that:

Had that bomb gone off at 16h30 ... the overwhelming majority [of victims] would have been from [the Air Force]. But it went off prematurely ... in war, in conflict, of course, one can't always be 100 per cent efficient, effective in an operation ... But we are consistent here in terms of our principle and approach.

- 17 Amnesty applicant Aboobaker Ismail told the Commission that:

There were large numbers of military personnel at the target at the time. We accepted that civilian casualties would result, but we felt that we had to strike at military personnel ... It was not callous. It was not a school like the apartheid forces attacked when they were attacking school children. They were military people there ... One regrets the loss of innocent lives of civilians, but ... we did not think it was terrorism. In fact, the ANC in all its statements lauded that operation...

- 18 Mr Johannes Mnisi's role was to test the devices. He was also part of the contract, together with Mr Freddie Shongwe and Mr Izekiel Masango, the MK operatives who died in the explosion. Ms Helene Pastoors delivered the car with the explosives to the two operatives.²
- 19 In the Amanzimtoti bombing on 23 December 1985, MK cadre Andrew Sibusiso Zondo detonated an explosive in a rubbish bin at the Sanlam Centre. Five people died in the blast and over forty were injured. The Commission received statements in respect of four deaths and six injuries arising from the incident.

² At the time of reporting, the Commission had not made a decision on these amnesty applications.

- 20 Zondo was reacting in anger to the December 1985 Maseru Raid by the South African Defence Force (SADF). He was aware that civilians would be killed and deliberately acted against MK policy. In its first submission to the Commission, the ANC said that Zondo's act was not in line with ANC policy, but was understandable as a response to the SADF raid into Lesotho.
- 21 Zondo was convicted and executed for this act. He apologised to the families of those who died before the death sentence was passed. Two other MK members were allegedly implicated in the blast, one of whom was Mr Stanley Bhila [KZN/NJ/004/DN]. Both were killed by security police. Applications for amnesty were received in this regard.
- 22 The Commission received the following submissions in respect of victims of the Amanzimtoti bombing: the deaths of Cornelius Francois Smit [JB00193/02PS], Ms Irma Bencini [JB05547/03WR], Ms Anna Petronella Shearer [KZN/NNN/522/DN] and Willem Arie van Wyk [JB04774/03VT]; injuries to Ms Isabella Magretha van Wyk [JB04774/03VT], Ms Anna Smit [JB00193/02PS], Ms Sara Susanna Hogan [JB01429/02PS], Ms Anna Christina Frederika Prinsloo [JB01428/02PS], Ms Valekile Letta Makhathini [KZN/NS/036/DN], and Ms Hluphekile Letia Nkabinde [JB00207/03VT].
- 23 On 14 June 1986, three people were killed and about sixty-nine injured in a car bomb explosion at Magoo's Bar on the Durban beachfront. The attack was carried out by an MK cell consisting of Mr Robert McBride, Ms Greta Apelgren (now known as Zahrah Narkedien) and Mr Matthew le Cordier. The latter turned state witness at the trial. Apelgren was acquitted and McBride was convicted and sentenced to death three times. McBride was released during the negotiations between political parties in the early 1990s.
- 24 The Commission received two submissions in respect of people who had been killed in the Magoo's Bar bombing and eleven in respect of the injured. Ms Helen Kearney, a barmaid at the hotel, was one of those injured in the attack and testified at the hearings.
- 25 Those who died were Ms Marchelle Cheryl Gerrard (Oosthuizen) [KZN/GW/001/DN] and Ms Angelique Pattenden [KZN/NKS/010/DN]. The injured were Mr Michael Todd [KZN/NKS/001/DN], Mr David Flutcher [KZN/NKS/002/DN], Mr Gavin Maxwell [KZN/NKS/003/DN], Mr T Vulonel [KZN/NKS/004/DN], Mr Kishorelal Dulcharan [KZN/NKS/006/DN], Ms Helen Kearney [KZN/NKS/007/DN], Ms Larreine de la

Rosa [KZN/NKS/008/DN], Mr Craig Shillow [KZN/NKS/011/DN], Mr Andrew Vimnecembe [KZN/NKS/012/DN], Mr Roger Shillow [KZN/NKS/013/DN], and Mr Jonathan Jeffers [KZN/NKS/019/DN].

- 26 In its first submission to the Commission, the ANC noted that this bombing was “in line with the ANC’s attempts to take the struggle out of the black ghettos and into the white areas. The target of the attack was the ‘Why Not’ Bar, near the Magoo’s Bar because it was [according to surveillance carried out by MK operatives] frequented by off-duty members of the Security Forces.”
- 27 On 21 April 1997, the Commission *subpoenaed* Robert McBride and Zahrah Narkedien to testify in Section 29 hearings in Durban. Narkedien told the Commission she had been tortured by the security police after her arrest in connection with bombing. She testified that, before the explosion, they had been to Botswana to receive instructions from MK command structures. In his own defence, Robert McBride, testified as follows:

Magoo’s is a new invention by the Mercury newspaper. Everybody knew I parked directly opposite the ‘Why Not’ Bar. Magoo’s was never an intended target. And everybody has pretended I acted on my own like a madman ... We were to kill enemy personnel. That’s it.

- 28 In the course of questioning at the hearing, it became clear that McBride’s reconnaissance of the Bar to ascertain whether it was frequented by ‘enemy’ personnel was of a highly amateurish nature.
- 29 A bomb exploded on 20 May 1987 at the Johannesburg magistrate’s court, a minor explosion that was followed by a second more powerful charge minutes later. Mr André Duvenhage, a police officer at John Vorster Square at the time, was one of the personnel who attended to the first explosion not knowing that it was a decoy. The second charge killed him. According to the ANC, three police officers were killed and four police officers and six civilians injured in the explosion. Other reports claimed there were four deaths and sixteen injuries. The Commission received submissions testifying to the deaths of Mr Kobus Wilkens [JB06472/03NW] and Mr André Duvenhage [JB02168/03WR] and the injury of Mr Khutswane [JB02168/03WR].
- 30 The ANC lists the incident as an MK operation. The Commission received amnesty applications from Mr William Mabele [AM5313/97] and Mr Joseph Koetle [AM7500/97].

- 31 There were a number of other planned bombings with civilian casualties. In November 1986, two limpet mines exploded at the Newcastle magistrates' court, injuring twenty-four people. Mr Johannes Zwelibanzi Simelane [KZN/KM/643/NC] and Mr Vusumuzi Jacob Hezekiah Nene [KZN/KM/642/NC] testified to the injuries they received in the incident.
- 32 In July 1987, a bomb exploded at the Wits Command, killing one person and injuring sixty-eight military personnel and civilians. Ms Johanna Aleta Klaasen [EC2651/97] submitted a statement in respect of injuries sustained in the explosion. Mr Heinrich Johannes Grosskopf [AM5917/97], Mr Aboobaker Ismail [AM7109/97], Mr Joseph Mnisi [AM4364/97] and Mr Colin Mike de Souza applied for amnesty for their roles.
- 33 In June 1988, a bomb exploded outside Standard Bank in Roodepoort, killing four and injuring eighteen civilians. Statements were received in respect of the injury of Ms Esther Nontombi Caicai [JB1074/01GTSOW] and the death of Mr Frans Monawa Mothoa [JB01950/02NPPTB].
- 34 In another incident on 17 March 1988, a car bomb exploded at the Krugersdrop magistrate's court adjacent to the local police station, killing two SADF personnel and a civilian. Twenty other people were injured. Mr Hein Grosskopf was tried and convicted for the incident. Mr Mohammed Ichbahl (Iqbal) Shaik [AM7151/97] who, together with Mr Aboobaker Ismail, applied for amnesty for the incident, testified at his amnesty hearing that he set up two bombs, the first to serve as a decoy and the second directed at security force personnel but, "unfortunately the decoy failed to explode, due to some malfunction".
- 35 Two people were killed and several others injured when a bomb exploded on 18 April 1986 at the Wild Coast Casino at Bizana in the Eastern Cape. Amnesty applicant Mr Phumzile Mayaphi [AM5247/97] claims the act was in response to the SADF's raid into Lesotho on 20 December 1985 in which nine people were killed. Mayaphi was charged and found guilty of murder and sabotage and sentenced to death on 12 May 1989.
- 36 On 2 July 1988, a car bomb exploded near the gate of Ellis Park stadium in Johannesburg. Two people were killed and thirty-seven injured. Ms Magriet Elizabeth Erasmus [JB06084/99OVE] made a statement in respect of the killing of her husband, Mr Linus Mare, and a colleague, Mr Clive Clucas. Mr Roger Christian Hagerty [EC1442/97ELN] sustained injuries in the explosion. Amnesty

applicants for this incident were Mr Harold Matshididi [AM8007/97] and Mr Billy Agie Shoke [AM8014/97].

- 37 The ANC conceded that unnecessary civilian deaths arose from the misinterpretation of policy by cadres and activists on the ground. They said that state censorship through the banning of ANC literature and the disruption of broadcasts from *Radio Freedom*, as well as a deliberate distortion of ANC policies, impeded communication between rank and file members and the ANC leadership. The ANC nevertheless refuted the possibility of “different perceptions on the definition of legitimate targets among ANC leaders”.

IN THE COURSE OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE, THE ANC THROUGH ITS ARMED FORMATION, MK, PLANNED AND UNDERTOOK MILITARY OPERATIONS WHERE, THOUGH THE INTENDED TARGET WAS IDENTIFIED AS A ‘MILITARY’ OR ‘SECURITY FORCE’ ONE, MISTAKES WERE MADE FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS, INCLUDING POOR INTELLIGENCE AND RECONNAISSANCE. THE CONSEQUENCE IN THESE CASES, SUCH AS THE MAGOO’S BAR AND THE DURBAN ESPLANADE BOMBINGS, WERE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THAT THEY RESULTED IN INJURIES TO AND THE DEATHS OF CIVILIANS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE ANC RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PERPETRATION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THESE INSTANCES.

Landmine campaign

- 38 From late 1985 to mid-1987, some MK units were tasked with laying anti-tank mines in the rural areas of the northern and eastern Transvaal, targeting military patrols. A number of civilians – both white farmers, their families, and black farm labourers – were killed when these explosives were detonated. The ANC estimates that thirty landmine explosions took place in this period, resulting in some twenty-three deaths, including those of two MK members killed in the course of laying a mine.
- 39 According to a submission from the National Party (NP), “Fifty-seven landmine attacks occurred between 26 November 1985 and 21 February 1991 in which twenty-five people were killed and seventy-six injured”.
- 40 In its second submission, the ANC expressed its “sincere regret” for the civilian deaths and injuries in this campaign. The ANC stressed that it had ordered its operatives to carry out careful surveillance and to use anti-tank rather than anti-personnel mines so that individual labourers on foot would not detonate the explosives. In its first submission it noted that:

It was the apartheid regime itself which took steps towards obliterating the distinction between the civilian and military spheres from the time of its adoption of the 'total strategy' programme in 1977, and its later declaration of these areas as military zones.

- 41 In its second submission, the ANC explained that the high rate of civilian casualties – especially the deaths of black labourers – had led to the MK headquarters halting the laying of anti-tank mines.
- 42 In a landmine explosion that took place on 15 December 1985 at Chatsworth farm in the district of Messina, five people were killed and five injured. Three of the dead were children aged two, eight and ten. Mr Johannes Frederick van Eck [JB00707/01MPWES] was severely injured and lost four members of his family: Johannes Frederick (jnr), Jacoba, Nelmarie and Michael Ignatius. His one-year-old son survived the blast. Two members of the De Nysschen family (Marie and Carla) who were with the Van Ecks also died, while Grizelle and Thea de Nysschen were injured.
- 43 Mr van Eck expressed his concern that the perpetrators, who had been convicted and sentenced, had been released under the indemnity agreement of 1992. Mr Jacobus Johannes de Nysschen [JB00695/02NPTZA] told the Commission that he was convinced the perpetrators were members of the ANC.
- 44 Two people were killed and nearly twenty injured in a landmine explosion on a road close to Messina near the Zimbabwe border on 5 May 1987. Mr Frans Ratshilumela Ramagalela [JB05539/02NPVEN] and twenty others were on the back of the truck which detonated the landmine as it approached the gate of the site where they were to be employed.
- 45 The Commission received submissions in respect of several other victims of landmine explosions in incidents which occurred between November 1985 and December 1986: Mr Elijah and Ms Meluba Mokgamatha [JB00137/02NPPTB], Mr Deon du Plessis de Beer [JB00684/02NPPTB], Mr Manel Mtshiselwa Sindane [JB06350/01ERKAT], Mr Martin Coetzer [KZN/SMB/001/BL], Ms Marietjie Cornelia and Johannes Jacobus Roos [JB01350/01MPNEL] and Mr Lindela Claud Mavundla [KZN/MR/425/PS].

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

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

Killing of individual 'enemies' and 'defectors'

- 46 In the late 1970s, the ANC began to target specific police officers and perceived 'collaborators'. Initially those killed were former ANC members who had turned state witness in political trials. The ANC justified these killings in its second submission because those killed were "personnel actively assisting SAP".
- 47 Mr Leonard Mandla Nkosi, a former member of the Luthuli detachment and involved in the 'Wankie campaign'³, became an askari after he was captured by the police and went on to testify against his former 'comrades' as a state witness in several trials. Nkosi was killed by the ANC on 9 September 1977. His case is documented in the KwaZulu-Natal regional profile. Mr Jan Daniel Potgieter [AM5418/97] applied for amnesty for having forced Nkosi into becoming a state witness.
- 48 Mr Abel Mthembu [JB00336/01GTSOW], former deputy president of the ANC in the Transvaal, was killed on 14 April 1978 because, according to the ANC's second submission, he "turned state witness at the Pretoria ANC trial".
- 49 Mr Tennyson Makiwane [EC0258/96STK] was one of the 'Gang of Eight' who had sought to launch a 'reformed' ANC and was expelled from the ANC in 1975. Makiwane joined Matanzima's Transkei government in February 1979. He acted as a "consultant and roving Transkei ambassador" and was believed by ANC members to be revealing confidential information. He was shot dead in Umtata in July 1980. Mr David Simelane [AM5305/97], a member of the ANC, applied for amnesty for this killing, as well as for the killing of other police officers and *askaris*.
- 50 On 26 February 1985, the Pietermaritzburg court sentenced MK members Clarence Lucky Payi [EC0855/96STK] and Sipho Xulu to death for killing Mr Benjamin Langa. Payi and Xulu claimed that they had been led to believe that Ben Langa, an active

3 In 1967, MK cadres were sent into Rhodesia with Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) units in what became known as the 'Wankie Campaign'. Nkosi was part of the 'Luthuli Detachment' which attempted to forge a route into South Africa.

ANC member, was a police informer and killed him on orders they believed came from the ANC.

- 51 According to the ANC's first submission:

In a few cases, deliberate disinformation resulted in attacks and assassinations in which dedicated cadres lost their lives. In one of the most painful examples of this nature, a state agent with the MK name of 'Fear' ordered two cadres to execute Ben Langa on the grounds that Langa was an agent of the regime. These cadres – Clement Payi [Clarence Lucky Payi] and Lucky Xulu [Sipho Xulu] – carried out their orders. This action resulted in serious disruption of underground and mass democratic structures in the area and intense distress to the Langa family – which was the obvious intention of Fear's handlers...

- 52 Oliver Tambo personally apologised to Langa family for this action. The Commission notes that this incident illustrates that it was not unheard of for MK members to be ordered to assassinate civilians. Mr Joel George Martins [AM6450/97] applied for amnesty in respect of the case of Benjamin Langa, claiming that he supplied information about his movements to MK members.
- 53 In about April 1986, Mr David Lukhele [JB00646/02PS], former minister of KaNgwane, was framed in a bogus pamphlet associating him with anti-ANC sentiments. A few days before his death, he had met with chiefs to discuss the unification of KaNgwane and Swaziland. On 6 June 1986, he and his sister-in-law were killed in his home in Mamelodi, while watching television. ANC members Mr Neo Griffith Potsane [AM7159/97], Mr Jabu Obed Masina [AM5886/97] and Mr Frans 'Ting Ting' Masango [AM7087/97] applied for amnesty for the killing.
- 54 Mr Sipho Phungulwa [JB00420/01ERKWA] was part of a group of exiles who were held in ANC detention camps in Angola. The group included Mr Mwezi Twala, Mr Norman Phiri, Mr David Mthembu and Mr Luthando Nicholas Dyasop. They returned to South Africa along with fellow exiles and prisoners and approached various organisations, including the ANC, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) for assistance in exposing the hardships they had endured in Angola. Phungulwa was shot dead in Umtata on 13 June 1990, apparently while he and Dyasop were trying to seek an audience with the Transkei ANC leadership. Mr Ndibulele Ndzamela [AM5180/97], Mr Mfanelo Matshaya [AM7016/97] and Mr Pumlanzi Kubukeli [AM5180/97] were granted amnesty on 13 August 1998 in connection with this incident.

- 55 Further cases of a similar nature may be found in Volume Three of this report.

INDIVIDUALS WHO DEFECTED TO THE STATE AND BECAME INFORMERS, AND/OR MEMBERS WHO BECAME STATE WITNESSES IN POLITICAL TRIALS AND/OR BECAME ASKARIS WERE OFTEN LABELLED 'COLLABORATORS' BY THE ANC AND REGARDED AS LEGITIMATE TARGETS TO BE KILLED. THE COMMISSION DOES NOT ACCEPT THE LEGITIMISATION OF SUCH INDIVIDUALS AS MILITARY TARGETS AND FINDS THAT THE EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS OF SUCH INDIVIDUALS CONSTITUTED INSTANCES OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. FURTHER FINDINGS IN THIS REGARD WILL BE MADE BY THE AMNESTY COMMITTEE WHEN THE ABOVE CASES AND OTHERS HAVE BEEN HEARD.

Security force personnel

- 56 The Commission views armed and/or uniformed combatants on both sides as being 'legitimate targets'. The deaths of members of the security forces while on duty, armed and in uniform are not considered gross violations of human rights. However, the Commission recognises that there are many 'grey areas' in this regard, especially when dealing with unconventional guerrilla warfare, and where the security forces of the state were employing unconventional means (such as using informers, *askaris* and plain-clothes security police officers).
- 57 Between 1984 and 1987, 144 police officers were killed. According to Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, it is not possible to distinguish politically-motivated murders of police officers from others. Not all such cases can qualify as gross human rights violations, and in most such cases, the families of the deceased did not approach the Commission. Cases received by the Commission that can be classified in this way concerned the deaths of Mr Johannes van der Merwe [JB00686/02PS] and Mr Thomas Shingange [JB03383/02NPTZA] and the injuries of Mr Edmund Beck [JB00135/01GT] and Mr Welmar O'Reilly [CT03081/GAU].

Operations of uncertain status

- 58 The ANC submitted two lists of armed actions to the Commission. The acts on the first list were acknowledged to have been committed by ANC members. The second list, however, is entitled "Armed actions for which target category and/or responsibility is uncertain". No distinction is made in this list between acts that killed or injured civilians because of 'operational difficulties', those which were 'false flag operations', and those which were acts of *bona fide* MK members interpreting ANC policy in a certain way. In investigating these incidents, the Commission requested information from the ANC but received no response. The cases detailed below fall into the category of 'uncertain' status.

- 59 Mr Annamalai 'Daya' and Mr Leelavathi 'Navi' Rengasami [KZN/MR/014/DN] were killed in a bomb blast on the Esplanade in Durban on 3 April 1984. Mr Yogenathan Gary Govindsamy, the deponent in this case, said that he knew at the time that the ANC was responsible for the blast, and that he heard later that ANC President OR Tambo apologised over *Radio Freedom*. Mr Govindsamy laid the blame for the blast on the NP government for refusing to initiate dialogue with the banned liberation movements. The family was refused compensation from the President's 'Victims of Terrorism' fund because of his statement. The incident is listed by the ANC as being of "uncertain" status.
- 60 A spate of explosions at Wimpy Bars and supermarkets took place in the late 1980s. These were generally believed to be the work of liberation movements and associated with ANC operatives. The ANC told the Commission that, while a number of such attacks may have originated from MK cadres, evidence has started to surface that some of them were 'false flag operations' by the state, aimed at discrediting the ANC.
- 61 Statements were received from victims who had sustained injuries in the Benoni Wimpy Bar explosion on 30 July 1988, namely from Ms Catharina and Ms Tarina Janse van Rensburg [JB06049/01ERKAT], Ms Johanna Catharina Aletta Edwards [JB06048/01ERKAT] and Ms Illana Howe. Ms Maryanne de Olivetra Neto Serrano [JB01274/01ERKAT] died in the same incident. The Commission received amnesty applications from Mr Ernest Phumuzi Sigasa [AM5300/97] and Mr Elfes Mabore Ndhlovu [AM5301/97] in connection with the bombings.
- 62 A car bomb exploded in Bluff Road, Durban on 12 July 1984, killing five people and injuring twenty-seven. This explosion is not listed in either of the ANC's lists. However, Mr OR Tambo is quoted as saying the bomb was intended for a military convoy and that the bombers were "inexcusably careless" for causing civilian casualties.
- 63 On 24 October 1988, a bomb exploded outside a Witbank shopping mall, killing two and injuring forty-two people. Three people were arrested and sentenced for the act. Submissions were received in respect of the deaths of Mr Jacob Samuel Masuku [JB02150/01MPWES] and Mr Elias Masina [JB03861/01MPWES] and injuries to Ms Maria Petronella Jannette van Heerden [JB00688/02PS], Ms Catharina Elizabetha Magrieta Trollip [JB00691/02PS] and Mr James Radebe [JB02154/01MPWES]. Mr Philip Makwale Nyalunga [AM5299/97] applied for amnesty. The incident is listed by the ANC as of "uncertain" origin.

- 64 A limpet mine exploded at a bus terminus in Vanderbijlpark on 23 September 1988, injuring nineteen people. A victim submission was received from Mr William Henry Ryan [JB06463/03WR]. The incident is listed by the ANC as of “uncertain” origin. ANC operatives Sipho Nicodimus Mthembu [AM6028/97] and Tsehis Edward Mokati [AM6028/97] applied for amnesty.
- 65 A bomb exploded at the Orange Free State Administration Board offices in Bloemfontein on 12 February 1983. Seventy-six people were injured. The Commission received statements from Mr James Mzwandile Tshulu [KZN/JRW/008/BL] and Mr Brandfort Mahato Mazeze [KZN/JRW/010/BL]. The incident is listed by the ANC as of “uncertain” origin.
- 66 On 26 May 1988, Ms Anna Maria Prinsloo [JB00700/02PS] was injured in an explosion outside the African Eagle Building in central Pretoria. The incident is listed by the ANC as of “uncertain” origin.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT, FIRST, THE FACT THAT THE TARGETS OF THESE OPERATIONS WERE LARGELY SIMILAR IN THAT THEY MIRRORED SIMILAR OPERATIONS FOR WHICH THE ANC DID ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY; SECOND, THE FACT THAT THE ANC WAS, AT THE TIME THAT THESE OPERATIONS WERE UNDERTAKEN, ENGAGED IN SIMILAR OPERATIONS FOR WHICH IT TOOK RESPONSIBILITY, AND THIRD, THE FACT THAT MANY ANC OPERATIONS WERE CHARACTERISED BY POOR STRATEGIC PLANNING AND CONTROL, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ON A BALANCE OF PROBABILITIES, THESE OPERATIONS WERE UNDERTAKEN BY ANC MEMBERS ACTING IN THE NAME OF THE ORGANISATION AND THAT THEY RESULTED IN GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE ANC IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE. FURTHER FINDINGS IN THIS REGARD WILL BE MADE BY THE AMNESTY COMMITTEE WHEN THE ABOVE CASES AND OTHERS HAVE BEEN HEARD.

Gross violations of human rights in the context of the ‘people’s war’

- 67 In some cases, ANC supporters were responsible for perpetrating gross violations of human rights in contravention of the express policies of the organisation. Some of the individuals responsible have applied for amnesty arguing that, although not formally under orders of the ANC, they believed they were acting in accordance with ANC strategic objectives at the time. Such acts included the killings of local councillors, police officers, alleged informers and others deemed to be ‘collaborators’. Such killings sometimes involved the use of the ‘necklace’ method. The apportioning of accountability for such violations is a difficult matter, given the complexities and difficulties of mass organisation during the period.
- 68 The relationships between the ANC and other liberation movements in exile, and between the ANC and the internal mass organisations that became central to the resistance movements in the late 1970s and 1980s, were complex. They

were tenuous in that the internal underground structures of the exiled ANC, for most of the period, were weak. This meant that lines of communication and decision-making between those 'inside' and those 'outside' were often ineffective. The relationship was strong in that there was an extremely dedicated core of activists inside the mass movements who owed loyalty to the ANC. Even where they were not formally linked into decision-making structures via underground cells, they communicated with the ANC in exile and on Robben Island through an ingenious variety of methods. Through this complicated and uneven process, activists inside South Africa interpreted what they understood to be 'the line' of 'the Movement'. There were, however, many occasions where activists themselves were, in practice, determining 'the line' and where the ANC in exile was bound to accept their interpretation of events 'on the ground'.

- 69 The ANC played a direct role in the establishment of the 'new generation' of mass organisations in the late 1970s. Mass mobilisation formed one of the 'four pillars' of ANC strategy as outlined in the *Green Book*. Many individual activists who filled key positions in the organisations that made up the democratic mass movement held primary allegiance to the ANC. Their loyalty to two (sometimes more) organisations seldom resulted in conflict, and there was an unspoken understanding that organisations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its affiliates would not act in ways which countered ANC policy – except in as much as they did not engage in armed actions and tried to remain within the terrain of legal operation.
- 70 The fact that individual leaders of the mass movements owed allegiance to the ANC did not necessarily mean that they were all ANC members or linked to the underground network. Yet, some individuals *were* formal members of the ANC and were involved in the underground structures. With the blurring of the boundaries of these allegiances, it has been difficult to ascertain accountability for the various violations of human rights allegedly perpetrated in the name of the ANC during the 1980s.

Conflict with Inkatha

- 71 Violent conflict between supporters of Inkatha and supporters of the UDF broke out in parts of Natal in the early 1980s and escalated rapidly over the next ten years. The role of the ANC in this conflict is difficult to determine. On the one hand, many of the conflicts were local battles over resources, control and patronage of Inkatha officials (who controlled, amongst other things, local government,

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

- 72 While the ANC denied that its armed operatives had ever considered political leaders or members of Inkatha to be 'legitimate targets', Mr Joel Netshitenzhe of the ANC told the 'recall hearing' of the Commission that:

From time to time there were individuals in these structures, be it in the community councils or in the Bantustan structures, who behaved in such a manner within communities that they defined themselves as targets to those communities, and amongst those communities you would from time to time find MK cadres who would have responded to such attacks and provocation.

- 73 There were numerous armed attacks on Inkatha members in the late 1980s, involving hand grenades and automatic rifles. The ANC explained that a plan by an MK unit to assassinate Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was stopped by MK commanders; however, many lower profile Inkatha leaders were killed.
- 74 The ANC was asked specifically to respond to documents stating that correspondence to Mr Thami Zulu (at the time head of MK operations in Natal) "emphasised the need to infiltrate smaller groups to deal with Inkatha warlords" from December 1987 onwards. Mr Joe Modise, head of MK, responded that Thami Zulu would have had the "latitude to act" in response to such requests; but that such a request had not been discussed in MK headquarters. Mr Matthews Phosa, who was a member of the MK command in Mozambique at the time, denied that such a matter had ever been discussed.
- 75 As a result of public statements by Chief Buthelezi that his party would not co-operate with the Commission, the Commission was unable to access any significant number of statements from Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members and supporters who were victims of human rights violations. The Commission went to extensive lengths to persuade the IFP to participate in its work, but with limited success. In late 1997, shortly before the cut-off date for the making of victim statements, KwaZulu-Natal premier Ben Ngubane issued a public statement encouraging IFP members who had been victims of violations to make statements to the Commission so they could qualify for financial reparations. This resulted in a small number of IFP victims coming forward.

76 In the submission it made to the Commission, the IFP said that differences between Inkatha and the ANC proved irreconcilable at the 1979 meeting in London. "From then onwards", said Mr Frank Mdlalose, "Inkatha was singled out as an enemy because it refused to crook the knee to the ANC or accept its strategy of armed struggle and the destruction of the South African economy."

77 Relations between the ANC and Inkatha deteriorated rapidly after the London meeting. Initially, the conflict took the form of a war of words. The ANC embarked upon a propaganda onslaught against Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha. UDF supporters on the ground became increasingly antagonistic towards Inkatha, describing its leadership, particularly Chief Buthelezi, variously as a "sell-out" and a "puppet of Pretoria". Former senior IFP official Mr Daluxolo Luthuli told the Commission that:

Zulu traditional leaders were by this time coming under increasing attack by the ANC. Comrades were attacking, murdering and destroying the homes of councillors, indunas and chiefs. This was a strategy of the ANC and was even announced on Radio Freedom.

78 The IFP provided the Commission with a substantial volume of information from the propaganda apparatus of the ANC at this time, illustrating the extent to which the IFP became the focal point for opposition to the system.

79 When in late 1985 Chief Buthelezi was alerted to alleged MK plans to assassinate him, he turned to the state security apparatus for support. Buthelezi's requests included the training and deployment of a VIP guard unit, an intelligence structure, a KwaZulu army, the authority to issue firearm licenses and a paramilitary force. The SADF viewed the question of covert assistance to Inkatha as mutually beneficial; it saw Inkatha playing a central role in its strategic response to 'the total onslaught' by the liberation and resistance movements.

80 In his amnesty application, Daluxolo Luthuli confirmed that the IFP felt that the only course open to it was to mobilise a paramilitary capacity:

Militant youth who were affiliated to the UDF were very active in black areas. Through violence and intimidation they were forcing people to support them in their efforts to make the country ungovernable. People who did not support the comrades were abused in many ways by these comrades. People's courts were held and the sentences which were meted out by youngsters were often inhumane and barbaric. People were commonly sentenced to hundreds of lashes, forced to parade naked through townships and killed by necklacing.

Inkatha and its supporters were labelled as collaborators of the white government and were, in the view of the comrades and UDF, enemies. It was common for Inkatha leaders and supporters to be attacked and murdered.

- 81 In a section 29 hearing of the Commission, former IFP National Council member Walter Felgate said that he had personally advised Chief Buthelezi of the need for a defensive and pre-emptive capacity for Inkatha. He said that what was envisaged was a "strike capacity" for the IFP; not simply a defensive group to look after KwaZulu government VIPs and property.
- 82 The outcome of these developments was the clandestine training of an offensive paramilitary unit, comprising 200 Inkatha supporters. They were trained by SADF Special Forces personnel in the Caprivi Strip, South West Africa/Namibia, during 1986.
- 83 The IFP submitted a list of over 400 alleged office-bearers who, according to the IFP, were deliberately targeted and killed by structures of the ANC and its affiliates. The IFP's submission made it clear that it believed that the killings were part of a deliberate pattern of behaviour on the part of the ANC – in the words of the IFP, "serial killing".
- 84 The Durban office of the Commission conducted an intensive investigation into those incidents that occurred in former Natal and KwaZulu. A significant percentage of the incidents on the list fell outside the Commission's mandate, in that they occurred after the cut-off date of April 1994, and the Commission was thus not able to investigate them. However, it would be safe to assume, from the nature of the information provided by the IFP, that the trends and patterns with regard to these incidents would be similar to those which the Commission was able to investigate. As indicated above, those incidents that occurred in the Transvaal also fell outside the scope of this investigation, owing to limited investigative capacity.
- 85 The Commission investigated 289 incidents, of which it was unable to corroborate 136. In many cases, despite searches of inquest court records, police dockets and government departments supplying birth and death certificates, no trace whatsoever of the individuals could be found. In each of these cases, further information was sought from the IFP, without any success.
- 86 With regard to the remaining 153 incidents, the Commission did not verify as to whether the deceased were in fact office-bearers of the IFP, accepting the *bona*

fides of the IFP in this regard. However, in a small number of incidents, death certificates show that the deceased were children and thus patently not office-bearers.

- 87 The Commission was able to identify the perpetrators or their political allegiance or both in ninety of the 289 incidents.
- a UDF/ANC-aligned paramilitary structures were implicated in the killing of thirty-one IFP office-bearers.
 - b UDF/ANC-aligned community members or youth were implicated in the killing of thirty IFP office-bearers. These killings took place within the context of the ongoing IFP/ANC conflict.
 - c MK cadres were implicated in the killing of seven IFP office-bearers.
 - d UDF/ANC-aligned extra-judicial tribunals ('people's courts') were implicated in the killing of eight IFP office-bearers (the primary reason found for the killings were matters such as witchcraft, personal relationships and crime).
 - e Members of the South African Police (SAP) were implicated in the killing of four IFP office-bearers, in the course of confiscating illegal weapons.
 - f IFP members were implicated in the killing of six IFP office-bearers due to internal rivalry within the IFP.
 - g Non-political criminals were implicated in the killing of four IFP office-bearers, in the course of ordinary criminal activities such as burglary.
 - h In three incidents, the deceased died in motor vehicle accidents or as a result of personal or domestic disputes;
 - i In four incidents, investigations proved that the 'deceased' were not in fact dead.
- 88 Accordingly, investigations reveal that ANC, UDF or MK structures were responsible for the killing of seventy-six IFP office-bearers during the period 1985-1994. In only two of the incidents did the perpetrators hold leadership positions in the UDF, ANC or MK. In eight of the incidents, the killings were administered by 'people's courts' and it was not possible to establish whether the IFP members had been targeted because of their IFP membership. However, given the history of the conflict, it would seem safe to assume that membership of the IFP would have played a factor.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN SEVENTY-SIX INCIDENTS, THE DECEASED WERE DELIBERATELY TARGETED BECAUSE THEY HELD POSITIONS WITHIN THE IFP. THE KILLINGS OF THESE IFP OFFICE-BEARERS CONSTITUTE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AMOUNTING TO A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE, ENTAILING DELIBERATE PLANNING, FOR WHICH THE RESPECTIVE LOCAL STRUCTURES OF THE UDF, ANC AND MK ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Conflict with 'collaborators'

- 89 The conflict arising from the ANC's opposition to the homeland policy began in the early 1960s. Some of the violations perpetrated against chiefs and headmen during the 1960s Pondoland revolt were committed in the name of 'Congress', even though those involved in perpetrating such acts were not acting as part of any ANC structure, either military or political.
- 90 At times, pressure on chiefs and headmen came from the side of the government and the community simultaneously. For example, during the Pondoland revolt against the implementation of the Trust Land Act, Chief Mhlabuvukile Faku [EC1670/97ETK] of Isikelo village was accused by his community of "collaborating with whites" and, by the police, of "influencing people to resist the Act".
- 91 Acts of violence were perpetrated by members and supporters of the ANC against perceived 'collaborators' in tribal structures and in the homelands from the early 1960s. These acts continued through the Commission's mandate period, claiming many lives. An example of this is to be found in the attacks on members of the Dikwankwetla National Party (DNP) by supporters of mass movements during the late 1980s because of the DNP's support for the QwaQwa homeland government. Among these cases were the burning down of Mr Mohau Samuel Nthunya's home [KZN/LMR/012/LB] in 1989 allegedly by 'ANC', the stabbing of Ms Tello Maria and Mr Moramang Thaisi [KZN/MT/021/BL] and the burning down of their home in 1989, the burning down of the home of Mr Naferong Jacob Makae [KZN/ZJ/086/BL] in 1989 and the petrol-bombing and stoning of the Botshabelo home of Ms Mathabo Adelina Masunyane [KZN/ZJ/089/BL] in 1988, 1989 and 1990. Responsibility for these attacks, which occurred in QwaQwa and in other areas of the Orange Free State, were attributed to ANC supporters, in spite of the fact that the ANC was banned at the time.

Political accountability

- 92 In the mid-1980s, the number of deaths arising from the 'people's war' rose dramatically. The 'naming' of the ANC as a perpetrator organisation during this

period is often inaccurate. In some cases, deponents attributed violations that took place before 1990 to the ANC, although few people operated as ANC members during this period. While the perception that the ANC was responsible for such acts is widespread, the ANC cannot be held directly responsible.

- 93 However, both the ANC and the leadership of the mass movements must bear some general responsibility for atrocities that occurred in this period, committed usually by youths acting in the name of the liberation struggle.
- 94 When violence spilled over to those who were not 'legitimate targets' but who were more easily accessible than armed policemen – such as their families or suspected informers – the ANC dissociated itself from such acts. Youth activists who became involved in acts of violence in the name of the mass democratic struggle must be held individually accountable for their own actions and the consequences of these actions. Yet they acted within a context in which such actions were condoned as being 'part of the struggle', both by their peers and by those to whom they looked for direction,.
- 95 Events in Sebokeng, Duduza and Langa (Uitenhage) in late 1984 and early 1985 illustrate how the cycle of violence started (see Volume Three of this report). Both the ANC and the UDF leadership were 'caught off guard' and ambivalent in their response to this initial upsurge of violence in late 1984/early 1985. While the ANC wanted to direct the violence into a possible insurrection, it did not have the underground or military capacity to do so. There is considerable evidence and support for the argument that much of the violence was undirected.
- 96 On 25 April 1985, the ANC national executive made a call: "Make apartheid unworkable! Make the country ungovernable!"⁴. The destruction of the Black Local Authorities and the pressure put on councillors to resign was seen as an integral part of the making the townships ungovernable. Internally, the campaign was fanned by UDF structures and was the forerunner of the campaign for the building of organs of people's power. In the process of its implementation, some people became victims of gross violations of human rights.
- 97 Interventions in undisciplined activities by groups and organisations 'on the ground' were often ineffective. Leaders of the ANC and the mass movements did not act decisively, for example, to stop the practice of 'necklacing'. They were unable to control the youth militia – the *amabutho* – and those running the

⁴ In a paper entitled: 'ANC Call to the Nation: The Future is Within Our Grasp'

'people's courts' at all times, and sometimes came under threat when they tried to do so. When crowd violence became ugly, few of the leaders of the mass movements – with the exception of some religious leaders – were brave enough to intervene. In many cases, even religious leaders failed to influence the actions of the youth militia.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN THE 1980S IN PARTICULAR, LARGE NUMBERS OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WERE PERPETRATED, NOT BY DIRECT MEMBERS OF THE ANC OR THOSE OPERATING UNDER ITS FORMAL COMMAND, BUT BY CIVILIANS WHO SAW THEMSELVES AS ANC SUPPORTERS. IN THIS REGARD, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ANC IS MORALLY AND POLITICALLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR CREATING A CLIMATE IN WHICH SUCH SUPPORTERS BELIEVED THEIR ACTIONS TO BE LEGITIMATE AND CARRIED OUT WITHIN THE BROAD PARAMETERS OF A 'PEOPLE'S WAR' AS ENUNCIATED AND ACTIVELY PROMOTED BY THE ANC. VIOLATIONS INCLUDING KILLINGS, ATTEMPTED KILLINGS, ARSON AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT WERE COMMITTED BY ANC SUPPORTERS AGAINST URBAN COUNCILLORS AND RURAL HEADMEN, MEMBERS OF THE IFP AND OTHER PEOPLE PERCEIVED TO BE 'COLLABORATORS' OF THE SYSTEM OR ENEMIES OF THE ANC.

Gross violations of human rights committed in ANC ranks and in exile

- 98 The Commission heard accounts of violations committed by members of the ANC's security structures and by guards of internment camps such as Camp 32 (Quatro), and of orders given or policies adopted by those in political leadership structures which led to such violations. Most such violations occurred outside the borders of South Africa.
- 99 The bitterness felt by those who claim to have been loyal to the ANC and the cause it represented and who felt they had been betrayed by their own Movement's inability to deal openly with such human rights abuses, is captured in the words of Mr Joe Seremane whose brother, Mr Timothy Tebogo Seremane (aka Mahamba) [JB04441/01GTSOW] was executed in Quatro camp. Joe Seremane told the Commission's special hearings of prisons in July 1997:

I come here to express the feeling of betrayal by compatriots and comrades ... I want somebody to come and tell me what my younger brother actually did that he deserved to be shot like an animal being put down after being brutally disfigured so that of his best friends could not recognise him ... Why do you think we ran and volunteered to risk our lives, calling for your own return home, for justice, supporting you in your call to be treated under the Geneva Conventions and you couldn't treat your own that way? ... Suddenly nobody has ever come across this young Seremane, suddenly nobody has ever known him, suddenly nobody has a record to show what

kind of trial he had, he faced. Was he defended or was he not defended? And where was the accountability that you couldn't account to his people and say he is dead? ... I have been on the Island, I have gone through hell. I have been tortured, nearly lost my life ... I have seen what it means to be tortured. But when I think of Chief Timothy and compare the way he died, to my suffering, my suffering is nothing...

- 100 The ANC's second submission, presented to the Commission in May 1997, contains details of ANC structures and personnel, MK camps and commanders, and ANC rehabilitation and detention centres, an operations report from the ANC's security department, a description of the workings of the Morris Seabelo Rehabilitation Centre ('Quatro' camp) and case studies of 'enemy agents' who infiltrated the ANC. In addition, confidential memoranda were presented to the Commission containing the names of those executed by military tribunals (with names additional to those in the first ANC submission). Further information about events associated with the ANC in exile was obtained at the Commission's 'recall hearing' on 12 May 1997, at the 'armed forces hearing' on 10 October 1997, and in the Section 29 hearings of former ANC commissar Andrew Masondo and former commander of Camp 32, Gabriel Mthembu held in March/April 1998.
- 101 The Commission does not believe that information relating to abuses committed by the ANC has been deliberately withheld.
- 102 The capacity of the Commission to investigate abuses that took place in other countries was limited. The Commission obtained information, to a large extent, from statements by victims/survivors of ANC violations and amnesty applications by ANC members responsible for such violations. Where possible, corroboration was obtained by taking statements from third parties who were present.

Background to Human Rights Violations by the ANC in exile

- 103 Before the establishment of a security apparatus by the ANC, problems of discipline or security were handled by the MK command structures, headed from 1965 by Commander Joe Modise.
- 104 Between 1979 and 1989, the ANC was responsible for committing various human rights abuses upon its members in exile. Many of these abuses were committed by the ANC's security department (established in the mid-1970s) – known by the acronym NAT (for National Security) or *Mbokodo/Mbokotho* ('crushing boulder').

The detention camp in Angola known as Quatro (Number Four), officially called the Morris Seabelo Rehabilitation Centre or Camp 32, was set up in 1979 as a 'rehabilitation centre' and was one of the places where significant abuses took place. Violations also took place at the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia as well as in Botswana and elsewhere in Angola.

- 105 The Commission heard that a 'spy scare' in the ANC in 1981 and the poisoning of MK members led to an atmosphere of paranoia about infiltration by agents of the South African government. It was in this context that a number of ANC members were detained and tortured. Some died as a result of assaults and a few were executed. In its Operational Report which it submitted to the Commission, NAT claims credit for uncovering a spy network in 1981 in an operation known as *Operation Shishita*.
- 106 Barely two years after the 'spy scare', a rebellion amongst soldiers in MK camps in Angola resulted in further violations. Frustrations among MK members in the Angolan camps led to the *Mkatashinga* mutiny of 1984. Mutineers at Viana camp were persuaded to end the mutiny by Chris Hani. The leaders were detained; thirty-two were held in Luanda State Security Prison where two died between February and July 1984.
- 107 Three months after the Viana mutiny, there was a further mutiny at Pango camp. The Pango camp mutiny was forcibly crushed by 'loyalist' MK troops with the assistance of Angolan troops. There were casualties on both sides. The mutineers were captured. Some were allegedly tortured, seven were executed and the rest were transferred to Quatro. ANC NEC member Ms Gertrude Shope intervened and prevented further executions.
- 108 Many of those detained in 1984 were held for a number of years without trial. The Commission received statements from detainees who were subjected to assault and torture between 1986 and 1989.
- 109 The events created an awareness of levels of dissatisfaction among MK members, as well as of abuses that were occurring. An internal commission of enquiry into the mutiny made certain recommendations about the treatment of prisoners and the role of the security department. Certain measures were taken to establish legal structures and procedures for dealing with dissidents, including a code of conduct adopted in 1985 and the establishment of the post of 'Officer of Justice'.

- 110 In 1988, when the ANC was obliged to leave Angola in terms of the New York Accords, the camps were closed and prisoners transferred to ANC camps in Tanzania or prisons in Uganda. In August 1991, the last of the mutineers was released from detention in Uganda and returned to South Africa. The ANC stated at this point that it no longer held any prisoners. However, Amnesty International was told of detainees held in Tanzania, some released only during 1992.
- 111 In September 1991, the Skweyiya Commission of Enquiry, reporting to the ANC President, was set up to investigate allegations made by a group of thirty-two concerning poor conditions, maltreatment and the loss or destruction of property in the ANC detention camps.
- 112 The Skweyiya Commission heard evidence from seventeen former ANC detainees, including eleven from the 'group of 32' and six ANC officials. It did not have statutory powers and was unable to *subpoena* witnesses or offer witness protection and relied on witnesses coming forward voluntarily. An independent advocate was appointed to conduct investigations and lead evidence before the commission.
- 113 The Skweyiya Commission found that detainees were held for periods of from three to seven years without trial and that cells were at times overcrowded, hot and lacking ventilation. Certain detainees were held in solitary confinement for extended periods. Hygiene and medical care were inadequate. The detainees' diet was inadequate and food deprivation was used as a means of punishment.
- 114 The Skweyiya Commission found that maltreatment at Quatro detention centre in Angola was persistent and brutal, and included discipline and denigration, hard labour, assault and punishment. Before internment at Quatro, detainees were tortured to extract confessions. The Skweyiya Commission found that conditions at other places of detention in Angola, Tanzania, Zambia and Uganda were also unacceptable. It found that the circumstances surrounding the execution of some of the mutineers were unclear.
- 115 The Skweyiya Commission report was published by the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape in August 1992. A confidential list of members of the ANC security department alleged to be responsible for ill-treatment of detainees was submitted to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.
- 116 On 2 December 1992, Amnesty International published a report of its own research into human rights violations by the ANC in exile. It found that the victims of extensive

human rights abuses were in most cases members of MK. The report detailed the abuse, including the death of Mr Thami Zulu in 1989. It also reported on the killing of two former ANC detainees in South Africa: Mr Sipho Phungulwa [JB00420/01ERKWA] in Transkei in June 1990, and Mr Bongani Ntshangase in Natal on 21 May 1992.

- 117 The Amnesty International report criticised the limited terms of reference of the Skweyiya Commission, saying that they precluded incidents of killing and the disappearance of prisoners. The Skweyiya report did not assign individual responsibility for abuses within the ANC, nor did it analyse the chains of command within the security department and MK or between those bodies and the ANC leadership, in order to establish political responsibility for what happened in the camps. The report stated further that the Skweyiya Commission did not cover conditions or abuses in camps other than Quatro in any detail.
- 118 In 1993, the independent Motsuenyane Commission of Enquiry was appointed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela. Its terms of reference were broader than those of the Skweyiya Commission. The Motsuenyane Commission held public hearings and heard evidence from fifty witnesses in Johannesburg, including that of eleven alleged perpetrators who gave oral testimony and had the opportunity to cross-examine witnesses. The hearings were public and over 2 500 pages of testimony were received. The commissioners also made an inspection of two former ANC settlements and a United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) refugee camp in Tanzania. The Motsuenyane Commission's comprehensive report on human rights abuses in the ANC camps was published in August 1993.
- 119 The report of the Motsuenyane Commission found that there was a lack of accountability for excesses both at Quatro camp and during the investigation of alleged enemy agents. It attributed this to the lack of clear lines of demarcation between MK and Mbokotho (*Mbokodo*), the security department.
- 120 It found further that the leadership did not deal adequately with the concerns and complaints of the mutineers. Arbitrary detention without trial became routine. Quatro personnel were not adequately trained and supervised and did not have the maturity or experience to deal with suspected enemy agents. There was a breakdown in communication between *Mbokotho* and the Officer of Justice which resulted in the continued improper detention of persons without trial. The Officer of Justice was not effective in administering the code of conduct to protect the human rights of detainees.

- 121 The Motsuenyane Commission concluded that, with the completion of its report, the ANC's task was only half done:

Indeed, the victims of the abuses catalogued here have now been heard but, in the view of the Commission, they have not yet received the full measure of justice due them.

- 122 In response to the findings of the Motsuenyane Commission, the ANC NEC told the Commission that it "deeply regrets the excesses" that took place:

Further, we acknowledge that the real threat we faced and the difficult conditions under which we had to operate led to a drift in accountability and control away from established norms, resulting in situations in which some individuals within the NAT began to behave as a law unto themselves.

- 123 The reports of these and other commissions are now part of the public record, having been submitted to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (as recommended by the Skweyiya Commission).

Cases before this Commission

Killings

- 124 Most of the reported violations committed by the ANC in exile related to the killings of individuals by order of a military tribunal. While the ANC denied in its submissions to this Commission that there were extra-judicial or arbitrary executions of its members, it did acknowledge at the 'recall hearing' of 12 May 1997 that a code of conduct was put into practice only in 1985. Before this, the tribunals that sentenced people to death were *ad hoc* and did not allow the accused any form of legal representation.
- 125 Appended to the ANC's First Submission is a list of some 900 people who died in exile (including those killed in the mutiny and those executed). Although the ANC itself concedes that the list is not entirely accurate, many deponents who came to the Commission with relatives missing in exile can be accounted for in this list.
- 126 Those who died of natural causes, accidents or were killed in combat are not considered by the Commission to be victims of human rights abuse. There were,

however, certain cases which suggested aggravating circumstances where detainees are said to have died of 'natural causes'. In some of these, the families of those who died contest the ANC's version of how they died. In such cases, the deponent is given the benefit of the doubt and this Commission found the missing person to be a victim of a gross violation of human rights.

- 127 The ANC also submitted to the Commission a list including those MK members who died "as a result of excessively harsh treatment after committing breaches of discipline" (Confidential Appendix). All these cases are considered to be gross violations of human rights. Included in this list were twenty-two names under the heading "Agents executed on order of tribunals".
- 128 Timothy Tebogo 'Chief' Seremane aka Kenneth Mahamba [JB0441/01GTSOW] was executed by the ANC in Angola. Seremane is listed as one of those executed in 1981 by order of the ANC's military tribunal. Joe Seremane, his brother, is not satisfied with the ANC's explanation for events in the camp. He believes that his brother was not "executed cleanly". He has been told that his brother was "brutally disfigured" before being shot. In an article in *Searchlight South Africa* (July 1990) it is claimed that many of the young men in the 'spy-ring' of 1981, including Seremane (Mahamba), "were later known to have died under torture and beatings in Quatro prison camp".
- 129 The ANC provided a detailed background to the circumstances in which these events occurred. They are summarised as follows.
- 130 In 1981, the security department arrested a group of suspected agents in 1981 and claimed to have been "shocked at the extent of infiltration" of the organisation. The exposure seems to have followed the arrest of Mr Thamsanqa W Ndunge (MK name Joel Mahlathini Gxekwa), an MK member alleged to have been dealing in marijuana at Pango Camp in Angola. Ndunge was arrested by camp commander Seremane (Kenneth Mahamba), who ordered cadres to beat him and authorised his detention in Camp 32. He was dead on arrival at Quatro.
- 131 The ANC said that an investigation by the regional command revealed that Mahamba was a security police agent who had been recruited in 1976 whilst residing in Montshioa Township, Mafikeng. According to the ANC, Mahamba received formal training at the Rooigrond Centre during 1976. Mahamba is alleged by the ANC to have been involved in passing "information to the enemy" which, among other things, resulted in the SADF attack on its camps in 1979. He

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

- 132 Several members of the spy network uncovered at this time were executed after their cases had been heard by a Tribunal. In this respect, the ANC acknowledged that some cadres who were arrested at the time were either falsely implicated, or had merely shown signs of ill-discipline. Many of them were later released. Apologies were tendered for wrongful arrest, and they were re-integrated into the exile community.
- 133 In its second submission, the ANC said that it conducted "exhaustive investigations" and tried the accused by military tribunal. The tribunal reported its findings to HQ, "where a final decision would be made".
- 134 At the 'recall hearing' of political parties, ANC leaders were questioned about the constitution of military tribunals, how evidence was weighed, and whether the accused had legal representation. It is apparent from the testimony of Mr Thabo Mbeki that the tribunals constituted from 1982 were *ad hoc* tribunals, which consisted of at least two members of the Revolutionary Council and others from the Working Committee. The *prima facie* evidence with which the accused was confronted would have been gathered primarily by NAT, but would draw also from information from military and political structures inside South Africa.
- 135 Referring to the Skweyiya Commission report, in which Mr Piliso (the head of NAT) admitted to having ordered the beating of suspected agents in 1981 in order to obtain information "at any cost", this commission questioned whether confessions obtained in this way could be trusted as evidence. The ANC explained that not only confessions, but also material evidence was used in the investigation process. In respect of legal representations at the *ad hoc* tribunals, Mr Mac Maharaj responded: "I don't think that the '82 tribunal had a legal representative to defend those who were brought to book". The procedure was that the accused were presented with their confessions and other evidence against them and given an opportunity to explain. Mac Maharaj conceded that in 1982:

... we made no provision for legal defence of the accused ... I don't believe that we had yet reached the point where tribunals as a mechanism, where the mechanisms of the rights of the accused were gone into detail as we did by 1984.

- 136 The ANC NEC took the final decision approving the execution of Seremane (Mahamba) and three others. The ANC said that there were other cases of executions of agents where the same procedure was followed.
- 137 Because of the contentious nature of this issue and the high levels of publicity it had received, the Commission made further attempts to clarify the circumstances surrounding the death of Timothy Seremane (Mahamba) as well as other events in Quatro camp by holding two section 29 hearings where General Andrew Masondo, Mr Gabriel Mthembu and Mr Sam Mnisi answered questions by the Commission.
- 138 In response to the allegation that Mr Gordon Moshoeu had seen Seremane when he had been "beaten beyond recognition" before being executed, Mr Gabriel Mthembu said "it was not easy, he did not readily confess and I think in the process of investigation of trying to get him to admit the truth, he was beaten." When Mthembu was asked whether he had participated in assaulting Seremane, he responded: "I could have klapped him, I don't want to dispute that." He said that "Masondo was involved the day when Mahamba got detained, he was invited to come to Camp 32". He (Mthembu),

disarmed him [Seremane] ... and then immediately thereafter as a prisoner he was then invited in front of the commissar ... as interrogations were conducted with him he ended up confessing that he was in fact at one stage recruited and given training and sent outside ...

- 139 Mr Sam Mnisi testified as follows:

I did take part in his interrogation. But let me say that at that time the leadership was around. One wouldn't like to do such a thing in the presence of the leadership because they never gave us the mandate to do those exercises. So we wouldn't have done torture or whatever in the presence of the leadership and by the time the leadership left, I left with them, going to Luanda ... So at that time the leadership was there, so, we wouldn't have done such a thing in their presence.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT TIMOTHY SEREMANE WAS TORTURED AFTER THE ANC UNCOVERED A 'SPY NETWORK' IN 1981. THIS RESULTED IN A NUMBER OF ALLEGATIONS OF ASSAULT AND TORTURE COMMON AT QUATRO (CAMP 32). THE COMMISSION IS UNABLE TO MAKE A FINDING REGARDING THE ALLEGATION THAT SEREMANE WAS AN AGENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES. HOWEVER, THE COMMISSION ACKNOWLEDGES THE DIFFICULT CONTEXT IN WHICH THE ANC OPERATED AT THAT TIME, PARTICULARLY IN THE FACE OF INFILTRATION BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TORTURE OF SEREMANE AND NOTES THAT THERE MAY BE OTHERS WHO COULD NOT BE IDENTIFIED:

- MR LULAMILE DANTILE (MORRIS SEABELO), REGIONAL CHIEF OF SECURITY (DECEASED)
- MR JOSEPH VOOKI, REGIONAL CHIEF OF PERSONNEL (DECEASED)
- CAPTAIN LENTSOE, DEPUTY REGIONAL HEAD
- MR SAM MNISI (GEORGE ZULU), RECORDING OFFICER AND CHIEF OF STAFF
- MR GABRIEL MTHEMBU (SIZWE MKHONTO), CAMP COMMANDER.

140 Mr Gabriel Paki Moshoeu [JB0074/03NW] was executed by firing squad in Angola in 1982 and is listed by the ANC in its first submission under the heading, "Executed By Order Of Our Military Tribunal", as well as under, "Agents Executed On Order Of Tribunals" (Confidential Appendix). The Motsuenyane Commission records that the execution was related to "disturbances in the ANC Camp".

141 Andrew Masondo, who was Political Commissar of MK at the time, told the Commission that he had been a member of the Review Committee of the court martial that had sentenced Gabriel Moshoeu to death. Masondo's account is that Moshoeu's execution was based on information that Moshoeu "joined the enemy" while in combat with MK in Zimbabwe:

Moshoeu's brother was in the front, he was in Zimbabwe with a group of MK chaps who were fighting, side by side with the ZIPRA chaps. In the course of that battle, he vanished and his other colleagues were looking for him. He comes up later, he can't explain his disappearance. They investigate, they find out that he had had contact with the enemy ... When he got to Angola he was court martialled and sentenced to death.

142 Gabriel Mthembu testified that he was not personally involved in investigating Gabriel Moshoeu's case. He said he –

had to exercise supervision over investigation of all these broad issues; but I also had superiors over me like Masondo, Mzwandile Philiso and other officers;

I think my immediate superiors, were regional headquarters at that time, that would be Captain Lentsoe, (Regional Chief of Security, Angola) Joseph Vooki (Regional Chief of Personnel, Angola – deceased); Alfred [Wana] Regional Chief of Security before Captain Lentsoe).

- 143 According to Mr Gordon Moshoeu, Gabriel Moshoeu was “tried by a kangaroo court” which comprised Andrew Masondo, Joe Modise and Mzwai Piliso. Mthembu confirmed that these individuals made up the tribunal, but denied that it was a ‘kangaroo court’. He testified that:

There was overwhelming incriminating information and evidence against Gabriel Moshoeu and it was on that understanding, on the strength of such information and evidence that he was locked up at 32. He might have been beaten in the process of investigation when people were trying to get him to confess given the overwhelming nature of evidence against him.

- 144 General Masondo was asked to respond to the Motsuenyane Commission’s recommendation that there be an apology made to the people who were wronged. He said:

People who it was found that they were enemy agents, we executed them, I wouldn’t make an apology. We were at war. If it can be proved that they were executed wrongly, I would be stupid not to say I apologise. But once people were threatening, the people who killed some of our comrades, I can’t be apologetic that they were executed, then I wouldn’t be doing justice to those comrades who died.

- 145 Mr Derrick Boithlomo Lobelo (MK name Vusi Mayekiso) [JB00186/03NW] was executed by the ANC in Luanda, Angola in 1982. He went into exile in 1976 and was a member of MK and ANC. His name appears in the ANC First Submission under the heading, “Executed By Order Of Our Military Tribunal”, as well as in the Confidential Appendix submitted by the ANC. An unnamed witness who testified to the Motsuenyane Commission alleged that Lobelo was killed by camp warders in 1981, because he was “cheeky” or obstinate. According to the ANC, Lobelo was recruited to work for security forces “whilst he was working for the Bophuthatswana Admin” in 1972.

Deaths in/after detention

146 Mr Muziwakhe Ngwenya, aka Thami Zulu or 'TZ' [JB00459/01GTSOW], an office-bearer in Angola MK structures between 1980 and 1983 and thereafter in Natal, died in November 1989 at the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka, a few days after his release from detention by the ANC. A medical report dated 1 November 1989 and submitted to the Commission by the ANC indicates that he was diagnosed HIV positive as well as suffering from tuberculosis. The report notes, however, that "his death was brought about by poisoning which must have been taken in within a day or at most two days prior to his death".

147 If Ngwenya (Thami Zulu) was poisoned, argued the ANC, the South African security forces could have been the only ones responsible for the poisoning – either because he was an agent who needed to be silenced before he gave the game away or because they wished to discredit the ANC by making it appear responsible for the killing.

148 Former CCB Intelligence Officer, Christo Nel, told the Commission at a section 29 hearing that he:

... learnt about the whole debate around TZ from Henri van der Westhuizen. He had much more intimate knowledge about the suspicions around TZ and the later alleged poisoning of him or the killing of him which I don't know. I don't want to speculate. Henri said there was maybe a project to make [it] look like an agent and therefore he was killed by MK

149 A Commission was set up in 1989 to investigate the circumstances surrounding the death of Ngwenya (Thami Zulu). It noted that:

Dr Ralph Mgijima, head of the ANC Health Department and a long-time personal friend of TZ, described in vivid terms how TZ was brought to his house ... TZ told him that his condition had deteriorated drastically while he had been kept in an isolation cell lying all day on a mattress on the floor. TZ was angry at the way he had been treated, but never alleged that any violence had been used against him.⁵

150 Medical practitioners who conducted a post mortem and those who conducted further tests on blood samples reached contradictory conclusions. However, although one group of medical practitioners came up with negative results when

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testing for traces of diazinon or another pesticide, they conceded that the chemical could easily have dissolved in the quantity of alcohol found in Ngwenya's (Thami Zulu) blood and that, with time, the chemical decomposes.

- 151 At the 'recall hearing' in May 1997, the ANC responded to this incident as follows. Mr Thabo Mbeki said:

Thami Zulu was ... recalled ... from Swaziland to Lusaka because we were sustaining high losses of cadres who were coming down that route into the country, getting intercepted, getting killed, getting captured ... Investigations into the extremely high casualty rate within the MK structures under his command were accepted as constituting sufficient grounds for his recall. Within the context of international military norms commanders under similar circumstances have been subjected to far worse treatment. When he was in Lusaka, Thami Zulu was not confined to a detention centre; he spent most of his time in residences although separated from the rest of the ANC community. At no time was he tortured or subjected to any undue pressure. When he was released he was ill. Independent pathologists found that he had contracted the HIV virus and was suffering from Aids-related complex and possibly pulmonary TB.

However Thami Zulu died of poisoning after his release and to this day it is a matter of conjecture as to who administered this poison and why this was done. Our own security department has reason to believe that an agent or agents of the regime was responsible.

- 152 Conclusive evidence that Ngwenya (Thami Zulu) was a South African security police agent has not emerged. The Commission was unable to make a conclusive finding in this matter.

Executions and killings

- 153 In early 1984, a group of MK soldiers mutinied in a camp in Angola. The mutiny was defused with the help of Angolan soldiers. An Angolan soldier and MK cadre known as 'Babsy' (Sithube) was killed in the process.
- 154 A further mutiny took place on 13 May 1984 at Pango camp, also in Angola. The mutineers killed Mr David Mashaba (MK Matthews Nyamande), Mr Douglas Seleke (MK Khotso Lebogang), Mr Mauldin Maziyané (MK Zenzile Phungule), Mr Mxolisi Kota (MK Zola Mazwayi), Mr Vusimuzi Mnisi (MK Duke Maseka)

[JB0399801/MPNEL], Mr Phillip Gumede (MK Micro Benya) and Mr Samuel Kulati (MK William Sithole), all of whom were working in the camp at various levels of administration.

- 155 Five days later, on 18 May, loyal members of the ANC fought with the mutineers and recaptured the camp. The mutineers who were killed during the clash were Mr Roan Mabitle (MK Gibson Mazibuko), Mr Garmeeek Mfana (MK Dan Mkwanzazi, Mr Jomo Phahla (MK Jilly Khumalo), Mr Raymond Makhawule (MK Sticks Mayathula), Mr Samson Tsotsi Senatla (MK Gilford Mphephu) [EC2642/97ELN], Mr Samuel Sejake (MK Fezi Mehlomakhulu), MK Lungile Nonkanyazi, Mr Mpini Tshabalala (MK Cromwell Qwabe) and Mr Zakhele Jonas (MK Jonga Masupa). The ANC reported that Tshabalala “fled the camp and committed suicide with a pistol” and Jonas “died of malaria” because “he refused treatment”. The ANC also indicated that Simon Nkosi (Norman Seku) and Mvula Bethinja (real name uncertain) escaped and have not been heard of since.
- 156 Seven people were executed following an investigation and subsequent tribunal. They were Mr Edward Malope (MK Joseph Masimini) [JB02900/01MPMOU], Mr Zwelethemba Magwa (AK Jongile Mzwandile) [EC0493/96ALB], Mr Masibulele Tonisi (MK Hobo Walter) [EC1592/97ELN], Mr Mandla Reuben Jele (Stopper Nyembezi), Mr Cekiso Hoyi (MK Ronald Msomi), Mr Irvin Ondala (MK Wandile Mashaqane), Mr Mlamli Namba (MK James Nkabi (Mkhambi) [EC0065/96PLZ].
- 157 Nine ‘dissidents’ were sentenced to death by the tribunal, including Masupa (listed above) who had already died of malaria. The ANC reported in its first submission that none of this second group “was executed, despite the fact that one of the mutineers had hunted down wounded cadres the morning after the mutiny began, and finished them off.” The ANC named the eight as Mr Mazolani Skhwebu, Mr Papa Nxele, Mr Hamba Zondi, Mr Mzwandile Mgaza, Mr Lizo Booi, Mr Veli Kona, Mr Mzwandile Singanto and Mr Thembile Mthethwa.
- 158 The ANC executed some cadres who were found to have committed “major breaches of discipline”. In the Confidential Appendix, the ANC submitted the following names of those who were executed under this category: Mr Lucas Mongake (MK Osmond Mogorosi) found guilty of rape and murder and executed in 1981; Mr Clifford Lefatshe Ngaba (MK Raymond Mvundla) found guilty of rape and murder and executed in 1983; Mr Abraham Theko (MK Tony Langa) found guilty of rape and murder and executed in 1983; Mr Thabo Makudobethe (MK Rufus Mtshali) found guilty of rape and executed in 1984; MK Leonard Mabuza

found guilty of rape and executed in 1988; Mr Sipho Bam (MK Skhumbuzo Philane) found guilty of murder and executed in 1983; Mr Degree Yako (MK Amos Twala) found guilty of murder and executed in 1988; Mr David Matiwane (MK Ben Ximba) found guilty of murder and executed in 1988; Mr Sydney Hlongwane (MK Dick Mavuso) found guilty of murder and executed in 1989.

Torture

- 159 The ANC list included people who died from assault “as a result of excessively harsh treatment after committing breaches of discipline”. These included Mr Ntobeko Mabukane (MK Similo Lobengu) who died in 1979; Mr Isaac Motsoatsila (MK Oupa Moloi) who died in 1981; Mr Thamsanqa Ndunge (MK Joel Mahlathini Gxekwa) died in 1981; MK Amos Tsetsane, died in 1979; Mr Pharasi Motlalentoa (MK Elick Mabuza) who died in 1981 and Mr Walter Daka (MK Mr Reggie Mathengele) who died in 1981.
- 160 At the ‘recall hearing’, the ANC acknowledged that it used torture to extract confessions from those suspected of being enemy agents. This occurred especially in the period of the ‘spy scare’ of 1981. At the Skweyiya Commission, Mr Mzwai Piliso, the head of NAT, said that he had taken part in the beating of suspects in 1981. A plot to assassinate certain ANC members had been uncovered and suspects were interrogated over a period of two weeks. The suspects were beaten on the soles of their feet in Mr Piliso’s presence, because other parts of the body “easily rupture”. Mr Piliso justified this treatment on the basis that he wanted information and he wanted it “at any cost”. At the same hearings, Mr Mountain Xhoso justified the torture of Mr Keith McKenzie [JB05820/02PS] in 1987, also on the basis that he had information which had “life-or-death” implications for other people.
- 161 Evidence before the Commission shows that torture was used by members of NAT to extract confessions from suspected agents in the period from 1979 to 1989. Mr Gabriel Mthembu explained the circumstances in which this occurred:

Suspects were believed to be harbouring crucial information that could result in the death or arrest of comrades as well as the exposure of arms caches ... Therefore the possible use of force was seen as a preventative measure under the circumstances.

- 162 Mthembu told the Commission that the ANC was generally very cautious about extracting information under duress. However, said Mthembu, “there were extreme

circumstances where we literally had to scare off somebody” and in some of these cases, detainees were beaten. Also beaten were prisoners who had escaped and were recaptured. Persons found responsible for raping Angolan women were beaten “before being sentenced to death by the tribunal”.

163 Members of MK selected for intelligence work were sent to the USSR and/or the German Democratic Republic (GDR) for training in 1978 and 1979. At a section 29 hearing, Gabriel Mthembu testified that he was sent to the GDR for six months initial training, and then for a further course of specialised training in security and intelligence. He testified that the standard of training in the GDR was high, and that he was trained in counter-intelligence including the thorough screening of new recruits and the assessment of the potential of new recruits.

164 The Operations Report of the NAT states that the training received “emphasised that the use of force was counter-productive, and stressed the use of the intellect”. The NAT report provides details of interrogation techniques employed:

Various techniques were used in interrogation. It was common to ensure that suspects were sitting in uncomfortable positions to put pressure on them. Using force was explicitly against policy, but this did occur at times, particularly in cases where the Department was aware that lives of other people in the field were at stake. There were some cases in which suspects were severely beaten, particularly before 1985.

165 Confessions obtained under these circumstances were used to prove the complicity of the suspect before an *ad hoc* tribunal.

166 Torture (which is intentional and purposive cruelty, usually designed to obtain information or a confession) was not used in a systematic or widespread way by the ANC. It was used by a limited number of ANC members who were members of the security department and in specific time periods. It was not an accepted practice within the ANC and was not used for most of the three decades with which the Commission is concerned.

167 The relatively low number of such violations and the limited extent to which they occurred demonstrate that torture was not a policy of the ANC. The Commission nonetheless finds that the use of torture was unacceptable whatever the circumstances. There are no extenuating circumstances for torture; there is no cause which is so just that torture can be justified in fighting for it.

- 168 In addition, it must be accepted that any confessions obtained through torture are invalid, and people who were executed as a result of such confessions must also be considered victims of a gross violation of their rights – whether or not there was substance in their conviction, and whether or not they themselves were also perpetrators of human rights violations or were indirectly responsible for such violations.
- 169 The Commission received victim statements from a number of people who experienced torture at the hands of the ANC, and a few further statements from people who claimed that others were tortured by the ANC.
- 170 Mr Diliza Mthembu [JB00336/01GTSOW] told the Commission he was detained for over four years in Quatro camp and subjected to various forms of torture. Mthembu is currently a staff sergeant in the SANDF. He was one of the ‘Soweto generation’ who left South Africa in 1976 to join the ANC. He spent the following twelve years in Angola, became an MK Commander and, in 1981, was appointed chief representative of the ANC in Benguela province.
- 171 Mthembu was detained at Viana camp and Quatro on several occasions. He told the Commission that his torture included being given electric shocks, being suffocated with gas masks, hit with broom sticks all over his body, hit with a coffee tree branch on the buttocks continuously for a whole day, forced at gun point to simulate sexual intercourse with a tree; forced to chop down a tree full of bees and to climb a tree full of wasps; forced to undress and lie on the ground among ants, and forced to pull a water tank.
- 172 Mthembu also referred to food deprivation in Quatro which he claims led to the deaths of Mr Selby Ntuli and Mr Ben Ntibane [JB00336/01GTSOW]. Mr Ronnie Masango makes the same allegation about the deaths of Ntuli and Ntibane.
- 173 Mr Gordon Moshoeu [CT02913/OUT] was detained for four years and was tortured in Quatro camp from 1981 to 1984, accused of being an ‘enemy agent’. He lost his teeth and was scarred in the process. He names several persons who were allegedly involved in his torture which included having wild chillies smeared “on his private parts and anus” in Quatro camp in 1981. Gabriel Mthembu told the Commission that:

There was overwhelming incriminating information and evidence against Gordon Moshoeu and it was on that understanding, on the strength of such information

and evidence that he was locked up at 32. He might have been beaten in the process of investigation when people were trying to get him to confess given the overwhelming nature of evidence against him.

- 174 Mr Kenneth Mncedisi Sigam [CT00323/OUT] was “forced to leave the MK camp” in Angola after “he opposed a decision of the leadership” and opposed the use of corporal punishment on comrades. A tribunal was held after which he was taken to Camp 32 on 18 May 1984. Here he said he was subjected to various forms of torture, including having melted plastic dropped on his back, having his head bashed against a wall, being made to lie on cement and having his head trampled on, being hit on the head with a steel rod, being forced to touch his toes whilst being beaten with a stick, being smacked on the face whilst being beaten; having a cloth put in his mouth and smacked. He was also beaten while being forced to pull a tank of water and was forced to chop large trees. In 1990, after six years in Camp 32, he was taken to Tanzania and held in prison for eight months in solitary confinement. He was released in 1991.
- 175 Mr Anthony Thozamile Ntoni [CT00751/OUT], told the Commission that he was tortured for three weeks by “MK officials” because, he believes, he spoke out about the mysterious death of his friend Mac Plaatjies who was implicated in the death of Joe Gqabi and later died from snake bite. Ntoni was arrested in May 1982, at Caculama training camp in Angola and beaten on the face with a gun and with fists, kicked on the legs, injected with drugs so that “he could not speak or move for a few hours” and held in a “store cell”. He was given electric shocks and was forced to perform exercises and beaten when he stopped. He was tied to the seat of a truck by his neck and hands and choked when the truck went over a bump, until he collapsed. In June 1982, he was taken to Luanda where he was placed in a small container for two to three days; it was opened when he panicked and kicked and screamed. He was taken to Quatro camp, where he was beaten and questioned about his behaviour at Caculama camp. He was held there until May 1984 and was released when he “told them what they wanted to hear”. His name does not appear in the ANC records submitted to the Commission.
- 176 Mr Ronnie Buyaphi Singer Masango [CT00743/OUT] was involved in the 1983 mutiny in Angola because he disagreed with the decision of the ANC NEC that MK should assist in fighting UNITA. He was detained for fourteen months in Luanda during which time he was interrogated, beaten and kicked all over his body. He was deprived of food, and blames the death of two others on deliberate starvation.

Masango was also locked up in a container in Angola in 1987 and used an axe to make holes to allow air into the container. He was detained in Tanzania in 1989 and finally released in 1990 when he returned to South Africa having been labelled a spy. His name does not appear in the ANC records submitted to the Commission.

- 177 Mr Daliwonga Fikile Mandela [CT01044/OUT] joined MK in 1978. In 1983 he was detained at the ANC 'Green House' in Lusaka, suspected of being a spy because his father was working for the Transkei National Party headed by KD Matanzima. He was interrogated and tortured daily for up to six months, kicked and beaten with *sjamboks* (whips), canes and irons; he was forced to dig a grave and told that it was his own. He said that, when he was released, he "was told not to reveal the names of the torturers to the doctor in Lusaka". He claims he was threatened by Mr Joe Modise, Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Steve Tshwete and Mr Jacob Zuma; and that he was warned by Mr Chris Hani and Mr Sikhumbuzo Radu that his life was in danger. He fled from Lusaka in 1987 after these threats.
- 178 Mr Gregory Camp [CT0294/OUT] was detained in 1980 and taken to Quatro where he was held without trial for seven years. He had to perform forced labour such as cutting logs, carrying water, washing security clothes and digging trenches. He was deprived of sun, food, and water for drinking and washing. He was tortured by being whipped with electrical cord, stripped naked and beaten with sticks, beaten with the butt of an automatic rifle, and punched and kicked. He was held in solitary confinement for 117 days. He was insulted and humiliated.
- 179 Ms Ntombentsha Jeanette Makanda [JB0577901/GTSOW] was detained in Lusaka in September 1980 and again in May 1985. She had her hands tied behind her back and was kicked and punched; a dirty towel was placed in her mouth and she was whipped with an electric cord. She was sexually abused and subjected to daily beatings.
- 180 Further submissions on torture experienced in the exile camps was received from Mr Cyril Fuzile Khamlane [JB05058/03VT], Mr Paul Jeremiah Dumisani Matli [KZN/ZJ/055/DN MATLI], Mr Bangiso Petros Boilane [KZN/ZJ/075/BL], Ms Victoria Kashe-Mngadi [KZN/SS/400/DN], Mr Bhekinhlanhla Lookluck Mpungose [KZN/SS/059/DN], Mr Mphafane Jacob 'Blackie Malinga' Khang [KZN/MOL/018/BL], Mr Sipho Bongani 'Doh' Ngema [KZN/KM/0001/DN], Mr David Malaisha Makhubedu [JB05830/01ERKWA], Mr Keith Charles McKenzie [JB05820/02PS], Patrick Oupa Tawe [JB06343/01ERKAT], Mr Matimba Bheki Khoza [JB06333/

01GTSOW], Mr Mandla Annanias Ntuli [JB06323/02PS NTULI], Mr Vuyani Mbuyiselo Malgas [JB05949/01GTSOW], Mr Johannes Bongizembe van Wyk [B029120/01MPMOU], Mr Robert Vusumzi Shange [JB03070/01GTSOW], Mr Takalani Matidze [CT05012/OUT], Mr Luthando Nicholas Dyasop [JB00420/01ERKWA], Mr Gabriel Phemelo Setlhoke [JB00846/01GTSOW], Mr Amos Maxongo [EC0265/96PLZ], Mr Gugulethu Gxekwa [EC0832/97KAR], Mr Nceba Makasi [EC2179/97NWC], Mr Tebello Motapanyane [JB00259/01GTSOW], Mr Olefile Samuel Mngqibisa [JB00311/01GTSOW], Mr Barry Qethu Mdluli [JB00522/01GTSOW], Mr George Linda Gladstone Dube [JB00155/01ERKAT], Mr Tony Lincoln Mzwandile Msomi [JB00165/99OVE], Mr Edward 'Teddy' [Mwase) Williams [EC0247/96WTK], Mr Patrick Mncedisi Hlongwane [AM8028/97], Mr Mpho Samuel Motjuoadi [JB02199/02PS], Mr Lita Nombango Mazibuko [JB04442/01MPWES] and Mr Connie Khunjuzwa Ndesi [JB05902/01GTSOWNDESI].

ON THE BASIS OF THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO IT, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ANC, PARTICULARLY ITS MILITARY STRUCTURES WHICH WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TREATMENT AND WELFARE OF THOSE IN ITS CAMPS, WERE GUILTY OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES AND AGAINST TWO CATEGORIES OF INDIVIDUALS – SUSPECTED 'ENEMY AGENTS' AND MUTINEERS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT 'SUSPECTED AGENTS' WERE ROUTINELY SUBJECTED TO TORTURE AND OTHER FORMS OF SEVERE ILL-TREATMENT AND THAT THERE WERE CASES WHERE SUCH INDIVIDUALS WERE CHARGED AND CONVICTED BY TRIBUNALS WITHOUT PROPER ATTENTION TO DUE PROCESS BEING AFFORDED THEM, SENTENCED TO DEATH AND EXECUTED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THESE WERE ACTS IN WHICH THE INDIVIDUALS SO AFFECTED HAD THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS GROSSLY VIOLATED. LIKEWISE, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE FAILURE TO COMMUNICATE PROPERLY WITH THE FAMILIES OF SUCH VICTIMS CONSTITUTED CALLOUS AND INSENSITIVE CONDUCT.

THE COMMISSION ALSO FINDS THAT ALL MUTINEERS WHO WERE EXECUTED AFTER CONVICTION BY MILITARY TRIBUNAL, IRRESPECTIVE OF WHETHER THEY WERE AFFORDED PROPER LEGAL REPRESENTATION AND ADEQUATE DUE PROCESS, SUFFERED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS.

WITH REGARD TO ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT ANC POLICY TO USE TORTURE, THE SECURITY DEPARTMENT OF THE ANC ROUTINELY USED TORTURE TO EXTRACT INFORMATION AND CONFESSIONS FROM THOSE BEING HELD IN CAMPS, PARTICULARLY IN THE PERIOD 1979-89. THE COMMISSION HAS TAKEN NOTE OF THE VARIOUS FORMS OF TORTURE DETAILED IN THE MOTSUENYANE COMMISSION AND FINDS THAT THEY AMOUNTED TO THE DELIBERATE INFLICTION OF PAIN AND/OR SEVERE ILL TREATMENT IN THE FORM OF DETENTION IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT AND/OR THE DELIBERATE WITHHOLDING OF FOOD AND WATER AND/OR MEDICAL CARE AND, AS SUCH, AMOUNTED TO THE PERPETRATION OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT ADEQUATE STEPS WERE NOT TAKEN IN GOOD TIME AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS.

■ THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

181 Evidence before the Commission indicates that gross violations of human rights were committed by the PAC in the course of its armed struggle. Formed in 1959 as an Africanist breakaway from the ANC, the involvement of the PAC in the anti-pass law campaign of 1960 led to its banning, together with the ANC, in 1960. Like the ANC, it established an organisational structure in exile and established camps for the military training of members of its armed wing APLA. It engaged in a limited armed struggle which resulted in few human rights violations inside South Africa. It was plagued with internal divisions and leadership conflicts which rendered it ineffective and led to the commission of gross human rights violations against its own members in exile.

Poqo

182 The establishment of a military wing known as Poqo in September 1961 followed the decision of the PAC to form underground cells and embark on an armed struggle. *Poqo* was established some three months before the formation of MK and was later transformed into APLA in exile.

183 Poqo⁶ has been interpreted as having been, at least initially, a spontaneous militant 'movement' without clear strategic direction or lines of command.

184 The commission of human rights violations by PAC members began with the activities of Poqo in the early 1960s, whose campaign was to liberate the country with 'traditional weapons'. In the Western Cape townships, in particular in Langa, Poqo militants conducted a house-to-house membership drive. In what became a reign of terror, residents were coerced into 'enlisting' and paying a two shillings and sixpence joining fee. In September 1962, policemen investigating the conscription campaign were attacked by Poqo members. They fired into a crowd, killing one and wounding two others; 133 people were arrested.

185 In the early 1960s, a group of disaffected PAC supporters, the 'Katangese', began operating independently of the PAC constitution and political culture of the PAC, raising concern in the Western Cape regional executive of the organisation. The Katangese soon became the targets of physical attacks, attempted assassinations and group attacks by Poqo gangs armed with pangas and pistols. Poqo gangs

⁶ *Poqo* means 'pure' or 'alone' in Xhosa. The name had been used before in the organisation in the translation of Pan Africanist Congress as '*Umbutho wama Afrika Poqo*' (the organisation of Africanists or 'undiluted' or 'pure' Africans), those Africans who wanted to be on their own.

patrolled certain areas in the Langa Zones by night, turning them into “liberated zones” where even the police feared to tread.

- 186 In May 1961, Mr Lamstead Giyose became the first person associated with the Katangese to be assaulted by a group of Poqo men in the course of their conscription campaign. David Mkhungeka, a loyal PAC supporter, was charged for the stabbing. The case was withdrawn when Giyose was informed that he had failed to show up at court on the right day. Giyose said he believed the misunderstanding over the court date was indicative of “some corruption somewhere”.
- 187 Two other Katangese members, Mr Alfred Canca and Mr Ndikho, were shot by Poqo operatives, both sustaining severe injuries. No one was arrested. The first Western Cape PAC regional chairperson, Mr Christopher Mlokoti, survived a shooting attempt on his life. Several other Katangese members were attacked in their hostels by groups of men armed with pangas, sticks and other ‘traditional weapons’; the Katangese put up stiff resistance.
- 188 Poqo also engaged in attacks on South African police in this period. On 17 March 1962, a large group of Poqo operatives attacked a police van in Langa township, killing one African policeman, and injuring five others. The vehicle was set alight and destroyed.
- 189 Two further police men, Sergeant Moyi and Constable Magwaca, were killed in the Langa Zones: Magwaca stabbed to death on 29 July 1962, and Moyi was killed on 26 September, 1962. Magwaca had earned notoriety in the community for his alleged involvement in the beating and harrasment of protesters in the 21 March 1960 demonstrations and in the period following the Langa shootings. He was also perceived to be responsible for sexually abusing women who stayed ‘illegally’ in the Zones while their men were at work.
- 190 The Commission did not receive victim submissions or amnesty applications in connection with the above violations. In its submission to the Commission, the PAC did, however, claim responsibility for the “elimination” of a “notorious Special Branch detective” in Krugersdorp. Four PAC members – Mr Richard Matsaphae, Mr Jos Motsumi, Mr Thomas Molathlegi and Mr Petros Mtshobe – were sentenced to death and hanged in 1963 for this killing.
- 191 Also in 1962, Poqo members engaged in attacks on representatives of traditional authority in the ‘homelands’. On 16 October 1962, headman Gwebindlala Gqoboza

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

Armed clash at Ntlonze Hill

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

In its submission to the Commission, the PAC claims that "a whole platoon of the SAP threw away their guns. Unfortunately none of our combatants could use them effectively". As this was a military encounter in which both sides were armed, neither the injuries to policemen nor the deaths of the Poqo members can be considered to be gross human rights violations.

- 192 Poqo attacks were also directed at whites. In February 1963, five white civilians were killed by Poqo members while sleeping in caravans on the roadside at Mbashe Bridge near Umtata. Twenty-three Poqo members were convicted, sentenced to death and hanged as a consequence. The PAC told the Commission that the incident –

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

- 193 While the Commission finds that this attack on civilians was a gross violation of human rights, no families of victims of the attack approached the Commission.
- 194 On 8 February 1963, a white debt-collector was murdered in Langa township, allegedly by Poqo members.

- 195 On 22 November 1962 at 04h00, about one hundred Poqo members entered the houses of white residents of Paarl, dragged them from their beds and beat them up. Five of the attackers were shot dead by the police. Eighteen-year-old Ms Rencia Vermeulen, a student at a commercial college in Paarl and her friend, twenty-two-year-old Mr Frans Richard, were hacked to death by the Poqo attackers.
- 196 Poqo supporters also attacked shops in the main street of Paarl, smashing windows and attacking other white residents. The attacks were described by the police as reprisals for arrests made in the Mbekweni location the previous day. These arrests followed the killings of a white shopkeeper, three black women who were found speared to death in a plantation and a black man whose headless body was found floating in the Berg River in Paarl.
- 197 The Snyman Commission appointed to investigate the Paarl violence highlighted corruption and bad management in the Bantu Administration offices in Paarl and the inhuman treatment meted out to the so-called "Bantus". The PAC told the Commission that the violence in Paarl was directed against "the self-enrichment of a Mr Le Roux who hoarded migrant workers from Eastern Cape in his farm, using them as cheap labour, only giving them food".
- 198 The only PAC victim statement received by the Commission for this period is in respect of the killing by PAC members of Mr Milton Chumani Nozulu Matshiki [CT00267/WIN] in Paarl in October 1962. He went missing and after two days his decapitated body was found.
- 199 Mr Morgan Nogaga Gxekwa [AM5686/97] applied for amnesty as a founder member of both Poqo and APLA.

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

- MEMBERS OF THE POLICE PARTICULARLY THOSE LIVING IN BLACK TOWNSHIPS;
- THE SO-CALLED KATANGESE, DISSIDENT MEMBERS OF THE PAC WHO OPPOSED THE CAMPAIGN AND WERE SUBJECTED TO PHYSICAL ATTACKS AND ASSASSINATIONS BY OTHER POQO MEMBERS;
- REPRESENTATIVES OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY IN THE HOMELANDS, THAT IS, CHIEFS AND HEADMEN;

- WHITE CIVILIANS IN NON-COMBAT SITUATIONS;

THE COMMISSION FINDS PAC ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS.

- 200 The 1968 Vila Peri campaign in Mozambique arose from the PAC's alliance with the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee (COREMO), a rival of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). A plan known as *Operation Crusade* aimed to infiltrate a unit of twelve PAC guerrillas into the country in order to establish bases and build armed people's units to prepare for a "protracted people's war". The unit was from the Azanian Armed Forces which had replaced *Poqo*. Their battles with the Portuguese security forces lasted for over a month, mainly around Vila Peri inside Lourenço Marques (Mozambique). Three Portuguese security men, including a Portuguese Intelligence Agency (PIDE) agent, were killed by PAC guerrillas.
- 201 The Azanian Armed Forces guerrillas were remnants of twelve highly trained and motivated guerrillas under the command of Mr Gerald Kondlo, a graduate of Chinese and Algerian military academies. Seven were killed in what PAC military analysts describe as "one of the fiercest confrontations" between "the forces of liberation and those who defended the oppressive white minority regimes in Southern Africa". The SADF immediately set up an operation known as *Operation Sibasa* to secure areas that could be used as ports of entry by the PAC. Two survived the operation, Mr Enoch Zulu and Mr Zebulon Mokoena. Two others, Mr Oscar Ntoni and Mr Samuel Guma, were wounded and captured. Their fate remains unknown, although they are thought either to have been deported back to South Africa where they were executed or executed by FRELIMO as "counter-revolutionaries". COREMO leader Paulo Gumane, who was apparently in a political rehabilitation camp with them, was reportedly executed by FRELIMO.
- 202 No victim statements or amnesty applications were received in connection with these acts.

1970s and 1980s: Violations committed in the course of the PAC armed struggle in South Africa

- 203 The PAC's strategy of a protracted people's war, involving the infiltration of guerrillas into rural areas, resulted in a number of armed confrontations and skirmishes with the security forces. A limited number of armed attacks in townships resulted in injuries or deaths to members of the security forces. Violations committed in the course of armed combat are not considered by the Commission to be gross violations of human rights.

204 In 1978, three APLA insurgents were arrested for establishing an arms cache in Krugersdorp. The following year in Transkei, five APLA guerrillas were arrested. PAC member Mr Abel Sgubhu Dube [AM6040/97] applied for amnesty for gun-running into South Africa via Pietersburg in April 1982.

APLA attacks on security forces

205 The first APLA attacks to be confirmed as such by the police were four actions attributed to the Alexandra township 'Scorpion Gang' between December 1986 and February 1987, in which two soldiers and two policemen were wounded and a café owner shot dead during a robbery. The three APLA guerrillas involved were killed after a car chase through the Johannesburg suburb of Bramley. Mr Mandla Michael Yende [AM5648/97] applied for amnesty for shooting eleven SADF soldiers with 'scorpion' machine pistols in Alexandra in January 1987. Mr Themba Jack Phikwane [AM6032/97] claims to have killed twenty-five SADF members in Alexandra. Mr Louie Nkululeko Dlova [AM6596/97] injured a member of the SAP with a hand grenade during the 'Lichtenburg Battle'.

206 The PAC's submission also claims that the attack on the Tladi police station, attacks on police in Bramley and various operations in Alexandra township were APLA attacks.

207 APLA journal, *Azanian Combat*, claimed that, in 1987, twelve members of the 'enemy' were killed and sixty-seven others were wounded – casualties of an APLA grenade attack on two municipal police platoons at the Soweto Police Training College. In 1988, a clash between APLA cadres and the police resulted in the death of four APLA members and severe injuries to twelve policemen.

APLA armed robberies and attacks on civilians

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

The family in the house you have been concealed in suddenly speculates about the money you are supposed to have brought with you which they thought had like a manna from heaven suddenly brought their economic woes to an end. They thought we were being paid like the SADF soldiers and we had to be explaining things. When they learnt we were not going to resolve their economic problems they then started to advise us on the targets, which were butcheries, grocery shops, and so on. In the mid and late 80s we lost more comrades in armed robberies than in actual armed confrontation with the enemy forces.

Under the circumstances we just had to establish a unit that was going to specialise on robberies – even though we knew we were not getting all the loot but at least we managed to operate effectively. The rest of the cadres would engage in fighting because it had become clear we could no longer expect those who were making money, mainly for themselves and partly for the struggle, to want to die in operations that did not involve ‘repossession’. Undisciplined cadres who did not follow the general command to operate from the countryside fell victims of the problems we faced mainly in the towns where these comrades preferred to be at.

- 209 The Commission received amnesty applications from Mr Barowsky Phumelele Masilela [AM3146/96] for an armed robbery in Springs in 1988 in which one person was injured; from Mr Lucky Clement Luthuli [AM3435/96] for the killing and robbing of Mr Lucas Botha in April 1987 in Durban with the intention of obtaining firearms and money and from Mr Lefu John Molati [AM2092/96] for an attack in February 1989 in which Mr Johannes Hermanus Boonzaaier was shot and killed, his wife Ms Mercia Maureen Boonzaaier assaulted and the couple robbed of their bakkie.

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

Violations committed by the PAC within its own ranks

- 210 The PAC did not have a security division responsible for dealing with suspected dissidents or infiltrators. Violations that occurred within the ranks of the PAC in

exile were largely the result of divisions within the PAC leadership, within the military command structure and between APLA members. Evidence before the Commission shows that many such violations took place in the military camps in Tanzania. There are, however, no amnesty applications in connection with these violations, and few victim statements from people who allege to have been mistreated by the PAC in exile.

- 211 The Commission received statements from families of people who went “missing in exile”, cases for which the PAC was allegedly responsible. They include the cases of Mr Welcome Mncedisi Sabatana [EC0016/96ELN], Mr Mlungisi Michael Mpondo [CT00293/FLA], Mr Edward Tsaitsai Makgato [JB04016/02NPLTM], Mr Goodman Manyana Phiri [JB04241/01GTSOW], Mr Gilbert Nkoane [CT04203/KIM] and Mr Sizwe Douglas Mazungula [EC0098/96TSI].
- 212 Other recorded cases of killing and attempted killing of PAC cadres, allegedly perpetrated by the PAC, include the following. A cadre known as ‘Mahoyi’ was killed in Tanzania on charges of being loyal to the Azanian People’s Revolutionary Party (APRP) and thereby “destabilising” the PAC. A military cadre known as ‘Chaka’ was killed in the PAC bush camp in Chunya by the PAC high command. He had stolen a pistol during his military training in Guinea. Mr Cohen Ntuli was also killed in the PAC camps during this period.
- 213 PAC president Potlako Leballo alleged that, in March 1980, about seven of his supporters were killed and that more than 500 PAC members, still loyal to him, including members of the high command, were in detention in PAC camps.
- 214 Sections 1.4 and 1.5 of the PAC’s Disciplinary Code provided constitutional justification for the way in which political dissent was handled by the PAC leadership in exile. The section on factionalism states:

Where normal processes of free discussion fail to curb factional tendencies, then firm iron discipline should come into play, and factional elements, no matter how important, should be chopped off without ceremony.

- 215 An ex-APLA commander said in an interview that, during the 1980s:

Constant vicious beatings and floggings of cadres who did not conform to the new militarist discipline replaced the more democratic culture which respected the human rights of the individual APLA soldiers. Members of the

Military Commission did not only turn a blind eye to these abuses but are reported to have actually condoned them.

- 216 In the manuscript of a book that was to have been published in 1985⁷, former PAC director of Foreign Affairs Henry Isaacs alleged:

More persons were murdered in factional strife in the four years under [PAC president John Nyathi] Pokela than in seventeen years under [PAC president Potlako] Leballo. Between June 1982 and January 1985 at least six persons were murdered, their physical elimination sanctioned or condoned by the PAC leaders who accused them or suspected them of being 'dissidents'.

- 217 Isaacs also refers to an incident in the Chunya camp when supporters of ousted PAC president Potlako Leballo mutinied and seven of them were killed by the Tanzanian People's Defence Force (TPDF). He mentions several floggings performed by the APLA high command, confirmed by other sources.

- 218 Isaacs' claims are viewed with suspicion by some PAC members, including victims of abuse he refers to in his manuscript. He is accused of having deliberately mixed cases of PAC cadres who died in genuine accidents with cases of abuse of human rights.

- 219 The PAC stated in its submission to the Commission's hearing on the armed forces that:

We have never had a single detention camp, prison or any form of institution that was employed to violate members' human rights. No single individual can genuinely claim any experience of systematic torture, abuse or detention in any of our facilities or camps. (Brigadier Dan Mofokeng).

- 220 The PAC accounted for the deaths of Mncedisi Sabatana and others by classifying them as "disciplinary actions". APLA commander, Brigadier Mofokeng said:

While we regret any loss of life as a result of our disciplinary actions, we, however, still remain proud that all the disciplinary actions that were taken fell within the confines of our disciplinary code and oath of allegiance.

⁷ South Africa's Pan Africanist Congress in the 80s: Chronic Instability And Revolutionary Ineffectiveness

- 221 The death of Sabatana, in particular, is categorised as an execution and is justified as follows⁸:

A limited number of APLA members were executed, mostly for acts of destabilisation and mutiny. These members were executed by orders of the APLA commander who, in his own capacity, determined the individual who had to perform the task.

- 222 Brigadier D Mofokeng committed the PAC to presenting the Commission with a list of those APLA members who were executed. This was not received.
- 223 The PAC was also responsible for some violations against its own members inside South Africa after 1990. Mr Mduduzi Ngema [AM3681/96] applied for amnesty for the assassination of an APLA member who was alleged to be a police informer. Mr Malusi Morrisson [AM3681/96] applied for amnesty for abducting APLA spies and handing them over to the 'APLA Interrogation Unit' in Umtata.
- 224 The Commission received a statement from Ms Vuyiswa Zola Ngendane [JB05364/02NPPTB] who alleged that her father Mr Selby Temba Ngendane was shot and killed by several balaclava-clad PAC gunmen outside his Northcrest house in Umtata on 4 October 1990. Ngendane was a founder member of the PAC National Executive Committee in April 1959 and secretary for foreign affairs. In 1963, he was sentenced to six years on two counts of leaving the country illegally. He gave evidence at the 'Bethal 18' trial of PAC and black consciousness leaders. He was a member of a London-based Sobukwe Forum which contested the legitimacy of the Dar es Salaam-based PAC Central Committee. Circumstantial evidence points to an assassination by PAC members.
- 225 The PAC's armed struggle continued after its legalisation in February 1990 and APLA – which had up to that time managed very few attacks within South Africa – secured bases in the Transkei from which they conducted a series of attacks on civilian targets between 1992 and 1994. On 16 January 1994, the PAC announced it had suspended the armed struggle.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A NUMBER OF PAC MEMBERS WERE EXTRA-JUDICIALLY KILLED IN EXILE, PARTICULARLY IN CAMPS IN TANZANIA BY APLA CADRES ACTING ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF ITS HIGH COMMAND. IT FINDS THAT MEMBERS INSIDE THE COUNTRY BRANDED AS INFORMERS OR AGENTS AND THOSE WHO OPPOSED PAC POLICIES WERE ALSO KILLED. ALL SUCH ACTIONS CONSTITUTED INSTANCES OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE PAC AND APLA ARE HELD TO BE RESPONSIBLE AND ACCOUNTABLE.

⁸ *ibid*, p 30

■ THE AZANIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY

- 226 No evidence was presented to the Commission that the military operations of the Azanian National Liberation Army (AZANLA), the armed wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, resulted in any gross violations of human rights. The exception is a case of abduction, for which the member responsible applied for amnesty. The person convicted of this act kidnapped two civilians in order to ensure their safety when he burned down the petrol station. No harm was caused to the civilians (or to any other person). Mr Mzwandile Nkwenkwe Alfred Madela, [AM0038/96] and Mr Andile Samuel Katiso Solo [AM0193] applied for amnesty.

Violations in exile

- 227 The Commission received no human rights violation statements in respect of members of AZANLA killed in exile by fellow members. However, there was a mutiny in the AZANLA camp at the Dukwe refugee settlement in Botswana in late 1978. The Commission was told that mutiny resulted from –

concern that for routine offences they received severe punishment including food cuts, caning, detention and exposure to cold weather after being soaked in cold water, while those who committed offences which merited court martials were left untouched.

- 228 At least two AZANLA members – Mr Tsakana Seepa and Mr Sizwe Dlamini – were shot dead. Botswana police found the decomposed bodies, seized firearms and arrested about fourteen AZANLA personnel in October 1990. Those arrested were charged variously with conspiracy to murder, murder, unlawful burial of two other members of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and unlawful possession of arms of war. Those charged with murder were acquitted.

■ THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

- 229 The mass democratic movement (MDM) consisted of different organisations at different times, with different types of membership and decision-making structures. The movement had thousands if not millions of supporters who were not part of any formal organisational structures. Holding individuals or organisational leadership accountable for specific acts is therefore much more difficult than in the case of liberation movements, which formally adopted military strategies and

had clear chains of command for the carrying out of military operations. During the 1980s, however, most organisations were affiliated or claimed allegiance to the United Democratic Front (UDF), whose former leadership made a submission to the Commission, and in respect of whom the following finding was made:

THE COMMISSION ACKNOWLEDGES THAT IT WAS NOT THE POLICY OF THE UDF TO ATTACK AND KILL POLITICAL OPPONENTS BUT THAT, IN THE CONTEXT OF WIDESPREAD STATE-SPONSORED OR DIRECTED VIOLENCE AND A CLIMATE OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE, MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF UDF AFFILIATE ORGANISATIONS OFTEN COMMITTED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE UDF FACILITATED THE COMMISSION OF SUCH GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THAT LEADERS, OFFICE-BEARERS AND MEMBERS OF THE UDF ACTED IN A MANNER, THROUGH THEIR CAMPAIGNS, PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES WHICH HELPED CREATE A CLIMATE IN WHICH MEMBERS OF ORGANISATIONS AFFILIATED TO THE UDF BELIEVED THEY WERE MORALLY JUSTIFIED IN TAKING UNLAWFUL ACTION AGAINST STATE STRUCTURES, INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF STATE ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONS PERCEIVED AS SUPPORTERS OF THE STATE AND ITS STRUCTURES.

FURTHER, IN ITS ENDORSEMENT AND PROMOTION OF SLOGANS, SONGS AND THE 'TOYI-TOYI' THAT ENCOURAGED AND/OR EULOGISED VIOLENT ACTIONS, THE UDF CREATED A CLIMATE IN WHICH SUCH ACTIONS WERE SEEN TO BE LEGITIMATED. INASMUCH AS THE STATE IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE USE OF LANGUAGE IN SPEECHES AND SLOGANS, SO TOO MUST THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS BE ACCOUNTABLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT FACTORS REFERRED TO IN THE PARAGRAPH ABOVE LED TO WIDESPREAD EXCESSES, ABUSES AND GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS BEING COMMITTED BY SUPPORTERS AND MEMBERS OF ORGANISATIONS AFFILIATED TO THE UDF INCLUDING:

- THE KILLINGS (OFTEN BY MEANS OF 'NECKLACING'), ATTEMPTED KILLINGS, AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS, MEMBERS OF STATE STRUCTURES SUCH AS BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE, AND THE BURNING AND DESTRUCTION OF HOMES AND PROPERTIES;
- THE VIOLENT ENFORCEMENT OF WORKER STAY AWAYS AND BOYCOTTS OF, *INTER ALIA*, PRIVATE AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT AND PRIVATE RETAIL SHOPS LEADING TO KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT.
- POLITICAL INTOLERANCE RESULTING IN VIOLENT INTER-ORGANISATIONAL CONFLICT WITH, *INTER ALIA*, AZAPO AND THE IFP.

THE UDF AND ITS LEADERSHIP

- FAILED TO EXERT THE POLITICAL AND MORAL AUTHORITY AVAILABLE TO IT TO STOP SUCH PRACTICES OUTLINED ABOVE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT SUCH PRACTICES WERE FREQUENTLY ASSOCIATED WITH OFFICIAL UDF CAMPAIGNS SUCH AS CONSUMER BOYCOTTS ON ANTI-BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITY CAMPAIGNS. IN PARTICULAR, THE UDF AND ITS LEADERSHIP FAILED TO USE THE FULL EXTENT OF SUCH AUTHORITY TO END THE PRACTICE OF NECKLACING, COMMITTED IN MANY INSTANCES BY ITS MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS.

- FAILED TO TAKE APPROPRIATELY STRONG OR ROBUST STEPS OR MEASURES TO PREVENT, DISCOURAGE, RESTRAIN AND INHIBIT ITS AFFILIATES AND SUPPORTERS FROM BECOMING INVOLVED IN ACTION LEADING TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AS DESCRIBED ABOVE.
- FAILED TO SANCTION OR DISCIPLINE MEMBER ORGANISATIONS WHOSE MEMBERS WERE INVOLVED IN GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS DESCRIBED ABOVE, OR TO ENCOURAGE ITS MEMBER ORGANISATIONS TO TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTIONS AGAINST THEIR MEMBERS.

THE COMMISSION NOTES THAT THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UDF HAS ACCEPTED POLITICAL AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ACTIONS OF ITS MEMBERS. ACCORDINGLY, THE UDF IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED IN ITS NAME AND COMMITTED AS A CONSEQUENCE OF ITS FAILURE TO TAKE THE STEPS REFERRED TO ABOVE.

230 The association of the MDM with commission of gross violations of human rights can be divided into two broad areas. First, violations occurred as a result of organised non-violent confrontations with the state, termed 'mass action'. This includes mass protests such as marches, stay aways and consumer boycotts directed at crippling state machinery, as well as clashes among township residents. The latter was not always exclusive of the former as, in many incidents, security forces were alleged to have a hidden hand in the violent political conflicts in the townships. Nevertheless, people participating in protest actions were themselves sometimes perpetrators of human rights violations where, for example, they killed people found contravening popular decisions relating to consumer boycotts or strike actions.

231 Second, a number of violations was committed by participants in campaigns. Such violations include direct attacks on government bodies and agents such as community councillors, security forces, *kitskonstabels* (special constables) and municipal police and those perceived to be, or associated with, informers.

232 Few rank and file members of the mass movements had access to the written propaganda produced by the ANC and SACP in exile. Publications such as *Mayibuye*, *Sechaba*, *African Communist*, *Forward!*, *Dawn* and *Umsebenzi* were all banned for possession and distribution in South Africa. In any case, the ANC's limited underground structures meant that distribution was limited. *Radio Freedom* was more accessible, but only to those who had short-wave radios or lived in areas where reception was good. By far the most widespread means of communicating propaganda was through the speeches, slogans and songs.

233 The use of slogans was effective in mobilising people for action, often in undisciplined ways. Where chants and songs were militaristic, they often had the

effect of stimulating crowds to take action, to 'play their part in the struggle'. Individuals associated with the former state frequently became targets for attack.

Crowd violence

- 234 During the schools uprising of 1976, some individuals were identified as 'sell-outs' and became vulnerable to attacks. In October 1976 Mr Mshicele Samuel Sokoyi [CT01045] was shot in his right leg when a group of men attacked his shop and a Special Branch policeman, Pieter Schoeman [CT01045/FLA], in Gugulethu. A month later, after he identified one of the attackers to the police, a mob attacked him. He was stabbed in the back, stoned and his car and furniture were set alight and destroyed.
- 235 A similar attack took place in Soweto in the early stages of student resistance. Dr Melville Leonard Edelstein [JB00786/01GTSOW], who was killed by student protesters during the Soweto uprising, was the Chief Welfare Officer with the West Rand Bantu Administration Board (WRBAB). The WRBAB, its staff and its property were perceived to be instruments of oppression and were the targets of attacks by the students.

Violations committed during schools boycotts, workers' strikes, etc.

- 236 During the 1970s and 1980s, boycotting students threw stones, petrol bombs and hand grenades at the houses of several school principals who opposed school boycotts and who were therefore seen to be 'collaborators' with the government. Similar confrontations took place during worker strikes in the 1980s.
- 237 In these circumstances, it was often assumed that people found killed were victims of strike actions. An example of this occurred in September 1986 when Mr Johannes Witbooi [EC1526/97NWC] was killed by unknown people while on his way to work at the time of a strike at the Cradock Wrought Iron Factory. According to the testimony of his wife, Ms Selina Witbooi, Johannes Witbooi's hands and feet were tied with barbed wire and his upper body partly burnt. He also had a wound around his neck. She suspected that he had been killed by fellow workers. The Commission was unable to conclude whether the deceased was attacked by his fellow workers who were on strike or was a victim of criminal elements.

Violations committed during mass protests and marches

- 238 The frequency of massacres increased dramatically in the late 1980s. A vicious cycle of political violence resulted when police used tough measures to stop mass protest actions. Victims and witnesses of incidents often claimed security force participation, although this was not always visible. An example of this is when Mr Peter Sithole [JB02330/01GTSOW] and twenty-five other commuters were hacked to death in the September 1990 train massacre at Benrose station. The deponent in the case said that white men who had covered their faces with a black substance participated in the massacre.
- 239 The large number of deaths that occurred in the early 1990s are dealt with elsewhere in this report.

Consumer Boycotts

- 240 In the mid-1980s, community organisations called for consumer boycotts to support national and local political demands. The boycotts targeted mainly white-owned businesses, but spread to include businesses owned by people perceived to be 'collaborators', such as black businesspersons who participated in the government established local authorities.
- 241 Militant youth often took it upon themselves to monitor and enforce boycotts. In some cases, people seen defying the boycott call were punished by being made to eat inedible purchases such as detergents, raw food and to drink cooking oil. Some were killed. For example, Ms Nontina Matyumza [CT01857/97ALB] died after she was force-fed washing powder at her home at Esileyni location, Port Alfred in May 1985. Her daughter, Ms Nombeko Matyumza, testified that her mother bought liquor at a time when the community had decided that all *shebeens* in Port Alfred should be closed in the early evenings. Comrades forced Nontima Matyumza and her husband to eat Omo washing powder. She died the following day.
- 242 The former UDF leadership admitted in its submission that there were cases of this nature. The UDF told the Commission that they were diversions from its policies and therefore aberrations and that such incidents were perpetrated by unaligned and uncontrollable youth:

When we were taken into prisons they were left without leadership and many of them, angry even at our arrest, did things which were irrational.

Rent boycotts

- 243 The first recorded rent boycott was undertaken by residents of Vaal Triangle and Evaton in September 1984, in protest against increases that were apparently the highest of all black townships in the country. This form of protest spread to other parts of the country. In some communities, the strategy resulted in divisions among local residents and put the lives of community councillors and others at risk. For example, in August 1991, Mr Solomon Ramahase Motlohi [KZN/TIS/003/BL], a rent collector, was severely beaten in Botshabelo, allegedly by young ANC members. There was a rent boycott and Motlohi was targeted because he encouraged people to pay rent at street-committee meetings. Youths took him from his office to a house where he was assaulted. He died on the way to hospital.

Mass campaigns

- 244 The MDM initiated and implemented a number of campaigns with the objective of politicising the masses. While some mass campaigns proceeded relatively smoothly, others were marred by violent outbreaks and casualties.
- 245 In its submission to the Commission, the former UDF leadership recognised that the campaigns had:

unintended consequences [which] could in some instances fall within the definition of gross violations of human rights such as assaults, loss of life and causing extreme fear among perceived and real opponents of the struggle for freedom and democracy.

Anti-Black Local Authorities Campaign (Anti-BLA)

- 246 The campaign to destroy black local authorities was one which resulted in such “unintended consequences”.
- 247 Community councils were established in 1977 to replace the former Urban Bantu Councils (UBCs). The Community Councils’ powers were expanded in 1982 (under the Black Local Authorities Act) to include the allocation of housing, business licenses, business sites, student bursaries and the collection of rents. Elections under the expanded powers were held in November 1983 amid vigorous anti-election campaigns, led by the UDF, the Azanian People’s Organisation (AZAPO) and other organisations. Election candidates and elected community councillors

were subjected to attacks on their homes, mainly in the form of petrol bombings. In 1984, thirty such petrol bomb attacks were reported.

- 248 Another source of contention was the abuse of the *makgotla* (community courts). These often became institutions of abuse, corruption and victimisation of residents. In June 1976, "five youths and a woman had to receive hospital treatment ... after being flogged by three *lekgotla* (court) members for breaking school windows". In some cases, makgotla took the form of vigilante groupings.
- 249 The legislation made provision for community guards who were also responsible for assaulting residents, allegedly under the guidance and protection of community councillors. In March 1980 community councillor Mr David Thebehali's "All Nations Guard" in Soweto, was reported to have assaulted people.
- 250 Councillors came under violent attack. For example, Mr Caesar Motjeane [JB 03870/01GTSOW] a community councillor at Sebokeng Zone 11, was stoned, hacked, shot and burned to death by alleged members of the UDF on 3 September 1984. Ms Maud Motjeane, his wife, claims that they had previously been assaulted by a mob. The family property was looted and burned.
- 251 By April 1985, twelve councillors had been killed and many councillors began to heed the call for their resignation. By May 1985, 197 community councillors had resigned from sixty town councils and many local authorities had collapsed.
- 252 In some areas, attacks on community councillors provoked organised resistance by councillors. For example, from October 1985, councillors in Phillipstown organised their own resistance force against residents. Clashes between this group and other residents resulted in assaults, destruction of property and even death. Police were allegedly colluding with the councillors in orchestrating attacks against residents.

Building "People's Organs for People's Power"

- 253 The campaign to build 'People's Organs for People's Power' was introduced in early 1986. Following the collapse of government-created structures such as Community Councils, residents started forming alternative structures such as street committees, area committees, people's courts, school committees, residents associations and amabutho. The UDF told the Commission that, although this was not an official UDF official campaign, it was nevertheless encouraged in publications and public speeches.

- 254 In some cases, these structures enabled local community leaders to assert some control over the youth militia or *amabutho* in a particular area while, in some areas, the crime rate dropped dramatically as street and area committees were established. However, in other cases, youth militia, and in certain cases criminal elements, took control of such structures. Clashes between old and new structures became inevitable – resulting in some cases in vigilantism, sometimes assisted by the security forces. The violent conflict in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage in 1987-1989 and the witdoeke vigilantes from KTC and Crossroads are examples of this development.
- 255 Like other campaigns that had “unintended consequences”, the new ‘people’s organs’ were sometimes involved in gross violations of human rights. In some townships, street committees and people’s courts became notorious for flogging and beating alleged ‘offenders’; some were even necklaced.
- 256 Ms Nosipho Zamela [EC2757/97QTN], a student at the time of her death, was necklaced by unknown street committee members in Mlungisi Township, Queenstown on 8 December 1985. ‘Comrades’ accused Zamela of being involved with the security police and therefore an informer. In another example, Ms Ntombizodwa Skade [EC1120/96ELN], a street committee member, was assaulted all over her body with sticks by fellow street committee members in Duncan Village, East London during October 1991 because she opposed their involving themselves in marital disputes. She sustained a broken jaw and fingers.
- 257 The UDF conceded that its “affiliates and progressive service organisations” were unable to render adequate political training to these structures and they became problematic. It pointed, however, to some positive effects of ‘people’s organs’ on local communities:

For instance, at some point in time in the Eastern Cape ... shebeens were seen to be sources of violence and rapes and sometimes even murders and there was an instruction from Residents’ Associations to close them at nine,... Amabutho monitored that situation and reported to the street committees and area committees ...

Campaign against Vigilantes, Kitskonstabels⁹ and Municipal Police

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

9 Direct translation – Instant constables, also known as “special constables”, were recruited as police constables, hastily trained and sent back to townships as supportive arm of security forces. They carried rifles and wore blue uniforms which gave them the name “blue flies”. Municipal police were called “green flies” because of their green uniforms. In some areas they were called Inkatha.

in the mid-1980s and the deployment of *kitskonstabels* and municipal police, a campaign to resist the growing brutality of the police began. The campaign was aimed at *kitskonstabels*, municipal police and SAP members residing in townships.

- 259 Mr Mtutuzeli Stewart Ndziweni [EC0515/96ALB], a municipal police member, became a victim of the campaign. Ndziweni joined the municipal police in January 1986. On 27 July 1986, he went to Adelaide township with his friends. After several drinks they proceeded to a soccer field where there were youths. They fired at the youths killing at least one. The other youths gave chase and, when they caught Ndziweni, they stabbed and stoned him to death. He was buried in Bedford after threats by community members that they would dig up the grave and damage the body.
- 260 In another example, Mr Thembekile Eric Mbenenge [EC0494/96ALB] was shot in the stomach while at a soccer match at Newtown, Adelaide on 27 July 1986. He was taken to Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in Mdantsane where he subsequently died. The incident took place at the time when there was confrontation between the police and members of Adelaide community. Another youth was shot dead and two others were injured during the confrontation.
- 261 During the states of emergency that were in force from 1985 until 1990, the SAP had wide powers that were open to abuse. Black police members were not only expected to perform their normal duties as police, but also to work as "intelligence gatherers", a role equal to that of an informer. Some of the youthful *kitskonstabels* were formerly leading members of political organisations in their communities and, after their six weeks training course, were deployed back to patrol in their respective communities.
- 262 On the evening of 2 February 1987 a *kitskonstabel* stormed the house of Ms Jane Mantile and Mr Johnson Mantile [EC0516/96ALB] in Grahamstown. He entered the kitchen and shot Jane Mantile in the heart, then to the bedroom where he shot Johnson Mantile in the forehead. Both died instantly. During a court case in the Grahamstown Supreme Court, the perpetrator confessed to being drunk that day. He was convicted and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.
- 263 On 7 July 1987, UDF member and prominent community leader Reverend Boy Jantjies [EC1391/96KAR] died instantly after he was shot in the chest, stomach, scrotum and head by a *kitskonstabel* in Thembalesizwe location, Aberdeen. At about 19h00 that evening, Jantjies heard screams and found seven *kitskonstabels* assaulting two youths with their guns. The youths' hands were handcuffed to their legs. Together with police, the *kitskonstabels* were forcing the youths

towards the house of a neighbouring police sergeant. Jantjies arrived at the house and intervened. A police constable ordered another constable to shoot Jantjies. The policeman shot him four times.

- 264 As a result of strong feeling against them, a number of police were forced to resign or were killed. Some had to abandon their houses in the townships for white suburbs. For example, Ms Nokuzola Carol-Anne Fulani [EC0291/96UIT] told the Commission that her husband, who was employed as a member of the SAP from 1978, was attacked on 28 April 1985 when a group of 'comrades' arrived at their house. A shot went off which struck her husband's right foot. The couple were taken to a house in the Soweto township of Port Elizabeth where her husband was interrogated for his refusal to allow tobacco to be given to an inmate at the KwaZakhele Police Station. On the following day, Fulani was taken to have a look at her husband for the "last time". He was then burned to death with petrol. According to Ms Fulani, a vote was taken on whether to burn her. Fulani, six months pregnant at the time, was held for a week; transported to and from work and only taken to her house to fetch fresh clothing. She was also ordered not to tell anyone about the incident. She nevertheless reported the matter to the police. Six people were later arrested, convicted and found guilty.

Attacks on 'Informers'

- 265 People perceived to be informers were targets of attacks by community residents. Methods of attack included burning and necklacing, as well as beating, stabbing, shooting, sexual assault.
- 266 As part of the state's counter-revolutionary strategy, security forces were supported by thousands of informants and agents, especially in the 1980s. A large number of people who were assaulted in police custody in the 1980s claim that police wanted them to become informers. Evidence before the Commission shows that this was a widespread phenomenon and had, indeed, begun during the 1976 schools uprisings. Some individuals could not resist the pressure from police, succumbed and became police informers. Informers became particularly vulnerable to attack in local communities.
- 267 There are very few amnesty applications relating to attacks or the killing of informers, except where their handlers were responsible. Mr Mnyamana Daliwe [EC0075/96SBR] was a municipal worker in Cathcart at the time of his death. On 14 November 1985 he was abducted, assaulted, stabbed and burned to

death at Old Location in Cathcart. He was accused of being an informer after he allegedly bought liquor during a consumer boycott.

- 268 Ms Kefilwe Esther Mokale told the Commission that she was informed by her son, Mr Sipho Sydney Eugene Mokale [JB02230/03WR] that he had been approached by a Sergeant Hattingh to help them with police work. Mokale was later seen travelling around Mohlakeng in police cars. During November 1985, Mokale was dragged from his home, allegedly by 'comrades', severely assaulted and burned to death in Mohlakeng.
- 269 On 2 September 1985, Mr Mzuzile Siqubethu [EC0991/96CCK] was necklaced by residents of Duncan Village. Siqubethu's brother, Sipho, claims that he was suspected of being an informer because he had previously worked as a tea-maker at Cambridge police station in East London. At the time of his death he was a driver at Grosvenor Ford.
- 270 Ms Lungelwa Madubedube [EC0312/96QTN] was necklaced to death in Queenstown on 10 January 1986 on suspicion of being an informer. Her father, Mr Sivuyile Gordon Madubedube had previously resigned from being a councillor. Ms Nozibele Nqweniso, Lungelwa's sister, testified that Lungelwa was active in local political organisations and opposed the council system.

Types of gross human rights violations by mass movements

Burning and the 'necklace'

- 271 In general, the violations perpetrated by supporters of the mass opposition movement in South Africa involved the attacking of vehicles and buildings with stones and petrol-bombs, stones, sticks and knives. It was only from the mid-1980s that people had access to more sophisticated weapons such as hand grenades and firearms. However, what distinguished South Africa from elsewhere was the killing of people by burning.
- 272 Except for a few cases discussed below, until 1977 the main target of arson attacks was government property such as Bantu Administration offices, school buildings, rent offices, beer halls and other government-related buildings. This was particularly so during the anti-pass campaign in 1960, the 1976 students' protests and the 1980 schools boycotts.

- 273 A new concept was added to the vocabulary of the resistance struggle in South Africa from the mid-1980s – the ‘necklace’ method of killing. In addition, when the government introduced community councils in African townships, houses belonging to the those associated with the council system became targets of petrol bomb attacks. The first case of death by burning recorded in the Commission’s data base took place in Crossroads, Cape Town in April 1983.
- 274 It is believed that the necklace method of killing originated from the Eastern Cape in early 1985. On 23 March 1985 in KwaNobuhle Uitenhage, police shot and killed twenty-one people. Angry residents retaliated by necklacing a staunch community councillor and his three sons. Thereafter, every known house of a policeman and informer was attacked and burned. The necklacing method subsequently spread to other areas of the country.
- 275 Tyres and petrol were easily available in most townships. Many victims of the necklace method of killing were already dead by the time their bodies were burned. Burning was also used by the police to cover up killings. Well known cases are those of the PEBCO Three and Cradock Four (See Volume Three).
- 276 The Commission heard that, in some townships, ‘comrades’ attempted to prevent the burial of victims before the bodies had been burnt. For example, community councillor Mr Archibald Siqaza [CT01340/FLA] was burned to death on 26 December 1985 in Crossroads. His son, Mandla Siqaza, told the Commission that the family buried the body very early in the morning. ‘Comrades’ attempted to prevent the burial and, within a month, the body had been exhumed by the ‘comrades’.
- 277 While initial cases of necklace murders were clearly targeted at suspected ‘collaborators’ and ‘informers’, as the years progressed, targets became blurred. Political activists also became targets of burning by either petrol bombs and or tyres.
- 278 From evidence before the Commission, it appears that the burning of a body was a sign of contempt for the victim and his/her deeds. No act could convey a deeper sense of hatred and disrespect. The practice was also used to make an example of the victim, so that others would be inhibited from behaving like the deceased. Burning a body could also remove traces of evidence of the killing. In some cases, the practice of burning a body was used to disguise criminal murders as political killings. In other cases, criminals themselves were targets of

necklacing as they were seen as vulnerable for recruitment as police spies.

- 279 The responsibility for burning and necklace killings can be attributed to a number of individuals and groups. The nature of the responsibility ranges from failure to condemn, to verbal encouragement to the commission of the act itself.
- 280 The following statistics reflect the extent of reported deaths related to political violence and those resulting from burning and necklace killings for the years 1984 to 1989. The figures in brackets are the numbers captured on the Commission database.

Deaths related to political violence and to necklace/burnings¹⁰

Year	Total political violence deaths	Necklace/burning
1984	175 (164)	3 (3)
1985	922 (636)	67 (28)
1986	1352 (834)	306 (84)
1987	706 (361)	19 (35)
1988	1149 (401)	10 (20)
1989	1403 (474)	(21)
TOTAL	5 707 (2 870)	+/- 700 (191)

- 281 The table indicates that, except in 1986, the number of people whose deaths were associated with burning is far lower than the total number of people who died in each year between 1984 and 1989. Despite higher figures of burning and necklacing in 1987 (35) and 1988 (20) reflected on the Commission's database compared to figures from secondary sources (19 and 20 respectively), the trend is similar. Thus, it seems that incidents of burnings and necklace reached a peak in 1986. The database suggests, however, that the number rose again in 1990.
- 282 During the Pondoland revolt, at least eight chiefs and their councillors were killed and their huts were burned. Some people burned to death inside their houses. The headmen and chiefs were seen to be collaborating with the government in implementing new government policies, high taxation and conservation measures. They were often suspected of being involved in corruption such as bribery.
- 283 In the 1980s, people serving in institutions of government were labelled as 'collaborators', especially if they did not heed the call to resign. Community councillors and security forces fell into this category.

¹⁰ Sources include: Indicator Project of South Africa (Ipsa), South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), figures by the minister of Law and Order and SAP files. Not all figures from secondary sources are accurate. The highest figures have been taken in each instance and calculations have been made based on information from a combination of sources.

- 284 Relatives and/or people associated with 'collaborators' were severely affected and in some cases suffered a similar fate. In one case [JB02624], the boys of the household were suspected of being police informers and a house was burned with the family members inside it. At least one person was killed and several other family members were severely burned.
- 285 Mr Mava Rwexu [EC0532/96ALB] suffered substantial loss when his house at Tantjie Location, Grahamstown, was burnt down by a group of unknown perpetrators on the grounds that his sister was a police reservist. At the time of the burning, his nieces Vuyisa, Priscilla and Nohose Hoboshe were in the house; all died in the fire.
- 286 A large number of people who were necklaced in the mid-1980s were people perceived to be police 'informers'. The case of Ms Nosipho Zamela is reported above.
- 287 Cases of burnings were also reported in relation to boycotts. Tensions within communities and between residents and security forces during boycotts were common. In some areas, 'boycott-breakers' were severely dealt with by those who volunteered to monitor the boycotts.
- 288 For example, Ms Nombulelo Julia Delato [CT 00390/KAR] was seen by a group of youth buying meat during a consumer boycott in Colesberg. She was confronted and her meat was trampled on. She laid charges with police who began searching for those responsible. Ms Delato was a supporter of community organisations, but was seen as an informer after the incident. As she was married to a former Prisons Department employee, Mr Stanford Thembele Delato, who became a community policeman in 1983, the Delato family were increasingly labelled as *impimpis* (sell-outs). Delato's home was stoned and police began guarding it and escorted her publicly. When, after a few weeks the police guard relaxed, Ms Delato was caught by a group of youth and set alight. She died in hospital. The Delato family could not bury her in Colesberg because of community hostility. A number of people were charged with her murder including Mr Tembile Falati, Mr Zolile Silwane, Mr Thabo Gusha, Mr Pingdyaan Kelem, Mr Titsha Mhlakulo and Mr Tifo Paul Setlaba. Setlaba was sentenced to death while others received long prison sentences.
- 289 People perceived to be practising witchcraft were sometimes killed by 'comrades', some by the necklace method. Ms Nofikile Dikani and her daughter Zameka

Dikani (29) [EC1967/97ELN] were necklaced to death in Duncan Village on 2 January 1986. Comrades accused them of bewitching Fudwana (Fudukile) Dikani, Nofikile's son, who was killed in October 1985 when an SADF casspir drove over his vehicle. According to evidence given to the Commission, Fudwana used to transport injured victims of police shootings to hospital [EC0943]; thus his death was perceived as a deliberate act. The other passenger in the vehicle, Mr Sivuyile Wellington Hobiya [EC0797] survived with injuries.

- 290 A number of people were killed by burning and necklace during clashes between organisations. These included clashes between gangs and comrades or residents; clashes between UDF supporters and people perceived as AZAPO followers; clashes between comrades and vigilantes, and conflicts between UDF/ANC and Inkatha/IFP. Some of these incidents are detailed in Volume Three.
- 291 Criminal elements were targeted. Campaigns such as the closing of shebeens at particular times aimed to reduce criminal activities. Criminal elements became victims in the process. However, *shebeen* owners who defied the campaign found themselves victims as well.
- 292 Some political activists were victims of burning and necklace killings in what, according to evidence from former state operatives as well as amnesty applications, now appears to be the work of security forces. Examples include the Cradock Four and PEBCO Three. The actions were done either to destroy evidence and or to suggest that the killings were conducted by rival groupings.

Stabbing

- 293 A number of people were victims of stabbings, many of which resulted in death. Although stabbing had always been associated with criminality, at the height of resistance it was used by some political activists to attack political opponents either in the government or in other organisations.
- 294 In the early 1960s, attacks of this nature involved hacking victims to death, using axes, *pangas*, swords and other sharp instruments. The choice of weapons was partly related to the limited availability of guns at the time. The Commission database indicates that stabbing was amongst the most widely used methods of killing in the period between 1960 and 1975. Mr Sizathu Mlomo [EC2221/97ETK], a government employee, was brutally stabbed by named perpetrators in Bizana in December 1960. He was accused of siding with the implementation of Tribal Authority Act.

- 295 In March 1960, in Isikelo Location in Bizana, Mr Robert Nonqandela [EC1817/97ETK] was stabbed with swords and other sharp instruments all over his body and head by unknown people opposed to the establishment of the Trust Land Act. Nonqandela was believed to be siding with chiefs who were in favour of the Act. He was hospitalised for a week. On his return, his homestead (five houses) was destroyed by fire, seemingly by the same unknown perpetrators who assaulted him.
- 296 From the mid-1970s to early 1980s, stabbing was not a prominent method of killing. However, in the early 1990s, the use of axes (hacking) in urban areas re-emerged. (See Boipatong massacre in Volume Three.) Stabbing also became prominent in the early 1990s, particularly in conflicts that involved organisations. A large number of people that were first stabbed to death were later set alight. These are sometimes confused with necklace killings.
- 297 In certain instances security forces were involved in creating a situation in which people were stabbed. Mr Mthuzimele Manziya [EC0636/96UIT] died after he was stabbed and hacked by *Ama-Afrika* members near an initiation hut in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage. Manziya and nine others were guarding *abakhwetha* (initiates) from attacks by the *Ama-Afrika* when police allegedly fired tear gas at them and forced them towards a hidden group of *Ama-Afrika* vigilantes. Manziya's back was full of stab wounds and his head sustained a severe wound by axing. He died on 31 December 1989 at Livingstone hospital in Port Elizabeth.

Stoning

- 298 Few cases of stoning were reported to the Commission, possibly because stoning often led to more severe violations such as stabbing and even burning. A significant number of targets of stoning were security forces deployed in the townships.

Organisational structures and names of people holding office

■ AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)¹

The National Executive Council (NEC), the highest executive organ of the ANC responsible for the overall policy of the organisation, had two main committees: The National Working Committee – made up of those NEC members based at the organisation's headquarters in Lusaka – was responsible for conducting the day-to-day running of the ANC at NEC level. The Secretariat - made up of the Secretary General and representatives of the ANC President's office and the Treasurer General's Office - was responsible for providing the secretariat services to the ANC.

Membership of NEC between 1963 and 1969

(ANC 2nd submission, p. 34)

CHAIR: Mr OR Tambo TREASURER: Moses Kotane SECRETARY GENERAL: Duma Nokwe OTHER MEMBERS: Mzwai Piliso, Mendy Msimang, Moses Mabhida, Themba Mqota, Mark Shope, JB Marks, Tennyson Makiwane, Ambrose Makiwane, Jimmy Hadebe, Joe Matthews, Alfred Nzo, TT Nkobi, Johnny Makathini, Robert Resha, Dan Tloome, Joe Modise.

Membership of NEC between 1969 and 1976

ACTING PRESIDENT: OR Tambo TREASURER: Moses Kotane, followed by JB Marks SECRETARY GENERAL: Duma Nokwe, succeeded by Alfred Nzo in 1969 OTHER MEMBERS: John Motshabi, Mzwai Piliso, Moses Mabhida, Themba Mqota, JB Marks, Tennyson Makiwane, Ambrose Makiwane, Jimmy Hadebe, Joe Matthews, Alfred Nzo, TT Nkobi, Johnny Makathini, Robert Resha, Dan Tloome, Joe Modise, MEMBERS CO-OPTED during this period include: Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani, Jacob Zuma, Joe Jele, Joe Gqabi, John Nkademeng, John Gaetsewe, Robert Manci, Andrew Masondo, Henry Makgothi, Florence Moposho, Simon Makana. The Makiwane brothers and Themba Mqota were expelled in 1972.

¹ From the second submission of the ANC.

Membership of NEC between 1976 and 1980

PRESIDENT: OR Tambo TREASURER: Thomas Nkobi SECRETARY GENERAL: Alfred Nzo ADMIN SECRETARY: Joe Nhlanhla OTHER MEMBERS: Mzwai Piliso, Moses Mabhida, Joe Modise, Joe Jele, John Motshabi, Andrew Masondo, Joe Gqabi, Jacob Zuma, Robert Manci, Steve Dlamini, John Nkadimeng, Simon Makana, Florence Moposho, Gertrude Shope, Duma Nokwe, Thabo Mbeki, Johnny Makathini.

Membership of NEC between 1980 and 1983

PRESIDENT: OR Tambo TREASURER: Thomas Nkobi SECRETARY GENERAL: Alfred Nzo National ADMIN SECRETARY: Joe Nhlanhla OTHER MEMBERS: Mzwai Piliso, Moses Mabhida, Joe Modise, Joe Jele, John Motshabi, Andrew Masondo, Joe Gqabi, Jacob Zuma, Robert Manci, Steve Dlamini, John Nkadimeng, Simon Makana, Florence Moposho, Gertrude Shope, Duma Nokwe, Johnny Makathini, Chris Hani.

Membership of NEC between 1983 and 1985

PRESIDENT: OR Tambo TREASURER: Thomas Nkobi SECRETARY GENERAL: Alfred Nzo ADMIN SECRETARY: Joe Nhlanhla OTHER MEMBERS: Mzwai Piliso, Moses Mabhida, Joe Modise, Joe Jele, John Motshabi, Andrew Masondo, Robert Manci, Joe Gqabi, Jacob Zuma, Steve Dlamini, John Nkadimeng, Simon Makana, Florence Moposho, Gertrude Shope, Chris Hani, Thabo Mbeki, Johnny Makathini.

Membership of NEC between 1985 and 1990

For the first time the ANC had a fully-elected NEC, consisting of 28 members.

PRESIDENT: OR Tambo TREASURER: Thomas Nkobi SECRETARY GENERAL: Alfred Nzo OTHER MEMBERS: Johnny Makathini, Simon Makana, Joe Slovo, Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani, Moses Mabhida (until his death in 1986), Tony Mongalo, Dan Tloome, John Motshabi, John Nkadimeng, Mac Maharaj, Cassius Make (until his assassination in Swaziland in 1987), Florence Moposho, Joe Nhlanhla, Joe Modise, Ruth Mompati, Henry Makgothi, Pallo Jordan, Jacob Zuma, Joe Jele, Sizakele Sigxashe, Robert Manci, Gertrude Shope, Francis Meli, Reg September, Jackie Selibi, Hermanus Loots ('James Stuart'), Steve Tshwete, Zola Skweyiya. MEMBERS CO-OPTED in 1987: Ronnie Kasrils, Jackie Sedibe, Aziz Pahad, 'Bra T' (Godfrey Ngwenya) and Sindiso Mfenyane.

The Revolutionary Council (RC) was established in 1969 during Morogoro conference and instructed by the NEC to concentrate on the home front: developing internal structures, gaining publicity for the ANC and waging armed struggle. The RC expanded over the years by co-opting new members and developing structures or portfolios including Communications, Ordnance Intelligence and Security.

RC membership between 1969 and 1976

CHAIR: OR Tambo DEPUTY CHAIR: Yusuf Dadoo SECRETARY: Joe Matthews
ASSISANT SECRETARY: Simon Makana OTHER MEMBERS: Joe Modise,
Thabo Mbeki, Jackie Sedibe, Duma Nokwe, Moses Kotane, Tennyson Makiwane,
JB Marx, Robert Resha, Ruth Mompoti, John Motshabi, Joe Slovo, Andrew
Masondo, Mzwai Piliso, Reg September, Jacob Masondo, John Gaetsewe.

Military Operations fell under Joe Modise. NAT (National Security) was first established in April 1969 under the leadership of Moses Mabhida.

RC membership between 1976 and 1980

CHAIR: OR Tambo SECRETARY: Moses Mabhida ASSISTANT SECRETARY:
Simon Makana, followed by Job Tlhabane ('Cassius Make') in 1977 OTHER
MEMBERS: Mzwai Piliso, Moses Mabhida, Joe Modise, Joe Jele, John
Motshabi, Robert Manci, Steve Dlamini, Florence Moposho, Gertrude Shope,
Duma Nokwe, Thabo Mbeki, Johnny Makathini, Joe Slovo, Yusuf Dadoo, Jacob
Masondo, Chris Hani, 'Lennox' Tshali, Peter Dlamini, Bogart Soze. MEMBERS
CO-OPTED to the structure after 1977: Joe Gqabi, Mac Maharaj, Godfrey Pule,
Jacob Zuma, John Nkadimeng, 'Peter' Tshikare, Sizakele Sigxashe, Andrew
Masondo.

RC membership between 1980 and 1983

CHAIR: OR Tambo SECRETARY: Moses Mabhida ASSISTANT SECRETARY:
Mr Job Tlhabane OTHER MEMBERS: Joe Slovo, Yusuf Dadoo, Joe Modise,
Jacob Masondo, John Motshabi, Joe Jele, Chris Hani, 'Lennox' Tshali, 'Peter'
Dlamini, Joe Gqabi, Mac Maharaj, Godfrey Pule, Jacob Zuma, John
Nkadimeng, Peter Tshikare, Sizakele Sigxashe, Andrew Masondo, Mzwai Piliso,
Robert Manci, Steve Dlamini, Simon Makana, Gertrude Shope, Florence
Moposho, Thabo Mbeki, Johnny Makathini, Bogart Soze.

The RC was replaced by the Politico-Military Council (PMC) at this stage, which became the executive arm of the NEC in relation to all matters pertaining to the conduct of the political and military struggle inside S.A. It was tasked with the overall strategic planning for internal ANC/MK work and to assess the state of the nation. The PMC co-ordinated the activities of Political Head Quarters, Military Head Quarters, NAT and the Regional Politico-Military Councils. Membership on these structures can be found in second submission of the ANC (pp 48/49).

PMC membership between 1983 and 1985

CHAIR: OR Tambo TREASURER: Reg September SECRETARY: Joe Nhlanhla (until 1987) MHQ REPRESENTATIVE: Joe Modise PHQ REPRESENTATIVE: Joe Jele, Mac Maharaj, Jacob Zuma, John Motshabi, Ruth Mompoti
NAT REPRESENTATIVE: Mzwai Piliso Other members included Alfred Nzo, TT Nkobi, Job Tlhabane, Sizakele Sigxashe, Andrew Masondo, Moses Mabhida, John Nkadameng.

PMC membership between 1985 and 1990

CHAIR: OR Tambo SECRETARY OF THE SECRETARIAT: Joe Nhlanhla (1983/1984-1987), Followed by Joe Jele(1987-1990) MHQ REPRESENTATIVES: Joe Modise, Joe Slovo, Chris Hani, Steve Tshwete, Ronnie Kasrils, Job Tlhabane (until 1987)

(PHQ was replaced by the Internal Political Committee (IPC) in 1987).

PHQ/IPC REPRESENTATIVES: Mac Maharaj, Joe Jele, Jacob Zuma, (1985-1990), Ruth Mompoti, Steve Tshwete, Joel Netshitenzhe. NAT Representatives: Mzwai Piliso (until 1987) and then Joe Nhlanhla and Sizakhele Sigxashe Other members were Moses Mabhida and John Nkadameng. (For membership of structures that reported under the PMC see ANC second submission (pp 52-55).

MK Command 1976-1980

Mzwandile Piliso, at the time - Head of the Dept. of Military Training and Personnel. 1980: Simon Shekeshe ('Julius Mokoena'), appointed Regional Commander 1982: Graham Morodi ('Mashego') Until 1985: Godfrey Ngwenya ('Timothy Mokoena'), later Ali Makhosini

Camp Commanders

GABELA TRAINING CAMP (1976-1977): FAPLA AND CUBAN INSTRUCTORS
ENGINEERING LUANDA (Transit camp) (late 1976-mid 1977): Simon Shekeshe, then Castro Ramokgopa BENGUELA TRANSIT CAMP (1977-1982): Simon Shekeshe, followed by 'Dlokolo' Nova CATENGUE TRAINING CAMP (1976-1979): Simon Shekeshe QIBAXE TRAINING CAMP (1977-1980): Parker Tsie (1977-1980), Oupa G. Banda, Seremane Kgositsile (Kenneth Mahamba), Livingstone Tom Gaza, Herbert Malinga, Lloyd Mabizela and Sydney Mpila. FUNDA TRAINING CAMP (1976-1988): Zakes Tolo, then Seeiso Morapedi FAZENDA MILITARY CAMP (1978-1980/1981): Livingstone Tom Gaza PANGO CAMP(1979-1989): Thami Zulu (1979-1981), Seremane Kgositsile, Godfrey Ngwenya, Matthews Nkosi, Phillip Sebothoma, Dumile Thabekhulu, Ben Senokoanyane. VIANA TRANSIT CAMP (Camp 001) (1979-1989): Dan Hatto, Golden Rahube, Steve Kobe, Johnson Langa, Lawrence Madi, Leepo Modise. Hoji Ya Henda (Camalundi: Mzwakhe Ngwenya, then Godfrey N Ngwenya (1980-Jan 1981) Cacaluma (Malanje) (Jan 1981- 1989: Godfrey N Ngwenya, then Sipho Binda, then Thibe Lesole, then Dumisane Mafo, Themba Nkabinde, then Steven Kobe. CAXITO TRAINING CAMP (1979-1984) Successively Andile Ndzanga, Robert Mandita, Dumile Thabekhulu and Ben Senokoanyane

■ PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC)

National Executive at PAC's Founding in 1959

PRESIDENT: Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe NATIONAL SECRETARY: Potlako Kitchener Leballom TREASURER-GENERAL: Abednego Bhekabantu Ngcobo NATIONAL ORGANISER: Elliot Mfaha ADDITIONAL MEMBER: Gordon Mabhoza ADDITIONAL MEMBER: CJ Fazzie ADDITIONAL MEMBER: Howard Ngcobo. NATIONAL SECRETARIAT: SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION: Peter Nkutsou Raboroko FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Peter Hlaole Molotsi JUDICIAL AFFAIRS: Zephania Lekoape Mothopeng INFORMATION/PUBLICITY: Zacharius Bohloko Molete LABOUR: Jacob Dum-Dum Nyaoase ECONOMIC AFFAIRS: Hughes Hlatshwayo CULTURE/YOUTH: Nana Mahomo

Regional Chairpersons were theoretically *ipso factom* members of the NEC. This was put into effect when the Presidential Council was formed in Maseru in 1962.

An interim *ad hoc* structure under ZB Molete as Acting President operated in the underground period until the formation of the Presidential Council in Maseru under Leballo in 1962.

Presidential Council in Maseru (1962–approximately 1965)

ACTING PRESIDENT/NATIONAL SECRETARY/CHAIRPERSON OF COUNCIL:
PK Leballo (Ex-Chairperson of North Eastern region: John Nyathi Pokela) EAST-
ERN CAPE: Mfanasekhaya Gqobose WESTERN CAPE: Templeton Ntantala
TRANSKEI: Tsepo Letlaka

National Executive Committee in Tanzania (1964-1967)

ACTING PRESIDENT/NATIONAL SECRETARY: PK Leballo TREASURER-
GENERAL: AB Ngcobo EDUCATION: Peter Raboroko PUBLICITY/INFORMATION:
ZB Molete LABOUR: JD Nyaose CULTURE/YOUTH/CHIEF REP(London/Europe):
Nana Mahomo PAN AFRICAN AFFAIRS AND CHIEF REP IN GHANA/WEST
AFRICA: PH Molotsi ADDITIONAL MEMBER: TT Letlaka ADDITIONAL MEMBER:
Mfanasekhaya Gqobose

National Executive Committee (1967-68)

ACTING PRESIDENT: PK Leballo TREASURER-GENERAL: AB Ngcobo
LABOUR: JD Nyaose PUBLICITY AND INFORMATION: ZB Molete EDUCATION:
Peter Raboroko CULTURE/YOUTH ETC: Nana Mahomo (Commander of APLA):
TM Ntantala: Cardiff Marney, Kenny Jordan, Barney Desai, MP Gqobose, JN
Pokela, TT Letlaka

Revolutionary Command (1968-1971)

CHAIRPERSON AND ACTING PRESIDENT: PK Leballo DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON
AND COMMANDER/APLA: TM Ntantala PUBLICITY AND INFORMATION: Edwin
Makoti Chief of Staff/APLA: Theophilus Bidi CHIEF OF SECURITY/INTELLIGENCE:
Jack Jako MP Gqobose, JN Pokela, Gasson Ndlovu (DEPUTY COMMANDER/
APLA), PZ Mboko (Chief Political Commissar/APLA, Gerald Kondlo (died in Vila
Peri), John Rankoane (died in Vila Peri).

Central Committee (1971-78)

Following changes effected after the first split.

CHAIRPERSON/ACTING PRESIDENT: PK Leballo DEPUTY CHAIR/COMMANDER
OF APLA: TM Ntantala PUBLICITY AND INFORMATION: Edwin Makoti
TREASURER: MP Gqobose ADMINISTRATION SECRETARY: Elias Ntloedibe
DEPUTY COMMANDER/APLA: Gasson Ndlovu CHIEF POLITICAL COMMISSAR

/APLA: PZ Mboko FOREIGN AFFAIRS/PERMANENT REP.(UN AND AMERICAS): David Sibeko DEPUTY CHIEF POLITICAL COMMISSAR, APLA: Zeblon Mokoena: CHIEF OF STAFF, APLA: Theophilus Bidi INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY: Jack Jako: Vusi Make Esrome Mokhakala Tshongoyi

Central Committee (1978 - 1979)

CHAIRPERSON: PK Leballo FOREIGN AFFAIRS: David Sibeko PUBLICITY AND INFORMATION: Elias Ntloedibe DEFENCE: Edwin Makoti ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY: VDDD Mantshontsho EDUCATION/ MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT: Jimmy Mogoetjane Vusi Make WELFARE: Elizabeth Sibeko Gertrude Mathute

The Second Presidential Council, a triumvirate of three who replaced Leballo after they has persuaded him to resign late in 1979. It consisted of Vus Make as Chairperson, and David Sibeko and Elias Ntloedibe as members

Central Committee after David Sibeko's assassination (1979)

CHAIRPERSON: Vus Make ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY: DDD Mantshontsho PUBLICITY/INFORMATION: EL Ntloedibe FOREIGN AFFAIRS/PERMANENT REP.UN/AMERICAS: Henry Isaacs FINANCE: EV Radebe DEFENCE: Edwin Makoti FIELD COMMANDER, APLA: Enoch Zulu EDUCATION/MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT: Count Pietersen WELFARE: Elizabeth Sibeko LABOUR: Mike Muendane

Central Committee in 1981- 86 under Pokela

CHAIRPERSON: JN Pokela DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON: Vus Make ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY: Joe Mkhwanazi SECRETARY OF DEFENCE AND COMMANDER OF APLA: Sabelo Gqwetha FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Gora Ebrahim TREASURER: Macdonald Mgweba MP Gqobose LABOUR: Michael Muendane PUBLICITY/INFORMATION: Edwin Makoti Johnson Mlambo

Central Committee (1986-1990) under Johnson Mlambo

The same personnel as above continued except for the Chair. Mlambo replaced Pokela who had died of natural causes in 1985. This set held on, with occasional changes and minor adjustments until PAC, like the ANC and SACP, were legalised in 1990.

The Homelands¹ from 1960 to 1990

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 This section focuses on the security forces operating in the former independent and self-governing homelands and their role in South Africa's overall security strategy. The homelands security forces did not enjoy complete autonomy within the boundaries of homeland territories. They often worked alongside members of the South African security forces. Frequently, the South African security forces carried out both public and covert operations in the homelands, independently of the homeland security forces.
- 2 The Commission's work on the former homelands was constrained by a number of factors. The Commission deployed teams of statement-takers to the homeland areas. However, owing to the primarily rural nature of the homelands and the logistics of statement-taking, not every area could be canvassed. Much of the evidence gathered from former homelands is documented in the relevant regional profiles (see Volume Three).
- 3 The Commission received a substantial submission on the former homelands prepared by Roger Southall and Geoff Wood.² The submission focused principally on the two Eastern Cape homelands, namely the Ciskei and the Transkei, and has been used in compiling this chapter. The full submission is available in the Commission's archives.
- 4 This chapter presents an overview of the development of security forces in the former homelands. It goes on to outline developments in the independent territories of Transkei and Ciskei and in the self-governing territory of KwaZulu. For the purposes of this chapter, the KwaZulu government, the KwaZulu Police (KZP)

1 The terms "homeland" and "independent homeland" are used throughout this section for the sake of convenience; the terms 'territories' and 'states' have also been used. The terms applied to these entities by the South African government have changed over time: According to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) they were initially called 'African Reserves', then 'homelands' in the 1960s and 'Black States' from 1978 (SAIRR, 1948-79). The term 'bantustan' has also been in common usage.

2 Roger Southall & Geoffrey Wood, 'Control and Contestation: State Security in South Africa's Homelands.' A report to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1988.

and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), formerly the Inkatha Cultural Liberation Movement, are examined together, based on the argument that they were seen and treated as mutually indistinguishable in the period of the Commission's mandate. Lastly, this chapter examines the development of vigilante groups and their activities in the self-governing territory of KwaNdebele.

■ OVERVIEW: DEVELOPMENT OF SECURITY STRUCTURES IN THE HOMELANDS

Introduction

- 5 The homelands system lay at the heart of the National Party (NP) government's policy of territorial and political separation based on race. Long before the NP's election victory in 1948, legislation had been enacted to lay the groundwork for the development of the homelands. This included the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts. The Bantu Authorities Act was passed in the early 1950s, increasing the powers of traditional authorities in preparation for self-governance, and in 1959, the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act provided the legislative basis for the future homelands. Based on the notion that South Africa's indigenous population was composed of eight (later, ten) African national groups, the architects of apartheid proposed that each group be given the opportunity to advance to higher forms of self-government until independence for each could eventually be realised.
- 6 From their creation, the homelands proved to be an emotional and highly charged issue. By and large, opinion on the subject was divided between those who generally supported the homelands project and those who opposed it. In the former group, NP politicians portrayed the homelands as a moral response to South Africa's 'multi-national' reality. Apartheid theorists believed that South Africa was a country containing a number of nations, each developed to a greater or lesser degree. Freedom, they posited, could be realised only by providing the opportunity for each of these nations to exist and develop along its own lines. To achieve this, the South African government initiated the programme of 'separate development'. Proponents of the policy envisioned the creation, under white tutelage, of a number of independent but mutually supportive African states. Theoretically, the homeland system was designed to realise this vision.
- 7 Support for the homelands was not limited to South Africa's enfranchised white minority. Some Africans, especially members of the rural elite, also lent their authority to the system. Those who participated in the established structures did

so for a variety of reasons. Some sought political or economic gain; others truly believed in the stated goals of traditional rule or national development. Still others argued that they participated in the system only to work for change from within.

- 8 Arguments against the homeland system were based on different philosophical and political beliefs, although a number of common threads run through the various critiques. First, some observers outside of the NP believed that economic constraints would inhibit the potential for the full realisation of the homeland concept. Second, many South Africans rejected the apartheid notion that ethnic ties naturally separated the country's population into different nations. This school of thought regarded the homelands as an extension of the central government's policy of 'divide and rule'. Finally, more radical analyses concluded that the homelands were being used as vast dumping grounds where labour superfluous to the (white) capitalist economy could be effectively contained and controlled.
- 9 Rural resistance to the creation of homelands, in particular the imposition of tribal authorities and of betterment and rehabilitation schemes, increased during the 1950s. Clashes between police and protesters resulted, notably at Witsieshoek in the Orange Free State in 1950 and at Sekhukhuneland in the eastern Transvaal in 1958. By 1960, opposition in rural Transkei had culminated in the Pondoland Revolt (see below).
- 10 The arguments for and against the homelands and the pre-1960 political developments that contributed to their establishment are not the focus of this chapter. Rather, the chapter seeks to highlight the role of various homeland security forces in the violation of human rights.

Overview of violations 1960-1994

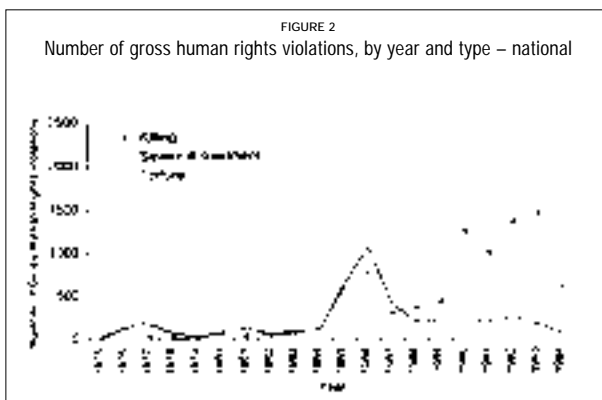
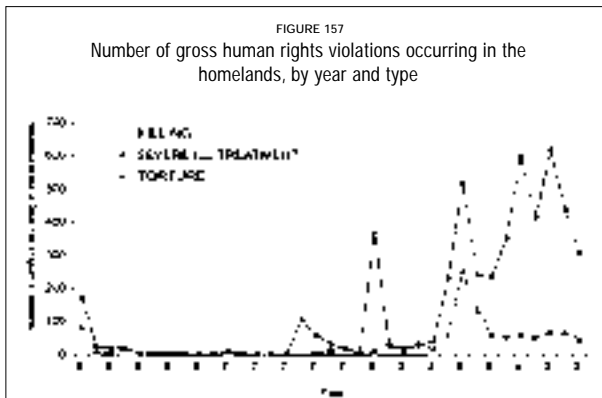
- 11 The table below records the percentage, by type, of gross human rights violations that occurred in the homelands for all periods and is measured against the equivalent figures for non-homeland areas. Counts are done throughout the 1960-94 period on all ten geographical areas that were eventually to become either self-governing or independent territories.

	Abduction	Killing	Severe ill treatment	Torture	Total
Homeland	4%	27%	56%	13%	100%
Non-homeland	3%	29%	52%	16%	100%

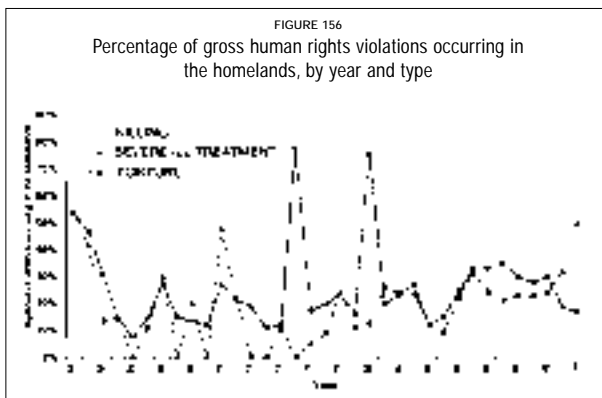
12 It is clear that the ratios in respect of types of violations reported to the Commission for the homeland areas are virtually identical to the ratios for violations reported for non-homeland areas. This indicates that the existence of the homelands did not have a substantial impact on the types of violations experienced there.

13 The correlation between violations experienced in the homelands and in the rest of the country is again illustrated by the following graphs:

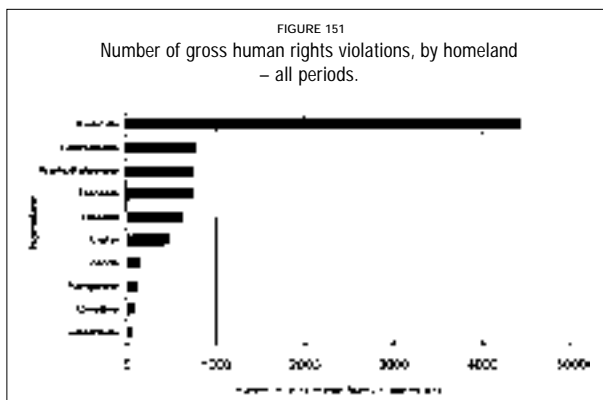
14 Note that figure 157 runs from 1960 to 1994, while Figure 2 runs from 1975 to 1994; also that the vertical axis is calibrated differently. However, these graphs both show similar peaks and troughs in violations for the period from the mid-1970s to 1994. Both show severe ill treatment as the key violation, with killings increasing but torture declining during the 1990s.



15 Figure 156 shows how many of the violations reported to the Commission occurred in the homelands regions. Despite the increases and decreases in violations recorded here, the mean number of violations reported in the homelands remains a constant 35-40 per cent of total violations reported. The years recording the highest percentage of violations in the homelands are 1975 (the year before the Transkei gained independence) and 1980 (see those specific periods, below).

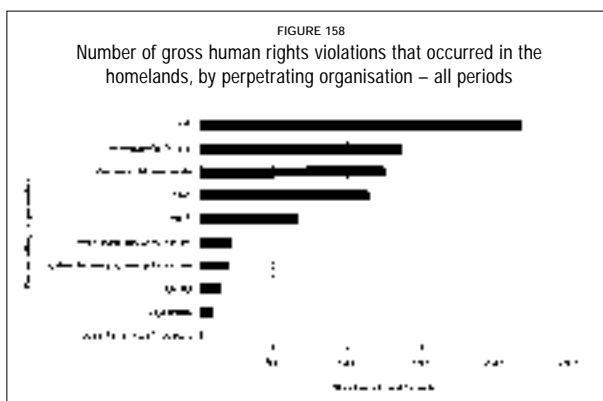


- 16 These graphs point towards a similarity in the occurrence of violations nationally and in the homelands, indicating a similarity in policies towards opponents by both national and homeland administrations.



- 17 From figure 151, it is clear that overwhelmingly the greatest number of violations reported for the homelands for the overall 1960-94 period occurred in KwaZulu. Almost five times as many violations were reported in KwaZulu as for the next homeland in the graph, KwaNdebele. There is a negligible difference in the number of violations reported overall in Bophuthatswana, KwaNdebele, Transkei, Lebowa and Ciskei. It is worth noting that, according to the information in this figure and leaving aside the case of KwaZulu, whether a homeland was independent or self-governing seems to have made little difference to the number of violations. For an indication of how this trend changed over time, see the rest of this series of graphs under each time period below: note the different scales of the horizontal axes in these graphs, which indicate a substantial increase in violations for the later periods.

- 18 Figure 158 shows the main perpetrator groups, with Inkatha as the dominant perpetrator group over the entire 1960-94 period; it should be borne in mind that Inkatha is almost entirely limited to the KwaZulu homeland, one of the ten geographical areas under consideration. Inkatha is followed by the homelands police, the liberation movements and the South African Police (SAP). Note that the SAP, homelands police and other security forces are split into separate groups, although it seemed that deponents were often unable to distinguish between these groups.



■ 1960-1975: SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT AND THE GROWTH OF THE HOMELANDS

Historical and political overview

- 19 This period began with the 1960 Pondoland Revolt in Transkei, a rural revolt against the increased powers of chiefs and the imminent imposition of homeland structures (see below in the Transkei and Ciskei section). Three years later Transkei became the first homeland to be granted self-government status.
- 20 Following the successful clampdown on internal opposition, there was a period of marked economic growth. In the wake of these developments, the NP was provided with an opportunity to consolidate its control over the state. In this period of 'grand apartheid', the South African government embarked on a project of profound and widespread social engineering. From the 1960s onwards, millions of individuals were uprooted and relocated – generally to the homelands – in the process of 'consolidating' South Africa's ethnic map. Direct physical violence, accompanied by the structural violence inherent in the system of migrant labour, resulted in violations of human rights that defy easy calculation.
- 21 In this period of forced removals, land consolidation and homeland political development, the legislation prepared by Prime Minister Verwoerd's Native Affairs Department was widely implemented. In particular, elaborate and at times farcical steps were taken during the 1960s and 1970s to establish African-led administrations in the homelands. As was often the case, the Transkei proved the testing ground and eventually the model for the other homelands.
- 22 In 1963, the South African parliament passed the Transkei Constitution Act, replacing the existing territorial authority with a 'self-governing' legislative assembly with limited law-making powers. The assembly consisted of forty-five elected members and sixty-four *ex officio* chiefs (who, in terms of the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act, were employees of the South African government). From this body, a chief minister was elected who in turn appointed a homeland cabinet. Following the first general election later in the year, Chief Kaiser Matanzima was elected to the chief ministership, largely on the support of the non-elected chiefs.
- 23 Almost a decade passed before another homeland followed Transkei's lead. Partly to avoid further delay, in 1970-71 the South African government passed two pieces of legislation designed to ease the political development of the remaining homelands.

The Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act stipulated that all African South Africans were citizens of one of the homelands, even if they currently lived in the 'white' Republic. The Bantu Homelands Constitution Act empowered the Prime Minister to devolve self-government to the homelands by decree, thus circumventing the cumbersome legislative process employed in the case of the Transkei.

- 24 Political developments quickly followed in a number of homelands. In 1971, self-government was granted to Ciskei and Bophuthatswana; Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda received self-government in 1973. Only Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (the so-called TBVC states) ever went on to take independence. In 1972, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly was established, followed by self-government in February 1977; KwaZulu consistently refused to opt for independence. At the end of this period, in 1975, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi revived Inkatha, then a cultural organisation. Buthelezi has been president of Inkatha ever since and went on to head the KwaZulu government throughout its existence. The remaining homelands became self-governing over the ensuing years. In this manner, the apartheid principle of territorial segregation was physically realised through the creation of separate, ethnically-based homelands.

Developments in security structures

- 25 Throughout the period in question, the SAP continued to dominate state security strategy in the homelands. When a peasants' revolt and popular resistance emerged in Pondoland and elsewhere, the SAP blamed the situation on groups of 'agitators' and 'intimidators' who were said to be causing 'riots' in previously quiescent and non-politicised areas. The police argued that rural Africans were, by and large, law-abiding citizens who wanted no part of such activities. Police strategy focused therefore on counter-insurgency operations to prevent 'riotous' behaviour. Intelligence-gathering structures aimed to expose and apprehend those deemed guilty of inciting it.
- 26 This was achieved, as described later in this chapter, with the aid of a battery of new security regulations. Much of this legislation was first employed in the homelands. For example, in response to the situation in the Transkei, Proclamations R400 and R413 were gazetted in 1960. *Inter alia*, the proclamations stipulated that:
- a The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development could prohibit any person from entering, being in or leaving Transkei;

- b Gatherings of more than ten people (except for church meetings and certain other social events) were forbidden without official permission;
 - c The police were entitled to arrest and indefinitely detain people without a warrant;
 - d It was an offence to attend an unlawful gathering, to make any statement or perform any action likely to interfere with the authority of the state, or to boycott official meetings.
- 27 In addition to the SAP, the first homeland police force was established in the Transkei in this period. It soon became a model for developments in other homelands. Following the granting of self-governing status in 1963, a local department of justice was established in the homeland. To begin with, the Transkei's forty-four police stations continued to fall under the control of SAP district commands in Kokstad and Umtata. Over time, however, all police stations and staff were transferred to the Transkei Police Force (TPF), officially formed in 1972 under the command of a seconded SAP member, Brigadier BS Pieterse. As would be the case in other homelands, the SAP continued to exercise control over the emerging homeland force. By 1975, the 543 serving members of the TPF were commanded by five white officers, all seconded from the national police force. Similarly, the SAP continued to supply the relevant equipment and training for the TPF, while revenues from the South African government supported the entire homeland edifice, including the Department of Justice. The final and ultimate influence of the SAP, however, was its continued operational presence.
- 28 In the period under review, military duties remained the sole preserve of the South African Defence Force (SADF), as homeland armies were formed only in the latter half of the 1970s. Nevertheless, important shifts in the SADF's attitude to black soldiers occurred in this period, with coloured soldiers eventually being used for active duty. As late as 1970, Mr PW Botha, then Minister of Defence, restated official opposition to arming Africans. If "the Bantu" wanted to build a defence force, Botha suggested, "he should do it in his own eventually independent homeland".
- 29 However, as Portugal's colonial authority weakened in Mozambique and Angola, Pretoria was forced to reconsider its position. In 1973, a group of Africans was trained for guard duty at the Prisons Service Training Centre. In 1974, selected members of this group were redeployed as instructors at a newly established Army Bantu Training Centre. Although the SADF originally stressed that Africans

would remain non-combatants, by the end of the decade this position had been abandoned.

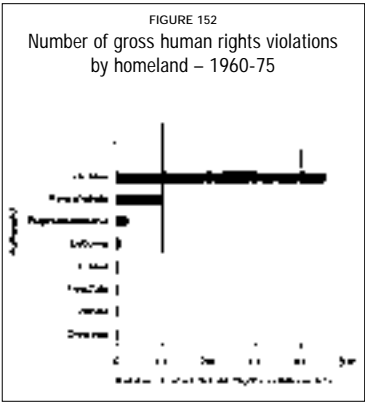
Responsibility for gross violations of human rights

30 The table below indicates the percentage of types of gross violations which were reported to the Commission for this period (1960-75):

	Abduction	Killing	Severe ill treatment	Torture	Total
Homeland	1%	10%	64%	24%	100%
Non-homeland	2%	14%	46%	39%	100%

31 The table indicates that severe ill treatment and torture are the main violation types for this period and that there is a greater use of torture in non-homeland regions and a greater incidence of severe ill treatment in the homelands.

32 Figure 152 shows that the greatest number of homeland violations for this period occurred in Transkei. This reflects the large number of cases brought to the Commission stemming from the Pondoland Revolt. Figure 159 shows that the dominant perpetrator group for this period is the SAP. Again, this reflects the Pondoland Revolt cases, where the main violations reported to the Commission were detention, torture in detention and killings by police.



■ 1976-1982: INDEPENDENCE, CONSOLIDATION AND REMOVALS

Historical and political overview

- 33 In the period 1976 to 1982, the homeland development project initiated by the 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act reached its peak. Despite threats to the former state from other quarters (notably the national uprising of 1976-1977 and the growth of Black Consciousness), its ultimate objective with respect to the homelands was at least partially realised. In quick succession, political elites in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei opted for constitutional 'independence' from South Africa (in 1976, 1977, 1979 and 1981 respectively). Although the prospect of independence had initially been seen as contingent on homelands meeting a number of prerequisites (based on administrative capacity, political maturity and economic development), these requirements were dropped to speed up the process. By the time Ciskei celebrated its independence, some eight million Africans had been 'de-nationalised', in effect becoming foreigners in the land of their birth.
- 34 In the hope of convincing the remaining six homeland administrations to follow suit, the South African government intensified efforts to consolidate the geographically fragmented homelands. This process included removing 'black spots' which remained in 'white' South Africa. As in previous periods, the suffering caused by this massive social engineering was widespread and extreme. Old methods of forced removals were supplemented, especially during the Botha administration, by new tactics – including the simple but effective practice of unilaterally re-drawing homeland boundaries. Specific conflicts that arose are discussed elsewhere in the Commission's report. Here, it is important to emphasise the cumulative, national impact of the homeland project. According to an often cited report of the Surplus People Project, an estimated 3.5 million people were moved by the South African state between 1960 and 1982 in support of its programme of homeland development.
- 35 While the homeland governments reached the height of their political powers in this period, the economic weakness of the supposed national states belied their independence. Where the 'reserves' had traditionally served to support and reproduce labour for the urban capitalist economy, under apartheid the growing homeland population was increasingly supported by remittances from relatives working in distant industries. Central government subsidies and loans supported

growing bureaucracies, which remained one of the few sources of employment in the remote homelands.

Development of security structures

- 36 As homeland political development raced ahead, so homeland security structures came into their own. Following in the footsteps of the Transkei, the majority of homelands assumed responsibility for policing within their borders in this period. In addition, homeland armies were established in each of the independent bantustans. At the same time, regional, ethnically constituted SADF units were set up to serve the self-governing homelands as independent armies-in-waiting. Security legislation in the TBVC states was enacted to support these forces. At times, the powers accorded to homeland security forces exceeded those exercised by the SAP and SADF. The most important pieces of legislation included the Transkei Public Security Act of 1977, the Bophuthatswana Internal Security Act of 1979, the Ciskei National Security Act of 1982 and the Venda Maintenance of Law and Order Act of 1985.
- 37 With the establishment of the various homeland governments and their own security forces, the issue of political and operational control over security actions became particularly complex.
- 38 A security structure comprised of police, military and intelligence units operated in each of the independent homelands, although the forces were only ostensibly under the control of the homeland government. The effective power of such structures was carefully monitored and manipulated by the South African government to prevent any homeland from becoming a threat to the perceived interests of the Republic.
- 39 As a final resort, the South African security forces proved that, where they deemed it necessary, they were willing to take direct action in the independent homelands. Both homeland and South African security forces assumed the role of kingmaker at various times and in different places, alternatively overthrowing or preserving the rule of incumbent homeland politicians.
- 40 In the six self-governing homelands, the security situation proved even more complex. Due to the political ambiguity surrounding these areas, each homeland supported its own police force in addition to the continued presence and authority of the SAP. Furthermore, battalions of the SADF were frequently estab-

lished in the vicinity of the self-governing homelands as the core of a potentially independent army. National Intelligence agents monitored people and events in the homelands. Finally, locally-based vigilante movements emerged in many of the homelands, introducing a particularly unpredictable element into an already volatile situation.

- 41 In short, both the independent and the self-governing homelands were subjected to an excess and overlap of security forces, each with their own command and control structures accountable to different political masters. This redundancy in policing, military and intelligence structures led at times to political infighting, competition for resources and a proliferation of security operations.

Homeland police forces

- 42 As noted above, in the period after 1976, responsibility for policing was transferred, to a greater or lesser degree, to all of the homelands. At independence, the Transkei government appointed its own chief of police, and by 1977 the Transkei Police Force (TPF) operated fifty-two police stations and five border control posts staffed by 1 038 police officers. A Transkei Prisons Service was established to operate penal institutions in the homeland. Finally, a Transkei Intelligence Service was established in 1976 which, under the control of the Transkei Prime Minister, assumed responsibility for intelligence and security activities previously undertaken by the South African Bureau for State Security (BOSS).
- 43 As other homelands accepted independence, responsibility for policing was similarly devolved. For example, the Bophuthatswana Police Force (BPF), established in 1978, created its own Special Branch, which was disbanded in 1982 and reconstituted as the Internal Intelligence Services. In Ciskei and Venda, an attempt was made to achieve economies of scale by combining policing, defence, intelligence and correctional functions into single joint forces. By the mid-1980s, both homelands had abandoned these plans in order to split their forces along traditional functional lines.
- 44 Transfers followed rather more slowly in the self-governing homelands. Gazankulu acquired its own police force in 1980, with Lebowa following suit the next year. A KZP force was established in 1980, although its jurisdiction was largely limited to rural areas. The SAP retained responsibility for policing the urban townships near Durban. Under the direction of South African security forces, the KZP was eventually restructured in the 1980s and its capabilities, including the capacity for offensive operations, were dramatically increased (see below).

- 45 While the various homeland forces created their own structures and approaches in order to meet local political and security needs, a number of characteristics can be observed across the homelands. These emerging characteristics remained fairly constant until the dissolution of the homelands in the wake of the 1994 election.
- 46 First, homeland police and intelligence forces were established to be supportive of homeland regimes. At one time or another, most of the homeland forces were used not only to protect incumbent regimes, but also to further the political or electoral fortunes of specific leaders or political parties. At the same time, outside restraints on the homeland police and governments, such as the judiciary, were systematically undermined and weakened. In this manner, police duty lay less in upholding the law than in serving the narrow interest of ruling elites.
- 47 Second, as a result of their politicisation, homeland police forces were generally more concerned with counter-insurgency than with combating crime. Given their close alignment with the political fortunes of individual regimes, homeland police forces placed a high priority on curbing any and all political opposition. Operations were thus conducted not only against opponents of the South African state but also against those perceived as threatening the relevant homeland government. As homeland police forces became more politicised, they also tended to become more militarised. Normal crime-combating procedures were often subordinated to the perceived requirements of 'national security'.
- 48 Third, homeland police forces were generally alienated from, and hostile to, the communities they served. Homeland policing was largely authoritarian, with a track record of violence and brutality even in routine criminal cases. In the minds of many homeland residents, the police were living symbols of a repressive and unjust system. Because of routine heavy-handedness, most community members – and not just political activists – lived in fear of the police.
- 49 Finally, as revealed in the evidence before the Commission, homeland police – like their counterparts in South Africa – were generally above the law. While homeland police buttressed weak and often authoritarian elites, so too did homeland politicians manipulate institutions, particularly the judiciary, in order to protect the police. As a result, homeland police forces were not held accountable to the law they purportedly upheld or to the citizens whom they were created to serve.

Homeland armies

- 50 To substantiate the semblance of independence, African armies were created in each of the TBVC homelands. The Transkei Defence Force (TDF) was established in 1975, followed by the Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF) in 1977, the Venda Defence Force (VDF) in 1979 and the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) in 1980. Each maintained a sizeable number of enlisted soldiers and was supported by the necessary staff complements such as intelligence and logistics.
- 51 The existence of these armies raised profound questions of strategy and security for the South African state. Indeed, if the homelands attained any semblance of real independence, then by implication their governments would be free to pursue defence policies that might diverge from those propounded by the security structures of the central state. The South African government sought to resolve this dilemma by rendering the homeland armies dependent on the SADF for equipment, training and leadership. The Republic also sought to tie the independent homelands into regional defence agreements. As originally formulated by the Botha administration, the aim was to create a 'constellation of states' throughout southern Africa, united in a common defence against the Communist onslaught.
- 52 In 1982, this programme was scaled down to multilateral co-operation agreements between South Africa and the TBVC states. The agreements covered a range of issues, but security matters were at their core. When eventually finalised, the arrangement explicitly linked defence co-operation with the co-ordination of labour mobility, development initiatives and monetary stability. Multilateral agreements were supplemented by the signing of extradition treaties and South Africa's erection of fences on the borders of homelands adjoining neighbouring African countries. The agreements were founded on two fundamental provisions: first, that the South African and homeland governments would not use armed force to challenge each other's political or territorial sovereignty, and second, that neither party would allow its territory to be used as a staging ground for attacks on the other by third parties.
- 53 From their establishment in the late 1970s until well into the 1980s, homeland armies developed rapidly along lines generally approved by Pretoria. In this period the TBVC armies did not pose political or security threats to the South African government. By 1982, the Defence White Paper explicitly acknowledged the government's favourable view on the contribution of the homeland armies. It stated that "the SADF recognises the supportive capabilities of the Independent

States and encourages their participation in an overall Southern African military treaty organisation against a common enemy". By this time, the bantustan militaries had been integrated into the SADF's 'area war' strategy, designed to counter the threat posed by the armed struggle of the African National Congress (ANC).

- 54 The 1st Transkei Battalion was established some time after the Transkei formally acceded to 'self-governing' status in 1963. At independence, the battalion had a total complement of 254 men, of which all of the officers were white seconded members of the SADF. By 1977, a voluntary national service scheme was introduced and the training of recruits within the Transkei was increased.
- 55 From the outset, diplomatic squabbles between Transkei and South Africa complicated their military relationship. In April 1978, Transkei broke off all diplomatic relations with South Africa, ostensibly over Pretoria's decision to incorporate East Griqualand (historically part of the Cape) into Natal rather than Transkei. Consequently, Matanzima renounced Transkei's non-aggression pact with South Africa and expelled all twenty-seven of South Africa's advisors to the TDF's 320-strong army. These moves were belied, however, by the Transkei's continued dependence on South Africa for arms.
- 56 Following the departure of South African personnel, the discipline and efficiency of the Transkei forces rapidly deteriorated. Senior officers were accused of attempting to defraud the homeland government of R3 million and of involvement in an attempted police coup in 1980. In the absence of the SADF members, the Transkei hired former Rhodesian Special Forces members through a private company, Security Services International. This group, headed by Lieutenant Colonel Ron Reid-Daly, had close links with SADF Military Intelligence (MI) and was probably acting with SADF approval if not active support. Reid-Daly, the former commander of the Selous Scouts, was appointed as the chief of the TDF and charged with reorganising the homeland's army, bringing with him some thirty-five colleagues who had served in Rhodesia.
- 57 By 1980, Transkei and South African politicians had papered over the diplomatic break and re-established official contact. The rapprochement was ostensibly based on South Africa's willingness to re-negotiate land issues with the Transkei. However, at least as important was the financial crisis that had engulfed the homeland as a result of its break from Pretoria. South Africa's transfer of R118 million to the Transkei in April 1980 was not without its own costs, however. The payment ended a deal whereby the Transkeian government would have received a loan

from Nigeria (considered a hostile source by South Africa) to help finance a harbour, train the army and police, and establish a Nigerian military presence in the homeland.

- 58 Transkei's return to the South African fold, nonetheless, brought its own rewards for the TDF. In the 1982/3 financial year, the TDF received R50 million from the Economic Co-operation Promotion Loan Fund, and a further grant of R30 million above its budgeted allowance to build up its counter-insurgency capabilities. Meanwhile, general recruitment was stepped up and, in June 1983, a record 400 trainees passed out of the Transkei School of Infantry. A second officer cadet course was in progress and, in July, a parachute course was established. Soon, in addition to its 1st Battalion and a Special Forces Regiment, the TDF boasted a small naval unit.
- 59 Although the Transkei took the lead in establishing local forces, homeland armies were being created in the other TBVC states. On Chief Lucas Mangope's request, the South African government began military training in Bophuthatswana in 1976. The SADF set about creating a National Guard, with the goal of providing basic training for 221 men in time for the independence ceremonies in 1977. Some thirty South African officers and non-commissioned officers supervised the group. The first African non-commissioned officers were subsequently selected and eight officer candidates were provided with further instruction. Training initially occurred at a base near Mafikeng, although some members of the National Guard later received specialised counter-insurgency training in South Africa. The force's equipment was donated by the SADF.
- 60 Two years after independence, the National Guard was reconstituted as the Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF). At the time, it consisted of an infantry battalion (50 per cent of whose members had been trained in counter-insurgency), a training unit and a logistics section. From the start, its commanders were South African. Former SADF Brigadier Hugh Turner was appointed commanding officer while Brigadier Riekert, another former SADF member, became Minister of Defence. Brigadier FEC van den Bergh, senior officer in the SADF's North Western regional command, was named military advisor to Mangope. Because of these developments, one analyst has concluded that, in effect, the BDF constituted a unit of the SADF's North-West Command.
- 61 Given Venda's strategically important location, near to both Zimbabwe and Mozambique, the South African authorities were especially concerned to limit the potential security risks posed by independence. As a result, a strip of land bordering

the Limpopo was excised in 1978. Furthermore, the SADF remained operative in Venda from a base at Madino. From its inception, South Africa regarded Venda as a 'buffer state', which shared borders with potentially hostile neighbours.

- 62 In addition to its continued presence, the SADF established an infantry battalion as the core of a future army for Venda. By independence, the nascent military, consisting of 450 men, was combined with the police, traffic wardens and prison warders to form the Venda National Force (VNF). The VNF was placed under the command of a former South African security police officer, Lieutenant Colonel Mulautzi. However, in 1981, a separate Venda Defence Force (VDF), incorporating the infantry unit, was established under the command of Brigadier PG Steenkamp, formerly with the SADF. A counter-insurgency unit was subsequently created which served in the Namibia/Angola operational area. Shortly thereafter, a second infantry unit was established together with an air wing and a logistics team. At least thirty-nine seconded South Africans occupied leadership positions within the enlarged force.
- 63 At Ciskei's independence, a newly established infantry unit and a 'special airborne group' formed part of the Ciskeian Combined Services (CCS). The military components of the CCS were reconstituted as the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) in 1982. Control over the new security force appears to have been more complex than in other homelands. While command of security forces had generally been given to seconded South African officials, Major General Charles Sebe assumed control over the CCS in Ciskei. Although he had served about twenty years in the South African security structures, at the time of his appointment Sebe was not a formally seconded member of a South African security force. This, at least in theory, weakened South Africa's direct control over the Ciskeian forces. It appears, however, that Sebe was probably working very closely with the South African security forces (see section on Transkei and Ciskei). Moreover, Charles Sebe being brother to President Lennox Sebe, the ruling family's infamous squabbles carried over into the security forces.
- 64 With respect to the self-governing homelands, by the late 1970s the South African government had abandoned its opposition to arming black soldiers within the SADF. By 1978, a small unit of Africans, originally trained at the Prisons Service Training Centre, had been reconstituted as the 21 Battalion and assumed responsibility for training new African recruits. By early 1979, the government approved a plan to form a number of regional African battalions, each with a particular ethnic identity, which would serve under regional SADF command. This led to the formation of the 121 Battalion for Zulus, the 111 for Swazis, the

112 for Venda, the 113 for Shangaan, the 115 for Ndebeles, the 151 for Southern Sotho and the 116 for Northern Sotho. These complemented the Lusophone 32 Battalion that had been secretly formed in 1976. All of these units were to be employed in operational areas, and the 21 and 32 Battalions in particular played significant roles in Namibia and Angola. Subsequently, two additional Northern Sotho Battalions were established, the 117 and the 118, while the 116 was converted into a multi-ethnic unit. In spite of these developments, the SADF remained an overwhelmingly white army.

- 65 In addition to the specialised SADF units for recruiting troops from the self-governing territories, the SADF maintained bases near each of these territories. According to information from the SADF, bases responsible for the self-governing territories were: Gazankulu - Group 14 in Pietersburg; KaNgwane - Group 33 in Nelspruit; KwaNdebele - Group 15 in Pretoria; KwaZulu - Group 27 in Eshowe; Lebowa - Group 14 in Potgietersrus; QwaQwa - Group 36 in Ladybrand.
- 66 While the self-governing homelands did not get their own defence forces, KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for a KwaZulu army to keep order in schools during a period of class boycotts in 1980, and said it was time for Inkatha to establish training camps. He also made subsequent calls for paramilitary groupings to be set up.

Responsibility for gross human rights violations

- 67 The table below indicates the percentage of types of gross violations reported to the Commission for this period (1976-82):

	Abduction	Killing	Severe ill treatment	Torture	Total
Homeland	3%	7%	74%	16%	100%
Non-homeland	4%	19%	44%	37%	100%

- 68 The table shows very similar trends in violations to the table for the period 1960-75. Severe ill treatment remains the main violation in the homelands, while severe ill treatment and torture are both key violations in the non-homeland areas.

69 Figure 153 shows a marked increase in violations reported to the Commission in the self-governing Lebowa homeland, along with substantially fewer violations in the other areas. However, it should be noted that there were fewer violations in homelands reported to the Commission in this period than in any other. Figure 160 shows that the main perpetrators for this period were the homelands police and the SAP. Together these graphs indicate that most of the homeland violations for this period probably related to violations by police in Lebowa, which was granted self-government in 1973.



■ 1983-1989: REFORM, RESISTANCE AND REPRESSION

Historical and political overview

70 In 1978, Mr PW Botha assumed the premiership following Vorster's resignation in the wake of the Information Department scandal. Buoyed by a brief economic upswing early in his term, Botha initiated a wide-ranging, carefully calculated period of reform. Explicitly controlled from above, Botha's cautious reforms were designed to give form to his famous call for white South Africa "to adapt or die". Botha's so-called Total Strategy combined limited political concessions to non-whites with increased militarisation to counter opposition at home and abroad. However, by 1983, Botha's cautious reformism lay in tatters. Far from neutralising the perceived 'total onslaught' against the state, opposition to the government and its policies peaked in the form of a widespread popular uprising that continued throughout the decade. The homelands were not immune to the rising tide of resistance.

- 71 Like urban South Africa, the homelands witnessed a peak in political activity in this period. In part, opposition in the homelands was spurred on by developments elsewhere in the country, especially in the townships. However, developments internal to the homelands were at least as important in politicising bantustan populations.
- 72 Despite reformist initiatives in other spheres, the Botha administration did not dramatically alter the state's homeland policy. Throughout this period, the traditional tools of influx control, denationalisation and independence remained the pillars of government policy towards the homelands. Perhaps the most important policy development in this period was the government's increasing reliance on incorporation to consolidate and strengthen the homelands. As demonstrated numerous times, however, the new tactic of redrawing boundaries to enlarge the homelands only created new or fuelled existing opposition in the affected areas. The conflict in KwaNdebele and Moutse in the mid-1980s dramatically illustrated this dynamic.
- 73 Because of increased resistance, combined with the continued growth of homeland forces, the security situation in all of the homelands deteriorated dramatically. The highest number of homeland gross violations of human rights reported to the Commission was for the period 1983-1989. In addition to the increase in resistance and repression, the homelands posed increasing security concerns for the South African government, proving to be dangerously unstable. In a number of cases, the very security forces created by South Africa to defend homeland rule rose up to challenge incumbent homeland governments. In Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei, South African forces put down several attempted coups. Meanwhile, South African security force personnel were implicated in fuelling a series of cross-border raids between Ciskei and Transkei during the SADF's *Operation Katzen*. By the end of the period, Major General Bantu Holomisa of the TDF had engineered the first successful coup when he deposed Stella Sigcau's Transkei government in December 1987. More coups would follow in the 1990s.
- 74 In KwaZulu, Inkatha became increasingly alienated from the ANC and the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Chief Buthelezi began to turn towards the South African government for more assistance. Covert assistance to Inkatha from the SADF MI's Directorate of Special Tasks (DST) began during this period, through *Operation Marion*, and involving the training of paramilitary style units in the Caprivi, Namibia, which were subsequently deployed in KwaZulu. Years later, some of these recruits were taken into the KZP. DST, which had also been responsible for *Operation Katzen* in Transkei and Ciskei, was responsible for support to external

covert groupings such as RENAMO in Mozambique, UNITA in Angola and the Lesotho Liberation Army in Lesotho.

Development of security forces

Homeland police forces

- 75 Throughout this period, homeland police forces continued to expand, both in size and importance. With the transfer of policing authority to KwaNdebele and KaNgwane in 1986, all of the homelands supported their own police forces. By the end of the decade, these forces had grown to considerable size. One analyst has reported that by 1990, the Transkei Police employed 3 300 police officers, the Venda and Ciskei forces each numbered 2 000 and Bophuthatswana boasted the largest force with 5 300 police officers. Another observer estimated that by the early 1990s approximately 20 000 black police officers served in the ten homeland forces.
- 76 It was also during this period that the Caprivi trainees from *Operation Marion* in KwaZulu were recruited as special constables and formally brought into the security structures. In 1988, some 300 Inkatha supporters were recruited as special constables, including 130 of the Caprivi trainees. This influx could account for some of the large increase in spending on policing in KwaZulu during this period (see budgets below).
- 77 The SAP continued to operate in the self-governing territories. In KwaZulu, the SAP's Riot Unit 8 actively assisted Inkatha members in attacks on non-Inkatha residents.

- 78 As homeland forces struggled to cope with the rising tide of mass resistance, an ever increasing amount of money was funnelled into homeland policing. The following tables chart the dramatic annual increases that characterised expenditure by homeland police forces.

Police budgets in three of the independent homelands (in rands)³

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations Annual *Surveys*

Year	Bophuthatswana	Transkei	Venda
1982/83	12 257 950	15 172 000	19 800
1983/84	24 103 560	17 941 000	4 025 169
1984/85	36 680 180	20 024 000	9 310 100
1985/86	33 152 296	26 385 000	9 000 500
1986/87	33 433 296	33 391 000	13 482 200
1987/88	48 794 876	36 711 000	19 241 800
1988/89	64 897 000	49 917 000	23 859 900
1989/90	104 917 000	65 430 000	38 205 400

- 79 Police budgets in the self-governing homelands rose steadily as well, as the following table indicates.

Police budgets in self-governing homelands (in rands)

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations Annual *Surveys*

Year	Gazankulu	KwaZulu	Lebowa	Ka-Ngwane	Kwa-Ndebele	QwaQwa
1982/83	3 414 000	6 000 000	6 210 000	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1983/84	4 926 000	5 646 300	7 575 527	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1984/85	5 780 000	6 331 700	8 926 000	n.a.	n.a.	1 455 000
1985/86	6 724 000	11 040 000	9 519 000	n.a.	n.a.	2 450 000
1986/87	7 169 000	12 144 000	17 578 000	n.a.	n.a.	3 080 000
1987/88	8 363 000	18 116 000	29 097 000	4 539 700	4 327 000	3 600 000
1988/89	12 325 000	35 454 000	46 319 000	8 885 000	19 000 000	5 500 000
1989/90	15 888 000	46 515 000	52 424 000	14 447 000	19 000 000	8 710 000

- 80 In accordance with their increased size and expanded budgets, homeland forces played a significant part in this period's intensifying repression. As examined in greater detail in the section below, gross violations of human rights statements received by the Commission confirm the central role of homeland police forces

³ The Ciskei has not been included, as its police budget is inseparable from the budget for the entire Justice Department until 1991/92.

in security operations. In a period that recorded the most gross violations of human rights, almost half of all perpetrators identified by victims were affiliated to a homeland police force.

- 81 As homeland forces expanded in size and assumed a larger operational role, they became increasingly politicised, focused on counter-insurgency, alienated from local communities and aloof from independent restraint. As South Africa's 'securocrats' turned to strategies of counter-revolutionary warfare in the mid-1980s, these characteristics were further enhanced. This process is aptly demonstrated by developments in the KZP.

Homeland armies

- 82 Like their police counterparts, the independent armies of the TBVC homelands also increased in size from their humble beginnings in the late 1970s. However, as the following tables show, homeland armies generally enjoyed less person-power and financial resources than their colleagues in the police did.

Size of TBVC armies relative to homeland police forces, 1990 estimates

Homeland	Defence Force Size	Police Force Size
Bophuthatswana	3 500	5 300
Venda	1 800	2 000
Transkei	3 500	3 300
Ciskei	2 000	2 000

- 83 In total, thus, the homeland armies were quite small, never exceeding 11 000 soldiers. In comparison the SADF contained over 100 000 members in the mid-1980s.

Defence budgets of the independent homelands (in rands)

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations *Annual Surveys*

Year	Bophuthatswana	Ciskei	Transkei	Venda
1982/83	10 028 150	17 100 000	7 868 000	6 110 900
1983/84	12 094 600	31 000 000	11 184 000	6 971 000
1984/85	23 001 040	10 300 000	16 025 000	7 415 600
1985/86	18 302 880	9 000 000	20 277 000	10 316 400
1986/87	27 485 880	10 169 000	44 707 000	15 126 900
1987/88	41 111 233	25 483 000	40 695 000	27 781 700
1988/89	50 819 000	33 831 000	59 275 000	29 527 300
1989/90	74 371 000	47 633 000	55 003 000	34 039 600

- 84 Although this table charts rising defence expenditures over the course of the decade, it should be noted that levels of defence spending generally trailed the budgets of homeland police forces. By and large, homeland armies were only very basically equipped and their infantry platoons – the largest forces in all of the armies – were used primarily in counter-insurgency operations. Security concerns of the South African government no doubt tempered the growth of the various bantustan armies. As the TBVC defence forces relied on the South African state for finances, training and equipment, it was easy for the central government to direct the evolution of the armies, all the while ensuring that the security of the Republic would never be threatened.
- 85 The homeland armies played an important role in the ‘area war’ concept guiding SADF strategy. Convinced that the liberation armies would not wage a border war, the SADF hierarchy stressed the need to organise security forces and civilian auxiliaries on a regional basis in order to combat insurgency wherever and whenever it appeared. South Africa was accordingly divided into ten territorial regions, each of which was designed to act as a first line of defence for the Republic. Although not officially acknowledged at the time, the TBVC armies as well as the SADF’s black battalions were each assigned to a territorial region in terms of this plan.
- 86 With respect to the operation of the homeland defence forces, several points should be noted. First, when called upon, homeland armies worked with South African security forces in joint operations against perceived guerrillas. For example, Lieutenant Colonel Mulaudzi, the commander of the Venda National Force (VNF) stated emphatically that Venda would not hesitate to call on the assistance of the SADF if insurgents crossing their borders threatened their sovereignty. By 1980, the VNF included an anti-insurgency unit, which concentrated on anti-guerrilla warfare and patrolling the borders. Throughout the 1980s, the Venda Defence Force co-operated with South African security forces in detaining, interrogating and at times killing guerrillas suspected of using the homeland as a base for skipping or infiltrating the Republic.
- 87 Second, at times South Africa used the homelands, particularly the independent bantustans, as springboards for military operations against front-line states. For example, in 1984 Lesotho claimed that the South African-supported Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) was using the Transkei as a base for assassination squads operating in the mountain kingdom.

- 88 Finally, following the outbreak of widespread unrest in the mid-1980s, the homeland armies were increasingly used to assist police forces in suppressing internal opposition. Not only were such operations explicitly condoned in the various homelands’ defence acts, but legislation was often enacted to indemnify security force members from civil or criminal prosecution for acts committed in ‘good faith’ while ‘maintaining law and order’.
- 89 However, the overall significance of the role of homeland armies in the political calculus of the homelands proved most important. At various times, all four of the independent homelands witnessed coups of varying success. Although the immediate reasons advanced for the coups varied, several threads run through the different experiences. First, homeland armies generally played a much more prominent role in coup attempts than their police counterparts. Second, corruption within homeland administrations was frequently cited as a motivating factor. Finally, coups exposed the fractured and weak nature of homeland administrations. More often than not, coups originated with the cleavages already present in regimes with questionable legitimacy. As an important elite within homeland politics, and one of the few institutional actors with sufficient resources to mount a political challenge, homeland armies were often forced into the role of king-maker or king-protector. Of course, homeland armies were not alone in this regard. Ultimately the South African state, through the SADF, remained the final arbiter in times of political uncertainty.

Responsibility for gross violations of human rights

- 90 The table below indicates the percentage of types of gross violations which were reported to the Commission for this period (1983-89):

	Abduction	Killing	Severe ill treatment	Torture	Total
Homeland	6%	22%	52%	20%	100%
Non-homeland	3%	23%	50%	24%	100%

- 91 The table indicates a sharp increase in killings in homelands for this period, bringing them in line with the rest of the country. Severe ill treatment in the homelands drops (from 74 per cent of homeland violations in the 1976-82 period to 52 per cent), while torture and abductions remain similar to the last period.

- 92 Figure 154 shows a sudden and dramatic increase in the number of violations reported in KwaZulu (note that the scale on this graph has changed since the last in this series, indicating a substantial increase in violations reported). KwaNdebele also shows a large number of violations in that region: see the separate section on KwaNdebele below for more on these conflicts. Figure 161 shows a huge increase in the number of violations ascribed to the liberation movements and Inkatha in this period. However, the homelands police are still the main perpetrator group and, when the SAP perpetrator group is taken into account, it is clear that the security forces are still the main perpetrators in the homelands for this period.



■ TRANSKEI AND CISKEI

1960-1982

- 93 Whatever the South African government's reasons, publicly-stated or hidden, for encouraging homeland independence, by the time of Ciskei's independence ceremonies in December 1981, it was clear that the homelands were also to be used as a more brutal instrument for suppressing opposition. Both Transkei and Ciskei used additional emergency-style laws to silence opposition in the run-up to both self-government and later independence. By the mid-1980s, a clear pattern of brutal suppression of opposition had emerged in both homelands, with South Africa frequently washing its hands of the situation on the grounds that these were 'independent' countries.
- 94 Both homelands borrowed repressive South African legislation initially and, in addition, backed this up with emergency-style regulations passed with South African assistance before independence (Proclamation 400 and 413 in Transkei which operated from 1960 until 1977, and Proclamation R252 in Ciskei which operated from 1977 until 1982).

- 95 The emergency Proclamations 400, 413 and R252 appear to have been retained in the Transkei case and introduced in the Ciskei in order to suppress legal opposition at the time of attainment of self-government status.
- 96 Police in the homelands (initially SAP and later the Transkei and Ciskei Police) targeted political opponents rather than criminals, as the SAP did in South Africa.
- 97 Homeland legislation eventually passed was sometimes more repressive than parallel legislation used in South Africa. For example, when commenting on the replacement of Proclamation R252 by the Ciskei National Security Act of 1982, Haysom commented that "this Act contains most of the much criticised features of the South African security legislation and a good few more besides"⁴. This law enabled among others detentions, bannings of individuals and organisations, and limits on the right to strike. Most of the powers were exercised on the discretion of the commander general of national security, Charles Sebe.
- 98 Police in homeland areas acted with extraordinary brutality, possibly because these regions were so often ignored by the rest of the country. For example, the Pondoland Revolt of 1960 and events in subsequent years elicited a venomous backlash from the police (still the SAP in the early years), with police assaulting detainees so badly that it appears they cared little whether detainees lived or died. The Human Rights Commission (HRC) records thirty-two deaths in detention between 1976 and 1982. The Eastern Cape accounted for eight of these (25 per cent) with five of the eight in the two homelands (four in Transkei, one in Ciskei and three in Port Elizabeth).
- 99 While South Africa proper tended to use repressive legislation primarily against extra-parliamentary opposition, the homelands also used such legislation to act against election and parliamentary opponents: the opportunities for opposition were thus extremely limited.
- 100 Forms of organisation and extra-parliamentary opposition that were legal in South Africa, although often harassed, were *de facto* and sometimes *de jure* illegal in the homelands. For example, when unions started organising in Ciskei in the late 1970s, unionists were initially targeted for severe harassment, detention and torture and by 1983, SAAWU had been banned. In Transkei, unions could not operate at all until after the more benevolent military rulers took over. In both territories, the UDF simply did not have a presence, due to the impossibility of organising there.

⁴ Nicholas Haysom, Ruling with the whip: Report on the violation of human rights in the Ciskei, CALS, October 1983.

- 101 The homeland authorities had open links with vigilante groups and encouraged them to operate; this was particularly the case in Ciskei. The Ciskei government went so far as to make facilities available to the vigilantes: the use of the Mdantsane stadium as a base for the Green Berets in 1983, the use of a training camp for the Zwelitsha vigilantes in 1985 along with an MP to work with them, and the use of a military base and a private security company as trainers in the 1990s. These vigilantes were, in all cases, used to target opposition to homeland authorities (unionists and commuters in 1983, members of progressive youth structures in 1985 and ANC members in 1990).
- 102 The use of chiefs was an essential part of control in the homelands. Chiefs were granted additional powers, including the key authority over land allocation; communities without chiefs (such as Group Four in Thornhill, Ciskei) were refused access to services. Chiefs were also sometimes used in recruiting vigilantes in rural areas. Conflict between chiefs and communities sometimes became so great that chiefs and headmen were armed (such as in Ciskei during 1983 and later under military government in the 1990s).
- 103 The cult of personalities seems to have been far stronger in the homelands than in South Africa proper. In Ciskei in the early 1980s, Major General Charles Sebe was the overall security force commander and operated as a dictator: the powers of the Ciskei National Security Act of 1982 were exercised on Sebe's discretion⁵. Under the initial governments, family connections were powerful (Ciskei ruler Lennox Sebe first appointed his two brothers to key positions and then arrested them, while Transkei rulers Kaiser and George Matanzima had ongoing spats) and splits were later exploited by both homeland and South African security forces. In both Ciskei and Transkei, bribery reflected the importance of gaining the favour of the ruler of the day. Under the military dictatorships, this trend was even more obvious as they ruled by decrees, some of which appear to have been issued on whims.
- 104 South African security forces co-operated with homeland security forces in handing over political detainees. In some cases, this appears to have been done in order to prevent the families or lawyers of the detainees from ascertaining their whereabouts. Some of these handovers were clearly illegal.
- 105 The border issue was used by South African authorities to prevent criminal prosecutions of security force members implicated in criminal actions against political activists in homelands. One example is the failed prosecution of the

⁵ Haysom (1983).

killers of student leader Bathandwa Ndondo in Transkei. Another is the killing of MK guerrilla Stembe Zokwe in Butterworth. One of the police suspects in this case escaped from jail and fled across the border to be offered employment in a covert SADF military operation based in Bisho.

- 106 While the police tended to operate in overt and brutal ways (detentions, torture, and assassinations), by the mid-1980s, the South African military was learning how to manipulate the separate Ciskei and Transkei security forces and ultimately the politicians in the region. Such military activities became even more sophisticated in the 1990s when the need for a clandestine method of destabilising the now-legal ANC arose. The independent homelands provided a perfect loophole for this.
- 107 While homeland police clearly often copied the methods practised by their big brothers in South Africa, the homelands also appear to have been used as a training or experimental arena for the SAP (for example, methods of torture such as hanging suspects from trees, used in Pondoland, were repeated a decade later in Pietermaritzburg; poisoning of detainees was used in Pondoland in the 1960s and may have been a forerunner to poisonings in South African detention such as that of Mr Sphiwe Mthimkulu in Port Elizabeth in 1981).
- 108 In addition to using the homelands for one-step-removed repression, during the apartheid years the South African military also experimented with ways of using the independent homeland security forces to break the arms embargo.

The Pondoland Revolt

- 109 The so-called Pondoland Revolt took place in Pondoland in eastern Transkei in the late 1950s and early 1960s (see Volume Three). This was an extended uprising by Pondoland groups – particularly ANC supporters who referred to themselves as *iKongo* members – against the imposition of tribal authorities and impending self-government for Transkei. Numerous incidents of violence took place during 1960, including clashes between security forces and *iKongo* members, attacks by *iKongo* members on chiefs and those regarded as collaborating with chiefs or police, and the destruction of *iKongo* members' homes by chiefs. Legal methods used by the security forces to crush this revolt included the declaration of a state of emergency on 30 November 1960, widespread detentions, criminal prosecutions and banishment of families. Illegal methods included torture in custody (primarily in detention), deaths in custody, apparently due to treatment received, and the use of unnecessary force in public order policing. The over 200 statements received

by the Commission in connection with this matter indicated that torture, killings and disappearances were a key feature of security force responses to this revolt.

- 110 On 6 June 1960, conflict developed between security forces and *iKongo* members at Ngquza Hill in the Lusikisiki region of Pondoland, when security forces broke up an *iKongo* meeting. One *iKongo* member, Mr Clement "Fly" Gxabu [EC0882/96ETK] told the Commission in an interview that the government delegation expected by the meeting did not arrive; instead the security forces moved in and broke up the meeting. Most accounts indicate that the meeting was teargassed from aircraft, after which police on the ground moved in, some of them opening fire, killing at least eleven *iKongo* members.
- 111 An inquest subsequently found that at least some of the dead had been killed by fire from Sten guns⁶. Gxabu also told the Commission that security force members had parachuted from the aircraft. It seems clear that the SAP were involved in this incident, although the extent of their involvement is not. The SANDF told the Commission that: "In the sequence of events it is clear that the SADF was over the said period definitely not deployed in the Transkei". However, the aircraft used in the operation must have been SADF aircraft used in support of police operations (the SAP had no aircraft at that time) and, if there were any parachutists, these were probably SADF members. The SAPS said they had no knowledge of the use by police of Sten guns in 1960. According to the SANDF, both police and military were armed with Sten guns.

Sten Sub Machine Guns were only issued to the Platoon Leaders (Lieutenants) and Platoon Sergeants of which, according to the strength of the SADF elements, there were about eight in total. The troops were issued with .303 rifles. From memory, it seems that the SAP was issued with 9mm Sten Sub Machine Guns.

- 112 It seems probable that the shooting was carried out by the police as, if the SADF were involved in this incident, they were probably involved as backup to an SAP operation as was standard procedure⁷. The SAPS said it had no records from this period, but said both military and police were involved:

Information received is that the police and soldiers were operating jointly to arrest the Pondo people. Information further indicates that soldiers were not interested to go for negotiations; as a result people were shot dead.

6 Mbeki (1964), Southall (1982) and Geoffrey Wood "The horsemen are coming: Rethinking the Pondoland rebellion" in Contree 33, May 1993, and statements made to the Commission.

7 The SANDF provided the Commission with references to documents indicating that the SADF acted only as backup to the SAP in other operations during 1960 (detailed in SANDF response to Commission query, 11 June 1998).

- 113 The SANDF told the Commission that the SADF had been used in the Transkei before the Nqquza Hill incident, during *Operation Duiker* from 21 March 1960 to 7 May 1960, when six platoons⁸ and four Saracen troop carriers were sent to Transkei. All troops had left the region by 7 May and did not return until late November when *Operation Otter* started in Durban (which involved air support to the SAP), followed by *Operation Swivel* from 7 December 1960, which continued at least until early January 1961. A report from the colonel in charge of *Swivel* to the then chief of army staff indicated that, from 16 to 30 November 1960, the SADF were involved in six operations that resulted in the detention of 1 330 people in the Pondoland district. At the same time, two mobile watches of 300 troops were sent to Bizana in terms of *Operation Swivel*.
- 114 While the SADF was present in support of the police during at least part of this period, it is clear that it was the police who had primary responsibility for dealing with the revolt. The main tool appears to have been mass detentions (Mbeki quotes official records from 27 January 1961 as stating that 4 769 people had been detained with 2 067 eventually brought to trial⁹). Statements made to the Commission indicate that torture was a key part of those detentions. This was supported both by the submissions handed to the Commission by Kairos and by literature on the Pondoland Revolt.¹⁰ Mkambati forest was frequently named as a site of torture. This appears to have been a camp with tents in the forest during the 1960s, possibly set up during the Pondoland Revolt as a police crisis measure, later becoming an established police station. While the SAPS was unable to provide any information on the setting up of the Mkambati police station, it is understood that during the 1960s this station was under the command of Colonel Theunis Jacobus 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel. Kairos refers to Swanepoel as a notorious police officer who played a key role in the 1960s and later became the chief interrogator of the SAP's Security Branch.¹¹
- 115 Statements made to the Commission indicate that, immediately after the Nqquza shootings, police rounded up suspects; family members were also assaulted by police in attempts to track suspects. Statements made to the Commission reported that suspects were detained, assaulted and tortured and released still suffering the after-effects of either torture or illness (possibly tuberculosis) contracted in detention or jail. Some subsequently died; the health of others appears to have been permanently damaged. In almost half of the statements made to the

8 A platoon comprises about 30 troops.

9 Govan Mbeki, *The Peasants' Revolt*, 1964.

10 Mbeki (1964) and Roger Southall, South Africa's Transkei: *The political economy of an independent bantustan*, 1982.

11 Kairos, *Torture of detainees in South Africa 1960-1970*, November 1997, p37; *Political prisoners and detainees in South Africa*, preliminary report, November 1996, p 4.

Commission, family members made a direct connection between treatment in custody and subsequent death: the number of cases reporting this indicates that police assaulted detainees to the point of permanent injury and then released them to die at home. Others returned home mentally disturbed. These cases point towards a deliberate policy of assaulting detainees; they may have been used as experimental cases by the SAP. The cases reported to the Commission indicated that detainees who died or who suffered permanent injury may have been subjected to one or more severe assaults, untreated exposure to illnesses such as tuberculosis, electric shocks (including shocks to the head), and poisoning.

- 116 The Commission was not able to conduct an in-depth investigation into the allegations regarding treatment in detention; it feels, however, that this is an area that merits further investigation, particularly concerning the possibility of wide-spread and deliberate poisoning of detainees.

1983-1989

- 117 This period saw the rise of organised vigilantes supported by the homeland authorities in Ciskei; the beginnings of SADF MI manipulation of the homelands to foster inter-homeland conflict through *Operation Katzen* in what may have been part of a national homelands military strategy; the implementation of a South African security force policy of killing rather than capturing guerrillas; an increase in the use of torture in homelands, and the first internally-initiated homeland military coups, which led to ongoing and increasingly vicious battles between the homeland and Pretoria security forces.

Ciskei government policy: use of vigilantes

- 118 During 1985, there was a national wave of vigilante groups starting to operate. These were generally groups which targeted UDF members and their allies.
- 119 Over the years, vigilantes were used on several occasions by the Ciskei authorities. Haysom records the first use of vigilantes in Ciskei as being during 1974, when vigilantes known as the "Green Berets", who were members of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP), assaulted Mdantsane commuters during a boycott of the local bus company. In 1977 vigilantes again emerged, this time to target Mdantsane schoolchildren who were boycotting classes in protests over Mr Steve Biko's death in detention.¹² While there was suspicion

¹² Haysom (1983), p10; p24; p45.

that these vigilantes were linked to the homeland authorities and they appeared to act in support of the homeland government, there was no clear evidence of state support for them.

- 120 However, there was clear Ciskei government support for the vigilantes that operated during the July 1983 boycott of Ciskei Transport Corporation (CTC) buses in Mdantsane. The boycott started on 19 July; on 2 August, vigilantes operating under the supervision of police were brought in to run roadblocks; they were involved in assaulting commuters¹³. Police, army and vigilantes were used to break the boycott by assaulting commuters who used taxis, trains and private cars, and taxi drivers. The vigilantes were also given the use of the central Sisa Dukashe stadium in Mdantsane as a venue for holding detainees. Haysom reports that there was “overwhelming evidence” that the vigilantes were involved in the assault and torture of detainees at the stadium. Ciskei Minister of Justice, David Takane, denied knowledge of this, but did acknowledge that the vigilantes were operating with official endorsement. On 26 August 1983, the Ciskei Supreme Court granted two urgent applications restraining the security forces and vigilantes from harassing Mdantsane residents. The Ciskei authorities did not oppose the order.
- 121 At least some of these vigilantes are believed to have been recruited from government supporters in the rural regions: here the involvement of chiefs was crucial. This was another element in the increasing conflict between chiefs and their communities. By 1983, Haysom records that the tension between chiefs, headmen and the communities in Ciskei was so great that Lennox Sebe had authorised them to carry guns.¹⁴
- 122 Along with the national emergence of vigilantes in 1985, vigilantes with links to the Ciskei authorities re-emerged. This time the group operated in Zwelitsha and targeted those linked to progressive structures. In September, vigilantes in Zwelitsha hunted down South African Students’ Organisation (SASO) activist Zandisile Matyolo [EC0105/96ELN] with the assistance of Ciskei security forces. Days earlier Ciskei police had threatened Mr Matyolo’s mother that he would be killed. He was chased and killed in front of witnesses. This was an extreme case and the vigilantes were subsequently prosecuted. One of those convicted was Mr Willie Kolisile Matsheketwa [AM6437/97] who applied for amnesty for this killing. He had been sentenced to eight years imprisonment, reduced on appeal to eleven months. Matsheketwa, at the time a Ciskei MP, joined the Green Beret vigilante group in 1976.

¹³ Haysom (1983) p28.

¹⁴ Haysom (1983).

While a member of the Green Berets, I used to accommodate other members who had no homes locally as some were pulled in from neighbouring localities. Some incidents of violence occurred and I was implicated as I was housing the Green Berets. This was mostly in 1976.

- 123 He said that by 1985 he was a CNIP MP and was not involved in Green Beret activities; however, he re-joined after Ciskei president Lennox Sebe ordered men to join the group to oppose youths who wanted to burn down schools. "Those who defied this order were harassed," said Matsheketa. He said on one occasion he had been sent by another MP to tell a police colonel

that a contingent of guards was on their way to come and assist the police to guard schools. Further incidents of violence recurred between the guards and youths who wanted to burn down schools. These guards were subsequently called Inkatha.

- 124 In July 1987, vigilantes killed activist Zola Nozewu [EC0359/96ELN] who had been involved in resistance to Ciskei rule by the Potsdam community. It is not clear how closely these vigilantes were linked to the state; however, like Matyolo, Mr Nozewu was killed after police warned his family he would die if he did not leave politics alone.
- 125 When military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo deposed Sebe's government, the use of state-sponsored vigilantes continued. When the clashes between Gqozo's government and ANC supporters became increasingly bloody during 1992-94, Gqozo hired a private security company – Peace Force – to guard government installations and to recruit and train members of the government's African Democratic Movement (ADM), which acted as a vigilante force. As with the 1983 vigilantes, rural chiefs and headmen were crucial in recruiting these trainees. This group was given training by Peace Force at the CDF military base on the coast, next door to Gqozo's private farm, and was armed with shotguns. Later Gqozo's security forces also armed headmen with G3 rifles.

Ciskei policy: targeting entire communities to subdue dissent

- 126 On several occasions during the 1980s, Ciskei targeted entire communities opposed to homeland rule – often communities that had been subjected to forced removals or incorporation into the homeland.¹⁵

¹⁵ See, for example, Africa Watch *Ciskei: Ten years on - Human Rights and the fiction of 'independence'*, Vol III, Issue no. 16, 20 December 1991.

- 127 In the mid-1980s, the Kuni community was evicted from Ciskei en masse and dumped at the roadside in South Africa, where they later found a home at Needs Camp outside East London.
- 128 In 1987, a large group of residents fled at least twice from Potsdam outside Mdantsane following assaults by police and vigilantes. South African security forces forcibly loaded the group onto trucks and drove them back to Potsdam. In April 1989, they were granted permanent residence at Eluxolweni in South Africa. This group had some years earlier been forcibly removed across the border into Ciskei.
- 129 In August 1988, the Ciskei borders were redrawn to incorporate the Nkqonqkweni village at Peelton near King William's Town. In drawing the Ciskei boundaries in 1981, the village had inadvertently been split in two. The redrawing of the border was to enable the South African government to banish UDF activist Steve Tshwete to his home village of Nqonqkweni in Ciskei rather than Nqonqkweni in South Africa. In the following year, Nqonqkweni residents complained of repeated assaults by Ciskei forces. This eventually resulted in a mass exodus of residents to King William's Town. Ciskei declared a state of emergency in the Peelton area and violence and bulldozing of rebels' houses followed. In a court case arising out of the conflict, the Ciskei Supreme Court found against Mr James Fikile Phindani, a resident of Peelton village, who had been evicted from his home and dumped across the South African border by the Ciskei security police in 1989, and approved the passing of a retrospective law which allowed the Ciskei authorities to do this. Eventually the incorporation issue was quietly dropped and residents returned home.
- 130 The Peelton conflict was the beginning of widespread rural rebellion against Ciskei president Chief Lennox Sebe's rule, which resulted in initial popular support for Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who overthrew Sebe's government in March 1990.
- 131 A press report from 1989 commenting on the battles by various communities to escape Ciskei rule said:

It's not hard to find the reasons why the communities are so desperate to leave. On the one hand, there is widespread objection to the whole notion of an 'independent' Ciskei. On the other, there are massive practical problems associated with the homelands ... [T]he territory's social benefits and facilities are generally inferior to those of South Africa. For example, old age pensions are substantially lower than in South Africa.

Ciskei also demands several different types of taxes - ranging from 'development tax' to membership of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP). Those without the notorious 'CNIP card' may often find themselves barred from benefits and even housing.

Far worse are the extremely common allegations of assaults and routine harassment – particularly of resisting communities – by Ciskei authorities. Often the Ciskei police and army are accused of acting together with vigilante groupings.

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

Again and again, the same allegations against Ciskei are repeated. Frequently people talk about being in fear of their lives, and however bad conditions may be in South Africa, life across the border is always seen as a better option.

Pensioners complain of their pensions being docked. Refugees from the Potsdam grouping, who three times fled Ciskei, claimed they were refused treatment at clinics, their children turned away from school. Community leaders were murdered.¹⁶

Military policy: destabilisation through Operation Katzen

- 132 In January 1983, Brigadier Christoffel Pierre 'Joffel' van der Westhuizen moved to Port Elizabeth to take over as officer commanding of the SADF's Eastern Province Command. In attendance at his taking-over ceremony were Ciskei security chief General Charles Sebe and Major General Ron Reid-Daly of the TDF. Over the next few years, these three men were to work together on Van der Westhuizen's ambitious *Operation Katzen* plan, drafted in an attempt to retain SADF control over both the Transkei and Ciskei and to use the homelands as a bulwark against the rising tide of popular resistance.
- 133 Charles Sebe had a meteoric rise to power in Ciskei. He joined the SAP in 1957 at the age of twenty-three and was transferred six years later to the security police. He was based in Port Elizabeth for some time. In 1974, he joined the

¹⁶ East London News Agency, 16 May 1989.

Bureau for State Security (BOSS) and worked in King William's Town where he was involved in investigating the Black Consciousness Movement. In October 1978, he was transferred to the new Ciskei administration where he founded the Ciskei Central Intelligence Service with only three men. By 1979, he was a colonel and the Ciskei police were under his control. By the end of 1981, he was a major-general and in September 1982 (following Ciskei independence and the passing of the National Security Act of 1982) he was promoted to lieutenant general and then to a new position of Commander General in control of all the armed forces in Ciskei, a total of about 4 500 men. As Commander General, he was paid about R3 500 per month.

- 134 As an SAP member, Sebe said he "carried my promotions in my pocket" (as he told journalist Joseph Lelyveld). Two years after the ANC was banned, Sebe, then an SAP member, joined the ANC and later helped arrest both ANC leader Govan Mbeki and members of the fledgling Poqo¹⁷. Sebe also appears to have been close to South African commissioner of police, General Johan Coetzee: according to Lelyveld, while Sebe was in charge in Ciskei, he apparently reported directly to Coetzee and was also subject to overrule by officers seconded from South Africa. Court papers in Sebe's 1983-84 trial indicated that he had telephoned Coetzee, apparently in search of advice, the night before his arrest.
- 135 In July 1983, Sebe made one of his last public appearances as Van der Westhuizen's guest (this time at the SADF's seventy-first birthday celebrations). By the middle of July, Sebe had lost his total control of the security forces due to a re-shuffle in those forces on the president's orders, and his deputy was in detention. Within days, Sebe himself was detained and in June 1984 was convicted of incitement to violence, after an attempt to get his deputy released from custody. He was jailed for twelve years and leave to appeal was refused. Lennox Sebe subsequently turned down three separate appeals by South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha to show clemency towards Charles Sebe.
- 136 In January 1985, the SADF was evicted from Ciskei following the deaths of recruits at a Ciskei base, and South Africa lost its foothold in that homeland.
- 137 By 1986, Van der Westhuizen had drafted the *Katzen* plans for an operation that involved a successful jailbreak, abductions and an abortive attempt to abduct or kill Lennox Sebe, in which at least two TDF members died.

¹⁷ Joseph Lelyveld, *Move your shadow*, 1987, p162.

- 138 On 2 June 1986, Chief Lent Maqoma, a one-time ally of Lennox Sebe, launched his Ciskei People's Rights Protection Party; this was followed a few months later by the launch by the rebel group in Transkei of the 'armed wing' of this party, Iliso Lomzi. It seems that both were launched with MI assistance. MI subsequently printed and distributed pamphlets (including dropping them from aircraft) in support of these two groupings¹⁸.
- 139 In September 1986, Charles Sebe was sprung from the Ciskei's Middledrift maximum security prison by SADF members and/or ex-Selous Scouts operating from Transkei; from then on he operated from Transkei together with the rest of the *Katzen* group. The day Charles was released, Lennox Sebe's son Kwane Sebe, the head of the Ciskei Police Elite Unit and the man groomed as the successor to the president, was abducted and taken to Transkei. Three months later, Kwane was sent back to Ciskei in a homeland prisoner swap.
- 140 Attempts to extradite Charles Sebe back to Ciskei collapsed. The then Ciskei Attorney-General Jurie Jurgens applied for their extradition, subsequently finding that both these matters had quietly fizzled out in some political settlement. This presumably involved some pressure from the South African authorities, which had previously campaigned for Charles Sebe's pardon.
- 141 In January 1987, Van der Westhuizen left the Eastern Cape and took over as officer commanding of Witwatersrand Command. On 21 January, Holomisa, then second-in-command of the TDF, was detained; partly, it seems, because he opposed the *Katzen* planners. Weeks later, on 19 February, TDF troops crossed the Kei River border between Transkei and South Africa, and drove on to launch an abortive attack on Ciskei president Lennox Sebe's private palace in Bisho. It was reported that one TDF soldier died and another was captured; later South African authorities captured French mercenary Jean-Michel Desble.
- 142 The captured soldier, Rifleman A Ndulu, was held under guard in the Ciskei's main Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in Mdantsane, then eventually sent home to Ciskei in terms of a deal apparently engineered by Holomisa. Likewise the body of the dead soldier, Mr Mbuyiselo Templeton Nondela [EC2323/97UTA], was allowed home for burial.
- 143 The Commission found evidence of another previously unreported death and direct SADF complicity in the raid. A TDF soldier who was badly injured in the

¹⁸ Gerrie Hugo and Stef Snel, *Military Intelligence and the counter revolutionary war in the Eastern Cape*, Urban Monitoring and Awareness Committee, 1998.

failed attack, Mr David Simphiwe Makazi [EC2323/97UTA], was rushed down to East London by his fellow attackers. He was airlifted by the SADF from the East London race track and flown back to Butterworth.

- 144 Apart from Van der Westhuizen and the officer he reported to on *Katzen*, General Kat Liebenberg, other senior officers and officials named in the *Katzen* file as having been involved at some stage included General Jannie Geldenhuys (head of SADF Special Forces), General Griebenauw (Border regional head of the security police), General Zondwa Mtirara (head of the TDF), Vice-Admiral Dries Putter, Colonel Reg Deyzel (the officer commanding of Group Eight in East London), a former Transkei Minister of Defence and Dr Tertius Delport (then at the University of Port Elizabeth). Delport later denied any knowledge of the *Katzen* plans. In 1983-84, Delport had served as one of two assessors at the Ciskei trial after which Charles Sebe was jailed for twelve years.
- 145 The National Intelligence Service (NIS) also appears to have been involved in *Katzen*. One of the NIS staff was involved in at least some of the planning. An undated document headed "Top Secret", which appears to be the abbreviated notes of a meeting, lists those present as including an SADF general, an SADF brigadier, an SAP brigadier, three colonels, two commandants and an NIS representative. Another document refers to NIS involvement: "All political front actions (Lent Maqoma) will now be handled by NIS. We will continue to co-operate politically/militarily". A "Top Secret" NIS document on *Katzen*, which appears to have been drafted during rather than after the operation, lists those involved in or aware of *Katzen* as including President PW Botha, SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys, army chief general Kat Liebenberg, the commissioner of police (then General Johan Coetzee), the Secretariat of the State Security Council and the director general of NIS.
- 146 After the failed attack, *Katzen* seems to have collapsed.
- 147 On 1 April 1987 the Ciskei banned both the Ciskei People's Rights Protection Party and Iliso Lomzi¹⁹. On 4 April, Transkei detained sixteen white military officers, mainly the ex-Selous Scouts. Soon after their departure, Holomisa took charge of the TDF, and Transkei support for *Katzen* was severely curtailed.
- 148 Desble made a few token appearances in the East London courts before being officially deported back to France. In an interview in 1995, Attorney-General

19 Govt Gazette no.17 of 1/4/87, referred to in charge sheet of State vs Mlungisi Matthew Genda, cc34/89, Ciskei Supreme Court.

Jurgens said that his flight made an unscheduled stop before reaching France so that he could disembark and thus avoid prosecution as a mercenary in France.

- 149 A month or two later, former General Johan Coetzee, now retired as SAP commissioner, was appointed to run a tri-partite committee out of East London to keep the peace between the warring homelands.
- 150 The TDF convened a board of enquiry into the abortive attack on Ciskei in August 1987. Its work was concluded and handed to the Transkei Minister of Defence. The SANDF was unable to trace this report.
- 151 In 1989, the Harms Commission of Inquiry into the Jalc group of companies heard that Putter, who was the chief of MI at the time and party to the *Katzen* plan, had been warned about the impending attack by one of his staff. MI officer Brigadier Marthinus Deyzel, seconded to Jalc in terms of a proposal for MI to use Jalc for intelligence-gathering purposes in the homelands and frontline states, told Harms that Lennox Sebe had told him he was aware of an impending attack on him by elements of the SADF. Deyzel, who seems to have been unaware of the *Katzen* plan, told his superiors. He subsequently complained to the Harms inquiry that his warning had been ignored. Putter told Harms he had taken Deyzel's warning extremely seriously and that he had written a memo for circulation among his superiors. The memo, dated 9 February 1987, stated:

*The Ciskei Government alleges that they have information that several RSA elements are involved in the destabilisation of the Ciskei. If this is correct, it would be advisable to put a stop to it... An investigation of the facts must be urgently undertaken and certain punishment procedures will have to be considered*²⁰.

- 152 At the same time that *Katzen* was running in the Eastern Cape, the SADF's *Operation Marion* was running in KwaZulu. The attack on Ciskei was carried out on 19 February; the KwaMakhutha attack carried out in terms of *Marion*, which killed thirteen people, was carried out just weeks earlier in January.
- 153 There are several links between *Marion* and *Katzen*. Both operations were co-ordinated at Defence Headquarters in Pretoria by Colonel John More, at the time part of the DST. More was mentioned in the *Katzen* documents as supplying weapons for that operation. Liebenberg and Geldenhuys, two of the accused in

²⁰ *Daily Dispatch*, 12 May 1989.

the KwaMakhutha trial, were also named in *Katzen* documentation. Lieutenant Colonel Jan Anton Nieuwoudt, who was involved in the 1986 Caprivi strip training of the men who carried out the KwaMakhutha attack, was subsequently (in the run-up to the 1994 elections) involved in an Eastern Cape operation which seems to have been a successor to *Katzen*. Liebenberg was involved in 'officially' shutting that operation down after it was blown and Nieuwoudt moved and apparently continued the operation in a different form elsewhere. General Tienie Groenewald was another of the KwaMakhutha accused; during the 1990s he was involved in an organisation that was implicated in running guns to prop up Gqozo's government in its battle against the ANC.

154 As More was part of DST, this indicates that both *Marion* and *Katzen* were thus run by DST, a section also responsible for running covert support to pro-Pretoria rebels in Angola (UNITA) and Mozambique (RENAMO). This indicates that the homelands were also part of MI's strategy of supporting (and sometimes setting up) rebel groups that were involved in violent attempts to overthrow governments which were either antagonistic to or could not be controlled by Pretoria, or were involved in violent clashes with UDF-aligned (and later ANC-aligned) groupings. In the homelands, this thus involved covert support for Inkatha in the KwaZulu-Natal region and, in the Eastern Cape, the setting up and funding of first the Ciskei People's Rights Protection Party and Iliso Lomzi and later the setting up and arming of the ADM. This policy does not appear to have ended with the failure of *Marion* and *Katzen* in 1987 as several of the key officers involved in those two operations were again implicated in similar activities based in the Ciskei during Gqozo's rule and the run-up to the 1994 elections.

155 Although *Katzen* seems to have collapsed in early 1987, its legacy continued. Two years later, Lennox Sebe's Ciskei government still regarded Iliso Lomzi as a threat, as can be seen in a "Top Secret" CDF contingency plan for dealing with an attack expected by "elements of Iliso Lomzi supported by the TDF and ex-Rhodesians" around 24-25 July 1989²¹.

Security force policy: killing the guerrillas

156 Former SADF Special Forces commander General Joep Joubert told the Commission that, in the mid-1980s, he drew up a plan for the elimination and destruction of ANC activists, their allies and supporting structures. The then SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys had instructed him to draw up a plan to enable Special Forces

21 'Overall contingency plan for event of an attack by Iliso Lomzi against targets within the Ciskei', reference CDF/310/1, drafted by the CDF commander and dated 24 July 1989.

to assist the SAP in countering the revolutionary onslaught. The proposal called for the use of both clandestine and counter-revolutionary methods against the liberation movements. "I did discuss the plan with General Geldenhuys. I was under the impression that it was approved. Operations were then launched in line with the plan," Joubert told the Commission's armed forces hearing. The Eastern Cape, along with Northern Transvaal and the Witwatersrand were identified as the problem areas. Joubert's plan called for co-operation between Special Forces, the regional SADF commands and the regional heads of the security police. Joubert could not say when these operations ended; he said no order had been given to cease operations.

- 157 Apart from SADF raids on the front-line states during the 1980s, this plan appears to have involved the setting up of the 1986-87 Operations *Katzen* and *Marion* (see above): documentation in the *Katzen* file indicates that both Joubert and Geldenhuys were involved in *Katzen*, while Geldenhuys was one of the accused in the KwaMakhutha trial arising from *Marion* (see above). The Border region head of security police, General Griebenaauw, was also involved in the *Katzen* plan.
- 158 Joubert's plan also clearly involved assistance with the targeting of individual guerrillas who were then tracked down by police acting in conjunction with *askaris*, and assassinated.
- 159 Police statistics for the time indicate that insurgency increased dramatically in 1985, from fifty-one incidents reported in 1981, thirty-nine in 1982, fifty-five in 1983 and forty-four in 1984 to a massive 136 incidents for 1985.
- 160 It is interesting to note that, according to information handed to the Commission by the ANC, 60 per cent of the 246 MK members who died in combat were killed during the four years from 1986 to 1989, the period when the Joubert plan was probably in operation. According to the ANC list, at least 17 per cent of the deaths during those four years were either in the Eastern Cape or were of guerrillas who had been operating in the Eastern Cape²².
- 161 In the Eastern Cape the Joubert plan would have focused on guerrilla infiltration from Lesotho via Transkei and would thus have involved:
 - a The Eastern Province (EP) Command in Port Elizabeth, which was the regional command for the Eastern Cape;

²² ANC list compiled by Phyllis Naidoo, *MK comrades who died in combat etc in South Africa; list prepared by MK, 2 September 1996*. While this list contains several inaccuracies, it has been used as a rough guide to the statistics.

- b Brigadier Joffel van der Westhuizen (now retired as a lieutenant general) who was the head of EP Command from January 1983 until January 1987. He left and subsequently took over as officer commanding of Witwatersrand Command, another of the three key problem areas identified in terms of the military's plan;
 - c Brigadier Wessel Kritzingar, who took over from Van der Westhuizen as officer commanding of EP Command until March 1990;
 - d Colonel Reg Deyzel, the officer commanding of the military's Group 8 base in East London between 1984 and January 1988. This base was nearer both Ciskei and Transkei than the EP Command and would have had to deal with the homelands. In October 1985 Deyzel set up the East London Joint Management Committee (JMC);
 - e Colonel Phillip Hammond, who took over from Deyzel as officer commanding of Group 8;
 - f The Border region's then head of security police, Brigadier Griebenaauw.
- 162 It is also likely that General Johan Coetzee, the recently retired commissioner of police, was involved. Coetzee was brought into the region and based in East London from about March 1987 until April 1989; his official brief was to run a tri-partite commission aimed at keeping the peace between Ciskei and Transkei, but this commission never operated and it seems his real reason for being there was to help run the clandestine security operations.
- 163 It is during this period that the security police set up an additional base in the Eastern Cape in support of Vlakplaas – based on a farm outside East London and apparently set up sometime during 1987. It is highly likely that one of Coetzee's key tasks was to oversee the setting up of this base.
- 164 During the mid-1980s in Transkei, there was a marked increase in the number of incidents involving both sabotage by guerrillas and armed clashes between guerrillas and police. By 1988, a spate of security trials was underway or had recently been concluded. Most of these related to ANC activity and many were linked to each other, indicating the operation of a widespread guerrilla network across Transkei. The security force actions against this network indicate that Joubert's plan was indeed implemented in this region.

165 1987 and 1988 were particularly bad years for guerrillas operating in Transkei, featuring several hit squad killings.

The fuel depot bombing suspects

On 25 June 1985, the Umtata fuel depot was blown up together with the city's water pipelines and electricity sub-station. In what must surely have been one of the most spectacularly successful MK operations, the fuel depot burned all day, leaving panicked Umtata residents queuing for petrol, the city without electricity for several days, and the possibility of running out of water before the pipelines and electrical pumps could be restored.

On 24 September, student activist Bathandwa Ndondo [EC0237/96WTK], a University of Transkei student representative council member who had been expelled the year before, was picked up at his home in Cala near the South African border by a unit involving SAP member Mbuso Enoch Shabalala, Transkei policeman Sergeant Gciniso Lamont Dandala and askaris Silulami Gladstone Mose and Xolelwa Virginia Shosha. He was shot dead. Within weeks, the then Transkei president Chief Kaiser Matanzima had announced publicly that Ndondo had been killed because he had been involved in the fuel depot bombings.

Guerrillas Masizizi Attwell "Pieces" Mapekeza [EC0224/96UTA], Zola Dubeni [EC2653/97UTA], Welile Salman, Sisa Ngombeni and Mzwandile Vena were sought by police in connection with the fuel depot bombing²³.

On 21-2 January 1987, Mapekeza was one of two guerrillas who assisted guerrilla Mbulelo Ngono, aka "Khaya Kasibe" or "KK" [EC0330/96PLZ], to escape after a thirty-six-hour shoot-out between Ngono and the combined forces of the TPF, TDF and SAP. Mapekeza and Ngono, together with Mr Thandwefika Radebe, were attacked by unknown gunmen in Lesotho weeks later. Radebe was killed, Ngono fled and subsequently disappeared, while Mapekeza was killed by unknown gunmen on 15 March 1987 while recovering under police guard in the Maseru hospital from the first attack.

During 1988, Mapekeza was mentioned in at least five security trials in Transkei in cases in which others were charged with assisting him. Also in March 1987, Dubeni was shot dead by police in Cape Town,

²³ They were all named as involved in this incident in the statement that Mzwandile Vena allegedly made to a Wynberg magistrate after his arrest in Cape Town in 1988.

allegedly after trying to attack them after pointing out his arms cache. Ngono disappeared later in 1988 when he was abducted by South African security police from Lesotho to work as an askari; he has never returned home and his fate is unknown (the Commission received amnesty applications in connection with this abduction).

In October 1990, Salman died in Mafikeng in a shoot-out with security force members.

Vena, one of the only guerrillas linked by police to the fuel depot bombing to survive, was arrested in Cape Town in 1988; he subsequently unsuccessfully fought against his extradition to Transkei where he was later released after the 1990 unbannings.

Those who had offered assistance to guerrillas such as Mapekeza, Dubeni and Vena were subsequently arrested and tortured. They included Mr Zakade Alfred Buka [EC0310/96WTK] and Mr Dugard Mapekeza [EC0219/96UTA].

About twenty eventually ended up in court in various cases. The main case was thrown out of court after months of postponements; police scrambled to re-capture some of their detainees as they leapt over the dock and ran for the courtroom doors as soon as the magistrate made the ruling.

Few of the guerrillas made it as far as a courtroom - Vena seems to be a notable exception here. Generally those who got to court were those who were charged with assisting guerrillas.

- 166 Key Eastern Cape people were also targeted by other regional police forces during this period. For example, on 25 April 1987 Mr Phindile Mfeti (40) disappeared in Durban. The Commission subsequently found that Mfeti, a unionist who had been banished to Transkei, had been abducted, murdered and secretly buried by the Natal SAP.

The guerrilla who may have refused to be an askari

In August 1987, police tried to kill guerrilla Stembele Zokwe outside Umtata; he survived and managed to get to hospital. A second attack followed, but apparently the presence of witnesses frightened off the attackers. On 12 January 1988, Zokwe's luck ran out and he was shot dead by police hours

after being arrested in Butterworth. Rumours at the time were that he was an askari who had outlived his usefulness or changed his mind about assisting the police: ANC sources at the time questioned how Zokwe had managed to avoid being charged and was instead freed after he had been arrested in Bophuthatswana on his return to the country with another guerrilla, Mr Gilbert Binda, who was jailed for seven years. Two Transkei police officers, Sergeant Mtobeli Tyani and Sergeant Pumelele Gumengu, were charged with his murder but both escaped from different jails on the same day and disappeared.

The failed abduction

In December 1987 advocate Joseph Mzwakhe Miso was snatched from the streets of Umtata, having been mistaken for lawyer Dumisa Ntsebeza, and driven out of town towards the Kei Bridge border with South Africa by white men who claimed to be South African policemen. They beat him badly and threatened to kill him, releasing him only after he was able to prove his identity. Only days before this attack Ntsebeza had been in Queenstown for a case and had been threatened by Major Venter of the Queenstown security police in the presence of Border region security chief Brigadier Griebenaauw. Ntsebeza's brother, Ndondo, had been killed two years earlier by a hit squad and Ntsebeza's attempts to get a prosecution underway had repeatedly been thwarted by the authorities.

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

²⁴ Terrorism Research Centre, 'Special Report: South African political violence and sabotage', 1 July - 31 December 1981, Cape Town 1982, p30.

killed on 7 August and the two killed on 13 August. They were Mr Anthony Sureboy Dali, Mr Thabo Makhubo, Mr Joseph Lesetja Sexwale [JB02462/01GTSOW] and one 'Senzangakhona'. However, it is not clear what happened to the guerrilla reported as having been arrested on 7 August: was he subsequently one of the two shot dead five days later? He may have been MK member Gwaza Twalo, whose family told the Commission he disappeared from the Pretoria prison following a clash with police in the Aliwal North / Herschel area sometime after 1980; another witness told the Commission that the SAP had told the International Committee of the Red Cross that Twalo had been detained in Aliwal North and released in May 1980 without charges (surprising considering that he had fled the country together with the Azanian People's Liberation Army's (APLA) Sabelo Phama and had undergone ANC training in Angola). Depending on the date of disappearance, Twalo may have been the guerrilla arrested on 7 August; alternatively he may have been arrested in an earlier incident and killed in a similar way to the latter four.

- 168 By late 1981, the Vlakplaas unit had been sent down to the Eastern Cape for a stint of several weeks, as reported by Dirk Coetzee. He reports that the C1 unit moved down to the Eastern Cape following a clash between police and guerrillas at Elliot and Barkly Pass in August 1981 (presumably the clash which resulted in the guerrillas being buried on the Aliwal North farm) and worked there for seven to eight weeks²⁵.
- 169 The early killings related to the fuel depot blasts described above may have involved the *askaris* who were permanently based at Vlakplaas; the Ndondo killing in 1985 seems to have been orchestrated from there. By the time Ngono was abducted the Ladybrand police were involved, according to the amnesty applications to the Commission. By the time of the Sangoni, Mayaphi and Mgibe killings in February 1988, the *askari* unit was operating out of East London. 1987 and 1988 seem to have been the key years for the killing of guerrillas, primarily by locally based police.
- 170 There were various incidents of guerrillas dying in clashes during 1985-86; it is not clear how many of these were deliberately orchestrated by the security forces and how many were isolated incidents. They include: six PAC members killed in a clash with Lesotho security forces at Qacha's Nek near the Lesotho/Transkei border (one of the six was Mr Thami Zani from King William's Town, a friend of Steve Biko); Mr Zolani Mvula, who died during an explosion in a car while travelling between Engcobo and Umtata together with brothers Mlungisi

²⁵ Affidavit by Dirk Coetzee, Lusaka, 11 November 1990.

and Bongani Boo; the death of an unknown guerrilla in Sterkspruit on 13 April 1986 following two clashes with police; in May 1986 an unnamed guerrilla was reported by the press to have been shot dead at a roadblock in Transkei; in July 1986 there was a clash between police and guerrillas at Mount Fletcher, Transkei and an explosives cache was found; also in July 1986 former SAAWU member turned ANC guerrilla Mathemba Vuso was shot dead by Ciskei police in Mdantsane. In December 1986 alleged guerrilla Ngwenduna Vanda was shot dead by Transkei police Constables Ishmael Commando Dzai and Nelson Nceba Solombela while crossing from Lesotho in Transkei near Telle Bridge border post; an inquest later found they did not have the right to shoot him, but no prosecution ensued. In July 1987, another former SAAWU unionist, Mr Eric Mntonga, died in detention at the hands of the Ciskei police.

- 171 In March or April 1987 General Johan Coetzee moved into the region. The official reason for bringing the general out of retirement was to co-ordinate a tri-partite commission involving South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei, to keep peace between the two warring homelands. Ironically, the immediate need for the commission had been sparked off by the failed TDF attack on the Ciskei president Lennox Sebe's palace in January 1987; this was later revealed to have been planned by the SADF as part of *Operation Katzen*.
- 172 At the same time, national politicians publicly warned of the possibility of illegal security force actions against guerrillas. On 28 March 1987, then Minister of Defence Magnus Malan warned that the South African security forces would "sniff out" any ANC guerrillas in neighbouring states and wipe them out. Ten days later on 8 April, then Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha claimed ANC "terrorists" were planning to disrupt the upcoming elections and warned neighbouring states that South Africa would take "whatever action" necessary to stop them. It was during March and April that Masekela was killed in Lesotho, and Dubeni and Mfeti were killed in South Africa.
- 173 Not much is known about Coetzee's tri-partite commission; its role was still unclear by the time it closed down two years later. It held very few meetings, Coetzee was unwilling to be interviewed by journalists and no public report was ever issued by it.
- 174 About four months after it was set up, the Commission announced its first meeting. This meeting established a security agreement signed by SA, Ciskei and Transkei in Cape Town on April 10 by PW Botha, Lennox Sebe and George Matanzima.

After the meeting, Coetzee said the group was likely to meet again soon and regularly. A statement issued by the director of co-operation between the TBVC states and South Africa at the Bureau for Information, Mr CM van Niekerk, said that the functions of the commission would be "to promote good neighbourliness, peace, security, justice and economic progress in the Eastern Cape region by investigating, monitoring and making recommendations to the two governments about all matters which may adversely affect relations between the three states". In October, Coetzee told the *Eastern Province Herald* that he could not discuss the commission's work unless the other two members, Ciskei director general of manpower MC Kashe and Transkei's chief of civil defence General JS Mantutle, were present.

- 175 During the period of the commission's existence, Coetzee was consistently unavailable for interviews, and at one point both bantustan governments said that they did not really know what the commission was doing. There was frequent tension between Transkei and Ciskei during this time, but the three-person commission rarely met. In January 1989, during yet another spat between the two homelands, Ciskei spokesman Headman Somtunzi said he did not think the commission existed anymore, while South African Foreign Affairs spokesman Roland Darrell said that he thought it still existed but he "was not aware of anything that it's done recently". Darrell later said it was "overshadowed" by other initiatives, but confirmed that Coetzee was still involved. Other South African officials were reluctant to comment or gave confusing replies. By April 1989, the mysterious commission had closed down, although this was only reported in January the following year; a Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said at the time that the closure had been reported to a local newspaper, but the newspaper could find no record of this. When asked to comment on the possibility that the commission had been an excuse for Coetzee to be in the region to run security operations, Mr Mark Phillips of the Wits University Centre for Policy Studies said that Coetzee was a proponent of the view that targeting and removing key activists was a better way of dealing with opposition than the state of emergency.
- 176 A complication for these covert police operations was the coup in Transkei by Major General Bantu Holomisa, who took over briefly first in September 1987 and then permanently in December 1987. During 1988 the SAP and their *askaris* were still operating in Umtata, but apparently without the support of the military government, which seems to have been a little confused over how to stop them; by early 1988 there were rumours in Umtata of a clandestine SAP base operating from a house near the Umtata golf course. It seems that part of the

need for the clandestine co-operation between SAP and TPF was not just in order to keep it out of the public eye, but more importantly to keep it out of Holomisa's eye.

- 177 Illegal handovers went hand in hand with the crackdown on guerrillas; during 1988-89, this appears to have been a source of some conflict between the then ruling TDF and the more conservative TPF. In 1987 ANC guerrilla Livingstone Matutu was arrested in Bophuthatswana, handed over to South African security police and then illegally handed over to Transkei authorities. During 1988, he appeared on trial in Transkei, in a case that his lawyers claimed the authorities tried to keep from their knowledge. In December 1988, Transkei commissioner of police, General Leonard Kawe, said that Transkei and South African forces needed to co-operate in order to carry out their work. Kawe was speaking in response to criticism from South African judge PB Hodes, who criticised the South African police for knowingly and illegally allowing the Transkei police to cross the border to deliver a suspect. By the end of 1988, the Transkei police seemed to be increasing their power in the bantustan, with the military rulers apparently unable to curb them. By early 1990 the military government felt confident enough to take on its own police force in public: Holomisa warned his police that any activities involving their co-operation with the SAP had to be cleared with their seniors first. Holomisa said that earlier in the week members of the SAP had searched vehicles "deep inside Transkei territory" and that the SA embassy in Umtata had said this was done with the co-operation of a Transkei police officer but that this had still to be verified.
- 178 During this period, the police also tried to recruit *askaris* among guerrillas who had survived to be jailed. Mr Stembele Zokwe (see below) was probably one of these; he was later shot dead in 1988. During 1989, East London security policeman Captain Charles van Wyk told a Transkei court he had tried to recruit accused Phumzile Mayaphi (later sentenced to death for the Wild Coast Sun bombing) as a police spy.
- 179 One strategy used by the SAP to protect their members from prosecution relating to illegal killings was that of changing their names. When Transkei's Attorney-General tried to charge the police in connection with the Ndondo killing of September 1987, he was told by the SAP that SAP member Mbuso Enoch Shabalala was dead; it later emerged that he was very much alive and had officially changed his name. Mr Bongani Wana, implicated first in the Sangoni *et al* killings of February 1988 and later along with SADF MI in the abortive Duli coup attempt of November 1990, is now known as Charles Wanase; his new identity document

was issued in July 1991 and he was serving as a member of the SANDF after the elections. Mr Pumelele Gumengu, a sergeant in the Transkei security police, was arrested on charges of killing MK guerrilla Stembele Zokwe in Butterworth shortly after his arrest on 12 January 1988. Gumengu, who escaped from custody on the same day as his co-accused, Sergeant Aaron Tyani, although they were held in different prisons, was later arrested by the Transkei government in connection with the abortive November 1990 coup attempt led by Colonel Craig Duli and supported by SADF MI. Gumengu was arrested carrying a passport in the name of Zama Dube: his lawyer told the Umtata Supreme Court that this was in fact Gumengu's real name. Sergeant Tyani, who escaped custody while facing charges in connection with the January 1988 Zokwe murder, is also understood to have changed his name. In a similar strategy, Vulindlela Mbotoli gained South African citizenship (as opposed to Transkei citizenship) in mid-1991 in an attempt to avoid extradition to Transkei on charges relating to the Duli coup attempt. He was ultimately abducted by the TDF MI from Johannesburg, put on trial and jailed. Similarly in KwaZulu, former KZP special constable Vela Mchunu was issued with a KZP appointment certificate in the name of Alfred Masango in March 1991 to help him evade prosecution (see KwaZulu section below).

- 180 There were some revenge attacks on the police, clearly carried out by MK members. In 1990 Madliwa, the co-ordinator of the *askari* unit in East London and the man in charge of the February 1988 attack on Sangoni *et al*, was gunned down outside Mdantsane's Cecilia Makiwane Hospital. In February 1994, Ms Xolelwa Vusani (31, aka Noxolo or Dudu or Fetsha), was shot dead in Mdantsane; her baby she was holding at the time was injured in the shooting. Vusani had been involved in the September 1985 killing of Ndondo in Cala.
- 181 Clashes between police and guerrillas, which guerrillas frequently did not survive, continued during 1988, especially in Transkei. Transkei police, sometimes working together with SAP, were involved in these incidents.
- 182 Two guerrillas who were eventually charged in a court were Mr Ndibulele Ndzamela and Mr Phumzile Mayaphi, who were sentenced to death for bombing the Wild Coast Sun on 18 April 1986 (both were eventually freed after the 1990 unbannings and later implicated in the hit squad killing of an ANC dissident in Transkei). While they were on trial during February 1988, Mayaphi's brother Zonwabele stopped in at the Umtata Supreme Court to attend the trial. After he left the court buildings with his friends Zolile Sangoni, Thozamile Nkume and MK member Thembisile "Gift" Mgibe, they were followed by a police hit squad, pulled over

and gunned down; only Nkume, who seemed to have accidentally hitched a lift with the group, survived. The killers were SAP member Sergeant Mpumelelo Madliwa from East London, TPF member Constable Bongani Wana from Umtata and three *askaris*; they later told an inquest they had been armed with irregular weapons, used false vehicle registration numbers and had fired because they thought the guerrilla was going to attack them. They justified the killing to the inquest by explaining that Mgibe was a guerrilla; Mayaphi and Sangoni appear to have been targeted because of their connections to the terrorism trial and a prominent firm of human rights lawyers respectively.

- 183 In January 1988 clashes between police and guerrillas continued in Transkei with few guerrillas surviving. On 25 January, there was a shoot-out near Ugie; the following day two guerrillas (Mr Siphiso Hamlet Mazwai and one "Bobo") died in a clash with police while four others were detained. Mazwai's family later claimed that police had not even informed them of Siphiso's death. Both the SAP and SADF monitored his Grahamstown funeral and the area was declared an operational zone for the duration.
- 184 On 8 March 1988 MK member Qondo Hoho and his uncle Acacia Hoho were killed and six policemen injured in a shootout after the SAP surrounded a house in Mlungisi near Queenstown. The house was afterwards bulldozed by police, a technique often used by police when dealing with guerrillas.
- 185 On 2 July 88 a clash between police and guerrillas in Mzamba, Transkei, resulted in one guerrilla being captured and another two escaping. About a week later, in an incident probably linked to this, another clash followed; guerrilla Leo Mkuseli Xatula was killed. Information to the Commission by a witness who saw Xatula's body was that Xatula was detained, held for some days and then executed.
- 186 On 28 September 1988 MK member Lungisa Christian Qokweni died after a shoot-out with Ciskei police at a house in NU5 in Mdantsane. Ciskei denied that the SAP had also been involved in the shoot-out.
- 187 In October 1988, Transkei and South African police working together arrested guerrilla Aga Khan Tiya, in Umtata. An arms cache was reportedly found at the same time. Two weeks after the arrest Tiya appeared in the intensive care ward of the Umtata hospital, his throat having been cut while in custody. He was released and subsequently died under unexplained circumstances, presumably having been assassinated.

- 188 On 25 December 1988 in Mdantsane, Ciskei, an unknown gunman attacked civil rights lawyer Hintsá Siwisa, unionists Jeff Wabena and Billy Shiyani and their friends Noluthando Ntongana, Norie Joli and Virginia Panziso, leaving Joli and Panziso dead. Later rumours were that this was part of an internal ANC clash between opposing youth movements and that embezzlement of union funds may have been involved; however there is a strong possibility that this may also have been the work of the covert police unit. Wabena was eventually gunned down in a later incident.
- 189 Sometime during 1988 MK member Don Ntshebe disappeared from Mdantsane. A year later MK member Bongani Jonas told the Cape Town trial of Tony Yengeni *et al* that when he was in detention the police had told him about an *askari* unit that had killed Ntshebe.

Things fall apart: the homeland armies rebel

- 190 By the end of the 1980s, the homeland armies were starting to rebel. While the coup attempt by Charles Sebe was probably at least supported by the SADF and the 1987 attack on Lennox Sebe was part of the SADF's *Operation Katzen*, there were a few rumblings which appear to have been independent actions.
- 191 In January 1987, Bantu Holomisa was in detention in a Transkei jail, apparently partly for opposing Transkei involvement in *Operation Katzen* and partly for refusing to send in the TDF against an MK guerrilla involved in a shootout at Willowvale. A few months later he was out of detention, the former Selous Scouts were on the road out of Transkei and Holomisa was head of the TDF. At this point, the SADF appears to have lost control over the TDF. In September, Holomisa took over the Transkei government; shortly afterwards he handed over to the civilian government of Stella Sigcau. On 31 December 1987 Holomisa deposed Sigcau's government, citing corruption, and took over to run Transkei until the 1994 elections.
- 192 In February 1988, a few months after Holomisa's second successful coup, on the other side of the country the Bophuthatswana military similarly rebelled and tried to take over that homeland's government. However, the SADF moved in and rapidly put an end to that attempt.
- 193 Both the Holomisa coups and the failed Bophuthatswana coup attempt appear to have been independent of the SADF. Holomisa probably survived his coups without immediate South African interference because he was a better strategist

than the Bophuthatswana would-be rulers: in neither of his coups did Holomisa either arrest the prime minister or president, or force them to resign at gunpoint (although ministers were forced to resign); whereas in Bophuthatswana the military went as far as to arrest the then ruler, Mr Lucas Mangope. During his first coup, Holomisa waited until Prime Minister George Matanzima was “out of the country” in Port Elizabeth; President Tutor Ndamase was allowed to continue undisturbed and later appeared on publicity posters alongside military council members. A legal challenge to Holomisa’s government brought later by former president Kaiser Matanzima was subsequently overturned when the Transkei Supreme Court ruled that Holomisa’s government was the *de facto* Transkei government.

- 194 The Holomisa coups had a crucial effect on the security forces’ policy on the Eastern Cape: when the South African security forces finally realised that Holomisa would tolerate opposition and, after the 1990 unbannings, allow the liberation movements to organise freely, they changed tactics from prioritising attacking those regarded as members of liberation movements to attacking the Transkei government instead. Thus by the 1990s a spate of coup attempts were launched by the South African security forces to try to unseat Holomisa.

■ KWAZULU

- 195 This section deals with the former KwaZulu self-governing homeland and with the institutions associated with the homeland responsible for perpetrating gross human rights violations in the homeland. These include the KwaZulu government, the KZP and Inkatha (later renamed the IFP). Evidence before the Commission of the many cases where members and supporters of Inkatha and the IFP were victims of aggression by supporters of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the African National Congress (ANC) and its self-defence units (SDUs) is documented in the *Liberation Movements* chapter of this volume.
- 196 The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) was established in 1972, replacing the Zululand Territorial Authority, which had been established two years earlier. The territory designated as the KwaZulu homeland comprised over twenty fragmented pieces of land scattered throughout the province of Natal. KwaZulu was what was known as a self-governing homeland. It was never to opt for independence as did several other self-governing states. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi headed both these administrations. The KLA was composed wholly of Inkatha members, many of whom were traditional chiefs.

- 197 In 1975, Chief Buthelezi re-launched the Zulu cultural organisation, *Inkatha-ka-Zulu*, as *Inkatha Yenkuleleko Yesizwe*, known in English as the Inkatha Cultural Liberation Movement. Chief Buthelezi has been president of Inkatha since its revival in 1975, and was Chief Minister of the KwaZulu government for its entire existence. He has exerted substantial personal influence on both organisations.
- 198 Inkatha dominated the KwaZulu government (both its executive and its bureaucracy) to the extent that the government and Inkatha became interchangeable concepts. The organisation effectively ruled the KwaZulu government as a one-party state and used KwaZulu government resources and finances to fund Inkatha party-political activities and in the execution of gross human rights violations against non-Inkatha supporters. The KZP came into existence in 1981 and was disbanded in 1994 following the April 1994 elections. Chief Buthelezi was the only ever serving Minister of Police in KwaZulu. Violations committed by the KZP are dealt with later in this report.
- 199 Both South African government officials and Inkatha politicians regularly failed to distinguish between the KwaZulu government and Inkatha. Vice-Admiral Andries Putter, former chief of staff intelligence (SADF) and presently an IFP official told the Commission:

Mr Commissioner, at that stage, as far as I can remember, I never myself drew a distinction between Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government. I never spoke of the Chief Minister as president of Inkatha... It was the view that existed at that stage. In practice, however, I did not realise one could not distinguish between Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government. It was basically the same organisation.

- 200 Former Inkatha National Council member, Mr Walter Felgate, told the Commission:

The interests of Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government were indistinguishable. There was never a conflict of interest, I can bring to mind no conflict between Inkatha and the KLA on any matter of principle, any matter of strategy. They were just one amalgam with operating bases and nexuses of people.

- 201 Former KZP hit squad operative, Mr Romeo Mbambo, told the Commission:

... there was no difference between the KwaZulu Police, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu Government. In my opinion, they were one entity... I

received instructions from Captain Langeni [KwaZulu Police], Mr M Z Khumalo [KwaZulu Government] and Luthuli [IFP]...

- 202 Inkatha's largest constituency has always been the Zulu-speaking people originating from the rural areas of KwaZulu, although earlier in its existence it had significant urban support as well. Inkatha's presence outside of the KwaZulu tribal authorities was usually to be found in hostels, mine compounds and informal settlements in and around cities. Beyond Natal, clusters of Inkatha supporters (again primarily migrant Zulu-speakers originating from KwaZulu) were found in most of the hostels on the west and east Rand, and in the Vaal triangle. However, Inkatha's consolidated support-base was the inhabitants of KwaZulu over whom the organisation was able to exercise control through its domination of traditional authorities, township councils and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.
- 203 Taking into account that there was a symbiotic relationship between Inkatha, the KZP and the KwaZulu Government, the three institutions are dealt with together for the purposes of this chapter.

1970s: The re-birth of Inkatha and KwaZulu

- 204 Inkatha had its origins in an organisation called the Native Congress, established in 1928 by the Zulu king of the time, Solomon kaDinizulu. It was later renamed *Inkatha ka-Zulu* (emblem of the unity of the Zulu nation). By 1933, the organisation was largely inactive due to lack of finance and it remained so until its revival by Chief Buthelezi in 1969. In 1970, the Zululand Territorial Authority (ZTA) was established and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was instated as the chief executive officer. In 1972, the ZTA was replaced with the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, with Chief Buthelezi as the Chief Minister. Buthelezi promised his co-operation to the South African government but almost immediately began calling for more land, powers and recognition for the Zulu nation.
- 205 In the Inkatha Cultural Liberation Movement, Chief Buthelezi intended to transform Inkatha from a predominantly Zulu cultural organisation into a national liberation movement. He hoped that the revived organisation would fill the vacuum created by the banning of the ANC and the decision by the ANC leadership to leave the country and operate in exile.
- 206 Politics in KwaZulu in the late 1970s was dominated by the growth of Inkatha and its attempts to consolidate regional power and create political options beyond

apartheid for the region. While the South African government placed pressure on homeland leaders to opt for independence, Chief Buthelezi refused to accept independence. In the first few years after the revival of Inkatha, the ANC regarded Chief Buthelezi as an important ally inside the country. He had been a member of the ANC Youth League and when he founded Inkatha, he was known to be an opponent of apartheid. The external mission of the organisation maintained contact with Chief Buthelezi and indeed encouraged their supporters back home to join Inkatha. While organisations in other homeland structures could easily be dismissed as puppets of Pretoria, at the time of its formation and for almost a decade afterwards, this was not said of Inkatha.

1979: The London meeting

207 During the latter part of the 1970s, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi became vocal in his opposition to protest politics, economic sanctions and the armed struggle being promoted by the ANC in exile. This, together with his calls for investment and a free-market economy and his embracing of constituency politics, won him increasing support from the white business and white community at large. However, it placed him at odds with the ANC's leadership in exile. The leaders of the two parties met in London in October 1979 to discuss their differences. At the London meeting Chief Buthelezi accused the ANC leadership of being hypocritical and of having deserted black South Africans.

208 Chief Buthelezi interpreted the ANC's intentions behind the London meeting to be that they wished Inkatha to become an internal surrogate of the ANC.

209 This was unacceptable to Chief Buthelezi. In its 1996 submission to the Commission, the IFP said the following of the London 1979 meeting:

The campaign to render South Africa ungovernable was not directed against the apartheid state. KwaZulu and the IFP in particular have been the targets of ANC destabilisation policies since the 1979 conference failed to persuade the then Inkatha Cultural Liberation Movement to become a surrogate of the ANC.

210 Following the 1979 meeting, Chief Buthelezi faced growing hostility from an increasing number of Zulu-speaking people in Natal and the KwaZulu homeland for his rejection of the ANC's strategies and, in particular, for his decision to participate in the homeland system, to work through the tribal authorities, the KLA and the black urban councils. The two organisations' differing approaches to opposing apartheid laid the basis for the bitter and bloody political conflict

that ensued.

The early 1980s: The beginnings of institutionalised violence within Inkatha

211 By April 1980, the national campaign of students against overcrowding in schools, lack of equipment and books, and lack of student representation had spread to schools in KwaMashu, north of Durban. Pupils participating in the KwaMashu school boycott defied Inkatha's calls to return to school, and clashes developed between the pupils and Inkatha members. Chief Buthelezi described the violent action taken by Inkatha members against the boycotting pupils as "discipline" and said that Inkatha was the best instrument to sort out the problems of discipline and the problem of lack of patriotism.

212 The boycotting of classes in KwaMashu continued through May 1980. During May, KwaZulu Minister of Justice, the Reverend Celani J Mthethwa, urged vigilante groups to join the KZP reservists. Also in June 1980, Chief Buthelezi said that he wanted to train an army to keep order, to prevent the destruction of schools and to control riots. He said:

I think it is time for Inkatha to establish training camps where branches and regions are schooled in the employment of anger in an orderly fashion. We need to be able to control riots... I think we need to create well-disciplined and regimented impis in every Inkatha region which can be called out for the protection of that which is so sacred to Inkatha and black South Africa.

213 The Inkatha Committee endorsed this proposal at its meeting in July. In 1981, a paramilitary training camp was established at Emandleni-Matleng, near Ulundi.

214 Chairperson of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Mr Musa Zondi, said that the camp was "run with a paramilitary approach". Those trained at the Emandleni-Matleng Camp wore military-style uniforms and were organised into sections, brigades and companies. In his presidential address to the Inkatha Annual General Conference in July 1982, Chief Buthelezi said:

We have the Emandleni-Matleng Camp girding the loins of youth with the resolve of their elders and with the wisdom of ages, to move into the communities and play a devastating role with apartheid's enemies...

- 215 In his August 1982 address to the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Chief Buthelezi announced the formation of a paramilitary force of young Africans who would “take up the struggle for liberation”.
- 216 Inkatha's fostering of trained paramilitary groups within Inkatha marked a movement in Inkatha towards the institutionalisation of violence. The provision of paramilitary training to Inkatha youths inevitably led to Inkatha supporters turning to violence and militaristic methods of dealing with their perceived enemies.
- 217 In 1983, the UDF emerged and adopted a strategy of 'ungovernability', opposing and undermining existing local government structures. The fact that, in Natal and KwaZulu, most of the local authorities were Inkatha-dominated, resulted in Inkatha being identified as the primary target. The Inkatha movement, in particular its leader, Chief Buthelezi, was insulted and ridiculed by UDF supporters. Also during 1983, a number of Durban townships were identified for incorporation into KwaZulu. A large number of residents in these townships opposed incorporation into KwaZulu. Non-Inkatha councillors withdrew from the township local councils as an act of protest and clashes subsequently occurred between those opposing incorporation (primarily UDF-aligned residents' associations) and those promoting it (Inkatha). Thus it was that the violent clashes between Inkatha and the UDF which came to the fore in 1984 centred on local government in the form of traditional authorities, urban councils or regional councils.

Lamontville

- 218 The Lamontville township, south of Durban, was one of the townships identified for incorporation into KwaZulu. A residents' association opposing both rent increases and incorporation and known as the Lamontville Rent Action Committee was formed. On 25 April 1983, Mr Harrison Msizi Dube, chairperson of the Lamontville Rent Action Committee, was shot dead. Five people were convicted of murdering Dube, including the IFP mayor of Lamontville, Mr Moonlight Gasa. The court found that Gasa had conspired to kill Dube, and that he had hired two men from the Transkei to carry out the murder. Inkatha did not publicly sanction or rebuke Gasa and his accomplices or condemn their actions in killing Dube.

Hambanathi

- 219 On 31 August 1983, the South African government announced that Hambanathi, a Port Natal Administration Board township north of Durban, was to be incorporated

into KwaZulu. In August 1984, clashes occurred between those supporting incorporation (led by Inkatha) and those opposed to incorporation (led by the Hambanathi Residents' Association, which was affiliated to the Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC)). Inkatha supporters killed at least three UDF supporters and attacked and set alight at least thirteen Hambanathi homes, including the homes of two JORAC members. Because of the violence, more than twenty-five families had to flee the township. Consequently, the Hambanathi Residents' Association laid thirty-four charges of assault against predominantly Inkatha members. A number of Inkatha supporters were subsequently convicted on charges of arson relating to the burning of houses belonging to non-Inkatha supporters.

- 220 The anti-incorporation violence spread to other townships, such as the Chesterville township, where an Inkatha-aligned vigilante group, known as the Chesterville A-Team, emerged to counter the UDF in the township (see below).

Ngoye

- 221 On 29 October 1983, five people, including four students and an Inkatha supporter, were killed and many others injured in a clash between students and a group of approximately 500 Inkatha youth brigade members at the University of Zululand ('Ngoye'), south of Empangeni. The clash was triggered by an attempt by the Inkatha leader to hold a commemoration ceremony for the death of Zulu king, Cetshwayo, on the campus, to which the students were opposed. In the clash, the large group of Inkatha supporters attacked the students' residences, breaking down doors and pulling students out from where they were hiding. The students were dragged out, assaulted and stabbed with traditional weapons.
- 222 Following the Ngoye violence, the Joint Staff Association of the University of Natal called on Chief Buthelezi to resign either from his position as president of Inkatha or as Chancellor of the University of Zululand. The *City Press* newspaper said in its editorial on 6 November 1983:

As president of Inkatha, [Chief Buthelezi] must either accept responsibility for the actions of the bloodthirsty militants that ran wild at Ngoye and weed them out immediately, or he must admit that Inkatha militants are out of his control.

- 223 In a memorandum written following the campus violence, Chief Buthelezi denied that the Inkatha Youth Brigade members had initiated the attack and, instead,

claimed that they were merely defending themselves after they were pelted with stones from students. Chief Buthelezi said:

We all deeply regret the violence which occurred on Saturday. Our youth were faced with violence and would have been maimed and perhaps even killed, if they could not fend for themselves. We hope that is now abundantly clear that they can in fact do so... Inkatha youth need no protection, as the events on Saturday clearly showed. I must warn South Africa that if this kind of provocation continues which we experienced on Saturday, Inkatha youth will demonstrate their strength and prowess.

- 224 Former Inkatha National Council member, Mr Walter Felgate, told the Commission regarding Inkatha's stance on the events at Ngoye on 29 October 1983:

The idiom of the comment was, 'Now people can see that we're not a sitting duck, and we're not a lame duck and they must be careful of us'.

The A-Team, Chesterville

- 225 An Inkatha-supporting and state-sponsored vigilante group known as the A-Team was set up with the help of the SAP Riot Unit, in 1983/4 in the Chesterville township, Durban. Statements made to the Commission allege that the A-Team was responsible for the perpetration of human rights abuses in the township between 1985 and 1989. These included at least ten killings, several cases of attempted killing and many incidents of arson and severe ill treatment.
- 226 The picture painted by witnesses who gave evidence at public hearings of the Commission in Durban was that this group established a reign of terror in Chesterville over a number of years. They took over Road 13, illegally occupying houses in that road and burning surrounding houses in order to make a safe area for themselves. They also allegedly brought in Inkatha youths from other townships to bolster their power-base. Their sole aim was to target members of youth and other UDF-linked organisations. This they did with the active complicity of the SAP, including the Riot Unit and the Security Branch.
- 227 In his application for amnesty, former member of the Durban Riot Unit, Mr Frank Bennetts, gave evidence of the extent of the Security Branch's involvement in and collusion with members of the A-Team. He described the A-Team as:

a group of Inkatha supporters who were acting in their capacity, or so I believed, in assisting the police in the curbing of the growth and support of groups and organisations opposed to the government and the order of the day.

- 228 According to Bennetts, the A-Team assisted the Riot Unit by identifying alleged perpetrators and UDF activists to be detained. They also served as informants, passing on information to the security forces. In return, the Riot Unit offered them protection by putting extra patrols into the street where they lived, and giving them escorts in and out of the township if and when they required it.
- 229 Bennetts told the Commission that the A-Team members were never detained under the emergency regulations, although there was good cause to detain them. He said that had the police arrested the A-Team members, the incidents of violence in Chesterville would have been reduced "by 99.99%". In his words, '[The A-Team] wrecked half the township'. Nevertheless, the Riot Unit openly and blatantly sided with the A-Team, perceiving the gang as a legitimate ally in their struggle against the UDF.

The Umlazi cinema massacre in August 1985

- 230 On 1 August 1985, Victoria Mxenge, an UDF executive member, was murdered at her home in Umlazi, Durban. A memorial service was held in her honour in the Umlazi Cinema building on 8 August 1985. Whilst the service was in progress, hundreds of Inkatha vigilantes armed with assegais, *knobkieries* and firearms burst into the cinema, and began randomly stabbing and shooting at the mourners. In the attack, fourteen people were killed and many others injured. Witnesses allege that the attackers included Inkatha vigilantes recruited from the adjacent shack settlements and from Lindelani, north of Durban. The soldiers and police were allegedly still present but did not act to prevent the attack. This was the worst incident yet of clashes between Inkatha and UDF. A document prepared by the Secretariat of the State Security Council in March 1989 had the following to say regarding the violence surrounding the murder of Victoria Mxenge:

Die moord op mev Victoria Mxenge, n radikale prokureur van Umlazi, op 1 Aug 85 waarvoor die UDF die blaam op Inkatha en die SAP geplaas het, was die grootste aanleidende faktor tot ernstige gewelddadige konflik tussen die UDF en Inkatha, veral in die groter Durban-gebied. Grootsekaalse onrus het tot Maart 1986 voortgeduur en selfs die noodtoestand (Junie 1986) kon nie die sporadiese gewelddadige voorvalle inhibeer nie.

- 231 Inkatha failed to condemn or distance itself from the violent actions of the above-mentioned Inkatha-aligned vigilante groupings from Lindelani and Chesterville. Another example of an Inkatha-aligned vigilante grouping is the AmaSinyora from KwaMashu (see below).
- 232 During the early 1980s, Chief Buthelezi still had high standing in the international community and amongst South African (white) businesspersons. Part of this was due to Inkatha's official and international rhetoric of non-violence. This was indeed true of Inkatha's stance towards the South African government and the white electorate. Inkatha supporters did not bomb shopping centres or defence force installations, or kill black Security Branch members. However, Inkatha members clearly employed violence against the ANC/UDF and against other extra-parliamentary opponents of the state, as did members of the UDF. The following quotes from speeches made by Chief Buthelezi at Inkatha meetings or in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly during the early 1980s indicate an increasingly militaristic tone emerging in his addresses to his constituency:

I want to find out whether our members think that adopting the following attitudes is consonant with non-violence or not: If someone hits you with a bare fist, must you not take off your boxing gloves and hit back at him. Is it the right thing to run away and be branded a coward?

If need be we will call for an eye for an eye and for a tooth for a tooth. However much we loathe revengeful politics, if that is the only way we can survive these unwarranted attacks on us, whether through rhetoric or real force, we will rather go into that kind of political action for our survival. I believe we must prepare ourselves not only to defend property and life but to go beyond that and prepare ourselves to hit back with devastating force at those who destroy our property and kill us.

I have stated that our commitment to peaceful change does not take away the inalienable right which every individual has to defend himself or herself... We cannot, just because we are a peaceful movement, lie down so that people can trample on us or destroy us without lifting a finger.

Because we are committed to non-violence it does not mean that we are prepared to lay ourselves down as sacrificial lambs to be slaughtered by those who oppose us with violence.

The latter 1980s: Collusion with the South African security forces

- 233 By 1985, Inkatha supporters found themselves increasingly under attack by virtue of the positions they held within local government and homeland structures. Threats of assassination against Chief Buthelezi in 1985 prompted the Inkatha leader to turn to the South African government, in particular to the SADF, for assistance to take on the ANC/UDF. Contact with the central government had of necessity to be secret given Chief Buthelezi's public stance towards the South African government. During the latter half of the 1980s, Inkatha began to draw increasingly upon the support of the South African government, and to rely more heavily on the South African and KwaZulu government's infrastructure and resources. In the process, its aggression turned away from the apartheid state and became directed at those who were advocating alternative structures and thus threatening its power-base.
- 234 The South African government not only welcomed but also actively promoted this covert alliance with Inkatha, as it fell squarely into its response to what it saw as the total revolutionary onslaught against it. Covert logistical and military support to UNITA in Angola, RENAMO in Mozambique and to the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) was a critical part of the South African government's counter-revolutionary strategy. Although these operations were external, the State Security Council resolved in 1985 to establish such groups internally, in addition to those it was already supporting. Inkatha was seen as being able to play the same counter-mobilisation role inside the country as their external surrogates (such as UNITA) had played, and had become a "middle force" between the South African government and its political enemies. A common feature of the external and the internal operations, was that in both cases training and weapons supply were undertaken by the SADF's DST, and by Special Forces personnel.
- 235 Furthermore, the media images projected of white policemen assaulting and shooting at black demonstrators were clearly unacceptable internationally, and there was a feeling that repression should as far as possible not be carried out by state security forces, but by black surrogate groups. Part of the government's strategy was to characterise the political conflict in the country as "black-on-black" violence.

Operation Marion

236 One of the first instances of covert military assistance between Inkatha and the South African government was *Operation Marion*, the SADF Military Intelligence project set up in early 1986 in order to provide assistance to Inkatha and the KwaZulu government. During 1985, Chief Buthelezi was alerted by Military Intelligence to alleged assassination plans against him. This prompted him, in late 1985, to approach Military Intelligence with a request for various capabilities, including an offensive paramilitary capacity, in order to take on the ANC/UDF. His request was made directly to the then Director of Military Intelligence, General PH 'Tienie' Groenewald. According to Groenewald, Chief Buthelezi commented that :

although he was a supporter of a peaceful solution, the ANC must realise that if it uses violence against KwaZulu and its people, the Zulu, who has already received fame as a soldier, is also in a position to take violent action against the ANC. He himself would like to take the struggle to the ANC in Lusaka although at present he does not have such a capacity.

237 Flowing out of this was what has become known as the Caprivi training, the clandestine training in offensive action of some 200 Inkatha supporters conducted by the Special Forces arm of the SADF in the Caprivi Strip, South West Africa/ Namibia in 1986. Secret military intelligence documents make it clear that the project was undertaken as much to further the strategic aims of the South African government and Defence Force, as it was in response to a request from Chief Buthelezi. Planning for this project took place in circumstances of utmost secrecy, and involved the highest echelons of the State Security Council and Military Intelligence on the one hand, and Chief Buthelezi and his personal assistant, Mr MZ Khumalo, on the other. The defence force was at pains to ensure that the entire project was covert, and that the funding of the project could not be traced back to its source.

238 Training was given to three distinct groups - the VIP protection group, the contra-mobilisation group and the offensive group. Significantly, all three received offensive training. The training lasted six months and included training in the use of Soviet bloc weapons, heavy-duty weapons such as mortars and rocket-launchers, and the use of explosives, landmines and hand grenades. The trainees were taught how to carry out attacks without leaving a trace and how to avoid arrest, detention and interrogation at the hands of the police. They were also taught how to attack houses with the aim of killing all the occupants.

- 239 The trainees were controlled and supervised by a political commissar, later to become their commander, Mr Daluxolo Wordsworth Luthuli. Luthuli was a former ANC guerrilla fighter who had recently joined Inkatha after being released from a lengthy term of imprisonment on Robben Island. His appointment was authorised by Chief Buthelezi.
- 240 Luthuli was unequivocal concerning the purpose of the Caprivi training. He told the Commission that the training was aimed at equipping Inkatha supporters to kill members of the UDF/ANC. According to Luthuli and other Caprivi trainees who spoke to the Commission, this is what they were explicitly told by their SADF instructors. They knew that they were being trained as a hit squad.
- 241 The Caprivi trainees were centrally involved in the Inkatha-aligned hit squad activities in KwaZulu and Natal until the 1994 elections. The trainees continued to receive support, including a monthly salary, from the SADF until 1989 when most of them were enrolled in the KZP. Here many of them continued their hit squad operations under the guise of being official law-enforcement officers. The trainees received instructions as to targets and weaponry from Luthuli, their political commissar and commander, and from the local Inkatha leadership in the area where they were deployed. The link between Luthuli and Inkatha was maintained through Mr MZ Khumalo.
- 242 With their deployment in various parts of KwaZulu and the former Natal, the trainees were partly responsible for the dramatic escalation of the political conflict in the region, and fundamentally changed the political landscape in the former KwaZulu homeland, the repercussions of which are currently playing themselves out in this region. Their *modus operandi*, their mobility, their access to infrastructure and sophisticated weaponry exposed large numbers of people and vast areas of the province to their activities. As a result, they were responsible for facilitating the easy and quick resort to violence as a means of settling political scores and greatly enhanced the development of a culture of impunity and political intolerance that is so well established in the province at the present time.
- 243 Caprivi trainees were implicated in many of Inkatha's subsequent initiatives involving violent strategies aimed at countering the ANC/UDF. The trainees formed a large proportion of the Inkatha supporters recruited to become special constables (see below). They formed the core of Inkatha/KZP hit squads set up by Inkatha office-bearers in the early 1990s (see below). Several of them were employed as instructors in the Mlaba self-protection unit (SPU) training project

in 1993/4. They were also central to a proposed plan for a KwaZulu battalion, although these plans were never realised.

Deployment

- 244 Evidence of the activities of the Caprivi trainees in their areas of deployment is documented in the KwaZulu-Natal regional overview, found elsewhere in the Commission's report. On their return from the Caprivi, a small group of the trainees who had received specialised training in VIP protection were deployed in the KZP's VIP unit while the rest of the group were deployed to IFP offices and/or KZP stations around KwaZulu and Natal. The trainees all received a monthly salary paid to them by Military Intelligence, through Mr M Z Khumalo of Inkatha.
- 245 At its special hearing on the Caprivi training held in Durban in August 1997, the Commission heard that in October 1986, approximately fifteen to twenty Caprivi trainees were instructed by Daluxolo Luthuli to report to the police station in the township of Mpumalanga, mid-way between Durban and Pietermaritzburg.
- 246 Although they never underwent any KZP training, never filled in any KZP application forms, and were never screened or required to undergo any tests, the trainees were issued with KZP appointment certificates with the rank of detective constable. They were also issued with official police firearms, which they were allowed to take home with them.
- 247 Under the guise of being official law enforcement agents, they engaged in large-scale hit squad activity in the Pietermaritzburg and Mpumalanga areas for the next two years, directing their attacks against perceived UDF/ANC members. These activities are described in the KwaZulu-Natal regional profile (Volume Three).
- 248 The Commission heard evidence of the involvement of Caprivi trainees in the KwaMakhutha massacre on 21 January 1987 in which thirteen people, mostly women and children, were killed and several others injured in the AK-47 attack on the home of UDF activist Bheki Ntuli. A large number of people including former Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and MZ Khumalo of the IFP, were tried for murder in 1996 in the Durban Supreme Court. Although the accused were acquitted, the Supreme Court found that Inkatha members trained by the SADF in the Caprivi were responsible for the massacre and that the two state witnesses, being members of the SADF Military Intelligence, were directly

involved in planning and execution of the operation. The court was not able to find who had provided backing for the attack.

- 249 Witnesses who did not testify in the 1996 criminal trial testified before the hearing, and the Commission has made a comprehensive finding on the Caprivi trainee project (see Volume Five). In brief, the Commission found that the South African government provided Inkatha with a hit squad, and provided training, financial and logistical management for the project. Further, the Commission found that accountability for the human rights violations that flowed from the establishment of the hit squad lay with twenty-two people from the State Security Council, Military Intelligence, Inkatha and the KZP.
- 250 Caprivi trainees were implicated in political violence elsewhere in the province. At least one Caprivi trainee, Mr Vela Mchunu, was involved in the December 1986 attempted killing of one person and the killing of three people in Mpophomeni township, outside Howick, in December 1986 when workers at the British Tyre and Rubber (BTR) Sarmcol factory went on strike in support of demands for the recognition of their union, the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU). The victims were prominent members of the union. Mchunu was one of the nine Inkatha members held responsible for the killings in the formal inquest (Howick Inquest 13/88) in 1988.
- 251 The Commission heard evidence of the activities of the Caprivi trainees in Clermont, a Durban township identified for incorporation into KwaZulu in the eighties, and of the role of Mr Bhekizizwe Samuel Jamile, the local KwaZulu Legislative Assembly representative and Inkatha member, in directing Caprivi trainees in their attacks against members of the community who were opposed to incorporation. Several notable members of Clermont were attacked during this period, most of whom were associated with the Clermont Advisory Board which was officially opposed to incorporation. Caprivi trainees were involved in the killing of Mr Zazi Khuzwayo on 9 May 1987, the attempted killing of Ms Pearl Shabalala on 15 October 1987, the killing of Mr Emmanuel Norman Khuzwayo on 28 February 1988 and other attacks directed against UDF supporters.
- 252 In 1991, Jamile appeared in court facing fifteen charges, including five counts of murder, seven counts of attempted murder, and three counts of incitement to murder. In the indictment, Jamile was accused of being involved between 1987 and 1989 in the murder of UDF-associated persons opposed to the incorporation of Clermont into KwaZulu. Two Caprivi trainees, who were implicated during the

trial, Zweli Dlamini and Vela Mchunu, were hidden by the KZP until the end of the trial. Owing to the inability of the police to trace these two suspects and other witnesses, Jamile was only convicted on two counts: one of murder and one of attempted murder. Jamile was sentenced to life imprisonment but was released in terms of the First Indemnity Act of 1992.

- 253 The Commission heard that Caprivi trainees were involved in spearheading offensive strikes at UDF supporters in the township of Imbali towards the end of 1987. Daluxolo Luthuli played a central role in directing a pre-emptive attack on UDF supporters who were allegedly intent on attacking the home of Inkatha councillor, Jerome Mncwabe (now deceased). In one incident, ten people were killed in fighting between the Caprivi trainees, instructed by Luthuli, and UDF supporters.
- 254 The Commission heard evidence that 130 Caprivi trainees were part of a group of 300 Inkatha supporters who were sent for special constable training in 1988, and later attached to Riot Unit 8 and deployed in the Pietermaritzburg and Mpumalanga areas where the UDF was said to be gaining the upper hand. Many were sent to guard Inkatha officials and traditional leaders and became involved in vigilante and hit squad activities aimed directly at UDF supporters. The Caprivi trainees appointed as special constables continued to receive their salaries of R700 per month from Inkatha, while also receiving their special constable salaries from the SAP. They also took instructions both from the IFP and from their formal employer, the SAP. The Commission heard from a former member of Riot Unit 8 who had worked closely with the special constables that as a result of the Unit's close association with the Inkatha-supporting constables, members of the Unit naturally sided with Inkatha.
- 255 Elements of the SAP Riot Unit 8, at all levels, and at the level of the special constables attached to the Riot Unit, deliberately acted, by omission and commission, to assist and facilitate attacks by Inkatha supporters upon non-Inkatha residents. The KwaZulu-Natal regional profile documents testimony from former members of the Unit who said that support to Inkatha also involved providing Inkatha supporters on the ground with weapons. The most well-known case of collusion between members of the riot police (including special constables) and Inkatha supporters is the killing of eleven people at Trust Feed on 3 December 1988, an attack performed by special constables and directed by Captain Brian Mitchell of the SAP, after a meeting between some local police officers and local members of the Inkatha leadership. Members of the SAP at higher levels were responsible for obstructing the investigation into the massacre. This, too, is documented in full in Volume Three.

- 256 During the mid-1980s, Chief Buthelezi was secretly recruiting Inkatha supporters for the 121 Battalion (the so-called “Zulu Battalion”) based at Jozini on the Natal North Coast. Military documentation indicates that:

The Chief Minister inferred that the time was not politically favourable to take over [121 Battalion] as a KwaZulu force. A suitable date will be decided at a later stage. To make the transfer workable, future recruitment will be clandestinely cleared first with the Chief Minister or delegated representatives. The SA Army has already made financial provision for addition of another company during 1986/7. It is suggested that the selection takes place in the normal manner after the Chief Minister has been informed. After selection, the list of accepted candidates will be covertly presented to the Chief Minister, and only Inkatha members will be finally accepted.

UWUSA

- 257 The Inkatha-affiliated union, the United Workers’ Union of South Africa (UWUSA) was launched by Inkatha in May 1986 with considerable covert funding from the SAP’s Security Branch. UWUSA served to check COSATU’s progress, but also generated conflict in the work place because of its aggressive pro-Inkatha and anti-sanctions stance. In June 1986, UWUSA members killed eleven COSATU-affiliated miners and injured 115 others in clashes at the Hlobane colliery, near Vryheid. Conflict continued in the months following and in May 1987, the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court granted National Union of Mineworkers members from the colliery an interdict restraining UWUSA members from assaulting them.

The KwaZulu Police

- 258 The KZP was created by statute in February 1981 and had jurisdiction over the largest and most populous dormitory townships in the former KwaZulu homeland. It was disbanded in 1994, with many of its members being incorporated into the newly established South African Police Services.
- 259 From its inception, the role of the KZP was controversial, and allegations of political bias in favour of Inkatha, and later the IFP, were levelled against it up to the date of its disbandment in 1994.
- 260 The official policy of the KZP, stated in 1990 by the public relations officer of the force was that its members “may not belong to any political party.” Whilst force

members may not have been active members of the Inkatha, evidence submitted to the Commission shows that the KZP was a highly politicised, biased and partial police force, and was openly supportive of the IFP.

- 261 From the outset, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was the Minister of Police for the KwaZulu Government. Furthermore, during the most critical period of political conflict in the province, from 1989 to 1992, the commissioner of the KZP was Major General J H ('Jac') Buchner, a former officer in the SAP Security Branch. Buchner was described by former police captain Dirk Coetzee as "one of South Africa's top security policemen", who had "established himself as a brilliant and ruthless opponent of the ANC - as interrogator, state witness, logistics expert and planner of raids on neighbouring states". Amongst other things, Buchner had been responsible for the recruitment and training of *askaris* (or former ANC guerrillas captured and induced to work for the South African security forces).
- 262 A full report on the role of the KZP is not possible in this chapter, but examples of the KZP's active participation in serious political violence are given by way of window cases below.

Political bias, incompetence and general misconduct

- 263 In June 1992, the Durban branches of the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) published a report entitled *Obstacle to Peace: the Role of the KwaZulu Police in the Natal Conflict*. In the report, the HRC and LRC used court records, *affidavits*, witness statements and other documents to describe numerous abuses by the KZP, which contributed to the conflict in Natal. Among the abuses documented were the following :
- a Murder and assault of persons perceived to be political opponents of Inkatha;
 - b Abduction of ANC-aligned or non-Inkatha activists;
 - c Participation or collusion with vigilante groups in the intimidation and attack of individuals accused of not supporting Inkatha;
 - d Failure to intervene to prevent attacks by Inkatha members carried out in the presence of the KZP;

- e Maltreatment and torture of detainees;
 - f Firebombing of homes;
 - g Disruption of funerals, memorial services and meetings of non-Inkatha groups;
 - h Contravention of court orders forbidding harassment of individuals or communities;
 - i Supply of weapons to notorious gang members;
 - j Failure to render medical assistance to critically injured persons;
 - k Failure to respond to calls for assistance or to investigate incidents involving Inkatha supporters;
 - l Action outside the boundaries of KwaZulu and failure to co-operate with the SAP;
 - m Failure to keep proper records, to admit that detainees or bodies are being held, or to co-operate with lawyers seeking to represent clients in accordance with the terms of the law.
- 264 There was no official response from the KwaZulu government or police to these allegations, other than in the submissions made on their behalf to the Goldstone Commission's enquiry into violence in Natal, one year after the report was originally published. In only six incidents mentioned in the *Obstacle to Peace* report did the submissions offer information of material developments that had not been covered (two of the six related to payments of damages by the KZP to complainants on the grounds that the complaints had been substantiated). In most cases, the submissions denied allegations, or stated that records were lacking or cases pending.
- 265 A study of violent incidents between January and June 1991, carried out by the Centre of Social and Development Studies of the University of Natal and the Human Sciences Research Council, reported that the KZP played an aggravating and negative role in 55 per cent of the events at which members of the force were present. The KwaZulu government countered allegations of this type in its submission to the Goldstone Commission by stating that there were complaints against the KZP in only 5 per cent of the communities in which it was the police force. However, human rights organisations attributed this to the reluctance of

those subject to mistreatment to complain to the same police force whose members had mistreated them, and to the lack of independent lawyers to assist potential plaintiffs.

- 266 Further KZP misconduct has emerged in the form of the issuing of false police appointment certificates to Caprivi trainees by the former deputy commissioner of the KZP, Major General Sipho Mathe. When the South African Police Investigation Task Unit (ITU) presented a case for prosecution to Natal Attorney-General, Tim McNally, he admitted that Mathe did issue the certificates fraudulently, but said that the case was not serious enough to warrant a prosecution.
- 267 On at least twelve separate occasions between 1988 and 1992, the Supreme Court in Natal issued urgent orders restraining members of the KZP from assaulting or carrying out other unlawful acts against township residents. In one case, SAP Detective Sergeant Joseph Kabanyane and others interdicted the KZP from assaulting, threatening and harassing not only the applicants themselves, but also any other resident of KwaMakhutha township. Evidence submitted to the Court indicated that large numbers of KwaZulu police officers were travelling around KwaMakhutha township in vehicles and on foot, shooting indiscriminately with heavy calibre weapons at any visible township resident. No investigation followed the granting of the court order, and in his replying *affidavit*, the commissioner of the KZP merely denied that his members had been acting unlawfully.
- 268 The Commission heard evidence of the active participation of members of the KZP in what has been described as the 'Esikhawini hit squad' which was responsible for a number of hit squad killings in Esikhawini, near Richards Bay, and surrounding areas between 1991 and August 1993. The origins and activities of the Esikhawini hit squad, as well as a review of the violations perpetrated by its members are to be found in the KwaZulu-Natal regional profile in Volume Three.
- 269 One of the founding members of the hit squad was Mr Brian Gcina Mkhize [AM 4599/97], a Caprivi trainee who subsequently joined the KZP and was posted to the Esikhawini Riot Unit in 1990. Together with Daluxolo Luthuli and KZP Captain Leonard Langeni, at the time the officer commanding the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Protection Unit, and others, Mkhize attended a meeting in Ulundi where the political violence between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha in the Esikhawini area was discussed. Mkhize told the Commission that at this meeting he was told that "the time had arrived to use the skills acquired at the Caprivi". He said that it was made clear to him that he was to take unlawful action against ANC

supporters in Esikhawini. He was further told to gather reliable people to assist him. KZP Detective Sergeant Romeo Mbuso Mbambo [AM 4598/97] was one of those conscripted to the hit squad. KZP Captain Leonard Langeni was kept informed of the operations that flowed from the initial planning meetings of the hit squad, and supplied ongoing direction and logistical support to the operatives. Between them, the KZP and IFP members of this hit squad have applied for amnesty for over 100 killings. Instruction for the killings were received from senior IFP and KZP members. The activities of the hit squad are dealt with in more detail elsewhere in the Commission's report.

- 270 A number of other KZP members gained particular notoriety for killing people perceived to be ANC/UDF sympathisers and appeared to be immune from prosecution. Two examples of such police officers are Detective Constable Siphwe Mvuyane from Umlazi, who on his own admission killed approximately 50 people, and Constable Khethani Shange from KwaMashu, who was jailed for several murders. Their involvement in serious human rights abuses has been extensively documented in other publications.
- 271 In 1993, the Wallis sub-committee of the Goldstone Commission was mandated to enquire into the role of the KZP in the political conflict in KwaZulu-Natal. The committee found that, for the most part, investigations by the KZP were "characterised by neglect, delay, disregard of elementary procedures and a failure to bring the offenders to book" (paragraph 47). In a further indictment of the KZP, the Deputy Attorney-General of Natal told the Wallis Committee that the standard of investigation of murder cases in the greater Durban area by the KZP was poor. Charges against the KZP included vague and incomplete witness statements with no attempt to corroborate their accounts or follow up on issues raised in the statements, no proper examination of scene of crime, failure to hold identification parades, loss of evidence and the failure of investigating officers to bring accused, witnesses or exhibits to court on request.
- 272 The Goldstone Commission's second interim report, dated 29 April 1992, stated that:

The widely held view by a large number of people in KwaZulu and neighbouring areas that the KwaZulu Police are a private army of the Inkatha Freedom Party is a matter of great concern in relation to the curbing of violence in those areas. No less disturbing is evidence that has been given concerning unlawful activities by senior members of the KwaZulu Police. (para 3.2.4)

- 273 Investigations by the Commission and other bodies have shown that high-ranking officers of the KZP were involved in covering up crimes committed by Inkatha and KZP members. Cover-up practices by KZP officers ranged from neglecting basic investigative procedures to deliberately tampering with evidence and concealing suspects and key witnesses.
- 274 The role of the KZP in covering up the crimes of Inkatha-aligned persons was demonstrated in the Trust Feed case. In this case, certain senior KZP and Inkatha officials helped conceal the four special constables who were implicated in the murder. Almost immediately after the massacre in December 1988, KZP Captain Leonard Langeni took the four special constables into hiding at the Mkhuze Camp, which fell under his command. The KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation owned the camp. During this time the special constables continued to receive their police salaries, paid to them by Langeni. Later they were taken to the KZP barracks in Ulundi, and then to the homes of various Inkatha-supporting chiefs. In 1990, they were assisted in joining the KZP, despite the fact that all four were still being sought by the SAP concerning the massacre at Trust Feed.
- 275 Members of the KZP were also involved in the concealment of former KZP Special Constable Vela Mchunu, implicated in the December 1986 murder of three members of the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) from Mphophomeni. In order to prevent Mchunu from testifying at the inquest, KZP Captain Leonard Langeni and Chief Buthelezi's personal assistant, Mr MZ Khumalo, arranged for Mchunu to be hidden for a period at the Mkhuze camp. Mchunu said that both Langeni and Khumalo knew that he had killed people and that he felt that their helping to conceal him indicated their approval of his actions. In 1990, Mchunu was implicated during the murder trial of Samuel Jamile, from Clermont, and was again taken into hiding (see above). In March 1991, after the completion of the Jamile trial, Mchunu was issued with a KZP appointment certificate under the name Alfred Masango.
- 276 Other police officers and Inkatha members who were suspects in crimes were hidden from the SAP at the Mkhuze camp. Daluxolo Luthuli was hidden at the Mkhuze camp during 1988 following his release on bail in connection with the possession of an AK-47 that was used in an attack on a UDF stronghold in Mpumalanga. Caprivi trainee Bhekisisa Alex 'Sosha' Khumalo [AM 4027/96] was also hidden for a year at the Mkhuze camp following his release on bail on a charge of attempted murder. Mr Nyoni Israel Hlongwane [AM 4600/97], active in the Esikhawini hit squad, was taken into hiding at the Mkhuze camp when he was

being sought by police in connection with rape, murder and attempted murder charges. When the SAP approached the KZP for assistance in arresting Hlongwane, none was offered. The other people implicated in the incident were arrested and charged and one of them convicted. Another Caprivi trainee and special constable, Mr Zweli David Dlamini, was hidden at Mkhuze camp for over a year after he was involved in a shoot-out with SADF members in Imbali in December 1987. Dlamini told the Commission that Mr MZ Khumalo and Captain Langeni arranged for him to go into hiding. In 1990, at Langeni's recommendation, Dlamini was accepted as a member of the KZP, despite the fact that warrants had been issued against him for attempted murder.

- 277 The vast majority of cases of alleged KZP involvement in gross human rights violations reported to the Commission occurred post-February 1990. The victims were almost exclusively people perceived to be sympathetic towards the ANC. The exception was a handful of KZP members who were eliminated by their own colleagues after they refused to cover up Inkatha or KZP criminal activity.
- 278 A number of KZP stations gained certain notoriety for severe misconduct and partisan policing. These included Umlazi, KwaMashu, KwaMakhutha, Madadeni, Sundumbili and Esikhawini.

1990s: The IFP-ANC war for supremacy in KwaZulu, Natal and the PWV

- 279 The role of the IFP in the political violence in the early nineties is dealt with under the relevant sections of the Commission's report. In brief, the IFP was found to be the foremost perpetrator of gross human rights violations in KwaZulu and Natal during this period. Approximately 9 000 gross human rights violations were perpetrated by Inkatha in KwaZulu and Natal from 1990 to May 1994. This constituted almost fifty per cent of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for this period and over one-third of the total number of gross human rights violations reported for the thirty-four-year period of the Commission's mandate.
- 280 The Commission has made a finding that members and supporters of the IFP were responsible, together with sections and members of the state's security forces, for committing gross violations of human rights in the event which has come to be known as the Seven Day War which took place in the greater Edendale area outside Pietermaritzburg in the seven days from Sunday, 25 March 1990. In

the event, over 100 people were killed, some 3000 houses were destroyed by fire and approximately 30 000 people fled their homes because of the violence. The vast majority of the people killed and injured were from the non-Inkatha areas, and the vast majority of the property damaged burned and looted belonged to non-Inkatha supporters.

- 281 The Commission heard that hostels in the provinces of KwaZulu/Natal and the Transvaal, particularly in the PWV (Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging) area, became strongholds of the IFP in the early nineties, and that these hostels became 'no-go' areas for non-Inkatha residents of adjacent communities. In turn, IFP hostel-dwellers were increasingly alienated in these communities and were frequently attacked by youths from these communities. However, IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers were responsible for launching several large-scale attacks on adjacent townships and informal settlements in these provinces. Examples are to be found in attacks in Bruntville, Mooi River, in KwaZulu/ Natal on 8 November 1990 (killing sixteen people) and on 3 and 4 December (killing eighteen people). The overwhelming majority of these victims were non-IFP township residents. Hundreds of people died in conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in the PWV area, and in attacks launched by hostel-dwellers on surrounding communities. Examples are found in the Sebokeng massacres of 22 July 1990 and 3 September 1990, the Alexandra night vigil massacre of March 1991, the Boipatong massacre of June 1992 and the Thokoza massacre of May 1993.
- 282 The Commission has made a finding that IFP supporters were conscripted into hit squads and that the activities of these hit squads became widespread in KwaZulu and Natal during the 1990s. From information received by the Commission, it would appear that the hit squad operations flowing from the Caprivi training and other political networks were predominantly supportive of the IFP, drawing in officials of the KwaZulu government and KZP as well as senior politicians and leaders of the party.
- 283 As such, hit squad members had access to KwaZulu government resources, such as vehicles, arms and ammunition. A measure of protection from prosecution was made possible through the collusion of the KZP as well as instruments of the state security forces. Further, Inkatha officials conspired with senior KZP officials to set up hit squads to eliminate ANC/SDU elements. The activities of the hit squads operating in the Esikhawini area near Richards Bay, the New Hanover area of the Natal Midlands, and the activities of a hit squad known as the Black Cats in Wesselton and Ermelo in the Transvaal are documented in other sections of the Commission's report.

- 284 The Commission heard evidence of the involvement of IFP supporters in the train violence in the PWV region between 1990 and 1993. Approximately 572 people died in more than 600 incidents of train violence.
- 285 Inkatha supporters were also responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations in the province of KwaZulu/Natal in the run-up to the 1994 elections, when the IFP engaged in a campaign to disrupt the electoral process. During this period, Inkatha received arms and ammunition from right-wing organisations as well as sections of the security forces and embarked upon paramilitary training projects in which IFP supporters were trained in weapons handling and paramilitary tactics. This campaign continued until 29 April, just six days before the elections, when the IFP announced that it would contest the elections. The Commission found that approximately 3 000 gross human rights violations were perpetrated by Inkatha in KwaZulu and Natal from July 1993 to May 1994. This constituted more than 55 per cent of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for this period.
- 286 At the same time, the Commission has found that Inkatha supporters, members and leaders were the target of sustained violent attack in many areas of KwaZulu and the former Natal during period of the late 1980s and early 1990s as relations between the ANC and Inkatha deteriorated steadily following the 1979 meeting of the two organisations in London.
- 287 Evidence before the Commission dealing with those instances when members and supporters of the IFP were victims of aggression by members of the UDF/ANC is found in the *Liberation Movements* chapter of this volume. Cases are also dealt with in the KwaZulu/Natal regional profile.
- 288 The IFP submitted to the Commission a document listing 420 cases where IFP party office-bearers had been killed, allegedly by members and supporters of the UDF/ANC. Cases documented occurred between August 1985 and August 1996. The Commission's Durban office conducted an intensive investigation into the 289 listed cases falling within the boundaries of the Commission's mandate. The results of the investigation are documented in the *Liberation Movements* chapter.

■ KWANDEBELE

KwaNdebele independence

- 289 In light of the unrest that eventually followed, it is ironic to note that Pretoria's homeland planners were initially loath to create a separate homeland for the Ndebele. In terms of the 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, the Ndebele were not recognised as a 'national unit' worthy of their own homeland. For many years, apartheid's ethnic strategists hoped that the Ndebele would simply assimilate into Bophuthatswana or Lebowa where a large number of Ndebeles already lived. In 1979, however, the South Ndebele territorial authority was granted legislative assembly status. Two years later KwaNdebele became self-governing. Although the South African government frequently justified its abrupt change in policy by referring to requests for recognition from Ndebele traditionalists, the real reasons lay in South Africa's changing political economy and emerging strategic concerns. The large number of Ndebeles forced off white-owned farms because of mechanisation and the sudden exodus of Ndebeles fleeing ethnic harassment in Bophuthatswana had created an acute demographic problem for Pretoria's planners. KwaNdebele's establishment was designed to control groups displaced by these processes.
- 290 By the early 1980s, however, officials within the Department of Co-operation and Development (DCAD) realised that KwaNdebele presented the government with new strategic possibilities in terms of the larger homeland project. KwaNdebele's eager and compliant cabinet offered Pretoria's planners an opportunity to resuscitate the government's policy on independence. Following Ciskei's independence in 1981, plans to grant independence to the remaining self-governing homelands had either stalled or had been blocked by various means. The government in part blamed the South African Black Alliance, a loose grouping of black political parties chaired (and in effect led) by Inkatha's president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for slowing down the homelands' rush to independence. Bureaucrats at the DCAD hoped that KwaNdebele's acceptance of independence might weaken the Alliance and encourage other homelands to follow suit.
- 291 In May 1982, the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly passed a motion calling on the cabinet to pursue independence.
- 292 The political conflict over independence and incorporation that engulfed the KwaNdebele area from mid-1985 until 1988 degenerated into what was, in effect,

a civil war. Human rights violations – committed by a variety of individuals and groups on all sides of the conflict – were numerous and widespread. Scores of people were killed, not only by the security forces deployed to repress the unrest, but also by erstwhile neighbours, fellow students, business colleagues, and even family members. In a matter of months, KwaNdebele's limited infrastructure was razed to the ground. Schools sat empty, shops and offices were gutted and entire communities lived in fear. By the winter of 1986, KwaNdebele had been irrevocably changed.

Imbokodo

- 293 At the very centre of this maelstrom was a vigilante organisation known as the Imbokodo. Led by the homeland's political and economic elite, the fate of the Imbokodo – or “the grinding stone” – in many ways encapsulates the tragedy that occurred in KwaNdebele. In what effectively constituted a ‘reign of terror’, Imbokodo members carried out daring and brutal attacks in which hundreds of ordinary residents were viciously assaulted and publicly humiliated. The resentment and anger that followed operations such as the New Year's Day raid and the Tweefontein massacre radicalised a previously apolitical population and was a significant, if not the most important, cause of the unrest. However, once the conflict had begun, “comrades” ruthlessly and methodically attacked suspected Imbokodo members and their families. Even those with the most tenuous links to the vigilante organisation or to the homeland government were at mortal risk. Scores of suspects were summarily killed, often by the infamous ‘necklace’.
- 294 In internecine conflicts in which combatants do not wear uniforms and political loyalties are assumed rather than formalised, many people become both perpetrator and victim. This was often the case in KwaNdebele. Vigilantes identified ‘comrades’ simply based on their age. Comrades targeted ‘vigilantes’ by their occupations. In the ensuing war, few were safe.
- 295 Over 250 statements were made to the Commission regarding the conflict in KwaNdebele and Moutse in the mid-1980s. Collectively, the statements report almost 700 gross violations of human rights. In those statements that name a perpetrator (involving 421 alleged violations), the Imbokodo is listed as the responsible organisation in over half of the incidents. This includes allegations of Imbokodo involvement in seventeen deaths. ‘Comrades’ or ANC members are similarly identified as the alleged perpetrators in 14 per cent of the statements. Although the percentage of total gross human rights violations attributed to the

latter group is dramatically lower, the statements attribute twenty-four deaths to the comrades. Amongst residents who approached the Commission, at least thirty-four victims had ties to the Imbokodo or to the former KwaNdebele government. Together, their statements document twenty murders, all of which involved the burning of the deceased's body. At least nineteen of the deponents further claimed that their residential and/or business properties were completely destroyed in arson attacks.

- 296 Despite the significant role that Imbokodo members played in the conflict, both as perpetrators and as victims, relatively little has been written about the vigilante organisation. In contemporaneous accounts of the conflict, the Imbokodo was depicted largely as a Mafia-type hit squad formed in 1986 which operated under the personal command of Mr SS Skosana, the first chief minister, and Mr Piet Ntuli, the feared minister of internal affairs. The bulk of the organisation's membership – with estimates ranging widely from as low as 300 to as high as 900 people – reportedly consisted of KwaNdebele politicians, businesspersons, taxi-owners and some traditional leaders. From the start of the 1986 unrest, the Imbokodo was further rumoured to enjoy the approval and even the active support of the central government as well as national and local security forces. In general, then, the Imbokodo has been seen as a vigilante organisation specifically formed with the support of the South African government to assert the dominance of the KwaNdebele elite and to achieve the political goals of independence and incorporation.
- 297 Although this description captures the essential nature of the Imbokodo organisation as it operated in 1986, it also overlooks several significant factors in the group's development. Many of these issues have been brought to the Commission's attention in evidence submitted to the Commission and in testimony led at the Commission's special event hearing conducted in Moutse in December 1996. In summary form, the following points should be noted.
- 298 First, forms of vigilante activity in the KwaNdebele area predate the unrest of the mid-1980s by at least a decade. SS Skosana, elected the first president of the Imbokodo when it was officially constituted in 1986, has traced the organisation's roots to a "cultural society" formed in 1976 "when there were riots and schools were burned". Throughout the intervening decade, a number of vigilante attacks were carried out against perceived political opponents of the KwaNdebele government and its various tribal authorities. In addition, numerous tactics, including roadblocks, were used to identify and "discipline" various "agitators" especially "outsiders" – generally perceived as politicised youth from the Rand – operating in the homeland. Vigilantism thus has a long, indigenous history in the area.

- 299 Second, many of these activities were conducted with the blessing if not the active participation of the Ndzundza royal kraal. Despite their emergence as leading opponents of the Imbokodo in 1986, members of the royal family were involved in earlier forms of vigilante activity. In fact, individuals participating in early vigilante operations emphasised that they were “called by the king” when such activities were deemed necessary. With this history in mind, Imbokodo members have claimed that their organisation was constituted at the royal kraal and derived its authority from the king himself.
- 300 Third, vigilantes and members of the Ndzundza tribal authority had long employed corporal punishment as a means of maintaining order in the area and punishing those deemed guilty of breaching the peace. A variety of criminal, civil and even a few political cases were heard by the traditional court sitting at the offices of the Ndzundza tribal authority. Those convicted of offences were regularly sentenced to a number of lashes with a *sjambok*. In 1986 when Imbokodo members relied on the whip to “discipline” opponents of incorporation and independence, they again claimed that they were only following “traditional Ndebele ways.”
- 301 Despite these continuities with the past, the evidence before the Commission also reveals important differences between the activities of the Imbokodo and earlier forms of vigilantism. First, whereas early vigilante activity generally focused on specific perceived ‘agitators’, Imbokodo raids targeted entire communities, leading to widespread and indiscriminate assaults on residents. Second, although early vigilante activity enjoyed the express approval of the royal family and as a result was accepted as legitimate by a large sector of the population, the actions of the Imbokodo were denounced by the royal family and were clearly unacceptable to the vast majority of KwaNdebele residents. In the changed circumstances of the mid-1980s, vigilantism became a source of conflict rather than a means of diffusing it. While at one time tribal police officers were seen as community protectors, Imbokodo members were essentially viewed as a political army. Finally, although tribal courts operated according to a known and widely accepted procedure involving the presentation and evaluation of evidence and testimony, Imbokodo assaults offered no such defence to the accused. Residents abducted by vigilantes were summarily assaulted in mass beatings carried out in various government-owned buildings. Such occasions resembled torture sessions more than court proceedings.
- 302 Perhaps the greatest tragedy of the conflict lay in the South African government's ambiguous approach to the Imbokodo. Although not directly established or

controlled by the South African government, politicians and policy-makers in Pretoria failed to act against the Imbokodo even when their officials on the ground encouraged them to do so.

The incorporation dispute

303 The KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly passed a motion calling on the cabinet to pursue independence in May 1982, following Ciskei's independence the previous year. However, the most significant impediment to KwaNdebele independence was the area's meagre development. KwaNdebele lacked basic infrastructure. It had few roads and no hospitals. In order to boost the area's viability before independence, the South African government planned to incorporate two historically non-Ndebele areas, Ekangala and Moutse, into KwaNdebele. In 1983, the Department of Co-operation and Development (DCAD) convinced the South African government that Moutse's incorporation was economically and politically necessary to ensure KwaNdebele's independence.

Ekangala

304 On February 9, 1985, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, then the Minister of Co-operation and Development, announced that the nearly 5 000 residents of Ekangala, a "de-centralisation" township near Bronkhorstspuit, would be incorporated into KwaNdebele. The announcement initiated a wave of popular resistance amongst residents, most of whom had moved to the area from overcrowded areas of the East Rand. The Ekangala Action Committee (EAC) took the lead in organising a campaign of mass resistance. The EAC turned its attention to fighting plans for incorporation. The KwaNdebele government responded by intensifying the reign of terror against the action committee. Imbokodo vigilantes assaulted and terrorised the people of Ekangala in night raids, using pangas, sjamboks and clubs. Their activities included breaking doors and windows, beating people unconscious and abducting them in boots of motor vehicles to appear before the "tribal court". A common feature of the assaults was that people were told to get out of Ekangala. A young schoolboy was allegedly shot and killed. At least three other supporters of the EAC were allegedly beaten, including a mother and her daughter. Several others were arrested.

305 After this, repression in the township fell to vigilantes loyal to the KwaNdebele administration. In fact, many of the raids appear to have been planned by senior homeland politicians. KwaNdebele cabinet minister FK Mahlangu was known to

have participated in the nocturnal raids of balaclava-clad vigilantes that terrorised the township from late March onwards. The house of Mr Peter Kose, the widely respected vice-chairman of the EAC, was attacked and all its doors and windows broken. Subsequently his daughter and other children of EAC officials were expelled from school. By the end of July 1985, Kose had been abducted three times, the last time in front of witnesses who watched in horror as his abductors swung him around by his heels until his head bounced along the ground. After he lost consciousness, he was bundled into the boot of a waiting car and taken to a vigilante's house for further torture. The police, acting on a complaint from Kose's wife, later rescued the battered community leader. However, Kose was subsequently jailed on an assault charge filed by his abductors. Only after legal intervention were the charges dropped and Kose released.

- 306 While Kose's case illustrates the extreme measures to which the vigilantes were willing to go, he was by no means alone in suffering at the hands of KwaNdebele's intimidators. By the end of the year, *The Weekly Mail* reported that nearly one-third of the township's residents had fled the vigilante's reign of terror. Those who remained demanded resettlement to the East Rand, regardless of the overcrowding that had prompted their original move to Ekangala. Despite evidence implicating the vigilantes in the ongoing violence in the area, South African officials failed to act against the Imbokodo's excesses.

Moutse

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

From the beginning, Moutse had always been included in the government's plans for the Northern Sotho 'national unit'.

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

309 Following Moutse's excision from Lebowa, the South African government made periodic announcements on their plans for the historically Northern Sotho area. In ongoing negotiations between Moutse leaders, the Lebowa cabinet and officials of the central government, it had clearly been established that the South African government would offer Moutse to KwaNdebele in order to boost the homeland's viability prior to independence. Throughout this period, however, Moutse's traditional leaders made it abundantly clear to representatives of the South African government, including PW Botha and Ministers Koornhof and Heunis, that they were opposed to independence. Moutse's chiefs and homeland politicians further warned that an attempt forcefully to implement incorporation plans would inevitably lead to bloody resistance.

310 Messrs Mmusi Moses Mathebe, Paledi Cecil Mathebe and Solomon Moseme Malefahlo and many others from Moutse were assaulted by Imbokodo vigilantes after a raid at the kraal of Chief Elliot Mathebe, the Kgobokoane chief who opposed incorporation. The intention of the attack was to kidnap the chief, the

living embodiment of the tribe, as an assertion of the power of Imbokodo, and to instil terror in the resisting members of the Moutse population. The assault on the three men (one of whom, Mmusi Mathebe, was initially thought by the attackers to be the chief) continued until neither attacker had the strength to raise his weapon. Exhausted by their efforts, the vigilantes then took Mmusi Mathebe and others to another room where the floor had been covered in a slippery soap solution. Here the men were made to run in circles, like circus animals, while their captors waited for one to slip and fall. Once down, the unlucky individual was again brutally assaulted until he regained his feet. Approximately twenty minutes later, the vigilantes apparently tired of the game and took Mmusi Mathebe, Paledi and Malefahlo who were then bleeding into an adjoining room full of prisoners. Here, the three men spent the night propped against walls already red with blood. The following day, vigilantes simply dropped the injured men along the road separating Moutse from KwaNdebele, fearing that their car might be damaged if they ventured out of the homeland.

- 311 Vigilante attacks on dissenters were not limited to residents of areas marked for incorporation. By December 1985, the Imbokodo were also attacking KwaNdebele residents suspected of resisting independence or opposing the homeland cabinet's authority. Members of the Imbokodo viciously assaulted residents of the southern village of Kwaggafontein, especially supporters of prominent local politician Klaas Makhosana Mahlangu.
- 312 Mahlangu had played a significant, if somewhat controversial, role in Ndebele politics. His position as a community leader was further enhanced by his dual claims to traditional power. In the southern KwaNdebele village of Kwaggafontein where he lived, he was known for his sympathetic understanding of the largely resettled population that he sought to lead. As many of his neighbours had recently fled to KwaNdebele from Winterveld and other areas of Bophuthatswana, Mahlangu was particularly aware of local antagonism towards the concept of homeland independence. Consequently, Mahlangu had long been recognised as a leading sceptic of Pretoria's plans for the homeland. While not critical of the idea of a Ndebele homeland *per se*, Mahlangu spoke resolutely against attempts to forcibly incorporate non-Ndebele areas or to accept independence. As early as 1977, he was assaulted and harassed by supporters of the KwaNdebele executive for publicly opposing political developments in the homeland. In late 1985, the KwaNdebele cabinet again sought to silence Mahlangu – and his growing number of supporters – using vigilante intimidation.

- 313 On 19 December 1985, Mahlangu, his wife and his mother were abducted by Imbokodo vigilantes from Kwaggafontein. They were taken to Emagezeni, a place of torture. Fortunately for Mahlangu, the station commander at Kwaggafontein police station intervened to save him and his family from physical attack. Following his release into police custody, he was allowed refuge at the police station until a policeman could safely drive him out of the area. Mahlangu fled KwaNdebele.
- 314 Other Kwaggafontein residents were not so lucky. They were beaten with sjamboks (whips), *knobkieries* (clubs) and pickhandles. They were forced to go into the house where there was soapy water. Mr Senzani Mateu Morake [JB02793] is today disabled because of Imbokodo vigilantes. Mr Boy Simon Mahlangu [JB2914] permanently lost the hearing in his right ear. Several other Kwaggafontein residents reported similar attacks to the Commission.
- 315 Despite obvious signs of growing mass resistance, the South African government proceeded with plans for incorporation and independence while simultaneously failing to act against the illegal excesses of the Imbokodo vigilantes.
- 316 Officials of the South African government received information that could have warned them of the violence to come. The EAC sent a memorandum to both the East Rand Administration Board and to the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning (DCDP), which was signed by over a thousand residents and which outlined the unrest and resistance which had emerged in the township. The area's highest ranking security officer, Captain Chris Kendall, allegedly warned the homeland politicians that the activities of Imbokodo only served to heighten the unrest and alienate residents. He also told the ministers that the EAC was not a radical organisation and that its members could be counted on to resolve the issue peacefully if given the right conditions. The KwaNdebele cabinet ignored Kendall's advice. Kendall, who had previously enjoyed a warm relationship with members of the cabinet (he had once been their shooting instructor at Bronkhorstspuit) quickly fell into disfavour with the KwaNdebele government.
- 317 Following the assassination of Piet Ntuli, the cabinet declared Kendall *persona non grata* and successfully demanded that the SAP transfer him from the area. Although the KwaNdebele cabinet's distrust of Kendall was understandable, the South African government's attitude towards him was less clear. Despite his position as the area's highest-ranking security officer, Kendall's perspective on the conflict does not seem to have informed Pretoria's approach to the situation. In this and other instances, politics – namely, the need to satisfy the wishes of the

KwaNdebele cabinet in order to achieve Pretoria's own objectives – appear to have taken precedence over the security evaluations of the state's operatives on the ground.

- 318 With respect to Moutse, South African officials received even more direct and clear warnings on the possible repercussions of their policies. On September 25, 1985, Minister Chris Heunis announced final consolidation plans for Lebowa that confirmed Moutse's excision. Within the week, officials from Pretoria visited Chief Gibson Mathebe of the Bantoane, Moutse's largest chieftaincy, in an attempt to secure his co-operation with the area's incorporation into KwaNdebele. Mathebe warned the government "in emphatic and unambiguous terms" of the "disastrous consequences" which would result from the forced transfer of the area.
- 319 In the face of opposition from Moutse's leaders and despite predictions of violence, the central government nevertheless proceeded with Moutse's transfer. On 5 December, Heunis issued the last in a long line of public statements confirming Moutse's official incorporation. The date for the transfer was set for the last day of the year. As compensation, the Minister offered to resettle residents who were unhappy with the incorporation at an alternative site being developed at Immerpan, approximately one hundred kilometres from Moutse.
- 320 On at least two occasions in October and December 1985, Major Daan Malan, Dennilton station commander in Moutse, discovered large groups of armed Ndebele vigilantes roaming around the Moutse area. When confronted by Malan, the group, led by Chief Minister SS Skosana and several other KwaNdebele cabinet members, said that they were patrolling the area to ensure that the inhabitants supported the imminent incorporation. Fearing a potential conflict, Malan ordered the vigilantes out of the area. In turn, the cabinet lodged an official complaint against Malan with his superior, Brigadier van Niekerk. The district commander backed up his officer, however, informing the ministers that they did not yet enjoy any jurisdiction in the area. Van Niekerk further warned Skosana that any operations in Moutse involving force would constitute a public violence offence. On December 16, 1985, when vigilantes were discovered in Moutse for the second time, Van Niekerk went to meet with Chief Minister Skosana personally in a bid to convince him to withdraw from the area. Van Niekerk has recalled that Skosana was furious, asserting that the police had done nothing to ensure that Moutse residents would accept their incorporation into KwaNdebele. The chief minister threatened that he and his own men would act since the police seemed unwilling or unable to do so. Again warning the vigilantes that their actions could result in

criminal charges, Van Niekerk finally succeeded in persuading the vigilantes to withdraw and abandon their plans. They were not, however, deterred for long (see below).

- 321 Despite the frank and clearly stated objections of Brigadier van Niekerk and Gerrie van der Merwe, the South African government transferred police functions to KwaNdebele as scheduled. As with the situation in Ekangala, the central government again followed the dictates of politics rather than the recommendations of its officials on the ground.
- 322 On 1 January 1986, a large number of Imbokodo members (and KwaNdebele men forcibly enlisted for the day) attacked the Moutse villages of Moteti and Kgobokoane. In their effort to repel the invasion, Moutse residents killed a number of vigilantes. These included four Imbokodo members suspected of trying to abduct the Bantoane chief at the royal kraal in Kwarrielaagte, Moutse. Approximately 360 Moutse residents were abducted from their homes and taken to the community hall in Siyabuswa where they were subjected to up to thirty-six hours of torture and ritual humiliation. While chanting Imbokodo slogans, the victims were forced to perform physical exercises until they collapsed. They were subsequently stripped naked and publicly sjambokked on a concrete floor covered with soapy water. Victims have testified that senior KwaNdebele politicians including Chief Minister SS Skosana and Minister of the Interior Piet Ntuli directed the beatings in the community hall. No one was ever convicted for his role in the attack.
- 323 In the days following the abductions, police patrolled the Moutse area in an attempt to disperse community gatherings and diffuse resistance. At one such meeting in Keerom, two policemen allegedly fired into a crowd, killing one resident and injuring two more. The enraged crowd chased the two policemen, eventually cornering and killing them. The police responded to their colleagues' deaths with five days of house-to-house searches. Residents have alleged that the police assaulted them and looted their property in the process.
- 324 On April 28, clashes between students and vigilantes ensued after Imbokodo members had surrounded the Mandlethu High school in Vlaklaagte no.1. The police eventually intervened to separate the two groups. After the Imbokodo were escorted from the area, the students returned home peacefully. That night, however, the Imbokodo returned and engaged in a house-to-house raid in the village. Those of school-going age were especially targeted. A number of youths were loaded into cars and *bakkies* (vans) and taken to Emagezini, a small industrial

complex in Kwaggafontein, where they were assaulted with a variety of weapons. Many were severely wounded.

- 325 Jacob Skosana, a father of eight, was the only adult taken to Emagezini. Before the day's events, Skosana had not been active in the unrest. However, after rumours reached him that one of his daughters had been taken from school by the vigilantes, Skosana allegedly confronted various Imbokodo members about his daughter's whereabouts. That night he was abducted from his home by a group of men. Vlaklaagte youth leaders subsequently testified that they saw Skosana, already badly beaten, at Emagezini. Early the next morning, Skosana's dead body was dumped back in the yard of his home and surrounded by fire so that it could not be retrieved immediately by his family. When the body was recovered, it had allegedly been mutilated. News of the incident spread quickly through the village and eventually through all of KwaNdebele. Skosana's burial was the homeland's first political funeral.
- 326 Although officially limited to fifty mourners, Skosana's funeral drew thousands. When the police arrived, reportedly with SADF back-up, they ordered the assembled crowd to disperse immediately. Shortly thereafter, they fired tear gas, birdshot and rubber bullets at the mourners, creating panic in the crowd. Ms Sara Mthimunye (19) was run over by a bus whose driver had been overcome by the tear gas. Many others were injured in the mêlée. That night, comrades began burning the businesses of suspected Imbokodo members and MPs in the legislative assembly.
- 327 On 7 May 1986, PW Botha announced that KwaNdebele would take independence on 11 December 1986. When press reports reached KwaNdebele, residents approached the Ndzundza royal kraal and requested the king to call a public gathering with the KwaNdebele cabinet. The meeting was held on May 12 and was attended by an estimated 20 000 residents, the area's chiefs and two representatives of the homeland cabinet (who were advised to travel to the meeting in a Casspir). At the meeting, three demands were presented to the government representatives: the disbanding of Imbokodo; the cancellation of independence; the resignation of members of the KwaNdebele cabinet and legislative assembly for acting without a popular mandate. After the cabinet promised to prepare a response for a report-back meeting scheduled for May 14, the crowd dispersed peacefully.
- 328 The next day Jacob Skosana was buried in Vlaklaagte No.1. Late the same afternoon, the local magistrate, JN Theron, prohibited the report-back meeting at the royal kraal scheduled for the next day. A huge crowd assembled the follow-

ing morning nevertheless. Most of the estimated 25 000 that turned up were unaware of the magistrate's prohibitions. Commuters were stopped by youths at barricades on the Pretoria road and redirected to the royal kraal. Putco later reported that 'comrades' had commandeered its entire KwaNdebele fleet of some 300 buses. While the assembled crowds were still waiting for the KwaNdebele cabinet to arrive, security forces dispersed the meeting with tear-gas and rubber bullets fired from a hovering helicopter and several patrolling Casspirs. Participants have testified that no warnings or instructions were given to the crowd before the security forces acted. Chaos ensued. A careering bus, whose driver and passengers had jumped from the vehicle when it had filled with teargas, fatally struck a child in the street. The bodies of two other men were later found at the royal kraal.

- 329 In the midst of the confusion, a number of youths were abducted by Imbokodo members and taken to a makeshift detention camp in the Vaalbank area. Fifty-four youths were held there without food or water and were subjected to periodic assaults by their Imbokodo guards. Allegedly, the youths' stomachs were trampled on, their genitals squeezed in vice-grips and their feet burnt with hot coals. On May 19, one of the youths, Johannes Ramahlale, managed to escape and report the matter to the police, who raided the camp the next day and released the young 'comrades'.
- 330 In the days following the dispersed meeting at the royal kraal, conflict spread across KwaNdebele. 'Comrades', Imbokodo and security forces engaged in running skirmishes throughout the homeland. In addition to direct conflict, students, teachers and civil servants conducted successful stay-aways in the following weeks in protest of the cabinet's policies and the detention of various resistance leaders. The homeland remained a "no go" area until independence was cancelled some three months later.
- 331 Following the dispersal of the 14 May mass meeting and the attacks on Imbokodo members' properties that ensued, a virtual civil war spread across KwaNdebele. The Imbokodo responded to attacks on their members by organising counter-attacks on their former villagers. These retaliatory raids targeted especially the youth, whom the vigilantes blamed for the attacks carried out against their own properties. The attack on Tweefontein on 12 June typifies such raids. Witnesses have described how Imbokodo members travelled in convoy through the village, firing indiscriminately at youth they encountered. Four young men were killed in the 12 June attack alone.

- 332 As the conflict intensified over the next several months, KwaNdebele was irrevocably changed. A priest, Father Sean, recalled months of “rioting, burning and looting” in which one could “see shops and houses ablaze” daily. In one week in May alone, youth allegedly burnt a reported thirty-nine businesses, nine homes and nine vehicles, all of which belonged to suspected supporters of the KwaNdebele government. By the end of July, 70 per cent of the businesses in the homeland had been destroyed. One observer noted that virtually an entire class of traders had been liquidated. The few remaining businessmen openly co-operated with the ascendant youth organisations in order to ensure their continued survival. In practice, this often entailed giving away large amounts of stock in the hope of avoiding arson or widespread looting. As the conflict deepened and violence intensified, strong-arm tactics prevailed on all sides. Following mass abductions of youths, the Imbokodo allegedly engaged in torture sessions at Emagezini and at Klopper's Dam.
- 333 This period of cyclical attacks and counter-attacks introduced an important dynamic into the area's pattern of human rights violations. In short, the line between victims and perpetrators blurred, as comrades and vigilantes frequently assumed both roles. The youth, relentlessly pursued by the Imbokodo for months, initiated their own campaign against suspected vigilantes, frequently resulting in the most brutal of murders. For their part, vigilantes who had recently wielded immense power in their communities – including a *de facto* monopoly on force – were suddenly forced out of their homes in fear of their lives. Many of those who survived lost all of their worldly possessions in a matter of hours. Members of the cabinet, MPs in the legislative assembly and some of the wealthiest businessmen were forced to seek refuge in hastily constructed shanties in Verena. Overnight they had been exiled to the southern edge of a homeland they ostensibly still ruled.
- 334 As the Imbokodo relocated to Verena, daily confrontations between vigilantes and residents were replaced by more infrequent – but equally violent – raids and counter-attacks. One sequence of events in the southern Mkobola district of KwaNdebele highlights the prevailing dynamic.
- 335 On June 11, comrades carried out a planned attack on a Vlaklaagte business complex owned by Piet Ntuli, the notorious cabinet minister and vigilante leader. The comrades' raid appears to have been part of the ongoing attempt to rid the homeland of the Imbokodo. Although warned of the imminent attack by a local priest, at least one security guard was killed during the comrades' assault. Imbokodo retaliation was swift.

- 336 The day after the attack on Ntuli's shop, Imbokodo members raided Tweefontein, a large collection of villages in the Vlaklaagte area. Eyewitnesses have reported that the Imbokodo drove in convoy through the area, firing indiscriminately at youths running through the streets. At least four young men were fatally wounded. A number of residents were assaulted with sjamboks and *knobkieries*. Others were abducted and loaded onto a lorry accompanying the convoy.
- 337 Although "the burning" of KwaNdebele reached its peak in May and June 1986, violence and unrest continued. The KwaNdebele cabinet remained committed to the goals of incorporation and independence while the Ndzundza royal family and the Moutse chiefs had successfully marshalled popular resistance to such plans. Although embattled, the Imbokodo retained sufficient strength to intimidate and attack the government's opponents. The youth, for their part, had grown increasingly assertive, more effectively organised and much more violent in their approach. However, despite the control that comrades asserted in their immediate communities, they could not in fact overthrow the homeland government or "militarily" defeat the Imbokodo. The result was a bloody stalemate. At the end of July, South African security forces intervened in the conflict to alter the course of events dramatically with a single operation.
- 338 On 19 July 1986, members of the South African security forces assassinated Minister Piet Ntuli when a car bomb attached to his government vehicle was detonated on a Siyabuswa road. As Minister of Internal Affairs, Ntuli was known to personally issue business and taxi licenses, as well as citizenship cards. By selectively granting essential documents, Ntuli had carefully cultivated a constituency of businessmen and politicians personally indebted to him and dependent on his continued favour. Combined with his reputation as the "strongman" of the Imbokodo vigilantes, Ntuli was widely perceived as the real power within SS Skosana's cabinet and the driving force within the KwaNdebele government. Ntuli was a staunch supporter of both Moutse's incorporation into KwaNdebele and the drive for homeland independence. He also sponsored the casino proposal favoured by the KwaNdebele legislative assembly and was further tipped to succeed Skosana, already gravely ill with diabetes, as the first president of an independent KwaNdebele.
- 339 A number of security force operatives applied for amnesty for participation in or knowledge of the operation. These include: Brigadier Jack Cronjé (former divisional commander of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch); his subordinates Captain Jacques Hechter and Captain Jacob van Jaarsveld; Captain Chris Kendall

(Security Branch commander at Bronkhorstspuit); General Joep Joubert (commander general of SADF Special Forces); and Sergeant Deon Gouws and Warrant Officer Stephanus A Oosthuizen (both of the SAP uniform branch). In light of the fact that amnesty proceedings were ongoing at the time of reporting, it is not possible to discuss the actual operation in any great detail.

- 340 From the second half of 1986, the KwaNdebele Police (KNP) made extensive use of emergency regulations to detain a large number of KwaNdebele and Moutse residents. The Legal Resources Centre, which represented a number of detainees and closely monitored developments on the ground, has estimated that KwaNdebele at one stage had the highest detention *per capita* figure in the Republic. Even high-ranking officers in the SAP security branch objected to the detention practices of the KNP. For example, a security branch major who operated in KwaNdebele told the Parsons Commission that more than 2 000 residents had been detained in the homeland in the period August 1986 to 1989. Although he felt that unrest had almost completely dissipated after Ntuli's death, he noted with alarm the KNP's increasing use of emergency detentions. For example, the major reported that in mid-January 1988, the KNP had 191 emergency detainees still in custody, a figure exceeded only by two other police divisions in South Africa. Whether or not these specific assertions are accurate, it is certainly clear that emergency regulations were widely used by the KNP. It is equally apparent that detention provisions were frequently abused for political gain.
- 341 In KwaNdebele, two families have made statements regarding relatives who disappeared in strikingly similar circumstances. On February 11, 1987, Mr Jim Msebenzi Mahlangu, a 51-year-old headman, was detained by police at his home in Tweefontein. On 6 February 1987, Mr George Shabangu was arrested in Matchiding, allegedly in relation to an armed robbery, a claim that was not substantiated by any evidence placed before the Commission. Both individuals were subsequently reported to have escaped from custody (during this period, the police frequently used this explanation as a tactic to evade legal responsibility and accountability for deceased detainees). Over a decade later, neither has been seen or heard from again. Even their families have given up hope that they are still alive. No one applied for amnesty for either incident. Nevertheless, Commission investigations made some progress in unravelling the mysteries surrounding their disappearances and a report on one of the cases was sent to the Attorney-General for consideration. Both disappearances implicate the KwaNdebele Police in the probable death of detained activists.

Special Investigation into the death of President Samora Machel

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 On 19 October 1986, the Mozambican presidential aircraft, a Tupolev TU 134A-3 was returning from Zambia after the Lusaka Summit to be in time for Ms Graça Machel's birthday. President Samora Machel and twenty-four others died when the plane crashed in the mountainous terrain near Mbuzini near Komatipoort. The crash site is in the little triangle where the borders of Swaziland and Mozambique meet the South African border in the Lebombo Mountains.
- 2 The Margo Commission of Inquiry was established to investigate the crash and concluded that it had been caused by pilot error. A Soviet team also conducted an investigation into the incident, and concluded that a decoy beacon had caused the plane to stray off-course before it crashed into the mountains at Mbuzini.
- 3 This Commission's investigation into the matter did not find conclusive evidence to support either of these conclusions. Circumstantial evidence collected did, however, question the conclusions reached by the Margo Commission.

■ METHODOLOGY

- 4 All available evidence was collected and analysed by the Commission, including documents and interviews. Finally, an *in camera* hearing, in terms of section 29 of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act), was held at the Commission's offices in Cape Town and Johannesburg to enable commissioners to test the veracity of evidence presented by witnesses.
- 5 Witnesses at the hearings included:
 - Ms Graça Machel, the widow of President Samora Machel (and now the wife of President Mandela);

- Dr Abdul Minty, former honorary secretary of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and current deputy director general in the Department of Foreign Affairs;
 - Mr JNJ van Rensburg, attorney for the Margo Commission;
 - “Ben” (real name withheld to protect his identity), former Military Intelligence (MI) officer;
 - Major Craig Williamson, former South African security force spy;
 - Mr Anton Uys, former security police officer who headed the South African Police (SAP) investigation immediately after the crash;
 - “James” (real name withheld to protect his identity), former Koevoet member and subsequent MI officer.
- 6 The Commission’s Investigation Unit interviewed many others in an attempt to arrive at the truth.

■ INVESTIGATIVE FINDINGS

The context

- 7 A police video in the Commission’s possession shows South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha telling journalists at the crash site that President Samora Machel and others killed in the crash were his and President PW Botha’s very good friends, and that their deaths were therefore a tragedy for South Africa. However, cabinet minutes record that, for several months before the crash, tensions between South Africa and Mozambique were increasing.
- 8 Shortly before the crash, the Mozambican chief of staff accused the Malawi government of President Hastings Banda of assisting “South African surrogates” (RENAMO, the National Resistance Movement in Mozambique) to set up bases in Malawi, and of issuing travel documents to, amongst others, the RENAMO leader.
- 9 A month before the crash, President Machel confronted President Banda in the presence of his Zambian and Zimbabwean counterparts in an acrimonious exchange in Blantyre. President Banda was given an ultimatum to stop his activities or

Mozambique would close its borders with Malawi. After the meeting, President Machel called a news conference at Maputo airport, saying that he would place missiles along the border with Malawi and would not hesitate to launch a pre-emptive strike if necessary.

- 10 Following this, thousands of RENAMO troops left Malawi and entered northern Mozambique. An escalation of hostilities ensued, threatening to divide Mozambique in two.
- 11 In addition, weeks before the crash, six South Africans died in a landmine explosion on the border with Mozambique. South African Defence Minister Magnus Malan threatened President Machel openly for the first time – “he will clash head-on with South Africa” – and alleged that Mozambique had renewed its support for the African National Congress (ANC). This was followed by the termination of 58 000 Mozambican jobs in South Africa, a devastating blow to the fragile economy. South African military activity in Mozambique increased rapidly.
- 12 It is clear from cabinet minutes at this time that the South African government believed Mozambique to be on the verge of collapse.
- 13 On the night of the crash, President Machel was returning from the Lusaka Summit, which had focused on the liberation of the region.
- 14 After the crash, Foreign Minister Pik Botha alleged that the Lusaka Summit had plotted the overthrow the government of Malawi. No proof of this exists.
- 15 Further, the State Security Council (SSC) minutes from January 1984 indicate that the Mozambican working group, including General Jac Buchner and Major Craig Williamson, discussed how to help RENAMO overthrow the FRELIMO government (of Mozambique). Later in the same month, the SSC secretariat discussed RENAMO’s chances of success.
- 16 Ms Graça Machel told the Commission that she believed that the Malawi government had held a crisis meeting in February 1984 – after President Machel had threatened to close off Malawi’s access to the sea if that country did not cease its aid to RENAMO. The possibility of assassinating Machel was allegedly discussed. According to Ms Machel, who gave moving testimony, this proposal was later put to President Banda. The following week, Banda dispatched his senior officers to South Africa for a meeting with President PW Botha, who sent back a message of solidarity.

- 17 A South African delegation headed by Defence Minister Magnus Malan travelled to Malawi and met with President Banda.
- 18 Ms Machel believed that the meeting discussed the formation of a special team to monitor the Mozambican president and to recruit senior Mozambican officials to co-operate with them. They allegedly even discussed the recruitment of an official at the Mozambican control tower.
- 19 A Zambian pilot, Mr Frankeson Zgambo, was recruited and trained by Major Craig Williamson to gather information about President Machel. Major Williamson admitted to this, but insisted that he knew nothing of a plot to assassinate the President.
- 20 There is no doubt that President Machel was under enormous pressure at the time of his death, not least because of divisions in his own party. Ms Graça Machel confirmed previous attempts on his life, attacks on his residences and attempts by South Africa to attack the Mozambican capital. He was also engaged in a radical restructuring of both his cabinet and the military, which could have upset a number of high-ranking Mozambicans.

The crash

- 21 Of the thirty-four people on board the presidential aircraft at the time of the crash, only nine survived.
- 22 One of the survivors walked to a nearby house to ask for help. Arriving back at the scene, he found security force officers already there. Others who arrived to assist, including a nurse, told the Commission that they were chased from the site. They also reported that the security force officers were seen rummaging through the wreckage and confiscating documents. Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Mr Niel Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service, admitted that documents had been removed from the scene for copying.
- 23 Mozambique was informed about the incident only a full nine hours after it happened, after a massive land and sea search. The Commission heard evidence that the Mozambican Minister of Security contacted the South African security forces as soon as the Mozambican authorities realised the plane was missing. They were not informed about the accident.

The Margo enquiry

- 24 The day after the crash, Mozambique and South Africa agreed that an international board of enquiry should be established with the participation of the International Civil Aviation Organisation. According to the Chicago Convention, South Africa, as the state on whose territory the crash had occurred, would head up the investigation. South Africa was, however, obliged to work in partnership with the state of ownership (Mozambique) and the state of manufacture (the Soviet Union). These countries were not, however, taken on as equal partners, and withdrew their participation after the initial stages.
- 25 The investigation was delayed for several weeks by General Lothar Neethling's refusal to hand over the cockpit voice recorder (the black box), which he had seized at the scene of the crash. Colonel Des Lynch, who headed the police investigation, told the Commission that it took a letter from a lawyer to persuade Neethling to release the box to the investigators.
- 26 The Margo Commission of Enquiry concluded that the aircraft had been airworthy and fully serviced and that there was no evidence of sabotage or outside interference. The board:

unanimously determined that the cause of the accident was that the flight crew failed to follow procedural requirements for an instrument let-down approach, but continued to descend under visual flight rules in darkness and some cloud without having contact with the minimum safe altitude and minimum assigned altitude, and in addition ignored the Ground Warning Proximity alarm.

- 27 The Soviet delegation issued a minority report, which stated that, their expertise and experience had been undermined. They advanced the theory of a false beacon, although Mr Justice Margo denied in his report that this charge was formally laid before the board.
- 28 The Soviet report focused on the 37 degrees' right turn that led the plane into the hills of Mbuzini. It rejected the finding of the Margo Commission, saying that the crew had read the ground proximity warning as false since they believed themselves to be in flat terrain as they approached landing.
- 29 A former television journalist who was allowed to attend the on-site investigations by the joint Soviet, Mozambican and South African team told the Commission

that the television crew was approached on the first afternoon by an investigator of the Directorate of Civil Aviation who was holding a device the size of a pound of butter. The investigator informed the television crew that this could have been a frequency scrambler.

- 30 During the Margo enquiry, members of the Margo enquiry team told a journalist that the device had been found to be harmless. However, an expert on mobile beacons told the Commission that the device could have decoded the aeroplane's signal, locked onto it and been used to interfere in the direction of the aircraft.

The VOR beacon

- 31 The report of the Margo enquiry includes a reference to the fatal turn made by the aircraft, stating that it was following the signals of a VOR (very high frequency omnidirectional radio) which was not that of Maputo. Mr Justice Margo argued that the beacon at Matsapa airport in Swaziland, which had a similar code, might have led the plane astray.
- 32 The Commission received information that the Matsapa airport company, SASEA, had been run by a well-known alleged member of the Italian Mafia with close links to the South African security establishment. Intelligence reports provided by the National Intelligence Agency show that airport control in Maputo had fallen into the same hands. Control over the Matsapa airport and the Maputo control tower would have been essential to the success of a decoy beacon.
- 33 A South African Airways (SAA) signal expert, Mr Paul Gelpin, was emphatic that "the only way that a rogue beacon could have worked was if there was an accomplice at the Maputo VOR who switched it off for the critical period of the plot". This possibility is strengthened by allegations that Mr Cornelio Vasco Cumbe (alias Roberto Santos Macuacua), who worked at the control tower at Maputo airport, had been recruited by the South African security forces. Moreover, Dr Abdul Minty revealed that the tapes at the Maputo airport had been lost.
- 34 Regarding the existence of a mobile decoy beacon, a South African Air Force flight sergeant, who was at 4AD Snake Valley near Pretoria during 1986 told the Commission that he had seen a friend building such a beacon in the month before the crash. He described the assembly and workings and provided technical sketches and background to illustrate the beacon's appearance and operation. It had left the base with its builder during the weekend of the crash and was returned the following week.

- 35 The flight sergeant testified that such a beacon could have been used to divert and bring down a plane. The Commission was given the name of the person who built the beacon and the person who gave the orders for it to be built.
- 36 Two pilots flying in the area that night have said the Maputo signal came on unusually early.
- 37 In August 1998, the Commission was given the name of a person who is alleged to have erected a decoy beacon on the side of the mountain at Mbuzini. The end of the lifespan of the Commission's Human Rights Violations Committee at the end of August 1998 prevented the investigators from corroborating this information.
- 38 Investigations also revealed that, had there not been an intention to bring the aircraft down, the South African authorities could have prevented the incident, or at least ensured fewer casualties. There is no doubt that the South African authorities had the ability to monitor the aircraft. According to Dr Minty, the head of the South African Air Force responded to an article he wrote for Amnesty International Monitor shortly after the crash, acknowledging that the air force had in fact monitored the aircraft that night.
- 39 Although the plane entered a military and operational zone (a "special restricted airspace") which was under twenty-four hour radar surveillance by a highly sophisticated Plessey system, no warning was given that the plane was off-course and in South African airspace, nor was preventive action taken. A member of the Mozambican investigating team told the Commission:

I think it is reasonable to assume that they (the South Africans) saw the flight diverting from its normal path, going towards the crash site. And I also think that it's reasonable to say that they failed all the basic norms and regulations of international aviation. Because they failed to warn the crew about the mistake which was being made.

The South African security forces

- 40 A large number of South African Special Forces troops converged in the area of Komatipoort/Mbuzini on the night of the crash.
- 41 "Ben" a former MI officer, testified at the section 29 enquiry in Cape Town that he had been based at Skwamans, a secret security police base shared with MI

operatives halfway between Mbuzini and Komatipoort, at the time of the incident. He claims that a number of high-ranking security force officials converged on Skwamans for a meeting and a *braai* the day before the crash. They left late that night in a small plane and some returned after the crash had taken place. In a sworn statement, he provided the names of General Kat Liebenberg, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, General van der Westhuizen of Military Intelligence (MI) and about fifteen others, mostly from Eastern Transvaal Command and Group 33.

- 42 Also present was the Eastern Transvaal MI head, Captain Wayne Lelly, who headed up another secret base, Sub-station 4, which overlooked the mountain where the plane first hit. This base was opened a year before the crash and, according to "Ben", was used by MI to interrogate cadres. "Ben" alleges that some of the operatives went to Sub-station 4 "at the crack of dawn" on the day of the crash. He also forwarded the names of some *askaris* and five reconnaissance force members.
- 43 Captain Lelly now lives in Mozambique and has confirmed his presence on the scene, but claims it was for another operation.
- 44 An independent source confirmed to a Gauteng investigator that Skwamans was closed shortly after the crash. Several other sources confirmed the presence and involvement of Captain Lelly and an MI planning commander.
- 45 Many other security force members confirmed to the Commission that there had been a strong presence of police and military personnel in the area at the time of the incident.

The wreckage

- 46 The Commission attempted to track down the scattered pieces of wreckage of the plane. It was decided that the Commission would assist the Department of Arts and Culture, Science and Technology in its effort to collect the pieces as part of their planned memorial for Mbuzini.
- 47 The main pieces of wreckage are still at Tonga police station, where they were taken after the investigation. Some pieces found their way to a game farm. The rest of the wreckage is at a scrap yard in Witrivier.

■ CONCLUSION

- 48 The investigations conducted by the Commission raised a number of questions, including the possibility of a false beacon and the absence of a warning from the South African authorities. The matter requires further investigation by an appropriate structure.

Special Investigation into the *Helderberg* Crash

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 On 28 October 1987, the SAA *Helderberg*, a Boeing 747, crashed into the sea off the coast of Mauritius. All 159 people on board died. Almost immediately after the incident, allegations of foul play were made. A year later, in January 1989, the South African government established a commission of enquiry headed by Justice Cecil Margo to determine the cause of the crash.
- 2 The Margo Commission found that the crash was caused by a fire on board, but that the cause of the fire was undetermined. Many people rejected this finding, including investigative journalists who insisted that there were strong indications that the fire was caused by dangerous substances on board. Allegations were made that South African Airways (SAA) passenger flights were used to courier arms components and explosives in sanctions-busting activities by the parastatal Armscor.
- 3 Whilst no hard evidence was provided to back these claims, journalists continued to find circumstantial evidence to suggest that the *Helderberg* could have been carrying such dangerous substances, and that these might have caused the fire on board, leading to the crash.
- 4 Former SAA employees came forward, often anonymously, to support the allegation that it was not unusual for passenger flights to carry dubious parcels destined, they presumed, for Armscor. Moreover, members of the Flight Engineers Association indicated that the Margo Commission had overlooked important information when investigating the incident. There were allegations of cover-ups by the Margo Commission and experts suggested that the fire might have been "self-promoted" (with a self-generated oxygen source).
- 5 The allegations of a cover-up and uncertainty about the cause of the fire prevented families of victims from putting the matter to rest. Individual submissions were made to this Commission by Mr Peter Wills, twin brother of John Wills

who was killed in the crash, Mr Rod Cramb, brother of a crew member; Mr Pieter Strijdom, whose wife died on board; and Ms Michelline Daniels, who lost her brother. The Commission also received a submission from Friends of the Victims of the *Helderberg*, urging the Commission to find the cause of the destruction of the plane.

- 6 The Commission began an investigation in late 1997 despite the fact that it was unclear whether the crash was politically motivated, a criterion for an enquiry by the Commission. Although extensive enquiries were conducted and circumstantial evidence collected, the Commission was unable to determine the cause of the fire. It is hoped, however, that the Commission's efforts will assist any future investigations into the matter.

■ METHODOLOGY

- 7 An enormous amount of documentation about the incident was made available to the Commission by an investigative journalist. Documents included cargo manifests, submissions to the Margo Commission, newspaper reports, reports by independent scientists and engineers and a report by the Flight Engineers Association, amongst others.

- 8 Investigators analysed the documentation and identified individuals who could provide additional information to the Commission. These included families of victims and former SAA employees. Once these individuals had been interviewed, the Commission decided to approach a further group of people. Many of these represented the interests of the implicated parties, such as SAA and Armscor. It was decided that the Commission should utilise its section 29 powers to hold an *in camera* investigative enquiry to canvass the views of these people. This would provide them with an opportunity to answer questions in the presence of their legal representatives and would enable a panel of Commissioners to evaluate the information gained at first hand. The following people appeared as witnesses at the hearing:

- Mr Joseph Braizblatt, SAA cargo manager at Ben Gurion airport, Tel Aviv, Israel;
- Dr David Klatzow, an independent forensic scientist;
- Mr Richard Steyl, an Armscor employee in the shipping department;
- Dr J Steyn, a former Armscor employee and MD of Altech Electronic Systems, which had two loads of cargo on the *Helderberg*;

- Mr John David Hare, a former Armscor employee who joined SAA;
 - Mr Brian Watching, a former SAA employee;
 - Mr Tinie Willemse, a lawyer who was chief director: international relations of SAA at the time of the incident;
 - Mr Gerrit Dirk van der Veer, chief executive officer of SAA at the time of the incident;
 - Mr Thinus Jacobs, manager of SAA in Taipei between 1987 and 1991;
 - Mr Mickey Mitchell, chief of operations for SAA at Jan Smuts (incorporating Springbok Radio Tower) at the time of the incident;
 - Dr André Buys, Armscor general manager: planning.
- 9 Others who were interviewed included:
- Mr Japie Smit, director of civil aviation;
 - Mr Leslie Stokoe, an expert on dangerous goods;
 - Mr Vernon Nadel, duty officer at the Springbok Radio centre on the night of the incident;
 - Mr Rennie van Zyl, current chief director of civil aviation;
 - Mr Jimmy Mouton, SAA flight engineer and friend of the flight engineer killed in the crash.

■ **INVESTIGATIVE RESULTS**

The cause of the fire

- 10 Nothing in the cargo inventory could have resulted in a "self- promoted" fire. However, the original cargo manifests were not part of the record of the Margo Commission, and it is uncertain whether those in the possession of the Commission are authentic. There is therefore no reliable list of what cargo was being transported by the *Helderberg* when it crashed.
- 11 It was suggested to the Commission that Armscor may have had a goods consignment on the *Helderberg* that could have been responsible for causing the fire. Armscor conducted an internal investigation after the incident and denies having had any items on the flight.

- 12 The Commission believed that two Armscor employees from the company Somchem, which was producing rockets and missiles during the apartheid years, could provide important information. Armscor could not assist the Commission in locating either Dr JJ Dekker, who was the MD of Somchem, or Mr François Humphries, who was procurement officer at the time.
- 13 Interviews with SAA pilots indicated that there was a belief amongst pilots that passenger flights were frequently used to transport armaments and components for Armscor.

The timing of the fire

- 14 Much time has been spent attempting to determine the exact time the fire broke out. The conclusion reached by the Margo Commission was that the fire started just before the descent to land in Mauritius.
- 15 This conclusion is questionable because of the fact that there is no overlap between the conversation of the cockpit voice recorder (CVR, commonly known as the black box) and the conversations between the *Helderberg* and Mauritius air control an hour before the crash and again four minutes before the crash. This could indicate that the CVR stopped recording before the descent for landing, and the recorded conversation could therefore have taken place at any time on the nine-hour flight from Taipei.
- 16 The conversation on the CVR was analysed by the Flight Engineers Association, which concluded that the discussion was likely to have taken place within three hours of the flight leaving Taipei. This would indicate that something stopped the recording at this early stage of the flight. The flight engineers presented the Margo Commission with a submission indicating that they believed there had been two fires on board.
- 17 The Margo Commission ruled most of the CVR recording inadmissible because it was irrelevant and too personal. Analysts have argued that this decision by Justice Margo prevented his commission from accurately placing the conversation and may therefore have led to incorrect conclusions.
- 18 The theory of two fires on board was impossible to test adequately, since the recording of the conversations between the *Helderberg* and South African air traffic control went missing shortly after the incident and was never recovered.

In a letter to the Commission, a United States marine said that the CIA had a recording of this conversation. The Commission wrote to the director of the CIA asking him to confirm this and to make a copy available. No response was received.

The fire

- 19 The Margo Commission did not find a cause for the fire on board the *Helderberg*, but said that it might have been caused by "ordinary packaging material". This Commission's investigation indicates that ordinary packaging material is unlikely to have been the cause, for the following reasons:
- The fire was contained, and burnt fiercely at a high temperature.
 - A packaging material fire causes a great deal of smoke, which would have set off the smoke alarms before the fire threatened the structure of the plane. The indications are that the smoke detectors were not activated until the fire had reached dangerous proportions.
 - A promoted fire could reach very high temperatures (far in excess of 1000 degrees Celsius) without setting off smoke alarms.
 - A promoted fire could cause packaging materials to catch alight if they were to be exposed to the flames.
- 20 The possibility of a "self-promoted" fire is raised in a submission to the Margo Commission by Mr Greg Southeard, a chemist working for Burgoyne and Partners of the United Kingdom. Southeard indicated that he believed that the fire could have been caused by an incendiary device or a hazardous substance.
- 21 The director of civil aviation, Mr Japie Smit, told this Commission that most of such fires the world over are caused by illegal substances on board, and said that, when they simulated the fire, they were unable to put it out without the assistance of the fire brigade.
- 22 A letter from a Somchem employee to a journalist working on the matter stated that:

South Africa's ammonium perchlorate (APC) production facility was set up in the 1970s at Somchem. Around the time of the Helderberg crash, South Africa was involved in military operations in Angola, Namibia and on the home front. The operational demand for solid rocket fuels was high. Somchem was not keeping up with the demand. A decision was made to double the capacity. This involved shutting down the plant for the duration of the extensions.

Because of the ongoing demand, it was impossible to stockpile APC prior to the shutdown. Obviously a large quantity of APC had to be sourced outside the country for a period of several months in defiance of prevailing military sanctions. This was difficult and expensive, and I believe that initially the necessary APC was sourced from America and that it was brought in on SAA passenger planes as an integral part of the necessary deception (Commission's summary).

- 23 Ammonium perchlorate is used mainly in military Class One applications, and as such is forbidden on all aircraft. Class Five, for commercial/technical application, could be carried by air in limited quantities depending on the type of aircraft (passenger or cargo) and packaging instruction. Supplier countries include the United States, China, Japan and France.

The investigation

- 24 Questions raised throughout the investigation process indicated that the investigators of the Margo Commission had not followed correct procedures. The matters raised are summarised in the finding below.

■ CONCLUSION

- 25 This Commission's investigation into the *Helderberg* crash raised significant questions about the incident itself as well as the subsequent investigations that were conducted.
- 26 The matter is still under investigation by the special investigation team of the Gauteng Attorney-General.

THIS COMMISSION'S INVESTIGATION INTO THE CRASH OF THE *HELDERBERG* ON 28 OCTOBER 1987 SHOWED THAT MANY QUESTIONS AND CONCERNS REMAIN UNANSWERED, INCLUDING THE FOLLOWING:

- THE DIRECTOR OF CIVIL AVIATION (DCA) NEGLECTED TO SECURE ALL DOCUMENTATION AND RECORDINGS AS REQUIRED BY THE FLIGHT ENGINEERS ASSOCIATION [FEA] REGULATIONS: THE CARGO MANIFESTS WERE MISSING.
- MR JIMMY MOUTON OF THE FEA ALLEGES THAT THE FEA WAS REQUESTED BY THE LAWYER ACTING FOR THE DCA, AS WELL AS BY JUSTICE MARGO HIMSELF AT A LATER STAGE, TO WITHDRAW ITS SUBMISSION INDICATING THAT THERE MAY HAVE BEEN TWO FIRES ON BOARD.

- THE TAPE WHICH WOULD HAVE RECORDED CONTACT BETWEEN THE *HELDERBERG* AND SPRINGBOK RADIO CONTROL REMAINS MISSING.
- EYEWITNESSES OF THE CRASH WERE NOT CALLED TO GIVE EVIDENCE BEFORE THE MARGO COMMISSION.
- THE MARGO COMMISSION DID NOT CALL MEMBERS OF ARMSCOR TO GIVE EVIDENCE.

27 It is clear that further investigation is necessary before this matter can be laid to rest.

Special Investigation into Project Coast

SOUTH AFRICA'S CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE PROGRAMME

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The Commission's hearings into South Africa's Chemical and Biological Warfare programme (the CBW programme, also known as *Project Coast*) during the 1980s and early 1990s, were held in Cape Town in June and July 1998. The hearings focused on the apparently offensive (as opposed to defensive) aspects of the programme. The image of white-coated scientists, professors, doctors, dentists, veterinarians, laboratories, universities and front companies, propping up apartheid with the support of an extensive international network, was a particularly cynical and chilling one. Here was evidence of science being subverted to cause disease and undermine the health of communities. Cholera, botulism, anthrax, chemical poisoning and the large-scale manufacture of drugs of abuse, allegedly for purposes of crowd control, were amongst the projects of the programme. Moreover, chemicals, poisons and lethal micro-organisms were produced for use against individuals, and 'applicators' (murder weapons) developed for their administration.
- 2 The CBW programme, which was developed and supported by scientists, health professionals, research laboratories and front companies, fell under the nominal control of the surgeon-general of the armed forces. Ostensibly designed and conducted to support a 'defensive capability' in response to perceived external threats and international developments, the CBW programme displayed numerous bizarre aberrations of policy, management and intent. Overall approval and budget control lay with a central management committee which included the chief of staff of the defence force, the chief of staff of intelligence, the surgeon general as project manager and the project leader, Dr Wouter Basson. It became clear at the hearing that the overall command by the surgeon general and his colleagues on the co-ordinating committee was either ignored, or alternatively that they themselves were complicit in the programme's criminal aberrations.

- 3 One of the curious aspects of the CBW programme was the high level of respect it enjoyed with the military and the government of the day. The facts, as they emerged in the Commission's hearings, show that this respect was misplaced. The scientific research undertaken by the project was pedestrian, misdirected, ineffectual and unproductive. It was also exorbitantly expensive, costing the nation tens if not hundreds of millions of rands. Moreover, the evidence that emerged at the Commission's hearings demonstrates that it resulted in the substantial self-enrichment of several of the individuals involved.
- 4 The investigation began with a single amnesty application, a small number of confiscated technical documents relating to the programme and documentation from the Commission's Research Department. It expanded into a comprehensive exposé, based on more than 150 documents, *affidavits*, amnesty applications and interviews. The results provide a basis for further investigation of the individuals involved and their apparently unprofessional and criminal activities. They also ensure that such aberrations in national policy and individual behaviour are chronicled and prevented from happening again. In this regard, there may also be lessons for the international community.

■ METHODOLOGY

- 5 The Commission's exploration of the South African Defence Force (SADF) chemical and biological warfare programme began in 1996 with a top secret briefing by Mr Mike Kennedy of the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) and the surgeon general, Dr DP Knobel, to a select group of Commission officials who had received security clearance from the NIA. The gist of the briefing was that although South Africa had had a CBW capability in the past, it had been defensive in nature and had subsequently been dismantled.
- 6 After this briefing, the Research Department began to look at the background to the programme and its implications, relying on the information that was available. This included press clippings, a few intelligence reports and some information gathered by Mr Claus De Jonge who was asked to look at the programme in Europe. The Research Department then drew up a list of anti-apartheid activists who had been the target of poisonings or suspected poisonings (for example, the attempted assassination of the Reverend Frank Chikane in 1989). This led the Commission to conclude that toxins may have been used by the security forces in their war against the 'total onslaught', a conclusion later corroborated by former operatives of the SADF.

- 7 The arrest of Dr Basson and the seizure of four trunks containing documents related to *Project Coast* in January 1997 provided the Commission with proof that there was more to the programme than had initially met the eye. The Commission was one of four interested groups with access to the trunks, the other three being the Office for Serious Economic Offences, the Gauteng Attorney-General's Special Investigation Team and the NIA. An agreement was struck between the parties that the Commission would have unhindered access to the information in the trunks.
- 8 In 1997, the Commission decided to call the project officer, Dr Basson, for a section 29 *in camera* hearing, in an attempt to glean more information about the programme and its relation to human rights abuses. Before the *subpoena* could be enforced, the Commission was approached by the Attorney-General and the NIA. The Commission was persuaded that enforcing the *subpoena* could be detrimental to the case that the Attorney-General was building against Dr Basson, and that it could jeopardise state security. The Commission was requested to hold a meeting with the Deputy President, which would be organised by the NIA, to discuss these matters. The Commission agreed and Dr Basson was informed that he would not be required to appear before an investigative hearing at that stage.
- 9 A series of meetings between the Commission and the NIA took place but no meeting with the Deputy President was forthcoming. The Commission issued a second *subpoena* to Dr Basson in February 1997. Again, the NIA intervened and the Commission agreed not to enforce the *subpoena* until it had consulted with the necessary parties.
- 10 By August 1997, two related amnesty applications had been identified. The Commission could no longer postpone its investigation into the CBW programme. It had become clear that investigating only the two amnesty applications and not the operations of the programme in general would represent a neglect of the Commission's duty to uncover the truth.
- 11 It was therefore agreed that an in-depth investigation would be conducted, starting in February 1998. At that stage there were only four months remaining before the Commission would have to conclude all its investigative work.
- 12 Discussions with the office of the Attorney-General again revealed a concern that the Commission's investigation would have a negative impact on its prosecution of Dr Basson. It was clear that an overlap between the two investigations could not be avoided. The group of scientists with information about the programme

was small and the amount of information available consequently limited. Although the Commission assured the Attorney-General on a number of occasions that it did not intend to damage his case in any way, progress was slow and at no stage was information shared between the two offices. The NIA continued to share the concerns of the Attorney-General and had additional concerns that it believed to be even more serious. This made for a slow and painful beginning to the investigation, requiring more negotiation than investigation.

- 13 The Office for Serious Economic Offences was, however, very helpful. Although it expressed doubts about the Commission's ability to complete an investigation of such magnitude in so short a period of time, it provided enough information and assistance to guide the Commission in the right direction. Access to documents from the trunks also proved vital to the Commission's case.
- 14 The first real investigative steps involved setting up a number interviews with a wide range of people. In order to make a start, a core group of important individuals was identified. During a series of debriefings with this group and an examination of the vast and confusing evidence that was being gathered, the true complexity of the programme began to emerge. It was soon realised that the limited scientific knowledge available in the Commission was simply not sufficient to help it understand the implications of the research documents from Roodeplaar Research Laboratories and Delta G Scientific. It also became clear that the focus of the investigations would have to be restricted considerably, since time was at a premium and the subject matter was vast.
- 15 Professor Peter Folb, head of the Pharmacology Department at the University of Cape Town, was approached and agreed to provide the Commission with assistance. With his expert help, the Commission was able to decipher the relevant documents and begin to develop a complete picture of the bizarre type of science that was conducted by these military front companies.
- 16 A computer database of all documents relevant to the investigation was developed and the Commission continued to conduct interviews with scientists and others involved in the programme. It was clear that the hearing (planned for 8 to 12 June 1998) would not be able to touch on all aspects of the investigation. It was decided, therefore, in discussion with the legal officer of the Commission and the commissioners, that the focus of the hearing should be further limited. The potential witness list was also re-examined and a final, shortened list decided upon.

- 17 Two weeks before the hearing was due to take place, government, in the person of the Deputy Minister of Defence, requested a meeting with the Commission to discuss the sensitivity of the hearing. A series of meetings with high level government representatives, including the offices of the President, the Deputy President, the Minister of Defence, the NIA and the South African Council for the Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction ensued. It became clear that there were two reasons for the government's concern about a public hearing. First, that it could violate international obligations in relation to the international proliferation of chemical and biological weapons; and second, that it could jeopardise international relations with countries which may have assisted the programme but with whom South Africa continues to have diplomatic relations. This culminated in a representation by government that the hearing be held *in camera*, a suggestion that was declined. However, provision was made for the presence of a legal representative on behalf of government to ensure that no information was released that could lead to proliferation.

■ RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION

Individual poisonings

- 18 The discovery of a document which has become known as the '*Verkope lys*' (sales list) and a list of SADF sponsored ('hard') projects conducted at Roodeplaat Research Laboratories provided the Commission with a clear indication that there was an intent to poison individuals, and that the front company, Roodeplaat Research Laboratories, was involved in the development of the toxins used for this purpose. The list, found amongst the documents seized at the time of Dr Basson's arrest, was authored by Dr André Immelman, head researcher on SADF projects at Roodeplaat Research Laboratories. Dr Immelman provided the Commission with an *affidavit* that confirms that he authored the list at a time when he had been required, at Dr Basson's request, to provide a group of individuals with the toxins. The items on the list include anthrax in cigarettes, botulinum in milk and paraoxon in whiskey — in the Commission's view clearly murder weapons. This was, indeed, conceded by witnesses at the hearing and Dr Knobel went so far as to say that, in his view, such a list could not form part of a legitimate defensive programme. The inclusion of a baboon foetus on the list, dated late July 1989 (just prior to such a foetus being found in the garden of Archbishop Tutu's house), as well as a reference to chemical and biological operatives, indicated that the items may well have found their way, directly or indirectly, into the hands of operatives of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

- 19 Discussions with members of the CCB indicated that operatives were not necessarily aware of the existence of a CBW programme. They were, however, aware of the capacity of the SADF doctors to provide them with toxins. This was corroborated by a member of the Directorate of Covert Collection who explained to investigators that there was an understanding in their unit that they could get toxins from Dr Basson.

Street drugs

- 20 Documents seized at the time of Dr Basson's arrest indicated that the front company, Delta G Scientific, was involved in the manufacture of significant quantities of methaqualone (mandrax) and ecstasy, and was also involved in researching the possibility of using street drugs for crowd control purposes. This was corroborated at the hearing.
- 21 It was also established that approximately 1 000kg of ecstasy was manufactured in 1992 and was, in all likelihood, encapsulated by Medchem Pharmaceuticals, a subsidiary of the holding company Medchem Consolidated Investments, under which Delta G Scientific also fell. The production manager at Delta G Scientific informed investigators that he had been approached in 1988 by the managing director of the company, Dr Philip Mijburgh, and asked to produce 1 000kg of methaqualone. It is not certain whether this was also encapsulated, but it seems likely. The explanation given by witnesses was that the intention was to use it for crowd control purposes. General Lothar Neethling told the Commission during the hearing that, on three occasions, he had been requested to provide Dr Basson with mandrax tablets confiscated by the South African Narcotics Bureau (SANAB). He claimed that he had given Dr Basson approximately 200 000 tablets in total as well as quantities of LSD and dagga, on the understanding that they would be investigated to determine whether they would be appropriate crowd control weapons. None of the witnesses could provide the Commission with any information about tests that had been conducted in this regard and at least one witness stated that these drugs would not be suitable for such a purpose.
- 22 In August 1988, Delta G Scientific began producing 1 000kg of methaqualone. From the documentation provided by DrKnobel, it seems that tests were carried out on methaqualone as an incapacitant in 1988, and that it was established that it was not effective since it did not take effect immediately. As a result, work on methaqualone stopped at the end of 1988 but work on methaqualone analogues continued. What happened to the 1 000 kg of methaqualone has still not been established. Moreover, at the end of 1991, the Co-ordinating Management

Committee of *Project Coast* saw fit to send Dr Basson to Croatia to close a deal with renegade Croatians (including high-ranking government officials) for the purchase of 500kg of methaqualone, which was brought back to South Africa.

- 23 A year later, this was allegedly destroyed after an order that work on all incapacitants should cease. The deal in Croatia was in itself extremely questionable, leading to a loss of millions of rands. Dr Basson intercepted Vatican bearer bonds to the value of \$40 million that had been intended for the purchase of weapons by the Croatian government, leading to his arrest in Switzerland. Why the military was importing such large quantities of methaqualone at such high cost at this late stage of negotiations is not clear and was not adequately answered by Dr Knobel or Dr Basson. The documents also cast doubt on whether these substances were in fact destroyed on 27 January 1993, as alleged.
- 24 Investigations could not trace the drugs produced at Delta G directly to the street. However, Dr Basson was arrested with quantities of ecstasy and mandrax tablets in his possession, and the Steyn report indicates that Dr Basson allegedly offered an operative mandrax tablets in return for an operation. The Commission has a strong suspicion that drugs obtained during the course of this programme may well have found their way onto the streets.

Mozambican incident

- 25 In January 1992, FRELIMO troops conducted an operation near the South African border. During the course of the operation, they were allegedly exposed to what was thought to have been a chemical agent. Some of the soldiers died during the incident and others required hospitalisation.
- 26 A submission by General Pierre Steyn stated that an attack was launched from Komatipoort by South Africans as a training exercise. Investigators were unable to determine the accuracy of this information as use of the Komatipoort airstrip is not regulated.
- 27 After the incident, a series of investigations were conducted by scientific teams from South Africa, Mozambique, Switzerland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The reports were inconclusive. The only report that expressed a belief that the troops had been exposed to a chemical agent was that of the British scientist. A United Nations investigation was launched and was also unable to come to any firm conclusions.

- 28 Dr Brian Davy, who had been the head of the South African investigating team, spoke to Professor Peter Folb during the course of the Commission investigation and was unable to provide any further information. Attempts to meet with the British scientist failed. Attempts were also made to access the medical records of the soldiers involved. However, the Mozambican authorities failed to respond to Commission's requests for information. Investigators met with Dr Staub, a member of both the Swiss and the United Nations investigating team. He told them that he believed that the troops had suffered dehydration and had not been the victims of a chemical attack. This explanation struck the Commission's investigation unit as unlikely.
- 29 Investigators also met with Dr Vernon Joynt of Mechem, which could have manufactured the carrier for such a weapon. This interview did not provide any new information of significance.
- 30 Unfortunately, the matter remains unresolved.

International links and support

- 31 Documents in the Commission's possession indicate that Dr Basson travelled extensively to collect information during the initial phase of the CBW programme. He visited Taiwan where he was shown their CBW facilities and provided with significant information, and also attended a conference at San Antonio in the United States in the early 1980s. Documents indicate that, during the apartheid years, members of the SADF visited Israel and West Germany to share information about CBW matters and there was clearly a link with Belgian nationals and companies. Other documents reveal links between the surgeon general and Americans who were part of the United States CBW programme, and demonstrate their willingness to assist the South Africans.
- 32 Dr Basson and other members of the programme travelled extensively. Their links with sanctions busters and other people prepared to assist the South African CBW programme, both officially and unofficially, cannot be doubted. Dr Basson's trips to Croatia during the 1992/3 period indicate that he had a number of contacts throughout the world who could provide assistance in one way or another.
- 33 By the end of 1993, the United States and British governments approached the South African government to express concern about the programme. The motives for the meetings between these two governments and the South Africans are

unclear. At the hearing, both Dr Basson and Dr Knobel alleged that the British and Americans had informed them that they did not want the programme to fall into the hands of the ANC government after the election in April 1994. Dr Basson visited the US in 1981 and Dr Knobel had contact with scientists who were part of the American CBW programme much later; the existence of a South African programme was no secret to the Americans or the British. A further indication of such a relationship is a visit by Dr Brian Davey, a medical doctor and former member of the South African Medical Services (SAMS), to Porten Down in 1992, after the alleged attack on Mozambican forces (see above).

- 34 The role of foreign governments in supporting the South African programme is not yet clear. It cannot however be doubted that, without some level of foreign assistance, this programme would not have been possible.

■ FINANCIAL MISMANAGEMENT

- 35 There is evidence of large-scale fraud and mismanagement of funds of the CBW programme, which is the subject of an extensive investigation by the Office for Serious Economic Offences (OSEO). The Attorney-General provided the Commission with an interim charge sheet that reveals an intention to charge Dr Basson with fraud amounting to R50 million. Because fraud and theft of funds do not form part of the Commission's mandate, and because this is the subject of an investigation by the OSEO, the Commission did not extensively investigate this aspect. It did, however, become clear in the course of our investigations and through evidence given at the hearing that the programme was fraught with financial irregularities.

■ INSTITUTIONAL AND STRUCTURAL ASPECTS OF THE CBW PROGRAMME

Military

- 36 A management committee (beheer Komitee) was established to oversee the management of the CBW programme. It included the chief of the SADF, chief of staff finances, head of counter-intelligence, chief of staff intelligence, the surgeon-general and the project officer (Dr Basson). The management committee had three working groups: a technical working group, a security group and a group responsible for administration and finances. According to documents provided by Dr Knobel (which include a number of minutes from the meetings of this

committee), once the front companies were established and running, the committee met once a year to approve the project's budget and as needed in the case of emergencies.

- 37 The surgeon general acted as project leader, a role that is unclear at this stage. Dr Basson was project officer and apparently reported both to the surgeon general and the head of Special Forces, and variously to the Minister of Defence, chief of the SADF, Minister of Police, commissioner of police and the chief of staff intelligence.
- 38 Front companies were established to do the work of the programme, with the SADF as the main client. They were also provided with covert funding from the SAMS budget during the earlier period of the programme.
- 39 No one at the hearing was prepared to take direct responsibility for the programme and responsibility has been passed both up and down. It is the Commission's view that, while Dr Basson was clearly a central figure, several of the people involved in the *beheerkomitee* cannot deny responsibility. Unfortunately, the exact responsibility for the programme could not be determined.

■ ANALYSIS

- 40 The CBW programme in the 1980s and early 1990s was ostensibly established for the purpose of providing the country with a defensive capability. By this it was understood that there should be the necessary expertise to understand and to be able to react to chemical and biological threats posed from outside the country's borders. South Africa should also have the capacity to launch retaliatory attacks in the event of CBW agents being used against South Africa's own forces.
- 41 It was explicitly and repeatedly stated that the intention was not, and never had been, to develop an offensive capacity. Such intent would have been evidenced by large-scale production at factory level, the manufacture of missiles capable of dispersing chemical and biological substances amongst enemy troops ('weaponisation') and the training of troops in their use. There would also have been at least limited evidence of the use of such agents in warfare.
- 42 The exception to this was the express intention of the military to develop crowd control agents. These included standard agents for the purposes of self-sufficiency and novel agents developed through the adaptation of chemicals already in existence. There is also invariably some overlap between defensive and offensive

programmes. Although never explained in precise terms, this may be the reason for surplus production volumes.

- 43 In strict military terms, such a defensive programme would need to be managed in accordance with each of a number of criteria. These would include careful compliance with the criteria of defensive capability, sound and disciplined leadership, careful auditing of financial dealings, compliance with international conventions determining the conduct of such military business and reliable and comprehensive systems of accountability. The Commission's hearings showed that the programme failed to meet each and every one of these criteria. In fact, there was consistent evidence of serious departures from these standards.
- 44 Despite the fact that the South African CBW programme during the period under review has now been exposed as showing gross aberrations of intent, discipline, actions, command structures, financial dealings and professional relationships, it was highly regarded within the military, which considered it a successful programme. The military command maintained that *cognoscenti* in the international military community shared this opinion. One of the astonishing aspects that emerged in the hearings was that the professionalism, competence and mystique of the programme were stripped away by the evidence of the very people who participated in it. The hearings revealed a nepotistic, self-serving and self-enriching group of people, misled by those who had a technical grasp of what was happening. They conducted work they deemed to be scientific, but which was underpinned by ideas, suggestions and hypotheses that were bizarre and incompetent.
- 45 Dr Basson's evidence was not fully tested at the hearings because of the legal objections he raised with regard to his forthcoming criminal trial. Initially, Dr Basson's legal representatives indicated that they wished to bring a legal challenge to prevent their client from testifying at the hearing. The panel presiding over the hearing ruled, however, that Dr Basson was compelled to testify. This decision was challenged in the Cape High Court. The court upheld the panel's ruling and ordered Dr Basson to testify before the Commission on 29 July 1998, a mere three days before the mandate to hold human rights violations hearings expired.
- 46 On 29 July 1998, Dr Basson appeared before the Commission without his Pretoria-based legal representatives and asked that the hearing be postponed until they were available. Ultimately, Dr Basson's evidence was only heard on 31 July. Much of the time was spent on legal argument, and the extent of questioning was curtailed.

- 47 Although Dr Basson gave evidence for almost twelve hours, the Commission would have preferred to have had an opportunity to question him more thoroughly. In the event, many questions were left unanswered.
- 48 Dr Immelman, who served as director of the scientific research programme at Roodeplaat Research Laboratories during its existence as a front company for the conduct of the CBW programme, submitted an *affidavit*. A thorough testing of his evidence must now await his cross-examination in court. It is clear from Dr Immelman's *affidavit* that he was directly responsible for the production of items on the '*Verkope lys*'; that he dealt directly with operatives, and that he is accountable for the scientific content of the Roodeplaat Research Laboratories programme in the years in which he held office — in the mid- and late 1980s and the early 1990s. In addition to the obvious issues of professional culpability, negligence and criminal intent that apply to others as well, it has to be said specifically of Dr Immelman that he allegedly had full knowledge of the activities at the laboratories that were under his control.
- 49 Inevitably, the CBW programme achieved little of value or of common good. Enveloped as it was by secrecy, threats and fear, opportunism, financial mismanagement, incompetence, self-aggrandisement, together with a breakdown in the normal methods of scientific discourse, the results were paltry. Tens, even hundreds, of millions of rands were squandered on ideas that had no scientific validity. At best, the programme succeeded in producing for manufacture analogues of CR and BZ incapacitants, and in making local arrangements for protective clothing for troops against mass chemical and biological attack. At worst, the programme had criminal intent.

■ FINDINGS

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT:

- SCIENTISTS WERE RECRUITED TO THE CBW PROGRAMME FROM UNIVERSITIES AND RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA BECAUSE OF THEIR 'PATRIOTISM' AND LOYALTY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY. THEY WERE LURED BY GENEROUS CONDITIONS OF SERVICE, FACILITIES, WORKING ARRANGEMENTS AND PAY PACKAGES.
- WORK WAS CONDUCTED ON A 'NEED TO KNOW' BASIS, SUBVERTING THE VERY PURPOSE OF SCIENCE. THE FREE DISCOURSE OF INFORMATION AND IDEAS THAT CHARACTERISES SCIENTIFIC ENDEAVOUR WAS SUBVERTED. MOREOVER, THOSE WHO WERE APPOINTED WERE INTIMIDATED AND THREATENED, EVEN WITH THEIR LIVES, IF THEY STEPPED OUT OF LINE.

- OVERALL UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROGRAMME, AND ITS CO-ORDINATION AND DIRECTION, WERE VESTED IN THE HANDS OF ONE PERSON, DR BASSON, WHOSE ABILITY AND (IT IS ASSUMED) INTEGRITY WERE UNQUESTIONED BOTH BY THOSE WHO SERVED UNDER HIM AND BY THOSE TO WHOM HE HAD TO REPORT. IT EMERGED IN THE HEARINGS THAT THE MILITARY COMMAND WAS DEPENDENT ON DR BASSON FOR THE CONDUCT AND COMMAND OF THE PROGRAMME, EVEN AT A TIME WHEN THERE WERE SUFFICIENT INDICATIONS THAT DR BASSON MIGHT NOT BE TRUSTWORTHY AND THAT THERE WERE SERIOUS ABERRATIONS IN WHAT WAS HAPPENING.
- THE MILITARY COMMAND, AND PRE-EMINENTLY THE SURGEON GENERAL, DR DP KNOBEL, WERE GROSSLY NEGLIGENT IN APPROVING PROGRAMMES AND ALLOCATING LARGE SUMS OF MONEY FOR ACTIVITIES OF WHICH THEY HAD NO UNDERSTANDING, AND WHICH THEY MADE NO EFFORT TO UNDERSTAND.
- THE CBW PROGRAMME MADE THE SELF-ENRICHMENT OF INDIVIDUALS POSSIBLE AND OPENED THE WAY FOR A CYNICAL SUBVERSION OF ITS OSTENSIBLE AIMS IN THE PRODUCTION OF MURDER WEAPONS FOR USE AGAINST INDIVIDUALS.
- A EXTREMELY COMPLICATED ARRANGEMENT OF FRONT COMPANIES SUPPORTED THE PROGRAMME, A PART OF WHOSE INTENTION WAS A PLAN FOR ITS OWN ULTIMATE PRIVATISATION. THIS, IT APPEARS, WAS INTENDED FROM THE START.
- THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRAMME WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT SOME LEVEL OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION AND SUPPORT.

THE ROLE OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

- THE CBW PROGRAMME, AND IN PARTICULAR ITS GROSS ABERRATIONS, WOULD NOT HAVE SUCCEEDED WITHOUT THE SUPPORT, ACTIVE AND TACIT, OF THE CO-ORDINATING MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE OVER THE PERIOD 1988 TO 1995.
- THE COMMITTEE KNEW OF THE LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION OF MANDRAX AND ECSTASY AND THEIR PURPORTED USE, BUT DID NOT SEEK TO ESTABLISH REASONS FOR THIS. IT APPROVED OF THE IDEA AND LENT ITS SUPPORT DIRECTLY. THE IDEA OF USING EITHER MANDRAX OR ECSTASY FOR THE PURPOSE OF CROWD CONTROL CONTRAVENES INTERNATIONAL CODES. IN ADDITION, THERE WAS NO SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR THINKING THAT IT WOULD BE AN APPROPRIATE, SAFE OR SENSIBLE FORM OF CROWD CONTROL.
- THE COMMITTEE WAS AWARE OF AND AUTHORISED BASSON'S TRIPS TO CROATIA, AT GREAT EXPENSE, TO PURCHASE 500KG OF METHAQUALONE AS LATE AS 1992, AND ASSISTED BASSON WHEN HE WAS ARRESTED IN SWITZERLAND IN POSSESSION OF FRAUDULENT BEARER BONDS.

THE SURGEON GENERAL IN PARTICULAR:

- KNEW OF THE PRODUCTION OF MURDER WEAPONS BUT REFUSED TO ADDRESS THE CONCERNS THAT WERE RAISED WITH HIM, ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY DID NOT FALL UNDER HIS AUTHORITY. HE WAS NEVERTHELESS FULLY AWARE THAT THESE ACTIVITIES HAPPENED IN FACILITIES UNDER HIS DIRECT CONTROL AND WERE PERPETRATED BY STAFF UNDER HIS CHAIN OF COMMAND.

- DID NOT UNDERSTAND, BY HIS OWN ADMISSION, THE MEDICAL, CHEMICAL AND TECHNICAL ASPECTS AND IMPLICATIONS OF A PROGRAMME THAT COST TENS, IF NOT HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF RANDS.
- MADE NO EFFORT TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THESE TECHNICAL AND MEDICAL ISSUES, NOTWITHSTANDING THE FACT THAT HE WAS THE HIGHEST-RANKING MEDICAL PROFESSIONAL IN THE MILITARY AND THAT OTHERS IN THE MILITARY WERE WHOLLY DEPENDENT ON HIS JUDGEMENT AND DISCRETION.
- ADVISED THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE, ON 7 JANUARY 1993, THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD CONCEAL FROM THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION THAT THE COUNTRY POSSESSED NGT (A NEW GENERATION OF TEAR GAS RELATED CLOSELY TO CR), RECOMMENDING THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD PROCEED WITH THE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NGT IN A COVERT MANNER WHILE AT THE SAME TIME CONCEALING IT.
- APPROVED THE BUDGET FOR PROJECTS (IN SOME CASES ALONE, AND IN OTHERS IN CONJUNCTION WITH HIS FELLOW OFFICERS ON THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE, WITH OR WITHOUT THE FULL UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT HE WAS DOING) THAT HAD AS THEIR PURPOSE THE MURDER OF INDIVIDUALS, AND THE UNDERMINING OF THE HEALTH, IF NOT THE ELIMINATION, OF ENTIRE COMMUNITIES (FOR EXAMPLE, PROJECTS INVOLVING CHOLERA, FERTILITY DRUGS, BOTULINUM, MANDRAX AND ECSTASY).
- AGREED TO THE DESTRUCTION OF DOCUMENTS DESCRIBING THE ACTIVITIES AND THE FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THESE PROGRAMMES. INSTEAD, HE SHOULD HAVE ENSURED THAT THE DETAILS OF THE PROGRAMME WERE RECORDED AND ACCESSIBLE, WHILE LIMITING THEIR ACCESSIBILITY TO AUTHORISED PERSONS. THIS WOULD HAVE SAFEGUARDED THE MASSIVE INVESTMENT, BOTH FINANCIAL AND IN TERMS OF SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENT, WHILE, ON THE OTHER HAND, GUARDING AGAINST USE OF THE INFORMATION FOR PURPOSES OF PROLIFERATION OR CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES.

Special Investigation into Secret State Funding

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The use of secret funding to promote the policies of the former state and to fund operations directed against the opponents of apartheid came to the attention of the Commission shortly after its inception. A copy of the reports of the Advisory Committee on Special Secret Projects, chaired by Professor Ellison Kahn, as well as the report of the Secret Services Evaluation Committee, chaired by Mr Amie Venter, were received from the President's office on 16 October 1996.
- 2 Former President FW de Klerk provided the Commission with a briefing document giving a background to his investigations into covert activities and funding. He also made available the report of the Ministers' Committee on Special Projects, chaired by the former Minister of Justice, Mr HJ (Kobie) Coetsee.
- 3 Members of the Commission subsequently met with the senior staff of the office of the Auditor-General and requested that the Auditor-General, Mr Henri Kluever, assist the Commission in obtaining an understanding of the nature and extent of covert accounts conducted by the former government. The Commission has not received information on the specific nature of the activities undertaken by the recipients of covert funding, nor did it investigate the actual use made of the funding. It is, however, clear that there were funds in secret bank accounts at the time of the Kahn Committee. Furthermore, the Auditor-General reported that a total of more than R2.75 billion was expended through the Secret Services Account between 1978 and 1994. This does not, however, constitute the full amount spent by state departments on secret and other sensitive projects. As is clear in the Auditor-General's report, a vast number of projects would not have been formally registered as secret projects but were undertaken within departmental line functions. The Special Defence Account, for example, was used to fund 'sensitive line function projects' and the Department of Foreign Affairs funded projects designed to counter sanctions and other activities – as reported later in this chapter.

- 4 The need clearly exists for the President to appoint an appropriate committee to enquire further into covert funding – not least with a view to ensuring that, where possible, funds in covert accounts were paid back to the treasury. Where such funding continues to be absolutely necessary, clear guidelines need to be put in place and the nature and extent of such funding reported to Parliament on a regular basis. This requires an evaluation of existing structures and regulations governing the use of secret funds.

■ OVERVIEW OF STATE SECRET PROJECTS

- 5 An overview is provided below of certain projects undertaken by the South African Defence Force (SADF), South African Police (SAP), National Intelligence Service (NIS), Department of Foreign Affairs and Department of National Education, as presented to the Kahn Committee, the Ministers' Committee on Special Projects and the Secret Services Evaluation Committee¹.
- 6 Most projects appear to be related to the establishment of front organisations or actions aimed at counteracting the activities of the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies, primarily in the sphere of information, communication, dis-information, propaganda and counter-propaganda. Other projects were aimed at circumventing sanctions.
- 7 This is not a comprehensive list but aims to provide insight into the nature of some projects. The following constraints should be noted.
- The mandate of the Kahn Committee apparently required the committee only to consider those projects placed before it by relevant departments.
 - Evidence suggests that not all existing projects were brought before the committee. It seems that some projects that were already being terminated were not referred to the committee.
 - As indicated earlier, a vast number of projects were not formally registered as secret projects but were undertaken within departmental line functions.

South African Defence Force (SADF)

- 8 The SADF secret projects covered a range of activities such as publications, front organisations, and support to surrogate groups. Publications included

¹ Information and quotations provided in what follows originates directly from the reports of these committees.

Special Despatch (Project Olive), the *Aida Parker Newsletter (Project Villa Marie)*, *Christians for Truth (Project Camara)* and *Stand To (Project Mediant)*, as well as a printing press and publications in Botswana such as *News Links Africa (Project Parker)*.

- 9 Secret projects concerned with contra-mobilisation included the establishment and support of conservative or 'moderate' organisations such as the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (FIDA), known as *Project Capital*. FIDA had a head office in Johannesburg and thirteen regional bases, and is described in the report as "a moderate alliance of black organisations to combat violence and advance stability" that was "a very valuable source of information to the Defence Force on violence in black townships". Similarly, *Project Napper* covered the Eagles youth clubs, "another valuable source of information on violence in black townships", active in the Orange Free State, northern and western Cape, Vaal Triangle and southern Transvaal.
- 10 Other organisations include *Vroue vir Suid Afrika* (Women for South Africa – *Project Leafy*), *Jeugkrug* (Youth Power – *Project Essay*), the use of consultants in covert front organisations such as the South African Christian Cultural Organisation (SACCO), the Eastern Cape Sports Foundation, the Lion Life Research Corporation (*Project Jetty*), Veterans for Victory (*Project Mediant*), Family Focus, and the Western Cape Council of Churches (*Project Camara*).
- 11 Two of the more costly projects were *Pacman* and *Byronic*. Pacman was the code name for the International Freedom Foundation, which had offices in Johannesburg, Washington, London, Brussels and Bonn. Its objectives were described as the combating of sanctions and support to constitutional initiatives through publications, lobbying, conferences etc. It specifically supported Mr Jonas Savimbi and UNITA. Leading personalities in government circles in Europe and the USA were involved, with half of its funds coming from abroad. Pacman's annual budget for 1991/92 was listed as over R10 million. In late September 1991, the Minister of Finance agreed to a one-off payment of R7 million, approved by Minister of Defence, "to enable the country to withdraw from the enterprise". This payment was vested in a trust controlled by trustees appointed by SADF.
- 12 *Project Byronic* related to an international programme in favour of UNITA. Contracts concerning leading political and governmental figures were scheduled to continue until the September 1992 elections in Angola. In late September, the Minister of Finance approved a payment of R7 million into a trust similar to that of Pacman, to end South Africa's association with the enterprise. The project also involved

the transport of goods to UNITA in Angola. A sub-project included the setting up and running of a commercial flight rental company, mainly to support UNITA, which was then to be closed with a R7 million payment to UNITA. The expenditure for the 1991/92 financial year was approximately R108.4 million, with a projected budget of R98 million for 1992/93.

- 13 *Projects Rooibos and Hardekool* provided "theological training for the independent churches ... with the object of inculcating a moderate religious conviction in support of current constitutional initiatives".
- 14 Other projects mentioned to the Kahn Committee in name only included Gezina, Liberal, Mapoly, Scottish, Choke, Brussels, Eikenhof, Concert, Boesman, Kerwer, Instigator and Steenbras.
- 15 *Project Marion* was not put before the Kahn Committee. It was reported to the Ministers' Committee on Special Projects in October 1992 as a project designed "to put Inkatha in a position to neutralise the assault by MK² against it" but having its mandate modified on 1 March 1990 "to maintain links with Chief Minister Buthelezi". It was reported that initial training took place in 1986 with sporadic contact and retraining until June 1989. Thereafter, Marion was meant only for financing travel costs and '*inligtingskakeling*' (intelligence links) until March 1991. The books for the period until November 1991 in the 1991/92 financial year reflect only travel expenses for two security briefings of Chief Buthelezi by SADF members. Elsewhere in the report of the Commission, *Project Marion* is shown to have contributed directly to the perpetration of gross human rights violations.
- 16 Other projects not disclosed to the Kahn Committee but raised with the Ministers' Committee on Special Projects in October 1992 include *Project Ogden*, *Project Friendship* (which established and funded a Directorate of Covert Collection front company, Longreach, to influence business people locally and overseas by means of a newsletter) and *Project Liberal* (the Quo Data research organisation which promoted Communications Operations (COMOPS) goals with certain media agents in Europe), all of which were being terminated in accordance with the State President's guidelines (see below).

Department of Foreign Affairs

- 17 The key goals of the secret projects appear to have been related to the collection of information (such as *Toegang tot Afrika* – Entrance to Africa), building a positive

² Umkhonto weSizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

image of South Africa, and sanctions busting (such as projects *Blue*, *Arcadia*, *Grail*, *Sixpack*, and *Opals*).

- 18 *Project Blue* established a financial trust, the *Taussig Familienstiftung* (Taussig Family Trust) registered in Liechtenstein, which acted as a conduit for secret transactions and through which secret projects could be managed. It guaranteed payment of debts owed by projects *Grail* and *Arcadia*. Transfers included R3 336 891.40 to Rothschilds Bank in November 1985, and R11.4 million to an unknown recipient through Credit Suisse Geneva in February 1986. Taussig guarantees issued to the Liechtenstein bank include one for 1,2 million pounds sterling for the purchase of major equipment for *Grail*, and another for 1,5 million pounds sterling plus interest regarding certain shares in Finlan Group PLC. The assets of the trust were estimated at around R20 million.
- 19 *Project Grail* was a sanctions-busting operation and was the code name of a large company in the United Kingdom, started around 1977 with help from Rothschilds Bank. It involved the buying and selling of computer equipment and the provision of equipment and services for disaster recovery of computer back-ups. "The true identity of the company is hidden by layers of trusts and holding companies, starting with a Jersey trust based on a deceased family trust, thereafter a holding company in Jersey, thereafter a holding company in the UK. South African associations are buried deep."
- 20 *Project Thurston* involved obtaining television material for the SABC via United Studios, Cablelink, Satlink, Filmtel and MGI/IMGC.
- 21 Front organisations and public relations companies organised visits to South Africa by prominent leading European personalities and United States business people and Congress leaders through projects such as *Acoda* and *Swart Sakelui* (Black Business People).
- 22 Individuals were paid to establish relationships and information flow, particularly in Africa. Mr John Coker, a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) journalist and specialist on Africa with connections to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was employed at an annual fee of R125 000 plus airfares to act as a source of information and convey information on South Africa's behalf. A similar arrangement existed with a French businessperson, Mr Jean Yves Ollivier, employed to advance South Africa's interests in francophone Africa.

- 23 *Project Swaziland* is described as follows. "Young King Mswati III took it for granted that, like his father, he would be furnished with the part-time services of an attorney at the expense of the South African government." Pretoria lawyer Mr Ernst Penzhorn was employed at an annual fee of around R50 000 to "advise the King generally, accompany him to conferences, draft speeches for him, persuade him not to act in undesirable ways, and protect him from the machinations of undesirable characters".
- 24 R100 000 per annum was paid for several years to the South African Traditional Healers' Council whose leading figures were allegedly "held in high esteem in many African countries for the independent advice they give" and whose connections brought valuable information.

South African Police

- 25 The SAP initiated certain special secret projects from November 1985, as directed by the SSC on 16 November 1985. From that year, *Project Aristotle* ran the National Students' Federation, which was financed through a business trust until press disclosures led to its dissolution, with compensation paid to two agents who suffered losses resulting from their exposure as agents. *Project Einstein* ran a similar programme in the black tertiary education sector.
- 26 *Project Romulus* was aimed at combating organisations and individuals, mainly among the youth in the Eastern Cape and Western Transvaal, who disrupted public order through intimidation and violence. It encompassed several sub-projects, one of which was the youth project *Operation Gordian*, which had offices in Port Elizabeth and Durban and cost a total of R222 820. Further sub-projects included *Operation Voltaire*, *Operation Ukumelana* (to oppose), and the Alliance for Free South Africans.
- 27 Further SAP projects include:
- 28 *Project Bismarck*, dating back to around 1985, which was a cover for operational activities and the canalisation of state funds to fronts, and provided a cover legend to SAP members involved in STRATCOM projects.
- 29 *Project Polemos* was "a front to combat radical propaganda in the Eastern Cape".
- 30 *Project Cicero* aimed "to undermine the power base of radical youth organisations".

- 31 *Project Buye* (Returned) aimed "to show members of Umkhonto weSizwe who have returned from overseas that violent actions to reach political goals are not acceptable".

National Intelligence Service

- 32 The STRATCOM projects of the NIS, as reported by the Kahn Committee, relate mainly to projects in the religious sector aimed at bolstering and building a conservative religious approach and to combat liberation theology. These included, for example, *Project Delectus*, to implement former President de Klerk's initiative regarding peace and justice through the creation of a Coalition for Christian Action by means of a network of writers.

Department of National Education

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

■ THE KAHN COMMITTEE

- 34 The Kahn Committee, consisting of Professor Ellison Kahn (in the chair), Mr Jan A Crafford, Mr James O McMillan and Mr SA Strauss, was announced by President de Klerk on 30 July 1991. It issued three interim reports and a final report on 19 November 1991. Its mandate was limited: the committee considered only such projects as were brought to its attention by the various state departments that were still operative – with a view to recommending the cancellation of covert activities wherever possible. Where the committee was of the opinion that projects should be allowed to continue, recommendations were to be made for the possible scaling down and, where necessary, adaptation of such projects. The committee

was requested to ensure that projects did not benefit any particular political party or organisation.

- 35 Projects that were not terminated were to serve what was defined as "the national interest". Such activities were said to include the elimination of violence, intimidation, sanctions and international isolation.
- 36 Departments of state in receipt of covert funding were required to furnish the committee with documents setting out the nature of ongoing projects. The committee noted several additional projects that had already been terminated, as well as 'line function' secret projects carried out by the NIS, the SADF, the SAP and the Department of Foreign Affairs, with the recommendation that these be continued. Where termination of projects was recommended, financial obligations (both contractual and moral) to employees were to be honoured in order to avoid grievances that could result in sensitive information being revealed.
- 37 A list of covert projects, together with recommendations on each, was published in the committee's four reports. These included sixteen projects under the direction of the SADF, eleven under the Department of Foreign Affairs, nine under the SAP, seven under the NIS and one under the Department of National Education. The report does not contain any information on gross violations of human rights.
- 38 The Kahn Committee recommended that:
- certain secret projects that met the criteria stipulated by the then government should be continued;
 - certain projects should be terminated in accordance with a phasing-out process which involved the honouring of both contractual and moral financial obligations to those involved in the projects;
 - departments such as the NIS, the SADF and the SAP needed to continue certain covert activities as a part of their line functions;
 - legislation should be introduced on the management of secret funds.
- 39 In a press statement on 19 September 1991, Mr de Klerk accepted all these recommendations, announcing that all contractual obligations suggested by the committee would be met.

The Ministers' Committee on Special Projects

- 40 The Ministers' Committee on Special Projects was established to oversee the implementation of the recommendations of the Kahn Committee, chaired by Mr Kobie Coetsee. The committee monitored the implementation of the Kahn Committee recommendations until the Secret Services Account Amendment Act No 142 of 1992 came into effect on 1 April 1993.
- 41 The Ministers' Committee recommended that the reports of the Kahn Committee be made available to the Auditor-General for auditing, and established guidelines for exercising ministerial responsibility over secret projects. These included the need for ministers to be individually responsible for secret projects within departmental line functions and for department heads to be accountable for carrying out administrative regulations.
- 42 The final report of the committee dealt with a number of specific projects and allegations. It further indicated that:
- the recommendations of the Kahn Committee had been implemented;
 - the once sensitive matter of secret activities had been brought under control;
 - there was no reason for the continued existence of the committee, whose task would be taken over by the proposed Secret Services Evaluation Committee and the establishment of the Transitional Executive Committee of government.

■ THE SECRET SERVICES EVALUATION COMMITTEE

- 43 The Secret Services Evaluation Committee consisted of Ministers Amie Venter (chairperson), DJ de Villiers, DL Keys and Professor SA Strauss, with Advocate MF Ackerman as secretary. It first met on 8 April 1993, in response to the 1992 Secret Services Account Amendment Act. The task of the Evaluation Committee was to –
- evaluate all proposed secret services of all government departments with the exception of the SADF and NIS³, with a view to determining whether their objectives and methods were in the national interest; and

3 These budgets were regarded as secret. The amounts involved were handled between the Minister of State Expenditure and the ministers responsible for the NIS and SADF.

- undertake an annual review of all secret services of these departments, and determine, in the light of their objectives, whether they should be continued.

- 44 The committee further identified the nature of existing secret projects, establishing the name of each project, its aims, operational area, business details, *modus operandi*, financial details and time frame. It also enquired into the reason why the particular project needed to be of a *covert* nature, and whether its existence was in the national interest.
- 45 Like the Coetsee Committee, the Evaluation Committee recommended the continuation of certain projects, including initiatives undertaken by the SAP relating to the combating of crime. In other instances, it reported on the termination of projects as well as on new projects that the committee judged to be in the national interest.

■ THE REPORT OF THE AUDITOR-GENERAL

- 46 The Auditor-General was requested to provide the Commission with a report of the auditing of all secret funds utilised by the previous Government for the period 1960 to 1994. The report indicated that, in accordance with a decision of the Co-ordinating Intelligence Committee, dated 10 February 1994, all documentation on the completed auditing of secret funds had been returned to the departments concerned. This made it necessary for the Auditor-General to gain the co-operation of: the National Department of Defence; the NIS; the Department of Justice; the SAPS; the Department of Foreign Affairs; the South African Secret Service; the Department of State Expenditure; the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology; the Department of Sports and Recreation, and the Department of Education.
- 47 A number of departments indicated that the audit documentation and working papers in question had been disposed of in terms of approved procedures, and that limited information was available.⁴ The Departments of Justice and State Expenditure indicated that some documentation was still available. Because the Auditor-General reported on the basis of what information he had at his disposal, he was not able to provide an audit opinion.

⁴ The Auditor-General's report provides a schedule detailing this destruction. See also Volume One of this report, on the destruction of records.

Funding of secret services

- 48 Before the establishment of the Foreign Affairs Special Account on 1 April 1967, various departments had been engaged in activities involving 'secrecy' such as the secret classification of documents, intelligence gathering and related matters. As a result of the growing foreign pressure on South Africa and the unstable situation within the country, certain departments, such as the SAP, the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) and the SADF, expressed the need for increased special funding in order to execute certain secret services. To facilitate this, the following special accounts were established via specific statutes:

Special Defence Account

- 49 The Defence Special Account Act No 6 of 1974, which came into effect on 6 March 1974, made provision for the establishment of the Special Defence Account. The Act allowed for funds in the account to be used, with the approval of the Minister of Finance, to defray expenditure incurred in connection with special defence activities (including secret services) as well as such purchases as the Minister of Defence deemed necessary.

The Secret Services Account

- 50 Until April 1993, and in terms of section 2(2)(a) of the Secret Services Account Act No 56 of 1978, the Minister of State Expenditure could, at the request of the minister concerned, transfer money from the Secret Services Account to the:
- Foreign Affairs Special Account;
 - Information Service of South Africa Special Account;
 - South African Police Special Account;
 - Security Services Special Account;
 - Special Defence Account.
- 51 In terms of section 2 of the various Special Account Acts, the money in these accounts was to be utilised in connection with services of a confidential nature, with the functional minister being able to approve secret projects subject to conditions and directions as deemed necessary.
- 52 Following the report of the Auditor-General on the affairs of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) and certain other irregularities within the SAP Special Account, the Government reviewed the funding of secret services during 1992. This resulted

in the promulgation of the 1992 Secret Services Account Amendment Act, which established the Secret Services Evaluation Committee chaired by Mr Amie Venter (as reported earlier).

- 53 The amended Act provided for the evaluation and control of secret services, the establishment of an account for secret services, and related matters. The amendment deleted the provisions for the transfer of moneys to all the above-mentioned special accounts and the Special Defence Account, excluding the Security Services Special Account. All legislation creating different special accounts, except the Security Services Special Account Act No 81 of 1969 and the 1974 Defence Special Account Act, was also repealed.
- 54 In terms of section 2(2)(a) of the amended Secret Services Account Act, the Minister of State Expenditure was authorised, at the request of the responsible minister, to transfer funds from the Secret Services Account to the Security Services Special Account of the NIS. In the case of other departments, the Minister of State Expenditure was authorised, in terms of section 2(3)(a) of the Act, to make funds available for secret services.
- 55 As already indicated, the amended Act further determined (in section 3A(1)) that a committee, known as the Secret Services Evaluation Committee, be established. In terms of section 3A(6), the committee would evaluate –

"all intended secret services in order to determine whether the object thereof and the modus operandi to achieve it, are in the national interest; and review all secret services annually with the said object in order to determine whether they may be continued."

- 56 These amendments commenced on 1 April 1993.
- 57 Further refinements to the administration of secret services were effected as from 1 April 1994 and provided for the following:
- the establishment of the Joint Standing Committee on Intelligence;
 - the creation of the post of an inspector-general of intelligence;
 - the establishment of the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (NICOC).

Audit limitations and risks

- 58 Until the time of the information scandal in 1979, expenditure relating to secret

services was not audited by the Auditor-General. The minister concerned could simply issue a certificate certifying that all funds involved had been spent for the purpose for which they were originally budgeted. Following the information scandal, Parliament decided that all secret services had to be audited by the Auditor-General.

59 The Exchequer and Audit Act No 66 of 1975 and the various Special Account Acts were appropriately amended to provide for such an audit. However, although the audits were nominally assigned to the Auditor-General, various limitations still existed which, in practice, limited the scope of the audit. The Auditor-General cited following examples:

- In the case of the Security Services Special Account (NIS) the minister concerned, after consultation with the then Auditor-General, stipulated that only his own internal audit division would execute audits and that the Auditor-General would, for the purpose of his audit, accept a certificate from the Prime Minister regarding the expenditure and the investment of the unspent balances in the Special Account.
- Section 42(7) of the Exchequer and Audit Act No 66 of 1975 made provision for the Minister of Finance to limit such audits:

When in view of the confidential nature of an account it appears desirable that such account be excluded from a detailed audit by the Auditor-General, the Minister of Finance may, after consultation with the Auditor-General, determine to what extent the audit thereof shall be carried out and what vouchers shall be made available to the Auditor-General.

- In terms of section 45(1A) of the Act, as it was then worded, the Minister of Finance could furthermore, after consultation with the State President and the Auditor-General, regulate reporting by the Auditor-General concerning aspects of secret accounts. In accordance with this provision, the most sensitive portions of the Special Defence Account were excluded entirely from external auditing for three financial years.

60 The *need-to-know* principle (that is, the auditing of small segments of the whole by specially selected members of the Auditor-General's staff, to prevent anyone outside from gaining an overall picture) constituted a further serious constraint. This was eventually acknowledged by the SADF, who accepted the need for change, but the audit office lacked the necessary staff undertake the task.

- 61 By way of compromise, the Auditor-General agreed during 1981 to the contractual appointment to his department of a retired SADF general who, without disclosing to the Auditor-General the content of projects, would issue an audit certificate on his behalf concerning the Special Defence Account. (This stipulation of non-disclosure was later disputed by the SADF.) It was realised, however, that this arrangement was probably *ultra vires* and a new solution had to be sought.
- 62 Following consultations between the Auditor-General and the relevant interested parties in the Finance and Intelligence Departments as well as the SADF, and after having appraised the contents of a combined financial/operational file relating to a certain sub-project which amounted to R23 million in 1983–84, the Auditor-General accepted the SADF's proposals. This allowed specially selected members of the audit staff of the Auditor-General to audit ultra-sensitive portions of the Special Defence Account in terms of the 1986 agreement. Access was, however, limited to financial files. It did not extend to operational files. The SADF, however, assured the Auditor-General that he personally would at all times be granted absolute and unfettered access to all documentation. A better understanding later developed and the auditors concerned were able to gain access to operational files – with the exception of the CCB, in which case access to operational files was consistently denied by the managing director of the CCB.
- 63 After continued efforts by the Auditor-General to improve audit evidence, the entire Special Defence Account became 'open' for auditing, and sections 42(7) or 45(1A) of the Exchequer and Audit Act were not used again during the 1985–86 to 1988–89 financial years. Both sections were repealed by the Auditor-General Act No 52 of 1989 and replaced with section 6(3) of the latter Act as from 26 May 1989.
- 64 Although the 1989 Auditor-General Act stipulated the role and functions of the Auditor-General, that Act still contained the following limitation as far as the reporting phase of the audit was concerned: Section 6(3)(a) "shall limit such report to the extent which the Minister of Finance, in consultation with the State President and the Auditor-General may determine".
- 65 The office of the Auditor-General became increasingly concerned at the low level of assurance that accompanied its audit opinion. This resulted in a qualified audit opinion being given with effect from the 1990–91 financial year. The wording of the audit opinion reads as follows :

As regards the auditing of the Secret Service Account and the Special Defence Account, it should further be noted that, owing to the nature of some of the income and expenditure and the circumstances in which it is incurred and recorded, as well as the utilisation of assets, the level of audit assurance that can be furnished will often be lower than is normally the case in ordinary audits.

- 66 After obtaining legal opinion, it was decided to further qualify the audit opinion. As of the 1991–92 financial year, the Auditor-General's reports to Parliament contained the following qualification:

As regards the basis of reporting in connection with the proviso to section 6(3) of the said Act, a legal opinion was obtained to confirm what actions constitute, for audit purposes, irregularities which must be reported. The legal opinion states, inter alia:

... that if the Auditor-General has performed all aspects of 'regularity auditing' [see below] as stated in the report, he has done his duty.

There is no obligation on him (the Auditor-General) to indicate culpable contravention of statutes, instructions or the common law unless he is of the opinion that, in the commission of such contravention, the scope of the authority to incur expenditure was exceeded. Finally it should be borne in mind that auditing is, in the first and last places concerned with compliance with financial authorisation, i.e. the authority to perform certain actions and to utilise public money for the performance of authorised actions. The (Auditor-General) Act does not concern itself with the penal nature of the actions nor with the 'moral reprehensibility' of the actions as such.⁵

Current position of the Auditor-General

- 67 Chapter 9 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No 108 of 1996 provides for the establishment of a number of state institutions in support of constitutional democracy. In section 181(1)(e) the Auditor-General is listed as one of these institutions. Further provisions of this section also address the independence and protection of the powers and functions of these institutions. Section 188 of the 1996 Constitution Act further elaborates on the functions of the Auditor-General and continues to strengthen the constitutional authority of the Auditor-General's office.

⁵ The report of the Auditor-General provides an overview of the various levels of financial authority exercised by the various departments as reported to him, noting that his office has not performed an audit on these levels.

- 68 The Auditor-General Act No. 12 of 1995, effective from July of that year, amended the 1989 Act to provide for more independent reporting by the Auditor-General. The Auditor-General now reports *after* consultation with the President, Minister of Finance and the responsible Minister and not *in* consultation as was required previously. Furthermore, the reports may not be limited as regards unauthorised expenditure or any other irregularity, except in respect of the disclosure of facts which will be to the detriment of the national interest.

■ SCHEDULE OF SECRET PROJECTS

- 69 The Auditor-General has provided the Commission with a schedule of secret projects received from eight government departments: the NIA; the Department of Justice; the South African Police Services (SAPS); the Department of Foreign Affairs; South African Secret Services; the Department of State Expenditure, the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and the Department of Arts and Culture, Science and Technology.
- 70 This information was made available shortly before the termination of the work of the Commission. Code names and/or numerical references were used, rendering this information of limited value. The NIA, for example, identified 749 code-named projects with limited or no detail. Given the closure of investigative work by the Commission on 31 July, no opportunity existed for these matters to be pursued.⁶

■ AN OVERVIEW OF THE TYPE AND NATURE OF SECRET PROJECTS

- 71 The Commission had requested the Auditor-General to provide an in-depth analysis of ten to fifteen window cases illustrative of the type and nature of the secret projects under consideration. Due to the scarcity of information and documentation available this was, however, not possible.
- 72 There were only a few projects for which all the audit documentation needed for a proper window-case presentation was available. These are *Project Coast* (a programme involving chemical and biological warfare initiatives) and some projects of the Department of Foreign Affairs, although here too, little information was made available to the Commission. The audit of *Project Coast* is still to be completed, as is the Auditor-General's investigation into the fairness and reasonableness of the determination and/or calculation of the cancellation fee and the

⁶ The full report of the Auditor-General to the Commission entitled 'A Review by the Auditor-General of the Secret Funds for the period 1960 to 1994' is available in the National Archives.

amounts paid to the then SADF for the shares and loan amounts of the companies involved. An investigation by the Office for Serious Economic Offences into the alleged irregularities has also not been completed, as stated in the Auditor-General's audit reports to Parliament. The Auditor-General was therefore unable to express an opinion on this project.

- 73 The projects instituted by the Department of Foreign Affairs were constituted mainly around sanctions-busting operations. They involved the setting up of financial trusts and various front companies and organisations in a number of countries around the world.⁷
- 74 According to information supplied, but not audited, the following amounts were transferred by the Treasury, and later the Department of State Expenditure, to departments in respect of secret funds between 1978 and 1994:

South African Information Services	R60 240 017
Foreign Affairs	R79 434 205
National Intelligence	R2 279 261 995
SADF	R15 285 000
SAP	R289 907 000
National Education	R8 768 841
Bantu Administration	R6 000
Finance	R18 138 112
	<u>R2 751 041 170</u>

- 75 The above amount of R15 285 000 does not reflect the amount that passed through the Defence Special Account. The Auditor-General has provided the Commission with a schedule that identifies a total amount of R49 648 737 969 passing through this account, with a further R586 501 609 being expended on 'sensitive line function projects' between the 1974–75 and 1994–95 financial years.
- 76 Similarly, information provided by the Auditor-General concerning amounts paid by Foreign Affairs 'for control of sanctions and disinvestment out of secret funds' lists a total of 417 projects with an expenditure of R210 087 535.32, including, for example, project No 35 with an expenditure of R25 million.

⁷ The audit files in respect of Project Coast as well as some of the Department of Foreign Affairs projects were available for further inspection.

■ CONCLUSION

- 77 From the limited information at its disposal, the office of the Auditor-General attempted to provide the Commission with as complete a picture as possible of the auditing of all secret funds. To the extent that information and documentation has been destroyed, and persons with the appropriate knowledge have left the relevant departments, the Auditor-General was not able to provide any assurance that the information was completely accurate or complete.
- 78 This report does, however, provide an insight into the environment in which the Auditor-General operated for almost the entire period under review. Whilst Parliament required the Auditor-General to provide audit assurance, state departments often gave access to information on a limited and reluctant basis. There is no evidence to suggest that the office of the Auditor-General did not seek to exercise its mandate to the best of its ability within the constraints of the law and the culture of secrecy that prevailed at the time. The Auditor-General is on record as saying:

As a result of the foregoing, the Office has always maintained and has publicly reported that the audit assurance obtained from auditing secret funds is lower than would normally be the case. It is with regret that, because of the inherent limitations of any audit as well as the particular circumstances set out earlier, the Office must accept that expenditure audited by it may have been incurred, or assets may have been acquired, from the relevant secret funds for the purpose of committing gross human rights violations.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT:

- SECRET FUNDING WAS USED TO PROMOTE A POLITICAL CLIMATE THAT LED DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.
- BEFORE 1991, SECRET FUNDING WAS USED TO PROMOTE PARTY POLITICAL AND SECTARIAN POLITICAL INTERESTS.
- SECRET FUNDING WAS INADEQUATELY ADMINISTERED AND AUDITED – ALTHOUGH ATTEMPTS WERE MADE AFTER 1991, THROUGH THE KAHN COMMISSION, THE MINISTERS' COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL PROJECTS AND THE EVALUATION COMMISSION, TO REDRESS THIS SITUATION.
- INITIATIVES UNDERTAKEN BY THE AUDITOR-GENERAL'S OFFICE TO EXECUTE A MORE PRECISE AUDIT WERE HAMPERED BY LEGISLATIVE CONSTRAINTS AND A 'NEED-TO-KNOW' MILIEU WHICH PREVAILED IN STATE DEPARTMENTS, AS WELL AS BY THE REFUSAL OF SOME STATE OFFICIALS DEALING WITH SECRET FUNDS TO PROVIDE THE DOCUMENTATION AND OTHER INFORMATION NEEDED FOR AUDITING PURPOSES.

- AGENTS AND STATE EMPLOYEES WORKING ON SECRET PROJECTS RECEIVED FINANCIAL AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS WHEN SPECIFIC SECRET PROJECTS WERE TERMINATED, WHICH SHOULD BE REGARDED AT LEAST AS MORALLY QUESTIONABLE.
- FUNDING THROUGH THE SPECIAL DEFENCE ACCOUNT IN PARTICULAR WAS NOT SUBJECT TO ADEQUATE AUDITING UNTIL AT LEAST THE 1985–86 FINANCIAL YEAR.
- THE FUNDING OF CCB ACTIVITIES WAS AT NO TIME SUBJECTED TO AN ADEQUATE AUDIT.

THE KAHN COMMITTEE AND THE SUBSEQUENT BODIES DID NOT PROVIDE SUFFICIENT DETAIL REGARDING STATE SECRET FUNDING. PROJECT DESCRIPTIONS PROVIDE LIMITED INFORMATION. AN EXAMPLE CAN BE MADE OF *PROJECT ECHOES*, WHICH IS DESCRIBED AS "AN SADP ACTIVITY AIMED AT COMBATING VERBAL ATTACKS ON ITS DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS. ITS ACTIVITY RELATES TO THE ACQUISITION OF INFORMATION IN RESPECT OF MK MAINLY, AND PASSING THIS TO THE MEDIA." THE AUDITOR-GENERAL'S REPORT DESCRIBES IT AS "MAINTAINING A SA ARMY COMMUNICATION CAPABILITY TO WITHSTAND MILITARY AIMED PROPAGANDA ACTIONS". THE COMMISSION HAS INFORMATION THAT (INTENTIONALLY OR OTHERWISE) LINKS *PROJECT ECHOES* TO HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, IN THAT AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON MR DIRK COETZEE WAS FACILITATED UNDER COVER OF *PROJECT ECHOES*. THIS INFORMATION CONFIRMS THE OBSERVATION OF GENERAL PIERRE STEYN IN HIS INVESTIGATION INTO THE STRUCTURES AND ACTIONS OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, THAT IN A NUMBER OF INSTANCES, DUBIOUS AND ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES HAD BEEN SUCCESSFULLY WOVEN INTO AUTHORISED AND OFFICIAL OPERATIONS, MAKING DETECTION MORE DIFFICULT.

- QUESTIONS REMAIN AS TO BOTH THE ACTIVITIES AND FINANCIAL RESOLUTION OF SEVERAL PROJECTS. IN PARTICULAR, THE ISSUE REGARDING THE USE MADE OF THE LARGE SUM OF MONEY LOCATED IN A FOREIGN TRUST ACCOUNT IS OUTSTANDING. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT THE ASSETS OF THE TRUST WERE IN THE VICINITY OF R20 MILLION, AFTER THE PAYMENT OF RECOMMENDED SETTLEMENTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT INSUFFICIENT INFORMATION IS PRESENTLY AVAILABLE TO DESCRIBE THESE PROJECTS ADEQUATELY AND RECOMMENDS THAT FURTHER RESEARCH AND INVESTIGATION BE DONE INTO THESE SECRET PROJECTS TO ESTABLISH A FULLER PICTURE OF THEIR RANGE OF ACTIVITIES.

Special Investigation into the Secret Burial of Activists and Report on Exhumations

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The exhumation of the remains of Ms Phila Portia Ndwandwe took place in KwaZulu-Natal on 12 March 1997. Commissioner Richard Lyster noted that this was one of "the most poignant and saddest" of the exhumations. The remains were found buried in a remote part of the province. According to Lyster:

She was held in a small concrete chamber on the edge of the small forest in which she was buried. According to information from those that killed her, she was held naked and interrogated in this chamber, for some time before her death. When we exhumed her, she was on her back in a foetal position, because the grave had not been dug long enough, and had a single bullet wound to the top of her head, indicating that she had been kneeling or squatting when she was killed. Her pelvis was clothed in a plastic packet, fashioned into a pair of panties indicating an attempt to protect her modesty.

- 2 The Commission was requested by political parties and individuals to establish the whereabouts of those who had disappeared during the period of the Commission's mandate. The Investigation Unit of the Commission investigated many cases of reported disappearances. In the process, secret burial sites were exposed and perpetrators involved in the killings and secret burials identified. In most cases, it was found that the perpetrators had covered up the identity of the victims and their final burial places.
- 3 Most of the secret graves are located in the former Transvaal, KwaZulu/Natal and the Orange Free State, near the borders of Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique.
- 4 Fifty bodies were exhumed, but almost 200 cases have not been finalised. The lengthy procedures necessitated by each exhumation made it impossible for the Commission to complete this task.

■ METHODOLOGY

- 5 Cases of disappearances came to the attention of the Investigation Unit largely through statements made to the Commission by deponents who believed their relatives had disappeared as a consequence of their political activities. These statements were cross-referenced to applications for amnesty, yielding some positive results. The Investigation Unit also referred to a list supplied by the African National Congress (ANC) of members who had been kidnapped by South African security forces, or who had disappeared after infiltrating the country. Mortuary registers, cemetery registers and undertakers were consulted in the process of locating bodies.
- 6 An undertaker in Louis Trichardt, Transvaal told a Commission investigator that his father, who had owned the business before him, had been visited by the police in 1987/1988 and asked to come to a farm in the mountains where they "were going to shoot blacks". His father was to collect the bodies, accompanied by his son.
- 7 The undertaker pointed out approximately seventy graves in that area. Of the twenty bodies exhumed by the Commission, all were found to be ANC members from exile who were tortured before they were killed. Some of the bodies were headless; some without arms or legs; some had burn marks from a cutting torch.
- 8 It was found that members of the Nylstroom, Pietersburg, Messina, Louis Trichardt and Tzaneen security police in the Transvaal joined with local farmers to form a group that 'specialised' in capturing, torturing and then killing ANC members who infiltrated the country.

■ EXHUMATION PROCESS

- 9 Methods of exhumation differed from region to region. In KwaZulu-Natal, exhumations were performed in the presence of a pathologist. The graves were opened, the remains sealed and the body taken for autopsy. After this, the family was able to rebury the remains. The Investigation Unit in the regional office based in Johannesburg placed more emphasis on getting the bodies to the families as quickly as possible; autopsies were not performed as a matter of procedure.
- 10 The Commission made extensive use of the services of the South African Police Services' (SAPS) video unit, and particularly their canine (sniffer-dog) unit.

- 11 In KwaZulu-Natal, many of the exhumations were carried out at former Security Branch 'safe houses' – places where police held informers and where, in the late 1980s, they allegedly took activists who had been abducted in order to interrogate and then kill them. The sites where the bodies were believed to have been buried were cordoned off, and a team from a specialist undertaker's firm would test the soil for signs of recent disturbance and demarcate an area for excavation.
- 12 Police sniffer-dogs were used to seek out the presence of lime below the soil surface, as lime was almost invariably poured onto the bodies in order to hasten their decomposition. Once the correct spot had been located, a pathologist would supervise the removal of soil until the body was located. The pathologist would enter the grave and remove the body – bone by bone, in the many cases where the flesh had completely disintegrated – in order to preserve the forensic integrity of the site.

■ DISAPPEARANCE OF MK OPERATIVES

- 13 Investigations into the disappearances and killings of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres showed that incidents in which they lost their lives occurred mainly near the borders of South Africa with Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Botswana. MK operatives who were intercepted while travelling in and out of the country were often killed in shoot-outs with the police or the army. In other cases, operatives were abducted and attempts were made to turn them into *askaris*. When they did not co-operate with the police, they were brutally killed and often buried in secret locations or in unnamed graves in cemeteries.

■ EXHUMATIONS (IN ORDER OF DATE OF EXHUMATION)

Phila Portia Ndwandwe¹ (aka MK Zandile)

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

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

¹ KZN/NNN/018/DN; AM4513/97, AM5169/97, AM4077/96, AM4117/96, AM4130/96, AM4390/96, AM4508/96.

Phumezo Nxiweni²

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

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

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

Lesaja Sexwale³ (aka Reggie Gladman)

Age 31; ANC/MK.

Sureboy A Dali (aka Titus Ntombela and Charlie Bronson)

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Thabo Rakubu (aka Shakes Mde Lungile)

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Mthimkhulu Mavuso (aka Patrick Xesi and Zola Mqadi)

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

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

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

² EC0246/96WTK; AM4077/96, AM4117/96, AM4130/96, AM4388/96, AM4508/96.

³ JB02462/01GTSOW.

Ntombi Kubheka⁴

Age 41; ANC/MK.

Ms Ntombi Khubeka was killed in May 1987. A body which is believed to be hers was exhumed from a pauper's grave at Groutville on 5 May 1997.

Khubeka was allegedly an MK member who co-ordinated the external and internal combat units. Durban Security Branch members arrested her in May 1987. She allegedly died of a heart attack during interrogation. The possibility that she was tortured cannot be ruled out. Her body was disposed of in Inanda/ Newtown to conceal the cause of death and the identity of the perpetrators.

Victor M Mgadi (aka Daniel Neto), buried as Sipho Gazi

Age 27; ANC/MK.

Killed 22 November 1982; exhumed 6 May 1997 at Piet Retief.

According to Mr Lungile Wiseman Magxwalisa (aka Thomas Zondo, Nthebe), the sole survivor of the incident, he and Mr Victor M Mgadi, Mr Titus Dladla, and Mr Thuluso A Matima, all MK operatives, crossed the Swaziland border at Mahamba on 22 November 1982 and took a taxi from Piet Retief to Pongola. The taxi driver reported them to the police, who stopped them at a roadblock. Matima refused to give himself up to the police and therefore shot himself. Mgadi and Dladla ran away and were subsequently shot by police from a helicopter. When the family of Mgadi approached the Commission, the KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng investigation units together exhumed the remains of Mgadi, buried under the name of Victor Mokagetla (grave 802), from Thandokukhanya cemetery, Piet Retief.

Bheki Mkwanzazi⁵ (aka MK Tekere)

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Killed 1989; exhumed 6 August 1997 at Elandskop farm.

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

⁴ JB03477/02PS; AM4077/96, AM4508/96, AM51069/96, AM4130/96, AM4388/96.

⁵ KZN/FS/121/DN.

Blessing Ninela⁶

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Killed 13 July 1988; exhumed 6 August 1997 at Bulwer.

Mr Blessing Ninela was allegedly an MK operative who was arrested on 13 July 1988 while on a mission to Natal to place bombs. The Durban Security Branch did not have admissible evidence to use against him in court. They decide to kill him, and drove him to a railway line just outside Bulwer. They shot him and then blew up his body to make it appear as if he had blown himself up in the process of placing explosives. He was buried in a pauper's grave in Bulwer.

Zola Tati

Age unknown; MK.

Charles Tsatsi

Age unknown; MK.

Both killed 10 November 1986; exhumed 11 November 1997 at Sekoto cemetery, Louis Trichardt.

Mr Zola Tati and Mr Charles Tsatsi, with Mr Milo Malatsi, formed part of an MK group which was ambushed near Soutpansberg while infiltrating from Botswana.

Titus Dladla (aka Zakes Bhanaza), buried as Michael Sekupe

Age 28; ANC/MK.

Thuliso A Matima⁷ (aka Derrick Lekota), buried as Abione Thela

Age 32; ANC/MK.

Both were killed on 22 November 1982, exhumed 27 November 1997 at Piet Retief. See the account above under Victor M Mgadi. The Johannesburg office Investigation Unit exhumed the remains of these two cadres from Thandokukhanya cemetery (Piet Retief).

Mzwandile Radebe⁸

Age 27; ANC/MK.

Killed 14 August 1986; exhumed 27 November 1997 at Piet Retief.
Mr Mzwandile Radebe was a member of MK who came into the country from Swaziland and was killed by the security forces.

6 AM4077/96, AM4130/96, AM4508/96.

7 JB05078/03NW.

8 JB05785/01GTSOW.

Ruben M Letsila (aka Bernard Zonke)

Age unknown; MK.

Killed 1986; exhumed 9 December 1997 at Sekoto cemetery, Louis Trichardt.

Mr Ruben M Letsila was travelling in a minibus from Zimbabwe when the vehicle was stopped at a roadblock. He was shot and killed by security forces near the Motale River in Venda.

Richard B Molokwane⁹ (aka Mmutle Ramanase)

Age 26; ANC/MK.

Vincent Sekete (aka Sydney Sebephu)

Age 32; ANC/MK.

Killed 28 November 1985; exhumed 10–12 December 1997 at Piet Retief. Mr Richard Molokwane, Mr Victor Lunga Khayiyane and Mr Vincent Sekete died in a shoot-out with the police, following an attack at the SASOL complex on 28 November 1985.

Emmanuel Mthokizisi Mbova Mzimela (aka Dion Cele)

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Killed 1988; exhumed 10 March 1997 at Elandskop farm.

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

Brian Ngqulunga¹⁰

Age 42; South African Police/askari.

Killed 21 July 1990. Exhumed 16 March 1998 at Vlakplaas.

⁹ JB00281/01GTSOW.

¹⁰ JB01965/02PS; AM0066/96, AM2775/96, AM3764/96, 5283/97, AM5458/97.

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

Paulos Madiba

Watson M Majova

Age 27; ANC/MK.

Aaron Makwe

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Nine unknown persons

Mr Majova and Mr Makwe were killed on 28 November 1985; exhumed 17 March 1998 at Boshhoek.

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

Majova's remains have now been reburied by his family in Potchefstroom.

Patrick Motswaletswale (aka Barry C Maputo)

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Magic Madi

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Both killed 12 June 1983; exhumed 18 March 1998 at Sekoto cemetery, Louis Trichardt.

Mr Patrick Motswaletswale, Mr A Mlaudzi, and Mr Magic Madi were kidnapped at Beit Bridge after a postmaster who was a police informer intercepted a letter with details of their travel. They were taken to Pafuri, Venda, where they were put into small hut by the police and shot at.

The remains of A Mlaudzi were not exhumed, because the family had already given him a proper funeral.

Ndlela Sibiya (aka Baba)

Age 37; MK.

Matthews T Nkosi (aka Mthakathi T Nkululeko)

Age 36; MK.

Killed 7 July 1986; exhumed 18 March 1998 at Thoyandowu cemetery. Mr Ndlela Sibiya and Mr Matthews T Nkosi, MK operatives, were travelling from Botswana on bicycles. They told a local person about their intended mission to blow up Malelane power station. This person then reported this to the police. The party was ambushed on the way to the power station, and a Mr Shabangu, a local ANC chairperson, was killed along with the two cadres. The two cadres were buried illegally.

Selby Mavuso¹¹ (aka Larry Makhaya)

Age unknown; MK.

Killed 8 April 1987; exhumed 18 March 1998 at Thabazimbi cemetery. Mr Selby Mavuso and two other MK members were on their way from Botswana to Derdepoort when somebody reported them to the South African Defence Force (SADF). The army went out to look for them, and a shoot-out followed in which Mavuso died. In a statement from the army, it was said that Mavuso tried to blow them up. There is no information available to corroborate this. Mavuso's body was buried by the authorities. The bodies of the two other MK members involved, Mr Matima and Mr Matulo, were buried by their parents.

¹¹ JB05907/01GTSOW.

Robert Mokoena (aka George Sello)

Age 31; ANC/MK.

Killed 10 May 1981; exhumed 20 March 1998 at Pienaar cemetery, Nelspruit.

The police, the army and the Security Branch were called in when Mr Robert Mokoena went to Bushbuckridge railway station to blow up the railway line. According to a police statement, the police found Mokoena and gave him a lift. Inside the police minibus, Mokoena took a hand grenade out of his bag and detonated it, killing himself and a police officer. However, Mokoena was also found to have been shot in the head.

Sipho Kolisi¹²

Age 27; ANC/MK.

Killed 1985; exhumed 25 March 1998 at Sekoto cemetery, Louis Trichardt. Mr Sipho Kolisi, an MK member, was killed during a shoot-out with police.

Milo Malatsi

Age 34; MK.

Killed 10 November 1986; exhumed 25 March 1988 at Sekoto cemetery, Louis Trichardt.

Mr Milo Malatsi, along with Mr Zola Tati and Mr Charles Tsatsi, formed part of an MK group that was ambushed near Soutpansberg while infiltrating from Botswana.

Abbram More (aka Happy Batho)

Age 27; MK.

Oupa Lukhele

Age 28; MK.

Alfred Nkosi

Age 30; MK.

Mlungisi Velaphi

Age 34; MK.

¹² EC0749/96ALB.

Daniel Nkabinde

Age 32; MK.

All killed on 28 March 1988; exhumed on 25 March 1998 at Sekoto cemetery, Louis Trichardt.

In March 1988, a group of MK operatives returning from Botswana infiltrated South Africa via the Motale River at the border of Botswana and Zimbabwe and stayed over at Soutpansberg. They were Mr Abbram More, Mr Oupa Lukhele, Mr Alfred Nkosi, Mr Mlungisi Velaphi and Mr Daniel Nkabinde, accompanied by an askari who alerted the Security Branch to their presence. The group was rounded up, shot at, tortured and attacked with hand grenades. Some were decapitated and had their hands and penises severed. Investigators believed that the men were tortured in front of each other and died painfully and slowly.

Oupa Funani¹³

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Killed 21 July 1988; exhumed 5 May 1998 at Piet Retief.

Mr Oupa Funani was killed by soldiers at Mahamba gate near Piet Retief. He and Mr Velile Zwane were returning from Swaziland where they had gone to fetch hand grenades for a mission. When the police searched them at the border gate, Funani dropped a hand grenade. He was then shot and killed by soldiers. His colleague was arrested by the police and sentenced to ten years on Robben Island. Funani was buried as an unidentified person at Piet Retief.

Bafana Mahlombe (aka Jazz Walker)

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Bhekuyise Sithebe¹⁴ (MK Vusumusi Mbongwe)

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

James Masango (aka MK Hawka)

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

All killed 11 February 1983; exhumed 7 May 1998 at Dumbé cemetery, Paulpietersburg.

13 JB00777/01GTSOW.

14 KZN/SELF172/DN.

Mr Bafana Mahlombe, Mr Bhekuyise Sithebe, and Mr James Masango are alleged to have been shot in mountainous terrain with the assistance of army helicopters.

Bheki Sam Mchunu (aka MK Jay Jele Gxige)

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Henry Mavella Manyoni Nkosi

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Both killed 8 June 1982; exhumed 7 May 1998 at Dumbé cemetery, Paulpietersburg.

Mr Bheki Sam Mchunu and Mr Henry Mavella Manyoni Nkosi were allegedly killed in Bethanie by a businessperson and former police officer. It is alleged that they were shot while running away after the driver of the taxi they were travelling in had alerted this businessperson to their presence. Mchunu's sister was summoned to the police station and positively identified his body. He had a gunshot wound to the back of his head. She was told to buy a coffin and come back to fetch the body. When the family returned with the coffin, they were told they could not bury him. After this, the police continued to come to the house asking for Mr Mchunu as if he were still alive. Mchunu's remains have been re-buried in Vryheid by his family.

Mxolisi Penwell "Mubi" Khumalo

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Killed 30 July 1988; exhumed 8 June 1998 at Pietermaritzburg.

Mr Mxolisi Penwell "Mubi" Khumalo was killed by the Security Branch at Sobantu, Pietermaritzburg, who had received information about his presence in the area. Police claimed that Khumalo had a hand grenade in his pocket and was trying to detonate it when they shot him.

Linda Fikekahle "Post" Kuzwayo

Age unknown; ANC/MK.

Killed 24 December 1984; exhumed 8 June 1998 at Ncotshane cemetery (block 2, grave 047).

Mr Linda Fikekahle "Post" Kuzwayo, an MK cadre, was killed during a shoot-out with police.

Special Investigation into the Mandela United Football Club

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 In 1986, following her return to Soweto after several years of banishment to the magisterial district of Brandfort in the Orange Free State, Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was instrumental in providing refuge and material assistance to disaffected youth from Soweto and other communities.
- 2 During this period she also acted as an operative for the African National Congress (ANC) military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), and provided assistance to MK cadres infiltrating the country from neighbouring states. In late 1986 she was instrumental in the resolution of an internal conflict within the Orlando West branch of the Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO), which resulted in the formation of the Mandela United Football Club (MUFC). A number of the youths involved in this conflict moved into the outbuildings of the Mandela home in the Orlando West section of Soweto.
- 3 Allegations against the youths living at and associated with the Mandela home first surfaced during 1987. Tension developed between the youths and other elements in the community and, at the end of July 1988, the Mandela home was burnt down. Community and religious leaders formed the Mandela Crisis Committee, a group which attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to resolve the conflicts that led to the burning of the Mandela household.
- 4 After July 1988, Ms Madikizela-Mandela and a number of MUFC youths moved into new premises in Diepkloof Extension. The behaviour of these youths, frequently described by community residents as a "reign of terror", continued throughout the next seven months. In a February 1989 statement, the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) stated:

In recent years, Mrs Mandela's actions have increasingly led her into conflict with the various sections of the oppressed people and with the Mass Democratic Movement as a whole. The recent conflict in the community has centred largely around the conduct of her so-called football club, which has been widely condemned by the community. In particular, we are outraged by the reign of terror that the team have been associated with. Not only is Mrs Mandela associated with the team, in fact, the team is her own creation.

- 5 Between August 1988 and the end of February 1989, the residents and associates of the Mandela household, including Ms Madikizela-Mandela herself, were implicated directly or indirectly in a range of incidents – including assaults and abduction, and the murder and attempted murder of at least a dozen individuals. The crisis peaked with the abduction of four youths from the Methodist manse in Orlando West and the murder of Stompie Seipei in late December 1988 and early January 1989.
- 6 An angry and agitated Soweto community attempted to sanction the activities of Ms Madikizela-Mandela and her football club through the offices of the Mandela Crisis Committee and other religious and community leaders. Madikizela-Mandela disparaged their cumulative efforts and did not heed their advice. This intransigence prompted even more drastic action, culminating in unprecedented public criticism of Madikizela-Mandela by the leadership of the MDM and the ANC in February 1989.
- 7 The ANC released the following press statement on 16 February 1989:

It is with a feeling of terrible sadness that we consider to express our reservations about Winnie Mandela's judgement in relation to the Mandela football Club.

- 8 This chapter examines a series of allegations against Madikizela-Mandela, the MUFC and other associates of her household, relating to cases reported to and investigated by the Commission. The cases examined occurred after her return from Brandfort to Soweto in 1986 up until her trial for kidnapping and assault in 1991. The Investigation Unit did not focus on all cases, but concentrated on the seven-month period from the end of July 1988 to the end of February 1989.
- 9 This chapter includes findings made by the Commission regarding Ms Madikizela-Mandela, the MUFC, and other individuals, as well as overall findings regarding the role of community structures, the ANC and the South African Police (SAP).

These findings pertain to specific cases as well as to general themes that arose during the overall inquiry.

- 10 It should be noted that there was considerable disagreement as to what and who constituted the MUFC.
- 11 A more detailed and comprehensive examination of the cases and issues raised in this summary was submitted to the Commission by the Johannesburg Investigation Unit. This report also contains a set of recommendations pertaining to each case brought before the Commission.

■ BACKGROUND TO INVESTIGATION

- 12 The allegations against Ms Madikizela-Mandela and the football club have been extremely controversial. The activities of the club, which culminated in the abduction and assault of youths and the subsequent events of January and February 1989, resulted in the prosecution and conviction of Madikizela-Mandela and three associates, as well as the conviction for murder of Mr Jerry Richardson, the coach of the MUFC. Madikizela-Mandela was found guilty in 1991 of kidnapping and of being an accessory to assault. The latter conviction was subsequently overturned, but a full bench of the Appellate Division upheld the kidnapping conviction in 1993.
- 13 The Commission's enquiry was initiated following submissions received at the Soweto hearing in July 1996 and from Ms Joyce Seipei, mother of Stompie Seipei, in KwaZulu-Natal. Additional information was also received from members of the MUFC as well as from the amnesty applications of Mr Jerry Richardson and former members of the Security Branch.
- 14 The task of the Investigation Unit was to try to piece together a series of seemingly unrelated incidents and allegations, some of which were already well known. It made use of court and police records, victim statements, amnesty applications, media records and other publications. These sources assisted in the identification of all individuals concerned and involved.
- 15 Ms Madikizela-Mandela was *subpoenaed* to appear before the Human Rights Violations Committee in terms of section 29 of the Act. The hearing was to be held *in camera* but, following a request by Madikizela-Mandela's counsel that the enquiry be held in public, the Commission decided to hold an *in camera*

session, followed by a public hearing at which a cross-section of witnesses would be called to testify and at which Madikizela-Mandela would be given an opportunity to respond publicly.

- 16 The *in camera* hearing began on 26 September and continued for a further day on 13 October. The transcripts of these hearings were released for use at the public hearings, which began on 24 November. A total of forty-three witnesses gave evidence before the nine-day hearing – including perpetrators, victims, former members of the MUFC and other associates of the Mandela household, members of MK, Ms Madikizela-Mandela's former co-accused, members of the Mandela Crisis Committee, representatives of the mass democratic movement (MDM), religious and community leaders, members of the SAP Murder and Robbery Unit, former Security Branch members working with STRATCOM and the staff of the Commission's Investigation Unit. The final day was reserved for the evidence of Ms Madikizela-Mandela.
- 17 Arising from the testimony obtained from these hearings, the Commission decided to conduct a further public hearing into the role of the Soweto Security Branch. On 28 and 29 January 1998, twelve former security policemen, including two former divisional commanders of the Soweto Security Branch and former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock, testified before the Commission.
- 18 The broader enquiry also heard *in camera* testimony from members of the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), a former member of the Witwatersrand Attorney-General's office and a former member of the ANC's intelligence department who had been drafted into police investigations in 1995 to assist with the location of former MUFC members.
- 19 The Investigation Unit was constrained by insufficient personnel, time and resources. Initially, it received very little co-operation from the police regarding access to dockets and statements, receiving more information only in early 1998 when its mandate was coming to an end. It was thus not able to follow up all witnesses and leads.
- 20 The public hearing process was constrained by time limitations, allowing only for limited cross-examination, which angered many of the lawyers who appeared. The Commission emphasised, however, that this was not a court of law but a commission of enquiry – attempting to understand events rather than establish guilt or innocence.

■ CASES ADDRESSED BY THE COMMISSION

- 21 The following is a summary of the cases investigated by the Commission. Included, too, is Ms Madikizela-Mandela's response to allegations and questions and the Commission's findings in each matter.

Killing of Morgan Bambisa

- 22 Mr Joseph Lebusa (aka 'Hansie') made a statement to the Commission in which he claimed that he joined the MUFC in 1986 and moved into the back room of the Orlando West home of Ms Madikizela-Mandela. He said he had been trained in the use of explosives by an MK cadre living there. When he was told that Mr Morgan Bambisa, a family member of the Mandelas', had stolen a minibus belonging to Madikizela-Mandela, he joined Madikizela-Mandela and other members of the MUFC in the search for Bambisa. Bambisa was found and locked in the back room of the Mandela home, but was later found dead in the veld. In his statement, Lebusa alleges that MUFC members were responsible for Bambisa's death. This matter was not investigated by the unit. When questioned, Madikizela-Mandela denied knowledge of the incident and of the person making the allegation. She said there was no one by the name of Bambisa in the family.

THE COMMISSION MAKES NO FINDING IN THIS CASE

Killing of Xola Mokhaula and Mlando Ngubeni

- 23 Mr Xola Mokhaula was executed in front of his family on the evening of 24 January 1987. It seems he had confiscated a firearm from MK operative Oupa Alex Seheri, following a drunken shebeen brawl in Soweto. In attempting to retrieve the firearm, Seheri shot Mokhaula and Mr Mlando Ngubeni dead. Police found one of the guns used in the attack in Ms Zindzi Mandela-Hlongwane's bedroom. An Audi used in the incident belonged to Ms Madikizela-Mandela. Oupa Seheri, Mr S'thembiso Buthelezi and Mr Charles Bongani Zwane (aka 'Bobo') were convicted for these murders, for which Seheri applied for amnesty. Mr S'thembiso Buthelezi admitted to the court that he had driven the Audi during the operation and had hidden the recovered Scorpion machine pistol at the Mandela house.
- 24 Ms Madikizela-Mandela has denied any direct knowledge of or involvement in this incident.

THE COMMISSION FOUND NO EVIDENCE THAT MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA OR MS ZINDZI MANDELA-HLONGWANE HAD ANY DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN THE INCIDENT THAT LED TO THE DEATHS OF MR XOLA MOKHAULA AND MR MLANDO NGUBENI. THE COMMISSION FOUND, HOWEVER, THAT THE 'OPERATION' TO RECOVER OUPA SEHERI'S FIREARM WAS LAUNCHED FROM THE MANDELA HOME IN ORLANDO WEST; THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA'S VEHICLE, AN AUDI, WAS USED FOR THE OPERATION, AND THAT OUPA SEHERI WAS ASSISTED BY MUFC MEMBERS S'THEMBISO BUTHELEZI, CHARLES BONGANI ZWANE (AKA 'BOBO') AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE MUFC.

Torture and mutilation of Peter Makhanda and Phillip Makhanda

- 25 On 26 May 1987, the Makhanda brothers, Peter and Phillip, were taken by force to the back rooms of the Mandela home, were assaulted and had ANC slogans carved into their bodies and battery acid rubbed into their wounds. Two MUFC members, Mr Absolom Madonsela and Mr Isaac Mokgoro, and an associate and sometime driver of Ms Madikizela-Mandela, Mr John Morgan, were charged in this case, and acquitted owing to contradictory evidence. However, subsequent evidence and testimony from other witnesses confirms that the incident did take place. Former MUFC member Gift Ntombeni confirmed the incident at the hearings. Whilst the Makhanda brothers had implicated her in the incident, Madikizela-Mandela was never questioned by the police. In her testimony she denied any direct knowledge of or involvement in this incident.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ASSAULTS AND MUTILATION OF THE BROTHERS, PETER AND PHILLIP MAKHANDA, TOOK PLACE IN THE BACK ROOMS OF THE MANDELA HOUSE IN ORLANDO WEST IN MAY 1987 AND THAT MEMBERS OF THE MUFC PARTICIPATED IN THE ASSAULT AND/OR MUTILATION .

Death of Vincent Sefako and killing of Susan Maripa

- 26 Former MK operative Mr Vincent Sefako died in mysterious circumstances in Tladi Section, Soweto, in October 1987. He is listed in the ANC's submission as an MK cadre who infiltrated the country but was not heard of again. His real name was Veli Tshabalala, his travelling name Vuyisile Sefako, and he was also known as 'Comrade V' or 'Mshoshovi'.
- 27 The facts surrounding Sefako's death remain unclear. The Commission obtained neither the inquest docket into Sefako's death nor the findings and submissions of a 1979 ANC commission of enquiry into his death. The available evidence, however, lends some support to the version given to the Commission by former MK operative Mr Thami Hlatwayo, that renegade MK members killed Sefako. It is not, however, clear whether the ANC enquiry corroborated other aspects of witness allegations regarding Madikizela-Mandela's and Mr Peter Dlamini's alleged

involvement in this incident and the subsequent murder of Ms Susan Maripa on 29 October 1987. ANC records may confirm or deny the proximity of Madikizela-Mandela and these cadres to the alleged incidents.

- 28 Susan Maripa reputedly witnessed Sefako being deliberately knocked down by a car which drove off the road onto the pavement. She ran to call an ambulance and found on her return that the body was gone. Later, Maripa was herself killed. Maripa's inquest finding shows that she was killed by multiple gunshot wounds from an AK-47 and at least one shot from a Makharov pistol. The police have warned Hlatswayo that he is a suspect in this matter. He applied for amnesty, but not in connection with this matter. Access to a full ballistics report will be necessary to determine whether or not a Makharov in the possession of Hlatswayo was used in the attack.
- 29 The evidence of Thami Hlatswayo and one other MK cadre implicated Peter Dlamini in her murder. Hlatswayo testified that Ms Madikizela-Mandela informed him that she had seen the body of 'Comrade V' at the mortuary and that he had a bullet wound on the back of his head. He also informed the Commission that there had been a feud between 'Comrade V' and Madikizela-Mandela over control of the MK unit, and that, she had been unhappy with the fact that 'Comrade V' had spent the night in the Mandela home. Hlatswayo testified further that, four days after this, Peter Dlamini had taken him at gunpoint to the home of Susan Maripa. He said he was given a Makharov and that Peter Dlamini shot Maripa dead. Hlatswayo testified that he believed that Madikizela-Mandela, Dlamini and Mr Percy Peterson were involved in the murder of 'Comrade V'. Hlatswayo reported the matter to the ANC in Lusaka, as did Ms Catherine Mathibe, Maripa's neighbour. Percy Peterson was recalled to Lusaka by the ANC, where he was placed under arrest and interrogated about these incidents. The Motsuenyane Commission report found that the ANC investigation into the death of 'Comrade V' resulted in Peterson being detained without trial and repeatedly tortured by the ANC's security department. The ANC did not make the findings of their own commission of enquiry available to the Commission.
- 30 Ms Madikizela-Mandela has denied knowledge of the incident and of any of the individuals involved, with the exception of Sefako, whom she knew as 'Comrade V'. She categorically denied any involvement in either killing.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT 'COMRADE V' WAS KILLED BUT THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE PERSON OR PERSONS WHO KILLED HIM IS NOT CLEAR. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MK MEMBERS PERCY PETERSON AND PETER DLAMINI DEFECTED FROM THE UNIT THEY BELONGED

TO AND BEGAN FREQUENTING THE HOME OF MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA AT ORLANDO WEST. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ON A BALANCE OF PROBABILITIES, PETER DLAMINI AND THAMI HLATSWAYO, BOTH MK CADRES, WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING OF MS SUSAN MARIPE AND THAT SHE WAS PROBABLY KILLED BECAUSE SHE WITNESSED THE INCIDENT IN WHICH A MOVING CAR DELIBERATELY KNOCKED DOWN VINCENT SEFAKO.

Killing of Sicelo Dhlomo

31 Mr Sicelo Dhlomo was abducted and found dead in Soweto on 25 January 1998. The security forces were assumed to be responsible for his death. However, according to an amnesty application, Sicelo Dhlomo was killed by members of an MK unit led by Mr John Itumeleng Dube, allegedly because the MK unit suspected him of being a police informer.

32 Ms Xoliswa Falati alleged that Ms Madikizela-Mandela was involved in this incident. Madikizela-Mandela has denied any knowledge of or involvement in it.

THE COMMISSION FOUND NO EVIDENCE OF MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA'S INVOLVEMENT AND AWAITS THE AMNESTY HEARING OF JOHN ITUMELENG DUBE.

Assaults on Phumlile Dlamini

33 Ms Phumlile Dlamini, sister of the late Mr Kenneth Thole Dlamini (one of the original members of the MUFC, who was later killed by Mr Sizwe Sithole) told the Commission that she was assaulted by Ms Madikizela-Mandela and members of the MUFC in August and September 1988. Phumlile Dlamini was introduced to MUFC members by her late brother. She also claims that she had a relationship with Mr Johannes 'Shakes' Tau, a driver for Madikizela-Mandela. She alleged that Tau advised her that he had a relationship with Madikizela-Mandela, who confronted him upon learning of his relationship with Dlamini. Phumlile Dlamini told the Commission that she was pregnant when she was taken by Madikizela-Mandela and Tau into the Mandela home on the pretext that they were looking for her brother Thole. She said that she was then assaulted by Madikizela-Mandela. A week later she was allegedly picked up again by Madikizela-Mandela and other MUFC members, as Tau had disappeared, and again assaulted by Madikizela-Mandela. Later, she was repeatedly assaulted by MUFC members for a period of five hours which only stopped when Ms Zindzi Mandela-Hlongwane intervened. Mr Jerry Richardson confirms that he took her home.

34 When Phumlile advised her brother that she intended reporting the matter to the police, he begged her not to do so as he feared the reaction of Madikizela-Mandela and the MUFC. She did report the matter to Ms Dudu Chili.

- 35 Ms Madikizela-Mandela denied knowledge of or involvement in this incident.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS PHUMLILE DLAMINI WAS A CREDIBLE WITNESS AND THAT HER ALLEGATIONS OF ASSAULT AT THE HANDS OF MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE MUFC IS CONSISTENT WITH THE *MODUS OPERANDI* OF OTHER INCIDENTS OF ASSAULT THAT HAD TAKEN PLACE AT THE MANDELA HOUSE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN ALL PROBABILITY, DLAMINI WAS TAKEN FROM HER HOME ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION IN AUGUST 1988, THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA HAD KNOWLEDGE OF THIS AND THAT SHE AND MEMBERS OF THE MUFC WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR ASSAULTING MS DLAMINI.

Killing of Thole Dlamini

- 36 Mr Kenneth Thole Dlamini, one of the original members of the MUFC, was shot dead after attending a night vigil on the night of 16 October 1988. He had fallen out with powerful elements within the club after testifying against MUFC member Mr Absolom Madonsela. His testimony had led to the conviction of Madonsela.

- 37 Ms Madikizela-Mandela denies any direct knowledge of or involvement in the killing of Dlamini.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR THOLE DLAMINI, A FORMER MEMBER OF THE MUFC, WAS IN ALL PROBABILITY SHOT DEAD BY MR CLAYTON SIZWE SITHOLE ON 16 OCTOBER 1988 AS A RESULT OF BEING LABELLED AN INFORMER FOR GIVING EVIDENCE IN COURT AGAINST MR ABSOLOM MADONSELA, THE FORMER SECRETARY OF THE FOOTBALL CLUB. THE COMMISSION ALSO FINDS THAT SITHOLE WAS IN THE COMPANY OF ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE MUFC BY THE NAME OF 'BOTHILE' AT THE TIME OF THE SHOOTINGS. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT, AT THE TIME OF THE MURDER, SITHOLE WAS LIVING AT OR WAS A CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF THE MANDELA HOUSEHOLD AND WAS REGARDED BY MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA AS A MEMBER OF HER FAMILY. WHILST MADIKIZELA-MANDELA WAS NOT PRESENT IN SOWETO AT THE TIME OF THE INCIDENT, THE COMMISSION RECEIVED EVIDENCE THAT SHE KNEW OF THE INCIDENT AND ATTEMPTED TO COVER IT UP BY ASSISTING POTENTIAL WITNESSES TO GO INTO HIDING. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA FAILED TO DISCLOSE HER KNOWLEDGE OF THIS INCIDENT AND, IN ALL PROBABILITY, ASSISTED SITHOLE TO EVADE THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ABSOLOM MADONSELA (WHO ADMITTED AS MUCH BEFORE MEMBERS OF THE SAPS AND THE COMMISSION'S INVESTIGATION UNIT) ORDERED SIZWE SITHOLE TO EXECUTE DLAMINI FOR TESTIFYING IN COURT AGAINST HIM.

ABSOLOM MADONSELA (AKA 'BIZA') SAID THAT HE HAD AUTHORISED THE KILLING AND INFORMED THE COMMISSION THAT HE HAD APPLIED FOR AMNESTY FOR THIS INCIDENT. HE WAS TOLD THAT THE COMMISSION HAD NO RECORD OF ANY SUCH APPLICATION. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HIS MISSING APPLICATION ARE BEING INVESTIGATED BY THE AMNESTY COMMITTEE.

Deaths of Tebogo Maluleke, Sipho Mbenenge and Sergeant Stephanus Pretorius

- 38 Mr Frans Tebogo Maluleke (aka 'Peter') and Mr Sipho Mbenenge were MK cadres who were temporarily accommodated at the house of MUFC 'coach' Mr Jerry Richardson. On 9 November 1988, following a tip-off from Richardson that the MK cadres were staying at his home, police came to the scene. In their attempt to capture the MK members, Security Branch member Sergeant Stephanus Pretorius – Richardson's police handler – was killed in unusual and unexplained circumstances. Both MK members were also killed.
- 39 This incident is also directly related to the subsequent disappearance of Lolo Sono and Sibuniso Tshabalala (see below).

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA PLACED MK MEMBERS MALULEKE AND MBENENGE IN THE HOUSE OF MR JERRY RICHARDSON FOR SAFEKEEPING. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT BOTH CADRES WERE KILLED AS A RESULT OF A POLICE OPERATION LAUNCHED ON THE BASIS OF A 'TIP-OFF' FROM JERRY RICHARDSON, WHO ADMITTED TO PROVIDING THE POLICE WITH INFORMATION IN THIS REGARD. RICHARDSON WAS RELEASED FROM CUSTODY FIFTEEN DAYS AFTER THIS INCIDENT.

THE COMMISSION NOTES THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA REFUSED TO ANSWER QUESTIONS DURING THE *IN CAMERA* HEARING ON WHETHER SHE HAD ANY SUSPICIONS REGARDING RICHARDSON'S QUICK RELEASE, IN THE LIGHT OF THE SERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH HE HAD BEEN ARRESTED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA'S SUBSEQUENT TESTIMONY THAT SHE SIMPLY REGARDED RICHARDSON TO BE A VICTIM IN THIS INCIDENT IS NOT CREDIBLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA WAS NEGLIGENT IN THAT SHE FAILED TO INSTITUTE ENQUIRIES INTO THE DEATHS OF THE TWO CADRES AT THE TIME, AND THAT HER MISPLACED TRUST IN JERRY RICHARDSON WAS THE DIRECT CAUSE OF THEIR DEATH.

THE COMMISSION FURTHER FINDS THAT THE INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED BY THE SECURITY BRANCH INTO THE DEATH OF SERGEANT STEPHANUS PRETORIUS WAS RIDDLED WITH INCONSISTENCIES AND OBVIOUS OMISSIONS AND THAT ATTENTION SHOULD ALSO HAVE BEEN PAID TO THE ALLEGED UNCHARACTERISTIC AND ABERRANT ACTIONS OF PRETORIUS. SUSPICIONS OF THESE IRREGULARITIES ARE COMPOUNDED BY THE TESTIMONY OF CERTAIN SECURITY BRANCH OFFICERS, WHICH APPEARED AT TIMES TO BE LESS THAN CANDID. OF PARTICULAR CONCERN WAS THE TESTIMONY OF MR NORMAN LEMMER, THE INVESTIGATING OFFICER.

Abduction and killing of Lolo Sono and Anthony Sibuniso Tshabalala

- 40 Directly related to the killings of Tebogo Maluleke and Sipho Mbenenge at Richardson's house were the abductions and killings of Lolo Sono and Sibuniso Tshabalala.

- 41 Tebogo Maluleke was a relative of the Sono family. Mr Nicodemus Sono, the father of Lolo Sono, returned from Transkei on 10 November 1988. On his arrival, Lolo informed him that both Sibuniso Tshabalala and he had received notes requesting them to report to the police station. They had visited Ms Madikizela-Mandela on 7 November to ask for advice, and she had torn up the notes and told them not to go to the police station. On the night of 8 November, Sono and Tshabalala stayed in Mfolo section of Soweto with Tshabalala's aunt. On Wednesday 9 November, Madikizela-Mandela arranged for them to go and see Tebogo Maluleke at Mzimhlope. Mr Sono testified that Lolo told him that when he got there, there was a police helicopter flying around Richardson's house. Tebogo was agitated and told them to leave. However, they stayed hidden at a nearby shop, from where they witnessed the whole incident.
- 42 When they went to police station later, they were told that they could not be seen on that day as the police were preparing for the funeral of Sergeant Pretorius who had been killed in the same incident as Tebogo Maluleke. Mr Sono was asked to formally identify Maluleke as he was a family relative. They were told to return on 14 November 1988.
- 43 Mr Sono testified that on Sunday 13 November, Mr Michael Siyakamela, Ms Madikizela-Mandela's temporary driver, came to his house. He was told that someone wanted to see him. When he went out, he saw Lolo sitting in the back of the minibus, with Madikizela-Mandela in the front seat. Lolo's face was swollen and bruised. Sono testified that Madikizela-Mandela informed him that Lolo was a police spy and that the MK cadres at Jerry Richardson's house had been killed because of him. Despite his pleas to Madikizela-Mandela to release his son, Lolo was taken away. Madikizela-Mandela allegedly told him: "I am taking this dog away. The movement will see what to do to him."
- 44 This was the last time that Mr Sono saw his son.
- 45 Ms Madikizela-Mandela has denied any knowledge of or involvement in the abductions, assaults and killing of Lolo Sono or Sibuniso Tshabalala.
- 46 The Commission obtained a statement from Mr Michael Siyakamela which verifies Mr Sono's version in almost all respects.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT LOLO SONO WAS ABDUCTED BY MEMBERS OF THE MUFC ON 13 NOVEMBER 1988 AND WAS TAKEN TO THE DIEPKLOOF HOME OF MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA WHERE HE WAS SEVERELY ASSAULTED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA

HAD KNOWLEDGE OF THE ASSAULTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA, IN THE COMPANY OF MR MICHAEL SIYAKAMELA, MR GUYBON KUBEKA, MR RONNIE SEKHUKUNE AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE MUFC, TOOK LOLO SONO TO THE HOME OF HIS PARENTS IN MEADOWLANDS, WHERE MADIKIZELA-MANDELA REFUSED TO HAND LOLO OVER TO HIS FATHER, DESPITE REQUESTS TO DO SO. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA INFORMED MR NICODEMUS SONO THAT HIS SON WOULD BE SENT AWAY SO THE MOVEMENT COULD DEAL WITH HIM. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT LOLO SONO WAS KILLED BY MR JERRY RICHARDSON, A CLOSE CONFIDANT OF MADIKIZELA-MANDELA. RICHARDSON WAS ALSO LOLO SONO'S FRIEND AND NEIGHBOUR AND THE COACH OF THE FOOTBALL CLUB. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA CONSISTENTLY DENIED ANY KNOWLEDGE OF THE WHEREABOUTS OF LOLO SONO AND MADE NO EFFORT TO LOCATE HIM.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SIBUNISO TSHABALALA'S FATE WAS LINKED TO THAT OF LOLO SONO.

- 47 Ms Nomsa Tshabalala, Sibuniso's mother, testified that, on the evening of 13 November, members of the MUFC came to the house in search of Sibuniso, who was not at home at the time. When he returned, his family told him what had happened to Lolo Sono. He nevertheless refused to go into hiding. He went out on the morning of 15 November but did not return home.
- 48 The distraught parents of Lolo and Sibuniso visited Captain Potgieter at the Protea police station and informed him that Lolo had been taken by Ms Madikizela-Mandela and that Sibuniso was missing. They were instructed to report the matter to the Meadowlands police. Later that day, Ms Tshabalala was called by Sibuniso, who said only that he was with Lolo.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ANTHONY SIBUNISO TSHABALALA WAS ASSAULTED AT THE MADIKIZELA-MANDELA HOUSE IN DIEPKLOOF AND WAS SUBSEQUENTLY MURDERED BY MR JERRY RICHARDSON SHORTLY AFTER THE LATTER'S RELEASE FROM DETENTION ON 25 NOVEMBER 1988. RICHARDSON WAS LIVING AT THE MADIKIZELA-MANDELA HOUSE AT THE TIME.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE MOTIVE FOR THE ASSAULTS AND MURDER OF BOTH LOLO SONO AND SIBUNISO TSHABALALA WAS THAT THEY WERE ACCUSED OF BEING INFORMERS AND WERE PERCEIVED TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH OF TEBOGO MALULEKE AND SIPHO MBENENGE AT RICHARDSON'S HOUSE ON 9 NOVEMBER 1988. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE ALLEGATIONS REGARDING BOTH SONO AND TSHABALALA WERE UNFOUNDED AND FALSE, AND THAT RICHARDSON HIMSELF WAS A POLICE INFORMER.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR JERRY RICHARDSON'S VERSION THAT THE YOUTHS WERE HELD AT THE MANDELA HOME FOR A PERIOD OF TWELVE OR MORE DAYS IS CONSISTENT WITH OTHER ABDUCTIONS IN THE SAME PERIOD UNDER REVIEW. RICHARDSON APPLIED FOR AMNESTY FOR MURDERING SONO AND TSHABALALA ON THE BASIS THAT HE RECEIVED ORDERS FROM MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA TO DO SO. HOWEVER, THE COMMISSION FOUND NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THIS AND FINDS THAT THESE KILLINGS SERVED RICHARDSON'S INTERESTS IN THAT THEY DEFLECTED SUSPICION AWAY FROM HIMSELF REGARDING HIS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEATH OF THE MK CADRES AT HIS HOUSE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT LOLO SONO AND SIBUNISO TSHABALALA WERE LAST SEEN ALIVE AT THE MANDELA HOME. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA WAS INVOLVED IN LOLO SONO'S ABDUCTION AND KNEW THAT HE WAS KEPT ON HER PREMISES. THE COMMISSION FINDS, THEREFORE, THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DISAPPEARANCE OF LOLO SONO AND SIBUNISO TSHABALALA.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE SOWETO POLICE WERE NEGLIGENT IN THEIR DUTY AND THAT, IF THEY HAD TAKEN QUICK AND DECISIVE ACTION REGARDING THE CHARGES LAID BY MR NICODEMUS SONO AND THE LATE MR TSHABALALA, BOTH LOLO SONO AND SIBUNISO TSHABALALA WOULD POSSIBLY STILL HAVE BEEN ALIVE.

- 49 The Commission and the SAPS mounted a joint exhumation in 1997, but were unable to locate any bodies at the site pointed out by Mr Jerry Richardson. The Attorney-General's office was requested to follow this up and examine a different site pointed out by Ms Xoliswa Falati.

Killing of Koekie Zwane

- 50 Ms Koekie Zwane, the girlfriend of an MUFC member known as 'Bothile', died of multiple stab wounds on 18 December 1988. She was allegedly suspected of being an informer and was killed by Mr Jerry Richardson. Richardson applied for amnesty for the murder of Koekie Zwane and alleges that she was killed on Ms Madikizela-Mandela's instructions after being branded as an informer.
- 51 Ms Madikizela-Mandela denies any knowledge of or involvement in this incident.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS KOEKIE ZWANE'S REAL NAME WAS PRICILLA MOSOEU, AND THAT SHE WAS AN ASSOCIATE OF THE MANDELA HOUSEHOLD. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR JERRY RICHARDSON WAS INVOLVED IN THE KILLING OF ZWANE AND THAT, IN ALL PROBABILITY, MEMBERS OF THE MUFC ASSISTED HIM WITH THE KILLING.

Abductions and assaults of Pelo Mekgwe, Thabiso Mono, Kenny Kgase and Stompie Seipei

- 52 The events that occurred during the period late September 1988 to February 1989 resulted in one of the most serious crises ever experienced by the internal and external liberation movements. On 29 December 1989, four youths – Pelo Mekgwe, Thabiso Mono, Kenneth Kgase and Moeketsi Stompie Seipei – were abducted from the Methodist manse in Soweto and taken to the Mandela home in Diepkloof Extension. The youths were accused of engaging in sexual relations with the Reverend Paul Verryn, the priest who ran the manse, and Seipei was singled out and accused of being a police informer. All four youths were assaulted, Seipei severely.

- 53 In early January, Seipei's decomposing body was found in a river-bed on the outskirts of Soweto. His body and head were riddled with injuries and he had been stabbed in the neck three times.
- 54 For two weeks in early January, senior religious and community leaders negotiated with Ms Madikizela-Mandela to secure the release of the other youths held at the house. Madikizela-Mandela denied that they were being held against their will and stated that she had rescued them from sexual abuse at the manse. When the youths were eventually released and the story spread to the media, Madikizela-Mandela issued several statements and conducted interviews in which she attacked the church for orchestrating a massive cover-up. The war of words continued into February. Following the identification of Stompie Seipei's body, several members of the MUFC, including Mr Jerry Richardson, were arrested and charged with murder.
- 55 Just prior to these arrests, both the MDM and the ANC issued statements strongly criticising Ms Madikizela-Mandela and calling for the immediate disbanding of the football club.
- 56 Evidence to the Commission, by both perpetrators and victims, confirms that members of the MUFC and associates of the Mandela household abducted Pelo Mekgwe, Thabiso Mono, Kenny Kgase and Stompie Seipei from the Methodist manse in Orlando West on the evening of 29 December 1989.
- 57 Ms Madikizela-Mandela denied involvement in the abductions, assault and torture of the four youths and said that she was unaware that they were being held against their will. She alleges that she received false information from Jerry Richardson and Xoliswa Falati in this regard, and that she released the youths following the approach of various community leaders.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THABISO MONO, PELO MEKGWE , KENNETH KGASE AND MOEKETSI STOMPIE SEIPEI WERE ABDUCTED FROM THE METHODIST MANSE IN ORLANDO ON 29 DECEMBER 1988 BY MR JERRY RICHARDSON, MEMBERS OF THE MUFC, MR JOHN MORGAN, MR KATIZA CEBEKHULU AND MS XOLISWA FALATI ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE ABDUCTED YOUTHS WERE SUBSEQUENTLY TAKEN TO MADIKIZELA-MANDELA'S DIEPKLOOF HOME, WHERE ALL FOUR YOUTHS WERE ASSAULTED IN THE BACK ROOMS OF THE PREMISES BY JERRY RICHARDSON, MEMBERS OF THE MUFC, XOLISWA FALATI AND KATIZA CEBEKHULU.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA WAS PRESENT AT HER HOME AND NOT IN BRANDFORT AS SUBMITTED IN HER TRIAL, AND THAT SHE WAS PRESENT DURING THE ASSAULTS, AND INITIATED AND PARTICIPATED IN THE ASSAULTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT STOMPIE SEIPEI WAS FALSELY ACCUSED OF BEING A POLICE INFORMER AND WAS CONSEQUENTLY SUBJECTED TO THE MOST SEVERE ASSAULTS AND TORTURE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE WERE AMONGST THOSE INVOLVED IN THE ASSAULTS ON THE FOUR YOUTHS: MS WINNIE MADIKIZELA-MANDELA, MR JERRY RICHARDSON, MS XOLISWA FALATI, MS NOMPUMELELO FALATI, MR KATIZA CEBEKHULU, MS SKHUMBUZO MTHSHALI, MR GIFT MABELANE, MR JABU SITHOLE AND MR BRIAN MABUZA. THE COMMISSION FURTHER FINDS THAT MR GUYBON KHUBEKA WAS INVOLVED IN A SUBSEQUENT ASSAULT ON STOMPIE SEIPEI.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ALLEGATIONS MADE BY CEBEKHULU, XOLISWA FALATI AND MADIKIZELA-MANDELA THAT THE REVEREND PAUL VERRYIN HAD SEXUALLY ABUSED YOUTHS RESIDENT AT THE METHODIST MANSE WERE UNFOUNDED AND WITHOUT ANY MERIT. THE COMMISSION FINDS ALSO THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA DELIBERATELY AND MALICIOUSLY SLANDERED VERRYIN AND THE CHURCH PUBLICLY IN AN ATTEMPT TO DIVERT ATTENTION AWAY FROM HERSELF AND THE ASSOCIATES OF HER HOUSEHOLD.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT XOLISWA FALATI WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISSEMINATION TO MEMBERS OF THE MANDELA HOUSEHOLD OF UNTESTED ALLEGATIONS ABOUT VERRYIN, AS WELL AS ALLEGATIONS THAT SEIPEI WAS AN INFORMER.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA ACTIVELY RESISTED REPEATED EFFORTS BY THE MANDELA CRISIS COMMITTEE AND OTHER COMMUNITY AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS TO SECURE THE RELEASE OF THE YOUTHS BEING HELD AT HER HOUSE.

Killing of Stompie Seipei

- 58 Ms Madikizela-Mandela has denied any knowledge of or involvement in the killing of Stompie Seipei on 1 January 1989.
- 59 The Commission received three versions of this killing. Jerry Richardson, who was convicted for the murder and applied for amnesty, claimed that he killed Seipei on Madikizela-Mandela's instructions. Katiza Cebekhulu claimed that he witnessed Madikizela-Mandela stabbing Stompie Seipei, a version supported by John Morgan, who testified that he was instructed to dump Seipei's body. The third version was presented in the form of an unsigned, typed section 29 detention statement from Mr Johannes 'Themba' Mabothe, a Vlakplaas *askari* who frequented the Mandela home, which states that he was present at a meeting when Richardson informed Madikizela-Mandela that he had killed Seipei. Although this statement claims that Madikizela-Mandela was shocked at what Richardson had told her, it goes on to allege that she was directly involved in an attempt to spread misinformation that Seipei was alive and had been seen in a refugee camp in Botswana. A further version, suggested by former Security Branch policeman Paul Erasmus, is that Richardson killed Seipei because he (Seipei) had found out that Richardson was an informer.

- 60 The various versions, with the exception of that of Erasmus, all implicate Ms Madikizela-Mandela, either directly or indirectly, in Seipei's murder or its attempted cover-up. The Commission has not been able to establish conclusively the veracity of any of these versions, including Erasmus's. Each version was explored in the Investigation Unit's report to the Commission. A number of other possibilities also exist, including the option that Seipei was killed because his injuries were so severe.

IN THE LIGHT OF THE CORROBORATIVE TESTIMONY THAT PLACES MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA ON THE SCENE, AND IMPLICATES HER IN THE ASSAULTS, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT IN ALL PROBABILITY SHE WAS AWARE OF SEIPEI'S CONDITION AND FAILED, AS HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD, TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY BY ARRANGING MEDICAL TREATMENT FOR SEIPEI (AND THE OTHER YOUTHS), COMPOUNDING HER OWN COMPLICITY.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA'S SUBSEQUENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS ABOUT SEIPEI'S BODY AND HER ALLEGED LINK THROUGH MABOTHA TO THE RUMOURS OF SEIPEI BEING SEEN AT THE DUKWE REFUGEE CAMP IN BOTSWANA WAS AN ATTEMPT TO DEFLECT ATTENTION AWAY FROM HERSELF AND HER HOUSEHOLD BY DISSEMINATING FALSE INFORMATION REGARDING SEIPEI. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA FAILED TO DISCLOSE TO COMMUNITY LEADERS THAT SEIPEI HAD BEEN AT HER HOUSE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT STOMPIE SEIPEI WAS LAST SEEN ALIVE AT THE HOME OF MADIKIZELA-MANDELA AND THAT SHE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS ABDUCTION FROM THE METHODIST MANSE AND WAS NEGLIGENT IN THAT SHE FAILED TO ACT RESPONSIBLY IN TAKING THE NECESSARY ACTION REQUIRED TO AVERT HIS DEATH.

Attempted killing of Lerotodi Ikaneng

- 61 Mr Lerotodi Ikaneng and Mr Gift Ntombeni, former members of the MUFC, testified that Ms Madikizela-Mandela assaulted them and accused them of being informers approximately six weeks before the attempt on Ikaneng's life on 3 January 1989 by members of the MUFC and associates of the Mandela household.
- 62 Ikaneng made a statement to the police regarding Mr Sizwe Sithole's involvement in the killing of Mr Thole Dlamini, and this made him a target for the MUFC. It is therefore most probable that Ikaneng's life was at risk from the MUFC and, in this particular case, from the MUFC's patrons, Ms Madikizela-Mandela and her daughter, Ms Zindzi Mandela-Hlongwane. Ikaneng alleged that it was Mandela-Hlongwane who accused him of being an informer. It is probable that she was upset that Ikaneng had implicated her boyfriend, Sithole. According to Ikaneng, Mandela-Hlongwane had already accused him and several other MUFC members of being 'sell-outs' when he was still a member of the MUFC.

- 63 Jerry Richardson confirmed that he led the attack on Ikaneng on 3 January, accompanied by other MUFC members and the three abducted youths. Richardson and Gift Ntombeni corroborated Ikaneng's allegation that he was labelled as an informer by Ms Madikizela-Mandela and/or her daughter. Richardson claimed that he had killed Ikaneng and that he was congratulated by Madikizela-Mandela when he told her this.
- 64 There is no apparent motive for Ikaneng to implicate Ms Madikizela-Mandela falsely in the attempts on his life. He had already testified against Richardson, who stabbed him in the throat. There is no evidence to suggest that Ikaneng was working for the police. Both Ikaneng and Ntombeni had insight into how the MUFC operated and knew of Madikizela-Mandela's close relationship with it.
- 65 Ms Madikizela-Mandela denied knowledge of the attack on Lerotodi Ikaneng and the alleged reasons for it.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR LEROTODI IKANENG, ONE OF THE ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE MUFC, WAS RESIDENT AT THE ORLANDO WEST HOME OF MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT IKANENG LEFT THE MADIKIZELA-MANDELA HOUSEHOLD IN AUGUST 1988, FOLLOWING THE ARSON ATTACK ON THE PROPERTY. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT MEMBERS OF THE MUFC MADE SEVERAL ATTEMPTS ON IKANENG'S LIFE FOLLOWING HIS DEPARTURE FROM THE MANDELA HOUSEHOLD. HE WAS ACCUSED OF BEING A POLICE INFORMER AFTER PROVIDING THE POLICE WITH A STATEMENT NAMING SIZWE SITHOLE AS THE MURDERER OF MR THOLE DLAMINI.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA WAS INVOLVED IN AND RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTEMPTED MURDER OF IKANENG.

Killing of Dr Abubaker Asvat

- 66 Dr Abubaker Asvat was shot dead in his surgery in Rockville, Soweto, in the early evening of 27 January 1989. Mr Thulani Dlamini and Mr Zakhele Mbatha were subsequently charged and convicted for his murder. Media reports, speculation and a confession by Dlamini suggested that Ms Madikizela-Mandela was somehow involved in the murder.
- 67 Confusing and contradictory allegations by the convicted murderers, coupled with unsubstantiated allegations from Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, did not provide the Commission with any clarity regarding the Asvat murder and the alleged involvement of Ms Madikizela-Mandela. Indeed, the entire case remains unsolved as there are numerous statements from Dlamini as far back as 1980, in which he consistently maintained that Madikizela-Mandela offered him money to kill Dr

Asvat. These are riddled with contradictions, which he claimed to have inserted deliberately in each version. Neither Dlamini nor Mbatha, who actually shot Asvat, provided the Commission with credible testimony or coherent reasons for the contradictions in their various versions.

- 68 The allegation that Dr Asvat saw Stompie Seipei before his murder and was a witness to his condition is supported by direct and indirect witness testimony. It is, however, denied by Ms Madikizela-Mandela. Other witnesses who were at the Mandela home also denied that they saw Dr Asvat at the house during this period.
- 69 Quotations attributed to Ms Madikizela-Mandela in the *Sunday Times* two days after the murder, linking Asvat's death to her allegations of Verryn's sexual abuse of the boys, have been rejected by Madikizela-Mandela as fabrication. This denial is part of a broader pattern of denials regarding quotations and stories attributed to her in the media at this time. It is, however, noteworthy that she made no attempt during this period, or subsequently before the hearings, to deny that she had ever said these things.
- 70 The death of Dr Abubaker Asvat, and the subsequent linking of his death with the sexual abuse allegations surrounding the Reverend Paul Verryn, raised serious concerns which the Commission was unable to unravel. The Commission was not, however, able to verify allegations that Ms Madikizela-Mandela was involved in Dr Asvat's murder and is still unsatisfied as to the reasons why media reports linked the two incidents.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE MURDER AND ROBBERY DETECTIVES INVESTIGATING DR ASVAT'S MURDER WERE HASTY IN THEIR ASSUMPTIONS THAT THIS WAS A STRAIGHTFORWARD CASE OF ROBBERY, AND WERE NEGLIGENT IN THEIR FAILURE TO EXAMINE THE APPARENT CONNECTION BETWEEN DLAMINI AND CEBEKHULU'S STATEMENTS. IT IS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND HOW SUCH AN OMISSION COULD HAVE BEEN MADE, UNLESS ONE ACCEPTS THAT INFORMATION OF THIS NATURE WAS NOT SHARED IN PRIORITY INVESTIGATIONS WITHIN THE SAME POLICE UNIT. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE INVESTIGATION ALSO FAILED TO ACCESS POTENTIALLY VITAL INFORMATION FROM THE SECURITY BRANCH AND ITS RECORDS OF TELEPHONE TRANSCRIPTS AND OTHER INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION.

Killing of Maxwell Madondo and attempted killing of Sibusiso Chili and Lerotodi Ikaneng

- 71 Mr Maxwell Madondo was killed on 13 February 1989. Several members of the Chili family, Mr Lerotodi Ikaneng and two others were charged with murder. Central to their defence was the assertion that Madondo had been killed in self-

defence and that he had been sent from the Mandela house with two others to kill Mr Sibusiso Chili and Ikaneng. In somewhat unusual circumstances, the State accepted a statement from Mr Katiza Cebekhulu in which he claimed to have accompanied Madondo on a 'mission' to kill Chili and Ikaneng on the instructions of Ms Madikizela-Mandela.

- 72 The assertion that the MUFC wanted to kill these two was supported by an alleged hit list found on the Mandela property during a police raid on 19 February. This list contained the names of Chili, Ikaneng and other youths, including Ms Albertina Sisulu's nephews, who had also had problems with the football club. Inexplicably, no subsequent investigations were conducted into this admission. The court found Sibusiso Chili guilty of murder, but accepted the mitigating circumstances that his life was under threat at the time. He was sentenced to six years' imprisonment.
- 73 Testimony from several witnesses, including a statement from a former MUFC member who warned both Ikaneng and the Chili family about the impending attack, supports the allegation that they were targets of the MUFC.
- 74 Several witnesses testified that Ms Madikizela-Mandela came to the scene after Madondo's death. Her former driver, John Morgan, testified that he drove her to the scene.
- 75 Ms Madikizela-Mandela acknowledged that she knew Madondo, but denied any knowledge of this incident, the circumstances surrounding his death or the identity of the killer.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MADONDO WAS KILLED AS A RESULT OF ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE MEMBERS OF THE MUFC AND OTHER ASSOCIATES OF THE MANDELA HOUSEHOLD TO ABDUCT AND/OR KILL SIBUSISO CHILI. THE COMMISSION CANNOT CONFIRM THAT MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA WAS DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE DECISION THAT RESULTED IN THE ACTIONS TAKEN TO APPREHEND CHILI.

THE COMMISSION FINDS, HOWEVER, THAT ON A BALANCE OF PROBABILITIES MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA DID GO TO THE SCENE OF THE MURDER AS ALLEGED BY THE WITNESSES.

Killing of Finkie Msomi

- 76 On the evening of 22 February 1989, the home of Ms Dudu Chili (mother of Sibusiso Chili) was attacked and burnt down. Her thirteen-year-old niece Finkie Msomi was shot dead in the attack. Mr Katiza Cebekhulu alleged that he was present at a meeting at which Ms Madikizela-Mandela said that Madondo's death had to be avenged and that the Chili family were 'sell-outs'.

- 77 An internally trained MK member and associate of the Mandela household, Mr Charles Zwane, was convicted for the killing. He denied any involvement in the incident and claimed that members of the Soweto Murder and Robbery Unit tortured him into a confession.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT FINKIE MSOMI, A MEMBER OF THE CHILI FAMILY, WAS MURDERED BY AN MK COMMANDER AND MEMBERS OF THE MUFC IN A RETALIATORY ATTACK FOR THE KILLING OF MAXWELL MADONDO. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE HOUSE OF MS DUDU CHILI, THE MOTHER OF SIBUSISO CHILI, WAS PETROL-BOMBED AND SET ALIGHT BY MEMBERS OF THE MUFC AND THE AFORESAID MK COMMANDER, ALSO IN REVENGE FOR THE KILLING OF MAXWELL MADONDO BY MEMBERS OF THE MUFC AND /OR ASSOCIATES OF THE MANDELA HOUSE.

- 78 Although the club was theoretically disbanded at this stage, a number of youths associated with the club and MK remained close to the Mandela household. Although one cannot discount the possibility that Zwane was tortured by members of the Murder and Robbery Unit, he was not convicted for the killing of Finkie Msomi on the basis of a confession alone. In mitigation, Zwane's advocate accepted that the attack on the Chili house was motivated by revenge and that Zwane was heavily influenced by the dominant personality of Ms Madikizela-Mandela.
- 79 Ms Madikizela-Mandela denied any knowledge of the circumstances surrounding or involvement in the decision to attack the Chili home. All she knew, she said, was what she read in the newspapers. She denied any conflict between herself and Ms Dudu Chili.
- 80 Ms Madikizela-Mandela's apparent ignorance about the circumstances and people involved in the attack on the Chilis' house, as well as the fact that it was related directly to the killing of another person who stayed at her house, is improbable. It is not feasible, in the context of the community condemnation of her club and the close proximity of a number of community leaders as a result of these problems, that she could have been so isolated from the events of mid- to late February. Although it is quite possible that she had little control over the actions of some of the youths associated with her and her household, it is improbable that she was as unaware of the events and circumstances as she claims.

Assault and murder of Themba Mabotha

- 81 Mr Themba Mabotha was allegedly an *askari* who absconded from Vlakplaas in 1988 and subsequently became an associate of the Mandela household. He was allegedly involved in the assaults on the youths abducted from the Methodist manse and also a potential witness in the Seipei murder investigation.

- 82 Following his arrest and assault by members of the Soweto Security Branch and Vlakplaas, Mabotha was detained for a period of almost eight months. According to available detention registers, Mabotha was detained in April and released in October. Security policemen involved in his arrest, however, have testified that he was arrested in February. No explanation has been given for the six- to seven-week period between the time of his arrest and his registration as a detainee.
- 83 According to Captain Jan Potgieter, Mabotha was to have been used as a State witness against Ms Madikizela-Mandela in a pending treason trial for which he (Potgieter) had been conducting investigations for over two years. He testified that the failure of the Witwatersrand Attorney-General to make a decision regarding this prosecution had left him in a dilemma, as he was unable to obtain an extension on Mabotha's detention. He wanted him to be available should a subsequent decision be made to prosecute Madikizela-Mandela, and said that he requested Colonel Eugene de Kock to keep him at Vlakplaas. He claimed that, at the time, he had no idea of the nature of Vlakplaas operations.
- 84 Eugene de Kock testified, however, that he had been contacted by Potgieter and had inferred, from the tenor of their conversation, that Mabotha was to be killed. De Kock reasoned that Mabotha had been involved in shooting two policemen and that "it would happen again and had to be prevented". De Kock explained that he did not receive an order from anyone to kill Mabotha, but that Potgieter's intentions were clear. They had worked together in *Koevoet* in South West Africa and he said that he and Potgieter "understood each other well".
- 85 Both Potgieter and De Kock applied for amnesty for Mabotha's death. Their versions are conflicting and no finding had been made at the time of reporting as the matter was still to be heard.

Death of Sizwe Sithole

- 86 Mr Sizwe Sithole died in police custody at John Vorster Square on 3 February 1990. A Judicial Commission of Inquiry found that Sithole had committed suicide. Evidence before the Commission showed that Sithole had admitted his involvement in several murders (including the murder of Mr Thole Dlamini) and had also implicated Ms Madikizela-Mandela and Ms Mandela-Hlongwane. Details of these allegations were written down during five hours of interrogation on the day of Sithole's death. The notes taken down by Jan Augustyn, the policeman involved in the interrogation, were never made public. The Commission has not been able to gain access to these notes.

- 87 Mr Katiza Cebekhulu alleged that he had been instructed by Ms Madikizela-Mandela to tip off the police regarding illegal weapons in Sithole's possession.
- 88 Ms Madikizela-Mandela has categorically denied Cebekhulu's allegations.

THE COMMISSION FOUND NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT CEBEKHULU'S ALLEGATION AGAINST MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA. WITHOUT THE EVIDENCE PRESENTED TO THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY, THE COMMISSION WAS UNABLE TO MAKE ANY FINDINGS REGARDING THE ADMISSIONS AND ALLEGATIONS ALLEGEDLY MADE BY SITHOLE.

Abduction of Katiza Cebekhulu

- 89 Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, a co-accused of Ms Madikizela-Mandela at her trial for kidnapping and assault, disappeared shortly before the trial and re-emerged in a Zambian prison, where he was detained without trial for almost three years.
- 90 Ms Madikizela-Mandela has denied any knowledge of or involvement in the abduction of Cebekhulu.
- 91 Katiza Cebekhulu was taken out of the country and placed illegally in a Zambian prison at the request of the ANC with the assistance of the Zambian authorities. Former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda admitted that the ANC requested his assistance with Cebekhulu. Although he indicated that this was done for his own safety, it is more likely that it was done to protect Ms Madikizela-Mandela from his possible disclosures and avoid the embarrassment that he would cause to the ANC. The ANC had good reason to believe that the authorities would try to use any information disclosed by Cebekhulu, as evidenced by the disclosure of STRATCOM documents revealing the dissemination of disinformation regarding the ANC by the SAP during this period.
- 92 The ANC has never taken responsibility for its actions regarding Cebekhulu. Ms Madikizela-Mandela's assertion that she was not directly involved in at least the initial hand-over of Cebekhulu is contradicted by the testimony of both Morgan and Cebekhulu. Advocate Semanya attempted to discredit Cebekhulu's version on the basis that he said 'Shell House' instead of 'Sauer Street' – a relatively minor detail, considering that there is no other version available as to how he was placed in the ANC's custody. Madikizela-Mandela's contention that she had nothing to gain from Cebekhulu's incarceration is not credible, as her interests would appear to be the very reason that he was taken out of the country.

■ THEMES

The Mandela United Football Club

- 93 The Mandela United Football Club (MUFC) was the source of considerable violence and controversy between 1987 and 1989. Whilst Ms Madikizela-Mandela denied this, both the liberation movement externally and the MDM internally recognised it and stated so clearly in their statements of 16 February 1989. In the face of criticism and concerns raised by senior leaders of the liberation movement both at home and in exile, as well as the outrage of the local community, it is difficult to understand why she failed to recognise the threat that the club was posing and how damaging this was to herself. Her reluctance to disband the club is inexplicable.
- 94 Ms Madikizela-Mandela denied in her testimony that there was a close relationship between her and the youths who lived on or frequented her property. However, the testimony of former MUFC members, and of individuals who tried to dissuade her from this association, indicates that Madikizela-Mandela took a much more active interest than she has admitted. The MDM statement affirms this:

Not only is Mrs Mandela associated with the team, in fact the team is her own creation.

Madikizela-Mandela's relationship with community structures

- 95 The evidence before the Commission clearly shows that Ms Madikizela-Mandela was not accountable to any of the internal community or political structures at the time. Repeated efforts by the Mandela Crisis Committee and other community leaders to bring her into line were either ignored or repudiated. The MDM in their statement went on to say:

We are of the view that Mrs Mandela has abused the trust and confidence which she has enjoyed over the years. She has not been a member of any of the democratic structures of the UDF [or] Cosatu and she has often acted without consulting the democratic movement.

Numerous efforts have been made to reconcile the conflict between Mrs Mandela and the community. The last of these efforts was the formation of the crisis committee of some of our most respected members. On every occasion, Mrs Mandela has chosen to disregard the sentiments of the community.

96 It is, however, evident that the internal leadership was stymied and finally reacted in the way they did because Ms Madikizela-Mandela's intransigence had given them no other option.

97 In a statement released externally, the ANC said the following:

In the light of reports about its activities in the recent past, our organisation, complementing the initiatives of leading personalities of the Mass Democratic Movement, tried to use its influence to bring about the disbanding of the group. Unfortunately our counsel was not heeded by Comrade Winnie Mandela. The situation has been further complicated by the fact that she did not belong to any structures and therefore did not benefit from the discipline, counselling and collectivity of the Mass Democratic Movement.

Denials and allegations

98 Ms Madikizela-Mandela's testimony before the Commission was characterised by a blanket denial of all allegations against her and of the attempts by the community leadership to defuse the situation arising from the abduction debacle. A detailed examination of some of these denials is contained in the investigation report. The picture that she sought to paint of herself was that she was right and that everybody else was wrong. She called her former associates "ludicrous" and "ridiculous" and failed to recognise that these were the same individuals who had tried to support her in the face of criticism from community leaders.

99 These denials were complemented by a series of allegations and insinuations about individuals and structures that provided information about her role and involvement in the events of this period. She refused to take responsibility for any wrongdoing. It was only at the end of her testimony, under great pressure from Archbishop Desmond Tutu, presiding over the proceedings, that she reluctantly conceded that "things had gone horribly wrong".

The South African Police

100 Evidence before the Commission shows that the Security Police were involved in a concerted disinformation campaign against the ANC and the South African Communist Party, and that Ms Madikizela-Mandela was a prominent target in the Witwatersrand region. Security policemen from Soweto admitted that she had been under constant electronic surveillance by means of telephone taps

and bugs. They also admitted that Mr Jerry Richardson had acted as an informer. It is probable that other informers had also infiltrated the club.

- 101 The testimony of former Soweto security policemen was, however, characterised by a lack of candour in disclosing the nature of their operations regarding Ms Madikizela-Mandela, the MUFC and other associates of the Mandela household.
- 102 Although the Security Branch was aware of the close relationship between the MUFC and MK, none of the officers who testified acknowledged that the football club was of particular importance to them. The officer in charge of investigations regarding Ms Madikizela-Mandela testified that he was totally unaware that one of his colleagues was handling an informer inside the football club. All the Soweto policemen denied involvement in any STRATCOM activities against Madikizela-Mandela, contradicting the testimony of Security Branch officers from Pretoria and the Witwatersrand division who testified that she was a prominent subject for STRATCOM operations.
- 103 The testimony of former Soweto Security Branch members created the impression that they were at best uncoordinated and unprofessional. Having admitted that Ms Madikizela-Mandela was the most high-profile political figure in their jurisdiction, they were virtually unable – with the exception of one or two witnesses – to provide any details regarding their activities concerning her, apart from a few items that were included verbatim in each of their written submissions.
- 104 Like their former Murder and Robbery Unit colleagues, they denied adopting a strategy of lenience in regard to cases involving Madikizela-Mandela and asserted that the responsibility for decisions regarding these investigations rested with the Attorney-General. There was a general admission that one had to be extremely cautious when dealing with the Madikizela-Mandela. The Commission was left with the distinct impression that the Attorney-General was at pains not to prosecute her. Madikizela-Mandela's subsequent prosecution in the kidnapping trial, albeit over twenty-seven months after the abductions, suggests that the authorities had been left no other option in the light of the revelations of Richardson's trial the previous year. Strategic decisions with regard to the investigation and prosecution of Madikizela-Mandela appear to have been influenced strongly by the political circumstances and sensitivities of this period.
- 105 It is also evident that the chaos emanating from the Mandelas' backyard had useful political ramifications for the police, as it created a discord within the q liberation movement that the authorities themselves had never been able to achieve.

106 Findings against the police will be made once the amnesty hearings of police members have been completed.

The ANC

107 Although the Commission took into consideration the prevailing circumstances of the time, the ANC must bear some responsibility for not taking a more determined stance regarding the controversy surrounding Ms Madikizela-Mandela, particularly in the period following the unbanning of the organisation. The apparent complicity of elements within the ANC to obstruct the course of justice by removing witnesses and co-accused in the kidnapping and assault trial is a case in point.

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's attitude towards the Commission

108 Madikizela-Mandela chose not to submit a statement to the Commission detailing the human rights violations she suffered at the hands of the apartheid government and its security forces. She indicated during her first *in camera* hearing in September 1997 that she had intended to do this, but had changed her mind as a result of the treatment she received at the hands of the Commission. She was particularly upset that she had learnt of her pending *subpoena* through the media, and was disconcerted that she had been *subpoenaed* and not invited to appear before the Commission. She considered this a hostile and unnecessary action. In this regard, the Commission handled the matter badly and must apologise to Ms Madikizela-Mandela. The Commission itself recognises the enormous contribution that she made to the liberation struggle. For over two decades she suffered anguish in her separation from her husband, as well as persecution, banishment, imprisonment, torture and harassment at the hands of the former government.

109 During the public hearings, Madikizela-Mandela made strong inferences that the Commission had colluded with the ANC in arranging for the hearing to coincide with the pending ANC national conference and that this was part of a wider conspiracy to undermine her attempts to become the Deputy-President of the ANC. The Commission denied this allegation emphatically and reaffirms that position. It should also be pointed out that Madikizela-Mandela herself requested a public hearing. The dates for the hearing were settled with her legal representatives.

110 Ms Madikizela-Mandela was a reluctant witness at both the *in camera* and the public hearings. While the Commission was obliged on occasion to present to her allegations that may have appeared far-fetched, it became evident at times that she regarded

this as a personal vendetta being waged against her by the Commission. This might also explain her contemptuous attitude towards certain witnesses and her reprimands to those who asked her questions that she did not like.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA WAS CENTRAL TO THE ESTABLISHMENT AND FORMATION OF THE MUFC. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT CLUB DEVELOPED INTO A PRIVATE VIGILANTE UNIT OPERATING AROUND MADIKIZELA-MANDELA AND FROM HER HOUSES IN BOTH ORLANDO WEST AND DIEPKLOOF. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ARSON ATTACK ON THE MANDELA HOME IN ORLANDO WEST IN JULY 1988 WAS A MANIFESTATION OF THE COMMUNITY'S ANGER AGAINST MADIKIZELA- MANDELA AND THE FOOTBALL CLUB. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT POLITICAL, COMMUNITY AND CHURCH LEADERS REQUESTED MADIKIZELA-MANDELA TO DISBAND THE FOOTBALL CLUB. THESE REQUESTS WERE NOT ACCEDDED TO AND THE LEADERS WERE SCORNNED BY MADIKIZELA-MANDELA.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE MUFC WAS INVOLVED IN A NUMBER OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES IN THE COMMUNITY, INCLUDING KILLING, TORTURE, ASSAULTS AND ARSON. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS MANDELA WAS AWARE OF THE CRIMINAL ACTIVITY AND THE DISQUIET IT CAUSED IN THE COMMUNITY AND DELIBERATELY CHOSE NOT TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS EMANATING FROM THE FOOTBALL CLUB.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THOSE WHO OPPOSED MADIKIZELA-MANDELA AND THE MUFC, OR DISSENTED FROM THEM, WERE BRANDED AS INFORMERS, THEN HUNTED DOWN AND KILLED. THEIR LABELLING AS INFORMERS WAS DEEMED TO JUSTIFY THESE KILLINGS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE FOOTBALL CLUB OPERATED FROM MADIKIZELA-MANDELA'S HOUSE AND THAT SHE HAD KNOWLEDGE OF THE CLUB MEMBERS' ACTIVITIES AND/OR AUTHORISED AND/OR SANCTIONED THEM.

THE COMMISSION FINDS MS WINNIE MADIKIZELA MANDELA POLITICALLY AND MORALLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED BY THE MUFC. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA FAILED TO ACCOUNT TO THE COMMUNITY AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MADIKIZELA-MANDELA WAS RESPONSIBLE, BY OMISSION, FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

■ CONCLUSIONS

- 111 There can be no doubt that Ms Madikizela-Mandela was central to the establishment and formation of the MUFC. Club members were involved in at least eighteen killings, for which many of them are still serving prison sentences. Many of the operations which led to the killings were launched from her homes. Witnesses who appeared before the Commission implicated her in having known of these matters, in having actively participated in assaults or in having assisted in cover-ups and obstructing the course of justice. She denied all these allegations. In a number of incidents, people were labelled as informers, which 'legitimated' their execution by MUFC members. In this context, the Commission cannot ignore the paranoia that existed at the time regarding informers. There is no doubt that

being under constant surveillance and living under siege may have made a considerable contribution to what eventually happened.

- 112 What is tragic is that so heroic a figure as Ms Madikizela-Mandela, with her own rich history of contribution to the struggle, became embroiled in a controversy that caused immeasurable damage to her reputation. There can be no doubt that she showed poor judgment in ignoring the advice of the community leaders and members of the MDM. The Commission has been unable to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to what went wrong, why Madikizela-Mandela was not accountable to the democratic structures inside the country, what influence the external liberation movement had over her, why she surrounded herself with persons of the calibre of Jerry Richardson and Xoliswa Falati, or why she became so isolated from democratic and community structures.
- 113 The Commission cannot but state that both the MDM and the ANC must accept responsibility for not bringing her into the fold or disciplining her when things were beginning to go wrong. This could perhaps have prevented some of the events that unfolded during that tragic period.
- 114 It is regrettable that Ms Madikizela-Mandela did not use the hearings as a forum to take the Commission and the nation into her confidence in order to shed light on the circumstances that resulted in the chaos and violence that emanated from her household. This would have assisted in the process of separating wild allegation from the morass of claims made against her.
- 115 There can be no doubt that there were forces at work that aimed to sow discord between Ms Madikizela-Mandela and the Soweto community and the liberation movements. The infiltration of the club by one or more police informers and the manipulation of events and circumstances by the security forces exacerbated the ensuing discord. These factors cannot, however, be held solely responsible either for the causes or the consequences of this conflict.
- 116 The Mandela United Football Club phenomenon was replicated in the vigilante actions of other, similar groups across the country during this period. The fundamental difference, however, was that this group enjoyed the patronage, support and protection of Ms Madikizela-Mandela and the prestige of association with the Mandela name. The club was initially admired by many in the local community, but within a few years became feared and loathed as it engaged in a series of acts of terror against its perceived enemies and those that defied its authority. Madikizela-Mandela's proximity to these events is as undeniable as her complicity.

Political Violence in the Era of Negotiations and Transition, 1990-1994

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The Commission had considerable success in uncovering violations that took place before 1990. This was not true of the 1990s period. Information before the Commission shows that the nature and pattern of political conflict in this later period changed considerably, particularly in its apparent anonymity. A comparatively smaller number of amnesty applications were received for this period. The investigation and research units of the Commission were also faced with some difficulty in dealing with the events of the more recent past.
- 2 Two factors dominated the period 1990–94. The first was the process of negotiations aimed at democratic constitutional dispensation. The second was a dramatic escalation in levels of violence in the country, with a consequent increase in the number of gross violations of human rights.
- 3 The period opened with the public announcement of major political reforms by President FW de Klerk on 2 February 1990 – including the unbanning of the ANC, PAC, SACP and fifty-eight other organisations; the release of political prisoners and provision for all exiles to return home. Mr Nelson Mandela was released on 11 February 1990. The other goals were achieved through a series of bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC, resulting in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes of May and August 1990 respectively. The latter minute was accompanied by the ANC’s announcement that it had suspended its armed struggle.
- 4 A long period of ‘talks about talks’ followed – primarily between the government, the ANC and Inkatha – culminating in the December 1991 launch of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). CODESA, which involved twenty different political parties and organisations, collapsed in disagreement over issues of

majority rule and regional powers. In May 1992, talks resumed with CODESA II. However, barely a month later, the ANC withdrew in the wake of the Boipatong massacre of 17 June 1992 and embarked on a campaign against the remaining homeland governments. Talks resumed five months later, after the signing by the ANC, PAC and the government of a Record of Understanding.

- 5 The Record of Understanding marked a shift in the National Party (NP) government's negotiating strategy. It abandoned its *de facto* alliance with the IFP, through which it had hoped to secure enough electoral support to force a power-sharing arrangement with the ANC. Instead, the ANC and the government now co-operated closely while the IFP aligned itself with a coalition of bantustan governments and elements of the white right wing. This latter grouping ultimately coalesced into the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) which, in July 1993, walked out of the talks and formed the Freedom Alliance. This development saw a further escalation in the level of violence. With the IFP's chief negotiator threatening a civil war if the elections went ahead without the IFP, deaths from political violence in July and August 1993 soared to 605 and 705 respectively, compared to 267 in June 1993.
- 6 In December 1993, a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) was installed, composed of representatives of all parties to the negotiations process. Meanwhile, behind-the-scenes talks continued with the Freedom Alliance to secure its participation. This was achieved shortly before the 27 April 1994 election.
- 7 Of 9 043 statements received on killings, over half of these (5 695) occurred during the 1990 to 1994 period. These figures give an indication of violations recorded by the Commission during the negotiations process. They represent a pattern of violation, rather than an accurate reflection of levels of violence and human rights abuses. Sources other than the Commission have reported that, from the start of the negotiations in mid-1990 to the election in April 1994, some 14 000 South Africans died in politically related incidents. While Commission figures for reported violations in the earlier part of its mandate period are under-represented in part because of the passage of time, they are under-reported in this later period because the abuses are still fresh in people's memories and closely linked into current distribution of power.
- 8 The violence during the 1990s stemmed from intensification in the levels of conflict and civil war in KwaZulu/Natal. While the province had been plagued for five years by a low-level civil conflict, conflict intensified dramatically in the 1990s.

The Human Rights Committee (HRC) estimates that, between July 1990 and June 1993, an average of 101 people died per month in politically related incidents – a total of 3 653 deaths. In the period July 1993 to April 1994, conflict steadily intensified, so that by election month it was 2.5 times its previous levels.

- 9 Moreover, political violence in this period extended to the PWV (Pretoria–Witwatersrand-Vereeniging) region in the Transvaal. The HRC estimates that between July 1990 and June 1993, some 4 756 people were killed in politically related violence in the PWV area. In the period immediately following the announcement of an election date, the death toll in the PWV region rose to four times its previous levels.
- 10 The escalation of violence coincided with the establishment of Inkatha as a national political party, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), in July 1990, and its attempts to develop a political base in the Transvaal. The development of self-defence units (SDUs) in largely ANC/UDF strongholds led to an escalation of violence in both provinces.
- 11 Many came to believe that a ‘hidden hand’ or ‘third force’ lay behind the random violence, which included military-style attacks on trains, drive-by shootings and a series of massacres and assassinations. The train violence swept the Rand from 1990 onwards. By June 1993 it had caused some 400 deaths and countless more injuries, and left thousands of commuters consumed with fear on a daily basis. Such attacks frequently generated further violence.
- 12 At this time, there was also a marked increase in attacks on police officers. Between July 1991 and June 1992, the HRC recorded a total of sixty-eight police officers killed. A further 200 deaths were recorded between July 1992 and June 1993.
- 13 Violence also arose from the continued use of lethal force in public order policing. The HRC estimated that killings by the security forces, primarily in the course of public order policing, numbered 518 between July 1991 and June 1993. In the first major incident, less than six weeks after President de Klerk’s speech, seventeen people died and 447 were injured when police fired without warning on a crowd of 50 000 protesters at Sebokeng. Other massacres occurred in Sebokeng in July and September 1990 and in Daveyton and Alexandra townships in March 1991.
- 14 This was also APLA’s most active period. A wave of military attacks was visited on largely civilian targets, primarily in the western and eastern Cape, as well as attacks on farmers in the Orange Free State.

- 15 Right-wing organisations were also active and vocal during this period, expressing their resistance to the changing political order. The right wing was responsible for several random attacks on black people as well as a more focused campaign of bombings before the elections in April 1994.
- 16 The term 'third force' began to be used increasingly to describe apparently random violence that could not be ascribed to political conflict between identifiable competing groups. Rather it appeared to involve covert forces intent on escalating violence as a means of derailing the negotiations process.
- 17 At about this time FW de Klerk appointed the Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation headed by Judge Richard Goldstone. Initial reports of the Goldstone Commission found no evidence of a 'third force'. While there were many criticisms of the manner in which the security forces were dealing with the situation, the Commission pointed to high levels of political intolerance as well as wider-ranging socio-economic conditions as the primary causes of violent conflict. Notwithstanding Goldstone's findings, non-government organisations, including violence monitoring groups, and a number of national newspapers continued to allege the presence of a 'third force' in the violence. Allegations of security force involvement in the violence reached a climax with the Boipatong massacre.
- 18 In November 1992, during a Goldstone raid on the offices of the Directorate of Covert Collections (DCC), evidence emerged of security force involvement in illegal activities. President de Klerk responded by appointing General Pierre Steyn, assisted by General Conradie of the SAP, to conduct an investigation into the activities of certain military units.
- 19 General Steyn based his investigation on two investigative initiatives already underway and reported to President de Klerk and senior members of his cabinet on 20 December 1992. The substance of this report was that components of the South African Defence Force (SADF) – DCC, Army Intelligence, Special Forces and the 7th Medical Battalion – were involved in a wide range of illegal and/or unauthorised activity. These included the establishment of arms caches and springboards for attacks; an attempt to overthrow General Bantu Holomisa's government in the Transkei; the planting of weapons in Swaziland to discredit the ANC; corruption of DCC members in relation to arms deals; the selective leaking of information to right-wing groups; involvement in a chemical attack on FRELIMO, and corruption for personal gain.

- 20 In addition, he concluded that the security forces (and specifically 5 Reconnaissance Regiment) were probably involved in train violence; that there was probably a Chemical and Biological Warfare programme, as well as a probable attempt to get CCB operative Danie Phaal to distribute poisoned beer to Zulu-speakers in the Transkei. Strong allegations were also made of further unlawful and/or unauthorised actions.
- 21 General Steyn indicated, however, that the intelligence was not sufficiently refined to stand up in court because of the extensive destruction of documents and other evidence, concern over the safety of sources, the fear that those implicated would resort to murder if they felt threatened, and the fact that many role-players protected each other.
- 22 De Klerk was given a staff report compiled for General Steyn by the SADF's Chief Directorate of Counter Intelligence. SADF chief General 'Kat' Liebenberg, army chief General Georg Meiring and chief of staff intelligence, General CP van der Westhuizen, were called to Tuynhuys and asked to draw up a list of people against whom action should be taken. Their list included General Thirion whom the Steyn report specifically recommended for exemption from action, and excluded other names – including those of the three generals who drew up the list – against whom the Steyn report had recommended that action *should* be taken.
- 23 The following day, De Klerk issued a statement saying that six top-ranking officials had been placed on compulsory early retirement and sixteen on compulsory leave pending further investigation. By the end of December, fifteen of the twenty-three had been cleared of possible links to illegal or criminal actions. It was announced that a board of enquiry would be constituted to examine possible illegal and/or criminal or unauthorised actions involving three SADF and four civilian members.
- 24 The Steyn documents were handed over to a team of investigators consisting of the Attorneys-General of the Witwatersrand and the Transvaal, the SAP and the Auditor-General, under the direction of Transvaal Attorney-General Jan D'Oliviera. Some of the allegations were referred to the Goldstone Commission for further investigation.
- 25 Steyn himself took early retirement in October 1993, at the age of fifty-one. His last progress report submitted to the Minister of Defence noted that few, if any, of the suspects had been questioned and that there had been little progress in gathering evidence.

- 26 In addition to Steyn Commission allegations in respect of taxi and train violence, the Goldstone Commission investigated a number of allegations of the involvement of a 'third force' in the conflict. These included the planning or instigation of acts of violence by the SAP in the Vaal area; the presence of RENAMO soldiers in KwaZulu; the existence of a 'third force' as alleged by the *Vrye Weekblad* on 30 October 1992; the existence of SADF front companies; the training by the SADF of Inkatha supporters in 1986 and of the 'Black Cats', and the involvement by elements within the SAP, the KwaZulu Police (KZP) and the IFP in criminal political violence.
- 27 The Goldstone findings initially rejected the notion of a 'third force' or 'hidden hand'. However, in his March 1994 report, "Criminal political violence by elements within the SAP, the KZP and the Inkatha Freedom Party", Goldstone alleged that the SAP were engaged in arming the IFP and pointed to attempts by senior police officers to subvert the Goldstone enquiry.
- 28 The Goldstone Commission submitted its final report in October 1994, some six months after the first democratic elections and the end of this Commission's mandate period. While the overall levels of violence dropped dramatically in the post-election period, allegations of sinister forces continued in relation to ongoing violence in KwaZulu-Natal.
- 29 The commission of gross violations of human rights by state security forces, homeland structures, the right wing and liberation movements are dealt with below.

■ SECURITY FORCES

Detention and Torture

- 30 Evidence before the Commission indicates that detention¹ and torture continued to be used by the SAP in the early 1990s.
- 31 The majority of torture victims were short-term detainees, frequently arrested in connection with public unrest. Analysis of human rights violations statements indicates a far greater incidence of torture in rural areas and small towns than in the major urban centres. A possible explanation is the wide support enjoyed by the right wing in non-urban areas. The overwhelming majority of torture victims

¹ In June 1991, the Internal Security Act of 1976 was amended by the Internal Security and Intimidation Act. In terms of the new legislation, *incommunicado* detention under section 29 was limited to only 10 days, unless ordered by a Supreme Court judge. However, it was only on 25 April 1994, just days before the first democratic election, that section 29 was finally removed from the statute book.

in this period continued to be those allied to the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). The Commission received fewer than ten statements from members of the IFP alleging torture at the hands of the South African security forces in the 1990s. Even taking into account the fact that fewer IFP victims came to the Commission, the disparity is marked.

- 32 The Commission received human rights violations statements from two members of right-wing organisations who were victims of torture. Phillipus Cornelius Kloppers [JB06109/03WR and AM4627/97], member of the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB) was arrested in January 1994 in connection with the roadblock killings of December 1993 on the Ventersdorp/Randfontein Road (see below), in respect of which he also applied for amnesty. He was blindfolded, bound, 'tubed' (suffocated with a tube) and subjected to electric shock treatment. Kloppers claims to have been denied medical treatment for nineteen months and to have lost 75 per cent of the mobility in his neck.
- 33 Mr Leonard Michael Veenendal [KZN/Mr/146/NC], a member of the *Orde Boerevolk* and an alleged NIS source, was detained under section 29 in July 1990. He was handcuffed and had his legs bound in chains and a balaclava pulled over his head. He was taken to a farm where he was assaulted with fists on his face and stomach until he vomited. During the night he was taken to an office and further beaten by *askaris*. On another occasion, he was told to undress and was bound to a chair. Three live wires were attached to his armpit, toes and genitals and he was subjected to electric shocks until he lost consciousness. After being revived with cold water, he was told to stand but was too weak to do so. His torturers then urinated over him. Veenendal was eventually released after a seventy-six day hunger strike.
- 34 An amnesty application was also received from a security police officer, Roelof Venter [AM2774/96], relating to the detention and 'intimidation' of a number of high-profile members of right-wing organisations.
- 35 The Complaints Investigation Unit of the Peace Accord raided the headquarters of the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) at Vosloorus in 1993 after the ANC had won an order restraining ISU members from assaulting and torturing people. Electric shock equipment and rubber tubing were found. In May 1994, after the first democratic election, Dutch observers discovered a machine for administering electric shock at the Vaal Riot and Crime Investigation Unit. According to the submission of the HRC, at least three people died in custody for security-related

offences. They were Mr Clayton Sizwe Sithole, who is alleged to have committed suicide while held at John Vorster Square; Mr Lucas Tlhotlhomisang, who is alleged to have died from meningitis while held in Klerksdorp; and Mr Donald Thabela Madisha, who is said to have hanged himself at the Potgietersrus police station. In addition, there were a number of other cases of death in custody. A special investigation task team was set up in July 1991 to investigate the activities of police at the Welverdiend police station on the West Rand, dubbed the 'House of Horrors,' following numerous accounts of torture and assault and the deaths of some seventeen people in custody. Victims included sixteen-year-old Nixon Phiri and fifteen-year-old Eugene Mbulawa (see Volume Three).

WHILE THEY FALL OUTSIDE ITS MANDATE PERIOD, THE COMMISSION NOTES WITH CONCERN THE ONGOING REPORTS OF TORTURE AND DEATHS IN CUSTODY, WHICH HAVE REACHED ALARMING LEVELS. AS NOTED IN THE PREVIOUS SECTION, TORTURE OF SUSPECTS IN CRIMINAL CASES PRECEDED THE USE OF TORTURE OF POLITICAL DETAINEES. IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED THAT SUCH METHODS WERE AND ARE ROUTINE METHODS IN POLICE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS AND TO A LARGE DEGREE REPLACE ROUTINE INVESTIGATIVE WORK. THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT THE POLICE SERVICES UNDERTAKE URGENT MEASURES TO HALT THESE PRACTICES.

Violations associated with public order policing

- 36 There was little change in the policing of demonstrations after 1990. Unrest and deaths continued to occur as a result of the use of deadly force. The following graphs indicate violations recorded by the Commission. While not reaching the same level as the 1984–87 period, killings by the SAP increased significantly between 1989 (the year of the Defiance Campaign) and 1990 and remained at relatively high and constant levels until the end of 1993. The breakdown reveals that over 600 of the SAP killings were the result of shooting. As the number of assassinations by known/identified security force personnel during this period was relatively small, most of these shootings would have arisen in public order policing situations.
- 37 In one incident which took place on 26 March 1990, police opened fire on a crowd of 50 000 people marching to Vereeniging to present a list of grievances. At least thirteen people died and more than 400 were injured. Many victims had been shot in the back. Police claimed to have fired in self-defence after the crowd threw stones and bottles. However, reporters present testified that they had seen no evidence of this. Participants alleged that the police had opened fire without warning. Judge Goldstone, appointed after calls for a judicial commission of enquiry, recommended that police be prosecuted. No action was taken.

38 On 19 April 1990, five youths were killed during a march at Viljoenskroon in the Orange Free State. The police gave orders to disperse, but it is alleged that, before the time had elapsed, a police officer shot into the air, causing panic among the crowd. The police then opened fire.

39 On 14 March 1991, police opened fire on a crowd of approximately 200 Daveyton residents, killing thirteen people and injuring twenty-nine. The police version was that they opened fire after they were attacked by a group which then hacked a police officer to death. A special police investigation into this incident was headed by Lieutenant General Jaap Joubert. The ANC rejected the results of Joubert's investigation. Several months later, a judicial enquiry under Supreme Court judge, Justice B Donovan, found that the police had used excessive force in their handling of the incident. In Judge Donovan's words:

The one feature in my mind which is of decisive importance is the enormous number of rounds of ammunition (250) fired by the police ... It appears to me that the policemen involved in the incident were guilty of an excessive use of firearms in their defence and exceeded the limits of self-defence.

40 The finding was referred to the Attorney-General who declined to prosecute.

41 On 8 April 1992, two women were shot dead and more than 100 injured in Phola Park following an attack on a 32 Battalion (SADF) patrol by unknown gunmen. Several women were also allegedly raped or sexually harassed during the twelve-hour raid. On 19 June 1992, an interim report of the Goldstone Commission found that more than 200 rounds had been fired and that the soldiers had acted in a manner "completely inconsistent with the function of a peacekeeping force and, in fact, became perpetrators of violence". The Commission recommended that the Battalion should not be used in any further peace-keeping duties. General Meiring, then chief of the army, responded that, while the army would act against any abuses, it would not withdraw Battalion 32 from the townships.

42 The Commission made a comprehensive finding regarding public order policing in the pre-1990 period.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN THE POST-1990 PERIOD, THE APPROACH OF THE SAP TO CROWD CONTROL AND PUBLIC ORDER POLICING REMAINED LARGELY UNCHANGED AND EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO THE COMMISSION INDICATES THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE DIED AS A RESULT OF THE UNJUSTIFIED USE OF DEADLY FORCE. SUCH DEATHS ARE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Killings

- 43 During this period political opponents continued to be killed in circumstances which pointed directly to security force involvement.

External killings

- 44 On 22 April 1990, four members of the Chand family, Samsodien, Hajira and their two young deaf children, Amina and Ridwan, were killed, along with an unnamed security guard, in an attack on their home in Botswana. According to Colonel Eugene de Kock, the operation was authorised by Brigadier Nick Janse van Rensburg who had succeeded Schoon as head of C section. De Kock executed the operation with a team of Vlakplaas operatives. Five of the operatives involved applied for amnesty; namely, Colonel Eugene De Kock [AM0066/96], W A 'Willie' Nortjé [AM3764/96], Major Chappies Klopper, Douw Willemse [AM3721/96] J H Tait [AM3922/96], WW Mentz [AM 2775/96], D J Brits [AM3745/96] and Martinus Ras [AM5183/97]. Another applicant not directly involved in the operation, Izak Daniel Bosch [AM3765/96], applied for amnesty for his role in creating a decoy.
- 45 The Chands were victims of rivalries within the intelligence community – specifically in this case between the Western Transvaal Security Police and Military Intelligence's Directorate of Covert Collections (DCC). According to evidence before the Commission from the section 29 hearing of Captain Hendrik Christoffel Nel in the late 1980s, DCC operative Tony Oosthuizen recruited Chand as a conduit for the infiltration of PAC members and APLA guerrillas into South Africa. Chand acted as a source for the Western Transvaal Security Branch but had been "put on ice" as they felt they had the PAC in Botswana under their control.
- 46 According to Nel, the Western Transvaal became concerned with this disruption to their mode of operation and because they learned that some of the APLA infiltrators had "got away" Matters came to a head after Chand brought a small PAC group into the country who, when intercepted at a roadblock, engaged in a shoot-out in which fifteen police were wounded and a number of civilians killed. "The next thing Sam Chand was eliminated." Nel's story is corroborated by other information collected by the Commission.
- 47 On 28 April 1990, Father Michael Lapsley [CT00654], a New Zealand citizen but long-time resident of Southern Africa, and well known for his support of the South African liberation movement, was severely injured in a parcel bomb explosion at

his home in Harare, Zimbabwe. The explosive was contained in a registered package in a large manila envelope with a Dobsonville, Soweto postmark. A colleague in the room at the time, Mr Andrew Mutizwa, was slightly injured by the blast.

- 48 In his appearance before the Commission, Lapsley stated that the security authorities in Zimbabwe had warned him in 1988 that his name was on a South African hit list of targets for elimination. Given the recent spate of attacks on targets inside Zimbabwe, the warning was taken seriously and Lapsley was given a twenty-four-hour guard and warned not to open large packages. After the unbannings in South Africa in February 1990 and a statement by General Malan that there would be no further attacks in the front-line states, the protection was relaxed. The Lapsley case is the last known incident of an attempted cross-border or external killing in the mandate period.
- 49 Christoffel Nel, who had no direct knowledge of this operation, confirmed that Lapsley had been a DCC 'target' (for intelligence attention and not necessarily killing) since 1987, and that whenever

Leon Nefdt (DCC operative responsible for Zimbabwe) ... presented his targets to the Generals, Father Michael Lapsley was included in the so-called support infrastructure of the Zimbabwean machinery and part of the political machinery ... there was at one stage a discussion about doing something to Father Michael Lapsley ... before I joined the CCB, about the possibility of sending him a parcel. Leon Nefdt in my presence had a discussion with a certain Colonel Hekkies van Heerden. He was known as 'Colonel Hammer' because it was jokingly said that he would use a hammer to kill a fly ... I think that's exactly what happened in the case of Father Michael Lapsley, that he received a parcel.

- 50 The one question that puzzled Nel was the timing of the operation – post-February 1990 – which made him feel that it was neither a DCC nor Special Forces/CCB operation. Joe Verster [AM5471/97], the CCB's general manager who appeared before the Commission, deviated only once from his position that he would not discuss external operations when, under oath, he denied that Lapsley was a CCB project.
- 51 Nel speculated that the Lapsley bombing was possibly a NIS operation. He argued strongly that NIS had an operational division with a strong presence in Zimbabwe.

Its key operative, Danie du Plessis, was said to have had an intimate knowledge of the situation, particularly in relation to what was known as the 'white left'. There is other supporting evidence that NIS monitored Lapsley closely. The Commission received source reports on Lapsley dated 29 January and 8 May 1990.

Internal killings

- 52 The HRC recorded large numbers of political assassinations during the early 1990s, the victims of which were largely office-bearers of the newly unbanned ANC, MK members or members of allied organisations. The security forces were allegedly responsible for several of these – including the deaths of Mr Scelo Msomi, Dr Henry Vika Luthuli, Mr Michael Mcetywa and the attempted killing of Mr Bheki Mlangeni.
- 53 According to the MK integration list, Mr Scelo Msomi [KZN/NN/340/DN] was killed by *askaris* in South Africa in 1990. Msomi had been in Tanzania in exile since 1986 and returned for an operation in June 1990.
- 54 Dr Henry Luthuli [KZN/SS/013/DN] was gunned down in his surgery in Esikhawini on 2 August 1990. The investigating officer, Detective Sergeant Derrick Ntuli, arrested a Vlakplaas member, Constable Thembinkosi Dube, for the killing. Ntuli was later taken off the case and subsequently died in mysterious circumstances. (Details of the case appear in Volume Three).
- 55 ANC chairperson in Pongola, Michael Mcetywa [KZN/HG/313/EM], was killed by local IFP member Emmanuel Mavuso [AM7921/92] on 22 November 1993. Mavuso was subsequently convicted of the murder, but evaded custody while out on bail. A co-conspirator, Mr Mdu Msibi, alleged that Mcetywa's killing had been planned by both IFP leadership and the Piet Retief Security Branch (see Volume Three).
- 56 On 16 February 1991, Johannesburg lawyer Bheki Mlangeni [JB00195/016GTSOW], was killed when he activated a Walkman music cassette player at his home in Johannesburg. The intended victim was former Vlakplaas commander Captain Dirk Coetzee. Colonel Eugene de Kock [AM0066/96] applied for amnesty for this killing, along with fellow Vlakplaas members WA 'Willie' Nortjé [AM3764/96], ID 'Steve' Bosch [AM3765/96] and W Riaan Bellingan [AM5283/97] Kobus Kopper [AM3762/96] J F 'Japie' Kok [AM3812/96], J. 'Kobus' Kok [AM3811/96], and then head of the security police's technical division, Wahl du Toit [AM5184/97]. In his book *A Long Night's Damage*, De Kock states that he was instructed to "make a plan" in respect of Coetzee by then C section commander, Brigadier Nick Janse van

Rensburg, who also gave him Coetzee's postal address. Coetzee had by this time joined the ANC and was in the process of debriefing the organisation on his knowledge of security police activities. He was also due to testify in a pending civil suit against the head of the SAP forensic laboratory, General Lothar Neethling.

- 57 De Kock said that a senior officer suggested he list Mlangeni's name as the sender on the postal package, as he was a lawyer with whom Coetzee had been in regular touch and Coetzee would not find it irregular. The bomb was prepared by the technical division and sent to Coetzee. Coetzee was suspicious of the package and refused to accept it from the Lusaka Post Office and, after some months, it was returned to its apparent sender Bheki Mlangeni, who was killed instantly when the device in the Walkman was detonated.
- 58 Several killings followed the abduction and interrogation of victims. Again, the security forces are implicated in such cases, including that of Mr Johannes Sweet Sambo, Mr Mbuso Shabalala and Mr Charles Zakhele Ndaba.
- 59 According to information supplied by Colonel Eugene de Kock [AM0066/96], Mr Johannes Sweet Sambo died in July 1991 while being interrogated by the Komatipoort security police. De Kock was requested by the head of the Komatipoort security police to help dispose of the body and assigned four members of his unit to the task. They blew the body up with explosives at a police farm in the area called Verdracht. De Kock, JJ de Swardt [AM3750/96], Kobus Kopper [AM3762/96] applied for amnesty for this killing. In his trial, De Kock received a six-year sentence for defeating the ends of justice by arranging for the disposal of the body. Later, three members of the Komatipoort police were charged with the killing.
- 60 Mr Mbuso Shabalala [KZN/NNN/138/PS], an *Operation Vula* operative, and Mr Charles Zakhele Ndaba [KZN/NN/076/DN] disappeared in KwaMashu in July 1990. Shabalala's car was later found in Camperdown cut into pieces. According to amnesty applicants General 'Bertus' Steyn [AM4513/97] and HJP 'Hentie' Botha [AM4117/97], Shabalala and Ndaba were detained for about seven days before being killed at the Tugela River mouth on 14 July 1990. Their bodies were thrown into the Tugela River. The applications implicate two high-ranking police officers. Other officers who have applied for amnesty in this case are SJG du Preez [AM4130/96], LG Wasserman [AM4508/96] and CA 'Cassie' van der Westhuizen [AM4388/96].

- 61 On 26 March 1992, Mr Khona Khabela, Mr Tiisetso (Tiso) Leballo [JB00241/01GTSOW], Mr Masilo Mama, Mr Mxolisi Ntshaota and Mr Lawrence Nyalende were killed near Nelspruit when the car in which they were travelling was ambushed. According to Colonel Eugene de Kock, he had been persuaded that a group led by Leballo was planning to rob a bank to build up the ANC's election funds. Leballo was known to the police as Winnie Mandela's former driver and a trained ANC member. Leballo was not in the vehicle but was reportedly picked up by Vlakplaas members soon afterwards and killed. De Kock was convicted for his role in these killings. During the trial, evidence was led that the motive for the ambush was not political but financial. De Kock [AM0066/96] applied for amnesty, along with Rolf Dieter Gevers [AM3752/96], Deon Gouws [AM3759/96], JJ de Swardt [AM3750/96], Ben Burger van Zyl [AM7722/97], JHP Hanekom [AM3886/96].
- 62 Members of the security forces were also responsible for deaths in custody or arising out of the process of effecting an arrest.
- 63 Mr Samuel Mzuga Baloi [KZN/ZJ/111/WE] was unarmed when he was killed in Gugulethu on 22 February 1990 by *askaris* acting under the command and with the approval of their commanders in the SAP. Officially, Baloi was found to be carrying "a grenade of foreign origin" and attempted to flee when confronted by the police.
- 64 Constable Alfred Benjamin Bambatha, a disaffected SAP member who had earlier been in charge of a group of *askaris* in the Eastern Cape, told the Commission that he was equipped by his senior commander with an attaché case containing grenades and pistols with the instructions to plant these on any MK persons who were killed, in order to justify the death.

I recall an incident in Cape Town during late 1989 or early 1990 in Gugulethu Township, when a male person was pointed out by the askaris. After stopping the vehicle, I approached him and informed him that I was a police official whereupon he ran away. As a result of this, the askaris jumped from the vehicle and chased the man whilst firing at him. Myself and Constable Koopman ... tried to stop them but they succeeded in fatally shooting the man. I then approached the body, discovering that he was dead as well as unarmed.

I had the attaché case with me and sent the askaris back to the Kombi so that they could not see what I was doing. I then placed a F1 hand grenade in the dead man's pocket under the guise of trying to help him as members of the community were watching. This fact made it impossible to place the

Makharov pistol next to him ... In the process of pointing out a terrorist, it was the preference of the askaris that the person be killed as they feared that, should the court set him free or he speak to other terrorists about their involvement, they themselves would be killed ... I later also made a statement that I had discovered the F1 hand grenade on his person. After the incident, the Captain complimented me on my actions and pertinently stated that it was better that the terrorists be killed to prevent their possible release.

- 65 Mr Mthunzi Velemseni Njakazi [KZN/NN/063/DN], a returnee, was shot in the legs and chest by the Security Branch on 28 January 1991. The Durban City police called an ambulance but the Security Branch allegedly delayed the victim's getting to hospital and he subsequently died. Police claimed that they shot Njakazi because he was attempting to steal a white woman's bag [see AM3770/96].
- 66 Former security policeman Andy Taylor informed Warrant Officer Tjaart Fourie of the Security Branch that one of his *askaris* had been involved in a shooting incident, and instructed him to go to the scene and give assistance. Fourie took a Russian grenade to plant on the victim to cover-up the killing.
- 67 On 7 July 1991, Mr Madoda Mkhize [KZN/NN/162/PM] and returnee Mr Thulani Xaba were shot by police in Port Shepstone. Xaba died, but Mkhize escaped from the hospital and was shot again in Durban.
- 68 Mr Wellington Mbili, a nineteen-year-old MK member [KZN/AB/011/PS and KZN/NN/225/PS] died on 4 October 1993 while in police custody. He had been arrested by Transkei police for alleged possession of a firearm and transferred into the custody of the SAP at Port Shepstone for investigation into the alleged killing of a police officer in Gamalakhe on 14 August 1993. Witnesses claimed they had seen him being taken out of a police van in handcuffs in a bushy area near his home and then heard gunshots. Police claimed that two detectives had taken him to the area to recover exhibits and that Mbili, pointing into thick bush, suddenly produced a grenade. One police officer fired a shot in self-defence, and the grenade exploded killing Mbili instantly.
- 69 On 17 January 1994, three people were killed in an alleged armed attack on a satellite police station in Pine Street, Durban. Two of the victims were allegedly APLA members and the other a bystander. The PAC denied responsibility for this attack.² According to ballistic tests carried out by Mr T Wolmaraans, the

² Seedat Fatima [KZN/NN/400/DN] made a statement to the Commission about the death of one of the victims, Mosheen Jeenah.

earlier investigation carried out by Warrant Officer van Biljon and Dr Book was a cover-up. Two police officers present during the shooting claimed they were fired at. However no AK or handgun bullets were found in the charge office and the weapons used by the police were not examined.

- 70 Members of the security forces were also responsible for some killings within their own ranks. The order to kill *askari* Brian Ngqulunga, who had testified at the Harms Commission on the killing of Mr Griffiths Mxenge in Durban, allegedly came from a senior officer at Security Branch headquarters with the full knowledge of his superior. Willem Riaan 'Balletijies' Bellingan [AM5283/97], Pieter Hendrik Botha [AM5458/97], Colonel Eugene de Kock [AM0066/96], Captain Willem Wouter Mentz [AM2775/96] and Willem Albertus 'Willie' Nortjé [AM3764/96] applied for amnesty for the killing.
- 71 In their applications, they report that a fellow *askari*, Mr Simon Radebe, was assigned the task of befriending Ngqulunga. On 19 July 1990, Radebe took Ngqulunga to the Skurwebergpad near Vlakplaas, where he handed him over to Dave Baker, W Riaan Bellingan, Pieter Hendrik Botha and Captain Wouter Mentz, who tied him up and hit him till he was unconscious. They then drove him to Bophuthatswana where Bellingan shot him. Nortjé and De Kock then met them in Pretoria and drove to Johannesburg where they spent the night in order to create an alibi.
- 72 *Askari* Goodwill Neville Sikhakane [KZN/MR/011/DN] was killed near Greytown on 21 January 1991. Colonel Eugene de Kock, Dawid "Duiwel" Brits [AM 3745/96], JJ 'Blackie' de Swardt [AM3750/96], Larry Hanton [AM4076/96] and Willie Nortjé [AM3764/96] applied for amnesty for his killing.
- 73 Andy Taylor claimed that he suspected that Sikhakane was a double agent, and so supplied him with false information. This information got back to Taylor via other sources in Swaziland, proving Sikhakane was indeed assisting the ANC. A senior Security Branch general instructed Taylor to kill Sikhakane, but to use outside people to do so. Taylor contacted Eugene de Kock and the Vlakplaas operatives killed him a few days later. The authorisation by high-ranking Security Branch personnel is confirmed in the published account by De Kock who implicates both General 'Bertus' Steyn, then Officer Commanding the Port Natal Security Branch, and the then head of the C section, General Krappies Engelbrecht. Nortjé allegedly received a cash bonus of R2 000 after the operation.

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

75 De Kock claims that, when Mabotha was due for release, he was asked "to make a plan". Potgieter handed Mabotha over to Vlakplaas operatives and they took him to the Penge mine where he was again interrogated. Mabotha was then taken to the bottom of a quarry on the premises. De Kock continues:

Explosives had already been placed there ... When Mabotha saw the explosives there he turned round and looked at me. I shot him twice in the heart with a .38 Special revolver. He died immediately.

76 Members of Vlakplaas then repeatedly detonated explosives until there were no remains left.

77 Amnesty applicants in respect of this incident include Captain Willem Wouter Mentz [AM2775/96]; Sergeant Dawid Jacobus 'Duiwel' Brits [AM3745/96]; Colonel Eugene De Kock [AM0066/96]; and Colonel Jan Daniel Potgieter [AM5418/97]. While De Kock and Mentz give 1992 as the date of the incident, Brits and Potgieter claim that it took place on 4 October 1989.

THE COMMISSION MADE COMPREHENSIVE FINDINGS IN RESPECT OF EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS IN THE PRE-1990 PERIOD.

EVIDENCE BEFORE THE COMMISSION INDICATES THAT, IN THE POST-1990 PERIOD, THE SAP CONTINUED TO CARRY OUT EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS AND ATTEMPTED KILLINGS, BOTH INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY. TARGETS INCLUDED HIGH-PROFILE POLITICAL ACTIVISTS PREDOMINANTLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE ANC. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUCH EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS TOOK THE FORM OF ASSASSINATION, AMBUSHES AND ENTRAPMENT KILLINGS, KILLINGS AND ATTEMPTED KILLINGS BY WAY OF PARCEL BOMBS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THESE ACTS CONSTITUTED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE SAP ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Raids

- 78 On 8 October 1993, five sleeping youths including two twelve-year-old children were shot dead in a SADF raid on an alleged APLA base at the Mpendulo residence in the Northcrest suburb of Umtata. A press statement released by the then Minister of Defence HJ 'Kobie' Coetsee a week later stated that the raid was based on intelligence provided by three suspects in detention. Ostensibly the raid was to pre-empt attacks on civilians by APLA operatives, allegedly using the Transkei as a base from which to launch such attacks.
- 79 General Georg Meiring, chief of the army at the time of the attack, said in a section 29 investigative enquiry that more than fifty APLA attacks had been launched across the Transkei border in the period preceding October 1993 and that the role of the Transkei in providing both a safe haven for the APLA high command and APLA operatives, and in providing military training, had been confirmed by a Goldstone Commission enquiry. The State Security Council (SSC) had discussed the situation in August 1993. During September, the SADF received information from the SAP regarding the use of the Mpendulo residence as an APLA arms facility and base from which attacks in the Eastern and Western Cape were launched. According to this intelligence, some eighteen APLA operatives stayed at the house.
- 80 General Meiring indicated that he relied on then director of operations Brigadier Castleman, and a senior staff officer for intelligence, Colonel Gibson for the planning of the operation. With the approval of Minister Coetsee, an army reconnaissance mission was launched on 2 October 1993. This confirmed the SAP's intelligence but, on Meiring's admission, was unable to confirm whether weapons were indeed stored there. Further, the reconnaissance mission withdrew at approximately 20h00 on 7 October, hours after authority had been given "to conduct a limited strike on the house" in order "to neutralise the target". This authorisation emanated from a meeting of the SSC attended by, *inter alia*, Ministers Kriel, Coetsee, Pik Botha and then State President FW de Klerk.
- 81 The strike was conducted by the 45 Parachute Brigade, under the command of Colonel Hannes Venter. According to Meiring,
- the attacking force ... left their base at 20h00 ... by road and crossed the border at about midnight. The attack took place on 080245 bravo (02h00). When the attacking force reached the house, the house was dark ... The*

door was kicked open and because of security reasons, they did not switch on the lights ... but used flash lights, they were prepared to find as many as twelve people. There were actually only five persons in the house and all were killed because they reacted hostilely (sic).

- 82 Asked to explain what he meant by “hostilely”, Meiring said that one of the youths had sat up with a weapon in his hand. While the operatives had been given instructions to incur minimum loss of life, they were also told to avoid endangering themselves and, in this respect, had a license to shoot. Asked whether such a license included a license to shoot to kill, Meiring replied: “...a soldier is never trained [to do] anything but shoot to kill. There is no way of asking how to shoot, you shoot for effect if you do shoot”. The police docket indicates that seventy-eight cartridges and twenty-six projectiles were found in the house. Four of the five victims were shot in the head.
- 83 After the shooting, a few weapons were allegedly found, together with some documentation. However, while the attacking team confirmed the existence of a reinforced storage room outside, supposedly for weapons, the expected weapons cache did not materialise. Further, in the furore that followed the raid, lawyers for the family arranged for an international US forensic expert to examine the seized weapons. The SADF has thus far failed to produce such weapons.
- 84 The following people were killed in the raid: Mzwandile Mfeya (12 years), Sandiso Yose (12 years), twins Samora and Sadat Mpendulo (16 years) and Thando Mtembu (17 years).
- 85 In 1995, the Government of National Unity issued the following statement, drawn up according to Minister of Justice Dullah Omar in consultation with President Mandela and Deputy President FW de Klerk:

The raid on the house in Umtata was authorised on the strength of the intelligence provided by the security forces, that it was being used as an armed cache for attacks against civilians in other parts of South Africa. That information was inaccurate at the time of the operation and the killing of the youthful occupants was unjustified and inexcusable.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KILLING OF THE FIVE YOUTHS IN THE SO-CALLED UMTATA RAID WAS A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE FORMER SSC AND THE FORMER SADF ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE. IN PARTICULAR, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE RECONNAISSANCE TEAM SOME EIGHT HOURS BEFORE THE OPERATION MEANT THAT THE SADF HAD NO REAL WAY OF KNOWING WHO WAS IN THE HOUSE AT THE TIME OF THE

RAID AND REGARDS THIS AS GROSSLY NEGLIGENT. THE COMMISSION FURTHER FINDS THAT THE FAILURE OF THE SADF TO PRODUCE THE WEAPONS ALLEGEDLY SEIZED IN THE HOUSE FOR INDEPENDENT FORENSIC EXAMINATION CASTS DOUBT ON THE EXISTENCE OF THE SAID WEAPONS.

Alleged police complicity in political violence

- 86 Allegations of police complicity in the violence that plagued pre-election South Africa included both the failure to act against perpetrators of violence as well as the provision of tacit or active support for one side of the conflict.

Failure to act against perpetrators

- 87 By August 1990, there were ongoing tensions between residents of Khalanyoni Hostel and the Phola Park squatter camp in Thokoza. These tensions came to a head shortly after the IFP launched a recruitment drive. After non-IFP members fled the hostel, residents from Phola Park attacked the hostel, destroying it brick by brick. The SAP's initial response was that the conflict was a factional one and that they would "not get involved in a political fight" between Xhosa and Zulus.
- 88 In Sebokeng, twenty-three people were killed in an initial attack and a further fifteen people in a subsequent attack by the SADF which opened fire on a crowd on 3 September 1990. (Sebokeng had also been the scene of a massacre in March 1990.) The first attack on the Sebokeng hostel was carried out by Inkatha supporters, armed with guns, hand grenades, home-made bombs, spears and axes and was an attempt by those who had been evicted from the hostel in July to regain their former residence. In the conflict that ensued, residents of Sebokeng trapped the attackers in a block in the hostel. The police managed to keep the opposing forces apart, thus preventing further casualties.
- 89 The second attack occurred when members of the SADF opened fire without provocation on a crowd which had gathered outside the hostel and was demanding that police wait for the arrival of ANC leaders before they proceed to remove the attackers, at that time holed up in the hostel (see further Volume Three). Although a judicial enquiry found that the SADF members had displayed unprofessional behaviour, no action was taken against them.
- 90 The actions of the Khetisi gang, led by Mr Victor 'Khetisi' Kheswa, are covered in some detail in Volume Three. Initially little more than a criminal gang, the Khetisi gang appears to have begun a reign of terror in Sebokeng appears to have begun when Kheswa established links with the IFP, giving him access to arms. The

gang members were arrested for their involvement in the Nangalembe night vigil massacre on 12 January 1991, but were eventually acquitted due to lack of evidence.

- 91 Vaal police officer Masoli Meshack Mahlatsi stated in an *affidavit* that Kheswa and his gang were often detained in the police cells but received special food and treatment. He claimed that Kheswa often said that he and his gang were working together with the police. Further evidence of a link is the fact that Kheswa is known to have watched the proceedings of the funeral of ANC leader Ernest Sotsu's family from a police Casspir, despite the fact that he was widely believed to be the perpetrator of their killing. Kheswa eventually died under uncertain circumstances while under arrest in connection with the killing of nineteen people in Sebokeng in April 1993 and sixteen people in Sebokeng and Evaton in June 1993.
- 92 Mahlatsi indicated that, on the day Kheswa died, he was threatening to speak of his links with the police. Another member of the Khetisi gang, Mr Daniel Mabotho, a suspect in the Boipatong massacre, died shortly thereafter, having been struck by the car of Kheswa's arresting officer, Detective Sergeant Peens. At the time, and against the judge's instructions, Mabotho and three other suspects was being transported to take part in an identification parade. The dockets concerning the deaths of Kheswa and Mabotho have, according to the SAPS, 'gone missing.'
- 93 On 12 May 1991, twenty-seven people were killed and scores were injured in a pre-dawn attack on Swanieville informal settlement by approximately a thousand IFP hostel-dwellers from Kagiso. There were numerous allegations of police complicity in the attack. These included an allegation that the attackers had been escorted by armoured police vehicles as they made their way to Kagiso; that residents had been advised by the police to go to sleep early and stay off the streets; and that the police had confiscated weapons from Swanieville residents during a raid the previous day, while making no attempt to halt or disarm the attackers during the attack; and that balaclava-clad white men were among the attackers. The police were also alleged to have escorted the attackers back to their hostel. Police did not deny this but stated that this was to prevent a further attack on Kagiso residents.
- 94 Several IFP members were arrested, but subsequently acquitted owing to a lack of evidence. In his judgement Judge CJ Botha said that the fact that so few had been brought to trial was a "scandal". The judge noted the police's failure to call in the video unit, thus making positive identification of attackers difficult.

The judge noted further that such actions reinforced public criticism and speculation about the role of the police.

- 95 At least forty-five people were killed in the night attack on Boipatong on 17 June 1992, allegedly launched from KwaMadala hostel in the Vaal. A number of witnesses reported that white men were part of at least one group of attackers. The monitoring organisation Peace Action noted that police failed to act on warnings of the impending attack (see further Volume Three).
- 96 After the Sebokeng massacre, an independent police team was appointed by Goldstone to assess the SAP's response to and subsequent investigation of the incident. The team, headed by Dr PA Waddington, produced a report that was highly critical of the police investigation into the massacre, describing it as "woefully inadequate in a number of respects". However Waddington ascribed this to "an absence of suitable organisational structures to facilitate effective policing" and said that "omissions arose not from deliberation, but incompetence".
- 97 The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry set up in the wake of the massacre had to suspend its work when crucial tapes recorded in the Vereeniging command office of the Internal Stability Unit at the time of the massacre were mysteriously wiped blank. The SAP's Major Davidson attributed the erasure of the tapes to "a technical problem I am unable to explain". The carefully worded report of British intelligence specialists said the superimposition of material on the recordings "may not have been accidental" and that "the technical evidence suggests that this may have been done deliberately and hurriedly to obscure the contents".
- 98 In March 1994, seventeen KwaMadala hostel residents were convicted and sentenced to prison terms of between ten and fifteen years on various charges of murder, attempted murder, and public violence in connection with the Boipatong massacre. They were subsequently released on bail pending the outcome of an appeal against their convictions in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein. When the trial began in 1993, there were seventy-four accused. Charges against sixty-three of the accused, some of whom became state witnesses, were withdrawn during the course of the trial and eleven people were acquitted due to lack of evidence.
- 99 In the course of the trial of the KwaMadala residents, SAP Lieutenant D C van der Merwe told the court that his superior officer, a Major van Wyk (who has since retired), ordered the destruction of eight 9mm bullet shells and bullet heads

which had been found at the scene of the massacre. Van der Merwe told the court that he could not tell whether the eight shells and heads were standard police issue. He said that, as far as he knew, the shells and heads had never been subjected to ballistic tests.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN THEIR APPROACH TO THE PREVENTION AND INVESTIGATION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE, THE SAP WAS BIASED IN FAVOUR OF THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY AND THAT THEIR FAILURE TO INTERVENE IN AND TO PROPERLY INVESTIGATE SUCH VIOLENCE LED TO LARGE NUMBERS OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND STRENGTHENED THE PREVAILING CULTURE OF IMPUNITY. THE SAP IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT RESULTED FROM THEIR ACTIONS.

Provision of weapons to the IFP

- 100 The March 1994 Goldstone report into criminal acts committed by members of the SAP, the KZP and the IFP implicated senior policemen not only in the supply of weapons to the IFP, but in attempts to thwart the Goldstone investigation into the issue. Subsequent evidence in the State vs Eugene de Kock and before this Commission corroborates the fact that the SAP, largely through Vlakplaas operatives, supplied the IFP with a considerable amount of weaponry during the 1990s. The Commission received a number of amnesty applications in connection with the supply and manufacture of weaponry for the IFP, including those of WA 'Willie' Nortjé [AM3764/96], AJ 'Brood' van Heerden [AM3763/96], WW Mentz [AM2775/96] and Eugene de Kock [AM0066/96]. Further applications were received from IFP recipients of some of these weapons.
- 101 Evidence before the Commission reveals that much of the weaponry supplied to the IFP was originally acquired from *Koevoet*, a Security Branch counter-insurgency unit based in Namibia. Many of the members based at Vlakplaas had previously been members of *Koevoet*. Several members of Vlakplaas applied for amnesty for the transport of weapons from Namibia to Vlakplaas. It would appear that this occurred on the orders of Brigadier Schoon on at least four occasions during the mid- to late 1980s. The weapons came from the stores of *Koevoet* as well as the SADF's Oshivelo base in Namibia. They included AK-47s and ammunition, M26 and Russian hand grenades and explosives, SADF explosives, Russian and SADF limpet mines, light machine guns, SAM7s, mortars, RPG pipes and ammunition, and various other items.
- 102 The initial link with the IFP was made during 1990 by a former Vlakplaas operative Andries (Brood) van Heerden, who had joined the security division of ABSA Bank in Johannesburg. In June 1990, Van Heerden was introduced to Mr

Themba Khoza of the IFP who asked him to supply the IFP with weapons. Van Heerden then approached Colonel Eugene de Kock, and subsequently acted as the liaison person between the IFP and Vlakplaas. By De Kock's admission, he initially took on this role without higher authorisation, but says:

Ek het ... geweet dat hierdie hulpverlening in lyn was met die algemene gevoel oor die IFP onder polisie geledere ... ene Kaptein Frederick Botha het byvoorbeeld aan my gesê dat 'n massiewe hoeveelhede gelde deur die polisie bewillig is vir die IFP. *(I knew that this assistance was in line with the general feeling about the IFP amongst police members ... one Captain Frederick Botha, for instance, told me that a massive amount of money was earmarked by the police for the IFP.)*

- 103 Later, De Kock had a discussion with Major General Krappies Engelbrecht and Major General Nick Janse van Rensburg, then head of Section C, and they authorised him to manufacture home-made firearms for the IFP. After discussing the financial aspects with General Basie Smit, Janse van Rensburg told De Kock to make false claims sufficient to make 100 home-made weapons. De Kock then telephoned Snor Vermeulen and Daniel Snyman and they arranged to have the weapons designed and made. The cost of the weapons was about R60 000. One hundred weapons were distributed to Themba Khoza and Jac Büchner, then commissioner of the KZP.
- 104 According to the amnesty application of Mr Derek Rausch, he assisted Vlakplaas members Lionel Snyman and Snor Vermeulen to make home-made explosive devices. Rausch, a precision engineer and an ex-Rhodesian police officer (BSAP) had an engineering shop next to Mechem, a subsidiary of Armscor and frequently worked for them. Rausch bought the material and Lionel Snyman and Snor Vermeulen provided the explosives to build the explosive devices from Vlakplaas stores. In his amnesty application, Johann Verster stated that, on instruction from his superior at Mechem, he provided Snyman and Vermeulen with three tons of 107mm Chinese rockets and explosives to be used in the manufacture of home-made pipe bombs and hand grenades and that he assisted in their manufacture at Snyman's house. According to Verster, these explosives were intended for Inkatha.
- 105 Later Snyman and Vermeulen again approached Rausch to assist them in making home-made shotguns. Joe Verster of Mechem assisted with this project and Snyman told him that Basie Smit approved of the project. They made approximately 200 shotguns. According to Verster, Snyman later told him that General

Le Roux was present when the prototype was tested and was very happy with the results. Both Rausch and Verster were told that the guns were intended for Inkatha. In his amnesty application, Douw Willemse stated that he assisted Snor Vermeulen and Lionel Snyman to test home-made weapons, on the instruction of De Kock.

- 106 Johann Verster also assisted Vermeulen and Snyman by removing identification marks from M26 hand grenades by painting them with black paint. Interviews with Vlakplaas members revealed that the hand grenades were modified in the following fashion: all the serial numbers were taken off, they were painted black and a piece of gut was connected between the hand grenade lever and the hand grenade in order to keep the lever close to the explosive point and destroy it completely.
- 107 Similarly, Rausch assisted in modifying AK-47s for the police. According to interviews with Vlakplaas members, some of the AK-47s given to Themba Khoza as well as those kept at Mechem were modified: they were shortened by removing the butts to make them easier to carry and conceal. Some of the AK-47s barrels were shortened, serial numbers were welded over and then ground off.
- 108 When De Kock realised that Khoza was only the youth leader of the IFP, he asked to meet Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, IFP leader in the Transvaal and an IFP Minister. He and Willie Nortjé met Mr Victor Ndlovu, Mr Themba Khoza, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu and the Reverend Celani Mthetwa at Brood van Heerden's home. It was agreed that one last batch of weapons, including two or three home-made explosive devices, made by Snyman, Vermeulen and Verster, would be given to Khoza.
- 109 According to Van Heerden, several further meetings were held and attended by Colonel De Kock, Warrant Officer Willie Nortjé, then Lieutenant Chappies Klopper, Lieutenant Piet Botha and Sergeant Charlie Chate from Vlakpaas. Minister C J Mthetwa (IFP KwaZulu Natal), Themba Khoza, Humphrey Ndlovu, Ms Dlomo, Viktor Ndlovu and James Ndlovu attended on behalf of the IFP.
- 110 Nortjé obtained weapons from De Kock on a regular basis and delivered them to the above-mentioned IFP members. The weapons delivered included: M26 hand grenades, black M26 hand grenades, AK-47s, SKS machine guns, home-made shotguns, R4s, Makarov and Tokarev pistols, landmines, a magnetised car bomb and a variety of ammunition. De Kock further states in his application that between twenty-four and thirty black hand grenades and AK-47s were

taken by De Kock and Nortjé to Revd Mthethwa's house in Natal, and on a second occasion another six or eight AK-47s plus ammunition were similarly delivered. On at least one other occasion, De Kock handed pistols to Mthetwa in Johannesburg.

- 111 Van Heerden claims that in 1993 he and Mthetwa were responsible for the formation of a self-protection plan in which the Johannesburg mid-city and all the IFP hostels were divided into self-protection teams. A copy of this plan is with the office of the Attorney-General in Gauteng and allegations of a similar nature appear in the Staff Report compiled by the Steyn investigation.
- 112 All the weapons and ammunition in the possession of Themba Khoza were distributed to the IFP hostels. An IFP supporting *induna* was identified in each hostel as the person who would distribute the weapons to IFP supporters. In addition, groups like the 'Black Cats' also received weaponry.
- 113 Some IFP members who applied for amnesty corroborate the above allegations. They include Mr David Zweli Dlamini [AM3685/96] a Caprivi trainee and hit squad member, Mr Bhekisa Alex Khumalo (aka Sosha) [AM4027/96], Mr Mhlupheni Petros Khumalo [AM2780/96] Mr Phupha Philemon Hlela [2779/96], Mr Israel Hlongwane [AM4600/97] and Mr Daluxolo Luthuli [AM4018/96].
- 114 Themba Khoza was arrested with a car load of weapons at the scene of the Sebokeng massacre in September 1990 and charged with unlawful possession of firearms and ammunition. Despite apparently strong evidence, charges against him were dropped, primarily because no fingerprints were found on any of the weapons, making it impossible to link them to any of the attackers. In addition, the court accepted Khoza's explanation that he had handed the keys of the car over to another IFP member and there was therefore a possibility that somebody else could have placed the weapons in the vehicle.
- 115 Subsequent amnesty applications indicate that Vlakplaas operatives Brood van Heerden and Willie Nortjie supplied Khoza with weapons which were used in the Sebokeng massacre, including AK-47s, black hand grenades and home-made bombs. Vlakplaas operative Willie Nortjé stated that the weapons used in the massacre were tampered with so that they could not be linked to the crime by forensics testing. Two Vaal policemen, Arthur John van der Gryp [AM4373/96], a warrant officer in the special Unrest Investigation Unit created to investigate political violence, and head of the Vaal Security Branch Jacobus Francois Conradie [AM4123/96], both admitted to removing and tampering with evidence in order

to secure Khoza's release. The car in which the weapons were found at the scene of the Sebokeng massacre was also allegedly supplied by Vlakplaas. Khoza's bail money was supplied by Vlakplaas.

- 116 According to Colonel Eugene de Kock, he delivered six ten-ton truckloads of sophisticated weaponry to Mr Philip Powell for use in the self-protection unit (SPU) training project in KwaZulu-Natal. De Kock and Powell had been introduced by members of the Durban Security Branch. De Kock asked Jac Büchner whether Powell was somebody "he could walk the road with" and Büchner stated that he could be trusted.
- 117 De Kock met Powell on two further occasions and arrangements were made for the supply of weapons to the SPU project. A Mechem official, Joe Verster, notes that De Kock telephoned him and told him that he wanted the weapons he had stored at Mechem and any further weaponry available. Theo van Dyk (manager at Mechem) gave permission for De Kock to collect the weapons.
- 118 De Kock obtained access to Mechem stores in October 1993 and collected
- ‘n groot hoeveelheid ammunisie, geweer grante, ek dink daar was ses vuurpylrigters gewees met ‘n redelike groot hoeveelheid vuurpyle. Daar was een 81 millimeter mortier met ‘n klomp bomme gewees. Ek dink daar was twee of drie 60 millimeter mortierpype met bomme gewees, skrootmyne. (*a large quantity of ammunition, rifle grenades, I think there were six rocket launchers with a reasonable number of rockets. There was one 81mm mortar with a large number of bombs. I think there were two or three 60mm mortar pipes with bombs, Claymore mines.*)
- 119 At the time, De Kock was no longer in the employ of the SAP. He told the Commission that he had used an old police ID card to get into the gate and that no one knew he was no longer in the SAP.
- 120 At the same time as the weapons were delivered to Powell, Vermeulen, other Vlakplaas members and *askaris* went to Mlaba camp to assist with training in their use. Vermeulen stated that he was paid between R5 000 and R7 000 for the training and that Powell told him that the money had been obtained from a co-owner of a Zulu newspaper. Later, General Krappies Engelbrecht told him not to do any further training. He said he himself felt that the training had a

political flavour, that he was training a private army and was not prepared to continue.

- 121 Acting on information received from Mr Israel Hlongwane in January 1994, a joint TEC/SAP raid was carried out on the Mlaba camp on 26 April 1994. A large quantity of weapons and ammunition was found in a rondawel at the camp, including twenty-six M26 hand grenades, five rifle grenades, seventy-six G-3 rifles, forty-nine shotguns and a large amount of ammunition. These weapons, together with a large number of documents, were seized. According to the SANDF, the hand grenades and detonators were SADF issue.
- 122 During the raid, Phillip Powell's vehicle was searched and two boxes of ammunition (.222 and shotgun rounds), a Ruger semi automatic firearm and a 9mm pistol were discovered. Concealed under his front seat was a 'home-made' shotgun. One of the musketry instructors, Sergeant Obed Zwelihle Nxumalo, identified the home-made firearm as belonging to Powell. Powell himself claimed that the firearm was found in one of the buses leaving the Mlaba camp and that he had intended to hand it into the Ulundi police station. He also claimed that he did not have any knowledge of the grenades found at the camp and had possession of the armoury key only for a short period on 27 and 28 April. Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally said that there was insufficient evidence to rebut Powell's explanation in respect of the firearm and decided not to prosecute. Eugene De Kock was subsequently charged on various counts related to the illegal possession of weaponry transported to Powell and convicted.
- 123 According to De Kock, he kept a register of the recipients of weapons and ammunition but handed this to General Krappies Engelbrecht before his arrest. De Kock also claimed that he had given General Steyn of Durban a complete list of all the firearms given to Themba Khoza. This is confirmed by Rausch who states that "Eugene told me that he was ordered by the Generals to destroy all of [the documentation] which we did".

THE AMNESTY APPLICATIONS RELATING TO THE SUPPLY OF WEAPONS BY THE SAP TO THE IFP HAVE AT THIS STAGE NOT BEEN HEARD AND THE COMMISSION IS THUS UNABLE TO MAKE A FINDING ON THIS ISSUE. HOWEVER, SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE IS AVAILABLE FOR THE COMMISSION TO MAKE A FINDING THAT FORMER SAP OPERATIVES PROVIDED SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNTS OF UNLICENSED HEAVY WEAPONRY, EXPLOSIVES AND AMMUNITION TO SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE IFP IN THE POST-1990 PERIOD.

Security force involvement in SDUs

- 124 Evidence before the Goldstone Commission revealed that Phola Park SDU member Michael Phama was a police informer and had been instrumental in planning and carrying out the attack on IFP supporters on 8 September 1991, in which eighteen IFP supporters were killed (see Volume Three).
- 125 In Khayelitsha, Cape Town, the conflict between *witdoeke* and an ANC SDU was exacerbated when the ANC denied the SDU access to weaponry in an attempt to control the violence. A former *witdoek* leader Mr Prince Gobingca, who has been found by the Commission to have worked for both the Security Branch and Military Intelligence, established a relationship with the SDU in September 1993 and provided weaponry and other assistance in order to facilitate their attacks on ANC members (see Volume Three).
- 126 In Richmond, the Security Branch recruited both of the key protagonists in the conflict – Sifiso Nkabinde (ANC) and David Ntombela (IFP) (see Volume Three)
- 127 The reluctance of the intelligence community to reveal the names of past sources was a great hindrance to the Commission. Without identifying who was working for whom, the Commission was limited in its ability to uncover the dynamics and causes of violent conflict within communities.

Allegations of security force involvement in train violence

- 128 Train violence first emerged in July 1990 with a series of attacks on commuters travelling on the Johannesburg–Soweto line, which left one person dead, and approximately thirty injured. Between 1990 and 1993, approximately 572 people were to die in more than 600 incidents of train violence. Only three people were convicted. Two applied to the Commission for amnesty.
- 129 Over time, the violence developed a momentum of its own. Unplanned group attacks and individual killings became more frequent than planned, orchestrated incidents involving large groups of people. Most early attacks were characterised by large groups of men (up to 300), often dressed in red headbands and using anything from iron rods to automatic weapons. Gunmen would open fire from train station platforms or spray commuters with bullets from inside coaches.

- 130 Young and old, male and female and supporters of all political parties fell victim to the violence, suggesting that it aimed at causing general terror rather than at achieving a clear political objective.
- 131 Amnesty applicants to the Commission seem to support this thesis. However, there were points at which the connection between negotiations and an escalation of train violence appears clear. The launching of Inkatha as a national political party and the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC in July 1990 and the announcement of a date for elections in July 1993 saw a general rise in political violence.
- 132 The two IFP supporters who applied for amnesty for their part in the train violence both stated that they saw themselves as participating in a political conflict between the ANC and IFP. Mr Felix Ndimene, a Mozambican who had served as a sergeant in 5 Reconnaissance Regiment (5RR), made a victim statement to the Commission in which he claims he was abducted from Mozambique on 23 August 1982 and was later brought to the SADF's Phalaborwa base where he was tortured and forced to join the SADF. In an interview with the *New Nation* in July 1991, Ndimene alleged that the Selous Scouts of Pietersburg and 5RR together with members of RENAMO had been involved in train violence, particularly the Benrose massacre; he also named a Zimbabwean who had allegedly been involved in train attacks. Ndimene alleged that the intelligence division of Spoornet Security was composed of former members of the Special Forces, and that they orchestrated the violence on trains.³
- 133 A special investigation unit of the Goldstone Commission could not substantiate Ndimene's allegations. It ultimately found that the 51 Kommando named by Ndimene was at a legitimate clandestine internal (to the Eastern Transvaal) operation at the time of the Benrose massacre. It further found that most members who had allegedly been involved in the Jeppe attack were in the Phalaborwa camp at the time of the attack. However, a former senior Goldstone investigator told the Commission that he believed that this did not necessarily disprove Ndimene's allegations as Special Forces often operate in small groups of three to four men. The investigator believed it was possible that a small unit of 5RR could have been deployed covertly to conduct train operations. Further evidence to the Commission indicated that a senior commander in 5RR confirmed to an intelligence service that members of the unit were involved in such violence. A former deputy chief of staff intelligence expressed the view that the randomness of the attacks combined with their military precision pointed to people with Special Forces training.

³ *Verlag omtrent die ondersoek deur 'n ondersoekspan van die Goldstone Kommissie na die bewerings met betrekking tot ongeruïmdhede deur lede verbonde aan militêre inligting van SAW* pp 33–41.

- 134 SAP member Wayne Hugh Swanepoel, who applied for amnesty [AM3727/96], stated that he and others in his unit were involved in throwing people from the trains around 1988 “in an attempt to cause the ANC and the IFP to blame each other”. During such actions, they wore balaclavas and those parts of their skin that were exposed were painted. Afterwards, they would go to the scene of the crime “to make sure they were dead” and his own unit would investigate the case. He claimed that the people who assisted them were paid by the CCB, and that the orders came “from inside the security police and higher up”.
- 135 Former Vlakplaas *askari* Joe Mamasela alleged in the *New Nation* in March 1997 that Eikenhof farm in the Vaal area was used to house alleged train killers. Mamasela’s testimony was confirmed by an ex-police officer referred to by *New Nation* as ‘Mandla’. Mandla stated that he and other Vlakplaas members were not allowed access to those they suspected to be train attackers and that they suspected that the attackers were foreigners; they “were very dark and spoke bad English”, and that the men would be armed with R5 rifles and 9mm weapons.
- 136 A statement by Mr Xola Frank ‘Jimmy’ Mbane, enclosed in the files of amnesty applicants Thapelo Johannes Mbelo [AM3785/96] and Wilhelm Riaan Bellingan [AM5283/97], alleged that most of the briefings for train operations took place at Vlakplaas. He said that his train squad consisted of himself, Khayo, Sylvester, Mvelase, Shushe, Joss and Kilino. The last-named served as commander and paid the others R1 000 after successful operations.
- 137 The Commission was not been able to confirm the above allegations, some of which will be further pursued in amnesty hearings.

■ THE HOMELANDS: TRANSITION AND INCORPORATION

Historical and Political Overview

- 138 The effects of the watershed in South African politics following the February 1990 unbannings was also felt in the homelands. Throughout the years of CODESA I and II, as well as the multi-party talks at the World Trade Centre, homeland leaders and their political parties manoeuvred between the dominant players in the negotiations, including the ANC, the NP and various white conservative groupings. Driven by their own agendas, homeland governments took – and when necessary changed – sides in an attempt to position themselves in a post-apartheid

South Africa. Foremost on these agendas was the issue of homeland re-incorporation into South Africa.

- 139 Two important events in the homelands proved milestones in the larger history of this period as they resonated throughout South Africa and, in turn, helped to direct the course of events in the country. The incidents occurred in homelands whose leaders had proved reluctant to surrender juridical independence and re-incorporate into South Africa. In addition, the governments in both homelands showed themselves willing to engage in political brinkmanship in order to assert their power, particularly in the face of the ANC's increasing centrality to the negotiations.
- 140 In the first incident, on 7 September 1992, the ANC organised a march from South African soil to the Ciskei capital of Bisho. The march was part of a campaign to open up areas for free political activity before elections could be held. Ciskei troops opened fire on the marchers, killing thirty people including a Ciskei soldier. The incident became known as the 'Bisho massacre'. In the wake of the Boipatong killings and the ANC's withdrawal from CODESA, negotiations teetered on the brink of collapse. Rather than pushing the country over the precipice and into full-scale violence, the events at Bisho rather contributed to an increased determination to find a peaceful settlement on the part of most political leaders.
- 141 If events in the Ciskei renewed the process of negotiations, then developments in Bophuthatswana provided a visible sign of the final collapse of the politics of armed reaction. Throughout the negotiation period, President Lucas Mangope had increasingly adopted a hard-line approach to the multi-party talks and to the ANC in particular. In the end, Mangope abandoned the negotiations altogether, announcing that he was prepared to take Bophuthatswana into the future on its own if necessary. As the date for elections drew near and popular resistance to the Mangope government intensified, Mangope called in members of the white right wing to help quell the opposition. In March 1994, the Bophuthatswana Defence Force, in conjunction with the SADF, took action against an estimated 5 000 armed members of the AWB who had answered Mangope's call. In the process, a film crew captured footage of a member of the BDF murder an injured white supremacist in cold blood. As the politics of white armed resistance collapsed in the wake of the AWB's ignominious withdrawal, the footage, which was broadcast around the world, became a symbol of the inevitability of change in South Africa. South Africa took over control of Bophuthatswana, installing an interim government under the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

- 142 Two weeks after the Bophuthatswana clashes, the Ciskei government collapsed. A wave of strikes by Ciskei civil servants took place, culminating in a strike by police in the homeland's capital, Bisho during which striking policemen took senior security force officers hostage. Within days Gqozo had resigned, the SADF moved in to take control and an interim administration under the TEC was set up.
- 143 By 1990, the Pretoria dream of independent homelands had not only collapsed but had become a serious problem for the South African security forces. Transkei, under Holomisa, had become an area which Pretoria regarded as a liberated zone for liberation movements; this resulted in various efforts by the South African security forces over several years to oust Holomisa. Once Gqozo took over in Ciskei on 4 March 1990, just after the national unbannings, South Africa moved rapidly to turn him against the ANC when it appeared he might follow Holomisa's example.
- 144 The homelands became a crucial terrain during the 1990s. While it may have suited the security forces simply to close them down by enforced early incorporation into the rest of South Africa, this would not have suited the agendas of politicians on all sides: the ANC wanted territories such as Ciskei and Bophuthatswana closed down, but needed the organisational space offered by Transkei (apparently regarded as a bolt-hole should Pretoria suddenly crack down on the newly unbanned organisations again); Pretoria wanted control over Transkei but needed some of the other homelands as "independent" allies at the negotiating table (it is worth noting here that Ciskei invariably voted with Pretoria during negotiations); the right-wing later used some of the homeland rulers (including KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei's Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope) as allies in the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG), a united black and white right-wing front formed in late 1992.

Responsibility for gross violations of human rights

- 145 The table below shows the percentages of types of gross violations which were reported to the Commission for this period:

	Abduction	Killing	Severe ill treatment	Torture	Total
Homeland	3%	36%	55%	6%	100%
Non-homeland	3%	35%	57%	6%	100%

- 146 The table shows a noticeable rise in the incidence of killing violations, both in homelands and in non-homelands (from 22 per cent in the 1983–89 period to 36

per cent in the homelands, and from 23 per cent in the same period for the non-homeland areas to 35 per cent); there is a corresponding sharp drop in the torture violations (from 20 per cent to 6 per cent of the homeland cases and from 24 per cent to 6 per cent of the non-homeland cases). This reflects the changing nature of violence in the 1990s following the unbannings, with the ending of the state of emergency nationally but also a corresponding drop in detentions and torture in the homelands (where the independent homelands were not affected by the national state of emergency).

Transkei and Ciskei

- 147 In July 1989, Transkei arrested six heavily-armed white men who allegedly set off from South Africa, crossed the border with ease and headed to Umtata to kill Holomisa. In December 1989 two more South Africans, including a serving member of the SAP, were arrested in Transkei on similar charges. Both these attempts seem to have been part of the ongoing attempts to unseat Holomisa which culminated in the abortive Duli coup attempt of November 1990; further attempts were made after this but none seem to have got as far as Umtata. During this period, there were frequent allegations that Transkei was harbouring, training and arming MK guerrillas.
- 148 On 4 March 1990 officers in the Ciskei military overthrew Lennox Sebe and installed Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in his place, an action in which South African security forces were apparently not involved. It appears that Gqozo was not part of the planning for this action but was instead asked to head the new government by the officers shortly after they had taken over. In the early months Gqozo's government allowed organisations to operate freely; however, within six months the SADF had sent in an MI unit which operated out of Ciskei and deliberately turned Gqozo against the ANC alliance.
- 149 In February 1991, in an ironic twist of history, Charles Sebe was shot dead by his former allies while on his way to the Bisho capital of Ciskei, apparently to overthrow Gqozo and fulfil his long-time dream of ruling Ciskei. Sebe was shot dead at a roadblock in an operation run by IR/CIS.
- 150 In July 1991, Gqozo announced the launching of the African Democratic Movement (ADM). Key members of this movement were linked to SADF MI and it appears that the ADM was either initiated by, or at least supported by, MI. The ADM moved closer to Inkatha and at one point Gqozo wrote to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

suggesting they join forces under his leadership. This did not happen and the ADM eventually contested the 1994 elections in competition with Inkatha.

- 151 From 1991 onwards, allegations by the South African government of Transkei aid for first MK and later APLA increased, particularly after APLA stepped up its armed struggle from 1992. South Africa accused Transkei of harbouring guerrillas, arming them, training them with Cuban assistance and allowing them to use Transkei as a base for launching attacks across the border. By March 1993 the SAP had thrown a blockade around Transkei. In November 1993 the South African conflict with Transkei culminated in the SADF attacking the home of a PAC member it claimed was being used as an APLA base. Five children were killed. Also during 1993, MI started planning an attack on Transkei which targeted Holomisa and the ANC's Chris Hani.
- 152 Sometime between August and October 1990, Ciskei established an intelligence unit which operated until August 1991. This unit, which was initially called International Researchers and later Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR/CIS), did not fall under either the military or the police but was described as the Ciskei equivalent of the South African National Intelligence Service and reported to Gqozo directly. Gqozo employed his former instructor at the SADF, Commandant Jan Anton Nieuwoudt, as the head of the unit. Gqozo told the Commission he was unaware that, throughout the time he was working in Ciskei, Nieuwoudt was acting on the SADF's instructions and that IR/CIS was in fact an SADF ME front.
- 153 IR-CIS recruited its personnel from the Ciskei Defence Force, from Gqozo's bodyguards, from the Ciskei security police, from the Transkei security police and from former CCB members who were now jobless (the CCB officially closed down on 30 July 1990⁴, immediately before IR-CIS was set up). Its members included at least one man wanted on murder charges⁵. While IR/CIS may not have been a CCB unit, it certainly operated like one: it was funded by a source unrelated to the SADF (that is, the Ciskei government); it was not publicly known as an SADF operation; it gathered intelligence, evaluated it and then carried out operations based on its own intelligence, contrary to standard security force operating procedures.
- 154 It appears that the unit's main agenda was to bring an end to Gqozo's good relations with the ANC alliance of the immediate post-coup days. By mid-1990 relations between Gqozo and the ANC alliance had deteriorated sharply and never recovered. The disagreements peaked in July 1991 when the Ciskei government

4 Harms Commission report, Sept 1990, page 198

5 Former Transkei security policeman Bongani Wana aka Charles Wanase, wanted in connection with the killing of Sithembele Zokwe in Butterworth in January 1988.

reverted to supporting the headman system (initially abolished by the military government); a state of emergency was declared for a few weeks in November 1991 and by 1992 there was a low-scale war between Ciskei government supporters and ANC supporters which culminated in the September 1992 Bisho massacre.

- 155 The unit was eventually closed down in August 1991 when its operations had been exposed by CDF officers. The then Chief of the SADF General Kat Liebenberg personally travelled to Ciskei to oversee the closure. At the time of the closure the SADF reiterated its denial of links to IR/CIS.

The Duli coup attempt

- 156 In the early hours of 22 November 1990 a group of heavily armed men attacked the Transkei Defence Force's Ncise base outside Umtata. By the end of the day, at least fifteen men from both attackers and defenders were dead, including the coup leader, some attackers had been arrested and others were on the run. The coup was led by Colonel Craig Duli, who formerly served on the Transkei military council until he fell out with the government and was detained. It was supported by the South African security forces, primarily through International Researchers-Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS).
- 157 The Commission received several amnesty applications from former security force members who were involved in support for this attack and/or other similar attempts to overthrow Holomisa. These included Jan Anton Nieuwoudt [AM3813/96], Eugene de Kock [AM0066/96], Daniel Lionel Snyman [AM3766/96], Leon William John Flores [AM3766/96], Nicholaas Johannes Vermeulen [AM4358/96], Willem Albertus Nortjé [AM3764/96] and Marthinus David Ras jnr [AM5183/96], all from the South African security forces, and Sydwell Mzwamadoda Ntisana [AM6359/96] of the TDF. These applications indicated that weapons were supplied at various times by the South African Police (through De Kock) for the coup attempts.
- 158 Following the coup attempts in Transkei, allegations of South African support for plotters and a lack of action by South African authorities in processing extradition requests, there were several instances of unlawful snatches or failed attempts to snatch suspects from South Africa. The Transkei authorities, particularly the TDF MI and/or Army Intelligence, appear to have been involved in these incidents.
- 159 In mid-1989, South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha accused Transkei authorities of kidnapping former TDF chief Zondwa Mtirara from South Africa.

This allegedly took place in July or August following allegations of a plot to kill Holomisa. In March 1990, two Transkei security policemen were arrested by Ciskei security forces near King William's Town; over a year later Ciskei announced that the two had admitted to being on an official mission to abduct or kill Duli or Mbotoli at the time.

- 160 Sometime in mid-1991, the TDF abducted key coup plotter Vulindlela Mbotoli from Johannesburg and took him to Transkei where he subsequently stood trial with the other coup plotters. This snatch was carried out with the assistance of Austrian businessman Mr Rainer Maria Moringer [AM0434/96] who said he had assisted the TDF MI since 1988.
- 161 In May 1991 the Transkei government passed a decree which amended the Criminal Procedure Act to allow for the prosecution of those taken across borders without their consent.
- 162 In late 1992, coup suspect Vulindlela Christopher Shologu disappeared from South Africa to re-appear in custody in Umtata.
- 163 In an abortive snatch two years later, three men apparently unconnected to the coup attempt were killed. The Commission received amnesty applications from TDF members Ntobeko William Matyolo [AM6078/97] and Mr Lungelwe Lupuwana [AM6371/97] in connection with the failed attempt to snatch Charles Wanase from his King William's Town home on 21 May 1993. Wanase was away at the time; instead the abductors snatched three young men, Lindile Kula, Nkosinathi Tuku and Nathaniel Koto and, when they could not say where Wanase was, killed them. Both Matyolo, who was a captain in the TDF's Army Intelligence at the time, and Lupuwana named Papama Mgudlwa [AM6081/97], a TDF source who applied for amnesty in connection with another killing, as the killer. Matyolo stated in his amnesty application they had been instructed to abduct Wanase by the then Transkei military ruler, Major General Bantu Holomisa. Both Matyolo and Lupuwana were charged with the killings in an East London court.

Further coup attempts against Transkei: Operation Abbot

- 164 Attempts to overthrow the Transkei government did not end with the abortive Duli attempt. The following year the SADF's *Operation Abbot* referred to expectations that Transkei civil servants would not be paid as usual on 15 June 1991 due to a financial crisis in that government, and drafted a plan ostensibly to deal with

any violence resulting from this. The *Abbot* plan included a phase of initial deployment in the region, a second phase involving the closure of the Transkei border on receipt of the code-word “close-up” and the third phase involving entry of South African forces into Transkei on the code-word “sort-out”. Third phase planning was done both for a scenario in which the SADF entered Transkei with that administration’s permission and a scenario in which entry was carried out without permission, involving overcoming resistance by the Transkei security forces. An armed invasion into Transkei did not take place. On 12 June, the day Abbot was scheduled to start, members of One Parachute Battalion from Bloemfontein had arrived in the region to participate in what the SADF called at the time a group command control area protection exercise which was “straightforward routine” and not part of a troop build-up.

- 165 SADF call-ups for this period indicate additional troop movements. There were three consecutive “detached duty” call-ups for *Operation Tonto* in Komga (the nearest South African town to the main southern Transkei border post) for a constant period from 3 June to 30 August 1991 – three of sixteen detached duty call-ups run by Group 8 in East London over the three years from 1989–91. There was what appears to have been an additional “monthly camp” for 8 June to 2 July to the Kaffrarian Rifles in East London. There was also an “ops duties” call-up for the East London Commando from 13 to 27 June involving one company for “Ciskei stabilisation”. The availability of additional troops in the region during the Abbot time period was greater than during the period for the November 1990 Duli operation.
- 166 In the run-up to the expected 15 June payday crisis, there was an increase in tension between the Transkei and South African authorities, including:
 - a In mid-May, Holomisa denied allegations that he had appointed Chris Hani as Transkei’s Minister of Police and Defence and that Hani was amassing guerrillas in Transkei;
 - b On 24 May, Holomisa denied allegations that his government had made a loan to MK from the civil servants’ pension fund;
 - c Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha gave weekend newspapers a press conference on Transkei’s financial affairs and Holomisa accused him of deliberately provoking a financial crisis in Transkei in order to encourage a coup attempt. Holomisa claimed the South African government had delayed passing the Transkei budget;

- d On 11 June, Holomisa flatly denied reports that the ANC had established two training bases in Transkei at a cost of R250 000;
 - e On 12 June, Pik Botha told Parliament that there had been no transgressions of the non-aggression and bilateral agreements South Africa had with Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, and that similar agreements with Transkei had been terminated by Transkei on May 10, 1978;
 - f On 13 June, pamphlets calling for Holomisa's resignation were circulated in Transkei, apparently dropped by air, by a previously unknown group calling themselves "The Voice of Bona Fide Transkeians". Speculation at the time was that these pamphlets had been dropped by the South African government.
- 167 There was also increasing concern among the security forces in June 1991 that Gqozo's Ciskei government was on the verge of being overthrown by dissident former CDF members acting together with MK elements. Whether such a plan was in process or not, IR/CIS was submitting "Top Secret" source reports to Gqozo (and presumably also to SADF MI as was routine for IR/CIS) stating that such plans were underway.
- 168 It is not clear what happened to stop *Abbot* from going ahead. Possibly it was aborted because of the widespread rumours of a South African-sponsored attack. It is possible the *Abbot* plan may have been revived two years later. On 31 March 1993 the SADF and SAP threw a blockade around southern Transkei for several days, in what was widely regarded at the time as an economic blockade. This appears to fit in with the "phase two" described in the *Abbot* plans.

The killing of Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana

- 169 On the night of 27 January 1991, Ciskei rebels Charles Sebe [EC0904/96CCK] and Mangwane Onward Guzana [EC0405/96ELN] drove into Ciskei in the belief that a coup attempt was underway or had just taken place and that they were to head the new government with the support of the Ciskei troops. Guzana was a former CDF officer who had formed the military government with Gqozo until he was detained on allegations of coup plots and subsequently fled to Transkei. Here he linked up with Sebe, who had been in Transkei since his 1986 jailbreak.
- 170 Instead of driving into Bisho to take over the government they drove into a CDF roadblock where Guzana was shot dead. Sebe fled, was captured the following day in a nearby village and shot dead.

- 171 A lengthy inquest ensued and, as a result, murder charges in connection with Sebe's death were brought against Gqozo and his bodyguard, Thozamile Veliti. Both were acquitted. It emerged at the court proceedings that there had been a deliberate plot by IR/CIS to lure Sebe and Guzana back to Ciskei on the pretext of a "coup attempt". The inquest found that IR/CIS chief Anton Nieuwoudt worked together with Gqozo "in all the planning stages of the plot to eliminate the threat posed by Sebe and Guzana" and that while the two rebels believed they were involved in a coup attempt, "Nieuwoudt and company knew there was no inside component [to the coup attempt] and knew there was no danger to any interested party in Ciskei. The trap was set for one purpose only: to rid the regime in Ciskei under Brigadier Gqozo of any further threat from Sebe and Guzana"⁶.
- 172 The inquest could not make a finding on how Guzana was killed, but found that Sebe's death had been ordered by Gqozo and carried out by Veliti and others. The subsequent murder trial acquitted both Gqozo and Veliti, finding that there was no direct evidence that Veliti had fired at Sebe, that there was a reasonable doubt as to whether Sebe had been killed on the basis of an order from Gqozo, and that it was not proved that Gqozo had issued an order to kill Sebe unlawfully. The trial judge did however find that Sebe had been killed unlawfully.
- 173 The Commission received an amnesty application in connection with this matter from IR/CIS member Clive Brink [AM6373/97], who was stationed at the roadblock during the operation.

Counter-mobilisation: The African Democratic Movement

- 174 The African Democratic Movement (ADM) was set up by the Ciskei government in July 1991. As a political party led by Brigadier Gqozo, the ADM aligned itself with Inkatha and with right wing groups in the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG).
- 175 Throughout its brief history, the ADM was involved in violent clashes with the ANC. After the Bisho massacre of September 1992, these clashes erupted into more overt warfare, with increasingly sophisticated weapons being used (see the Eastern Cape regional profile elsewhere in this report). The highest number of attacks appeared to have been carried out by the ANC-aligned groups.
- 176 By late 1991 Ciskei had hired a private security company, Peace Force, to protect government property. Peace Force was given the use of the Ciskei's Wesley military

⁶ Inquest findings by Judge MH Claassens, Bisho, 30/8/93

base on the coast, where it ran brief training courses for ADM-supporting recruits. There were allegations that these recruits were then involved in violent clashes with ANC supporters.

- 177 In late 1993 and early 1994 there were several armed hit squad-style attacks on ANC supporters in the Ciskei. Five men were subsequently charged with murder, attempted murder and weapons charges in connection with these attacks; they were all acquitted. They were Titise Mcoiyana (the ADM chairman), Vuyisile Madikane, Dingaan Somtsora, Mongezi Reuben Solani (a bodyguard to Gqozo) and Jeffrey Moshumi (former MK member from the Western Cape).

The Bisho massacre, 7 September 1992

- 178 The Bisho massacre occurred on 2 September 1992 when thousands of ANC supporters, marching from King William's Town to Bisho, capital of the 'independent' Ciskei were fired on by Ciskei government troops. The march had been organised in support of demands for free political activity in the Ciskei and for the removal of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Twenty-nine marchers died and one member of the CDF, Rifleman Vusumzi Sydney Nqabisa, was also shot dead. There were conflicting accounts of the soldier's death in the various inquiries; however ballistics indicated he was shot with an R4 rifle.
- 179 The Commission received a considerable number of statements in connection with deaths and injuries sustained in this event. Two public hearings were held on this matter during 1996, with testimony from victims of the shooting, politicians (including Brigadier Oupa Gqozo) and security force members.
- 180 The Commission heard that shortly before the main body of the March reached the stadium, an ANC advance party arrived at the border to assess the situation. This group found the gap in the fence: as a result the ANC decided that part of the march led by ANC officials including Ronnie Kasrils and Chris Hani would go through this gap and head for Bisho. Kasrils told the Commission:

We broke into a run, beckoning others to follow with the intention of moving as swiftly as possible out of the gap and away from where the soldiers were deployed. We had covered approximately fifty metres when, without any warning whatsoever, the soldiers began shooting at us with automatic rifles ... The firing seemed to last for ages, but it has been estimated that there was one full minute of concentrated fire, then a pause of approximately ten to twenty seconds, followed by a second round of volley fire lasting approxi-

mately thirty seconds ... If there had been a warning, we would have halted, and if warning shots were fired, we would certainly have retreated.

- 181 Kasrils said he would never have believed that the soldiers would have opened fire in this way. "I accept in a profound moral sense that I was an element in the events that culminated in the massacre, and it still haunts me that perhaps we could have done more to avoid the terrible outcome," he said.
- 182 Lieutenant Colonel (now Colonel) Vakele Archiebald Mkosana [AM4458/96], the Officer Commanding 1 Ciskei Battalion and the Field Commander of the CDF troops, was present among the troops when the marchers ran towards them. He said he radioed his superiors, reported that the troops were under fire and, on that basis, received orders to open fire. Mkosana gave the order to open fire to the troops and, according to the CDF planning, only single shots were to have been fired. However firing was picked up by troops around the stadium and even machine gun fire and rifle grenades were used.⁷
- 183 Mkosana made various statements about the incident. In general, these statements confirm that he requested and received permission to open fire; however there are conflicting statements about the reasons for opening fire and the firepower used.
- 184 Ballistics expert Jacobus du Plessis told the Commission that nine marchers and the soldier were struck in the head and two marchers in the neck. Ten marchers were shot from behind while none of them were shot directly from the front. At least fourteen people were apparently shot while lying down or bending over. This seems to indicate that most people were shot while trying to flee. Du Plessis said that 404 cartridge cases, all from 5.56 mm bullets used in R4 rifles, were picked up at the scene. He was able to determine that these had been fired by 107 different weapons. He could not estimate how many rounds had been fired except that it was at least 404. Four rifle grenades were fired by the CDF.
- 185 The event is documented fully in the chapter on the Eastern Cape in Volume Three, where the Commission made a comprehensive finding on the massacre and on the role played by the Ciskei security forces and the ANC.

⁷ Mkosana's reports to his superiors and the authorisation to open fire were confirmed by Oelschig and Van der Bank to the CDF inquiry and to the Commission.

KwaZulu-Natal

The IFP, KZP and the battle for supremacy in KwaZulu and Natal

- 186 Inkatha was found to be the foremost perpetrator of gross human rights violations in KwaZulu and Natal during the 1990s. Approximately 9 000 gross human rights violations were perpetrated by Inkatha in KwaZulu and Natal from 1990 to May 1994. This constituted almost 50 per cent of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for this period.
- 187 With the unbanning of the ANC and other affected organisations in February 1990, Inkatha's free reign in KwaZulu and Natal was threatened. A substantial recruitment drive was initiated by the IFP after its reconstitution as a political party in July 1990.
- 188 Open contests for support between the two parties took the form of territorial battles for the control of communities and geographical areas, leading to frequent and widespread outbreaks of conflict and violence in the province. Tens of thousands of people were affected by the violence – suffering death, injury, maiming, bereavement and displacement on a large scale.
- 189 The Seven Day War in 1990 was one of the most significant events in the history of political violence in the province during the period. The Seven Day War is the collective name given to the events that occurred in the greater Edendale Valley in the greater Pietermaritzburg area in the seven days from Sunday 25 March 1990.
- 190 In fact, the violence took place over many more than seven days. Over 100 people were killed, some 3 000 houses were destroyed by fire and approximately 30 000 people fled their homes as a result of the violence. The vast majority of the people killed and injured were from the non-Inkatha areas, and the vast majority of the property damaged, burned and looted belonged to non-Inkatha supporters.
- 191 The IFP did not give the Commission an official account of its involvement in the Seven Day War. Almost every witness who appeared at the special public hearing into the Seven Day War, other than the SAP and the SADF, laid the blame for these events at the feet of IFP members. Several witnesses, who were at the time residents of the worst hit areas like KwaMnyandu, Gezibuso and Caluza, and who witnessed acts of murder and arson, said that it was a complete misnomer to refer to this event as a war. A resident of KwaMnyandu, Mr Enoch Zondi, told the Commission that it was more like "a reign of terror".

- 192 The thousands of Inkatha supporters who took part in the armed attacks must bear overwhelming responsibility for the gross violations of human rights that took place during that week. Nonetheless, young UDF and ANC refugees must accept responsibility for starting the conflagration when, on 25 March, they stoned and attacked buses carrying IFP supporters travelling through Edendale on their return from a rally at King's Park, Durban. Tension mounted when leaders of the IFP made inflammatory speeches at further public gatherings of IFP supporters.
- 193 The Seven Day War is documented in Volume Three of this report; here the focus is on the involvement of the security forces. Some witnesses testified to watching in disbelief as police provided buckets of ammunition to the armed attacking combatants. Others described seeing uniformed and armed special constables participating on the side of Inkatha combatants, while yet others spoke of armed and uniformed KwaZulu policemen assisting Inkatha attackers. Several witnesses testified about large numbers of KwaZulu government trucks, with their registration plates obscured by sacking, conveying large numbers of men armed with traditional weapons and guns to the scene of the conflict.
- 194 The version given to the Commission by special constables Nelson Shabangu, Nhlanhla Philemon Madlala and Riot Unit Constable Basil Harrington described open complicity between the police and IFP forces. The Commission heard that on Wednesday 28 March 1990, IFP leader Mr David Ntombela held a meeting of Inkatha supporters at his house in the Elandskop area. After this meeting, Ntombela instructed a member of the SAP Riot Unit to pick up a large group of special constables in a police vehicle and proceed to Gezubuso. Shabangu said that he drove a Riot Unit vehicle to pick up special constables. He met up with a large Inkatha crowd, including Ntombela and went with the group to the outskirts of KwaShange. There he watched with other members of his Riot Unit while the special constables attacked, burned and looted houses at KwaShange, and returned with stolen property. This was loaded onto a police vehicle and taken to Ntombela's home, along with cattle, which had been stolen from the residents of KwaShange. Fifteen people were killed in this attack.
- 195 There is evidence that police provided logistic support to Inkatha members, gave them ammunition, took part in the attacks side by side with them, refused to deploy Defence Force resources in areas where attacks were taking place, and made them available only to ensure that Inkatha members were not attacked on the Edendale road.

THE COMMISSION MADE A COMPREHENSIVE FINDING ON THE SEVEN DAY WAR AND ON THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE PRIMARY ROLE-PLAYERS IN A CONFLICT THAT RESULTED IN THE COMMISSION OF MANY HUNDREDS OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE ROLE-PLAYERS INCLUDE: MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF INKATHA, INKATHA MIDLANDS LEADER, MR DAVID NTOMBELA, THE KZP, THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT, THE RIOT UNIT OF THE SAP, INCLUDING SPECIAL CONSTABLES, AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE. THE COMMISSION ALSO MADE A FINDING IN RESPECT OF THE PROVOCATIVE ROLE OF MEMBERS OF THE UDF IN THE CONFLICT.

The issuing of G-3 rifles

- 196 As early as 1974, Buthelezi requested that the South African government grant firearms licences to “all chiefs for the destruction of vermin and to deserving businessmen and other Zulus of repute who need these firearms for the protection of their businesses and themselves”. Again in 1985, Buthelezi approached the former government with a request for “the authority to issue licenses for the carrying of firearms”.
- 197 In 1990, an amendment to the Natal Zulu Code of Law virtually legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons and the arming of the *amaKhosi* (chiefs). The department of the Chief Minister circumvented normal weapons’ licensing regulations by making automatic weapons available to state functionaries for the protection of KwaZulu government property. G-3 semi-automatic rifles were issued to chiefs and headmen through the Department of the Chief Minister. These chiefs and headmen were in turn able to issue weapons, by way of permits, to their ‘tribal police’ or ‘community guards’. By law, these weapons were to be used to protect KwaZulu government buildings and property. Evidence points to the fact that they were also put to use in clashes between ANC and IFP supporters.

Hostel violence

- 198 After February 1990, township residents in the province tended to join with the ANC while hostels became the point of entry for Inkatha into the townships. Strangers entering the hostels were frequently suspected of being from the township and were killed. Similarly, hostel-dwellers travelling through the township to and from the hostels were frequently attacked by township youth.
- 199 In Bruntville outside Mooi River in the Natal Midlands, hostel-dwellers were predominantly Inkatha-supporting and members of the Inkatha-aligned United Workers’ Union of South Africa (UWUSA). In contrast, the Bruntville township residents were predominantly ANC-supporting and members of Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

- 200 On 8 November 1990, sixteen township residents were killed during a massive pre-dawn attack by approximately 1 200 hostel-dwellers and other Inkatha supporters, who had been brought in especially to assist in the attack. About 1 500 people, mainly women and children, fled their homes in the aftermath of the attack.
- 201 Violence continued throughout the following year. Hostel-dwellers frequently paraded through the township of Bruntville with their traditional weapons. While the township residents were frequently disarmed and subjected to weapons searches by members of the security forces, the hostel-dwellers were permitted to brandish openly their traditional weapons. In October 1991, the ANC called a stay away-boycott to protest against what they perceived to be differential treatment.
- 202 On the night of the 3 December 1991, eighteen people were killed when large armed groups of Inkatha hostel-dwellers launched two large-scale attacks on houses and residents in the township. No prosecutions resulted and there is no evidence of an investigation having taken place.
- 203 Many hostels in the Transvaal were inhabited largely by migrant Zulus from rural KwaZulu who had sought employment in the mines and industries in the Transvaal. Township residents viewed them as outsiders. The hostel residents used their common ethnic identity as a means of uniting in a hostile urban environment. These Zulu migrants became a springboard for Inkatha's attempt to penetrate the urban Transvaal and launch itself as a national political force.
- 204 The initial hostel-related violence in the PWV region was signalled by a series of attacks on the Sebokeng Hostel beginning on July 22 1990. The violence rapidly spread to the East Rand, Soweto, the West Rand and Alexandra township. Over 200 township residents were killed in large-scale massacres perpetrated by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. Hundreds more died in running street battles between IFP hostel-dwellers and ANC township residents. Examples of some of the massacres carried out by IFP hostel residents in the Transvaal include:
- a The massacre in Sebokeng on 22 July 1990 in which twenty-seven people were killed by a group of approximately 1 500 IFP supporters who attacked Sebokeng residents after an IFP rally in the Sebokeng stadium. The attackers included busloads of Zulus from KwaZulu and various Transvaal hostels. Over the next four days, battles between Inkatha followers and ANC adherents followed, leaving thirty people dead.

- b The pre-dawn killings in Katlehong during August 1990 in which Thokoza (IFP) hostel inmates killed twenty-four people in the Crossroads squatter settlement in Katlehong.
- c The massacre in Sebokeng on 3 September 1990 in which twenty-three people were killed when Inkatha allegedly tried to lay siege to and occupy the Sebokeng hostel (see above).
- d The killing of forty people in an attack by hostel-dwellers on a night vigil in Sebokeng on 12 January 1991.
- e Events on 26 March 1991 in which fifteen people were killed and sixteen others injured in an attack on a night vigil in the Alexandra Township. Six members of the IFP were later arrested and appeared in Rand Supreme Court. All were acquitted.
- f The pre-dawn massacre in Swanieville (West Rand) on 12 May 1991 by approximately 1000 Inkatha hostel residents from Kagiso on residents of the Swanieville informal settlement which left at least twenty-seven people dead and scores injured. Inkatha spokesperson, Ms Suzanne Vos said that the attack was a response to the earlier abduction of two hostel dwellers by Swanieville residents.
- g The Boipatong massacre of 17 June 1992 launched by a group of some 200–300 inmates of the KwaMadala hostel. Fifteen Inkatha supporters, all of whom were serving long prison terms for their role in the massacre, applied for amnesty for their roles. All fifteen applicants claimed they acted on the instructions of the IFP leaders in KwaMadala hostel, namely a Mr Bheki Mkhize and a Mr Chonco.

Hit squads

- 205 Hit squad activity became widespread in KwaZulu and Natal during the 1990s. From information received by the Commission, it would appear that the hit squad operations were predominantly supportive of the IFP, drawing in officials of the KwaZulu government, the KZP and senior politicians and leaders of the party. As such, hit squad members had access to KwaZulu government resources such as vehicles, arms and ammunition. A measure of protection from prosecution was made possible through the collusion of the KZP and instruments of the state security forces.

206 In May 1990, Colonel MA van den Berg (MI) compiled a memorandum reporting on a meeting between himself, Colonel 'Cor' van Niekerk (also MI) and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on 31 October 1989. In the memorandum, Van den Berg reported that Buthelezi had expressed concern that he was "losing the armed struggle and in that regard emphasised that 'offensive steps' were still a necessity, meaning the deployment of 'hit squads.'" When questioned on this passage, during a section 29 hearing, Van den Berg said he doubted that Buthelezi had used the actual words "hit squad". However, he said that he was "entirely convinced" that the offensive actions Buthelezi had in mind at this stage were indeed hit squad activities, including assassinations.

207 In the same 2 May 1990 memorandum, Van den Berg recorded that Inkatha's Mr MZ Khumalo (codenamed Reeva) indicated that "he had not yet given up on his idea of an armed force, or at the least 'cells' which could take out undesirable members."

208 In the Wartburg area during 1990, a Roman Catholic priest Father Garth Michelson wrote a letter to former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, in which he expressed his concern that there was a police hit squad operating in the Mbava area, near Wartburg. He raised these concerns following the murder of two UDF activists, Mr Vusi Ngcobo and Mr Bonakwe Gasas [KZN/HG/922/NY], on the 6 January 1990. Vlok responded to Michelson's letter on the 30 July 1990 as follows:

Investigations instituted have proved that so-called hit squads do not exist in the South African Police. This is a far-fetched figment which exists only in the imaginations of certain individuals, organisations, etc. and has no foundation whatsoever.

209 Ngcobo and Gasas had been shot and killed in a mealie (corn) field in Swayimane. Witnesses said that one white and three black men wearing light blue shirts similar to the SAP uniform carried out the killing. The four men were seen arriving at the home of KwaZulu MP Mr Psychology Ndlovu in a yellow police van and then proceeding from Ndlovu's home in a white Cressida with a private registration number.

210 An informal inquest held in 1991 found that "persons unknown" were responsible for the deaths. A second inquest was held in May 1995 at which inquest magistrate RA Stewart found that former special constable Welcome Muzi Hlophe (aka

'BigBoy'), SAP Lance Sergeant Peter Smith, KwaZulu government driver Mr Abraham Shoba and a fourth unknown man were *prima facie* directly responsible for the murders. He also found that the original investigating officer, Major Joseph van Zyl, was an accessory to the murders and recommended that an investigation be opened with a view to a possible conviction of Van Zyl (also implicated in the Trust Feed massacre). He further found that the then secretary of the KwaZulu Legislature, Mr Robert Mzimela (at present deputy speaker of the KwaZulu-Natal parliament), KwaZulu employee ZG Mkhize (now an IFP member of the KZN parliament) and then head of the KLA Protection Unit Major Leonard Langeni (now retired) had been implicated in a cover-up operation.

- 211 KwaZulu-Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally declined to prosecute any but Hlophe and Smith. He further failed to pursue any investigations in respect of the other findings made by the inquest court. Hlophe and Smith were subsequently acquitted in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court.
- 212 Politically motivated violence between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha erupted in 1991 in the Esikhawini area near Richards Bay. A meeting was called at KZP Captain Leonard Langeni's office in Ulundi some time in early 1991. At the time, Langeni was the officer commanding the then KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Protection Unit. Others present at the meeting were Mr Daluxolo Luthuli, Prince Gideon Zulu (then KwaZulu Minister of Pensions), Mr M R Mzimela (then Secretary of the KwaZulu Legislature), and Mr M Z Khumalo (then personal assistant to Buthelezi). It was agreed that a group of reliable, trained operatives would be brought together to undertake operations directed at targeted members of the political opposition, members and supporters of the UDF and ANC.
- 213 Caprivi Trainee Gcina Mkhize was the first to be conscripted into this group. He testified that he was told that "the time had arrived to use the skills acquired at the Caprivi" and he was instructed to work directly with the mayor of Esikhawini, Mr BB Biyela, and IFP councillor Ms Lindiwe Mbuyazi. He was to report directly to Major Langeni and Daluxolo Luthuli. Mkhize was told to gather reliable people to assist him.
- 214 Initially, the plan was that he would assist Inkatha youth who were already involved in carrying out attacks in ANC dominated areas. He worked with IFP youths including a Mr Mathenjwa, Mr Lucky Mbuyazi, Mr Siyabonga Mbuyazi and others. Captain Langeni arranged for Mkhize to collect weapons for their activities from a Caprivi trainee based at Port Durnford, by the name of Mr Thomas Buthelezi.

- 215 The youth were unable to prevent the ANC from continuing to launch attacks on Inkatha members. This was reported to Langeni and Luthuli.
- 216 Over the next few months, a number of other meetings took place both in Ulundi and Esikhawini at which the operations and composition of the hit squad were discussed. It was decided to form a more sophisticated hit squad. Mkhize proposed former KZP member Mr Romeo Mbuso Mbambo [AM4598/97]. Luthuli proposed Mr Israel Nyoni Hlongwane [AM4600/97] who had been involved with Luthuli in the violence in Mpumalanga and Mr David Zweli Dlamini [AM3685/96], a 'Caprivi trainee' who had been involved acts of violence in both Clermont and Mpumalanga. Others included in the hit squad were Caprivi trainees PS Ndlovu and Jethro Mthethwa and KZP Constable Victor Buthelezi.
- 217 Mkhize was the leader of the group and in the main took instructions from Captain Langeni. Ms Mbuyazi and Mayor BB Biyela were aware of their activities and, in specific instances, provided actual support to their operations. Less frequent co-conspirators included Prince Gideon Zulu from Eshowe, Chief K Mathaba from Nyoni and Mr Robert Mkhize from Empangeni.
- 218 Ms Mbuyazi arranged with the district commissioner Brigadier Mzimela for the transfer of Romeo Mbambo to the Detective Branch where he would be in a position to cover up the crimes of IFP supporters and prevent their arrests. Mkhize was already a member of the Esikhawini Internal Stability Unit and his instructions were to ensure that patrols would take place away from where Inkatha was planning to attack. Mbambo's instructions were to ensure that cases against the hit squad members were not properly investigated by destroying evidence and making misleading entries in the police dockets. The hit squad was to carry out attacks on those nights when Mbambo and Mkhize were on duty.
- 219 Between 1991 and August 1993 (when Mbambo was arrested by members of the SAP), the hit squad killed and attempted to kill a large number of people in Esikhawini and surrounds, including people in the Mandini and Eshowe areas. Prominent Inkatha-aligned officials supplied ongoing direction and logistic (weapons, ammunition, vehicles, accommodation, finance and so on support) to the operatives. A number of hit lists were compiled at meetings with the IFP leaders. The hit squad's targets were all ANC leaders, members or sympathisers. The hit squad was *inter alia* responsible for the killings of Mr Naphtal Nxumalo, Mr Nathi Gumede, Mr April Taliwe Mkhwanazi, Sergeant Dlamini, Sergeant Khumalo, Mr John Mabika and four young MK members killed at a *shebeen*. In addition to

targeting particular individuals for assassination, the hit squad also carried out dozens of random attacks on shebeens, bus stops, buses and streets where it was known that ANC supporters gathered.

- 220 Ms Zanele Cecilia Taliwe [KZN/NG/006/EM] told the Commission that her husband, April Taliwe Mkhwanazi, a shop steward for a COSATU-affiliated trade union and employed at the Mondi paper mill in Richards Bay, was killed on 19 April 1992. Mkhwanazi was also an active member of the ANC. He had received a number of threats. On the morning of his death, he told his wife that if he died she should know that Gcina Mkhize would be one of the suspects. Mkhize, Mbambo and Dlamini all implicated themselves in the killing. According to Mkhize, the instruction for the murder came from Major Langeni and Mayor BB Biyela provided his vehicle for their use. The murder was planned at the home of Ms Mbuyazi. Mbambo told the Commission that he reported back to Luthuli, Langeni and MZ Khumalo. He said they congratulated him and expressed their pleasure about the killing.
- 221 Members of Gcina Mkhize's hit squad killed Sergeant Khumalo, a KZP member stationed at Esikhawini, on 8 May 1992. Khumalo had been identified for assassination by the local IFP leadership because it was suspected that he was an ANC member and was leaking details of dockets to the local ANC leadership. He was killed with the approval of Captain Langeni. (Amnesty applications of Gcina Mkhize [AM4599/97] and Romeo Mbambo [AM 4598/97]; [KZN/NNN/507/EM].)
- 222 Sergeant Dlamini, also a KZP member stationed at Esikhawini, was shot dead by Israel Hlongwane on the 19 June 1993. Romeo Mbambo, Mthethwa and Gcina Mkhize accompanied Hlongwane. Mkhize, Mbambo and Hlongwane were all found guilty of murdering Dlamini in the Durban Supreme Court in 1995. According to the amnesty applications of the three convicted men, Sergeant Dlamini was identified for assassination by the local IFP leadership because he was supplying the Goldstone Commission with information regarding hit squad activities in Esikhawini. He was also thought to be an ANC supporter as he was allegedly selling ANC T-shirts.
- 223 Both Mbambo and Mkhize alleged that Mzimela, assisted in covering up their involvement in Dlamini's murder by tampering with the murder weapon. In passing judgement on the matter, Mr Justice van der Reyden said that the court had heard evidence about the initial investigation of Dlamini's death that could only be described as "disturbing". Van der Reyden said that it would be improper for the court to make specific findings concerning the initial investigation without

giving the other parties an opportunity to reply. He therefore chose to refer the allegations made concerning the alleged cover-up by Brigadier Mzimela and others to the Minister of Safety and Security for investigation. Flowing from this, the Ministry appointed the Investigation Task Board (ITB), which was tasked with overseeing the investigation into hit squad activities in the province by the Investigation Task Unit (ITU).

- 224 Members of the Esikhawini-based hit squad led by Gcina Mkhize alleged that KwaZulu Cabinet member, Prince Gideon Zulu, summoned them to a meeting at his home sometime in 1993. Those present were Zulu himself, Gcina Mkhize, Romeo Mbambo, Daluxolo Luthuli, Robert Mzimela, Chief Khawula, Langeni, Chief Biyela and Mr Nyawuza (Prince Zulu's driver). Zulu told them that he wanted the hit squad members to kill Eshowe ANC leader Mr Sam Nxumalo.
- 225 The hit squad members were given a car from the chief minister's department. On the given day Mkhize, Mbambo, Dlamini and Hlongwane drove to the Eshowe Hospital. It appears that Nxumalo had somehow been warned of the planned assassination and, when he saw the operatives arrive at the hospital, he phoned the SAP who arrived within minutes. The operatives then left and decided to return later. That night they returned to the hospital but it was full of police so they again postponed the hit.
- 226 In his evidence to the Commission, Israel Hlongwane admitted he was involved in several murders and attempted murders in the Sundumbili area during 1992 and 1993. He alleges that local IFP leaders Bongani Hadebe and Shakes Mhlongo, as well as Chief Mathaba, a Mr Mpanza and Mr Jerry Mdanda provided him with a list of the names of about fifteen people they wanted him to kill. Hlongwane's victims include Siduduzo Cedric Khumalo (an ANC scholar he shot dead on 31 October 1992), Sipho Thulani Xaba (also known as 'Gindinga', ANC leader at Odumo High School), Themba Mkhukhu and Mr Mncedisi Kalude (two scholars from the Tugela High School shot dead on 7 August 1993), Mr Daludumo Majenga (shot dead on 29 March 1993), and Mr Canaan Shandu (a COSATU official).
- 227 Bheki K Mzimela, an *induna* located in Chief Mathaba's area of Nyoni, was alleged to be sympathetic towards the ANC because he supported the ANC's call for a ban on the carrying of traditional weapons. Mathaba enlisted the help of the Esikhawini-based hit squad led by Gcina Mkhize to kill Mzimela. Three members of the hit squad, namely Mkhize, Zweli Dlamini and Israel Hlongwane, together with Jerry Mdanda and a man identified only as Dumisani, went to *Induna*

Mzimela's home on the night of 23 March 1992 and shot him dead. (Amnesty application of Mkhize [AM 4599/97] and Hlongwane [AM4600/97]).

228 The SAP arrested Gcina Mkhize, Romeo Mbambo and Zweli Dlamini in 1993. Advocate Neville Melville, police reporting officer, and the Goldstone Commission insisted that the SAP rather than the KZP make the arrests. In respect of Mkhize and Mbambo, an attempt was made by Brigadier Mzimela, Captain Langeni and others to prevent them from being arrested.

229 In 1994, the three were convicted for a number of crimes carried out by the hit squad. In mitigation of sentence, they argued that the hit squad had been set up by senior IFP, KwaZulu government and KZP members based in Ulundi and Esikhawini. Accepting their evidence in mitigation, the presiding judge, the Honourable Mr Justice Van der Reyden, said that when the trial commenced he had been taken aback by the appalling standard of investigation by the KZP. However, he later realised that what he had taken for incompetence was in fact a deliberate design to cover up. He said that the three accused could not have acted alone and called for "a full investigation into the alleged involvement of those persons identified by the accused as the masterminds and puppet masters behind the Esikhawini Hit Squad".

230 In 1994, the ITU was mandated to investigate the allegations of the three accused in the Mbambo matter. In June 1996, the ITU presented a comprehensive report to Natal Attorney-General, Mr Tim McNally, in which they recommended the prosecution of eight IFP/KZP/KwaZulu government officials: Prince Gideon Zulu, Mr M R Mzimela, Major M L Langeni, Mr Robert Mkhize, Ms Lindiwe Mbuyazi, Chief Mathaba, Mr BB Biyela and Brigadier CP Mzimela. In the report the ITU argued that:

These persons utilised their position in the government and police, the very institutions which were meant to uphold law and order, to facilitate a murderous hit squad network ... It is imperative that those who manipulated and used young operatives, who believed that they were acting with impunity, be prosecuted as vigorously as the operatives have been.

231 McNally declined to prosecute any of the suspects on the grounds that there were discrepancies between statements made to the ITU by the key witnesses and statements they had previously made to the Goldstone Commission and the SAP. To date, none of the Esikhawini hit squad's hierarchy nor any of the other operatives have been prosecuted.

THE COMMISSION MADE A COMPREHENSIVE FINDING IN RESPECT OF THE ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD IN THE FINDINGS CHAPTER. ACCOUNTABILITY FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS APPORTIONED TO THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE: PRINCE GIDEON ZULU, MR M R MZIMELA, MAJOR M L LANGENI, MR ROBERT MKHIZE, MS LINDIWE MBUYAZI, CHIEF K MATHABA, MR BB BIYELA AND BRIGADIER C P MZIMELA.

- 232 In Wesselton and Ermelo (Transvaal), a group called the 'Black Cats' engaged in violent attacks on members of the newly unbanned ANC from 1990 to 1992. Over twenty people were killed and some of its own members were killed in counter-attacks. At least one Black Cat member was killed by another Black Cat member after testifying to the Goldstone Commission.
- 233 The Black Cats, supported by certain community councillors, received military training from Inkatha at the Mkuze camp in KwaZulu Natal in the early 1990s. IFP hit squad member, Mr Israel Nyoni Hlongwane, was sent to Ermelo for a while to assist in the direction of Black Cats operations. During this time, he was involved in the murder of numerous perceived ANC sympathisers. Hlongwane told the Commission that SAP members met with him and arranged suitable conditions as well as cover-ups of the Black Cats crimes. Hlongwane said that he stayed at the home of the local IFP Chairperson Mr Nowa Mqhobokazi in Ermelo, who provided him with guns and ammunition and instructed him to kill various prominent ANC members, ANC youths and suspected ANC sympathisers. Hlongwane was also approached by the IFP-supporting mayor of Davula township who requested his (Hlongwane's) assistance in eliminating the ANC in his township. Hlongwane gave examples of how the local police assisted in covering up the operations of the Black Cats. During his stay in Ermelo, Hlongwane was supported by the mayors of Davula and Ermelo who each paid him R800 and provided him with groceries.

Train violence

- 234 Both local and regional IFP leadership were involved in the authorisation and planning of train violence. As indicated in the previous section, of the three people convicted for their participation in train violence, two were IFP members. Mr Albert Msuseni Dlamini, a resident of Mazibuko hostel in Katlehong [AM1557/96] was involved in an attack on Katlehong station on 9 October 1991. He was convicted in April 1993 and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment on one charge of attempted murder and one of the illegal possession and use of a .38 revolver. Mr Xolani Mnguni [AM3551/96] received the death sentence in February 1993 for the murder of Mr William Matsosale on 29 November 1992 at a Naledi–Cleveland train. He said that he was acting under the orders of a certain Hadebe of the IFP who allegedly

issued an order to kill any ANC supporter or any person speaking badly about Buthelezi. Xolani and an accomplice entered a coach on the train to Cleveland, which they knew was occupied by ANC supporters.

- 235 A witness before the Goldstone Commission testified that IFP leaders Mr Themba Khoza, Mr Musa Myeni, Mr Humphrey Ndhlovu and Mr Zondi were involved in train violence. The witness, a former Nancefield hostel-dweller himself, testified that two train attacks had been planned at the Nancefield hostel (Kliptown Station, 25 June 1991 and Nancefield Station, 23 October 1991). The witnesses' testimony resonates with the statement of Mr Xola Frank 'Jimmy' Mbane who also refers to Nancefield hostel-dwellers being used in train attacks.
- 236 On 25 June 1991, an attack on Kliptown station left seven people dead and eighteen injured. The SAP arrested three men from Nancefield hostel in connection with this incident. Charges were later withdrawn due to lack of evidence.

The KwaZulu Police

- 237 The vast majority of reported cases of the alleged involvement of members of the KZP in gross violations of human rights occurred in the period 1990 to 1994. The victims were almost exclusively people perceived to be sympathetic towards the ANC. The exception was a handful of KZP members who were killed by their own colleagues after they refused to cover up Inkatha or KZP criminal activity. Mention was made above of the KZP's role in the Seven Day War, in hit squad activities and in training the 'Black Cats'. In addition, KZP members were regularly seen transporting Inkatha perpetrators to the scene of attacks. They collaborated with IFP vigilante groups in intimidating and attacking non-IFP supporters. They refused to investigate cases of political violence reported by UDF/ANC supporters. They disrupted UDF/ANC rallies. They frequently failed to respond to calls from UDF/ANC supporters under attack. They openly participated in attacks on UDF/ANC supporters, including murder, shootings, assault, abduction, arson attacks, harassment and torture. The KZP were also deeply involved in providing paramilitary assistance to the IFP (see below).
- 238 A number of KZP stations gained certain notoriety for severe misconduct and partisan policing. These included Umlazi, KwaMashu, KwaMakhutha, Madadeni, Sundumbili and Esikhawini.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KZP WERE OVERWHELMINGLY BIASED IN FAVOUR OF THE IFP AND THAT THEY ARE ACCOUNTABLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS INCLUDING KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING, ABDUCTION, TORTURE AND ARSON.

July 1993 to May 1994: resistance and insurrection

- 239 In the run-up to the 1994 elections, Inkatha came into conflict with the central government and the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) concerning the issue of independence and sovereignty for KwaZulu. Inkatha adopted a publicly declared militant stance towards the rejection of its demands, culminating in a decision not to participate in the April 1994 elections. It was only on 19 April 1994, just six days before the elections, that Inkatha did an about-turn and announced that it *would* contest the elections. In the interim period, KwaZulu and Natal experienced the worst wave of political violence in the region's history. Approximately 3 000 gross violations of human rights were perpetrated by Inkatha in KwaZulu and Natal from July 1993 to May 1994. This constituted more than 55 per cent of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for this period.
- 240 In July 1993, when the date was set for the first ever non-racial, democratic elections, Mr Walter Felgate, then IFP National Council member, was quoted in the national media threatening that the IFP would "make it impossible for an election to take place, by embarking on a campaign of mass action, street action and disruption". On 14 February 1994, Buthelezi publicly called on all Inkatha members to "defend and fight back and resist the ANC and its communist surrogates".
- 241 Inkatha employed many strategies to undermine support for the ANC and/or the elections: IFP supporters occupied stadiums booked by the ANC for the holding of election rallies; busloads of IFP supporters were brought into ANC strongholds; voter education campaigns were disrupted, and whole households of ANC supporters were massacred.
- 242 It was at this time that at least three Inkatha paramilitary training camps were set up, including Inkatha's biggest ever paramilitary training project (at the Mlaba Camp) and a training programme in civil disobedience at another camp (Dinizulu). During this period, Inkatha sought assistance from right-wing organisations and disaffected members of the military and police. This assistance included the supply of arms and ammunition (see above), instructors for paramilitary training and the planning of joint Inkatha/right wing attacks on non-Inkatha supporters.
- 243 From the early 1980s right up to the April 1994 general election, Inkatha embarked on a number of paramilitary training projects in which supporters were trained by their leaders and/or by the KwaZulu government in weapons handling and paramilitary tactics. Many terms were used to describe these trained fighters,

including community guards, tribal police officers, *amabutho* and so on. Training occurred at, amongst other places, the Amatigulu, Emandleni-Matleng and Mlaba Camps, all owned by the KwaZulu government.

- 244 Former KZP Commissioner, General RP During was opposed to this "indiscriminate training of large numbers of rural unselected untested" men. He said in a statement that:

sending them into rural areas without supervision ... would inevitably precipitate further violence and unrest ... the deployment of such details into already politicised communities would result in further bloodshed and chaos ... Another unacceptable aspect was that these inadequately trained men with lethal weapons and of necessity be deployed in both defensive and offensive operations – this being completely contrary to existing instruction.

- 245 In September 1993, the IFP and KwaZulu Legislative Assembly together embarked on the self-protection unit (SPU) training project run at the Mlaba Camp in northern KwaZulu between September 1993 and 26 April 1994. The programme saw between 5 000 and 8 000 Inkatha supporters receiving paramilitary training under the command of IFP leader Mr Phillip Powell. Instruction was also given by Caprivi trainees, Vlakplaas operatives, members of right-wing organisations and hand-picked KZP members. The logistical side of the Mlaba Camp fell under Captain Leonard Langeni, who was also involved in the operations of the Esikhawini IFP hit squads (see above).

- 246 The Mlaba course included training in ambush and counter-ambush techniques, booby-traps, camouflage, house-penetration, hostage-taking, fire and manoeuvre techniques, patrol formations, combat formations and raids. A musketry course was also included. Weapons training was given in the handling and use of AK-47s, Uzi machine guns, shotguns, G-3 rifles, 9 mm pistols, and hand grenades. In addition, the trainees were taught how to manufacture and use petrol bombs. Shooting practice took place in the Mlaba river bed. A (then) Vlakplaas operative N J 'Snor' Vermeulen, who was for a period involved in the training at Mlaba, said that Powell had requested that he provide training in the use of heavy calibre weapons but that he had refused.

- 247 Mr Israel Hlongwane [AM4600/97] participated in the training at Mlaba Camp. He said that the trainees at his passing-out parade were addressed by KwaZulu Minister of Justice, Reverend Celani Mthethwa, who told them that "the purpose

of this training was to guard the chiefs, to eliminate the ANC and to stop the people from going to vote in the April 1994 elections”.

248 Mr Thami Hebron Ngubane, an SPU member from Ixopo, said of his training:

On the day of passing out, our instructors/commanders gave us instructions that we must endeavour by all means to eliminate the ANC members ... There were no other duties assigned to us except of killing the ANC members.

249 In April 1994, a thousand SPU graduates were recalled to receive further training as special constables. It was intended that those who received this training would be incorporated into the KZP's Internal Stability Unit (ISU). However, the training was brought to an abrupt halt with a joint SAP/TEC raid on the Mlaba premises on 26 April 1994, only hours before the national election on 27 April 1994.

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

251 Later, when police gained access to the camp, they seized a large quantity of weapons and medical supplies, including twenty-six M26 hand grenades, five rifle grenades, seventy-six G3 rifles, forty-nine shotguns, eleven cases of 7.62mm rounds of ammunition, twelve cases of shotgun rounds and a large box of 9mm ammunition. A search of Phillip Powell's vehicle revealed a box of .222 rounds, a box of shotgun rounds in the boot, a Ruger semi-automatic firearm and a 9mm pistol. A home-made shotgun was also found, concealed under the front seat.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ALTHOUGH THE SPU PROJECT WAS OFFICIALLY PLACED WITHIN THE AMBIT OF THE PEACE ACCORD AND THAT SELF-PROTECTION FORMED AN ELEMENT THEREOF, INHERENT IN THE PROJECT WAS ALSO AN INTENTION TO FURNISH INKATHA WITH THE MILITARY CAPACITY TO PREVENT BY FORCE THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS WHICH DID NOT ACCOMMODATE INKATHA'S DESIRES FOR SELF-DETERMINATION. SUCH ARMED RESISTANCE WOULD ENTAIL THE RISK OF UNLAWFUL DEATH AND INJURY TO PERSONS AND, AS SUCH, CONSTITUTES A CONSPIRACY TO COMMIT MURDER.

252 Between December 1993 and April 1994, a third training project was run at the Dinizulu camp near Ndumo in northern Natal. Here Inkatha supporters were trained in civil disobedience with the intention of making elections in KwaZulu rural areas impossible. The camp was disbanded after Chief Buthelezi announced that Inkatha would contest the elections. Former IFP National Council member

Walter Felgate, who played a central role in facilitating the training at Dinizulu, told the Commission that it was “inescapably a conclusion of the intention of that camp” that people would be killed.

- 253 An informal alliance between the right wing and the IFP emerged after the formation of COSAG in 1993. The alliance played itself out in weapons smuggling and paramilitary training, primarily on white farms and KwaZulu nature reserves. There were also a few cases where IFP and right-wing members took part in joint attacks.
- 254 Prominent South Coast IFP leader Mr James Zulu (now deceased) [AM5864/97] along with six right wingers (Christo Brand [AM6422/97], Morton Christie [AM6610/97], Harry Jardine [AM6178/97], Patrick Pedlar, Roy Lane and Andrew Howell [AM5961/97] all applied for amnesty in respect of the bombing of the Seychelles restaurant in Port Shepstone in February 1994 and the attack on the Flagstaff police station in the Transkei during March 1994. One police officer was killed and another injured in the latter attack. The applicants stated that they had conspired to bomb the Port Shepstone offices of the NP and ANC, but had abandoned these plans because of the commotion caused by the bombing of the Seychelles restaurant.
- 255 On 29 March 1994, eight local KwaMashu ANC leaders were kidnapped and five executed in the KwaMashu men’s hostel, an IFP stronghold. The victims were part of a delegation of local ANC leaders that had arranged a peace meeting with their local IFP counterparts. As arranged, the eight men went to an Inkatha hostel to hold the peace meeting, only to be kidnapped and taken to another section of the hostel where five of them were executed. The other three were able to escape. The chairperson of the Inkatha branch in the KwaMashu A section hostel, Mr Alton Khanyile, was found guilty on five counts of murder, eight counts of kidnapping and two of attempted murder and sentenced to twenty years’ imprisonment. The IFP paid for Khanyile’s defence during the trial.
- 256 On April 1994, eight employees of a private pamphlet distribution company were tortured and murdered in Ndwedwe, north of Durban. The eight men had been distributing Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) pamphlets explaining voting procedures. Mr Qaphele Dladla, an *induna* of Ndwedwe, was convicted on eight counts of murder after being found guilty of instructing his ‘*amabutho*’ to execute the men for promoting an election which Inkatha did not support. The IFP paid Dladla’s defence fees.

Ciskei and Transkei

- 257 In the Eastern Cape, the major conflicts were between the Transkei military government and Pretoria, and between the Ciskei and the ANC.
- 258 In July 1989, Transkei arrested six heavily armed white men who allegedly set off from South Africa, crossed the border with ease, and headed to Umtata to kill Holomisa. In December 1989, two more South Africans, including a serving member of the SAP, were arrested in Transkei on similar charges. Both these attempts seem to have been part of the ongoing attempts to unseat Holomisa, which culminated in the abortive Duli coup attempt of November 1990.
- 259 On 4 March 1990, officers in the Ciskei military overthrew Lennox Sebe and installed Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in his place, an action that apparently did not involve South African security forces. In the early months, Gqozo's government allowed organisations to operate freely. However, within six months the SADF had sent in an MI unit that operated out of Ciskei and deliberately turned Gqozo against the ANC alliance.

■ THE WHITE RIGHT WING

- 260 For the purposes of this section, the definition of the white right wing incorporates all white groups and individuals who organised themselves to acquire self-determination and against the democratic changes, but in particular those who were willing to commit violations in pursuit of their aims. These groups at times worked closely with other ethnically based nationalist groups, like Inkatha and the homelands leaders.
- 261 The comparatively short period of the constitutional transformation in South African society during the 1990s was marked by a radical mobilisation of white right-wing groupings. In a number of instances, unlawful acts perpetrated by members of right-wing organisations resulted in gross violations of human rights.

Background

- 262 The first significant right-wing break-away from the NP in the mandate period occurred in 1969 when Prime Minister John Vorster expelled Minister Albert Hertzog from the Cabinet. He was followed across the floor by other conservatives who then formed the *Herstigte Nasionale Party* (HNP). The HNP stood unequivocally

for a return to Verwoerdian politics for the Afrikaner *volk*, although the party did have not much of an impact on white politics in the country during the years of economic prosperity that followed.

- 263 In February 1982, Transvaal NP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and twenty other members of Parliament walked out of an NP caucus meeting during a heated debate over the new constitutional dispensation which granted limited voting rights to coloured and Indian people. Treurnicht and his followers formed the Conservative Party (CP) a few weeks later. It was also during 1982 that the first right-wing weapons cache was found. The weapons had allegedly been provided by a policeman sympathetic to the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB), which had been formed in 1973.
- 264 In late 1989 three extra-parliamentary right-wing leaders, Mr Robert Van Tonder, Mr Piet Rudolph and Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche met with State President FW de Klerk and Mr Gerriit Viljoen in Pretoria to state their demand for a *volkstaat* and for self-determination. The unbanning of the liberation movements on 2 February 1990 sent shock waves through conservative and right-wing circles. On 26 May 1990, CP leaders announced the beginning of the "third war of liberation". Mr Ferdie Hartzenberg was quoted at the time as saying that the Afrikaner would follow the example of the ANC and use the strategy of liberation struggle to attain freedom.
- 265 Between this date and the formation of the *Afrikaner Volksfront* (AVF) in 1993, the mood swung further towards violence. However, the right wing remained fragmented and most human rights violations during this time were perpetrated by extremist groups and individuals, some linked to the neo-Nazi churches.

Right-wing groupings and structures

- 266 During the 1980s, right-wing groups became targets of Security Branch surveillance and detention. At the height of the state of emergency, a right-wing group, the *Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging* (BBB), was restricted. A statement taken from the National Socialist Partisans (NSP) – a four-person cell – observes that the restriction of the BBB demonstrated that the only effective way open to the right wing was that of underground military action. The unbanning of the liberation movements and the process of negotiations led to a further significant growth of right-wing groups. By the time of the first democratic election, it is estimated that just short of 100 right-wing groups were operational in the country.

267 Right-wing groups in the early 1990s could be roughly classified as the 'mid-right' (moderates), the loosely structured "*Boerestaat Alliance*" and the 'ultra-far right'. Most were later unified under the umbrella of the AVF. Many of the ultra-right members believed that the AVF would lead them into a war, while the moderates eventually opted for negotiations and participation in the 1994 elections.

The mid-right

268 Under the mid-right, the Conservative Party (CP) as parliamentary opposition took centre stage. The CP had its own '*Broederbond*', called *Toekomsgesprek*, which in turn formed links with various conservative civic organisations, religious groups and some public institutions. *Toekomsgesprek* is said to have been instrumental in the formation of the *Boere Krisis Aksie* during the farmers' siege of Pretoria in 1991. It was assisted by General Constand Viljoen and Colonel Jan Breytenbach. According to amnesty applicant Mr Daniel Benjamin Snyders [AM0074/96], *Toekomsgesprek* also developed close ties with the AWB's *Wenkommandos* after 1991.

269 Some members of the CP, including leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, were in contact with international right-wing organisations like the 'Monday Club' in the British parliament and the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), as well as the Western Goals Institute.

270 The *Boerestaat Alliance* emerged when a delegation of party leaders petitioned FW De Klerk in Pretoria during 1989 for a *volkstaat* in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Significant parties in this alliance were the AWB, Mr Robert van Tonder's *Boerestaat Party* (BSP), the HNP, the *Oranje Werkersvereniging* and the Transvaal *Seperatiste* (TS). Also included under this grouping was the militant *Orde Boerevolk* formed in the early 1990s by Piet Rudolph, a former security policeman and the deputy leader of the BSP.

271 In the early 1990s, local self-protection committees, modelled on the neighbourhood watch system, were created in many right-wing towns by the AWB, including Welkom (*Blanke Veiligheid*), Brits (*Brandwag*), Klerksdorp (*Aksie Selfbeskikking*) and Virginia (Flamingos). Some groups engaged in vigilante actions. An AWB applicant (HJ Slippers [AM1002/96]) described how in November 1990 his commander ordered them to establish a 'white-by-night' regulation in Belfast in November 1990 which meant that blacks found in town after 21h00 were to be forcibly removed. He and three other members found Mr George Nkomane walking in town after the 'curfew' during February 1991, abducted and killed him.

- 272 Similarly, *Blanke Veiligheid* was engaged in a drawn-out 'vigilante' battle with the adjacent black town, Thabong, as early as 1990, fuelled by frequent speeches by AWB leaders in Welkom and a series of liberation movement rallies in Thabong.
- 273 On more than one occasion these organisations were at the forefront of confrontations with black residents during consumer boycotts. During such incidents white vigilantes normally encountered little or no intervention from the law enforcement agencies.

The ultra-right

- 274 On the ultra-right front, a succession of extremist and militant groups, as well as some non-militant groups, emerged. Some constituted 'armed wings' of the more recognised conservative groups, like the AWB's *Ystergarde* (Iron Guard) and *Wenkommandos* (paramilitary wing), the *Boere Weerstandsbeweging* (BWB) and its own armed wing, the *Boere Republikeinse Leër* (BRL), the *Orde Boerevolk* (OB), the *Wit Wolwe* (WW), the *Wit Bevrydingsleër*, *Magsaksie Afrikaner Nasionalisme*, the Pretoria *Boerekommando*, *Boere Vryheidsbeweging* (BVB) and the *Wit Wolwe*.

Formation of the Afrikaner Volksfront

- 275 Racial tension mounted in a number of regions following the killing of Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani. Leading figures in the extreme right wing warned of retaliation in the event of reprisals following Hani's death. Heavily armed, flag-carrying AWB members and its *Ystergarde* drove around townships threatening residents that they would suffer the same fate as Chris Hani. The *Boere Weerstandsbeweging* warned that it would embark on a cleansing process, eliminating all black communists and agitators. The AWB *Wenkommando* promised merciless attacks on anyone who threatened the lives or property of whites. In a poster war, Mr Barend Strydom of the *Wit Wolwe* declared that his organisation would take up the battle with the ANC in the event of attacks on white citizens.
- 276 It was in the wake of the death of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht that a group of retired SADF generals known as the 'Committee of Generals' held a series of meetings around the country resulting in the formation of the *Eenheidskomitee* 25 (EK25). This was later expanded to form the *Volkseenheidskomitee* (Vekom) with General Viljoen as leader, and a number of other leading ex-security force members including General 'Tienie' Groenewald (former chief of MI), General

Koos Bischoff (former chief of operations of the army), General Lothar Neethling (a former deputy commissioner of police), and General Cobus Visser (a former head of CID) in leading roles. Vekom immediately began to establish regional committees in the rural areas of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

- 277 Less than two weeks after the creation of Vekom, the *Afrikaner Volksfront* was conceived at a meeting in Pretoria. A broad spectrum of right-wing groups were present, including the CP, HNP, *Afrikaner Volksunie*, *Afrikaner Vryheidstigting* (Avstig), the WAB, the *Boere Vryheidsbeweging*, Pretoria *Boerekommando* Group, and Vekom. Also present were the Mine Workers Union, the Iron and Steel Workers Union, the Transvaal and Free State Agricultural Union, the Church of the Creator, the *Oranjewerkers-Vereniging* and some business and church groupings.
- 278 General Groenewald convinced the CP's Dries Bruwer and the AWB to join the AVF. More militant groups like the BWB and the BRL also later became *de facto* members of the AVF. Simultaneously, the former *Boere Krisis Aksie* was reactivated through the *Boere Vryheidsbeweging* (BVB) for the establishment of a '*volksleër*' (people's army), consisting mostly of farmers. Its numbers were thought to be around 10 000, of whom 3 000 could be mobilised at short notice. The *volksleër* allegedly later became the military arm of the AVF. It was for some time under the command of Colonel Jan Breytenbach, formerly from Special Forces and commander of 32 Battalion.
- 279 The various groupings developed strategies of action involving the mobilisation of resistance and support from various quarters, including homelands parties and some international organisations. Some grouping planned armed actions against the state. In one such protest action, AWB members crashed through the doors of the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, Johannesburg, in a Casspir (armoured personnel carrier). This was a warning sign that the AWB and some of its militant allies were not fully under the control of the generals. In the Freedom Front submission, General Viljoen acknowledged that they realised that the mood among some supporting groups was volatile and that it could "very well become uncontrollable".
- 280 In March 1994, Eugene Terre'Blanche disregarded an order from Viljoen not to join other AVF members sent to help President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana with the turmoil caused by civil servant strikes (see below). Constand Viljoen [AM5667/97] then resigned as leader of the AVF, distanced himself from the

AWB and agreed to take part in the election under the banner of the Freedom Front. The final phase of resistance/revolt was averted by the signing of the last minute pre-election 'Accord on Afrikaner Self-Determination' between the AVF, ANC and the NP government on 23 April 1994. The accord made provision for the inclusion in the interim Constitution of the principle of self-determination and the establishment of the *Volkstaatraad*. From amnesty applications it appears that AWB members had in mind a "conventional war" to "overthrow" the former (NP) government and to convert it to a '*Boererepubliek*'. The aim was to generate secession in certain regions and then to take over the government with "military violence". This was to happen in three phases, first, a propaganda campaign to create support; second, the stock-piling of food and weapons and the subversion of government authority and third, the use of sabotage and other violent actions to propel the government into as much social and political chaos as possible.

- 281 Amnesty applicants say that the AWB '*Generale Staf*' gave orders to all commanders during November 1993 to plan in their regions for the take-over of all police stations. This was never carried through.
- 282 Shortly before the general election, the AWB drew up a strategy to acquire the Transvaal and the Orange Free State as a base against a future "Communist government". It provided for the occupation of these areas by thousands of its followers "to ensure sufficient manpower was mustered to ward off any persecution or action against supporters of the right wing". Twenty-three amnesty applicants asserted that before the election many right-wing town councils in the western Transvaal made an agreement with the AWB to protect key (logistical) points should the need arise. The AWB would then transform themselves into *volkstaat* police for the protection of such towns. The AWB was also granted the freedom of a number of western Transvaal towns during this time.
- 283 Closely associated with the AWB, the more radical BWB included an "armed wing", called the *Boere Republikeinse Leër* (BRL). Amnesty applicants from the BWB claimed that they were given instructions at meetings to prepare for war, which included the procurement of weapons and ammunition.
- 284 After the formation of the AVF, the commandos were incorporated into the umbrella movement's paramilitary structures. At this point, claims put the number of 'soldiers' that could be mustered at between 50 000 and 500 000.

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

Links with other groups

286 There are a number of allegations relating to the involvement of MI structures in the formation of Vekom and later the AVF. On the one hand, it has been suggested that the AVF was a strategy to defuse the militant ultra-right and rogue security force members and to bring them into the fold of the negotiation process. An alternative version is that the initiative was aimed at mobilising the right wing to create an impression that a military-style coup was on the agenda, thus either strengthening the NP's bargaining position in the negotiations or as a prelude to a military-style coup.

287 Although members of the former SADF and SAP had, since 1984, been prohibited by law from being members of the AWB and other right-wing organisations, many policemen were sympathetic to the right wing. The AWB boasted that had the support of between 40 and 60 per cent of the army and police.

288 The Commission received amnesty applications from security force members who supported the right wing and even actively assisted them with training and the purveying of information and weapons. Examples include:

- a During a meeting in Pretoria on 19 July 1993, Colonel Piet Botha, former policeman and then secretary of the AVF's executive council, submitted a twenty-page memorandum for a militant plan of armed resistance to take over the Union Buildings, SAP and SADF headquarters and the SABC, among others.
- b In June 1993 a Lieutenant Johan Kotze (SAP Phillipi) said the SAP was busy organising right-wing policemen to neutralise the SAP during a possible coup, by placing as many policemen with right-wing sentiments at all SAP stations and that former special forces and Koevoet members with right-wing sentiments were being encouraged to join the SAP's reservist force.
- c Another report from NIS says SAP members appeared to be part of right-wing armed mobilisation. The agent alleged that several SAP members were

on the regional management of the BKA, in towns like Heilbron, Vredefort and Wesselsbron.

d A BWB 'general' (Horst Klentz [AM0316/96]) described how the security police in some towns (like Cullinan) provided weapons directly to the group's deputy leader (one Von Beenz), for use by the BWB's approximately 100 active members.

289 At the same time, however, the security forces infiltrated the right wing. According to intelligence documents shown to the Commission, the SAP ran a Stratcom Project in the early 1990s called *Operation Cosmopolitan* which aimed to "utilise strategic intelligence in order to persuade the right wing to take part in negotiations and a peaceful settlement and to positively influence members of the SAP to accept and support the negotiation process". An application from Mr Klentz confirms this strategy:

The entire BWB was infiltrated by the Security Police, if they were not in charge anyway ... The most fervent right-wingers were thus kept busy with war exercises, which satisfied their need for action, without achieving anything.

290 The line between infiltration and participation is frequently difficult to determine. A security policeman applied for amnesty in relation to a number of acts carried out allegedly by the *Wit Wolwe* in mid-1990 – including death threats made to a Pretoria NP councillor after the city council decided to open facilities to all, and the shooting of an arrow at the house of a Democratic Party candidate in Alberton, with the words "*Wit Wolwe, wit woede, wit weerstand*" (White wolves, white rage, white resistance) attached. The applicant, who does not want to be identified as he claims still to be working undercover, says he has been involved in gathering information on the right wing since 1985, mainly with a view to identifying violent campaigns in the wake of the 1983 constitutional changes. During the late 1980s, his main task shifted to identifying those policemen who were actively involved in far-right organisations, as they might have had access to weaponry and military intelligence. He identified and named several such policemen.

291 Similarly, there are indications that a leading right-wing operative who applied for amnesty for gross violations of human rights was in fact a source of one of the intelligence agencies. Claims in amnesty applications that SADF arsenals were shown to the right wing and that co-operation was promised could not be substantiated. Individual defence force members may, however, have helped to create caches and obtain weapons through established networks.

292 Two amnesty applicants who committed fraud to obtain weapons for both the AVF and AWB said that the groups obtained AK-47s from Mozambique and UNITA and believe members of former SADF Special forces and *Koevoet* were involved in this. Another applicant (DB Snyders [AM0074/96]) indicated that the AWB had contact with weapon supplies from Maputo. While the Commission was unable to establish the veracity of these allegations, it must be noted that many of the right-wing groups formed in the early 1990s had former or serving SADF, Special Forces, CCB and MI members as leaders.

The right wing and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)

293 The AVF and the IFP became formally linked by the formation of COSAG in 1993, and its successor, the Freedom Alliance. Officially, the Freedom Alliance (FA) was a political pressure group, consisting of the AVF, the IFP, the Ciskeian and Bophuthatswana homeland governments, and the Conservative Party. All its members had pulled out of the multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre at one stage or another. The FA was united around the rejection of a unitary state and advocated a strong regional agenda.

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

295 One IFP amnesty applicant from Durban, Mr Alan Nolte [AM2501/96] claims to have been 'on loan' to the AWB when he set out with four other AWB members, on orders from the AWB, to poison the water supply of Umlazi with cyanide during 1993/4. The Commission found no evidence that this was executed. Nolte was later convicted of illegal possession of arms and explosives.

296 The Commission received several applications for amnesty from right-wing operatives involved in the procurement of arms which indicates co-operation and/or involvement of the IFP. Amnesty was granted to Mr Gerrit Phillipus Anderson [AM8077/97], an AWB member whose cell in Natal co-operated with the IFP in the procurement and hiding of weapons.

297 AVF/AWB member Mr JN Visser [AM 5199/97] described how weapons were bought from an IFP member and distributed to the AVF. Another AVF member, Mr JW Van Rensburg [AM5666/97] claimed he provided advice and military training to the IFP at Empangeni during 1993. An AWB amnesty applicant admitted that

he was working as a security police informant in late 1993 and that during this time he was asked by the AWB to approach the IFP with a view to joint weapons' heists on police stations in the East Rand (T Chadwick [AM5193/97]). The weapons' heist at the Eastern Cape Flagstaff police station in March 1994 was thwarted when the police were warned of the impending attack by an informer and AWB commander Patrick Pedlar. The AWB applicants were granted amnesty in respect of the murder of policeman Mr Barnabas Jagers, the attempted murder of Mr Wele Edmund Nyanguna and Mr Mzingizi Abednego Mkhondweni and theft of a police vehicle. The Amnesty Committee found that they were given the order to obtain arms to be used by the IFP's self protection units in their war against the ANC.

- 298 Nevertheless, in a section 29 investigative enquiry at the Commission's Durban office, Mr Walter Felgate, former IFP leader, said that the IFP declined most right-wing offers for joint operations to procure weapons.

Links with international right-wing groups

- 299 The first link between ultra-right terrorism and foreign agencies came to light in 1982 when Mr Fabio Miriello, Mr Massimo Bollo and Mr Eugenio Zoppis, all white foreign expatriates known as the 'White Commando', were convicted of the 1979 bombing of the offices of prominent academic Dr Jan Lombard. Originally Mr Koos Vermeulen and Ms Monica Huggett (a foreign right-winger) were arrested with them, but Huggett turned state witness and Vermeulen was released after a few days. Huggett's name was subsequently linked to the shoot-out in March 1994 between the SAP and three German right-wingers in the Donkerhoek area. One German right-winger, Mr Stephan Rays was arrested, Mr Thomas Kunz was shot dead, and a third, Mr Horst Klentz [AM0316/96] later arrested. A fourth, Mr Alexander Niedneleun, was later charged in the Cullinan magistrate's court for illegal possession of a fire-arm.
- 300 Mr Robert Mahler [AM6397/97], an American citizen, claims in his application to have been recruited by the former SAP to act as firearms instructor. Mahler was caught in the United States, after he illegally imported a large cache of weapons to South Africa, using fraudulent names and passports. He claims allegiance to the CP, and said he had contact with other groups like the AVF and the AWB. He also said he was the USA fund-raising representative of the AWB.
- 301 The HNP, Avstig and the AWB were active in Namibia, particularly around the time of independence in 1989. South African right-wingers helped extensively

with the provision of weapons across the border through AWB/BWB smuggling networks, mostly based in Pofadder. It is alleged that the CCB and possibly other members of the former security forces were also involved in these networks.

- 302 Intelligence sources claimed that several right-wingers, including AWB and BWB members, were involved in gun-running from RENAMO to South Africa. An AWB member allegedly tried to get funds for the movement in Europe, under the cover of fund-raising for the 'development' of Mozambique. A group of RENAMO soldiers was allegedly recruited by the right wing in mid-1993 to serve on the AVF's *Volksleër*, along with several former CCB, *Koevoet* and 32 Battalion members. Some amnesty applicants claimed that the right wing obtained arms from RENAMO and UNITA with the help of Special Forces members. This was corroborated by NIS source reports.

Violations committed by the right wing

- 303 In the pre-1990 period, the right wing was mainly associated with isolated incidents of racial and other violence. The earliest example of a right-wing violence in any amnesty application is that attributed to Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche [AM7994/97] for the tarring and feathering of Professor Floors van Jaarsveld in 1979 after his 'liberal' speech in Potchefstroom.
- 304 Between 1982 and 1985 various AWB members, including Terre'Blanche, were charged with illegal possession of weapons and explosives.
- 305 In 1988, *Wit Wolwe* member Barend Strydom massacred seven people in Pretoria in Church Square. Strydom initially applied for amnesty for this incident, but subsequently retracted his application.
- 306 In December 1988, Ms Linah Masesi Mazibuko [JB04588/01ERKWA] was assaulted and left to die by a named CP member near a shopping complex in Brakpan. In the same month, Mr Matthews Mokoena was set alight with petrol by an AWB member in Petrus Steyn, Orange Free State. Mokoena died later in hospital.
- 307 In August 1989 a black taxi driver, Mr Potoka Franzar Makgalemele, was fatally stabbed and shot by two right-wingers. A member of both the AWB and the radical *Orde van die Dood* applied for amnesty for the killing (CJ Lottering [AM1004/96]) saying he was under orders to kill various political figures, and committed this murder 'as initiation' to find out whether he was capable of it. He was denied amnesty for the act.

Human Rights Violations since 2 February 1990

- 308 One of the earlier known cases of orders given for violence, was that of Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph of the *Orde Boerevolk* who advised – on an internationally distributed video recording in 1990 – that people should “shoot now” at those who posed a threat to Afrikaner and *Boere* self-determination.
- 309 From 1990 onwards, human rights violations perpetrated by supporters of right-wing organisations included targeted killings, indiscriminate attacks on individuals, the bombing of strategic targets/sabotage and violations associated with the Bophuthatswana invasion
- 310 Two AWB members from Potgietersrus, Mr Jan Harm Christiaan Roos [AM0801/96] and Mr AJ Vermaak [AMAM0818/96], killed a civic member Mr Max Serame in 1990, because of his alleged role in a boycott action in the town. The applicants claimed that commanders did not ask them to kill Serame and that they were in a position to make their own decisions. Earlier that year, Mr JW Rautenbach [AM0412/96], murdered Mr Iponse Beyi Dlamini in Lamontville. In October 1990, Mr Jeff Wabena was assassinated by a masked gunman during an ANC branch meeting in Border. Wabena was the national co-ordinator of the South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU). He had previously survived two other attempts to kill him.
- 311 Chris Hani was gunned down on Easter weekend 1993 at his home in Dawn Park. Polish immigrant Januzs Walus [AM0270/96] and CP MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis [AM0271/96] applied for amnesty for the killing. Hani's death led to fears of widespread reprisals and counter-reprisals that could derail the negotiations and an international team was set up to probe his assassination. Both Walus and Derby-Lewis were convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. Allegations still abound that a wider conspiracy was involved in the assassination. Some of those alleged to have been involved (names withheld at this stage) have also been implicated in intelligence documents as part of the so-called 'Inner Circle' or '*Binnekring*' of 67 members of special forces (mainly CCB) and MI allegedly set up in July 1990. According to the former Transkei Intelligence Service they were tasked to carry out special operations by top generals in former MI structures.
- 312 Both Derby-Lewis and Walus had strong ties with Mr Koos Vermeulen, leader and founder of both the World Preservatist Movement (WPB) and the World Apartheid Movement (WAB). Both were and are suspected to have been South

African Police fronts. Others associated with WAB include right-wingers Mr Adrian Maritz and Mr Henry Martin, both former intelligence sources. Maritz and Martin often worked closely with CCB operative Leonard Veenendal when he carried out violations between 1989 and 1991. Walus himself operated as a NIS source. The weapon used in the killing was stolen from the Pretoria SAAF air base by Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph, Veenendal and Francois van Rensburg in April 1991.

THE COMMISSION WAS UNABLE TO FIND EVIDENCE THAT THE TWO MURDERERS CONVICTED OF THE KILLING OF CHRIS HANI TOOK ORDERS FROM INTERNATIONAL GROUPS, SECURITY FORCES OR FROM HIGHER UP IN THE RIGHT-WING ECHELONS.

- 313 In February 1990, AWB member AJ Roets [AM4281/96] and others embarked on a random raid on black people and whipped and kicked an unknown victim to death. In the same month, a photographer was thrown out of an AWB meeting in Brandfort and sustained serious head injuries when he was attacked with *sjamboks* (whips) and pick-axe handles. The Orange Free State regional leader of the AWB and three others were charged with assault. A journalist from India was assaulted and thrown out of an AWB meeting in Pretoria.
- 314 In May 1990 the Soweto Civic Association warned residents of a group of whites pretending to be police. The group travelled around the township in a minibus without number plates. The civic issued this warning after two Soweto youths were shot dead by a white gang on separate occasions.
- 315 During a consumer boycott in Delmas, AWB supporters entered the township to cause trouble. On one occasion, an AWB supporter wounded a youth and on another a resident was shot dead. Three members of the youth executive disappeared.
- 316 During September 1990, Mr Johannes Masango was killed by two people in Johannesburg when they found him on their property (Van Deventer [AM2045/96]) In the same month Mr Abia Molise and two friends were thrown into a police van and tortured by alleged AWB members of the police in Bloemfontein.
- 317 In February 1991, Mr George Mkomane was killed by five AWB members in Belfast. Mr Hendrik Slippers [AM1002/96] said they were driving around trying to enforce the AWB's 'white by night' policy in the town. The victim was punched and kicked all over the body, then left to die.

- 318 In 1992, an unknown black victim was stabbed to death in May by an AWB member in Johannesburg. Mr V Vosloo [AM1003/96] said he decided to do this to show his dissatisfaction with the new order. In the same month, two AWB members (brothers Janse van Rensburg) were on their way to Witbank after an AWB meeting when they saw an unidentified black man walking along and they decided to kill him.
- 319 During May 1991, Mr Simon Rabesi Phiri [JB01567/03NW] and his mother Ms Maart Matlakala Phiri, Mr Judas Sithole, Ms Pauline Sithole and Ms Nkete Wlemina Mangwela were beaten as part of the AWB's 'clean-up' of their squatter camp in Tshing, near Ventersdorp. Eugene Terre'Blanche and Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph were part of the action.
- 320 During 1991, three people were killed in Louis Trichardt in the course of a weapons heist by a group of right-wing students. The victims were Mr Makwarela Dobani, Mr Wilson Dobani and Ms Maria Claudine Roux. The students were part of a right-wing cell called the National Socialist Partisans whose main aim was to prevent the ANC/SACP from taking over and to establish a *volkstaat* "through violent means". They set out to obtain weapons, funds and to establish bases for the "purposes of training internally as well as in neighbouring countries". In November 1991, two members of the four person cell, Mr Johannes Jurgens Grobbelaar and Mr Jurgen White, died in uncertain circumstances at Noenieput in the far Northern Cape. The SAP claimed they had committed suicide after a "wild shoot-out". A number of reports stated that the SAP were investigating a possible link to two right-wingers with connections with the security forces, notably Maritz and Martin.
- 321 Grobbelaar's mother made a statement [JB0121/03WR] to the Commission alleging that the Security Branch might have been involved in the shooting that led to his death and pointing to irregularities in the police investigation. She alleged that she and her husband had been subject to intimidation and threats by the Security Branch both before and after his death. The Human Rights Violations Committee concluded that the two were shot and killed during a battle with the police, but that there was not sufficient evidence to disprove the inquest finding of suicide.
- 322 In December 1991, two other members of the alleged cell, Mr Cornelius van Wyk [AM1050/96] and Mr Jean du Plessis [AM0151/96] were refused bail after their arrest in connection with a break-in at an SADF base in Potchefstroom and

at Walmansthal “after police had investigated the circumstances surrounding the deaths of Grobbelaar and White”. Du Plessis and Van Wyk are still in prison and were refused amnesty as the Amnesty Committee found that their cell was not a “publicly known political organisation or liberation movement” as required by the Act.

- 323 During June 1992, Mr Fox Buys [KZN/BEN/08/FS] was brutally stoned to death by an AWB farmer near Bloemfontein for allegedly assaulting an employee of the farmer.
- 324 In 1992, two friends, Mr William Rankadi and Mr Petros Manyedi, [JB05677/03VT] were allegedly fired at by AWB members as they were walking down a street in Meyerton.
- 325 Mr Andries Plaatjies, [EC2024/97TS] an ANC member, was kicked and assaulted with pick-axe handles by several white vigilantes in Patensie in October during a boycott of white businesses. The police did not intervene. Plaatjies sustained serious injuries.
- 326 Mr Patrick Kwankwa [EC0859/96KWT] was walking home from Vanderbijlpark in June when AWB members shot him through the ankle without provocation. His foot was amputated as a result of this shooting.
- 327 In November 1992, Mr Moloi Mofokeng [KZN/PAM/004/FS] was shot in Heilbron by an AWB member during a strike by workers. Mofokeng had not taken part in the strike. He died in hospital.
- 328 In March 1993, a right-winger in Reitz allegedly abducted three men, including Mr Molefi Theletsane [KZN/PAM/014/FS], who was injured when he jumped off the bakkie to escape. A PAC member was shot by an unknown member of the *Wit Wolwe* while travelling near Welkom.
- 329 An AWB member shot and killed Mr Norman Linda [JB0141/03VT] in Boipatong during a march to the police station in April. Mr Samuel Moloi [KZN/SELF/066/FS] was shot and injured by an AWB member for no apparent reason in Kestell township, Bloemfontein later that same month.
- 330 On 17 April 1993, two AWB members decided to kill a black woman at Flamingo Pan, Welkom after the woman got out of a car with a white man. Their motive was that “blacks and whites should not be together”. She was shot dead.

- 331 In May Mr Mika Bennet Moeti [JB05533/03NW] was severely injured when the car he and a friend was driving in was driven off the road near Pampierstad by AWB members and overturned.
- 332 Mr Class Mabuti Mofadi [KZN/BEN/027/FS] was shot and severely injured by an AWB member in June at Cansutt, Tikwana (Hoopstad). He was wearing an ANC shirt. In the same month Mr Samuel Chobane Papala [KZN/BEN/001/FS] was abducted by three AWB members while walking down the street in the same town. They locked him up and assaulted him.
- 333 On 1 July 1993 five AWB members (including Mr AML Fourie [AM0361/96] and Mr Gert Jonker [AM0484/96] abducted two black men in Carltonville suspected of theft and decided to kill them. One of them, a 'Commandant', applied for amnesty for the death of Mr William Lesenjogo and stated his political objective as being "to promote the ideology of the AWB and to decrease the number of blacks".
- 334 An AWB commander, Mr Gerald John Van Dyk [AM0113/96] from Carltonville, applied for the murder on a Rustenburg policeman during July 1993 and cites general orders from the AWB.
- 335 In September, Mr Tshamaano Robert Mahebeledzha [JB00571/02NPPTB] was severely assaulted in Potgietersrus by two AWB members (names withheld) for not being able to tell them the whereabouts of two black men they were pursuing. His leg was amputated as a result of the assault.
- 336 Mr Richard Mfanini Mthethwa [KZN/SANG/035/VH] was severely beaten, kicked and assaulted by four AWB members in Vryheid during September. He became blind and lost his job.
- 337 In October, Ms Tshibili Siobo [JB03332/02NPLTM] was called a 'kaffir' and dragged by a tractor at her place of employment near Louis Trichardt when she was pregnant. Her chest was torn up and other injuries were sustained. She is today a cripple.
- 338 Mr Nicklaas Engelbrecht and Mr Frikkie Witbooi was shot dead by amnesty applicant Mr GJ van der Sandt [AM1698/96] in November 1993 near Pofadder.
- 339 During December 1993 Mr Edgar van Wyk [JB5924/03WR] was severely injured and tortured by AWB members who broke into his house in Toekomsrus looking

for his son who was supposed to have Obtained AK-47s for them. His wife was also beaten.

- 340 In the same week Mr Teboho Makhuzza [JB05972/01GTSOW] and three friends, Mr Theophilus More, Mr Gabriel Shabangu and Mr Simon Nkomboni were amongst those killed by the AWB gang who erected a roadblock. Eight amnesty applicants said they shot and killed four black people, wounding six others, after being told by their Western Transvaal commander that the “revolution” was to start that day. The applicants were Chief Commander for Randfontein area, Mr Phillippus Cornelius Kloppers [AM4627/97], his second-in-command, Mr Deon Martin [AM4621/97] and Mr Andre Francois Visser [AM4571/97], Mr Marius Etienne Visser [AM7003/97], Mr Petrus Matthews [AM4624/97], Mr Gerhardus Johannes Diedericks [AM6662/97], Mr Frederick Jacobus Badenhorst [AM7004/97] and Mr Carel Hendrik Meiring [AM7002/97] and Mr Marthinus Lodewikus van der Schyff [AM5435/97].
- 341 The applicants claimed they were ordered by their commander, AWB General Japie Oelofse, that it was time to see “bodies” while exercising “hard options”. After searching several cars for weapons they wanted to confiscate for their war, they assaulted and later shot the occupants of two cars. Oelofse allegedly requested a symbol of their activities and an ear of one of the victims was cut off to show him. During the amnesty hearings, Oelofse denied this. The Amnesty Committee had not yet made a decision at the time of reporting.
- 342 Weeks before the 1994 election, two people were shot at by AWB members in Bethlehem. One of them, Mr Daemane David Maphisa, [KZN/SMB/128/FS] died.
- 343 During March 1994, Mr Mcoseleli Benya [EC2116/97ELN] was stabbed to death with pangas by four named AWB members on the N2 in East London. The Commission heard that dangerous weapons were used in an AWB mission to remove “blacks” from the streets before the election.
- 344 Mr Itumeleng Ernest Kejane was shot by an AWB member at Hertzogville while participating in a march. He was severely injured.
- 345 In March 1994, three right-wingers, claiming to be AWB members, including Mr Tyrone Chadwick [AM5193/97], shot and killed two unknown victims in Heidelberg in the former Transvaal, then dug a trench and threw the bodies into it.

- 346 On 23 April 1994, four AWB members shot and killed an unknown victim in Secunda. Those who applied for amnesty were Mr WJ Van Zyl [AM5611/97], Mr OA De Meillon [AM4570/97], Mr Edmund William Holder [AM5610/97] and Mr Willem Johannes Van Schalkwyk.
- 347 On election day, 27 April 1994, Mr Viyani Papiyana was killed when two right-wingers took to the streets in the West Rand and shot at a minibus taxi in an effort to disrupt the elections. Mr Godfrey Papiyana was wounded. The applicants, Mr James Wheeler [AM2084/96] and Mr Corneliuys Rudolph Pyper [AM5179/97], were serving fifteen-year jail sentences for the attack when they were granted amnesty. The Amnesty Committee was satisfied that the applicants had believed themselves to be under orders from the AWB.
- 348 Two AWB members and a BWB member from Secunda were ordered to obtain automatic weapons for the 'revolution'. The Devon Radar Complex in Secunda was attacked and robbed on 24 April 1994. A police guard was shot and killed in the process. Mr WJ Van Zyl [AM5611/97] and Mr EW Holder [AM5610/97] claimed they were given orders by their area commander, Mr Ockert van Schalkwyk. Mr Ockert de Meillon of BWB [AM4570/97] allegedly pulled the trigger.

Sabotage and Bombing of Strategic Targets

- 349 During March 1990, a mosque in Nelspruit was bombed by right-wingers. Two months later Melrose House, the site of the signing of the Anglo-Boer War Treaty, was extensively damaged by a bomb. The *Orde Boerevolk* claimed responsibility for this as well as for bomb attacks on the office of the ANC and that of a trade union in Rustenburg later the same month.
- 350 In June, a bomb blast caused damage to a trade union office in Welkom. The neighbourhood watch-style vigilante group *Blanke Veiligheid* claimed responsibility. During the next two months right-wingers also placed bombs at some NP offices and the home and business of a DP councillor Mr Clive Gilbert, at a Jewish Centre in Johannesburg, at the home of a NP town councillor, at the home of Mr Serge Mokonyane of the Kagiso Residents Organisation in Krugersdorp, at the offices of *Vrye Weekblad* in Johannesburg and at the Carltonville offices of NUM. The former leader of the AWB in Johannesburg Mr Leonard Veenendal [AM3675/96], Mr Daryl Stopforth [AM3549/96], salesperson Mr Craig Barker and Mr Arthur Archer were charged in connection with *inter alia* the bombs at the synagogue, Burger's house and *Vrye Weekblad*. This was the first time that right-wingers

had been charged with terrorism. None of the accused were granted bail, and Veenendal, Barker and Archer went on hunger strike.

- 351 In July, twenty-seven people were injured when a bomb exploded at a taxi rank in Johannesburg during peak hour. The *Wit Bevrydingsleër* claimed responsibility. In the same month a waiter was killed when a bomb exploded in the Richmond Hotel in Florida on the West Rand, and one man was killed and twenty-one injured when a white man hurled a grenade into the Roodepoort Hotel. The deceased were Mr Right Ngoma and Mr Kelvin Netsware.
- 352 The NP office in Bloemfontein was bombed by unknown persons. Commenting on the bomb attack in Bloemfontein, a member of the *Boere Weerstandsbeweging* warned: "If [the government is] going to continue selling us out to the communists they can expect more blasts like [the one at the National Party office] ... We are army guys and used to fighting communists and we will not stop before we have our Boer republics back".
- 353 In August 1990, a bomb exploded on a Saturday morning in a Pretoria street, near a taxi rank and COSATU's offices. About thirteen people were injured, some seriously. A bomb also exploded outside a residential hotel used by ANC and SACP supporters in Johannesburg. An M26 hand grenade was thrown into the third class section of Roodepoort station in Johannesburg. Mr Gilbert Aiking was killed and two women were injured.
- 354 During September 1990 two bombs exploded outside the *Beeld* newspaper offices in Johannesburg. The venue for the *Weekly Mail* film festival in Johannesburg was the target of a bomb attack, after a showing of a film called "How to make love to a Negro without getting tired". The *Orde Boerevolk* claimed responsibility for both attacks.
- 356 A white man petrol-bombed a Putco bus full of black passengers in Johannesburg. No one was injured.
- 357 In October 1990, a parcel bomb was delivered to a computer company in Durban, which did work for trade unions and anti-apartheid organisations. Several employees were ANC members and it was a venue for ANC meetings. Mr Nicolas James Elvin 'Nic' Cruise [KZN/KM/644/DN] was killed opening the parcel and three other workers were injured. The police detained six right-wingers in connection with a taxi rank bombing and the killing of Cruise, including three British citizens,.

- 358 The home of the American ambassador in Pretoria was the target of a bomb attack. The *Orde Boerevolk* claimed responsibility. Commercial explosives damaged a block of flats with black tenants and shop windows in Johannesburg. At the East London ANC branch launch, a petrol-bomb was thrown amongst the parked cars from a passing car.
- 359 Following announcements that the Group Areas Act was to be repealed and schools to be opened to all races, a number of schools were destroyed in a series of bomb blasts. A formerly white school in Pretoria, where ANC exiles' children were to be accommodated, was the target of two bomb attacks. Various radical right-wing groups simultaneously claimed responsibility. Two CP members, Mr Jan Petrus Kruger [AM2734/96] and Mr Marthinus Christoffel Ras [AM2735/96], bombed the Sabie Magistrates' Court in 1991 and the Lowveld High School in Nelspruit in 1992.
- 360 Another applicant, Mr JJC Botha [AM1703/96] applied for the bombing, together with four others, of Hillview School, Cosatu House as well as the Verwoerdburg and Krugersdorp Post Offices during 1991 and 1992.
- 361 Right-wing acts of sabotage and bombings resumed in late 1993, often with the explicit aim of derailing the election process. Four AWB members were convicted of a number of such acts, including robbery with aggravating circumstances, explosions and attacks on power stations in the former Transvaal during 1992 and 1993. The members were Mr Abraham De Klerk [AM0810/96], Mr JH Zietsman [AM0772/96] and Mr JA van der Linde [AM0809/96] and Mr Albertus Francois van der Merwe [AM0079/96].
- 362 Two BWB members from Cullinan, Mr Leo Froneman [AM0395/96] and Mr Pieter Johannes Harmse [AM3275/96], the latter also a commander in the BRL, were jointly convicted for an explosion at an Indian business complex in Bronkhorstspuit on 18 September 1993. Policeman Abraham Labuschagne died in the explosion and six people were injured. The bomb was home-made and one of a series made by the cell, who also aimed to stage a *coup d'état* by switching off the country's power supply. During their amnesty hearing, they handed in a video of a 1993 BWB meeting, during which it was stated that the party would declare war against the country. They were granted amnesty.
- 363 In 1993 an AWB Wenkommando member was arrested in connection with planned acts of sabotage against the Koeberg nuclear power station. In late 1993 a

Commandant of the AWB's Special Task Force, an explosives unit (established allegedly on the orders of Oelofse) was sentenced for several counts of sabotage in the Western Transvaal, including the blowing up the Munsieville electrical substation, and the transport and possession of explosives.

- 364 In February 1994, three AWB/AVF members, Mr JB de Wet [AM6466/97], Mr de Wet Johan Strydom [AM5168/97] and Mr Pieter Breytenbach [AM5167/97] members went on a bombing and sabotage spree with explosives received mainly from *Boere Krisis Aksie*. Mr Kleinbooie Ramolla [KZN/SMB/009/BF] was killed when an explosives device which they had planted detonated at a taxi rank in Bultfontein. Eight other explosions were caused by the two in the run-up to the election. Among the targets were two primary schools, the shops of three ANC supporters, and the SABC tower in Schweizer-Reneke.
- 365 An AWB colonel Jan Cornelis Labuschagne [AM3671/96] claimed responsibility for a series of explosions carried out with two other members, Mr Daniel Wilhelm van der Watt [AM3673/96] and Mr Johannes Jacobus Botes [AM3672/96] between September 1993 and February 1994. The three placed more than twenty explosive devices on railway tracks, power stations and in black townships to disrupt the infrastructure and gain publicity for the right-wing's anti-election cause. A number of people were injured.

Pre-Election Bombings

- 366 A number of people were killed on 24 and 25 April 1994, when eleven members of an AWB cell went on a bombing spree of targets, mainly (black) taxi ranks. The eleven were part of a group of twenty-six found guilty on ninety-six counts of pre-election bombings, murder, and damage of property. Altogether twenty people died and forty-six were injured.
- 367 Bombs were placed at four different targets after call-up instructions were allegedly issued on April 14. A pipe bomb was thrown out of a car in Bloed Street, killing three and injuring four. Another bomb was built into a trailer, which was then parked at a taxi-rank in Germiston, killing ten and injuring eight people. The third target was in Bree Street, Johannesburg, where a car bomb exploded killing seven and injuring thirteen people. Lastly, a car bomb was placed on the top floor of the Jan Smuts airport parking area. Nobody was killed in the explosion but a number of people injured. Several statements were received from victims of these bomb attacks.

368 Shortly after the election, thirty-six AWB members including the chief of staff and the leader of the *Ystergarde* were arrested and charged with nineteen counts of murder and 191 of attempted murder in the PWV area during the week before the election. The Commission received a number of amnesty applications from those who participated in these bombings. During their amnesty hearing, the group claimed to have acted on orders from General Nico Prinsloo (and Brigadier Leon van der Merwe). The applicants are Mr Nicolaas 'Cliffie' Barnard [AM6484/97], Mr Abraham Liebrecht 'Koper' Myburgh [AM6465/97], Mr Etienne Jacobus Le Roux [AM6467/97], Mr Jan Bastiaan De Wet [AM6466/97], Mr Gerhardus Daniel Fourie [AM6468/97], Mr Johannes Andries Venter [AM6477/97], Mr Jacobus Petrus Nel [AM6469/97], Mr Abraham Christoffel Fourie [AM6478/97], Mr Petrus Paulus Steyn [AM6479/97], Mr Johan Wilhelm Du Plessis [AM6480/97] and Mr Johannes Petrus Olivier [AM6483/97]. All had previously been convicted for their part in the bombings and received sentences ranging from three to fifty years in prison. An Amnesty Committee decision was pending at the time of reporting.

Other targeted attacks

369 In August 1990 right-wingers chanted "AWB, AWB" to disrupt a Port Elizabeth students' meeting with ANC speakers. After the meeting a student and a journalist were attacked. In Bloemfontein a rock was thrown through an ANC member's window, with a note threatening to kill Mr Raymond Suttner who was due to speak at an ANC meeting.

370 The first open confrontation between State President de Klerk and the AWB took place in August 1991 at Ventersdorp when the National Party planned to hold a meeting in Ventersdorp, which was regarded as a Conservative Party constituency. The meeting was to be addressed by De Klerk. According to the AWB, the advertisement for the meeting stated that only NP members could attend. However, the AWB insisted that its supporters be permitted to attend as they wanted to discuss certain burning issues with the president. The AWB mobilised its followers and some 2 000 armed AWB members streamed into Ventersdorp. A confrontation with the police ensued. Three AWB members were killed and fifty-eight people were injured. Nearly the entire leadership of the AWB was arrested on charges of public violence. Eugene Terre'Blanche has applied for amnesty for the incident.

371 In June 1993, a crowd of 3000 demonstrating armed right-wingers invaded the World Trade Centre while negotiations were in progress between the government,

the ANC and other parties. The police guarding the premises were completely outnumbered and the crowd of men and women, mainly in AWB uniforms ignored instructions to stop. From atop an armoured vehicle Eugene Terre'Blanche shouted instructions, led the crowd around the police cordon and smashed the armoured vehicle through the plate glass doors of the Centre. The right-wingers occupied the chamber for more than two hours during which time they said prayers and sang "*Die Stem*". Their representatives handed over demands for a *volkstaat*. There were some reports of white police mingling with the right-wingers. Sixty-six right-wingers were arrested in connection with the invasion of the World Trade Centre.

- 372 The Bophuthatswana administration had been one of the founding members of COSAG (Concerned South Africans Group) and was later part of the Freedom Alliance. General Constand Viljoen of the *Volksfront* agreed to provide assistance to maintain Mangope's position and planned for a Boere-Aksie force to enter Bophuthatswana unarmed on 11 March 1994. They would then be provided with arms and rations by the head of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force, General Turner. It was agreed that the AWB would not be involved, since Mangope stated that they would not be politically acceptable to his own forces.
- 373 The plan was pre-empted when Eugene Terre'Blanche mobilised a force of 600 AWB members, who entered the territory on 10 March. They arrived armed and broke away from the command of the *Volksfront*. Some AWB members then began driving through Bophuthatswana, shouting racial abuse and shooting bystanders. Mr Ezekiel Moatlhodi [JB04764/03NW] was shot in his spinal cord by AWB members at Magogoe village. He states that:

During that time I was together with my fellow ANC members, about 150, holding the branch meeting and chanting the revolutionary songs. Whilst singing the slogans, two white gentlemen, armed with firearms arrived and asked for help. We refused to grant a help. Few minutes later arrived heavily loaded AWB soldiers. They didn't waste time, they started shooting at us. They used torch-light to see us precisely. I was shot immediately when I start to run away.

- 374 Mr Martiens Motsumi [JB05627/03NW] reported that:

A 4x4 bakkie arrived carrying armed AWB members. They stopped their bakkie and immediately started shooting people at random. I ran for cover but was unfortunate as they shot me in my back (next to the spine) and my

left hand ... The AWB members were in the process of killing another employee when they were stopped by my boss... After our boss spoke to the AWB, they left the yard and continued shooting in Montshiwa township.

375 The AWB members did not succeed in their aims and is generally seen to have signalled the end of the potential threat of the right-wing to engage in open warfare. Subsequent to the incident, right-wing unity under the *Volksfront* crumbled, Viljoen formed the Freedom Front and took significant sections of the right-wing into the electoral process.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE *AFRIKANER VOLKSFRONT* WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AGAINST PERSONS WHO BETWEEN APRIL 1993-MAY 1994 WERE PERCEIVED TO BE SUPPORTERS AND LEADERS OF THE ANC, THE SACP, UDF, PAC AND NATIONAL PARTY AS WELL AS OTHER GROUPS PERCEIVED NOT TO SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF AFRIKANER SELF-DETERMINATION OR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A 'VOLKSTAAT' AND THAT, TO THAT END, THE MOVEMENT'S POLITICAL LEADERS AND MILITARY GENERALS ADVOCATED THE USE OF VIOLENCE IN PURSUIT OF THE MOVEMENT'S AIMS AND/OR IN AN ATTEMPT TO MOBILISE FOR AN INSURRECTION.

IN MAKING SUCH A FINDING THE COMMISSION PLACED RELIANCE ON

- SPEECHES AND ORDERS BY THE MOVEMENT'S SENIOR LEADERS WHICH HAD THE EFFECT OF INCITING ITS SUPPORTERS TO COMMIT ACTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS PERCEIVED TO BE THE ENEMY OF THE AFRIKANER;
- THE ARMING OF SUPPORTERS WITH WEAPONS IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE LAW;
- RANDOM ATTACKS BY MEMBERS ON BLACK PERSONS;
- CLANDESTINE COLLUSION WITH MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES AND/OR THE IFP EITHER TO COMMIT THE VIOLATIONS CITED ABOVE OR TO TRAIN PARAMILITARY FORCES TO COMMIT ACTS WHICH RESULTED IN THE LOSS OF LIFE OR INJURY;
- THE TRAINING OF SUPPORTERS TO UNDERTAKE VIOLENT ACTIONS DESIGNED TO PREVENT THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS IN 1994;
- THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A *VOLKSLEËR* AND OTHER PARAMILITARY GROUPINGS TO THREATEN INSURRECTION AND REVOLUTION WITH A VIEW TO DERAILING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.
- BY VIRTUE OF THEIR LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN THE MOVEMENT, THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FOLLOWING TO BE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED BY SUPPORTERS OF THE MOVEMENT: GENERAL CONSTAND VILJOEN, GENERAL PIETER GROENEWALD AND MR EUGENE TERRE'BLANCHE.

BROADLY SIMILAR FINDINGS ARE MADE AGAINST THREE OTHER GROUPINGS, NAMELY, THE *ORDE BOEREVOLK*, THE *BOERE WEERSTANDBEWEGING* AND THE *AFRIKANER WEERSTANDBEWEGING* (AWB).

■ THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

African National Congress

The late 1980s: Operation Vula and negotiations

- 376 In the year following the June 1986 national state of emergency, the government sought to re-assert its control over the highly militant and volatile conditions in townships around the country.
- 377 At this time, ANC was reassessing its own strengths and capacities. At the Arusha Conference in December 1987, the lack of a strong internal underground was identified as a crucial weakness. Flowing from this evaluation, *Operation Vula* was implemented with the intention of moving senior ANC leaders into the country so that strategic direction could be given from within South Africa. It was also at this time - around 1988-1989 - that the first indications of the possibilities of negotiation became apparent.
- 378 Realising the improbability of seizing state power through an armed insurrection, the ANC began considering the possibility of a negotiated settlement. At the same time, the organisation felt the need to continue building a strong internal underground network – including an internal military capacity. Under the banner of *Operation Vula*, the ANC continued with its clandestine activities while engaged in the process of negotiations. *Vula* was seen by some ANC leaders as an ‘insurance policy’: if the negotiation process failed, the ANC would still have some capacity to mount armed resistance.
- 379 *Operation Vula* was initiated by a 1986 National Executive Committee (NEC) resolution, and run under the auspices of the ‘President’s project’ chaired by ANC president Oliver Tambo. Others involved included Mr Joe Slovo (principal planner), Mr Mac Maharaj (recruiter and in-country commander), MK Deputy Commander Sphiwe Nyanda, Mr Ivan Pillay (administrator and project co-ordinator), Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Mr Alfred Nzo. Beyond this leadership, knowledge of *Vula* was restricted within the ANC to a small core of MK leaders, operatives and selected foreigners.
- 380 *Operation Vula* aimed to infiltrate into South Africa senior and middle levels of the ANC leadership in exile. The aim was to create an underground network that could co-ordinate actions against the former government and penetrate the South African security establishment for the purposes of collecting information.

- 381 Part of *Vula*'s task was to bring large quantities of weapons into South Africa, and to conceal them in 'dead letter boxes' so that they would be available if it became necessary. In the early 1990s, many such weapons were used by MK and SDU members in conflicts around the country. Indeed, the availability of weapons contributed significantly to the extent and nature of human rights violations in the 1990s.
- 382 In July 1988, four *Vula* operatives, including Maharaj and Nyanda, were smuggled into the country and established an underground 'Overall Leadership Committee' in Durban under Mr Jabu Sithole and a political mobilisation and 'Military Operations Committee'. Maharaj was responsible for decision-making and liaison with the *Vula* Committee in Lusaka and the Mass Democratic Movement. Nyanda was involved in the day-to-day activities of the operation. Foreign operatives rented safe-houses and assisted with logistics. A similar operation was set up in Johannesburg. The *Vula* network continued to expand and Kasrils entered South Africa at the end of 1989. Mr Mo Shaik was appointed the head of the *Vula* internal intelligence structure.
- 383 On the weekend of 6 July 1990, Durban Security Branch members arrested Mr Charles Ndaba and Mr Mbuso Shabalala. Captain HJP 'Hentie' Botha [AM4117/96] of the Security Branch intelligence unit, claims that this was a fiasco. His version of events is that he had recruited Ndaba as an informer in 1988. Ndaba then returned and became part of *Vula* in 1990. He thus knew of *Operation Vula* to the extent that Ndaba did. Ndaba and Shabalala were eventually killed by members of the Durban Security Branch after Ndaba signalled his intention to "take his chances with the ANC". Other members of *Vula* were subsequently arrested and later indemnified from prosecution⁸.
- 384 According to the police documents, *Vula* operatives rented or bought fourteen safe-houses in the country, nine in Durban and five in Johannesburg. The Security Branch discovered, from information found on disks in the *Vula* safe-houses, that weapons were to be brought into the country from 23 September 1989 to 23/24 June 1990. They allege that Nyanda acknowledged receipt of weapons in September 1989.
- 385 Nyanda confirmed that material was removed before the Security Branch could discover it. According to Ronnie Kasrils, he and Maharaj removed the weapons from places that they thought the police knew about. Kasrils said that these weapons formed part of a consignment that Mr Aboobaker Ismail handed it to

⁸ (Interview with Security Branch members, 28-29/07/97).

the SADF as part of the ANC agreement with the then government. He acknowledged that he did not know if all the weapons were accounted for and that some of them may have gone missing.

386 In a submission to the Commission, Major General Stadler and retired police officers stated that *Operation Vula* aimed to bring about an “insurrection by means of a People’s Army ... the classical Maoist third stage of the revolution”. They claimed that *Vula* was mainly an initiative of SACP members.⁹ According to Henri van der Westhuizen, formerly of the Directorate of Covert Collections (DCC), *Vula* reflected the tensions between the SACP-aligned Hani camp and the Modise camp in the ANC; *Vula* was a product of the Hani camp, spearheaded by ANC members who were also members of the SACP.

387 While it is not possible for the Commission to ascertain whether a ‘Hani faction’ linked to the SACP leadership was still intent on insurrection, *Operation Vula* was not linked to any specific human rights violations apart from those perpetrated by members of the security forces against *Vula* operatives.

ANC strategy in the period February 1990 to May 1994

388 While the ANC leadership may have anticipated some political changes in the country in 1990, the rank and file membership was caught off guard by State President FW de Klerk’s announcement on 2 February 1990 that the government was unbanning the ANC, the SACP and the PAC. Many within the ANC met the announcement with deep distrust. The announcement of suspension of armed struggle came only six months later, sealed in the Pretoria Minute of August 1990. During this time, the ANC began to establish its legal presence inside the country, building a mass political movement by establishing branches and issuing membership cards.

389 Over the next two years, violence escalated as the ANC came into conflict with newly-established IFP branches on the East Rand. The simmering violence in KwaZulu and Natal intensified. Violent conflict also erupted between ANC and PAC members, between supporters of the liberation movements and members of homeland parties such as the African Democratic Movement (ADM) in Ciskei and members of vigilante groups and gangs, some of which were aligned to the IFP.

390 The ANC SDUs played an increasingly dominant role during this period, having been trained and armed by MK members. In practice, MK had little real control

9 (Submission by Foundation for Equality Before the Law, outline of chapter 17).

over the SDUs, although a number of ANC leaders applied for amnesty, giving details of their involvement in the establishment and training of SDUs. In addition, a large number of 'ordinary' ANC members applied for amnesty for acts carried out in the course of their SDU membership in accordance with the policies of local ANC leaders.

- 391 The seizure of power in Transkei by General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) on 30 December 1987 positively affected the fortunes of both the ANC and the PAC: both went on to establish active cells in the territory.
- 392 By 1992, the ANC had embarked on a strategy of 'rolling mass action'. The strategy was used, in part, to apply pressure on those who were resisting re-unification. Although ostensibly a non-violent campaign, it did, on occasion, result in the commission human rights violations.

Victims of ANC violations in the post-1990 period

- 393 In the Western and Eastern Cape, the main victims of ANC attacks were police, PAC supporters, Ciskei headmen, members of the ADM, ANC members suspected of being informers or framed for other reasons, people caught up in localised Transkei conflicts over stock-theft and certain factions that became identified with or labelled as 'Inkatha'. In certain isolated areas, local councillors also continued to be targets of attack.
- 394 In the Transvaal townships of Tembisa, Ratanda, Katlehong, Bekkersdal, Kagiso, Thokoza, Soweto and KwaThema and others, UDF/ANC supporters, many in ANC SDUs engaged in conflicts with IFP supporters, with vigilante groups (such as the 'Toasters' and the 'Russians') and with AZAPO. Other victims of ANC SDU or ANC Youth League (ANCYL) violations were 'non-aligned' individuals who refused to co-operate with ANC mass campaigns such as marches or rent boycotts. Cases of conflict were also reported between ANC SDU and ANCYL members. One example is the Katlehong massacre, where SDU members killed fourteen other community members, some of whom were ANCYL members.
- 395 The Commission received information on a number of cases in KwaZulu and Natal where IFP members and supporters were the victims of attacks by ANC members and supporters. In the Orange Free State, cases of conflict were reported between UDF/ANC supporters and vigilante groups and gangs such as the 'Eagles', the 'Three Million Gang', as well as between UDF/ANC supporters and homeland parties such as the Dikwankwetla National Party (DNP) in QwaQwa.

396 These violations are dealt with in detail in Volume Three. For the purposes of this section, the role of the ANC as a perpetrator group is explored, in terms of the following categories of violations:

- a Violence relating to the campaign against homelands: violence in the Ciskei (against the ADM, the Ciskei security forces and traditional leaders), violence in KwaZulu and in the Orange Free State (against the Dikwankwetla Party);
- b Violence relating to political intolerance: violence in Fort Beaufort (against the PAC); violence on the East Rand (including the establishment of SDUs) and violations in reaction to Chris Hani's assassination;
- c Violence in other contexts: violence in Mount Fletcher, violence involving gangs in the Orange Free State and violence in Mpumalanga.

Ciskei: Violence relating to the campaign against homelands

397 The ANC campaign for the re-incorporation of the homelands escalated from 1992 onwards. Many clashes were reported between ANC activists and individuals loyal to the homeland governments, in both civilian and military structures. In the Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo used his newly-established party, the ADM, to counter the influence of the ANC. He also re-imposed the traditional 'headman' system. Such activities inflamed the situation further.

398 A report of the Network of Independent Monitors (NIM) lists a number of attacks and weapons and targets suggest that these attacks were carried out by MK. Main targets included headmen and police in the Ciskei, as well as members of the ADM. The list includes forty-eight hand grenade attacks, twenty-three AK-47 attacks, and the laying of limpet mines.

399 Ciskei Police figures list 113 incidents of public violence in 1991, 381 in 1992 and 255 in 1993. Of the victims, 84 per cent or 629 individuals were Ciskei government personnel, members of Ciskei government structures, traditional authorities or parties aligned to the Ciskei government. Fifty-one individuals, just under 7 per cent were aligned to the liberation movements (ANC and PAC) or their allies (COSATU, SANCO or SACP).¹⁰

400 The majority of these attacks were carried out by supporters of the ANC, who fell under no military command structures and usually did not have sophisticated weapons. This is borne out by Ciskei police figures which indicate that, of the

¹⁰ (Figures from Eastern Cape CIS files).

attacks above, 64 per cent (484) were petrol bomb or arson attacks; a further 6 per cent (42) were classified simply as 'intimidation'. Of the remainder, there were eighty-four attacks (12 per cent of the total) with hand grenades or bombs and sixty-seven attacks (or 9 per cent) with firearms (AK-47s, R4 rifles or pistols).¹¹

- 401 There is also evidence that some SDU structures were set up in the Eastern Cape in this period, and that they obtained arms from the Regional MK Command based in Umtata. At the May 1997 'recall hearings' of the ANC, the ANC leadership said that there were no organised MK operations against Brigadier Gqozo's rule, nor against structures of the Ciskei government, traditional authorities such as headmen, or members of the ADM. MK Commander Ronnie Kasrils told the Commission:

It is clear from operations that were conducted arising out of the oppression in the Ciskei that former MK cadres were involved in hitting back, in responding, but this was never discussed at MK command level.

- 402 While the ANC denied that its military headquarters authorised any operations in this period, there is evidence that the ANC continued to send considerable numbers of people outside South Africa for training. In the Eastern Cape, the ANC continued to conduct training and facilitate the distribution of arms through the MK regional command in the Transkei.
- 403 There was also evidence of strategic differences or divisions within the ANC on how to respond to the violent conflict. Some acts of violence were attributed to 'militant factions' who believed they were carrying out ANC, SACP or MK policy. In some instances, MK expelled such elements to make it clear that they were acting outside of ANC policy. One such case is Mr Nceba Bobelo, an MK member involved in the Queenstown SDU structure who, after involvement in 'criminal acts' including a murder, was eventually disarmed and expelled by the MK Command.
- 404 Ciskei Defence Force troops opened fire on an ANC protest march in Bisho on 7 September 1992, killing twenty-nine ANC marchers and one of their own soldiers (see above and in Volume Three). After the massacre, violence escalated further as angry ANC supporters - including MK members and members of armed SDUs - engaged in revenge attacks against representatives of the Ciskei government. One such case is that of the killing of a headman in Alice by ANCYL members.
- 405 Mr Zuko Makapela [AM6438/97] and Mr Ludumo Mati [AM6439/97] applied for amnesty for the stoning and burning to death of Mr Ndodiphela Maseti in Upper

Gqumashe, Alice on 28 September 1992. Maseti was a headman and thought to be a member of the ADM. A group of ANCYL members attacked and burnt down Maseti's home. The following day, the ANCYL members apprehended Maseti, beat him severely, stoned him and set him alight. Makapela and Mati admitted to participating in the attack, and were granted amnesty in July 1998 on the grounds that it was "clearly of a political nature".

- 406 Many former headmen and supporters of the homeland joined the PAC. Political rivalry between ANC and PAC members, or organisations aligned to one or the other, began to have violent consequences.

KwaZulu/Natal: Violence and the killing of IFP leaders

- 407 Evidence before the Commission indicates that there was no overall strategy on the part of the ANC to kill IFP leaders in the 1990s. However, a number of IFP leaders and members were killed by ANC members acting in various capacities – as members of SDUs, as residents of ANC-supporting communities and, less often, as members of MK.
- 408 In most IFP submissions to various commissions of enquiry, no distinction was made between MK and SDUs as paramilitary units. The activities of the local SDUs/paramilitary structures were seen to have been directed by MK. Whilst the Commission received amnesty applications from MK members who facilitated and armed the SDUs, in the majority of incidents analysed there is very little evidence of MK involvement in the direct or indirect killing of IFP office-bearers.
- 409 In a submission to the Goldstone Commission in 1992, Mr Kim Hodgson of the IFP said that, while the IFP believed that MK had been involved in the violence from the beginning of the conflict in KwaZulu/Natal, there had been an unprecedented military offensive against the IFP since August 1992. This included covert ANC hit-squad operations in KwaZulu/Natal and the systematic killing of IFP leaders.
- 410 After the ANC had made its first submission, the Commission asked it to clarify its military policy towards the IFP and whether the ANC leadership considered members of the IFP to be "legitimate military targets". The ANC responded that it had no military policy with regard to Inkatha and that it had never considered Inkatha members or officials as targets simply because they aligned themselves with Inkatha. It attributed attacks on IFP-aligned individuals to the roles these individuals played as 'state collaborators', whether as warlords, vigilantes,

councillors or informers. The ANC denied “allegations to the effect that MK has been engaged in ‘serial mass murder’ of Inkatha officials and alleged that this perception was a STRATCOM operation designed to prevent Inkatha from throwing in its lot with the ANC as the negotiation process began”.

- 411 Between 1990 and 1993, MK cadres were implicated in the murder of seven IFP leaders. In two cases – those of Mr Arnold Lolo Lombo and Mr Mfunzelwa Ngcongco – there was sufficient evidence to suggest MK involvement.
- 412 On 31 October 1990, Mr Arnold Lolo Lombo [KZN/GSN/073/PM] was killed with a 9mm pistol by two gun men posing as police detectives at his place of employment in the Pietermaritzburg city centre. Lombo was the IFP chairperson of the Mvundleni area. Mr Siphon Motaung [AM3902/96], Mr Nhlanhla Sibisi [AM3903/96], Mr Johannes M Sithole [AM3904/96] and Mr Bekimpendle Dlamini [AM3905/96] applied for amnesty in connection with this incident. Motaung and Sibisi were trained members of MK. Motaung appears on the certified personnel register of MK, Southern Natal region and was integrated into the SANDF. He died in 1997. The applicants were granted amnesty on 1 August 1997.
- 413 The family of Mr Mfunzelwa Ngcongco [KZN/FS/138/DN], an IFP organiser in Umbumbulu, told the Commission that he was shot in Ntiyane, Umbumbulu on 1 November 1991. In the week preceding his death, there were several attacks in the area. Six people were killed at a wedding ceremony at the home of IFP leader Mr Mbuzini Shezi, and IFP member Mr Falo Ngcongco was injured in a hand grenade and a rifle attack on his home. On 3 November the KwaZulu Police (KZP) station in Umbumbulu was attacked with RPG7 rockets, and on 11 November four people were killed and two KZP members injured in an RPG 7 rocket attack on a police van.
- 414 According to Security Branch records for this period, the main suspect was Mr Sbu Mkhize. It was noted that he appeared to be driven by revenge for the death of his father, ANC leader Siphon Mkhize, allegedly at the hands of KZP member Constable Simphiwe Mvuyane. Sbu Mkhize died in a shoot-out with police in July 1992. He was listed as deceased on the MK integration list but does not appear on the certified personnel register of MK. There was also a suggestion that Sbu Mkhize was involved in the murder of IFP leader Mr Wiseman Mthembu in Port Shepstone in December 1991.

- 415 On 22 February 1992, Mr Mnandi Dladla, IFP deputy-secretary in Wembezi, was shot near his home by an unidentified gunman armed with an AK-47, who fired at him from the vehicle of ANC leader Mr Teaspoon Mkhize. Witnesses stated that Mkhize and his son, Mr Jan Mkhize, were in the vehicle and confronted Dladla. Family members implicated an MK cadre, Mr Ntela Sikhosana, in the murder, although none of the eye-witnesses did. Ntela Sikhosana died on 23 August 1998.
- 416 On 30 September 1992, Gideon Sibiya (IFP Chairperson, Ningizimu), Mthembeni Xulu (IFP organiser) and a Mr Nene were shot at SJ Smith hostel in Durban. A hand grenade was hurled at Sibiya's vehicle and they were then gunned down with an AK-47 rifle. An MK cadre, Mr Vusumuzi Zungu, was found injured at the scene. An inquest report found that he and others participated in the attack. The IFP noted that Zungu had been militarily trained in Angola in 1984 and 1987. A Vusumuzi Zungu (Bonga Madlala) appears on the certified personnel register of MK and the MK integration list.
- 417 None of the witnesses identified the assailants. Sibiya's son stated that he saw Zungu when he returned to the scene after reporting the incident to the police. An AK-47 with blood stains and other armaments were found; the blood stains were tested and could have matched that of Zungu. However, Zungu tested negative for gunshot residue on his hands. Insufficient evidence meant that the Commission could not resolve the discrepancies and was unable to make a conclusive finding in this matter.
- 418 On 18 March 1993, Mr John Thembanani and Mr Boyce Mpisane, both IFP convenors in Umlazi CC section, were gunned down with an AK-47 and 9mm pistol in Thembanani's yard. ANC member, Mr Sibonakaliso Boni Mchunu, was convicted and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. A second suspect, Mr Thumbu Nzama, could not be traced. The police interrogated a Mandla Sithole and others after receiving information that the deceased had been warned about an MK attack on them that day. Sithole could not be connected to the crime.
- 419 UDF/ANC community members or youth were implicated in the killing of a number of IFP supporters, including office-bearers. The majority of reported cases occurred in Pietermaritzburg. Most were unpremeditated. Precipitating factors in the attacks were:
- a The victim was passing through or visiting in an UDF/ANC aligned stronghold (section or area) on foot or in public transport. The attacks were opportunistic and there was no evidence of a common perpetrator grouping. Included in

this category are Mr Dumisani Awetha and Mr Elliot Bongani Mncwabe, both sons of well-known IFP members.

- b The victim was living in a UDF/ANC stronghold. Mr Meshack Xaba, a hostel resident in Bruntville, was killed as he walked towards the IFP-supporting hostel enclave in the midst of a UDF-aligned community. Three members of the Shandu family [KZN/LPM/100/EM] were killed on suspicion of being IFP members four months after they moved to Umgababa from KwaMakhutha.
- c The victim intervened in some way in an action by a group of UDF/ANC members. Two IFP supporters were killed on 11 February 1990 when they drove through a funeral procession for a UDF member in Mpumalanga in 1990.
- d The victim died in a defensive attack. Councillor Shadrack Dlamini was petrol-bombed by ANC youth in KwaMakhutha in 1987, after he opened fire on a group which had come to discuss the water shortage with him. One youth was injured. Mr Momo Ndwane [KZN/EDS/102/PS], an *induna*, was stabbed in Murchison in December 1991 after he approached youths in a threatening manner armed with a G3 firearm after the entire community failed to attend the Chief's Christmas meeting.
- e The victim died in an ongoing fight between ANC-aligned and IFP supporters. Mr CC Cele, IFP chairperson at SJ Smith hostel, was killed when a petrol bomb was thrown into his room in retaliation for an attack on the ANC leader in the hostel earlier in the day.
- f The victims were killed in a 'factional dispute' that had assumed political overtones. Mr Simon Buthelezi, Mr Sotho Makhatini of the IFP and herbalist Mr M Gumede were killed in an attack on their kraals in Swayimane in October 1989 by 500 members of the ANC-aligned Mabheleni clan.
- g The victim was involved in the traditional structure or was an office-bearer. Mr Alson Mbambo, an *induna* in Esikhawini, was killed by ANC youth in June 1992 at a communal water pump.

420 In the majority of these attacks, the victims were stabbed, stoned or petrol-bombed. In nine incidents firearms were used.

Killings associated with SDUs

421 In its second submission to the Commission, the ANC said that weaponry was supplied to certain SDUs by selected units of the ordnance department of MK,

through dead drops or by providing sketches to senior personnel, which were then passed on. These ordnance units did not know to whom the material was passed on.

422 A number of MK cadres based in KwaZulu Natal and elsewhere applied for amnesty for arming and training the SDUs. The MK commanders for Southern Natal and Natal Midlands – namely, Mr Sipho Joel Sithole [AM5950/97] and Mr Ntela Sikhosana [AM6332/97] (now deceased) – were prominent amongst these.

423 Former MK member Dick Absalom Ngwenya [AM0759/96] said that he was involved in training SDUs in Bulwer between 1990 and 1993. He trained the youths with weapons that he received from Mr Musi Thusi, his MK commander, before February 1990. Thusi was killed on the South coast.

424 In its second submission to the Commission, the ANC said that trained SDUs patrolled townships at night, setting up roadblocks and checking on unusual movements:

In some instances the units carried out attacks on known warlords in their townships ... Tensions arose between HQ and Natal ANC structures where some leaders called for an offensive approach to deal with Inkatha warlords and others who had been perpetrating violence with impunity for years ... Some SDUs became little more than gangs of criminals at times led by police agents, and inflicted great damage on popular ANC aligned-community structures: this was well illustrated in the case of the notorious Phola Park SDU, which was led by an agent of the SAP ... Another instance of this nature is provided by the activities of police agent Sifiso Nkabinde in the Midlands.

425 UDF/ANC aligned paramilitary structures were implicated in the murder of thirty-one IFP office bearers. In twenty-six cases, the Commission obtained sufficient information to link ANC-aligned groupings or paramilitary structures to the killings – through ballistic evidence, the implication of perpetrators and similarities in *modus operandi*. This was particularly the case in Richmond in the Natal Midlands, in Umbumbulu and Port Shepstone on the South Coast.

426 In Port Shepstone, a group of youths, allegedly operating under the command of Mr Dululu Sipho Dlamini and Mr Zakhele Gcaba, were implicated in the murder of four IFP office-bearers in 1991 and 1992. The youth do not appear on the certified register of MK personnel.

- 427 IFP supporters Mr Bangukufa Cele [KZN/EDS/011/PS] and Mr Wiseman Mthembu [KZN/QM/0021/PS] from Mthengwane, Murchison (near Port Shepstone) were killed in late 1991. Cele was killed along with six others when three kraals were attacked by youth armed with AK-47 rifles. Gcaba and Dululu Dlamini were implicated by co-perpetrators as leaders of the group. In the case of Wiseman Mthembu, he and Mr Goli Mbambo were ambushed in a motor vehicle by a small group of men; 9mm and 18mm cartridges were found at the scene. Mbambo was a suspect in the murder of two ANC members and this attack was seen in their community as a reprisal killing.
- 428 In mid-1992, Mr Bhabhalaza Dladla and Mr Samson Majola [KZN/EDS/064/PS] were killed in Murchison. Dladla was killed when two kraals in his area were attacked by a group armed with AK47s and shotguns, allegedly in retaliation for an attack earlier on the ANC ward of Newton. Majola was killed when his vehicle was ambushed by attackers armed with an AK-47. ANC members alleged that Majola was implicated in the murder of an ANC supporter.
- 429 In all these cases, the police dockets were closed undetected.
- 430 In Umbumbulu on the upper South Coast of KwaZulu/Natal, two IFP office-bearers Mr Dominic Mhlongo [KZN/NMM/111/PM] and Mr Shiyabekhala Kweyama were killed in June 1992. Mr Muziwenhlanhla Msomi [AM5218/97] and others were charged with these murders as well as the possession of unlicensed firearms. Msomi, who is described in the court records as the '*induna* of the youth' in the area, was acquitted for the murder of Mhlongo owing to contradictions in the witnesses' stories. He was convicted for the murder of Kweyama but the conviction was overturned on appeal. One suspect was killed by police and another suspect could not be traced.
- 431 Kweyama was a taxi driver in Mpusheni and was killed in Folweni on the South Coast. The Human Rights Commission (HRC) report for June 1992 notes that taxis were being targeted for attack and were used in attacks by both sides. Mhlongo was allegedly targeted as he was implicated in the murder of the accused's friend.
- 432 In other areas, groups of well-armed ANC-aligned youths or men killed IFP office-bearers; however no consistent pattern emerged in the evidence as to the main persons involved. Different perpetrators were named; weapons used could not be linked to cases. There is evidence, however, of the involvement of an ANC

leadership figure in one case. In July 1992, Mr Mvimbezeli Mchunu's home in Nomganga, Wartburg, was attacked by a group of ANC members. The group were allegedly briefed and armed by the ANC chairperson before the attack. AK-47 cartridges were found at the scene. The deceased had allegedly told a named ANC member that he should attend IFP meetings or leave the area.

Killings by Extra Judicial Tribunals

433 The Commission received reports of killings performed by UDF/ANC-aligned individuals, after findings of extra-judicial tribunals or area committees. Victims included IFP office-bearers and individuals associated with the former state and former state security forces, such as alleged informers, tribal policemen; in some cases, witchdoctors were targeted.

434 In March 1990, Mr Cetswayo Johnson Mbhele was stabbed and burnt in Murchison. A group of ANC youths found a tribal policeman, Mr Johannes Ndlovu, 'guilty' of being a police informer. Ndlovu was forced to lie on Mbhele's burnt out vehicle. His daughter watched as he was taken to a rock nearby and 'necklaced'. Mr Zakhele Gcaba and other youth were implicated by 'comrades' at the scene of the proceedings. In both cases, the Attorney-General declined to prosecute as suspects could not be traced. Many of the suspects later died in violent circumstances and the dockets were closed undetected.

435 Also in March 1990, Mr H Mzindle, a tribal policeman, was 'necklaced' in Bethania, allegedly by a group of 'comrades'. In Ezakheni near Ladysmith, Mr Francis Bhekani Mvelase, the son of a KwaZulu MP, was killed by a group of ANC youths. The ANC leader was present at the scene but allegedly left before the necklacing. The accused were acquitted at a trial.

436 In the Port Shepstone area, Mr Sishonke Ndwane [KZN/MP/257/MP] was 'necklaced' by a group which included his own sons in March 1990 on suspicion of being a witchdoctor. The youths involved admitted to police that they had tried the deceased and, in one instance, a youth who stabbed Ndwane admitted stating that he was a witchdoctor.

Violence relating to political intolerance

437 In the years immediately following the 1990 unbanning of organisations, violence escalated as the ANC came into conflict with newly established IFP branches

on the East Rand, The simmering violence in Natal reached new heights. Violent conflict also erupted between the ANC and PAC members, members of homeland parties such as the ADM in Ciskei and members of gangs which were sometimes aligned to the IFP. The ANC characterised the post-1990 violence as 'low intensity conflict' instigated by a 'third force'. It explains the involvement of its members in such violence as self-defence, essentially against attempts by elements within the former state and its security forces to destabilise the transition and weaken its potential to govern effectively. Opponents of the ANC explain the violence as political intolerance, and attempts by the ANC to exercise hegemony and prevent the growth of political opposition in the black community.

- 438 Conflict between supporters of the ANC and supporters of the PAC broke out in violence in early 1992.
- 439 Violence in Fort Beaufort flared up in March 1992 when police used tear gas, rubber bullets and birdshots to disperse a crowd that was stoning the police station. One man died and seven others were injured. This incident is apparently not related to the PAC/ANC conflict, but indicated that the township was still volatile. Towards the end of 1992, sporadic violence flared up again when a bakery truck was petrol-bombed and set alight, and a grenade was thrown at the house of a councillor in Tinis township. No one was injured in these incidents. Early in October, two men – Mr Linda Mnyazi and Mr Mluleki Izaac Qamani – were assaulted, killed and burnt near Dorrington township in violence that took place in the wake of the Bisho massacre of September 1992. The violence resulted in a state of emergency being declared for Fort Beaufort and other towns in the former Ciskei.
- 440 In February 1993, an ANC/PAC 'feud' broke out in Fort Beaufort and three men were killed and several seriously injured in violence in three separate incidents: Mr Luvuyo Mkwilase was shot in the chest and declared dead on arrival at Fort Beaufort hospital. The body of Ms Nomangwane Mandita was found in Tinis township with multiple burns and a head wound. Mr Zwelenkomo Afrika Swartbooi [EC0723/96ALB] died in Adelaide hospital as a result of multiple head injuries caused by a sharp object.
- 441 Police said they were also investigating five cases of attempted murder: Mr Thamsanqa Grootboom [EC2361/97ALB] was shot in the chest and hospitalised. Mr Felisizwe Lucky August [EC0719/96ALB] sustained serious head injuries and was hospitalised. Mr Mthetheleli Mana [EC2356/97ALB] was shot in the arm at his Mpolweni township (Fort Beaufort) house. Reverend Swelandile Kotsele was

shot in the buttocks and hospitalised. Mr Madoda Resha was treated for shock after a gunman fired at the vehicle in which he was travelling. Four people were arrested for being in possession of weapons and police recovered other arms and ammunition.

- 442 Police also investigated three cases of arson after houses in Dorrington and Mpolweni were set alight. The media reported that residents “of the mostly ANC-supporting township” claimed that “PAC supporters were responsible for these attacks and vowed to defend themselves. They accused police of siding with the PAC”.
- 443 On 21 February 1993, Ms Nomangwane Mandita, a matriculant at Inyibiba High School and a member of Pan African Students’ Organisation (PASO) was ‘necklaced’ by ANC supporters. Mandita had left her rented room and went to stay with Ms Nomsa Mpangisa after receiving threats from ANC supporters. On the day of her death, a group set fire to Mpangisa’s house and abducted her and Mandita. The two were found hiding in the house of PASO office-bearer Mr Thozamile Tiyo and taken to another house. Mpangisa was locked in an outside room, and escaped. Mandita was carried away and ‘necklaced’.
- 444 Violence continued in early March, with a number of houses being set alight. After a further attack on a home involving automatic weapons, authorities imposed a curfew on the townships of Fort Beaufort in terms of the emergency regulations. On 23 March, 800 children fled in panic from Ilingelabantu Primary School to escape a group of PAC-supporting youths. Some children broke windows trying to run away and were injured. ANC spokesperson Phila Nkayi said the conflict started when
- a PAC-supporting teacher had been promoting children indiscriminately to higher standards. The ANC delegation challenged him. The PAC called for reinforcements from other regions. That’s how the friction started.*
- 445 PAC regional chairperson Knox Tsotsobe disputed this, saying that supporters of the ANC were responsible for the clashes among schoolchildren. He believed COSAS supporters were responsible for burning the house of a school teacher by the name of Lata Camagu.
- 446 On 25 March 1993, PASO chairperson at Thubalethu High School, Mr Lata Camagu, was gunned down at his home in Tinis township. He was shot thirteen times with an AK-47 and died in hospital. Camagu was the PASO chairperson at

Thubalethu High School. No one was arrested for the murder. On 3 April, the PAC named three ANC members as responsible for killing PAC supporters. They also claimed that ANC members whose names were known to the police were responsible for the death of Mandita, but had not been arrested. They accused the SAP of conspiring with the ANC to drive PAC members out of the area.

447 ANC Border media officer, Mr Mcebisi Bata, denied the allegations and alleged in turn that Camagu had been killed by PAC members because he was “drifting away from PAC students”. He appealed to the PAC to come back to the table and stop fighting. He said ten ANC supporters in Fort Beaufort had been arrested and tried for public violence and illegal possession of firearms. The SAP also denied collusion with the ANC. On the same day that the ANC statement was issued, it was reported that a twenty-two year-old man narrowly escaped death and was hospitalised after being ‘necklaced’ by a number of men at ‘Necklace Valley’.

448 In October 1993, four men and a woman were tried for the ‘necklacing’ of Ms Nomangwane Mandita in Grahamstown supreme court. They were also charged with arson and the kidnapping of Ms Nomsa Mpangisa and for setting alight a house belonging to the Bhofolo Town Council in Dorrington township in February 1993.

East Rand: Violations committed by SDUs and other ANC members

449 Violent conflict started in late 1990 in the townships of East Rand, when the ANC suspended the armed struggle, and the IFP was established as a political party and set up branches in hostels in various Reef townships.

450 Many of the violations committed by the ANC in this period were committed by paramilitary structures known as SDUs. The ANC argued in its first submission to the Commission that these structures were established in response to “grass-roots demands for protection against the onslaught” of violence which began in August 1990, and that by the end of 1990, “pressure for the formation of SDUs had reached fever pitch”. The ANC emphasised that the SDUs were to be ‘non-partisan’ bodies established within local communities for their protection. They claim that, “It was made clear that the overall control of SDUs was to remain with community structures and MK cadres were to participate as members of the community. MK command was to play a secondary role”. However, given the climate of political intolerance which prevailed and the role of senior members of MK in training and organising SDUs, it happened that in many cases the SDUs were seen as ANC structures. They have thus been analysed as ‘paramilitary structures’ of the ANC.

- 451 The ANC's second submission to the Commission details the manner in which SDUs were established and trained. The document entitled *For the Sake of Our Lives* is appended to the ANC submission as an example of the instructions given by MK leadership for the training of SDUs in the 1990s. Regarding the setting up of SDUs, the ANC told the Commission:

Various clandestine units for the training and organisation of the various SDUs were set up, and some cadres were tasked to provide weaponry where possible ... Selected members of MK, including senior officials from the command structures, were drawn into an ad hoc structure to assist with the arming of units ... We do not have a record of MK's role in SDUs since they were not HQ controlled structures.

- 452 The Commission received amnesty applications from Mr Ronnie Kasrils [AM5509/97], Mr Robert McBride [AM7033/97], Mr Aboobaker Ismail [AM7109/97] and Ms Janet Love [AM6652/97] – all members of the MK Command and senior ANC leadership – for their involvement in the establishment of SDUs. In addition, there are applications from ANC leaders Mr Jeffrey Thamsanqa Radebe [AM7170/97] and Mr Alec Erwin [AM6091/97]. As regards the East Rand conflict, the amnesty applications pertaining to the involvement of SDUs in conflict and violence were received from ANC members Mr Esau Chechela Machitje [AM7634/97], Mr Michael Khinini Phama [AM3155/96] and Mr Marvin Mokgale Maesela [AM3149/96].
- 453 A large number of violations by the ANC in this period involve the killing or severe ill treatment of ANC members by other ANC members. The amnesty hearing for members of the Katlehong SDU was heard in Boksburg in March 1998. In this application, members of the SDU testified that they had killed fourteen members of their community, including members of the ANCYL, because of conflict between the two groups in this period. The political motive given for these acts was that they were acting for the 'self-defence' of their community against an 'enemy', defined in this case as being certain members of the ANCYL.
- 454 The Commission asked the ANC leadership whether it was not irresponsible of the ANC to arm and train a force over which it did not exercise control. In response, Ronnie Kasrils acknowledged that "It was a very problematic situation and one could say at times extremely confusing". However, he stressed the point made in the ANC submission that it "was made clear that the control (of these structures) was to remain with community structures. MK members were to participate as members of the community".

Accumulation and distribution of weapons for the SDUs

- 455 After the ANC was unbanned and the leadership returned to the country, the ordnance department continued to play a role in the distribution of weapons. In the second ANC submission, it is noted that it was agreed that selected SDUs, particularly in the Reef area, would be assisted in arming themselves. Selected MK members, including senior officials from the command structure, were drawn into ad hoc structures to assist in the arming and training of units. This was in line with the ANC policy of assisting communities to defend themselves as decided at the 1991 MK conference in Venda. In the 'recall hearings', Mr Thabo Mbeki testified that the original intention was to get arms caches licensed and distributed legally to the SDUs, but this did not happen.
- 456 According to Kasrils, he was given the responsibility of ensuring the SDUs were provided with weapons. At this time, he was a member of the NEC of the ANC. He turned to Aboobaker Ismail and Riaz Saloojee for assistance. They created dead letter boxes (DLBs) in the worst hit areas - Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Vaal triangle, East and West Rand, Eastern Cape including Ciskei and the Western Cape. He claimed to have passed these to Chris Hani who then passed them on to those responsible in the areas concerned.
- 457 In other areas, SDUs made their own arrangements to obtain weapons from the central ordnance caches and/or outside the country. In the southern Natal region, an MK unit comprising of *inter alia* Mr Sipho Sithole [AM5950/97], Mr Vusi Ngobese, Mr Sipho Magwaza and Mr Mandlenkosi Makhoba [AM6620/97] were charged with various counts in relation to the transportation of weapons into South Africa from Mozambique through the Golela border post in 1992 and 1993. According to Sipho Magwaza, the weapons formed part of a cache laid down by central ordnance. He noted that not all areas had access to these weapons. His grouping had a personal relationship with an MK commander (whose name he did not wish to reveal) who assisted them in obtaining these weapons in Mozambique. These weapons were then distributed to various cells by MK 'Chief'. No register was kept of the weapons distributed and their final location is allegedly unknown.
- 458 Yet other amnesty applications indicated that certain SDUs obtained weapons and ammunition from sources other than central ordnance. SDUs, such as the Katlehong and Thokoza structures, collected funds from the community and gave them to their logistics officer to buy weapons in Phola Park⁹. According to an MK member interviewed by the Commission, in some areas ANC members

See Amnesty application of G Vilikazi [AM7730/97], AN Maci [AM 7635/97] and Meshack Thulo [AM 7714/97]

bought weapons from hostels and/or IFP dominated areas such as Tugela Ferry under the guise of being IFP supporters. In some cases, ANC members obtained arms by stealing them from police and other considered to be 'enemies'.

- 459 Kasrils stated that strict instructions were sent out that the weapons were to be used for self-defence only. However, the fact that SDUs were armed and yet were not under any clear military discipline led to numerous situations in which human rights violations occurred. Two examples of this are the Katlehong SDUs on the East Rand (see Volume Three) and Khayelitsha SDUs in Cape Town (see above).

Violence in the wake of Chris Hani's assassination

- 460 In 1993, Mr Glen Weakley and Mr Alistair Weakley were killed in the Transkei by ANC members in the wake of Chris Hani's assassination. Their sister Ms Roslyn Stratford testified that Alistair, a lawyer from Grahamstown, and his brother Glenn, an engineer from Durban, were on a fishing holiday when they were ambushed and shot dead. The five attackers were all arrested and appeared in Umtata supreme court on murder charges. The accused admitted to being members of the ANCYL and claimed to have been driven by revenge for the death of Chris Hani. However, it is clear that in this case the ANC's policy was not to engage in acts of violence in retaliation for Hani's death – especially not against white civilians – and the ANC as a party cannot be held responsible for the actions of these members (see above and further in Volume Three)

WHILE THE COMMISSION ACCEPTS THAT THE VIOLENT CONFLICT THAT CONSUMED THE COUNTRY IN THE POST-1990 PERIOD WAS NEITHER INITIATED NOR IN THE INTERESTS OF THE ANC, THE ANC MUST NONETHELESS ACCOUNT FOR THE MANY HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE KILLED OR INJURED BY ITS MEMBERS IN THE CONFLICT. WHILE THE ANC LEADERSHIP HAS ARGUED THAT ITS MEMBERS WERE ACTING IN SELF-DEFENCE, IT IS THE COMMISSION'S VIEW THAT AT TIMES THE CONFLICT ASSUMED LOCAL DYNAMICS IN WHICH PROACTIVE REVENGE ATTACKS WERE CARRIED OUT BY BOTH SIDES. THIS SITUATION WAS EXACERBATED BY HIGH LEVELS OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE AMONG ALL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE ANC. FURTHER, THE COMMISSION CONTENTS THAT THE LEADERSHIP SHOULD HAVE BEEN AWARE OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF TRAINING AND ARMING MEMBERS OF SDUS IN A VOLATILE SITUATION AND IN WHICH THEY HAD LITTLE CONTROL OVER THE ACTIONS OF SUCH MEMBERS.

THE COMMISSION THEREFORE FINDS THAT, IN THE PERIOD 1990-1994, THE ANC WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR:

- THE KILLINGS, ASSAULTS AND ATTACKS ON POLITICAL OPPONENTS, INCLUDING IFP MEMBERS, PAC AND AZAPO MEMBERS AND MEMBERS OF THE SAP;
- CONTRIBUTING TO A SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRY THROUGH THE CREATION AND ARMING OF SDUS. WHILST THE COMMISSION ACKNOWLEDGES THAT IT WAS NOT THE POLICY

OF THE ANC TO ATTACK AND KILL POLITICAL OPPONENTS, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF ADEQUATE COMMAND STRUCTURES AND IN THE CONTEXT OF WIDE SPREAD STATE-SPONSORED OR DIRECTED VIOLENCE AND A CLIMATE OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE, SDU MEMBERS OFTEN 'TOOK THE LAW INTO THEIR OWN HANDS' AND COMMITTED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

- THE COMMISSION TAKES NOTE THAT THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF THE ANC AND THE COMMAND STRUCTURE OF MK HAVE ACCEPTED POLITICAL AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL THE ACTIONS OF ITS MEMBERS IN THE PERIOD 1960-1994 AND THEREFORE FINDS THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ANC AND MK MUST TAKE RESPONSIBILITY AND BE ACCOUNTABLE FOR ALL GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS PERPETRATED BY ITS MEMBERSHIP AND CADRES IN THE MANDATE PERIOD.

Pan Africanist Congress

461 After the unbanning of the liberation movements on 2 February 1990, the PAC adopted a different strategic position to that of the ANC. While the ANC engaged almost immediately in 'talks about talks' with government representatives, the PAC told the Commission that it had held a principled approach to negotiations and believed that "one must negotiate from a position of strength". The PAC called for the formation of a patriotic front and for the establishment of an elected constituent assembly to draft a new constitution. They called for any meeting between the liberation movements and the regime to take place at a neutral venue under neutral chairpersons, so as to ensure a "level playing field". According to the PAC, the failure of CODESA to adhere to these principles led to the PAC's withdrawal. The PAC claims that: "Throughout this period the PAC adopted a positive outlook and urged the negotiating parties to be principled". It was, nevertheless, during this period of negotiations that the PAC's military wing APLA engaged in its most effective campaigns and was responsible for most of the human rights violations attributed to the organisation.

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

463 APLA attacks increased during 1993, after APLA's chief commander Sabelo Phama declared 1993 'The Year of the Great Storm'. On 5 and 7 April 1993 Phama appeared in an interview with the SABC television declaring that "he would aim his guns at children - to hurt whites where it hurts most". By that time, APLA operatives had struck at the King William's Town Golf Club on 28 November 1992, killing four people. Phama confirmed he had sanctioned the attack. Further attacks

followed after Phama's interview. These included the attack on the Highgate Hotel in East London on 1 May 1993, on St James Church in Kenilworth on 25 July 1993 and Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory on 31 December 1993.

464 The PAC has stated in its submission that, whereas APLA strategy in the 1980s had been to target the security structures, "a new strategy arose in the 1990's where civilians within the white community were attacked". Because details of operations could not be prepared by their headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, target selection was left to the local commanders. While internally trained cadres were in a position to carry out better reconnaissance and thus avert detection and arrest, they faced the disadvantage of not having received the kind of political literacy that was standard in the camps. The leadership accepted full responsibility for acts which may have occurred as a result of errors made by these operatives, although no examples of such errors were named. Many PAC members convicted for such acts applied for amnesty.

465 The claim that the attacks on white civilians were not part of the PAC's strategy must be contrasted with the statement of the APLA command as expressed in the submission to the armed forces hearing of the Commission. This division over military strategy was reflected in a divided approach to the question of negotiations so that when, in January 1994, the PAC leadership agreed to suspend armed actions and enter negotiations, some of the APLA leadership were not in favour of the decision.

APLA attacks of 1992 – 1994 period in which civilians were killed

466 Owing to the number and significance of violations perpetrated on urban 'soft' targets, they are presented here according to the region where they took place.

467 In the Western Cape, two of the attacks on white civilians which involved the most casualties took place in Cape Town in 1993:

468 An attack took place on the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town on 30 December 1993. Civilians in the pub were sprayed with gunfire; four died and three were injured. Those who died were Ms Rolande Lucielle Palm [CT00415/SOU], Ms Bernadette Langford [CT03041/SOU], Ms Lindy-Anne Fourie [CT02703/SOU] and Mr Joss Cerqueira. The injured were Mr Michael Jacob January [CT00451/KZN], Mr Dave Deglon [CT03045/SOU], Mr Benjamin Braude [CT00415/SOU] and Mr Quentin Cornelius [JB00323/01GTSOW].

469 The Amnesty applications for this incident were Mr Luyanda Gqomfa [AM0949/96], Mr Zola Mabala [AM5931/97] and Mr Vuyisile Madasi [AM6077/97]. After their testimony was heard in a public hearing, they were granted amnesty on 15 July 1998.

470 The main thrust of their testimony was that they acted on instructions from APLA High Command in executing the Heidelberg Tavern killings. Gqomfa explained at the hearings that the order to attack was given to him by Mr Sichumiso Nonxuba and that he was told that the tavern was a place frequented by members of the security forces. Nonxuba died in a car accident in May 1997. The following quote from Gqomfa's *affidavit* accompanied his application and summarises the testimony of all three:

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

471 The investigation into this attack and the amnesty hearing were complicated by allegations that Commissioner Dumisa Ntsebeza, head of the Commission's Investigation Unit, was implicated in the attack in that his car was used by the APLA members involved. The person who made the allegations, Bernard Sibaya, at first pointed Ntsebeza out in public; he later confessed that he had been blackmailed by the police into naming Ntsebeza.

472 Another attack took place on the congregation of St James Church in Kenilworth, Cape Town on 25 July 1993. In this attack, eleven people were killed and fifty-eight wounded. The attackers fired machine guns and threw two hand grenades at a congregation of about one thousand people. The attack lasted for about thirty seconds and the attackers escaped in a waiting car which was found abandoned at Ottery in Cape Town three days later. Apparently the car had been hijacked from its owner on the day of the attack.

473 Those killed were Mr Guy Javens [CT00620/SOU], Ms Denise Gordon [CT01124/SOU], Ms Marita Ackerman [CT02922/SOU], Mr Richard O'Kill [CT03029/SOU], Ms Myrtle Smith [CT03029/SOU], Mr Gerhard Harker, Mr Wesley Harker, Mr Oleg Karamjin, Mr Andrey Kayl, Mr Valuev Pavel and Mr Valentin Varaska. The last four were Russian sailors. The Commission also received statements from a number of people who were injured in the attack.

474 Those who applied for amnesty for the attack were Mr Gcinikhaya Christopher Makoma [AM0164/96], Mr Mzukisi Bassie Mkhumbuzi [AM6140/97] and Mr Letlapa Raymond Mphahlele [AM3018/96].

475 At the amnesty hearing in Cape Town on 9 July 1997, Mkhumbuzi testified that, although the target had been selected by his unit leader Mr Sichumiso Nonxuba, he agreed that “whites were using churches to oppress blacks” and justified the attack on the grounds that whites

took our country using churches and bibles. We know and we have read from books that they are the ones who have taken the land from us.

476 All the applicants contended that they had no prior knowledge of the operation and that target selection was left up to Nonxuba. This functional delineation was corroborated by a statement from the PAC delegation at the special hearing on the armed forces, in which they submitted that the actual targets were decided by local commanders and that the APLA forces who carried out these operations followed their directives.

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

478 The applicants were granted amnesty on 11 June 1998.

479 The King William's Town Golf Club was attacked with hand grenades and automatic rifles on the night of 28 November 1992, while a Christmas social function for a 'wine club' was in progress. Four people – Mr Ian MacDonald and Ms Rhoda MacDonald, Ms Gillian and Mr David Davies – were killed in the attack, and seventeen others injured. The Commission has received statements from Ms Beth Savage [EC0051/96ELN] and Mr Robert Stanford [EC0078/96KWT] were injured in the attack.

480 The people who applied for amnesty in this incident were Mr Thembelani Thandekile Xundu [AM3840/96], Mr Malusi Morrison [AM5953/97], Mr Thobela Mlambisa [AM7596/97] and Mr Lungisa Ntintili [AM6539/97].

481 The amnesty hearing was held in public between 7-10 April 1998 in East London. Xundu testified that:

Lellapa was the director of operations and it is common sense and common knowledge that (he) should be the person who sanctions the operation if it is an APLA operation. In this case particularly he sanctioned the operation or he approved the operation, that is what I'm trying to say ... So we had the full mandate that was given to us by the PAC, given to us by the APLA command structures.

482 According to evidence heard, there were two functions organised at the Golf Club on the day of the attack. Earlier in the day, there was a gathering which was attended by a Mr Radue who, according to the testimony of Xundu, was a member of the NP. This gathering was to be targeted because it was to be attended by security force personnel. In the early evening, there was a Wine Tasting Club which included "senior citizens", the gathering that became the target for the APLA attack. Xundu, who gave the main evidence at the hearings, said they "took it as one occasion". The Amnesty Committee had not made a finding at the time of reporting.

483 In an armed APLA attack at the Highgate Hotel in East London on 1 May 1993, five people were killed and a number of others injured. The Commission received statements regarding those who were killed: Mr Deric John Whitfield [EC0101/96ELN] and Mr Boyce Michael Wheeler [EC0729/96ELN], and from those who were injured: Mr Karl Weber [EC0035/96ELN], Ms Doreen Rousseau [EC0052/96ELN], Mr Neville Beling [EC0167/96ELN] and Mr Nkosinathi Alfred Gontshi [EC0196/96ELN].

484 Members of APLA who applied for amnesty were Mr Augustine Zukile Mbambo [AM2892/96] and Mr Dumisani Ncamazana [AM2891/96]. The applicants were also involved in other APLA attacks – the attack on the Baha'i Faith Mission and the Da Gama bus incident. The Commission initially rejected the applications on the grounds that they were not political, but the cases were reconsidered after the applicants made second submissions, forwarding new evidence to the effect that the Highgate incident was politically motivated.

485 In the main evidence, Mbambo testified that, on the day of the attack, they had intended to attack East London station bar.

but when we passed the Highgate Hotel, we noted that the Highgate Hotel was full, there was something like a disco on. We then decided that it is not

necessary for us to go to the station bar, East London, let us rather make a U-turn at the railway station at Cambridge, and come back, hit the Highgate Hotel.

486 He also said that the Highgate Hotel was given to them as a target. The Amnesty Committee had not made a finding at the time of reporting.

487 On 22 March 1993, APLA operatives attacked the Yellowwoods Hotel, Fort Beaufort, in which a student Mr Johan Jerling [EC2359/97ALB] was killed. For this incident, the Commission received amnesty applications from Mr Vuyisile Madasi [AM6077/97], who also applied for amnesty for the attack at the Heidelberg Tavern; Mr Lungisa Ntintili [AM6539/97] who also applied for the attack at the King William's Town Golf Club and Mr Nkopane Diaho-Moneng [AM6427/97].

488 The public hearings were held on 14 April 1998 in East London. Amnesty applicant and commander of the unit for this operation, Madasi, testified that the hotel had been selected as a target because it was patronised by members of the security forces, particularly on Friday and Saturday nights. He testified that the:

people that chose the target are members of the high command of APLA. We were voluntary soldiers, we had to make sure that we carry out the operation, that was on our shoulders. We would go to a target place that had already been selected by the APLA High Command.

489 He claimed that he and other members of his unit had received orders from APLA commander Letlapa Mphahlele. After the attack, they returned to Umtata to report to Mphahlele. The Amnesty Committee had not made a finding at the time of reporting.

490 On the evening of 14 February 1994, APLA operatives attacked with firearms the Crazy Beat Disco at Newcastle. One person was killed and several others were injured.

491 The Commission received amnesty applications for the incident from Mr Bongani Malevu [AM 0293/96], Mr Andile Shiceka [AM5939/97] and Mr Falibango Tanda [AM5784/97]. The applicants revealed at the hearings that the targets were initially identified as a restaurant and the Crazy Beat Disco, but plans to attack the restaurant were abandoned because of the potential for casualties amongst African people who happened to be in the vicinity of the restaurant. The disco was selected because it was frequented by whites. However, Malevu contends

that the decision was not based on racism. Amnesty was granted to the applicants on 3 June 1998.

- 492 On 30 November 1993, a limpet mine exploded in a bus in Durban resulting in the death of one person. Eleven people were injured. One of the injured was Adrie Coetzee [KZN/NN/055/DN]. The amnesty applicants for the incident are Mr Mfundo Peter Seyisi [AM6263/97] and Mr Ndoda Mgengo [AM6386/97]. The amnesty hearing had not yet been held at the time of reporting.
- 493 On 25 August 1993, American Fulbright scholar Amy Elizabeth Biehl (26) drove into Gugulethu to drop off some fellow students. Youths stoned the car, injuring Ms Biehl and bringing the car to a stop. She and the other occupants of the car fled, with a group in pursuit continuing to stone her. Several PASO members returning from a PASO meeting in Langa were also at the scene and played a leading role in the actual killing. A stab wound to the chest was fatal. In its submission to the Commission on 20 August 1996, the PAC expressed its regrets for the killing and sent condolences to the Biehl family. "They [PASO] wrongly targeted and killed Amy Biehl ... But misguided as the deed was, we support the amnesty applications of all those convicted and sentenced for the offence."

Attacks on white farmers (rural 'soft targets')

- 494 Part of the strategy behind the PAC's 'Year of the Great Storm' of 1993 was to drive white farmers off the land so that it could be reclaimed by the African people. A number of attacks were carried out on farms in this period, claiming the lives of many civilians died; weapons and vehicles were stolen. Attacks centred on the Orange Free State, the Eastern Cape and in areas bordering on the Transkei.
- 495 The Commission heard at various hearings that civilians died and weapons and vehicles were stolen in a number of attacks carried out on farms as part of 'Operation Great Storm' during this period (see also Volume Three).
- 496 Mr Letlapa Mphahlele, APLA Director of Operations, explained at a media conference during the amnesty hearings in Bloemfontein on 28 August 1997 that "there was no regret and no apology offered" for the lives lost during 'Operation Great Storm' in 1993. He acknowledged his involvement in the planning and execution of the operation. He said that his "proudest moment was seeing whites dying in the killing fields" and alleged that the Commission's amnesty committee was a "farce and a sham" which sought to "perpetuate white supremacy".

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

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

■ THE 'THIRD FORCE'

497 This section focuses on the notion that a 'third force' or 'third force' elements were involved in perpetrating the violence of the early 1990s. The Commission wishes to restrict the understanding of this phenomenon to the post-1990 period and specifically defines its central characteristic as violence covertly undertaken or encouraged. In this respect, the Commission distinguishes such a phenomenon from the discussions held at the level of the State Security Council in 1985/6 in which the establishment of a third force was contemplated. While some participants may well have held sinister views as to what such a third force would constitute, it is clear from documentation available to the Commission that the overall intention at that time was to set up an above-board third leg of the security forces to deal specifically with unrest. With regard to the 1990s, the task of the Commission was to investigate whether security force or other operatives or agencies were involved in directing or encouraging violence, from within state security structures and/or in alliance with other groups.

498 Before discussing the existence of such a 'third force', a few preliminary points and arguments should be made.

499 In the first place, there was a strong tendency on the part of various security forces structures and operatives to see their task as one of continued war against the enemies of the National Party. Structures such as STRATCOM, whose primary purpose appears to have been to continue a propaganda war against the ANC, and the authorisation of operations such as *Project Echoes* (see below) that sought to undermine the credibility of the ANC, continued to

function. For many security force members, their existence undoubtedly confirmed that pronouncements of levelling the playing fields and normalising the political situation for free and fair elections represented the public face of NP policy, but at another, covert level, the war was to continue. In this regard, the Harms, Kahn and Goldstone Commissions and Steyn investigation were seen by many as public relations exercises rather than determined initiatives to root out 'dirty practices'. The long history of cover-ups and condonation of lying to such commissions merely reinforced this perception. Consequently, many operatives continued to conduct an all-out war against 'the enemy' and, as indicated earlier, elimination and the deadly use of force continued as a matter of routine.

- 500 When asked how he viewed the change in strategy between the 1980s and 1990s, a Military Intelligence (MI) member said: "In 1989 there was a strategy of counter-revolution. What I saw in 1990 after the FW announcement, we were all in Kosi Bay, we all thought: this is it, fuck the kaffirs, this is the time to sort them out. That was the general situation in the security apparatus."
- 501 Similarly, some sections of the liberation movements, in particular its rank and file, continued waging war against the security forces and the IFP. While negotiations had always formed part of ANC strategy, for most members of the ANC and other liberation movements, this simply meant negotiation for the transfer of power. When negotiation assumed a completely different form, winning at the polls became inextricably linked with the often violent contest for support and power at a local level. The existence of Operation Vula, which became public with the detentions of Mr Mac Maharaj and others, the continued training of MK members in foreign countries, and above all the arming of SDUs reinforced perceptions that continued offensive strategies were a legitimate part of the ANC negotiation strategy, notwithstanding the public position of the ANC. The suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC was greeted with dismay by many rank and file members, occurring as it did in conditions of near civil war in many communities, particularly the PWV area and Natal.
- 502 In this context, the establishment of SDUs – although created to protect communities against attack in the face of a complete lack of confidence in the security forces – inevitably led to wide-scale abuse and, in many instances, operated not just defensively but offensively as well. This, as has been suggested, was exacerbated by the lack of clear lines of control and accountability. Further, SDU members were given very little training, either military or political. This made it almost inevitable that the effect of arming such groups would lead to violence –particularly in

areas that had already experienced violent conflict. In many respects, the training of SDU members was little different from the training of special constables in the 1980s, with similar consequences. While the IFP was clearly the main target of such offensive actions, the period also saw an increasing incidence of attacks on particularly black policemen. This in turn resulted in increased polarisation and reinforced security force perceptions that they continued to be engaged in a war.

503 Whether or not forces were fomenting conflict or violence in communities and among groups, one of the enduring legacies of the previous years was a high degree of political intolerance on all sides. While the creation of divisions had been central to the experience of colonial rule, the entire policy of apartheid was predicated on the maintenance of ethnic and other divisions. The policy of contra-mobilisation during the 1980s intensified this ethnic, generational, inter- and intra-organisational conflict. Thus, for example, the deepening of divisions between Inkatha and the UDF had been central to state policy from the mid-1980s. The experience of violent struggle during the 1980s and conditions of near siege in many communities during the emergency years had left a deep suspicion of those seen to be allies of state. These conditions resulted in many situations in open conflict, and at times became self-generating. In such situations, infiltration by the security forces made structures particularly vulnerable to those pursuing double agendas or acting as *agents provocateurs*. The examples of Mr Sifiso Nkabinde and Mr Michael Phama dealt with above are powerful examples.

504 On all sides of the divide, the rapidly changing political scenario also led to the development of groups of disaffected operatives. Again, the military intelligence operative quoted above commented:

At the time of the FW purge of the National Party, he took the foundation of the securocrats from beneath their feet. The securocrats felt insecure, they still deemed (even until today) the ANC was the enemy ... After the announcement in 1990 and the securocrats were caught unaware, they sat with the question, where to go now. Then individual commanders developed individual strategies ... The last resort lay with the far right. By train violence, taxi wars, Bolpatong, etc, can't we create anarchy?

505 In such instances, security force and ex-security force members sometimes connected with elements of the right-wing who displayed increasing determination, at best, to prevent the transition or, at the very least, to strengthen the bargaining position of those attempting to negotiate the establishment of a *volkstaat*.

506 The NP itself was sharply divided about the appropriate strategic direction and different agendas were pursued by different factions. Thus, until the signing of the Record of Understanding in 1992, the principal negotiators, under the leadership of Minister Gerrit Viljoen, closely followed a direction that was welded to the notion of an IFP/NP alliance. Others, if only tacitly, remained closer to the kind of security force perspective outlined above.

507 A further factor in understanding the violence of the 1990s is the extent to which covert action, the existence of large amounts of secret funds and a climate of unaccountability led to an increasingly criminalised set of networks between members and ex-members of the security forces. In such cases, considerable financial interests were clearly furthered by a destabilised political situation. There is considerable evidence of ex- and serving security force members engaged in, for example, gun-running, as well as a range of other criminal activities. To some degree, the same pattern of criminalisation and involvement in gun-running is evident on the liberation movement side. Thus, for example, the Commission received amnesty applications from members of APLA's 'Repo Unit' who applied for what appear to be largely criminal acts, as well as applications from SDU members involved in criminal activity. Such activity was partly a way of arming SDUs or APLA units, but there is evidence to suggest that, in some areas, criminal elements took over or got involved in SDUs. It is also clear that some impoverished disillusioned ex-guerrillas became involved in criminal networks.

508 Finally, the intensity and pace of the negotiations and the transition also resulted in rapidly shifting alliances between political parties – such as the IFP and the NP and later between the IFP and various right-wing groups. This made lines of command and accountability difficult to discern and identify.

509 These preliminary points need to be borne in mind when considering the evidence relating to a supposed 'third force'.

Evidence of security force involvement in 'third force' activities

510 As indicated above, there was a long tradition of waging an all out war on the ANC, and in particular MK, that did not cease in 1990. Three related factors about the way in which this war was waged have a bearing on the issue of security force involvement in third force activities: firstly, increasing resort to unlawful methods by the security forces; secondly, a consistent attempt to make use of other parties or surrogate forces; and thirdly the use of covert structures. While this was especially true of the mid- to late 1980s, the origins of approach lay earlier.

Unlawful methods

- 511 A number of examples can be given about the way in which significant sections of the security forces, with sanction from high up the chain of command, increasingly engaged in actions that involved transgressions of the law:
- 512 As indicated elsewhere, torture was widely and routinely used by the Security Branch from the early 1960s. That this practice was condoned is evident from the promotion of known torturers, the alleged involvement of ranking officers – including possibly two commissioners of police and a several heads of the Security Branch – and the ongoing refusal by responsible ministers or the cabinet to intervene, despite ongoing public pressure. This laid the basis for a culture of impunity among Security Branch officers.
- 513 Aside from torture, the security forces increasingly used unlawful methods in their intelligence-collecting process. An early example of this was provided by Major Craig Williamson, who was recruited by the ANC in the mid-1970s and set up an ANC cell consisting entirely of security police who were responsible for detonating pamphlet bombs.

Mr Williamson: *I never actually carried out any pamphlet bombs. I ordered them ... Basically, if the ANC told me to put up a pamphlet bomb, I'd say, OK I will do it, and three weeks later it happened and the ANC was very happy with them.*

Commission member: *Can you remember more or less when that was?*

Mr Williamson: *That was in 1976/77 ...*

Commission member: *So in that ANC cell that you set up after your trip, there was some genuine...?*

Mr Williamson: *No.*

Commission member: *You were all agents?*

Mr Williamson: *All agents, but it did not really exist. That cell was the Security Branch. I did not go out and recruit real ... I mean non-security force members to that; that was all security force. There were obviously people whom the ANC and other people met whom they did not know were security force members, but they were all security force members. The people who went to London to get detonators from Stephanie Kemp, pick up suitcases full of the propaganda material, they were police officers ... People who were arrested by the flying squad after setting off a pamphlet bomb*

were police officers. On one occasion the flying squad managed to detect and arrest [people who placed a] pamphlet bomb in the library gardens, and the people who were arrested were police officers which caused some ... They had to recruit the staff, the flying squad guys into the Security Branch to keep them quiet.'

514 Williamson was handled by General Johan Coetzee, later commissioner of police, who himself instructed other Security Branch members to investigate the pamphlet bombs. This *modus operandi* was developed with deadly effect during the 1980s and led to entrapment operations – in which security force personnel recruited, trained and, in some instances, armed activists before killing them – as well as arson and sabotage operations conducted by the Security Branch in order to boost the credibility of agents.

515 The killing of political opponents both inside and outside of South Africa, as was discussed earlier, was widely carried out by the mid-1980s, frequently with the authorisation or involvement of senior Security Branch personnel. Further, and importantly, it is clear from SSC documents that such actions were widely considered to be in line with state policy.

516 A further area of illegality concerned various STRATCOM projects and operations, again carried out with the knowledge of both senior security force personnel and politicians. Former Minister Vlok himself conceded in his evidence to the Commission:

It cannot be denied that certain STRATCOM conduct, or the consequences thereof in certain circumstances, could have been interpreted as unlawful or illegal. In this way I could have been part in an unconscious way of the taking of decisions which led to illegal conduct ... I'd like to say that I included that under STRATCOM conduct and operations which could have led to illegal actions ... It was illegal and unlawful.'

517 The security forces were widely involved in acts of arson and sabotage, not simply as part of credibility operations as suggested above, but as part of a policy of meeting violence with violence. The involvement of the highest political authority in the Khotso House bombing is an eloquent example of the extent to which breaking the law was seen to be both legitimate and authorised.

518 The above examples of sanctioned and, in some cases, authorised illegal activities were central in establishing a view, particularly amongst the police, that the

security forces could use all measures at their disposal, even if they transgressed the law in so doing. This view was underpinned by the notion that the security forces were engaged in a counter-revolutionary war and that in war the same civilian norms and laws do not apply.

- 519 The wide-ranging indemnity provisions of the Criminal Procedure Act were extended even further during the state of emergency in the mid-1980s, giving the security forces greater license. Moreover, the security forces were repeatedly involved in a long line of cover-ups of illegal or unlawful activity. This is evident, for example, in evidence given to inquests and trials in relation to torture and killings which again, in cases such as that of Stanza Bopape, reached the highest echelons of the police. There is no evidence to suggest that this practice was halted during the 1990s. The Harms Commission is a significant example of this: not only were witnesses instructed by their seniors to lie, but the Harms Commission failed to deter them from embarking on further operations.
- 520 The March 1994 Goldstone report on the criminal activities of the SAP, KZP and IFP provides further compelling evidence of senior police officers attempting to subvert a government-appointed commission of enquiry. According to the report, senior members of the SAP repeatedly approached police officers associated with the Goldstone Commission during the course of the investigation, in ways that could only be construed as obstructive. Further, once the police became aware of Goldstone's interest in false passports, persons in possession of such passports were requested to bring them in for destruction. Similarly, Goldstone investigators learnt that Major General Engelbrecht, head of C section, had ordered the destruction of all documentation relating to the SAP's involvement with Inkatha.
- 521 The fact that such cover-ups involved senior officers and continued well into the 1990s reflects the extent to which such groups saw them as an essential, but intensified, extension of the *modus operandi* developed in previous periods. In such a context, the impression must have been conveyed to more junior members of such structures that, despite negotiations, they were still at war and could make use of whatever means they had at their disposal, if not to rout, then at least to weaken 'the enemy.' The continued practice, in SADF operational commands, of referring to the ANC as 'the enemy' only underlines this point.

Surrogate forces

- 522 Evidence has shown that, through contra-mobilisation, the notion of 'strategic communication' (STRATCOM) or 'communications operations' (COMOPS) was extended to include the establishment or covert support of groups opposed to the mass movements and the ANC. The covert nature of such support and the evidence that such individuals and groups were directly involved in violence takes this strategy way beyond legitimate political mobilisation, representing a direct intervention into communities. As with elimination, this policy is reflected in documents of the SSC where there is frequent reference to the '*uitbuiting*' (exploitation) of divisions within organisations and communities.
- 523 Of particular relevance in the 1990s is a previous history of encouraging divisions between Inkatha and the UDF. What is important to note is that this covert policy of encouraging and fomenting such divisions predates the outbreak of violent conflict in Natal and that, when the conflict assumed violent proportions, this was simply noted and no attempt was made to change the overall strategy. This indicates, at the very least, that this was regarded as acceptable, possibly even desirable. *Operation Marion* and the Caprivi training must thus be seen in the context of this overall State Security Council policy. A similar strategy was reflected in *Operation Katzen* and support for vigilante groups. Covert support for anti-UDF/ANC groupings was well established by the 1990 and was seen as legitimate and authorised. This support led to the development of links between individual security force operatives and conservative individuals at a local level, providing a basis for ongoing destabilisation on the ground. The connection between this strategy and the violence in the 1990s is obvious. Indeed, support for Inkatha continued into the 1990s. It is thus not surprising that security force members believed that it was legitimate to provide support, including arms, to Inkatha, or to seek to protect and foster IFP-linked forces when policing violence-torn communities.

Covert structures and activities

- 524 It is also important to stress that the kind of activity outlined above was largely conducted by covert structures. The establishment of covert structures – covert precisely in order to obscure the link to the state – is central to this period. In the early years, the development of covert structures centred largely around two main arenas – propaganda (as is evidenced by the 'Info' or 'Muldergate' scandal) and sanctions busting.

- 525 Indeed, the 1980s saw an extensive proliferation of covert structures and front companies specifically designed to obscure links to the state. Thus, for example, the entire CCB operation was run via front companies, employing operatives who formally resigned from the SADF and SAP. A significant number of operatives remained in the 'security business' by establishing security companies, a cover that legitimately allowed them to have arms and to employ people with military or police training.
- 526 This process of 'privatisation of the security forces' relied to a large degree on a decentralisation of lines of command and control. Thus, on the one hand, the state increasingly emphasised the importance of centralisation and co-ordination – indeed, the notion of a 'Total Strategy' increasingly drew non-security departments and personnel into the ambit of tightly co-ordinated security policy. On the other hand, and in seeming contradiction, the increasing reliance on covert structures and methods demanded an increasing separation and decentralisation from such co-ordinated structures. In fact, the two processes were linked: joint structures frequently included non-security force members, necessitating a set of structures where more sensitive decisions and operations could be taken and planned. The central requirement of the covert structures was that the link to the state should at all times be untraceable. This meant operating in tight, but decentralised ways, and gave operatives a significant degree of discretion.
- 527 It needs also to be noted that there was a tendency in certain arenas for covert structures and operations to make use of criminal networks. Thus, for example, criminal elements were used as go-betweens, as intelligence sources or as operatives in sanctions-busting enterprises; in the smuggling of ivory used to finance UNITA; in procuring supplies and substances for the Chemical and Biological Warfare programme (described elsewhere in this volume); and by the CCB both in the collection of intelligence and in the execution of operations. The recruitment of people like Mr Ferdi Barnard, still in the employ of the SADF following the revelations of the Harms Commission, is an eloquent example of this practice.
- 528 The development of covert structures and practices also needs to be seen in the context of the increasing politicisation of South African intelligence structures in the mandate period. Each development is marked by a close relationship between security or intelligence agencies and politicians – the relationship of Mr Hendrik van den Bergh, and thus the Security Branch and BOSS, to Prime Minister BJ Vorster; the relationship of successive chiefs of staff intelligence to both Minister

Malan and President PW Botha; and the link between the NIS and President de Klerk. This had two effects. First, it had a tendency to lead to the politicisation of intelligence, with the effect that political agendas and demands skewed intelligence assessments. As a former deputy chief of staff intelligence put it: "There was an increasing tendency to tell the politicians what they wanted to hear." Second, it led, under each regime, to the development of a corps of intelligence and other operatives whose immense power was both derived from and dependent on senior politicians, and who were charged with the responsibility of protecting the state at all costs, even if this included unlawful action. In this context, the notion of 'plausible deniability' combined with a culture of covering up illegal actions proved a lethal cocktail and gave certain sectors of the security forces *carte blanche* to engage in operations that were clearly dubious.

529 While covert companies and operations at an official level ran more or less independently of each other, they were bound together by a network of operatives, many of whom had shared significant operational experience over a lengthy period of time. One of the important arenas in which such networks developed was among those who had spent time engaged in operations in the Western Front (Namibia and Angola), and, for many, Rhodesia (the Eastern Front). Throughout the 1980s, key military and Security Branch positions inside South Africa were occupied by personnel who had served time on the Western Front. For example, by the end of the 1980s, staff in key posts in the SADF such as chief of the SADF (JJ Geldenhuys), chief of the army (Kat Liebenberg), officer commanding Special Forces (Joep Joubert then Eddie Webb), chief of staff intelligence and many of the officers commanding of the territorial commands had emerged from the war in Namibia/Angola. Similarly, ranking Security Branch officers such as head of C section (Willem Schoon), officers commanding divisional Security Branch offices (Cronjé – Northern Transvaal) as well as all virtually every commander of Vlakplaas had spent time in Rhodesia and/or then South West Africa.

530 Such networks frequently drew police and military together and involved both high-ranking and lower-ranking operatives. For example, Willem Schoon, head of C section of the Security Branch, had spent time in Namibia, where he got to know Joep Joubert who, by the mid-1980s was head of Special Forces. Joubert was responsible in the mid-1980s for drafting a plan whereby Special Force operatives were seconded to key Security Branch offices. A central component of this plan was the killing of political opponents.

- 531 The Steyn staff report notes that new recruits were drawn into such networks, and those who conformed tended to be promoted – creating a self-generating and self-perpetuating cycle. This set of networks, deepened by joint involvement in covert operations that increasingly involved unlawful activity and involving very high-ranking personnel, increasingly led to the development of what can be termed an ‘unofficial official command structure’. An example of such a structure is given in a memo by the surgeon general in relation to the Chemical and Biological Warfare programme. He refers to the existence of two command structures – the official one and ‘an informal official system’ that operated directly from an authorising structure via Basson to groups executing decisions. From a reading of amnesty applications, section 29 enquiries, interviews and intelligence reports, it is clear that such ‘informal official’ chains of command existed more broadly, and were central to security strategy in the mid- to late 1980s. Further, as the staff report indicates, dubious and illegal activities had been so successfully woven into authorised and official operations that it was difficult to distinguish between the two, or at what level authorisation began and ended.
- 532 The placing and promotion of personnel linked into such structures led the Commission to believe that those in charge of the security forces were well aware of their existence and effectiveness. Again, the Steyn staff report notes that those in command were either personally involved or, if they were exercising effective command, knew what their operatives were involved in. Given the seniority of a number of perpetrators, the Commission rejects the argument put forward by the NP that violations were committed by a handful of rogue elements or ‘bad apples.’ The fact that some incidents involved the commanding officers of the security forces and appeared to lead, at least in the Khotso House bombings, to cabinet and the State President himself, makes such an explanation unacceptable.

Namibian elections

- 533 For many, the acceptance of UN Resolution 435 and the ensuing elections provided a dry run for the elections in South Africa. All efforts were thrown into reducing the SWAPO vote – with considerable success given the time frame. To this purpose, some R180 million was made available for operations *Victor* and *Agree*. These operations included providing extensive infrastructure for the DTA, the South African government’s alternative to SWAPO, conducting an extensive disinformation campaign, and embarking on campaigns to intimidate voters, disrupt meetings and so forth. It seems that some of this money also went towards the funding of a right-wing group, *Aksie Kontra 435*, involving people such as Mr Horst

Klenz, Mr Leonard Veenendal and Mr Darryl Stopforth, who undertook sabotage actions. According to CCB intelligence officer Chris Nel, the entire resource base of the CCB was used in Namibia. CCB operatives from all regions were deployed in Namibia and were offered production bonuses. Aside from the Lubowski assassination, the Commission is aware of at least two other assassination plans – that of Mr Daniel Tjongarero and Ms Gwen Lister.

- 534 With the elections over, most of these operatives returned to South Africa together with the rest of the South African military machine. The SADF representative to the Co-ordinating Intelligence Committee (KIK) raised the need for the KIK to develop a similar plan for South Africa's transition. Moreover, throughout the period of the war and following South Africa's final withdrawal from Namibia, at no stage did the security forces engage in any processes of demobilisation and re-integration of its members into a non-war situation. To all intents and purposes, then, operatives and soldiers moved from one theatre of war to another.
- 535 The Namibian strategy had its roots in an earlier high-level discussion of security force generals, intelligence personnel and SSC functionaries in October 1985 regarding the question of a settlement with the ANC. While there were dissenting views, the general thrust was that some form of settlement was unavoidable in the long term, but that every effort should be made to weaken the ANC and destroy its revolutionary potential. In the words of General Groenewald, *"Jy kan dus slegs uit 'n posisie van krag onderhandel. Onderhandel ons met die ANC met die doel om hom te elimineer, is dit aanvaarbaar. Onderhandel ons met die doel om hom te akkommodeer, is dit onaanvaarbaar."* (You can thus only negotiate from a position of power. If we negotiate with the ANC with the purpose of eliminating it, that is acceptable. If we negotiate with the purpose of accommodating it, that is unacceptable.) There is nothing to indicate that this view ever changed. The handling of the Namibian elections would tend to indicate that this remained the dominant perspective.
- 537 By the 1990s, then, a clear pattern of security force conduct had emerged that crossed the boundaries of legality and was condoned and in some instances encouraged as part of state policy. A network of security force operatives, bound by blood and secrecy, had emerged, with informal channels of communication and in possession of, or with access to, material resources and weaponry. While the new De Klerk government significantly dismantled many of the formal securocrat structures, little obvious attempt was made to dismantle these networks or to change the mindset of operatives intent on continuing an all-out war on the ANC

and its allies. Indeed, where efforts were directed at uncovering such networks – as with the establishment of the Harms Commission – security force personnel were instructed by their seniors to lie, sending a clear signal that these were simply public relations initiatives and that they were not intended to change the status quo. The fact that Vlakplaas personnel continued with unlawful activities at the very time that the Harms Commission was sitting is clear testimony to this. Given this background, it is unsurprising that evidence should emerge of security force involvement in the violence and destabilisation of the 1990s.

537 Clear evidence of security force involvement in the following issues has been confirmed:

- The provision of weapons and training to the IFP by members of the security forces, and thus by implication, involvement in the violence in the PWV and KwaZulu/Natal regions. It is notable that this continued after the exposure of government financial support to the IFP.
- The cover-up after the arrest of Mr Themba Khoza with weapons on the scene of the Sebokeng massacre and thus, by implication, involvement in the massacre itself.
- The involvement by MI operatives and structures in the destabilisation of the homelands, including the development of a plan to invade Transkei.
- A official plan by MI to abduct and/or assassinate Mr Chris Hani and Mr Bantu Holomisa in Transkei.
- The existence of SAP hit squads that continued to be engaged in killings.
- Continued efforts to conduct disinformation campaigns against the liberation movements generally and against particular individuals. Examples include *Project Echoes*, a South African army intelligence (GS2) project which sought to generate disinformation about MK, and a strategic communications project which targeted Ms Winnie Mandela.
- The running of high-level sources such as Mr Sifiso Nkabinde and Mr David Ntombela, who were deeply implicated in violence in the Richmond area.

538 In addition, some evidence exists regarding:

- The involvement of security force operatives in train violence.
- Involvement of security forces in right-wing agendas and structures, possibly including the establishment of some right-wing groupings. While the security

forces indicate that this was for the purposes of intelligence-gathering, the case of Mr Leonard Veenendal shows a continued and disturbing blurring of intelligence and operational lines.

- The involvement of Mr Prince Gobinca as a key player in several sites of violence in the western and eastern Cape. This includes his involvement in the Western Cape United Squatters Association (WECUSA) and his involvement in deploying an ANC SDU in violence locally as well as for the ADM in Ciskei. The Commission found Mr Gobinca to have links with both MI and the Security Branch, and found extensive involvement of MI in the ADM.
- The existence of alliances between certain security force operatives, the right wing and sectors of the IFP who clearly believed they were arming and training people for a full-scale war.

539 It should perhaps be noted that, in the Port Elizabeth area, the security forces seem broadly to have accepted the move towards a negotiated transition and, as is borne out by official police documentation, appear to have developed a working relationship with local ANC leaders. It is noteworthy that, in the one area where such a working relationship developed, 'third force' violence did not manifest itself. The fact that the Port Elizabeth area had previously always been at the cutting edge of conflict between security forces and resistance movements merely underlines this point.

540 Beyond the specific violations and arenas of violence, a major issue the Commission was unable to determine was the degree to which the involvement of security force operations was part of government strategy at the time. As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, the position of the ANC and a number of other structures was that the NP was pursuing a twin-track strategy of publicly negotiating while continuing to wage war against the ANC.

541 The position of the NP, on the other hand, was that President de Klerk and his government did everything in their power to put an end to such violence and that, at every point that allegations were made, an attempt was made to investigate them. In this regard, the Harms Commission (1990), the Kahn Commission, the Goldstone Commission (1990) and the Steyn investigation (1992) are seen to represent a willingness to investigate such allegations.

542 While the Commission commends such efforts on the part of former President De Klerk, a number of factors continue to cast doubt on the integrity of such efforts. These include:

- a Appointment of personnel: In 1989, Tim McNally, the Attorney-General of the OFS was appointed to investigate the allegations made by Almond Nofemela, Dirk Coetzee and David Tshikilange that a 'death squad' existed at Vlakplaas. Despite having concluded that there was no substance to these allegations, McNally was appointed as counsel for the Harms Commission, whose mandate was to determine precisely what McNally had already dismissed. Further, his investigative team was comprised of police officers. The Commission is of the opinion that these appointments were inappropriate.

Similarly, with regard to the Steyn investigation, while the Commission acknowledges former President de Klerk's reasons for believing that an SADF appointee would have better access to and knowledge of the area he was investigating, to all intents and purposes this appointment meant that the SADF was investigating itself. The Commission is of the belief that, at the very least, independent and non-security force personnel should have been appointed alongside General Steyn in the interests of transparency.

- b Limited mandates: All the above commissions and investigations were severely hampered by the limited mandate they were given. Despite allegations of security force involvement in numerous cross-border assassinations, the mandate of the Harms Commission was confined to South Africa. Thus, although that Commission spent a substantial portion of its time investigating the activities of the CCB, considerable areas remained unscrutinised because the CCB consisted predominantly of external regions.

Similarly, Professor Ellison Kahn's terms of reference were so narrowly defined that he did not have the authority and mandate to initiate and/or engage in proactive investigation, but had to rely on the willingness of the security forces to furnish him with such reports. This meant that the security forces retained the discretion to determine which secret projects they should report on.

- c Follow-up action and investigations: The Commission notes that, while Judge Harms identified some security force personnel as having committed perjury in their evidence, no prosecutions followed.

The Commission has noted that former President de Klerk appeared to take no heed of General Steyn's repeated pleas for a co-ordinated and thorough-

going investigation of the allegations contained in the staff report. Moreover, despite the fact that significant allegations about the role of police structures such as Vlakplaas emerged during the course of General Steyn's investigation, there was no attempt to institute a broad-ranging enquiry. In the interest of conveying a public and determined intent to uproot dubious practices, the Commission submits that the decision to pass piecemeal allegations to the Attorney-General, the Office for Serious Economic Offences and the Goldstone Commission, was a short-sighted one. Mr de Klerk chose to appoint three generals who had themselves been seriously implicated in the Steyn investigation to make recommendations about follow-up action. This constituted a serious error of judgement.

- 543 The Commission thus finds that, commendable such initiatives may have been, they were largely ineffectual in rooting out the modus operandi and thinking that had developed during the previous period or, crucially, dismantling the associated 'informal official' networks. This criticism needs to be weighed against the rejoinder that President de Klerk's capacity to intervene in this arena was limited owing to the fact that he lacked a security force background, and that his actions were further constrained by the extraordinarily difficult task of ensuring that the security forces as a whole continued to support the transition, and did not turn towards a military rather than a political solution. Significant role-players continue to believe that the threat of a coup was a real one, and while the SADF as a whole never presented a threat and supported political and constitutional processes, individuals within it, and even sections of the security forces, may well have opted for a violent resolution. It needs to be noted that, while such a coup never materialised, the above confirms that there were indeed those who opted for violence.
- 544 Aside from the failure of such commissions to root out illegal and unauthorised activities, there are other worrying factors about the NP's response to the violence enveloping South Africa. While some security force involvement in dubious agendas of violence is apparent, and sufficient evidence of this was already within the public domain, at no stage did the NP concede that sectors of its security forces were out of its control. More than this, despite the fact that former President de Klerk was aware that his commissioner of police had been involved in illegal activity regarding the bombing of Khotso House, he continued to retain his position as the most senior policeman in the country. Similarly, despite allegations emerging from the Steyn investigation relating to the chief of the defence force and the chief of the army – the two most senior defence portfolios – former President de Klerk assigned them to the task of deciding what action should be taken against those implicated by the investigation.

- 545 While former President de Klerk may well have been constrained by the delicate balance within the security forces and a fear that firmer action could lead to a schism between the NP's negotiation agenda and disgruntled security force members, the Commission notes that no such constraint applied at the time that former President de Klerk made his submission to this Commission. De Klerk made no attempt to take the Commission into his confidence and to explain the very real dilemmas and difficulties that he faced at the time.
- 546 It was precisely this seeming unwillingness to take more significant action against individual security force members and structures that led to a public perception that the violence, if not part of an NP agenda, was in some way in its interest. The violence directed against black communities was seen to hurt the ANC the most, in that its support base began to lose confidence in its leadership's capacity to defend them. The Commission has no doubt that, had white communities experienced a fraction of what their black counterparts were experiencing, there would have been an infinitely more robust effort to bring an end to the violence. Thus, for example, in the Commission's hearing on the Seven Day War, a senior police official was asked: "If the violence on that scale had happened in a white area, you wouldn't have tolerated that at all, surely?" His response was: "During those times, more than likely no, we wouldn't".
- 547 There is also circumstantial evidence to suggest that the signing of the Record of Understanding led to a fall in the rate of random and anonymous attacks associated with 'third force' violence. It has been suggested that by this stage there was a real possibility that violence could become uncontrollable and lead to civil war. This was demonstrated most clearly by the events in Boipatong and the violent reaction to Mr de Klerk's attempt to visit the area. Further, the escalation of violence was beginning to threaten the NP itself as, locally and internationally, it was increasingly suggested that the government had lost control. According to this argument, the Record of Understanding is widely seen to have represented a significant shift in NP strategy, marked by an end to its close alliance with the IFP and an increasing convergence with ANC interests – at least in terms of effecting a transition to democracy. To some degree this argument is borne out by statistics, which demonstrate a shift in patterns of violence.
- 548 This shift in strategic direction also meant an increasing convergence between the right-wing/IFP and security force agenda. In this respect, there is some evidence that right-wing structures were funding by MI (see above), raising the suspicion that violence was encouraged by forces and/or structures of the state, but in a

way that could not be associated directly with the governing party. The Commission was unable to establish conclusively whether there is any substance to this.

549 Thus, while the involvement of security force individuals and structures in 'third force' violence was to some degree corroborated, lines of command and accountability, were not established. It is not clear whether senior security force personnel so involved represented their own, state or right-wing agendas. In a rapidly changing political situation with shifting alliances, is probable that there were several agendas involved.

550 At the same time, levels of political intolerance were extremely high and, indeed, little instigation was required to generate self-perpetuating cycles of violence.

551 In conclusion, the Commission did not make significant progress in uncovering the forces behind the violence in the 1990s. In view of the extent to which violence continued beyond 1994 and ongoing allegations about sinister forces, the Commission recommends further investigation in the following areas:

- A comprehensive review of intelligence practices. The former government's encouragement of covert practices led to a serious lack of accountability. Moreover, the liberation movements themselves were forced to act in a clandestine way. In order to develop a new ethic among the security forces, it is imperative that the intelligence culture be subjected to intensive review.
- An investigation into front companies. The private security industry in particular needs intensive scrutiny, as security companies frequently provided a cover for security force operatives.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, WHILE THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE OF A CENTRALLY DIRECTED, COHERENT OR FORMALLY CONSTITUTED 'THIRD FORCE', A NETWORK OF SECURITY AND EX-SECURITY FORCE OPERATIVES, ACTING FREQUENTLY IN CONJUNCTION WITH RIGHT-WING ELEMENTS AND/OR SECTORS OF THE IFP, WERE INVOLVED IN ACTIONS THAT COULD BE CONSTRUED AS FOMENTING VIOLENCE AND WHICH RESULTED IN GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING RANDOM AND TARGETED KILLINGS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, DURING THE 1980S, SUCH NETWORKS ESTABLISHED 'PARTNERSHIPS' WITH PRO-GOVERNMENT INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS AT A LOCAL LEVEL WHO THEN ACTED IN CONCERT TO PERPETRATE SUCH VIOLATIONS. FURTHER THAT THE SANCTION OF ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES BY SECURITY FORCE OPERATIVES DURING THE 1980S PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR THEIR CONTINUATION IN THE 1990S.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT SUCH NETWORKS FUNCTIONED AT TIMES WITH THE ACTIVE COLLUSION AND/OR KNOWLEDGE OF SENIOR SECURITY FORCE PERSONNEL, AND THAT THE FORMER GOVERNMENT, EITHER DELIBERATELY OR BY OMISSION, FAILED TO TAKE SUFFICIENT STEPS TO PUT AN END TO SUCH PRACTICES.


THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SUCCESS OF 'THIRD FORCE' ATTEMPTS TO GENERATE VIOLENCE WAS AT LEAST IN PART A CONSEQUENCE OF EXTREMELY HIGH LEVELS OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE, FOR WHICH ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT ARE HELD TO BE MORALLY AND POLITICALLY ACCOUNTABLE.

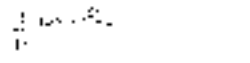
VOLUME THREE

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




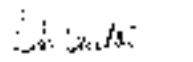
The report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was presented to President Nelson Mandela on 29 October 1998.

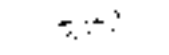

Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Chairperson



Ms Hlengiwe Mkhize


Dr Alex Boraine
Vice-Chairperson


Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza

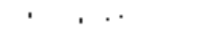

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Revd Bongani Finca


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Ms Sisi Khampepe

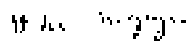

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Introduction to Regional Profiles

- 1 The regional profiles provide an overview of gross violations of human rights as they were reported to the Commission, in both chronological and thematic narrative. It was not possible to include every case brought to the Commission; rather the stories that illustrate particular events, trends and phenomena have been used as windows on the experiences of many people.
- 2 The primary sources for this report are the statements of individual deponents, as well as submissions by political parties, institutes and professional bodies. Reliance has also been placed on the transcripts of the hearings of the Commission – both human rights violations hearings and amnesty hearings – and on the transcripts of *in camera* hearings. Documentation from Commission enquiries, such as police dockets, court transcripts, inquest findings, *post mortem* reports and so on have also been used.
- 3 In presenting these stories, background details have been used to situate the cases in their proper context. Hence, researchers and writers in the Commission have made use of secondary source material. The reports and publications of research institutes and monitoring bodies, both at home and abroad, have been extensively used. *Affidavits* collected for other enquiries and investigations have been used where they apply to the cases before the Commission. Published monographs, press reports and ‘unrest reports’ of the South African Police (SAP) have been extensively used.
- 4 Each regional profile is organised chronologically and divided into four distinct periods: 1960–1975, 1976–1982, 1983–1989 and 1990–1994. These periods correspond roughly with patterns of violations and shifts in the nature of resistance and repression in South Africa as identified from the evidence before the Commission.
- 5 Within each period, violations have largely been considered within one of two groups, namely ‘State and allied groupings’ and ‘Resistance and revolutionary groupings’. While many events and issues defy such divisions and indeed

demonstrate a close interaction of violations by each grouping, certain forms of violations were most strongly associated with a particular grouping.

- 6 'State and allied groupings' comprises reported violations associated with public order policing, detention and torture, covert actions of the security forces and contra-mobilisation. 'Resistance and revolutionary groupings' comprises, for the most part, violations perpetrated by such groupings, including attacks on 'collaborators', necklacings, armed actions and sabotage, inter-organisational conflict and so forth. Where the history of violations occurring in the mandate period of the Commission was not amenable to these categories (particularly in the 1990s – the years of political transition), a thematic approach has been used.
- 7 The evidence before the Commission reveals a complex interaction of events. It has been difficult to separate entirely the stories of victims from the stories of perpetrators. For this reason, there is an inevitable degree of overlap between the regional profiles and the chapters on perpetrators in Volume Two of the report.
- 8 Findings in the regional profiles focus mainly on events or issues that shaped the nature of gross human rights violations in each region. The regional profiles do not, on the whole, make findings on individual cases. Individual findings are to be found in the summary of statements given to the Commission. Because the findings on individual cases have a bearing on the applications for amnesty still pending, these will become available in full at an appropriate time during the continued work of the Amnesty Committee of the Commission. For the purposes of this report, a full list of the names of persons found by the Commission to be victims appears in Volume Five.
- 9 It should be emphasised that fuller versions of the profiles are available in the documentary archives of the Commission, as are the full transcripts and audio-visual recordings of all the public hearings convened by the Commission and the original versions of all statements and submissions made to the Commission. To facilitate easy retrieval of primary source material, the reference number for each individual case quoted in the profile has been included in brackets.
- 10 Finally, every attempt has been made to check and recheck the names published in these reports. If there are errors, please forgive us.

National Statistics

Introduction

- 11 The Human Rights Violations Committee gathered 21 296 statements during the course of its work. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) asked all South Africans who had suffered in the political conflicts of the past to come to the Commission and make a statement. In an attempt to reach all sectors of the community, especially those that were hostile to the Commission, it made special appeals through the media and through hearings to ensure that all voices were heard.
- 12 These statements were analysed by a team of data processors in each of the four offices, who then loaded the details of the violations onto a computerised data-base. These details included the names of the victims, the names of the alleged perpetrators, the date and place of the violation and a description of what happened. Violations reported in the Free State were recorded by the Durban office and the statistics for the two provinces are combined. Violations reported in Kwa-Zulu Natal account for the overwhelming majority. The table below shows the total amount of information gathered by each office:

Office	State-ments taken	Violations (gross and associated) ¹	Gross violations of human rights	Number of victims	Average victims per statement	Average violations per victim
Cape Town	1 780	4 267	3 122	2 350	1.3	1.8
Durban	10 292	19 383	16 803	14 207	1.4	1.4
East London	2 843	6 380	5 460	3 252	1.1	2.0
Johannesburg	6 381	16 666	11 550	8 941	1.4	1.9
Total	21 296	46 696	36 935	28 750	1.4	1.6

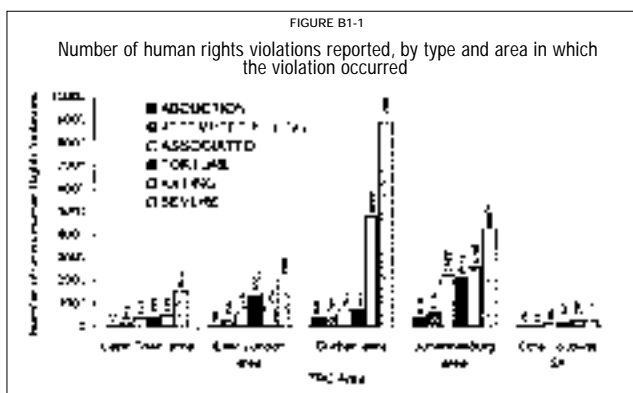
¹ Gross violations of human rights are: killings, torture, severe ill treatment and abduction. In addition, a number of violations were reported which did not fall into these categories. These were called 'associated violations' by the Commission.

- 13 It should be noted that a statement may describe more than one violation, and that a victim may have suffered more than one violation.² On average, 140 victims and 160 violations were mentioned in every 100 statements. In total, 46 696 violations involving 28 750 victims were reported to the Commission.
- 14 Note also that none of these figures includes information from the Amnesty Committee. The work of that committee is perpetrator-focused, and was far from complete at the time of reporting. This volume considers only the violations reported to the Human Rights Violations Committee.
- 15 After the details were captured, each statement was corroborated by the Investigative Unit and passed to the Human Rights Violations Committee, which made findings on the violations. The tables and analyses which follow are based on 37 942 violations reported by victims who were found by the Committee³ to have suffered a gross violation as defined in the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act. Of these violations, 33 713 are gross violations of human rights.

Types of violation

- 16 The figure below shows the numbers of violations in each category, grouped into the four areas covered by each regional office.

- 17 The greatest number of violations occurred in the area covered by the Durban office where 8 923 cases of severe ill treatment and 4 820 killings were reported. This is nearly double the number of violations from the area with the next highest figure – the area covered by the Johannesburg office – even though the population in the Durban office area (the old Natal and Orange Free State provinces and the KwaZulu homeland) is lower than that of the Johannesburg office area (the old Transvaal province). There were far more vio-



² See the appendix to the chapter on *Methodology* (in Volume One) which describes the information management system used by the Commission.

³ At the time of reporting, many cases had not been finalised by the Human Rights Violations Committee, either because deponents had been given an opportunity to provide more documentation, or because the cases are still under review. The complete list of findings will be finalised and published in a later volume. They have been included in this analysis for completeness.

lations of human rights in the area covered by the Durban office, both absolutely and proportionally. As we shall see, the bulk of these violations occurred in the 1990–1994 period.

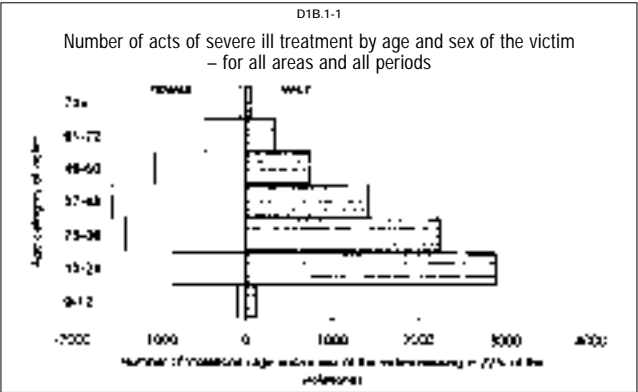
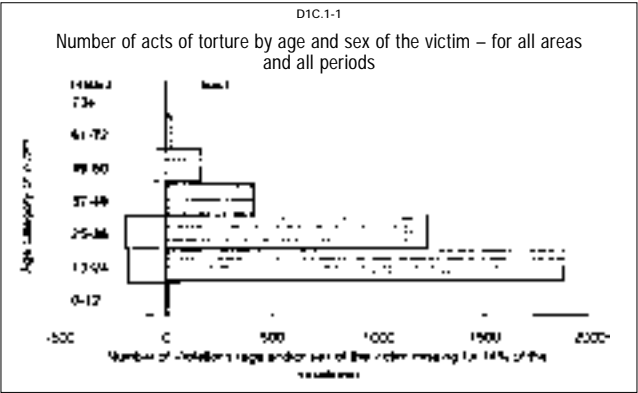
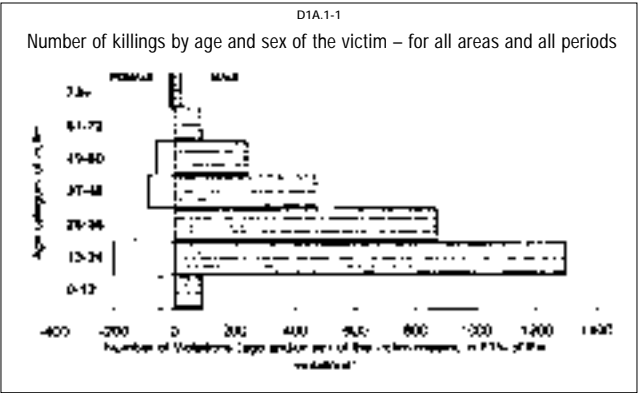
Victim profile

18 The three figures on the right show the age and sex profiles of the victims, for the three categories named killings, severe ill treatment and torture. Each figure has a bar representing the number of violations in each age group⁴, with female victims shown on the left and males on the right.

19 Overwhelmingly, it was men who were killed in the conflicts of the past, and the vast majority of those men were aged between 13 and 36. Many women died too, and again, the majority of women who died were aged between 13 and 36.

20 The pattern for torture is similar. Most victims of torture were young adults, mostly men.

21 A different picture emerges for severe ill treatment. Although men are still in the majority, the number of cases of severe ill treatment involving women is much



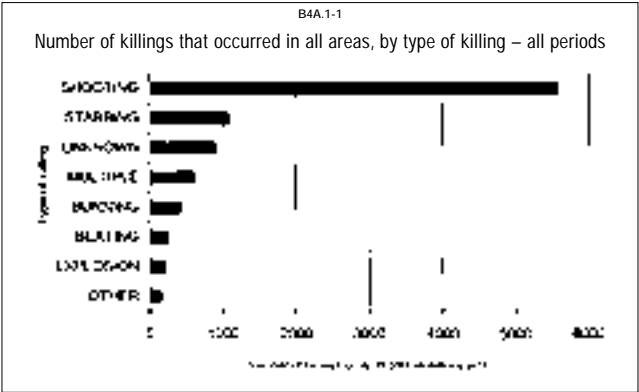
4 The ages are divided equally into twelve-year age groupings.

greater than that of women being killed or tortured. The age pattern is different too. Of the men, it is still mostly younger men who suffered severe ill treatment, but of the women, it is older women, particularly those aged 37–48.

Nature of the violations

22 To make sense of these patterns, it is necessary to look at what sort of violations fall into each category (what constitutes severe ill treatment, for example). Each of the categories of human rights violations was broken up into sub-headings⁵, so a clearer picture emerges from a more detailed look at the violations. These charts show the top eight sub-types of each human rights violation category, starting with killings⁶:

23 Of the killings, the greatest number was by shooting; the next most common was stabbing. The number of unknown causes of death is very high, either because the



deponent did not specify details or because inquest documents or police reports were inadequate. Death by multiple causes is very common; usually a consequence of victims being shot, stabbed and/or burnt at the same time.

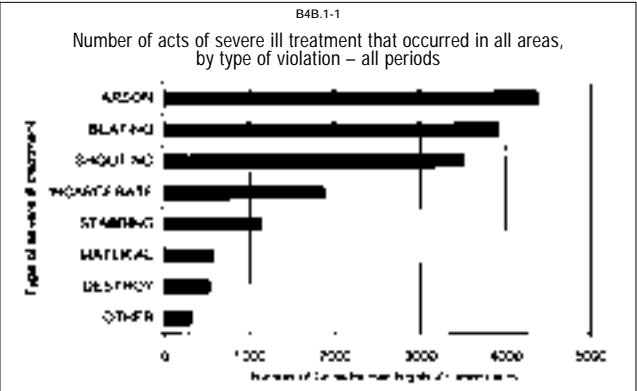
24 The large number of deaths by burning is mainly a consequence of the number of arson attacks. Note that burning does not include what was known as ‘necklacing’⁷. Necklacing was categorised separately from burning, and was the tenth most common cause of death, at seventy-one instances.

5 See appendix 2 to *Analysis of Human Rights Violations* in Volume 5 for the coding frame, which provides a complete list of the definitions used.

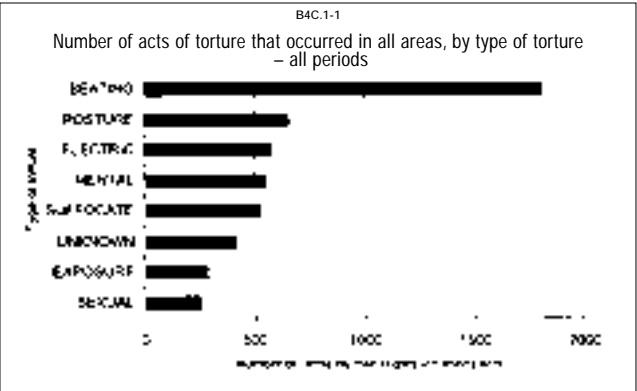
6 In all charts of this type, only the top eight categories are shown, for brevity.

7 ‘Necklacing’ refers to the practice of placing a car tyre around the neck of a victim and setting it alight.

25 Destruction or loss of material goods is the most common type of severe ill treatment, taking the form of arson, destruction of property and material loss. This was followed by injuries to the individual by means of shooting and beating. There were over 1 800 instances of incarceration under conditions which amounted to severe ill treatment.



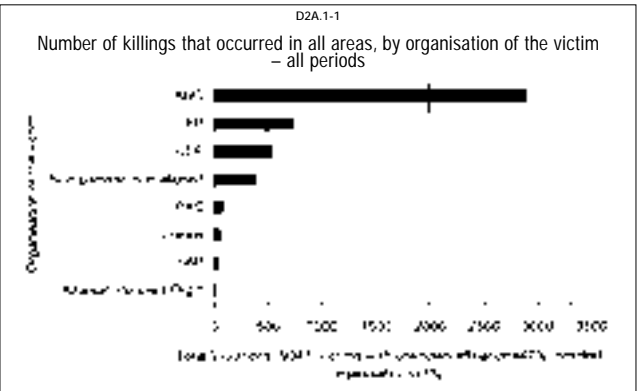
26 Over 2 900 people reported 5 002 instances of torture, the most common of which was by beating. More than 2 000 instances of deliberate methods of torture, such as being forced into painful postures, electric shocks, suffocation or mental torture were reported.



Victim organisations

27 In terms of its mandate, the Commission was obliged to examine the conflicts of the past in a political context, so political allegiance is an important factor to consider when looking at the trends and patterns of the violence.

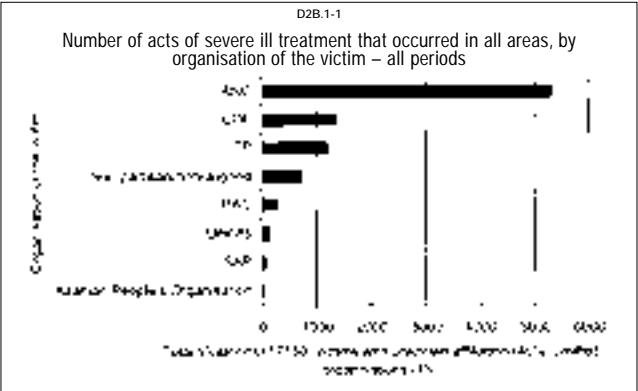
28 Deponents were asked to specify the victim's organisational membership. Many people did not reply; many did not belong to a specific organisation and many deponents did not know



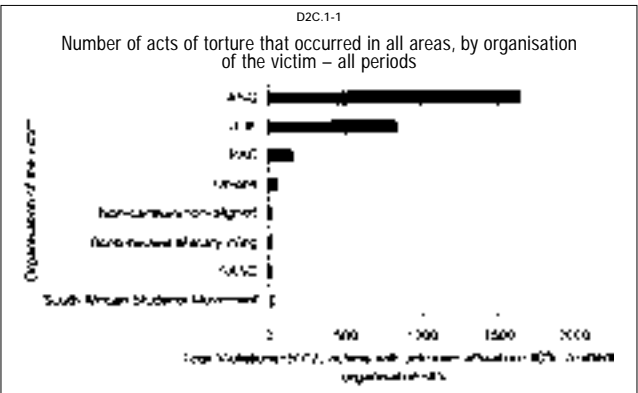
whether the victim belonged to an organisation. The results of those who *did* reply are shown below, starting with the killings:

29 Of the top eight organisations, African National Congress (ANC) members were overwhelmingly the majority of those killed. Nearly four times as many ANC members died as did those in the next largest category, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members. United Democratic Front (UDF) members were the third largest category of those who died.

30 A similar pattern emerges for cases of severe ill treatment, with ANC, UDF and IFP members experiencing the most violations. As with killings, members of the South African Police (SAP) suffered very few violations in comparison with the others.

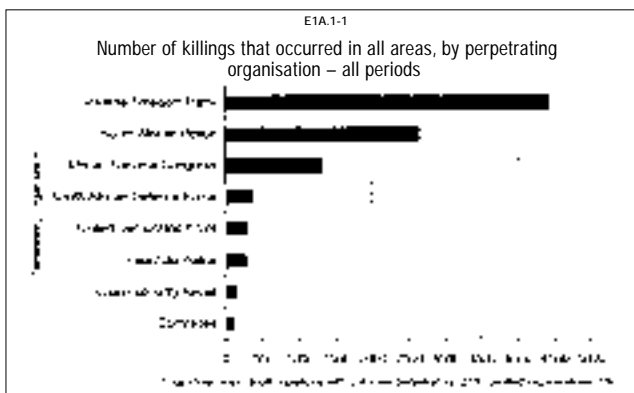


31 The pattern of torture is different. No IFP members were reported to have been tortured, nor were members of the state security forces. The vast bulk of torture incidents involved members of the ANC, UDF and PAC.



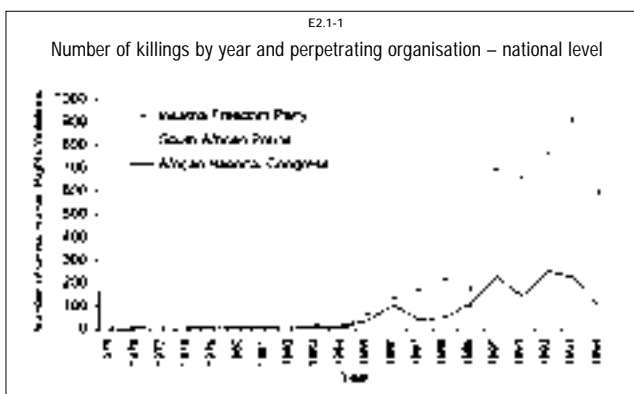
Perpetrator organisations

32 The picture is not complete without looking at the alleged organisational allegiance of the perpetrators. Deponents were asked about the organisation to which they thought the perpetrators belonged. The top eight responses for instances involving killings were as follows: ►



33 The number of violations allegedly committed by the IFP dominates the graph, with the SAP and the ANC showing the second and third highest numbers of alleged violations.

These figures show the total number of killings over the whole period, but different organisations were allegedly active at different times. The chart below shows how the alleged violations by the top three organisations changed over time: ►



34 The chart shows how the killings allegedly committed by the SAP feature during all periods⁸, with peaks in

1976 (the Soweto uprising), 1985 to 1987 (states of emergency) and 1990 (the unbanning of organisations), followed by a steady decrease in killings during the 1990s.

35 Killings attributed to the ANC⁹ peak in 1986, a year after the peak of SAP killings, and then increase steadily during the 1990s after a lull in the late 1980s.

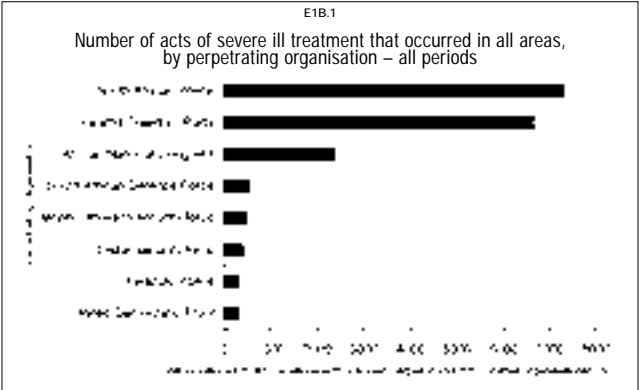
36 Killings attributed to the IFP start increasing at the same time as those of the ANC in 1986, and carry on increasing during the late 1980s, at a time when the

⁸ The chart starts in 1975, not 1960, because fewer killings were reported from the early periods (1960 – 1975) compared to the later periods.

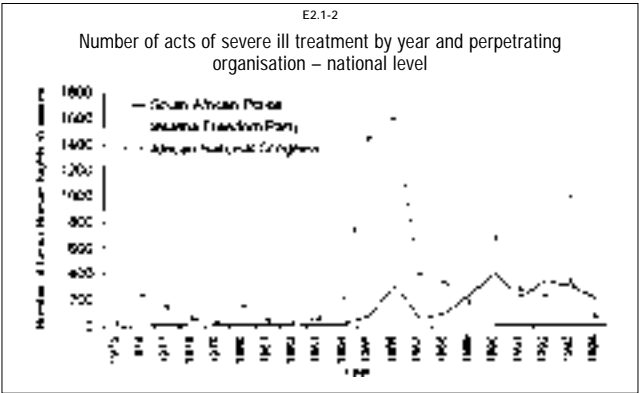
⁹ Note that the large numbers of allegations against the ANC during the 1980s were made at a time when the ANC was still banned. This is partly reflecting activities by Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), but is also due to a perceived continuity of interest between the so-called 'comrades', the UDF and the ANC.

alleged violations of the SAP and ANC experienced a comparative lull. There is a steep increase after the unbanning of the ANC, reaching an all-time high in 1993.

- 37 The patterns of severe ill treatment are similar to those of killings, with the SAP, IFP and ANC at the top of the list of alleged violations: ►



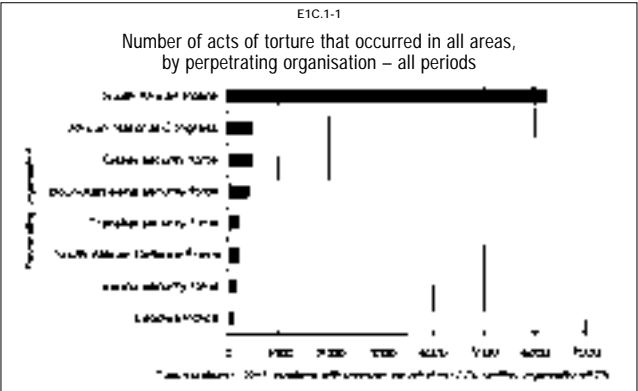
- 38 The greatest number of instances of severe ill treatment are attributed to the SAP, followed by the IFP, with over 7 000 alleged violations each, followed by the ANC with over 2 000. Again, the pattern is different at different periods of history, and matches the pattern of alleged killings closely: ►



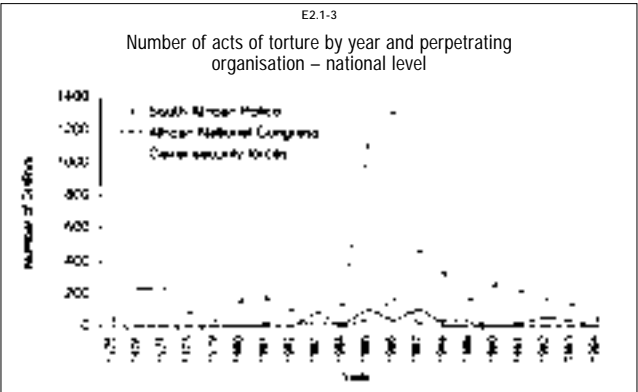
- 39 There is a peak of severe ill treatment violations allegedly committed by the SAP in 1976, followed by a great increase in 1985 and 1986 during the states of emergency, then a lull followed by another peak in 1990, and then a steady decrease from that peak during the 1990s.
- 40 Violence attributed to the ANC peaks in 1986, then drops, after which it increases to another peak in 1990 and then remains relatively constant during the 1990s.
- 41 Violations attributed to the IFP show an increase in 1985, a steady rise all through the late 1980s, and then a steep increase in 1990, followed by two more increases during the early 1990s.
- 42 The pattern of torture, however, is quite different. Torture differs from severe ill treatment in two important ways – it consists of systematic abuse and it occurs

in places of confinement. The victim cannot escape and nobody other than the perpetrator has access to the victim. The eight organisations who top the number of allegations of torture are: ►

43 Overwhelmingly it is the police who allegedly tortured. The only organisation in the top eight which is not a state-controlled body is the ANC.



44 Looking at the pattern of alleged torture by the top three organisations over time shows that it was at its worst during the states of emergency: ►



45 During all periods, the most instances of torture were attributed to the SAP, with steep peaks during the states of emergency, followed by a steady decline from this high during the late 1980s and early 1990s. The instances of alleged ANC torture are clustered in 1986 and then tail off. The third group allegedly involved in torture, the Ciskei security forces, show three small peaks – in 1985, 1987 and 1992.

■ APPENDIX

National Chronology

This chronology focuses primarily on the mandate period of the Commission, while referring to some significant events which helped shape the years 1960 to 1994. It includes events that are essentially of national significance, and a limited number of events that are of regional significance. In selecting these entries from more detailed regional chronologies, which form part of the Commission's records in the National Archives, an attempt is made to capture the unfolding drama of the South African conflict. The chronology should be consulted in relation to the chapter on *Historical Context* as well as volumes 2 and 3, which address national and regional events in narrative form.

1899	The South African War between Britain and the Boer Republics ends with British victory in 1902.
1910	Union of South Africa comes into being.
1912	South African Native National Congress or SANNC (later African National Congress or ANC) is founded.
1913	The Natives' Land Act prescribes that no African person be allowed to own land outside designated reserves (approximately 7% of the land is allocated for African people, subsequently increased in 1936 to 13%).
1914	National Party is founded.
1916	Native Affairs Administration Bill confirms segregation.
1918	Formation of Afrikaner Broederbond.
1919	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) is founded by Clements Kadalie.
1920	The Native Affairs Act creates separate administrative structures for people in African reserves. South Africa is granted a League of Nations mandate over South West Africa.
1921	Members of the Israelites, an African religious sect, are gunned down by police at Bulhoek in the Eastern Cape.
1922	The Bondelswarts rebellion crushed in South West Africa. The Rand revolt begins. 214 lives are lost as the strike is crushed.
1923	The Natives (Urban Areas) Act extends segregation to towns. SANNC becomes the African National Congress (ANC).
1925	Afrikaans is adopted as an official language.
1935	All-African Convention is founded.
1936	The Cape African franchise is abolished.
1941	The African Mineworkers' Union is formed.
1943	ANC Youth League is formed.

1946	Asiatic Land Tenure Act is passed. The police crush a strike by African mineworkers.
1947	The Security Branch of the South African Police (SAP) is formed.
1948	The <i>Herenigde</i> National Party (NP) wins a majority of seats. DF Malan becomes Prime Minister.
1949	Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act is passed.
1950	The Group Areas Act provides for areas to be declared for the exclusive use of one particular racial group and makes it compulsory for people to live in an area designated for the group under which they were classified. The Suppression of Communism Act prohibits organisations and people from promoting Communism. Later amendments extend the prohibition to cover any efforts to overthrow the state and provide for the banning of meetings and people, the receiving of donations, the prohibition on people practising law and deportations. The Population Registration Act provides for the classification of all South Africans into one of four racial groups. The Immorality Act prohibits sexual relations across the colour bar.
1951	The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act grants magistrates the power to evict squatters from urban areas and to demolish their dwellings.
1952	The ANC launches the Defiance Campaign. The Native Laws Amendment Act is enacted. The Abolition of Passes Act introduces reference books for Africans.
1953	The Public Safety Act provides for a state of emergency to be declared. The Minister of Law and Order, the commissioner of the SAP, a magistrate or a commissioned officer can detain any person for reasons of public safety. A magistrate or the commissioner of police can ban meetings and gatherings. (The Act is passed in response to the civil disobedience campaign of the ANC and invoked for the first time after the Sharpville Massacre on 21 March 1960.) The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act is passed. The Bantu Education Act introduces a system of education for African people designed to provide them only with skills that will serve the white economy. The Communist Party of South Africa dissolves and is reconstituted as the South African Communist Party (SACP).
1954	The Natives' Resettlement Act marks the beginning of the creation of exclusively African urban townships.
1955	The Freedom Charter is adopted by the Congress of the People in Kliptown, Transvaal.
1956	Coloured voters are removed from the common voters' roll. The Riotous Assemblies Act prohibits certain public open air gatherings. The Treason Trial begins. 156 accused are charged with high treason. (The trial continues for five years during which charges are withdrawn against all but thirty-four. They are all acquitted in 1961). In August, 20 000 women march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest against the extension of passes to African women.
1957	The Group Areas Act consolidates the law relating to the establishment of group areas and control of the acquisition of immovable property in those areas.
1958	Hendrik F Verwoerd becomes Prime Minister.

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- 1959** The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is formed under Robert Sobukwe.
- The Extension of the University Education Act provides for the segregation of English-language universities and the creation of ethnic universities. The Promotion of Bantu Self-Governing Act lays the foundation for the creation of 'independent' bantustans. An amendment to Pass Laws Act extends pass laws to women.
- Both the ANC and the PAC initiate protest campaigns against the pass laws.
- The Sekhukuneland revolt is crushed, followed by executions of those convicted, including a chieftainess.
-
- 1960** **Mandate period of Truth and Reconciliation Commission begins**
- On 21 March, sixty-nine people are killed and 186 wounded at Sharpsville when police open fire on marchers protesting against the pass laws.
- In Cape Town, two people are killed and 47 wounded in Langa when police open fire on a crowd of anti-pass protestors. At the end of March, a group of 30 000 people march from Langa to Cape Town in protest.
- A national state of emergency is declared on 24 March, lasting until 31 August. 11 503 people are detained. PAC leader Sobukwe is sentenced to three years for burning his pass.
- The ANC and the PAC are banned on 8 April.
- The African Resistance Movement (ARM) is formed by mainly young radical whites and launches a sabotage campaign.
- The Pondoland Revolt by Transkei peasants against the Bantu Authorities Act is crushed by police shootings, detentions and torture, trials and executions.
- The South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) is formed.
- South Africa's alleged contravention of SWA mandate is taken to the International Court.
-
- 1961** The Indemnity Act indemnifies the government, its officers and all other persons acting under its authority and empowered to suppress internal disorder from civil or criminal proceedings. (The Act is made retrospective from 21 March 1960).
- Following South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, the first steps are taken to establish a military intelligence component in the South African Defence Force (SADF).
- On 31 May, South Africa becomes an independent Republic and leaves the Commonwealth.
- The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to ANC President, Chief Albert Luthuli, in October.
- ANC and PAC missions-in-exile open in Tanzania.
- Pogo, armed wing of the PAC, is formed in September.
- Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC, is formed. MK launches its first sabotage actions on 16 December, the first in a series of over two hundred attacks on state installations over the following eighteen months.
-
- 1962** The General Law Amendment Act (Sabotage Act) increases the State President's power to declare organisations unlawful and to add further restrictions to banning orders. The Act creates the offence of sabotage by providing that any person who jeopardises law and order can be tried for sabotage for which the maximum sentence is death.
-

Poqo initiates attacks on 'informers', headmen, chiefs and whites. In November, Poqo members launch a raid in Paarl in which five people die. In the Eastern Cape, seven Poqo members die in December in a failed attempt to assassinate Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima. (On 4 February 1963, Poqo members kill five whites at the Bashee Bridge in Transkei). Mass arrests, allegations of torture, convictions and several executions follow.

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- 1963** The Publications and Entertainment Act extends the state's control over the media. Transkei is granted self-governing status — the first homeland to become self-governing. The General Law Amendment Act (ninety-day detention law) authorises any commissioned officer to detain without a warrant people suspected of political activities and to hold them, without access to a lawyer, for ninety days. In practice, people are often released after ninety days and immediately re-detained for a further ninety-day period. The 'Sobukwe clause' allows for the further detention for twelve months of a person convicted of political offences. Allegations of torture and deaths in detention soon follow.

In March, Potlako Leballo of the PAC announces that a general uprising in South Africa is imminent. British police raid PAC offices in Maseru and seize membership lists. Republican Intelligence, the forerunner of the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), is formed in June.

Solwandle Looksmart Ngudle dies in September in Pretoria after being held for seventeen days, one of the first to die in detention. The official cause of death is suicide.

Seven senior members of MK are arrested at Lilliesleaf Farm, Rivonia on 11 July 1963. The Rivonia Treason Trial of ten people including Nelson Mandela follows. Most are sentenced to life imprisonment.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) is founded.

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- 1964** The Armaments Board, the forerunner to ARMSCOR, is established in order to develop South African self-sufficiency in the manufacturing of arms.

Three MK/South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) members from Port Elizabeth — Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayinga and Zinakile Mkaba — are executed following their conviction on charges of sabotage and the killing of an alleged police informer.

ARM member, John Harris, bombs Johannesburg station in July. A woman is killed and twenty-three people injured. (Harris is hanged at Pretoria Central Prison in April 1965).

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- 1965** The Criminal Procedure Amendment Act (180-Day Detention Law) empowers the attorney-general to order the detention of people likely to give evidence for the state in any criminal proceedings relating to certain political or common law offences. Detainees can be held in solitary confinement for six months and only state officials are permitted access to them.

Bram Fischer of the SACP is arrested. He is subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment.

The Smith government in former Rhodesia declares UDI.

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- 1966** SWAPO and the SAP clash at Ongulumbashe, SWA/Namibia, in a battle that marks the start of SWAPO's armed struggle. SAP forces are led by 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel. The UN General Assembly terminates South Africa's SWA mandate.

Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd is assassinated in the House of Assembly by a parliamentary messenger, Dimitri Tsafendas on 6 September.

Balthazar J Vorster becomes Prime Minister on 13 September.

- 1967** The Terrorism Act is passed, in terms of which police are empowered to detain in solitary confinement for indefinite periods with no access to visitors. The public is not entitled to information relating to the identity and number of people detained. The Act is allegedly passed to deal with SWA/Namibian opposition and NP politicians assure Parliament it is not intended for local use. Besides being used to detain Toivo ya Toivo and other members of Ovambo People's Organisation, the Act is used to detain South Africans.

SAP counter-insurgency training begins (followed by similar SADF training in the following year).

Compulsory military service for all white male youths is extended and all ex-servicemen become eligible for recall over a twenty-year period.

Formation of the PAC armed wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (APLA).

MK guerrillas conduct their first military actions with ZIPRA in north-western Rhodesia in campaigns known as Wankie and Sepolillo. In response, SAP units are deployed in Rhodesia.

- 1968** The Prohibition of Political Interference Act prohibits the formation and foreign financing of non-racial political parties.

The Bureau of State Security (BOSS) is formed. BOSS operates independently of the police and is accountable to the Prime Minister.

The PAC military wing attempts to reach South Africa through Botswana and Mozambique in what becomes known as the *Villa Peri* campaign.

- 1969** The ANC holds its first Consultative (Morogoro) Conference in Tanzania, and adopts the 'Strategies and Tactics of the ANC' programme, which includes its new approach to the 'armed struggle' and 'political mobilisation'.

PAC President, Robert Sobukwe, is released after spending six years in detention (imposed after the expiry of his three-year prison sentence) and is placed under house arrest in Kimberley.

The South African Students' Organisation (SASO) is formed by black students, led by Steve Biko, in a breakaway from the white-dominated National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).

Imam Abdullah Haron dies in detention on 27 September after 122 days.

- 1970** The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act effectively strips all black South Africans of their citizenship by making them automatic citizens of one of the ten 'homelands'.
-

- 1971** The International Court of Justice revokes South Africa's mandate in Namibia.

Ahmed Timol dies in detention on 27 October, allegedly by jumping from the tenth floor of John Vorster Square police building.

The World Council of Churches allocates R91 000 of its annual R140 000 fund against racism to liberation movements in Southern Africa – including SWAPO, the ANC, and anti-apartheid groups.

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- 1972** Black police are trained in anti-‘terrorist’ techniques by the SAP and deployed in Namibia.
- Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Lebowa are granted self-government status.
- Conscription is extended from nine to twelve months, followed by a nineteen-day annual call-up for five years.
- The Black People’s Convention (BPC) is launched as an umbrella body to co-ordinate black consciousness groups.
- The 1 Reconnaissance Regiment of the SADF is established.
- Operation Plathond, a joint SADF/BOSS operation to train dissident Zambians in the Caprivi Strip, is launched.
- The Schlebusch Commission is appointed to investigate the objects, organisation, financing and activities of the University Christian Movement (UCM), NUSAS, the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, the South African Institute of Race Relations, and other related organisations.
- Widespread student protests and expulsions of students take place at many universities in May, followed by student demonstrations which are broken up by the police.
-
- 1973** The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), a militant offshoot of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) is formed.
- A wave of strikes begins in Durban and spreads to all major urban centres, marking the re-emergence of political protest and independent trade unionism.
- African and Arab states impose an oil embargo on South Africa.
-
- 1974** The UN withdraws the credentials of the South African delegation, which loses voting but not speaking rights in the General Assembly. The ANC and PAC are granted observer status.
- After a coup in Portugal, Portuguese colonial control in Mozambique and Angola collapses (leading in 1975 to independent socialist governments hostile to apartheid). The collapse of the buffer of colonial states between South Africa and ‘the rest of Africa’ leads to a review of South Africa’s regional and domestic security policy and to the emergence of the theory of ‘total strategy’ under PW Botha, including regional destabilisation.
- The first cross-border killings take place in February. SASO founder Ongkopotse Abraham Tiro is killed in Botswana by a parcel bomb, and Boy Mvemve (John Dube) is killed by a letter bomb in Zambia.
- Rallies in support of FRELIMO are held in Durban and at the University of the North. They are broken up by the police. Many are arrested across the country and several BPC and SASO leaders are detained and tortured.
- A Special Forces division in the SADF is established in October, followed by the expansion of reconnaissance regiments.
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- 1975** Operation K, a Security Branch counter-insurgency unit in Namibia and forerunner to Koevoet, is launched in January.
- The Inkatha Cultural Liberation Movement is formed.
- Mozambique and Angola become independent.
- The SADF takes over responsibility for the counter-insurgency war in Namibia.
-

South Africa launches Operation Savannah, an invasion of Angola with US support (but withdraws the following year).

The Special Task Force is formed in January, followed by the setting up of eighteen full-time Riot Units countrywide. (The units are formed with a strong emphasis on the use of counter-insurgency techniques and were later responsible for the policing of the 1976 student revolt).

The Turnhalle conference takes place in Namibia, followed by the setting up of Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

1976 On 16 June, the Soweto uprising begins. Police open fire on approximately 10 000 pupils protesting against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Resistance spreads nationwide and continues for several months. There are 575 official deaths, including 390 in the Transvaal and 137 in the Western Cape. Over 2 000 people are injured. Arrests, deaths in detention and trials follow the revolt. The first members of the 'Class of 76' leave South Africa for training in armed resistance.

Nominal independence is granted to the Transkei in October, under the leadership of Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

1977 KwaZulu gains self-governance in February.

At the Goch Street shooting in Johannesburg on 15 June, two whites are killed and MK operatives Solomon Mahlangu and Mondy Motloutse are arrested. (Mahlangu is sentenced to death and executed in April 1979).

Former ANC member, Leonard Nkosi, is killed by the ANC on 9 September, after he joins the Security Branch.

Black consciousness activist, Bantu Stephen Biko, dies in detention in Pretoria on 12 September, following his detention in Port Elizabeth. Widespread protests around the country follow. Numerous other deaths in detention occur during 1977 and in subsequent years.

Conscription to military service is increased to two years; citizen force duty to thirty days a year for eight years.

Former government official, Robert Smit, and his wife, Cora Smit, are killed in a possible political assassination in the Transvaal.

With the launch of Operation *Silwer*, South Africa begins giving official support to UNITA.

The ANC establishes guerrilla training camps in Angola, catering for the large-scale influx of youth from the 1976 student uprisings.

The South African Students' Organisation (SASO), the Christian Institute and the Black People's Convention (BPC) are banned along with other organisations.

Bophuthatswana becomes 'independent'.

Winnie Mandela is banished for eight years to Brandfort in the Orange Free State.

1978 Anti-apartheid academic and activist, Rick Turner is killed in Durban on 8 January.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) is launched in May.

Prime Minister BJ Vorster is forced to resign in the wake of the Information Scandal. It is revealed that he agreed to channel millions of rands to the

Department of Information for a major covert international propaganda campaign, including the launch of the *Citizen* newspaper in South Africa.

PW Botha becomes Prime Minister, and State President from 1984 under the new constitution. Botha's policy of 'total strategy' is introduced, involving reforms of the apartheid system, combined with extensive militarisation of the state as set out in the Defence White Paper. The introduction of the strategy follows the Venter and Van Dalsen enquiries.

South Africa accepts United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia.

An ANC visit to Vietnam marks a shift in ANC military tactics. This is followed by the Fort Klapperkop Conference in 1979 and the Coetzee Committee in which leading security personnel review security policies towards the ANC and intelligence structures.

Kassinga Massacre: Operation Reindeer results in an SADF raid on SWAPO camps at Kassinga and Chetequera. Approximately 1 000 people are killed, 612 at Kassinga.

The SADF attacks SWAPO refugee camps in Zambia.

1979 Venda becomes independent.

MK Special Operations Unit is formed.

COSAS (Congress of South African Students), PEBCO (Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation) and AZASO (Azanian Students Organisation), later renamed SASCO (South African Students Congress) are formed.

The Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) is formed, followed by the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) the following year.

The government launches its 'constellation of states' policy to block ANC cross-border raids.

Riekert and Wiehahn labour 'reforms' are introduced.

The State Security Council adopts guidelines for cross-border raids, marking a shift to proactive defence and security policies.

The National Security Management System (NSMS) is implemented. The Secretariat of the State Security Council is established. (Regional Joint Management Centres (JMCs) are set up in the early 1980s).

Attacks by the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) on Lesotho from bases in the Orange Free State, are first reported.

The Security Branch Vlakplaas unit is established by Colonel JJ Viktor. (It is later formally constituted in 1981 with the transfer of Security Branch officers to Vlakplaas).

Koevoet is established in January as a police counter-insurgency unit for operations in northern Namibia. *Koevoet* operates on a bounty basis whereby members are given cash bonuses for killed and captured 'terrorists'.

Chief Buthelezi and the ANC leadership in exile meet in London in October, whereafter ties are severed between Inkatha and the ANC.

Lancaster House settlement on Zimbabwe-Rhodesia.

1980 In what becomes known as the Silvertown Bank Siege, three MK operatives take bank employees hostage on 25 January. The operatives and two hostages are killed. School boycotts originate in April in the Western Cape and spread nationally. Initial grievances concern mainly the standard and quality of education, but these grow

into wider political protest. Street protest and police actions result in widespread violence. In the Cape, police shootings lead to over forty deaths.

The Sasol 1 oil refinery plant in Secunda is blown up in April by MK Special Operations Unit.

Expelled ANC official Tennyson Makiwane is shot dead by the ANC in the Transkei in June.

South Africa takes over support to RENAMO from the former Rhodesian government.

The independence of Zimbabwe is proclaimed.

The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) is founded.

1981 In the Matola raid, the first major cross-border raid into Mozambique, twenty people, including three SADF members, are killed in January.

At the Simonstown *Beraad* [consultation] in January, the state rationalises the intelligence community, leading to the establishment of the Co-ordinating Intelligence Committee (CIC or KIK).

COSAS activist, Sizwe Kondile of Port Elizabeth, is abducted from Lesotho by the security police and killed in June.

Joe Gqabi, ANC chief representative in Zimbabwe, is assassinated in July.

The MK Special Operations Unit attacks the Voortrekkerhoogte military base in Pretoria in August.

Durban lawyer, Griffiths Mxenge, is assassinated by security police in Durban on 19 November.

The independence of the Ciskei, under Chief Lennox Sebe, is proclaimed on 4 December.

Self-governing status is conferred on KwaNdebele.

South Africa withdraws its recognition of UN resolution 435.

In Operation Protea, the SADF occupies one third of Angola.

1982 Trade unionist, Neil Aggett, dies at John Vorster Square in February, after seventy days in detention.

The Conservative Party (CP) is launched in March.

The ANC London offices are bombed by a South African security police team headed by Craig Williamson.

Nelson Mandela is transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town in March. A worldwide 'Free Mandela' campaign begins.

COSAS activists, Siphiwe Mthimkulu and Topsy Madaka, are abducted from Port Elizabeth on 14 April and killed by security police. Mthimkulu was in the process of suing the police for poisoning him with thallium while he was in detention.

ANC acting chief representative in Swaziland, Petrus 'Nzima' Nyawosa and his wife, Jabu, are assassinated in June in a car bomb explosion by South African security police.

ANC/SACP member, Ruth First, is assassinated in Maputo on 17 August by a parcel bomb despatched by South African security police.

Warrant Officer Selepe is killed by the ANC in Mamelodi in November.

South African commandos attack flats in Maseru, Lesotho, in December; forty-two

people are killed, twelve of whom are Lesotho nationals. They miss their target, Chris Hani, but the ANC representative in Lesotho, Zola Nguni, is killed.

The Koeberg nuclear power plant is bombed by MK in December, causing extensive damage.

Three COSAS activists are taken (allegedly for military training) to a mine bunker near Krugersdorp by *askaris* masquerading as MK operatives. They are blown up. (This method of 'entrapment' is later used by the security forces in similar incidents in the mid- and late-1980s).

The Internal Security Act follows the recommendations of the Rabie Commission of Inquiry, providing for the banning of publications and people, prohibition from attending any kind of meeting, house arrest, indefinite preventive detention and solitary confinement for detainees.

Compulsory military service is extended.

1983 A car bomb explodes outside the South African Air Force headquarters on Church Street, Pretoria on 20 May. Nineteen people are killed and 200 injured. Two MK operatives die in the attack.

Security forces attack Matola, Mozambique in May, killing 6 people.

A two-year boycott of Ciskei-owned buses starts in Mdantsane, Ciskei in July. Ciskei security forces and vigilantes work together to force boycotters back onto buses. By the end of the year at least fifteen people have been killed.

The national launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) takes place in Mitchell's Plain on 20 August. The immediate goal is to oppose the introduction of the Tricameral Parliament and black municipal councils.

In terms of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, the new constitution is adopted by Parliament in September. The Act provides for the establishment of the Tricameral Parliament consisting of three legislative houses for whites, coloureds and Indians.

In the Ongoye killings on 29 October, Inkatha-aligned 'warriors' at the University of Zululand kill five and injure many in clashes between students and approximately 500 Inkatha supporters.

In a national referendum in November, white voters support the tricameral constitution proposal referendum, which accommodates coloureds and Indians but excludes Africans. In a 76% turnout, 66% vote 'yes'.

Operation *Askari* is launched in Angola in December by the former SADF. It is a pre-emptive action, designed to forestall the invasion of SWA/Namibia by 800-1000 SWAPO guerrillas.

Namibian Multi-Party Conference is launched.

The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) is launched by whites opposed to conscription.

1984 Mutinies by frustrated MK soldiers at ANC camps Viana and Pango are crushed in early 1984, resulting in the execution of seven mutineers and the imprisonment of others at Quatro rehabilitation camp.

The Lusaka agreement between South Africa and Angola is signed in February, after South Africa announces its withdrawal from Angola. (The agreement is never fully implemented, as South Africa never entirely withdraws).

The Nkomati Accord is signed in March between Mozambique and South Africa. The Accord represents a non-aggression pact in which both sides pledge to cease hostile actions against each other. The Mozambique government agrees to expel all ANC military personnel.

ANC official, Jeanette Curtis Schoon, and her daughter, Katryn, are killed by a South African security police parcel bomb in Angola in June.

Elections are held for the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates in August.

In the Vaal uprising, nine people are killed in Sharpville after a rent increase, followed by numerous other deaths as protests spread. Rent boycotts become a new strategy of protest. In Operation *Palmiet* in September, the SADF is deployed to support the SAP in suppressing internal unrest in the Vaal Triangle, followed by a wider deployment of the SADF in unrest areas.

The new constitution is enacted in September. PW Botha becomes State President.

The biggest stay-away in thirty-five years takes place in November in the Transvaal.

The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to Archbishop Desmond Tutu in December.

In the first UDF treason trial, fifteen UDF and union leaders are charged with treason in Pietermaritzburg. (The charges are finally dismissed in June 1986).

The UDF 'Million Signature Campaign' against apartheid is launched.

Mass student protests and disruptions intensify existing unrest caused by community protest activities and conflict with black local authorities.

The Strategic Communication Branch (STRATCOM) of the State Security Council is formalised, following an investigation into the use of psychological action/warfare.

1985 The Rand slumps and the disinvestment campaign commences. Britain and the US begin the process of adopting employment codes for companies operating in South Africa.

Mandela and other political prisoners are offered release in January if they renounce violence. Most refuse.

Widespread attacks begin on 'collaborators', including police and community councillors, by residents in both urban and rural areas across the country. These killings result in numerous 'common purpose' trials and many death sentences for those convicted.

Vigilante groups emerge nationwide. Groups such as the A-Team and the *Phakathis* in the Orange Free State and the A-Team in Chesterville, Durban, begin to target UDF activists. The Eagles youth club in the OFS (run by Military Intelligence from 1986) is active in the harassment of UDF leaders and violent disruption of youth meetings.

Conflict between black consciousness organisation AZAPO and the UDF erupts during a visit by US senator Edward Kennedy. Conflict continues throughout the year and spreads to other regions, including Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage where many are killed.

Violence erupts in February at Crossroads, an informal settlement in Cape Town, after the state declares that squatters in the Western Cape must move to Khayelitsha. Eighteen are killed and 200 are injured in clashes with the police.

Police open fire on a march to a funeral at Langa near Uitenhage on 21 March, killing at least twenty-one people. This is preceded by an authorisation to use buckshot and birdshot.

Councillor Benjamin Kinikini is 'necklaced' and four of his young relatives killed by a crowd on 23 March. This is the first widely publicised 'necklace' killing in the country. The SAP records 406 such 'necklace' killings and 395 deaths by burning between September 1984 and December 1989; a third of these take place in the former Eastern Cape and Border regions.

UDF and Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) activists — Sipho Hashe, Champion Galela and Qaqawuli Godolozu — are abducted on 8 May and killed by security police.

The SADF raids Gaborone in Botswana in June; twelve people are killed of which eight are South Africans.

MK members blow up the Umtata fuel depot, water pipelines and an electricity sub-station in June. A nightly curfew is subsequently imposed.

A second National Consultative (Kabwe) Conference of the ANC is held in Zambia in June, marking a turning point in the ANC's approach to the struggle in South Africa. The distinction between 'hard' and 'soft' targets starts to be blurred and a desire to 'take the struggle to the white areas' is expressed.

In the Delmas treason trial, twenty-two Transvaal UDF leaders are indicted for treason in June. The trial runs from January 1986. In December 1988, Justice van Dijkhorst convicts eleven of the twenty-two who are given sentences from five to eleven years' imprisonment. (The Appellate Division overturns the convictions at the end of 1989.)

Eight COSAS activists are killed by grenades booby-trapped by the security forces in Operation Zero-Zero at Tsakane in June.

The Cradock Four — UDF activists Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Fort Calata — are abducted and murdered by security forces outside Port Elizabeth on 27 June. Their funeral under ANC and SACP flags in July is attended by 60 000 people from all over the country.

A state of emergency is declared on 21 July 1985 in thirty-six magisterial districts. This is extended to additional areas, including the Western Cape in October 1985. The power to detain is extended to every member of the police, railways police, prison officials and army members. It becomes a crime to disclose the identity of any detainee without permission from the Minister of Law and Order. The Commissioner of Police is empowered to impose a blanket censorship on press coverage of the emergency. Thousands are detained and organisations still operating are either banned or restricted. This state of emergency lasts until March 1986.

Maki Skosana is necklaced on 25 July at the funeral of several people killed by police.

Eugene de Kock assumes command of Vlakplaas in July.

Victoria Mxenge, a Durban attorney, is assassinated in Umlazi on 1 August. This triggers a rapid escalation of conflict between the UDF and Inkatha in Natal.

COSAS is banned in August.

PW Botha delivers his 'Rubicon' speech in August, in which he retreats from talk of reform.

In August, the UDF in Cape Town organises a march to Pollsmoor Prison to demand the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. It ends in violence when police disperse the marchers. Clashes result in thirty-one deaths over the next few days and spark off widespread street protests and repression until the end of the year.

Seventeen people die in the Umlazi cinema killings when Inkatha supporters armed with traditional weapons and firearms burst into a memorial service held for Victoria Mxenge on 8 August.

The Gandhi settlement at Phoenix is attacked and destroyed in August. Seventy people die (forty-three at the hands of police) and more than 200 are injured.

UDF student activist, Batandwa Ndondo, is shot dead by security police and *askaris* at Cala, Transkei in September.

In what becomes known as the 'Trojan Horse' incident, three youths are killed in Athlone, Cape Town in October. A further two are killed in an identical security force operation the following day near Crossroads. This method is used elsewhere in the country, notably in the Eastern Cape.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is launched in November.

The first series of ANC landmine attacks in November leads to several deaths and injuries in the Northern and Eastern Transvaal rural areas. By the time the ANC ceases landmine operations, between twenty and forty people have died in over thirty landmine explosions.

In what becomes known as the Mamelodi killings in November, at least twelve people die when police open fire on 50 000 protesters demonstrating against rent rises, funeral restrictions and the presence of the SADF in the township.

In the Queenstown shootings, at least eleven people are shot dead when police open fire on a meeting in a church hall in November.

South African security forces launch a raid into Maseru in December. Six South Africans, including MK operatives, and three Botswana citizens are killed.

In the Amanzimtoti bombing, five people are killed and over sixty injured in an explosion at an Amanzimtoti shopping centre in December. MK operative, Sibusiso Andrew Zondo, is convicted for the bombing and executed in September 1986.

Church leaders issue the Kairos document.

The State Security Council inter-departmental committee on security is upgraded to Joint Security Staff (*Gesamentlike Veiligheidstaf*) to oversee the co-ordination of unrest and security matters under the Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

The highest decision-making body of Inkatha, its Central Committee, declares KwaZulu and Natal 'no-go' areas for the UDF (according to a State Security Council document produced in 1989).

1986 The attempted incorporation of Moutse into KwaNdebele leads to widespread resistance and violence accompanying the emergence of a pro-incorporation vigilante grouping, Mbokodo.

Reverend Mzwandile Maqina establishes *AmaAfrika* in Uitenhage following his expulsion from AZAPO in January. Violent conflicts with the UDF follow.

Residents clash with police in Alexandra in the 'Six Day War' in February. At least seventeen people are killed.

In the 'Gugulethu Seven' killing, seven MK operatives are shot dead by security forces in an apparent ambush on 3 March. A similar method involving entrapment and/or ambush is used in the killings of the 'Nietverdient Ten' in June and the 'KwaNdebele Nine' in July.

In the Winterveld killings, police open fire on a thousand-strong crowd on 26 March, killing eleven people and wounding 200 others.

Between April and October, paramilitary (Caprivi) training of 200 Inkatha supporters by SADF Special Forces takes place on the Caprivi Strip, South West Africa/Namibia.

South African Air Force raids on Harare, Lusaka and Gaborone on 19 May result in the termination of the Commonwealth Secretariat peace mission, the Eminent Persons' Group.

Over 1.5 million people participate in the largest May Day stay away yet seen.

The United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA) is launched by Inkatha in May, backed by substantial covert state funding.

Vigilante *witdoeke* attack and destroy the UDF-aligned satellite camps around Crossroads, Cape Town in May. A similar attack takes place at KTC in June. Over sixty people are killed, including ITN camera operator, George De'Ath. Tens of thousands are left homeless.

The nationwide state of emergency is re-imposed on 12 June, accompanied by mass detentions. (By the end of this state of emergency on 11 June 1987, over 25 000 people will have been detained at various times. The emergency is re-imposed annually until 1990).

In what becomes known as the Magoo's Bar bombing, three people die and sixty-nine are injured when a car bomb explodes at Durban's Parade Hotel on 14 June. Robert McBride is sentenced to death for the bombing; his sentence is later commuted to life imprisonment.

Four members of the Chesterville Youth Organisation are killed in a Vlakplaas operation in June.

KwaNdebele Minister, Piet Ntuli, is killed by a security force car bomb in July.

In White City, at least twenty-four people are killed in August following police action against a crowd demonstrating against municipal rent raids in Soweto.

MK operatives entering the country are ambushed in Amsterdam, Transvaal. Three die. (This method becomes more extensively used).

Mozambican president, Samora Machel, and thirty-four others die in an aeroplane crash at Mbuzini on South African soil in October.

Drs Fabian and Florence Ribeiro are killed by security forces in Mamelodi in December.

Special Forces operatives are deployed in support of key Security Branch divisions.

Chief Jonathan is toppled in a Lesotho coup. The ANC leaves Lesotho.

The Eastern Transvaal Target Work Group is established by joint security forces. TREWITS (*Teenrewolusionêre Inligtingstaakspan*), a counter-revolutionary intelligence task group, is formed to collect operationally directed intelligence.

The US passes the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act which imposes fiscal and other sanctions on South Africa.

Charles Sebe, jailed in 1984 for plotting a coup against his brother, Ciskei President Lennox Sebe, is broken out of jail in 1986 with the assistance of South African security forces during Operation Katzen.

The UDF campaign, 'Forward to People's Power', is launched involving the establishment of street committees and people's courts.

Special state of emergency media regulations in December impose a news black-out, prohibiting the reporting of unrest incidents or actions of the security forces. Legislation – the pass laws, the Mixed Marriages Act and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act – is repealed.

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- 1987** In the Natal 'Midlands War', increased inter-organisational conflict and violence break out between Inkatha and UDF youth organisations (resulting in large-scale deaths and social upheaval from 1987 to 1990). Inkatha-aligned vigilante gangs, such as the *AmaSinyora* in KwaMashu, engage in political violence.
- In the KwaMakhutha massacre in January, the home of UDF leader, Bheki Ntuli, is attacked. Thirteen people are killed, including eight children.
- The Alexandra Treason Trial of five UDF activists begins in January (and continues until their acquittal in April 1989).
- In Operation Katzen, Transkei Defence Force (TDF) troops attack Ciskei president Lennox Sebe's palace in January. In a failed attempt to abduct or kill him, at least two TDF troops die.
- ANC official, Albie Sachs, is severely injured in a security force car bomb explosion in Maputo in April.
- ANC activist, Gibson Ncube/Mondlane, is assassinated in April. He dies after drinking poisoned South African beer brought to Maputo by a Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) operative.
- In the general elections in May, the Conservative Party replaces the Progressive Federal Party as the official opposition in Parliament.
- Large-scale stayaways take place on 5 and 6 May to protest the 'whites only' election in May.
- The head of MK's Natal machinery, Theophilus 'Viva' Dlodlo, and two passengers are killed in a security police ambush in Swaziland in May.
- Security forces bomb COSATU House on 7 May.
- The Transkei, Ciskei and South Africa sign a non-aggression pact in Cape Town on 10 May, following the February attack by Transkei on Ciskei.
- ANC National Executive Committee member, Cassius Maake, and MK operatives, Paul Dikeledi and Eliza Tsinini, are killed in a security police ambush in Swaziland in July.
- A group of sixty-two mainly Afrikaans speaking whites meets with an ANC delegation in Dakar, Senegal in July.
- The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA) is formed in September.
- A coup in Transkei by the Transkei Defence Force in September ousts Prime Minister George Matanzima and installs the civilian government of Stella Sigcau, which is itself deposed in December by a second coup under Bantu Holomisa.
- The first Rivonia trialist to be released, Govan Mbeki, is placed under restriction orders after his release in November.
- Botshabelo is incorporated into QwaQwa by presidential proclamation in December. The proclamation is challenged and declared invalid. Residents launch mass protests against the incorporation.

The ANC launches Operation Vula after its Arusha conference in Zambia in December. The objectives of Operation Vula are to build strong underground structures with the ultimate goal of bringing ANC leaders into the country.

Conflicts arising from the incorporation into KwaZulu of Clermont result in several killings.

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- 1988** SADF forces are forced by a joint Angolan-Cuban force to retreat at Cuito Cuanavale in Southern Angola in early 1988.
- The UDF, COSATU and sixteen other organisations are placed under severe restriction orders in February.
- Disaffected elements of the Bophuthatswana defence force, led by Rocky Malebane-Metsing, attempt a coup in Bophuthatswana. The coup is crushed by the SADF on 10 February.
- A one-month stay of execution is granted in March, in the Pretoria Supreme Court to six Sharpville residents, sentenced to death for being part of a crowd that killed a black councillor. Sentences are later commuted to life imprisonment following a local and international outcry against their 'common purpose' conviction.
- ANC representative Dulcie September is killed in Paris in March, allegedly by the CCB.
- Four unarmed ANC members are shot dead in June by a Vlakplaas hit squad and members of the Piet Retief security branch.
- Massive strike in protest against the Labour Relations Amendment Act in June.
- Stanza Bopape dies in police custody on 12 June, after being tortured. Police state that he 'escaped from police custody' and disappeared.
- A concert at Wembley Stadium in London in July to celebrate Mandela's seventieth birthday and protest his continuing imprisonment is televised worldwide.
- The ANC publishes its constitutional guidelines in July.
- The security forces bomb Khotso House, Johannesburg, on 1 September, causing extensive damage. In October, Khanya House (the offices of SA Bishops Conference) is destroyed in an arson and limpet mine attack.
- The ECC wins a successful interdict against the SADF 'dirty tricks' campaign in October.
- Municipal elections in October meet with widespread national resistance and violence.
- Former police officer Barend Strydom, AWB and *Witvolwe* member, shoots randomly at black people in Pretoria in November, killing seven and injuring sixteen.
- In what becomes known as the Trust Feed killings, eleven people are killed by SAP members and special constables who storm and fire on an all-night prayer vigil near New Hanover on 3 December. Senior Inkatha leaders are part of the planning.
- South Africa signs the New York accord in December, readopts UN Resolution 435 and agrees to the withdrawal of troops from Angola and Namibia.
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- 1989** Detainee hunger strikes begin in January when long-term state of emergency detainees across the country, some of whom have spent over three years in detention without trial, embark on hunger strikes. Gradually, many are released.
- The Democratic Party is launched in April as an amalgamation of three white political parties to the left of the NP.
- The UN Transitional Administration Group (UNTAG) is installed in Namibia to oversee elections.

David Webster is assassinated by Ferdi Barnard and other CCB operatives in Johannesburg in May.

The ANC, UDF and COSATU adopt the Harare Declaration in July, outlining the conditions for negotiations. The Declaration is later ratified by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations.

The Defiance Campaign, a passive resistance campaign, is launched in July by the 'Mass Democratic Movement'.

The first known meeting between President PW Botha and Nelson Mandela takes place in July. (This follows several secret meetings between representatives of the government and the ANC from 1985.)

The last general election for the Tricameral Parliament takes place in September, marked by nationwide protest action and repression. On election night alone, over twenty people die in Western Cape townships.

A massive 'Peace March', protesting against police repression, is permitted to go ahead in Cape Town on 13 September.

Anton Lubowski, a SWAPO activist and lawyer, is shot dead in Windhoek in September.

FW de Klerk becomes State President on 20 September after the resignation of PW Botha in August and introduces a series of reforms over the following years. The National Security Management System is replaced by the National Co-ordinating Mechanism (NCM). The State Security Council is stripped of many powers. Many of its sub-structures are dismantled, excluding STRATCOM.

Walter Sisulu and seven other high profile prisoners (seven ANC members and one PAC member) are released by FW de Klerk in October.

On the eve of his scheduled execution in October, Butana Almond Nofemela confesses to the hit squad activities of security police at Vlakplaas. He is later supported by his commander, Dirk Coetzee, and David Tshikalanga.

Operation Victor, one of several security force operations in Namibia, aims at reducing SWAPO majority support.

SWAPO wins national elections in Namibia in November and Namibia becomes independent in March the following year.

In the Motherwell bombing, Port Elizabeth, in December, three police officers and an informer are killed when their car is blown up by fellow police officers to prevent possible revelations of police involvement in the killing of the Cradock Four.

The Pan-Africanist Movement (internal wing of the PAC) is launched.

1990 The Berlin Wall falls in February, the symbolic end of the 'communist threat' and used by FW de Klerk as a justification for a 'liberalisation' of strategy.

FW de Klerk announces the unbanning of liberation movements and other organisations, the release of political prisoners, the lifting of restrictions on thirty-three organisations, and a moratorium on judicial executions on 2 February.

Nelson Mandela is released on 11 February.

President FW de Klerk appoints the Harms Commission of Inquiry into certain murders in February to look at possible hit squad activity and the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Violence breaks out outside Pietermaritzburg between 25-31 March in what becomes known as the 'Seven Day War', resulting in the loss of over two hundred lives, and the flight of up to twenty thousand people from the area.

Police open fire on a protest march of 50 000 people in Sebokeng in March, killing eight and injuring over 300.

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo seizes control of Ciskei in March, deposing Chief Lennox Sebe in a bloodless coup. This is followed by a brief period of liberalisation.

The Chand family in Botswana is killed in the last Vlakplaas cross-border raid in April.

Father Michael Lapsley is seriously injured in a letter bomb explosion in Zimbabwe in April.

The Venda government of President Frank Ravele is overthrown by military coup in April.

During student protests at Viljoenskroon, Orange Free State on 19 April, police open fire on a march, killing five and injuring many others.

Exiled ANC leaders arrive in the country in April for talks with the government. On 5 April, President De Klerk and ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela meet in Cape Town. Negotiations begin in May, resulting in the Groote Schuur Minute which allows for the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the amendment of security legislation.

The Indemnity Act is introduced in May, providing for the granting of temporary or permanent indemnity against prosecutions for exiles returning to South Africa.

The countrywide state of emergency is lifted in June. A partial emergency is declared in KwaZulu-Natal and lifted on 18 October 1990.

Senior ANC and MK personnel including Mac Maharaj are detained in July 1990 in a state crackdown on 'Operation Vula'.

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is launched as a political party in July.

Violence in the Reef begins in July, following local opposition to an IFP recruitment drive in Transvaal hostels which culminates in a rally in Sebokeng on 22 July. After the rally at least twenty-seven people are killed, followed by counter-attacks. (This spiral of violence continues, increasing in 1992).

The first train attack takes place at Inhlanzane Station in July. This marks the start of a series of attacks on train commuters in the Witwatersrand. Between 1990 and 1993, at least 572 people die in more than 600 incidents of train violence.

The Pretoria Minute is signed by the ANC and the government in August. The ANC suspends the armed struggle.

Violence on the Reef and in the Natal Midlands escalates in August.

AWB members open fire on a bus full of black commuters in October in Durban, apparently in retaliation for a fatal knifing incident in Durban by PAC supporters.

The state of emergency is lifted in Natal on 18 October.

A mass march against the local town council in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 25 October, ends in violence with at least eight deaths. (The march follows several months of conflict between the local ANC-aligned structures and town councillors).

The Harms Commission Report rejects confessions made by Dirk Coetzee, and other security police officers in November. It absolves the security police at Vlakplaas from responsibility for hit squad activities but finds the CCB broadly culpable of politically motivated violence.

Sixteen people are killed at Bruntville, Natal in November in an attack led by hostel dwellers. Approximately 1 500 people are forced to flee their homes.

Former Transkei Defence Force MI chief, Lieutenant Colonel Craig Duli, dies on 22 November while attempting to overthrow the military government of Major General Bantu Holomisa in Transkei. (Duli is supported by the South African security forces).

Mandela pledges that MK members will help form and train self-defence units (SDUs) to protect communities from attack by security forces or vigilantes. SDUs are established in many townships across the country.

Compulsory military service (conscription) is ended and the SADF is withdrawn from townships.

Vigilante activities by the Three Million Gang (reported as active from 1989 to 1992 in the Orange Free State) target UDF and ANC activists, student organisations and SDUs for attack. The SDUs violently oppose the group.

The killing of political leaders and activists in Natal escalates.

1991 In the Christopher Nangalembe night vigil killings in January, forty-five people are killed when a night vigil is attacked with automatic weapons in Sebokeng, Transvaal.

Ciskei rebels, Colonel Onward Mangwane Guzana and former General Charles Sebe are shot dead at a roadblock in Ciskei on 27 January, following an apparent ambush on their coup attempt against Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's government.

Thirteen die and twenty-nine are injured when police open fire on Daveyton residents holding an illegal meeting on 14 January.

Lawyer Bheki Mlangeni is killed in February by a Vlakplaas parcel bomb meant for Dirk Coetzee.

The UDF National General Council decides in March to disband the organisation later that year.

In the Alexandra night vigil killings on 26 March 1991, fifteen people are shot dead and at least eighteen are injured in an attack on a funeral vigil for an ANC member who died in fighting in Alexandra which raged for three days.

Political prisoners engage in hunger strikes in April and May to protest the slow pace of releases.

Winnie Mandela is found guilty in May of kidnapping and being an accessory to assault after the fact.

The ANC National Executive Committee writes an open letter as an ultimatum to the State President in April concerning the pattern of political violence and making a number of demands. The ANC subsequently suspends constitutional talks with the government in May.

A group of about eight hundred alleged IFP supporters attack the squatter settlement of Swanieville on the East Rand on 12 May. Twenty-nine people are killed and over thirty injured.

The Group Areas Act and the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 are repealed in June.

In the 'Battle of the Forest' in June, twenty-three people are killed in fighting between IFP and ANC supporters in the Richmond townships of Ndoleni and Magoda, Natal.

The 'Inkathagate' scandal breaks in July and government funding of, *inter alia*, Inkatha and its union UWUSA for anti-ANC activities is revealed. De Klerk establishes the Kahn Committee to examine secret projects.

The African Democratic Movement (ADM) is launched by Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in July. The ADM is subsequently involved in violent clashes with ANC supporters. Nelson Mandela is elected president of the ANC in July and Oliver Tambo elected chairperson.

The Patriotic Front is launched to oppose the government — it includes the ANC, the PAC and ninety other organisations.

The National Peace Accord is signed on 14 September by the government, the ANC, the IFP and twenty-four other organisations. The government, the ANC and Inkatha reach an agreement, which opens the door to negotiations and leads to the establishment of the Goldstone Commission.

The Goldstone Commission is established in October to investigate public violence and intimidation.

The government and eighteen other parties (excluding the CP and the PAC), making up the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), sign a Declaration of Intent in December.

The Esikhaweni IFP hit squad is active in areas of Zululand, killing UDF/ANC and union supporters and leaders until 1993.

From 1991, Khayelitsha and other Cape Town townships see the emergence of anonymous ('balaclava') attacks on people aligned with the ANC.

Intense competition between taxi operators for ranking facilities and routes escalates from 1991 and acquires a political character in certain areas (over 200 lives are lost in 1992 alone).

1992 In Umlazi on 13 March, eighteen people are killed (including fifteen women and three children). Twenty-eight are injured in an attack on the Uganda squatter settlement.

A whites-only referendum on 17 March gives the government firm support for negotiations – a 68.6% vote for the continuation of the negotiations process.

In the Phola Park killings on 8 April, the SADF's 32 Battalion shoots dead two women and injures more than a hundred other people during a raid on the Phola Park informal settlement.

In the Boipatong killings on 17 June, two hundred IFP supporters from KwaMadala hostel attack residents of Slovo Park squatter camp, killing over forty-five people. The ANC withdraws from CODESA in protest against the killing and launches a mass action campaign.

The ANC calls a strike on 3-4 August, estimated to have cost business R250 million.

The Skweyiya Commission of Enquiry, an internal ANC commission, reveals details in August of human rights violations in ANC detention camps. Nelson Mandela accepts collective responsibility for the leadership of the ANC.

In the Bisho killings on 7 September, Ciskei Defence Force troops open fire on ANC protesters demanding free political activity in Ciskei at Bisho. Twenty-nine protesters and one soldier are killed and about 200 are wounded. (This follows months of violent conflicts between homeland government supporters and ANC supporters).

On the Natal South Coast, twelve IFP supporters are killed at Bomela in September and twenty at Folweni in October.

The state and the ANC sign the Record of Understanding in September.

APLA attacks the King William's Town golf club in the Eastern Cape in October, killing four and injuring seventeen. The first major attack by APLA, it is followed by other attacks resulting in at least ten deaths in Eastern Cape bars, restaurants and churches. A Goldstone Commission raid in November uncovers a campaign waged by the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) to discredit the ANC. General Pierre Steyn is appointed to investigate Military Intelligence structures and functions.

Project Echo and Operation Thunderstorm, two extensive SADF projects aimed at undermining the ANC, are exposed.

The Internal Stability Unit is created by the SAP to relieve ordinary police of riot duties.

The KwaZulu legislative assembly adopts a constitution for a future state of KwaZulu-Natal as an autonomous state within a federation.

APLA continues armed attacks, including the killing of white farmers.

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- 1993** An APLA commander declares 1993 'The Year of the Great Storm'. APLA operatives carry out several attacks on restaurants, churches, farms and pubs, killing mainly white civilians. In March, APLA attacks the Yellowwoods Hotel in Fort Beaufort and a Baha'i church service in Mdantsane, Ciskei. On 1 May, APLA attacks the Highgate Hotel in East London, on 25 July the St James Church in Cape Town, and on 31 December the Heidelberg Tavern in Cape Town. These attacks result in multiple killings and injuries.
- The government announces in March that it has dismantled six nuclear bombs built secretly before 1989.
- Six children are killed by ANC supporters on 2 March and ten are killed by IFP supporters on 5 March in two separate bus ambushes Table Mountain, Natal.
- Chris Hani is assassinated in April. Senior CP member, Clive Derby-Lewis, and Polish immigrant, Janusz Waluz, are later convicted. Over seventy people die across the country in violence sparked by his murder.
- 27 April 1994 is confirmed as the election date. Inkatha and the CP walk out of the talks, later joined by Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. (They later set up the Freedom Alliance). The July announcement of the election date leads to an immediate escalation in deaths related to political violence.
- The Afrikaner Volksfront is launched in May by 21 right-wing groups who demand self-determination in a federal state.
- Winnie Mandela's conviction on kidnapping charges is upheld on appeal but her conviction on accessory to assault is overturned in June. The sentence is changed to a fine.
- Members of the Afrikaner Volksfront and the AWB invade the negotiations venue, the World Trade Centre, in June and occupy the building causing damages estimated at R700 000.
- A second ANC-appointed enquiry, the Motsuenyane Commission, reports in August on human rights abuses in ANC detention camps. Conclusions reached (similar to those of the first enquiry) are accepted by the ANC. Alleged perpetrators are named.
- The IFP and KwaZulu Legislative Assembly embark on a Self-Protection Unit training project. Training of SPUs begins at Mlaba Camp in September with the assistance of Vlakplaas commander De Kock with weapons delivered by IFP member Philip Powell. (By April 1994, over 5 000 Inkatha supporters have received training).

The ANC wins an order in October, restraining members of the ISU from assaulting and torturing people at Nyoni farm, the ISU headquarters in Vosloorus.

The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk in October.

The SADF attacks an alleged APLA safe house in Umtata, Transkei in October. Five children are killed.

The ANC and the government propose power sharing and a five-year interim government of national unity after elections.

Three years of negotiations end with agreement on constitutional issues in November. Agreements are reached on a non-racial, multi-party democracy, a bill of rights, a system of proportional representation and other matters.

The interim Constitution is finalised and a Transitional Executive Council is installed, with representatives from all parties at the negotiations. The ANC and the government continue talks with the Freedom Alliance in an attempt to resolve issues in time to bring the Alliance into the elections.

1994 One person is killed and several injured in an APLA attack on the Crazy Beat disco in Newcastle, Natal on 14 February.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu announces the suspension of the armed struggle.

The Fourth Interim Report of the Goldstone Commission in March concludes that there is *prima facie* evidence of a hit squad in the KwaZulu Police.

Amidst a widespread public revolt at his decision to withdraw from the April elections, President Mangope draws in the white right wing including the Volksfront to defend his rule. Hundreds of armed AWB members drive into Bophuthatswana and attack residents. Over forty-five people are killed, including three AWB members.

The military ruler of the Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, resigns in March. The Transitional Executive Council takes over control of the Ciskei.

At least fifty-five people die and hundreds are injured when IFP members march to the centre of Johannesburg on 28 March. IFP marchers are shot at by ANC members from the ANC Shell House head office, killing thirteen.

In the Ndwedwe killings, eight people are killed while distributing voter education pamphlets north of Durban on 12 April.

Members of the AWB's *Ystergarde* launch a series of bomb attacks in the Transvaal to sabotage the national election, killing over twenty one people. This includes an attack on the airport, a Germiston taxi rank where ten people are killed, and a car bomb in central Johannesburg on 24 April which kills nine people.

Less than a week before the election in April the IFP calls on its supporters to vote.

South Africa's first democratic election takes place on 27 April. The ANC wins with 62.6% of the vote, implying 252 of the 400 seats in the National Assembly. A Government of National Unity is constituted.

Former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock and two others are arrested in Pretoria in May.

Nelson Mandela is inaugurated as President of South Africa on 10 May.

Regional Profile Eastern Cape

■ OVERVIEW OF THE REGION

Demography

- 1 The current Eastern Cape province borders KwaZulu-Natal in the east, the Western Cape in the west, and the Northern Cape and Free State provinces in the north. It shares an international boundary with Lesotho in the north-east. Geographically, it is the second largest of the current nine provinces. According to the Unit for Statistical Analysis in the Western Cape, there were 6 665 million people living in the current Eastern Cape in 1991 which, after KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, has the third highest population. Unemployment in the province is usually estimated at above the national averages and, in 1991, the Development Bank of South Africa estimated that more than half the adult population had no formal income. Levels of literacy and life expectancy are lower and levels of poverty higher in the Eastern Cape and Northern Province than in any of the other provinces. This poverty tends to be concentrated in the former homeland areas.
- 2 The current Eastern Cape is made up of the eastern part of the old Cape Province and includes two of the four 'independent homelands', namely Transkei and Ciskei. Transkei is the oldest such territory in the country and was granted self-government status in 1963 followed by independence in 1976. Ciskei received self-government status in 1972 followed by independence in 1981. For a substantial part of the period within the Commission's mandate, they had separate parliaments and separate security forces, particularly after independence. The Transkei and Ciskei, which were geographically more united than most of the other homelands, were separated by a narrow strip of land commonly referred to as the Border region. For the purposes of the Commission's work, the Border region was often viewed as part of the Ciskei because of the cross-border nature of some of the violations.

- 3 About 87 per cent of the population of the Eastern Cape is African and almost entirely Xhosa-speaking. Roughly half the population is urbanised, but the majority of the African population lives in rural areas previously governed by homeland administrations.
- 4 Of the main political organisations, the African National Congress (ANC) has the biggest following in the province. Indeed, the Eastern Cape has generally been regarded as the heartland of the ANC. Many of the organisation's national leaders either grew up in the Eastern Cape or were educated at Fort Hare University in Alice, in the former Ciskei. The battles for control over this region often made it a key area of conflict in the country.

Overview of violations

- 5 Abuses of human rights in this region included:
 - a violations committed during the Pondoland Revolt of the 1960s;
 - b armed attacks on civilians carried out by Poqo, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the accompanying torture and executions of Poqo members;
 - c deaths in detention including that of Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) activist, Mr Steve Biko;
 - d widespread torture in detention;
 - e resistance to homeland rule and the related violent conflicts between traditional chiefs on the one hand and supporters of the ANC and the United Democratic Front (UDF) on the other;
 - f clashes between ANC-aligned groups and the Ciskei government and its allies during the 1990s;
 - g shootings by security forces at marches, funerals and protests;
 - h assassinations such as the 1985 killing of the 'Cradock Four';

- i inter-organisational violence such as that between the UDF and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) in the mid-1980s, and between the newly unbanned PAC and ANC during the 1990s;
- j the use by UDF supporters of the 'necklacing' method of killing opponents such as community councillors, police and those perceived to be collaborating with the government;
- k violations committed during clashes between different security forces and homeland rulers, for example during coup attempts;
- l the attacks on security forces and 'soft targets' by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) in the 1990s.

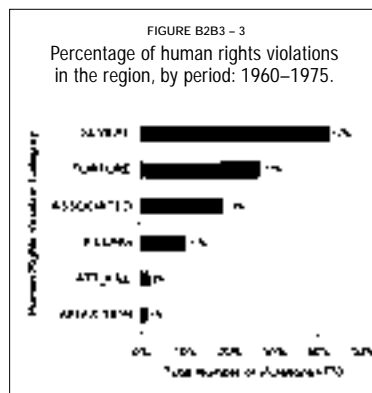
■ 1960-1975

Overview of Violations

- 6 Human rights violations in the Eastern Cape during this period were related to the detention and trial of ANC and PAC members in the early 1960s. The Commission heard numerous allegations of torture and assault in custody. Deaths in custody were also recorded for this period.
- 7 The sabotage campaigns undertaken by the liberation movements in the early 1960s were also felt in the Eastern Cape. In Transkei, a peasants' revolt against tribal authorities and resistance to the impending creation of the Transkei homeland gathered momentum, resulting in the declaration of a state of emergency that would remain in force for more than a decade. Detentions and deaths in custody were a feature of these times.
- 8 The period also saw the creation of the first homelands. In 1963, Transkei became the first region in the country to be granted self-government, with initial strong resistance followed by brief attempts by some ANC groups to work within the new homeland structures. In August 1972, the Ciskei too became self-governing. Forced removals became a key part of Pretoria's push towards 'independence' for these territories.
- 9 Towards the end of the 1960s, police repression, along with new apartheid laws and the forced removal of hundreds of thousands of people from their homes,

generated a climate of fear which resulted in a period of relative quiescence in political resistance until the early 1970s.

- 10 Of the Eastern Cape violations reported to the Commission for this period, the highest number (42 per cent) were cases of severe ill treatment. ►
- 11 The next largest category of violations was torture (27 per cent), while 10 per cent were killings.



State and allied groupings

Detention

- 12 After the lifting of the state of emergency, the strategy of the security forces was to rely primarily on the existing legal system to contain opposition. Using what amounted to legalised violence, repression was enforced with particular ruthlessness in the Eastern Cape, the worst affected area being Port Elizabeth. According to figures quoted by the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF)¹, security police detained over 1 000 people in Port Elizabeth between October 1964 and June 1965.
- 13 Unlike the 1980s strategy of using detention for preventive purposes, the policy in the 1960s and 1970s was to charge and try those arrested. IDAF records that, of the roughly 1 000 persons detained in 1964–65, over 500 were sentenced, 101 became state witnesses, a few had charges withdrawn and the rest were still awaiting trial at the time of publication. Sentences ranged from one to twelve years, often for minor offences such as attending ANC or PAC meetings, distributing leaflets or contributing to ANC funds. Port Elizabeth lawyer John Jackson² notes that political trials in the Eastern Cape began in mid-1965 and were held in small rural courthouses or police stations. Most charges related to the banned ANC and PAC and acquittals were rare. He says of state witnesses:

The promise of personal freedom, if satisfactory evidence was given, was enough to ensure that they would implicate anyone ... During these political trials, the Special Branch, as these policemen were known, conducted the investigation and interrogation. The allegations of torture were plentiful. The

¹ IDAF, The Purge of the Eastern Cape: undated 1960s publication detailing the use of the legal system to contain opposition in the period 1963 to 1965.

² John Jackson, Justice in South Africa, London: Penguin, 1980.

accused were mainly illiterate black men who had been recruited into one of the banned movements and arrested after attending meetings of the organisation. Conviction followed conviction.

- 14 The new laws promulgated during this period facilitated extended detentions. The General Law Amendment Act No 37 of 1963 and the Criminal Procedure Act No 96 of 1965 allowed first for 90-day and then 180-day detentions. Conditions in detention and jails were appalling. Mr Harold Strachan [JB04416/99OVE], who was detained at Port Elizabeth's North End Prison in 1962 and later at Pretoria Central prison, told the Commission's prisons hearing in Johannesburg that North End Prison was "a hellish place" and described seeing warders assault prisoners as a matter of routine. "Where purposeful cruelty and vengeance left off, neglect would take over. Nobody really cared, you know."

Torture

- 15 Statements made to the Commission indicate routine assault and torture of detainees by police. Beatings were the most frequently mentioned violation. Electric shocks were also common and allegations of poisoning were made. Some detainees returned home blind and/or deaf, some mentally ill. Some of those jailed after sentencing were also mistreated. These torture allegations were supported by Mbeki and Southall³ as well as by the submissions handed to the Commission by Kairos.
- 16 Detentions and arrests were carried out primarily by the police, although several deponents also referred to soldiers having been involved. Several cases involved police assaults on family members and destruction of property, apparently in an attempt to force people on the run to surrender to police. Detainees and convicted prisoners were held at many different venues. A key place of torture was, however, a temporary police station housed in tents in Mkambati forest. This appears to have become an established police station by the early 1970s.
- 17 Mr Clement Khehlana 'Fly' Gxabu [EC0882/96ETK] was injured at Ngquza Hill (see below). He told the Commission that he was detained at Lusikisiki police station where he was beaten continuously over a five-day period. Mr Ngwazi Sipolo [EC0542/96ETK] said the police had tried to persuade him to become an informer, but he had not helped them. He was then again arrested and taken to Mkambati forest where he was tortured. Mr Ndovela Nxasana [EC0578/96EKT]

3 Govan Mbeki, *South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt*, 1964; Roger J. Southall, *South Africa's Transkei: The political economy of an "independent" bantustan*, 1982.

was detained because he was a member of *iKongo*. He said he was taken to the tents in Mkambati forest where he was beaten with a stick and his hand was broken. He was also given electric shocks “by an auto engine” while lying down with his hands cuffed behind his back. Nxasana was moved to several other towns, held for a year and later charged and acquitted.

- 18 In September 1963, Mr Henry Fazzie, Mr Singqokwana Ernest Malgas [EC0001/96PLZ] and six others from Port Elizabeth were convicted for undergoing military training with Umkhonto weSizwe (MK). At the first public hearing in East London, Malgas said he had been tortured in detention in the 1960s as well as in the 1980s:

During the torturing, I was always suffocated with a mask and there was this ‘helicopter training’. A stick was put inside your knees and you had to stretch your knees. During that period, you were suffocated.

- 19 He also said that, during the 1980s, his home was attacked several times. During one of these attacks, acid was thrown at one of his sons, who died as a result.

- 20 ANC member Mr Wilson Fanti [EC1704/97SBR] was arrested in Port Elizabeth in March 1964, tried in Graaff-Reinet, sentenced to five years on Robben Island for sabotage and banished to Stutterheim on his release. Fanti said he had been taken from jail to be re-tried in Grahamstown on sabotage charges and jailed for another five years:

We were not even allowed legal representation ... Torture in the form of hard labour and assaults increased as the sentence was doubled.

- 21 Among the many PAC members who testified to the Commission about their severe ill treatment when arrested and imprisoned in the 1960s were Mr Mfene Simon Yoyo [EC0653/96QTN], Mr Makhi Boyi [EC1990/97KWT] and Mr Daniel Paulos Nongena [EC1985/97KWT]. Yoyo, Boyi and Nongena alleged that that they had been assaulted by various policemen, including Mr Donald Card. Yoyo said that, in April 1963, Card and other policemen had beaten him and then hung him out of the window at Cambridge police station in East London. Nongena was one of a group of Poqo members who tried to attack the King William’s Town police station in 1963. He was detained by Mr Charles Xhanti Sebe (now deceased) and Card the following day and taken to King William’s Town. Nongena described his torture:

They put you into the sack, they tie it up and they throw you into the water ... the water inevitably comes into your mouth and stomach and your stomach

would be full of water. They take you out, pump you, pump out the water and put you back again, saying that we must tell the truth.

- 22 Mr Card attended the Commission's King William's Town hearing in May 1997 and denied the allegations saying, "I've never seen them in my life before". He added that he was well known amongst political activists, that his name had been bandied about a lot and that it was a case of mistaken identity. Several deponents told the Commission that they or family members had been assaulted by Card in custody; Card denied these allegations.
- 23 Mr Nohlaza Ngakanani Jakada [EC1340/96ETK] was held at Mkambati in 1971. He had shown scars on his back to his family and told them that he had been beaten and that police had cut his throat. He was jailed for six years, was ill on his release and remained so until his death three years later.
- 24 The Human Rights Commission (HRC) records the death of detainee, Mr Mthayeni Cuthsela, in Pondoland on 21 January 1971. Officially Cuthsela died in hospital of "natural causes, brain haemorrhage"⁴ after forty days' detention. Kairos reports that Cuthsela was detained in December 1970 in connection with the Pietermaritzburg Terrorism Trial, and held at Mkambati camp and Umtata jail. At Mkambati, he was often handcuffed and tied to a tree. He was beaten, kicked and given electric shocks to the ears and penis over four days. Although he complained of severe headaches, he was denied access to a doctor at both Mkambati and Umtata. In January 1971, Cuthsela was taken while unconscious from the Umtata jail to the local hospital, where he died of a brain haemorrhage attributable to arteriosclerosis. The police retained the death certificate.⁵
- 25 Kairos reports that Mr Mfolwane Mbele [EC1654/97ETK] had been held with Cuthsela, who told him of the assaults.⁶ Mbele's brother, Mr Ndengezi Makhokhoba, told the Commission that they had only been able to locate Mbele after he had been in custody for two years (similar complaints were made to the Commission about other detainees during the Pondoland Revolt). Makhokhoba told the Commission that after Mbele's release:

He came back very ill, he could not eat, his mouth was full of scars, he complained of backache and that his whole body was aching.

4 Human Rights Commission, Deaths in detention, August 1990. (This Human Rights Commission was later renamed the Human Rights Committee).

5 Kairos, Political prisoners and detainees in South Africa. Preliminary report, November 1996, pp 5-6; and Kairos, Torture in South Africa, Theunis Jacobus Swanepoel, February 1977, p 26.

6 Kairos (1997) p 26.

- 26 Mr Makhokhoba said they took Mbele to hospital where the doctors told the family that he had been poisoned. Mbele's widow, Ms Nantagelo Makhokhoba, told the Commission:

He said that when he was in detention, they would beat him up. He said that they would be hung on trees, they would sleep there on the tree. They were then taken to 'Maritzburg where they were detained before they went to Robben Island ... He said that what really hurt him was that, before they actually went to Robben Island, the torture was worse.

- 27 Mbele died in May 1980, a few weeks after his release. Mr Ndengezi Makhokhoba told the Commission that he himself had been detained and assaulted while attending his brother's trial in Pietermaritzburg. During 1977, while visiting his brother in jail, he was again arrested and assaulted until his hip was dislocated.

Deaths and disappearances in custody

- 28 Leading members of the MK command were amongst those arrested early in this period. Howard Barrell⁷ names three Eastern Cape unionists, Mr Looksmart Ngudle, Mr Washington Bongco [EC2165/97ETK] and Mr Vuyisile Mini [EC2097/97PLZ], as MK commanders in the Western Cape, Border region and Eastern Cape respectively.
- 29 On 24 January 1964, Mr James Tyitya became the first political detainee to die in police custody in Port Elizabeth. The cause of death was given as "suicide by hanging".
- 30 In 1969, seven people across the country died in detention. One of them was South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) unionist and ANC activist Caleb Mayekiso [EC0644/96PLZ], who died in Port Elizabeth on 1 June 1969, reportedly of "natural causes", after being held for eighteen days under the Terrorism Act.⁸ His daughter, Ms Nomakhosazana Queenie Mayekiso, told the Commission that her father had been jailed for two and a half years in 1964 on charges of terrorism, re-tried while in jail and sentenced to an additional three years. He was released in August 1968 and detained again in May 1969. Two weeks later his family was told he had died of chronic bronchitis. However, "I learnt from another detainee that he was killed with an electric shock". Mr Mayekiso had taken a leading role in the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s and worked as an underground member of the ANC after it was banned.

⁷ Howard Barrell, *MK: The ANC's armed struggle*. Johannesburg: Penguin, 1990.

⁸ The Terrorism Act No 83 of 1967. Section 6 of this Act provided for detention in solitary confinement for indefinite periods.

31 Of those who died or disappeared in custody, some may have died in detention, others as sentenced prisoners. In most cases, families had little information about the deaths. Disappearances reported to the Commission for this period include that of Mr Maqhilane Solomase Nodosha [EC2064/97ETK], last seen being taken away by the police in March 1960, and the disappearance of Mr Ndlanganyana Mvunyiswa [EC1794/97ETK], last seen being arrested by the police in the same year.

32 In 1960, Mr Mtayini Myezo [EC1658/97ETK] was detained on three separate occasions; he told his family he had been assaulted during each detention. His daughter-in-law, Ms Nkanyiwe Myezo, told the Commission:

On the third time, the police came to say he was dead. They said he died of TB [tuberculosis]. We went to pick up his body and we saw that his body had a scar cut in his right head side as if he was beaten by an iron baton.

33 Mr Fuzile Shikita and his son, Mr Zanyokwe Shikita [EC1780/97ETK], were both detained in March 1960. They fought with the police and attempted to resist arrest. Zanyokwe Shikitha was released a few days later and told his family of beatings in detention; Fuzile Shikita died in custody the following year. The family did not know any further details. It is not clear whether Shikita died as a detainee or as a sentenced prisoner.

34 Mr Shweni Zibonele [EC1535/97ETK] was one of those who died in prison after being sentenced. He was arrested in the aftermath of the 1960 Ngquza incident (discussed below) and jailed for an effective four years. He died in prison in Bloemfontein in 1962. Ms Makhonjwayo Javu told the Commission:

My father wrote a letter to me from an East London cell. He was complaining about ill treatment there, saying he was sick. Another letter came from him from a prison in Bloemfontein ... In this last letter he was again telling me about ill treatment there. He said he was often put into a freezer for hours [overnight] and was taken out in the morning. In that letter my father was telling me that by the time they were taken out it would be difficult to talk.

35 Ms Javu said the family received a telephone call from the prison authorities calling them to Bloemfontein because Zibonele was ill, but that they had been too afraid to go. They were later told he had died.

36 The HRC records the death in Transkei of two detainees, Mr Ngeni Gaga and Mr Pongolosha Hoye. Both were detained on 8 May 1965 and died the next day; in

both cases, the official cause of death was given as “natural causes”.⁹ These cases were not brought to the Commission. However, given the treatment of detainees reported to the Commission, it seems likely that the two men died as a result of treatment in detention. It is not clear in which area of Transkei these men were held.

- 37 Mr Mbambani Solomon Madikizela [EC1805/97ETK] disappeared in police custody in 1967. His family told the Commission that Madikizela was an ANC member who had recently returned home from Bophuthatswana. Police had taken him away in a helicopter, saying they were taking him to hospital. He was never seen again.

After-effects of torture

- 38 The Commission received approximately ninety statements about people who had been detained and/or jailed, subsequently returning home ill and dying as a result of abuse suffered in prison. Some died within days or weeks, most within a few months, but some deaths took place years later. In many cases, deponents said the ex-detainees were permanently ill. Some families were too afraid to take the ill for medical treatment, but several deponents refer to visits to hospitals that failed to prevent the deaths. At least one deponent reported that a doctor had told the family that the ex-prisoner had been poisoned (Mfolwane Mbele [EC1654/97ETK], see below).

- 39 Mr Sithembiso Ndesi [EC2059/97ETK], Mr Sambathi Majova [EC2062/97ETK], Mr Sithembile Ngalavu [EC0536/96ETK] and Mr Bambaliphi Mdlamla [EC0585/96ETK] were all ill when they were released from custody in 1960/1 and died within months. Ms Nobawo Mildred Mdlamla said of her husband:

He said that the cell that he was in was not sheltered. When it rained, it would rain on them. We would take him from hospital to hospital, thinking that he would improve. He would cough blood.

- 40 He was bedridden and died a year later.
- 41 Mr Aaron Mandokoza Mbhali [EC2060/97ETK] was released permanently blinded. His family said he believed he had been given poisoned water to wash in.
- 42 Mr Sikinkili Moyiswa [EC0538/96ETK] was detained in 1960 and later told relatives of beatings and electric shocks at Mkambati. He was detained again in 1970 and was constantly ill until his death years later.

⁹ Human Rights Commission, Deaths in detention, August 1990.

- 43 Mr Mbethwa Silangwe [EC1677/97ETK] was held at Bizana police station with his son, Mr Mnikelwa Silangwe, who said white police officers had beaten his father and attacked his testicles with pliers. Mbethwa died from his injuries a few months later.
- 44 Mr James Notununu [EC0588/96ETK] was jailed for a year. On his release, he told his family he had been poisoned in jail. He died about a month later.
- 45 Mr Takutshane Mayidume [EC1666/97ETK] was jailed for three years in East London prison and died three months after returning home. His daughter, Ms Nokwanda Nora, told the Commission:

His lower limbs were not functioning; his side teeth were gone. He had marks all over the body and his eyesight was gone. He died as a result of the severe torture he suffered in prison.

- 46 Some prisoners returned home mentally ill. Mr Wani Ntsede [EC1811/97ETK] was detained in March 1960 and held for five months in Idutywa. His son Mamothisa told the Commission:

At the time of the arrest he was severely beaten with fists and kicked all over his body. It would appear that during the period of his incarceration at Idutywa prison, a similar form of ill treatment was meted out to him – for at the time of his release in 1966 he was mentally deranged. He then passed away in 1970. At the time of his passing away, he was deaf in both ears.

- 47 Mr Makulana Phato [EC1819/97ETK] was held for five years, variously at Bizana, Mount Frere, Umtata and Butterworth. His family told the Commission they did not know whether or not he had stood trial. He was assaulted in custody, released mentally ill and died of head injuries a few months later.

Banishment

- 48 Many of those who had served their sentences were, on their release, banished to remote parts of the Eastern Cape, including Dimbaza in the Ciskei and Ilinge near Queenstown.
- 49 Mr Eric Lulamile Vara [EC1568/97NWC] was arrested in February 1963 together with Mr Aaron Mzwandile Sizila [EC1287/96NWC], secretary of the Cradock ANC branch, and jailed for furthering the aims of the ANC. Vara's son, Mr Nondwe Vara,

told the Commission that, when his father was released three years later, “he was mentally disturbed due to beating with a hammer whilst serving on Robben Island”. Both the Vara and Sizila families were banished to Ilinge. Nondwe Vara reported:

Whilst in Ilinge, his health became worse such that he had to be taken to Komani mental hospital for treatment. He died after three months of being admitted to Komani hospital. I believe that if my father was not arrested and imprisoned in Robben Island he would still be alive.

- 50 Mr Sizila’s wife, Ms Nozithandiso Olga Sizila, told the Commission that prison warders assaulted Sizila and his teeth were broken. After his release, the family were banished from Cradock and sent to Ilinge, where they were kept under house arrest. Ms Sizila was pregnant at the time and her husband was ill. When her baby died at the age of three months, the family could not afford to buy a coffin:

We then put the baby, the baby’s corpse, in a cardboard [box], we took the baby to the graveyard. We dug a hole and we put the box inside. Our neighbours could not do anything to help us. We had no food. It is my mother who travelled from Cradock to Queenstown and gave us food.

- 51 Ms Sizila’s brother, who was also tortured, was a member of MK and was shot dead by police in Port Elizabeth in 1987.

III treatment of families

- 52 Some deponents reported that families were ill treated when police attempted to find suspects. Mr Ndoyisile Mari [EC2145/97PLZ] was arrested in 1964 and jailed for seven years on Robben Island for underground activities. His wife, Ms Vuniwe Angelina Mari, told the Commission that the family had been harassed repeatedly by police while they searched for him before his arrest. She told the Commission:

Inside the house if they [the police] don’t find him they used to kick me, chasing my children in and out the house, forcing me to tell of his whereabouts. As a result, my second child from there on suffered from a mental sickness because he was hit against the wall also. He could not manage even to go to school ...

[My husband was eventually arrested.] ... That was the worst day of my life seeing my husband naked, leaving my house to a car, kicked, and I still have that picture. His clothes were like washing hung on a line from his arms.

- 53 On his release, Mr Ndoyisile Mari was restricted and the family was banished from Port Elizabeth to King William's Town, over 200 km away.
- 54 Ms Zakheleni Nkanyezi [EC2169/97ETK] was seventeen at the time of the Ngquza shootings (see below). Her father, Mr Mdayimani Nkanyezi, fled when the security forces arrived to arrest him, but the soldiers severely assaulted her mother and five-year-old brother. Her brother, Mr Dalindyabo Nkanyezi, died three months later and her mother, Ms Mafoxini Nkanyezi, four months later. She attributed both deaths to the assaults. Her father then handed himself over to the police in Durban and was taken back to Bizana with his daughter.

The police or soldiers who were in the police station told me they are taking me home and I was to look at my father for the last time because they are going to kill him.

- 55 Her father was subsequently convicted and executed.
- 56 Ms Irene Nontobeko Nakwa [EC1432/97ETK] told the Commission that her baby son Vuyisile was injured when police arrived at her home to detain her husband, Mr Kholisile Nakwa:

As the Boers were taking my husband away, I tried to give him his coat. The Boers shoved me away and in the process hit my baby boy with a knobkierrie [club]. When I took my baby to the doctor later, I was told that my baby had a drop of blood in his brains. That boy who has grown to be a man ... is still troubling me to date. He is epileptic. He couldn't go to school.

- 57 Kholisile Nakwa was held for six months and afterwards complained continually of pain behind his ear. "When he died in 1980", his wife said, "he just fell down, had a bout of fits and died on the spot".
- 58 The Commission heard that detainees were frequently moved from one police station or prison to another as part of a strategy to break contact between the prisoners themselves and between the prisoners and their families outside.
- 59 Mr Motshwa Sigwinta [EC1782/97ETK] and his brother, Mr Qawukeni Sigwinta [EC1782/97ETK], were arrested in April 1960, convicted and sent to work as farm labourers. Qawukeni died in the 1970s, apparently while still working as a prisoner on a farm. The surviving brother told the Commission:

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

We were planting and harvesting potatoes under very harsh conditions. All this we were doing physically under very strict supervision from as early as about 4am until about after 7pm.

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

- 60 Those who were jailed often had their homes destroyed by the chiefs. Mr Mranqwa Bhalala [EC1827/97ETK] was detained for a year and assaulted. A week after his release the local chief, together with police, arrived at the Bhalala home and torched it.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT DETAINEES, PARTICULARLY THOSE REGARDED AS MEMBERS OF THE ANC AND PAC AND THEIR ARMED WINGS, WERE SUBJECTED TO VARIOUS FORMS OF SEVERE ILL TREATMENT AND TORTURE BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE (SAP). THE COMMISSION BELIEVES THAT SUCH ILL TREATMENT AND TORTURE RESULTED IN DEATHS IN DETENTION – FOR EXAMPLE, THAT OF MR CALEB MAYEKISO IN PORT ELIZABETH IN 1969. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUCH SEVERE ILL TREATMENT, TORTURE AND RESULTANT DEATHS IN DETENTION AMOUNT TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE STATE, IN THE FORM OF THE SAP, DETAINED AND TORTURED SEVERAL HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE IN PONDOLAND DURING AND AFTER THE PERIOD OF PONDOLAND REVOLT. THIS RESULTED IN SOME DEATHS IN POLICE CUSTODY– AS A RESULT OF TORTURE DURING CUSTODY AND AS A RESULT OF CONDITIONS OF CUSTODY.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT DETAINEES WERE SUBJECTED TO VARIOUS FORMS OF SEVERE ILL TREATMENT INCLUDING SEVERE ASSAULT, ELECTRIC SHOCK, AND OTHER FORMS OF TORTURE THAT RESULTED IN MANY DEATHS AFTER DETENTION.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT COLONEL CJ DRYER, A POLICEMAN LAMPRECHT, AND COLONEL THEUNIS SWANEPOEL, WHO WERE BASED AT MKAMBATI FOREST POLICE STATION, PLAYED A LEADING ROLE IN THE TORTURE OF DETAINEES.

THE COMMISSION RECEIVED VARIOUS ALLEGATIONS OF POISONING OF DETAINEES BUT DOES NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE TO MAKE A FINDING IN THIS REGARD.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE POLICE WERE PART OF A SYSTEMATIC CAMPAIGN TO SUPPRESS POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO THE POLICIES OF THE STATE AND THAT THESE ACTIONS BY THE SAP AMOUNT TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Resistance and revolutionary groupings

ANC/MK activities

- 61 During the 1950s, the ANC had built up a strong mass base in the Eastern Cape. When the ANC was banned in 1960, many recruits into the newly formed MK came from that region. MK engaged in a number of acts of sabotage in the Eastern Cape as part of its 'armed propaganda' campaign. Academic Tom Lodge records that Port Elizabeth was the region most seriously affected by the ANC's sabotage campaign, with fifty-eight attacks recorded. Cape Town was next with thirty-five. In the rest of the Eastern Cape, six attacks were recorded for East London and five for Uitenhage, near Port Elizabeth. Lodge also notes that, while nationally there was a general adherence to the national command's instruction to avoid bloodshed, there were twenty-three attacks on railways or beer halls that endangered lives, and twenty-three attacks on police officers. Most of these took place in either Port Elizabeth or Durban¹⁰.

PAC/Poqo activities

- 62 In line with the national Poqo call for an uprising targeting whites and following the 1960 Pondoland Revolt, Poqo activity increased in Transkei. Poqo activity in the Eastern Cape was concentrated in parts of Transkei, in the Queenstown area and in Graaff-Reinet (the hometown of PAC leader Robert Sobukwe). Much of this activity, particularly in the Queenstown and Transkei regions, seems to have been influenced by migrant workers who lived in Transkei and worked in Cape Town. The Poqo operations in Paarl in the Western Cape also involved some Transkei migrants.
- 63 In December 1962, Poqo members made an abortive attempt to assassinate Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima at his home at Qamata near Cofimvaba. Matanzima, who was later to become first president of an 'independent' Transkei, was at the time actively promoting self-government for the Transkei. Seven Poqo members were killed and three police officers seriously injured in the encounter. Statements made to the Commission suggest that, after this incident, Poqo members were rounded up and taken to Qamata where they were beaten. Some alleged that Chief Matanzima himself had been involved in this. The Commission met with Chief Matanzima, who said he was too old to remember matters from the 1960s and declined to be interviewed.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE PAC /POQO CARRIED OUT FAILED ATTEMPT(S) TO KILL PARAMOUNT CHIEF KAISER MATANZIMA AND TOOK PART IN ARMED ACTIONS IN WHICH

10 Tom Lodge, *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1983.

CIVILIANS AND/OR POLICE WERE KILLED OR INJURED. THESE ACTIONS WERE CARRIED OUT AS PART OF THE PAC'S ARMED STRUGGLE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THESE ACTIONS AMOUNT TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE PAC IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

- 64 In 1962, there was Poqo activity in a village called Jixini, in the district of Mqanduli in Transkei. Mr Mamfengu Leonard Mzolisa [EC2467/97CTK], who joined the PAC in 1960, told the Commission that the Jixini branch of Poqo planned an attack on white people near the area; but before this campaign could take off, more than 100 Poqo members were arrested. The prison and police station of Mqanduli reportedly overflowed with people detained during this period. Mzolisa was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in East London for participating in an unlawful gathering. Mzolisa named four prisoners, including his brother, who died as a result of ill treatment during this time.
- 65 On the night of 4 February 1963, Poqo members attacked a group of whites who were sleeping at the roadside near Bashee (Mbashe) River bridge in Transkei, killing five people. A massive police crackdown on the PAC followed and fifty-five people were arrested and charged with murder, twenty-three of whom were convicted and sentenced to death. The Commission did not receive submissions from the victims of this attack, but two were received from PAC members arrested in connection with the incident. Mr Gilindonda Nomgogwana [EC2021/97UTA] and Mr Right Mangqikana [EC2079/97UTA] were both charged. Mangqikana was subsequently executed and Nomgogwana was jailed for three and a half years. Nomgogwana said he was assaulted in Umtata and East London during his detention and later while jailed on Robben Island:

I was repeatedly beaten up with sticks, fists, open hands, kicked with booted feet and I was also subjected to helicopter treatment.

- 66 Mr Zakhele Mangqikana said his father, Mr Right Mangqikana, had been innocent:

It was alleged that those Boers had been killed by the members of Poqo, of which my father was a member. But I am made to believe that my father was not present when those Boers were killed.

- 67 In addition, in 1963, fifty-six PAC members went on trial in Steynsburg for involvement in Poqo activities. The Commission heard that Mr Velile Willie Ramncwana [EC1235/96NWC], one of the accused, was tortured in detention by unknown police officers in Venterstad and Colesburg. They threw water over him and beat him on the head with bricks. One eardrum was damaged, leaving him partially deaf. He was sentenced to three years in prison.

- 68 The most famous of the PAC prisoners from the Eastern Cape was the PAC president, Mr Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe [EC0155/97ALB]. Sobukwe was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in May 1960. Once he had completed his sentence, Parliament introduced a special amendment to the Suppression of Communism Act to provide for people convicted of certain political offences to be held in continual detention after completion of their sentences — if the Minister of Justice believed that they were likely to 'further the aims of Communism' on their release. In terms of a clause amending the General Law Amendment Act (No 37 of 1963), often referred to as the 'Sobukwe clause', Sobukwe was detained on Robben Island until May 1969, when he was released and banished to Kimberley until his death in 1978. According to his widow, Ms Zondeni Veronica Sobukwe:

My husband was to be released on 30 May [1963] but he was not released. The government refused. He was one of the people who built up an organisation. They then decided that they will pass a Sobukwe Clause so that they can keep him ...

It is both the NP and the opposition party of the day that agreed that he should be, he should remain in jail. It is only Helen Suzman who spoke up for him. Even the opposition party said that he should remain in custody. Nobody wanted him to be released.

- 69 Ms Sobukwe said her husband had been healthy before he was jailed but became ill while in jail. She unsuccessfully petitioned the government for his release so that he could get medical treatment at home. In 1966, he was admitted to hospital under a false name and had an operation about which his family was not informed. He also told his wife he had been given food with broken glass in it while on Robben Island. After his release, in Kimberley, Sobukwe suffered from a chronic cough. The family was initially refused permission to take him to Johannesburg to see a specialist. Sobukwe eventually died of lung cancer in 1978.

The Pondoland Revolt¹¹

- 70 The granting of self-government status to Transkei and Ciskei (in 1963 and 1972 respectively) was a first move towards setting up homeland parliamentary systems, separate homeland legislation and separate homeland police forces. (Military structures followed only at independence.) Although the Transkei Police force was set up in 1966, the SAP retained access to both homelands.

¹¹ Information on the revolt has been taken from: Govan Mbeki (1964) and Roger J. Southall, *South Africa's Transkei: The political economy of an "independent" bantustan*. 1982, and statements made to the Commission.

- 71 The incidents that collectively became known as the Pondoland Revolt took place primarily in 1960-61 in the Pondoland region of former Transkei. The Commission received over 200 human rights violations statements in connection with the Pondoland Revolt, almost all of which were taken in the Bizana-Lusikisiki-Flagstaff regions, mostly from the Bizana area. No amnesty applications were received in connection with this matter. A public hearing was held at Lusikisiki in March 1997, generating enormous public interest. The gap of nearly four decades since the revolt meant that the Commission had difficulty collecting information and retrieving documentation. While some of the deponents had been personally involved in the revolt and could speak from their personal experiences, many stories were given to the Commission by descendants who lacked clear information on what had happened. Some deponents reported victims on both sides of the conflict.
- 72 The cases reported to the Commission included ten people killed by security forces outside of custody, eight deaths and disappearances in custody, three people killed by *iKongo* members, five permanent disappearances, seventeen judicial executions, approximately ninety people whose subsequent deaths were attributed to their treatment in custody, numerous cases of assaults and torture in custody, and various attacks on property both belonging to *iKongo* members and to those who supported Bantu Authorities. A total of fifty-three deaths was directly attributable to the conflict, and a further ninety deaths are believed by community members to have flowed from the conflict. Several deponents reported banishment to different areas.
- 73 The roots of the revolt were traced back to the 1950s and to the resistance by Pondoland communities to the imposition of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 (the forerunner to homeland rule) which provided for the establishment of tribal, regional and territorial authorities in the homelands. By the 1960s, the Pondoland communities were accusing the chiefs of being dictatorial and of abusing the powers granted to them, which included the running of tribal courts and the allocation of land. There was dissatisfaction with the rule of Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau, who years later was to become the first state president of the independent Transkei. Requests to the magistrate to meet with the community to discuss grievances were turned down. Mr Clement Khehlana 'Fly' Gxabu [EC0882/96ETK] told the Commission:

Our chiefs were singing the same song with the Boers which created the division between Pondo people and the chiefs. In 1960, we took a decision to defy the chiefs' authority over us. Instead of attending their tribal courts,

we decided to go to the mountains to have our court there, to solve our problems without the chiefs.

- 74 Those who opposed the chiefs' rule started holding their own meetings, first in forests and later on hilltops, leading to the naming of the movement as the 'Intaba (mountain) Committee'. It later became known as *iKongo*¹². Statements to the Commission indicated that the first mountain committee was formed at Nonqulwana Hill near Bizana, followed by committees at Ngqindilili Hill, Indlovu Hill and Ngquza Hill, all in the Flagstaff–Lusikisiki area. The Pondoland Revolt was generally referred to by deponents to the Commission as '*Nonqulwana*' after the first hill committee. While this movement clearly involved ANC supporters, the revolt appears to have been a local initiative in response to local grievances rather than a planned ANC campaign. Of those linked to the *iKongo* group who made statements to the Commission, all but one indicated allegiance to the ANC; the single PAC member told the Commission that at the time of these uprisings he had been an ANC member.
- 75 *iKongo* members and supporters took action against chiefs and those they regarded as collaborating with them. It appears that property was initially the primary target: a large number of huts belonging to Bantu Authorities supporters were burnt down. A few months later, the chiefs and their perceived 'collaborators' themselves became the targets. Southall records that twenty-two people identified in some way with the authorities were killed by *iKongo* members. The Commission received several submissions relating to such attacks, including three killings.
- 76 Some families were caught up on both sides of the conflict. A local headman, Mr Manhanha Maqewu [EC2067/97ETK and EC1807/97ETK], joined the *iKongo* group and attended their meetings. His daughter-in-law, Ms Virginia Nodipha [EC1807/97/ETK], told the Commission:

There was a day when he did not excuse himself from attending a meeting at Ndlovu because of an aching leg. Some men came with torches on the night of 18 December 1960 and attacked and killed him.

- 77 Another daughter-in-law, Ms Nyembani Mafololzi Mbotho, told the Commission that "he was killed with swords as he was suspected of being an informer". Ms Mbotho added that her husband, Mr Mikayeli Nodipha, was jailed for ANC membership for three years in 1961 and that her house was burnt down.

12 The term *iKongo* appears to have been a corruption of 'Congress' in a reference to the ANC, as many of those involved had joined the ANC before it was banned. Some deponents told the Commission it was a way of referring to the ANC while it was banned, with the pretence that *iKongo* was a different organisation. It appears, however, that the name was in use in rural parts of Transkei before the ANC was banned [see Robin Bloch, 'The high cost of living: The Port Elizabeth "Disturbances" of October, 1920' in *Africa Perspective* No. 19, 1981].

- 78 There were also clashes between *iKongo* members and police. In March 1960, Mr Bhungweni Tshezi [EC1496/97ETK] died after police beat him with rifle butts in the Bizana area.
- 79 In May 1960, a meeting held at Ngquza Hill was teargassed from a helicopter by the security forces. Armed *iKongo* members fired at the helicopter. At one of the *iKongo* meetings in May, Mr Earnest Gwede Pepu [EC1762/97ETK] was shot dead by police and Mr Nkosayipheli Msukeni [EC1828/97ETK] was severely injured by the police and died on the way to hospital.
- 80 On 6 June 1960, a group of *iKongo* members were meeting again at Ngquza Hill when two aircraft and a helicopter dropped tear gas and smoke bombs on them¹³. Mr Clement Gxabu told the Commission that, although some of the *iKongo* members had been armed at the May meeting; they were not armed at the June meeting because they “intended convincing them that we were not at war with them but only needed a government delegation to talk to us about our grievances”. Thus, they had been expecting a representative from the government to come and meet with them at Ngquza. When the police arrived instead, the group raised a white flag. Police emerged from nearby bushes and opened fire, killing eleven people, including the leader, Mr Wana ‘One’ Johnson [EC0544/96ETK], Mr Sigwebo Mfuywa [EC0335/96ETK], Mr Ntamehlo Sipika [EC0881/96ETK], Mr Khoyo Chagi [EC0534/96ETK] and Mr Ndindwa Popotshe [EC0541/96ETK] and wounding many others, including Gxabu. Mfuywa’s daughter-in-law, Ms Mabathini Ntombizabantu Mfuywa, told the Commission:
- We were told that father was shot in the arm. He fell. As he was down, he was shot at the back of the head and the bullet exited through the nose and he died instantly. We never attended his funeral.*
- 81 Mr Sijumba Mlandelwa [EC0880/96ETK] and Mr Madodana Ndzoziyana [EC1659/97ETK] disappeared permanently after the Ngquza shootings and no bodies were found. Mr Ngangilizwe Bele [EC2066/97ETK] disappeared in the same year, shortly after police arrived at his village to arrest people. His family never saw him again.
- 82 In late October 1960, an inquest heard that *post mortems* on the exhumed bodies of the eleven killed at Ngquza Hill indicated that six had died from bullet wounds, three from bullets in the back of the skull. Due to the late exhumations, it was not possible to determine the cause of death in the others. Lawyer Roley Arenstein,

¹³ The use of at least one helicopter and two aircraft is mentioned by Mbeki, Southall and in various statements made to the Commission.

who represented the families of some of the dead men, was restricted by the government to the Durban area and could not attend the inquest. Another lawyer appeared instead. The inquest subsequently called the police actions “unjustified and excessive, even reckless”. It appears, however, that no members of the security forces were prosecuted¹⁴. This is likely to have been because the Indemnity Act of 1961 provided that no civil or criminal proceedings could be brought against the government or anyone acting under government authority in respect of acts carried out in good faith (after 21 March 1960) with the intention of restoring public order.

- 83 It appears that both the SAP and the South African Defence Force (SADF) were involved in the Ngquza Hill incident. Most accounts (including reports on the inquest) point to the police as having carried out the shooting, while the aircraft and helicopter must have belonged to the SADF as the SAP did not have such items at that time¹⁵. Mr Gxabu told the Commission that men parachuted down from the aeroplane during the Ngquza incident: these were presumably soldiers rather than police. The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) denied SADF involvement in the incident, while the South African Police Services (SAPS) had no record of it. A number of factors support the suspicion that the shootings were a planned ambush. These include the arrival of the security forces instead of the expected government representatives at the meeting, the absence of any reports of warnings by the security forces calling for the meeting to disperse before the teargassing and shootings, the fact that the white flag was ignored, the use of Sten sub-machine guns (as found by the inquest), and the fact that some of those at the meeting were shot in the back of the head.
- 84 The Ngquza Hill shootings were followed by mass detentions and arrests by police and further attacks on Bantu Authorities supporters by *iKongo* members. Mbeki reports that twenty-three people were arrested on charges of fighting after the Ngquza Hill shootings. Nineteen of these were subsequently sentenced to prison terms ranging from eighteen months with six strokes to twenty-one months. At least some of the *iKongo* members sentenced to death also appear to have been convicted on charges arising out of this incident. Statements to the Commission indicate that police tracked down and detained others who had been at Ngquza Hill and also people who had not been there but were known to the local authorities as *iKongo* activists. Deponents told the Commission that

14 Information from an undated statement to the Commission by Leonard Maqhatshu Mdingi, who said that he had been tasked with investigating the Pondoland events at the time by the ANC underground. He stated that the Attorney-General had declined to prosecute following the inquest findings.

15 Information given by the South African Police Service on 29 May 1998 in response to a query from the Commission.

some of those taken into custody were beaten at the time of arrest; some were tortured in detention. Family members who were suspected of hiding wanted people were assaulted by police. Statements to the Commission indicate that the vast majority of those detained and arrested were men.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE STATE USED SEVERAL CHIEFS IN THE TRANSKEI REGION TO SILENCE POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO THE POLICY OF APARTHEID, USING METHODS INCLUDING BANISHMENT, FORCED REMOVAL OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS AND DESTRUCTION OF THEIR PROPERTY.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT PARAMOUNT CHIEF KAISER DALIWONGA MATANZIMA ORDERED OR SANCTIONED SEVERAL VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS INCLUDING TORTURE OR PHYSICAL ASSAULTS ON PEOPLE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THESE ACTIONS AMOUNTED TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH SOME OF THE CHIEFS IN TRANSKEI REGION, INCLUDING PARAMOUNT CHIEF KD MATANZIMA ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A GROUP OF PEOPLE CALLING THEMSELVES 'IKONGO MEMBERS' WERE INVOLVED IN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WHEN THEY CARRIED OUT REVENGE ATTACKS ON PEOPLE WHO WERE ALLEGED TO BE SUPPORTERS OF THE BANTU AUTHORITIES, KILLING SOME AND BURNING DOWN THEIR PROPERTIES. THIS CONTRIBUTED TO A CULTURE OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE IN THE EASTERN CAPE AND AMOUNTED TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH IKONGO MEMBERS ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SECURITY FORCES, IN THE FORM OF THE SAP ACTING WITH SUPPORT FROM THE SADF, SHOT AND KILLED ELEVEN PEOPLE AND INJURED AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF OTHERS NEAR NGQUZA HILL ON 6 JUNE 1960. THE COMMISSION FURTHER FINDS THAT NO WARNING WAS GIVEN BEFORE THE SHOOTING STARTED AND THAT UNJUSTIFIABLE DEADLY FORCE WAS USED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE SECURITY FORCES AMOUNT TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE SAP AND THE SADF ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

- 85 By September of 1960, authorities were restricting media access and denying that the unrest was a revolt against the Bantu Authorities. In a statement to the press, the commissioner-general for the Xhosa group, Mr JH Abraham, said:

Tribal clashes, which occur from time to time and which have occurred regularly throughout history, are presented as revolts against the system of Bantu Authorities. Even when the true facts are supplied to these newspapers, the paragraph giving the facts is carefully deleted.

- 86 A commission of enquiry was set up under the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner of Ciskei, Mr J A van Heerden, and announced its findings to a mass meeting of about 15 000 Pondos in October. It reported that it had found that secret meetings had been held, that law-abiding people had been threatened that their huts would be burnt if they did not attend these meetings and that many huts had been burnt, causing £20 000 worth of damage. It also found that, although mistakes had been

made in implementing the Bantu Authorities provisions, people in Pondoland had been misled into believing the government was against them. Some of the people's complaints were justified, but a number of the grievances could not be blamed on the Bantu Authorities system. It appears that the enquiry did not look into the shootings by police. A public meeting at Imizizi Hill in Bizana later rejected the commission's finding and decided to stop paying taxes and boycott white-owned stores in Bizana. The inquest, later that month, criticised the police shootings.

- 87 In November 1960, police disrupted a meeting at a hill near Flagstaff and shot and killed Mr Qhuntswana Gilbert Bewu [EC2065/97ETK]. Chief Vukayibambe Sigcau (brother to the paramount chief) was accused of helping the police in this attack and he and two of his headmen were subsequently killed. Mr Sheleni Mhlokhulu and Mr Shadrack George [both EC0656/96ETK] were convicted of murder in connection with the killing of Sigcau. George handed himself over to police after hearing that police had damaged his home while searching for him. Both were subsequently executed.
- 88 On 14 December, a state of emergency was declared in terms of Proclamations 400 and 413, prohibiting meetings and giving chiefs powers of banishment. Mbeki states that 4 769 people were detained during 1960, 2 067 of whom were eventually brought to trial. By the end of 1960, the uprising appears to have been over. Most of the leadership was in jail, dead or in hiding. Mbeki records that, between 24 August and 28 October 1961, thirty people were sentenced to death in trials arising out of the revolt; Southall states that nine of these were later reprieved. The Commission received statements in connection with seventeen executions.
- 89 Mr Simbo Hlongwe Khalakahle said his father, Mr Cenjulwa Hlongwe [EC0337/97ETK] was one of those sentenced to death in the Kokstad court: "He was then taken to Pretoria and my mother and brother were taken to Pretoria to watch my father die".
- 90 While some of those on trial were represented by lawyers, it appears that some were not. Mr David Tshikilo Manqa [EC1821/97ETK], who was acquitted on appeal on charges of burning down a chief's house, was represented by lawyers during the trial. Manqa told the Commission:

When the chief saw this, he took police and went to raid my house at three in the morning. They shot at my house, harassed my family, destroyed my property, stole R100 of mine and eventually shot me in the chest and left leg.

- 91 He was charged with attacking the police, denied access to his lawyer for this case and jailed for two years.

Other resistance to homeland rule

- 92 The violence and mass arrests of the Pondoland Revolt subsided within months, but isolated resistance to homeland rule continued. It appears that the ANC initially decided to work within the new homeland structures, but had grown disillusioned with them by the early 1970s.
- 93 Detentions in the Transkei continued in terms of the emergency regulations of Proclamation 400. Those seen as opponents of homeland rule were sometimes subjected to forced removals on the order of the local chief. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development told the South Africa parliament that twenty-seven people in Transkei were living under such removal orders, served between 1961 and 1972.
- 94 At the Lusikisiki hearing, Mr Clement Gxabu and Mr Simon Silangwe told the Commission that *iKongo* members had asked the then ANC president, Chief Albert Luthuli, for advice on the proposed independence for Transkei. Luthuli, who was banned at the time, told them they should not oppose independence but rather get their own candidates elected in the new Umtata parliament. Silangwe reported:

He said to us, "Comrades, there is nothing I can do and you cannot fight whilst you are outside. You can fight a bit better when you are inside". What he was advising us to do is for us to elect our own people and go to Umtata and fight from within the parliament there.

- 95 Gxabu said *iKongo* members were involved in forming the opposition Democratic Party, several of whose members were subsequently detained by police. By 1970, with growing disillusionment among Transkei ANC supporters about the possibility of working within homeland parliamentary structures, a network in Pondoland began recruiting people to leave the country for training in the ANC's armed wing, MK.
- 96 Various people were detained at this time for recruiting for MK. The Commission heard allegations of torture in detention, including beatings and electric shocks. Again the Mkambati police station is mentioned as a site of torture; it appears that a more permanent structure had been set up by this time. Several of the cases of torture and death in detention described earlier relate to this period.

■ 1976-1982

Overview of violations

- 97 After the relatively quiet later 1960s and early 1970s, two major influences ushered in a period of heightened political activity. These were the national education protests and the rise of the BCM followed by other mass-based organisations. The Commission received many reports of shootings by security forces during the education protests that spread to the Eastern Cape after 1976. Many of the detentions reported were related to these protests.
- 98 The BCM gained momentum in the mid-1970s and developed a strong following in the Eastern Cape. A large number of those detained were from its ranks. After its collapse in the face of police repression, other mass-based organisations started to emerge in the Eastern Cape, such as the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS). It was also at about this time that the ANC began to infiltrate units of trained guerrillas back into the Eastern Cape. Political trials began again, along with reports of abductions and killings. The Commission received numerous allegations of torture in detention and, indeed, the deaths in detention that occurred in this period need to be viewed in the context of such reports of torture. There were also attacks on police officers and people perceived to be collaborating with the state.
- 99 The pattern of violations in the Eastern Cape reported to the Commission for this period differs from that of 1960-75. ►
- 100 Whereas severe ill treatment, followed by torture, previously accounted for the bulk of the violations, during this period torture accounts for 39 per cent of the violations, followed by severe ill treatment. This indicates a shift in the site of violations, with a greater proportion of reported violations now taking place in custody; alternatively, it indicates an increasing severity of violations taking place in custody.



State and allied groupings

Public order policing: The mass protests of the education crisis

- 101 The national education protests of June 1976 soon spread to the Eastern Cape, starting with violence in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage in August. Many areas in the Eastern Cape were affected at various times by the boycotts and clashes between police and youths.
- 102 The Port Elizabeth–Uitenhage area was a frequent site of protests and the clashes that resulted. During 1976–78, a special police ‘anti-riot unit’ – the Unrest Investigation Unit – operated in that area. Although not a part of the security police, it fell under the command of the Port Elizabeth security police chief and was assisted by the regular police Riot Unit. The Unrest Investigation Unit claimed to have been responsible for 2 000 arrests in two years¹⁶. Riot police were allegedly instructed to identify and shoot at ringleaders of mob actions and to arrest those unable to move when the crowd dispersed. On the following day, police would go to the hospitals and arrest all those with bullet or shotgun wounds. A day or two later, all police officers who had fired upon anyone would have to identify those they had shot from the arrested suspects.
- 103 By 18 August 1976, ten people had been killed and over twenty injured by police in clashes in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. Youths targeted schools, police vehicles and municipal bottle stores for stoning and arson attacks. In Port Elizabeth, during August and September, eighty-nine buses were stoned, and there were arson attacks on twenty black schools, five bottle stores and twelve shops. There was extensive damage – estimated by police at R1.4 million – to thirty-four police vehicles and various government buildings.
- 104 Mr Thembile Yawa [EC1462/97PLZ] was shot dead by police outside the Mbilini Street police station in KwaZakhele, Port Elizabeth in one of the early clashes on 18 August 1976. His aunt, Ms Babana Rebecca Nontshapho Yawa, said police told her that he had been shot “as he was the ringleader of violence”.
- 105 A day later, eleven-year-old Zoliswa Florence Tiyo [EC0668/96PLZ] was shot dead by security forces in White Location, Port Elizabeth while on her way home from school. Zoliswa’s mother, Ms Theodora Nosisi Tiyo, said security force members told her to go to the mortuary to identify her daughter’s body. She told the Commission:

¹⁶ *Focus* 19, November 1978. Published by International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF).

I indeed went there and I found her dead. There were a lot of other children; they were packed as a load of sheep. There were so many bodies there, I couldn't find my child, but I was taken to another room which was separate from this one. I could see one of the children and my daughter was next to that.

- 106 On the first anniversary of the education crisis, violence escalated again in the Port Elizabeth–Uitenhage area as the events of 1976 were commemorated. Following a mass protest march in Uitenhage on 16 June 1977, six shops and schools were burnt down. A number of people were shot the following day, allegedly as they were about to set fire to a municipal beer hall. One of those shot dead on 17 June was a twenty-three-year-old labourer, Mr Michael Mzwandile Booï [EC1085/96UIT]. His mother, Ms Nontobeko Mavis Booï, said she had not known why he did not return home that night:

On Sunday, I read a [news]paper that six people died in the shooting by police. On Monday, I found my son's body at the mortuary.

- 107 Protests followed the September 1977 death in detention of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko. In Queenstown, police stopped a march, using batons and teargas. In the ensuing four days of unrest, two people were killed, a police officer's home and other public buildings burnt and over eighty people arrested.

- 108 It was during this march on 30 September that Mr Lenare Moerane [EC0652/96QTN] was shot in the head. He died a few days later. Mr Billy Dagada, who told the Commission that he had been with Moerane when he was shot, said they had been shot by police in vans and by people (also believed to have been police) inside a house:

Some of the shots were coming from a house ... That is where comrade Lenare died. I was also shot. We were all taken into a police van. I was unconscious and we were taken to a mortuary here in town, only to find that I was still alive, then I was taken to hospital.

We were interrogated by policemen ... some of us were under police guard for twenty-four hours. At about ten I was taken to the police station and I was tortured.

- 109 On 7 October, the Ezibeleni township in the Transkei, just across border from Queenstown, was sealed off by Transkei police. In November, Mr Mnyamana Patrick Mayana [EC0420/96QTN] was shot dead by police in Queenstown while waiting outside a friend's house.

- 110 Protests spread to Cradock. On 8 November 1977, seventeen-year-old Mr Rocky James [EC0144/96NWC] was arrested by police under the Riotous Assemblies Act and shot dead the following day. Police said James was questioned in the municipal offices in Lingelihle township and escaped; they gave chase and fired two shots. The attorney acting on behalf of the James family said that township residents walking to work on the morning of 9 November found the boy's naked body. The family believe James was assaulted by police, and rejected police claims that he was shot while trying to escape.
- 111 The day after James' body was found, police fired birdshot at a crowd of stone-throwing youths. Three days later, police opened fire on a crowd that had reportedly set fire to three schools after a funeral.
- 112 The following month, police fired at a crowd that had gathered in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth to protest about the death in custody of Mr Mzukisi Nobadula (see below). Mr Mongezi Andrew Khomo [EC0659/96PLZ] was shot dead. Khomo's mother, Ms Monica Thandiswa Khomo, told the Commission:

In the evening of 27 December 1977, I heard gunshots being fired just outside my house. I could not go outside as the shooting was still continuing; instead I peeped through the window. I saw a person being dragged by policemen to a police van which was parked in front of my gate ...

On the following morning, we found a pool of blood near our gate. We then decided to go to Louis le Grange police station to report the matter and try to establish Mongezi's whereabouts. We found Mongezi's body in the police mortuary. He had been shot through the head.

On the day of the funeral, a police helicopter flew over our house firing birdshot and throwing teargas canisters at the crowd of mourners. As a result thereof I could not go to the graveyard to lay my son to rest as I was unconscious from the affects of the teargas.

- 113 The next night, Mr Mtuthuzeli Michael Heshu [EC0305/96PLZ] was beaten and then shot dead by police in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. He was returning from a party with his girlfriend when police ordered him to have sex with her in the street in their presence. He refused and they got into a fight. The police dragged him into an alley and his girlfriend, Ms Liziwe Ndzimasi, fled. She heard three shots. The next day police informed Heshu's father that his son had been killed by riot police "during an attack on police". The body had a broken femur and three bullet holes. An inquest found the killing to be "justifiable homicide".

According to police evidence, Heshu was shot during an attack on a school which police had been guarding¹⁷. The death of Heshu fuelled anger in the township and tension mounted until the funeral took place on 7 January 1978. At the funeral, the police fired on peaceful mourners.

- 114 On 15 March 1978, sixteen-year-old Makhwenkwe Madalane [EC0042/96ALB] was shot dead by police in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. They told the family he had tried to set fire to a bakery truck. Madalane was an activist who had earlier been forced to flee his home in Grahamstown due to police pressure. A *post mortem* was held but the family was not told the outcome.
- 115 Thirteen-year-old Xolani Kannetjie Stuurman [EC1551/97NWC] was shot dead in Cradock in November 1978. His sister, Ms Nontobeko Bernadette Vala, said he was shot near the shop where he worked after school:

People were shouting at the tops of their voices and others were crying hysterically. I then decided to go outside and investigate what was going on. Outside the yard in Kannemeyer Street next to the municipal building where the municipal police were staying, I observed that the SAP was chasing everybody who was in the street ... people were saying that my brother had been shot. I then followed the people who led me to the shop. I saw Xolani lying in front of the shop on his back. He had a bullet wound in the forehead.

- 116 Clashes between police and scholars continued in Grahamstown in 1980. On 9 July, fifty-seven-year-old Ms Violet Tsili [EC0046/96ALB] was shot dead when she passed a crowd of 1 000 boycotting pupils who were being dispersed by police with dogs, batons and birdshot. Over 2 000 people attended her funeral on 19 July, during which police again used teargas and birdshot to break up the crowd. They shot a sixteen-year-old boy, Mr Boyboy Nombiba, in the stomach, killing him [EC0204/96ALB]. After Nombiba's funeral on 26 July, police fired at a crowd of mourners who they said were attacking a Hippo (police armoured vehicle). Two men, Mr Tunu Nxawe (28) and Mr Blacky Freddie Tsili [EC0201/96ALB] were killed. Mr Bulwana Vaaltyn [EC0523/96ALB] was shot in the stomach and injured by police patrolling the township; he later instituted a successful claim against the police.
- 117 Back in Port Elizabeth, Mr Lulamile Henry Woji [EC0444/96PLZ] was shot dead while visiting a neighbour near his home one evening in November 1980. Woji's aunt, Ms Nozibonele Mabel Woji, told the Commission:

It appears he was with two friends inside the yard at this house when a bus

¹⁷ John Jackson (1980) pp 152-3

without lights came along. Someone was running towards the group in the yard and went past them running. The soldiers in the bus started shooting through the fence, hitting Lulamile Henry Woji in the chest. He fell and died immediately with three bullet wounds.

- 118 About two weeks later, scholar Mr Tefo Timothy Machesa [EC0560/96UIT] was shot dead during the school boycotts in Uitenhage. He was on his way to buy bread. His mother, Ms Malehlohonolo Lucy Machesa, told the Commission:

Later a friend, Tesco, informed me that he and Tefo and another friend saw a police van. As the police were shooting at random they decided to run and entered a nearby house. It is where Tefo was hit and police dragged his body outside and put stones in his pockets.

- 119 She said the family were told Machesa's body had been kept overnight among prisoners to delay its discovery. An inquest found that police had acted in self-defence.

Torture in custody

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

The case of Mzukisi Mapela

In June 1977, Mr Mzukisi Petros Mapela [EC0563/96UIT] was involved in the burning of a municipal office and a beer hall in commemoration of the events of the previous year. Three months later, he was arrested in KwaNobuhle by security police and taken to police offices where he was handcuffed, shackled and his head was immobilised. He was then hit continuously on the head with a piece of pipe for some hours. He eventually signed a statement implicating himself. His head was swollen and he could not lie on his back.

He did not see a doctor until he was taken to North End Prison, where he was cursorily examined by Dr Ivor Lang and told that he was 'okay'.

He was convicted on 6 October 1977 at Algoa Park, Port Elizabeth, and sentenced to six years' imprisonment, of which he served four and a half years in North End and St Albans Prisons. While in North End, he was assaulted by warders and abused by criminal prisoners. When he complained, he was put in solitary confinement for ninety days. He received treatment only after his release in 1982. His hearing is permanently impaired and he is still affected by the trauma. He is unable to get work or to communicate effectively.

The case of Moki Cekisani

Mr Moki Jacob Bonisile Cekisani [EC2701/97PLZ and CT05004/ECA], president of the Black People's Convention (BPC) in Port Elizabeth, was tortured in custody at the Security Branch headquarters in Port Elizabeth's Sanlam Building, the day after Biko's funeral in September 1977. Cekisani told the Commission that a bag soaked with water was placed over his head and that he was rammed against a wall and given electric shocks. Cekisani named some of those involved in the assaults as Sergeant Nieuwoudt and others linked to Biko's death. He was admitted to hospital the same day, after a severe attack of epilepsy.

Deaths in custody

The case of Mapetla Mohapi

Mr Mapetla Mohapi [EC0007/96PLZ], a BCM activist from King William's Town, the national centre of BCM activism, was detained on 15 July 1976 under the Terrorism Act. He died in custody at the Kei Road police station on 5 August 1976. Police claimed he had committed suicide, but his family do not believe this. An inquest found nobody responsible for the death.

Mohapi had previously been detained in October 1974 and held for 164 days in 1974 before being released without charge. He was banned in September 1975.

Mohapi's widow, BCM activist Ms Nobuhle Mohapi [EC0007/96PLZ], was herself detained the following year and told the Commission of assaults in detention in Port Elizabeth. She was detained at the same time as Steve Biko, for whom she worked as a secretary. Mohapi was subjected to both physical and psychological torture:

"During the six months, everything was revolving around Steve Biko. At times, they would bring blank papers so that I could sign, and they promised to release me if I should sign them. But they asked me if I wanted the same thing to happen as happened to my husband. At times I would be fastened to a grille and then would be assaulted brutally and would be unable to defend myself. There was not even a chance to run away because the grille holds you so fast that you cannot do anything about it ...

"I stayed six months in solitary confinement in Port Elizabeth, and they would come and report some of the things that are happening at home. They even came and told me that my youngest child is dead. They even promised to release me so that I can attend to the funeral. And they also insisted that I should sign this paper. They told me that they wanted to take the paper to Steve Biko so that he can know that I'm also inside. Each time they said this, Steve would always deny and say they were threatening him. He didn't believe that I was arrested, and I wanted not to make them happy about this."

She refused to sign anything. Ms Nobuhle Mohapi was banned on her release; she lost her job and was forced to send her children to live with her in-laws to protect them from police harassment. She told the Commission:

"After the death of Mapetla, I was full of hate. I was full of hate that can never be countered. I was hating anybody who was in the police ... Even the children, when you speak to them, you have to tell them that these are the people who oppressed us but one day they will change."

The case of Mr George Botha

Mr George Botha [EC1587/97PLZ], a thirty-year-old teacher at Paterson High School, was detained in Port Elizabeth on 10 December 1976 under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act. He died in the Sanlam Building five days later. The security police claimed that, after interrogation in which Botha gave incriminating information, he committed suicide by jumping down a stairwell from the sixth floor.

The police officers involved were Major Harold Snyman, Sergeant Rowland E Prinsloo and Captain Daniel Petrus Siebert.

At the inquest, magistrate JA Coetzee found that nobody was to blame for his death, although there was substantial evidence that he had been assaulted. Although the court accepted the findings of Drs Benjamin Tucker and Gideon

Jacobus Knoebel that there were injuries on the body that had been inflicted before death, the magistrate found that the police evidence was satisfactory and the court did not know how the injuries were sustained.

At the Commission's amnesty hearing into the death of Steve Biko in 1997, Major Snyman was asked about the death of George Botha. He acknowledged that he had been present when Botha died, but repeated the version of events given by police to the inquest – that Botha had 'broken free' and jumped down the stairwell to his death. Nobody applied for amnesty for Botha's death.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE PERIOD 1976—1982 WAS CHARACTERISED BY AN INCREASE IN THE RELIANCE BY THE SAP ON ILLEGAL METHODS OF POLICING, THE UNJUSTIFIED USE OF DEADLY FORCE, AND THE ASSAULT AND TORTURE OF SUSPECTS AND DETAINEES, RESULTING IN THE DEATHS OF AND SEVERE INJURIES TO LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUCH ACTS WERE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE. EVIDENCE BEFORE THE COMMISSION INDICATES THAT MANY ACTIVISTS AND DETAINEES WERE DETAINED AND TORTURED AT THE POLICE SECURITY BRANCH HEAD-QUARTERS AT THE SANLAM BUILDING IN PORT ELIZABETH.

The case of Steve Biko¹⁸

Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko [CT05004/ELA] was detained on 18 August 1977 in Port Elizabeth and died in custody on 12 September 1977 in Pretoria.

Security police officers Major Harold Snyman [AM3918/96], Captain Daniel Petrus Siebert [AM3915/96], Warrant Officer Ruben Marx [AM3521/96], Warrant Officer Jacobus Johannes Oosthuizen Beneke [AM6367/96] and Sergeant Gideon Johannes Nieuwoudt [AM3920/96] alleged that Biko died of brain injuries sustained in a 'scuffle' with the police at the Sanlam Building, Port Elizabeth.

At the inquest, magistrate Marthinus Prins ruled that Biko's death was caused by a head injury, probably sustained on 7 September during a scuffle with security police in Port Elizabeth – but that there was no proof that the death was brought about by an act or omission involving an offence by any person.

The police officers involved applied for amnesty for the incident and the amnesty hearings took place in Port Elizabeth twenty years after Biko's death. The Biko family did not ask the Commission to make a finding on his death.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE DEATH IN DETENTION OF MR STEPHEN BANTU BIKO ON 12 SEPTEMBER 1977 WAS A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION. MAGISTRATE MARTHINUS PRINS FOUND THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE SAP WERE NOT IMPLICATED IN HIS DEATH. THE MAGISTRATE'S FINDING CONTRIBUTED TO THE CREATION OF A CULTURE OF IMPUNITY IN THE SAP.

¹⁸ See also chapter on *Institutional Hearings: Health Sector* in Volume 4.

DESPITE THE INQUEST FINDING WHICH FOUND NO PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS DEATH, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT BIKO DIED IN THE CUSTODY OF LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS, THE PROBABILITIES ARE THAT HE DIED AS A RESULT OF INJURIES SUSTAINED DURING HIS DETENTION.

IN VIEW OF OUTSTANDING AMNESTY APPLICATIONS IN RESPECT OF BIKO'S DEATH, THE COMMISSION IS UNABLE TO CONFIRM A PERPETRATOR FINDING AT THIS STAGE.

The case of Mzukisi Nobadula

Mr Mzukisi Melvin Nobadula [EC0662/96] died in a Port Elizabeth prison in December 1977. He was detained and appeared in the Grahamstown Supreme Court on a case against PEBCO leader Mr Thozamile Botha and two others. He refuted a statement he had been forced to sign implicating Botha.

The accused were released, but Nobadula was redetained and held as an awaiting-trial prisoner, pending perjury charges arising out of the Botha case. His family was later informed that he had died in custody. Dr Lang conducted a post mortem and stated that the victim died of natural causes. However, it was found that the body had scars and burns on the back. Attorney John Jackson, who was representing Nobadula, had told the Port Elizabeth regional court that he had seen Nobadula days earlier when he appeared to be in perfect health. A senior police officer said in a statement the day after a post mortem examination that no signs of any criminal offence causing Mr Nobadula's death in prison had been found, but that more tests would be made before an official report was issued by the police.

Jackson recounts that he learnt of the circumstances of Nobadula's death from one of his cellmates: a prison warder had taken his asthma pills and spray away from him and that night, in the grossly overcrowded cell, he had an asthma attack. Despite calls for help from other prisoners, the warders refused to help and threatened beatings. Nobadula died, and no inquest was held¹⁹.

The case of Lungile Tabalaza

Mr Lungile Tabalaza [EC0002/96PLZ] was detained on 10 July 1978 in connection with arson attacks and the robbery and burning of a delivery van. He died the same day, in custody at the Sanlam Building, Port Elizabeth. Police claimed he had committed suicide by jumping from the fifth floor of the Sanlam Building — from an unbarred window in Sergeant Nel's office. Major PR de Jongh, Lieutenant Verceuil, Sergeant PJ Nel and Constable Mene were involved with Tabalaza's interrogation.

19 John Jackson (1980) p 224; IDAF *Focus* No.14, January 1978; contemporary newspaper accounts.

It was reported²⁰ that Tabalaza died shortly after being transferred by uniform police to the custody of the Security Branch. Photographs of bodies, smuggled to London, suggest he may have suffered injuries before the fall, and may have been suspended by his feet.

At the start of the inquest in Port Elizabeth, the government pathologist acknowledged that several bruises and lacerations could have been sustained before he fell. Magistrate Willem Lubbe told the inquest that he had seen Tabalaza less than an hour before his death, but had refused to investigate allegations of assault made by Tabalaza. Lubbe said he was "shocked" and regretted that he had not investigated Tabalaza's fears that he would be beaten if he did not make a statement when he was taken back to security police offices.

The inquest held in October 1978 found no one responsible for his death. Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger and others tried to lessen the embarrassment of Tabalaza's death by portraying him as a "common criminal". Mr Kruger claimed that the barring of windows, which he had ordered to prevent such deaths, had not yet been completed in Port Elizabeth. In response to the outcry following Tabalaza's death, three Security Branch officers were transferred, including Colonel Goosen, the local Security Branch chief, who was posted to another district.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE SAP AND THE NAMED POLICE OFFICERS INVOLVED IN THE KILLING OF DETAINEES AT THE SANLAM BUILDING IN PORT ELIZABETH CONSTITUTE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE SAP AND THE NAMED POLICE OFFICERS ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

Vigilantes

- 121 In Grahamstown in 1980, some parents opposed to the school boycotts formed a vigilante group called the Peacemakers. On 14 May, Peacemakers member Mthantiso Alfred Soya [EC0437/96ALB] was attacked with *pangas* and stoned to death by youths in the grounds of a Grahamstown school, following a clash between scholars and police supported by the Peacemakers. Several youths were later convicted in connection with this murder. The widow, Ms Nomilile Phyllis Thandiwe Soya, told the Commission:

The youth did not attend schools. As a result, the parents were disturbed by this; they tried by all means to persuade children to go back to school. It was then that the Peacemakers were formed ... we decided that we are going to ask the Peacemakers to persuade the children to go back to school

²⁰ *Focus* 18, 1978.

... The parents decided to ask the Peacemakers, not the police because the police might shoot the children.

- 122 The Peacemakers did not succeed in ending the boycott; instead, there was a violent clash involving students, Peacemakers and police at Andrew Moyake School in Joza, Grahamstown. Ms Soya added that the police had assaulted the children and the children had retaliated.

Resistance and revolutionary groupings

- 123 Black police officers — especially the Security Branch — township municipal councillors and people regarded by UDF supporters as collaborating with the state were targets of attack.

Resistance to homeland rule

- 124 Transkei's independence in October 1976 was ushered in by a wave of detentions of anti-homeland rule campaigners. A similar intolerance of dissent marked Ciskei's independence in 1982. The South African Proclamations 400 and 413, issued in 1960 to help suppress the Pondoland Revolt in Transkei, were replaced by the Transkei Public Security Act of 1977. By 1980, Transkei had declared a state of emergency in terms of this Act.
- 125 Although forced removals were not defined as violations in terms of the Commission's mandate, they were a significant part of repression in the homelands. The use of forced removals to consolidate the homelands was well under way by this period. The Commission received individual statements from people who had opposed such removals.
- 126 Banishment was one tool used to silence dissent. People could be banished to another area in the homeland, from South Africa to a homeland, or even expelled from a homeland.

The case of Ezra Zeera Mtshontshi

Mr Ezra Zeera Mtshontshi [EC0969/96ELN] was first detained in 1963 in connection with PAC activities after being deported from Zimbabwe. In 1976, he was detained in Transkei for opposing Transkei independence. In 1980, he avoided being served with a Transkei banishment order by fleeing over the border to King William's Town.

The case of Phindile Mfeti

Trade unionist Phindile Mfeti [EC0020/96STK] was detained in 1977, banned on his release and banished from Transvaal to Butterworth in Transkei. Mr Mfeti disappeared permanently while in Durban in April 1987.

The cases of Chiefs Mbeki and Anderson Joyi and Others

In 1978, Chiefs Mbeki Marhelane Bangilizwe Joyi [EC0259/96UTA] and Anderson Dalagubhe Joyi [EC2437/97UTA] were banished along with their followers to different places within Transkei, after opposing the Matanzima government. In 1980, their homes were demolished, apparently on government orders. They were able to return home only after the military coup of 1987.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TRANSKEI HOMELAND AUTHORITY, THROUGH ITS PRESIDENT PARAMOUNT CHIEF KAISER DALIWONGA MATANZIMA, WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR ORDERING OR SANCTIONING VARIOUS ACTS WHICH AMOUNT TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS – INCLUDING THE DETENTION OF MR EZRA ZEERA MTSHONTSHI, THE DETENTION OF MR PHINDILE MFETI AND THE BANISHMENT AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTIES OF MR BANGILIZWE JOYI AND MR DALAGUBHE JOYI.

Unions

- 127 In Ciskei, the new homeland government targeted emergent trade unions, effectively outlawing unionism in the territory. The South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) was formed in 1979 with a base in East London, just outside Ciskei, and organised among workers who worked in East London but returned home across the Ciskei border to Mdantsane at night. SAAWU had a substantial impact on the emergence of unionism in the region. Unionists were sometimes detained by the SAP and were handed across the border to the Ciskei Police.
- 128 SAAWU leader Thozamile Gqweta was repeatedly detained and his family harassed. His mother was killed in a petrol bomb attack on his home in 1981.

The case of Deliswa Roxiso

After attending the funeral of Gqweta's mother in Peelton on about 8 November, Ms Deliswa Roxiso [EC0377/96ELN] was shot dead by Ciskei police. Her mother, Ms Philda Novula Roxiso told the Commission:

"On their arrival at Mdantsane Highway and while they were alighting from the buses, the police started firing at them. It is said that my daughter was first shot at the leg and then on the head. She then fell on the ground. She was then dragged by the same members of the police force into the back of the police van."

Ms Philda Roxiso said her husband had tried to find Deliswa, but police initially refused to talk to him. Eventually he was able to meet with Ciskei security chief Charles Sebe, who told him that Deliswa had been shot by the police.

The case of Bonisile Norushe

Mr Bonisile Philemon Norushe [EC0389/96ELN], a branch secretary for the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, was detained by the Cambridge security police in East London after a 16 June commemoration service in 1980. He told the Commission of his assault in detention:

"One policeman ... who was leading the attack, pushed his middle fingers into both my ears. He kicked me on the groin and that blow lifted me up and I hit the roof with my head and fell down unconscious."

Norushe still suffers from the after-effects of the assaults. The police held him for a year, telling him they were planning to bring sabotage charges against him. Instead, he was called as a state witness in the trial of another unionist, Mr Mandla Gxanyana. On refusing to give evidence in that case, he was jailed for about a year.

In 1983, a year after his release, the Cambridge security police again detained him and handed him over to the Ciskei police. He and his wife eventually fled into exile.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE CISKEI HOMELAND AUTHORITY, THROUGH ITS PRESIDENT CHIEF LENNOX SEBE AND THE HEAD OF THE CISKEI SECURITY FORCES GENERAL CHARLES SEBE, WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR ORDERING OR SANCTIONING VARIOUS ACTS WHICH AMOUNT TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS — INCLUDING THE SEVERE HARASSMENT, DETENTION AND TORTURE OF THE LEADING MEMBERS OF SAAWU AND THE KILLING OF MS DELISWA ROXISO.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE TRANSKEI AND CISKEI HOMELAND AUTHORITIES AMOUNTED TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH PARAMOUNT CHIEF KAISER DALIWONGA MATANZIMA AND CHIEF LENNOX WONGAMA SEBE, IN THEIR CAPACITIES AS HEADS OF THESE AUTHORITIES, ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

MK actions and state response

- 129 From the mid-1970s, there were a number of trials of people who had undergone military training, and in many cases detainees were interrogated and tortured before being brought to trial. In most instances, the suspects had not been involved in any operations, and often had not yet left the country for military training, but were merely planning to do so. One of those cases involved Mr Sipho Fielden Hina [EC1863/97ALB], who was called as a state witness in the trial of Mr Joe

Mati in East London in 1978. Hina was detained in Port Elizabeth for six months from 7 June 1977 and reported being tortured. He refused to testify and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

- 130 At this time, the ANC was improving its capacity to wage an armed struggle, continuing to focus on strategic installations. In the Eastern Cape, however, MK's capacity was still limited. Mr Chris Hani had moved to Lesotho in about 1974 and, while a level of communication existed between activists in the Eastern Cape and the ANC in Lesotho, the infiltration of armed units from outside the country was restricted. People attempting to strengthen the link were quickly hunted down and suppressed by the security police. One example of this was the killing of COSAS activist Mr Sizwe Kondile in 1981, one of the first cases of security police arranging the 'disappearance' of an ANC member.

The case of Sizwe Kondile

Mr Gcinisizwe 'Sizwe' Kondile [EC0021/96STK] was a Port Elizabeth activist and a founder member of COSAS. In contact with the ANC in Lesotho, Kondile and five others formed an underground ANC cell inside the country in about July 1980.

When two members of the cell — Mr Thembi Mbiyabo and Mr Nangamso Ndzube — were arrested, Kondile and the other cell members (Mr Vusumzi Pikoli, Mr Thoz Majola and Mr Phaki Ximiya) decided to leave the country in September 1980.

They went to Maseru, Lesotho, where they met with former PEBCO leader Mr Thozamile Botha and Mr Chris Hani. They were given basic training and told to build the underground in the Eastern Cape. This involved moving back and forth between Lesotho and South Africa.

Kondile went into South Africa on a brief mission in June 1981, and returned safely to Maseru in the same month. Later that month he disappeared from Maseru.

The South African Police claimed that Kondile had been arrested in Port Elizabeth on 26 June 1981, but had been released in August 1981. Because he had borrowed Chris Hani's car on the day he disappeared, the ANC suspected him of being a traitor, and the family suffered political isolation and trauma as a result of this.

It emerged subsequently (in the evidence of former police captain Dirk Coetzee to the Harms Commission in 1990) that Kondile had been kidnapped in Maseru,

Lesotho, by members of the security police's Vlakplaas unit. He was detained in Port Elizabeth, then taken to Jeffreys Bay police station where he was tortured and sustained a brain haemorrhage. Colonel Nick Van Rensburg of the Port Elizabeth security police then drove him to Swaziland and handed him over to Coetzee. He was taken to Komatipoort on the Mozambique border, poisoned and shot, after which his body was burnt while those responsible drank beer.

Applications for amnesty for the abduction and killing of Kondile were heard in Port Elizabeth in October 1997. Applications were made by Mr Dirk Johannes Coetzee [AM0063/96], Mr Nicolaas Johannes Janse van Rensburg [AM3919/96], Mr Gerrit Nicholas Erasmus [AM4134/96], Mr Hermanus Barend du Plessis [AM4384/96] and Mr Johannes Gottfried Raath [AM4397/96].

- 131 Between late 1980 and mid-1982, several bombings occurred around Port Elizabeth and East London, causing injuries and damaging property. Most of these acts can be attributed to MK units operating from Lesotho from the second half of 1981 until May 1983. In August 1981, a member of one of the units was killed in a series of clashes with police while trying to escape back to Lesotho (see below). Another cell member died in a sabotage attempt in January 1983 (see 1983–90); the rest of that cell were killed or put on trial.
- 132 In November 1980, MK member Gwaza Duckworth Twalo [EC0128/96KWT], who was operating out of Lesotho, disappeared in Transkei. His family heard that he had been arrested and “thrown down a cliff” at the Umtata Central Prison. The Commission was not able to clarify what had happened to Mr Twalo.
- 133 On 6 August 1981, one person was injured in a bomb blast at Central Square in East London’s city centre. The following day a shoot-out was reported between the police and MK guerrillas in Butterworth, killing two Transkei police officers, including a Captain Ngidi. The guerrillas escaped and later that day were involved in another shoot-out with the SAP at a roadblock near Elliot on the road to Lesotho, resulting in the injury of two SAP members, the death of two guerrillas and the arrest of another. Six days later, there was a final clash between the surviving guerrillas and the SAP on a farm near Aliwal North, during which the two last guerrillas were killed.
- 134 As a result of the Commission’s investigations, the remains of the four guerrillas were found buried in unmarked graves on a farm in Aliwal North. The remains of Mr Senzangabom Vusumzi ‘George’ Khalipha, [EC2318/97PLZ], Mr Anthony Sureboy Dali [JB00216/01GTSOW], Mr Thabiso Isaac Rakobo [JB02461/01GTSOW], Mr

Joseph Lesetja Sexwale [JB02462/01GTSOW] and two others were exhumed and reburied; Khalipha, who was the only one from the Eastern Cape, was reburied in Port Elizabeth. The man arrested near Elliot was Mr Mveleli 'Junior' Saliwa [EC2691/97UTA], who had been driving the group. He was subsequently put on trial in Umtata.

- 135 The first Transkei terrorism trial was held in 1981. Among the accused were Mr Mzwandile 'Kaiser' Mbete [EC972/96ELN], Mr James Kati [EC0309/96WTK], Mr Mkhangelisi Matomela [EC0121/96KWT], Mr Alfred Marwanqana [EC0670/96PLZ] and Mr Mveleli 'Junior' Saliwa [EC2691/97UTA], who had been captured during the August 1981 shoot-outs. Some were members of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party's (DPP) youth league. Matomela and Marwanqana were finally acquitted in 1982; all the other co-accused were convicted and given sentences ranging from five to thirteen years' imprisonment. Most of them had been in detention for more than a year before being charged, and most spoke of torture by police. Marwanqana, who had been jailed on Robben Island for ANC activities in the 1960s, fled into exile soon afterwards. He and two of his children, Thandiswa and Mzukisi, were killed in the SADF raid on Lesotho in December 1982.
- 136 In 1982, COSAS activist Siphiwe Mthimkulu [EC0034/96PLZ] and his friend Tobekile 'Topsy' Madaka [EC0766/96PLZ] were abducted from Port Elizabeth and killed by security police. In his amnesty application, Port Elizabeth police officer Mr Gideon Nieuwoudt referred to attacks on police officers at the time and claimed that the two activists were linked to these attacks and to a spate of bombings. This was used to explain the context in which the two were assassinated. However, it appears that while Mr Mthimkulu and Mr Madaka were linked to the ANC in Lesotho, they were part of a 'propaganda wing' involved in pamphlet distribution and were not involved in the armed actions.

The case of Siphiwe Mthimkulu

Mr Siphiwe Mthimkulu [EC0034/96PLZ] was a student activist in Port Elizabeth from 1979 until 1982, when he disappeared. He was chairperson of the Loyiso High School Students' Representative Council and an active COSAS member. It is also widely believed that he was an underground member of the then banned ANC.

Mthimkulu was involved in the COSAS schools boycotts of 1980–81 and a campaign against Republic Day celebrations in 1981, which involved the distribution of ANC pamphlets in Port Elizabeth. Along with other COSAS members, he was detained on 31 May. After being shot while trying to escape

detention, he was treated in Livingstone Hospital. He was held at the Security Branch headquarters in Port Elizabeth as well as Algoa Park and Jeffreys Bay police stations and was subjected to extensive interrogation and torture, including suffocation, electric shocks, sleep deprivation and being forced to stand on bricks for many hours.

He was released without charge on 20 October 1981, after five months in detention. He made a statement to his lawyer and instituted a case against the Minister of Police for assault and torture. The day after his release Mthimkulu complained of pain in his stomach and legs and was soon unable to walk. Fighting for his life, he was admitted to Livingstone Hospital. In November, he was transferred to Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town, where his hair started to fall out. Neurologist Dr Frances Ames diagnosed poisoning with thallium, an odourless and tasteless poison unavailable in South Africa except to the state.

In January 1982, Mthimkulu returned to Port Elizabeth in a wheelchair. The police claimed that a top-level investigation into his poisoning was being conducted. On 2 April 1982, he instituted a second claim against the Minister of Police, this time for poisoning. Within two weeks, he had disappeared.

Ms Joyce Mthimkulu, Sphiwe's mother, last saw him on the morning of 14 April when he left for Livingstone Hospital with his friend, Mr Tobekile 'Topsy' Madaka, who often helped COSAS members with transport. After visiting the hospital, Mthimkulu spent the evening with other COSAS members, including Mr Madaka, Mr Lulu Johnson, Mr Tango Lamani and Mr Themba Mangqase. Mthimkulu left Johnson's house that evening with Madaka and Mangqase, dropped Mangqase off and arranged to return to Johnson's house later.

They never came back, and it seems that Mangqase was the last person to see them alive before they were abducted. About a week later Madaka's car was found at Sterkspruit in the Transkei, near the Telle Bridge border post with Lesotho. Madaka's passport and Mthimkulu's wheelchair were inside. The two families received anonymous telephone calls claiming the youths were safe. Enquiries on behalf of the Mthimkulu family at the time ascertained that Mthimkulu was not in custody in South Africa or Transkei. Enquiries through the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the Civil Rights League, the ANC and churches in Lesotho, and a trip to Lesotho, confirmed the Mthimkulus' belief that he had not gone into exile.

In 1986, security police searched the Mthimkulu's house, claiming Sphiwe was back in the area after being trained as a 'terrorist'. In response to

questions in Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange, then Minister of Police, said the police had no knowledge of Mthimkulu's whereabouts and "had not communicated any information about him to his relatives".

In April 1990, Mr Dirk Coetzee revealed at the London sitting of the Harms Commission that Mthimkulu had been poisoned, kidnapped and killed and that this had been arranged by Brigadier Jan du Preez of Security Branch headquarters in Pretoria and Colonel Nick van Rensburg of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch. Coetzee alleged that Brigadier Jan van den Hoven had had the rare poison flown to Van Rensburg, who had it administered to Mthimkulu before his release from detention. Coetzee claimed that Du Preez had told him about the killing.

- 137 In response to these allegations, Mthimkulu's parents, Sipho and Joyce Mthimkulu, expressed the wish to see the place of their son's death and to retrieve his bones for a proper burial. Madaka's parents had both passed away in April 1990.
- 138 The cases were scheduled to be heard at the first hearings of the Commission in East London on 15 April 1996. An interdict brought by Brigadier Jan du Preez and Major General Nick van Rensburg in the Cape Town Supreme Court ruled that the Commission should not hear the matter before these officers had been given time to study the allegations against them. At the second Eastern Cape hearings of the Commission in Port Elizabeth on 22 May 1996, Ms Mthimkulu collapsed when she was informed that once again a court interdict prevented her from telling the story of her son's disappearance. A crisis situation was defused when thousands of demonstrating COSAS members were allowed into the Centenary Hall in New Brighton and given an assurance that Mthimkulu's case would be heard at a special hearing of the Commission in the same venue on 26 June. An additional interdict brought by Mr Gideon Nieuwoudt also specified that Ms Mthimkulu could not name him as one of her son's torturers. The ANC organised demonstrations and marches in Port Elizabeth protesting against the silencing of the Mthimkulus.
- 139 The Mthimkulu and Madaka cases were finally heard at a special hearing of the Commission's Human Rights Violation Committee on 26 June 1996 at the Centenary Hall, New Brighton. On the day before the hearing, a Cape Town Supreme Court ruling overturned the previous decisions and ensured that the evidence of Ms Mthimkulu could be heard. Various COSAS activists also gave evidence, handing in a list of COSAS activists who had died in this period and naming a number of Security Branch officers as torturers.

140 In January 1977, amnesty applications regarding the deaths of Mthimkulu and Madaka were received from Port Elizabeth Security Branch officer Gideon Nieuwoudt, Colonel Nick Van Rensburg, Major Hermanus Barend Du Plessis and Colonel Gerrit Erasmus. At a press conference in Port Elizabeth on 28 January 1977, it was revealed that the bodies of Mthimkulu and Madaka had been burnt and their remains thrown into the Fish River near the disused Post Charmers police station near Cradock. The Commission took the families to the site of the killings and disposal of the bodies. At the amnesty hearings later, the security police admitted to having abducted and killed the two activists, but they denied all knowledge of torture and poisoning.

141 Because the audience and families did not feel that the whole truth had been revealed, and because of the attempts by the security police to prevent the case from being heard on previous occasions, the amnesty hearings were fraught with tension and anger. At one point, a part of the crowd obstructed the armoured vehicle in which the amnesty applicants were being transported from the hall.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ABDUCTION AND KILLING OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS IN THE EASTERN CAPE — INCLUDING MR GCINISIZWE KONDILE WHO WAS ABDUCTED AND KILLED BY MR DIRK JOHANES COETZEE, MR NICHOLAS JANSE VAN RENSBURG, MR GERRIT ERASMUS, MR HERMANUS BAREND DU PLESSIS AND MR JOHANNES RAATH ON 26 JUNE 1981; AND MR SIPHIWE MTHIMKULU AND MR TOPSY MADAKA WHO WERE ABDUCTED AND KILLED BY MR GIDEON NIEUWOUDT, MR NICHOLAS JANSE VAN RENSBURG, MR GERRIT ERASMUS, MR HERMANUS BAREND DU PLESSIS, MR JAN VAN DEN HOVEN AND MR JAN DU PREEZ.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE SAP AND THE NAMED POLICE OFFICERS AMOUNT TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE SAP AND THE NAMED POLICE OFFICERS ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

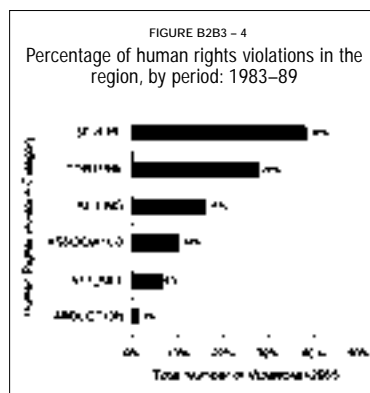
■ 1983-1989

Overview of violations

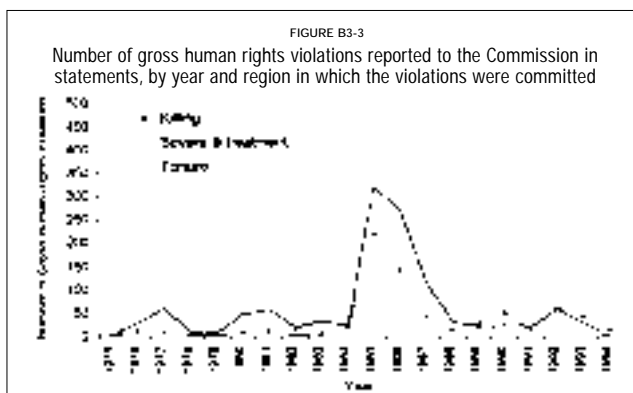
142 In the Eastern Cape, as in the rest of the country, these seven years were marked by renewed protest against apartheid structures. The UDF established a presence in the Eastern Cape from 1983, leading to clashes with the state and its allies, including vigilante groups. These clashes were characteristic of this period, evidenced in police shootings of UDF-aligned protesters, UDF attacks on police and community councillors – the Black Local Authorities (BLAs) – and the accompanying practice of ‘necklace’ killings and burnings, the increase in (mainly ANC) guerrilla activity in the country and the killing of guerrillas and key activists by the security forces.

143 About half of this period was spent under a state of emergency: a limited state of emergency affecting western parts of the Eastern Cape around Cradock lasted from July 1985 to March 1986, followed by the declaration of a national state of emergency three months later and lasting until 1990. The emergency had a significant impact in the Eastern Cape, with thousands being detained. In September 1985, the courts granted an interdict, brought by district surgeon Dr Wendy Orr and others, restraining police from assaulting emergency detainees.

144 Submissions received by the Commission indicate that violations in the Eastern Cape for this period were once again dominated by severe ill treatment (38 per cent of the Eastern Cape violations). ►



145 While severe ill treatment and torture remain the two biggest violation categories, as in the previous two periods, killings in this period increased to 16 per cent, becoming the third biggest category of violations reported to the Commission. This is probably a result of the large number of clashes between police and protesters. ►



146 There was a sharp increase in killings, torture and severe ill treatment in 1985, just before the state of emergency. Torture was a key violation in the Eastern Cape during this period.

State and allied groupings

Public order policing

147 Shootings accounted for about 22 per cent of the serious violations (that is, killings, attempted killings, abductions, torture and severe ill treatment but excluding

associated violations) reported to the Commission in statements for the Eastern Cape region during 1983–89. Generally, these occurred in public order policing situations. About half of the shooting violations were fatal and, half of the shooting violations over these seven years occurred during 1985, with another 22 per cent the following year. The Commission received reports of shootings from towns across the province, but the Port Elizabeth–Uitenhage region accounted for nearly a third of all the reported Eastern Cape shootings during this period.

- 148 Particularly in 1985, there were large-scale police shootings of demonstrators in public order policing situations. Some of these larger incidents are detailed below. Evidence about these and numerous other smaller incidents was heard at the Commission's hearings. These included the Mdantsane railway shootings by Ciskei security forces in August 1983, the Langa massacre by police at Uitenhage on 21 March 1985 and police shootings at Duncan Village and Aliwal North in August 1985 and at Queenstown in November 1985. In addition, the Commission was told of three incidents during 1985 (in Despatch, Uitenhage and Steynsburg) in which SAP members shot protesters in 'Trojan Horse' type incidents. This period thus saw the bulk of the mass shootings reported to the Commission in the Eastern Cape.
- 149 Police unrest statistics for the Port Elizabeth–Uitenhage area for the period 21 March 1985 (the date of the Langa massacre) to 29 May 1985 give an insight into the level of violence at the time. During this period, 108 people died in unrest: of these, sixty-eight were killed by police and forty by 'rioters'.
- 150 The South African Police Services (SAPS) provided the Commission with a copy of the SAP's Standing Orders (SOs) for dealing with public order protests during this period – SO 210 and 211 effective for the period January 1985 to August 1990. The SAPS stated that these documents were the closest that could be found to regulations for dealing with mass actions. These brief documents do not appear to give police much guidance on dealing with the mass protests of this period. Such outdoor protests were by definition illegal, were often spontaneous and sometimes resulted in violence. The SOs contained no explicit ruling on how to prevent or contain the political protests so typical of the mid-1980s, nor how to liaise with the military if troops were brought in. No mention is made of what equipment police should be issued with for such events, nor is mention made of the use of minimum force.

The Ciskei bus boycott and the railway station shootings: 1983²¹

- 151 On 18 July 1983, a boycott of the partly government-owned Ciskei Transport Corporation (CTC) buses started in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in protest at an 11 per cent fare increase. The boycott lasted several years and involved shooting of and assaults on commuters by the Ciskei security forces backed up by vigilantes, in attempts to force commuters to use the buses.
- 152 The Commission received numerous statements in connection with violence that broke out during the bus boycott; many of those who made statements were also heard at the hearing at Mdantsane in June 1997.
- 153 When the boycott started, commuters initially walked to work in large groups, from Mdantsane across the Ciskei border to East London, a distance of about twenty kilometres. These groups effectively became mass demonstrations against the bus company. Later, more use was made of private taxis and trains.
- 154 Within days, the boycott elicited a violent response from Ciskei authorities. Security forces and vigilantes set up roadblocks in Mdantsane, and there were reports of commuters being hauled out of taxis and ordered onto buses. On 22 July 1983, five people were shot and wounded by Ciskei security forces at the Fort Jackson railway station. On 30 July, a man was attacked and killed by vigilantes while walking near the Mdantsane stadium, used by vigilantes as a base. On 3 August, a state of emergency was declared in Mdantsane and a night curfew imposed. Meetings of more than four people were banned and people were prohibited from walking in groups larger than four. The following day Ciskei forces opened fire on commuters at three Mdantsane railway stations.
- 155 In the dark early winter morning of Thursday 4 August, Mdantsane commuters started walking up the small hill to the railway line that ran alongside Mdantsane and the three stations of Fort Jackson, Egerton and Mount Ruth that served the township. The state of emergency had been declared the evening before and the first nightly curfew had just ended at 04:00. Many commuters were probably still unaware of the emergency or the curfew. They were met at each station by a human blockade of armed police and soldiers, supported by vigilantes armed with sticks and *sjamboks* (whips). The security forces apparently had one aim: to get the commuters back onto the buses. Within an hour, commuters had been shot at all three railway stations.

²¹ See Fink Haysom, Ruling with the whip: Report on the violation of human rights in the Ciskei. Johannesburg: Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS), October 1983; Institute for Planning Research, An investigation into the Mdantsane/East London bus boycott. University of Port Elizabeth, April 1984 and contemporary newspaper accounts.

- 156 Ms Valencia Ntombiyakhe Madlityane [EC2091/97ELN] said she was shot by soldiers at Mount Ruth station at about 05h00 after she ignored police orders to use a bus instead of the train. At least three people died in the incident. At 04h20 union employee Ms Kholeka Dlutu²² heard shooting at Egerton where commuters also died. Shooting was also reported at Fort Jackson, where some injuries were reported. All in all, “at least six commuters died and dozens were injured²³. The fact that shooting happened at more than one station points to a co-ordinated security force operation with orders to stop commuters from catching the trains at all costs. While police later claimed they were attacked, attempts to prosecute commuters for such attacks failed and it seems unlikely there would have been similar attacks at all three stations at the same time.”
- 157 Ms Kholeka Dlutu said she heard shooting and went with her aunt to see what was happening. Ms Dlutu stated in an *affidavit*:

Somewhere near the church nearby a corner house, on the way to Egerton Railway Station, we came across a girl who was bleeding from the thigh and screaming. She alleged that she had been shot by the police ... We proceeded and saw many people in an open veld standing opposite Egerton Station, and a smaller group of people, some wearing brown overalls and some wearing other police or army uniform, standing on the opposite side nearer the station. The two groups were facing each other. Whenever the commuters moved towards the station, the other group, to whom I shall collectively refer as the police, would advance as if to meet the first group halfway, causing the commuters to retreat, some of whom ran into residential yards.

At that stage, visibility was poor, but the action described above went on for so long that the light gradually improved. Meanwhile, some of the commuters were managing to escape and reach the railway line by taking devious routes and crossing the railway line. Later, when the police advanced once more, the commuters did not run but shouted out that they were not at war with the police and only wanted to get to the railway station so as to board trains to East London.

22 *Affidavit* by Kholeka Dlutu on 4/8/83 in *Boqwana et al v Ciskei Minister of Justice et al* case 494/83, Zwelitsha court.

23 The Commission was able to trace the names of six people who died in this incident. They were: Lawrence Vukile Cecane, Nyanisile Alton Vusani, Julia Ndaliso, Goodman Toko, Fuzile Caza and Mncedisi Elliot Sidwadwa. A memorial at Egerton station lists 11 dead: five of the six identified by the Commission, plus one (Zengezege Mpiyake) who was killed on 30 July by vigilantes, two who died in separate incidents on 6 August (Sisa Faku and Michael Mbila) and three others: Khaya Mbange, Clifford Soxokashe and a Mr Mayile. While the memorial includes at least three people who died in other incidents during the boycott, three children of a Ciskei government supporter who were fatally injured when their home was petrol-bombed on 3 August (Daniel, Priscilla and Vuyiswa Ndlovu) are not included on the memorial.

The police drew their firearms, and, without having given any warning fired at the commuters who just stood still, apparently not having expected to be fired upon. Even from where I stood, somewhat further away from the commuters, I feared that I might also be struck by bullets and I ran away.

Before running away I saw an elderly man fall to the ground holding his leg, which was bleeding. He complained that he had been shot. As I ran away, I went past a young man wearing a bluish overall lying prostrate on his back on the ground apparently motionless. I also noticed some vigilantes approach the said elderly man. They beat him severely as he lay on the ground. I crawled on all fours and heard further gunshots and bullets whizzing past me. Three bullets struck the wall of a house in front of me, leaving visible holes.

- 158 The affidavit later helped win an urgent interdict aimed at stopping security force and vigilante assaults. Ms Dlutu was chased by police and hid in a nearby house. She watched police assault the injured young man and then throw both him and the older man into the back of a police truck. The young man is believed to have been twenty-seven-year-old Mr Lawrence Vukile Cecane [EC2625/97ELN]. He was later found to have died.
- 159 Mr Goodman Toko [EC2215/97ELN] and Mr Nyanisile Alton Vusani [EC2174/97ELN] were also shot dead by police the same morning at Mount Ruth station. Mr Fuzile Caza [EC0220/96ELN] was shot by Ciskei security forces (the family believed that the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) was involved) at Mount Ruth station; he died in hospital a year later from his injuries. His family tried to bring a civil claim against the Ciskei authorities but heard nothing further from their lawyers. They heard that police had claimed that Caza had been holding an illegal gathering and had been shot after throwing stones at the police. His brother, Mr Mykeni Wellington Caza, told the Commission that Caza had been assaulted and left for dead by vigilantes.
- 160 The Commission received several other accounts of the shooting in which victims were killed or severely injured. Mr Zola Malgas [EC2178/97ELN] described how police tried to force commuters onto buses.

Near my house, there was a bus which people were told to board instead of using trains. I went out to see with my family but I told my wife to take the kids inside the house. Due to gunshots, we ran inside the house. My wife, Christina Malgas, was snatched by a bullet on the head, leaving a gap on the hair; there are still bullet holes in our door.

- 161 There were no reports to the Commission of any warnings before shooting began. Most victims did not know what had happened. It seems that few, if any, of those injured or families of those killed received compensation from the Ciskei government. Several deponents who had been injured spoke of having had to pay money to the government for court proceedings but not receiving any payments in return. They were unable to say what the legal proceedings had been about. Some of those injured said they had subsequently been arrested, charged and acquitted, without knowing what the charges had been.
- 162 At the time, Ciskei authorities said police had been attacked. The Commission did not, however, receive any statements indicating that this was so. It is worth noting that, by the end of August, fifty-nine people accused of attacking the police at the railway stations on 4 August had been found not guilty by the Mdantsane court. A year later, a group of ten were acquitted on charges of public violence relating to the incident, or charges against them had been withdrawn.
- 163 The Commission could find no indication that anyone was prosecuted in connection with these killings. About eighteen months after the shootings, the Ciskei Attorney-General said he had referred files on four of the six known killings back to the police for further work, and that police were still working on a fifth file. The inquests into four of the deaths eventually began in September 1986, three years after the shootings. Nobody was found to be criminally liable for the killings.
- 164 There was confusion and panic in Mdantsane after the shootings. Ciskei authorities issued contradictory reports and hospital staff were under pressure not to release details. It was alleged that soldiers prevented people from entering the casualty ward to find the dead and the injured. One persistent rumour was that as many as ninety people had died. However, the Commission did not receive statements indicating a large number of previously unknown deaths and/or disappearances and was unable to substantiate this.
- 165 Detentions and assaults followed the shootings, some of which were reported to the Commission. A large number of people were charged in connection with breaking the curfew. Two more people were shot dead by Ciskei police within days of the railway station shootings.
- 166 Six Mdantsane residents working in East London and taxi operator Mr Khabalinjani Mabulu were granted interim orders prohibiting members of the Ciskei security forces and vigilantes from assaulting, molesting, harassing, intimidating or unlawfully interfering with them.

- 167 One deponent alleged that the SAP had also acted against boycotters. Ms Misiwe Evelyn Keye [EC0951/96ELN] said she had been bitten by police dogs, assaulted by the SAP and dragged onto the railway line at Arnoldton station, just outside East London, the day after the Mdantsane railway station shootings: "I think they were angry simply because we were boycotting buses".
- 168 The actions of the security forces and vigilantes elicited a violent response from some of the boycotters, who targeted the vigilantes as well as government structures and individuals believed to be linked to the bus company. Buses were attacked with petrol bombs and stones. The homes of two people believed to be vigilantes assisting the police were burnt down. About 1 000 pupils boycotted school in Mdantsane and within ten days six schools had been damaged in arson attacks. In late July, a bus crashed when a stone thrown at it knocked the driver unconscious. The sole passenger escaped unhurt. In early August, ruling party official Mr Robert Ndlovu's home in Mdantsane was petrol-bombed and three of his children were killed. Ndlovu had been involved in urging commuters to use buses.
- 169 A large number of detentions were recorded. By the end of August, over 1 000 people had been detained under the emergency regulations. At the same time, at least sixty-seven were detained under Ciskei's Internal Security Act, including eight members of the Committee of Ten which was set up to negotiate around the boycott²⁴. A lawyer who represented some of the detainees, Mr Hintsa Siwisa, was himself detained. Following the boycott period, a Committee of Ten member, Ms Priscilla Mxongo, was hospitalised following assaults in detention; another, Mr Eric Mntonga, was subsequently killed in detention in Ciskei in July 1987, while at least two others (Mr Mzwandile Mampunye and Mr Newell Faku) were charged with 'terrorism'. Unionists were also targeted for detention during the boycott. Some unionists were detained by the SAP and handed over to Ciskei. The militant SAAWU, formed in East London in 1979, had been struggling to operate in Ciskei before the boycott started and the Ciskei authorities used the boycott as an excuse to suppress the union. Chief Lennox Sebe openly accused SAAWU of being behind the boycott. SAAWU unionists were detained and by 5 September, the union had been banned in Ciskei²⁵.
- 170 The bus boycott was finally called off at a mass meeting held by the Committee of Ten on 15 March 1985.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE RESPONSE OF THE CISKEI POLICE FORCE AND THE CDF TO THE 1983 MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT WAS GROSSLY UNLAWFUL, AND THAT THE POLICE

²⁴ Haysom (1983), pp 43 and 53.

²⁵ A lengthy legal challenge to this ban by SAAWU was eventually overturned by the Ciskei Supreme Court in October 1987; the union eventually disintegrated.

ACTIONS IN ATTEMPTING TO BREAK THE BOYCOTT AND FORCE PEOPLE TO USE BUSES LED TO THE COMMISSION OF WIDESPREAD GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, INCLUDING KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING, AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT, FOR WHICH THE CISKEI POLICE AND CDF ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT PRO-CISKEI GOVERNMENT VIGILANTES ALSO PARTICIPATED IN THE UNLAWFUL ATTACKS ON COMMUNITIES, AND ARE HELD EQUALLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT RESULTED.

The Langa massacre: 21 March 1985

- 170 In March 1985, tensions in Uitenhage townships reached boiling point. Between 8 and 10 March, police reported twenty-three incidents of arson and eighteen of stone-throwing, causing damage estimated at R220 000. The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, had visited Uitenhage with the commissioner of police, General Coetzee on 19 February. They had been told that 'soft' weaponry was no longer effective for riot control purposes. On 14 March, Uitenhage's most senior police officers, the 'Order Group', decided to take stronger action to regain control. As from 15 March, police patrols were no longer issued with teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot; instead they were given heavy ammunition.
- 171 Meanwhile, police action against militant youth resulted in six black people being killed by police. The funeral of four of the six was to be held on Sunday 17 March and a stay away was called for Monday 18 March as part of the 'Black Weekend'. Police said that three petrol bombs were thrown at a police vehicle in Langa during this weekend, and that they shot and killed a young man. The houses of two police officers in Langa were destroyed by fire. On 17 March, Black Sash leader Ms Molly Blackburn burst into the Uitenhage police station where a youth, Mr Norman Kona, was being tortured by police. She halted the assault and saw that charges were brought against the police officers responsible.
- 172 The week before the funeral, Captain Goosen of the SAP applied for two different and conflicting orders relating to funeral prohibitions. Both were granted, resulting in confusion over the dates on which funerals were to be held.
- 174 On 21 March 1985, a large group of people from Langa township assembled at Maduna Square and began to march to KwaNobuhle to attend the funeral. The police blocked the road into the centre of Uitenhage with two armoured vehicles and ordered the crowd to disperse. When the crowd failed to comply immediately, police opened fire on the crowd, fatally shooting twenty. The incident became known as the Langa massacre.

- 175 The Kannemeyer Commission was appointed the day after the shooting with Judge Donald Kannemeyer as chairperson and sole member. The Kannemeyer Commission found that twenty people were shot dead and at least twenty-seven were wounded, and that the majority had been shot in the back. He found that, in the circumstances, the police could not be blamed for issuing orders to open fire. Police were armed with lethal weapons rather than standard riot control gear because of a deliberate policy adopted by senior officers, and the police should thus have foreseen that an order to open fire would result in fatalities. Police evidence of the weapons carried by the crowd was exaggerated.
- 176 Charges of public violence laid against thirty-one people following the Langa massacre of March 1985 were dropped a year later. Of the thirty-one charged, twenty-one had been injured by police gunfire.
- 177 A year later, an inquest at the New Brighton courts in Port Elizabeth found that the deaths were not the result of any act or negligence constituting a crime on the part of anyone. The inquest findings were based on the evidence heard by Kannemeyer and it was considered unnecessary to call any of the witnesses to give their evidence to the inquest. As a result of this decision, the families of the deceased withdrew from the inquest proceedings. Magistrate JS Knoesen said that, if any blame were to be attributed for police actions, the responsibility should lie with Lieutenant JW Fouche, who was in command of the Casspirs (armoured personnel carriers) and who gave the order to open fire. However, Knoesen found that Fouche had done his duty in dispersing the crowd which was on its way to kill white people in town; that every effort made by Fouche and Warrant Officer JW Pentz to halt the marching crowd had failed, and that Fouche and Pentz had seen objects that they believed to be petrol bombs among the crowd. Knoesen said:

The court is satisfied that the amount of violence used was that which was required and justifiable under the circumstances.

- 178 The Commission received statements in connection with more than twenty victims of this incident – about half relating to deaths, the rest to injuries. Part of one of the Uitenhage hearings in August 1996 was devoted to the Langa massacre. Those who gave evidence at this hearing included two men who had been working as ambulance drivers at the time. The dead included Mr Kenneth Thobekile Mahuna [EC0057/96PLZ], Mr Buyile Gladstone Blaauw [EC0555/96UIT], Mr Gugulethu Mzwabantu Gavu [EC0558/96UIT], Mr Aubrey Vuyo Nobatana [EC0559/96UIT], Mr Phakamile Nicholas Solomon [EC0562/96UIT], Mr Mgcineni Vusani [EC0615/96UIT], Mr Mzimkulu Penzana [EC0708/96UIT], Mr Phumzile Gladwell Plaatjies

[EC0806/96UIT], Mr Sonwabo Kama [EC1080/96PLZ], Mr Zanele Sidwell Majikazana [EC1140/96UIT] and Ms May Vena [EC1197/96UIT], who all died on the day, and Mr Lungisile William Nqikashe [EC0685/96TSI], who was paralysed in the shooting and subsequently died after surgery.

- 179 There had previously been allegations that a baby had died in the shooting; the Kannemeyer Commission found that this was not true. One of the ambulance drivers told this Commission he had seen a dead baby at the scene, but nobody could corroborate this. This Commission also heard from a woman who said her baby had been ill with gastro-enteritis and she had arrived at the casualty department at the same time as many of those wounded in the massacre. Her baby had been certified dead on arrival at the hospital. It appears that this incident may have been confused with the massacre, and the Commission satisfied itself that this baby's death had no connection with the shooting.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, WHILE THE SAP WERE JUSTIFIED IN PREVENTING THE MARCH AND DISPERSING THE CROWD, THEY RESORTED TO GROSSLY EXCESSIVE MEANS TO ACHIEVE THIS, USING UNJUSTIFIED DEADLY FORCE, AND THAT THEY ARE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS (KILLINGS, ATTEMPTED KILLINGS AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT) WHICH RESULTED FROM THEIR ACTIONS.

Violence in Duncan Village

- 180 The Commission received a number of statements from people affected by unrest and killings that took place in Duncan Village, Aliwal North and Queenstown within months of each other during 1985, and which were in many ways typical of township unrest in other parts of the country.
- 181 Until August 1995, the predominant aspects of resistance and political mobilisation were less pronounced in Duncan Village (on the outskirts of East London) than in other townships around the country. There were, however, sporadic street battles between youths, students and the police, particularly in the context of intermittent schools boycotts. Pupils at Qaqamba Senior Secondary School boycotted classes early in 1985, demanding that their student representative council be recognised and corporal punishment abolished. On 11 April 1985, the pupils at Qaqamba apparently marched out of their school and demanded that other pupils from the nearby Nyathi and Makinana primary schools join them. They were confronted and dispersed by the police using rubber bullets. Persistent running battles between the police and boycotting students followed. In May, the local educational authorities suspended classes.

- 182 At that time, Duncan Village was under threat of removal to the nearby Mdantsane township, under Ciskei jurisdiction, which was causing substantial unhappiness in the township.
- 183 On 11 August, large-scale violence was sparked off in Duncan Village after the funeral of human rights lawyer and activist Ms Victoria Mxenge, who had been assassinated in Durban. Her husband, human rights lawyer and activist Mr Griffiths Mxenge, had been killed in Durban by a police hits quad some years earlier. She was buried next to her husband at her home village of Rayi outside King William's Town, about sixty kilometres from Duncan Village.
- 184 Mxenge's funeral was characterised by militant addresses to mourners and UDF supporters. The speakers' messages concentrated on demands for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from prison, the withdrawal of the troops from the townships, the denunciation of government 'collaborators' and institutions and the lifting of emergency regulations. A message from Mr Mandela was smuggled out of prison and read at the funeral.
- 185 At the end of the funeral, members of the crowd attacked a passing vehicle with CDF soldiers in it. Corporal Mnyamezeli Bless [EC2782/96ALB] died after being stoned and set alight.
- 186 After the Mxenge funeral, there was violent unrest in Duncan Village, apparently started by the returning mourners. There were arson attacks on various buildings like the rent office, schools, a beer hall, a bottle store and a community centre. That evening, rampaging youths swept through the Ziphunzana area of the township, singing freedom songs. All six community councillors' homes were burnt down and homes of police officers and suspected 'collaborators' were also attacked. Youths stopped private cars and taxis travelling through the township and demanded petrol for making petrol bombs.
- 187 The police dispersed the youths with rubber bullets, teargas and sneeze powder. The violence continued the following day, a Monday, adversely affecting industry and commerce, with high absenteeism at local factories. There were also reports of looting and burning of commercial and delivery vehicles. Bread and milk deliveries to the township were affected.
- 188 Police are reported to have arrested many injured people as they were being treated at a local church aid centre. Many families were left homeless as a result of this

violence. According to media reports, five people were dead by 14 August. The neighbouring coloured areas were also peripherally affected, as there was no instruction at their schools. Bus services were withdrawn from the township and taxis avoided the Duncan Village route to town. Commercial vehicles were stoned and burnt, and their drivers attacked. By 16 August, the toll had risen to nineteen people dead and 138 injured after running battles with security forces. The Commission received statements in connection with about seventy victims of violations in Duncan Village for this period, about a third of which related to killings. Statements submitted indicate that killings continued throughout August. Most killings were by shooting and a report of a death by necklacing (Mr Mzuzile Siqubethu [EC0991/96ELN]) was also received. The Commission was unable to consult police records on these incidents as records were reported to have been destroyed.

- 189 Police are alleged to have shot randomly and without warning at mourners holding church services for the victims. The police harassed, interfered with and intimidated the clergymen operating an aid centre and clinic treating the victims. A court order was brought against the police on behalf of the priests working at the centre.
- 190 At a mass meeting called by the Duncan Village Residents' Association (DVRA), residents called for an end to the violence and workers were urged to go back to work. Buses were to be allowed to operate without hindrance or restraint and Escom was called to resume power supplies to the area — they had been unable to repair electrical faults during the unrest. There was an ongoing consumer boycott and shop owners were requested to lower their prices to avert the collapse of the boycott. Suppliers of goods to Duncan Village were also asked to resume their services.
- 191 A memorial service for the dead was held on 21 August and several factories closed as workers heeded a call to attend. At least twenty-three organisations were represented at the service and most had provided speakers. Some workers are reported to have been fired for attending the service. Activists were detained, including an aid centre worker. State President PW Botha paid a visit to the city for a briefing about the unrest.
- 192 On 31 August, nineteen people were buried at a mass funeral attended by 35 000 people and addressed by then Border UDF president, Mr Steve Tshwete. Two men were killed by a crowd returning from the funeral when their car apparently ploughed into the crowd, injuring eleven.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, WHILE THE POLICE WERE OBLIGED TO MAINTAIN ORDER DURING THE PERIOD OF UNREST IN DUNCAN VILLAGE, THEY ROUTINELY RESORTED TO THE UNJUSTIFIED USE OF DEADLY FORCE IN DOING SO AND ARE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT RESULTED FROM THEIR ACTIONS, INCLUDING KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT.

Aliwal North shootings: August 1985

- 193 The Commission's public hearings in Aliwal North focused on human rights violations in Aliwal North and in surrounding districts such as Barkly East, Lady Grey, Sterkspruit, Jamestown and Burgersdorp.
- 194 The mid-1980s was the most violent period for Aliwal North and surrounding areas. Political protest centred around students at Malcomess High School in the Dukathole township, and the UDF-affiliated Aliwal North Youth Congress was formed.
- 195 The first clashes between police and students took place on 22 August 1985; student activist and leader Mr Mzingisi Biliso was the first victim. The following day, about twenty-four people were shot dead by the security forces. The Commission received over twenty statements in connection with the shootings in Dukathole: nearly half of these dealt with killings.
- 196 According to stories told to the Commission, police standing on top of a building fired on protesting youths. Chaos followed in the township with arson attacks and further clashes between youth and police. The shootings were followed by detentions, and in May 1986, twenty-three people were charged with public violence related to the August 1985 events. Inquests subsequently found nobody criminally liable for the deaths. The Commission was unable to find police records relating to these incidents as records from that period were reported to have been destroyed.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE RESORTED TO THE UNJUSTIFIED USE OF DEADLY FORCE IN DEALING WITH THE AUGUST 1985 PUBLIC UNREST, AND ARE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WHICH RESULTED FROM THEIR ACTIONS, INCLUDING KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT.

Queenstown massacre: November 1985

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

issues. In surrounding black areas that formed part of the former Ciskei homeland, political conflict was between homeland security police forces and chiefs, communities or individual activists opposed to the homeland system and who were also suspected to be part of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

- 198 In Queenstown, conflict escalated with the imposition of a consumer boycott by UDF-aligned organisations in August 1985. Tension between the coloured and African communities followed the enforcement of the consumer boycott and at least one coloured man was 'necklaced'. This led to the formation of a coloured vigilante group supported by the local SAP and SADF. Black schools were also out on boycott since the assassination of the 'Cradock Four' in June. In September, the brother of a suspected informer was 'necklaced' in Queenstown's Mlungisi township.
- 199 On 17 November, a report-back meeting on negotiations with the Department of Education and Training, the Queenstown municipality, the East Cape Development Board and the Queenstown Chamber of Commerce was called by the residents' association of the local Mlungisi township. The meeting, held at Nonzwakazi Methodist Church and attended by over 2 000 people, was disrupted by police.
- 200 It is estimated that at least eleven people were shot dead and many were severely injured in the ensuing conflict. The Commission received submissions dealing with the deaths of Mr Lizo Ngcana [EC1241/96QTN], Mr James Mnyandeki [EC1111/96QTN], Mr Fikile Dastile [EC1109/96QTN], Mr Thamsanqa Kamati [EC0326/96QTN] and Mr Zandisile Ndabambi [EC0325/96QTN]. All had been part of the meeting. Eighteen-month-old Cebisa Tyobeka and her grandmother, Ms Maggie Tyobeka [EC0158/96QTN], who was holding her at the time, were both wounded inside their home, apparently by stray bullets.
- 201 Again, the Commission was unable to obtain inquest records or police records from the incident, and deaths were confirmed by consulting mortuary records. In addition, the Commission found details of another six people who died in this incident whose cases were not brought to this Commission. All eleven dead were male, ranging in age from fifteen to sixty-one. A press report from the time indicates that a twelfth person may also have died²⁶.
- 202 On 13 December, eleven people were buried at a mass funeral in Mlungisi township, attended by thousands. In response to questions in Parliament over a year

26 A contemporary newspaper report on the funeral states that eleven were buried together, while funeral organisers said a twelfth person had been buried previously.

later, the then Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, said that an inquest into nine deaths from that incident had found that nobody was criminally liable.

IN REVIEWING THE EVIDENCE OF THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS REPORTED TO THE COMMISSION IN THIS PERIOD, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE STATE AND THE HOMELAND AUTHORITIES IN THE EASTERN CAPE DISPLAYED TOTAL DISREGARD FOR THE LIVES OF THOSE ENGAGED IN PROTEST ACTION AGAINST THEIR POLICIES. WHERE LESSER MEASURES WOULD HAVE SUFFICED FOR THE RESTORATION OF PUBLIC ORDER, DEADLY FORCE WAS USED, RESULTING IN:

- THE KILLING OF AT LEAST SIX PEOPLE AT RAILWAY STATIONS IN MDANTSANE ON 4 AUGUST 1983 BY THE CISKEI POLICE AND THE CDF DURING THE MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT;
- THE KILLING OF AT LEAST TWENTY PEOPLE AT LANGA TOWNSHIP IN UITENHAGE ON 21 MARCH 1985 BY THE SAP AND THE SADF;
- THE KILLING OF AT LEAST NINETEEN PEOPLE AT DUNCAN VILLAGE OVER SEVERAL DAYS IN MID-AUGUST 1985 BY THE SAP AND THE SADF;
- THE KILLING OF AT LEAST ELEVEN PEOPLE AT MLUNGISI TOWNSHIP IN QUEENSTOWN ON 17 NOVEMBER 1985 BY THE SAP AND THE SADF, AND THE
- KILLING OF ABOUT TWENTY-FOUR PEOPLE AT ALIWAL NORTH ON 23 AUGUST 1985 BY THE SAP AND THE SADF.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE SAP, SADF, CP AND CDF AMOUNT TO CRIMINAL NEGLIGENCE FOR THE LIVES OF HUMAN BEINGS, AND HOLDS THEM ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE KILLING OF AN ESTIMATED NUMBER OF EIGHTY PEOPLE DURING THE FIVE NAMED MASSACRES.

Hankey shootings: May 1986

- 203 Hankey is a small farming town on the Gamtoos river, about 100 km west of Port Elizabeth. In Hankey, as in many other small Eastern Cape towns, 1984–86 saw the emergence of youth and community organisations aligned to the UDF and opposed to the BLAs. A town council was set up in the local Centreton township but, by May 1986, most of the councillors had resigned under pressure. In April, activist Sandile Joseph Mjacu [EC0089/96TSI] was shot, allegedly by a councillor, and died in hospital on 3 May. One of the councillors who had not resigned, Mr AM Mabukane, was killed by militant youth. Three days later the state-owned beer hall and the homes of two black police officers and a councillor were firebombed.
- 204 In late May, five more youths were shot dead by security forces — including farmers who appear to have been part of the local SADF commando at the time. A witness later told an inquest they were shot while attempting to attack a councillor's house. A councillor told the Commission he had fired shots when a group tried to petrol-bomb his home; he later heard a youth had died. Those killed were Mr Vuyo Gladman Kato Ndleleni [EC0085/96TSI], Mr Sipho Edward Boy Siziba [EC0086/96TSI], Mr

Msondezi Eric Sibengile [EC0087/96TSI], Mr Vusumzi Patrick Khotso Landu [EC0090/96TSI] and Mr Nimrod Monde Mjijwa [EC0088/96TSI]. Another youth, Mr Buyisile Eric Swartboo [EC0084/96TSI], was shot in the leg in the same incident. He was subsequently convicted of public violence and given a suspended sentence.

‘Trojan Horse’ killings: Despatch, Uitenhage and Steynsburg

205 The so-called ‘Trojan Horse’ incident that took place in Athlone, Cape Town, on 15 October 1985 is well known: police hiding in boxes in the back of a delivery van opened fire, killing three youths. Similar tactics were used in the Eastern Cape, twice before the Cape Town incident and once afterwards.

206 On 18 April 1985, a municipal truck loaded with branches drove past the Nomathamsanqa Higher Primary School in Despatch. Scholars were on boycott at the time but were playing games in the school grounds. The truck was stopped by youth in the street. The driver got out and fired a gun into the air, at which police officers emerged from under the branches and opened fire on the group of youths, hitting six people. Four died, including Mr Xolisile Nqandu [EC0679/96TSI], and two survived.

207 Mr Henry Sawuli told the Commission at the Uitenhage hearing that he had seen the ambush being prepared. He had been on his way home, waiting for a bus, when he saw a municipal truck loaded with branches stop behind a tree at a shooting range, next to a police Hippo (armoured personnel carrier):

Two policemen alighted from the Hippo, the others remained in the Hippo, and they got under the branches in this truck and I realised that these boys are up to something ... Since there was no bus, I stopped a car. You must remember it cost me 30c to get home, but I paid somebody R2 to take me home, to save our children from the lions ... I ran past no. 6 and no. 5 to my house at no. 4, and I put my bag on the table and as I walked out, the shots rang out and they started shooting.

208 Mr Lulamile Base Peter [EC0680/96TSI], who was fifteen at the time, told the Commission he had been shot and injured. He was arrested at hospital, convicted of public violence and given a suspended sentence. He requested medical assistance as he is still affected by the shooting. When asked by the Commission why he thought the incident had occurred, Peter said:

It is because they thought that we were going to burn their truck, because we were a group, and yet we were coming from school.

209 Mr Mntukanti Mbolekwa [EC0688/96TSI] also survived; he was sixty-nine years old at the time:

I was sitting outside basking in the sun when I saw this lorry. A green lorry appeared near the school and when it got near our blocks, it stopped and these branches, first you only saw branches and then the next thing people appeared from amongst these branches with their arms and they started firing ... They shot at everyone around ... They struck me while they were shooting. They even followed me. I was crawling to the other side.

210 Mr Mbolekwa was wounded in the left arm and chest. Now in his eighties, he is weak and in pain, and says that the government should compensate victims and build houses with running water as "this would make people happy and also make them feel like human beings".

211 A few weeks later a similar incident took place in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, close to Despatch. Seventeen-year-old COSAS activist Khayaletu Melvin Swartbooi [EC0175/96UIT] was killed. Swartbooi's mother, Ms Meyi Mabel Swartbooi, told the Commission:

On 2 May 1985, a Hippo had collided at the Filtoni Bottle Store, Mabandla Road, Uitenhage at about 11am, damaging a door. Khaya and another comrade left to go and see this accident. While travelling up Mabandla Street, a municipal truck loaded with cardboard boxes passed by. Police came out of hiding under the cardboard boxes and shot at Khaya who fell. The truck stopped and they picked Khaya up and put stones in his hands and put him in a plastic bag and loaded the bag before they drove off.

212 On 27 December, a third such incident took place, this time in Vergenoeg township at Steynsburg, a small town which had also been experiencing violent clashes between youths and police. Three youths, including nineteen-year-old UDF activist Buyisile Guga [EC1514/97NWC], were killed. Guga had been part of a group of youths staging a *toyi-toyi* (a form of chanting and dancing often used in protests) demonstration at the time. His mother, Ms Notyaya Elise Guga, told the Commission:

As they were running up and down the streets they were approached by police in a bakery truck who dispersed them. Some gunshots were fired and my son was hit by one of the shots in his spinal column. The police who approached the crowd had hidden themselves in a bakery truck, so as to give the impression that it was an innocent delivery truck so that nobody

would suspect any danger from it. This delivery truck, which disguised itself as some kind of a Trojan Horse, was followed by a police van.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THERE WERE THREE INCIDENTS IN THE EASTERN CAPE IN WHICH THE SAP ACTED AGAINST PUBLIC PROTESTS BY AMBUSHING AND SHOOTING PROTESTERS IN TROJAN HORSE-STYLE OPERATIONS — IN DESPATCH ON 18 APRIL 1985, AT KWANOBUHLE IN UITENHAGE ON 2 MAY 1985 AND AT VERGENOEG IN STEYNSBURG ON 27 DECEMBER 1985. IN REVIEWING THE EVIDENCE BEFORE THE COMMISSION, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTION OF THE POLICE IN THESE THREE INCIDENTS WAS CONTRARY TO NORMAL PUBLIC ORDER POLICING PROCEDURES AND THAT THESE INCIDENTS WERE DELIBERATE ATTEMPTS BY MEMBERS OF THE SAP TO CREATE SITUATIONS IN WHICH PROTESTERS WOULD BE KILLED IN ORDER TO SUPPRESS SUCH PROTESTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE SAP AMOUNT TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Kitskonstabels and municipal police

- 213 In some areas special constables or *kitskonstabels* (instant constables) and municipal police were brought in. Both *kitskonstabels* and municipal police were often implicated in attacks on activists.
- 214 *Kitskonstabels* were brought in to reassert state control over the township at the small rural town of Hofmeyr during this period, but instead brought more violence. Hofmeyr and its Eloxulweni township are about sixty kilometres north of Cradock. The Catholic Institute for International Relations [CIIR]²⁷ reported that a successful consumer boycott was implemented in Hofmeyr in 1985, and a schools boycott was widely supported. The community council was forced to resign, and street committees were implemented to ‘govern’ the township. Mr Matthew Goniwe launched the Hofmeyr Youth Congress in 1985. In the 1985–86 period, police admitted that they had “lost control of the township”. A number of incidents of violence occurred, including killings by both police and residents.
- 215 In response to the worsening situation, the state deployed a group of thirteen *kitskonstabels* in Eluxolweni in April 1987. The public prosecutor for Hofmeyr was also at times the station commander of the South African Police, and thus would not take action against members of the security forces accused of being ‘above the law’. Residents felt that it was useless to lay complaints against the *kitskonstabels* at the charge office, but approached lawyers to apply for an interdict against them.
- 216 On 30 October 1987, *kitskonstabels* shot seven people leaving a concert in Eluxolweni. Five of them were hospitalised. One was taken to the *kitskonstabels’*

²⁷ CIIR, *Now everyone is afraid: The changing face of policing in South Africa*, CIIR, August 1988.

quarters, kicked and threatened with a shotgun and an axe. Despite a temporary interdict granted against the kitskonstabels, in February 1988 a *kitskonstabel* shot one of the applicants outside a memorial service.

- 217 During 1985 there were a number of incidents of shootings and torture by police in Jansenville, south-east of Graaff-Reinet. On 1 January 1986, Mr Pieter Rapudi [EC1399/96KAR] was shot dead while part of a group of youths celebrating the new year by singing freedom songs. Four months later, Mr Vuyani Douze [EC1397/96KAR] was shot dead by the same municipal police officer. Rapudi's brother, Mr David Velele Mgone, asked the Commission to ensure that the police officer concerned was not employed by any government structure.

Resistance groupings and counter-mobilisation

UDF-AZAPO clashes: Port Elizabeth, 1985-86

- 218 1985 and 1986 saw the evolution of inter-organisational conflict in the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area, with manipulation by the security forces (see Volume Two). The conflict started between AZAPO and the UDF in Port Elizabeth; later it developed into a violent conflict between the UDF and an organisation called *AmaAfrika* in KwaNobuhle. This conflict emerged at a time of education boycotts and developed into increasingly violent clashes between UDF-aligned youths and security forces and those regarded as their allies, such as community councillors. A prominent feature of these conflicts was the use of fire in attacking opponents – arson attacks on houses and burning of people. By 1985, the 'necklace' method of killing was being used, which involved placing a tyre around the victim and setting him or her alight.
- 219 Up until late 1984, there had been no political violence to speak of in Port Elizabeth. By September 1984, the UDF was becoming increasingly antagonistic towards the BLA and Mr Thamsanqa Linda, who later became the mayor of Port Elizabeth's BLA. Schools boycotts also began, leading to clashes between scholars and riot police. Clashes between youths and police and between youths and BLAs continued.
- 220 During 1985 and 1986, the battle between the UDF and AZAPO tore the Port Elizabeth townships apart. Although the UDF-AZAPO conflict had national parallels, in this region much of the conflict appears to have centred around relations between the UDF and Reverend Mzwandile Ebenezer Maqina, who was aligned to AZAPO. Maqina had a background in the BCM and was banned until 1983.

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

- 221 The conflict in Port Elizabeth became violent in April 1985. On 6 April, at the funeral of AZAPO member Patata Kani, Reverend Maqina claimed that he had been threatened by members of COSAS, marking the beginning of the 'feud'. The end of that month saw the first of several attacks on UDF leadership by AZAPO members; there were allegations that Maqina himself was involved in at least one attack. Counter-attacks followed, with leaders on both sides being targeted.
- 222 The feud led to a large number of attacks, rendering many families homeless. One clash in June 1985 involved 600 to 1 000 UDF and AZAPO supporters, killing two. Most attacks involved petrol bombs, knives, axes and similar weaponry; some guns were also used, and one MK attack on Maqina involved hand grenades. There were also allegations by both sides of 'third force' involvement in the conflict.
- 223 The Commission received several submissions in connection with this lengthy feud. Reported incidents included the abduction and assault of Mr Mono Badela [EC0217/96KWT] by AZAPO members. Badela's home was also petrol-bombed. Mr Edgar Ngoyi [EC1602/97SBR] was assaulted and his home was petrol-bombed. Mr Ernest Malgas's [EC0001/96PLZ] home was petrol-bombed on three occasions and Mr Sicelo Apleni [EC0304/96PLZ] was shot and injured.
- 224 By May 1985, the conflict had spread to Uitenhage where it emerged as a conflict between the rival metalworker unions in the auto industry, namely the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union, whose members supported AZAPO, and the UDF-supporting Motor and Component Workers' Union [MACWUSA] and its ally the Uitenhage Youth Congress [UYCO]. Also in May, the conflict spread to Grahamstown AZAPO and UDF affiliates.
- 225 The two weeks from 30 April to 11 May saw a number of violent attacks. On the 8 May, the 'PEBCO Three' (Mr Sipho Hashe [EC0003/96PLZ], Mr Champion Galela [EC0005/96PLZ] and Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi [EC0004/96PLZ]) were abducted and killed by the security forces. This further increased tensions in the area. On 10 May, Mr Mkhuseleli Jack went to Reverend Maqina's home with a large crowd, demanding the release of four youths who were being held by him. One reporter noted that: "The crowd made it clear that there was no fight between the UDF and AZAPO, but that it was between Maqina and the community". Maqina claimed that the

youths had been 'apprehended' on their way to attack a home in New Brighton, tied up and beaten. The police and SADF intervened, secured the release of the four and took three of them into custody, while one was hospitalised. Maqina denied the allegation that AZAPO held informal courts and commented at the time:

The only thing we usually do when we apprehend some youngsters attacking homes of our members, in particular mine, is to keep them at my place and send for their parents who talk to them. Then we release them. I know of two youngsters from Dora Street who were given some form of deterrent punishment after they admitted being members of a UDF action committee. They were also involved in certain acts of violence against our members.

- 226 On 16 June, an MK member attacked Reverend Maqina's house and car with hand grenades. Two days later, the home of UDF leader Mr Ernest Malgas was petrol-bombed; it was the third such attack and ten youths were burnt. Before the end of that month, Maqina's home had again been attacked with hand grenades and firearms and at least one person was injured.
- 227 By early July, eighty to ninety UDF families and fifty-five AZAPO families were estimated to be homeless as a result of the feud.
- 228 In June, the 'Cradock Four' were abducted and killed in a clandestine operation by the security forces. The security forces tried to make it look as though the four UDF activists had been killed by AZAPO members (see below).
- 229 On 22 July, at the funeral of the 'Cradock Four', the first partial state of emergency was declared in the Eastern Cape. Most of the local UDF leadership was detained under emergency regulations; many were tortured in detention. On 13 September, thirty-nine AZAPO leaders and supporters were arrested at a commemoration meeting for Steve Biko in Uitenhage. They were later charged with holding an illegal gathering and some were severely assaulted in custody.
- 230 On 24 December, UDF leader Mr Edgar Ngoyi was released on bail. He met with Reverend Maqina and they made an agreement in terms of which the hundred AZAPO members under Maqina's protection would not be attacked. Just a few weeks later, in early 1986, AZAPO distanced itself from Maqina, claiming that he had been expelled from the organisation. AZAPO members returned home and, to a certain extent, the truce held. However, on 15 July 1986, the AZAPO regional chairperson, Mr Sonwabo Ngxale, was killed. By the end of that month, a national state of emergency had been declared and thousands of activists were detained.

- 231 Street and area committees set up by UDF activists in early 1986 involved 'people's courts' to deal with local problems and avoid having to deal with police. Following the mass detentions of the state of emergency, however, the *amabutho* (UDF-aligned vigilantes) sometimes took over these structures and committed violent actions such as 'necklacings'.
- 232 During 1987, the violence between AZAPO and UDF died down to some extent. At the beginning of 1988, the situation was 'normalised' to the extent that services such as post offices were reopened in the townships and work began on the electrification of Kwazakele. However, the violent conflict between AZAPO and UDF flared up again, this time in Walmer township. Three people died in a week of fighting, including former Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM) chairperson, Mr Xolisile Mnyaka.

UDF-Peacemaker clashes: Uitenhage, 1985-86

- 233 Uitenhage and its townships, KwaNobuhle and Langa, are a short distance from Port Elizabeth. Uitenhage is an important centre for the motor industry in South Africa, and the unions that organised in this sector had a strong influence on the development of civics in that region during the 1980s.
- 234 The enactment of BLA legislation in 1983 and the subsequent establishment of the KwaNobuhle Town Council in Uitenhage heightened political tensions. The sixteen councillors were elected unopposed in October 1983. Seventy-five per cent of them had been members of the previous community council which had also been elected unopposed in 1978.
- 235 In September 1984, the KwaNobuhle Town Council, faced with a fiscal crisis, decided to raise rents and service charges. Popular opposition to this decision (which was not implemented) combined with national opposition to the BLA system under the banner of the United Democratic Front. Uitenhage Youth Congress called for the resignation of the councillors and a boycott of their businesses. Councillors responded by installing police guards and getting personal firearms for their protection. In addition, a group of young men formed a vigilante group called the 'Peacemakers' in support of the councillors.
- 236 Violence escalated between September 1984 and March 1985, with violent attacks on councillors and police by *amabutho* being met by increasingly harsh responses from police and vigilantes, including indiscriminate shooting at individuals and groups, assaults on innocent people and prolonged torture in police cells. This

violence also affected the township of Despatch, where the political funeral of Mr Lungile Nqgikashe on 15 September 1985 was followed by the arrest and torture of youth by police. When conflict developed over the use of the KwaNobuhle community hall in November 1984, the police openly backed the Peacemakers in their violent clashes with the *amabutho*. One Uitenhage police officer said:

The police regarded the Peacemakers as helpful in maintaining law and order and admitted that members of the Peacemakers were acting as informers for the security police.

- 237 Several violent incidents were reported. On 3 December, the home of metal-workers' union official Mr Fikile Kobese was firebombed, killing his brother, Mr Leslie Kobese [EC0302/96UIT], for which the Peacemakers were blamed. Police broke up the vigil for Kobese on 17 December, detaining some of the mourners. The same day, Mr Zamuxolo Louis Mondile [EC2821/97UIT], a nephew of Councillor Benjamin Kinikini, was beaten to death by *amabutho*. On 16 January 1986, police opened fire on a crowd in KwaNobuhle; the next day three police officers' homes were burnt down by *amabutho*.
- 238 In February, three KwaNobuhle councillors resigned. Another resigned early in March. On 12 March, almost all the remaining councillors resigned *en masse*, led by the Mayor, Mr Tini. Mr Benjamin Kinikini was not at the meeting where the resignations took place and was the only councillor who did not resign.
- 239 Violence escalated further after the Langa massacre of 21 March 1986 (see above). The houses of thirteen police officers were petrol-bombed, and all black police officers living in Uitenhage's two African townships had to be moved to temporary accommodation. Revenge attacks against those suspected of collaboration became rife. This led to the burning down of the houses of eighteen suspected 'collaborators' at Tinis, another township near KwaNobuhle, and the killing and burning of at least seven suspected informers or 'sell-outs', including Councillor Benjamin Kinikini.

UDF–AmaAfrika clashes: Uitenhage 1985–86

- 240 The beginning of 1986 saw the beginning of a violent conflict between the UDF and *AmaAfrika* in KwaNobuhle. *AmaAfrika* was led by the Reverend Ebenezer Maqina, who had been expelled from AZAPO in Port Elizabeth in January 1986. It was formally established in Port Elizabeth in December 1987, although it had been in existence for some time before this. Its forerunner was the African Persons Concerned Committee (APCC). *AmaAfrika* soon came into conflict with

the UDF when it objected to the consumer boycotts and to the undisciplined actions of township youth aligned to the UDF following the detention of UDF leaders in June 1986.

- 241 Violence erupted in January 1987 when a march through KwaNobuhle, organised by the APCC and protected by SAP vehicles, led to the death of up to four people, the assault of many others, and the burning down of at least ten houses belonging to leading UDF activists. The intention was to purge the township of political organisations and activities which were “holding the township to ransom”, to create space for government reforms and negotiations, and to prepare for councillors to return to the township as Regional Services Councillors.
- 242 The violence, which continued after January 1987, resulted in the deaths of many people from both the UDF and the *AmaAfrika*. Municipal police were deployed to establish control in the township. By 1988, nine separate court cases had been brought against the municipal police for assault and other charges including rape and theft. By September, more than 300 families had fled from their Uitenhage homes. By this time, *AmaAfrika* was suffering from internal divisions and there was less open collusion with the police. Many people detained under emergency regulations were released, and the situation in KwaNobuhle was brought to the attention of international and national bodies.
- 243 The following cases brought to the Commission occurred in one incident on 28 December 1989, when thirteen youth who were *abakhwetha* (initiates at circumcision school) were attacked by *AmaAfrika* vigilantes in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage.
- 244 Ms Miriam Nombulelo Manziya testified about the death of her son, Mr Mthuzimele Philip Manziya [EC0636/96UIT] in Khayelitsha, Uitenhage, on 28 December 1989. He was aligned to the UDF and was ‘guarding’ the *abakhwetha* from the *AmaAfrika* group. His mother later heard that police had teargassed the group guarding the *abakhwetha*, chasing them into the hands of the *AmaAfrika* members. Manziya was hacked with axes and knives and died of his wounds three days later. Thirteen people were allegedly killed by *AmaAfrika* in this incident; three bodies were hidden and found later. Manziya was buried with nine others on 13 January 1990.
- 245 Ms Nodoli Lillian Solani testified about the death of her son, Mr Vusumzi Solani [EC0635/96UIT], who was also killed in this incident. His decomposed body was found by police two weeks later, on the path to Despatch.

246 The case of the *AmaAfrika* vigilantes is significant as it represents an overlap between two categories of violent conflict with African communities — inter-organisational political conflict, and vigilante conflict. While sharing many of the characteristics of vigilante groups elsewhere, the *AmaAfrika* were perceived to have an ideological basis in Africanism as well as an organisational basis in either the PAC (through individuals such as Mr Timothy Djantjies who had been PAC members in the days before its banning) or AZAPO (through the connection with Reverend Maqina). Members of the community did not understand the ideological differences and sometimes referred to the vigilantes as ‘*AmaAfrikas* or *AZAPOs*’. Reverend Maqina’s involvement in the Uitenhage conflict is confusing; also from Africanist roots, he established an organisation called *AmaAfrika* in December 1987, and denied it was the same organisation as that which had operated in Uitenhage earlier in that year²⁸.

247 Mr Mncedisi Sithotho testified at the Commission’s Uitenhage hearings in his capacity as a former UDF leader from Uitenhage, giving the Commission a background on the conflicts. He explained how, after the consumer boycotts of 1986, people had to move from the old part of KwaNobuhle to Khayelitsha, where rents were higher. On 28 December 1986, a decision was taken to lift the consumer and schools boycotts in the new year. The community was to be informed by pamphlets of this decision, which would be implemented on 5 January 1987. However, on the morning of 4 January, KwaNobuhle was surrounded by police Casspirs. Escorted by the police, vigilantes marched through the township, attacking the houses of UDF activists. Homes of UDF leaders were destroyed and their relatives attacked. Mr Sithotho explained that some of those in the vigilantes’ march were not politically active, but were compelled to join; others were glad of police support as they wanted to crush the youth. The conflict continued until 1989, when a peace agreement was reached. He was of the opinion that the conflict was designed to crush the emerging democratic forces. It was not, in his view, a manifestation of ‘black on black’ violence but rather a manipulation of the situation by Military Intelligence. There is, indeed, evidence that Military Intelligence was involved in financing the Uitenhage Concerned Group, which later became known as *AmaAfrika*. Some UDF members joined the *AmaAfrika*. Hundreds of people fled from their homes and went into hiding or took refuge elsewhere as a result of this violence. UDF leaders were detained, whereas *AmaAfrika* leaders were not. Many of the participants in *AmaAfrika* are now members of the PAC.

248 Mr Mandla Konci testified to the same hearings as a former member of *AmaAfrika*, now chair of the PAC Uitenhage branch. He explained how an organisation called

28 See Rory Riordan, *Evidence in mitigation of sentence*, in which he interviews Maqina.

'Save the Starving Community' was established in Uitenhage around 1982, including both Africanists and 'Congress' supporters. Some, like Djanties, were involved in this group but did not want to affiliate to the UDF when the latter was formed. There were thus ideological divisions within the African community of Uitenhage. In March 1986, the conflict began to deepen. Members of the organisation wanted to establish a branch of AZANYU, the youth wing of the Africanist movement. They were then forced to go and live in Khayelitsha. In May 1986, one of the members was killed, and the feud started in earnest. Konci admitted that "the Boers tried to use us, to fan the conflict in Uitenhage", but denied that they were given protection by the police, and claimed that they were also arrested and assaulted: "Rumours that we worked with the police are surprising". He said there was continuity between the *AmaAfrika* and the PAC branch today.

Covert Military Intelligence operations: Somerset East and Cookhouse

- 249 Conflict in Somerset East began in late 1984. Residents held meetings to discuss problems with rents and with the beer hall. The focus of their grievances was Mr Joel Memese, Chairman of the KwaNojoli Community Council. On 11 February 1985, Memese fired a shotgun at a crowd stoning his house, wounding three youths. Somerset East schools came out on boycott after this incident. As in other small towns, violence escalated, with attacks on police officers and councillors, acts of arson, and police shooting and killing a number of youths. The schools in Cookhouse, Pearston, Jansenville and Fort Beaufort joined the boycott on 10 April. Two days later, meetings of twenty-nine organisations, including COSAS, were banned.
- 250 The councillors together with municipal police officers began to adopt increasingly 'hard-line' actions against residents. The vigilante movements in Somerset East and Cookhouse, linked in the case of Somerset East to Councillor Memese, are mentioned in the documentation on Project Vallex and Operation Katzen as being covert projects of Military Intelligence aimed at creating conflict in black communities. One of the aims of such operations was "to remove the UDF, through the use of force, from the communities on the principles of colour against colour".
- 251 Mr Bantu Holomisa's May 1996 submission to the Commission in Port Elizabeth gave details of some of these strategies. Project Vallex was intended to create a counter-revolutionary force in the Eastern Cape, specifically in the towns around Cradock. Cradock was perceived to be the "epicentre" of the "revolutionary onslaught". The organisational efforts of Mr Matthew Goniwe and the UDF were described as follows:

It is well known that the enemy started its activities during 1983 in Cradock mainly through organisations like the residents associations, youth organisations and women's organisations. It expanded its control more or less as follows: Somerset East, Cookhouse, Bedford, Adelaide, Hofmeyr, Middelburg, Graaff-Reinet and Pearston. On a map it represents a circle around Cradock. It would therefore be wise not to tackle Cradock directly but rather to concentrate on the surrounding towns, thereby isolating Cradock. This will only be possible in co-operation with the right black leaders.

On a trial basis, activities were introduced in Somerset East with a strong conservative element and positive results have been achieved ... Elections have been held and a black council is now functioning in Somerset East. The main figure in this effort is Joel Memese. Two members of the council, previously regarded as radical, have attended a course and are now openly supporting Memese. In our efforts to find suitable black leaders, Joel Memese should receive our full support. He is totally opposed to the UDF, ANC and Communists. He openly supports the RSA government and commands wide influence. The municipal police also support him fully.

- 252 A local medical doctor in Somerset East was appointed as co-ordinator of this programme. Three courses were conducted for groups between twenty-four and forty-five in Somerset East, and one for the Kakana family in Cookhouse. The success of this programme in security forces' eyes was described as follows:

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

- 253 It seems that these reports were dated around the middle of 1986, by which time the projects were already in operation; it is not clear exactly when they started.
- 254 The small township of Bongweni, outside Cookhouse and some eighty kilometres south of Cradock, was torn apart by violence in 1986, when fighting broke out between UDF supporters and those aligned to the Kakana family. It was alleged that the Kakana family refused to join the UDF-affiliated Cookhouse Youth Organisation unless there was proof that the UDF's activities were legal; they were accused of being 'Le Grange dogs'. UDF Eastern Cape president Edgar Ngoyi claimed that the violence began when residents boycotted a shop belonging to

a member of the Kakana family. Submissions to the Commission indicated that, whether or not there was a link between the Kakana family and the security forces, there was certainly a belief among UDF supporters that the Kakanas were linked to the police, which probably contributed to the conflict. At least one of the Kakanas was either a police officer at the time of the conflict or joined the police soon afterwards. In some submissions to the Commission, former UDF supporters indicated they believed the Kakanas to be AZAPO supporters.

- 255 On 26 February 1986, UDF activist Gugwana Menzi was injured and his wife, Ms Nokhaya Mina Menzi, was killed in an attack on their shop in Bongweni [EC0468/96NWC]. An inquest implicated members of the Kakana family in the killing. In the following days, violent conflict between the Kakana family and UDF supporters ensued. Nine houses were gutted and there were running battles in the streets of Bongweni.
- 256 Ms Nosence Engelina Zanyiwe Kakana [EC1289/96KAR] and Ms Nokuzola Lena Nonhi [EC1290/96KAR] gave testimony on the deaths of four Kakana family members. Mr Mabhuti Kakana (17) was stabbed to death in Ekuphumleni location, Cookhouse, during 1985. Noticeboards were posted in the community saying, "Do not attend the Kakana funeral; they are sell-outs." Subsequent attacks resulted in the deaths of Mr Mpendulo Kakana, Mr Zolani Meko, Mr Batayi Kakana and Mr Wheyiwheyi Kakana, a *kitskonstabel*. Nosence Kakana questioned allegations of security force support to the Kakanas and said she was not aware of any payments made by the state to her family to oppose the UDF.
- 257 Mr Wele Samuel Kakana [EC1401/96ALB] testified that his house in Bedford was burnt down and his livestock destroyed because he was accused of being a police informer. Mr Buti John Kakana [EC1753/97ALB] and his family fled to Pretoria after their home and shop were burnt down; he later moved to Adelaide and joined the police. The Kakanas were eventually able to return to Cookhouse.
- 258 The home of Ms Angelina Zanyiwe Feni [EC0465/96NWC] was attacked and set alight because her sons were UDF activists; she was badly burnt. UDF member Mzukisi Johannes Fesi [EC2319/97KAR] was injured when he was attacked on two occasions and stabbed.
- 259 Many other people were injured and homes were torched. Two hundred members and supporters of the Kakana family fled and took shelter at the Cookhouse police station.

IN REVIEWING THE EVIDENCE EMANATING FROM THE AZAPO-UDF CONFLICT IN PORT ELIZABETH AND THE AMAAFRIKA-UDF CONFLICT IN UITENHAGE AND OTHER AREAS OF THE EASTERN CAPE, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE STATE EMPLOYED A POLICY OF CONTRA-MOBILISATION TO MANIPULATE LEGITIMATE POLITICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS WITH THE INTENTION OF MOBILISING ONE GROUP AGAINST ANOTHER AND FOMENTING VIOLENCE, STRIFE AND DIVISION.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE REVEREND MZWANDILE EBENEZER MAQINA WAS A LEADER OF SUCH A GROUP IN PORT ELIZABETH. DURING THE PERIOD 1985–90, AND IN AND AROUND PORT ELIZABETH, MAQINA WAS INVOLVED IN THE FORMATION AND SUPPORT OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS AND VIGILANTE GROUPS WHICH HAD AS THEIR AIM, INTER ALIA, THE PERPETRATION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE UDF.

IT FINDS THAT HE INCITED MEMBERS OF THE AFORESAID ORGANISATIONS AND GROUPS TO ACT VIOLENTLY AGAINST MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE UDF AND COLLUDED WITH MEMBERS OF THE SAP AND SADF IN ORDER TO FURTHER THE AIMS REFERRED TO ABOVE. BECAUSE OF MAQINA'S ACTIONS, SUBSTANTIAL VIOLENT POLITICAL CONFLICT OCCURRED IN THE PORT ELIZABETH REGION BETWEEN 1985 AND 1990, AS A RESULT OF WHICH AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF PEOPLE WERE INJURED AND DIED.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MAQINA IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WHICH RESULTED FROM HIS ACTIVITIES (KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING, TORTURE, ARSON AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT).

ON THE EVIDENCE BEFORE THE COMMISSION, VARIOUS ACTS OF KILLING, ABDUCTION AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY TOOK PLACE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE CONFLICT AS A RESULT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THESE GROUPS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICY OF CONTRA-MOBILISATION CAUSED VARIOUS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO BE COMMITTED FOR WHICH THE STATE IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Vigilantes in Ciskei

260 Over the years, the Ciskei authorities used vigilantes on several occasions. Haysom records the first use of vigilantes in Ciskei as being during 1974, when the vigilantes known as the 'Green Berets', who were members of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP), assaulted Mdantsane commuters during a boycott of the local bus company. Vigilantes re-emerged in 1977, this time to target Mdantsane schoolchildren who were boycotting classes in protest over Steve Biko's death in detention.²⁹ While there was suspicion that these vigilantes were linked to the homeland authorities, and they appeared to act in support of the homeland government, there was no clear evidence of state support for them.

261 However, there was clear Ciskei government support for the vigilantes who operated during the July 1983 boycott of the homeland-owned bus company. Police, army and vigilantes were used to break the boycott by assaulting commuters who used

²⁹ Haysom, 1983, pp 10, 24 & 45.

taxis, private cars and trains and taxi drivers seen as being in opposition to the bus company. The vigilantes were given free rein during the bus boycotts and that were able to use the central Sisa Dukashe stadium in Mdantsane as a venue for holding detainees. Haysom reports that there was “overwhelming evidence” that the vigilantes were involved in the assault and torture of detainees here. Any knowledge of this was denied by the then Ciskei Minister of Justice, Mr David Takane, although he did admit that the vigilantes were operating with official endorsement. The *Daily Dispatch* reported on 4 August:

People assisting in checking intimidators in Mdantsane during the bus boycott were vigilantes working under the direction of the police, the Ciskei Minister of Justice, Mr DM Takane, said yesterday. Mr Takane added that reports of assaults on Mdantsane residents by such people had not been received by his office.

262 The Commission received several statements implicating vigilantes in assaults on commuters during that period.

263 In 1987, Potsdam community leader Mr Zola Nozewu [EC0359/96ELN] fell foul of vigilantes. Potsdam village, near Mdantsane, had been opposing homeland rule for some time. In an extraordinary move, a substantial group of Potsdam residents dismantled their homes and fled across the border to South Africa where they begged for a home. South Africa trucked them back again. Nozewu became a leader in his community. His mother, Ms Noti Lena Kroti, told the Commission that Ciskei police had warned her that Nozewu should stay out of politics or he would die. He was stabbed to death by vigilantes near his home on 24 July 1987, three weeks later. Other community members were injured when the vigilantes, known locally as ‘Inkatha’, went on the rampage. The Potsdam community eventually found a permanent home at Eluxolweni on the South African side of the border.

264 In September 1985, Ciskei police raided the Zwelitsha home of UDF activist Zalisile Matyholo [EC0105/96ELN] and told his mother, Ms Evelyn Matyolo, that they would kill him because he was the cause of unrest in Ciskei: “They had a list which they said was for UDF activists that must be killed”. Mr Matyolo was also accused of helping people to flee the country to join the ANC. Within days he had been killed by a group of vigilantes travelling in vehicles with Ciskei government registration numbers. They searched the area for him with security force assistance and beat and stabbed him to death in front of witnesses.

Necklacings and burnings

- 265 The use of the 'necklace' method and the burning of opponents began in the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage townships during the mid-1980s, both as part of the UDF conflicts with AZAPO and *AmaAfrika* and as a method used by UDF supporters to attack police, councillors and those seen as collaborating with the state. The Commission received statements of both 'necklacings' and burnings. Due to the lack of information available, it was often difficult to distinguish between the two types of violations in a particular incident.
- 266 For the period September 1984 to December 1989, SAP national statistics recorded 406 deaths by 'necklacing', 28 injuries by 'necklacing', 395 deaths by burning and 150 injuries as a result of burning³⁰. The former Border and Eastern Cape regions (which together with the Transkei and Ciskei form the current Eastern Cape Province) accounted for 144 necklacing deaths (35 per cent of the national total), 131 burning deaths (33 per cent of the national total), 42 per cent of the burning injuries and 14 per cent of the necklacing injuries during that period.
- 267 The Commission received statements listing a large number of violations in connection with killings, attempted killings and severe ill treatment resulting from necklacing and burning – primarily related to incidents during 1985–87. In the first two of the review periods (1960–82 and 1990–94), the majority of reported fire-related attacks were arson attacks on buildings. In the current review period (1983–89), the majority of such violations related to attacks on people. Many of these attacks during the 1983–89 period occurred in the areas around Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Grahamstown, Port Alfred and East London. The 1983–89 period also saw an increase in the number of burnings during torture violations (that is, while in custody), but only a very small number of such cases was reported.
- 268 When houses were petrol-bombed, children who could not escape the flames sometimes became victims. Press reports indicated that, between March and May 1985, at least seven children under the age of ten (from families linked to councillors, AZAPO supporters and UDF supporters) died in such attacks in Port Elizabeth. Likewise, during the August 1983 Ciskei bus boycott, three children died in Mdantsane when their home was petrol-bombed because their father was seen as being against the boycott.
- 269 KwaNobuhle town councillor Mr Benjamin Kinikini [EC0289/96PLZ] was stoned, stabbed and 'necklaced' on 23 March 1985. Four of his sons and nephews

³⁰ 'Submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission by the Foundation for Equality Before the Law', compiled by Major-General HD Stadler and other retired officers of the SAP, June 1996.

were killed with him, either burnt or hacked to death: Luvuyo Stanley Kinikini (12), Mr Qondile Kinikini (18), Mr Silumko Welcome Kinikini (20), and Mr Zamuxolo Eric Kinikini (22) [EC0289/96PLZ]. At the time of the attack, Kinikini was accused of involvement in the abduction of some UDF youths. Kinikini's widow, Ms Nombuzo Kinikini, told the Commission she had not been present on the Saturday when her husband was killed, but heard about it from others:

I was told that he was stabbed by a spade on his head, then they stabbed him several times. He was made to drink petrol, they put a tyre over him and then they ignited him. During this time my younger son was hiding under the car, some of the petrol got to him and when he was trying to escape somebody saw him.

Silumko was hiding in one of the shops at Mboya. He asked one of the businessmen to hide him under the counter. They took him and they ignited him alive in front of the shop. I am telling you as it is. They cut his testicles while he was still alive.

Then on Monday at the police station, the doctor told me that he was going to inject me, at that time I had not seen them yet ... I will not be able to tell you about the head of my husband.

- 270 Many youths from Uitenhage were tried and some were sentenced to death for these killings based on the doctrine of 'common purpose'. Mr Moses Jantjies and Mr Wellington Mielies were convicted of murder and hanged on 1 September 1987 for their part in this.

The case of Phinda Baartman

On 13 April 1985, UDF supporter Mr Phinda Gladstone Baartman [EC2026/97ALB] was attacked in Fort Beaufort and survived an attempt to 'necklace' him. Baartman was accused of being a police informer. His attackers were allegedly UDF supporters. Baartman told the Commission two men collected him from his home, telling him he was wanted at a neighbour's house. On the way, he was ambushed by a larger group.

"They immediately attacked me with knives and screwdrivers. I was stripped of all my clothing except my underpants. I was stoned and severely beaten up. A car tyre was brought in and used to burn me up ('necklace' method). I was saved from death by a group of SADF soldiers who were passing by and saw the fire ... My entire left ear was burnt out as well as my left hand small finger. The left-hand side of my head was badly burnt as well as my left arm

which had to have a skin graft ... Six of my teeth were broken off. My skull was broken."

He was hospitalised for months and eventually boarded from work. Four men were charged and acquitted in connection with the attack.

The case of the Aubrey and Nokuzola Fulani

On the night of 28 April 1985, police officer Aubrey Jacob Fulani and his wife, Ms Nokuzola Carol-Anne Fulani [EC0291/96UIT] were abducted from their home at Uitenhage by UDF-aligned 'comrades' because Fulani was a police officer. The Fulanis had been at home on a Sunday evening when a group of attackers broke into their home, shot and wounded Mr Fulani, forced the two of them outside into waiting cars and drove them to a house in Soweto, Port Elizabeth. Ms Fulani told the Commission:

"They took him out of the house. They had black plastics and five litres of petrol and some tyres ... Then I was made to watch him. I was made to look at him for the last time. During all this time I had only a night-dress on. I was told to stand outside and look as this dog was dying. Then I asked them to burn him with me because I could not endure to listen to his cries. They said the petrol that they had was only for him. They were going to burn me up tomorrow. They made him drink petrol and he was also crying that he must be burnt with me ... They burnt him right in front of me until he died."

Ms Fulani escaped being killed with her husband, apparently because the attackers could not obtain additional petrol and because she was pregnant at the time. Six people were later convicted for this killing.

The case of Nofikile and Zameka Dikana

In January 1986, three women were tortured and then 'necklaced' by UDF supporters in the Duncan Village township outside East London. These killings came after several months of violent unrest in the township, involving mainly clashes between UDF-supporting youths and security forces. Ms Nofikile Dikana (50) and her daughter Ms Zameka Dikana (29) [EC1967/97ELN] were accused of having bewitched their son and brother, UDF activist Fudwana 'Giza' Dikana [EC0943/96ELN]. Fudwana Dikana had died a few months earlier when an SADF armoured vehicle drove into his car, an incident which was regarded in the community as a deliberate killing, since he had often helped wounded activists by driving them to hospital. The two Dikana women and a third woman were abducted by a crowd and

taken into a house while a fire was built in the road nearby. A witness, Mr Skonwana Mntuyedua, stated in an affidavit to police at the time:

"[A man] was placing iron rods approximately one metre long into the fire. He seemed to be handling two or three of these rods. When these rods were red hot they were taken and handed over to [another man]. All the time I could hear screaming and pleading for help coming from inside the house. These rods were passed in and out for a period of about one hour. Throughout this hour the screaming and shouting for forgiveness never stopped ... The following morning when I arrived there I saw a large crowd of people gathered there. In the road I saw the same three females I had seen the previous evening lying in the roadway. [Three men] were standing next to the bodies and were placing tyres on top of the bodies. [A]ll three of the people were dead."

Two men were subsequently charged with the killings. Mntuyedua was stabbed to death a week before the trial was due to start and the case collapsed. The police reports on the matter indicated that UDF-aligned 'comrades' were responsible for the killings.

- 271 UDF supporter, Mr Norman Gilindoda Gxekwa [AM0148/96] was granted amnesty in connection with the 'necklace' killings in Uitenhage of Mr Thando Dladla in September 1987, Mr Monwabisi Reginald Fanayo in February 1988 and Mr Thozamile Michael Dondashe in March 1988. Gxekwa was convicted of murder in these three cases and was serving a lengthy prison sentence.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A NUMBER OF POLITICAL DISSIDENTS WERE KILLED THROUGH THE 'NECKLACE' METHOD THROUGHOUT THE EASTERN CAPE REGION. THE MOST GRUESOME OF THESE INCIDENTS IS THAT WHICH WAS REPORTED TO THE COMMISSION BY THE KINIKINI FAMILY, WHERE FIVE MEMBERS OF ONE FAMILY WERE KILLED ON 23 MARCH 1985 IN KWANOBUHLE, UITENHAGE, BY A GROUP OF YOUTH WHO CLAIMED ALLEGIANCE TO THE UDF, INCLUDING MR MOSES JANTJIES AND MR WELLINGTON MIELIES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THESE KILLINGS AMOUNTED TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE UDF AND THE PERSONS NAMED IN THIS FINDING ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

- 272 In May 1985, the Grahamstown home of two UDF activists, Mr Mxoliswa Christian Mbekela and Ms Maseka Tonyela [EC0031/96ALB], was firebombed and Tonyela was killed. Mbekela was the chair of the UDF-aligned Grahamstown Youth Congress. Mbekela said the device used was not a petrol bomb but a firebomb. He believed the security forces to be responsible for the attack.

- 274 In March 1986, a family in Duncan Village, East London, was attacked as part of the UDF-AZAPO feud. Ms Nomasonto Kumalo and her two-year-old daughter Ayabulela Kumalo were badly burnt; her mother, sixty-five-year-old Ms Vuyelwa

Edith Kumalo, and sister, thirty-two-year-old Ms Nomakhosazana Kumalo, were both killed in the attack [EC0211/96CCK]. Nomasonto Kumalo told the Commission the family had been accused of being AZAPO members and her mother of being a witch. There had been several threats to the family. On the night of the attack, they were woken by stones being thrown at the house and the smell of petrol:

We tried to look through the windows to see what was happening. We noticed that the doors could not open as they were tied with wire ... My sister came out with her hair burning. I found my mother sleeping on the doorway of her room and I dragged her out.

- 274 On 2 April 1986, Mr Michael Mteto Ntozakhe [EC0567/96UIT] and his colleagues were stopped by a group of youths while on their way home to the SAP camp in Motherwell. The youths covered them with plastic bags, paper and sticks, poured petrol over them and set them alight. Ntozakhe and one other managed to escape. A security guard assisted them and called an ambulance. Ntozakhe spent three months at Livingstone Hospital in Port Elizabeth.
- 275 In July 1986, Ms Albertina Nontsikelelo Dlanjwa and Ms Wendy Sizeka Ramathe [EC0575/96PLZ] were attacked by UDF-aligned *amabutho* at Veeplaas in Port Elizabeth. The two women worked for the municipal welfare department and ran a welfare project involving a soup kitchen, sewing classes and the distribution of food parcels. They were at Dlanjwa's home, together with two elderly women, when two petrol bombs were thrown into the house by a youth who was their neighbour. Ramathe saw the youth throw the first petrol bomb and tried to escape. Dlanjwa died and Ramathe was severely and permanently injured. The UDF denied responsibility for the attack.
- 276 In January 1987, Mr Zolile Gerald Bonisile Vumazonke [EC0673/96UIT] left home to attend a relative's funeral in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. He did not return and his wife later heard he had been killed by a group of youths. She heard that a quarrel had developed, after which Vumazonke was forced into a car, questioned and then killed and burnt with petrol.

Cradock

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

which mobilised support for the Freedom Charter and other campaigns. When Canon Calata died on 16 June 1983, the opportunity was used to mobilise people once again in the spirit of the Congress movement. This was at the time of the formation of the UDF.

- 278 Mr Matthew Goniwe, the popular principal of the Lingelihle Secondary School, and his nephew Mr Mbulelo Goniwe were approached by Mr Arnold Stofile, an ANC underground activist based at Fort Hare university, and asked to build organisation in Cradock and other Karoo towns. In 1983 he was instrumental in forming the Cradock Residents Association (Cradora), set up primarily to fight rent increases, and became its first chairperson. He was assisted by Mr Fort Calata, a fellow teacher at Lingelihle, who later became chairperson of the Cradock Youth Association (Cradoya).
- 279 On 29 November 1983, Mr Matthew Goniwe was notified that he had been transferred to Graaff-Reinet. Assuming this to be a politically motivated transfer, Goniwe refused to accept the move. The Department of Education and Training (DET) then claimed that he had 'dismissed himself'. When the DET refused to revoke the transfer, a school boycott started in February 1984 in support of Goniwe. By 18 March, it was supported by around 7 000 students from all seven Lingelihle schools; it ran for over fifteen months and became the longest school boycott in the country.
- 280 On 26 March 1984 a magistrate banned all meetings of Cradora and Cradoya. A few days later, police fired teargas into a church hall packed with 2 000 pupils. Pupils responded by stoning the police. On 28 March, twenty-one-year-old Mr Fezile Donald 'Madoda' Jacobs [EC0025/96NWC], head boy of Lingelihle High School, was detained under section 28 of the Internal Security Act. A COSAS and Cradoya leader, he was detained and tortured on numerous occasions between 1980 and 1989. He was charged with public violence and acquitted; he was later also charged and acquitted in connection with the 1985 killing of a Cradock police officer.
- 281 On 30 March 1984, Mr Matthew Goniwe [EC0080/96NWC], Mr Mbulelo Goniwe and Mr Fort Calata were detained under the same Act. On 31 March, the Minister of Law and Order banned all meetings for three months, extending the ban for another three months at the end of June. Conflict in Lingelihle escalated and the houses of councillors were stoned. Boycott-related violence began on 15 April, when students marched through the township demanding the reinstatement of Matthew Goniwe. Mr Sebenzile 'Sheshi' Jacobs [EC0149/96NWC], an eighteen-year-old student activist, was one of the first victims of political violence in Cradock in the 1980s. He was stabbed by a student who opposed the schools boycott.

- 282 On 26 April, the home of Mr Gladwell Makawula, Cradora chairperson, was petrol-bombed. The 'comrades' stoned the house of Mr Nqikashe, a teacher critical of the boycott. He warded them off with a pistol, but subsequently fled the township. His house was burnt down. On 27 May, police and the SADF cordoned off Lingelihle township searching for public violence suspects. In June 1984, Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Mbulelo Goniwe and Mr Madoda Jacobs were listed in terms of the Internal Security Act.
- 283 On 16 June, Cradora called a successful one-day consumer boycott. A commemoration meeting was dispersed by the police with *sjamboks* and teargas, and schoolchildren stoned police vehicles. Over 200 people were charged with arson and unlawful gathering. On 23 July, the trial of five scholars for intimidation relating to the schools boycott began. On 9 August, eleven scholars were tried with public violence.
- 284 On 21 August, Mr Fort Calata, chairperson of Cradock, was dismissed from his teaching post while in detention. From July to November, seventy-seven Cradock residents were tried for public violence and arson; all but nine were acquitted.
- 285 In August 1984, a successful seven-day consumer boycott of white shops in Cradock was called, protesting against the detention of Goniwe, Calata and Mbulelo Goniwe. They were released on 10 October to a hero's welcome. In December 1984, a boycott of a beer hall led to its closure after four months. Ms Sindiswa Blom [EC0517/96NWC] testified how her home was petrol-bombed by youths in December because her husband Thembekile was a police officer.
- 286 Consumer boycotts and work stay aways were other tactics used to further the community's objectives – for example, the closure of the beer hall. The claim was made that, to all intents and purposes, Cradora had "seized control of Cradock" and was governing the township of Lingelihle. It clearly enjoyed widespread support from most of the township's 20 000 residents, demonstrated by the fact that it had gained the signatures of over 80 per cent of rent-payers for its petition.
- 287 On 3 March 1985, at the UDF Eastern Cape's first annual general meeting, Mr Matthew Goniwe was elected to the UDF Eastern Cape regional executive in the newly-created position of rural organiser. He helped establish civic structures in Adelaide, Fort Beaufort, Cookhouse, Kirkwood, Hanover, Colesburg, Alexandria, Kenton-on-Sea, Steytlerville, Motherwell and Noupoot. Civic and youth organisations in many of these towns used the same methods as organisations in

Cradock: boycotts of beer halls and schools and various forms of pressure on BLA councillors and police officers.

- 288 The effectiveness of Goniwe's organisational methods did not go unnoticed by the state. The security forces perceived Cradock – and Goniwe in particular – to be the epicentre of revolutionary organisation in the sub-region; General Joffel van der Westhuizen later testified to the second inquest into Goniwe's death that Cradock was considered to be the 'flashpoint' (*brandpunt*) of the revolutionary onslaught. The security forces consequently targeted both Goniwe and his 'comrades', and established or supported conservative forces in neighbouring towns in an attempt to break the organisational influence of Cradock.
- 289 It appears that a decision of top-level security force members resulted in the harsh repressive measures adopted in Cradock to deal with the schools boycott. However, banning of meetings, detention and 'listing' of leaders, and trials for public violence and arson of many young activists during 1984 did not have the desired effect, and organising continued to spread. Moreover, acts of violence escalated in the absence of respected leadership. In January 1985, the entire Lingelihle Council resigned and were accepted back into the community. They were the first Eastern Cape black local authority to resign. Many others were to follow.
- 290 Ms Novakela Doris Hermans was a councillor in Cradock from 1978 until 1984. At the Cradock hearing in 1997, she explained the background to the problem of rents in Cradock in 1984. She said that nobody from the community came to her to say that they did not want the council any more. In April 1984, her house was petrol-bombed twice; her elderly mother subsequently died. Hermans was forced into hiding: "My children were innocent; my parents were innocent. I was the councillor. But my family had to pay." She later resigned with the other councillors. When the police asked her if Mr Matthew Goniwe had pressured her to resign, she replied that he was in prison and was not responsible for her resignation. She was later accepted back into the community, but her house was burnt down again after Goniwe's death.
- 291 Violence in Cradock escalated again in February 1985. A number people died in the conflict. Some were police officers, stabbed or 'necklaced'; others were youth who were shot by police. In early April 1985, the schools boycott was called off, despite the refusal of the DET to reinstate Goniwe and Calata.
- 292 The 'Cradock Four' died on 27 June 1985 (see below) and were buried under the Communist Party flag in Cradock on 21 July. At midnight that night, the first

partial state of emergency was declared, covering most of the Eastern Cape. Violence escalated again, partly due to the loss of trusted leadership. Many more people were killed in Lingelihle in the following three years, either shot by police or 'necklaced' by 'comrades'.

- 293 The pattern of events in Cradock in the mid-1980s was replicated with variations in many other small Eastern Cape towns: the building of community organisations, actions such as schools and consumer boycotts, the resignation of the black local authorities, action by security forces (police, municipal police, and sometimes state-aided vigilantes), the escalation of violence, the imposition of the state of emergency, the removal of leadership and the crushing of organisation.

The 'Cradock Four'

- 294 The cases of the 'Cradock Four' and the related 'Motherwell bombing' illustrate the use of sophisticated covert operations by the security forces in the assassination of both political opponents and dissidents within their own ranks.
- 295 The UDF activists known as the 'Cradock Four' were Mr Matthew Goniwe [EC0080/96NWC], Mr Sparrow Mkonto [EC0029/96NWC] and Mr Fort Calata [EC0028/96NWC], and Oudtshoorn activist Mr Sicelo Mhlauli [EC0079/96NWC]. They were abducted and assassinated outside Port Elizabeth on 27 June 1985. Testimony was given to the first East London hearing of the Commission in April 1996 by their wives, Ms Nomonde Calata, Ms Nyameka Goniwe, Ms Sindiswa Mkhonto and Ms Nombuyiselo Mhlauli, and by Mhlauli's daughter, Ms Babalwa Mhlauli. Before their deaths the 'Cradock Four' had all been frequently detained, tortured, threatened and harassed by the security police.
- 296 On 27 June, they drove to Port Elizabeth to attend a UDF briefing. They did not return home to Cradock, and their burnt and mutilated bodies were found near Bluewater Bay outside Port Elizabeth about a week later. An inquest in 1987 found that they had been killed by unknown persons. The inquest was reopened in 1993 and, after the disclosure of the top secret military signal calling for the "permanent removal from society" of Goniwe, it was found that the security forces were responsible for their deaths, although no individual was named as responsible. The families subsequently filed a claim for damages against the SADF and the SAP and this was finally settled.
- 297 The families requested further investigation to ascertain who was responsible. Ms Mkhonto requested that the perpetrators be brought to court so that justice

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

- 298 In January 1997, the Commission received amnesty applications from members of the Port Elizabeth security police for the killing of the 'Cradock Four'. Those who applied for amnesty were Mr Eric Alexander Taylor [AM3917/96], Mr Hermanus Du Plessis [AM4384/96], Mr Nicolaas Jacobus Janse van Rensburg [AM3919/96], Mr Harold Snyman [AM3918/96], Ms Gerhardus Johannes Lotz [AM3921/96] and Ms Johan Martin 'Sakkie' van Zyl [AM5637/97]. It was revealed that the car in which the four were travelling was intercepted at the Oliphantshoek pass. The four were shot or stabbed, and their bodies mutilated, before being dumped in the veld near Port Elizabeth.

The 'PEBCO Three'

- 299 The killing of the 'Cradock Four' followed that of the 'PEBCO Three' on 8 May 1985, a very similar killing. These two killings of prominent UDF activists, within weeks of each other, added enormously to the tension in the Eastern Cape during 1985. At the time of the second killing, the 'PEBCO Three' had disappeared and their fate was suspected but not confirmed.
- 300 The 'PEBCO Three', Mr Sipho Hashe [EC0003/96PLZ], Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi [EC0004/96PLZ] and Mr Champion Galela [EC0005/96PLZ], were all members of PEBCO. They were lured to the Port Elizabeth airport with a false telephone message, abducted by the Port Elizabeth security police and taken to the remote disused Post Chalmers police station outside Cradock where they were killed. It was only when the Commission received amnesty applications in connection with these killings that the fate of the victims was confirmed. The amnesty applicants are Mr Johannes Koole [AM3748/96], Mr Harold Snyman [AM3918/96], Mr Gideon Johannes Nieuwoudt [AM3920/96], Mr Gerhardus Johannes Lotz [AM3921/96], Mr Hermanus Barend du Plessis [AM4384/96] and Mr Johan Martin 'Sakkie' van Zyl [AM5637/96].

The Motherwell bomb

- 301 This case involved a bomb blast outside Port Elizabeth in 1989, in which three black security police officers including Mr Amos Themba Faku [EC2115/97ELN] and Mr Mbambalala Glen Mgoduka [EC2631/97PLZ], and an *askari* (guerrilla fighter 'turned' by the police) died when the car they were travelling in exploded. It was initially thought that the blast was an act of MK, and it was alleged that the ANC had claimed responsibility for it. However, an investigation led to the trial and conviction of senior members of the SAP Security Branch, including Mr Gideon Nieuwoudt. The accused held that they had killed their colleagues because of a case of fraud involving the Council of Churches.

Armed activity by liberation movements

- 302 MK activities increased throughout the region during this period; armed attacks and clashes between guerrillas and police were reported and political trials continued. Transkei, which had a common border with Lesotho, became an infiltration route for guerrillas. The South African and homeland security forces often co-operated in matters such as handing over detainees. Detentions were frequently accompanied by torture.
- 303 In December 1987, the Prisoners' Welfare Programmes (Priwelpro), a human rights group in Umtata, published a report on security activity in the homeland in 1987 (up to 15 November). It claimed that 238 people had been detained (one had been in detention since 1985). A total of 738 people had been charged in forty-one political trials. In nineteen cases, charges had been dropped or the accused acquitted; there had been convictions in only ten cases. Of twenty-seven court applications, most of them seeking relief from detention or banishment and expulsion orders, twenty-four led to final orders or interim relief. The report said that there were thirty-two legal suits pending against the Minister of Police, claiming a total of R1.7 million; all but two of these dealt with unlawful detention or arrest and assault in detention. By May 1988, these claims had risen to a total of R2 million. Of 155 prisoners sentenced to death in the previous ten years, eighty-five had been executed and thirty-three were on death row. There were eleven political prisoners serving sentences at the end of 1987. In September 1988 Priwelpro was banned — the only organisation known to have been banned under the Transkei military government.

- 304 The Institute for Strategic Studies reported nineteen incidents of armed activity in Transkei alone during 1985–87. During 1988, there were at least twelve political trials relating to ANC activity in Transkei, many relating to armed incidents. Half of these cases were linked to one another and to another seven trials that had already been concluded. The Commission received a number of submissions dealing with these incidents and trials; in many cases there were allegations of torture in detention.
- 305 The following are some of the incidents of sabotage reported for this period:
- 306 An attempt to bomb the Bantu Affairs Administration Board (BAAB) offices in Port Elizabeth on 26 January 1983 resulted in the bomb apparently exploding prematurely, killing a bystander and the holder of the bomb, MK member Petros ‘James’ Bokala [KZN/ZJ/066/BL]³¹. Bokala was part of a small network of ANC members in Port Elizabeth, some of whom were later jailed.
- 307 The bombing of the Umtata bulk fuel depot and sabotage of the Umtata water and electricity installations, both on 25 June 1985, resulted in no deaths or injuries. Transkei enforced a nightly curfew for years after this and several trials resulted. After the bombing, the ANC sent MK commander Mzwandile Vena to Cape Town to replace an operative who had been arrested. Vena was also arrested in Cape Town and fought unsuccessfully against extradition to Transkei to face charges on this matter. The state alleged he had been assisted by Mr Mazizi Attwell Maqokeza (see below) and Mr Zola Dubeni [EC2653/97UTA]. Dubeni was killed by police in Cape Town in March 1987 and Maqokeza was gunned down in Lesotho. In another trial, Mr Zakade Alfred Buka [EC0310/96WTK] was jailed for seven years for assisting the bombers; he had been tortured severely in detention.
- 308 Shortly after the bombing, then Transkei prime minister Chief Kaiser Matanzima publicly accused student activist, Mr Batandwa Ndondo [EC0237/96WTK] of involvement in this incident. On 24 September, Ndondo was fetched from his home by a group in a minibus. Shortly afterwards he was seen trying to climb out of the vehicle’s window, shouting that he was being attacked. He escaped briefly and was gunned down in a neighbour’s yard. Transkei and South African police together with *askaris* from Vlakplaas were implicated in the killing, but the trial collapsed due to lack of co-operation from the security forces. The Commission received amnesty applications from former police officers Mbuso Enoch Shabalala [AM5727/97] and Gcinisiko Lamont Dandala [AM6535/97] in

31 Bokala was found not to be a victim by the Commission in terms of its policy on combatants.

connection with this matter. Six men connected to Ndonga (either as his relatives or as potential witnesses at an inquest into his death) were banished to remote Transkei regions for two years after his killing.

- 309 In July 1986, an MK unit attacked the police station in Madeira Street, Umtata. Three police officers and four others are believed to have died. ANC guerrilla China Talakumeni (aka Solly Prusente) was fatally injured and was later buried secretly by his colleagues. His body was subsequently exhumed by police; the Commission was unable to establish where he was eventually buried.
- 310 In January 1987, Mr Mbulelo Ngono (aka Khaya Khasibe) [EC0330/96PLZ] faced Transkei police, military and SAP in a thirty-six-hour shoot-out at a rural shop, the home of Ms Enid Jafta [EC0329/96STK] in Willowvale, southern Transkei. Ngono escaped with the assistance of guerrillas Dumisani Mafu, Zolile Ntlathi and Mazizi Attwell Mapekeza [EC0224/96UTA]. Mr Ngono and Mr Mapekeza were subsequently attacked in Lesotho; Mapekeza was killed in a second attack while recovering from the first in a Maseru hospital in March 1987. He was mentioned in numerous political trials in Transkei, with charge sheets indicating that he had operated in that territory for over three years. Ngono disappeared after the first attack, and the Commission learnt from amnesty applications³² that he had been one of four members of the same ANC cell who voluntarily allowed the police to 'abduct' them from Lesotho to Ladybrand in December 1987 in order to become police informers. The applicants were unable to say what had subsequently happened to Ngono and the others, Ms Betty Boom, Ms Nomasonto Mashiya and Mr Tax Sejanamane, all of whom disappeared.
- 311 On 5 August 1987, police shot dead MK member Sonwabo Mdekazi (aka Thandi Malgas Khumalo [EC1286/96NWC]) in Port Elizabeth. The inquest heard that police had surrounded the house where he was staying at about 04h30, broke in and shot him dead because he had tried to shoot them from his bed. Police reported seizing an AK-47 rifle, a pistol and ammunition at the scene. Mdekazi had been a founding member and later regional organiser of COSAS; he had spent three years in jail until 1980 on charges of public violence before leaving the country.
- 312 On 12 January 1988, MK member Sthembele Zokwe [EC0018/96STK] was shot dead by Transkei police at his home in Ngqamakwe just hours after his detention in Butterworth. Police claimed he had tried to throw a grenade at them. The family's lawyer said that he had inspected the room in which Zokwe had been

³² SAP members Lesizi Michael Jantjie [AM7107/97], Antonie Jagga [AM7106/97] and Colin Anthony Pakenham [AM7163/97].

shot and found fifty-four bullet holes. Onlookers said they had heard a burst of gunfire five minutes after Zokwe had been escorted by police into his mother's house. Two police officers appeared in court to face murder and attempted murder charges arising out of the death of Zokwe and assaults during an earlier detention. However, the accused, Sergeants Aaron M Tyani and Pumelele Gumengu, escaped from police custody in late October, shortly before they were due to appear in court. They escaped from separate prisons on the same day after requesting medical treatment. There had been at least two previous attempts by police to kill Zokwe; in one of these he was shot in the neck.

- 313 In February 1988, a joint South African and Transkei Police hit squad gunned down MK members Lizo Macanda (aka MK 'Gift', also known as Thembinkosi Gladman Mgibe), Zolile Sangoni [EC0243/96STK] and Zonwabele Mayaphi [EC0189/96ELN] in broad daylight in an Umtata suburb. A fourth man, Mr Thozamile Nkume [EC0257/96STK], escaped. Mayaphi's brother was on trial for a bombing at the time; Sangoni's brother was a prominent civil rights lawyer. Among the first to arrive at the scene of the attack were lawyer Lungisile Stofile and Priwelpro fieldworker Vumankosi Ntikinca. They chased the assassins, who drove straight into the local police station backyard at full speed. Ntikinca was subsequently detained and film in his camera was destroyed by police. Transkei and South African police officers openly admitted their involvement at an inquest later, but no one was ever charged. One of them, Mr Mpumelelo Madliwa, was later gunned down in Ciskei in an attack alleged to have been carried out by MK. The Commission subsequently discovered that Macanda had been buried in an unmarked grave in the Umtata cemetery.
- 314 In March 1988, MK member Qondo Hoho [EC0283/96QTN] was shot dead by police together with a relative at Mlungisi, Queenstown. The house in which he had been staying was smashed down by police during the incident.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP AND PARTICULARLY ITS SECURITY BRANCH EMBARKED ON A PROGRAMME OF KILLING POLITICAL ACTIVISTS DURING THE LATE 1980S. EVIDENCE BEFORE THE COMMISSION POINTS TO THE RESULTING DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES OF ACTIVISTS BEING PART OF A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING BY MEMBERS OF THE SAP, FOR WHICH THE SAP AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, DURING THE LATE 1980S, THE TRANSKEI HOMELAND POLICE FORCE EMBARKED ON A PROGRAMME OF KILLING POLITICAL ACTIVISTS. EVIDENCE BEFORE THE COMMISSION POINTS TO THE RESULTING DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES OF ACTIVISTS BEING PART OF A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING BY MEMBERS OF THE TRANSKEI POLICE, FOR WHICH THE TRANSKEI POLICE AND THE TRANSKEI GOVERNMENT ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE. THESE DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES WERE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE PERIOD 1983—89 WAS CHARACTERISED BY A DRAMATIC INCREASE IN THE RELIANCE BY THE SAP, THE CISKEI POLICE AND THE CDF ON: THE UNJUSTIFIED USE OF DEADLY FORCE IN CROWD CONTROL AND PROTEST SITUATIONS; THE USE OF DELIBERATE AMBUSH AND SO-CALLED 'TROJAN HORSE' OPERATIONS IN WHICH MARCHERS OR PROTESTERS WERE DELIBERATELY TARGETED AND KILLED; THE USE OF ASSAULT AND TORTURE ON SUSPECTS AND DETAINEES AS A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE; THE FOSTERING OF DIVISIONS BETWEEN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL GROUPINGS; THE DELIBERATE KILLING OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THESE ACTIONS LED TO WIDESPREAD GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS (KILLINGS, ATTEMPTED KILLINGS, TORTURE, ARSON AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT) FOR WHICH THE SAP, THE CISKEI POLICE AND THE CDF ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

■ 1990-1994

Overview of violations

315 Violations in the Eastern Cape during the 1990s took place in the following contexts:

- a violence following the release of Mr Nelson Mandela in February 1990;
- b clashes between the newly unbanned ANC and PAC;
- c a battle between the South African government and the ANC for control over the still independent homeland territories — including the conflicts in Ciskei (including the 1992 Bisho massacre) between ANC supporters and Ciskei authorities;
- d violence following the assassination of ANC leader Chris Hani in April 1993;
- e APLA's 'Operation Great Storm' of 1993.

316 The pattern of violations in the Eastern Cape as reported to the Commission changed from previous periods: ►



317 Severe ill treatment continued to be the largest category of violations (42 per cent), but killings increased to account for 20 per cent of the total Eastern Cape violations and torture dropped to 15 per cent.

Public order policing

318 In Barkly East, residents of Nkululeko township were celebrating Mandela's release on the night of 11 February 1990 when two SAP officers fired shots at the crowd. At least two youths — Mr Lungile Stina [EC0229/96ALN] and Mr Thamsanqa Maqethuka [EC0230/96ALN] — were killed in this incident and Mr Bongani Nakele [EC0231/96ALN] had a leg amputated as a result of being shot. Mr Bonisile Hlwele [EC1005/96ALN] was shot in the head by police during the *toyi-toyi* demonstration.

319 In Steynsburg, campaigns by the Steynsburg Youth Congress against the BLAs continued, leading to violence in which a youth was killed by a 'greenfly', or special constable. Police opened fire on the funeral crowd on 4 July 1990, killing Mr Lulama Futshane [EC1433/97NWC] and Mr Fuzile Fatyela [EC1438/97NWC]. During the same campaign against the BLA on 22 July 1990, Ms Nomphele Ralane [EC1435/97NWC] was shot and injured by a councillor while taking part in a *toyi-toyi* demonstration outside the councillor's house.

320 In Cradock, Mr John Vuyisile Mboya [EC0143/96NWC] was shot dead by police on 20 October 1992 following his arrest on a march into town. His sister, Ms Xoliswa Ethel Mboya, testified to the 1997 Cradock hearings that he was shot inside the police offices, where there were no witnesses other than police. No one was prosecuted.

321 In Venterstad, students and other residents of Nozizwe township engaged in protest marches in mid-1993, which led to the burning of delivery vehicles and attacks on municipal vans and policemen's houses. A number of youths were shot by police, or arrested and assaulted by police. Ms Nobeki Mbalula [EC1239/96NWC] was shot and killed by police on 4 July 1993 in Venterstad. The Commission also received other submissions relating to shooting injuries.

Inter-organisational conflict

322 In Fort Beaufort, an ANC/PAC 'feud' apparently broke out in February 1993. Three men were killed and several were seriously injured in violence. The police reported that the three were killed in separate incidents. They included ANC member

Zwelenkomo Alfred Swartbooi [EC0723/96ALB], who died in Adelaide hospital because of multiple head injuries caused by a sharp object. The Commission received a number of other statements relating to these clashes. Political intolerance between the PAC-aligned Pan Africanist Student Organisation (PASO) and the ANC-aligned COSAS appears to have been a motivating factor in the violence of this period.

- 323 Political intolerance between ANC and PAC members also became violent in Steynsburg in 1993. PAC organiser, Mr Michael Zalimpi Meje [EC1457/97NWC] told the Commission that, during March and July 1993, the ANC “tried to intimidate people to change membership from PAC to ANC”. His home was attacked and burnt by ANC supporters, despite at one stage being guarded by police.
- 324 In Uitenhage, the bloody conflict between the *AmaAfrika* and supporters of the UDF, which began in 1986/7 and flared up again in late 1989, continued into the 1990s. Mr Gladstone Kathazile Sibeku [EC0689/96UIT] was killed in the conflict between 1 and 6 February 1990 and Mr Mxoleli Pityana [EC1077/96UIT] was hacked to death by *AmaAfrika* on 13 February 1990. Mr Lawrence Mcebisi Willen [EC1068/96UIT] was shot dead at a rally in Uitenhage on 23 February 1990. It is not clear whether he was shot by SAP or by *AmaAfrika*. The homes and businesses of Mr Kaliman Jackson Befile [EC2367/97UIT] and Mr Pumezile Befile [EC2398/97UIT] were burnt down by UDF/ANC-supporting ‘comrades’ in February 1990. Mr Temba Tembani [EC2392/97UIT] was shot and stabbed to death by *AmaAfrika* supporters in Uitenhage in 1990. *AmaAfrika* member Thembekile Plaatjies [EC1141/96UIT] was found dead on 4 September 1993 in Uitenhage.
- 325 In Transkei, violence followed attempts by the unbanned organisations to organise, often as a result of local intolerance of opposition. ANC supporters clashed with supporters of tribal authorities. In Pondoland, many people of Xopozo village in Flagstaff were killed and many left homeless or physically injured in conflict between the ANC and a group led by Chief Samuel Mdutshane. The Commission received several statements from ANC supporters concerning this conflict; at least eight named Chief Mdutshane’s group as the perpetrators. Mr Dlayikeza Tonga [EC1730/97ETK], Mr Vulindlela Mbaligontsi [EC1731/97ETK] and Mr Masundula Kala [EC1732/97ETK] all died in the clashes; Ms Nokwendisa Priscilla Njeje [EC1537/97ETK], Mr Nkebe Soswiti Mdutshane [EC1727/97ETK] and Mr Sicanulo Ntshomela [EC1538/97ETK] were all injured; Mr Mandlakayise Lumbo [EC1729/97ETK] narrowly escaped injury; Mr Welcome Mtutuzeli Jara [EC1728/97ETK] and Mr Amos Mazizi Kango [EC1733/97ETK] had their homes burnt down.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT VIOLENT CONFLICT ERUPTED IN SEVERAL PARTS OF THE EASTERN CAPE DURING THE 1990S — BETWEEN THE ANC AND PAC IN FORT BEAUFORT AND STEYNSBURG AND BETWEEN THE ANC AND AMAAFRIKA IN UITENHAGE. THIS CONFLICT RESULTED IN KILLINGS AND INJURIES ON BOTH SIDES AND WAS FUELLED BY POLITICAL INTOLERANCE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT KILLINGS, ATTEMPTED KILLINGS AND INCIDENTS OF SEVERE ILL TREATMENT RELATED TO THIS CONFLICT WERE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH THE ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

The battle for the homelands

- 326 This period was one of military rule for both Ciskei and Transkei. The Transkei had been under constant military rule since Major-General Bantu Holomisa's second coup on 31 December 1987, the first successful coup in a South African homeland. In Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo took over on 4 March 1990, shortly after the national unbannings, riding on a wave of rural resistance to the rule of former Ciskei president, Mr Lennox Sebe. It appears that neither of these coups was initiated by South African security forces, as has been speculated; rather they seem to have emerged from the homeland militaries themselves. By the 1990s, there was an ongoing dispute between the Transkei military government and the South African government: this soon became a dispute over whether or not Transkei was offering the newly unbanned liberation movements weapons, military training and bases from which to launch attacks. A few months after Gqozo took over in Ciskei, the SADF MI set up a front operation in Ciskei deliberately aimed at turning Gqozo against the ANC. The (IR-CIS)³³, which Gqozo was unaware was an MI project, operated in Ciskei from mid-1990 until the formal structure was closed down by the SADF following adverse publicity in August 1991.
- 327 During this period there was constant conflict in the Eastern Cape between the Transkei government and the ANC and PAC on the one hand, and the Ciskei and South African governments on the other. Within these broad alliances, there were other conflicts: the Ciskei and South African governments, for example, clashed frequently. These conflicts resulted, *inter alia*, in the abortive coup attempt against Major General Holomisa in November 1990 by Colonel Craig Duli, acting together with the South African security forces; the killing of Ciskei rebels Mr Charles Sebe and Mr Onward Guzana, and a plot to kill Mr Chris Hani and Holomisa in Transkei. The African Democratic Movement (ADM), which was set up under Gqozo with SADF MI assistance, was involved in conflict with ANC members in the Border-Ciskei region, particularly after the September 1992 Bisho massacre.

³³ International Researchers–Ciskei Intelligence Services, an intelligence organisation which operated out of Ciskei while being a front for the SADF. It was first known as International Researchers and later as Ciskei Intelligence Services.

The Gqozo coup in Ciskei

328 On 4 March 1990, the Ciskei military overthrew Mr Lennox Sebe's civilian government and installed a military government headed by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. The take-over was followed by a wave of violence, with widespread burning and looting reported in some areas, especially in Mdantsane. Township councillors and officials of Sebe's Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) were attacked.

329 Mr David and Ms Nomutle Zenzile [EC0932/96CCK], who were accused of being CNIP members (although they denied it), were stoned and their house in the Zwelitsha rural area was burnt down. Mr Zenile told the Commission that "the youth were *toyi-toying* and collecting CNIP membership cards from the relevant people with the aim probably of burning these". Mr Steve Nene [EC1032/96CCK] was a councillor in Mdantsane and had been associated with Sebe's government during the 1983 bus boycott. On the day of the coup, the Nenes' house and shop in Mdantsane were burnt down. Nene (66) was detained; his family eventually found him a week later in hospital where he had been unconscious for three days. His wife, Ms Nomalanga Rhyline Nene, told the Commission:

He was injured in his head. Even today he is mentally impaired ... He said that the police would take his head to the toilet and they would flush the toilet, which rendered him unconscious.

330 The police believed that Nene was in contact with Sebe, who had not returned to Ciskei since the coup.

The Duli coup attempt in Transkei

331 In 1990, Lieutenant Colonel Craig Duli [EC0236/96UTA] attempted a coup against the Transkei military government. Duli was a former member of the Transkei military council who had resigned his position in May 1989 and been detained shortly afterwards; he later fled to South Africa and was discharged from the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) in February 1990.

332 His abortive coup attempt on 22 November 1990 was carried out with the active support of the South African security forces. They started with an attack at the Ncise military base outside Umtata, early in the morning. Four TDF members and several of Duli's men were killed here. The TDF members were an instructor, Mr

Mlungisi Atwell Kahla [EC0549/96UTA], Mr Sipho Peter [EC0795/97QTN] and two new recruits, Mr Xolile Milton Zweni [EC2122/97ETK] and Mr Telford Qungqutho [EC2123/97STK].

- 333 Duli and three others moved into the city centre and managed to gain access to Holomisa's office on the top floor of the Transkei government buildings by taking a key from the officer who arrived to unlock the doors early in the morning. After a lengthy shoot-out with the Transkei security forces, Duli was arrested together with Mr Sabelo Wana, who gave a witness statement to the Commission. Duli was killed after his capture. His bodyguard, Mr Boetie Davies [EC0533/96ALB], and a fourth man died before they could be arrested. The day after the coup attempt, bodies of the dead attackers and their weaponry were put on public display at the Ncise military base.
- 334 In all, seven TDF members were killed and thirty-three more wounded by the attackers, and Duli and ten of his followers died. In the months following the coup attempt, a large group of dissidents was detained in Transkei and later charged. Three years later, seventeen men were convicted in the main trial and given sentences ranging from an effective five to twenty years' imprisonment.
- 335 The Commission received submissions from families of the attackers and from families of the deceased TDF members, as well as amnesty applications in connection with this matter. Mr Albert Jacques Plaatjies [EC0530/96ALB], an SADF volunteer corporal from Grahamstown, died in the coup attempt. Plaatjies' sister, Ms Boniwe Maureen Ntshoko, told the Commission that she watched the news coverage of the failed coup on television and a few days later the Transkei authorities informed her of her brother's death. It took the family more than three weeks to get the Transkei authorities to release the body for burial. The family also questioned the public display of the bodies.
- 336 Ms Nontobeko Duli, widow of the coup leader, said she believed Duli had been shot dead by soldiers at the military base after he had been captured. She said she had been told by General Wildon Mbulawa of the Transkei Police (who was himself killed by unknown gunmen in December 1994) that he had seen Duli fatally shot in the back by security forces at the base; he did not identify the killers. Duli's fellow conspirator, Mr Sabelo Wana, was arrested with Duli at the government buildings in Umtata. Wana told the Umtata Supreme Court during his subsequent trial that he had been transported in the boot of a car after his removal from the building. Wana said that, at that time of his arrest, Duli had an

eye injury and a gunshot wound in his leg. He was able to walk out of the building, although he was limping. The *post mortem* report states that Duli's death was "consistent with gunfire and explosive injuries to chest and abdomen". It also indicates that Duli suffered severe injuries including a fractured skull, fractured ribs, fractured vertebrae, injuries to the spinal cord and extensive internal injuries. Press reports at the time indicate that Duli was carried out of the building, rather than walking as suggested by Wana, and that he was seriously injured. Despite the injuries, it appears that he was taken to the military base rather than to the hospital. Shortly after the attack, Lawyers for Human Rights wrote in a report³⁴:

On the day of the coup, it was alleged that Colonel Duli had in fact been murdered. His wife is alleged to have said that a number of soldiers taking Colonel Duli to hospital had first beaten and then killed him. We doubt that Colonel Duli would have survived his wounds received during the attempted coup. However, Ms Duli's claims should not be taken lightly. This was not the only claim of secret execution. A soldier we spoke to claimed that a number of the rebels were captured alive and then later executed. We have so far not been able to confirm this. Another troubling aspect of the army's actions was the treatment of the bodies of the rebels. The open and public display of them cannot be justified under any circumstances'.

- 337 At least four men were arrested years later and appeared in court in 1997–98 in connection with Duli's death. They were Major Kolekile Mangcotywa, Lieutenant Tobias Ngxola, Major Advocate Sobhuwa and Major Lungisa Fikeni. Their case continues.

The deaths of Sebe and Guzana

- 338 On 27 January 1991, Colonel Onward Guzana [EC0405/96ELN], formerly of the CDF, and Major General Charles Sebe [EC0904/96CCK], the former Ciskei security chief who had been living in Transkei for some years, were shot at a CDF roadblock in Ciskei on the road between Stutterheim and King William's Town. Guzana died at the scene while the injured Sebe fled. He was tracked down a few kilometres away and shot dead by the Ciskei security forces the following day. Guzana had been one of the four members of Gqozo's military council; within months of the Gqozo coup he had been pressured into resigning from the council and had been detained on allegations of plotting against Gqozo. While out on bail facing charges of treason, he had fled to Transkei and linked up with Charles Sebe, who had previously been involved in attempts to seize power in Ciskei. The two

³⁴ Lawyers for Human Rights, 'Regional News: Transkei' in *Rights*, February 1991, Johannesburg.

left Transkei and drove to Ciskei with the intention of taking over the government. Guzana's widow, Ms Nomzi Vivie Guzana, told the Commission:

They left about six in the evening, then it was in the morning at about ten that we heard from the radio that there had been a failed coup attempt in Ciskei.

- 339 After several days, the Ciskei government permitted her to go to Ciskei to identify his body.

When I arrived, we went to identify his body at the police mortuary in Mdantsane. When we arrived there, the place was full of school kids wearing navy blue tunics. And they were being shown Mr Sebe's body.

- 340 The family disputed the official *post mortem* report and claimed Guzana had been executed after arrest.

- 341 The inquest found that Guzana and Sebe had been on an unlawful mission to overthrow Gqozo. They were unaware that they were being lured into a trap devised by the IR-CIS unit headed by Lieutenant Colonel Anton Nieuwoudt. The inquest judge was critical of the evidence of many of the witnesses – “a vast proportion of the evidence was given by witnesses who had a motive to lie”. The court found there was insufficient evidence to find criminal liability in connection with Guzana's death, while Sebe was illegally shot dead while surrendering. While the court found that Nieuwoudt had been instrumental in planning the fake coup, there was insufficient evidence for a finding on Nieuwoudt's or the unit's criminal culpability. As a result of the inquest findings, Gqozo and his bodyguard, Sergeant Major Thozamile Veliti, were charged with murder; both were subsequently acquitted.

- 342 The Commission received an amnesty application in this matter, from IR-CIS deputy chief Clive Brink.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, DURING THE PERIOD 1990—1994, SADF MI COLLUDED COVERTLY WITH SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE CISKEI HOMELAND AUTHORITY TO FURTHER ITS COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGIES IN THE CISKEI, TO BOLSTER ITS ALLIES IN THE CISKEI GOVERNMENT AND IN THE CISKEI INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, AND TO UNDERMINE THE INFLUENCE OF STRUCTURES AND GROUPINGS OPPOSED TO THE FORMER STATE AND ITS HOMELAND POLICIES. IN TWO SEPARATE INSTANCES, SADF MI OFFICERS ACTED TOGETHER WITH SENIOR HOMELAND OFFICIALS IN INCIDENTS THAT LED TO THE KILLING OF PEOPLE. THESE INCLUDED:

- COLLUDING WITH SENIOR TRANSKEIAN DEFENCE FORCE OFFICER, COLONEL CRAIG DULI AND ASSISTING HIM IN AN ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE TRANSKEI GOVERNMENT BY MEANS OF A MILITARY COUP IN NOVEMBER 1990. THIS INCIDENT RESULTED IN THE DEATHS OF FIFTEEN PEOPLE;

- ASSISTING THE CISKEI HOMELAND AUTHORITY IN THE KILLING OF MR CHARLES SEBE AND MR ONWARD GUZANA IN FEBRUARY 1991.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE DEATHS OF THE ABOVE PERSONS WERE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE FORMER STATE, THE SADF, THE CISKEI HOMELAND AUTHORITY AND COLONEL CRAIG DULI ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Conflict between Ciskei government supporters and the ANC

- 343 In the months immediately after the Gqozo coup, there were good relations between the Ciskei authorities and the ANC and its allies. This situation deteriorated by mid-1990, with conflicts revolving in particular around the homeland government's support of the system of rural government involving chiefs and headmen as opposed to the ANC and its allies' preference for a system of residents' associations. In July 1991, Brigadier Gqozo launched the African Democratic Movement (ADM), which later became the political party with which he contested the 1994 general elections. This party was drawn into the conflicts between Ciskei and ANC.
- 344 Conflicts became increasingly violent from 1991. From April to August 1991, a state of emergency prevailed in the Whittlesea district of Ciskei; in late October, a state of emergency was declared throughout Ciskei which lasted until mid-November. Clashes increased during 1992 (particularly during August 1992 – the month between the ANC's peaceful 'practice' march to Bisho of 4 August and the march that resulted in the Bisho massacre of 7 September). The Bisho massacre thus took place against a background of increasing conflict between Ciskei authorities and ANC supporters. After the massacre, conflict between the two groups seems to have increased for a few weeks; there was also an increase in the use of more sophisticated weaponry during this period. The worst of the violence appears to have subsided by the end of that year. Most of the attacks seem to have involved arson, burnings or stoning aimed at security forces on the one side and at prominent ANC-alliance members on the other.
- 345 The CDF recorded 218 incidents of political violence in Ciskei between the lifting of the state of emergency on 17 November 1991 and 30 August 1992 (a week before the Bisho massacre); fifty-eight of these incidents took place in August 1992. For the three-month period 1 June to 31 August 1992, the CDF recorded 139 attacks; these appear to be attacks solely on Ciskei government supporters (victims were chiefs, headmen, policemen, soldiers, private security force members associated with the government, and other government employees); no ANC victims were identified. Of those 139 attacks, twenty-four were aimed at security force

members or buildings and twenty-eight involved the use of guns and/or hand grenades (as opposed to stones or petrol bombs); two-thirds of the attacks involving guns and hand grenades targeted security force members. The Network of Independent Monitors (NIM) reported on the involvement of MK operatives in the attacks on security forces during this period. NIM records another thirty-seven such armed attacks on Ciskei government supporters and security forces carried out from 1 September to 31 December 1992 (the period immediately after the Bisho massacre), which were probably carried out by MK. Both the CDF statistics and NIM records indicate that the overwhelming majority of victims during this period were Ciskei government supporters, rather than ANC supporters. For example, of 132 incidents recorded by NIM for June to August 1992 (also based primarily on CDF statistics), 46 per cent were known to involve government-aligned victims while less than 1 per cent were known to involve ANC-aligned victims. It appears that the CDF statistics were based primarily on cases reported to the police. According to a list drafted by lawyers for the Ciskei government, at least 151 civil claims were filed against the Ciskei government as a result of actions by soldiers during August and September 1992 alone. Fifty-one of these claims related to deaths and injuries in the Bisho massacre. This excludes civil claims made against the Ciskei police.

- 346 The Commission received about 150 submissions in connection with clashes between Ciskei authorities and ANC supporters during this period; the overwhelming majority of these statements were made by or on behalf of ANC-aligned victims. About twenty amnesty applications were received in connection with these conflicts.
- 347 Generally clashes appear to have been between Ciskei government supporters (security forces, ADM members, chiefs, headmen, government employees and private security companies such as Peace Force, which were associated with the government) on one hand and ANC supporters (the ANC, MK, the SACP, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO)) on the other. There were also clashes in some areas between ANC and PAC members, which often seem to have been linked to the broader conflict between the homeland authorities and the ANC. For example, in Bhele village outside King William's Town, ANC members perceived PAC members to be allied with the ADM. Thus clashes recorded as being between PAC and ANC members may have been perceived by at least one of the groups involved as being a conflict between ADM and ANC members.

348 One of the earliest of these clashes reported to the Commission took place in May 1990 when CDF members broke up a meeting at Ndakana near Stutterheim and assaulted those attending. The meeting had been called to protest against the re-imposition of the headman system and against conflict within the community over the recent stabbing of an ANC supporter. Those assaulted included Ms Selina Qongwana [EC1267/96SBR] and Mr Vuyisile Shushwana [EC1268/96SBR].

349 By August 1992, violence was increasing, revenge attacks were taking place and communities were being split by political intolerance. In Tendergate, in the Hewu district of Ciskei, there was tension between ADM and ANC members. ADM member Richard Xabendlini [EC1980/96KWT] was attacked in mid-August. His home was burnt down and he died later of his injuries. An ANC member in Tendergate, Mr Alfred Welile Oliphant [EC0161/96QTN], was accused of involvement in this killing by his one-time close friend, CDF member Bennie Lumko. Oliphant was arrested and charged with Xabendlini's killing. One night at the end of August, Oliphant's home was set alight and he was shot dead as he tried to escape the flames. Oliphant's widow, Ms Eunice Boniswa Oliphant, told the Commission:

There were rumours that the ADM had sworn revenge and said when Mr Xabendlini was being buried, Mr Oliphant's body would be at the mortuary, and that is exactly what happened.

350 Mr Edwin Lumko, Bennie Lumko's father, was convicted of the killing and sentenced to an effective three years' imprisonment, but the Oliphant family believes that he took the blame for his son. The criminal proceedings were complicated by the disappearance of a witness, ADM member Nkoliseko Mrola, who disappeared in the Western Cape while under a witness protection programme³⁵. Ms Oliphant told the Commission:

There were people that were arrested after my husband's death, but they were never held in custody because the day that they were arrested there were members of the ADM who phoned Gqozo and Gqozo sent a message that these people must be released immediately.

351 The Commission found records at Middledrift Prison in Ciskei which indicated that Mr Edwin Lumko had been admitted on 3 September 1993 and released again just 18 days later, with his three-year sentence recorded as having been completed. Lumko [AM7967/97] applied for amnesty in connection with Oliphant's killing.

³⁵ Mrola's disappearance while under witness protection confirmed by Network of Independent Monitors.

352 Tendergate ANC member Mr Tembilizwe Dywashe [EC0164/96CCK] was also allegedly killed by ADM members at that time. The family believed that a Mr Lumko and Nkoliseko Mrola were among those involved. A number of suspects were arrested and released soon after.

353 The Bisho massacre of 7 September 1992, which is dealt with below, seems to have set off an undeclared all-out war in Ciskei. A week after the massacre Mr Jimmy Kula [EC2120/97CCK], a headman and ADM member from the Msobomvu area of Middledrift, was stabbed to death and his family's homes torched by ANC supporters. His widow, Ms Nosilingi Patricia Makupula, told the Commission it was in retaliation for the Bisho massacre. The home of Ms Victoria Jwaxa [EC2119/97CCK] was burnt down after she attended Kula's funeral. On 15 October, people believed to be Ciskei soldiers attacked a Msobomvu home with guns and grenades and shot dead Mr Elby Ngayithini Ngece [EC0726/96CCK], apparently mistaking him for another family member they were searching for. Several others were injured. Mr Mthetho Ngece, SANCO member and chair of the local ANC Youth League, who is believed to have been the attackers' intended target, told the Commission:

If I had the strength at that time and I knew who the perpetrators were I would have gone and avenged, because my family is as it is because of them ... I have no forgiveness for these people.

354 The Ngece family believes this attack may have been in retaliation for the attacks on the Kula family and their supporters. Mr Madoda Shackleton Kula [AM6440/97] attended a hearing of the Commission and denied involvement in this attack. Kula applied for amnesty in connection with a hand-grenade attack on another Msobomvu household a week later, which did not result in fatalities. He was granted amnesty for possession of weapons but refused amnesty for the attack on the household on the grounds that this had an element of personal revenge and thus did not fall within the ambit of the Act.

355 On 22 September Mr Ndodiphela Maseti [EC0481/96CCK], a former headman from the Middledrift area who had joined the ANC, was attacked by ANC-aligned youths. His home was burnt down and he was chased and burnt to death. His widow, Ms Thandiswa Beatrice Maseti, told the Commission that her husband was targeted because he had once been a member of Upper Gqumashe Tribal Authority. The Commission received amnesty applications

from Mr Zukile Makhaphela [AM6438/96] and Mr Ludumo Mati [AM6439/96] in connection with this. They said they were part of a group that stoned and burnt Maseti because of their anger over the headman system.

- 356 ANC member Banele William Mxoli [EC2248/97CCK] was detained under the Ciskei state of emergency in October 1991; a week after the 1992 Bisho massacre, his home at Perksdale Mission in the Middledrift region was petrol-bombed by attackers believed to be ADM members. The following day another arson attack was launched on his home by people armed with guns. The Commission received amnesty applications from Perksdale Mission headman and ADM member Richard Ziyanda Mandita [AM3498/96] and four other ADM members, Mr Welile Mamayo [AM3499/96], Mr Mbulelo Ngxoweni [AM3024/96], Mr Japie Nimrod Mandita [AM3025/96] and Mr Bongani Mandita [AM3026/96]. Richard Ziyanda Mandita said his own home had been burnt down and he had attacked Mxoli and three others in revenge.
- 357 At the end of 1993, violence took a different form when a hit squad, apparently linked to the ADM, was set up. This group targeted ANC members and individuals who had spoken out against the ADM. On 23 December 1993, ANC member Mongezi Martin Ndudula [EC2090/97CCK] was shot and fatally wounded outside his home in Dimbaza. On 9 January 1994, Mr Khangelekile Tanana [EC2043/97CCK] was shot dead and Mr Thembani Moyeni [EC2083/97CCK] shot and injured while they were walking along the road on their way to an ANC meeting near Peddie. About two weeks later, the family of Mr Zongezile John Gamzana [EC2023/97KWT] at Phakamisa near King William's Town was attacked at night, leaving three people injured. ADM chairperson Titise Mcoiyiyana, Peace Force security employee Vuyisile Madikane, former MK member Jeffrey Moshumi, civil servant Dingaan Somtsora and CDF member Mongezi Reuben Solani subsequently faced thirty-seven charges including murder, attempted murder, armed robbery and weapons charges relating to incidents in December 1993 and January 1994. They were acquitted on all counts.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THERE WERE VIOLENT CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE ANC AND ITS ALLIES AND THE CISKEI GOVERNMENT AND THE ADM IN THE FORMER CISKEI DURING THE 1990S. THESE CONFLICTS INVOLVED KILLINGS, ATTEMPTED KILLINGS AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT. THEY WERE INFLUENCED BY POLITICAL INTOLERANCE ON BOTH SIDES AND WERE EXACERBATED BY THE THEN CISKEI GOVERNMENT'S INTOLERANCE OF LEGAL OPPOSITION. THEY INVOLVED BOTH AD HOC ATTACKS BY SUPPORTERS OF BOTH SIDES AND TARGETED ATTACKS BY ANC/MK MEMBERS ON CISKEI SECURITY FORCES (IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE ANC'S SUSPENSION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE) AND BY CISKEI SECURITY FORCES ON MK MEMBERS AND/OR PROMINENT ANC MEMBERS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT KILLINGS, ATTEMPTED KILLINGS AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT WHICH OCCURRED DURING THIS CONFLICT WERE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH THE ANC, THE CISKEI GOVERNMENT AND THE ADM ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Attacks on security force members

358 There were various attacks on police during this period. While this type of attack fell within the stated policies of the APLA at the time, not all were carried out by APLA members. Some of the attacks were part of the conflicts between the Ciskei authorities and the ANC and were probably carried out by MK members, despite the official suspension of the armed struggle. Some of these attacks may have been aimed at arming ANC self-defence units (SDUs) during the Ciskei-ANC conflicts. During 1993, there was speculation in the security forces and in the press that some of these attacks were carried out by a unit comprising MK members, APLA members and hired killers; the Commission did not receive any amnesty applications on behalf of anyone claiming to have acted as part of such a group.

359 Even if SDUs were not operating in Ciskei during this time, the Ciskei security forces believed they were: ANC Youth League member Khayaletu Baba [EC2001/97CCK] was detained in Peddie in about June 1992 by Ciskei security police and assaulted while being questioned about SDUs and the involvement of MK members in them.

360 On 14 August 1992, there were two separate attacks on Ciskei police vehicles in Mdantsane. Mr Thembaletu Jwayi [EC0235/96STK], who had recently joined the police, was on his way to work with other police officers when they were attacked. Jwayi's father, Mr Malolo Gilifisi Jwayi, told the Commission:

There were two policemen who came and reported that Thembaletu was shot dead and then the van in which he was travelling was burnt out.

361 He said his son's body was so badly burnt, he did not recognise him:

I went to the mortuary ... I couldn't identify him because it was only the skeleton which was there.

362 Four other police officers were killed in the attacks, including Mr Buyile Robert Kelewu [EC1282/96ELN]. The attackers fled to the Transkei border, chased for part of the way by the SAP. Subsequent inquest reports into the deaths of Jwayi and Kelewu indicate that the perpetrators were linked to MK. There were no prosecutions.

- 363 The day after these attacks, the Umtata police station was attacked and weapons were stolen. The Commission received amnesty applications in connection with this matter; the applicants stated the attack had been carried out on behalf of APLA.
- 364 On 17 September 1993, a Ciskei police vehicle was attacked by unknown gunmen in Zone Two in Mdantsane. Mr Zolani Dumile [EC0083/96KWT], who was in the vehicle following his arrest shortly before the attack, was killed along with two police officers.
- 365 While MK was clearly operating in Ciskei under cover of the general violence, it appears that the Ciskei security forces may also have been taking advantage of the violence as a cover for attacking guerrillas and leading activists. Again, the worst of these attacks seem to have taken place after the Bisho massacre.
- 366 The home of Mr Fusante Stanley Roji [EC0487/96CCK], the father of the general secretary of the SACP in the Border region, Mr Skenjana Roji, was attacked with guns on 15 August. The family counted over twenty bullet holes in the house. Two months later, just after the Bisho massacre, the family was again attacked. This time grenades were used and the home was burnt down. No one was injured and the family fled to stay with friends.
- 367 Ms Nowinile Badi, her husband Ben Badi and their granddaughter Vuyokazi Badi [EC0725/96CCK] were all killed when unknown gunmen attacked their home in Msobomvu, near Alice on 15 October 1992, in search of MK member Eric Fumanekile Badi [EC0727/96CCK]. Mr Eric Badi described how the attackers knocked on the window and called him by a nickname that only a few close friends knew, and then started shooting with rifles and throwing grenades. Badi was injured but managed to escape.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ATTACKS UPON CISKEI POLICE AND DEFENCE FORCE MEMBERS PRIOR TO AND FOLLOWING THE BISHO MASSACRE IN SEPTEMBER 1990 WERE CARRIED OUT BY MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF APLA AND THE ANC. THE ATTACKS RESULTED IN GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS (KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING, ARSON AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT) FOR WHICH THE ANC AND APLA ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

The Bisho massacre

- 368 The incident commonly referred to as the Bisho massacre took place in September 1992 in Bisho, the capital of the then Ciskei. The months before the shootings had seen a marked increase in tension in the Ciskei, with numerous violent clashes between ANC supporters and Ciskei government supporters in the weeks leading

up to the massacre. By September 1992, the ANC was running a national campaign to demand free political activity in homelands, targeting Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu in particular.

- 369 The ANC protest march to Bisho on 7 September 1992, demanding the resignation of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo (then military ruler of Ciskei) and free political activity in Ciskei, was part of this campaign. It followed a similar march on 4 August, which was regarded by many as a 'practice' march. CDF soldiers opened fire on the September march, killing thirty people. (Twenty-eight protesters and a CDF soldier – shot by his colleagues – died within days of the shooting; a twenty-ninth ANC supporter died in 1995 from his injuries.) At least 200 CDF soldiers and 70 000 – 80 000 ANC supporters were involved in the clash. Prominent ANC leaders who were part of the march included Mr Chris Hani, Mr Ronnie Kasrils (now Deputy Minister of Defence) and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.
- 370 The Commission held two public hearings on this matter. The first was held in Bisho in September 1996, within days of the fourth anniversary of the massacre, and the second in East London in November 1996. About sixty witnesses who had brought complaints to the Commission were heard; these were people who had been injured in the march or whose relatives had been killed, and family of the CDF soldier who died. Further submissions were made by ANC leaders, Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, by the then South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, by a ballistics expert and by several senior police and military officers who had been in charge of the Ciskei security forces. The former Ciskei Attorney-General gave evidence describing interference by Gqozo's government in attempts to prosecute the matter. After some prevarication, Gqozo himself also gave evidence at the second hearing.
- 371 Those who made statements to the Commission described the chaos of the massacre. Some were apprehensive at the beginning of the march. Mr Monwabisi David Hlakanyana [EC0864/96ALB] told the Commission:

It was not the first time that we had come to Bisho on a march, but this march was different. We observed the road for the manner in which everything was set up, that something was going to happen, but in the picture of my mind I thought that in previous marches — previous marches had been allowed ... before I got to that road we saw a helicopter taking off and in taking off I did not realise that anything was happening at the time but when it took off I saw people running back and I heard gunshots.

372 The CDF soldiers were also worried. Mr Mzwabantu Nqabisa, whose brother, Rifleman Vusumzi Sydney Nqabisa [EC0877/96CCK], was the CDF soldier killed in the march, said the whole Ciskei army had received an instruction, apparently from Gqozo, that no soldier was to go home the night before the march but all should sleep at the military base instead.

But I insisted on going home to tell my sister and the local residents that this was going to happen on the 7th and that they should not go to Bisho ... I told them that there was going to be trouble in Ciskei.

373 In responding to a question as to why he thought there was going to be trouble in Ciskei on that day, Mr Nqabisa answered that their superiors were behaving in a strange way and seemed to be nervous.

374 The march started at the Victoria grounds in King William's Town and was monitored by the South African security forces as far as the outskirts of King William's Town. No South African security forces were visible across the Ciskei border by the time the marchers reached the border, apart from those in the air. The front of the crowd reached the Ciskei border in the middle of the day. A razor-wire barrier had been erected across the road by police to prevent direct access to Bisho itself. To the left, a dirt road led off the main road into the Bisho stadium, which the courts had given the marchers permission to use. Behind the razor-wire barrier were Ciskei police, some in armoured vehicles, and a long line of soldiers stretching down the Fort Hare University campus alongside the road opposite the stadium. More soldiers could be seen on the distant rooftops of some of the Bisho buildings, such as the parliament gates and the telephone exchange. At the razor-wire barrier, a group of ANC officials, including Mr Chris Hani and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, stopped for discussions with National Peace Secretariat officials, while the main body of the march began to move into the stadium. Dozens of journalists and independent monitors were present. An SADF helicopter in camouflage colours, a blue and yellow SAP helicopter and a small white airplane monitored proceedings from above.

375 It seems that the shooting started on the far side of the stadium. The main body of marchers had gone into the stadium and a group, including Mr Ronnie Kasrils, ran out of the stadium towards Bisho in contravention of the court ruling on where the march could go. This group was shot at by soldiers stationed there. The shooting was apparently then picked up by most of the rest of the soldiers down the lines. No warning of intent to fire was given and no other methods of crowd control were used before opening fire.

376 MK member Petros 'Bushy' Vantyu [EC2053/97KWT], who was wounded in the incident, told the Commission that he was with Kasrils' group when the shooting started:

As we ran through the gap in the fence the only soldiers that I could see were the soldiers that were deployed along the dirt road on the other side of the stadium, and according to my experience if these soldiers had shot at us, if it was that column of soldiers that shot at us they would have hit us from the front and they would have hit most people in our column. Hence, it is my belief that most of the people who were shot at in Bisho were shot by people who were either shooting from the parliament side or the Fort Hare University side. And I also believe that I was shot by those people ... It appears to me that the Bisho massacre was a pre-planned incident, judging by the manner in which the security forces were deployed both on the RSA and Ciskei sides.

377 Mr Siyabulela Gusha [EC0865/96CCK] said:

We managed to enter the stadium. Whilst inside there we saw Ronnie Kasrils leading a group of people heading towards a gravel road leading to Parliament. We followed that march; we then heard gunshots being fired and then we turned and ran away towards the stadium. Whilst inside the stadium I was hit by a pellet on my shoulder blade.

378 Mr Lungisa Welcome Matiwane [EC0902/96KWT] gave his perspective:

I went through the hole into the stadium and when we passed something that looked like bridges, we heard things like fireworks, and when we looked around to see what was happening, there were people that were running out of the stadium towards our direction and when I turned around to run away as well in the direction from I had come, I fell and when I tried to get up, I couldn't.

379 Mr Sicelo Jonnie [EC0793/96KWT] said:

When we were about to enter Bisho, we were told to wait for the leaders. I heard some shots, and then we started to run, whilst I was running I was hit on the leg.

380 Several people were killed at the point where marchers broke out of the stadium. Others were killed inside the stadium, yet others at the razor-wire barrier. Marchers inside the stadium and those still at the border had no idea what was happening when shooting started.

381 Ms Yoliswa Shiyiwe Kewuti [EC0208/96ELN] described the scene:

A Ciskei helicopter got to the stadium and hovered very close to the ground but did not actually touch down and Mr Chris Hani asked us not to sing any freedom songs, and not make any noise, but we should rather keep quite because that was Brigadier Gqozo and he would think that by singing freedom songs we were provoking him. We should show him that we came to the stadium to speak to him, Chris Hani said.

382 Mr Pawulosi Mantyi [EC0645/96ELN] added:

It wasn't a Ciskei helicopter, it was something known as a 'Mellow Yellow' and when it went up there was dust because when a helicopter takes off it causes dust. I last saw the helicopter taking off and the next thing we heard was gunfire ...

383 When the shooting started there was complete chaos. None of the deponents reported hearing any warning from the soldiers before the shooting started. Most did not know where the shots were coming from; many were convinced they were being shot at from the helicopters. Other evidence to the Commission suggested that the helicopters may have moved upwards rapidly once shooting started (in order to avoid being shot at themselves) and that the rotor blade noise of the rapidly ascending helicopters could have been misinterpreted as the sound of shots.

384 Mr Desmond Manzolwandle Mpunga [EC1164/96CCK] saw the shootings as follows:

There were already a lot of people in the stadium who were in a hurry to go in, but what happened is that as more people got into the stadium a helicopter emanated. When I looked up there were about five or six men in the helicopter, and the doors were flung open. As I was trying to detect exactly what was happening we heard a terrible sound like a radio going off channel, then there was shooting ... after I was shot I thought that this could not be rubber bullets.

385 Mr Andile Ndembu [EC0867/96ELN] told the Commission:

We saw people going towards the stadium. When they got to the stadium, a helicopter went up. This helicopter was from the Republic of South Africa, it was yellow and blue in colour. When the helicopter arose there were shootings, that is how I was shot.

386 Mr Tembinkosi Ntengento [EC0823/96CCK] described the situation in the following manner:

Some gunshots came from the soldiers who were on top of the parliamentary buildings, some were coming from the soldiers who were approaching from Balasi direction, and some were coming from the helicopter that took off in front of us.

387 One deponent, Mr Phakamile William Duda [EC1158/96KWT], said in his testimony:

On the way to King William's Town, on the sides of the road there were police and soldiers of the Republic of South Africa. I realised that they were guarding the white men's houses. When we were going towards Bisho I looked at my right side, next to the Parliament and I saw Ciskeian soldiers with arms. We walked on, and as I looked at the gravel road that was leading to the stadium, I heard a noise that sounded like fireworks. We were being shot at.

388 Some were shot going into or inside the stadium, including Mr Lulama C Nyamfu [EC0416/96ELN, Mr Lindani Kama [EC0602/96CCK] and Mr Zolile Jonas [EC0874/96PLZ]. The latter told the Commission:

I was already inside the yard of the stadium when I heard some gunshots and I started to run for cover. I do not know what happened, as I only gained consciousness in Grey Hospital where I was admitted. I discovered that I was shot in my left thigh and the bullet is still in my thigh.

389 Mr Vuyani Tom [EC1443/97CCK], Mr Boyce Nqono [EC0873/96CCK], Mr Alfred Dayile [EC0833/96ELN], Mr Lulamile Madala Marcus [EC0779/96CCK], Mr Mabotshelero Paul Goniwe [EC22219/97ELN] and Mr Thembela Mtyingwana [EC0872/96CCK] all told the Commission that they had sustained gunshot injuries in the shooting. Some were injured in other ways while trying to escape the bullets. Mr Nofaneleko Mdlangu [EC0809/96QTN] told the Commission that he was hit by a green military truck.

390 Transporting the dead and injured from the scene was a difficult process, complicated by concerns that the soldiers would start shooting again and by the fact that people had been shot over such a big area. The injured were taken to several different hospitals. Mr Tatise William Ncapayi [EC0812/96QTN] from the Queenstown area, had this to say about the aftermath of the shootings:

We were even scared to go to the Queenstown hospitals because white men were looking for people who had bullet wounds and then they would identify that person as a person who had been in the march.

391 The South African security forces airlifted some of the more seriously injured victims to hospitals. Mr Sipho Makhwenkwe Ngweventsha [EC1264/96SBR] told the Commission:

I was transported in a helicopter because of the seriousness of the injury ... Later, in December 1992, I managed to remove the bullet on my own as it was moving inside my body.

392 In the chaos, it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between the living and the dead. Mr Wandile Mbathu [EC0787/96CCK] was unconscious, and it seems some people thought he was dead. He told the Commission:

Someone told me that I was transported with corpses to Grey Hospital. I only regained consciousness after two weeks and I was not even able to speak.

393 Mr Lungisile Robert Cotani [EC0811/96QTN] had a similar experience:

Then the comrades took me into a van that was collecting injured people all day. Whilst in that van, which was taking in more people, even dead people, I was still feeling very dizzy but I could hear that there were some who had died. I wanted to indicate that I was still alive, so I decided to come out of the dead bodies that were on top of me.

394 In addition, there were those who simply did not return home. Among these were Mr Thibane Gola [EC0222/96ELN] and Mr Jongile Mene [EC0792/96CCK], both of whom died at Bisho. Gola's mother, Ms Nokuzola Letitia Mene, told the Commission:

Three bullets hit him, but he probably died from the one fired at his shoulder, penetrating through the heart...

395 Mene's mother, Ms Ntombikayise Oscarine Gola, said of her son :

He had a hole on top of his head which indicated to us that the bullet which hit him was apparently coming from above.

396 Mr Norman Fulani's son Vuyani [EC0646/96ELN] and Ms Remonica Mnyamezeli Myeha's husband [EC0794/96CCK] died at the scene. Ms Alice Nombeko Mfenqe [EC0647/96ELN] heard the news through the media:

I was at home, listening to the radio on the procession of the march. I heard that the people were shot at Bisho. On the following morning, one of my daughters, Thandiswa, bought a newspaper, Daily Dispatch, and it is only

then that we discovered that Monde was shot to death in the march ... My other son Nonelelo, avers that on the day in question he was manning a roadblock near Bisho Hospital, as he was then member of the Ciskei Police Force, searching for weapons on people who were entering Bisho.

- 397 By late 1996, the current government had paid out on various civil claims lodged in connection with deaths and injuries sustained. Attempts were made by the Ciskei Attorney-General to investigate and prosecute the matter; these got as far as the issuing of a draft indictment against a group of Ciskei police and soldiers and against the ANC's Mr Kasrils for his part in leading a breakaway group that allegedly sparked the shootings. The Ciskei government then passed a decree indemnifying everyone from prosecution. This was later overturned, but for various reasons (partly because it was too close to the elections and the matter was expected to be handed to the Commission) the prosecution did not go ahead.
- 398 On the third anniversary of the massacre, September 1995, the prosecution was reopened and handed over to the East London police. In October 1996, the police investigation was handed over to the Attorney-General in Bisho for a decision on prosecution. The Attorney-General has indicated that he would wait to see whether those he was considering charging applied for amnesty through the Commission before going ahead with any prosecution. Two amnesty applications were received in connection with this matter, from Mr Vakele Archibald Mkosana [AM4458/96] and from Mr Mzamile Thomas Gonya [AM7882/97].
- 399 In reviewing the evidence on the events leading to the Bisho massacre on 7 September 1992, the Commission has made findings in respect of then Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, the CDF and the ANC.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ON 2 SEPTEMBER 1992 THE ANC ORGANISED A MARCH OF SUPPORTERS FROM KING WILLIAM'S TOWN ACROSS THE HOMELAND BORDER TO BISHO IN CISKEI, IN SUPPORT OF DEMANDS FOR FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN THE CISKEI AND FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE THEN CISKEI MILITARY RULER, BRIGADIER OUPA GQOZO. AT THE CULMINATION OF THE MARCH, AS MARCHERS WERE NEARING THE AFORESAID STADIUM, A GROUP OF THEM INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE MARCH LEADERSHIP (THE BREAKAWAY GROUP) ATTEMPTED TO PASS THROUGH A GAP IN A FENCE IN THE VICINITY OF THE STADIUM, IN ORDER TO GAIN ACCESS TO THE TOWN OF BISHO. THIS ACTION WAS TAKEN PURSUANT TO A DECISION BY THE ALLIANCE LEADERSHIP WHICH LED THE MARCH, BUT WAS IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE COURT ORDER. THEY RAN TOWARDS THE GAP IN THE FENCE, AND DID NOT MOVE IN AN ORDERLY, CONTROLLED MANNER. THE MARCHERS WERE FIRED ON BY CDF SOLDIERS, RESULTING IN THE DEATHS OF THIRTY PEOPLE AND INJURIES TO AN UNSPECIFIED NUMBER OF PEOPLE, SUCH DEATHS AND INJURIES BEING GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE DECISION OF THE ALLIANCE LEADERSHIP EXHIBITED A LACK OF PRUDENCE IN DECIDING TO PROCEED THROUGH THE GAP IN THE FENCE IN THAT:

- THEIR DECISION AND THE MANNER IN WHICH IT WAS ACTED UPON, AS SET OUT ABOVE, CONTRIBUTED TO THE VOLATILE AND UNPREDICTABLE SITUATION PREVAILING AT THE TIME;
- THEIR ACTIONS AS AFORESAID ELICITED THE ILLEGAL RESPONSE OF THE CDF, ALTHOUGH SUCH RESPONSE WAS OUT OF ALL PROPORTION TO THE SITUATION AND WAS NOT REASONABLY EXPECTED BY THE ALLIANCE LEADERSHIP.

ACCORDINGLY, THE ALLIANCE LEADERSHIP WHO TOOK THE DECISION IS HELD PARTIALLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ARISING FROM THE UNLAWFUL ACTIONS OF THE CDF.

THE FORMER MILITARY RULER OF CISKEI, BRIGADIER OUPA GQOZO, IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE AFORESAID VIOLATIONS IN THAT:

- HE INSTRUCTED THE CISKEI SECURITY FORCES IN THE DAYS PRIOR TO THE MARCH, AND UP UNTIL 11:00 ON THE DAY OF THE MARCH, THAT THE MARCHERS WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED ACROSS THE CISKEI BORDER, THEREBY SERVING TO HEIGHTEN THE PREVAILING VOLATILE POLITICAL SITUATION;
- HIS INSTRUCTIONS AS AFORESAID WERE IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD, AND UNTIL 11:00 ON THE DAY OF THE MARCH IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE LAW;
- HE EXHIBITED EXTREME INTOLERANCE OF LEGITIMATE POLITICAL PROTEST WHICH RESULTED IN A SITUATION IN WHICH THE SECURITY FORCES WERE RELIED ON TO RESOLVE A SITUATION WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN RESOLVED BY POLITICAL MEANS;
- AS HEAD OF THE CISKEI GOVERNMENT AND OF ITS DEFENCE FORCE, HE IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE ACTIONS OF SUCH FORCE, WHICH WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSSLY IRREGULAR USE OF DEADLY FORCE IN THE SHOOTING DEAD OF THIRTY MARCHERS;
- AFTER THE SHOOTING ON 7 SEPTEMBER 1992, HE DELIBERATELY AND ILLEGALLY INTERFERED WITH THE CRIMINAL PROSECUTION INTO THE SHOOTINGS RESULTING IN A DELAY IN THIS PROCESS AND FACILITATING A PUBLIC PERCEPTION THAT THE SECURITY FORCES WERE ABOVE THE LAW.

THE CDF IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS IN THAT:

- UNTIL 11:00 ON THE MORNING OF 7 SEPTEMBER, IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE MAGISTRATE'S RULING THAT THE MARCHERS COULD USE THE STADIUM IT ADOPTED THE VIEW THAT NO MARCHERS WOULD BE PERMITTED TO ENTER THE CISKEI TERRITORY. THIS SERVED TO HEIGHTEN THE PREVAILING VOLATILE POLITICAL SITUATION;
- IT DID NOT PLAN FOR ANY SCENARIO OTHER THAN PREVENTING THE MARCHERS FROM ENTERING BISHO, THEREBY LIMITING ITS ABILITY TO DEAL WITH OTHER EVENTUALITIES WHICH COULD HAVE ARISEN;
- THE CDF TROOPS WERE ISSUED WITH WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION WHICH WERE NOT IN ANY MANNER SUITED TO CROWD CONTROL BUT WERE OF SUCH A CALIBRE AS TO BE CALCULATED TO KILL PERSONS AT WHOM THEY WERE FIRED;

- THE CDF TROOPS FIRED UPON MARCHERS IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHEN IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO DO SO, AND WITH WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION WHOLLY DISPROPORTIONATE TO THE THREAT POSED BY THE MARCHERS;
- THE CDF TROOPS FIRED ON THE MARCHERS WITHOUT ISSUING A WARNING, AND WITHOUT CONSIDERING MINIMUM USE OF FORCE SUCH AS THE USE OF SHARPSHOOTERS;

THE CDF IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS (KILLINGS, ATTEMPTED KILLINGS AND SEVERE ILL-TREATMENT) ARISING FROM THE INCIDENTS ON 7 SEPTEMBER 1992. THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE CDF HELD ACCOUNTABLE ARE GENERAL MARIUS OELSCHIG, MAJOR MVELELI MLEVI MBINA, COLONEL VAKELE ARCHIEBALD MKOSANA AND GENERAL DIRK VAN DER BANK.

Violence in the wake of Chris Hani's assassination

400 Widespread protests and some violence followed the news of the assassination in Johannesburg of Mr Chris Hani on 10 April 1993. During one of the demonstrations, police opened fire on a crowd in Uitenhage. The exact circumstances of the shooting are not known. Among the victims was fourteen-year-old Zilindile Manyashe [EC1098/96UIT], who was shot dead. On 12 April 1993 Mr Bongani Bakhe [EC2388/97UIT] was also shot dead by police during a demonstration. Mr Fezile Fumbata [EC1071/96UIT] and Mr Andile Faltein [EC1089/96UIT] were both shot in the stomach and recovered after hospital treatment.

401 Mr Khayaletu James [EC1840/97ALB] was shot and injured by the SAP during unrest in Grahamstown on 15 April 1993 when youth were looting and setting vehicles alight. In Zwide, Port Elizabeth, Mr Mtutuzeli Msikinya [EC1847/97PLZ] was shot and injured by SAP on 18 April 1993.

402 In Transkei, there were attacks on whites in various areas. Mr Alistair Weakley and Mr Glen Weakley [EC0303/96PLZ] were killed in one such attack near Port St Johns on 13 April 1993. The Commission received amnesty applications from three ANC members, Mr Phumelele Civilian Hermans [AM7581/97], Mr Lungile Mazwi [AM5203/97] and Mr Mlulamisi Maxhayi [AM7207/97], in connection with this attack.

Attacks on soft targets: APLA's 'Operation Great Storm': 1991-94

403 From late 1991 until the elections in April 1994, APLA, the armed wing of the PAC, claimed responsibility for various armed actions aimed primarily at police officers and whites. A number of these took place in the Eastern Cape. The SAP told the Goldstone Commission in January 1993 that there had been about forty-six armed attacks ascribed to APLA nationally during 1991-92; about 40 per cent of these

occurred in the Eastern Cape³⁶. In April 1993, APLA commander Mr Sabelo Phama announced that 1993 was the year of APLA's 'Operation Great Storm': the attacks of these years were generally regarded as being part of this operation. The Commission received submissions from both victims and amnesty applicants in connection with these attacks.

404 Eastern Cape incidents from this period reported to the Commission include:

- a the early 1992 attack on the Wilgespruit farm at Lady Grey near Aliwal North and an attack on police at Lady Grey (submissions and amnesty applications received);
- b the 15 August 1992 attack on an Umtata police station, including theft of weapons (amnesty applications received);
- c the 13 March 1994 attack on members of the Baha'i faith in Mdantsane (amnesty applications received);
- d the March 1994 attacks on a minibus near Fort Jackson and on a minibus at the Da Gama factory outside East London, in which a police officer and two attackers died (amnesty applications received).

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

406 The amnesty applications indicated that some of the same APLA members were involved in the attacks in the Lady Grey area in early 1992, the August 1992 attack on the Umtata police station, various armed robberies in Transkei and the Heidelberg Tavern in Cape Town. No amnesty applications were received in respect of the Highgate Hotel attack or the Queenstown Spur attack (see below), indicating the possibility that these were not carried out by the same group that had been responsible for the other major attacks ascribed to APLA.

407 Some of the victims of these attacks described the incidents at Commission hearings. The first major attack carried out by APLA in the Eastern Cape during this period was that on the golf club at King William's Town on 28 November 1992,

³⁶ SAP memorandum submitted to the Goldstone Commission: 'Location of APLA camps, arms, ammunition, personnel and operational activities', 4 January 1993.

where a wine-tasting party was in progress. Four people died. Ms Beth Savage [EC0051/96ELN] was seriously injured in that incident. She spent a month in the intensive care unit in hospital and suffered hallucinations about her attacker. Her family was traumatised and she believed the subsequent death of her parents was brought on by the shock of her injuries. She told the Commission how she felt about the attack:

All in all, what I must say, is through the trauma of it all, I honestly feel richer. I think it's been a really enriching experience for me and a growing curve, and I think it's given me the ability to relate to other people who may be going through trauma.

- 408 When asked how she would feel if anyone applied for amnesty in connection with this matter, Savage said:

It really wouldn't worry me one way or the other ... It's not important to me, but, I've said this to many people, what I would really, really like is, I would like to meet that man that threw that grenade in an attitude of forgiveness and hope that he could forgive me too for whatever reason. But I would very much like to meet them.

- 409 APLA member Tembelani Tandekile Xundu [AM3840/97], now an officer in the SANDF, applied for amnesty in connection with this incident. His trial was postponed pending the outcome of his application.

- 410 The Highgate Hotel in East London was attacked on 1 May 1993. The Commission did not receive any amnesty applications in connection with this matter although it has routinely been ascribed to APLA. Mr Nkosinathi Alfred Gontshi, who was the barman at the Highgate Hotel, told the Commission:

On entering the bar, the man in a mask started firing at all of us. I was hit on my right thigh by one of the bullets. Even today I do not know which political organisation did that, if ever it was one.

- 411 Mr Neville Beling [EC0167/96ELN], Mr Karl Andrew Weber [EC0035/96ELN] and Ms Doreen Rousseau [EC0052/96ELN] were permanently disabled as a result of the attack. Mr Deric John Whitfield [EC0101/96ELN] was one of five people killed. Ms Rousseau described her experience:

I said to the friend on my right, I've been shot and he said, lie still, pretend that you're dead because they may come back. My friend on the left was

*lying face down. I shook him and called his name but he lay very still.
Everyone was screaming and lying in pools of blood.*

412 Mr Weber told the Commission his feelings about the attack:

*My life was changed overnight ... I've accepted it and I have to carry on
with the daily routine of life. It's not something that will be forgotten about
and it's something that I think justice should be done about.*

413 A Spur restaurant in Queenstown was bombed on 3 December 1992, a few days after the King William's Town attack. One man died. Mr Les Barnes [EC0780/96PLZ] was seated at the table where the bomb had been placed; his friend died and he was seriously injured. Mr Barnes asked the Commission:

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

414 The Commission did not receive any amnesty applications in connection with this attack, although APLA claimed responsibility at the time.

415 On 20 March 1993 the Yellowwoods Hotel at Fort Beaufort was attacked by armed men. A student, Mr Johan Jerling [EC2359/97ALB], was killed. Amnesty applications received by the Commission in connection with this attack acknowledged APLA involvement.

416 The Commission also received statements in connection with some of the APLA members. These included a statement regarding the death on 9 February 1994 of APLA chief Sabelo Gqweta, better known as Sabelo Phama [EC1956/97UTA], when his car was involved in a crash with a truck in Tanzania, on the road from Dar es Salaam to Zimbabwe. His brother, Mr Bandile Besuthu 'Boxer' Gqweta, said he believed the crash was not an accident but had been staged. Gqweta told the Commission:

*At the time of Sabelo's death there was conflict within the PAC as to the
suspension of armed struggle and participation in the general elections of
1994. The position of Sabelo was that of being against the suspension of
armed struggle, but he was for the participation of the PAC at the general
election. He even called 1994 'the year of the bullet and the ballot'. This
view of Sabelo's was a popular view among the organisation as a whole, but*

it was not so popular among the National Executive Council on which Sabelo served. The opposing view was that the armed struggle must be suspended so that the PAC could participate in the general elections of 1994. I do believe that Sabelo died for the view that he held.

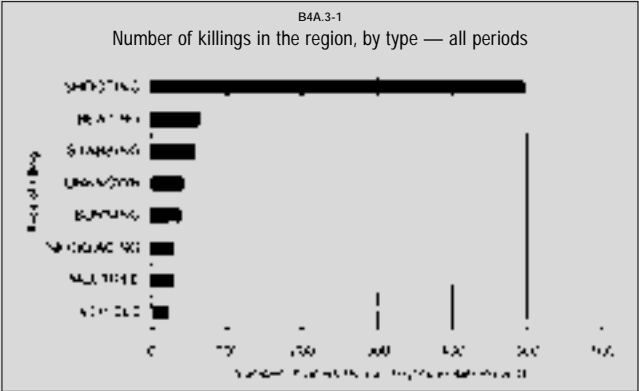
- 417 The attacks ascribed to APLA became a matter of bitter dispute between the Transkei and South African governments, with South Africa accusing Transkei of harbouring APLA members and providing them with weapons and training. No statements or amnesty applications were received by the Commission in connection with such training or provision of weaponry. An investigation by the Goldstone Commission similarly resulted in conflict between the two governments as well as the PAC.
- 418 On 8 October 1993 the SADF carried out a raid on the home of an Umtata PAC member, Mr Siggibo Mpendulo, in which five youths, including a twelve-year-old child, were shot dead. The SADF claimed at the time that it had attacked an APLA base. The Commission did not receive HRV submissions in connection with this matter.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF APLA CARRIED OUT VARIOUS ARMED ATTACKS ON SOFT TARGETS INCLUDING POLICE AND WHITES DURING THE 1990S AS PART OF THAT ORGANISATION'S OPERATION GREAT STORM. VARIOUS KILLINGS AND INJURIES RESULTED FROM THESE ATTACKS, WHICH INCLUDED THE ATTACKS ON THE KING WILLIAM'S TOWN GOLF CLUB, THE HIGHGATE HOTEL AND A QUEENSTOWN SPUR RESTAURANT. THESE ATTACKS WERE CARRIED OUT AS PART OF APLA'S ARMED STRUGGLE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THESE ACTS CONSTITUTED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH THE PAC/APLA ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

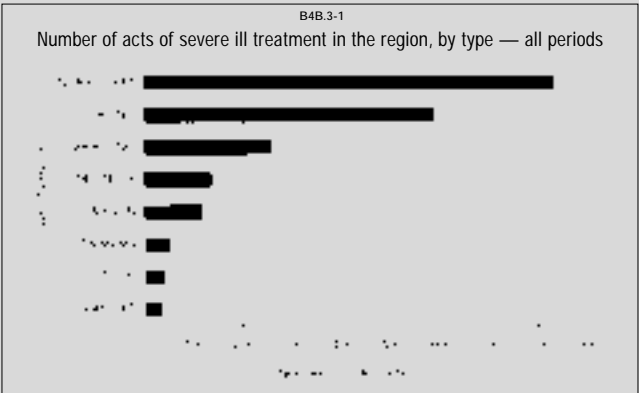
Statistics on Violations in the Eastern Cape

■ NATURE OF THE VIOLATIONS

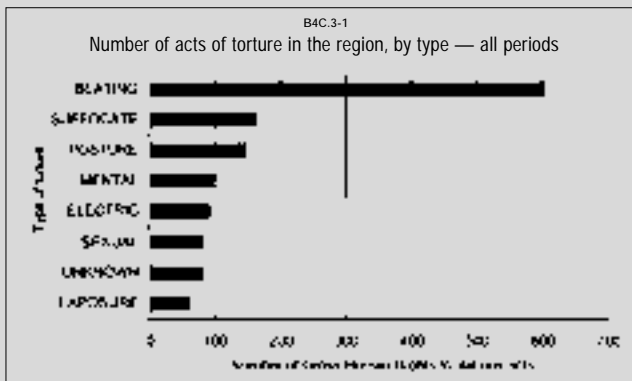
- 1 The pattern of violations in the region covered by the East London office is similar to the national picture, with death by shooting being the most common killing violation: ►



- 2 Shooting accounted for most of the killings, followed by beating to death and then stabbing. This differs from the national pattern where stabbing was the second most common cause of death. Unlike other regions, necklacing was amongst the top eight causes of death in the East London region.



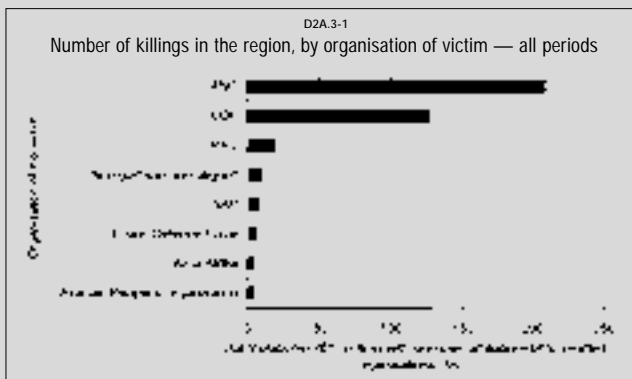
- 3 As in all other regions except Durban, beatings and incarceration were the most commonly reported severe ill treatment violations, followed by shootings. Arson and destruction of property were the next most common type of severe ill treatment.



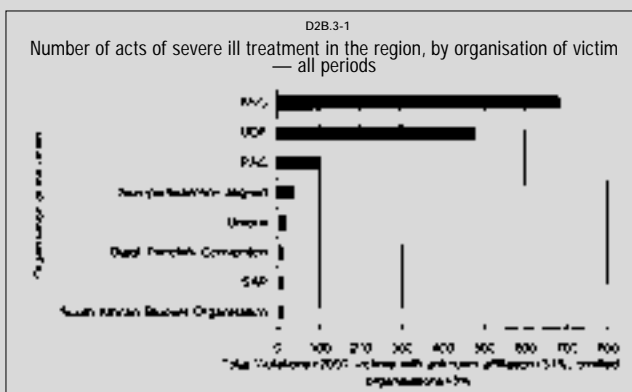
- 4 East London reflects the national trend, showing beating to be the most common form of torture. Suffocation was more common here than in the other three regions, reaching second place. Mental torture and torture by forced postures were also more common than electric shocking.

Victim organisations

- 5 The number of killings reported in terms of the organisational affiliation of the victim (where this is known) were as follows:

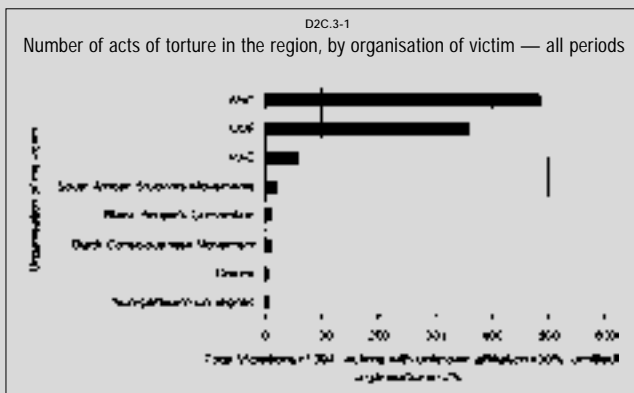


- 6 Most of those killed in this region were members of the African National Congress (ANC), the United Democratic Front (UDF), and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). There were some security force deaths, but the vast bulk of the victims were members of the ANC and UDF.



- 7 The pattern for cases of severe ill treatment was almost identical to that for killings, with ANC, UDF and PAC members suffering the bulk of the violations.

- 8 The pattern of torture is similar. All torture victims were members of black political organisations.



Perpetrator organisations

- 9 The top eight organisations allegedly responsible for killings in the area covered by the East London office area were as follows: ►

- 10 The security forces dominate the chart, with killings attributed to the South African Police (SAP), Ciskei security forces and SADF making up the most cases. Black political organisations account for the rest of the killings, except for a small number attributed to the Transkei security forces. Killings by the the SAP, Ciskei security forces and SADF show a peak similar to killings allegedly committed by the SAP during the states of emergency years:



- 11 Unlike the national picture, the Eastern Cape does not reflect a peak in the killings attributed to the SAP in 1976 (the Soweto uprising), but the states of emergency peak does appear. In 1992,

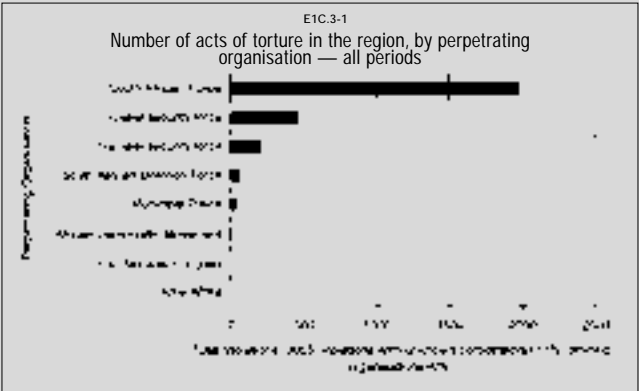
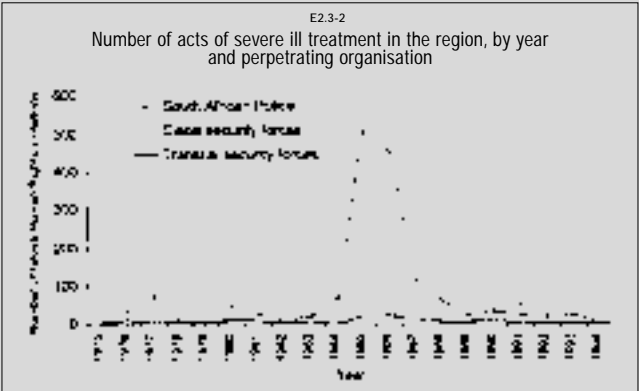
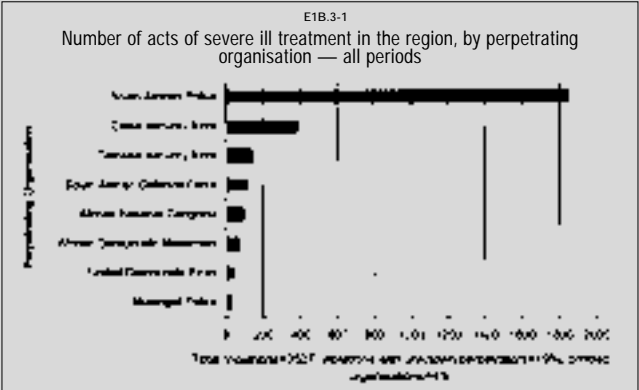


a number of killings attributed to the Ciskei security forces can be seen. The SAP also dominate the chart of severe ill treatment violations:

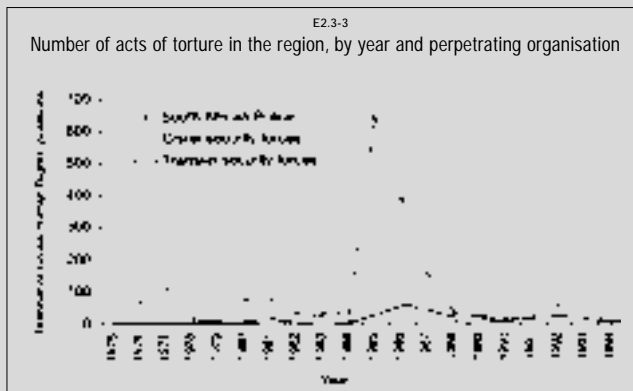
- 12 Overwhelmingly, the greatest number of instances of severe ill treatment are attributed to the SAP, followed by the Ciskei security forces and the SADF. The severe ill treatment violations attributed to the top three organisations change over time as follows:

- 13 The pattern of severe ill treatment closely matches that of killings, with allegations against the SAP dominating the peak in the mid-eighties and tailing off in the early 1990s. The number of allegations of severe ill treatment by the Ciskei security forces reaches a peak in 1992.

- 14 As in the national picture, the SAP dominates torture violations, with nearly 2 000 allegations: ►



- 15 The security forces of both Ciskei and Transkei also feature strongly. Again, the pattern of alleged torture over time shows that torture was at its worst during the states of emergency:



- 16 The greatest number of torture cases attributed to the SAP occurs in 1985, then drops in 1986. In the national picture, by contrast, it shows an increase in 1986.

Regional Profile Natal and KwaZulu

■ OVERVIEW OF THE REGION

The Territory¹

- 1 The province now known as KwaZulu-Natal lies on the eastern seaboard of South Africa, stretching up to Mozambique and Swaziland in the north and bordered by the Drakensberg mountains to the west. It covers a total area of 100 000 square kilometres. The area was originally populated by San hunter-gatherers and by Nguni-speaking peoples who moved down the East Coast of Africa in the eighteenth century and later coalesced into the Zulu nation.
- 2 English traders and hunters settled in the Port Natal (Durban) region in the early nineteenth century. In the mid-1800s, the province was annexed as an autonomous district of the Cape Colony and the British administration established the Native Reserve of Zululand between the Tugela River and Mozambique. Administration was based on Zulu customary law, set up in a way that allowed the colonial state to co-opt the institutions of chieftainship for its own purposes. Thus, Zulu chiefs became the administrators of the British settler government. Many chiefs gained their positions through loyalty to the white administration rather than through customary laws of genealogy.
- 3 With the formation of the Union in 1910, the systems of chieftainship were brought together under a centralised administration controlled by Pretoria. The Black (Native) Administration Act (No 38 of 1927) empowered commissioners to appoint and depose chiefs, and laid the rules for chiefs' succession, family relations and personal obligations. In 1951, the last of the representative institutions for blacks was abolished² and a local government system of tribal and regional authorities was set up within 'Bantu Authorities' (also known as 'Bantustans').

1 Throughout this report the province has been referred to as 'Natal', with sub-regions referred to by the names that applied during the period of the Commission's review, i.e. 'Northern Natal', 'Natal Midlands' and 'KwaZulu'. The term 'KwaZulu/Natal' has been used in relation to events during the transition period in the early nineties, in keeping with common usage at these times. The province has been known as KwaZulu-Natal since 1994.

2 Bantu Authorities Act No 68 of 1951.

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

The people

- 5 KwaZulu and Natal together account for approximately one-fifth of South Africa's total population. The biggest population group is of African descent, of which 90 per cent is Zulu. About 90 per cent of the white population are English speaking. There is a sizeable Asian presence in Natal and a small section of the population is coloured.

The politics

- 6 Three main political groupings in the province have been identified for the purposes of this report:

The state

- 7 In Natal, this included the Natal Provincial Administration, the Department of Bantu Administration, the KwaZulu Government (including the KLA, local, regional, and traditional authorities and the KwaZulu Police or KZP) and structures in the security apparatus.

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM)

- 8 This consisted of a loose alliance of organisations, most of which supported the political ethos of the African National Congress (ANC), and sometimes its military wing as well. These included organised labour, student organisations, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its affiliates from the trade unions, Black Consciousness organisations, the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA), churches and church bodies, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Those opposing the state from within state-created structures

- 9 Among these groups were Inkatha³ and its affiliates, working through the homeland and traditional structures.

OVERVIEW OF VIOLATIONS

Violations reported

- 10 Close to half of all statements reporting gross human rights abuses received were from the KwaZulu-Natal region (figures for Free State included: see introduction to this volume). This makes the proportion of submissions relative to population almost four times higher for this province than for the rest of the country. It was noticeable that the KwaZulu-Natal submissions tended to have a lower number of violations per victim (1.4 compared to the national average of 1.8–2.0), reflecting the large number of ‘single incident’ violations, mostly political killings and arson attacks.

FIGURE A1
Number of statements received by office

Office	Statements	% of total
CT	1 780	8.4%
EC	2 843	13.3%
JB	6 381	30.0%
KZ	10 292	48.3%
TOTAL	21 296	100.0%

FIGURE A2
Quantity of information received by office

Office	Statements	Violations (Gross and associated)	Gross human rights violations	Number of victims	Avg victims/statement	Avg violations/victim
CT	1 780	4 267	3 122	2 350	1.3	1.8
EC	2 843	6 380	5 460	3 252	1.1	2.0
JB	6 381	16 666	11 550	8 941	1.4	1.4
KZ	10 292	19 383	16 803	14 207	1.4	1.4
TOTAL	21 296	46 696	36 935	28 750	1.4	1.6

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

FIGURE A3
Proportion female, male and sex missing for all deponents, by office

Office	Proportion female	Proportion male	Deponents with sex missing
CT	37%	57%	7%
EC	43%	55%	2%
JB	46%	53%	1%
KZ	63%	32%	5%
TOTAL	53%	44%	3%

³ The Inkatha Cultural Liberation Movement is referred to simply as ‘Inkatha’ from the time of its reconstitution in 1975 to July 1990 when the organisation was constituted as a political party. Thereafter, it is referred to as the Inkatha Freedom Party or IFP.

Types of violations

12 The trends in gross human rights violations in Natal over the Commission’s mandate period show a marked increase in severe ill treatment from 1984, rising sharply between 1988 and 1990, and again from 1992 until the national elections of April 1994. A similar trend is indicated for politically motivated killings. Severe ill treatment accounted for the highest number of reported violations, followed by politically motivated killings. Together these two categories made up the overwhelming majority of violations. Moreover, over half of all violations reported nationally in these categories

FIGURE A4
Proportion of deponents who are victims, by office and sex

Office	Proportion of female deponents	Proportion of male deponents
CT	36%	72%
EC	32%	79%
JB	34%	67%
KZ	55%	72%
TOTAL	46%	71%

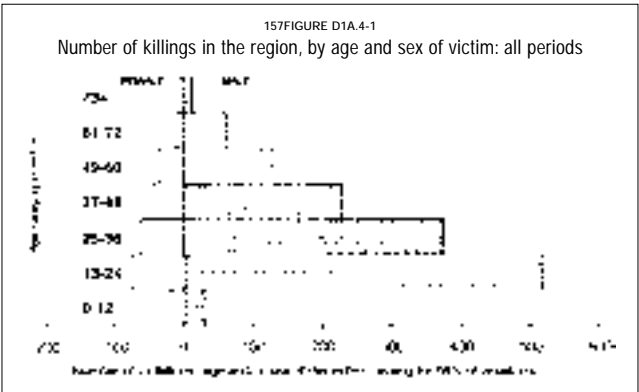
FIGURE A5
Estimated average age of deponent, by office and sex

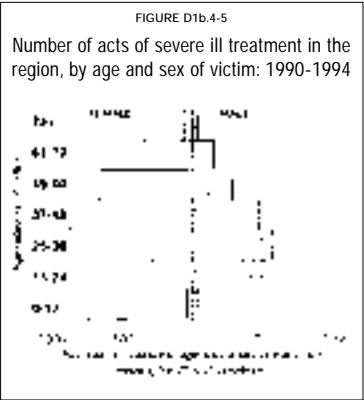
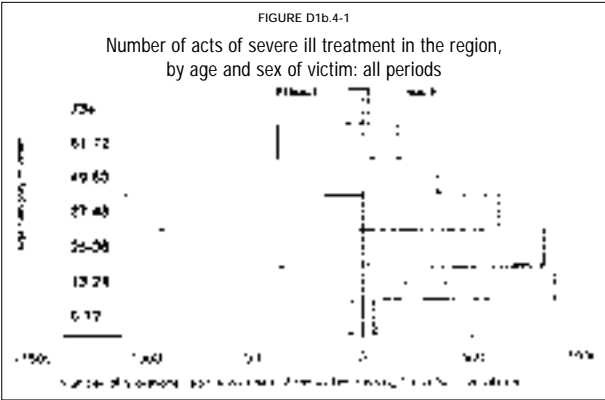
Office	Female deponents	Male deponents	Total
CT	47	39	41
EC	50	44	46
JB	47	41	43
KZ	47	40	43
TOTAL	47	41	43

occurred in KwaZulu-Natal. Forms of severe ill treatment included arson, assault, stabbing, incarceration, shooting, burning and destruction of property. The most common form of severe ill treatment occurring in Natal was arson, rising significantly in the 1983–89 period and increasing dramatically in the 1990s. Incidents of shooting also rose dramatically during these two periods. Most of the politically motivated killings in the province were by shooting. Fatal stabbings also showed a steady increase.

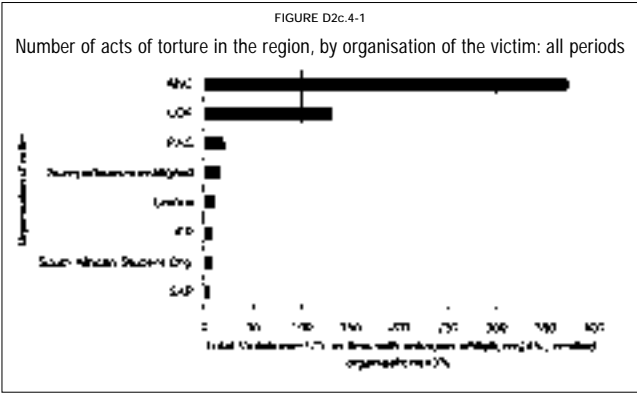
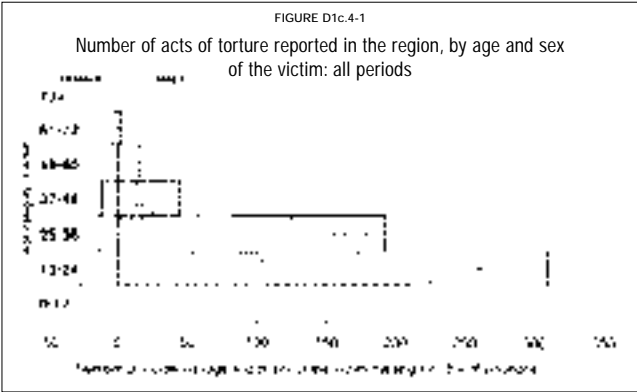
Victim categories

13 The statistics show that the victims of political killings were primarily males aged between thirteen and forty-eight years. This applies also to the victims of severe ill treatment until the 1990s, after which the victims were primarily female and between the ages of twenty-five and sixty years.





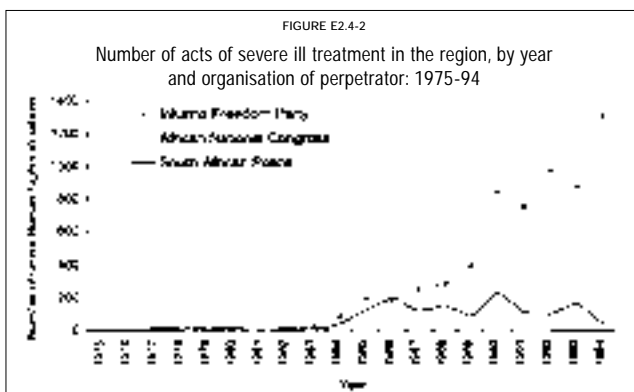
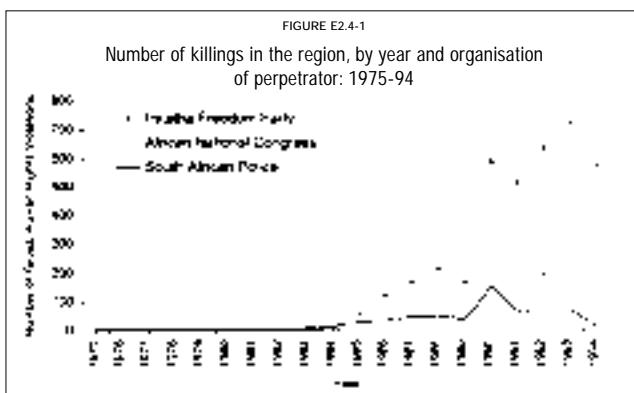
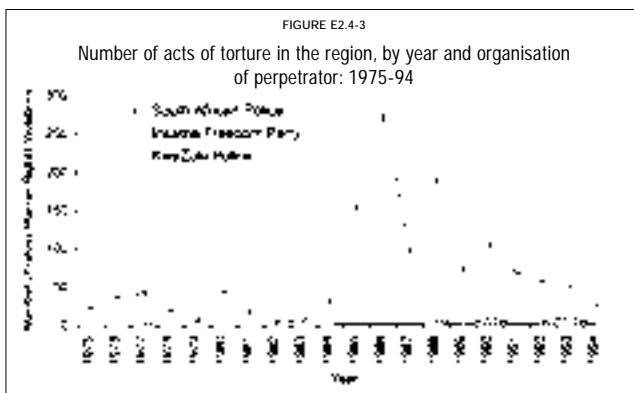
14 The statistics show that at least three times as many victims of severe ill treatment belonged to the ANC/UDF as to the IFP and other political groups. ANC supporters were also the overwhelming majority of victims of associated violations in all review periods. Reports of associated violations against Inkatha, the PAC and other organisations were recorded from 1976, and statistics showed a marked increase in the number of Inkatha members suffering associated violations during 1983-94.



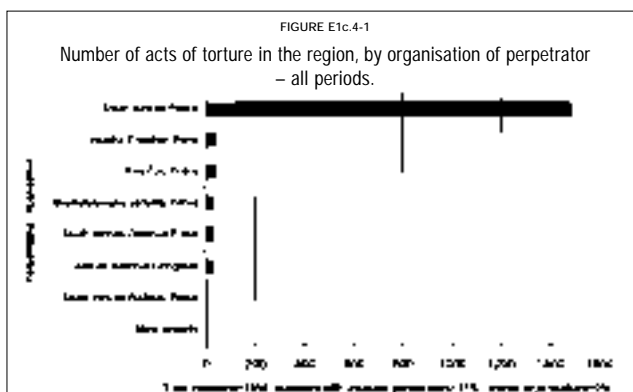
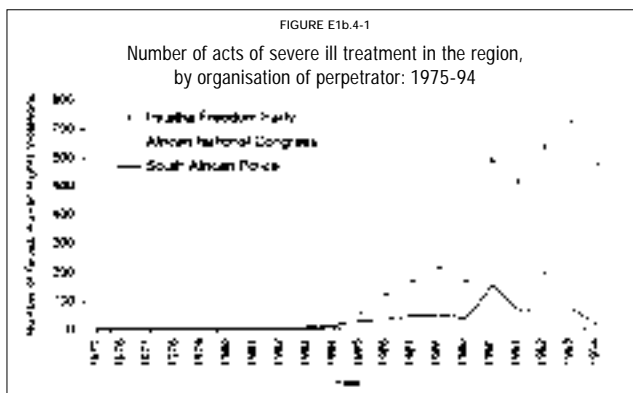
- 15 The victims of acts of torture were also overwhelmingly male, between the ages of thirteen and forty-eight and predominantly ANC/UDF members and supporters. There were remarkably few reports of the detention and torture of Inkatha supporters.

Perpetrator groups

- 16 The evidence identifies the South African Police (SAP) as a dominant and consistent perpetrator group in three categories of abuse: torture, severe ill treatment and killings. Incidents of torture perpetrated by the police rose dramatically from 1984, peaking in 1986 and again in 1988. Statistics show that assault or beating was by far the most common form of abuse. Electric shocks were used increasingly and most frequently during the 1983–89 period, corresponding roughly to the years of emergency government.



- 17 Inkatha was identified as a major perpetrator of gross human rights violations from 1983. Incidents of killings attributed to Inkatha rose dramatically in 1989–90, peaking again in 1993. Acts of severe ill treatment attributed to Inkatha and later to the IFP rose steadily from 1983 and dramatically between 1989 and 1994.
- 18 The ANC was also identified as a perpetrator group. Incidents of killing attributed to the ANC rose steadily from 1983, peaking in 1989 and 1992. There was a corresponding rise in the number of acts of severe ill treatment attributed to the ANC. According to information before the Commission, the number of acts of severe ill treatment attributed to the ANC was roughly one third of the corresponding figure for the IFP.
- 19 Incidents of associated violations were attributed predominantly to the SAP, except in the period 1990–94 when the greatest number were attributed to the IFP. The SAP was identified overwhelmingly as the major perpetrator of acts of torture throughout.



Where did the violations occur?

- 20 In the earlier periods under review, most reports emanated from Durban and Pietermaritzburg and surrounding areas; but violations gradually spread further afield, particularly to the Natal Midlands and the small outlying towns. By the 1990s, the entire province, urban and rural, had been touched by the violence – particularly in certain areas which came to be known as ‘flashpoints’. Notably,

the province's white suburbs remained relatively untouched by the political conflict in the province, apart from acts of sabotage in urban centres and incidents of police brutality at police stations.

- 21 Statements were received from a broad cross-section of communities in the province, with the majority coming from the townships and rural KwaZulu (former 'black areas'). While many people approached the Commission of their own accord with reports of violations, the Commission also deployed teams of statement takers across the province to gather a wide-ranging sample of evidence for a more complete view of the region's history. Statement takers reported difficulties in gaining access to some areas, for example Inchanga, which had been the scene of political conflict during 1996–97, and other areas known to be strongholds of the IFP.
- 22 The Commission received a total of 19 143 reports of alleged human rights violations in the province, of which one quarter referred to politically motivated killings. NGOs, research institutes and monitoring bodies have estimated the actual number of politically motivated killings for the period to have been four times greater – between 18 000 and 20 000.
- 23 The antagonism of the provincial majority IFP to the work of the Commission inhibited many IFP supporters from coming forward to tell their stories. A resolution of the IFP annual general meeting in July 1995 stated categorically that the IFP would not participate in the activities of the Commission. In correspondence and at meetings, commissioners expressed their desire for the IFP to encourage its members to appear before the Commission. The IFP maintained its stance, raising several objections to the work of the Commission, in particular to what it described as the 'partisan composition' of the Commission and to the conducting of public hearings in the province. Its strong opposition to the Commission's work was publicised in a newspaper advertisement in August 1997. In October 1997, however, the IFP agreed not to discourage its supporters who wished to come forward, in view of the fact that reparations could not be made available to victims who had not made statements to the Commission. The date for victims' submissions was extended to 15 December 1997, and several thousand submissions were made following this decision, although very few of these were from IFP supporters.
- 24 The majority of reports of human rights violations in the region refer to the conflict between supporters of the IFP and the ANC-aligned supporters of the UDF. Fighting between the two parties developed into open conflict in the 1980s and climaxed in the pre-April 1994 election violence, often amounting to civil war.

- 25 The Commission received many more accounts of the political violence from UDF/ANC supporters, creating the impression that the violations suffered by the UDF/ANC outnumbered those suffered by Inkatha by five to one. The Commission was unable to establish the degree to which this disparity is a reflection of the IFP's rejection of the Commission or a reflection of the actual experience of violations.
- 26 Similarly, reports of gross violations suffered by members of the former security forces (SADF, SAP and KZP) contributed less than 1 per cent of the total violations reported in KwaZulu-Natal. There is no doubt that members of the former security forces were victims of the political struggle in KwaZulu-Natal. Many were harassed and reviled; many became the targets of violent attack, and many were killed. These victims and their families did not come forward to tell their stories.

■ 1960-1975

Historical overview of the period

- 27 Several factors converged at the beginning of 1960 to usher in a decade characterised by extreme repression and demoralisation in the political life of the nation. With the 1959 Bantu Self-Government Act in place, the Nationalist government embarked on a policy of 'divide and rule'. The banning of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in April 1960 was an attempt to repress all forms of opposition, although non-violent and legal, in the country as a whole. In Natal, the decade was marked by the widespread imposition of restrictions, banning and banishment orders on individuals, arrests, detentions and police brutality, and by criminal prosecutions under the main pillars of apartheid legislation.
- 28 From the early sixties, the pass laws were the primary instrument used by the state to arrest and charge its political opponents. By the same token, it was mainly the popular resistance mobilised against those pass laws that kept resistance politics alive during this period. Africans in Natal incurred heavy fines for burning reference documents. One of those fined was Chief Albert Luthuli, president of the ANC and 1960 Nobel Peace Laureate. Shortly before its banning, the ANC organised anti-pass law demonstrations in Durban, resulting in large-scale arrests and detentions. Protests against the Group Areas Act became another major feature of resistance at this time, particularly in areas where residents were under threat of removal.

- 29 The ANC established a separate armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), in 1961 and developed an underground campaign to expose and counter state repression. The multi-pronged strategy included a propaganda campaign and student protest action in a number of black and English-medium universities. On 16 December 1961, MK launched Operation Mayibuye, a sabotage campaign directed mainly at government installations. This led to a large number of bannings, arrests and prosecutions, and the Commission heard several accounts of torture of detainees in Natal. Many operatives and activists were sentenced to jail terms for sabotage or for membership of the banned liberation organisations; many more were driven into exile. By the mid-1960s, the underground structures of the ANC had collapsed and formal opposition politics were at their most subdued.
- 30 After the Rivonia trial (1963–64) in which Mr Nelson Mandela and other members of the MK high command were tried, an attempt was made to reconstitute the high command, but all its members were subsequently arrested. The internal units of MK were in disarray, and any Natal operatives who were not in prison or on trial went into exile. About 800 MK cadres were in exile by 1965, undergoing training in Tanzania, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and China under the command of Mr Joe Modise.
- 31 In 1967, MK cadres were sent into Rhodesia with Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) units in what was known as the 'Wankie Campaign'. The main MK unit (the Luthuli Detachment) was to forge a way to South Africa whilst another established a transit base in Sipolilo, Rhodesia. The South African security forces were invited into Rhodesia by the Smith government and launched a joint operation against MK-ZAPU units. These were the first cross-border actions against MK cadres from Natal. The Luthuli Detachment included well-known Natal MK cadres such as Mr Justice Mpanza from Groutville and Mr Daluxolo Luthuli⁴. Many of these cadres and their families later told their stories to the Commission.
- 32 In 1969, the ANC in exile established a Revolutionary Council to oversee all political and military work. Various attempts to send MK into South Africa, particularly into the rural areas, were thwarted when operatives were captured or killed, so there was very little MK activity in the late sixties and early seventies. The political landscape changed with the release of MK cadres such as Mr Harry Gwala, Mr

4 Daluxolo Wordsworth Luthuli, said to be the grandson of former ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli, was later arrested and convicted of terrorism. He served his sentence on Robben Island. On his release in 1979, he joined Inkatha and in 1986 became involved in an Inkatha paramilitary training project. Luthuli accompanied a group of 206 Inkatha supporters who underwent six months of secret training by the SADF in the Caprivi in 1986 and acted as their political commissar.

Joe Gqabi and Mr Jacob Zuma from Robben Island starting in 1972 and with Mozambique's independence in 1974, giving MK a corridor into South Africa. MK units in Natal began to redevelop routes to their units in Swaziland.

Black Consciousness

- 33 Early in the 1970s, new forms of resistance and new challenges emerged internally. A number of new organisations, such as the (black) South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC), espoused the philosophy of Black Consciousness, which addressed the psychological oppression and the daily experience of racism of black people. The NIC was revived in 1971. While the movement rejected the exclusivist aspirations of Black Consciousness, it became an outspoken opponent of ethnic and racially-based government administration in both the province and the country, and was effective in raising political consciousness in the Indian community.

The KwaZulu National Assembly

- 34 Those in the Black Consciousness tradition expressed clear opposition to blacks operating within government-created institutions. This rejectionist position served increasingly to isolate people like Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who headed the Zululand Territorial Authority created in 1970 and its successor, the KLA. From these positions, he sought to advance his own political agenda as well as his opposition to both apartheid and a specific strand within the ANC. He became a thorn in the flesh of the National Party (NP) government, which tried by various means to unseat him. He made it clear to the central government that he would only consider accepting homeland 'independence' on condition that the territory was consolidated to include the new harbour of Richards Bay and all 'white' towns north of the Tugela.

Durban strikes

- 35 The Durban strikes of 1973 marked a turning point in the history of political resistance in the province. With wages practically frozen for over a decade, the growing poverty in the cities – and therefore also in the rural areas where families depended on the wages of migrant breadwinners – led to strikes which affected 150 establishments and involved 60 000 workers during the first few months of 1973. The strikers were ultimately forced to back down, but they laid the foundations for a new labour union movement and for organised social resistance in other

spheres of the anti-apartheid struggle. The General Factory Workers' Benefit Fund also opened the way for the organisation of workers in a number of industrial fields. This was an initiative of the Wages Commission, set up at the University of Natal in 1972 to research labour conditions and to provide workers with a vehicle to voice their grievances.

- 36 While most homeland leaders limited their concerns mainly to the citizens of their own territory, Chief Buthelezi, the most outspoken of these leaders in attacking the South African government, used the Durban strikes to voice the more general aspirations of Africans and to assert an ethnic, specifically Zulu, mode of resistance. The KwaZulu government supported the strikers' demands for increased wages and used the opportunity to demonstrate to the white authorities what collective action could achieve unless concessions were made to African people.
- 37 Towards the end of 1974, several Black Consciousness supporters were arrested in Durban in connection with the planning of *Viva Frelimo* rallies to celebrate the fall of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique. Many members of Black Consciousness organisations fled the country. Some were detained and others were charged under the Terrorism Act No 83 of 1967.

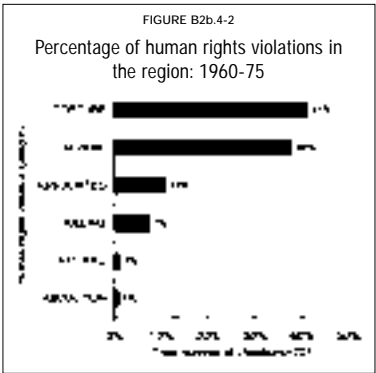
Inkatha

- 38 In 1975, the Inkatha Cultural Liberation Movement (Inkatha) was revived, marking a new era in the province's political life. Its strategy and its future relationship with other opposition groupings were shaped by the Durban strikes as well as by the scholars' uprising of 1976 in Soweto.⁵
- 39 The formation of Inkatha had the approval of the ANC, because the new movement appeared to offer access to rural areas. Initially, Inkatha placed itself squarely within the political tradition of the ANC's founding fathers. However, Inkatha was later to operate uncontested on any scale within the space provided by the homeland policy and the state's repression of all other opposition.

⁵ The Soweto uprisings are described in the chapter on the Transvaal in this volume.

Overview of violations

40 Torture and severe ill-treatment were the predominant form of gross human rights violations reported for this fifteen-year period: that is, torture 41%; severe ill treatment 38%; associated violations 11%; killings 7%; attempted killings 1%; abduction 1%.



41 All reported incidents occurred in the greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg areas. In the majority of cases, the victims were aligned to the ANC, the South African Communist Party (SACP) or were non-partisan. Most reported violations were attributed to members of the SAP.

State and allied groupings

Torture in custody

42 Many ANC and SACP activists spoke of detention and torture by the police during this period. The first reported case of torture through poisoning was received for this period. The Investigation Unit could not corroborate all statements as records had been destroyed. However, from information received, it appears that torture methods used by the police ranged from severe assault to forcing a victim to assume contorted and degrading positions. In some cases, it is believed that death resulted from torture suffered during detention.

The Case of Ethel Shabalala and Jerome Duma

SACP member Ms Ethel Sizile Shabalala [KZN/NN/004/DN], and her husband, ANC member Jerome Duma, both of Umlazi, were detained, interrogated and tortured repeatedly throughout the 1960s by members of the Security Branch. Shortly after Duma’s release from detention on 30 August 1970, he died of renal failure believed to have been caused by the torture he suffered in prison. Shabalala said that when she was released from detention, she found that her house and its contents had been given to other people.

43 Members of SASO and BPC were tortured in detention following their arrest in September 1974 for the planning of *Viva Frelimo* rallies.

- 44 One of those arrested in Durban was Ms Bridgette Mabandla, employed at the time as a youth programme organiser for the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). Her husband, Mr Lindilwe Mabandla, had been arrested three days earlier. Ms Mabandla was in detention for five months and three weeks, during which time she was not permitted to see her five-month-old baby. She was allegedly tortured on a number of occasions by members of the Security Branch. Former Durban security policeman, Colonel ARC Taylor [AM4077/96] applied for amnesty for the torture of Mabandla and five others arrested at the same time: namely Mr Sathasivan Cooper, Mr Revabalan Cooper, Mr Lindani Muntu Myeza, Mr Nyangana Absalom Cindi and Mr Reuben William Hair. Taylor died on 11 November 1997, before his application for amnesty could be heard.
- 45 At the Durban hearing, the Commission heard that underground ANC cell leader Haroon Aziz [KZN/MR/013/DN] of Stanger was tortured following his arrest in 1975 under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. He described the various forms of torture he suffered at the hands of the police, including a method that came to be known as the 'invisible chair'.

They used to make me sit on what they used to call an invisible chair. An invisible chair is you pretend to sit on a chair, but there's no chair there, and you hold your hands out and you flick your fingers. They interrogate you and you have to answer the questions. This invisible chair position was quite close to the wall, but I wasn't allowed to lean against the wall. In front of me, one of the special branch policemen used to hold a knife at my navel so as to prevent me from falling easily to the ground. And if they were not satisfied with the answers I gave, from time to time they would hit me on my penis, and sometimes squeeze it. It was very difficult to fall down because of the knife in front but eventually, when I fell, I was kicked and this kicking used to go on and I used to scream and shout and they used to laugh at me like mad hyenas.

- 46 In February 1975, Aziz was moved to the Pretoria Maximum Security Prison where he was kept in solitary confinement for four months. He was finally released without being charged.
- 47 ANC activist Leonard Mdingi [EC2150/97ETK], then aged fifty-five, was severely tortured by Durban security policemen in 1975 after being arrested for harbouring ANC cadres. During his week in detention he was assaulted, made to stand on one leg for long periods of time, and was wrapped in a cloth and put in dry ice for about five hours. He suffered internal injuries as a result of his torture.

- 48 Many others were arrested and tried, and some tortured, for leaving the country to undergo military training under MK.

The Case of Anthony Xaba

Mr Anthony Ndoda Xaba from Pietermaritzburg [KZN/PMB/002/PM], who left for training in Tanzania in 1963, was one of a large number of MK recruits arrested in Northern Rhodesia. Xaba told the Commission that they were tortured at Beit Bridge before being brought to South Africa to be tried for leaving the country unlawfully. Xaba was sentenced to ten years, which he served on Robben Island. On his release in July 1973, he was immediately placed under house arrest for five years.

One morning in November 1975, police surrounded Xaba's house, rounded up all six members of his family and took them to Loop Street police station in Pietermaritzburg. Xaba says he was taken upstairs where he was systematically assaulted, tortured and interrogated for two days. He was bleeding heavily and lost consciousness a number of times. His torture included being hung out of the window by his feet while the policemen swung him backwards and forwards and banged his head against the wall. His arm was broken in the process. At one point during the torture, he said he could hear the screams of his wife in the adjoining room. On his second day of torture, Xaba's hands were cuffed behind his back and he was suspended from the ceiling like "meat in the butchery".

The Case of Sipho Hamilton Kubheka

ANC Youth League member, Sipho Hamilton Kubheka [KZN/NNN/078/PM], told the Commission that he was detained and tortured on a number of occasions by the Pietermaritzburg Security Branch during 1975. He said he was subjected to severe mental torture and a month in solitary confinement, was stripped naked and assaulted. During his torture he was told that he had to turn against the ANC and be a state witness in the pending Gwala treason trial; if he refused to co-operate, he would be thrown off a moving train.

He did testify on behalf of the state during the above-mentioned trial and was then released.

- 49 Many activists were charged with furthering the aims of the banned ANC, SACP or PAC. Those charged and tried in the 1960s included Mr Albert Dlomo, [KZN/NM/228/DN] and Mr Griffiths Mxenge of the ANC; and Mr Shadrack Maphumulo, Mr

Joseph Mdluli, Mr Rowley Arenstein, Ms Dorothy Nyembe and Mr MD Naidoo of the SACP. Several people fled into exile to avoid long prison sentences.

IN REVIEWING THE EVIDENCE OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS PERPETRATED BY THE STATE IN NATAL DURING THIS PERIOD, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP ASSAULTED AND TORTURED DETAINEES AND OPPONENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT, ESTABLISHING A PATTERN OF ABUSE THAT INCREASED IN INTENSITY THROUGH SUBSEQUENT PERIODS. THESE ACTS AMOUNTED TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Resistance and revolutionary groupings

Sabotage

- 50 In December 1961, MK began a campaign of sabotage directed at government installations, especially communications and power installations. The military high command of MK had established regional commands and appointed trade union official Mr Curnick Ndlovu [AM5952/97] to head the Natal command. Other members of the Natal region included Mr Billy Nair [AM5613/97], Mr Ronnie Kasrils [AM5509/97], Ms Eleanor Kasrils [AM7725/97], Mr Ismail Ebrahim, Mr Bruno Mtolo and Mr David Ndawonde. They reported to the Commander of MK, Mr Nelson Mandela, until his arrest in Howick in 1962, and thereafter to Mr Raymond Mhlaba.
- 51 The sabotage campaign began with an attempt on 15 December 1961 to bomb the Durban offices of the Department of Bantu Affairs [AM5509/97: R Kasrils]. Other acts included the November 1962 attempt to sabotage pylons in the Durban/Pinetown area, the bombing of the Durban Post Office in December 1962 and the January 1963 attempt to sabotage telephone services in an industrial area of Durban. An African tax office, a beer hall and a section of railway line were also damaged by sabotage at this time.
- 52 In the 1964 'Spear of the Nation' trial, Billy Nair, Curnick Ndlovu and seventeen others stood accused of twenty-seven acts of sabotage in Natal, the possession of explosives and the recruitment of military trainees. Bruno Mtolo gave evidence for the state, allegedly at the behest of Mr Jan Daniel Potgieter, an amnesty applicant from the Security Branch's intelligence unit [AM5418/97]. Potgieter claims to have 'turned' many of the informers and/or *askaris* ['turned' guerrilla fighters] who assisted the Security Branch in Natal. Nair and Ndlovu were sentenced to twenty years, one was discharged and the rest were given sentences of five to fifteen years [AM5613/97: Billy Nair].

- 53 In response to the sabotage campaign, the General Laws Amendment Act (76 of 1962) created the offence of sabotage. Sabotage was loosely defined as “wrongful and wilful” acts designed to “obstruct, injure, tamper with or destroy” things such as the ‘health and safety of the public’ or the “supply of water, light, fuel or foodstuffs”. The penalties ranged from a minimum five-year sentence to the death penalty.

Attacks on ‘collaborators’

- 54 Information from victims’ statements and amnesty applications from former Security Branch members indicates that police torture aimed not only at extracting information from detainees but also at compelling individuals to ‘turn’ against the liberation movements and co-operate with the police instead. In many instances, the police were successful. Many individuals, formerly loyal members of the banned liberation organisations, became police informers under threat of torture or death, or turned state witness against their colleagues in an effort to avoid prosecution themselves.
- 55 Informers and ‘collaborators’ became targets of attack. The case of Leonard Nkosi illustrates how one-time heroes of the liberation struggle came to be hunted for betraying their own colleagues to the Security Branch.

The Case of Leonard Nkosi

Mr Leonard Nkosi left South Africa in 1963 to undergo military and political training with MK. He was a leader and allegedly a renowned sniper in the Wankie Campaign. He was captured by the Security Branch in 1967 and it is believed that he worked as an askari and later joined the Security Branch. In his application for amnesty, Mr Jan Daniel Potgieter [AM5418/97], a member of the Security Branch intelligence unit, revealed that Nkosi had been compelled to turn state witness against his former colleagues.

Daluxolo Luthuli [AM4057/96] claims that it was Nkosi who assisted in his December 1967 arrest in a sting operation in Messina. Nkosi subsequently testified against him and Luthuli was sent to Robben Island. Nkosi also testified for the state against other members of the Luthuli Detachment, including Mr James April who was tried in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court [CT00428/OUT].

On 9 September 1977, shortly after testifying against Harry Gwala and nine others in the 1976–77 treason trial in Pietermaritzburg, Nkosi was assassinated.

Security Branch amnesty applicants told the Commission that Nkosi was shot dead and his wife injured with a single shot from a Tokarev and that ANC member Reverend Stanley Msibi (now deceased) was implicated in Nkosi's death [AM3686/96]. The ANC claimed responsibility for the assassination in its second submission to the Commission.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE ANC WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ARISING OUT OF THE SEVERE ILL TREATMENT AND KILLING OF SO-CALLED 'COLLABORATORS' – INDIVIDUALS PERCEIVED TO BE WORKING FOR THE SAP IN A WAY THAT WAS DETRIMENTAL TO THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS, AND THAT SUCH ACTS FORMED A PATTERN OF ABUSE FOR WHICH UNKNOWN MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE ANC ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

■ 1976-1982

Historical overview of the period

- 56 The political life of the province during this period was marked by attempts by Inkatha to consolidate its regional power base. By the late 1970s, Inkatha's membership had swelled substantially. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi described Inkatha as the "largest and best organised Black constituency"⁶ ever seen in South Africa.
- 57 At a national level, the 1970s were shaped by the events and consequences of Soweto 1976. While it took some time for the full impact to be felt in Natal, the focus of opposition shifted decisively to a new generation and brought about an age divide that was to have far-reaching consequences for traditional relationships between old and young.
- 58 The 1976 Soweto uprising produced a wave of popular protest in the province and generated the beginnings of youth and student polarisation. Student organisations such as the South African Students' Movement (SASM) and the junior wing of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) confirmed their policy of rejecting all government-created institutions and foreign investment, bringing them into conflict with Inkatha policy. The opposition of Inkatha and the KwaZulu government to the school-based protests deepened existing tensions between political groups and organisations in the province.
- 59 By April 1980, the national campaign of students against overcrowding in schools, lack of equipment and books and lack of student representation had spread to

⁶ Chief Buthelezi's address to the 1978 Inkatha National Conference.

KwaMashu, north of Durban. Boycotting pupils in KwaMashu defied Chief Buthelezi's calls to return to school, resulting in clashes between pupils and Inkatha supporters. Altogether thirty-six KwaZulu and Natal schools were affected by the school boycotts of 1980 and 1981. These boycotts allegedly led to an increased exodus of youth from the country to join the ANC.

- 60 In the first few years after the revival of Inkatha in 1975, the ANC regarded Chief Buthelezi as an important ally inside the country.⁷ Buthelezi himself stated repeatedly that Inkatha was based on the ideals proposed by the ANC's founding fathers in 1912. In these early years, the external mission of the ANC maintained contact with him and encouraged their supporters back home to join Inkatha.
- 61 However, emerging differences of opinion and strategy between Chief Buthelezi and the ANC leadership in exile began to cause tensions between the two organisations. While the ANC called for sanctions and disinvestment and advocated an armed struggle and protest politics, Chief Buthelezi opposed these methods, arguing that the demise of apartheid was best brought about through constituency-based politics, focusing on evolutionary (rather than revolutionary) change. Opposition to apartheid, he believed, was best located within the structures of the state. The ANC failed to mobilise its supporters to give effect to Chief Buthelezi's strategy. According to Oliver Tambo, this was due to "the understandable antipathy of many of our comrades towards what they considered as working within the bantustan system".⁸
- 62 Matters came to a head at a London meeting between Chief Buthelezi and the ANC leadership in exile in October 1979. Chief Buthelezi expressed his disagreement with the ANC's strategy of the armed struggle and its belief in revolutionary change. He claimed that the ANC in exile no longer had a mandate from the masses. The masses, he said, had given up on waiting for the exiled ANC to liberate them militarily and were now seeking liberation through constituency politics. Chief Buthelezi accused the ANC's external mission of being hypocritical and of having deserted black South Africans.⁹
- 63 Chief Buthelezi interpreted the ANC's motives for the meeting as a desire to make Inkatha an internal wing or surrogate (and therefore an inferior subsidiary) of the ANC. He, for his part, went to the meeting to make a claim for political independence:

7 ANC: Documents of the Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC, Zambia, 16–23 June 1985, Lusaka, 1985, pp. 20–21.

8 ANC (1985).

9 Chief Buthelezi, 'Emerging Political Reality in South Africa' (address). London meeting of the ANC 10 Chief Buthelezi: 'The Question of the Recognition of the role of Inkatha in the Struggle for Liberation' (address). London meeting of the ANC leadership, October 1979.

*Inkatha is a political phenomenon of considerable magnitude and the ANC will be faced with having clearly to endorse the Inkatha position.*¹⁰

- 64 The meeting resulted in the severing of ties between the ANC and Inkatha. The ANC described the meeting as a failure. Former IFP national council member Walter Felgate, on the other hand, described it as 'good news'. In his view, Chief Buthelezi had shown the ANC that he had the necessary support and could go it alone.¹¹ Following the meeting, relations between the ANC and Inkatha deteriorated rapidly. In its submission to the Commission¹², the IFP said, "from then onwards Inkatha was singled out as an enemy".
- 65 Inkatha moved to consolidate its position in the province by relying increasingly on 'traditional' authority for control. Additional powers granted by the state consolidated its power base and control over the population. The 'Inkatha syllabus' entered the educational system; rents and transport became sources of revenue for the KwaZulu government and townships came under the control of KwaZulu. Townships earmarked for incorporation became centres of conflict. The KZP came into being, initially to serve as a state guard to protect KwaZulu government officials and property. Chief Buthelezi, as both chief minister and minister of police, soon called for greater powers and more resources for the KZP.
- 66 In the meanwhile ANC youth, now in the front lines of resistance to the government and in a situation of increasing political rivalry with members and supporters of Inkatha, were making more militant demands of their own leaders.
- 67 A war of words erupted between the two movements. The ANC, having failed to make Inkatha the vehicle for its organisational inroads into the important rural constituencies, now embarked on a propaganda onslaught against Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha. As the battle lines were drawn, Chief Buthelezi turned to and received support from the state security apparatus and Inkatha found itself part of the state's strategic response to 'the total onslaught' by the liberation and resistance movements.
- 68 During this period, the security forces adopted a more proactive strategy in dealing with the liberation movements. Reports and allegations of the torture of political detainees increased steadily and became more widespread. Abductions and political assassinations were also reported.

¹⁰ Buthelezi's address to the ANC leadership at the October 1979 London meeting intitled "The Question of the Recognition of the Role of Inkatha in the Struggle for Liberation".

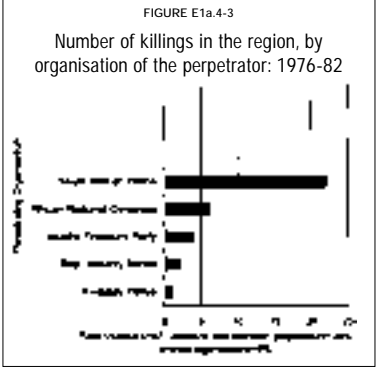
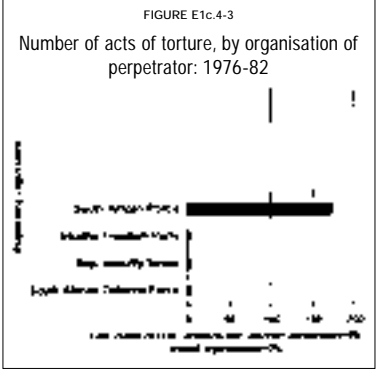
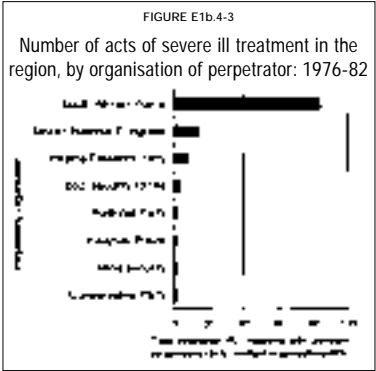
¹¹ Walter Felgate, Section 29 hearing.

¹² IFP: Inkatha Submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1996.

- 69 Following the national outcry over deaths in police custody, the security forces began to consider other ways – such as assassination – to silence their opponents. Military combatants of the banned ANC and PAC were often the ‘faceless victims’ of assassination by the security forces, their identity frequently unknown by their killers or their own units. The Commission had the task of matching the names of those who disappeared against names submitted by amnesty applicants who knew only the travelling names or *noms-de-guerre* of those they had killed. Former members of fragmented MK units, who had operated on a need-to-know basis with few written records, could not always assist the Commission in this task.
- 70 Combatants were not the only victims, however. Human rights activists, academics and ideological leaders engaged in legitimate opposition to the state’s policy of apartheid were also targeted for attack. Assassination became a way of silencing and removing those who could not be charged with criminal offences, even within the broad parameters of the security legislation at the time.
- 71 Deaths in custody during this period were characterised by a marked discrepancy between official police explanations and independent forensic evidence. In the main, the police claimed that deaths in detention were caused by suicide, by accidental events or in the course of attempted escape. The Commission heard that, in some cases, inquest rulings appeared to support the police version of events, clearly at odds with the other available evidence.
- 72 More treason trials were held in this period. In 1976, Mr Harry Gwala and nine others were charged under the Terrorism Act. Two of the accused said that they had been kidnapped in Swaziland and tortured. In several other treason trials held in the province in the late 1970s, activists were charged with planning to undergo military training and encouraging others to do so. Mr Isaac Zimu and three others, tried in 1977, and Mr Timothy Nxumalo, Nqutu teacher Vusumuzi Lucas Mbatha and others, tried in 1978, all claimed that they had been tortured in various ways while in detention.

Overview of violations

- 73 As in the previous period, torture and severe ill-treatment were the dominant forms of violation reported to the Commission: that is, severe ill treatment 33%; associated violations 19%; torture 29%; killing 12%; abduction 7%; attempted killings 1%.
- 74 From information received, it emerged that the principal victims were ANC-aligned opponents of apartheid, including school activists. The increase in killings reflects the inclusion of political assassinations. The first reported Natal cases of abduction by security forces from a neighbouring state occurred in 1976. This period also saw an increase in acts of sabotage by MK. The overwhelming majority of acts of severe ill treatment recorded for the period were committed by the SAP, followed by those attributed to Inkatha and to the ANC. A small number of similar violations was attributed to other political organisations and to the KZP.
- 75 The overwhelming majority of acts of torture recorded for the period were attributed to the SAP.
- 76 The overwhelming majority of associated violations were attributed to the SAP, followed by Inkatha. A small number of similar violations were attributed to the ANC and to the KZP. The majority of killings recorded for the period were committed by members of the SAP, followed by those attributed to the ANC and to Inkatha. Killings were also attributed to the KZP.



- 77 Violations occurred over a wider area, although still largely concentrated around Durban and in the Midlands. A number of violations were also reported in Northern Natal (Madadeni, Msinga, Vryheid, Nkandla), on the lower South Coast (Gamalakhe, Port Shepstone), and on the North Coast (Empangeni).

State and allied groupings

Torture in custody

- 78 Several ANC and PAC members told the Commission that they were severely tortured in detention during this period. Several of these were involved in the 1976 treason trial in which Harry Gwala and nine others stood accused on charges relating to recruiting military trainees and getting them out of the country, and communicating with exiled ANC members in Swaziland. During the course of the trial, six of the accused filed summonses against the Minister of Police for failing to respond to their damages claims in respect of the torture they suffered.

The Cases of Joseph Nduli and Cleopas Ndlovu

Former security police member Colonel ARC Taylor [AM4077/96] applied for amnesty for the abduction and torture of Mr Joseph Nduli and Mr Cleopas Ndlovu, both accused in the 1976 Gwala treason trial. With the assistance of Amnesty International, the Commission obtained statements taken from Nduli and Ndlovu¹³ in exile by the United Nations, in which they alleged that they were abducted from Swaziland on 25 March 1976 by Durban Security Branch members and taken to Island Rock, Sodwana Bay, for questioning. They were both allegedly tortured.

Nduli alleged that he was immersed in the sea, subjected to electric shocks while being suspended from the neck, and beaten. Ndlovu alleged that he was blindfolded for thirteen days while his neck and wrists were tied with rope. He was made to stand for long hours and subjected to electric shocks.

Taylor stated that Ndlovu and Nduli were abducted by members of the Security Branch and Riot Unit at the Swaziland border and taken to a base at Island Rock. Taylor stated that Ndlovu and Nduli were assaulted with open hands and fists and one of them was kicked. They were also deprived of sleep.

¹³ Both Ndlovu and Nduli have since died.

The Case of Zephaniah Lekoane Mothopeng

The Commission heard that PAC member Zephaniah Lekoane Mothopeng [JB04279/01GTS0W] suffered torture at the hands of unknown security policemen while in the Pietermaritzburg prison for his involvement in the 1976 Soweto uprising. During his torture, a policeman placed a sharp knife on his head and gently beat the knife down with the palm of his hand. He was also forced to lie on ice, and was placed in a sack and spun around in the air. With his hands and feet shackled to a stick, Mothopeng was suspended from the ceiling and spun around. This became known as the 'helicopter technique'.

- 79 In reviewing evidence of gross human rights violations perpetrated by the state in Natal during this period (1976–82):

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP MADE WIDESPREAD AND ROUTINE USE OF ASSAULT AND SEVERE TORTURE AS PART OF A SYSTEMATIC CAMPAIGN TO SILENCE AND SUPPRESS OPPONENTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THE TORTURE AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF SUCH PERSONS CONSTITUTE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Deaths in custody

- 80 The Commission conducted investigations into the deaths in custody of several ANC and PAC members, including Mr Aaron Khoza of the PAC and Mr Hoosen Haffajee, Mr Bayempini Mzizi and Mr Joseph Mdluli of the ANC. An investigation into these and other cases was hampered by the destruction of records and by the fact that some of the detainees were moved to prisons far from their homes and interrogated by persons unknown to them or their families. In all cases, however, family members alleged that the victims had died in custody at the hands of the police. As with other recorded deaths in police custody, there was a marked disparity between the official police version and other evidence of the events leading to these victims' deaths.

The Case of Aaron Khoza

PAC member Aaron Khoza was detained in Krugersdorp on 9 December 1976, along with Mr Johnson Vusumuzi and Mr Ivan Nyathi. He was subsequently moved to Pietermaritzburg prison, where he died on 26 March 1977. On 12 July 1977, an inquest magistrate found that Khoza had committed suicide by hanging. Advocate Harry Pitman, appearing for the family, said the evidence of the prison authority was conflicting and the investigation unsatisfactory. Aaron Khoza's widow, Ms Alletta Maki Khoza told the Commission

[JB04458/03WR] that her husband was detained in November 1976 for underground activities and was held for 106 days. She said that she did not believe that he committed suicide as his face was scarred, showing that he had been severely assaulted.

Nyathi remained in Krugersdorp and was admitted to hospital on 2 February 1977 after allegedly falling out a window at Krugersdorp police station¹⁴.

The Case of Joseph Mdluli

ANC member Joseph Mdluli died in detention on 19 March 1976, just a day after his arrest in connection with the 1976 Gwala treason trial. Four security policemen were charged with culpable homicide, namely Mr Frederick Van Zyl, Colonel ARC Taylor, Mr Mandlakayise Patrick Makhanya and Mr Zabulon Ngobese. In their trial they claimed that Mdluli had tried to escape and had fallen over a chair. A pathologist presented evidence disputing the police version. All four accused were acquitted on 25 October 1976, the fifth day of the trial. The presiding judge said there was insufficient evidence to connect them directly to the death. He called for further investigation.

In March 1979, Mdluli's widow [KZN/KM/999/DN] sued the state in a civil court and accepted an out-of-court settlement of R28 616.

Before his own death in November 1997, Colonel Taylor was subpoenaed to appear before the Commission and questioned about this incident. He submitted a written representation in which he told the Commission that he had been acquitted in this matter and had nothing to add. No other witnesses could be traced.

The Case of Hoosen Haffajee

Dr Hoosen Mia Haffajee, a 26-year-old dentist at Durban's St George V hospital, died in detention at the Brighton Beach police station on 3 August 1977. The inquest magistrate found that he had committed suicide by hanging. Evidence before the Commission, however, suggested that Haffajee [KZN/NG/006/DN], may have died as a result of torture. He was allegedly found hanging by his trousers from the grille of his cell door at the Brighton Beach police station less than twenty hours after his arrest.

At the inquest in March 1977 [No. 951/77], two of the Security Branch policemen who effected the arrest and interrogation of Haffajee, Captain James Brough Taylor and Captain PL du Toit, denied that they had tortured him during

¹⁴ *Focus* 11& 12

interrogation. The pathologist's report stated that the death was consistent with hanging. However, it also stated that Haffajee had sustained multiple injuries and that some sixty wounds were found on his body, including his back, knees, arms and head. The inquest magistrate found that Haffajee had died of suicide by hanging and that the injuries were unconnected and collateral to his death.

In a statement to the Commission, former Security Branch policeman Mohun Deva Gopal said that he was present whilst Haffajee was interrogated, assaulted and tortured. He said that Haffajee was stripped naked and Captain Taylor initiated the assault by slapping and punching him when he refused to divulge any information. Later, Captain Du Toit joined in. As the day wore on, the assault became more violent. Although they continued until midnight, Haffajee refused to divulge any information.

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

Dr DH Biggs, who was employed by the Haffajee family, reported on the unusual marks observed on the body of the deceased and found that he could duplicate the lesions found on the body by compressing the skin with an implement similar to that used to compress lead seals onto string or wire.

Captain James Taylor was subpoenaed to appear before the Commission. He denied all allegations of assault and continued to maintain that, at the time of his death, Haffajee was in the custody of members of the uniformed branch. Taylor did not apply for amnesty in this regard.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP MADE ROUTINE USE OF ASSAULT AND SEVERE TORTURE AS PART OF A SYSTEMATIC CAMPAIGN TO SILENCE AND SUPPRESS OPPONENTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THE ACTS OF SEVERE ILL TREATMENT PERPETRATED BY MEMBERS OF THE SAP CONSTITUTE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. IN SOME INSTANCES, THESE UNLAWFUL ACTS RESULTED IN THE DEATHS OF DETAINEES. THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THESE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

Covert Security Branch activity

- 81 A number of prominent community leaders and activists were targeted for attack during this period. Many of these attacks were attributed to the covert operations of the security police.

The Case of Fatima Meer

Durban academic Ms Fatima Meer's home was petrol-bombed in 1977. Meer had been the target of another attack the previous year, when a caller knocked at the door and started firing when it was opened. A visitor, Mr Zwelihle Ngcobo, was injured in the shooting [KZN/FM/001/DN]. The gunman was never identified, but was seen driving off in a green minibus.

The Case of Harold Strachan

Shortly after this incident, an unknown person fired on Mr Harold Strachan at his home in Durban. Strachan pursued the gunman, who managed to escape in a vehicle registered to the Durban City Council. In the ensuing court case, evidence was led to the effect that the vehicle had not left the Council property on the night in question and the accused was acquitted. The night before judgement was handed down, shots from an automatic firearm were again fired into the Strachan home. The gunman was seen fleeing in a green minibus.

- 82 A green minibus was also seen outside Dr Richard Turner's home on the night he was killed, in January 1978 (see below). The Commission established that Bureau of State Security (BOSS) operative Martin Dolinchek was in possession of a green minibus at the time. Turner was the first white activist and academic to be assassinated.

The Case of Richard Turner

University of Natal political scientist Dr Richard 'Rick' Turner [KZN/KP/001/DN] was fatally shot soon after midnight on 8 January 1978 at his home in Bellair, Durban. Turner was centrally involved in the development of the trade union movement and had been involved in establishing the university-based Wages Commission in 1972.

In March 1972, Turner's home had been firebombed. In 1973, Turner was banned along with seven NUSAS members and placed under surveillance by the BOSS. In December 1973, his car tyres were slashed and the engine damaged while the vehicle was parked in front of his house. In 1976, the Durban Security Branch bugged his telephone. A week before the assassination, the Security Branch's surveillance was suddenly terminated on orders from police superiors.

An examination of the police investigation into Turner's death, as well as new information which surfaced during the Commission's investigations, led to

the conclusion that the police themselves suspected the involvement of the state apparatus in the assassination and sought to obstruct the investigation. In a section 29 hearing of the Commission, Brigadier Christiaan Earle, the original investigating officer, said he believed that Turner was killed by "people who were part of the security forces and that they wanted to protect this and not have it known". He told the Commission that his investigations into the killing led him to suspect the involvement of BOSS operative, Martin Dolinchek. Dolinchek's pistol was sent for ballistic testing but no other investigation into Dolinchek took place.

Earle and his immediate superior, Major Christoffel Groenewald, told a section 29 hearing of the Commission that they believed the investigation was being obstructed when Groenewald and his superior, Brigadier Hansen (now deceased), were called to Pretoria and instructed not to waste time investigating Dolinchek, because there was no proof of his involvement in the killing. Both expressed the view that Dolinchek had been responsible for the killing.

Former Vlakplaas Commander Eugene de Kock reported that one of his informants, former BOSS member Piet Botha, told him that Dolinchek had killed Turner and that Dolinchek's brother-in-law, Mr Von Scheer, drove the getaway vehicle.

When Dolinchek was interviewed by the Commission, he handed over a number of BOSS reports prepared by himself or the regional representative of BOSS, most of them concerning Turner. However, he denied having been involved in the killing. A former BOSS member told the Commission he believed BOSS was behind the killing and may have set it up to look like the work of Scorpio, a right-wing group based in Cape Town but suspected to have been active in Natal as well. He named former BOSS agent, Mr Phil Freeman (now deceased), as a person possibly responsible for Turner's death. Whoever was responsible for this death, the probabilities overwhelmingly favour the view that he was killed by a member of BOSS or the SAP. The investigation into Turner's death was one of the most exhaustive carried out by the Commission. All documents are contained in the Commission's archives.

- 83 Among the MK operatives targeted for assassination during the period 1976–82 was 'MK Scorpio', killed in Northern Natal in 1980.

The Case of Oupa Ronald Madondo, aka MK Scorpio

The Commission received information about the death in April 1980 of a Soweto-based MK operative, believed to be Mr Oupa Ronald Madondo but

known as 'MK Scorpion'. Madondo was detained for several months. A number of Security Branch operatives from various police stations were drawn together and instructed to kill him.

He was allegedly sedated heavily and taken to Jozini, in Northern Natal, where he was shot three times. His body was then blown up with explosives allegedly provided by Security Branch policemen in Pietermaritzburg. Mr Gert Schoon [AM5006/97], Mr Schalk Visser [AM5000/97], Mr Donald Gold [AM3686/96], Mr Des Carr [AM5008/97] and Mr Johan Martin van Zyl, aka 'Sakkie' [AM5637/97] applied for amnesty in respect of this incident.

- 84 One of the major assassinations during this period was that of prominent Durban attorney and long-time anti-apartheid activist Griffiths Mxenge on 20 November 1981. This was one of the first cases where the target was known to be an activist and not associated in any way with the military operations of MK.

The Case of Griffiths Mxenge

On 20 November 1981, Mr Griffiths Mxenge¹⁵ was found dead at a cycling stadium at Umlazi. Three Vlakplaas operatives namely Commander Dirk Coetzee and askaris Almond Nofemela and David Tshikilange were charged and convicted of the killing. Two former Durban security policemen, Brigadier Johannes van der Hoven and Colonel Andy Taylor, were also charged with the killing but were acquitted. Mr Brian Ngqulunga, an askari who was involved in the killing, was himself killed shortly after testifying to the Harms Commission. Vlakplaas policeman Joe Mamasela publicly admitted having helped to plan the killing but did not apply for amnesty as he was acting as state witness for the Transvaal Attorney-General in the official probe into police involvement in 'third force' activities.

Coetzee, Nofemela and Tshikilange applied for amnesty for Mxenge's killing.

Coetzee told the Commission that Brigadier van der Hoven, then divisional commander of the Durban Security Branch, approached him and told him to "make a plan with Mxenge", which Coetzee understood to mean that he was to make arrangements to kill him. He was told that the security police had been unable to bring any charges against Mxenge, who had become a 'thorn in their flesh'. Coetzee said that Van der Hoven had told him to make it look like a robbery.

¹⁵ Mxenge was arrested in 1967 and sentenced under the Suppression of Communism Act to two years' imprisonment. On his release in 1969 he was served with banning orders, renewed in 1973 for another five years. In March 1976 he was detained under the Terrorism Act following the death in detention of Joseph Mdluli, who was both his friend and his client. In May 1978, while acting as instructing attorney for the defence of eighteen alleged PAC members in Bethel, Mxenge received a letter threatening him with the same fate as Rick Turner (see above). In addition, two attempts were made to sabotage his car.

Colonel Taylor briefed Coetzee regarding Mxenge's movements and Joe Mamasela was brought down to assist in planning and executing the operation. Former head of the Security Branch's Section C, Mr Willem Schoon [AM5006/97], was also informed of the planned operation. Although he did not apply for amnesty for Mxenge's killing, Schoon claimed knowledge of it in his amnesty application.

Coetzee said he put together a hit squad that included Nofemela, Tshikilange, Mamasela and one Mr Ngqulunga who was from the Umlazi area and knew the vicinity well. Coetzee took charge of the general planning and arranged details such as obtaining strychnine to poison the Mxenge's four dogs. The details of the actual killing were left to the four members of the squad he had appointed.

Nofemela told the Commission that the four men intercepted Mxenge on his way home from work on the evening of 20 November 1981. They dragged him out his car and took him to the nearby Umlazi stadium where they beat and stabbed him repeatedly. Nofemela told the Commission that Mxenge had resisted his attackers fiercely until he was struck on the head with a wheel spanner. He fell to the ground, and the stabbing continued until he was dead. They disembowelled him and cut his throat and ears. Then they took his car, wallet and other belongings to make it look like a robbery. Mxenge's vehicle was later found, burnt and abandoned near the Golela border post between South Africa and Swaziland.

On 15 May 1997, Coetzee, Nofemela and Tshikilange were found guilty of killing Mxenge. Both Van der Hoven and Taylor were acquitted. At the request of the Commission's Amnesty Committee, sentencing was postponed until the Committee had reached a verdict on the applications. On 3 August 1997, the three men were granted amnesty in respect of Mxenge's killing.

In making its finding, the Amnesty Committee said that, although there "may be some doubt" as to the identity of those who ordered the assassination, there was no doubt that Coetzee had acted on "the advice, command or order of one or more senior members of the Security Branch ... On the evidence before us we are satisfied that none of the applicants knew the deceased, Mxenge, or had any reason to wish to bring about his death before they were ordered to do so. We are satisfied that they did what they did because they regarded it as their duty as policemen who were engaged in the struggle against the ANC and other liberation movements. It is, we think, clear that

they relied on their superiors to have accurately and fairly considered the question as to whether the assassination was necessary or whether other steps could have been taken. We feel it is perhaps necessary for us at this stage to place on record our strong disapproval of the conduct of the police in this regard. That is in arranging for the assassination of an attorney who was doing no more than his duty in providing adequate representation for persons facing criminal charges ...".

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY BRANCH OF THE SAP WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR COVERT OPERATIONS SPECIFICALLY TARGETING POLITICALLY ACTIVE AND OUTSPOKEN CIVILIAN OPPONENTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, AND ENGAGED IN UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES WHICH RESULTED IN THE INTIMIDATION, INJURY AND, IN SOME CASES, DEATH OF THE VICTIMS.

Resistance and revolutionary groupings

- 85 In this period, security trials relating to organisational activities outnumbered those relating to violent action by resistance movements. People were tried for community and labour mobilisation, membership of the banned resistance movements, recruitment to banned organisations or military training, and the possession of banned literature. However, an increased number of sabotage attacks were reported across the whole province. In February 1977, Mr Thembinkosi Sithole and Mr Samuel Mohlomi, both from KwaMashu, were charged with taking part in 'terrorist activities' and for attempting to leave the country for military training. They were also charged and convicted of arson in respect of firebomb attacks at KwaMashu schools in October 1976.
- 86 Skirmishes between guerrilla fighters and members of the security forces were also reported in this period. In one such skirmish near Pongola in November 1977, a guerrilla fighter was killed and a policeman injured. In December 1977, ANC guerrilla fighter, Oupa Ronald Madondo, was caught by the police in the Pongola area. An ANC commander, thought to be Mr Toto Skhosana, was killed in the clash. Police recovered two scorpion pistols, ammunition and three grenade detonators. Madondo was convicted under the Terrorism Act in an Ermelo court in March 1978 and killed by members of the Security Branch in April 1980 (see above).

87 A number of acts of sabotage were reported. The ANC claimed responsibility for some of these.¹⁶

■ 1983–1989

Historical overview of the period

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

The Ongoye Massacre

On 29 October 1983, four students and an Inkatha supporter were killed and many others injured in a clash between students and a group of approximately 500 Inkatha supporters at the University of Zululand (Ongoye), south of Empangeni.

The clash was triggered when students opposed an attempt by Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to use the campus for a ceremony to commemorate the death of King Cetshwayo. Attackers broke down locked doors behind which students were hidden, dragged them out and assaulted and stabbed them with traditional weapons.

16 They included: several explosions on railway lines in the province with no reported injuries; the February 1981 explosion at Scotts' store in Field Street, Durban; the sabotage of the Lamontville power station on 14 April 1981; an explosion at Francis Farewell Square on 26 June 1981; explosions at McCarthy Leyland and the Peugeot Sale House in Durban on 26 July 1981; an explosion at Esikhawini on 11 October 1981, injuring one person; an explosion on 3 November 1981 at the Indian Affairs Office in Durban; an explosion on 17 February 1982 at the Durban Game Discount store; the sabotage of an Umlazi water pipeline on 25 April 1982; an explosion at the Lamontville offices of the Port Natal Administration Board on 24 May 1982; the sabotage of a pipeline at Chesterville on 24/25 May 1982; an explosion at the Kemps List coal mining installation, Northern Natal, on 2 June 1982, followed the next day by an explosion causing damage to storage tanks at the Total fuel depot, near Paulpietersburg (ANC members arrested in connection with the blasts were allegedly shot dead by civilians in the Paulpietersburg area two days later); an explosion at Vryheid on 6 June 1982, damaging a grain silo; an explosion on 10 October 1981 at the Whitehead Building in Durban (housing the offices of the Department of Co-operation and Development), injuring four people. An organisation known as the Committee for the Consolidation of Natal and KwaZulu claimed responsibility for the latter attack, although the SAP attributed it to the ANC. The ANC claimed responsibility for the following: sabotage of a railway line between Richards Bay and Vryheid on 14 April 1981, resulting in the derailment of a goods train; the limpet mine attack on two transformers in the Durban region on 21 April 1981; an explosion at the Umlazi highway bridge on 25 May 1981; an explosion at the Durban recruiting office of the SADF on 27 May 1981; the sabotage of a railway line on the Natal North Coast on 11 June 1981; the sabotage of a railway line at Empangeni on 28 June 1981; the sabotage of a railway line at Delville Wood, Durban; explosions at the Pinetown and Durban offices of the Department of Coloured Affairs on 21 May 1982; an explosion at a railway depot at Scheepersnek, Vryheid, on 28 June 1982; an explosion at the Umvoti Mounted Rifles army camp at Red Hill, Durban, on 28 August 1982, causing extensive damage to buildings and SADF vehicles; three explosions at the Drakensberg Administration Board building, Pietermaritzburg, on 26 October 1982; an explosion at a Mobil fuel storage depot at Mkhuze on 8 November 1982, causing severe damage to the site of an operational military airstrip.

This event, known as the 'Ongoye massacre', was another decisive turning point in the relations between Inkatha supporters and those aligning themselves with the banned ANC.

- 89 In the labour field too, the conflict between the two movements took organisational form through the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in 1984, and the counter-formation by Inkatha in 1985, with substantial state funding, of the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA).
- 90 The SAP and other security personnel were frequently and directly involved in political violence in the province. Security and public order policing became characterised by a failure to apprehend known criminals, poor investigations and active collusion of the police with one side of the conflict. The most obvious case of security force collusion is that of the Trust Feed massacre on 3 December 1988 (see below).
- 91 The state's National Security Management System (NSMS), with its web of local Joint Management Councils (JMCs), was fully operational by mid-1985. Inkatha members became members of JMCs by virtue of their positions in township councils, tribal authorities and the KwaZulu civil service.
- 92 In August 1983, the 1982 Black Local Authorities Act came into effect, imposing local black town councils on a number of townships. In line with its policy of countering apartheid from within the system, Inkatha moved quickly to gain control of these councils. At that time, national opposition to black local authorities, to homeland governments and to traditional leaders was on the increase, and emerging extra-parliamentary opposition groups strenuously opposed the creation of these town councils which were perceived to be dominated, if not controlled, by Inkatha.
- 93 Through the NSMS, the South African government planned to win the war against the ANC and its affiliates, not through military might but through destabilisation. The government was sensitive to international opinion and, to avoid images of white policemen assaulting and shooting at black demonstrators, it sought to delegate repression to counter-revolutionary forces with black faces. A wide range of such surrogates emerged, including vigilantes, warlords, gangsters, hit squads, auxiliary forces, *agents provocateur* and moderate black organisations. The strategy was thus to cast the political conflict in the country as 'black-on-black' violence. For this to work, the involvement of the state had to be secret.

- 94 Furthermore, during the PW Botha era, the state perceived the primary threat to national security to be external. Its counter-revolutionary strategy was therefore based on pre-emptive intervention beyond the country's borders in both defensive and offensive actions. By 1985, when the situation inside the borders had entered a revolutionary phase, the state began to apply its principle of counter-revolutionary warfare internally. Revolutionary opponents of the state became 'legitimate' targets for attack. The enemy included not only armed cadres of the liberation movements, but trade unionists, activists and sympathisers. Moderate black leaders and organisations had to be co-opted to combat the revolutionary threat. A wide range of support, including military training and finance, was given to moderate black organisations, including Inkatha, as exemplified by the Caprivi training initiative (see below).
- 95 As conflict developed in the form of attacks, revenge attacks, sieges and assassinations, each side blamed the other for the violence sweeping the province. Each accused the other of collaborating with the apartheid government to bring about violence and mayhem.
- 96 Death threats against Chief Buthelezi prompted the Inkatha leader to claim that the ANC was out of touch with the realities of the country and served the interests of the state by fomenting dissent. The security establishment was well placed to feed the rumours of assassination with evidence gleaned from informers, from ANC propaganda and from its own unsubstantiated beliefs. Chief Buthelezi's response was to turn to the South African government for assistance to combat the ANC/UDF. These appeals led to the clandestine training of some 200 Inkatha members by the Special Forces arm of the South African Defence Force (SADF) in the Caprivi Strip in Namibia (see below).
- 97 By 1988, some of the principles of the state's security thinking could be seen reflected in security force operations, particularly in the use of auxiliary forces such as special constables and surrogate forces such as vigilante groups. The Commission heard reports of vigilante groups operating side by side with members of the security forces. Both perceived the same enemy, and were perceived as the same enemy. Security Force members who testified before the Commission spoke of the various ways in which the security forces had collaborated with Inkatha in attacks on the UDF. This included warning Inkatha supporters of impending attacks, disarming ANC supporters, arming Inkatha supporters, transporting Inkatha attackers and standing by while Inkatha supporters attacked people.
- 98 Whereas vigilante formations often started out simply as local suppressers of petty crime and school-related unrest, as the political battle lines sharpened in

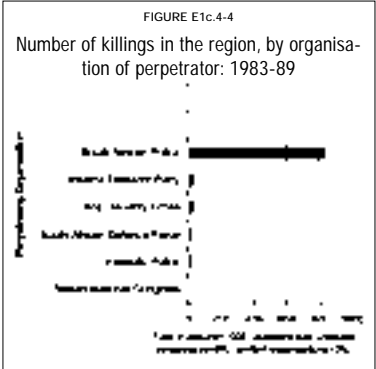
the early 1980s they became the shock troops of politically aligned warlords. They engaged in a variety of criminal and lethal activities, even recruiting from criminal gangs. The vigilantes' initial targets were community structures, groups and individuals campaigning for the dismantling of homelands and black councils. Later the targets became less specific and vigilante tactics switched to indiscriminate terrorising of township communities.

- 99 Opposition to the government's authority structures (including traditional chiefs and urban town councillors) was perceived as rebellion. Once chiefs and councillors came to realise that their survival in office depended on neutralising the militant opposition, their involvement in the violence was almost inevitable. Some chiefs, therefore, became known as 'warlords'. The Commission received evidence of collusion between the security forces and Inkatha warlords.
- 100 The Commission heard evidence that some members of the ANC also behaved like warlords, gathering strongmen about them, intimidating people and directing acts of violence. This was particularly so in the Natal Midlands towards the end of the 1980s, where charismatic ANC leaders like Harry Gwala rose to prominence and offered a rallying point for UDF/ANC supporters who had been exposed to and engaged in the political conflict for some time.
- 101 Towards the end of this period, the UDF adopted a campaign to make the townships ungovernable. Educational institutions and trade unions became key sites of revolutionary activity. School boycotts and strikes were transformed into scenes of violent conflict and bloodletting. At the Kabwe Conference¹⁷ in June 1985, the ANC took a decision to drop the distinction between 'hard' and 'soft' targets. This resulted in an increase in the killing and maiming of civilians in MK sabotage operations where targets held only a tenuous link to the state and its institutions.
- 102 The period 1983–89 is remarkable for the emergence of organisations and associations in a rising tide of opposition to the imposition of local authorities and the incorporation of certain areas into KwaZulu. Such organisations included residents' and ratepayers' associations and rent action committees. There was also an increase in the number of NGOs set up to promote social justice and democracy in all arenas of civil society. Many of these organisations, based chiefly in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, ran on a non-profit basis and were supported financially by churches and other donor organisations. Many became affiliates of the UDF in 1983, although some later withdrew from active participation when the political situation in the province became more sharply polarised in the later 1980s.

¹⁷ Second National Consultative Conference of the ANC, Zambia, 16–23 June 1985

Overview of violations

- 103 This period was dominated by conflict between the UDF and Inkatha, the key sites of which were conflict in Durban townships resisting incorporation into KwaZulu; struggles surrounding the imposition of black local authorities; clashes between members of UWUSA and COSATU affiliates, and offensives by ‘Caprivi trainees’.
- 104 There were allegations of partiality and brutality in the KZP, which grew during this period from small guard units to a fully-fledged police force in control of policing a number of extremely volatile townships. Violations were also attributed to the special constables and the SAP Riot Units.
- 105 Most reported violations pertained to acts of severe ill treatment, followed by killings: thus, severe ill treatment 51%; killing 26%; associated violations 7%; torture 10%; abduction 3%; attempted killing 3%.
- 106 By far the majority of reports of severe ill treatment were attributed to Inkatha. The number of acts attributable to Inkatha was double the number attributed to the police and more than three times the number attributed to the ANC. The number of reports of torture in this period rose to five times that of the previous period. The overwhelming majority of these acts were attributed to the SAP. The majority of reports of associated violations that occurred in the province during this period were attributed to the SAP, followed by those attributed to Inkatha. A small number of similar acts were attributed to other parties and organisations, namely, the ANC, the UDF, the KZP and the SADF.
- 107 The urban areas in the province were the worst affected by the spiralling conflict during this period. Affected areas were Durban and



surrounds; Pietermaritzburg and surrounds; the Natal Midlands (Mphophomeni, Mpumalanga (township), Hammarsdale, Camperdown, Greytown), and Northern Natal (Paulpietersburg, Newcastle, Osizweni, Hlobane, Vryheid). The North Coast, South Coast and KwaZulu interior were still relatively quiet.

State and allied groupings

Detentions and harassment

- 108 Individuals affiliated to human rights organisations during this period told the Commission that they were subjected to constant harassment, intimidation, surveillance and detention by the security police.
- 109 For the most part, these organisations were based in the main urban centres of the province and functioned to promote social justice and democracy in all arenas of civil society. Diakonia in Durban and the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (PACSA) in Pietermaritzburg worked to promote social awareness in the churches. The Black Sash and paralegal organisations such as the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) and Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) offered basic legal advice and support to ordinary people. The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) monitored developments in military conscription and offered advice to conscripts. Some organisations were set up to offer careers advice to school leavers and to address the problems of inequity in the educational arena. Others were set up in response to crisis situations brought on by intensified police repression and the repeated imposition of rule by emergency. Among these were the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee and the Education Crisis Committee.
- 110 These and other NGOs often worked shoulder to shoulder in joint social campaigns: calling for the release of political prisoners, the lifting of states of emergency, the withdrawal of troops from the townships, the abolition of the death penalty, the lifting of restrictions on the media and the free flow of information.
- 111 Diakonia took up residence at the Ecumenical Centre in Durban when it was established by the mainline churches in 1983 to provide office and meeting space for religious and other organisations committed to building peace and justice in the province. It soon became the object of intense scrutiny and surveillance by the Security Police. Former tenants told the Commission that they endured constant harassment by the security police and worked under the perpetual threat of police raids, detention and arrest. In 1985, the library housed at the Centre was severely

damaged in a firebomb attack. No perpetrators were ever identified or brought to book.

- 112 Several individuals working for these organisations were detained during the 1980s, among them Mr Paddy Kearney [KZN/SELF/084/DN] and Ms Sue Brittion [KZN/SELF/083/DN] of Diakonia and Mr Richard Steele [KZN/SELF/084/DN] and Ms Anita Kromberg [KZN/SELF/091/DN] of the ECC, who were all detained in 1985 under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982. Kearney, who was held in solitary confinement for seventeen days, told the Commission that his arrest coincided with a heavy police crackdown on the UDF and preceded the August 1985 death of Ms Victoria Mxenge and the destruction of the Gandhi settlement at Inanda outside Durban (see below). He said that the detentions were part of a police attempt to create the impression that the UDF was responsible for most of the violent conflict in the province and that UDF activists were being severely dealt with.
- 113 On 12 June 1986, over twenty people were detained in Pietermaritzburg under Section 50 of the Emergency regulations.¹⁸ Peter Kerchhoff [KZN/SELF/088/DN] was held for ninety-seven days, of which thirty-two were in isolation. He reported that this group of detainees had been informed that they were being taken out of circulation on the re-imposition of the state of emergency (which had been lifted in March) and ahead of the Soweto Day tenth anniversary on 16 June.
- 114 Detainees told the Commission that they were arrested and detained following police raids on their homes and offices in the early hours of the morning. They were held for periods ranging from fourteen days to over three months. They reported that, while they did not experience physical abuse while in detention, they were subjected to many hours of questioning about the activities of their organisations and to periods of solitary confinement. Kerchhoff spoke of the psychological pressures which were brought to bear on the detainees through interrogation and solitary confinement, particularly as regards their families:

Generally detainees were coping but the problem was communicating this to those on the outside. The harassment of detainees' families made the situation much more difficult for them. They were without support and vulnerable to abusive, threatening and hoax telephone calls.

¹⁸ Amongst them Mr Yunus Carrim, Mr A S Chetty, Mr V Chetty, Mr C Motala, Mr D Dickson, Mr F Grantham, Mr L Hassim, Mr John Jeffrey, Mr Larry Kaufman, Mr Theo Kneiffel, Mr Peter Kerchhoff, Mr K Kambule, Mr S Mlotshwa, Mr J Vawda, Mr G Ndebele, Mr C Shelembe, Mr B David, Mr Mondli Zuma, Mr Mdu Ndlovu, Mr Skumbuzo Ngwenya and Mr Thami Mseleku. Ms Jacqui Boule, Ms Sandy Jocelyn and Ms Gay Spiller were held at the women's prison in Pietermaritzburg.

- 115 Kromberg told the Commission that her police interrogators tried to extract information about the work of the ECC in an attempt to validate their suspicion that this and other organisations based at the Ecumenical Centre had operational ties with the banned ANC and its military arm MK. This perception persisted throughout the 1980s and was eventually adopted by the IFP.
- 116 In a section 29 hearing of the Commission, former IFP National Council member Walter Felgate said that it was a time:

in which you really [did] believe that, for example, Diakonia here in Durban was the hot seat from which MK people operated. You hated Diakonia, and Diakonia was also fair game for whatever.

- 117 Mr Felgate said that this belief in the existence of an MK operating infrastructure at the Ecumenical Centre was one of the factors behind the recruitment of up to 200 Inkatha youth for paramilitary training in the Caprivi in 1986 (see below). He conceded that their information about the involvement of Diakonia and other Ecumenical Centre organisations in MK activities was unsubstantiated.

Deaths in custody

- 118 Numerous reports of torture and deaths in detention were received, particularly from the Newcastle area. Newcastle was an MK gateway to Swaziland and Mozambique and the Security Branch intensified its operations in Newcastle in an attempt to obstruct the movement of operatives in and out of the country. It was also a centre of strong student and union resistance. A number of student activists and unionists were detained and tortured by members of the Newcastle Security Branch during 1986 and 1988 [KZN/FS/205/NC, KZN/FS/203/NC]
- 119 Deaths in custody were also reported from other urban centres, amongst them, Mr Ephraim Thami Mthethwa [KZN/ZJ/146/DN, KZN/NG/020/DN], who died on 25 August 1984 in the Durban Central Prison after 165 days in custody awaiting trial on charges relating to his alleged attempts to leave the country for military training. Mthethwa was alleged to have committed suicide by hanging himself with his tracksuit jacket. He was twenty-three years old at the time.

The Case of Bongani Cele

Lamontville UDF activist Bongani Cele [KZN/NG/031/DN] was constantly harassed by the police in 1987 and went into hiding. Police approached his brother S'khumbuzo [KZN/NNN/094/PM], assaulted him and forced him to

point out where Bongani was hiding. Bongani was taken into detention. Later police brought Bongani, heavily chained, to his house to point out where he had allegedly hidden weapons. On 9 July 1987, his family was informed that he had been shot dead by police officers allegedly acting in self-defence. According to the police, Bongani had attempted to pull a pin from a grenade. However, the post mortem report indicated that Bongani had been shot in the back at very close range while his feet and hands were chained. No one was ever prosecuted in connection with the death.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP MADE ROUTINE USE OF ASSAULT AND SEVERE TORTURE AS PART OF A SYSTEMATIC CAMPAIGN TO SILENCE AND SUPPRESS OPPONENTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THE ACTS OF SEVERE ILL TREATMENT PERPETRATED BY MEMBERS OF THE SAP CONSTITUTE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. IN SOME INSTANCES, THESE UNLAWFUL ACTS RESULTED IN THE DEATHS OF DETAINEES. THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS RELATED TO THESE ACTS.

Public order policing

- 120 The introduction of an auxiliary force of special constables during this period was seen as a means of bolstering the work of the SAP in combating the rising militancy of the UDF in the province's townships. It was also part of a strategy employed by the state to remove 'white faces' from the front line of public order policing of the conflict brewing between Inkatha and the UDF at the time.
- 121 At a section 29 hearing, the Commission heard that former SAP Captain Brian Mitchell, based in the Natal Midlands, understood the special constables to be a vital element of the state's strategy. Mitchell described the special constables as the 'third force' in the Midlands area; their sole purpose was offensive deployment against UDF supporters and for the support and assistance of Inkatha.
- 122 In 1988, some 300 Inkatha recruits were trained and deployed as special constables in the Pietermaritzburg area. The Commission has established from sworn testimonies of former special constables that Inkatha membership appeared to be a criterion for selection in Natal. Inkatha officials and *indunas* (headmen) assisted in recruiting the young men and endorsed their applications. Mr William Basil Harrington [AM0173/96], a member of Riot Unit 8, told the Commission that he worked closely with special constables and that those based in Pietermaritzburg had their applications for employment signed by Inkatha leader, Mr David Ntombela.
- 123 This drawing of special constables from the ranks of Inkatha supporters confirmed the open collaboration of the state security forces with the activities of Inkatha.

In Natal, the special constables constituted a convenient and effective striking force for the state and for Inkatha against the UDF alliance. Between 1988 and 1989, special constables played a role in bolstering Inkatha in the greater Pietermaritzburg area, particularly in the Edendale Valley, KwaShange and other sections of Vulindlela.

- 124 In January 1988, the first batch of Natal recruits, numbering approximately 300 Inkatha supporters, was taken for special constable training at the SAP's Koeberg base in the Western Cape. The batch included 130 'Caprivi trainees' who had already received secret offensive training by the SADF's Special Forces in 1986. During their training at Koeberg, they were shown gruesome videos of burning houses and brutally slain people and were told by their instructors, one of whom was Warrant Officer Rolf Warber of the Pietermaritzburg Security Branch, that the scenes were typical of ANC/UDF violence against innocent Inkatha members, their 'brothers and sisters'. Special constables testified that they cried openly at the sessions and were urged to kill UDF people on their return to Natal. After six weeks of training, the special constables were attached to SAP Riot Units and deployed in the Pietermaritzburg and Mpumalanga areas where the UDF was gaining the upper hand. Many special constables were sent to guard Inkatha officials and traditional leaders and became involved in vigilante and hit squad activities.
- 125 Former 'Caprivi trainee' and special constable Brian Gcina Mkhize [AM4599/97], told the Commission at the Caprivi hearing:

Mr [MZ] Khumalo told us that our task is to infiltrate the Special Constables, to go and get deployed with the Special Constables who work in Pietermaritzburg. While in 'Maritzburg, we will be able to further our aims to hit directly at the ANC.

- 126 At the same hearing, Mr Daluxolo Luthuli said of the special constables:

As they were police, they knew very well that they have to work under the instructions of the IFP, for example, killing people who were UDF members. They were doing that while they were police and they were not taking instructions from police ... they were taking instructions directly from the IFP.

- 127 The special constables deployed in the townships around Pietermaritzburg soon became associated with acts of extreme criminal brutality. In the first year of their deployment in the Pietermaritzburg area, 137 special constables had their services terminated. Of these, 102 deserted their posts and the remainder was dismissed as a result of criminal charges that were brought against them.

- 128 Former Security Branch Divisional Head for Pietermaritzburg, General Jac Buchner, conceded at a section 29 hearing that the special constables, far from assisting the SAP in maintaining law and order, had in fact contributed to the problem of political violence. Senior Riot Unit officer, Daniel Meyer, told the Commission at the 'Seven Day War' hearing that:

I don't think it's a state secret that Special Constables was one of the single biggest mistakes made by the police in KwaZulu-Natal.

- 129 He conceded that the special constables had not been deployed under proper control and that Riot Unit members operating with special constables engaged in serious criminal acts.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT AN AUXILIARY FORCE OF SPECIAL CONSTABLES WAS TRAINED AND THEN DEPLOYED IN AND AROUND PIETERMARITZBURG IN 1988-89, AND THAT THIS FORCE BECAME INVOLVED IN VIGILANTE ACTIONS AND OTHER CRIMINAL ACTS, INVOLVING KILLINGS AND ACTS OF SEVERE ILL-TREATMENT, TARGETING MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE UDF UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MEMBERS OF THE RIOT SQUAD OF THE SAP. THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE VIOLATIONS ARISING FROM THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SPECIAL CONSTABLES.

- 130 The special constables were deployed to the Pietermaritzburg-based Riot Unit 8, a unit that had already gained notoriety during the latter half of the 1980s for its active collusion with Inkatha supporters in the political conflict. The unit was headed by Major Deon Terreblanche (now deceased), described by General Jac Buchner as a 'military man' who was very close to Inkatha.¹⁹ Terreblanche was named by Brian Mitchell as the mastermind behind the Trust Feed massacre (see below). He was also named by Daluxolo Luthuli as having provided arms and ammunition to Inkatha, particularly in the Mpumalanga township.
- 131 Former special constable Nhlanhla Philemon Madlala [AM0174/96] was deployed in Mpumalanga, guarding the homes of various Inkatha leaders. He told the Commission that during the day they would go on patrols (by foot or in lorries) with the Riot Unit. When they came across UDF members they would assault them and tell them to join Inkatha. When they shot someone they would report it to the commander, Sergeant Willem de Wet, who in turn reported it to Terreblanche. Terreblanche would instruct them that they should continue with the killing. At sunset they would return to the homes they were guarding.
- 132 Mr William Basil Harrington [AM0173/96], a member of Riot Unit 8 from 1988 until his arrest in 1991, told the Commission at the 'Seven Day War' hearing that he was told to keep a home-made firearm in his vehicle at all times in case

¹⁹ General Jac Buchner, Section 29 hearing

he accidentally shot somebody dead. He should then plant this firearm on the person to make it look like a case of self-defence. Harrington said that, as a result of their working in close association with the Inkatha-supporting special constables, the Riot Unit members naturally sided with Inkatha:

The Specials were all Inkatha members and supporters, and the ANC and UDF were shooting at us. They hated us and the Specials hated them, and I hated them because I nearly died on several occasions as a result of their actions. For that reason, I saw myself as on the side of Inkatha. I was taught by the NP and the chiefs in the Riot Unit that the ANC/UDF alliance was our enemy, that they were terrorists, and as a policeman it was my duty to combat terrorism. The war between us and the ANC was very severe, was intense. To combat terrorism I allied myself with Inkatha....

I often came upon groups of Inkatha Specials, about between ten and twenty people, at night, where they were on their way to specific areas to attack an ANC home. I then thought it a good idea to convey them in my own vehicle and to take them to such a house or area. I never specifically took part in these raids myself, because my objective was to stand back, to keep my distance, to prevent ANC supporters from running away from this area.

- 133 Another former special constable attached to Riot Unit 8, Mr Nelson Shabangu [AM3676/96], made twenty-six statements to the Commission in which he implicated members of Riot Unit 8 and the Port Natal Security Branch in as many as fifty killings and several acts of torture. These were just the incidents that Shabangu said he was able to recall clearly. Shabangu was a member of a special sub-unit established in 1989 to help the CID with arrests. The sub-unit, under the command of Sergeant Willem de Wet, was disbanded in January 1990 following community pressure.
- 134 De Wet's unit worked in a large area that included Pietermaritzburg and surrounds, Mpumalanga, Richmond, Greytown, Mphophomeni, Inchanga, Table Mountain and Bulwer. They worked in a clandestine way, using pseudonyms and vehicles with false/changed registration numbers. They generally operated at night and wore civilian clothes and balaclavas when engaged in a covert operation. While the unit injured and killed indiscriminately at times, they targeted mainly UDF activists, who they interrogated, tortured and/or killed. Methods of torture included electric shocks to the body with a dynamo taken from a telephone, suffocation with a car tube, and the 'helicopter treatment' described earlier.

ARISING FROM THE NUMEROUS ALLEGATIONS MADE AGAINST HIM, AND IN TERMS OF SECTION 30 OF THE ACT, THE COMMISSION MADE FINDINGS OF MORE THAN SIX COUNTS OF SEVERE ILL TREATMENT, MORE THAN TWENTY COUNTS OF KILLING, SIX COUNTS OF CULPABLE HOMICIDE, TEN COUNTS OF ACCESSORY TO KILLING, TWO COUNTS OF ATTEMPTED KILLING AND TWO COUNTS OF DEFEATING THE ENDS OF JUSTICE AGAINST SAP SERGEANT WILLEM DE WET.²⁰ DE WET IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE PERPETRATION OF THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ARISING FROM THESE UNLAWFUL ACTS.

- 135 The Trust Feed massacre of 1988 provides a window into the operations of the special constables and the SAP in the Midlands during the late 1980s.

The Trust Feed Massacre

In the early hours of 3 December 1988, gunmen opened fire on a house in the Trust Feed community, near New Hanover, killing eleven people and wounding two. In October 1991, seven serving and former members of the SAP stood trial on eleven counts of murder and eight of attempted murder. The accused were Captain Brian Mitchell, Station Commander at the New Hanover police station at the time of the massacre, Sergeant Neville Rose and Captain Jakobus van der Heever (both of the SAP), and four former SAP special constables, Mr Kehla Ngubane, Mr Thabo Sikhosana, Mr Dumisani Ndwane and Mr David Khambule.

Brian Mitchell, his colleague Sergeant George Nichas and two Security Branch members, together with the Inkatha leader in the area, Mr Jerome Gabela, were involved in setting up the Inkatha-aligned Landowners' Committee in opposition to the largely UDF-supporting Trust Feed Crisis Committee. Gabela was also, at the time, in the ad hoc employ of the Security Branch as an informer on trade union members at the bakery where he worked in Greytown.

At a meeting at the Inkatha headquarters in Edendale in August 1988, attended by Terreblanche, Mitchell, David Ntombela, Gabela and two other Inkatha members, an attack on the Trust Feed area was planned for December 1988, involving members of Inkatha and special constables. After a police 'clean-up' operation to disarm and round up UDF suspects, the police would withdraw, leaving Inkatha members and the special constables to launch an attack on UDF members.

On 29 November, Constable Willem de Wet brought four special constables to New Hanover police station. They wore civilian clothing and lodged with Mr Gabela, who provided them with firearms. On the following day, Captain

²⁰ Details of the incidents on which these findings against De Wet have been made appear elsewhere in the Commission's report.

Van der Heever arrived to run the operation from the police and Riot Unit side. He requested Mitchell to assist in 'sweeping' the area after the operation, picking up used shells (doppies) and removing evidence.

On 2 December, about thirty to forty policemen rounded up known UDF members, videotaped them all and detained them under state of emergency regulations. The police were then withdrawn from the area. At midnight, Mitchell, who had been drinking heavily, went to see how the operation had gone, accompanied by two police reservists. Disappointed that only a building had been burnt and no one had been killed, he instructed the special constables to attack and burn the shop of Mr Faustus Mbongwe, chair of the Crisis Committee, and to attack a particular house. These instructions were carried out, and the doppies disposed of in a long-drop toilet at Gabela's house.

In the attack on the house, which became known as the Trust Feed massacre, eleven people were killed. The victims had been attending a night vigil following the death of a relative. The deceased were Mr Mseleni Ntuli, Ms Dudu Shangase [KZN/KM/728/PM], Mr Zetha Shangase, Mr Nkonyeni Shangase, Mr Muzi Shangase, Ms Filda Ntuli, Mr Fikile Zondi [KZN/KM/735/PM], Ms Marita Xaba [KZN/KM/736/PM], Ms Sara Nyoka [KZN/KM/706/PM], Mr Alfred Zita and Mr Sisedewu Sithole. Ms Ida Hadebe and Ms Nomagoli Zulu were injured. None was a member of the UDF.

Following the massacre, Mitchell reported to Major Deon Terreblanche who was the first senior officer at the scene, joined by acting Greytown District Commander Davies and Brigadier Marx who, according to Mitchell, knew of the special constables' involvement in the attack. When the two police reservists who had accompanied Mitchell volunteered information to the investigating officer, Mitchell informed senior officers of the Security Branch in Pretoria. He was told not to worry. Indeed, he told the Commission that he had never worried that he might be arrested, and was sure the evidence would be covered up.

At an informal inquest into the deaths of the massacre victims at New Hanover, the magistrate found that Mitchell and the special constables were all involved in the killings.

Warrants of arrest were issued for the special constables but were never circulated or sent to the criminal record register in Pretoria. Almost immediately after the massacre, the special constables were taken into hiding by certain senior KZP and Inkatha officials. They were hidden for some time at the Mkhuze

camp (which fell under the command of KZP Captain Leonard Langeni) and continued to receive their salaries. Later they were taken to the KZP barracks in Ulundi, and then to the homes of various Inkatha-supporting chiefs. In 1990, they were assisted in joining the KZP.

In July 1991, SAP Captain Frank Dutton took over the investigation of the case. He traced the addresses of the special constables and was able to arrest two of the four: Khambule, who was in Mpumalanga using a false identity document, and Ndwalane who was in hiding at the home of an Inkatha-supporting Chief Khawula on the South Coast. Both were still serving KZP members. They both made full admissions of guilt. Mitchell was arrested on the 2 August 1991 in Mooi River, despite being warned by colleagues of his impending arrest.

Immediately after this, General Van der Westhuizen, Colonel Langenhoven and Captain Kritzingar from Pretoria were sent to Natal, ostensibly to assist with the investigation. It soon became clear to Dutton that they had been sent to obstruct the work and prevailed on the Attorney-General to remove them from the case.

Captain Dutton traced the other two special constables via the then Commissioner of the KZP, General Jac Buchner, who arranged for them to be delivered by Langeni from their hiding place at Mkhuze within days. In his section 29 hearing, Buchner confirmed the cover-up and conspiracy in Trust Feed, claiming the involvement of not just one or two individuals, but many.

JMC records seized from the Wartburg police station during the investigation implicated Mitchell in the creation of the Trust Feed Landowner's Committee as a STRATCOM project.

In court, Mitchell, the special constables and Mr Jerome Gabela changed their evidence to exonerate Captain Van der Heever. However, Van der Heever was implicated in Mitchell's amnesty application. During the trial, it became evident that the special constables were to take full responsibility for the massacre. They demanded separate legal representation, which set about exposing the role of Mitchell's command. By this time, Mitchell could not implicate his senior officers without revealing his earlier perjury.

In his judgement, Mr Justice Andrew Wilson called for a full, open inquiry into the matter of SAP cover-up and rejected a departmental investigation. He questioned, amongst other things, the actions of General Van der Westhuizen and his two officers, the promotion of Mitchell despite knowledge of his complicity, and other areas where the police failed to investigate. He also

questioned the readiness of the Commissioner of Police to authorise the employment of senior counsel to assist a police officer who, on the face of it, appeared to have acted improperly.²¹

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ELEVEN PERSONS – MR MSELENI NTULI, MS DUDU SHANGASE, MR ZETHA SHANGASE, MR NKONYENI SHANGASE, MR MUZI SHANGASE, MS FILDA NTULI, MR FIKILE ZONDI, MS MARITA XABA, MS SARA NYOKA, MR ALFRED ZITA AND MR SISEDEWU SITHOLE – WERE KILLED AND TWO PERSONS – MS IDA HADEBE AND MS NOMAGOLI ZULU – WERE INJURED ON 3 DECEMBER 1988 IN AN ARMED ATTACK PERPETRATED BY SPECIAL CONSTABLES OF THE SAP AND COMMANDED BY OFFICERS OF RANK IN THE SAP.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SENIOR INKATHA MEMBER DAVID NTOMBELA ATTENDED THE AUGUST 1988 MEETING AT MARAWA HOUSE IN PIETERMARITZBURG, WITH THE LATE SAP MAJOR DEON TERREBLANCHE, FORMER SAP CAPTAIN BRIAN MITCHELL AND THREE INKATHA MEMBERS, MR JEROME GABELA AND TWO OTHERS. AT THIS MEETING, AN ATTACK ON THE TRUST FEED AREA NEAR NEW HANOVER WAS PLANNED TO TAKE PLACE IN DECEMBER 1988, INVOLVING MEMBERS OF INKATHA AND SPECIAL CONSTABLES OF THE SAP. DETAILS OF THE ATTACK WERE DISCUSSED AT THE MEETING BY NTOMBELA, TERREBLANCHE AND GABELA. ON 3 DECEMBER, THE PLANNED ATTACK TOOK PLACE, RESULTING IN THE BURNING OF A NUMBER OF HOUSES AND BUILDINGS, THE DEATHS OF ELEVEN PEOPLE AND INJURY TO TWO OTHERS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR DAVID NTOMBELA'S ACTIONS CONSTITUTE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS: CONSPIRACY TO KILL, ATTEMPTED KILLING, KILLING AND ARSON.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ON 3 DECEMBER 1988, SGT WILLEM DE WET TRANSPORTED A NUMBER OF SPECIAL CONSTABLES OF THE SAP TO TRUST FEED NEAR PIETERMARITZBURG, IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THESE SPECIAL CONSTABLES WOULD LATER THAT NIGHT UNDERTAKE AN UNLAWFUL ATTACK ON RESIDENTS OF TRUST FEED. DE WET FAILED TO TAKE STEPS TO PREVENT THE ATTACK FROM TAKING PLACE AND FAILED TO BRING THIS UNLAWFUL INCIDENT TO THE NOTICE OF THE APPROPRIATE AUTHORITIES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT DE WET IS AN ACCESSORY TO THE KILLING OF ELEVEN PEOPLE AT TRUST FEED ON THE NIGHT OF 3 DECEMBER 1988 AND THAT HIS ACTIONS CONSTITUTE A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTIONS OF SGT NEVILLE ROSE CONSTITUTE A GROSS VIOLATION IN THAT HE WAS AN ACCESSORY AFTER THE FACT TO THE KILLING OF THE PERSONS WHO DIED AT TRUST FEED, AND DEFEATED THE ENDS OF JUSTICE BY FAILING TO TAKE ANY STEPS TO ENSURE THAT THE PERSONS RESPONSIBLE WERE CHARGED AND PROSECUTED.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE THREE OFFICERS WHO WERE APPOINTED TO ASSIST POLICE OFFICER FRANK DUTTON IN THE INVESTIGATION, NAMELY GENERAL RONNIE VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, CAPTAIN KRITZINGER AND COLONEL LANGENHOVEN, CONSTITUTED GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THAT THEY ATTEMPTED TO DEFEAT THE ENDS OF JUSTICE BY DELIBERATELY HAMPERING AND ATTEMPTING TO COVER UP THE INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE

21 On 29 April 1992, Mitchell was sentenced to death eleven times for his role in ordering the attack. The four former special constables were each sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. Rose and Van der Heever were acquitted. Mitchell's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment in April 1994 by former State President F W de Klerk. His first and second applications for amnesty were turned down, although the Curran committee recommended his release. President Mandela, on the advice of the Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar, turned down the application, despite approving the applications of the four special constables. Brian Mitchell's amnesty hearing with the Commission began on 15 October 1996. The civil claims by the victims of Trust Feed were paid out on the second day of the hearing, nearly eight years after the massacre. The victims opposed the granting of amnesty to Mitchell but, after a meeting between the commissioners and community members, they expressed their willingness to try to forgive Mitchell if he would involve himself in the reconstruction of the community he had been responsible for destroying. Mitchell's application was approved by the Amnesty Committee and he was released from prison in November 1996.

KILLING AND ATTEMPTED KILLING OF THE PERSONS ATTACKED AT TRUST FEED ON 3 DECEMBER 1988.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT GENERAL MARX, THEN HEAD OF THE CID SERVICES IN NATAL, DEFEATED THE ENDS OF JUSTICE BY ADVISING MITCHELL, WHEN HE ADMITTED COMPLICITY IN THE TRUST FEED KILLINGS, THAT THE INCIDENT WOULD BE COVERED UP. MARX'S ACTIONS AMOUNT TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH HE IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Covert Security Branch activities

136 The Commission received numerous reports of disappearances of family members, some of whom were thought to have left the country to join MK or the ANC in exile. In other cases, family members suspected that Security Branch members or *askaris* may have abducted them. The Commission's Investigation Unit was able to solve a number of these cases, and in some instances succeeded in exhuming the remains of those who had been killed. The following represent some of the cases of disappearances that were successfully solved by the Commission.

The Case of the Chesterville Four

Vlakplaas operatives killed four members of the Chesterville Youth Organisation in an undercover operation using askaris in May/June 1986. The deceased were Mr Russell Mngomezulu, Mr Muntuwenkosi Dlamini, Mr Russell Mthembu and Mr Sandile Khawula. In the November 1989 inquest into the deaths of the four men, a Durban magistrate found that the police, who had fired between sixty-seven and eighty-eight rounds at the victims, were acting in reasonable self-defence. Vlakplaas operatives Willie Nortje [AM3764/96], Izak Daniel Bosch [AM3765/96] and Colonel Eugene de Kock [AM0066/96] applied for amnesty in respect of these four killings.

The Case of the Quarry Road Four

On 7 September 1986, members of the Security Branch in Quarry Road, Durban, killed four men believed to be part of an MK cell in Durban: Mr Blessing Mabaso, Mr Thabane Memela, Mr Percival Luvuyo Mgobhozi and Mr Mbongeni Zondi. A quantity of illegal weapons was found in the vehicle in which the four deceased were travelling. The police claimed the four deceased were responsible for an attack on a home in KwaMashu on the previous day as well as an AK-47 and hand-grenade attack on a home in Umlazi on 22 August 1986, in which Ms Evelyn Sabelo [KZN/NM/209/DN], wife of Inkatha member Winnington Sabelo, was killed and her four children injured.

Durban inquest magistrate, Mr F M Vorster, found that police were justified in killing the four men. In spite of their exoneration by the inquest magistrate, three members of the Security Branch applied for amnesty for 'defeating the ends of justice' in respect of the killing of the Quarry Road Four, declining to furnish further detail of their roles in this incident.²²

The Killing of Ntombi Khubeka

In May 1987, a group of C-Section Security Branch members from Vlakplaas and the Natal Security Branch from Durban were allegedly responsible for the death of MK member Ms Ntombi Khubeka, who was allegedly involved in liaison between the local and external units of MK.

The Security Branch members had information that a locally trained ANC combat unit was operating in KwaMashu and Inanda. Ms Khubeka was alleged to be responsible for stashing weapons, accommodating external operatives and gathering intelligence on possible targets. Two of her brothers were at the ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

In May 1987, she was abducted by Vlakplaas askari Jimmy Mbane and taken to Winkelspruit where she died under interrogation by members of the Security Branch. They buried her body at Inanda Newtown.

The Commission's investigation unit exhumed her body and found that she had a gunshot wound at the back of her head²³. [JB03477/02 Police Station]. The family implicates Durban Security Branch members Vusi Myeza and 'Sikheshekeshe' Ntombela in her killing. Warrant Officer Basson is now deceased.

Colonel ARC Taylor [AM4077/96, now deceased], Captain HJP Botha [AM453/97], Lieutenant Sam du Preez [AM4130/96], Sergeant LG Wasserman [AM4508/96], Mr CA van der Westhuizen [AM4388/96], Mr Zola 'Jimmy' Mbane [AM8066/97], MD Ras [AM5183/97], Captain Adrian David Baker [AM5284/97] applied for amnesty.

The Killing of Phila Portia Ndwandwe, aka MK Zandile

Ms Phila Portia Ndwandwe, otherwise known as 'MK Zandile', [KZN/NNN/018/DN], was the acting commander of MK activities between Natal and Swaziland and was responsible for the infiltration of ANC cadres into Natal. She was also believed to have given orders for a number of violent MK

²² Amnesty applications of Mr J A Steyn [AM453/97], Mr L G Wasserman [AM4508/96] and Mr M C Botha [AM7560/97; KZN/NN/002/DN].

²³ Amnesty applications of HJP Botha and ARC Taylor. More information in regard to the death of Khubeka is available in a final investigation report.

actions in Natal, including the killing of Durban Security Branch policeman, Warrant Officer Sokhela, in August 1986.

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

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

The Killing of Jameson Ngoloyi Mngomezulu

Swaziland-based MK commander, Jameson Ngoloyi Mngomezulu [KZN/NNN/340/EM], was abducted from his home in June 1985 and taken to Piet Retief where he was assassinated by members of Vlakpaas and the Jozini Security Branch. Gert Schoon [AM5006/97], Paul van Dyk [AM5013/97], Almond Nofemela [AM0064/96], Colonel Eugene de Kock [AM0066/96], Johannes Koole [AM3748/96] and askari Mr Thapelo Johannes Mbelo [AM3785/96] applied for amnesty for the abduction and/or killing of Mngomezulu. Other Vlakplaas members were named as participating in the operation, but did not apply for amnesty.

The Killing of Stanley Bhila

MK member Stanley Bhila [KZN/NJ/004/DN] was acquitted in the Durban trial of Dudu Buthelezi and nine others in February 1987. The ten trialists were accused of involvement in thirteen attacks in the Durban area. Security Branch members suspected that Bhila was also involved in a fatal bombing at Amanzimtoti in December 1985 (see below).

On 18 February 1987, days after his acquittal, he was abducted and killed by members of the Durban and Vlakplaas Security Branches, on the instruction of Colonel Andy Taylor.

The following members of the Durban Security Branch and Vlakplaas unit of the SAP have applied for amnesty: Mr Frank McCarter [AM4063/96], Mr Adrian Rosslee [AM4378/96], Sergeant L G Wassermann [AM4508/96], Mr Izak Daniel Bosch [AM3765/96] and Colonel Andy Taylor [AM4077/96].

²⁴ Amnesty applications of H J P Botha [AM453/97], Sam du Preez [AM4130/96], L G Wasserman [AM4508/96], ARC Taylor [AM4077/96], JA Steyn [AM453/97], JA Vorster [AM4390/96].

The Killing of Dion Cele

MK member Dion 'Charles' Cele (real name Mzimela), based in Swaziland, was involved in smuggling arms to South Africa. He was also allegedly responsible for a number of explosions in the country and for recruiting cadres for internal and external training.

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

The following security policemen have applied for amnesty for the abduction and killing of Cele: Sergeant LG Wassermann [AM4508/96], Colonel Andy Taylor [AM4077/96], Mr H J P Botha [AM453/97], Mr J A Vorster [AM4390/96], Mr J H S Labuschagne [AM5005/97] and Mr A E Verwey [AM5018/97].

The Killing of Phumezo Nxiweni

Mr Phumezo Nxiweni²⁵ was a student at the University of Natal Medical School. He was arrested in February 1987 in connection with two explosions in Durban during 1985. The first was a limpet mine explosion at the XL tea-room on 19 June 1985 in which seven people were injured; in the second incident a bomb exploded at the Spar Foodliner in St George's Street, Durban.

In May 1986, Nxiweni was one of ten accused in the Dudu Buthelezi trial in connection with thirteen attacks committed in the Durban area. He was acquitted in February 1987. Security Branch members also suspected Nxiweni of involvement in the fatal Amanzimtoti bombing in December 1985 (see below).

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

Seven Security Branch members applied for amnesty in respect of the killing of Nxiweni: Mr H J P Botha [AM453/97], Mr J A Steyn [AM453/97], Mr J A Vorster [AM4390/96], Lieutenant Sam du Preez [AM4130/96], Colonel ARC Taylor [AM4077/96, deceased], Mr C van der Westhuizen [AM4388/96], and Sergeant LG Wasserman [AM4508/96]

25 Umtata hearing, [EC0246/96WTK].

The Killing of Bhekayena Raymond Mkhwanazi

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

The following members of the SAP have applied for amnesty: Lieutenant-Colonel JA Vorster [AM4390/96], Colonel ARC Taylor [AM4077/96], Mr S du Preez [AM4130/96] and Mr LG Wasserman [AM4508/96].

The Killing of Mxolisi Penwell Khumalo, aka 'MK Mubhi'

MK operative Mxolisi Khumalo aka 'MK Mubhi' was killed on 30 July 1988 at Pietermaritzburg in an incident in which, according to the police, a hand grenade in Khumalo's possession exploded.

The Commission conducted a special investigation into Khumalo's death following allegations contained in a statement made by a retired member of the Greytown Security Branch, a Warrant Officer Gwala. Gwala alleged that Pietermaritzburg and Greytown Security Branch members, notably Sergeants Simon Makhaye, Thulani Kleinbooï, Zimu and Mzolo, were responsible for Khumalo's death. He told the Commission that Khumalo was deliberately lured to a place in Sobantu where he was killed²⁶.

Khumalo's mother, Ms Joyce Ntombiyise Khumalo, told the Commission that her son went into exile in 1986. In July 1988, he came to see her at home. About two to three months later, she heard that her son might have been killed in a bomb blast at Magogo soccer field in Sobantu.

Sergeant Simon Makhaye was subpoenaed to appear before the Commission in terms of section 29 of the Act. He told the Commission that he had been present at the time of Khumalo's death, accompanied by Sergeants Kleinbooï, Zimu and Mzolo. He said they had obtained information about an MK operative in the area and had found Khumalo, who was allegedly known to Zimu. According to Makhaye, the four policemen tried to arrest Khumalo, but he reached for a grenade in his pocket and a struggle ensued. Makhaye stepped away to avoid the explosion. Kleinbooï allegedly shot Khumalo, who threw the grenade at Zimu, injuring him slightly in the explosion.

²⁶ Gwala died during the course of the Commission's investigation.

Commission investigators established that neither the Mountain Rise police station nor the Pietermaritzburg mortuary had any record of Khumalo's killing. It was later discovered that Khumalo's remains had been buried in a pauper's grave at the Mountain Rise Cemetery on 8 August 1988, under the name of 'Thembille Gladman Sithole'. The inquest report number handed to the Commission concerned a pedestrian accident in Edendale that bore no relation to either Khumalo or one Thembille Gladman Sithole.

The Commission arranged for Khumalo's remains to be exhumed. This was done on 11 May 1998. State pathologist Dr Steve Naidoo attended the exhumation and conducted a thorough examination of the remains. He told the Commission that, although there had been some erosion of the bone matter in view of the normal passage of time, the skeletal frame was largely intact. Bone fragmentation found at the base of the skull was consistent with a gunshot wound to the head. Dr Naidoo said that there was no evidence that would indicate an injury by hand-grenade explosion.

In his Section 29 hearing, Sergeant Makhaye indicated that Sergeant Zimu knew Mr Khumalo, yet the police claimed that his true identity could not be established and he was buried under false documentation. Although no inquest was held, documentation from the former Security Branch states that an inquest was finalised.

IN REVIEWING EVIDENCE OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS PERPETRATED BY THE STATE IN NATAL AND KWAZULU DURING THIS PERIOD, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SECURITY BRANCH OF THE SAP ENGAGED IN UNLAWFUL COVERT ACTS RESULTING IN THE DISAPPEARANCE AND TORTURE, AND IN MANY SUCH CASES, THE DEATHS OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS OPPOSED TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT IN SOME CASES POLITICAL ACTIVISTS WERE DELIBERATELY KILLED BY MEMBERS OF THE SAP. THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS REFLECTED BY THESE ACTS.

Contra-mobilisation

- 137 The early 1980s saw a steady increase in groups of vigilantes who used terror to quell the growing revolt among rural youth against the old order. By and large, vigilantism was closely allied to the South African government's institution of homeland administrations and black local councils. In many areas, and particularly with the rise of radical anti-apartheid opposition in the early 1980s, those associated with these structures often found themselves isolated and reviled, particularly by radical youth. They started to defend their interests (and sometimes their very lives) through the formation of vigilante 'armies' drawn from the more traditionalist and uneducated of the local population.

138 Vigilante activities appeared to have the support, both covert and overt, of the security forces. A review of the evidence, based on *affidavits* submitted to the Commission by amnesty applicants Mr Shabangu, Mr Harrington and Mr Madlala, enabled the Commission to confirm the findings of the Human Rights Commission, that the security forces colluded with Inkatha vigilantes in the following ways:

- a Through acts of omission: staying away from the scene of vigilante attacks, or arriving excessively late; not responding to forewarning of attacks; not countering, deflecting or dispersing attackers; not charging or prosecuting attackers, and refusing to accept charges laid by injured parties; failure to solve murders, even when evidence was readily available; failure to remove weapons from vigilante bases;
- b Through acts of commission: indiscriminate attacks on township dwellers with tear gas, guns, rubber bullets, etc.; dispersing, arresting or detaining township dwellers and removing their means of defence; escorting and even transporting vigilante groups to and from scenes of attack; collaboration in the planning and execution of attacks and in the identification and targeting of specific individuals; provision of weapons and other materials to vigilante groups; training and funding of vigilante groups²⁷.

139 In 1982, residents of the Lamontville township in Durban South formed the Lamontville Rent Action Committee to oppose rent increases announced by the Port Natal Administration Board (PNAB). In early 1983, similar committees from several PNAB-administered townships (for example, Hambanathi and Chesterville) came together to form the Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC). Besides opposing rent increases, JORAC also opposed plans, already underway, to incorporate a number of PNAB townships into KwaZulu.

140 A vigilante group calling itself the 'A-Team' was formed to counter support for JORAC in Lamontville and Chesterville, both of which, along with Clermont and Hambanathi, had been identified for incorporation into KwaZulu. The conflict and violence which beset each of these areas for the next four years was to some degree centred around those involved in the incorporation question, including councillors and vigilantes.

The Killing of Harrison Dube

On 25 April 1983, Lamontville councillor and JORAC chairperson Mr Harrison Msizi Dube was shot dead after returning from a JORAC meeting. Dube's

²⁷ Human Rights Commission, 1992 'Checkmate for apartheid? Special report on two years of destabilisation July 1990 to June 1992'. SR-12, Johannesburg: HRC, p. 23.

death sparked outrage. His community went on the rampage, attacking councillors' homes and buildings belonging to the PNAB and killing three alleged police informers. The violence quickly spread to the Chesterville township.

In Lamontville, five people, including the Inkatha-aligned mayor, Mr Moonlight Gasa, were arrested on 22 June 1983 in connection with Dube's killing. All five were subsequently convicted of the murder. Mr Vakuthethwa Yalo, Mr Ebenezer Mngadi and Mr Julius Mngadi were sentenced to death (later commuted to life imprisonment). Mr Bangu Mbawula was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment and Mr Moonlight Gasa to twelve years' imprisonment [KZN/DQ/001/DN; AM1334/96].

- 141 In Chesterville, JORAC members and supporters were targeted for attack by an Inkatha-supporting and state-sponsored vigilante group set up in the township in 1983/4, also known as the 'A-Team'. The group was based in Road 13. Statements made to the Commission alleging human rights abuses by the A-Team refer to incidents between 1985 and 1989. These included at least ten killings, several cases of attempted murder and severe ill treatment and arson attacks.
- 142 The picture painted by witnesses at the Commission's public hearings in Durban was that the A-Team established a reign of terror in Chesterville over a number of years. They took over Road 13, illegally occupying houses and burning surrounding houses in order to make a safe area for themselves. They also allegedly brought in Inkatha youths from other townships to bolster their power base. Their sole aim was to target members of youth and other UDF-linked organisations. This they did with the active complicity of the SAP, including the Riot Unit and the Security Branch.
- 143 In his amnesty application, former Durban Riot Unit member Frank Bennetts [AM4059/96] gave evidence of the extent of Security Branch involvement in and collusion with members of the A-Team. At a section 29 hearing, he described the A-Team as:

A group of Inkatha supporters who were acting in their capacity, or so I believed, in assisting the police in the curbing of the growth and support of groups and organisations opposed to the government and the order of the day.

- 144 According to Bennetts, the A-Team assisted the Riot Unit by identifying alleged UDF activists to be detained and passing on other information to the security forces. In return, the Riot Unit offered them protection by putting extra patrols

into their street and escorting them in and out of the township. Bennetts told the Commission that, despite good cause to do so, A-Team members were never detained under the emergency regulations. Had the police done so, he said, the violence in Chesterville would have been reduced “by 99.99 per cent”. In his words, the A-Team “wrecked half the township”. Nevertheless, the Riot Unit openly and blatantly sided with the gang, perceiving them as a legitimate ally in their struggle against the UDF.

- 145 Bennetts alleged that the A-Team was started by a military intelligence agent employed by the Natal Provincial Administration as the township manager to oversee the administration of Chesterville. He denied that the Riot Unit paid them or provided them with weapons. However, he had good reason to believe that either the military or the security police provided them with monetary and logistic assistance (firearms, petrol bombs and ammunition). He said further that “in all likelihood” some of the atrocities committed by the A-Team were planned by some unit of the security forces.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, AT THE BEHEST OF SEVERAL UNNAMED INKATHA-SUPPORTING TOWN COUNCILLORS AND UNNAMED MEMBERS OF THE SAP, VIGILANTE GROUPS WERE ESTABLISHED AND BECAME ACTIVE IN SEVERAL TOWNSHIPS IN THE PROVINCE FROM 1983.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE A-TEAM, ACTIVE IN LAMONTVILLE AND CHESTERVILLE DURING 1983–4, WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR UP TO TEN KILLINGS AND AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF ACTS OF ATTEMPTED KILLING, SEVERE ILL TREATMENT AND ARSON, TARGETING MAINLY UDF SUPPORTERS AND CONSTITUTING GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH UNKNOWN MEMBERS OF THE A-TEAM ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE. MEMBERS OF THE SAP UNLAWFULLY SUPPORTED THE ACTIVITIES OF SUCH GROUPS AND ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE VIOLATIONS ARISING FROM THE ACTIVITIES OF THE A-TEAM.

The Killing of Philemon Khanyile

Chesterville community leader Philemon Khanyile was stoned and burnt to death in his car by an angry crowd of residents when he attended the funeral of Mr Harrison Dube. The crowd had been led to believe that he was a police informer. Khanyile was a member of JORAC and a teacher at the Chesterville High School.

Bennetts told the Commission that the Riot Unit had deliberately framed Khanyile as an informer. Bennetts and a colleague had visited Khanyile's sister and handed her an envelope containing R500 in cash, which they asked her to give to her brother.

- 146 According to Bennetts, this tactic was used on numerous occasions. Another tactic used by Riot Unit members was to pick up an activist, keep him for half an hour, and then take him along to uncover a firearm they already knew about. This would be done in full view of the community. The Riot Unit members would then release the activist, who would in all probability be labelled as an informer and possibly be killed. Bennetts admitted at his section 29 hearing that “a hell of a lot”, “a couple of hundred” people had been framed in this manner, and that “quite a few” had died as a result: “I’d say about five. But a lot just vanished, never to be seen again.”

The Killing of the Mdluli Family

On 8 January 1987, the A-Team petrol-bombed and burnt down a number of houses belonging to UDF supporters. Mr Musa Mdluli [KZN/GW/006/DN; KZN/SELF/113/DN], a Chesterville resident, was at work when he received a phone call telling him that members of the A-Team were attacking his house. He rushed home to find his five children inside the burning house. One of them (Nokwazi, aged twenty-five years) was already dead. Three other children died in hospital. They were Bongi (5), Brenda (2) and Sithabile (6 months). A-Team member Bheki Mdlalose was sentenced to twenty-seven years’ imprisonment for his part in the attack (Durban hearing).

- 147 Bennetts said that, in 1987-88, some members of the A-Team moved out of Chesterville and operated from a house in Umlazi and Ntuzuma. The Riot Unit would escort them into Chesterville, where they would carry out a ‘hit’, after which they would be escorted out again. The community came to fear and hate the Riot Unit because of its demonstrated partiality towards the A-Team. Bennetts told the Commission:

We were shot at on a regular basis. We had wires put up, telephone wires, washing-line wires put up just at the perfect height that an oke [guy] could come round a corner and take a shot at the police van. Jump out and chase him. He runs round the corner. He knows where the wire is. He put it there. He would duck and take you out in the throat. I had soldiers there with throats almost cut off with wires.

It became a war in Chesterville, if I can call it that, involving numerous little parties, no one actually maintaining some sort of control as to what was going on. You had the UDF/ANC conflict on the go. You had the police – the Riot Unit in there and the army. I’m talking about your – just your down to earth, uniformed guy who was there to go and patrol. They were getting

shot at on a regular basis. Every road in that location basically, bar [Road] Two, is a dead-end road. Drive in there some time and try and turn a row of two or three Casspirs around. Guarantee you've got things thrown at you.

The situation for us as the members working inside there came to the point there when you went to work tonight you didn't know whether you were going home tomorrow. You just had no idea ... We became hardened to the extent that eventually it just didn't matter whether that person burning lived or died. It didn't matter what side he was on. My interest there was to go home tomorrow morning and that was it.

- 148 In KwaMashu, the *AmaSinyora* gang, a group of Inkatha-supporting vigilantes based in K Section, KwaMashu, north of Durban, was set up in 1987 to oppose UDF-aligned activists in the township. The gang was allegedly responsible for attacks on many non-aligned residents of the township and was described as carrying out a reign of terror from the late 1908s through to 1991, resurfacing temporarily in 1994.
- 149 In 1991, one of the founder members of the *AmaSinyora* gang, Mr Bheki Mvubu, made an *affidavit* to the LRC in which he implicated himself in burning at least eight to ten houses and in participating in attacks in which about forty UDF supporters were killed. All these took place in KwaMashu K Section. During house raids, the relatives of UDF supporters were sometimes killed. Another founder member, Mr Dumisani Zondo, a member of the SADF, allegedly assisted in training the gang members and supplying weapons and ammunition.
- 150 According to information handed to the Commission, the group was supported by the KZP stationed at KwaMashu. Detective Zondi, now deceased, of the KwaMashu KZP, was the father of one of the *AmaSinyora* members and allegedly kept the group informed of complaints laid against them at KwaMashu police station. Another KwaMashu KZP member, Mr Khetha Shange, also worked with the *AmaSinyora*, providing them with bullets and occasionally joining in attacks.
- 151 According to Bheki Mvubu, in 1988 the *AmaSinyora* gang was introduced to Lindelani IFP leader Thomas Shabalala (see below), who supplied them with three shotguns and several boxes of bullets and praised their activities. They met with him several times to request money, guns and ammunition.

- 152 In January 1988, the *AmaSinyora* began collecting 'protection money' from residents of K Section. The gang began reporting to the local councillor and Inkatha chairman in K-Section, Mr Zwane, who took control of the 'protection money'.
- 153 According to Mvubu, the KZP stopped charging the *AmaSinyora* members for killings or other criminal activities once they joined Inkatha. For example, Mvubu was arrested after killing a young UDF supporter by the name of Jomo in mid-1989. He and a few others were still standing around the corpse when the KZP arrived. They were all arrested and taken to the police station, where they denied the killing. They were released after about four hours and dropped off in K Section.
- 154 The LRC received *affidavits* from up to twenty KwaMashu residents in which allegations of serious criminal activity were made against the *AmaSinyora* and the KZP. The LRC noted:
- As a result of the perceived bias and non-responsive attitude of the KZP, most victims of AmaSinyora attacks have stopped reporting incidents to the KZP. On several occasions, K Section residents have attempted to secure the assistance of the SAP, either in the form of immediate protection or investigative action and arrests. Invariably the SAP have refused all requests on the basis that as KwaMashu falls in KwaZulu, the SAP have no jurisdiction to operate in the area.*²⁸
- 155 Mvubu said that, to his knowledge, no *AmaSinyora* members were convicted as a result of KZP investigations. In July 1990, a joint SAP–KZP investigation team launched an investigation into the activities of the *AmaSinyora*, which resulted in a few arrests and convictions.
- 156 According to the LRC and the Human Rights Commission²⁹, the *AmaSinyora* were implicated in 291 attacks in 1989–90, including approximately 100 killings. During the same period, approximately 400 homes in K Section were abandoned.
- 157 During 1989, the *AmaSinyora* joined up with one Mr Shoji, an Inkatha leader from Z Section, Umlazi, who allegedly provided them with weapons from time to time and used some of the stronger *AmaSinyora* members to fight for him in Umlazi, transporting them in his vehicle and accommodating them in his Umlazi home.
- 158 The term 'warlord' first came into common currency in the late eighties as an analytical, though initially pejorative, description of a number of 'vigilante' and

²⁸ Legal Resources Centre (Durban) & Human Rights Commission (Durban), *Obstacle to Peace: The Role of the KZP in the Natal Conflict*. Joint Report. June 1992, p. 137.

²⁹ Legal Resources Centre (1992) p 136.

Inkatha leaders who had risen to prominence in the growing party conflict in the province. It is believed that the appellation was first used by academics involved in unrest monitoring, and was soon taken up by the media. This suggests that the term strove to denote something more than simply a leader in violent activities, seeking to describe the nature of the relationship of such leaders to other forces in society.

159 In the KwaZulu-Natal context, a warlord is a powerful local leader who gets and keeps political power in an area by paramilitary or military force and who has an ambiguous or only nominal allegiance to a higher authority. During the period under review, this authority was usually Inkatha but also, in a sense, the police, who represented the central government and demonstrated its tolerance of such unofficial local or district 'government'. The warlord tends to gather a group of professional strong-arm men around him and pay for their services by extracting fees, fines and protection money from the local populace. Though self-interest and the acquisition of personal wealth often play a strong role in the seizure or maintenance of the warlord's power, political allegiance plays a significant role in his rise to power.

160 The Commission heard that some ANC leaders also behaved in a warlord-like way. Mr Harry Gwala, the Natal Midlands ANC leader, gained considerable notoriety as a warlord, though he did not derive particular material benefit from his position of authority. Gwala's popularity with the militant ANC youth in the area derived from the uncompromisingly aggressive line he took towards Inkatha leaders and members. At an ANC rally in April 1992, Gwala said he would not discourage people from attacking IFP warlords: "Make no mistake", he said, "we will kill [Inkatha] warlords".³⁰

161 Gwala gathered around himself a group of 'strongmen' who intimidated and threatened people who clashed with him within the ANC and SACP. On occasion, he ordered assassinations, though they were not always carried out³¹. He had the charisma associated with warlords and his confrontational leadership style resonated with ANC supporters in the Natal Midlands who had borne the brunt of Inkatha and police attacks for years.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR HARRY GWALA, NOW DECEASED, FUNCTIONED AS A SELF-STYLED ANC WARLORD IN THE GREATER PIETERMARITZBURG AREA, AND THAT HE ESTABLISHED SELF-DEFENCE UNITS IN THE AREA UNDER HIS CONTROL. GWALA'S POLICIES AND PUBLIC UTTERANCES ACTIVELY FACILITATED A CLIMATE IN WHICH GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

³⁰ *Business Day*, 6 April 1992.

³¹ Gwala was suspended from the SACP in July 1994 after ordering the assassination of party supporters Mr Blade Nzimande and Mr Ben Dikobe Martins. His bodyguards refused to carry out the order.

COULD TAKE PLACE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT IN CALLING FOR THE KILLING OF PERSONS OPPOSED TO THE ANC, GWALA INCITED HIS SUPPORTERS TO COMMIT GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING, SEVERE ILL-TREATMENT AND ARSON, FOR WHICH HE IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE. THE ANC CONSISTENTLY FAILED TO REPROACH, DISCIPLINE OR EXPEL GWALA FROM ITS RANKS, AND THEREBY ENCOURAGED A CLIMATE OF IMPUNITY WITHIN WHICH GWALA CONTINUED TO OPERATE. TO THIS EXTENT, THE ANC IS ALSO HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED VIOLATIONS.

- 162 Former ANC leader Sifiso Nkabinde of Richmond also gained notoriety as a warlord for the considerable power he wielded in the area after he led a violent and successful campaign to defeat Inkatha opponents. He soon became a leading ANC figure in the province, though tainted by allegations of complicity in the killing of some ANC youth leaders in Richmond and, in 1996, of three Indian policemen. In April 1997 he was exposed as a long-serving police agent and expelled from the ANC.
- 163 Mr Thomas Mandla Shabalala is representative of the urban warlords who controlled the numerous informal squatter settlements and shacklands ringing the city of Durban. He became the foremost warlord in the Durban region as the self-styled community councillor and self-proclaimed Inkatha mayor of the squatter settlement of Lindelani. He was reportedly elected spokesperson for the community at a residents' meeting in 1984, went on to chair the local Inkatha branch and later become the KLA member for Lindelani, and a member of Inkatha's Central Committee.
- 164 Shabalala set up what he called a 'community guard force' in Lindelani, which was paid for by an informal house 'tax' of R3.00 exacted from every household. He also exacted fees for Inkatha membership cards, school funds, site rental, school teachers and other taxes and rents. In 1988, he owned a fleet of taxis, the only butchery and bottle store in Lindelani, and a development business.
- 165 Shabalala's community guards – described as *amabutho* [a military regiment] – were soon armed with licensed weapons and engaged in attacks on neighbouring areas and on UDF supporters within Lindelani. Many attacks in the early 1980s were related to attempts by KwaZulu to incorporate areas such as Hambanathi and Lamontville into the KwaZulu homeland. The first major attacks by large groups of men took place in August 1985 in response to large-scale unrest in the Durban area, initiated by a COSAS schools boycott. Shabalala himself allegedly led a 300-strong group that attacked the memorial service for assassinated Victoria Mxenge in August 1985, killing seventeen people.

- 166 Vigilantes seized control of Ntuzuma, KwaMashu and Umlazi and continued with increasing intimidation and sporadic conflict for months thereafter. The latter half of 1989 saw about 300 people killed in the townships surrounding Durban.
- 167 Shabalala was also alleged on numerous occasions to have intimidated, assaulted, tortured and killed opponents.

The Case of Belinda and Simon Mfeka

On 26 May 1986, Ms Belinda and Mr Simon Mfeka obtained a temporary interdict against Shabalala because he had threatened them for not paying their Inkatha, Inkatha Women's Brigade, UWUSA and community guard dues. Within an hour of the granting of the interdict, a group of a hundred people arrived to demolish the Mfeka's three-roomed brick house.

- 168 The Commission heard several claims from victims that they had been forcibly taken to Shabalala's house where they were questioned and assaulted, and where some were held in what became known as 'Shabalala's jail'.

The Case of Sibusiso Nkabinde

On 20 May 1989, Mr Sibusiso Nkabinde [KZN/FS/130/DN] was taken forcibly from his home to Shabalala's house where he was assaulted by two persons acting on Shabalala's instructions. Shabalala himself pushed a barrel of a rifle into the back of Nkabinde's head. Nkabinde continued to be assaulted in Shabalala's presence and heard unknown people deciding that he should be killed and his body burnt. He escaped and the following day his house in Lindelani was burnt down.

The Case of Victor Madele

During September 1985, Mr Victor Madele of Lindelani was forcibly taken to Shabalala's house where he was questioned about his activities and held in a locked room for about two weeks against his will. At the end of this period of imprisonment, he was again forcibly brought before Shabalala, who assaulted him by stabbing him in the right eye with a fork.

The Commission heard that Madele was forcibly taken from his home to Shabalala's house on four more occasions in 1988: on 6 June, after which Madele reported the matter to the KwaMashu police station [CR 47/6/1988]; on 19 June; on 1 December 1988, and again ten days later. He reported the matter to the SAP at CR Swart Square in Durban.

The Case of Seven KwaMashu Youth League Members

In 1987, Shabalala was implicated in the killing of seven KwaMashu Youth League members. He was acquitted at a trial in August 1989, but two of his personal bodyguards, Mr Emmanuel Khanyile and Mr Wilfred Phewa, were convicted.

On 25 April 1988, Mr Lindelani Jabulani Msimango, Mr Innocent Mzo Ndlovu, Mr Bheki Gcabashe [KZN/NNN/041/DN] and others were walking near Lindelani when two vehicles stopped near them and a number of men, including Thomas Shabalala, armed with guns and traditional weapons, got out and fired at the group, severely injuring Msimango. The men chased, attacked and killed Gcabashe and attacked and severely injured Ndlovu. Shabalala was arrested for the shooting of the sixteen-year-old Gcabashe, but was released on bail and later acquitted.

The Case of Nkosinathi Mjoli

On 17 June 1990, Thomas Shabalala assaulted Mr Nkosinathi Musa Mjoli at an Inkatha rally at the King Zwelethini Stadium at Umlazi. Mjoli was wearing a T-shirt with the slogan 'Workers demand a living wage', and Inkatha supporters believed him to be a supporter of a COSATU-affiliated union and referred to him as a member of the amaqabane [comrades]. At the end of the rally, Shabalala instructed Inkatha supporters to kill Mjoli who was subsequently stabbed to death in the toilets of the stadium.

- 169 Shabalala had a presence of armed men in many different parts of the region and was believed to have been involved in conflict in North Coast areas including Eshowe, Mandini, Esikhawini and Ngwelezana. By the end of the 1980s, he controlled a large area around the informal settlement of Lindelani. He continued to exact fees from residents³² and it is alleged that some of the proceeds went into his personal business ventures. In spite of the accumulation of evidence against him, Shabalala has remained seemingly immune to police action.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THOMAS MANDLA SHABALALA IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OVER AN EXTENDED PERIOD IN LINDELANI AND ELSEWHERE IN KWAZULU-NATAL. HE FOSTERED AND FACILITATED A CLIMATE IN WHICH OTHERS UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP COMMITTED GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

- 170 When David Ntombela of Mncane in Vulindlela became the *induna* of KwaMncane, the money he collected from people for a 'co-operative store' allegedly went

³² Including, according to one resident in 1989, R5.00 a year for an up-to-date Inkatha card, R10.00 a year for school funds, R3.00 a year for a security guard, R10.00 a month for a site rental and R2.00 per child for a school teacher.

into building his own store. Ntombela became known for spearheading attacks against UDF supporters who had begun to infiltrate the Elandskop area towards the end of 1987.

The Case of the Mkhize Family

The Commission heard that, on the night of 9 October 1987, Ntombela, his brother and six other men went to the home of Mr Mandla Mkhize at Zondi's store, an area in his region. They were looking for Mkhize's sons, COSATU members Mangethe and Muntu. They were out but their mother, Ms Maqhikila Angelica Mkhize, was at home with three children. According to one of the children, Ntombela then shot and killed the mother with a small handgun and the men killed one of the daughters, Petronella.

The inquest magistrate found in 1989 that it was possible that David Ntombela and five others "were in some way responsible for the deaths". To this day, the case has not gone to trial.

- 171 On 31 January 1988, David Ntombela was among a number of people who addressed a large Inkatha rally at Mpumuza in Sweetwaters. Witnesses allege that he said: "Anyone who does not want to belong to Inkatha should be killed". He said he would go to each of the Chiefs' areas and kill those who were not Inkatha. He reportedly asked permission of the Chiefs to stop the meeting so that he could lead the people out and drive the UDF and COSATU from the area. After this meeting, an attack was launched on the township of Ashdown, assisted by the police.³³
- 172 The Commission heard that Ntombela enjoyed a good relationship with senior members of the police and that units of the riot police were often seen at his home. Evidence given at the Commission's hearings in Pietermaritzburg in 1996 and at a 1997 amnesty hearing in Edendale indicates that Ntombela was in regular contact with the police and worked with them in the recruitment, administration and payment of special constables. In April 1997, it was revealed that Ntombela, along with ANC leader Sifiso Nkabinde, had been a long-time police informer and agent.
- 173 Mr Abdul Awetha of Imbali was described as representative of the urban town councillor-type of warlord. Awetha gained prominence through his opposition to the rise of youth resistance in the 1980s. As the pressure on the black township councils increased, he began to gather a number of unemployed strongmen around him. He also built up a lucrative patronage system through the granting

³³ *Natal Witness*, 2 February 1988.

of housing sites and trading licenses. He is said to have used false promises of access to houses to get people to join Inkatha. Awetha played a prominent role in much of the conflict in and around Imbali during this period. He is alleged to have been involved in procuring weapons with the help of security police.

- 174 In 1985, vigilante groups clustered around Imbali town councillors were reported to be going from house to house demanding that all UDF, AZAPO and Imbali Civic Association members be handed over to them. A number of attacks, assaults and acts of intimidation took place. Awetha was one of three people arrested on 9 June 1992 in connection with the death of Mr S'khumbuzo Ngwenya, who chaired the Imbali ANC branch (see below). However, charges were dropped when the state's key witness refused to testify after allegedly being threatened. Awetha has not been prosecuted for the violence in which he is alleged to have been involved or for his corrupt behaviour as a town councillor.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ABDUL AWETHA COMMITTED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE NATAL MIDLANDS REGION FOR WHICH HE IS ACCOUNTABLE .

- 175 Recent police investigations and court proceedings have unearthed much evidence of the involvement of the highest levels of the state's security apparatus in the paramilitary training of Inkatha-supporting recruits for deployment against the UDF/ANC in townships and other areas around the province.
- 176 In the face of rising militancy in the UDF, the chief minister and minister of police in the KwaZulu government, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, expressed the embattled position of Inkatha supporters on the ground as follows:

I hardly need to emphasise that we need to be placed in a far better position to defend our property and the lives of our people from those kinds of attacks. We do not intend to be sitting ducks ... In fact, I believe that we must prepare ourselves not only to defend property and life but to go beyond that and prepare ourselves to hit back with devastating force at those who destroy our property and kill us.

*It will be a sad day when brother has to defend himself against brother. This is exactly what we will be forced to do if these kinds of incidents escalate.*³⁴

- 177 According to a secret State Security Council document³⁵, the Inkatha Central Committee decided during 1985 "that the whole of KwaZulu and Natal must be turned into a so-called 'no-go area' for the UDF, regardless of the consequences".

34 Hansard: KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, 28 May 1984, p. 916

35 Document headed 'Probleemontleding van die onrussituasie in Natal' [Problem analysis of the unrest situation in Natal], Appendix A to SSVR/535/7/DD, March 1989.

- 178 In late 1985, Chief Buthelezi was alerted to alleged MK plans to assassinate him and turned to the government and SADF for assistance. His requests, as detailed in various military intelligence and State Security Council documents, included the training and deployment of a VIP guard unit, an intelligence structure, a KwaZulu army, the authority to issue firearm licenses, and a paramilitary force. In a Section 29 Hearing of the Commission, former IFP National Council member Walter Felgate recalled discussions in which he had specifically advised Chief Minister Buthelezi of the need for a defensive and pre-emptive capacity for Inkatha. What was envisaged, he said, was a 'strike capacity' for the IFP, not purely a defensive group to look after KwaZulu government VIPs and property.
- 179 One of the outcomes of these deliberations was the clandestine paramilitary training of some 200 Inkatha supporters by the SADF in the Caprivi, Namibia, during 1986, known as Operation Marion. The 'Caprivi trainees' returned to KwaZulu and Natal in September 1986, after six months of special forces training which, they were told, was to equip them to destroy the UDF/ANC. The 'Caprivi trainees' were variously deployed around the province: some to the KLA Protection Unit, some to Inkatha constituency offices and some to KZP stations. The trainees were required to make themselves available to local Inkatha leaders as well as to undertake the training of Inkatha youths in the areas where they were deployed.³⁶
- 180 The role of the 'Caprivi trainees' came under the spotlight in the Durban Supreme Court during the so-called 'KwaMakhutha trial'³⁷ of 1996. The Court found that Inkatha members trained by the SADF in the Caprivi were responsible for the killing in January 1987 of thirteen people, mostly women and children, in an AK-47 attack on the home of UDF leader Mr Bheki Ntuli, in the KwaMakhutha township south of Durban [KZN/MR/031/DN].
- 181 The Commission decided that a hearing should be held to hear testimony from and permit cross-examination of those witnesses whom the state had failed to call in the KwaMakhutha trial. Witnesses included Caprivi trainees as well as their political commissar, Daluxolo Luthuli, and an SADF expert on counter-revolutionary warfare. Evidence was also presented by a Special Forces amnesty applicant who had trained the recruits in the Caprivi.

³⁶ The finding of the Commission on the Caprivi Training is dealt with elsewhere in this Commission's report. In brief, the Commission found that Chief Mangosuthu G Buthelezi conspired with then President P W Botha, then Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan and other senior members of the military establishment to create an unlawful and offensive paramilitary force to be deployed against the ANC, UDF and their supporters. It is a finding of the Commission that the 'Caprivi trainees' were responsible for an unknown number of gross violations, including killings and attempted killings, in KwaMakhutha, Clermont, Mpumalanga, Sinating and Esikhawini. For these violations, the 'Caprivi trainees' and unknown other Inkatha supporters are held accountable.

³⁷ The State v Peter Msane and 19 others.

182 The Commission has made a comprehensive finding concerning Operation Marion. It is contained in a lengthy document which includes the full reasons for the finding and which can be found in the State Archives. The main features of the finding are as follows:

IN 1986, THE SADF FORCE CONSPIRED WITH INKATHA TO PROVIDE INKATHA WITH A COVERT, OFFENSIVE PARAMILITARY UNIT (HIT SQUAD) TO BE DEPLOYED ILLEGALLY AGAINST PERSON'S AND ORGANISATIONS PERCEIVED TO BE OPPOSED TO OR ENEMIES OF BOTH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND INKATHA. THE SADF PROVIDED TRAINING, FINANCIAL AND LOGISTICAL MANAGEMENT AND BEHIND THE SCENES SUPERVISION.

ACCORDING TO GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN, THE STATE SECURITY COUNCIL SANCTIONED ALL STEPS TAKEN UP TO AND INCLUDING THE LIEBENBERG REPORT. THERE IS A CONSIDERABLE VARIANCE BETWEEN THE TRAINING CONTEMPLATED IN PARA 24. C.I, AND II OF THE LIEBENBERG REPORT AND THE ACTUAL TRAINING RECEIVED. IT CANNOT BE ASSUMED THAT IT WAS AT THIS STAGE THAT THE HIT SQUAD ACTIVITIES WERE FORMULATED.

IT IS CLEAR FROM THE MILITARY DOCUMENTS OF 16 APRIL 1986 THAT GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN, CHIEF BUTHELEZI AND ADMIRAL PUTTER HAD TO FINALISE THE NATURE OF THE TRAINING AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE TRAINEES BEFORE THE END OF THE BASIC TRAINING. MALAN CONFIRMED A MEETING WITH CHIEF BUTHELEZI ON 17 APRIL. JAN ANTON NIEUWOUTD OF SADF SPECIAL FORCES CONFIRMED THAT HE WAS SENT TO THE CAPRIVI TO UNDERTAKE TRAINING BY GENERAL GROENEWALD WHO FELL UNDER PUTTER. THIS WAS THE TIME OF THE CONSPIRACY AND THE PARTIES REFERRED TO WERE THE CONSPIRATORS.

TRAINING IN THE CAPRIVI STRIP INCLUDED *INTER ALIA*, THE FOLLOWING FEATURES;

- THE USE OF THE SPECIAL FORCES AS INSTRUCTORS;
- THE USE OF SOVIET WEAPONS;
- THE USE OF HEAVY DUTY WEAPONS SUCH AS MORTARS AND RPG7S;
- THE USE OF EXPLOSIVES, LANDMINES, AND HAND GRENADES;
- TECHNIQUES IN HOW TO CARRY OUT ATTACKS WITHOUT LEAVING CLUES AND TACTICS ON HOW TO AVOID ARREST, DETENTION AND INTERROGATION AT THE HANDS OF THE POLICE;
- ATTACKS ON HOUSES WITH THE AIM OF KILLING ALL THE OCCUPANTS.

PERSONS INVOLVED IN GIVING THE TRAINING AND PERSONS RECEIVING TRAINING TESTIFIED THAT THEY WERE GIVING AND RECEIVING TRAINING IN ORDER TO ENGAGE IN THE UNLAWFUL KILLING OF PEOPLE.

MALAN CLAIMED TO HAVE REPORTED BACK TO THE STATE PRESIDENT PW BOTHA AFTER THE ABOVE. THE PRESIDENT MUST THUS HAVE OF APPROVED OF THIS DECISION.

MZ KHUMALO OF INKATHA WAS THE LINK BETWEEN THE HIT SQUAD, THE SADF AND CHIEF BUTHELEZI. BRIGADIER MATHE OF THE KZP WAS THE PERSON WHO ISSUED FALSE POLICE APPOINTMENT CERTIFICATES TO CAPRIVI TRAINEES. KHUMALO AND MATHE WERE CHIEF BUTHELEZI'S CO-CONSPIRATORS.

THE SADF MEMBERS RESPONSIBLE FOR CARRYING OUT MALAN AND GROENEWALD'S INSTRUCTIONS AS TO THE NATURE OF THE TRAINING IN THE CAPRIVI MUST HAVE KNOWN THAT THEY WERE CREATING A HIT SQUAD. (COLONEL JJ JACOBS, COLONEL JA NIEUWOUDT, CAPTAIN. JP OPPERMAN, SERGEANT A CLOETE AND COLONEL AM BLAAUW AND OTHERS NOT IDENTIFIED).

THE SADF MEMBERS (MORE, VAN TONDER, VAN NIEKERK, COLONEL MA VAN DEN BERG, THE PERSON KNOWN TO LUTHULI AS MAJOR POLBERRY, CLOETE AND OPPERMAN) WHO OPERATED MARION IN 1987 AND BEYOND, AND CAPTAIN BOTHA AND THE LATE MAJOR DEON TERRE-BLANCHE OF THE SAP'S ISU MUST HAVE KNOWN OF LUTHULI AND KHUMALO'S ATTACKS AND AIDED AND ABETTED THEM TO AVOID PROSECUTION.

WITH REGARD TO THEIR ATTEMPTS TO ENSURE THAT CAPRIVI TRAINEES WHO HAD BEEN ARRESTED OBTAINED BAIL AND WERE REMOVED, SAP GENERALS SMIT AND VAN DER MERWE MUST HAVE AT LEAST ATTEMPTED TO DEFEAT THE ENDS OF JUSTICE.

THE SADF'S FINAL WITHDRAWAL FROM THE PROJECT WAS NOT AN ACT OF DISASSOCIATION BUT AN ATTEMPT TO AVOID ITS OWN INVOLVEMENT FROM BEING EXPOSED.

WHEN IT WITHDREW, IT FAILED TO PUT A STOP TO MARION'S UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES, PAVING THE WAY FOR FURTHER ACTS OF VIOLENCE TO BE COMMITTED. THE ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD AND OTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE TRAINEES SHOULD BE SEEN IN THIS LIGHT.

INSOFAR AS IT WAS STRONGLY ARGUED THAT THE COMMISSION SHOULD ACCEPT HUGO J'S FINDINGS THAT THE TRAINING WAS LAWFUL AND THE EVIDENCE OF THE ACCUSED THE FOLLOWING SHOULD BE NOTED:

- THE TRIAL WAS BASED PRIMARILY ON ONE INCIDENT;
- ALTHOUGH A GENERAL CONSPIRACY CHARGE WAS ADDED SHORTLY BEFORE THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE TRIAL, NO EVIDENCE WAS LED TO SUPPORT IT;
- NONE OF THE WITNESSES BEFORE THE COMMISSION TESTIFIED AT THAT TRIAL (COLONEL ROCKY WILLIAMS, GCINA MKHIZE, ZWELI DLAMINI, JAN ANTON NIEUWOUDT AND DALUXOLO LUTHULI);
- HUGO J WAS CRITICAL OF THE FAILURE TO CALL A MILITARY EXPERT AND TO LEAD DETAILED EVIDENCE AS TO THE NATURE OF THE TRAINING;
- HUGO J FURTHERMORE FOUND THAT LUTHULI, VAN DEN BERG AND BLAAUW SHOULD HAVE BEEN CALLED;
- THE CUT OFF DATE OF THE CONSPIRACY CHARGE EXCLUDED SOME OF THE MOST INCRIMINATING MARION DOCUMENTS;
- THE ACCUSED IN THE CRIMINAL TRIAL WERE VERY POORLY CROSS EXAMINED AND NONE OF THE FACTORS WHICH THIS COMMITTEE HAS RELIED ON WERE CANVASSED WITH THEM. MANY OF THE EXTRACTS FROM THE TRIAL WHICH ARE REFERRED TO HEREIN EMERGED FROM THE ACCUSED'S EVIDENCE-IN-CHIEF OR FROM QUESTIONS BY THE JUDGE.

CONSEQUENTLY, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED IN CONSEQUENCE OF OPERATION MARION WERE PART OF A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE THAT ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE FORMER STATE, THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT AND THE INKATHA POLITICAL ORGANISATION. THE BASIS FOR ACCOUNT-

ABILITY FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS ON THE PART OF THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF SUCH ORGANISATIONS IS SET OUT IN ABOVE AND FALLS WITHIN THE DEFINITION CONTAINED IN SECTION 1(IX) (A) AND /OR (B) OF ACT NO. 34 OF 1995. THE INDIVIDUALS REFERRED THERETO ARE:

- MR PIETER WILLEM BOTHA, FORMER STATE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA;
- GENERAL MAGNUS ANDRE DE MERENDAL MALAN, FORMER MINISTER OF DEFENCE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT;
- DR M G BUTHELEZI , FORMER CHIEF MINISTER OF THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT AND PRESIDENT OF THE INKATHA POLITICAL ORGANISATION;
- GENERAL PIETER HENDRIK GROENEWALD, FORMERLY OF THE SADF;
- VICE ADMIRAL ANDRIES PETRUS PUTTER, FORMERLY OF THE SADF;
- MELCHIZEDEC ZAKHELE KHUMALO, FORMERLY PERSONAL ASSISTANT TO PRESIDENT OF INKATHA;
- GENERAL S M MATHE, FORMERLY OF THE KWAZULU POLICE FORCE;
- SIEGFRIED BHENGU, FORMERLY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE INKATHA;
- MANGAQA MNCWANGO, FORMERLY EXECUTIVE MEMBER INKATHA YOUTH BRIGADE;
- CAPTAIN LEONARD LANGENI, FORMERLY OF THE KZP;
- COLONEL JAN ANTON NIEUWOUDT, FORMERLY OF THE SADF;
- LT COL GERHARDUS MARIO JACOBS, FORMERLY OF THE SADF;
- COL H M BLAAUW, FORMERLY OF THE SADF;
- CAPTAIN JOHAN PIETER OPPERMAN, FORMERLY OF THE SADF;
- SGT ANDRE CLOETE, FORMERLY OF THE SADF;
- COLONEL JOHN REEVES MORE, FORMERLY OF THE SADF;
- GENERAL CORNELIUS JACOBUS VAN TONDER, FORMERLY OF THE SADF;
- COLONEL CORNELIUS JOHANNES VAN NIEKERK, FORMERLY OF THE SADF;
- COLONEL MICHAEL ADRIAAN VAN DEN BERG, FORMERLY OF THE SADF;
- COLONEL LOUIS BOTHA, FORMERLY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE;
- GENERAL JOHAN VAN DER MERWE , FORMERLY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE;
- GENERAL SEBASTIAN JACOBUS JOHANNES SMIT, FORMERLY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE.

183 The Commission heard that, in October 1986, approximately fifteen to twenty ‘Caprivi trainees’ were told to report to the police station in the township of Mpumalanga, outside Durban. Although they never underwent any KZP training,

screening or tests and never filled in any KZP application forms, the trainees were issued with KZP certificates appointing them to the rank of detective constable. They were also issued with official police firearms, which they were allowed to take home with them. Most of them were sent to guard the homes of chiefs [amaKhos], *indunas* and councillors in the areas surrounding Pietermaritzburg. Each trainee was expected to identify local Inkatha youth and train them in weapon handling and combat skills.

184 The SAP policed the Mpumalanga township until February 1989, when policing was handed over to the KZP. Under the guise of official law enforcement agents, the 'Caprivi trainee' constables engaged in large-scale hit-squad activities in the Pietermaritzburg/Mpumalanga area for two years, directing their attacks against perceived UDF/ANC members.

185 Mr Zweli David Dlamini [AM3685/96] was part of the group assigned to the Mpumalanga police station. He was issued with a false KZP appointment certificate, a 7.65mm pistol and ammunition. Dlamini spoke of the activities of the trainees in the Mpumalanga area at a special Commission hearing on Caprivi Training:

Dlamini: *At night if there was a chance, we will go out to hit or attack the UDF people.*

Question: *And what prompted you to carry out these attacks, you and these others?*

Dlamini: *We were trained and we knew that we were trained to kill only. There wasn't anything that we knew. Our enemy, the UDF, was operating in those areas where we were working, therefore if you happened to meet a UDF member you have to shoot.*

186 Members of the local KZP station aided the operatives by transporting them to and from the scene of attacks, warning them of possible ANC attacks and providing them with firearms. Certain members of the Pietermaritzburg Security Branch, Riot Unit 8 and Military Intelligence also assisted in the provision of weapons.

187 At the same hearing, former political commissar and commander of the 'Caprivi trainees', Daluxolo Luthuli [AM4075/96], described the role of the 'Caprivi trainees' in Mpumalanga as follows:

During the day the Caprivians worked as police, go out of the police station, do their raids. However, in the evening they have to take off their uniform

and get involved in the struggle. When I refer to 'struggle' I mean it's getting themselves to do what they were trained to do in Caprivi.

- 188 Luthuli applied for amnesty in respect of his involvement in the conflict in Mpumalanga during this period. He told the Commission:

During this period, there were literally hundreds of incidents where attacks were launched against UDF people, property or homes. It is impossible for me to record the extent of these attacks. The comrades responded by attacking us with equal vigour. A state of war existed between us. I often played a command role in directing our attacks. I did the following: arranged for arms and ammunition; distributed arms and ammunition; gathered fighting men; chose people who would lead the attacks and different aspects of the attacks; decided on the strategy of an attack; decided on the target or area to be attacked.

After the attack, I arranged for injured persons to be medically treated by sending them to clinics or hospitals; collected firearms and ammunition and stored them safely; arranged our defensive structures and strategies; reported back to the planning committee through MZ Khumalo.

The Summertime House Attack

Luthuli gave information about an attack on a UDF meeting at a house named 'Summertime' in Unit 1 South Mpumalanga on 18 January 1988. About 300 people were gathered at the house for the meeting. Luthuli did not participate in the attack himself but sent a group led by Mr Phumlani Xolani Mshengu [AM4075/96] and including Mr Sbu Bhengu, members of the Inkatha youth and other 'Caprivi trainees'. According to Luthuli:

"Phumlani Mshengu and Sbu Bhengu were armed with two of our AK-47 rifles. The Inkatha Youth members were also armed with whatever arms we were able to lay our hands on. The group approached the house and commenced firing on the people who were there. From there they went on and attacked other houses. They destroyed approximately eight houses and killed about nine people." [AM 4075/96]

The Commission established that the deceased included Mr Mfanafuthi Gasa, Mr Kinathi Mabhida, Mr Musa Khoza, Mr Thomas Mncwabe, Thomas's brother and a man identified only as 'Rolla'. People in the area told the Commission that an estimated 200 people were injured during this attack.

Former UDF member John Mazwazwa told the Commission that on the day before the meeting at Summertime house, he and other UDF members had expressed concern for the safety of the school children because the new school term was about to begin. Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, who came from the area, was called in because of his claim earlier that he had a police connection who could protect the UDF against an Inkatha attack. At the Summertime house meeting the next day, Cebekhulu allegedly undertook to telephone the police to tell them of the gathering and to ask them to patrol the area. Within two minutes of Cebekhulu's departure, the attack began.

The attack was registered at Hammarsdale police station under CR184/01/88. The Commission was unable to locate this docket either at Hammarsdale or Mpumalanga. However, it was established that attacks on other houses and people in the area on the same night were listed under Hammarsdale CR182/01/88 to CR202/01/88. Of these, eight dockets were missing. In none of these cases was there a prosecution.

- 189 The activities of the 'Caprivi trainees' extended also to the freehold township of Clermont, north-west of Durban. In the early 1980s, Clermont was one of the townships identified for incorporation into the KwaZulu homeland. The campaign for incorporation was led by leading Inkatha member Bekizizwe Samuel Jamile, then KwaZulu Deputy Minister of the Interior and a resident of Clermont.

The Case of Aubrey Nyembezi

The Clermont Advisory Board, a representative body elected by ratepayers in the township in September 1982, opposed incorporation. The Board was chaired by prominent Durban attorney Aubrey Nyembezi and composed of mainly UDF-aligned businessmen and advocates.

In October 1985, three weeks before scheduled elections for the Advisory Board, Nyembezi's home was set alight whilst he and his wife were inside. The couple survived but their house and its contents were destroyed.

Jamile contested the October 1985 election and was defeated. Nyembezi was returned to his position on the newly elected Board, together with Advocate Vuka Shabalala, Mr Zazi Khuzwayo and Mr Emmanuel Norman Khuzwayo.

- 190 During February 1987, Jamile, together with Inkatha-supporting Chiefs Khawula and Lushaba, were attacked with a petrol bomb in Clermont. Jamile blamed members of the Clermont Advisory Board and allegedly instructed hired hit men to kill members of the Board.

The Attempted Killing of Cornelius Delani Sikhakane, Johannes Sibongumusa Luthuli, Khayelihle Ndlovu, Nkosinathi Sithole and Themba Msimango

During April 1987, Jamile instructed Mr Vela Mchunu and another 'Caprivi trainee' to kill UDF members Cornelius Delani Sikhakane, Johannes Sibongumusa Luthuli, Khayelihle Ndlovu, Nkosinathi Sithole and Themba Msimango who were opposed to the incorporation of Clermont into KwaZulu and had used abusive language to Jamile the previous day. Jamile instructed Msizi Hlophe [AM1779/96] to guide the two attackers to a particular house, where they opened fire on the victims. Cornelius Sikhakane and Johannes Sibongumusa Luthuli were injured in the attack.

The Killing of Bhekuyiswe Khumalo

On 5 April 1987, at Mamba Valley Riverside in the Inanda District, Jamile unlawfully and intentionally killed Mr Bhekuyiswe Khumalo, and attempted to kill Mr Thokozile Shabalala. In 1991 Jamile was convicted in the Durban Supreme Court of murder and received the death sentence, later commuted to life imprisonment.

The Killing of Zazi Khuzwayo

During April 1987, Jamile instructed Daluxolo Luthuli to kill Mr Zazi Khuzwayo [KZN/MM/997/DN], a member of the Clermont Advisory Board. Luthuli instructed Sbu Bhengu and 'Caprivi trainees' Phumlani Xolani Mshengu, Alex Sosha Khumalo [AM4027/96] and Vela Mchunu, who carried out the attack on 9 May 1987. Jamile's son, Hlakaniphani Jamile, transported the hit men to and from the scene. Clermont youth Msizi Hlophe [AM1779/96] pointed Khuzwayo out to the assassins.

Hlophe, Luthuli [AM4075/96] and Khumalo [AM4027/96] applied for amnesty in respect of their role in killing Khuzwayo.

The Killing of Pearl Tshabalala

In October 1987, Jamile instructed Daluxolo Luthuli to kill Ms Pearl Tshabalala, a prominent businesswoman and member of a women's organisation which supported the Clermont Advisory Board. Tshabalala was the wife of board member Vuka Tshabalala. Luthuli instructed four 'Caprivi trainees', including Mr Alex Sosha Khumalo and Mr David Zweli Dlamini, to assist him in the killing. Jamile instructed Mr Msizi Hlophe [AM1779/96] to guide the group as they were not familiar with Clermont.

On 15 October 1987, the men fired several shots at Ms Tshabalala's moving vehicle outside her business premises in Clermont. She survived the attack. On the evening of the 10 February 1988, Pearl Tshabalala was shot dead in front of her five-year-old child as she was leaving her business in Clermont [KZN/MM/992/DN].

The Case of Obed and Zuzwe Mthembu

On 21 February 1988, Mr Obed Mthembu and his wife Zuzwe survived an attempt on their lives. Obed Mthembu, who chaired the North Coast Chamber of Commerce, was opposed to incorporation and had delivered a speech at Pearl Tshabalala's funeral just four days earlier.

The Case of Nicholas Mkhize

Taxi owner Nicholas Mkhize was killed on 15 July 1988. He, too, was a prominent businessman opposed to incorporation. He was shot dead by Mzisi Hlophe [AM1779/96], who was later convicted for this murder.

The Case of Emmanuel Khuzwayo

On 28 February 1988, Jamile instructed a 'Caprivi trainee' to kill UDF supporter Emmanuel Norman Khuzwayo, who was also opposed to the incorporation of Clermont into KwaZulu. Again, Jamile asked Mzisi Hlophe [AM1779/96] to accompany the assassin as a guide. Khuzwayo was killed on the same day.

- 191 In 1991, Jamile and Hlophe appeared in court facing fifteen charges, including five counts of murder, seven of attempted murder, and three of incitement to murder. In the indictment, Jamile was accused of being involved between 1987 and 1989 in the killing of UDF-associated persons opposed to the incorporation of Clermont into KwaZulu. Two 'Caprivi trainees' who were implicated during the trial, Zweli Dlamini and Vela Mchunu, were hidden by the KZP until it was over. Owing to the inability of the police to trace these two suspects and other witnesses, Jamile was convicted on only two counts: one of murder and one of attempted murder. Hlophe was convicted on two counts of murder. Jamile was sentenced to life imprisonment but was released in terms of the Indemnity Act of 1992. He had served just one year of his sentence. Hlophe was granted amnesty by the Commission in 1996.

THE COMMISSION FINDS SAMUEL JAMILE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF CAPRIVI TRAINEES IN CLERMONT TOWNSHIP.

Resistance and revolutionary groupings

Sabotage and bombings

- 192 In April 1984, Mr Anamalai 'Daya' Rengasamy and Mr Leelavathi Rengasamy were killed and approximately twenty people were injured in a car bomb explosion on the Durban Esplanade. Less than a fortnight later, on 13 May 1984, there was an RPG-7 attack on the Mobil Oil Refinery, Durban. In an ensuing shoot-out at the refinery, four insurgents and three bystanders were killed. The Security Branch claimed that the four dead men could be linked to the fatal car bomb explosion on the Esplanade, as well as other attacks over the previous two years.
- 193 On 12 July 1984, five people were killed and twenty-seven injured in a car bomb explosion on Bluff Road, Durban. Mr Oliver Tambo asserted that the bomb had been intended for a military convoy and condemned the bombers for being "inexcusably careless" by causing civilian casualties.

Amanzimtoti Bombing

Five people were killed and over sixty injured in a bomb explosion on 23 December 1985 in a shopping centre at the upper South Coast seaside town of Amanzimtoti. The limpet mine had been placed in a refuse bin outside the Sanlam shopping centre. Most of the victims were holidaymakers doing last minute Christmas shopping.

Mr Sibusiso Andrew Zondo (19) was arrested in connection with the bombing in February 1986. Two other MK members thought also to have been involved in the bombing, Mr Phumezo Nxiweni (20) and Mr Sipho Stanley Bhila (31), were subsequently executed by the police (see above).

The state's main accomplice witness in the case, a Mr Mofokeng, told the court that he provided the limpet mine and accompanied Zondo to the shopping centre. Mofokeng claimed that the explosion was in retaliation for the South African security forces' raid on Maseru, Lesotho four days earlier, in which nine people were killed.

Zondo, who admitted his role in the bombing, was convicted and given five death sentences. He was executed on 9 September 1986.

Mr Cornelius Smit, whose son Johan died in the explosion, told the Commission that he saw his son as a martyr whose death had helped usher in the new South Africa [JB00193/02/PS]. Other victims of the explosion

who made statements to the Commission included Mr Ian Shearer [KZN/NNN/522/DN] whose wife, Anna, had been killed and Ms Hluphekile Nkabinde [JB0020/03VT] who was taking her employer's son, Willem van Wyk [JB00207/03VT], for a walk when the bomb exploded, killing the child and injuring her [KZN/NG/010/DN].

In her statement to the Commission, Zondo's mother said that Zondo had told his parents when he was in matric that he would leave the country when he finished school, as he was 'fed up with the system'. His parents never saw him again, but he contacted them briefly a week before his arrest. She said that people leaving his memorial service in KwaMashu were attacked and two children killed. Zondo's brother was seriously assaulted and subsequently suffered from epilepsy, which finally led to his death (Durban hearing).

The Magoo's Bar Bombing

On 14 June 1986, three people were killed and about sixty-nine injured in a car bomb explosion at Magoo's Bar on the Durban beachfront. The operation was carried out by Mr Robert McBride, Ms Greta Apelgren and Mr Matthew le Cordier. McBride was convicted of the killings and sentenced to death three times for the bombing. His sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment and he was released in terms of the Record of Understanding in 1992. Apelgren was acquitted on all counts. Le Cordier gave evidence for the state and escaped prosecution. All three applied to the Commission for amnesty.

At his section 29 hearing, McBride revealed that he had been instructed by his MK commander in Botswana, Mr Aboobaker Ismael, to choose a military target for a car bomb attack. He said that he had conducted a reconnaissance exercise to ascertain that the bar was frequented by off-duty military personnel.

However, cross-examination revealed this exercise had been conducted in an extremely amateurish and naive manner. His claim that the Magoo's bar was targeted because it was believed to be a rendezvous for SADF members could not be substantiated. None of those killed or injured had any link to the military or the SAP.

Newcastle Magistrates' Court Bomb

Twenty-four people were injured in two bomb explosions outside the Magistrates' Court in Newcastle on 11 November 1986. SAP Sergeant Vusimuzi Kunene [KZN/KM/642/NC] lost both legs in the explosions.

In August 1987, MK combatants Thuso Tshika, Basil Sithole, Patrick Nkosi and Abraham Mathe faced charges of terrorism in connection with these explosions and others, including a grenade and small arms attack on 10 October 1986 at Osizweni KZP station, in which one KZP officer was injured.

The first three accused were convicted and sentenced to prison terms on Robben Island. Mathe was acquitted.

Attacks on 'collaborators'

The Killing of Ben Langa

Student activist Ben Langa was killed by MK members in Edendale, Pietermaritzburg in June 1984, on suspicion of being a police informer. Mr Clarence Lucky Payi [ECO855/96STK] and Mr Mashayini Sipho Xulu were sentenced to death for the killing. They were executed on 7 September 1986.

Payi's mother told a Commission hearing in Durban in May 1997 that after her son's execution she received death threats and fled her home.

Escalation of conflict

- 194 The assassination of Durban attorney, Ms Victoria Mxenge (see below) marked a pivotal point in the further polarisation of Inkatha and the UDF. After the event, conflict quickly spread to other townships around Durban, Pietermaritzburg and surrounding areas. The Commission heard that, in the months leading up to Ms Mxenge's death, the security forces had made a public show of cracking down on UDF-aligned activists in an attempt to create the impression that the UDF was the main force behind the political violence in the province. The security forces were often seen to be standing by and refusing to intervene in clashes between the UDF and Inkatha supporters. In other reports, the police were alleged to be actively supporting Inkatha in the conflict.
- 195 The conflict spread also to the factory floor. After the strike and killings of COSATU members in Mphophomeni in 1986 (see below), local conflict and violence in and around Pietermaritzburg intensified dramatically. By the early nineties it was being referred to as 'the Midlands war' (see below).

The killing of Victoria Mxenge and its aftermath

The assassination of Victoria Mxenge

At the time of her death, Ms Victoria Mxenge was an executive member of the UDF. To date there have been no prosecutions in connection with her killing. The Commission received submissions from two independent sources. Both named a former Security Branch operative, Mr Bongani Malinga, as Mxenge's assassin.

According to the ANC's second submission to the Commission, Mr Marvin Sefako (alias Bongani Raymond Malinga) from Hillcrest, Durban, was recruited by the Security Branch. His handler was Brigadier Pieter Swanepoel. Malinga allegedly confessed to the ANC that he had killed at least five people, including Ms Victoria Mxenge, saying:

"[NAME DELETED] shot her five times on the chest but she never fell; whereupon I followed her with an axe and chopped her next to her dining room door."

Malinga also allegedly participated in the attack on the memorial service for Victoria Mxenge (see below). Malinga's case was heard by the ANC's People's Tribunal in Lusaka on 7 May 1990. In addition to the killings, he was found guilty of a number of other 'offences' including 'collaborating with the enemy' to infiltrate the ANC with the intention of killing MK Chief of Staff Chris Hani and MK Commander Joe Modise.

A former ANC member and later head of the Returned Exiles Committee, Mr Patrick Mncedisi Dlongwane [AM8028/97], told the Commission that, while he was detained at the ANC's Quatro camp, he had shared a cell with one Bongani Malinga who claimed he had assassinated Victoria Mxenge. According to Dlongwane, Malinga was killed by ANC members in 1991.

The Umlazi Cinema Massacre

A memorial service for Victoria Mxenge was held in the Umlazi Cinema on 8 August 1985. There was a large contingent of police and soldiers outside the cinema. During the service, hundreds of men armed with assegais [spears], knobkierries [clubs] and firearms burst into the cinema and began stabbing and shooting randomly.

Terrified mourners jumped over the cinema balcony to escape the attackers. Witnesses alleged that the attackers included Inkatha vigilantes recruited from the adjacent shack settlements and from Lindelani, north of Durban.

Soldiers and police were allegedly present but took no action to prevent the attack. Seventeen people died in the incident.

David Sponono Gasa [KZN/NNN/229/DN], Chairperson of the Umlazi Residents' Association, had led the memorial service. He told the Commission at the Durban hearing that Inkatha and KLA members Winnington Sabelo (now deceased) and Thomas Shabalala led the attackers, who stabbed and fired on the mourners.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UNKNOWN INKATHA SUPPORTERS ATTACKED MOURNERS ATTENDING A MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR SLAIN UDF MEMBER, MS VICTORIA MXENGE, AT THE UMLAZI CINEMA ON 8 AUGUST 1985, RESULTING IN THE DEATHS OF SEVENTEEN PEOPLE AND THE INJURY OF TWENTY OTHERS. THE DEATHS AND INJURIES ARISING FROM THIS ATTACK CONSTITUTE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH UNKNOWN SUPPORTERS OF INKATHA ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE. WHILE WITNESSES NAMED AT LEAST TWO PROMINENT INKATHA LEADERS WHOM THEY ALLEGED TO HAVE LED THE ATTACK ON THE UMLAZI CINEMA, THE COMMISSION IS UNABLE TO MAKE A FINDING AGAINST THESE LEADERS. THE ORGANISATION (INKATHA) DID NOT SANCTION OR REBUKE THOSE INVOLVED AND DID NOT DISSOCIATE ITSELF FROM THE VIOLENCE.

The Attack on David Gasa

Victoria Mxenge's funeral was held in King Williams Town in the Eastern Cape, on 12 August 1985. A few days later, David Gasa's home was attacked and burnt.

A mass funeral for the people killed in the Umlazi Cinema attack was held on 23 October 1985. That same day a busload of Inkatha supporters attacked Gasa's home a second time. The attackers were allegedly led by Mr Winnington Sabelo (now deceased). Gasa was out at the time of the attack but his wife and mother-in-law were home.

The attack resulted in the death of his mother-in-law one week later. Six months later, his wife developed hypertension and died.

The Killing of Jacob Dlamini

Mr Josiah Dlamini [KZN/ZJ/037/DN] was the owner of the Umlazi Cinema and made it available for the memorial service. His son, Jacob, was subsequently killed by Inkatha members in Lindelani. Josiah Dlamini told the Commission:

"Jacob was at Lindelani Station. He was about to take a taxi home. As he was still at the station, he saw Inkatha Freedom Party. He was asked as to what he was waiting for, and they started assaulting him at that point. He tried to plead with them and he told them that his father was very well known. He mentioned my name. That's when they decided they should kill him because they said I had organised a night vigil for Mrs Mxenge. He

stayed for four days at the hospital, and thereafter he died. He had been assaulted and he had injuries all over his body."

- 196 Large-scale violence erupted in Umlazi after Mxenge's killing. A State Security Council document compiled in March 1989³⁸ described the killing of Victoria Mxenge as the turning point in the conflict in Natal and KwaZulu:

The murder of Victoria Mxenge, a radical lawyer from Umlazi, on 1 August 1985 – for which the UDF blamed Inkatha and the SAP – was the biggest contributory factor to the [subsequent] violent conflict between the UDF and Inkatha, especially in the Durban area. Large-scale unrest continued until March 1986 and even the state of emergency (June 1986) could not inhibit the sporadic violent incidents. From January 1987 the situation systematically deteriorated and the focal point of the unrest (especially since September 1987) moved to the Pietermaritzburg area.

Zulu/Pondo conflict

- 197 The violence in Umlazi spread to the neighbouring Umbumbulu district, approximately twenty kilometres south of Durban. In December 1985 and January 1986, intense conflict broke out between Zulus and Pondos living in Umbumbulu, particularly in KwaMakhutha and Malukazi. By the end of January 1986, approximately 120 people had been killed and 20 000 people displaced from their homes in and around the township of KwaMakhutha.
- 198 The conflict was often referred to as 'tribal clashes' or 'faction fighting' and was attributed to intense rivalry for land, water and jobs. The ethnic nature of the conflict supported the state's contention that political conflict in the province was 'black on black', and helped play down the failure of the security forces to intervene in a way that might have limited the scale of the suffering and loss.
- 199 According to researchers³⁹, Durban's squatter population grew from around half a million in 1979 to 1.3 million in 1985. This influx exacerbated the struggle for access to basic resources such as water, land and employment. Amongst those making their way to the city were thousands of Pondos streaming in from the Pondoland area of the Transkei in search of employment. Easily distinguishable from Zulus as a group, they were resented for encroaching on scarce resources. Land was allocated informally by powerful local figures and councillors controlled

38 Headed 'Probleemontleding van die onrussituasie in Natal', Appendix A to SSVR/535/7/DD, para 4.

39 Race Relations Survey (RRS) 1986, published by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

the scarce water supplies. Certain tribal leaders favoured Pondos, resulting in the establishment of Pondo enclaves.

200 In December 1985, the head of the Umbumbulu tribal authority, Chief Bhekizitha Makhanya, allegedly insisted that all Pondos living in KwaMakhutha without his permission should leave and return to the Transkei. The KwaZulu representative for Umlazi, Mr Winnington Sabelo (now deceased), also allegedly warned of more bloodshed if the Pondos did not leave.⁴⁰ The Transkei administration, however, supported the Pondos' refusal to leave the area.

201 Serious fighting broke out between Zulus and Pondos at Malukazi, Umlazi, on Christmas Eve of 1985, resulting in sixty-four deaths and up to forty-seven serious injuries. Reportedly, approximately 2 000 Zulus formed into *impis* and attacked 3 000 homes in the area.⁴¹ On 21 January 1986, a Pondo man was killed near Isipingo Rail. Two days later, some 500 Pondos staged a revenge attack on the home and shopping centre of the KwaZulu representative for Umbumbulu, Mr Roy Mbongwe. About 1 000 Zulu supporters arrived and there was a gun battle on the road between Umbogintwini and KwaMakhutha. The police arrested 553 Pondo warriors and confiscated truckloads of weapons. They were held overnight, charged with public violence and released on a warning. In the meanwhile, several Zulu supporters marched on KwaMakhutha where they looted and set fire to homes belonging to Pondo people. Between 4 000 and 10 000 shacks were razed. Police failed to disperse the attackers. The following day, the charred remains of bodies were found in the burnt-out buildings. It is estimated that forty-five people were killed that day. Estimates of the number of Pondos who fled KwaMakhutha that day range between 20 000 and 40 000 – some back to the Transkei while others sought refuge in and around Durban, hiding in the bush and in disused railway coaches.

202 The Pondo settlement at Malukazi, a few kilometres further south, was also affected by the Zulu–Pondo clashes. On 27 January 1986, the Pondo–Zulu conflict spread to Magabheni on the Natal South Coast. The number killed since December rose to 113. On 10 March 1986, the conflict spread to the factory floor at Umbogintwini AECI factory when about 900 Zulu workers downed tools in protest against management's decision to rehire Pondo workers who had fled the violence.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLITICAL AND ETHNIC CONFLICT WHICH BROKE OUT IN THE UMBUMBULU DISTRICT IN DECEMBER 1985 AND JANUARY 1986 CLAIMED THE LIVES OF UP TO 120 PEOPLE AND RESULTED IN THE DISPLACEMENT OF SOME 20 000 PEOPLE FROM THEIR

40 Race Relations Survey (1986)

41 Race Relations Survey (1985).

HOMES IN AND AROUND THE TOWNSHIP OF KWAMAKHUTHA. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT CONFLICT BROKE OUT IN THE CONTEXT OF DEMANDS AND THREATS MADE BY AN INKATHA MEMBER OF THE UMBUMBULU TRIBAL AUTHORITY THAT PONDOS LIVING IN THE AREA SHOULD RETURN TO THE TRANSKEI.

Destruction of the Gandhi settlement, Phoenix

- 203 In August 1985, the settlement established by Mahatma Gandhi in 1904 at Phoenix, outside Durban, was destroyed by fire and looting in violent clashes between Indians and Zulu nationalists. Gandhi's house – known as *Sarvodaya* [for the welfare of all] was also destroyed. The settlement was a symbol of non-racialism, self-reliance and peace in South Africa. It was here that Gandhi formulated his philosophy and technique of *satyagraha*, the form of non-violent struggle that eventually led India to independence.
- 204 The then curator of the settlement, Mr Richard Steele, told the Commission that the conflict was sparked off by the killing of Ms Victoria Mxenge in Umlazi and the rapid escalation of violent clashes between supporters of Inkatha and the UDF. He said that Indians and Africans had been living together harmoniously for fifty years. At the time that conflict broke out, Indian families and traders came under a series of sustained attacks which were, according to Steele, "led by modern-day Zulu warriors wielding sticks and spears, shouting slogans to the effect that Indians must leave because this is all Zulu land".
- 205 Forty-seven Indian shops were looted and razed by fire and 500 Indian families forced to flee. Other buildings destroyed included the Kasturba Gandhi Primary School. Steele noted that residents from a nearby informal settlement were seen stripping the buildings of materials for use on their own houses. Twelve wood-and-iron houses belonging to Indian families on the settlement were burnt by Indian vigilantes who wanted to deny Africans the use of any building materials. Steele said that the police did little to intervene in the attacks as the government had already given these families and traders notice to leave Inanda, in terms of the Group Areas Act.
- 206 Attackers broke into and looted the Gandhi Memorial Library and Museum, *Sarvodaya*, Gandhi's original house and the house built in 1944 by Gandhi's son, Manilal. Steele, who was present at the time, said he saw someone leaving the Museum with a paraffin lamp that Gandhi had used while at Phoenix. He went up to him and, through an interpreter, explained that the lamp should not just be in one person's house, but should be available for all people to see,

because of the kind of person Gandhi was. The lamp was returned. Steele was able to rescue most of the books from the library and a few other items of no apparent use to the looters. Following the ransacking of the settlement, however, most of the buildings were reduced to smouldering ruins.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SETTLEMENT ESTABLISHED BY MAHATMA GANDHI AT PHOENIX, OUTSIDE DURBAN (INCLUDING A LIBRARY, A MUSEUM, A HOMESTEAD AND OTHER BUILDINGS) WAS DESTROYED IN AN ARSON ATTACK BY UNKNOWN SUPPORTERS OF THE INKATHA MOVEMENT IN AUGUST 1985. IN THE SAME INCIDENT, FORTY-SEVEN SHOPS OWNED BY INDIAN TRADERS WERE BURNT DOWN AND 500 INDIAN FAMILIES WERE FORCED TO FLEE THE AREA. THE MULTIPLE ACTS OF ARSON AMOUNT TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH UNKNOWN SUPPORTERS OF THE INKATHA MOVEMENT ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

Clashes in the workplace

- 207 Clashes between COSATU-affiliated workers and UWUSA members were also reported during this period. One of the first clashes between UWUSA and a COSATU affiliate occurred at the Hlobane colliery, near Vryheid, one month after UWUSA was launched in mid-1986. Eleven miners were killed and 115 others injured in clashes between NUM and UWUSA on 6 June 1986.

The Hlobane Colliery Incident

Tensions developed at the Hlobane collieries in 1985 when management and the mineworkers, members of NUM, deadlocked over wage negotiations. This led to a three-day strike. KwaZulu Minister of Welfare, Prince Gideon Zulu, who addressed the workers at the invitation of management, called on them to join the Zulu union which, he said, was to be launched in the near future.

On the day of the UWUSA launch at Kings Park, Durban, in May 1986, NUM members at Hlobane decided to work. Those who attended the rally reported that they were advised to leave NUM and join UWUSA. Management formally recognised the new union, alienating members of NUM, who accused management of promoting the idea that COSATU (and therefore, NUM) was for Xhosas and UWUSA for Zulu mineworkers.

On 6 June 1986, miners went on strike after a shop steward was dismissed. They gathered in the company hall to attend a meeting with management. At about 09h00, two busloads of Inkatha supporters from Nqutu, Nongoma and Ceza arrived. They were seen talking to the mine security personnel and police who had been called in to monitor the strike, then they allegedly began attacking the strikers in the hall. The police and mine security officials allegedly assisted the Inkatha attackers.

Eleven people died and at least 115 were injured in clashes as the workers attempted to escape the hall. Many Xhosa miners lost their jobs as a result of this incident and had to return to the Transkei (Newcastle hearing). In May 1987, the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court granted NUM members at the colliery an interdict restraining UWUSA members from assaulting them [KZN/FS/200/NC].

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ELEVEN MINERS WERE KILLED AND 115 OTHERS INJURED BY UNKNOWN INKATHA SUPPORTERS IN CLASHES BETWEEN NUM AND UWUSA MEMBERS AT THE HLOBANE COLLIERY, NEAR VRYHEID, ON 6 JUNE 1986, CONSTITUTING GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH UNKNOWN SUPPORTERS OF THE INKATHA MOVEMENT ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

- 208 The township of Mphophomeni, near Howick in the Natal Midlands, was built in 1985 when black residents were forcibly removed from Howick into the boundaries of KwaZulu. Most of the residents were employed at the British Tyre and Rubber (BTR) Sarmcol factory, part of the British-based Dunlop Group.

The Sarmcol Strike

In 1985, Sarmcol workers went on strike in support of demands for recognition of their union, the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU). Management claimed the strike was illegal and, in March 1985, fired all 970 workers.

Virtually the entire township population was without employment and COSATU established a co-op to assist the fired workers. Local, regional and international pressure was applied to have the workers reinstated. Management employed replacement workers, mainly Inkatha supporters, whom the strikers resented as scabs.

The strike-breakers initially stayed on the factory premises for their own protection and later commuted from distant Inkatha strongholds. Although Mphophomeni was administered by KwaZulu, it had become a UDF-dominated area and Inkatha supporters were forced to move out to neighbouring KwaHaza and KwaShifu.

On 5 December 1986, Inkatha held a rally in the Mphophomeni community hall attended by approximately 200 Inkatha supporters, mainly Youth Brigade members. On leaving the hall, they spread out throughout the township, assaulting residents and damaging property. Four prominent MAWU members, Mr Phineas Sibiyi [KZN/SW/001/PN], Mr Micca Sibiyi, Mr Simon Ngubane [KZN/NN/117/PM] and Ms Flomena Mnikathi [KZN/NN/117/PM] were abducted and forced into the community hall, where armed men in KZP uniforms

questioned and assaulted the union members. They were then bundled into a car and driven towards Lions River. Though shot and injured, Micca Sibiyi managed to escape. The charred bodies of the remaining captives were found the following day.

A formal inquest (Howick Inquest 13/88) into the killing of the three MAWU members found nine known Inkatha members responsible for the killings. Despite the inquest finding, no one has been charged for these killings to date. One of those named was Mr Vela Mchunu, a 'Caprivi trainee'. In order to prevent Mchunu from testifying at the inquest, KZP Captain Leonard Langeni and Chief Minister Buthelezi's personal assistant, Mr MZ Khumalo, arranged for him to be hidden at the Mkhuze camp. In 1987, Sarmcol signed a recognition agreement with UWUSA, the Inkatha-aligned trade union, set up in opposition to COSATU.

In March 1998, thirteen years after the initial strike, the Appeal Court ruled in favour of the 970 dismissed strikers. The Court found that BTR Sarmcol was, to a large extent, to blame for the strike and that management had "snatched at the opportunity" to dismiss the workers, which it had done in "an unfair and over-hasty manner". In his judgement, Judge Pierre Olivier stated that the BTR Sarmcol's "real desire" had been to get rid of the union and its members. The mass dismissal had been followed by a careful policy of selective re-employment to ensure that the union and its workers did not return to the factory floor.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE KILLING OF PROMINENT TRADE UNIONISTS IN MPHOPHOMENI TOWNSHIP BY MEMBERS OF INKATHA AND THE KZP SET IN MOTION A LENGTHY PERIOD OF POLITICAL CONFLICT RESULTING IN WIDESPREAD GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH INKATHA AND THE KZP ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

The Midlands war

- 209 After the strike and killings of COSATU members in Mphophomeni in 1986, local areas in and around Pietermaritzburg became increasingly polarised. The tribal areas surrounding Pietermaritzburg had been strongly Inkatha-supporting, governed by Inkatha-supporting *amaKhosi* and *indunas*. However, in the latter part of the 1980s, many young people began rebelling against tribal authorities and openly expressing sympathy with the UDF. Many adults also renounced their Inkatha membership. Inkatha was in retreat in the Vulindlela Valley. Rumours spread that chiefs and *indunas* had fled for their lives.

- 210 During 1987, as a result of their waning support, Inkatha embarked on a substantial recruitment drive in the Edendale and Vulindlela valleys, bordering on Pietermaritzburg. They were assisted by a number of 'Caprivi trainees' who had been deployed in the area from late 1986. UDF supporters vigorously resisted Inkatha's attempts to make inroads into their areas. The conflict escalated dramatically from 1987 and came to be referred to as the Midlands War.
- 211 At around this time, some 300 Inkatha recruits were trained and deployed as special constables in the greater Pietermaritzburg area in order to bolster the presence of Inkatha, particularly in the Edendale Valley, KwaShange and other sections of Vulindlela. Conflict initially broke out in the Edendale Valley (which included Imbali, Ashdown, Caluza, Harewood) and then spread into the Vulindlela valley. Strong allegations have emerged of collusion between Inkatha and the SAP in attacks on UDF supporters. UDF members were detained in their hundreds while, at most, a handful of Inkatha supporters were detained.
- 212 So intense was the fighting in the township of Imbali during the latter half of the 1980s that a foreign journalist likened it to Beirut. Statements made to the Commission indicate that, with perhaps one exception, a few prominent Inkatha supporters were repeatedly implicated in violent crimes in the township.
- 213 In 1983, the South African government attempted to impose a local town council on Imbali in terms of the new Black Local Authorities Act.⁴² This brought tension between Inkatha, which sought to gain control of the new town council, and UDF supporters and community residents who actively resisted the imposition of the government's local authority structure. In October 1983, at council elections in Imbali, only three of the six seats were contested, and 248 votes cast. Patrick Pakkies was elected as mayor and councillors included Jerome Mncwabe and Abdul Awetha (see above).
- 214 Pietermaritzburg Security Branch member, Warrant Officer Rolf Warber, was frequently named in statements made to the Commission in connection with harassing and intimidating non-Inkatha supporters in Imbali. During the Trust Feed Trial (see above), evidence emerged to the effect that Warber had assisted in the purchase of twenty-four revolvers on behalf of Inkatha members in Imbali in 1988. Three of those for whom he bought firearms were implicated in murder cases. They were Mr Abdul Awetha, Mr 'Skweqe' Mweli and Mr Toti Zulu.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT PIETERMARITZBURG SECURITY BRANCH MEMBER ROLF WARBER DELIBERATELY AND UNLAWFULLY, AND IN BREACH OF STANDING SAP REGULATIONS, INCITED

⁴² Black Local Authorities Act No 102 of 1982

SPECIAL CONSTABLE TRAINEES, ON THEIR DEPLOYMENT IN NATAL, TO ATTACK AND KILL MEMBERS OF THE UDF. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, AS A RESULT OF SUCH TRAINING AND INCITEMENT, THE TRAINEES DID IN FACT ENGAGE IN UNLAWFUL ACTS INCLUDING KILLING. SUCH ACTS CONSTITUTE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH WARBER IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

The Case of Vusumuzo Khambule

The vice-president of the Imbali Youth Organisation during the 1980s, Mr Vusumuzo Khethokwakhe Khambule [KZN/NNN/290/PM], told the Commission that he was repeatedly intimidated and harassed by both the Special Branch and Inkatha members in Imbali during the 1980s.

In 1984, Khambule was detained, tortured and interrogated by members of the Security Branch. On his release, the police attempted to recruit him as an informer. In 1986, both his house and car were petrol-bombed and destroyed by Inkatha members Dika Awetha, Mandla Madlala (now deceased) and one other. Also in 1986, he alleged, Inkatha supporter Thu Ngcobo (now deceased) attempted to poison him at his workplace. He further alleged that Awetha tried to run him over.

To his knowledge, there have been no prosecutions in relation to any of these incidents.

The Case of Hansford Shangase

Mr Hansford Thabo Shangase [KZN/PMB/210/PM], a UDF supporter, was attacked by Inkatha supporters at the Imbali sports ground during an inter-school sports meeting on 17 July 1986. The attack left him unconscious and in hospital for a year. He remained paralysed and confined to a wheelchair.

Shangase told a Pietermaritzburg hearing of the Commission that shortly after his discharge from hospital, he was attacked again, this time while defenceless in his wheelchair. He said:

"I was discharged in hospital in 1987. When I was outside the main road next to my house was always crowded with these people. They used to scream at me and tell me that, 'Are you still here? Are you still here? We will come after you.' And I just didn't take them into consideration, I kept on staying at home. And then one day they came by a combi [minibus]. Two guys got off. And in that combi there were also policemen, and they came to me and they said they are here to fetch me because they need me from the police station. So when I asked them, 'Whose combi is this?' one guy took a gun out and shot at me next to my mouth, my cheek, and at my back. After that,

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

Shangase told the Commission that the group of Inkatha supporters and KZP included Toti Zulu and Wasela Awetha, aka Sean Hoosen Awetha.

The Case of Busisiwe Paulina Mbeje and Others

Around November/December 1987, 'Caprivi trainees' Zweli Dlamini and Trevor Nene were posted to guard Councillor Jerome Mncwabe (now deceased) at Imbali. While they were there, fighting broke out in the area. Mr Daluxolo Luthuli arrived at Mncwabe's home with additional support in the form of more 'Caprivi trainees' (Mr Alex Sosha Khumalo, Mr Sbu Bhengu, Mr Phumlani Xolani Mshengu, Mr De Molefe, Mr Thulani Vilakazi and one other).

As they arrived it appeared to them that a large UDF group was about to attack Mncwabe's house. Luthuli and his men decided to attack first and approached the group, Luthuli shouting instructions to the trainees. They started by throwing stones and then fired shots, which were returned by the UDF group. The shooting carried on until a police helicopter arrived.

By that time, the attack had moved about 800 metres from Mncwabe's house into a cemetery. According to Dlamini, about ten people were shot dead and many others injured. The Commission was unable to confirm these figures.

However, it is believed that Ms Busisiwe Paulina Mbeje was one of those killed during this incident. Mbeje's grandmother, Ms Lorra Msimango, told the Commission that Paulina was killed on 30 December 1987 at the Sinathing cemetery, together with other children, by Jerome Mncwabe and his Inkatha supporters. She told the Commission that these Inkatha supporters were not from the area and were thought to have been brought in by Mncwabe for the purpose of attacking the UDF.

Others who were injured in the attack include Ms Bongiwe Mbeje, Mr Simangalisso Mkhathshwa and Ms Sibongile Mabuza.

Alex Sosha Khumalo [AM4027/96], Daluxolo Luthuli [AM4075/96] and Zweli Dlamini [AM3685/96] have applied for amnesty in respect of this incident.

- 215 Following this attack, the 'Caprivi trainees' under Luthuli gathered at Mncwabe's house and planned several counter-attacks. Together they made petrol bombs that they then used in an attack on the home of a UDF supporter. According to

their amnesty applications some people died in the attack, others were injured and the house was badly burnt.

The Case of the Ndlovu Family

On 21 May 1989, the Imbali home of COSATU shop steward Ms Jabu Ndlovu [KZN/MPN/001/JB] was attacked by well-known Imbali Inkatha supporters, including Mr Jerome Mncwabe, Mr Thulani Ngcobo, Mr Michael Thu Ngcobo and Mr Sichizo Zuma, who were seen knocking at the Ndlovu's door. Jabu's husband, Mr Jabulani Ndlovu, who opened the door, was shot fifteen times.

The attackers then set the house alight. One of the Ndlovu's two daughters, Khumbu, tried to escape, but was shot and forced back into the burning house. Jabulani died at the scene. Jabu and her daughter both died later as a result of their burns.

In August 1989, Thulani Ngcobo, Mr Petros Ngcobo and Mr Fredrick Mhlaluka, all of Imbali, were charged with the killings of Jabu, Jabulani and Khumbu Ndlovu. They were denied bail. In a separate hearing, Jerome Mncwabe was also charged with the three murders. He was granted bail of R750.

Mncwabe was killed in May 1990. Michael Thu Ngcobo was killed on 1 January 1990. His killing led to the acquittal of his brother, Petros, who told the court in August 1990 that Michael Thu had often borrowed his gun, which had been ballistically linked to the killings of the Ndlovus. Petros Ngcobo told the court that he knew nothing of the attack on the Ndlovus and others for which he was charged. The judge accepted this evidence and Ngcobo was acquitted. No further convictions have followed.

■ 1990-1994

Historical overview

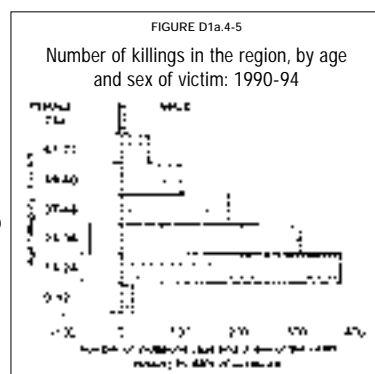
216 The political transition to democracy in South Africa, heralded by the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990, was marked by a renewed escalation of civil strife in the province. One of the major expressions of this was the so-called 'Seven Day War' in the lower Vulindlela and Edendale Valleys south of Pietermaritzburg at the end of March 1990 (see below).

217 In July 1990, Inkatha was formally constituted as a political party – the IFP –and embarked on recruitment campaigns in KwaZulu and Natal. At the same time,

many UDF activists and affiliates were engaged in open political campaigning as members of the now unbanned ANC.

218 The political climate in the province during this period was characterised by a gross political intolerance and growing enmity between the ANC and the IFP. This was particularly true of areas known to be party strongholds, where efforts to establish freedom of political activity and association often resulted in violent clashes and forced dissenting individuals to flee with their families. The battle for territorial control led to frequent and widespread outbreaks of conflict and violence in the province. Tens of thousands of people were affected by the violence, suffering death, injury, maiming, bereavement and displacement on a large scale.

219 Youth were in the front line on both sides of the conflict. While whole families were drawn into the violence, the evidence before the Commission indicates that most of the casualties of war were in the thirteen to twenty-four years age group, followed by the twenty-five to thirty-six years age group. The traditional notions of the relationship between old and young had shifted perceptibly. Many parents told the Commission that the political conflict had mobilised their children beyond the reach of the parental protection they needed. *Ukuhlonipha* [respect], the cornerstone of African cultural and social life, had broken down substantially.



220 Parents and elders living in the tribal areas had had little if any exposure to the ANC and/or UDF and chose to stay with what they knew – the IFP. As a result, many families were divided along generational lines. Some parents disowned their children; others were attacked for failing to control their children and allowing them to join the ANC. As a result, many young people took to living in the forests and bush. They were unable to attend school for fear of being attacked.

221 While two sides were clearly perceptible in the political conflict and violence, allegiances were at times complex and ambiguous. Inkatha had an independent existence and support base, but was seen by the state as an essential ally in its attempt to withstand ANC/UDF resistance. At least one ANC leader who rose to considerable power and prominence in the Midlands was later exposed as an informer for the security police and became associated with the activities of a prominent Inkatha warlord in the area.

- 222 The theory of a 'third force' involved in the unfolding conflict was often used to explain and analyse events in this period. The term, however, came to carry a multiplicity of meanings. ANC president Oliver Tambo had used it earlier to label non-ANC opposition groups, especially those associated with Black Consciousness and Africanism. By the mid- to late-1980s, it came to be used in the province to refer to various activities that seemed to fall outside the conflict between the ANC and Inkatha. At times, it was used to refer to activities with chains of command running all the way up to ministerial or even presidential level. At others, it referred to the local police who took sides in incidents involving Inkatha and the ANC. It was even used to explain purely criminal activity. Amnesty applicant Captain Brian Mitchell said that the special constables deployed in the Midlands in the late 1980s were the 'third force', created by the SAP and deployed specifically to destabilise UDF areas and kill UDF supporters.
- 223 The Commission received reports of partisanship and intolerance displayed by traditional leaders, IFP-supporting township councillors and the KZP, preventing the ANC from making inroads into their areas. Indeed, the first ever ANC gatherings to be permitted on the North Coast (in Ngwelezane and Esikhawini) were in March 1993, some three years after the organisation's unbanning. At worst, ANC supporters became the targets of violent attack.
- 224 In 1990, an amendment to the Natal Zulu Code of Law virtually legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons and the arming of the *amaKhosi*. The Chief Minister's department could issue G-3 semi-automatic rifles to chiefs and headmen for the protection of KwaZulu government property, thereby circumventing normal weapons licensing regulations. State functionaries were able, by way of permits, to issue these weapons to 'tribal policemen' or 'community guards'. By law, these weapons were to be used to protect KwaZulu government buildings and property. However, evidence points overwhelmingly to the fact that they were also used in clashes between ANC and IFP supporters.
- 225 Evidence has also emerged that the IFP was receiving arms and ammunition from right-wing organisations and sections of the security forces. Statements made to the Commission by both victims and perpetrators contain many allegations of SAP and security force complicity with IFP supporters. In July 1991, a *Weekly Mail* investigation revealed that the security police had secretly funded Inkatha rallies held in November 1989 and in March 1990 to the tune of R250 000. The government admitted to the allegations and said that secret funding to Inkatha had ceased after March 1990. This was disproved in November 1991 when the

Weekly Mail published evidence that security police had funded an IFP rally in Umzumbe (South Coast) in January 1991. The security police admitted to funding this rally.

- 226 By the beginning of the 1990s, the conflict had spread to rural areas which – apart from some ‘faction fighting’ – had escaped much of the political turbulence and violence of the preceding decades. The political struggle was taken to the rural areas by unionised workers and youth. Many of the rural youth had attended township schools where they were exposed to the ANC and to political activism. Back home, they directed attacks at IFP-supporting chiefs and local councillors whom they labelled as non-representative, non-democratic and, in some cases, corrupt. They questioned the decision-making processes under the tribal system and developed a general disrespect for and rejection of tribal officials. Violence was perceived as a way to replace autocratic tribal institutions with democratic structures.
- 227 IFP-supporting chiefs who lost their lives in the conflict included Chief J Ndlovu from Ixopo, Chief Duma from Donnybrook, Chiefs Memela and Molefe, both from Bulwer and Chiefs Nyela Dlamini and Majozi, both from Richmond. The IFP’s submission to the Commission lists more than twenty *indunas* (headmen) who died in political conflict.
- 228 In 1990, three IFP residents of Mahwaqa ward, Mtwalume (South Coast), successfully secured a court interdict restraining their chief, Bhhekizwe Luthuli, and his supporters from threatening, intimidating, destroying their properties or engaging in any unlawful attacks on any persons resident in Mahwaqa ward [Case no 3046/90]. In their *affidavits*, Chief Luthuli was cited as the main aggressor who mobilised and led his *amabutho* to attack their homes on 3 March 1990 – leading to the destruction of more than 200 houses belonging to ANC supporters. Chief Luthuli was alleged to have ordered his people to kill all UDF children in his area. He was also alleged to have led armed men in three consecutive attacks at Mahwaqa between 23 and 25 March 1990, in which eleven people were killed.
- 229 On 14 September 1991, the ANC and IFP were party to the signing of the National Peace Accord, binding themselves to adopt certain procedures and to change the strategies and tactics currently employed by their supporters. In practice, however, the Peace Accord did little to change the situation.
- 230 The Peace Accord made provision for the establishment of “voluntary associations or self-protection units in any neighbourhood to prevent crime and to prevent any

invasion of the lawful rights of such communities" (clause 3.7.1). It stated unequivocally that "all existing structures called self-defence units shall be transformed into self-protection units" (clause 3.7.6) and that "no party or political organisation shall establish such units on the basis of party or political affiliation, such units being considered private armies" (clause 3.7.2). In reality, neither of these clauses was adhered to. The ANC continued to use the term 'self-defence unit' (SDU) to describe its paramilitary, community-based 'defence' units, while the IFP adopted the term 'self-protection unit' (SPU) in place of previous terms such as tribal policemen or community guards.

- 231 ANC-aligned SDUs emerged in the mid-1980s following a decision by the external mission of the ANC to become more involved in internal politics. The SDUs underwent formal paramilitary training under MK, primarily outside South Africa's borders. Informal training was conducted in a number of local communities as well as in the Transkei. The ANC gave arms and assistance selectively to areas hardest hit by violence, such as the Transvaal and Natal. The SDUs also drew upon community resources to arm and sustain themselves. The Commission heard that arms were also procured for some ANC-aligned union leaders. Amnesty applicant Alexander Erwin⁴³ [AM6091/97] told the Commission that in 1988 he was in command of a defence operation for NUMSA leaders in the province. Weapons procured under his command were used in offences committed in various places around the province.
- 232 The SDUs were most organised in the townships/urban areas. They were composed largely of radicalised youth, many of whom had abandoned their education and chosen to rebel against their elders and the local authorities. The militaristic and highly politicised nature of the SDUs bred a culture of violence and lawlessness, which was especially harmful to impressionable township youth. This led to many of the SDUs turning into criminal gangs. In some Natal communities, the SDUs became uncontrollable and unaccountable to the residents. Internal divisions and conflict became a feature of SDU activity, particularly in rural communities where the ANC was less organised.
- 233 In September 1993, the IFP and KLA embarked on what was to be the biggest training project of IFP supporters yet. The SPU training project was based at the Mlaba camp near Mkhuze in Northern Natal. By April 1994, over 5 000 IFP supporters had received so-called self-protection training at the Mlaba camp (as well as at the Emandleni-Matleng camp).

43 At present Minister of Trade and Industry

- 234 By mid-1993 the province had become a jigsaw puzzle of party political strongholds and 'no-go' areas. Townships and tribal authorities were divided into ANC and IFP sections. Arson attacks, involving the widespread burning of houses, became a means of forcing residents to flee their homes, thereby facilitating the consolidation of a party stronghold. The incidence of such attacks increased dramatically in the period leading up to the national elections in 1994, affecting the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. The Commission heard evidence to the effect that supporters of the IFP were overwhelmingly responsible for pursuing this means of eradicating their opposition.
- 235 Mr Fred Kockett, a journalist who spent five years reporting on the Natal violence, described it as follows⁴⁴:

In the townships, people are confronted with violence at every turn. On their way to work, at work, in the city, at home, at play, at weddings, [at funerals and night vigils], at community meetings, in their beds at night. Life in the townships, never normal under Apartheid, was now very abnormal. Coping with threats or the death of a friend had become as habitual for residents of the townships as it was for people in suburbia to lock their front door security gates when they left home each day.

- 236 These conditions remained unchanged until a few days before the April 1994 national elections when the IFP, which had maintained a policy of non-participation, agreed to contest the elections.

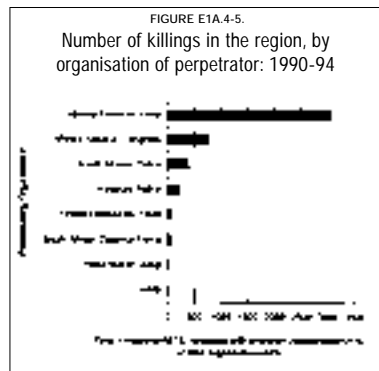
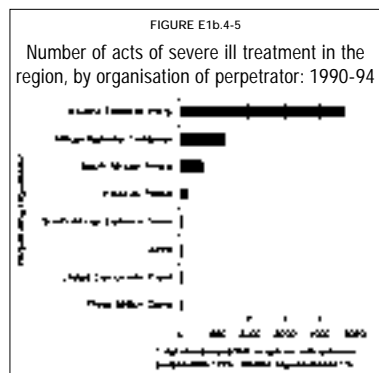
Overview of violations 1990 – May 1994

- 237 More cases of severe ill treatment and politically motivated killings were reported to the Commission for this period (1990-1994) than for any other. This accounts for the apparent decline in numbers of acts of torture reported for the period. The statistics show the following: severe ill treatment 58%; killing 32%; associated violations 3%; attempted killing 3%; torture 2%; abduction 2%.



44 'Natal Violence – There are few innocents', Review (November 1990 –11).

238 Statistics drawn from evidence before the Commission show that the overwhelming majority of acts of severe ill treatment and politically motivated killings were attributed to members and supporters of the IFP. The great majority of reported cases of severe ill treatment were attributed to supporters of the IFP. While the number of reported acts of torture was substantially lower for this period, by far the majority of these acts were attributed to members of the SAP. The majority of associated violations reported in the province for this period were attributed to supporters of the IFP, followed by those attributed to the SAP. A substantial number of associated violations were attributed to supporters of the ANC.



Police misconduct

Riot Unit Activities

239 Mr William Basil Harrington [AM0173/96], a member of Riot Unit 8 from 1988–91, told the Seven Day War hearing that:

When the ANC was unbanned, I never went to a lecture or anything like that which would explain to me that they were no longer regarded as terrorists. I continued my war, because the ANC war against myself and us showed no signs of abating. For that reason I did not stop taking Inkatha members in small groups to areas at night, and for that reason I assured the safety of the Inkatha members and supporters by accompanying them to certain

areas, and for that reason also I allowed the special constables to fire shots at ANC people from my vehicle whilst we were busy performing patrols, and for that reason I wanted to chase away the ANC when the ANC people and Inkatha wanted to attack each other.

- 240 Special constable Nhlanhla Philemon Madlala [AM3432/96], who was based with Riot Unit 8, told the Commission that the Riot Unit sold guns to the IFP/Inkatha in Greytown (around 1990).

SAP Murder and Robbery Unit

The Killing of Simon Msweli and Michael Mthethwa

Two well-known ANC members in KwaSokhulu were killed by a member of the Empangeni SAP Murder and Robbery unit in August 1992. Former Detective Warrant Officer Hendrik Jacobus Steyn [AM0069/96] was sentenced to eighteen years' imprisonment for the killing of Mr Simon Bongani Msweli (24) and Mr Michael Mthethwa. He has applied for amnesty.⁴⁵

During the early hours of the 14 August 1992, the SADF (SADF) surrounded the house where Msweli and Mthethwa had spent the night. A battle ensued, the details of which are not certain. Witnesses allege that the two men were dragged into a nearby SAPPI forest where they were viciously assaulted. It appears that the SADF then loaded the two men into their vehicle, allegedly to take them to hospital. The SADF vehicle was intercepted by Steyn who dragged the men out of the vehicle and shot them both dead.

In his amnesty application, Steyn, an IFP member, said that he felt it was necessary to 'eliminate' the two men in order to stabilise the area:

"Sedert die persone se dood is daar, na wat verneem word, geen onrus meer nie" [from what one hears there has been no more unrest since the person's death].

At the Empangeni hearing, Simon Msweli's mother, Ms Josephina Msweli [KZN/MR/205/EM], said:

"I think they were assaulted until they died because we couldn't even identify him. His eyes had been gouged out. He was never shot. He was tortured. He was violated. He was also mutilated. We could not identify him. I only identified him through his thumb. There was a certain mark on his thumb."

⁴⁵ According to Steyn, Msweli was wanted by the police in connection with at least thirty-eight offences, including seventeen killings and other cases of attempted murder, arson, public violence, theft, etc.

KZP

- 241 After the ANC was unbanned in 1990, the KZP made efforts to frustrate the movement's attempts to gain political ground in KwaZulu. Residents of some townships, notably KwaMashu, KwaMakhutha and Esikhawini, went so far as to describe the KZP as inflicting a reign of terror in their areas. A number of KZP members gained particular notoriety for killing people perceived as UDF/ANC sympathisers. They appeared to be immune from prosecution. Two examples are Detective Constable Siphwe Mvuyane from Umlazi, who allegedly claimed to have killed "more than twenty but not more than fifty people", and Constable Khethani Shange from KwaMashu.
- 242 Calls for the disbanding of the KZP gained momentum during 1990, with a national stay away and countrywide marches. In March 1990, 15 000 residents of KwaMakhutha protested against the presence of the KZP and handed over a memorandum of grievances against the local KZP. In April, over 50 000 Umlazi residents marched and handed over a memorandum calling for the immediate withdrawal of the KZP. In June, Madadeni residents marched to the KZP station and demanded the removal of the KZP from the township.
- 243 Many successful interdicts and restraining orders were brought against the KZP during the early 1990s.
- 244 During 1992, the KZP was investigated by the Wallis Subcommittee of the Goldstone Commission, recommending that certain KZP members should be suspended and/or investigated. This was not followed up.
- 245 In late 1993, three members of a KZP/IFP hit squad operating in the Esikhawini township near Richards Bay were arrested. In February 1994, the then Commissioner of the KZP, Major-General Roy During, admitted to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) that he knew of the existence of hit squads within the KZP. He resigned a few months later.
- 246 The Wallis Subcommittee of the Goldstone Commission stated:

The fact that there is incompetence of this magnitude in a police force having a responsibility for policing one of the most sensitive areas of the country in the run-up to the elections due to take place on the 27 and 28 April 1994, is of itself a cause not only for grave concern but a cause for steps to be taken to remedy that situation.

- 247 The KZP took over policing of the KwaMakhutha township (in the Umbumbulu district, south of Durban) from the SAP in June 1986. Within the first three weeks, residents filed more than twenty *affidavits* of assault by KwaMakhutha KZP members, some of which led to successful prosecutions. In October 1989, a large group of women in KwaMakhutha met with the Umlazi station commander to complain about the KwaMakhutha KZP.

The Killing of Raphael and Winnie Mkhize

Two UDF activists, Mr Raphael and Ms Winnie Mkhize [KZN/NN/022/DN], were killed in an attack on their KwaMakhutha home in the early hours of 9 March 1990. Their son, Duduzi Mkhize, was wounded. In May 1990, eight people, including four KZP members, were arrested in connection with the killings, namely Constables Patrick Mbambo (25), Wellington Mncwango (26), Mohande Whu and Cyril Ngema (27). They were released on bail.

- 248 Constable Cyril Ngema, a 'Caprivi trainee', subsequently disappeared, failing to appear in court on 21 January 1991. A warrant for his arrest was issued two days later. The investigating officer, Jacobus Willem Bronkhorst of the SAP Detective Branch, said that the KZP told him that Ngema had left the KZP. For over two years Bronkhorst searched unsuccessfully for Ngema, making inquiries at the KZP Headquarters in Ulundi, the KwaMakhutha police station and the KZP Murder and Robbery Unit, as well as to Captain Hlengwa.
- 249 Eventually in late 1993, Bronkhorst traced Ngema to Pongola and arrested him. Ngema was on duty as a policeman at the time of his arrest.

The Case of Mkhanyiseni Mngadi

Two of the KZP police officers who had been arrested in connection with killing the Mkhizes – Mr Wellington Mncwango and Mr Mohande Whu – were convicted in January 1992 in connection with the attempted murder of KwaMakhutha community leader Mkhanyiseni Eden Mngadi [KZN/NNN/556/DN]. Mngadi, the secretary of the KwaMakhutha Peace Committee, was shot three times in a 02h00 attack on his home on 13 March 1990, just four days after the killing of Raphael and Winnie Mkhize.

- 250 Following the killing of the Mkhize couple and the attempt on Mr Eden Mngadi's life, a general stay away was called for the 14 March to call for the withdrawal of the KZP from KwaMakhutha. More than 15 000 KwaMakhutha residents marched to the KZP station and handed over a memorandum to Colonel Cele of the

KwaMakhutha KZP. The memorandum listed incidents that had taken place during the first two weeks of March 1990: not responding to emergency calls; insulting and assaulting residents and conniving with warlords who were accommodated at the police barracks; disrupting funeral vigils; failing to take action against vigilantes; constantly raiding the homes of UDF members.

- 251 In April 1990, two SAP members living in KwaMakhutha made a successful, urgent application to the Supreme Court for an order restraining the KZP from attacking any person in KwaMakhutha. One of these, an SAP member of thirty-two years' service, Detective Sergeant Joseph Kabanyane [KZN/KM/508/DN], told the Supreme Court:

The KZP in KwaMakhutha have shown themselves to be a completely partial force who seem to be incapable of maintaining law and order in the area. Repeatedly they have been seen to be actively supporting one group in their actions against township residents. Through their conduct in attacking and shooting residents at random and for no apparent reason, they have shown themselves to be highly reckless and are a real danger to the livelihood and wellbeing of local residents.

- 252 Kabanyane himself had twice been assaulted by KZP members when he attempted to intervene in unprovoked attacks on ANC-supporting residents.

- 253 In 1990, the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) released a report entitled 'Signposts to Peace' in which they said:

In areas like KwaMakhutha, where there is the clearest possible evidence of misconduct, the KZP must be suspended from duty and be replaced by the SAP.

- 254 Detective Constable Siphiwe Mvuyane joined the SAP in 1986 and transferred to the KZP in 1987-88. He was stationed at the Umlazi police station known as G Police Station (see above). In a report published in June 1992, the LRC listed nineteen killings in which Mvuyane was implicated in Umlazi between February and September 1992.⁴⁶

- 255 Mvuyane was suspended from the KZP in mid-1992, pending the outcome of criminal investigations against him. He was shot dead in May 1993. At the time of his death, he was facing fifty criminal charges, including the killing of ANC activists. From statements made to the Commission, Mvuyane was found to be

⁴⁶ Legal Resources Centre (Durban) and Human Rights Commission (Durban), Obstacle to Peace: The Role of the KZP in the Natal Conflict. Joint report. June 1992, p. 209.

the perpetrator of at least twelve gross human rights violations, including nine killings. All the incidents occurred in the period 1990–92.

The Attack on the Bhengu Family

The KwaMakhutha home of UDF/ANC supporters David and Maria Bhengu [KZN/NNN/013/DN] was attacked on 19 January 1990, allegedly by KZP and IFP members including Mvuyane. Maria and their two children, Siphelile and Hlengwa, were shot dead. David Bhengu survived by escaping through the window. The house was looted.

The Killing of Austin Zwane

A school pupil, Austin Zwane [KZN/NN/006/DN], was shot dead in his Lamontville home on 7 August 1990 by a group of four KZP members, led by Mvuyane. After killing Zwane, the policemen forced his friends to load his body into the police van. Mvuyane himself was shot dead the day before the case was to be heard (Durban hearing, 9 May).

- 256 Mr Mfanafuthi Khumalo [KZN/NN/026/DN] told of being shot by Mvuyane in Umlazi on 26 April 1992, when he was sixteen years old. Khumalo was sleeping over at a friend's home when Mvuyane and a colleague came looking for him. Mvuyane told the other youngsters to leave and remained behind with Khumalo.

[Mvuyane] said to me I should sit on the sofa, and I asked him what he wanted from me. He said I should not ask him any questions, I must just sit on the sofa. And I moved from the bed and I went to sit on the sofa. As I was sitting there he started insulting me. He abused me verbally and he started hitting me on the chest. When I asked him the reason why he was hitting me he did not answer me. He just asked me where I was shot before. I said on the knee. As I was still answering him he shot me on my other knee. He said to me he knew that I didn't die due to gunshots.

Then he gave me a knife and he said I should kill myself. And I have five wounds. I stabbed myself because he was pointing a gun at me, telling me to kill myself. And I threw the knife down and I told him that I was not able to kill myself. Then he continued to shoot me. He shot me on the right arm.

I stayed there from 4 o'clock in the morning. He did not take me to the hospital. Then I realised that I should just pretend as if I was dead, because I realised that if he saw that I was not dead he was going to continue shooting me. I pretended that I was dead, and I was bleeding profusely. He left me there, believing that I was dead.

257 Khumalo's mother told the Commission what she found when she arrived in the shack in which he had been shot:

When I got to the scene where the whole thing took place, the scene of crime, I found him lying down on the sofa in blood, a river of blood. I just heard him talking, whispering, saying, "Come in. Come in, I am still alive". Siphwe [Mvuyane] was not there, but there were some other policemen there.

He showed me the bullet holes, and I told him that ... I am not going anywhere, and he started shooting me. He shot me all over on the chest. He was shooting me from very close, from a very close distance. He insisted that I should go home. I refused.

I asked, "Why are you keeping this child here? He was shot at 4.00 am. and now it's around six, but you are still keeping this child here." ...

Siphwe came with the station commander ... I think he had gone to fetch him. I said to him, "Oh, we are so happy because you are not going to die. Why would you kill this child so brutally like this?" He said, 'Oh, this dog is not dead. I thought it is dead.'" I said to him, "Oh, you intended to kill him?"

I said to the station commander, "Please take this child to the hospital", and the station commander was just quiet and standing there. He was just standing there looking at me so timidly.

Eventually the policemen put Khumalo in their car and drove to the police station, where they left him in the car with the windows closed and the heater on. His mother found him there an hour later.

Khumalo was admitted to the Prince Mshiyeni hospital approximately five hours after he had been shot. He has since undergone six operations and still does not have the use of his right arm.

Four days after the shooting, the Supreme Court granted an interim interdict preventing Mvuyane from assaulting, threatening or intimidating Khumalo [Case No 2853/92].

258 From statements made to the Commission, KZP Constable Khethani Shange was found to be the perpetrator of at least six gross human rights violations, including two killings. All are related to incidents that occurred during 1990.

The Gumede Night Vigil Attack

In April 1990, Shange shot and killed KwaMashu ANC activist Themba Gumede.

At the night vigil for Gumede, a group of about twenty-five people dressed in KZP uniforms arrived. They ordered the mourners to lie down and opened fire on them, injuring three people.

On 29 May 1991, Shange was convicted of killing Gumede and attempting to kill three mourners at the vigil. He was sentenced to twenty-seven years' imprisonment. In passing judgement the presiding judge, Mr Justice Gordon, said that Shange appeared to 'revel in his reputation as a hit man and the fear that this instils in others'.

Shange was released after serving just nine months of his sentence, allegedly due to an error by the Ministry of Law and Order. He was re-arrested in February 1998 on a number of charges, including murder.

- 259 The Commission has made a comprehensive finding regarding the KZP, in which it is described, *inter alia*, as a highly politicised force, openly assisting the IFP – by omission and by active participation – in the commission of gross human rights violations, as well as being grossly incompetent.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KZP, FROM THE PERIOD 1986 TO 1994, ACTED IN A BIASED AND IMPARTIAL MANNER AND ACTED OVERWHELMINGLY IN FURTHERANCE OF THE INTERESTS OF INKATHA, AND LATER THE IFP, IN THE MANNER SET OUT BELOW.

THE KZP DISPLAYED BLATANT BIAS AND PARTIALITY TOWARDS IFP MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS, BOTH THROUGH ACTS OF COMMISSION, WHERE THEY WORKED OPENLY WITH INKATHA, AND THROUGH ACTS OF OMISSION, WHERE THEY FAILED TO PROTECT OR SERVE NON-IFP SUPPORTERS.

THE KZP WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR LARGE NUMBERS OF POLITICALLY MOTIVATED GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS (KILLINGS, ATTEMPTED KILLINGS, INCITEMENT AND CONSPIRACY TO KILL, SEVERE ILL-TREATMENT, ABDUCTION TORTURE AND ARSON), THE VICTIMS OF WHICH WERE ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY NON-IFP MEMBERS.

OFFICERS OF THE KZP WERE INVOLVED IN COVERING UP CRIMES COMMITTED BY IFP SUPPORTERS AND KZP MEMBERS. COVER-UP PRACTICES BY KZP OFFICERS RANGED FROM:

- NEGLECTING BASIC INVESTIGATIVE PROCEDURES;
- DELIBERATELY TAMPERING WITH EVIDENCE;
- ENSURING THAT KZP AND IFP SUSPECTS IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE MATTERS WERE CONCEALED OFTEN FOR VERY LENGTHY PERIODS IN KZP AND SADF CAMPS;
- ISSUING FALSE POLICE CERTIFICATES AND IDENTITY DOCUMENTS TO MEMBERS OF THE IFP WHO WERE INVOLVED IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE, IN ORDER TO PREVENT THEIR ARREST AND CONVICTIONS AND TO FACILITATE THEIR CONTINUED CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES;

- TAKING PART IN KILLINGS AND PURPORTING TO INVESTIGATE THE VERY MATTERS IN WHICH THEY HAD BEEN INVOLVED AS PERPETRATORS.

AS SET OUT ABOVE, THE KZP IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE MANY POLITICALLY MOTIVATED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT WERE PERPETRATED BY ITS MEMBERS. THE KZP IS ALSO ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE MANY POLITICALLY MOTIVATED GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS PERPETRATED BY MEMBERS OF THE IFP, AS A RESULT OF THE KZP'S FAILURE TO ACT AGAINST SUCH IFP MEMBERS, THEREBY CREATING A CLIMATE OF IMPUNITY WHICH FACILITATED THE COMMISSION OF SUCH GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

IN CONCLUSION, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE HONOURABLE EXCEPTIONS TO THE FOLLOWING GENERAL STATEMENT, IN THAT SOME MEMBERS OF THE KZP DID CARRY OUT THEIR DUTIES IN AN UNBIASED AND LAWFUL MANNER, THE KZP GENERALLY WAS CHARACTERISED BY INCOMPETENCE, BRUTALITY AND POLITICAL BIAS IN FAVOUR OF THE IFP, ALL OF WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO THE WIDESPREAD COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS DURING THE PERIOD REFERRED TO ABOVE.

Security Branch activities

260 Evidence before the Commission shows a dramatic fall in the number of reported violations, overt and covert, on the part of the Security Branch during this period. This is believed to be due to the state's counter-revolutionary strategy of using surrogate forces to deflect attention from the role of its own security forces in the civil conflict which, by now, had gained a momentum of its own. However, the Commission did hear of several extra-judicial killings of MK operatives, including the following:

The killing of Mbuso Shabalala and Charles Ndaba

MK members Charles Ndaba [KZN/NN/076/DN] and Mbuso Shabalala [KZN/NNN/138/PS] were both involved in Operation Vula.⁴⁷ Both were abducted by Durban Security Branch members on 7 July 1990. The Security Branch claimed that Ndaba was one of their informers and was arrested by mistake by members who did not know this. He helped them to arrest Mbuso Shabalala.

After the Security Branch had taken Ndaba and Shabalala into custody, the government announced that any Operation Vula operatives that were under arrest would not be prosecuted.

Not wanting to release the two men, the Durban Security Branch members decided to kill them, which they did on 14 July 1990. The bodies were dumped into the Tugela River mouth.⁴⁸

47 An ANC operation aimed at strengthening local underground structures and bringing exiled leaders into the country.

48 Amnesty applications of HJP Botha [AM453/97], Sam du Preez [AM4130/96], CA van der Westhuizen [AM4388/96] and L Wasserman [AM4508/96; KZN/NNN/138/PS].

The killing of Goodwill Sikhakhane

Mr Goodwill Mbuso aka Neville Sikhakhane (born 1961) [KZN/MR/011/DN] was a former ANC member who had undergone military training with MK in Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania and Swaziland. On his return in 1989, he apparently surrendered to the police. He began working as an askari with the Natal Security Branch, under Colonel Andy Taylor.

At some time during 1991, certain members of the Security Branch decided that Sikhakhane was a threat to the security of their operations. According to Taylor, Sikhakhane was "not a very efficient member ... the information he supplied created the impression that he did not try too hard". He was seen in Swaziland on a number of occasions while on leave, creating the suspicion that he might be working for the ANC as a double agent.

The order to kill Sikhakhane was issued from the highest ranks of the Security Branch in the region. Steyn instructed Andy Taylor to use 'outside' people to do the job. Taylor thereupon requested Eugene de Kock from Vlakplaas to carry out the killing.

A few days later Taylor met with Vlakplaas operatives Willie Nortje, 'Duiwel' Brits and 'Blackie' Swart and put them up at the Lion Park Hotel outside Pietermaritzburg. Local Security Branch member Larry Hanton was sent to assist the Vlakplaas members in getting hold of Sikhakhane. Vlakplaas operative Willie Nortje carried out the assassination in Greytown on 21 January 1991.

According to Nortje, the order to kill Sikhakhane came from Mr Engelbrecht, the commander of C Section. Colonel Eugene de Kock was convicted in 1996 for the killing of Sikhakhane.⁴⁹

Civil conflict

Violence stemming from the unbanning of the ANC

261 A number of incidents of violence occurred during celebrations to mark the release of Nelson Mandela from prison. These incidents were more common in KwaZulu areas than in Natal. Incidents directly related to Mr Mandela's release were reported in KwaMakhutha, KwaMashu, Umlazi, Folweni, KwaNdengezi, Ntuzuma and Mpumalanga.

⁴⁹ Eugene de Kock [AM0066/96], Larry Hanton [AM4076/96], JA Steyn [AM453/97], Willie Nortje [AM3764/96], ARC Taylor [AM4077/96], David 'Duiwel' Brits [AM3745/96] and JJ 'Blackie' Swart [AM3750/96] all applied for amnesty in respect of their involvement in the killing of Sikhakhane [KZN/MR/011/DN].

- 262 The Commission received several reports of deaths as well as arson attacks, four of which were IFP homes, one ANC and two non-partisan. In Ntuzuma, north of Durban, ANC supporters celebrating the release of Mr Mandela on 11 February burnt down the house of IFP supporter, Nomchule Gowane [KZN/KCD/073/DN]. ANC and Inkatha supporters clashed in Ntuzuma for the rest of the month.

The Killing of Phillip Gasa

On 17 February 1990, Inkatha-supporting Ntuzuma councillor Phillip Muzikayise Gasa [KZN/GM/087/DN] was stabbed to death by unknown ANC supporters. His wife was threatened by the attackers and was forced to flee.

The Seven Day War

- 263 From the 25–31 March 1990, the communities in the lower Vulindlela and Edendale Valleys, south of Pietermaritzburg, were subjected to an armed invasion by thousands of heavily armed men from the rural, Inkatha-supporting areas higher up in the valleys. Over seven days, 200 residents in the lower valley were killed, hundreds of houses looted and burnt down and as many as 20 000 people forced to flee for their lives. The communities most seriously affected were Ashdown, Caluza, Mpumuza, Gezubuso, KwaShange, and KwaMnyandu.
- 264 In the late 1980s, communities in the Edendale and lower Vulindlela valleys were pro-UDF/COSATU, whilst those living in Upper Vulindlela tended to be more rural, traditional and pro-Inkatha, living under Inkatha-supporting chiefs and *indunas*. Most UDF supporters who had initially lived in the upper Vulindlela area had fled down to Edendale by 1989. People living in the upper parts were obliged to travel through lower Vulindlela and Edendale to get to Pietermaritzburg and frequently had shots fired or stones thrown at them by the UDF supporters. The tension between the two areas increased dramatically with the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mr Mandela in February 1990.
- 265 During February and March 1990, buses carrying commuters from the Vulindlela area were stoned by young UDF and ANC supporters as they drove through Edendale, damaging buses and injuring passengers. Some deaths were also reported.
- 266 At a meeting at King's Park Stadium, Durban, on Sunday 25 March 1990, Mr David Ntombela addressed a gathering of Inkatha supporters and warned that, should buses passing through Edendale be stoned again, steps would be taken against the culprits, that is, UDF and ANC supporters in that area. That afternoon,

buses carrying Inkatha rally-goers travelled through Edendale and were again stoned, injuring passengers and damaging the buses. Roadside skirmishes were reported between the Inkatha supporters and Edendale residents. At least three people were killed, including UDF supporters Sihle Brian Zondi and his aunt Ms Grace Gabengani Zondi, at the Mabeza store [KZN/FS/258/PM].

- 267 The next day, Monday 26 March, Inkatha supporters from Vulindlela could not get to work in town because no buses were running on that route. Mr T Mbanjwa from Caluza told the Commission at the Seven Day War hearing that he saw a group of well-armed men descending from the hill:

And as we were still confused as to what was happening, it was apparent that we had to run for our lives because we heard some gunshots, and some people were attacked with pangas and assegais, as well as traditional weapons. And the community tried to get together in order to prevent the attacks, but it was very difficult because we were not armed and we were fighting against people who were armed with traditional weapons as well as ammunition, live ammunition.

But the most deluding thing was that the police would come, and instead of arresting the perpetrators or the attackers they would shoot at the residents and they would throw teargas canisters at the residents. This went on for quite some time.

- 268 The scale of the attack intensified dramatically the next day. Large groups numbering up to 2 500 men from the Inkatha-supporting Sweetwaters and Mpumuza areas descended into the lower Edendale Valley. The men were armed with traditional weapons as well as firearms. Residents came under heavy fire and many houses were burnt and looted. In a revenge attack on residents of Payiphini, Mpumuza by UDF supporters later that night, one person was killed and nineteen homes set alight.

- 269 On Wednesday 28 March 1990, David Ntombela held a meeting of Inkatha supporters at his house in the Elandskop area, after which he instructed a member of the SAP Riot Unit to pick up a large group of special constables in a police vehicle and take them to Gezubuso. Ntombela then instructed the constables to proceed on foot with a large group of armed men to KwaShange, and instructed a member of the Riot Unit to follow the group in his vehicle.

- 270 Father Tim Smith, a Catholic priest posted to Elandskop (upper Vulindlela) in 1983, described that day's events to the Commission as follows:

Early on Wednesday, the call went out by loud-hailer that all people, men and women, were to gather at David Ntombela's house for a meeting with someone from Ulundi. Someone who was there told me that when she arrived, the women were told to go inside the house, take off their clothes and turn them inside out and put them back on again. When they came out of the house, there was a large gathering of warriors, together with some trucks and lorries ... the trucks had their registration plates covered with sackcloth. The warriors were sprinkled with intelezi (traditional medicine to protect them from harm) and then moved off to attack soon after dawn.

Soon we began to hear reports of the invasion of the valley. The areas of Gezubuso, KwaShange and KwaMnyandu were worst hit. About thirty-five people were killed, nearly 150 huts were set alight and people fled down into the eSigodini valley.

271 At KwaShange, the special constables and the group of armed men attacked residents and killed fifteen people,⁵⁰ looted and set fire to an unknown number of houses and drove away cattle belonging to residents of that area. Ntombela instructed a member of the SAP Riot Unit who was present not to interfere with what was going on at KwaShange.

272 The household goods removed from residents' houses in KwaShange were loaded onto the vehicle used by the Riot Unit and taken to Ntombela's house. Cattle taken from residents were driven to Ntombela's house. According to Father Tim Smith:

Many witnesses saw David Ntombela directing the attacks, together with Chief Shayabantu Zondi, Induna Guvaza Khanyile, Lolo Lombo and others. Many said the police were helping the warriors with transport and ammunition ...

In the late afternoon, we began to see the impis returning. Some who came on foot brought stolen cattle with them; others were carrying furniture, TV sets and clothing. Mr Ntombela was apparently displeased with all the looting saying: "You went to kill, not to steal!"

273 Edendale resident Edmund Zondi told the Commission that he saw KwaZulu Government trucks offloading Inkatha men who then began attacking people and cattle, burning and looting homes in his neighbourhood. He packed fifteen people into his small Ford Escort, and they fled to relatives in Imbali:

⁵⁰ Mr Moses Zuma, Mr Israel Zuma, Ms Rose Mtolo, Ms Agnes Sibisi, Mr Mbuzane Ngubane, Mr George Zondi, Mr Khabekile Ngubane, Mr Nkankabula Ngubane, Mr Abednigo Mkhize, Mr Mzomuhle Manjwa, Mr Mfanafuthi Ngubane, Ms Dominica Ngobo, Mr Mzikayifani Mtolo, Mr Makhosonke Phakathi and Mr Mfulathelwa Makathini.

If I can tell you, maybe you will not believe it, because it can only take five people, but the whole family fitted into the car that particular day. I even put some of the children just underneath or next to the pedals, the driving pedals.

274 Since then he has never been able to return to his home.

275 The Midlands Crisis Relief Committee (an organisation set up to deal with the aftermath of the Seven Day War) also received reports that the attackers were transported in vehicles which included about twenty trucks owned by the KwaZulu Department of Public Works, with obscured KwaZulu Government number plates.

276 Democratic Party member Radley Keys and *Natal Witness* journalist Khaba Mkhize chartered a plane and flew out over the Vulindlela and Edendale valleys on Wednesday 28 March:

By mid-morning we were airborne and flying towards Vulindlela. The sight that confronted us was one of a war zone. Scores of houses were burning and the sky was filled with the smoke of burning thatched roofs. We witnessed large groups of men and boys moving through the area. There were a number of dead, or what seemed to be dead, bodies lying on some on the roads and paths ... Over Vulisaka and KwaShange and KwaMnyandu there was devastation and mayhem.

The police helicopter approached our plane and ordered us out of the area. We refused the pilot permission to leave, and instructed him to inform the police to refer to his minister. They attempted to threaten us but we held firm and continued our flight ...

As yet, the police were the only force in attendance and that is exactly what I mean, they were attending and not preventing the wholesale destruction and killing.

277 Thursday 29 March 1990 saw little respite in the attacks from up the Valley. Mr Edmund Zondi described the events of this day:

[They] came on a Thursday, that is on the twenty-ninth. They got there and they killed a woman who had just given birth. They also killed the new-born baby. Even the elderly people who could not run away were killed. It was quite a terrible situation. It was like something from a horror movie.

- 278 Late on Thursday night, Father Tim Smith was disturbed by a knock at his door. Young people from Songozima had come to report attacks at Khokhwane, very close to the mission. Father Smith went to collect police from Boston and they set off to investigate:

When we arrived at Khokhwane we could see four homesteads burning on the hillside. We went slowly into each one with the policemen. In the first three we found no one alive or dead and presumed that they had had enough time to escape. But in the fourth one, which was well known to me, we found people.

In the main building, we discovered the old man, father of the household, together with several of his grandchildren. He took a long time to come out from his hiding place, he was so shocked. When he did, he told me: Baziqeda izingane zami [They have finished off my children].

He took us to a back bedroom of the house and there lying on the floor was one of his daughters, Emmerentia. She had shotgun wounds in her chest and was obviously dead. Lying underneath her was a small child whom at first I took to be dead also. Then I noticed that the child was breathing. I reached down and lifted the child from beneath his mother and he was indeed alive. He turned out to be Sihle, her son of four years. When his mother was shot through the window she must have fallen backwards and trapped the child under her. He must have been like that for more than an hour before we got there.

Then we went into the last hut in the yard which was burning furiously. There beneath the bed was the body of Celestina, another daughter. She had been shot and set alight and there was nothing we could do for her.

I decided that it would be better if all the survivors slept at the mission ...

After this, my own future at Elandskop was no longer secure. There were various threats and the following week I was moved.

- 279 Friday, 30 March, was considerably quieter. On Saturday, 31 March, large groups of Inkatha supporters were again seen, gathering at the homes of Chief Ngcobo and David Ntombela. However, only sporadic incidents occurred during the day.
- 280 Witnesses, victims and violence monitors have made allegations of active police complicity in the attacks. They claimed police fired on ANC residents without provocation. They alleged that policemen were seen transporting the Inkatha attackers and then standing idly by while they attacked people and burnt houses.

They also alleged that special constables participated in the attacks. These allegations were confirmed by a former Riot Unit member and two former special constables who testified before the Commission of their involvement in the Seven Day War.

- 281 Former Riot Unit 8 member William Harrington [AM0173/96] told the Commission that he was on duty during the Seven Day War. He said that Riot Unit members fired on ANC people without provocation, and that off-duty special constables joined Inkatha supporters in the violence:

What I do remember about the Seven Day War is that I started working on a certain day and thirty-six hours later I went off duty. I remember that many houses and shops were burnt down. There were many refugees. Many of the special constables didn't even report for duty at the unit. I noticed some of them in the areas in which I worked. They would have gone to acknowledged Inkatha chiefs' homes, or larger Inkatha groups, and it was these groups of between 50 and 100, sometimes larger, who were responsible for burning down homes ...

At this stage my vehicle crew started firing at groups of ANC people without reason. I authorised it because I was told or commanded that we should do that. It was a radio message which I received. Firing would of course not be permitted against the Inkatha groups because there were special constables in these groups. I myself gave one or two belts [of ammunition] to the special constables who were part of these groups running around.

- 282 Former special constable Nelson Shabangu [AM3676/96] was also on duty when the fighting broke out. He told the Commission that he was directed to take his Riot Unit vehicle to pick up a group of special constables living in the valley. He then drove this group to the outskirts of KwaShange where he, together with other members of his Riot Unit, stood by and watched as the special constables attacked, burnt and looted houses at KwaShange. The special constables then returned with stolen property, which they loaded onto the police vehicle to be taken to Mr Ntombela's home. Cattle which had been stolen from the residents of KwaShange were also driven to Mr Ntombela's home. Shabangu told the Commission that a big party was held at Ntombela's house later, to which the police were invited. At this party they braaied the meat of cattle they had stolen.

- 283 Another former special constable, Mr Nhlanhla Philemon Madlala [AM3432/96], was not on duty on 27 March 1990 so he fought on the side of the IFP. He told

the Commission that he was amongst the group of Inkatha supporters and special constables who gathered at Ntombela's home before descending into the valley to attack (Seven Day War hearing, 19 November 1996).

- 284 SAP spokesperson Director Daniel Meyer, who was on duty during the Seven Day War, was questioned regarding the role of the SAP during the war:

Did you ever during the Seven Day War disarm the Inkatha people?

No, I didn't. I don't know whether other policemen did so.

Why did you not do it?

There could be many reasons for that. On that specific day we were so busy – I am now talking about the Tuesday. I just had to run from one scene to the other to attend incidents of shooting.

You were so busy that you could not disarm the people who were going to kill other people and burn their houses. You were busy doing what? You were running up doing what, if you could not disarm the people who were going to take lives of the people?

I hear you, Chairperson ...

Are you surprised that the UDF people hated you, as you have just said yourself?

No, I am not surprised. I am not surprised, especially not after all the evidence that I have listened to ...

My last question, and it's probably an unfair question to ask you, but I am going to ask it. If the violence on that scale had happened in a white area, you wouldn't have tolerated that at all, surely?

During those times more than likely no, we wouldn't.

- 285 The Reverend Mr Nsimbi from Edendale criticised the police for being negligent and indifferent. He spoke of how bodies were left to decompose in the streets for days before the police collected them. He told the Commission:

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

- 286 The SADF was also criticised for its apparent absence during the Seven Day War. Witnesses alleged that the SADF was deployed in the valley only in mid-April, once the fighting had passed.
- 287 In accordance with the law, the SADF was only deployed in support of the SAP during the Seven Day War. At a joint planning committee meeting between SAP and SADF officers, a decision was taken to deploy the Defence Force resources on the lower Edendale Road to ensure that the road to Pietermaritzburg stayed open. Throughout the week, Defence Force personnel (approximately 100 men) and six military vehicles did not venture beyond Edendale Road. Brigadier Swanepoel, the Commanding Officer of the Pietermaritzburg-based Group 9 at the time of the Seven Day War, told the Commission that he had realised that the situation was bad. He said that he had contacted the SADF headquarters requesting more troops and calling for urgent "intervention on a senior level". The additional troops, four companies from the Transvaal, arrived in mid-April 1990.
- 288 By the end of the week, an estimated 20 000 people had been displaced from their homes. Most, if not all, of these people had lost everything they ever possessed. No disaster relief was forthcoming from the government. It was left to churches and humanitarian organisations to attempt to provide relief and assistance. Most of these people have not returned to their homes to this day. Father Tim Smith described to the Commission the lasting, devastating effects of that violent week:
- Drive out to Edendale past Esigodini up the hills to KwaMnyandu, KwaShange and Gezibuso. There, in a band of land about four kilometres wide, you will still see the effects of destruction of that week of March 1990: houses and shops burnt to the ground, schools abandoned, weeds growing in fields and up through the insides of dwellings where a few years ago thousands and thousands of people lived.*
- 289 Several witnesses told the Commission that it was not accurate to call these seven days a war, because the word 'war' implied a battle of equals, whereas the overwhelming majority of the victims were from one side. They were caught unawares and many were totally defenceless and unable to fight back. The victims were those who were unable to run away fast enough – women, children, pensioners and the sick. Survivors called it an armed invasion, a political cleansing.
- 290 Reflecting on the events of March 1990, Father Smith had the following to say:

After all these attacks and murders we tried to obtain some justice but without success. We tried the police; we tried to hire lawyers; we tried the

press. I even had an hour's interview with the deputy attorney-general of this province. We failed.

After all that, it seems to me that the people, the ordinary people, have been failed by the organs of government. Indeed, it seems that the criminal justice system had almost completely broken down.

In not a single case that I have mentioned, from the murder of Angelica Mkhize and her daughter in 1987 up to the deaths of scores of people in the Seven Days War in 1990, has there been a prosecution. No one has been found guilty for all the murder, the arson, the damage to property, the theft, the intimidation, the assaults that have taken place in Vulindlela. It is little wonder that the province has experienced so much carnage, when the perpetrators know that they will never be caught and the victims know there will never be justice.

291 Mr David Ntombela was invited to make a public submission at the Seven Day War hearing. Initially he agreed but on the actual day he refused to testify. His attorney read out a statement on his behalf in which he claimed that the Commission in its present form was biased and would not give him a fair hearing. He also claimed that he had not been given sufficient time to prepare for the hearing and had not been able to obtain copies of statements implicating Ntombela in the violence. Some months later, the court found in favour of Ntombela and the Commission was obliged to provide Ntombela with all statements in which he had been detrimentally implicated.

292 The full findings of the Commission on the event which became known as the Seven Day War are recorded elsewhere in the Commission's report. In summary, they are as follows:

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT FROM 25–31 MARCH 1990, THE COMMUNITIES IN THE LOWER VULINDLELA AND EDENDALE VALLEYS, SOUTH OF PIETERMARITZBURG, WERE SUBJECTED TO AN ARMED INVASION BY THOUSANDS OF UNKNOWN INKATHA SUPPORTERS, AND THAT DURING THIS WEEK OVER 200 RESIDENTS OF THESE AREAS WERE KILLED, HUNDREDS OF HOMES LOOTED AND BURNT DOWN AND AS MANY AS 20 000 PEOPLE WERE FORCED TO FLEE FROM THEIR HOMES. THESE ACTS CONSTITUTE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, AND UNKNOWN MEMBERS OF INKATHA ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UNKNOWN YOUNG UDF AND ANC SUPPORTERS WHO STONED AND ATTACKED VEHICLES PASSING THROUGH EDENDALE WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR STARTING THE VIOLENCE THAT DEVELOPED INTO THE SEVEN DAY WAR.

HAVING REGARD TO THE TOTALITY OF THE EVIDENCE GIVEN TO THE COMMISSION, THERE IS NO DOUBT IN THE MIND OF THE COMMISSION THAT SUPPORTERS OF INKATHA WHO TOOK PART IN

THE MASSIVE, WELL CO-ORDINATED ARMED ATTACKS ON TUESDAY 27 TO FRIDAY 30 MARCH MUST BEAR OVERWHELMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CRIMINAL ACTS, INCLUDING KILLING, SEVERE ILL-TREATMENT AND ARSON, WHICH TOOK PLACE DURING THAT WEEK. IT IS A FINDING OF THE COMMISSION THAT THE PROVOCATION TO WHICH SOME RESIDENTS OF VULINDLELA HAD BEEN SUBJECTED DID NOT REMOTELY JUSTIFY THE NATURE OF THE RESPONSE THAT WAS METED OUT TO THE RESIDENTS IN THE VALLEY BELOW THEM.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SPECIAL CONSTABLES WERE DELIBERATELY ESTABLISHED AND TRAINED TO ASSIST INKATHA AGAINST THE LATTER'S POLITICAL ENEMIES AND THAT SPECIAL CONSTABLES, ACTING ALONE AND IN CONCERT WITH RIOT UNIT 8 OF THE SAP, REGULARLY COMMITTED SERIOUS UNLAWFUL ACTS IN ORDER TO SUPPORT AND ASSIST INKATHA, IN THE PERIOD PRIOR TO AND DURING THE SEVEN DAY WAR. SUCH ACTS INCLUDED THE KILLING OF FIFTEEN PEOPLE AT KWASHANGE, NAMELY MR MOSES ZUMA, MR ISRAEL ZUMA, MS ROSE MTOLO, MS AGNES SIBISI, MR MBUZANE NGUBANE, MR GEORGE ZONDI, MR KHABEKILE NGUBANE, MR NKANKABULA NGUBANE, MR ABEDNIGO MKHIZE, MR MZOMUHLE MANJWA, MR MFANAFUTHI NGUBANE, MR DOMINICA NCGOBO, MR MZIKAYIFANI MTOLO, MR MAKHOSONKE PHAKATHI AND MR MFULATHELWA MAKATHINI. THE SAP ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS INVOLVED IN THESE KILLINGS BY UNKNOWN SPECIAL CONSTABLES DEPLOYED IN THE AREA.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS INVOLVED IN THE EVENTS OF 28 MARCH 1990 TOOK PLACE ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF MR DAVID NTOMBELA AND THAT NTOMBELA IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THESE, INCLUDING KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING, CONSPIRACY TO KILL, SEVERE ILL-TREATMENT AND ARSON.

THE COMMISSION FINDS IMPROBABLE THE EVIDENCE OF DIRECTOR DANIEL MEYER THAT THE POLICE ACTED IN AN IMPARTIAL AND UNBIASED MANNER AND DID EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PREVENT LOSS OF LIFE AND DAMAGE TO PROPERTY. ELEMENTS OF THE SAP RIOT UNIT 8, BOTH AT A SENIOR LEVEL AND AT THE LEVEL OF THE SPECIAL CONSTABLES ATTACHED TO THE UNIT, DELIBERATELY ACTED, BY OMISSION AND COMMISSION, TO ASSIST AND FACILITATE ATTACKS BY INKATHA SUPPORTERS ON NON-INKATHA RESIDENTS DURING THE SO-CALLED SEVEN DAY WAR. THEY FURTHERMORE DELIBERATELY FAILED TO DEPLOY THE SADF IN THE CONFLICT AREAS, IN ORDER TO GIVE FREE REIN TO INKATHA FORCES IN THEIR ATTACKS ON NON-INKATHA RESIDENTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE RIOT UNIT CONSTITUTED GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE SAP IS HELD RESPONSIBLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE INVESTIGATION INTO DEATHS OCCURRING DURING THE SEVEN DAY WAR WAS WHOLLY INADEQUATE. WHILE OVER A HUNDRED PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN THE EVENT, NO ACTION WAS TAKEN TO CARRY OUT A SPECIAL INVESTIGATION OR ENQUIRY INTO THE MATTER. IT IS THE FINDING OF THE COMMISSION THAT, GIVEN THE HIGHLY POLITICAL ROLE OF THE POLICE AT THE TIME, THE FACT THAT THIS EVENT WAS NOT COMPREHENSIVELY INVESTIGATED INDICATES, ON BALANCE, A DELIBERATE COMMISSION, RATHER THAN MERE NEGLECT OR DERELICTION OF DUTY ON THE PART OF THE SAP, IN ORDER TO PREVENT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR COMMITTING VIOLATIONS FROM BEING BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UNKNOWN OFFICIALS OF THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT MADE AVAILABLE GOVERNMENT VEHICLES TO ASSIST INKATHA MEMBERS IN THEIR UNLAWFUL ATTACKS ON NON-INKATHA COMMUNITIES. IN THAT THE KZP KNOWINGLY PARTICIPATED IN AND THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS FACILITATED THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, THE COMMISSION HOLDS THESE UNKNOWN MEMBERS OF THE KZP AND KWAZULU GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS.

Hit-squad Activity

- 293 Hit-squad activity became widespread in KwaZulu and Natal during the 1990s. From information received by the Commission, it would appear that the hit-squad operations undertaken by the 'Caprivi trainees' and other political networks were predominantly supportive of the IFP, drawing in officials of the KwaZulu government and police force, as well as senior politicians and leaders of the party. As such, hit-squad members had access to KwaZulu Government resources such as vehicles, arms and ammunition. A measure of protection from prosecution was gained through the collusion of the KZP and the SAP with the activities of hit networks.
- 294 The killing of two activists in New Hanover in 1990 and the case of the Esikhawini-based hit squad led by Mr Brian Gcina Mkhize provide two examples of the operation of the many hit-squad networks that existed in the region during this period.

The Killing of Vusi Ngcobo and Bonowakhe Gasa

During 1990, a Roman Catholic priest from the Wartburg area, Reverend Garth Michelson, wrote a letter to the then Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in which he expressed his concern that there was a police hit squad operating in the Mbava area, near Wartburg. His concerns were raised following the killing of two UDF activists, Mr Vusi Ngcobo and Mr Bonowakhe Gasa [KZN/HG/922/NY], in Mbava on 6 January 1990. Vlok responded to Michelson's letter on 30 July 1990 as follows:

"Further to my letter dated 14 February 1990 I wish to advise you that a thorough investigation is being conducted by the SAP. Investigations instituted have proved that so-called hit squads do not exist in the SAP. This is a far-fetched figment which exists only in the imaginations of certain individuals, organisations, etc. and has no foundation whatsoever."

The two activists, Ngcobo and Gasa, had been shot and left to die in a mealie [corn] field in Swayimane on 6 January 1990. Witnesses said that the killing was carried out by one white and three black men wearing light blue shirts similar to the SAP uniform. The four men had been seen arriving at the home of KwaZulu Member of Parliament Thanduyise Psychology Ndlovu in a yellow police van and then proceeding from Ndlovu's home in a white Crusade with a private registration number.

An informal inquest held in 1991 found that 'persons unknown' were responsible for the deaths. A second inquest was held in May 1995. The inquest magistrate,

RA Stewart, found that former special constable Welcome Muzi Hlophe (aka 'BigBoy' Hlophe), SAP Lance Sergeant Peter Smith, KwaZulu government driver Abraham Shoba and a fourth unknown man were prima facie directly responsible for the killings. He also found that the original investigating officer, Major Joseph van Zyl, was an accessory to the killings and recommended that an investigation be opened with a view to a possible conviction of Van Zyl. He further found that the then Secretary of the KwaZulu Legislature, Mr Robert Mzimela, KwaZulu employee Z Mkhize, and then head of the KLA Protection Unit Major Leonard Langeni had been implicated in a cover-up operation. (Mzimela and Langeni were both involved in the operations of the Esikhawini hit squad – see below.)

On receipt of the inquest findings, the Natal attorney-general, Mr Tim McNally, declined to prosecute any but Hlophe and Smith. He further failed to pursue any investigations in respect of the other findings made by the inquest court. Hlophe and Smith were subsequently acquitted in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE KILLINGS WAS ATTENDED BY A SYSTEMATIC COVER-UP BY MEMBERS OF THE SAP, INCLUDING THE GIVING OF FALSE AND MISLEADING EVIDENCE AND THE REFUSAL BY THE POLICE AND KWAZULU GOVERNMENT WITNESSES TO ANSWER NUMEROUS QUESTIONS AT THE SECOND INQUEST. A HIGH-RANKING POLICE OFFICER ENGINEERED SUCH A COVER-UP BY REMOVING A STATEMENT FROM THE INVESTIGATION DOCKET AND BY DISPOSING OF THE PROJECTILE REMOVED FROM THE HEAD OF THE DECEASED MR GASA. TWO KWAZULU GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND A HIGH-RANKING KZP OFFICER FACILITATED THE PLACING OF A GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE WITH NDLOVU IN ORDER TO ASSIST NDLOVU IN DEALING WITH THE 'TROUBLEMAKERS' IN THE AREA, AND ATTEMPTED IN THE SECOND INQUEST TO COVER UP THE ROLE OF SAID EMPLOYEE IN THE KILLING.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE DECEASED WERE KILLED BECAUSE OF THEIR PERCEIVED AFFILIATION TO THE UDF AND THAT THE KILLING WAS PLANNED BY A LOCAL INKATHA LEADER AND PERFORMED WITH THE COLLUSION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SAP AND THE KZP, AS EVIDENCED BY THE COVER-UP WHICH FOLLOWED THE KILLING.

295 In the Esikhawini area, near Richards Bay, politically motivated violence between supporters of the ANC and the IFP erupted and escalated in 1991. The township was predominantly ANC-supporting and the IFP were losing support. J2 section of the township was considered an IFP stronghold and was regularly attacked by ANC supporters. At a certain stage, local Inkatha leaders approached the Inkatha leadership in Ulundi because they were concerned that they were losing the struggle against the ANC in the township.

296 In 1991, as a result of these concerns, Daluxolo Luthuli summoned Gcina Brian Mkhize [AM4599/97] to a meeting in Ulundi. Mkhize was a 'Caprivi trainee' who

had joined the KZP and was posted to the Esikhawini Riot Unit in 1990. The meeting was held at KZP Captain Leonard Langeni's office in Ulundi early in 1991. At the time, Langeni was the officer commanding the then KLA Protection Unit. Others present at the meeting were Luthuli, Prince Gideon Zulu (then KwaZulu Minister of Pensions), Mr M R Mzimela (then Secretary of the KwaZulu Legislature), and Mr MZ Khumalo (then personal assistant to Chief Buthelezi).

- 297 Mkhize told the Commission that he was told at this meeting that "the time had arrived to use the skills acquired at the Caprivi". He was instructed to take action against the ANC in Esikhawini. It was the intention of those present that unlawful means would be employed against the ANC. He was told to work directly with the Mayor of Esikhawini, Mr BB Biyela, and IFP councillor Ms Lindiwe Mbuyazi and to report directly to Langeni and Luthuli. Mkhize was told to gather reliable people to assist him.
- 298 Initially, the plan was that he would join with Inkatha youth who were already attacking ANC-dominated areas. He worked with, amongst others, Mr Nhlakanipho Mathenjwa, Mr Lucky Mbuyazi and Mr Siyabonga Mbuyazi. Captain Langeni arranged for Mkhize to collect weapons for these illegal activities from Mr Thomas Buthelezi, a 'Caprivi trainee' based at Port Durnford.
- 299 The youth were unable to halt the ANC attacks on Inkatha members, and reported this to Langeni and Luthuli. In the subsequent months, the composition and operations of the hit squad were discussed at a number of other meetings in Ulundi and Esikhawini and a decision was made to form a more sophisticated hit squad. Those proposed were Mr Romeo Mbuso Mbambo [AM4598/97], a KZP member, Mr Israel Hlongwane [AM4600/97], who had been involved with Luthuli in the violence in Mpumalanga, and Mr Zweli Dlamini [AM3685/96], a 'Caprivi trainee' who had also been involved in violence in both Clermont and Mpumalanga. KZP Constable Victor Buthelezi and at least two other 'Caprivi trainees' were also included in the hit squad. Not all members of the hit squad participated in every attack.
- 300 Mkhize was the leader of the group and generally took instructions from Captain Langeni. Ms Mbuyazi and Mayor BB Biyela were aware of their activities and, in specific instances, provided actual support to their operations. Others who were sometimes involved included Prince Gideon Zulu from Eshowe, Chief Mathaba from Nyoni and Mr Robert Mkhize from Empangeni.

- 301 Ms Mbuyazi arranged with the District Commissioner, Brigadier Mzimela, for Mbambo to be transferred to the Detective Branch where he would be in a position to cover up the crimes of IFP supporters and prevent their arrests. Robert Mkhize was already a member of the Esikhawini Internal Stability Unit (ISU) and his instructions were to ensure that patrols would be kept away from where Inkatha was planning to attack. Mbambo's instructions were to ensure that cases against the hit-squad members were not properly investigated, by destroying evidence and making misleading entries in the police dockets. The hit squad was to carry out attacks on those nights when Mbambo and Mkhize were on duty and therefore able to carry out these instructions.
- 302 Between 1991 and August 1993 (when Mbambo was arrested by members of the SAP), the hit squad killed an unknown number of people in the Esikhawini area and was also responsible for a number of killings and attempted killings elsewhere, particularly in the Sundumbili/Nyoni, Mandini and Eshowe areas. Prominent Inkatha-aligned officials gave ongoing direction and logistic support (such as weapons, ammunition, vehicles, accommodation and finances). This applied both at the local level (Mr BB Biyela, Ms Mbuyazi, Chief Mathaba, Brigadier Mzimela) and at a regional level (Captain Langeni, Daluxolo Luthuli, Prince Gideon Zulu, Mr MZ Khumalo). A number of hit lists were compiled at meetings with the IFP leaders. The targets were all ANC leaders, members or sympathisers. The hit squad was responsible, *inter alia*, for the following killings: Mr Naphtal Nxumalo, Mr Nathi Gumede, Mr April Taliwe Mkhwanazi, Sgt Dlamini, Sgt Khumalo, Mr John Mabika, and four young MK members killed at a *shebeen*. In addition to targeting particular individuals for assassination, the hit squad carried out dozens of random attacks on *shebeens*, bus stops, buses and streets where ANC supporters were known to gather. On some nights, the hit squad would carry out two or three attacks on different targets; sometimes they would drive around a section of the township known to be an ANC stronghold, looking for people to attack. After every hit, Mkhize would report back to Langeni, either personally or telephonically, to keep him informed of all their operations.

The Killing of April Taliwe

Ms Zanele Cecilia Taliwe [KZN/NG/006/EM] told the Commission about the killing of her husband, April, on 19 April 1992. Mr April Taliwe was a shop steward of a COSATU-affiliated trade union and was employed at the Mondi paper mill in Richards Bay. He was also an active member of the ANC.

Prior to his death, he had received a number of threats. On the morning of his death, he told his wife that, if he died, she should know that Gcina Mkhize would be one of the suspects. Mkhize, Mbambo and Dlamini all implicated themselves in the killing. According to Mkhize, Major Langeni gave the instruction for the killing and Mayor BB Biyela provided the vehicle. Mbambo told the Commission that Luthuli, Langeni and MZ Khumalo congratulated him and expressed their pleasure over the killing when he reported back to them.

The Killing of Sergeant Khumalo

Sgt Khumalo, a KZP member stationed at Esikhawini, was killed on 8 May 1992 by members of Gcina Mkhize's hit squad. Khumalo had been identified for assassination because he was suspected of being an ANC member and of leaking details of dockets to the local ANC leadership. He was killed with the approval of Captain Langeni (Amnesty applications of Gcina Mkhize [AM4599/97] and Romeo Mbambo [AM4598/97; KZN/NNN/507/EM]).

The Killing of Sergeant Dlamini

Sgt Dlamini, a KZP member stationed at Esikhawini, was shot dead on 19 June 1993 by Israel Hlongwane, who was accompanied by Romeo Mbambo, Mthethwa and Gcina Mkhize.

In 1995 Mkhize, Mbambo and Hlongwane were all found guilty in the Durban Supreme Court of killing Dlamini. According to the amnesty applications of the three convicted men, Dlamini was identified for assassination by the local IFP leadership because he was supplying the Goldstone Commission with information regarding the hit-squad activities in Esikhawini. He was also thought to be an ANC supporter as he was allegedly selling ANC T-shirts.

Both Mbambo and Mkhize alleged that KZP District Commissioner, Brigadier Mzimela, assisted in covering up their involvement in Dlamini's killing by tampering with the murder weapon.

In passing judgement on the matter, Mr Justice Van der Reyden said that the court had heard evidence that could only be described as 'disturbing' regarding the initial investigation of Dlamini's death. Van der Reyden said that it would be improper for the court to make specific findings in regard to the initial investigation without giving the other parties an opportunity to reply. He therefore chose to refer the allegations concerning the alleged cover-up to the Minister of Safety and Security for investigation.

The Case of Sam Nxumalo

Members of the Esikhawini-based hit squad led by 'Caprivi trainee' Gcina Mkhize gave details of a conspiracy to murder the local ANC leader, Mr Sam Nxumalo. They allege that KwaZulu Cabinet member, Prince Gideon Zulu, summoned them to a meeting at his home. Those present were Zulu, Gcina Mkhize, Romeo Mbambo, Daluxolo Luthuli, Robert Mzimela, Chief Calalakubo Khawula, Captain Langeni, Chief Biyela, and Mr Nyawuza (Prince Zulu's driver). Zulu told them that he wanted the hit-squad members to kill Nxumalo.

The hit-squad members were provided with a car from the Chief Minister's department and Mkhize, Mbambo, Dlamini and Hlongwane drove to the Eshowe Hospital on the appointed day. Nxumalo appeared to have been warned of the planned attack, because when he saw the operatives he telephoned the SAP who arrived within minutes. The operatives left, deciding to return later. When they returned that night, the hospital was full of policemen, so they postponed the proposed attack.

- 303 In his evidence to the Commission, Mr Israel Hlongwane admitted his involvement in several killings and attempted killings in the Sundumbili area during 1992 and 1993. He alleged that local IFP leaders provided him with a list of the names of people they wanted him to kill. There were about fifteen names on the list. Hlongwane's victims include Mr Siduduzo Cedric Khumalo (an ANC scholar whom he shot dead on 31 October 1992), Mr Sipho Thulani Xaba (also known as 'Gindinga', ANC leader at Odumo High School), Mr Themba Mkhukhu and Mr Mncedisi Kalude (two scholars from the Tugela High School shot dead on 7 August 1993), Mr Daludumo Majenga (shot dead on 29 March 1993) and Mr Canaan Shandu (a COSATU official).

The Killing of Bheki Mzimela

Mr Bheki K Mzimela, an induna located in Chief Mathaba's area of Nyoni, was alleged to be sympathetic towards the ANC because he supported the ANC's call for a ban on the carrying of traditional weapons. Mathaba enlisted the help of the Esikhawini-based hit squad led by Gcina Mkhize to kill Mzimela. Three members of the hit squad, namely Mkhize, Zweli Dlamini and Israel Hlongwane, together with Jerry Mdanda and a man identified only as Dumisani, went to Induna Mzimela's home on the night of 23 March 1992 and shot him dead [Amnesty application of Mkhize and Hlongwane].

304 Mkhize, Mbambo and Dlamini were arrested by the SAP (rather than the KZP) in 1993, following pressure from the Goldstone Commission and Advocate Neville Melville, the police reporting officer. Brigadier Mzimela, Captain Langeni and others attempted to prevent the arrest of Mkhize and Mbambo.

305 In 1994, hit-squad members, Mbambo, Mkhize and Dlamini were convicted of a number of crimes carried out by the squad. In mitigation of sentence, the three argued that the hit squad had been set up by senior IFP, KwaZulu Government and KZP members based in Ulundi and Esikhawini. Accepting their evidence in mitigation, the presiding judge, the Honourable Mr Justice Van der Reyden, said that when the trial commenced he was taken aback by the appalling standard of investigation by the KZP. Later he had realised that, what he had taken for incompetence, was a deliberate design to cover up. He said that the three accused could not have acted alone and called for:

a full investigation into the alleged involvement of those persons identified by the accused as the masterminds and puppet masters behind the Esikhawini hit squad.

306 In 1994, the Investigation Task Unit (ITU) was mandated to investigate the allegations of the three accused in the Mbambo matter. In June 1996, the ITU presented a comprehensive report to the Natal Attorney-General, Mr Tim McNally, in which they recommended the prosecution of eight IFP/KZP/KwaZulu Government officials: Prince Gideon Zulu, Mr M R Mzimela, Major M L Langeni, Mr Robert Mkhize, Ms Lindiwe Mbuyazi, Chief Mathaba, Mr BB Biyela, and Brigadier C P Mzimela. In the report the ITU argued that:

Eight of the individuals identified by the accused [in the Mbambo matter] are suspects in the present cases. All three accused are state witnesses in the present matter. They were the 'foot soldiers' who executed a programme of murder and destruction at the behest of powerful individuals who by virtue of their positions have been protected from detection. These persons utilised their position in the government and police, the very institutions which were meant to uphold law and order, to facilitate a murderous hit-squad network. Such a network, or form thereof may very well persist today. In so doing, the individuals involved have undermined the rule of law and have contributed substantially to the state of lawlessness and violence that is seen in many parts of KwaZulu-Natal today. These persons continue to occupy key positions of power and influence within the regional government and police. The investigation, as directed by the Supreme Court ruling in the Mbambo matter, has been

aimed at exposing and bringing to justice those behind the hit squad ('the suspects'). It is imperative that those who manipulated and used young operatives, who believed that they were acting with impunity, be prosecuted as vigorously as the operatives have been.

- 307 The Attorney-General declined to prosecute any of the suspects in the case on the grounds that there were discrepancies between statements made to the ITU by the key witnesses and statements they had previously made to the Goldstone Commission and the SAP. The ITU argued that these discrepancies were easily explained by the fact that, in the earlier statements, the witnesses were still covering up their personal involvement as well as that of their superiors. Despite the discrepancies there was sufficient evidence, including objective evidence, to press charges against the suspects.
- 308 To date, none of the Esikhawini hit squad's hierarchy nor any of the other operatives have been prosecuted.

IN RESPECT OF THE ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD, THE COMMISSION FINDS AS FOLLOWS:

IN 1991, POLITICALLY MOTIVATED VIOLENCE BETWEEN SUPPORTERS OF THE ANC AND INKATHA ERUPTED AND ESCALATED IN THE ESIKHAWINI AREA OF THE KWAZULU NATAL NORTH COAST.

INKATHA LEADERS APPROACHED THE INKATHA CENTRAL AUTHORITY IN ULUNDI BECAUSE THEY WERE CONCERNED THAT THEY WERE IN THE PROCESS OF LOSING THE STRUGGLE.

DALUXOLO LUTHULI, WHO HAD BEEN APPOINTED POLITICAL COMMISSAR OF THE CAPRIVI TRAINEES DURING THEIR TRAINING IN THE CAPRIVI STRIP, SUMMONED GCINA MKHIZE, A MEMBER OF THE KZP BASED AT ESIKHAWINI AND A MEMBER OF THE GROUP WHICH HAD BEEN TRAINED BY THE SADF IN CAPRIVI, TO A MEETING IN ULUNDI.

THE MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY THE ABOVE-MENTIONED PERSONS AS WELL AS CAPTAIN LANGENI OF THE KZP BASED AT ULUNDI WHO HAD HAD A LONG TERM ASSOCIATION WITH LUTHULI AND THE CAPRIVI GROUP, ROBERT MZIMELA, THE SECRETARY OF THE KWAZULU LEGISLATURE, PRINCE GIDEON ZULU, THE MINISTER OF PENSIONS, AND MZ KHUMALO, THE POLITICAL ASSISTANT TO CHIEF MINISTER BUTHELEZI.

AT THIS MEETING, GCINA MKHIZE WAS INSTRUCTED TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST THE ANC IN ESIKHAWINI. IT WAS THE INTENTION THAT UNLAWFUL MEANS WOULD BE EMPLOYED AGAINST THE ANC. MKHIZE WAS TO PERFORM THESE ACTS IN CONSULTATION WITH MS LINDIWE MBUYAZI AND MR BB BIYELA. BOTH WERE LOCAL INKATHA LEADERS AND MR BIYELA WAS THE MAJOR OF ESIKHAWINI. HE WOULD ALSO TAKE INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPTAIN LANGENI AND DALUXOLO LUTHULI.

INITIALLY THE PLAN WAS THAT HE WOULD ASSIST THE INKATHA YOUTH CARRY OUT ATTACKS IN ANC DOMINATED AREAS. HE WORKED WITH, *INTER ALIA*, THE FOLLOWING YOUTH MEMBERS: NLANIMPU MATENJWA, LUCKY MBUYAZI AND SYABONGA MBUYAZI.

CAPTAIN LANGENI ARRANGED THAT WEAPONS FOR THESE ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES WOULD BE SUPPLIED BY A CAPRIVI TRAINEE BASED AT PORT DURNFORD, THOMAS BUTHELEZI.

THE YOUTH WERE UNABLE TO PREVENT THE ANC FROM CONTINUING LAUNCHING ATTACKS ON INKATHA MEMBERS.

THIS WAS REPORTED TO LANGENI AND LUTHULI BY MKHIZE AND THE DECISION WAS TAKEN TO FORM A MORE SOPHISTICATED 'HIT SQUAD'. MKHIZE WAS NOT PREPARED TO USE THE CAPRIVIANS BASED AT ESIKHAWINI AS SUGGESTED BECAUSE THEY WOULD NOT BE TRUSTED TO REMAIN SILENT ABOUT THE PROPOSED OPERATION OR WERE UNRELIABLE.

MKHIZE PROPOSED THAT KZP COLLEAGUE ROMEO MBAMBO BE APPOINTED AS A MEMBER OF THE HIT SQUAD. HE WAS ACCEPTED AFTER AN INTERVIEW WITH LUTHULI, LANGENI AND MZ KHUMALO. HE WAS GIVEN THE ASSURANCE THAT HE WOULD NOT BE ARRESTED FOR ANY OF HIS ACTIVITIES AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THE HIT SQUAD WOULD OPERATE WAS DISCUSSED IN DETAIL. PRIOR TO THE MEETING, MBAMBO HAD MET WITH MS MBUYUZI WHO HAD SUPPORTED HIS INVOLVEMENT IN THE ENTERPRISE.

LUTHULI APPOINTED THE FOLLOWING TWO MEMBERS WHO FORMED PART OF THE HIT SQUAD:

- ISRAEL HLONGWANE WHO HAD BEEN INVOLVED WITH LUTHULI IN THE VIOLENCE IN THE HAMMARSDALE AREA. HE WAS ACCOMMODATED AT THE HOME OF THE MAYOR, MR BB BIYELA.
- ZWELI DLAMINI, A CAPRIVI TRAINEE AND VETERAN OF THE PIETERMARITZBURG/ HAMMARSDALE VIOLENCE. HE WAS ACCOMMODATED AT THE HOME OF MS MBUYAZI.

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE HIT SQUAD INCLUDED: CONSTABLE VICTOR BUTHELEZI, JOYFUL MTHETHWA (A CAPRIVI TRAINEE), CONSTABLE P S NDLOVU (A CAPRIVI TRAINEE).

NOT ALL MEMBERS PARTICIPATED JOINTLY IN EACH AND EVERY UNLAWFUL ATTACK.

MKHIZE WAS, HOWEVER, THE LEADER OF THE GROUP AND, IN THE MAIN, TOOK INSTRUCTIONS DIRECTLY FROM CAPTAIN LANGENI. MS MBUYAZI AND MR BB BIYELA WERE AWARE OF THEIR ACTIVITIES AND IN SPECIFIC INSTANCES PROVIDED ACTUAL SUPPORT TO THEIR OPERATIONS. LESS FREQUENT CO-CONSPIRATORS INCLUDED PRINCE GIDEON ZULU, CHIEF MATHABA FROM NYONI AND ROBERT MKHIZE FROM ESIKHAWINI.

PRIOR TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE HIT SQUAD ACTIVITIES, MS MBUYAZI ARRANGED WITH THE DISTRICT COMMANDANT BRIGADIER MZIMELA THAT MKHIZE BE TRANSFERRED TO THE INTERNAL STABILITY UNIT AND MBAMBO TO THE DETECTIVE BRANCH. THE REASON FOR THIS WAS THAT THE COMMANDER OF THE FORMER UNIT WAS SUSPECTED OF SYMPATHISING WITH ANC MEMBERS IN THE AREA, AND ARRESTING INKATHA YOUTH MEMBERS FOR ACTS OF VIOLENCE BUT NOT MEMBERS OF THE ANC. MKHIZE WAS REQUIRED TO ENSURE THAT PATROLS WOULD TAKE PLACE AWAY FROM WHERE THE INKATHA YOUTH WAS DUE TO ATTACK. MBAMBO WAS TO ENSURE THAT CASES AGAINST THE YOUTH WOULD NOT BE INVESTIGATED PROPERLY. IN THIS REGARD, HE WAS REQUIRED TO DESTROY EVIDENCE AND MAKE MISLEADING ENTRIES IN POLICE DOCKETS. HE ACTED IN A SIMILAR MANNER WHEN THE HIT SQUAD ITSELF OPERATED.

MBAMBO ALSO PROVIDED TRAINING TO THE INKATHA YOUTH IN WEAPONS AND ATTACKING TECHNIQUES. THIS TRAINING BORE THE APPROVAL OF MS MBUYAZI, BB BIYELA AND CELANI MTHETHWA WHO ALSO MADE WEAPONS AVAILABLE.

MEETINGS AT WHICH HIT SQUAD ACTIVITIES WERE DISCUSSED AND/OR PLANNED WERE HELD AT MR BB BIYELA'S HOME, MS MBUYAZI'S HOME AND THE NHLANGANANI HALL, ALL SITUATED AT ESIKHAWINI, AS WELL AS AT THE INKATHA OFFICE AT EMPANGENI AND THE HOME OF PRINCE GIDEON ZULU AND CAPTAIN LANGENI'S OFFICE, BOTH AT ULUNDI.

MR BB BIYELA, MR CELE FROM THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT OFFICES IN ULUNDI AND PRINCE GIDEON ZULU MADE VEHICLES AVAILABLE FOR HIT SQUAD ACTIVITIES. HEARSAY EVIDENCE SUGGESTS COMPLICITY ON THE PART OF MZ KHUMALO AND ROBERT MZIMELA IN THIS REGARD.

THE HIT SQUAD WAS, *INTER ALIA*, RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FOLLOWING ELIMINATIONS.

- ON THE INSTRUCTION OF CAPTAIN LANGENI, THE KILLING OF MR APRIL TALIWE (MKHWANAZI), AN ANC MEMBER SUSPECTED OF SETTING UP SDUS AND SUPPLYING ARMS AND AMMUNITION.
- ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF CAPTAIN LANGENI, AN ATTEMPT TO KILL MR WELCOME MTHIMKULU, AN ANC MEMBER WHO WAS WINNING POPULAR SUPPORT AWAY FROM INKATHA.
- THE KILLING OF MR NATHI GUMEDE, AN ANC MEMBER WHO HAD LAID A FALSE CHARGE AGAINST ROMEO MBAMBO. THIS KILLING WAS APPROVED OF BY CAPTAIN LANGENI, DALUXOLO LUTHULI AND PRINCE GIDEON ZULU.
- ON THE INSTRUCTION OF PRINCE GIDEON ZULU AN ATTEMPT TO KILL A MALE NURSE BY THE NAME OF NXUMALO IN ESHOWE.
- A RANDOM ATTACK ON A BUS IN AN ANC DOMINATED AREA AFTER SHOTS WERE FIRED DURING THE COURSE OF AN INKATHA RALLY. THIS WAS INSTRUCTED BY PRINCE GIDEON ZULU WITH THE APPROVAL OF MRS MBUYAZI AND MR BB BIYELA.
- WITH THE APPROVAL OF CAPTAIN LANGENI, THE KILLING OF SGT KHUMALO, A COLLEAGUE AND AN ANC SUPPORTER, WHO WAS TRYING TO EXPOSE THE HIT SQUAD'S ACTIVITIES.
- A RANDOM ATTACK ON AN ANC DOMINATED AREA IN ORDER TO AVENGE THE MURDER OF A COLLEAGUE, CONSTABLE DANCA, IN A HAND-GRENADE ATTACK. THIS WAS PLANNED AT THE HOME OF MS MBUYAZI IN HER PRESENCE AND THAT OF CHIEF MATHABA.
- THE KILLING OF SGT DLAMINI FOR THE SAME REASONS AS SGT KHUMALO.
- ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF CHIEF MATHABA, THE KILLING OF A DISLOYAL *INDUNA* IN NYONI AND AN ATTEMPT, IN THE SAME AREA, TO KILL A COSATU MEMBER BY THE NAME OF JALI.

THE ARREST OF GCINA MKHIZE, ROMEO MBAMBO AND ISRAEL HLONGWANE WAS NOT BY THE KZP BUT BY THE SAP FOLLOWING PRESSURE FROM THE POLICE REPORTING OFFICER AND THE GOLDSTONE COMMISSION.

IN RESPECT OF BOTH GCINA MKHIZE AND ROMEO MBAMBO, AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO PREVENT THEM FROM BEING PROSECUTED.

IN THE CASE OF GCINA MKHIZE:

- BRIGADIER MZIMELA ARRANGED FOR HIS TRANSFER OUT OF ESIKHAWINI ONCE HE HAD COME UNDER SUSPICION.

- THEREAFTER HE WAS TAKEN TO CAPTAIN LANGENI BY DALUXOLO LUTHULI AND OTHERS IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO HIS ARREST IN ORDER FOR ARRANGEMENTS TO BE MADE FOR HIM TO GO INTO HIDING. AT A CERTAIN STAGE DURING THESE ARRANGEMENTS, ROBERT MZIMELA WAS PRESENT.
- WHEN HE REFUSED TO GO INTO HIDING, HE WAS ADVISED TO COMPILE AN ALIBI.

IN THE CASE OF ROMEO MBAMBO:

- MAJOR MCHUNU AND BRIGADIER MZIMELA MADE SEVERAL SUGGESTIONS AS TO HOW THE INVESTIGATIONS SHOULD BE SABOTAGED BY TAMPERING WITH BALLISTIC EVIDENCE.
- MBAMBO WAS ALLOWED TO CHOOSE WHERE HE WISHED TO BE DETAINED AND ALLOWED TO TRAVEL INTO TOWN TO DRAW MONEY FOR BAIL.
- MAJOR MCHUNU RECOMMENDED BAIL OF R500 BE GRANTED AND, WHEN THIS FAILED, HE, BRIGADIER MZIMELA AND AN ATTORNEY (NOW DECEASED) BY THE NAME OF GABELA ARRANGED FOR HIM TO APPEAR BEFORE A COURT NOT IN SESSION FOR BAIL TO BE GRANTED.

IN THE SUBSEQUENT SUPREME COURT TRIAL, MR JUSTICE VAN DER REYDEN COMMENTED ON THE INITIAL INVESTIGATIONS, INDICATING THAT WHEN THE TRIAL COMMENCED HE WAS TAKEN ABACK BY THE APPALLING STANDARD OF INVESTIGATION BUT LATER REALISED THAT WHAT HE HAD TAKEN FOR INCOMPETENCE WAS IN FACT A DELIBERATE COVER UP.

IN PASSING SENTENCE, THE COURT FOUND THAT THE THREE ACCUSED COULD NOT HAVE ACTED ALONE AND CALLED FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE ACTIVITIES OF THOSE WHO HAD DIRECTED THE HIT SQUAD.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: KWAZULU-NATAL DECLINED TO INSTITUTE ANY FURTHER PROSECUTIONS.

Assassinations: IFP 400 list

- 309 The IFP provided the Commission with a list of 422 Inkatha/IFP office-bearers allegedly assassinated because of the positions they held in the party.
- 310 Of the 422 listed cases, eighty-one occurred after the Commission's cut-off date of 10 May 1994; another fifteen happened outside KwaZulu-Natal. The Durban office of the Commission investigated the balance of 326 KwaZulu-Natal cases. Of these, 187 were referred back to the IFP for additional information. At the time of writing, no response to this request had been received.
- 311 The Commission's investigation was hampered by the fact that some case dockets were untraceable or had been destroyed. Two hundred and fifty of the cases were still under investigation by the SAPS. In the finalised cases, there had been 182 arrests, leading to twenty-two convictions and eighteen acquittals. The Attorney-General declined to prosecute in twenty-seven of the cases where arrests had been effected, and six suspects were killed before they could be prosecuted.

- 312 The Commission received amnesty applications in respect of two of the cases listed. In only twenty-one of the 326 cases investigated could it be positively confirmed that the office-bearer died as a result of attacks by UDF/ANC supporters. Seven of the cases were found to be irregular (the person named was not an IFP member, the death was crime-related, or cases were duplicated). Another four of the officials listed were killed as a result of intra-IFP conflict. This investigation is dealt with in greater detail in Volume Two of the Commission's report.

Individual assassinations

- 313 A large number of senior community members, including professionals, church leaders and party leaders, were assassinated during the 1990s. In some cases, the individuals' links with party politics were tenuous.

The Killing of Reverend Sipho Africander

Imbali priest and chairperson of the Pietermaritzburg Council of Churches, Reverend Sipho Victor Africander [KZN/NN/259/PM], was shot dead on 4 May 1990. IFP supporter Toti Godfrey Zulu, from Imbali, was convicted in 1991 but was later acquitted on appeal.

The Killing of Jerome Mncwabe and others

Imbali councillor Jerome Mncwabe [KZN/MP/062/MP] was shot dead at his daughter's home in Imbali on 16 May 1990. He was thirty-eight years old at the time. It is suspected that he was killed in revenge for the killing of Reverend Africander. Mncwabe was named as a perpetrator in at least six statements made to the Commission.

In what could have been a revenge attack for Mncwabe's killing, Imbali resident Baveni Philemon Ngcobo [KZN/NN/093/PM] was shot dead the next day. Mncwabe's son Nhlanhlazi Luthuli was arrested in connection with Ngcobo's killing. However, he was acquitted after the state's key witness, a policeman who had witnessed the killing, was himself killed.

Then on 23 May 1990, Imbali resident Ndleleni Anthony Dlungwane [KZN/PMB/211/PM] was killed in his home. The attackers blamed him for Mncwabe's assassination. Sean Awetha was arrested in connection with Dlungwane's death but was later released.

The Killing of Dr Henry Luthuli

Dr Henry Vika Luthuli, a young medical doctor, was one of the early casualties in the violence in Esikhawini. He was shot in the consulting room at his Esikhawini home on the night of 2 August 1990 and died in the arms of his wife Dorcas [KZN/SS/013/DN].

Luthuli was one of the first black people to graduate with a degree in community medicine from the University of Natal. Although he was not a member of any political organisation, he used to treat many scholars who were victims of the conflict.

The KZP investigation into this case indicates an extensive cover-up. The initial investigating officer, Detective Sergeant Derrick Ntuli, arrested Vlakplaas Constable Thembinkosi Dube in connection with the killing. Ntuli then searched Dube's homestead and removed police equipment for ballistic testing. Ntuli alleged that high-ranking officers of the KZP reprimanded him severely for searching Dube's home. Members of the Empangeni Security Branch took the equipment he had seized, preventing him from sending it for ballistic testing. Ntuli says he questioned Dube in the presence of Colonel Strydom of the Empangeni Security Branch, who taped the interview. Dube allegedly confessed to killing Luthuli. After this, Ntuli was moved off the case. Dube was subsequently killed in mysterious circumstances.

Ms Dorcas Luthuli persisted in pressurising the police to investigate her husband's killing. She wrote letters to the then State President, Mr FW de Klerk, and to General Jac Buchner, then Commissioner of the KZP, after which she received death threats. Eventually new investigating officers were appointed and an inquest was opened in 1996. The following year, the inquest court found Vlakplaas policeman Thembinkosi Dube responsible for the killing of Dr Luthuli.

The Killing of Arnold Lombo

IFP leader Arnold Lombo [KZN/GSN/073/PM] was shot dead on 31 October 1990 at the Joshua Doore furniture shop, Pietermaritzburg, where he was employed.

Four ANC members were arrested in connection with the killing and applied for amnesty. They are Mr Sipho Motaung, Mr Bhekimpindle Dlamini, Mr Nhlanhla Sibisi and Mr Johannes Sithole [AM3902/96; AM3905/96]. Their applications were all successful. Motaung [AM3902/96] was a trained Umkhonto we Sizwe member. He claimed that the assassination was planned and directed by his superiors (whom he named) "in the furtherance

of the political struggle waged by the ANC against the apartheid regime that existed at the time”.

The Killing of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo

On the night of the 25 February 1991 the President of CONTRALESA, Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo [KZN/MR/077/PM; ECO/68/96UTA], was shot dead as he drove up the driveway of his central Pietermaritzburg home.

Maphumulo was a chief from the Maqongqo/Table Mountain area, east of Pietermaritzburg. He had survived numerous previous attempts on his life and had fled from Table Mountain with his family in 1990 after their house was burnt down. His killing has still not been solved.

Maphumulo had been president of CONTRALESA since 1989. He had previously been harassed by policemen and askaris and had led a campaign calling for a commission of enquiry into the violence in the Natal Midlands.

The Killing of Winnington Sabelo

IFP Central Committee member and KwaZulu MP for Umlazi, Mr Winnington Sabelo, was shot dead in his Umlazi shop on 7 February 1992. A customer was also mistakenly killed in the shooting [KZN/GM/006/DN].

At the time of his death, Sabelo was a member of the local peace committee and as such was involved in a number of peace initiatives in the community. Sabelo's wife, Evelyn, was killed in an attack outside their home in August 1986 [KZN/NM/209/DN].

His killing was investigated by SAP member Mr De Beer. The KZP suspected ANC member Sbu Mkhize of involvement in the killing. Mkhize's mother, Ms Florence Mkhize, told the Commission that the police visited the Mkhize home and searched for weapons. They found a firearm belonging to Mkhize's father and took his father in for questioning. His father was killed in the police station. Sbu Mkhize himself was killed in July 1992 during a shoot-out with police at Isipingo.

The Killing of Mr S'khumbuzo Ngwenya (Mbatha)

Mr S'khumbuzo Ngwenya Mbatha [KZN/NNN/290/PM; KZN/GW/004/PM] (more commonly known as S'khumbuzo Ngwenya) was the chairperson of the Imbali ANC branch, member of the ANC regional executive committee and a field worker at PACSA.

He was assassinated on 8 February 1992. He was shot dead while leaving a restaurant in central Pietermaritzburg after dining with PACSA colleagues and visiting American academics. Ngwenya was thirty-four years old at the time. He had been deeply involved in spearheading various peace initiatives in the Pietermaritzburg area during the late 1980s, although his efforts were severely hampered by several detentions and a banning order.

Imbali mayor Phikelele Ndlovu, deputy mayor Abdul Awetha and a sixteen-year-old were arrested on 9 June 1992 in connection with Ngwenya's killing. However, charges were dropped when the state's key witness refused to testify after allegedly being threatened. As a result, no one has been prosecuted in connection with Ngwenya's killing.

The Killing of Reggie Hadebe

On 27 October 1992, ANC Natal Midlands Deputy Chairperson Reggie Hadebe [KZN/SELF/135/DN] was shot and killed when the car in which he was travelling with other senior ANC officials was ambushed outside Ixopo. Hadebe was returning from a Local Dispute Resolution Committee meeting together with ANC Midlands Region Executive member Shakes Cele and ANC official John Jeffries. Cele sustained slight wounds while Jeffries escaped without injuries.

According to Daluxolo Luthuli [AM4018/96]:

"On a Saturday afternoon after the assassination of Reggie Hadebe from Pietermaritzburg there was an IFP march to the Durban City Hall. At the march, I met Bongani Sithole who was a Caprivian. He had in the interim joined the KZP and was attached to the BSI in Mpumalanga. He told me that he was implicated in the murder of Reggie Hadebe. He said that he had used a G-3 rifle which was allocated to Mr Vezi who was the IFP chairman of Patheni near Ixopo. Bongani complained that the SAP was collecting G-3 rifles to compare them to spent cartridge cases which had been found at the scene of the murder. They had approached Mr Vezi and wanted to remove the G-3 that had been used in the murder. Mr Vezi refused to hand them the weapon until he received another in its place."

Imprisoned IFP member Richard Sibusiso 'Sosha' Mbhele [AM4018/96] claimed that Hadebe's assassination was ordered by the late Chief Xhawulengweni Mkhize and discussed at a small meeting at Mkhize's home. The meeting included a former KZP member and a local SPU commander, two unnamed KZP members and a "white man with a neat red moustache"

who “drove a cream car and spoke Zulu very well”. It was decided that Hadebe would be ambushed on one of the corners in the Umkomaas valley area. Mbhele claimed that a KZP member and two other men left to carry out the operation. The KZP member returned home alone in the afternoon some time after 14h00. He appeared to be very happy and reported that he had “finished with Hadebe”. Later Mbhele heard a radio report of Hadebe’s killing.

The Killing of Professor Hlalanathi Sibankulu

Professor Hlalanathi Sibankulu [KZN/MR/166/NC; KZN/MDU/999/NC], a member of the ANC Midlands Executive Committee and long-standing trade union and civic leader from Madadeni, was killed in November 1992 in Madadeni township, outside Newcastle. His body was dismembered and burnt in his car.

Sibankulu was a highly energetic trade union, political and civic activist, and one of the most prominent residents of this large township. He had been detained several times in the late 1980s by the Newcastle Security Branch. He successfully brought two interdicts against the police after being tortured in detention. In 1988, Sibankulu was charged with treason, along with fellow union activist Mandla Cele, but was acquitted after a fourteen-month trial.

Despite a thorough investigation, there were no arrests. The evidence collected by the Commission’s investigating officer points to KZP involvement in the killing. The Commission could not make a conclusive finding on the available evidence.

The Killing of Claire Stewart

The Commission conducted an intensive investigation into the death of Ms Claire Stewart [KZN/NG/028/DN], a British citizen and trained agriculturist who ran a community project in KwaNgwanase in the Manguzi area of KwaZulu Natal.

Stewart’s active membership of the ANC led to an IFP boycott of the project after a speech made by senior IFP official, Prince Gideon Zulu.

On 10 November 1993, she was abducted by unknown persons while driving to a meeting. Her body was found on 24 November 1993 in the Ingwavuma area, with bullet wounds to the head.

The Killing of Michael Mcetywa

On 22 November 1993, Mr Michael Mcetywa [KZN/HD/313/EM], the Pongola ANC Chairperson, was assassinated by a local IFP member Emmanuel Mavuso [AM7921/92]. Mavuso was subsequently convicted and sentenced to twenty-five years for the murder. However, he evaded custody after being given bail pending an appeal.

A co-conspirator to the assassination, Mr Mdu Msibi, in custody for a related murder, claimed that Mcetywa's murder had been planned by the IFP leadership in Piet Retief and members of the Piet Retief Security Branch [Pongola CR 120-11-93].

Mdu Msibi alleged that two leading IFP members (from Pongola and Piet Retief) and a member of the Piet Retief Security Branch decided to eliminate Emmanuel Mavuso while he was in custody and standing trial. Mavuso was allegedly dissatisfied because he had been promised protection from prosecution and Msibi was asked to poison him. Mavuso heard of the plot and stopped eating food given to him. It was then decided to wrest him from police custody when he appeared at the trial. Msibi attempted to do this but was recognised at the court and arrested for a Piet Retief killing. (Msibi was subsequently convicted and imprisoned for murder cases in Piet Retief.)

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF COMMUNITY AND POLITICAL LEADERS, INCLUDING NON-ALIGNED ACADEMICS, PROFESSIONALS AND MEMBERS OF THE CLERGY, WERE TARGETED FOR ATTACK IN PLANNED HIT-SQUAD OPERATIONS IN THE PROVINCE FROM 1990-94. THE DEATHS ARISING FROM THESE ATTACKS CONSTITUTE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

Hostel Violence

- 314 In the early 1990s, Inkatha undertook a vigorous recruitment drive in township hostels. Until that time, relations between hostel-dwellers and township residents had been cordial. However, this changed after February 1990 when township residents tended to join the unbanned ANC.
- 315 Hostels became Inkatha's point of entry into the township: all hostel residents were compelled to join Inkatha or leave. Inmates were required to attend all functions organised by Inkatha. Hostels became Inkatha strongholds and no-go zones for township residents. Strangers entering the hostels were frequently suspected of being from the township and were killed.

- 316 Similarly, the townships were identified as ANC strongholds and were no-go zones for the hostel-dwellers. Hostel-dwellers travelling through the township to get to and from the hostel were frequently attacked by township youth. The violence in the Bruntville township outside Mooi River in the Natal Midlands is illustrative.
- 317 The township of Bruntville, near the farming town of Mooi River in the Natal Midlands, was administered by a town council set up under the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982. Around 1990, Mooi River Textiles (Mooitex) was the largest employer in the area. About two-thirds of its labour force lived in the company's hostels located in Bruntville. The hostel-dwellers were predominantly Inkatha-supporting and members of UWUSA. In contrast, the township residents were predominantly ANC-supporting and members of COSATU.
- 318 On 8 November 1990, sixteen township residents were killed by approximately 1 200 hostel-dwellers and other Inkatha supporters who were allegedly brought into the area to assist in a pre-dawn attack. About 1 500 people, mainly women and children, fled their homes.

THE COMMISSION NOTES THE KILLING OF SIXTEEN PEOPLE ON 8 NOVEMBER 1990 IN A PRE-DAWN ATTACK ALLEGEDLY LED BY APPROXIMATELY 1 200 HOSTEL-DWELLERS AND INKATHA SUPPORTERS, AND THE CONSEQUENT DISPLACEMENT OF UP TO 1 500 PEOPLE FROM THEIR HOMES IN THE AREA. AS IN MANY OTHER AREAS WHERE SINGLE-SEX HOSTELS (INHABITED BY THE MORE TRADITIONAL INKATHA-SUPPORTING MEN) WERE SITUATED ADJACENT TO TOWNSHIPS (WHICH HAD ACTIVE CIVIC AND YOUTH STRUCTURES), TENSIONS AND CONFLICT DEVELOPED. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT INKATHA-SUPPORTING HOSTEL-DWELLERS WERE SUBJECTED TO PROVOCATION AND ATTACKS FROM ELEMENTS OF THE YOUTH.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THIS UNLAWFUL BEHAVIOUR CONTRIBUTED SUBSTANTIALLY TO THE CONFLICT. HOWEVER, THE OVERWHELMING NUMBERS OF PEOPLE WHO DIED OR WERE INJURED WERE NON-IFP TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS. THE SCALE AND EXTREME BRUTALITY OF THE PRE-EMPTIVE ATTACKS CARRIED OUT BY THE INKATHA-SUPPORTING HOSTEL-DWELLERS ON NEIGHBOURING TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED. ELDERLY PEOPLE, WOMEN AND INFANTS WERE KILLED IN A MOST CALLOUS AND BRUTAL MANNER. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP WERE AT BEST HOPELESSLY INCOMPETENT IN THEIR EFFORTS TO PREVENT OR CONTAIN THE CARNAGE AND, AT WORST, COLLUDED WITH THE ATTACKERS BY OMISSION. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT LOCAL AND REGIONAL IFP STRUCTURES DID VERY LITTLE TO INTERVENE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KILLING OF SIXTEEN PEOPLE ON 8 NOVEMBER 1990 WAS CAUSED BY UNKNOWN SUPPORTERS OF THE IFP FROM THE BRUNTVILLE HOSTEL, CONSTITUTING GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH UNKNOWN INKATHA-SUPPORTING HOSTEL-DWELLERS ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

319 Violence continued throughout the following year.

The Attack on the Majola Family

The chairperson of the Bruntville ANC, Mr Derek Majola, and his wife Mavis were killed on 24 April 1991 when four armed men wearing balaclavas attacked their home. Their four-year-old daughter was seriously injured in the attack [KZN/NN/377/MR].

320 While the township residents were frequently disarmed and subjected to weapons searches by members of the security forces, hostel-dwellers often paraded through the township, openly brandishing their traditional weapons. In October 1991, the ANC called a stay away boycott to protest against what they perceived to be discriminatory treatment.

321 On the night of 3–4 December 1991, eighteen people were killed when large groups of IFP hostel-dwellers launched two large-scale attacks on houses and residents in the township. Many allegations were made that the police were reluctant to intervene in the attack. Victims and survivors say that the police never approached them for statements. There were no prosecutions in connection with the massacre.

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

It was on the third of December. There was some noise outside and the soldiers were moving around the streets, patrolling ... that night, we did not sleep. At about 4.00 am we heard some gunshots from outside and we woke up and looked at White City, and we could see the Inkatha impi at White City, going around burning people's houses. And at my in-laws' place, we saw a certain house, Mr Zuma's house, being burnt down and my wife jumped and

went out. She wanted to go and check my [six-year-old] son, who had gone to my in-laws to visit, and I was left with the daughter.

By the time she got to the place, they had already finished burning the house and they were coming towards our place, and they came across my wife. And there's a certain person I was working with by the name China. His other name was Sidney Zulu. And he tried to hold my wife. Amongst the other people who were hiding themselves they saw him grabbing my wife, and my wife pushed this man and went to knock at the door, and this group of people followed my wife. And the other one took out an assegai and stabbed my wife ...

We tried to get some transport, but people had run away because they were scared that they would be attacked. When I got to her I touched her. I saw a little hole just above her breast, and when I turned her over, I saw that she had been stabbed from the back and the assegai went through to the front. That's when the police came. They took her with [them].

- 323 On being asked whether he had reported his wife's killing to the police, Majola answered:

It was not easy for me to submit a statement because I learnt my lesson at first when Mr du Toit [a policeman] told us that there were some cattle that had been slaughtered, and when we went to the mortuary we realised that he was referring to the people ... They were referring to our loved ones as dead cows which had been slaughtered earlier on, so I did not want to report the matter to the police.

- 324 Ms Janet Madlala (65), her daughter Ria and three granddaughters aged eighteen years, six years and eighteen months lived in one of the homes targeted in the hostel-dwellers' pre-dawn offensive. Ria and the girls were able to climb through a back window and run away. The attackers gave chase and caught up with Thando (18) [KZN/NN/318/MR], whom they stabbed to death, and the six-year-old, whom they pounded with a rock and left for dead. Ria hid in a pit latrine with the baby. When all was quiet again Ria emerged from her hiding place and went in search of her family.

I was rushing home to try and rescue my mother. When I got to the house the house was filled with smoke and I couldn't see anything. I couldn't even see where my mother was. I was not able to go into the bathroom to fetch some water. I asked for water from the opposite house and they gave me water. They also helped me to try and put out the fire until I was able to put out the fire, and I went inside. I found my mother sprawled in the passage.

The way that she had been stabbed the whole place was just a pool of blood. She had twenty-four stab wounds. I think everybody just took his turn to stab. I tried to pull her outside because the house was still burning. I dragged her outside and I was trying to extinguish the fire all at the same time ...

Thereafter we tried to get some transport to ferry these people to the hospital, because I have a strong belief that had she been taken to the hospital in time she would have survived, but the police and the soldiers refused. They said that they were not able and they were not going to take anyone to the hospital.

- 325 The police never took any statements from any of the Madlala family concerning the events of that fateful night. As a result of her experiences of that night, Ria says:

I was very traumatised. I lost a great deal of weight. I wasn't able to eat for quite a long time. I even went to Ladysmith, to my sister, and I became quite reclusive. I couldn't mix with other people. They even had to take my child for a period of two years, and they were also complaining that she was having panic attacks. She was always scared, and at times they would wake up and pray in the evening, pray for my daughter.

- 326 The Goldstone Commission inquiry into the violence in Bruntville on 3–4 December 1991 showed that, of the nineteen people killed, eighteen had died of wounds inflicted by weapons other than firearms (*assegais, knobkierries, pangas* and bush knives).

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KILLINGS CONSTITUTE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH UNKNOWN INKATHA-SUPPORTING HOSTEL-DWELLERS ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

- 327 A total of fifty killings and thirty-eight cases of severe ill-treatment were reported to the Commission for Bruntville and Mooi River for 1991. The corresponding figures for the previous year were six and eleven respectively.

Clashes in the workplace

- 328 In July 1990, not long after the release of Nelson Mandela, workers at the Durnacol mines, Dannhauser, went on strike over a wage demand. The subsequent industrial unrest at the mines developed along Zulu–Xhosa ethnic lines.
- 329 The mine employed mainly Zulu workers. Ms Kate Masiba [KZN/NNN/026/NC] told the Commission that her husband Mr Justice Masiba, a Durnacol employee for twenty years, was killed by other miners on 12 February 1991 because he was Xhosa.

- 330 A Xhosa-speaking worker claimed that the trouble had spread to the Dannhauser mine from the nearby Hlobane Colliery, where clashes between Zulu and Xhosa coal miners had caused at least ten deaths and many more injuries. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) claimed that Iscor management wanted to get rid of the union and was actively encouraging Inkatha to attack NUM members. The NUM alleged that mine security and the SAP had watched the attack, but had not tried to stop it.
- 331 As on the mines in the former Transvaal, certain members of the police and certain mine officials, especially the security officials, promoted the separation of Xhosa and Zulu people because this helped them to control the labour force. They encouraged the tendency of workers to join different trade unions according to their ethnic background – Zulu miners joining the UWUSA union while Xhosas joined the COSATU unions.
- 332 At Durnacol specifically, Zulu workers were encouraged to organise themselves separately from the rest of the workforce. They began to hold their own meetings. In late 1991, Xhosa miners were told to return to the Transkei. Fearing for their lives, the Xhosa-speakers fled their workplace. Amongst these was Justice Masiba. After a series of attacks on the homes of people of Xhosa descent, the Masibas fled to Madadeni. After a while Masiba decided to apply for a transfer to Durban and on 12 February 1991 he returned to the mine to collect his transfer forms. A large group of unknown mineworkers chased him back to his home, where he was killed. Ms Masiba remembers:

Most of the people who killed my husband, they didn't even know my husband. They were new employees of that mine. They didn't even know him. ... When they arrived there, they found him inside the house. I heard he tried to run. He hid behind the wardrobe. They broke the door in my brother's bedroom, and neighbours were there watching but they were scared to do anything. They broke the wardrobe, and that's how he was killed. He had twenty-six wounds. They cut his tongue, they cut his genitals, they took his teeth out. They left him there. They put muthi all over his body.

After I received a message, I went there, I went to look for his corpse, and I was so scared because it was terrible. And they told me they don't want to see me and my family, and they wanted to kill everything that belonged to him ...

Sergeant Komandu, who was handling the case, said there was nothing that he could say or do because whites refused him to arrest those people who

killed my husband. So he said there was nothing he could do. That's how he left, and up until today nothing happened.

- 333 Masiba's attackers followed his widow to Madadeni, where she was living with her sister, and burnt all her possessions.

Party strongholds/'no-go zones'

- 334 The rural and urban areas of Natal and KwaZulu were divided into a jigsaw puzzle of party political strongholds or of what became known as 'no-go zones'. Townships were divided according to sections; rural areas according to valleys, rivers, ridges or roads. Often a party flag or graffiti would serve to stake out the party stronghold. It was impossible for people to be non-partisan without fearing for their lives and those of their families. Those people without strong party affiliations had no choice but to support the party in whose stronghold they were living. They were required to join the party, attend its gatherings and participate in its marches, night 'camps' and patrols. Failure to do this could be fatal. Victims who were questioned by the Commission about their political affiliations would sometimes give answers like: "We were under the ANC".
- 335 Many of the attacks at this time were indiscriminate, perpetrated by men from one stronghold on people living in a stronghold of an opposing party. Often the victims were non-partisan but were labelled as IFP or ANC simply because of where they lived. The Commission heard many accounts in which victims were unable to explain why they had been attacked, but said that they lived in the stronghold of one political party and that the attackers were seen or presumed to be coming from a neighbouring stronghold of the opposing party.
- 336 Sokhulu, a rural area north of Richards Bay, was split into an ANC-supporting section and an IFP-supporting section soon after the unbanning of the ANC. Many reports were received of armed men from the IFP side launching attacks on people living in the ANC side. People from the ANC side who went across to the IFP side were killed.

The Killing of Caleb Mthembu and his brother-in-law

On 2 February 1992, Mr Caleb Fana Mthembu [KZN/MR/208/EM] and his brother-in-law, both from the ANC side, went to buy an ox in the area considered to be IFP. They were both shot dead.

- 337 By 1993, both the town of Escort and its dormitory township, Wembezi, had become demarcated into ANC and IFP sections, and even the taxi ranks in town were separated by party. In Wembezi, homes situated on the borders between ANC and IFP sections would be burnt, forcing their occupants to flee to one side or the other. Invariably they would flee to the side that offered them better protection.
- 338 Bergville is a small farming town in the foothills of the Drakensberg and is surrounded by a tribal area falling under the IFP-supporting chief Maswazi Hlongwane. The area became a strong Inkatha enclave. An attempt by some ANC youths to launch an ANC branch in February 1993 was aborted after IFP supporters allegedly intimidated them. A second attempt was made to launch a branch on 20 June 1993.
- 339 The ANC organisers sought permission from the magistrate to hold the gathering at the Woodforde soccer stadium and were issued with a permit to do so. They also informed the Bergville SAP station commander and peace monitors of their intention to hold a rally to launch a branch. When the ANC members began arriving at the soccer stadium for the launch, they found a group of IFP supporters gathered nearby. The IFP supporters were armed with traditional weapons and guns. It was clear to all that a confrontation was looming.
- 340 The police spoke first to the group of IFP supporters and then to the ANC leaders. They told the ANC to disperse, saying that the gathering was illegal because they had not received permission from Chief Hlongwane. After much deliberation and negotiation with the police, the ANC decided to disperse. While they were dispersing, gunshots and shouting filled the air. The ANC soon discovered that IFP supporters had barricaded all the access routes from Woodforde. Despite the presence of the security forces, six ANC members were killed. That night a number of homes were torched and as many as sixty ANC-supporting youths fled the district. It was several months before they were able to return to their homes.
- 341 Mr Thulani Sibeko made a written submission to the Commission on behalf of the victims and survivors of this attack:

What was really painful was the way those who died on 20 June 1993 were buried. They were buried by Inkatha without their parents or families. They were buried in the mountain wherein no one had ever been buried. It is not

known whether they had coffins. Inkatha said categorically that they (the deceased) were Xhosas⁵¹ and should be taken to Transkei to be buried there.

342 Mr Sibeko was to have presented this submission publicly at the 1997 Mooi River hearing. However, he never got the opportunity: one of the alleged perpetrators was seen attending the hearing, so the Bergville delegation left soon after their arrival.

343 The Commission received statements indicating sporadic cases of violence in the northern Natal township of Ezakheni during 1992 and 1994. The bulk of the victims referred to incidents which took place during 1993. At this time, the township was largely ANC-dominated, with the exception of C1 section which was said to be IFP. Residents of C1 section had to pass through E section to catch taxis and buses to and from the township, and were frequently attacked.

The Killing of Thula Nhlabathi and Baloni Msimango

On 31 October 1992, a group of IFP supporters attacked mourners attending the funeral of a prominent ANC member. Two mourners, Mr Thula Alson Nhlabathi and Mr Baloni Richard Msimango, were shot and stabbed to death and a number of houses were set alight and looted [KZN/ZJ/369/LS; KZN/ZJ/366/LS]. The docket was closed as 'undetected' on 15 November 1993.

344 On 9 July 1993, after weeks of mounting tension, IFP supporters attacked E Section before dawn, killing ten ANC supporters, injuring at least eleven others and burning houses. The attack lasted a few hours and bodies were found over a two-kilometre radius. The raid appeared to be in revenge for the attacks on IFP commuters passing through E Section.

345 The incidence of violence increased in the months following the massacre. Scores of houses were burnt down and hundreds of residents forced to flee. The Ndakane High School, situated between C1 (IFP) and C2 (ANC) Sections, was temporarily closed because of conflict between staff and students coming from different sections of the township.

346 As with other areas in the Natal Midlands, the political conflict in the Richmond area flared up in the latter half of the 1980s and was largely characterised by conflict between ANC and IFP supporters, although there was a strong element of faction fighting. The communities worst affected were Patheni, the IFP stronghold led by local IFP leader Mbadlaza Paulos Vezi, and Magoda and Ndaleni, ANC strongholds led by Mr Sifiso Nkabinde. The conflict was alleged to have been

51 An assumption based on the fact that the deceased supported the ANC, whose leadership was predominantly Xhosa-speaking, as opposed to Inkatha, which was overwhelmingly Zulu.

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

347 The IFP-ANC conflict escalated in 1990, erupting into full-scale violence in January 1991. The fighting culminated in the so-called 'Battle of the Forest' on 29 March 1991, in which twenty-three IFP supporters, including women and children, were killed and the ANC regained control of the major portion of Ndaleni area. A number of prominent IFP leaders in the area were attacked and/or killed: Mr Ndodi Thusi, IFP leader of Ndaleni and family members were killed; Chief Dingiziwe Ndlovu, KwaZulu Legislature member was killed in Ixopo and Chief Majozi (IFP leader) was attacked several times. On 21-23 June 1991, groups of heavily armed IFP supporters attacked ANC supporters in Ndaleni, Magoda and Townlands.

348 The Commission received more than ten accounts of the incident. Fourteen people were killed and nine others injured in attacks on seven homesteads in Ndaleni.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT TWENTY-THREE PEOPLE, INCLUDING WOMEN AND CHILDREN, WERE KILLED BETWEEN 21 AND 23 JUNE 1991 IN THE RICHMOND AREA BY UNKNOWN SUPPORTERS OF THE IFP, CONSTITUTING GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. TWO IFP MEMBERS, MR MDUDUZI PITSHANA GUMBI AND MR ROBERT 'VO' ZUMA [AM0433/96] WERE GRANTED AMNESTY FOR THEIR ROLES IN THE ATTACK ON 23 JUNE 1991.

349 A Richmond IFP member who took part in these June attacks told the Commission that he and five other IFP supporters had been hand-picked by local IFP chief Mzwandile Majozi in May 1991, and sent to undergo paramilitary training at the Amatikulu camp in KwaZulu. The training lasted one week and was given by IFP member Mr Phillip Powell. On completion of their training, Mr MR Mzimela, the Secretary of the KLA, issued them with G-3 rifles from the Chief Minister's Department. Three weeks after their return from Amatikulu they launched the attack on Ndaleni. The same IFP member also alleged that policemen from the local Richmond SAP station supplied them with ammunition.

350 In addition to the many lives that were lost, an estimated 20 000 people were displaced during 1991 in the so-called Richmond war.

351 Although the Richmond violence was portrayed as solely ANC-IFP conflict, the amnesty applications of a former SAP member exposed the security forces' role in fomenting the violence. Former Riot Unit constable Nelson Shabangu [AM3676/96] exposed the police collusion with IFP elements in Richmond. He

also accused the police of ignoring cases implicating IFP officials and thus allowing them to take the law into their own hands.

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

353 On 26 March 1992, nine IFP supporters were killed, several others injured and many homes burnt down in an attack on the Gengeshe community. Two ANC supporters, Mr Mandlenkosi Tommy Phoswa [AM3641/96] and Mr Mafuka Anthony Nzimande [AM3095/96], were granted amnesty in respect of the attack. Both were serving fourteen year prison terms for the attack.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT NINE SUPPORTERS OF THE IFP WERE KILLED ON 26 MARCH 1992 BY SUPPORTERS OF THE ANC, CONSTITUTING GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. ANC SUPPORTERS MANDLENKOSI TOMMY PHOSWA AND MAFUKA ANTHONY NZIMANDE WERE GRANTED AMNESTY IN RESPECT OF THEIR ROLES IN THE ATTACK.

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

355 In Umlazi, fifteen women and three children were killed and twenty-eight other people injured in an attack on the ANC-supporting Uganda informal settlement on 13 March 1992. Two of the children were still toddlers; one was decapitated. The attackers included a large number of KZP members and IFP supporters from the Unit 17 hostel complex in T Section, Umlazi.

356 Residents reported that a large contingent of KZP members was seen escorting hundreds of Inkatha supporters to the pre-dawn attack. The attackers withdrew after the SAP arrived on the scene. This was the third such attack in two months by hostel-dwellers and the KZP in U-section, Umlazi, though the casualties in the previous incidents had not been as high.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT EIGHTEEN PEOPLE, INCLUDING FIFTEEN WOMEN AND THREE CHILDREN, WERE KILLED AT UGANDA INFORMAL SETTLEMENT, UMLAZI, ON 13 MARCH 1992 WHEN A LARGE NUMBER OF KZP MEMBERS AND IFP SUPPORTERS FROM THE UNIT 17 HOSTEL COMPLEX IN T SECTION STAGED A PRE-DAWN ATTACK ON THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT. THE KILLINGS CONSTITUTE GROSS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH UNKNOWN KZP MEMBERS AND UNKNOWN IFP SUPPORTERS ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

357 At this time, conditions were particularly volatile on the lower South Coast where IFP supporters were the targets of violent attack.

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

I heard a rumble of guns and there were gunshots all over. And the children started running, calling and saying, "Mum, we are dying". Some of them ran on top of me, and they ran into the house. The other one was crying, and the child was trying to get through the window, but they couldn't. They all fall down, and everything was happening so fast, and it was as if I was dreaming. I didn't know what was happening ... I decided to creep on the floor and went to one of the bedrooms. I couldn't see the condition of the children at that time ... I went out to investigate to see what was happening to the other children who were singing. And I could still hear these sounds. When I looked around the girls were lying all over the floor. One of my daughters was lying down and she was dead.

359 The daughter who was killed, Ms Thandekile Goodness Dlamini, was seven months pregnant at the time [KZN/KM/543/PS]. There have been no prosecutions in connection with the massacre.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT TWELVE IFP SUPPORTERS WERE KILLED ON 4 SEPTEMBER AT BOMELA WHEN A GROUP OF UNKNOWN ARMED MEN STORMED A GATHERING OF THE IFP YOUTH BRIGADE. THE KILLINGS AMOUNT TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. ON THE AVAILABLE EVIDENCE THE COMMISSION IS UNABLE TO MAKE A CONCLUSIVE FINDING ON THIS MASSACRE, SAVE TO SAY THAT IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE DECEASED WERE KILLED BY UNKNOWN ANC SUPPORTERS.

360 At Folweni, in the Umbumbulu district south of Durban, twenty IFP supporters were killed in an attack on a religious ceremony on 26 October 1992. A group of fifteen unidentified assailants armed with AK-47 assault rifles attacked predominantly IFP-supporting persons attending a *sangoma's* (traditional healer's) party at the homestead of IFP member Mbonwa Sabelo. The assailants, wearing SADF uniforms and balaclavas, opened fire on people in two huts in the Sabelo kraal. Eighteen people were killed in the attack and two died in hospital. Another thirty-three people were injured.

AT FOLWENI IN THE UMBUMBULU DISTRICT, SOUTH OF DURBAN, TWENTY IFP SUPPORTERS WERE KILLED IN AN ATTACK ON A RELIGIOUS CEREMONY ON 26 OCTOBER 1992. ON THE AVAILABLE EVIDENCE, THAT THE KILLINGS WERE CARRIED OUT BY A GROUP OF FIFTEEN UNIDENTIFIED ASSAILANTS WEARING BALACLAVAS AND SADF UNIFORMS, THE COMMISSION IS UNABLE TO MAKE A CONCLUSIVE FINDING. THE KILLINGS AMOUNT TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

- 361 Several chiefs from the coastal areas were forced into exile following attempts on their lives after they had refused to adopt certain IFP and/or KLA policy decisions. These chiefs included Chief Jabulani Mdlalose of Mondlo, Chief TE Xolo of KwaXolo near Margate, Chief B Shinga of KwaNdelu, near Umzumbe, and Chief E Molefe of Nqutu on the North Coast.
- 362 In 1992, following the Bisho massacre, the ANC stated its intention to march on Ulundi in support of its demand for free political activity. Chief Buthelezi responded by calling on all young men from KwaZulu to be sent by their *indunas* for training as warriors to resist the ANC invasion. In the Nqutu district on the North Coast, a meeting of *indunas* was called which was also attended by Prince Gideon Zulu, who allegedly said they would search for and kill traitors in the Nqutu area as had happened at Isandhlwana. Many of the *indunas* under Chief Molefe failed to comply with the call to take up arms and were threatened with punishment and fined.
- 363 A few weeks later, on the night of 8 November 1992, a group of armed men attacked several homesteads under Chief Molefe's jurisdiction. At least three people were killed, including Molefe's senior *induna*, and several huts burnt to the ground. Police were called, but made no attempt to detain the attackers. Two people were subsequently arrested, including the younger brother of one of the deceased. He was kept in detention without charge from 9 to 30 November and on his release laid charges against police for wrongful arrest.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ON THE NIGHT OF 8 NOVEMBER 1992, THREE PEOPLE WERE KILLED WHEN A GROUP OF UNKNOWN ARMED MEN ATTACKED SEVERAL HOMESTEADS UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF CHIEF MOLEFE ON THE NORTH COAST. THE KILLINGS AMOUNT TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND UNKNOWN PERSONS OPPOSED TO THE ANC ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

- 364 On the night of 7 November 1993, eleven ANC-supporting youths were killed and a number of others injured in an attack on Chief Molefe's homestead. A large ANC rally had been planned for that day and was to have been held in the Nqutu stadium. However, during the week preceding the rally the ANC said it had received information that the IFP was stockpiling weapons and planned to attack the gathering. The rally was called off. That same night, sixty to eighty gunmen wearing balaclavas attacked Chief Molefe's homestead, killing the eleven youths. One of the chief's sons, Tsepo

Molefe [KN/FS/366/VH], was among the deceased; the chief escaped with injuries. He subsequently fled the area and to this day has not returned to his home. He is now destitute. To date, no one has been charged in connection with the massacre.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ON THE NIGHT OF 7 NOVEMBER 1993, ELEVEN ANC SUPPORTERS WERE KILLED IN AN ATTACK ON CHIEF MOLEFE'S HOMESTEAD. THE KILLINGS REPRESENT GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. ON THE AVAILABLE EVIDENCE THAT THE ATTACK WAS CARRIED OUT BY SIXTY TO EIGHTY ARMED MEN WEARING BALACLAVAS, THE COMMISSION IS UNABLE TO MAKE A CONCLUSIVE FINDING ON THE KILLINGS, SAVE TO SAY THAT IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE DECEASED WERE KILLED BY UNKNOWN PERSONS OPPOSED TO THE ANC.

Self-defence units (SDUs)

- 365 Substantial evidence placed before the Commission points to the fact that Mr Sifiso Nkabinde, the person responsible for the establishment of one of the largest self-defence units in the country, was recruited by the SAP Security Branch in 1988 as a registered source. He was recruited by Captain J T Pieterse and his task was to monitor political activists and inform the police about the movements of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres. His previous handler, prior to his exposure as a Security Branch informer and subsequent expulsion from the ANC in 1997, had been security policeman Shane Morris. An extract from a Security Branch file on source SR 4252 outlines information obtained from Bhukumusi Gabriel Nkabinde, which is Nkabinde's full name. The source is registered under the name of Derrick Nene.
- 366 Sifiso Nkabinde's SDU structure allegedly became one of the most powerful in the Natal Midlands. This is borne out by criminal trials in which its members were alleged to be conducting offensive operations against the IFP in areas beyond the boundaries of Richmond, such as in Ixopo⁵².
- 367 Sifiso Nkabinde mobilised support in areas further afield, including Impendle, Bulwer and Mooi River.⁵³ It is alleged that Nkabinde garnered support by providing weapons to ANC members in these areas.⁵⁴ In response, his counterparts in the IFP, namely Mr Ndadlazi Paulos Vezi (IFP leader, Patheni), Mr David Ntombela (IFP leader, Pietermaritzburg), Mr Phillip Powell (KwaZulu Natal urban representative, Midlands, and later IFP senator), Mr Dumisani Khuzwayo⁵⁵ (IFP organiser, Ixopo) and Mr

52 Highflats CR 45 / 09 / 1995, where an IFP leader in Ixopo, Mr JJ Ngubane, was allegedly killed by Mr Simphiwe Dlamini, in concert with other SDU members, NITU, Pietermaritzburg, copy with the Commission's Investigation Unit. Dlamini is also wanted in connection with 45 / 05 / 93 attempted murder in Highflats.

53 This was due in part to the restructuring of the ANC region, which resulted in areas like Richmond falling under the regional headquarters in Durban. It is alleged that Nkabinde saw this as a threat and campaigned for the re-incorporation of Richmond into the Pietermaritzburg sub-region. His supporters staged a sit-in at the Pietermaritzburg ANC office until it was closed.

54 Military Intelligence report, 28 October 1996, reported by the Network of Independent Monitors.

55 Vezi and Khuzwayo were charged and acquitted for the killing of 14 ANC people in Mahehle on 18 February 1994, Human Rights Commission, June 1994.

Gamantu Sithole (IFP leader, Ixopo) began to mobilise IFP supporters. Violence in these areas flared.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ANC SDUS WERE SET UP IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES WITH THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE ANC LEADERSHIP AND THAT SENIOR MEMBERS OF MK WERE CHARGED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF TRAINING AND ARMING THESE UNITS, WHICH EXISTED OSTENSIBLY TO UNDERTAKE THE DEFENCE OF THESE COMMUNITIES. AUTOMATIC FIREARMS, INCLUDING AK-47S, PISTOLS AND GRENADES WERE DISTRIBUTED TO SDUS IN THE AREAS WORST HIT BY THE VIOLENCE, PARTICULARLY THOSE AROUND THE METROPOLITAN CENTRES OF DURBAN AND PIETERMARITZBURG.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, WHILE THE TERMS OF THE PEACE ACCORD PROVIDED FOR THE SETTING UP OF LOCAL DEFENCE STRUCTURES, IN SOME INSTANCES MEMBERS OF THE SDUS ACTED IN TOTAL CONTRAVENTION OF THE SPIRIT OF THE PEACE ACCORD, AND CARRIED OUT UNLAWFUL ATTACKS ON HIGH-PROFILE AND OTHER MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE IFP. INTERNAL KILLINGS WERE ALSO A FEATURE OF THE SDU'S OPERATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ANC AT A REGIONAL LEVEL IN KWAZULU/NATAL KNEW THAT MEMBERS OF THE SDUS WERE ENGAGED IN UNLAWFUL ACTS, INCLUDING KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING AND SEVERE ILL-TREATMENT, WHICH CONSTITUTED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THAT IT FAILED TO ENSURE THAT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS WERE DISCIPLINED OR BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. TO THIS EXTENT, THE ANC IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

368 Simultaneous allegations were made that the police were assisting the IFP in its struggle against the ANC. These allegations were levelled as early as 1989 and were aimed in the main at Major Deon Terreblanche (now deceased) of the Riot Unit, and its members⁵⁶. In addition, community members have consistently alleged that police were involved in attacks. One notable instance occurred on 23 June 1991 when sixteen ANC-aligned persons were killed and their bodies mutilated. Witnesses claimed that police 4x4 vehicles had been used to offload the attackers and one survivor claimed that the attackers wore police camouflage jackets and were speaking English⁵⁷.

369 From about 1991, the SDUs in Richmond were torn by internal conflict, the culmination of which were the killings of a popular leader in the area, Mr Mzwandile Mbongwa and others, allegedly by SDU members mainly from the Magoda area.⁵⁸ On the surface, the conflict appeared in part to turn around a power struggle in the SDU and a battle for resources (such as weapons) between units of the SDUs in

56 *Sunday Tribune*, 17 November 1991. Riot unit members were charged with the killing of an ANC member, Ms Rosemary Ngcobo, in September 1990 but were acquitted. Amnesty applicant Mr Nelson Shabangu claims that he and other Riot Unit members were responsible for her death.

57 H Osborne, *The Richmond War*. End Conscription Campaign, 20 July 1991.

58 Mbongwa and others were killed on 20 March 1994 in Ndaleni [CR85 / 03 / 94].

different areas in Richmond. The alleged justification for these murders was that Mbongwa and others were police informers.

370 During 1990 and 1991, the ANC in Richmond sustained heavy casualties in Ndaleni and Magoda areas when large groups of IFP supporters from Nkobeneni and Patheni crossed the borders, burnt houses and killed people. The IFP supporters managed to take occupation of a house in Magoda, which they used as a base from which to launch attacks⁵⁹. As a result of the violence, approximately 20 000 people left the Magoda and Smozomeni areas and took refuge in town⁶⁰.

371 With the development of the SDUs, however, the tide began to turn against the IFP in the area, culminating in the so-called 'Battle of the Forest' mentioned earlier. Owing to the violence in the area, the Richmond SDU was established earlier than other SDU structures. According to a member of the SDU's intelligence wing, Mr Nto Zuma,⁶¹ Mr Mzwandile Mbongwa (Richmond ANC Youth League leader), Sifiso Nkabinde (ANC Chairperson, Richmond) and Mr Harry Gwala (Natal Midlands ANC leader) formed the SDU in 1989. The Richmond SDU eventually had at least six members per area (10 areas). In addition to this, it had undercover members (or reservists) which brought the total to about twelve to thirteen members in each area.

372 Conflicts arose within the SDUs owing to the perceived favour given to the Magoda SDUs, the area in which Nkabinde had his home. Initially the conflict revolved around the fact that Magoda members were sent on training whilst other areas were not given this opportunity. In addition, in 1990 the SDUs had access to a limited supply of AK-47s and R-4s, which had to be shared amongst areas. This created conflict within the structure. The weapons were held by people from eMaswazini, who were deployed to other areas to defend them from IFP attacks.

373 According to evidence supplied to the Commission, it was decided that, in under-resourced areas such as Ndaleni, R50.00 would be collected from each household to purchase firearms. The evidence places Nkabinde at the centre of this project. Money was collected and a number of AK-47s were purchased.

374 Throughout the early 1990s, conflict between the Magoda SDUs and other Richmond SDUs arose over a variety of issues. At the end of 1992, Nkabinde

59 The attack on Mr Peter Nkabinde, Sifiso Nkabinde's relative, in November 1990 and the ANC's capture of a R-4 rifle used by the IFP attackers allegedly fanned the violence. Nkobeneni IFP residents sent a letter to Nkabinde demanding the return of the "community weapon". *Sunday Tribune*, 7 April 1991.

60 H Osborne, *The Richmond War*, End Conscription Campaign, 20 July 1991.

61 Interview with Nto Zuma, killed before he could provide testimony in trials of SDU members, available on computer disc – comprises 346 pp. The bulk of the information in this section is drawn from Zuma's interview, except where otherwise indicated.

called a meeting to discuss tensions within the SDU. SDU members complained that Nkabinde's bodyguard and senior SDU member, Mr Bob Ndlovu, dispensed ammunition only to the Magoda area and that Nkabinde visited only Magoda and not Ndaleni and Isomozomeni. A further complaint was that Nkabinde helped Magoda SDU members to get released when arrested, but did not do this for other SDU members in Richmond.

- 375 The question of refugees from the IFP stronghold of Patheni also led to conflict within the Richmond SDUs. At a meeting with Nkabinde, it was stated that the Patheni refugees would be safe in the area. After this meeting, however, the Magoda SDU held their own meeting and decided that they would forgive all the refugees except their leader, Mr Zomwakhe Nzimande. The latter was subsequently killed in Richmond by Magoda SDU members. According to witnesses, Nkabinde stated that he agreed with the murder of Nzimande.
- 376 According to further evidence given to the Commission, other issues over which there was conflict included:
- a Conflict over money that was collected to send SDU members for training in the Transkei, but was withdrawn and used by Nkabinde.
 - b Nkabinde's role in preventing a strike at a supermarket at which Ndaleni SDU members were employed. The supermarket belonged to an owner of taxis in which Nkabinde had a financial interest.
 - c Nkabinde's allegation that he had a list of police informers, on which the names of some Ndaleni SDU members appeared. His bodyguard, Bob Ndlovu, incited people to kill police informers.
- 377 As a result of this internecine conflict, a number of senior SDU members were killed, primarily by Magoda SDU members.

The Killing of Zmokwakhe Sibongiseni Mfana Phungula

Mr Zmokwakhe Sibongiseni Mfana Phungula was the Richmond SDU commander and outspoken in his criticism of Nkabinde. He suspected that Nkabinde was a police informer because the Magoda SDU members walked around town openly displaying their firearms and, when they were arrested, Nkabinde would secure their release by speaking to the police.

Phungula was killed, together with Mr M L A Mhlongo, by an informal 'people's court' on 8 October 1993 [CR 41–10–93].

The Killing of Julius Mkhize

Shortly afterwards, Mr Julius Mkhize [KZN/NNN/043/PM], the newly appointed chairperson of the Richmond ANC branch,⁶² was forced to flee to Georgetown where he was killed, allegedly by SDU members [CR 12–10–93].

The Commission was unable to establish conclusively whether the killing was an internal operation by members of an SDU unit, or carried out by unknown persons opposed to the ANC.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SDUS WERE ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING AND ATTEMPTED KILLING OF AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF POLICEMEN, AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF ANC MEMBERS SUSPECTED OF BEING POLICE INFORMERS AND AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF ANC LEADERS WHO ALLEGEDLY POSED A THREAT TO NKABINDE'S LEADERSHIP.

378 Mr Mnandi Phoswa was murdered on 29 December 1993 by Mr Bob Ndlovu and others, and Mr Mzwandile Mbongwa was murdered on 20 March 1994 along with Mr Musi Ximba, Mr Mzo Mkhize and Mr Mfaniseni Latha⁶³. A pamphlet circulated beforehand accused Mbongwa of being an informer for military intelligence. SDU members alleged that Nkabinde and Bob Ndlovu were responsible for the planning of the murder.

379 In March 1998, Nkabinde's chief bodyguard, Bob Ndlovu, was given three life sentences in connection with the killing of three Pietermaritzburg policemen in Richmond in 1996. The presiding judge, Mr Justice Galgut, found that Ndlovu and his five co-accused (all Richmond SDU members) had acted in common purpose to ambush and kill the policemen, who were following up on cases in Richmond. In passing sentence, the judge said that the SDUs had conducted a reign of terror in Richmond and that the local residents had lived in fear of their lives. Even the police were not safe.

The SDUs were not subject to the law ... they were free to carry on their illegal terror campaign as they pleased ... Such lawlessness is a shocking state of affairs. It belongs in a barbaric community and has no place in an organised society.

⁶² Nkabinde was the Midlands secretary at this time.

⁶³ Mr Melusi Gwala, Mr Southern Zondi and Mr Khayi Mtshali were charged with the killing of Mbongwa and Ximba. They were acquitted after a witness declined to testify for fear of his family's safety. In another case, Mr Khomba Mngadi (ex-IFP, Patheni group SDU), Mr Musa Mkhize (Smozomeni SDU) and Mr Mxolisi Dlamini were charged and convicted for the killing of Mbongwa and Ximba and were sentenced to 25 years imprisonment. Mr Mpa Mtolo was acquitted in this trial. At trial witnesses testified that Nkabinde was present at the killing. No finding was made on the death of Mzo Mkhize and Mfaniseni Latha who were killed by stray bullets. All of the above are Richmond SDU members. Human Rights Committee, June 1996.

380 Nkabinde was charged in 1997 with fifteen murders and acquitted on all charges on a technicality in April 1998.

EVIDENCE TO THE COMMISSION INDICATES THAT FORMER ANC MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT SIFISO NKABINDE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NUMBER OF SDUS IN THE RICHMOND AREA OF THE NATAL MIDLANDS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THESE SDUS CARRIED OUT MANY OPERATIONS AGAINST MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE IFP IN RICHMOND AND BEYOND, INCLUDING BULWER AND IXOPO, RESULTING IN THE DEATHS OF AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF PEOPLE. AN EXAMPLE OF SUCH OPERATIONS WAS THE KILLING OF IFP MEMBER, MR JJ NGUBANE, AT HIGHFLATS IN SEPTEMBER 1993.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR SIFISO NKABINDE WAS ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION TO SDUS IN THE RICHMOND AREA. SUCH ARMS INCLUDED AUTOMATIC FIREARMS, PISTOLS AND HAND GRENADES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUCH WEAPONS CONTINUED TO BE DISTRIBUTED EVEN AFTER THE ANC ANNOUNCED THE SUSPENSION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN 1990. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT NKABINDE MUST HAVE CONTEMPLATED THAT SUCH WEAPONS WOULD HAVE BEEN USED IN THE COMMISSION OF OFFENCES, AND THAT IT WAS LIKELY THAT LOSS OF LIFE WOULD OCCUR.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT NKABINDE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR PROMOTING AND/OR CONDONING A CLIMATE IN WHICH GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING KILLING AND ATTEMPTED KILLING, COULD AND DID TAKE PLACE, AND FACILITATED THE COMMISSION OF SUCH VIOLATIONS. HE IS ACCORDINGLY HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT AROSE FROM SDU OPERATIONS IN THE AREA UNDER HIS CONTROL.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ANC CONSISTENTLY FAILED TO REPROACH, DISCIPLINE OR EXPEL NKABINDE FROM ITS RANKS, AND THEREBY ENCOURAGED A CLIMATE OF IMPUNITY WITHIN WHICH HE CONTINUED TO OPERATE. TO THIS EXTENT, THE ANC IS ALSO HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE AFORESAID VIOLATIONS.

Self-protection units (SPUs)

381 From the mid-1980s to the April 1994 general election, Inkatha supporters were trained by their leaders and/or by the KwaZulu Government in weapons handling and paramilitary tactics. Many terms were used to describe these trained fighters, including community guards, tribal policemen and *amabutho*. Their training venues included the Amatigulu and Mlaba Camps, both owned by the KwaZulu government.

382 The SPU training project was initiated in September 1993 at the Mlaba Camp, near Mkhuze in Northern Natal, overseen by a former security policeman and IFP member Phillip Powell. Powell told a section 29 hearing of the Commission that the training was lawful and was intended to protect members of Inkatha from unlawful attacks by members of the ANC/SACP/COSATU. The deputy camp commander, Mr Thompson Xesibe, was also an IFP member and a 'Caprivi trainee'. KZP members, former SAP and SADF members, *askaris* and operatives from

Vlakplaas were all involved in giving instruction and training at the camp. These included Vlakplaas Commander Eugene de Kock and Vlakplaas operative Lionel 'Snor' Vermeulen (see amnesty application and De Kock's evidence in mitigation of sentence at his trial). Many of the KZP members who were seconded to Mlaba were former 'Caprivi trainees', and were specifically hand-picked for this purpose. The logistical side of the Mlaba Camp fell under Captain Leonard Langeni, who had previously been associated with the Caprivi training and the operations of KZP and IFP hit squads.

383 Training at the Mlaba camp included ambush and counter-ambush techniques, booby traps, camouflage, house penetration, hostage taking, fire and manoeuvre techniques, patrol formations, combat formations, raids and offensive tactics. A musketry course was also included. Training was given in the handling and use of AK-47s, Uzi sub-machine guns, shotguns, G-3 rifles, 9mm pistols, and hand grenades. In addition, the trainees were taught how to manufacture and use petrol bombs. Shooting practice took place in the Mlaba riverbed.

384 Mr Israel Hlongwane [AM4600/97] participated in the training at Mlaba Camp. He said that, at his passing-out parade, the trainees were addressed by the KwaZulu Minister of Justice, the Reverend Celani Mthethwa, who told them that "the purpose of this training was to guard the Chiefs, to eliminate the ANC and to stop the people from going to vote in the April 1994 elections."⁶⁴

385 The Commission heard that Mthethwa told the trainees that there were no other duties assigned to them besides killing ANC members. As a leader of his platoon at Mlaba Camp, Hlongwane was appointed leader of Inkatha in his area.

386 Mr Thami Hebron Ngubane, an SPU member from Ixopo, told the Commission:

On the day of passing out, our instructors/commanders gave us instructions that we must endeavour by all means to eliminate the ANC members. We were also told by them (the commanders) that we would later be integrated into the KZP. There were no other duties assigned to us except that of killing the ANC members.

As I was a leader in my platoon at the camp, I was again appointed as a leader of Inkatha protectors in my area. Whenever there was a fight between ANC and Inkatha in my kraal, I used to mobilise my troop-mates and assist Inkatha to destroy the ANC by killing the ANC members ...

⁶⁴ Statement to the ITU, July 1995.

I was arrested for killing ANC members and further taken to court but all cases were withdrawn against me because of the insufficient evidence.

- 387 In April 1994, 1 000 of those who had graduated from the SPU training were recalled to receive further training as special constables. It was intended that those who received the special constable training would be incorporated into the KZP's ISU. On 15 March 1994, a secret memorandum was presented at a special KwaZulu Cabinet meeting. It proposed that a "battalion/regimental sized paramilitary unit be set up within the KZP immediately which would enhance the role of the KZP ISU". The unit was to include 1 000 selected graduates of the KwaZulu government SPU training project appointed as special constables, 100 KZP members who had been trained by the SADF in the Caprivi during 1986 and a small group of professional advisors drawn from former SADF or SAP officers. Powell denied that the memorandum was his.
- 388 However, the training of these would-be special constables was brought to a halt with a joint SAP/TEC raid on the Mlaba premises on 26 April 1994, the day before the national election. The police raid was planned after information came to light in early 1994 that illegal weaponry was being kept at Mlaba and being used in the training of the SPUs. When the trainees observed an officially marked police helicopter over the camp, they acted aggressively and attempted to stone it. There was therefore a delay before General Van der Merwe of the SAP ISU could arrive at the camp. In their search of the camp, police found a large quantity of weapons and medical supplies in the rondavels, including twenty-six M-26 hand grenades, five rifle grenades, seventy-six G-3 rifles, forty-nine shotguns, eleven cases of 7.62mm rounds of ammunition, twelve cases of shotgun rounds and one big box of 9mm ammunition. These were seized by the SAP, together with a number of documents. A search of Phillip Powell's vehicle revealed boxes of ammunition, a Ruger semi-automatic firearm and a 9mm pistol. A home-made shotgun was found concealed under the front seat, which was not volunteered by Powell. Natal Attorney-General Tim McNally declined to prosecute Powell on any charges arising from these incidents.
- 389 In its report, the TEC Task Group found that the discovery of hand grenades and spent AK-47 cartridges pointed to unlawful military training having taken place at the camp. It called for an investigation into the training, the stockpiling of weapons and the conduct of the security forces in failing to prevent the departure of trainees without processing by the police.

The Case of Thulani Myeza

SPU member Thulani Myeza [AM6198/97] of Mpumaze Reserve, Eshowe, applied for amnesty in respect of three killings and an attempted murder which he committed between November 1993 and April 1994 in Gezinsila and Umlalazi.

Myeza underwent SPU training at the Mlaba camp during 1993. On completing his training, he said that he was given a certificate signed by Phillip Powell, commander of the SPUs. Myeza said that Powell gave orders to the graduated SPU members to kill ANC leaders. Myeza said that, as an SPU member, he received a bi-monthly salary of R2 800 and that Nyawose supplied him with food and clothing.

Myeza told the Commission that Mr Dlulani Nyawose,⁶⁵ the driver of the then KwaZulu Minister of Pensions, Prince Gideon Zulu, had convened a secret meeting of SPU members in Ulundi during 1993. At this meeting Nyawose told the SPU members that they were to kill all the ANC leaders in Eshowe, Esikhawini, Mtubatuba and elsewhere. Myeza said the motivation for killing these ANC leaders was to ensure that the ANC did not win the elections in April 1994.

He said KZP members had provided the SPUs with weapons and vital intelligence needed to carry out attacks on the local ANC people. On one occasion, the KZP had transported the SPU members to the scene of an attack in a KZP Hippo (armoured vehicle).

He claimed that all three killings for which he had applied for amnesty were committed under orders from senior IFP leaders and in furtherance of his organisation's objectives.

390 On 1 December 1993, nine ANC supporters were killed in the Bhambayi informal settlement, Inanda. Mr Sosha Mbhele [AM4018/96], the area commander of the Lindelani/KwaMashu SPU, claimed responsibility for the massacre. Initially Mr Patrick Dlongwane [AM8028/97], chairman of the Returned Exiles Committee, had claimed that the armed wing of his group was responsible for the killings.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, DURING THE PERIOD 1993-1994, THE SELF-PROTECTION UNIT PROJECT (SPU), ALTHOUGH OFFICIALLY PLACED WITHIN THE AMBIT OF THE PEACE ACCORD AND CONTAINING AN ELEMENT OF SELF PROTECTION, WAS ALSO INTENDED TO FURNISH THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY WITH THE MILITARY CAPACITY TO, BY FORCE, PREVENT THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FROM HOLDING ELECTIONS WHICH DID NOT ACCOMMODATE THE IFP'S DESIRES FOR SELF-DETERMINATION.

65 Nyawose, also referred to as Nyawuza, was also allegedly linked to hit-squad activities in Eshowe.

IT WAS ADMITTED AT THE TIME BY THE PERSONS NAMED BELOW THAT SUCH ARMED RESISTANCE WOULD ENTAIL THE RISK OF UNLAWFUL DEATH AND INJURY TO PERSONS.

CONSEQUENTLY, IT IS THE CONTEMPLATED FINDING OF THE COMMISSION THAT THE SPU PROJECT CONSTITUTES A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE IFP AND MEMBERS OF THE THEN KWAZULU GOVERNMENT AND POLICE FORCE.

THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS ARE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE VIOLATION IN THE MANNER DESCRIBED IN SECTION 1(IX)(B) OF THE ACT:

- MR PHILIP POWELL OF THE IFP, WHO ON HIS OWN ADMISSION RAN THE PROJECT AND CONSPIRED WITH THE FORMER MEMBERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY FORCES TO ACQUIRE EXTENSIVE WEAPONS AND SUPPLY LETHAL TRAINING TO TRAINEES.
- DR MG BUTHELEZI IN HIS CAPACITY AS THE CHIEF MINISTER OF THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT.
- GENERAL SM MATHE IN HIS CAPACITY AS ASSISTANT AND/OR ACTION COMMISSIONER OF THE KZP.
- MEMBERS (NOT INDIVIDUALLY IDENTIFIED) OF THE KWAZULU LEGISLATURE AND CABINET WHO KNEW OF THE PROJECT'S UNLAWFUL AIMS AND SUPPORTED IT.
- CAPTAIN LEONARD LANGENI AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE KZP 9 NOT INDIVIDUALLY IDENTIFIED) WHO KNEW OF THE PROJECT'S UNLAWFUL AIMS AND WHO PROVIDED TRAINING IN SUCH UNLAWFUL AIMS.

Forced recruitment

391 The Commission heard that during the 1990s, with violence now endemic in many communities, men were often required to attend night 'camps', to participate in patrols and to attend all political gatherings convened by the party in whose stronghold they resided. People who failed to participate in these activities were suspected of being supporters of the opposing party and were frequently attacked as a result.

392 The term 'camping' was used to refer to the gathering of men at a vantage point to keep watch and protect their area from attack by supporters of the opposing party. While the men 'camped', the women and children often congregated at a number of houses where they would sleep for the night. A number of people told the Commission how men who had refused to attend such 'camps' were targeted.

The Killing of Gcina Maphumulo

Mr Peter Maphumulo's [KZN/NNN/139/PS] father, Mr Gcina Geoffrey Maphumulo, an ANC member from Murchison, went to visit his wife who lived in an IFP stronghold. He was confronted by IFP members who wanted him to join their 'camp'. He refused and was killed.

The Killing of the Gumede Family *On 11 September 1992, six members of the IFP-supporting Gumede family were shot and burnt to death when their home in Gobandlovu reserve, outside Esikhawini, was attacked. Earlier, a group of IFP members patrolling the area had stopped at the Gumede home and asked why their nephew Tholithemba did not join their patrols and 'camps'. They then started burning the Gumede's house.*

When Mr Jameson Gumede confronted the IFP leadership about their supporters' conduct, the group returned and attacked the whole family, killing Gumede, his wife Joyce and their four children Gugu, Sindisiwe, Thokozani and Nomusa.

Six-month-old Thabile escaped death but was seriously burnt on her face and upper body. Now five years old, she has lost her left ear and the use of her left hand, and is badly disfigured. Two local IFP leaders were arrested in connection with the attack but were later released without being charged [KZN/SS/025/EM].

The Attack on Makhosezwe Mthethwa

Mr Makhosezwe Mthethwa [KZN/KM/552/PS] from Murchison told the Commission how in June 1992 he was shot and left for dead after he stopped attending the night 'camps'. Mthethwa said that he had become tired of the 'camps' and decided he was no longer going to attend. One of those who allegedly shot him was the IFP member who organised the 'camps' in the area.

Internal party conflict

393 Internal party conflict developed in both the ANC and IFP in KwaZulu and Natal and resulted in several deaths. The causes of these internal divisions included leadership struggles and suspicions that one or other party member was a spy or traitor.

The Killing of Bafana Kunene

The Commission heard that on 4 January 1990, Mr Bafana Julius Kunene [KZN/MR/057/PM], an IFP supporter in the Mphophomeni area, was found hacked to death after being fetched from his home to attend a night 'camp' of the IFP.

His widow, Ms N Kunene, told the Commission that, shortly before this event, Mfana Kunene had attended a night 'camp' meeting at which "they were given some orders that in the time of war they must distinguish between the 'comrades' and the IFP people".⁶⁶ At the meeting, he was told to kill his brother, who was a 'comrade'. Kunene felt that he could not do this and left the meeting.

The following night, he and his wife were woken up by men telling him that he must go with them to attend an Inkatha 'camp'. He dressed and went out to join them. He never came home at all that night. The next morning his wife found his badly mutilated body.

394 Conflict broke out in Bhambayi, an informal settlement at Inanda, north of Durban, in December 1992. The conflict, triggered by competition for limited resources in the settlement, divided the community into two ANC-supporting factions, which came to be known as the 'Greens' and the 'Reds'. In time, the smaller 'Green' faction felt itself being increasingly marginalised by the local (Bhambayi) and regional (Durban) ANC leadership. As a result of the high level of conflict, an ISU base was set up nearby and there were continuous ISU patrols in the settlement. As the 'Greens' were in the minority and occupied a small area in the heart of the settlement almost completely surrounded by the 'Reds', the ISU tended to position itself on the border between the two factions. This led to accusations from the 'Reds' that the ISU had sided with the 'Greens'. In addition, there were numerous allegations that ISU members themselves were carrying out attacks on the 'Reds'. These allegations of collusion only served to heighten the division between the two factions and further to marginalise the 'Greens'.

395 In April or May 1993, the 'Greens' made approaches to the IFP and, a while later, people living in the 'Greens' section began identifying themselves as IFP supporters. In August 1993, an IFP branch was launched. Nine people were killed, eleven injured and eighteen houses burnt down on the day of the launch. From that time, the conflict in the community was perceived as an ANC/IFP conflict. By July 1993, monitors estimated that as many as 200 Bhambayi residents had died violently.

66 Pietermaritzburg hearings, July 1996.

The Killing of the Zulu Family

On 4 September 1991, the home of Mr James Zulu in Port Shepstone was attacked and four members of his family massacred. At the time, Zulu was a respected community leader and an ANC member, although he had fallen out with some of the younger activists. The police's main suspect in this case, ANC activist Alson Ngwazi, was killed on 25 May 1992. The Network of Independent Monitors (NIM) had the following to say regarding Zulu in their submission to the Commission:

"It is our suspicion that this massacre was the work of some 'third force' with support from the SAP for purposes of fuelling the local conflict ... The brutal murder and mutilation of his family was blamed at the time by the SAP on the ANC and it appears to have turned Zulu into an anti-ANC warlord."⁶⁷

Revenge attacks

- 396 A former IFP youth leader from Izingolweni, inland of Port Shepstone, applied for amnesty in respect of fifteen murders and eight attempted murders committed between 1991 and 1992. Mr Goodman Muswakhe Ngcobo [AM5632/97] was convicted in September 1993 on ten counts of murder and four counts of attempted murder and sentenced to death six times. His death sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. In passing judgement, the presiding judge, Mr Justice J Combrink, said:

It is clear that you terrorised the local inhabitants. You caused people to flee from their homes and you started and continued with a reign of terror.

- 397 Ngcobo began his killing spree after his mother was killed on New Year's Day 1990. He believed that ANC supporters had killed his mother and set out to avenge her killing. His first victim was an ANC youth, Mr Dan Cele, who Ngcobo held responsible for his mother's death. However, some of the other killings or attempted killings appear to have been random attacks on ANC supporters with whom he crossed paths, as opposed to targeted attacks. He told the Amnesty Committee that he viewed all ANC members as his enemies.

Arson/burnings

- 398 The Commission received reports of arson attacks on homes, business premises and vehicles. Most of the victims of arson attacks told the Commission that they

⁶⁷ See further below.

had subsequently fled the area and had never returned to their homes. The majority of these people are now living in shack houses in informal settlements. Many of them also lost their jobs as a result of having had to flee.

- 399 The large-scale burning of homes, particularly in the rural areas, was used by political groups as a way of forcing their opponents to leave an area, and thereby consolidating their political power base. Hundreds of thousands of people were displaced during this period. The incidence of house burnings increased noticeably in many areas in the run-up to the 1994 elections as party supporters attempted to expand their constituencies. While there was hardly a community not affected in this manner, the areas worst affected were Eshowe, Ndwedwe, Sundumbili/Mandini and Izingolweni.

Commuter attacks

- 400 A common tactic used by supporters of both parties during the 1990s was to ambush vehicles transporting supporters of the opposing party. Attacks on buses, minibus taxis and trucks transporting people to or from party strongholds occurred across the length and breadth of the region. The Commission received reports of buses being attacked whilst transporting people to work or to a political rally, as well as reports of armed attacks on commuters waiting at bus stops or taxi shelters.
- 401 The violence in the Midlands town of Estcourt and its satellite township, Wembezi, was dominated for a time by such commuter attacks. By 1993, both the township and the town was demarcated into ANC and IFP sections. IFP supporters used the taxi rank in Alexander Street in the IFP part of town or faced the risk of losing their lives. Similarly, ANC supporters had to use the rank in the ANC part of town. Frequent drive-by shootings occurred on these taxi ranks. There were also many attacks on taxis and private vehicles transporting residents from Wembezi to Estcourt and back.

Attack on School Bus

On 2 March 1993, six schoolchildren were killed and seven others injured when unknown armed ANC supporters ambushed a bus transporting children from an IFP area to school.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SIX SCHOOLCHILDREN WERE KILLED AND SEVEN OTHERS INJURED AT TABLE MOUNTAIN ON 2 MARCH 1993 BY UNKNOWN ANC SUPPORTERS WHO AMBUSHED THE BUS TRANSPORTING THE CHILDREN TO SCHOOL FROM AN IFP AREA.

UNKNOWN SUPPORTERS OF THE ANC ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS CONSTITUTED BY THE KILLINGS AND ATTEMPTED KILLINGS.

Revenge Ambush of a Bus

In a revenge ambush by IFP supporters on 5 March 1993, ten people were killed and six others injured. IFP members Nkanyiso Wilfred Ndlovu [AM4058/96] and Mabhungu Absalom Dladla [AM4019/96] applied for amnesty for their part in the second attack. Both applicants had been convicted and sentenced to over sixty years' imprisonment for their roles in the attack.

Ndlovu told the Commission that he and his fellow IFP attackers had in fact ambushed the wrong vehicle. They had intended to ambush a particular vehicle transporting ANC supporters, but the vehicle they attacked was carrying IFP supporters as well. Five of the ten deceased were IFP supporters.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT TEN PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND SIX OTHERS INJURED ON 5 MARCH 1993 BY IFP SUPPORTERS WHO ATTACKED A VEHICLE IN THE TABLE MOUNTAIN AREA AND OPENED FIRE ON ITS PASSENGERS. THE KILLINGS AMOUNT TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. NDLOVU AND DLADLA HAVE BOTH APPLIED FOR AMNESTY IN RESPECT OF THEIR ROLES IN THE INCIDENT.

Alusaf Smelter Bus Attack

On 22 July 1993, ten men were killed by unknown IFP supporters in a planned attack on a bus transporting employees of the Alusaf smelter. The employees were all from KwaMthethwa, considered an ANC stronghold. It was further alleged that all employees of Alusaf were COSATU members and therefore ANC supporters.

The bus was stopped in Enseleni, an IFP stronghold, by men in balaclavas who boarded and chose ten men from amongst the passengers. They took them outside, made them lie face down on the ground and shot each one in the back of the head. One of the deceased, despite being from KwaMthethwa, was an IFP supporter.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ON 22 JULY 1993, TEN MEN WERE KILLED BY UNKNOWN IFP SUPPORTERS IN AN AMBUSH ON A BUS TRANSPORTING PEOPLE TO THE ALUSAF SMELTER AT ENSELENI. THE KILLINGS AMOUNT TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND UNKNOWN SUPPORTERS OF THE IFP ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THEM.

Children

402 Many children were victims of gross human rights violations in Natal and KwaZulu. While some of these children were caught in crossfire, or were victims

of large-scale indiscriminate attacks on party strongholds, some of them were deliberately targeted.

The Killing of Frances Khanyisile Mabaso's Children

Ms Frances Khanyisile Mabaso [KZN/MR/225/EM], from the Matshana tribal authority, North of Empangeni, told the Commission of an attack on her home in March 1992 while she and her young children were sleeping.

Mabaso woke up in the middle of the night to find people pouring petrol on her house and setting it alight. While she was waking her children, telling them to flee the house, she was shot twice, in the arm and in the back. She fell to the floor and could not move. She could hear her children's screams and the attackers outside saying that they were going to kill the whole family because they were ANC. Her children came back for her and dragged her outside. They watched their house burn to ashes.

It was then that Mabaso discovered that her four-year-old daughter was bleeding profusely from her head where she been hacked with a panga, and that her sixteen-year-old son Njabulo had been shot in the eyes. Mabaso told the Commission that she was not aware of any police investigation into the matter.

- 403 The Commission was also told of the pain that parents endured when they were required to go to the mortuaries and identify the bodies of their children. Mr Lawrence Fanizani Dladla [KZN/FS/124/PM] of Mpumalanga told the Pietermaritzburg hearing that his four UDF-supporting sons were killed in succession. The first was Molo (18) who was killed in November 1988. Dladla went to the mortuary to identify his son:

I went there with them because I wanted to see my son's body, and my heart was torn apart when I saw bodies, corpses, being packed on top of each other ... There was no space where you can put your feet because there were corpses all over the place.

And I looked around and my heart was torn apart, and I saw my son. I looked at him. I saw one big hole on his chest and I said to myself, "Oh my God, my son is lying there forever".

- 404 Five months later, in April 1989, a second son was killed. Again, Mr Dladla was required to identify the body:

[When] I saw my son, my son had been cut like a goat, and that hurt me very much. I even felt that it was better if they shot him rather than cutting him.

- 405 In September 1989 and April 1991, two other sons were killed. To his knowledge, there was not one prosecution in respect of any of his sons' killings.
- 406 IFP supporter Ms Nomusa Shandu [KZN/LPM/100/EM] told the Commission at the Empangeni hearing how her seven children and grandchildren were killed just metres away from where she was hiding. The incident occurred in Umgababa on 20 July 1990. She believes that the attackers were ANC supporters. The Shandus had recently moved to Umgababa from KwaMakhutha. She had been led to believe that Umgababa was free of political tensions. Only once they had moved did she discover that they were living in an ANC stronghold. However, she did not expect that they would be victimised for being IFP supporters, since they attended all the ANC meetings in the area.
- 407 Within a day or two of arriving in Umgababa, their house was attacked by ANC supporters and burnt to the ground. Shandu told the Commission she was paralysed with fear when she heard the attackers coming. She wanted to close the door, but could not move. She managed to crawl into hiding from where she heard her three children and two grandchildren being killed, one by one:
- They were not firing twice, they were firing only once and I could count them, 1, 2, 3, until they were finished. After they finished, only one was safe. That's when they started pouring petrol on those bodies and then they lit all the corpses and when the fire caught the wardrobe my other grandchild, the one who was inside the wardrobe, got away. Linda, Thulile were on fire. They couldn't get away. They were crying. They were not shot, but they were burnt.*
- Bethwell, Mafike, Linda, Zipporah, Primrose and Thulile, those are the only people who died on the 20th, and Mafike as well. Mafike was the last one to die, because after they've burnt the corpses and I was – from where I was hiding myself I could hear Mafike. I heard one of the attackers saying, "I want him dead. Don't let him loose", and I heard him crying and then they shot him and they burnt him outside the house. They put a big plank and they burnt him.*
- 408 The following people, all ANC supporters, were convicted in respect of this incident: Mr Sibusiso Cele, Mr Nkosi Mseleku, Mr Ronny Bheko Luthuli, Mr Nke Zikhali, Mr Goodman Luthuli, Mr Dumo Petros Mfeka, Mr Ba Cyril Mseleku, Mr Dumisani Sibiya, Mr Qinisele Mbatha, Mr Rickman Simo, Mr Jet Gumede, Mr Sipho Mkhize, Mr Michael Luthuli and Mr Sinqbile Gumede.

Women

- 409 While many women told the Commission of what happened to them, thousands came to the Commission to tell of what had happened to others – to their husbands, their children, their parents and their friends. These women tended to underplay the suffering that they had themselves experienced as witnesses and survivors of these tragedies.
- 410 As with children, the majority of women who were victims of gross human rights violations were not deliberately targeted but were caught in crossfire or were victims of indiscriminate attacks on party strongholds. The majority of victims in massacres of households were women. However, a number of women were specifically targeted for their political activism, their relation to male activists or in order to strike terror into the heart of communities. The Commission heard that both ANC and IFP supporters were guilty of extreme violence against women.
- 411 Although not easily quantifiable, a significant number of women told the Commission that they had been sexually abused in the name of politics.
- 412 Sixteen-year-old Ms Bajabulile Nzama [KZN/MR/094/DN] from Inanda told the Durban Hearing that she was abducted by ANC ‘comrades’ during 1990. Although she was non-partisan, her captors accused her of sympathising with the IFP because IFP supporters used to congregate near the bridge outside her house. She was taken to a house in B Section, Inanda.

That’s where they raped me. What is worse is that I was only sixteen years, and I was still a virgin, and I had told myself that I wanted to be like my mother. I used to admire my mother because she only went out with one man, that is my father, and I tried to save my virginity and this is what happened to me.

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

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

- 413 Bajabulile was kept locked up in the house and raped repeatedly over a period of one month. During this time, her captors told her to point out buses transporting people to IFP areas. One day they told her to point out the house of a certain well-known IFP supporter. That was the day she managed to escape. She reported the matter to a policeman with whom she was acquainted. Her case went to trial in 1992 but, according to Bajabulile:

The judge told me that I was just a concubine in that area, I am lying; they didn't rape me.

- 414 Bajabulile still sees her attackers in her neighbourhood and one of them taunts her, saying that the child is his. She is unable to make friends because they ask who her child's father is, and she cannot bring herself to speak of what happened to her..

- 415 In the rural area of Ndwedwe, not far from Inanda, forty-two year old Ms Bongini Besta Mbatha [KZN/NG/255/DN] was attacked by ANC supporters on 20 October 1991. They were looking for her nephew Mr Sipho Langa, an IFP member. When they could not find Sipho, they attacked her instead. She told the Commission:

They beat, stabbed and shot me. This happened in the forest where I was dragged. I was set on fire. I lost consciousness. It was dark when I gained consciousness. I crawled out of the forest, which took me a long time. Police came and took me to King Edward Hospital where I spent four months.

- 416 Ms Doris Ngubane [KZN/FS/226/DN], told the Commission how she was raped by four members of the *AmaSinyora* gang during March 1992. Ngubane and her husband Meshack had been married for thirty-two years and had seven children, one of whom, Xolani, was an active UDF/ANC member. They lived in K Section, KwaMashu, where there was a great deal of conflict at the time, with people being killed, houses set alight and residents fleeing their homes. On one such day in early March, Ms Ngubane (41) witnessed a group of IFP, KZP and *AmaSinyora* members attacking her neighbour's home and killing a young man who lived there.

- 417 The next day Ms Ngubane and the two children who still lived with her left their home and joined the many other residents who had taken refuge at the Tholemandla School. Meshack Ngubane refused to leave the house, wanting to stay to look after their possessions. The following day Ms Ngubane returned

home to collect bedding. As she was entering the yard, she was approached by four youths, one of whom was known to her as KZP member Justice Nkwanyana⁶⁸. The four youths were the same age as her youngest child.

- 418 They pushed her inside. Meshack Ngubane came out to see what was happening and the couple was pushed into the bedroom where they were repeatedly assaulted. Mr Ngubane was then forced into a chair.
- 419 Justice Nkwanyana tore Ms Ngubane's pinafore with a knife and stabbed her on the feet. The others joined in the assault and she was held on the bed whilst Nkwanyana raped her in front of her husband. The others stood next to Mr Ngubane and, when he averted his eyes or bowed his head so that he could not see what was being done to his wife, they hit him and forced him to watch.
- 420 After Nkwanyana had finished raping her, he poured a jug of water over her vagina. The youths then took turns raping her, pouring water over her after each one had finished. When they hurt her and she cried out, they stabbed her and hit her all over her body with implements. They told her that they were doing this to her because her son was a UDF supporter. She eventually lost consciousness. The group then left, taking with them chickens from the yard.
- 421 Mr Ngubane left his unconscious wife and ran to get help. Their son Xolani arrived home and when he discovered what had happened to his mother he rushed to the Polyclinic to get an ambulance. The ambulance service refused to drive into K Section, but said that they could collect her from Mandela Road. Mr Ngubane, Xolani and four of Xolani's friends together carried the unconscious woman to Mandela Road to meet the ambulance.
- 422 When Ms Ngubane regained consciousness in the hospital, she discovered that the doctors had had to perform a hysterectomy. She remained in hospital for three weeks. On being dismissed, she went to lay a charge at the KwaMashu police station. The sergeant who attended to her refused to take a statement or to lay a charge. Ms Ngubane told the Commission:

I don't know how to describe the pain and anger I felt about this experience. When I went to KwaMashu police station, I was told that they do not take matters from the location. I don't know why they did this because they were supposed to help us.

⁶⁸ Justice Nkwanyana was a KZP member stationed at KwaMashu. He was found to be a perpetrator of a number of gross human rights violations reported to the Commission. He is now deceased.

- 423 The family left K Section and went to live in a shack. Mr Ngubane became epileptic after his traumatic night and was not able to return to work. Ms Ngubane does not attend any functions where people gather and she wishes to live in a place where they are not known. She says that she is not able to socialise normally with people and prefers to stay within the confines of her shack.

It's the most humiliating thing that can happen to anybody. These boys took away my dignity. I don't have the words to express the kind of pain and anguish I experience. I think about this every day. My husband has since been mentally disturbed. Life's very difficult.

Killing of witnesses

- 424 Several deponents told the Commission that potential witnesses in politically motivated killings were murdered before they could give evidence in court.
- 425 Murchison resident Ms Hilda Memela [KZN/NNN/110/PS], whose 21-year-old son Nelson, an ANC supporter, was shot dead, told the Commission at the Port Shepstone hearing that the police warned witnesses that their lives would be endangered if they made statements:

We sat there for quite some time up until the police arrived, and the children said they could actually show us the perpetrators, those marauders, and the police said, "Where will you live after pointing those people, after identifying those people, because it won't be peaceful?" Then that was scary enough for the children not to identify those [perpetrators]. They were still around, the perpetrators.

After some time the car that carries the corpse from the police station came and took the corpse, and there is nothing that we gave to the police. There was no statement whatsoever that was made to the police up until to this day.

Pre-election violence

- 426 In July 1993, the TEC announced that South Africa's first non-racial general elections would take place on 27 April 1994. On hearing the announcement, the IFP expressed its opposition. IFP National Council member Mr Walter Felgate was quoted in the national media as threatening that the IFP would "make it impossible for an election to take place, by embarking on a campaign of mass action, street action and disruption" (*Natal Mercury*, 10 September 1993). On 19 April 1994,

with less than a week to go, the IFP announced that they would be contesting the elections.

- 427 In the months leading up to the elections, KwaZulu and Natal experienced the worst wave of political violence in the region's history. The incidence of politically motivated human rights violations rose dramatically following the announcement of the election date.
- 428 IFP supporters are alleged to have launched attacks on the party's opponents in KwaMakhutha, Umlazi and KwaMashu. In KwaMashu, Umlazi and Mondlo, opponents allegedly occupied stadiums reserved by the ANC, resulting in heightened political tensions and violent conflict in these areas. Voter education efforts were disrupted, leading to violent deaths (see below).
- 429 On 25 August 1993, the KLA took a resolution to establish an SPU training project financed by the KwaZulu Government. In October 1993, such training began at the Mlaba camp, near Ulundi (see above). Between October 1993 and April 1994, approximately 5000 people were trained at Mlaba camp and at a second camp known as Emandleni Matleng, in remote areas of the KwaZulu homeland. Training at Emandleni-Matleng began on 14 January 1994, to accommodate an overflow of trainees at Mlaba. Between December 1993 and April 1994, a third training project was run at the Dinizulu camp near Ndumo in Northern Natal.
- 430 Mlaba camp commander Philip Powell, an IFP member and former security policeman, was placed in overall command of the SPU training project. Under his command, training was carried out in part by members of the KZP, former Vlakplaas Commander Eugene de Kock, former Vlakplaas operative Lionel 'Snor' Vermeulen, former political commissar of the 'Caprivi trainees', Daluxolo Luthuli, and a number of other 'Caprivi trainees'.
- 431 Weapons training was conducted using unlicensed weapons and ammunition which were not KZP issue, including Z88 9mm, Scorpion, AK-47, Makarov, RPG-7, HMC and Uzi firearms; explosives included M-26 hand grenades, rifle grenades and limpet mines. These weapons derived from a consignment of weaponry, ammunition and explosives that Powell had requested from Eugene de Kock in September 1993.

432 On 1 October 1993, De Kock facilitated the transfer of a large quantity of weapons, including AK-47 rifle ammunition, rifle grenades, hand grenades, rocket propelled grenades, mortars, detonators and explosives. These weapons were loaded onto four KwaZulu government trucks and thereafter returned to Ulundi where Powell stored the weapons at his residence. On 20 October 1993, a further large quantity of similar weaponry was loaded onto two KwaZulu government trucks at the premises of Mechem in Johannesburg and transported to Powell's house in Ulundi. The weaponry was hidden in buildings in the residential complex where Powell lived.

433 In the latter part of 1993, certain KwaZulu/Natal IFP leaders engaged in arms smuggling. Former Security Branch members Izak Daniel Bosch [AM3765/96], Wouter Mentz, Willie Nortje [AM3764/96], Lionel Snyman, Dries Van Heerden and Eugene de Kock [AM0066/96] all applied for amnesty for supplying arms to Inkatha between 1990 and 1993. These arms were allegedly sent to Mr Themba Khoza (the IFP leader in the Transvaal) and to Philip Powell in KwaZulu/Natal.

Creighton

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

KwaMashu

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

436 In an attempt to end the violence that had engulfed the township, the local ANC leadership approached their IFP counterparts and scheduled a peace meeting for 29 March 1994. On that day, the ANC delegation went to the house of an IFP leader in the IFP-supporting KwaMashu hostel complex where their meeting was to take place. They were initially locked in the house, then taken by minibus to another section of the hostel complex where five of them were executed. The chairperson of the KwaMashu Hostel IFP branch, Mr Themba Alton Khanyile, was subsequently found guilty on eight charges of kidnapping, five of murder and two of attempted murder and was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. His three co-accused, Mr Charles Mavundla, Mr Khulumethule Msomi and Mr Themba Zulu, were acquitted after one state witness, who had allegedly been threatened, changed his testimony and was declared a hostile witness.

Ndwedwe

437 On 12 April 1994, nine employees of a private company were distributing IEC pamphlets in the Ndwedwe area north of Durban when they were confronted, accused of being ANC supporters and severely tortured. Eight were executed; the ninth managed to survive the attack and took three days to crawl to safety. Five IFP supporters were arrested in connection with the massacre. One of these, Mr Qaphela Dladla [AM6599/97], *induna* and leader of the *amabutho* at Ndwedwe, was subsequently convicted. The other four were acquitted because of contradictory evidence.

Ulundi

438 On 17 April 1994, ANC canvasser Muzi Mchunu was shot dead in the Ulundi KZP station by a KwaZulu Correctional Services member, Mr Thokozani Alvation Sithole [AM5112/97]. The KZP originally claimed that Mchunu had committed suicide, but *post mortem* results showed that he was shot in the back at an angle and from a distance that ruled out suicide. Sithole was charged and convicted for the murder. In his plea for mitigation, he claimed that his brother-in-law had been killed during the so-called Shell House shootings the previous month.

Civilian right wing

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

nature reserves). There were a few cases where IFP members and right-wingers took part in joint attacks. The most notable of these was the bombing of the Seychelles restaurant in Port Shepstone. Mr Christo Brand [AM6422/97], Mr Morton Christie [AM6610/97], Mr Harry Jardine [AM6178/97], Mr Patrick Pedlar, Mr Roy Lane and Mr Andrew Howell [AM5961/97] all applied for amnesty in respect of the bombing of the Seychelles restaurant in February 1994 and of the attack on the Flagstaff police station in the Transkei, also in February 1994. Prominent South Coast IFP leader James Zulu ([AM5864/97], now deceased) was involved in both of these attacks for which he too applied for amnesty. The applicants also revealed that they had conspired to bomb the Port Shepstone offices of both the NP and the ANC, but had abandoned these plans because of the commotion caused by the bombing of the Seychelles restaurant.

- 440 Mr James Zulu was a major focal point for the investigation of political violence in the lower South Coast region. The Commission found that he had close links with the local and regional SAP as well as with senior members of the white right wing, and that he used these links to his full advantage in his campaign to extend his own power base and to rid the area under his control of anti-IFP elements. His extremely aggressive and abrasive public personality contributed substantially to instability and violence in the greater Port Shepstone region.
- 441 Three AWB members from Richards Bay applied for amnesty for the 9 October 1990 attack on a Putco bus in Duffs Road near KwaMashu and Inanda. Two people were killed and dozens of others injured. The applicants claimed that the attack was in revenge for an alleged Pan African Students Organisation (PASO) attack on the Durban beachfront in which one person was killed. (Eugene Marais [AM0054/96]; David Botha [AM0057/96]; Adriaan Smuts [AM0056/96; KZN/SC/001-012])
- 442 IFP member Allan Nolte [AM2501/96] applied for amnesty for adding cyanide to the water system in Umlazi. He named six other right-wingers whom he alleges to have been party to the poisoning.

Resistance and revolutionary groupings

PAC/APLA

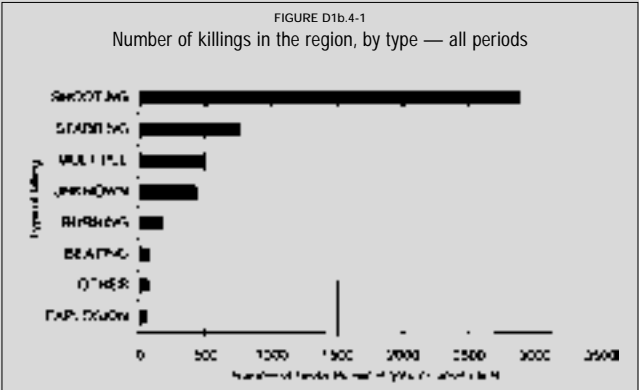
- 443 Three cases of PAC/APLA violence were referred to the Commission.

- 444 APLA member Nboba Mgengo [AM6386/97] applied for amnesty in respect of the bomb explosion on a bus in central Durban on 30 November 1993.
- 445 On 16 January 1994, the PAC announced that it had suspended the armed struggle that had been conducted by its armed wing, APLA, for the past thirty years. On 17 January 1994, three men were killed in a shoot-out with policemen in Pine Street in central Durban. Two of the deceased were allegedly attackers; the other may have been a bystander. The police alleged that the SAP satellite office at the Pine Street parking garage was attacked on that day by APLA members armed with AK-47s, 9mm pistols and a grenade. The SAP had allegedly received prior warning of the operation and had therefore deployed a number of policemen ready to counter the attack. One of those killed in the ensuing shoot-out was Mr Mosheen Jeenah [KZN/NN/400/DN], a student at ML Sultan Technikon and an alleged APLA member. The PAC denied involvement in the incident.
- 446 Evidence led at the inquest alleged irregularities in the initial investigation carried out by Warrant Officer Van Biljon and state pathologist, Dr Book. Two policemen who had been present during the shooting claimed they were fired on first and only then did they return fire. However, no AK-47 or handgun bullets (alleged to have been fired by the deceased) were found in the Pine Street satellite office. Further, the weapons used by the police who fired on the deceased were not sent for ballistic testing.
- 447 One APLA and two PAC members applied for amnesty in respect of the attack on the Crazy Beat Disco Club in Newcastle on Valentine's Day 1994. Ms Gerbrecht van Wyk was shot dead and several others injured during the attack. The applicants, Mr Bongani Golden Malevu [AM0293/96], Mr Andile Shiceka [AM5939/97] and Mr Walter Falibango Thanda [AM5784/97], alleged that they had been sent by their commanders in the Transkei to Newcastle to 'identify areas where whites gather'. They said they targeted the disco because it was frequented by white patrons. All three were serving prison terms for their involvement in the attack. Thanda and Shiceka were both involved in several APLA attacks in the Cape Town area for which they also applied for amnesty.

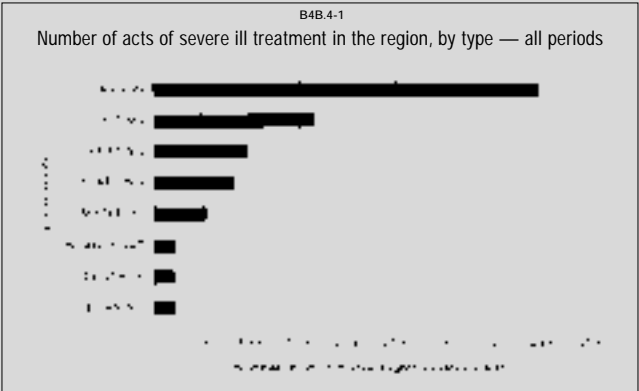
Statistics on Violations in Natal, KwaZulu and the Orange Free State

■ NATURE OF THE VIOLATIONS

1 The data gathered from the region covered by the Durban office is different to that gathered by the other three offices in many regards, and reflects the violent shifts in the political landscape in the early 1990s. The pattern of deaths, however, is similar to the national pattern. The top eight causes of death are: ►



2 Shootings account for the greatest number of the killings, followed by stabbings. As in the national pattern, death by multiple causes was very common; usually a consequence of victims being shot, stabbed and/or burnt at the same time.



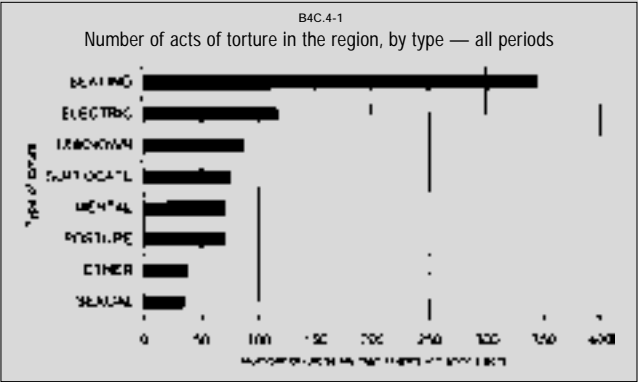
3 The pattern of severe ill treatment is very different from the rest of the country, with arson dominating the chart: ►

4 Arson was by far the most common type of severe ill treatment, with nearly 4 000 cases reported, followed by shooting, beating and stabbing. Material losses, destruction of property and burning also feature in the top eight types of severe ill treatment. All these reflect the nature of the violence in this area, in which whole communities were targeted.

5 The pattern of torture is also slightly different: ►

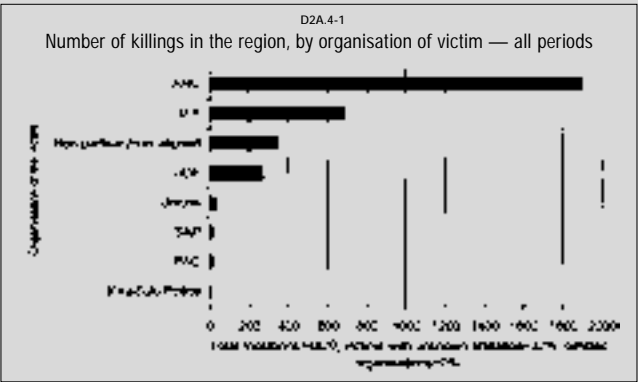
6 As in the other regions, beating was the most common type of torture reported to the Commission, but this region differs from the others in that electric

shock was the second most common form of torture. Relatively fewer cases of torture by forced posture were reported in the areas covered by the Durban office than in other areas.



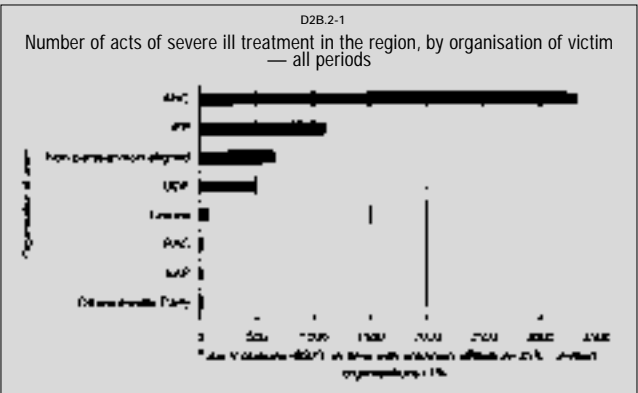
Victim organisations

7 The breakdown of violations by victim organisation shows how differently the conflicts of the past played out in the region covered by the Durban office. Victims who were members of the African National Congress (ANC) were still in the majority, but Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) victims featured as the second largest group. The numbers of killings were as follows: ►



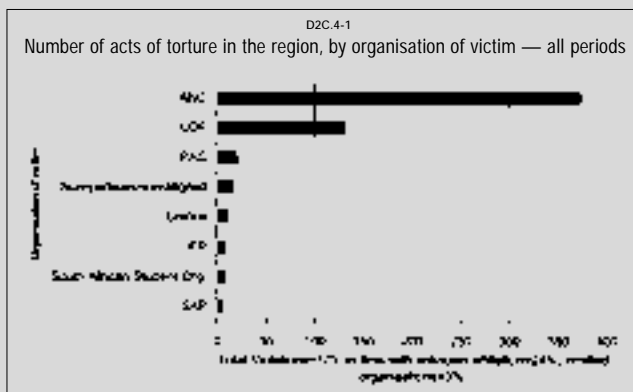
8 Around 1 900 victims were ANC members and nearly 900 were IFP members. Non-partisan or non-aligned victims suffered the third highest number of killings, followed by members of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

9 The pattern of severe ill treatment violations presents an almost identical picture: ►



- 10 Again, ANC members suffered the highest number of violations, followed by IFP members. As with killings, the number of violations suffered by non-partisan or non-aligned people was far higher in the Durban office area than in the rest of the country.

- 11 Interestingly, the pattern of torture does not match that of killings or severe ill treatment at all: ►



- 12 The torture pattern is much closer to that of the national picture, with the bulk of torture cases involving ANC, UDF and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) members. Very few IFP members were tortured in comparison to the numbers who were killed or suffered severe ill treatment.

Perpetrator organisations

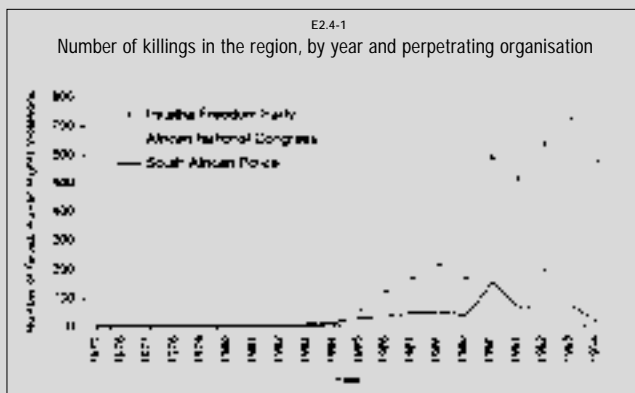
- 13 Deponents attributed killings in the region covered by the Durban office mainly to the IFP, ANC and the South African Police (SAP). The top eight responses for instances involving killings were as follows: ►



- 14 Nearly 4 000 killings were attributed to the IFP, followed by the ANC with over 1 000. The SAP and KwaZulu Police (KZP) accounted for the third and fourth largest numbers of allegations.

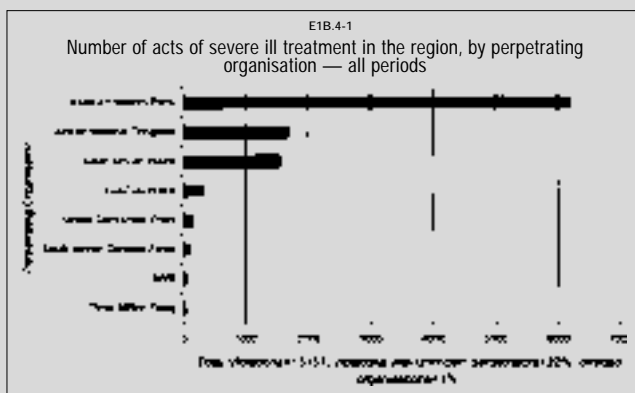
15 In contrast to the rest of the country, most of the killings took place in the early 1990s. ►

16 In the killings allegedly committed by the IFP, the chart shows an increase in the late 1980s, then two steep peaks in 1990 and 1993. The killings attributed to the ANC and SAP increase more slowly to form a smaller peak in 1990.

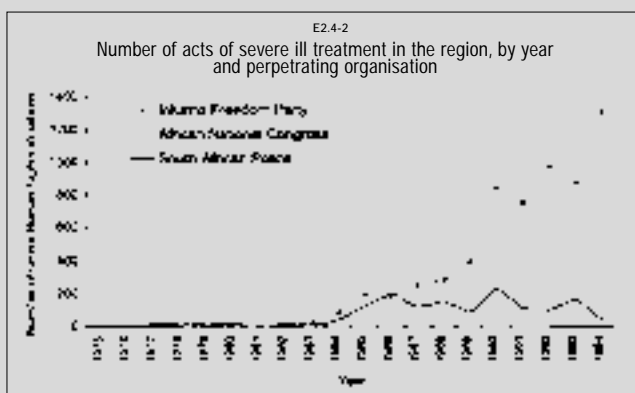


17 The pattern of severe ill treatment is similar to that of killings, with the SAP, IFP and ANC at the top of the list of alleged violations: ►

18 The greatest number of instances of severe ill treatment are attributed to the IFP, followed by those attributed to the ANC, with a slightly lower number of allegations against the SAP. The pattern over time also differs from the national picture and is similar to the pattern of alleged killings: ►



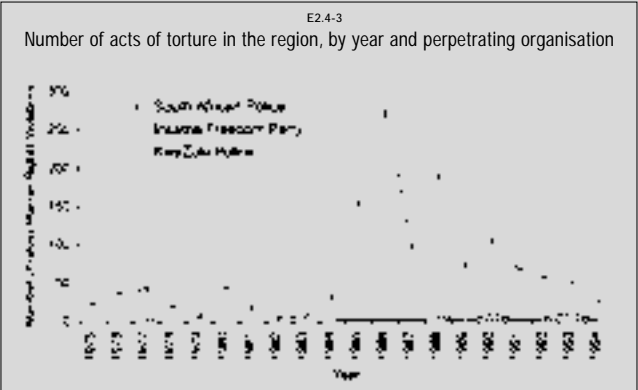
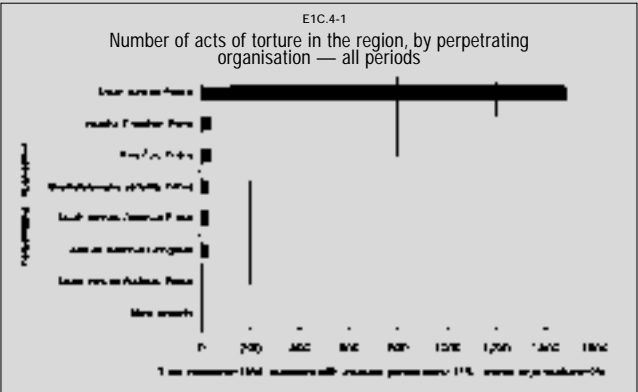
19 As with killings, the number of severe ill treatment violations allegedly committed by the IFP starts rising in the mid-1980s and increases steadily throughout the early 1990s. Those attributed to the ANC start to increase later, in 1988, and peak in 1990. The violations allegedly committed by the SAP do not show the same increases as those of the other two organisations, but remain steady at around 200 violations per year.



20 The eight organisations against whom the most allegations of torture were made are as follows: ►

21 Again, the police are in the overwhelming majority of those alleged to have used torture. There are a few allegations against the ANC and IFP, but deponents attributed the bulk of torture to the SAP. The three organisations linked to the highest numbers of allegations of torture show the same pattern during the states of emergency. ►

22 The cases attributed to the SAP are greatest in 1986, and then drop steadily, tailing off in the period leading up the 1994 elections.



Regional Profile Orange Free State

■ OVERVIEW OF THE REGION

Historical background

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

Demography

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

Lesotho. When the provincial boundaries were re-drawn in 1994, the borders of the Free State remained largely unchanged.

- 4 Though fertile and verdant in parts, particularly in the mountainous eastern areas, the landscape of the Orange Free State reflects harsh conditions and a semi-arid climate in the south. In the west, it gives way to sandy, desert-like terrain and successful cultivation is possible only under irrigation. With its low annual rainfall, the province experiences long periods of drought, making survival difficult.
- 5 The population of the Orange Free State makes up roughly seven per cent of the national population. The province's total population more than doubled during the period under review, from just over 1.2 million in 1960 to 2.8 million by 1993. Even so, the latter amounted to only 21.7 people per square kilometre, linking the Orange Free State with the Northern Cape as the most sparsely populated areas in the country. The overwhelming majority (84 per cent) was African, followed by whites (13 per cent) and coloureds (3 per cent). Southern Sotho was the most widely spoken language (55 per cent), followed by Afrikaans (14 per cent) and Xhosa (9 per cent). The population density tended to increase towards the north, with Bloemfontein and the north-western gold fields (centred around Welkom, Virginia and Odendaalsrus) being the most densely populated regions. Once the QwaQwa homeland was established (see below), it had a population density of 400 people per square kilometre – even though more than a third of the area was too mountainous for habitation.
- 6 Other African ethnic groups represented include the Zulu to the north-east, the Xhosa, who lived mainly in the cities, and the Tswana. Of the white population, the great majority were Afrikaans-speaking, with English-speakers tending to concentrate in the cities and industrial centres.
- 7 From the time of the Boers' arrival with the Great Trek, Afrikaners dominated both the farming life in the rural areas and the political and social life of the urban areas. The province became a bastion of Afrikaner culture, known for its austere and moralistic character. This seems to be at the root of the perception that the powerful Afrikaners of the Orange Free State were both products and originators of the conservative ideologies and laws that gave rise to the policy of apartheid. Indeed, the province's administrative capital of Bloemfontein was also the judicial capital of the Republic.

The Orange Free State was considered by many to be the most 'verkrampte' (conservative) part of the country's power base. Its rural nature and its remoteness from South Africa's largest cities seemed to isolate it from the evolving cosmopolitan identity and the sense of enlightenment associated with the large melting-pot cities of Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. Residents of the other provinces tended to think of the Orange Free State as a backwater, 'in the middle of nowhere'.

Homelands

- 9 Two homelands were established in the Orange Free State: QwaQwa in the north-east and, about midway between Bloemfontein and Maseru, a small portion of Bophuthatswana incorporating the village of Thaba'Nchu. (The remaining fragments of the latter homeland were scattered in the Transvaal and northern Cape.)
- 10 QwaQwa was concentrated around Witsieshoek, near the meeting point of the Orange Free State, Natal and Lesotho. It was originally designated as the homeland for the Southern Sotho people of South Africa, but only a small percentage of its intended citizens lived there. The territory covered only 183 square kilometres and was noted for its social hardships, including overcrowding and poverty, soil erosion and a lack of natural resources.
- 11 QwaQwa became a self-governing territory in October 1974, with a Legislative Assembly consisting of twenty traditional leaders (chiefs and headmen) appointed by the two tribal authorities, and twenty elected members. In the first QwaQwa elections, in April 1975, nineteen of the twenty seats were won by members of the Dikwankwetla (strong men) National Party (DNP). The leader of this party, Mr Kenneth Mopeli, went on to become Chief Minister.
- 12 The DNP dominated official political life in QwaQwa throughout the 1970s and 1980s, though a splinter group left to form the National Party of QwaQwa in 1978. The leader of the new party, Mr JM Mohlahli, challenged the DNP to hold elections to prove its credibility, efficiency and competence. Five parties nominated candidates for the elections, held in March 1980, but opposition parties accused the ruling DNP of various forms of electoral malpractice and threatened to have the results declared invalid. In the event, Mopeli and the DNP won all twenty seats and all opposition candidates lost their deposits.

13

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

- 14 In the 1970s and 1980s, a police force and a defence force were established in QwaQwa to see to law enforcement and to protect the homeland from internal opposition. The homeland security forces also assisted the South African Defence Force (SADF) in local and regional military operations against the opponents of apartheid. QwaQwa defence structures formed a vital part of Pretoria's defence system, especially in view of the homeland's proximity to the South African border with Lesotho. QwaQwa security forces joined the South African Police (SAP) in skirmishes with insurgents of the liberation movements. It should also be noted that the Lesotho Liberation Movement, the armed wing of the Basotholand Congress Party, which was forced underground after the abortive 1970 general elections in Lesotho, established a command in QwaQwa, where it received increasing support from the South African government and security forces.

Botshabelo

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

totally inadequate.

- 16 Botshabelo became the largest single relocation area in the country. Most of its residents were Southern Sotho-speakers who came from the Kromdraai squatter area near Thaba'Nchu, where they had been rejected by the Bophuthatswana authorities. Children who were not Tswanas had been barred from attending schools in Bophuthatswana.
- 17 A report of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) noted that Botshabelo amounted to no more than a rural slum from which three stakeholders stood to benefit. QwaQwa stood to gain additional territory – although separated by three hundred kilometres from the homeland centred at Witsieshoek; the Bophuthatswana authorities were able to evict the thousands of non-Tswana squatters who had refused to accept Bophuthatswana citizenship, and the central government was able to consolidate its policy of ethnically based homelands.
- 18 Although Botshabelo had been earmarked for incorporation into QwaQwa almost from the outset, the process was dogged by misinformation and rumour. All moves towards incorporation were vigorously opposed by Botshabelo residents, particularly students, who protested and boycotted schools. The issue became a further cause for conflict between the DNP and its opposition. In February 1987, Chief Minister Mopeli, apparently in an attempt to avoid exacerbating student protests, issued a statement denying rumours of incorporation. In the same month, however, the *New Nation* reported him as telling a DNP meeting in Excelsior that he would “act mercilessly” against anyone opposing incorporation.
- 19 In July 1987, the DNP party organised a ‘secret ballot’, getting people to sign a petition stating: “We the residents of Botshabelo want to be incorporated into QwaQwa homeland of peace this year”. When, in spite of DNP efforts to keep them in the dark, high school students came to hear about the petition, they boycotted school in protest. Further rumours of incorporation set off a series of protests, some of which became violent.
- 20 Those who signed the petition, mostly senior members of the party, said that they had been given to understand that a refusal to sign might put their pensions in jeopardy. Chief Mopeli claimed that 11 000 people had signed a petition in favour of incorporation, which was favoured by most Botshabelo residents. A Human Sciences Research Council survey found, however, that most were opposed to it.¹

Botshabelo was incorporated into QwaQwa by presidential proclamation in December 1987. In response to a court challenge by Botshabelo teacher Gauta Lawrence Lefu, the Bloemfontein Supreme Court found in August 1988 that the incorporation had been invalid. The proclamation had not been authorised by the statutory powers on which the State President had purported to rely when he issued it. Justice JP Malherbe said that the incorporation did not accord with the intention of the legislature as expressed in the enabling provision of the its Constitution Act of 1971, as it did not promote the political development of Botshabelo residents in their national context. While 70 per cent of Botshabelo residents were indeed Southern Sotho, their culture and way of life differed radically from that of the inhabitants of QwaQwa, which had no historic claim to Botshabelo. QwaQwa had progressed through the various constitutional stages attached to homeland status, whereas Botshabelo had been established as a town with little development of political structures and had undergone very different political processes.

- 22 The State President and the QwaQwa administration appealed against this decision, and Botshabelo remained incorporated into QwaQwa until, on 2 March 1990, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court upheld the earlier judgement and declared the incorporation invalid.

Overview of Violations

- 23 The KwaZulu-Natal regional office of the Commission was allocated the task of administering the submissions received from victims of violations in the Orange Free State. To this end, officers of the Commission were assigned to sub-regional offices in the Free State, and teams of statement-takers were sent to towns around the province in order to gather a wide range of evidence of violations. The Amnesty Committee and the Human Rights Violations Committee of the Commission held hearings in the main towns in the province. Comparatively few statements were received from the Orange Free State, the total representing no more than a fifth of all the statements received and administered by the Commission's Durban office.
- 24 Most of the reports of human rights violations from the Orange Free State were received for the late 1980s and early 1990s, when resistance to apartheid structures and policies was at its most intense in the province and in the country as a whole.

25

Up to 68 per cent of statements referred to violations that resulted from police action. Of these, 45 per cent of cases related to shooting by the police (40 per cent fatal), and 27 per cent to torture and assault, predominantly of detainees. Families often bore the brunt of this conflict as they suffered bereavement and loss, often of economically active members or potential breadwinners. A remarkable number of violations perpetrated by the police resulted in permanent physical disability and psychological damage. Twelve cases of blinding as a result of police shooting were reported.



- 26 Other areas of social and political life in which violations were recorded by the Commission focused on civil conflict due, *inter alia*, to local councils imposing rental and service charge increases on township residents, vigilante activities and the conflict surrounding attempts to incorporate the township of Botshabelo into QwaQwa. Violations were also recorded in clashes between protesting students and the police during school boycotts, and between workers and the police, together with other groupings, in the course of labour activities. By the mid-1980s, young people (aged thirteen to twenty-four) were at the front line of resistance activities that resulted in clashes with the security forces.
- 27 Many deponents from the Orange Free State told the Commission that they had been victims of assault and attack, including social and economic deprivation, purely on the basis of race. The Commission was not always able to make a positive finding in respect of such cases, particularly when no clear-cut political motive was identifiable. There was a substantial number of reports and allegations of the frequent eruption of conflict between white farmers, white political organisations and the security forces on the one hand, and ordinary black farm workers and township residents on the other. This supports the impression that race relations in the province were particularly strained and social conditions deeply repressive in the province. It is against this background of racial tension, inequality and polarisation that the Commission has considered the submissions received from victims of violations in all spheres of social life in the province.

A review of the violations reported by victims in the Orange Free State reveals a steady increase in the number of politically-motivated killings and cases of severe ill treatment throughout the 1980s, both peaking in the nineties. Perpetrator groups appear to become more diversified towards the end of the 1980s and in the early 1990s. Whereas most reported violations in the 1960–83 review periods are attributed to the state security forces, later periods show an increase in the number of abuses perpetrated by groups allied to the liberation movements – the African National Congress (ANC) self-defence units (SDUs), the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), vigilante groups and other surrogate forces.

■ 1960–1975

Historical overview

- 29 The wave of political repression that followed the April 1960 banning of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) ushered in a period of demoralisation in the political life of the Orange Free State that persisted throughout the sixties. Members and supporters of the resistance movements found themselves the victims of security force brutality that ranged from harassment to extreme torture and even death in police custody. Statements from victims of severe ill treatment expose the variety and severity of torture methods used by the police.
- 30 During this period, key apartheid legislation was enacted to crush resistance to the National Party (NP) government's policy of dividing and subjugating the people of South Africa. ANC and PAC supporters were detained and sometimes convicted for furthering the aims and objectives of these banned organisations, as well as for mere membership.
- 31 One of the principal arenas of conflict in the Orange Free State was a growing popular rebellion against the imposition, over the years, of various local government bodies. Although no violations in this regard were reported for the 1960s, it is noted that most township residents responded with increasing resentment to the creation, in 1961, of Urban Bantu Councils (UBCs) which were to take over the administration of townships from white local authorities. The UBCs, situated at Bethlehem, Bloemfontein, Kroonstad, Odendaalsrus, Parys, Virginia and Welkom, failed to offer black citizens meaningful political representation at local levels. When these bodies failed to meet their mandate to provide and sustain adequate services in

townships, and later imposed hikes in rentals and service charges in order to meet their budget deficits, the protests erupted into conflict and violence, resulting in loss of life and the destruction of property.

- 32 It is important to note concurrent political developments in the Kingdom of Lesotho, which shares a substantial border with the province. South African activists and political refugees crossed at various points along this border to join the liberation movements in exile, and insurgents returned to conduct operations in the country. Equally, and increasingly, members of the South African security forces crossed the border to conduct raids on refugee camps and what they believed to be operational cells of the ANC military wing Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) based in Lesotho.
- 33 In 1970, during the first general elections held in Lesotho since its independence in 1966, Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonathan intervened to declare the electoral proceedings invalid, simultaneously suspending the constitution and declaring a state of emergency in Lesotho. He did so at a time when the opposition Basotholand Congress Party (BCP) appeared to be leading in the polls. Jonathan claimed that there had been voting irregularities, intimidation of voters and violence at the polls and promised that free elections would be held under a new constitution.
- 34 In the same year, South African Prime Minister BJ Vorster declared that the Republic would not interfere in the internal affairs of Lesotho. However, hostilities arose when it became clear that the South African security forces were rendering military and other support to the now banned BCP and its military wing, the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA). The fact that the Jonathan administration was favourably disposed towards the South African refugee community in Lesotho exacerbated the hostility, and both ANC and PAC refugees became increasingly vulnerable to abduction and attack by the security forces. The Commission received several reports of exiles and cadres of the liberation movements being abducted from Lesotho to be tortured at police stations in the Orange Free State.

Overview of violations

- 35 During this period, several activists were charged with attempting to leave the country to join the ANC and MK in Lesotho.
- 36 The Commission received relatively few reports of violations from the Orange Free State during this period. Most cases concerned police brutality.

State and allied groupings

Torture in custody

- 37 The few reports of detention and torture of detainees in the Orange Free State received by the Commission for this period present a particularly severe picture of police brutality. Assault and torture of detainees by means of electric shocks was commonplace.

The case of Leepo Lawrance Moleke

Mr Leepo Lawrance Moleke told a hearing of the Human Rights Violations Committee that, in 1972, he was detained and severely tortured in Bloemfontein for his membership of the ANC. In custody, he was accused of conspiring to overthrow the government, was blindfolded, had his hands and feet cuffed together and was repeatedly electrocuted by means of an electric cord connected to the running engine of a car.

He was held in custody for a further two weeks and told the Commission that, as a result of his torture, he suffered permanent paralysis in the right leg as well as significantly impaired hearing and sight [KZN/TDM/006/KRS].

IN REVIEWING EVIDENCE OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS PERPETRATED BY THE STATE IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE DURING THIS PERIOD, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP PERPETRATED ACTS OF ASSAULT AND TORTURE ON DETAINEES AND OPPONENTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, ESTABLISHING A PATTERN OF ABUSE THAT INCREASED IN INTENSITY THROUGH SUBSEQUENT PERIODS.

Resistance and revolutionary and groupings

- 38 Most of the security trials, restrictions and detentions in this period occurred in response to political activism in organisations, such as unions and community organisations, rather than from sabotage and related acts. People were prosecuted for membership of banned organisations, for possession of banned literature, for recruiting for banned organisations and for undergoing military training.

Historical overview

- 39 The 1976 Soweto uprising triggered a surge of student protests in centres around the Orange Free State, bringing young people into the frontline of anti-apartheid protest. A number of influential student organisations were formed during this period. 1978 saw the establishment of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) whose aim was to work, within a Black Consciousness framework, towards a common education and political system for all people. The Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was formed in June 1979 with the aim of striving for an education system that would meet the needs and aspirations of the post-1976 situation. In the Orange Free State, both organisations involved themselves in a range of community concerns, such as organising commemoration and funeral services for students shot by police and participating in marches to protest against removals, increases in rent and bus fares, and detention without trial. These activities often brought them into direct clashes with the police.
- 40 Early in 1980, boycotts started in black secondary schools in Cape Town and gradually spread countrywide. Although initial grievances concerned mainly the quality of education offered to blacks, it became clear that students were challenging not only the educational system but also the political system. Indeed, student organisations like COSAS promoted the idea that the struggle for quality and equality in education went hand in hand with all other struggles in society.
- 41 Students continued with sporadic protest and boycott actions and, in November 1980, the Department of Education and Training closed seventy-seven secondary schools across the country. Three of the five secondary schools for black pupils in Bloemfontein were amongst those that were closed indefinitely. Schools in that city had responded to the call for a schools boycott in April 1980, leading to several outbreaks of violence. Violence also broke out in schools in Onverwacht (later known as Botshabelo) at Thaba'Nchu in July 1980, where up to 600 pupils boycotted classes. Boycott action also occurred in schools in QwaQwa during 1980.
- 42 Disturbances, protests and boycotts spread to schools around the country and many students experienced intimidation, harassment and detention at the hands of the police. In the Orange Free State, student organisations came to play an important role in representing the interests of victims of police brutality, since

only a few of the many hundreds of non-governmental organisations which took root in centres around the country during this period were established formally in the Orange Free State. The Commission received several reports of students who were detained and tortured during this period.

- 43 There were a number of convictions under the Terrorism Act for, amongst other things, sabotage and conspiracy to commit sabotage, receiving military training outside the country, possession of firearms and ammunition and the possession of 'terrorist' propaganda. In some cases, activists were allegedly assaulted and forced to make statements before being charged. Many convicted activists from the province were sent to Robben Island to serve their sentences.
- 44 In May 1977, Ms Winnie Mandela's banning order restricting her to Orlando, Soweto, was changed to an order restricting her to Brandfort in the Orange Free State. During her eight-year banishment to Brandfort, Ms Mandela became an important political figure for many students and youth in the area.
- 45 The Community Councils Act of 1977 replaced the Urban Bantu Councils Act and gave the community councils more duties and power than previously enjoyed by the UBCs. Community councils had a mixed reception in the Orange Free State, being accepted in Bloemfontein, for example (though with a 29 per cent poll), but rejected from the outset by UBC councillors in other townships, because of a lack of proper consultation with local representatives.
- 46 The Black Community Development Bill No 112 of 1982 proposed yet further changes to black local authorities, expanding the functions of community councils to include tasks previously undertaken by administration boards and town councils. One of the purposes of the Act was to bolster the status and autonomy of the black authorities. They were vested with specific powers and responsibility for services including waste disposal, sewerage, electrification, health, sport, recreation, housing and so on, but without commensurate sources of revenue. Finance had to be raised from a number of sources including increases in service charges, site rent, fines for infringing by-laws and the sale of sorghum beer. It was the efforts of councils to raise finance, particularly by increasing rent and service charges, that eventually brought them into direct conflict with township residents (see below: 1983–89).

Overview of violations

- 47 The Commission received twice as many reports of violations in the Orange Free State for this period as for the preceding period. Most reports referred to police brutality, including torture and assault in detention. Two of these incidents resulted in deaths in custody.
- 48 Many detentions were recorded for this period, arising largely out of the 1980 school boycotts and the disturbances that preceded them. Students and student leaders were detained, including members of AZAPO, the Young Christian Workers (YCW) and the Bloemfontein Students' League. Some students detained during this period reported to the Commission that they were tortured in detention.

State and allied groupings

Torture in custody

- 49 The first reports of torture at the 'Adami House' police premises in Bloemfontein were recorded in this period.

The torture of Alfred Raymond Thabo Pieterse

The Commission heard that, in June 1978, Mr Alfred Raymond Thabo Pieterse of Young Christian Workers was detained by the Security Branch in Bloemfontein and taken to Adami House where he was questioned about the activities of his organisation and was tortured. He was later taken to a police station in Vredefort where he was again tortured. In December of the same year, Pieterse was detained again in Bloemfontein and tortured by means of electric shocks [KZN/PJM/032/FS].

Public order policing

- 50 In April 1980, following a national call to students, students in Bloemfontein engaged in protest and boycott actions. The police appeared initially to act with restraint in their response to these school boycotts. However, reports soon emerged of the use of unnecessary force to break up crowd demonstrations, including the use of baton charges and mass arrests. Student protests in Bloemfontein and Thaba-Nchu were dispersed by police. In May, police dispersed a crowd of 2 000 demonstrating pupils at Witsieshoek in QwaQwa.

- 51 Police shootings were also reported in the course of policing the 1980 student protests, often resulting in injury and, in some cases, death.

The death of Daniel Thabo Malotolo

Sixteen-year-old Daniel Thabo Malotolo was shot dead on 21 May 1980 while participating in a student march in Bloemfontein [KZN/TIS/008/BL].

IN REVIEWING EVIDENCE OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS COMMITTED BY THE STATE SECURITY FORCES IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE DURING THIS PERIOD, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP ASSAULTED AND TORTURED DETAINEES AS PART OF A SYSTEMATIC CAMPAIGN TO SUPPRESS AND SILENCE OPPOSITION TO THE APARTHEID POLICIES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THE SAP IS FOUND TO HAVE ACTED WITH LESS AND LESS RESTRAINT AGAINST PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS AND PROTESTS AND RESORTED READILY TO THE UNJUSTIFIED USE OF DEADLY FORCE, FIRING ON CROWDS WITH LIVE AMMUNITION, RESULTING IN DEATHS AND INJURIES TO MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC.

Cross-border activities

- 52 Refugees and exiles living in Lesotho were increasingly subjected to surveillance, raids and bombings during this period. In July 1978, six South African exiles were seriously injured when one of them opened a parcel bomb disguised as copies of an ANC publication.
- 53 Reports of cross-border abductions were also received. Witnesses were not always able to tell the Commission who was responsible for the disappearances of individuals from the exile community in Lesotho. However, several applicants for amnesty told the Commission that they had been personally involved in targeting individuals in exile, some of whom were known to be MK operatives.

The attempted assassination of Chris Hani

In his application for amnesty, Eben Frederick Coetzee told the Commission that, in 1980, he was given the order by senior members of the Security Branch to kill Mr Chris Hani, then MK commander in Lesotho, because of Hani's perceived growing influence in the ANC/South African Communist Party (SACP) alliance. At the time, Coetzee was a department head of the SAP Security Branch in the Orange Free State.

An attempt was made to place an explosive in Hani's car in Maseru, but the explosive went off prematurely, injuring Mr Tumelo Ernest Ramatlala (Ramotalo), who was responsible for placing it. According to former senior Security Branch member Dirk Coetzee, Ramatlala was a Lesotho national and a member of

the Lesotho Youth Organisation. He was an informer for the Bloemfontein Security Branch and allegedly a close confidant of Chris Hani.

Ramatlala spent three months in hospital under police guard and was charged for the explosion. On being granted bail he fled to South Africa and was taken to Vlakplaas to prevent him from revealing information about the planned killing [AM4079/97].

The kidnapping of 'Comrade A'

Amnesty applicants Mr Almond Nofemela [AM0064/96] and Mr Dirk Coetzee gave information about the attempted killing of 'Comrade A' (Lehlohonolo) in Maseru in 1981. Coetzee, then stationed at Ladybrand Security Branch, near the Maseru Bridge border post, said he equipped Nofemela and another police officer with firearms and a hand grenade and instructed them to enter Lesotho via Ficksburg Bridge. They were to go to the Maseru home of 'Comrade A' and to shoot him when he opened the door in response to their knocking. In the event, the victim did not open the door. The hand grenade was thrown through a window, injuring both 'Comrade A' and a child.

SADF Raid on Maseru

The most significant cross-border attack launched by members of the South African security forces from military bases in the Orange Free State was the SADF raid on Maseru on 9 December 1982, in which forty-two people were killed, twelve of whom were Lesotho nationals. (This event is documented elsewhere in the Commission's report.)

- 54 LLA attacks were also reported, involving cross-border activities between Lesotho and the Orange Free State.

The case of Seisa Seisa and others

In November 1981, LLA member Seisa Seisa, with others, bombed a bus stop at Motshepeng, Magogoeng, in Butha Buthe. The Commission heard that they then went to Clarens in the Orange Free State where, ironically, they were arrested and taken to Bloemfontein. Here they were beaten and tortured because police thought they were members of MK.

When it was discovered that their commander, Mr Ntsu Mokhehle, was working with officers of the South African security forces, the authorities

tried to negotiate with Chief Leabua Jonathan to exchange them for Chris Hani. Jonathan refused. They were then given a limpet mine and driven through a roadblock by Dirk Coetzee to undertake an LLA mission in Lesotho [KZN/SMB/102/LB].

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THIS PERIOD WAS CHARACTERISED BY A DRAMATIC INCREASE IN ILLEGAL CROSS-BORDER ACTIVITIES BY THE SAP AND SADF, AND AN INCREASING NUMBER OF COVERT OPERATIONS IN LESOTHO WHICH RESULTED IN LARGE NUMBERS OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE SAP AND THE SADF ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Resistance and revolutionary groupings

Sabotage attacks

- 55 The national sabotage campaign launched by MK in the 1960s was felt in the Orange Free State during this period. A series of explosions, mostly in and around Bloemfontein, caused considerable damage to key installations and various sites associated with the apartheid administration, among them:
- a The destruction of eight fuel tanks in a series of blasts at Sasol and Natref on 1 June 1980. While no injuries were recorded, damage was estimated at R58 million.
 - b The cutting of power lines at Vrede as part of anti-Republic Day protests on 25 May 1981.
 - c An explosion at the Fort Street railway bridge at Bloemfontein station on 27 January 1983, shortly after a passenger train had passed. One man was found fatally shot at the scene.
 - d The bombing of the South Free State Administration Board offices in Bloemfontein on 8 February 1982, killing two people and injuring seventy-five.
- 56 On 7 February 1979, YCW members Mpho Peterose Makae and Jacob Mosiuoa Tlelima, both from Kroonstad, were charged with conspiring to commit sabotage. The state alleged that they had planned to blow up the Kroonstad power station, a military camp, the magistrate's court, a police station, an office of the Security Branch and other buildings during a general strike of black workers. They were convicted and sentenced to five years, but the conviction was set aside by the Orange Free State Supreme Court in November 1982.² In July 1982, Elliot Zulu,

Jacob Thabethe, Alfred Malema and Frans Kekana were also charged with conspiracy to sabotage a power station and a training college in Kroonstad³.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE ANC PARTICIPATED IN ACTS OF SABOTAGE AGAINST STATE INSTALLATIONS AND THAT SOME OF THESE ACTS LED TO DEATHS OF AND INJURIES TO INNOCENT PERSONS. SUCH DEATHS AND INJURIES WERE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE ANC IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Banishment of Winnie Mandela

- 57 At the beginning of the period under review, Ms Winnie Nomzamo Mandela, who had been restricted under various banning orders since 1961, was restricted to her home township of Orlando, Soweto. In May 1977, a new order was served on her during a dawn raid, banishing her to the Orange Free State town of Brandfort. She was taken there immediately, together with her daughter Zindiswa (Zindzi), and was allocated a three-roomed house without electricity or sanitation. She was to remain at Brandfort for eight years.
- 58 Soweto had become a boiling cauldron of political tension in the months following the June 1976 uprising. Mandela's banishment to the remote town of Brandfort was apparently intended to weaken the ties between the influential community leader and the Sowetan youth who looked to her for political leadership.
- 59 However, from 1977 to 1985, Ms Mandela made her mark on the small community of Brandfort and became a particularly important political figure for young activists in the township. When she defied her banishment order by returning to Soweto in 1985, she left behind her a legacy of resistance upheld by a militant group of 'comrades'.
- 60 During her time in Brandfort, Mandela contributed to the life of the local community through a variety of projects. She initiated a feeding scheme and a day-care centre for the children of working mothers and set up a small clinic in her back yard. She also encouraged township residents to plant their own food gardens. Her efforts did not go unnoticed by her detractors, however. In 1980, white residents of Brandfort applied to the Minister of Justice to have her presence in the town reconsidered as it was causing 'unhappiness'.
- 61 The parents of township children also expressed ambivalence. By the 1980s, Ms Mandela had established herself as an influential figure in the township and her presence was beginning to have a polarising effect on the community. Some residents

² Focus 2

³ Focus 46

felt anxious about her influence over the children and their powerlessness to intervene. Her home had become a hub of activity for township children and youth.

- 62 Brandfort became one of the more volatile urban centres in the Orange Free State. The Commission received reports of brutality by the police and by the so-called 'anti-comrade' groups associated with the police and municipal structures in the Brandfort area.
- 63 In addition to her banishment to Brandfort, Mandela's banning orders prevented her from meeting with more than one person at a time and from talking to any other listed person. To monitor her compliance with these orders, a police sergeant was specifically assigned the task of keeping surveillance on her movements and was assiduous in the harassment of her friends and visitors. Zindzi Mandela, though neither banned nor banished, was also harassed and intimidated while she lived with her mother at Brandfort. This compelled Mr Nelson Mandela, then imprisoned on Robben Island, to bring an urgent restraining order against two police officers to prevent them from harassing his daughter and her friends.
- 64 By the 1980s, police were using methods that were insidious. In particular, a number of secondary school students were recruited into a gang to undertake vigilante-type actions in the township. The activities of this gang persisted well after Ms Mandela's departure from Brandfort, and are discussed in more detail below.
- 65 In August 1985, Mandela's home in Brandfort was petrol-bombed. Mr Mphithizeli Nelson Ngo, formerly a member of the SAP, told a hearing of the Amnesty Committee that all instructions to target Mandela's property in Brandfort came from Security Branch headquarters in Bloemfontein. The attacks had been intended "to scare her a bit". He said that it was known in Security Branch circles that Mandela's house was being used for meetings. The clinic was also believed to be a meeting place.
- 66 At the time of the attack, Ms Mandela was in Johannesburg for a medical examination. She moved back to her house in Soweto and did not return to Brandfort in spite of a letter from the police saying that the house had been repaired and that she was required to return there by 4 November of that year. On 20 May 1987, the Brandfort home was attacked again, causing extensive fire damage to both the house and the clinic. As with the 1985 attack, no one was injured.

Historical overview

- 67 This period saw the emergence of several youth and civic organisations, many of which were affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF), formed in 1983. AZAPO and student organisations such as COSAS were particularly active in organised protests against apartheid in general and in activities focusing on student grievances.
- 68 From 1984, many towns in the Orange Free State, particularly Bloemfontein, Parys and Welkom, experienced the worst civil unrest since the Soweto uprising of 1976. Continuing student dissatisfaction with the education system was the primary focus of conflict. As in the previous period, the youth and particularly the students bore the brunt of police brutality in the course of school boycotts and other protests, as well as being disadvantaged academically by the disruptions.
- 69 In the industrial sphere, striking workers, too, came up against heavy-handed security force action. The Commission received a total of twenty-three reports of alleged police brutality against striking workers in the Orange Free State, involving assault, torture and shooting, and resulting in two deaths. Fourteen of these cases were reported for the period 1983-89.
- 70 The South African Institute of Race Relations documented more than 1 000 strikes across the country in 1987, involving over half a million workers most of whom were concentrated in the mining industries. Twenty thousand workers in the Orange Free State gold fields went out on strike during 1986/87. Reports received by the Commission indicate that striking miners in the province suffered harassment, assault and dismissal by mine-owning companies, by the police and by vigilante groups. The vigilantes, referred to as 'the Russians' on some mines and '*witdoeke*' on others, appeared to be working with the common purpose of repressing all strike action by workers.
- 71 Economic hardship also played a part in fomenting conflict in black townships. The announcements of service charge and rental increases were not welcomed by black consumers already hard-hit by inflation and the rise in sales tax from 6 to 7 per cent.

- 72 Black South Africans expressed growing dissatisfaction with their exclusion from the system of government ushered in by the 1983 introduction of the Tricameral Parliament. Protest activities ranged from boycotts of elections for new black local authorities to violent attacks on local government buildings and the homes and businesses of councillors in townships.
- 73 When local authorities sought to increase rents and service charges in the early 1980s, township residents protested by refusing to comply with the increases or by withholding all payments to the local authorities. Even before the increases, rent and service costs had been financially crippling. Many residents were falling behind with payments; some in the poorest communities had never paid for township services at all.
- 74 Rent boycotts were often accompanied by demands from township residents and community organisations for the resignation of local councillors. Later, this action erupted into more militant forms of protest, sometimes including violence. Rent boycotts occurred around all the main towns of the province in 1984, particularly in Tumahole (Parys), Zamdela (Sasolburg) and other Vaal triangle townships, and continued throughout 1985. The Commission heard accounts of brutality on the part of councillors themselves and on the part of groups or gangs apparently organised by councillors and deployed in vigilante activities. These activities took place in response to the growing militancy of residents, usually associated to some extent with the UDF, who rejected local government in communities. Vigilantism became a widespread phenomenon in the province during this period. The Commission heard claims that vigilante groups such as the *Phakathis* (or 'A-Team') in Thabong, the 'A-Team' in Tumahole, the 'Eagles' in Brandfort and the 'Three Million Gang' at Kroonstad created a reign of terror in these areas.
- 75 Former SAP member Mphithizeli Nelson Ngo told a hearing of the Amnesty Committee that the unlawful use of gangsters to attack political activists was not only sanctioned by the police, but that three vigilante groups were recruited and trained by Security Branch officers posted to Brandfort for special duty in 1985/86. These three groups were the Eagles, the 'Anti-comrades' and the Three Millions. The Commission also heard of the activities of several other vigilante groups known simply as 'anti-comrade' groups, many of which appeared to be unchecked or even openly supported by members of the SAP.
- 76 By the mid-eighties, civil protest and resistance had reached new levels of intensity in the Orange Free State. The July 1985 proclamation of a state of emergency

affected only one area in the province, namely Sasolburg, and this was lifted after six months. However, the whole province was affected by the June 1986 emergency, which was renewed annually until February 1990. The emergency regulations empowered police to detain any person for up to fourteen days if, in the arresting officer's opinion, the maintenance of public order justified such detention. Restrictions were placed on public gatherings and funeral ceremonies.

Overview of violations

- 77 The overwhelming majority of violations reported in the Orange Free State occurred in this period, 1983–89. Around 70 per cent of the reports implicated members of the police force, including members of the Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa security forces, in assault, torture, shooting and arson.
- 78 For this period also, the Commission received reports of violations allegedly perpetrated by political organisations, including members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the UDF/ANC and members of the DNP. Reports were also received of violations perpetrated by white farmers acting in concert with members of the police force and of the civilian right wing.
- 79 The first reports of aggression by and towards local councillors in Orange Free State townships referred to his period. Reports included several violations by members of vigilante groups, corresponding with the rise of vigilantism in 1985. The overwhelming majority of such reported violations was allegedly committed by the A-Team of Thabong, also known as the *Phakathi* group. Reports of attacks on vigilantes by members of civic organisations were also received.

Police brutality

- 80 It is difficult to draw clear distinctions between types of threatening and violent behaviour on the part of the police. What became clear through the testimonies of many victims of violations in the Orange Free State is that psychological battery on the part of the police, including verbal and emotional abuse and threatening, degrading and humiliating treatment, often produced post-traumatic symptoms similar to those of physical harm.
- 81 Many individuals told the Commission that they had never lodged complaints or reports with the police of incidents where police were culpably implicated.

- 82 Submissions by many families who lost loved ones in police custody or as a result of police shooting indicated that families were, by and large, ignorant of their rights in respect of the deceased. They did not know of their rights to a proper investigation into a death, to a *post mortem*, to the issuing of a death certificate and to custody of the corpse in preparation for burial. In fact, many families reported that they had never heard whether investigations had been conducted, suspects identified or charges laid, or whether an official inquest was held and what the findings might have been.
- 83 Equally, it is difficult to separate police brutality in a *politicised* context (such as the shooting of protesters in the street or the torture of activists in detention) from police brutality in a *related* context, where victims are not the direct targets for attack, but become targets accidentally.
- 84 Some activists claimed that the police attempted to co-opt the support of their families as a means of pressurising them to stop their political activities or to return from exile. At least two witnesses reported that police had offered them money to travel to Lesotho and persuade their sons, exiled in that country, to return home. Reports were also received of detainees who were threatened with the lives of their families and friends at home if they failed to co-operate under interrogation. Family homes were regularly subjected to police raids in search of members who were politically active. Many reports described the personal injury and extensive damage to property resulting from such raids.

The case of Polediso Motsoeneng

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

In detention, he was beaten and threatened with death. The first period of detention was for six months in 1986, the second for five months in 1987. During the latter, he said, police threatened to throw him from the third or fourth storey of the building in which he was detained.

Motsoeneng told the Commission that the security police, including Major Stephenson, forced his father to beat him in front of the police. His father gave him fifty lashes. The victim was denied medical assistance after the beating. He said that his parents' marriage broke up as a result of the incident and his mother disappeared. He still did not know where she was [KZN/MR/268/FS].

The children's hearing in Bloemfontein

- 85 At a hearing convened in Bloemfontein on 23 June 1997 especially to hear the stories of children, the Commission heard of the effects of political conflict, unemployment, forced removals, poverty and inadequate education on the lives of children in the Orange Free State. In order to attend farm and township schools, children would often have to travel long distances and many would have to endure a day at school, and sometimes a time of working in the fields, without adequate nutrition to sustain them. Bereavement and displacement of families owing to political conflict would often produce trauma symptoms and behavioural disorders such as truancy, crime and aberrations of conduct in children. The inadequate social services were not equal to supporting the children and families in need.
- 86 The Commission heard from children whose parents were detained, tortured or shot by police and who were subsequently unable to fulfil the ordinary emotional and financial responsibilities of a parent in the home. Two reports were received from children whose homes were firebombed because their fathers were members of the police force.

State and allied groupings

Torture in custody

- 87 In September 1982, the Detainees Parents' Support Committee presented the Minister of Law and Order with seventy statements from detainees and ex-detainees claiming that systematic and widespread torture was being used by police in detention cells around the country. The claims listed the following types of torture and abuse: sleep deprivation, electric shock torture, mid-air suspension, suffocation, enforced standing, enforced exercise, punching, kicking, slapping, beating with sticks, batons, hosepipes or gun butts, assault on genitals, being kept naked for long periods during interrogation, being subjected to humiliating and degrading experiences such as deprivation of toilet facilities, verbal abuse and ridicule, 'hooding' to produce disorientation and fear, death threats, having a cocked firearm held in one's mouth, and threats of harm to one's children, spouse or close friends. Almost all the above forms of abuse were represented in the reports received from victims of police brutality in the Orange Free State for the 1983–89 period.
- 88 Poisoning was increasingly favoured as a method of torture during this period. Dirk Coetzee, who was based with the Security Branch in Bloemfontein in the

early 1980s, told the Commission that a senior Security Branch member, described by Coetzee as “one of the meaner security police stalwarts”, discussed with him the use of poison as a means of “disposing of activists”.

The poisoning of Samuel Malie

Poisons were used in the torture of Mr Samuel Mokhele Malie [KZN/SMB/119/FS] in a Bloemfontein police cell where he was held in 1983. He was allegedly forced to drink poisoned liquor and was rushed to Pelonomi hospital where he died the same day.

- 89 Members of the student organisations, AZAPO and the local civic organisations were particular targets of the police in their attempt to repress student resistance in the province. The police response to student protests often involved dogs, tear gas and baton charges, and sometimes shooting directly at demonstrators with live ammunition. Police also detained large numbers of people in an attempt to isolate and remove student leaders from the community.

The case of Richard Sello

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

Sello told the Commission that, when student protests broke out at the school on 12 August 1987, the police raided the homes of SRC members. They kicked down the doors of the Sello family home and assaulted Sello's mother.

Sello was detained and tortured during interrogation. His arms were tied behind his knees, his face covered with a cloth and an electric device placed around his stomach. He was kicked and his head was hit against a wall, and he began to bleed heavily. He was thrown into a van with Lesotho registration plates and taken to a police station in Kroonstad. Police then took him to a kraal where they stripped him naked and poured milk over him. A calf was made to drink from his penis. The victim resisted and was detained in Kroonstad where he received medical attention whilst in prison [KZN/JRW/057/PET].

- 90 The Commission heard several accounts of the torture in detention of union organisers, members of student organisations and local youth congresses. Several people detained under various sections of the Internal Security Act claimed they were tortured while in custody.

The case of White Mohapi and others

The Commission heard of the torture of some twenty UDF activists who were arrested while trying to cross the border into Lesotho in April 1986 with the intention of joining the ANC in exile. They were apprehended by the SADF, kept in the veld overnight and then taken to the security police camp at Ladybrand where they were interrogated. They were then sent to Security Branch offices at the Fountain Police Station in Bloemfontein where they were tortured, electrocuted and beaten.

Two individuals were singled out. Mr White Mohapi [KZN/TIS/038/BL] was taken to an office where he was tied to a chair and suffocated by Sergeants Mamome and Motsamai using the 'tubing' method. This happened two or three times, and on each occasion, Mohapi was asked to inform for the Security Branch. He consistently refused, refusing also to make a statement about the group crossing the border to Lesotho. His refusal brought on hours of assault from a number of officers, whose names he gave to the Commission.

Mohapi's interrogation continued on the third day when two senior Security Branch officers allegedly took turns at assaulting him. By this time, Mohapi claimed, he could not speak or eat. On the fourth day he was taken to the doctor, who dispensed a mild painkiller.

Sergeants Mamome and Motsamai have applied for amnesty for their part in this case. In his application for amnesty before the Commission, Nelson Ngo spoke of this incident and said that Colonel Coetzee allegedly instructed Lieutenant Shaw and another senior Security Branch officer to divide the Security Branch members into two groups, to be headed by the two of them. The group of activists was also divided, and Coetzee and Colonel Stevenson allegedly ordered that assaults and interrogation of 'comrades' should proceed in the two groups.

Ngo said that the activists were forced to drink 2.5 litres water each, then to do frog-jump exercises, push-ups and high jump whilst they were assaulted. They were denied food and were offered opportunities to become state witnesses or informants against their fellow 'comrades'. Some of the activists agreed to do this. Those who refused were assaulted further. Ngo said that some of the detainees were bleeding through the ears as a result of heavy beatings. Some of the detainees were forced to write statements; some turned state witnesses. The rest were charged under the Terrorism Act.

The torture of Isaac Maduna

Mr Isaac Mokoeng Maduna told the Commission that he was arrested by police in October 1987 while he was addressing Sasol workers gathered at a Parys bus stop. Maduna was a member of the Disciplinary Committee of the South African Chemical Workers' Union and was reporting to the assembled group the decisions of a meeting of the Committee.

He was taken to Parys police station where he was beaten with sjamboks and sticks by Security Branch Constable Hennie Sochiva and others. He was later taken to Sasolburg police station where he was forced to make a statement and again tortured [KZN/JRW/058/PS].

The case of Sam Totolo

COSAS activist Sam Nqaba Totolo was detained on numerous occasions during 1984. He was tortured in detention and poisoned with chemicals injected into his feet, causing them to swell up. He was also beaten and given electric shocks. On one occasion in 1986, he was taken to Viljoenskroon police station where white police constables would switch off the cell lights and enter the cell in order to assault him. He told the Commission:

"The worst form of torture was when they would kick me on the chest with my head facing down. The result thereof was spitting of blood through the mouth from the chest. This happened on several occasions. The district surgeon would always, when making check-ups, claim that I'm still physically and psychologically fit, whereas I could feel that I was dying slowly because of inner pains I was feeling." [KZN/AT/004/FS.]

- 91 From evidence presented to the Commission by detainees in the Orange Free State, it appears that district surgeons' fortnightly visits to detainees, provided for by the Internal Security Act of 1982, were neither regular nor reliable. Two witnesses alleged that the seriousness of their conditions was not diagnosed by doctors who examined them after police assault. In one case, a mild painkiller was dispensed to treat someone who was seriously injured as a result of police torture.
- 92 Not one long-term detainee giving evidence to the Commission in the Orange Free State referred to routine or regular visits by a district surgeon to the detention cells at police stations. Witnesses reported being referred to a doctor when their injuries were serious enough to require hospitalisation. Further, reports indicated that police gained admission to hospital wards in order to restrain detainee-patients by handcuffing them to hospital beds and, in at least one reported case,

assaulting the detainee even further. The Commission also heard of a case where a senior hospital administrator gave false information to a deceased's family about the death of a patient and sent the family on a spurious search for a permit before giving them access to the corpse.

- 93 At the Welkom hearing of the Commission, claims were made that black patients were denied treatment at 'white' and 'mine' hospitals for injuries sustained as a result of police action, obliging them to travel great distances for medical treatment, even in emergency situations.

Deaths in custody

- 94 Five cases of death in detention were reported for this period. As in other parts of the country, deaths in custody were often explained by the police force as 'suicide', or as occurring 'while escaping from police custody'. Official police statements following deaths in custody were often at variance with the evidence of witnesses and families of the deceased.
- 95 The deaths of individuals who were last seen being arrested by police officers have often remained entirely unexplained.
- 96 The Commission heard accounts of several activists who were allegedly abducted by the police between 1986 and 1989 and have never been seen again. Four of these reports emanated from the Welkom area in 1986 alone.
- 97 Reports were received of bodies of victims found along roadsides or in the veld, days, sometimes hours, after the victim was arrested by police. Some individuals died after being admitted to hospital for the treatment of injuries sustained during a period of detention. Next-of-kin of such victims reported incidents where police officers and, on occasion, hospital staff denied families access to the corpse of the victim. Reports suggest that in some cases family members were only permitted to view parts of a corpse and not to inspect the whole.
- 98 Both COSAS member Sipho Mutsi and AZAPO member Petrus Mahlomola Maitse lost their lives at the hands of the police, Mutsi in detention and Maitse when police opened fire on a public demonstration. Both these cases are described below.

The death in detention of Sipho Mutsi

Mr Sipho Mutsi (20) was the first COSAS member to die in detention. A regional organiser for COSAS and part-time student from the Odendaalsrus

township of Kutlwanong, Mutsi was arrested at a bus stop in the town on 4 May 1985. He was taken into custody at the Odendaalsrus police station, in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act of 1977 "for questioning in connection with charges of public violence". His mother, Ms Pulane Irene Mutsi, told the Commission that her son was dead on arrival at the Pelonomi hospital in Bloemfontein on 5 May 1985.

A police spokesperson said that Mutsi had experienced convulsions while his personal particulars were being recorded and had fallen over backwards from the chair in which he had been sitting. His mother had confirmed that Mutsi had a history of epilepsy. A post mortem on 9 May 1985, attended by an independent physician representing the Mutsi family, found the cause of death to be severe brain haemorrhage.

At an inquest held in the Welkom Magistrate's Court in December 1985, Warrant Officer Maxwell Sithole and Detective Constable Magwesa Moya, who had interrogated Sipho Mutsi at the Odendaalsrus police station, stated that Mutsi had sat handcuffed on a chair in front of an iron table during the interrogation. They confirmed the official police version that he had suffered an epileptic attack and had fallen backwards, striking his head on the cement floor. The police officers conceded that when Mutsi had been brought to the police station there had been nothing wrong with him and that any injuries he had at the time of his death must have been sustained during the interrogation. Moya could not say how Mutsi had incurred injuries all over his arms, legs, and body, allegedly consistent with sjambok marks.

A further hearing took place in the Welkom Magistrate's Court in April 1988. Counsel for the family of the deceased said that it was unlikely that he had suffered epileptic attacks as alleged by police. Rather, his death had been caused by the brutal assault on his person by Warrant Officer Sithole and Constables Mashabe, Makhuwe and Moya. During the inquest, a former detainee, Mr Sello Dithebe, said that he had seen a police officer kick Mutsi in the face and Warrant Officer Sithole had placed a wet canvas bag over his head [KZN/ZJ/115/BL].

IN REVIEWING EVIDENCE OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY THE STATE AND ALLIED GROUPS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE DURING THIS PERIOD (1983-89), THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP MADE WIDESPREAD AND ROUTINE USE OF ASSAULT, TORTURE AND EMOTIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ABUSE, AS PART OF A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF BEHAVIOUR.

THE PERIOD WAS ALSO CHARACTERISED BY AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF DEATHS IN POLICE CUSTODY. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUCH DEATHS WERE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Public order policing

- 99 The Commission received a large number of statements from victims in Orange Free State townships alleging that they had been injured as a result of police action during the course of mass marches, demonstrations, funerals, and arbitrary attacks on the streets. Many of these injuries were gunshot wounds. Fatal shootings were also recorded. The Commission heard also of injuries allegedly sustained as a result of police swoops on private homes in search of individuals for the purpose of harassing, arresting or assaulting them.

The death of Petrus Maitse

On 18 May 1986, AZAPO member Petrus Mahlomola Maitse participated in a joint AZAPO/UDF protest against the state of emergency and against restrictions on political activity. The police clashed with protesters, sjambokking some and opening fire on others. Maitse was shot and taken to hospital in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, where he died a few days later [KZN/JRW/038/SB].

- 100 Victims reported the widespread use of tear gas as a means of coercion on the part of the police. From accounts of mass public demonstrations, it appears that police very quickly resorted to the use of tear gas as a means of dispersing crowds. Moreover, several witnesses reported the police's use of tear gas in confined spaces, greatly compounding its suffocating effects. Some victims reported being teargassed in the backs of police vans.
- 101 A number of submissions reported police intimidation at funerals, usually at the funerals of people whose deaths were associated with political events at the time.

Police open fire on mourners in Tumahole

The Commission heard several accounts of the police opening fire on mourners returning from a funeral in Tumahole, Kroonstad, on 21 July 1985, injuring several and killing at least one person, namely, Mr Gushe Panoshe [KZN/JRL/003/FS].

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP ROUTINELY EMPLOYED UNJUSTIFIED USE OF FORCE TO COUNTER PUBLIC PROTESTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS, RESORTING TO BATON CHARGES, TEAR-GASSING AND SHOOTING OF PROTESTERS. THIS RESULTED IN A LARGE NUMBER OF INJURIES AND DEATHS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE. THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS INVOLVED IN THESE UNLAWFUL ACTS.

Arson

- 102 Several cases of arson committed by the police in the Orange Free State were reported to the Commission. Attacks were made on the homes of activists and their sympathisers, often to 'teach them a lesson'. In June 1986, Mr Tumelo Molosioa's house in Mangaung was burnt down by unknown police officers because his father had helped the families of political activists [KZN/SMB/013/BL]. In 1987, Ms Winnie Mandela's house in Brandfort was gutted in an arson attack, along with the clinic on the same premises (see above).
- 103 Statements indicate that police arsonists were usually identified as such and did not go to great lengths to conceal their identity while involved in such attacks or in their support of arson attacks by vigilante groups. In September 1987, however, police burned down Mr Isaac Modise's house in Tumahole with the alleged intention of implicating a certain activist, Mr Mkhonzi, whom they wanted to arrest. Modise refused to pretend that Mkhonzi was the perpetrator of the arson attack on his home [KZN/MP/031/BL]. Modise told the Commission that he was severely beaten by the police during this incident.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UNKNOWN MEMBERS OF THE SAP WERE INVOLVED IN UNLAWFUL ARSON ATTACKS ON THE HOUSES AND PROPERTY OF INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES SYMPATHETIC TO THE UDF, AS A MEANS OF EXERTING PRESSURE AND INSTILLING FEAR INTO LOCAL COMMUNITIES.

Cross-border activities

- 104 Refugees and exiles living in Lesotho continued to be subjected to surveillance and attacks by sections of the South African security forces during the mid- to late eighties. In December 1985, six South Africans and three Lesotho nationals were killed in an armed raid on two houses in Maseru. The attack was conducted by members of the Vlakplaas C-Section, led by Colonel Eugene de Kock. Details of the attack appear in Volume Two of the Commission's report.
- 105 Reports were received of skirmishes between the security forces and MK operatives in QwaQwa and along the Orange Free State border with Lesotho. Several cases of abduction and kidnapping of exiles in Lesotho were also reported.

Homeland security forces

- 106 Both the SAP and the QwaQwa Police were deployed in stations around the small homeland, sometimes undertaking joint operations. The Tseki police station at

Witsieshoek was a case in point. Officers from the SAP and the QwaQwa Police allegedly worked together to detain, harass and assault activists from community organisations, particularly those questioning the pre-eminence of the ruling DNP in the homeland's political affairs. Some victims report having been made financial offers to resign from their organisations and to work for the police instead.

- 107 Through reports made to the Commission, the emerging picture of the activities of both forces in the homeland is one of a common commitment to upholding the laws and policies of the apartheid state, to safeguarding the interests of the DNP, and to crushing any form of dissension with a heavy hand.
- 108 Police developed a reputation for dealing extremely brutally with criminal suspects and political activists. Individuals were often arrested, assaulted and tortured before the evidence of their involvement in particular incidents could be reasonably established and before suspects could be brought before due process of law. Electric shocks to the genitals appear to have been a commonplace method of torture.
- 109 Units of both the Bophuthatswana Defence Force and the Bophuthatswana Police Force were posted to Thaba'Nchu. Statements made to the Commission about their activities show that both forces worked closely with their South African counterparts in suppressing all opposition to apartheid. The behaviour of the Bophuthatswana armed forces stationed at Thaba'Nchu echoed incidents commonly associated with the SAP, such as detention without trial (though prohibited by the Bophuthatswana Bill of Rights), torture, harassment of political activists, intimidation of mourners at funerals, and violent clashes with protesters.
- 110 Most reports implicating the Bophuthatswana Police relate to brutality against members of the UDF or ANC.

IN RESPECT OF THE HOMELAND SECURITY FORCES, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE BOPHUTHATSWANA POLICE POSTED TO THABA'NCHU WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR ROUTINE ACTS OF HARASSMENT, ASSAULT AND TORTURE OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS, AND ACTED IN CONCERT WITH THE SAP IN ITS EFFORTS TO SUPPRESS ALL OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE QWAQWA POLICE FORCE CARRIED OUT ITS DUTIES IN A BIASED MANNER, THAT IT OVERTLY SUPPORTED THE DNP, AND THAT IT ROUTINELY ENGAGED IN ASSAULT AND TORTURE OF THOSE WHOM IT PERCEIVED AS OPPONENTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. FOR THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS COMMITTED THROUGH THESE UNLAWFUL ACTS, THE SAP AND THE BOPHUTHATSWANA POLICE ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

- 111 In 1989, considerable tensions existed between the UDF/ANC groups and the DNP in the township of Botshabelo. The Commission received various reports of arson attacks on the homes of DNP members and of threatening behaviour by 'comrades' towards local councillors, homeland government members and party members. These incidents were to develop into serious clashes between the opposing groups.
- 112 QwaQwa MP Paki Marake, a DNP member, had his house burnt down by unknown people in August 1987 and petrol-bombed again in June 1990. He told the Commission that he believed he had been targeted because of his refusal to join the ANC [KZN/ZJ/090/BL]. Winburg councillor and DNP member Makholela Molaoa had his house destroyed in a fire on 30 March 1990 [KZN/ZJ/155/FS].
- 113 The Commission received further reports of arson attacks on the homes and property of town councillors. Victims reported that the attacks related to their refusal to resign their positions on councils and were part of a sustained campaign to force them to do so. In attacks such as these, perpetrators could not always be clearly identified.
- IN RESPECT OF THE ARSON ATTACKS ON THE HOUSES AND PROPERTY OF MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE DNP, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UNKNOWN PERSONS, AFFILIATED TO OR IN SUPPORT OF ORGANISATIONS OPPOSED TO THE DNP, ENGAGED IN UNLAWFUL CRIMINAL ACTS ARISING OUT OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE AND CONSTITUTING GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.**
- 114 The attempt by various authorities to incorporate Botshabelo into QwaQwa (see above) set off a series of student protests followed by incidents of violence and rioting. Buses were damaged and a schoolteacher who tried to prevent pupils from demonstrating was stabbed. Authorities deployed a large contingent of special constables in the area and arrested a number of students.
- 115 During the time that Botshabelo was incorporated into QwaQwa, pending the result of the State President's appeal to the Supreme Court, Botshabelo residents launched mass protests. On 1 October 1989, more than 50,000 people protested in the streets of Botshabelo against incorporation.
- 116 Ms Malefu Miriam Phole told the Commission that she was shot by police while participating in an ANC march from Botshabelo to Bloemfontein on 15 February 1990 to protest against the incorporation. The police halted the marchers at a

roadblock and opened fire. Many protesters were injured in the shooting. Phole, aged fifteen at the time, was shot in the face and lost an eye as a result. She told the Commission that police followed the wounded to the Pelonomi hospital and made arrests. She never brought charges against the police in connection with the shooting incident for fear of police harassment or arrest if she did [KZN/ ZJ/094/BL].

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UNKNOWN MEMBERS OF THE SAP USED UNJUSTIFIED DEADLY FORCE AND COMMITTED GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ON 15 FEBRUARY 1990 WHEN THEY OPENED FIRE ON MARCHERS AT BOTSHABELO.

Contra-mobilisation and vigilantes

- 117 In 1984, councils and councillors became targets of opposition and sometimes violent attack by militant youths in Orange Free State townships. The UDF and its affiliates began to demand that councillors resign from and reject the system, which they saw as a poor substitute for full political rights for black South Africans. Orange/Vaal industrial triangle townships like Zamdela (Sasolburg) became sites of major protest during the second half of 1984. These protests gradually filtered into other towns and the province began to witness a number of attacks, some fatal, on councillors and their property.
- 118 The Commission has also received evidence of councillors spearheading attacks on their opponents, sometimes drawing together an informal vigilante group charged with the task of 'cleaning up' areas that were known for their opposition to the system of local government.
- 119 A considerable number of black councillors resigned in 1985, many of them evidently in response to or fear of violent attack. Other reasons cited by councillors included family pressure, lack of protection by the government, ill health, lack of progress and a realisation that the councils were ineffective. When, after his supermarket and butchery had been gutted and broken into, Tumahole community councillor Daniel Hlalele announced his resignation in July 1984, the UDF hailed his resignation as a "courageous and bold step".
- 120 As attacks on councillors increased, so did pre-emptive and retaliatory attacks on activists who were thought to be behind the boycott of rent and service charges and the destruction of the local authorities' property. Allegations of shootings by councillors themselves were also received by the Commission.

- 121 By January 1985, sixteen town councils across the country announced that they would set up municipal police forces to work in tandem with the police to safeguard residents, to protect municipal property and to enforce regulations and by-laws enacted by councils. These forces became known as the 'blou' or 'blue flies' because of the colour of their uniform.
- 122 From 1984, municipal police – trained, supervised and paid by the SAP – were assigned to work under black local authorities in townships around the country to protect council property, prevent and investigate crime and maintain law and order. Although they were not given extra powers in a state of emergency, they were empowered by the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 to do whatever was deemed necessary to restore law and order in an emergency.

The case of Manko Tsie

The Commission heard that, in January 1986, Mr Manko Joseph Tsie was coming home from work in Welkom when he was accosted by a municipal policeman, accused of stone-throwing and shot at close range. Incidents of stone throwing at local authority buildings were on the increase at the time. Tsie survived the attack [KZN/GM/047/WE].

- 123 Following increasing concern among government officials and other security forces about the rising number of municipal police involved in criminal activities, municipal police finally came under the control of the SAP in November 1988.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE MUNICIPAL POLICE FORCES ESTABLISHED BY BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES WERE POORLY TRAINED AND RESORTED READILY TO ILLEGAL ACTS IN THE CARRYING OUT OF THEIR DUTIES, WHICH INCLUDED THE ASSAULT AND KILLING OF MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC, CONSTITUTING GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

- 124 Vigilante groups proliferated in the Orange Free State from 1985. The Commission heard that individual councillors were responsible for setting up some of these groups because they felt themselves to be under attack from militant township youth. In some cases, councillors were actively involved in vigilante actions, supplying arms and participating personally in attacks on township residents and activists thought to be aligned with the UDF. The Commission heard that some vigilante groups were set up by members of the security forces, under the instruction of senior security police officers.
- 125 The *Phakathi* group emerged in April/May 1985 in the township of Thabong, outside Welkom in the northern Orange Free State. Initially named after its leader,

councillor Albert Phakathi, (now deceased), the group later became known as the A-Team, after the popular American television programme. Several community councillors, including Phakathi and the mayor, Dr E B Tlali, were alleged to be part of the gang. Council property was used in its mission to 'clean up' organised resistance to apartheid. Other members of the gang were alleged to be jobless locals and Zulus recruited from outside the community. In the year before the emergence of the *Phakathis*, Thabong had become the scene of a wave of student protest, developing into arson, stoning, and violent confrontation with the police. The *Phakathis* established a reign of terror in Thabong, meting out arbitrary assaults and severe floggings to residents.

- 126 By May 1985, the Phakathi group was being openly supported by members of the SAP and was making use of police and municipal authority facilities. Witnesses reported being taken to Room 29 of the community council's headquarters at the Philip Smit Centre or to the police station, where they were severely assaulted by the gang. In some cases, gang members would deliver their victims into the hands of the local police.

The assault of Thabo Ramatsa

Mr Thabo Ramatsa told the Commission that he was assaulted by the A-Team at his house in Tlali Park, Thabong in March/April 1985. Members of the gang had arrived in a minibus to collect another member, Mr Tlasi Moetupe, who was Ramatsa's neighbour. They stopped when they saw Ramatsa and attacked him, severely injuring him. The perpetrators were apprehended and the victim identified them in a parade. However, they were not charged [KZN/AT/005/FS].

The shooting of Sello Mofokeng

In May 1985, Sello Ephraim Mofokeng (15) was shot dead, allegedly by a councillor operating with the A-Team. Mofokeng and some friends were doing their homework at home when the gang entered the house and chased the boys through a window. The councillor then fired shots at them as they ran up the street, fatally wounding Mofokeng [KZN/MR/240/WE].

Attack on the Sello Mofokeng vigil

A few days later, members of the A-Team allegedly surrounded the house at which a vigil was being held for Sello Mofokeng. In an altercation between gang members and mourners, a member of the A-Team, Mr John Mahula was killed. In retaliation, the gang entered the house by force and beat the

mourners inside with sjamboks, kierries and pangas⁴. Albert Phakathi himself was stabbed several times in the clash.

Witnesses to the incident say that the A-Team then took the victims in a minibus to the Thabong police station where they were praised by Mayor Tlali for work well done. The victims were held overnight and released the next day. They made statements to the Attorney-General's office. A case was held, but no convictions were secured.

Witnesses testifying to the A-Team attack on mourners were Mr Nthabiseng Sepeeane, who was severely beaten [KZN/AT/008/FS], Ms Nkopodi Joyce Melane, who was sjambokked and kicked in the chest [KZN/AT/009/FS], and Mr Thapelo Jacob Bodiba, who was stabbed on the head and in the left eye, resulting in the loss of the eye [KZN/AT/012/FS].

Attacks on the Kasana home

On at least three occasions in 1985, the A-Team attacked the home of Ms Nomosonto Kasana, assaulting members of the family. On one occasion the Kasana sons, Mbuselo, Mafuza and Peter, attacked the gang with pangas, hitting Phakathi in the face. Phakathi then opened fire with a revolver, killing one and injuring another family member. In a later attack, the victims' father, Mr Moffat Kasana, was also severely beaten with a stick [KZN/AT/010/FS].

- 127 Vigilante action surged again in Thabong in 1986, when parents and elders launched a violent attempt to get children back to school. The council, which had by this time set up an official law enforcement unit, was said to be actively organising adults to beat up children.
- 128 At Meloding, Virginia, parents and vigilantes allegedly combined forces early in 1986 to get the children back into schools. Allegations are that pupils were beaten back to school and that surveillance kept on school premises was so close that pupils were at risk of being beaten if they so much as went on errands.
- 129 The vigilante group active in Tumahole (Parys) was also known as the A-Team. It is alleged to have congregated around a certain member of the police force and her family and friends, and to have been closely associated with the local council and councillors. Both aligned and non-aligned members of the public were harassed and assaulted by the A-Team.

⁴ Whips, clubs and large broad-bladed knives (used for cutting cane).

- 130 When the local council imposed rent increases in Tumahole in July 1984, widespread protests resulted. Township residents clashed with civic organisations and the A-Team, supported by the police. Witnesses told the Commission that, in late 1985, vigilantes stoned and burned community leaders' houses and also stoned activists' homes, threatening families and assaulting primary school children. The property of police officers and councillors was also attacked during rent and consumer boycotts.

The attack on David Nhlapo and Lefu Rasego

In November 1985, ANC/UDF member David Sello Nhlapo (17) was attacked by unknown members of the A-Team in Parys. He was stabbed and severely beaten, and his attackers attempted to necklace him. His friend Lefu Rasego was beaten to death in the incident. Nhlapo was rescued by friends [KZN/ZJ/007/FS].

- 131 The Commission heard that the Eagles Youth Clubs were initiated in schools in Mangaung (Bloemfontein) in 1981, under the auspices of the state. By 1985, it was reported that up to fifty-eight branches of the club, with a membership of 16 000, had been established throughout the province. They were controlled by the Orange Free State Administration Boards until 1986, when they were registered as a private organisation and sponsored privately.
- 132 The constitution of the Eagles Youth Club was said to be based on 'Christian National Principles' and pursued its objectives by means of camps offering a variety of activities, including political education. Lectures in political education covered subjects as diverse as Christianity, Communism and the culture and history of the ANC and PAC. Eagles were encouraged to co-operate with state structures, particularly with the police and the SADF, who were described in the courses as 'your friends'. At the same time, members were encouraged to report 'terrorists' to the police and warned against 'people who are trying to tell you bad things about South Africa'. They were told that 'comrades' organisations in townships were part of the 'enemy' and should be neutralised. Eagles members became sources of information concerning the identity of 'comrades' in townships, and were used to monitor the strategies and plans of 'comrades' organisations, particularly around popular events such as the commemoration of 16 June (Soweto Day).
- 133 By 1986, Eagles members had become visible in local communities, identifiable by their yellow-cuffed, green T-shirts sporting an eagle emblem on the left breast and the name of the club on the back. However, the Eagles also became known

in townships as being aligned to the state, and were perceived to be co-operating with the security forces in the targeting of activists.⁵

- 134 Former SAP member Mphithizeli Nelson Ngo told the Amnesty Committee that the Eagles club was formed by members of the Security Branch who recruited students in Brandfort and sent them to the SADF base at Roodewal for courses in intelligence and counter-revolutionary strategies.⁶ Special instruction was given in suppressing student opposition and crushing student bodies in schools – such as Students’ Representative Councils and branches of COSAS – in order to replace them with the prefect system. Teachers were also co-opted and instructed to support the activities of club members in schools. The Eagles, who were also allegedly paid informers for the Security Branch, were protected and armed by the police for activities such as disrupting political meetings in schools and harassing and victimising student leaders.
- 135 Conflict between the Eagles and members of youth organisations began in Brandfort in 1985. The Commission heard that the Eagles would disrupt community meetings convened by youth organisations to discuss concerns such as health facilities, education and rent increases. At the time, Ms Winnie Mandela (see above) had become an important mobilising agent for ‘comrades’ in the area. In one incident, ‘comrades’ who had gathered at her house were attacked by a force of Eagles, backed up by the police. Other townships around the province also experienced conflict between ‘comrades’ and the Eagles clubs, with deaths reported on both sides.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE EAGLES YOUTH CLUB WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE SECURITY BRANCH OF THE SAP AND WAS RESOURCED AND CONTROLLED BY THE STATE IN THE FORM OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE ADMINISTRATION BOARD. THE CLUB WAS ESTABLISHED AS PART OF THE STATE’S PREVAILING COUNTER-MOBILISATION STRATEGY IN TERMS OF WHICH SURROGATE OR ‘MIDDLE’ GROUPINGS WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY WERE IDENTIFIED AS ALLIES OF THE STATE IN ITS ‘TOTAL STRATEGY’ RESPONSE TO CIVIL UNREST.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE CREATION OF GROUPS SUCH AS THE EAGLES, AND THE STATE’S SUPPORT OF OTHER GROUPINGS SUCH AS THE A-TEAM AND THE THREE MILLION GANG, CONTRIBUTED DIRECTLY TO INCIDENTS OF PUBLIC AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND FOSTERED A CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE IN WHICH SUCH UNLAWFUL ACTS COULD TAKE PLACE. THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONNECTED TO THE UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES OF SUCH GROUPS, TOGETHER WITH THE GANGS THAT CARRIED OUT SUCH VIOLATIONS.

- 136 Reports of the activities of the Three Million Gang, which comprised forty-five to fifty members, emanated from various centres in the province, although it

5 Information gleaned from Dr Ian Phillips, Report in mitigation of sentence, State v Sishuba and two others, Supreme Court of South Africa, Orange Free State Division, Bloemfontein, December 1989.

6 Recruits to the Eagles club included Mr Papie Mokalake, Mr Butie Sentso and Mr Search Kotoane.

appears to have operated principally in the Troubou area of Kroonstad. The gang was led by Mr George Diwithi Ramasimong (now deceased) and is said to have originated in the early 1980s with no particular political agenda. According to statements received by the Commission, most incidents involving the gang took place between 1989 and 1992. Criminal incidents were reported from as early as 1984.

- 137 As with the other groups, the activities of the Three Million Gang appear to have been aimed at intimidating and attacking UDF activists and student organisations believed to be involved in campaigns against rents and service charge increases. It is evident that the gang acted in collusion with councillors, police and justice officials.
- 138 According to Mphithizeli Nelson Ngo, the gang was created and supported by the Security Branch on instruction from the highest regional level, as part of its counter-insurgency strategy to neutralise and undermine UDF and ANC-aligned activism in the mid-1980s. He told the Amnesty Committee that the Three Million Gang operated on a part-time basis in Brandfort, reinforcing the operations of other vigilante groupings. Leaders of the various vigilante groups would meet with members of the Security Branch at the Brandfort police station to discuss their strategies and to receive equipment, weapons and money as well as tobacco and alcohol from the police.⁷
- 139 Their *modus operandi* was to attack in groups and to stab their victims.

The murder of Majalefa Mpohohle

On 25 December 1984, Mr Majalefa Aaron Mpohohle was stabbed to death in Kroonstad by members of the gang when he went to the rescue of his cousin who was being threatened with rape. Six gang members were charged for the murder, and were convicted in 1988 [CR 25/12/85; KZN/PJM/012/KRS].

- 140 Affidavits made to the Commission also indicate that the police were involved in creating and supporting the gang and that justice officials, including magistrates and prosecutors, worked to undermine criminal prosecutions against gang members. Testifying before the Amnesty Committee, Mr PM Thulo alleged that a prosecutor in Kroonstad supported the gang and helped them evade prosecution. He said that magistrates deciding cases were guided by the views of prosecutors. Thulo named one magistrate in particular who would be called, together with the prosecutor, specifically to deal with cases involving gang members. Their

⁷ Evidence of MN Ngo before a hearing of the Amnesty Committee in Bloemfontein.

sympathy with the gang frequently ensured that charges against gang members were dropped.⁸ This is corroborated by the evidence of JJ de Ru before the Amnesty Committee. De Ru said that, on the recommendation of the prosecutor, gang leader Diwithi Ramasimong was often discharged from custody whilst being held on serious charges.

- 141 In giving evidence before the Amnesty Committee, MS Taka and FM Taje, the sister of gang leader Diwithi Ramasimong, said that gang members became members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in the 1990s. This was allegedly encouraged by the prosecutor and a member of the SAP, who told gang members that criminal cases against them would be viewed as political if they were IFP members.⁹
- 142 According to PM Thulo, who commanded the ANC SDUs in Kroonstad, a municipal office-bearer assisted the Three Million Gang in a variety of ways. His minibuses were used to transport gang members to an attack on the community of Moakeng and also to ferry gang members to and from town for court appearances.¹⁰ According to police detective JJ de Ru, the Three Million Gang would collect rent and service monies for the council. De Ru claimed that municipal office-bearers supplied gang members with ammunition and paid for their funerals.¹¹
- 143 Allegations were made that police members accompanied the Three Million Gang on operations against the UDF/ANC, that they participated in attacks, provided weaponry and obstructed criminal prosecutions against gang members. In his evidence to the Amnesty Committee, Mr Dennis Bloem of the Bloemfontein branch of the ANC, said:

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

I was present. I was sitting in a car with a certain Mr Touw to see what the police would do. The police chased away these workers, they shot teargas, whilst the Three Million Gang were present amongst the members of the police

8 Evidence of ANC (SDU) amnesty applicant HG Thulo before a hearing of the Amnesty Committee in Kroonstad.

9 Evidence of former Three Million Gang member MS Taka and FM Taje, sister of Ramasimong, to the Amnesty Committee in the application of HG Thulo and others.

10 Evidence of ANC (SDU) amnesty applicant HG Thulo before a hearing of the Amnesty Committee in Kroonstad.

11 Amnesty application of SAP member JJ de Ru, 23 March 1996.

in between the Casspirs so these people were overcome by teargas. I clearly saw that the police did not take any action against the Three Million Gang [who had] weapons [while] these Premier Milling employees were unarmed.

144 Mr Bloem told the Commission's Amnesty Committee that a period of relative calm prevailed from about 1986 to 1990 when Ramasimong was in prison for gang-related activities.¹² In 1992, Ramasimong was himself killed and it is claimed that the activities of the gang diminished following his death. An ANC self-defence unit member, Mr Roland Petrus, was convicted in 1992 for Ramasimong's death.¹³

145 'Anti-comrade' groups proliferated in towns in the province. Mr Mphithizeli Nelson Ngo told the Amnesty Committee that Security Branch headquarters in Bloemfontein mandated Security Police in Brandfort to recruit an 'anti-comrade' group in Brandfort. This was done with the co-operation of a local councillor. It was said that a prison department sergeant recruited convicted criminals from prisons and assumed a leadership position in the group himself. The group's task was to confront political activists from the UDF or civic organisations where they congregated in shebeens and recreational facilities, pick fights with them and plant knives and firearms on the bodies of people who were killed. This was meant to help in the cover-up of the Security Branch's own activities.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP DELIBERATELY ASSISTED, AND IN SOME CASES FOUNDED, VIGILANTE ORGANISATIONS AND ITS MEMBERS ACTIVELY DIRECTED SUCH ORGANISATIONS TO COMMIT CRIMINAL ACTS AGAINST THOSE WHOM THE SAP PERCEIVED TO BE ENEMIES OF THE STATE. FURTHER, POLICE ARE FOUND TO HAVE FAILED TO TAKE ACTION TO PREVENT VIGILANTE ATTACKS ON MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC. THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACCOMPANYING THE UNLAWFUL ACTS OF SUCH VIGILANTE ORGANISATIONS.

Resistance and revolutionary groupings

Sabotage

146 Several sabotage attacks occurred in the province during this period, including

- a the detonation of an explosive device on a railway line near Bloemfontein on 11 March 1983, injuring three passengers;
- b the detonation of a 'thunderflash' in Charles Street, Bloemfontein, on 13 March 1983;

12 Evidence of Dennis Bloem at a hearing of the Amnesty Committee in Kroonstad in respect of the application of ANC SDU member, HG Thulo.

13 Roland Petrus submitted an application to the Amnesty Committee in respect of this killing.

- c the explosion of a parcel bomb at a Bloemfontein café on 14 March 1983;
 - d the detonation of an explosive device under a vehicle, causing damage to buildings in Peet Avenue in Bloemfontein on 23 May 1983;
 - e an explosion on a railway line near Bloemfontein prison on 27 January 1984;
 - f a fatal car bomb explosion in Bloemfontein on 30 June 1984;
 - g explosions at the Transkei Embassy at Botshabelo on 6 April 1984;
 - h an explosion at the Nationalist Party offices in Kroonstad on 4 March 1984;
 - i an explosion in Welkom on 25 August 1985, damaging the Toyota garage;
 - j an explosion on Number 5 shaft of Western Holdings gold mine on 26 August 1985;
 - k an explosion on a street pavement in Odendaalsrus on 26 August 1985;
 - l an explosion on 15 November 1985 near a hotel accommodating the rebel Australian cricket team;
 - m an explosion at Phehello Secondary School Khutloanong, on 17 November 1986;
 - n a limpet mine explosion in Tumahole on 25 October 1988, damaging two houses.
- 147 Orange Free State resident Martin Jacobus Coetzer [KZN/SMB/001/BL] was injured in a landmine explosion at Boshhoek, Volksrust on 10 June 1986.
- 148 On 16 October 1984, Mr Andreas Sejeng of Rocklands, Bloemfontein, appeared in Bloemfontein Magistrate's Court on charges of murder and attempted murder arising out of five explosions in and around Bloemfontein in 1983. Sejeng was also charged with receiving arms training in Lesotho. In April 1985, the Attorney-General instructed the state attorney to stop prosecution against Sejeng on evidence of his severe torture by the Security Branch. Charges were withdrawn and Sejeng was released after almost a year in custody.

- 149 Several alleged ANC and MK operatives were charged during this period for undergoing military, explosives and weapons training and for sabotage-related offences. ANC member Petros Matosa appeared in the Welkom Regional Court, charged with the explosion at Western Holdings in August 1985 and the 15 November 1985 attack directed at the rebel cricket team. On 11 July 1986, Matosa was sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment for his role in these explosions.
- 150 Mr Aboobaker Ismael and Mr Mohammed Shaik have applied for amnesty in connection with several sabotage attacks, some of which occurred in the Orange Free State. In 1984, they caused an explosion on a pylon in Villiers, damaging the pylon and interrupting the power supply to the area. They also set a limpet mine in Kroonstad in the same year, causing damage to property [AM151/97].
- 151 Several arms caches were uncovered by the police. On 9 May 1985, police uncovered an arms cache between Vredefort and Kroonstad – “the biggest ever found” – including thirty-one limpet mines, AK-47 assault rifles, pistols, grenades and ammunition. In January 1986, Brandfort police uncovered two explosive devices buried in a garden. In the same month, explosive devices were discovered in a metal box at the Maseru Bridge border post. On 15 December 1987, a suspected ANC member was killed by his own grenade at a roadblock near Bloemfontein.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ANC MEMBERS CARRIED OUT A NUMBER OF SABOTAGE ACTIONS AGAINST STATE INSTALLATIONS, SOME OF WHICH RESULTED IN GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE ANC IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE. THEY FURTHER DETONATED EXPLOSIVE DEVICES AT SO-CALLED SOFT TARGETS, DELIBERATELY CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE, WHICH CONSTITUTED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE ANC IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

■ 1990–1994

Historical overview

- 152 Conditions in the Orange Free State remained highly charged in the early 1990s. The Commission received reports of ongoing police brutality in the province in relation to public gatherings and demonstrations. Reports of torture and deaths in custody were also received. New kinds of popular militancy proliferated. Examples of this included the rise of the ANC SDUs and the declaration of an offensive on the part of APLA.
- 153 Statements from all sides of the political spectrum at this time convey an impression of significant political and social instability following the February 1990 release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the call to the security forces to make the necessary

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

- 154 The PAC and its military component, APLA, launched the so-called 'One Settler One Bullet' campaign in 1990 and later targeted white farms in a bid to reclaim the land and return it to what the PAC perceived to be its real owners, the African people. The white farming community, the security forces and right-wing organisations rallied to counter this threat.
- 155 Conflict between councillors and activists also intensified during the early 1990s. Councillors who refused to resign risked attacks on their homes and business premises. Increasing numbers did resign, and eventually town councils were no longer able to function. January to July 1990 saw 119 councillors resigning, with a further 139 following suit between August 1990 and September 1991, citing intimidation as the main cause. Only 41 per cent of council seats were occupied at the end of February 1991. The majority of councils no longer had quorums and were being run by administrators. Only twenty-six of the seventy-one were still functioning. In March 1992, the government announced that racially based municipal elections would be suspended pending the establishment of an interim government.
- 156 Vigilante activity persisted during this period, most notably by the Three Million Gang in the Kroonstad area. ANC SDUs were established with the ostensible objective of protecting communities from a variety of perceived threats, some in direct response to the perceived onslaught of vigilante groups.

Overview of violations

- 157 As with the previous period, the majority of reported violations for 1990–94 pertained to violations by the police, most commonly in the form of shooting by the police. The second highest figure was for torture in detention.

- 158 This period saw a significant increase in the number of reported acts of aggression on the part of ANC SDUs, involving shootings, stabbings, arson attacks and assault. Other political groups allegedly involved in human rights abuses in the Orange Free State in this period are the AWB, vigilante groups and, to a small extent, the IFP. Further reports were received of attacks perpetrated against members of the DNP.
- 159 Several witnesses told the Commission that their relatives failed to return from exile when this became possible in the early 1990s. Mr Somahlenga Billy Mokhonoana and Mr Leoatle Ishmael Mahlolo were reported to have died while in exile. Mr Edward Vuyo Charles [KZN/ZJ/014/BL] and Mr Mohale were said to have been killed in the course of MK activity within the country. On the available evidence, the Commission was not able to make findings as to how these people died or who was responsible for their deaths.
- 160 A common feature of the evidence provided by families of those who died in exile is that next of kin were often not given reliable information about the deaths. Conflicting facts and other suspicious details led witnesses to believe that information about the deaths of their loved ones was being withheld or distorted for unknown reasons.

State and allied groupings

Torture in custody

- 161 In the early 1990s, police continued to act forcefully against those thought to be organising and leading rent boycotts and protests against local councils. Many reports of police brutality towards detainees in custody were received, particularly from students, members of labour unions and civic organisations. The Commission heard of a variety of torture methods used to coerce individuals to make statements or to act as state witness in unrest-related court proceedings.

The torture of Moloi Kgotsiesile

Mr Moloi Aaron Kgotsiesile was tortured on 26 August 1990 when he refused to appear as witness for the state concerning conflict at a Sasolburg mine during the course of strike action [KZN/JRW/011/ BL].

The torture of a named community leader

In one case reported to the Commission, a community leader was arrested

in 1990 by the police on suspicion of playing a leading role in a rent boycott in the Clocolan area. He alleges that while he was in custody, he was handcuffed and put into a sack with a cat. Water was poured into the sack and the detainee was injured when the animal panicked and attacked him [KZN/LMR/002/FS].

Deaths in custody

- 162 In the 1990s, people were still dying in Orange Free State police cells. Families of victims claimed that police explanations of the deaths were inadequate and that police were unhelpful, if not obstructive, in pursuing investigations.

The death in detention of Joseph Sello

Ms Alta Matseko Moholo told the Commission that her son, Joseph Sello, was arrested by Bultfontein police officers on 15 June 1993 for the alleged possession of an unlicensed firearm. The following day she was called to the station and asked to sign a document granting permission for her son to be examined by a doctor. When she refused to do this, she was informed that her son had committed suicide in the police cell by hanging himself with his tracksuit.

The police refused her permission to examine the whole body. She found scratches and marks on the neck but was prevented from seeing more. She said she was unaware of any inquest into the death or of criminal charges being brought against the perpetrators [KZN/GM/038/BL].

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE SAP WILFULLY WITHHELD INFORMATION ABOUT THE WELL-BEING OF DETAINEES FROM THEIR FAMILIES IN AN EFFORT TO CONCEAL THEIR OWN INVOLVEMENT IN THE ASSAULT AND TORTURE OF DETAINEES IN CUSTODY. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT MEMBERS OF THE SAP DELIBERATELY OBSTRUCTED INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE DEATHS OF ACTIVISTS, BY PREVENTING FAMILIES FROM VIEWING THE REMAINS OF VICTIMS WHO DIED IN CUSTODY AND BY FAILING TO INFORM FAMILIES OF PROGRESS IN CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS AND INQUEST PROCEEDINGS ARISING FROM THE DEATHS. THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS INVOLVED IN THESE UNLAWFUL ACTS AND OMISSIONS.

- 163 Ex-SAP officer JJ de Ru [AM1780/96] applied for amnesty in respect of the death in January 1991 of Mr M Rampalile (who was being held in connection with the killing of a Mr Shorty Bezuidenhout on the farm 'Vrisgewacht' in June 1990), and for the death in August 1993 of Mr Z Mofokeng, a suspect in the 1993 killing of one Mr Meiring of Kragbron. De Ru's application gives evidence of police culpability in many deaths in custody in the Orange Free State.

The killing of M Rampalile

Mr De Ru told the Committee that he was instructed by a Security Branch officer of the highest rank to investigate the killing of Bezuidenhout. The officer summoned him to the mortuary to view Bezuidenhout's body and said that the perpetrators should not be allowed to live. De Ru and Officer Majafe took Mr Rampalile, who was a suspect in the killing, to point out the murder scene. While doing so, however, the officers created an opportunity for the suspect to escape. As he walked away from them, De Ru drew his service weapon and shot him dead. De Ru said that his action had met with the approval of his senior officers, including the one who had given the instruction for the investigation. He also said that the practice of shooting criminal suspects in the course of murder investigations of this nature was not only accepted informally by police officers, but happened under instruction from commanding officers.

The killing of Z Mofokeng

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

- 164 De Ru was convicted on counts of culpable homicide for the death of Rampalile, and of defeating the ends of justice and murder for the death of Mofokeng. The sentences for these convictions were five, four and thirteen years respectively.
- 165 De Ru told the Committee that he believed that his actions fell within the ambit of his police duties at the time. Although he did not know the political affiliations of his victims at the time of the killings, he heard later that they were members of APLA. He said he believed that, at the time, APLA was targeting aged persons and farmers in their 'One Settler, One Bullet' campaign. He believed the killings must have been politically motivated because, in his opinion, the age of the victims and the particular cruelty of the killings distinguished them from common criminal acts.

Public order policing

- 166 The Commission heard that demonstrating students continued to clash with the police in the main Orange Free State centres during this period. Student and youth organisations were at the forefront of public protest activity. Issues ranged from those that affected them directly, such as school fees and political polarisation in schools, to the broader social concerns of local communities, particularly rent increases and vigilantism.

The shooting and ill treatment of Ishmael Ramtsieng

Members of the KwaKwatsi Youth League reported that police opened fire on them when they were on their way to the court in Koppies on 30 March 1990. Mr Ishmael Molefi Ramtsieng was one of those shot. He told the Commission that he was taken to a doctor who referred him to a hospital for surgery. When he arrived at the Kroonstad hospital, he found police members waiting for him and was beaten and subjected to humiliating treatment by the police while in hospital. He absconded from the hospital after five days [KZN/JRL/015/FS].

- 167 Several accounts were received of a police shooting incident at Viljoenskroon on 19 April 1990.

Police shooting at Viljoenskroon

Students gathered for a march that started at the Thabang High School and headed for the Mhlabateng Primary School in the township. Mr Moorosi Samuel Tsotsotso told the Commission that students had gathered peacefully and were ordered to disperse within five minutes. Before the time was up, a constable fired a shot into the air, causing the marchers to panic. The police then opened fire on the crowd, killing five youths and injuring many others. Tsotsotso sustained serious gunshot injuries in the incident [KZN/MAM/007/FS]. The Commission received two reports of deaths sustained in this incident and two other reports of gunshot injuries.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UNKNOWN MEMBERS OF THE SAP, BY THE UNJUSTIFIED USE OF DEADLY FORCE, CAUSED THE DEATHS OF FIVE YOUTHS AND THE INJURY OF AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN A SHOOTING INCIDENT AT VILJOENSKROON ON 19 APRIL 1990. SUCH ACTS AMOUNT TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEM.

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

The shooting of Ben Enkela, aged five

Ben Kadafie Enkela was five years old when he was shot and injured by police in April 1990 while playing in the yard at his home at Dittlake, Koffiefontein. The police were shooting at youth activists [KZN/JWR/078/FS].

The shooting of Vincent Thihe, aged ten

Vincent Thihe was ten in 1990 when he was shot by police in 1990 outside his home in Dittlake township, Koffiefontein, at the time of school protests. He was eating outside the house when he saw police hippos [armoured personnel carriers] come past. Police opened fire in his direction, injuring him [KZN/JRW/081/FS].

The shooting of Sinah Mosele, aged thirteen

Ms Sinah Mosele Matsie was thirteen when police shot her in the knee in her Senekal home on 11 February 1990. Her grandmother, Ms Adelaide Matsie, and her grandfather were shot in the same incident and were wounded in the thigh and in the hip respectively. The shootings occurred when students engaged in protest action ran into the Matsie house to hide from the police who were pursuing them [KZN/LIT/001/FS].

IN REVIEWING EVIDENCE OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS PERPETRATED BY THE STATE AND ALLIED GROUPS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE DURING THIS PERIOD (1990 – MAY 1994), THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP MADE WIDESPREAD AND ROUTINE USE OF ASSAULT, TORTURE AND EMOTIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ABUSE AS PART OF A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE DIRECTED AGAINST OPPONENTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. IT FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE SAP WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR SEVERAL DEATHS OF DETAINEES WHILST IN CUSTODY. IT FINDS FURTHER THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE SAP WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR WIDESPREAD UNJUSTIFIED USE OF DEADLY FORCE, RESULTING IN INJURY AND DEATH. THESE ARE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE SAP IS HELD RESPONSIBLE.

Contra-mobilisation

- 169 Police continued to act in a heavy-handed manner during public protests against local councils and councillors. On 19 April 1990, residents marched through the township at Viljoenskroon to demand the resignation of councillors. The police ordered them to disperse; they refused and were teargassed. They continued marching and police opened fire into the crowd. Five people were killed and seven injured.
- 170 Some councillors were reported to have taken direct action against the opposition themselves.

The assault of Baili Merae

On 19 August 1990, in Dealesville, Mr Baili Piete Merae (20), vice-president of the Tshwaranganang Youth Congress, was severely assaulted by a local councillor and his family. Merae said that councillors had organised them-

selves into small groups to assault 'comrades' in retaliation for consumer boycotts against councillors' businesses [KZN/JRW/087/FS].

- 171 Councillors and council property continued to be targeted, particularly after councillors allegedly started using vigilantes as rent collectors and to harass and intimidate defaulters.

The assault of Solomon Motlohi

Ms Mathelo Rebecca Motlohi told the Commission that her husband Solomon Ramahas Motlohi (35) was severely beaten by young ANC members in August 1991 in Botshabelo. Motlohi was a rent collector and was targeted because he encouraged people to pay rent during a rent boycott. It is alleged that the youths took him from his office to a house, where he was assaulted. He died on the way to hospital [KZN/TIS/003/BL].

The case of Koki Singonzo

In his statement to the Commission, Mr Koki Simon Singonzo said that his homes, taxis and business were stoned, petrol-bombed and attacked on a regular basis from 1990 to 1993 by members of the Mangaung Civic organisation and ANC because he refused to resign as a councillor. He said that one of his houses was destroyed in 1991 by an arson attack, and property was destroyed at three of his other houses during stone-throwing incidents and a petrol bomb attack in 1992. His three taxis were stoned and burnt in 1992 and, in the same year, customers were intimidated into a boycott of his business activities. The collapse in business led to the repossession of his supermarket and considerable personal losses [KZN/MT/015/BL].

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UNKNOWN MEMBERS OF THE ANC AND OF THE UDF WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PERPETRATION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ARISING FROM A LACK OF POLITICAL TOLERANCE. SUCH ABUSES INCLUDED ARSON ATTACKS, SEVERE ASSAULT, KILLING AND ATTEMPTED KILLING OF INDIVIDUAL TOWN COUNCILLORS AND MEMBERS OF OPPOSING POLITICAL PARTIES. THESE ACTS WERE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE ANC AND UDF ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

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

The killing of Tabbello Mokoane

On 1 December 1991, ANC member Mr Tabbello Clement Mokoane was killed by Three Million Gang members. When his aunt went to collect his death certificate, gang members accosted her, forced her to hand over her house keys, and occupied her house [KZN/TDM/005/KRS].

The dismissal of SAP officer Petros Mzosane

In Kroonstad, SAP officer Petros Mzosane was dismissed after being accused of colluding with the community against the police. Mzosane was investigating offences committed by the gang and was particularly disturbed by the fact that gang members were frequently acquitted when they were brought to court.

He alleged that police members received specific instructions from the station commander to assist gang members with transport in police vans when they needed to make appearances in court. On questioning the partisan role of the police in these matters, he was eventually dismissed from the force [KZN/MBL/005/KRS].

- 173 From 1990, Kroonstad ANC Youth League members formed small SDUs to protect the community against attacks by the Three Million Gang. ANC Youth League member P M Thulo was the founder of the SDUs in Kroonstad and became the general commander of three SDU cells. In Gelukwaarts (Kroonstad), the SDUs formed a gang known as the 'witdoeke'. Other related gangs included the Canada Gang and the *Tsekelekwas*.¹⁴

Resistance and revolutionary groupings

Sabotage

- 174 Several sabotage attacks occurred in the province during this period, including a grenade explosion at a Botshabelo police station on 17 January 1992 and an armed attack by MK on police near Bethlehem on 2 April 1992, killing one policeman and injuring one other.
- 175 Several alleged ANC and MK operatives were charged for sabotage-related offences during this period.

¹⁴ See also ANC SDUs below.

APLA attacks

- 176 In 1989, the PAC and its military component, APLA, designated 1990 as the 'Year of the People's Offensive' and launched the so-called 'One Settler One Bullet' campaign. PAC leader and APLA Commander Sabelo Phama ordered the military exercise known as 'Operation Great Storm' to reclaim the land from white farmers and return it to the African people. Instructions were given to attack farmers and to appropriate items, such as firearms and clothes, which could be used to further the aims of the movement or to assist disadvantaged people. The operation was said to be a joint venture of PAC and a special APLA task force.
- 177 In some instances, APLA members engaged in armed robberies. Amnesty applicants claimed that armed robberies were committed on the instructions of the APLA command as part of the work of APLA 'repossession units', to raise funds and/or obtain weapons and vehicles to enable APLA to carry out its military strategy. Many such robberies involved the killing of civilians. One person was killed in an attack on Checkers supermarket in Bloemfontein on 3 March 1992.
- 178 Civilians died and weapons and vehicles were stolen in a number of attacks carried out on farms as part of 'Operation Great Storm' during this period. Attacks were particularly frequent in the Orange Free State, amongst them:
- a The attack on Wesselsdal farm, Vanstadensrus, Wepener, on 25 July 1993 in which Mr Johnny Smith was killed and his wife Rene was injured.
 - b
The attack on Boonzaaier's farm at Virginia on 12 February 1989, in which Mr Johannes Hermanus Boonzaaier was fatally shot, his wife Mercia was assaulted and they were robbed of their *bakkie*.¹⁵
 - c The attack on the Van Tonder farmhouse in Bloemfontein on 10 February 1991, in which members of the family were attacked and killed, and money, arms and a car were stolen.
 - d The killing of Mr Fanie Smith in Bethlehem on 18 March 1992.
 - e The injury of several people in a petrol bomb and grenade attack on a house in Ficksburg on 10 December 1992.

¹⁵ A *bakkie* is a light truck or van with a cabin and an open back.

- f The burning down of a house in Fouriesburg on 10 October 1992. The owner, Mr Edmund Middleton, was shot at on 7 August 1993 [JB06470/99OVE].
- g The attack on one Mr van Schalkwyk in Heilbron on 14 July 1992, in which the victim was shot and robbed.
- h The fatal shooting of Mr Abraham Prinsloo, AWB member from Senekal, on 2 February 1993.

The killing of RJ Fourie

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

On 12 February 1992, Fourie and a companion, a Ms May, were returning to his farm from town when the vehicle in which they were travelling was ambushed as Fourie stopped at his farm to open the gate. Fourie was shot dead. Ms May was forced to take the perpetrators to the farm house where they took various items. Leeuw told the Amnesty Committee that Ms May was not killed because she was not a target. He said that she had been beaten to show her what would happen to those who assisted the apartheid regime.

Leeuw said that the instruction had been received from an APLA commander, Mr John Showa (deceased), who was also commander of a task force set up as a separate APLA unit and given specific duties to carry out.

During the amnesty hearing, Fourie's counsel argued that the motive for the events was indeed political. However, Committee members pointed out that the deceased was not anonymous, but known to two of the applicants, both of whom apparently had a grievance with him. This clouded the issue of personal and political motivations for the attack. Leeuw told the Committee that Fourie was attacked because he was an army or police reservist. Mr Mishek May told the Committee that Leeuw had identified the target to his accomplices without giving them any other information about him until after the killing. Had he known of the personal animosity between Leeuw and Fourie, May claimed, he would not have agreed to the killing.

- 179 In 1993, the Goldstone Commission of Enquiry heard that APLA had 120 trained members inside the country and up to 2 700 members outside. The Commission found that APLA was responsible for thirty-four attacks nationally, resulting in

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

- 180 In March 1993, two APLA members, Mr John May and Mr William Mxhoshana, were convicted of attempted murder, the malicious destruction of property and the possession of illegal weapons in the December 1991 hand grenade attack on the Batho police station in Bloemfontein.
- 181 In January 1994, PAC president Clarence Makwethu announced that the organisation had suspended the armed struggle of its military wing, APLA, and although the country witnessed a spate of incidents perpetrated by APLA dissidents, arrangements were made for the integration for APLA cadres into the national defence force.

Attacks on the PAC

- 182 The Commission received a number of reports from PAC members in the Orange Free State who said they had been the targets of attack by the security forces or by the ANC/UDF.

The attack on the home of Joang Likotsi

On 25 May 1993, police allegedly used force to enter the Botshabelo home of PAC member Joang Johannes Likotsi (66) while he and his family were asleep. The family was beaten with guns and their belongings destroyed. Likotsi's son, Thomas Likotsi, was taken to the PAC offices, which were searched. The son was then locked in the offices. The family did not lay charges for fear of reprisals [KZN/ZJ/085/BL].

The case of Isaac Mqayana and others

PAC member Isaac Madodana Mqayana was stabbed by an ANC member at his Botshabelo home in July 1992 after an argument. ANC members followed the victim to his home and attacked him. He retaliated, stabbing his attacker to death.

In his statement to the Commission, the victim's father, Mr Mpitizeli Mqayana, said that his son turned himself over to the police and was released after due process.

On the day of Isaac's release, 17 July 1992, ANC 'comrades' set fire to the Mqayana home. Ms Martha Mannini Mqayana (56) sustained fatal burns in the fire and another son, Mr David Zolisele Mqayana (41) was killed by ANC

'comrades' while trying to put out the fire.

*Isaac Mqayana was killed at his mother's funeral a few days later
[KZN/JRW/104/BL].*

ANC self-defence units

- 183 ANC SDUs emerged in various townships around the Orange Free State in the early 1990s. The Commission heard that, while these units were created by higher commands in the ANC and MK at a national level, they enjoyed a fair degree of autonomy at local level. Their perceived role was to patrol and protect communities from the attacks of vigilante groups and other political foes. The Commission heard that many units came to operate like small private armies, controlled by prominent individuals and seeking to further their own political agendas.
- 184 The great majority of the reported incidents of aggression by SDUs relate to arson attacks on homes. Reports of assault and killing were also received. Consumer boycotts, rent boycotts, labour stay aways, campaigns for the resignation of councillors and school protests have all been cited as contexts in which SDU abuses occurred. The Commission heard that SDUs played a role in enforcing the decisions of community organisations, as happened in the campaign to force Councillors Morgan and Susan Phelane to resign from the Brandfort local council:

The case of the Phelane Family

Mr Jack Menera, who has applied for amnesty for the killing of Councillor Susan Phelane, told the Committee that in 1990, UDF/ANC activists in Brandfort summoned councillors to a meeting and asked them to resign their positions. Councillors Morgan and Susan Phelane did not attend the meeting. A decision was taken to vandalise Mr Phelane's shop and to boycott all his business activities. In response, Phelane allegedly formed a gang to counter these attacks. The gang is claimed to have enjoyed the support both of Inkatha members and police.

Menera said that an underground structure of the SDU took a decision to kill the Phelanes and their 'gangsters'. In 1990, Ms Phelane was hacked to death in the shop, their eleven-year-old son Patrick stabbed and the shop set alight. The couple's other son, Mr Edward Phelane, was also brutally stabbed and his car was burnt.

- 185 SDUs in the Orange Free State appear to have been numerous, usually small in size and of informal constitution. Small groups within an ANC structure like the Youth League could therefore be confused with SDUs, as could certain ANC youth gangs known for their thuggery in the townships. A few cases presented to the Commission describe ANC aggression in the context of conflict between rival branches of the ANC and other UDF/ANC affiliate organisations.

The case of Leaooa Shuping

Mr Leaooa Paul Shuping (17) was shot on 28 March 1992 in Church Street, Bloemfontein by the ANC-aligned '21-Jump Street Gang' [KZN/MOL/019/BL]. He is now disabled as a result of the shooting. His father Abram Bosaeletse Shuping and brother Abel Goitsimodimo Shuping were shot dead in the same incident, apparently for resisting the gang's offensive against dissenting ANC/SANCO members [KZN/JRW/111/BL].

- 186 The Amnesty Committee heard details of the SDU-related killing of a Mr Plaatjies at Tumahole (Parys) in 1993. The case illustrates the complex interaction of events in which ill-judged and impulsive gang activity could lead loss of life.

The case of Mr Plaatjies

Mr WO Thoabala told the Amnesty Committee that he was drawn into a Tumahole SDU by Mr Benjamin Cholota on his return from exile in 1993. Cholota said, following a call by Mr Chris Hani for the enemy to be disarmed, the SDU would conduct searches and disarm police or gang members. On one occasion, Thoabala and Cholota entered a tavern at Tumahole with the objective of conducting such a search. Here they entered into a disagreement with one Mr Plaatjies (who had been identified as allegedly having killed 'comrade' Papi Qwaka).

Later Cholota and Thoabala accosted Mr Phule William Moalosi, whom they knew to be a prison warder and thought to be in possession of a firearm. Moalosi refused to be searched by the men and a fight allegedly broke out, also involving Plaatjies, who was allegedly bashed on the head with a brick.

Moalosi escaped from the scene. He later returned to the tavern, this time armed. A shooting incident ensued, in which Moalosi believed he had hit Thoabala. It transpired that he had shot and killed Plaatjies, a man with whom he had no quarrel.

Moalosi gave himself up to police and was later convicted of Plaatjies' killing. Cholota was convicted of attempted murder of Plaatjies and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

The Amnesty Committee approved the three applications for amnesty in respect of the death of Plaatjies.

- 187 In the ANC's submission to the Commission, Mr Thabo Mbeki said that the SDU groups were controlled by communities themselves, not by ANC headquarters. In some instances, the ANC admitted, things did go wrong.

The mob killing in Mshenguville

Another incident in which 'things went wrong' took place on 29 September 1990 at Mshenguville in Kutlwanong (Odendaalsrus). Four white people were brutally killed by a mob, led in its attack by ANC 'comrades'.

Amnesty applicant Philip Matela Dintwe (33), one of those convicted for the killings [AM1504/96], told the Amnesty Committee of a township patrol undertaken in response to rumours of an intended attack by vigilantes or right-wingers. At a meeting to plan the patrol, local secretary Mr Manong, who was chairing the meeting, called on 'comrades' to protect themselves and the community.

Mr Dintwe said he came upon a group of people assaulting four white people, three men and one woman, and joined in, using an iron rod. He alleged that between 500 and 600 people were involved in the attack. The woman was taken aside and raped, and her breast was cut off. All four victims died.

In the trial, the court heard that Dintwe himself had mutilated the woman with an axe. The court heard also that he had, in fact, ordered the killings. Dintwe argued that the purpose had been to prevent attack and to secure the safety of the public of Kutlwanong.

No evidence existed that the four whites involved posed any real threat to the community. The court heard that they had ventured into the township in search of alcohol. Dintwe could not explain to the Amnesty Committee why a mob of 500 was needed to defend the community against four people. Manong and local civic organisations distanced themselves from the killing.

Amnesty applicant, Mr Philip Matela Dintwe was refused amnesty for his part in the attack. Three other applicants were also denied amnesty: Mr

Thami Hlobo [AM1009/96], Mr Jeremia Monare Moika [am1349/96] and Mr Justice Sekgopa [AM0032/96].

Attacks on collaborators

- 188 Several reports of necklacing in the Orange Free State were received. In some cases, motives for the attack were not evident. Ms Ntombizodwa Victoria Ngcana (21), an ANC member, was abducted and killed by burning by 'comrades' in Brandfort on 12 July 1990 [KZN/JRW/100/FS]. ANC member Elias Zamani Khathaza died after being necklaced on 20 July 1990 at Lusaka, an informal settlement outside Theunissen [KZN/TIS/023/BL].
- 189 In two other reported cases, known and suspected members of the police force, or their family members, were targeted for necklace killings.

The case of Olifant Msawuli

Mr Jacob Msawuli told the Commission that his father, Mr Olifant Msawuli (57), was burnt to death by 'comrades' in November 1992. He was targeted because 'comrades' accused his son Jacob of being a police officer.

They took him to a hall in Koppies where they tied his hands and poured burning liquid plastic over his head. They then pulled his fingernails out with pliers before dousing him with petrol and setting him alight.

The four perpetrators were sentenced to twenty-five years each [KZN/TIS/032/BL].

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UDF AND ANC MEMBERS, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF ANC SDUS, PERPETRATED GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WHICH RESULTED IN THE INJURY AND DEATHS OF PERSONS PERCEIVED TO BE COLLABORATORS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND OF PERSONS HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT BODIES.

Civilian right wing, white farmers and the police

- 190 Among the identifiable right-wing groups active in the Orange Free State during this period was a group known as *Toekomsgesprek*¹⁶, an organisation established in opposition to the NP and *Broederbond*. The group was responsible for various sabotage and arson attacks on NP offices. Members of the *Broederbond* were also targeted for attack in an attempt to pressurise them to resign and to oust them from agricultural and municipal organisations.

¹⁶ Meaning discussion or conversation about the future.

- 191 According to Mr Daniel Benjamin Snyders, a member of *Toekomsgesprek*, the organisation set fire to the offices of a Frankfort attorney who had represented black people against white business people during a strike at Vryheid [AM9974/96].
- 192 Right-wing attacks reported to the Commission included racial incidents, attacks by the AWB, by white farmers and by the police. The latter were sometimes alleged to be AWB members themselves, or colluding with AWB members and white farmers. The AWB announced that it would mobilise its ranks in retaliation for the 'One Settler, One Bullet' campaign. Random racial attacks were reported to the Commission in which, for example, ordinary members of the public were accosted on the street and assaulted. The Thaba'Nchu road, in particular, was alleged to be the scene of random attacks on blacks.
- 193 Mr Samuel Chobane Papala reported that three men, allegedly AWB members, abducted him in Hoopstad in 1993 while he was walking in the street wearing an ANC flag. They put him into a *bakkie* [van] and sat on top of him so that he could not see what was happening. He was assaulted, hit with a gun butt and kicked. He was then locked in a garage from which he managed to escape. The attackers were not identified [KZN/BEN/001/FS].

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF CIVILIAN RIGHT-WING GROUPS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR SEVERAL RACIAL ATTACKS ON BLACK PEOPLE IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE. THESE ATTACKS FREQUENTLY LED TO INJURIES AND DEATHS OF THE VICTIMS AND CONSTITUTE A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

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

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

197 Little villages like Vierfontein and possibly Kragbron were bought up by the farming community as safe settlements for elderly Afrikaners, often retired farmers. Security arrangements were tight, with residents and police taking special safety measures. Even these communities were targeted for attack.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE INJURIES AND DEATHS CAUSED BY APLA MEMBERS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE PROVINCE BETWEEN 1990 AND APRIL 1994 WERE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE DELIBERATE ACTIONS OF APLA MEMBERS ACTING WITHIN THE MANDATE OF THE PAC’S POLICIES. APLA AND THE PAC ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS.

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

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

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

The case of Jonas Mathe

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

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

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT VIOLATIONS WERE PERPETRATED AGAINST INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE ANC BY THE SAP AND MEMBERS OF OPPOSING POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS WERE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE SAP IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Police farms

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

Regional Profile

Western Cape

■ OVERVIEW OF THE REGION

- 1 The region referred to as the western Cape for the purposes of this report comprises the western part of the old Cape Province – that is, the areas now covered by the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces. In the past, the northern regions contained some of the larger fragments of the ‘independent state’ of Bophuthatswana. The region has international borders with Namibia and Botswana. For the remainder of this chapter, the term ‘western Cape’ is used to include what is now the Northern Cape, unless otherwise specified.

The Western Cape province

- 2 According to the 1995 government statistics, the province now known as the Western Cape has a population of 3.7 million people, comprising 9 per cent of South Africa’s total population. The major languages are Afrikaans (62.5 per cent home language), English (20 per cent) and Xhosa (15.3 per cent). The 1995 figures also reveal that the majority population group in the region is coloured (at 57.1 per cent), followed by white (23.8 per cent) and African (18.2 per cent). Relatively few Asians are present in the province (0.9 per cent). The Western Cape has the second highest degree of urbanisation (86.5 per cent) of all provinces. While it has the highest Human Development Index (HDI) in the country, the region is marked by extreme inequalities. Three sub-regions can be distinguished, namely the Cape Peninsula, Boland and surrounds, and Southern Cape.
- 3 Around 68 per cent of the population of the province (2.5 million people) live in the Cape Peninsula area. There is little heavy industry, mainly light industries such as garments, textiles (employing over half a million) and food processing with small factories. Only 57 per cent of the labour force is engaged in the formal sector; the remainder work in the informal sector, or are self- or unemployed.

- 4 The Boland and surrounding areas include the Breede River area, the winelands, the Overberg and the West Coast. The Breede River area consists of rural farmlands and agricultural towns of which Paarl and Worcester are the largest.
- 5 The main towns in the Southern Cape are George, Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn and Beaufort West. The region includes the Little Karoo and the Central Karoo. A substantial migration of coloured families out of the Karoo desert to urban areas has led to a population decline in Karoo towns.

The Northern Cape province

- 6 The Northern Cape is the largest province in the country and also the most sparsely populated, comprising 1.8 per cent of the total South African population. The main home languages are Afrikaans (65 per cent) and Setswana (22 per cent). The annual population growth rate lies far below the South African average, indicating a steady outflow of people. Like the Western Cape, the majority population group is coloured (53.5 per cent), followed by African (29.9 per cent), white (16.3 per cent) and Asian (0.3 per cent).
- 7 The major city is Kimberley; larger towns are Upington and De Aar. The main economic activities are mining (diamonds, asbestos, copper) and farming, mainly cattle and maize. Industrial and commercial activity is limited to areas around Kimberley, Kuruman, Sishen and Postmasburg. Migrant labour comes mainly from the former Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei. The largest African settlement in the province is Galeshewe near Kimberley, accommodating almost half the African population of the Northern Cape.
- 8 The Northern Cape has a long history of land dispossession and forced removals. Africans were removed mainly to Bophuthatswana, often making way for South African Defence Force (SADF) military camps. Later in the 1980s, independent communal farming settlements such as Leliefontein, Steinkopf and Richtersveld in Namaqualand were privatised by the House of Representatives, leading to impoverishment and protest.

Socio-political features

- 9 Five features distinguish the political and social terrain of both Western and Northern Cape from the rest of the country:
 - a a distinct formulation of apartheid policy declaring the Cape a 'coloured labour preference area';

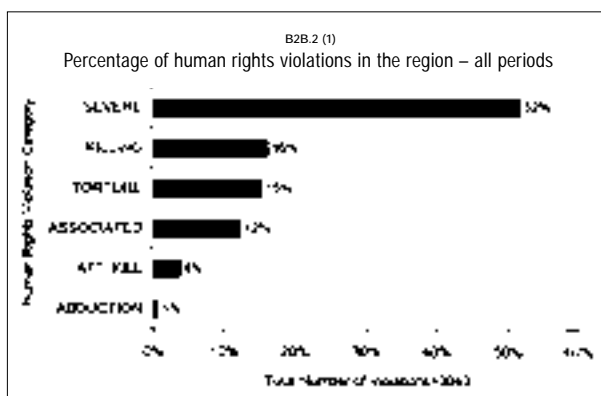
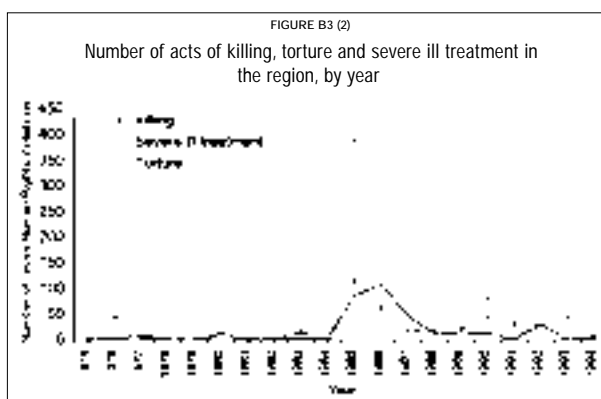
- a unique demographic profile with a coloured majority and an African minority;
 - c extreme social and spatial engineering through the Group Areas Act;
 - d significant divisions amongst Africans between rural migrants and urban residents;
 - e an historical diversity of political groupings and ideological approaches.
- 10 As elsewhere in the country, organisations and protests were silenced in the 1960s. The 1970s saw the emergence of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and associated Black Consciousness activity amongst African and coloured students alike in the Western Cape. The 1976 revolt and the 1980s' school protests showed unprecedented militancy amongst coloured people and solidarity with Africans, with a high number of deaths and injuries.
 - 11 Specific issues such as the red meat strike, the Fattis and Monis strike and the bus and school boycotts provided the impetus for organisational development and the focus for organisational activities from the early 1980s. Many such organisations made up the core of affiliates for the United Democratic Front (UDF), launched in Cape Town in 1983, giving momentum to the explosion of resistance in the Western Cape in the latter half of 1985. Both protest and repression became violent, and affected coloured as well as African areas. During 1986 the violence was focused on the tension between pro-government squatter leaders and those aligned to the liberation movements. In 1989 the Western Cape played a leading role in the Defiance Campaign and initiated support for the hunger-striking detainees and prisoners, leading to increased repression.
 - 12 After the unbanning of organisations in 1990, local communities, particularly in Khayelitsha, the Boland and the Northern Cape, began protests against conservative local authorities. Shadowy 'balaclava' gangs, renegade self-defence units (SDUs) and warring taxi groupings left a trail of killings in the African areas.

Overview of violations

Violations reported

- 13 Of all submissions to the Commission received nationally from victims alleging gross violations of human rights, only 8.4 per cent per cent were from the western Cape.

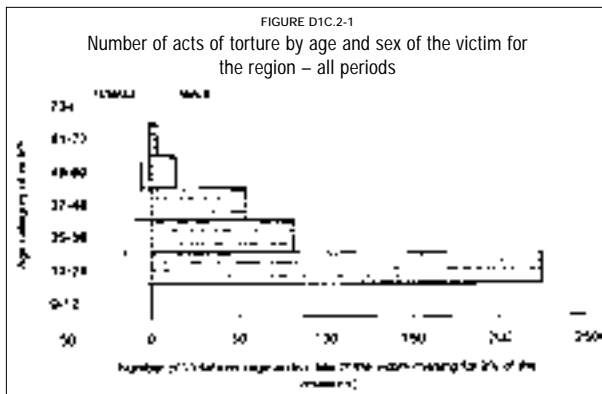
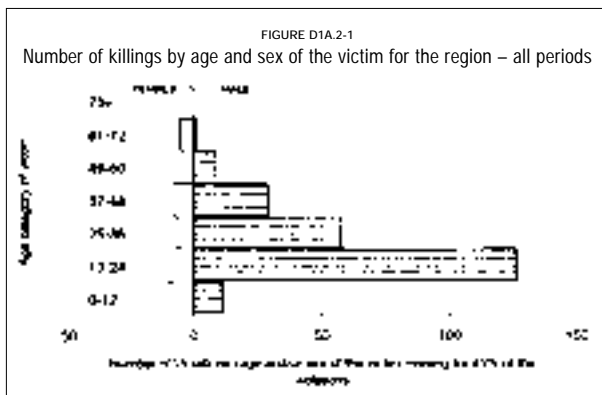
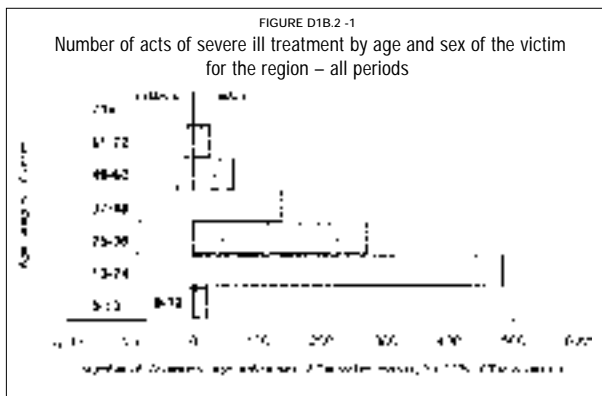
- 14 Most (57 per cent) of the deponents in this region were male. Male deponents tended to talk about violations that happened to themselves, whereas female deponents much more frequently spoke about others. Statistics show that 36 per cent of women deponents were the primary victims in their submissions, whereas 72 per cent of male deponents spoke of themselves as victims.
- 15 The average age of deponents in the Western Cape is estimated at forty-one years. Female deponents were generally older than male deponents, averages being forty-seven and thirty-nine years respectively. This reflects the tendency for older women to testify about violations to their family members such as their children.
- 16 The incidence of gross human rights violations in the western Cape over the Commission's mandate period reached two sharp peaks in 1976 and 1985/86, while maintaining a fairly constant level in the 1990s. The reasons for these peaks are discussed in the sections dealing with the relevant periods.
- 17 It is notable that the highest peak is reached in 1985. This pattern is similar to that of the Eastern Cape, but markedly different to KwaZulu-Natal and the former Transvaal, which recorded high levels of violations in the 1990s.



- 18 Severe ill treatment was the dominant violation, accounting for 52 per cent of the violations in the region. The most common form of severe ill treatment reported was beating, followed closely by incarceration and shooting injuries. Males between the ages of thirteen and twenty-four were the primary victims. Amongst women there was a fairly constant level of violations between the ages of thirteen and forty-eight.

19 Killings constituted 16 per cent of the violations in the region. The victims of reported killings were primarily males between the ages of thirteen and twenty-four, followed by males between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-six. Shooting was by far the most common type of killing.

20 The most common form of torture was beating, representing more than double the number of any of the other categories. This was followed by mental torture, suffocation and electric shock. As for the other types of violation, the victim profile here too is largely male and between the ages of thirteen and twenty-four.



Political affiliation of victims

- 21 The overwhelming majority of victims with a known political affiliation were ANC members or supporters, followed by the UDF. (It must be noted that these two organisations were at times used interchangeably by deponents.) This is true for killings, severe ill treatment and torture. In all these categories, the next greatest largest number of victims were linked to the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Perpetrator groups

- 22 The South African Police (SAP) was named as perpetrator in the overwhelming majority of violations in the categories of killings, severe ill treatment and torture for the entire period. Supporters of the UDF and PAC were also identified as perpetrators of killing violations, although these accounted for a fifth or less of the number attributed to the police.
- 23 Killings by the UDF were concentrated between 1984 and 1986, and killings by the PAC between 1992 and 1994. Acts of torture and severe ill treatment by the SAP are spread across the period, with dramatic peaks in the 1980s and the 1990s.

■ 1960–1975

Overview

- 24 Reported violations in the western Cape for this period are similar to those occurring elsewhere in the country, especially those arising from the anti-pass laws protests of 21 March 1960 and subsequent events. These include the detentions, torture and trials that followed the banning of organisations and individual activists. The western Cape, however, also saw political conflict of a regional character emanating from the activities and campaigns of Poqo, a feature shared with the Eastern Cape.
- 25 The first half of the 1970s was characterised by continued personalised repression in the form of detentions and banning orders along with tighter controls on existing anti-apartheid organisations or bodies. Student leaders were a particular target of banning orders in the western Cape. Many activists and other individuals had their passports withdrawn or applications refused. In 1971 a security swoop across the country, including Cape Town, resulted in numerous long-term detentions. 1974 saw a spate of detentions and trials in the wake of the pro-FRELIMO commemoration rallies held at various campuses.

- 26 In early June 1972, University of Cape Town (UCT) students holding an education protest meeting at St George's Cathedral were baton-charged on the steps of the Cathedral and badly beaten. Fifty-one students were arrested and charged. Eleven students and a university employee instituted legal action for assault against the Minister of Police, resulting in out-of-court settlements.
- 27 The Schlebusch Commission of 1972–73 investigated numerous anti-apartheid bodies such as the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the Christian Institute and the South African Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR). This Commission laid the groundwork for a clamp-down on these organisations. Numerous Cape-based people refused to testify and consequently faced legal action and banning orders. The Christian Institute was banned completely in 1977.
- 28 In 1972 a vigilante group calling itself 'Scorpio' began distributing leaflets in Cape Town letter boxes. The campaign attacked white liberals, Jews and others and eventually escalated into violent attacks on property. Two white people were later convicted for these acts.

Overview of violations

- 29 Severe ill treatment and torture were the chief forms of gross human rights violations reported for this fifteen-year period.

- 30 Most of these violations took place in the Peninsula and Boland areas, with a limited number in the Beaufort West region corresponding with trials of Poqo members. In

the majority of cases, the victims were aligned to the ANC or the PAC, or were non-partisan. Most reported violations were attributed to members of the SAP.



Public order policing: the anti-pass campaign

- 31 The anti-pass campaign of 1960 saw the first gross violations of human rights in the western Cape in the Commission's mandate period. The PAC had called on all African men to leave their passes at home on 21 March and give themselves up for arrest at their nearest police station. The ANC had planned their anti-pass campaign for ten days later. People responded in both urban and rural areas of the western Cape. At Nyanga, PAC supporters congregated on a rugby field and then marched to the Philippi police station to give themselves up for arrest.

The Langa shootings

- 32 In Sharpville, Johannesburg, more than sixty unarmed men, women and children died and hundreds more were wounded in the anti-pass campaign on 21 March 1960. When that news reached Cape Town, a crowd of 5–10 000 people assembled at the Langa Flats bus terminus around 17h00 in defiance of a country-wide ban on public meetings and gatherings of more than ten persons. Police told the crowd to disperse “within three minutes”. When this did not happen, they charged with batons and fired tear gas as well as bullets. At least three persons, Mr Cornwell Tshuma, Mr Leonard Mncube and Mr C Makiwane, were killed and many others injured. Cape Times employee Richard Lombard was killed by the crowd in the chaos that followed the shootings.
- 33 The Commission received several statements regarding shooting injuries in Langa on 21 March 1960 or alleging police beatings and assaults related to this period.
- 34 Twelve-year-old Mongezi Hallington Msizi [CT00943] had been selling cakes in the area when the Langa shootings started. Bullets from a passing police van struck him in the lower abdomen and in the forehead, hospitalising him for several months.
- 35 Mr Luyanda Gladman Jack [CT01344] was one of many people, including some journalists, who had climbed onto a block of flats for a better view of the PAC rally. When the shooting began, he jumped to the ground for cover:

I do not remember when I reached the ground, but what I do remember is that I was shot with pellet bullets in my left leg just above the ankle. I think I fell and became unconscious.

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

- 38 Mr Clarence Makwetu, former PAC President, was interviewed by the Commission and described the allegations as rumours that gained popular acceptance. Research also indicates that many people fled to the Transkei in the wake of these events, giving an impression of large-scale losses.

WITH REGARD TO THE LANGA SHOOTINGS OF 21 MARCH 1960, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE INTENTIONS AND ACTIONS OF THE MARCHERS WERE NON-VIOLENT AND DID NOT MERIT THE HARSH ACTIONS OF THE SECURITY FORCES. THE KILLINGS AND INJURIES SERVED AS THE TRIGGER FOR THE KILLING OF MR RICHARD LOMBARD. THE SUBSEQUENT SIEGE OF THE AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS AND ASSOCIATED ASSAULTS BY POLICE PRODUCED THE CLIMATE FOR ATTACKS ON OTHER INDIVIDUALS SEEN AS 'COLLABORATORS', SUCH AS CONSTABLE SIMON MOFOKOLO.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ALLEGATIONS OF MASS KILLINGS ARE NOT SUBSTANTIATED. THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE SHOT DEAD BY POLICE ON 21 MARCH PROBABLY DID NOT EXCEED THREE PERSONS, BUT AT LEAST FORTY-SIX PEOPLE WERE HOSPITALISED FOR INJURIES.

- 39 On 1 April 1960, eighteen-month-old Boyi Manjathi [CT00728] was shot and killed in Nyanga by a naval guard. Mr Stanley Nkomazibuyi stated that they were taking their nephew Boyi to hospital when they were stopped at a roadblock by a group of soldiers who would not let them pass due to the curfew. As they made a U-turn, they suddenly heard a loud sound and saw smoke in the car. The car had been shot at. The bullet grazed the passenger's head and hit the sick baby on her lap. When he asked the guards for a reason, Mr Nkomazibuyi was arrested and thrown into an armoured vehicle.
- 40 The events of 21 March were followed by a mass strike in the Peninsula for the abolition of passes and a higher minimum wage for African workers. The black townships were under siege for two weeks, with an estimated 95 per cent of the African population as well as a substantial proportion of the coloured community in Cape Town joining the stay away. There were widespread allegations of police brutality during this siege. In April, an African detective constable, Mr Simon Mofokolo, was battered to death at Nyanga by PAC supporters.
- 41 Newspaper reports described the impact on the Western Cape:

Hundreds of heavily armed troops threw tight cordons around the Langa, Nyanga East and Nyanga West [now Gugulethu] Native townships under cover of dark last night, acting under the Emergency Regulations proclaimed yesterday. The troops carried rifles with fixed bayonets, Sten guns and Bren guns and were supported by armoured cars and Saracens. It is gathered that reinforcements were brought to Cape Town yesterday.¹

¹ *Cape Argus*, 31 March 1960

- 42 The funeral of those who had been killed on 21 March was held a week later in Langa and attended by about 50 000 people. Speakers appealed to the crowd not to resort to violence in any form. They did not want hooliganism to mar the campaign and called for acts of violence to be reported to the campaign organisers. On 30 March, a mass march of about 30 000 people streamed into the city centre and converged on the Caledon Square police station to mark their opposition to the pass laws and detention of local leaders. The march was dispersed after the promise of a meeting which never transpired. Instead Mr Philip Kgosana, who had led the march, was detained.
- 43 The impact of the anti-pass campaign was felt even in rural towns, and the Commission received statements regarding these events from as far afield as Hermanus. An anti-pass demonstration in Paarl is recorded to have been disrupted by the police. Similar demonstrations in Stellenbosch and Somerset West were baton-charged by the police, and a march in Worcester was dispersed by tear gas.

PAC/Poqo activities

- 44 The PAC claimed that its 21 March 1960 campaign was only a part of an "unfolding programme of action" which would lead to total independence by 1963. With PAC leaders in prison, the task fell on the regional echelons. The wide media coverage of the anti-pass campaign and the state's violent response increased the PAC's image and membership, particularly in the Western Cape.
- 45 A number of violations during this period can be associated with Poqo's activities in Langa and Paarl, which included forcible conscription drives and attacks on alleged 'collaborators' and 'dissidents' within the movement who opposed their activities.
- 46 Among those killed by Poqo members in 1962 were several people in Paarl suspected of being police informers. Two of these were coloured women accused of keeping members away from the Poqo meetings. Another coloured woman was permanently disabled.
- 47 Mr Milton Chumani Nozulu Matshiki [CT00267] was one of those killed by Poqo members in October 1962. His widow, Ms Nothemba Glenrose Kabane, stated that her husband had left their house on a Saturday in October 1962 for a local bachelors' hostel, but did not come back home in the evening.

On Sunday morning a police car came to my house. We went together in an office where they told me that a body without a head had been found in the bushes, so they wanted me to go and identify the body. I refused because I was not a strong person. ... They brought the clothes and these were my husband's clothes which he was wearing when he left the house on Saturday. On Wednesday the detectives came again to tell me that they needed me to identify the head which could belong to my husband. It was my husband's head.

At that time you could not criticise anything wrong done by Poqo, their activities or methods of struggle. Everyone in the community was not comfortable because one could be attacked for criticising any move by Poqo people.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT PAC OR POQO MILITANTS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATHS OF AT LEAST EIGHT PEOPLE IN THE PERIOD UP TO AND INCLUDING 1963. THESE INCLUDED TWO WHITES AND THREE SUSPECTED 'COLLABORATORS' IN PAARL AND AT LEAST THREE POLICEMEN IN THE PENINSULA.

POQO ADOPTED AGGRESSIVE CONSCRIPTION METHODS, ALLOWING NO ROOM FOR DISSENT, RESULTING IN AT TIMES VIOLENT INTOLERANCE TOWARDS NON-SUPPORTERS OF THEIR METHODS AND TOWARDS CRITICISM BY THEIR OWN MEMBERS OR OUTSIDERS.

POQO MILITANTS TARGETED CIVILIANS INDISCRIMINATELY. SUSPECTED 'COLLABORATORS' WERE PROBABLY MERELY CRITICAL INDIVIDUALS.

48 On 21 November 1962, Poqo members from Mbekweni, Paarl, met and resolved to attack the white town of Paarl. Over 200 men armed with axes, *pangas*, sticks, sabres and possibly a few revolvers gathered at about 02h00 and split into two groups, one to attack the prison and the other the police station. The latter group approached the police station and began attacking police patrol vans. Three were shot dead in front of the police station and others were wounded and several arrested. As the rest of the group fled, they met those who had been planning the prison attack and formed a new group which began attacking houses in Loop Street. Two white people, Ms Rencia Vermeulen (17) and Mr Frans Richards (21), were killed. One Paarl resident chased the attackers away from her house with a revolver, shooting one of them. The final death toll was seven, including five Poqo members: Mr Godfrey Yekiso, Mr Madodana Camagu, Mr John Magigo and Mr Ngenisile Siqwebo. Mr Matthews Mayezana Mali [CT00723] was shot by the SAP on 23 November 1962. Mali was shot in the head and chest while marching in front of a group of PAC demonstrators on their way to the Paarl police station to hand over a list of grievances on the day after the disturbances.

49 Several people were tortured and assaulted in custody in the wake of these events.

- 50 PAC leaders at Langa reported being shocked by the initiative taken by the Paarl branch when it was reported to them, saying they had not had prior knowledge of the actions.²

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ACTIONS OF POQO SUPPORTERS IN PAARL WERE ESSENTIALLY LOCALLY PLANNED AND EXECUTED. THERE WERE SERIOUS LOCAL GRIEVANCES IN PAARL, RESULTING FROM THE STRONG ENFORCEMENT OF INFLUX CONTROL AS WELL AS THE CORRUPTION OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION BOARD OFFICERS WHICH HEIGHTENED THE POLITICAL ANGER OF LOCAL RESIDENTS. ALTHOUGH NOT OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED BY THE REGIONAL OR NATIONAL PAC LEADERSHIP, THE PAARL ATTACK FELL IN LINE WITH THE PLANNED OVERALL MASS UPRISING FOR 8 MARCH 1963 WHICH SPECIFIED THE TARGETING OF WHITES AND GOVERNMENT AGENTS.

- 51 Of a total of about seventy-one PAC members executed throughout the country between 1962 and 1967, at least twenty-one came from the western Cape, eighteen from Paarl and three from Langa. These were amongst the first death sentences imposed for political activity in the country during the period of the Commission's mandate.

- 52 Mr Gqibile Nicholas Hans [CT00269] was one of those executed from Paarl.

- 53 Those executed from Langa included Mr Vuyisile Qoba, Mr Gladstone Nqulwana, Mr Thwayi Thwayi and Mr Nontasi Albert Tshweni [CT01338]. They were accused of having murdered Sergeant Moyi in Langa in March 1962. Mr Kwedi Mkhali, a member of the local Langa PAC executive, told the Commission that Qoba, although he was a task force leader, was not present at the killing, which was an impromptu ambush.

CONCERNING THE WIDESPREAD EXECUTION OF POQO MEMBERS, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT JUDICIAL EXECUTIONS FOR POLITICALLY MOTIVATED OFFENCES CONSTITUTE A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION.

- 54 A unique set of arrests and trials unfolded in the Karoo region of the western Cape in the second half of the 1960s. Poqo networks were alleged to have conspired to rise up against the white population in several small towns. In Victoria West, twenty-six Africans and coloured people were arrested at the end of April 1968 on charges of having conspired with one another and with sixty-five others to commit sabotage. The state alleged that they were members of Poqo and had, between November 1966 and June 1967, planned to storm the police station, kill the police officers and other whites, and steal weapons and poisons for the town's drinking water.

- 55 During November 1968, ten of these men were sentenced to three years each

² Commission Interview on 25 June 1998 with Kwedi Mkhali, former PAC leader in Langa.

for belonging to Poqo and furthering its aims. Their convictions were set aside on appeal in 1969. Twenty-four who appeared in the Supreme Court on the more serious charges of sabotage and Poqo activities spent as long as seventeen months in prison before being discharged because of insufficient evidence. Mr Justice Theron, who presided over the case, said a police spy known as X54 had been the centre of the whole state case. Under cross-examination, it became apparent that his answers were false. X54 admitted that he had lied during a similar trial in Port Elizabeth. Similar cases occurred in Graaff-Reinet, Laingsburg and Oudtshoorn.

- 56 The Commission received several statements from those who were implicated and arrested in the Karoo town trials. While only one deponent, Mr William Makulani [CT00578], alleged torture and severe ill treatment by the police while in custody, others complained of lengthy periods of incarceration and court cases based on fictitious charges and disreputable witnesses. The impact of these trials in such small towns was substantial.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THERE WAS LITTLE IF ANY SUBSTANCE TO THE ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE ACCUSED AND THAT THE ABOVE-MENTIONED TRIALS WERE A MANIFESTATION OF RACIST INTOLERANCE AND PARANOIA. AS A RESULT, THOSE DETAINED AND ACCUSED ENDURED UNNECESSARY AND VINDICTIVE HARDSHIP.

Detentions and torture

- 57 There were several distinct waves of detentions and torture during the 1960–75 period. The first occurred under the March to August 1960 state of emergency. The next wave, accompanied by severe torture, occurred in 1963 under the ‘Ninety-Day Detention Law’, passed on 1 May, and following the arrest of the Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) high command at the Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, Johannesburg at around the same time. Mass arrests of Poqo or PAC members were followed by extensive torture and trials that led to death sentences for many of the accused. After further intermittent detentions and trials throughout the 1960s, there were the nation-wide arrests of South African Students’ Organisation (SASO) and Black People’s Convention (BPC) members in 1973–74 which extended to the Western Cape as well.
- 58 In the evidence before the Commission, Warrant Officer Hernus JP ‘Spyker’ van Wyk is the individual most consistently associated with torture in the Western Cape over a thirty year period. Mr Theunis ‘Rooi Rus’ Swanepoel is also among those mentioned frequently in submissions to the Commission.

- 59 A special 'screening centre' was created at the Bellville police station, where Poqo suspects were beaten and tortured during interrogation and forced to make statements implicating themselves and their comrades. Mr Sisa Ncapai [C2660/97WTK] told the Commission:

I was arrested in November 1964 and questioned about my political activities, especially the recruitment of the youth for military training in the countries outside South Africa. I was tortured with electric shocks and made to stand on my toes on bricks placed on each other and this act would continue for over an hour, and the arms are stretched out sideways.

An empty twenty-litre paraffin bucket was placed on my head down to the shoulders and a dirty rag dipped in an oily substance that gave a nasty headcracking smell was inserted in the corner of the bucket. The smoke which came from the rag sent me fainting. I was kicked and hit with fists and I stayed without food for hours on end. It was worse when the security personnel led by Sersant van Rooyen, ... Mostert and others brought with them cadres who were arrested on the borders ...

- 60 ANC member Christmas Tinto [CT00477] was arrested in 1963 and was also tortured at the Bellville police station. A bag was placed on his head, electric shocks were applied at his fingertips and he was beaten and kicked. In 1968, he was again detained, beaten and held in solitary confinement for eleven months, followed by more torture in 1972. He described being taken blindfolded at night to a cliff by the sea, where he was taken to the edge and threatened with death.

The following morning I was taken to Pollsmoor prison ... I was put in a big hall. They locked the door and told me to undress which I did. They even forced me to take off my undertrousers and I was left naked. I was told to stand on a chair handcuffed. A rope was thrown over the ceiling rafters and tied around the handcuffs. They put a bag over my head and tied some wires around my fingers, one in each hand, and electric shocks were then applied ... Van Wyk said "Tinto now we are serious and you are going to tell us". He had a pair of pliers in his hand ... He squeezed the cover of my penis with a pliers, pulling all my hair on my private parts till I was unconscious and found myself sleeping in Valkenberg mental hospital for two months. I was charged under the Terrorism Act and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

- 61 Some detainees were taken to Pretoria and tortured there, amongst them Western Cape ANC president Mr Zolile Malindi [CT00510], who was detained together

with his wife under the state of emergency regulations in 1960. In 1961 he was banned for two years, was detained again in 1963 under the ninety-day detention law³ and held in solitary confinement in Worcester. Mr Malindi was tortured in Pretoria Central prison by about six Special Branch men including Sergeant Greeff. He was given the 'helicopter' treatment⁴ and was suffocated with a plastic bag. This was followed by electric shock torture on his body. Mr Mountain Qumbelo [CT03711] was beaten, suffocated, forced to hold physical positions and subjected to electric shocks in Pretoria by Sergeant Greeff and others.

- 62 Ms Stephanie Kemp [KZN/SELF/072/DN] stated that Warrant Officer van Wyk "beat me senseless while I was in detention. Viktor came down with one Van der Merwe and kept me standing through the night and longer while interrogating me." Subsequently jailed for sabotage, she was later paid out R2 000 by the then Justice Minister, Mr John Vorster, for torture.
- 63 Mr Johnny Issel and Mr Steven Carolus were amongst six Black Consciousness Movement activists detained in the western Cape in October 1974 under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. They were taken to Pretoria where a national investigating team, including Van Wyk, was formed to interrogate the 100 black consciousness activists being held in Pretoria Central. Interrogation took place at the police commissioner headquarters (COMPOL).
- 64 Issel reports that he was questioned by a team of fifteen security policemen. They took turns beating him with their fists and kicking him about the room. Later that evening he was made to crouch on his knees. His hands were tied behind his back and he was blindfolded. Wires were attached to the little finger of each hand and he was shocked four times. Each time this happened his body was flung across the floor. The two policemen drank brandy throughout the torture. Interrogation continued and they remained dissatisfied with the answers they were receiving. Issel was blindfolded again and subjected to electric shocks by Colonel Andy Taylor and others. Other forms of torture at COMPOL included spending an entire day doing frog jumps around the room until all sense of co-ordination was lost, and standing against the wall with arms outstretched.
- 65 Issel was released as a state witness after being held for five months at Pretoria Central. He laid charges of assault against the security police, but the matter never reached the courts.

3 Section 17 of the General Law Amendment Act No 37 of 1963.

4 The 'helicopter' technique refers to a method of torture where a victim was suspended from the ceiling, with hands and feet shackled to a stick, and spun around.

- 66 Mr Steven Carolus was interrogated by a panel of security policemen who made him sit on an 'invisible chair' when they were dissatisfied with his answers. Taylor and a German-speaking policeman then gave him electric shocks to his genitals. After about a week of questioning and constant beatings, Carolus was held in solitary confinement for seven months before being released.
- 67 Mr Danile Landingwe [CT01311], also part of the SASO group taken to Pretoria in 1974, states that he faced repeated detentions, assault and torture:

The interrogation started daily. I was assaulted and I lost two teeth. Spyker van Wyk was instructing other security police to beat me. ... You would also be asked to stand next to the wall, carrying a book. You were given fourteen days to do this exercise but on the eighth day you fell. They would start beating you again. I was held for five months and released in 1975.

Deaths in detention

- 68 Western Cape activists Looksmart Ngudle and Imam Haron died in detention during this period. The Commission was not able to make a finding concerning the death of PAC member Bellington Mampe [EC2718/97QTN] in 1963.

The death in detention of Looksmart Ngudle

MK commander Mr Looksmart Khulile Ngudle (41) [CT00504, CT00517, EC0127/96CCK], was detained on 19 August 1963 under the Ninety-Day Detention Act and died on the night of 4/5 September in Pretoria. The police claimed that he had hanged himself in his cell with the cord of his pyjama trousers. Counsel for the State said that Ngudle had killed himself because he had given the police information which led to arrests the day before his death. He was banned posthumously on 25 October.

Evidence by witnesses of electric shock and other torture in detention was ruled by the magistrate as irrelevant. A Pretoria magistrate who visited Ngudle the day before his death reported to the police that he complained that he was assaulted and that he had coughed blood. The inquest magistrate found that the cause of death was suicide by hanging.

The death in detention of Imam Haron

Imam Haron (45), a respected leader in the Muslim community and former editor of Muslim News, was detained under the Terrorism Act on 28 May 1969, held at Caledon Square police station until 11 August and then transferred to

the cells at Maitland police station where he was found dead on 27 September after 122 days in detention. He had apparently been suspected of recruiting PAC members.

The inquest found multiple bruising, which had been caused at different times by 'a fair amount of trauma', and a broken rib. Police claimed that he had fallen down some stairs after losing his balance. Between 17 and 19 September, the Imam had been taken away from the police cells to an undisclosed place for interrogation. The then Major Dirk Kotze Genis and Sergeant van Wyk were responsible for the interrogation. The Haron family's legal representative argued that Imam Haron had been beaten in efforts to extract a statement from him, and that the trauma he suffered caused a pulmonary embolism which triggered a heart attack.

The presiding magistrate found that the likely cause of death was myocardial ischaemia, due in part to 'trauma superimposed on a severe narrowing of a coronary artery'. It was found that the bruises were not caused by the fall. He declined to rule on whether the death was brought about by any act or omission involving or amounting to an offence on the part of any person, finding merely that "a substantial part of the said trauma was caused by an accidental fall down a flight of stone stairs. On the available evidence I am unable to determine how the balance thereof was caused."

A number of publications consulted during the Commission's investigations added weight to the questions raised in the inquest report.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A CONSISTENT GROUP OF INDIVIDUALS WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR DIFFERENT FORMS OF TORTURE OF POLITICAL DETAINEES IN THE REGION DURING THIS PERIOD. THE GROUP CONSISTED OF WARRANT OFFICER 'SPYKER' VAN WYK, A SERGEANT GREEFF, A SERGEANT VAN ROOYEN AND CERTAIN PERSONNEL FROM OTHER REGIONS INCLUDING COLONEL ANDY TAYLOR, SERGEANT FERREIRA AND A CERTAIN MR VAN DER MERWE. THESE INDIVIDUALS WERE DEPLOYED AT BOTH REGIONAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL.

IN THIS CONTEXT, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT IT IS HIGHLY LIKELY THAT THOSE WHO DIED IN CUSTODY EXPERIENCED TORTURE PRIOR TO THEIR DEATHS, AND THAT THEIR DEATHS WERE A DIRECT OR INDIRECT RESULT OF SUCH TORTURE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THERE IS EVIDENCE OF WIDESPREAD TORTURE OF DETAINEES IN PRETORIA DURING THIS PERIOD, AND THAT MR LOOKSMART NGUDLE'S DEATH WAS A DIRECT OR INDIRECT RESULT OF SUCH TORTURE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT IN A POSITION TO REVERSE THE FINDINGS OF THE INQUEST COURT, THE DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL OF THE IMAM ABDULLAH HARON WAS UNDOUBTEDLY A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND HIS DEATH WAS CAUSED DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY BY HIS EXPERIENCES AT THE HANDS OF THE SECURITY POLICE.

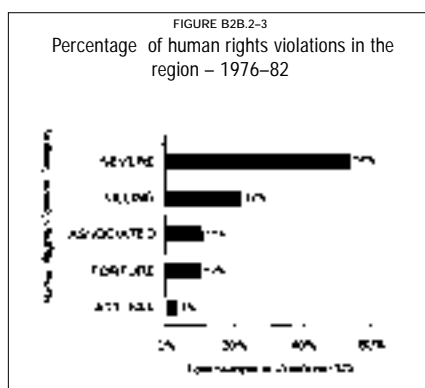
■ 1976-1982

Overview

- 69 This period saw two waves of large-scale public resistance with high numbers of casualties: the 1976 revolt and the violence associated with the 1980 school boycotts. The 1976 revolt began in the Transvaal and spread to the western Cape in August 1976, with an accompanying shift to more violent and intensified repression by the state. After the Transvaal, the Western Cape had the second highest number of deaths and injuries associated with the 1976 revolt. Numerous detentions followed, many with accompanying allegations of torture and at least three deaths in detention in 1976 and 1977. A number of local activists were sentenced to prison in a series of terrorism trials in the late 1970s. Others, mainly student leaders, were placed under banning orders.
- 70 The 1980s school boycotts began in the western Cape and spread to other parts of the country. Conflicts with security forces escalated and continued for several months, resulting in at least forty-two deaths. Other political campaigns such as the meat and bus boycotts were also undertaken that year. Numerous community grassroots organisations emerged in the region. These laid the basis for the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983.
- 71 Widespread protests emerged after new squatter camps faced demolitions and repression by the state and its security forces. Crossroads squatter camp sprang up from 1975, after the demolition of large squatter camps in the Bellville area. Crossroads faced frequent police raids as authorities tried repeatedly to remove the camp. During one raid in September 1978, Mr Sindile Ndlela [CT00908] was shot dead by police and several others were injured. Local and international campaigns to save Crossroads led to a reprieve in 1979.

Overview of violations

- 72 In this period, severe ill treatment is the dominant form of violation reported to the Commission, followed by killings. This differs from the pattern in the previous period.



- 73 The increase in killings reflects the 1976 and 1980 periods of street conflict between protesters and the SAP. The police were again the main perpetrators in all of the categories above. Although largely centred in the Peninsula, there was a wider spread of violations in the Boland, the South Cape and the Northern Cape in this period.

Detention, torture and trials

- 74 There were numerous, largely unsuccessful, court applications to halt assault and torture in custody in the wake of the 1976 revolt. Many high school pupils were assaulted following arrest by the SAP. From the accounts it appears that both the SAP and Security Branch police members were responsible for assaults and torture of school children at the time.
- 75 A fifteen-year-old pupil who wishes to remain anonymous was arrested in August 1976 with other pupils en route to a meeting. They were taken to Mowbray police station where a police officer identified four of the pupils as “ringleaders” and took them to the commanding officer, who told them he would “beat the politics out of them”. They were brutally assaulted with batons by a group of police members, including the commanding officer. The anonymous deponent suffered a perforated eardrum and still bears scars on his forehead.
- 76 Mr Mkhululi Brian Mphahlele [CT00194] states that he was tortured and beaten at Caledon Square police station by Security Branch members Swarts and Coetzee in January 1977 while being questioned about the school boycotts. He then served three years for arson. Mr Joseph Ndabezitha [CT03031] also mentions Swarts and Sergeant Greeff in his account of being tortured that year. Mr Toto Mzwandile Ntsobi [CT03097] was beaten and given electric shocks by security policeman ‘Spyker’ van Wyk in 1977 at Caledon Square.

The detention and torture of Yusuf Gabru

Detention and torture were not limited to scholars. Salt River High School teacher Mr Yusuf Gabru was detained in 1976 under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act and held at Caledon Square. Spyker van Wyk, his brother, and two other security policemen interrogated Gabru and beat him with their fists and knuckles. He was forced to sit on his knees for a day. After two weeks he was told that he was being released. He was then taken into the room next door, his belongings were once again removed and, after a

severe beating, was told that he was being redetained. Gabru describes this as the most devastating moment of his detention. Other methods of abuse included trying to force a pork sandwich into Gabru's mouth because he came from a Muslim family. Gabru says that the physical torture was far easier to bear than the psychological torture. On one occasion Spyker van Wyk and another policeman took him up a staircase, spoke about slippery staircases and suicides and pushed Gabru's head over the railings. Spyker van Wyk also told Gabru that Imam Haron had been murdered.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ASSAULT AND TORTURE WERE USED AGAINST PEOPLE ARRESTED AND DETAINED DURING AND AFTER THE 1976 POLITICAL UNREST, BOTH AT THE HANDS OF ORDINARY POLICE PERSONNEL AND THE SECURITY BRANCH. IN PARTICULAR, DETAINEES HELD AT CALEDON SQUARE POLICE STATION EXPERIENCED TORTURE. THE PERPETRATORS MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED IN THIS REGARD ARE INDIVIDUALS KNOWN AS SWARTS, VAN WYK, COETZEE AND GREEFF.

Detention and torture following the 1980 protests

- 77 The August 1980 killing of Mr Jansen and Mr Beeton (see below) led to a marathon trial involving veteran activist Mr Oscar Mpetha and seventeen others and resulted in lengthy prison sentences for those charged, many of whom maintained that they were innocent. Among the trialists who made allegations of torture was Mr Christopher Sidlayiya [CT01348], who described being beaten and given electric shocks by Warrant Officer Benzien and others at the Bishop Lavis police station.
- 78 The 1980 South African Institute of Race Relations Survey reported that 123 school students, five teachers, seven lecturers, over ten trade unionists and several community workers were detained in 1980. Journalist Ms Zubeida Jaffer [CT00776], who had given substantial coverage to those killed in the 1980 violence, was detained and was subjected to mental, physical and possibly chemical torture and abuse during her interrogation and subsequent three-month period of solitary confinement.⁵

I was detained by Spyker van Wyk. He said that they were going to break my nose and they were going to beat me up. They started interrogating me virtually immediately and it went on for a good few days. The whole approach that they used was to surround me with all these men and constantly interrogate me for hours on end. At night when I thought I would be allowed to rest and sleep they would keep me awake. And this went on for two days and then they drove me up to Port Elizabeth and took me to the Sanlam Centre [Security Branch HQ]. When we got there, I thought now they're going to let me sleep

⁵ See also *Special Hearing: Women in Volume Four*.

because I haven't slept since I've been detained, but that didn't happen. Another team of people came in and they started interrogating me again and by this stage I was getting completely affected. I couldn't think any more and they didn't really give me food, they gave me coffee and dry bread. They put two people in charge of me to make sure that I didn't close my eyes. Because the whole thing was that I must not be allowed to sleep so that I could lose complete sense of what was going on around me, which was happening; I was beginning to feel very strange in my head.

Captain du Plessis was in charge of the interrogation, he kept on saying to me "your heart is going to give in, your heart is going to in, you haven't slept for three days, you haven't slept for three days, are you a member of the ANC, tell us who you know".

At a certain point he took me to the window – we were on the 6th floor of the Sanlam Centre – and he said that he would throw me down there, because that's where they kill people.

The next thing he came back and he beat me right across the room into the wall and he kept on beating me right into the wall and I felt – I felt myself just going down. And I just found myself lying there on the floor and you know being completely – completely terrified. At that stage another policeman came in and he said to the man, "just rape her, just rape her", and this man came up to me and he ... and he – he didn't actually rape me, but – the threat of it was – I felt that I was going to die at that point. And then he called him away and he said, leave her alone and they obviously were trying to get me completely to a point where I couldn't function any more.

Then he left me in this room with these two policemen and he said to them they must watch me. They made me stand in the middle of the room and I just had to stand there and then at some point they allowed me to sit. I was starting to get very hot and was getting these pains across my chest. But I didn't really think then, I just felt I was getting really ill because I hadn't slept for the few days. And then I started seeing all my veins in my hand dilating. And in my arms, my veins in my hands and my arms and I felt pains across my chest and suddenly I started feeling all my insides were going to come out. And I said to them, "I am going to get sick, I am going to get sick," and the one guy ran with me to the toilet to take me to the toilet and the other guy ran to the phone and he said, "It's starting". Now at that point I didn't think anything of it. I didn't have any idea, I was just terrified. When I explained to the lawyer afterwards upon my release what had happened he

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

So I started doing that and that went on for the whole night. I had to be awake then the whole night. They took a fan and they put the fan over my head and every time I wanted to sleep they said “Maak jou oë oop!” [Open your eyes!] You know, they would shout at me. They had strict instructions not to allow me to sleep. They took me back into the small little room, put me on the chair, gave me more paper and a pen and said I should write. And I sat there and I was unable to write, I was completely unable to do anything. I must have slipped into unconsciousness because I was vaguely aware that they were there and I knew I landed on the floor. I was lying on the floor for many hours unconscious.

- 79 During a terrorism trial of five young people in connection with school boycotts in Kimberley in 1982 and 1983, a number of witnesses and detainees gave evidence of alleged torture and mistreatment by the security police. They described assaults and the ‘helicopter’ form of torture. The magistrate dismissed these allegations.
- 80 The Commission noted that cases of torture were reported as having taken place in the Transvaal Road police station in Kimberley during the 1970s. Mr Matthews Teme [CT00650] described being assaulted there in 1979 by security police officers, including Mr Bennet Mochesane.

Deaths in detention

- 81 Of the twenty-nine recorded deaths in detention during the 1970s across the country, three occurred in the western Cape. All three were described by police as suicides. In July 1977, Mr Phakamile Mabija [CT00635; CT00135] died in detention in Kimberley’s Transvaal Road police station. A high-profile activist, Mr Elijah Loza [CT00257], died in Tygerberg hospital some three weeks later after sixty five days in detention.

The death in detention of Luke Mazwembe

Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau employee Luke Mazwembe (32) died in the Caledon Square police headquarters in Cape Town. His death was officially described as "suicide by hanging". He was arrested on 2 September 1976 at 06h00 and was found dead at 07h40 in the corner of a police cell, hanging from the ceiling by a noose made of strips of blanket tied together with pieces of twine. A razor blade had been used to cut the blanket into strips and to cut the twine. The police were unable to explain how the razor blade and twine had got into the cell.

At the inquest the police asserted that they had not assaulted Mazwembe. The state pathologist said that Mazwembe had several wounds to his body, including neck abrasions, swelling and bruising of his right cheekbone, slight swelling of the lower scrotum, several abrasions over both shoulder blades and abrasions on the left ankle. Under cross-examination, he stated that he could not exclude the possibility that Mazwembe had been killed and then hanged to fake a suicide: the neck wounds were compatible with either explanation. The magistrate ruled that Mazwembe was neither tortured nor assaulted by the police, and assumed that the twine and razor blade had been accidentally left in the cell by an unknown person.⁶

The death in detention of Phakamile Mabija

Anglican Church warden and youth worker Phakamile Mabija (27) [CT04513, CT00635, CT00135] died on 7 July 1977 after ten days in detention in the Transvaal Road Police Station in Kimberley. According to the police, the detainee committed suicide. At the inquest, Sergeant Oscar Ntsiko said that he was escorting Mr Mabija from the toilet when he suddenly broke loose and ran into an office. He rushed after him, only to see him crash through the window. An independent pathologist said Mabija had cuts on his face and hands which could have been caused by clutching glass, and lacerations of the liver that could have been caused by assault. The inquest verdict was that Mabija died of multiple injuries following a jump from a sixth floor window. Nobody was found responsible for the death. The Commission notes that cases of torture took place in the same police station during that period, by a similar group of perpetrators.

The death in detention of Elijah Loza

Elijah Loza (59) [CT 00257] died on 1 August 1977 in Tygerberg hospital

⁶ Information taken from *United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights*, compiled by the Special Committee against Apartheid, February 1979.

while still in custody after sixty-five days in detention. His death was officially found to be due to natural causes after a stroke. His family alleges he died as a result of torture. Numerous statements confirm that Mr Loza was tortured during his 1963 detention. The Commission finds that he was again tortured during his 1977 detention and that this directly or indirectly led to his death.

IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TORTURE DESCRIBED EARLIER, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT IT IS HIGHLY LIKELY THAT THOSE WHO DIED IN CUSTODY EXPERIENCED TORTURE AND THAT THEIR DEATHS WERE A DIRECT OR INDIRECT RESULT OF SUCH TORTURE. FOR THESE GROSS VIOLATIONS, THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

The 1976 Uprising

- 82 A student boycott at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in early August 1976 developed into protest activities with mass disturbances in Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu. On 11 August, according to the Cillie Commission Report, twenty-one people were killed during street protest activities. Amongst the first was Mr Ezekiel Xolile Mosi, an eighteen-year-old school pupil from Langa, who was shot and killed by police. Mosi's funeral was one of the first to be restricted following the renewal of the nation-wide ban on open-air gatherings announced on 4 August. Protest action was not just confined to student issues, and often had the active support of workers. Buildings, vehicles and even persons associated with the Bantu Affairs Administration Board were under constant attack.
- 83 Late August and September saw heated protest activities in the coloured residential areas, particularly Manenberg, Bonteheuwel, Hanover Park, Elsies River, Ravensmead, Retreat, Athlone and Grassy Park. One of the first coloured pupils to be killed by the police was fifteen-year-old Christopher Truter [CT00411] of Bonteheuwel, who was shot on 25 August.
- 84 The most serious incidents of street conflict were recorded on 2, 8 and 9 September 1976 with an estimated thirty-nine deaths for those three days of protest in both coloured and black townships. A general strike called on 15 and 16 September was widely supported. The first signs of tension between residents and migrant workers residing in the townships became evident at this stage.
- 85 The Commission received numerous statements concerning assaults and shooting injuries. Deaths reported included Mr Mzoxolo Sogiba [CT03706], Mr Benjamin Desmond Rhula [CT00412], Mr Sifanele Kenneth Nduna [CT00956], Mr Tolika

Mafumana [CT00226], Mr Maxwell Sitshongaye [CT00876], Mr Wiseman Madodomez Litya [CT00606], Mr Noel John Adriaanse [CT00316], Mr Gasant Carolissen [CT01103], Mr Andrew Henry Douglas Ferguson [CT00614], Mr Shahied Jacobs [CT01115], Mr Ridwaan Yasin [CT00719], Mr Clive Isaacs [CT00315], Mr Glynn John Peterson [CT00400], Mr Neville Botha [CT00315], Ms Naomi van Kerke [CT00405], Ms Sandra Joyce Adams [CT00122], Mr Thandinkosi Sidwell Dondi [CT00220], Mr Sonnyboy Willie Zantsi [CT00707], Mr Ronald Harris [CT00312], Mr Ronald October [CT00721] and Mr Abdurahman Allie [CT00123].

Migrant Backlash

- 86 In October, township youth launched a campaign against liquor establishments (shebeens and shebeen-owners), perceiving these to be symbols of oppression. Youth clashed violently with shebeen owners and with the police. In December youth activists announced that festive activities over the Christmas period would be limited and instead the deaths of those killed during the uprising over the past months would be mourned. Migrant workers residing in the townships failed to heed the call to mourn rather than celebrate. Over Christmas 1976, Nyanga hostel-dwellers violently resisted attempts by township youth to enforce participation in stay aways, liquor boycotts and memorials. The key targets of youth resistance – liquor and labour – touched migrants directly. They interpreted these actions, as well as the boycott of schools, as criminal activity by gangsters and mobilised around perceived threats to their security and livelihood.
- 87 Over a three-day period, migrant hostel-dwellers wearing white ‘doeks’ (head cloths) moved into Nyanga, burning homes and attacking residents. Approximately twenty-four people were killed (thirteen by police), 106 were wounded and at least 186 Nyanga homes were burnt. Statements were received concerning injuries as well as the deaths of Ms Nosipho Mboma [CT00926], Mr Henry Kwisomba [CT00603], Mr Willie Botha [CT01025], Mr Brian Komani [CT01574], Mr Government Jelemsi [CT00935], Mr Jackson Gishi [CT00624], Mr Sydney Zwelakhe Gongxeka [CT00816], Mr Denis Bantu Dlanga [CT00815] and Ms Ellen Makaluza [CT01579].

The rural areas

- 88 The ripple effect of the 1976 uprising extended to the western Cape in August of that year, reaching the Boland towns in September. The rural towns which featured prominently were Oudtshoorn, George, Mossel Bay, Stellenbosch, and Paarl.

- 89 Student marches in Paarl were baton-charged by police on 9 September 1976. Later that day, arson attacks took place. It was during these and subsequent incidents that Ms Carolina Spasina Hoogaardt (16) [CT08200], Ms Sarah Jane Viljoen [CT00441] and Ms Yvonne Dube (45) [CT00443] were killed by police. Several were injured. Clashes between police and residents, mainly the youth, continued to early October, and a number of government buildings were destroyed. In Stellenbosch, two people were killed by police, including Mr Ronald Charles Carolissen [CT00436]. In Montague, Mr Pieter Afrika [CT08100] was shot dead.
- 90 There was widespread political resistance in the southern Cape in September. In Mossel Bay on 10 September, thousands took to the streets in marches and built barricades; the town's hotel was burnt down in the upheaval. Mr Cornelius Lucas and Mr Isaac Bezuidenhout [CT00341] were killed by police and twenty-one people were injured. In George, twelve-year-old Abida Harris [CT00332] was shot dead. Oudtshoorn saw widespread marches, arson, shooting injuries and one death.

Casualties

- 91 The SAIRR gives the final death toll in the western Cape for 11 August to 28 February 1977 (including December clashes) as 153. The Cillie Commission puts the figure at 149. Of these, 117 were killed by police and thirty-one by members of the public. The Black Sash reported persistent rumours that many more had died than appeared on the official casualty list given to the Commission. A strong feature of the 1976 revolt in the region was the very high percentage of violations involving coloured people. Of the 108 people shot dead by police in the Peninsula, fifty-three were coloured and fifty-five African. All but one of the deaths in the rural towns involved coloured people exclusively.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE USE OF FORCE IN THE WESTERN CAPE BY THE SECURITY FORCES WAS EXCESSIVE. THE MAJORITY OF PROTESTERS WERE UNARMED AND THOSE WEAPONS USED BY A MINORITY OF PROTESTERS WERE LIMITED TO STONES AND, IN CERTAIN CASES, PETROL BOMBS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THERE WAS CRIMINAL LOOTING OF PREMISES BY PROTESTERS AND OTHER CIVILIANS. WHILE THE POLICE WERE BEHOLDEN TO ACT IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT DEADLY FORCE WAS USED WHEN NON-LETHAL METHODS WERE AVAILABLE, FOR EXAMPLE IN THE ARREST OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE.

THE COMMISSION ALSO FINDS THAT THE CONFLICT BETWEEN HOSTEL-DWELLERS AND TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS OVER THE CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR PERIOD OF 1976-77 EMERGED MAINLY FROM THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DIVISIONS IMPOSED ON THESE GROUPS BY APARTHEID LEGISLATION. HOWEVER, THE COERCIVE ACTIONS OF PROTESTERS REGARDING THE ENFORCEMENT OF WORK STAY AWAYS AND LIQUOR BOYCOTTS PROVIDED THE SPARK FOR THE CONFLICT.

1980–1981 school boycotts

- 92 After the founding of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the Azanian Student's Organisation (AZASO) in 1979, school protests became more organisationally directed. Across the country, up to 100 000 children in coloured and African schools and university students on five black campuses boycotted classes between April 1980 and January 1981. The boycott originated in Cape Town, where it was fuelled by deteriorating conditions in the schools and the mushrooming of local organisations. The greatest impact was felt in the coloured townships of Cape Town and in Kimberley.
- 93 Mr Bernard Fortuin (15) [CT02202] and Mr William Lubbe (19) were shot dead from an unmarked police vehicle in Elsie's River in an apparent ambush on 28 May 1980. These killings resulted in a total stay away.
- 94 Violence peaked on 17–18 June 1980 in the coloured townships of Elsie's River, Lavender Hill and Bishop Lavis when a two-day stay away was held to commemorate the uprising of 1976. Coloured leaders had been detained in advance and meetings and gatherings banned during this time. A fare increase had also precipitated a bus boycott. There were incidents of arson, looting, and street protests, with some speculation about the involvement of gang elements.
- 95 Police responded with tear gas, baton-charges and live ammunition, and declined to issue a casualty list. The number of deaths recorded at five Peninsula hospitals was at least forty-two, including Ms Avril de Bruyn [CT00847], Mr Andrew Saul Christians [CT00660], Ms Johanna Moses [CT02201], Ms Edith Lewis [CT00658], Mr Gavin Godfrey Slavers [CT00662], Ms Glenda Scheepers [CT00845] and Mr William Rose [CT00671]. Over 200 people were injured, including children, young or pregnant mothers and a large number of other women. Police officially confirmed thirty-four deaths, including one in the Boland, and 146 injuries which, they alleged, were mainly stabbing and stoning injuries. At least two fatalities occurred as a result of the actions of those engaged in street protest, including one Constable Hugo, who was stabbed to death in Blackheath during a police baton charge, and a civilian who died when his vehicle crashed after being stoned.
- 96 On 11 August 1980, two white men, Mr Frederick Casper 'Fritz' Jansen [CT00675] and Mr George Beeton, were killed on Klipfontein Road next to Crossroads squatter camp during a week of turmoil and widespread street protest. The men were stopped within half an hour of each other. Their vehicles were stoned, overturned and set

alight. Both drivers died after being dragged out of their vehicles and assaulted. Mr Jansen, who sustained numerous fractures of the skull and lower jaw as well as a stab wound on the head, was also badly burnt. He died in hospital the following day.

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

THE COMMISSION FIND THAT THE KILLINGS OF MR 'FRITZ' JANSEN AND MR GEORGE BEETON, AS WELL AS THOSE OF THE OTHER PEOPLE MENTIONED ABOVE, WERE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

Armed actions by the liberation movements

- 97 Seven or eight intermittent incidents of sabotage by the ANC took place in the region, targeting buildings containing the offices of state institutions and resulting in one death and several slight injuries. These included a sabotage attack on an administration building in Galeshewe township, Kimberley, on 10 November 1977 and two attacks on state offices in Cape Town and Langa on 9 December 1981 and 20 March 1982 respectively. The only conviction during this period was that of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) operative Oliver Bekizitha Nqubelani, arrested the day after a briefcase bomb explosion at the Cape Town Supreme Court on 15 May 1979.
- 98 On 4 June 1982 Mr Michael Younghusband (26) was killed when a bomb exploded in a lift in the Cape Town Centre building. The target was presumably the President's Council, which had offices in the building. The ANC acknowledged responsibility for this bomb in its submission to the Commission, but no amnesty applications were received for this fatal attack.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SABOTAGE ACTIONS BY THE ANC IN THE PERIOD WERE NOT EXCLUSIVELY AIMED AT INSTALLATIONS. IN A NUMBER OF INSTANCES, SUCH AS THE ATTACKS ON KOEBERG, THE SUPREME COURT AND THE OFFICES OF THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL, THERE WAS A HIGH RISK OF HUMAN INJURY. THE ATTACK ON THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL OFFICE DID IN FACT RESULT IN THE KILLING OF MR MICHAEL YOUNGHUSBAND. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE PLACING OF THIS BOMB WAS PARTICULARLY RECKLESS, IN THAT THE BUILDING HOUSED MANY OFFICES THAT WERE OF A PURELY CIVILIAN NATURE, AND THAT THE BOMBING CONSTITUTES A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

■ 1983–1989

Overview

- 99 The UDF was launched both nationally and in the western Cape region in 1983. Its immediate task was the campaign against the forthcoming Tricameral Parliament elections and the community council elections scheduled for 1984. Political campaigns also focused on the newly formed informal settlement at KTC. The state's response to the development of this new squatter camp led to multiple arrests, shack demolitions, deportations to the homelands and other repressive actions. In the Crossroads informal settlement, a split within the Crossroads committee in 1983 resulted in open conflict that left at least seven people dead.
- 100 The political revolt unfolding in the rest of the country reached the western Cape in 1985. The first six months of 1985 saw extensive unrest in the rural areas of the southern Cape, Karoo, Boland and the northern Cape, while the urban Peninsula remained fairly calm until the second half of the year. The Peninsula's large-scale popular revolt in August to December was accompanied by extensive public unrest-related killings and injuries. The Cape province is said to have accounted for 52 per cent of all fatalities in 1985 ⁷.
- 101 Political activity and conflict in the Peninsula was shaped particularly by two demographic features. Firstly, there was a high level of coloured militancy and participation in public as well as underground resistance activities. The semi-underground youth structure known as the Bonteheuvel Military Wing (BMW) is a particular manifestation of this.
- 102 Secondly, informal settlements in and around Cape Town's formal black townships became conflict 'hot spots' accounting for around 120 deaths in the period 1985 to 1989. The extreme violence of 1986 related to the conflicts between the '*wit-doeke*' and the '*comrades*' and created enduring political divisions within the informal settlements.
- 103 The repeated conflicts of the squatter areas of Cape Town sprang from the extreme controls imposed on Africans in the western Cape. State policy towards urban blacks in the Cape was shaped by the policy that the western Cape should be kept as the home of whites and coloureds only. The Coloured Labour Preference Policy (CLPP) established what was called the '*Eiselen line*'. Only if coloured labour was not available could Africans work in the area between this point and Cape Town.

⁷ SAIRR quoted in *The Star*, 15/1/86

- 104 This repression created a sharp divide between Africans living legally and permanently in Cape Town and the 'illegals' who lived a precarious life of migrancy or concealed residence in the hostels and squatter camps. These policies were ruthlessly policed and caused many of the conflicts that tore communities apart, resulting in deadly outbursts of violence.
- 105 With some notable exceptions, the high levels of open street confrontation seen in 1985–86 generally subsided during 1986. The countrywide state of emergency imposed in June 1986 led to large-scale detentions in both rural and urban areas. Violations in 1987 and 1988 related largely to the activities of the 'special constables', detentions and torture, killings of underground operatives, and the ongoing skirmishes between pro- and anti-government squatter leaders.
- 106 The resurgence of popular protest in 1989 associated with the Defiance Campaign, in which the Cape played a leading role, was matched by a rise in violations, peaking with the killings and injuries around the 'whites-only' election of September 1989.

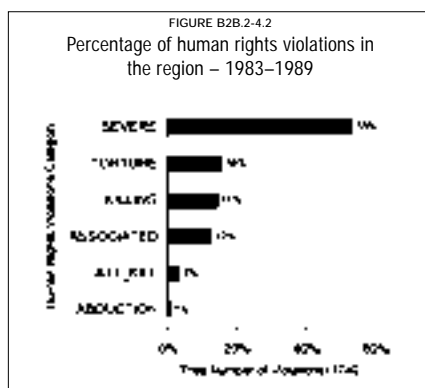
Overview of violations

- 107 The period 1983–89 generated the highest peak of violations in this region, in both the urban and rural areas. Most reported violations pertained to acts of severe ill treatment, followed by torture.

Public order policing in the Peninsula

- 108 In the Peninsula, there were five main concentrations of shootings and injuries at the hands of the security forces in the period 1983 to 1989. These were:

- resistance to forced removals from Crossroads, February 1985;
- the Pollsmoor march and the political revolt from August to December 1985;
- the suppression of the Defiance Campaign in September 1989.
- the *witdoeke* conflicts of May and June 1986; (see Contra Mobilisation)
- activities of the 'special constables' from 1986 to 1989; (see Volume 2)



Crossroads, February 1985

- 109 The African population of Cape Town more than doubled between 1980 and 1985,⁸ leading to a proliferation of squatter camps. In response to this influx and in an effort to sift out the 'illegal' Africans for deportation back to the homelands, the government announced its decision to create the new township of Khayelitsha. The proposed move to the distant sandy wasteland of Khayelitsha was fiercely resisted by squatters and township residents via the 'Asiyi eKhayelitsha (We are not going to Khayelitsha) Campaign' adopted by the UDF. Efforts by the state to commence removals in February 1985 were met with an outbreak of street resistance and clashes with police in which at least eighteen people were killed and about 250 injured in the Crossroads/Nyanga area in three days. Those killed include Fuzile Petrus Juqu (15) [CT00712], Mr Anele Mda [CT00102], and Mr Lele Mpushe [CT03501].
- 110 The removals to Khayelitsha were called off and the government announced certain concessions for Africans: a ninety-nine-year leasehold for all Africans in the western Cape; the completion of the New Crossroads development; and the upgrading of Old Crossroads.

1985 Pollsmoor march and aftermath

- 111 Prior to July, urban Cape Town had a relatively low level of public resistance activities, but the Eastern Cape murders of the Cradock Four in 1985 launched the Peninsula into widespread revolt. On 19 July, following a commemoration service for the Cradock Four at UWC, at least eleven people were injured in Gugulethu in mass stonings of vehicles and accompanying police action.
- 112 Street clashes continued intermittently. When school student Sithembele Matiso [CT00738] was killed by a rubber bullet to his head on 29 July, his funeral was restricted by the police and became the subject of a huge combined police and military operation marked by clashes between mourners and police.

As we were preparing for the funeral the white policemen used to come in numbers telling us that only family members were allowed to attend the funeral. The number of people to attend the funeral was restricted to 50. When they were doing this their behaviour was completely inhuman. They were not even afraid to disturb or disrupt prayer sessions. They had no respect at all ... On the day of the funeral the policemen were there in big

⁸ *Cape Times*, 28 February 1991, quoting Urban Foundation

numbers. We managed to bury the deceased though under extreme pressure. On our way back from the graveyard there was another clash between the people and the police. Many people were injured by rubber bullets, tear gas, buckshot or being beaten with batons.

- 113 A hand grenade was thrown at police near the graveyard, injuring the head of the Unrest Unit, Major CAJ ('Dolf') Odendal, and five other policemen. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok later referred to this grenade attack as the justification and motivation for the 20 December 1985 SAP/SADF raid into Lesotho. The raid was conducted by Vlakplaas operatives, killing nine people, including MK commanders responsible for certain western Cape activity, that is, Mr Joseph Monwabisi 'Themba' Mayoli [CT00826], Mr Vivian Stanley Mathee [CT00431] and Mr Leon 'Joe' Meyer [CT00431].
- 114 What began as student boycotts shifted in early August 1985 to broader political mobilisation and a consumer boycott targeting white-owned shops. On 23 August UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak announced plans for a mass march to Pollsmoor prison (on 28 August) to demand the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, but was detained under section 29 shortly before it took place. On the scheduled date, thousands of people gathered at different sites around Cape Town to march to the prison. Police sealed off many routes and used *sjamboks* and firearms against groups that attempted to begin the march, resulting in widespread deaths and serious injuries.
- 115 Those injured outside Hewat College included a group of religious leaders, amongst them church minister Jan de Waal, who lost the sight in one eye after a *sjambok* smashed his spectacles into his eyes. At a Commission hearing, Mr De Waal [CT01434] described events that day:

It was not a secret march – it was in the newspapers. I remember on the 24th or the 25th Dr Boesak was still negotiating with Mr le Grange, then Minister of Police. He sent him a telegram to say that this march will be peaceful and, to a large extent, was a symbolic march. There was no idea that we would physically go into Pollsmoor prison and break Mr Mandela out.

On that Wednesday 28th we arrived with my colleagues from my denomination together with a big other crowd of clergy and people also from other religions to meet at the Athlone stadium. When we came there, it was already chaotic. There was no way you could get in. The previous night they slammed a ban of around 5 km – no one was suppose to come near ... The police were

there in full force and I think there were also quite a number of Army people there as well ... They were clearing that area with sjamboks and batons and shooting tear gas all over the place.

We had to turn back and went to Hewat Training College. We were between 3–5 000 people together there. There was a long debate whether the march should go on or not. In the end there was a sort of democratic consensus, that it will continue. From there we proceeded onto Kromboom Road. And as we drew nearer to the M5 more police arrived and then of course, the Casspirs.

On one side of that road were just vibracrete fences ... We were somehow boxed in. Then we were confronted by the police in full force. Myself and a colleague of mine, Rev Shun Govender, went forward to speak to the police Commander. He had a megaphone there, telling us we have two minutes or five minutes to disperse. I went forward to him and told that it is impossible for five thousand people to disperse, especially where you have all the restrictions on the side of these roads. We asked them to give us some time to talk to the people and see what alternative plan we can work out.

Some other colleagues organised the people to kneel down. They were singing the Lord's Prayer. Yet, towards the end I just realised that we are going to be attacked by the police. We tried to get the clergy up, because they were in front and we locked arms with the hope that we will withstand to protect the people at the back.

But they came so fast – when someone shouted a command, because they also had these loud hailers. And they came. Many people here in front were still on their knees praying. And I think there were a lot of people that got head injuries, because of them kneeling.

I was there in front, I remember there was a young man next to me, who fell. I was trying to get this man up on his feet. Then suddenly I just felt a blow and I was out for a while. One of the policemen hit me with a baton. Now the baton is fairly thick and not so long, but he hit me from the back and that thing bent over, right over my head. I was growing a sort of a Rhinoceros horn in my front head, immediately after that. Unfortunately I was wearing specs at that stage and both glasses broke and the one in my right eye penetrated my eyeball. And even glass in the left eye as well and I couldn't see at all for a brief moment. I managed to stay on my feet, I think, when someone was leading me to a house nearby. And I was standing at a tap outside the house, trying to wash the glass out of my eyes. Until one woman that was helping me said to me "But look – you have no eye".

- 116 At least twenty-eight people, with an average age of seventeen, were killed in the ensuing uproar across the Peninsula. At least 150 were admitted to hospital with serious injuries, predominantly from Gugulethu, Nyanga, Athlone, Philippi and Manenberg. At the SACLA Clinic in Crossroads alone, at least eighty-nine people were treated for riot-related injuries. Major General Wandrag and Lieutenant General Lothar Neethling visited the area and Gugulethu, Manenberg, and Mitchells Plain were barred by security forces to all but residents. At least 172 people were arrested in the period of the march and thereafter. Fifteen policemen were also injured in the fray.
- 117 The Commission received statements regarding at least nine of those shot dead at this time, including a pregnant woman, Ms Sarah van Wyk (21) [CT03201]; Mr Kholekile Charles Maroti, 23 [CT000202]; Mr Lance Henry Phillips (18) [CT00476]; Mr Brian Lucas (16) [CT00476]; Mr Clive Cupido (18) [CT00222]; Mr Manfred Zolile Makasi (28) [CT00114]; and Mr Mbuyiseli Mtuze (16) [CT00112].
- 118 Ms and Mr Paulsen testified about the death of their twelve-year-old son, Lionel Paulsen [CT00625], who died with Quentin Bailey (13) [CT00630]:

Ms Paulsen: *We were going to march in Mitchells Plain on the 29th because the march in Athlone had failed. My son Quentin came home and, like children are, was inquisitive. Then when he went there he was shot and killed. I was at work and they called me and they told me that my son had been shot. My husband and I ran home. His brother Karel was just one year older. Karel couldn't utter one single word. When he saw me he said "Mommy Mommy", and he charged out of the house. We tried to go to the police station but it was terrible. Having arrived there they chased us away like dogs and said, "Go and find your son's body in the morgue". My husband tried to negotiate with them, but they wanted to arrest him. Some friends who were with us had to calm him down.*

Mr Paulsen: *I went into the police station. I hit on the counter and asked who had shot my child. They didn't answer, they were just looking at me. And then I asked again, "Where is my child?" and they said "Go and find him at the mortuary". And then we went to the mortuary and found his body there. For three months I had this pain in my chest. To tell the honest truth, I loved that child dearly.*

Ms Paulsen: *The next day we returned again and then they took us to the Commissioner of Police. He was a white man on the second floor and he said "Please come again on Monday. We don't have time for you now."*

Lionel and Quentin were 13-year-olds and they both died. There were thousands of people but why did the police shoot the children? Karel sat with Lionel while he was dying – now Karel is suffering because he and his brother were like twins.

That day the 29th of August, I still remember that. I had two sons Lionel 12 years and Karel 13 years. That day I lost two sons. Karel did not study any further. They tried to give him psychiatric treatment but even today he is still suffering. We never heard who were the guilty people – who had shot my son.

Aftermath: The Peninsula erupts

- 119 After the Pollsmoor march, the townships of the Western Cape remained in upheaval until the end of the year with ongoing street battles, barricades and stone throwing and arson attacks on institutions, shops and schools. The troubled townships were regularly sealed off by security forces and placed under virtual siege. The key areas of conflict continued to be the Athlone, Bonteheuwel, Manenberg and Mitchells Plain as well as the African townships of Gugulethu, Nyanga and Langa, with Khayelitsha increasingly entering the fray. On 6 September, the government closed 464 coloured schools and tertiary institutions in an acknowledgement of the enormous impact of the school boycotts. By this stage, however, protest had moved well beyond the education constituency.
- 120 The widespread political outrage that followed the mass killings at the Pollsmoor march had galvanised communities outside of the youth and the education sector. People identified as ‘collaborators’ were increasingly targeted in petrol bomb and stoning attacks. The death toll continued to grow at the rate of several deaths per week.
- 121 Mr Ebrahim Carelse (31), father of three, was shot in the head and neck in Salt River in the wake of the Pollsmoor march fracas and died a week later on 10 September. At his funeral in Salt River on 11 September, plain-clothes police constable JJ Farmer (23) was recognised as a policeman and was stabbed to death by the crowd. While under attack he fired a shot, seriously injuring a mourner.
- 122 October 1985 was an extremely violent month, with daily clashes between police and residents resulting in an estimated thirty-seven deaths in the Peninsula and Boland. On 24 October, a week after the infamous ‘Trojan Horse’ killings of three youths by police in Athlone and two people near Crossroads (see below), crowds marching in Cape Town city centre were chased by police wielding quirts and

sjamboks, resulting in numerous injuries. The Western Cape accounted for 70 per cent of all unrest incidents nation-wide in the third week of October.

- 123 The day after the Trojan Horse shooting, an angry crowd gathered at the St Athans Road Mosque in Athlone. A member of the SAP was shot by the crowd, after which police opened fire, killing Mr Abdul Fridie (29) [CT00607]. On 18 October, a massive security force presence was moved into Athlone. Armed soldiers and police lined the streets and searched houses while a helicopter hovered above.
- 124 On 26 October, the state of emergency was extended to the western Cape, which prohibited up to a hundred organisations from holding meetings and also restricted the media. Four hundred people were detained in the first two weeks of the emergency, and the death toll continued to rise. Under these harsh restrictions, political protest adopted more varied forms such as candlelight protests, hunger strikes and church services, many of which were violently disrupted by police. The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, Brigadier Chris Swart, said that the candlelight protests were not innocent, but “deliberate tactics aimed at stirring people’s emotions, which leads them to violent acts”.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE GOAL OF THE ‘POLLSMOOR MARCH’ WAS SYMBOLIC IN NATURE, NAMELY TO DELIVER A MESSAGE TO MR MANDELA AND DEMAND HIS RELEASE. MANY OF THE GROUPS OF MARCHERS WERE LED BY CLERICS, STUDENTS AND COMMUNITY LEADERS. THE ACTIONS OF THE SECURITY FORCES ON THE DAY OF THE POLLSMOOR MARCH AND THE FOLLOWING FEW DAYS WERE THEREFORE UNWARRANTED AND USED EXCESSIVE FORCE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A MINIMUM OF TWENTY-EIGHT DEATHS ASSOCIATED WITH THE EVENT WERE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SECURITY FORCES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE HARSH REPRESSION OF THIS ACT OF PEACEFUL PROTEST PROPELLED THE REGION INTO THE MOST EXTENSIVE PERIOD OF PUBLIC UNREST IN ITS HISTORY, LASTING SEVERAL MONTHS UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR.

Security force units involved in public order policing

- 125 The highest number of security force shootings in the western Cape during the Commission’s mandate period occurred in August to November 1985, constituting the peak of the political revolt in the western Cape. These shootings were largely the responsibility of the Unrest Unit of the SAP, both the local units as well as special national teams that were flown from region to region as required. The local unit was commanded by Major Dolf Odendal under Lieutenant Colonel WS Visser. In the black townships, a particularly aggressive ‘unit within the unit’ appears to have developed, consisting of a cluster of personnel around Warrant Officer HCJ ‘Barrie’ Barnard.

- 126 Warrant Officer Barnard was deployed to the townships of Cape Town in 1976 until his death in 1988. He was central to security force actions in the African townships owing to his extensive knowledge and experience in the area. He worked in conjunction with a number of other units, including the Security Branch and the Unrest Investigation Unit. Warrant Officer Barnard was named as a perpetrator in over sixty reports of violations to the Commission – killings, torture and severe ill treatment.
- 127 The South African Railways Police (SARP) task teams, prior to their integration into the SAP in 1986, were also involved in the suppression of public unrest and have been linked to numerous fatal and non-fatal shootings as well as several high-profile ‘ambush’ cases. This ‘crack’ unit of over thirty members had received special training in security operations and was commanded by Major C Loedolff.
- 128 The Western Province Command of the SADF commanded by Brigadier AK de Jager appears to have played more of a background role. Group 40 was the chief unit from SADF WP Command deployed in unrest situations and at times onto police Casspirs (armoured personnel carriers) and other vehicles.
- 129 These structures were all co-ordinated through the Western Province Joint Management Centre (JMC), as well as in sub- and mini-Joint Management Councils (JMCs) at lower levels. Joint Operation Centres (JOCs) were established to deal with ‘hot spots’, such as the JOC at the Manenberg Police station in 1985 and 1986.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT UNITS DEPLOYED IN PUBLIC ORDER POLICING, NAMELY THE RIOT UNIT AND THE SA RAILWAY POLICE TASK TEAM USED IN RIOT CONTROL, USED METHODS THAT WERE CHARACTERISED BY BRUTALITY, RACISM AND A LACK OF CONCERN FOR APPROPRIATE PROCEDURES. THESE PRACTICES WERE CONTRIBUTORY FACTORS IN THE ESCALATION OF PUBLIC PROTEST AND VIOLENCE IN THE 1985 PERIOD. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT IN THE AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS OF CAPE TOWN, WARRANT OFFICER HCJ BARNARD IN PARTICULAR CREATED A CLIMATE OF TERROR WITH IMPUNITY AND WAS ASSOCIATED WITH A VERY HIGH NUMBER OF VIOLATIONS.

Resurgence of public protest: the Defiance Campaign, 1989

- 130 After the 1986 declaration of the state of emergency, the Peninsula experienced only isolated clashes between protestors and security forces. Of particular note were the large high-profile burials of MK operatives such as the ‘Gugulethu Seven’, Mr Ashley Kriel, Mr Robbie Waterwitch and Ms Coline Williams. The Kriel funeral in 1987, attended by thousands of mourners, was marked by uproar as police failed to stick to undertakings not to interfere in the event. Major Dolf Odendal marched

into the funeral procession and attempted to seize the ANC flag off Kriel's coffin. With such incidents sustaining the political tension, the Peninsula took the lead in spearheading public protest, defiance actions and mass action in 1989.

- 131 The Defiance Campaign against apartheid laws was launched as a national initiative by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM),⁹ but the Western Cape was to play a leading role. By March 1989, protest actions resulting in arrests had begun in Cape Town. There followed a proliferation of defiance activities targeting a range of apartheid laws, peaking in opposition to the 'whites-only' election of 6 September 1989.
- 132 On 6 August 1989, sixteen restricted activists announced their defiance of their restriction orders at an Athlone church service, sparking off a cycle of arrests and continued defiance. On 8 August, defiance rallies were held at schools and campuses in the Peninsula, and the UDF was declared 'unbanned' by a mass meeting in St George's Cathedral followed by a march under the banners of banned organisations. On 12 August, restricted activists again publicly defied their restriction orders at a National Women's Day rally in Hanover Park, which was then teargassed. Many were detained under the emergency regulations.
- 133 On 19 August, thousands of people set off to defy 'whites only' beaches at Strand and Bloubergstrand in a high-profile act of 'beach apartheid defiance'. Some groups were shot at with birdshot, others were *sjambokked*. There were multiple public protests in the following weeks. On 23 August church leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, were teargassed on a march in Gugulethu, and a week later 170 women were arrested while kneeling during a women's mass march in town. In a climax of the defiance campaign, thousands of protestors participated in a three-pronged march to Parliament on 2 September. The march was dispersed with batons and a water canon loaded with purple dye, and more than 500 people were arrested. Altogether, over 1000 people were arrested during these defiance activities.

Election day, 6 September 1989

- 134 Election day itself saw an explosion of resistance and police repression in which at least 23 people were killed and hundreds injured. Statements were received regarding the following fatalities: Ms Liziwe Masokanye (23), Stellenbosch [CT00829]; Mr Patrick Muller (13), Bellville South [CT00322]; Mr Joseph Michael Makoma (25), Kalksteenfontein [CT00300]; Mr Leonard Rass (13), Kleinvlei [CT00673]; Mr Pedro Page (18), Grassy Park [CT00416]; Mr Ricardo Levy (11),

9 MDM was the the formulation used by the UDF and its allies after their restriction in 1988.

Kalksteenfontein [CT00313]; Ms Yvette Otto (16), pregnant [CT00300]; Ms Elsie Chemfene [CT008605]; Mr Thembinkosi Tekana, Khayelitsha [CT01535] and Mr Lubalo Mtirara (20), Khayelitsha [CT00217]. On and around election day, several motorists were seriously injured and at least three killed.

- 135 The public horror at the extent of the violence reached into sectors of the western Cape not previously drawn into oppositional activity. This sense of outrage culminated in one of the largest mass marches ever seen in the western Cape on 13 September, the so-called 'Peace March'. The march, led by a range of religious, community and political leaders including the mayor and members of the city council, brought Cape Town to a standstill.
- 136 Simultaneously, a senior policeman 'broke ranks' and publicly criticised the actions of the police. Lieutenant Gregory Rockman described police action in his area, Mitchell's Plain, as 'brutal', saying that the riot squad had "stormed the kids like wild dogs. You could see the killer instinct in their eyes". The SAP were forced to initiate an inquiry into the behaviour of the Riot Squad in these incidents as well as the election night violence.

Public order policing in rural areas

- 137 Rural towns followed a markedly similar cycle of violence. During 1985, protest meetings were often broken up violently by security forces and street protests became more militant. Many towns saw at least one or two deaths of youth activists during 1985, which served to propel the townships into wider protest and attacks on those seen as collaborators. Worcester and Beaufort West are clear examples of this pattern. In certain instances, fatal police shootings were followed almost immediately by fatal attacks on so-called collaborators, as happened in Uptington and Phillipstown. After 1986, police shootings tended to be at the hands of the special constables, discussed later. Certain incidents in rural towns are outlined below.

Worcester

- 138 In Worcester the spark was provided by the killing of Mr Nkosana Nation Bahume, after which a cycle of deaths and injuries took place until the end of the year.
- 139 On 16 August 1985, student activist Nkosana Nation Bahume [CT00547], aged twenty-one, was shot dead by the security forces. On 30 August, the local

magistrate issued restriction orders on the funeral of Bahume, who was to be buried the following day. At the funeral, police fired at mourners, killing Mr Mbulelo Kenneth Mazula [CT00528], aged twenty. An eyewitness testified that “police dragged his body to the vehicle and took him to the mortuary”. People were assaulted, shot and detained by security forces in the uproar.

- 140 Mbulelo Mazula was buried on 8 September without incident. However, on 21 September 1985 Mr Andile Feni [CT08402] and two others were shot and injured by a policeman in Zwelethemba after a crowd had thrown petrol bomb at a police officer's house after a mass meeting that had resolved to chase all police from the area following the killings.
- 141 On 1 October 1985, Mr Thomas Kolo [CT08400], age 18, was shot dead by security forces. He was buried on 11 October and the funeral was restricted by the magistrate. The following day, security forces shot Mr Zandisile Ntsomi [CT00320]. Ntsomi's leg was amputated and he was discharged from hospital back into police custody the following day.

A nurse came along and brought me a wheelchair ... and two packets of pills. I was wearing a hospital night gown. They drove me out of the hospital – I was on the wheel chair, put me in the police van – I was operated yesterday, let me remind you.

Dr Orr: *[indistinct] ... get the sequence of events clear in my mind. You had the operation on the Sunday. Your leg was amputated above the knee.... which is a serious operation and the doctor discharged you the very next day, is that correct? And he discharged you knowing that you were going back to the police cells, not to your home?*

Mr Ntsomi: *Exactly, that's what happened.*

- 142 Ntsomi was then driven in the van to Cape Town and back to Worcester.

'We arrived in Worcester. As we were in the charge office ... they told me that "these were the fruits of what you are doing in the location". I still remember one of the policeman saying to me "you mustn't worry – your leg will grow again". It was funny to me because I have never seen a leg growing again. Seemingly he was very happy of what happened to me ... I am not the same person whom I used to be – or I know myself to be'.

- 143 On 13 October, Douglas Ndzima [CT00821] was shot twice by police in Zwelethemba. That day Ms Martha Nomathamsanqa Mooi's house [CT03026] in Zwelethemba was petrol-bombed by UDF members. Mr Mpazamo Bethwell Mbani (Yiko) [CT03026], her brother-in-law, was shot dead and his body set alight.
- 144 On 2 November 1985, Mr Cecil Roos Tamsanqa van Staden [CT00132] was shot by police and died two days later. The following day, Mr William Dyasi [CT00823] was shot dead by police in Zwelethemba. An inquest was held and Constable Michael Phillip Luff was found responsible for the murder but he was not prosecuted. At the intervention of the Commission the case was reopened, following which Luff applied to the Commission for amnesty [AM3814/96].
- 145 On 9 November, at the night vigil of one of the victims, Mr Buzile Fadana [CT00131], was shot dead after police arrived and an "armed encounter" resulted. His death marked an end to this cycle of killings and injuries that year.
- 146 By November 1985, an extreme environment of repression existed in Zwelethemba, which was declared out of bounds to all except residents. Roadblocks were set up and residents were only allowed to go to their homes on producing identity documents. There were twenty-four hour foot patrols, and searchlights swept the streets at night. Residents reported a heavy presence of Zulu-speaking policemen. Funerals of unrest victims were restricted to only fifty people and the family of the deceased. In one instance, forty young people were detained whilst participating in a funeral vigil.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KILLING BY POLICE OF MR NKOSANA NATION BAHUME ON 16 AUGUST 1985 TRIGGERED A SEQUENCE OF VIOLENCE, IN WHICH NUMEROUS RESIDENTS OF WORCESTER WERE KILLED OR INJURED BY POLICE AND A NUMBER OF PERSONS AND BUILDINGS WERE ATTACKED IN RETALIATION. THE DRACONIAN RESPONSE OF THE AUTHORITIES, INCLUDING CURFEWS, ROADBLOCKS AND SWEEPING DETENTIONS, ONLY AGGRAVATED THE SITUATION.

Beaufort West

- 147 On 22 January 1985, Constable PA de Villiers and the three other policemen went to the home of popular local UDF and youth organiser Mandlenkosi William 'Tshaka' Kratshi [CT00563 and CT00570] at 07h30 to arrest him following a stoning incident. Kratshi was cooking porridge for his seven-year-old son Simphiwe and asked to be allowed to finish. After a few minutes a scuffle broke out when police attempted to take him into custody by force. Kratshi was punched and retaliated with a fork, allegedly also biting De Villiers. Shortly thereafter, Constable de Villiers shot him fatally in the chest. Kratshi's funeral was restricted by the local magistrate. Residents

renamed the township 'KwaMandlenkosi'. In October the Beaufort West inquest court found that no one was criminally responsible for the Kratshi's death and that Constable de Villiers had acted in self-defence. That weekend the township erupted in widespread protest in which Mr Andile Amos Klaasen [CT00880] was fatally shot by South Cape Unrest Unit commander Major GP Marx during police action. At least 15 residents and two policemen were wounded.

Colesberg

148 From June to October 1985, local organisations took up a campaign around the lack of facilities. On 2 July, SADF soldiers set up camp outside the residential area, resulting in clashes with youth. The following day police entered the township, firing tear gas. Mr Solani Gcanga [CT01508] was arrested and repeatedly assaulted and driven around the township on top of a Casspir with a *sjambok* around his neck. This precipitated events leading to the killing of the 'Colesberg Four'.

149 Youths marched on the township house of a black policeman and set fire to his car. At about 20h00, police in Casspirs and vans entered the township. When youths approached the houses of two black police officers, police inside the house opened fire, killing four people. They were Ms Funeka Siyonzana (17) [CT01506], Mr Krakra Maciki (17) [CT00392], Mr Mongezi Juda (17) [CT01505] and Mr James Masumo (23). Numerous other residents were injured and were subsequently charged with public violence.

150 In the wake of these events, over seventy residents (sixty children, eleven men and eight women) of the township were arrested. Many in this group were subjected to severe assault and torture while in police custody and were teargassed in their cell. In a subsequent conflict with police on 22 July, fourteen people were injured, including Reverend Mcoyana [CT01528].

Knysna

151 Seventeen-year-old Mr Goodman Tatasi Xokiso [CT00334] was shot dead by police in street clashes at Knysna in March 1986. Several others were injured and/or arrested. Some of these made statements regarding assault and torture after their arrest, including *sjambokking*, beating and suffocation. Restrictions placed on Xokiso's funeral caused tensions between the local 'comrades' and the victim's mother, Ms Esther Johnson, who then left Knysna.

Kimberley

- 152 On 11 April 1985, Galeshewe student activist Thomas Mmereki Morebodi (15) [CT02851] was shot dead by Riot Squad members. Business came to a standstill in the black residential area as thousands of residents flocked to his funeral and police fired on a march that took place afterwards. 'Stratcom' pamphlets to disorganise the funeral were distributed by the local Joint Management Centre. This killing was the trigger for an escalation in the conflicts. Arson and public violence arrests took place and police action with rubber bullets, tear gas and birdshot was commonplace during this period. July to October was a peak period of street resistance and repression.

George

- 153 During the mid-1980s, serious tensions and conflicts arose between the residents and authorities in George over the proposed forcible removal of people from an informal settlement, Lawaaiakamp, to a new township called Sandkraal. This contributed to the protests in George that resulted in the deaths of at least five people in early 1986. In February 1986, Mr Rhotsi Mbuyiselo Jonas Jack (22) [CT00558], Mr Skosana Meanwell Lakeyi [CT03065] and at least one other were shot dead by police during street protests. This was followed by the 'necklace' killing of Mr Afrika Nqumse [CT00559], an employee of the Development Board seen as responsible for the forced removals. On 3 March 1986, Oudtshoorn activist Nkosinathi Hlazo [CT00534] was shot dead by Captain GP Marx and others in George, allegedly while fleeing arrest.

AS IN OTHER SITUATIONS WHERE COMMUNITIES WERE SUBJECTED TO FORCED REMOVAL FROM ONE PLACE TO ANOTHER, THE CONFLICTS WHICH AROSE CREATED CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS TOOK PLACE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE INJURIES AND KILLINGS WERE CAUSED IN THE FIRST INSTANCE BY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS POLICY OF FORCED REMOVALS.

Paarl

- 154 The surge of unrest from August to November 1985 saw several deaths and injuries in Paarl. The first death in 1985 was that of Mr Adri 'Aaron' Faas [CT03207, CT00434] on the day of the Pollsmeer march. Faas was shot dead by Lieutenant Colonel WH Oosthuizen who used his private firearm. Police officer Captain Clayton, who was on duty that night, described events before the shooting to the Commission.

A white or a yellow Ford Cortina came into the entrance of the police station. And I could see that there was Lieutenant Colonel Oosthuizen and I don't know who the passenger was. And he took out a shotgun which did not look anything like the police issue and his words were: "You people take too long, I am going to shoot a hotnot tonight."¹⁰

- 155 Adri's father, Mr Alexander Faas, described his efforts to establish what had happened:

As we were walking away, two white policemen came there and I asked them: "Please sir, who had shot my child?" ... What broke my heart is that I never could think that white people will also belong to a church, that they could behave like that and this Oosthuizen took his finger and pointed on his chest and said: "I killed your child." And my heart dropped into my shoes.

- 156 Mr Faas described the funeral:

When the hearse stopped, they started shooting at 6, 7, 8-year old kids, and I got out of the vehicle in which I was in and I went to stand in front of the hearse and said to him: "Shoot me, I am at peace with this whole thing." Because by then I was bitter.

- 157 Faas's death was followed by the fatal shootings in October of Mr Neil Moses [CT00439] and Mr Pikashe [CT00282] in street protests.

De Aar

- 158 In the Karoo town of De Aar, several casualties occurred as a result of police or administration board shootings. On 16 June 1985, civic leader Booi Mantyi was shot dead. Thirteen-year-old Leslie Kelemi [CT01517] was shot and seriously injured and blinded in one eye by police in July when fetching paraffin. He was later charged with public violence. On 9 July 1985, in Malay Camp, riot police shot and wounded a seventy-one-year-old woman, Ms Ida Koko Tantsi, her granddaughter, Ms Beauty Tantsi (30) and great-granddaughter Wendy (8) [CT00556]. The two women were then charged with public violence. A consumer boycott was launched until the end of the year to protest at the ongoing shootings and repression experienced by the residents and to demand the release of those detained and arrested. Police records indicate that Ms Vivian Tshadi, who allegedly broke the consumer boycott, was hacked to death and her body burnt in July 1985.

¹⁰ 'Hotnot' is a derogatory term for a coloured person, abbreviated from Hottentot.

- 159 Incidents in Upington and Phillipstown clearly illustrate the close relationship between police shootings and subsequent attacks on so-called collaborators. They also illustrate the different judicial consequences for police personnel and 'comrades'.

Upington

- 160 In November 1985, a series of events was set in motion that would dominate Upington for the remainder of the 1980s. On 10 November, a mass meeting in Paballelo to discuss community issues ended in the fatal police shooting of a pregnant woman, Ms Beulin Isaaks [CT04113]. Mr Ronnie Sipho Naphakade [CT04421] was shot, arrested and assaulted. Mr Harold Vuyo Mjethu [CT00699] was shot and injured, resulting in permanent damage to his right arm and loss of hearing in his right ear. Ms Miriam Blaauw [CT00435] was shot and injured and was later also charged with public violence. All three were then charged with public violence, and the first two given prison sentences.
- 161 On 13 November 1985 a crowd of around 3 000 gathered on a soccer field, hoping to talk to police about the shootings. They were told to disperse and were finally tear-gassed by police. Chaos erupted as the crowd fled. About 200 people gathered in front of the house of policeman Lucas Tsenolo 'Jetta' Sethwale [CT01418]. The house was pelted with stones. Sethwale fired two shots from his bedroom window, injuring an eleven-year-old boy. When he fled from his house, he was chased by the crowd across a field where he was caught, struck down with his pistol, assaulted and burnt.¹¹
- 162 Police moved in and arrested numerous people, including three women. Twenty-six were accused of murder and tried in a high-profile political trial that dominated both Upington and South African judicial history.
- 163 Some of those detained, including the accused, were assaulted and tortured in an effort to extract confessions regarding their role in the murder. Mr Justice Bekebeke [CT03074] was beaten with fists and kicked all over his body. He was also made to stand next to a road sign while shots were fired at the sign. Bekebeke applied for amnesty for the killing of Sethwale [AM6370/97]. Mr Zongezile Mokgatle [CT00698] was beaten, *sjambokked* while naked and beaten with branches of a thorn tree by policemen, to force him to make admissions.
- 164 The trial, presided over by Justice Basson¹², started eleven months after the

¹¹ For information about the consequences of this incident for Sethwale's mother, see chapter on *Reconciliation* in Volume Five.

¹² One of the junior counsel in the trial, Anton Lubowski, was assassinated in Namibia in 1989 by members of the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

murder and continued for eighteen months. A 'trial within a trial' debated the admissibility of the confessions made by some of the accused, but the judge ruled them to be admissible and they served as the basis for the later convictions. Twenty-five of the accused were convicted in April 1988, on the basis of the controversial 'common purpose' doctrine. Fourteen were sentenced to death.¹³

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE USE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF 'COMMON PURPOSE' ASSOCIATION FOR THE PURPOSES OF CONVICTIONS IN POLITICALLY RELATED MATTERS WAS INAPPROPRIATE. FURTHER, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE IMPOSITION OF THE DEATH PENALTY FOR POLITICALLY MOTIVATED OFFENCES CONSTITUTED A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION. IN THIS TRIAL IN WHICH FOURTEEN DEFENDANTS WERE SENTENCED TO DEATH, THE COMMISSION PARTICULARLY FINDS THE IMPOSITION OF THE DEATH PENALTY ON SIXTY-YEAR-OLD GRANDMOTHER MS EVELINA DE BRUIN TO BE EXCESSIVELY HARSH EVEN WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE LEGISLATION AT THE TIME.

Phillipstown

165 On 21 December 1985 Ms Sophie Butele [CT00513] was shot dead by policeman Silingo Tshemese in Phillipstown. Several members of the Tshemese family worked for state institutions and were seen as 'collaborators'. A huge crowd of people gathered outside the Tshemese home and began a prolonged attack. The Tshemese family locked themselves in the house. Some were injured by the flying stones and bricks and others were attacked with an axe. Mr Geelboy Tshemese [CT01518, CT02907] was dragged outside and assaulted with axes and spades, then burnt with petrol and tyres.

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

The Trojan Horse and other ambush tactics

167 During late 1985 and early 1986, security force members sometimes adopted ambush tactics against street protestors and others by concealing themselves either in a moving vehicle or at the scene. In each instance, police opened fire without warning, causing deaths and injuries. Those killed or injured were frequently merely curious bystanders. In at least two of the cases quoted below, the victims were youth

¹³ In the early 1990s those sentenced were released as political prisoners.

and women only. The best known of these cases is the 'Trojan Horse' shooting. However, other cases came to light through the work of the Commission.¹⁴

- 168 In the Athlone 'Trojan Horse' incident on 15 October 1985, police hiding in large wooden crates on the back of a railway truck fired directly into a crowd of about a hundred people who had gathered around a Thornton Road intersection, killing Michael Cheslyn Miranda (11) [CT00478, CT00472], Shaun Magmoed (16) [CT00472] and Mr Jonathan Claasen (21) [CT00475] and injuring several others, eight of whom submitted statements to the Commission.
- 169 The event attracted extensive media coverage since several members of the print and electronic media were at the scene and the shooting was captured on video. This placed the actions of the police under intense scrutiny of the local and international media.
- 170 This operation was repeated the following day when security force personnel drove down a road opposite Crossroads in the same truck. They shot and killed Mr Goodman Mengxane Mali (19) [CT00723] and Mr Mabhoti Alfred Vetman (20). Two toddlers were also injured in the shooting.
- 171 The Athlone Trojan Horse shooting highlights the role of the Western Province Joint Management Centre in the region, and its sub-JMC which covered the Peninsula. These structures had established a JOC which met daily at the Manenberg Police station to co-ordinate the activities of the security forces in areas identified as unrest 'flashpoints'. It brought together the command structures of the SAP, the SARP, the SADF and various other agencies. Information was collected by the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) and the Security Committee (SECCOM) of the Joint Management Centre.
- 172 A memorandum sent to the JMCs directly concerned with planning action against the unrest gives specific plans for security force actions against 'agitators'. The document states that "the fight against unrest can only be won if problems are foreseen and stopped through pro-active actions". It calls for creative ways and methods to mislead or confuse "agitators" or to lay waste to their plans before they begin.
- 173 Colonel Pieter Janse van Rensburg (Head of Western Province Riot Squad), Major Christian Loedolff (SARP) and Commandant Salmon Pienaar (SADF) were amongst those who decided on and tasked the ten members of the SARP task force (under

14 See, for example, similar incidents in the chapter on the Eastern Cape.

Lieutenant Douw Vermeulen) to obtain a railway vehicle and conduct the first Trojan Horse operation.

THE COMMISSION HAS CONSIDERED THE FOLLOWING:

- THE FACT THAT THIS ACTION WAS PREMEDITATED AND WAS THE RESULT OF ORDERS HANDED DOWN FROM LIEUTENANT VERMEULEN'S IMMEDIATE COMMANDING OFFICER IN THE MANENBERG JOINT OPERATIONAL CENTRE, THE THEN MAJOR LOEDOLFF;
- THAT ALL THE WEAPONS USED IN THE OPERATION WERE LOADED WITH SHARP AMMUNITION, IN VIOLATION OF ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES;
- THAT THERE WAS AN EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION SET UP BETWEEN THE PERSONS IN THE FRONT OF THE TRUCK AND THE BACK AND THAT THERE WAS COMMUNICATION WITH THE JOC;
- THE PREPONDERANCE OF CHILDREN, YOUTH AND WOMEN AMONGST THOSE SHOT.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE THIRTEEN SENIOR AND JUNIOR MEMBERS OF THE SAP, SADF AND SARP, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE RELEVANT STRUCTURES OF THE JMCS, PLANNED AND EXECUTED AN ACTION IN ATHLONE WHICH RESULTED IN SEVERAL GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

- 174 Six months after the Athlone incident, on 26 March 1986, security forces concealed in a railway truck shot dead three people near Crossroads, namely Mr Lennox Thabang Maphalane [CT00706], Mr Eric Heynes [CT00824] and Mr Goodman Bongani Dastile.¹⁵ Several others were injured. The inquest listed some of the same individuals involved in the Athlone shooting.
- 175 In a similar incident in February 1986 in Khayelitsha, members of the security forces disguised as ordinary workers in a bakkie fired on members of the public with birdshot according to the statement by Mr Thanduxolo Cingo [CT00739].
- 176 On 29 August 1985, Riot Unit members Constable E Villet and Warrant Officer P Kruger hid in the garden of a Bellville South house on the orders of Captain Ockert van Schalkwyk. They later leapt out from this 'observation point' and fired at a group of people. Ms Sarah van Wyk [CT03201] was killed and at least four other women wounded. Ms Monica Daniels [CT00151] had to have her arm amputated as a result of the shooting.

The Bongoletu Three shooting

- 177 On 17 June 1985, three children, Andile Majola [CT00329], Fezile Hanse [CT00330] and Patrick Madikane [CT00533], were shot dead at the house of a

¹⁵ The wife of Eric Heynes described ongoing police harassment until the funeral of her husband. The funeral itself was disrupted by police including Warrant Officer Barnard, leading to the coffin being dumped and opened on the ground. The mother of Thabang Maphalane was visited twice by Barnard after the shooting and threatened.

black security policeman by members of the Riot Unit. Several other youths were seriously injured but were taken into custody by police and subsequently charged with public violence. Mr Xolile Lwana [CT00536] was shot in the head with birdshot, leaving him permanently physically and mentally disabled.

178 Police versions of the event and eyewitness accounts differ. Residents of Bongolethu argue that the shooting was essentially an ambush. Youth gathered at the house did not know that there were policemen waiting in the house. One constable stated that one youth actually went into the front room of the house, but the policemen did not reveal their presence. No warnings were issued and no warning shots fired. In addition, buckshot was used as opposed to the lighter birdshot.

179 An eyewitness, Mr Mzukisi Mooi, described the event as follows:

People believed Mngoma's house was empty. Another boy with a red jersey went to the front door. The next minute I heard a shot going off. Shots were fired continuously. I saw a little boy lying near the gate. I saw a girl crawling across the road. The next moment, policemen came out of the house. One policeman continued firing at the crowd. One of the policemen brought a holder with petrol from the house and threw it in a Fanta bottle. He then put it near the body of the one child.¹⁶

180 The police officers said they had acted in self-defence after a crowd attacked the township house that they were guarding. One policeman testified that one of the youths had sprinkled petrol onto the carpet of the house and that another had matches on him. In order to stop him from striking the match, the policemen in charge shot the child. The other two children were shot in the process of fighting the crowd which had gathered outside the house.

181 After what became known as the 'Bongolethu Three' incident, the townships of Bongolethu and Bridgeton remained in a state of ongoing revolt and political upheaval until the end of the year, with mass detentions and trials continuing in 1986. All black police were driven out of the townships during this period. In 1989, the graves of the Bongolethu Three were desecrated by unknown people.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KILLING OF THE BONGOLETHU THREE AT BONGOLETHU, OUDTSHOORN AMOUNTED TO AN 'AMBUSH' CARRIED OUT ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE ADOPTION OF 'TROJAN HORSE' AMBUSH TACTICS BY THE SECURITY FORCES TO BE ENTIRELY INAPPROPRIATE FOR DEALING WITH CIVILIAN UNREST. THE AMBUSH

¹⁶ Mr Humphrey Joseph and Mr Mzukisi Mooi were later charged for 'publishing untruths' about the police and their actions in this incident in the July 1985 edition of community newspaper *Saamstaan*.

TACTIC WAS USED TO LURE CIVILIANS DELIBERATELY INTO SITUATIONS WHICH THEN RESULTED IN FATALITIES AND INJURIES. RELYING ON CONCEALMENT, SPEED AND SURPRISE, IT RESULTED IN INDISCRIMINATE SHOOTINGS BY THE SECURITY FORCES, INJURING BYSTANDERS AND PROTESTORS ALIKE. IN MANY INSTANCES OF STREET UNREST, THE MAIN PARTICIPANTS WERE YOUTH UNDER THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN.

Detentions

- 182 Most detentions prior to 1985 were under section 29¹⁷. One of the most widely publicised cases was the arrest and detention of Simonstown Naval Commander Dieter Gerhardt and his wife Ruth, pending their treason trial relating to spying activities for the USSR. They were later sentenced to life imprisonment.
- 183 On October 26 1985, the state of emergency was extended to the western Cape. Midnight raids during the night of 25/26 October resulted in mass detentions under section 50¹⁸, targeting predominantly the leaders of UDF affiliates. Sixty-six people were detained that night, and at least four hundred over the following two weeks.
- 184 The first state of emergency in the Western Cape lasted 132 days and approximately 1 300 people were detained, including teachers, clergy, journalists, attorneys, students, unemployed people and pensioners. More than fifty youth were included, some as young as eleven years of age. Most detainees were released by the end of December 1985, but several were subjected to restrictions on their movements and activities. Ongoing detentions occurred until the lifting of the state of emergency in March 1986, while section 29 detentions actually increased during the first six months of 1986.
- 185 The mass swoop was repeated in the early hours of 12 June 1986 with the declaration of a national state of emergency. Approximately 160 individuals were detained immediately and more over the next few weeks, including many of the people who had been detained in 1985. A non-governmental organisation (NGO) recorded 349 detentions in the urban Cape Town area over 1986. The majority of these detainees were released by the end of 1986. Among those detained were a Roman Catholic nun, an entire church congregation of 189 people in Elsie's River, and Worcester UDF activist Christopher Tyawana, whose section 29 detention was brought about by a collaboration between the Security Branch and Allied Bank.

17 Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982: Section 29 provided for indefinite detention for interrogation, and for detainees to be held in solitary confinement.

18 *Ibid.* Section 50 provided for fourteen-day preventive detention, even by a low-ranking police officer.

- 186 Detention became more selective in 1987–89 and often focused on events or campaigns undertaken by the opposition movement.
- 187 A small but significant group of leading activists were held for very lengthy periods, including Mr Trevor Manuel (held for 676 days), Mr Mziwonke ‘Whitey’ Jacobs (560 days), Mr Lizo Kapa (387 days), Mr Ebrahim Rassool (384 days) and Mr Naseegh Jaffer (351 days). Some activists experienced repeated detentions. Mr Willie Hofmeyr embarked on a twenty-eight-day hunger strike in 1989 during his third detention, after a six-month period in solitary confinement during 1988. Detainees were also served with restriction orders on their release, thus continuing their imprisonment beyond the confines of a jail.
- 188 Clusters of individuals were detained and later charged with public violence. A proliferation of public violence trials saw hundreds of young people sent to prisons along with common criminals for lengthy prison sentences. Many of the sentences were based on ‘confessions’ extracted under torture.

Torture

- 189 The Commission accumulated data from human rights violations statements, amnesty statements and statements made to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) regarding the assault and torture of detainees prior to the state of emergency, under the emergency and under section 29.

Cape Peninsula

- 190 In the Cape Peninsula areas, torture and assault in custody took both random and targeted forms. Students reported being arrested and assaulted after street protests, notably at the Brackenfell police station. The police often appear to have used torture to extract confessions for court cases of which examples are provided below. The perpetrators often appear to have been members of special Unrest Investigation Units, particularly the one based at Gugulethu. The Athlone-based unit was involved in widespread torture of youth linked to the Bonteheuwel Military Wing (discussed below). Many of these individuals were forced to implicate themselves in confessions used later in efforts to convict them on public violence charges.
- 191 Mr William ‘Keff’ Thomas was detained under the emergency in 1987 and held for several months. He was taken to the Gugulethu police station where he was questioned and tortured.

The said police officers accused me of attacking a fellow policeman's house and assaulted and tortured me with the purpose of getting a confession as well as to furnish them with names of others ... I was assaulted by Officer Nortjie who had a wet bag placed over my head and proceeded to spray tear gas into it causing me to have difficulty in breathing and/or remaining conscious. The said torture took place at the back of the Gugulethu police cells where I was placed in a container. I was charged in the criminal court with public violence. A trial within a trial was held and the charges were withdrawn against me.¹⁹

- 192 The theft of weapons from special constables in KTC in October 1986 prompted a major security force raid on youth in KTC that resulted in the death of Mpumelelo Rwarwa [CT00864] on 27 October. A group of youth was arrested, and assaulted and tortured both on arrest and at the Gugulethu police station. The torture included wet bag suffocation, electric shocks and beatings with gun butts, while being kept naked. One detainee had a tyre placed around him and petrol poured onto it. The police then threatened to burn him alive. He was taken to the bushes and suspended by a chain from a tree, assaulted, and later given electric shocks.
- 193 After the *witdoeke* attacks of May and June 1986, thousands of refugees were forced to live in schools and churches. Refugees were arrested from these centres and tortured to make them confess to a range of public violence crimes. Torture involved electric shocks, suffocation and near drowning. Mr Hercules Benjamin Booysen [CT00296] was taken from one such refugee centre and severely assaulted by Warrant Officer Barnard and others. It is notable that few if any *witdoeke* were arrested or charged.

Torture and assault under section 29

- 194 During the state of emergency, section 29 detentions focused on individuals suspected of underground military activities. Section 29 detainees suffered extensive abuse, both physical and psychological, mainly at the hands of the Western Cape Security Branch. The same names and *modus operandi* recur constantly in statements regarding torture made to the Commission, in trials and in court interdicts. From 1986, torture appears to be most strongly associated with certain members of the Terrorism Tracing Unit (also known as the Terrorism Tracking Unit, Detection Unit or Anti-Terrorism Unit). The unit stationed at Culemborg, Cape Town, was under the command of the then Lieutenant Liebenberg and included Warrant Officer Nel, Warrant Officer Jeffrey Benzien and Constable Piet

¹⁹ Statement by William Thomas furnished to the Commission for use in the Benzien amnesty application.

Goosen. Some change of membership occurred over time but Liebenberg, Benzien and Nel remained constant throughout. The function of the unit was described as the “expeditious tracing and arrest of terrorists, collection of information and intelligence and the confiscating of weapons and arrest of hangers on”. Others associated with the unit included Constable Patrick Siyali and a number of *askaris* (guerrillas ‘turned’ by the security forces) such as Sergeant David Matamela Musimeke and Lucky ‘Agrippa’ Madubula.

- 195 Captain Frans Mostert became known for his methods of intimidation, assault, and particularly sexual threats directed at female detainees. Ms Zubeida Jaffer stated that he threatened the life of her child while she was pregnant in detention. He was the subject of a court interdict by Ms June Esau [CT03040] in 1985.
- 196 Warrant Officer Jeffrey Benzien became known as one of the principal torturers. He joined the Security Branch in 1986 and was incorporated into the Terrorism Tracking Unit within a year.
- 197 During his amnesty hearing, Jeffrey Benzien admitted to several acts of torture against Mr Peter Jacobs, Mr Ashley Forbes, Mr Anwar Dramat, Mr Tony Yengeni, Mr Gary Kruse, Mr Niclo Pedro and Mr Allan Mamba. This was done with the knowledge of his superior officer, Lieutenant Liebenberg. His admissions included the ‘wet bag’ method for which he was renowned, electric shocks and assaults. In a moment of high drama during his hearing he physically demonstrated the wet bag method on a volunteer. His admissions were contested by some of those he had tortured and others he denied torturing. They argued that Benzien’s admissions were very limited and did not reflect the full extent of the abuses to which he had subjected his victims. Further, they argued that he was the ‘fall guy’ for the entire group of torturers and that he continued to protect them by denying their presence or participation in acts of torture and abuse.
- 198 Major General JL Griebenaauw admitted to knowledge about acts of torture at the hands of the Security Branch and stated that such acts and knowledge were widespread. Although he did not apply for amnesty for acts of torture, Griebenaauw was also directly implicated in the assault and torture of Mr Trevor Wentzel and Mr Mohammed Saleem Badat [CT05005]. Mr Ntozelizwe Thomas Talakumeni reported being tortured by Griebenaauw in 1985. He stated in his court case that Colonel Griebenaauw took him to the sixth floor of the Paarl police building where he was made to climb through a window onto the roof. He claimed Colonel

Griebenauw then asked if he had any message for his family and girlfriend because this was the last time he would see Paarl. Then Colonel Griebenauw and a Warrant Officer lifted him over the parapet and, holding onto his feet, hung him upside down. This happened four times, he said. He also alleged that a gun was held at his head during an interrogation. In the court case, Colonel Griebenauw said there was no truth in Mr Talakumeni's complaints.

- 199 Many section 29 detainees suffered serious psychological torture. They were almost without exception kept in complete solitary confinement for six months or longer. It was not unusual for section 29 detention to be extended into a second 180-day period. Several suicide survivors and others were admitted to hospital suffering from acute anxiety or depression. A further form of psychological torture was the threatened or actual detention of family members.

Torture prior to terrorism trials

- 200 A number of section 29 detentions resulted in terrorism trials. In some instances, a trial-within-a-trial was held to determine the validity of the confession because of frequent allegations of torture to extract confessions. Without exception, the security police denied the torture and the judges ruled the confessions admissible. For example, Lieutenant Liebenberg denied all allegations of torture made by the accused in the terrorism trial of Mr Lizo Ngqungwana and twelve others.
- 201 Mr Robert Nana Maliti (22) [CT00133] was arrested in Crossroads in October 1988, allegedly in possession of a limpet mine. Whilst in custody he was assaulted so severely by Benzien *inter alia* that he suffered a brain haemorrhage and had to undergo emergency brain surgery. He was later sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Maliti was permanently physically and mentally disabled by the assault.
- 202 Trialists from the terrorism trial of Mr Ashley Forbes and fourteen others raised aspects of their torture at Benzien's amnesty hearing. Mr Ashley Forbes was arrested on 16 April 1986. He was subjected to the wet bag method while he was naked; a metal rod was inserted in his anus and he was electrically shocked. He was also further assaulted, hit on the head and eyes and had his head hit against the wall until he lost consciousness. His eardrum was broken, he was choked and his nostrils were pulled until they bled. Fellow trialists Mr Niclo Pedro and Mr Peter Jacobs were also subjected to the wet bag method. Pedro was hung from the burglar bars on the window and assaulted.

Trialists from the terrorism trial of Mr Tony Yengeni and thirteen others also allege torture. Mr Tony Yengeni was assaulted and subjected to the wet bag method. Mr Gary Kruser was handcuffed to the office burglar bars with his feet dangling in the air, assaulted and subjected to the wet bag. This was conceded by Benzien.

- 204 Mr Bongani Jonas was shot in the legs by *askari* David Matamela Musimeke and Constable Patrick Siyali [AM7997/97] on his arrest in September 1987. Both femurs were shattered and he was bleeding profusely. En route to Culemborg, Warrant Officer Barnard of the Riot Unit sat on his injured legs. At Culemborg the *askaris* held his hands while his leg was jumped on. Medical attention was withheld from him until he agreed to co-operate with the police and take them to an arms cache in Khayelitsha. He was carried in a blanket and his legs were thrown around violently. He was taken to hospital six hours after being shot.
- 205 Similarly, Mr Mthetheleli Titana was shot four times during his arrest. His injured leg was twisted and wrung repeatedly. "A Warrant Officer grabbed Titana's leg and wrung it around like an old car's starter sling. The Warrant Officer made the noise like a starting car."²⁰ Like Jonas, he was forced to take police in search of arms caches before being given medical treatment.

Torture in rural areas

- 206 Assault and torture of detainees appears to have been very widespread in rural towns. With the smaller pool of police personnel, the same names recur repeatedly in statements alleging torture in rural town police stations.
- 207 In the northern Karoo town of Noupoot, at least two youths were reported to be mentally disturbed after undergoing torture. Yibanathi Mjada [CT00389], aged fourteen, was tortured by having his penis slammed in a drawer. He was later charged with offences and became mentally disturbed. Ms Gladys Ntsizakalo described what happened to her son Siphwiwo Ntsizakalo [CT01504]

He was fifteen years old. The police were always looking for him. They knocked, kicking the doors down. They used tear gas. They took my son with. He was detained for two days. On the third day the police came to tell me at home that my son is ill. He is mentally disturbed – totally confused.

²⁰ Grassroots, May 1989.

I asked if I could see my son as he is not well. They refused yet again. The police had no respect – even though I was a parent. They just took my child to Queenstown [to a mental asylum]. When he came back after two months he stayed in detention (for another month). I went to the police station and requested – may I see my son. He was alone in the cell. Both his hands and his legs were tied. When I looked at him as a parent, I realised that he was mentally disturbed. When he saw me – he just cried. I could see that my son had changed. When I asked he said they kept on beating him up – they beat him up – that is why he was deranged. They would take a sack – a wet sack – and then they would cover him with that sack. They would put him in the boot – drive him to a place that he did not know and then when they reached their destination, they would beat him up. After that they would take him back to the cell. Now he cannot do anything for himself. He cannot be independent, because he is mentally deranged.

- 208 Mr Andile ‘Ace’ Kobe [CT06803] was arrested and subsequently beaten unconscious inside the George police station. The police took the unconscious Kobe to the beach in their van and left him there for the night. Kobe was found the following morning and underwent emergency brain surgery for a subdural haematoma. He died shortly afterwards, and his funeral was restricted.
- 209 Three Riot Unit members were charged with his murder. Mr Andre Schutte (19) was sentenced to twelve years’ imprisonment for bludgeoning Kobe to death. His two former colleagues, Mr Pieter Koen (21) and Mr Cornis Serfontein (22), were each sentenced to seven years’ jail for attempted murder. The sentencing of the police was widely criticised for its comparative leniency.
- 210 Statements taken from the Mossel Bay area reflect brutal torture of a range of young teenagers arrested and tortured by the same group of people during 1985 and 1986. Almost all then spent three to five months in state of emergency detention in George prison. Some were subsequently charged with public violence. The Mossel Bay stories of torture show a number of unusual similarities, including a particularly aggressive form of sexual abuse of both males and females. Several males had their genitals slammed in the drawer of a desk.
- 211 Mr Patrick Mzathi [CT06108] was detained in 1986 at the age of fourteen by police in Mossel Bay. He was beaten with a handgun, ‘klapped’ and kicked. Policemen including Sergeant Maritz slammed his penis and testicles in a drawer, which rendered him unconscious. He was kept naked in a cell and was released after nearly three months. A Captain Calitz was among those named for similar torture of other victims.

- 212 Ms Zanele Zingxondo [CT00860] describes the sexual torture and electric shocks applied to her in Mossel Bay in order to get her to implicate herself in the killing of Development Board employee Mr Afrika Nqumse [CT00559], who had been necklaced in March 1986 in George during ongoing conflicts around forced removals.

One of them pushed me on the chair and they took my arms at the back of the chair and they handcuffed me, my one leg was handcuffed to the one leg of the chair. One of these detectives took a piece of cloth and put it over my head. They stuffed some papers and a piece of cloth in my mouth, and my eyes were also closed ...

They clipped pegs on my ears, both my ears and they switched this object on. I realised only then that it was some kind of an electric shock. They did this several times, up until my bladder couldn't take it. They stopped and asked if I was still denying that I was also there, when Africa was murdered. I couldn't speak because my tongue was hurt and I was crying.

They started smacking me, pushing me around also. Captain van der Merwe pulled me up to other side of his desk. They unbuttoned my shirt, and pulled my breast out of my bra, they emptied one drawer and my breast was squeezed in the drawer. They did this several times on each of the breasts up until the white sticky stuff burst out of the nipples of my breast. I cried, but it was of no use, because no-one could hear me.

- 213 Oudtshoorn activist Mr Sipho Kroma [CT05702] was detained together with Mr Michael Lukas and Mr Mxolisi Madikane in Uitenhage after the fatal shooting of bus inspector and former SAP member Mr William Blouw on 15 April 1986. Kroma, Lukas and Madikane were severely tortured and forced to make statements implicating Lukas in the death of William Blouw. The torturers were policemen from Oudtshoorn. Kroma told the Commission:

They put me (handcuffed) in the boot of the car. On the way out of KwaNobuhle township, they stopped again. They pulled me out of the boot and the very same show continued – they kicked me, jumping on top of me. Again I went back to my place – the boot – and we drove to the Church Street police station in Uitenhage. When we got there, they first took Michael Lukas in. The only thing that we could hear was Michael screaming. They dealt with him for about two hours. They finished with him and they called me in. They made me sit. They straightened my legs and they brought the SACP flag and they used the flag to tie my legs. And they brought the electric wiring, all ten of my fingers were wired with this thing ... three of them were sitting

on my legs. The coloured chap's task was to beat me up and he made sure that he was hurting me. Time and again he would deal with my private parts, to grab at my penis, and my testicles, and punch me in my private parts and also kick me in my private parts. The first [indistinct] of interrogation was trying to link Michael who was with me to a case of Mr Blouw who was shot and killed in the township. They wanted me to admit and agree that Michael said to us that he was responsible for the shooting of Mr Blouw.

Mpondo was the one who was using a khaki T-shirt, they would put it in a bucket of water, and tied it around my face, making it impossible for me to breathe. Mngoma's task was to ask a question ... if he is not satisfied with my explanation, he would give a mandate for them to fire. Firing meant to put on the electric shot ... I would be shaking like this when they put on the wire. They dealt with me for about two hours. Then it was the last time that I saw Michael, when I was released from detention and he was charged and ultimately hanged.

- 214 Mr Michael Lukas [CT00535] and two others were subsequently charged for the murder of Blouw. Lukas was sentenced to death in August 1987 and was executed seven months later.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT EXECUTION FOR POLITICALLY-MOTIVATED OFFENCES CONSTITUTED A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION.

- 215 In Worcester, certain police personnel are repeatedly named as torturers, including Warrant Officer Lucas van Loggerenberg. A group of security detainees including Mr Xolile Dyabooi [CT00232], Mr Monwabisi Magoqi [CT00772] and Ms Mary Ngemntu [CCT00404] were assaulted and tortured by Worcester police. Mr Dyabooi stated that:

In 1987 the police who used to take me for torture was Van Loggerenberg ... They used to handcuff me and suffocate me with a plastic bag and tie me in a chair. Then they would punch me and kick me severely. This happened for about three weeks in a row, each and every day.

- 216 The personnel file of Sergeant H MacDonald [39831H/5] refers to numerous charges of assault and torture against himself, Warrant Officer van Loggerenberg and Lieutenant Gerrit Niewoudt by detainees over several years, all of which are denied by those so charged. In each instance, the Attorney-General declined to prosecute.

217 Ms Yvonne Khutwane [CT00530] of Worcester spoke about her experience in custody:

That was the first time when I was arrested ... I was just alone at the back of the hippo [police armoured vehicle] and they were just driving – it was pitch dark outside. They alighted the hippo and then they came to take me out of the hippo. One of them said to me can I see what I have put myself in, and then they asked me when did I last sleep with a man. I was so embarrassed by this question. And I felt so humiliated – I informed them that I have nobody – I didn't have a partner and then they asked me with whom am I staying. I informed them that I was with my family. The other question that they asked me is how do I feel when they – when I am having intercourse with a man. This was too much for me because they were repeating it time and again, asking me the same question, asking me what do I like with the intercourse do I like the size of the penis or what do I enjoy most. So the other one was just putting his hand inside me through the vagina, I was crying because I was afraid, we have heard that the soldiers are very notorious of raping people. This one continued putting his finger right through me, he kept on penetrating and I was asking for forgiveness and I was asking them what have I done, "I am old enough to be your mother". "But why are you treating me like this" – this was very, very embarrassing. At the end one of them – I think maybe God just came inside them – and the other one said "let's let her go", and then at the end they took me back to the police station and then they locked me up in the cell again."²¹

Northern Cape

218 The Repression Monitoring Group reported that at least 166 people were detained in the Northern Cape under the 1986 state of emergency. Some of these detainees were tortured. Mr David Mabeka [CT04407] was detained on 12 June in Barkly West and was taken to the Transvaal Road police station in Kimberley where he was assaulted by security policemen. He laid a charge against the police but fled to Johannesburg after being threatened by them. Mr Rodney Mtyobile [CT04503] was subjected to electric shocks by SAP member Mr Mochesane. Electric shock torture was also reported by Ms Gladys Keitumetse [CT06014], who was detained at Jan Kempdorp on 12 June for a period of about nine months. She also alleged that she was seriously beaten.

219 Excerpts from the submission by Mr Thembani Jacobs James [CT04007] of Kimberley

21 For more about this and similar cases, see *Special Hearing: Women* in Volume Four.

provide a window into the torture of UDF members in the Northern Cape. He was detained six times between 1985 and 1989 with frequent assaults and torture.

- 220 On 29 January 1985, Jacobs was arrested after an illegal march during the student school boycott and held until 15 February. He was interrogated and assaulted by a Sergeant:

He was continuously assaulting me all over my body and my left ear. It started at 09h00 and ended at 15h00. I realised that I could not hear properly with my left ear. It was very painful. During the interrogation, the Sergeant said that if I complained about the fact that I was tortured, he will fetch me again.

- 221 A doctor later found that his eardrum had been perforated.

- 222 On 23 February 1985: "I was taken to the CID department. We were beaten ... I was taken to the cells with all my colleagues. Tear gas was thrown into the cells."

- 223 He was again detained when the state of emergency was declared on 12 June 1986. This time he was tortured by (*inter alia*) Mr Gavin Toynam to force him to make admissions. He spent several months in solitary confinement after that. In June 1986:

I was visited by a Sergeant who tried to bribe me to testify against my comrades. He came to me carrying a bottle of Klipdrift brandy. I told him I would not co-operate. He then told me I must forget about being released.

- 224 In detention again in 1988, he was handcuffed, given electric shocks and beaten with a bottle of Coca-Cola. This was done by (*inter alia*) Mr Hendrick Niewoudt and Captain van der Colff at the Kimberley police station. On release from his last period of detention, he was served with restriction orders.

- 225 He finally had an operation on his ear in August 1989. He told the Commission that these traumas affected him deeply, both psychologically and physically.

- 226 Mr Mxolisi Jacobs [CT04205], an active member of the youth organisation in Upington, was detained on 15 June 1986 during a wider pre-June 16 security crackdown under the state of emergency. The prison authorities stated that he was found hanged in his prison cell on 22 October 1986, after 129 days in detention. "Fellow detainees said that Jacobs had been strong and in good spirits when they last saw him seven hours before his death. His aunt said that

she could not accept the circumstances of his death.”²² At the court case, prison warders apparently gave conflicting evidence. The official cause of death was found to be suicide by hanging.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THIS PERIOD SAW THE MOST WIDESPREAD PERPETRATION OF TORTURE IN THIS REGION DURING THE PERIOD OF THE COMMISSION'S MANDATE. THE TWO GROUPS TORTURED MOST CONSISTENTLY WERE INDIVIDUALS SUSPECTED OF PUBLIC VIOLENCE ACTIVITIES, AND INDIVIDUALS SUSPECTED OF BELONGING TO MK. SEPARATE ACCOUNTS OF SIMILAR MEANS EMPLOYED IN EITHER THE SAME PREMISES OR BY THE SAME NAMED PERPETRATORS LEND AUTHENTICITY TO THESE ACCOUNTS.

IN THE PENINSULA, THIS TORTURE WAS NOTABLY ASSOCIATED WITH CERTAIN UNITS OF THE SECURITY FORCES, NAMELY THE SECURITY BRANCH, PARTICULARLY THE TERRORISM TRACKING UNIT, AND THE UNREST INVESTIGATION UNITS. THE COMMISSION FINDS EVIDENCE OF WIDE-SPREAD TORTURE IN RURAL AREAS, PREDOMINANTLY AT POLICE STATIONS SUCH AS THE TRANSVAAL ROAD POLICE STATION IN KIMBERLEY, THE WORCESTER POLICE STATION AND SECURITY BRANCH HEADQUARTERS AT THE SANLAM BUILDING IN WORCESTER AND SEVERAL POLICE STATIONS IN THE SOUTHERN CAPE. THE COMMISSION NOTES A PATTERN OF SEXUAL TORTURE AT THE MOSSEL BAY POLICE STATION.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE MOTIVE FOR SUCH TORTURE WAS OFTEN INTIMIDATION OR THE FORCIBLE EXTRACTION OF CONFESSIONS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUCH TORTURE WAS COMMITTED WITH THE COMPLICIT KNOWLEDGE OF THE SUPERIORS OF THE INDIVIDUALS ASSOCIATED WITH ACTS OF TORTURE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS A CONSISTENT PATTERN OF MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES LYING IN COURT BY DENYING INVOLVEMENT IN ACTS OF TORTURE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MAGISTRATES AND JUDGES WERE SINGULARLY RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT OR BELIEVE ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE.

Killing of political suspects

227 At least nine MK operatives were killed in the western Cape between 1986 and early 1990, namely Mr Norman Petersen, Mr Zola Dubeni, Mr Ashley Kriel, Mr Mthetheleli Gcina, Mr Nkululeko ‘Solly’ Mutsi, Mr Anton Fransch, Mr Samuel Baloi, Ms Coline Williams and Mr Robert Waterwitch. This figure does not include the Gugulethu Seven, who were not technically MK operatives. Other individuals who were killed and may have been indirectly linked to MK, or who were suspected of politically motivated acts, included Mr Patrick Welile ‘Deks’ Dakuse, Mr Ayanda Silika and Mr Mpumelelo Rwarwa.

228 It is notable that Kriel, Dakuse, Baloyi and Mabilo were killed while said to be in possession of a single hand grenade. The security forces were absolved of responsibility for all of these deaths in the inquests.

²² *Focus*, No 68, Jan–Feb 1987, p. 5.

The 'Gugulethu Seven'

Around 07h30 on 3 March 1986, seven young men were shot dead at the corner of Gugulethu's NY 1 and NY 111 and in an adjoining field. They were Mr Mandla Simon Mxinwa (23) [CT00700], Mr Zanisile Zenith Mjobo (21) [CT00116], Mr Zola Alfred Swelani (22), Mr Godfrey Jabulani Miya [CT00818], Mr Christopher Piet (23) [CT00100], Mr Themba Mlifi (30), and Mr Zabonke John Konile [CT00108, CT03054]. All seven were shot in the head, in addition to numerous other gunshot wounds. Police officers at the scene were Warrant Officers Barnard and McMaster, Majors Johan Kleyn, Dolf Odendal and Stephanus Brits, Captain Charles Brazzelle, Sergeants John Sterrenberg, Andre Grobbellar and Riaan Bellingan, and Constable Thapelo Mbelo.

The police claimed that the deceased were known terrorists who had been killed during a legitimate anti-terrorist operation. Security forces had allegedly acted pre-emptively to prevent these terrorists from attacking a police bus ferrying senior policeman to the nearby Gugulethu Police Station that morning.

The 'Gugulethu Seven' were the subject of an inquest in 1986, a trial in 1987 and a re-opened inquest in 1989. Forensic pathologist Dr David Klatzow seriously challenged the evidence of the police, demonstrating unequivocally that the victims were shot at very close range. In the case of Mr Mandla Simon Mxinwa, Klatzow's evidence was that shotgun cartridge wads were found inside the skull of the deceased, indicating that he had been shot at point-blank range. The medico-legal post mortems stated further all the deceased sustained multiple and extensive gunshot wounds; Mr Christopher 'Rasta' Piet sustained twelve bullet wounds in the head. The outcome of both inquests was a finding by the Wynberg magistrate, Mr Hoffmann, that the seven men had died during a legitimate anti-terrorist operation.

Cape Times journalists Tony Weaver and Chris Bateman published an eyewitness account indicating that the police had shot the victims at close range and that police had shot a man as he was attempting to give himself up. Further eyewitnesses reported seeing a white man shooting a man in the head while he was lying motionless on the ground. Weaver was charged with printing untruths about actions of the SAP and was acquitted. These accounts, together with Dr Klatzow's evidence and allegations by the parents of the deceased that weapons had been planted on the victims, provided the first serious counter-point to the official version. The post mortem photographs, photographs of the deceased as found at the scene, photographs of Sergeant Sterrenberg

posing over a body and of a policeman stepping against the head of a deceased in the mortuary, combined with the celebratory atmosphere of police after the event as captured on the police video of the scene, also raised questions about the attitudes of the police toward victims. The truth remained buried for a decade until the Commission's investigation revealed an extensive cover-up by the security forces involved in this incident, even at parliamentary level.

A dramatic escalation in armed attacks by MK operatives in the mid-1980s led General Griebenouw of the Western Cape security police to call Brigadier Schoon at the Security Branch headquarters in Pretoria and request the assistance of Vlakplaas. Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock evaluated the request and chose Bellingan to lead a team of operatives. Other members were a black security policeman known as Thapelo Johannes Mbelo, white Vlakplaas operative Joe Coetzer and several Vlakplaas askaris, including Mr Gladstone Moss, Mr Eric 'Shakes' Maluleke and Mr Jimmy Mbane.

In early January 1986 they drove to Cape Town in three vehicles including a minibus modified to conceal weapons and explosives. They were based at Koeberg and briefed by members of the security branch. After a failed attempt to infiltrate Mbelo into a group in Gugulethu, Mbane and Maluleke were sent in. They were given weapons and grenades and went to home of squatter leader Yamile claiming to be commanders from exile. They opened a concealed panel in the minibus, showing their weapons. Yamile believed the askaris and introduced them to Christopher 'Rasta' Piet. They soon had the core of the group which became known as the Gugulethu Seven.

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

When their training was complete the youths, together with the askaris, planned an attack on a police bus which took senior policemen to Gugulethu police station every morning. This plan was reported to both Liebenberg and

Bellingan by Jimmy Mbane. Bellingan has admitted that Mbane pointed out the location for the proposed attack.

Senior officers met the night before the incident, and more than twenty-five heavily armed policemen were deployed after a briefing at Wingfield Naval Base at 03h00 on 3 March. They were aware that two askaris would be part of the group of 'comrades'. The entire area was encircled and saturated by police from 05h00.

Just after 07h25, Jimmy Mbane, driving a stolen bakery van, began dropping off the seven youths at the site. A grenade was allegedly thrown and the deployed policemen started firing from all sides in a small area of combat. It is alleged that the only one who had time to fire back was Christopher Piet.

The two askaris who had set up the ambush were able to escape and were later rewarded with seven thousand rands each – one thousand rand for every victim. In a process presided over by former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, security police headquarters used the video of the incident to get Cabinet to increase the Vlakplaas budget.

THE OUTLINE OF EVENTS REPRESENTS ASPECTS OF THE COMMISSION'S INVESTIGATION INTO THE GUGULETHU SEVEN INCIDENT. WILHELM RIAAN 'BALLETTJIES' BELLINGAN [AM5283/97], THAPELO MBELO [AM3785/96] AND XOLA FRANK 'JIMMY' MBANE [AM8066/97] APPLIED FOR AMNESTY FOR THE KILLINGS. THE COMMISSION WAS NOT ABLE TO MAKE A FINDING AS THE DECISION OF THE AMNESTY COMMITTEE WAS PENDING AT THE TIME OF REPORTING.

Samuel Mzuga Baloi from Welkom

Mr Samuel Mzuga Baloi [KZN/ZJ/111/WE] was unarmed when he was executed by askaris acting under the command and control and with the approval of their commanders in the SAP.

The official version of Baloi's death on 22 February 1990, as reported in the newspapers, stated that "Policemen ... confronted the suspect in Gugulethu about 11.45am yesterday. He was carrying a grenade of foreign origin. When he tried to flee, policemen fired, killing him." ²³

Constable Bambatha, a disaffected SAP member in the Eastern Cape who was in charge of a group of askaris in that region, described this incident quite differently in a statement to Minister Sidney Mufamadi in 1995.²⁴ He stated that he was equipped by his senior commander with an attaché case containing grenades and pistols with the instructions to plant these on any MK persons who were killed:

²³ Cape Times, 23 February 1990.

²⁴ Constable Bambatha was shot dead shortly after making this statement.

"I recall an incident in Cape Town during late 1989 or early 1990 in Gugulethu Township, when a male person was pointed out by the askaris. After stopping the vehicle, I approached him and informed him that I was a police official whereupon he ran away. As a result of this, the askaris jumped from the vehicle and chased the man whilst firing at him. Myself and Constable Koopman ... tried to stop them but they succeeded in fatally shooting the man. I then approached the body, discovering that he was dead as well as unarmed. I had the attaché case with me and sent the askaris back to the Kombi so that they could not see what I was doing. I then placed a F1 hand grenade in the dead man's pocket under the guise of trying to help him as members of the community were watching. This fact made it impossible to place the Makharov pistol next to him.

"I later also made a statement that I had discovered the F1 hand grenade on his person. After the incident, the Captain complimented me on my actions and pertinently stated that it was better that the terrorists be killed to prevent their possible release."

Bambatha identified askari 'Louis' and others as the killers. It is believed that this askari was subsequently killed in Welkom by members of the SAP.

Zola Michael 'Jabulani' Dubeni

Mr Zola 'Jabulani' Dubeni [EC2653/97UTA] was shot dead by members of the Security Branch on 14 March 1987. Dubeni joined the ANC in exile in 1980 and worked as an MK operative in Transkei in 1985, transferring to the western Cape in 1986. He was arrested in Nyanga on 13 March 1987 by Security Branch and Vlakplaas personnel including Larry Hanton, and about an hour later pointed out an AK-47 and an F1 grenade at two sites in Nyanga.

Police statements in the inquest give the following version of his death. During questioning at the Security Branch offices the day after his arrest, Dubeni told them that he had an arms cache in the bushes at Faure outside Cape Town. It was decided that he should point this cache out. Warrant Officer JL Nel and Sergeant WR Bellingan contacted Warrant Officer PJ Theron, the explosives expert on standby, and took him along to Faure with Dubeni, who directed them to a site in the bushes. Nel gave Dubeni a spade and instructed him to dig until he reached the material, whereupon Theron would remove it. Dubeni, still in handcuffs and leg irons, started digging on a slope about five metres away, but then allegedly dropped the spade, pulled out a plastic packet and produced a grenade. Nel fired one shot in his direction. Bellingan also

opened fire with an Uzi. Dubeni was shot in the stomach and head and died on the scene. The plastic packet, the entire 'arms cache', was found to have contained a total of four grenades. Lieutenant Liebenberg was called to the scene and, being unable to locate the duty officer for the Bellville District, asked Lieutenant Desmond Segal to take over investigation of the scene.

There are serious discrepancies in this version of events. The Commission has established from MK sources that Dubeni had recently been disarmed by vigilantes in Khayelitsha and had been re-armed with only an AK-47 and an F1 grenade by a fellow operative. This is consistent with the weaponry pointed out on his arrest. Secondly, MK sources in charge of weaponry in the region at the time denied the existence of any arms cache whatsoever in Faure. It is improbable that an arms cache consisting of only four grenades would have been established at such a remote site.

The police's own version shows serious violations of the procedures set out in the 1980s Security Branch manual on investigations of terrorist cases:

- no officer was called to be present at the pointing out;*
- no photographer was called. This serious violation of procedure suggests that there was no intention of bringing charges against Dubeni, since the pointing out of the arms cache would have been inadmissible in court.*
- No photographs were taken or reconstruction of the scene done even after the event.*

The inquest itself did not include ballistics tests or reports of where shotgun wads or spent cartridges were found. The post mortem report was cursory and the general description of wounds did not match the photographs of Dubeni's wounds. There was no photograph of the 'entrance' wound in the abdomen. The inquest magistrate, despite an application, refused to take oral evidence.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THE REFERRAL OF THIS CASE TO THE PROSECUTING AUTHORITIES FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION.

Mthetheleli Gcina

Mr Mthetheleli Gcina was shot dead by askaris Lucky 'Agrippa' Madubula and David Musimeke who stated to the inquest that early on 27 September 1988 they met with an informant who wished to point out a trained ANC 'terrorist' to them. They then travelled in a minibus wearing civilian clothes. The

informant pointed out an individual in Gugulethu as the said ANC operative. Musimeke and Madubula jumped out of the vehicle and approached him. Gcina allegedly had a plastic bag in his hand and produced a pistol. He then fired two shots while retreating. Both askaris returned fire. Gcina was reportedly wounded on his left cheek and stomach and died en route to hospital. The askaris took possession of a Makarov from him. Lieutenant Desmond Segal arrived at the scene, after apparently hearing shots. Musimeke was involved in the similar attempted killing of MK member Bongani Jonas a year earlier.

Ashley Kriel

Mr Ashley Kriel [CT00307], a young activist from Bonteheuwel, left the country in late December 1985, joined the ANC and underwent military training in Angola. He infiltrated the country in April 1987. The circumstances of his death have been the subject of controversy. On 9 July 1987 Warrant Officer Jeffrey Benzien of the Terrorism Detection Unit together with Sergeant AD Abels went to Kriel's Athlone home. The two allege that they were disguised as council workers and were only intending to reconnoitre the place.

Kriel allegedly opened the door holding a pistol concealed beneath a towel. A scuffle broke out during which Benzien shot Kriel in the back with Kriel's own weapon. There is evidence to contradict this version of events. Firstly, it was established that operational planning was done in the Athlone police station prior to the incident. Secondly, other members of the Security Branch were concealed in the vicinity. Thirdly, forensic evidence contradicts this version of events. Blood was found in the bathroom and the floor between the bathroom and kitchen door. Further, the bullet entrance wound indicated direct contact with the skin as opposed to passing through his clothing.

One grenade was allegedly found under a pillow on the bed by Warrant Officer Nel of the Security Branch. No other weaponry was present. The inquest found no one criminally responsible for the death. Despite applying for amnesty for the killing of Kriel, Benzien [AM5314/97] continued to maintain that the death was accidental. The Amnesty Committee had not made a decision at the time of reporting.

Patrick Welile 'Deks' Dakuse

Mr Patrick Welile 'Deks' Dakuse was shot dead by Murder and Robbery Unit members Lieutenant Desmond Segal and Sergeant Etsebeth on 23 January 1989, allegedly while showing police the site of a buried weapon in the

bushes near Khayelitsha. Dakuse was a well-known militant activist. The Commission also has an affidavit made by Dakuse in 1986 regarding his torture and assault in 1986, three years prior to his killing.

Segal stated to the inquest that after questioning, 'Zola Nzungu' (Dakuse) indicated that he would point out where his weapon was buried. Dakuse then allegedly directed them to a bushy area near Khayelitsha. Segal states that Dakuse dug while handcuffed, then took a plastic bag out of the hole and handed it to him.

"The next moment I heard Sergeant Etsebeth shout 'Watch out, hand grenade.' I instinctively ducked and fell on the ground. At the same time I heard two shots go off and stood up, and I saw that the deceased was lying on the ground and that there was blood on his face. Sergeant Etsebeth reported to me that the deceased had a hand grenade in his hands and that he had fiddled with the detonator. I went through the plastic bag and took possession of a revolver whose serial number was not visible."

The inquest found that Dakuse was killed by police acting in self-defence.

Ayanda 'Ace' Silika

Mr Ayanda 'Ace' Silika (23) was shot dead in Crossroads while allegedly escaping from the custody of members of the Unrest Investigation Unit on 12 May 1986. Silika, a youth activist, was arrested as a suspect in the fatal shooting of Constable Patrick Legong on 25 March 1986. His brother, Mr Guarantee Silika, had been shot dead by police during the street conflicts of 1985. The investigating officer stated:

"The suspect acknowledged to me that he had shot the police officer on 25 March 1986. He did it as revenge because the police had shot his brother dead during unrest the previous year. He told me that he was very shocked by the death of his brother and could not accept that his brother was dead. He had a T-shirt made with his brother's face on it and wore it permanently. The death of his brother tormented him..."

Silika was allegedly taken by the investigation team to Crossroads at 04h00. Certain members then left the Casspir to 'handle other tasks'. Two unit members remained with Silika, who asked to urinate outside. Silika then allegedly attempted to escape and succeeded in breaking away from the grasp of one unit member and running towards the shacks. It is alleged that one unit member pursued Silika, warned him to stop, and then fired four shots at him,

fatally wounding him. The inquest found that no offence had been committed in killing Silika.

Peter Lathli Mabilo

Mr Peter Lathli Mabilo [CT04603] was shot dead on 21 August 1987 in Kimberley. The police (Unrest Unit together with Security Branch personnel) surrounded him in the house early in the morning. When he came out he allegedly threw something at them which they believed to be a grenade. They then shot him dead. The objects which he allegedly threw at them were an empty plastic cup and an old shoe. An F1 hand grenade was allegedly found in his pocket. No other arms or weapons at all were found on him or on the property. The ANC in the Northern Cape confirmed to the Commission that he had no weapons on him at the time, making the single hand grenade allegedly found in his possession suspect.

Nkululeko 'Solly' Mutsi and Anton Fransch

Mr Nkululeko 'Solly' Mutsi and Mr Anton Fransch died in similar circumstances in shoot-outs with police. Mutsi died on 5 July 1988 in Gugulethu after a four-hour gun battle with police. The inquest states that although he had been shot in the chest by the SAP, it was finally a self-inflicted bullet to the head that killed Mutsi.

Mr Anton Fransch [CT00302, CT03204] was wanted by the police as a student activist and member of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing before leaving the country in September 1986 to be trained by the ANC in Angola. He died in a battle with security forces after trading gunshots and grenades for some six hours on 17 November 1989. A team of Security Branch and Riot Unit members under Captains Liebenberg and Bester respectively had been deployed to the house in Athlone at 01h00. Major Brazelle subsequently took over at the scene. Brigadier Griebenauw and Colonel Smit were summoned from the Security Branch.

A security force team under Sergeant Scociatti was sent into the house but was allegedly repulsed by a grenade and gunfire from Fransch. This is contradicted by a statement made to the Commission by Constable Stemmet who stated that Scociatti was the first to open fire. From this point on, persistent volleys of shots and grenades took place between the security forces and Fransch throughout the night. A Casspir was used as a breaching device to bulldoze a wall shielding the house. According to police records, Major Brazelle

attempted to negotiate with Fransch. This is contradicted by eyewitness reports which state that police shouted at Fransch "Come out you pig, today you die."

At 07h45 Sergeant Roslee was authorised to throw an M26 grenade into the room occupied by Fransch. According to the police, there was a detonation inside the room before Roslee could throw the grenade. After police penetrated the house, Fransch's body was found badly disfigured by a hand grenade explosion. Fransch still had remaining ammunition with him when he died. There has been persistent speculation as to whether the final grenade was self-detonated in a final act of suicide, or whether it was thrown by the security forces. The Commission has been unable to determine this matter conclusively.

Mr Mark (now Yazir) Henry [CT00450] and his father were detained by the security police on 16 November 1989. Yazir Henry was interrogated and the lives of his family members were threatened to get him to reveal the whereabouts of 'Mohammed' (Anton Fransch). Fearing for the lives of his family and knowing his father was also in detention, he revealed the address in the belief that the security police would arrest 'Mohammed' as he had been. He was then held under section 29 for a further six months.

On his release, Henry was accused of being an askari. The Commission has investigated these allegations and has found that he was not an askari. The security police regarded him as a 'terrorist' and did not refer to him as a source or attempt to protect his identity, as is always done with informants.

Coline Williams and Robert Waterwitch

Four limpet mine attacks in the Peninsula were planned for the evening of Sunday 23 July 1989 as part of an anti-election bombing campaign by MK. Magistrate's courts were targeted as they were to be used for election nominations the following day. Mines exploded at a police station in Mitchells Plain and at the Somerset West magistrate's court. At the Bellville magistrate's court security forces intervened to prevent the blast. The fourth mine, intended for the Athlone magistrate's court, detonated behind public toilets opposite the court. The bodies of MK operatives and youth activists Ms Coline Williams (22) and Mr Robert Waterwitch of the Ashley Kriel unit were found at the scene.

Subsequent inquests found that they had died as the result of an explosion. While initial impressions suggested that the operation had simply gone awry, a number of questions have remained concerning the circumstances of their

deaths. Suspicions existed that the explosives had been 'zero timed' for immediate detonation.

- 229 The Commission was unable to make a conclusive finding in this matter. However, the Commission obtained evidence that security forces had agents in or very close to the unit concerned. This fact raises questions regarding the operation and the deaths of the two operatives.
- 230 Firstly, the Commission finds that youth activist Mr Geoffrey Brown was an informant for the National Intelligence Service (NIS). Brown, who was also involved in Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) political structures, was a close friend of Robert Waterwitch and met with him virtually on a daily basis. Brown was handled by National Intelligence Service (NIS) member Johan Hattingh and, under the guise of writing political analysis pieces, received large sums of money. Brown received his last grading one month before the incident. He claims he was an unwitting agent; Mr Hattingh's testimony concurs with this.
- 231 The day after the fatal explosion, Brown was involved in removing weapons and explosives from Waterwitch's home. These were not handed over to the Ashley Kriel detachment but rather to persons uninvolved with military structures and others outside of their discipline. These weapons are still not accounted for although it is known that the AK-47 taken from the Waterwitch house was used by a Mitchells Plain activist who was part of an unofficial 'security detail' for President Mandela when he visited Mitchell's Plain.
- 232 Secondly, Commission investigations have established that the unit was infiltrated by Military Intelligence. One Aristedes Spannelis of the Directorate of Covert Collections (DCC) tasked by SADF Western Province Command has confirmed that he was the handler of a source (one Shane Oliver alias Perry alias Ian) inside the Ashley Kriel detachment and that information received from this source was passed on to the security police. Through Oliver it may have been possible for the security forces to gain access to the group's weaponry or logistics and conduct surveillance on its membership. The possibility of rigging explosives cannot be discounted. It is notable that at least two other explosive devices used in the simultaneous raid did not go off or were defused by bomb experts. Ms Venessa Rhoda November, who met with Coline Williams immediately before embarking on their respective operations, and Mr Shamiel Isaacs were compelled to abandon their attempted laying of a limpet mine at the Heideveld rent office when the device appeared faulty.

- 233 In the case of Shane Oliver it is known that on one occasion security forces substituted a limpet mine for one filled with clay, in a 'credibility operation' for Oliver without endangering him. Instances of security force tampering with MK weaponry have been established in several cases, in particular altering the timing devices in order to eliminate the operative.
- 234 Further, it is noted that certain of Williams's personal effects were returned to the family completely undamaged by the explosion. One *post mortem* report could not conclude with absolute certainty that the victims were alive at the time of the explosion. Lastly, Williams stated on the day of her death that she believed she was being followed.

Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) covert operations

- 235 The Western Cape saw at least four CCB operations under the direction of its Western Cape regional manager Abraham '*Slang*' van Zyl, a former member of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Unit. The CCB appears to have used both conscious and unaware members, particularly known felons or persons from the criminal underworld. This use of gang members is detailed in an Athlone report [CR 396/08/89] which contains statements of four gangsters who were members of the Dixie Boys, namely Isgak Hardien, 'Peaches' Gordon, Clive Petersen and Irwin Meyer. Hardien has given details of his recruitment by *Slang* van Zyl and some of the operations in which he was used. He was transferred from being a source for the Bellville Murder and Robbery Unit, handled by officer Ganger, to the CCB where he was handled by Van Zyl. The recruitment of 'Peaches' Gordon was facilitated by a policeman at Athlone police station who was a relative of Van Zyl. The operations fell under the umbrella project known as Project Goldie.

Attempted assassination of Mr Dullah Omar (now Minister of Justice)

- 236 Mr Edward James Gordon aka 'Peaches' was tasked to conduct surveillance on several key leaders of the UDF, COSATU and SWAPO. Omar was a leading UDF official in the region, and 'Peaches' Gordon was specifically tasked to kill him using poison. Omar was ill at the time and the initial plan was to shoot him. When this proved difficult, unsuccessful efforts were made to contaminate the medication he took for his heart condition. Gordon died a few weeks after giving testimony to the Harms Commission. His badly mutilated body was found on a highway close to his home. His mother claims he was killed by gangsters acting at the behest of the CCB. The murder docket was closed after the witnesses

were also killed. Mr Igshaan Ariaanse, who was to be the key state witness, was executed together with his woman friend Ms Dorothy Spencer, after being allowed to walk away from custody at Rondebosch police station.

Bombing of Early Learning Centre

- 237 In August 1989 the CCB bombed the Early Learning Centre in Athlone, a crèche facility used by UDF organisations as a meeting venue. A meeting of the Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) had just concluded when the bomb exploded. Several individuals sustained minor injuries. A survivor has stated that, had the meeting lasted a few minutes longer, the entire executive of CAYCO could have been killed.
- 238 Other operations included 'Operation *Apie*', which involved placing a baboon foetus on the property of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and an arson attack on an Athlone printing press.

Bombings by the Security Branch

- 239 Members of the Security Branch planted limpet mines in public buildings during this period. Community House in Salt River, which housed many anti-apartheid organisations, was bombed in early September 1987 by Vlakplaas and Security Branch operatives, some of whom have applied for amnesty. During 1989, several 'false flag' operations were conducted, including a bomb attack on the Athlone post office and the First National Bank on 22 and 24 August 1989 respectively. Amnesty applications were received.
- 240 During the Defiance Campaign in the Peninsula in 1989, limpet mines were used to blow up the toilets in Strand, the beach resort outside Cape Town that was the target of the 'beach apartheid defiance' campaign. Vlakplaas operatives including Wouter Mentz [AM2775/96], Colonel Dave Baker and Warrant Officer Louw van Niekerk were under orders from Colonel Eugene de Kock.
- 241 There were, in addition, numerous arson attacks on properties housing anti-apartheid organisations. During 1985, union offices in Cape Town were destroyed in an arson attack. An Observatory bookshop was firebombed in 1988. No amnesty applications were received for these attacks.

Vigilantes and Inter-Group Conflicts: Contra-mobilisation

- 242 The state's strategy of contra-mobilisation sought both to build anti-liberation movement forces by covert means and to foster divisions within communities. In the Western Cape, the social divisions between the more 'traditionalist' sectors of African townships in hostels and squatter camps and the more permanent township dwellers offered the potential for successful contra-mobilisation. From 1986 onwards the state poured resources into those sectors of the townships that were prepared to adopt a pro-government stance. Illegal actions committed by these groups were permitted, ignored and promoted, particularly if they targeted supporters of the liberation movements.
- 243 As described above, the repeated conflicts in the squatter areas of Cape Town in the 1980s have their roots in the state's Coloured Labour Preference Policy, which resulted in rigorous influx control, pass law prosecutions and squatter camp removals. The discrimination between Africans with legal and permanent residence in Cape Town and those deemed 'illegal' and living mainly in hostels and squatter camps created the environment for the conflict that tore communities apart. It also led to a very fragmented and divided civic movement in the Peninsula.
- 244 Three conflicts in Cape Town's informal settlements reflect different aspects of the state's practice of contra-mobilisation in this region: the conflict between the *witdoeke*'fathers' and the 'comrades' from December 1985 to June 1986; abuses committed by the former *witdoeke* leaders in Khayelitsha and Old Crossroads from 1986 to 1989; interventions in an internal split within KTC squatter camp in 1987 to 1988.

Background

- 245 Crossroads squatter camp was first settled in 1975 and grew rapidly after 1977 as homes in other areas were bulldozed by the state. In Crossroads, too, residents faced eviction orders and repeated police raids in the state's ongoing efforts to remove the camp. After a major local and international 'Save Crossroads' campaign, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr Piet Koornhof, granted a temporary reprieve in 1979. In addition, an agreement was reached to build a new township for many Crossroads residents, to be known as New Crossroads.
- 246 Most squatter camps developed complex structures of internal organisation: an executive committee with 'headmen' who would also run 'courts' and 'community

police'. Forms of 'taxation' for access to sites became standard as leaders came to depend on financial contributions from residents for a range of issues: funerals, legal fees and community structures such as crèches. Conflict over political control over these finances was common, resulting in breakaway groups.

- 247 The fierce struggles with the state facilitated the emergence of powerful leaders as protectors and patrons of squatters. In Old Crossroads, a pattern of authoritarian leadership was entrenched under Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana. Links to the UDF and other organisations in the formal townships remained largely symbolic as leaders tended to be preoccupied with internal squatter issues. The political relationship was also weakened by long-standing divisions between legal township residents and migrants (the *amagoduka*), who were based in the hostels and squatter camps.
- 248 During the course of 1985, Crossroads leader Johnson Ngxobongwana increasingly distanced himself from the UDF. It was widely speculated that he had switched allegiances to the state and its security forces while in prison awaiting trial on charges on which he was later acquitted.
- 249 The first open conflict between the 'comrades' and the old guard, or 'fathers' (later called *witdoeke*, after their distinguishing white headcloths) occurred towards the end of December 1985, spilling over into the new year as groups of 'fathers' rampaged through New Crossroads, attacking activists. At least seven people were killed and many injured on both sides. Hundreds of activists fled the area. Allegations of police encouraging and escorting the 'fathers' on their raids were made in the media at the time and in statements to the Commission. During the conflict, *witdoek* leader Prince Gobingca rose to prominence. The Commission found that Gobingca was a source for both the Security Branch and Military Intelligence (MI) as from an unspecified date in the 1980s.
- 250 The first six months of 1986 were marked by sporadic ongoing skirmishes and conflicts between Ngxobongwana's supporters and areas or activists aligned with the UDF. Although *witdoeke* stated that they were resisting the militant practices of the 'comrades', such as necklacings and people's courts, there were victims of necklacing and burning on both sides of the conflict. In addition, it was widely known that Crossroads itself operated systems of informal justice and prisons. Legal support bodies at the time took numerous *affidavits* from those held and harshly beaten in one such prison. While the people's courts on the 'comrades' side were repeatedly raided by police, the *witdoek*

courts and prison remained untouched or even protected and defended by the forces of law and order, as illustrated by the following case.

Killings of Vuyani Dyaboza and Lukhanyiso Finye

On the night of 25 May 1986 a carload of youngsters was stopped at a witdoek roadblock. Mr Vuyani Dyaboza [CT00730], Mr Lukhanyiso Finye [CT00730] and a young woman were then abducted by the witdoeke and held in an informal prison in Crossroads. While the young woman managed to escape, Finye and Dyaboza were hacked to death and their bodies dumped. Subsequent police investigations led to charges being laid against Ngxobongwana regarding the operation of this court. Police official Leonard Knipe testified to the Commission that he was instructed by his senior to ensure Ngxobongwana's release on bail on orders 'from the top'.

"I remember that following Ngxobongwana's arrest, which was regarded as a major breakthrough, that his arrest was reported to the then Divisional Criminal Investigations Officer, [a Brigadier] who was enthusiastic about the arrest. ... During the early afternoon of the same day that Ngxobongwana appeared in court I received a telephone call from an agitated Brigadier ... The impression was that he had been severely rebuked because of our actions taken against Ngxobongwana and that he had been instructed by either the State President or Minister to see to it that Ngxobongwana was released on bail. I was informed that the authorities were fully conversant with Ngxobongwana's court, that it was not a people's court but a tribal court. I was instructed to immediately see to it that Ngxobongwana was released on bail. I 'phoned the State Prosecutor at Wynberg Magistrate's Court and related the instructions which I had received from the Brigadier to him. That same afternoon Ngxobongwana was brought before the court and released on bail of R50.00."

The attitude of the state

- 251 Squatter camps were posing a major security threat at this time, with regular sniper attacks on police or army vehicles, mainly from the direction of the Old Crossroads satellite camps and KTC. Hand-grenade attacks also strongly indicated the presence of trained guerrillas. This seems to have led to a convergence of interests with the *witdoeke*, the security forces and the local government agencies wanting to upgrade the original Crossroads area, rid the settlements of 'comrades' and eliminate the security threat faced by the police.

252 The Commission uncovered evidence of covert official endorsement of and support to the *witdoeke*. Documentary evidence links the Western Province Joint Management Centre (JMC), Western Province Command of the SADF and senior SAP personnel at provincial level to this endorsement. More significantly, this local level of support is endorsed by the highest security structure in the country, the State Security Council. The subsequent court case against the Minister of Law and Order points to a high level and expensive cover-up of these acts.

253 On 10 January 1986, shortly after the first mass attack by the *witdoeke*/'fathers' of Crossroads on New Crossroads, the JMC chairperson Brigadier AK de Jager stated that "the actions of the 'old guard' deserved support, though this should occur in a covert manner."

254 In March 1986, General Wandrag's office sent out guidelines for managing unrest, describing contra-mobilisation as follows:

Efforts must be made to get the residents of the black areas motivated to resist the revolutionaries as follows:

*Contra-mobilisation must be small scale and implemented at regional level. Positive resistance movements must be encouraged. This must be done clandestinely.*²⁵

255 A sub-JMC meeting in the Western Cape noted that "SADF WP Command is already working in this direction to get the 'fathers' to resist the comrades."²⁶

256 During March 1986, the JMCs were tasked with drawing up plans to deal with unrest trouble spots. The final plan presented to the State Security Council (SSC) on 14 April 1986 specified the following for the Western Cape:

Goal: To remove the influence of the Comrades and other activists on the community. Tasks: To support well-disposed moderate blacks.

*Actions: Covert organising of adult law-abiding black men (fathers) to go against the Comrades in their terror campaign against the residents of black areas.*²⁷

257 The SSC meeting included the President PW Botha, General Magnus Malan (Minister of Defence), Mr Adriaan Vlok and Mr Roelf Meyer. The meeting was

25 *Kriptoberg* 25 March 1986 GEHEIM TIN 2/10/7 (From file C7/6/7/30, Thomas Boydell Building).

26 'MAATREËLS WAT GETREF IS, SOOS VOORGESTEL IN SUB GBS VEIKOM OP 1986-03-25' This has an attached memorandum: WP SUB GBS 1986-03-26. From file C7/6/7/30, Thomas Boydell Building.

27 These JMC plans were presented to the SSC on 14 April 1986 (Minutes 5/86). From File No. 22/2/5/2, Pretoria State Archives.

also attended by Mr Niel Barnard (NIS) and the Commissioner of Police, General PJ Coetzee, who was later to testify at the trial (see below).

258 On 24 April 1986, a meeting was held at Athlone SAP District Commissioner's office between *witdoeke* leaders and members of the SAP. Brigadier Strydom promised to take their case to the Commissioner of Police and to the Minister of Law and Order.

259 Chief *witdoek* leader Mr Sam Ndima testified to the Commission that two follow-up meetings included various "men from Pretoria" who, in his understanding, gave permission for the *witdoeke* to take action. One man described himself as "the secretary of the chairman in Pretoria". Ndima also alleges that two sharpshooters, Warrant Officer Barnard (deceased) and Captain Loock were allocated to assist them. Video footage exists of Loock running with a group of *witdoeke* shooting at the 'comrades' and of members of his unit amiably greeting *witdoeke*. Captain Loock denied this in a Commission section 29 hearing.

The attacks

260 Between 17 and 21 May 1986, thousands of *witdoeke* from Old Crossroads systematically torched and looted the satellite squatter camps of Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Cement. Both SAP and SADF personnel were present at the scene and not a single *witdoek* member was arrested. Around thirty-eight people were killed in incidents associated with this first attack and many others injured. An estimated 30 000 people were made homeless. The security forces then encircled the area with barbed wire to keep its former residents out.

261 On 21 May the WP JMC reported to the Secretariat of the State Security Council:

*the fathers are well-disposed towards the security forces and want law and order. Fathers cannot be openly supported due to the hostility of the leftist press.*²⁸

262 When it became apparent that KTC was facing a similar threat of destruction by the *witdoeke*, the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) applied for an urgent Supreme Court interdict against the police and *witdoeke* restraining them from unlawfully entering KTC and destroying the camp. A temporary interdict was granted on 26 May²⁹, restraining the SAP from "participating in, assisting in, encouraging,

²⁸ 'WPGBS 22/7/7 SITRAP KRUISPAD ONLUSTE (Situation Report: Crossroads unrest). From File 22/8/5/13 Vol 1, Pretoria Archives.

²⁹ Application 5317/86 CPD before Mr Justice Howie.

permitting, or allowing any unlawful attack upon any person or property residing within or situate within the area known as KTC". It also directed the security forces to take all reasonable necessary steps within their powers to prevent any member of the SAP or the SADF or any other person from perpetrating any of the acts mentioned above.

- 263 Despite this interdict, thousands of *witdoeke* assembled outside the Development Board offices next to Crossroads on the morning of Monday 9 June and moved off in groups to attack. Over three days, KTC was systematically set alight and destroyed. Each morning the *witdoeke* would gather, march to KTC and engage in attacks, arson and looting. Not one *witdoek* was arrested during the entire attack, although several journalists were arrested and removed from the area. Scores of *affidavits* from clergy, journalists and residents on the scene described Casspirs escorting *witdoeke* and reported other incidents indicating complicity. Approximately twenty people were killed in this second attack and a further 30 000 people made homeless.
- 264 A total of over 65 persons died in the two attacks and up to 60 000 were made homeless. The Commission received several statements relating to those killed in the two attacks including Donald Mgadi [CT08606], Rennick Ndzishe [CT00888], Zacharia Dumile Ntsethe [CT01572], Dumile Ntantiso [CT00750], John Matatana Galaweni [CT01555], Mhlangabezi Dibela [CT01582], Stewart Maxama [CT01581], Christopher Kwaaiman [CT01575], Sithembiso Sydney Mduba [CT00509] and Makhosi Mdlalo [CT00952]. Other statements were taken in respect of those injured and those whose homes were burnt down. ITN cameraman George De'Ath was hacked by *witdoeke* on 10 June near KTC and died several days later, becoming the first journalist to be killed in the South African conflict.
- 265 Further examples of state endorsement of the actions of the *witdoeke* can be given.
- a On the morning of the start of the *witdoek* attack on KTC, the Western Province JMC arranged a flight on an SADF aircraft for two *witdoeke* leading the attack and Mr Ricky Schelhase and Mr Graham Lawrence from the Development Board to consult Mr Ngxobongwana, then in Ciskei. The flight request details were sent to the Secretariat of the State Security Council.³⁰
 - b Five hours after the start of the attack on KTC, the Western Province JMC sent the Secretariat of the State Security Council in Pretoria a signal message stating that:

30 Fax sent from WP Command to 5 Air Command, as well as the SSSC. TOP SECRET. K53/848/JUN86, 061330B. From File No. 22/8/4/1/1, Pretoria State Archives.

in order to prevent the stayaway actions on 16 June, a gathering of wit-doeke in Crossroads has been planned during which the message to go to work will be conveyed to the masses. This action will be a victory feast in the form of a cattle slaughter. The costs have not yet been finalised but can be estimated at about R3 000 and it would be appreciated if the necessary funds could be made available. Finalisation will not be reached until the 11 June when you will be contacted again.³¹

266 The document clearly supports and endorses the group engaged in arson and killing. It should also be noted that the attack on KTC ended on 11 June 1986, the date on which 'finalisation' would be achieved.

267 A statement to the Commission by former Security Branch member Mr Michael Bellingan further illustrates the attitudes of the local security forces:

Sometime during 1986 I travelled to Cape Town to hold discussions apropos 'Stratcom' actions. During our second day at Cape Town Brigadier Strydom (local Security Branch commander) held a meeting with the head of a local vigilante group, named witdoeke ... Brigadier Strydom said that the fellow had summed up by saying that they should get co-operation because, in the words of this leader, 'Ons is mos maatjies.'

Shortly after the meeting the Brigadier, Van Niekerk and I flew over the squatter camps to view the work of the witdoeke. The witdoeke ... were attacking the inhabitants and burning their shacks. It looked like a successful war mission because of the 'line' of advance and the enormity of the damage.

The SAP were not permitted into the area by instruction of senior command in the region. The uniform members told me they had been told it was too 'dangerous' to intervene. The three of us in the helicopter (official SAP helicopter with pilot for SAP) were satisfied that ANC activists in the area were getting a hiding. Furthermore, that the SAP could not be implicated. You can bet that no official correspondence reflected any of these victims!

In official documentation there was an 'unwritten' policy to stick to matters which could be justified by the Minister. This does not mean that the SAP always got it right, but it did provide a culture of plausible deniability and also, because of compartmentalisation, most members of the SAP had no idea of the broader picture or specific strategies.

31 WPGBS/888/9 JUN 86. From File No. 22/8/4/1/1, Pretoria State Archives.

268 The Commission obtained a statement from a person whose identity will not be disclosed by the Commission as follows.

Within a day or two of the conclusion of the Witdoek/Comrades violence I received a telephone call from [an official] of the Western Cape Development Board asking to see me urgently late the same afternoon at my office. He seemed very distressed over the telephone. When he arrived he was clearly very distressed and he asked me to keep absolutely confidential that which he was about to tell me. I agreed to accept his condition of confidentiality. He then proceeded to tell me that he had been that day at a debriefing session on the Crossroads violence that had been held at the Bishop Lavis police facility. They had been informed by [a Brigadier] that the violence between the two factions in Crossroads had been orchestrated by the police. [The official] was clearly shattered by this information, scared and not clear as to what he should do.

The court case

269 KTC residents then instructed the LRC to sue the Minister of Law and Order for damages sustained during the attacks. The Supreme Court damages claim was on behalf of twenty-one parties whose respective claims exceeded R10 000.³² It was alleged that members of the SAP had made common cause and assisted the persons from *inter alia* Old Crossroads in destroying, damaging and/or causing the loss of the said dwellings and property. Alternatively, they had negligently failed to take reasonable steps to prevent the destruction of KTC.

270 The Minister of Law and Order denied these allegations. Throughout the case, all defence witnesses representing the state consistently denied any involvement in the attacks or support to the *witdoeke*. The Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee testified that the police were trained to be impartial and it was not in the 'culture' of the SAP to take sides or engage in illegal actions. He stated that "*ek was nooit in 'n kabinetsvergadering waar die sake gedebatteer is of so 'n saak gedebatteer is nie*"³³ General Wandrag of SAP Head office also denied any knowledge of any conspiracy and argued that the SAP did not regard the ANC or 'comrades' as the enemy, only as criminals.

271 Despite these denials, the state took the highly unusual step of issuing Section 66 notices barring access to evidence requested by the LRC.³⁴ Five Section 66

32 The other 3000 claims were issued out of magistrate's courts.

33 Court record, p. 4595.

34 In terms of section 66 of the Internal Security Act, a Minister of State who was of the subjective opinion that disclosure of certain evidence could prejudicially affect the safety of the state could prohibit the evidence from being aired by issuing such a certificate.

certificates were issued by three Ministers. Three were signed by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, one by the Minister of Defence Magnus Malan and one by Deputy Minister of Law and Order Roelf Meyer. The following kinds of documentation were barred, *inter alia*: Specific written instructions or orders given by Major General Wandrag relating to the events; almost all SADF documentation relating to their activities; all general staff meeting minutes of the SAP referring to the events; security police documents; documents relating to the helicopter used by the security forces during the attacks; and JMC documentation.

- 272 The case ran from September 1987 to June 1989 and was settled out of court in February 1990 by the withdrawal of the action and the allegations set out in the claim. Thus there was no judgement and no court decision.³⁵

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ORIGINS OF THE CONFLICT LAY IN HISTORICAL RIVALRIES AND POLITICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DIFFERENT GROUPS AND AN INCREASING TENDENCY TO RESOLVE SUCH DIFFERENCES BY VIOLENT MEANS. HOWEVER, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THESE CONFLICTS WOULD NOT HAVE RESULTED IN THE SCALE OF VIOLENCE AND DESTRUCTION THAT LED TO THE DEATHS OF OVER SIXTY PEOPLE AND THE DESTRUCTION OF OVER 20 000 HOMES WITHOUT THE PERMISSION, FACILITATION AND ENDORSEMENT OF THE SECURITY FORCES.

IN THIS REGARD, THE COMMISSION FINDS EVIDENCE THAT AT LEAST THE WESTERN PROVINCE (WP) SECURITY BRANCH, THE WP COMMAND OF THE SADF AND THE WP JMC WERE INVOLVED IN SUCH ENDORSEMENT. FURTHER, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE STATE SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVED AN OVERALL JMC PLAN THAT INCLUDED THE COVERT ORGANISING OF THE *WITDOEKE* TO RESIST THE 'COMRADES'. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ISSUING OF SECTION 66 NOTICES BLOCKING ACCESS TO CRUCIAL DOCUMENTATION IN THE COURT CASE AMOUNTED TO CONCEALMENT OF SUCH SUPPORT.

THE EVIDENCE CONSIDERED INCLUDES:

- THE DOCUMENTATION PRESENTED ABOVE.
- THE WITNESS ACCOUNTS OFFERED AT THE TRIAL AGAINST THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER WHICH TESTIFIED TO GROSS NEGLIGENCE IN HALTING THE ATTACK AS WELL AS ACTIVE COMPLICITY.
- THE ABSENCE OF ANY PROSECUTIONS OF THE ATTACKING PARTY IN THE CONFLICT.
- THE INTERVENTION IN THE TRIAL OF JOHNSON NGXOBONGWANA BY SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES.
- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRINCE GOBINGCA AND THE SECURITY FORCES, INCLUDING CAPTAIN PAUL LOOCK.
- THE EVIDENCE OF RICKY SCHELHASE CONCERNING THE GOALS OF THE ADMINISTRATION BOARD AND THE BROADER SECURITY STRATEGIES IN PLACE AT THE TIME OF THE ATTACK.

³⁵ It was agreed that a trust would be set up to benefit all victims of the May and June burnings. An amount of R2.5 million was disbursed into the client community. Money was disbursed to individual victims or through the building of community halls.

FURTHER, THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT THE ROLES OF CAPTAIN PAUL LOOCK AND W/O BARNARD IN THE CONFLICT, AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JOHNSON NGXOBONGWANA, THE STATE AND THE SECURITY FORCES ARE FURTHER INVESTIGATED.

Crossroads and Khayelitsha, 1986–1989

- 273 In line with the McCuen 'oilspot strategy' through which politically compliant communities were rewarded, the state made available millions of rands for upgrading Crossroads. 'Mayors' Ngxobongwana and Hoza were able to consolidate their control of their camps in conjunction with the local authorities – the Crossroads Town Council and the Lingeletu West Town Council in Khayelitsha respectively. These areas were to remain 'sealed' to the resistance movements until the end of the decade, although elements of opposition in Khayelitsha did exist. As 'mayors', Ngxobongwana and Hoza were able to draw upon the resources of the Town Councils to extend their patronage base.
- 274 These two leaders were able to run these areas as virtual private fiefdoms, establishing an extensive network of control through financial extractions and informal judicial control of the population. The *amasolomzi* (informal community police) established a brutal reputation, being linked to numerous violations. In the second half of 1988, numerous urgent interdicts were applied for in the Supreme Court³⁶ against Hoza and/or his *amasolomzi* by Khayelitsha residents, particularly those linked to the Joint Action Committee, a body which threatened Hoza's political supremacy in the area. The statement of Fumbatha Sidwell Mcabangeli [CT01018] gives a picture of the situation. After he and several others laid charges about the beatings and torture that took place in the 'jail', he was again beaten and held at the 'jail'. The actions of the *amasolomzi* and the informal courts were both supported and encouraged by the local authorities and security forces as 'tribal courts' aimed at keeping law and order.³⁷ People's courts run by 'comrades', however, were vigorously crushed and the 'comrades' charged with sedition.
- 275 Political challenges or threats were not tolerated by Hoza or Ngxobongwana, leading to several incidents of violence. In Khayelitsha, the Joint Action Committee (a body opposed to Hoza) was subjected to ongoing harassment and attack by Hoza and his group. In Crossroads, Prince Gobingca, erstwhile *witdoeke* leader, fell out of favour and was violently ejected from Crossroads in

36 See for example Supreme Court cases No. 13490/86, 10114/88, 4207/89, 6641/89, 5588/89 and 10288/89, most of which are applications for restraining orders against Hoza, the *solomzi* homeguards, and the Lingeletu West town councillors.

37 A remarkable SAP instruction in the information book of the Khayelitsha Police Station, presented in Supreme Court case No. 13082/86, graphically illustrates this attitude. The entry states that the informal courts and headmen are rendering an invaluable service to the SAP and should be supported.

July 1987. Gobingca himself was shot and injured, and up to thirty homes of his supporters in Crossroads were torched, driving out these potential opponents. During the campaign by the resistance movements against the 1989 'whites only' election, conflicts between Hoza, Gobingca and Jerry Tutu erupted in violence leading to the deaths of at least five people.

KTC splits: September 1987 – April 1988

- 276 A further example of covert contra-mobilisation activities, that is, the fomentation of conflicts, can be seen in the constant sharpening of conflict between two opposing groups in KTC. Towards the end of 1987, tensions developed between the two sections of KTC squatter camp – the first arrivals in 1983 who were largely township dwellers (called Old KTC) and the later arrivals of 1984 who were migrant refugees from Crossroads. Although both were aligned to the UDF, differences existed between the two groups ranging from their organisational practices to their housing demands.
- 277 Deteriorating relations came to a head in late 1987, causing several deaths on both sides. These deaths as well as numerous other assaults, shooting injuries and arson signalled the start of a period of conflict lasting until March 1988. Most of Old KTC fled and settled in neighbouring Tambo Square. The UDF attempted to mediate, but ultimately the ANC in exile was compelled to intervene. Activists and squatter leaders were flown to Lusaka from 9–18 March 1988 where attempts to build unity bore some fruit.
- 278 It was widely believed that the conflict was fomented by the security forces. Peace efforts were bedevilled by anonymous 'Stratcom'-type pamphlets that were distributed at the time, which stirred up conflict by making allegations against organisations and individuals. Armed white plain-clothes men in balaclavas were seen moving around the area in the middle of the night. Significantly, this conflict took place just months before the October 1988 municipal elections, in which the state was concerned to win as many allies as possible.

Rural vigilantes

- 279 In certain rural areas, the Commission found evidence of close collaboration between local vigilantes, the security forces and the local Development Board. In Zolani, Ashton, an interdict was applied for against the local vigilante group, the *amasolomzi*.

280 The following quotes from testimonies illustrate the complicity between the *amasolomzi* and the police and the brutal consequences. Mr Ntando Pringle Mrubata [CT00130]:

When I was coming out of the house I could hear that there were some of the vigilantes nearby. And then the minute they saw me Pani said, 'here is this dog we've been looking for', and then I knelt down and I realised that I was unable to crawl. I also could feel that there was something on my legs but I didn't understand what was happening ... I could feel that my feet were burning. My comrades told me that when I lost consciousness they were chased away by [a policemen] and amongst them were also vigilantes ... I completely regained my consciousness on a Sunday [in hospital]. They told me that I was shot ... I am now a cripple ... I lost the hips and I think the sockets were affected and then I had to be amputated ...

281 Mr Sipho Sixishi [CT00755] told the Commission:

Whilst I was still asleep I heard a huge cry, then I woke up. I could see that there were people ... [a member of amasolomzi] came in and he started to hit me with a stick, I was surprised ... I was grabbed and shoved outside of residence... and again I was hit on the head with knobkierie, there was also a policeman. Matroos beat me continuously. And the police together with amasolomzi pushed me into the van ... the van was full ... they were picking up everybody on their route ... We were taken back to Worcester and that's where we were detained for a few days ... After a while we were taken to the doctor because Mrubata and I were severely injured. I could feel that my eye had ruptured ... I could feel that it was painful. After a while I was operated ... when I woke up, I could realise that my eye had been removed.

IN ASHTON AND ZOLANI, THE VIGILANTE GROUP AMASOLOMZI WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR NUMEROUS SHOOTINGS OF AND ASSAULTS ON RESIDENTS. THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT POLICE AND AMASOLOMZI CO-OPERATED WITH EACH OTHER IN HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCHES IN ZOLANI, DURING WHICH MANY RESIDENTS WERE ASSAULTED. PROMISES OF JOBS AT THE LANGEBERG KOO FACTORY WERE USED TO PERSUADE PEOPLE TO JOIN THE AMASOLOMZI AND A NUMBER OF MEETINGS WERE HELD ON THE FACTORY PREMISES TO PLAN AMASOLOMZI OPERATIONS.

Violations committed by resistance and revolutionary groupings

Killing of 'collaborators': stabbings, necklacings and burnings

- 282 Around seventy cases of necklacing or burning were reported between 1985 and 1989³⁸, mostly in 1985 (thirteen cases) and 1986 (forty-eight cases). Most necklacings were related to concerns involving informal settlements. The Bureau of Information cites twenty-four cases of attempted necklacing or burning from 1984 to 1989.
- 283 Cases of necklacing or burning appear to fall into two categories: those in which perceived 'collaborators' are attacked and killed, and cases which formed part of broader conflicts within the squatter communities of the Cape. Four cases of necklacing in Paarl in 1986 relate to the conflict between AZAPO and the UDF. Other rural cases of necklacing or burning appear to target people breaking the consumer boycott (two cases), black SAP personnel (three cases), community councillors or their relatives (two cases) and a township administration clerk.
- 284 In the Peninsula, two cases of necklacing were reported in 1985. Cases in 1986 relate almost exclusively to the conflicts between the vigilante *witdoeke* and 'comrades' in the informal settlements of Cape Town. During the build-up of conflict from January to May, eighteen males were burnt in Crossroads, KTC or New Crossroads. In one incident where hundreds of *witdoeke* were mobilised to rampage through New Crossroads, at least seven *witdoeke* were killed and burnt.
- 285 During the two attacks by *witdoeke* in May and June, up to a quarter of the over sixty people killed were apparently burnt to death, though some of these may have been killed by other means and then burnt. It should be noted that vigilantes themselves made use of necklacing, which was thus not confined to the supporters of opposition movements.
- 286 The first publicly reported necklacing case in the Cape Peninsula occurred on 30 October 1985. A pregnant woman, Ms Rebecca Nonzuzo Ngwevushe [CT01349], was strangled, stoned and necklaced. The attack appears to have been related to the ongoing uncertainty and trauma within Crossroads around the divisive question of the state-sponsored move to Khayelitsha. It is believed that Ms Ngwevushe was suspected of being part of the squatter community under Mr Jerry Tutu that was in favour of moving to Khayelitsha. The move to Khayelitsha

³⁸ These figures must be regarded with some caution, having been assembled from patchy newspaper reports, police reports and other published statistics.

was bitterly opposed by other sectors of the residents who feared they were being 'sold' to Khayelitsha in the negotiations between Jerry Tutu and the Administration Board.

- 287 On 17 December thirteen-year-old Andile Selane [CT01343] was shot dead by the SAP in New Crossroads. His funeral was held on 24 December. While the mourners were at the cemetery in Gugulethu, councillor Mr Archibald Siqaza [CT01340] drove by in his car. He was stopped and assaulted, and died after being set alight. UDF activist Mr Shadrack Mabandla (Ntsikelelo) Zokolo [CT00905] was attacked, burnt and killed the next day, allegedly in retaliation for the death of Siqaza. Within a day Siqaza's associate, Mr Montilolo Ngxabazi [CT01340] of New Crossroads was burnt to death in a return attack.
- 288 In a high-profile event, an alleged informer was stabbed and beaten to death in Mitchells Plain on 25 May 1986. Mr Moegsien Abrahams [CT01123] was amongst a large crowd attending a UDF protest rally but was identified as an 'informer' during the meeting. The UDF leaders on the stage tried to protect him after elements in the crowd attempted to assault him, but once he was outside the hall, he was pursued by a group of youths. He fled into a nearby house where he was stoned, beaten and stabbed to death by a large group. A member of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing, Mr Colin de Souza [AM5377/97], has applied for amnesty for the killing. The UDF issued a statement after the killing stating that:

The UDF regrets the loss of life of Moegsien Abrahams. However, it is important that we understand his untimely death in context. The context is provided by the growing polarisation and concomitant anger which flows from the apartheid ordering our society. His death occurred in a manner which the UDF cannot be responsible for.... In the light of this, the UDF cannot and will not take responsibility, whether directly or indirectly, for his death. The blame rests four square on the shoulders of those responsible for the breeding of hatred and anger by their maintenance of apartheid...³⁹

- 289 In Colesberg, a selective consumer boycott in 1985 cost the life of Ms Nombulelo Dilato [CT00506], who was married to policeman Mr Stanford Thembele Dilato [CT00390]. A group monitoring the boycott in Colesberg saw Ms Dilato buying meat. She was confronted and her meat was taken from her and trampled. She laid charges with the police, who began searching for those responsible. These events served to identify Ms Dilato as a police informer in the eyes of the community, although she had been a supporter of community organisations until then. When the

³⁹ *The Argus*, 28 May 1986.

Dilato home was stoned, police began a constant guard on Ms Dilato, escorting her to and from work and stationing Hippos (armoured personnel carriers) outside the house. This police protection ironically served to seal her fate. On 2 October 1985 she was caught by a small group of youths, assaulted and set alight, and her home was burnt the same day. When she subsequently died in hospital, community hostility made it impossible for the Dilato family to bury the victim in Colesberg. Mr Tembile Falati, Mr Zolile Silwane, Mr Thabo Gusha, Mr Pingdyaan Kelem, Mr Titsha Mhlakulo and Mr Tifo Paul Setlaba were charged with murder. Setlaba was sentenced to death (later commuted) while others received long prison sentences.

290 In Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Mr Patrick Marenene [CT00560], one of two remaining community councillors was attacked in November 1985. Youths took all his furniture, clothing and other household contents outside and burnt them along with his vehicle. Marenene fled, returning two days later to see what had happened to his children. He was chased by a group of youths in Bongoletu and fled, firing shots, but was caught and killed in Bridgeton, half a kilometre away. He was stoned and a burning tyre was placed on his shoulders.

291 A mass swoop by the security forces on Bongoletu township followed this killing. Hundreds of residents were arrested in a dawn raid on 29 November 1985 and assembled in rows on the soccer field. Masked individuals selected a group of less than a hundred, who were then transferred to the Oudtshoorn police station and locked into the police station tennis courts. They were then taken in large groups for an 'identity parade', for which they had to stand outside the police building while individuals behind windows on the third floor picked out certain individuals. About twenty people were then charged with the murder.⁴⁰ Three people were sentenced to death: Mr Patrick Manginda, Mr Desmond Majola and Mr Dickson Madikane.⁴¹ Three others were given long prison sentences.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE OCCURRENCE OF NECKLACING IN THE WESTERN CAPE REGION BETWEEN 1985 AND 1989 WAS AN EXPRESSION OF THE RAGE OF PEOPLE TOWARDS OPPONENTS, PERCEIVED COLLABORATORS OR REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE. THE COMMISSION NOTES THAT THIS METHOD OF KILLING PEOPLE WAS USED BY VARIOUS GROUPS WITH DIFFERENT POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, IT BECAME ASSOCIATED WITH SUPPORTERS OF THE UDF, AND THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE UDF LEADERSHIP COULD AND SHOULD HAVE ACTED MORE VIGOROUSLY TO INDICATE THEIR DISAPPROVAL AND REJECTION.

40 Some of those charged made allegations of police assault and torture to Commission researchers.

41 Their death sentences were later commuted to prison sentences after several years on Death Row. They were released in 1992 as political prisoners.

- 292 Hanover in the northern Karoo region experienced violent divisions between so-called ‘collaborators’ and community organisations. A 1985 campaign against the councillors, in which several homes were destroyed, forced the councillors and their associates to flee the township. They settled in army tents close to the police station. This settlement became known as ‘Ezitenteni’ and housed up to one hundred people.
- 293 Tension and conflict between the groups resulted in the killing of Mr Alfred Thozamile Nkumbi, a relative of the mayor. Residents attacked him at his house in Kwezi on 24 December while he was under police escort. It appears that his escorts left the scene. Mr Nkumbi and family members tried to flee towards Ezitenteni but were caught. Mr Nkumbi was stoned and stabbed to death and his brother William Thamsanqa Nkumbi [CT00379] and other family members were stabbed.
- 294 A group of approximately nine people were charged, most found guilty and were convicted in 1988 of murder and public violence. Four of them were sentenced to death, namely: Mr Samson Booysen, Mr Vusumzi Jack, Mr Mxolisi Ncaphayi and Mr Bennet Sonamzi. One of the accused, Mr Elliot Sindezama Siyoko [CT00380] alleges that he was tortured while in custody. Mr Samson Booysen insists that he was not even in Hanover that day. The death sentences were later commuted.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TRAGIC SPIRAL OF HOSTILITY, KILLINGS AND RETALIATION, ILLUSTRATED IN HANOVER AND REPEATED IN MANY OTHER COUNTRY TOWNS, HAS LEFT A LEGACY OF ANGER AND BITTERNESS WHICH REQUIRES ON-GOING CONCERN. THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT PROVINCIAL AUTHORITIES, NGOS AND FAITH-BASED ORGANISATIONS SHOULD TAKE INITIATIVES TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION AND REHABILITATION.

- 295 In Victoria West conflict developed between ‘collaborators’ and ‘activists’ that escalated into violence. In March 1985 most of the community council resigned due to community pressure. In April a black policeman’s house was attacked. Eleven people were arrested and later charged with arson. On 25 May youths set alight three houses. Ms Emily Manong was trapped inside the burning house, but managed to escape. Mr Daniel Manong described the first attack.

After the police shot the tear gas the gas covered the entire town. And then they [the crowd] came to the house where my mother lived – a lot of them came there. They came with lamp oil, and petrol bombs. And they came and they broke the windows, they tried to burn the house inside with people inside ... Through God’s grace we could manage to get people out eventually. And they could run away. My mother was taken away half a kilometre out of the town. They’ve taken her to a camp where soldiers use to come and visit and stayed around.

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

She came back the 4 December, it was on a Wednesday and they came to look for the old woman again. Patrick came threw the window, opened the door and once again they threw petrol bombs at the house and they burned her, my mother, for the second time and this was more serious. When we came to the hospital I realised she was not going to make it ... She died on the Saturday the 7th.

Stoning and petrol bomb attacks on commuters

- 297 There are three periods of deaths and injuries resulting from stonings and petrol bombs during street protests in the Western Cape, namely the 1985 unrest peak, 1986 and 1989. Mr C J Neels Kapp [CT03069] died in September 1985 after being stoned near Crossroads. In April 1986 two union members, Mr Rashid Abrahams [CT01042] and Mr David Nduti, died when their vehicle was stoned and petrol-bombed in Lansdowne Road. Mr Dane Douglas [CT00467] was seriously injured after being stoned near Crossroads in March 1986.

- 298 In addition to a number of serious injuries by stoning and petrol-bombing of vehicles, six deaths were reported, all in August to October 1989, around the time of the election. Those killed include two young girls who were run over when a vehicle was stoned by youths and went out of control, hitting a group of pedestrians.

THE COMMISSION NOTES THAT STREET UNREST INVOLVING STONING AND PETROL-BOMBING OF VEHICLES RESULTED IN SEVERAL FATALITIES AND SERIOUS INJURIES IN THE REGION. THESE CASUALTIES WERE ALMOST ALWAYS CIVILIANS DRIVING IN A PARTICULAR AREA. THE COMMISSION ACCEPTS THAT WIDESPREAD POLITICAL PROTEST WAS NOT ALWAYS ORGANISATIONALLY DIRECTED, BUT FINDS THAT THESE PROTESTERS WERE LARGELY UDF SUPPORTERS AND THAT THE LOCAL UDF STRUCTURES COULD HAVE PLAYED A ROLE IN HALTING THESE ATTACKS.

Armed operations by liberation movements

- 299 Armed activity by the ANC in the Western and Northern Cape escalated dramatically from mid-1985 to 1989. The over 100 attacks resulted in at least four deaths

and approximately sixty injuries. No PAC or APLA armed actions appear to have taken place in this period.

- 300 There was a strong shift in 1985 towards attacking personnel of institutions deemed oppressive or 'collaborative'. The homes of two members of the Labour Party in Mitchells Plain and Grassy Park were attacked with grenades on June 12 1985, along with an attack on the Langa police station. One person was seriously injured in the Mitchells Plain attack. Over the next four days, the homes of community councillors in Crossroads, Langa and Nyanga were attacked with grenades. Three members of the Security Branch were injured when a grenade was thrown at them near the Gugulethu police station. During an attack on the Mitchells Plain home of a Labour Party member on 15 August 1985, Rashaad Witten (16) was killed and three others injured.
- 301 In 1986 there were at least nineteen incidents, including four grenade attacks on personnel, four explosive devices in buildings and five gunshot attacks on personnel. Several police personnel were injured, some seriously. Primed explosive devices were detonated at the Mowbray railway station toilet on the eve of May Day, and at the Mowbray police station on 3 July. A shoot-out at a roadblock also occurred near Warrenton in the Northern Cape on 13 December in which one MK operative was killed.
- 302 Several mini-limpet mines attacks in 1987 involved 'soft' targets with a high potential for civilian casualties. Certain 'terrorism' trialists admitted attacks on three homes of policemen. In a significant 'soft target attack' that did not result in any injuries, Ms Jennifer Schreiner, under the command of Mr Tony Yengeni, placed two limpet mines in a ladies' toilet in Cape Town's airport around midnight on 21 July. There were also sabotage attacks on power pylons, railway lines, petrol stations, and a bus stop outside a government residence. A powerful car bomb exploded outside SADF residences in District Six and a primed limpet mine was discovered at a bus terminus in Cape Town.
- 303 The hand grenade targets in 1987 were SAP personnel (both on patrol and in their homes) and community councillors, or persons linked to these groups. On 9 January a hand grenade was thrown into a vehicle driven by the well-known Warrant Officer Barnard near KTC. The explosion killed his right-hand man, Constable Labuschagne, and seriously injured Barnard himself. Three days later Constable Mtetwa was killed by automatic gunfire in Gugulethu. Community councillor Mr Dennis Lobi's home was attacked by grenades on 15 and 16 June, injuring four people.

304 In 1988, twenty-one MK attacks, mainly with mini-limpet mines, targeted municipal buildings and institutions in the build-up to the October 1988 municipal elections. In one of three simultaneous attacks on June 16, a homeless man, Mr Elliot Mphathio Ketelo, was killed at a dustbin outside the Wynberg magistrate's court in which explosives had been placed. MK member Mr Allan Ndodomzi Mamba was later convicted for this killing. Ten policemen, two boys and a woman were injured when a police patrol was attacked with grenades and shots in Nyanga. Police linked MK operative Mthetheleli Gcina to the attempted killing of community councillor Dennis Lobi on 5 August 1988.

305 MK operatives linked to the 'Ashley Kriel Detachment' applied for amnesty regarding a limpet mine explosion at the Bonteheuwel municipal rent office on 28 September 1988 which seriously injured Mr Mogamat Nurudien Bartlett [CT00667]. Mr Bartlett suffered permanent injuries including the amputation of half of his left leg.

I was on my way home from work walking down Jakkalsvlei Avenue. In front of the rent office I saw a milk carton on the ground. I picked it up and opened it and it exploded whilst I was trying to look inside it. I lost my right eye, three fingers and right hand in the explosion. My body was burnt on the top half and my left ankle was damaged. I woke up in Groote Schuur Hospital. I was there for three to four months. I heard later from people that police thought that I was responsible for placing the bomb.

306 His sister stated that they heard the bomb explosion and she and her mother ran towards the scene:

When my mother got there police were already there. My brother was on fire and when my mother asked them to put it out, they said, 'Laat die vark brand, hy het dit geplant (Let the pig burn, he planted it).

307 The amnesty applicants were operations commander Aneez Salie [AM6145/97] and operatives Sydney Hendricks [AM6146/97], Venessa Rhoda November [AM7988/97].

308 The whites-only election in September 1989 drew a number of bombings. Polling stations, magistrates' courts as well as railway lines and stations were targeted. Two MK operatives, Mr Robbie Waterwitch and Ms Coline Williams, were killed in one of three simultaneous explosions on 23 July near the Athlone magistrate's court.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MANY OF THE ARMED ATTACKS BY MK MEMBERS AMOUNTED TO ATTACKS ON 'SOFT TARGETS' OR ON INSTALLATIONS WITH SERIOUS HUMAN RISK. AT LEAST FOUR CIVILIANS WERE KILLED. FIRSTLY, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT DURING 1985 A SERIES OF HAND GRENADE ATTACKS DIRECTLY TARGETED THE PRIVATE HOMES OF ALLEGED COLLABORATORS, KILLING ONE TEENAGER. SECONDLY, THE COMMISSION FINDS EVIDENCE OF ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS BY UMKHONTO WE SIZWE OPERATIVES. THIRDLY, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE BOMB PLACED IN THE FEMALE TOILETS OF THE CAPE TOWN AIRPORT, ALTHOUGH NO INJURIES WERE INCURRED, CONSTITUTED A CIVILIAN TARGET. IN SEVERAL INSTANCES, UNINTENDED TARGETS BECAME VICTIMS OF ATTACKS, POINTING TO THE HIGHLY UNPREDICTABLE CONSEQUENCES OF THE USE OF EXPLOSIVES IN ATTACKS.

Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW)⁴²

309 Bonteheuwel is a 'coloured' township that became known as a militant area in the second half of the 1980s, not least because of the activities of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW). The idea of forming "a militant body to co-ordinate and intensify the revolutionary activities, especially at the Bonteheuwel High Schools" emerged from Bonteheuwel Inter-Schools Congress (BISCO) members, including Ashley Kriel.

BMW would co-ordinate all militant and violent actions at the schools during the day and would spearhead similar activities on the streets after school hours.⁴³

310 It is estimated that at the height of the activities of the BMW more than 100 members were involved in its networks. The BMW, operating in small cells, comprised several types of units that adopted increasingly sophisticated 'urban guerrilla' strategies. Groups of youths participated in stone-throwing and street barricading. Twenty members, divided into five units of four people, were the 'gunmen' who carried out most of the more serious attacks of arson and raids on people and homes. There were also support units responsible for organising safe houses, money and the supply of arms and ammunitions. One home virtually became a factory for zip guns.

Links to the UDF and ANC (MK)

311 There is little evidence to suggest that the formation of the BMW was part of the strategic plan of the UDF regional structures in the Western Cape. However, there is evidence that at local level the process was welcomed and endorsed.

We were very aware and conscious of the BMW. We obviously approved, given the context ... Broadly there was an understanding that they fell under the political leadership of the UDF. However, it was not a situation of command and control.⁴⁴

42 See appendix to chapter on *Special Hearing: Children and Youth* in Volume Four.

43 Interview with BMW member.

44 Interview with Bonteheuwel UDF executive member.

- 312 Another UDF executive member suggests that the BMW, although not formally linked to the UDF local structures "... was endorsed, although more informally. It was discussed by UDF executive members, but not in normal UDF meetings because of security reasons. It would rather be discussed at a braai after the meeting, for example."⁴⁵ This was largely because the UDF area committee was a very broad coalition including churches, which precluded discussion of armed activities.
- 313 Members of the BMW established links to the ANC and MK. Several members trained in exile and returned to the area. Others were recruited into various MK cells in the Western Cape. During 1986, an MK operative known as 'the General' provided some training and armaments such as Makarov pistols, limpet mines, grenades and an RPG-7 anti-tank rocket launcher. Short crash courses were organised in various places in the Western Cape. The BMW also sourced arms from local gangsters or by theft from policemen.

Violations by BMW members

- 314 By late 1986 and early 1987, the BMW were executing raids on policemen and suspected 'informers' as well as ambushing police patrols. This made Bonteheuwel a 'no go zone' for the police and people who co-operated with them. The BMW were also responsible for attacks on vehicles, buildings and individuals. Mainly state and company vehicles were targeted. Trucks containing foodstuffs such as meat and bread would be hijacked and the contents distributed amongst BMW members and the Bonteheuwel community.
- 315 Over a period of several months during 1986, City Tramway buses were burnt on a daily basis. There was also a failed attempt to blow up a truck transporting petrol. Buildings attacked included the Bonteheuwel post office and the Netreg railway office. Several homes of policemen and suspected police informers were attacked with petrol bombs, or a grenade in one instance, or were shot at. Policemen walking in the Bonteheuwel area were also targeted.

Crackdown by the security forces

- 316 From 1985 the state, via its JMCs and its security forces, employed a dual strategy to maintain 'law and order' in Bonteheuwel. The first part was to upgrade the Bonteheuwel area; the second, the establishment of special Unrest Investigation Units to crack down on people held responsible for political unrest.

⁴⁵ Interview with Bonteheuwel UDF executive member.

317 The Unrest Investigation Units were made up of SAP members deployed from different units (the Detective Branch, Uniform Branch, Murder and Robbery, the Drug Squad and the Security Branch). An Unrest Investigation Unit in Athlone infiltrated and cracked down on the BMW in the second half of 1987, effectively decimating the organisation. A series of swoops and arrests followed, resulting in the detentions of over forty BMW members at various times. A number of BMW members who made statements to the Commission alleged that they were severely tortured. By mid-1989 the BMW had been crushed.

Torture of BMW members

318 It is clear that the Unrest Investigation Unit's main aim was to effect arrests and gather evidence for more arrests and convictions very quickly. The necessity of speedy confessions was spelt out in a directive from the Commissioner of Police, and those arrested were therefore immediately subjected to protracted and severe torture. Explicit sexual forms of torture were used; several BMW members were anally raped. It is known that in other instances, young activists were deliberately placed amongst imprisoned criminals who repeatedly raped them.

319 Fourteen statements were made to the Commission by a number of young people, mostly between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, many of whom described serious assault and torture at the hands of the police. Twelve statements were made to the Commission by BMW members, including Mohammed Faried Ferhelst [CT00666], Bradley Barrow [CT01315], Abubaker 'Whitey' Williams [CT00185], Colin de Souza [CT00520], Fuad Hartzenberg [CT01107], Ismael Damon [CT00297], Hercules Benjamin Booyesen [CT00296], Brian Peter Barends [CT00453], Sandra and Jacques Adonis [CT01110], and Cleoton Darryl Visagie [CT00885]. Most describe serious assault and torture whilst between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Two further cases are described below. Unrest Investigation Unit members who were frequently linked to their torture included Captain Louis van Brakel, Sergeant Ilmar Pikker, a Captain Strydom and Sergeant JA Todd.

320 Mr Ebrahim Hercules [CT01539] was arrested in 1986 and immediately assaulted by two coloured policemen. He was taken to the Bishop Lavis police station where he was placed in a cell with 'common law criminals'. The next morning Sergeant Pikker and Sergeant Todd took him to the Brackenfell police station where he was blindfolded and severely beaten with a heavy metal object. He was returned to solitary confinement. Later during his detention he was sexually assaulted by

policemen who put him across a table and, after removing his pants, put the barrel of a gun into his anus and played Russian roulette. Fearing for his life, Hercules signed two statements prepared for him which he was not allowed to read. He was sentenced in 1988 and was released with other political prisoners in 1990.

321 Qasim Williams [CT01109] was arrested in February 1987 at the age of fourteen. He was taken to the Bishop Lavis police station where Sergeant Todd forced his head into a toilet bowl which he then flushed. Williams was taken to the Brackenfell police station where he was repeatedly assaulted by Captain van Brakel, Captain Strydom, and Sergeant Todd amongst others. He alleges that, after he was released from prison, he was framed as a police informer by the Unrest Investigation Unit. Williams subsequently survived an attempt on his life by other members of the BMW who, believing he had become a police informer, assaulted him and set him alight. A local priest came to his rescue and he got away with minor burns. A member of the BMW, Colin de Souza, has applied for amnesty for this attack [AM5277/97].

322 Williams was re-arrested in January 1988 and was told that he would never see his family again. A Sergeant told him, "today is the day you meet your Maker". He was suspended upside down by rope and then beaten. On another occasion his body was tied in a spread-eagled position and grass was placed on his pubic hair. A tortoise was then put to graze on and around his genitals. He was also blindfolded and taken to an unknown place where he was suspended in the air. His torturers told him that it was the highest building in Cape Town and that if he did not co-operate with them they were going to drop him.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE REPRESSIVE CONDITIONS FACING SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE BONTEHEUWEL AREA RESULTED IN THE FORMATION OF A PARAMILITARY YOUTH ORGANISATION WHICH ADOPTED A PROGRAMME OF VIOLENT RESISTANCE. THE COMMISSION ALSO FINDS THAT THE GROUP RECEIVED ENDORSEMENT AND FACILITATION FROM THE UDF, ALBEIT AT LOCAL LEVEL, AND THAT MK OPERATIVES FURTHERED THIS ENDORSEMENT IN THE PROVISION OF ARMS AND MILITARY TRAINING. THE COMMISSION CRITICISES BOTH THE UDF AND ANC FOR ITS EXPEDIENT ENCOURAGEMENT OF THIS GROUP OF VERY YOUNG PEOPLE WHO WERE ALL UNDER THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN, FINDING IT INAPPROPRIATE THAT SUCH YOUTH WERE MOBILISED INTO ORGANISED VIOLENCE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE BMW WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR A NUMBER OF VIOLATIONS THAT RESULTED IN THE DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY, SERIOUS INJURY AND POSSIBLY DEATH. THEY WERE THEMSELVES THE SUBJECT OF EXTENSIVE TORTURE AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT AT THE HANDS OF THE SECURITY FORCES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE SPECIAL UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT UNDER CAPTAIN VAN BRAKEL RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS TORTURE, IN PARTICULAR THE SEXUAL ASSAULT OF SOME OF THE YOUTH.

■ 1990-1994

Overview

- 323 The 1990s saw a fairly extensive upsurge of violations in the region – although not remotely approaching the levels of violence in other regions. An estimate of deaths from newspapers and Commission sources suggests that there were around 200 politically related deaths in the Peninsula alone, although in many instances criminal or taxi elements may have been involved. It is notable that the Peninsula violence was restricted almost exclusively to the African townships, apart from isolated incidents elsewhere, in particular APLA attacks. The rural areas also experienced struggles and conflicts with local authorities and police. There were numerous deaths and injuries in Northern Cape towns, while resistance to ongoing apartheid segregation in the Boland resulted in what became known as the ‘Boland War’.
- 324 The Peninsula shared the trend towards anonymous violence that emerged across the country in the 1990s, with the emergence of ‘vigilante-type’ anonymous violence that primarily targeted the liberation movement supporters. The proliferation of ‘balaclava’ gangs striking at families or whole communities was a strong feature of the violence from 1991 to 1993. Conflicts with the local town councils as well as inter-organisational conflict, particularly in the Civic movement, played a role in this.
- 325 The most extreme violence centred in and around informal settlements in Khayelitsha and Crossroads, whose political loyalties were vigorously contested by both the state and the liberation movements. In addition, the tremendous upheavals generated by the piecemeal upgrading and development process caused widespread conflict and fragmentation within these communities.
- 326 As elsewhere, there was an increasing blurring of the distinction between criminal and political violence. Certain activities of the Peninsula self defence units (SDUs) became criminalised, while taxi-related conflicts became increasingly politicised.
- 327 The liberation movements themselves were involved in violations at differing levels. Within the ANC, violations centred mainly around internal conflicts and renegade SDUs. The PAC engaged in several military attacks on both civilian and security targets, resulting in many casualties. The Western Cape was one of APLA’s chief fields of operation in the period.

- 328 In the 1990s, political assassinations feature in the region for the first time, with victims including Ms Nomsa and Mr Michael Mapongwana, Mr Super Nkato, Mr Lucas Mbembe and Mr Mziwonke 'Pro' Jack. While the assassins had a variety of political affiliations, collectively they matched the pattern elsewhere in the land. In particular, the taxi wars exacted a heavy price upon political leadership.
- 329 The Commission is of the opinion that it has not been able to obtain a fully representative sample of statements regarding the multiplicity of conflicts in this period. Tensions and conflicts still prevail in certain areas, and the Commission has reason to believe that victims were not encouraged to give statements in some areas, or were even actively discouraged from doing so. In addition, the marginalised nature of informal settlements (where most of the violations took place) would have contributed to a lack of knowledge about and participation in the process of making Commission statements.⁴⁶

Overview of violations

- 330 This period contains the second highest number of violations reported in this region. Severe ill treatment remains the most common violation, followed by killings.



Conflict with local authorities

- 331 From 1990, a series of conflicts unfolded in the region in which residents tried to challenge the local power relations and rule by local authorities. These took place in both urban and rural areas, often with fatal consequences. They were sparked largely by the unbanning of organisations and the beginning of negotiation at national level, a process that was not matched at local level. Local communities attempted to challenge both the lack of change in local government, as well as ongoing racist and discriminatory practices.
- 332 The conflict was felt throughout the western Cape, but was most marked in Khayelitsha and the Boland (see below).

⁴⁶ With the establishment of a range of human rights-linked NGOs in the western Cape in the 1990s, a great deal of recording and analytical work was done on most of these areas. The Commission cannot reproduce the excellent work of these structures, but has drawn upon it.

Khayelitsha

- 333 After the unbanning of the ANC and PAC, the liberation movements rapidly developed a strong base in Khayelitsha where black local authorities became the focal point of political mobilisation and conflict, dominating events in 1990. As in the 1980s, a great deal of the violence was directly associated with the former *witdoek* leaders, whatever form their shifting political allegiances took. The Western Cape United Squatters' Association (WECUSA) was particularly volatile in its affiliations.
- 334 ANC branches and activists were to experience strong and at times violent conflicts with the Lingeletu West town councillors who had ruled Khayelitsha virtually unchallenged during the late 1980s. ANC branches embarked on strenuous campaigns to dislodge this town council which they considered illegitimate. Significantly, however, the Lingeletu West town councillors were able to access the necessary resources and protection to counter such threats to their position. They were armed with weapons, had the logistical support of Lingeletu West town council resources such as transport and communications, and used the Lingeletu West security guards and the special constables as their armed guards.
- 335 The councillors elected in October 1988 under mayor Mali Hoza became increasingly associated with violent attacks on members and supporters of the liberation movements. They were also linked to attacks on their former allies, pro-government *witdoek* colleagues such as Mr Prince Gobingca, Isaac Gwiliza and others, from whom they had split during the 1988 municipal elections. During 1989, there were numerous violent attacks by Hoza's cohorts on Gobingca particularly.
- 336 The conflict between Hoza and Gobingca culminated in violent attacks on the homes of Isaac Gwiliza and Gobingca in September 1989. Although this took place prior to 1990, the incident established a pattern for subsequent attacks in the 1990s.
- 337 Mr Jerry Tutu, who was injured in the attack, told a newspaper at the time that a van with two white men had pulled up in the main street separating Green Point and I Section at around 23h00. The two were wearing balaclavas and their faces had been smeared black. A group of more than twenty black men armed with rifles were dropped off and headed towards Mr Gobingca's house. After the attack, two white men returned in a minibus to collect the attackers, and ordered neighbours who were trying to put out the fire to disperse.

- 338 Seven people were killed in the attacks, including Gobingca's mother-in-law, and the homes of Gobingca and Gwiliza were burnt. In their statements both Gwiliza [CT01339] and Gobingca [CT08605] identify the attackers as people associated with the Lingelethu West town council, including two men employed as security guards at the council, one of whom was a former SADF Recce member. At least nine Lingelethu West town councillors or associates were charged with seven counts of murder, arson and six counts of attempted murder. The charges were dropped two years later.
- 339 During 1990, there were indiscriminate shootings of ANC supporters as well as targeted attacks on leading activists. One of Hoza's headmen appeared in court in connection with the fatal shooting of two youths on New Year's night when toyi-toying crowds passed his house.⁴⁷ Further attacks came during the night of 9/10 February 1990 as crowds of Site C residents were celebrating the imminent release of Mandela. Men in a white kombi, allegedly linked to the Lingelethu West town councillors, drove around and fired indiscriminately. Mr Kwenzekile 'Sixteen' Ngcuka [CT01565] was shot and injured along with others. On 14 November 1990, Sibulelo Piliso [CT00804] was shot dead and Shepherd Kaya Ndevu [CT00720] injured when, according to Ndevu, a councillor and others opened fire on them. The councillor was later acquitted.
- 340 A prominent target of attack was the chairperson of the ANC-aligned Civic Association, Mr Michael Mapongwana. During 1990, Mapongwana was the subject of numerous death threats, some made to him personally by Lingelethu West town councillors. On 7 March 1990, four councillors attempted to shoot Mapongwana. An NGO report on the incident states that four Lingelethu West councillors burst into a civic meeting and demanded to know why a meeting was being held without their permission. Mapongwana was called to the meeting by the civic and was shot at by the councillors on arrival. He escaped injury but a woman was wounded.⁴⁸

Mass Campaign against the Lingelethu West Town Council

- 341 On 4 August, a mass march by several thousand residents called for the immediate resignation of all town councillors and presented the town clerk with a memorandum. Police opened fire on the demonstrators with shotguns, tear gas and rubber bullets.

⁴⁷ *Cape Times*, 4 January 1990.

⁴⁸ UMAC report of attempted murder of chairperson of Western Cape Civic Association, Michael Mapongwana on Wednesday March 7, 1990, UMAC offices, Cape Town.

342 Shortly afterwards, two actions were taken that were directly contrary to the demands of the memorandum. Firstly, Khayelitsha was given full city council status by the Cape Provincial Administration (CPA), becoming the first Black Local Authority in the Western Cape. This action further entrenched the permanent status of the Lingeletu West Town Council at a time when its legitimacy was being fundamentally challenged. Secondly, having been granted legal city status, the town clerk was now able to levy service fees for the first time. A retrospective service charge, constituting a 100 per cent increase on the amounts paid earlier, was imposed on all Khayelitsha residents and sparked fury. A rent and bond boycott was called for, and the housing offices of the Lingeletu West Town Council were torched by arsonists.

343 On 18 October, Ms Nomsa Mapongwana, the wife of civic chairperson Mr Michael Mapongwana, was killed in a night-time attack on their home. The house had allegedly been circled repeatedly by councillors in a LW vehicle and police the previous day.⁴⁹

At approximately 12h30 they awoke to the sounds of shots being fired from the front and back windows of their bedroom. Petrol bombs were thrown through the windows and the furniture started to burn. Mr Mapongwana dragged his children and wife into the kitchen where they sheltered under a table until the shooting stopped. Mr Mapongwana then found that his wife was dead.

344 According to an Urban Monitoring and Awareness Committee (UMAC) report, neighbours had apparently seen four balaclava-clad men run from the burning house and jump over the back fence, from where they escaped in a white combi. A man who worked at the Lingeletu West council vehicle depot reported that a Lingeletu West security guard had delivered a Lingeletu West minibus to the depot at 04h00 on 18 October and told the person concerned to put number plates on the vehicle. The UMAC report concludes:

In view of the repeated threats by Lingeletu West councillors to Mr Mapongwana, the unsuccessful attempt by three councillors to assassinate him in March 1990, and the threatening behaviour of a group of councillors and police on the night before the attack, UMAC strongly suspects that the assassination attempt on Mr Mapongwana and the resultant murder of his wife are the work of Lingeletu West councillors. 19/10/90’⁵⁰

49 Incident reported to UMAC by Mr Michael Mapongwana on 17/10/1990

50 UMAC report. In December 1990, a LW councillor appeared in court regarding the murder. An Amnesty International article states that a special constable was charged with the murder, but was himself killed by another special constable.

- 345 Despite these attacks, Michael Mapongwana was charged with possession of an illegal firearm. He himself was subsequently shot dead on 31 July 1991 while returning from court for these charges (see below).
- 346 The killing of Ms Nomsa Mapongwana precipitated furious outrage in Khayelitsha. A mass protest march to the Lingeletu West offices was planned for 25 October. The night before the march, the Lingeletu West offices were damaged in an explosion.

March against the Lingeletu West Town Council, 25 October 1990

- 347 The march of 20 000 people on 25 October was kept waiting for permission, which was denied. Defiant marchers regrouped repeatedly under fire while lengthy negotiations between police commander Brigadier Frik Kellerman, Riot Unit head Chris Loedolff and civil-rights lawyer Mr Dullah Omar took place. It was decided to call off the morning march.
- 348 The march broke into sub-groups as it dispersed. By the end of the day, at least eight people were dead and up to eighty wounded. Some of the sub-groups were fired on by police, killing at least three people. Sporadic incidents occurred throughout the day in which at least another five people were killed. In several of the incidents, it was alleged that balaclava-clad men in a vehicle had opened fire indiscriminately at people on the street. Those killed that day included Mr Manityi Madoda, Mr Petrus Molefane, Mr Mthetheleli Mtitshana, Mr Themba Sokutu, Mr Phumzile Nyindeneni, Mr Nomkhayelo Khwaza [CT01312] and Mr Lundi Gaga. Before he died of his wounds, a thirteen year-old-boy told a journalist that he had been shot by an unknown gunmen wearing balaclavas who had fired at him from a passing car. Mr Mpumelelo Manityi Dyantyi [CT03708] was shot and killed and his brother Melford shot and wounded in Site C by three men including Lingeletu West councillor Michael Gubayo, who allegedly told them to get off the streets and then shot them. The vehicles and residences of police personnel were also attacked.
- 349 On 1 November, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok declared Khayelitsha an unrest area and placed it under curfew. After these events, UMAC and Democratic Party MP Jan van Eck sent an extensive dossier to Mr FW de Klerk, detailing abuses by members of the Lingeletu West town council. Van Eck, who had played a prominent role in highlighting the activities of the Lingeletu West town council and the police in Khayelitsha, was then banned from entering the area for several weeks.

Attacks on town councillors and Lingelethu West staff

- 350 In the wake of the murder of Ms Nomsa Mapongwana, several staff and councillors of the Lingelethu West council were attacked. A senior Lingelethu West administration official Mr Harold Ntlangwina was abducted from his home, tried by a 'kangaroo court' and 'found guilty' of murdering Ms Mapongwana. He was hacked to death and set alight, after he allegedly produced a hit list of twenty local activists headed by Michael Mapongwana. In an apparent counter-attack, men in a councillor's vehicle shot at and killed a member of a community patrol, killing Mr Rogers Ngxumza.
- 351 In other incidents, a number of Lingelethu West council employees were injured in a petrol bomb attack on their vehicle on 15 November; another employee, Mr Wiseman Mdube, was ambushed and shot dead while driving in Site C, and town clerk Graham Lawrence received death threats and was placed under police protection. On 1 December, councillor Mr Alfred Nqoboka was chased and stabbed to death, though newspaper reports expressed uncertainty if the killing was politically motivated.
- 352 After 1990, this period of public revolt and open conflict between the liberation movements and the Lingelethu West town councillors subsided into persistent skirmishes between the groups and more covert forms of attack.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE LINGELETHU WEST TOWN COUNCIL WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR CREATING A CLIMATE IN WHICH ATTACKS ON MEMBERS OF THE LIBERATION ORGANISATIONS TOOK PLACE, IN AN EFFORT TO RETAIN THEIR POSITIONS. IN PARTICULAR, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KILLING OF MS NOMSA MAPONGWANA TOOK PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OF AN ATTEMPT TO KILL HER HUSBAND MICHAEL, AND THAT THIS WAS DONE BY INDIVIDUALS ASSOCIATED WITH THE LINGELETHU WEST TOWN COUNCIL. THE ABSENCE OF CONVICTIONS FOR THESE ATTACKS CONTRIBUTED TO A CULTURE OF IMPUNITY AND LAWLESSNESS IN KHAYELITSHA. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE IMPOSITION OF INCREASED LEVIES AND THE GRANTING OF TOWN STATUS TO KHAYELITSHA IN 1990 WAS A SIGNIFICANT CATALYST FOR THE OCTOBER CONFLICTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE MILITANT CAMPAIGN ADOPTED BY THE ANC AGAINST THE LINGELETHU WEST TOWN COUNCIL CONTRIBUTED TO THE ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE. THE FAILURE OF THE ANC TO DISTANCE ITSELF FROM OR TO CONDEMN ARSON AND PHYSICAL ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUALS AND PROPERTY ASSOCIATED WITH THE LINGELETHU WEST TOWN COUNCIL, CREATED A CLIMATE THAT ENCOURAGED AND ALLOWED SUCH ACTIONS.

Inter-organisational conflict: the civic movement

- 353 The 1990s were marked by intense rivalries and conflicts within the civic movement in the Western Cape. The conditions for these conflicts date back to the historic fragmentation of civic activity in the region, which had been based on specific living conditions and the social divisions created by the pass laws and the enforcement of migrant labour practices. Thus there was the Cape Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) in the coloured areas, the Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) in the urban African townships, the Hostel Dwellers Association (HDA) in the hostels and Western Cape United Squatters Association (WECUSA) in the squatter areas. Efforts to merge these fragmented structures and build a single region of the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO) in the early 1990s were bedevilled to the point of near failure as entrenched leaders tried to retain their constituencies.
- 354 WECUSA was launched in 1989 as an alliance of pro-ANC squatter leaders, largely those whose communities had been violently destroyed by the *witdoeke* in 1986. Hostile and competitive relations with the WCCA were worsened with the increasing incorporation of formerly conservative squatter leaders into WECUSA, particularly Prince Gobingca and Conrad Sandile, who were openly regarded as MI agents by the liberation movements.⁵¹ This was exacerbated by the privileged relationship that WECUSA came to enjoy with the CPA and the IDT (Independent Development Trust) by virtue of their 'traditionalist' image and *modus operandi*.
- 355 The conflict between SANCO, WCCA and WECUSA in their struggle for political control in informal settlements was most vividly played out in Khayelitsha from 1991 onwards but extended as far as Strand and Somerset West. A further dimension emerged when WECUSA members began working with Lingeletu West town councillors from 1991. The complexities of these conflicts which frequently led to violence cannot be described here but a few examples are given below.

Khayelitsha and Strand

- 356 Due to hostility from the civic movement and widespread popular rejection, WECUSA was a largely fugitive presence in Khayelitsha. Despite this, it secured massive upgrading development deals with the IDT and the CPA.
- 357 During April and May 1991, serious conflict broke out between the civic-aligned residents and WECUSA in Macassar, Khayelitsha. During early 1991, residents

⁵¹ Police documentation suggests that Gobingca also established links with the far right in Cape Town as well as the IFP locally.

of a tent settlement known as Green Point – largely refugees from Crossroads – were being moved to a new area called Macassar. The Lingelethu West town council appears to have used WECUSA member Jerry Tutu as a middle man for the resettlement. Conflict erupted as residents realised that the upgraded serviced sites were being sold to non-Green Point residents and suspected Tutu of allocating these sites, to which they were entitled, to his own followers.

358 The ANC and the WCCA began actively mobilising against WECUSA. At least ten people were killed in the conflict, including three adults and a baby who died when gunmen opened fire on two shacks on 7 April 1992 and set them alight. A man and a woman were hacked and wounded. A month later, two people were shot dead and a third was necklaced.

359 Another site of conflict emerged in the Strand area. While the Lwandle township was a SANCO stronghold, WECUSA developed a base in the neighbouring squatter camp of Waterkloof. Tension was caused by a development project for the site and by the alleged refusal of WECUSA to allow ANC membership in its area. A WECUSA leader allegedly went to Waterkloof and urged people to join WECUSA and gain funding for development. He also reportedly urged them to destroy the ANC and ANC Youth League.⁵² Ms Nontsapho Ngesman stated:

In 1991, Mr Nzuzo Nkomo, a WECUSA leader [deceased] said that we must join WECUSA and not the ANC. He said if we join the ANC we must pack up and go from there. People were forced to join WECUSA. The previous week ANC members were attacked by 'balaclavas'.

360 On 26 April 1992, her husband, Mr Desmond Ngesman [CT00171], was shot dead by men in balaclavas.

361 Hostility towards WECUSA also stemmed from its continued use of the 'headman' system in a period when residents of informal settlements no longer faced the perils of migrant labour and the pass system, and no longer depended upon the protection of powerful squatter leaders. In Philippi, residents revolted against WECUSA member Christopher Toise, the traditional leader of the area, rejecting his exploitative practices including financial demands and aggressive informal courts. He was forced to flee the area in early 1993 and take refuge with other evicted squatter leaders holed up in Section 4, Crossroads, with Mr Jeffrey Nongwe. This largely signalled the demise of the 'traditional' squatter leadership style epitomised by WECUSA.

⁵² Submission by Network of Independent Monitors to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into violence at Crossroads, June 1993.

- 362 The conflict between WECUSA, SANCO and the WCCA ultimately led to the establishment of WECCO (Western Cape Civic Organisation) in 1993. The new organisation brought together a range of anti-ANC civic structures as a counter to SANCO. The launch, at the Devonvale Country club in Stellenbosch, was allegedly partly funded by the National Party, channelled through a building company called EU Civils, and was addressed by Mr Themba Khoza of the IFP.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE CONFLICTS IN THE CIVIC MOVEMENT, PARTICULARLY BETWEEN WECUSA AND SANCO, WERE ESSENTIALLY POWER STRUGGLES FOR CONTROL OF CONSTITUENCIES IN A TURBULENT PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

THERE IS, HOWEVER, EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT WECUSA WAS MANIPULATED BY SECURITY FORCES. IN PARTICULAR, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT PRINCE GOBINGCA SERVED AS AN AGENT FOR MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AND THE SECURITY BRANCH. THE COMMISSION WAS NOT ABLE TO ESTABLISH THE VERACITY OF ALLEGATIONS CONCERNING CONRAD SANDILE AND HIS LINKS TO THE SECURITY FORCES ANY FURTHER THAN WAS THE GOLDSTONE COMMISSION. HOWEVER HIS ENTRY TO WECUSA THROUGH PRINCE GOBINGCA SUGGESTS THAT HE TOO WAS ACTING AT THE BEHEST OF SECURITY FORCES.

Anonymous violence: ‘balaclavas’

- 363 From 1991, political violence in Khayelitsha, and to a lesser extent in Nyanga, was marked by anonymous so-called ‘balaclava gangs’ – groups of masked men who performed ruthless killings and arson attacks, targeting individual homes and families or whole communities known for a particular political affiliation. Homes would be raked with gunfire, or broken into and the occupants shot. Alternatively, armed men would surround the houses to prevent any occupants fleeing, condemning them to die in the flames. The term ‘balaclava’ became a catch-all phrase for persistent night attacks upon individuals and communities.
- 364 The Commission interviewed a range of individuals associated with these conflicts, including some linked to ‘balaclava’ activity. A great deal of fear and intimidation still existed at the time of the interviews, and this constrained the level of information available, as certain role-players in the conflicts above were still in positions of power. Recent incidents of violence in the area confirmed this. Collectively, the multiplicity of incidents of anonymous violence appeared at the time to constitute ‘third force’ destabilisation, matching the pattern of events in the Transvaal. This perception was widespread and acted in many ways to shape the responses of organisations to the conflicts.
- 365 Investigations by the Commission suggest, however, that there were several ‘balaclava’ groups active in the area, with differing allegiances and agendas.

Many of the key political and indeed criminal forces on the scene, including the security forces, adopted some form of covert violent activity and probably donned balaclavas to enact it. Many were probably purely criminal.

- 366 Balaclava attacks also reflected the overlap of criminal and political activity in the 1990s as the struggle for political control, particularly of the informal settlements, became a matter of life, death, and money. This occurred both *overtly* as political organisations attempted to intervene in the bloody taxi war, and *covertly* as both political and security force personnel maintained links with some of the criminal structures.
- 367 There is, however, no doubt that covert ‘balaclava’ type activity was widely used to eliminate political opponents in Khayelitsha. Political actors ‘piggy-backed’ political targets on those engaged in criminal acts. Police reports in the newspapers generally asserted that the majority of attacks fell under the umbrella of the taxi war. However, it was widely believed and asserted within the ANC, whose supporters were most frequently the target of the attacks, that the taxi war provided a convenient smokescreen for a protracted campaign of destabilisation of their strongholds by their opponents in the security forces and local government.
- 368 All of the following groups appear to have generated ‘balaclava-type’ activity. Although six distinct groups are identified, the first five, namely the councillors, the special constables, criminals, taxi groupings and WECUSA, at times acted in concert or collaborated in attacks. Some evidence suggests security force involvement.

Lingeletu West councillors

- 369 During 1989 and 1990, several town councillors were charged with murder or attempted murder. These attacks took place in a fairly open manner.⁵³ It is possible that with several pending prosecutions their methods became more covert. Incidents in which this group were suspected to be implicated were often accompanied by white Afrikaans-speaking men and men wearing full or partial special constable uniforms. This suggests that individuals or groups within the security forces collaborated with these attacks; however, the Commission has only indirect evidence of this.

⁵³ Although charged, few cases were tried or led to convictions. In at least two instances, charges were withdrawn (SHA 257/90/91 and SHE 159/91).

Former special constables

370 A group of forty special constables went on strike and was dismissed, reportedly leaving with uniforms and rifles. This group maintained informal links and provided the core of a balaclava gang that engaged in criminal robberies and attacks, mainly in Khayelitsha. The Commission established that elements within this group had links with Hoza. Police sources suggest the group may have carried out contract killings. The group included Headman Mafumani, known as Tshangisa, who had a long-standing relationship with Hoza. This group was linked to at least twenty-one criminal incidents in the Cape including nine in Khayelitsha, mainly in 1992 and 1993.

Criminal gangs

371 Evidence from convicted criminal Mr Michael Mvokwe illustrates the links between the ex-special constables, criminal gangs and the Lingeletu West Town councillors. Mvokwe was involved in criminal activities, but stated that he was recruited by Mali Hoza to attack ANC-aligned areas. He was also recruited to act as a guard for Hoza himself and further describes how Hoza bailed him and others out when arrested for other activities. In a highly significant admission, Mvokwe refers to his involvement in a particular attack. While police blamed 'the taxi war' for the attack, the ANC insisted it was the Lingeletu West town councillor grouping. Mvokwe's admission supports the ANC's version of events.

I was in my house when Bongani arrived and told me that Hoza wants to see us ... When we arrived Hoza was there together with Tshezi, Gubayo (councillor) and Tshangisa (a former special constable) ... He asked us to help him to govern the people. One day I was with Hoza when one member of WECUSA, Yesi, together with Jerry Tutu, came and told us that Jada was being killed in D area. When we arrived there, Jada's car was burning and he was nowhere to be found. Apparently he got away ... On that afternoon we had a meeting and Hoza told us that we should go and attack D area on the same night. We went there armed and attacked for the whole week.

372 This incident undoubtedly refers to the period around 20 February 1992. A newspaper report is revealing.

Khayelitsha became a flashpoint this week when eight people were killed. While police blame the violence on the taxi war, the ANC alleges town councillors were responsible. [An ANC spokesperson] claimed attacks followed an incident on

Sunday when a Lingelethu West councillor known as Jada started shooting at residents in Site C. When people returned fire he ran away and his car was set alight. After this incident residents decided to patrol at night. Late on Sunday, [the spokesperson] alleged, twelve armed men – white, coloured and African, speaking Afrikaans – opened fire on the patrol and two shacks were burnt.⁵⁴

- 373 Another newspaper report states that two men, and a woman were shot dead and six shacks set alight in D section on the Friday night by men wearing balaclavas. Four men were also shot and killed nearby when men stopped the car in which they were driving and opened fire.

Taxi groupings

- 374 As a result of perceptions that the Lagunya⁵⁵ Taxi association was ANC-aligned (supported by suggestions that an ANC SDU assisted Lagunya in attacks), areas seen to be ANC strongholds, and areas where numbers of Lagunya owners/drivers lived, became targets for balaclava attacks. This also held for areas seen to be aligned to the Western Cape Black Taxi Association (WEBTA), which was perceived to be linked to councillors, squatter leaders and police. At least one councillor, Mr Michael Gubayo, was a WEBTA taxi owner. Statements about these incidents also referred to white Afrikaans-speaking men. Mvokwe's statement also linked Hoza to violent support for WEBTA:

At the time there was a war between the two taxi organisations, WEBTA and Lagunya. [Hoza] asked us to help WEBTA. We started shooting and burning shacks in the following areas D, M, R, Q and L. But it was difficult to get inside M and L sections as the comrades there were fighting back and police were patrolling the area. Hoza was always telling me that he doesn't want to see a person from L and M sections as he had a grudge against them. He was always saying the people from there (L) killed Goniwe [a councillor].'⁵⁶

ANC self-defence units

- 375 During 1992 and 1993, at least one SDU was responsible for multiple attacks in Khayelitsha (see below).

⁵⁴ *South*, 20 February 1992

⁵⁵ Langa/Gugulethu/Nyanga – these taxis opened up routes in previously unserved areas.

⁵⁶ Lingelethu West town councillor Million Goniwe was shot dead on 4 November 1991 in Site B. Newspaper reports linked his death to the taxi war.

Examples of balaclava-type actions

376 Amongst the many anonymous attacks that besieged in particular, the different sections of Khayelitsha, it is not possible to allocate responsibility for specific attacks or conflicts to a particular group. Statements made to the Commission or NGO *affidavits* by those attacked often tended to link particular groups to responsibility for the attack. These perceptions cannot always be confirmed with the available information. Not all individuals involved in such attacks were actually wearing balaclavas and some statements did identify individuals, most commonly councillors.

377 The Commission received several statements concerning ANC or civic-linked individuals who were wounded or killed in balaclava attacks. A few of these are summarised below as examples.

378 On 22 July 1992, close to midnight, Mr Nelson Sithole [CT00159] and Mr Mandla Tshuku were led into their house by two balaclava-clad men dressed like policemen, carrying rifles. They ordered the thirteen people present to lie down. They demanded to know who Nelson Sithole was. When they recognised Sithole, they took him to another shack where he was shot dead.

379 The family of ANC chairperson Solomon Tshuku [CT00407] was attacked in their Site C home on 15 August 1991. His wife Nophumzile, and four of their children were killed by a group of balaclava-clad men who then set the shack alight. Three children, Abigail Mbimbi, Nomanqulo and Nolundi (16) were killed on the scene and Mncedisi (20) died of gunshot wounds in hospital. Only his nine-year-old daughter Nondumiso survived the massacre. Nondumiso reportedly said her life was spared by a gunman who said: "Let's not kill her, she is too young". Tshuku's nephew testified that:

When my uncle came back from work and he saw all the mess of the corpses lying over he nearly committed suicide. He nearly hurt himself with a weapon that he used to use at work. That led to it that he should be under guard all the time so that he should not commit suicide. Even at work, he had to be under strict guard and the members of the organisation used to go and watch him and try and keep him company so that he should not think deeply about this horrible incident.'

380 On the night of 18/19 February 1992, ANC members Nontsiki Florence Falakhe and Temba Boto and their children Portia (12) and Tumeke Falakhe (6)

[CT01563] were killed when their shack was set alight in D Section, Site C. Another person was found in the vicinity dying of gunshot wounds in the neck. Witnesses said 'Afrikaans-speaking' people accompanied by men wearing blue overalls set alight shacks in Khayelitsha during the night. They said the men fired shots in the air to prevent families fleeing. Deponent Mr Walawa Falakhe, Nontsiki's brother, who was in the neighbouring shack also confirmed hearing Afrikaans-speakers during the attack. Falakhe asserts that the attackers were supporters of mayor Hoza.

381 During July, August and September 1991, but particularly during 1–8 September, a series of attacks took place predominantly in Site B. A litany of *affidavits* were taken by a group of NGOs and political parties⁵⁷ who attempted to raise the issue with the police. Collectively, it was estimated that around 250 shacks were razed, at least fifteen people killed, 100 injured and about 1 000 people left homeless. Common features in many of the statements include the sighting of whites amongst the group and the use of Afrikaans. Survivors stated that more than fifty men, armed with guns, *pangas* and petrol bombs had invaded the area. At least eighteen people were treated for *panga* wounds.

382 The ANC held a press conference at which it alleged police collusion and produced a police cap belonging to a Sergeant Hendricks. They claimed that 'comrades' had tried to capture one of the white attackers dressed in a camouflage uniform. Police said that the cap belonged to an SAP member "who, during the course of the night, attempted to arrest a suspected arsonist. While giving chase, he lost the cap".

383 At least three people were killed on 18 December 1991 when an attempted assassination of ANC member Nomonde Dinwa [CT08613] turned into a wider attack. Ms Dinwa was present on the scene and, in a statement to UMAC, identified some of the attackers as members of the Lingeletu West town council, one of whom wore a woman's dress. Those killed were Ms Agnes Maseti [CT03025], Mr Lumkile Maxiti [CT00278], and Mr Shadrack Jongikhaya Witbooi [CT00278/HEL]. Several others were wounded. Ms Julie Maseti spoke of the attack:

It was on the 18 December 1991 when my mother Agnes Maseti was shot dead by 'balaclavas'. I was staying at Site B Khayelitsha when this incident took place. There was fire all over our area. Most of the houses were set alight by the 'balaclavas'. There was a big fight between comrades and Hoza's people. On this particular evening some people wearing balaclavas were looking for

57 Black Sash, Democratic Party, ANC, ANC Women's League and UMAC.

a woman known as comrade Nomonde. She was not staying far from my mother's house. They decided to burn all houses which were near to hers. They could not find her. Children were shot at and I remember that two other people died on the same night as my mother. I will never forget this night.

- 384 Maseti also said that some of the attackers were dressed in women's dresses. This was independently confirmed by Nonikile Maxiti: "We could not see any one's face. All these people who were shooting were wearing women's clothes and wearing balaclavas covering their faces." Her husband Lumkile was shot dead and Nonikile herself was wounded, as was her baby Masizi Maxiti. A second baby, Sipokazi Mnama [CT08612] was also wounded.

THE COMMISSION RECOGNISES THAT ANONYMOUS SO-CALLED 'BALACLAVA' VIOLENCE INVOLVED A RANGE OF PARTICIPANTS, RANGING FROM ELEMENTS WITHIN THE LINGELETHU WEST TOWN COUNCIL, WECUSA, THE POLICE, THE ANC, TAXI GROUPINGS AND CRIMINAL GROUPS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE CUMULATIVE EVIDENCE OF STATEMENTS MADE TO THE COMMISSION, NGO AFFIDAVITS, AND IN PARTICULAR THE STATEMENT BY MR MICHAEL MVOKWE, OVERWHELMINGLY LINKS THE LINGELETHU WEST TOWN COUNCIL TO INCIDENTS OF BALACLAVA ATTACKS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THIS GROUPING WAS LARGELY ABLE TO OPERATE WITHOUT FEAR OF INTERFERENCE FROM SECURITY FORCES, OR FEAR OF PROSECUTION. PROSECUTIONS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN WITHDRAWN OR DISMISSED.

IT IS BELIEVED BY NGOS AND ACCEPTED BY THE COMMISSION THAT WECUSA INITIATED HIT SQUAD ACTIVITIES ON MEMBERS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT, AND THAT THIS WAS DONE ON OCCASION IN ALLIANCE WITH MEMBERS OF THE LINGELETHU WEST TOWN COUNCIL FROM 1991.

Informal settlements: Development and destabilisation

- 385 In the wake of the scrapping of the pass laws and the Coloured Labour Preference Policy in the mid-1980s, local government in the Cape increasingly accepted the need to upgrade the many informal settlements in and around Nyanga and Khayelitsha. The first development projects, begun from 1987, were essentially rewards to Ngxobongwana in Crossroads and Hoza in Khayelitsha for their violent ejection of the liberation movements and their pro-government stance. This was in line with the McCuen 'oil spot' strategy, using development as a 'hearts and minds' initiative to win political compliance. Millions of rands were allocated to Crossroads for upgrading after the *witdoeke* attacks of 1986.
- 386 Ironically, these development projects became mired in political conflicts, struggles and rivalries that cost large numbers of lives and homes in the very communities they intended to develop. This was due in part to the piecemeal nature of these

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

Crossroads

- 387 Between 1990 and 1993, conflict centred on the upgrading and development process, political allegiances and traditional leadership styles. From 1991, these issues increasingly intersected with the taxi wars. During 1989, early stirrings of rebellion against Ngxobongwana escalated into open warfare between Ngxobongwana and his former strongman, Jeffrey Nongwe.
- 388 The revolt was mainly fuelled by the crises generated by the upgrading process in the late 1980s. The local squatter community was angered by two circumstances that caused them to lose housing sites to which they were entitled. First, private developers built homes that were beyond the financial means of the majority of the local squatter community and were therefore sold to outsiders. Second, the homes in the CPA's Unathi project were awarded to residents who had settled their unpaid service charges in full. Relatively few residents had done so, nor could they afford the rents. As a result, many of the Unathi homes also went to outsiders.
- 389 Residents were angered further when informed that the 'Crossroads Housing Fund', initiated by Ngxobongwana from 1986⁵⁸ was depleted, allegedly on lawyers' fees and other administrative costs. All residents had been paying regular contributions.
- 390 In October 1989, Nongwe went public with allegations of corruption and charges of fraud were laid.⁵⁹ Fourteen of the nineteen headmen in Crossroads deserted Ngxobongwana for Nongwe, and fierce open conflict erupted from November 1989, continuing into 1990. In many attacks, there were allegations of police complicity. Fatal arson attacks were frequent and daylight killings commonplace. It was estimated that around thirty people were killed in this conflict and approximately 1 000 homes destroyed. In September 1990, Ngxobongwana was

58 Receipts to residents were stamped with a false SA Perm rubber stamp. The amount was estimated to be between R500 000 and R2 million, placed in a Bellville Boland Bank, and was spent by those who had signing powers on the account (Statement by Jan van Eck, Parliament, 21 May 1990).

59 The Attorney-General announced in May 1990 that no one was to be prosecuted for the alleged fraud.

forced to flee to Driftsand near Khayelitsha with several hundred supporters. Nongwe, by then aligned with the ANC, took control of Crossroads.

- 391 The Commission received several statements relating to this period of conflict. In one flare-up in February 1990, Mr Nelson Mandela Mahlentle [CT01810] and his grandson Sonwabile, aged six, were burnt to death in their shack. Mr Thando Magwa's [CT00912] shack was burnt and destroyed as were numerous others. Alport Singqoto [CT01558] was shot and injured in an attack and Mr Longo and Mr Twana [CT01557] were killed. Two men from Ngxobongwana's group, Mr Allion Gxokwe and Mr Alfred Mano, were later convicted of two counts of murder, ten counts of attempted murder and arson, and reportedly sentenced to twenty-four years. (Gxokwe, a PAC member, was subsequently released from prison in January 1994 when he was granted amnesty as a political prisoner.)

Crossroads under Nongwe: 1990–1993

- 392 Despite his new ANC allegiance, Nongwe displayed the same autocratic practices as Ngxobongwana. He was used by the CPA to persuade residents of Section 1 in Old Crossroads to move to lower Crossroads so that development of the area could begin. Nongwe allegedly promised residents that they would return to brick houses in three months. Some residents moved voluntarily but others were 'forced' out by arson attacks and violence allegedly perpetrated by *kitskonstabels* and Nongwe's 'cabinet'.
- 393 From October 1990, occupants and homes in the new Unathi section were attacked, burnt and looted. It soon became apparent that the 'headman' style of political control had been transplanted into the ANC. The youth in Old Crossroads started to campaign against the 'headman' system and against the corruption of Nongwe and his administration. In March 1991, a separate ANC branch was launched in Unathi and Depoutch 'Whitey' Elese elected as chairperson. Elese was a young MK-trained returnee activist. Both Nongwe and the SAP were aware of his MK training and background and, over the next few years, the Elese home was continually raided by different units of the SAP.
- 394 Approximately 108 houses in the Unathi development were destroyed and tens of people were killed in the 1991 conflict.⁶⁰ Mr Boysie Ntsethe [CT0152] was shot and the Ntsethe home destroyed. On 13 August 1991, police shot Mr Xolile Danster [CT00251] in the head in Unathi, Crossroads. Bidekile Sogqiba [CT01323] was also shot and killed.

⁶⁰ Statistics from statement by Stefan Snel, UMAC director, to the Goldstone Commission of 1993.

- 395 In an attempt to resolve the conflict, the ANC established a Peace Commission in August 1991, which was partially successful. Subsequent meetings were arranged, attempting to draw the divided community together. The mutual focus of discontent began to fall on the Crossroads council and its administration. This came to a head with the killing of an ANC activist Buntubake Ndemane, on the 13 May 1992, as he was leaving a community meeting where residents were voicing their complaints against the council and its councillors. The accused were subsequently acquitted in the High Court by a judge who strongly criticised the SAP investigation. LRC investigations helped identify the perpetrator as a council employee and secured a substantial financial out-of-court settlement for the family.
- 396 The upgrading process and the accompanying (sometimes forced) relocation of residents to temporary accommodation with no guarantee of housing in the future continued to cause conflict. This was exacerbated in 1992 by new financial demands for rent and contributions to the 'Crossroads Fund' . Even headmen opposed Nongwe on this, and one, Mr Amos Sakhele Nyhakatyha, defected to Boys Town.
- 397 A wave of conflict broke out from April to August 1993. Seven or eight members of Nongwe's 'cabinet'/'Big Eight' bodyguard were identified as the perpetrators of a major arson attack which took place on 15 April 1993. SAP and SADF members were said to be present but did nothing to stop it. Another large burning occurred on 29 May, destroying approximately sixty shacks. Press statements suggested that, after this, residents chose to move rather than continue to resist removals.
- 398 At least fifty-five people were killed and nearly 100 injured between March and July 1993. In one of the first killings, activist Ms Joyce Ndinise-Elese, Mr Timothy Soga and Ms Sicelo Pauli [CT00939] were shot dead in an attack on their home on 19 March 1993, which also injured Mr Tinie Elese and Mr Ayanda Ndinise. The intended target of the attack was Unathi ANC leader Mr Depoutch Elese. Mr Mandla Maduna [AM5938/97], one of Nongwe's assistants, was later convicted of the murder and has applied to the Commission for amnesty, claiming to have been acting on behalf of APLA/PAC.
- 399 Women and youth were frequently the victims of random attacks which destroyed hundreds of homes and caused many injuries. Fourteen-year-old Siyabulela Khobo was abducted on 22 May 1993 by a member of the Big Eight whom he identified as 'Small' (Victor Sam) and taken to Nongwe's base in Section 4 where he was beaten and told to give certain information to the police. Internal Stability

Unit (ISU) police arrived and questioned Khobo, and a senior ISU member threatened his life. After the ISU left, Khobo was beaten and kicked again. At a subsequent court case brought against Nongwe, Victor Sam, Loleka and Booi, Khobo had to give his evidence in open court facing the accused. The magistrate in charge acquitted the accused, saying that Nongwe was within his rights in making a citizen's arrest.

400 By the end of the conflict, Section 3 was totally, and Section 2 substantially, destroyed. Section 4, Nongwe's home/power-base, remained intact, despite instances of sporadic reciprocal violence. Nongwe was finally limited to Section 4, where he was soon joined by other 'refugee' squatter leaders being ejected from other informal settlements, including Christopher Toise and Jerry Tutu. Section 4 had long served as the 'military base' of WEBTA and its leadership core, the Big Eight, including Victor Sam. There are suggestions of a *quid pro quo* relationship in terms of which Nongwe and Sam provided each other with refuge and troops for their respective battles.

401 The 1993 Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation at Crossroads in the Greater Cape Town Area was charged with examining the conflicts. Their findings identified a range of historical and social causes and criticised the role of the CPA and the police. The ANC, which suspended Nongwe's ANC membership only on 17 August 1993, was criticised for its tardiness in doing so. Complaints about Nongwe's actions were being brought to their attention from as early as 1991.

402 After the Goldstone Commission hearings, from August 1993 to early 1994, there was a period of relative calm with only occasional incidents of violence. Amos Nyhakatyha was attacked in February 1994, forcing him to move to Khayelitsha where he was later murdered. At the time he was said to be meeting and Nongwe with others from Boys Town in an attempt to broker peace in the area. At the time of reporting, many of the key players in the conflicts appear to have remained active in recurring bouts of violence.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT LOCAL POWER STRUGGLES BETWEEN HISTORICAL RIVALS AND POLITICAL OPPONENTS DATING BACK TO THE LATE 1970S WERE EXACERBATED BY THE DEVELOPMENT AND UPGRADING PROJECTS EMBARKED UPON IN THE 1990S. THESE PIECEMEAL DEVELOPMENTS INCREASED THE POWER OF PATRONAGE OF LOCAL LEADERS AND HEIGHTENED THE INSECURITY OF RESIDENTS. IN THE CASE OF CROSSROADS, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT FIRST JOHNSON NGXOBONGWANA AND THEN JEFFREY NONGWE WERE KEY PLAYERS IN THE UNFOLDING OF THE CONFLICTS.

Violations associated with APLA and PAC supporters

- 403 Cape Town became a significant field of operation for APLA in the 1990s. From December 1992 to December 1993, a series of APLA attacks targeted both civilians and security force personnel. On 26 December 1992, two armed men opened fire on the Stakes restaurant, injuring several persons while a further two operatives waited in the car outside. APLA operatives Andile Shiceka [AM5939/97], commander of the operation, and Thandabantu Samala [AM5900/97] applied for amnesty for this incident.

The St James' Church Massacre

- 404 At about 19h30 on Sunday 25 July 1993, two APLA operatives burst into the evening service at St. James' Church in Kenilworth. They fired machine guns and threw two hand-grenades covered with nails at a congregation of over a thousand people. Eleven people were killed and fifty-six injured. The attackers escaped in a waiting car which had been hijacked earlier. The congregation was racially mixed and those killed included four Russian sailors.
- 405 The Commission received ten statements relating to deaths and injuries. Those killed were Mr Guy Cooper Javens (52) [CT00620], Mr Richard Oliver O'Kill (17)[CT03029], Ms Myrtle Joan Smith (45) [CT03029], Mr Wesley Harker (13), Mr Gerard Dennis Harker (21), Ms Denise Gordon (30) [CT01124], Ms Marita Maria Ackerman (46) [CT02922], Mr Oleg Karamjin (55), Mr Andrey Katyl (25), Mr Valuev Pavel and Mr Valentin Varaska (40).
- 406 Ms Marilyn Javens described the attack which killed her husband Guy:

It was one of those evenings that we went to church the normal time, started the worship service and a couple were singing "More than wonderful". And it was just at the end of that song that the doors opened. And I saw this man standing there and I realised that he had a gun in his hand and he started moving from left to right ... And after a few minutes, we got up and – well I called to my husband and he didn't answer. And I got up and he was still on his haunches, and I think I was a bit bewildered at that stage, everybody was milling around and, with that, an usher came down in front of me towards my husband. And he bent down to feel his pulse and I just said to him, "Is he alive?" and he shook his head.

407 Amongst those who were severely injured was a teacher, Mr Paul Williams [CT00618], who was shot in his spinal cord and cannot walk without crutches:

Suddenly these doors just flung open. And nobody could – I myself, I couldn't imagine that it was a possible or imminent attack. At first I heard a gun shot and immediately thereafter ... saw a hand grenade hurling towards a live audience. The second person (while this hand grenade was still airborne) he opened fire with what I will call a very heavy machine gun. And he was just spraying bullets, you know, randomly just across the Congregation. And I was sitting on the end of the pew and that pew was rather full ... I curled myself up to sort of hide my face from the gun firing ... but soon after I just felt the thud of the bullet hitting my lower back and it was like – it was like a tension wire snapping and with that went a lot of pain. I just – I had stretched my body and my lower body just became very numb.

408 Public relations manager Mr Martin Bagley suffered severe head injuries and the right side of his body was paralysed, causing him speech and memory problems. Mr Dimitri Makogan lost both legs and an arm.

409 Initial responses from the PAC and APLA denied responsibility for the attack. PAC leader Mr Barney Desai stated, "We condemn this mindless violence on church-going people". An APLA spokesperson in Dar Es Salaam said that the attack was "not the sort of operation APLA would mount". The Regional Director of the PAC denied that APLA was involved, but a person claiming to be the Regional Commander of APLA claimed responsibility. This suggests that the operation was the decision of a local commander rather than an attack planned by the High Command.

410 An APLA operative, Mr Gcinikhaya Makoma (18), was arrested ten days after the incident and was later sentenced to twenty-three years' imprisonment. Mr Thobela Mlambisa and Mr Basie Mkhumbuzi were subsequently charged in 1996. Mlambisa drove the vehicle while Mkhumbuzi acted as 'security' outside with the vehicle. Mr Sichumiso Nonxuba⁶¹ admitted entering the church and physically attacking the congregants. Makoma [AM0164/96], Mkhumbuzi [AM6140/97] and Mlambisa [AM7596/97] applied for and were granted amnesty for the attack.⁶² Unsubstantiated reports indicate that one of the key commanders associated with this operation did not turn up on the day of the attack and that, although the SAP had this information, he was never sought or charged.

61 Nonxuba was killed in November 1996 in a Kokstad car accident.

62 APLA Director of Operations Letlapa Mphahlele [AM3018/96] took overall responsibility but did not arrive at the amnesty hearing.

- 411 Makoma, Mkhumbuzi and Mlambisa testified that they were recent APLA recruits. They did not know the details or target of the operation until they arrived at the scene, claiming that, as commander, Nonxuba directed them to the target.

Heidelberg Tavern

- 412 In the early minutes of 31 December 1993, three women were killed and six people injured when two APLA operatives walked into the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory and fired at patrons, while other operatives waited in the car outside. The attackers also threw a hand grenade covered with nails into the room, though this failed to explode. Mr José 'Joe' Cerqueira was shot dead by the attackers when he ran out of a neighbouring tavern into the street. The three killed in the Tavern were Ms Rolande Palm (22) [CT00415], Ms Lindy-Anne Fourie (23) [CT02703] and Ms Bernadette Langford (22) [CT00415].
- 413 The attack at the Heidelberg Tavern was likened to that at St James' Church five months earlier. Ballistics tests established that the same rifles had been used in both attacks. The internal commander of APLA, Mr Carl Zimbiri, later confirmed that the operation was carried out by an elite APLA unit called 'The People's Concern'. Six men were later arrested and charged, though charges against three of them were later dropped. The accused were sentenced to terms of imprisonment from twenty-four to twenty-seven years.
- 414 Mr Humphrey Luyanda Gqomfa [AM0949/96], Mr Vuyisile Brian Madasi [AM6077/97], Mr Zola Prince Mabala [AM5931/97], Mr Theo Thobile Mabusela [AM5731/97], Mr Nkosinathi Michael Siyolo [AM6139/97] and Mr Richard Madoda Dala [AM6138/97] applied for amnesty for the attack. (The latter three had been arrested but charges against them were dropped.) Gqomfa, Madasi, Mabala and Siyolo were granted amnesty.
- 415 At the amnesty hearing it was established that the order for the operation came from Mr Sichumiso Nonxuba and Mr Letlapa Mphahlele. Mr Bulelani Siphon Xuma also claimed to have been amongst those who gave the order. The group was deployed from the Transkei and arrived in Cape Town during November 1993. They linked up with Siphiso Mkweso and other local PAC regional leadership which provided logistical support, arms and ammunition. The actual attack involved six individuals, namely Maxeba, Madasi, Gqomfa, Sibeko, Mabala and Monwabisi Jantjie, who drove to the Tavern. Gqomfa was one of those who went to the entrance of the tavern and opened fire on the patrons inside. He also shot and killed José Cerqueira.

- 416 During the course of the Commission investigation into this matter, an *affidavit* by a Mr Bennet Sibaya was found in earlier SAP investigation documentation. This *affidavit*, taken by Detective Sergeant J Etsebeth on 4 January 1994 under instruction from Superintendent Desmond Segal, alleged that Sibaya had seen a group of armed men in Gugulethu shortly after the attack, with a vehicle registered to Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza, a commissioner. He stated that he had picked up a piece of paper after they had left which was a rudimentary map to the Heidelberg Tavern. Commission investigators interviewed Sibaya, who confirmed his earlier *affidavit*. Sibaya testified to this *affidavit* at the October 1997 amnesty hearing, pointing out Commissioner Ntsebeza as one of the men on the scene at the car.
- 417 However, several days later Sibaya contacted the Commission and confessed to the Archbishop that both his *affidavit* and his testimony were false. He stated that at the time of the Heidelberg attack he had been arrested for illegal crayfish dealing and that he had been tortured and coerced by the commander of the Murder and Robbery Squad unit at Bellville South, Desmond Segal, into making the statement implicating Ntsebeza. At the time, Ntsebeza was the subject of a series of allegations by the SAP who believed he had APLA or PAC links.
- 418 Sibaya's allegations resulted in a government-appointed enquiry headed by Justice Richard Goldstone, which found the allegations to be false. This gave rise to the strong inference that Mr Sibaya, or someone directing him, wished to implicate Mr Ntsebeza in serious criminal conduct. The enquiry cleared Mr Ntsebeza of all allegations, but criticised the Commission for not calling for an independent inquiry when the allegations first surfaced.⁶³

Other PAC or APLA-linked attacks

- 419 The unit involved in the Heidelberg attack was also responsible for two attacks on security force targets on 17 December 1993, for which individuals have applied for amnesty. A group of five opened fire on the Nyanga Defence Force base, injuring two people. Later that night a similar attack was launched on the Lingeletu West police station in Khayelitsha. No one was injured.
- 420 PAC-linked individuals applied for amnesty for a series of other incidents. During the night of 27 August 1993, shots were fired at a Translux bus as it passed through Beaufort West. Eight people were injured. Mr Thembinkosi Henge [AM6137/97]

⁶³ Commission of Inquiry into Certain Allegations Against Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza and Related Matters, Final Report by Justice Richard J Goldstone, 1 December 1997.

applied for amnesty for this attack, allegedly ordered by the late Sichumiso Nonxuba. On 6 December 1992, a group of security guards at a Khayelitsha railway station were attacked by a group of armed men with R4 rifles and an AK-47. One guard was shot dead and another wounded. APLA operative Andile Shiceka [AM5939/97] applied for amnesty for the attack, stating that they believed the uniformed guards were policemen. He cites several others as having been involved.

Links to the Transkei

421 Operations in the Western Cape had strong links to APLA structures in the Transkei, which was clearly an important operational platform from which attacks could be launched. Weaponry was also sourced from Transkei security forces. For example, the hand grenades used in the St James' and Heidelberg attacks originated from a batch of grenades supplied to the Transkei Defence Force. Transkei also provided refuge for APLA operatives after operations. In most attacks, APLA personnel from the Transkei were deployed in conjunction with locally trained operatives. It appears that the local PAC structures, including regional PAC executive members, also provided logistical support to such operatives.

The Killing of Amy Biehl

422 In August 1993, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation (PASO) was engaged in a joint campaign of street protest with COSAS. Student actions involved the widespread stoning of vehicles. ANC condemnation of the campaign was ignored. There were also, at that time, calls for an end to the use of the slogans, 'One settler, One bullet' and 'Kill the farmer, Kill the boer' associated with the PAC and ANC respectively.

423 On 25 August 1993, American Fulbright scholar Amy Elizabeth Biehl (26) drove into Gugulethu to drop off some fellow students. Youths stoned the car, injuring Ms Biehl and bringing the car to a stop. She and the other occupants of the car fled, with a group in pursuit continuing to stone and stab her. Several PASO members returning from a PASO meeting in Langa were also at the scene and played a leading role in the actual killing.

424 In October 1994, PASO members Mr Mongezi Manqina (21), Mr Vusumzi Ntamo (22) and Mr Mzikhona 'Easy' Nofemela (22) were convicted and sentenced to eighteen years' imprisonment each by the Cape Town High Court. Subsequently, Mr Ntobeko Ambrose Peni was arrested and sentenced on 6 June 1995 to eighteen

years' imprisonment. All four applied for and were granted amnesty by the Commission. In their application they stated that their motivation for the killing came primarily from the PASO meeting they were returning from, and that their actions were in accordance with the slogan 'One Settler, One Bullet'. "That day we were incited by militant political speeches and we were instructed to support Operation Great Storm which was adopted by APLA in 1993 and which PASO adopted and supported." (Peni application.) Some of the applicants claimed to have received some basic training from APLA. The applicants expressed regret at their actions. Peni stated:

I feel sorry and very down-hearted especially today, realising the contribution Amy Biehl played in the struggle ... I took part in killing someone that we could have used to achieve our own aims. Amy was one of the people who could have, in an international sense, worked for our country so that the world knows what's going on in South Africa, so that the government of the day would not get support. I ask Amy's parents, Amy's friends and relatives, I ask them to forgive me.

425 The Biehl family did not oppose the amnesty application.

426 In its submission to the Commission on 20 August 1996, the PAC expressed its regrets for the killing and sent condolences to the Biehl family. "They [PASO] wrongly targeted and killed Amy Biehl ... But misguided as the deed was, we support the amnesty applications of all those convicted and sentenced for the offence."

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ATTACKS LAUNCHED BY APLA IN THE WESTERN CAPE MAINLY TARGETED CIVILIANS IN SOCIAL SETTINGS SUCH AS BARS, CHURCHES AND RESTAURANTS. THE ATTACKS WERE NOT MERELY SYMBOLIC BUT, THROUGH SPECIALLY ALTERED WEAPONRY SUCH AS NAILS GLUED TO THE GRENADES, AIMED TO KILL AND INJURE AS MANY PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE. THE COMMISSION NOTES WITH CONCERN THE YOUTH AND INEXPERIENCE OF SOME OF THE APLA OPERATIVES USED IN THE ATTACKS.

Violations committed by SDUs

427 The majority of violations committed by ANC members appear to be linked to the activities of the SDUs in the region, whose relationship to formal MK structures was frequently tenuous. Several amnesty applications and incidents of gross human rights violations were SDU-related and occurred after the suspension of armed struggle. However, the Commission received evidence that at least one SDU acted in the service of an agent of certain security forces (see below).

Peninsula SDUs

- 428 With the escalation of attacks on liberation movement supporters from 1990, several local communities, especially in Khayelitsha and Nyanga, set up self-defence units to patrol affected areas at night. SANCO was instrumental in this process, and there are allegedly instances of community collections to fund the purchase of ammunition or weapons for the SDUs. The SDUs were often headed by MK members with at least some external training, although many were post-1990 recruits trained in Uganda. Local youth were also recruited into SDU structures and were given some training locally or in Transkei.
- 429 Some of the SDUs engaged in criminal actions with little or no political motivation, or political actions that contravened the ANC's suspension of armed struggle. Although, technically, SDUs' role was primarily defensive, many engaged in 'pro-active' attacks. For example, Mr Mzingisi Patrick Ndlumbini [AM0184/96], an SDU cell member in New Crossroads, attacked the home of a Mr Xetegwana on 27 October 1991, believing him to be linked to the ongoing taxi violence. He and others also ambushed a police patrol van on 13 October 1991, injuring policeman Ndemphiwe Ntekiso, allegedly in an effort to obtain weapons. Ndlumbini was granted amnesty.
- 430 In at least one instance, SDU members were deployed in violations against other ANC or MK members. On 19 June 1991, senior ANC and MK member Mziwonke 'Pro' Jack [CT00225] was gunned down and killed by three men in Nyanga. His nephew Andile Jack was wounded in the attack. At the time, this was portrayed as an assassination of an ANC leader by the security forces or their 'surrogates'. However, it was believed within ANC circles that ANC members linked to MK were probably involved in the attack. The Commission's efforts to uncover the results of an ANC-initiated internal investigation were unsuccessful. SDU member Xola Theminkosi Yekwani applied for amnesty for this killing [AM7970/97], in which he implicated ANC Youth League members. The application had not been heard at time of reporting.
- 431 Many SDUs seem to have operated without senior ANC operational control. Lines of command appear to have been extremely localised, without sustained links to regional MK structures. Some SDUs were self-appointed. Control of weapons also appears to have been very loose. Further, many MK soldiers returning after 1990 came back to a life of poverty which encouraged involvement in crime.

432 Evidence before the Commission suggests that SDUs were also open to manipulation, infiltration and penetration by agents of the security forces. While the commission has found that one SDU in KwaZulu-Natal was run by paid Security Branch informants or agents, in the Peninsula at least one SDU had links with, obtained arms from and committed violations on behalf of a person with Military Intelligence and Security Branch links.

The Trevor Vilakazi SDU, Site B: 1992–1994

433 In early 1992, the Trevor Vilakazi ANC branch in Khayelitsha called on the ANC Regional Executive Committee (REC) to assist in dealing with certain members of the ANC Youth League who were engaging in criminal activities including robbery, rape and even murder under the guise of defending the community. The individuals concerned were called to a series of meetings with REC members. Members of the alleged criminal group opened fire on one of these meetings, injuring the chairperson. An ANC Commission of Inquiry was established in 1992 to look into the matter and decided that the alleged criminals should be expelled from the ANC. However, this proposal was not followed through, and the group continued their activities.

434 Senior regional MK members, including Mr Tony Yengeni and Mr Bongani Jonas, disarmed the criminal group. An SDU was established with the intention of challenging the alleged criminals. MK member Lulama 'Rhadi' Sifile was appointed by MK leadership as the commander of this SDU to take control of the situation. However, the ANC refused to arm the SDU and left them to their own devices. The result was a war between the two groups in the Trevor Vilikazi area, leading to injuries, deaths and the destruction of homes.

435 By October 1992, the ANC REC began to encourage the ANC branch to report any criminal activities by these ANC members to the police and locate witnesses to testify against them. A local committee was even established to liaise with the police. However, this was a controversial process and many ANC members, including some at REC level, appear to have been unhappy with this 'collaboration' with the SAP.

436 In the months that followed, several potential state witnesses and ANC members who were liaising with the SAP were targeted for attack. Mr Mkhokeli Mpongwana and Mr Million Sizani were shot dead on 7 December 1992, and Mr Lonwabo Kalimashe was shot dead on 10 May 1993. Witnesses withdrew as a result.

437 In 1993, the Trevor Vilakazi SDU, made up of Lulama Sifile, Current Rhumbu, Jeffrey Molebatsi Moshumi⁶⁴ and others, began to engage in activities outside the control of the ANC. Lacking access to weapons from the ANC, the group established links with Mr Prince Gobingca (allegedly related to Sifile) in the second half of 1993. An *affidavit* made to the police by an SDU member states "In September 1993 we started killing the ANC members in Khayelitsha. Mr Prince Gobingca offered a 9mm pistol to our commander Mr Rhadi Sifile and he was assisting us so we could continue with these armed attacks."

438 The *affidavit* further reported on trips by the SDU to Ciskei, starting in December 1993, initially to meet African Democratic Movement (ADM) leader Mr Titus Mcoiyiyana and to receive firearms from him. Gobingca and Mcoiyiyana promised an ongoing supply of arms. The statement also explained how members of the SDU together with Mcoiyiyana and others carried out attacks on ANC members in the Ciskei. It describes the proposed training that African Democratic Movement (ADM) members were to receive from them:

On our arrival at Litha, Mr Madikane gave me a .38 revolver and a G3 rifle. Two AK47 assault rifles were placed in the Opel Record and I was told they were going to Mpsa Military base where Mr Jeffery wanted to inspect a place where he was going to train the African Democratic Movement people in the use of firearms.

With regard to weapons that were to be brought to the western Cape he says:

On the 6 of January 1994 when I was at Alice, Jeffery and Somsora arrived at my place and I was together with my brother and they then gave him a G-3 rifle, 9 hand grenades and sixty G-3 bullets and these would be taken to Cape Town and this G-3 rifle was disassembled. On my arrival in Cape Town, Lulama Sifile at Rhadi confirmed that they had received the equipment from [my brother] which were arranged by Jeffery. I saw this G-3 rifle again and the hand grenades were already hidden. I then saw other hand grenades at Current Rumbu and again I saw others at Rhadi, Lulama Sifile's place. Lulama Sifile then left for Bloemfontein to join the National Peace-Keeping Force.

439 Certain members of the Ciskei hit squad were arrested and brought to trial but were acquitted due to a technicality. Rumours of political interference followed the acquittal. It is of concern to the Commission that the above *affidavit* was in the possession of the police in Cape Town but was not used in the trial. In addition,

⁶⁴ Moshumi had allegedly been held in the ANC's detention camp Quatro while in exile, on suspicion of being a spy.

a member of the detective branch who was investigating crimes in the Trevor Vilikazi area suggested that certain members of the SDU were informers for the Central Intelligence Service (CIS). This was not denied by a member of the CIS when asked.

- 440 Further, CIS documentation indicates knowledge of Gobingca's paramilitary group in the Western Cape, as well as the fact that he had recruited Western Cape individuals for the Ciskei hit squads.⁶⁵ All of the above would imply that the police in the Western Cape had access to information and witnesses that could have assisted in the prosecution of the members of the Ciskei hit squad. The question is why the above information was not used in the trial, why the SDU member who made the above *affidavit* was not called as a witness, and why Prince Gobingca himself was not charged.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THE SDUS CONTRIBUTED TO THE CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE. THEY ENGAGED IN NUMEROUS OFFENSIVE ACTIONS, PARTICULARLY ATTACKS ON POLICE PERSONNEL, AND SEVERAL ENGAGED IN CRIME UNDER POLITICAL COVER. DESPITE EFFORTS TO INTERVENE IN THE TREVOR VILAKAZI SITUATION, THE REGIONAL ANC MUST BE STRONGLY CRITICISED FOR FAILING TO EXERCISE CONTROL OVER THE STRUCTURES THEY PLAYED A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN ESTABLISHING.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR PRINCE GOBINGCA, AN MI AND SECURITY BRANCH AGENT, TOOK CONTROL OF THE TREVOR VILAKAZI SDU AND FACILITATED THE PROVISION OF WEAPONS TO THIS GROUP AND THE TRANSFER OF WEAPONRY FROM CISKEI TO THE WESTERN CAPE. AT HIS BEHEST, THE GROUP WAS THEN DEPLOYED IN VIOLENT ACTIVITIES IN THE CISKEI FOR THE ADM, RESULTING IN DEATHS AND INJURIES.

FURTHER, THE COMMISSION NOTES WITH CONCERN THE APPARENT LINKS BETWEEN CERTAIN SDU MEMBERS AND ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY FORCES.

Taxi violence and vigilante activity

- 441 Conflict in the taxi industry has been the subject of many reports, commissions of inquiry and research projects and will not be covered in detail here. The social cost of the conflicts in the region was enormous. Major Louis van Brackel of the Violent Crime Investigation Unit in Athlone stated on 8 March 1991 that there had been 628 reported attacks involving at least thirty-seven deaths, 139 injuries, 341 taxis burnt or damaged and at least 300 homes damaged or destroyed. These figures are conservative: elsewhere the figure of seventy-four deaths is suggested. In some instances, whole areas were attacked and destroyed, particularly in Khayelitsha. In one incident, the informal settlement of Black City in Nyanga

65 For example, a police intelligence report was leaked to the press and resulted in an article in the *Sunday Times* on 13 February 1994. It was authored by Gordon Brookbanks, a member of CIS who had been integrally involved in the 'resolution' of the problem in Khayalitsha, and currently working for the NIA. The report, dated 31 January 1994, is entitled 'Report on link between organised violence (Western Cape Squatter Communities) and elements of Ciskei Government/Administration and African Democratic Movement'.

was virtually obliterated. The political cost for the ANC was also high: a number of killings or attempted killings of key activists were linked to the taxi conflicts.

- 442 SANCO or ANC activists who were involved in the Transport Co-ordinating Crisis Committee (TCCC), which was attempting to resolve the conflicts, became targets for attack. On 8 July 1991, civic chairperson Mr Michael Mapongwana and Mr Ntini Mtshintshi were returning from Wynberg court along Lansdowne Road when they were stopped, pulled out of their vehicle and shot dead [CT00836]. Several WEBTA individuals were later charged, but on 25 January Mr Michael Ndongeni (a WEBTA member due to appear as a state witness) was shot dead after he made a sworn statement alleging that he was part of the WEBTA group that planned the murder of Mapongwana. Ndongeni was killed when unknown attackers chased and shot him dead at the Nyanga taxi rank. In other attacks, activists such as Mr Lucas Mbembe [CT00934] and Mr Super Nkatazo were shot and killed. Hostel-dweller leader Mr Johnson Mpukumpa was shot and wounded. In June 1991 Mr Zola Tsoni and Mr Michael Mhlengwana were shot dead in Khayelitsha.
- 443 The pattern of conflict in the taxi industry in the Western Cape appears to be typical of the industry as a whole. Endless peace agreements continue to be negotiated and broken and new organisations formed in an attempt to bring unity, followed by further splits.
- 444 Ranks, routes and permits were the basis of most of the conflicts in the industry. However, questions can be raised about the police's failure to prevent conflict and bring charges against criminals in the taxi industry. These factors allowed the conflict to sustain itself over a long period of time. Of concern was the easy accessibility of weapons and ammunition. A substantial number of allegations concerned outside involvement in the supply of weaponry, assistance in the course of attacks and the role of the police. A UMAC document entitled 'Did the Third Force exploit the taxi conflict and produce a war?' described the use of police vehicles in attacks and the involvement of white men in deliveries of weapons and in the planning of an attack on Black City.

Links to other groups

- 445 Certain town councillors in both the Lingeletu West and Crossroads town council were taxi owners themselves. The statement by criminal 'balaclava' gang member Michael Mvokwe [CT02819], quoted earlier, directly links Hoza to violent support for WEBTA in Khayelitsha.

- 446 After the formation of the taxi association CODETA (Convention for Democratic Taxi Associations) and, soon afterwards, CATA (Cape Amalgamated Taxi Association), violence in the taxi industry continued unabated.⁶⁶ A further dimension to the political allegiances within the taxi conflicts emerged in the alliance between the WEBTA hit squad known as the Big Eight and Jeffrey Nongwe (see above). Several members of the Big Eight appear to have had connections with the PAC.
- 447 CATA was spearheaded by WECUSA chairman Jeffery Nongwe and the Big Eight Gang, also known as the Balaclava Gang. Nongwe's 'cabinet' was allegedly prominent in the violence surrounding the taxi conflict. It is obvious that the subsequent taxi hostilities became inextricably linked to Nongwe's own struggles for control of certain areas of Crossroads. Within this scenario, Nongwe called upon members of the Big Eight Gang, also historically associated with WEBTA, to assist in a territorial struggle with SANCO⁶⁷.
- 448 The report quoted above states that "supposed political ties have been cited as one of the reasons behind the break between CATA and CODETA". Suggestions have been made that CATA members are generally PAC-aligned while CODETA members are ANC-aligned. It is important to note, however, that while some CATA taxis used PAC colours, the PAC denied any formal link with the taxi organisation.

Conclusion

- 449 The taxi war still continues to claim casualties at the time of reporting. The political dimensions that permeated the bloody conflicts are complex, with interwoven criminal and political activity. There is little doubt of the interconnections between political agendas and the taxi wars. Whether this was the result of malicious orchestration by any part of the security establishment remains to be proved.

Violations in rural areas

Northern Cape

- 450 The 1990s saw an upsurge in political activity in a number of towns in the northern Cape. The newly emerged ANC branches and other organisations took up numerous national and local campaigns. Consumer boycotts targeted white shops in protest against severe ongoing racism in several towns in the region from 1990.

⁶⁶ CODETA was the first attempt at amalgamation. It was not long before CODETA split, leaving mainly former Lagunya members to CODETA, whilst former WEBTA members joined together to form CATA under the leadership of Victor Sam, a well known and extremely powerful member of the taxi industry in the Western Cape.

⁶⁷ A report by the Centre for Conflict Resolution, entitled 'Living with Conflict: Demystifying the 'Taxi War'', refers to the operation of hit squads in the industry.

School student protest also became more widespread in the region, and repression of such protests remained harsh. Newspaper reports also indicate that the residents or ANC supporters engaged in attacks upon those seen to be collaborating with the state – primarily councillors or black police personnel. This mainly took the form of stoning and petrol bomb attacks on their property.

- 451 In mid-July 1990, Galeshewe township in Kimberley was rocked by student protests and police action. Motlachi Christopher Mokhuwane [CT04306] died on 21 July of injuries sustained during the protests, probably as a result of a blow to the head with a gun butt. Mr Ivan Segami [CT06012] was shot dead by police on 22 July.
- 452 In Upington, the ANC Youth League led demonstrations against the local Paballelo municipality. Mr Lizo Anderson Mpendelo [CT01400] was shot in August 1992 by police reservists during one such demonstration. There appears to have been persistent hostility towards black police personnel in Upington. A Paballelo policeman, Mr Mosito Daniel Rafube [CT01420], was stabbed in the ribs and eye on 27 July 1991 by a group of youth and his home was subsequently burnt down.
- 453 On 20 June 1990, a group of Boichoko residents marched with local ANC leaders to the Town Council offices in Postmasburg in a protest action concerning rates, rents and electricity costs. Police shot Ms Seralo Rebecca Mhlongo [CT04202] in the head with birdshot. Between November 1990 and February 1991, Postmasburg experienced ongoing political upheaval. Chapman Fela Moalo (13) [CT00137] was shot dead by police in Boichoko township on 1 February 1991 during student protest.
- 454 During June 1993, there were again student protests and a consumer boycott in Boichoko. In one incident on 18 June, three women were injured with rubber bullets when police opened fire on residents in the street, including Mr Khole Machane [CT00136], Ms Elizabeth Thamaga [CT04103] and Ms Nozililo Ellen Horn [CT04200]. Horn was subsequently charged with public violence but was acquitted.
- 455 A consumer boycott began in Kuruman to protest ongoing white racist practices in the area. On 30 November 1991, Mr Nzimeni Patrick Bosman [CT04106] was assaulted by civilians and then by police while holding pamphlets promoting the consumer boycott. He suffered serious injuries in the assaults. Similarly, Mr Gert Ditabe Moria [CT01401] was assaulted by the SAP during the consumer boycott.

- 456 Evidence before the Commission points to a degree of conflict between the ANC and IFP in Griquastad during 1991. The IFP appears to have had the support of the mayor of the township. On 2 June 1991, the ANC Youth League clashed with the IFP, and ANC member Tommy Kgosimang Kgathiwane [CT04600] was shot and injured by police. In a further incident on the last weekend in June 1991, IFP members from Johannesburg were allegedly bussed into the town and attacked ANC supporters. Mr Aubrey Kgathiwane [CT04601] was beaten unconscious.
- 457 During 1993, the ANC launched national mass campaigns against the lack of political freedom in homelands such as Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. The ANC in the Northern Cape engaged in protest actions directed at neighbouring Bophuthatswana in particular. In Kuruman, Mr Michael Basi [CT00165] was shot and injured by Bophuthatswana police after attending an ANC meeting on 27 May 1993 during the anti-homelands campaign.
- 458 In one incident on 25 May 1993, a mass ANC march to the Bophuthatswana Consulate in Kimberley ended in the death of one of the marchers, Mr Izakiel Mokone [CT00141], who was killed when a hand grenade was thrown at the Consulate. The Commission heard evidence from the Mokone family, a state witness in the trial and two activists who were wrongly imprisoned for the killing. A dramatic public confession was made at the hearing by Mr Walter Smiles, who admitted being the person who threw the grenade and apologised to the Mokone family. Although not trained in handling military hardware, Smiles indicated he had acted under the command of MK commander Lawrence Mbatha. Several individuals applied for amnesty concerning this event. Their testimony illustrated shortcomings and irregularities in the trial and highlighted the tremendous pain and guilt experienced by those connected with the incident. Those who gave false evidence at the trial spoke of their guilt and sorrow at having implicated others.

Southern Cape

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

of local popular bodies that was taking place in so many small rural towns in the Western Cape. The Mossel Bay Town Council consistently dealt with the management committee, an illegitimate apartheid body in the eyes of the residents. With the introduction of the Internal Stability Unit, the situation escalated into open conflict with extensive damage to property and looting. The conflicts lasted for three days resulting in two deaths, numerous injuries and several arrests.⁶⁸ The Commission took the town council to task, and also criticised the unrealistic demands of the Civic Association, which contributed to the escalation of conflict.

460 Forms of internal conflict within the liberation movements led to violations in Plettenberg Bay. On 24 March 1990, UDF leader and ANC member Mr Nelson Maseko (45), was attacked by ANC youth in Bossiesgif township, Plettenberg Bay. He was assaulted and chopped on the head with an axe. Despite telephone calls to the police for help by both Mr Maseko before the attack and Ms Maseko afterwards, the police took over an hour to arrive. Mr Maseko subsequently died in hospital as a result of head wounds. The Maseko family had to flee permanently to Knysna. Three ANC members who had attacked Mr Maseko were named. Mr Alfred Sishuba, Mr Alfred Jacobs and Mr Elvis Faku were charged with the murder but were acquitted in the George Regional Court on 13 March 1991.

461 Some incidents in rural towns connected to larger national campaigns. For example, the week of 4 August 1992 was declared a week of mass action by the ANC–COSATU–SACP alliance at national level, called to break the deadlock in negotiations. By the end of the second day, at least thirty-four people were reported to have been killed across the country in confrontations resulting from mass marches and street activities. In Beaufort West, Mr Jongisiswe Kellem [CT00359] was shot in the stomach and killed by an SAP member during the strike.

The Boland War

462 A new wave of revolt erupted in some Boland and winelands towns from 1990. This resulted in a number of deaths and other violations. The main cause of the revolt was a need within black communities to see visible changes in line with political developments in the country at the time. A key demand was the opening up to all races of public facilities. Residents embarked on a number of protest actions in what came to be known as the 'Boland War'.

463 On 11 April 1990, exactly one month after the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from prison, about 120 people in Robertson were treated for multiple injuries after

⁶⁸ Goldstone Commission of Inquiry 'Report on the Violence at Mossel Bay during July 1993' 12 October 1993.

police, without warning, started shooting tear gas and pellets into the hall where black residents had gathered. People stampeded and several were injured, including Ms Annalene Mildred Abrahams [CT07701], Mr Andries Hektoer [CT07703]; Ms Mienie Hektoer [CT07705] and Mr Patrick Veldsman [CT07706].

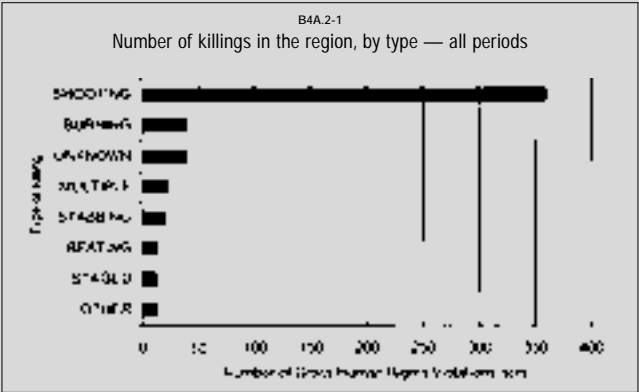
- 464 In early May 1990, Robertson residents embarked on a consumer boycott to highlight their grievances about rents, segregated civic amenities and essential services, and called for the resignation of the management committee. Several people were shot dead or injured in subsequent protest actions during the year including Mr Johannes Jones [CT07800] on 2 July and Mr Jacques de Bruin [CT07801] on 22 November.
- 465 On 22 April 1990, residents of Zolani, Ashton staged a march against housing conditions. A month later, they joined hands with residents of Oukamp, a coloured township, in protest against what they termed "continued racism in Ashton". They demanded that the municipality should open public facilities to all races and improve the townships' facilities. Their protest actions were accompanied by a consumer boycott.
- 466 On 26 June 1990, police fired teargas and birdshot at a group of demonstrating Ashton residents. Ten people were injured including Ms Adri de Koker [CT00427]. A few days later, picketing Oukamp residents and bystanders were fired upon by police, resulting in several injuries, including Mr Jan Gertse [CT00681] who lost both eyes, and Mr Karel Opperman [CT07901] who lost his left eye. On the following day, about seventy people were arrested and others seriously injured after police broke up yet another protest march.
- 467 On 24 November 1990, a new Community Hall was being inaugurated in Wolseley. The newly formed Wolseley Civic Organisation (WCO) was given permission to hold a peaceful placard demonstration concerning local grievances. The demonstration started at 14h00 and at 17h40 those attending the ceremony started to leave the hall. Although the allotted time for the demonstration had not yet expired, the police ordered the crowd to disperse and fired tear gas and birdshot. Many were injured. Mr Edward Booyesen [CT00691] was shot dead by police some time later that evening. His body was found in a gutter the following morning. From the police occurrence book, it is evident that a number of additional police were brought into Wolseley from surrounding towns that day and were issued with shotguns and bird-shot well ahead of the actual shooting incident.

- 468 Those who had been injured laid a charge of assault against the police. The family of Edward Booysen also laid a charge, but later withdrew it. The matter was heard in court the following year, but the magistrate found that the police had behaved appropriately in the circumstances and the case was dismissed. Shortly afterwards, a number of people who had been at the hall were charged with public violence. These charges were subsequently dropped.
- 469 On 3 August 1992, Mr Ntozelizwe Stulo Mbovane [CT00294] was shot and killed and six other people injured when riot police opened fire on a group of about 300 ANC supporters at Grabouw. A police spokesperson said the man had been shot because he had thrown a half-brick at a Casspir after the crowd was ordered to disperse. This was rejected by the ANC's Grabouw branch, which insisted that there had been no order to disperse and no stone-throwing before police fired at the crowd. Mr Sandile Selani [CT00292] was also shot and injured in the incident.

Statistics on Violations in the Western Cape

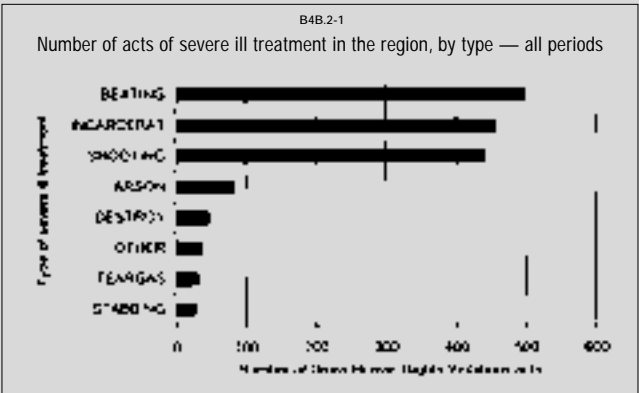
■ NATURE OF THE VIOLATIONS

- 1 Violations in the areas covered by the Cape Town office differed from those of the other offices in terms of quantity (there were far fewer violations), but the pattern of the violations is similar. The types of violations reported were as follows, starting with killings:



- 2 Most people died as a result of being shot, followed by burnings. Stabbing is the second most common cause of death nationally, but was far less common in the Cape Town region.

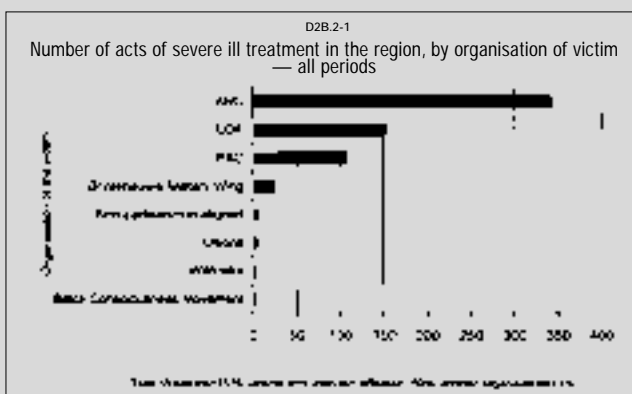
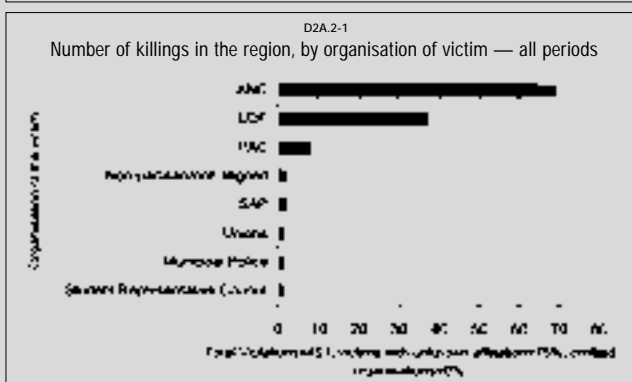
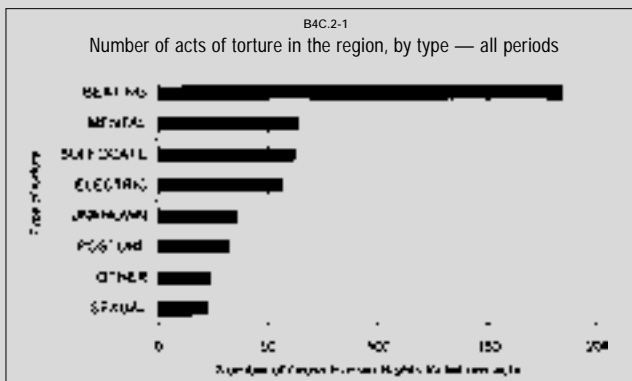
- 3 Beatings and incarceration were the most common reported forms of severe ill treatment, followed by shootings. Arson was the fourth most common violation although, nationally, arson is the most common category of severe ill treatment, because of the huge number of arson cases in the area covered by the Durban office.



- 4 In keeping with the national trend, the most common form of torture was by beating, but mental torture and torture by suffocation were far more common in the area covered by the Cape Town office than in other regions, where torture by electric shock and by forced postures were more common. ►

Victim organisations

- 5 The number of violations reported in terms of the organisational affiliation of the victim, where the organisation is known, is as follows for killings: ►
- 6 Most of the dead in this region were members of the African National Congress (ANC), the United Democratic Front (UDF), and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Unlike the national pattern, no Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members were reported killed in the Western Cape.
- 7 A similar pattern emerges for cases of severe ill treatment, with ANC, UDF and PAC members experiencing the bulk of the violations. (The Bonteheuwel Military Wing was an ANC-aligned organisation.) ►



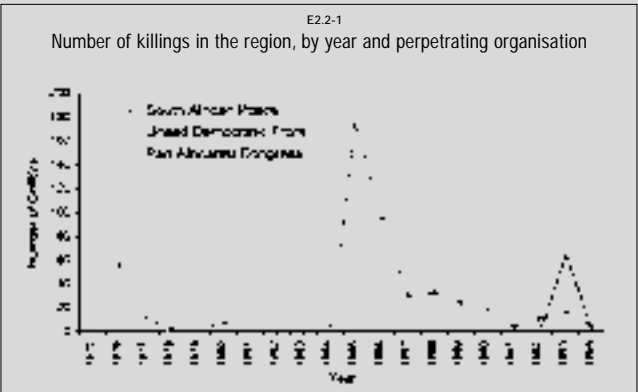
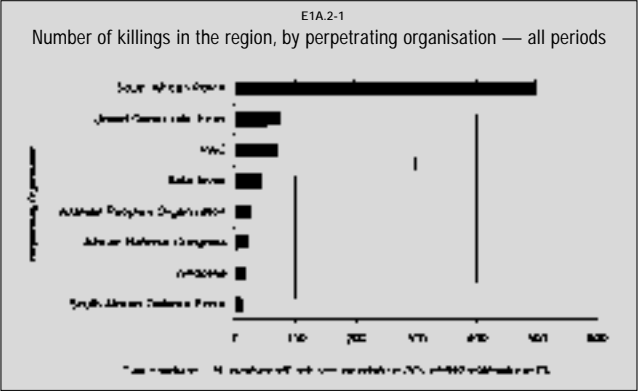
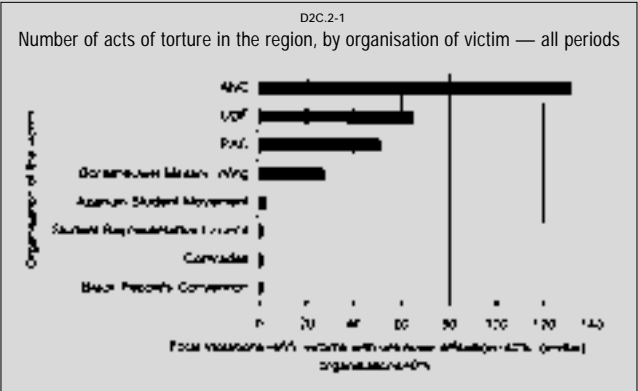
8 The pattern of torture is no different. All torture victims were members of black political organisations.

Perpetrator organisations

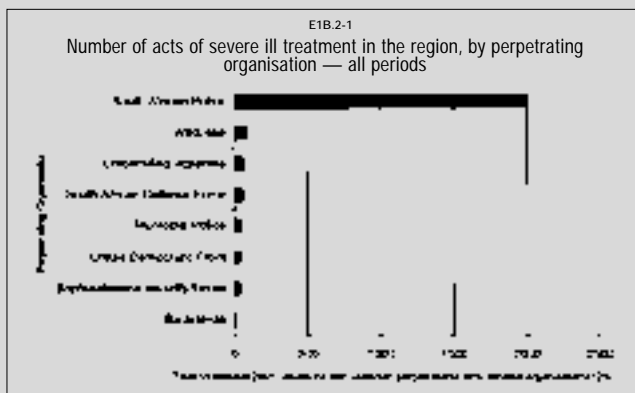
9 The top eight organisations allegedly responsible for killings in the Cape Town office area were as follows: ►

10 Over 500 killings are attributed to the South African Police (SAP), which dominates the chart. Black political organisations account for the rest of the killings. From the chart below, which shows the three organisations named in the highest numbers of allegations, it can be seen that most of the killings took place during the states of emergency.

11 The peaks of killings in 1976 (the Soweto uprising) and the states of emergency are attributed to the SAP, with pre-election violence by the PAC showing a peak in 1993. The SAP also dominates the chart of severe ill treatment violations: ►

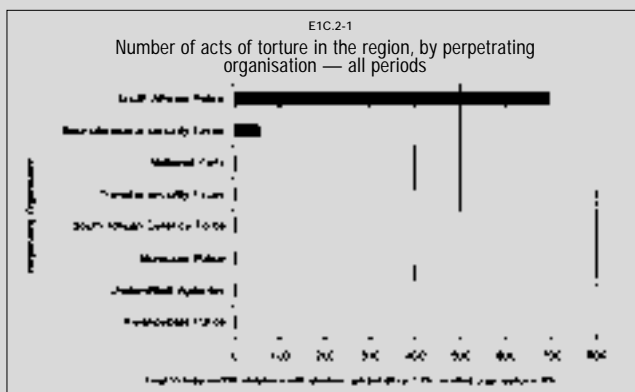
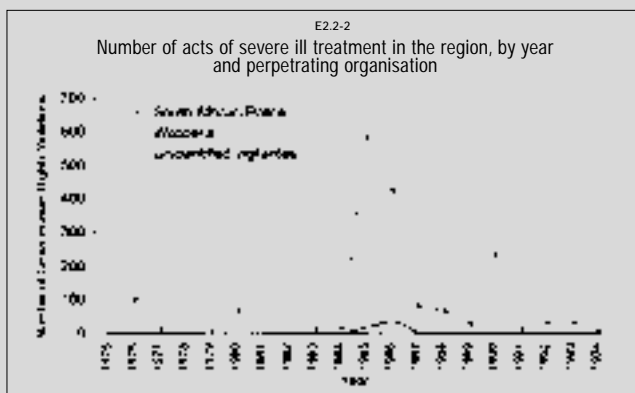


12 Overwhelmingly, the greatest number of instances of severe ill treatment are attributed to the SAP, followed by vigilantes and the SADF. The severe ill treatment violations attributed to the top three organisations change over time as follows:

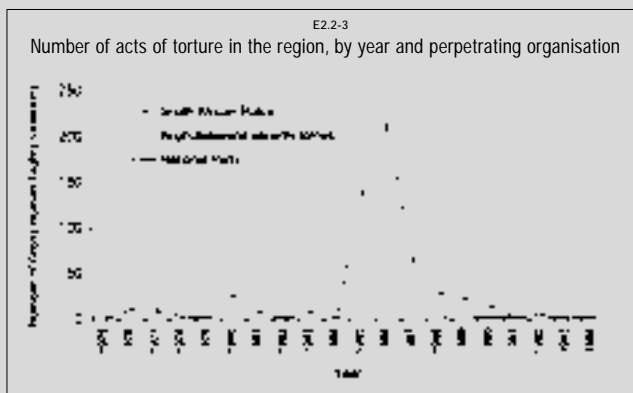


13 The SAP dominates all the peaks in the number of violations, with vigilante activity showing a peak in the mid-1980s.

14 As in the national picture, the SAP dominates torture violations:



- 15 The SAP was allegedly responsible for 700 instances of torture. The pattern of alleged torture over time shows that it was at its worst during the states of emergency: ►



- 16 During most of the periods, the highest number of instances of torture were attributed to the SAP, peaking in 1986 and followed by a steady decline from this high. There is a small peak in 1992, attributed to the Bophuthatswana security forces.

Regional Profile Transvaal

■ 1960-1975

Overview

- 1 In 1960, when the National Party (NP) government extended the pass laws to women, widespread public dissatisfaction crystallised into the mass protest that ended with the killing of sixty-nine demonstrators in Sharpsville on 21 March. Most of the victims were shot in the back. This incident marks the beginning of the Commission's mandate.
- 2 The massacre was a turning point in South African history. In its wake, the government declared South Africa's first state of emergency in terms of the Public Safety Act of 1953. In addition, the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were 'banned' from operating as unlawful organisations.
- 3 The Sharpsville march was the culmination of a campaign of defiance against key apartheid legislation, targeting 'six unjust laws' including the pass laws, the Group Areas Act and the Separate Representation of Voters Act. The pass laws were a source of considerable anger. Primarily they were designed to control and restrict the presence of black people in white urban areas. The most humiliating symbol of this control was the pass book (*dompas*) which all black persons over the age of sixteen had to carry, indicating whether they had the right to be in an urban area and for how long. Only those who qualified under section 10 of the Urban Areas Act of 1945 were allowed to stay in the urban areas for more than seventy-two hours. Those who did not could be arrested and deported to the homeland of their 'ethnic' origin. By 1972 the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) estimated that over one million people had been endorsed out of (ordered to leave) the urban areas.
- 4 The massacre at Sharpsville ushered in a fundamental change in the nature of South African political conflict. A cycle of violence and counter-violence escalated

progressively during the coming decades and created the context in which gross human rights violations became increasingly endemic.

- 5 As avenues for conventional political protest were closed by the banning of political organisations, a range of organisations, including the ANC and PAC, turned to armed struggle. The government responded by introducing a host of legislative measures to bolster its capacity to control political opposition.
- 6 Detention without trial was introduced for the first time. Torture became increasingly systematic and the death toll in police custody steadily escalated. From the early 1960s, a series of legislative amendments provided for increasingly lengthy periods of detention without trial. This included the General Laws Amendment Act, including the so-called ninety-day detention law, which provided for detainees to be held in custody for interrogation until, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Police, they had “satisfactorily” answered all questions. This provision quickly led to frequent abuses and detainees repeatedly alleged they had been tortured and assaulted whilst in custody.
- 7 During this period, the government made use of the courts to prosecute activists. Opposition to the government was redefined as ‘treason’, creating the ideological context in which such opposition could be criminalised. The 1963 Rivonia trial, when Nelson Mandela and other leading ANC members were sentenced to life imprisonment, was the most famous of these trials. There were a number of other political trials, however, which had the effect of undermining opposition to the government by removing resistance leaders from public life. When the General Laws Amendment Act was introduced, providing for the imposition of the death penalty for those found guilty of sabotage, the removal of activists from active involvement in organisations could be permanent. The Act created the offence of sabotage, which was loosely defined as “wrongful and wilful” acts designed to “obstruct, injure, tamper with or destroy” the “health and safety of the public” or the “supply of water, light, fuel or foodstuffs”. The penalties ranged from a minimum of five years to death.
- 8 In addition to legislation specifically designed to curb political opposition, other government policies effectively curtailed African political dissent. The government worked systematically to reverse the flow of Africans to the urban areas and to restructure the industrial workforce into one composed primarily of migrant labour. Over a million labour tenants and farm squatters and 400 000 city dwellers were resettled in the homelands, the population of which increased by

70 per cent in the 1960s. In addition, hundreds of thousands of people were brought directly under the control of the homeland authorities as townships were incorporated into neighbouring reserves.

- 9 The end of this period, the late 1960s and early 1970s, saw the re-emergence of political opposition under the auspices of the Black Consciousness Movement and a wave of labour unrest across the country. Rising unemployment and deepening recession led to escalating inflation and a contracting job market, particularly for unskilled workers. All these factors resulted in a wave of strikes, beginning initially at the Durban docks in the early 1970s. Strikes and work stoppages affecting a wide variety of industries followed, frequently resulting in clashes between the police and striking or protesting workers.
- 10 The rise of the ideology of Black Consciousness was given organisational expression through the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC), an umbrella body of Black Consciousness adherents formed in 1972. Black Consciousness was a potent new ideology, advancing new ideas by which government policies could be challenged.
- 11 In 1973, eight SASO and BPC leaders were served with five-year banning orders. In 1974, nine members of SASO and BPC were charged and convicted under the Terrorism Act, despite the fact that there had been no physical acts of 'terrorism'.
- 12 At the same time, a Bureau of State Security (BOSS) hit squad known as the Z-Squad was responsible for sending a parcel bomb to student activist Abraham Onkgopotse Tiro [JB001/03NWRUS] in Botswana in February 1974, one of the earliest examples of extra-judicial, covert action by the government against political opposition.

Overview of violations

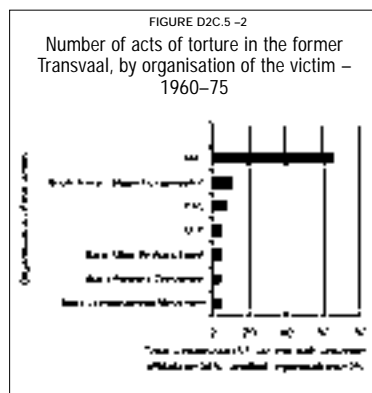
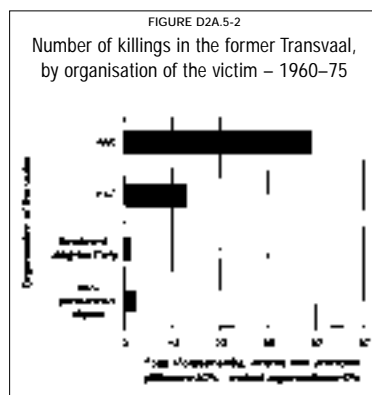
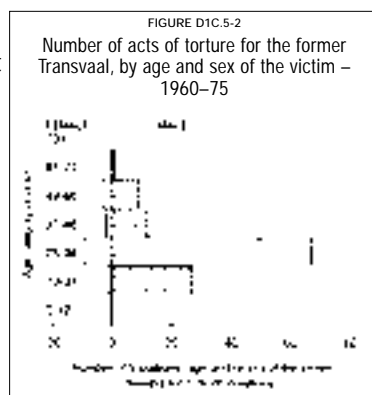
- 13 The gross human rights violations recorded for this period reflect the particular form of the contest between government and political opposition during the 1960s. Torture rather than killing was the dominant form of violation during this period. A distinguishing feature of the information collected by the Commission was that many of the people who made statements to the Commission about their detention and torture occupied leadership positions in the resistance movements, were largely male and were comparatively older than victims of torture in

subsequent periods. This age profile of torture victims was unique to this period. Over the next three decades, the largest category of torture victims was consistently the 13–24 age group.

- 14 Despite the fact that the PAC played a central role in events during this period, the majority of gross human rights violations were reported by people identifying themselves as ANC members.
- 15 It is to be noted that the Commission recorded the lowest number of violations (473) for this period, roughly half the number of violations recorded for the next period (1976–82) and a small proportion of the approximately 4 490 violations recorded for the peak period of violations in 1983–89. The relatively small number of reported violations for this period is ascribed to factors such as the distance of the events that have been overshadowed by more recent political conflict, the death of potential deponents and the fading memory of deponents.

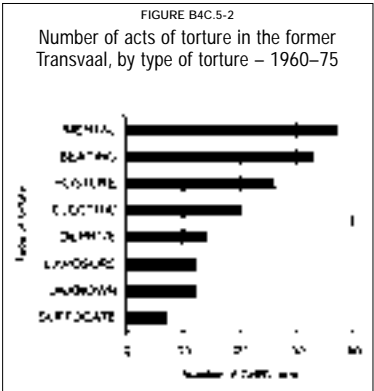
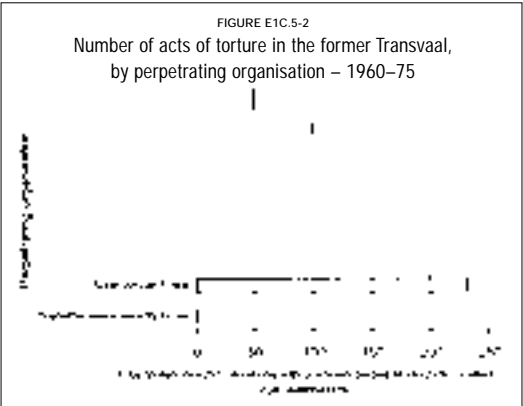
Detention and torture

- 16 Evidence before the Commission showed that the introduction of detention without trial in 1963 created the context for the systematic use of torture. Most reports of torture for this period emanated from the Johannesburg and Pretoria areas where the security police headquarters and the John Vorster Square police station were situated. Activists from around the country were brought to these centres for detention and interrogation.
- 17 The incidence of torture in detention increased markedly at the time of the launch of the armed campaigns of the ANC, PAC and the African Resistance Movement (ARM). Detentions peaked in 1963 with the raid on the ANC headquarters at



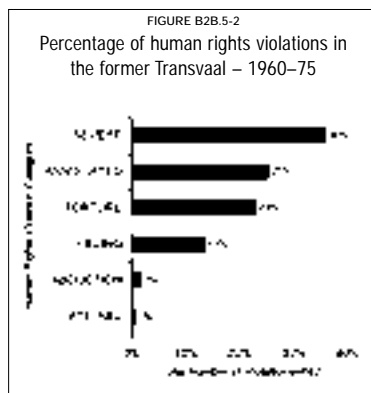
Liliesleaf farm and with large-scale arrests of members of the PAC's armed wing, Poqo.

- 18 Assault and torture in detention led increasingly to deaths in custody. The Johannesburg office of the Commission received statements from the relatives of the first person to die in detention in 1963, Mr Looksmart Ngudle [EC0127/96CCK], who was held under the ninety-day detention law. In 1965, further legislation extended the period a detainee could be held *incommunicado* to 180 days.
- 19 In 1967, the Terrorism Act was introduced, providing for indefinite detention without trial. Soon after the introduction of this legislation, a spate of deaths in detention occurred. The Commission received statements from the families of three of the people who died while being held under this legislation. In these cases, official explanations included suicide by hanging, “slipped on a bar of soap” and “jumped from the tenth floor of John Vorster Square”. While forensic evidence indicated torture and assault in these cases, inquest reports found no one responsible for the deaths.
- 20 During this period, the only significant perpetrators of torture were the South African Police (SAP).
- 21 Victims of torture in this period told the Commission of the use of electric shocks, suffocation with a bag over the head and severe beating. A breakdown of the recorded types of torture reveals the difference between this period, when mental torture was recorded as the form most used, and later periods.



Killings

- 22 Although the shootings at Sharpsville caused an international outcry against apartheid and precipitated the formation of underground armed opposition groups, it did not trigger the kind of widespread public protests and open street conflict that were occurred in subsequent decades. The violence of the police reaction to the pass protests and restrictions imposed on political activity effectively curtailed any large-scale public political protest until the 1970s. Hence, the level of killing violations during this period is relatively low (the fourth most significant category of all human rights violations, after severe ill treatment, torture and associated violations) Where perpetrators of killings are identified by victims, the overwhelming majority name members of the SAP.



- 23 The Sharpsville shootings were an ominous foreshadowing of the widespread use of lethal force by the SAP, which characterised later street protests.

Sharpsville massacre

- 24 On Monday 21 March 1960, sixty-nine people died when police opened fire on approximately 300 marchers protesting against the pass laws at Sharpsville in the Transvaal. Conflict erupted in Langa, Cape Town, almost simultaneously, leaving two people dead and more than fifty injured. In the ensuing days violence spread to Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, East London and Bloemfontein.
- 25 The march was organised and planned by the PAC. In its verbal submission to the Commission, the PAC outlined the history of the organisation's anti-pass campaign and emphasised the commitment of its organisers to peaceful protest. The March 1960 protest action against the pass laws built on the success of the PAC Status Campaign which focused on the idea of mental liberation. PAC representatives told the Commission that it was "an absolutely non-violent campaign".¹ PAC leader Robert Sobukwe, reportedly announced before the march that "we are ready to die for our cause but we are not ready to kill". Before the march, a letter was sent to the commissioner of police, Major General Rademeyer "explaining fully the peaceful nature of the campaign".

¹ PAC submission to the Commission, August 1996.

A media conference was held pledging that the campaign would be conducted in a peaceful manner. Despite these assurances, the protest was met with a heavy-handed response from the state and the security forces.

- 26 Many PAC leaders were arrested. PAC representatives told the Commission that, because the campaign was conducted on the principle of no bail, no defence and no fine, PAC leaders and members were convicted and sentenced to periods of imprisonment.
- 27 The Sharpsville shootings radically shifted the nature of political resistance in South Africa. They signalled an end to the era of non-violent struggle and ushered in a period of armed struggle. The shootings also provoked strong condemnation from the international community. The policy of apartheid came under the spotlight and was debated for the first time by the United Nations Security Council. March 21 was formally declared the international day for the struggle against racism.
- 28 While the carrying of pass books was a source of widespread protest, evidence before the Commission points to a degree of coercion of non-politicised Sharpsville residents who were pressurised into participating in the anti-pass protest, although most residents were prepared to support the public protest. Although Ms Korisatsana Elizabeth Mabona [JB00793/03VT] and Mr Ntele David Ramokhoase [JB00902/03VT], neither of whom belonged to any political organisation, were forcibly prevented from going to work on the day of the march, they told the Commission that they were unequivocal in their rejection of the pass system. Mr Ramokhoase told the Commission that the *dompas* was "just a misery".
- 29 On Thursday 17 March a pamphlet was circulated in Vereeniging urging people to stay away from work on the following Monday. During the following days, bus drivers were approached and urged not to go to work. One bus driver claimed that PAC activists collected them from their homes in the middle of the night and only released them after sunrise. Telephone wires linking Sharpsville with Vereeniging were cut on the Sunday evening before the march. At Sharpsville's Seeiso Street bus terminal, near the new police station, PAC organisers told commuters they should not go to work.
- 30 By 10h00, a large crowd had formed in the centre of Sharpsville. Despite tension early on Monday morning, people at the gathering in Sharpsville all described it as a happy occasion. Ms Elizabeth Mabona whose husband, Mr Jacob Ramokoena, was killed later that day told the Commission:

At the police station we sat down, we were singing hymns, you know it was just a jolly atmosphere. We were singing these hymns as Christians because we were just rejoicing. And we didn't know what will follow thereafter. We were just joyous because we thought that same afternoon we would get a message. Everybody was taking his feelings out.

- 31 Large groups of people had also gathered in Bophelong and Boipatong townships. They joined a march, 4 000-strong, in a procession to Vanderbijlpark police station. In Evaton 20 000 people assembled outside the police station. The crowd in Vanderbijlpark was immediately dispersed by a police baton charge and in Evaton with low-flying Sabre jets. In Vanderbijlpark, one man was killed when police fired on a group of men who, they alleged, were stoning them. Ms Elizabeth Mabona said that in Sharpville, however, the aircraft failed to intimidate people:

We spent that whole time at the police station until the jets arrived. We didn't mind. The sirens went off and then we just ignored them.

- 32 The police refused to arrest PAC members who presented themselves for arrest. According to the police, PAC officials refused the order to disperse. However, it appears from the testimony of victims that the PAC leadership did ask the crowd to disperse but approximately 300 people remained behind.
- 33 Throughout the morning police reinforcements arrived, including Saracen armoured cars. According to witnesses, they positioned themselves facing the crowd.
- 34 At 13h15, with nearly 300 police members facing a crowd of 5 000 people, a scuffle broke out. According to police witnesses, stones were thrown at them and, in response, inexperienced constables began firing their guns spontaneously. However, the evidence of Commission deponents reveals a degree of deliberation in the decision to open fire at Sharpville and indicates that the shooting was more than the result of inexperienced and frightened police officers losing their nerve. Mr David Ramokhoase spoke of a white man who "gave a sign" before shots were fired, while Mr Lebetsa Ramokhoase [JB00901/03VT] remembered a white man climbing into a Saracen and pulling the door shut above him just before gunshots rang out.

- 35 The crowd was unarmed. David Ramokhoase told the Commission:

We were still at the singing ... not even one person was armed. I saw men and women and young men just holding their umbrellas because it was a

hot day. Those who might have had guns, maybe they were hidden somewhere but I didn't see anyone carrying any weapon, not even a stick and knobkierrie [club], not even a knobkierrie. I only saw umbrellas ... They were not going there to fight. They were peaceful. They didn't have anything in their hands ...

- 36 The majority of those killed or wounded were shot in the back. Lebisa Ramokhoase was shot in his hip.

I don't know what happened but I was on the ground and I decided that I would run until my legs go off me but I didn't know what happened. People were just trampling on me. I tried to push them but I couldn't and now this leg was now troubling me and I decided to sit down. I said no ways, I cannot carry on.

- 37 Ms Korisatsana Elizabeth Mabona was walking home when she heard the gunshots:

I ran. I opened the door at my house and I opened all the doors until the kitchen door. I came back again. I was confused. I didn't know what was happening. I felt something that was right on my chest and I said to myself where is my husband at this moment. As I was wondering another gentleman came and he said the whites are killing people in a very brutal way. I said to him, "are you talking about guns?" He said, "yes, they are using guns". You know I was so hysterical and I started crying. I didn't know where to go.

- 38 After the shootings, the police inspected the bodies lying on the ground. Those still standing were questioned about their injuries. The mood was triumphant. David Ramokhoase told the Commission that a police officer came over to him after he had been wounded.

They asked me where have we shot you. And I showed them my knee ... He said Africa is no longer a thumb facing upwards, it is a thumb facing downwards now.

- 39 Korisatsana Elizabeth Mabona's husband had been shot dead. Lebisa Ramokhoase spent five months in hospital but as he lay in his bed, he began to hear that many of his fellow participants in the march were being arrested.

- 40 Seventy-seven people were arrested in the wake of the Sharpville massacre, among them a number of participants in the march. Several of these people had been injured when police opened fire on marchers. They were held under police guard in hospital until they could be placed in custody. Eventually the cases against fifty-three people were withdrawn.

- 41 Of the forty-six statements which the Commission received concerning the shooting at Sharpville, several are statements from people who were detained during the march or immediately afterwards. Some of these were held for long periods under detention laws and some were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, followed by banning orders. Others fled into exile.
- 42 Among those detained were Mr Zephania Lekoane Mothopeng [JB04279/01GTSOW], a PAC activist and Poqo member (later president of the PAC). Mr Modise Mathews Mashea [JB04822/03VT] was taken to Leeuwkop prison after he had spent three weeks at Baragwanath hospital recovering from gunshot wounds; at Leeuwkop he was held for two months awaiting trial in a case which was subsequently dismissed by the Vereeniging magistrate's court. PAC member Mr Sidwell Kasa [JB01152/03VT] was also arrested while participating in the March. He was imprisoned for three years and, on his release, banished from the Vaal Triangle area.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE DELIBERATELY OPENED FIRE ON AN UNARMED CROWD THAT HAD GATHERED PEACEFULLY AT SHARPVILLE ON 21 MARCH 1960 TO PROTEST AGAINST THE PASS LAWS. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE SAP FAILED TO GIVE THE CROWD AN ORDER TO DISPERSE BEFORE THEY BEGAN FIRING AND THAT THEY CONTINUED TO FIRE UPON THE FLEEING CROWD, RESULTING IN HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE BEING SHOT IN THE BACK. AS A RESULT OF THE EXCESSIVE FORCE USED, SIXTY-NINE PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND MORE THAN 300 INJURED. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE POLICE FAILED TO FACILITATE ACCESS TO MEDICAL AND/OR OTHER ASSISTANCE TO THOSE WHO WERE WOUNDED IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE MARCH.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MANY OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MARCH WERE APOLITICAL, WOMEN AND UNARMED, AND HAD ATTENDED THE MARCH BECAUSE THEY WERE OPPOSED TO THE PASS LAWS. THE COMMISSION FINDS, THEREFORE, THAT MANY OF THE PEOPLE FIRED UPON AND INJURED IN THE MARCH WERE NOT POLITICISED MEMBERS OF ANY POLITICAL PARTY, BUT MERELY PERSONS OPPOSED TO CARRYING A PASS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MANY OF THOSE INJURED IN THE MARCH WERE PLACED UNDER POLICE GUARD IN HOSPITAL AS IF THEY WERE CONVICTED CRIMINALS AND, UPON RELEASE FROM HOSPITAL, WERE DETAINED FOR LONG PERIODS IN PRISON BEFORE BEING FORMALLY CHARGED. IN THE MAJORITY OF INSTANCES WHEN PERSONS SO DETAINED APPEARED IN COURT, THE CHARGES WERE WITHDRAWN.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER STATE AND THE MINISTER OF POLICE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THAT EXCESSIVE FORCE WAS UNNECESSARILY USED TO STOP A GATHERING OF UNARMED PEOPLE. POLICE FAILED TO GIVE AN ORDER TO DISPERSE AND/OR ADEQUATE TIME TO DISPERSE, RELIED ON LIVE AMMUNITION RATHER THAN ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF CROWD DISPERSAL AND FIRED IN A SUSTAINED MANNER INTO THE BACK OF THE CROWD, RESULTING IN THE DEATH OF SIXTY-NINE PEOPLE AND THE INJURY OF MORE THAN 300.

Detention and torture

- 43 The use of detention without trial by the government intensified in response to the escalating seriousness of the political opposition. Emergency regulations promulgated in 1960 in the wake of the Sharpville massacre provided for wider grounds on which people could be detained but did not provide for substantial periods of detention without trial. Under this legislation approximately 12 000 people were detained. Despite the detention of approximately 12 000 people, banned political organisations such as the ANC and PAC began secretly to regroup and plan armed campaigns.
- 44 The government responded to the sabotage campaigns launched by the ARM and Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) by introducing in 1963 the General Law Amendment Act (ninety-day detention law). Police were able to forestall the planned general uprising of the PAC's armed wing Poqo by arresting over 3 000 Poqo suspects. In 1965 the government passed further amendments to detention without trial legislation, doubling the amount of time detainees could be held without trial. In addition to the lengthy periods for which people could be held, detainees were denied access to lawyers and visits from family members. Finally, in 1967, the Terrorism Act was introduced, removing the time limit on detention without trial and providing for indefinite detention.
- 45 As noted, it was in this context that torture became increasingly systematic as police were subjected to fewer and fewer checks on their conduct, generating an ethos of impunity. As the frequency and severity of torture increased, people began dying in police custody. In 1972, the journal *Pro Veritate* reported that, between 1963 and 1972, over twenty people detained under South African security laws lost their lives while in custody. Another fifty people made sworn *affidavits* that they had been tortured during detention. After the introduction of the Terrorism Act in 1967, deaths in detention increased. In 1968, four detainees, Mr Solomon Modipane, Mr James Lenkoe [JB0092/01GTSOW], Mr Nicomedus Kgoathe [JB0113/03NWRUS] and Mr JB Tubakwe, died in quick succession.
- 46 In April 1963, a number of MK operatives involved in the organisation's early sabotage campaigns was arrested under the ninety-day detention law. Those arrested included Mr Indres Naidoo [JB00184/01GTSOW], Mr Suresh Nanabhai [JB00184/01GTSOW], Mr Reggie Vandeyar [JB00809/01GTSOW], Mr Abdullay Jassat [JB00184/01GTSOW] and Mr Laloo Chiba [JB00667/01GTSOW]. All claimed that they were tortured. Reggie Vandeyar, Suresh Nanabhai and Indres

Naidoo were later sentenced to ten years imprisonment while Laloo Chiba was sentenced to eighteen years in a separate trial.

- 47 The activists described severe torture, involving the use of electric shocks, suffocation and severe beating leading to concussion and broken bones. Abdullay Jassat described how the security police dangled him from a window:

They then pushed me into a louvre-fitting window and [I was] made to lie on it. I was held by both my feet by the police whilst they were simulating me trying to commit suicide. This was a known method of killing people in detention and they were well co-ordinated in their actions whilst the one was holding my foot and the other making as if to let me fall down from the window. I was then fearing that I was going to die.

- 48 Jassat escaped from Marshall Square Police Station on 12 July 1963 with Mr Arthur Goldreich, Mr Harold Wolpe and Mr Mosie Moolla.
- 49 Most of these detainees identified Captain Theunis Jacobus 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel as one of the perpetrators involved in their interrogation. General van den Berg, head of BOSS at the time, also appears to have also been personally involved in the interrogation of these activists. Reggie Vandeyar described his encounter with the man he believed to be General van den Berg:

At one point, I heard them saying that the 'big boss' was coming and they stood to attention when this tall figure came in. He was an erect man, wearing a suit and a Homberg hat. He appeared very severe. He walked straight up to me. I was leaning against the wall. He grabbed my hair and smacked my head against the wall. He shouted, "Who sent you?" I did not respond. He walked straight out without saying anything. The police saluted him and Major Brits went after him. I suspect this man was General van den Berg, the head of BOSS, but I am not certain.

- 50 The railway police were also involved in the interrogation and torture of the detainees.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE SYSTEMATICALLY ASSAULTED AND TORTURED OPPONENTS OF THE STATE HELD IN CUSTODY. THE COMMISSION FINDS A DIRECT CORRELATION BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE DETAINED AND THE NUMBERS OF CASES OF TORTURE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN APRIL 1963, THE SAP, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE RAILWAY POLICE, WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR SEVERELY ASSAULTING AND TORTURING SURESH NANABHAI, INDRES NAIDOO, REGGIE VANDEYAR, ABDULLAY JASSAT AND LALOO CHIBA, AMONGST MANY OTHERS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE FORMER STATE, THE MINISTER OF POLICE AND MEMBERS OF THE SAP AND RAILWAY POLICE WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THAT THEY WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TORTURE AND ASSAULT OF DETAINEES.

Deaths in detention

51 Abdullay Jassat's description of his torture provides a clue as to what may have happened to thirty-two-year-old Mr Suliman Saloojee who died in detention in September 1964, two months after being detained under the ninety-day detention law. Suliman Saloojee, the fourth person to die while held under security legislation, allegedly jumped from the seventh floor of the Security Branch offices in Greys building, Johannesburg.

52 In a submission to the Commission, Saloojee's widow, Ms Rokaya Saloojee [JB00171/01ERKWA], said she struggled to be allowed access to her husband, whom she suspected was ill. Ms Saloojee had become suspicious about her husband's condition when neither the clothes nor the dishes for the food she had been bringing for him at the Rosebank police station were returned to her. She was eventually allowed a five-minute visit with him several weeks after his detention and found that he had a wound at the side of his forehead.

When they opened the cell door, I saw my husband had a patch on his head. When I asked him – I didn't even greet, I just asked what happened to you and this one policeman said that he bumped his head in the cell. So, I said that's funny he must have been drunk because there is nothing else that's in the cell that you can bump your head on. They closed the door on me and told me to go away, which I did. I had no alternative ... I didn't even speak to my husband. All he said to me in Gujerati is that I should keep quiet.

53 Some time later Ms Saloojee was preparing to take her husband food when she was visited by police who told her that her husband was in the Johannesburg hospital. She failed to trace him at the Johannesburg hospital or at any of the local hospitals. She heard of his death when a journalist approached her for a statement. After her husband's death, Rokaya Saloojee continued to be harassed by security police. She tried to leave the country but was refused a passport five times.

54 At Saloojee's inquest, Captain 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel, Major Brits from the railway police, Sergeant CJ van Zyl, Constable van den Heever and Lieutenant HC Muller were identified as his interrogators. Swanepoel said that he had questioned

Saloojee on 9 September but that he had been out of the room at the time of the fall. He denied that any violence had been used in the interrogation. The magistrate, Mr AJ Kotze, found that no one was to blame and that nothing in the evidence suggested that the methods used in interrogating him had been irregular.²

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR SULIMAN SALOOJEE WAS DETAINED ON JULY 1964 UNDER SECTION 6 OF THE TERRORISM ACT. DURING HIS DETENTION, HE WAS INTERROGATED BY CAPTAIN 'ROOI RUS' SWANEPOEL, MAJOR BRITS OF THE RAILWAY POLICE, SERGEANT CJ VAN ZYL, CONSTABLE VAN DER HEEVER AND LIEUTENANT HC MULLER. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN ALL PROBABILITY, THESE PERSONS ASSAULTED AND TORTURED SALOOJEE DURING HIS INTERROGATION THUS DIRECTLY CAUSING HIS DEATH.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE SAP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF MS ROKAYA SALOOJEE, THE WIFE OF SULIMAN SALOOJEE, WHO CONTINUED TO BE HARASSED AND THREATENED BY THE POLICE AFTER HIS DEATH.

- 55 More deaths in custody were recorded following the introduction of the Terrorism Act, which provided for indefinite detention without trial on the authority of a police officer of or above the rank of lieutenant. Mr Ben Kgoathe [JB00113/03NWRUS], son of Mr Nicodemus Kgoathe who died in 1969 while being held under the Terrorism Act, told the Commission that a number of people had died in detention during the same year. These included Mr James Lenkoe [JB0092/01GTSOW] on 28 February, Mr Caleb Mayekiso [ECO644/96PLZ] in June, Mr Jacob Monnakgotla and Imam Haron in September.
- 56 James Lenkoe died in police custody after being detained under the Terrorism Act. Lenkoe was detained on the night of 5 March 1969 and died five days later in Pretoria local prison. The official cause of death, confirmed by a *post mortem* performed by the prison surgeon, was suicide by hanging. However, a second *post mortem* performed at the request of the Lenkoe family found traces of copper and signs of electric shock on Lenkoe's toe, a bruise below the ear, marks on the neck and shoulders, and signs of haemorrhaging at the base of the skull. Three leading pathologists, one from the United States, testified that the mark on Lenkoe's toe was consistent with a recent electrical burn.
- 57 Major TJ Swanepoel testified that he had arrested James Lenkoe and had interrogated him from about 08h00 to 15h00 on the day of his death. The magistrate refused to allow certain political prisoners to testify that the security police, under the direction of Major Swanepoel, regularly used electric shock as a method of interrogation. The magistrate held that there was no satisfactory proof that Lenkoe died as the result of electric shock and concluded that he

² Kairos.

had died as a result of suicide by hanging and that no blame could be attached to any person.³

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT JAMES LENKOE WAS INTERROGATED BY MAJOR 'ROOI RUS' SWANEPOEL AND THAT HE WAS TORTURED USING ELECTRIC SHOCKS. WHILST THE OFFICIAL CAUSE OF DEATH WAS SUICIDE BY HANGING, THE COMMISSION FINDS THE POLICE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS TORTURE AND SUBSEQUENT DEATH.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE REFUSAL OF THE MAGISTRATE TO HEAR EVIDENCE FROM OTHER POLITICAL DETAINEES OF TORTURE PERPETRATED BY THE POLICE ON DETAINEES IN THEIR CUSTODY FURTHER CREATED A CULTURE OF IMPUNITY WHICH LED TO FURTHER GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY THE POLICE.

- 58 Mr Ahmed Timol [JB00173/03WR] died in police custody on 27 October 1971 after allegedly committing suicide by jumping from the tenth floor of security police headquarters at John Vorster Square in Johannesburg. Timol had been in detention for five days. He was the twenty-second person to die in police custody since the introduction of detention without trial.
- 59 Ahmed Timol's mother, Ms Hawa Timol, described to the Commission how she heard about her son's death:

On Wednesday 27th [in the] evening my husband and son had gone to the mosque for evening prayers. During this time three policemen who identified them as SB [Security Branch] came and entered our house. One of them pushed me into a seat and then proceeded to tell me that my son Ahmed had tried to escape by jumping out of the tenth floor of John Vorster Square and that I was to tell my husband that his body was lying in the Hillbrow government mortuary. I could not believe what was being said and in my confusion, I tried to argue that this was not true ... I even remember taking them to the flat windows and saying look how could my son have jumped out of the difficult windows at John Vorster Square ... I was crying and screaming and our neighbour came to enquire what was happening. The policeman without further explanation left.

- 60 After Ahmed Timol's arrest, his family was severely harassed by members of the Security Branch who repeatedly came to their home to interrogate his parents and search the house.
- 61 Police officers named at Timol's inquest include Colonel Greyling, Captain Bean, Sergeant Rodrigues, Warrant Officer Cloete, Sergeant FJ Ferreira, Sergeant MC Pelser and Sergeant DL Carter. At the end of an eight-month inquest, the mag-

³ Kairos.

istrate, Mr J.J.L. de Villiers, found that he had died “from serious brain injuries and loss of blood when he jumped from a window from the tenth floor of John Vorster Square. The cause of death is suicide and nobody is to blame.”

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP AND IN PARTICULAR COLONEL GREYLING, CAPTAIN BEAN, SERGEANT RODRIGUES, WARRANT OFFICER CLOETE, SERGEANTS F.J. FERREIRA, MC PELSER AND D.L. CARTER WERE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH OF MR AHMED TIMOL.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE INQUEST MAGISTRATE’S FAILURE TO HOLD THE POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR AHMED TIMOL’S DEATH CONTRIBUTED TO A CULTURE OF IMPUNITY THAT LED TO FURTHER GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

- 62 The three people with whom Timol was arrested under the Terrorism Act, Mr Kantilal Naik [JB00641/03WR], Ms Amina Desai [JB01114/03WR] and Mr Salim Essop [JB0173/03WR], reported that they were severely tortured. Essop was so severely assaulted that he was hospitalised. Naik, who was arrested the day after Timol, on 23 October 1971, was allegedly suspended from a beam by his arms, causing temporary paralysis. He told the Commission:

Myself and Timol were both teachers at the Roodepoort Indian High School. On the morning of the 23rd, it was a Saturday morning, security policemen came to my home and said that I should take them to school as they wanted to seize the typewriter ... I was then taken to John Vorster Square. I made a statement ... and some of the security policemen said I was talking rubbish ... They started to question me. They were not satisfied with my answers ... and two burly policemen were assaulting me. I think it was like a seesaw. The one punched me and I fell on to the other guy, and the other guy then of course punched me and you know, it was a seesaw thing.

- 63 Ms Amina Desai, who had loaned her car to Ahmed Timol, was also arrested and interrogated continuously at John Vorster Square for four days. On the fourth day, she heard a commotion and furniture being overturned in a room next door. After this Ms Desai was taken back to the cells and was left there for five months. She was subsequently sentenced to five years’ imprisonment. On her release, she was placed under a five-year banning order.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF SECTION 6 OF THE TERRORISM ACT IN 1967, WHICH ALLOWED FOR INDEFINITE DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL, LED TO A NUMBER OF DEATHS IN DETENTION. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF DETENTION WERE SUCH THAT A NUMBER OF PEOPLE DIED AS A DIRECT RESULT OF TORTURE OR FOUND THEMSELVES IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH INDUCED THEM TO TAKE THEIR OWN LIVES.

THE COMMISSION CONSEQUENTLY FINDS THE MINISTER OF POLICE, THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AND THE OFFICERS IN CHARGE AT THE SECURITY BRANCH RESPONSIBLE FOR THE

DEATHS IN DETENTION OF DETAINEES AND THUS THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FURTHER FINDS THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FAILURE OF MAGISTRATES TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF EVIDENCE PRESENTED TO THEM OF THE TORTURE AND ASSAULT OF DETAINEES BY THE POLICE. THE RELIANCE BY MAGISTRATES ON THE EVIDENCE OF THE POLICE WAS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR CREATING A CULTURE OF IMPUNITY IN THE RANKS OF THE POLICE. THIS LED TO FURTHER DEATHS IN DETENTION AND GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

Political trials

- 64 Political trials similar to the famous Treason Trial of 1956 continued throughout the 1960s and 1970s. During 1963 and 1964, a spate of trials effectively removed and imprisoned much of the leadership of the PAC, ANC, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the ARM, forcing these organisations into exile and undermining early attempts to build underground networks within the country.
- 65 Immediately after the Sharpsville massacre, there were several trials involving the leadership of the PAC and people who had participated in the anti-pass protests. Within two months, on 4 May 1960, the leader of the organisation, Mr Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe [EC0155/97ALB], and eighteen other leaders of the PAC were convicted of inciting others to support a campaign for the repeal of pass laws. Mr Sobukwe was sentenced to three years, Mr PK Leballo and three others to two years each and Mr J Madzunya and thirteen others to eighteen months.⁴
- 66 In its verbal submission to the Commission, the PAC described the unique legislation introduced by the government to ensure that PAC leader Robert Sobukwe remained in jail:

Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe was sentenced to a three-year prison term, which he served at Stoffberg at Witbank. On completion of his three-year mandatory sentence, the apartheid authorities unilaterally decided to extend his incarceration through passing an unprecedented bill in the all-white parliament known as the 'Sobukwe Clause'. Under this special parliamentary dispensation, President Sobukwe was kept on Robben Island for a further six years. On the island, he was kept incommunicado from the rest of the political prisoners. Actually, it was even a crime to wave your hand if you saw him where he was sitting. He was subsequently released and banished to Kimberley. He was only released from the Island because the regime knew very well he would not live long.

⁴ South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) *Survey*, 1960.

- 67 In another trial, targeting people who had participated in the pass protests, Mr Matthew Nkoana of the PAC and 141 others were found guilty of working in concord against the reference book system and failing or refusing to produce their books on demand. They were sentenced to three years or a fine of £300.⁵
- 68 The Rivonia trial, which followed the raid on the operational headquarters of MK on Liliesleaf farm, began on 9 October 1963. Eleven members, led by Nelson Mandela, faced charges of sabotage. The state argued that the ANC was dominated by Communists, had planned a campaign of guerrilla warfare and, after its banning, had decided to embark on a policy of destruction and violence. In June 1964, seven of the accused, namely, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Dennis Goldberg, Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Ahmed Kathrada were sentenced to life imprisonment.⁶
- 69 While the Rivonia trial was the most publicised trial of this period, the government's determination to halt the ANC's plans to mount an armed campaign inside the country led to further trials, targeting various levels of leadership within MK.
- 70 Mr Laloo Chiba, who made a statement to the Commission about his experience of torture while held under the ninety-day detention act (see above), was involved in the second major MK trial which began on 30 October 1964. The accused included Mr David Kitson, Mr Sathyandranath (Mac) R Maharaj, Mr John Matthews and Mr Wilton Mkwayi. All five were convicted of more than fifty acts of sabotage, preparing for guerrilla warfare and furthering the aims of Communism. Wilton Mkwayi was sentenced to life imprisonment, David Kitson to twenty years, Laloo Chiba to eighteen years, John Matthews to fifteen years and Mac Maharaj to twelve years.⁷
- 71 The trial of Mr Bram Fischer was primarily an attempt to remove and imprison the leadership of the SACP. On 26 August 1964, Bram Fischer, a senior lawyer who had led the defence of the Rivonia trialists, and fourteen other people were arrested and charged with having furthered the aims of the SACP or being office-bearers, officers, or members of the party. The charge sheet alleged that they aimed at "establishing a despotic government based on the dictatorship of the proletariat" in South Africa. A number of those charged had been held under the ninety-day detention law and complained of ill treatment. One of these, Ms Sylvia Neame, was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for trying to escape

5 SAIRR Survey, 1960.

6 SAIRR Survey, 1964.

7 SAIRR Survey, 1964.

from custody. The other accused were Mr Louis Baker, Ms Esther Barsel, Mr Hymie Barsel, Ms Mollie Doyle, Ms Florence Duncan, Dr Costa Gazides, Mr Norman Levy, Ms Jean Middleton, Ms Ann Nicholson, Mr Ivan F Schermbrucker, Mr Paul Trehwela and Mr Eli Weinberg.

72 In April 1965, after they had been in custody for nearly a year, the fifteen were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from one to five years.

73 Ms Jean Middleton [JB04419/01GTSOW] testified at the Commission's special hearings on prisons about the conditions at Barberton prison where she and other white, female political detainees spent their prison terms:

When you speak about Barberton, what you really have to speak about is the brutality of the place ... Through a window, we used to see women, black women prisoners, carrying things sometimes. However fast they tried to run, the wardresses would urge them on by whipping them with those long leather straps attached to their keys and sometimes there would be a baby on a woman's back so the baby got whipped ...

Worst of all were the shirts we used to wash, those came from the men's jail, they used to come in every Monday and at least one shirt and one pair of shorts every week (and they only got one clean shirt a week and they did very hard work it seemed in a hot climate) would not be stained with blood, but caked with blood from clogging and that sulphur ointment, caked.

74 In 1969, twenty-two people – including Ms Nomzamo Winnie Mandela, Ms Rita Ndzanga, Mr Lawrence Ndzanga, Ms Venus Mngoma and Ms Martha Dlamini, Mr Peter Magubane, Joyce Sikhakhane, Joseph Zikalala, George Mokwebo, David Motau and others in the trial of Sampson Ndou⁸ [CT03064/GAU] and others in 1969, twenty-two people appeared on charges under the Suppression of Communism Act relating to ANC activities.

75 Pholotho was one of the accused in this trial and confirmed the allegations that witnesses were tortured. He was detained and interrogated on 4 May 1969 in Pretoria, where he was tortured in a room without windows. He was deprived of sleep for ninety hours, made to stand on unbalanced bricks while his hands were handcuffed to the rafters. He was also kicked and punched all over his body and electric shocks were used.

⁸ Sampson Ndou was chosen as first defendant so that the name Mandela would not appear on the court records.

- 76 As a result of allegations of torture made by Ms Shanti Naidoo, Samuel Solomon Pholotho and others [JB05956/01GTSOW], the Attorney-General stopped the trial, discharging all of the twenty-two accused. Before they had left the court, they were re-detained under the Terrorism Act, and held for periods ranging from 107 to 371 days. Student protests and public vigils demanding that the twenty-two accused be charged or released were launched all over the country. The government charged nineteen of them with conspiring with the ANC and SACP to overthrow the government by violence. This time the charges were brought under the Terrorism Act. Mr Benjamin Ramotse, who had been in captivity for a far longer period, became the first defendant and the state attempted to use the joinder provision of the Terrorism Act to link him to the others. All except Benjamin Ramotse were The nineteen were acquitted and discharged after the defendants proved that the charges brought against them were substantially the same as those they had already been tried for. On this occasion, Mr Benjamin Ramotse, Almost immediately after the second trial, all nineteen of those acquitted were issued with banning orders.⁹

Political executions

- 77 As a further deterrent to political opposition, the government introduced the maximum penalty of death for sabotage in 1962. A number of people were subsequently executed as a result of their involvement in acts of sabotage.
- 78 Mr John Harris¹⁰, a teacher and member of the ARM, was arrested for placing a bomb in the concourse of the Johannesburg railway station on 24 July 1964. One person died and several others were injured. John Harris was charged with murder and two counts of sabotage. The SAIRR reported that John Harris admitted planting the bomb and said that he intended a spectacular demonstration as a means of bringing about a change of government. A few minutes before the bomb was due to explode, he had telephoned a warning to the police and to two newspapers. He had expected the concourse to be cleared so that no one would be hurt. Mr Justice Ludorf found Harris guilty of murder and sentenced him to death. John Harris was the only white person to be executed for political crimes during the Commission's mandate period.
- 79 Ms Clasina Vogel [JB04948/03WR] was one of the people injured in the Johannesburg station blast on 24 July 1964, suffering burn wounds to her body, hands, legs, face and head, shrapnel wounds on her legs and burst eardrums.

⁹ SAIRR *Survey*, 1964.

¹⁰ John Harris's widow made a statement to the Commission [KZN/MR/008/DN].

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT JOHN HARRIS WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BOMBING OF THE JOHANNESBURG STATION, WHICH RESULTED IN THE DEATH OF ONE PERSON AND THE INJURY OF MANY OTHERS, INCLUDING CLASINA VOGEL, ON 24 JULY 1964. THE COMMISSION FINDS JOHN HARRIS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

Imprisonment

- 80 People who were imprisoned because of their involvement in political opposition faced severe prison conditions during this period. At its special hearing on prisons, the Commission received a number of submissions about prison conditions from people jailed for their political activities, including some of the first MK members jailed on Robben Island.
- 81 Mr Robert Strachan [JB04416/990VE] was arrested in March 1962 and sentenced to six years' imprisonment in Pretoria Central prison for contravention of the Explosives Act. He was kept in solitary confinement for the first eleven months of his imprisonment. Harold Strachan later gave a detailed account of conditions at Pretoria Central Prison to *Rand Daily Mail* journalist Mr Benjamin Pogrand, who published the account despite severe reporting restrictions imposed by the Prisons Act.
- 82 Mr Andrew Masondo [JB4855/01GTSOW] was amongst the first ten MK members on Robben Island. He told the Commission that black prisoners were treated differently from whites. On one occasion he did not take off his cap quickly enough:

Piet, he pointed a gun at me and started beating me ... started beating me. For me it was a very, very difficult thing, I'm not used to people beating me and I don't fight back but I had to endure that so they beat me up. I don't think I would have recognised myself when I left there. I was bleeding through the eyes, bleeding through the nose, bleeding through the mouth, I was nice and rotund and I went back into hospital for the next six weeks.

Exile

- 83 MK sent approximately 300 recruits across South Africa's borders for military training in sympathetic African countries as well as in China and the Soviet Union. Efforts were made to infiltrate South Africa via Zimbabwe. The ANC formed an alliance with the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and conducted joint operations against the Rhodesian army (and the SAP) in the Wankie area. Some of these early recruits were captured and repatriated by the British colonial

authorities in what was then Northern Rhodesia, after which they were detained and tortured by the SAP.

- 84 Mr Norman Mmitshane [JB00733/03NW], an MK member who underwent military training in China, was detained and tortured in 1964 and then sentenced to ten years' imprisonment on Robben Island for assisting ANC recruits to leave the country for military training.

Covert action

- 85 Mr Abraham Onkgopotse Tiro [JB001/03NWRUS], president of the Student Representative Council at the University of the North and a member of SASO, was one of five students who left the country secretly for Botswana. Tiro had been expelled from the University of the North for a speech he made at a graduation ceremony in 1972. His expulsion sparked off mass student unrest on the campuses of the so-called black universities. Tiro left South Africa for military training in Botswana just before the issue of a warrant for his arrest.
- 86 In February 1974, Tiro was killed by a parcel bomb sent to him in Botswana, becoming one of the first victims of the former state's use of extra-judicial means to control political opposition. The bomb is believed to have been sent by Dries Verwey and Mike Koen of the Operational Arm of the BOSS 'Z-Squad' operating in Switzerland at the time.¹¹

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN ALL PROBABILITY, TIRO'S DEATH WAS THE RESULT OF THE WORK OF MR DRIES VERWEY AND MR MIKE KUHN, MEMBERS OF THE 'Z SQUAD', THE OPERATIONAL ARM OF BOSS, THE INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING AGENCY OF THE GOVERNMENT AT THE TIME.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE FORMER STATE AND THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM ONKGOPOTSE TIRO.

Establishment of homelands

- 87 The Commission heard of human rights violations that occurred in the rural and homeland areas in this period. Most violations stemmed from conflict between the government, which attempted to install chiefs amenable to its policies, and homeland residents, including popular chiefs themselves, who opposed this process.
- 88 A number of people were detained and allegedly tortured under the Terrorism Act. Three of these detainees died in detention. They were Mr Nicodemus

¹¹ See Volume Two for more details on Tiro's killing.

Kgoathe, Mr Solomon Modipane and Mr Jacob Monnakgotla. Each had been detained because of his involvement in local disputes about chiefly powers. Again, the name of Major 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel was mentioned, this time in connection with the arrest of ten Bakubung tribe members, one of whom was Jacob Monnakgotla.

89 Mr Nicomedus Kgoathe and Mr Solomon Modipane were arrested in November 1968 with sixteen others while protesting against the appointment of a new headman. Attempts had been made to burn the offices of headman Herman More at the tribal offices in Hebron. Some of the detainees were held for up to eight months before being charged.¹²

90 Mr Nicomedus Kgoathe [JB00113/03NWRUS] was taken from the Silverton police cells to the HF Verwoerd hospital on 21 January 1969 and died in February, allegedly because of pneumonia. Kgoathe had been moved to hospital after admitting to the district surgeon, Dr PJE Joubert, that he had been assaulted.

91 Kgoathe's son, Mr Ben Kgoathe, described the condition in which he found his father when the family was finally informed of his whereabouts two months after his detention:

When we arrived there, we found my father. He was lying on the floor, flat on the floor. He just raised his head and he recognised me and we greeted each other. We spoke about family matters. When I asked what was the problem, my father Nicodemus said, he told me he slipped while he was bathing at Compol building at Pretoria.

92 At the inquest, the district surgeon, Dr PJE Joubert, testified that he had examined Kgoathe two weeks before his death and had arranged for him to be admitted to hospital after finding that he moved with extreme difficulty. Dr Joubert stated: "It is my opinion that he was suffering from the after-effects of a concussion and needed to be treated by a specialist." He went on to testify that Kgoathe had told him that he had fallen in the shower room but, after the surgeon refused to accept this explanation, Kgoathe admitted that he had been assaulted. "It is my opinion that Kgoathe's injuries were the result of an assault," the surgeon told the court. He said that linear marks on the shoulders of the deceased could have been caused by a *sjambok* (whip) and the three u-shaped wounds behind the right thigh by the buckle of a belt.

¹² SAIRR Survey, 1968 and 1969.

- 93 A sergeant at the Silverton police station also testified that Kgoathe had complained of body pains and said that he had been assaulted by the security police during interrogation, but said he refused to lay a charge. Police witnesses, including Warrant Officer F Smith, Warrant Officer J Venter and Detective Sergeant A de Meyer of the security police who interrogated Kgoathe on the 16 and 17 January, insisted that he had slipped and fallen during a shower on that day. The magistrate, Mr CG Jordan, found that, in the light of the evidence, he was not in a position to conclude that any person was to blame for Kgoathe's death.¹³
- 94 Mr Solomon Modipane was arrested on 25 February 1969 and died three days later in the HF Verwoerd hospital. The head of the CID was reported in the press as saying that Modipane had received "certain injuries" when he slipped on a piece of soap, but that this was not necessarily the cause of death. In May, a magistrate endorsed the *post mortem* report that the death was owing to natural causes, and found that no inquest was necessary.
- 95 On 10 September 1969, Mr Jacob Monnakgotla was charged under the Terrorism Act and died in police custody the night before he was to appear in court, allegedly as a result of "natural causes". Before Monnakgotla died, evidence was heard in court that some of his eleven co-accused had been tortured.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR NICODEMUS KGOATHE DIED IN POLICE CUSTODY ON 4 FEBRUARY 1969 AFTER HAVING BEEN ASSAULTED BY MEMBERS OF THE SAP SECURITY BRANCH NAMELY, WARRANT OFFICER FA SMITH, WARRANT OFFICER JM VENTER AND DETECTIVE SERGEANT A DE MEYER.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE FAILURE OF THE MAGISTRATE TO FIND THE POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TORTURE AND SUBSEQUENT DEATH OF NICODEMUS KGAOTHE CREATED A CLIMATE AND CULTURE OF IMPUNITY THAT DIRECTLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE COMMISSION OF FURTHER GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY THE SAP.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SOLOMON MODIPANE WAS ARRESTED ON 25 FEBRUARY 1969 AND DIED THREE DAYS LATER IN HOSPITAL. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT HIS TREATMENT WHILST IN CUSTODY OF THE POLICE RESULTED IN INJURIES WHICH CAUSED HIS DEATH. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE SAP RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS DEATH. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE MINISTER OF POLICE AND THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT JACOB MONNAKGOTLA, A MEMBER OF THE BAKUBUNG TRIBE, DIED IN POLICE CUSTODY THE NIGHT BEFORE HE WAS TO APPEAR IN COURT. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN ALL PROBABILITY, JACOB MONNAKGOTLA WAS TORTURED AND SEVERELY ILL TREATED WHICH RESULTED IN HIS DEATH. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE POLICE AND THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

¹³ Kairos and SAIRR.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE FORMER STATE'S HOMELANDS POLICY OF DEVELOPING ETHNICALLY-DIVIDED RESERVES SERVED THE INTERESTS OF PROTECTING AND PRESERVING THE RIGHTS OF THE WHITE MINORITY. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS POLICY OF ETHNIC FRAGMENTATION AND FORCED REMOVALS LED DIRECTLY TO THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. FURTHERMORE, THE FORMER STATE'S POLICY OF IMPOSING BANTU AUTHORITIES AND CHIEFS WAS A CENTRAL PART OF THE GOVERNMENT'S HOMELANDS POLICY. PAID BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY, THE CHIEFS EFFECTIVELY BECAME AN EXTENSION OF THE FORMER STATE'S MECHANISM OF CONTROL IN THE HOMELANDS.

Banishment

- 96 Chief Gilbert Rangoezi Tshikalange [JB01421/02NPVEN] was first imprisoned for three months and later banished to the northern Cape because of his refusal to accept the newly established homeland administration in Venda. Born into the Tshikalange royal family at Tshififi, a traditional area in the magisterial district of Thohoyandou in Venda, Tshikalange worked in Johannesburg during the 1950s, where he joined the ANC. When his father died in 1963, Tshikalange succeeded him as a chief at Tshififi. However, Tshikalange soon clashed with the government's newly established Bantu Authorities under whose jurisdiction he was placed and was sentenced to a period of three months imprisonment. In 1966, Tshikalange was forcefully deposed and a chief from another area, Mr Mudzhadzi Mphaphuli, was imposed as ruler of Tshififi.
- 97 When the Tshififi community rejected the imposed chief, the Bantu Authorities banished Tshikalange. In 1969, he was deported to Kuruman in the northern Cape, thousands of miles from his home. Tshikalange's banishment lasted seven years until it was finally lifted in October 1976. Tshikalange and his wife were restricted to an isolated farm where they were not allowed to have contact with anyone except the local police.
- 98 The Commission received statements about an ongoing dispute in 1974–76 regarding the succession of the Bataung chief in Bophuthatswana. The dispute was exacerbated by the government's attempt to control the process and ensure that a chief sympathetic to its policies was installed, supporting a bid by a Mr Tshajwa against Chief Lion, the popular choice. Commission deponents reported that Tshajwa and his followers were responsible for intimidating Chief Lion's supporters. In her statement to the Commission, Ms Pileng Maria Lenisa [JB04248/03NWRUS] described the stoning and burning of her house in Taung in 1976:

The problem was these two chiefs, Mr Tshajwa did not want to give Mr Lion his position. Instead of giving it back to him, Mr Tshajwa's followers burned

houses of Mr Lion's followers. I had to sleep without a blanket for five days and manage to make a shack for my family, until now, I'm still living in that shack.

- 99 In total, fourteen statements were received referring to this conflict – eleven cases relating to destruction of property, one of severe beating, one of mental torture and one of severe ill treatment.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER STATE AND THE TRIBAL AUTHORITIES DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF CHIEF TSHIKALANGE.

IN REVIEWING THE EVIDENCE RECEIVED, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ONGOING CHIEFTAINSHIP SUCCESSION DISPUTE IN RESPECT OF THE BATAUNG CHIEF IN BOPHUTHATSWANA WAS EXPLOITED BY THE FORMER STATE IN AN ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE A CHIEF ON THE BATAUNG PEOPLE. THE ENSUING CONFLICT LED TO THE TORTURE AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT. FOR THESE VIOLATIONS, THE COMMISSION HOLDS THE FORMER STATE, THE BANTU AUTHORITIES AND CHIEF TSHAJWA ACCOUNTABLE.

Resistance and revolutionary groupings

- 100 In the wake of the declaration of a state of emergency, a number of organisations, including the ANC and PAC, responded to their banning by going underground and establishing armed wings. The use of violence as a mechanism of political protest fundamentally altered the nature of political conflict in South Africa and led to the increasing militarisation of the contest for power. The ANC's armed wing MK, initially engaged in acts of sabotage which targeted railway lines and telecommunications networks, rather than people. Poqo, the military wing of the PAC, used violence more widely. In addition, a group of largely young, white South Africans, the ARM, was formed in the wake of the Sharpsville massacre and embarked on a sabotage campaign.
- 101 On 15 and 16 December 1961, the first MK bombings took place in Durban, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth. On the Day of the Covenant (16 December), explosions caused damage to a Fordsburg post office, the Resettlement Board headquarters in Meadowlands and the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's offices in Johannesburg. These were the first in a series of over 200 attacks which took place over the next eighteen months in all the major centres of the country and many of the smaller towns. There were thirty-one attacks in Johannesburg, most with incendiary bombs, five in the Vereeniging district, three in Pretoria and two in Benoni.¹⁴

¹⁴ Tom Lodge, *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*, 1983.

- 102 Although the Transvaal was one of the centres of the ANC's early sabotage campaign, no amnesty applications were received from those involved in carrying out these acts in this region. The sabotage campaign during this period did not lead to any deaths or injuries. However, the Commission received several statements from people who were involved in organising the initial sabotage actions, detailing their subsequent detention and torture. These included Mr Indres Naidoo, Mr Suresh Nanabhai, Mr Reggie Vandeyar, Mr Abdullay Jassat and Mr Laloo Chiba.
- 103 As the armed wing of the PAC, Poqo was the first African political movement in South Africa to adopt a strategy that explicitly involved killing people, and was probably the largest active clandestine organisation of the 1960s. The western Cape, in particular the Cape Peninsula, had been a stronghold of the PAC and it was here that Poqo was strongest.¹⁵ In late 1962, Poqo made preparations for a general uprising scheduled for 8 April 1963, with simultaneous attacks on a number of strategic targets. However, the police were able to forestall this by arresting over 3 000 Poqo suspects. In mid-1964 the Minister of Justice confirmed that 202 Poqo members had been convicted of murder, twelve of attempted murder, 395 of sabotage, 126 of illegal departure from the country and 820 of other offences related to membership of an underground organisation.¹⁶
- 104 Although the PAC organised clandestinely in the Transvaal during this period, the Commission received no reports of violations where the PAC or Poqo were identified as perpetrators of gross human rights violations in that province. Most of the evidence before the Commission regarding the PAC concerned activists who were detained and tortured for their involvement in the activities of the organisation.
- 105 Shortly before MK's campaign started, the ARM began operations in Cape Town and Johannesburg. ARM's activities were distinguished by technical expertise in the methods used, including dynamite and electrical timing devices, and the ambitious nature of its targets. In subsequent trials, it appeared that most of its members were white, numbering about fifty people altogether, concentrated in Johannesburg, where the ARM had been formed, and Cape Town.¹⁷
- 106 The only information received by the Commission about gross human rights violations in the armed campaigns of this period came from a victim of a bomb planted by Mr John Harris, a member of the ARM. As noted above, Harris was subsequently executed for his involvement in the bombing of the Johannesburg station

¹⁵ Tom Lodge (1983).

¹⁶ Tom Lodge (1983).

¹⁷ Tom Lodge (1983).

■ 1976–1982

Overview

- 107 In 1976, the Johannesburg area was the centre of the most sustained and violent protests the country had ever seen. 1976 has frequently been described as a turning point in South Africa's political history. The conflict sparked by the former state's attempt to impose Afrikaans as a medium of instruction on black school children lasted fifteen months and spread to 200 towns and cities across South Africa.¹⁸
- 108 Officially 575 people died and 2 380 people were wounded during the Soweto protests on 16 June. Most of the victims were under the age of twenty-five; many were school children.
- 109 During the following month, sympathy protests broke out in towns, townships, homelands and cities country-wide, resulting, in many instances, in further clashes between protesters and the security forces. The protests were met with aggression from the former state. On 18 June, Prime Minister John Vorster told parliament, "The government will not be intimidated. Orders have been given to maintain order at all costs." All outdoor public meetings were banned in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act.
- 110 Captain 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel, who gave the crowds of Sowetan school children the order to disperse on 16 June and led the Riot Unit into Soweto and Alexandra, said later that he had adopted a shoot-to-kill policy in order to curb the Soweto protests and that the police had erred in not using more force against the students.
- 111 During July, the government closed schools in at least eighty townships around the country. In August, the police conducted a series of raids on schools, looking for Soweto Student Representative Council (SSRC) leaders. Schools emptied and Sowetan students began meeting off school campuses, organising a series of further protest activities, mainly boycotts and strikes. Incidents of violence were also recorded ranging from arson attacks on schools, beer halls and homes, to the killing of people perceived to be representatives of government authority.

18 Secondary sources used for information on the Soweto protests include John Kane Berman, Soweto – Black Revolt, White Reaction, 1978; Baruch Hirson, Year of Fire, Year of Ash – The Soweto Revolt, Roots of a Revolution?, 1979; Selected SAIRR Surveys; WJP Carr, Soweto: its Creation, Life and Decline, 1990; Joyce Sikhakhane, A Window on Soweto, 1977; Nomavenda Mathiane, Beyond the Headlines, 1990; Alan Brooks and Jeremy Brickhill, Whirlwind before the Storm, 1980; Tom Lodge (1983).

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

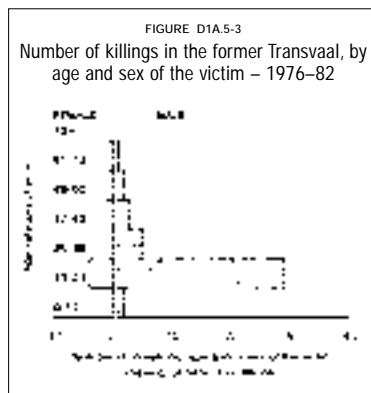
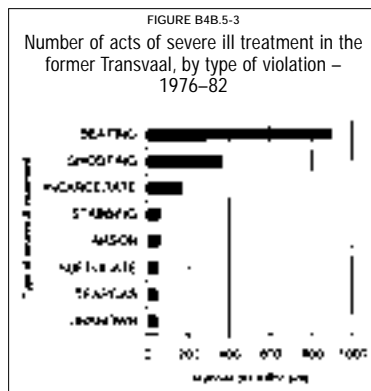
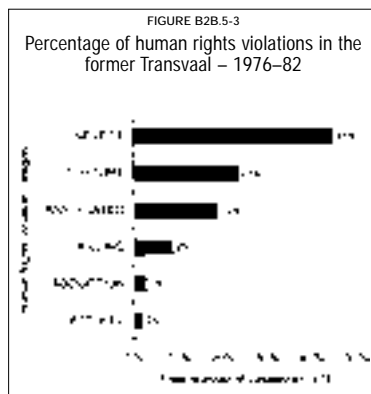
Overview of violations

- 113 Of the 1500 human rights violations statements received for this period (1976–82), over 400 were drawn from 1976 alone. The number of reports of severe ill treatment increase two and a half times compared to the previous period.

- 114 Street battles between police and protesters led to an increase in the numbers of recorded deaths and injuries. Official figures estimate the number of people who died during the course of the protests at more than 500. The Commission received approximately 130 reports of killing violations for the period 1976–82 and just over 650 incidents of severe ill treatment, the majority of which occurred through beating and shooting.

- 115 A breakdown of the age and sex of the victims of killing and severe ill treatment in the period 1976–82 reveals an overwhelming preponderance of male victims in the 13–24 age bracket.

- 116 Thousands of people were detained in the wake of the protests. In October 1977, all Black Consciousness organisations and two newspapers, *The World* and the *Weekend World*, were banned. Security personnel were given indemnity under the law, retrospective to 16 June 1976. At least eleven people died in police custody during 1976 and fourteen in 1977.



- 117 Approximately 340 torture violations were recorded by the Commission for this period. For the first time, torture violations were reported from the homelands, some of which were granted 'independence' or self-governing status during the 1970s.
- 118 In view of the political conflict and violence which swept the country during the two decades following the Soweto uprising, the relatively small number of submissions received for this period did not adequately convey the unprecedented significance of the event. With this in mind, the Commission convened a special hearing on the Soweto uprising.

State and allied groupings

The Soweto uprising

- 119 In 1975, a directive was issued by the Bantu Education Department to schools in the Transvaal that Afrikaans was to be used on an equal basis with English as a medium of instruction in secondary schools. In February 1976, two members of the Meadowlands Tswana School Board were dismissed for defying the order and by May a class boycott had been initiated at Orlando West Junior Secondary school after a circuit inspector turned down a request for a meeting with protesting students. By the end of the month the number of boycotting schools rose to six. During the same month the first violence broke out when an Afrikaans teacher at Pimville Higher Primary was stabbed and police were stoned when they tried to arrest a youth in connection with the assault. Education authorities responded with a warning that they would not hesitate to shut down boycotting schools, expel pupils and transfer teachers. The conflict continued to escalate. More schools went out on boycott, a number refused to write mid-year exams, and further acts of violence were reported.
- 120 Despite numerous warnings issued from a variety of quarters about the imminent confrontation, the government appeared reluctant to acknowledge the depth of opposition to the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.
- 121 Students at the Morris Isaacson School in Soweto played a leading role in raising awareness and organising among students. It also produced some of the organisers of the 16 June protest, including Mr Murphy Morobe and Mr Tsietsi Mashinini [JB00838/01GTSOW]. Former teacher at the school, Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, described to the Commission the unusually close relationship

between students and teachers and the overtly anti-establishment stance of its principal, Mr Lekgau Mathabathe, who unequivocally rejected the instruction to teach in Afrikaans.

- 122 The June protest march had been planned by the Action Committee, an elected body of secondary school students in Soweto. A member of the committee, Mr Dan Montsisi, told the Commission that students felt that they were taking up a battle their parents and teachers had lost. Ms Ellen Khuzwayo [JB00839/01GTSOW] also described the disillusionment students felt at the powerlessness of their parents and teachers:

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

- 123 The Action Committee gave itself only three days to organise the march. Mr Morobe told the Commission how politically and historically significant the decision to organise a march was. Students had grown up in a context where mass mobilisation simply did not occur. They were drawing on a tradition of resistance, crushed during the 1960s, of which they had no direct experience but which remained an integral part of their consciousness and collective understanding of struggle. Morobe said that plans for the march were kept quiet and that parents and teachers were not told for fear they would not approve of the students' intentions and try to prevent or stop the march from taking place.

- 124 Mr Leonard Mosala articulated the generational difference separating the students from their parents and teachers:

The people that were involved then were not the people of 1960, they were not the people of Sharpsville, they were not the people of 1960. They were younger, they were more sensitive to the repression that the apartheid laws, particularly the pass laws, inflicted, the harm and the suffering that the laws of the country inflicted upon black people. Their aspiration level was far higher, their political sensitivity was deeper and their anger matched the level of their aspirations and their frustration.

125 However, as the students were to learn to their cost:

It was still the same police, it was still the same regime and they still reacted to us in the same way they did in Sharpville in 1960.

126 The march was initiated by pupils from Naledi and Thomas Mofolo high schools. In the two days preceding the march, members of the Action Committee travelled around schools in the township addressing students about the proposed protest on 16 June, and about further protest actions planned for the days following the march. On 16 June, organisers planned to march from school to school gathering more students as they went along.

127 At the special Soweto Day hearing, the Commission heard several witnesses describe Soweto as being “on fire” that day. Hundreds of pupils gathered at the appointed assembly points and at 07h00 the first group of singing, chanting students began marching towards Orlando. The first reported clashes with the police took place at 08h00, when police opened fire on two schoolboys running to catch up with the marchers. By 09h00, approximately 10 000 pupils had converged on Orlando West High School. Moments after an appeal by student leaders for calm, a contingent of police arrived and formed an arc in front of the crowd of marchers. A tear gas canister was thrown into the midst of marchers, who responded by throwing stones. The police opened fire. Two pupils were fatally wounded. The first of these was thirteen-year-old Hector Zolile Peterson. It was Peterson’s death [JB00229/01GTSOW] that fundamentally transformed the nature of the student protest from a peaceful march into a violent confrontation with the government’s security forces.

128 Clashes between the crowds and the police continued through the morning. Pupils began erecting barricades across the streets while hundreds of police reinforcements were rushed into the township. Pupils attacked property, including beer halls and bottle stores, and people, including employees of the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB), killing two WRAB officials, Dr Melville Edelstein [JB00786/01GTSOW] and Mr Esterhuizen.

129 Mr Murphy Morobe told the Commission that the pupils’ resort to violence was a spontaneous expression of their anger. It was never part of the plan. He said:

The policeman with the dog then moved to the front and let loose the dog that came charging at us ... It was a real dog that bit some of the students there and I think that that really raised the anger of the students ... That dog was then killed by students who sought to protect themselves from it. At

that time the police then started opening fire, you know, and sure there was taunting of the police. Basically we were saying they must go, you know, what do they want there because we are not doing anything that required their presence. Once the shooting began it was at the time that the other schools were approaching ... after the first volley, you know, I think there was one tear gas canister that was lobbed and it was the first time that many of us had experience of tear gas ... some of the canisters hit some of the students. There was a little pandemonium and we tried to rally the students not to panic. It was at that time that the police themselves, for some reason, decided to rush back into their cars and as they rushed back into their cars, the students also, in anger, we were picking up anything that we could find there and we began throwing at the police to get them out of the area.

- 130 Hector Peterson's sister, Ms Antoinette Sithole, gave a statement to the Commission about the death of her brother:

Later I saw a group of school children coming towards us holding somebody, who happen to be my younger brother Hector Zolile Peterson. He was carried by Mbuyiswa Makhubo of Orlando West. We rushed to Phomolong clinic, which was nearby. On arrival at the clinic the doctor named Wilson said he was sorry there was nothing he can do because he was already deceased. The time was about 10h30.

- 131 Mbuyiswa Makhubo's mother made a statement to the Commission stating that after the publication of the picture of her son carrying the fatally injured Hector Peterson, her family was severely harassed by the police until Mbuyiswa decided to go into exile. He has not been seen or heard from since he wrote a letter to his mother from Nigeria in 1978.

- 132 Mr Sam Nzima [JB00869/01GTSOW], the journalist who took the famous picture of Mbuyiswa carrying Hector Peterson, told the Commission that "all hell broke loose" when the police started shooting at the students:

During the shooting I saw a student fall down and another student picked him up and I rushed there to take a picture. I took six sequence shots of that picture of the student, whom we later discovered that was Hector Peterson, and another student by the name of Mbuyiswa Makhubo picked Hector Peterson up and Antoinette, the sister who is next to me here of Hector Peterson, she was crying hysterically alongside where Makhubo was carrying Hector Peterson running towards the direction where our press car was parked. After taking those pictures I helped Antoinette and Mbuyiswa

Makhubo to put Hector Peterson in the press car to be taken to the Pafene clinic where he was certified dead by the doctor.

- 133 Mr Peter Magubane [JB00837/01GTSOW], another journalist covering the events of 16 June, told the Commission that, after the shooting of Hector Peterson, “everything went wild” and the students set fire to “anything that belonged to the Western Board”. Magubane went to Orlando West where he found the body of Dr Edelstein, who died at approximately 12h00. “The police were surrounding the body. There was a placard that was put on his head that read ‘Afrikaans is a drug to our children’.”
- 134 The death of Dr Edelstein, a WRAB official, was one of the most ironic events of the 16 June uprising. Dr Edelstein was deeply involved in the Soweto community and had recently published research on Soweto and other townships in which he warned the government that unless the political and socio-economic position of black South Africans were changed, they would face serious discontent.
- 135 Student leader Mr Dan Montsisi described to the Commission the random nature of the murder of Edelstein and the way in which the events of the day radically brutalised students’ attitudes to any apparent representative of apartheid authority:

As we passed the municipal office, the students remembered that there was a white man when they passed at the door of the office. Now unfortunately this was Dr Edelstein and the students went for him. They stoned him and so on and they burnt the office and they threw him inside the office, burning ... it's unfortunate because any other white man who could have been found in Soweto on that particular day could not have survived the anger of the students. So the Commission should note that when we passed the municipal office with the white man standing outside, he was an ordinary person to us, but when we came back he was an enemy.

- 136 Violence continued unabated until nightfall. Mr Montsisi told the Commission that, at the Tshabalala garage in Jabavu, he found the body of a man who had been driving a truck that belonged to his employer. Montsisi said:

He was asked to hand the truck over. He refused and said I am working for my children. He was mercilessly killed and set alight. It was for the first time for me to see a charred body of a human being.

- 137 Ms Christina Buthelezi [JB00682/01GTSOW] was wounded in the police shooting that day. She told the Commission that she had been unaware of the plans for a demonstration and was returning from the house of a relative when she was caught in the random shooting. She is still confined to a wheelchair as a result of injuries to her spine.

What hurts me most is at the hospital they would come with firearms. They would actually point guns at us lying on the beds asking us, "Do you know power? Were you a leader at school in any way?" The girl that was next to Hector on the picture, they were thinking I am the one. They actually insisted that I must say yes, I am the one.

- 138 The violence quickly spread to other townships. The Commission received many statements from victims of the conflict that erupted from 17 June in Alexandra where twenty people were killed and twenty-five wounded in police shooting.
- 139 An unemployed youth, Mr Jabu Malinga [JB01887/01GTTEM], was shot in the back when he became involved in the street battles in Alexandra. He told the Commission that he joined a group of protesting students on 18 June and that the police opened fire randomly on crowds of protesters wherever they were congregated.

They were shooting all the time and that is when they hit me at the back. And this bullet went right through the left arm, next to the ribs. And they arrested me on 12th Avenue. Bleeding like that they put me into a van and dropped me off at the clinic. I stayed there for two weeks.

- 140 Ms Ramotsobane Masenya [JB01872/01GTTEM] told the Commission that, when her mother saw the violence that erupted in Alexandra on 19 June, she left home to look for her children. She was shot by the police whilst crossing an empty stand:

They shoot her at the back. The bullet penetrated right through her left breast. She tried to walk. A lady called Elsie told us that our mother has been shot. I wanted to know how did they shoot her. And I found her bending on the grass. She was praying that her ancestors and God must help her pull through. I managed to get a car in order to take my mother that she would be taken to the clinic ... [She was] transferred ... to the General Hospital [where] she passed away.

- 141 Ms Irene March [JB01863/01GTTEM] lost her son Phillip on 18 June 1976. She told the Commission that Alexandra was in chaos that day. She was told by

some of her son's friends that Phillip had been shot and was taken by them to the spot where it had happened:

They have shown me a black spot in the school yard and they told me that is Phillip's blood there. The black spot was Phillip's blood.

- 142 Testimony to the Commission revealed that many of the victims of the ongoing confrontation with the police (which continued for nearly two years after 16 June 1976) were ordinary residents going about their daily business. The police appeared to pursue a policy of generalised intimidation which continued until early 1978. Among the victims of violations was Mr Jerry Radebe [JB01786/01GTTEM], who was shot in the back by the South African Defence Force (SADF) in June 1976, thrown into a Hippo¹⁹, and never seen again. Ms Ramotsobane Masenya was shot and killed by the SADF. Ms Esther Denga [JB02475/01GTTEM] was knocked down by a Hippo whilst walking home during the student unrest in June 1976. Mr Joseph Tjao [JB02479/01GTTEM] was beaten by members of the SAP and SADF during June 1976. Ms Eliza Masilwane-Motsweneng, who was pregnant at the time [JB00665/01GTSOW] was shot in the stomach on 14 September 1977.
- 143 In September 1976, police reacted violently in response to another student protest, this time against the visit of Mr Henry Kissinger to South Africa. Protest actions were confined to school premises in order to avoid a confrontation with the police. However, clashes between protesters and the police resulted in injuries. Ms Nomavenda Mathiane was in Dr Abubaker Asvat's surgery on the day of the protest. She told the Commission:

The door just opened and a group of children, these students in black and white came in. I mean, these children were bleeding all over. I mean, their white shirts were red, they were just a mess. They were bleeding all over and the way they just burst in and there was so much commotion. As he took one of the children into his consulting room and as he did that the children were in such pain and they all just rushed into the consulting room ... So Asvat then said, "Okay, okay, those of you who are not very, very sick, help me. Let us do something about these children." So he tried to tell us how to get hold of the pellet bullets ... They had been shot all over ... The most difficult pellets to remove were the ones in the skull because then the hair would come into the way and this little, I guess, little flesh on the skull. So we were busy calling, "come help me this side doctor", and he would be rushing this way and the children were screaming. We were also, we were

19 An armoured personnel carrier.

not doctors, we were not nurses, we had to handle this blood, but anyway we managed, you know.

144 The earliest known incidents of 'drive-by' shootings occurred shortly after the June uprising. The Commission received reports of a "green Chevrolet" occupied by uniformed white men who drove around indiscriminately firing on township residents. Mr Johannes Dube [JB00851/01GTSOW] was one of these victims. He told the Commission that, in August 1976, he and a friend were walking to the taxi rank when a green Chevrolet, occupied by white "policemen ... in camouflage" pointed a gun at them. Both he and his friend were shot.

145 Mr Jabu Malinga of Alexandra told the Commission that in 1978 he was abducted by men in a green Chevrolet and taken to a bushy area in Alexandra where he was tortured. Malinga was ordered to collect wood, build a fire and braai meat for the men. He refused to answer the questions they put to him about the organisation of the 16 June march. It was then that they started beating him.

They said I knew too much, they will show me something that I don't know. They handcuffed me and the fire was still burning at that time. They took me towards the fire, they threatened to burn me should I not be prepared to talk the truth... Whilst they were assaulting me and the other one lifted my leg they dragged me towards this fire. They started burning me, they said I must talk the truth. I refused because I knew that should I tell the truth they will kill all my companions. Then they burnt me. I was dressed in an overall. When they realised that I was burning they took something to extinguish the fire. They extinguished the fire. They said they wanted to know what we were doing on the 17 June. They wanted the truth. I still refused to tell them. I was just being kicked, I was not aware of what was happening, I was unconscious at that moment. I found myself at the clinic. That is when I became conscious. I can't remember what happened.

146 The first reports of conflict between township residents and hostel-dwellers were received at around this time. In August 1976, violence broke out after students reportedly tried to enforce a stay away without consulting Mzimhlophe hostel residents. Two stay aways were organised in August 1976. The first on 4–6 August was enforced with some degree of coercion such as roadblocks, although it did appear to have genuine support among Sowetan residents. However, during the second stay away on the 23–25 August, migrant workers living in the hostel near Mzimhlophe station – enraged by attacks on the hostel and on some of its

inmates who had gone to work, and allegedly incited by the police – went on the rampage through neighbouring Meadowlands and Orlando. Residents fled in terror as the hostel-dwellers broke into homes and robbed, raped and murdered. The battle between hostel-dwellers and township residents, including students, continued for two weeks, leaving seventy people dead.

- 147 Later, hostel residents explained that they had not understood the reasons behind the stay away. Discussion won the support of hostel residents for the next stay away which took place on 13–15 September. Many of the hallmarks of later hostel/township conflict were evident during the August incident – lack of police intervention, the alienation of hostel residents from the township and the failure of township activists to involve hostel residents in their campaigns.
- 148 Generational divisions between township youth enforcing the boycott and the gerontocratic forms of control established in hostels, which mirrored similar forms of organisation in the rural areas, were central to the 1976 conflict that developed in townships around Johannesburg. Hostel-dwellers attributed their alienation from townships to the youth.

Township administration

- 149 Education was not the only source of dissatisfaction among township residents participating in the June uprising. Developments in policy for the administration of black areas were met with growing opposition in black townships.
- 150 In terms of the Bantu Affairs Administration Act of 1971, the government removed townships in the ‘white’ or urban areas from the control of local authorities and placed them under the control of twenty-two Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, covering all parts of the country outside of the homelands. These boards fell under the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.
- 151 In 1973, Soweto was removed from the control of the Johannesburg City Council and placed under the authority of the WRAB. This had a profound effect on the lives of the township’s residents and was to prove an ongoing source of dissatisfaction, which broke out into overt conflict in the wake of the march on 16 June.
- 152 The conflict was sparked primarily by a government directive that the Administration Boards were to become self-financing. In the past, Soweto (excluding Meadowlands and Diepkloof, which had always been self-financing) had received money from

the Johannesburg rates fund which had included a subsidy for sub-economic housing. This meant that the rent and service charges of Soweto residents were kept reasonably low. During the last year in which it was responsible for Soweto, the Johannesburg City Council had subsidised it to an effective amount of R2 million.

- 153 The WRAB, however, had few sources of income besides the residents of Soweto themselves. The only other major source of income, inherited from the Johannesburg City Council, was the profitable 'European liquor' and 'Bantu beer' operations. However, 80 per cent of the profits from the sale of this liquor went into the 'development' of the Bantustans. Thus both WRAB buildings and beer halls became targets for attack during the 1976 uprising.
- 154 By the end of its first year, the WRAB's budget showed a deficit of R3.4 million, part of which it sought to meet by increasing rents. There was an immediate outcry from the residents of Soweto, who were already disturbed at the deterioration of public services in the township. WRAB officials appeared to remain ignorant of the growing dissatisfaction of Soweto residents.
- 155 In May 1976, WRAB chairperson Manie Mulder told the *Rand Daily Mail* that "the broad masses of Soweto are perfectly content, perfectly happy ... Black-white relationships at present are as healthy as can be."
- 156 Until 1976, Soweto had been governed by the Urban Bantu Council (UBC), created in terms of the Urban Bantu Council Act in 1961. The Act provided for the formation of ethnic or linguistic councils which were essentially intended to integrate urban blacks into the homeland system and limit their political rights in the townships to those of temporary sojourners. What little popular legitimacy the council may have had at its formation was steadily eroded as its inefficacy became evident to township residents.
- 157 The Commission heard that, in the weeks leading up to the 16 June protests, members of the UBC became increasingly concerned about the growing crisis in education. At the 14 June meeting of the UBC, Councillor Leonard Mosala warned that enforcing Afrikaans in schools could result in another Sharpsville. Speaking of the children, he said:

They won't take anything we say because they think we have neglected them. We have failed to help them in their struggle for change in schools. They are now angry and prepared to fight and we are afraid the situation may become chaotic at any time.

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

159 The UBC was in an ambiguous position with respect to the imminent crisis. While some of the council members were mobilised into action and were keenly in touch with the mood of the students, the UBC as an institution was entirely discredited. By June 1976, it was widely referred to by Soweto residents as the "Useless Boys' Club". Prior to the June march, students had called on the UBC councillors to resign, and the buildings of the UBC in Soweto were the first to be attacked during the protests.

160 Mr Mosala told the Commission:

We had established an opposition against the wheel of the government. We had taken a specific position to use the UBC as a platform to articulate the political, not only the civic problems of the community that sent us in there, but also the political aspirations of black people in the country as a whole. We were called to 80 Albert Street before Dr Koornhof on two occasions and [told] that we must stop abusing the UBC for political purposes. We had refused, we had told Dr Koornhof we did not represent the government, but we represented the people that had sent us there and if this is what they wanted us to say, we would continue to say it until he closed the thing. Manny Mulder threatened us with arrest and, ultimately, we ended up in jail.

161 As the police moved into Soweto, Mosala and other members of the UBC tried to negotiate with the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, to withdraw his forces. Later Mosala worked with the leadership of the SSRC to dismantle the UBC. He became a member of the Committee of Ten (see below) and was detained with a number of other activists in 1977. However, it is clear that not all UBC councillors shared Mosala's understanding of the conflict, and a number refused to resign despite mounting community pressure.

162 The death knell for the UBC was an attempt by the WRAB to impose a rent increase on 1 May 1977. It emerged that the UBC had been informed several

months earlier about the proposed rent increases and had made no attempt to oppose them. Led by Mr Daniel Montsisi, the students organised a successful campaign against the proposed rent increase. The WRAB officially suspended the Soweto UBC on 29 June 1977, following demands by the SSRC for the councillors' resignations.

Public order policing

163 The SAP Riot Unit was set up at the beginning of 1975, some eighteen months before the Soweto uprising. From its inception there was a strong connection between riot control and counter-insurgency. The Riot Unit was initially based in several centres around the country and drew on the skills of the Special Task Force – a new elite unit – set up with Israeli assistance. Recruits were drawn from those with counter-insurgency training. One such recruit was Colonel 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel who led a fifty-eight-strong task force into Soweto during the first twenty-four hours of the 1976 riots and took charge of operations in Alexandra during the same period.

164 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel, who became known for his brutality in the course of the protest, already had a long history of involvement in gross human rights violations as chief interrogator of the Security Branch. He was, moreover, the founder of an anti-terrorist unit which later became *Koevoet*.

165 On 16 June, Swanepoel was drafted to Soweto. He later said, "Soweto at that time was completely under-policed. They could not control the riots so outsiders were called on to send in task forces." He collected the first sixty men he could get:

By the time we got to Soweto everything was in flames. It was chaos. It was a tragic scene to look at – cars being burnt, people being killed. Everything was chaotic and completely out of control. We had far too few men available for the situation... Eventually I landed up, after a couple of days, in charge of riots all over Johannesburg – Soweto and Alexandra. I made my mark. I let it be known to the rioters I would not tolerate what was happening. I used appropriate force. In Soweto and Alexandra where I operated, that broke the back of the organisers.

166 Training in counter-insurgency tactics did not equip the SAP to deal effectively with the protest, which continued for many months after its first outbreak. Despite more than 500 deaths, many from the security establishment continued

to believe that too little force had been used and that more force would actually have prevented deaths. Swanepoel also believed that firmer action should have been taken and that many officers were “dragging their feet” and were reluctant to use more force. Senior police officials concurred. According to Deputy Commissioner Wandrag, this resulted in “rioters gaining confidence and acting in an increasingly impudent and militant way”.

167 The day after the 16 June march, the government announced that a one-person commission of enquiry, under Justice Cillie, would investigate the causes of the protest. The eventual terms of reference included the time period between 16 June 1976 and 28 February 1977.

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

169 In his testimony to the Commission, Mr Murphy Morobe said he believed the Cillie Commission was set up to justify the shootings by the police in Soweto and other townships. He also alleged that there was direct collusion between the police and the Cillie Commission in extracting evidence to support the thesis that the SSRC was responsible for ensuring that the protest continued after 16 June. According to Morobe, the conclusions of the Cillie Commission laid the foundation for a number of leaders in the 16 June protest (including himself) to be charged in 1978 with sedition, a charge which had reportedly not been used since the Bambatha Rebellion.

170 Morobe and a number of other activists were detained in a police swoop in December 1976:

They interrogated us at John Vorster Square, they tortured us to get statements from us, statements that would implicate other people and statements that would suggest ... “students could not have planned this... There was clearly someone else other than you chaps who were involved in this.”... So they

used the Cillie Commission to try to find a place to put the blame. And they pulled us out of our detention cells at John Vorster Square, they took those same statements that were extracted from us under torture and they forced us to read them before that Cillie Commission.

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

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE STATE'S HANDLING OF THE PROTEST MARCH CREATED A SITUATION THAT GAVE RISE TO VIOLENT CONFLICT. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE MARCH OF STUDENTS WAS PEACEFUL UNTIL VIOLENT POLICE INTERVENTION TO STOP THE MARCH CREATED A SITUATION WHERE UNARMED AND PEACEFUL STUDENTS THEMSELVES RETALIATED WITH VIOLENCE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT IT WAS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT THE DEATH OF DR EDELSTEIN AND ANOTHER WRAB OFFICIAL TOOK PLACE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE STUDENTS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH OF DR EDELSTEIN AND THE OTHER WRAB OFFICIAL. THE COMMISSION ALSO FINDS THE POLICE AND THE FORMER STATE RESPONSIBLE FOR CREATING THE CLIMATE IN WHICH THESE DEATHS TOOK PLACE.

HAVING HEARD THE TESTIMONY OF WITNESSES AND REVIEWED TESTIMONY GIVEN AT THE CILLIE COMMISSION, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE ADOPTED A SHOOT-TO-KILL POLICY AND THAT, IN PARTICULAR, CAPTAIN SWANEPOEL AND THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER WANDRAG OF RIOT CONTROL WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EXCESSIVE USE OF FORCE WHICH LED TO THE DEATH OF MORE THAN 575 STUDENTS, MOST OF THEM UNDER TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE.

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

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE CILLIE COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE STATE AT THE TIME FAILED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE EVIDENCE OF COMMUNITY LEADERS AND STUDENTS ABOUT THE UNDERLYING CAUSE FOR THE VIOLENCE. THE CILLIE COMMISSION FAILED TO MAKE FINDINGS AGAINST THE POLICE IN RESPECT OF THE MISHANDLING OF THE SITUATION AND THE EXCESSIVE FORCE UNLEASHED ON THE STUDENTS, DESPITE THE OVERWHELMING EVIDENCE OF THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO DIED IN THE UPRISING AND THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE INJURED. THIS FAILURE ON THE PART OF A JUDICIAL OFFICER BROUGHT THE CILLIE COMMISSION INTO DISREPUTE AND HAS BEEN SEVERELY CRITICISED. THE CILLIE COMMISSION'S FAILURE CREATED A CULTURE OF IMPUNITY WITHIN THE POLICE FORCE, WHICH LED TO FURTHER GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE CILLIE COMMISSION'S FINDING THAT THE SSRC WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROTEST LAID THE BASIS FOR THE STUDENTS TO BE CHARGED WITH SEDITION, A CHARGE WHICH HAD NOT BEEN IN USE FOR MANY YEARS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE STATE'S COUNTER-INSURGENCY STRATEGY TO QUELL ALL POLITICAL PROTEST LED TO A MASS EXODUS OF STUDENTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA 1976.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE STATE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MORE THAN 2 000 ARRESTS AND DETENTIONS IN THE WAKE OF THE STUDENT UNREST.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ELEVEN PEOPLE DIED IN POLICE CUSTODY BETWEEN 1976 AND 1978, AND FINDS THE POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE DEATHS IN DETENTION. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE NUMBER OF INCIDENTS OF TORTURE ESCALATED AND THAT THE STATE, THE MINISTER OF POLICE AND THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE WERE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

Detention and torture

- 171 Out of approximately 340 reports of torture violations for this period, the majority of victims were males between the ages of thirteen and twenty-four. A small proportion of victims of torture were females between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-six. They held a range of political affiliations.
- 172 Several victims who reported torture or who died in detention during this period were student activists who were intercepted while leaving the country for military training. Others were Black Consciousness activists working inside the country. During this period there were at least two large-scale trials during which members of the ANC and PAC were tried under the Terrorism Act for furthering the aims of these banned organisations. During the course of the 1978 trial of PAC members (the Bethal Treason Trial), three of those awaiting prosecution died in police custody.

The torture of Mamagotla Paulina Mohale

Twenty-six-year-old Ms Mamagotla Paulina Mohale [JB00133/01GTSOW] was arrested in Amsterdam in the eastern Transvaal in November 1976 with fifteen other people en route to Swaziland to join the ANC. The group was taken to Krugersdorp police station where they were separated and tortured. Ms Mohale was the only woman in the group.

On the first day, Mohale was asked to look at photographs and identify students who had left and those she had taken out of the country. She denied her involvement with the ANC and was beaten. Mohale told the Commission that food and water were withheld from her until she agreed to speak. She was kept standing and forced to write a statement, which was torn up. She was beaten again and electric shocks were applied to her body. This continued for so long that she started bleeding profusely. Mohale told the Commission that, on the following day, she was blindfolded and again beaten. On the third day, Mohale collapsed and found herself back in her cell when she regained consciousness. She said that she was taken to a district surgeon who appeared to ignore the obvious signs of torture and assault:

"I was smelling of blood. There was blood that had clotted throughout my fingers, between my fingers, my toes and so on and my body and in my back. I had nerves in my head. When I just heard the key unlocking the prison cell I just used to be so petrified ... They were drugging me, they gave me a lot of tablets. I was asleep the whole time. I couldn't even walk, they were picking me up."

Mohale said that when the police were unable to extract information from her under torture, they arrested her mother:

"When I was in Krugersdorp they came to fetch me and took me to John Vorster Square. They said they wanted guns. When I arrived at John Vorster I found that they had arrested my mother. They told me that 'if you don't show us where these guns are we are going to kill your mother. We are also going to kill you.' They took me to tenth floor."

Mohale was told that if she did not talk, she would die like a number of other detainees, who allegedly 'jumped' to their death from the tenth floor of the Security Branch headquarters at John Vorster Square.

The following day, Mohale was taken to Pretoria Maximum Security prison. She was not allowed to see her mother. Finally, Mohale and eleven others were charged with being involved in a conspiracy to overthrow the government using violence. For the first time she was given access to a lawyer. Six of the accused, including Mohale, were acquitted. After her release the police continued to harass her. Her experiences in detention precipitated a nervous breakdown.

The torture of Gerald Thebe

Nineteen-year-old Mr Gerald Thebe [JB0091/02PS] was detained in Pretoria in July 1977, at a time when renewed tensions had arisen around the country as students prepared to commemorate the outbreak of the Soweto uprisings. Thebe told the Commission that he was intercepted by the police as he tried to leave the country secretly. He was arrested and beaten on the head with an iron bar every day for three weeks. He was also given electric shocks and suffered mental impairment as a result of his torture. He was later convicted and served a five-year sentence on Robben Island.

173 Ms Deborah Matshoba, an executive member of SASO, was detained in 1976.

Six weeks after her release from detention, she was re-detained under section 6

of the Terrorism Act. She told the Commission's special hearing on women that she was immediately taken to the female prison in Pietermaritzburg where she spent twelve months in solitary confinement. Ms Matshoba was given no explanation for her detention. When she demanded to know why she had been detained, she was severely tortured.

They held a braai outside, it was at night in Pietermaritzburg at the police station. They handcuffed me and ... manacled my ankle on a big iron ball. They made me stand the whole night. There was no chair, but I was given a pen to write a statement, tell them everything about myself and my involvement in SASO. I was an executive member of SASO at that stage.

I wrote a brief history of myself. It was Saturday. Sunday I continued the same thing. They kept on tearing the papers and telling me to write. The third night I started becoming delirious and my legs were swelling. I think that was on a Monday.

By Thursday, no, Tuesday. By the Tuesday I was counting nights and this man started beating me up. He held a towel, strangled me with a towel and started bashing my head against the wall... Obviously, I was very, very weak. I was being given food, but ... I could not sit down and when I collapsed, they kicked me. Eventually I must have passed out. I was bleeding. I must have passed out, because when I came to I was lying on the floor, all wet. They must have poured water over me and he threw a packet of sanitary pads at me. [I] got to the bathroom and I could see that I was menstruating and I was just wondering how he realised that.

The beating up lasted for a week. I was asthmatic and they refused to give me medication. Ultimately, when they realised that they could not get anything out of me and, perhaps, not mainly because of strength as much as it was actually because of weakness, the way I was physically weak and I could not speak anymore.

174 Matshoba was then moved to another police station to recover from the injuries she had sustained as a result of her torture. Conditions at the police station were extremely poor. The place was "swarming with lice ... and the blankets stinking and reeking of urine".

175 Matshoba said she became mentally unstable as a result of her torture. She said one policeman quietly slipped her the medication she needed for her asthmatic condition. Another told her that the police were waiting for her to die from her

asthma, a death for which the police could not be held culpable. On doctor's instructions she was taken back to the Pietermaritzburg female prison. Here she was subjected to solitary confinement and extreme hostility from the women warders. Matshoba told the Commission:

Perhaps, after an hour or two the wardress would open the cell, just the door, and leave the bars open and kick that plate of food in. For some time, I used to accept it and just continue eating it ... it would be clogged and have ants.

- 176 Driven to an extreme state by the continued isolation, Matshoba decided that she would try to end it by committing a criminal act in order to be charged and placed among the common law prisoners. Matshoba told the Commission she accosted a wardress one day.

[I] grabbed her hair through the bars and started bashing her head against the bars. I really gave it to her. I beat her up thoroughly and I could not let loose... It was quiet, the prisoners were locked in and it was quiet and it was just time for her to come and feed this animal and she was all by herself, she was screaming and there was nobody. Ultimately, she fell down. I do not know how they saw her, but then they came, picked her up. I was expecting anything from the Security Police, anything from being charged, but the best that I was hoping for was that I would be charged, go to court, be able to talk to somebody.

- 177 Instead of being charged, it appears that Matshoba's violent act precipitated a change in her treatment. She was visited by a magistrate who asked her what she needed. She was given a Bible. For the first time in ten months, her family knew where she was. She was allowed a thirty-minute visit from family members.

- 178 The security police thought that Matshoba had been broken and would be willing to testify against her colleagues. When she refused to do this, she was transferred to yet another prison where she was put in a cell without windows:

The next week the magistrate came with a statement which was read, written and typed and said I should sign it, because they would like me to be a witness, a state witness in several trials. It was several statements, actually. I refused and told him that, actually, I am not used to talking to magistrates, and I was taken to Middelburg Prison ...

- 179 Here she was confined to a small cell without a window. Matshoba said she talked to male prisoners at night through the toilet:

They taught me how to use the toilets and it was called telephone. Drain your water, use your cup, use your cup they told me, they spoke to me through the window at night. My drinking cup, I used it [to] drain the water into the bucket and we communicated very fluently and safely through the toilet.

- 180 Matshoba was re-detained immediately after her release from Middelburg. She was again taken to Krugersdorp and then to the Johannesburg prison, where she was placed with other female detainees for the first time. She had become seriously ill and fellow detainees were shocked by her condition:

Fortunately, this time it was section 10 and that is where I found Jubie that night, Jubie Mayet and Gladys Manzi... I weighed forty-three kilograms and I must have looked terrible, because they really cried when they saw me. I wondered how I looked like. I had not seen myself in the mirror for the past eighteen months. I had never seen my face and I remember Jubie and Gladys insisting that I have to go for a check-up and they insisted and called prison authorities that I have to and I was taken to hospital and x-rayed and pumped with a lot of vitamins and stuff like that ...

I had no hair, you know, my hair was just pulling out. It was just pulling out, you could just pick it out and I remember Jubie making an egg mixture and rubbing it on my hair and friends like Joyce and Ellen Kuzwayo sending me some cosmetics, baby oils and stuff like that to nourish my skin. I drew courage once more when I got to the Fort.

- 181 After six months, Matshoba was released and immediately placed under a five-year banning order.

Deaths in detention

The death in detention of Matthews Mabelane

Mr Matthews Mabelane [JB00322/01GTSOW] left South Africa for Botswana in October 1976, but was intercepted by police at Zeerust in the Western Transvaal, detained and taken to John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg.

On 16 February 1977, two detectives came to the Mabelane home and asked his father, Mr Philip Mabelane, to accompany them to John Vorster Square:

"We went to the tenth floor where they told me that my child was there and was interrogated and jumped through the window and fell down from the tenth floor. I asked how did he come through because he was in your hands. No, we just saw him, suddenly we saw him going through the window.

"After that they told me that ... I do not have the right to take any steps regarding this matter, according to the law. All I could do is for them to release the corpse to me that I should bury it myself. Truly, I did that, I buried my son."

The death in detention of Walter Shandu

Mr Elias Zwelakhe Shandu's son Walter [JB1024/02PS], died in detention in 1978. Police told Mr Shandu that his son had been detained while on his way to Angola. He was interrogated and reportedly tortured in a South African police station. His corpse was returned to his parents from the mortuary in Zeerust after he allegedly committed suicide while in police custody. The family never saw the results of the autopsy. Mr Shandu was suspicious because of the marks on the neck and shoulders of his son's body. He asked the police to take him to the place where his son had committed suicide.

"Then they said, 'The police who were there are not here, they are off duty.' I continued asking them and they said 'do not ask us many questions because we know nothing'."

Like many of the relatives of people who died in detention, Mr Elias Shandu also became the target of police attention after his son's death:

"We buried him. These police were there at his funeral... After having buried him police used to come and harass me. They asked me, 'Was your son a member of the ANC?' I said 'I do not know' and they asked me, 'What about you, are you a member of the ANC?' I said I was a member of the ANC before it was banned, but now I am a church-goer."

182 In 1978, four of eighty-six 'co-conspirators' charged with furthering the aims of the PAC died in police custody while awaiting trial. These detainees were Mr Naoboth Ntshuntsha [JB00921/01GTSOW], Mr Bonaventure Malaza, Mr Aaron Khoza [JB04458/03WR] (who died in Pietermaritzburg), and Mr Samuel Malinga [JB06044/01GTSOW]. The police alleged that all four had committed suicide.

183 The eighty-six accused were part of a major trial of PAC members, which began in February 1978, in which eighteen members of the PAC, including PAC leader

Mr Robert Sobukwe, Mr Zephaniah Mothopeng and Mr Mark Shinnars, were charged under the Terrorism Act with furthering the aims of the organisation. Other charges related to alleged recruitment of people to undergo military training for the PAC abroad; the use of a religious organisation, the Young African Religious Movement, as a cover; encouraging violence and sabotage during unrest in Kagiso in 1977, and attempting to re-activate the PAC.²⁰

184 The trial came to be known as the Bethal Treason Trial. It was held in the small rural town of Bethal in order to isolate the accused and reduce media coverage. The trial was also held *in camera*. Only journalists with cards signed by the commissioner of police were allowed to attend the hearings.

185 At the inquest on the death of Mr Bonaventure Malaza, state pathologist Professor Taljaard gave evidence that the post mortem results were consistent with hanging by a belt. The lawyer for the Malaza family, Mr Cullabine, questioned the state pathologist about other injuries not directly related to pressure on the neck. From the position of the body, the bars from which it hung and the use of the belt, Cullabine put forward three theories of how Mr Malaza hanged himself. Either he gently lowered himself into the 'noose', or he let himself fall into it, or he died at the hands of the security police. Mr Cullabine tried to show that the position of the body and the arm and the injuries on the body could not be consistent with the first two theories. A matter of contention at the inquest was how Malaza came to have a belt in the cell, as these are prohibited in terms of prison regulations and he had apparently been thoroughly searched. Despite all this, however, the magistrate found that Malaza's death was caused by hanging and that no one was responsible.

186 Another of the accused, Mr Mark Shinnars, testified at the Commission's Witbank hearings, alleging that most of the Bethal treason trialists were severely tortured:

In a sense, the trial was prismatic. It was something that took place in an isolated place and yet it reflected so much ... You ended up being an accused in the Bethal trial simply because you refused to break down. You refused to succumb to the immense torture in the form of isolation, interrogation, the pain that was inflicted and in some cases even death.

187 Although the official explanation for Mr Sam Malinga's death was suicide, Mr Shinnars contests this claim:

²⁰ SAIRR, *Survey* 1978.

I've tried to list some of our comrades who died during the situation leading up to the trial. Some of them were staying in the same sections, people like Sam Malinga ... [were] taken in for interrogation. He looked very blithe in a situation where many people couldn't even afford to smile but he was one of the rare people whose smile I can remember to this day. Hardly a week later we heard that Sam Malinga has committed suicide in detention.

- 188 Shinnars told the Commission about the coercion that led people to become witnesses for the state, saying they knew that state witnesses had been seriously assaulted. They knew of cases where people were made to spend time in a mortuary where there were corpses of motor vehicle accident victims, and were broken down until they agreed to testify, even, in some cases, against their spouses. Shinnars alleged that some of those involved in the interrogation and torture of the Bethal treason trialists were later became members of the Security Branch unit based at Vlakplaas.
- 189 On 5 February 1982, Dr Neil Aggett [JB00217/01GTSOW; CT00410/FLA], a twenty-eight-year-old medical doctor and organiser for the Food and Canning Workers Union, died while in detention at John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg, apparently by committing suicide. He had been detained on 27 November 1981 and was the first white person to die in police custody. His funeral was attended by between 10 000 and 12 000 people.
- 190 Security Branch member William Charles Cecil Smith [AM4569/97] has applied for amnesty for the torture of Dr Aggett. From 1980, Smith said, he was part of an investigation into people associated with unions that were "furthering the aims of the ANC and other liberation movements via labour unrest and economic destabilisation". This investigation was commonly referred to as the Barbara Hogan investigation. According to Smith, the people who were arrested as a result of this investigation were tortured physically and psychologically. He personally participated in the torture of most of these detainees, including Ms Barbara Hogan, Dr Liz Floyd, Mr Carl Niehaus, Mr Michael Jenkins, Mr Jabu Ngwenya, Mr Keith Coleman, Mr Suresh Nanabhai and others. In addition, former Security Branch policeman Paul Erasmus [AM3690/96] applied for amnesty for illegally searching Aggett's home and supplying misinformation on the basis of which Aggett was to have been charged.
- 191 When the Labour Relations Amendment Act of 1981 was extended to cover African workers, giving them the right to organise but curbing political and

strike actions, the former state applied more pressure to trade unions as they began to use their newly acquired legal space. Between September 1981 and November 1982, thirty-four trade unionists were detained, a number under the Terrorism Act of 1967. Dr Aggett was among sixteen trade unionists detained in terms of the Terrorism Act.

- 192 During the inquest into Aggett's death, it emerged that he had made a statement about alleged assault and torture to a visiting magistrate, but that this was only investigated three weeks later. According to Aggett's partner, who testified at the Commission's Johannesburg hearings, the report was given back to the security police and, shortly afterwards, Aggett was found dead. Aggett was subjected to a sixty-hour interrogation session between 28 and 31 January. He had already spent two months in solitary confinement. Fellow detainees who had seen him during the last week of his life noticed a visible physical deterioration. A Mr Lerumo testified that he had seen Dr Aggett being escorted back to his cell only hours before his death, saying that he appeared to be in pain, had a spot of blood on his forehead and walked with enormous difficulty, like an extremely ill man.
- 193 Mr George Bizos, the Aggett family lawyer, conceded in his final argument that Dr Aggett had committed suicide, but said that Major A Cronwright and Lieutenant Whitehead, the men who had subjected Dr Aggett to intensive interrogation, were guilty of culpable homicide. He said Dr Aggett would not have taken his life had it not been for his seventy-day detention and treatment by the security police.
- 194 In December 1982, the presiding magistrate, Mr A Kotze, ruled that Dr Aggett's death was not brought about by any act or omission on the part of the police, and that he had died of suicide by hanging. Describing Dr Aggett as "a man devoted to a cause", he said that Aggett's disclosure of the activities of his associates had "brought about feelings of insecurity in his future because of a sense of betrayal". The magistrate accepted the evidence of more than thirty policemen as honest and reliable. The evidence of former detainees was described by Mr Kotze as contradictory and full of discrepancies.²¹

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A NUMBER OF STUDENT ACTIVISTS WHO SOUGHT TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY AFTER THE 1976 PROTESTS WERE INTERCEPTED AND DETAINED. MANY OF THEM WERE TORTURED WHILST IN DETENTION. THE COMMISSION FINDS A DIRECT CORRELATION BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE DETAINED AND THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE TORTURED.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SECURITY BRANCH WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DETENTION AND TORTURE OF MS MAMAGOTLA PAULINA MOHALE IN NOVEMBER 1976. THE COMMISSION FINDS

21 SAIRR *Survey* 1982; Don Foster, *Detention and Torture in South Africa*, 1987.

THAT SHE WAS TORTURED BY THE APPLICATION OF ELECTRIC SHOCKS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE DISTRICT SURGEON FOR KRUGERSDORP AT THE TIME FAILED TO ACT PROFESSIONALLY WHEN MS MOHALE WAS TAKEN TO HIM FOR MEDICAL ATTENTION. HE FAILED TO ENSURE THAT SHE WAS REMOVED FROM POLICE CUSTODY TO A HOSPITAL FOR MEDICAL ATTENTION AND CARE. HE FAILED TO ENSURE THAT THE POLICE WERE PREVENTED FROM KEEPING HER IN CUSTODY AND TORTURING HER FURTHER. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE DISTRICT SURGEON AND THE MINISTER OF HEALTH AT THE TIME RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR GERALD THEBE WAS ARRESTED ON 29 JULY 1977 AS HE SECRETLY TRIED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. HE WAS DETAINED IN MAFIKENG WHERE THE SECURITY BRANCH INTERROGATED, BEAT AND TORTURED HIM. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE MINISTER OF POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF MR THEBE AND CONSEQUENTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS DEBORAH MATSHOBA, AN EXECUTIVE MEMBER OF SASO, WAS SEVERELY ILL TREATED IN THE COURSE OF HER DETENTION, DURING WHICH SHE WAS HELD IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT FOR TWELVE MONTHS AND TORTURED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TREATMENT OF MS MATSHOBA CONSTITUTED SEVERE ILL TREATMENT AND TORTURE, AND FINDS THE FORMER STATE AND THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR MATTHEWS MABELANE WAS ARRESTED AND DETAINED BY THE SECURITY BRANCH AT ZEERUST WHILE ATTEMPTING TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY FOR BOTSWANA IN 1978. IN JANUARY 1977, THE POLICE INFORMED HIS PARENTS THAT HE WAS DETAINED AT JOHN VORSTER SQUARE. ON 16 FEBRUARY 1977, HIS PARENTS WERE INFORMED THAT HE HAD JUMPED TO HIS DEATH FROM THE TENTH FLOOR OF JOHN VORSTER SQUARE DURING INTERROGATION. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER STATE, THE MINISTER OF POLICE AND THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AT THE TIME RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH IN CUSTODY OF MR MATTHEWS MABELANE AND FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR WALTER SHANDU WAS ARRESTED AND DETAINED BY THE SAP IN 1978 WHILE ON HIS WAY TO ANGOLA. SHORTLY AFTERWARDS, THE MABOPANE POLICE INFORMED HIS PARENTS THAT HE HAD COMMITTED SUICIDE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH OF MR SHANDU, AND THAT THE FORMER STATE, THE MINISTER OF POLICE AND THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AT THE TIME WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS DEATH. THE COMMISSION FINDS THEM RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT FOUR PAC MEMBERS, CHARGED IN THE BETHAL TREASON TRIAL WITH FURTHERING THE AIMS OF THE PAC, DIED IN POLICE CUSTODY. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR NAOBOTH NTSHUNTSHE, MR BONAVENTURE MALAZA, MR AARON KHOZA (IN PIETERMARITZBURG) AND MR SAMUEL MALINGA DIED AT THE HANDS OF THE POLICE. THE POLICE ALLEGED THAT ALL FOUR HAD COMMITTED SUICIDE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER STATE AND THE MINISTER OF POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR DEATHS AND RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TORTURE OF MR MARK SHINNERS, ANOTHER ACCUSED IN THE BETHAL TRIAL. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER, ON THE EVIDENCE OF MR SHINNERS, THAT IN ALL PROBABILITY ALL OF THE ACCUSED IN THE BETHAL TRIAL WERE TORTURED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE POLICE, THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER, THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AT THE TIME AND THE FORMER STATE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TORTURE OF THE BETHAL TREASON TRIALISTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT DR NEIL AGGETT, A MEDICAL DOCTOR AND A TRADE UNIONIST, DIED IN DETENTION ON 5 FEBRUARY 1982. THE POLICE ALLEGED THAT HE HAD COMMITTED SUICIDE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE INTENSIVE INTERROGATION OF DR AGGETT BY MAJOR A CRONWRIGHT AND LIEUTENANT WHITEHEAD, AND THE TREATMENT HE RECEIVED WHILE IN DETENTION FOR MORE THAN SEVENTY DAYS WERE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MENTAL AND PHYSICAL CONDITION OF DR AGGETT WHICH LED HIM TO TAKE HIS OWN LIFE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER STATE, THE MINISTER OF POLICE, THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AND THE HEAD OF THE SECURITY BRANCH RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DETENTION, TORTURE AND DEATH OF DR NEIL AGGETT, CONSTITUTING GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT A STATEMENT BY DR AGGETT TO A MAGISTRATE ABOUT HIS ASSAULT AND TORTURE WAS ONLY INVESTIGATED THREE WEEKS LATER. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE FAILURE OF THE MAGISTRATE TO TAKE THE COMPLAINT SERIOUSLY IS AN OMISSION THAT LED TO HIS DEATH.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE FAILURE OF MAGISTRATES TO TAKE THE COMPLAINTS OF DETAINEES SERIOUSLY AND THEIR RELIANCE ON THE EVIDENCE OF THE POLICE CONTRIBUTED TO A CULTURE OF IMPUNITY THAT LED TO FURTHER GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT MR WILLIAM CHARLES CECIL SMITH WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DETENTION AND TORTURE OF MS BARBARA HOGAN, MS LIZ FLOYD, MR CARL NIEHAUS, MR MICHAEL JENKINS, MR JABU NGWENYA, MR KEITH COLEMAN, MR SURESH NANABHAI AND OTHERS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE MINISTER OF POLICE, THE HEAD OF THE SECURITY BRANCH AND THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TORTURE OF THESE DETAINEES.

Covert Action

- 195 The early 1980s witnessed the beginning of an era of covert, extra-legal government actions against anti-apartheid activists inside the country. The use of booby-trapped hand grenades to eliminate activists became increasingly common. An early example of this can be found in the murder of three young COSAS activists from the West Rand township of Kagiso on 15 February 1982. Many of the perpetrators named in later incidents also participated in this operation.
- 196 Mr Zandile Musi [JB01909/03WR] told the Commission that his elder brother, Mr Mbulelo Musi, went into exile in January 1982 with a Mr Ephraim Mfalapitsa. During the same year, Mr Zandile Musi and a fellow COSAS member, Mr Bimbo Madikela [JB01910/03WR], met Mfalapitsa and told him that they also wanted to go into exile. They were encouraged to remain at home. Musi told the Commission that Mfalapitsa made arrangements for them to receive training before he himself returned to exile. The next time Musi, Madikela and fellow COSAS members Ntshingo Matabane and Fanyana Nhlapo met Mfalapitsa, he was accompanied by Mr Joe Mamasela, whom Musi recognised by a scar on his face. They drove to a mining area.

When we got there, Mfalapitsa was walking ahead, we entered a shaft and he took out a grenade. He said it was an F1 grenade. He showed us how to operate it and told us to be careful as it was deadly. There was a box in the corner, which looked very suspicious. When I looked at the box I just heard an explosion. I thought it was a mistake. The last person with the grenade was Ntshingo. When I heard the explosion, I cried out to Ntshingo because I thought he was the one who had made a mistake.

We were injured. Even the building fell down. The people who died immediately were Bimbo and Ntshingo. Fanyana was next to me. We could not see each other. He could not see or walk, I was bleeding. What is painful to remember is that he had a hole in his body, because my hand went into his body when I tried to communicate with him ...

In the morning the police came. I was taken to hospital and then to prison. I was then taken out for investigation and a gun was placed in my mouth.

- 197 Musi was charged for illegal possession of firearms but was later acquitted. In 1985 he was arrested under the partial state of emergency and sentenced in October 1987 under the Explosives Act. He was sent to Robben Island and released in December 1990.
- 198 A number of former security policemen applied for amnesty for this incident: Mr Christiaan Siebert Rorich [AM501/97], Mr Jan Carel Coetzee [AM4120/96], Mr Abraham Grobbelaar [AM4143/96] and Mr Ephraim Mfalapitsa [AM3592/96] (see Volume Two).

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR ZANDILE MUSI, MR BIMBO MADIKELA, MR NTSHINGO MATABANE AND MR FANYANA NHLAPO, ALL COSAS MEMBERS, WERE OFFERED INSTRUCTION IN THE USE OF HAND GRENADES BY VLAKPLAAS ASKARIS JOE MAMASELA AND EPHRAIM MFALAPITSA. ON THE 15 FEBRUARY 1982, MADIKELA, MATABANE, AND NHLAPO WERE KILLED AND MUSI WAS INJURED IN AN EXPLOSION.

THE COMMISSION FINDS A NUMBER OF SECURITY BRANCH OPERATIVES RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS OPERATION AND, IN PARTICULAR, BRIGADIER WILLEM SCHOON, THE HEAD OF THE SECURITY BRANCH, WHO AUTHORISED THE OPERATION THAT LED TO THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT MR CHRISTIAAN SIEBERT RORICH, MR ABRAHAM GROBBELAAR, MR JOE MAMASELA AND MR EPHRAIM MFALAPITSA WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR CARRYING OUT THE OPERATION, FOR THE DEATHS OF THE THREE COSAS MEMBERS AND FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER STATE, THE MINISTER OF POLICE, THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AND THE HEAD OF THE SECURITY BRANCH RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, THROUGH THEIR ACTIONS, THE FORMER

Homelands

- 199 Most gross human rights violations in the homelands during this period arose out of conflicts between the homeland security forces and the SADF, and insurgents attempting to return to the country after having received military training overseas. Many of these were students who had fled the country in the wake of the 1976 protest. Those who tried to assist the guerrillas were detained and tortured by homeland police, sometimes in collaboration with the SAP.
- 200 During the 1970s, the former state's bid to establish independent homelands reached its peak when Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Venda, KaNgwane, KwaZulu and KwaNdebele were granted self-governing status. Reports of gross violations of human rights rose sharply in the homelands.
- 201 After Venda was granted independence in 1979, Lieutenant Colonel Mulaudzi, Commander of the Venda National Force and a former South African police officer, announced that Venda would not hesitate to call for the assistance of the SADF if their sovereignty was threatened by insurgents. Before independence, a fifty-kilometre wide strip on the Zimbabwean border was placed under the jurisdiction of the SADF. An anti-insurgency unit was added to the Venda National Force, which was already engaged in anti-guerrilla warfare and border duties in 1980.
- 202 In response to perceived security threats to Bophuthatswana, Chief Minister Lucas Mangope requested that the South African government provide military training before independence in December 1977. The SADF accordingly began instruction of a National Guard and, by independence, 221 men had completed basic training. A year later, the Bophuthatswana Police Force (BPF) was formed as a counter-insurgency unit and National Guard members were also dispatched for specialised SADF training in counter-insurgency. The Bophuthatswana Internal Intelligence Service was established in 1982 to gather, assess and disseminate information on internal security in the territory.
- 203 In 1981, the Bophuthatswana army and police co-operated with their South African counterparts in arresting several men alleged to be planning to attack South Africa and Lesotho. Chief Minister Mangope stressed that he would not allow Bophuthatswana to be used as a springboard for attacks on South Africa or other countries.

- 204 In 1982, a former member of MK reportedly testified before a senate committee in Washington DC that the ANC had decided to make the area west of Beit Bridge, as far as Mafikeng, an operational zone. The initial goal was to set up secret bases and first on the list of intended targets was the home of Chief Minister Mangope at Montshiwa near Mmabatho. Once the bases had been completed, a campaign was to be launched, involving the laying of landmines and attacks on small police stations.
- 205 The Commission received a number of statements from residents of Venda who were detained and tortured after helping insurgents to re-enter the country in 1980 and 1983. Local residents, particularly black subsistence farmers who owned orchards, played a crucial role in facilitating the work of insurgents by allowing them to hide arms caches on their land and providing essential resources such as food. By these means, political activists would also pass on essential intelligence information to insurgents, such as details affecting their movement into the country – for example, details about the movements of Venda and South African security forces and the levels of the Limpopo River.
- 206 Residents who assisted insurgents often suffered severe consequences and frequently became victims of gross human rights violations.

The case of Mbengeni Jonah Ravele

Mr Mbengeni Jonah Ravele [JB/01377/02NPVEN] was arrested by the Venda security forces in December 1980 for providing MK soldiers with food and shelter and showing them Venda topography. The Venda police ransacked his home and dug up his yard, searching for weapons. Guns were found, and he was charged for possession of illegal firearms. Police officers Ramushwana and Ramaligela interrogated, beat and tortured Mr Ravele. They reportedly took him to a mountain, tied him up, lit a fire under a tree and burnt his private parts. He was incarcerated for five years at Sibasa police station.

The case of Nkhetheni Reginald Tshibavhalemba

Mr Nkhetheni Reginald Tshibavhalemba [JB/01974/02NPVEN] helped MK cadres to find Mr Mbengeni Ravele's home. Ravele gave Mr Tshibavhalemba an MK booklet which Venda security forces found when they came to search for weapons in Tshibavhalemba's home. He was also interrogated, badly assaulted and tortured. His head was covered with a piece of cloth and he was given electric shocks for three days. He was then placed in solitary

confinement for three months and was released in May the following year. This experience left Tshibavhalemba mentally disturbed.

- 207 On 14 September 1983, Mr Humbelani Elvin Tshifhiwa Mulaudzi [JB1268/02NPVEN] and two other 'terrorists' were killed by Venda government security forces as they tried to cross back into South Africa via Beit Bridge. His body was later found so badly riddled with bullets that it was unrecognisable.
- 208 This incident precipitated a wave of retaliation against people suspected of assisting the insurgents.
- 209 In November 1983, the Venda police arrested and detained Mr Mufhungo Alfred Denga, Mr Samuel Radamba, Mr Tshikhudo Tshivase Samuel Mugivhela, Mr Robert Ratshitanga, Mr Peter Mudzielwana and Mr Wilson Sinyebwe, some of whom were subsistence farmers. Some of them were part of the underground operational network, with whom political activists negotiated clandestinely for assistance in transporting and harbouring guerrillas. Political activists also bought these farmers' products to sell to farmers in the former Rhodesia and Botswana, creating a cover for communication with the liberation movement, informing them about political developments inside the country and bringing in banned literature. The detainees were accused of assisting ANC 'terrorists'. Some were charged under section 3 of the Terrorism Act and others under the Internal Security Act of 1982. Some were found guilty of treason.

The case of Mufhungo Alfred Denga

Mr Mufhungo Alfred Denga [JB01414/02NPVEN] is now mentally handicapped as a result of having been tortured at Masisi police station in Venda. He was reportedly arrested because he helped transport three ANC cadres from Thohoyandou to Tshihwadza in the mountains of Venda where they were to be helped across to Zimbabwe.

Mr Denga was taken by police officers Managa and NemaKonde to Masisi police station in Mutale. He was kept alone in a dirty cell and was allegedly given food mixed with faeces. He did not eat for several weeks. When he was released in March 1984, he was suffering from severe mental disturbance. He is still receiving treatment.

The case of Samuel Radamba

Mr Samuel Radamba [JB01385/02NPVEN] was arrested by police officer Managa for harbouring 'terrorists' in his orchard and providing them with

food. He was interrogated, severely beaten and verbally abused at Sibasa police station. Mr Radamba was later transferred to Mutale, where he spent 108 days in detention. He was released in February 1984, with the condition that he report to his headman three days a week.

210 Deaths in custody in the homeland of Venda were also reported for this period.

The case of Tshikhudo Tshivase Samuel Mugivhela

Mr Tshikhudo Tshivase Samuel Mugivhela [JB01369/02NPVEN] died in detention on 20 January 1984 after being arrested by the Venda police for harbouring and feeding 'terrorists'. Like Radamba and Denga, Mugivhela owned an orchard where he planted mielies (corn) and sweet potatoes. Before arresting him, police searched his orchard for weapons, and his wives were interrogated to find out whether they were cooking for the 'terrorists'.

The Venda National Force refused to take responsibility for Mugivhela's death and claimed that he died from diabetes or typhoid. His brother believes that "he was beaten up as his neck seemed to have been strangled before he died".

211 The Lutheran Church played an active political role in Venda. Politically-conscious Christians in Venda formed the Bold and Evangelical Christian Organisation (BECO) in 1976/1977, with the aim of furthering the struggle against apartheid. Members of the church were subjected to severe repression by the homeland government. Two key members of the Lutheran Church, Reverend Simon Farisani [JB1425/990VE] and Mr Tshifhiwa Isaac Muofhe, were both detained and tortured during 1977. Following a bomb explosion at Sibasa police station in October 1981, repression of Lutheran Church leaders became particularly severe. Most of those arrested after the bomb blast were Lutheran Church members including Mr Muofhe, Pastor Farisani and Pastor Ndanganeni Petrus Phaswana.

The case of Tshifhiwa Isaac Muofhe

Mr Tshifhiwa Isaac Muofhe [JB00540/02NPVEN], president of BECO and an underground agent of the ANC, died on 12 November 1981, two days after being detained by Venda police. Captain Ramaligela and Constable Managa, members of the Venda Security Force, arrested Mr Muofhe on suspicion of being involved in the Sibasa bomb explosion. They interrogated him and later took him out in an open Landrover to point out particular places.

They alleged that Muofhe tried to escape by jumping from the vehicle in which they were travelling. Muofhe was taken back and detained at Matashe, the Venda central prison in Vondwe, near Sibasa. He was found dead the next morning.

A post mortem was performed which concluded that the cause of death was internal bleeding. An inquest was subsequently held at the Sibasa magistrate's court in August 1982. Ramaligela and Managa were charged with Muofhe's murder, found not guilty and discharged.

This was the third time that Muofhe had been arrested. In 1977 he was detained for ninety days at Sibasa police station, then moved to several other prisons before his release. In 1978, he was again detained for a weekend in Messina, tortured and given electric shocks by the SAP, who alleged that he was a terrorist.

The case of Pastor Simon Farisani

Shortly after Muofhe's death in November 1981, Venda security force members Ramaligela, Managa, Nesamari and Rambuda detained and tortured Pastor Simon Farisani in connection with the Sibasa police station bomb explosion and Muofhe's alleged involvement in it.

Pastor Farisani claimed that an attempt was made to force him to write statements to this effect and that he was tortured when he refused. He alleged that Venda police brought in a white policeman experienced in electric shock torture. Farisani was taken to a room where a bag was put over his head. A glue-like substance was poured on his hair, ears, thighs and private parts. He was given electric shocks, made to stand on his head and thrown onto concrete. He described his torture:

"I was just waiting for any fist that could hit on me so that I should die. And as I was praying, I was pleading to God to die ... They said I was not co-operating. I was beaten again. It was deep harassment. I was just beaten. This head felt a lot of pain. I don't know why I am not mad. Blood was flowing [from] my mouth; I couldn't see ... because my eyes were swollen ... They again said I wasn't co-operating, I was still laying there. Ramaligela said, "Just boil water in your kettle, we want to pour this water in his anus." Whilst I was laying there, my problem was that – just to pour water in my anus, boiling water in my anus. It didn't mean that I could die there and then – I was – such a case never happened to me. I know such a place is very delicate."

The case of Pastor Ndanganeni Petrus Phaswana

Pastor Ndanganeni Petrus Phaswana [JB01501/02NPVEN] was accused of being involved in the bombing of the Sibasa police station. He was arrested by Captain Ramaligela and Detective Managa on 5 January 1982.

Pastor Phaswana was severely assaulted and tortured. His beard and pubic hair were pulled out; a hood was placed over his head and a cold liquid substance was poured over his body. Electrodes were clipped onto his earlobes over the canvas bag and he was subjected to electric shocks for several hours.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT VENDA POLICE OFFICERS RAMUSHWANA AND RAMALIGELA ARRESTED MR MBENGENI JONAH RAVELE IN DECEMBER 1980 FOR GIVING MK SOLDIERS SHELTER. THEY TORTURED HIM AND BURNT HIS PRIVATE PARTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR RAVELE WAS IMPRISONED IN SIBASA FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE YEARS. THE COMMISSION FINDS OFFICERS RAMUSHWANA AND RAMALIGELA RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TORTURE AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF RAVELE, AND THE VENDA GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT NKHETHENI REGINALD TSHIBAVHALEMBA WAS ARRESTED AND TORTURED BY THE VENDA SECURITY FORCES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TORTURE AND SOLITARY CONFINEMENT TO WHICH HE WAS SUBJECTED CONSTITUTE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE VENDA SECURITY FORCES AND THE VENDA GOVERNMENT ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE VENDA SECURITY FORCES WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR KILLING ACTIVISTS AS THEY CROSSED THE BORDER VIA BEIT BRIDGE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE VENDA SECURITY FORCES ARRESTED AND DETAINED RESIDENTS WHO ASSISTED MK OPERATIVES – INCLUDING MR MUFHUNGO MR ALFRED DENG A AND MR SAMUEL RADAMBA – WHO WERE THEN TORTURED AND SEVERELY ILL TREATED . THE COMMISSION FINDS THE VENDA SECURITY FORCES AND THE VENDA GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE VENDA SECURITY FORCES WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR DEATHS IN CUSTODY. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR TSHIKHUDO TSHIVASE SAMUEL MUGIVHELA WAS ARRESTED BY THE VENDA POLICE FOR HARBOURING AND FEEDING ‘TERRORISTS’. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR MUGIVHELA DIED ON 20 JANUARY 1984 WHILST IN THE CUSTODY OF THE VENDA POLICE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE VENDA POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR MUGIVHELA’S DEATH AND FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE VENDA SECURITY FORCES TARGETED MEMBERS OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH BECAUSE THEY WERE OPPOSED TO THE HOMELANDS GOVERNMENT. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT PASTOR SIMON FARISANI AND MR TSHIFHIWA ISAAC MUOFHE WERE DETAINED AND TORTURED DURING 1977. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MUOFHE DIED ON THE 12 NOVEMBER 1981, TWO DAYS AFTER HE HAD BEEN DETAINED BY THE VENDA POLICE. THE COMMISSION FINDS CAPTAIN RAMALIGELA AND CONSTABLE MANAGA RESPONSIBLE FOR MUOFHE’S ARREST, DETENTION, TORTURE AND DEATH, AND FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT VENDA SECURITY FORCE MEMBERS RAMALIGELA, MANAGA, NESAMURI AND RAMBUDA DETAINED PASTOR FARISANI AND TORTURED HIM. THE COMMISSION FINDS THEM RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT PASTOR NDANGANENI PETRUS PHASWANA WAS DETAINED BY THE CAPTAIN RAMALIGELA AND DETECTIVE MANAGA OF THE VENDA SECURITY FORCES WHO TORTURED AND ASSAULTED HIM. THE COMMISSION FINDS THEM RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

Resistance and revolutionary groupings

Umkhonto weSizwe

- 212 In the wake of the Soweto protests and the intensified repression that followed, hundreds of students began secretly leaving the country. The largest exodus appears to have begun in October 1976, when students fled to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The head of the security police, Brigadier CF Zietsman, estimated in June 1978 that 4 000 black South Africans were undergoing guerrilla training in various African countries under the auspices of the ANC or PAC.
- 213 Mr Tsietsi Mashinini was amongst those who fled the country in the wake of the Soweto protest. His mother and his teacher, Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, told the Commission about the police harassment that followed the 16 June march, the social isolation and economic hardship the family suffered as a result, and how it forced not only Tsietsi but all his siblings into exile.
- 214 Many of those who left wanted to return immediately to use their training at home. The ANC similarly was beginning to change its strategy to focus on organisation within the country. Mr Murphy Morobe, who decided to leave the country for training after the violent response to student demonstrations against Kissinger's visit, told the Commission:

Our aim was to go to get crash courses in military training which we knew that the ANC was providing in its forward bases like around Swaziland or Mozambique ... by then the ANC had decided that instead of continuing to have such courses outside, they were beginning to deploy the operatives inside the country ...

It was not my intention and certainly that of my colleagues to leave the country. We wanted to see ourselves continuing inside the country and we had an interest in ensuring that the student movement remained intact... We

then came back, and it is after we came back that, once again, we were able to link up with the ANC underground operatives and carried on to do what we wanted to do.

215 Mr Joe Gqabi [JB00703/01GTSOW], a Robben Island veteran, played an important role in linking students who had been involved in the Soweto protest with the ANC's armed wing. Mr Gqabi was responsible for reactivating an ANC leadership in Soweto in late 1975 and establishing what ANC links existed with the SSRC. Unknown gunmen later shot him dead through the window of his car in Zimbabwe on 31 July 1981.

216 From Morobe's testimony to the Commission, it is evident that Gqabi played a central mentoring role in Soweto during the 1970s, both before and after the June 1976 protest. Although students such as Morobe operated within the paradigm of Black Consciousness, they retained strong ideological and political links with the ANC through operatives such as Gqabi. As violence escalated after 16 June, students continued to turn to older ANC activists such as Gqabi for advice about how to handle an increasingly difficult situation:

It was through those processes that our interaction with people like Joe Gqabi, for example, of the ANC continued. He was banned. We could not meet in his house. Each time we came into his house we did not speak, you know, everything will be written down on paper and we would just exchange paper because the houses would be bugged and [then] he would take all those papers and burn them up and throw them away ...

We would go to the rails in Mfula Park and we will sit there, at about eight, nine pm and we would talk about issues that we were involved in. And they will help us to have much broader perspective and ... to try to bring things under control and not to give [the system] any other excuses just to willy-nilly shoot and kill people.

217 The Black Consciousness Movement was given organisational expression through SASO and the Black People's Convention (BPC). It was influential in the formulation and propagation of new ideas that critiqued the apartheid government and began to create the organisational and intellectual framework through which it could be substantively challenged. Morobe, who joined South African Students' Movement (SASM)²² in 1973, gives a unique insight into perceptions of Black Consciousness organisations at this time. Morobe saw Black Consciousness organisations as necessary to fill the political and organisational vacuum left by

22 The secondary school equivalent of SASO and part of the Black Consciousness Movement.

the exiled liberation movement, rather than as a competing ideological force. The ethos of Black Consciousness was not seen as incompatible with the political philosophy of the ANC or PAC.

Even within the Black Consciousness organisation there was a general understanding that our role ... is to keep the home fires burning, because we understood that those liberation organisations that were banned were going to eventually come back one day. And we saw our role as continuing on where they left off and preparing the ground for their eventual return into the country. So, within the Black Consciousness organisation there was general acceptance that you could belong to either of the liberation organisations: it was a matter of your individual choice.

The Soweto Committee of Ten

218 After the collapse of the Soweto UBC, the Soweto Committee of Ten was formed to run the affairs of the area. It also called itself the Soweto Local Authority Interim Committee and was headed by Dr Nthato Motlana.

219 Formed at a meeting in *The World's* offices in June 1977, the Committee had the backing of a range of organisations including SASO, BPC, the Union of Black Journalists, the Black Women's Federation, black community programs and several church, social and welfare organisations. It included many of the key figures in Soweto at the time, including social worker Ms Ellen Khuzwayo and the headmaster of Morris Isaacson School, Mr Lekgau Mathabathe. According to Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of *The World* and a driving force behind the Committee's formation:

For the first time, blacks in Soweto have taken the initiative in establishing their brand of leadership outside the institutions of government, which have failed dismally in the past three decades.

220 The Committee of Ten drew up a blueprint for Soweto which envisaged a Soweto City Council with powers and structures similar to those of the white city councils. It intended to present this to the people of Soweto at a public meeting on 31 July 1977, but the meeting was banned and a number of the Committee's members were detained in terms of the Internal Security Act. In October 1977, the Committee of Ten was banned.

- 221 The Committee had effectively functioned for one month. However, according to former UBC councillor, Mr Mosala, it went underground and continued to organise in accordance with the M-Plan developed by the ANC in the 1960s.
- 222 By 1979, the Soweto Committee of Ten had transformed itself into the Soweto Civic Association. Later it played an important role in trying to establish an alternative 'people's authority' in the township during the 1980s.
- 223 Not only did the 1976 protest revitalise external opposition to apartheid, it also provided an important impetus to the creation of a number of internal organisations. The SSRC, which grew out of the SASM, was established at the beginning of August 1976, six weeks after 16 June. Its first president, Mr Tsietsi Mashinini, was a senior SASM office-bearer. The SSRC consisted of representatives of most of the secondary and high schools in Soweto.
- 224 The student organisers had also matured politically and now unequivocally located their battle against Bantu Education within a broader struggle against apartheid. It was believed that the apartheid system was about to crumble and that the campaign against Afrikaans and the apartheid system as a whole could be won.

Sabotage campaigns

- 225 The students who left South Africa after the 1976 Soweto protests provided the personpower for a renewed campaign of sabotage and guerrilla warfare in the early 1980s. Between October 1976 and May 1981, there were 112 MK attacks and explosions – part of an 'armed propaganda' campaign initiated by the ANC during this period. Many of the initial attacks focused on targets of strategic or economic importance such as the oil refinery at Sasolburg in June 1980, power stations in the eastern Transvaal in July 1981 and the Voortrekkerhoogte military base in August 1981. In 1980, there were bombings in Soweto as part of a campaign against rent increases. In August 1981, a bomb exploded in a shopping centre in Pretoria during working hours, days before an announcement by Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, that MK would now attack "officials of apartheid". The bomb was seen as a reprisal for the recent murder in Salisbury of ANC representative Joe Gqabi (see above).²³
- 226 MK campaigns during this period aimed to avoid civilian casualties. However, both the Goch Street shooting in 1977 and the Silverton bank siege in 1980 involved MK members who panicked, resulting in the deaths of civilians caught in the crossfire.

²³ Tom Lodge (1983), p 340.

227 Mr Solomon Mahlangu, a twenty-year-old standard nine pupil who fled South Africa in February 1976 and Mr Monty Motaung formed one of the first MK units from the new generation of Soweto recruits to be infiltrated back into South Africa. They killed Mr Rupert Kessner and Mr Kenneth Wolfendale in John Orr's Goch Street warehouse in July 1977, shortly after being confronted by police. Mahlangu and Motaung were charged under the Sabotage Act. Mahlangu was convicted and sentenced to death for his part in the incident. He was hanged in 1979, one of 133 people executed in that year. Motaung was beaten so severely by the police that he suffered brain damage and was declared unfit to stand trial.

228 Solomon's mother, Ms Martha Yebona Mahlangu [JB00182/02PS], told the Commission that she had been unaware that her son had any interest in politics. He had not told his parents of his decision to leave the country for military training. She simply received a message telling her not to look for her son.

229 Ms Mahlangu heard of her son's involvement in the killing of Mr Kessner and Mr Wolfendale on the radio:

It was a month before we could really find out that it was him. The only time we got to know was when the police came home to search our home ... they didn't say anything to us and didn't tell us what they were looking for. After a while they started looking for his clothes and then I asked them if they had found this person whose clothes they were looking for? They said yes, they had found him on the mountains of Middelburg. When I asked if I could go and see him, they said no, they would inform me when I could come and see him. They only came back to me after a month.

230 Ms Mahlangu later went to visit her son at John Vorster Square. She was not able to talk about the case or where he had been. "We just found out how life was and that's the only thing I asked about." His last message to her before he was executed was:

Mama, thank you for having been strong to come and visit me and not cry. But where my blood will drop, so many Solomons will grow up because I am innocent.

231 In the 1980 Silverton bank siege in Pretoria on 25 January, Mr Willem de Klerk [JB00697/02PS] lost his wife, Ms Anna de Klerk. Another civilian and three MK operatives were also killed. Members of an MK unit – Mr Stephen Mafoko, Mr Humphrey Makhubo and Mr Wilfred Madela [JBO3888/01GTSOW] – panicked when

they realised they had been seen by security force members, entered a bank and held its customers hostage. The police stormed the bank and a gunfight ensued.

232 Mr de Klerk described the events:

At the time of her death, my wife was thirty-eight years old. At that stage I had three sons or in fact three children, Pieter, Schalk and Marche and they were respectively fourteen, twelve and eight years old ... The hostages were, in general, all women and it can therefore be regarded as a very cowardly deed – a deed on a group of defenceless people.

At around seven o'clock that evening, the police task force entered the building and they then freed the hostages. During this process, several people were injured, one person died and my wife was injured ... I also believe that defenceless people who did not have anything to do with the political struggle and that they, surely, had a right to life. They did not form part of the struggle and therefore their lives should not have been at stake ...

It is, perhaps, the duty of each and every South African to contribute to this [truth and reconciliation] and therefore I feel that each and every person who at some stage in the past was a victim should come forward...

I understand why it happened, but I would just like to say that everybody who was part of this, everybody who was part of the planning of this, that they should come forward and say "this is what I did and this is how I contributed and I am now sorry for this".

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE ANC AND MK RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BOMBINGS IN GOCH STREET IN 1977. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR SOLOMON MAHLANGU AND MR MONTY MOTAUNG WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATHS OF MR RUPERT KESSNER AND MR KENNETH WOLFENDALE AND FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

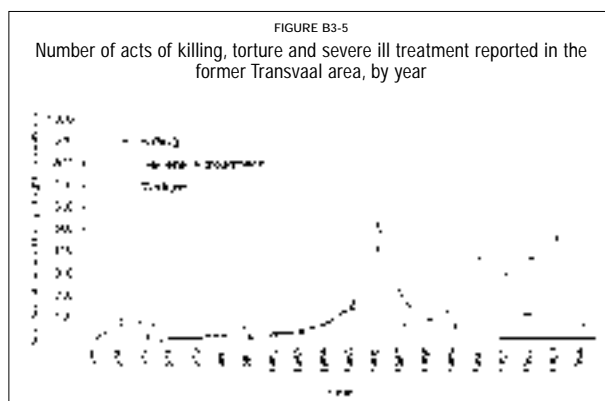
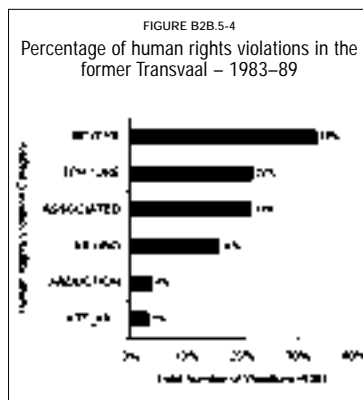
THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MK MEMBERS MR STEPHEN MAFOKO, MR HUMPHREY MAKHUBO AND MR WILFRED MADELA WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SILVERTON BANK SIEGE IN WHICH TWO CIVILIANS WERE KILLED AND A NUMBER INJURED. IN PARTICULAR THEY ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATHS OF MS ANNA DE KLERK AND ANOTHER CIVILIAN AND ARE THUS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE ANC AND THE HEAD OF MK RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

■ 1983-1989

Overview of violations

233 This period was notable for the highest levels of gross human rights violations experienced in the former Transvaal. Reported levels of severe ill treatment (approximately 1 700 violations), torture (about 1 200 violations) and killing (850 violations) reached unprecedented heights.



234 In 1986, all major violations reached a peak, coinciding with the declaration of a national state of emergency, street battles between police and township residents, massacres in Mamelodi and Soweto and mass detentions across the region. Numbers fell dramatically in 1987, when the former state used legislative means provided by the national state of emergency to regain control of the political conflict.

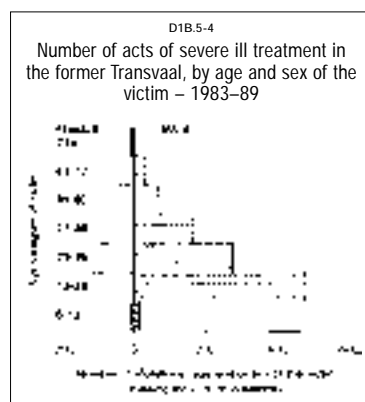
235 The beginning of this period of conflict was marked by what came to be known as the Vaal uprising on 3 September 1984, when clashes between township residents and police led to the death of fourteen people and the injury of at least eight policemen. In response, the government launched a joint army and police operation, 'Operation Palmiet'. Over the next four months, approximately 142 people died in street battles. This escalating conflict is reflected in Figure B3-5, which shows a rapid increase in violations from 1984.

236 The dominant contexts in which gross human rights violations took place throughout the region during this period were:

- a public order policing
- b detention and torture
- c covert actions by the security forces
- d attacks on representatives of government authority and informers
- e bombing and landmine campaigns by MK
- f retaliatory violence used by the security forces and opposition groups, perpetuating the cycle of conflict.

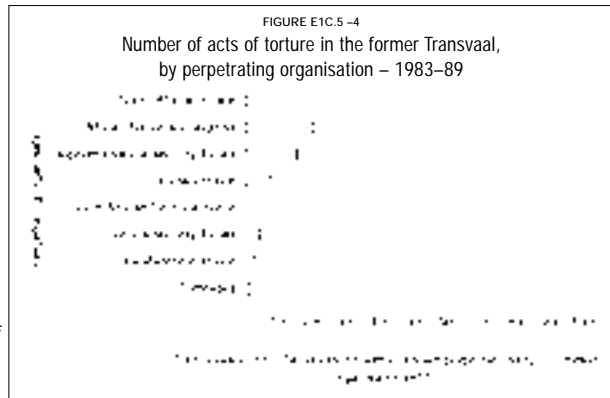
237 Vicious street battles were an endemic feature of the period between 1984 and 1986, resulting in a large number of deaths. The Mamelodi massacre in November 1985 (thirteen dead), the 'Six Day War' in Alexandra in February 1986 (nineteen dead), the 'White City War' in Soweto in August 1986 (twenty-four dead) and the Winterveld massacre (eleven dead) were some of the salient events in this conflict. However, these incidents of mass killing constituted only a small proportion of the deaths that occurred in the ongoing conflict between police and township residents. Many died or were injured in small daily confrontations with the police and army.

238 Most victims were young. The overwhelming proportion of victims of severe ill treatment were males between the ages of thirteen and twenty-four, placing the youth at the centre of street-level political conflict.

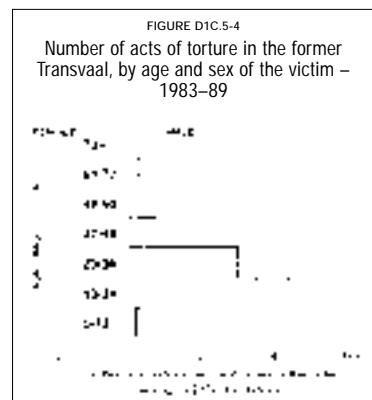


239 A large part of the explanation for the high number of deaths and injuries is that the police and army saw control of political protest as part of a counter-insurgency war against 'terrorists' who posed a fundamental threat to the political order. This was used to justify their use of lethal force and the deliberate targeting of particular individuals during protests. Riot units were given specific orders to eliminate ringleaders. An attitude of contempt on the part of the security forces, evident in the submissions of many victims, stripped black people of their identity as human beings and made their lives expendable.

240 Even higher levels of torture were reported for this period. Figure B3-5 (on previous page) reveals that there were substantially more acts of torture than killings during 1986–87. Although the government had already passed legislation providing for detention without trial, these powers were substantially extended under the partial state of emergency, declared in June 1985, and the nation-wide emergency imposed in 1986. An estimated 70 000 detentions took place between 1980 and 1990. Approximately seventy people died in detention.



241 Torture occurred primarily in places of custody. The SAP was identified as the predominant perpetrator of torture and was responsible for approximately five times more incidents of torture than the ANC, which had the next highest number. The majority of victims of torture during this period were young males between the ages of thirteen and twenty-four.



242 The power to detain was extended to all police, railway police, prison officials and defence force members. This substantially increased the capacity of the government to detain large numbers of people. In many communities, an initial ‘short-term’ two-week period of detention was used for the systematic detention of young males, the most overtly politically militant sector of society. Activists were also targeted for longer-term preventive detention and for shorter detention for the purpose of interrogation.

243 The majority of those detained were beaten and/or tortured. A study undertaken by the University of Cape Town in the 1980s established that 85 per cent of a sample of 175 detainees had suffered torture. This assessment is supported by the testimonies of Commission deponents, the majority of whom were tortured during their detention. Mechanisms which might have helped safeguard detainees, such as the right to visits from lawyers or family, were denied.

- 244 Evidence that an individual was actually a member or supporter of a political organisation did not appear to be of primary concern to police. Mass detentions served rather as acts of generalised intimidation of a constituency perceived to be non-compliant and dangerous to the security of the state. The security forces held black youth collectively responsible for the violence sweeping the country, and thus used torture as an essential component of counter-revolutionary warfare. This became increasingly evident during the 1980s, when the numbers of people detained escalated rapidly. One of the objectives of torture was to undermine the individual – psychologically, politically and socially – and thereby reduce his or her ability to engage in political activity.
- 245 In 1985, the charge of high treason was revived and fifty-five people were charged with high treason in seven separate trials. One of these, the Pietermaritzburg Trial, sought to demonstrate that the South African Allied Workers Union, the UDF and some of its affiliates – all lawful organisations carrying out legal activities – were operating as part of a revolutionary conspiracy. The Delmas trial, in which twenty-two activists were charged, lasted from June 1985 until December 1989 and is alleged to have been the longest trial in South African history.
- 246 Amnesty applicants who held senior positions within the police force confirmed to the Commission that the torture of detainees, including the use of electric shocks, was routine practice. The relatively small number of amnesty applications for acts of torture is a reflection of this attitude. Torture was not regarded as a gross human rights violation or infraction of police practice, and its perpetrators did not face sanctions either within or outside the police force. A further sense of impunity was created by the fact that the victim was often the only witness. Because of the often degrading and humiliating nature of torture, many of those tortured were reluctant to talk about their experiences. Those who died were permanently silenced.
- 247 As the use of torture became increasingly widespread and systematic, the number of resulting deaths escalated. Instead of implementing measures to halt these killings, senior police officials tried to mask the consequences of unrestrained torture. The death in police custody of Mamelodi activist Stanza Bopape on the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising led to a high-level cover-up involving the commissioner of police and a range of other senior police officers.
- 248 During this period, there was also a substantial increase in the number of reports of brutality perpetrated by members of the homeland police forces – in

Bophuthatswana, Venda and Lebowa. By the 1980s, all the homelands, both independent and self-governing, had acquired their own police forces. As conflict escalated, these police forces were rapidly expanded. Methods of torture were brutal and simple. A number of deponents reported being sjambokked to within an inch of their lives. Reports of electric shock torture were less frequent but did occur, often when South African police became involved in an interrogation.

- 249 Beating was the most frequently reported form of torture in the former Transvaal during the 1980s, followed by forced posture and electric shock torture. Forced posture usually involved making a detainee stand, sometimes in an awkward position, for long periods of time.
- 250 Also notable in this period was an increase in covert operations carried out by the security forces, as in 'Operation Zero Zero' where eight young East Rand activists died after being given booby-trapped grenades by Vlakplaas operative Joe Mamasela. Covert operations led to a general escalation of violence on the East Rand, including the 'necklacing'²⁴ of a young woman, Ms Maki Skhosana, who was accused of being involved in the youths' deaths. In the wake of Ms Skhosana's highly publicised killing, State President PW Botha declared a state of emergency. Amnesty applicants to the Commission revealed that actions such as in 'Operation Zero Zero' were sanctioned at the highest levels of government. Security force members involved in covert operations had direct access to government resources and infrastructure which enabled them to counter opposition through unlawful actions, including murder and abduction.
- 251 During the 1980s, all who represented government authority – including police, community councillors and chiefs – became targets of widespread violence. Even those perceived to have simply been beneficiaries of the apartheid system, such as business people or teachers antagonistic to school boycotts, were vulnerable to attack. The numbers of persons killed for these reasons amounted to approximately a third of the total number of people killed between 1983 and 1989. According to the Human Rights Commission, the total number of people killed between 1984 and 1989 was 3 500. Of these, about 1 000 are estimated to have been policemen or victims of necklacing or burning. Police General van der Merwe told the Commission that the killing of policemen in townships during the 1980s constituted a fundamental threat to state security and provided a reason for the government's use of extra-judicial forms of 'elimination' during this period.

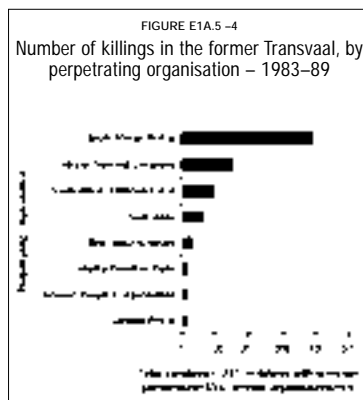
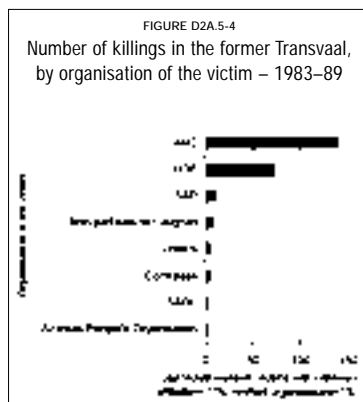
²⁴ The placing of a tyre doused with petrol around the victim's neck and setting it alight, thereby burning the victim to death.

252 Most attacks on government representatives were carried out through petrol-bombing and arson. The most infamous form of violence, used primarily against alleged informers, was the necklace method. Research sources outside the Commission indicate that at least 400 fatal incidents of necklacing took between 1984 and 1990. Approximately 400 people were killed by being doused with petrol and set alight, or when their homes were petrol-bombed. Only about a quarter of these were reported to the Commission, along with approximately the same number of non-fatal arson attacks. A number of arson attacks targeted political activists.

253 Approximately 144 policemen were killed between 1984 and 1987. The majority of victims were black policemen who lived and worked in the townships where they were attacked. Only about ten of these killings were reported to the Commission.

254 The perpetrators of these attacks were generally youth, often referred to as 'comrades', who were aligned to the United Democratic Front (UDF) but not necessarily members or activists. Commission data shows more than fifty acts of killing carried out by 'comrades' in the former Transvaal during this period.

255 In the context of escalating conflict and social dislocation, young people gained increasing power, exacting retribution on councillors, police, alleged informers, business people, chiefs and others. This self-appointed policing role also included the violent enforcement of the UDF's programmes such as consumer boycotts and stay aways. Those who violated these boycotts were exposed to summary punishment such as the forced consumption of toxic goods purchased in contravention of consumer boycotts. Others were brought before 'people's courts', set up in the absence of legitimate government structures. These courts were increasingly commandeered by youth who exacted swift and violent penalties from those they found guilty of offences.



- 256 In its submission to the Commission, the UDF placed the gross human rights violations committed by its members and supporters into a context including factors such as political immaturity, a climate of mistrust and fear generated by state violence and disinformation campaigns, a militaristic culture, particularly amongst youth, and widespread detention of leaders who could have curbed excesses. The UDF also acknowledged that it encouraged the use of defensive violence when activists and leaders were violently attacked, and that some UDF leaders, particularly youth leaders, publicly promoted political intolerance.
- 257 This period was notable also for a shift in the nature of the ANC's armed campaign within the country, largely in response to popular rebellion in the wake of the Vaal uprising. The new strategy involved the intensification of the organisation's military and political offensive and an important policy shift regarding civilian casualties. The ANC stated that, although it would not directly target civilians, the risk of civilian casualties would not be allowed to stand in the way of intensified armed struggle. Civilian deaths and injuries would be an inevitable consequence of this policy.
- 258 It was in this context that a series of bombs were planted in urban centres such as Johannesburg and Pretoria and a landmine campaign launched in the border areas of the northern and eastern Transvaal in 1985. Approximately 130 people died, the majority of whom were black civilians. Commission data shows approximately 150 killings carried out by members of the ANC during this period in the former Transvaal.
- 259 Violent retaliation created a self-perpetuating cycle of violence which dramatically escalated levels of conflict in townships around the country. This included the use of violence in public order policing, and attacks by opposition groups on representatives of government authority. While the violent dispersal of political protest was intended to curb further political opposition, it frequently had the opposite effect and precipitated the mobilisation of entire communities.

The state and allied groupings

The Vaal uprising

- 260 The Vaal uprising was sparked by the announcement of a rent increase by the newly elected Lekoa Black Local Authority in September 1984. The ensuing conflict led to a large number of deaths and to the occupation of the area by the South African Defence Force (SADF).

- 261 On the first day of clashes between police and residents in the Vaal, fourteen people died and at least thirty-two were injured. By the end of the month, ninety people were dead, among them four councillors. The government moved quickly to try and stem the violence.
- 262 The Vaal Civic Association responded to the proposed rental increase by calling for a public stay away from work and school, scheduled for 3 September 1984. An estimated 60 per cent of workers stayed away and almost 93 000 pupils in the Vaal Triangle boycotted classes.²⁵ Two thousand Sebokeng residents marched to the Houtkop Administration Board Offices to protest against the rent increases.
- 263 Widespread violence broke out. Councillor Motjeane's husband, Mr Caesar Motjeane [JB03870/01GTSOW] was one of three councillors killed in the first days of the uprising. He was hacked, shot, stoned and burnt to death. The house of Councillor Ntsoereng [JB01046/03VT] was burnt on September 5. Shops, bottle stores, a bus depot, a school and a beer hall were set alight and hundreds of cars were damaged.
- 264 Councillor Sonny Mofokeng [JB01048/03GTSOW] was one of the first councillors to be targeted in the hours after the outbreak of violence in Sebokeng in September 1984. His home, his father's home and his business were burnt to the ground:
- I saw a group of people coming towards my direction and they were shouting. I listened to them and they were saying they wanted Sonny Mofokeng and I tried to get a look at those people. They were armed with pangas as well as knobkerries heading towards my direction. And I went into the house. I told my wife what was happening outside. I also told my three children that I had seen people armed and coming towards my direction singing that they wanted Sonny Mofokeng and I warned them that we should escape for our lives. I opened the car, I put my children as well as my wife in the car because at that time my wife was expectant ... they were pelting my house with stones.*
- 265 Mofokeng and his family sought refuge at the local police station. Over the police radio he heard about the death of two other councillors. Later that night there was an announcement that his house was on fire.
- 266 Residents reported that they were assaulted and shot at without provocation by police patrolling the Vaal townships. As the violence intensified, police used tear

²⁵ SAIRR *Survey* 1984, p 71.

gas and rubber bullets, and later birdshot and buckshot. Official figures stated that at least fourteen people had died and eight policemen and thirty-two civilians had been injured. However, residents and church leaders claimed that the figures were much higher, alleging that at least 250 people had been injured.

267 Conflict quickly spread to the neighbouring Vaal township of Sharpville. Private homes – including the house of an SAP warrant officer, beer halls, administration board buildings, buses and cars were stoned and set alight. The deputy mayor of Sharpville, Mr Sam Dhlamini, was hacked and stabbed to death. In Boipatong, the administration offices, a post office and a councillor's house were set alight. In Bophelong, the council offices and the home of an SAP warrant officer were burnt down.

268 The police placed all councillors' homes under guard. Transport into the township had virtually come to a standstill. People injured in the clashes were afraid to go to the hospital for fear of being arrested.

269 Residents wounded in police shootings were presumed to be perpetrators, irrespective of whether they had been involved in any offensive action such as stone-throwing or petrol-bombing. Many of those injured reported being detained or, if too seriously wounded, placed under police guard in hospitals before they recovered sufficiently to be imprisoned.

270 Mr Ramorakane Simon Mohajane [JB00824/03VT] was detained rather than hospitalised after being shot by police while standing outside his friend's home:

It was on a Sunday the 8th September 1984 ... a group came from the other direction running ... I only heard a blow on the head and it was from a gun. I was shot. I fell and I was asking myself what is happening. And the whites were around me trampling on me, kicking me and they even sprayed their tear gas on my face ... They were wearing soldiers' camouflage ... They were trampling on me, they were kicking me. I don't have some of the teeth in my mouth. As I was lying on the ground they were continually tear-gassing me. I cannot see as I am talking to you now. I am blind. I have been to many doctors and they said to me you will never see until you die ...

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

of the Lekoa Town Council undertook a tour of inspection of the Vaal townships. Two thousand people blocked the main road through Sebokeng, forcing the ministers to turn back. After this, Le Grange announced that he did not believe rent increases were the main reason for the unrest but claimed that certain “unnamed individuals and organisations” were behind “what was happening in the Vaal Triangle”.²⁶

272 Following the violence, over 1 000 people were arrested in the Vaal during September 1984. Some were charged while others were detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.²⁷

273 In the early hours of the morning of 23 October 1984, about 7 000 police and SADF troops conducted a major search and arrest operation in Sebokeng, Sharpville and Boipatong in the Vaal triangle in an exercise known as ‘Operation Palmiet’ (Bullrush). The police conducted house-to-house searches, while soldiers armed with R1 rifles lined the streets at ten-metre intervals to ensure that residents stayed indoors.

274 According to Mr le Grange, the purpose of the exercise was to “restore law and order” and to rid the area of “criminal and revolutionary” elements. About 400 people were arrested on charges relating to influx control and possession of stolen goods, dagga, firearms and pornographic material.

275 The violence that occurred in the Vaal precipitated a shift in the government’s response to political opposition. For the first time the army was used to curb civilian political protest. Over the next two or three years the SADF played an increasingly significant role in township violence. Armed only with live ammunition, the army was equipped to use maximum force when dealing with civilian protest, leading to a rise in the number of deaths in street clashes.

276 The government’s motivation for the deployment of troops in the Vaal townships is summarised in Mr le Grange’s declaration: “as far as we’re concerned it is war, plain and simple”.²⁸

277 In response to the deployment of troops in the townships, a range of UDF-affiliated organisations and trade unions representing students, workers and residents called

26 SAIRR, Survey 1984, p 72.

27 Section 29 of the Internal Security Act No 74 of 1982 provided for indefinite detention for interrogation. Detainees were held in solitary confinement.

28 *Leadership*, October 1984.

a two-day stay away in the Transvaal on 5 and 6 November. The importance of the regional stay away was evident from its scale alone: between 300 000 and 800 000 workers and large numbers of students observed the call in the PWV region.

- 278 'Operation Palmiet' was strongly criticised both in South Africa and internationally. According to Mr Jules Browde SC, chair of Lawyers for Human Rights, the use of both the defence force and the police caused untold damage to race relations and the cause of human rights in South Africa. He said:

*This action suggests that the army is to be used to enforce influx control and to suppress black political aspirations. This means the army will be perceived by blacks to be the instrument of white political repression and will promote hostility towards the defence force among blacks.*²⁹

- 279 The SADF's response was that the use of the army in civil disorder was not without precedent. The government had decided to use troops in Sebokeng because it felt that it was responsible for the protection of all South Africans, their property and the property of the state. The troops had manned roadblocks, thrown a cordon around the townships, protected important points, supplied logistical support, and provided communication and reconnaissance flights.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER STATE, THE MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND THE VAAL LOCAL AUTHORITIES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF THE RESIDENTS OF BLACK TOWNSHIPS IN THE VAAL IN THAT THEY ALLOWED AND IMPOSED INCREASES IN RENT AT A TIME WHEN THE TOWNSHIPS HAD NO INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE AVERAGE INCOME OF RESIDENTS WAS AROUND R264.00 PER MONTH. THE COMMISSION FURTHER FINDS THAT THE REFUSAL OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT MOST RESIDENTS LIVED BELOW THE POVERTY LINE FURTHER CONTRIBUTED TO FUELLING INTENSE ANGER AGAINST THEM, WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO THE SUBSEQUENT VIOLENCE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE WAY IN WHICH THE CONFLICT WAS MANAGED BOTH BY THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THE ORGANS OF THE FORMER STATE CONTRIBUTED TO AN ESCALATION IN VIOLENCE. AS A CONSEQUENCE, NINETY PEOPLE DIED AND COUNTLESS OTHERS WERE INJURED. THE PARTIES RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ARE THE FORMER STATE, THE MINISTER OF BANTU AFFAIRS AND THE VAAL LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE USE OF EXCESSIVE FORCE AND IMPROPER CROWD CONTROL METHODS TO QUELL THE PROTESTS AND DISPERSE CROWDS HAD THE EFFECT OF MOBILISING THE RESIDENTS AGAINST THE POLICE AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE'S AUTHORITY LIVING IN THE TOWNSHIPS, SUCH AS THE COUNCILLORS. HITHERTO UNPOLITICISED RESIDENTS BECAME AWARE OF THE POLITICAL DIMENSION OF THE CONFLICT, RESULTING IN MASSIVE OPPOSITION TO THE STATE. THUS VIOLENT POLICE DISPERSAL METHODS WERE MET BY RETALIATORY ACTION BY TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS AGAINST COUNCILLORS AND POLICEMEN LIVING IN THE TOWNSHIPS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE FAILURE TO USE PROPER CROWD CONTROL METHODS, THE USE OF EXCESSIVE FORCE, THE USE OF LIVE AMMUNITION ON RESIDENTS, THE FAILURE TO DISPERSE PEOPLE IN AN ACCEPTABLE MANNER BY CALLING ON THEM TO DISPERSE

²⁹ *The Star*, 22 August 1984.

AND GIVING THEM ADEQUATE TIME TO DISPERSE, AND THE FAILURE TO USE ALTERNATIVE METHODS TO DISPERSE THE CROWD RATHER THAN LIVE AMMUNITION LED TO THE DEATHS OF AT LEAST NINETY PEOPLE AND THE INJURY OF MANY OTHERS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER, AND THE VAAL COUNCILLORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

'OPERATION PALMIET' EVOKED INTENSE ANGER AGAINST THE STATE. THE OCCUPATION OF THE TOWNSHIP BY THE ARMY, THE MANNER IN WHICH HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCHES WERE CONDUCTED, THE ROUNDING UP OF ACTIVISTS AND THE SECURITY FORCES' TREATMENT OF ORDINARY PEOPLE AS THE ENEMY WITHOUT ANY PROVOCATION LED TO GREATER VIOLENCE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT AGAINST THIS CONTEXT, 'OPERATION PALMIET' LED TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE HEAD OF THE SADF, THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER, THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND THE FORMER STATE MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY.

WHILST THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE STATE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE INITIAL OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE, AND THE BRUTALITY AND VIOLENCE THAT FOLLOWED, THE CIVIC STRUCTURES AND STUDENT ORGANISATIONS ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BRUTAL KILLING OF COUNCILLORS AND POLICEMEN. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE NECKLACING OF MR CAESAR MOTJEANE CONSTITUTES A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION FOR WHICH THE CIVIC STRUCTURES, STUDENT ORGANISATIONS AND THE UDF MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE KILLING OF TWO OTHER COUNCILLORS WAS DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE ACTIONS OF THE CIVIC STRUCTURES, AND HOLDS THEM AND THE UDF RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE BURNING OF THE HOMES OF COUNCILLORS, POLICEMEN AND THEIR RELATIVES (AMONGST THEM COUNCILLOR SONNY MOFOKENG, HIS FATHER AND COUNCILLOR NTSOERENG), CONSTITUTES A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION FOR WHICH THE CIVIC AND STUDENT STRUCTURES AND THE UDF MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE BRUTAL KILLING OF COUNCILLOR SAM DHLAMINI BY PROTESTERS BELONGING TO THE CIVIC AND STUDENT STRUCTURES CONSTITUTES A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION FOR WHICH THE CIVIC AND STUDENT STRUCTURES AND THE UDF MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY.

Public order policing

280 Rent boycotts were launched in townships across the Vaal following the announcement of rent increases by black local authorities, now under some pressure to meet their budget deficits and become self-financing. Township residents could not afford the rapidly escalating rents they were expected to pay. The 56 per cent rent increase announced by the Lekoa Town Council affected at least 300 000 people in the Vaal who were already paying some of the highest rents in the country, half of which were in arrears. The rent increases were in stark contrast to a 17 per cent rise in income between 1980 and 1985.

- 281 Opposition organised through civic and student organisations proliferated. Attacks on councillors trying to implement the increases intensified, leading to the resignation of many in 1984. Between January 1985 and July 1986, rent boycotts were launched in Ratanda, Katlehong, Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Alexandra, Tembisa, Soweto and Vosloorus. By August 1987, it was estimated that rent boycotts in the PWV had cost more than R188 million.
- 282 Rent boycotts quickly spread beyond the confines of the PWV. In June 1985, tension around rent and school boycotts in the townships surrounding Barberton in the eastern Transvaal reached a peak. Many of those injured in the course of the ensuing conflict were not direct participants in the boycotts. Ms Thoko Lindiwe Mhlabane [JB01211/01MPNEL], eight months pregnant at the time, was waiting for a taxi to go to work during a boycott when she was shot in the hip by the police. She told the Commission that she was teargassed by a black policeman and beaten by a white policeman. When she regained consciousness, she was in hospital.
- 283 Violent government reaction to rent protests culminated in police shooting on a protest march on 21 November 1985 in Mamelodi where thirteen people died. Most victims were shot in the back. Captain le Roux of the SAP, who participated in the shooting, told the 1989 inquest hearing that the police had adopted a shoot-to-kill approach, aiming particularly at people who appeared to be leading the crowds.
- 284 In statements to the Commission, victims of the Mamelodi massacre spoke of a lack of warning before police opened fire. Mr Phillistus Botsietsa Lerutla [JB00756/02PS] was severely injured when police opened fire on the gathering. Mr Simon Boyizeli Msiza [JB00788/02PS] told the Commission that there had been a degree of coercion in getting township residents to participate in the march, although most protesters were supportive of the campaign against rent increases. Before the protesters could hand over the memorandum, he said, the police opened fire. His wife, Ms Elizabeth Baphelile Msiza, was shot in the back three times as they were fleeing, even though they were already more than a kilometre from the scene. "The Hippos", he said, "moved around the place like rabbits."
- 285 The Mamelodi massacre radicalised the township community. As in the Vaal, the violence of the police response to rent protests escalated protest and opposition, rather than curbing it. Sustained rent and consumer boycotts and stay aways were launched. Some of this protest was also accompanied by violence, and the toll of deaths and injuries rose as police again tried to curb the protests.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE IMPOSITION OF RENT INCREASES BY THE MAMELODI BLACK AUTHORITIES LED TO INTENSE ANGER IN THE TOWNSHIP AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE VIOLENCE WHICH SUBSEQUENTLY TOOK PLACE. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE MANNER IN WHICH THE CONFLICT WAS MANAGED, BOTH BY THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THE POLICE, CONTRIBUTED TO AN ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE USE OF EXCESSIVE FORCE AND IMPROPER CROWD CONTROL METHODS BY THE SAP LED TO THE MASSACRE ON 21 NOVEMBER 1985 IN WHICH THIRTEEN PEOPLE DIED AND MANY OTHERS WERE INJURED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE ADOPTED A SHOOT-TO-KILL POLICY AND FIRED ON PEOPLE REPEATEDLY AS THEY FLED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO USE MINIMUM FORCE; INSTEAD, THE POLICE FIRED ROUND UPON ROUND OF LIVE AMMUNITION. THE COMMISSION FINDS CAPTAIN LE ROUX, THE COMMANDER IN CHARGE OF THE POLICE ON THAT DAY, AND MAYOR NDLAZI RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATHS AND INJURIES DURING THE MASSACRE ON 21 NOVEMBER 1985. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE MASSACRE CONSTITUTES A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION AND HOLDS THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER, THE MINISTER RESPONSIBLE FOR BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THE FORMER STATE RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

- 286 Further clashes between the police and residents of White City, Jabavu, in Soweto during protests against rent and service charge increases in August 1986 resulted in the deaths of twenty-four people. Mr Tokelo Charles Maloke [JB05246/01GTSOW] was one of those who died in the 'White City War'.
- 287 As organisational capacity became stronger in Soweto, public protests against rentals and council bodies proceeded with vigour between March and June 1986. (The partial state of emergency was lifted on 7 March, but a new nation-wide state of emergency was declared on 12 June.) A total of 75 000 houses were involved in a rent boycott. The Council responded by cutting off services and prosecuting rent defaulters. On 16 June 1986, Soweto municipal police raided homes in Naledi, demanding rent receipts. One thousand women and high school students took to the streets in protest.
- 288 By September 1987, at least 166 families had been evicted from their homes for not paying rent between August 1986 and September 1987, by which time the debt of the municipal council had risen to R122 million. In 1987, the Soweto Civic Association was restricted and many of its leaders detained.
- 289 The Commission received statements from people who were shot by the police during conflicts around the rent boycott. On 14 November 1986, Ms Lillian Sibongile Mnguni [JB01859/01GTSOW], an executive member of the civic association in Meadowlands, was shot in the back by police evicting people from their homes. At the time of the shooting, the deponent and other activists were barricading the streets to prevent the police from entering the township.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE RENT INCREASE IMPOSED ON RESIDENTS IN SOWETO RESULTED IN A RENT AND MUNICIPAL LEVY BOYCOTT BY THE SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT TWENTY-FOUR PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND HUNDREDS WERE INJURED IN THE 'WHITE CITY WAR' BETWEEN POLICE AND SOWETO RESIDENTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE USED EXCESSIVE FORCE AND IMPROPER CROWD CONTROL METHODS TO QUELL THE PROTESTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE STATE ATTEMPTED TO STIFLE AND SUPPRESS ALL POLITICAL PROTEST BY IMPOSING RESTRICTIONS ON THE SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION AND DETAINING THE LEADERSHIP. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER AND THE LOCAL COUNCIL RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

- 290 During these years, protests over rents coalesced with student protests about a range of educational issues. Following the January 1984 protests and clashes with the police in Atteridgeville near Pretoria, student leaders were suspended and schools in the townships closed down by the Department of Education. In response to police brutality, students intensified attacks on the homes of those perceived to be sympathetic to the policies of the state.
- 291 A thirteen-year-old pupil, Daniel Mothupi [JB01010/02PS], was shot dead on 10 February 1986 by a policeman while he was erecting a roadblock during the school boycott in Atteridgeville. According to Daniel's father, Mr Piet Mothupi, his son had been forced to participate in the boycott. At the inquest into Daniel's death, the magistrate found that the shooting was justified "as a public violence case".
- 292 In August 1984, students at Katlehong's twenty-nine schools began boycotting classes. The epicentre of Katlehong's school rebellion was Lethukuthula High School, where pupils left the school grounds, stoned vehicles and erected barricades. Three delivery vehicles were set alight near Katlehong High School. On the same day, 29 August, eight police vans surrounded Thokoza's Thoko Thaba High School and fired tear gas at pupils trapped in classrooms. The pupils were then *sjambokked* and beaten. The next day, Katlehong pupils marched to Thoko Thaba High School to gather more support.
- 293 In Tembisa, a July 1984 schools boycott involving about 4 000 pupils from five secondary schools marked the beginning of open conflict in the township. During August, pupils marched through the streets of Tembisa demanding that they be allowed to form representative councils. They set fire to a secondary school and the township mayor's house, and also tried to attack teachers and community councillors. Police arrested eleven people.

294 Ms Matilda Mavundla [JB01281/01ERKWA] told the Commission that her fourteen-year-old son, Kenneth, was shot by police on his way home from school in Wattville in August 1984. Teachers had sent students home when they saw police all over the location.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE INITIAL PROTEST ACTION SPILLED OVER INTO STUDENT DISSATISFACTION OVER A NUMBER OF ISSUES, INCLUDING CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AND POOR TEACHING. THIS RESULTED IN STUDENT PROTESTS WHICH LED TO THE CLOSURE OF SCHOOLS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT STUDENT PROTESTS WERE MET WITH VIOLENT POLICE ACTION WHICH RESULTED IN MANY STUDENTS BEING KILLED AND INJURED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE USED DEADLY FORCE WHEN ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF RIOT AND CROWD CONTROL WOULD HAVE RESULTED IN LESS DEATHS AND INJURIES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AND THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE STUDENTS ENGAGED IN RETALIATORY ATTACKS ON ALL STRUCTURES AND INDIVIDUALS PERCEIVED TO BE IDENTIFIED WITH THE STATE SUCH AS POLICE OFFICERS, COUNCILLORS, ADMINISTRATION OFFICES, MAYORS, TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT STUDENTS STONED VEHICLES AND SET FIRE TO DELIVERY VEHICLES AND COUNCILLORS' HOUSES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE STUDENTS' CONDUCT CREATED A CLIMATE WHICH EXACERBATED THE VIOLENCE, RESULTING IN GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE STUDENT ORGANISATIONS OF THE TIME MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY.

295 Deaths often led to violent retribution. ANC member Shadrack Mzimkhulu 'Moozie' Goliath, died in police custody in 1986 after allegedly planning to bomb the Khutsong police station on the West Rand. According to his brother [JB00407/03WR], Goliath had wanted to avenge the fatal shooting by police of his colleague and friend, named only as Gerry. It took three weeks before the police would release Goliath's body to his family. His brother alleges that he had been shot in the neck. The Commission heard that the police gave mourners only fifteen minutes to complete the burial, after which they approached and assaulted mourners.

296 During the 1980s, people who gathered for night vigils and funerals of victims of political violence were continually being dispersed violently by police – by *sjambokking*, teargassing and shooting with live ammunition.

297 Ms Philla Moima [JB01011/02PS] told the Commission that her grandson George was killed in 1986 at the funeral of one of his friends, who had been shot dead during political conflict. George's funeral also became violent.

298 Ms Joyce Mafuya's [JB00994/02PS] fifteen-year-old son Godfrey was shot on 7 December 1985. He never recovered from his injuries. Ms Mafuya told the Commission:

He was crippled by then. I use to feed him, he was on a wheelchair. There were still two bullets in his head and two on his body. They only extracted four bullets from him. His hands were lame. I use to feed him, wash him and then take him back for treatment to the hospital until he became very ill ... He passed away on the 7 of December 1987. His body was swollen, his head also.

- 299 The funeral and night vigil for Godfrey Mafuya were closely monitored. Ms Mafuya said that soldiers and police hovered around the home and watched as the family buried the boy.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT NIGHT VIGILS AND FUNERALS BECAME PART OF THE POLITICAL ARENA AND THEREFORE OF THE POLITICAL CONFLICT. FUNERALS AND NIGHT VIGILS WERE OFTEN THE ONLY PLACES WHERE COMMUNITIES COULD GATHER WITHOUT RESTRICTION, BUT THE POLICE THEN BEGAN TO ATTACK PEOPLE WHO GATHERED AT NIGHT VIGILS, RESULTING IN A NUMBER OF DEATHS AND INJURIES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE ATTEMPTED TO RESTRICT THE NUMBER OF MOURNERS AT NIGHT VIGILS AND FUNERALS. THEIR HEAVY PRESENCE AT FUNERALS INCITED YOUTHS INTO DIRECT CONFRONTATIONS WITH THEM. THE FUNERAL FEAST FOR MOURNERS REPRESENTED ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT SYMBOLIC WAYS OF DEALING WITH THE COUNTLESS DEATHS THAT TOOK PLACE. IN THE TESTIMONY HEARD BY THE COMMISSION, ONE OF THE MOST COMMON REFRAINS BY MOTHERS WAS THAT THE POLICE KICKED AND SCATTERED THE FOOD MEANT FOR THE MOURNERS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE WERE RESPONSIBLE IN THIS INSTANCE FOR CREATING A CLIMATE CONDUCTIVE TO GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, AND FINDS THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AND THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

- 300 In Alexandra, an attempt by police to disperse a funeral sparked conflict that continued unabated for a week and fundamentally altered the political landscape of the township. The conflict became known as the Six Day War.
- 301 On 15 February 1986, over 11 000 people attended the funeral of Mr Michael Dirading (19), a member of the Student Representative Council at Alexandra High School, who was shot by a security guard in Wynberg. As mourners made their way back from the graveyard, they were confronted by a large contingent of security police. Soon after people arrived at Michael's home, the police opened fire on the crowd with tear gas, scattering people in all directions. Youths responded by barricading the streets with burning tyres.
- 302 By 17 February, at least nineteen people were dead and thirty-seven wounded. Residents stayed home from work and students did not attend school. A protest meeting at the local soccer stadium was attended by approximately 40 000 people. Police moved into the township en masse.

- 303 Over the following few days, civil war conditions raged in Alexandra. Youths pitted themselves against the SADF, SAP, councillors and informers.
- 304 The testimonies received by the Commission indicates an extremely high level of apparently deliberate and unprovoked police violence. Victims and relatives alleged that police randomly opened fire on residents in township streets and that, in some cases, those wounded were executed by police. Denial of medical treatment was also cited by deponents as a factor in some of the deaths. This ranged from leaving injured people lying in the streets for hours without help to blocking the ambulances' access to the victims.
- 305 Mr Nkosana Mngadi [JB01764/01GTTEM] testified that members of the security forces opened fire without warning or provocation as he and three of his friends were driving in Alexandra on 17 February. Mr Mngadi, who lost his leg as a result of the shooting, was one of two survivors of the attack. He told the Commission that they were shot at from Hippos parked in the area and that it took three hours before police got him medical assistance.
- 306 Nineteen-year-old Mr Jabulani Mkhele [JB01878/01GTTEM] was shot dead on his way to work on 18 February. His mother, Ms Dora Mkhele, testified that her son was shot dead by white policemen. His brother and two friends fled, but were pursued by the police and shot. Dora alleges that not only did the police refuse to allow any medical assistance to the injured, but they deliberately shot them again to ensure that they were fatally wounded.
- 307 Ms Margaret Madlana's [JB01732/01GTTEM] twelve-year-old son Bongani was shot dead by the SAP on 17 February. Ms Madlana witnessed police smashing a child's head against a rock after he was shot. She had not realised that she was witnessing the death of her own child, Bongani. Later she went to the government mortuary:

I stood in the queue and then one of the people there came to me and asked me what am I looking for. I told them that I am looking for my son. They asked me where is your son from. I told them I am from Alexandra. They asked how old was my son. I told them he was twelve. He said "Mommy, we have seen one child but we don't think – there is one child here but we don't think he is twelve years old because he came alone, he was carried in a Hippo, he came alone and he is from Alexandra. I don't know whether this is the one that you are looking for." And I told them mine

is twelve years old, but he is short. And they asked me, "Are you strong enough to come and identify your child?" I said, "Yes, I can" ...

I found so many bodies lying on the ground. This one of mine was sitting on top of the plank and they asked me, "Is this your child?" I said "Yes". I found this is my child. I said, "Bongani, you left me behind."

- 308 After Ms Madlana had made a statement to the police about Bongani's death, she was questioned and asked to reveal the names of student leaders. Police later showed Ms Madlana and her husband photographs which apparently showed Bongani holding a petrol bomb. Police arrived at Bongani's funeral and threatened the Madlana family. Ms Madlana expressed her terrible anger and pain about the death of her son:

I would like to apologise before God ... The way they killed my son, hitting him against a rock, and we found him with a swollen head. They killed him in a tragic manner and I don't think I will ever forgive in this case, especially to these police who were involved and who were there.

- 309 After negotiations following a township stay away, security forces agreed to maintain a lower profile. By 22 February, the township appeared to be relatively quiet. On 5 March, a mass funeral for seventeen victims of the violence was held without incident.

- 310 Others shot dead in the Six Day War in 1986 included: Mr Solomon Mosue [JB01578/01GTTEM], Mr Jerry Molebatsi Smiles [JB01777/01GTTEM], Mr Steven Sithole [JB01734/01GTTEM], Ms Lucy Ledwaba [JB02499/01GTTEM] and Mr Jerry Mthembu [JB00130/01GTTEM]. Ms Daisy Mashigo [JB01877/01GTTEM] was shot by the SAP on 17 February and left permanently disabled. Four-year-old Ruben Lengwati [JB02503/01GTTEM] was shot in the head during a mass funeral and remains mentally retarded. Prior to the killing of Mr Mthembu, the police allegedly threatened to kill his sister, Ms Maria Mthembu, who was detained on 1 February when five months pregnant, and gave birth at John Vorster Square security police headquarters. During February, the Mthembu's home was petrol-bombed. Police allegedly later confessed that they had intended to kill Maria, not Jerry.

- 311 On 19 April 1986, in the wake of the Six Day War, the Alexandra Consumer Boycott Committee launched a boycott of local businesses, particularly those owned by councillors and policemen or whites. Its demands included the withdrawal of

the SADF from the township, the release of political prisoners, improved housing and electricity, lowering of rentals and the resignation of all councillors from the town council. Shopkeepers in Alexandra alleged widespread intimidation of shoppers by gangs of youths on the first day of the boycott. One white owner of a restaurant reported that his business dropped by 20 per cent. On the third day of the boycott, the army sealed off the township after two people died in a night of violence.

- 312 By 22 April, pressure exerted on the council caused it to collapse following several resignations. This period also saw the emergence of 'street committees', many of them organised by trade unionists who led the Alexandra Action Committee (AAC), and 'alternative structures' such as 'people's courts'.
- 313 On the night of 22 April, disaffected police who had been driven from the township retaliated by attacking the homes of activists. Five people died. (See the section on *Vigilantes* below for more detail.) Despite the vigilante attack, the AAC announced on 30 April that 'people's power' had been established in Alexandra and that residents could now defend themselves against police. Streets and schools were renamed in a symbolic display of popular control. The following month, township organisation went underground after a mass meeting of all township organisations where it was agreed that the AAC should be the sole representative of the Alexandra community. However, the declaration of a nation-wide state of emergency on 12 June brought 'people's power' in Alexandra to an end. Security forces swept through the township the night before the emergency was declared, detaining large numbers of people ranging from high-profile leaders to grass-roots activists.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE FUNERAL OF MR MICHAEL DIRADING WAS PEACEFUL UNTIL THE POLICE FIRED TEAR GAS AT THE 11 000 MOURNERS ATTENDING THE FUNERAL. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ATTACK BY THE POLICE ON UNARMED MOURNERS LED TO VIOLENT CLASHES BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND ALEXANDRA RESIDENTS, IN WHICH THIRTY PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND MANY OTHERS WERE INJURED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE ACTED IN A DELIBERATELY PROVOCATIVE MANNER BY SHOOTING AT PEOPLE WITHOUT ANY PROVOCATION. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE PREVENTED THE INJURED FROM RECEIVING MEDICAL TREATMENT, WHICH LED TO FURTHER DEATHS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE SAP, THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER, THE SADF AND THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT OCCURRED IN ALEXANDER IN FEBRUARY 1986 IN WHAT IS COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS THE SIX DAY WAR.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT DURING THE 'SIX DAY WAR', STATE EMPLOYEES SUCH AS POLICE OFFICERS, AND OTHERS PERCEIVED TO BE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE, WERE ATTACKED AND KILLED. ONE OF THESE WAS POLICE OFFICER SAMUEL MASHILE, WHO WAS BURNT TO DEATH BY UNKNOWN ALEXANDRA RESIDENTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THESE RESIDENTS RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

Detention and torture

- 314 The Detainees' Parents' Support Committee estimated that fourteen individuals died in police custody in 1984–85 alone. Evidence of endemic police torture which has emerged from amnesty applications and victims' submissions to the Commission indicates that many of these deaths occurred as a result of torture.
- 315 The Commission's data for the former Transvaal reflects a peak in the incidence of torture during this period (1983–89) with approximately 1 500 torture violations recorded, constituting 20 per cent of all gross human rights violations recorded during this period. Nearly a third of these acts of torture occurred in the second quarter of 1986, after the declaration of a national state of emergency. This is the highest peak of torture in the former Transvaal during the Commission's mandate period.
- 316 Many of the victims of torture were youths and young men between the ages of thirteen and twenty-four. A number were activists who held local leadership positions. Several were detained and tortured repeatedly. The government hoped that the detention of these activists would significantly weaken organised opposition and contain the wave of mass protest that was sweeping the country. The strategy worked, to a large extent, and by 1987 many organisations had collapsed in the absence of most of their leaders.
- 317 Although Johannesburg's John Vorster Square was the national Security Branch headquarters and interrogation centre, most of those detained and tortured in this region by the 1980s were local activists. In earlier decades, the capacity for specialised interrogation of alleged terrorists and subversives had been limited to a few teams of high-ranking policemen based in the Transvaal or Western Cape. By the 1980s, however, the use of torture and assault in the interrogation of political detainees had spread throughout the country and was being used routinely by policemen of all ranks at small and large police stations and in a variety of different contexts. Among the Transvaal police stations named as venues of torture in statements to the Commission are Protea, Alexandra, Dunnotar, Germiston, Makwassie and Carletonville. Some detainees report that they were not taken to police stations but were held in secret venues where they were severely tortured before being released.
- 318 The work of the Security Branch was crucial to the maintenance of South African national security. Torture and assault of detainees by this unit was not questioned.

It was even tacitly encouraged in the interests of defending the country against the total onslaught facing it. Lieutenant van Niekerk, an amnesty applicant, told the Commission:

In the Security Branch we had the situation where we dealt with the ANC, the onslaught of the MK, acts of terror and it was of crucial importance that that onslaught should have been stopped. And within this whole national political context, the Security Branch was allowed to do this ... In the Security Branch, it was a method used to obtain information – urgent information that we had to acquire – and it was approved, and it was used generally.

- 319 Another amnesty applicant, Captain van Loggerenberg, described some of the torture methods he had become acquainted with during the course of his work as a police officer in the Eastern Transvaal:

... if we talk about it, there are various methods which were used, the shocking method ... With the old type of telephones, the winding telephones, where you apply the electrodes to a person's body and you wind the telephone [electric shock] ... and several other methods ... The broomstick method ... You make a person hang between two chairs, the other method is making him hang by his arms where he has been handcuffed, and the other one is where a person stands on a brick balancing on his heels or on his toes for hours while you are conducting interrogation [forced posture].

- 320 All the reports of torture and assault submitted to the Commission are notable for the punitive nature of the violence directed against the detainees. Only in a very few instances was a serious effort made to interrogate detainees in order to acquire credible information from them. Generally torture and assault would start before questions had been posed and continue long after it became clear the detainee knew nothing, would not talk or in fact had talked. Violence was often sustained and intense, bringing detainees to the brink of death. Despite the severe injuries sustained by detainees during their torture, medical attention was itself used as a punitive measure, often being withheld until it appeared that a detainee might die. Many of those who had been badly assaulted were simply left to recover from their injuries over time before torture would be resumed. Sometimes these detainees would be held in solitary confinement for several months.

- 321 During their incarceration many detainees were coerced into making confessions. These confessions were accepted – and sometimes even elicited – by magistrates, as Mr Thabang Mopeloa testifies below. The personal consequences for detainees

and their families were substantial. Under torture, Ms Winnie Zondo [JB05603/01GTSOW] implicated her brother and sister in an incident of murder and arson. She and her two siblings spent the next six years in jail until they were released under indemnity provisions.

- 322 Despite the fact that the emergency regulations and legislation such as section 29 of the Internal Security Act already provided for indefinite periods of detention free from the scrutiny of family, friends and lawyers, there was a move during this period towards the use of extra-judicial methods, as indicated by reports of police wearing balaclavas to hide their faces, and of detainees being taken to private venues rather than police stations for periods of torture.
- 323 Mr Spankie Lesotho [JB02167/03WR], a founder member of the Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM), from Khutsong at Carletonville in the Western Transvaal, testified to the Human Rights Violations Committee of his experience as an emergency detainee. As a member of AZASM, he organised protests against corporal punishment and other educational grievances. Some of these protests were violent and involved the burning of school buildings, administrative offices and shops. He was repeatedly detained from 1985 onwards and then served a six-month sentence for public violence. On his release in 1986 he was detained again. He told the Commission that he was held for three weeks, and tortured. He was forced to frog-jump, his head was hit against a wall and his hair was torn out. A complaint to a prosecutor that he had been tortured merely elicited further abuse.
- 324 Mr Jacob Khoali [JB00238\01ERKAT] was a town councillor who became a member of the Katlehong Residents Action Committee (KRAC), a UDF-affiliated civic organisation. When the home of Katlehong's mayor, Mr Khumalo, was burnt down after the funeral of a victim of a police shooting, Mr Khoali was detained for fourteen days by the Germiston police and accused of involvement in the incident. He was assaulted and as a result falsely identified another Katlehong resident as a participant in the arson attack.
- 325 Mr Khoali was again arrested and held at Modderbee prison after the state of emergency was declared in June 1985. He was taken to a private house in Primrose called the 'waarkamer' where he was subjected to the 'helicopter' torture method and given electric shocks. As a result of his assault and torture by the police, both Khoali's legs were amputated above the knee and the use of his left arm is impaired.

326 Mr Thabang Reginald Mopeloa [JB01527/03NW] of Leboleng township in the Western Transvaal told the Commission of his detention and torture. On 17 June 1986, youth had gathered to sing freedom songs. As they were singing, there was a blackout in the township. They heard families shouting and crying that they were being attacked by "faceless people" wearing balaclavas and wielding plastic batons. The attackers arrived at Mr Mopeloa's home at about 03h00 and asked for him. Mopeloa said they beat him "as if they were beating the cows that didn't want to get into the kraal". Mopeloa and other youths were taken to the local police station, Makwassie, where they were slapped by white policemen wearing balaclavas. Eighteen-year-old Ms Cynthia Kedibone Morake [JB01852/03NW] was one of five young women arrested in the same incident.

327 Mr Mopeloa, who told the Commission that he didn't belong to any organisation at the time, was accused of being an ANC leader in the area and interrogated about his alleged involvement in the burning of a municipal office. When he denied that he was politically involved he was severely tortured. When he asked what evidence the police had that he was an ANC leader, he was beaten and handcuffed to the roof of a cell while electric shocks were applied to his genitals. The police did not allow his parents to see him:

After the three days that I spent at Makwassie, my parents were trying to get hold of me, to come and visit me. But unfortunately I was badly beaten and assaulted and they wouldn't even recognise it was Reggie.

328 The nightmare continued when the youths who had been detained were transferred to Stilfontein prison. While they were in the police van, the police told them that they were going to be thrown into an old mine shaft at Stilfontein. A tear gas canister was thrown into the vehicle.

329 At Stilfontein prison the young detainees were again teargassed and beaten. They were placed in a dark cell, and the beating continued. Later they were taken outside in freezing winter temperatures and sprayed with water and made to lie on the ground. They were surrounded by police vehicles and beaten once again with plastic batons. Mr Mopeloa told the Commission:

I was badly assaulted. I couldn't bear the pain ... and even asked God to take my life. They poured water on me and they made me lie in the bush and they said I should roll. They said I should sing and I was singing a song 'God we praise you', and they put a hose-pipe into my mouth, they said "You are singing nonsense, why don't you sing the Mandela song, we want to listen to that ... "

I said to them, "I do not have an idea of what you are talking about, I can't even sing those songs." They forced me to sing and I kept on singing the hymns.

- 330 His torturers still did not believe that he knew nothing about political activity in the area.

They said, "You don't want to tell the truth. We want to show you now that you will tell us the truth ... " They took the hose-pipe and put it into my mouth and they opened the tap. My tummy was full of water and I felt as if it was going to burst. I couldn't breathe. Thereafter Scheepers came close to me and he said, "I am now showing you Mandela." He used his boot to kick me on the stomach and water came out of my mouth and nose. I was just in a terrible state ... After that they made me run along the cars that were parked in a circle. There were soldiers and policemen, whom I do not know, but I only knew Scheepers. Everybody I come across, used his stick to hit me. Each one of them wanted to have their share on me.

- 331 After five days of continuous assault Mr Mopeloa was finally taken to court. He hoped to find some relief from the judicial system, but was disappointed:

I was expecting at the court of law to give my statement. But no statement was taken from me. What actually happened was, one of the prosecutors came to me and he intimidated me and said if I do not agree to the charges against me, that is public violence, I will be sentenced for five years ... We were so scared of the boers at that time, and I was so scared of prison and when they mentioned five years, I got a shock of my life, and I have seen many people who have come from prison, whose lives have been turned into tragedy. I confessed after that intimidation from the prosecutor Jordaan, and I said yes, I was present. You know I just wanted to be free.

- 332 Mr Kokane Isaac Ditshego [JB03221/02GTTEM], secretary of the Moutse Civic Association, which was campaigning against the incorporation of the area into the KwaNdebele homeland, was arrested and tortured in police custody in 1986. While his initial arrest and assault was carried out by the KwaNdebele Police, they were clearly working in co-operation with the SAP, who subjected Mr Ditshego to suffocation by 'tubing' (placing a tyre tube over his face).

- 333 Like a number of other detainees, Ditshego reports that after his arrest he was not immediately taken to a police station. First he and his cousin were kept in a police van for approximately four hours:

It was about one o'clock at night. They put me in a cage, in a dog cage, as you know the police cars have this dog kennels at the back where they put two dogs. They had one dog in the other kennel and they put the two of us, me and my cousin in ... They drove with us to Hillbrow and parked their car there ... for the whole night and they went around on foot playing machines, drinking, doing whatever they want and they came back round about five o'clock.

- 334 Mr Ditshego and his cousin were not taken to a police station but were driven to an abandoned farmhouse where they were interrogated and lashed. He described the attempts of the police to suffocate him:

And all of a sudden I saw one of them with a car tube, a piece of a car tube about that size. These guys, bearing in mind that they were almost all of them heavily built, to me they looked quite a bit abnormal, they were too big and I didn't even – I didn't see such big policemen around here, I mean they were very fat people. They let me lie on my back, yet still handcuffed. One of them sat on my legs and one of them sat on my chest. On my stomach here and the other one comes in front of me and put that tube on my face to suffocate me. That was the worst thing they could do to me. I get suffocated only when windows are not open but what more then, when a tube of a car is pressed on my face and all what they are saying is that "Nou gaan jy waar praat". They did that to me three times. I cannot count how many seconds or how long they kept pressing the tube on one's face or how long did they do it on me but it was only when I felt I was about to die when they could remove the tube.

- 335 When Ditshego lost consciousness, the police poured water over him to revive him. He was left for two weeks before the torture started again. Ditshego told the Commission that he was brought to the brink of death by a blow to the head.

... one of the biggest of them all, when I just entered the door there, hit me with his fist under the ear and I fell and died a little bit.

- 336 When Ditshego regained consciousness, the police appeared to have been concerned that they had actually killed him, but had made no attempt to assist him or call for medical help. They forced him to stand for a day before taking him back to the cells.

Deaths in detention

- 337 Mr Stanza Bopape [JB0500/02NPPTB, JB03703/01ERTEM], a well-known activist and general secretary of the Mamelodi Civic Association, died in police custody

at John Vorster Square on 12 June 1988, three days after he had been detained with his flatmate Mr Bheki Nkosi [JB05244/O1ERKAT]. A high-level cover-up, including a fake escape and secret disposal of Mr Bopape's body was approved by the commissioner of police, General Johan van der Merwe, in order to avoid the negative political ramifications of his death in police custody. Until the recent amnesty applications of a number of policemen involved in Bopape's death, a public fiction had been maintained that Bopape 'escaped' from police custody while being transported from Johannesburg to the Vaal. According to the then Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, Bopape escaped when three policemen with whom he was travelling got out of the car to change a punctured tyre. Bopape allegedly found the keys to unlock his handcuffs and fled. Police reported that they shot at him but failed to apprehend him, and claimed that he must have left the country to join the ANC.

- 338 Mr Bopape's mother, Ms Mokgaetji Francina Bopape, breaking down several times, made an impassioned plea at the Commission's Pietersburg hearings for information about her son's whereabouts. After a fruitless search by her husband for Bopape in the ANC exile community, Ms Bopape became convinced that her son had died in police custody. However, she was never able to confirm this. She told the Commission that she wanted "the police who were with him [to] come here and tell us where the bones are".
- 339 In the months that followed Ms Bopape's testimony, a number of the policemen involved in Mr Stanza Bopape's arrest and interrogation applied to the Commission for amnesty, claiming that he had died of a heart attack after they had applied electric shocks to his body.
- 340 According to the amnesty applicants, they had information that Bopape had been involved in a variety of violent attacks, including several bombings and the murder of three police officers in Atteridgeville. When questioned about his activities, Bopape apparently refused to provide the police with any information. As the day wore on and Bopape still remained uncooperative, a decision was made to "give him a little fright". It was proposed that electric shocks should be used. A police officer was sent to fetch the electric shock equipment from another police station.
- 341 All the amnesty applicants claim that Bopape was not assaulted prior to the decision to use electric shocks on him and that the device was turned only a few times before he slumped forward, dead.

342 However, Mr Bheki Nkosi, Bopape's flatmate who was detained with him, told the Commission that Bopape's torture may have been more severe. He described to the Commission how he himself was given electric shocks of increasing intensity when he did not respond to questions put to him.

343 Van Niekerk describes how Bopape was prepared for the shocks:

We decided to tie Mr Bopape on a chair ... There was a strong wooden chair in my office and because of the fact that my office was quite small we pushed the chair out into the corridor which was quite broad – wide – and Mr Bopape was placed on the chair. His shirt was removed, his hands were tied to the supports of the chair and his feet to the legs of the chair. Sergeant du Preez had the shock device in his hand ... There were two cords running from the device and at the tip of it, of these cords, there were two pieces of cloth which was wrapped around the tips of the cords. This device was turned two or three times by Sergeant du Preez and whilst he was turning it, Mr Engelbrecht pushed these cords against his body and moved it over Mr Bopape's body ... It didn't take very long, maybe two to four minutes, the device was turned, then it was stopped, then someone asked him whether he wanted to say something and if there was no reaction to that, then the machine was turned again and this must have happened around three times. By the third time Mr Bopape's head fell forward and I realised there was something wrong. We immediately untied him, placed him on the floor and Sergeant du Preez gave him mouth to mouth resuscitation. It seemed that he was dead already and I think all of us standing there ... all thought that he was dead.

344 Realising the political implications of Bopape's death – on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto protests and at the height of conflict between the government and opposition groups – the police officers involved in his interrogation did not try to obtain medical confirmation of his death, or medical assistance to resuscitate him. Instead, Van Niekerk telephoned his superior, General Erasmus, to express his concern about the possible political consequences of Bopape's death and suggest that a 'plan' should be made. The plan was that Bopape's body was to be hidden while Van Niekerk and the other policemen involved in his interrogation waited for instructions regarding the next step:

... we thought we would put the body back in the office where Mr Mostert and Engelbrecht interrogated him at first and he was placed on the floor and a blanket was thrown over him. And then we waited to receive feedback from General Erasmus.

- 345 At approximately 18h00 that evening General Erasmus arrived at John Vorster Square to tell the waiting policemen what plans had been made. He had discussed the matter with the commissioner of police, who had suggested that a fake escape be arranged. Brigadier Visser of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch would assist with the disposal of the body.
- 346 As night fell, Bopape's body was secreted out of the police station and taken away by the Johannesburg Security Branch members. Near Bronkhorstspuit they met up with members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and drove together to a dirt road, where Bopape's body was moved from the boot of Lieutenant Zeelie's car to the boot of a car driven by Captain van Loggerenberg of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch.
- 347 Van Loggerenberg drove to the Komati River, near a picnic spot frequented by police officers. He arrived at about 02h00 and immediately went to a crocodile-infested pool, where he deposited the body:

I rolled the body into the river and the body, the corpse sunk away into the water. I cannot tell you that it immediately disappeared, but I did not stay to look.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SPECIAL BRANCH OF THE SAP WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DETENTION AND TORTURE OF MANY YOUNG PEOPLE, INCLUDING MR SPANKIE LESOTHO, MR THABANG REGINALD MOPELOA, MR BHEKI NKOSI AND MR STANZA BOPAPE DURING THE PERIOD 1983–89.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR LESOTHO WAS ARRESTED IN THE CARLETONVILLE AREA AND DETAINED FOR LONG PERIODS DURING WHICH HE WAS SEVERELY BEATEN AND SUBJECTED TO REPEATED ELECTRIC SHOCK TORTURE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR MOPELOA WAS ARRESTED IN JUNE 1987 BY THE SAP AND SUBJECTED TO SEVERE BEATINGS AND TORTURE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR NKOSI WAS DETAINED AND TORTURED WITH ELECTRIC SHOCKS BY THE SAME SPECIAL BRANCH MEMBERS WHO DETAINED AND TORTURED MR BOPAPE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TORTURE CONSTITUTES A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION FOR WHICH THE THEN HEAD OF THE SPECIAL BRANCH, THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AND THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER MUST TAKE RESPONSIBILITY .

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR BOPAPE, A WELL-KNOWN ACTIVIST AND GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE MAMELODI CIVIC ASSOCIATION, DIED WHILST BEING TORTURED BY MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY BRANCH³⁰ AT JOHN VORSTER SQUARE ON 12 JUNE 1988. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT A NUMBER OF POLICEMEN WERE INVOLVED IN A COVER-UP OF BOPAPE'S DEATH AND DISPOSING OF HIS BODY, INCLUDING THE FORMER COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, GENERAL JOHAN VAN DER MERWE, GENERAL ERASMUS, BRIGADIER VISSER OF THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL

30 Amnesty hearings in connection with Bopape's death were in progress at the time of reporting. See amnesty applications of Mr Petrus Lodewikus du Toit [AM4131/96], Mr Gerrit Nicholas Erasmus [AM4134/96], Mr Hendrik Albertus Buekes Mostert [AM4403/96], Mr Leon van Loggerenberg [AM5010/97], Mr Schalk Jan Visser [AM5000/97], Mr Charles Alfred Zeelie [AM3751/96], Mr Johan Ludwig du Preez [AM4404/96], Mr Jacobus Hermanus Engelbrecht [AM4402/96], Mr Adriaan Pieter van Niekerk [AM4353/96] and Mr Johannes Velde van der Merwe [AM4157/96].

SECURITY BRANCH, AND CAPTAIN VAN LOGGERENBERG. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE DISAPPEARANCE, TORTURE AND DEATH OF BOPAPE TO CONSTITUTE A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FINDS THE POLICEMEN AND THE MINISTER OF LAW AT THE TIME RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE POLICEMEN HAVE APPLIED FOR AMNESTY.

Disappearances

- 348 Mr Ramatua Nicholas Thlapi [JB01185/03NW], from Ikageng at Potchefstroom, was arrested in Jouberton on 20 March 1986 along with several other young activists. Mr Thlapi subsequently disappeared in police custody. At the time of his disappearance, the SAP claimed that they had released him the day of his arrest. Mr George Morwaabusi Mangwejane [JB01452/03NW], one of the activists detained with Thlapi, said he last saw him lying on the floor in the Stilfontein police station, bleeding from the mouth. He claimed that he saw Constable April Tshwaedi jump on Thlapi's chest.
- 349 In 1993, former policeman Mr George Mbathu, who had detained Thlapi and the other activists, gave Lawyers for Human Rights a sworn statement alleging that Warrant Officer Viljoen, Sergeant Makiti and Constables Tseladimitlwa, Tshwaedi, Majaja and Mano had been involved in the arrest. He also alleged that Thlapi was dead and that his body had been dumped down a mine shaft. Later he pointed out an old disused mine shaft just outside Stilfontein.
- 350 On 29 December 1993, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Independent Board of Inquiry (IBI) and members of the SAP accompanied the Thlapi family to the mine, where a camera was lowered down the shaft and the family watched the camera's progress on a monitor. A number of shadows appeared on the screen, but there was no conclusive proof that Thlapi's body had been dumped there. In the light of what he had seen, Mr Abbey Dlavane of Lawyers for Human Rights felt that further investigation of the site was warranted. The police investigation into Thlapi's disappearance continues. Two of the policemen mentioned by Mbathu have been charged with serious assault against other detainees at the Welverdiend police station in Carletonville.

Staged escapes

- 351 Two KwaNdebele families made statements to the Commission regarding relatives who disappeared in strikingly similar circumstances. Both individuals were arrested by the police but were subsequently reported to have escaped from custody. Over a decade later, neither has been seen or heard from again. Even

their families have given up hope that they are still alive. No one has applied for amnesty for either incident, but the Commission's investigations have made some progress in unravelling the mysteries surrounding these disappearances. KwaNdebele policemen are implicated in the probable deaths of both detained activists. A report on one of the cases has been sent to the Attorney-General for consideration.

- 352 On 11 February 1987, Mr Jim Msebenzi Mahlangu [JB02465/01MPMOU], a fifty-one-year-old headman, was detained at his home at 159 Tweefontein 'G' by three white and three black KwaNdebele policemen. Ms Anna Mbele, one of Mr Mahlangu's wives, and Ms Maria Mahlangu, his mother, witnessed his detention. They were told that he was being detained under the emergency regulations.
- 353 Later the same night, policemen returned to the Mahlangu home, claiming that he had escaped while directing them to an arms cache hidden at a friend's house. Before the police left, they detained one of the sons, Mr Themba Mahlangu, saying that the boy would "speak the truth". Themba Mahlangu was held at Kwaggafontein police station for five days under the emergency regulations without being questioned. He did not see his father. Ms Anna Mbele searched police stations and mortuaries in the area, but found nothing.
- 354 The disappearance of Mr Mahlangu appears even more suspicious given the headman's previous political involvement. Mahlangu had a good working relationship with 'comrades' in the area and played an active role in the local 'people's court'. He had also assisted in a special police investigation into outstanding charges against KwaNdebele politicians and members of the Imbokodo vigilante group (see below). Mahlangu had helped the police collect statements on a raid in Tweefontein from twelve residents who might otherwise have been reluctant to co-operate with the police. These statements were central to the case against Imbokodo leaders.
- 355 The KwaNdebele Police insisted that they had no record of Mahlangu's detention, though entries in the investigation diary of the disappearance docket suggest that individual policemen may have known about the case, but had refused to give a statement. The investigation was subsequently closed for lack of information.
- 356 On 6 February 1987, Ms Happy Shabangu and her brothers Lucas and Stephen Shabangu were working at the Bundu Inn in Moutse, KwaNdebele, owned by their father, Mr JB Shabangu. Between 12h30 and 13h00 that afternoon, six

KwaNdebele policemen arrived at the premises in several vehicles. They have been identified as Warrant Officer Eric Magagula, Constable SJ Kritzinger and Sergeants Arnoldus van Schalkwyk, Sam Mphelo (since deceased), Dumisani Mahlangu and Jacob Mthombeni.

- 357 The officers expressed a particular interest in searching the staff room that belonged to the Shabangus' elder brother, Mr George Shabangu [JB02849/01MPMOU]. Happy Shabangu unlocked the room and watched as the policemen searched the premises. One of the officers produced a firearm, alleging that he had found it on a ledge near the top of the wall in George's room. Happy, however, was suspicious of the policeman's claim as the gun had been recovered before the search was conducted. Nevertheless, she signed the policeman's pocketbook to confirm the particulars of the weapon when instructed to do so. The policemen told Happy that the weapon implicated George in a recent robbery at the Moteti Top Sport Garage. Again, Happy's suspicions were aroused, as she knew that the garage was owned by Mr Nyembe, her father's close friend. As the policemen left the premises, Lucas and Stephen Shabangu were detained for further questioning.
- 358 The policemen proceeded to Matchiding, where Sergeant Mthombeni led them to the house of George Shabangu's girlfriend, Ms Connie Mokwena. George was at the house and was also arrested and taken with his brothers to the Siyabuswa Murder and Robbery Unit.
- 359 On arrival, the younger brothers were placed in separate interrogation rooms across a garden from the room to which George was taken. Stephen was questioned twice regarding the gun. He stated then, and continues to affirm, that he had no knowledge of the gun. During a break in the questioning, Stephen witnessed two of the policemen, Dumisani Mahlangu and Eric Magagula, driving off in a pale brown minibus. When they returned some fifteen minutes later, Van Schalkwyk allegedly rushed to the combi to fetch a brown case. While Van Schalkwyk was on his way back to the room in which George was held, Stephen allegedly overheard the policeman say words to the effect that George was in for a hard time.
- 360 Shortly after Mahlangu, Magagula and Van Schalkwyk entered the room in which George was being held, Stephen and Lucas heard screams which they believe to have been from their brother. The screams lasted for approximately an hour before they suddenly ended. When the screams stopped, Mahlangu, Magagula and Mthombeni returned to Lucas and Stephen to take them home.

When the brothers inquired after George, the policemen told them not to worry as he was in their care.

- 361 Later that night, Magagula and Van Schalkwyk returned to the Bundu Inn to report that George Shabangu had allegedly escaped that evening while pointing out an arms cache in the Marapong area. George Shabangu has not been seen since.
- 362 Four section 29 subpoena hearings were conducted with respect to the incident and several sworn *affidavits* were collected. A report on the Commission's investigations into the disappearance of George Shabangu has been forwarded to the Attorney-General for consideration.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR RAMATUA NICHOLAS THLAPI WAS LAST SEEN IN THE CUSTODY OF THE POLICE BASED AT JOUBERTON POLICE STATION IN 1986. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT HE WAS ASSAULTED AND TORTURED BY WARRANT OFFICER VILJOEN, SERGEANT MAKITI AND CONSTABLES TSELADIMITLWA, TSHWAEDI, MAJAJA AND MANO OF THE JOUBERTON SECURITY BRANCH. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE JOUBERTON SECURITY BRANCH RESPONSIBLE FOR MR THLAPI'S DISAPPEARANCE, AND FINDS THAT IN ALL PROBABILITY HE WAS KILLED BY THE JOUBERTON POLICE IN WHOSE CUSTODY HE WAS LAST SEEN. THLAPI'S DISAPPEARANCE AND DEATH CONSTITUTE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION FOR WHICH THE COMMISSION HOLDS THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, THE HEAD OF THE SECURITY BRANCH AND THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER RESPONSIBLE.

WITH RESPECT TO THE CASE OF MR GEORGE SHABANGU, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT :

- THE SEARCH OF MR SHABANGU'S ROOM ON 6 FEBRUARY 1987 BY WARRANT OFFICER ERIC MAGAGULA, CONSTABLE SJ KRITZINGER AND SERGEANTS ARNOLDUS VAN SCHALKWYK, SAM MPHELO, DUMISANI MAHLANGU AND JACOB MTHOMBENI OF THE KWANDEBELE POLICE WAS CONDUCTED ILLEGALLY.
- MR SHABANGU WAS DETAINED BY THE KWANDEBELE POLICE FOR POLITICAL REASONS AND NOT, AS CLAIMED BY THE POLICE, TO INVESTIGATE AN ARMED ROBBERY AT A LOCAL GARAGE.
- MR STEPHEN SHABANGU'S EYEWITNESS STATEMENT REGARDING EVENTS AT THE SIYABUSWA MURDER AND ROBBERY UNIT ARE IN ALL PROBABILITY AN ACCURATE ACCOUNT.
- THE SIYABUSWA MURDER AND ROBBERY UNIT POSSESSED A BROWN LEATHER CASE CONTAINING AN ELECTRICAL DEVICE USED REGULARLY TO SHOCK DETAINEES DURING INTERROGATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS IT UNLIKELY THAT THE POLICE WOULD HAVE CONDUCTED A NIGHT-TIME SEARCH FOR AN ARMS CACHE WITH A SUSPECT THEY CONSIDERED DANGEROUS – AND WITHOUT TAKING SHOVELS OR TORCHES. THE COMMISSION REJECTS THE ASSERTION BY THE KWANDEBELE POLICE THAT MR GEORGE SHABANGU ESCAPED WHILE POINTING OUT AN ARMS CACHE. THE COMMISSION HOLDS THE KWANDEBELE POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISAPPEARANCE OF MR SHABANGU ON 6 FEBRUARY 1987 AND FINDS THAT IN ALL PROBABILITY HE WAS KILLED BY THE KWANDEBELE POLICE, IN WHOSE CUSTODY HE WAS LAST SEEN. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE DISAPPEARANCE AND DEATH OF MR SHABANGU TO CONSTITUTE A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH THE HEAD OF THE KWANDEBELE POLICE MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY.

Covert action

- 363 The evidence of amnesty applicants to the Commission has provided confirmation of an increase in the use of extra-judicial mechanisms to control political opposition in the country during the mid-1980s. The secret Vlakplaas Security Branch police unit played a significant role in this escalation of covert activity. However, evidence from amnesty applications made to the Commission indicates that such extra-judicial activities became increasingly localised and widespread. Members of the Soweto Security Branch applied for amnesty for a range of illegal activities, including bomb attacks to boost the credibility of informers and the use of booby-trapped grenades against activists.
- 364 In the 'credibility operations', informers who had infiltrated MK cells would be assisted with various sabotage operations in order to maintain their credibility. These sabotage acts primarily involved destruction of property but may have also led to loss of life. Most of these operations were carried out between 1985 and 1987 by a team consisting of black police informers and white Security Branch officers. In 1989 a slightly different team organised a more serious operation – the murder of three activists using booby-trapped limpet mines.
- 365 One of the victims remains unidentified to this day, another is simply referred to as 'Castro', the third is identified in a statement as Mr Ncebe Cassius Snuma [JB01654/01GTSOW]. Mr Cindi Snuma reports that Ncebe, a UDF activist, disappeared mysteriously after leaving home on 18 July 1989. In September 1996, police at Braamfontein gave Mr Sandile Snuma some photographs by which he was to identify his brother Ncebe's body. Sandile was allegedly instructed not to contact the media or the Commission as two suspended policemen had been involved in Ncebe's death and any outside interference might jeopardise the investigation. According to the police, Ncebe was killed when a bomb given to him by an ANC member exploded in his possession.
- THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SOWETO SECURITY BRANCH USED EXTRA-JUDICIAL METHODS TO KILL ACTIVISTS, INCLUDING MR NCEBE CASSIUS SNUMA, ONE 'CASTRO' AND AN UNIDENTIFIED YOUTH. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THESE EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS CONSTITUTE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE SAP, THE SADF AND VLAKPLAAS MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER, THE HEAD OF THE SADF AND THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.
- 366 Important new information about the booby-trapped hand grenades has emerged both through the testimony of victims to the Human Rights Violations Committee

and through the amnesty applications of senior security force personnel. The evidence reveals the level of co-operation between the covert units of the SAP, Vlakplaas and the SADF Special Forces. In his amnesty application Mr Willem Schoon states that he discussed the booby-trapped hand grenades with Major General Joep Joubert of the SADF Special Forces. He was told that Special Forces were able to reduce the timing device in a hand grenade to zero seconds. These hand grenades were later given to the East Rand activists. The distribution of booby-trapped hand grenades to young activists on the East Rand was seen as a means of re-establishing control over East Rand townships.

- 367 Eight people were killed in different hand grenade explosions on 26 June 1985. At least seven people were injured. The media announced the following day that the victims had been “on their way to commit acts of terror when they were killed by their own weapons”.
- 368 In an application for amnesty, Brigadier Jack Cronjé said this had been a propaganda exercise to create the impression that ‘terrorists’ had blown themselves up because they were poorly trained. “Our actions maintained the trust of white voters in the apartheid government and convinced them to vote for this government.” The use of the grenades had the dual benefit of permanently eliminating activists as well as making them appear incompetent, simultaneously undermining the credibility of the ANC’s armed wing, MK, within the township community and boosting the credibility of the South African security forces within the white community.
- 369 Amnesty applications from senior police officials make it clear that the use of booby-trapped hand grenades was authorised at the highest levels of government, but the exact line of command remains murky. Former Commissioner Johan van der Merwe was second in command of the Security Branch at the time of the hand grenade attack. He claims in his amnesty application that he initiated the project and gained the direct consent of his superiors up to the level of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange. Police Commissioner Johan Coetzee was reportedly involved in the planning stage of the operation and Van der Merwe reported to him in full on its completion. However, Van der Merwe was reluctant to commit himself as to whether the use of the hand grenades had been approved at a higher level (i.e. the State Security Council) or to comment on a claim by Brigadier Cronjé that Van der Merwe was merely implementing a project initiated by the State President and the Minister of Law and Order.
- 370 By mid-1985, the use of state-sanctioned murder to contain opposition was

well established. Although General van der Merwe does not acknowledge that orders were given to carry out illegal activities, he does state that “the impression was created” that the security forces should use any means necessary to halt the “total onslaught” facing the country:

I can say that if you talk with your people now it seems that the perception did exist that it was expected of them to do a lot more than that which could be done within the parameters of the legal system. Apart from our duties in terms of the Police Act and Regulations our instructions normally came from the State Security Council. What I would like to emphasise that in respect of all instructions coming from the State Security Council all these instructions fell within the ambit of the law. Instructions from the State Security Council, as far as I am aware, were never extra-legal by nature ... but if you look at the general perception at the time, the impression was created that the enemy had to be halted at all costs.

371 Brigadier Cronjé, in his testimony, is more explicit about the chain of command:

This instruction was given to me in Springs by General van der Merwe and during this instruction he specifically indicated to me that this came directly from Minister le Grange and that it had indeed been authorised by President PW Botha, as well as Commissioner Johan Coetzee, both of whom knew about this and authorised it ... If it should be claimed therefore by anyone that the State Security Council was not aware of the actions of the security forces and the security police or of any specific incidents this would not be true.

372 According to Van der Merwe, the project, which was to become known as ‘Operation Zero Zero’ was initiated in response to intelligence reports which indicated that a group of activists were planning armed attacks on the homes of black policemen living in East Rand townships. The activists were allegedly simply waiting for a consignment of hand grenades from an arms cache before launching their attacks.

373 Van der Merwe states that he was personally in charge of the operation, intercepting the explosives which the activists were to use and modifying their time-delay mechanism before passing them on to the askaris. The instruction was given to supply the activists with these ‘Zero Zero’ hand grenades.

374 After the incident, violence erupted in Duduza and continued for the next month. At least three people were wounded when police fired birdshot and tear gas to disperse more than 6 000 residents who had gathered around the bodies of the

men killed in the hand grenade explosions. Members of the dead men's families and other residents sat near the bodies and refused to allow police to remove them. After firing tear gas and birdshot to disperse the crowd, the police took the bodies away [see JB02576/01ERKWA].

- 375 Residents believed a police informant was behind the deaths of the students. At the first funeral, Archbishop Desmond Tutu saved a suspected informer from being necklaced. But at the second funeral, the fury of Duduza was unleashed on Ms Maki Skhosana [JB00289/01ERKWA], suspected of being an informer because of her relationship with one 'Mike', who was in fact Vlakplaas operative Joe Mamasela posing as an MK operative (see under Necklacing, below). Soon after Skhosana's necklacing, State President PW Botha declared a state of emergency on 20 July 1985 affecting thirty-six magisterial districts.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT EIGHT PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND SEVEN SERIOUSLY INJURED IN SEPARATE HAND GRENADE AND LIMPET MINE BLASTS ON 25 JUNE 1985. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS RESPONSIBLE FOR SUPPLYING EAST RAND ACTIVISTS WITH BOOBY-TRAPPED HAND GRENADES AND LIMPET MINES, RESULTING IN GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS: FORMER VLAKPLAAS HEAD WILLEM SCHOON; FORMER SPECIAL FORCES OFFICER, MAJOR GENERAL JOEP JOUBERT; FORMER COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, GENERAL JOHAN VAN DER MERWE; BRIGADIER CRONJÉ; FORMER VLAKPLAAS COMMANDER, EUGENE DE KOCK; VLAKPLAAS ASKARIS DANIEL NKALA AND JOE MAMASELA, AND SPECIAL BRANCH MEMBERS ROELOF VENTER, MARTHINUS DELPORT AND FRANCOIS STEENKAMP. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER MINISTERS OF DEFENCE AND OF LAW AND ORDER RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ACTIONS OF THEIR OPERATIVES.

Ambushes

- 376 At an amnesty hearing in Pietersburg, new information emerged about an operation which led to the killing of six MK members in an ambush near the Botswana border in 1987.
- 377 Former Northern Transvaal security police chief, Colonel Willem van der Merwe, stated that he was involved in a plan to provide police transport for a group of MK insurgents who wanted to enter the country from Botswana on 10 July 1986.
- 378 "The idea was to keep track of the activities of such groups, and to eventually arrest them inside South Africa," he said. In this particular case, the plan had been to halt the vehicle carrying the insurgents at a roadblock. Several police units and members of Five Reconnaissance Battalion based at Phalaborwa were involved. Sergeant Mathews Sehlwana, the driver of the minibus, was briefed on his role. The plan was to lob a tear gas canister into the vehicle to force the insurgents

to surrender. Sehlwana was to jump out of the vehicle and seek shelter. "We believed that, with a show of force, we would be able to arrest them," Van der Merwe said. Although not actively involved in the operation, he supervised the formulation of the plan.

379 Sehlwana said his task as a member of the security police was to gather information about the movements of ANC insurgents planning cross-border raids from Botswana. Informants told him six infiltrators were seeking transport to South Africa. He offered to assist them, saying his father was a taxi-owner. According to official documentation before the amnesty committee, three of the victims were identified as Mr WT Alset [JB04421/02PS], Mr LM Moloi and Mr TR Mogashoa. The other three were not identified. At the time, Sehlwana was operating as a member of an anti-insurgency unit commanded by Captain Koos van der Berg. He informed Van der Berg of the infiltration plan. According to testimony heard by the Commission, two of the insurgents were planning to bomb the Checkers shopping complex in Pietersburg, two wanted to get to Phalaborwa, and the remaining two were heading for Johannesburg. The police ambush was carefully rehearsed, and Sehlwana went ahead with an arrangement to pick up the six men in a minibus provided by the police. Sehlwana said he was under the impression the insurgents would be arrested.

380 On 10 July 1987 he picked up the six men at a prearranged spot near Alldays in Northern Province and drove to a bridge where his colleagues were waiting. He testified that the insurgents were armed with automatic rifles and grenades and opened fire when they were attacked. All six MK operatives were killed in the shoot-out.

381 Van der Merwe said he was shocked to hear on the day of the operation that the plan had gone awry. The findings of an inquest, ordered at the time, did not reflect what happened at the scene of the shooting, he contended. In applying for amnesty in respect of this incident, Van der Merwe said he believed he and the other security policemen had acted lawfully in terms of existing legislation. "Our task was to prevent the violent overthrow of the government." Van der Merwe confirmed having authorised a R2 000 payment to Sehlwana for having done a "good job".

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A NUMBER OF ACTIVISTS LEAVING OR ENTERING THE COUNTRY WERE KILLED IN AMBUSHES BY THE SADF AND SAP NEAR THE BORDERS WITH SWAZILAND, MOZAMBIQUE, LESOTHO AND BOTSWANA. A NUMBER OF AMNESTY APPLICANTS, INCLUDING SPECIAL BRANCH MEMBERS AND COVERT GROUPS SUCH AS VLAKPLAAS MEMBERS HAVE

ADMITTED AMBUSHING AND KILLING SUCH ACTIVISTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ON 10 JULY 1987, SIX ANC MEMBERS WERE AMBUSHED AT ALLDAYS AND SHOT DEAD BY POLICE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KILLING CONSTITUTES GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER, THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AND THE FORMER STATE MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY.

THE COMMISSION FINDS, AS A RESULT OF EXHUMATIONS, THAT A NUMBER OF CADRES WERE TORTURED AND KILLED AFTER HAVING BEEN ABDUCTED. EXHUMATIONS HAVE REVEALED THAT SUCH CADRES WERE SHOT DEAD WITHOUT ANY ATTEMPT TO DEAL WITH THEM IN A JUDICIAL MANNER. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT LOWER-RANKING OPERATIVES, NOTING THE STATE SECURITY COUNCIL'S USE OF COUNTER-INSURGENCY STRATEGIES AGAINST THOSE IT CONSIDERED A THREAT, INTERPRETED THIS TO MEAN THAT SUCH CADRES SHOULD BE KILLED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER, THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND THE HEAD OF THE STATE SECURITY COUNCIL RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE FORMER STATE CONTRACTED WITH A NUMBER OF FUNERAL UNDERTAKERS' FIRMS TO BURY CADRES WHO WERE SHOT IN AMBUSHES OR EXECUTED EXTRA-JUDICIALLY. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE UNDERTAKERS COLLUDED WITH THE STATE IN MANY CASES TO CONCEAL THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF DEATH OF SUCH CADRES FROM THEIR FAMILIES AND THE PUBLIC AT LARGE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS SUCH UNDERTAKERS, THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER AND THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF THE FAMILIES OF THESE CADRES.

- 382 On 23 August 1987, Mr Caiphus Nyoka [JB00285/01ERKWA], a student activist from Daveyton, was killed in an alleged shoot-out with police during a raid on his room in the backyard of his parents' home. He sustained approximately ten gunshot wounds.
- 383 A number of policemen involved in the incident which led to the death of Mr Nyoka, and several of his relatives and friends made submissions to the Commission.
- 384 Nyoka was allegedly linked to eight hand grenades and six limpet mines found on two men on 23 August 1987. The men told the police that they had received the contents of the bag from him, and that they were supposed to return to his home that night. The two men, Mr Daniel Moseng and Mr Moses Mahlangu, were taken to Daveyton police station and the bag was given to Sergeant Engelbrecht of the Security Branch.
- 385 Arrangements were made to arrest Nyoka. Engelbrecht, who knew Nyoka, was to identify and arrest him with the help of Sergeants Stander and Marais. Any other people who might be in the room were to be removed, as the police did not know how Nyoka would react.

386 When the group of police officers including Marais, Engelbrecht, Stander and two others arrived at the house, they knocked and ordered the occupants to open the door. Getting no reaction, they kicked the door in. Inside, Engelbrecht used his flashlight to identify Nyoka. He saw three other men and took them outside immediately. He heard Marais ordering Nyoka to keep still. The next moment he heard shots and ordered the three men to lie down on the ground. Engelbrecht turned on the light in the room and found Nyoka, who was fatally wounded, holding a knife in his left hand. Marais said that Nyoka had reached under the bed and grabbed something which shone and looked like a weapon. Marais and Stander had then simultaneously shot at him.

387 The three men outside were arrested and taken to Benoni police station for questioning. They were Mr Excellent Mthemba, Mr Exodus Nyakane and Mr Elson Mnyakeni. According to these three young men, they had attended a funeral in Daveyton with Nyoka and had gone to a shebeen together afterwards. At the end of the evening Nyoka said they could all sleep in his room. They talked about the funeral and then went to sleep until the police kicked down the door.

388 At the police station, the young men were interrogated and tortured. Mr Nyakane heard someone screaming while he was left in an office in the Daveyton police station. Later, he was locked in a locker and smelled tear gas fumes. He was taken to another office and his face was covered with a cloth causing him breathing difficulties. He was given electric shocks on both hands. As the shocks continued, the cloth was tightened. He was hit in the face. An object was then put in his mouth and he was shocked again. He fell to the floor still handcuffed to the chair. During the torture, he was questioned about whether he knew two other men, which he denied. He was later taken back to the previous room and locked in a locker again. He peeped through the door and witnessed two other people being locked inside lockers. He also heard more screams. He was later taken back to Daveyton and released.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ON 23 AUGUST 1987, MR CAIPHUS NYOKA, A YOUNG ACTIVIST FROM DAVEYTON, AND THREE OF HIS COMRADES WERE SLEEPING AT HIS HOME IN DAVEYTON. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE BENONI SECURITY BRANCH ENTERED THE ROOM, TOOK THE THREE COMRADES OUT INTO THE YARD AND THEN EXECUTED MR NYOKA IN COLD BLOOD. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE THREE OTHER MEN, MR EXCELLENT MTHEMBA, MR EXODUS NYAKANE AND MR ELSON MNYAKENI, WERE TAKEN TO THE BENONI HEADQUARTERS OF THE SECURITY BRANCH AND TORTURED.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KILLING OF MR CAIPHUS NYOKA BY MEMBERS OF THE BENONI SECURITY BRANCH CONSTITUTES A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND HOLDS THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER, THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AND THE HEAD OF THE

FORMER STATE RESPONSIBLE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TORTURE OF THE THREE MEN NAMED ABOVE CONSTITUTES A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND HOLDS THE BENONI SECURITY BRANCH, THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AND THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER RESPONSIBLE.

Homelands

- 389 The conflict which had emerged in the urban areas from 1984 began to manifest itself in homelands across the country during 1986. In Bophuthatswana, KwaNdebele and Lebowa in particular, violence reached intense levels.
- 390 Numbers of recorded violations in the Transvaal homelands rose dramatically in this period, with most reports emanating from KwaNdebele and Bophuthatswana.
- 391 With the spread of UDF and COSAS activities to the homelands during 1986, many forms of township protest also reached these areas. In most homelands the response to open political protest was severe, resulting in widespread detention and torture by homeland police.
- 392 The homelands, particularly those that had achieved 'independent' status, had security powers that sometimes exceeded those of the South African state itself. A discernible difference in the nature of violations emerged in this period between the self-governing homelands (those without their own police forces and army) and the independent homelands, which had their own security apparatus. In the independent homelands, Venda and Bophuthatswana, acts of torture were by far the most common violations (42 per cent), while in the self-governing homelands torture makes up a relatively small percentage (26 per cent). Many of the statements (particularly for Venda) referred to the detention and torture of activists and suspected MK guerrillas. Almost half of the perpetrators are identified as members of the homeland police forces themselves. However, the involvement of the SAP in detention and torture in both Venda and Bophuthatswana is significant. A number of deaths were reported arising out of acts of torture.
- 393 In the homelands as in the urban areas, a cycle of retaliatory violence was set in motion as violence intensified between homeland security forces and UDF-aligned youth. Petrol-bombing, arson and necklacing were all used during the course of these attacks. One of the main targets of attack by opposition groups were the chiefs who, like community councillors in the urban areas, became increasingly unpopular for their implementation of government policy. The first major protests in the Transvaal against chiefly authority occurred in Lebowa and

KwaNdebele. In many places, chiefs bore the brunt of youth anger, suffering physical assault, attacks on their houses and expulsion from their villages. The rise of the youth movement under the banner of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) and the UDF rapidly and systematically destroyed the power of chiefs in many districts.

- 394 Partly in response to the rise of youth organisations and in lieu of formal coercive mechanisms such as homeland armies, this period saw the emergence of conservative vigilante organisations, most notably Imbokodo, Inkatha and Kabasa. These are discussed in the section entitled Vigilantes below, and in more detail in the Homelands chapter in another volume of this report.
- 395 In Venda, gross human rights violations took place in two major contexts. The most significant of these was the conflict between the homeland government and emerging civic, youth and other UDF-affiliated structures which protested against the homeland administration. The second was the conflict between homeland security forces and ANC insurgents crossing the borders from neighbouring countries through the homelands.
- 396 In 1985 the Northern Transvaal Action Committee (NTAC) was launched in Thohoyandou. The NTAC and the Youth Congress mobilised and organised local residents and students against the homeland system, culminating in an anti-independence campaign led by Venda University students and drawing in pupils from a number of secondary schools. The Venda government responded by setting up roadblocks and raiding villages and townships, searching for local leaders.
- 397 The Venda government appears to have made extensive use of detention and torture in its efforts to control opposition. The SAP were frequently involved in the interrogation of suspected MK members in Venda.
- 398 The Venda government experienced considerable instability after the death in May 1988 of the Life President, Chief Mphephu, and his replacement by his cousin, Mr Frank Ravele. Opposition to the homeland government took an extraordinary turn as government officials were widely believed by residents to be involved in more than twenty cases of 'medicine murder' (murder of people for their body parts to make medicines or 'muti') which took place between 1987 and 1989. Many of the officials appointed after Ravele's accession to power were reportedly illiterate and deeply rooted in traditional beliefs about the power of ritual sacrifice.

- 399 The medicine murders evoked widespread anger in the homeland. Government officials were accused of mishandling the investigation and alleged perpetrators were reportedly granted bail and had charges against them withdrawn. Protest activities brought the homeland to a standstill for a brief period.
- 400 Clashes between the security forces and students became inevitable. The Venda security forces patrolled villages and raided the homes of political activists. They detained student leaders and dispersed student meetings violently. Priests and pastors who supported the students were arrested, detained and tortured. The youth retaliated by assaulting people suspected of ritual murders, and attacking their homes. Homes of schoolchildren who attended classes during the school boycott were also burnt down.
- 401 Commission data which shows that 12 per cent of the violations reported to the Commission from the independent homelands during this period were killings, as opposed to torture (42 per cent) and severe ill treatment (44 per cent). It appears that Venda Police tended to beat (rather than shoot) students who engaged in political protests. However, assault could also lead to severe physical damage.
- 402 Mr Ndwmato Peter Rumani [JB01269/02NPVEN] was severely assaulted by Venda policemen during a student march to Makhado police station in June 1989. Rumani was sick at the time and did not participate in the march. However, the police found him in bed and *sjambokked* him until he lost consciousness. He was reportedly refused medical attention and claims that he still suffers from the effects of the assault.
- 403 Ms Tshinane Daphney Kwinda [JB01416/02NPVEN] was sixteen years old when she was seriously assaulted by several Venda policemen in August 1988, during a protest march against corporal punishment. Ms Kwinda lost her right eye in the assault and sustained injuries to her entire body. As a result of her injuries she was unable to continue with her education. Shortly afterwards, a group of policemen visited Kwinda at home and threatened "to take serious steps" if she intended taking the matter further.
- 404 President Ravele appointed a commission to investigate the causes of the unrest and ritual murders in Venda. Judge le Roux, the Chief Justice, was appointed the sole commissioner for this investigation. His findings were that the unrest emanated from the controversial death of Mr James Mavhina, a mentally unstable teacher who disappeared mysteriously before his mutilated body was discovered. When

pupils at his school did not receive a explanation from the school and government authorities, they launched a school boycott and a stay away in 1988.

405 Judge le Roux concluded that Mr Mavhina had in fact committed suicide, and said that the community's perception of his death as ritual murder had been promoted by 'radical' organisations such as the ANC and UDF in collaboration with the Venda Lutheran Church which, under the banner of Christianity, condoned and promoted violence against apartheid and the homeland governments.

406 Mr Lufuno Joshua Mulaudzi [JB01374/02NPVEN], a student at Venda University and a member of the UDF-affiliated NTAC and SAYCO, was arrested and interrogated as a result of his involvement in the launch of the 1986 anti-independence campaign. Mr Mulaudzi was allegedly tortured at Sibasa police station by officers he names as Nesemari and Mganga. He said he was forced to write a statement about his organisational activities. He was subsequently charged with public violence, but the charges were never pursued. During the following two years, the Venda Police allegedly continued to monitor his activities and on one occasion reportedly threatened him with death for continuing with his political activities.

407 Mr Motimedi Malaka [JB01270/02NPVEN], a long-term activist who had already been detained in 1976 and 1977 for his involvement in Black Consciousness organisations, was detained again and tortured in 1985 for his leadership role in NTAC. He was subsequently hospitalised for three months.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE VENDA POLICE AND THE VENDA DEFENCE FORCE USED UNDUE FORCE IN DEALING WITH STUDENT AND COMMUNITY PROTESTS TO INTIMIDATE PEOPLE AND PREVENT THEM FROM EXPRESSING OPPOSITION TO THE VENDA GOVERNMENT.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE VENDA POLICE AND THE VENDA DEFENCE FORCE WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TORTURE AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF STUDENTS, CHURCH AND COMMUNITY LEADERS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TORTURE AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT CONSTITUTES A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION FOR WHICH THE VENDA GOVERNMENT IS HELD RESPONSIBLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE VENDA GOVERNMENT AND IN PARTICULAR THE VENDA POLICE AND THE VENDA DEFENCE FORCE COLLABORATED WITH EACH OTHER IN THE ARREST, DETENTION AND TORTURE OF MK CADRES OPERATING IN VENDA. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES CO-OPERATED WITH THE VENDA DEFENCE FORCE IN DEALING WITH OPPONENTS OF THE VENDA GOVERNMENT.

408 In Bophuthatswana, freedom of political expression and activity could hardly be said to exist. The ruling Bophuthatswana Democratic Party dominated parliament throughout the territory's history, and various attempts to establish alternative parties and associations floundered as a result of severe repression.

409 Mr Matome Cornelius (Ronnie) Sekhaulelo [JB03711/03NWRUS], a nineteen-year-old COSAS activist, and Mr Mahase Rampone [JB02751/03NWRUS] were two of the students killed by Bophuthatswana Police during student protests in February and March 1986. Mr Sekhaulelo's aunt, Ms Thalitha Sekhaulelo, told the Commission that she went to the bus stop where the incident took place:

... at a distance I was seeing police beating with batons and sjamboks and iron bars. When I arrived there they were picking Ronnie to police van ... When I arrived at that van Ronnie was inside that van and he was lying, his leg was curled as if it is broken ... I handled his leg and I said to Ronnie, "Ronnie!" then he didn't respond, then I did that again and then he didn't respond.

410 The police informed Sekhaulelo's family that he was dead and restricted his funeral to family only.

411 Not only did the government of Bophuthatswana act coercively against its political opponents, it was also involved in the ongoing persecution of non-Tswanas in the homeland, whom Chief Minister Mangope blamed for political opposition in the territory.

412 The experience of the Winterveld community is a stark example of this ethnic persecution. By 1986 it was alleged that the police had killed fifty people in the Winterveld area and detained and tortured approximately 500.

413 Winterveld, an informal settlement in the Odi district of Bophuthatswana, was inhabited mostly by non-Tswanas, but was incorporated into Bophuthatswana at the time of the territory's independence. From this period onwards, the Winterveld community experienced ongoing harassment by the Bophuthatswana authorities.

414 On 26 March 1986, conflict between the Winterveld community and the Bophuthatswana authorities culminated in a meeting of between 5 000 and 10 000 people which was held on a soccer field in Winterveld. Bophuthatswana police, led by Colonel AM Molohe, opened fire on the crowd, killing eleven people and injuring 200. More than 1 000 people were arrested and charged with attending an illegal gathering or with public violence. Police allegedly continued to assault residents even as they fled, dragging them out of houses and subjecting them to extensive battering, both at the scene and at GaRankuwa police station. Colonel Molohe, who had given the order to open fire, was promoted soon after the massacre. A commission of enquiry into the shootings (the Smith Commission) began its investigation in April. Two months later, Colonel Molohe was shot

dead in a Winterveld house. Both the PAC and ANC claimed responsibility for the shooting. In July 1988 the Bophuthatswana administration announced that it would not publish the commission's finding as its recommendations had already been implemented.

- 415 Although the findings of the Smith Commission were never published, this Commission was able to gain access to the report. The evidence given to the Smith Commission states that the majority of the people being arrested for suspected involvement in these activities were between the ages of twelve and twenty, and that many were assaulted while in custody, kept for longer than the statutory forty-eight hours without charge, and then often released without charges being brought against them.
- 416 The report said "initially the meeting was calm but sometime after the arrival on the field of Brigadier Molope the crowd became unruly. It was probably something that Brigadier Molope said to the people that upset them and triggered off an advance on the police." The report found that the shooting was justified in order to protect the lives of the policemen.

THE COMMISSION, HAVING HEARD THE TESTIMONY OF WITNESSES AND HAVING READ THE REPORT OF THE SMITH COMMISSION, FINDS THAT ON 26 MARCH 1986, RESIDENTS GATHERED IN THE ODI STADIUM TO ELECT A COMMITTEE TO NEGOTIATE THE RELEASE OF DETAINEES WITH THE BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT. THE PEACEFUL GATHERING WAS DISRUPTED BY THE BOPHUTHATSWANA POLICE UNDER THE COMMAND OF COLONEL MOLOPE, WHO THREATENED THE CROWD IN HIS ADDRESS TO THEM. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE STARTED BEATING PEOPLE IN THE CROWD AND ALSO SHOT TEAR GAS INTO THE CROWD. THE CROWD BECAME INCENSED BY COLONEL MOLOPE AND HIS POLICE, AND STARTED THROWING STONES AT THEM. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE DID NOT ENGAGE IN PROPER RIOT CONTROL MEASURES BUT INSTEAD USED EXCESSIVE AND DEADLY FORCE ON THE CROWD. THE POLICE FIRED REPEATEDLY ON THE CROWD WITH LIVE AMMUNITION, KILLING ELEVEN PEOPLE AND SEVERELY INJURING TWENTY-EIGHT OTHERS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT COLONEL MOLOPE INCITED AND ENRAGED THE CROWD WITH HIS THREATS AND THEN UNLEASHED VIOLENCE ON THEM WHICH WAS EXCESSIVE IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES. THE COMMISSION FINDS COLONEL MOLOPE AND THE BOPHUTHATSWANA SECURITY FORCES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WINTERVELD MASSACRE. THE COMMISSION FINDS COLONEL MOLOPE, THE BOPHUTHATSWANA SECURITY FORCES AND THE BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE COMMUNITY, AND PARTICULARLY ACTIVISTS IN THE AREA, WERE ENRAGED BY THE ACTIONS OF COLONEL MOLOPE. THIS LED TO HIS ASSASSINATION ON 21 JUNE 1986. WHILST BOTH THE ANC AND THE PAC CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR HIS DEATH, THE COMMISSION IS UNABLE TO DETERMINE WHICH OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS SHOULD BEAR RESPONSIBILITY. THE COMMISSION FINDS, HOWEVER, THAT HIS ASSASSINATION CANNOT BE CONDONED AND FINDS THE ACTIVISTS IN THE WINTERVELD AREA RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

- 417 Two years later, in February 1988, disaffected elements of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF) staged an attempted coup. They were led by Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing, leader of the opposition Progressive People's Party (PPP), and Warrant Officer Mothuloe Timmy Phiri of the Bophuthatswana National Guard Unit. The coup lasted only fifteen hours before members of the SADF intervened and restored Mr Lucas Mangope to power. Five people died and one person was injured in the course of the coup and counter-coup. While the actions of the SADF, which had been sanctioned at State Security Council level, severely undermined the homeland's claim to independence, the coup also had far-reaching implications for the citizens of Bophuthatswana who were subjected to even more stringent repressive measures than had been in force before the coup.
- 418 Some of the reasons for the coup included disaffection in the BDF, allegations of corruption, misappropriation of government funds and manipulation of the October 1987 elections in Bophuthatswana as well as dissatisfaction with low salaries in the civil service and defence ministry. The dominance of whites in the BDF was another source of discontent.
- 419 A number of organisations such as Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC), the Bafokeng Women's Club, the Black Sash and the PPP were banned in the wake of the 1988 coup. A ninety-day detention law was introduced. Batswana in the Bafokeng region, as well as members of youth clubs and women's cultural groups, were harassed and detained by members of the BDF and SADF.
- 420 By 23 February 1986, 423 people were being held in connection with the coup. Of these, 182 were members of the National Guard Unit and fifty-seven were members of the BDF. Two were policemen. In the wake of the coup, hundreds of opponents of the Bophuthatswana administration went into hiding as the Bophuthatswana security forces conducted what was termed a clean-up operation.
- 421 The increase in repression after the 1988 coup is reflected in the Commission's data, with the number of violations in Bophuthatswana almost trebling from one year to the next (thirty in 1987 to eighty-three in 1988). Several members of the PPP were detained and severely tortured in the wake of the coup.
- 422 PPP member Samuel Galeboe Thwane [JB00361/03NW] was one of those detained by security police after the attempted coup and was interrogated by two white policemen whose identities were not revealed. He testified to the Commission:

After seven days at (Rooigrond Central Prison) ... I was told to remove my clothes and was tortured with electric shocks to my genitals. This lasted from 7 in the morning until 5 in the evening. I was then taken to my cell. Several days passed until I was eventually released on the 24th of February without any charges pressed against me ... On the 26th of February I was re-detained on the orders of Commissioner Seleke. I was driven back to Rooigrond Central Prison. On the 28th Captains Molale and Mojanaga and nine other security policemen tortured and assaulted me. I was subjected to electric shocks to my genitals and repeatedly slapped and kicked. I was threatened with death and kept in solitary confinement and deprived of visits from my family. I was eventually released in May 1988 without any charges being pressed ...

- 423 Ms Caroline Masethebe Rampe [JB06400/03NWRUS] told the Commission that her son, Mr Falvius Bathusi Molelekeng (24), an active PPP member, was arrested on 11 February 1988 and died shortly after his release from detention. She said Molelekeng was tortured so badly, he could neither sit down nor walk upright. Before his death, she said, "he was telling me that 'Mother, those people have killed me' ".

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT FIVE PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND ONE PERSON WAS INJURED DURING THE COUP ON 10 FEBRUARY 1988 BY MR ROCKY MALEBANE-METSING AND THE COUNTER-COUP FIFTEEN HOURS LATER BY PRESIDENT MANGOPE WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. THE COMMISSION FINDS MR ROCKY MALEBANE-METSING, PRESIDENT MANGOPE AND THEIR RESPECTIVE SUPPORTERS, AS WELL AS THE SECURITY FORCES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT 423 PEOPLE WERE DETAINED AND TORTURED BY THE SECURITY FORCES OF THE MANGOPE GOVERNMENT IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE COUP. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TORTURE CONSTITUTES A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH THE BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT AND PRESIDENT LUCAS MANGOPE MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY.

- 424 The year 1988 also saw a high degree of inter-clan rivalry in response to the perceived nepotism of Mangope's government and the economic and political domination of his clan over other Tswana people. In 1988 there was a serious dispute in Taung when a chief affiliated to the Mangope regime, Mr Steven Molale, was imposed by governmental authorities over Chief Sam Mankuroane [JB04296/03NW], whom many of the Batlhaping tribe felt to be their rightful leader.
- 425 Several reports were received of the police beating people and using tear gas during this period. In October 1988 Chief Mankuroane went into exile. According to the statement given by Mr Piet Basimane Kgabileng [JB04325/03NW], a

roadblock was set up to prevent the chief from leaving. He was eventually smuggled out of the town in an ambulance. On 9 October 1988 a community meeting was held to inform the chief's supporters of his whereabouts in exile. Following the meeting, many people were beaten and intimidated by the Bophuthatswana Police. Ms Nananyane Susan Monye [JB04314/03NW] told the Commission that although she did not attend the meeting, she was attacked at about 14h00 by two Bophuthatswana Police members who demanded to know where Chief Mankuroane was, and started beating her before she was able to reply.

They then took me to the Chief's Court. There was a group of both young and elder people. The police then started sjambokking and hitting us with batons. I manage to escape at about 6pm from these beatings. I ran towards a nearby house behind the shop. I hid myself behind the toilet till about 9pm. Then I walked home.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT SOUGHT TO CONTROL THE APPOINTMENT OF CHIEFS IN AN ATTEMPT TO STIFLE POLITICAL OPPOSITION. THE BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT IGNORED TRIBAL CUSTOM AND THE HEREDITARY SYSTEM OF CHIEFTAINCY AND DEPOSED THOSE WHO WERE SUPPORTIVE OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, REPLACING THEM WITH CHIEFS OF THEIR OWN CHOICE CONTRARY TO THE WISHES OF THE COMMUNITY.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THIS POLICY OF THE BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT CREATED A CLIMATE CONDUCIVE TO CONFLICT AND GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OCCURRED.

426 In Lebowa, tension between the homeland government of Lebowa and UDF-affiliated organisations escalated dramatically in the wake of the formation of a UDF branch in the Northern Transvaal. Widespread attacks on the homes of chiefs, police, alleged witches and anyone else suspected of any connection with the homeland government ensued. The Lebowa government responded with increasingly indiscriminate violence. Marches and gatherings were dispersed with live ammunition. Dozens of people, including the very young and old, were rounded up and viscously assaulted. Among those detained were the chairperson of the UDF in the Northern Transvaal, Mr Peter Nchabaleng, who died two days after his arrest.

427 The Commission's data reflects the rapid escalation of torture in this period, with approximately sixty violations recorded between 1983 and 1989 in Sekhukhuneland, the heart of the conflict. Violence reached a peak in March 1986, when a battle broke out between Lebowa police and 'comrades'. As the conflict escalated, a sense of impunity appears to have developed among the Lebowa Police, who are described by a number of witnesses to the Commission as

boasting about the death of Mr Nchabaleng, and their power to exact the same price from them.

- 428 Mr Peter Nchabaleng [JB00498/02NPPTB] died in police custody on 11 April 1986. Mr Nchabaleng was a central figure in the establishment of the UDF in the Northern Transvaal. He was an experienced political activist and as such was a considerable political threat to the homeland and South African government authorities. Nchabaleng spent eight years on Robben Island for MK activities. On his release in 1971 he was banished to his birthplace, Apel in the Northern Transvaal, where he became involved in local politics. In 1977 he was again charged for involvement in MK activities in Sekhukhuneland. His wife, Ms Matsatsi Nchabaleng, testified that he was threatened with death and beaten by policemen when he was arrested. Nchabaleng's son Morris was also detained. During the course of Mr Morris Nchabaleng's detention and torture, different police boasted that they had killed his father, and would kill him as well.

... in a police station, it was full of blood, water and one policeman by the name of Mapetho told me that the blood that I see is my father's blood ... He undressed me. He called other people who were also in the cells to come and grab me and they stretched my legs and my hands and then they were all supposed to hit me, and then they put me into water and they removed me and said to me that they will take me to show me where my father died. They showed me a big trunk and they said to me, "This is where your father died and you are also going to die here."

- 429 Mr Stephen Moganedi [JB05134/02NPPTB] was detained with a minibus-load of people when they stopped at a shop on the way back from a funeral. Police from Motatema police station shot at them and detained them, believing that the group of youths had intended to plant a bomb in the shop. Mr Moganedi was severely assaulted and tortured at Motatema police station. Unlike most reports of torture in Lebowa, Moganedi's assault appeared to have been carried out by white policemen whom he names as De Kock and Geld.

I told them that I didn't understand why they were torturing and assaulting me. They asked me if I knew Mandela and I said even if I do not know him personally I want him to be released so that we could be freed. I was then kicked and De Kock said I should lie down and he kicked at me. They started kicking me on my thighs and they twisted my testicles and they hit me with a fist and they used their boots to assault me and I started crying and they demanded that I should tell them the truth. I asked them what truth they want ...

- 430 The police told him that they had arrested and killed Mr Peter Nchabaleng and that Moganedi would die too because he was Nchabaleng's friend.
- 431 Mr Makompo Lucky Kutumela [JB00511/02NPPTB; JB04847/99OVE], a twenty-six-year-old journalist and AZAPO member, was beaten to death at Makopane police station in March 1986. He had apparently been detained because of articles he allegedly wrote, which implicated the police in murder. His death precipitated a number of revenge attacks.
- 432 An inquest the following year concluded that Mr Kutumela had been murdered; a post mortem report revealed forty-one sjambok marks on his body. However, the Kutumela family were never notified of the subsequent court case against the policemen involved and only learned later that they had been found not guilty.
- 433 Union activist Yasser Phokela Rasethaba [JB00557/02NPPTB] narrowly escaped death after being detained by the Lebowa Police in 1986. Mr Rasethaba described to the Commission the repressive conditions in Lebowa at the time:

In Seshego specifically and other areas surrounding it, there were human rights abuses in those areas. I can give an example, we were not allowed to hold any meeting ... every time we wanted to hold meetings whether for the workers or the people, we were attacked in different ways. We were attacked in churches, they threw tear gas canisters ... The other things which were disturbing were, they used to kidnap people in Seshego, they used to assault and do bad things to them, some of them now are paralysed, some of them have been buried, we just buried them before this Commission started ...

- 434 Mr Rasethaba was stopped at a roadblock on his way to church in the evening. He was put in a police van which drove from house to house detaining other people. After several hours in the van, he identified one of the policemen as his neighbour. Rasethaba said that this policeman told him:

Rasethaba, there is nothing that we can do, comrades in Seshego are burning our houses, us policemen, our houses are being burnt, there is nothing I can do, we want to protect our houses.

- 435 Instead of being taken to a police station, Rasethaba and the others who had been detained were driven to a deserted graveyard. He was briefly questioned about his political activities and was then severely beaten. He was then taken to the police station where he was beaten again. As a result of his severe beating,

Rasethaba said, he was “raving unintelligibly”. Eventually he was hospitalised. A month later he was subpoenaed to appear in court along with thirty-nine others on charges of public violence. After three court appearances, the case was withdrawn.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE LEBOWA GOVERNMENT AND ITS SECURITY FORCES WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ARREST, TORTURE AND DEATH OF MR PETER NCHABALENG IN APRIL 1986 AND THE ARREST, TORTURE AND DEATH OF MR MAKOMPO LUCKY KUTUMELA IN MARCH 1986. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR YASSER PHOKELA RASETHABA WAS DETAINED BY THE LEBOWA SECURITY FORCES IN 1986 AND WAS SEVERELY ASSAULTED BY THEM. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE LEBOWA GOVERNMENT AND ITS SECURITY FORCES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

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

When I woke up I realised that we were in the bush. They dumped us there and I realised that Ngoako was with me there. As Ngoako was my senior or he was older than me, I could not pick him up, I just ran away and went back to the township in Gabane location. When I got there I explained to the students what happened to us and they decided to go to the hospital to look for Ngoako and they found that Ngoako was there at the hospital mortuary and he was dead and Mr Ramusi came to us the next day. He fetched me and he took me to his offices to get a statement from me

- 437 Sixteen-year-old Wilson Tibane [JB03220/02NPTZA] was also part of the wave of conflict which swept across Gazankulu during 1986. He was among a group of youths who marched towards Dan Village near Tzaneen to demand an end to the homeland government. They were intercepted by Gazankulu police who opened fire. Wilson Tibane was shot and killed. At his funeral the police violently dispersed mourners who ignored government restrictions on the number of people who could attend the gathering.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR NGOAKO RAMALEPE, THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE SRC AT THE MODJADJI COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, WAS ARRESTED AND DETAINED IN OCTOBER 1985 TOGETH-

ER WITH A FELLOW ACTIVIST, MR ROBERT MAKOGA. THEY WERE BOTH SEVERELY ASSAULTED BY THE LEBOWA POLICE AND MR RAMALEPE WAS KILLED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE LEBOWA GOVERNMENT AND ITS SECURITY FORCES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN RESPECT OF MR RAMALEPE AND MR MAKOGA.

Forced removals

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

439 Although forced removals are not defined by the legislation as gross violations and thus do not fall within the mandate of the Commission, the resistance of communities to these removals led to confrontations which sometimes resulted in gross violations. Examples from the eastern, north-western and northern Transvaal are given below.

440 In the eastern Transvaal, the Driefontein Council Board of Direction, chaired by Mr Saul Mkhize, spearheaded resistance to the government's plans for the removal of Driefontein. Residents were severely harassed by police, culminating in the fatal police shooting of Mr Mkhize at a protest meeting on 2 April 1983. According to the official police statement, Mkhize was shot dead by one of two young constables who had been sent to investigate a complaint that an illegal meeting was being held at Driefontein school. The crowd allegedly became 'riotous', forcing the two policemen to fire tear gas and retreat. The policemen then opened fire, fatally wounding Mkhize.

441 Mkhize's death caused considerable embarrassment to the government because the imperatives of internal and international pressure at this time made the public display of brute force untenable. During the 1980s an attempt was therefore made to change government discourse around removals from 'forced' to 'voluntary'.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE FORCED REMOVALS OF COMMUNITIES LED TO CONFRONTATIONS WITH THE AUTHORITIES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR SAUL MKHIZE, A DRIEFONTEIN COMMUNITY LEADER, WAS KILLED BY THE POLICE DURING A MEETING HELD

BY THE DRIEFONTEIN COUNCIL BOARD OF DIRECTION TO PROTEST REMOVAL FROM DRIEFONTEIN. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KILLING OF MR MKHIZE CONSTITUTES A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION FOR WHICH THE POLICE, THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER AND THE FORMER STATE MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY.

- 442 For twenty years the north-western Transvaal communities of Braklaagte and Leeuwnfontein struggled to stay on their 'black spots' near Zeerust, until they were forcibly incorporated into Bophuthatswana in December 1988. In April 1989, protest against the incorporation escalated into conflict, with intermittent school boycotts in both communities.
- 443 In Braklaagte, the Bophuthatswana Police allegedly set up roadblocks to stop pupils and ask them whether they regarded themselves as Bophuthatswanan or South African citizens. Those who said they were South Africans were allegedly struck with rifle butts. After the stoning of the house of a villager believed to be in favour of incorporation, police arrested more than 100 people and reportedly assaulted many of them. Doctors stated they had treated forty people for weals and wounds. In May, Bophuthatswana police clashed with residents of Leeuwnfontein and allegedly assaulted many. Chief Mangope warned residents that the police were under his orders to maintain law and order in the area.
- 444 The conflict culminated in the killing of nine policemen and two civilians at a general meeting of the Leeuwnfontein and Braklaagte communities on 1 July. The police reportedly halted the meeting, ordered the crowd to disperse and then opened fire with tear gas and rubber bullets. Police asserted that they were surrounded and attacked and had no choice but to defend themselves. Four of the policemen died when an army vehicle was set alight, trapping those inside; the other five were clubbed, stoned and hacked to death. A number of people were arrested, some by the SAP. Some were alleged to have been badly assaulted.
- 445 Sixteen people were charged with the murder of the nine policemen. TRAC, which was present during the incident, and its parent body, the Black Sash, were banned under the Internal Security Act.
- 446 In April 1986, when the government unilaterally incorporated the northern Transvaal township of Vleifontein into the Venda homeland, residents protested fiercely. Venda-speaking residents of the former ethnically mixed Tshikota township had been moved to Vleifontein a few years earlier in anticipation of their ultimate removal to the homeland. However, when the government tried to implement

this incorporation, they met with serious opposition, because residents had been misled about the reasons for their earlier move from Tshikota.

- 447 At a mass meeting attended by almost all the adults in Vleifontein, a twelve-person committee called the Venda Crisis Committee (VCC) was elected, representing teachers, students and workers. The VCC's brief was to negotiate for the reversal of the incorporation or, if this was not possible, to allow Vleifontein residents to return to Tshikota township.
- 448 The Venda government responded by moving its army and police into the township. Homes of VCC members were raided and activists were assaulted and tortured by the Venda Police. In the early hours of 13 June 1986, the Venda Police detained three young VCC members, Mr Steven Nemavide, Mr Russel Molefe and Mr Mpho Ronald Mashau. According to eyewitnesses the three were severely *sjambokked* after their arrest. Soon afterwards five other members of the VCC were detained, including Mr Edward Makgato, Mr Punki Phulwana, Mr Peter Tshikota, Mr Stephen Mokoditso, Mr Sonnyboy Mulaudzi and Bethuel Mudau.
- 449 The parents of fourteen-year-old Bethuel Mudau [JB03119/02NPLTM] told the Commission that Bethuel died shortly after being released from three months' detention at Vuwani police station. He was unable to return to school as a result of constant ill health and what his parents described as "a wound on the head".
- 450 Pitso Manamela [JB03207/02NPPLTM], a sixteen-year-old student involved in anti-incorporation protests, was detained and tortured on 13 June 1986 after allegedly having participated in petrol-bombing the home of a policeman who supported the incorporation of Vleifontein into Venda. Manamela was later charged with public violence.
- 451 On the same day, a bus transporting Vleifontein residents to work in Louis Trichardt was stopped at a roadblock manned by Venda Police. After commuters refused to disembark, the bus driver was ordered to drive to Tshitale police station, twenty kilometres away, where the commuters were ordered out and *sjambokked* by a row of policemen. The police said the passengers had to realise that Vleifontein was now part of Venda. The commuters were eventually released on bail three days later. The Commission heard that Ms Elisa Nthangeni [JB03334/02NPLTM] was one of the passengers on the bus who had been beaten by police.
- 452 Mr Muzila Phulwana [JB03216/02NPLTM] was also stopped at a roadblock on 13 June and was asked whether he had paid his Venda taxes. Mr Phulwana was

a long-term community activist who had fought against the removal of residents from Tshikota township to Vleifontein and was now a member of the VCC opposing the incorporation of the township into Venda. Phulwana was briefly detained before being released and re-detained on 15 June. After being beaten at Vuwani and Sibasa police stations, Phulwana was taken to Masise, where he was held for three months in solitary confinement. He was tortured with electric shocks and beaten. Convinced that the food he was being given was poisoned, he refused food and water, and was eventually admitted to the Trizine hospital.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A NUMBER OF PEOPLE WERE SEVERELY BEATEN AND ILL TREATED IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE BOPHUTHATSWANA POLICE AND THE RESIDENTS OF BRAKLAAGTE, WHO WERE RESISTING INCORPORATION INTO THE HOMELAND. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE BOPHUTHATSWANA POLICE AND THE BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF THE BRAKLAAGTE RESIDENTS AND FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE REFUSED TO ALLOW A JULY 1989 MEETING OF BRAKLAAGTE AND LEEUWFontein RESIDENTS TO GO AHEAD, AND FIRED ON THE CROWD WITH TEAR GAS AND RUBBER BULLETS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE BRAKLAAGTE AND LEEUWFontein COMMUNITY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SUBSEQUENT KILLING OF NINE POLICEMEN AT THE SCENE, AND THEREBY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE VENDA SECURITY FORCES OCCUPIED THE VLEIFontein TOWNSHIP AND ARRESTED, DETAINED AND TORTURED ACTIVISTS AND MEMBERS OF THE VLEIFontein CRISIS COMMITTEE WHO RESISTED THE TOWNSHIP'S INCORPORATION INTO VENDA. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE DETENTION OF A FOURTEEN-YEAR-OLD BETHUEL MUDAU FOR A PERIOD OF THREE MONTHS AND HIS SEVERE ILL TREATMENT BY THE VENDA POLICE RESULTED IN HIS DEATH SHORTLY AFTER HIS RELEASE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE VENDA SECURITY FORCES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

Vigilantes

- 453 Vigilante activities increased in the Transvaal at this time. The main groups were Imbokodo and Inkatha (used in the KwaNdebele homeland to enforce removals and facilitate independence) and disaffected police and/or councillors responding to attacks against them. Kabasa appeared to be concerned mainly with curbing political organisation by the UDF.

Alexandra

- 454 On 22 April 1986, the township of Alexandra was besieged by groups of men wearing balaclavas, who drove through the township in private cars, shooting randomly and singing songs, including 'We are the new comrades'. The group divided itself up and systematically sought out activists and community leaders.

By morning, at least five people had been killed, thirteen vehicles destroyed and several activists' homes burnt. Many residents believed that the state was supporting the vigilantes, and some claimed that the vigilantes included black policemen who had been driven out of the township during earlier disturbances. In response, residents embarked on a stay away and held a protest meeting, which was attended by about 45 000 people.

- 455 Mr Obed Bapela [JB01889/01GTTEM] told the Commission that a group of gangsters, perceived to be members of the police, modelled themselves on the Soweto-based Ama Cabasa vigilante group:

... So they put those cloths on their heads, but then they had their uniforms on, the blue shirts and their navy blue trousers, but their blue shirts were not inside their trousers, they just pulled them out so that they pretended to be that group of Ama Cabasas who were on an attack. And from the direction that they came from is the Wynberg police station and then entered Alexandra, attacked all those targeted areas and they attacked all those areas where it was places of our meetings where in some instances it was our own people, our own leaders who stayed in those places and attacked during that night. And when they left Alexandra they retreated back to Wynberg police station.

- 456 The Commission received a number of statements from victims of this attack on the night of 22 April 1986:

- 457 Ms Moko Melita Lephuting [JB01785/01GTTEM] believes that the police attacked her family because they were activists. Her husband, Mr Samuel Zwane, was stabbed to death, her son Kenneth was wounded and their house was burnt down in the attack.

- 458 The Commission heard that Mr Linda Twala [JB01826/01GTTEM] and his family were attacked at their home on the same night. Mr Twala was a UDF activist who had been involved in politics in Alexandra since the 1970s. Ms Phumzile Twala [JB01871/01GTTEM] and two of her sisters, Ms Nomgcobo Madikane [JB00279/01GTTEM] and Ms Gladys Twala [JB01870/01GTTEM], were left alone in the house when their father went out in the evening. A crowd gathered in the yard and threw a brick through the window. The three sisters fled from the house and hid themselves in a dog kennel behind a neighbour's house. From here Phumzile was able to see members of the crowd stoning the house and then throwing 'bombs' into it, setting it alight. She alleges that the attackers were white men with blackened faces, wearing police uniforms and carrying AK-47s.

459 Other recorded violations on 22 April 1986 in Alexandra include an assault on Mr Boy Mabusane Moghae [JB01827/01GTTEM], whose house was burnt to the ground; an assault on Ms Maria Malakoane [JB01882/01GTTEM]; the beating and stabbing of Mr Johannah Koapeng [JB02483/01GTTEM], allegedly by the police, and the shooting of UDF member Edward Raadt [JB02484/01GTTEM] by members of the Kabasa gang.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT GANGSTERS IN THE TOWNSHIP ACTING IN COLLUSION WITH THE POLICE FORMED VIGILANTE GANGS WHICH ATTACKED ACTIVISTS AND COMMUNITY LEADERS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A VIGILANTE GROUP WENT ON THE RAMPAGE IN ALEXANDRA ON 22 APRIL 1986, ATTACKING ACTIVISTS AND COMMUNITY LEADERS. FIVE PEOPLE WERE KILLED, THIRTEEN VEHICLES DESTROYED AND SEVERAL HOMES BURNT DOWN. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE FAILED TO ASSIST THE COMMUNITY AND THAT THE ATTACK WAS LAUNCHED FROM THE POLICE STATION IN WYNBERG.

KwaNdebele: Imbokodo

460 The Commission held a special hearing in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1996 to focus on the conflict in and around this homeland, and the operation of vigilante groups, notably Imbokodo and Inkatha. Imbokodo's role was to realise the KwaNdebele government's aspiration for independence through the forcible incorporation of Moutse, which would make the homeland a more viable geographic and political entity. At Leandra in the eastern Transvaal, the Inkatha vigilante group was similarly trying to coerce residents to accept incorporation into KwaNdebele.

461 The political conflict over independence and incorporation which engulfed the KwaNdebele area from mid-1985 until 1988 became, in effect, a civil war. Human rights violations – committed by a variety of individuals and groups on all sides of the conflict – were numerous and widespread. Scores of people were killed, not only by the security forces deployed to repress the unrest, but also by erstwhile neighbours, fellow students, business colleagues, and even family members. KwaNdebele's limited infrastructure was razed to the ground in a matter of months. Schools stood empty, shops and offices were gutted and entire communities lived in fear. By the winter of 1986, KwaNdebele had been irrevocably changed.

462 At the very centre of this maelstrom was a vigilante organisation known as Imbokodo ('the grinding stone'), led by the homeland's political and economic elite. Imbokodo was formed as a vigilante organisation with the support of the South African government to assert the dominance of the KwaNdebele elite and to achieve the political goals of independence and incorporation. Its members carried out daring and brutal attacks in which hundreds of ordinary residents were viciously

assaulted and publicly humiliated. The resentment and anger that followed such operations radicalised a previously apolitical population and was a significant cause of the unrest. However, once the conflict had begun, 'comrades' ruthlessly and methodically attacked suspected Imbokodo members and their families. Scores of suspects were summarily killed, often by the infamous necklace method.

- 463 At the hearing in Moutse, over 250 statements were made to the Commission regarding the conflict in KwaNdebele and Moutse in the mid-1980s. Collectively, the statements include almost 700 reports of gross violations. Of the 421 alleged incidents in which deponents have named perpetrators, over half list Imbokodo as the responsible organisation. These include allegations of Imbokodo involvement in seventeen deaths. 'Comrades' or ANC members are identified as alleged perpetrators in 14 per cent of the statements, including twenty-four killings. Amongst residents who approached the Commission, at least thirty-four victims had ties to Imbokodo or to the former KwaNdebele government. Together, their statements document twenty murders, all of which involved the burning of the deceased's body. At least nineteen of the deponents claimed that their residential and/or business properties were completely destroyed in arson attacks.
- 464 Vigilante activity was not new to the area. Earlier vigilante activity had targeted perceived agitators. When Imbokodo began their raids, entire communities were targeted, leading to widespread and indiscriminate assaults on residents. Although earlier vigilante activity enjoyed the express approval of the royal family, and as a result was accepted as legitimate by a large sector of the population, the actions of Imbokodo were denounced by the royal family and were clearly unacceptable to the vast majority of KwaNdebele residents. In the changed circumstances of the mid-1980s, vigilantism became a source of conflict rather than a means of diffusing it.
- 465 On balance, it is clear that the Imbokodo was a central protagonist in the KwaNdebele conflict. Its members were both perpetrators and victims of the violence that engulfed and nearly destroyed the homeland. Although not directly established or controlled by the South African government, politicians and policy-makers in Pretoria failed to act against the Imbokodo even when their officials on the ground encouraged them to do so.
- 466 On 1 January 1986, a large number of Imbokodo members (and KwaNdebele men forcibly enlisted for the day) attacked the Moutse villages of Moteti and Kgobokoane. In their effort to repel the invasion, Moutse residents killed a number

of vigilantes. These included four Imbokodo members suspected of trying to abduct the Bantoane chief at the royal kraal in Kwarrielaagte, Moutse. Approximately 360 Moutse residents were abducted from their homes and taken to the community hall in Siyabuswa where they were subjected to up to thirty-six hours of torture and ritual humiliation. While chanting Imbokodo slogans, the victims were forced to perform physical exercises until they collapsed. They were subsequently stripped naked and publicly *sjambokked* on a concrete floor covered with soapy water.

- 467 On 28 April, Imbokodo members surrounded the Mandlethu High School in Vlaklaagte No. 1, leading to clashes between students and vigilantes. The police eventually intervened to separate the two groups. After the Imbokodo were escorted from the area, the students returned home peacefully. That night, however, the Imbokodo returned and engaged in a house-to-house raid in the village. Those of school-going age were especially targeted. A number of youth were loaded into cars and bakkies and taken to Emagezini, a small industrial complex in Kwaggafontein, where they were assaulted with a variety of weapons. Many were severely wounded.
- 468 Mr Jacob Skosana, a father of eight, was the only adult taken to Emagezini. When rumours reached him that one of his daughters had been taken from school by the vigilantes, Mr Skosana allegedly confronted various Imbokodo members about his daughter's whereabouts. That night a group of men abducted him from his home. Early the next morning, Skosana's body was dumped back in the yard of his home, but surrounded by fire so that his family could not retrieve it immediately. The body had allegedly been mutilated.
- 469 Mr Skosana's funeral drew thousands. When the police arrived, reportedly with SADF back-up, they ordered the assembled crowd to disperse immediately. Soon afterwards they fired on the mourners with birdshot, rubber bullets and tear gas, creating panic in the crowd. Ms Sarah Mthimunye (19) [JB02212/01MPMPL] was run over by a bus when its driver was overcome by the tear gas. Many others were injured in the mêlée. That night, 'comrades' began burning businesses owned by suspected Imbokodo members and MPs in the KwaNdebele legislative assembly.
- 470 On 7 May 1986, State President PW Botha announced that KwaNdebele would take independence on 11 December 1986. When the press reports reached the homeland, residents approached the Ndzundza royal kraal and requested the king to call a public gathering with the KwaNdebele cabinet. The meeting was held on 12 May and was attended by an estimated 20 000 residents, the area's chiefs and two representatives of the homeland cabinet (who were advised to

travel to the meeting in a Casspir armoured personnel carrier). At the meeting, three demands were presented to the government representatives: (1) the disbanding of Imbokodo; (2) the cancellation of independence; and (3) the resignation of members of the KwaNdebele cabinet and legislative assembly for acting without a popular mandate. The cabinet promised to prepare a response for a report-back meeting scheduled for 14 May, and the crowd dispersed peacefully.

471 A few days later, local magistrate JN Theron prohibited the report-back meeting at the royal kraal. An estimated 25 000 people assembled the following day, unaware of the magistrate's prohibitions. Commuters were stopped by youths at barricades on the Pretoria road and redirected to the royal kraal. The Putco bus company later reported that 'comrades' had commandeered its entire KwaNdebele fleet of some 300 buses. While the assembled crowds were still waiting for the KwaNdebele cabinet to arrive, security forces dispersed the meeting with tear gas and rubber bullets fired from a hovering helicopter and from several patrolling Casspirs. Participants have testified that no warnings or instructions were given to the crowd prior to the actions of the security forces. Chaos ensued. The bodies of two men were later found at the royal kraal.

472 In the midst of the confusion, a number of youths were abducted by Imbokodo members and taken to a makeshift detention camp in the Vaalbank area. Fifty-four youths were held there without food or water and were subjected to periodic assaults by their Imbokodo guards. The youths alleged that their guards trampled on their stomachs, squeezed their genitals in vice-grips and burnt their feet with hot coals. One of the youths, Mr Johannes Ramahlale, managed to escape on 19 May and report the matter to the police, who raided the camp the next day and released the 'comrades'.

473 In the days following the dispersed meeting at the royal kraal, a virtual civil war spread across KwaNdebele as 'comrades', Imbokodo and security forces engaged in running skirmishes. In addition to direct conflict, students, teachers and civil servants held successful stay aways in the following weeks in protest against the cabinet's policies and the detention of various resistance leaders. Statements collected by the Commission confirm the escalation of violations, and especially of killings, in the three months following the meeting at the royal kraal.

474 On 11 June, 'comrades' carried out a planned attack on a Vlaklaagte business complex owned by KwaNdebele cabinet minister and vigilante leader Mr Piet Ntuli. At least one security guard was killed during the attack. Imbokodo retaliated the

following day by raiding Tweefontein, a large collection of villages in the Vlaklaagte area. Eyewitnesses have reported that the Imbokodo drove through the area in convoy, firing indiscriminately at youths running through the streets. At least four young men were fatally wounded. A number of residents were assaulted with *sjamboks* and *knobkerries*. Others were abducted and loaded onto a lorry accompanying the convoy.

- 475 Although the 'burning' of KwaNdebele reached its peak in May and June 1986, violence and unrest continued. The KwaNdebele cabinet remained committed to the goals of incorporation and independence while the Ndzundza royal family and the Moutse chiefs successfully marshalled popular resistance to such plans. The embattled Imbokodo retained sufficient strength to intimidate and attack the government's opponents, while the youth grew increasingly assertive, more effectively organised and much more violent in their approach. The homeland remained a no-go area until independence was called off in August.
- 476 On 29 July 1986 cabinet minister and vigilante leader Mr Piet Ntuli [JB02515/01MPMOU] was assassinated by South African security forces by means of a car bomb attached to his government vehicle.
- 477 A number of security force operatives have applied for amnesty for participation in or knowledge of the operation. These include: Brigadier Jack Cronjé (former divisional commander of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch); his subordinates Captain Jacques Hechter and Captain Jacob van Jaarsveld; Captain Chris Kendall (Security Branch commander at Bronkhorstspuit); General Joep Joubert (Commander General of SADF Special Forces); Sergeant Deon Gouws and Warrant Officer Stephanus A Oosthuizen (both of the SAP uniform branch).

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT IMBOKODO ABDUCTED 360 MOUTSE RESIDENTS AND HUMILIATED AND TORTURED THEM AT A COMMUNITY HALL IN SIYASBUSWA. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TORTURE AND ASSAULT OF THE MOUTSE RESIDENTS CONSTITUTE A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH IMBOKODO, KWANDEBELE CHIEF MINISTER SS SKOSANA AND VIGILANTE LEADER PIET NTULI (DECEASED) ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ON 28 APRIL 1986, IMBOKODO ABDUCTED YOUTH FROM THEIR HOMES IN VLAKLAAGTE NO. 1 AND ASSAULTED THEM AT EMAGAZINI IN KWAGGAFONTEIN. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ASSAULTS ON THE YOUTHS CONSTITUTE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH IMBOKODO, CHIEF MINISTER SS SKOSANA AND MR PIET NTULI ARE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR JACOB SKOSANA WAS ABDUCTED BY IMBOKODO, TORTURED AND ASSAULTED, AND THAT HIS BODY WAS MUTILATED BY MEMBERS OF IMBOKODO. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ABDUCTION, TORTURE AND ASSAULT CONSTITUTE GROSS HUMAN

RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH IMBOKODO, SS SKOSANA AND PIET NTULI MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES ASSASSINATED MR PIET NTULI, THE LEADER OF IMBOKODO, ON 29 JULY 1986. THE COMMISSION FINDS BRIGADIER JACK CRONJÉ, CAPTAIN JACQUES HECHTER, CAPTAIN JACOB VAN JAARSVELD, CAPTAIN CHRIS KENDALL, GENERAL JOEP JOUBERT, SERGEANT DEON GOUS AND WARRANT OFFICER STEPHANUS OOSTHUIZEN, THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, THE MINISTERS OF DEFENCE AND OF LAW AND ORDER, THE HEAD OF THE SADF AND THE FORMER STATE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH OF MR NTULI, AND THUS FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

KwaNdebele: Inkatha

478 In Labohang township, adjoining Leandra in the eastern Transvaal, attempts to move residents to the homeland of KwaNdebele led to violent confrontations with the police. In spite of a 1983 ruling of the Supreme Court that Leandra residents should not be moved, the violence continued.

479 In December 1985 four people, Ms Nelly Madonsela, Mr Aubrey Mokoena [JB02806/01MPWES], Mr Thomas Masombuka and Ms Rose Khumalo, were killed by the police during a stay away to protest the forced removal of residents to KwaNdebele. In the wake of these deaths there were further attacks on police and councillors' homes. Armed youths marched in the streets, saying they wanted to root out all police and informers. Twenty youths were arrested. A march was organised to demand their release, and running street battles with the police followed.

480 The Leandra Action Committee (LAC), led by Chief Ampie Mayise and Mr Abel Nkabinde, also came under attack for protesting against the proposed removal. On 11 January 1986, Chief Mayise was publicly hacked to death in a mob assault on his house. The attackers were allegedly members of a vigilante group calling themselves 'Concerned Citizens' or Inkatha, who conducted a number of attacks on members of LAC and the Mpumelelo Youth Congress in retaliation for violence against police and councillors. Many of its members were drawn from a football club owned by a prominent figure amongst the vigilantes. Although the vigilantes called themselves Inkatha, it appears that this was merely a general identification with the conservative traditionalism of the Inkatha movement in Natal, rather than any formal links to the political party. Chief Minister Buthelezi in fact publicly disowned the Leandra vigilantes.

481 Chief Mayise's widow described the attack to the Commission:

He took his nap and I told him, alerted him that the Inkatha was coming and

he woke up. We looked through the window and we could see that group approaching our house and they got to our house. They had bottles, nip bottles and they started attacking us, throwing those bottles and stones over our house and we were inside the house at that time, the two of us. Suddenly the house was set alight. The roof burst open and I decided to go outside to ask as to what was their problem and why they were attacking us. As I tried to go outside they attacked me, throwing stones at me, and we decided to run away. Outside there by, there was a car parked and he got inside then ... They got hold of him, they took him with ... After quite some time my son – the one who is sitting next to me – came and told me that my husband was lying down there, the father, and he tried to pick him up, but he failed.

482 Ms Mayise names Mr Sipho Gadebe and Mr Maboy Zondo as two of the people whom she saw assaulting her husband.

483 A week after Chief Mayise's death, Mr Nkabinde and other LAC supporters applied for an urgent interdict restraining twenty-three named members of Inkatha, but further violent incidents took place after the chief's funeral. The police did not intervene.

484 During January 1986, an attempt was made on the life of Mr Nkabinde, whose home was also burnt. He later identified Sam and Joseph Zondo as leading assailants in the attacks on him. Mr Jan Nkabinde [JB02828/01MPWES], a relative of Mr Abel Nkabinde and executive member of the Mpumelelo Youth Congress, was severely assaulted and threatened with death by the vigilantes. He had fled the area after the attack on Chief Mayise, but was abducted from his hiding place:

... the group of people who got into the house then came to me and told me that they have been sent by Mr Zondo to come and collect me, because he wanted to talk to me ... After about 100 m they started hitting me, telling me that it is long that they have been warning me about these things, but I was not listening ... They took me to the graveyard ... Upon our arrival Mr Zondo said that I should be killed, because if I can be left and I am their enemy, I am going to kill them if I am not being killed. So I was assaulted by pangas ... After I was beaten he asked me that I had to choose how I, how do I want to be killed. So they closed my eyes and he put a gun on my head and told me that I am going to die. Then I apologised to them. Then one of them who was having the pangas, looking at me, he was ready as if, he stood as if he was ready to kill so I apologised to him.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE LEANDRA POLICE KILLED MS NELLY MADONSELA, MR AUBREY MOKOENA, MR THOMAS MASOMBUKA AND MS ROSE KHUMALO DURING A STAY AWAY, AND FINDS THE LEANDRA POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE CONFLICT AROUND INCORPORATION GAVE RISE TO THE FORMATION OF A VIGILANTE GROUP IN LEANDRA CALLING ITSELF 'INKATHA'. THE COMMISSION FINDS INKATHA RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING OF CHIEF AMPIE MAYISE, THE BURNING OF HIS HOUSE AND THE ATTEMPTED KILLING OF MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY. IN PARTICULAR, THE COMMISSION FINDS INKATHA VIGILANTE GANG MEMBERS SIPHO GADEBE AND MABOY ZONDO RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTACK ON CHIEF MAYISE. THE COMMISSION FINDS INKATHA MEMBERS SAM AND JOSEPH ZONDO RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTEMPTED KILLING OF LAC LEADER MR ABEL NKABINDE AND THE ARSON ATTACK ON HIS HOME. THE COMMISSION FINDS INKATHA RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ASSAULT AND ATTEMPTED KILLING OF MR JAN NKABINDE, A NEPHEW OF MR ABEL NKABINDE, AND HOLDS THE INKATHA VIGILANTE GROUP RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

KaNgwane: Kabasa

485 The eastern Transvaal self-governing homeland of KaNgwane, led by Chief Minister Enoch Mabusa, also experienced an escalation of tension at this time. At the end of 1985, violence flared in the Nsikazi region of KaNgwane, claiming the lives of at least two leading businessmen, a trade unionist and a chief. In February 1986, education-related protests led to sustained conflict lasting well into the year. In February alone, at least four people died in unrest-related incidents in KaNgwane, and damage estimated at R2 million was caused in the townships of Kabokweni and KaNyamazane.

486 It was in this context that the vigilante group, Kabasa, emerged as a powerful and violent conservative force in opposition to the wave of radical protest in the homeland. The Kabasa gang was formed in 1986 and operated in the areas surrounding Nelspruit, including KaNyamazane, Pienaars Trust, Luphisa Trust and Kabokweni.

487 Accounts from members of the community suggest that the Kabasa gang, which had about seven members, was formed essentially to fulfil the needs of a group of elite businessmen known to the community as *Sibaya S'khulu* (meaning the main or central kraal). The most prominent members of *Sibaya S'khulu* were Mr Enos Mazibuko and Mr Julius Nkosi. It seems likely that the Kabasa gang was first mobilised in response to violence associated with the school boycott launched in February 1986. This included attacks on businesses, development board offices, a school and police vehicles.

488 On 14 January 1986, development board offices and police vehicles were stoned and petrol-bombed at Kabokweni. The crowd was dispersed with birdshot. On

the weekend of 22 February about 4 000 youths set fire to the Khumbula High School and two shops, one of which belonged to a school inspector. A week later, twenty-three vehicles and a number of buildings were burnt in further unrest in KaNyamazane.

- 489 Twenty-six pupils appeared in Kabokweni Magistrate's Court on charges of public violence. Thousands of fellow pupils marched to court to attend the trials, and pushed down a courtyard fence to get in. Police opened fire, killing at least three pupils and injuring eighty. Ms Elizabeth Mdluli [JB00954/01MPNEL] was one of those shot outside the court. The lawyer for the children appearing in court stated later that there had been no provocation by the crowd and that the police had given no warning to disperse. In later reports it emerged that most of the pupils had been shot in the back. The shootings later came to be known as the Lowveld massacre.
- 490 The court shooting was followed by several incidents of unrest, including an attempt by a group of 200 pupils to hijack seven buses. In another incident, a boy was killed when police dispersed a group of alleged stone-throwers. At Kadisiki school, a boy was seriously injured by police firing birdshot at 400 pupils who were 'intimidating' scholars.
- 491 Restrictions were placed on the funeral of the three students killed in the Lowveld massacre. However, hours before the funeral on 22 March, as mourners were returning from the night vigil, there was further confrontation between students and police. Mr Msongelwa Amos Maseko [JB00943/01MPNEL] was walking back home from the night vigil with a group of friends when they encountered the police. He told the Commission that the police opened fire from a vehicle without warning. Maseko was shot and injured. One youth was shot dead by police, another was run over by a police vehicle, and four were seriously injured.
- 492 It is in the wake of these events that the Kabasa gang appears to have come to the fore. The Commission received several reports of joint activities between the security forces and Kabasa during June 1986. The Kabasa gang appears to have co-operated closely with both the SAP and the SADF. KaNgwane did not have its own security forces at this time.
- 493 On 16 June 1986, a meeting of students to mark the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising was violently dispersed, according to Commission deponents, by members of the SADF and Kabasa. Students had gathered on the previous

evening to prepare for the commemoration. Ms Mildred Mthethwa's [JB01224/01MPNEL] fifteen-year-old brother, Bethuel, was killed when the members of the SADF and Kabasa opened fire on the protesters. Ms Mthethwa told the Commission of events before the funeral:

When the hearse arrived, the police were following the car ... When the police arrived at home they take the door, they were questioning where Bethuel is, they went here and there until they found him. They kicked him even while he was dead, they continues kicking him. When they were busy kicking the corpse, my father was becoming very angry. He tried to fetch something which we could use to fight the police because he was angry at what they were doing to the corpse. He questioned them, how can they kick somebody who is already dead? He therefore asked the police to kill him and when we all saw that our father was angry, we also decided to help our father to fight against the police. We fought against them. The police went out of the house.

- 494 Ms Phindile Mavis Ngobe [JB00984/01MPNEL] told the Commission that she was also shot. She and three other injured students were taken to Temba hospital by township residents. They were followed by members of the SADF who refused to allow the students to be admitted to hospital and instead called the police in Nelspruit to come and detain them. In detention they were assaulted and denied medical treatment.
- 495 Mr Madala Andres Ndlazi [JB00949/01MPNEL] lost his teenage son, Sydney, during the same incident. Ndlazi told the Commission that he came home to find his son lying dead in the dining room. He questioned both the army, who were at the scene, and police at the local police station, about the shootings. Both denied any involvement.
- 496 Mr Neville Shabangu [JB00940/01MPNEL], a founding member of the Lowveld Youth Movement, a local UDF affiliate, alleges that Kabasa members were involved in burning down his home. His nephew had been one of those shot dead by police outside the Kabokweni court about a month earlier. Shabangu was at home at the time of the arson attack and suffered severe burns which hospitalised him for more than four months. While in hospital, he was questioned by police about the identity of the arsonists. The day after his discharge from hospital, Shabangu was detained for three months and tortured. He told the Commission that members of the Kabasa gang were working with the police and were seen helping in the police station.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT STUDENT ORGANISATIONS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BOMBING OF POLICE VEHICLES AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD OFFICES IN KAPOKWANI, KANGWANE, ON 14 JANUARY 1986. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE STUDENTS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ARSON ATTACKS ON THE KHUMBULA HIGH SCHOOL AND TWO SHOPS ON 22 FEBRUARY 1986.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS GATHERED PEACEFULLY ON 11 MARCH 1986 TO SUPPORT TWENTY-SIX STUDENTS WHO WERE DETAINED AND CHARGED WITH PUBLIC VIOLENCE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KANGWANE POLICE ATTACKED THEM WITHOUT PROVOCATION AND WITHOUT GIVING THEM ANY WARNING TO DISPERSE, FIRED REPEATED ROUNDS OF LIVE AMMUNITION INTO THE UNARMED CROWD. THREE STUDENTS WERE KILLED AND EIGHTY WERE SERIOUSLY INJURED, MOST BEING WOUNDED IN THE BACK. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE KANGWANE POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF THE STUDENTS, AND THUS FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER AND THE CHIEF MINISTER OF KANGWANE RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

Resistance and revolutionary groupings

497 As the conflict deepened and escalated during the mid 1980s, gross human rights violations became increasingly generalised, drawing in an ever-widening range of sectors, organisations and individuals as perpetrators. The ANC, MK and individuals associated with the UDF were identified as perpetrators during this period.

Attacks on representatives of government authority and informers

498 Individuals aligned to the UDF, frequently referred to as comrades, engaged in a range of violent actions against local representatives of the apartheid government and anyone perceived to have been beneficiaries of the apartheid system, targeting councillors, police and government-appointed chiefs in rural areas. People who owned businesses, and any other individuals who were perceived to have unfairly amassed wealth in poor townships were also vulnerable to attack. Teachers and school principals who were conservative or opposed to school boycotts were targeted in some instances. Black local authority offices, schools, homes and businesses were also frequently attacked.

499 Many youths associated with the UDF increasingly became self-appointed community police, identifying and sometimes eliminating alleged informers or 'impimpis'. Methods used included petrol bomb or hand grenade attacks on homes, necklacing, stabbing and beating. This policing role also extended to the implementation of the UDF's programmes, such as the consumer boycotts and stay aways. This phenomenon reached its peak in the 'people's courts' which were set up in some townships as a rudimentary form of alternative governance.

Sabotage campaigns

- 500 The period between 1983 and 1990 was marked by a significant shift in the nature of the ANC's armed campaign within the country. This was at least partially precipitated by the popular rebellion which swept across the country after the clashes in the Vaal in September 1984. At the ANC's Kabwe conference in 1985, consensus was reached about the need to increase the organisation's military and political offensive. A strategy was adopted which aimed at the seizure of power through a people's war. This involved integrating armed MK combatants with mass organisations inside South African townships, and rendering the townships ungovernable through attacks on the security forces and other representatives of the state.
- 501 Two campaigns were launched in 1985–86 in the Transvaal, one involving bomb attacks on urban targets, the other involving landmines. Both led to civilian casualties. Most of the people who testified to the Commission about this type of violation are white, though it is evident from police statistics that the majority of victims of the ANC's armed actions were black.
- 502 From late 1985 to mid-1987, certain MK units were tasked with the laying of anti-tank landmines in the rural areas of the northern and eastern Transvaal, the aim being to target military patrols. A number of civilians – farmers, farm labourers and members of their families -- were killed in approximately thirty landmine explosions. According to the ANC, twenty-three people died, two of whom were MK members laying a mine. However, other sources give a death toll of thirty-seven: twenty-five civilians, nine MK members and three security force members. Some of the victims of these landmine explosions have testified to the Commission. Most of the casualties appeared to have been women and small children.
- 503 On 16 December 1985, the Van Eck and De Nysschen families were holidaying at Messina when their vehicle detonated a landmine. Three women and four children between the ages of three and nine died in the blast. There were four survivors: Mr Johannes Frederick van Eck [JB00707/01MPWES] and his eighteen-month-old baby boy, Mr de Nysschen and his daughter, who was seriously wounded. To this day, Mr van Eck does not know what happened to his three-year-old son, who had been travelling with them. He described the emotional trauma to the Commission:

Do you know how it feels to be blasted by a landmine? Do you know how it feels to be in a temperature of between of 6 000 and 8 000 degrees? Do you know how it feels to experience such a blast that is so intense that even the fillings in your teeth are torn out. Do you know what trouble reigns if you

survive the blast and that you must observe the results thereof? Do you know how it feels – how it feels to look for survivors, only to find the dead and maimed? Do you know how it feels to see crippled loved ones lying and burning? Do you know how it feels to look for your three-year-old child and never, Mr Chairman, never to see him again and for ever after to wonder where he is? ... Mr Chairman, do you know how it feels to try to cheer up a friend while your own wife and two children lie dead? Do you know how it feels to leave a baby of eighteen months behind to go and look for help?

- 504 Two ANC insurgents, Mr Mthetheleli Mncube and Mr Mzondeleli Nondula were subsequently arrested for their involvement in the landmine blasts. They were tried for murder and possession of illegal weapons and were sentenced to death, later commuted to life. In 1992 both were freed in terms of an indemnity agreement on the release of political prisoners between the ANC and the De Klerk government. According to Van Eck, Mncube was given a hero's award by Mr Nelson Mandela in 1993.
- 505 In 1986, Ms Lindiwe Mdluli, a farm worker in the eastern Transvaal, and her eight-month-old baby were on their way to spend Sunday with their family when they were also killed in a landmine explosion.
- 506 Mr Johannes Roos [JB01350/01MPNEL] and his family were on their way home from a Sunday evening church service on 17 August 1986. Roos was following his wife in a separate car when the vehicle she was driving detonated a landmine. Ms Roos died three days later as a result of her injuries. Their son sustained severe brain damage and died seven months later. Mr Roos told the Commission of the trauma of seeing this happen right in front of him.

THE COMMISSION FINDS MR MTHETHELELI MNCUBE AND MR MZONDELI NONDULA RESPONSIBLE FOR PLANTING THE LANDMINES THAT KILLED MEMBERS OF THE VAN ECK AND DE NYSSCHEN FAMILIES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THREE WOMEN AND FOUR CHILDREN WERE KILLED AND THE REMAINING MEMBERS WERE INJURED. THE COMMISSION FINDS MK AND THE ANC RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MK PLANTED LANDMINES RESULTING IN THE DEATH OF MS LINDIWE MDLULI AND HER EIGHT-MONTH-OLD BABY. THE COMMISSION FINDS MK AND THE ANC RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR JOHANNES ROOS LOST HIS WIFE AND THEIR SON IN A LANDMINE EXPLOSION FOR WHICH MK WERE RESPONSIBLE. THE COMMISSION FINDS MK AND THE ANC RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE ANC'S POLICY OF MINING AREAS IN THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN TRANSVAAL LED TO THE DEATHS OF A NUMBER OF CIVILIANS. THE COMMISSION

ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THE ANC HAS ACCEPTED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE LOSS OF LIFE THAT OCCURRED DURING THE LANDMINE CAMPAIGN. THE COMMISSION NOTES FURTHER THAT THE LANDMINE CAMPAIGN WAS TERMINATED BY THE ANC DUE TO THE HIGH NUMBER OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES.

- 507 During the 1980s, MK planted a number of bombs in urban areas of the Transvaal. According to ANC policy, the targets selected were meant to be security force personnel or the buildings in which they worked, such as police stations or military installations, but the reality was that more civilians than security force personnel were killed in such explosions.
- 508 The first major bomb blast of this kind was the Church Street bombing in Pretoria on 20 May 1983.³¹ Twenty-one people were killed and 219 injured when a car bomb exploded outside the building which housed the administrative headquarters of the South African Air Force. Eleven of the dead were employees of the South African Air Force, two others were MK operatives. The remaining casualties were civilians.
- 509 Three amnesty application have been received in respect of this incident. Mr Aboobaker Ismail [AM109/97] applied for amnesty in his capacity as an 'Instructor (1978–79)', 'a member of the command structure of Special Operations (1979–87)' and 'Chief of Ordinance (1987–90)'. Mr Johannes Mnisi [AM7096/97] tested the devices and was part of the contact with Mr Freddie Shongwe and Mr Izekiël Masango, the MK operatives who died in the explosion. Ms Helene Pastoors [AM7289/97] delivered the car with the explosives for the two operatives to pick up.
- 510 A number of those injured by the Church Street bomb, and relatives of those who died in the blast, have testified to the Commission. Most of the deponents described the traumatic personal and economic cost of the blasts rather than the circumstances of the blast itself.
- 511 Ms Adrianna de Wet [JB00689/02PS], a member of the South African Air Force, lost her mother in the blast. Ms Walters [JB00696/02PS] lost her husband, Stephanus. Mr Neville Clarence [JB00702/02PS] was a member of the South African Air Force. He lost his sight as a result of injuries sustained in the blast. Ms Marina Geldenhuys [JB00163/01ERTEM], an employee of the South African Air Force, sustained severe injury to her eardrums, as well as other injuries.

THE COMMISSION FINDS MR ABOOBAKER ISMAIL, MS HELENE PASTOORS, MR JOHANNES MNISI, MR FREDDIE SHONGWE AND MR IZEKIEL MASANGO RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CHURCH STREET BOMBING IN WHICH A NUMBER OF PEOPLE WERE KILLED, INCLUDING MS MEYER AND MR STEPHANUS WALTERS, AND SEVERAL OTHERS INJURED, INCLUDING MR NEVILLE CLARENCE

31 For more information on this and other bombings, see Volume Two of this report.

- 512 During 1987 there were several bomb blasts in Johannesburg. One of these bombings took place on 20 May outside the Johannesburg Magistrates Court. Four policemen were killed and fourteen other people injured. Mr Adriaan Pieter Duvenhage's son [JB02168/03WR] André, a policeman, went to assist the injured and was killed when a second explosive was detonated. Two applications for amnesty have been received in respect of this incident (Mr William Mabele [AM5313/97] and Mr Joseph Kgoetle [AM7500/97]).

Attacks on the police

- 513 Attacks on policemen and their homes escalated dramatically once the ANC adopted the strategy of a 'people's war'. According to the former Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, 144 policemen were killed between 1984 and 1987.
- 514 Most of the information which the Commission collected about attacks on members of the SAP emerges from MK members' amnesty applications rather than from the police themselves coming forward to describe these attacks on them.
- 515 In 1988, Constable Edmund Gregory Beck [JB00135/01GTSOW] was patrolling with two other constables when he was shot in an ambush allegedly carried out by ANC members. Two recently arrested rent defaulters were in the police van at the time of the ambush. One of these was critically injured. Constable Beck was hospitalised for a year after the incident. He described the ambush at a Commission hearing:

I just suddenly heard the sound of automatic and rapid fire from – machine gun fire. Then I heard screams at the back ... the people at the back of the van that I was patrolling with were hit, one civilian was hit through the neck. And then suddenly I heard shots all over round me that was shot from the sides, concentrating on my position as the driver. The shots riddled through the bodywork of the vehicle, past my body, past my head and shattered the windscreen and windows of the vehicle. I then accelerated to pick up speed in order to get the people to safety and I didn't know whether my assailants were on foot or by car, but eventually the engine of the vehicle was struck and I was hit through the right leg at the tibia several times ...

- 516 Mr Mayeza Peter Mahavle [JB01101/01MPNEL] details the difficulties he faced as a black policeman working in the eastern Transvaal during the 1980s. He suffered

two arson attacks in 1981 and 1986. According to Mr Mahavle, both incidents resulted from mistaken identity. In the first case he allegedly resembled a policeman who had detained ANC members, and in the second he was mistaken for a policeman who had shot a young boy during a stay away in 1986. Mahavle told the Commission that in spite of being targeted because of his role as a policeman, he also faced suspicion from his white colleagues who suspected that he had sympathies with the forces for liberation.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE 'COMRADES' RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTEMPTED KILLING OF MS MAHAVLE, THE WIFE OF POLICE OFFICER MAYEZA PETER MAHAVLE, AND THE ARSON ATTACK ON THEIR HOME, IN 1981. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE UDF AND THE ANC RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

- 517 Few former community councillors came forward to testify to the Commission about the many attacks that were perpetrated against them in the Vaal area during this period. Such was the extent of violence against councillors that by June 1985 only five of the thirty-eight black local authorities remained in office. Attackers did not always discriminate between councillors and their families, who were frequently caught in the crossfire. The issuing of firearms to councillors for their defence contributed to the conflict. This is evidenced by events in Sebokeng, where a councillor opened fire on a group of marchers protesting against rent increases, thereby precipitating widespread violence.

Necklacing

- 518 The necklace became a terrible symbol of the brutalisation of political conflict in South Africa during the mid-1980s and claimed at least 400 lives. Most of the victims were alleged informers, although councillors, police, and chiefs were also vulnerable to this sort of attack. Most of the perpetrators aligned themselves with the UDF. Although official policy of both the UDF and the ANC was to condemn necklacing, the public statements of the leadership of these organisations were sometimes ambiguous and appeared to give tacit and sometimes overt approval to the practice.
- 519 Ms Maki Skhosana [JB00289/01ERKWA] was necklaced in July 1985, on suspicion of complicity in the deaths of eight young COSAS activists on the East Rand. They had died while trying to use hand grenades which had been booby-trapped by security force agents (see under Covert Action above). Ms Skhosana, who was herself involved in student politics, had been the first person contacted by 'Mike' (Vlakplaas operative Joe Mamasela posing as an MK operative), and had put him in contact with the COSAS activists. It later emerged that Skhosana,

unaware of Mamasela's position within the police, was involved in a relationship with him. Survivors of the attack still seem divided as to whether Skhosana had in fact betrayed them. However, after her sister, Ms Evelina Puleng Moloko, testified at the Commission hearings, the family was formally accepted back into the East Rand community in a significant symbolic process of reconciliation.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS MAKI SKHOSANA WAS WRONGLY ACCUSED OF BEING AN INFORMER AND RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH OF THE 'COMRADES' IN THE BOOBY-TRAPPED HAND GRENADE INCIDENTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS SKHOSANA WAS NOT AWARE OF THE FACT THAT 'MIKE' WAS JOE MAMASELA, AN ASKARI. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE NECKLACING WAS A GRUESOME ACT OF EXTRAORDINARY VIOLENCE THAT CAST A BLIGHT ON THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE 'COMRADES' AND THE COMMUNITY AT DUDUZA RESPONSIBLE FOR THE NECKLACING OF MS SKHOSANA, AND THAT THE UDF AND THE ANC MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE STATE IN MANIPULATING COMMUNITY PARANOIA AND INFILTRATING INFORMERS INTO COMMUNITIES AND ACTIVIST STRUCTURES CREATED A CLIMATE WHICH GAVE RISE TO VIOLENCE AND GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

520 Mr Frank Mlotshwa, the son of Ms Bayeni Annie Silinda [JB01323/01MPNEL], was burnt as an informer in September 1986. The reasons for his murder are unclear, but appear to be related to the fact that he had previously worked for the Nelspruit municipal council and did not immediately comply when ordered by a group of sjambok-wielding 'comrades' to come to a meeting. Mr Mlotshwa spent four days in hospital before he died.

521 Nineteen-year-old Mr Lucky Mnisi [JB1099/01MPNEL] was burnt to death on 3 July 1986. Mr Mnisi was a student activist who was repeatedly detained by police. It appears that, as a result of the violence he experienced while in detention, he agreed to work for the police. He was murdered soon after his release from jail. Before his death he told his mother, Ms Jameya Mnisi, that he had agreed to work for the police. Ms Mnisi told the Commission:

He said, "Yes mother, the police ended up arresting me, they took me to the cells and they assaulted me and after assaulting us we spent a week in jail and at the end of that the police gave us uniforms and they gave us guns." And I said, "Why did you take those?" And he said "Mother, I thought that they would leave me alone."

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE 'COMRADES' WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FATAL BURNING OF MR FRANK MLOTSHWA. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE 'COMRADES', THE UDF AND THE ANC RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS DEATH AND THUS FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR LUCKY MNISI WAS BURNT TO DEATH BY 'COMRADES' BECAUSE HE WAS SUSPECTED OF BEING AN INFORMER. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE

ROLE PLAYED BY THE STATE IN COMPROMISING MANY ACTIVISTS AND COERCING THEM INTO BECOMING INFORMERS AND ASKARIS RESULTED IN THE MURDERS OF MANY ACTIVISTS AND COMMUNITY MEMBERS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR CREATING A CLIMATE WITHIN WHICH GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WERE COMMITTED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE 'COMRADES', THE COMMUNITY, THE UDF AND THE ANC RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

Inter-organisational conflict

- 522 Although the 1980s were fairly quiet in terms of inter-organisational conflict compared to the 1990s, political divisions did lead to some violence, in particular between adherents of Black Consciousness and Charterist organisations such as the UDF.
- 523 Violence seemed to occur primarily between the youth or student branches of the UDF-aligned student organisation, COSAS, and the Black Consciousness student organisation, AZASM. A variety of violent methods were employed in the battle for ideological supremacy, including hand grenade attacks on homes. Conflict occurred primarily in the urban townships of Soweto, Tembisa, Mohlakeng and Alexandra, but one Commission deponent reports violence from as far afield as Lebowa in the northern Transvaal.
- 524 Conflict erupted early in 1985 when groups of Black Consciousness-aligned activists disrupted a rally at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto which was to have been addressed by Senator Edward Kennedy from the United States. The resulting conflict involved abductions, kidnappings, killings, bombings and attacks on homes. The president of AZAPO, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, alleged that the last nine months of 1985 saw at least four members of AZAPO killed, nineteen attacked, thirteen arrested and thirty-three of its members' houses burnt in UDF-AZAPO conflict. Sites of conflict included Dlamini, Tladi, Moletsana, and Orlando East.
- 525 A few people came to the Commission to testify about this conflict. The two witnesses who testified at the Commission's Soweto hearings were both mothers whose sons had been killed in apparently targeted assassinations. Mr Walter Dhlamini (19) [JB00331/01GTSOW] was shot dead on his way home from school, allegedly by members of AZAPO. Mr Lereng Mahau (22) [JB00419/01GTSOW] was stabbed, stoned and necklaced, allegedly by UDF members, after attending the funeral of another youth killed in the conflict. Despite their youth, both Mr Dhlamini and Mr Mahau were long-term political activists. Dhlamini had been repeatedly detained and tortured by local police before his death. Mahau had recently been released after serving a five-year term on Robben Island for sabotage.

Before they murdered him, Mahau's attackers allegedly accused him of thinking he was 'smart' because he had been to Robben Island.

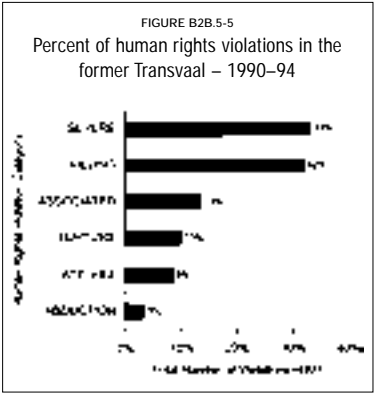
THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ONE OF THE LEGACIES OF APARTHEID WAS THE POLITICAL DIVISION THAT EXISTED IN COMMUNITIES BETWEEN THE CHARTERISTS AND THE ADHERENTS OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT. WHILST RECOGNISING THE ROLE THAT THE STATE PLAYED IN EXPLOITING THE DIVISIONS IN COMMUNITIES, THE COMMISSION FINDS NEVERTHELESS THAT THE STUDENT FORMATIONS OF THE UDF AND AZAPO, NAMELY COSAS AND AZASM, WERE ENGAGED IN BATTLES FOR IDEOLOGICAL SUPREMACY AT COMMUNITY LEVEL. THE BATTLES WERE BLOODY AND RESULTED IN A NUMBER OF DEATHS AND INJURIES, ALONG WITH A NUMBER OF HOMES BEING BURNT. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLITICAL INTOLERANCE BETWEEN RIVAL POLITICAL GROUPINGS RESULTED IN THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH THE UDF AND AZAPO ARE FOUND TO BE RESPONSIBLE.

■ 1990-1994

Overview of violations

526 Between 1990 and 1994, political violence claimed the lives of approximately 15 000 people. According to the HRC, during the preceding five years, 1984-1989, 3 500 people had died as a result of political conflict. The SAP estimated that, in 1990, damage to buildings and vehicles as a result of 'unrest' led to losses of R105 million compared to R34 million lost the previous year³².

527 Evidence before the Commission shows almost twice the number of reported killings (circa 1 550) occurred between 1990 and 1994 as in previous period (circa 850), becoming the most frequently reported violation.



528 The contest for power set in motion by the unbanning of organisations and the opening up of political processes in 1990 led to a substantial proportion, although not all, of the violence reported in the Transvaal in the period. The violence took the form of internecine conflict, rather than direct conflict with the security forces as in previous decades.

529 Much of the conflict that took place during this period was concentrated in the PWV (Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging triangle) region of the Transvaal. Until July 1990, ongoing internecine violence had remained largely confined to Natal. However, in the wake of an Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) rally at Sebokeng in the

32 Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, *Review of Political Violence*, 1990.

Vaal Triangle, which left twenty-seven people dead, it moved rapidly to the Transvaal, spreading to the East Rand, Soweto, the West Rand and Alexandra townships. In each case, non-Zulu hostel-dwellers were driven out of the hostels, which became launching pads for attacks against surrounding communities and, in particular, informal settlements.

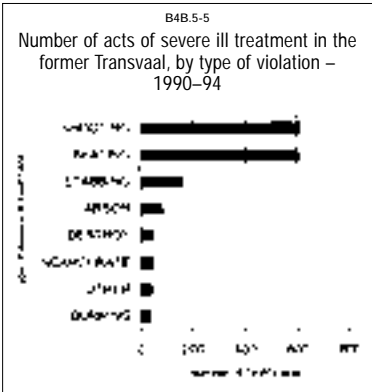
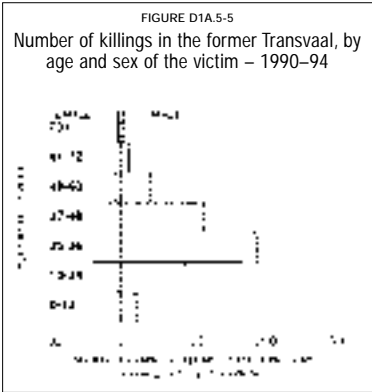
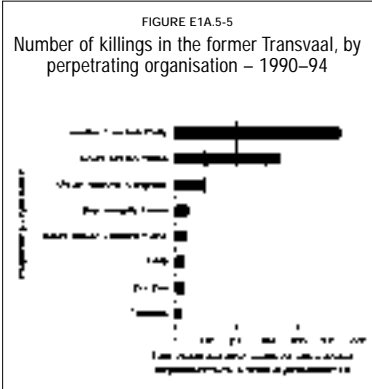
- 530 Ironically, the violence of the 1990s took place in the context of political reform and a process of negotiated transition. However, it was precisely this process that precipitated the rapidly escalating conflict. The unbanning of political organisations by FW de Klerk in 1990 and the possibility of democratic elections created an environment of intensified political competition as long-banned political organisations returned to re-establish themselves in the country, while other organisations such as the IFP entered the national arena as a formal political party.
- 531 Although the violence was precipitated and fundamentally shaped by the contest for political power which took place in the wake of the unbanning of political organisations, there were a variety of other divisions, including generational, economic, territorial and personal, that impacted on the form that violence took and motivated people's participation in it. These conflicts were intensified by the context of poverty and disempowerment within which they occurred.
- 532 The stakes were very high. The open expression of diverse political opinions had long been suppressed and levels of political intolerance were extremely high. In July 1990, COSATU called a stay away to protest against the high levels of violence in KwaZulu-Natal. Allied to this initiative, a number of organisations, most notably the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO), declared Inkatha "an enemy of the people" and the houses of many IFP officials in the Transvaal, particularly those town councillors who had allied themselves to Inkatha, were petrol-bombed.³³ On the other hand, members of the IFP were reportedly involved in a forced recruitment campaign in the PWV hostels, were expelling non-Zulu residents from hostels and engaging in numerous acts of violence against township residents and ANC supporters.
- 533 Evidence before the Commission for the area covered by the Johannesburg office reflects a shift away from the direct conflict between former state and its political opponents that dominated all previous decades. During preceding periods, the most frequently identified perpetrator was consistently the South African Police (SAP), during the 1990s, the number of violations attributed to the Inkatha Freedom

33 Hostels on the Reef, the Goldstone Report, Dr Anthony Minnaar, Centre for Conflict Analysis, Human Sciences Research Council in *Indicator SA*, Vol. 10 No 2 Autumn 1993.

Party (IFP) exceeded those attributed to the SAP. The SAP, however, remained the second most frequently identified perpetrators of reported violations. During this period, members of the ANC were also identified as perpetrators of gross violations. The arming of ANC self-defence units (SDUs) increased levels of violence as these units became involved in local conflicts, sometimes abusing their power. Right-wing organisations during this period also engaged in sometimes violent opposition to the political reforms introduced by state president Mr F W de Klerk. Criminal gangs, such as the Toasters and the Zim Zims, were also drawn into the political conflict, becoming perpetrators of political violence for the first time.³⁴

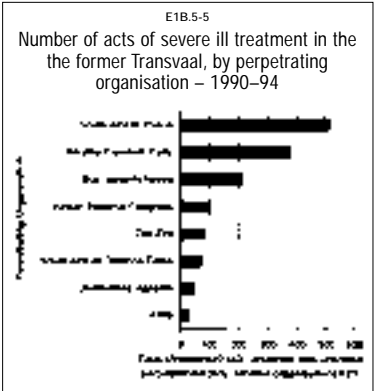
534 Not only did the violence of the 1990s claim more lives, its nature changed dramatically. Indiscriminate massacres in which gunmen opened fire on train commuters, people drinking in shebeens or sleeping in their beds became endemic. Violence against women, children and the elderly rose dramatically. The more generalised nature of the violence in the early 1990s is reflected in a wider age range of victims. However, the deaths of victims in the 25–36 age group show the most significant increase during this period. The number of women victims of killing also rose during this period, particularly in the 25–36 age group. By far the majority of victims of killing violations were, however, men.

535 The dominant forms of severe ill treatment occurring during this period were shooting, beating, and stabbing.



34 Please note that in 63% of killing violations, no perpetrator is recorded.

536 The major perpetrators identified are the South African Police and the Inkatha Freedom Party.



537 As the conflict continued, it become more sustained and pervasive and developed a momentum of its own. This was reflected in the intensified destabilisation of the political environment. In some areas, such as Soweto during the early 1990s and later in the East Rand, violence degenerated into an ongoing war of attrition with hundreds of people fleeing their homes to escape the killing.

538 Conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents of adjacent townships and settlements was a major site of conflict in this period. Since the 1976 attack by Mzimhlope hostel residents on protesting students in Soweto in which seventy people died, there had been a history of animosity between the two communities. This was exacerbated during the 1980s as the urban-centred nature of township politics frequently marginalised hostel residents.

539 The question of ethnicity gradually came to play a decisive part in the conflict between hostel-dwellers and township residents. After 1990, ANC-aligned organisations began calling for the abolition of the hostels and their replacement by family units. This fundamentally threatened the security of hostel residents who wanted to maintain their families and homes in the rural areas but could not afford to do so unless they could stay in the low-cost urban hostels.³⁵

540 Allegations of forced recruitment in the Transvaal hostels were prevalent in the early 1990s and were attributed principally to the IFP, which was launched as a national political party in July 1990. Soon after this, the organisation began a vigorous recruitment drive in the Transvaal area where surveys had shown not only a lack of support, but overt animosity towards the organisation.³⁶ The attempt by the IFP to politicise and manipulate ethnic identity was a powerful political tool and served as a springboard for Inkatha's attempt to penetrate the urban Transvaal and launch itself as a national political force. For hostel residents themselves, ethnic identities were used as a means of coping in a hostile urban environment. The result was the political mobilisation of a defensive community along ethnic lines.

35 The Human Face of Violence: Hostel Dwellers Speak, Lauren Segal, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Seminar Paper no 6, September 1991.
 36 Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE).

- 541 The allegations of forced recruitment in the Transvaal were similar to those made in Natal during the mid-1980s in areas controlled by the KwaZulu government. However, in the Transvaal the IFP did not have the same administrative control as in KwaZulu-Natal and had to rely on more direct physical coercion. The IFP also accused the ANC of not allowing any opposition. Hostels were built at a time when African people were seen as temporary sojourners in South Africa's towns and cities. The large dilapidated buildings built to house single males in large concentrations created the ideal context for coercion and forced recruitment. This environment also facilitated rapid mobilisation, instant meetings and preparation for armed attacks.
- 542 During the early 1990s, violence from the hostels was characterised by mass *impi* (traditional army) attacks. Counter-attacks from the informal settlements followed a similar pattern. Initially, the primary locus of conflict occurred between squatter and hostel communities with conflict spreading to formal townships only later. The conflict led to a process of territorial polarisation with squatter camps and hostels becoming identified with either the ANC or IFP. Residents were no longer able to make personal political choices and in fact to do so could often be life threatening. The process of political polarisation, which increasingly overlapped with ethnic identity, led to major migrations of people from one area to another.
- 543 Allegations by residents that the police had not intervened to prevent violence or had overtly sided with attackers became commonplace during the 1990s. In August 1990, when Thokoza hostel residents attacked Phola Park squatters on the East Rand, the police issued a statement declaring that they would "not get involved in a political fight" between Zulus and Xhosas.³⁷ The ANC argued that political violence was being orchestrated and fanned by members of the security forces in order to undermine and weaken the recently unbanned organisation.
- 544 Over the next four years, political and civic leadership repeatedly issued warnings of impending attacks. These were ignored (as in the Sebokeng Massacre on 22 July 1990 where twenty-seven people died; the Nangalembe night vigil massacre where forty-five people died; the Boipatong massacre where forty-five people died). In addition, once attacks were underway, there were repeated allegations (at Boipatong, Swanieville and the Alexandra Night Vigil Massacre) that the police had failed to respond to calls for assistance. In the wake of the massacres, police frequently failed to arrest perpetrators. After the Boipatong and Swanieville massacres, attackers were escorted back to the hostels. Incidents of political

³⁷ *Business Day*, 15 August 1990.

violence were not investigated or so poorly investigated there was no possibility that they would lead to convictions.

- 545 Evidence of the part played by sectors of the SAP and SADF in directly fuelling violence during the 1990s first emerged during the early 1990s. The Goldstone Commission revealed that a police informer, Mr Michael Phama, operating in a SDU in Phola Park, planned and carried out the killing of eighteen IFP supporters in Thokoza on 8 September 1991, precipitating a renewed outbreak of conflict on the East Rand. In November 1992, a Goldstone Commission investigation led to the seizure of documents from a secret military intelligence base. These revealed that, in 1991, the Chief of Staff of Military Intelligence had authorised the hiring of convicted double murderer, Mr Ferdi Barnard, to run a task force aimed at destabilising the ANC and its armed wing, MK.
- 546 In March 1994, on the eve of South Africa's first democratic elections, further revelations were made by the Goldstone Commission concerning alleged police involvement in the instigation of violence, including the organisation of train and hostel violence and gun-running. Those implicated included Lieutenant General Basie Smit, SAP Deputy Commissioner and Major General Krappies Engelbrecht, head of the department of Counter-Intelligence of the SAP. These two officers allegedly initiated a project that involved the manufacture of home-made guns, as well as the importation of a large range of weaponry from Namibia after the country gained independence. These arms were allegedly sold directly to senior members of the IFP, including Mr Themba Khoza, chairperson of the Transvaal Inkatha Youth Brigade. Central to the whole operation was Colonel Eugene de Kock, former commander of the C10 Security Branch unit, Vlakplaas. However, weapons stored at Vlakplaas were transferred to another venue and a number of former members of the unit continued to work under De Kock in various destabilisation operations.³⁸

Massacres

- 547 Between 1990 and 1992 there were 112 massacres in the Transvaal. The number of massacres and the resultant death tolls escalated steadily during this period. Twenty-five incidents occurred in 1990, forty-four in 1991 and forty-three in 1992. The death tolls for these years were 217 in 1990, 403 in 1991 and 334 in 1992.
- 548 The major massacres occurring between 1990 and 1993 were part of the so-called 'Reef township war'. Among them were:

³⁸ Peace Action, Monthly Report, March 1994.

- a the Sebokeng massacre on 22 July 1990 (twenty-seven killed);
- b the Tembisa Vusimuzi hostel massacre on 12 September 1990 (twenty-five hostel residents killed);
- c the Jeppe Station train attack, Johannesburg, on 13 September 1990 (twenty-six commuters killed);
- d the Thokoza Hostel attack on 2 December 1990 (thirty residents killed);
- e the Sebokeng Funeral Vigil attack on 12 January 1991 (thirteen people killed);
- f the Gobizitwna Beer Hall attack, Sebokeng on 23 May 1991 (thirteen people killed);
- g the Alexandra Funeral Vigil massacre on 12 May 1992 (fifteen people killed);
- h the Swanieville squatter settlement massacre, Kagiso on 12 May 1991 (twenty-eight people killed);
- i the Thokoza hostel attack in May 1993 (sixteen hostel residents killed);
- j the Crossroads squatter camp massacre, Katlehong on 3 April 1992 (twenty-one people killed);
- k the Boipatong massacre, Vaal on 17 June 1992 (forty people killed).

549 In the Vaal, the conflict was triggered by an ANC rally on 2 July 1990. The IFP alleged that speaker after speaker resolved to remove all IFP members from the Vaal townships and to act against the IFP in support of a week-long campaign protesting against the ongoing conflict and violence in KwaZulu-Natal. In the days following the rally, it alleged that ANC-aligned youths attacked the homes and businesses of people perceived to be supporters of the IFP.

550 The IFP called a peace rally in Sebokeng on 22 July 1990. Prior to the rally, COSATU had tried to seek an urgent interdict, on the basis of intelligence reports from hostels which indicated that the IFP were coercing and forcing recruitment of hostel-dwellers. On the day of the rally, ANC supporters gathered outside the stadium and allegedly hurled abuse, and threw stones and petrol bombs at arriving buses. Following the rally, IFP supporters marched through Sebokeng, attacking and killing people on their way back to the hostel complex.

- 551 Over the next few months, conflict continued between the IFP and the ANC, resulting in expulsion of IFP supporters from their homes as well as 350 Zulu-speaking people from the Sebokeng hostel complex. Initially, these people lived in the veld but were subsequently accommodated at the KwaMadala Hostel, a building owned by ISCOR, the biggest employer in the Vaal.
- 552 On 3 September 1990, Inkatha members carried out an attack in the early hours of the morning on the Sebokeng Hostel. Twenty-three people were killed in this initial attack. A further fifteen people died when the SADF opened fire on the crowd.
- 553 These conflicts in the Vaal (and in other areas of the Reef) took place against the background of ongoing negotiations between the former state, the ANC and other organisations. The ANC and many other organisations alleged that there was a 'third force' behind these killings. Mr de Klerk appointed the Goldstone Commission, headed by Judge Richard Goldstone, to initiate an investigation into these conflicts.
- 554 During the 1990s, criminal gangs became increasingly drawn into the political conflict taking place in the PWV – their easy use of violence making them extremely effective participants in the contest for political power and territorial control. Associated with this was an attempt to establish people's power in many areas including the Vaal. The establishment of related 'people's courts' and street committees added to the culture of intolerance.
- 555 The 'forced removal' of IFP supporters from the Vaal townships and the primarily Zulu-speaking hostel residents from the Sebokeng hostel complex to the KwaMadala Hostel led to ongoing conflicts between these two groupings from the end of 1991 until the massacre that took place in Boipatong in June 1992. The Boipatong massacre prompted the ANC to suspend negotiations with the Government in protest against its failure to halt the violence sweeping the country at the time.
- 556 The Commission heard evidence from families of victims of the Sebokeng massacre of 22 July 1990 in which IFP supporters, returning from a rally, conducted random attacks on township residents and killed twenty-seven people. Among the victims was nineteen-year-old Fanyana Reuben Maduna. Ms Mamasondo Maduna [JB00795/03VT] told the Commission that she was told that her son was lying in the road:

When we went there to look, he was already removed and taken to the hospital, and a police van came and they said to us we must go and fight for ourselves.

But I did not understand what they meant because I did not know what they were referring to...

And when we got to the hospital, we found that he had been dead. On the following day, we went to the mortuary at the hospital. When we got there, we found the place full.

- 557 It took the police at least four hours to arrive at the scene of the Sebokeng Massacre on 3 September 1990, although both the SAP and municipal police stations were less than 500 metres from the scene. The initial attack began at 01h00 and was carried out by Inkatha supporters armed with guns, hand grenades, home-made bombs, spears and axes. The attack continued for a number of hours. When the police *did* arrive, they allegedly found the group of attackers trapped inside the hostel by the Sebokeng residents, who were gathering outside. Police reported that they prevented further casualties by keeping the attackers and the residents apart.
- 558 The police subsequently called in the SADF, who arrived after 09h00 and, apparently without provocation, opened fire on the crowd outside the hostel. The crowd scattered. According to the police, they called in the SADF after the local ANC leaders Mr Bavumile Vilakazi and Mr Ernest Sotsu refused to allow the police to escort the Inkatha members from the scene before senior ANC members from Johannesburg arrived.
- 559 Mr Hamilton Piyose [JB00810/03VT] was shot dead by the SADF during this incident. According to his wife, Ms Alishia Bukiwe Galela, Piyose went to the Sebokeng hostel after he heard about the conflict at the hostel the night before. They had relatives living in the hostel. Their son, Mr Witness Galela, told the Commission what he saw at the hostel:

They (IFP members) were inside and they were surrounded by police. As we were still standing there, I saw my father, but I really doubted to go to him. Then I went to the other side of the road and I peeped through the hole to see the whole incident.

And the Zulus were right inside the hostel. As we were still watching all that was happening just behind us, there came soldiers ... and we turned around to face them to see what they had come to do. They got out of their Casspirs – nobody threw any stones at them, nobody was aggressive, we were just peeping through the hole to see what was happening at the hostel. All of

them got out of the Casspirs and they formed sort of a guard of honour and they were facing us.

We were a group, there were many of us, and we were facing them. We restrained ourselves. We told ourselves that we should just sit down. My father at that moment was at a distance ... because there were many of us; we were all sitting down from the front up to the back. Just before the last row at the back sat down we just heard a loud explosion and we realised that we were being thrown with a tear gas canister. And out of the corner of my eye, I could see my father because he was at a distance. And I didn't want to really face him because somehow I was scared. I saw him, it was as if he was trying to stand up and at that particular moment, I ran away.

560 Witness Galela did not know whether to go back and help his father, from whom he had so far hidden his presence:

I went back to look for my father, and when I went there I looked but I could not see any trace that he was there. I ran around trying to look for him but I could not find him anywhere. I kept on looking and I had this doubt in my mind that my father couldn't have run away. Probably something happened to him because he's an elderly man and he looked like he had a problem standing up and he had a very big build. And I felt in my heart of hearts that something had happened.

I went straight home and I asked my mother whether my father had come back. My mother said, no, he hadn't yet come back. I didn't tell my mother.

561 Ms Galela described her interaction with her son when he returned home:

My elder child asked me where the father was and I explained that the father had gone to the hostel and I knew nothing... He ... asked whether the father had not come back. I said the father had not come back. Then he started shaking. Then he started telling me that it meant that whatever he saw was the truth, but I didn't know what he was referring to. He went out the door.

562 Ms Galela eventually found her husband in the mortuary after searching for him for three days at local hospitals.

563 Mr Themba Khoza, the IFP Youth Brigade leader of the Transvaal and Security Branch and allegedly an informer³⁹, was arrested with guns and explosives in

³⁹ In his amnesty application to the Commission and at his trial, Mr Eugene de Kock alleged that Mr Themba Khoza was a paid Security Branch informer.

his car at the scene of the Sebokeng massacre and was subsequently charged with unlawful possession of firearms and ammunition. Despite apparently strong evidence against Khoza, charges against him were dropped. Amnesty applications made to the Commission indicate that Vlakplaas operatives supplied Mr Khoza with a car, bail money and at least some of the weapons that were used at the Sebokeng massacre, and that Vaal police tampered with evidence in order to secure Khoza's release. This cover-up is discussed in more detail elsewhere in this report.

564 In the attack which has become known as the Nangalembe Night Vigil Massacre in Sebokeng on 12 January 1991, forty-five people were killed at a night vigil for ANC Youth League (ANCYL) member, Mr Christopher Nangalembe [JB00317/03VT]. Mr Victor Khetisi Kheswa was allegedly responsible for Nangalembe's death. According to Kheswa's mother, the two boys had grown up together. Kheswa, however, had a long history of criminal involvement and, when youth in Sebokeng and Evaton launched an anti-crime campaign, Kheswa inevitably came into conflict with some of his former associates in the ANCYL. One of the allegations against Kheswa was that he had killed a young women by forcing her to drink acid. Christopher Nangalembe sat on the 'panel' of a 'people's court' that accused Kheswa of this and other crimes. Kheswa was then shot, allegedly by members of the 'people's court'. Kheswa survived the attack.

565 Two days after Kheswa's shooting, some of his associates, who were to form a gang that was later implicated in many acts of violence in the Vaal, met to discuss how to respond to the ANC's anti-crime campaign. Among them was Mr Silwane Kubheka whose mother was an IFP official. He allegedly suggested that the group should seek help from the IFP.

566 Christopher Nangalembe's brother, Mr Mandla Nangalembe, told the Commission that the nature of the violence perpetrated by the Kheswa gang after it formed an alliance with the IFP changed:

They used to steal cars ... They only started troubling the community when they had joined the IFP because now they were having guns, they were armed and they could shoot and kill people... When they emerged, it was when they were members of the IFP.

567 On 2 January 1991, the first 'drive-by shootings' took place in Sebokeng, reportedly carried out by members of the Kheswa gang. The following day, Kheswa's mother was arrested in possession of AK47s.

568 On 5 January, Christopher Nangalembe, the ANC activist who had sat on the 'people's court' that had 'tried' Kheswa for various crimes, was abducted on the 5 January. His body was found the following day on a rubbish heap near Boipatong. He had been strangled with a piece of wire.

569 Mandla Nangalembe told the Commission that, before his death, their mother received a telephone call threatening to kill the whole family and burn their house down if they "couldn't get Chris". Several members of the Kheswa gang intercepted Christopher Nangalembe in the street in a car. (Kheswa himself was in hospital recovering from injuries. Mandla decided to go and seek help from the police:

I went to the Houtkop Police station. When I got there to report that my brother had been abducted and he was at Khetisi's place, the police told me that they were afraid to go there. They told me that if I was talking about Khetisi, Khetisi was armed to the teeth and they did not want to tamper with him. These were the policemen who were telling me this... The second thing they told me that they didn't know the number of the house... I must bring the number to them.

570 Shortly thereafter, Mandla Nangalembe received the news that his brother, Christopher, was dead. The family went to collect the body:

We got Chris at the dumping site. He was tied, his throat was tied with a wire and this wire was twisted with a pair of pliers. People saw him in the morning they could only identify him with his ANC card that he used to carry with.

571 The family was afraid to organise a night vigil for fear of being attacked. However, members of the community insisted and offered to protect the vigil goers. Mandla Nangalembe again went to request protection from the police.

572 On the night of the vigil youths patrolled the area and stones were placed across the road. A vehicle was seen and shots were allegedly fired from it. It had no registration plates but was believed to be associated with the Kheswa gang. On arrival at the night vigil, people in the vehicle opened fire and lobbed three hand grenades into the crowd that had gathered.

573 As a result of the attack, Ms Paulina Masimula [JB00836/03VT] spent five months in hospital recovering from gunshot wounds; Ms Elli Ndlebe's [JB00875/03VT] son, Mr Michael Zwandile, died and her daughter-in-law was injured; Ms Sophie Nomfutse Simelane's [JB00820/03VT] son, Andrew Maqwane was killed.

574 When the police arrived on the scene, Mr Mandla Nangalembe was told to accompany them to the police station. He again tried to point out the attackers:

As we were going, this car which had shot people and abducted my brother was following us. I pointed this car to them and said that this was the car that had abducted my brother. They said I must keep quiet because they were doing their job.

575 Mandla Nangalembe was then taken back to the scene of the massacre:

There were four Boer police. They did not even look at the corpses. They just collected the bullets that were strewn, the cartridges that were strewn around the yard, they just ignored the corpses. They even ignored the people who needed first aid who were lying down on the ground. I approached them and showed them that there is the car that had been busy shooting. They did not even pay attention to what I was saying. They flatly ignored me.

576 Mr Khetisi Kheswa and ten others were arrested for their involvement in the Nangalembe night vigil massacre. At least one of the suspects was tortured by the police. They were all acquitted due to lack of evidence and sought refuge in KwaMadala Hostel. This attack precipitated the formation of SDUs in the Vaal area.

IN REVIEWING THE EVIDENCE PRESENTED TO THE COMMISSION CONCERNING THE NANGALEM-BE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE, THE COMMISSION FINDS:

- THE KHETISE KHESWA GANG WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRE IN SEBOKENG ON 12 JANUARY 1991 AND FOR THE KILLING OF MR CHRISTOPHER NANGALEMBE.
- THE SAP IGNORED THE REQUEST THAT POLICE PROTECTION BE PROVIDED AT THE NIGHT VIGIL MADE BY MANDLA NANGALEMBE.
- THAT THE STREET COMMITTEE IN THE SEBOKENG AREA WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTEMPTED KILLING OF MR KHETISI KHESWA.
- THAT THERE WERE STRONG LINKS BETWEEN THE IFP AND THE KHESWA GANG AND THAT THE IFP WAS SUPPLYING THE KHESWA GANG WITH GUNS.
- THAT THIRTEEN PEOPLE WERE KILLED AT THE NIGHT VIGIL AND MANY OTHERS INJURED.
- THAT THE KHESWA GANG, THE IFP AND THE POLICE MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

577 On 3 July 1991 Mr Ernest Sotsu's wife, Constance, his daughter, Margaret and his two-year-old grandson, Sabata, were murdered during an attack on their home while Sotsu⁴⁰ was attending an ANC conference. Two younger children,

40 Mr Ernest Sotsu, a resident of Boipatong township since the 1950s, was a former MK self-defence unit leader and trade unionist.

ten-year-old Vusi and twelve-year-old Vuyani, survived the attack by climbing out of the bathroom window. [JB0211/03VT] Both claim that Mr Victor Khetisi Kheswa was one of the attackers. The two surviving children allegedly identified Khetisi Kheswa as the attacker in an identity parade and consequently Khetisi Kheswa was charged but was released on bail. Before Kheswa could stand trial for the triple murder, he died in police custody⁴¹.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT CONSTANCE SOTSU, THE WIFE OF ERNEST SOTSU, HER DAUGHTER MARGARET AND HER TWO-YEAR-OLD GRANDSON SABATA WERE KILLED BY VICTOR KHETISI KHESWA AND HIS GANG ON 3 JULY 1991.

- 578 The 17 June 1992, the Boipatong massacre was allegedly launched from the KwaMadala hostel in the Vaal by a group of more than 200 men armed with knives, *pangas* and guns, leaving at least forty-five people dead and twenty-two injured. Victims included at least nine children, two babies and seventeen women, one of whom was pregnant.⁴² Residents were raped, hacked, stabbed, shot, beaten and disembowelled. Hundreds of homes were attacked and looted. Victims said they had been attacked by white men in security force uniform and black men with red and white head bands speaking Zulu and chanting Zulu slogans.
- 579 Conflict had been brewing in Sebokeng for some time. Zulu-speaking people in the township gravitated towards the KwaMadala hostel as tensions between themselves and the ANC increased. Attacks were allegedly perpetrated against the property of IFP supporters and Zulu-speaking people.
- 580 Repeated complaints from residents about violence emanating from KwaMadala hostel were ignored, as were petitions made by the Vaal Council of Churches to the police, ISCOR and the Goldstone Commission from early 1991. No action was taken and violence escalated unchecked.
- 581 According to the an article published in the *Weekly Mail*, twenty people were killed and ten injured in nine incidents of violence linked to KwaMadala hostel between January 1991 and May 1992, prior to the Boipatong massacre⁴³. Before the massacre, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) submitted evidence to the Goldstone Commission to the effect that most of the violence in the Vaal emanated from KwaMadala.

⁴¹ See *Boipatong Massacre*.

⁴² Forty-three of the casualties were Ms Violet Msibi, Mr Michael Msibi, Mr Sibusiso Msibi, Ms Ronica Msibi, Ms Julia Mgcina, Ms Flora Nkala, Ms Flora Moshope, Ms Matilda Hlubi, Mr Andries Manyeka, Ms Linah Manyeka, Ms Maria Mlangeni, Ms Martha Nonjoli, Ms Ntombi Nonjoli, Ms Elizabeth Moloi, Ms Anna Letsoko, Mr Andrie Letsoko, Mr Jim Richard, Mr Benjamin Mosoetsa, Mr Samuel Mosoetsa, Ms Nelly Kuba, Ms Annah Sebolai, Mr Percival Sebolai, Ms Berlinah Lerobane, Ms Aleta Moeti, Ms Maria Dlamini, Ms Pauline Dlamini, Mr Jacob Mtambo, Mr Benjamin Genu, Mr Meshack Mzizi, Ms Rebecca Mathope, Aaron Mathope (9 mo.), Ms Maria Ramoetsi, Mr Simon Ramoetsi, Mr Johannes Khoza, Mr Michael Mnyila, Mr Thomas Lekabe, Mr Sibisi, Ms Elizabeth Kgaile, Ms Elizabeth Ndamase, Mr Jonas Mbatha, Ms Lisa Mbatha, Ms Agnes Malindi and Poppy Mbatha (3).

⁴³ *Weekly Mail*, 26 June 1992.

- 582 Before the attack that occurred on 17 June 1992, a large contingent of police in plain clothes and camouflage uniforms began patrolling the township and removing barricades. A resident described this as being “unusual in Boipatong”. Members of SDUs repaired the barricades after the police left. A number of warnings were received and passed on to high-ranking officers in the local police. At about 20h00 on the night of 17 June, Boipatong residents, fearing an attack, patrolled the streets. At 21h00 police arrived in the township and patrolling youths were ordered to get off the streets.⁴⁴ Those who did not were allegedly teargassed. The police reported that they fired birdshot when a police patrol was petrol-bombed on three occasions. The police denied using tear gas.
- 583 At approximately 21h30, Mr Meshack Theoane, a petrol attendant at a petrol station on the corner of Frikkie Meyer and Nobel Boulevard, approximately 300 metres from Boipatong, activated an automatic alarm when he witnessed a large group of armed men crossing the highway from the direction of KwaMadala hostel. The alarm was connected to the police station at Vanderbijlpark. Shortly thereafter, two white men arrived at the filling station in a van and asked Theoane why he had rung the alarm. He explained that there was a group of armed men entering the township from KwaMadala, but they seem uninterested in this information and left the area.
- 584 A security guard who was with Meshack Theoane at the filling station, then radioed his employers to report the movement of the armed men. Two white security men arrived at the filling station a few minutes later and apparently called the police on their radios. Two white policemen then arrived at the filling station and spoke to the security men, whereupon the security men said that the police had instructed them to take Theoane and the security guard away from the filling station because it was not safe. However the attendant and the guard returned to the garage later and saw the armed group leave Boipatong at about 22h30.
- 585 At 22h00, workers on the late shift at nearby factories Iscor, Metal Box and Cape Gate reported seeing two groups of police, one on the west and the other on the east side of the township, dropping off men from Casspirs at points next to Slovo squatter camp. Soon afterwards, the attacks began.
- 586 The attackers started at the Slovo squatter settlement and then moved through the township, killing and injuring people and damaging property (at least fifty homes were attacked in the township). Twenty people died in Slovo Park.

⁴⁴ There is some uncertainty about the time at which the police arrived in Boipatong on the night of the massacre. Reports by residents appear to indicate that they were in the township at the time of the attack, but police deny this.

587 The attackers divided into three groups. The first squad allegedly moved ahead – shouting, breaking windows and causing confusion. It was followed by a second squad, armed mainly with *pangas* and *assegais*, which broke into houses and attacked residents. While this was happening, the third squad, reportedly consisting mainly of armed white men, surrounded the houses and gunned down anyone who tried to escape through the windows and doors. Twenty-one people died in Boipatong township.

588 Numerous allegations were made about the attackers and alleged security force collusion in the attack. Residents reported the following:

- a The attackers were Inkatha-supporting hostel-dwellers from the KwaMadala Hostel which was owned by Iscor.
- b Some of the attackers were wearing white headbands, white gloves and white *takkies*.
- c The attackers asked for comrades or ANC members.
- d White men were allegedly involved in the attack. One resident alleged that the attack was led by white people with blackened faces; two residents reported that they heard a white man saying "*Moenie praat nie, skiet net...*" (Don't talk, just shoot); and white uniformed men in armoured vehicles were seen assisting the attackers.⁴⁵
- e Attackers were seen getting out of police armoured vehicles on the outskirts of the township.
- f A resident from one of the first homes attacked reported that a police Hippo backed into the fence surrounding the house moments before they were attacked.
- g One resident reported that he saw a green police Casspir parked next to Slovo camp as he fled his home.
- h A police Casspir followed the attackers as they left the township in the direction of the KwaMadala Hostel.
- i Police failed to respond to calls of help from residents.

⁴⁵ A number of witnesses who were interviewed, particularly those from Slovo Park, made reference to the participation of white men in the attack. None of these whites were identified as policemen, but several statements confirm the presence of security force vehicles in the area during the massacre. In some instances these vehicles were perceived as accompanying and possibly assisting the attackers. Many witnesses were unable to distinguish between various security force vehicles.

589 The Commission received a number of statements from victims of the Boipatong massacre, some of whom also spoke at a special hearing. Ms Dinah Sibongile Manyika [JB00122/03VT] told the Commission that both her parents were stabbed to death. Mr Klaas Mathope's [JB00124/03VT] wife and nine-month-old son Aaron were killed. Ms Jane Nozililo Mbongo [JB00125/03VT] was stabbed, her husband killed and her younger daughter also stabbed. Ms Miriam Molete [JB00139/03VT] told how her husband was killed and how she, her sister and three-year-old daughter Mita were stabbed. Ms Paulina Matsie Mbatha [JB00140/03VT], who is now in a wheelchair, told the Commission how she was stabbed in the neck, stomach and back with a sharp instrument.

590 Some of the victims subsequently described their experiences during the massacre:

I was asleep and was awakened by women screaming. I thought she was being beaten by her man/husband. I went out to help. When I came out I saw four men throwing a baby onto the floor ... All had white headbands ... I continued to watch and saw a man standing at the back of the house next to mine. He was standing still and fixing the gun. I saw the back of his neck and hair. It was a white man ... When I passed house no 81 I saw the woman lying in the house and the baby child outside. The baby was dead; it could have been hit in the head.

My father was killed. I was asleep and my mother woke me up. She said we must get out, as it is bad outside. My mother took the baby, my younger sister on her back ... I saw a man in a dark blue overall and a sports cap running after my mother and then I heard him start to stab her and the baby. My father went out to see ... then this man started hacking my father ... My mother managed to crawl back into the house ... Next morning my father was found in the veld with bullet wounds and he is dead. My baby sister was taken to hospital for treatment.

My house was attacked at about 10:30pm. I was in bed, and heard people breaking windows, chopping doors and then my house was attacked. I asked, "what do you want?" They said "money". They spoke in Zulu saying "Usuthu". Some had red headbands and others had white headbands.

In our house we were sleeping and woke up because we heard breaking of our windows. One group was busy hitting the shacks (they had white headbands and white bands on their arms); they saw me and attacked the house saying, "Get out Mandela's dogs".

- 591 Mr Victor Mthembu, leader of the youth section of the IFP in KwaMadala hostel, was one of the participants in the attack. In his amnesty application, he gave his own version of how it was carried out. On the night of 17 June all men in the hostel were called to a meeting:

I attended the meeting where Mkhize, one of the indunas said that we are very tired of the people being killed in Boipatong which resulted in the IFP people having to live in the KwaMadala hostel because their houses were being burnt and they were being killed in Boipatong. Gqonqo said that night we were going to Boipatong to kill the people and said nobody was allowed to stay behind, only the women had to stay in the hostel...

They told us to take our traditional weapons and we had to put red head-bands around our heads so that we would be recognised and would not kill one another by mistake... The people of Umsinga were carrying fire arms. I saw about ten who had guns. We were about 300 people who were going to Boipatong... We went into the township and started killing people and looting their houses.

- 592 Mr Victor Mthandeni Mthembu [AM1707/96] claimed that regional IFP leader, Mr Themba Khoza, came to the hostel the day after the massacre and allegedly told hostel residents to burn any evidence including blood-stained clothes and looted goods.
- 593 In the wake of the massacre, numerous Boipatong residents alleged that white men with blackened faces had taken part in the attack, that the security forces were present during the massacre and had either stood by and watched while the attack took place or actively participated by transporting the attackers to or from Boipatong. As the Goldstone Commission began its deliberations, tapes of transactions in the Control Room of the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) were erased.
- 594 Despite these allegations of police complicity in the Boipatong massacre, Justice JMC Smit, delivering judgement on sixteen KwaMadala hostel residents convicted of involvement in the massacre, unequivocally stated that, in the light of the testimony he had heard, there was no evidence to support the allegation that the police in any way participated or were involved in the Boipatong massacre. He concluded that the erasure of the tapes was the result of incompetence rather than a deliberate attempt to hide evidence of police complicity in the attack and came to a similar conclusion as regards the bullet shells which had been destroyed. Justice Goldstone also stated that he had not received any evidence that led him to conclude that

the police were involved in the attack. In addition, Dr PA Waddington, who headed the enquiry into the police investigation of the massacre, concluded that the omissions in the police investigation were the result of inefficiency and incompetence rather than part of a deliberate cover-up.

- 595 When the accused in the KwaMadala trial appeared in court, they alleged that the police had assaulted them. On 10 July 1993, one of the accused, Mr Khetisi Kheswa (28) died in police custody. Three police officers were suspended pending an internal inquiry into Kheswa's death. Kheswa had previously been accused of killing thirty-five people in other incidents of unrest. Kheswa, popularly known as the 'Vaal monster', had become infamous since an attack on the Nangalembe night vigil which led to the death of forty-five people. Some of the incidents to which he was linked included the death of six members of the Lefhiedi family, whose son had recently returned from exile, and the murder of ANC activist Ernest Sotsu's wife, daughter and grandson.
- 596 A *post mortem* conducted by the state pathologist found that Kheswa had died of natural causes (heart failure caused by a virus). The conclusions reached at a later, private *post mortem* commissioned by the IFP and the Kheswa family were that he had died of "conditions including acute suffocation, electrocution, hypothermia and occult toxic substances." The Attorney-General declined to hold an inquest based on the first *post mortem*. Kheswa was in the custody of Detective Sergeant Peens at the time of his death.
- 597 In August 1993, a second accused, Mr Themba Mabote, died while allegedly trying to escape from a moving police vehicle. Mabote allegedly jumped from the window of a police van and was then run over by a second police van. There were two police officers in the vehicle from which he escaped. Mabote was not wearing handcuffs. Detective Sergeant Peens was in the second vehicle. Whether he was the driver or the passenger is contested. At a section 29 hearing, Peens' superior, Brigadier Mostert, stated that Peens was a passenger, not the driver of the second police vehicle. Detective Sergeant Peens was himself *subpoenaed* to appear before the Commission. In the early 1990s, Peens was implicated in several cases of torture and deaths in police custody. He was initially linked to the death of Mr Tsepo Lengwati, an MK member, who had informed his attorneys of his fear that Peens intended to kill him. Despite this, Lengwati was removed from the Leeuhof Prison by Peens for purposes of 'investigation'. He was later shot dead during an alleged escape attempt.

598 On June 20 1992, President De Klerk arrived in Boipatong to express his sympathy to the bereaved families. The depth of anger in the township, however, had been seriously underestimated. As police Casspirs started to leave two hours after the president's departure, youths threw a branch in front of the last Casspir, and when policemen got out to move it the crowd shouted insults at them. Other police went to the scene and created a line facing the crowd, leading to a tense stand-off. Finally the crowd began to leave, and the Casspirs followed them back to the township. One man was shot, however, and when the crowd tried to retrieve his body they were ordered to move back by the police. The crowd shouted at the police. In response, a police officer apparently fired his gun to try to frighten the crowd. This shot was followed by a twenty-second spate of gunfire from the police onto the crowd. Journalists who witnessed the event stated that no order to fire had been given. At least two people were killed and eighteen injured. The police maintained that no casualties had resulted from this incident and that television pictures showing casualties lying on the ground were fabricated by members of the crowd faking death or injury.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT FORTY-FIVE PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND TWENTY-TWO SEVERELY INJURED IN BOIPATONG ON 17 JUNE 1972 IN AN ATTACK PERPETRATED BY RESIDENTS OF THE KWAMADALA HOSTEL, WHO WERE PRIMARILY SUPPORTERS OF THE IFP. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT KWAMADALA HOSTEL RESIDENTS, TOGETHER WITH THE POLICE, PLANNED AND CARRIED OUT AN ATTACK ON THE COMMUNITY OF BOIPATONG AND THE SURROUNDING INFORMAL SQUATTER SETTLEMENT, SLOVO PARK, ON 17 JUNE 1972. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE COLLUDED WITH THE ATTACKERS AND DROPPED THEM OFF AT SLOVO PARK.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT WHITE MEN WITH BLACKENED FACES PARTICIPATED IN THE ATTACK. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT, DESPITE THE PRESENCE OF ARMoured VEHICLES IN THE TOWNSHIP, THE POLICE FAILED TO INTERVENE AND STOP THE ATTACKERS, DESPITE CALLS BY THE RESIDENTS OF BOIPATONG AND SLOVO PARK TO DO SO.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR DESTROYING CRUCIAL EVIDENCE IN THAT THEY ERASED THE TAPES OF TRANSACTIONS IN THE CONTROL ROOM OF THE ISU.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE KWAMADALA RESIDENTS IN THE CUSTODY OF THE POLICE WERE BEATEN AND ASSAULTED BY THEM. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT KHESISI KHESWA, ONE OF THE ACCUSED, DIED IN POLICE CUSTODY. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH OF THEMBA MABOTE, ANOTHER ACCUSED IN THE BOIPATONG MATTER. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP COLLUDED WITH THE KWAMADALA RESIDENTS IN PLANNING THE ATTACKS. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THEY OBSTRUCTED THE ENDS OF JUSTICE BY TAMPERING WITH THE EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE MATTER. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT TWO OF THE SUSPECTS DIED WHILST IN THE CUSTODY OF THE POLICE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE KWAMADALA RESIDENTS TOGETHER WITH THE SAP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRE, WHICH RESULTED IN THE DEATHS OF FORTY-FIVE PEOPLE AND THE

INJURY OF TWENTY-TWO OTHERS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER AND THE IFP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

- 599 Although drive-by shootings occurred throughout the PWV, the Vaal was particularly subject to this form of violence. All the shootings were marked by repeated allegations that the police had failed to respond to calls for assistance, sometimes allegedly allowing the killers to drive through the township for several hours. Evidence subsequently emerged that members of the IFP based at KwaMadala hostel were apparently involved in organising and executing attacks that took place during 1993. In November 1993, seven men were charged on fifty-six counts of murder and sixteen of attempted murder in relation to attacks on Sebokeng residents in April, June and July.
- 600 In the Vaal, the failure or inability of police management to respond to the safety concerns of black policemen led them to form the ironically named vigilante group, 'Codesa'. Initially Codesa's activities were legal. They set up roadblocks, searched for weapons and so on. However, as the attacks on black members of the SAP escalated, their tactics changed. They began actively hunting down SDU and MK members, assaulted, and sometimes murdered them. During one incident, three youths were killed and their bodies dumped in Poortje. This change in tactics led to a split in Codesa. The two groups then became known as Codesa I and II. Evidence seems to suggest that the latter group was involved in a number of drive-by shootings. A number of police witnesses subsequently came forward with information on the activities of the group.
- 601 The Commission has also received an amnesty application from Mr Victor Mthandeni Mthembu [AM1707/96, AM6130/97], vice-chairperson of the Sebokeng IFP Youth League, for the murder of four ANC members in Zone 3 Sebokeng, during an attack on Sebokeng residents on 12 July 1993.⁴⁶ Mthembu stated that he received an instruction from Prince Gideon Zulu, also known as Vanana Zulu, based at KwaMadala hostel to go and kill members of the ANC and was given firearms to carry out these attacks. Mthembu, who is currently serving a twenty-year sentence in Pretoria Central prison for his involvement in this killing as well as his role in the Boipatong massacre of June 1992, explained how he became involved in the series of drive-by shootings which took place during 1993 (see further below):

After the Boipatong massacre, Vanana Zulu called me and asked me which person can we use to attack the ANC people. I told him he must choose between Sipho, Temba Mabote, myself and Victor Kheswa to do the attacks.

⁴⁶ Mthembu's amnesty application for this incident had not been heard at the time of reporting.

He told me he would give us weapons to go and attack those people ... Several times during 1993 Mr Vanana Zulu or Prince Zulu as he was also known called us – that was myself, Victor Kheswa, Themba Mabote and Sipho Lukozi – and gave us weapons and ammunition and said we must go out and kill the people of the ANC. We robbed a car from a lady and we drove in the car and would stop and then some of us would get out and shoot the people in Sebokeng where we knew ANC people were living ... Every time we came back after going out and shooting ANC people at random we would come back and give back the fire arms and the ammunition to Prince Vanana Zulu who hid it ... The hit squad of Umsinga also went out several times on their own initiative to shoot members of the ANC. They also shot ANC members at random.

- 602 After the leader of the Kheswa gang, Victor Kheswa, died in police custody, the group was encouraged by Vanana Zulu to take revenge for his death. Although he had died in police custody, revenge was to be taken against local ANC members because they were believed to be 'happy' about Kheswa's death.

Self-defence units in the Vaal

- 603 The formation of armed militias in the Vaal was internally sanctioned by the ANC in November 1990 in response to the conflict with between the ANC and IFP in the area. However, the formation of SDUs precipitated a power struggle in Sebokeng between approximately 200 MK members who had returned from exile and local ANC and civic structures. The MK group was led by former MK operative, Mr Ernest Sotsu who was also a local ANC leader and trade unionist. Mr Jerry Ndamase representing the National Union of Metal Workers (NUMSA) set up a rival SDU structure. Sotsu believed that the rival group had been "bribed by a 'third force' of Iscor management and the security forces to sow seed of conflict in the Vaal".⁴⁷ In turn, the group led by Ndamase charged Sotsu with using for personal gain levies he had imposed on hostel residents to raise money for arms and of refusing to accept the political leadership of legitimate hostel structures.
- 604 Tensions between the two factions escalated steadily during 1992, and in May, Mr Colbert King, a NUMSA shop steward was murdered and four more people were killed during the ensuing months. A commission of enquiry was established and an uneasy peace enforced; however, the peace did not last long and, in July, two NUMSA members were shot dead execution style.⁴⁸

47 *Weekly Mail*, 5 June 1992

48 *Weekly Mail*, 31 July 1992

- 605 A protracted and complex conflict between SDUs in the Sharpville area began in February 1993 and continued until late 1994.
- 606 Tensions initially emerged in February 1993 when MK members approached the then ANC chairperson, Mr Siza Rani, to account for organisational finances of which he was sole signatory. MK members also demanded that ANCYL members, supposedly under Rani's command, be disarmed threatening that, if their wishes were not complied with by 19 February, they would themselves take action against the youth and confiscate weapons. On 19 February, unknown persons attacked ANCYL members and Mr Oupa Manete was killed.⁴⁹
- 607 In the wake of Manete's death, some sixty youths from his neighbourhood organised themselves into a gang they called the 'Germans'. The Germans immediately became involved in a host of common crimes and it was alleged that they were co-operating with the security forces to identify ANC supporters in other parts of Sharpville. Further, in July 1993, Oupa Manete's younger brother, Mr Lucky Manete, decided to avenge the death of his brother. An MK member, Mr Benny Scott, was shot and killed. As a result, MK cadres based in the Joe Slovo section of Sharpville forcibly disarmed the Germans, who were from the Matthew Goniwe section, and handed Lucky Manete over to the police. Whilst out on bail, he was gunned down in Sharpville's Rivonia Tavern. This turn of events, aggravated by subsequent violence at Manete's funeral, transformed the conflict into one between clearly defined, geographically bounded camps.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT RIVAL SDU FORMATIONS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF FORMER MK OPERATIVE ERNEST SOTSU AND NUMSA MEMBER JERRY NDAMASE ENGAGED IN A POWER STRUGGLE IN SEBOKENG WHICH LED TO THE DEATHS OF A NUMBER OF PEOPLE, INCLUDING A SHOP STEWARD, MR COLBERT KING.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RIVAL SDU GROUPS IN THE SHARPVILLE AREA ESCALATED DURING THE PERIOD FEBRUARY 1993 TO 1994. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SDU MEMBERS WERE ENGAGED IN GUN RUNNING AND PROTECTION RACKETS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, DURING THE CONFLICT, OUPA MANETE WAS KILLED AND THAT SIXTY YOUTHS FROM HIS AREA FORMED A VIGILANTE GROUP CALLED THE GERMANS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT OUPA MANETE'S BROTHER, LUCKY MANETE, LAUNCHED A RETALIATORY ATTACK, RESULTING IN THE DEATH OF AN MK MEMBER BENNY SCOTT. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SDU MEMBERS SEARCHED FOR LUCKY MANETE AND HANDED HIM OVER TO THE POLICE AND THAT HE WAS GUNNED DOWN IN A TAVERN WHILE OUT ON BAIL.

49 The ANCYL members later captured three IFP supporting residents who confessed to the crime, but before their statements could be fully investigated two of the captives were burnt to death when commemorations of the Boipatong massacre the previous year became violent. The third escaped.

608 The Commission received statements from victims of what came to be known as the Alexandra Night Vigil Massacre⁵⁰, which took place early on the morning of 26 March 1991. At about 04h00, gunmen attacked an all-night vigil for political violence victim, Ms Jane Ramakgola (41), killing fifteen people and injuring sixteen others, including a seven-month-old baby. The attack took place within 800 metres of the police station. Six members of the IFP were later arrested for this attack and appeared in the Rand Supreme Court. All were acquitted.⁵¹

609 Ms Kate Martha Maphanga-Mkhwanazi [JB01884/01GTTEM], sister of the woman for whom the night vigil was being held, told the Commission that the attackers were clad in police uniform and were also wearing balaclavas.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, WHILST ALEXANDRA WAS RELATIVELY PEACEFUL COMPARED TO OTHER AREAS ON THE REEF, A NUMBER OF EVENTS SUCH AS THE UNBANNING OF THE ANC, THE DECISION BY THE IFP TO BECOME A NATIONAL PARTY AND THE ONGOING CONFLICT BETWEEN THE IFP AND THE ANC IN KWAZULU-NATAL CREATED A CLIMATE OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE WHICH GAVE RISE TO THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. DURING THIS PERIOD, FIFTEEN PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND SIXTEEN SERIOUSLY INJURED WHEN GUNMEN OPENED FIRE ON MOURNERS AT A NIGHT VIGIL ON 26 MARCH 1991.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE SAP WAS INFORMED ABOUT THE NIGHT VIGIL AS WELL AS THE FEARS OF THE COMMUNITY OF AN IMPENDING ATTACK BY IFP SUPPORTERS. THE SAP WAS ASKED TO PROVIDE SOME PROTECTION TO MOURNERS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, NOT ONLY DID THE SAP FAIL TO PROVIDE ANY ASSISTANCE OR PROTECTION, BUT ARRIVED SEVERAL HOURS AFTER THE ATTACK HAD TAKEN PLACE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE SAP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THAT THE SAP FAILED TO PROTECT CITIZENS WHEN THEY WERE UNDER A LEGAL DUTY AND OBLIGATION TO DO SO.

610 On 12 May 1991, a pre-dawn attack by approximately 1000 Inkatha-supporting hostel residents from Kagiso on Swanieville, a neighbouring informal settlement, left at least twenty-seven people dead and scores injured. (See Ms Caroline Pinkie Nyembe [JB02379/03WR], Ms Noleni Fourie Kwinana [JB02350/03WR], Ms Doreen Manyobe [JB02345/03WR], Mr Simon Zolile Nkani [JB02366/03WR] and Mr Zamide Jackson Cetyewayo [JB01584/03WR]).

611 Several of the victims of this attack testified at the Commission's public hearings. Swanieville resident, Ms Thelma April, told the Commission that IFP members killed her boyfriend, Mr Joseph Makhubela [JB01703/03WR], on the night of the squatter camp attack. Mr Buka Pinzi [JB01707/03WR] lost an eye in the attack. He said he had:

50 See also JB01782/01GTTEM, JB01784/01GTTEM, JB0177/01GTTEM, JB02337/01GTTEM and JB02488/01GTTEM.

51 Everett, D., 'Funeral Vigil Massacres: Mourning the Mourners', CASE, March 1992 in Review of Political Violence, Graeme Simpson, Janine Rauch, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 1992.

heard on a radio broadcast that Swanieville men should not patrol the squatter camp that night and they should be asleep by 8pm. The radio announcer said the police would patrol the area.

- 612 Following the attack, an internal police inquiry found that there was no evidence of police involvement. However, the investigation questioned how a group of 1 000-strong, heavily armed men could have assembled and travelled approximately ten kilometres on foot to Swanieville without being seen, and why the local riot unit continued with its usual shift change without responding to the attack. Statements in the possession of the Commission state that police vehicles were on the scene before the attack or they were seen shortly after the first shots were fired.
- 613 Several Inkatha members were arrested and brought to trial for the attack on Swanieville. Judge CJ Botha acquitted the men but criticised the police for failing to take action more promptly to identify the killers. The court found that:
- a The police had first encountered the group of hostel residents at 07h00 and had escorted the men back to the hostel. The SAP commanding officer and the video unit were only informed of the incident at 09h30.
 - b The police could not be criticised for escorting the group back to the hostel as this had probably prevented further conflict. However, he said he could not understand why the police had not made sure that they could identify the men at a later stage.
 - c It was surprising that vital police evidence, such as logbooks and files, had disappeared mysteriously when they were needed during the investigation. (Earlier during the trial, the judge found that the statements made by the accused to the police were inadmissible. The accused had claimed that police had assaulted them to force them to make incriminating statements)
 - d He could not exclude the possibility that police officers had participated in the massacre.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE ANC AND THE IFP WERE TENSE AND THAT ON 12 MAY 1991, IFP SUPPORTERS MARCHED ON SWANIEVILLE, AN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF KAGISO, CARRYING BOTH TRADITIONAL AND MODERN WEAPONS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP COLLUDED WITH THE MARCHERS AND FAILED TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST THEM EITHER BEFORE OR AFTER THE ATTACK. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT TWENTY-SEVEN PEOPLE WERE KILLED DURING THE ATTACK ON THE SETTLEMENT AND MANY WERE SERIOUSLY INJURED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE POLICE WERE CALLED UPON TO TAKE ACTION BEFORE THE MARCH, BUT FAILED TO DISARM MARCHERS OR TO PREVENT THE MARCH AND/OR PREVENT THE ATTACK ON THE COMMUNITY WHEN THEY WERE UNDER A LEGAL DUTY TO DO SO.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP WAS DERELICT IN ITS DUTIES AND, BY OMISSION, ALLOWED THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE SAP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT AN IFP SPOKESPERSON, SUZANNE VOS, CONFIRMED THAT IFP SUPPORTERS FROM THE NEARBY HOSTEL HAD CARRIED OUT THE ATTACK. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE IFP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTACK ON SWANIEVILLE AND THE KILLING OF TWENTY-SEVEN PEOPLE AND THE INJURY OF MANY OTHERS AND THEREBY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

- 614 During March 1991, twenty-four people were killed and fifteen injured at Meadowlands hostel in Soweto. After this initial clash, violence continued unabated well into the next year. In April, conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Nancefield hostel left fifty-five people injured. Police used tear gas and shotguns to disperse the two groups. On 19 April 1991, Mr Moses Khumalo, mayor of Soweto's Diepmeadow township and chairperson of the local IFP branch, was ambushed and shot dead with an AK47. After his funeral on Sunday 27 April, ten people were hacked and stabbed to death, allegedly by IFP members.⁵² IFP supporters returning from this funeral assaulted Mr George Sokhela [JB01243/01GTSOW].

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ONGOING CONFLICT BETWEEN THE IFP AND THE ANC IN SOWETO DURING THE 1990S LED TO THE KILLING OF TWENTY-FOUR PEOPLE AND THE INJURY OF FIFTEEN OTHERS AT THE MEADOWLANDS HOSTEL. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE AMBUSH AND KILLING OF MR MOSES KHUMALO, THE MAYOR OF DIEPMEADOW AND AN IFP SUPPORTER FURTHER HEIGHTENED TENSIONS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT TEN PEOPLE WERE HACKED AND STABBED TO DEATH FOLLOWING THE FUNERAL OF MR KHUMALO ON 27 APRIL 1991.

- 615 On 8 September, at least thirteen people were killed and eighteen injured in an attack on Soweto residents after an IFP rally at Jabulani Stadium. In the ensuing battle between residents and Inkatha supporters, hand grenades were allegedly thrown into the crowd of Inkatha supporters, killing five. A further eight people were later killed, allegedly by Inkatha supporters in retaliation.⁵³
- 616 The Commission received a number of statements from victims of the attack after the IFP rally. Mr Buti Simelane was stabbed and shot dead [JB00337/01GTSOW]. Mr Daniel Marumo's mother, Ms Elizabeth Marumo, was hacked to death [JB00618/01GTSOW]. Ms Emma Motsoeneng's house in Mofolo was attacked. Her mother, daughter and sister were hacked to death and household goods were stolen [JB00923/01GTSOW]. Each of these attacks was attributed to members of the IFP returning home from the rally. Mr Pius Khenani was first shot by the SAP and then stabbed to death by supporters of the IFP after the rally [JB03071/01GTSOW]. Ms Nomacala Tshabalala was injured; her son

⁵² South African Institute of Race Relations, *Survey* 1991–1992, p. 496.

⁵³ HRC database, sources – Soweto Crisis Committee, *Citizen*, *Sowetan*, *Business Day*, *Star*, 9 September 1991.

stabbed to death and her home looted after the rally [JB04579/01GTSOW]. Mr Clifford Phiri was murdered and his body found at Dube hostel after the rally [JB00925/01GTSOW].

- 617 Ms Bongisiwe Manyamalala [JB05394/01GTSOW] lost her husband in conflict following the rally. Her husband had been involved in assisting people who were displaced from their homes. He was driving back when he encountered the rally-goers on their way home. He tried to take another route but encountered a further group. They opened fire on the car. Ms Manyamalala told the Commission:

They shot at him. He couldn't get control over the car and the car came to a standstill. They were there already, within a short time; a group of people was there. Four them, or the men who were there, it is said that they are the people who killed him. When he stopped the car, they pelted the car with stones. They opened the door of the car; they took him out of the car. When I was identifying him in the mortuary, he was hit by a knobkierrie on his forehead and his clothes that he was wearing. He had a lot of wounds. There was another one that I think it was the worst wound, which was on his ribs. I don't even know whether it was a spear or if it was a knife. There was no bullet wound. You could see that they used spears or knives to stab him.

- 618 The murder of Mr Elbin Manyamalala was witnessed by journalists. The police were present but allegedly did not intervene to assist him.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ON 8 SEPTEMBER 1991, THE IFP DECIDED TO HOLD A RALLY IN THE JABULANI STADIUM. THE POLICE WERE INFORMED OF THE RALLY AS WELL AS THE FEARS OF RESIDENTS IN SOWETO RELATING TO THE RALLY. THE POLICE FAILED TO DIRECT THAT THE MARCHERS SHOULD TRAVEL ON ONE ROUTE AFTER THE RALLY. INSTEAD, IFP MARCHERS WERE ALLOWED TO MOVE FREELY, CARRYING ARMS, ALONG SEVERAL ROUTES FROM THE STADIUM. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE MARCH, IFP SUPPORTERS ATTACKED INNOCENT RESIDENTS, KILLING THIRTEEN OF THEM AND INJURING EIGHTEEN OTHERS. THE POLICE FAILED TO TAKE ACTION TO PREVENT THESE ATTACKS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE IFP AND THE SAP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

- 619 On 8 September 1991, a three-month period of relative calm was shattered days before the signing of the National Peace Accord. Approximately 300 members of the Hostel-Dwellers Association on their way to a peace meeting at the Thokoza stadium on the East Rand were sprayed with gunfire by three AK-47 wielding gunmen, killing at least twenty-three people.⁵⁴ By the following night, forty-two people were dead and at least fifty injured in retaliatory attacks that swept Katlehong, Tembisa and Johannesburg. Both the ANC and Inkatha later

⁵⁴ See JB03068/01ERKAT – Mthiyeni Joseph Mthethwa was shot during this attack.

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

- 620 The Goldstone Commission found in 1992 that this attack had been planned and carried out by a police informer, Mr Mncugi Ceba, who posed as the head of an ANC SDU in Phola Park. One of the participants in this attack, ANC member, Mr Michael Phama [AM3155/96], who is currently serving a life sentence for his involvement in the incident, applied to the Commission for amnesty for the killings. He stated in his amnesty application that he was ordered by his SDU commander to shoot “because IFP members might attack our people as they always attack when they have a rally”.⁵⁵

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ON 8 SEPTEMBER 1991, TWENTY-THREE PEOPLE WERE KILLED AT THE THOKOZA STADIUM ON THE EVE OF THE SIGNING OF THE NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD ON THE EAST RAND.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT FORTY-TWO PEOPLE DIED AND AT LEAST FIFTY PEOPLE WERE SEVERELY INJURED IN VIOLENCE THAT BROKE OUT BETWEEN SUPPORTERS OF THE ANC AND THE IFP IN THE TWO DAYS THAT FOLLOWED.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE INITIAL ATTACK WAS INITIATED BY ONE MICHAEL PHAMA, A MEMBER OF AN ANC SDU, ACTING ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF HIS COMMANDER, MR MNCUZI CEBU. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT CEBU WAS A POLICE INFORMER IN THE PAY OF THE SAP.

- 621 On 10 September, two days after the attack, the police declared four East Rand townships unrest areas as the death toll rose to sixty-nine with 101 people injured. On the same day, at least eleven people were killed and thirty-six injured when a car was ambushed, a commuter bus riddled with bullets and blasted with a hand grenade and a crowded railway station shot up by gunmen.
- 622 In May 1993, an ANC march past a Thokoza hostel catapulted the East Rand into turmoil. In the wake of the march, eighty-one people were killed and ninety-nine injured in seventy-one general incidents of political violence.⁵⁶ In the months that followed, violence continued. Between July and September 1993 alone, 544 bodies were found. Over a thousand women and children fled their homes to seek shelter and safety at hospitals and community halls. More than a hundred homes were gutted during the conflict.

- 623 On 22 May, at least nine people were killed and sixty-nine injured in clashes

⁵⁵ Phama’s amnesty hearing had not taken place at the time of writing.

⁵⁶ Human Rights Commission, Monthly Repression Report, May 1993.

between ANC supporters, Inkatha hostel-dwellers and police.⁵⁷ It was reported that a march planned by the ANC was to start at Thokoza stadium, proceed through Thokoza to Alberton police station and there present a memorandum of demands.

- 624 During the march, reports were received of armed IFP supporters dancing outside the Thokoza hostel. Police also negotiated with the hostel-dwellers and march organisers in an attempt to defuse the situation. When the marchers reached the Thokoza hostel compounds, however, random shooting from the hostel and nearby houses began and the marchers returned fire. The ANC alleged that police shot at marchers as they tried to escape. The hostel-dwellers claimed that police fired tear gas at them.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ANC THOKOZA BRANCH FAILED TO TAKE PROPER PRECAUTIONS IN THE PLANNING AND ORGANISING OF THE MARCH AND WAS RECKLESS AND NEGLIGENT IN ARRANGING THE ROUTE THAT TOOK THE MARCHERS PAST THE IFP-DOMINATED THOKOZA HOSTEL. THE COMMISSION ALSO FINDS THAT THE ANC FAILED TO EXERCISE CONTROL OVER THE MARCHERS, SOME OF WHOM WERE ARMED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SHOOTING BEGAN FROM THE HOSTEL AND THAT THE MARCHERS RETURNED FIRE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP, HAVING BEEN FOREWARNED OF THE MARCH, FAILED TO PROVIDE PROPER PROTECTION TO THE MARCHERS IN TERMS OF ITS LEGAL OBLIGATION TO DO SO.

- 625 On 28 March 1994, approximately fifty people were killed and more than 300 injured during violence associated with a march through Johannesburg in support of the Zulu king.⁵⁸ The violence occurred after Transvaal indunas (traditional leaders) called on Zulus in the PWV region to stay away from work and gather at the Library Gardens in Central Johannesburg to demonstrate their support for the Zulu sovereign, King Goodwill Zwelethini. After the events of 28 March, the IFP leadership was at pains to emphasise that the march was an independent initiative of the 'Zulu people', rather than a political gathering organised by the IFP. However, senior IFP leadership was present at the gathering and involved in its organisation.
- 626 From the start, information about the proposed gathering was confused. Many people believed that the marchers intended gathering at the offices of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in order to demonstrate their opposition to the elections. However, such a march did not take place. It subsequently emerged that senior IFP leadership had received permission from the Johannesburg magistrate to hold a gathering at the Library Gardens, but had not sought permission for a march of any kind. No organised march did in fact happen. Instead, armed groups of men launched a series of 'offensives' against ANC offices in the city centre.

⁵⁷ The Commission has taken one statement regarding this attack. See JB02171/01ERKAT.

⁵⁸ See JB03415/01ERKWA, JB04497/01GTSOW, JB03731/01GTSOW and KZN/NM/116/NC.

The first three such offensives focused on the ANC regional offices. When the marchers moved on the ANC headquarters at Shell House, ANC security guards responded with automatic gunfire, killing eight people. Several of the ANC security guards who opened fire at Shell House applied to the Commission for amnesty. These hearings were ongoing at the time of reporting.⁵⁹

Ethnic and territorial polarisation

- 627 A crucial component of the escalation of conflict in many townships was the emphasis on ethnic and political boundaries through territorial control of particular areas. Thus, at the beginning of the conflict between township and hostel residents, most non-Zulus were driven from the hostels, while squatter communities around hostels were repeatedly attacked, often leading to their decimation. A Zulu ethnic identity and IFP political affiliation became absolute prerequisites for residence in the hostels. Thus, ideological, ethnic, political and territorial fortresses were created. On the other hand, people of Zulu ethnic origin or IFP political affiliation or those simply suspected of either of these, were forcibly and violently driven from the townships and obliged to seek refuge in the hostels, thus further reinforcing divisions.
- 628 The meshing of territorial and political boundaries through extreme coercion is illustrated by the stories of two Soweto residents on opposite sides of the political divide. In May 1990, IFP member George Mncube [JB04474/0101GTSOW] was reportedly threatened with death by the chairperson of the local civic association and harassed by 'comrades' in Meadowlands, Soweto after he had tried to prevent the eviction of another IFP member. Eventually, he was forced to move out of the township into Dube hostel.
- 629 Ms Dudu Howard and Mr Nester Howard were killed because they were trying to move out of an IFP stronghold, Msingville, the squatter camp in Mofolo, Soweto during September 1991 [JB00256/01GTSOW].
- 630 Once territorial boundaries were established, they were violently defended, making it impossible for people to return to their homes. The consequence was that many people who could not be absorbed into family or friendship networks were left homeless and remain so to this day.
- 631 In Thokoza, a systematic programme of political coercion was undertaken from January 1993 in Phenduka section, an IFP stronghold where many former

⁵⁹ Please note that the killing of eight marchers by ANC security guards, which has come to be known as the Shell House massacre, is dealt with in more detail elsewhere in the report.. See also AM5275/97, AM4688/97, AM5542/97, AM5543/97, AM5544/97, AM5545/97, AM5546/97, AM5547/97, AM5548/97, A5550/97, AM5551/97, AM5552/97, AM5553/97 and AM5554/97.

Khalanyoni hostel residents had fled after the hostel was destroyed by Phola Park residents. Residents of Phenduka reported that they had been forced to attend meetings, pay protection money and participate in self-protection units (SPUs). Those who did not conform were issued with 'eviction' notices by armed youths. Most of the victims were long-term residents of Thokoza.

- 632 At the same time, Zulu-speaking residents were also forced out of their homes by SDU members, in particular areas of Thokoza such as Unit F, Extension 2.
- 633 In Katlehong, a violent process of 'ethnic cleansing' was carried out against Zulu speakers living in the township. The majority of victims were shack-dwellers whose families came from Natal. Most of these people were forced to flee to the Kwesine and Buyafuthi hostels in Katlehong during May and July 1993 after their homes had been razed to the ground. Many people were targeted simply because of a perceived association with hostel residents, Zulu speakers or the IFP. Sections most affected included Mngadi, Radebe and Likole.
- 634 Ms Zondiwe Mtshali and her husband, Mr Benson Mtshali, were victims of the blurring of ethnic and political boundaries. Benson Mtshali was burnt to death in September 1993 because he was Zulu-speaking. His attackers assumed that this meant that he was an IFP member. Ms Mtshali told the Commission that she and her husband had faced harassment and ostracism before his death and that they had been forced to seek refuge with other Zulu speakers. However, because of their refusal to align themselves politically, they faced further difficulties.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN THE PERIOD 1990 TO 1994, 'ETHNIC CLEANSING' TOOK PLACE ON THE REEF, PARTICULARLY IN AREAS SUCH AS THE EAST RAND AND ALEXANDRA. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT INDIVIDUALS AND COMMUNITIES BECAME IDENTIFIED BY THE LANGUAGE THEY SPOKE, THE CHURCH THEY SUPPORTED, POLITICAL MEMBERSHIP, AREAS THEY LIVED IN AND THE SCHOOLS THEIR CHILDREN ATTENDED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE STATE, THE IFP AND THE ANC CREATED A CLIMATE OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE IN WHICH THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WERE FORCIBLY DISPLACED FROM THEIR HOMES. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THIS CLIMATE OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE FACILITATED THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS ZONDIWE MTSHALI AND HER HUSBAND BUSA MTSHALI WERE VICTIMS OF THE ETHNIC POLARISATION THAT TOOK PLACE IN MOST OF THE REEF TOWNSHIPS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT BUSA MTSHALI WAS KILLED BY SDUS BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT HE SPOKE ZULU AND WAS AUTOMATICALLY PERCEIVED TO BE ALIGNED TO THE IFP.

- 635 In March 1991, Alexandra was engulfed by a wave of violence. By the end of the month, seventy people were dead. Earlier, tensions had begun building in the township when the Civic Associations of South Africa (CAST) launched a

campaign urging councillors to resign. A number of councillors, particularly the mayor, Prince Mokoena, had responded by joining the IFP. Mokoena also allegedly told KwaMadala hostel residents that the Alexandra Civic Organisation intended to demolish the hostel, fuelling hostel residents' fears that they would lose their place in the urban areas. People living in the squatter settlements bordering KwaMadala hostel were the first to be violently attacked by the new KwaMadala hostel residents.

- 636 The violence resulted in geographical polarisation. Zulu speakers living in the township felt increasingly threatened and sought refuge in the main men's hostel, the Madala or M1. At the same time, several hundred non-Zulu-speaking men living in the hostel felt at risk and left for the township. Roosevelt Street, previously a busy arterial road, now formed the main border between the two communities.
- 637 The Commission received statements from people who were displaced from their homes in Alexandra during 1992, many of whom remain homeless to this day. Ms Esther Grant [JB01763/01GTTEM] who lived opposite Madala hostel said she had to flee her home in 1992 because people were being "slaughtered".
- 638 Ms Bertha Lesiba's shack was burnt down on 9 February 1992, allegedly by ANC supporters who believed her to be an IFP member [JB02494/01GTTEM]. The Phetoane family was forcibly removed from home on 12 March 1992, allegedly by members of the IFP. Ms Jenifer Ramatlo was forcibly displaced from her home, allegedly by members of the IFP [JB01766/01GTTEM]. Ms Lettie Nyathi was displaced from her home, which was subsequently occupied by hostel residents during conflict between the hostel and township community in March 1992 [JB01773/01GTTEM]. Ms Mampi Mazibuko was displaced from her home during conflict between the IFP and ANC on 23 March 1992 [JB01776/01GTTEM]. Mr David Mofokeng was shot dead in January 1992. His mother, Ms Maria Makgajane was displaced from her home by IFP members [JB01879/01GTTEM].

Drive-by shootings

- 639 During the 1990s, so-called 'drive-by' shootings, where gun-men opened fire from fast moving cars, often shooting indiscriminately at people, became an increasingly endemic. Drive-by shootings had occurred during the 1970s, particularly in the wake of the Soweto uprisings where people reported that they were randomly shot at by police driving around the township. However, it was only during the 1990s, and particularly in the PWV, that drive-by shootings began to form an essential part of the fabric of political violence.

- 640 According to the HRC, 139 people died as a result of drive-by shootings between January and the end of October 1993, the year when this type of killing peaked.⁶⁰
- 641 Drive-by shootings were a strategy, a methodology of violence which could take place in a variety of contexts e.g. attacks on taxis, night vigils, in the street etc. They also sometimes lead to a large number of deaths, which in turn could be classified as massacres.
- 642 Reports of drive-by shootings include the following:
- a On 23 May 1991, two men with AK47s opened fire on some 100 patrons of the Gobzitwana Kooperasie Beer Hall in Sebokeng. Five people died instantly and, within four days, the death toll had risen to thirteen.
 - b On 7 July 1991, five people were killed and fourteen injured when two masked men opened fire on the Erika Tavern in Zone 7, Sebokeng. It is believed that the same group was involved in the attack on 23 May, as well as the attack on the Nangalembe night vigil. (See Malebohang Sebina Khosi JB00812/03VT)
 - c Early in April 1993, an attack on a shebeen led to the death of three civic members and the injury of five others. The civic members were apparently celebrating their election as civic leadership. According to eyewitnesses interviewed by the peace-monitoring organisation, Peace Action, about six gunmen burst into the shebeen at approximately 21h30. One attacker went to talk to a taxi owner who had recently been elected onto the civic leadership structure. After emptying everyone's pockets of their money, the gunmen allegedly opened fire on the people assembled in the shebeen.
 - d On the eve of Chris Hani's funeral in April 1993, unknown gunmen drove back and forth through Sebokeng shooting randomly at residents. Nineteen people were killed and ten injured. Alina Mapelo Magoda [JB00811/03VT] testified before the Commission that she heard gun shots. She turned off the house lights. Shortly afterwards, a neighbour knocked at the door of her house. Her husband went outside and found the bodies of her daughter and her friend Molebatsi. Both were victims of the drive-by shootings that took place that night. Ms Maria Maki Moshodi [JB00827/03VT] lost three members of her family in a drive-by shooting on the eve of Chris Hani's funeral. Edward Maseko (8), Maria Moshodi and Paul Moshodi were all gunned down in front of the Moshodi house in Sebokeng.

60 Drive-by Shootings, Janine Rauch, 1993, CSV Seminar No 9.

- e Over one weekend in June 1993, twenty-three people were killed by gunmen in a series of drive-by shootings. As Zone 8 Sebokeng residents settled down to watch a long anticipated boxing match on television, gunmen launched a carefully planned attack. First they shot two people walking in the street and, when residents left their homes to investigate, the men positioned themselves strategically in the crowd and opened fire, killing thirteen others. During the same week, a further ten people were shot dead from moving cars at various points in Sharpville.⁶¹
- f On 12 July 1993, at least fourteen people were killed and sixteen others injured when gunmen in a white Toyota Cressida, drove through the streets of Evaton and Sebokeng's Zone 12, randomly shooting at residents. Four women were amongst those injured. It was reported that nine people were killed instantly; others died in hospital. The vehicle used in the killings had been stolen from a Sebokeng woman and was later found abandoned in Sharpville. One of the injured said that the vehicle drove past them, before three gunmen appeared and opened fire. The gunmen reportedly spoke "like Zulus". The Azanian National Youth Unity claimed that "white racists" were involved in the attacks. The injured were identified as Mr Ezekiel Mabuya, Mr Amos Mathe (16), Mr Petrus Phoswa, Mr William Pule, Mr Izike Maboe (18).⁶²

643 The pattern of attack in the last three incidents was similar in the sense that, first, there appeared to be no financial motive; second, in each instance, gunmen drove through the township shooting indiscriminately; third, the victims appeared to be randomly chosen; fourth, the areas chosen, particularly Sebokeng, were strongly identified with political organisations, such as the ANC or PAC; finally, although the police were called for assistance, they did not respond.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT 139 DEATHS CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THIS WAS A STRATEGY ADOPTED BY A HOST OF DIFFERENT POLITICAL GROUPINGS AND DESIGNED TO SOW TERROR IN THE HEARTS OF THE COMMUNITY. DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS TOOK PLACE IN A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT CONTEXTS, BUT ALWAYS INVOLVED SEEMINGLY RANDOM ATTACKS ON CROWDS OR GROUPS GATHERED AT NIGHT VIGILS. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT VICTOR MTHEMBU, A SENIOR OFFICIAL IN THE SEBOKENG IFP YOUTH LEAGUE, WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR A SERIES OF DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS ON ANC-ALIGNED RESIDENTS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE IFP LEADER AT KWAMADALA HOSTEL, PRINCE GIDEON ZULU AKA VANANA ZULU INITIATED AND INSTRUCTED VICTOR MTHEMBU TO ATTACK ANC RESIDENTS IN A SERIES OF DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT PRINCE GIDEON ZULU SUPPLIED VICTOR MTHEMBU WITH ARMS TO CARRY OUT THE ATTACKS.

61 Peace Action, Monthly Report, June 1993.

62 HRC database, Sources (HRC Transvaal; ANC PWV Peace Desk; SAPA, *Star*, 13 July 1993; *Citizen, Sowetan, Business Day*, 14 July 1993; SAPA, *Star*, 15 July 1993).

Train violence

- 644 Train violence began in July 1990 with a series of attacks on commuters travelling on the Johannesburg–Soweto line that left one person dead and approximately thirty injured. Shortly after the initial outbreak of violence in Sebokeng, Soweto commuters were attacked on trains by armed men alleged to have been Inkatha supporters, who chanted the Zulu war cry, "*usuthu*".
- 645 Although only 15 per cent of commuters used trains, violence on trains between July 1991 and June 1992 occurred twice as frequently as taxi and bus violence combined. Between 1990 and 1993, approximately 572 people died in more than 600 incidents of train violence. Only three people were convicted. Most of the larger scale attacks took place relatively early. Over time, the violence developed a momentum of its own.
- 646 From July 1990, the death toll steadily mounted, reaching a peak of forty-nine people killed and 129 injured by September. The most infamous of these attacks was the 'Benrose massacre' on 13 September where twenty-six people were killed and 100 injured by two gangs of men wielding a range of weapons including *pangas*, knives, sharpened instruments and guns. Fleeing passengers were killed by a second group of attackers waiting at the next station. Witnesses alleged that some attackers ran off towards George Goch hostel and others that the attackers had been speaking Zulu. The SAP suggested that the attack followed a prayer meeting in the train in which Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini had been insulted.
- 647 As train attacks escalated, commuters increasingly organised themselves in defence against the violence. People not 'belonging' to a particular coach would be considered a threat to commuters usually occupying that coach. A number of commuters were thrown from trains when they boarded the 'wrong' coach (did not have the appropriate political affiliation or ethnic identity). East Rand resident, Mr Paulos Nkondo told the Commission that he got into the 'wrong' coach in July 1991 when passengers were violently attacked.
- 648 Despite the fact that train commuters were usually organised along identifiable lines, train attacks were frequently indiscriminate. Young and old, male and female,

supporters of all political parties and representatives of all political groups fell victim to the violence. This apparent lack of targeting seems to suggest that train violence might have been aimed predominantly at causing general terror, rather than at achieving a clear, direct, political objective. The terrible fear induced by train attacks is evidenced by numerous reports of people jumping to their death from moving trains.

- 649 Of the three people who were convicted in 1993 for train violence offences, two applied to the Commission for amnesty. Both said that they are IFP members or supporters and saw themselves as participating in a political conflict between the ANC and IFP. Mr Xolani Mnguni [AM3551/96] said that he was acting under the orders of an IFP official and describes how he and his accomplice specifically targeted an 'ANC coach'.
- 650 On 25 June 1991, an attack on Kliptown train station left seven people dead and eighteen injured. The SAP arrested three men from Nancefield hostel in connection with this incident. Charges were later withdrawn due to lack of evidence. Mr Albert Msuseni Dlamini, a resident of Mazibuko hostel in Katlehong [AM1557/96], was involved in an attack on Katlehong station on 9 October 1991. He was arrested by commuters during the attack and was sentenced in April 1993 to ten years imprisonment on one charge of attempted murder, and one of illegal possession and use of a .38 revolver. He claimed that he had been promised R9000 for the attack by "the Boere". His amnesty application was rejected on 1 August 1997.
- 651 Mr Xolani Mnguni received the death sentence in February 1993 for the murder of Mr Matsosale William Aphane on 29 November 1992 on a Naledi–Cleveland train. He said that he was acting under the orders of Mr Hadebe of the IFP who allegedly issued an order to kill any ANC supporter or any person speaking badly about Buthelezi. Mnguni and an accomplice entered a coach on the train that they knew was occupied by ANC supporters.
- 652 The East Rand was a major site of train violence. According to the Institute for the Study of Public Violence (ISPV), the track from Katlehong to Kwesine station was the line with the highest risk in South Africa. The Human Rights Committee records that the Germiston\Katlehong line suffered eighteen attacks resulting in twenty-seven deaths and eleven injuries between August and December 1992.
- 653 The first large-scale attack on the East Rand took place on 1 July 1991 on the Germiston–Katlehong line when eleven people were thrown from a moving train.

654 In July 1991, Mr Paulos Nkondo () of Mandela Section, Natalspruit was on his way home from work by train, when a group of men he thought were train conductors boarded the train at Germiston and started beating and hacking commuters with pangas.

We were full in the train and different people and women were with us from Thokoza. The train left at 6 o'clock instead of at ten to six and some people came into the train whom I thought were ticket examiners. I did not pay any attention to them... They had dust coats [on] when they got into the train and that led me to think that they were the ticket examiners. When the train took off from Germiston suddenly the people changed and I was so surprised because in my mind they were ticket examiners ... From the other coach I heard a gun shot and when I was trying to peep and look to see what was happening I just received this bang on my head and that was from a panga... They were all over the train... They were speaking Zulu... There were many, I think about ten of them standing and seated.

655 Nkondo was stabbed, hacked and then thrown off the train.

656 Three large scale attacks also took place in 1992. In one attack on 13 November 1992, Mr Lazarus Shabangu [JB00354/01ERKWA] of Daveyton and his fellow passengers, the majority of whom were women, became the victim of an attack on train commuters by unidentified men. A group of about fifteen men opened fire indiscriminately. Shabangu was shot twice (despite an operation to remove the bullets, one is still lodged in his head), hacked on the forehead and assaulted. He was then thrown off the train but by then, he had already lost consciousness.

657 On 3 November, six people were killed and seven injured in a spree of violence that continued unchecked for three stations. Commuters waiting to board train number 7810 were shot at from the train by a group of armed men. Three people were killed.

658 The primary form of violence on East Rand train lines were continuous small-scale attacks initiated by one or two attackers.

659 Some IFP leaders publicly dissociated themselves from the involvement of IFP members in train violence as early as 1990 – at an IFP youth rally in George Goch Stadium in My 1990, Stezi Lamula, chairperson of the IFP's Mapetla, Soweto branch, expressed the IFP's displeasure about the harassment of commuters.

He stressed that such actions were not official IFP policy. However, it is also clear that both local and regional IFP leadership were centrally involved in the authorisation and planning of train violence. For example, a witness before the Goldstone Commission testified that IFP leaders Themba Khosa, Musa Myeni, Humphrey Ndhlovu and Zondi were involved in train violence. The witness, a former Nancefield hostel dweller himself, testified that two train attacks had been planned at the Nancefield Hostel (Kliptown St, 25 June 1991 and Nancefield St, 23 October 1991). Some information, if still fairly tenuous, appears to be emerging regarding the involvement of elements of the security forces, particularly the SADF's covert special forces in train violence. Most of this evidence has emerged through the Goldstone Commission and was rejected unsubstantiated. At least one person who gave evidence to the Goldstone Commission has now approached the Truth Commission– Mr Felix Ndimene, a Mozambican who had served as a sergeant in Recce 5. Ndimene claimed that he had been abducted from Mozambique on 23 August 1982 and brought to the SADF's Phalaborwa base where he was tortured and forced to join the SADF. In an interview with the *New Nation* in July 1991, Ndimene alleged that the Selous Scouts of Pietersburg and 'Verkenningssregiment 5' (VR 5, Recce 5), together with members of RENAMO, had been involved in train violence, particularly the Benrose massacre. He also alleged that the intelligence division of Spoornet Security was composed of former members of the special forces who orchestrated the violence on trains.

- 660 SAP member Mr Wayne Hugh Swanepoel, who applied to the Commission for amnesty [AM3727/96], to the Commission, implied that there was a link between the SADF and the SAP in the commission of train violence as early as 1988. Swanepoel said that he was involved in supplying guns to CCB member Mr Eugene Riley, which he believed had been passed onto members of the IFP. He said that he and others in his unit were involved in throwing people from the trains around 1988 "in an attempt to cause the ANC and the IFP to blame each other." About five people were thrown off. They wore balaclavas and painted those parts of their skin that were exposed. Afterwards, they would go to the scene of the crime "to make sure they were dead," and the case would be investigated by his own unit. He claimed that the people who assisted them were paid by the CCB and that the orders came "from inside the security police and higher up."
- 661 The Commission received information confirming the involvement of the Vlakplaas unit in train violence, as well as the link between this unit and hostel residents. Mr Joe Mamasela, former Vlakplaas *askari* alleged in the *New Nation* in March 1997 that alleged train killers stayed at Eikenhof farm in the Vaal area. A state-

63 See Duduza, Katlehong, Thokoza and Benoni hearings.

ment by *askari* Mr Xola Frank ("Jimmy") Mbane (enclosed in the files of amnesty applicants Mr Thapelo Johannes Mbelo (ref.no 3785/96) and Mr Wilhelm Riaan Bellingan (ref.no 5283/97)) alleges that most briefings for train operations took place at Vlakplaas. The train squad consisted of himself, Khayo, Sylvester, Mvelase, Shushe and Joss. Kilino served as commander and paid them R1 000 after successful operations. He further alleged that hostel-dwellers from the Nancefield Hostel were used at times in train attacks.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT TRAIN VIOLENCE WAS INITIATED BY GROUPINGS OPPOSED TO A DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ANC LED GOVERNMENT.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, WHILST TRAIN VIOLENCE WAS NOT OFFICIAL IFP POLICY, A NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS AND LEADERS WITHIN IFP STRUCTURES WERE INVOLVED IN TRAIN ATTACKS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT BETWEEN 1990 AND 1993, 572 PEOPLE DIED IN MORE THAN 600 INCIDENTS OF TRAIN VIOLENCE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT 62 PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND 100 INJURED IN THE BENROSE MASSACRE ON 13 SEPTEMBER 1990. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ON A BALANCE OF PROBABILITIES, IFP SUPPORTERS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTACK. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN A NUMBER OF INCIDENTS, IFP SUPPORTERS COLLABORATED WITH MEMBERS OF THE SADF'S SPECIAL FORCES AND MEMBERS OF VLAK-PLAAS IN PLANNING TRAIN VIOLENCE ATTACKS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP AND THE SADF ARMED IFP MEMBERS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE IFP, THE SAP AND THE SADF RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS THAT TOOK PLACE DURING TRAIN VIOLENCE ATTACKS AND THEREBY THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

Abductions

662 During the 1990s, reports of the abduction of people into hostels became increasingly frequent. During the latter half of 1993, in the wake of the ANC march past a Thokoza hostel (see above), a number of people were abducted into Mshayazafe hostel in Thokoza.

663 In one incident, the victims, Mr Dan Makhanye and Mr Amos Buti Tshabalala [JB00314/01ERKAT], were travelling along Khumalo road which passes Mshayazfe hostel when they were stopped and forced to drive into the hostel. Ms Zondi Ngobeni told the Commission that her husband, Amos Tshabalala, never returned home.

664 In another incident, on 29 July 1993, three young girls – fifteen-year-old Thembi Brilliant Mahlope, sixteen-year-old Molly Zondi and fourteen-year-old Winnie Makubela – who were on an errand for Ms Gloria Mahlope [JB03425/01 ERKAT],

were abducted into Mshayazafe hostel in Thokoza on the East Rand and raped. Two of the girls were stabbed and shot dead. Winnie Makubela was shot and wounded but managed to escape. Ms Gloria Mahlope said:

When I went to see my child at the mortuary, I found that she had been chopped, she was full of grass all over and was naked. There was a post mortem, because they were found with lots of wounds and they had been stabbed all over their bodies...it was shown that they had been shot in the stomach. They were found with bullets in their stomach.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR AMOS TSHABALALA WAS ABDUCTED AND KILLED ON 1 AUGUST 1993 BY IFP-SUPPORTING HOSTEL-DWELLERS AT MSHAYAZEFE HOSTEL, THOKOZA. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT HOSTEL-DWELLERS OF THE SAME HOSTEL WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ABDUCTION, RAPE AND DEATH OF MS THEMBI MATLOPE AND MS MOLLY ZONDI AND FOR THE RAPE AND ATTEMPTED KILLING OF MS WINNIE MAKUBELA. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE IFP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

Taxi conflict

665 In the context of intense political competition, economic competition for routes and passengers frequently became politicised, leading to 'taxi wars' around the country. Because some taxi owners lived in hostels and some in the townships, and because they had a range of political affiliations, these economic conflicts frequently became intertwined with other dynamics, particularly the political conflict between the ANC and IFP.⁶⁴

666 Taxi conflict on the East Rand first flared in March 1990 when tensions between the Katlehong Taxi Organisation (KATO) and the Germiston and District Taxi Association (GDTA), exploded into open violence. While the conflict was initially an economic dispute over control of taxi routes, it quickly became politicised. Most members of GDTA were Zulu speakers from Natal who lived as tenants in the township and were never fully integrated into the township community. KATO, on the other hand, won the loyalty of the youth by providing discounts for students. Thus, COSAS students became targets of the GDTA, particularly after some of its members were attacked.

667 On 3 March 1990, after approximately seven people, mainly taxi passengers, had died in conflict between the drivers of the GDTA and the KTO, about 10 000 attended a meeting organised by the Katlehong Civic and Crisis Committee and resolved to boycott the taxis until it was safe to use them. Three days later, GDTA taxi operators killed five school pupils and teachers at Katlehong High

⁶⁴ See JB002181/01ERKAT.

school, allegedly in response to the burning of the house of a GDTA official. On 8 March, the death toll in Katlehong reached fifteen as GDTA-aligned vigilantes continued to seek out and kill youths. Hostel inmates aligned themselves with the GDTA drivers, after a taxi load of migrants from Natal, headed for the hostel, was mistakenly attacked by some youths.

668 In September 1993, there was a spate of violent attacks on taxis in Thokoza. Forty-eight people died and forty-five were injured during these attacks.⁶⁵ Residents speculated that people associated with hostels in the East Rand were using hit squads to force taxi drivers to use the route along Khumalo Street, past the hostels. The military precision with which the attacks were carried out would seem to bear out the theory that the attacks were carried out by hit squads.

669 The Commission received statements from victims of taxi violence during this period. On 14 March 1992, Mr Josiah Monaisa was shot and killed while travelling in a taxi that was hijacked by two armed men and driven to Meadowlands hostel [JB00775/01GTSOW]. Ms Pamela Sebathe was travelling in a taxi when a bullet hit her and she lost vision in her eye. [JB01231/01GTSOW]. Mr Isaiah Nhlanhla Mchunu was shot and severely injured while travelling in a taxi near Mzimhlophe hostel on 3 June 1992 [JB05415/01GTSOW].

THE COMMISSION NOTES THAT TAXI ASSOCIATIONS, PARTICULARLY IN THE EAST RAND, WERE PERCEIVED TO BE IDENTIFIED EITHER WITH THE IFP OR THE ANC. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS WERE EITHER KILLED OR SEVERELY INJURED WHEN UNKNOWN GUNMEN AND ASSAILANTS OPENED FIRE OR LOBBED HAND GRENADES ON GROUPS OF PEOPLE TRAVELLING IN TAXIS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT IFP-ALIGNED TAXI DRIVERS WERE ACCUSED OF DELIBERATELY ABDUCTING ANC-ALIGNED TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS RESULTING IN THE DEATH, TORTURE AND DISAPPEARANCE OF THOSE PERSONS.

Union conflict

670 In the far East Rand township of Ratanda, disagreement between workers over the need for a strike at the Escort Bacon Factory coalesced around two unions – the Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU) affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA), set up by the Inkatha Freedom Party. The conflict inevitably became drawn into the wider battle for political control that was being waged on a local level all over the PWV.

671 The labour dispute in Ratanda led to ongoing conflict in the area between July and December 1992, including attacks on homes and the petrol-bombing of buses

⁶⁵ Human Rights Committee.

taking workers to and from work. Violence peaked in August, a month before FAWU workers returned to work in September. Some IFP members joined the COSATU-aligned FAWU, rather than its Inkatha counterpart, UWUSA, because they believed that FAWU could represent their interests more effectively. However, Inkatha members assumed that those who joined FAWU had associated themselves with the ANC. Workers who belonged to both the IFP and FAWU thus became targets of attack. Similarly, it was assumed that people who belonged to UWUSA were necessarily members of Inkatha and became a targets of attack.

672 Mr Sipho Wellington Ndumo [JB02993/01ERKWA], a member of UWUSA, was attacked and stoned by a group of students in Ratanda in 1992 because of his IFP membership.

673 It was not long before political, ethnic and territorial polarisation began, with non-UWUSA members being violently forced out of the hostel. On 24 July 1992, after an early morning explosion at the hostel, FAWU members fled. Residents of the squatter settlement, Mandela Village, located opposite the hostel, were systematically attacked over the next month, precipitating a mass exodus that left the hostel residents completely isolated.⁶⁶

674 The Commission received a large number of statements from victims of two bus attacks. Both took place as buses turned into Protea Road, about 250 metres from the hostel. During the first incident on 28 September 1992, a bus carrying workers from the Escort Bacon Factory in Heidelberg to the local township, Ratanda, was attacked with hand grenades. One person was killed and thirteen injured. A woman lost her leg.

675 Ms Deborah Jokazi [JB03472/01ERKWA], one of the victims of this attack, describes why in the context of the conflict between UWUSA and FAWU, the bus in which she was travelling became a target of attack:

On the 28 of September in 1992, we were FAWU members ... We were all from work, but there were UWUSA people who used to use a different transport and we FAWU were using a different transport... It was a public transport but, during that time, because there was a fight between FAWU, FAWU wanted their own transport and they were also using their own transport.

676 She alleges that she saw a "boy" outside the hostel pointing at the bus and that the police teargassed the bus after hand grenades had been thrown at it:

⁶⁶ See statement JB001705/01ERKWA.

677 On 14 November, a bus carrying people back to Ratanda from a sports event organised by the ANCYL was raked with gunfire as it turned into Protea Road, about 250 metres from the hostel. Approximately twenty rounds of ammunition were fired. One person died and eight others were injured.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT CONFLICT BETWEEN IFP AND ANC HOSTEL DWELLERS IN RATANDA ON THE EAST RAND EMANATED FROM A LABOUR DISPUTE AT THE ESCORT BACON FACTORY. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TWO UNIONS INVOLVED WERE FAWU, AFFILIATED TO COSATU, AND UWUSA, A UNION SET UP BY THE IFP. THE DISPUTE LED TO VIOLENT CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TWO UNIONS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS, INCLUDING ATTACKS ON THE HOUSES OF UNION OFFICIALS AND THE PETROL BOMBING OF BUSES TRANSPORTING WORKERS TO AND FROM WORK.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE IFP-ALIGNED UWUSA LAUNCHED AN ATTACK ON FAWU MEMBERS ON 24 JULY 1992, FORCING THEM OUT OF THE HOSTEL. THE COMMISSION FINDS UWUSA AND THE IFP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISPLACEMENT OF FAWU WORKERS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT FAWU WORKERS USED DIFFERENT BUSES TO AND FROM WORK AND THAT, ON 28 SEPTEMBER 1992, A BUS CARRYING FAWU MEMBERS FROM WORK WAS ATTACKED WITH HAND GRENADES, KILLING ONE PERSON AND SEVERELY INJURING THIRTEEN.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ON 14 NOVEMBER 1992, A BUS CARRYING FAWU WORKERS BACK TO RATANDA FROM A SPORTS EVENT WAS ATTACKED 250 METRES AWAY FROM THE HOSTEL AND CAME UNDER GUNFIRE, KILLING ONE PERSON AND INJURING EIGHT OTHERS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ON A BALANCE OF PROBABILITIES, THE ATTACKS ON THE BUSES WERE CARRIED OUT BY IFP-ALIGNED SUPPORTERS.

Criminalisation of political conflict

678 During 1990, criminal gangs became increasingly drawn into the political conflict in the PWV, becoming extremely effective participants in the contest for political power and territorial control. For criminal gangs, association with political organisations also provided valuable protection for and legitimated their criminal activities. Many gangs had become alienated from communities, and 'anti-crime campaigns', often initiated by ANC-aligned youth, sometimes led to violent retribution against gang members.

679 Criminalisation of political conflict was further facilitated by the police who frequently failed to intervene in the violence perpetrated by gangs, either by allowing them to carry out acts of violence unhindered or by failing to investigate incidents of violence perpetrated by gangs. Certain police units, such as Vlakplaas, were also more directly involved in supplying weapons to the IFP. Gangs that linked up with the IFP were one of the recipients of these weapons. The most significant example of direct security force involvement in gang violence is the Black Cats, who were given training by the KwaZulu Police. These trained gang members

were then sent back to the Transvaal to attack ANC leaders in Wesselton and Ermelo. Here they received further assistance from local police who deliberately concealed and tampered with evidence that implicated KwaZulu police and gang members in acts of violence.

The Toaster gang

680 The Toaster gang, which was allegedly responsible for considerable violence in the township of Tembisa, consisted largely of former 'comrades' who had been pushed out of the political circle of the ANC. The gang specialised in car hijackings. As the township community began to mobilise against the activities of the gang, it was forced to find a new home. The Vusimuzi hostel offered the ideal refuge, both physically secure and providing the possibility of a new political identity. The gangs' facility for violence was effectively utilised by the Inkatha Freedom Party.

681 Ms Kellina Manana [JB01691/01ERTEM] testified about the events relating to the killing of her husband, local ANC activist Mr Abel Butana, allegedly by members of the Toaster Gang on 25 February 1992. Mr Dumisani Henry Dlamini and his family were allegedly attacked by members of the Toaster Gang and IFP members in Umtjambeka Section on the evening of 1 April 1992. The attackers shot his friend in the left hand and fatally wounded his mother, Ms Lephina Dlamini [JB01597/01ERTEM]. He alleges that the family was attacked because they were ANC supporters.

682 On 12 April 1992, seven men were shot dead and six people seriously injured after gunmen armed with AK-47 rifles and shotguns travelling in a minibus and three cars, opened fire on residents preparing to patrol the township streets. The incident took place in Umthambeka section between 06h30 and 07h00. Witnesses reported that the attackers drove back to Vusimuzi hostel. Residents and police alleged that the Toaster Gang was responsible for an attack that appeared to be an attempt to deter residents from trying to defend themselves against attacks by the gang. Four of the casualties were identified as Mr Duma Fakude (35) [JB02319/01ERTEM], Mr Anton Chauke (52), Mr Absolom Mayo (35) and a person identified as 'Oupa' (37). The injured included Mr Eave Cefane (38), Ms Moffat Makaza, Mrs Friedah Monama (29), Ms Josephine Ntuli (22) and Ms Johanna Ledwaba.⁶⁷

683 In February 1993, charges against sixteen members of the Toaster Gang allegedly involved in this attack were withdrawn due to lack of evidence.

67 HRC database, 12 April 1992. Sources: Star 13 April 1992; Business Day, Citizen, 14 April 1992; ANC PWV Region, Tembisa Peace Corps.

Charges against another five members of the gang (twelve of murder, two of attempted murder, sixteen of robbery, one of rape and illegal possession of firearms) were also dropped due to lack of evidence.⁶⁸

- 684 On 1 May 1993, the leader of the Toaster Gang, Mr Yster Clement Jones, was shot dead by a Vusimuzi hostel resident. A senior IFP official, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, later claimed on SABC television that Jones had been a member of the IFP. On 9 May, mourners returning from Jones' funeral were allegedly fired on and retaliated by shooting an ANC member, injuring three other people and damaging approximately thirty houses in Giyani and Ethafeni section. Witnesses to the attack by the mourners alleged security force collusion, saying that the attack happened in the presence of the security forces that made no attempt to arrest or stop the assailants.
- 685 The following day, Jones' body was exhumed from Emifihlweni cemetery by a group of people and taken five kilometres away to the Ndayeni Section taxi rank where it was set alight. Two weeks later, it was reburied by the IFP. A pact between ANC PWV and Inkatha leaders from Vusimuzi hostel was signed, with both parties pledging to keep the peace during Jones' second funeral.
- 686 This did not, however, prevent a massacre which took place on 31 July when thirty people were killed and twenty injured after members of the Toaster Gang and hostel residents from Vusimuzi hostel attacked homes in Umthambeka section and Ndayeni, Tafeni, Ntsonalanza sections of Tembisa township. The attack was apparently precipitated by the burning of a Toasters gang member by a group of residents from Umthambeka section. Homes were petrol-bombed and vehicles set alight during the attack. The attackers were repulsed by residents and retreated to the hostel, before launching another attack on homes in the township. Twelve of the victims were killed when armed men stopped a taxi and opened fire on the passengers. Nine of the injuries were women.
- 687 At a roadblock manned by hostel residents, twelve minibus taxi passengers were killed. Mtzulisi Mashobane, a five-year-old who survived because his mother threw him out of the window, told the press how he watched his parents burn to death when their taxi was stopped at the entrance to Tembisa by a group of armed men who shot all twelve passengers before setting the taxi alight. Mashobane and the driver were the only survivors. Other hostel residents were deployed in Umthambeka section where they killed and maimed widely. On Sunday morning,

⁶⁸ *New Nation*, 26 February 1993.

hostel residents raided Thafeni section. Three men were arrested by police in connection with this incident.

- 688 Ms Nomusa Ngwandi's home was attacked and her husband, Mr Lucky Brian Ngwandi [JB01596/01ERTEM] killed during the massacre on 31 July. Her husband had been on the streets patrolling with a self-defence unit when the Toaster Gang attacked. He tried to conceal himself by pretending to be a member of the Gang, but was discovered. Ms Ngwandi alleges that the police were involved in the attack:

Then I tried to open a window to see what is happening outside, then I saw some men who were carrying guns. They were in a Casspir. They were shooting relentlessly.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE TOASTER GANG WAS FORMED BY FORMER 'COMRADES' EXPELLED FROM THE ANC IN TEMBISA. INITIALLY THE GANG SPECIALISED IN CAR HIJACKINGS. THE TOASTER GANG ALIGNED ITSELF WITH RESIDENTS IN THE IFP-CONTROLLED VUSIMUZI HOSTEL WHEN THE COMMUNITY IN THE TOWNSHIP BEGAN TO MOBILISE AGAINST THEM. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ON 12 APRIL 1992, THE TOASTER GANG LAUNCHED AN ATTACK FROM A MINIBUS AND THREE OTHER VEHICLES ON RESIDENTS PREPARING TO PATROL THE TOWNSHIP. THE ATTACK RESULTED IN THE DEATHS OF SEVEN MEN AND INJURY TO SIX OTHERS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE LEADER OF THE TOASTER GANG WAS KILLED BY A RESIDENT FROM VUSIMUZI. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MOURNERS RETURNING FROM THE FUNERAL OF THE TOASTER GANG'S LEADER WERE ATTACKED AND RETALIATED BY SHOOTING AN ANC SUPPORTER. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A PEACE PACT WAS SIGNED BETWEEN ALL THE WARRING PARTIES TO ALLOW FOR THE REBURIAL OF THE LEADER OF THE TOASTER GANG.

THE PEACE PACT WAS NOT ADHERED TO AND, ON 31 JULY 1992, MEMBERS OF THE TOASTER GANG AND VUSIMUZI RESIDENTS ATTACKED HOMES IN TEMBISA. VEHICLES WERE ALSO SET ALIGHT. IN THE ENSURING CONFLICT BETWEEN TOWNSHIP DWELLERS AND HOSTEL RESIDENTS, A MINIBUS WAS STOPPED AT A ROAD BLOCK WHERE TWELVE PASSENGERS, NINE OF WHOM WERE WOMEN, WERE SHOT AND THE MINIBUS SET ALIGHT. IN ALL, THIRTY PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND TWENTY OTHERS INJURED .

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE TOASTER GANG AND THE VUSIMUZI RESIDENTS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTACKS ON RESIDENTS IN TEMBISA. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SECURITY FORCES ASSISTED THE GANG AND HOSTEL RESIDENTS BY ARMING THEM. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SECURITY FORCES FAILED TO INTERVENE IN THE CONFLICT AND PROTECT RESIDENTS, DESPITE BEING UNDER A DUTY TO DO SO.

The Khumalo gang

- 689 The Khumalo Gang, based in Thokoza, was another major participant in the East Rand conflict. By 1993, Reverend Mbhekisini Khumalo, leader of the gang, had been personally linked to at least nine murders and five attempted murders. The gang quickly became associated with the political conflict in Thokoza, including

the murder of political leaders in the township. The assassinations of Mr Sam Ntuli, General Secretary of the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal in September 1991, and Mr Vusi Tshabalala, the deputy secretary of the Thokoza Civic Association in October 1992, were both linked to the Khumalo Gang.

- 690 Statements made to the Commission indicate that the Khumalo gang began to carry out acts of violence from 1991. For example, Ms Nkosi claims that her son, Mr Dickson Nkosi [JB05120/03VT], was abducted on 5 September 1991 and, according to his sister, Nomosonto, he was taken to a van, beaten and later shot. The group of people allegedly responsible was associated with Reverend Khumalo. Khumalo himself said that violence between himself and township residents first emerged after his home was attacked by a group of ANC comrades calling themselves 'the Bad Boys'.
- 691 In January 1993, gang related activity in Thokoza reached an unprecedented level. Eleven people died and, in one shooting spree on 15 January, nine people were shot. Members of the Khumalo gang were implicated in all of these deaths. One of those killed during the month was Ms Sabeth Khumalo, Khumalo's wife who had allegedly fled to Tembisa to escape her husband. Khumalo was twice arrested and charged with a range of offences including murder, attempted murder and illegal possession of firearms. However, on both occasions he was released on bail. As levels of violence escalated, several eye-witnesses decided to come forward with information that could implicate the Khumalo gang in a number of deaths. The homes of two people who gave statements to the police were subsequently attacked and burnt. In one incident three people in the house at the time were shot.
- 692 From evidence before the Commission, the gang appeared to have been fundamentally integrated into the organisational hierarchy of the IFP. It was the IFP leadership who initiated political projects and directed their execution. Junior members of the Khumalo gang relied on the patronage of senior members and were rewarded in an *ad hoc* manner. Both applicants reported that they were not paid, but were promised "many things" and were generally "looked after".
- 693 On 29 September 1991, the Civic Association of Southern Transvaal general secretary, Mr Sam Ntuli [JB00389/01ERKWA] (31), was shot dead in Thokoza as he drove along Khumalo Street in Thokoza at approximately 11h00, according to the Human Rights Committee, bringing to sixty the number of activists killed by alleged 'hit squads' in the previous fifteen months.

694 Ntuli's father was one of the last people to see him alive. Just before Ntuli left home three men came into the house:

At that time, Sam walked out from the bedroom and immediately walked to his car. The last chap followed him. He did not even say goodbye. He just stood up and walked. Sam would not have taken notice of this extra man sitting there and he did not say goodbye. He just went straight to his car which was a Toyota Corolla parked outside next to the house in the yard. He reversed out and the last man who walked out (I was watching now through the window), that chap started pointing. He was pointing in a surreptitious manner because he was pointing down and he was not raising his hand. He was indicating to a man across the street. I could see that Sam had not noticed them but I was already worried. So Sam reversed and drove off in Mazibuko Street into Khumalo Street. I did not see where those chaps disappeared to and I saw nothing else. Later of course, I heard what happened. I was very suspicious about this and worried.

695 According to the police, the killers were driving a blue Toyota Cressida. A witness said that the killers' car followed Ntuli and tried to force it off the road. When Ntuli stopped, they fired twelve shots at him as they overtook his car.

696 Two men, Mr Thami Zimu and Mr Thulani Mlaba,⁶⁹ who are serving twenty years and life respectively at Diepkloof prison for murder and attempted murder, were allegedly involved in the killing of Khumalo's wife and in the murder of civic leader, Mr Sam Ntuli (see below). Both applied for amnesty.

697 According to Mlaba's allegations (untested at the time of reporting), the order to kill Ntuli came from the IFP leadership in Thokoza, including Ms Gertrude Mzizi, Mr Albert (Mafulela) Mlaba, Mr Obed Radebe and Mr Msomi (an *induna* at Mshayazafe hostel). Mafulela (Albert Mlaba) and Obed Radebe were tasked with the killing. Thulani was ordered to steal the cars, which would be used in the assassination. When he failed to deliver the cars on time, he was threatened with death. Mr Abraham Mzizi, Mr Lucky Khoza, Mr Sabelo, Mr Zweli Nicholas Chamane, Reverend Mbhekiseni and Mr Mzwakhe Khumalo were also identified as participants in the planning meetings. Firearms, including three AK-47s and three 9mm pistols, were provided by Obed Radebe and Msomi who distributed them amongst the group of assassins. Two stolen vehicles, a white Toyota Corolla and a white Toyota Hi-Lux van, provided by Thulani, were used, as well as Obed Radebe's personal vehicle, a Honda Ballade. After the killing, Obed Radebe returned alone and reported that Sam Ntuli was dead.

69 In his section 29 hearing, Mr Mbekhisini Khumalo denied knowing Mr Thulani Mlaba at all and stated that he knew Mr Thami Zimu by sight, but did not have a close association with him.

698 Mr Sam Ntuli's burial precipitated further violence. On 7 October, twenty people were killed and twenty-six injured before and after the funeral. However, the main violence appears to have occurred afterwards when about 12 000 people left the funeral. The carnage was apparently sparked by unidentified gunmen who opened fire on mourners.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KHUMALO GANG, BASED IN THOKOZA, PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN THE VIOLENCE ON THE EAST RAND. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE GANG WAS INTEGRATED IN THE ORGANISATIONAL HIERARCHY OF THE IFP AND EXECUTED PROJECTS UNDER ITS LEADERSHIP AND DIRECTION. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE REVEREND MBHEKISINI KHUMALO, THE LEADER OF THE GANG, WAS LINKED TO NINE KILLINGS AND FIVE ATTEMPTED KILLINGS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, BY JANUARY 1993, ELEVEN PEOPLE HAD DIED IN CONFLICT WITH THE GANG AND, ON 15 JANUARY 1993, A FURTHER NINE PEOPLE WERE KILLED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KHUMALO GANG WAS LINKED TO ALL OF THESE KILLINGS.

AMNESTY APPLICANTS ALLEGE THAT THE KHUMALO GANG WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING OF SAM NTULI, THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CIVIC ASSOCIATION OF THE SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL, AND OF VUSI TSHABALALA, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE THOKOZA CIVIC ASSOCIATION. THE COMMISSION NOTES THAT AMNESTY APPLICANTS HAVE IMPLICATED GERTRUDE MZIZI, ALBERT MLABA AKA MAFULELA, OBED RADEBE AND INDUNA MSOMI IN THE PLANNING AND CO-ORDINATION OF SAM NTULI'S DEATH. THE COMMISSION WAS NOT ABLE TO MAKE A FINDING AS THE AMNESTY APPLICATIONS IN THIS REGARD HAD NOT BEEN HEARD AT THE TIME OF REPORTING.

The Black Cats

699 In Wesselton and Ermelo in the Eastern Transvaal, a gang called the Black Cats was involved in a series of violent attacks on members of the newly unbanned ANC between 1990 and 1992. Over twenty people were killed during the course of this violence, including some members of the Black Cats who died during counter-attacks against the gang. SDU members from Ermelo applied for amnesty for the murder of Black Cat members.⁷⁰

700 The 1992 Goldstone enquiry into the Black Cat gang confirmed the involvement of Inkatha in its activities. The Commission heard evidence that the Black Cats, supported by certain community councillors, received military training from Inkatha at the Mkhuze camp in 1990. Trained gang members were then sent to Ermelo to assassinate people affiliated to the ANC in the area. One of the perpetrators, Mr Israel Hlongwane, stated that both white and black SAP personnel met with him to assist with resources and ensure that the murder of ANC members was covered up. He also said that the mayor and certain councillors supported him with monthly cash and groceries while he was in Ermelo to eliminate ANC members.

⁷⁰ Amnesty hearing pending at the time of reporting.

- 701 The gang launched a series of attacks on the ANC, backed by a handful of Caprivi trainees who routinely visited Wesselton as members of the KZP. They bombed the offices of a local human rights lawyer and participated in an attack on mourners at the funeral of a victim of one of their attacks. Black Cat gang members allegedly received backing from white police officers in Ermelo. The Goldstone Commission found that police officials in Wesselton were involved in the disappearance of a docket into the killing and injuring of ANC members at this funeral in August 1990.
- 702 The Commission heard evidence that a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr Amos Mthungwa, had given a statement to Ermelo police shortly after the funeral shooting on 11 August 1990, admitting that Inkatha members had returned fire after shots had been fired at them from the ANC crowd. He added that two KwaZulu police Officers, Constable Zweli Dlamini and Warrant Officer Nhlanhla Khawula, were among those who had shot at the ANC crowd.
- 703 The Commission also heard evidence that one of the firearms belonging to the KZP men was ballistically tested and linked to the funeral shooting, but was later returned to the KZP. Warrant Officer Geldenhuys, who took over as an investigating officer in 1991, conceded that the manner in which the Ermelo police had handled the case could not have solved it. He admitted that, in the course of constructing a new docket for the investigation, he had concealed the relevant evidence.
- 704 Ms Busisiwe H Nkosi's [JB03771/01MPPIT] son, Lucky was killed on 24 July 1990. She told the Commission of the attacks the Black Cats gang had carried out two days earlier and of the attack that led to the death of her son. Lucky managed to get home after he was injured by gunfire. Ms Nkosi told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that they were too afraid to take him to the Ermelo hospital in case he was detained. Eventually they decided to take him to the hospital in Bethal. He died on the way.
- 705 Ms Mawane Gertrude Mabuza [JB03500/01MPPIT] testified about the death of her daughter, nineteen-year-old Ms Queen Gladys Mabuza, on 9 December 1990. She was allegedly killed by members of the Black Cats gang. Ms Mabuza told the Commission that when she found the body of her daughter, an eye had been gouged out and the rest of the body was severely mutilated.
- 706 Mr Madoda L Mbokane [JB03759/01MPPIT] gave evidence about an attack by the Black Cats on his home in Wesselton, on 30 July 1991 including the shooting

to death of the mother of the man they were apparently looking for. The attackers threw a grenade as they left the house, injuring Mbokane.

- 707 Mr Philemon J Malinga [JB03768/01MPPIT] testified that his home was attacked by members of the Black Cat gang on 27 July 1991. His mother Ms Belesia Malinga was shot and hacked to death during the attack. According to Malinga, the police first tried to set fire to his house. The attackers then allegedly went to the home of Wesselton mayor, Napoleon Mkonza and returned with reinforcements. On their return, the door of Philemon's home was broken down and the attackers entered the room, destroying everything in sight and shooting randomly. Philemon hid in a toilet where he could hear his mother being hacked to death:

They passed the toilet where I was hiding and they entered into my mother's bedroom. They continued shooting, using the guns, the pangas... it was so painful because when I heard my mother screaming and crying, saying ... "why are [you] killing me?" They responded by saying, "Keep quiet. Are you still making a noise you bastard?" They were insulting my mother. I felt I should come out and do something but I ended up saying, "You dogs, what are you doing?" I heard someone saying, "there is someone inside the room" and the other one said, "no there is no one, we have finished all of them". They were talking and saying, "they are already dead they're just saying their last words. Let's go".

I listened to that and someone insisted that there was someone somewhere inside the room and I crept down. I managed to creep under a mattress and I could see them through the hole of the toilet's door.

- 708 Philemon Malinga alleged that the police came to fetch the attackers. He heard the sound of a Casspir and a voice asking in Afrikaans "Have you finished?"
- 709 Because of the alleged link between the police and the Black Cat gang, the police became the target of violent attacks. Scheepers and another constable, Nkondo, were together in the township when their car was surrounded by approximately fifty people. Nkondo fired into the crowd, injuring some people and managed to flee. However, Scheepers was left behind. By the time Nkondo returned with reinforcements, Scheepers was already dead, lying in the road. In the wake of Scheepers death, a number of young ANC supporters were rounded up by the police. Sixteen-year-old Mr Nonhlanhla B Blose [JBP3753/01MPPIT] was among a group of young people taken into custody in June 1992 after a Constable Scheepers had been killed in the township a few days previously. Blose told the

Commission that the police assaulted members of his family when they arrived at his home. In the early hours of the morning, Blose was released.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE BLACK CATS WAS A GANG OPERATING IN WESSELTON AND IN ERMELO. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE GANG WAS SUPPORTED BY COMMUNITY COUNCILLORS AND RECEIVED MILITARY TRAINING FROM INKATHA IN A CAMP IN KWAZULU-NATAL. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE GANG, TOGETHER WITH A NUMBER OF CAPRIVI TRAINEES, ATTACKED ANC MEMBERS AND ASSASSINATED THEM. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE BLACK CATS WERE SUPPORTED BY MEMBERS OF THE SAP IN TERMS OF RESOURCES AND IN COVERING UP THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN ANC KILLINGS. MEMBERS OF THE BLACK CATS GANG HAVE APPLIED FOR AMNESTY FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE BLACK CATS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING OF MORE THAN TWENTY ANC MEMBERS IN THE WESSELTON AND ERMELO AREAS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ANC SUPPORTED THE FORMATION OF SDUS IN THE TOWNSHIP AND THAT SDU MEMBERS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING OF BLACK CAT MEMBERS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE WESSELTON COMMUNITY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING OF CONSTABLE SCHEEPERS IN JUNE 1992.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE BLACK CATS, THE IFP, THE SAP AND THE SDUS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

Inter-organisational conflicts

710 Violence flared between members of the IFP and the AZAPO in Bekkersdal, a traditional AZAPO stronghold, late in 1991. According to AZAPO, twenty-one of its members were killed and several others displaced since the “hostilities” began in 1991. Both parties blamed each other for the violence. After relative calm returned to the area during 1992, violence flared again in early 1993. As the conflict intensified during the last months of 1993, the protagonists broadened to include the ANC and the PAC.

711 The violence in the area was the result of a political battle for control, firstly between AZAPO and the ANC, and later between AZAPO and the IFP. The alliance between AZAPO and the IFP emerged when it appeared that IFP members could offer AZAPO access to weapons. However, as the violence escalated more and more AZAPO members were killed, allegedly by supporters of both the ANC and the IFP (See Ms Ntombizikhona Cynthia Martins [JB02069/03WR], Mr Samuel Ovar Lubisi [JB02067/03WR] and Ms Leah Jakoba [JB01939/03WR]).

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A CLIMATE OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE DEVELOPED IN THE COMMUNITY OF BEKKERSDAL IN THE WEST RAND BETWEEN 1991 AND 1993. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE PROTAGONISTS IN THE CONFLICT WERE THE IFP, THE ANC AND AZAPO.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MORE THAN FORTY-SIX PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN THIS AREA BETWEEN 1991 AND 1993.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ALL THREE ORGANISATIONS SHOULD TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS THAT WERE COMMITTED IN THE AREA. THE COMMISSION FINDS THE IFP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING OF SELLO KASI, A SEVENTEEN-YEAR-OLD MEMBER OF AZAPO. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT AZAPO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING OF ROBERT HLOMUKA, SECRETARY OF THE IFP YOUTH BRIGADE. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP FAILED TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE PROTECTION TO THE COMMUNITY OF BEKKERSDAL. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP, THROUGH THE ISU, WAS AN ACTIVE ROLE-PLAYER IN THE POLITICAL INTOLERANCE THAT PREVAILED IN BEKKERSDAL BETWEEN 1991 AND 1993.

Intra-organisational conflicts

- 712 The ANC SDUs that emerged in townships on the Reef in 1991 were composed largely of politicised youth, sometimes armed with guns but often with home-made weapons (quashes) or other objects. In a number of townships on the East Rand, residents had agreed to pay R20 per household to SDUs in return for the protection of their neighbourhood. However, these 'donations' were extracted in an increasingly coercive fashion and the amount steadily escalated.
- 713 In addition, SDUs became increasingly embroiled in internal conflict and territorial disputes, leading, in the most extreme circumstances, to the mass execution of rival units. The SDUs also increasingly took on the role of self-appointed 'community police', often becoming violent moral arbiters in community disputes. In theory, SDUs were community-based neighbourhood patrols and permitted as such under the National Peace Accord. In practice, however, there was no satisfactory system of control and accountability. SDUs easily degenerated into bands of armed young men using their guns to control territory, women and resources. SDUs were infiltrated by numerous police informers and, in many instances, drifted into criminal practices. Towards the end of 1992, the ANC took steps to halt the extortion, car hijackings, rape, robbery and summary executions that had become associated with the SDUs. These steps were only partially effective.
- 714 The Commission received approximately 150 amnesty applications from SDU members on the East Rand, primarily from members of Thokoza and Phola Park units. Among these are Mr Michael Phama, a police informant who was involved in organising an attack by the Thokoza SDU that led to the death of at least sixteen Inkatha supporters. Amnesty applicants included a chief commander, sixteen sectional commanders, the entire membership of the 'Committee of Seven' from Lusaka Section A, and approximately ninety 'ordinary' members of the SDUs.

- 715 A submission to the Commission by the Thokoza branch of the ANC indicates that fourteen sections, including the Phola Park squatter camp, under the control of the central command structure in this township. However, it is clear that the level of political control exerted over SDUs, particularly at a local level, was uneven and a number operated with increasing independence and little political mandate. Attempts to regain control over increasingly recalcitrant SDUs often resulted in further violence.
- 716 Sectional heads of SDUs who applied to the Commission for amnesty acknowledged that they were not always successful in establishing their political authority and that sometimes decisions about the activities of SDUs were taken in a variety of forums and circumstances, outside the official SDU command structure. Local community pressure appears to have had a significant influence on decisions made by local SDUs. For example, the 'committee of seven' cite a 1993 mass meeting where there was a decision to adopt the slogan, 'a killer must be killed'. Members of the community would call on SDU members to act against alleged 'informers'. This may have meant holding a 'people's court' and/or organising an execution.
- 717 The ANC Thokoza branch submission to the Commission acknowledges responsibility for such 'excesses' and admits that SDUs initiated attacks against, rather than simply defended themselves from, the IFP and security forces. However, the submission does not acknowledge the extent to which coercive and violent practices by SDUs became pervasive, particularly as conflict intensified.

Khutsong

- 718 From 1989–91, there were at least seventeen extra-judicial executions in Khutsong, a small township outside Carletonville on the West Rand. The victims were all members of the Khutsong Youth Congress (KYC). The KYC split into two factions – the 'Zim-Zims' and the 'Gaddaffis', both active UDF/ANC supporters. The Commission received over sixty statements relating to this particular period in Khutsong's history.
- 719 Attacks and counter-attacks on the families and homes of Gadaffi and Zim-Zim members followed the split. During one incident, members of the Gadaffi group abducted and murdered an ANC marshal, Ms Khosi Maseko [JB03109/03WR], leaving her burnt body to be found. At her funeral her coffin was dug up and burnt. In response, Zim-Zim members attacked the home of Ms Mpumi Nomandla, a Gaddafi member. During this attack Nomandla's father, Mr John Nomandla [JB00448/03WR] was killed and his home burnt. Victims made statements to the police but perpetrators were not arrested.

720 In May 1991, local organisations, the ANC and the Independent Board of Inquiry brought the two groups together and, after heated discussion, the two factions signed a peace pact. It was at this meeting that a decision was made to approach senior police personnel to set up a special task force to investigate the violence in the area.

721 In some of the cases of assaults and killings that occurred during this period, the police allegedly colluded with one faction in the conflict in Khutsong. For example, according to the testimony of surviving victims, at least two police officers in uniform actively participated with the Zim-Zims in the murder of Mr Solomon Mlangeni [JB00402/03WR] and the wounding of two other youths whom they had abducted from a house in Khutsong on 20 November 1990. The youths were taken to a river bank outside the township where they were allegedly kicked, punched, beaten with sticks and iron bars, thrown into the water and shot at by their abductors and the policemen. One of the abducted youths managed to escape. Mr Sipho Mlangeni, who died as a result of the assaults, and the third youth, who was severely injured, were later found by family members on a rubbish dump.

722 In 1993, internal conflict emerged in Khutsong when branch executive members of the ANC unleashed a reign of terror on the residents of the area. Several of these cases were brought before the Commission. The violence began shortly after the ANC branch executive committee (BEC) elections in January 1993. BEC members allegedly assaulted three women and a number of students on the day of the election. They then reportedly held 'kangaroo court' sittings at what was termed the 'Freedom Tree'. At least eight people lost their lives in the ensuing conflict. Eighteen-year-old Mr Abel 'Ngame' Motswaesane was killed on 23 May 1993 after refusing to reveal the names of youths who had attended a meeting to protest against the activities of the BEC. He was hit on the head with a pickaxe and, despite being taken to hospital, never regained consciousness. One of the students who attended the protest meeting said that he had been taken to the 'Freedom Tree' and questioned by the BEC regarding the meeting:

I told them that the meeting was for the youth and not adults. I was then 'klapped' (slapped) and beaten with a knobkierrie. We were told that in future, if we have meetings we should invite them.

723 A number of other youths related similar tales. On the day of Motswaesane's funeral, mourners were attacked. A woman who recognised her attacker as a member of the BEC was hit in the stomach with an iron bar. Following this

incident, the ANC regional office intervened and the BEC was suspended. Several were criminally charged.

Public order policing

- 724 In addition to the failure of the security forces to intervene effectively in the internecine conflict that occurred during the 1990s, the police and army also continued, as in the 1980s, to be involved in the direct perpetration of gross human rights violations. Most significant perhaps was the continued use of lethal force to disperse gatherings as well as ongoing use of torture in detention. For the first time during this period, concrete evidence of torture emerged when electric shock equipment was recovered during raids on two police stations. In addition, two major massacres occurred in Sebokeng and Daveyton after police opened fire on public gatherings leading to approximately twenty-six deaths. Renewed opposition to black local authorities in rural and peri-urban towns elicited a violent police response and resulted in a number of people being killed in street clashes with police.
- 725 On 26 March 1990, police opened fire on a crowd of 50 000 people who were marching from Sebokeng to Vereeniging to present a list of grievances. A petition was presented to the police commander by the head of the Vaal Civic Association, Mr Bavumile Vilakazi. It is alleged that, as he was speaking to the crowd, the police opened fire without warning. Tear gas was also used. At least thirteen people died and more than 400 were injured. Many of the injured people were shot in the back. Police claimed to have acted in self-defence when people started throwing stones and bottles at them. Reporters testified that they did not see any stone throwing. Commanding officer W du Plooy testified that he did not give orders to fire, but added that five stones were thrown at the police and that the reaction of the police officers who began firing was therefore reasonable.
- 726 In protest at the shootings, the ANC interrupted talks with the government. After calls for a judicial inquiry, former president FW de Klerk appointed Justice Goldstone to head the investigation of the Sebokeng massacre. This was the origin of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation. Goldstone recommended that the police officers involved in the Sebokeng massacre be prosecuted.⁷¹ In August 1993 in the Vereeniging Circuit Court, trial of nine policemen who faced six charges of murder, one of attempted murder and negligent use of firearms in connection with the shootings at Sebokeng in march 1990, was postponed indefinitely.⁷² The Commission has received seven

⁷¹ Violence in the Vaal, Dutch Observer Mission report, p.11;

⁷² Human Rights Commission, Monthly Repression Report, p.35.

statements about this massacre, referring to eight victims, one of whom was killed and the remainder injured.⁷³

ON 26 MARCH 1990, POLICE OPENED FIRE ON A CROWD OF 50 000 PEOPLE WHO WERE MARCHING FROM SEBOKENG TO VEREENIGING, KILLING THIRTEEN PEOPLE AND INJURING OVER FOUR HUNDRED. MANY OF THE INJURED PEOPLE WERE SHOT IN THE BACK, INDICATING THAT THEY WERE FLEEING WHEN POLICE OPENED FIRE. THE GOLDSTONE COMMISSION FOUND THAT THE GATHERING WAS PEACEFUL BEFORE THE POLICE INTERVENED AND THAT THE POLICE DID NOT GIVE AN ORDER TO DISPERSE BEFORE OPENING FIRE WITH LIVE AMMUNITION.

IN REVIEWING THE INFORMATION ON GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED AT SEBOKENG ON THE 26 MARCH 1990, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE SAP AND COMMANDING OFFICER W DU PLOOY WERE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATHS AND INJURIES THAT OCCURRED.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER STATE, THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER AND THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE KILLINGS AND INJURIES OF PEOPLE ON 26 MARCH 1990 AT SEBOKENG.

727 On 14 March 1991, thirteen people were killed and twenty-nine injured when police opened fire on a group of approximately 200 residents holding an 'illegal' meeting in Daveyton. Township residents alleged that they had gathered because they feared an attack following an Inkatha rally in the township. Police stated that they opened fire after they were attacked by the group that hacked one policeman to death. The Commission received eight statements about the massacre, detailing one death and ten injuries. Two witnesses testified at the Commission's East Rand hearings. Both were held under police guard in hospital after they had been shot. They were later charged the murder of the white policeman, along with at least thirty other ANC supporters. They were subsequently acquitted.

728 Mr Samson Zolani Xakeka [JB05056/01ERKWA]⁷⁴ told the Commission that, as the group stood deciding what to do next, they were surrounded by police and told to disperse minutes before the police opened fire. Mr David Sam [JB00271/01ERKWA] testified that the police specifically gave an order to shoot to kill:

This white man who had been swearing at us got out of the Casspir from behind and took out a firearm and said: "Kill". Before we could even respond to the two men who had come with the message, we heard them say: "Shoot to kill".

729 As the police opened fire, the group began to flee but they were pursued. Mr Samson Zolani Xakeka was shot in the chest and lay unconscious for some

⁷³ See JB01641/03VT, JB05380/03VT, JB05031/03VT, JB04623/03VT, JB05224/03VT, KZN/TIS/039/BL and JB04929/03VT.

⁷⁴ Duduza, Benoni, Katlehong and Tokoza hearings.

time. The Commission heard that the police showed vicious disregard for the dead and injured. Mr Xakeka said:

I held my chest for quite a while, pressing it. And in the meantime these white policemen and also black policemen were swearing all over us, saying, "Die, you kaffirs; die, you dogs; yes, die..." What really disturbed me the way in which these people were being loaded into the van. They would be taken and thrown into the police van.

- 730 Some policemen allegedly committed further violence by driving over the head and thereby killing one of the injured victims in a Casspir. Xakeka alleges that he saw a policeman with a video camera put a firearm next to the bodies of one of the deceased and begin filming. Still pretending to be dead, Xakeka was taken along with the corpses of people killed during the massacre to a police station:

I was also taken and thrown amongst the deceased. And when I was thrown in, my hand came away from where I was holding my wound and blood started flowing and when I came to I put my hand back on my chest and I thought we were on our way to the mortuary. But thank God, we were on our way to the police station.

- 731 He witnessed the police involved in the killings being congratulated by their colleague.

- 732 Several months later, a judicial inquiry concluded that police had used excessive force in their handling of the ANC supporters during the clash in Daveyton. Rand Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice B O'Donovan, also ruled that a group of six residents who were part of the crowd had taken part in the attack on a policeman, Lance Sergeant Jan Petus van Wyk, were guilty of murder.

IN THE REVIEWING THE EVIDENCE OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS COMMITTED IN DAVEYTON ON THE 14 MARCH 1991, THE COMMISSION FINDS THE SAP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRE BY USING EXCESSIVE FORCE AND BY FAILING TO USE NON-LETHAL METHODS OF CROWD CONTROL. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT DAVEYTON RESIDENTS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH OF A YOUNG POLICEMAN, MR HENNIE VAN WYK.

Protest against black local authorities

- 733 In urban areas, most black local councils had collapsed during the height of conflict in the mid 1980s. In rural and peri-urban areas, however, opposition had been less intense owing to an intensively conservative environment and many local councils remained intact. The opening up of the political process from the

1990s gave residents the opportunity to begin to form civic organisations and openly oppose the local authority system, as well as raise other issues of concern such as value added tax (VAT), high rent tariffs and so on. Conservative white town councils responded to these campaigns by cutting off water and electricity supplies to many black townships. Hundreds of thousands of residents were left without water. Sewage systems broke down and some townships were blacked out at night.

- 734 During 1990, there were a series of clashes between police and residents in the Northern Transvaal towns of Messina and Nancefield over protests against black local authorities and a campaign opposing VAT which was initiated by the recently formed Messina civic association.
- 735 On 10 March 1990, Mr Wilson Ndambale [JB04013/02NPLTM] was shot dead by police in Nancefield during a protest against black local authorities. His death led to the launch of a consumer boycott and a week-long stay away. During the course of the conflict, there were a number of arson attacks on the homes and vehicles of councillors.
- 736 On 4 August 1992, Ms Sarah Sekhwana, a mother of three small children, was shot and blinded by a member of the SAP in Messina during a protest march against the implementation of VAT. Ms Sekhwana was on her way to run an errand when she was caught up in the march. Her sister, Ms Annikie Sekhwana [JB04010/02NPLTM], testified that she was shot at point-blank range by a policeman sitting in a van. Sarah Sekhwana lost her sight in one eye as a result of the shooting. Annikie Sekhwana made a statement at the police station and contracted the services of a lawyer but the case was never taken any further. Ms Jeanet Ramakokovu [JB04006/02NPLTM] was also detained in the anti-VAT protests in Messina.

Detention and torture

- 737 Although the 1990s was not characterised by the mass detentions that took place in the 1980s, torture during detention continued to occur. This is reflected in the data collected by the Johannesburg regional office, which indicates that, although levels of torture decline substantially during the 1990s, it remained a major gross human rights violation.⁷⁵ During this period, however, the number of reported killings exceeded the number of reported torture violations. By far the majority of torture victims who identified themselves as members of a political organisation, were ANC members.⁷⁶ A larger proportion of torture victims during this period

⁷⁵ See Graph B3 in Johannesburg overview.

⁷⁶ See Graph D2c.5 in Johannesburg appendix.

came from the 25–36 group than was the case during period three where victims of torture were substantially dominated by the 13–24 age group.⁷⁷

- 738 In 1992, well-known pathologist Doctor Jonathan Gluckman stated that he believed the police to be responsible for ninety per cent of the deaths of 200 people whom he had examined after they died in detention. In 1993, torture equipment was found at the ISU base in Vosloorus on the East Rand and a special crime combating group, the Yankee Squad, was disbanded after numerous allegations of misconduct were made against the unit, including widespread use of torture and assault.
- 739 The July 1992 death in custody of Mr Simon Mthimkulu, an eighteen-year-old Sebokeng youth, provoked pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman to make public his concerns about the treatment of people in police custody. His previous appeals to former President de Klerk, senior cabinet ministers and the Commissioner of Police, had proved fruitless. The Human Rights Commission confirmed that, at the time that Gluckman made his allegations, an average of three people died every month while in police custody.⁷⁸
- 740 On 16 July 1993 the 'Yankee Squad', was disbanded and three of its members suspended pending further criminal investigation. The 'Yankee Squad' was a police unit set up in February 1992, purportedly as a special crime-combating group. It specialised in covert operations in the Vaal, in particular the tracing of illegal weapons. The disbanding of the squad followed intensive investigations by police reporting officer, Mr Jan Munnik, into numerous allegations of assault and torture against the squad. Furthermore, it was alleged that the unit was responsible for the death of ANC activist Mr Edgar Mohapi [JB00967/01GTSOW] who died in the custody of the unit.
- 741 In September 1993, the ANC won an order restraining members of the ISU from assaulting and torturing people at Nyoni farm, the ISU headquarters in Vosloorus. The following month, the Complaints Investigation Unit of the Peace Accord conducted a raid on the ISU base next to Natalspruit hospital on the East Rand. A number of instruments of torture were allegedly found, including electric shock equipment and rubber tubing. East Rand residents arrested by the ISU had frequently reported electric shock treatment and suffocation with tyre tubes placed over their faces.

⁷⁷ See Graph D1c.5 in Johannesburg 1983–89.

⁷⁸ Peace Action Monthly Report, August 1992; Human Rights Commission, Human Rights Update, July 1992, p. 9.

742 A special police task force set up in July 1991 in Khutsong on the West Rand (as a result of escalating violence in the area between the Zim-Zim and Gadaffi gangs) led to the suspension of thirteen policemen and the closure of the Welverdiend Police Station dubbed the 'House of Horrors' by the media (due to the high number of cases of torture taking place at the station). Over one hundred cases were reported to the task team; only one resulted in a conviction.

743 The task team was set up and investigated over a hundred cases of torture and assault as well as seventeen cases of extra-judicial executions, two of which involved sixteen-year-old Mr Nixon Phiri [JB01068/03WR] and fifteen-year-old Mr Eugene Mbulawa [JB00462/03WR]. Both youths died after being detained by the SAP. The police claimed that Phiri died as a result of an epileptic fit. There was no history of him having this condition at the time of his detention. Two witnesses who were detained with him and who witnessed his assault died in 'unrest incidents' shortly after making statements to the Phiri family's attorneys.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE SAP RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH IN CUSTODY OF MR EUGENE MBULAWA AND MR NIXON PHIRI.

Conflict between SAP and MK/APLA members

744 Between July 1990 and August 1991, attacks on the police increased from 107 to 137.⁷⁹ The major perpetrators of these attacks were ANC and PAC guerrillas who had returned from exile, some of whom located themselves within local SDUs. Frequently, it was black policemen living in townships that were the most vulnerable and were targeted by SDU and MK members. The Commission's Amnesty Committee received applications from ANC and SDU members for attacks on policemen. ANC member, Mr Simon Khakha 'S'dumo' Ngubeni [AM3128/96], applied for amnesty for the killing of SAP member Peter Ransayile. Ngubeni says that he threw a hand grenade at the deceased. Mr Mosiuwa Isaiah Khotle [AM3443/96] applied for the killing of a policeman during a shoot-out on 22 March 1993. Mr Thabiso Samuel Ntho [AM7914/97] applied for throwing a hand grenade at the SAP in Sharpville on 24 January 1992.

745 Mr Abel Phele's [JB00828/03VT] son, Mr Frans Molefe Phele, a PAC member and returnee from exile appears to have been a victim of a drive-by shooting when he was shot dead, allegedly by police driving in a white city golf. According to Abel, the perpetrators, among them a policeman identified as Mohapi, are now standing trial in the Supreme Court. Phele testified that, since his return to the

⁷⁹ CASE

country, his son had been continually pursued by police. He took two of his son's friends who had witnessed the shooting to the police station to make statements. While there, one of them allegedly saw the car that had been involved in the drive-by shooting.

- 746 The conflict between the police and returned MK members led to a number of alleged shoot-outs with police, in the course of which MK members were frequently killed. In some instances, witnesses to such killings alleged that the MK members had been ambushed and executed and not, as was claimed, involved in shoot-outs with the police.

THE COMMISSION RECEIVED A NUMBER OF AMNESTY APPLICATIONS FROM ANC AND SDU MEMBERS FOR ATTACKS ON POLICE OFFICERS. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE ANC WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR ATTACKS AND KILLINGS OF POLICE OFFICERS IN TOWNSHIPS, PARTICULARLY ON THE REEF IN THE PERIOD 1990 TO 1994.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, DURING THE PERIOD 1990 TO 1994, THE FORMER STATE ITS ORGANS AND THE SAP AND SADF WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS IN THE VAAL AREA.

The reincorporation of homelands

- 747 Political events in South Africa resulted in increasing pressure for the re-incorporation of the independent homelands and self governing states, resulting in a series of coups and attempted coups in the 1990s. In Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo led a military coup against Mr Lennox Sebe on 4 March 1990. Venda followed suit on 5 April 1990, with Mr Gabriel Ramushwana ousting Mr Frank Ravele. In Transkei, Colonel Craig Duli failed to overthrow Major General Bantu Holomisa in November 1990. In Bophuthatswana, Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing of the Progressive People's Party and some disaffected elements of Bophuthatswana Defence Force failed to overthrow Mr Lucas Mangope on 10 February 1988. Mangope continued to lay claim to independent status for Bophuthatswana and attempted to impose this through increasingly violent means.

Venda

- 748 During the 1990s, the conflict in Venda centred primarily on witchcraft and medicine murders, which had become increasingly politicised during the 1980s. During the 1990s, protests against witchcraft were closely linked to the rejection of the homeland government, which was believed to be responsible for or complicit in this practice. Protests against the homeland government lead to a military coup on April 1990 in which Chief Minister Ravele was ousted.

- 749 Between January and March 1990, about twenty people were reported to have died during anti-witchcraft unrest. People accused of being involved in medicine killings or being witches and wizards were hacked or burnt to death. After a rally in Venda capital, Thohayandou, celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990, more than fifty houses were burnt down and hundreds of people had to flee their homes. Many of the victims were elderly.⁸⁰
- 750 The link between anti-homeland government protests and anti-witchcraft protests in Venda is reflected in the amnesty applications of a number of youths involved in the murder of alleged witches and wizards. The amnesty applicants specifically state that they believe their actions contributed to the downfall of the former Venda government, that medicine murders were associated with the homeland government, and that the practice of witchcraft by witches and wizards had to be routed out as it reflected backwardness and superstition. By eliminating such 'backward' practices, they believed that they were helping to ensure that Venda became a modern and democratic society.
- 751 The Commission received some statements from people who were attacked on suspicion of being witches and consequently suffered gross human rights violations.
- 752 Mr Tshililo Jackson Mulaudzi [JB01750/02NPVEN], a pensioner in his early seventies, was accused of being a wizard by 'comrades'. His house was burnt down during this period.⁸¹ Mr Thari William Masithi [JB01366/02NPVEN] was attacked by a group of youths, which accused him of practising witchcraft, turning people into zombies. His house was burnt down on 11 February 1990, and his mother Ms Nyamukamadi Masithi was trapped inside and burnt to death.⁸²
- 753 A number of people were killed or injured during clashes with the Venda police over the issue of witchcraft. Mr Asivhanga Rueben Mugivhela was shot dead by Venda police whilst he was amongst a group of men who went searching for an old man who had mysteriously disappeared.⁸³ Ms Joyce Bongwe [JB01970/02NPVEN] was also allegedly shot dead by the Venda police in March 1990. She had left home to attend a political meeting organised by the youth. Her body was found the next day with a bullet wound in her head.⁸⁴ Mr Lufuno Simon Mariba [JB01372/02NPVEN] was arrested and severely assaulted when Venda police

80 A de V Minnaar, D Offering & C Payze, *To live in fear: Witchburning and medicine murder in Venda*, Human Sciences Research Council, 1992.

81 See Mr Tshililo Jackson Mulaudzi [JB01750/02NPVEN].

82 See Mr Thari Williams Masithi [JB01366/02NPVEN].

83 See Ms Elelwani Violet Mugivhela [JB11378/02NPVEN].

84 See Ms Ndivhudzannyi Alvina Masia [JB01384/02NP], transcript, Venda Hearing, 3 October 1996, Mr Rembuluwani Mantsha [JB01970/02NP].

raided his village after young people tried to pursue a Mr Sinthumule whom they believed to be a wizard. Mariba alleges that he was not involved in this incident, but was taken into custody nevertheless. He later made a statement reiterating his lack of involvement in the attempt to attack Mr Sinthumule with the result that he was labelled a spy by members of the community.⁸⁵

754 When organisations such as the ANC were unbanned in 1990, they met with considerable hostility from the Venda homeland government. Detention and torture was used to control this new wave of political opposition.

755 Mr Mbiza Mbokota, an ANC activist who had recently returned to his village from Turfloop University, was detained and tortured in February 1992 in the wake of the burning of a policeman's house.

Gazankulu

756 In Gazankulu, dissatisfaction with the government of Professor Hudson Ntswanisi and his cabinet exploded into violence early in 1990. Police barracks and homes were attacked by youth in areas such as Kujwana village and in Nkowankowa. The house of Chief Minister Ntswanisi was damaged and his bottle store and garage were petrol-bombed. Several other houses belonging to police and government-linked people were attacked. The riot police shot and killed several young people. These events led to the formation and launch of youth congresses in areas such as Giyani, which were previously not politically organised. Stay aways, consumer and school boycotts were subsequently organised in Giyani, spreading to Kujwana, Lenyenye, Nkowankowa, Elim and Bonn.

757 In Gazankulu, reported gross violations arose from street protests against the homeland administration and from the attempts of newly unbanned organisations to set up in the homeland. On 21 February 1990, Mr Ludick Machinane was shot and killed in Nkowankowa by the Gazankulu police. He was a bystander while a group of protesters was threatening to destroy Retabe bottle store owned by the Chief Minister, Hudson Ntswanisi. On the same day, Ms Nakedi Maria Mugadi was shot dead by the Letaba police whilst attending a SANCO meeting at Nkowankowa stadium. During school boycotts and other mass action in June 1990, Mr Thomas Shingange [JB03383/02NPTZA] was shot and killed with an AK-47 in a street near Teba Mining at Nkowankowa. Mr Phaladi Emmanuel Malesa [JB03226/02NPTZA] was similarly severely assaulted by unknown SAP members who also disrupted an election rally at Namakgale stadium.

85 See Mr Lufuno Simon Mariba [JB01372/02NP], transcript, Venda Hearing, 3 October 1996.

- 758 Nonhlanhla Maluleka [JB03431/02NPLTM], a four-month-old baby, was hit by a tear gas canister fired by SAP and Gazankulu police during a boycott of Gazankulu Government Transport at Akanani Shopping Centre in May 1990. Ms Xinyata Shilowa, the mother of the baby, was getting into a taxi when the tear gas was thrown at them. The baby died on the spot. The inquest found the police responsible.
- 759 Mr Bennet Maakana [JB03430/02NPTZA], who had helped establish ANC structures in Nkowankowa, was detained and placed in solitary confinement in February 1990. Mr Theron Mduwazi Mkwinka was arrested and detained for eight months at Gravelotte, after attending a meeting called by the Tzaneen Education Crisis Committee in June 1990. The Gazankulu police suspected him of being a 'terrorist' and he was tortured whilst imprisoned. Mr Mbiza Penstone Mbokota was detained and tortured by the Gazankulu police for allegedly participating in burning a house belonging to a policeman. Mr Moses Msisinyani Mabasa [JB01418/02NPTZA] was severely tortured for the same event in February 1992. Mr Elvis Sello Sekoati [JB03225/02NPTZA] was severely tortured by the Lebowa police for public violence in 1993. He was an ANC Youth League delegate sent to help set up the security and marshal Namakgale stadium, where Mr Ngoako Ramatlhodi was scheduled to speak in an election rally.

Bophuthatswana

- 760 In Bophuthatswana, workers, youth and community activists demanded Chief Minister Mangope's resignation and the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa. The Bophuthatswana government reacted with defiance. Mangope asserted that "Bophuthatswana will be independent one hundred years from now". Major internal and external pressures, however, forced the Bophuthatswana administration to reconsider this position and, by the end of 1991, it began to engage in the negotiation process and participate in CODESA.
- 761 On 7 February 1990, the first protest march involving approximately 80 000 people was held in Garankuwa. The marchers, many carrying ANC flags, called for reincorporation and urged Mangope to resign and join "democratic forces" in creating a non-racial and unitary South Africa. Between seven and eleven people were injured when Bophuthatswana security forces fired tear gas and rubber bullets at the marchers. Conflict between protesters and security forces continued, resulting in deaths and injuries.
- 762 Violence reached a peak on 7 March when Bophuthatswana troops opened fire on protesters, killing eleven people and injuring 450. Residents of Garankuwa,

Mabopane, Soshanguve and Winterveld were marching to the Odi magistrate's court to present a petition demanding reincorporation into South Africa and the resignation of Chief Mangope 'within 100 hours'. The crowd numbered between 50 000 and 100 000 people. After the petition was presented, the crowd set fire to an army truck. Fifteen minutes later, Bophuthatswana troops fired at the crowd. Shooting with tear gas and rubber bullets is alleged to have continued for an hour.

- 763 One of the marchers, Mr Kgomotso Alfred Motaung [JB04176/03NW], was injured in the shooting. Mr Ezekiel Matsiela Matlou [JB04170/02PS] describes being run down by a police van on the same day:

There comes a police van with a high speed of about 160 km an hour. I was unable to run away because I was shivering of that speed my legs were unable to move, that van had injured 9 people and 3 were dead.

- 764 Despite the Mangope administration's attempts to curb opposition during the post- 1990 period, there was an upsurge in community organisation. The Bophuthatswana administration itself claimed that, in the period following the 1990 unbannings, one hundred action committees, civic associations and youth congresses were formed, all aligned to the ANC.

- 765 The launch of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in the region led to considerable unrest and miners embarked on a series of strikes. In August 1991, Mr Itumeleng Isaac Mayoyo (JB00938/03NW) was arrested for his activities as a member of the organising committee of the NUM in the Bafokeng North Mine. He told the Commission:

Officer Shuffle then started beating me with a baton. On my fingers, toes and knees. I don't remember the other one who was helping him. My testicles were tied with an electric wire. An object was pushed into my anus. It was a piece of wood I was then charged with High Treason.

- 766 Mayoyo stated that, later, the Shaft General, Mr Drummond was attacked and injured by the workers. Although Mayoyo tried to stop the workers, he and Mr Jonas Kgositsele, another worker, were subsequently charged with the attempted murder of Mr Drummond. Kgositsele died after jumping out of the second floor window. He told the Commission:

Unfortunately Jonas Kgositsele jumped out of the second floor window and died. This is according to officer Ramogadi. He told me. I went through the

same sort of torture. Except being taken to meet the then Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope ... He also offered me to be his spy earning R20 000. I should stop working at the mine. If I don't accept the offer then I am gone ... I went to court finally for all these charges. All charges were dismissed.

- 767 The unrest lead to the deaths of nine people and the destruction of fifty-one huts by vigilantes allegedly hired by management at the Wildebeestfontein mine in 1991. Fourteen people died in further violence at the Impala mine in 1992. Mr Pitso Simon Maema [JB03549/03NWRUS] had to have both his legs amputated after he was injured in the shooting during a strike at the Impala Bafokeng Mine.
- 768 The reluctance of Bophuthatswana to introduce political reforms and adjust to the changed political context culminated in a strike by civil servants in January 1994. Within days of Mangope announcing that he would not participate in the country's first democratic elections in April 1994, Bophuthatswana's civil servants began striking. Events eventually led to the invasion of Bophuthatswana by AWB members. The incident is dealt with elsewhere in the Commission's report.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE UDF IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR BURNING HOMES AND KILLING OF A NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE VENDA POLICE FORCE WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROLONGED DETENTION AND TORTURE OF A NUMBER OF YOUNG PEOPLE BETWEEN 1990 AND 1994. MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR MBIZA MBOKOTA, AN ANC ACTIVIST WAS SEVERELY TORTURED BY THE VENDA POLICE IN FEBRUARY 1992.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE GAZANKULU POLICE FORCE USED UNDUE FORCE IN CONTROLLING PROTESTS AGAINST THE ADMINISTRATION OF PROFESSOR HUDSON NTSWANISI. MANY PEOPLE WERE SHOT AND INJURED DURING STREET PROTESTS AND A NUMBER OF ACTIVISTS WERE DETAINED AND TORTURED. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE GAZANKULU POLICE FORCE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DETENTION AND TORTURE OF A NUMBER OF ANC ACTIVISTS IN THE AREA. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MR ELVIS SEKOATI WAS SEVERELY TORTURED IN 1993.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ON 7 MARCH, THE RESIDENTS OF GARANKUWA, MABOPANE, SOSHANGUVE AND WINTERVELD MARCHED TO THE ODI MAGISTRATES COURT TO PRESENT A PETITION DEMANDING THE RE-INCORPORATION OF BOPHUTHATSWANA INTO SOUTH AFRICA AND THE RESIGNATION OF CHIEF MANGOPE WITHIN 100 HOURS. THE CROWD NUMBERED BETWEEN 50 000 AND 100 000 PEOPLE. TROOPS OF THE BOPHUTHATSWANA DEFENCE FORCE FIRED ON THE CROWD, KILLING ELEVEN PEOPLE AND INJURING 450.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FORMER BOPHUTHATSWANA STATE, THE MINISTER OF POLICE, THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND MEMBERS OF THE BOPHUTHATSWANA DEFENCE FORCE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE ODI AREA ON 7 MARCH IN THAT UNNECESSARY AND EXCESSIVE FORCE WAS USED, PROPER ORDERS TO DISPERSE WERE NOT GIVEN, ADEQUATE TIME TO DISPERSE WAS NOT GIVEN AND RELIANCE WAS

PLACED ON LIVE AMMUNITION AND LACK OF ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF CROWD DISPERSAL.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THERE WAS AN INVASION OF BOPHUTHATSWANA BY MEMBERS OF THE AWB ON 11 MARCH 1994. (THIS INCIDENT IS DOCUMENTED ELSEWHERE IN THE REPORT.) IN BRIEF, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT IN JANUARY 1994, CIVIL SERVANTS EMBARKED ON A STRIKE DEMANDING THAT BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT INTRODUCE POLITICAL REFORMS AND ADJUST TO THE CHANGED POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES IN SOUTH AFRICA. PRESIDENT MAN-GOPE HAD TURNED TO THE VOLKSFRONT FOR ASSISTANCE IN MAINTAINING CONTROL OF HIS ADMINISTRATION. THE VOLKSFRONT HAD UNDERTAKEN TO INCORPORATE ITSELF UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE BOPHUTHATSWANA DEFENCE FORCE BY 11 MARCH 1994. HOWEVER, MR EUGENE TERREBLANCHE, LEADER OF THE AWB MOBILISED A FORCE OF 600 AWB MEMBERS WHO ENTERED MAFIKENG IN BOPHUTHATSWANA AND PROCEEDED TO RANDOMLY ATTACK RESIDENTS OF MAFIKENG RESIDENTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS MR EUGENE TERREBLANCHE AS LEADER OF THE AWB RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS AND INJURIES RESULTING FROM THIS INVASION; AND MEMBERS OF THE AWB WHO PARTICIPATED IN THIS INVASION SIMILARLY RESPONSIBLE.

Right-wing violence

769 The right wing was involved in various forms of political protest during the 1990s. Much of this protest activity was extremely violent and led to a range of gross human rights violations. In 1990, following Mr F W de Klerk's speech unbanning the ANC and other political organisations, members of the Conservative Party (CP) threatened mass demonstrations and strike action by whites. The largest demonstration was held on 26 May 1990 when approximately 50 000 protesters gathered at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria and were urged to fight to restore what the government had 'unjustly given away'.

770 In the period after 2 February 1990, right-wing violence took on a much more organised and orchestrated form. Isolated racist attacks on individuals were quickly eclipsed by mass right-wing confrontations. Two thousand AWB and Boerestaat Party members marched to protest the unbanning of the ANC. In Klerksdorp, 5 000 AWB supporters marched in support of police action. Farmers blockaded the city of Pretoria in 1991. An NP meeting in Ventersdorp was violently disrupted in 1991 leading to the death of three people and the injury of more than fifty others. The World Trade Centre where negotiations were taking place was occupied by members of the right-wing in 1993. Members of the AWB invaded Bophuthatswana in support of the homeland administration in 1994, and launched a pre-election election bombing campaign immediately before the 1994 elections.

771 According to the HRC there were, in the second half of 1990, at least forty-five right-wing attacks country-wide, resulting in the deaths of twenty-six people and

the injury of 138. More than 33 per cent of these attacks took place in the PWV area, although the largest number of fatalities occurred in the Orange Free State and Natal.⁸⁶

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

773 Mr William Nxanxa [JB01533/03NW] was sitting in a parked vehicle alongside the road when he was assaulted by members of the AWB in the Western Transvaal town of Ottosdal in September 1990. He said that, after he was assaulted, his attackers told him that the road in which he had parked his taxi was “an AWB road”. Nxanxa laid a charge and the case came to court but the four accused were discharged.

774 Ms Nkete Mangwele [JB01570/03NW] told the Commission that she was seriously assaulted during an attack on her home by “white people wearing soldiers camouflage”. Mrs Mangwele could not identify her attackers but said that her home in Klerksdorp was not the only one that was attacked by these men.

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

776 Mr Simon Rabesi Phiri [JB01567/03NW] was sleeping in his car outside the shack where he lives in Goedgevoeden when the AWB members attacked. He identified Mr Eugene Terreblanche and Mr Piet ‘Skiet’ Rudolph⁸⁷ as participants in the attack. A card belonging to Rudolph was allegedly found ten metres from

86 Graeme Simpson, Steve Mokwena, Lauren Segal, *Political Violence in 1990: The year in Perspective*, p.14.

87 Piet ‘Skiet’ Rudolph founded the *Orde van die Boerevolk* (OB) in late 1989. Rudolph gained much publicity with the successful robbery of a large quantity of weapons from the headquarters of the SADF in Pretoria. Some of these weapons were subsequently used in a right-wing pre-election bombing campaign.

Phiri's home. Ironically, Phiri got to know Terreblanche when he worked at a petrol station in Ventersdorp where the headquarters of the AWB are located. According to Phiri, the doors of homes to be attacked were marked with crosses.

- 777 Ms Emily Siko [JB01566/03NW] and her five-year-old child were also attacked by AWB members. As they left, they apologised for attacking the 'wrong' house. Mr Hassian MS Haffajee [JB01396/03NW], a Muslim shopkeeper in the Western Transvaal town of Bloemhof, was the victim of a racist attack because of his support of a boycott of shops owned by white people. The boycott was organised by the local branch of the ANC to pressurise the town council to accede to its demands for racial integration in the town. The AWB operated as a vigilante group that tried to break the boycott and ensure that racial integration did not take place.
- 778 Members of right-wing organisations applied to the Commission for amnesty with respect to several incidents.
- a the 14 April 1994 explosions at Sannieshof in the Western Transvaal involving members of the Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB);
 - b an explosion at the offices of the IEC at Bloemfontein;
 - c a fire at the Nylstroom telephone exchange on 22 April 1994;
 - d an explosion at the Natref oil pipeline between Denysville and Viljoensdrif in the Northern Free State;
 - e an explosion on 24 April 1994 in the Johannesburg city centre, killing nine people, including ANC Johannesburg North secretary general, Ms Susan Keane [KZN/APH/035/DN] and injuring ninety-two people; (See Ms Patience Alphina Nsele [KZN/NN/380/DN], Ms Simangele Loveness Kheswa [JB03273/01GTSOW], Ms Selina Manetja Mfete [JB06064/01GTSOW] and Mr Sifiso Freeda Ngwenya [JB03324/03 GTSOW]);
 - f an explosion on 25 April 1994 at a taxi rank in central Germiston, killing ten people and injuring approximately a hundred (See Ms Sindiswa Mavis Phungula [JB03154/01ERKAT], Ms Hanyane Anna Mbata [JB03375/01 ERKAT] and Ms Wisani Hilda Maluleka [JB05811/01GTSOW]);
 - g an explosion at the Randfontein taxi rank, for which Mr Johannes Andries 'JJ' Venter [AM6477/97] applied for amnesty;
 - h an explosion on 27 April 1994 at Jan Smuts airport in Johannesburg (See Mr Mosalakae Percival Moshwetsi [JB04635/02PS].)

779 In a police swoop at the end of April, thirty-four right-wingers were arrested in connection with the wave of bomb blasts. All of these men were members of the AWB's elite *Ystergarde* (Iron Guard). They were charged with nineteen counts of murder⁸⁸. The Commission received amnesty applications from several people convicted for these acts: Mr Jacobus Petrus Nel [AM6469/97], Mr Abraham Christoffel Fourie [AM6478/97] and Mr Petrus Paulos Steyn [AM6479/97] are all currently serving twenty-one-year prison sentences. Mr Johan Wilhelm Du Plessis [AM6480/97] also applied for amnesty in respect of various pre-election bombings carried out by the AWB. He was one of the original AWB members arrested and charged but acquitted in the Rand Supreme Court.

88 Independent Board of Enquiry, April 1994, pp.8–9.

Statistics on Violations in the Transvaal

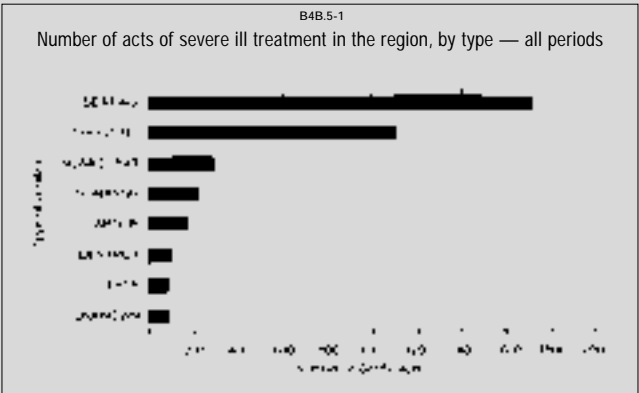
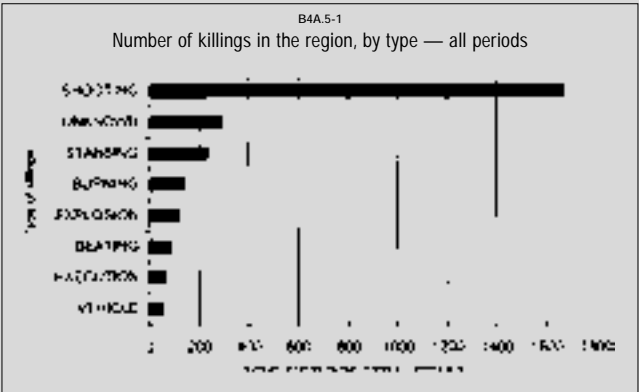
■ NATURE OF THE VIOLATIONS

- 1

The pattern of violations in the region covered by the Johannesburg office of the Commission is similar to the national picture. The different types of killings reported are shown here. ►
- 2

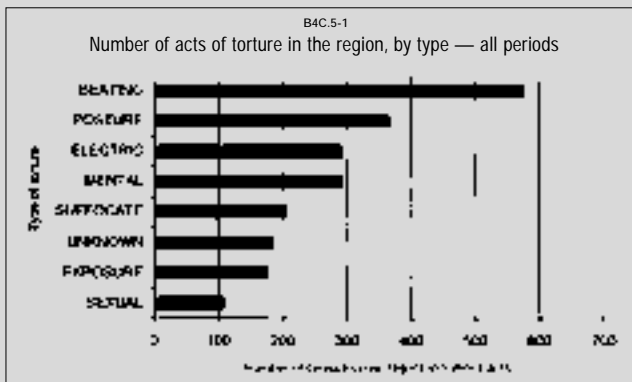
Most people died as a result of being shot, with 1 600 cases being reported, followed by large numbers of unspecified or unknown¹ causes of death. The third most common cause of death was stabbing.
- 3

As in most of the other regions, beating was the most common form of severe ill treatment, followed by shooting: ►



¹ The large number of unknown causes of death is very high, either because the deponent did not specify details, or because inquest documents or police reports were inadequate.

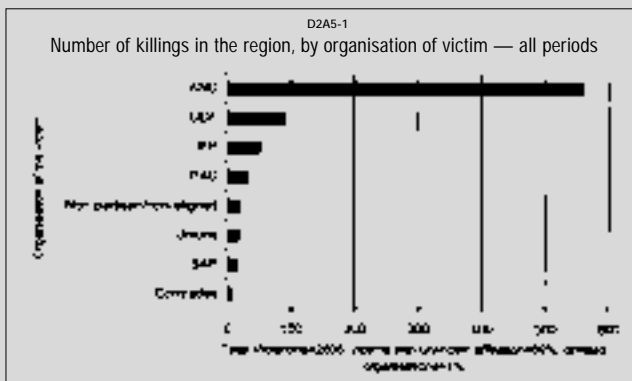
- 4 Over 1 600 cases of beating were reported. The proportion of shootings to beatings was relatively high in the region compared to the other areas. Beatings were also the most common type of torture: ►



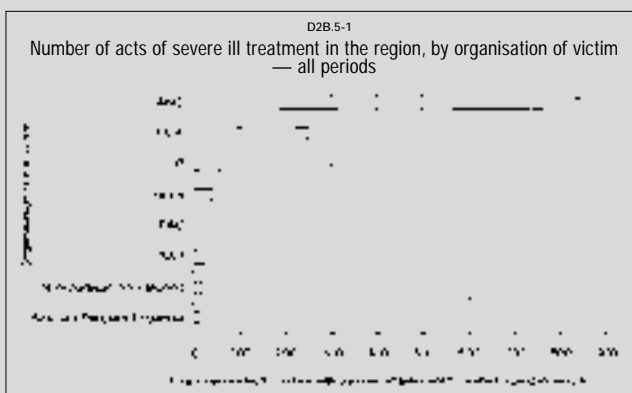
- 5 The second most common torture method reported in this area was by means of forced postures (differing from other regions), followed by electric shocks. Cases of suffocation were not as common.

Victim organisations

- 6 In the region covered by the Johannesburg office, the bulk of the victims of gross violations of human rights in the three categories of killing, severe ill treatment and torture belonged to the United Democratic Front (UDF) or the African National Congress (ANC). Almost all of the killings in the area were of members of predominantly black organisations: ►

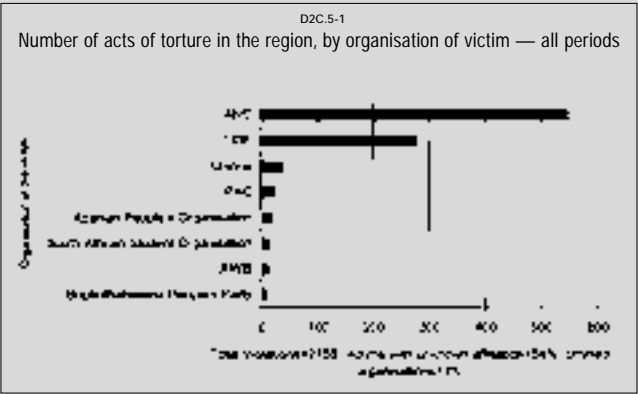


- 7 ANC and UDF members account for most of the deaths. There are a few cases of South African Police (SAP) members being killed. The pattern is the same for severe ill treatment: ►



8 There are a few instances of police officers suffering severe ill treatment, but it was, overwhelmingly, members of black organisations who suffered severe ill treatment.

9 In keeping with the national pattern, members of the ANC, UDF and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) suffered the most cases of torture.

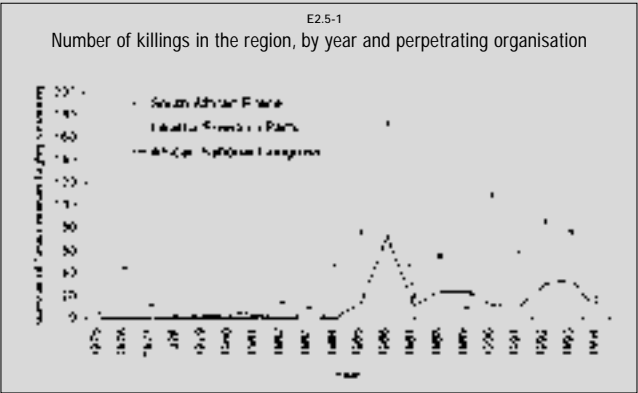


Perpetrator organisations

10 The figure shows the numbers of killings attributed to perpetrator organisations, listing the top eight: ►



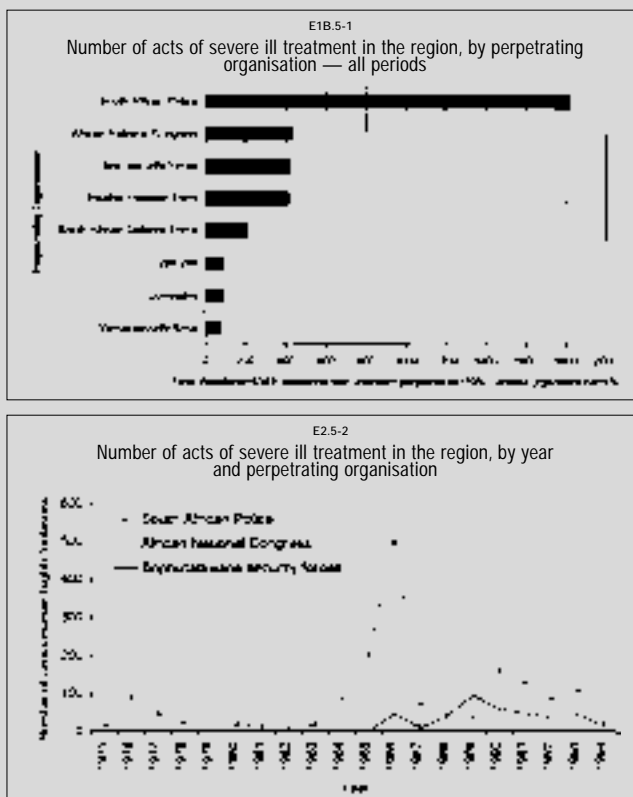
11 The number of killings allegedly committed by the SAP dominates the chart. The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the ANC are shown to have the second and third highest numbers of alleged violations. The pattern of killings by the top three organisations over time looks like this: ►



12 The figure shows that the killings allegedly committed by the SAP peak in 1976, then start increasing again in 1984, reaching a high in 1986. There is a drop in the late 1980s, then further peaks of killings attributed to the SAP in 1990 and 1992.

- 13 Killings attributed to the ANC² peak in 1986, then remain more or less constant at between twenty and forty cases per year until 1994.
- 14 Very few killings are attributed to the IFP until 1990, when there is a sudden increase. Killings allegedly committed by the IFP dominate the figure in the 1990s, with the steepest peak in 1993.
- 15 The pattern of severe ill treatment differs from that of killings with the third largest number of violations being attributed to the Bophuthatswana security forces:

- 16 The greatest number of instances of severe ill treatment are attributed to the SAP, followed by the ANC, with the Bophuthatswana security forces and IFP showing a similar number. As is the case for killings, the pattern changes at different periods of history, and closely matches the pattern of killings for the top three organisations:

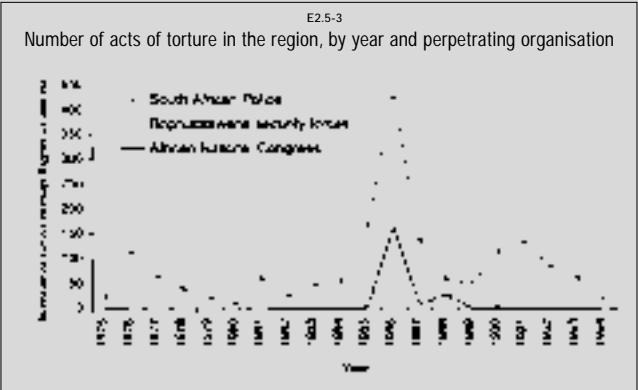
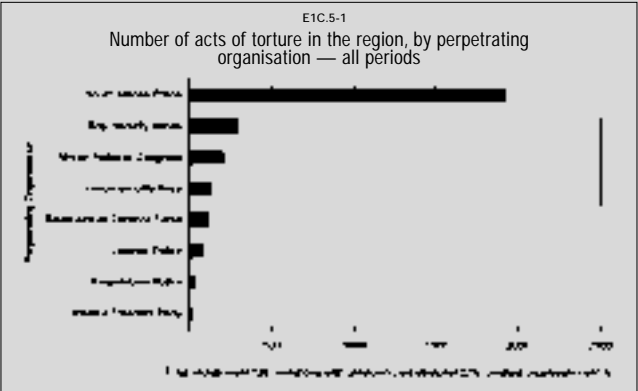


- 17 Severe ill treatment violations allegedly committed by the SAP reach a peak in 1976, followed by a great increase in 1985 and 1986, with a lull followed by another peak in 1990. Violence attributed to the ANC peaks in 1986, then drops to a low, constant rate for the rest of the period. Severe ill treatment attributed to the Bophuthatswana security forces shows a peak in 1989, a year earlier than the SAP peak.

2 Note that the large number of allegations against the ANC during the 1980s were made at a time when the ANC was still banned. Thus this reflects partly activities by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), but is also due to a perceived continuity of interest between the so-called 'comrades', the UDF and the ANC.

18 The same three organisations feature in the pattern of torture attribution: ►

19 Again, it is overwhelmingly the police who allegedly tortured. Apart from the ANC and IFP, all the organisations in the top eight are state-controlled. As in the country as a whole, the chart showing alleged torture by the top three organisations against time indicates that it was at its worst during the states of emergency: ►



20 Most instances of torture were attributed to the SAP, with a large peak during the mid 1980s. There is a drop after the state of emergency, followed by an increase in 1990 and 1991. The instances of alleged ANC torture are clustered in 1986 and then tail off. The third organisation allegedly involved in torture, the Bophuthatswana security forces, peaks in 1989 and 1992.

VOLUME FOUR

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



The report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was presented to President Nelson Mandela on 29 October 1998.



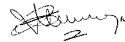
Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Chairperson



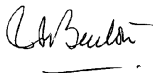
Ms Hlengiwe Mkhize



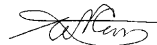
Dr Alex Boraine
Vice-Chairperson



Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza



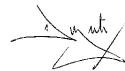
Ms Mary Burton



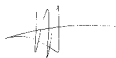
Dr Wendy Orr



Revd Bongani Finca



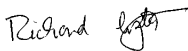
Adv Denzil Potgieter



Ms Sisi Khampepe



Dr Fazel Randera



Mr Richard Lyster



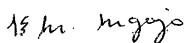
Ms Yasmin Sooka



Mr Wynand Malan*



Ms Glenda Wildschut



Revd Khoza Mgogo

* Subject to minority position. See volume 5.

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Foreword and Context of Institutional and Special Hearings

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 An important debate with which the Commission had to wrestle was, as has been fully discussed in the chapter on *The Mandate*, how to paint the backdrop against which such human rights violations occurred. Without some sense of the “antecedents, circumstances, factors and context” within which gross violations of human rights occurred, it is almost impossible to understand how, over the years, people who considered themselves ordinary, decent and God-fearing found themselves turning a blind eye to a system which impoverished, oppressed and violated the lives and very existence of so many of their fellow citizens.
- 2 It is an old question: one that is asked of any country that undertakes acts so foul that the world openly condemns it. It is a question that has been answered in different ways, for such is the nature of historical debate. However, what is clear is that apartheid could only have happened if large numbers of enfranchised, relatively privileged South Africans either condoned or simply allowed it to continue.
- 3 How did so many people, working within so many influential sectors and institutions, react to what was happening around them? Did they know it was happening? If they did not know, or did not believe it was happening, from where did they derive their ignorance or their misunderstanding? Why is it only with hindsight that so many privileged members of society are able to see that what they lived through was a kind of madness and, for those at the receiving end of the system, a kind of hell?
- 4 One of the things one needs to remember is that the greater majority of South Africans knew only one system of government (although the foundation for apartheid was, as mentioned elsewhere, laid much earlier). This means that those who were born, went to school, took jobs and raised families knew only one society – the apartheid society. To those who reaped its benefits, it was an

extremely comfortable society. But what is important is that they knew no other. It was a closed world, surrounded by fences, prohibitions and some terrible assumptions about their fellow countrymen and women.

- 5 There were those, of course, from the heart of the privileged community who not only *did* know what was happening, but condemned it. In the process, they themselves became victims of government action. But, significantly for this argument, their credibility was frequently also questioned by those around them, and their simple humanitarian responses often resulted in rejection by members of their own communities. Part of the explanation lies in the state's demonisation of its opponents and, quite probably, in a wish to avoid the obligations that knowledge implied. Yet the question remains, if some knew, why did others not know and believe?

■ INSTITUTIONAL HEARINGS

- 6 It was in search for the beginning of an answer to these questions that the Commission decided to host a number of hearings on the role of some of the influential sectors of the apartheid society. Clearly, there were time restraints, requiring the Commission to limit its focus. A number of institutions were identified: the media, business, prisons, the faith community, the legal system and the health sector. All these sectors had, over the years, come under attack for what was seen by some as their complicity with the apartheid system. What the Commission sought to find out was how these institutions saw themselves and how, brought together with those who had opposed them, a part of the enigma of the South African evil could be unravelled.
- 7 It was considered extremely important that both 'sides' should be present and able to speak at the hearings of their perceptions and experiences. Sometimes the Commission was successful in obtaining the participation of all role-players, and sometimes it was not. Some refused the invitation of the Commission.
- 8 Often the hearings revealed just how far apart the opposing views were. But there were some heartening moments. There were signs that the hearings triggered a kind of self-analysis, a mood of introspection that may lead to a deeper realisation of the need for commitment to a new society and a culture of human rights.
- 9 At the end of each chapter, there is a set of findings the Commission made after the hearings and, in the chapter on *Recommendations* in the last volume of this report, the Commission gave serious thought to ways to ensure the transformation of society.

■ SPECIAL HEARINGS

- 10 The last three chapters in this volume are of a different kind. They focus on three areas that, the Commission felt, warranted individual attention.
- 11 The Commission decided to host a hearing on compulsory military service. It was a difficult decision and one that followed a great deal of debate. It was clear that conscripts could not as a rule be described as victims of gross violations of human rights as defined in the Act. Some of the evidence that emerged at the hearing, however, showed that they were victims of another kind – victims of a system they found themselves obliged to defend.
- 12 The chapter on children and youth describes the devastating effects of apartheid on young people in South Africa. It also pays tribute to the extraordinary heroism of generations of young people who risked their education, their safety and often their lives for a better society. Many of them today are greatly the poorer for their sacrifice. Many others did not live beyond their teens and became victims of the system against which they struggled.
- 13 The chapter on women reports on a series of hearings that were held at which women were given the opportunity to speak on their own behalf. It was discovered early in the life of the Commission that the majority of women who came forward to testify did so on behalf of others and seldom on their own account. It was also felt necessary to give women the opportunity, amongst members of their own sex, to speak of the particular violations experienced by women and, also, the particular way in which women experience violations.
- 14 The following chapters do no more than summarise the events that took place at the hearings. The full transcripts are to be found in the National Archives. However, beyond the documents, the Commission hopes that the legacy of these hearings will be to stimulate further debate, further discussion and further exploration of the difficult and complex issues that underpinned apartheid.

■ A NOTE ON NAMES

- 15 Every attempt has been made to check and re-check the names of people who approached the Commission, made statements or are otherwise quoted. Inconsistent spellings emerged in the transcripts, in statements and frequently the same name was spelt in a variety of different ways. Where there are errors, despite all efforts to ensure that names are correctly spelt, the Commission apologises.
- 16 In addition, the Commission decided, for the purposes of its report, that the titles of Mr and Ms would be used throughout. This is not to fail to acknowledge that some women might still prefer to be addressed as Mrs or Miss or even Mama and does not constitute a social or political comment on their right to do so. It was simply a decision that was taken in order to ensure uniformity and, of course, to eliminate error where the marital status of the person was unknown.

■ CONCLUSION

- 17 The journey between 1960 and 1994 was a long and terrible one, wasteful of human life and of human potential. Yet, it was a path that everyone travelled.
- 18 Today, South Africans have embarked on another journey. Some travel joyfully into the future. Others still carry their baggage, uncertain of whether or how to dispose of it. Thus, although it is a collective journey, it is also an individual journey. A journey that depends on our ability to examine with honesty and with humility the role we have played in the past and, more importantly, what role we can – as individuals and as institutions – play in the future.
- 19 The Commission hopes that the hearings reported on in this volume may provide some guidance on a way forward.

■ APPENDIX

Submissions to the Commission

The Commission received numerous formal submissions, written statements and opinions during its existence. At the time of reporting, the Records Management Department of the Commission was making every effort to record this material.

Amnesty investigations were, however, still underway at the time of reporting. In addition, the cataloguing of some material from the Commission's regional offices was incomplete and some documentation, used in the writing of the Commission's report, had not yet been lodged in the Records Management Department.

The inventory that follows lists submissions made to the Commission and lodged in the Records Management Department at the time of going to press. The documentation originates either from unsolicited representations made to the Commission or in response to requests for submissions relating to Commission hearings. It does not include documentation accessed by the Commission from the National Archives, the civilian intelligence services, the archives of security forces or other documentation used for research and investigative purposes.

The complete inventory of all documentation accessed by the Commission will become available in due course.

CATEGORY	NAME
Armed Forces and Police	African National Congress
	Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army
	Barnard, L D
	De Haas, M
	Foundation for Equality before the Law: Stadler, H D
	Hechter, J
	Liebenberg, W R
	Malan, M A de M
	Ministry of Defence
	Molebeleli, T
	National Intelligence Agency
	Odendal, C A J
	Schoon, W F

	South African National Defence Force
	South African Police Service
	Van der Merwe, J V
	Williamson, C M
Business and Labour	Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut
	Anglo American Corporation of South Africa Ltd
	Anti-Apartheid Movement
	Armaments Corporation of South Africa (ARMSCOR)
	Avalon Cinemas South Africa (Pty) Ltd
	Ball, C
	Bernstein, A
	Black Management Forum
	BMW South Africa
	Brown, G D
	Building Industries Federation of South Africa
	Bulk Commodities International
	Centre for Policy Studies
	Chamber of Mines
	Coleman, A
	Congress of South African Trade Unions
	Consultative Business Movement
	Crawford-Browne, T
	De Castro-Moura, M M
	Development Bank of Southern Africa
	Economic Advisory Council: Warren Clewlow
	Eskom
	Ex-Ford Workers Committee
	Federated Mining and Allied Industries Workers Union
	Flynn, L
	Food and General Workers Union
	Foundation of African Business and Consumer Services
	Fourie, R
	Genkor Limited
	German Chamber of Commerce and Industry
	Groenendijk, C
	Hulett Aluminium (Pty) Ltd
	Investor Victims Association
	Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry
	Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry
	Juergensen, B
	Jumuna, N
	Land and Agricultural Bank of South Africa

Loyson, M
Mercedes-Benz S A
Mkhwanazi, D
Muller, K M
Nampak Limited
Narrandes, C
National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry
National Association of Automobile Manufacturers of South Africa
National Business Initiative for Growth, Development & Democracy
National Campaign on the Apartheid Debt
National Small Business Council
Old Mutual
Padayachi, N
Phaswana, F
Rakgahla and Associates
Reichenberg and Co.
Rembrandt Group Ltd
Reynecke Inc. for Financial Research Foundation
Rosholt, A M
Rubenstein Finance Company
Rupert, E A
South African Breweries
South African Motor Industry Employers' Association
South African Reserve Bank
Sanlam
Shell South Africa
Simkins, C
Soller and Manning
South African Black Technical and Allied Careers Organisation
South African Chamber of Business
South African Communist Party
South African Democratic Teachers' Union
South African Federated Chamber of Industries
Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa
Terreblanche, S
Textile and Clothing Industry
Textile Federation
The Centre for Conflict Resolution
The Land and Agricultural Bank
The Tongaat-Hulett Group Ltd
Toyota S A
Transnet

	Tucker, R S K
	Tyacke, E and Lowry, D
	Van Niekerk, P
	Van Zyl, J
	Wiehahn, N
	Zimema, P M
Children and Youth	Human Rights Committee
	Junior Rapportryerbeweging
	Justice Goldstone, R J - several submissions
	KwaZulu-Natal Programme for Survivors of Violence
	National Children and Violence Trust
	National Children's Rights Committee
	Ndlozi, G
	Nkomo, M N
	Reynolds, P and Dawes, A
	Smith, T S J
Health	American Association for the Advancement of Science
	Amnesty International
	Baragwanath Hospital
	Centre for Psychosocial and Traumatic Stress
	Citizens' Commission on Human Rights South Africa
	Democratic Nursing Organisation of South Africa
	Dental Association of South Africa
	Department of Health
	Department of Psychiatry, Tygerberg Hospital
	Fanner, M
	Greater Johannesburg Welfare, Social Service and Development Forum
	Groote Schuur Hospital Region
	Independent Mediation Service of South Africa
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	Main submission
	Maller, R
	Colvin, M
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	Akoojee, S B
	Nel, J P
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Health Psychology Unit, Centre for Peace Action, University of South Africa
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Islamic Medical Association South Africa
Jeppe, C
Johannesburg Child Psychotherapy Group
Johannesburg Welfare Society
Khulumani Support Group
Kistnasamy, M B
Klatzow, D J
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Medical Research Council
Medical Association of South Africa
Medical University of South Africa
Mohare, D E
National Institute of Mental Health, Rockville, Maryland, USA
National Traditional Healers Association of Southern Africa
Organisation For Appropriate Social Services for South Africa
Pillay, S R
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Progressive Doctors' Group
Psychology Association of South Africa
Rataemane, S
Respiratory Clinic
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South African Academy of Family Practice/Primary Care
South African Council for the Aged
South African Medical and Dental Council
South African Medical and Dental Practitioners Association
South African Medical Service
South African Medical Students Association
South African Nursing Council
South African Pharmacy Council
University of Cape Town: Dept of Community Health
University of Cape Town: Dept of Medicine
University of Cape Town: Dept of Pharmacology
University of Cape Town: Dept of Primary Health Care
University of Natal: Medical School
University of Pretoria
University of the Witwatersrand
University of the Western Cape - Centre for Student Counselling

	Van Speyk, V
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National Association of Independent Lawyers
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National Literacy Co-operation and other educational stakeholders
National Police and Public Civil Rights Union
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	Alternative Media in the Cape: Badat, S; Fisher, R; Issel, J; Jackson, D; Jaffer, M; Patel, L; Seria, R and Williams, M
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	African National Congress
	Democratic Party
	Inkatha Freedom Party
	National Party
	Pan Africanist Congress
	United Democratic Front
	Vryheidsfront
Religion	Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa
	Baptist Convention of South Africa
	Baptist Union of South Africa
	Belydendekring van Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerke

Catholic Church
Church of England in South Africa
Church of the Province of Southern Africa
Dharma Centre
Dutch Reformed Church, Stellenbosch Circuit
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International Federation of Christian Churches
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Morgan, L
Muslim Judicial Council
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Nuttall, M
Old Apostolic Church
Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys
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Ramakrishna Institute of Spirituality and Hinduism
Reformed Presbyterian Church of South Africa
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South African Council of Churches
South African Council of Churches: Tema, E M
South African Hindu Maha Sabha
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United Methodist Church of South Africa: Nkosinathi Madikizela
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World Conference on Religion and Peace - South African Chapter
Zion Christian Church

Institutional Hearing: Business and Labour

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 At the heart of the business and labour hearings lay the complex power relations of apartheid, the legacy of which continues to afflict the post-apartheid society. These include the consequences of job reservation, influx control, wages, unequal access to resources, migrant labour and the hostel system. Adjacent to these historic developments were industrial unrest, strikes and the struggle for the right to organise trade unions.
- 2 The hearings illuminated the widely divergent perspectives of different sectors of the economy. Sharp differences emerged over the role business played or failed to play in the apartheid years. Questions were raised as to whether business had been involved in the violation of human rights, how business related to the state and whether or not business benefited from apartheid. In the process, the very premise of business as a homogeneous entity was questioned.
- 3 Differences also emerged between businesses in different sectors of the economy: between businesses of different sizes, between predominantly white-led business and predominantly black-led business organisations and, most dramatically, between representatives of employers and trade unions.
- 4 While the Commission had called for evidence relating to the period 1960 to 1994, the vast bulk of the evidence led at the hearing dated from the late 1970s onwards. This was to be expected, given that many of the individuals involved were not active in the 1960s.
- 5 Only the white Mineworkers' Union and the South African Agricultural Union refused to participate. A few (most notably the National Council of Trade Unions or NACTU) failed to provide their promised submissions. Others did not respond to the invitation. Most notable amongst these were the multinational oil corporations (which were the largest foreign investors in South Africa) and predominantly white

labour organisations, such as the Typographical Union, the Public Servants Association and the United Workers Union of South Africa.

■ CULPABILITY, COLLABORATION AND INVOLVEMENT

- 6 From amongst the various different perceptions of the relationship between business and apartheid, two dominant positions emerged at the hearing. One view, which sees apartheid as part of a system of racial-capitalism, held that apartheid was beneficial for (white) business because it was an integral part of a system premised on the exploitation of black workers and the destruction of black entrepreneurial activity. According to this argument, business as a whole benefited from the system, although some sections of the business community (most notably Afrikaner capital, the mining houses and the armaments industry) benefited more than others did. This position is most clearly articulated in submissions by the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), Professor Sampie Terreblanche of the University of Stellenbosch and the Black Management Forum (BMF).
- 7 The other position, argued mainly by business, claims that apartheid raised the costs of doing business, eroded South Africa's skill base and undermined long-term productivity and growth. In this view, the impact of apartheid was to harm the economy. This argument was most clearly discernible in submissions from:
 - a business organisations such as the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (SEIFSA), the South African Chamber of Business (SACOB), the Afrikaner Handelsinstituut (AHI), the Council of South African Banks (COSAB), the Textile Federation and the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry;
 - b specific companies and corporations such as South African Breweries (SAB), the Anglo American Corporation, Old Mutual and Tongaat-Hulett;
 - c corporate executives such as Mike Rosholt of Barlow Rand and Anton Rupert of Rembrandt International.

- 8 These opposing arguments mirror a long-standing debate over the relationship between apartheid and capitalism.¹ What was of relevance to the task facing the Commission was that these contrasting accounts imply different notions of accountability. If, for example, one assumes that apartheid placed obstacles in the path of profitability, then business as a whole is cast more as a victim of the system than as a partner or collaborator. According to this construct, the essential question to be asked of business is why it did not do more to hasten the demise of apartheid - both through pressure on the state and through progressive actions at company or community levels. In other words, why did business not protest more loudly? Why did it not support the demands of black workers for wage increases and resist migratory labour practices?
- 9 Alternatively, the analysis of the ANC, COSATU and the SACP seems to imply that the involvement of business in the racial capitalism system of apartheid was such, and the benefits so great, that it would not have been in its interest to take issue with apartheid.
- 10 These questions are typically answered in two ways. The predominant approach is to point to instances where business objected to apartheid policies and in other ways promoted political change, and to highlight its contributions through social responsibility investments, its support for the Urban Foundation, the Small Business Development Corporation and various non-governmental organisations. The other approach is to point out that, by creating jobs and generating wealth, business improved living standards and created the conditions for successful political transition.
- 11 In addressing the question of business participation in human rights violations, most business submissions took the view that such abuses required active, deliberate participation by individuals. Thus, Old Mutual stated in its opening paragraph that:

In principle, the mandate of the Commission which focuses on gross violations of human rights would almost certainly exclude Old Mutual from having to make any submission.

- 12 This view was echoed in other submissions.

¹ See Posel, D. (1983). 'Rethinking the Race-Class Debate in South African Historiography', in *Social Dynamics*, vol. 9, no. 1; Saunders, C. (1988); *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class*. David Philip, Cape Town; and Nattrass, N. (1991). 'Controversies about Capitalism and Apartheid in South Africa: An Economic Perspective', in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 17, no. 4 for an overview of this debate.

13 As far as the business community was concerned, its purpose in participating in the Commission was to promote understanding of the role of business under apartheid and to explore areas where businesses failed to press for change – both at a political and at an organisational level. Failure to act quickly or adequately on the political front was regarded as an error of omission. Failure to adjust employment practices was likewise regarded as regrettable, but not amounting to a gross human rights violation.

14 Tongaat-Hulett expresses it thus:

On occasions, there may have been isolated incidents of 'ill treatment' of employees by individual managers, as was unfortunately true of many institutions and business in South Africa over the past forty years. In certain cases, too, management may have been guilty of 'turning a blind eye', for example, to treatment meted out by supervisors to lower-graded (mainly black) workers. This may have been done under the implicit assumption of most whites during the times that the level of human rights that might be enjoyed by different groups was racially differentiated. Combined with possible implicit class prejudice, this may have resulted in certain forms of ill treatment of workers (for example through separate facilities, job reservation and so forth) - not gross violations of human rights as defined by the Commission - but ill treatment all the same.

15 In contrast, the BMF regards precisely such forms of ill treatment as human rights violations:

The human rights violations by business are seen as those policies, practices and conventions which denied black people the full utilisation of their potential, resulting in deprivation, poverty and poor quality of life, and which attacked and threatened to injure their self-respect, dignity and well-being. Certain of these violations were open abuses, whilst some were indirect; yet others buttressed those carried out at a socio-political level.

16 In brief, the white business perspective sees apartheid as a set of politically inspired, economically irrational policies that were imposed on (and undermined) the economy. Those critical of business during the period under review by the Commission, on the other hand, emphasise the inherent link between apartheid and capitalism – refusing to allow for any sharp analytical distinction between the economic and political spheres. As the ANC puts it:

Apartheid was more than a programme of one political party. It was a system of racial minority rule that was both rooted in and sustained by white minority socio-economic privilege at the expense of the historically oppressed black majority. Apartheid was associated with a highly unequal distribution of income, wealth and opportunity that largely corresponded to the racial structure of society.

It is our contention that the historically privileged business community as a whole must accept and acknowledge that its current position in the economy, its wealth, power and access to high income and status positions are the product, in part at least, of discrimination and oppression directed against the black majority. While some of the important business organisations and groups opposed some of the laws introduced by successive apartheid governments, a number of core discriminatory laws were both actively sought and tolerated by business.

Historically privileged business as a whole must, therefore, accept a degree of co-responsibility for its role in sustaining the apartheid system of discrimination and oppression over many years.

17 The COSATU submission went further:

We remain of the view that apartheid, with its form of institutionalised racism, masked its real content and substance – the perpetuation of a super-exploitative cheap labour system. We all know that the primary victims of this system were the black working class and the primary beneficiaries the white ruling elite.

18 The SACP draws out the implications of this for the business argument:

The idea that the private sector's chief sin ... was that it failed to 'speak out against a system that was against economic logic' is spurious. Capitalism in South Africa was built and sustained precisely on the basis of the systematic racial oppression of the majority of our people.

In presenting the apartheid political economy as an integrated and coherent system of racial capitalism, the struggle against capitalist oppression is twinned with that for democratisation. Resisting the growth of black trade unionism, and calling in the police during strikes, is thus seen as evidence of collaboration with the apartheid system against democratisation.

- 19 The link between trade union struggles and the democratic movement is clearly discernible in the following excerpt from the ANC's submission:

At decisive moments in the re-emergence of the democratic movement, business' initial reaction was invariably one of opposition, victimisation of activists and union officials, and recourse to the regime's security forces. The first reaction to a strike or attempt by unions to organise workers was all too often to call on the police. Many violations of human rights occurred as a consequence.

Given the major role played by the independent black trade union movement in fighting apartheid, the struggle for trade union rights and democracy were often indistinguishable. The overlap was not exact, while finding coherence to the extent that both the refusal to recognise trade unions on the grounds of race and the denial of franchise both constitute human rights violations. The struggle for trade union rights, for better working conditions and for democracy, in turn, led to a host of specific gross human rights violations that are the direct concern of the Commission.

It was certainly the perception of most black workers that big business was in bed with the government. The role that business, either directly or indirectly, played in shaping apartheid policies, collaborating with agents of the state and benefiting from the system, implies a level of moral culpability which simply cannot be ignored.

- 20 Evidence of different levels of collaboration emerged in the Commission's hearings on business and labour. On the one level, business is charged with direct collaboration (most notably with the security establishment). On the other, business is charged with implicitly collaborating with the state by doing business with it, paying taxes and promoting economic growth. Professor Sampie Terreblanche argues that:

Business should acknowledge explicitly, and without reservation, that the power structures underpinning white supremacy and racial capitalism for 100 years were of such a nature that whites have been undeservedly enriched and people other than whites undeservedly impoverished.

These forms of collaboration create and promote a context that leads to the systematic execution of gross human rights violations. It contributes to the emergence of an economic and political structure – a culture and a system which gives rise to and condones certain patterns of behaviour.

21 The COSATU submission argues that:

Indeed, the historical record does not support business claims of non-collaboration. A vast body of evidence points to a central role for business interests in the elaboration, adoption, implementation and modification of apartheid policies throughout its dismal history. The South African Police and Defence Force were armed and equipped by big business. Apartheid's jails were constructed by big business, as were the buildings housing the vast apartheid bureaucracy. Apartheid's labour laws, pass laws, forced removals and cheap labour system were all to the advantage of the business community.

22 Major Craig Williamson (a former security police spy) expressed a similar understanding of collaboration by pointing to systemic links between the economy, civil society and apartheid:

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

First order involvement

23 To the extent that business played a central role in helping to design and implement apartheid policies, it must be held accountable. This applies particularly to the mining industry which, for this reason, is dealt with in some detail below. Direct involvement with the state in the formulation of oppressive policies or practices that resulted in low labour costs (or otherwise boosted profits) can be described as first-order involvement. This is clearly of a different moral order to simply benefiting from such policies. Businesses that were involved in this way must be held responsible and accountable for the suffering that resulted. Furthermore, to the extent that subsequent capital accumulation was boosted beyond that which would have occurred in the absence of such policies, the moral basis of such wealth must be questioned – a matter that is dealt with in the recommendations.

24 Other forms of involvement are more difficult to deal with because the argument shifts from accusing business of active design to accusing it of profiting from the system.

² In a memorandum submitted to the Commission at the Armed Forces hearing in Cape Town on 9 October 1997.

- 25 One could adopt a stance that argues that any business operating in South Africa was tainted by apartheid, and that the intentions of individual businesses are irrelevant to the argument. The Apartheid Debt Co-ordinating Committee makes such a case with regard to loans:

A large number of inter-bank loans, for instance, had no direct connection with apartheid. Yet, the foreign exchange given for a seemingly innocuous purpose – ranging from the development of ESKOM [Electricity Supply Commission] to the financing of a domestic home – was recycled as part of apartheid's sanctions-busting strategy. Similarly, some foreign loans were used for purposes of international trade and, in this respect, were no different from those regularly found throughout the world. Yet, even the seemingly most pristine of these trade loans were tainted by apartheid. The simple fact of trade with South Africa inescapably meant helping to sustain and reproduce the structures, practices and lifestyles normalised by apartheid. No loan could avoid this institutional contamination.

Second order involvement

- 26 However, a distinction needs to be made between those businesses that made their money by engaging directly in activities that promoted state repression and those whose business dealings could not have been reasonably expected to contribute directly or subsequently to repression. Businesses that provided armoured vehicles to the police during the mid-1980s would fall into the former category – so-called second-order involvement – whereas those building houses for state employees would need to be viewed differently.
- 27 As is the case with first-order involvement, those who made their money through second-order involvement clearly have more to answer for than did those who made their money in other business activities. The argument is that, as entrepreneurs, they could have chosen not to engage in such business – allocating their capital and energies elsewhere.
- 28 Second-order involvement hinges to some extent on people *knowing* that their products or services would be used for morally unacceptable purposes. Consider the example provided by Major Williamson – that banks provided the police with covert credit cards. A bank that provides a covert credit card to the police to help them with, say, investigations into white-collar fraud, is in a different position to one which knowingly provides covert credit cards to death squads to help them lure their victims. Some covert activities are more acceptable than are others.

Covert credit cards and other banking facilities are, no doubt, still provided by banks to the police to help with their investigations of white-collar crime.

- 29 COSAB acknowledged that being a bank “inevitably” meant doing business with a variety of bodies that were an integral part of the apartheid system. All financial institutions were required to hold government and parastatal securities.

It would have been as impossible then, as it is now, to comply with the banking regulations without effectively doing business with government agencies.

- 30 So, banks were “knowingly or unknowingly” involved in providing banking services and lending to the apartheid government and its agencies. They were similarly involved in the movement of funds from overseas donors to organisations resisting apartheid.
- 31 The fact, however, that a former spy and Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) operative referred to the use that was made of covert credit cards cannot be ignored. The particular banker involved may not have had direct knowledge of why specific cards were being used. However, there was no obvious attempt on the part of the banking industry to investigate or stop the use being made of their facilities in an environment that was rife with gross human rights violations.

Third order involvement

- 32 Finally, one can categorise third-order involvement as ordinary business activities that benefited indirectly by virtue of operating within the racially structured context of an apartheid society. Condemning such businesses suggests that all who prospered under apartheid have something to answer for, in that they took advantage of a situation which depressed the earnings of black South Africans, whilst boosting their own. Taken to its logical conclusion, this argument would need to extend also to those businesses that bankrolled opposition parties and funded resistance movements against apartheid. Clearly not all businesses can be tarred with the same brush.
- 33 The issue of third-order involvement does, however, highlight the fact that the current distribution of wealth (which is substantially concentrated in white hands) is a product of business activity that took place under an apartheid system that favoured whites. This acts as a counterbalance to statements by business that apartheid harmed them, a reminder that white business accumulated (sometimes vast amounts of) wealth in spite of this alleged harm. It also raises the question

about the need for business as a whole to commit itself to narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor – a matter that is addressed later in this chapter.

- 34 Some of the business submissions grappled with the issue of third-order involvement by asking themselves whether, by merely doing business under apartheid, they were in some sense supporting the system. The Textile Federation, for example, pointed to its only direct link with the state, namely through government clothing contracts. Old Mutual noted that, by paying taxes and investing in government stock, it might possibly have contributed in some very indirect way.
- 35 COSAB, while expressing regret for acts of omission and commission committed by its members that contributed to the damage caused by apartheid, pointed to an intimate involvement by the banking industry in the structures of apartheid:

By the very nature of their business, banks were involved in every aspect of commerce during the apartheid years. Without them, government and the economy would have come to a standstill. But it would have been an 'all or nothing' decision. There could have been no halfway position. Either you are in the business of banking, or you are not. It does not lie in the mouth of a bank to say that it will accept the instruction of its client to pay one person but not another.

- 36 Against the above analysis, this chapter (which deals exclusively with the private sector) explores some of the moral issues raised in submissions on the role of business under apartheid.

A note on the role of parastatal organisations

- 37 Information was also provided to the Commission on the role of economic institutions such as the South African Reserve Bank (SARB) and parastatal bodies such as the Land Bank, the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), and the Electricity Supply Commission (ESKOM). This sheds light on how these institutions shaped the environment within which private business decisions were made (ESKOM, the SARB) and functioned as a financial arm of apartheid (Land Bank and the DBSA).
- 38 ESKOM, which supplies some of the world's cheapest electricity, explained how the electricity supply reflected the peculiarities of apartheid:

This often caused separation of naturally integrated networks or the creation of new networks irrespective of costs ... Black areas were often left with no electricity services ... In certain instances electrified black areas subsidised neighbouring white areas.

39 The Land Bank pointed out that government policy:

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

40 The DBSA made a similar argument, pointing to the way in which its operations (particularly in the homelands) were "immediately framed within an apartheid political context". The DBSA submission noted, however, that it experienced ongoing tension between its development role and the political context within which it operated. It nevertheless accepted that it was "an integral part of the system and part and parcel of the apartheid gross violation of human rights."

41 The Commission was gratified to learn of the transformation that had occurred in these organisations (most notably the Land Bank and the DBSA), paving the way for a constructive role in post-apartheid development. As these institutions are not part of the private business sector, they are discussed no further in this report.³

The agricultural sector

42 It was particularly regrettable that representatives of commercial agriculture did not participate in the hearing, despite an invitation to do so. Commercial agriculture has always been a fundamental component of business in South Africa and it is necessary to consider, if only briefly, its links with apartheid.

43 Like mining, agriculture has both shaped and been shaped by the racist structures of the political economy as it evolved both before and after 1948. Although the Commission's mandate begins only in 1960, it is clear that a proper understanding of this period requires an awareness of its historical roots. This requires recognition, at the very least, of the Land Act of 1913⁴, as modified by subsequent legislation, including that of 1936. None of this was fundamentally repealed until 1991 which means that, throughout virtually the entire period of the Commission's brief, black

³ Interested readers are referred to the individual submissions for details.

⁴ For some reflections on the Land Act of 1913, see chapter on *The Mandate*.

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

- 44 This means that, at the very least, representatives of commercial agriculture need to acknowledge (not least to themselves) the extent to which white farmers and their families have benefited (irrespective of their political views) from their privileged access to the land, which excluded virtually all other potential farmers.
- 45 Along with control of the land, white farmers also benefited from control over the movement of people by means of pass laws, which placed enormous power in the hands of farmers with respect to living and working conditions, wages and the lives of black workers and their families living on the farms.
- 46 Similarly, it is evident that the state's policy of forcibly resettling into the impoverished homelands hundreds of thousands of black South Africans no longer needed on the increasingly mechanised, commercial farms was done, if not at the explicit request of the agricultural sector, certainly with its implicit support. Indeed, the nature of the precise link between commercial agriculture, the apartheid state and the infamous policies of resettlement as they were experienced by millions of South Africans during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s is one that requires recognition and acknowledgement.⁵ Likewise, many farmers took advantage of the farm prison system, which provided them with free labour and resulted in many human rights abuses.⁶
- 47 Another critical area requiring deeper reflection by white farmers relates to the extent to which they failed – either by simple omission or through active hostility – to ensure better education for the children (other than their own) living on their farms. Education of farm children has long lagged notoriously behind even that education that was available for African and coloured children, either in the former 'homelands' or in the towns. This failure to educate children in a modern economy is itself a human rights abuse, for which the commercial farming sector must take at least some of the responsibility.

5 See Platsky, L. & Walker, C. The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa, Bloemfontein, 1985.

6 See chapter on *Institutional Hearings: Prisons* in this volume and, further, Carlson, Joel (1973), No Neutral Ground. New York: Thomas Y Crowell Company, 1973.

■ COSTS AND BENEFITS OF APARTHEID

- 48 To understand the relationship between business and apartheid, it is helpful to explore the ways in which apartheid policies aided or hindered business, and to outline the role that business played in influencing apartheid legislation.
- 49 Business was not a monolithic block and it can be argued that no single relationship existed between business and apartheid. It is, however, also true that overwhelming economic power resided in a few major business groupings with huge bargaining power vis-à-vis the state. This power could have been more aggressively used to promote reform. The state, on the other hand, actively repressed black business, favoured Afrikaner capital (through access to contracts, licences, subsidies and so on), while apartheid labour policies benefited industries dependent on low-cost labour (mining and agriculture).
- 50 It could also be argued that apartheid was in some ways harmful to businesses with greater skill requirements. Most of the submissions pointed out that state-business relationships differed between economic sectors, according to size of firm and along language and ethnic lines. It is necessary, therefore, to adopt a differentiated approach, at least as regards the early apartheid period.

Afrikaner business

- 51 The English business sector drew attention to the special relationship between Afrikaner business and the National Party (NP) government. Anglo-American said that NP hostility prejudiced its ability to conduct business. Its bid for Samancor, for example, was nullified on political grounds.
- 52 SAB also complained of NP bias, which prejudiced its business both in the retail and liquor sector and in the wine and spirits industries:

English-speaking business leaders often felt marginalised under apartheid, having little or no influence over government policy ... In a real sense, such businesses were also victims of the system.

- 53 The life insurer SANLAM accepted that its Afrikaans origins “could have contributed to and facilitated cordial business relationships with government, especially after the NP came to power in 1948 ...” saying that, “successful marketing implies sound relationships with decision-makers.” However, apart from having easier

access to government, SANLAM said, "it did not enjoy preferred status with the NP." SANLAM claimed that it became the first large company to redress economic imbalances when it sold the life insurer Metropolitan Life to black investors in 1993. SANLAM also created a development fund to contribute to empowerment.

- 54 Professor Sampie Terreblanche agreed that the NP favoured Afrikaans business, for example through fishing quotas, mining and liquor concessions, government contracts and "all kinds of inside information". In later years, however, this policy of Afrikaner favouritism was replaced with a policy of patronage towards those businesses that co-operated in the military industrial complex. In return for support, former State President PW Botha granted reforms proposed by the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions, which allowed for significant changes to apartheid labour law and influx control. Terreblanche argues, however, that Mr Botha's intention at all times "was to entrench and perpetuate white control".
- 55 The ANC submission identified the "spectacular economic growth" of Afrikaner controlled companies like SANLAM and Volkskas, which were "especially favoured by the apartheid regime". SANLAM's assets rose from R30 million in 1948 to R3.1 billion in 1981, while companies over which it exercised effective control had assets worth R19.3 billion. The submission noted that Rembrandt (together with SANLAM and Volkskas) "were key players in the Afrikaner Broederbond" and "close confidants and advisers of political leaders of the apartheid state".
- 56 The AHI was far more self-critical than other representative business organisations. It admitted that it had "committed major mistakes" in its support for separate development, its lack of moral and economic objections to apartheid, its insensitivity to issues involving human rights and its acceptance of the absence of a proper labour relations law. It accepted moral responsibility for this. It noted, however that:

Without in any way detracting from the AHI's willingness to accept responsibility for such pronouncements [in support of separate development], it must be noted that support for separate development was part and parcel of the majority of the white community's thinking at the time. The white Afrikaans churches, newspapers, cultural organisations and the wider community broadly subscribed to the notion that the separate development of South African population groups was seen as the best guarantee for overall justice and peace in the country. The AHI was part of that collective thinking. There were those who supported separate development because of the 'separateness', i.e. apartheid, in its crudest form. Others supported it for the promise of develop-

ment, i.e. people could develop to their full potential but as different ethnic groups in their own areas. Hence, from the idealistic to the cynical, from the intellectual to the lay person, from the courageous to the threatened, from rich to poor, from agnostic to Christian - many found something in the collective thinking of separate development they thought worthy of support.

- 57 COSATU expressed a similar view to that of Terreblanche, contending that, while the NP government explicitly set out to nurture Afrikaner business, its overall policy climate created the conditions for the rapid accumulation of capital by white capitalists in all sectors of the economy.

Black business

- 58 As outlined in the submission by the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (NAFCOC), the apartheid state systematically undermined the black business sector. This was done by means of discriminatory legislation, the application of the Group Areas Act, the allocation of licences and in other ways.
- 59 Such actions not only stifled the black business sector, but also provided the space for white business to take advantage of the opportunities denied to black business. The Group Areas Act prevented black businesses from operating in white areas and vice versa. Those black business people who obtained business licenses in designated areas (for petrol stations, liquor outlets and so on) benefited in the limited sense that competitive pressures were artificially reduced by apartheid. While this provided a measure of protection for these (few) entrepreneurs, such protection was not always forthcoming. According to a submission from Indian-owned Avalon Cinemas, although they were prevented from operating in white areas, white-owned Ster Kinekor succeeded in its bid to operate in Indian Areas.
- 60 According to the submission by the Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry, there were also members of the black business community who “collaborated” with the apartheid regime, were involved in sanctions-busting and, “together with corrupt politicians in the Tricameral government were engaged in procuring business contracts land, houses etc. for their own benefit to the exclusion of those rightfully deserving of these assets”.
- 61 Despite such cases, it is clear that the overall impact of apartheid was to undermine black business systematically and perniciously. Furthermore, by limiting the development of black managerial expertise, the acquisition of business skills by black managers was prejudiced (see BMF submission).

The mining industry

- 62 From the early days of the Boer Republics, mining capital played a major role in shaping and driving cheap labour policies. Strategies included the following:
- a influencing legislation that forced black workers into the wage system (and managed their allocation within it);
 - b state-endorsed monopolistic recruiting practices;
 - c the capping of African wages;
 - d divisive labour practices in managing compounds;
 - e the sometimes brutal repression of black workers and trade unions.
- 63 This history has been well documented⁷ and was reflected in submissions by COSATU, the SACP and the ANC. The first-order involvement of the mining houses and the Chamber of Mines (COM) in shaping the migrant labour system is the clearest example of business working closely with the minority (white) government to create the conditions for capital accumulation based on cheap African labour. The evidence shows that, rather than relying simply on the forces of supply and demand, the mining industry harnessed the services of the state to shape labour supply conditions to their advantage. Thus, the mining industry bears a great deal of moral responsibility for the migrant labour system and its associated hardships.
- 64 It is regrettable that the Chamber of Mines made no mention in its submission of the active role they played in constructing and managing the migrant labour system.⁸ Although the foundations of this system were laid before the 1960s, the Chamber had a significant formative impact on the apartheid political economy during the period under review by the Commission. There is plenty of evidence to show that, directly due to the monopsonistic power of the Chamber of Mines (which was set up with this purpose explicitly in mind), black wages on the mines were lower – at least until the mid-1970s – than they would almost certainly otherwise have been. Similarly, the opposition of the Chamber of Mines to the unionisation of black mine workers effectively prevented the growth of trade unions for black

⁷ See for example, Johnstone, R. (1976). *Class Race and Gold*. Routledge, London; Wilson, F. (1972). *Labour in the South African Gold Mines*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; and Lipton, M. (1986). *Capitalism and Apartheid: 1910-86*. Wildwood House, Aldershot.

⁸ The Chamber of Mines merely observes that the system of labour migration “originated in a set of laws and practices in the late 19th and early 20th centuries”, and makes no mention of the role played by the mining industry in influencing such laws and practices.

mine workers until the beginning of the 1980s. The recognition of this first-order involvement, together with an appropriate apology, could contribute significantly to the reconciliation process.

- 65 The image of gold mining magnates accumulating vast wealth at the expense of African mine workers, whose wages stagnated in real terms until the 1970s, is a stain on the mining industry and one it needs to recognise. For most of the twentieth century, the greatest point of contact between African workers and business occurred on the mines. The shameful history of subhuman compound conditions, brutal suppression of striking workers, racist practices and meagre wages is central to understanding the origins and nature of apartheid. The failure of the Chamber of Mines to address this squarely and to grapple with its moral implications is regrettable and not constructive.
- 66 The submission by the Anglo-American Corporation was an improvement on that of the Chamber of Mines. Anglo-American accepted that it could have been a better corporate citizen. It had the honesty to note that, despite many representations by Harry Oppenheimer to government about the need for a more stable workforce, the Corporation failed to provide even the limited amount of family accommodation allowed within the bounds of the law.⁹
- 67 However, Anglo's submission was also flawed. Its most glaring failure was to sidestep the African wage issue. The submission blames "race politics" for depressing black wage levels and, like the Chamber of Mines, fails to address the active measures taken by mining magnates to ensure the continued supply of cheap migrant labour. The submission records that black wages doubled within a period of three years in the 1960s, and tripled in the early 1970s. This selective presentation of wage developments is misleading and fails to mention that real African wages on the gold mines were higher in 1915 than they were in 1970.¹⁰
- 68 It is important to recognise that, while the migrant labour system benefited the mining industry, this was not the case with regard to legislation protecting white labour. Government reaction to the 1922 'Rand Revolt' and the mining industry's support of the colour bar shows very clearly that the industry was opposed to any form of industrial action designed to raise labour costs – whether by white or black workers. The apartheid state created an environment in which white worker power was

9 The Anglo-American Corporation points out that they were allowed to provide married accommodation for 3 per cent of their African labour force, but failed to provide even this. They regard this as one of the "missed opportunities" and "acknowledge, with regret, that we did not sufficiently progress these and many other opportunities to oppose apartheid and hasten its demise".

10 See Nattrass, J. (1988). *The South African Economy: Its Growth and Change* (Second edition). Oxford University Press, Cape Town, table 7.2, page 139.

enhanced by legislation (a position accepted by the mining industry). Black worker power, on the other hand, was progressively eroded – a situation that was ignored by the mining industry, which went on to suppress black labour with impunity.

- 69 This leads to the important point that apartheid had both costs and benefits for the mining industry. The relationship between the mining industry and various white minority governments was both complex and contradictory. On the one hand, the migrant labour system worked to the decided advantage of the mining industry. But, on the other, the protection of white labour significantly increased both wage and non-wage labour costs in mining. The many representations by mining magnates to government on the costs of job reservation bear testimony to this major apartheid-related thorn in the side of the industry.
- 70 Finally, it is necessary to touch on the role of health and safety on the mines. A submission by Laurie Flynn¹¹ suggested that the dismal health and safety record of South African mines, and the way in which mining companies and successive government ministers of mines suppressed knowledge about the dangers of asbestos, constituted human rights abuses. He referred to the “obdurate and well documented refusal of the mining companies in South West Africa [Namibia] and in the diamond industry in South Africa itself.” Similar themes were evident in the COSATU submission, which drew attention to the health hazards associated with mining and related industries.

Approximately 69 000 miners died in accidents in the first 93 years of this century and more than a million were seriously injured. In 1993, out of every 100 000 gold miners, 113 died in accidents, 2 000 suffered a reportable injury, 1 100 developed active tuberculosis and of these 25 died; in 1990 about 500 were identified as having silicosis.

- 71 The COSATU submission also recalled the notorious Kinross mining disaster, the largest accident in the history of gold mining in South Africa. On 15 September 1986, 177 workers were killed as the result of a polyurethane fire. The submission records the shocking way in which the mine reacted to the disaster:

The mine only publicised the accident at 15h00, although it had occurred at 09h00. Its initial reports stated that thirteen workers had died, although the mine was aware that 177 workers had died. Shortly after the disaster, the names and personal details of white miners were released by the company.

¹¹ Laurie Flynn is a journalist and author who has published works on mining houses and human rights in Southern Africa. See especially his book, *Studded with Diamonds and Paved with Gold* (London: Bloomsbury, 1992) to which he referred the Commission.

The black miners who had died were identified to the world as: "Sotho 45, Shangaan (Mozambican) 21, Pondo 20, Hlubi (Transkei) 6, Venda 1, Xhosa 29, Tswana 14, Malawi 15, Pedi 1".

- 72 Mining is, of course, an inherently dangerous occupation. However, there appears to be some evidence that profitability ranked higher than people's lives – as evidenced by the asbestos scandal and the continued use of polyurethane in mines long after the dangers had become known.¹² It is regrettable that more details were not forthcoming on health and safety issues from the Chamber of Mines or the Anglo American Corporation.

The arms industry

- 73 Various submissions drew particular attention to the armaments industry as a case where businesses made an active decision to involve themselves in what COSATU, the SACP and the Centre for Conflict Resolution¹³ describe as the "military-industrial complex". The ANC articulated it as follows:

This was no reluctant decision imposed on them by coercive apartheid legislation. Many businesses, including subsidiaries of leading corporations, became willing collaborators in the creation of the apartheid war machine, which was responsible for many deaths and violations of human rights both inside and outside the borders of our country. It was, moreover, an extremely profitable decision.

- 74 According to the Centre for Conflict Resolution:

[by providing] the material means for the maintenance and defence of apartheid elements within the business community are guilty of directly and indirectly perpetuating the political conflict and associated human rights abuses which characterised South Africa between March 1960 and May 1994.

- 75 As noted above, the armaments industry falls into the category of second-order involvement with the apartheid regime. The moral case against the armaments industry is essentially that business willingly (and for profit) involved itself in manufacturing products that it knew would be used to facilitate human rights abuses domestically and abroad.

12 COSATU points out that the dangers of using polyurethane had been well documented since the late 1960s when the Chamber of Mines warned its members not to use the material because of the danger of fire. The material continued to be used in mines after fatal fires in 1977 and 1983, and even after the Kinross fire killed 177 miners in 1986 (COSATU submission paragraph 62).

13 The Centre for Conflict Resolution is based at the University of Cape Town and used to be known as the Centre for Inter-Group Studies.

- 76 The only submission by business that attempts to justify participation in the arms industry came from the Armaments Corporation of South Africa (Armcor). Armcor noted that, in carrying out its function to obtain armaments, it was “carrying out a function which is normal in all governments except that the policies of this [apartheid] government were abnormal”. The submission continues:

We do not deny that in executing its mandate, Armcor would have contributed to the military capability of the country. For most members of the South African defence family the enemy was not the people of South Africa. It was the threat posed by an external aggressor - usually a communist linked state such as Cuba or the Soviet Union.

- 77 Thus, the argument presented is that arms procurement is a normal activity of all governments for the (honourable) purposes of defence and that South African companies involved with Armcor thought that they were contributing to such defence (albeit probably mistakenly). The issue therefore boils down to one of motivation.
- 78 Is it credible to argue that those producing South Africa's arms thought that their products were going to be used to fight an external aggressor? Certainly, given the extent of government propaganda about Communism and the ‘total onslaught’, it is possible that many people did hold this opinion. However, once the army rolled into the townships in the 1980s, the scales should have fallen from the eyes of all perceptive South Africans. Unfortunately, no evidence was presented before the Commission about the mindset of arms manufacturers.
- 79 In its submission, Armcor proudly observes that its commitment to executing government policy has ensured its survival today:

[Armcor] has come to be described as a national asset by the Minister of Defence, Minister Joe Modise and by the Chair of the Joint Standing Committee of Defence, Mr Tony Yengeni.

- 80 This “national asset” now produces arms for export – a matter that is further addressed in the recommendations chapter.

Other (white) business

- 81 The relationship between apartheid and business in other sectors was complex and at times contradictory. Many businesses benefited from the tariff protection,

subsidies, cheap loans and preferential contracts provided by the state. Those industries competing against the import market benefited particularly. Those with a significant proportion of African workers benefited from restrictions on black trade union bargaining power – particularly until the early 1970s.

- 82 Industry was, however, divided over black trade union rights and wage determination. While many recognised that a higher level of African wages would boost consumer demand, no individual firm had any direct incentive to pay substantially more than the going wage for relatively unskilled (or skilled labour). To the extent that apartheid policies exercised downward pressure on African wages, all firms benefited, at least in so far as minimising costs was concerned. Some paid meagre wages in order to stay in business, as paying higher wages than the competition could threaten their existence. For others, depressed African wages simply boosted profits to very high levels.
- 83 Many foreign-owned companies probably fell into the latter category. The fact that they were able to improve wages and working conditions appreciably after being embarrassed by international campaigns to adopt the Sullivan Code (see the submission by the Anti-Apartheid Movement) suggests that they had previously enjoyed substantially high profits at the expense of poorly-paid African labour.
- 84 Some businesses went beyond accepting the benefits of being able to pay low African wages. Indeed, their use of the repressive machinery of the state to suppress striking workers puts them in another category altogether. Firms that informed on trade union officials to the security police and called in the police to disperse striking workers clearly have a great deal to answer for. Those which took advantage of apartheid norms and practices to humiliate their workers with racism (see the submission by the BMF) and to engage in unfair labour practices also need to recognise that they were part of the problem of apartheid - and not simply subject to its laws. While some submissions from business (such as that of Tongaat-Hulett) acknowledged this role, most did not.
- 85 Several businesses argued, on the other hand, that apartheid policies also imposed substantial costs on firms. Chief amongst these were:
- a job reservation for white workers (which was a particular problem for the building industry)¹⁴;

14 See the detailed submission by the Building Industries Federation of South Africa. Note, however, that job reservation was primarily in response to pressure from white trade unions.

- b the Physical Planning Act (which restricted the employment of African workers in certain areas);
 - c the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act;
 - d the Bantu Education Act;
 - e the Group Areas Act.¹⁵
- 86 Firms that required greater inputs of skilled labour were harmed by the politically enhanced power of white trade unions and by limitations on the skills-development and occupational mobility of African workers.
- 87 Business organisations argued that they made representations and protested to government about the impact of apartheid on business (see submissions by SEIFSA, SACOB and the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry). These protests tended, however, to relate to specific policies (such as the colour bar, Bantu education and the Physical Planning Act) rather than broader political concerns. In other words, they protested against aspects that disadvantaged business. Before the 1980s, most criticisms were voiced at times of skilled labour shortages. Major business organisations also protested during incidents of social and political unrest, most notably after the Sharpville massacre (1960), the Durban strikes (1973) and the Soweto uprising (1976).
- 88 But, as the submission from SAB points out, the responses of business were not without their contradictions:

Although business chambers called for reform after Sharpville, faced with a withdrawal of foreign investment in the aftermath of Sharpville, many businesses used their financial muscle to stabilise domestic markets by buying up the shares that were being offered for sale on the stock exchange. Similarly, while some businesses called for black workers to be given trade union rights after the 1973 strikes, others resisted efforts by their employees to secure these rights, refusing to recognise black unions and, in certain cases, using the security forces to assist them in their endeavour. Furthermore, following the Soweto uprising, some businesses openly backed the government's endeavour to restore order to the country through the security and military machine.

¹⁵ See the submission by SACOB in this regard.

- 89 Some sectors of the business community supported social and political apartheid but objected to some of the economic policies. In its frank submission to the Commission, the AHI described its growing realisation of the costs of apartheid:

As the costs for business escalated from the 1970s onwards, the AHI gradually added its voice to the (predominantly English) business organisations which had been protesting against apartheid education and labour policies for some time.¹⁶ By the end of the long post-war boom, most sections of urban business were united in their calls for an urbanised African labour force with better access to skills and jobs.

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

Pressure from business to re-examine its policies towards black labour and urbanisation almost certainly contributed to the subsequent reforms. As a result of the Wiehahn Commission, black trade unions were incorporated into the system of collective bargaining. This unleashed the power of black trade unions (which had been growing since the mid-1970s) and contributed significantly to the subsequent economic and political transformation. Reforms stemming from the Riekert Commission loosened some of the restrictions on labour allocation. This started a process which culminated in the lifting of influx control.

- 90 The BMF, on the other hand, argued that business “failed to challenge” the white unions and the government in their efforts to prevent black people from entering the trades. Racist corporate culture, it said, is still the main impediment to the success of affirmative action. Business encouraged and benefited from the homelands policy and decentralisation, “which created circumstances of exploitation”. Moreover, the failure of business to allow black people into senior

16 See the SACOB submission for a review of this history of protest.

17 The most extensive discussion of the Urban Foundation is to be found in the submission by Ann Bernstein.

positions “will prove to have been the biggest obstruction to economic growth. Under-utilisation of blacks is a greater cost than the brain drain”.

- 91 Some submissions from the white business sector highlighted its efforts to improve industrial relations and work towards a new framework that promoted black unions. SEIFSA said it:

led South Africa in respect of forward-looking industrial relations practices. We were the first major industry to eliminate race from our agreements, and the SEIFSA minimum wage has been a target of achievement for many other industries.

- 92 SEIFSA said that it had addressed the skills shortage in various ways in the past. In the 1960s, the industry looked to immigration and the training of black people. In 1972, the industry and unions agreed that blacks would be allowed to advance into higher operations. In 1978, the industry negotiated “the complete removal of all job discrimination and racially based provisions from the main agreement”. In 1982, SEIFSA negotiated a training agreement that provided a system to train workers who had missed the opportunity to become formally apprenticed. In 1993, SEIFSA and the National Union of Metalworkers’ of South Africa (NUMSA) agreed to investigate shared industry restructuring objectives.
- 93 The ANC submission recognised that “business’s attitude towards trade unions representing black workers evolved over time”, but it sought to record that during much of the apartheid period, business by and large worked in co-operation with the state to undermine and crush trade unions.

At decisive moments in the re-emergence of the democratic movement, business’s initial reaction was invariably one of opposition, victimisation of activists and union officials, and recourse to the regime’s security forces. The first reaction to a strike or attempt by unions to organise workers, was all too often to call on the police. Many violations of human rights occurred as a consequence.

- 94 The submission added that the trade unions survived because of the commitment and organisation of thousands of workers, despite the suffering they endured as a consequence. It was because of these efforts that the union movement grew to be a force that business could no longer repress or ignore.¹⁸
- 95 COSATU argued that, from 1973, union growth was characterised by “fierce battles” over these rights.

Business has always opposed the development of well-organised and militant trade union movements... This was co-ordinated with, and for all practical purposes indistinguishable from, state strategy in relation to union organisation throughout the 1970s and well into the 1980s. Although trade union organisations of African workers were never unlawful, business was not prepared to recognise them, but continued to have cordial relations with the established [racially based] white trade union movement of that time, which was committed to paternalistic or outright racist policies. Only mass pressure forced capital to change its tactics in relation to trade unions.

- 96 Old Mutual's submission on the costs and benefits of apartheid was illustrative. On the negative side, the submission pointed to the lowering of economic growth (which constrained the market for life insurance), the Bantu education system which limited the pool of quality employees and the existence of exchange controls which limited their expansion overseas. Old Mutual offered only two possible ‘positives’: their acquisition of assets from Colonial Mutual of Australia when it disinvested in 1987 and the “marketing opportunities” created by the expansion of the homeland bureaucracies. On this latter score, however, Old Mutual reserved judgement as to whether this would have resulted in a net gain or loss compared to some other (non-apartheid) scenario.
- 97 Again, not all businesses profited equally from apartheid. It is, however, difficult not to conclude that, between 1910 and 1994, government and business (despite periodic differences and conflicts between them) co-operated in the building of an economy that benefited whites. On the one hand, they promoted and maintained the structures of white power, privilege and wealth and, on the other, the structures of black (mainly African) deprivation, discrimination, exploitation and poverty. To

18 From the early 1970s, there was an attempt to revive the crushed black union movement. Strikes and worker stay aways began to increase in number. “Between 1965 and 1971,” records Steven Friedman (*Building Tomorrow Today*, Johannesburg: Ravan 1987), “less than 23 000 African workers had struck. In the first three months of 1973, 61 000 stopped work. By the end of the year, the figure had grown to 90 000 and employers had lost 229 000 shifts – more than seven times the number lost through African strikes in the past eight years.” From cautious beginnings and despite heavy repression, the union movement grew to be a significant force by the end of the 1970s. In 1985, COSATU was formed, becoming the largest union body in the country. The National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), heir to the black consciousness-aligned CUSA and the Azanian Council of Trade Unions (AZACTU), remained aloof and in 1986 a third union group, UWUSA, backed and funded by Inkatha was formed.

this extent, business was part of the mindset of white South Africa. This point was made in the AHI submission and granted in several other submissions, as well as in the oral evidence of several business leaders in response to questions posed to them by commissioners.

Workers

- 98 The argument put forward by sections of the business community, that they were not (directly) involved in gross human rights violations, was challenged by the trade unions and others. In this respect, the distinction made by Professor Mahmood Mamdani between “perpetrators and victims” on the one hand and “beneficiaries and victims” on the other, deserves careful attention.¹⁹
- 99 The BMF accused white business of violating human rights in specific ways. White business supported and did not oppose the location of black residential areas at “absurdly” long distances from work. “Business chose to provide hostels that kept men and women away from their families.” In addition, white business relied “quite heavily” on the police to structure relationships with black workers, be it around strikes or repatriations. Managers served as police reservists and business co-operated with security agents in providing data on and monitoring workers. “Business continued to pay taxes quietly and rejected calls of civil disobedience.”
- 100 Personnel policies, the BMF added, promoted “separate development” in job positions, wages, medical attention and pension pay-outs. Black people were denied the opportunity to practise their customs and were not, for example, allowed leave for funerals or to visit traditional healers. “This conflict between business practice and black custom caused a lot of anxiety and emotional damage.” In this respect, the BMF noted that business still uses, for example, culturally-biased psychometric tests to assess job applicants. “Blacks are made to feel unintelligent, and it further deprives them of their right to development.”
- 101 COSATU gave what it called “incontestable” examples of the everyday suffering imposed on workers. These included:
- a sexual harassment in the workplace;
 - b the implementation of pass laws “through the active policing and collaboration of management as a means of labour control and cheapening labour”;

19 Mahmood Mamdani, ‘Reconciliation without Justice’, *Southern African Review of Books*, November/December 1996.

- c preventable industrial accidents and diseases, where workers were maimed or killed “because not enough money was spent on safety and health”;
 - d starvation wages, which “translate into preventable malnutrition, disease and death, or lack of access to medical care”;
 - e denial of essential welfare and social services;
 - f creation of unemployment to protect profits;
 - g victimisation, including the assault and imprisonment of trade unionists and strikers.
- 102 COSATU noted that, despite the legal duty of employers to provide employees with healthy and safe working conditions, many “failed to take the necessary steps to protect employees from occupational accidents and diseases”.

More than 60 000 workers lost their lives in occupational accidents between 1964 and 1994... The carnage can be expressed in other ways. In 1974, for example, it was estimated that 100 000 hands, 50 000 feet and 40 000 eyes were badly injured; 31 000 men and women were permanently maimed; several hundred were injured severely enough not to be able to return to work, and 2 284 were killed.

- 103 COSATU identified five main devices used by business: the ‘colour bar’ (unequal wages, benefits and conditions of employment); segregationist labour legislation; unequal provision of education and training; and labour market regulations, such as the pass laws. Each of these was developed in the COSATU submission.
- 104 COSATU also noted that the business community never opposed the government’s clampdown on the union council. Instead, ‘total strategy’ “elaborated the ideological basis for overt collaboration between senior military officers and business leaders”. This co-operation grew out of more than their converging strategic conceptions of necessary ‘reform’. It had a direct economic base.
- 105 Business representatives disagreed. Ms Ann Bernstein, who heads the Centre for Development and Enterprise, argued (in her personal capacity) that business “is not the place to protect human rights”. Rather, the Constitution, the government and ultimately elections are the mechanisms that ensure human rights. The South

African Chamber of Business (SACOB) noted, however, that such issues had been discussed by the white business sector: “there are records of meetings at which a persistent case was made against the violation of human rights and the deleterious impact of apartheid laws.”

- 106 As mentioned earlier, Old Mutual did not believe it contributed to gross violations of human rights as a result of its employment practices, “except possibly in some very indirect way by fulfilling its obligations to government by complying with the laws, paying taxes and investing in government stock.”
- 107 By contrast, the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) accepted that, in supporting apartheid through providing development loans to homelands and by advising officials on policy, “the Bank was an integral part of the system and part and parcel of the apartheid gross violation of human rights”.
- 108 The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) Archives Committee stated that, in the areas of wages, job discrimination, security and union recognition, international firms “were little different from their South African counterparts ... Investors in the system automatically develop a vested interest ... Subsidiaries were involved in disputes with non-racial unions in which they did not hesitate to invoke the law and call in the police.”
- 109 Professor Sampie Terreblanche suggested that racially-based capitalism was deliberately designed to produce white beneficiaries and black victims. He argued that:

A very high rate of economic growth was maintained in the 1950s and 1960s. During its heyday of state and racial capitalism, the racial disparity ratio between white and African incomes became much larger. While the per capita income of whites was 10,6 times higher than African per capita income in 1946/47, white income was fifteen times higher than in 1975. If ever there was a period of upward redistribution of income (mainly from Africans to Afrikaners), then it was the period of high growth in the 1950s and 1960s. Given the power structures of white supremacy and racial capitalism, it was a period of high growth with a ‘trickle-up’ effect.²⁰

- 110 Professor Francis Wilson points out that, although South Africa’s average gross national product “places it in the upper middle-income range of countries in the

20 SJ Terreblanche, Submission to the Commission, 11 November 1997, p.10.

World Bank's annual tables, the depth of inequality is so great that there is widespread and acute poverty which afflicts some 40 per cent of all South Africans".²¹

- 111 Statistics provided by Whiteford and McGrath²² illustrate the effects of apartheid on income. From 1975 to 1991, the average growth rate declined, as did the per capita income of all population groups (except Asians) in the poorer sections of the population. The income of the poorer 60 per cent of both Africans and whites dropped by more than 35 per cent.

	Year	Bottom 40%	Next 20%	Next 20%	Next 20%
African	1975	3 048	6 790	11 894	24 780
	1991	1 784	5 004	10 741	34 243
	Change	-41,5%	-26,3%	-9,7%	38,2%
White	1975	39 167	72 469	90 901	177 194
	1991	23 594	53 721	84 937	177 134
	Change	-39,8%	-25,9%	-6,6%	0,0%
Coloured	1975	5 041	11 377	21 643	49 391
	1991	4 837	14 022	25 761	59 239
	Change	-4,0%	23,2%	19,0%	19,9%
Asian	1975	9 324	19 464	29 809	68 193
	1991	9 544	26 442	40 451	89 132
	Change	2,4%	35,8%	35,7%	30,7%

- 112 These deteriorating circumstances resulted in initiatives by business and government²³ aimed at enhancing capital accumulation and improving the lot of workers. This led to raised expectations in the African community – which could not be met in the declining economic situation.

■ BUSINESS IN THE 1980s

- 113 The 1980s was a period of reform and repression. Limited liberalisation occurred on both the political and economic fronts. Such efforts were, however, far from satisfactory and failed to stem the tide of rising protest from trade unions and anti-apartheid organisations.

21 Francis Wilson, Graduation Address to the Faculty of Commerce, University of Cape Town, December 1997.

22 Whiteford, A. and M. McGrath (1994), The distribution of income in South Africa, Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, Table 6.3

23 This led, *inter alia*, to the Carlton and Good Hope Conferences in 1979 and 1981, designed to promote agreement on the role of the private sector in economic policy development.

- 114 Except for the boom years of 1980 and 1981 (primarily a response to the high dollar gold price), South Africa's growth rate was low or falling during the 1980s and early 1990s. Investments performed very badly, unemployment rose and capital flowed steadily out of the country. The mid-1980s were particularly bad years for the economy. Various factors account for this. Perhaps most influential was the impact of high world interest rates, international recession and the instability caused by the 'Third World' debt crisis. Like other developing countries, South Africa had to cope with adverse external shocks.
- 115 Domestic factors, however, also played a role in South Africa's economic woes. Monetary policy, for example, was unduly restrictive between 1982 and 1985. This was in part a consequence of the lifting of certain restrictions on capital outflow, which forced the South African Reserve Bank to raise interest rates to give some protection to the exchange rate. The rand was, nevertheless, allowed to depreciate against the dollar (in nominal and real terms) between 1982 and 1986.
- 116 This policy-induced recession of the early 1980s was exacerbated by political unrest (1984-7) which undermined investor confidence, encouraged capital flight and played a part in the refusal of major international banks (starting with Chase Manhattan) to roll over South Africa's debt. Consequently, the government declared a moratorium on imposed debt repayment and, in August 1985, re-imposed controls on the outflow of capital. Except for a brief respite in 1988, the economy limped along for the rest of the decade.
- 117 Business's changing attitude to apartheid cannot be ascribed solely to the economic crisis. Apart from the debt crisis and the decline in exports and investment, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the moderation of ANC economic policy after 1990 probably contributed to changing business attitudes.
- 118 Many business organisations were uncertain how to react to the economic crisis and political unrest. As SACOB put it:

The business community was caught between a recognition of the inevitability and desirability of significant political reform, and a range of developments which resulted in a great deal of instability and which were, quite simply, bad for business stakeholders.

[Their response] to this acute dilemma was, on the one hand, to try to speed up the reform process and facilitate contact between the different political interests - both within and outside of South Africa - and on the other, to fight a

rear guard action against the sanctions and disinvestment campaign, and the rising levels of violence, which threatened the economy and job creation.

- 119 Efforts to accelerate reform included further protests and representations to government, participation in consultative bodies (like the Economic Advisory Council) and visits by leading business representatives to the ANC in exile. The Consultative Business Movement (CBM), a body consisting of business people and representatives of community organisations, was formed in 1988 to work towards a non-racial democracy. The CBM actively sought alliances with popular leaders and attempted to guide business along the path of political transformation.
- 120 One of the rearguard actions by members of the business community was to become involved in the National Security Management System (NSMS) by participating in the network of Joint Management Committees (JMCs). A main function of the JMCs was to co-ordinate the work of all government departments in dealing with points of unrest. Mechanisms used ranged from police and army control to spending large amounts of money on upgrading townships. The goal was, however, essentially to prolong white domination. Business also participated in Defence Manpower Liaison Committees, whose function was to discuss military call-up needs and local security issues such as stay aways and unrest.
- 121 Charles Simkins, professor of economics at the University of the Witwatersrand, notes in his submission that:

These developments created new and unprecedented relationships between business and the government at a time when the capacity for public scrutiny was lowered. Of all the sub-periods between 1960 and 1994, this one needs the closest attention.

- 122 Unfortunately, the business submissions provided no specific details about this. Nevertheless, a few comments are in order. Where participation by business in the JMCs resulted in, or facilitated, subsequent human rights abuses by the security establishment, there is a clear case to answer. Where such participation resulted in the channelling of resources to townships, the moral issues are more opaque. While JMC-facilitated development in townships was certainly motivated by counter-revolutionary aims, there is an important difference between counter-revolutionary strategies based on providing infrastructure to people, and strategies based on torture and repression. Again, not all businesses played the same role in the process.

- 123 A different kind of rearguard action concerned business's opposition to sanctions. In one respect, opposition to sanctions was self-serving; to the extent that sanctions reduced growth, most businesses suffered accordingly. However, opposition to sanctions also stemmed from a belief by some businesses that economic growth rather than the intensification of poverty promotes democracy. This view is evident in Mike Rosholt's submission:

Barlow Rand was, unsurprisingly, opposed to sanctions and I state this quite openly. This was because in our view, the critical delivery of a better quality of life and jobs for the disadvantaged depended to a very large extent on economic growth, which obviously would have been detrimentally affected by sanctions, among other things.²⁴

■ COULD BUSINESS HAVE DONE MORE?

- 124 Before dealing with this question in a more general way, attention needs to be given to two specific concerns of the critics of business – the support it gave to 'total strategy' and the role specifically of multinational corporations in undermining international sanctions.

Total strategy

- 125 The ANC submission drew attention to the way in which private business was increasingly drawn into the militarisation of South African society under the tutelage of the former state. The Carlton Conference in 1979 introduced a new form of partnership between government and business and was seen as the beginning of a 'new era'. This is illustrated by the fact that business people were members of the ARMSCOR board and by widespread business participation in defence contracts.
- 126 Hundreds and probably thousands of South African private sector companies made the decision to collaborate actively with the government's war machine. This was no reluctant decision imposed on them by coercive apartheid legislation. Many businesses, including subsidiaries of leading corporations, became willing collaborators in the creation of this war machine, which was responsible for many deaths and violations of human rights, both inside and outside the borders of our country. In addition, a variety of businesses collaborated with the state in the national security management system. Business representatives, for example, joined the government's JMCs or their advisory structures, participated in defence

²⁴ A more detailed argument about the negative impact of sanctions on the economy and the motor industry in particular by the Automobile Manufacturers Employers Organisation was presented as part of the submission by the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers of South Africa.

manpower liaison committees or collaborated with the military in planning issues around conscription and military manpower.

- 127 The ANC submission also pointed to the national 'keypoints' system, whereby private industry was made responsible for protecting essential state installations in place of the state. Finally, it recalled the role of business in assisting in the development of nuclear weapons.
- 128 The AAM Archives submission reported that international firms received several of the 25 000 contracts handed out to the private sector by ARMSCOR. They were later also required to bear the cost of releasing white employees for conscription. "None refused". Although, because of international pressure, British firms withdrew as South Africa's main arms suppliers, French firms replaced them. Despite United Nations sanctions, "corporations played hide and seek in their attempts to circumvent and break the ban". Equipment was used as a major loophole, because firms could argue that it had a civilian application. South Africa depended on western governments and firms for essential nuclear expertise and technology.
- 129 South Africa also depended on five major oil companies to break the oil ban: Shell, British Petroleum (BP), Mobil, Caltex and Total. These companies also helped finance Sasol through a levy they paid to the South African government's Strategic Oil Fund.
- 130 The AAM Archives Committee noted that manufacturers argued that they were involved in constructive engagement with apartheid and raising the living standards of employees. However, "the banks had no such fig leaf. They lent directly to the apartheid government so that it could repress South African citizens, wage war against liberation movements and invade its neighbours." The inability of the government to raise much money from overseas financial markets after 1985 "was undoubtedly one of the factors behind its decision to try to reach a political settlement".

Sanctions

- 131 The failure of multinational corporations to make submissions at the hearing was greatly regretted in view of their prominent role in South Africa's economic development under apartheid. It was left to the AAM Archives Committee to explain the role of foreign firms in South Africa.

- 132 The AAM Archives Committee reported that the pattern of international investment in South Africa changed between 1960 and 1994. In the early 1960s, the involvement of the international business community was mainly through indirect investment, through trading in stocks and shares. By the late 1960s, however, direct investment by multinational corporations began to grow, bringing technological expertise into the country and giving multinational corporations a stake in maintaining the apartheid system. By 1971, over 500 British firms had South African subsidiaries. This gave international businesses a direct interest in maintaining the *status quo*.
- 133 The costs of maintaining apartheid began to mount, however, and from the late 1970s, the government and parastatal organisations began turning to the international banks for help. The AAM Archives Committee said that, after 1984, resistance grew and the costs of apartheid increased, resulting in a fall in the rand and a steep rise in inflation. It was not until then that it became less profitable for international investors to invest in South Africa: "Only then did firms begin to scale down."
- 134 Following international efforts to impose formal sanctions, overseas investors developed a new tactic of forming partnerships with South African parastatal organisations. "They reduced their profile, but relinquished any pretence of autonomy and served the economic priorities of the apartheid state." At the same time, companies were "bribed" by the government to start businesses in 'border' areas where they were offered tax breaks, Industrial Development Corporation loans and special rates for water, power and travel.
- 135 Nonetheless, in 1986/87, fifty-five of the 297 British firms in South Africa closed, and nineteen reduced their stake in the country. Over this period, 104 American firms sold their South African branches, leaving 157 United States-owned companies in South Africa. The withdrawals were, however, far from complete. Moreover, in general, they were effected in such a way as to minimise the adverse impact on the South African economy and to guarantee their parent firms a continued foothold. Their departure, said the AAM Archives Committee, was motivated by the same commercial criteria that had led them to set up in South Africa in the first place.
- 136 Foreign investment prevented governments from taking any real action against apartheid. The AAM Archives Committee concluded that:

The speed with which the apartheid edifice crumbled is the final proof of the way in which international business sustained apartheid.

In broader perspective

137 Several business submissions (most notably that of the AHI) suggested that they could have done more to fight apartheid. Mike Rosholt agreed, but pointed out in his submission that “to claim this today is to apply the perfect vision of hindsight, a privilege not available to one at the actual time”.

138 SACOB presents the argument as follows:

With the benefit of hindsight, it may be said that the enormity of the apartheid system required stronger responses from business on certain key issues ... In the ongoing debate about ‘gradualism’ versus the ‘all or nothing approach’ to get rid of apartheid, the stance of these organisations was to push the gradualism arguments to the maximum.

139 According to Professor Charles Simkins, the cautious approach to reform adopted by business leaders was in part a result of having to keep the rest of the business community on board:

As in all changing situations, one can divide the actors into three groups: those who sought to meet the challenges by innovation (the reformers), those who resisted change (the stand patters) and those who waited to see which way the wind was blowing before committing themselves (the expedient adapters) ...

The temptation facing stand patters was always to resist change by collaborating with the state in repression ... By contrast, the work of business reformers has been important in helping define the path to the present. Many attempted reforms soon fell by the wayside; others happened in a rather messy fashion; a few defined a substantially new dispensation in their field. If, from the perspective of the present, the arguments of the reformers look cautious and conservative, this is partly because they often were (though sometimes with more radical longer-term implications) not always understood. But the arguments were also often formulated cautiously in order to persuade stand patters and expedient adapters to move forward.

140 Implicit in any evaluation of the role of business under apartheid is an underlying conception of what the role of business should be in society. Two distinct points of view emerged.

141 The first was expressed in submissions from business which accepted that more could have been done by the business community to bring about change, thus implicitly accepting a moral role for business that extended beyond the conventional bounds of everyday business activity.

142 The other point of view denied that business could or should have acted from a moral standpoint. According to SANLAM:

Any notion that business could have acted as a watchdog of the government as far as human rights violations are concerned is totally unrealistic and should be dispelled. Business was unable to act in that way in the past and will not be able to do so in the future ... government is so powerful and dominant that a business organisation will seriously jeopardise its prospects of success by crossing swords with politicians.

143 While there are clear constraints imposed by political power, to say that business was incapable of crossing swords with politicians is to deny the power (and responsibility) that accompanies financial muscle and personal contacts.

144 Ann Bernstein argued that, by its very nature, business is not a moral being and hence cannot be expected to act as such.

Corporations are not institutions established for moral purposes. They are functional institutions created to perform an economic task (production of goods and services and so on). This is their primary purpose. They are not institutions designed to promote some or other form of morality in the world. Other institutions exist to fulfil these purposes. This does not of course absolve individuals within companies from moral choices, but that is a different matter.

145 She suggested that business contributed in a positive but unintended way through the impact of economic growth on social transformation:

Life is not a morality play. There are very few people who give up everything for their beliefs and ideas. Business in South Africa accommodated itself to the apartheid system. In doing so it provided jobs for millions of people, created infrastructure, unleashed democratising pressures (unintentionally) and sustained a base of economic activity that now provides a platform for economic growth in a democracy.

- 146 The former argument condemns all business people for having engaged in business under apartheid. The Bernstein argument, on the other hand, applauds them for such engagement (what others have identified as a close symbiosis between white business people and white politicians). Issues of realistic choice, differential power and responsibility (which are important when making ethical judgements) are downplayed in both arguments.
- 147 Business (not least for reasons of enlightened self-interest) is coming to recognise that morality *is* an important ingredient of viable business. Moreover, the conflict that characterised labour relations in South Africa shows that a failure by government and business to recognise the fundamental rights of workers provided the very incentive that Ms Bernstein questions, with the result that large numbers of people *did* give up “everything for their beliefs and ideas”.
- 148 The mandate of the Commission requires it to make recommendations to ensure that past violations of human rights do not recur in the future. This requires a conscious commitment to realistic moral behaviour grounded in a culture of international human rights law. It would be a sad day for the nation, faced as it is with the opportunity for renewal, if business were to dismiss social concern, business ethics and moral accountability in labour relations as being of no direct concern to itself.

■ THE WAY FORWARD

- 149 Many submissions addressed the question of what business should do to contribute to reconciliation and development in ways that are more concrete. Most business submissions pointed to the important contribution of social responsibility investment programmes, support for NGOs, improved employment equity programmes and the like. These important initiatives deserve support.
- 150 Other submissions suggested measures that are more radical. For example, the Apartheid Debt Co-ordinating Committee argued for the cancellation of all apartheid debt. In 1994, the apartheid debt stood at some R250 billion. Interest on the debt amounted to some R30 billion a year. According to a submission by the Apartheid Debt Co-ordinating Committee²⁵:

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

25 Submission of the Apartheid Debt Co-ordinating Committee, 17 October 1997.

comparison, vital social services such as health received just R20 billion, social security and welfare R18 billion, housing R4 billion and water R2 billion.

Who owns the debt? Forty per cent is owned by the Public Investment Commission – a semi-government body – that is the chief lender to the government for financing civil service pensions. Fifty per cent is owned by business, commercial banks, insurers and other wealthy entities and individuals. The remaining amount is owed to the Reserve Bank and about 5 per cent is foreign debt.

- 151 In its argument for the cancellation of the debt, the Apartheid Debt Co-ordinating Committee continues:

There exists the doctrine of "odious debt" in international law. The doctrine concerns the responsibilities of successor governments in relation to the debts incurred by the former regime. As an exception, the doctrine allows successor governments to disown the debt incurred by fallen dictatorships ...

For apartheid's creditors, agreeing to the cancellation of their part of the apartheid debt would give them the opportunity to enter the process of truth and reconciliation. The cancellation of their loans would represent a recognition of their complicity with apartheid and a willingness to contribute to the reparations needed to rebuild this country.

- 152 Leaving aside the debate as to the morality of payment or non-payment, it has been suggested that cancellation of the debt could have certain adverse consequences for economic growth. Advocates for continued payment confirm the point made by the Apartheid Debt Co-ordinating Committee that a significant part of government debt is owned by domestic financial and commercial institutions. Cancelling it, they say, would erode their asset base, harm shareholders, pensioners (in cases where debt is owned by pension funds) and possibly employees. To the extent that such debt cancellation would undermine the level of confidence in government stock, it would also result in higher borrowing costs on new debt issues – or even an inability to market any debt domestically or abroad. This would severely constrain any subsequent attempts at redistribution on the part of the state. A very careful analysis of the costs and benefits of this proposal is, therefore, required.

- 153 However, given the crippling effects of the South African debt, as well as the general indebtedness of the 'third' to the 'first world', there is a strong argument

for discussion, consultation and co-operation with other countries facing similar debts that impact on their ability to deliver services to their citizens.

154 Professor Sampie Terreblanche has proposed a wealth tax as a means of redressing an important legacy of apartheid - South Africa's highly unequal distribution of wealth. He gives seven reasons which, to his mind, support this proposal:

- a Africans were deprived of large parts of land on which they had conducted successful traditional farming for centuries.
- b For decades, millions of African people were paid exploitative wages in all sectors of the economy.
- c A great variety of discriminatory legislation not only deprived Africans of the opportunity to acquire skills, but also compelled them to do dreary, unskilled and humiliating work at very low wages.
- d The prevailing power structures deprived Africans of opportunities to 'accumulate' human capital.
- e Heavy restrictions on the legal right of Africans to own property and conduct business deprived them of the opportunity to accumulate property and develop entrepreneurial and professional capabilities.
- f While the prevailing power structures impoverished the greater majority of Africans during the first three-quarters of the century, the liberation struggle and the state response to it had a devastating effect on the poorer 60 per cent of the African population.
- g African societies were impoverished and "destroyed", while the system also prevented South Africans from building a united society.

155 Professor Terreblanche argues that a wealth tax would contribute to reconciliation, social stability and economic growth, while providing a basis for restitution for those who have been impoverished through apartheid.

156 Mr Bob Tucker, executive director of the Banking Council, argued (without being mandated to do so by members of the Banking Council) that business should contribute to "reconstruction and development" rather than a reparations fund. This,

he said, should be motivated not by a “sense of guilt” but out of “enlightened self-interest”. He further appealed to individuals “on the basis of their humanity and sense of compassion (not guilt), to contribute as individuals to a reparation fund to benefit those who were direct and evident victims of the atrocities that were committed at the time.”²⁶

- 157 More recently, Mr Stephen Mulholland, a former editor of the *Financial Mail* and currently a *Business Times* columnist, has argued that each company listed on the Johannesburg stock exchange should give up 1 per cent of its market capitalisation and contribute it to a huge new fund. He suggests that the fund should be run by business and would represent a dramatic and once only contribution by corporate South Africa to redressing the past and the development of a new country. Mr Mulholland commented: “Portfolios routinely move up and down with the market by a great deal more than 1 per cent. The market would hardly notice it.” His proposal would raise R14 billion.
- 158 The virtue or otherwise of the above proposals must be left to experts in the field to assess. The extent to which voluntary responses of the kind suggested by Mr Tucker are likely to prove sufficient to address the problem facing the nation needs at least to be questioned. It may be that the Terreblanche and Tucker options are not mutually exclusive. The Mulholland proposal suggests a bold initiative by corporate South Africa. The virtue of the proposal is that it would remove some of the pressure on the state to introduce legislation or further taxation. It would also be a welcome signal from corporate South Africa that it understands and accepts its own responsibility for the past and its commitment to stability and justice in the future.
- 159 There is no doubt that business could and should play an enormously creative role in the development of new reconstruction and development programmes. Funding for this could come from business itself (as in the Mulholland proposal), from the state (as in the Terreblanche proposal), from loans or from a combination of these.
- 160 An alarming gap exists between rich and poor in South Africa. This is aggravated by the fact that wealth and poverty are very largely defined in racial terms. The perpetuation of the gap – indeed its possible widening in a pressured economic environment – is a very real threat to peace and stability. It is in the interest of the private and the public sector alike to ensure that this situation is redressed. Economic logic suggests that, while more than 60 per cent of the population remains

26 Correspondence with Dr Fazel Randera, regarding the Commission's request for suggestions concerning recommendations for the future role of business. 12 May 1998.

impoverished, there is no possibility of meaningful economic growth or national stability. If a wealth tax is not the way forward, then some other measures should be sought and implemented as a matter of urgency.

■ FINDINGS ARISING OUT OF BUSINESS SECTOR HEARINGS

The Commission finds that:

- 161 Business was central to the economy that sustained the South African state during the apartheid years. Certain businesses, especially the mining industry, were involved in helping to design and implement apartheid policies. Other businesses benefited from co-operating with the security structures of the former state. Most businesses benefited from operating in a racially structured context.
- 162 Businesses were reluctant to speak about their involvement in the former homelands. A submission by Mr Sol Kerzner and Sun International would have facilitated the work of the Commission.
- 163 The Land Bank and the Development Bank of South Africa, in particular, were directly involved in sustaining the existence of former homelands.
- 164 The denial of trade union rights to black workers constituted a violation of human rights. Actions taken against trade unions by the state, at times with the co-operation of certain businesses, frequently led to gross human rights violations.
- 165 The mining industry not only benefited from migratory labour and the payment of low wages to black employees; it also failed to give sufficient attention to the health and safety concerns of its employees.
- 166 Business failed in the hearings to take responsibility for its involvement in state security initiatives specifically designed to sustain apartheid rule. This included involvement in the National Security Management System. Several businesses, in turn, benefited directly from their involvement in the complex web that constituted the military industry.
- 167 The white agricultural industry benefited from its privileged access to land. In most instances, it failed to provide adequate facilities and services for employees and their dependants.

Institutional Hearing: The Faith Community

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 Some of the major Christian churches gave their blessing to the system of apartheid, and many of its early proponents prided themselves in being Christians. Indeed, the system of apartheid was regarded as stemming from the mission of the church. Other churches gave the apartheid state tacit support, regarding it as a guarantor of Christian civilisation. They were the beneficiaries of apartheid, enjoying special privileges denied to other faith communities.
- 2 Religious communities also suffered under apartheid, their activities were disrupted, their leaders persecuted, their land taken away. Churches, mosques, synagogues and temples – often divided amongst themselves – spawned many of apartheid's strongest foes, motivated by values and norms coming from their particular faith traditions. They were driven by what has been called the 'dangerous memory' of resistance and the quest for freedom, often suppressed but never obliterated from their respective faiths.
- 3 As involved and implicated as they were in the past, South Africa's religious communities also represented important sites of transformation. Different interests, perspectives and world views are represented - often within the same faith tradition. Likewise local churches and similar communities contained victims, beneficiaries and perpetrators of apartheid. Reconciliation within such communities could have a leavening effect for the whole society. From them should flow a source of renewal extending to the entire South African society.
- 4 These factors served to indicate the importance of bringing faith communities into the Commission process. A further reason – grounded in the desire of many within the religious communities themselves – was to remind themselves of their obligation, testified to within their own traditions, to participate in social transformation and the national process of reconciliation.

- 5 In total, forty-one faith communities made written submissions or gave representations at the hearings. While a fairly wide spectrum of churches was represented, some important churches were missing. The Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk did not respond to the invitation sent by the Commission. The Gereformeerde Kerk considered the invitation but decided not to participate – although four theologians from this church (dss Alwyn du Plessis, Bennie van der Walt, Amie van Wyk and Ponti Venter) made a submission in their personal capacities.
- 6 The Chief Rabbi and the Hindu Maha Sabha sent submissions and testified at the hearings, as did the Baha’i Faith. A submission was received from the Buddhist Dharma Centre. The Moulana Ibrahim Bham of the Jamiatul Ulama Transvaal testified, as did Moulana Farid Esack, formerly of the Call of Islam. The Muslim Judicial Council of Cape Town (MJC) attended. Subsequently, the Muslim Youth Movement (MYM) made a submission.

■ FAITH COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

- 7 The term ‘faith communities’ encompasses groups as diverse as the Baptist Union and the Jamiatul Ulama Transvaal (Ulama), the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the African religious community, the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (Church of the Province) and the Hindu community.
- 8 Placing such a diverse assemblage together, and asking each to answer the same questions, risked overlooking differences in organisation and accountability structures. Some, such as the Baptist Union, have a strong voluntarist tradition and emphasise the local congregation and its autonomy. Others, such as the Roman Catholic Church, are much more hierarchical in character. Still others, such as the Afrikaans Reformed Churches and the African religious community, are largely associated with a cultural or ethnic group and identify organically with its activities. There are also different groups *within* each of the religious traditions. Precisely *who* was being represented was a problem that surfaced at the hearings.
- 9 While not comprehensive, the representation of religious groups and movements in submissions and at the hearings reflected a broad spectrum of religion in South Africa. They included:

African Traditional Religion

- 10 African Traditional Religion in South Africa is at a significant disadvantage when placed alongside more highly organised institutions. Often dismissed as ‘culture’

rather than religion (based on the early settler view of Africans as religious 'blank slates'), African Traditional Religion often lacks centralised and acknowledged leadership and regulatory bodies to give it identity. It is, indeed, often represented by black Christian theologians rather than traditional religions themselves. It nevertheless represents a vibrant cluster of practices that are part of the lives of many Africans, including those who attend Christian churches.

Christian churches

- 11 Although Roman Catholicism arrived in South Africa with the Portuguese explorers, Christianity in South Africa was established predominantly in Protestant churches (or denominations). The Dutch Reformed Church and the Moravians represented early settler and missionary Christianity respectively. The white Lutheran churches were established with the arrival of German and Scandinavian settlers. Groups that would coalesce into the so-called English-speaking churches date from the nineteenth century onwards. Ironically, the majority membership of these churches is black and does not use English as its first language. These include the Church of the Province (Anglicans), the Methodist Church of Southern Africa (Methodists), the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa (Presbyterians) and the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (United Congregationals). The Roman Catholic Church (Catholics) is usually grouped with these.
- 12 Black churches (not included in the English-speaking churches) comprise the black mission churches, historic black churches and African-initiated (or indigenous) churches. Unlike the converts of the English-speaking churches, the converts of the Afrikaans Reformed Churches, some other mission churches and certain missionary societies were formed into separate churches – always under the watchful eye of the white missionaries. The black churches within the Afrikaans Reformed church traditions are discussed below. The Scottish missionaries established the Bantu Presbyterian Church (today Reformed Presbyterian Church). The Swiss established the Tsonga Presbyterian Church (now the Evangelical Presbyterian Church) and the American Board of Missions was responsible for the emergence of the Bantu Congregational Church. The latter church went into union with the Congregational Church to form the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa in 1967 and the Reformed Presbyterian Church is planning to unite with the Presbyterian Church of South Africa, although the Evangelical Presbyterian Church is not part of that union. The origin of the American Methodist Episcopal Church is to be found in the rejection of racism in the post-Civil War period in the United States of America and was first established in South Africa in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

- 13 Perhaps the most significant emergence of black churches came with the advent of the African Initiated Churches. The causes were the lack of black representation in the leadership of the established churches, coupled with white paternalism, class assertion and cultural hegemony. The largest of these is the Zion Christian Church, best known for its annual gathering at Morija. Also prominent (and especially strong in KwaZulu-Natal) is the Ibandla lama Nazaretha or Shembe church, which strongly reflects Zulu culture.
- 14 African Initiated Churches have, at times, been regarded as inward looking and disinterested in political participation. This is not, however, always the case. The Council of African Initiated Churches unites across a number of bodies and has been politically engaged. It is also connected to other churches through its membership of the SACC.
- 15 The Afrikaans Reformed Churches were widely identified with Afrikaner nationalism and held to be complicit in apartheid. The largest of the group is the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church). The others include the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk, the Gereformeerde Kerke and the Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk. Of these, only the Dutch Reformed Church made representations to the Commission. Located within the Dutch Reformed Church's 'family' are three mission churches: the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk (Coloured), the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika (black) and the Indian Reformed Church. In 1994, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk and Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika amalgamated as the Uniting Reformed Church of Southern Africa (Uniting Reformed Church). Negotiations for inclusion of the white Dutch Reformed Church and the Indian Reformed Church were ongoing at the time of the hearings.
- 16 Like the Afrikaans Reformed Churches, the Apostolic Faith Mission was segregated along racial lines. A Pentecostal church, the Apostolic Faith Mission drew many of its members from the Afrikaans Reformed Churches. Pentecostal and charismatic religion in South Africa is also represented by a number of other groups, organisations and movements, including the International Fellowship of Christian Churches. Membership of these groups is growing fast, particularly (though not exclusively) in white suburbs.
- 17 Other churches with strong constituencies were also established, including Lutheran churches. Some evangelicals have remained in these churches, although there are also denominations that are explicitly conservative in doctrine and ethos. Many of these churches were represented at the hearings and in submissions - either directly or through the Evangelical Alliance of South Africa (Evangelical Alliance).

- 18 The Baptist Church has been in South Africa since the mid-nineteenth century. The two largest denominations are the Baptist Union and the Baptist Convention, which split from the Union in 1987.
- 19 The other main evangelical denomination at the hearings was the Church of England in South Africa (Church of England) which claims to be the original representative of Anglicanism in South Africa. Also notable in this camp are the Salvation Army and the Seventh Day Adventist church.
- 20 Many of the communities mentioned above are members of the SACC, including more conservative evangelical and charismatic churches, such as the Salvation Army and the International Federation of Christian Churches (which joined some five years before the Commission hearings). The Catholics joined in 1994, on the same day the Dutch Reformed Church became an observer member. Before the fall of apartheid, the SACC drew its members mainly from the English-speaking churches. Increasingly, as it was marginalised by the state and seen to identify with resistance movements (causing considerable tension with its older constituents), its membership became increasingly black.

Islam

- 21 Islam traces its origins in South Africa to the arrival of political prisoners and slaves at the Cape from the late seventeenth century. Conversion to Islam was widespread in the Cape, due to the exclusion of slaves from the Dutch church (the chief reason for which was insistence by the Dutch East India Company that Christianised slaves be manumitted). In this environment, Islam provided a political haven for slaves and 'free blacks' and provided them with basic religious rites they were denied by the church. In the early twentieth century, Indian traders who settled in the Transvaal and Natal also introduced Islam. Important class differences, expressed in theological distinctions, are rooted in these communities.
- 22 Formed in the Cape in 1945, the MJC was set up to promote unity amongst Muslims. Despite the leadership of Imam Abdullah Haron, who was killed in 1969, the MJC took an apolitical stance for many years. The emergence of the Muslim Youth Movement (MYM) of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)-aligned Qibla and the United Democratic Front (UDF)-aligned Call of Islam created a stronger social and political consciousness amongst Muslims (and within the MJC). This often pitted them against the conservative Ulamas.

Judaism

- 23 The Jewish community in South Africa descends from immigrants of Anglo-German and Lithuanian origins who arrived at various stages during the nineteenth century. The SA Jewish Board of Deputies (formed in 1912) and the SA Zionist Federation (1898) are its two main representative bodies. Originally, members of the Jewish faith in South Africa looked to the Chief Rabbi of Britain for spiritual leadership. Eventually, in 1933, synagogues in the Transvaal federated under a chief rabbi. In 1986, Cape and Transvaal groupings that had remained fairly independent up until then amalgamated. While members of the Jewish community made their greatest contributions to South African human rights as individuals, some organisations also played a role. During the last years of apartheid, Jews for Justice and Jews for Social Justice were important voices of protest. The Gesher Movement, formed in Johannesburg in 1996, aims “to serve as a Jewish lobby speaking with one independent voice, ‘to enlighten’ the Jewish community in the new South Africa, and to combat Jewish racism.”¹

Hinduism

- 24 Seventy percent of the one million South African Indians are Hindu. The first Indians came to South Africa in 1860 to work as indentured labour, mainly on sugar plantations in Natal. After the term of their indenture ended, many stayed on as farmers - despite government attempts to repatriate them in the 1920s. The so-called ‘free’ or ‘passenger Indians’ arrived towards the end of the nineteenth century and set up trade and merchant businesses. Indians in South Africa are a very diverse group. They include four major language groups with distinctive (though sometimes overlapping) worship practices, religious rites, customs and dress.
- 25 From the turn of the century, various Hindu communities and religious institutions came together under the banner of a national body. The Hindu Maha Sabha was formed in 1912 as a forum for discussion of the religious, cultural, educational, social and economic welfare of the Hindu community. It embraces the four main language groups, temple societies and neo-religious organisations that subscribe to the views of Hinduism.

Buddhism

- 26 While some Buddhists came to South Africa from India and other Indians have embraced the religion since its arrival late in the nineteenth century, most South

1 Milton Shain, ‘South Africa’, American Jewish Year Book, 1997 Eds. David Singer and Ruth R. Seldin (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1997), 422

African Buddhists are white converts. Buddhism in South Africa does not have centralised structures, but is present in small organisations and centres. The first Buddhist society was formed in 1917 in Natal. Buddhism grew amongst whites through the work of Molly and Louis van Loon and others who travelled and learned its practices abroad. The Dharma Centre, representing the Zen tradition, was set up at Somerset West in 1984.

The Baha'i Faith

- 27 Although present in South Africa since 1911, the Baha'i Faith only began to grow in the 1950s. While committed to inclusivity, the South African Baha'i community worked to promote its black leadership. This was, as it said in its statement to the Commission, "a result of [its] great emphasis on spiritual, moral, and ethical aspects of community life". The Baha'i faith places great emphasis on offering itself as a model for reconciliation, both racial and religious.
- 28 Throughout the hearings and in submissions, faith communities identified their role in South Africa's past as 'agents' of oppression, as 'victims' of oppression, and/or as 'opponents' of oppression.

■ FAITH COMMUNITIES AS AGENTS OF OPPRESSION

- 29 In most cases, faith communities claimed to cut across divisions of race, gender, class and ethnicity. As such, they would seem *by their very existence* to have been in opposition to the policies of the apartheid state and, in pursuing their own norms and values, to have constituted a direct challenge to apartheid policies. However, contrary to their own deepest principles, many faith communities mirrored apartheid society, giving the lie to their profession of a loyalty that transcended social divisions.
- 30 While the submissions of many faith communities focused on their acts of commission and omission, some reflected an ethos where racism was tolerated. Faith communities often helped reinforce the idea that South Africa was a relatively normal society suffering from a few racial problems. Challenges to the consciences of whites were rare. Against this background, the faith communities acknowledged that, either through acts of commission, of legitimisation or of omission, they often, in addition to all else they did, also provided *de facto* support for apartheid. They either deliberately supported apartheid policies, participated (or advocated

participation by their members) in the machinery of the state, refused to oppose a state professing to be 'Christian', or simply promoted a consciousness that insulated their members against opposition.

Acts of commission and legitimisation

Active support of state policies and agents

- 31 The submissions revealed ways in which individual members of churches - even members of those churches that were outspoken against government policies - co-operated with the regime or the Security Branch. Nico Smith, a former *dominee* who was himself outspoken against apartheid, quoted from Goldhagen²: "many of these willing executioners ... were members of our congregations." Many state operatives claimed to have found positive support in Dutch Reformed Church teaching and received the church's "blessing [for] their weapons of terror".³ Responding to this, the Dutch Reformed Church confessed to having "misled" its members by presenting "apartheid as a biblical instruction". From the outset, the Dutch Reformed Church provided theological and biblical sanction for apartheid, even though some of its theologians questioned this justification. It was only in 1986 that the Dutch Reformed Church's sanction of apartheid began to be officially questioned.
- 32 The complicity of the Dutch Reformed Church in the policy of apartheid went beyond simple approval and legitimisation. The church actively promoted apartheid, not least because it served the Afrikaner interests with which it identified. The Dutch Reformed Church admitted that it "often tended to put the interests of its people above the interests of other people." It gave no examples of times or events when it did *not* put the interests of the Afrikaner community above those of others.
- 33 While only the Dutch Reformed Church spoke of giving official sanction to apartheid laws, other faith communities admitted to actions and practices that amounted to acquiescence to them. The Presbyterian Church confessed to giving "qualified support" to government in the 1960s. For example, it defended Bantustan policies in 1965 and the right of the state to suppress "unlawful subversion".

2 Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah, Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust, Abacus: London, 1997.

3 Commissioner Bongani Finca at the hearing.

Involvement in state structures

The Afrikaner churches, universities and other institutions acted as no more than the limbs, hands, feet, and brain of the volk and the State.⁴

- 34 Churches participated in state structures, most notably in the military chaplaincy. Chaplains were appointed from the ranks of the Afrikaans churches and the (black) Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika, as well as from the ranks of the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Apostolic Faith Mission and the Roman Catholic churches. The appointment of these chaplains was regulated by formal agreement between the state and the churches. According to a submission to the Commission by Chaplain General Johan de Witt, the Chaplains' Service, as the official channel through which the churches were able to minister to their members in the South African Defence Force (SADF), provided services in the fields of pastoral care, crisis intervention, welfare problems, operational trauma and the handling of war related stress and anxiety.
- 35 Whatever the motivation of the individual chaplains, their participation served to reinforce the acceptance of the apartheid cause in the minds of church members, and often 'justified' the demonisation of their opponents. Here again, leadership came from the Dutch Reformed Church. Dominee Neels du Plooy, a former SADF chaplain, testified at an earlier hearing⁵ that those who objected to service in the Defence Forces were described as "unbelievers". Those who served, on the other hand, were given a New Testament with a special message from South Africa's then President, PW Botha, telling them that the Bible was their "most important weapon". This message was later removed, at the request of chaplains from the English-speaking churches.
- 36 Du Plooy said that the appointment of chaplains and the involvement of the church in the military were governed by an official agreement between the state and the Dutch Reformed Church - approved by both the national synod and Parliament.⁶ Nico Smith said that many perpetrators of human rights abuses were never challenged by the Dutch Reformed Church but were tacitly or otherwise encouraged in their activities.
- 37 In its submission, the Apostolic Faith Mission church, dominated by white Afrikaners, also admitted that numerous of its members were "employed in the structures of the former government" and that many had held "top positions in the former government organisations".

4 Ponti Venter at the hearing.

5 23 July 1997

6 South African Press Association (SAPA) report 23 July 1997. (<http://www.truth.org.za/sapa9707/s970723a.htm>).

- 38 Other churches also confessed that their members participated in the state machinery. The Reformed Presbyterian Church, for example, admitted that some of its members took part in homeland structures. Indeed, members of most faith communities did so. The difference lay in whether or not the faith communities *themselves* gave their support for such activity. Furthermore, while it is true that non-Christians were discriminated against by the state, this changed to some degree after 1984 when Coloured and Indian people were co-opted by the Tricameral Parliament. At this stage, a number of Hindus and Muslims became complicit.

Suppression of dissidents

- 39 Some faith communities confessed that they did not give sufficient support to activists in their communities (see below). Others admitted to suppressing, censoring and condemning dissidents, and even to branding them as 'heretics'. The torture of Frank Chikane (then General Secretary of the SACC and a leader in the black section of the Apostolic Faith Mission) took place under the supervision of an elder in the white section (who afterwards went off to worship).
- 40 In addition to such acts of outright repression, there was a failure to support dissidents and activists within community ranks.
- 41 Even the most apparently benign activity was construed as subversive. Ponti Venter spoke at the hearing of the efforts of the Potchefstroom supporters of the National Initiative of Reconciliation to supply study space for black matriculants during the 1980s. Local churches, under the watchful eye of the Security Forces, labelled the initiative "communist-inspired," and no church in town would grant it support. The communications of members of Potchefstroom University (a prominent 'Christian National' institution) who raised their voices to question apartheid were monitored. Farid Esack spoke of the way Muslim leadership marginalised dissident voices during the struggle years. This was also the case in the Hindu community.

Internalising racism

- 42 Despite their claim to loyalties that transcended the state, South African churches, whether implicitly or as a matter of policy, allowed themselves to be structured along racial lines - reinforcing the separate symbolic universes in which South Africans lived. Besides the Afrikaans churches and the Apostolic Faith Mission, the Lutheran Church, too, was racially divided; its white members consistently refused to join the unity movement that was to become the Evangelical Lutheran

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

- 43 Yet even churches which retained the principle of non-racialism in their structures were not guiltless in practice. Some, such as the Salvation Army, confessed to tacit support of racism. And while the Catholics officially disavowed racial divisions, “effectively there was a black church and a white church.” This was equally true of each of the English-speaking churches – it has been suggested that Sunday morning and evening constituted the most segregated hours of the week. In those communities where black clergy were in the majority, they were insufficiently empowered as leaders within church structures. Stipends were drastically different for black and white clergy, reinforcing racial stereotypes of lifestyle differences. According to the Baptist Convention, some black Baptist ministers earned as little as R50 per month after thirty years of service to the Union.⁷

*The same contradictions that are prevalent in society are present and often reflected in the teaching and life of the church.*⁸

- 44 Discrimination was not unknown in faith communities outside of Christianity. According to Imam Rashid Omar of the Claremont Mosque, Cape Town, theological distinctions between Indian and Malay Muslims reflected ethno-class distinctions, as exemplified in the Ulamas and the Cape organisations respectively. Hence, whether legislated or not, and even in the face of their own resolutions to condemn racist government policies, many South African faith communities admitted to having mirrored the racial divisions of society.

Propagating ‘state theology’

- 45 The term ‘state theology’ is derived from *The Kairos Document* and refers to the theology that gave legitimacy to the apartheid state. The effects of state theology were to “bless injustice, canonise the will of the powerful and reduce the poor to passivity, obedience and apathy.”⁹ Few churches did not allow a distinction between black and white members at Sunday worship.

⁷ The Methodist Church and the Church of the Province also noted inequalities in stipends.

⁸ James Buys from the Uniting Reformed Church.

⁹ The Kairos Theologians, *Challenge to the Church: The Kairos Document* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), page 17.

- 46 The most obvious example of a faith community propagating state theology was the Dutch Reformed Church, although it never (even in its submission to the Commission) confessed to actually ‘bowing down’ to the monster that apartheid disclosed itself to be. Right wing Christian groups¹⁰ also promulgated state theology and acted as arms of the state, infiltrating especially evangelical and Pentecostal denominations. This became particularly evident in investigations into the information scandal of the late 1970s, when it was disclosed that government was funding groups such as the Christian League – the forerunner of the Gospel Defence League.
- 47 Evangelical churches were often used by government agencies to ‘neutralise dissent’. Moss Nthla referred to government-sponsored youth camps which targeted township children for evangelism. “I used to be involved in the struggle,” he recalled one young man saying, “and now I’ve received Jesus Christ as my Lord and Saviour, and I’m no longer involved”. The Apostolic Faith Mission confessed to preaching that opposition to apartheid was “communist-inspired and aimed at the downfall of Christianity.” Other churches admitted to propagating state theology indirectly by promoting the idea that it was in the interest of ‘Christian civilisation’ to support the state’s ‘total onslaught’ strategy. Claiming to speak for “eleven million evangelical Pentecostals”, Assemblies of God leaders often travelled around the world denouncing the activities of anti-apartheid Christians.¹¹

The military chaplaincy: a window into church-state relations

- 48 General Magnus Malan, former Minister of Defence and, before that, head of the SADF, was interviewed in the *Kerkbode* in early 1995. He was asked about the extent to which the church assisted him and his colleagues in times of difficult decision making in a war situation. He responded as follows:

The Christian Protestant faith is by far the strongest [of religious traditions] in the military and we received from the chaplains the correct guidance. We are all familiar with the church and the Christian-ethical principles and we would like to say thank you for preceding us in prayer through the difficult decisions that had to be taken.

Prayer always causes one to search one’s conscience ... The church has played a great role in the war situation and also in the post war situation. My family and I pray for the church.

10 This term refers to a number of groups that espoused extreme conservative politics and justified them with Christian symbols. They were strongly anti-Communist.

11 The Evangelical Alliance of Southern Africa presentation at the hearing by Colin LaVoy.

- 49 His words capture the perception of the chaplaincy shared by many soldiers as well as the families and friends of those who served in the military.
- 50 This institution also helps bring into focus several of the issues already discussed which aim to identify the role of Christian churches in the abuses of the past. Many local congregation members either themselves served in the defence forces or had family members or friends who did. As such, they felt that their churches owed them pastoral care, regardless of the church's position on the war or attitude towards apartheid.
- 51 At the same time, at official, denominational levels, the chaplaincy was often an embarrassment - especially to those who claimed to be against apartheid oppression.¹² The SACC proposed an 'independent' chaplaincy service, with chaplains wearing distinctive uniforms and not receiving a salary from the state. Some churches threatened to instruct their ministers not to wear military uniforms. Some responded by supplying chaplains to the liberation movements as well. Others incurred the wrath of their members by withdrawing their chaplains altogether. Many churches, however, saw the defence forces as servants of God and the chaplaincy as an important and legitimate support. Without doubt, the Dutch Reformed Church supplied the largest number of chaplains (some 74 per cent) to the SADF. The English speaking churches provided a further 16 per cent.¹³
- 52 The military chaplaincy gave moral legitimacy to a culture characterised by the perpetration of gross human rights abuses. It served to filter out dissenting voices, to strengthen the resolve to kill and to reassure the doubting soldier that he or she was serving the purposes of God. In spite of professions of a loyalty higher than that of the state, chaplains found themselves lending succour to persons trying to kill 'enemy' soldiers who were sometimes members of their own denomination.
- 53 Chaplains ostensibly attending to the pastoral care needs of church members were under the strict control, not of the church, but of the SADF command. They were given uniforms and rank, lending further sacrality to military culture. They were expected to report to the officer commanding and to report on the conduct of those under their charge. Thus, the chaplain was an instrument of the will of the commanding officer on a wide variety of issues. The submission by the Chaplain General, Johan de Witt, stresses that officers were not, however, permitted to determine the contents of sermons and were obliged to respect the confidentiality

12 In a submission to the Commission, Revd Leigh Sundberg, a former Methodist chaplain to the military, discusses the attitudes of the various churches to the chaplaincy. See [A Critical View of the Role of the Military Chaplaincy between 1960 and 1993](#).

13 Submission on the military chaplaincy by the Reverend Leigh Sundberg.

between chaplains and those members of the military who chose to meet with them. The relationship between state and church was nevertheless frequently a compromised one as a result of the chaplaincy. The principle of non-interference by the military was often violated by individuals. Chaplains, in turn, often became part of the military milieu in which they served. By default if not design, they were part of an institution that proclaimed obedience to the state as having been instituted by God.¹⁴

*Our silence was in fact sin and our failure to act decisively against all forms of apartheid made us party to an inhuman political ideology.*¹⁵

- 54 This is not to say that all chaplains *intended* to give legitimacy to the policies of the state. There were different understandings of the social and political situation within which the SADF existed. Chaplain General de Witt conceded that some chaplains *were* protagonists of state theology. At the same time, he insisted that the majority of chaplains, each in their own way, regarded themselves primarily as ministers of the Gospel, responsible for the pastoral care of their flock.
- 55 After completing his theological training, Professor Dirk Human served for some time as national service chaplain (*dienspligkapelaan*) in the SADF. In a separate submission, he contended that a number of national service chaplains became very critical of some aspects of the chaplaincy. From time to time, they came into conflict with the higher echelons in the Chaplain General's office, especially on issues of the church's ideological support towards the struggle (*die bosoerlog*), the close co-operation between church and state, the obligatory wearing of military uniforms, as well as the way in which pastors or priests were appointed to the chaplaincy.
- 56 The Revd Leigh Sundberg, a former Methodist chaplain, argued in his submission that: "the chaplaincy was by no means a convergent whole". Individual chaplains carried with them "different views and degrees of conviction about the social and political context". He stressed that, as an institution, the chaplaincy was an arm, an organ of the SADF which was seen to be defending white privilege.
- 57 In general, however, apart from the intentions of individuals within it, the chaplaincy was a tool in the hands of the military, and thus an important cog in the apartheid machine. The degree of involvement of the chaplaincy in the defence forces is a good illustration of the importance that the apartheid state attached to religion and its power to command allegiance. It illustrates, too, the complexity and interconnectedness of the social, political and cultural web in South Africa.

¹⁴ Sundberg submission.

¹⁵ Rustenburg Confession.

Acts of omission

Avoiding responsibility

- 58 The idea of 'responsibility' differs amongst groups. While some communities (especially, though not only, English-speaking churches) saw themselves as consciences of the nation¹⁶, others defined their responsibilities primarily to their own members. Communities generally expressed the view that it had been their moral responsibility to speak out against injustice, making their silence under apartheid especially regrettable. Offering a variety of reasons, including complicity with white business interests, poor or inadequate theology or some other reason, faith communities and their leadership confessed to silence in the face of apartheid wrongs. In its submission, the Roman Catholic Church said that this was perhaps its greatest sin. The Salvation Army too, despite its heritage of "standing up and being counted", noted its lack of courage. Even the Uniting Reformed Church, which in the 1980s was an important player in opposing the theological justification of apartheid, confessed to taking too long to make a stand, particularly against the migrant labour system. Such a failure indicated "silent approval" of state actions.
- 59 Farid Esack accused the Muslim leadership of failing to speak out strongly against apartheid and especially of remaining silent after the death in detention of Imam Abdullah Haron in 1969, despite the injuries found on his body.
- 60 The Hindu Maha Sabha said that Hindu religious leaders failed their communities by failing to protest against apartheid. This created the impression that Hindus were part of the system. The community also failed in that it did not remove those "irresponsible" leaders, as it should have done.

Lacking courage

- 61 Communities as diverse as the Church of England, the Catholics, the Council of African Initiated Churches and the Presbyterians admitted that they could have been more aggressive in campaigning for reform. They gave various reasons for this. Sometimes they were protecting the interests of their wealthy constituents. Sometimes it was a simple failure of nerve or a refusal to place privilege - whether of individuals or of the community - at risk.¹⁷ The Jewish community, with fresh memories of Nazi atrocities, said that it feared to give the impression that it was against the state. The Catholics made a similar observation, citing its tenuous

¹⁶ Nico Smith's Open Letter alluded thus to the calling of Christian ministers.

¹⁷ It was not only specific members that were privileged - faith communities themselves (for instance the English-speaking churches) had a prominent, secure place within society and can also be described as 'privileged'.

position as *'die Roomse kerk'*. The mostly German Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa (ELCSA) spoke of its minority cultural status.

Failure to translate resolutions into action

- 62 In their submissions, faith communities commonly confessed not only to a failure to speak, but also to a failure to act. Many communities that were opposed to apartheid in principle found it difficult to translate strong resolutions into practical action. In the nature of institutional politics, resolutions were watered down by the time they were actually passed.¹⁸ More than logistic problems, such failures represented “a blatant omission and silent approval of the conditions and main cause of human rights violations.”¹⁹

Failure to support members who were involved in anti-apartheid activities

- 63 Faith communities did not necessarily support the activities of their activist members or even leaders. ELCSA confessed to not encouraging its clergy to speak out against atrocities and failing to support those who did. The Church of the Province apologised to Archbishop Tutu for its failure to support his call for economic sanctions against the former regime. The Baptist Convention accused the Baptist Union of having a number of activist members, including some detained on Robben Island, but refusing to acknowledge them. Farid Esack accused Muslim leaders of denying space and legitimacy to Muslims engaged in anti-apartheid activities.
- 64 Opposition to apartheid by members of faith communities tended to take the form of individual opposition by people who, often despite the institutions to which they belonged, remained faithful to what they saw as the true spirit of their religion. These included, during the period under review, people such as Trevor Huddleston, Beyers Naudé, Ben Marais, Cosmos Desmond, David Russell, Sheena Duncan, Frank Chikane, Sister Benedicta Ncube, Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, Molvi Cachalia, Abdullah Haron, Hassan Solomon, Farid Esack, Ebrahim Rasool, Ela Gandhi, Franz Auerbach and others. Some rose to leadership positions in their respective churches, notably the Reverend Seth Mokotimi, Archbishop Dennis Hurley, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak.
- 65 Similarly, institutions that were engaged in anti-apartheid activities and had the apparent verbal support of faith communities were effectively unsupported. In 1975,

¹⁸ See for instance the Uniting Reformed Church of South Africa submission.

¹⁹ Uniting Reformed Church of South Africa submission, page 6.

the Christian Institute was declared an 'affected' organisation by the Schlebusch Commission and thus prevented from receiving external funds. Little or no material support came from those churches that had verbally supported it in synods and assemblies. When it was banned two years later, along with its executive leadership, little action was taken and little support given to many of those who were affected.

■ FAITH COMMUNITIES AS VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION

- 66 Black, coloured and Indian members of faith communities suffered under apartheid legislation. Forced removals had a powerful effect on faith communities. The effects were also more direct, where faith communities were attacked for what they stood for — as alternative centres of loyalty or (in the eyes of the state) disloyalty.²⁰

Direct attacks by the state on members and organisations

- 67 Perhaps the most famous instances of direct attacks on churches and related institutions by the state were the banning of the Christian Institute in 1977 and the 1988 bombing of Khotso House, the headquarters of the SACC. This latter action by the state should be seen in the context of an ongoing battle with the SACC, waged on a number of fronts, symbolic (through media disinformation) and legal (the Eloff Commission). The SACC said that it was often the target of security raids. Many SACC staff members and associated personnel were detained, and some tortured. Others died in mysterious circumstances.
- 68 Six weeks after the bombing of Khotso House, the headquarters of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference was destroyed by arsonists who, it is now known, were agents of the state.²¹ Father Smangalisso Mkhathshwa, the Secretary General of the Bishops Conference, was detained and tortured by the state many times. Other faith communities said that their leaders, members and offices were targeted and detained. Post was intercepted and telephones tapped. The free movement of church officials and representatives inside and outside South Africa's borders was hindered.²²

20 Despite Farid Esack's claim at the hearings that Muslims suffered not as Muslims, but as coloured or Indian people, it is clear from other submissions that the state did target faith communities, trying to win their loyalties and marginalise those of their members who opposed the state. These communities existed in a state of siege, as they were conscious of their vulnerability to apartheid legislation.

21 Loss of life was narrowly averted when the fire was put out before it reached the explosives placed by the perpetrators.

22 Archbishop T. W. Ntongana was barred from attending funerals of activists.

- 69 The submissions of the MJC, the MYM and Farid Esack mentioned Imam Abdullah Haron who was detained for four months in 1969 under the Terrorism Act and tortured to death. The Church of the Province singled out Father Michael Lapsley as “a living icon of redemptive suffering within [the Church of the Province]”. Father Lapsley lost both arms and an eye in a savage parcel bomb attack in April 1990 (two months after the unbanning of the liberation movements).

Closure of buildings, schools and institutions

- 70 Inevitably, faith communities were affected by Group Areas legislation; congregations were forced to relocate and historic buildings lost.²³ Among those mentioned in the submissions were the London Missionary Society church at Graaff Reinet (built in 1802) and the stone church at Majeng in the Northern Cape (built in 1874 and bulldozed in 1975). According to the submission of the United Congregational Church, the congregations of these churches were declared “trespassers in their own homes.” The Moravian Church said it suffered the loss of a number of Churches, especially in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.²⁴ Churches were forced to sell properties at low prices - something which seriously hindered their efforts to re-establish congregations after removal.
- 71 Bantu Education forced the closure of mission stations and schools that had provided education for Africans for many years.²⁵ Several churches with a long tradition in mission education, such as the Methodist Church, the United Congregational Church and the Church of the Province lost large numbers of primary schools and many secondary schools as well. The Methodist Church spoke of losing Kilnerton and Healdtown, and the United Congregational Church of the loss of Adams College and Tiger Kloof. The Reformed Presbyterian Church spoke of the loss of Lovedale and Blyswouth to the governments of Ciskei and Transkei. Indeed many properties belonging to this latter church were in so-called ‘white’ areas and the church was forced by law (which prohibited ownership of such properties) to sell them.²⁶ Several submissions made reference to the closing of the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice and the taking of its land.²⁷ Hospitals and other institutions were also affected by Group Areas legislation. One example of this is when the Seventh Day Adventist Church was forced to close its Nokuphilia Hospital in Alexandra township.

23 The loss of a Mosque is, the MJC explained at the hearings, especially significant within the Muslim community. More than a building, it is a sacred site and must never be abandoned. Group Areas legislation was a direct attack on this principle, assuming that the sacrality of such spaces was transferable to wherever the state decided to resettle the community.

24 In addition to losing land and space, the churches were sometimes forced to relocate a distance away from where their members lived.

25 For a discussion on the impact of the Bantu Education Act, see Charles Villa-Vicencio, Trapped in Apartheid (Cape Town and Mary-Knoll: David Philip & Orbis Books, 1988), page 95f.

26 The United Methodist Church claimed to have lost properties under the Holomisa regime in the late 1980s.

27 The Church of Scotland originally donated the land.

- 72 While many communities suffered losses, however, others benefited from them. The Volkskerk, a coloured 'split-off' from the Dutch Reformed Church, worshipped in a building they had built themselves in the centre of Stellenbosch, but lost it in the early 1960s under the Group Areas Act. The building was taken over by a white Christian congregation. The Uniting Reformed Church congregation in Messina made a similar allegation against its neighbouring Dutch Reformed Church congregation. According to the Hindu Maha Sabha presentation, Christian churches readily bought up Hindu religious sites after removals. The fact that faith communities - sometimes within the same tradition - both suffered and benefited from the same series of removals highlights the need for reconciliation and restitution between communities.

Repression and abuse of religious values and laws

- 73 Despite the many different religious allegiances of its subjects, the apartheid state saw itself as the guardian of 'Christian civilisation' in southern Africa. From the time of the arrival of the colonists in the seventeenth century, other faith communities were barely tolerated. Using education as its weapon, the apartheid state perpetuated this. Christian National Education was imposed on non-Christian faith communities – a fact highlighted in Muslim and Hindu submissions. The expression of certain religious values in education was repressed and other alien values were imposed. This was true even in the case of such Christian communities as the amaNazaretha where taboos concerning shaving were not honoured in schools and children were forced to remove their hair, causing ritual defilement.
- 74 Related to the repression of religious values in education was the repression of religious law, especially in the case of Islam and Hinduism. Muslim marriages observed by the Ulamas were not legally valid, making their children illegitimate.²⁸ The MYM pointed out that the state was also able to use religious laws to suit its own ends. It recalled how the Ulamas were co-opted onto a South African Law Commission committee on the recognition of Muslim marriage in 1986 - a cynical attempt on the part of the state to gain the approval of the Islamic community.²⁹
- 75 The religious values of the Baha'i faith preclude opposition to governments, a position contested by other faith communities. While its racially mixed worship practices and black leadership resulted in state surveillance, members of the so-called 'black Baha'i' were traitors in the eyes of some other blacks. This resulted in the tragic execution of four of its adherents at its places of worship in Umtata and Mdantsane.

²⁸ Marriages within the Shembe church were recognised neither by state nor traditional customary law, forcing members into three separate ceremonies.

²⁹ Pressure from other Muslim organisations forced the Ulamas to withdraw.

Manipulation by state propaganda

- 76 The apartheid state targeted faith communities in other ways. Evangelical groups such as the Church of England said it was subjected to state propaganda, especially in relation to the struggle against Communism. Such propaganda played on white fears and distorted the meaning of the Bible which the church saw as authoritative. It was thus “misled into accepting a social, economic and political system that was cruel and oppressive” and “failed to adequately understand the suffering of [its] many black members who were victims of apartheid.”³⁰ It might be an over-statement to link such ‘victimisation’ with the more direct and violent attacks by the state on anti-apartheid leaders. However, the fears of white church members made them vulnerable to propaganda, leading them into sins of omission. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Chairperson of the Commission said:

I would want and I'm sure that all of my fellow Christians would want to apologise to you members of other faiths for our arrogance as Christians when for so very long, we behaved as if we were the only religious faith in this country, when in fact from the year dot, we have been a multi-faith society.

Victimisation by other faith communities

- 77 Churches willingly engaged in fomenting division in society and were paralysed by propaganda. The demonisation and dehumanisation of other faith communities were prevalent, especially in conservative and right wing Christian groups. In 1986, at the same synod where its policy of uncritical support for apartheid was beginning to be challenged, the Dutch Reformed Church proclaimed Islam a “false religion”.³¹ The victimisation of African Traditional Religion by Christians was highlighted in the submission of Nokuzola Mndende: Africans were forced to become Christians, as a baptismal certificate was a common form of identification.
- 78 As Farid Esack observed at the hearings, the past was only partly about apartheid, security laws and so on: “It was also about Christian triumphalism.” All non-Christian faith communities were victimised by an aggressively ‘Christian’ state, and *die Islamse gevaar* took its place alongside the other enemies of the state.

30 The impossibility of remaining politically neutral in apartheid South Africa was underlined for the Church of England in South Africa when its Kenilworth congregation was attacked by Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) cadres in July 1993. These cadres later told the Commission's amnesty committee that they were motivated by the fact that the churches were responsible for taking land away from the African people.

31 Martin Prozesky, ‘The Challenge of Other Religions for Christianity in South Africa’, *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 74 (March 1991), page 39.

79 There were other kinds of victimisation of one faith community by another – even *within* Christian churches. The submissions indicate that this took a number of forms, from denominational splits to the appropriation of buildings declared off-limits to black people under Group Areas legislation.³² Fault lines developed in churches on questions of commitment to the struggle, and conservative ‘splinters’ proliferated.³³ While these newer institutions often claimed ‘theological’ reasons for their existence as alternatives to mainline groups, many served the state as ‘shadow’ institutions and denominations set up to oppose those who were against apartheid policies. The Evangelical Fellowship of Congregational Churches, a breakaway from the United Congregational Church, was set up in the wake of the debate over that church’s membership of the World Council of Churches. It was linked to churches funded by the state and exposed in the 1979 information scandal.³⁴

A special note on gender and faith communities

80 The representatives of faith communities at the hearings were overwhelmingly male. Only four of the sixty-six persons who appeared before the Commission in East London were women, and little mention was made of the links between racial, class and gender oppression. Women and women’s groups played key roles in supporting victims and opponents of human rights abuses, as witnessed by the fact that most of those who testified at the human rights violations hearings were women, and usually did so on behalf of others rather than themselves. Yet, in churches and mosques, as elsewhere, they were relegated to secondary status.

■ FAITH COMMUNITIES AS OPPONENTS OF OPPRESSION

81 As in other institutional hearings (most notably the business hearings), what may be regarded as ‘opposition’ to apartheid was highly contested. Furthermore, the changing nature of apartheid repression meant that what was seen as opposition at one time could be seen as legitimisation at another. Faith communities across the board spoke of opposing apartheid, although the language and practices through which they expressed this opposition differed widely. For the Zion Christian Church, instilling pride in black people and teaching them to stand up straight in their own institutions, was a strong repudiation of the treatment of its members in ‘white’ society. The

32 See the submission of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika, Messina.

33 The United Congregational Church, for example, testified at the hearings to the loss of its mother church in Cape Town over its support for the Programme to Combat Racism.

34 At the hearings, Bishop Dowling referred to the Catholic Defence League and Tradition, Family and Property – two groups that counterpoised themselves to the SACBC. Also worth mentioning in this regard is the Western Cape Council of Churches, set up by the state in counterposition to the SACC and the Western Province Council of Churches and linked closely with Joint Management Council structures. Michael Worsnip, ‘Low Intensity Conflict and the South African Church’, *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 69 (Dec. 1989), page 94.

Hindu Maha Sabha spoke of reaching into its tradition of passive resistance, especially the Gandhian model. The Church of England spoke of private meetings with government officials. For the SACC, the watershed came when it began to identify itself with the liberation movements.

- 82 It is perhaps helpful to speak of a 'continuum of opposition', which takes into account not only positions relative to the conflict in society in the post-1976 era, but also demonstrates historically the radicalisation of various strands within faith communities. This allows us to identify the particular path opposition took as it developed over time.

Alternative institutions

- 83 Among the oldest ways that black people expressed protest was through the creation of separate, black institutions, under black control and using black cultural resources. This is the heritage of the African Initiated Churches that dates back to the early part of the century. Although African Initiated Churches were originally concerned mainly with creating an alternative to white churches, the state responded violently by repressing early movements such as the Israelites. If nothing else, this demonstrates the state's awareness of the role of religion as a tool supporting or destabilising its grasp on the hearts and minds of its subjects. More recently, the African Initiated Churches addressed black needs by instilling pride and moral discipline – a position strongly stated in the submissions of the Zion Christian Church and the amaNazaretha. The engagement was not so much with state ideology as with subverting the symbolic support of white domination.

Petitions, letters and private appeals

- 84 Many churches and faith communities petitioned the government openly or privately on a wide range of issues. They were joined, towards the end of the apartheid era, by the more conservative churches (such as the Church of England in South Africa) which were less comfortable with direct opposition.³⁵ The Dutch Reformed Church, which remained tied to state structures, also met privately with state officials to "express its doubts" about state policies and their application. The Dutch Reformed Church admitted, however, that such meetings rarely called into question the policies themselves, but asked only that they be "applied with compassion and humanity." Positioning itself as "politically neutral", the leadership of the Baha'i Faith nonetheless also met with officials in private to present its philosophy of inclusivity.

³⁵ In both their submissions, the Church of England in South Africa spoke of how their leaders discreetly approached PW Botha and FW de Klerk to express "concern about wrongs". They did not, however, indicate what the response of the state was, nor did they spell out precisely what their "concern" was.

- 85 Leaders of communities that were more public in their opposition issued open petitions. In the 1970s, the MJC issued a letter of protest to the government over human rights abuses during the 1976 riots. The SACC and other ecumenical Christian leaders adopted a stronger tone as well, warning the government of what might happen should change not occur.

Official statements and resolutions

- 86 The submissions spoke of numerous statements on apartheid that were issued by faith communities during the mandate period. Some of these demonstrate the variety of ways in which faith communities presented their opposition. The gradual radicalisation of statements – especially after 1976 – is also significant.³⁶
- 87 Of the Protestant churches, the United Congregational Church, the Presbyterian Church and the SACC made special mention of the ‘Cottesloe Statement’ and Conference (1960), set up in the wake of the Sharpsville tragedy. The statement “opposed apartheid in worship”, but also “in prohibition of mixed marriages, migrant labour, low wages, job reservation and permanent exclusion of ‘non-white people’ from government.” The fact that this statement - despite its paternalism in comparison with later documents - went beyond strictly ‘church’ matters in the eyes of the state is significant. Previously churches had only been able to unite against apartheid when their own congregations were directly affected, as with opposition to the 1957 Church Clause. The ‘Cottesloe Statement’ also featured in the Dutch Reformed Church’s ‘Journey’ document as “an important stop”. Not only did it result in the marginalisation of some of its representatives (including Beyers Naudé); it caused “a deep rift between the Dutch Reformed Churches and many other recognised Protestant churches in the country.”³⁷ More than this, it set a precedent for state interference, not simply in the affairs of the Dutch Reformed Church (with which it already enjoyed a special relationship), but in those of the ecumenical churches.
- 88 The SACC submission stated that ‘The Message to the People of South Africa’ (1968) directly attacked the theological foundations of nationalism, saying that a Christian’s “first loyalty” must be given to Christ, rather than to “a subsection of mankind”. Christian groups began to engage in intensive social analysis in the early 1970s. The Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (SPRO-CAS) was launched after the ‘Message’. SPRO-CAS set up several commissions, covering educational, legal, economic, social and religious areas. Later the Special Programme

36 Interestingly it seems that the more evangelical communities (especially the Baptist Union, Rosebank Union Church and Hatfield Christian Church), while claiming to have “made many submissions” to the government opposing apartheid, were vague and did not mention particular instances. Parts of their documentation lack concreteness.

37 Naudé would go on to establish the Christian Institute, originally to agitate for change in the Dutch Reformed Church.

of Christian Action in Society (SPRO-CAS II) was established to implement the report's recommendations.

- 89 Throughout the 1970s, the Council of Churches published materials expressing its opposition to apartheid and envisioning a post-apartheid society. In its submission, it highlighted the 'Resolution on Conscientious Objection' (1974) which, amongst other things, questioned the appointment of military chaplains to the SADF, and the 'Resolution on Non Co-operation' which urged Christians to withdraw from state structures. Two statements issued in the turbulent 1980s were notable. The first was the 'Call for Prayer to End Unjust Rule' which mobilised Christian symbolic resources against the 'Christian' state. The second was the 'Lusaka Statement' of 1987, which urged the churches to support the efforts of liberation movements, and occasioned "fierce opposition" from SACC members.³⁸ Theology was a battleground, and the term 'heresy' was used not only against those who contested classical dogma and its interpretation, but also against those who contested the meaning of such dogma in practice. The influence of Dr Allan Boesak, then President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), in promoting the adoption of the resolution declaring apartheid a heresy by the WARC in 1982, and subsequently by the World Council of Churches (WCC) and many of its member churches, was of far-reaching significance in the struggle against apartheid.³⁹
- 90 The 'Kairos Document', another watershed statement, was produced by the Institute for Contextual Theology in 1985 and proved highly contentious. Some churches rejected its analysis and theology, claiming it was a 'sell-out' to ideology; others (notably the United Congregational Church) set up special study groups in local churches. While the 'Kairos Document' was accused of polarising the debate about the relationship between churches and liberation movements, it can be argued that it merely gave expression to existing polarisation. Not all anti-apartheid Christian leaders signed it, though it had an impact beyond the Christian churches and was also mentioned in the MYM submission.
- 91 Dissension in the ranks of the Dutch Reformed Church concerning its support of the government was expressed most notably in the '*Ope Brief*' [open letter] published by 123 Dutch Reformed Church ministers in 1982.⁴⁰ However, as admitted in its 'Journey' document, the Dutch Reformed Church's protests were limited largely to private meetings with state officials. The production of the

38 See Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid*, page 158f. Also pages 115, 144, 222.

39 See Jules de Gonsky and Charles Villa-Vicencio (Eds) *Apartheid is a Heresy* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1983).

40 See David J. Bosch, Adrio Konig and Willem Nicol, Eds. *Perspektief Op die Ope Brief* (Cape Town, Pretoria & Johannesburg: Human & Rousseau, 1982).

'Koinonia Declaration' in 1977 – a statement which opposed apartheid and its Christian justification – by scholars from the smaller Afrikaans-speaking Gereformeerde Kerke was significant. While the Gereformeerde Kerk declined to make a submission to the Commission, two of its members did so, drawing on the legacy of this statement.⁴¹

- 92 At a denominational level, discrimination in general and the policy of apartheid in particular was rejected as "intrinsically evil" by the Catholic Church in 1960 and as heresy by the United Congregational Church in 1982.⁴² In 1986, the Presbyterian Church and the United Congregational Church passed resolutions making rejection of apartheid a matter of *status confessionis* [a situation demanding a new confession of faith], claiming in essence that the church in South Africa stood in the same relation to apartheid as did the German church to Nazism during the 1930s. In 1982, the Uniting Reformed Church, which admitted to a heritage of failing to pronounce strongly on apartheid, produced the 'Belhar Confession', the first church confession to be produced on South African soil.
- 93 The international dimension to church confessions was notable, and was characterised by conferences and statements by 'linked' churches in other countries. However, not all overseas structures were heeded by their South African counterparts. The Salvation Army in South Africa remained silent about apartheid crimes even after the condemnation of apartheid by its General, Eva Burrows, in London in 1986. The Seventh Day Adventist Church also confessed that their position on apartheid was "out of step" with its overseas body.
- 94 Theological resistance was not, of course, limited to the Christian churches. Shortly after the 'Cottesloe Statement' was issued, the 'Call of Islam Declaration' (1961) was issued by the Cape Town MYM together with the MJC, the Claremont Muslim Youth Association, the Cape Vigilance Association, the Young Men's Muslim Association and a number of individuals and leaders. This was a declaration that apartheid was contrary to Islam and condemned Group Areas, pass and job reservation legislation. A 1964 national conference called by the MJC protested about the impact of the Group Areas Act on mosque life and passed a series of resolutions urging that, under no circumstances, should mosques be abandoned. In the 1980s, the involvement of many prominent Islamic leaders and members in anti-apartheid structures intensified. Muslim leaders participated in the UDF 'Don't Vote' campaign, arguing that a vote for

41 See 'Die Koinonia Verklaring', Pamphlet (Potchefstroom & Germiston, 1977).

42 According to the MJC submission, the declaration of apartheid as a heresy in terms of Islamic theology dates from the Call of Islam Declaration in 1961.

the Tricameral Parliament was *haraam* (prohibited). Language particular to Islam was used to intensify Muslim involvement in opposing apartheid.⁴³ Achmat Cassiem established the pro-PAC Qibla Mass Movement and Farid Esack and Ebrahim Rasool established the pro-African National Congress (ANC) Call of Islam. The MYM was also significant during this period.

- 95 In addition to passing resolutions against the violent policies of the state, statements made by faith communities during the 1980s expressed general concern about the violence sweeping the country. Sometimes this required recognition of the tension between the faith community's solidarity with the liberation movements and its concern about the violence with which apartheid was often opposed (as in the United Congregational Church submission). "Whilst the United Congregational Church was concerned about the loss of innocent civilian life in guerrilla attacks," it wrote, "it never allied itself with the hysterical reaction against 'terrorism' that the apartheid government orchestrated". Communities differed on the degree to which anti-apartheid violence was 'justifiable' (not simply 'understandable'). The Uniting Reformed Church stated that "the ambiguous nature of the decision with regard to justified actions against apartheid was often left to the conscience of members."
- 96 While it has been suggested that those responsible for the 'Kairos Document' share guilt through their support of violent uprisings, it must be pointed out that (whatever their perspective on the armed struggle on the borders) they did not condone 'necklace' killings or 'kangaroo courts'.
- 97 There were those, too, who claimed a 'third way', who argued that all violence was equally wrong and whose statements condemned both sides of the struggle. The Church of England's 1985 national synod expressed its "abhorrence of all violence and all oppression". Interestingly, while the Church of England expressed the view that the "only solution" to the problem of violence was to deal with sin through "reconciliation to God", the United Congregational Church claimed that the only answer (and here it specifically referred to the struggle on the borders between the SADF and the liberation movements) was justice for the people of South Africa.

Withdrawing from state structures

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

⁴³ Gerrie Lubbe cited in MJC submission.

- 99 It is significant that the preamble to the Tricameral Constitution declared that South Africa was a Christian state, even though the structures it proposed aimed at co-opting groups with many Muslim and Hindu members. Opposition to the Tricameral Constitution was strong, and there was an “overwhelming consensus” amongst Muslims that it was “contrary to the spirit of Islam”. Hindu leaders who participated were ostracised, the Maha Sabha told the hearings. The United Congregational Church urged its members to distance themselves from the Tricameral Parliament and removed such participants as the Reverends Alan Hendrickse and Andrew Julies - two former chairs of the United Congregational Church - from their ministers’ roll.
- 100 While many churches drew upon the just war tradition within Christianity, others were opposed to combat as a tenet of faith. For Seventh Day Adventists and Quakers, to have served in the military (on either side) would have meant apostasy from their faith tradition.⁴⁴ Many leaders in the conscientious objection movement were Christians and objected on the basis of Christian principles.⁴⁵ Individual Catholic priests refused to act as military chaplains or marriage officers, as did some clergy in the Uniting Reformed Church.⁴⁶ The Quakers and the SACC issued resolutions in 1974 supporting conscientious objectors. The United Congregational Church spoke of its “constant support” for objectors, the principle of objection and the End Conscription Campaign. It also refused to be co-opted onto the SADF-sponsored Board for Religious Objection. The Presbyterian Church, which had supported the rights of conscientious objectors from 1971, spoke of how, in 1982, it had initiated a process “aimed at moving the denomination towards opposing service in the SADF.” While it did not withdraw its chaplains until 1990 (underlining again the gap between resolution and action), it met in 1988 with delegations from the ANC and the PAC to discuss the possibility of appointing chaplains to their liberation armies. The United Congregational Church also supplied “pastoral care” to the liberation movements, including the South West Africa People’s Organisation (SWAPO), while the Church of the Province was in the unusual position of seeing its defence force chaplains providing succour to an army of occupation in Angola and Namibia and did so only ‘unofficially’.

44 Seventh Day Adventists faced a dilemma here, as their conservative doctrine of church-state relations also held loyalty to the state in high esteem. Some resolved the dilemma by serving in the medical corps. Others became objectors and suffered for it. Whether they were doing this to oppose apartheid, or to oppose war on principle is an important question which the church, according to its submission, only started to address after the evil of apartheid became apparent.

45 The Presbyterian Church mentioned especially Peter Moll and Richard Steele. See also the submission by the Reverend Douglas Torr.

46 Mentioned in the United Reforming Church submission as “religious objectors” were the Reverends D Potgieter, B Nel, N Theron, C Krause and Brother B de Lange.

Civil disobedience and passive resistance

- 101 Another way in which faith communities expressed opposition to the policies of apartheid was through deliberate disobedience of state laws. From 1981, for example, the Presbyterian Church embarked on a campaign of defying laws on mixed marriages, group areas and quoting banned persons and publications. This followed the work of the Reverend Rob Robertson at a local level, whose multi-racial and multi-class congregations in East London and Johannesburg represented “the first move to take actual steps to reverse the segregating effects of apartheid on congregations and to set an example to the nation”.⁴⁷
- 102 Other local congregations deliberately flouted laws by promoting mixed worship. The Baha'i Faith came under scrutiny for insisting that its members meet together across racial boundaries and the Ulama spoke of Muslims of different race groups worshipping and studying together. It can be argued that these were not always deliberate acts of defiance,⁴⁸ but were simply activities that conformed to the norms of the faith community's tradition - sharing a common faith across racial barriers. The fact that they flew in the face of the state only underlined the fact that the state's policy was wrong. Institutional resistance was expressed, for instance, in the Catholic Church's opening of its schools to all races in 1976 – something which engaged it in battle with the state until 1991.

Solidarity with liberation movements

- 103 While some faith communities (mostly at a local level) participated in protests and defiance campaigns from the outset, and others (specifically the Dutch Reformed Church) pledged loyalty to the 'Christian' state, most faith communities throughout the 1960s and 1970s attempted to find a middle path – choosing not to lend full support either to the liberation movements or the state.
- 104 The aftermath of Soweto resulted, however, in more radical responses from faith communities. In 1978, the Reformed Presbyterian Church said that its Moderator, Reverend DM Soga, declared that a 'Kairos' had arrived for the churches in South Africa. In that community's first public stance against the government, Soga spoke of the “daring” of the younger generation that was now rising up against oppression.

47 Citing Dawid Venter

48 And indeed the Baha'i submission spelt out clearly that they had no intention to challenge the state.

- 105 The UDF, launched in 1983, had strong representation from faith communities. One of its affiliates was the MJC, which saw itself as an oppressed community in solidarity with other oppressed communities.⁴⁹

*We are placed in a position of direct responsibility for declaring and living the truth in South Africa in a situation where untruth reigns supreme.*⁵⁰

- 106 As the 1980s wore on and the political climate became more intense, several church denominations came to realise that their loyalty commanded them to take a stand either for the liberation movements or for the state. There was contact between faith communities and liberation movements in exile throughout the 1980s, and the United Congregational Church assembly met with ANC leaders in Gaberone in 1987. In 1988, a number of Afrikaner academics from the University of Stellenbosch travelled north “in search of Africa”, and while they were not permitted to meet officially with the exiled ANC, there was contact at an informal level. This dispelled some of the state-sponsored propaganda about the ANC, and helped foster debate in one of the bastions of Afrikaner nationalism.⁵¹ The World Conference on Religion and Peace also met with leaders in Zambia in 1988 to discuss religion in a post apartheid South Africa.
- 107 The Catholic church mobilised its own structures (Young Christian Workers, Justice and Peace groups and so forth) and opened its parish halls to popular organisations for meetings, gave refuge to activists on church property or helped them leave the country. It also participated in the Standing for the Truth campaign – an SACC initiative supported by other faith communities. Roman Catholic theologians, like Albert Nolan, were formative voices on the South African theological scene.
- 108 By 1988, the political activities of the UDF and COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) became severely restricted and faith community leaders began to fill important leadership roles. The solidarity between these faith community leaders and the liberation movements intensified. It must not, however, be forgotten that such leaders and activists were minority voices within their own community structures. By the end of the 1980s, few communities had moved beyond cautious statements of concern.

49 Indeed the idea of a ‘common struggle’ meant interfaith co-operation at a number of levels - something condemned by more conservative Muslim groups. It is notable that the Western Province Council of Churches and the Witwatersrand Council of Churches also affiliated with the UDF - the only two regional partners of the SACC to do so – giving the same reasons as the MJC as being part of a ‘common’ struggle. In fact, interfaith co-operation was probably the strongest in the Western Cape amongst Muslims and Christians and later Jews for Justice, precisely because of this factor.

50 Launch of the Standing for the Truth Campaign, 1988.

51 See J Kinghorn, BC Lategan & CF van der Merwe, *Into Africa: Afrikaners in Africa Reflect on Coming Home* (Stellenbosch: The Centre for Contextual Hermeneutics, 1988).

The sanctions question

- 109 As the repression of the 1980s escalated, some faith communities and organisations joined the liberation organisations in appealing to international partners to press for economic sanctions.⁵² Many however opposed sanctions or were ambivalent on the question. Some, like the Church of the Province, confessed to its failure to support sanctions only as late as 1989.⁵³ The Catholic Bishops Conference, “fearing a great increase of poverty and unemployment”, supported sanctions with reservations. “History”, it said, “will be the judge”. The only English-speaking church to give unqualified support to sanctions from the outset was the United Congregational Church.⁵⁴
- 110 Many people (mostly white) voiced opposition to sanctions, ostensibly because they would ‘hurt blacks’ as well as themselves. This was no less true of members of faith communities. However, communities were also striving to voice what the majority wanted and to bring them into the debate. In spite of surveys used by liberals to argue that a large number of blacks opposed sanctions, surveys also concluded that the majority recognised the leadership of people such as Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak in speaking for them on the question.⁵⁵

A voice for the voiceless

- 111 Faith communities have strong traditions that call on them to speak for the voiceless. But the leadership of the English-speaking churches failed to express adequately the aspirations of their constituents, the majority of whom were black. The English-speaking churches were concerned not to alienate their members, while the Afrikaans Reformed Churches promoted the interests of Afrikaner nationalism. It was left, said the SACC in its submission, to organisations such as itself, to act as the “legitimate voice” of South Africans. Indeed, the SACC became an internationally significant information centre, representing the oppressed before the world. It could do this, Bernard Spong told the hearings, because its network of churches reached every corner of society.

52 The MYM noted that most Muslim countries cut their ties to South Africa during the apartheid years. Ironically, this created difficulties for South African Muslims. Those on pilgrimage suffered tremendous hardship, financial and personal loss and humiliation when undertaking their trip to Mecca.

53 Ironically, it was the Church of the Province Archbishop of Cape Town who was one of the most vocal proponents of sanctions.

54 The Assembly adopted a resolution supporting “immediate and comprehensive sanctions” in 1986.

55 Cecil Mzingisi Ngcokovane, ‘Economic Sanctions: The Only Remaining Non-Violent Means to Dismantle Apartheid’, *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 62 (March 1988), 53-61; Mark Orkin, *Disinvestment: the struggle and the future* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986).

- 112 The policies of the apartheid state created turmoil not only in South Africa, but spilling over into other countries as well, as people were uprooted and removed from their homes and members of resistance movements were forced to leave the country. This created a refugee problem. The United Congregational Church's regional identity allowed it to express special concern for refugees both in South Africa and in neighbouring states.
- 113 South African faith communities have a rich tradition of expressing themselves in news publications, and it was in this important way that faith communities voiced the aspirations of black people, as well as creating space for discussion and debate. The Catholic Church started the *New Nation*, while the Muslim community started the *Muslim News* and *Al Qalam*. These publications went beyond sectarian interests to address the core issues of exploitation, and faced banning orders on numerous occasions.

■ FAITH COMMUNITIES AND SOUTH AFRICA'S TRANSITION

- 114 The story of faith communities and their members who were involved in opposition to apartheid does not end with the unbanning of the liberation movements. As the 1980s drew to a close, some organisations began looking toward the future and preparing people for democracy. One example of the many that illustrate the way in which the transition was anticipated is Diakonia, an ecumenical group in the Durban area, which published 'The Good Society: Bible Studies on Christianity and Democracy'⁵⁶ - anticipating voter education programmes in the run up to the 1994 elections.
- 115 Faith communities were engaged in a number of ways during South Africa's transition. A large number of Muslim organisations joined in a national conference as the negotiations between the De Klerk government and the previously banned movements got underway. The WCRP played an important role with its 1990 conference, called 'Believers in the future', which issued a 'Declaration of Religious Rights and Responsibilities'. Together with the liberation movements, the SACC and the Catholic Bishops Conference formed the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles in 1991. Amongst Christians, the 1990 Rustenburg Conference and Statement were of great significance and the confessions there anticipated those made at the Commission hearings.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Written by James Wyllie, Vido Nyobole & Sue Britton.

⁵⁷ See Louw Alberts & Frank Chikane, Eds, *The road to Rustenburg: the church looking forward to a new South Africa* (Cape Town: Struik Christian Books, 1991).

- 116 The National Peace Accord was launched in September 1991, with heavy involvement from the SACC, with the aim of helping to create an ethos conducive to democratic transition. The Catholic Bishops Conference and the SACC, together with a coalition of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), launched Education for Democracy. This project worked at local levels to create awareness of constitutional governance and key political concepts. It was directed both at illiterate black people and urban white people. The latter had never experienced non-racial democracy and expected, on the whole, to retain their privileges in a new society. The Church Leaders Forum, representing a wide collection of denominations, met with government leaders and urged them on the path to a negotiated settlement. The group included traditional foes of the SACC, including Reverend Ray McCauley of the International Federation of Christian Churches and Professor Johan Heynes of the Dutch Reformed Church.⁵⁸ After CODESA broke down, this forum worked to restart the negotiation process. The WCRP, SACC and the Catholic Bishops Conference formed the Panel of Religious Leaders for Electoral Justice to monitor the elections. The WCRP also sponsored the forum which brought monitors from other countries.⁵⁹
- 117 Does all this mean that faith communities were engaged in South Africa's democratic transition? Sadly, it is not possible to generalise here. For, once again, it was not individual faith communities, but believers as individuals and ecumenical and interfaith coalitions that were engaged. The departure of religious leaders and activists into government has created a huge leadership vacuum at an ecumenical (especially Christian) level and testifies to the close links between the ecumenical movement and progressive political activism. But at a local institutional level (including church, mosque and temple) and a denominational level, communities remain hesitant about entering the fray. In its submission, the SACC spoke of how difficult it is to focus the churches' attention, as many now wish to enter into relations with the government on a denominational level.
- 118 The period from 1984 to 1994 was one of rich co-operation across the boundaries of the faith tradition around common opposition to apartheid. Religious institutions have benefited across the board as the new state has made a concerted effort to ensure that all religious groups are represented in any activity initiated by the state.

58 One positive thing about the ecumenical activity of the early 1990s was the involvement of a wider spread of leaders, including evangelical and charismatic leaders who were not involved in progressive moments in the 1980s. Perhaps this ecumenical contact prepared them for 'owning up' to the guilt of their communities at the hearings. Certainly, it was a bridge to their statements at the hearings where they committed themselves to active involvement in the transformation of the country beyond apartheid.

59 Details on the above and further examples may be found in Peter Walshe, Prophetic Christianity and the Liberation Movement in South Africa (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995), 145-53.

■ FINDINGS ARISING OUT OF FAITH COMMUNITIES HEARINGS

The Commission finds that:

- 119 Christianity, as the dominant religion in South Africa, promoted the ideology of apartheid in a range of different ways. These included the overt promotion of biblical and theological teaching in support of apartheid, as was the case in the white Afrikaans Reformed Churches. Certain other denominations, historically established on racial lines, have for various reasons failed to unite – often because of residual or overt forms of racism. Most churches, the dominant English-speaking churches among them, practised ecclesial apartheid by appointing ministers to congregations based on race and the payment of unequal stipends. Religious communities in general, as a rule, failed adequately to support dissident ministers, priests, imams, rabbis and lay persons who found themselves in confrontation with the state. Many religious institutions also failed to provide economic support to those who were most severely affected by apartheid. The Commission acknowledges, at the same time, that some within the religious communities boldly resisted apartheid and paid a heavy price for doing so. It was further noted with appreciation, that all the religious groups who appeared before the Commission acknowledged their complicity with apartheid.
- 120 Chaplains, provided by the churches to serve the military, the police and other uniformed services, wore the uniforms of these services, enjoyed the rank of armed personnel and some carried side arms. They were part of the illegal cross border activities carried out by the military, and they accompanied troops into the townships and other internal situations of conflict on occasion. They were seen to be supportive of the offensive structures of the former state. As such, churches must accept moral accountability for providing religious sanction and theological legitimisation for many of the actions of the armed forces.
- 121 The failure by religious communities to give adequate expression to the ethical teaching of their respective traditions, all of which stand in direct contradiction to apartheid, contributed to a climate within which apartheid was able to survive. Religious communities need to accept moral and religious culpability for their failure as institutions to resist the impact of apartheid on the nation with sufficient rigour. The failure of the churches in this regard contributed not only to the survival of apartheid but also to the perpetuation of the myth, prevalent in certain circles, that apartheid was both a moral and Christian initiative in a hostile and ungodly world.

- 122 Religious proselytising and religious-based nationalism have not only sown the seeds of inter-religious suspicion, distrust and strife; but they have also contributed directly to religiously inspired conflict. This has occurred as a result of some forms of missiological teaching and manifestations of Christian imperialism and because of anti-Semitic as well as anti-Islamic theologically-based propaganda. Religious communities must take responsibility for the actions of their followers in this regard. The nation has a right to expect of them a commitment to mutual respect between religious groups, the building of communities that include people of different religious, racial and ideological persuasions and the promotion of peace and justice.
- 123 Missionary and colonial initiatives which undermined African culture and traditional religions – a practice that continues to be perpetuated in many circles today – require careful reassessment by all religious communities. Christianity has, because of historical and power relations, a special responsibility in this regard. Religious communities need to share responsibility for the undermining of cultural and religious identity, not least among many urbanised African youth. The reaffirmation of *ubuntu*⁶⁰ – grounded as it is in traditional African culture and increasingly supported by other religious groups – requires other established religions to gain a new understanding of traditional African religious symbols and beliefs.

60 *Ubuntu*, generally translated as 'humaneness', expresses itself metaphorically in *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* – 'people are people through other people'.

Institutional Hearing: The Legal Community

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 In his speech from the dock in 1962, Nelson Mandela said:

I would say that the whole life of any thinking African in this country is driven continuously to a conflict between his conscience on the one hand and the law on the other... The law as it is applied, the law as it has been developed over a long period of history, and especially the law as it is written by the Nationalist Government is a law which in our view is immoral, unjust and intolerable. Our consciences dictate that we must protest against it, that we must oppose it and that we must attempt to alter it.

- 2 All branches of the legal profession and interested organs of civil society were invited to make submissions on the role played by lawyers between 1960 and 1994. Those who responded to the Commission's invitation are listed elsewhere in this volume. The Commission was deeply disappointed that judicial officers (both judges and magistrates) declined to attend the hearing and that their responses took the form of a few written submissions. The representative bodies of the rest of the profession were slightly more forthcoming: written and oral submissions were received from the General Council of the Bar (GCB), the Association of Law Societies (ALS) and the Society of Law Teachers. Several individual practitioners also submitted their views, as did the 'alternative' lawyers' organisations – the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADEL) and the Black Lawyers Association (BLA). The Legal Resources Centre (LRC) and Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) also made significant submissions. From government, the Minister and Department of Justice put forward their views in submissions, and several attorneys-general also attended. Amnesty International and the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation gave the Commission the benefit of their views.

- 3 In its invitation (which was issued both generally and to particular organisations and individuals), the Commission requested that, where appropriate, attention be paid to the following issues, indicating the general thrust of the hearing:
- a The relationship between law and justice.
 - b Principles and standards by which to evaluate the legal system.
 - c What informed judicial policy?
 - d What, if any, attempts were made by the executive or other organisations or individuals to undermine the independence of the judiciary?
 - e The relationship between the judiciary and the state, the State Security Council, political parties or organisations.
 - f The appointment of members of the judiciary.
 - g The role of the judiciary in applying security legislation.
 - h The relationship between the South African judiciary, the legal profession and the law schools.
 - i The exercise of judicial discretion.
 - j Racial and gender discrimination in the judiciary, legal profession and law schools.
 - k The role of other role-players – namely the Minister of Justice; the Department of Justice, its line functions and Justice College; magistrates; attorneys-general; the legal profession, including the Bar Council, the Association of Law Societies and the Para-Legal Association; lay assessors; interpreters; and the ‘home-lands’ (self-governing territories and independent states).
 - l Recommendations on how the legal system can be transformed to reflect a human rights culture and respect for the rule of law, and which will address the perception that justice is the privileged domain of few in our society.
- 4 The Commission was at pains to stress to those invited that:

It is not the purpose of the hearing to establish guilt or hold individuals responsible; the hearing will not be of a judicial or quasi-judicial nature. The hearing is an attempt to understand the role the legal system played in contributing to the violation and/or protection of human rights and to identify institutional changes required to prevent those abuses which occurred from happening again. We urge all judges both serving and retired to present their views as part of the process of moving forward.

■ SUMMARY OF THE SUBMISSIONS

- 5 The transcript of the hearing runs to more than 650 pages, to which must be added the hundreds of pages of written submissions.¹ What follows must, therefore, be read as an extremely generalised summary of the main points made by those who submitted their views. In the light of their pivotal role in the administration of justice and the controversy that surrounded their decision not to appear in person at the hearing, the chief focus was almost inevitably on the judges. This concentration on the superior court judiciary should not, however, be allowed to obscure the lamentable non-appearance of the magistracy, especially when it is considered that this is the level at which most South Africans engage with the courts. In addition, magistrates played a critical administrative role in the implementation of state policy throughout the period under review.
- 6 In addition, valuable insights were gained into the crucial supportive roles played by the advocates, attorneys, academics and the prosecutorial authority in facilitating the enforcement of the law — both where it resulted in injustice as well as, more seldom, justice.

The argument of establishment bodies

- 7 A general theme or argument that permeated almost all of the submissions by the judiciary and the ‘establishment’ legal professionals (the GCB, the ALS and the attorneys-general) can be expressed as follows:
- 8 It was argued that the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty under the Westminster system required of lawyers (and especially judges) to respect, and indeed to defer to, the will of the majority in Parliament, thus denying the courts the opportunity to fashion statute law to achieve a degree of justice in the face of legislated injustice. In other words, the ‘intention of the lawgiver’ was the supreme guide in the interpretation of statutes.

¹ Some of these have been reproduced relatively fully in the 1998 volume of the South African Law Journal, parts I and II.

- 9 Where there was some room for manoeuvre, particularly in the construction and development of the common law, or where clear statutory ambiguity permitted it, lawyers argued for and judges mostly adopted an interpretation that favoured liberty and equity.
- 10 Any attempt by the judiciary too obviously to circumvent the unjust effects of apartheid measures would, it was argued, have led inevitably (at best) to further legislative steps to reverse such decisions or (at worst) to the overt subversion of the formal independence of the courts and the 'packing of the Bench'.
- 11 While there were examples of judicial decisions, behaviour and professional conduct which were clearly unjust and ought to be apologised for, and while it was generally conceded that much of what happened in and around the administration of justice ought to have been resisted and condemned openly and forcefully by individual lawyers and the organised profession, the record of judicial impartiality and pursuit of justice was satisfactory, if not good.
- 12 This general picture, allied with enormously principled and courageous action by a small minority of lawyers from all the branches of the profession, assisted in establishing the climate in which the political negotiators in the 1990s could agree that a constitutional dispensation (resting on the twin foundations of a bill of rights and the power of judicial review) was the most appropriate guarantee of dignity, equality and freedom for a future South Africa.
- 13 It was argued that any fair and accurate investigation into, and weighing up of, past judicial and lawyerly conduct would have to involve an effective 're-trial' of the issues in their appropriate context – a complex, time-consuming, expensive and ultimately senseless undertaking. In any event, this could lead only to the blaming of individuals or groups of lawyers, which was not part of the Commission's agenda. It would also prove unhealthy for the development of a coherent and respected post-apartheid jurisprudence.
- 14 It would have been improper, both in form and substance, for judges to appear in person at the hearing, for this would affect their independence, which was guaranteed under the Constitution. This is all the more important now that the power of judicial review on constitutional grounds is entrusted to those judges.
- 15 Legal education and training had been largely uncritical of unjust legal dogma and practice. Those few academics who had dared to speak out had received

insufficient support from their colleagues and institutions. This was not, however, particularly unusual in international terms and students needed to be familiar with current legal rules in order to be equipped to practise law.

- 16 At no stage, had there been any question of direct interference with the administration of justice by the executive or the legislature, in particular where disputes before the courts were concerned.
- 17 In a nutshell, it was argued that an administration of justice and a legal order that preserved a limited degree of impartiality and independence was better, in all circumstances, than a legal system that was completely subservient to the will and whims of the political masters in Parliament.

The counter argument

- 18 Naturally, submissions from bodies such as the BLA, LHR, the LRC and NADEL took issue with these propositions at almost every turn. For them, lawyers and the courts under apartheid, with very few and notable exceptions, had co-operated in servicing and enforcing a diabolically unjust political order. They argued that it made no sense to invoke a defence of parliamentary sovereignty. The validity of such a defence depended on at least a substantial degree of democracy in the political order, as well as a basic respect for the rule of law as a direct or necessary adjunct to legislative omnicompetence. Neither prerequisite was present to any significant degree in South Africa. Judicial independence was a myth that had been exploded in the daily experience, particularly in the magistrates', but also in the superior courts. Moreover, several meticulous empirical studies since the mid-1970s had demonstrated a judicial partiality towards the legislature and executive. The practising and teaching legal profession, it was stated, had willingly acquiesced in apartheid's subversion of whatever sense of justice may have hitherto been part of the common law and the legal system. Those practitioners and academics who dared challenge the political and/or legal order were not only not supported by their colleagues but were, more often than not, ostracised by them.
- 19 As a result, it was alleged, the basic fabric of the legal system had been subverted and become rotten with injustice. In order to begin to reverse this process and to lay the basis for the new constitutional order, a public reckoning and apology by the 'old-order' lawyers was essential. Arguments about the erosion of judicial indepen-

dence held no water when it was judicial action in the past which was being scrutinised, and when such independence was, in any event, more ritualistic than real.

- 20 These extraordinarily brief summaries of the positions presented and argued at the hearing cannot hope to portray the extent and complexity, littered with examples, of most of the submissions. Taken as a whole, the submissions and oral testimony form a valuable archive that bears close examination as one set of versions of the past. It will be for others to analyse and debate the arguments in the detail that they deserve.² For present purposes, the chapter proceeds to make certain assumptions and to draw conclusions concerning the above arguments, and to consider their impact on the way forward for the administration of the law and justice in South Africa.

■ ASSUMPTIONS

- 21 In reaching its findings, the Commission assumed the validity of certain principles and concepts, although aware that almost every one of them is a matter for extensive debate, and that such debates are not easily resolved. One must also acknowledge the benefit of hindsight, but the Commission feels sure that this factor has not made a material difference either to the assumptions or conclusions. It is not expected that the views expressed will be uncontroversial, for this is the nature of the exercise and the issues being reviewed. Nonetheless, in the starkness of the apartheid-context and in the light of the debates on such issues which took place in legal circles and the popular media throughout this period³, few lawyers and certainly no judges could claim to have been unaware that the role of law and lawyers under apartheid was at least open to question if not criticism.
- 22 The following appear to be assumptions about that role that enjoy relatively widespread acceptance, although the legal establishment was dismissive of them in the past and may still resist them today.
- 23 First, judges were able to exercise a choice in almost all circumstances, although in some cases the range of options might have been extremely narrow.

2 See, for example, David Dyzenhaus, *Judging the Judges and Ourselves: Truth, Reconciliation and the Apartheid Legal Order*, Oxford: Richard Hart Publishing (forthcoming).

3 Examples of such debates include the judicial record on security and race issues, highlighted by Mathews, Dugard, Forsyth, Dyzenhaus and Ellman, amongst others; the 'Should judges resign/Wacks-Dugard debate' of the mid 1980s; the reports of the Rabie and Hoexter Commissions of the early 1980s, and the necessity for a bill of rights in the late 1980s. Before this even, was the controversy over the 'coloured vote' case of the 1950s and the 'packing' of the Appellate Division by the NP government, and the politics of the judiciary before 1950, discussed by Corder.

The inherent ambiguity of language and the diversity of factual circumstances with which judges were confronted allowed them a degree of latitude in deciding what the law was (even if it was cast in statutory form, and the more so if a part of the common or customary law) and in applying such legal rules to the concrete situations before them. Choices of a different and more far-reaching nature were available to legal practitioners (despite the much-vaunted 'cab-rank' approach said to apply at the Bar), to law teachers and students.

- 24 Second, all lawyers, as human beings, bring to their professional lives the baggage of their personal past, to which is added the communal culture so characteristic of the Bench and Bar, and to a lesser extent the side-Bar and academy. The values thus inculcated play an important part in shaping individual and corporate responses in situations where choices have to be made manifest in the courts by expressions of judicial policy. This is a proper part of the judicial process. It does, nevertheless, provide insights into underlying values.
- 25 Third, in the rare circumstances where little or no judicial choice exists, certain steps short of resignation are open to the judge. These include criticism of legislative policy both on and off the Bench, within the limits of propriety. Such limits are largely determined by the judicial oath of office and the doctrine of the separation of powers. In the case of South African judges, the oath demanded that they administer justice "to all persons alike without fear, favour or prejudice and in accordance with the law and customs of the Republic".⁴ Obviously central to the maintenance of a semblance of justice in the face of legislated executive injustice would be the meaning given to 'customs' (which could have been extensively interpreted to include the practices, and thus interests, of all the people of the Republic), as well as the prominence and scope given to the common law presumption of statutory interpretation (such as that the legislator intended minimal deprivation of rights and liberty and that its legislation should impact as equally as possible, and did not intend retrospective operation of statutes).
- 26 Fourth, the doctrine of the separation of powers naturally applied imperfectly in a system of government based on Westminster. Although the judiciary was formally independent of the legislature and executive once appointed, the very appointment process (which was in the almost-complete gift of the executive) as well as the execution of court decisions (again dependent on administrative co-operation) severely limited substantive independence. This inhibited the will and authority of the judiciary to exercise a real checking and balancing of the other two branches of government.

⁴ The Supreme Court Act, 59 of 1959, s 10(2)(a).

- 27 Fifth, the judiciary is part of government, a vital cog in the day-to-day execution of policy and enforcement of current law. Yet, the courts fulfil another function. As Lord Devlin has said, “the social service which the judge renders to the community is the removal of a sense of injustice”. Such a function contributes to stable order and peaceful government, but it cannot be wholly illusory. On occasion, the judiciary must be permitted to overrule executive action or temper legislative pronouncements that operate too unjustly. There needs to be substance to the notion of judicial independence, otherwise the courts will be seen as the mere obedient servants of the other branches of government. It is precisely this ‘space’, available to the judiciary and to lawyers, which can be legitimately and legally used to preserve basic equity and decency in a legal system. As so powerfully catalogued by Richard Abel⁵, creative and courageous lawyering (and judging) can be deeply influential in the body politic. Whether such initiatives became possible in the late 1970s and 1980s must be questioned.
- 28 Sixth, the appearance of judicial independence and adherence to legalism under the guise of ‘rule by law’ serves as a powerful legitimating mechanism for the exercise of governmental authority. It is all the more useful to a government which is pursuing legislative and executive injustice to be able to point to superficial regulation by the judiciary, while being able to rely on the courts not to delve too deeply in their interpretation and enforcement of law.
- 29 Seventh, there is an interdependence between all parts of the legal profession, such that most of the references to the judiciary above can be applied to the advocates, attorneys, teachers and students to some degree. No one who participates in an evil system can be entirely free of responsibility for some injustice; although it is possible for the good achieved by some to outweigh the negative aspects of their participation. Judge Edwin Cameron in his submission stated that:
- The overriding point is thus that all lawyers and judges, whatever their personal beliefs and the extent of their participation, were complicit in apartheid... but this does not conclude the moral debate about the role of lawyers; nor does it mean that there were no degrees of complicity or moral turpitude in the legal enforcement of apartheid.*
- 30 Law and justice are by no means co-extensive although, at a fundamental level, their interests and constituent elements are likely to coincide, and although the ultimate objective of a legal system (to endure) must be a quest for justice. An uncritical acceptance of promulgated rules of law is unlikely to contribute to the achievement of justice in any more than a formal sense.

⁵ Abel, Richard, *Politics by Other Means*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

■ FINDINGS

- 31 The hearing and written submissions to the Commission touched on all the above matters and many more. In setting out the findings below, the Commission merely accentuates those issues that seem to be relatively generally acknowledged in legal circles today, in a post-apartheid context. The absence of findings on other matters is not intended to signify their irrelevance, but is rather a reflection of the magnitude of the task that a comprehensive response would entail. As was stated in the invitation to participate in this process, it bears repetition that the findings that follow do not imply the ascription of guilt to any one lawyer or group of lawyers. The purpose of this exercise is rather to draw on the lessons of the past so that the legal process can be transformed in the future, the more surely to attempt to avoid the tragic injustice of apartheid-at-law.

The Commission finds that:

- 32 Part of the reason for the longevity of apartheid was the superficial adherence to 'rule by law' by the National Party (NP), whose leaders craved the aura of legitimacy that 'the law' bestowed on their harsh injustice. Significantly, this state of affairs was not achieved in the early stages of NP rule. It began after the coloured vote crisis in the mid-1950s, when the restructuring of judicial personnel and the Appellate Division took effect, and the white electorate lent its support to the constitutional fraud resorted to by the government to circumvent the entrenched clauses of the South Africa Act. It was manifestly abandoned when emergency executive decree became the chosen medium of government towards the end of formal apartheid – from the mid-1980s – when a climate of 'state lawlessness' prevailed and the pretence of adherence to the rule of law was abandoned by the Botha regime.
- 33 In the intervening thirty years, however, the courts and the organised legal profession generally and subconsciously or unwittingly connived in the legislative and executive pursuit of injustice, as was pointed out by a few at the time and acknowledged by so many at the hearing. Perhaps the most common form of subservience can be captured in the maxim *qui tacet consentire* (silence gives consent). There were, nevertheless, many parts of the profession that actively contributed to the entrenchment and defence of apartheid through the courts. The Pretoria Bar, for example, refused to admit black members and only passed an apology for its racism in October 1997.

34 There are many other examples:

- a Prosecutors who knew that the police had used brutal means to extract information from suspects and then assisted such interrogators from being questioned too closely on their methods.

Captain Jacques Hechter, a police officer who applied for amnesty for his part in a number of gruesome murders testified before the Commission that, prior to appearing in court, he was called in by the prosecutor and given the questions that would be put to him in court, together with the answers he should give. He would also be coached on what to say.

André Hendrickse, a prosecutor in the Cape, noted that his refusal to prosecute persons under the Group areas Act was because there was an official moratorium on prosecutions. The pressure that was placed on him by his superior because of pressure by the National and Conservative Parties eventually led to his resignation.

- b Attorneys-general who too easily launched prosecutions or granted 'no-bail' certificates on flimsy evidence.
- c Magistrates who uncritically granted police search and seizure warrants, and who conveniently found no one responsible for injuries and deaths in detention at inquests. Priscilla Jana noted in her submission that:

There were several inquests where nobody was found responsible ... the inquest of Ernest Dipali when he was found hanging in his cell, the inquest of Sipho Motsi, a COSAS [Congress of South African Students] leader who was arrested and found dead a few hours later.

- d Attorneys who failed to accept an unpopular political person as a client, perhaps for fear of social ostracism or the loss of lucrative commercial clients.
- e Advocates who were willing to appear for the government in civil actions where some of the basic building blocks of apartheid, such as racial classification or influx control or group areas, were being attacked as the unreasonable and invalid exercise of executive discretion.
- f Law teachers who chose to concentrate on 'safe' areas of the law or to teach

in such a way that no critical ability was imparted to the students.

- g Students who chose to be blinded by the glamour and material returns of the conventional mainstream of the profession, neglecting his or her potential role as a fighter for justice for all in South Africa.
- h In the greatest injustices of all, judges who too easily made sense of the illogical and the unjust in legislative language, and who too quickly accepted the word of the police or official witness in preference to that of the accused. Kathleen Satchwell in her submission deals extensively with the case of Linda Mogale, her client who was assaulted and tortured in detention. Despite evidence to this effect, the judge nevertheless rejected “as impossible” a process of police violence and system of intimidation.
- i The judiciary, which unthinkingly allowed judicial policy to be influenced by executive dictate or white male prejudice; which was intent on maintaining and protecting the *status quo*; which willingly participated in producing the highest capital punishment rate in the ‘Western’ world by the mid-1980s and an execution-rate that impacted overwhelmingly on poor black male accused. In her submission to the Commission, Paula McBride deals with a number of cases to illustrate this point.
- j The organised professional bodies which were obsequious in their attitudes to government policies, hounding those of their members who chose to buck the system politically. The GCB stated in its submission that the basis for striking Bram Fischer off the role of advocates was that he had dishonourably breached his undertaking to the court to stand trial. They dismissed suggestions that political considerations had any part in the application. Whilst the GCB apologised to the family, the apology was qualified and besmirches their conduct even more. Indeed, the Fischer family testified that the striking off of their father was done with indecent haste and was regarded by Bram as the “worst professional and personal betrayal he experienced”.
- k The organised profession took no effective initiatives to make the administration of justice more accessible to those who could not afford it, not at least until apartheid’s days were numbered. Their complacency in the face of the challenges thrown up by government injustice internally, and their defensiveness in international forums when foreign lawyers’ organisations dared criticise, are matters of public record.

- 35 The Commission believes that this was the position during the apartheid years. Many of those who appeared at the hearings and who made submissions acknowledge this to have been the case, although several qualified such admissions.
- 36 Yet, for all that this was the overwhelming pattern of the law and lawyers' conduct under apartheid, there were always a few lawyers (including judges, teachers and students) who were prepared to break with the norm. These lawyers used every opportunity to speak out publicly and within the profession against the adoption and execution of rules of law that sanctioned arbitrary official conduct and injustice. They explored the limits of their forensic skills in defending those on trial for offences in terms of such legislation, or in arguing for the invalidity of vague or unreasonable administrative action. They worked ceaselessly to prepare the cases of those targeted by the state, often in trying conditions and for little material reward. They advised and educated those in the community most vulnerable to official excesses, such as the rural poor and workers, through advice offices and religious bodies. They challenged their students to confront the relationship between law and justice and to translate their ideals into practice. They forswore the comforts of commercial practice for the sake of the upliftment of those excluded from all forms of power. They exercised their judicial discretion in favour of justice and liberty wherever proper and possible.
- 37 These actions demanded courage, strength, perseverance and clarity of purpose. There were not many in each generation who chose this lonely path, but there were sufficient of them and they were influential enough to be part of the reason why the ideal of a constitutional democracy as the favoured form of government for a future South Africa continued to burn brightly throughout the darkness of the apartheid era. Had their number been greater, had they not been so harassed and isolated by both government and the profession, the moral bankruptcy of apartheid would have been more quickly and starkly exposed for the evil that it was.
- 38 In a sense, those both inside the country and abroad who might have been embarrassed by the gross racism and exploitation of apartheid could seek some comfort in the semblance of an independent legal system. This 'justification' would not have been possible had even a strong minority of the legal profession united to strip the emperor of his clothes.
- 39 In the light of the above, should the lawyers who fought for justice against all odds have abandoned their cause for fear that their actions would lend credibility to such a semblance of independence? This question was, of course, ever present and

sometimes furiously debated, going to the heart of much of the jurisprudential controversy that surrounds the fundamental issue of ‘what is law, and how does it relate to justice?’

- 40 The Commission does not intend to enter the lists in this regard, but simply states its conclusion as briefly as possible. While the Commission does believe that substantive resistance to the injustice of apartheid by a significant number of lawyers would have undermined its effectiveness and betrayed its reliance on brute force — even if only through a prosecutorial authority reluctant to act and a judiciary uncomfortable with its complicity in injustice — in the light of the reality that those who chose to resist were relatively so few, the Commission finds that the alleviation of suffering achieved by such lawyers substantially outweighed the admitted harm done by their participation in the system.
- 41 Much was made, particularly by some of the judges who made submissions, of their relative impotence in the face of the exercise of legislative power by a sovereign Parliament. In doing so, reference was often made to the position of the judiciary in other parts of the British Commonwealth and Britain itself. The Commission regards this as a flawed argument, only partially of assistance. As argued so impressively by Dicey more than a century ago, parliamentary sovereignty and the rule of law work hand in hand and are premised on a political system that is fundamentally representative of all the people subject to that Parliament. This situation never applied in South Africa: not only was representative (and responsible) government conferred effectively only on the white inhabitants of the Union in 1910 (at maximum less than 20 per cent of the population), but South African political and legal life was never characterised by that unwritten sense of ‘fair play’ which is so much a part of the native Westminster tradition.
- 42 In other words, it is not enough for South African lawyers to parade the sovereignty of Parliament as if that alone explained (and excused) their conduct. The social contract which has for so long been the foundation for such sovereignty in the United Kingdom (and to an extent in Canada, Australia and New Zealand) was absent in South Africa, therefore requiring something more by way of response (and responsibility) from the judiciary and the legal profession. The point has been made that judges had a choice, and it has been suggested that it was feasible for them to have heightened their alertness as to government abuse of powers in the power vacuum created by the partially-representative legislature and the absence of basic fairness in the citizen-state relationship.

- 43 It could be argued that the die was cast immediately after Union by a judiciary which acquiesced in segregationist policies, so that by 1948 (and certainly 1960), the courts were locked into the overwhelmingly passive mindset that characterised their judgements in the face of brutal injustices of apartheid. While this may be partially true, the horrific extremes to which Parliament and the executive went to implement apartheid should surely have provided the basis for judges and practitioners, had they wished to do so, to resist such encroachments on basic rights and fairness, using the skills and knowledge which they manifestly possessed and arguing from common-law principles. And if such a concerted stand had moved the government formally to curtail the jurisdiction of the courts, then perhaps the degeneracy of its policies would have been laid bare earlier and more devastatingly.
- 44 Again, those judges who made submissions justified their failure to appear at the hearing on the basis that such 'accounting' would somehow negatively affect their independence and would therefore harm the institution of the judiciary in its current role in South Africa's constitutional democracy. Although the Commission unreservedly accepts the need for the independence of the judiciary, especially under the present constitutional dispensation, it finds this approach extremely disappointing and deeply regrettable for the following reasons:
- a The Commission fails to understand how an appearance before the Commission and the answering of questions on full submissions already made in writing by the most senior and respected judges would somehow undermine such independence. The terms of the invitation to appear (see above) emphasised deliberately that the proceedings were not about establishing guilt or re-opening a particular case or group of cases. In any event, the Commission's brief is limited to the period from 1960 to 1994. An exploration of judicial conduct at that time could hardly be said to impact on the current judiciary operating in such markedly different constitutional circumstances.
 - b Furthermore, it should be quite obvious that the notion of a body such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, mandated to call on all South Africans to account for their conduct during apartheid's worst excesses, is a unique event which would be unlikely to create some kind of precedent. If this was to be taken seriously as an argument, then the Judicial Services Commission provided for in the interim and final Constitutions ought also to be impeachable, for the reason that it has general powers to oversee the administration of justice and call wayward judges to account.⁶ It is also quite clear that it was precisely

⁶ See ss 177 and 178 of the 1996 Constitution.

the gruesomeness of atrocities committed during the period under review which warranted the establishment and authority of the Commission, and the elimination of such injustice (at least at the level of official policy) makes the idea of some kind of future investigative and reporting tribunal extraordinarily remote.

- c The failure of the judiciary to appear is all the more to be lamented when the historic significance of the Commission is considered, as well as its envisaged role in the transformation of South African society into a caring, humane and just one. The Commission was thus denied the opportunity to engage in debate with judges as to how the administration of justice could adapt to fulfil the tasks demanded of it in the new legal system; not so as to dictate or bind them in the future, but so as to underline the need urgently to re-evaluate the nature of the judiciary. In some ways, it seems that the judicial non-appearance indicated a reluctance to consider alternatives to the conventions of the past, many of which might be conducive to justice, but which would clearly hinder the attainment of the type of society envisaged by the Constitution.

- 45 In his paper delivered at a meeting of the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) held in South Africa recently, the Special Rapporteur to the United Nations on the Independence of Judges and Lawyers, Dato Kumaraswamy, considers judicial accountability. He says:

In a democracy, not one single public institution must be exempt from accountability.... However, judicial accountability is not the same as the accountability of the executive or the legislative or any other public institution. This is because of the independence and impartiality expected of the judicial organ.

- 46 The Commission finds that an appearance before the Commission in such special circumstances would have demonstrated accountability and would not have compromised the independence of the judiciary. History will judge the judiciary harshly. Its response to the hearing has again placed the questions of what accountability and independence mean in a constitutional democracy in the public domain for debate.
- 47 The Commission has a good deal of understanding for the 'collegiality' argument, which says that the non-appearance by those judges willing in principle to appear will create greater mutual trust among the 'old order' and the 'new order' judges and so advance the cause of constitutional democracy. However, such benefits, if achieved in this way, are outweighed by the powerful symbolic

effect of the judiciary showing themselves publicly and humbly to be accountable. For this is what the hearing was about and what the Constitution demands of a judiciary that is granted the onerous power of constitutional review. It is required that the judiciary display some sense of being able to balance its necessary and justifiable demand for independence with a measure of accountability to the South African nation it serves.

- 48 The Commission deplores and regrets the almost complete failure of the magistracy to respond to the Commission's invitation, the more so considering the previous lack of formal independence of magistrates and their dismal record as servants of the apartheid state in the past. They and the country lost an opportunity to examine their role in the transition from oppression to democracy.

Institutional Hearing: The Health Sector

■ ETHICS FOR HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

International ethical codes

- 1 Health professionals have an ethical obligation to place the well-being of their patients at the forefront of their professional commitments. From ancient times up until the present day, this has been codified in a number of oaths, codes of conduct and international declarations. In addition, since 1948, many ethical codes and international human rights instruments have been formulated concerning the treatment of patients, detainees, hunger strikers, mental health patients, and on the role of nurses and other related matters.¹
- 2 The greatest drawback of these codes and oaths is the difficulty of monitoring and enforcing compliance with them. Responsibility for upholding these principles is left, by default, to professional organisations and statutory regulatory bodies in each country. This can be problematic if these institutions are themselves under the influence of the state or if they have colluded with or been complicit in violating human rights. The international health care community can help reinforce these standards by putting pressure on countries that violate them, and especially on professional organisations within those countries. However, it is often difficult for the international community to make a significant impact, except over extended periods.

Requirements in South Africa at the time of reporting

- 3 In South Africa, most doctors are expected to take the Hippocratic Oath or the Declaration of Geneva (the modern equivalent of the Hippocratic Oath) upon qualifying (see Appendices 1 and 2). However, some medical schools require their students to take other oaths or develop their own. There is thus no uniformity in the codes of conduct or ethical pledges taken by health professionals. These codes are intended to provide the fundamental principles of the physician's role

¹ These documents can be found in [Ethical Codes and Declarations Relevant to Health Professions](#) by Amnesty International.

as healer, including the obligation to maintain patient/doctor confidentiality and to undertake measures that are in the best interest of the patient. If different schools take different pledges, one cannot expect consistency within the profession.

- 4 Nurses take the 'Nurses' Pledge of Service' (a local adaptation of the Florence Nightingale Pledge) when they graduate. However, the submission of the Democratic Nurses Organisation of South Africa (DENOSA) noted that: "it was confirmed during interviews that an individual could, theoretically, decide not to say the pledge. Also, those who are absent from the ceremony do not take the pledge." The same could obviously apply to graduating doctors. No system ensured or enforced the making of a commitment to ethical practice.
- 5 Mental health professionals are not required to take any sort of pledge or oath on qualifying or registering; their statutory obligations are outlined in the Mental Health Act.² Although the Psychology Board (a sub-section of the South African Medical and Dental Council or SAMDC) has a code of conduct, psychologists are only made aware of this (that is, sent a copy of it) when they register to practice.
- 6 Issues of ethics and human rights are not usually included in the teaching curriculum of psychology masters' degree students. Similarly, there are no uniform guidelines for the teaching of ethics in South African health science faculties. DENOSA had the following to say about the teaching of ethics to nursing students:

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

While provision is made for the teaching of ethics in the curriculum, nurses do not seem to identify it as significant to their professional role. In one particular study, it was found that 87 per cent of the research sample indicated that they did not regard the subject Ethos as necessary to their work as registered nurses.

It also appeared from interviews that, in teaching the subject, more attention was given to the history of nursing and etiquette than to ethics and professional conduct, and that students perceived the subject as a list of 'do's and don'ts'.

² This was being reviewed at the time and had been widely criticised as inappropriate and inadequate to the circumstances prevailing in South Africa. (See submissions of the Psychological Society of South Africa and Citizens' Commission on Human Rights).

- 7 During the period under review, ethics was taught on an *ad hoc* basis and, for the most part, students were not examined on these topics. There was, therefore, no uniformity in the way in which health professionals were made aware of, or given guidance on, incorporating issues of medical ethics and human rights into daily practice.
- 8 The SAMDC is responsible for disciplinary action and has a code of conduct and guidelines for ethical practice. The Council does not, however, ensure that all registered health professionals are informed of these. Health professionals who are not interested or do not themselves take the initiative to familiarise themselves with the code of conduct and guidelines may not be aware of their obligations.
- 9 The value of oaths and professional declarations in ensuring a human rights consciousness in clinical practice has been questioned by a variety of sources. If oaths and declarations are merely repeated and signed at the end of a period of training or study, they are unlikely to have any meaningful impact on the life and practice of health professionals. Ethics and human rights need to be incorporated holistically into the overall curriculum to ensure that these principles govern the activities of health professionals.

■ HEALTH WORKERS WITH DUAL OBLIGATIONS

- 10 Many health professionals find themselves in situations in which their primary obligations are not clear. This is particularly true when they are employed to provide health care services for a clientele, organisation or institution whose primary function is *not* the provision of health care. The difficulties and challenges faced by district surgeons illustrate this clearly.

District surgeons

- 11 Of all the health professionals in South Africa, district surgeons working under the apartheid government probably had one of the most difficult jobs in terms of upholding medical standards and human rights. On the one hand, they were under a statutory obligation to provide medical care for prisoners and detainees, to record information on the mental and physical health of inmates and to ensure that proper health conditions existed in terms of basic sanitation, food and general health care. On the other hand, there was (and perhaps still is) great pressure on them to support the police and prison authorities for 'national security' reasons.

- 12 One of the most infamous cases involving inappropriate and negligent care of a detainee by district surgeons was the death of Stephen Bantu Biko.

The death in detention of Stephen Bantu Biko³

Stephen Biko was a prominent leader of the Black Consciousness Movement in the mid-1970s. He was detained by Eastern Cape security police in August 1977 and kept at Walmer police cells in Port Elizabeth. From there, he was taken regularly to security police headquarters for interrogation. The two district surgeons responsible for his medical care were Drs Benjamin Tucker and Ivor Lang.

On 7 September 1977, Stephen Biko sustained a head injury during interrogation, after which he acted strangely and was unco-operative. The doctors who examined him (naked, lying on a mat and manacled to a metal grille) initially disregarded overt signs of neurological injury. They also failed to record his external injuries or insist that he be kept in a more humane environment (at least that he be allowed to wear clothes). When a physician was finally consulted, a lumbar puncture revealing blood-stained cerebrospinal fluid (indicating possible brain damage) was reported as being 'normal', and Biko was returned to the police cells.

Finally, on 11 September 1977, Stephen Biko lapsed into semi-consciousness. Dr Tucker recommended his transfer to a hospital in Port Elizabeth, but the security police refused to allow this. Subsequently, Dr Tucker acquiesced to the police's wish to transfer Biko to Pretoria Central Prison. Stephen Biko was transported 1 200 km to Pretoria on the floor of a landrover. No medical personnel or records accompanied him. A few hours after he arrived in Pretoria, he was seen by district surgeon Dr A van Zyl, who administered a vitamin injection and asked for an intravenous drip to be started.

On 12 September, Stephen Biko died on the floor of a cell in Pretoria Central Prison, naked and alone. The post mortem examination showed brain damage and necrosis, extensive head trauma, disseminated intra-vascular coagulation, renal failure and various external injuries. The medical treatment was subsequently described by a judge of the Supreme Court as having been "callous, lacking any element of compassion, care or humanity".

The magistrate referred the inquest findings to the SAMDC on the grounds that there was a prima facie case of professional misconduct and/or negligence

³ Based on information from the submission to the Commission by Professor Peter Folb.

against the doctors involved. The SAMDC took two and a half years to respond. They initiated a preliminary inquiry in which it was found that the doctors had no case to answer. The full Council ratified this decision.

Despite an outcry from doctors both locally and internationally, the SAMDC adhered to this decision. It was supported by the Medical Association of South Africa (MASA), which even went so far as to imply that those doctors calling for the case to be re-opened were politically motivated.

The reversal of the SAMDC decision took years and was the result of the committed efforts of Drs Ames, Veriava, Jenkins, Mzimane, Wilson and Tobias. These doctors took the issue to the Supreme Court, which ordered the SAMDC to re-examine the case against Drs Tucker and Lang. As a result of this, a disciplinary enquiry was held in 1985, eight years after Stephen Biko's death. Dr Tucker was found guilty of improper and disgraceful conduct on three counts and was struck off the role of medical practitioners (although he was reinstated some years later). Dr Lang was found guilty of improper conduct on five counts and was suspended for three months (ironically, this suspension was conditionally suspended for two years and so had no impact on Dr Lang's practice of medicine). Dr Lang continued to be employed as a district surgeon by the Department of Health and was, in fact, promoted to chief district surgeon in Port Elizabeth in Dr Tucker's place.

- 13 The evidence available to the Commission suggests that most district surgeons were not directly involved in committing gross violations of human rights during the period under review. Their most common offence was a failure to carry out their duties within internationally accepted guidelines of medical ethics and human rights. All these points are starkly illustrated by the Steve Biko story. The doctors failed to:
 - a maintain patient-doctor confidentiality norms;
 - b treat their patient with dignity and respect;
 - c examine the patient thoroughly;
 - d record and report injuries accurately;
 - e diagnose illnesses and prescribe appropriate medication;
 - f register complaints (particularly pertaining to assault and torture).

- 14 On many occasions, district surgeons examined patients with security officers or prison warders in the room, which may have inhibited patients from disclosing abuse or torture by the police. This practice also reinforced the belief of prisoners that district surgeons collaborated with the authorities. District surgeons breached patient-doctor confidentiality by allowing third parties (police or prison authorities) automatic access to patients' files without informing the patients concerned or obtaining their consent. International standards require a doctor to inform the patient *before* he or she conducts an examination if the information in the medical records will be released. Finally, a number of deponents (generally detainees) told the Commission that they did not receive what they believed to be appropriate care from district surgeons.⁴
- 15 These circumstances were aggravated by the fact that most district surgeons were white, while the majority of the detainees were black. Because white and black people had for years been separated by apartheid policies, there was a strained relationship and a lack of mutual trust and understanding between doctor and patient.
- 16 Many district surgeons also claimed that they did not know they could override the orders or wishes of prison warders or police on medical matters - for example, by not releasing information or by insisting that warders leave the room during examinations.⁵ Finally, where a district surgeon *did* take a stand to uphold the human rights of his or her patients, he or she received little or no official support from the profession or the Department of Health.
- 17 At the height of the state of emergency in the mid-1980s, there was a flood of detainees into the prisons. The increased workload pushed district surgeons into unprofessional medical practices – such as failing to examine detainees properly, failing to insist on private examinations and failing to investigate complaints by their patients. While a number of independent sources reported evidence of almost routine torture and assault of detainees, district surgeons, with only one exception, failed to report or speak out about these violations.
- 18 While it is easy to criticise district surgeons, it must also be appreciated that the conditions under which they had to work made it difficult for them to uphold human rights. They were given no specific training for work in the prisons, no continuing medical education and no independent avenues to report abuses. They were generally isolated from the rest of the profession and sometimes

4 Since the primary mandate of the Commission was to look at gross human rights violations, the instances of professional misconduct are limited to those mentioned in conjunction with a gross human rights violation. Nonetheless, there are still numerous allegations of misconduct.

5 Rayner, Mary (1987). Turning a Blind Eye, pp 29-31, 53-54.

actively ostracised. It is, thus, perhaps not surprising that they adopted the culture of the police and prison officials from whom they received affirmation and support. The Department of Health submission said:

[District Surgeons had] a firm belief that the detainees were the enemy of the State and that it was the right thing to do to assist the police in getting the information out of the detainees, as they were trying to overthrow the government. The country was fundamentally racist and this included many district surgeons. The ideology was such that it was regarded as completely normal not to give black people the same services as whites and to treat black people as second class citizens.

Lack of support from institutional bodies

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

The death in detention of Ms Elda Bani⁶

Ms Elda Bani, a fifty-year-old political activist, was detained in 1986 in North End Prison, Port Elizabeth. She suffered from severe insulin-dependent diabetes, which she reported to the medical staff at the prison. Initially, she was able to treat herself with medication she had brought into prison but, when her medication supply ran out, she received no treatment from the district surgeon. In spite of her condition, she was made to eat normal prison food at inappropriate times (for example, supper at 16h30 with no further meals until breakfast the

⁶ This is a summary of the case presented at the Health Sector hearing on 17 June 1997 by the Health and Human Rights Project.

next morning). The district surgeon made no attempt to intervene, although it should have been obvious to a doctor that such long gaps between meals were quite inappropriate for a diabetic.

Inevitably, Ms Bani's condition deteriorated as her untreated diabetes worsened. She became confused and incontinent. Her cellmates reported this, and Ms Bani was taken away, they assumed, to hospital. When she returned, however, she reported that she had not been taken to hospital, but had been beaten by the police. Her cellmates saw blood on her clothes and injuries on her back. Her condition continued to deteriorate and she eventually lapsed into a hyperglycaemic coma. She died shortly afterwards of an entirely preventable and treatable condition.

Examples of misconduct among district surgeons

20 There are numerous accounts of district surgeons who failed to fulfil their moral and ethical duties as doctors. For example:

- a A district surgeon declined to refer to a hospital a detainee with three gunshot wounds in his groin, or even to apply disinfectant or a dressing because she believed it was more important for the detainee to assist the police with their enquiries.
- b A district surgeon did not ask a youth whose teeth had been broken or allegedly extracted by a security police officer how he had acquired this injury.
- c A district surgeon found no marks or injuries on a former detainee, although another district surgeon had recorded extensive injuries when he examined the same detainee.
- d A district surgeon was allegedly requested by the security police to advise them as to whether a detainee was fit to undergo further electric shock torture.
- e A district surgeon asked the security police questions about the health of a detainee, instead of asking the detainee himself.
- f A district surgeon performed perfunctory examinations or did not inquire into the cause of injuries suffered by detainees.
- g A district surgeon was personally acquainted with members of the interrogation squad.

A doctor who exposed the system

In September 1985, Dr Wendy Orr lodged an urgent application with the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court for an interdict restraining the police from assaulting detainees. Since the declaration of the state of emergency, Dr Orr had documented 286 cases concerning detainees who complained of police assault during questioning. In her affidavit, she reported that the police seemed to believe they were immune to proceedings against them and that none of the complaints of torture or assault was ever investigated. Dr Orr told the Court that she felt "morally and professionally bound"⁷ to seek legal intervention. As a result of her action, the requested relief was granted. She was, however, barred from seeing detainees; her telephone calls were monitored; she felt ostracised by some of her office colleagues and her duties as a district surgeon were reduced to almost nil. She subsequently resigned and began work at the Alexandra Health Centre.

It is interesting to note that the Security Branch of the South African Police (SAP) instituted strict security clearances for all district surgeons subsequent to Dr Orr's revelations – further evidence of the influence and involvement of the SAP in the work and conduct of district surgeons.⁸

- 21 Health professionals who are employed in situations in which they have dual loyalties are, because they do not enjoy full independence in making or implementing decisions, at risk of becoming involved in overt or covert abuses of the human rights of their patients. It is all too easy for health professionals who are not particularly vigilant or well-informed to assume the culture of the organisation for which they work, rather than maintaining independence and putting the needs and rights of patients above those of the organisation. Appropriate measures are needed to prevent or pre-empt the moral and ethical dilemmas that may arise for health professionals faced with the (often conflicting) needs of their patients and expectations of their employers. This issue needs careful consideration.

■ HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF HEALTH CARE IN SOUTH AFRICA

- 22 While the Act establishing the Commission directed it to examine the years 1960 to 1994, many of the events under scrutiny by the Commission can only be understood adequately within the context of the history and events leading up to this period.

⁷ Wendy Orr and others v the Minister of Law and Order and Others, First Applicant's Founding Affidavit, page 37.

⁸ Rayner, Mary (1987). *Turning a Blind Eye*, p78; Minutes of *Afdelingsbevelvoerderskonferensie, Veiligheidshoofkantoor*, Pretoria, 27-28 Januarie 1986, page 13, last paragraph.; Vernon, Ken. 'When the jailer came it meant interrogation'. *The Star*, 29 September 1985.

- 23 Although the Union Constitution of 1910 gave control of the hospitals to the provinces, there were no specific provisions for the delivery of health services until the Public Health Act was passed in 1919⁹. The Act created a Department of Public Health, but left hospitals under provincial control. It also gave local authorities responsibility for the control of infectious diseases and environmental sanitation.¹⁰ This led to a fragmented health system.
- 24 In 1942, the National Health Services Commission, headed by Dr Henry Gluckman, found that there were 2 000 active medical practitioners in South Africa. More than half of them (about 1 100) practised in urban areas where only 28.2 per cent of the population lived. The doctor to population ratios ranged from 1:5 000 in the rural areas (where mainly black people lived) to 1:380 for urban areas (where mainly white people lived). The infant mortality rate for whites was 50 per 1 000 live births; for Africans, it was estimated to have been between 150 and 600 per 1 000 live births (it was impossible to arrive at accurate figures due to inconsistencies in reporting).¹¹
- 25 The Gluckman Commission report was published in 1945 and contained significant recommendations, including proposals that access to health care for all be considered a right rather than a privilege and that the state assume responsibility for the provision of health services.¹² Ironically, although none of these recommendations were implemented then, many constitute the core of the transformation of the health care system today.
- 26 It is important to note that racial discrimination and the lack of appropriate health care provision predated the National Party (NP) and formal apartheid. Indeed, the effective rejection of the recommendations of the Gluckman Commission took place before the NP was voted into power. However, during its first decade in power, the NP made no significant changes in the provision of public health care, except to reduce expenditure on public health on which mainly black people were dependent: expenditure was, for example, reduced by 8 per cent for the period 1950-55.¹³ Hence, by 1960, the health care of black South Africans had been prejudiced by years of unequal allocation of resources – based on the assumption that ‘natives’ required less sophisticated health care than whites and a complete lack of coherence in or centralisation of health policy development.

9 Pillay, *The Politics of Exclusion: Health Policy in South Africa 1910-1990*, page 23.

10 Pillay, page 24.

11 Pillay, page 55.

12 Pillay, page 80.

13 Compared to the previous five years. Pillay, page 121.

- 27 The 1960s saw the replacement of apartheid rhetoric with concrete apartheid programmes aimed at enforcing racially separate development and the establishment of the homelands. Homeland health services were appalling. This is not always apparent from government-supplied health indicators, as homeland health figures were usually excluded from the statistics.¹⁴ In fact, official statistics often gave the impression that the health situation was improving in South Africa. However, both in the homelands and in the Republic, segregated health care services seriously compromised the health of disadvantaged communities.

■ STATE HEALTH ORGANISATIONS

The Department of Health¹⁵

- 28 The Department of Health was the arm of the national government responsible for public health services. It provided for care at the local, provincial and national levels, allocated state funds, drew up regulations and appointed senior officials to the hospitals. During the years under review, the Department's policies appear to have been driven by the political objectives of the national government, rather than a desire to ensure the well-being of all South Africans. The Department helped develop health care legislation that discriminated against people according to race. It enforced segregation of health care facilities and allocated funds in a racially biased way. These policies shaped, and continue to influence, health care delivery and the health of South Africans.
- 29 Inequities in health services can, to a significant degree, be attributed to the Department of Health as the body responsible for state-run hospitals. Most hospitals and ambulances were assigned exclusively to specific racial groups. Where hospitals served more than one group, separate wards were allocated to different racial groups. Generally, the facilities available to whites were far superior to those available to blacks in terms of technology, sanitary conditions, supplies and the number of patients per health care worker. For example, at the King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban, which served African patients, conditions were appalling. At times, the obstetrics and gynaecology ward would operate at 200 per cent capacity. Women who had just given birth, or who were about to give birth, lay on mattresses on the floor and had to share five toilets with up to 140 other patients.¹⁶

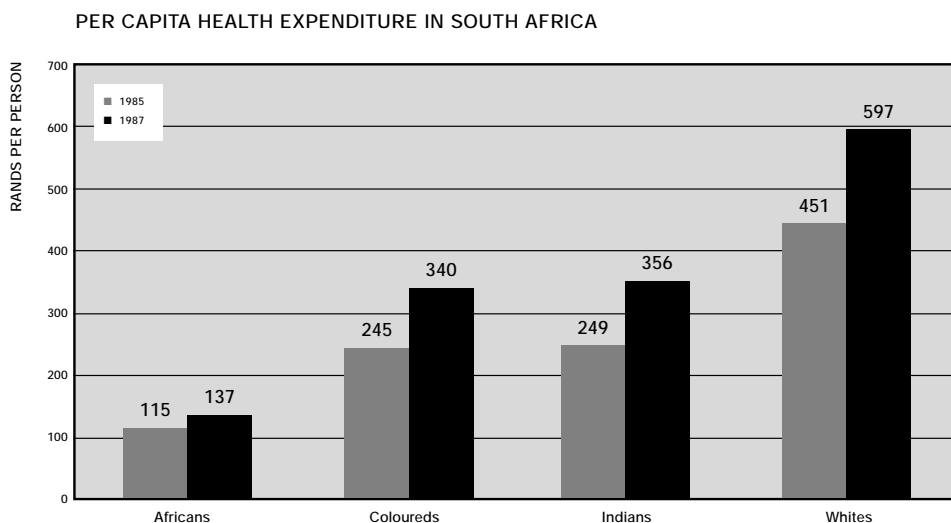
14 American Association for the Advancement of Science, *Apartheid Medicine*, pp 44-45.

15 The Department of Health was called various names during the period under review but will be referred to throughout this chapter simply as the Department of Health.

16 Interview by Sheila Roquette with Professor Green-Thompson, former head of department for Obstetrics and Gynaecology at King Edward VIII Hospital, on 16 April 1997.

- 30 The practice of segregating facilities was particularly serious in emergencies. If an ambulance of the 'wrong colour' arrived at the scene of an accident, the driver would leave, and another ambulance would have to be summoned. Even if a 'white' ambulance was closer to the scene of an accident in which a black person was injured, an ambulance from further away would be summoned – regardless of the seriousness of the emergency or the threat to the life of the patient.
- 31 Between 1960 and 1994, the Department of Health failed to use its resources to provide the best possible public health service. Probably the greatest problem in the health sector was the maldistribution of resources. Because of apartheid restrictions on where people could live and work, it was very easy for the Department to ensure that the distribution of resources favoured white people. By far the largest proportion of government funds was spent on the white population, despite the endemic poverty and socio-economic deprivation of the majority black population. In 1985, for example, annual *per capita* health expenditure according to race was R451 for white people, R249 for Indian people, R245 for coloured people and R115 for African people (see Figure 1). Since black hospitals were regularly overcrowded and white hospitals underutilised, the funding should have been redistributed to provide better overall care. The silence of the Department about the effects of socio-economic conditions on the general health of the population was deafening.

Figure 1



Source: Department of Health submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

32 According to the Department of Health today:

The exact effects of segregation and inequitable distribution of health resources based on race are impossible to calculate in terms of exact morbidity and mortality. However, this, together with the indignity of racially based services, resulted in abuse that cannot be allowed to be repeated.

- 33 The Department was also responsible for the regulations that governed conditions of service and the appointment of personnel in hospitals. Compensation for doctors varied by race, and salary differentials persisted into the 1980s. Even when parity in salaries was achieved, differences in total compensation remained, including medical aid packages, amount of leave, housing subsidies, and travel allowances.
- 34 The appointment of doctors to government hospitals had to be approved by the Department of Health. Often people were denied positions because of their political activities.¹⁷ The Department appointed the hospital superintendent, who enforced the policies in that hospital. This was significant, as many of the racist provisions enforced by the superintendent were not part of any law, but simply reflected a desire to conform to the ideology of the state.
- 35 The Department did little to prevent police from obtaining medical records from hospitals or clinics without the consent of patients. The police used these files to identify 'anti-apartheid protesters', which made many people afraid to go to a government hospital to receive care, as they feared arrest. The Department did not take issue with inhumane practices, such as handcuffing or shackling patients to beds.

The South African Medical Services

- 36 The South African Medical Services (SAMS) was the medical service of the South African Defence Force (SADF) – now the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). The SAMS was formed in 1979 as a distinct and separate section of the SADF. It was responsible for providing health services to members of the SADF (army, navy and airforce) and some health services in the former homelands and parts of Namibia and Angola for certain periods.

¹⁷ For example, Dr Green-Thompson was recommended for appointment as professor and head of a clinical department at University of Witwatersrand by a large majority. However, the appointment was prevented by the Transvaal Provincial Administration. It was believed that this was due to his activities as a former student leader. (Information from the University of Witwatersrand's submission to the Commission).

- 37 The SAMS included doctors, nurses, psychologists and non-professional, military-trained 'medics'. These individuals were either conscripts or permanent members of the SADF and had to be trained and fully incorporated into the doctrine and standing operational procedures of the combat forces. This made the operation of the SAMS quite different from civilian care.
- 38 Military health professionals had a particularly difficult time in upholding international standards of medical ethics and human rights. While they were supposed to follow the same ethical codes as civilian medical workers, they were, at the same time, required to follow orders given by superiors. This created an atmosphere of dual loyalty for these individuals.

Experiences of a military medic¹⁸

Sean Callaghan had to choose the section of the military in which he wished to serve at the age of fifteen when he completed his papers for military conscription. At the time, he chose to be a military medic so he could "help people rather than kill them". Two years later, he found himself working as a medic in the townships and on the Namibian and Angolan border.

The first time that many of the medics performed any medical procedures was in black hospitals because "frankly it didn't matter if we made a mistake because they were black people". He very quickly learned that "the only way to cope with the situation was to switch off my emotions immediately, not to feel anything for anybody, not to try and fit into any kind of humane circumstance; but just to be a cold machine that did what I was trained to do."

In some camps, members of the SADF were given monetary incentives to carry out military objectives. At the Koevoet camp, they were paid for killing and recovering weapons from the enemy. This was a great motivating factor as the men could double or triple their incomes. In one instance, an officer became so frustrated when he could not find a firearm in a patient's possession (which would have meant extra money) that he shot the patient through the head while Sean was attending to the patient's wounds. John Deegan, the officer concerned, confirmed this in a statement to the Commission.

Torture was used during interrogation to extract information about the enemy and the whereabouts of arms caches, as such information could help increase the men's incomes. Some of the procedures used included electric

¹⁸ Based on the public testimony of Sean Callaghan at the Health Sector Hearing, 17 June 1997.

shock around the genitals and pouring boiling water over the chest and genitals. Medics were expected to treat the resultant injuries.

Prisoners of war were shot at point blank range and buried once enough information had been extracted from them. Bodies were often tied to Casspirs¹⁹, and the men would drive around with them for a week with their skin being ripped off. This was done to intimidate prisoners, and to coerce them into identifying the bodies and disclosing the position of the deceased in the command structure, or face being one of the next bodies to be dragged by the Casspir.

There was virtually no psychological help for the men to deal with the tragedies that they witnessed. They often drank heavily or took drugs – one of the only ways to cope with the adverse circumstances. Suicides occurred frequently, as national servicemen could not take the pressures of constantly being in combat situations or so far away from their families. When Sean did go to the local psychiatrist for help, he was told to “grow up and carry on” because there was nothing wrong with him.

Once the men completed their military service, there was no debriefing or assistance to help them reintegrate into society. Although, according to the SAMS, Project Curamus was launched on 2 April 1990 to assist conscripts and permanent force members ‘disabled’ in the course of duty, the project seems to have focused primarily on physical disabilities, not psychological problems. After completing his military service, Sean suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder for ten years.

- 39 It is apparent from this account that military medics were forced to violate international and local standards of medical professional conduct and human rights and that many were personally traumatised by their experiences. Many of them have had great difficulty reintegrating into and becoming productive members of civilian society.
- 40 As yet, relatively little is known about the human rights violations committed by health professionals in the military. The SAMS submission to the Commission focused on the history, functions and administrative structure of the service, rather than considering any possible involvement in gross human rights violations. Many questions were deferred because they related to supposedly ‘classified’ (secret) operations. For example, the SAMS submission referred to three special projects undertaken by the Psychology Directorate. The reference was followed by the

19 Armoured personnel carriers, designed to be landmine-proof. Casspirs were developed for use in Namibia but were later used in domestic situations.

disclaimer: "As these projects have national strategic and security implications, they are not discussed in detail in this non-restricted document." However, the little information that the Commission does have on the violation of human rights by the SAMS suggests that military objectives often took precedence over medical objectives. In June and July 1998, a special hearing on the SADF's chemical and biological warfare programme uncovered new information about the extent of involvement by the medical profession in human rights violations.²⁰

- 41 The Commission investigated a number of allegations. There were reports of a particular psychologist who used aversion therapy and electric shocks on homosexual military men as part of a treatment for their 'gayness'. Another doctor allegedly helped the military develop chemical weapons and truth serum to be used in questioning.

Experiences of a doctor conscripted to the SADF²¹

Before beginning his two years of National Service in the mid-1980s, a young conscript had qualified as a medical doctor. On entering the military, he applied to work in the department of psychiatry at a military hospital because he believed that he could use his time most productively there. He worked in psychiatry for six months and was subsequently sent to Oshakati for three months.

While in South West Africa, he observed many irregularities in the provision of medical care. When he arrived at Oshakati, he was treated differently to the other doctors and was accused of having been placed there as a 'government spy for the Surgeon-General'. Later, he discovered that the other three doctors had been 'handpicked' by the commandant, who said that "he did not want me in the camp and that if I ever breathed a word about anything I saw or caused any 'trouble', I would 'disappear without trace'".

He said that some of the obstacles and breaches in medical ethics he experienced included:

- a psychologist prescribing a schedule five anti-psychotic drug that only a medical doctor is permitted to prescribe;
- the commandant and his deputy changing scripts for medication and discharging patients without consulting the attending doctor;

²⁰ This hearing is reported on elsewhere in the report.

²¹ This person made a statement to the Commission but wished to remain anonymous.

- the commandant's refusal to supply the necessary medication to a patient;
- being prevented from treating patients who were members of the local community;
- disregard of his recommendations for treatment of a patient who had injuries that were thought to have been inflicted by security police. The patient subsequently disappeared;
- when diagnosing post-traumatic stress disorder, he was told that no such condition existed.

He wrote a report to the Surgeon-General describing these situations. The head of the Department of Psychiatry promised to give his report to the Surgeon-General but never did so.

- 42 The SAMS was directly and indirectly responsible for putting health workers in positions in which it was almost impossible to uphold international ethical and professional standards, as strategic needs were given priority over the health of the patients treated by military medical personnel. In addition, the SAMS did not acknowledge that the experience of combat situations could result in significant mental distress and did not provide adequate debriefing and counselling services for those of its members (either permanent force or conscripted) who were suffering in this way.
- 43 The panel to which the SAMS made its presentation felt strongly that its submission was evasive, that it failed to consider the very real ethical challenges faced by health professionals in the military and that it made no attempt to consider the possible involvement of health professionals in human rights abuses, either through acts of omission or commission. The quality of the SAMS responses to the very extensive and probing list of questions posed at the hearing merely entrenched this perception.
- 44 The Commission made special attempts to determine the involvement of the SAMS (and particularly health professionals employed by the SAMS) in the development of and research into weapons for use in biological and chemical warfare. The matter proved extremely difficult to investigate and was not covered in the SAMS submission. However, in an interview with *The Argus* newspaper dated 2 March 1995, General Knobel was quoted as saying that Project B, a research project on chemical warfare, began in the late 1970s under the leadership

of Dr Wouter Basson (a medical doctor) of Seventh Medical Battalion. This project was allegedly closed down in 1993. The special hearing on chemical and biological warfare in June and July 1998 (referred to above) uncovered some of the activities of this project. At the time of the hearing, Dr Basson was facing charges of (amongst other things) conspiracy to commit murder, fraud involving millions of rands and dealing in the drug, 'ecstasy'. He was also still registered with the SAMDC as a cardiologist and a practitioner 'in good standing'.

- 45 The Commission traced the following allegations about the use of biological and chemical weapons by the SADF. It was assumed that these were developed under the auspices of Project B:
- a A paralysing gas was allegedly used in May 1978 in the massacre at Kassinga, Angola.²²
 - b The SADF allegedly used chemicals, napalm and defoliants in the Rustenburg area in August 1978 in an attempt to flush out a detachment of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) guerrilla fighters.²³
 - c In an attack on Frelimo troops near the South African border on 16 January 1992, a gas similar to teargas (causing pain and irritation) was allegedly sprayed from reconnaissance aeroplanes.²⁴

■ MISUSE OF MEDICAL AND SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION²⁵

- 46 Medical expertise and information should be used to heal patients and develop new methods of prevention, treatment and cure. They can, however, be used against people in destructive ways. Many people view scientific data as 'fact', although, taken out of context or misrepresented, such data can be used for unethical purposes and have adverse outcomes.
- 47 Submissions and amnesty applications forwarded to the Commission, together with court evidence and secondary sources, gave numerous indications that health professionals were involved in committing human rights abuses and used their

22 'Report of the Kassinga attack prepared by a joint UNHCR/WHO mission on 30 May 1978', reproduced as Annexure V in UN document 13473 of 27 July 1979.

23 Report received from the Institute van Zuidelijk Afrika, Netherlands, 1978.

24 See report of General Pierre Steyn to President FW de Klerk, 20 December 1992.

25 This section was based on information from the submissions by Dr David Klatzow, Professor Michael Simpson, the Health and Human Rights Project, and the Independent Medico-Legal Unit.

medical knowledge directly or indirectly to harm others. Some professionals were alleged to have participated in developing more effective methods of torture and interrogation, or to have given advice on how to use chemicals to make weapons or to poison people. Some also used their knowledge to design specialised weapons. Others, especially forensic specialists, used their expertise to falsify information or to disguise the cause of death in order to exonerate certain persons (often the Security Police) from blame.

Misuse of medical expertise

- 48 Doctors and mental health professionals were alleged to have advised torturers on how to identify potential victims, break down their resistance and exploit their vulnerabilities in order to achieve the goals of the state. It was also alleged that they helped assess the vulnerabilities of victims and prescribed drugs or psychological procedures to weaken detainees before torture was administered. They also recommended the kind of torture that would be most effective. In addition, some doctors were alleged to have advised torturers during interrogations as to when victims were near breaking point and how much more pain could be withstood.
- 49 Doctors are alleged to have given advice to police on lethal chemical formulas that were undetectable or difficult to trace, and on ways to disguise torture methods. In the case of Mr Siphwe Mthimkulu, the victim became very ill after his release from detention. Upon further investigation, it was found that he had been poisoned with thallium, an odourless, tasteless poison whose effects are delayed after ingestion.²⁶ Siphwe Mthimkulu disappeared in the year after he was released from prison. Many people believe that only a medical professional or chemical expert would have had the knowledge to advise the police to use such a poison.
- 50 Mr Amos Dyantyi told the Commission that he was severely tortured on the day of his detention in 1985. He almost suffocated when his torturers put a tube over his head. He was electrocuted by having electrodes inserted into his anus and suffered excruciating pain when a mechanical piece of equipment (like a jack-hammer) was forcefully pushed into his stomach. The police were so concerned about his condition that a part-time district surgeon was called in to see him. Before he was taken to the hospital, the doctor allegedly told the Security Branch police to force porridge into his nose so that it would look as if he had suffocated on the porridge.

²⁶ Affidavit of Dr Frances Ames.

- 51 It is also believed that doctors advised interrogators how to administer electric shock. Initially, it was administered through clips or wires. However, the clips left marks that were detectable under a microscope. Professor Simpson, who worked extensively with detainees, reported that, once it became widely known that detection of electric shock was possible, there was a change in the way in which detainees described the administration of electric shock. Torturers poured water over the victim and administered the current over a larger area of the body. Because the area through which the current penetrated was larger, this method left no marks. Again, it is believed that it was health professionals who advised torturers on this less detectable method of electric shock. Professor Simpson noted that, once it was discovered that electric shock could *still* be detected by a blood test, electric shock was used less frequently.
- 52 Doctors were also used by the SADF to develop weapons such as letter bombs and silencers for guns.²⁷ In a recent amnesty application, a perpetrator admitted to working for an SADF front company which, posing as a commercial chemical company, developed weapons such as letter bombs and special weapons that could deliver small amounts of lethal chemicals. This application named several medical doctors who were involved in this operation.²⁸

Misrepresentation of forensic information

- 53 Forensic information was misused in various ways. Some forensic pathologists omitted crucial information or falsified *post mortem* reports to cover up the cause of death. There were many cases where doctors misrepresented forensic evidence and findings in court in order to absolve the state of allegations of abuse or criminal activity. This required the collusion of police, lawyers, forensic experts, district surgeons and other health professionals and magistrates and judges. The misuse and manipulation of specialised knowledge is illustrated in a number of case studies selected from submissions to the Commission.

Accidental or deliberate?

Ashley Kriel was shot in 1987 while allegedly resisting arrest and engaging in a scuffle with a security policeman. The police version of events was that, in the course of the arrest, Kriel produced a small .22 pistol. Jeffrey Benzien, the senior police officer involved in the arrest, tried to take the gun away from him. A scuffle ensued during which Ashley Kriel was fatally injured by a

27 Special hearing on the SADF chemical and biological warfare programme.

28 The information contained in this and other amnesty applications remains confidential until the end of the life of the Commission. The applicant in question applied for amnesty for no particular incident, but noted that, if the weapons had been used as intended, they would have caused numerous deaths and injuries (AM6490/97).

bullet wound in the back, fired from his own pistol. The evidence presented by the state forensic experts supported this version of events.

On an examination of the facts, however, numerous inconsistencies are evident. These were not presented to the magistrate by the state witnesses, but were highlighted by the expert forensic witness testifying on behalf of Ashley Kriel's family. The two assessors sitting with the magistrate, both of whom were forensic experts, also failed to point out the inconsistencies or take them into consideration. The outcome of the inquest was a 'no blame' verdict.

Some of the inconsistencies were:

- The marks around both of Ashley's wrists indicated that he had been handcuffed before his death. If the handcuffs were removed, why was this done? If they were not, how could Ashley have engaged in a fight with Benzien, and how could he have shot himself in the back?*
- The size and nature of the entrance wound in Ashley's back was consistent with a direct contact wound; in fact, stigmata around the entrance to the wound indicated that the muzzle of the revolver was held directly against the skin. However, the size and nature of the holes in the clothing that he was wearing at the time (a T-shirt and track suit top) were inconsistent with a contact shot.*

- 54 There are some well-known examples of cases where doctors reported false causes of death. These include the numerous detainees who supposedly died from such causes as slipping on a bar of soap, dying of an epileptic seizure where no prior history of epilepsy existed, having a heart attack without a history of heart disease, choking on food or suffocating or committing suicide. In addition, doctors were known to give expert advice on the mental health of deceased prisoners, or to conclude that someone had committed suicide because of mental instability, without ever having met the person involved. This type of evidence was advanced at the inquest into the death of Neil Aggett.
- 55 Expert forensic evidence of gun shot wounds was also used to determine the distance between the victim and the killer.

Determining shooting distance

In 1986, seven young men were killed in a police ambush in Gugulethu. The police evidence was that all seven were shot from some distance. No contrary evidence was produced by the state experts. Independent forensic experts,

however, found evidence of very close range 'finishing-off' shots on the bodies of many of the seven victims. One of the victims had, in fact, been shot in the jaw at such close range that there was almost no dispersal of the shotgun pellets, and the felt wad (which contains the pellets) was embedded in his brain. This evidence was presented at the second inquest into the deaths.

Hence, the police version that this person was shot from a distance of a few metres cannot be true. Again, however, a collusion of silence and a tacit agreement to turn a blind eye by lawyers, state forensic experts, police and the magistrate resulted in a 'no blame' verdict.

- 56 Professor Michael Simpson told the Commission that, on one occasion, a doctor gave evidence on the exact time of death of a detainee in order to help absolve a Security Police officer of suspicion; although, using the available technology, it would have been impossible to determine time of death with such precision. As it turned out, the expert had felt the victim's forehead and pronounced the time of death as having been exactly twenty minutes earlier. A professor of forensic medicine who was acting as an assessor in that case failed to comment on this unusual method of determining the time of death.

Mistake or complicity?²⁹

April Makhwenkwe Tarliwe was killed in KwaZulu-Natal on 19 April 1992. The post mortem was performed by a district surgeon, Dr A Nhlanhla, who reported the cause of death as "fractured base of skull" with mention of a "laceration on the upper lip". There was no indication in the post mortem report that the deceased had been shot. The district surgeon expressed the opinion that the deceased may have died in a motor car accident.

Subsequently, a member of an Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) hit squad who had been present at the incident (a 'drive-by' shooting) confessed to the Investigative Task Unit that Mr Tarliwe had been shot by a member of his squad. This new information and the post mortem report were obviously contradictory, and the Investigative Task Unit arranged for an exhumation.

At the second autopsy, a bullet entrance wound was found in the facial bones below the victim's nose, and the bullet was found still lodged in the victim's skull. Either the district surgeon made a mistake or he had been complicit in covering up a crime. If Dr Nhlanhla's evidence had simply been accepted, a gross miscarriage of justice might have ensued.³⁰

²⁹ This case comes from the Independent Medico-Legal Unit submission.

³⁰ At the time of reporting, this matter was the subject of a disciplinary enquiry by the SAMDC.

- 57 These examples demonstrate some of ways in which medical and scientific information was misused or abused. It is difficult to determine the culpability of doctors in these situations, as the evidence may have been destroyed or the doctor could claim to have made a misdiagnosis or an honest mistake. However, there is enough evidence to indicate that these misrepresentations occurred frequently.³¹

■ MEDICAL SCHOOLS

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

Admission for training in the health sciences

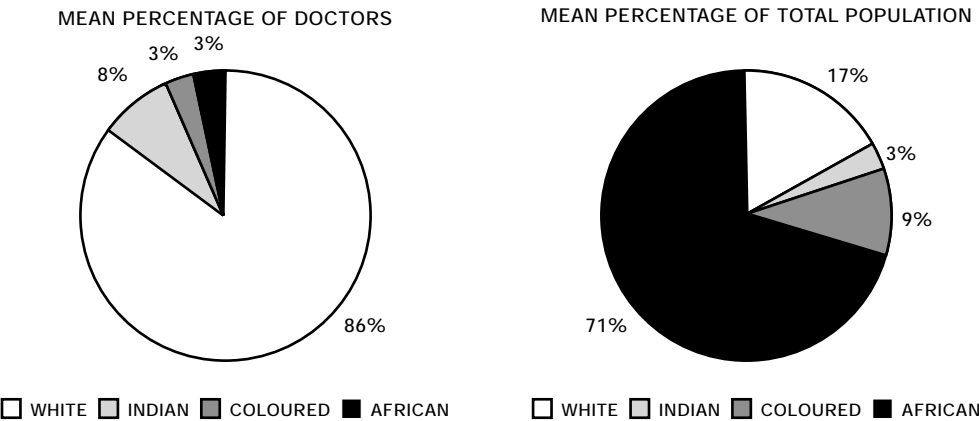
- 59 Opportunities for black South Africans to become health care professionals were extremely limited in the case of doctors and mental health professionals; although far less so for nurses. Before World War II, no black doctors were trained in South Africa. None of the medical schools in South Africa would admit black students and all black doctors received their training overseas. There does not appear to have been any statute preventing medical schools from accepting black students; it simply did not happen. Some of the schools claimed that it was because they did not have the facilities (such as separate residences) in which to accommodate black students.
- 60 The outbreak of World War II ended overseas training. From that time, a few black students were admitted to the University of Witwatersrand (Wits) and the University of Cape Town (UCT). However, very few black doctors were trained until 1951, when the University of Natal in Durban (UND) Medical School was opened exclusively for black students.
- 61 In 1959, the University Extension Act was passed, requiring black students to obtain ministerial consent before they could attend a white university. This made it very difficult for black students to enter any medical school other than UND

³¹ Dr Gluckman, who served as a state pathologist for several years, came forward with files he had on more than 200 cases in which pathologists or district surgeons had falsified or altered the *post mortem* reports. Dr Gluckman had kept the medical records that documented the contradictions in these cases.

and, in turn, for many aspiring medical students living outside Natal (as it was then) to attend medical school. UND was far from their homes and many did not have the financial resources to pay accommodation and travel expenses and academic fees. A small number were, however, able to attend white universities if they could convince the Education Ministry that extenuating circumstances prevented them from attending UND. The number of black medical students increased from the early 1980s, after the Medical University of Southern Africa (MEDUNSA) was established. This was part of the apartheid plan to keep blacks (especially Africans) out of white universities, while at the same time ensuring a supply of black doctors to care for the black population.

62 The lost opportunities that resulted from the University Extension Act are impossible to quantify, although one can say with certainty that numerous black people were kept out of the medical profession. Between 1968 and 1977, for example, 86 per cent of all newly qualified doctors were white, while white people comprised less than 20 per cent of the population. By contrast, 3 per cent of the new doctors were African, while Africans constituted 71 per cent of the population (see Figure 2).³²

Figure 2. Racial composition of doctors compared to the racial composition of the population



Note: Figures are the mean average percentages for 1968-1977.
Source: Data from the Health and Human Rights Project submission to the Commission, p87.

Disparities in the education of black and white medical students

- 63 Although the various South African medical schools were quite different from one another, they displayed strong similarities in their patterns of racism and the often overtly degrading treatment they inflicted on black medical students.³³ In general, black students were excluded from sports facilities and most social events. Accommodation was not usually offered to black students, which meant that they had to spend much time and money commuting. Where accommodation was made available, it was far inferior to that available to their fellow white students. Tearooms and changing rooms at hospitals were also segregated, and facilities for black students and professionals were inferior.

Personal experiences of Dr Ahmed Moosa at the University of Cape Town

There were no African students on the UCT Campus [when Dr Moosa attended medical school]. The only African people working there were people who were employed as labourers and as assistants maybe in some of the laboratories.

All the residences were closed [to black students]. You couldn't stay on the campus no matter where you lived. The clubs – all academic or social clubs – were closed ... There were sports facilities, but those were segregated.

This lack of integration continued throughout our medical school years ... In anatomy, in the second year of study ... all the black students were separated into a smaller lab.

In third year, the autopsies that we attended ... they would only show black bodies if there was a mixed class. If there was a white corpse that had an interesting pathology, these corpses were eviscerated in an anteroom and the organs from these bodies were brought in and displayed to the class. You weren't even allowed to see a white corpse.

During our clinical years ... the tutorial groups that we were in were separated along colour lines ... We couldn't work in the white wards in the obstetrics wards ... the white side of the hospital was a 'no-go' area for students of colour.

The separation of doctors continued throughout our internship years. There were separate residences. There were three or four white interns with us – they had a separate dining room. There was obviously the very sore point of differential salaries.

³³ The students at UND faced a similar situation to their black colleagues at 'white' medical schools, because it was attached to a predominantly 'white' university.

- 64 Even the training received by the few black students who were admitted to white medical schools was in some ways inferior to that of their white colleagues. While the lecture halls were not actually segregated, some of the practical training was. It is important to note that there was no legislation enforcing this discrimination; it simply became accepted practice at the medical schools. Black students could not attend *post mortems* on white cadavers and, at many medical schools, black students were not allowed to examine white patients. This changed in the mid-1980s when they were allowed to examine those patients who gave consent. Even after this, many hospitals maintained a policy preventing black students from examining white women in the obstetrics and gynaecology wards.
- 65 Black students had to do their clinical training in black hospitals, whereas white students could choose from any of the teaching hospitals. Since most of the training institutions are attached to white hospitals, black students had to travel long distances for their training. Heads of department usually chose to be based at the white hospitals, which limited the access of black students to the best and most experienced teachers. Since black hospitals lacked the resources of the white hospitals, many of the black students felt that they were deprived of the opportunity to use new technology or to see 'first world' diseases.
- 66 Conditions in the black hospitals were often horrific, which in itself hampered proper ethical treatment of patients. As one former student told the Commission, "it's difficult to teach ethics in an unethical environment."³⁴

Dr Solly Rataemane's personal experiences of post-graduate training at the University of the Witwatersrand

Our lectures and clinical work (in neurology) took place in the Wits Department of Neurology ... One afternoon, Dr Rangaka and I were the only two post-graduate students who attended the clinical session. The senior specialist would not give us a patient to assess. We were told that she was protecting us against embarrassment, if the white patients were to refuse being examined by black doctors. It was clear that we were only allowed to examine these patients in the presence of our white colleagues, who would explain that we are also doctors.

I was allocated a rotation at ... one of the white centres providing training in child and adolescent psychiatry. On the eve of my commencement at this centre, a senior member of the Department of Psychiatry phoned me to inform me that I would not be going to that centre, as the superintendent of

34 Interview with Dr Umesh Laloo, conducted by Sheila Roquitte, April 1997.

the centre was white and racist and he was not happy to have black doctors interview white children and white families. My anger at the Department and the University was immeasurable.

Inadequate teaching of ethics and human rights

- 67 None of the health science faculties made the teaching of ethics and human rights a priority. Most often, courses on these subjects were optional and the students were not tested on the material, thus reducing their incentive to attend the lectures. The teaching institutions failed to integrate ethics and human rights into the curricula in a way that could have helped students understand their importance and practical applicability. In addition, students were not encouraged to question the *status quo* or to protest at the differences in the provision of health care by race. Professor Frances Ames told the Commission:

I think submission to authority and absolving oneself from blame by saying that one has to obey orders are widespread... I think all medical students should be taught about the research on submissiveness being a key etiological factor in the perpetuation of atrocities. They should be fully familiar with Milgrim's work and reflect on Hannah Arendt's concept of the 'banality of evil'.

Relationship between the state and medical school faculties³⁵

- 68 One of the major points of confusion concerning the medical faculties was their relationship with the state. The hospital superintendent, who ran the hospital, was accountable *only* to the provincial authorities. Doctors in the public hospitals (which were often also teaching hospitals) were appointed by the province and were subject to provincial terms of employment. Professors were appointed jointly by the university and the state through a committee composed of medical faculty members, administrators and provincial representatives. The university paid only a small percentage of their salaries.
- 69 This arrangement may have made it more difficult for individual members of medical faculties to criticise state policies, as they may have believed that such criticism would have put their jobs in jeopardy. Professor Frances Ames related the following incident, which illustrates that this was not an unfounded fear:

[In] 1980 ... I was pushed and shamed into action by UCT students. They invited me to join a panel to address a public meeting held at the Medical School to protest against the refusal of the South African Medical and

³⁵ The information in this section comes from the University of Witswatersrand's submission to the Commission.

Dental Council to discipline Drs Lang and Tucker, who had been accused of improper and disgraceful conduct during the public inquest into Biko's death.

I accepted their invitation and was surprised when, some hours before the meeting, I was summoned by the superintendent of Groote Schuur Hospital. He told me that head office had 'phoned him to tell me that I was a provincial servant and forbidden to participate in political activities.

- 70 Although many of the racist practices in the hospitals breached international medical ethical codes of conduct, medical faculties were subjected to triple loyalties: to their patients, to their students and to their employers (the state and the university). Criticism of the failure of health science faculties to act against apartheid medical practices must also be tempered by the acknowledgement that universities in general relied on the government for a large part of their funding and were not completely independent. Failure to conform made institutions vulnerable to funding cuts.

Complicity of the medical schools

- 71 While some medical schools did start to speak out against the inequities of apartheid medicine, especially in the latter part of the period under review, they were generally complicit in committing human rights abuses by helping to create and perpetuate the racist environment in which health professionals were trained. Greater efforts should have been made by the lecturers and administrators to provide equal educational opportunities for all students. The medical schools could have challenged more vociferously the issue of segregated facilities, hospital rules concerning the treatment of patients, the lack of promotion of black doctors and the unequal resource allocation to black and white teaching hospitals. In addition, they could have encouraged their students to question the validity of the system and taught them how to maintain their integrity as doctors by upholding international ethical standards for the profession. Finally, they could have been more vocal in encouraging the professional organisations to take a stand against apartheid medicine and the injustices within the profession that stemmed from the maldistribution of resources.

■ THE ROLE OF THE NURSING PROFESSION

- 72 Nurses in South Africa form the largest body of health workers in the country and make a great impact on health care delivery. During the period under review, they were very often at the frontline when it came to treating patients who had been subjected to human rights abuses resulting in injuries.

- 73 Nurses working for the prison services were very often the first points of contact for prisoners or detainees with medical complaints arising from abuses. The role of nurses in preventing and reporting abuses could thus have been absolutely crucial, as they could have brought cases to the attention of the relevant authorities and the public at large. The fact that this seldom happened reflects the hierarchical relationship between nurses and doctors, the subordination of nurses, the lack of awareness of ethical rights and responsibilities and the failure of the South African Nursing Council (SANC) to support and encourage the observance of human rights. Rather, nurses were encouraged to support the political situation of the day:

If they [nurses] suspect that a person is involved in insurgent or terrorist activities, they are required to report this to the medical superintendent or the nearest police station or army unit. If they do not do so, they may themselves be charged under the Terrorism Act if there is evidence that they have given assistance to a 'terrorist'.³⁶

- 74 Submissions and statements received did not indicate that nurses actively participated in gross human rights violations, but they *did* suggest that acts of omission and 'turning a blind eye' were common. "I think we are all guilty, but we had blinkers on, so did not see it at the time."³⁷

Experience of Ms Betty Ncanywa, a nurse at Livingstone Hospital (Port Elizabeth) in the 1980s

Most of the cases that we attended were for gunshot wounds and tortured people and detainees with severe depression. Some died before they reached us. Some died on arrival. Some were taken before we could treat them. The Security Police would take them from the casualty department before we could even treat them.

As nurses, we were given an instruction that we mustn't obstruct the work of the security force. We mustn't stand in the way of the police. The only thing we need to do is to just treat the patient. Even if we see people being tortured, we must just keep quiet. This was the instruction from the hospital management ... I must try to refrain from politics, otherwise my future would be in jeopardy.

- 75 This testimony very starkly illustrates the dilemma in which nurses found themselves. On the one hand, their training inculcated a culture of adherence and obedience

³⁶ Searle, Charlotte (1986) *Ethos on Nursing and Midwifery: A General Perspective*, page 253.

³⁷ Respondent (anonymous) quoted in the DENOSA submission.

to the hierarchy (doctors, matrons, sisters, nurses) and to authority of any kind (for example, the police). On the other hand, those who were conscious of human rights and ethical issues found themselves having to lie (for example, to admit a patient with 'severe depression' when they knew this was not the diagnosis); discouraging patients from going to hospital when they knew hospital care was desirable, and performing procedures (for example, removing bullets) for which they knew they were not qualified.

- 76 The way in which nurses were perceived to collude with apartheid policies and, during unrest situations, to co-operate with police (even though this perception was not always accurate) undoubtedly had a negative impact on the delivery of health care by nurses to communities.

This touches individual lives and safety, the ability to function in one's professional capacity and a fundamental loss of trust between various sections of the community, leaving jagged wounds of a physical, psycho-emotional, social and spiritual nature, which may take a long time to heal.³⁸

■ THE ROLE OF MENTAL HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

- 77 The area of mental health has historically been neglected in South Africa. Very few psychologists and clinical social workers were trained, resource allocation was notoriously inadequate and very few attempts were made to provide culturally appropriate mental health care to all South Africans.
- 78 The training of clinical psychologists in South Africa has been criticised for producing mental health professionals who mirrored their (white) environment: urban-based, in private practice and focused on curative rather than preventive mental health care. In addition, the type of treatment modality taught was overwhelmingly that of one-on-one therapy. Although obviously effective in some settings, this kind of therapy was generally available only to the elite few who could access and afford it – that is, the white population.
- 79 The first black psychologist to qualify in South Africa did so in the early 1960s. By 1998, the Human Sciences Research Council estimated that there were 3 897 psychologists in South Africa, 3 587 (92 per cent) of whom were white. Mental health care for black people consisted largely of institutionalisation (even at the time of reporting). A number of inaccurate concepts about the mental health of black people

³⁸ Sheila Clow, quoted in the DENOSA submission.

included, for example, the notion that black people do not get depressed and that black people displaying symptoms of severe stress are suffering from 'Bantu hysteria', to be treated with medication. An entire language and terminology was built up around this issue. The effect was to deny the need for preventive and counselling services for black people. Instead, chronic stress and trauma were pathologised and prescription medication was used as treatment.

Involvement in human rights abuses

- 80 While it was extremely difficult to find any hard evidence of overt involvement in gross human rights violations by psychologists, the profession was undoubtedly involved in human rights abuses through acts of omission. It also displayed a general apathy in relation to issues such as the effects on mental health of endemic violence, detention, solitary confinement and torture. In addition, until very recently, the profession failed to draw attention to the incontrovertible link between apartheid and mental health or to comment on the destructive effect of apartheid policies on the mental health of those they oppressed. According to one submission:

All citizens have had their human dignity denied and degraded through the experiences of living through the apartheid years. Our humanity and common sensibilities have been stunted.

It is evident that the predecessor of the South African Federation for Mental Health at the national level was supportive of the apartheid policies of the government and did little or nothing to oppose other human rights violations in the field of mental health. It even reprimanded committee members or staff who did so.

- 81 Various submissions reported that individual psychologists were involved in human rights abuses and/or unethical conduct that may have led to abuses. Some of those named were psychologists EG Malherbe, RW Wilcocks and HF Verwoerd who, for example, advocated racist policies like job reservation and prohibition of sexual intercourse between the races. Others mentioned were psychologists like ML Fick and JA van Rensburg, who were amongst those who propagated ideas of black intellectual inferiority. These views bolstered segregationist policies that resulted in gross violations of human rights.

- 82 Similarly, there is evidence that at least some practitioners engaged by the prison service acted in collusion with the prison authorities:

Practitioners ... tended to adopt an attitude that indicated their subservience to the requirements of the security police or the prison administration. Indeed, many of them ... would rather gather information from the warders/jailers than myself. I often wondered who the actual patient was ... I, the patient, became invisible...

The psychologist who visited me at Victor Verster Prison ... in Nov 1982, really interrogated us ... His role was to ferret out exactly what we would do on our release. He actually told me that, if I became a psychologist, I would be dangerous to the state because of the insights I could bring to political organisations – that I would be able to decide who would be an asset and who a liability to the struggle, while sifting out agents!³⁹

- 83 Breyten Breytenbach described his encounters with prison psychologists thus:

These perverted practitioners of the spurious science of psychology do not have as their first priority to help the prisoner who may be in need of it. They are the lackeys of the system. Their task is very clearly to be the psychological component of the general strategy of unbalancing and disorientating the political prisoner.

- 84 A former SAP psychologist admitted in an interview that work associated with the use of psychology in torture and interrogation was 'contracted out' to outside psychologists, so that the SAP could deny the involvement of their own staff in this type of unethical behaviour.
- 85 Conditions in mental institutions were appalling and did nothing to foster mental health. Inmates were used as sources of income-producing labour and there are (unproved) allegations that black patients were used as 'guinea pigs' in research. Mental health professionals remained silent about this situation. The Department of Health acknowledges:

Conditions in a number of psychiatric institutions are still poor. Some of the worst wards and hospitals (for example, Westford in Gauteng) have been closed down. Many psychiatric hospitals are still faced with staff shortages.

39 Cooper, Saths, Mental Health Workshop transcription, Johannesburg, 20-21 November 1997.

Abuse of diagnosis and treatment

- 86 The abuse of diagnostic tools by mental health professionals in collusion with the state must be regarded as a violation of human rights. Diagnosis was used to silence activists or opponents of the state, condemning them to institutions where they were under state control. This tendency increased the stigma attached to mental health institutions.
- 87 Health professionals also produced diagnoses that minimised illness or claimed that individuals were feigning illness, thus allowing the police to continue torturing and ill-treating political prisoners. Misdiagnosis also served to deny political prisoners and black people in general access to much needed mental health services. Yet, ironically, in an attempt to persuade the Commission's Amnesty Committee to grant amnesty, a diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder was employed by security personnel.
- 88 The abuse of diagnosis is inextricably linked to that of treatment. Thus, individuals were given the wrong medication. As noted above, it was also claimed that detainees were used as guinea pigs to test new drugs.

Education, training and research

- 89 As with other health professionals, mental health professionals received very little under- or postgraduate training in ethics or human rights issues. At the time of reporting, psychologists were still not required to take an oath on graduation or registration and appeared to be acquiring knowledge about appropriate conduct by default rather than design.
- 90 Up until the time of the Commission, the training of mental health professionals adopted a largely Eurocentric paradigm, resulting in a style of mental health care that was inaccessible and inappropriate for many South Africans. While transformation was occurring in some academic sectors, change was still absent in others. Likewise, the types of psychometric tests used for assessment purposes (such as IQ tests) still tended to be appropriate only in a western culture. In South Africa, they were used as a way of excluding black candidates from, for example, educational institutions and employment opportunities.
- 91 In the same way, the types of research initiated and funded by tertiary academic institutions and organisations, such as the Human Sciences Research Council,

remained esoteric and of little relevance to the mental health needs of the majority of South Africans.

Rural mental health

- 92 Most of the deponents who came from rural communities complained that they had no access to mental health services. Those who did experienced the services as alienating. They also spoke of the need for a culture that incorporated indigenous healing systems – for interventions informed both by the prevailing culture and by religious modes of healing.

The impact of trauma

- 93 At the time of the Commission, most South Africans were still experiencing the consequences of trauma. It was clear that mental health services were not yet geared to address this need. This point was discussed at a mental health workshop conducted by the Commission which dealt with the psychosocial and emotional needs of communities and individuals who had been identified by the Commission and other victim support agencies. The view was also expressed that mental health services historically received little or no resources and that the impact of poor mental health is far-reaching. In addition, the traditional paradigm used to understand trauma was Euro-American. The indigenous wisdom in South African cultures had been marginalised and its richness ignored. An aspect of trauma that also deserves attention is its impact on families and communities at a multigenerational level so that intervention strategies incorporate the family in its entirety.

Psychiatric patients remain a vulnerable group for discrimination and abuse of human rights. Both the mentally ill and the mentally handicapped are clearly stigmatised and thus discriminated against ... In particular, there is a tendency to provide a differential level of care to different socio-economic groups, which is similar to the dehumanisation of other deprivations we have lived through.⁴⁰

- 94 The 'sins' of the mental health profession in South Africa were largely those of omission, although there is some evidence of more direct involvement in unethical conduct leading to human rights abuses. Unfortunately, because of the veil of secrecy surrounding the inner workings of the SADF and SAP and the invocation of the Official Secrets Act, it was not possible to perform an adequate assessment of

40 Submission from Society of Psychiatrists of South Africa.

the role that mental health professionals played in these institutions. Undoubtedly, like doctors and nurses with dual obligations, mental health professionals in these settings were vulnerable.

■ THE ALLIED HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

- 95 The Commission received submissions from other sectors of the profession, including physiotherapists, pharmacists, dentists and complementary practitioners. The submission by physiotherapists pointed again to the hierarchical nature of the health profession and the fact that some professionals were perceived as having a less important status. The submission of the physiotherapy profession complained that:

*Certain individuals and institutions had been invited to make submissions [to the Commission]. However, the rehabilitation therapists had not been included in this group, which consisted of doctors (and psychiatrists), nurses and psychologists. This seemed to be a perpetuation of long-standing professional hierarchy/hegemony, which needs to be challenged as part of the health care sector hearings.*⁴¹

- 96 All submissions emphasised the lack of training in ethics as a major area of concern. In addition, the fact that other health professionals felt compelled to make submissions is indicative of the pervasiveness of abuses - either overt or covert - in the health sector and an acknowledgement of the fact that most health workers did not speak out enough, or at all, about these abuses.

■ PROFESSIONAL HEALTH ORGANISATIONS

- 97 In his testimony, Dr Barry Kistnasamy noted:

The social consequences of apartheid were so gross, so thoroughly destructive and so widely acknowledged and abhorred by the international community that there could be no avoiding the intrusion into the professional lives of the medical men and women of this country.

- 98 It was surely the task of the statutory and professional organisations to ensure that professionals were able to provide ethical and appropriate health care, regardless of the policies of the government in power. If, as Dr Kistnasamy states, those policies made this impossible, it was for the statutory and professional bodies to speak out against those policies.

⁴¹ Combined submission by physiotherapy professional groups

The organised medical profession

- 99 History has shown that the two most powerful bodies with which doctors were associated - the SAMDC and the MASA - failed to speak out or take a stand for most of the period under review.
- 100 The SAMDC was a statutory body and, during the period under review, was responsible for the registration, education, maintenance and monitoring of professional standards of conduct as well as for disciplinary enquiries into allegations of misconduct of all health professionals except nurses and pharmacists.⁴²
- 101 The successor body to the SAMDC, the Interim National Medical and Dental Council (INMDC), prepared a submission to the Commission on behalf of the earlier body. The submission made it clear that the SAMDC saw itself as an independent body:

Although created by statute originally in 1928, the SAMDC was not an organ of state. It was totally funded by the health care professionals falling within its jurisdiction. The majority of its membership was persons who were not appointed by the Minister.

- 102 Yet, the SAMDC was viewed widely as an almost parastatal organisation, lacking in independence. Nothing highlighted this more than its initial failure to launch an investigation into the conduct of the district surgeons, Drs Tucker and Lang, after the death of Steve Biko. The following explanation was given as to why the SAMDC's first enquiry into the matter in 1980 differed so markedly from the second enquiry in 1985 (undertaken in large part in response to continued public outcry):

When eventually (the second) inquiry was held, that was a completely different body in a different Council. Remember the Council's terms of office stretch in five-year terms, or used to. So, that was one Council from 1980 to 1985 and then a new Council from 1985 onwards. So that when eventually this inquiry reached the stage where it came before Council, there was a completely new Council with new members, and that Council then came to the conclusion that the practitioners were in fact guilty.

- 103 One might question this explanation. A body responsible for discipline and the maintenance of professional standards of conduct should display consistency in applying those standards.

⁴² It was replaced by the Interim National Medical and Dental Council in 1994. The South African Nursing Council was the equivalent for nurses. (see above)

104 The SAMDC, in contrast, displayed no hesitation in taking action against another of its members who was guilty - not of negligence in treating patients, but of resisting the apartheid regime. Dr Aubrey Mokhoape was a doctor convicted of terrorism in 1974. During his interrogation, he was put into solitary confinement, beaten and tortured. The Council did nothing to protest about this treatment and proceeded to use the criminal offence ('terrorism') as the basis for launching proceedings against him as a medical professional. It eventually dropped its charges against the doctor, but the case demonstrates that the SAMDC could take swift action when it deemed it appropriate.⁴³

105 Another significant problem raised in the hearings was the fact that the SAMDC was only able to respond to complaints or submissions made to it. This inability to be proactive severely hampered its capacity to monitor and maintain professional and ethical conduct.

106 In a letter submitted to the Commission after the hearing, Mr Prinsloo, on behalf of the executive committee of the SAMDC, stated:

*The Committee resolved that the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission] be informed ... that the Executive Committee wished to state explicitly that it records an apology in respect of any acts of omission or commission on the part of the SAMDC in not taking firmer steps to negate the effects of an unacceptable social system.*⁴⁴

107 The apparent collusion of some doctors with state security forces and the lack of response from professional bodies in relation to this led to deep divisions within the South African medical world. Therefore, two bodies came to represent the medical profession - MASA and the National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA).

108 The older body, MASA, was a voluntary, independent, professional association for medical doctors. It was historically (at the time of reporting) the largest professional medical organisation in South Africa, with a membership of about 14 000. At the time of the hearings, it saw its role as "empower[ing] doctors to bring health to the nation"⁴⁵ by representing the collective interests of the profession and the patients it serves, as well as shaping health policy to meet the needs of the community.

109 MASA made a 104-page submission, the result of an extensive study of its records and archives. The submission noted that MASA had members that

43 Submission by the Health and Human Rights Project.

44 Personal correspondence from Mr N Prinsloo to Dr W Orr, 24 July 1997.

45 The MASA Constitution.

actively supported the apartheid government and members that actively opposed it. Rather than focusing on the activities of individuals, the document examined MASA's role as an association. It said, in this regard:

The Association in general was quite comfortable with the status quo, and its public reaction to any criticism of the inequity and the iniquities in society, particularly the inequities in health care delivery, was to dismiss that criticism as the work of enemies of the state and it defined all sorts of means to defend itself and the system.

- 110 The submission also acknowledged the fact that MASA failed to respond appropriately to the health needs of the majority of South Africans.

MASA was always, without doubt, a part of the white establishment ... and for the most part and in most contexts, shared the worldview and political beliefs of that establishment. Inescapably, it also shared the misdeeds and the sins for which the white establishment was responsible.

- 111 Dr Hendrik Hanekom of MASA clearly acknowledged the organisation's past positioning in his response to a question at the hearing:

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

- 112 The written submission added, however, that the events surrounding the death of Steve Biko forced MASA to begin a long process of examining the ethics and morality of its actions.

This sad and disgraceful episode marked the beginning of a movement within the association, a movement of opposition to the actions and attitudes of the then leadership of the Association which, haltingly and with many setbacks and failures, finally grew powerful enough so that by 1989, it was quite clear that the Association had set its feet firmly on the road of renewal and transformation.

- 113 NAMDA was an 'alternative' medical association, formed on 5 December 1982. In its submission to the Commission, the Progressive Doctors' Group (PDG), a core group of ex-NAMDA doctors formed to pursue discussions about a united medical association for South Africa, gave some of the reasons for the NAMDA breakaway from the MASA. These included:
- a the conduct of the profession in respect of the medical conduct of those responsible for the death of Steve Biko;
 - b the devastating effects of apartheid on health and human rights, and
 - c the failure of existing medical organisations to respond cogently to these issues.
- 114 With the increased repression of the 1980s, it became important to work at making health facilities safe or providing alternative services. NAMDA, together with other professional organisations, such as the Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (OASSSA), took on this responsibility.
- 115 NAMDA disbanded in the early 1990s when it became evident that South Africa was moving towards a new democratic dispensation in which the Department of Health would (it was believed) take on the issues that had triggered its creation.
- 116 The PDG highlighted a number of other concerns in its submission: The first was the harassment of NAMDA and its members, which manifested itself in various ways. Second, was the concern that so few health professionals came forward at the time to testify about human rights abuses in the profession. "It seems that many more health professionals were aware of problems or were involved in problematic practices than they were prepared to acknowledge." A third concern was the way in which certain research was conducted, particularly in the area of occupational health: for example, heat acclimatisation chambers set up to 'customise' workers to the work place. Last was the fact that, at the time when NAMDA was supporting the 'Free the Children' campaign, MASA was involved in drawing up, 'Children in places of detention: a code for their handling'. In other words, while NAMDA abhorred the very concept of detaining children, MASA was trying to find ways to make it more acceptable.

South African Nursing Council (SANC)

117 Similarly, it is evident that nurses did not feel that their statutory body, the SANC, or their professional organisation (then the South African Nursing Association) offered appropriate or adequate guidance and support for nurses who found themselves in situations where human rights were abused.

118 The SANC admitted in its submission:

We further acknowledge and accept without justification that Council was influenced by the policies of the government of the day. This could have resulted in both a conscious and unconscious perpetuation of those discriminatory policies and legislation, leading to gross violations of human rights.

We are aware that Council was all the time morally bound to adhere to a strict professional approach to matters of nursing, without allowing itself to be used as a tool of the apartheid machinery.

We appreciate that Council could at times have exercised a free discretion on some of the issues.

We therefore wish to apologise unreservedly both for conscious and unconscious activities that could have had the effect of undermining human rights from time to time.

119 According to the DENOSA submission, there was, over the years, no accountability within the profession to pledges or other codes studied by nurses. This is underscored, for example, by the long-standing acceptance of section 49 of the Nursing Act (no 69 of 1957), which made it an offence for white nurses to be subordinate to black nurses.

120 Other 'failures', raised by the SANC include:

- a Only white persons could serve on the Council.
- b While the SANC was aware that there was segregation in health treatment along race lines, which vitiated the nurses' pledge, it apparently made no effort to protest against this.

- c Where victims of accidents were denied emergency treatment on the scene because of their race, the SANC made no efforts to confront this situation.
 - d The SANC failed to react to gross inequities in the provision of training facilities for the various population groups.
 - e When former political prisoners and detainees made allegations against nurses in prisons and other hospitals, the SANC failed to conduct proper investigations.
 - f Appointments of staff in the categories of typist/clerk and upwards were almost exclusively limited to whites. There was no effort on the part of SANC to empower members of the disadvantaged communities.
- 121 These admissions on the part of the SANC make it unsurprising that nurses failed to respond more vigorously to the human rights abuses with which they were confronted. Where leadership failed to lead on issues of human rights and, at times, was seen to sanction and support apartheid policies and practices, those in subordinate positions would have needed unusual courage to protest, particularly when threatened, as was Ms Betty Ncanywa, with loss of employment.

Mental health organisations in South Africa

- 122 The South African Psychological Association (SAPA) was founded in 1948, with a membership of thirty-four. In 1962, following the admission of a black member, a new association, the Psychological Institute of the Republic of South Africa (PIRSA), was established exclusively for whites. The two organisations merged in 1983 to form the Psychological Association of South Africa (PASA). Black professionals were permitted as members but, because of the racist history of PIRSA, many chose to join the Black Psychologists' Association instead.
- 123 OASSSA was formed in 1985. It included psychologists and social service workers, and attempted to provide social services (largely counselling) to communities and individuals that did not generally have access to them.
- 124 Finally, in 1994, the Psychological Society of South Africa (PsySSA) was formed. This organisation represented the professional interests of South African psychologists and was attempting, at the time of reporting, to bring about transformation in the field of mental health care.

- 125 The Society of Psychiatrists of South Africa (SPSA) is a sub-group of the MASA and was formed in 1966. About half of the approximately 300 registered psychiatrists in South Africa are members. Commenting on its activities over the previous thirty years, the SPSA said:

That the SPSA had to be prodded into adopting a more distinct role, that of lobbying the government for equal and adequate facilities for all the country's mentally ill, regardless of race, is evident ... Much of the Society's concern with respect to apartheid was generated in response to external pressures and reports since 1977.

- 126 In other words, the SPSA was a largely reactive body that did not play a proactive role in ensuring that the human rights of mentally ill people were upheld.

- 127 In addition to the professional organisations mentioned, a number of societies working in the area of mental health were formed over the years. In 1920, the South African National Council for Mental Hygiene and the Care of the Feeble-minded was formed in an attempt to facilitate communication and formalise the relationship between the government and these societies. This Council was originally structured in such a way that at least half of the members of the policy making board were government psychiatrists. In addition, the Broederbond managed to influence policy significantly.

The Board of the SA National Council for Mental Health was, therefore, at least until the early 1980s, heavily influenced by two power groups not representative of civil society, namely government psychiatrists who sought to protect government mental health services from criticism and reform, and the Afrikaner Broederbond, which oversaw the implementation and maintenance of a Christian National Philosophy, which is today recognised as being a euphemism for apartheid.

In 1966, the Department of Social Welfare and Pensions issued its notorious Consolidated Circular no 29 [Appendix 4], according to which welfare organisations were no longer allowed to have racially mixed memberships ... The National Council for Mental Health complied with the circular by excluding all black persons from its meetings and membership.

- 128 This was in direct contravention of the constitution of the World Federation for Mental Health (of which the National Council for Mental Health was a member),

which affirmed non-discrimination on racial grounds as a major principle. The World Federation failed to act against its South African affiliate, however.

129 During the 1980s, the Council began a gradual process of transformation, starting with racial integration. Eventually, after wide consultation, the South African Federation for Mental Health (SAFMH) was formed in 1992.

130 Some would argue that, because the profession was so small, any intervention or declarations would have had little effect. In addition, the fact that psychology was low in the hierarchy of health care has been put forward as a reason for the profession's failure to act on issues which should have drawn rigorous condemnation. These arguments, however, appear more as attempts at self-justification than as valid reasons for the profession's failure to respond to human rights abuses. For instance, in July 1987, the SPSA issued the following statement:

The implementation of section 29 of the Internal Security Act 74 of 1982 and other Emergency Regulations involves a type of detention such as isolation, solitary confinement, immoderate interrogation, etc., that in our opinion may damage the mental health of many persons so detained.

We accept that it is our bounden duty to effectively treat and prevent relapse in the mentally disordered. We wish to express unequivocally our opposition to practices that lead to mental breakdown.

While we accept that justice must be done and that security must be maintained, we believe that this should not be achieved in a manner that diminishes the dignity of the individual or the integrity of his or her mind and body.

131 This mild (and somewhat euphemistic) statement could surely have been issued much earlier than mid-1987. Incontrovertible evidence of the mentally deleterious effects of detention, solitary confinement and torture existed decades before this. The SAFMH submission reflected on this:

The Board members and staff of the SAFMH acknowledge that the Board of the National Council for Mental Health was guilty of activities contrary to the promotion of good mental health, by actively and tacitly supporting the apartheid policies of the previous government and failing to support those within its ranks who protested against apartheid atrocities and human rights violations in the field of mental health. They are also conscious of many acts

of omission during the apartheid era and that, instead of campaigning actively against the mental illness of apartheid, they remained silent ... They express their sincere regret for the Federation's action in this respect ... They will in future strive towards the social welfare of all South Africa's people, with special recognition of those who have been previously disadvantaged.

■ RESISTANCE TO ABUSES

- 132 The Commission acknowledged that it was difficult for health professionals, particularly those with dual loyalties, to fight against the systemic human rights abuses that apartheid so deeply entrenched in the health sector. There were, however, many instances where people protested quietly or vociferously, and a few who put their careers and lives at risk in protest against violations of human rights. Many of the people who protested about the conditions under which health services were delivered or did not co-operate with state authorities were victimised in various ways. Some were fired from their jobs; others ruined their chances of promotion; some faced personal violence.⁴⁶
- 133 Many unknown and nameless health workers offered health care to injured 'protesters' in their own homes in the townships. Injury during an unrest situation meant automatic arrest and people who went to hospital, particularly with gunshot injuries, were often handed over to the police. These health workers placed themselves and their families at risk and, although the Commission was unable to name them, they deserve acknowledgement. They saved many lives and prevented many inappropriate arrests.
- 134 Although one can cite many such cases, the health profession as a whole was not outspoken enough in its protests against abuses.

Raids for medical files

- 135 During the period of unrest in the mid-1980s, Dr Tim Wilson,⁴⁷ who was the Chief Medical Officer at Alexandra Health Centre in Alexandra township outside Johannesburg, tried to prevent police from identifying so-called 'terrorists' (anti-apartheid protesters) through the seizure of patients' medical files. On many occasions, he refused to turn over the records. He also advised his staff that, while they could not obstruct police activities, they were under no obligation to

46 For example Professor Jerry Coovadia's house was bombed as a result, it seems, of his activities in NAMDA. (Interview with Professor Coovadia by Sheila Roquitte, 14 April 1997).

47 The information is from an interview with Dr Tim Wilson by Sheila Roquitte, 14 April 1997.

help them. He told patients that, if they gave false names or addresses, nobody in the clinic would attempt to verify them, thus making it safer for people to obtain medical treatment with less fear of subsequent detention.⁴⁸

Baragwanath doctors

- 136 A letter signed by 101 doctors from Baragwanath Hospital (historically an African hospital) was published in the South African Medical Journal (SAMJ) of 5 September 1987, protesting the appalling conditions in the hospital:

*(T)he facilities are completely inadequate. Many patients have no beds and sleep on the floor at night and sit on chairs during the day. The overcrowding is horrendous. Nurses are allocated according to the number of beds, and not to the number of patients.*⁴⁹

- 137 The Transvaal Provincial Authority (TPA) claimed that the doctors' statement was inaccurate and demanded an apology from them. Most doctors signed the letter of apology, later published in the *SAMJ*, because they believed that they could face personal victimisation if they did not do so. Six doctors, however, refused to sign the apology because they did not believe that they had made inaccurate statements. They were subsequently denied their previously approved posts at the hospital. One of the six doctors, Dr Beverly Traub, brought the matter to the Supreme Court and was later reinstated.

⁴⁸ It was a well-known practice of the police to identify 'criminals' by their gunshot wounds and subsequently to arrest them. (University of Witwatersand submission, Annexure 4).

⁴⁹ Abkiewicz, SR *et al*, *SAMJ*, Vol. 72, 5 September 1987.

■ CONCLUSION (IN THE WORDS OF OTHERS)

A Worker's Speech to a Doctor

We know what makes us ill.
When we are ill we are told
That it's you who will heal us.
For ten years, we are told
You learned healing in fine schools
Built at the people's expense
And to get your knowledge
Spent a fortune.
So you must be able to heal.
Are you able to heal?
When we come to you
Our rags are torn off us
And you listen all over our naked body.
As to the cause of our illness
One glance at our rags would
Tell you more. It is the same cause that wears out
Our bodies and our clothes.
The pain in your shoulder comes
You say, from the damp; and this is also the reason
For the stain on the wall of our flat.
So tell us:
Where does the damp come from?
Too much work and too little food
Make us feeble and thin.
Your prescription says:
Put on more weight.
You might as well tell a bullrush
Not to get wet.
How much time can you give us?
We see: one carpet in your flat costs
The fees you earn from
Five thousand consultations.
You'll no doubt say
You are innocent. The damp patch
On the wall of our flats
Tells the same story.⁵⁰

50 Bertold Brecht, *Poems 1913-1956*, Eyre Methuen 1976

Apartheid was a process of dehumanisation. It reduced the majority of our people to objects or physical entities. Imperceptibly, medicine also became dehumanised. The focus was on the disease and not the person, their family and community. South Africa is politically free; however, our people need to be healed spiritually, mentally and physically if we are to create the type of society and country that we all desire. Doctors, medical schools and their teaching staff, and medical students can become important instruments for this change. The most important step in this process is to re-humanise medicine... In short, change is not merely desirable, it is essential. The narrow outlook of the past can no longer be justified.

PROFESSOR B. MAHARAJ

■ FINDINGS ARISING OUT OF HEALTH SECTOR HEARINGS

- 138 Health professionals who were named in submissions as having contravened ethics or acted unprofessionally will be referred to the appropriate disciplinary body, together with as much information as is available, for further investigation and suitable action. The Commission has neither the resources nor the time to conclude investigations to the point where individual findings can be made.

The Commission finds that

- 139 The South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) failed to exercise its statutory obligations by neglecting to investigate the conduct of Drs Tucker and Lang pertaining to the death of Stephen Bantu Biko until ordered to do so by the Supreme Court.
- 140 The Medical Association of South Africa (MASA), its standing committees and its special interest groups failed to fulfil their stated aim of protecting the health of patients, by neglecting to draw attention, amongst others things, to:
- a the effects of the socio-economic consequences of apartheid on the health of black South Africans;
 - b the fact that segregated health care facilities were detrimental to the provision of health care in quantitative and qualitative terms;

- c the negative impact on the health of millions of South Africans of unequal budgetary allocations for the health care of different 'racial' groups;
 - d the fact that solitary confinement is a form of torture;
 - e the severe impact of detention on the health of children.
- 141 Academic institutions, even those that did admit black medical students, failed to provide equal educational opportunities to black and white students.⁵¹
- 142 Education in respect of human rights for all health professionals failed to address crucial patient-care issues.
- 143 The former government, and more specifically the Department of Health, failed to provide adequate health care facilities to black South Africans. Health care resources were thus unequally distributed and inappropriately allocated and used. Certain aspects of health care provision have been particularly under-resourced – for example, mental health care and primary health care.
- 144 District surgeons, with few exceptions, failed to record complaints and evidence of torture and abuse and, where such recording did take place, failed to take any steps to report or halt such abuse. Some district surgeons, in turn, either withheld pertinent medical information or reported such information incorrectly.
- 145 The South African Nursing Council (SANC) and the SAMDC, as the statutory bodies governing health professionals in South Africa during the period under review, failed to:
- a speak out against segregation of health care along colour lines, thus compromising ethical pledges taken by doctors and nurses and failing to advocate adequate care for patients;
 - b confront local authorities who refused to allow emergency services designated for white patients to offer emergency care to black patients at the scenes of accidents;
 - c react to gross inequalities in the provision of training facilities for various population groups;

⁵¹ In a letter to the Commission, the University of Cape Town (UCT) acknowledged culpability in this regard. In addition, Dr Mamphela Ramphele, Vice-Chancellor of UCT issued a public apology at a graduation ceremony in June 1996.

- d draw attention to the lack of facilities and resources in institutions providing health care to black patients;
 - e conduct proper investigations into allegations of misconduct by doctors and nurses against political prisoners and detainees.
- 146 The SANC established surrogate nursing councils in the 'homelands' without due consultation with the nurses working in those areas. This undermined the professional status and the international recognition of those nurses.
- 147 The South African Medical Services (SAMS) of the South African Defence Force (SADF) failed to provide adequate mental health support for SADF members, particularly conscripts exposed to violence.
- 148 Members of SAMS, under the leadership of the Surgeon-General, were directly involved in the development of chemical and biological weapons to be used against individuals and in unrest and combat situations.
- 149 The Department of Health, the SADF and the South African Police and Prisons failed to provide adequate training, support and ethical guidance to those health professionals in their employ, who were working in environments in which there was a conflict of interests between employer and the patient. The interests of the patient/client were thus frequently subjugated to those of the state.

■ APPENDIX 1: THE HIPPOCRATIC OATH⁵¹

I swear by Apollo the Physician and Asclepius and Hygieia and Panacea and all the gods and goddesses, making them my witnesses, that I will fulfil according to my ability and judgement this oath and this covenant:

To hold him who has taught me this art as equal to my parents and to live my life in partnership with him, and if he is in need of money to give him a share of mine, and to regard his offspring as equal to my brothers in male lineage and to teach them this art - if they desire to learn it - without fee and covenant; to give a share of precepts and oral instruction and all the other learning to my sons and to the sons of him who has instructed me and to pupils who have signed the covenant and have taken an oath according to the medical law, but to no one else.

I will apply dietetic measures for the benefit of the sick according to my ability and judgement; I will keep them from harm and injustice.

I will neither give a deadly drug to anybody if asked for it, nor will I make a suggestion to this effect. Similarly I will not give to a woman an abortive remedy. In purity and holiness I will guard my life and my art.

I will not use the knife, not even on sufferers from stone, but will withdraw in favour of such men as are engaged in this work.

Whatever houses I may visit, I will come for the benefit of the sick remaining free of all intentional injustice, of all mischief and in particular of sexual relations with both female and male persons, be they free or slaves.

What I may see or hear in the course of the treatment or even outside of the treatment in regard to the life of men, which on no account one must spread abroad, I will keep to myself holding such things shameful to be spoken about.

If I fulfil this oath and do not violate it, may it be granted to me to enjoy life and art, being honoured with fame among all men for all time to come; if I transgress it and swear falsely, may the opposite of all this be my lot.

⁵¹ The Hippocratic Oath was taken from [Ethical Codes and Declarations Relevant to the Health Professions](#) by Amnesty International 1994, pp 42-43.

■ APPENDIX 2: THE DECLARATION OF GENEVA⁵²

At the time of being admitted as a member of the medical profession:

I solemnly pledge myself *to consecrate my life to the service of humanity;*

I will give *to my teachers the respect and gratitude which is their due;*

I will practice *my profession with conscience and dignity;*

The health of my patient *will be my first consideration;*

I will respect *the secrets which are confided in me, even after the patient has died;*

I will maintain *by all the means in my power, the honour and the noble traditions of the medical profession;*

My colleagues *will be my brothers;*

I will not permit *considerations of religion, nationality, race, party politics, or social standing to intervene between my duty and my patient;*

I will maintain *the utmost respect for human life from its beginning even under threat and I will not use my medical knowledge contrary to the laws of humanity;*

I make these promises *solemnly, freely and upon my honour.*

⁵² This is the Declaration of Geneva as found in Ethical Codes and Declarations Relevant to the Health Professions, by Amnesty International, 1994, page 4.

■ APPENDIX 3: THE DECLARATION OF TOKYO

Preamble

It is the privilege of the medical doctor to practice medicine in the service of humanity, to preserve and restore bodily and mental health without distinction as to persons, to comfort and to ease the suffering of his or her patients. The utmost respect for human life is to be maintained even under threat, and no use made of any medical knowledge contrary to the laws of humanity.

For the purpose of this Declaration, torture is defined as the deliberate, systematic or wanton infliction of physical or mental suffering by one or more persons acting alone or on the orders of any authority, to force another person to yield information, to make a confession, or for any other reason.

- 1 The doctor shall not countenance, condone or participate in the practice of torture or other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading procedures, whatever the offence of which the victim of such procedures is suspected, accused or guilty, and whatever the victim's beliefs or motives, and in all situations, including armed conflict and civil strife.
- 2 The doctor shall not provide any premises, instruments, substances or knowledge to facilitate the practice of torture or other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or to diminish the ability of the victim to resist such treatment.
- 3 The doctor shall not be present during any procedure during which torture or other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment is used or threatened.
- 4 A doctor must have complete clinical independence in deciding upon the care of a person for whom he or she is medically responsible. The doctor's fundamental role is to alleviate the distress of his or her fellow men, and no motive, whether personal, collective or political shall prevail against this higher purpose.
- 5 Where a prisoner refuses nourishment and is considered by the doctor as capable of forming an unimpaired and rational judgement concerning the consequences of such a voluntary refusal of nourishment, he or she shall not be fed artificially. The decision as to the capacity of the prisoner to form such a judgement should be confirmed by at least one other independent doctor. The consequences of the refusal of nourishment shall be explained by the doctor to the prisoner.

- 6 The World Medical Association will support, and should encourage the international community, the national medical associations and fellow doctors, to support the doctor and his or her family in the face of threats or reprisals resulting from a refusal to condone the use of torture or other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.

■ **APPENDIX 4: DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE AND PENSIONS CIRCULAR**

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE AND PENSIONS, 21 JUNE 1966
CONSOLIDATED CIRCULAR NO 29

- a) To all national and provincial welfare organisations
- b) To all offices of the department (for information)

CO-ORDINATION OF WHITE AND NON-WHITE WELFARE WORK IN NATIONAL AND LOCAL WELFARE ORGANISATIONS

- 1) The Government's policy on welfare organisations is based on the principle that each population group should serve its own community in the sphere of welfare.
- 2) The practice of certain welfare organisations of maintaining multi-racial organisations and having representatives of different races at council and committee meetings, is not only contrary to this policy, but also presents other problems:
 - a) Meetings of White bodies are held in White areas, usually at well-known venues where non-Whites do not normally go, and there is every likelihood that this will give rise to talk, criticism, friction and so on. The social side, as regards meeting at tea-breaks and meals, also presents problems.
 - b) Experience has shown that one or two non-Whites at a meeting of Whites are far less effective than when the position is reversed, because the non-Whites, being the minority group, are over-shadowed and therefore do not make a contribution unconstrainedly.
 - c) In the case of some non-Whites, we have to a certain extent to deal with their need for recognition of status and encouragement towards independence, a need which is not gratified when non-White delegates, as outsiders, have to act in a larger White group.

- 3) For the implementation of Government policy non-White welfare societies should be established for the various racial groups and be given the opportunity to develop side by side with the corresponding White societies, and should be encouraged under the guidance and with the advice of White societies to unite, by affiliation, into fully independent national welfare organisation for each racial group separately. In this way non-White societies could enjoy the benefit of White guidance and advice, without coming into conflict with Government policy which is opposed to multi-racial organisations founded on joint membership of White and non-White. When matters affecting non-White societies come under consideration, one or two members of the White executive committee of the main body could, if so requested, attend meetings of the executive committee of the non-White body, to effect liaison between the two committees and to acquaint the White committee with the views of the non-White committee.
- 4) If the procedure described in the previous paragraph should prove impracticable in an exceptional case, one or more members of the non-White body could be designated to attend meetings of the White executive committee in an advisory capacity to represent the interests of non-Whites when the affairs of the non-White body are being discussed. However, this alternative is considered less effective and should not be encouraged, since each of the various non-White racial groups has its own method of, and approach to, discussion, and in an atmosphere peculiar to such a group the guidance of Whites carries more weight than when it is passed on at second hand by a non-White to the non-White committee.
- 5) The policy of the Government as regards welfare organisations may therefore be summed up briefly as follows:
 - a) It is intended that non-White welfare organisations for the various racial groups should exist and develop alongside of White organisations. In the course of time, they will advance to a level of complete independence when they will be quite capable of managing their own affairs. Eventually, no White guidance and advice will be required, but what will be necessary is liaison in and consultation on matters of common interest. *Ad hoc* consultation will be possible and it would not be necessary to establish a committee for this purpose. Channels will be provided not only for exchanging views, but also for bringing to the attention of non-White organisations any information that has come to light at meetings of the White body.

- b) As an interim measure, such non-White welfare organisations for the various racial groups may be helped and encouraged, under the auspices and guidance of White societies and national bodies with which they may be affiliated, to continue to develop separately and in due course to be linked together by means of affiliation in their own national organisations.
 - c) It goes without saying that in the process of helping and training non-Whites towards independence, White members of the national body and of the local committee will be able to attend the meetings of the non-White body or local committee as advisors and not as members, in order to give the necessary advice and guidance on policy, administration, control etc.
 - d) National councils and their executive committees, as well as local White welfare organisations and their committees, must consist of Whites only, and their annual meetings must be attended by White persons only. If it is necessary for the non-White organisations to be represented at an annual meeting as well (in cases where their own national organisation has not yet been established), they will have to be represented by Whites.
 - e) The executive committee of a national or local body may, however, invite a representative or member of a non-White organisation to attend a meeting of the executive committee when a matter specifically affecting the non-White organisation is being dealt with.
- 6) The intention is that officers of Government departments will attend meetings of a body or its executive committee (White or non-White) only if effect is given to the Government's policy as outlined above.
- 7) I should be pleased to learn -
- a) whether your Council and/or any of its affiliated societies or branches has non-White members;
 - b) whether such non-Whites may serve on the executive committee of the society or on your Council;
 - c) what steps your Council has in mind to give effect to the policy of the Government as set out in paragraph 5 of this circular.

- 8) National or provincial welfare bodies experiencing any problems in carrying out the policy of the Government as indicated above are invited to discuss such problems with the Department.
- 9) This circular is issued with concurrence of the Departments of Education, Arts and Science, Bantu Administration and Development, Coloured Affairs, Indian Affairs, Health and Labour.

Signed:
Secretary

Institutional Hearing: The Media

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The South African media played a crucial role in helping reflect and mould public opinion during the years under review. However, could the media also be said to have been directly responsible for gross human rights violations? And to what extent were they responsible for the climate in which gross human rights violations occurred?
- 2 These were the questions asked when the possibility of a special hearing on the media was first raised. They needed to be considered along with the more obvious point that, because of the media's role in providing 'instant history', a review of its performance under apartheid might help the Commission in providing the "complete picture" of the political conflicts of the time required by the Act.
- 3 The announcement of the possibility of a media hearing resulted, immediately, in a major public debate in the media which began to air some key issues. In addition, submissions were prepared for presentation to the Commission.
- 4 The central point made in these submissions was the suggestion that the media, particularly those media that directly supported government policy, had provided a "cloud of cover" under which gross human rights violations were possible. More bluntly, the media during apartheid were seen to have "made what happened to Biko acceptable". This gave some direction to the proposed hearings, raising questions such as how and in what circumstances such a "cloud of cover" was created; what its implications were, especially for the journalists who worked in the different media, and what lessons could be drawn for the future.
- 5 Initial discussions quickly and unexpectedly revealed the complexity of existing divisions within the sector. Some black journalists objected to the Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI) doing preliminary research for the Commission, because some of its members had been part of previous management structures. The dispute was resolved after top-level discussions.

- 6 Public presentations of several submissions were made at the Commission's offices. These generated more interest in the hearing and stimulated further submissions. At the same time, special interviews were arranged with some of the state operatives mentioned in the submissions to discuss their role under apartheid.
- 7 It was soon clear that, owing to budgetary and time constraints, it would not be possible to cover all aspects of the media sector. It was agreed that the hearing would focus on three major themes:
 - a The broadcast media, primarily the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), but including the Bophuthatswana Broadcasting Corporation (BOP TV) as a 'window' case, and looking briefly at Radio Freedom.
 - b The print media, with a special emphasis on the concerns of black journalists, and an attempt to involve the Afrikaans press.
 - c The relationship between the media and the state, including testimony from the media unions, from individual journalists under the theme 'silencing the press', and from state operatives on how they worked the system.

The hearings

- 8 The media hearings took place on the 15-17 September 1997 at the offices of the SABC, Johannesburg. The venue was chosen as a strong symbol of state control of media in the apartheid era. Significantly, the facilities were made available, free of charge, by the SABC.

■ LEGAL AND ETHICAL BACKGROUND

- 9 During the period under review, the South African media operated in a heavily legislated environment and saw the introduction, between 1950 and 1990, of more than 100 laws affecting its operations. This legislation ranged from blatant prohibition of publications to the threat of prosecution for printing or broadcasting subversive statements. Although it did not eliminate the production of information and statements of opposition, it severely restricted them.
- 10 The mainstream newspapers reacted to legal curbs with a policy of appeasement. They did not defy the laws but, they claim, tried to exploit loopholes and find ways to beat the system. Print media bosses introduced their own forms of self-discipline

and self-censorship, without reference to journalists. For instance, no democratically shaped codes of conduct were developed with working journalists. Instead, largely through the Newspaper Press Union (NPU), 'agreements' were imposed on journalists in a top-down fashion. This combination of far-reaching legislation, self-censorship and agreements negotiated between the NPU and the state produced an environment in which the state not only succeeded in manipulating and controlling information, but also broadly eroded the fundamental freedoms of the press.

- 11 Internationally, the trend was quite the opposite. The 1954 Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) set a specific standard of professional conduct for journalists, opening with the declaration that "the right of the public to truth is the first duty of the journalist". Other principles pertinent to the South African mainstream press were the following:

The journalist shall observe professional secrecy regarding the source of information obtained in secret [in direct contrast, South African journalists were subjected to - and did little to defy - the infamous Clause 205] and;

The journalist shall be aware of the dangers of discrimination being furthered by the media, and shall do the utmost to avoid facilitating such discrimination based on, among other things, race, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinions, and national or social origins.

- 12 It was only later that the IFJ Declaration took concrete hold in the South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ). However, in reality, while the principles of the IFJ would have resonated with several embattled print journalists in South Africa, a huge gap existed between the intent of the declaration and the inaction of the majority of journalists in the mainstream press.
- 13 Unlike print, public broadcasting, in the guise of the SABC, was regulated by the Broadcast Act of 1976. Ironically, the Broadcast Act required the SABC to "disseminate information" to "all the national communities ... unambiguously, factually, impartially and without distortion". But it prevented the SABC from broadcasting anything that would cause, amongst other things, "unrest or panic ... threaten state security ... [or] damage the Republic's image abroad".
- 14 In practice, policy statements from the SABC, which on the surface appeared to be advocating racial harmony and peace, aimed at ensuring National Party (NP) control and white privilege.

■ THE BROADCAST MEDIA

- 15 The SABC enjoyed a monopoly within the country and was thus the main focus of the hearings on the broadcast media. However, the activities of BOP TV and Radio Freedom were also briefly considered.

The SABC

A tool of the government

- 16 Before the hearing, two senior broadcast consultants, Hendrik and Christel Bussiek, conducted a number of interviews with people who had either worked at the SABC in the past or were still working there. These interviews confirmed the finding of monitors who had, over the years, claimed that the SABC was, essentially, a tool of the government.
- 17 For example, content analysis by Professor John van Zyl over a period of sixteen years revealed a distinct bias at the SABC. According to his analysis, news bulletins maintained and cultivated a mindset amongst white viewers that apartheid was natural and inevitable. SABC programming, he found, was instrumental in cultivating a “war psychosis”, which in turn created an environment in which human rights abuses could take place.
- 18 Another witness at the hearing, the former SABC news anchor-man Johan Pretorius, elaborated on just how deeply he felt the government was involved:

The minister responsible for SABC had to report to Parliament; the State President appointed the SABC Board, which in turn appointed the Director General as Chief Executive Officer. The Board determined policy. For example, the SABC supported the view that there could be no negotiation with leaders or parties who used violence to achieve their political aims, therefore the SABC would not provide a platform for these people to air their views.

- 19 Pretorius added that the SABC had distanced itself from the so-called ‘new order’ media, which were in constant confrontation with the state. The perception given was that South Africa was the target of a revolutionary onslaught, and that the SABC had to fight this with all the means at its disposal.

- 20 Former head of SABC documentaries, Don Briscoe, claimed to have provided “a very balanced output of programmes showing the country’s military preparedness”. Briscoe appeared to be unable to see that his programmes had promoted the government’s determination to protect its privileges at all costs, thereby serving as an incitement to greater violence in South Africa. Briscoe said that this had not occurred to him at all.
- 21 Pretorius’ comment on the politicians of the day was that they had a “totally naive, simplistic, and one-dimensional view of broadcast journalism” and that this was particularly pertinent to television.

The NP politicians confused publicity with news value, and the other way around, when it suited them. They were virtually paranoid about what was termed exposure for subversive elements or exposure for political opponents to the right.

- 22 Despite protestations from people who worked for the SABC under the previous regime that the then government did not misuse the SABC, there is much evidence to refute this. In their research into the SABC’s activities and role under the NP government, the Bussieks concluded:

The SABC generally took a conveniently simplistic attitude towards what amounted to deliberate distortion and suppression of facts in its coverage of unrest, defiance and resistance. Most interviewees, when asked about their assessment today, start out by referring to the conditions of the broadcasting licence as published in the Government Gazette of June 15, 1979, which stipulated that the “Corporation shall broadcast nothing which may inflame public opinion or may directly or indirectly lead to any contravention of the law or may threaten the security of the state”.

- 23 Professor Sampie Terreblanche, an SABC Board member from 1972 to 1987, confirmed this conclusion. He said that the SABC not only acted as the propaganda arm of the NP, but of consecutive NP administrations. Every new prime minister, he said, had a new approach and a “need to legitimise himself, to justify his position of power”. The SABC was repeatedly used to play this very important role.
- 24 Tseliso Ralithabo, who is a current staff member of the SABC and a member of the Media Workers of South Africa (MWASA), said it was not possible to justify what he called the “atrocities of the SABC”. He countered the assertion of a fellow

staff member, Louis Raubenheimer, that the SABC was “independent”. One could still find, he said, archive material produced – for instance by Cliff Saunders – which had first been handled by government officials before it went on air in Afrikaans and English and was then translated into black languages.

- 25 The most telling confirmation of the SABC’s role under apartheid came from an unexpected source. State agent Craig Williamson told the hearing that a “special relationship” existed between the SABC and the intelligence community’s units for STRATCOM. The state, he said, was at a disadvantage because it did not own or control any credible print media. It counteracted this by its use of radio and television. Williamson also pointed out that the SABC was used at the time of the cross-border raids to present the attacks in a positive light.

Broederbond influence and control at the SABC

- 26 Different factions and personalities within the ruling party held sway at the SABC at different times during the period under review, but the influence that exerted the most control was the *Broederbond*. SABC staff and former Board members played down the role of the *Broederbond* at the SABC claiming, amongst other things, that they were never required to attend any *Broederbond* meetings and that they were not directly or indirectly approached by the *Broederbond*. There is, nonetheless, no evidence to suggest an amendment to the findings of the Bussieks, who noted:

With most of the Afrikaners on the Board being Broeders, as well as most of the top-level and many other mid-level managers, there was probably no need for any such direct interference.

If not Broeders themselves, most of the people in charge were Afrikaners or Afrikaans-speaking. A look at management positions over the years shows that career possibilities for English speakers were extremely limited.

Racial divisions within the SABC

- 27 A limited service was introduced for black listeners as early as the 1940s. The Broadcasting Act was changed in 1960 to make provision for ‘Bantu’ programmes and a ‘Bantu’ programmes control board. This five-member board was composed entirely of white members and chaired by the chair of the SABC board. A totally separate structure, headed by thirty-five white supervisors, was set up to provide

'Bantu' programmes. In 1984, when SABC Radio Tsonga, Tswana, Xhosa, Zulu, Lebowa, Venda, Swazi, Ndebele, Lotus and two 'black' television channels were introduced, the officials in charge of SABC programmes for black listeners and viewers comprised eighty-five senior employees: six black and the rest white and almost exclusively Afrikaans speaking. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the main responsibility for radio news bulletins lay with four national editors who worked in shifts.

- 28 The SABC's 1962 annual report states that, from the beginning, programmes were "designed to stimulate the Bantu to appreciate their own cultural heritage, both in his homeland and in the urban areas where he worked". The black services thus fulfilled their role as enunciated in the 1976 *Broederbond* 'Master Plan for a White Country' which stated:

The mass media and especially the radio will play important parts. The radio services for the respective black nations must play a giant role here.

- 29 SABC staff member Bheki Khatide, who joined the corporation in 1982, spelled out the practical implications of this at the hearing. There were, he said, different training classes for different races at the SABC. Black members of staff were given older machines to work with, and the methods applied in preparing black members of staff to become producers were inferior to those applied to his white counterparts. This was in line with the intention to project any programme made by black people as inferior and lacking in quality. Sometimes this strategy was also applied intra-ethnically, and was also used to arrest the progress of someone who did not seem to be toeing the line. Black staffers were allocated inferior budgets and were slotted into post-production facilities in the "unholy hours" between midnight and six am.
- 30 Most of what Khatide said was confirmed by Jakes Nene of MWASA. He singled out staff members such as Cliff Saunders who "haunted" them with "skewed" NP/*Broederbond* information. Nene said that black people were employed only as translators or interpreters, interpreting for white journalists who covered stories, even in the homelands. He confirmed that there was a ceiling at the SABC for black people. No black person, however well qualified, could reach supervisory level. Any white person in the employ of the SABC was an automatic superior.

Rule by *sjambok*

- 31 Regulations controlled every aspect of the lives of black staff. Under Section 14 of the Staff Code, a member of staff could be fired without being given a reason

or explanation, as long as the manager suspected that his or her ideological convictions were not in line with the government of the day. Nene said that any white person at the SABC had the right to fire any black person who was *hardegat* (intransigent). Workers received severe reprimands for looking at white women and had to give way in the passages.

- 32 Nene revealed that, between 1975 and 1985, if people were fortunate enough to be called to a disciplinary hearing, they could choose to be *sjambokked* (whipped) rather than fired. Those who refused to be *sjambokked* were dismissed without a proper disciplinary hearing. This startling revelation about *sjambokking* at the old SABC was confirmed after the hearing, when MWASA produced a list of those who had been punished in this way.

Radio Freedom

- 33 By the late 1970s, information and propaganda had become indispensable for both the proponents and the opponents of apartheid. The South African government had its security apparatus — and the SABC. The African National Congress (ANC) had Radio Freedom.
- 34 Broadcasting from five ‘friendly’ countries in Africa, Radio Freedom operated from March 1973 to December 1990, using information to “mobilise and arouse” the people into active participation in the struggle against apartheid, within and outside the borders of South Africa.
- 35 For the banned and exiled ANC, Radio Freedom broadcasts were public meetings via the airwaves. In one of its submissions to the Commission, the ANC described the channel as the ANC’s “major means of internal information and propaganda”.
- 36 At the media hearing, the South African Defence Force (SADF) submitted a document on its monitoring of the ANC’s media and in particular of Radio Freedom. The document said that Radio Freedom was used to “communicate a message of intense hatred and the instigation of a climate of violence”. The SADF made a direct correlation between select Radio Freedom broadcasts and acts of violence within the country, like the killings of community councillors, police members and other ‘collaborators’.
- 37 Thus, for example, the fact that 13 540 security force members were attacked between 1984 and 1990 was attributed to Radio Freedom broadcasts such as:

"If you do not throw your weapons into the sea, then use them against the racist army and police, who are upholding the inhuman system". (Radio Freedom on Radio Angola, 4 April 1990.)

- 38 Undoubtedly, the ANC's media offensive assisted in the war against apartheid and may have contributed to a climate of violence. But it is difficult to conclude that the broadcasts alone were directly responsible for the large number of incidents of gross human rights violations recorded in the SADF document, particularly as nobody was forced to tune in and listen to Radio Freedom.

■ THE PRINT MEDIA

The English-language press

- 39 The commercial newspaper industry had its origins in colonialism and was modelled on its British equivalent. From the early twentieth century, mining capital played an increasingly dominating role in the newspaper industry. Although there were a number of independent papers, these were gradually swallowed up by the two main publishing houses: the Argus Printing and Publishing Company (now Independent Newspapers) and South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) – now Times Media (TML). In 1920, these two publishing houses agreed to split the market between them, leaving the morning papers to SAAN and the evening papers to the Argus Group. Even so, the relationship was fairly incestuous: for example, the Argus Group was the single biggest shareholder in SAAN. Anglo-American had effective control over both newspaper groups.
- 40 During the period under review, the publishing houses reflected the broader apartheid structures. Ownership was exclusively white. The term 'opposition press', used to describe the English-language press, was a misnomer. Within this then bi-polar world, there was only one viewpoint propounded in the mainstream press and that was a capitalist perspective. Independent, black, liberal, socialist and Communist publications were either banned or folded under commercial pressure, while the so-called mainstream press prospered and grew.
- 41 In later years, 'township editions' became an integral part of the English press. There are differing opinions as to the credibility of these publications, which carried news felt by white management to be appropriate for 'people of colour'. On a par with these township versions were the papers owned by the publishing houses aimed at the black market. Until such time as black editors edited the latter, and

interference by white management diminished, the content of these papers was also determined by white perceptions of what they believed black people wanted to read.

- 42 This focus on very specific black-white issues tended to dominate the hearings. Surprisingly, most of the testimony – and most of the discussion about the print media – centred on the role of the so-called ‘liberal’ or ‘opposition’ English-language papers, their stance vis-à-vis apartheid, and conditions for black journalists working on those papers. Other issues tended to take second place to the expressions of anger and frustration felt by black journalists. Although these feelings were previously known, the extent of the anger felt and the pain endured had not, before this hearing, been clearly expressed. Nor had they been properly understood by whites in the media, who showed considerable insensitivity in their inability to empathise with their black colleagues.
- 43 Despite the criticisms of the English mainstream press under apartheid, many came to its defence. Former SAUJ president Pat Sidley said that, although a great disservice was done by a number of individuals and a couple of institutions, there were many – fellow journalists and a few editors – who did a great deal to open up thought-processes in the public mind. There are a number of examples of this. One well-known incident was when Tony Heard, then editor of the Cape Times, published an interview with Oliver Tambo on 4 November 1985. Quoting banned persons was illegal in terms of the Internal Security Act (of 1982 as amended). Heard reported that SAAN eventually offered him a severance agreement and, when he refused it, he was fired on August 1987.¹
- 44 Jon Qwelane, the most severe critic of the mainstream media, acknowledged that it was the English-language newspapers whose journalists demonstrated “periodic flashes of courage and brilliance” by exposing the gross injustices perpetrated by the system of apartheid. He cited examples such as reporting on the inhumane conditions in South Africa’s prisons, the Information (‘Info’) scandal, the unmasking of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) and the exposure of Vlakplaas.
- 45 Cyril Ramaphosa, chairperson of TML and previously a unionist and anti-apartheid leader, agreed that English newspapers in the main played a courageous role, imparting information when the government was trying to restrict it. He also paid tribute to specific journalists who focussed on the struggles of ordinary people.

¹ Tony Heard, *The Cape of Storms*, Ravan Press: Johannesburg, 1991.

- 46 SAJJ president Sam Sole said his organisation believed that there had been serious shortcomings in the mainstream English press regarding their coverage of apartheid and the forces opposing it. Many of these shortcomings were the result of institutional weaknesses rather than personal culpability. He said that media institutions were, both then and now, weakened by fragmentation, especially along racial lines.
- 47 In its submission, TML argued that it had challenged the versions of “lying officials” on events such as the Soweto uprisings, the death of Steve Biko, Boipatong, the ‘Gugulethu Seven’ and the ‘Uitenhage massacre’. It claimed that its papers had refused to cower before NP bullying and had pioneered investigative reporting in South Africa. The papers had also provided a platform from which courageous and ingenious journalists could chip away at the edifice of apartheid.
- 48 Journalist and editor Moegsien Williams said the English press was an opposition press in the sense of white sectarian politics only:

They did not support the ANC, never articulated ANC policies, never wrote about the aspirations of the vast majority of South Africans, about their views, what they wanted, their need for a vote. Nothing happened outside white parameters. They were under a delusion - their real opposition sat on Robben Island.

- 49 Thami Mazwai cited an example of mainstream “media hypocrisy”. After the banning of *The World* in 1977, The Star’s editorial decried the banning but said it had always felt that The World had gone too far in terms of journalistic responsibility. There was also a feeling that the government would go for a black newspaper and ban it, but would not ban a white paper because parliamentary politics continued to dominate political coverage over the years. Parliament, Mazwai reminded Commissioners, was one of the few censorship-free zones in South Africa.

Accusations by black journalists

- 50 The following accusations from black journalists were collected from pre-hearing submissions and evidence at the hearing, and are listed by way of a checklist against which current practices can be measured.
- a Terminology: newspapers used terms such as ‘terrorist’ instead of ‘guerrilla’ to describe those fighting the liberation struggle.
 - b A selective approach: stories that made the police look like villains were spiked or rewritten. Furthermore, the black journalist’s version of a story was

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

- c Two days leave or pay was deducted when black journalists went on a march. White journalists were never penalised for protesting.
 - d There was an acceptance of the restrictions on the media under the states of emergency. Consequently, other organisations were left to challenge them.
 - e The actions of senior newspaper personnel suggested they were happy with curbs. For example, there were constant angry admonitions to 'tone down' or 'be objective', even though the stories were 100 per cent true. Numerous stories were spiked because they highlighted police and army atrocities in the townships.
 - f Even legal protests by black people were denied space in the papers.
 - g There was a lack of training for black journalists, and a denial of promotion because of lack of training.
 - h There were allegations that the apartheid mindset and hypocrisy continue to the present day.
 - i Hypocrisy of management: editorials decried apartheid, while practising it against black staff with regard to facilities and salaries.
- 51 An interesting addendum to the problems faced, particularly by black journalists, emerged in the accounts of what happened in the 1980s when the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) were at war with each other. Tremendous pressures were put on black journalists by both sides involved in the dispute, making them terrified to write anything about the feud.
- 52 This lack of reporting had an unfortunate corollary. The communities concerned saw that their journalists were not reporting honestly and accurately on black issues and turned against them.

Discrimination against women

- 53 Former journalist and founder member of the Union of Black Journalists, Juby Met, and journalist Nomavenda Mathiane added their voices to what other black

journalists had said about how people of colour were discriminated against in the newsroom.

- 54 Mathiane highlighted the degree to which black women writers in particular were discriminated against. She said women were not given meaningful beats and were not promoted to senior positions, and that they were relegated to women's pages that dealt with beauty, health and socials. She also said training was given mainly to male journalists and that, while male journalists were offered overseas trips to widen their journalistic horizons, female writers had to organise such trips on their own and often had to take leave without pay when on such visits.

The Afrikaans press

- 55 The Afrikaans press declined to make a submission to the Commission. Instead, it provided the Commission with a copy of *Oor Grense Heen*, the official history of Nasionale Pers (Naspers).
- 56 Rather oddly in the context, the book repeatedly confirms that the various newspapers in the group were always pro-NP government institutions. The opening paragraph states candidly that the NP victory in 1948 meant that the company became a pro-government institution. The history concedes that *Die Burger*, for instance, promoted Verwoerd's ideals of bantustans from an early stage and that, after Sharpsville, the same newspaper advised that all positive aspects be speeded up. Occasionally, doubts about apartheid do surface but, in the main, the book reflects a total lack of concern for the company's support of the racist system.
- 57 Archbishop Tutu, opening the hearing, lamented the attitude adopted by the Afrikaans press. By not participating, he said, it would lose its case by default. He asked:

Is silence from that quarter to be construed as consent, conceding that it was a sycophantic handmaiden of the apartheid government?

- 58 The dissatisfaction of some Afrikaans journalists over the decision not to participate at the hearing was muted during the hearing itself. However, after the hearing the Commission received some 150 affidavits from individual Afrikaans-speaking journalists. These acknowledged the important role of the Commission and expressed disappointment at the Naspers decision not to appear. They believed

that the Afrikaans press had been an integral part of the structure that had kept apartheid in place, particularly in the way Afrikaans papers had lent their support to the NP during elections. The submissions maintained that, although the papers may not have been directly involved in violations, they should accept moral responsibility for what happened because they had helped support the system in which gross human rights violations occurred.

- 59 They said that “many Afrikaans journalists were deaf and blind to the political aspirations and sufferings of black fellow South Africans” and did not inform their readers about the injustices of apartheid. When knowledge about gross human rights violations became public, the journalists felt they had too readily accepted the denials and disingenuous explanations of the NP. Those who made submissions also sought forgiveness for their lack of action and committed themselves to ensuring that history would not repeat itself.
- 60 Professor Ari de Beer echoed the general tone of these submissions. He said he had felt compelled to approach the Commission because of the revelations at earlier Commission hearings, particularly those of Vlakplaas. Professor de Beer felt that he and many other “God-fearing” Afrikaners could not accept personal responsibility for specific gross human rights violations. Nevertheless, he did feel that there should be an acceptance of individual and collective responsibility for those violations committed under the ideological veil of apartheid, in the name of the Christian religion and Afrikanerdom. He expressed regret for keeping quiet about apartheid when he knew he should have actively protested against it. He challenged those who claimed that the Afrikaans press had nothing to answer for.
- 61 Former editor of the *Vrye Weekblad*, Max du Preez, added a stinging note:

They can protest as much as they want, but one truth remains: until the last few months of PW Botha's term as State President, Afrikaans newspapers never opposed the NP or their security forces on any important issue.

The alternative media

- 62 Throughout the period under review, the alternative media – some of it commercial, some not – attempted to challenge what was depicted in the mainstream press. Their continued revelations exposed the timidity of the bigger publishing houses in challenging the government and accelerating change. With predictable regularity, these publications were forced to close either through repeated banning of the

papers or their staff, or sabotage of their operations: for example, intimidation of printers or disruption of distribution.

- 63 A prime example of the use of legal pressure to harass and finally cause the closure of a newspaper was that of *Vrye Weekblad*. Pressure began before it even published its first edition. Its registration in terms of the Newspaper Registration Act was held back by the then Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, pending a report by the security police. An official SAP document marked 'secret', given to the editor Max du Preez, recorded the former government's concern about the possible content and influence of the paper. Knowing the owners had very little money, government demanded not the customary nominal fee for registration of the newspaper, but R40 000.
- 64 In another secret document, the government revealed its intentions to harass the paper with legal action to ensure it was closed down. In 1988, the government took a strategic decision not to ban or close newspapers because of the negative publicity this generated and introduced a new tactic of bleeding the alternative media dry through the judicial system.
- 65 During the 1980s, while alternative publications owned by whites appear to have been subjected to legal action in an effort to have them closed down, the more community-oriented publications, funded mainly by donors, were more aggressively harassed and their staff members constantly detained and often tortured.
- 66 The South African Communist Party (SACP) submitted that, from the 1950s, banishment, bannings, harassment and the physical removal of political opposition, together with the seizure of presses and publishing equipment, had the effect of preparing the market for the commercial media. Genuine political opposition groups were prevented from running their own media.

■ THE MISUSE OF THE MEDIA BY AND COLLABORATION WITH THE STATE

- 67 Evidence given by state operatives at the hearing tended to support the allegations that the mainstream press was prepared to co-operate with government. Craig Williamson, for example, provided a copy of a confidential submission to the media, calling on editors to play down the UDF factor in South African politics. It stated clearly that this was the result of the decision of the State Security Council that the UDF, its officials and its patrons must be discredited.

- 68 Williamson gave information about another STRATCOM-type operation which involved taking senior members of the media to Special Forces bases on the South African border for a *bosberaad*² with the highest ranking officers of the military and intelligence agencies. The state's relations with the media were, he said, seen as a "macro continuum" from the owners of the media, to the editors who controlled the newspaper, right down to the dustbin cleaners who cleaned the dustbins at night and stuffed material in an envelope to be collected by agents.
- 69 Williamson also provided a photograph, taken on the Angolan border in July 1987, which contained virtually the entire general staff of the defence force, various government ministers and staff and Williamson himself, together with a number of highly placed journalists. The focus on that occasion was how South Africa and the newspapers would respond to what the Soviets were doing in Angola.
- 70 Writing about the SABC, the Bussieks stated that the corporation "generally took a conveniently simplistic attitude towards what amounted to deliberate distortion and suppression of facts in its coverage of unrest, defiance and resistance".
- 71 State agent John Horak related that, when he went to the SABC in the 1960s he did not do so as an infiltrator. The SABC knew that he was a police officer, having been told by General Venter that they needed someone on the premises. Horak also said that, technically, all who worked at the SABC were informers, because the Broadcast Act stipulated that the SABC had to support the government of the day.
- 72 Even more damning was the evidence of Vic McPherson, a STRATCOM head in the late 1980s, who in those days visited the SABC regularly. He said that, although the staff knew he was from the Security Branch and knew about the covert work he was involved in, he was accepted there. Agents were not needed at the SABC, he said, as most staff members supported the South African Police. He said the same applied at the *Citizen* newspaper.
- 73 The *Mail and Guardian* described how Jacques Pauw, engaged in researching for material for 'Prime Evil' (a documentary on CCB activities) in 1997, came across an interview featuring live footage of an *askari* (a guerrilla fighter 'turned' by the police) shot at Vlakplaas. "They [certain SABC journalists] denied its existence, but it is clear that some SABC journalists had access to Vlakplaas as early as 1987," Pauw said.

² Literally, 'bush summit', an extended planning meeting.

- 74 The hearing was given two further important examples of the often tortuous relationship between the state and the media, particularly the so-called 'opposition press'.
- 75 The first concerned the Newspapers Press Union (NPU), representing the major newspaper groups. The NPU came under considerable attack in both written and oral testimony at the hearing. One accusation from a prominent journalist went so far as to implicate the NPU in gross human rights violations. Jon Qwelane, speaking of the NPU's army and police agreements with government, asked:

Did the media owners, by their endorsement of Botha's madness, not help to delay the day of liberation? Can it be correctly said that the blood of those who were murdered by Botha's police and soldiers, in the name of total onslaught, is on the hands of the media owners? I say it can.

- 76 This may be considered an extreme view, but it did encapsulate the feelings of many of those involved in or monitoring the media at the time. The Commission had access to a chronology of events involving the NPU, which was compiled and submitted by the Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI). The chronology shows the stormy relationship that the NPU had with the government, simultaneously with its constant battle to appease it. It also reflects the degree to which publishing houses were prepared to go along with government thinking. (See Appendix 3 — NPU chronology)
- 77 Unfortunately, the NPU denied the FXI researcher access to its documents, insisting that it would make records available only to the Commission itself. Consequently, the Commission's researcher for the media hearing spent several days at the NPU offices. Although she did not peruse the minutes of every meeting held, she gained an insight into the workings of the NPU from those she examined.
- 78 Representatives of all South African newspapers attended NPU executive meetings. Representation was usually an editor/general manager and the managing director. The minutes reveal that the NPU was, above all, a business forum. Hence, at times, it seemed as if the deals done with government were conceived mainly to enable the papers to continue making a profit. Negotiations with government were, for example, especially intense before the introduction of television, mainly because of the fear that it would reduce advertising revenue. The main items on the agenda were generally the contracts with paper suppliers and the accreditation of advertising agencies.

- 79 The liberal English press defended its participation in the NPU and negotiations with government concerning, amongst other things, a statutory Press Council and agreements with government on defence and police matters. It asserted that this was the only way to prevent the government from bringing in restrictions that were even more draconian or even banning their papers.
- 80 The NPU's submission argues similarly that its intensive lobbying efforts in the various government forums prevented government from muzzling the press with direct censorship, the formal registration of journalists and other threatened restrictions.
- 81 The consistent attacks on the English press plus constant threats of closure bear this out to a degree. But the question arises: did the liberal press, by participating in the NPU and constantly responding to government threats, willingly participate in a system which allowed the government to control the flow of information? Furthermore, did their participation give the NPU agreements and negotiations a legitimacy they did not deserve? The manner in which the NPU was viewed by black journalists, for example, shows the contempt in which they held those who allowed the government to dictate the level of press freedom.
- 82 On its participation in the defence and police liaison committees, the repeated refrain – from the publishing houses and the NPU itself in a submission made after the hearing – was that these committees were seen as a way of improving the flow of information or “keeping the channels of communication open” in an increasingly closed environment. This view has been totally rejected by a number of researchers and writers.
- 83 Graeme Addison, for instance, wrote a thesis on South Africa's war. He maintained that the NPU was colluding with the government and that the most senior journalists were aware of this. “News manipulation was the order of the day, and the oft-repeated claim that our press was objective was nothing less than ludicrous.” This was the result of what he referred to as the “gate-keeping” procedures of the press and broadcast stations in their symbiotic relationship with the public relations officers of the SADF.
- 84 Addison believes the mass media performed as propagandists for the army and government through, amongst other things, the defence agreement between the Minister of Defence and the NPU. The combination of law and agreement pulled the media in line with the government's ‘total strategy’ of security action and propaganda to defend apartheid. This doctrine was well publicised and no editor

was unaware of its implications. By colluding with the system of censorship, the media helped support apartheid.

- 85 Jolyon Nuttall, a previous president of the NPU who gave evidence at the hearing, served on the liaison committees. He said they discussed mainly matters of policy and principle. He confirmed that defence and police officials used them to brief editors and management on the state of the nation from their perspective. However, he said, most NPU members were alert to attempts to whitewash the situation or to brainwash them.
- 86 One of the biggest indictments against the Press Council was its ruling against the *Rand Daily Mail* on the Biko issue. It found the *Mail* guilty of the government's accusations of "unfair and malicious comment" when the paper ran a headline saying: "No sign of hunger strike – Biko doctors". The newspaper was twice brought before the council on charges of printing unsubstantiated facts concerning the Biko case. On both occasions, the Press Council ruled in favour of the government and reprimanded the newspaper.
- 87 The NPU's reaction to the banning and arrests of Black Consciousness organisations on 19 October 1977 – Black Thursday – is also worth noting, as the bannings included a number of newspapers which were members of the NPU and a number of editors. NPU documents reflect that an urgent meeting was held on that day and for several days to come. However, perhaps because it involved black papers and journalists, their enthusiasm to pursue the issue with government petered out and nothing appears to come of their initial "indignation".
- 88 The second example of the relationship between the media and the state was that of the closure of the *Rand Daily Mail* in 1985, which was a blow to the progressive forces in South Africa. The conflicting reasons for its closure, hotly debated for a decade, were again discussed at the hearing: was it closed for commercial reasons or was it forced to close by the government?
- 89 Government operative John Horak said it was important for government that the *Mail* should not die, based on the argument that South Africa could not be accused of being dictatorial if an internationally recognised newspaper, vehemently opposed to government, continued to exist. Horak blamed the liberal establishment for the paper's demise and said he knew of campaigns where advertisers were told that, by advertising in the *Mail*, they would be promoting Communism.

- 90 Raymond Louw was adamant that Horak was incorrect in his belief that the government did not want the *Mail* to die. If this had been so, he said, there would not have been a failed attempt by Louis Luyt to purchase the *Mail*. Furthermore, if this was so, why did the government later ban the *Weekly Mail*, which had by then gained similar diplomatic value, and the *New Nation*?
- 91 Louw believed the owners of the paper were “got at” by the government. It would seem that a special emissary from the *Broederbond* approached the paper informing it that the government was going to change its policies drastically and that it did not want a newspaper like the *Rand Daily Mail* around to confront and embarrass it when it made these changes. Louw said he felt that the owners accepted the argument and that it was a political closure. Although any connection has been denied, he felt it was significant that M-Net, soon to be owned by a consortium of newspapers, got its licence in the same month as the *Mail* was closed.
- 92 The closure of the *Rand Daily Mail* left a vacuum that was later only partially filled by the alternative press in the late 1980s. In addition, the *Mail*’s closure had a self-censoring effect on other English-language papers.

Spies in the newsrooms

- 93 State operative John Horak explained that there were four basic categories of media spies: agents, informers, sources, and ‘sleepers’. Craig Williamson confirmed this. An agent was a professional police officer with a job to do. Informers gave information either voluntarily or were recruited. He identified two categories of informers: those who were ideologically totally opposed to what the organisation was doing and those who did it for the money. There were also those who did it to get at colleagues for reasons such as competing for promotion. ‘Sleepers’ were long-term plants, people who knew things but would only provide information if their consciences were bothering them.
- 94 Vic McPherson, initially an intelligence officer, was Unit Commander of Covert Strategic Communications in the SAP from 1989 to 1990. According to him, the police became involved in the media during the 1980s and 1990s because the ANC and other opposition groups had launched a “venomous attack” on the South African Police (SAP), bringing it into “disrepute”. The objectives of the media operation were: image-building for the police; promoting the successes of the Security Branch in the media; counteracting enemy propaganda, and giving media prominence to attacks against the community.

- 95 To achieve these objectives, McPherson said the SAP recruited journalists who supported their cause. This enabled them to place prominent articles and carry into effect the objectives of discrediting organisations and individuals and uncovering negative aspects (such as corruption in their ranks) in order to destroy public sympathy. He had forty journalists who were his contacts: two were police informers, four were paid journalists, four were informants whom he paid on occasion, ten were friends and twenty were used without their knowing it.
- 96 Williamson provided documentation on how the state, in an attempt to discredit UDF patron Allan Boesak and diminish his political effectiveness, exposed his affair with Ms Di Scott.
- 97 Pat Sidley said the subject of spies in newsrooms was one of great concern, total distaste and impotence, as journalists were unable to persuade newspaper management to share their discomfort. In its defence, management said its lack of action against suspected spies was because there were constant whispering campaigns and rumours, all of which could not be taken seriously. The Commission, however, drew attention to John Horak's testimony, in which he said he was a spy in the newsroom for almost twenty-seven years. He called himself a "listening post": people could come to him, and he could put them in touch with other people. Throughout his testimony, Horak asserted that he felt sure that management at the time knew he was a spy, even offering examples where it must have been clear to them that he was a state operative. A previous editor, however, said that he had confronted Horak who had flatly denied that he was a spy.
- 98 Although the media-room spies denied ever having being involved in gross human rights violations, poet and writer Don Mattera said that Horak had started whispering campaigns, suggesting that certain left-wing journalists were informers. He even suggested that Mattera was a CIA agent. Mattera said Horak's work was to vilify and destroy. For Mattera, this resulted in almost 350 raids on his house and 150 terms of detention. He added that Horak carried a gun and was allowed to bring it to work at *The Star*.
- 99 John Horak was the first journalist at the hearing openly to admit that he had been a spy. The second was Craig Kotze, who had constantly denied being a state operative while working on *The Star*. Unlike Horak, Kotze said he had never concealed where his sympathies lay. He openly attended military camps and wrote in a manner that reflected the SAP in a positive light.

■ CONCLUSION

100 The myriad of apartheid laws which controlled the media workplace may explain some of the racism black journalists experienced in the newsrooms of the major publishing houses. It would seem, however, that discrimination went way beyond what was required by apartheid legislation. Individual testimony to the Commission confirmed this, validating the allegations made by black journalists.

101 Evidence presented to the Commission tended to support what the Media Monitoring Project noted in its submission:

The English press, whilst predominantly positioning itself independently from the government, and significantly opposing the government in certain instances, continued to report within the political, social, and economic discourse defined by the apartheid state. The state legitimised itself within that discourse, and by not challenging its centrality or providing significant oppositional utterances to it, the English press wittingly or unwittingly validated the apartheid state.

102 Thus, even though some of the media may have opposed the government, the social and political system created by apartheid was sanctioned by the media. The media analysed society from inside that system and did not provide alternative perspectives and discourses from the outside.

103 As predicted by the chairperson of the Commission at the start of the media hearing, the absence of the Afrikaans press led to its being condemned as an extension and willing propaganda organ of apartheid.

104 By not reporting honestly on the human rights abuses of the NP government, the Afrikaans press as a whole stands condemned for promoting the superiority of whites and displaying an indifference to the sufferings of people of colour. Despite a limited number of individuals who rejected the system, and despite examples of resistance to the policy of slavish reporting on government and race related issues, exceptions to the long history of actively promoting the former state and its policies were minor ones. (Their heirs, significantly, made a significant gesture towards reconciliation by making personal submissions of regret following the absence of their employers from the hearing.)

105 At the SABC, a blatantly pro-government and apartheid institution, it did not come as a surprise that black people were treated so appallingly. Here management

and staff went beyond anything that was laid down in law and gave their own racial prejudices free rein. The notorious section 14 may have provided a regulatory framework, but it did not direct white staff to behave in the manner in which they did. For instance, the practice of *sjambokking* staff – something that was not public knowledge before the media hearing — was abhorrent and will, it is hoped, be further investigated by the SABC itself.

- 106 The mainstream media also ignored the question of gender. This comment from the Independent Newspapers submission indicates just how unimportant the issue was perceived to be within the male enclave of management:

Why were there no women editors? The simple reason was society dictated it. There were no all-round women journalists. It was not that the newspapers kept them out, there were not any trained in society.

- 107 Asked about this comment at the hearing, the representative gave an inadequate response:

It is an enormous gap and I apologise for it. It is something I am extremely uncomfortable about and something, I think, we will in future work even harder to fill.

- 108 An additional point was made at the hearing. The influx of Rhodesians of a particular mindset at the time of Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 contributed to reporting in the mainstream media which actively tried to advance the cause of white supremacy in the region.

- 109 The hearing underlined that the relationship between the government, the state and the media continues to be problematic. As one journalist put it:

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

- 110 Two initial questions were asked before the media hearing began. Could the media under apartheid be held responsible for the perpetration of gross human rights

violations? Moreover, to what extent could they be held responsible for creating a climate in which violations occurred unhindered?

- 111 Former *Vrye Weekblad* editor, Max du Preez, who made the final submission to the hearing, provided possibly the most direct and complete answer to both questions:

If the mainstream newspapers and the SABC had reflected and followed up on all these confessions and revelations, every single one subsequently proved to have been true, the government would have been forced then to stop, to put a stop to the torture, the assassinations and the dirty tricks. It would have saved many, many lives.

■ FINDINGS ARISING OUT OF MEDIA SECTOR HEARINGS

The Commission finds that

- 112 State restrictions on the freedom of the media played an important role in facilitating gross violations of human rights during the period covered by its mandate. These restrictions grew in intensity until more than 100 laws controlled the right to publish and broadcast. Although not themselves a gross violation of human rights as defined by the Act, the restrictions denied the right of South Africans to a free flow of information and ideas. At their worst, particularly during the successive states of emergency after 1985, the restrictions amounted to pre-publication censorship of information on state-inspired and state-sanctioned violations.
- 113 The management of the mainstream English language media often adopted a policy of appeasement towards the state, ensuring that a large measure of self-censorship occurred. Failure by the mainstream media to affirm its independence from the state is evidenced in the apparent 'agreements' between the Newspaper Press Union and the former government. The role of the Newspaper Press Union – not least concerning security matters – reflects willingness by the mainstream media not to deal with matters that exposed the activities of the security forces.
- 114 Newspaper management also failed to provide sufficient moral, institutional and legal support for journalists who chose not to submit to the media restrictions either imposed or expected by the state. It is noted that in some instances, not least in the banning of *The World*, those responsible for the management and editorial policy of the mainstream media failed to affirm the freedom of the

press in a satisfactory manner. Evidence also suggests that the closure of the Rand Daily Mail occurred as a result of management succumbing to pressure from government.

- 115 The Afrikaans media (at least until the last few months of PW Botha's tenure as State President) chose to provide direct support for apartheid and the activities of the security forces — many of which led directly to gross human rights violations.
- 116 The employment practices of the newspaper industry, with few exceptions, reflected the racial and gender discrimination that characterised South African society. Insufficient was done to provide suitable training and opportunities for the promotion of black people and of women, especially in the area of management.
- 117 The SABC violated the Broadcast Act of 1976, which required it to “disseminate information” to “all national communities ... unambiguously, factually, impartially and without distortion.” The Commission expresses concern that the *Afrikaner Broederbond* was able to exercise the kind of influence that it apparently did on SABC broadcasting policy. The SABC willingly co-operated with the security forces of the former state in the conscious employment of and/or co-operation with SAP and SADF spies, making it a direct servant of the government of the day.
- 118 The labour policy of the SABC, as expressed in Section 14 of the Staff Code and the apparent alternatives to dismissal for violations of the code, is a flagrant violation of the basic human rights of workers. Employment discrimination based on race and gender, and prevalent throughout South African society, was another feature of SABC employment practice.
- 119 The racism that pervaded most of white society permeated the media industry. This is supported by ample testimony presented to the Commission concerning the failure of many white journalists to delve thoroughly enough into allegations of gross human rights violations involving black people.
- 120 With the notable exception of certain individuals, the mainstream newspapers and the SABC failed to report adequately on gross human rights violations. In so doing, they helped sustain and prolong the existence of apartheid.

■ APPENDIX 1

ADDITIONAL CONCERNS

- 1 No report can do justice to the many submissions received by the Commission and the testimony given at the hearing. This report, therefore, contains several serious omissions, including, *inter alia*, reference to the following issues.
 - a **Reporting on Sharpville.** A detailed study of how the Sharpville massacre was reported in the South African press: for example, how the black reporters' efforts were ignored and the white reporters' versions used.
 - b **Reporting on June 16.** On 16 June 1976, black journalists came into their own. They were the people able to enter townships and report on what was happening and the white mainstream media had, finally, to acknowledge their contribution. Yet their reports were often not attributed to the black journalists whose information was, they allege, used by their white colleagues to sell stories overseas.
 - c **Biko's death and 'Black Thursday'.** These were both milestones in media history and more attention should have been paid to them.
 - d **Mau Mauing the Media.** This records how the media failed to cover the issue of violence perpetrated by the liberation forces against ordinary citizens, councillors, the security forces, and informers.
 - e **The student press.** A detailed submission on the harassment of those involved in this sector. The Commission would like to have given more recognition to the student press's contribution to freedom of the press at the hearing.
 - f **Militarisation of the media and our society.** Although this is touched on in this chapter, it could have occupied a much larger portion of it.
 - g **Coverage of political violence and the 'third force'.** The Commission asked the publishing houses to address, at the hearing, the issue of how their publications covered the violence. Unfortunately, this was not adequately done. For example, the manner in which the media covered the violence, possibly because the casualties were usually black, did not always convey how desperate the situation was. The media also failed to investigate adequately allegations of 'third force' activities, which were subsequently proved correct.

■ **APPENDIX 2:**

MEDIA UNIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

The South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ)

- 1 The SAUJ was formed in 1920 as a home for white journalists. In 1958, legislation was passed which precluded mixed trade unions. The SAUJ tried on numerous occasions to get government to exempt them from this legislation to allow them to have black members, to no avail. In the 1970s, Clive Emdon as president began to campaign for de-registering the union, which finally occurred in 1977. Only then could black journalists join the SAUJ.
- 2 The SAUJ subscribes to the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) code of conduct and ethics which are, in the main, respect for the truth and for the right of the public to know the truth.

Union of Black Journalists (UBJ)

- 3 The UBJ was formed in 1972 to restore black journalists' pride and dignity that they felt was undermined in the newsroom. It was also formed to provide a home for black journalists because the then existing union, the SAUJ, excluded black journalists.
- 4 On 19 October 1977, the UBJ was banned, together with a number of black political organisations. A number of black journalists and editors were detained, and UBJ stationery and equipment was confiscated.

Writers Association of South Africa (WASA)

- 5 In 1978, following the banning of the UBJ, black journalists got together and formed WASA which was to continue where UBJ had left off.

Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA)

- 6 In 1986, at a conference in Cape Town, WASA changed to MWASA in order to broaden the organisation and make it all-inclusive of workers in the media. WASA catered for writers only, which was felt to be elitist. MWASA was also an effort to swell numbers for bargaining purposes. It was argued that journalists were too few to influence production should they embark on a strike. The 1990

Star newspaper strike is an example where production was affected when labour downed tools.

- 7 MWASA embraced the Black Consciousness philosophy and excluded whites. The membership argued that news, current affairs and history was seen only through the eyes of white writers. In later years, at a Cape Town conference in 1990, delegates moved for the opening up of the union to white membership, arguing that it was time the union became non-racial.

Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ)

- 8 A group of journalists who saw themselves as ‘progressives’ formed the ADJ as part of the UDF drive to get as many organisations on board as possible. The ADJ’s life-span was short, largely because there were already two strong media unions — the SAUJ and MWASA — that were already active.

Forum of Black Journalists (FBJ)

- 9 The FBJ was formed in 1997 by black journalists and is open only to black journalists. Its objective is to provide journalists with a platform and opportunities to reflect critically upon issues of political, socio-economic and cultural importance, as well as engaging its participants in defining and articulating an agenda not only for black journalists but also for the society as a whole.

South African National Editors Forum (SANEF)

- 10 This group was formed in 1996 following negotiations between the predominantly white editors group (the Conference of Editors) and the Black Editors’ Forum. The group sees itself as a link between South African citizens and the world. Their policy statement, drafted in 1997, states:

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

■ APPENDIX 3

NEWSPAPER PRESS UNION — CHRONOLOGY³

- 1 In the 1950s, the English press was regularly attacked by NP members, including the Prime Minister Strijdom and later on Verwoerd. Warnings concerning the possibility of a press council and legislation to control the press surfaced and, in Parliament and at party congresses, the NP constantly complained about the English press.
- 2 Cas Greyling, NP MP for Carletonville, was the most vociferous agitator against the press throughout his time in Parliament, making repeated calls for legislation to control journalists. In 1959, he is reported as saying that not only was it right to silence ANC leaders such as Albert Luthuli and Oliver Tambo, but that most of the newspapermen sending reports overseas should also be banned. He said they were guilty of sabotaging the government's policy of apartheid. This is typical of the regular remarks made by him and other members of the NP government.
- 3 In 1951, DH Ollemans, Argus Chair, responding to the Van Zijl Press Commission, proposed that a voluntary press council be established. He received little immediate support but pressed for the idea in years to come.
- 4 Early in 1962, the NPU denied "any suggestion of outside interference" or pressure to set up the Press Board of Reference (eventually to become the Press Council). Soon after this, it held a special meeting at which it adopted a constitution for a Press Board of Reference and a code of conduct for journalists.
- 5 According to reports, support for the Board and code came from the Argus group (Argus Chair Leyton Slater steered the scheme through) and Afrikaans newspapers, while most of the SAAN representatives were opposed to it. The main difference between the South African code of conduct and that of other countries was that journalists were not required to observe professional secrecy to protect sources of information. It also contained a political injunction that journalists should "take cognisance of the complex racial problems of SA and the general good and safety of the country and its peoples."
- 6 The SASJ, forerunner to the SAUJ, significantly, was excluded from negotiations between the NPU and the government, and felt that while the press in other countries might indeed have a similar system of self-regulation, the South African system established at this time was not operating in a democratic context.

³ Based on an FXI document.

Later, in 1971, it did recognise the Press Board of Reference.

- 7 In 1963, the Film and Publications Act established the Publications Control Board. NPU publications were not, however, subject to this law.
- 8 In 1964, the second report of the Van Zijl Press Commission claimed that the Press Board of Reference did “not satisfy the fundamental requirements of a body designed to discipline or encourage self-control of the press”. It recommended the formation of a press council with statutory powers and the compulsory annual registration of journalists and newspapers with this council. It should also be able to order its judgements to be published, and impose fines of unlimited amounts. A compromise was reached with the establishment of a Board of Reference empowered to reprimand.
- 9 After the assassination of Verwoerd in 1966, Vorster came to power and the attacks on the English press continued with Prime Minister Vorster ‘playing’ what has been described as a “cat-and-mouse game” with the media. By constantly threatening the press, he was able to force it to apply self-censorship incrementally over the years.
- 10 In January 1967, the Minister of Defence and the President of the NPU entered a controversial agreement, supposedly to ensure regular contact between the NPU and the SADF and ARMSCOR.
- 11 In October in the same year, an NPU/SAP agreement provided for press identity cards.
- 12 In 1973, Vorster repeatedly threatened to amend the Riotous Assemblies Act to enable the courts to “deal properly” with people who were sowing enmity between the races. Newspapers were clearly the target.
- 13 In 1974, despite claims to the contrary, Slater, who was chair of the NPU at the time, was involved in secret talks with government regarding a revised constitution and code of conduct. The amended constitution would allow the council to impose fines of up to R10 000 and required all members of the NPU to accept the jurisdiction of the council. The new code of conduct was even more controversial. It demanded of newspapers

(1) due care and responsibility concerning matters which can have the effect of stirring up feelings of hostility between racial, ethnic, religious or cultural groups in South Africa, or which can affect the safety and defence of the country and its peoples, and

(2) due compliance with agreements entered into between the NPU and any department of the government of South Africa with a view to public safety or security or the general good.

- 14 The Argus Group and its editors supported the amendments, believing them to be an effort to keep control of the press in the face of the threatened legislation. SAAN editors opposed them, as did most local chapels of the South African Society of Journalists (SASJ).
- 15 On 21 August 1976, the agreement between the NPU and the Commissioner of SAP was signed.
- 16 Early in 1977, NPU was given copies of a proposed Newspaper Press Bill, which it rejected out of hand, after which talks with the government broke down. (Some view this move as the first time that the Afrikaans and English press were united in their opposition). Undeterred, Vorster persisted and, through threats, eventually achieved the desired effect: the NPU's undertaking to include much of the legislation in its own revised code of conduct.
- 17 On 19 October, the government declared eighteen anti-apartheid organisations unlawful and more than fifty black leaders – mainly from the Black Consciousness Movement – were arrested. A large number of black journalists were also arrested. The UBJ was banned.
- 18 In November, a NPU delegation met the prime minister and other cabinet ministers to voice the NPU's strong objections to the Press Council being empowered to act in a "preventative way", its unwillingness to control in any way foreign correspondents in South Africa, its objections to a government appointed chair of the press council, its objection to allowing the Press Council to prohibit a report on the basis of a complaint, and others.
- 19 In 1978, in a NPU delegation meeting with the SAP, a system for accrediting senior journalists was discussed and a memo prepared by Tom Vosloo was circulated. SAAN's general manager Raymond Louw, however, challenged the right of an

NPU delegation to accept suggestions without the approval of the executive council. He noted that the accreditation system would censor and allow the police to keep certain kinds of information from the public by creating a circle of “in-people”:

- 20 Leading representatives of the Afrikaans press called for fewer and not more restrictions on the press in their representations to the Steyn Commission. Once again, the white press appeared to be united on an issue.
- 21 On 17 September 1980, amendments to the agreement between the Minister of Defence and the NPU were signed. The new agreement set up a joint liaison committee to meet at least once a month “to consider matters of policy and principle” including the amendment of the agreement itself. The agreement provided that the press “must abide by” any request by the defence minister that “no reference should be made to the fact that he had been approached and refused to comment, as even a ‘no comment’ reply could embarrass him”. Additionally, the Minister of Defence was given a right of pre-publication comment. The guidelines further provided that reporters “should understand that there are to be no arguments with the Minister or the [relevant] officers on matters that have leaked out somewhere in their publication. A request that a report or comment should not appear is accepted as such.” In 1980, participation in this agreement was extended to the state-owned arms company, ARMSCOR, which was given a seat on the liaison committee.
- 22 On 12 August 1981 the NPU-police agreement was amended.
- 23 In the prior discussions, there appears to have been widespread unease about the increased powers given to the police. In a circular to members, the NPU notes that the NPU delegation which negotiated the final agreement included three editors, and that all were satisfied that the new agreement was the best possible and in several respects an improvement on the previous one. It notes that there was strenuous resistance to attempts to compel editors to disclose names of sources. The circular encourages members to test the agreement, and reminds them that there is no statutory backing for it.
- 24 In 1981 PW Botha made a veiled threat in parliament:

...we have a right to be proud of the large measure of freedom which the press continues to enjoy here... But I wish to repeat my appeal... Let those who, in common with myself and the government, value sound working relationships

between the public, the press and the authorities in South Africa, now offer their co-operation to help put an end to certain abuses which have become unbearable and a threat to the nation.

- 25 In response to the Steyn Commission, the government tabled a Journalists' Bill in Parliament. It was vehemently opposed by the NPU. After five months of bargaining between the Minister of the Interior, Chris Heunis and the NPU, government withdrew the Bill. The proposed Journalists' Bill would have required all journalists to be listed on a "roll of journalists". They would need certain qualifications and have to pass certain examinations in order to practise. No one who had been convicted of "any subversive activity" would be allowed to practise as a journalist. Black journalists would have been particularly vulnerable.
- 26 The NPU then agreed to set up a new Media Council, this time with the powers to reprimand and fine journalists, though not strike them from a register. The government would formally recognise this body. Peter McLean, chair of the NPU, said that the support shown by Afrikaans publishers was decisive in this compromise.
- 27 In July 1982, the Registration of Newspapers Amendment Act was passed. Key provisions were that the Minister of Internal Affairs could cancel the registration of newspapers if the publishers did not subject themselves for disciplinary purposes to the NPU's new media council. However, in February 1983 Minister of Home Affairs, FW de Klerk, said that the government would keep its promulgation in abeyance to give the South African Media Council — planned by the NPU and the Conference of Editors — a chance to prove itself.
- 28 On 1 November 1983, the South African Media Council was established. The SABC, the SASJ and MWASA all declined to become members. At its November congress, the South African Students Press Union (SASPU) opposed the establishment of the Council.
- 29 On 2 November 1985, emergency regulations were published which effectively outlawed television coverage of township unrest. Print journalists would only be allowed to cover these events if they were accredited, and had to be escorted by the police.
- 30 On 12 June 1986, a national state of emergency was declared with new regulations severely limiting the freedom of newspaper journalists and editors as well as

photographers and radio and television broadcasters. During this time, the government, in discussions with the NPU and the Media Council, was attempting to persuade the mainstream press to submit itself to a revised Media Council code of conduct in exchange for exemption from the emergency regulations. Within the NPU, proprietors were willing to do so, while some editors were not. Consequently, it informed the government that it could not agree on the proposed changes to the Media Council constitution.

- 31 The government's efforts to tempt the NPU into this agreement were seen – along with the confidential discussions between government and the NPU – as part of a strategy to secure the support of mainstream newspapers against the vigorous alternative press.
- 32 On 11 June 1987, the state of emergency was re-imposed. Police powers in this emergency were substantially augmented. The partially successful attacks on the media regulations of the 1986 emergency led to restrictions being reintroduced in the 1987 regulations.
- 33 On 22 July 1988, at a meeting called by the Anti-Censorship Action Group and The Save the Press Campaign, it was agreed that journalists and agencies who registered in terms of the latest emergency media regulations could be considered government agents.
- 34 On 9 June 1989, the state of emergency was reimposed. Media regulations similar to those of 1988 were promulgated. They were perceived to be the "application of prior censorship in its most stringent form."

Institutional Hearing: Prisons

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 As an institution of the state, prisons – together with the police, the judiciary and the security apparatus – were an integral part of the chain of oppression of those who resisted apartheid.
- 2 Numerous statements to the Commission provided extensive evidence of gross human rights violations suffered by prisoners, either in detention or serving prison sentences. This testimony supported the considerable body of published accounts that shed light on the particular role played by prisons in the period under review. It also highlighted the irony that many of the leaders of our new democracy spent long years in prison because of their opposition to apartheid.
- 3 In a significant way, prisons were a microcosm of the society outside. They were protected from scrutiny by law and driven by a system that was determined by the nature of the society they protected. As such, they provide an important window on the nature of the former state. The special hearing was an attempt to open that window.

■ PREPARATION FOR THE HEARING

- 4 Choice of venue was important in providing a symbolic focus for the hearings. The first and obvious choice was Robben Island, but unfortunately this proved impossible because of logistic problems and cost factors. It was decided that the Johannesburg Fort was an equally appropriate symbol of political resistance. Its former inmates included Mahatma Gandhi and President Mandela and, as the notorious 'Number Four' prison, it played a significant part in the lives of many apartheid detainees and prisoners, male and female. The hearing was held in the courtyard of the Fort, in a marquee erected alongside the former isolation block.
- 5 The two-day hearing at the Fort was made financially and practically possible through the assistance of the Human Rights Desk of the Gauteng Greater Metropolitan Council.

Focus

- 6 Preparatory discussions led to a decision to distinguish between common law criminals and political prisoners. Political prisoners were particularly disadvantaged by the apartheid system: their imprisonment was retributive and punitive, making no pretence of rehabilitation. Because the focus of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act) was on the political conflicts of the past, it was decided that the hearing should concentrate on the experiences of political prisoners.
- 7 It was also decided that the hearing should focus on the testimony of sentenced political prisoners rather than detainees, for reasons discussed below. The inevitable effect of this restricted agenda was that there were gaps in the testimony heard.

Pass law offenders

- 8 The first of these gaps concerned the experiences of pass law offenders who, for many of the years under review, formed a large proportion of the prison population – as high as one in every four inmates during the 1960s and 1970s. A strong argument was made for the inclusion of this category of common law prisoners in the hearings.
- 9 Pass law offenders were sent to prison, not because they were criminals, but because they did not meet the administrative requirements of a racist, apartheid law. The result was that a large number of people were sent to prison for offences that would not have qualified as criminal anywhere else in the world. Moreover, the treatment of pass law offenders could well be interpreted as a human rights violation, especially considering the nature of prison life at the time. Prisoners of all races experienced over-crowding and harsh conditions, but conditions were particularly brutal for black prisoners. In addition, gangs dominated the non-political sections of prisons. There was thus a strong probability that offenders, especially young and first-time offenders, would be drawn into gangsterism. Prisons thus became a base for the criminalisation of a significant part of at least two generations of young South Africans.
- 10 However, it was decided that the pass laws and their effects fell outside the Commission's mandate, especially given the requirement that every violation had to originate within a political context. This decision was not, however, a comfortable one for the group planning the hearing, especially in the light of the devastating effect of the pass laws on the lives of so many South Africans.

Detention without trial

- 11 The second gap concerned detention without trial. There were practical rather than legal reasons for excluding detention from the prison hearings. The working group had to take into account the fact that only two days could be allocated to the hearing, putting immense strain on an already overloaded programme. In addition, a number of testimonies about experiences under detention had already become a regular feature at human rights violations hearings around the country, the case of Steve Biko being an important example.
- 12 The exclusion of detentions from the hearing, however necessary, was unfortunate. The Human Rights Committee¹ has estimated that some 80 000 South Africans were detained between 1960 and 1990, up to 80 per cent of whom were eventually released without charge and barely 4 per cent of whom were ever convicted of any crime. Witnesses before the Commission testified about the many different ways in which detention was used as a measure of repression by the state, dating from the passing of the notorious 90-day detention clause in May 1963.
- 13 Prisons played a significant role as the prime site for detention, whether detainees were held for interrogation purposes (particularly in the early 1960s and again between 1976 and 1977), as a preventive measure (as in 1986, where it affected whole communities), or as a deliberate form of intimidation (in the 1980s). Frequently, detention was accompanied by torture and, in all too many cases, death. A paper written as early as March 1983 explained²:

There can be little doubt that the security police regard their ability to torture detainees with total impunity as the cornerstone of the detention system. It put the detainee at complete mercy for the purpose of extracting information, statements and confessions, often regardless of whether true or not, in order to secure a successful prosecution and neutralisation of yet another opponent of the apartheid system. Sometimes torture is used on detainees before they have even been asked their first question in order to soften them up. Other times, torture is used late in the interrogation process when the detainee is being stubborn and difficult.

- 14 As many as 20 000 detainees are thought to have been tortured in detention. At the same time, seventy-three deaths of detainees held under security legislation

1 Human Rights Committee (1998), A Crime Against Humanity, edited by Max Coleman.

2 Human Rights Committee (1998), page 55.

are recorded.³ Here again, the working group found itself in difficulty. In many cases reported to the Commission, it was not possible to determine under what legislation a detainee had been held – partly because there was no specific question to that effect in the initial questionnaire and partly because the victim's family often did not itself know. It was thus not possible to establish whether many individual cases were the result of 'political conflict', as was required by the mandate of the Commission. In addition, it is clear that many political cases were, in fact, treated as common law prosecutions, such as theft, arson, malicious damage to property and even murder. A senior government prosecutor, for instance, admitted that he "would preferably prosecute under the common law rather than under statutory law, because nobody can really make propaganda against the common laws whilst you can make effective propaganda against the statutory [law]"⁴.

- 15 It was therefore decided to exclude deaths in detention from the prison hearing, on the grounds that these cases would be heard in general victim hearings. The relationship between prisons and the judiciary was excluded because it was dealt with at the hearing on the judiciary.

Farm prisons⁵

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

It is common knowledge that large numbers of natives are daily being arrested and prosecuted for contraventions of a purely technical nature. These arrests cost the state large sums of money and serve no useful purpose. The Department of Justice, the South African Police and this Department have therefore held consultations on the problem and have evolved a scheme, the object of which is to induce unemployed natives roaming about the streets in the various urban areas to accept employment outside such urban areas.

³ See the appendix to this chapter, which contains a list of deaths in detention.

⁴ See Buntman, Dr Fran (1997), 'Between Nuremberg and Amnesia: Prisons and Contemporary Memories of Apartheid', unpublished paper presented at African Study Association meeting, Columbus Ohio.

⁵ The information in this section is taken from Joel Carlson's autobiography, No Neutral Ground, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1973.

- 17 The prisoners were not taken to court but to labour bureaux where they would be induced or forced to volunteer. Joel Carlson, a Johannesburg attorney, uncovered some of the gross violations of human rights that resulted from the system. An affidavit by Robert Ncube in the late 1950s stated:

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

- 18 As a result of the publicity around this and other cases, the farm labour scheme was suspended. However, within weeks, the government passed an amended Prisons Act of 1959, providing for short-term offenders to be processed quickly through the courts and sent to the farms. The act provided that the farms be considered prisons and that it was a criminal offence to publish anything about prison conditions without the prior consent of the Commissioner of Prisons.

■ THE ORGANISATION OF THE HEARINGS

Themes

- 19 Despite these exclusions, the programme for the two-day hearing at the Fort was packed. The themes highlighted for the hearing were:
- a the main political prisons: Robben Island (for blacks), Pretoria (for whites) and Barberton (for women);
 - b the treatment of women prisoners;
 - c capital punishment;

- d conditions in homeland prisons;
- e health in prison;
- f conditions in the 'camps' outside the country.

Witnesses at the hearings

- 20 Testimony was heard from twenty-five witnesses during the two-day hearing. Most witnesses had experienced prison first-hand, either personally or through their immediate families. In addition, evidence was heard from a number of specialists. These included Ms Paula McBride, a regular visitor to death row; Dr Judith van Heerden, an expert on prison health; Mr Benjamin Pogrand, the journalist most closely involved in the prison trials of the 1960s and 1970s, and Mr Golden Miles Bhudu of the South African Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights (SAPOHR).
- 21 Preliminary discussions were held between representatives of the Commission's working group and the Department of Correctional Services, including meetings in Pretoria and Cape Town. Despite attempts to involve the Department, it eventually declined to participate in the hearing, although Warrant-Officer Steinberg, a warder who had served on death row, appeared in his individual capacity. The absence of the Department was unfortunate as it excluded the possibility of an official response to the testimonies and of an authoritative perspective on changes in prison policy during the years under review.

■ THE HEARING

The link between prisons and apartheid

- 22 From the early 1960s, with the introduction of detention without trial under the various versions of the General Law Amendment Act, prisons became an essential part of the apartheid system of control. The incarceration of political opponents became "a significant permanent feature" and by 1976, legislated power effectively meant the "criminalisation of most forms of opposition to the apartheid state". Prisons, therefore, became a "major weapon against political dissent" and the threat of being imprisoned became an essential part of apartheid's 'armoury'⁶.

⁶ See Buntman, Dr Fran (1997), 'Between Nuremberg and Amnesia: Prisons and Contemporary Memories of Apartheid', unpublished paper presented at African Study Association meeting, Columbus Ohio.

- 23 In another sense, the realities of life in prison for both common law and political inmates became a mirror of the society outside. As an exiled writer in London, Allen Cook, wrote in 1974:

The appalling fact of apartheid is that a society has been created whereby, for the blacks, the conditions of ordinary life are comparable to those of imprisonment, in terms of conditions normally held to constitute imprisonment: forcible separation from families, controlled living in security institutions behind barbed wire, and supervision by persons with wide powers to command and punish.⁷

- 24 The irony is that, towards the end of the period under review, having been in prison for political reasons became a badge of distinction, most obviously symbolised in the figure of Nelson Mandela. This might explain why so few former political prisoners, who include a large number of current government and political leaders, approached the Commission to give testimony about their experiences. Indeed, when it was suggested to some of these leaders that they should testify at the prisons hearing, they declined — either because they regarded their sufferings in prison as a necessary contribution to the struggle against apartheid or because they felt that their experiences were insignificant when compared to those of others.

Racial segregation

- 25 For most of the period covered by the Commission's mandate, racial segregation was applied at all levels in all prisons. This was evident in the physical separation between black prisoners on Robben Island and white prisoners in Pretoria and in such day-to-day matters as clothing, food and the apportioning of privileges.
- 26 This practice was especially detrimental to black prisoners, as related by Mr Andrew Masondo, who described conditions on Robben Island:

The mere fact that you were black meant your clothing was different, as if the weather treated you differently. Your food was different, as if you became hungry in a different way. The food was a problem because you were with comrades – in fact, I think it was even more painful for people like Kathy [Kathrada] and Laloo [Chiba] who could actually eat bread. Even the amount of sugar in your porridge was different: the blacks got a teaspoon, the others two.

⁷ *South Africa: the Imprisoned Society*, IDAF, 1974.

Special treatment of political prisoners

- 27 The classification system, which determined 'privileges', was deliberately used as a weapon against political prisoners. Thus, Andrew Masondo reported:

If you were arrested for murder or any other crime and it was your first offence, you'd be put into B group and that gave you a lot of privileges. But if you were a political prisoner, you would be put into D group. Being in D group meant at the time you could only get one letter in six months, one visit of thirty minutes in six months ... I never reached A group.

- 28 Similarly, political prisoners were, until the late 1980s, denied any amnesty or remission of sentence. Indeed, prison authorities claimed that there were no political prisoners in South Africa, which was clearly untrue. However, improvements came slowly, mainly in the late 1980s and usually after campaigns inside and outside the prisons, such as those following the Strachan case (see below).

- 29 Former prisoners at the hearing paid particular tribute to the contributions of Helen Suzman (MP) and the regular visits to political prisoners by the International Committee of the Red Cross. These visits were, however, restricted to sentenced prisoners whose conditions did, in general, begin to improve in later years, while those of detainees probably worsened between 1960 and 1990.

- 30 Political prisoners were consistently treated with unusual cruelty, as when Bram Fischer's son died. Fischer's daughter, Ilse Wilson, described what happened:

The most difficult part of Paul's death was that his brother Gustav came from Bloemfontein to tell Bram that Paul had died, and Bram was called late one afternoon for this unexpected visit, and he was told about it. He was not allowed into a private room to talk with his brother. They had to talk to each other through the partitions, with the warders on either side of them. By the time the visit was over, it was lock-up time and Bram went back on his own to his cell and was locked up on his own. For fourteen hours after the news of his son's death, he was left on his own.

Prisons and health

- 31 Several of the witnesses told the hearing of difficulties in receiving proper medical treatment while in prison. Mr Henry Makgothi, for instance, described the difficulties

he encountered in receiving treatment for tuberculosis on Robben Island:

It was very difficult to gain access to the hospital. The doctor didn't come often enough, and even then there were so many obstacles they placed in your way before you could get to the hospital; but eventually I did manage to get to the doctor and they sent me to Cape Town for treatment. I was not sent to hospital because I was a dangerous prisoner.

- 32 The overall picture gained at the hearing was that the role played by district surgeons was controversial and questionable.⁸ Medical services often failed prisoners badly. Sometimes, the consequences were very serious, as with Bram Fischer, a leading Afrikaans advocate, who served a life sentence in Pretoria. His two daughters reported how, prior to the discovery of the cancer which finally killed him, their father was treated with woeful negligence and, indeed, considerable malice by the authorities at Pretoria Local:

Bram had a prostate operation in July 1974. About two months after that he saw a Dr Brand because he had an acute pain in the hip. He was not examined but given an analgesic and some physiotherapy. After two weeks of no relief, the physiotherapist referred him back to the doctor and suggested X-rays or an orthopaedic opinion. Nothing was done.

The pain was so severe that Bram needed crutches to walk. The prison didn't supply him with crutches, so the other prisoners made a crutch for him out of a broom. Later he was provided with crutches, but he still wasn't sent for X-rays.

In October, a Dr Groenewald sent him for X-rays and, later in that month, Bram saw an orthopaedic surgeon who warned that the neck of the femur was very fragile and that a fall would be dangerous. On 6 November, Bram fell while trying to shower on his crutches. On 7 November, he asked to see a doctor, who didn't come. On 8 November, he again asked to see a doctor but the medical orderly said it was impossible to get a doctor. On 9 November, Bram was in great pain and the medical orderly provided some analgesics. On 12 November, Dr Brand said there was no fracture. Bram continued in tremendous pain.

Finally on 15 November, nine days after the fall, Bram again saw Dr Brand and an X-ray was at last done. The radiographer identified a fracture of the femur. On 16 November, Bram was seen by a specialist who confirmed the fracture and advised hospitalisation.

⁸ The chapter on *Institutional Hearing: the Health Sector* provides a description of the role and divided loyalties of district surgeons.

On 19 November, thirteen days after the fall and probable fracture and four days after the fracture was diagnosed, Bram was eventually admitted to the HF Verwoerd Hospital.

- 33 Evidence was also heard from Dr Judith van Heerden of the University of Cape Town, the author of a study on prisons and health. She said that her research led her very strongly to one conclusion about the provision of health care in prisons:

To provide proper care for all inmates in custody, a strong argument can be made for the complete separation of health care from custodial care. The Department of Health should take on responsibility for custodial health care. This will also do away with the confusion about the role of nurses. Their present custodial role undermines the trust and confidentiality which should exist between patient and nurse.

- 34 Dr Van Heerden also made the point that, "abuse and the seventy-three deaths of political detainees during the three decades of repression occurred mainly outside prisons, at police stations or at interrogation centres".

Women in prison

- 35 One of the most startling features of the hearing was the devastating description by women of their experiences as political prisoners. A number of witnesses told of their time as detainees and prisoners. Their conditions were different to those of men and were very severe. Ms Deborah Marakalala was pregnant when she was detained. She described what happened:

Whilst interrogating me, they changed from one policeman to the other, and I would have to answer questions standing. I was not allowed to sit down. At that time I was pregnant. As they could not get anything out of me during the interrogation, they said they would make me tell the truth, and they told me to take off my jacket. I did as I was told.

At that time they started assaulting me. I became lame from the waist downwards, as if I had pins and needles in my body, and I lost my balance and fell and messed myself.

- 36 She was then taken to prison where, after a few days, she asked to see a doctor, as she was “confused, sick and swollen”. No doctor came.

Then one day I felt weak. I lost strength and late that afternoon I started vomiting. I still asked to see a doctor, but I was told the doctor would not come. On the third day I collapsed. That was the time I was actually having a miscarriage, and I was taken to Johannesburg Hospital where they found that I did have a miscarriage.

- 37 Not only did she have a miscarriage but, for a year, she was not allowed to see her children.

- 38 Women were deliberately ‘diminished’; subjected not only to physical discomfort and torture but also to extreme mental torment. The most effective method was to use family matters as a means of applying pressure on women where they were most emotionally vulnerable. Ms Zahrah Narkedien described how, although physical torture could not break her, she could resist no longer when she was told that her nephew would be killed:

They tortured me for seven days, and the only thing that really made me break in the end was when they threatened to go back to my house where my sister was staying with me and kidnap my four-year-old nephew, Christopher, bring him to the thirteenth floor and drop him out of the window.

At that point I really felt at my weakest, because I felt I could risk my life and I could let my body just be handed over to these men to do what they liked, but I couldn’t hand over someone else’s body, so at that point I fully co-operated.

- 39 Narkedien’s testimony confirmed that of Ms Nobuhle Mohapi, at the first human rights violations hearing in East London. Mohapi said that, when she was detained, she was told that her child had died and that she would be allowed to attend his funeral only if she signed a statement that had been prepared for her. She refused to sign and was later released to discover that her child was not dead.
- 40 Although she tended to downplay the effects of her physical torture, Narkedien’s description of how she was treated by the security police gave the Commission important insight into the special treatment received by women.

They started to realise that I was enduring [their] abuse, so they took a plastic bag ... One person held both my hands down, and the other one put it on my head and then they sealed it so that I wouldn't be able to breathe and kept it on for at least two minutes, by which time the plastic was clinging to my eyelids, my nostrils, my mouth and my whole body was going into spasms because I really couldn't breathe. They'd do it to me for about three times, but I still wasn't prepared to surrender to them. I was willing to suffer it out.

And then they decided I had to do physical exercises. They always had a woman present when they were torturing me, and they asked her if she would like to leave because they were going to intensify the treatment.

All these days I was wearing the same clothing, just a dress, and I was also menstruating at that time, which I told them so I couldn't stand so long and I was bleeding a lot. They made me lie on the floor and do all kinds of physical exercises, lifting my body with my hands – what they call press-ups – then reducing the fingers until I had to pick myself up with just two fingers. While I was down they would kick me and tramp on me.

All this time it didn't really matter, but it was beginning to hurt physically. They did this for hours on end. Even Inspector de Beer, who was the investigating officer, even he came in and started hitting me with a clothes brush. Any physical pain didn't matter, because I just sort of transported myself out of there.

After a while, he kept intensifying the physical treatment, and he would use both his hands to strangle me and lift me right off the ground and then drop me, grab me by the hair and throw me down and pick me up.

After a good few hours — I think that's when they realised, after the seventh day, that they would have to use psychological treatment, because I was like a person who was physically there but spiritually and mentally I wasn't there. After he threatened me with my nephew, I said I would do anything he wanted.

- 41 Narkedien also gave a chilling account of the physical conditions of the cells in which she was kept.

What really bothered me were the rats. I know there's this chauvinist thing where men would say women are just afraid of mice and rats, but these were not little mice. These were huge rats, the size of cats, that were in the

cells, in the passages all the time. I would sit and eat my food, and three of these rats would just sit and look at me. I'd be in the yard praying. The rats would just be around me, and I'd get up and chase them, but they'd come back in. I had to use my towels and clothes to block the access where they were coming in under the door, and the rats just used to rip all that and eventually come in.

One particular evening, one was crawling on me, and I didn't quite mind until it got to my neck [when] I screamed the whole prison down. The guards came running as they didn't know where this problem started. When they eventually came, they found me in the corner, and I was actually eating my T-shirt. That's how berserk I went.

Solitary confinement

- 42 Another remarkable feature of the hearing was the testimony describing the effects of solitary confinement and calling for its abolition. Solitary confinement was used by the former state for two reasons: to bring about the psychological breakdown of political detainees, and as a form of punishment and control of sentenced prisoners. The testimonies were consistent in highlighting such treatment as punitive, cruel and inhumane.

- 43 Ms Zahrah Narkedien described the effects of her isolation:

I had to go down and live in the basement in isolation for seven months. That was very, very painful. I don't even want to describe psychologically what I had to do to survive down there. I will write it one day, but I could never tell you. But it did teach me something, and that is that no human being can live alone for more than, I think, even one month ... because there's nothing you can do to survive by yourself every single day.

The basement was an entire wing of the prison ... I felt, as the months went by, that I was going deeper and deeper into the ground. Physically I wasn't, but psychologically I was ... I became so psychologically damaged that I used to feel that all these cells are like coffins, and there were all dead people in there ... It was as if I was alive and all these people were dead. I was so disturbed but I would never, never let the wardresses know ... But they did destroy me....

My suggestion is that no prisoner, regardless of their crimes, should ever be in isolation per se – not even this section 29 business for two weeks. I know it serves a purpose but, ultimately, when it's prolonged, I don't think anybody can handle it.

I've been out of prison now for more than seven or ten years, but I haven't recovered and I will never recover. I know I won't. I have tried to. The first two years after my release, I tried to be normal again and the more I struggled to be normal, the more disturbed I became. I had to accept that I was damaged. A part of my soul was eaten away as if by maggots, horrible as it sounds, and I will never get it back again.

- 44 Asked if she felt solitary confinement could be defined as 'severe ill treatment', Ms Jean Middleton said:

The prison authorities themselves know it's ill treatment, that's why they use it as a punishment. People found guilty of prison offences are kept in isolation. It is a punishment. I can't describe its effects on you very well, because you do go slightly crazy, and it's very difficult to describe your own craziness ... Colonel Fred van Niekerk of the Special Branch once told a court that prisoners started showing evidence of disorientation within three days.

- 45 Mr Murthie Naidoo had this to say:

After making a statement, I was taken back to my cell where I was kept in solitary for four months under the 180-day law. I must confess that solitary confinement is the worst kind of torture that can be inflicted on a human being. No amount of physical torture can equal that of solitary confinement. I had absolutely no contact with any of the other prisoners who were almost entirely common law prisoners, but I could continually hear the beating and sjambokking [whipping] of other prisoners.

- 46 Mr Harold Strachan described how he was permanently affected:

I got put into solitary confinement for eleven months straight. And that cell ... it was as big as four squares on the floor here, and I came out of that cell twenty minutes a day to exercise indoors, in total silence. For eleven months, I didn't speak to anybody ... one handles that sort of thing all right, you just contract your universe a bit, but I had a very serious reading disability, very similar to a stammer in speech, and I have it to this day. I get stuck when reading and

can't break past certain words. It is like a stammer in speech, and it is still with me. I don't know how that developed in solitary confinement, but it did.

Capital punishment

The primary purpose of this submission is to ensure that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission places on record the fact that the use of the death penalty in South Africa constituted a gross human rights violation ... It would be academic to ask whether or not the death penalty was associated with 'conflicts of the past'. It was but one of the methods used by those with power to oppress those without. 1 154 people were executed in South Africa in the ten-year period 1976-1985. The state apparatus that arrested, interrogated, tried, imprisoned and executed 1 154 people for capital crimes in South Africa was the same apparatus that maintained, often by brutal force, the apartheid system.⁹

- 47 As the department that implemented the death penalty, the prisons department formed an integral part of the apartheid system. Testimony at the hearing emphasised that capital punishment was used as an important weapon against opponents of apartheid. More particularly, the audience at the second day of the hearing listened in horror as witnesses told of experiences on death row, providing what one commentator described as the "most damning indictment of capital punishment ever heard in this country".
- 48 Paula McBride told of her perceptions as a daily visitor to death row between 1987 and 1990. She came to give evidence, she said, because, "In my mind, the death penalty is a gross human rights violation and should be recorded [as such] at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission." Capital punishment, she said, "brutalises not only those who are sentenced, but those who sentence them – the judges – and it brutalises our whole country, because if we allow it to happen, we participate in it."
- 49 She described in graphic detail what happened when someone was hanged, and the effect it had on families. She cited, for instance, the 'Christmas rush' of 1988, when twenty-eight people were hanged in one week. She pointed out that 95 per cent of the people who were hanged were black and that 100 per cent of these had been sentenced by white males. Over the period of the Commission's mandate, over 2 500 people were hanged in South Africa. In South Africa, as in America, the death sentence was far more likely to be imposed if the victim of the crime was white.

⁹ Submission by Paula McBride.

50 Paula McBride describes conditions on Death Row at Pretoria Maximum Security Prison:

The Maximum Security Prison in Pretoria was a prison designed for death. Its sole purpose as an institution was to imprison persons condemned to death, clothe them, feed them and keep them whole until they were killed. However, from the first time a prisoner arrived at Death Row, elaborate mechanisms were put in place to ensure that he or she would not kill themselves. This was a job reserved for the state and no one would take it away.

The lights were on 24 hours a day; prisoners were watched from a grille above their heads, they wore no belts. After the suicide in 1987 of Frikkie Muller, who gouged his wrists with a shoe nail on the day before his execution, all the condemned wore soft shoes ...

No studying was allowed – and prisoners were often taunted with the fact of their impending death. What do you want to study for? Why are you exercising? What is the point of improving your body or mind when you are going to die?.

The routine was ghastly but familiar. The Sheriff would arrive at Pretoria Maximum Security Prison with a batch of notices in his hand ... The prison warders would walk down the silent corridors between the individual cells, and footsteps would stop outside.

Those that were, in [the opinion of the State President] no longer fit for this world were sent to the 'Pot' ... It was here, in the waiting cells, that the hourly count down began. It was also here that the traditional silence of Death Row was broken – with singing day and night. Singing mostly of traditional and religious hymns but sometimes of freedom songs where those to be hanged were guerrillas.

During the week that they waited to die, they were measured for the hangman: the thickness of their necks, their height and their weight are all measured to ensure that the length of the drop is calculated correctly.

On the night before the execution was to take place ... each of the condemned prisoners [would be given] a whole, deboned chicken to eat and R4 to buy something from the prison tuckshop ...

The bodies would be taken in the coffins ... to unmarked graves in one of the segregated graveyards around Pretoria ... No family members were allowed to accompany the coffins or to pray while the bodies were interred. At a later date, families were handed a grave number.

- 51 Asked to comment on whether the death penalty was a deterrent, McBride said it had never been proved that capital punishment would stop crime, nor had any of the approximately 250 death row prisoners interviewed ever said they felt it had deterred them. Her verdict on those calling for the reintroduction of the death penalty was clear:

People who put out the call "Hang them ... Bring back the death penalty" do not have any understanding of what it does, not just to the people who are hanged, but to our society. It is a brutal, barbarous, uncivilised, grotesque part of our society and South Africa should be the prouder that we have been one of the countries in the world to take it off our statute books.

- 52 Two witnesses gave harrowing testimony about the time they spent on death row. Mr Duma Khumalo and Ms Machabane Theresa Ramashamola were members of the 'Sharpsville Six'. They were sentenced to death for common purpose, but reprieved the day before they were to be executed. Both described in chilling detail how the experience affected them and their subsequent nightmares. Ramashamola's final statement was received in awkward silence by the hearing:

At the present moment, I don't want to live, as far as life is concerned, if they would have hanged me at that time, it would be much better. It would have been painful then, but that would be it.

- 53 The final witness in this section was Warrant Officer Steinberg, who served as a young warder on death row in Pretoria for more than two years prior to the imposition of the moratorium on hanging. One of the most telling aspects of his testimony was his evidence on the lack of special training given to warders on death row. He was never, he said, asked whether he had moral objections to hanging, nor was he given any advice on how to handle those about to be executed.
- 54 During the tea break after this testimony, a remarkable meeting took place at the entrance to the marquee. Two former death row prisoners shook hands and joked with the man who would, had they not been reprieved, have accompanied them to their execution. It was the kind of meeting that could only have happened at a hearing of the Commission.

Reporting on prisons

- 55 The Commission heard evidence from Harold Strachan, about whose experiences in prison the *Rand Daily Mail* managed to publish three articles in 1965 before he was banned and charged with perjury. The Strachan articles broke an almost fifteen-year silence about prison conditions and resulted in the beginning of wholesale reforms in the prison system. However, the prisons department manufactured a perjury charge against him and the newspaper. Numerous warders and prisoners were used to deny 'a fraction' of his descriptions, and he was again sent to prison.
- 56 Benjamin Pogrund, the journalist primarily involved in the Strachan articles, described the cases against Strachan and the *Rand Daily Mail* as a "series of frame-ups and concocted evidence and mass perjury". The "Nationalist newspapers and the SABC engendered an atmosphere of fear and threat in the public, so that very few people were willing to assist us with further information, let alone testify for us".
- 57 Pogrund pointed out that, following the court cases against Strachan and the newspaper, "a blanket of silence descended on the prisons for years to come". The consequence was a "totally absurd situation that information about jail conditions could only safely be published if the Prisons Department approved publication in advance".
- 58 The effect of the Strachan prosecutions rippled far beyond prisons. It effectively tied up the resources and energies of the *Rand Daily Mail* for more than four years while the case dragged on. Moreover, the success of the prosecutions sent a sharp warning to journalists to lay off prison stories. The onus was now on the defendant to prove that the published information was correct; in other words, defendants were deemed guilty until they could prove themselves innocent.
- 59 This affected not only stories on prisons, but was later extended to the army and police, placing an effective ban on any adverse reporting of the security forces. It created the climate in which the secret operations of Vlakplaas, for instance, could be initiated and carried out with little fear of exposure.
- 60 The use of the Prisons Act to restrict media coverage of conditions in prisons enabled the authorities to maintain a system of control that could not be monitored by outside society. This allowed abuse and injustice to continue.

The 'camps'

- 61 Two witnesses gave evidence about the African National Congress (ANC) detention camps in Angola - particularly Quatro, apparently named after the Johannesburg Fort ('Number Four') itself. Both testimonies told of severe ill treatment and abuse in the camp, and of continued difficulty in getting satisfactory information from the ANC about what happened there.
- 62 Mr Diliza Mthembu, himself a one-time ANC representative in Benguela and now a sergeant in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), described his experiences in the "hell" of Quatro. He spoke of his current feelings of being "helpless and hopeless" and of having received no satisfaction from his appearances at previous commissions of enquiry into the camps. He reserved his censure for the ANC leadership:

For the young guys who were working in Quatro, I don't have any grudge, because maybe myself, if I was in their boots, I would do the same because they were very young. You know, sometimes using very, very young people to run an establishment of such magnitude is very dangerous.

- 63 Mr Joe Seremane, whose younger brother was executed in Quatro, gave remarkably moving testimony about his feelings of betrayal and his inability to reach 'closure' because of being unable to obtain clarity about the reasons for his brother's death.

I have seen what it means to be tortured. But when I think of [my brother] Chief Timothy and compare the way he died to my suffering, my suffering is nothing, and I have decided not to say anything about that. It is just pointless. It is useless. The system [(meaning the previous government)] in a way resembled accountability because when they were finished with me, they threw me on the lap of my people and said "There is your rubbish. We are through with it." And my people (of the ANC) can't come and dump those bones (of my brother) and say "We are through with those bones".

I can ask for my court records and find them and go through the trial today, from the system; but my movement can't offer me a piece of paper to show me how they conducted the trial ... We still want the truth. It is going to be hard to forgive when you don't know exactly what has happened.

■ COMMON LAW PRISONERS

- 64 The hearing heard the evidence of Mr Golden Miles Bhudu of SAPOHR. Bhudu gave details of the torture and deaths of common law prisoners in prisons throughout the country. He questioned whether the experiences of these prisoners, in the light of the “perpetuation of the injustices of the past”, should fall outside the mandate of the Commission. There was a difference of opinion on the panel about this, but consensus on the need to emphasise that continuing vigilance and care in running all prisons is necessary at all levels.
- 65 The evidence presented by former inmates of the prisons, whether sentenced or in detention, left a clear picture of the role of prisons under apartheid. Imprisonment (and the threat of imprisonment) became an important link in the chain of control, from security forces to police to prison. The Prisons Department was a willing partner in the state’s efforts to ‘neutralise’ and ‘eliminate’ opposition. The prison gallows became the final instrument of official disapproval.

■ FINDINGS ARISING OUT OF PRISONS HEARINGS

The Commission finds that:

- 66 The Department of Prisons co-operated with the former state in the use of imprisonment or the threat of imprisonment in the chain of control and oppression of opponents of apartheid.
- 67 It was the policy of the Department of Prisons to use cruel, degrading and inhuman forms of punishment on prisoners including caning, ‘spare’ diet, leg irons and solitary confinement.
- 68 The facilities of the Department of Prisons were regularly used by the South African Police for purposes of interrogation and torture.
- 69 The Department of Prisons created the ‘farm prison’ system as a basis for providing cheap labour for white farmers. Africans arrested for pass law offences were frequently used to provide this form of labour. Although the Commission was not presented with evidence of this, it has been recorded elsewhere that the system resulted in numerous instances of gross human rights violations, some of which resulted in death.

- 70 The Department of Prisons provided inferior food, clothing, living conditions and medical care for black prisoners.
- 71 Prison staff frequently ignored the particular needs of women in respect to, for example, menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth and parenting. These needs were also often exploited as a way of subjecting women to intimidation and harassment.
- 72 The Department of Prisons co-operated with other structures of the state in the use of capital punishment to eliminate the opponents of apartheid, as well as those found to be guilty of other offences that the state deemed to be worthy of the death sentence.
- 73 The overt paramilitary basis upon which the Department of Prisons was organised, including a system of ranks closely akin to the military and police, contributed to the impression that it was an extension of the security forces. This detracted from its fundamental duty to reform and rehabilitate, as opposed to merely punishing, offenders.

■ APPENDIX: DEATHS IN DETENTION¹⁰

DATE	NAME	PLACE	ATTRIBUTED CAUSE
1.9.63	Bellington Mampe	Worcester	Undisclosed
5.9.63	'Looksmart' Ngudle	Pretoria	'Suicide by hanging'
24.1.64	James Tyitya	Port Elizabeth	'Suicide by hanging'
9.9.64	Suliman Saloojee	Johannesburg	'Fell out of window'
7.5.65	Nengeni Gaga	Transkei	'Natural causes'
8.5.65	Pongolosha Hoye	Transkei	'Suicide by hanging'
9.10.66	James Hamakwayo	Pretoria	'Suicide by hanging'
9.10.66	Hangula Shonyeka	Pretoria	'Suicide'
19.11.66	Leong Yun Pin	Pretoria	'Suicide by hanging'
30.11.66	Ah Yan	Silverton	'Suicide by hanging'
9.9.67	Alpheus Maliba	Namibia/N. Transvaal	'Suicide by hanging'
11.9.68	Jundea B Tubakwe	Pretoria	'Suicide by hanging'
5.2.69	Nichodimus Kgoathe	Silverton	'Natural causes'
28.2.69	Solomon Modipane	Silverton	'Natural causes'
10.3.69	James Lenkoe	Pretoria	'Suicide by hanging'
1.6.69	Caleb Mayekiso	Port Elizabeth	'Natural causes'
16.6.69	Michael Shivute	Namibia	'Suicide'
8.9.69	Jacob Monakgotla	Pretoria	'Natural causes'
27.9.69	Imam Abdullah Haron	Cape Town	'Slipped down stairs'; multiple injuries
22.1.69	Mthayeni Cuthsela	Transkei	'Natural causes'
27.10.71	Ahmed Timol	Johannesburg	'Suicide by jumping out of window'
19.3.76	Joseph Mdluli	Durban	'Force to the neck'
25.6.76	William Tshwane	Modderbee	'Shot while trying to escape'
15.7.76	Mapetla Mohape	East London	'Suicide by hanging'
2.9.76	Luke Mazwembe	Cape Town	'Suicide by hanging'
25.9.76	Dumisani Mbatha	Modderbee	'Natural causes'
28.9.76	Fenuel Mogatusi	Johannesburg	'Natural causes'
5.10.76	Jacob Mashabane	Johannesburg	'Suicide by hanging'
9.10.76	Edward Mzolo	Johannesburg	Cause undisclosed
18.11.76	Ernest Mamasile	Transkei	'Suicide by hanging'
25.11.76	Thabo Mosala	Transkei	'Natural causes'
11.12.76	Wellington Tshazibane	Johannesburg	'Suicide by hanging'
15.12.76	George Botha	Port Elizabeth	'Suicide by jumping down stairwell'
9.1.77	Nabaoth Ntshuntsha	Leslie	'Suicide by hanging'
9.1.77	Lawrence Ndzanga	Johannesburg	'Natural causes'
20.1.77	Elmon Malele	Johannesburg	'Natural causes'

¹⁰ This list includes such names as are known to the Commission. See also Hilda Bernstein, *No 46 - Steve Biko*, IDAF, London, 1978; Human Rights Commission, *Deaths in Detention: Fact Paper FP7*, Johannesburg, August 1990.

15.2.77	Twasifeni Joyi	Transkei	Undisclosed
15.2.77	Mathews Mabelane	Johannesburg	'Fell out of window'
22.2.77	Samuel Malinga	Pietermaritzburg	'Natural causes'
26.3.77	Aaron Khoza	Pietermaritzburg	'Suicide by hanging'
7.7.77	Phakamila Mabija	Kimberley	'Fell out of window'
2.8.77	Elijah Loza	Cape Town	'Natural causes'
3.8.77	Hoosen Haffejee	Durban	'Suicide by hanging'
15.8.77	Bayempini Mbizi	Durban	'Suicide by hanging'
12.9.77	Stephen Bantu Biko	Port Elizabeth	Head injuries
7.11.77	Sipho Bonaventura Malaza	Krugersdorp	'Suicide by hanging'
10.7.78	Lungile Tabalaza	Port Elizabeth	'Suicide by jumping out of window'
10.9.80	Saul Ndumo	Transkei	'Natural causes'
17.9.81	Manana Mgqweto	Transkei	Unknown
12.11.81	Tshifiwa Muofhe	Venda	Assault by police
5.2.82	Neil Aggett	Johannesburg	'Suicide by hanging'
8.8.82	Ernest Dipale	–	'Suicide by hanging'
8.3.83	Simon Mndawe	Nelspruit	'Suicide by hanging'
5.7.83	Paris Malatji	Johannesburg	Shot in the head
20.1.84	Samuel Tshikudo	Venda	'Natural causes'
7.6.84	Mxolisi Sipele	Transkei	Unknown
25.8.84	Ephraim Mthethwa	Durban	'Suicide by hanging'
6.5.85	Andries Raditsela	Johannesburg	Head injury
24.9.85	Batandwa Nondo	Transkei	Shot by police
5.4.86	Makompe Kutumela	Lebowa	Police assault
11.4.86	Peter Nchabaleng	Lebowa	Police assault
22.10.86	Xoluso Johannes Jacobs	Upington	'Suicide by hanging'
26.3.87	Benedict Mashoke	Burgersfort	'Suicide by hanging'
24.7.87	Eric Mntonga	East London/Ciskei	Police assault
29.7.87	Nobandla Elda Bani	Port Elizabeth	'Natural causes'
12.1.88	Sithembe Zokwe	Transkei	Shot by police
26.8.88	Alfred Makaleng	Johannesburg	'Natural causes'
30.1.90	Clayton Sizwe Sithole	Johannesburg	'Suicide by hanging'
26.3.90	Lucas Tlhotlhomisang	Klerksdorp	'Natural causes'
1.6.90	Donald Thabela Madisha	Potgietersrus	'Suicide by hanging'

Note: Only deaths in detention under security legislation are recorded on this list. Hilda Bernstein¹¹ notes that, in February 1977, the Minister of Police stated in Parliament that 130 people had died in police custody during 1976. Of these, thirteen were political detainees held in terms of security legislation.

¹¹ Bernstein (1978) page 150.

Special Hearing: Compulsory Military Service (Conscription)

■ PURPOSE OF THE HEARING

- 1 The broad purpose of the special hearing on compulsory military service (also known as the 'national service system' or 'conscription')¹ was expressed by Archbishop Tutu as follows:

The Commission is required by law to investigate all aspects of the conflicts of the past which gave rise to gross violations of human rights and to consider the perspectives and motives of the various participants within that conflict.

We know that there have been different points of view about the sensitive issue of conscription and strong views expressed for and against the old SADF [South African Defence Force]. Some held very firmly to the view that South Africa was facing a total onslaught from the Communist empire and its surrogates, and believed that they were constrained to defend South Africa against what they perceived as an atheistic, unchristian foe. Others believed, equally vehemently, that the enemy was not out there; that the border was here in our midst, that certain things happened in waging wars that were thought to be totally necessary - things that must make us all hang our heads in shame.

This issue, like so many in our apartheid past, divided our nation. We want to know as much as possible about the truth from all perspectives so that we, as a Commission, can suggest ways in which a divided and traumatised nation may be healed and make recommendations on how to ensure that the mistakes of the past (made on all sides) are never repeated.

¹ See Appendix 3 for a short historical overview.

- 2 More specifically, the objective of the special hearing was to:
 - a provide an opportunity for those who suffered, and continue to suffer from their experiences as conscripts, to share their pain and reflect on their experiences;
 - b explore the range of experiences of those affected by conscription. Included amongst these were those who opposed conscription and those who believed they were fulfilling their duty – those who fought on the border, servicemen who participated in township policing, those who were part of the citizens' force and those who served as conscripts in the South African Police (SAP). It included those who went into exile to avoid conscription, those who opposed it at home, and the experiences of families who suffered as the result of the traumatising of their husbands, sons, or friends;
 - c raise public awareness about the reality and effects of post-traumatic stress disorder;
 - d develop recommendations on rehabilitation and reconciliation arising out of these experiences.
- 3 In a press statement calling for submissions from ex-conscripts in the South African Defence Force (SADF), the Commission emphasised that the hearing was "neither an attempt to look for perpetrators, nor a process that will lead to the awarding of victim status", as defined by the Act governing the Commission.

■ PREPARATION

- 4 The special hearing on conscription was the subject of intense debates within the Commission and the product of sensitive and careful planning that involved consultation with various groups, both inside and outside of government. For example, in addition to the general call for submissions through the media, the Commission exchanged correspondence with the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) in an attempt to involve people from within the former defence force.² The programme of the day was also designed in such a way as to reflect a diversity of views, beginning with a broad overview of the social and political context of compulsory military service in order to provide a background to individual testimonies. The hearing closed with an inclusive focus on the way forward.

² In a letter from Brigadier AC Slabbert of the SANDF nodal (liaison) point to the Research Department of the Commission on 11 June 1997, it is stated that "the Surgeon General of the SANDF has undertaken to pass the press statement to all Curamus members".

- 5 Yet, despite attempts to cater for the widest possible divergence of views, most individual testimonies submitted to the Commission were critical of conscription and the SADF. Because of this, the Commission was accused of bias.³

■ THE CONTEXT

Social and political context

- 6 Drawing on a number of extensive studies of the opinions of white students during the 1980s, Mr Jannie Gagiano of the Department of Political Science, University of Stellenbosch, painted a statistical picture of what he called the “closed socialisation environment” and “the mindset of the typical white conscript”.⁴ He noted that, when the last survey was done in June 1989, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the African National Congress (ANC) had less than 5 per cent support in white student ranks. Amongst Afrikaans-speaking students, some 25 per cent supported right wing parties, 60 per cent supported the National Party (NP) and 15 per cent supported the Democratic Party (DP). Amongst English speaking students, the same parties received, respectively, around 1 per cent, 18 per cent and 70 per cent of support.
- 7 The high level of ‘encapsulation’, of living in ‘a sort of cocoon’, is illustrated by figures which showed that less than 13 per cent of Afrikaans students read any English newspapers and less than 10 per cent of English speakers read anything printed in Afrikaans. An even smaller percentage, in either group, read newspapers that were more sympathetic to the liberation movements. The highest reported frequency of any form of political discussion or contact with black students was 8 per cent.
- 8 The 1989 survey also showed a 60 per cent level of support for what the state and its central institutions stood for and wanted to preserve at that time (about 75 per cent among Afrikaans-speaking students and 52 per cent among English-speaking students). Sixty per cent of students who said they were members of the opposition DP expressed support for repressive action taken by the state against the protest initiatives of the ANC or the UDF. This figure rose to the high eighties amongst Afrikaans-speaking white students.

3 For example, former defence force chief, General Constand Viljoen, turned down an invitation to attend the hearing, saying his presence would only give legitimacy to a “one-sided programme which did not analyse the past honestly”. In the SANDF submission to the Commission, it is also stated that “no serving or retired members of the SADF or SANDF (with the exception of General Viljoen) were invited to attend or provide information for the hearing. The Commission thus only heard one side of the subject.” This statement is factually incorrect: see correspondence referred to in footnote 2; the list of urgent questions submitted to the nodal point on 15 July 1995, and the fact that three participants in the hearing were either current serving members of the SANDF (Lieutenant Colonel Botha) or retired members of the SADF (the Reverend Neels du Plooy and Lieutenant Craig Botha).

4 This submission was based on a 1990 IDASA research report: ‘Worlds of Difference - The Political Attitudes of White Students in South Africa’.

- 9 As far as attitudes to conscription and the refusal to do military service were concerned, around 85 per cent of Afrikaner male students and 55 per cent of English-speaking students said that they would never refuse to do military service as a form of political protest. Mr Gagiano also referred to high figures that show that, in 1989, a large majority of white students in South Africa still viewed Communism as a very serious threat.
- 10 Professor Annette Seegers of the Department of Political Science, University of Cape Town, drew the attention of the Commission to a number of questions which, in her view, still needed to be explored if the “socially pervasive influence” of the national service system in the white community was to be fully understood. She distinguished between:
- a factors that influenced people before they entered national service, such as the attitudes of parents and the roles of employers and high schools (specifically the imitation of military service through the cadet system);
 - b experiences during national service, and
 - c experiences after national service, such as (in her view) cynicism about public institutions and greater solidarity between Afrikaans and English-speaking people.
- 11 She emphasised that white men remained involved in the military for a large part of their lives, a point illustrated by this quotation from an earlier analysis⁵:

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

⁵ Mark Phillips, “The nuts and bolts of military power: the structure of the SADF”, *War and Society - The militarisation of South Africa*, Jacklyn Cock & Laurie Nathan (editors), (Cape Town & Johannesburg: David Philip), 1989.

- 12 Professor Seegers also drew attention to the very large numbers of white men who were involved in the national service system. The average number of people who reported for the annual intake of conscripts was approximately 22 000. From 1960 until it was scrapped, approximately 428 774 people reported for compulsory military service.⁶ (See appendix 2 for details).
- 13 A psychologist whose clients include ex-SADF conscripts echoed these views. In a written submission to the Commission, Ms Trudy de Ridder of the Trauma Centre for the Victims of Violence and Torture, Cape Town, reported that:

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

My recent experience with ex-conscripts has been characterised by their insistence that they could not have had the tools or information to challenge this view - especially at the age of seventeen or eighteen. Most report that, once in the SADF, resistance to the fact of conscription, the chain of command or the politico-military objectives was unthinkable. In fact, most still associate their military experiences with a sense of pride - in their capacity for physical and psychological endurance...

- 14 At the Commission's special hearing on children and youth in Johannesburg on 12 June 1997, this perspective was clearly expressed by Mr Christo Uys, a council member of a prominent Afrikaner youth organisation, the *Junior Rapportryers Beweging* (JRB):

We were born in the struggle. The war on the border was in the process and within South Africa there was a freedom struggle. Today it is seen as a very just struggle, but the effect thereof wasn't always as just. And this was the struggle that we fought in the police and in the army. We did our service and those of us who weren't in the police or did our national service; we prepared ourselves at school and university to play an active role in the economy of South Africa.

⁶ 'Additional submission with regard to the former SADF,' compiled by the SADF Nodal Point in co-operation with former chiefs and members of the SADF.

Sometimes it is often overlooked and forgotten that we also played a role in the struggle against Communism; today it is seen to be ludicrous but we believed that we did play a positive role there.

And in essence, our struggle was against anarchy. Today we listened how anarchy was prevalent in black communities - how it affected people's lives. There were references made to kangaroo courts, necklacing. This also affected us.

As a national serviceman in the army, I believed and I was sure that I contributed to keep people's lives safe. We also heard a lot of different atrocities that took place and the moment that an Afrikaner says it, it is not believed. But you know that, while I was in the army, I didn't talk to people or receive commands or instructions that led to the violation of human rights.

The fact that we today have the infrastructure in this country that is the best in Africa, the fact that we have the potential to grow economically, that to me is proof that we succeeded in making a great contribution towards a peaceful transition in South Africa.

You know democracy is a wonderful thing, but you cannot eat it and it doesn't keep you warm in winter. If in South Africa there was a [very hasty] transfer to a new democracy in South Africa, we could also have awoken today in Bosnia...

As young Afrikaners, we are proud of our cultural heritage and we are proud of the role that we play in this country. And we believe that our struggle was imbedded in core values that we learnt in our families and our struggle will come to the fore every time these values are endangered.

- 15 Individual testimony at the hearing on conscription also provided a window on the ways in which white society as a whole either supported or failed to take issue with the national service system. Professor Johan Hattingh, who also gave testimony as an ex-captain in the Citizen Force, read from a letter his mother wrote to him when she heard that he was preparing a submission to the Commission:

Johan, a perspective relating to the Defence Force of which the Truth Commission will never hear is, [first], the role which parents of soldiers played. Despite parents' serious concerns and anger regarding what was happening to their sons, they had to remain positive to be able to assist their sons, come what may.

Secondly, the women in South Africa (white women) became active and started rendering services - these were the Defence Force women, the Southern Cross Fund and the church women. We collected money to furnish in a cosy way coffee bars where soldiers could relax; we bought furniture, etc. There was also money collected for rooms of prayer, for various bits and pieces of furniture and games, etc. We corresponded with soldiers and we assisted families of soldiers locally. We sent parcels with biscuits to all the army bases [she adds with some humour that she later heard that there was such a flood of biscuits that the soldiers began pelting each other with them!].

Religious context: a perspective on the role of the church and the chaplaincy

- 16 The Reverend Neels du Plooy was a chaplain in the SADF between 1977 and 1990. From 1979, he was public relations officer to the Chaplain General and Senior Staff Officer: Publications. His submission to the Commission prompted the following questions:
 - a Why did the overwhelming majority of healthy, young and motivated South African white males of good standing, Afrikaans and English-speaking, unconditionally do national service - and more even than that, look forward to it?
 - b Why did parents accept national service as a necessity and a general way of life?
 - c Why did young people having difficulties at school suddenly see national service as a very good cause and a very good reason to quit school the moment they became eighteen?
 - d Why did parents feel obliged to inspire young men with problems at home or at school to join national service in the hope that disciplined training, etc. would do them good?
- 17 Drawing on his extensive personal experience, the Reverend Du Plooy focused on the role of the Church and, in particular, the chaplaincy in "bringing about this positive attitude".⁷ While acknowledging that chaplains "did have the freedom to preach the gospel according to their convictions," and that they played a "vital role ... especially in conveying death messages to service men as well as parents", he said that his main concern was the "unholy marriage between the church and the state":

- 18 In order to understand the role of the military chaplain and the national servicemen chaplains in the SADF, one needs to keep in mind that, especially as far as the mainstream Afrikaans churches were concerned, the church at national synod level co-operated fully with the SADF on issues of military and national service. The church accepted the advice of the leadership of the NP government and Defence Council as far as defence matters were concerned.

This total involvement, and this [is what makes one] 'heartsore', was strengthened by the infamous concept of the total onslaught. Through the idea of the total onslaught, the church immediately became an ally in the war. The total onslaught concept assumed that only 20 per cent of the onslaught was of a military nature and the other 80 per cent directed against the economical and spiritual welfare of the people. Therefore the chaplaincy and the church had to be involved in winning the hearts and the minds of the people.

The Church's main task was to strengthen the spiritual defensibility of its members. The Church was now totally convinced [of] the fact that we were fighting the war ... we were fighting a just war. Almost every synod of the Dutch Reformed Church during this time supported the military effort in their prayers and by way of resolutions of thanks. They acknowledged the fact that the SADF helped to constitute a safer living environment for the peoples of South Africa and serving church members in the SADF..

Chaplains - in the citizen force, commandos and permanent force - had a special task to keep civilian congregations informed. They delivered sermons and addresses to these congregations to console parents as to the special care their sons [were receiving] during national service. Special efforts were made to call on the girlfriends of national servicemen to be positive about the war, because it was for their safety and future that the boyfriend was doing military service. Chaplains even gave guidelines to girlfriends on how they should write their letters to the men on the border or in the townships. For example, [they were told] "never write or talk about problems at home..."

- 19 Another striking illustration of this 'unholy marriage' between church and state was the issue to each soldier of a special edition of the New Testament and Psalms. Bound into the front of this special edition was a message from Mr PW Botha, first as Minister of Defence and later as State President, which read: "This Bible is the most important part of your military equipment..." The Reverend Du Plooy

⁷ See also *Report on Institutional Hearing: Faith Community*.

noted "that we eventually in 1989 succeeded in having the message of PW Botha inserted as a loose leaflet and not bound in anymore."

The Committee on South African War Resistance and the End Conscription Campaign

- 20 Mr Roger Field provided a brief input on the Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAW), an organisation of exiled conscientious objectors, formed in the aftermath of South Africa's invasion of Angola in 1975 and the Soweto uprising the following year. Its aim was to raise international awareness about the role of the SADF and to provide support to objectors in exile. Mr Field, who worked for COSAW between May 1985 and December 1989, emphasised that:

exile was the most important decision and, I think, often the most traumatic experience of [these resisters'] lives and its long-term effects should not be underestimated.

- 21 He also presented the Commission with a book "which contains the distillation of analyses by COSAW and resisters of the SADF and its occupation of Namibia, its war against the frontline states and its war against the people of South Africa."⁸
- 22 Dr Laurie Nathan was a founding member of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) in 1983, ECC national organiser in 1985 and 1986, and is currently director of the Centre for Conflict Resolution at the University of Cape Town. He made a submission on the background to and objectives of the ECC. The ECC Declaration read as follows:

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

⁸ See Cathra, G. et al, 1994, War and Resistance, Macmillan.

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

- 23 Dr Nathan described the ECC as a broad, dynamic and creative coalition.

We had within our ranks English and Afrikaans-speaking people; we had school pupils, university students and parents. Some of us regarded ourselves as liberals; others as radicals, Marxists, pacifists, Christians, humanists. We had rock musicians, poets, artists ... All of these different sectors were able, through the ECC, to campaign against conscription in a way that they felt comfortable [with].

- 24 He noted that, because of the significance of the ECC's objectives and the high profile nature of its campaigns, its efforts were met with extensive state repression.

We were subjected to merciless vilification, the thrust of which was that we were traitors, cowards, 'mommy's boys' (as Magnus Malan once put it); that we were in bed with Communists and that we were part of the revolutionary onslaught against South Africa.

- 25 In 1988, following a successful court action against the defence force and a stand made by 143 conscripts who collectively announced their refusal to serve, the ECC was formally banned and became operative again only after the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations.

■ INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCES

- 26 As is the case with other individual testimonies before the Commission, it is impossible to capture the complexity and richness of the various oral and written individual submissions on compulsory military service. This section provides only an illustration of the wide divergence of mainly negative experiences brought to the attention of the Commission.

Conscientious objectors

- 27 In his testimony to the Commission, Dr Ivan Toms made a useful distinction between what he described as 'two waves' of conscientious objectors. The 'first

wave' began in the mid-1970s, when objections to conscription and the SADF were based primarily on religious grounds. The 'second wave' of objectors was linked to the ECC in the 1980s, and its objections were more explicitly political. The Commission heard testimonies from Mr Peter Moll and Mr Richard Steele, who represented the first wave, and from Dr Ivan Toms and Dr Laurie Nathan, who formed part of the second wave. The following extracts illustrate these points of view:

28 Mr Peter Moll said:

I became a conscientious objector in July 1976 at a conference held by the Students Christian Association on the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus. It was pointed out by Michael Cassidy of Africa Enterprise that the guerrillas of the ANC and SWAPO were young men like myself who wanted justice and an end to apartheid; thus the SADF was not fighting a foreign aggressor but was engaged in a civil war. The message struck home. I decided that it was no longer possible for me to go to military camps or to prepare for action in Namibia.

My motive was based upon general moral reasoning and Christian theological ethics. I was not a pacifist, although I had and still have great respect for pacifists. My objection was to the unjust nature of the war being conducted by the SADF inasmuch as it was in defence of white supremacy under the guise of protecting Christianity from Communism.

29 Dr Ivan Toms said:

I started this clinic in Crossroads from nothing. We built it with builder's rubble ... and some of my friends from the End Conscription Campaign started to help us. There, experientially, one saw what apartheid was all about. So my resistance to apartheid and to the army was not something from a book or from some intellectual view of life; it was experiential.

Perhaps just to raise one specific experience that led me to publicly refuse to serve in the SADF. In September 1983, we had a situation where many women and children came down to join their husbands in Crossroads. It was not a political thing; it was about being part of a family. And they were making these little structures of branches that they cut from the forests with black plastic over them. As we all know, September is the Cape Town winter so it was raining a lot. And for three weeks, day in and day out, the security

forces - the riot police - came in their Casspirs [armoured personnel carriers]. They'd bring camouflaged Casspirs and, in their dark green, light green camouflage uniforms, [would] rip down these structures, pull the plastics and branches to a spot and burn them in front of everybody...

Then one Friday, after three weeks of this, some of the women held on to the branches and to the riot police that constituted a riot. And they used teargas, rubber bullets (which, I don't know if you know, are six inches long and about an inch and a half in diameter of solid rubber) and police dogs to quell the riot, and we were having to treat the results of that. So we had kids with severe respiratory distress from the teargas, people with dog bites. I remember one time having to go out and see a mother who had a twenty-four hour old baby that was left in the rain because her structure had been torn down.

And a reporter asked me, "Does this make any difference to you"? I said...in no ways could I from that point on ever put on that SADF uniform again. Because you see, to the kids and to the people in Crossroads, those riot police in camouflage uniforms were the Amajoni; they were the soldiers. And to put on that uniform would be to identify with those Amajoni who had actually been oppressing the very community that I served.

Some individual submissions

Pastor Craig Botha, former radio operator and diver in the South African Navy

- 30 Pastor Craig Botha was a seventeen-year-old conscript in the SADF serving in Bloemfontein in 1978. After his basic training, he decided to join the navy because he did not want to serve on the border. He remained a member of the permanent forces for four and a half years and was deployed, first as a radio operator and later as a diver, on a strike craft based at Salisbury Island in Durban. He participated in various military activities in neighbouring countries.

Our mission was to launch these inflatable craft with these highly trained reconnaissance commandos on board into the water off various strategic points, [whereupon] the commandos would go ashore and they would blow up installations and generally cause havoc. And then they would escape via the sea back to our waiting strike craft and we would leave the area at high speed.

So during the time I served on these attack vessels, we performed a number of operations of which we were instructed to keep secret our destination

and operation. Often we were going to sea for a period of time and were not told our destination before departure. On a number of occasions, we were visited by a number of high ranking defence force personnel who wished us well and spoke to us about the importance of our mission and what we were doing to protect the country from a total onslaught, etc...

I was very politically naive and it was only later that I realised what a lie I had been involved in. As I look back on this period, it is with deep shame and regret that I took part in these acts of sabotage and violent destabilisation. The struggles that our neighbouring states have had to undergo, even to this time, is partially attributable to these missions.

- 31 However, Pastor Botha devoted most of his testimony to talking about his conversion to Christianity and the various reconciliation projects in which he and his congregation are currently involved.⁹

Mr Ian Liebenberg, former non-commissioned officer and platoon commander on the Namibian/SWA Border

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

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

- 33 He went on to ask:

What about those people in the existential vacuum from both sides that are now left with [the problem of] trying to figure out where to go? The change of government doesn't necessarily provide you with a job or resolve the problems you have as a result of a long history of alienation.

⁹ These are described in the chapter on *Reconciliation*.

Mr Tim Ledgerwood, a former conscript

- 34 Mr Ledgerwood had a privileged upbringing in a white, English-speaking, middle class and deeply religious home. He said that:

The society that I grew up in asked no questions about military duty (this was in 1980). You went to school, you registered when you were sixteen, you went off and did your national service, you came home and life carried on as normal. Your girlfriend was proud to have somebody who was on the border, and the war was far, far away. None of us had ever been to Namibia.

- 35 Mr Ledgerwood started his national service in January 1980, with the Second South African Infantry Battalion in Walvis Bay. He described his growing disillusionment, first becoming a conscientious non-combatant and eventually, towards the end of his second year, going AWOL (absent without leave) with the intention of joining the ANC's military wing.

Being young, foolish, unprepared and on my own, I was caught as I was about to climb over the border fence at Ramatlabana. It was then that the nightmare began. I was handed over to the Zeerust branch of the security police who interrogated me for about two weeks or so. I can remember very few details except the screaming. I was nineteen years old at the time. The dark nights of my soul had begun...

- 36 He was later handed back to the military police and eventually sentenced to six months detention.

My life after that was substantially and subtly different. I found myself emotionally exhausted for years afterwards - I'm talking twelve years afterwards. My sense of dissociation and alienation was acute. Before the Commission, I'd never met anybody who'd been through even remotely similar experiences to these, except for one guy who is now my best friend, a guy who spent his time instructing UNITA in Angola and had gone through some quite harsh things.

Professor Johan Hattingh, former captain in the Citizen Force, Stellenbosch Commando

- 37 Professor Hattingh, currently a professor of philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, did his initial one-year of training as an infantry soldier in 1973.

The rest of his national service was completed as part of the regiment of the University of Stellenbosch and, from the beginning of the 1980s, as a member of the Stellenbosch Commando. He described his gradual shift from whole-hearted support for and full co-operation with the national service system in 1973, through disillusionment with the University of Stellenbosch regiment, to his reluctant participation in and passive resistance to the militarisation of his home town and his professional and private life.

We then had the opportunity to apply to be transferred to Stellenbosch Commando and we thought that would be better. We would not be transferred to border duty far away; we would be in our own home town. But that turned out to be more stressful as it were because, in a sense, we were now in military uniform walking around in our own home town, in our own backyard. We were in the public eye of our friends and family...

Besides Saturday mornings spent away on shooting practices, during the mid-1980s, there were lots and lots of twenty-four hour standbys we were put on. There were roadblocks and you had to do duty over and over again. At that stage, Stellenbosch Commando was an all-white commando and the perception of the enemy was that it [consisted of] people on the other side of the colour line.

Mr John Deegan, conscript in the SAP and former member of Koevoet

- 38 Mr Deegan gave detailed testimony to the Commission about his initial involvement with the Security Police and his subsequent life in the early to mid-1980s as a "Koevoet killer", a member of a notorious SAP counter-insurgency unit on the Namibian border. His life vividly illustrates the continuing, destructive psychological toll of these activities on him and those around him.¹⁰

Mr Sam Sole, former conscript in the townships

- 39 Mr Sole submitted a first hand account of the experiences of a SADF soldier/national serviceman in the townships of the Eastern Cape.¹¹
- 40 Sam Sole portrays the staggering gulf between the official instructions ("as members of a disciplined, effective and respectful security force each individual's conduct must at all times be responsible and courteous")¹² and the daily and nightly behaviour of the white troops and the police in the townships. For example:

¹⁰ John Deegan's testimony is dealt with in some detail in the chapter on *Reconciliation*.

¹¹ At the time of submission Mr Sole was a journalist with the *Sunday Tribune* in Durban.

One night ... we are hanging around and suddenly one stone smashes the windscreen of an SAP bakkie and two cops with shotguns bound off like dogs let off the leash. They stalk the one lone stone thrower and corner him. He continues his desperate barrage and they shoot him dead. He's about sixteen; he was a kid.

- 41 Sole also tried to describe his own reaction to the "insane situation" in which he found himself :

My own guilt at my inaction in the face of this brutality, as well as the sheer physical impact of it, created an enormous tension and conflict of behaviour. My response was enough to get me labelled a 'Kaffir boetie' and a 'Kommunis', yet it is impossible to isolate yourself completely. You have been living fart to fart with these people for nine months. They have humanity although they abuse it in others and you have to continue to live with them. So you are forced to compromise yourself and, treacherously, you lose that sense of outrage until the next time.

Mr Eric Rautenbach, who opted for exile rather than conscription

- 41 Writing from Canada, Mr Rautenbach told the Commission how he escaped conscription by leaving the country.

The people I went to school with and my other white friends and acquaintances all went one by one to do their military service. One couldn't really blame them - how do you go against such a big machine? You have nowhere to hide, nowhere to run. ... I made the decision eventually to break the law ... to finance a ticket out ... I lived and scavenged through fourteen countries. I was getting tired. It was a confusing time. I was sick and I'd lost faith in humanity. I had no country, no visas, no work permits, no future and no food. I stole food to eat. I was truly homeless even more than the homeless of South Africa [were]. I had no tribe, nothing. I trusted nobody. Round and round I went, using my white skin to blend in with the university students, the vacationers and young travellers from South Africa, Canada, Australia and Europe ...

I finally returned for a brief visit to South Africa this year, twenty-one years after leaving, to take my father's ashes to the mountain ... Every day my soul cries for home, but home is not home anymore.

12 Brigadier van der Westhuizen's personal message to each soldier.

Value of individual submissions

- 43 These individual submissions highlighted a number of important points.
- 44 First, they provided glimpses of the different ways in which some white men struggled with the issue of compulsory military service. These included those who objected on religious and/or political grounds and were imprisoned; those who went into exile; those who openly mobilised opposition to conscription; those who participated reluctantly and opted for a more passive style of resistance, and those who tried to join the military ‘enemies’ of the previous state.
- 45 Some of the submissions focused on military activities in neighbouring countries, especially in South Africa’s ‘fifth province’, Namibia. This highlighted the fact that there are large numbers of victims in the southern African region whose stories were not addressed by the Commission.
- 46 Many of these individual testimonies helped to achieve one of the purposes of the special hearing, namely to draw attention to the reality of post-traumatic stress disorder and to the urgent, deep challenge of dealing with the psychological consequences of past conflicts. In the words of Commissioner Wendy Orr, who spoke after John Deegan had completed his testimony:

John, it's very difficult to respond to a testimony like yours. It engenders so many feelings in all of us. In me, it engenders feelings of horror, of pain, of anger but I think, most overwhelmingly, of sorrow that young men like you - and not only those that were in the SADF but those who were in MK and APLA and other forces - that young men like you had to deal with that insanity [of the war] ... We're going to need to deal with the issues and challenges that you have raised to-day ... I remind you that this is not the end as you yourself know. There's still a long way to go, and we wish you every support and courage and affirmation in that journey.

■ THE REALITY AND CHALLENGE OF POST-TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER

- 47 In an oral submission by a psychologist, Mr Gary Koen, and in the written submission by Ms Trudy de Ridder, a number of the common symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder were highlighted. These include recurrent nightmares, anxiety about and feeling tainted by death, insomnia, heightened aggression, social withdrawal, substance abuse, difficulties in interpersonal relationships and generalised distrust of others.¹³ Mr Koen emphasised that these symptoms can result from a range of events, such as a single episode of life-threatening harm and violence (for example rape and assault). In his submission he focused on war-related incidents, in particular those linked to guerrilla warfare:

Guerrilla warfare, the type of war fought on the South African borders for the past twenty years, contains many unique features not seen in conventional warfare. These include hit and run tactics, surprise ambushes, extensive use of landmines and booby traps, as well as the stress experienced by people who are primarily town dwellers fighting a bush war. Unpredictability characterises this type of environment and the uncertainty of either attack or safety leads to a high level of anxiety and hyper-arousal in anticipation of the next attack.

Whilst the majority of the South African troops were not involved in actual fire fighting, a significant number were exposed to the conditions exposed above. It is these soldiers who have been most likely to suffer the effects of such stress.

- 48 As an illustration of what it means to suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, he described the therapy he conducted with a member of the medical corps in the operational area:

S. would often chastise himself for having let others die or even accuse himself of having killed them. His guilt seemed not only irrational but also completely unfair.

Certainly the most painful moment in the whole treatment occurred when he lamented the death of the child, the child who died in his arms, and perhaps the most brutal moment occurred when he smashed his fist into his own face, blaming himself for having caused the child's death. The contrast between the two experiences was marked.

¹³ See also chapter on *Consequences of Human Rights Violations*.

The first experience evoked an entirely human reaction, the pain of all those who died becoming sensed around this experience of a solitary child's death. There is nothing more vulnerable and in need of protection than a child, and there is little else that shows up the barbaric nature and violence of war than when a child is killed. S. accessed this awareness in the most painful way; his grief was shy of the most profound despair.

Simultaneously, this experience gave rise to the most abusive and seemingly inexplicable guilt and self-condemnation. In this instance, what required recognition, understanding and containment was [the fact] that there really was nothing that S. could do. His feelings resulted from the tragic consequence of being placed in a situation where he was impotent and helpless. His immense guilt was a reaction against this experience of helplessness. The child in his arms was helpless, and the child died.

Helplessness is equivalent to death, so rather than acknowledge his helplessness, he would condemn himself for living and blame himself for the child's death. S's fantasy was that if he [had been] a doctor with somehow the skill to save the child it would have been different. This is known as failed enactment whereby the veteran, by simultaneously experiencing the horror of the incident, also has an anticipatory plan of action to remedy the situation and in failing to do so suffers the consequences for that failure indefinitely.

This profound experience of guilt is not something essentially resolvable. Guilt is integral to the human experience, because it is from the experience of guilt that one draws the necessary insights into the morality of our actions - how they affect ourselves and others. As such, guilt is necessarily ambiguous and it is this aspect that facilitates a movement beyond this stuckness (sic) that characterises traumatic guilt. It provides the possibility of finding some alternate enactment for the image that haunts one, of undergoing personal transformation around that image.

S. had to recognise not only how much he had suffered but also how glad he was that he was alive. Perhaps the most uplifting moment in the whole treatment was when S. welcomed himself back. He allowed himself the pleasure of living again, bringing both relief and joy.

- 49 A summary and extracts from a mother's letter, written in Afrikaans, to Archbishop Tutu is further illustration of the various symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder:

My son was normal and had a happy childhood and successful career until his compulsory enlistment in the army for border duty. Here his problems started, i.e. serious drinking, trying like so many others to forget. He could not come to terms with the horrors of war ... His wife divorced him, leaving a seven-year-old son without a father.

- 50 His parents, who were pensioners, were devastated. They lost their house (literally) and their son (figuratively). He became an alcoholic. Ministers and family and friends shunned him. Eventually, the son became aggressive and assaulted his mother.
- 51 The mother wrote that she had no option but to “throw him out of the house”. She says, “if the army could forget” then she “will have to as well”. The letter continued:

One morning a ‘bum’ will be found dead - a child of God whose only mistake was to fight for his country... When you see the mothers sobbing for their children on TV you can understand how I feel. I hate the government for turning my son into a zombie. Somewhere, someone should start a place for such boys, because when he marches his troops through the night there must be many others doing similar things.

- 52 The following is an extract from a written statement to the Commission by Ms Anne-Marie MacGregor whose son, Wallace, died while he was doing duty in the SADF on the Namibian-Angolan border ¹⁴:

And then on Thursday, March 9, I was confronted with the total shock of the news of his death. I was told that my son was killed a few kilometres from Oshakati. He was brought home wrapped in a thick, sealed plastic bag. The instruction was that the plastic bag should not be opened. The only thing I know about the state my son was in is that all his limbs were intact. And this I heard from his uncle, who could only establish this by running his hands over this plastic bag.

Again, I accepted this as military law. You are not allowed to have the last glimpse of your own child - even as he lay there, lifeless. On the day of Wallace’s funeral, his coffin wasn’t opened. It is ten years since I last laid eyes on my child - nine years since he was laid to rest. But in these nine years, I’ve been struggling to complete the process of mourning for Wallace.

¹⁴ This statement was read on behalf of Ms MacGregor by Committee member Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela at the Commission hearing in Paarl in 1996. It is included here to help illustrate the traumatic impact on families, one of the objectives with the hearing on conscription.

A part of me wonders if in fact it was him in that plastic bag. How can I lay him to rest within my heart, if I didn't see him go? When I lost my mother, whom I loved very much, I saw her, I touched her and therefore I was able to separate from her, release her and move on.

But with Wallace, there are so many questions that are still unanswered. In my struggle with my grief, I would like to know where exactly he died. How it had happened. Who was there with him when it happened? Did anybody help him to prevent it from happening? Who was the doctor who attended to him? I've never had the opportunity to ask these questions. Nobody has ever explained anything to me about my son's death.

They can say nobody asked, but who do you ask? And even if you do, you will not get any answers.

I sometimes see Wallace in the streets. I remember two distinct occasions, when I thought I was seeing him. And it turned out to be somebody who looked like him. My grief becomes more intense on the anniversaries of my son's death and on his birthday. He would have turned thirty in January. I've kept an album of all his photographs, as a way of dealing with the many feelings I have about the loss. But it is very hard, when there are so many things you are not sure about.

- 53 In a very poignant follow-up to this statement, the Commission facilitated a meeting between Ms MacGregor and a young man who had been with Wallace when he died. He told her exactly what had happened. As he described Wallace's last moments, she looked at him and said, "So, Wallace is really dead" and wept inconsolably for about ten minutes. It was only at that moment that she actually acknowledged and accepted that her son was dead.
- 54 The transition to a democratic South Africa, coupled with the very public process of the Commission, has complicated the healing process for many ex-conscripts suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder. Many of the conscripts treated by Ms De Ridder reported a recurrence and/or intensification of their symptoms as a result of some of the testimonies to the Commission and, particularly, the trial of and television documentary ("Prime Evil") about Eugene de Kock. To some extent, the Commission has helped release traumatised ex-conscripts from 'the prison of silence' surrounding their experiences and, more importantly, their emotional responses to their experiences. Ms De Ridder says, however, that many others experience the current process as a form of retraumatisation:

While many of the conscripts referred to here do not differentiate their anger to the old or the new regime, some focused intensely on their sense of being abandoned by their old leaders. The old society did not provide for any process of reintegration and failed to acknowledge their sacrifice. The new society condemns them as perpetrators, as defenders of apartheid.

55 In response to Mr Koen's submission, Commissioner Wendy Orr said:

I feel that you were describing the symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. Very many people in this room recognise those symptoms either in themselves or their brothers or their friends, their husbands, their boyfriends. Which leads me to realise that there are so many damaged and injured young men, amongst others, in this country who have been really very severely damaged by the experience of conscription. This leaves us with an immense challenge of what we do to heal that damage. That's one of the challenges that faces not only the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but all of us. Thank you for presenting that challenge to us today.

■ THE WAY FORWARD

56 Submissions at this special hearing made it clear that dealing with the legacy of past armed conflicts will require a concerted effort, with contributions from the state, organised civil society and individual citizens.

57 The role of the state was illustrated by Lieutenant Colonel Botha's submission on a defence force project, Curamus Care for the Disabled, which was formed in 1990 to handle the treatment and aftercare "of our men and women who have been serving in the forces and have been injured in the process". This is an interdepartmental project which includes those injured while serving in the police and correctional services. Sitting in his wheel chair, Lieutenant Colonel Botha emphasised that the project, which is his full-time responsibility, includes those with physical and psychological disabilities such as post-traumatic stress disorder. He encouraged those who made individual submissions, like John Deegan, to come and discuss with him the possibilities of and procedures for applying for a military pension. He also spoke in his capacity as chairperson of the Curamus Association for Security Service Disabled, a voluntary association formed in October 1990 to give disabled members a platform to deal with their problems – for example finding employment within government and the private sector.

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

So what I hope for, for the future then, is to find out answers to a lot of questions, but obviously within a structure. With the help of the Commission and, hopefully with the government's backing, we can possibly get a veterans' association off the ground which Marius and others have been working on for some years now. It hasn't been formalised, but there is a constitution, there's something on paper, it's concrete. All it has to do is get approval and we put it into gear ...

It's not a bunch of ex-soldiers getting together, having a braaivleis and swapping bush stories. What it is, is SWAPO, ANC, APLA, Umkhonto weSizwe, Koevoet, 'Reccies', all the units, every single unit, everybody who ever was trained in any way militarily getting together and just trying to make some kind of sense of the mess we made and doing something about it. Like, we talk about reparation and remorse and all this but, until we actually do something, like, tangible and physical, it's all words, it means nothing. So I'd really like to see the South African Veterans' Association, if that's what it's going to be called, get off the ground. And hopefully we can convene a national meeting at some point where we can express the aims of that and make it open to absolutely everybody who feels they might have a problem with post-traumatic stress disorder or anyone who was just connected with this whole conscription, with the whole military thing.

Part of the SAVA thing, then, would be to go back to Namibia, to actually go back and see the victims of our actions, their families. And to go and make

reparation to the Namibians and to try and help and then just make sense of what actually happened there because it was absolute madness.

- 59 Various submissions, for example that of Professor Johan Hattingh, illustrated some of the ways in which individuals could creatively express their shared responsibility for what went wrong in the past and their commitment to a new South Africa:

To conclude, as I pointed out at the beginning, this is a personal statement describing some of the events, emotions and positions that I have experienced and lived through whilst serving as a conscript in the SADF. With hindsight, it is clear that I have collaborated with a military machine that has permeated throughout society and penetrated it very deeply. Insofar as this is the case, I share responsibility for the pain, suffering and death inflicted by that military machine within South Africa but also far outside of its borders.

I could argue that I am guilty of nothing because I only acted on orders handed down to me in terms of the law of the country. I prefer not to do so but rather, without sounding sentimental or trite, to tender my sincere personal apologies to all fellow South Africans who have suffered directly or indirectly from the actions of the SADF during the years of apartheid.

Looking back on the sad history related above, there is nothing that I am and can be proud of. On the contrary, I am humbled by a deep sense of shame for the fact that it only slowly dawned upon me that I was participating in, and then virtually did nothing about, the system that I described.

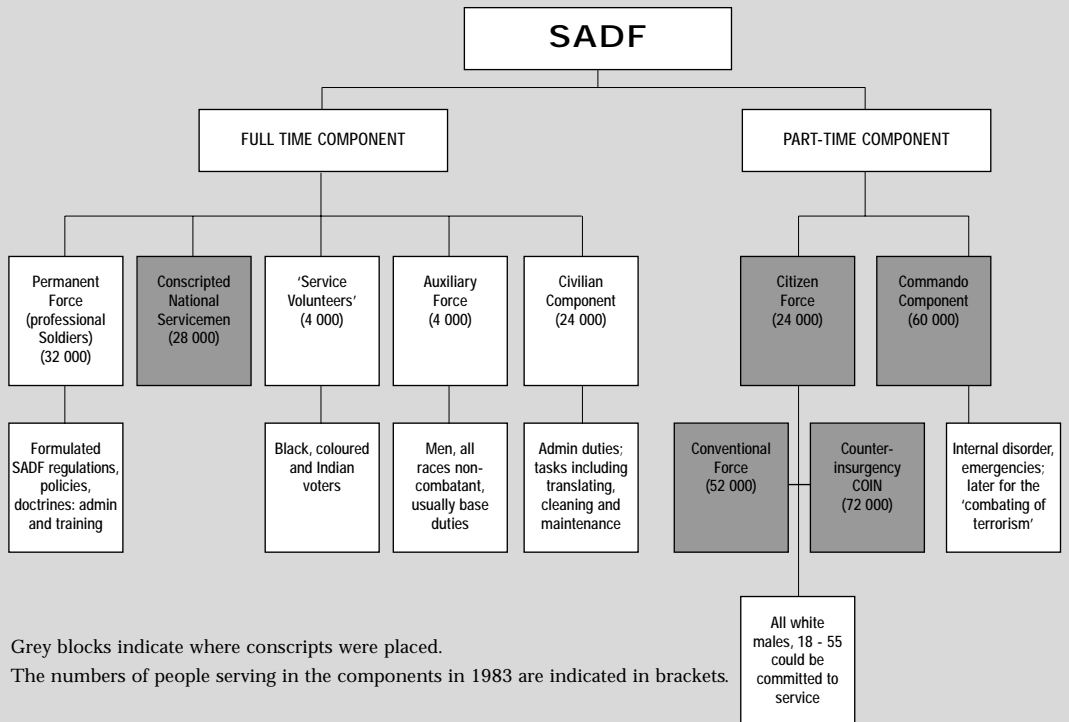
This is underlined by the ironic fact that I started to question the military structures I was conscripted into on the basis of what it did to me personally and not so much on the basis of what it did to others. The way in which I tried to compensate for this moral insensitivity is now currently to actively participate in community initiatives, striving towards the reconstruction and development of our country.

It gives me a deep sense of satisfaction to work with people who were formerly the declared enemies of the SADF or Citizen Force towards such seemingly small goals as securing a shelter for street children in Stellenbosch or helping community organisations to articulate their needs and translate them into viable development programmes.

- 60 Compulsory military conscription required many young white males in South Africa to face the reality of apartheid, bringing them face to face with the knowledge that a war was being fought. Some were socially conditioned to accept conscription as a national duty. Some saw no other option. Some saw options but were afraid of the consequences of refusing. Some were shocked and traumatised by what they experienced and began to question the world view they had always accepted. A few believed that, for a variety of very different reasons, it was their moral responsibility to refuse to serve in the military.
- 61 Often a change of attitude or a refusal to serve threw individuals, families, friends and even entire communities into crisis, triggering self-analysis and moral debate. Although the resistance against apartheid has always involved a small number of white people, conscription put young white men directly in touch with the moral costs and human consequences of maintaining it by military means.

■ APPENDIX 1

Structure of the SADF



■ APPENDIX 2

Table indicating number of people serving in the Civilian Force in 1980 and 1992

Year	Total Strength of CF in the SA Army	Percentage of army forces available for operation
1980	92 300	32%
1992	243 000	45%

Table indicating the Operational Deployment of Servicemen (a company normally consisted of 120 men)

Year	No of Companies
1983	32
1984	48
1985	72
1986	90
1987	84
1988	82
1989	72

■ APPENDIX 3

Year	Requirements	Initial Service	Compulsory Period of Service	Continuous Service Commitments
1946 - 51	Only volunteers	1 month	4 years	2 x 3 day camps
1952 - 61	Drafted numbers	3 months	4 years	1 x 30 day plus 2 x 15 day camps
1962 - 66	Drafted numbers	9 months	4 years	2 x 21 day camps
1967 - 73	Compulsory Service	12 months	10 years	3 x 26 days plus 5 x 12 day camps
1974 - 76	Compulsory Service	12 months	10 years	5 x 19 day camps
1977 - 82	Compulsory Service	24 months	10 years	8 x 30 day camps
1983 - 1992	Compulsory Service	24 months	24 months	6 cycles of 120 days each

■ APPENDIX 4

Legislation

In terms of the South African Defence Act, 1912, the Union Defence Force was established and recognised as the armed force of the Union of South Africa. This Act was later replaced by The Defence Act, No 44 of 1957. All aspects of the SADF were thus controlled by law, and the levels of force used were provided in accordance with the Act.

In terms of Section 2 of the Act, females and persons not classified as white were excluded from compulsory military service. The tasks assigned to the SADF were predominantly within the scope of Section 3(2) of the Act:

Section 3

(2) The South African Defence Force or any portion or member thereof may at all times be employed -

- (a) on service in defence of the Republic;*
- (b) on service for the prevention or suppression of terrorism;*
- (c) on service in the prevention or suppression of internal disorder in the Republic;*
- (d) on service in the preservation of life, health or property or the maintenance of essential services; and*
- (e) on such police duties as may be prescribed.*

Special Hearing: Children and Youth

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 In light of the direct impact of the policies of the former state on young people and the active role they played in opposing apartheid, the Commission decided to hold hearings on the experiences of children and youth. Many of those who testified before the Commission were eighteen years old or younger when the gross violations of human rights occurred.¹ However, it was considered important that those who were under eighteen years of age during the life of the Commission be given the opportunity to testify. Indeed, before these special hearings, few children under the age of eighteen had approached the Commission to tell their stories.
- 2 The idea of special hearings on the role and experiences of children and youth was widely supported by a range of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which were invited to participate in the preparatory process.

Children subjected to gross human rights violations

- 3 The hearings provided an opportunity to focus on the impact of apartheid on children and youth. Over the years, children and young people were victims of and witnesses to of many of the most appalling gross human rights violations in South Africa's history. The effects of exposure to ongoing political violence may have had serious effects on the development of many of these children.² It was, therefore, considered imperative that the trauma inflicted on children and young people be heard and shared within the framework of the healing ethos of the Commission. Recognition of the inhumanity of apartheid was seen as a crucial step towards establishing a human rights framework for children and young

1 The Commission felt that those testifying as adults had had the benefit not only of time (for healing), but also the opportunity of applying an adult perspective to memory and the articulation of their experiences. For example, Mr Murphy Morobe (like many other student leaders) was under eighteen at the time of his involvement in the student movement. He spoke, however, from the perspective of an adult who had recovered from the trauma of his experience (Soweto Hearings, 23 July 1996).

2 This view was supported by a statement made by Mr Nyanisile Jack at the Eastern Cape Children and Youth Hearings, East London, 18 June 1997.

people in order to ensure that they be given the opportunity to participate fully in South Africa's new democratic institutions.

- 4 The report does not, however, claim to be representative of all children and youth. Given the Commission's focus on gross human rights violations, those who gave evidence at the hearings on children and youth spoke mainly of the suffering of young people. Few chose to speak of, or to report on, the heroic role of young people in the struggle against apartheid. Many saw themselves not as victims, but as soldiers or freedom fighters and, for this reason, chose not to appear before the Commission at all. Others, fearing reprisals from family or community, remained silent. Sometimes close family members were unaware of or strongly opposed to the political activities of young people. This accounts for any apparent contradictions between the perceptions of mothers and other family members who gave testimony and those of the many young people who excluded themselves from the hearings.
- 5 These stories are not, consequently, captured in what follows. No concerted attempt was made by the Commission to encourage those young people who *did* attend the hearings to speak of themselves as heroes who had sacrificed their education, their safety and often their long term opportunities through their active resistance to apartheid.

A culture of human rights and children's rights

- 6 In 1995, South Africa ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), an important step towards securing South Africa's rightful place in the world community of nations. The CRC imposes important obligations and responsibilities on its signatories, including that of "honouring the voice" of children and youth, by giving them an opportunity to express their feelings and relate their experiences as part of the national process of healing.

Participation of children under eighteen years of age

- 7 In terms of the CRC, a child is a person under the age of eighteen years of age and is entitled to special protection by government and society. A critical debate arose before the hearings as to whether or not children under the age of eighteen should appear and testify at the hearings. It was felt that the formal structure of the hearings might intimidate children and subject them to additional trauma. In order to discuss this issue, the Commission held a series of meetings and workshops and sought the opinions of international organisations such as the United Nations

Children's Fund (UNICEF) and over thirty South African NGOs working with children and youth. The final decision of the Commission was that children under the age of eighteen would not testify. Instead, NGOs and other professional people working with children were asked to testify on their behalf. The Commission did, however, make extensive efforts to involve children directly in the hearings and in the collection of data before the hearings.

Regional hearings

- 8 The special hearings on children and youth were held regionally. Each regional office hosted a hearing for the area covered by that office.
- 9 Throughout the country, school children participated in the hearings and listened to the evidence presented. At the KwaZulu-Natal/Free State hearing, school children from a number of schools presented a play and other schools performed songs. A dramatic presentation by school children of the Soweto uprising was a highlight of the hearing hosted by the Johannesburg office, moving members of the audience to tears. This hearing was opened by Ms Graça Machel, chairperson of the UNICEF Study on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children, who brought an important international perspective on this issue. In the Eastern Cape, musical presentations by school choirs assisted in the process of reconciliation while, in Cape Town, three high school students read a submission by Pamela Reynolds and Andrew Dawes on the impact of apartheid on children.

Creativity and flexibility

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

³ It was felt that one day for hearings such as these was insufficient. This became particularly evident at the Gauteng hearings which ran very late and at which some who were scheduled to speak were prevented from doing so. The three days devoted to the Cape Town hearings was more adequate.

■ OVERVIEW OF THE EXPERIENCE OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

- 11 The South African social fabric was shaped by apartheid laws and structures that exposed the majority of South Africa's children to oppression, exploitation, deprivation and humiliation. Apartheid was accompanied by both subtle and overt acts of physical and structural violence. Structural violations included gross inequalities in educational resources along with massive poverty, unemployment, homelessness, widespread crime and family breakdown. The combination of these problems produced a recipe for unprecedented social dislocation, resulting in both repression and resistance.⁴ This contributed to a situation that made possible the gross human rights violations of the past.
- 12 Many white children, on the other hand, were raised in an environment which condoned racial prejudice and fear of the 'other', while demanding unquestioning submission to the authority of family and state. The structural and legislated segregation of apartheid ensured that young white people were isolated and separated from their peers in other race groups – in their homes, schools, communities and every other aspect of their lives.
- 13 Most of South Africa's children were born and grew up in a context of conflict. The Reverend Frank Chikane described the situation in 1986 as:

*A world made up of teargas, bullets, whippings, detention and death on the streets. It is an experience of military operations and night raids, of roadblocks and body searches. It is a world where parents and friends get carried away in the night to be interrogated. It is a world where people simply disappear, where parents are assassinated and homes are petrol bombed.*⁵

- 14 Resistance was fuelled by socio-economic deprivation, coupled with state oppression. Many youth were inspired to seek channels through which to fight for better living conditions. At the Eastern Cape hearing, Mr V Mbinda, a member of Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) spoke of the poverty of his home and the way he felt about it:

It caused a lot of anger when you asked your mum why she could not afford a pair of shoes when others can. You always want to commit yourself to

⁴ Thomas, A. 'Violence and Child Detainees' in People and Violence, Eds. B McKendrick and W Hoffman, Oxford University Press 1990.

⁵ Burman, Sandra and Reynolds, Pamela, Growing up in a Divided Society: The context of childhood in South Africa, Ravan Press in association with the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research for Women, Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University, 1986.

something that would neutralise that anger ... we joined because of that anger that we inherited from our homes.

- 15 These conditions led to the recognition by many of South Africa's children that they were being denied opportunities to take up their rightful place as South African citizens. According to testimony at the Athlone hearing, children had to make choices about whether to avoid, participate in or lead the resistance. Many of South Africa's children did not stand passively by, but actively disputed the legitimacy of the state. In doing so, they contributed to the dismantling of apartheid.
- 16 Very early on, the former state became aware of the pivotal role of children and youth, identifying them as a serious threat and treating them accordingly. Dr Max Coleman spoke of the waging of an undeclared war against children and youth, in which they became the primary targets of detention, torture, bannings, assassination and harassment of every description.
- 17 The rise of young people to leadership positions was also seen as a challenge to the patriarchal authority of some of the older men, leading to intergenerational conflict between the young comrades and conservative elders. In the process, violence was unleashed against, witnessed, and perpetrated by the young. Many young people felt that the only means of dealing with systemic violence was to fight back, which led to many situations of counter-violence. Ms Sandra Adonis, who became an activist at the age of fifteen, commented at the hearing in Athlone:

Although we have done things that we are not very proud of, but the reasons why we have done it we are proud of them, because today we can stand with our heads up high and say that, together with the nation, we have done it.

- 18 The role of children and youth was crucial in opposing the apartheid system. However, in the process, they were drawn into an arena that exposed them to three particular kinds of violence: state oppression, counter-violence and inter- and intra-community violence.

State oppression and counter mobilisation

- 19 The role of youth in resisting apartheid dates back to the formation of the militant African National Congress (ANC) Youth League in 1943. The militancy of the youth provided the impetus for the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and the drafting of the Freedom Charter in 1955. In the 1960s, students were amongst those who rose up

in their thousands to protest against the pass laws. The state's response to these peaceful protests was mass repression. Many youth saw no option but to leave the country in order to take up arms and fight for liberation. Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), formed in 1961, drew many of its recruits from the ranks of the youth.

- 20 Children and youth faced the full force of state oppression as they took on their role as the 'foot soldiers of the struggle' - as what were called the 'young lions'. Youth challenged the state by organising and mobilising their schools and communities against illegitimate state structures. Mr Potlako Mokgwadi Saboshago (first name and title please), a student activist from the East Rand, described the role of students thus:

After some time, the parents stood back because, when we held meetings at school, the police would come and interfere with those meetings and they would shoot teargas and, together with our parents, we would become victims of the police interference.

- 21 The threat which the youth presented is evidenced by the backlash from the former state which used its oppressive armoury against the young.
- 22 In June 1976, the student revolt that began in Soweto transformed the political climate. One hundred and four children under the age of sixteen were killed in the uprising and resistance spread to other parts of the country. Dissent by the children and youth of South Africa cast children in the role of agents for social change, as well as making them targets of the regime. Classrooms became meeting grounds for organisations such as the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), which was formed in 1979 and ultimately boasted a membership of over a million students. The security police clampdown on COSAS resulted in the arrest of over 500 of its members by the time of the declaration of the state of emergency in July 1985.
- 23 The arrest of students and the occupation of schools stirred the determination of many children to resist. Mr Mashalaba (Eastern Cape hearing) said:

We were not passive bystanders but rather acted with the naivete of youth and had no way of knowing how the government of the day would retaliate.

- 24 Many other student and youth organisations emerged, based on differing political ideologies. They too became targets of state repression. Mr Mbinda said:

I can also not forget to quote the PAC whereby it was put in a situation where it could not organise itself, especially in schools. Many of our comrades [were] in schools like Pandulwazi where eleven of our comrades were expelled in 1990.

- 25 Differing political ideologies and affiliations generated tensions within the liberation movement erupting, at times, into overt conflict. Mr Mbinda, for example, spoke of the conflict between PAC and ANC youth in the Eastern Cape when the United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed. He said that the PAC had initially thought that the UDF would accommodate all the liberation forces of the country. He described what the PAC perceived as:

an emerging monopolistic tendency ... There was a faction which was growing to the extent that it affected our lives; it affected our upbringing because it resulted in feuds, massacres and violence. This meant the PAC had to be more militant because, [according] to our analysis and interpretation of the situation, we were not fighting the enemy only, we were also fighting with our fellow brothers.

- 26 The state used various means to suppress dissent. Arrests and detentions removed opponents from the political arena. Courts were used to criminalise political activity. In the 1980s, in particular, student and youth organisations were banned, as were the possession and distribution of their publications. From 1976 to 1990, outdoor political gatherings were outlawed. From 1986, there was a blanket ban on indoor gatherings aimed at promoting work stoppages, stay aways or educational boycotts.
- 27 The security establishment engaged in the informal repression of children by hunting down 'troublesome' youth and developing an informer network. This latter had dire consequences for youth organisations. Stories are told about the transfer of detained children to rehabilitation camps where it is thought that they became informers and participated in counter-mobilisation structures and other state security projects. In the words of Mr Mzimasi Majojo at the Eastern Cape hearing:

Our friends were made to spy on us ... be it girlfriends or boyfriends, were forcibly turned to spy on us for the benefit of the monster.

Inter- and intra-community violence

- 28 Until 1985, casualties were mainly the result of security force action. From 1987, however, vigilantism began to make an appearance. Dr Max Coleman, who made a presentation at the hearing in Gauteng, argued that:

The destabilisation strategy was cold-blooded, calculated, deliberate ... it was about a collusion between various elements who had an interest in maintaining the status quo or at least retaining the power which they had from the apartheid system.

- 29 Vigilantes were recruited from the ranks of the homeland authorities, black local authorities, black police officers and those who wished to protect existing social hierarchies. The state colluded with vigilante organisations in order to destabilise resistance organisations. As migrant hostel dwellers were drawn into the conflict with youth, vigilante attacks came to reflect class, ethnic and geographic differences.
- 30 Many vigilante attacks were rooted in intergenerational conflicts. Some men saw the dramatic surge of women and youth to political prominence as a threat to the patriarchal hierarchies of age and gender. Young people were perceived to be undermining the supremacy of traditional leaders who saw it as their duty to restrain them. Vigilantes mobilised around slogans such as, 'discipline the children', and frequently described themselves as 'fathers'.
- 31 The *Witdoeke* of Crossroads were typical. They called themselves 'fathers' and saw children as having become disrespectful of their authority. In Welkom, another vigilante group, the *Pakathis*, organised in opposition to student boycotts and street resistance. Their rallying cry was, 'spare the rod and spoil the child'. In Zolani, a group of men began enforcing curfews and assaulting children after the commencement of a school boycott in 1985. The Peacemakers of Grahamstown acted against school children engaged in boycotts. There are many examples of such vigilante activities.
- 32 Vigilantism coincided with the state strategy of creating 'oil spots' – that is, establishing strategic bases in townships as a means of regaining control of the population. A second aspect of the strategy involved the co-option of leaders, the counter-organisation of communities and the formation of counter-guerrilla groups. The state supported many vigilante groups by providing funding and training.
- 33 Large numbers of youth, whether politically active or not, were affected by the violence, especially those who lived near the hostels. In many cases, the responsibility for protecting their homes and streets fell on children. Some young people turned their attention to the defence of their communities⁶, redirecting their energies into the formation of self-defence units that were, in their view, justified by vigilante attacks.

⁶ Submission by the South African Human Rights Commission, 'Human Rights Violations by the Apartheid State against Children and Youth', 12 June 1997.

34 Vigilantism was characterised by sudden attacks by an enemy who was frequently a member of the same community. In some cases, families were targeted because their sons had joined self-defence units. Self-defence units were forced to adopt weaponry that was more sophisticated; their knives and *pangas*⁷ were unable to keep the well-armed vigilante forces at bay. In the 1990s, the conflict between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) intensified and vigilante attacks increased. In KwaZulu-Natal, in particular, young people were forced to flee to the cities in fear of their lives.

35 Mr Potwalo Saboshego, a seventeen year old activist from the East Rand, spoke of the acquisition of weapons and explosives which were believed to be necessary for purposes of self defence:

The issue of explosives ... they were given to us by some reliable sources because we have to protect ourselves. So that if we see an enemy we should be able to fight - because people were shot at. Some of my friends were just shot.

36 The weapon sources were not always reliable, however. As reported elsewhere, young people often faced the risk that the weapons they received had been booby-trapped by the security forces.

37 The submission of the Inter-Church Youth, based in the Eastern Cape, defended the involvement of young people in violence. Effectively, they saw themselves as 'soldiers' and 'heroes', fighting against an enemy. The submission conceded that youth were both directly and indirectly involved in killings and the demolition of property.

We were part of this as the church youth. One needs to emphasise that this was justifiable for the cause of our liberation.

38 Some young people were recruited into vigilante activities by, for example, being offered money to attack the homes of activists. Two youths from Thokoza admitted to having been recruited by the police for this purpose. Young people were also manipulated by state projects such as the Eagles, which was founded in the early 1980s and came into conflict with organisations like the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). Groups like the Eagles were involved in activities such as assisting the police to identify activists, launching arson attacks and disrupting political meetings. In 1991, the Eagles were exposed as an official state project.

⁷ A *panga* is large, broad-bladed knife, used for cutting cane.

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

White youth

- 40 White youth lived in an altogether different reality. According to Mr Pierre Reynolds of the Democratic Party (DP) Youth:

Classified white under the apartheid regime, I and my peers, enjoyed privileges because of the colour of our skin. We were born with and we were brought up with racist prejudices ... we enjoyed the benefits of apartheid.

- 41 Mr Reynolds attributed the lack of white youth resistance to the system of patriarchy, whereby the young were kept under control by their elders, their cultures, institutions and state systems.
- 42 Young white males were also conscripted into the defence forces.⁸ Through government control of the national media and strategies such as police visits to white schools, young white people were subjected to propaganda. Fear of the 'other' was implanted in children under the guise of an imminent 'Communist' plot, articulated through slogans such as 'total onslaught'. All this contributed to a situation in which most white males concluded that it was their obligation to serve in the armed services.
- 43 White children were offered few alternatives to being part of the white elite. Group Areas and other legislation effectively segregated them from their less privileged peers. They had virtually no contact with black children and lived largely in the racially protected environments of school, family and church. Conflict and political volatility were seen as a threat to the deliberately narrow world order with which they were familiar. White conscripts were used to uphold the *status quo*, with violence if necessary.
- 44 The militarisation of young white boys began at an early age with systems like the cadets, through which they were taught basic military discipline and skills.

⁸ See also chapter on *Compulsory Military Service (Conscription)* in this volume.

Indoctrination, coupled with widespread racist state propaganda, was largely effective in preventing widespread resistance to enforced conscription. Again, according to Mr Reynolds:

In the 1980s, I and my contemporaries - my peers - were at the mercy of a system designed to socialise and condition us into the ranks of perpetrators of apartheid. We were told the army would turn us into men. It was the white man's circumcision school.

- 45 Some white youth who fought in defence of a white South Africa were convinced by their military and political masters that both their own suffering and the acts of violence committed in the process were undertaken for a just cause. Others faced the dilemma of being conscripted to fight a war in which they did not necessarily believe. A minority became conscientious objectors, condemned as traitors to the nation and faced with the choice of leaving the country or being sentenced to six years' imprisonment.
- 46 Some white youth joined the struggle against apartheid through membership of and participation in resistance organisations such as the End Conscription Campaign (ECC)⁹, student movements, such as the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) or by joining political organisations. Like other activists, they became targets of state violence.

■ EVIDENCE AND EMERGING THEMES

- 47 Statements and testimony provided surprisingly little evidence of violations against children under the age of twelve. It is unlikely that this was a result of under-reporting, as violations perpetrated against the very young have tended to invoke the strongest condemnation. By far the largest category of victims to report to the Commission fell into the thirteen to twenty-four age bracket (see figures 1-4). For this reason, some adaptations to the accepted definition of children and youth were made for the purposes of this report. Children between the ages of thirteen and eighteen experienced violations equivalent to their nineteen to twenty-four year old counterparts, and it was considered that a more appropriate unit of analysis could be achieved by combining these age categories to include young people between thirteen and twenty-four years of age. This reflects, first, the fact that this age group was a clear target for gross human rights violations in South Africa and, second, the fact that those who were more likely to be victims

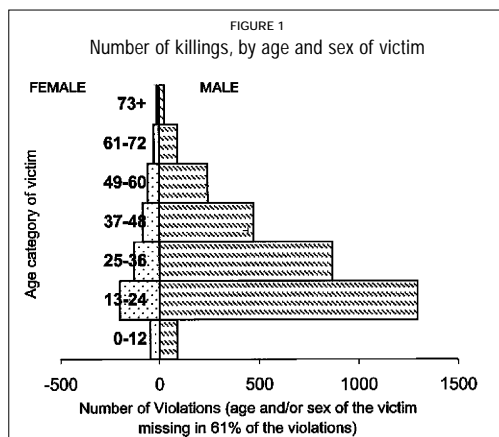
⁹ See chapter on *Compulsory Military Service* in this volume.

of random violence were those who found themselves in exposed situations. Younger children were victims of random violence but were less likely to attend marches or demonstrations, which is where the largest number of random violations occurred.

- 48 Figures 1-4 reflect evidence gathered by the Commission with respect to the types of violations investigated. They do not reflect a universal experience of violations; only those that were reported to the Commission. Many South Africans who experienced human rights violations did not come to the Commission and are therefore not represented. Many parents testified on behalf of their children. Significant, too, was the fact that many women and girls chose not to testify about violations they themselves had experienced. They spoke instead of the violations committed against others, notably their fathers, sons and brothers. The figures must, therefore, be read within the framework of the Commission's experience rather than analysed as definitive figures of all violations experienced in South Africa from 1960 - 1994.

Killings of children and youth reported to the Commission

- 49 Figure 1 represents the number of killings reported to the Commission. The left side reflects female victims and the right side male victims. Based on the graph, few children under the age of twelve were killed. The majority of victims of killings reported to the Commission were young men between the ages of 13-24. This can be seen as a reflection of the perceived threat posed by young males to the state, but is linked with other 'gendered' issues about women and their willingness to testify about their own abuses.¹⁰



- 50 At the Mmabatho hearing, Ms Mary Dikeledi Moreti told the Commission about the day her child was killed. Early in the morning of 28 November 1985, her house was attacked and destroyed by the police, who suspected the family of harbouring 'terrorists'. "Only the toilet was still standing. There was literally nothing in that yard, only the toilet." Her small child was caught in the crossfire: "there were

¹⁰ See chapter on the *Special Hearing: Women* in this volume.

small children in the house, innocent children, like Ronnie who died at the age of five.”

- 51 Ms Joyce Mthimkulu told the story of her son, Siphwe Mthimkulu, at the Commission’s hearings in Port Elizabeth in June 1996. The case of Siphwe Mthimkulu details the tragic layers of abuse that were endured by many activists. Siphwe was a determined political activist in the Eastern Cape from the age of seventeen. His activities centred on his objection to Bantu Education. His participation in COSAS brought upon him the wrath of the regime. He was detained numerous times and subjected to severe forms of torture. He was shot in the arm and faced constant police harassment. To protect his family from harassment, he was continually on the run and, when he did return home, he lived in a dog kennel.
- 52 In 1981, after his release from yet another arrest, his health deteriorated rapidly and he was diagnosed as having been poisoned with thallium. His body swelled, his hair fell out, he could not urinate and he was confined to a wheel chair. Despite the poisoning, he fought to recover and began slowly regaining his health. Throughout his convalescence, Siphwe continued with his political activities and filed a claim for damages against the police in connection with his poisoning. In 1982, he left his home for a check up at the Livingstone Hospital. He never arrived and it was later revealed that the security forces had killed him.
- 53 Mr Lulu Johnson, testifying at the hearing on the death of Siphwe Mthimkulu, described the reality of death many young political activists faced. He referred to the case of Mr Xolani Wonci who was shot by the police. He mentioned the killing of Mr Lungile Tabalaza who ‘fell’ to his death from the fourth floor of the SANLAM building. He spoke of Mr Xolile Maneli who was reported by the police to have committed suicide whilst in custody. Many other killings of children and youth were reported. Some were killed by the security forces; others were killed in random shootings and in intra-community conflicts in the latter part of the mandate period.

Detention and imprisonment of children and youth

- 54 In large-scale and often arbitrary police action, thousands of children, some as young as seven years old, were arrested and detained in terms of South Africa’s sweeping security and criminal legislation. Sometimes, entire schools were arrested *en masse*.¹¹

11 Scott, D. (1997) Submission on Children and Youth. Original source: Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, (1986) The War against Children: South Africa's Youngest Victims, New York.

55 It is clear from the body of evidence presented that large numbers of children were detained during the period covered by the Act. Detention was a major weapon in the former state's armoury of terror and repression. At times, during the years of greatest conflict, children under the age of eighteen years of age represented between 26 per cent and 45 per cent of all those in detention. All the available figures indicate that the largest number of children and youth was detained between 1985 and 1989, during the two states of emergency. Of 80 000 detentions, 48 000 were detainees under the age of twenty-five.¹²

56 Mr Mxolisi Faku of the Eastern Cape described his experiences in detention when he was in standard eight. At this stage, he was a member of COSAS and was engaged in mobilising students and parents about the importance of establishing a democratically elected students' representative council, while also encouraging students to participate in a bus boycott. In 1983, the leadership of COSAS was arrested, followed shortly afterwards by the arrest of other members. He said:

I think the youngest amongst us was ten or eleven years of age and his surname was Majeke. He was in hospital with a bullet in his body. However, after being discharged from the hospital, [he] was taken back into prison.

57 Mr Faku described the torture they experienced at the hands of the police:

They would take our genitals and squeeze them against drawers, hoping to get information, because they were convinced that we worked together with people who were in exile.

58 Fear of detention meant that many young activists were 'on the run' and 'in hiding'. Sandra Adonis, a member of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing, lived 'on the run' until she was eventually captured by the security police:

By the time they got hold of me, I knew their tricks and I was preparing myself all the time for this day. You know, it is like you prepare yourself for death, because you do not know what is going to happen and even if you prepare yourself how much, you will never be able to prepare yourself really.

59 She used various strategies to deal with the police:

I was, like, trying to hit back at him all the time, but also in a very gentle way not to have him think that this is a stubborn woman, because once you

12 Coleman, M. (1997) Submission to special hearing on children and youth, Johannesburg.

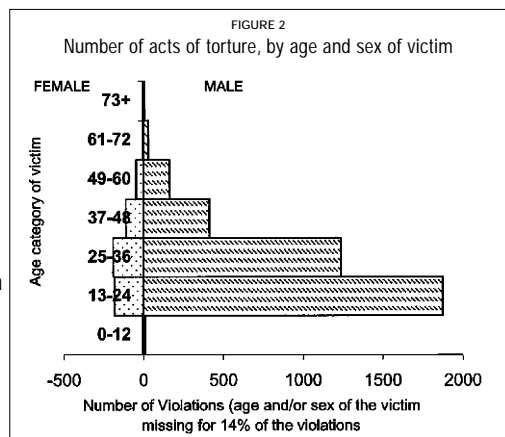
show stubbornness, they would show no mercy.

- 60 Upon release from prison, many young people were subjected to bannings and other restriction orders, turning the young person's home into another kind of prison. They were forced to report to police stations once a day and were prevented from participating in political and social activities.

Torture of children and youth

- 61 Torture usually occurred at the hands of the security forces whilst children and youth were in detention. Types of abuse reported by children included food and sleep deprivation, solitary confinement, beating, kicking, enforced physical exercise, being kept naked during interrogation, suspension from poles and electric shocks. Other forms of torture included verbal insults, banging a detainee's head against a wall or floor, use of teargas in a confined space, enforced standing in an unnatural position, beating on the ears, near suffocation and cigarette burns. These forms of torture were compounded by a lack of intellectual stimulation, false accusations, threatened violence to the detainee and his or her family, misleading information, untrue statements about betrayal by friends, pressure to sign false documents, interrogation at gun point and other violations.¹³

- 62 Figure 2 reveals the evidence gathered from statements made to the Commission about the extent to which young people were victims of torture. The predominant category of those who reported being tortured was, again, young men. Few children under thirteen years of age were victims of torture.



- 63 Mr Potwala Saboshego described his experience of torture. He was seventeen years old at the time and politically active on the East Rand. He described the circumstances of his arrest and subsequent torture by the security forces:

It was in 1986, in August. I was [returning] from school. When I arrived at home, Security Branch came and arrested me. They told me the details of

¹³ Thomas, A. (1990) 'Violence and Child Detainees' in *People and Violence in South Africa*, Oxford University Press.

my arrest. I was detained at Daveyton police station. On my arrival, they kicked me and assaulted me and they kicked me on my private parts. For the whole day, I was being kicked. Late at six o'clock, they injured my right eye.

- 64 Ms Evelyn Masego Thunyiswa was twenty-two years old when she and a group of her comrades decided to attend the funeral of Steve Biko in 1977. The police stopped them at a train station and detained them. She described the severe torture and sexual assault to which she was subjected:

They assaulted me. The other one came to me and said, "Stand up", and then I stood up. And he said, "Stand up! I want to see your vagina", and they started hitting me with fists. After that, they electrocuted us. This cord was like an electric cord and then you put it on a battery and they used equipment to shock me. I can't remember where did they apply this to my body because, when they switched it on, I felt as if my private parts were falling. I cried for quite a long time. While crying, they were sitting in front of me laughing.

Police provocation, violence and complicity

- 65 At the Soweto hearing, Mr Murphy Morobe, an activist in the UDF, told the Commission:

One episode I should mention is when we went to bury a person by the name of Mashabane. ... As we were marching into the cemetery, even before the coffin was put down, they [the police] opened fire on the mourners. There was no violence there. There was nothing that suggested that police should act that way. But the mourners and family had to flee and leave the coffin there. People had to fall and jump into graves to hide themselves from the barrage that came and more people were killed.¹⁴

- 66 This description of unprovoked violence on the part of the state is only one of many that were submitted to the Commission. In KwaZulu-Natal, evidence was presented which testified to the fact that the police stood by and watched as violence occurred, making no attempt at intervention, nor trying to reduce the intensity of the violence. People ascribed the high levels of death and injury in the province to this failure to react.

¹⁴ Submission by Murphy Morobe at the Soweto hearing, 1996.

- 67 In the Western Cape, evidence was heard about the notorious 'Trojan Horse' incident during which the police shot a child of eleven years of age. Clear evidence was presented of a police plan in the 'Trojan Horse' incident, and the commanding officer of the police apologised for the actions of the police and their consequences.

Police intimidation at schools

- 68 As schools became centres of resistance, they were targeted by the security forces. Police intimidation included the occupation of schools, the arrest of students and the creation of a general climate of intimidation.
- 69 Ms Elizabeth Sizane Mdluli was a student in Nelspruit during the 1986 school boycotts. She told the Commission about the disruption caused at the school by the presence of the police:

During the year 1986 – it was the year where it was not possible to attend school. At school, we normally experienced the visit of the police. Even if we were just seated and we were prepared to learn. You could find us scattered outside because of the teargas which was thrown [at] us ... The police would come, and just their presence would make the school kids feel very uneasy.

- 70 Mr Potwalo Saboshego described the situation on the East Rand:

By the time I was a student, we experienced many problems. We were detained at our school, we were sjambokked [whipped] by the police ... We arranged marches and presented memorandums so that some of our students should be released so that [they could] write exams. Because those who were arrested were not charged, they were just detained indefinitely. That is why there was a lot of conflict in the East Rand ... When we were studying at school, you would find soldiers in your classroom. That is one of the things which we wanted to stop.

Intimidation of families

- 71 The childhood of the children of activists was often filled with fear of police intimidation and violence. Ms Nolita Nkomo was born in February 1970. Most of her recollections of her early teenage years are of threats and intimidation, especially when members of the security forces bombed her family home. By the time she was sixteen years old, her house had been bombed three times. Threatening telephone calls were a regular part of home life. The family experienced many

sleepless nights – lying awake in a state of tension after being told, repeatedly, that none of them would see the next day dawn.

- 72 Ms Nomakhwezi Gcina, the daughter of Eastern Cape activist Ms Ivy Gcina, spoke of the difficulties and stresses of growing up as a child in an activist home:

I've led a very difficult life starting in 1977, when Samora, our eldest, left this world. We'd be sleeping at night and the police would come kicking the doors down, wanting to know where my brother was and beating us up. They would burn our house down, arrest my mother and we would be left without a mother. In 1980, Msimasi left and even [then] they would wake us up in the middle of the night beating us, wanting to know where our brothers were. I think the most difficult time in my life was in 1982 when we also lost my third brother who was in exile and only two of us were left.

In 1982, when my brother was eleven years old, both my mother and father were arrested and the two of us were left alone in the house. They were arrested under section 29 and we could not even visit them; even our pastor could not visit them. We were treated like animals, my brother who was eleven years old and myself. Nobody was visiting us and even members of our extended family isolated us.

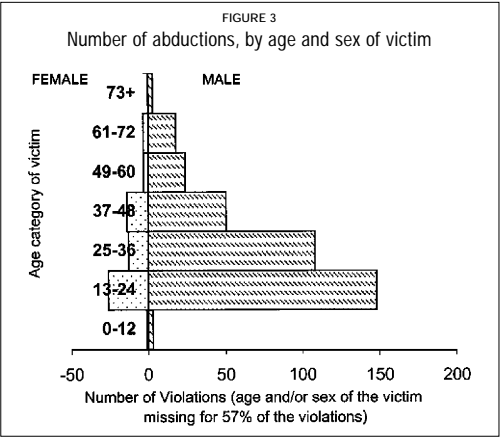
As my parents were still in detention the police came [in the] early hours of the morning (but fortunately there was a lady who came to spend the night with us) and they kicked the doors down as usual. They never knocked; they just kicked the doors down. That was the norm. They asked Mzokolo where our relatives were and he said he did not know; he only knew where our parents and siblings were. He was wearing short pyjamas and they beat him up and took him with [them] in a very harsh manner. We were left behind and didn't know what to do.

He came back the next day at two o'clock. He was swollen and he couldn't even see. He also passed away.

In 1985 up to 1989, giving a summary, my mother was arrested and put in detention for four years but no charges were laid. I lived with my father.

Abduction

73 The extent to which violations were perpetrated against the young is again revealed in the data on abduction. The majority of those who were abducted were young males between the ages of 13 and 24. In the case of women, young rather than older women experienced this violation.

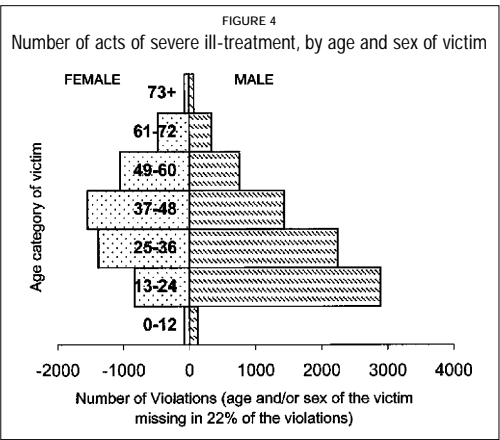


74 Ms Florence Madodi Nkosi, who testified at the Mmabatho hearings, was a victim both of abduction by vigilantes and of police abuse. On 24 November 1985, after attending a meeting of the ANC Youth League, a group called the *Inkathas* or A-team, which was working with the police, abducted her. She was taken to a shop in Huhudi.

They caught us and they put us into a shop and started assaulting us with sjamboks and knobkieries¹⁵. They hit me a lot on my head. Every time I would touch my head, it would be soft. They hit me until I could not feel the pain anymore.

Severe ill treatment

75 Young males between the ages of thirteen and twenty-four reported the highest incidence of severe ill treatment of all age categories. Among females, women between thirty-seven and forty-eight years of age were most commonly the victims of severe ill treatment.



Children and youth in exile

- 76 In the face of mounting repression, many young people or their family members left the country to reside in other countries or to join liberation movements.
- 77 Exile is often experienced as a brutal rupture in an individual's personal history, resulting in a lack of continuity that frequently becomes a serious obstacle to the development of a meaningful and positive sense of identity. It has been argued that political repression and exile tend to distort normal socialisation in a child or young person. Some of the significant consequences of life in exile include a feeling of 'transitoriness', a profound sense of loss of security, feelings of guilt, and a range of more severe psychological problems and disorders.
- 78 At the Eastern Cape hearings, evidence was presented about the impact of exile on children and young people. Professor Mbulelo Mzamane, founder member of the South African Refugee Committee and himself exiled as a child, testified about the experiences of young people in exile. He identified three key periods during which South Africans were driven into exile: the Sharpsville generation, the Soweto generation, and the post-1984 (UDF) generation.
- 79 Professor Mzamane described the trauma of escape. He recalled the experience of receiving 'Queenie', a girl of eight years of age, who had walked over the border under the cover of darkness. On arrival, she was detained by the Botswana authorities as part of the normal procedure for the reception of exiles.
- 80 Inadequate shelter, hunger and the ever-present threat of kidnapping by the South African state were the daily realities of children in exile in frontline states, including Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.¹⁶
- 81 One of the leaders of the Soweto uprising of June 16, Tsietsi Mashinini survived no less than three kidnap attempts whilst living in Gaberone in Botswana until it was felt necessary that he should leave Botswana to go where it would not be possible to have him kidnapped. He eventually fled to Liberia where he subsequently died.
- 82 The exodus resulted in the breakdown of family units and the severing of links with extended families, with traumatic effects on the lives of many young people. Exiled children often grew up without their parents or primary care givers. They

¹⁶ The United Nations Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) made a monthly payment of R30 per exile in Africa. This was inadequate even for food needs.

were unable to contact family and friends in South Africa because of the risk of reprisals against their loved ones in South Africa. The conditions to which they were subjected included exposure to disease and hunger. Some were unable to hold onto clearly defined identities, partly because of the ruptures between them, their kin and their homeland.

- 83 It is not clear how many young people and members of their families died in exile, either as combatant members of the liberation movements, or because of natural or other causes. Some died as a result of cross-border raids into neighbouring countries.

■ CONSEQUENCES OF APARTHEID AND GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

The impact of apartheid on children and youth

- 84 South African children were exposed to countless horrors and suffered considerable trauma because of apartheid. Their role and involvement in the resistance struggle placed them on the firing line. The Commission's documentation shows that children and youth were the dominant victims in all categories of gross human rights violations described in the Act. For almost every adult that was violated, probably two or more children or young people suffered. Children and young people were killed, tortured, maimed, detained, interrogated, abducted, harassed, displaced as well as being witnesses to these abuses.
- 85 Children growing up in extremely violent situations are frequently deprived of the structural support that allows for their meaningful experience of social and cultural life; the fabric of their societies and institutions is affected. For many South African children, family and friendship support networks were shattered by the policies of apartheid. Family life was often damaged, making it difficult for parents to take care of their children and to be emotionally available to listen to them.¹⁷ Many children became alienated from their parents and the trust, faith and communication that should have existed between the generations was sorely tried.
- 86 When considering the experiences of children under apartheid, it is important to remember that the Act provided for victims of defined gross human rights violations to testify and make statements to the Commission. This chapter therefore concerns the statements and testimonies of deponents who were defined as victims in terms of the legislation. This focus on victims is not, however, intended to diminish the active role of children and youth. Children were agents of social change and

¹⁷ Presentation by Ann McKay at the hearing on Children and Youth, Durban, 14 May 1997.

harnessed vast amounts of energy, courage and resilience during the apartheid era. For many young people, active engagement in political activity resulted in the acquisition of skills such as analysis, mobilisation and strategising, as well as the ability to draw strength from friends and comrades in times of hardship. Many of today's leaders come from a politically active history and have displayed a remarkable capacity for forgiveness and reconciliation.

- 87 The majority of people who came to the hearings spoke of experiences of extreme hardship, pain and suffering, whilst also providing testimony of the bravery and enthusiasm of young people. The Commission provided a process through which some of the hurt that many people had been carrying silently for years could be released. Thus, while recognising the largely positive role that children and youth played in the liberation of South Africa, many of the testimonies and statements refer only to the generally negative consequences of repression in the period under review.

Psychological effects of exposure to gross human rights violations

- 88 Political and community violence characteristically expose children and adolescents to suffering long after the event. Whilst many are able to recover with the support of friends, family and community; others may suffer lasting psychological damage. Young people may suffer from concomitant conditions similar to those of adults – including post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, substance abuse and anti-social behaviour.¹⁸ Spraker and Dawes have reported significant depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder and psychosomatic symptoms at levels that impaired everyday function in South African youth.¹⁹
- 89 Whilst the Commission did not embark on psychological evaluations of people who made statements or gave testimony, deponents themselves often referred to the damaging psychological effects of gross human rights violations. Dee Dicks, who testified at the hearing in Athlone, was arrested and charged with public violence at the age of seventeen. She described her pain in her testimony to the Commission:

I am not in control of my crying and ... my self esteem and confidence is very low at present and it is very difficult for me. And sometimes I am still directionless and unfocused which is always like, you know, the experience that I lived through in the 1980s is like forever in my mind. And it has become quite difficult for me to cope and it is making me very angry, because at that time I could and now I cannot.

¹⁸ See chapter on *Consequences of Gross Human Rights Violations* for more detail on psychological consequences

¹⁹ Pynoos R, D Kinzie & M Gordon (1998) 'Children, Adolescents and Families exposed to torture and related trauma', in [National Institute for Mental Health](#).

- 90 Children may feel hatred, bitterness and fear towards society and institutions that represent authority, such as the security forces. A fifteen year old girl from the South Coast in Natal saw a policeman force a child to hold a bomb which subsequently exploded in her hands, tearing her to pieces.

*I still have distrust for the police ... I blame the police for the disruptions in our schools. I still harbour hatred and fear for those who have committed these acts.*²⁰

- 91 Children who have been continuously exposed to violence may experience a significant change in their beliefs and attitudes. Loss of trust may occur where children have been attacked or abused by people they previously considered as neighbours or friends.²¹ Fear, hatred and bitterness may be the greater, therefore, in cases of inter- or intra-community violence where children not only know who the perpetrators are, but are forced to live in the same community as them, despite feelings of simmering rage. A thirteen year old girl from KwaZulu-Natal recounted what happened to her when she was only six years of age:

Me and my family lived in Bethany and that was a mostly IFP area, and we were all expected to be IFP members. My family and I were ANC members and, as a result of that, we had to leave Bethany to go to Emavuleni ...

*One fateful afternoon in 1992 my father was forcibly taken from our home by people known to us. ... That night my younger brother, my mum and myself went into the forest looking for our father, and then what I saw that night I have been carrying around with me ever since. My father had bullet and stab wounds all over his body and, since that day, I vowed to revenge my father's death.*²²

- 92 The loss of those aspects of childhood that many people assume that children should enjoy was illustrated in the testimony of Ms Sandra Adonis. She said:

It is only now that I realise that I have - I do not know what it is to go to a bioscope [cinema] on a Saturday afternoon or even to a disco like many young people do today or maybe that time as well. I mean, I never had friends really. My friends, my compadres were my comrades. Those were the only people that I could really trust at that point in time, and sometimes you were not even sure if you could trust them.

20 Presentation by Dominic Msomi and Moses Pitso at the hearing on Children and Youth, 14 May 1997.

21 UNICEF, 'The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children', Report of Graça Machel, Expert of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Selected Highlights, New York 1996

22 Presentation by Dominic Msomi and Moses Pitso, hearings on Children and Youth, 14 May 1997

- 93 Children and youth who are constantly exposed to violence as a form of assertiveness and conflict resolution may perceive violence as the only option available for resolving disputes. Mr Maxlesi of the Eastern Cape Provincial Youth Commission described the negative effects of this on the psyche of the youth:

The methods of confrontation damaged the minds of the youth of our country from both sides of the racial and ethnic divide. The country as a whole has a responsibility of killing violence as an entrenched means of solving problems.

- 94 He elaborated on the effects of militarisation on the youth saying, “youth are products of the highly militarised confrontational past of South Africa and many of them are wearing serious psychological scars.” This includes the militarisation of white youth through conscription to the army and of black youth recruited into MK and, especially, through the formation of SDUs and SPUs (self-defence and special protection units).
- 95 For many white youth who were conscripted into the Defence Force, the nature of the war had varied psychological effects. Guerrilla warfare was attended by many stresses, especially for people from urban areas who were suddenly confronted with the reality of fighting a bush war. These experiences were compounded by the physical brutality to which they were subjected during their basic military training – which itself resulted in numbers of deaths. Others were engaged in violence and repression as conscripts in the townships. Many of these former combatants have since displayed symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder.²³
- 96 Child soldiers and activists who were exposed to or involved in extensive acts of violence may have become desensitised to suffering. Many have been deprived of opportunities for physical, emotional and intellectual development. After the conflict was over, it was difficult to take up life as it was before, especially where there was a lack of education, training, decent living conditions and jobs. Effective social reintegration depends on support from families and communities.

Disillusionment

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

²³ Presentation by Gary Koen, at the special hearing on Compulsory Military Service, 23 July 1997.

opportunity that they expected and this has generated deep seated feelings of resentment. Sandra Adonis expressed it thus:

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

- 98 For youth who were not politically active and who were randomly arrested or injured, the psychological damage may have been more severe. Children of random violence often experience a sense of bewilderment, loss and confusion. This is reflected in the case of Mr Vuyani Mbewu who, at the age of fourteen, was caught in the crossfire between police and boycotting students near Manenberg in Cape Town. Vuyani was permanently blinded as a result of the police attack. He said:

Since I realised that I had lost my eyesight, I have never been confident again ... My presence here today is, if nothing else, the uselessness for which I lost my eyesight.

Physical consequences of gross human rights violations

- 99 Psychological, social and economic stresses are compounded when children are faced with physical danger from and abuse by the authorities that are meant to protect them. Not only were child protection laws ignored, but the authorities systematically attacked children, resulting in grave emotional and physical harm. Mr Maxlesi described the persistent physical reminders of a violent history:

It was in these struggles where we saw the brutality of the regime. Hundreds of our students were detained and tortured and others severely beaten. You can see the scars of sjamboks on their faces. Even today, others are semi- and permanently disabled because of the bullet wounds they suffered. In other cases, some of our fellow students were brutally killed.

100 In 1986, Mr Potwalo Saboshego was arrested and assaulted by police (see above):

For the whole day, I was being kicked. Late, at six o'clock, they injured my right eye ... They tied me on a tree, continuing with the assault and they were drinking until late at night and took me back to the police station.

101 Despite repeated requests to see a doctor, he was allowed medical attention only four days later when he was released on bail. Potwalo's torture resulted in the loss of sight in his right eye. His life has been fundamentally altered; he has not been able to secure employment or continue with his studies.

My feelings about the past is I am worried because they've made me lose my dignity. I don't see myself as a complete person as like before and I feel humiliated again, because [of] those people who assaulted me. I did open a case against them, but nothing has happened thus far ... That wound is still there because those policemen were just left.

102 Mr Bhekithemba Mbanjwa was seventeen when he was attacked in Epatheni in KwaZulu-Natal. Although not politically affiliated to any particular organisation, he was caught in the crossfire while delivering some maize meal to his mother. In the shooting incident that arose out of ANC/IFP conflict, he lost his leg. Consequently, he lost his job and his dream of becoming a soccer star one day.

103 Children who are physically injured, especially if the injury results in permanent disability, suffer extreme stress as they attempt to reconstruct their identity and come to terms with the disfigurement or disability.

Disruptions to education

104 The quest by the oppressed majority for a proper education has been a theme that has dominated South African resistance. According to Professor Mzamane: "The deprivation of one's opportunity to develop one's mind must surely rank as one of the most evil conceptions of apartheid." Children and youth, although they valued education and acknowledged the difficulties of advancing their careers without certificates, were prepared to sacrifice their education by joining liberation movements and participating in mass mobilisation under the slogan of 'liberation before education'.

105 Mr Maxlesi described the effects of apartheid education on the youth:

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

- 106 The education of many children was disrupted because they were forced into underground activities, had to sleep away from home to evade arrest or were detained. Children placed under house arrest or restriction orders were socially isolated and the required daily reports to the police station interfered with their studies or their ability to earn a living.
- 107 Children suffering from psychological problems because of violations may display symptoms of lack of concentration, sleeplessness, nightmares, headaches and depression that can impair their ability to study. Figures from the Commission's database provide some support for this assertion.²⁴ Fifty-seven per cent of those who reported a disruption to their education also reported that they were suffering from psychological problems of anxiety, depression and an inability to cope. Although it is not possible to draw a linear conclusion between the two, it does suggest that psychological problems may interfere with educational pursuits.
- 108 Disruption of education compromised the future potential of many children. Such disruptions were exacerbated by the negative economic effects that gross human rights violations have been reported to have on families. Of those statements in which parents reported a disruption to their children's education, 51 per cent also referred to losses of income as an outcome of violations.
- 109 Intra-community violence, which led to the displacement and homelessness of many children, had dire consequences on their education. Of the statements that reported disruptions in education, 34 per cent reported that the violation was a result of intra-community violence. A further 29 per cent were homeless.

Dislocation and displacement

- 110 Large numbers of children, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal, were displaced or ran away from their homes to avoid the violence. Many of them have still not returned and others have not been able to find their parents. Many children also suffered

²⁴ These figures are derived from a sample of 10 per cent of the statements received by the Commission. The sample was randomly selected on a proportional basis of violations reported per region and coded according to expectations and reported outcomes of the violations experienced.

the trauma of watching their homes being burnt down and their parents being taken away. Others were left with the burden of having to take care of siblings when both parents were killed or detained.

- 111 Being forced into hiding and exile disrupted children's lives. As internal refugees, children led nomadic lives and had limited contact with their families. Mr Reginald Wonder Nkomo became an internal refugee. In 1991, at seventeen years of age, he was forced to leave his home in KwaNdengezi in KwaZulu-Natal. He described his experiences at the Commission's hearings in Durban:

We left the township in 1990 because we were experiencing conflict and some of our brothers had died. Therefore, we decided to leave and go outside. But these people were overpowering us because they were together with the police, therefore we had to spread ourselves around ... We used to mention among ourselves that if you wished to go back home to visit your parents you can do that at your own risk ... One day I took a risk to visit my parents, because it was after a long time and I was missing my grandmother, because she was the one who brought me up ... All I remember is that they shot at me.

- 112 Wonder was shot in the leg. He was taken to the police station and tortured. He has subsequently been in and out of hospital for the past seven years and requested that the Commission assist in arranging a consultation with a specialist. He lamented his lost opportunities:

I left school in standard six because of the violence. Like as I have said that we couldn't stay in our homes, we had to run to the mountains and hills ... I don't know what to do, and time has run out. But I would also like to go back to school but [cannot] because of my condition and the problems I am facing as one person who is always in and out in hospital.

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

- 114 The effects of displacement and homelessness are evident in figures from the Commission's database. In KwaZulu-Natal, 26 per cent of those who made statements to the Commission said that, because of the violations inflicted on them, they were left homeless and 14 per cent were forced to move away. These figures are almost three times greater than those reported from other provinces. Sixty per cent of those who were left homeless reported intra-community violence as the cause. The problem of displacement was overwhelmingly predominant in KwaZulu-Natal.

Exile

- 115 Children in exile face many challenges, including adaptation to a new environment and loss of contact with kin and social support networks. They often experience feelings of transitoriness, loss of security and disruption that can lead to a sense of limbo and insecurity. South African children who were in exile in neighbouring countries were also faced with the ever-present threat of being kidnapped or killed in cross-border raids.
- 116 Some white youth chose to leave the country rather than serve in the defence force. This resulted in numerous traumas associated with exile. Mr Roger Fields reported that, in London, in the four years from 1985-1989, one youth committed suicide and six others were hospitalised for nervous breakdowns because of their exile.²⁵ The breakdown of family units and broken connections with extended families caused by the exodus affected the lives of many young people.

Concluding remarks

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

²⁵ Presentation by Roger Fields at the special hearing on Compulsory Military Service (Conscription), 23 July 1997.

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

- 119 Many of these young people have become men and women of extraordinary calibre. Despite their suffering, they have shown extraordinary generosity and tolerance and have reached out to their former oppressors in a spirit of reconciliation.

■ APPENDIX

THE BONTEHEUWEL MILITARY WING

- 1 Bonteheuwel is a coloured township situated north of Cape Town. It was created in the 1960s as a repository for coloured people who had been forced to move out of Cape Town as a result of the Group Areas Act. By the mid-1980s, it had become a site both of student political activism and very high crime rates.
- 2 In 1984, the Bonteheuwel Inter-Schools Congress (BISCO) was formed to co-ordinate the activities of the various student representative councils (SRCs) which were rallying around issues of inequalities in apartheid schooling and the repression of legitimate political protest. BISCO became the target of security force repression and, in October 1985, along with 101 other organisations, was prohibited from organising or holding any gatherings. A number of BISCO leaders, including Ashley Kriel and Gary Holtzman, were detained and subsequently went into hiding.
- 3 It was in this context that the “formation of a militant body to co-ordinate and intensify revolutionary activities, especially at the Bonteheuwel High Schools”¹ was conceived by BISCO members. At a meeting in 1985, it was decided to form a structure that would protect the community of Bonteheuwel, render Bonteheuwel ungovernable and ‘hit out’ against any organ of the state. This structure became the Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW). The vast majority of its active members were students between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years of age.
- 4 While the formation of the BMW was not part of the strategic plan of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the Western Cape, its emergence was welcomed and endorsed by the organisation. Desmond Grootboom, former UDF chairperson of the Bonteheuwel area committee, said:

*We were very aware and conscious of the BMW. We obviously approved.... The BMW was very much part of the struggle family... there was an understanding that they fell under the political leadership of the UDF. However, it was not a situation of command control.*²

- 5 In time, however, the BMW became increasingly independent, operating as a paramilitary organisation outside the formal discipline of the UDF. The relationship

¹ Submission by Joseph Aranus.

² Interview by Yazir Henry with Desmond Grootboom.

between the UDF and the BMW became strained as ideologies and *modus operandi* diverged.

- 6 In addition to links with the UDF, the BMW developed very close alliances with the African National Congress (ANC) and Umkhonto weSizwe (MK). A number of young BMW members were recruited into MK and underwent military training either outside South Africa or within existing MK cells in the Western Cape. Most of this training took the form of short 'crash courses' in the use of arms and explosives. Those who attended the courses were afterwards expected to return to the BMW and pass on their training to others. The BMW was armed from a number of sources, including arms stolen from policemen, bought from local gangsters, supplied by MK operatives in South Africa or smuggled into the country by BMW members returning from training in exile. Weapons ranged from homemade 'zipguns' to hand grenades and rocket launchers.
- 7 The BMW launched a number of operations, including attacks on vehicles belonging mainly to the state and private companies, attacks on security force personnel and attacks on installations such as police stations, post offices and railway stations. In the course of these attacks, a number of individuals were seriously injured or killed.
- 8 Eventually, the BMW acquired a reputation that made it the focus of security force attention: "*Hierdie aktiewiste leiers is die kern van die probleem en hul verwydering is noodsaaklik*".³ (These activist leaders are the core of the problem and their removal is essential.) In 1986, a number of special unrest investigation units were set up to address the 'unrest' problems in the Western Cape; the Athlone unit was responsible for infiltrating and halting the activities of the BMW.
- 9 Between June 1987 and January 1988, members of the special unit detained over forty BMW members. The police had instructions to obtain, as quickly as possible, confessions that would lead to more arrests and convictions.

*"Die nodige beëdigde verklarings moet, soos vereis, so spoedig moontlik maar in elk geval binne agt en veertig uur, beskikbaar wees vir die teenstaan van moontlike interdikte."*⁴ *(The necessary sworn affidavits must, as demanded, be available as quickly as possible, but always within forty-eight hours, to oppose possible interdicts). "Ondervraging moet intensief en doelmatig onderneem*

3 Minutes of a Western Province Joint Management Council daily management meeting, 16 May 1986 (WPGBS/22/7/3/2)

4 Directive from Commissioner of Police, entitled 'GVS opdrag en riglyne vir beplanning en optredes vir bekamping van die onlussituasie in die RSA', dated 5 June 1986.

*word onder andere om ander arrestasies en aanhoudings te bewerkstellig.*⁵
(Interrogation must be undertaken in an intensive, goal-oriented manner to facilitate, amongst other things, further arrests and detentions).

- 10 These orders were brutally put into operation. Those arrested were subjected to protracted and severe torture. Methods used to extract 'confessions' included electric shocks, suffocation with a wet bag, severe physical assault and being deprived of food and water. Some BMW members recall being forced to drink water from the toilet bowl to quench their thirst. Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the torture, however, was the systematic sexual abuse to which these youngsters were subjected. This included being sodomised with the barrel of a revolver and a baton. Activists were deliberately placed in cells with hardened criminals and gangsters who repeatedly raped them. Jacques Adonis was thrown into a cell with common law criminals who were told *"Maak met hom wat jy wil."*⁶ (Do what you want to him). Those members of the BMW who made statements to the Commission were between fourteen and twenty-one years old at the time of their detention and torture.
- 11 The consequences of participating in the violent activities of the BMW – prolonged detention, brutal torture and imprisonment with common criminals – will be felt by the individuals concerned, their families and friends and the community of Bonteheuwel for decades. Those BMW members who came to the Commission all displayed symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. They reported similar symptoms in comrades who chose not to approach the Commission. Most had to discontinue their education and many had not been able to resume it. Because of this, they are unemployed or have low-skill, low-wage jobs. Some have turned to drugs and alcohol to obliterate their painful memories. Others have transferred their 'skills' of violence and armed conflict to gangsterism. Violence against family members is not uncommon, and many find long-term, trusting relationships impossible to sustain.
- 12 BMW members were teenagers in the 1980s; at the time of the Commission hearing, they were only in their twenties. They should have been involved in studies, work, friendships and establishing families. The fact that so many of them remained unable to function adequately can be attributed to the unstable and violent life they led as BMW members, and to the extreme forces of torture and abuse they experienced at the hands of the security forces. In addition, the UDF and the ANC supported and encouraged these young children, aged between eleven and eighteen years,

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Statement to the Commission by Sandra Adonis

to participate in organised violence, without preparing them for the consequences of such actions.

After the unbanning of the ANC, they (the BMW members) were left to their own devices. As things simmered down, they found themselves naked and vulnerable, lost and exposed, without direction. These guys were literally born on the streets, born in the eye of the storm. They did not have a history before 1986. They had little schooling or skills, except in zipguns and petrol bombs. They were the shocktroops.⁷

I felt that the true purpose of the severe police interrogation was to break us mentally, to ensure that we were not able to function normally again. I could say that the cops succeeded in their interrogation, because if I look at the guys now...⁸

⁷ Interview by Yazir Henry with Desmond Grootboom.

⁸ Statement by Faried Ferhelst, former member of BMW Command Structure.

Special Hearing: Women

■ HOW THE GENDER HEARINGS CAME ABOUT

- 1 In March 1996, as the Commission commenced its hearings, the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) at the University of the Witwatersrand hosted a workshop entitled 'Gender and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission'. Participants included psychologists, lawyers, people from non-governmental organisations (NGOs), members of the Gauteng Legislature and representatives from each of the four regions of the Commission. The workshop resulted in an in-depth submission that discussed ways in which the Commission might be missing some of the truth through a lack of sensitivity to gender issues. The submission, as well as relying on discussion at the workshop, used material from in-depth interviews with women leaders who had suffered gross human rights violations.
- 2 The term 'gender' encompasses both women and men, and the social relations between them. The CALS submission unashamedly focused on women in the belief that it is the voices of women that more often go unheard. Further, while much of their discussion dealt with gross human rights violations as defined by the Commission, the submission also devoted some time to questioning the way gross human rights violations were understood, thereby masking the types of violations more commonly suffered by women.
- 3 Ms Cheryl de la Rey, addressing the Cape Town special hearings, noted that "(t)oo often when we do not undertake specific actions to draw attention to the issues that affect women, what happens is that men and the experiences of men become the yardstick by which judgements are made". The argument that apparently gender-neutral approaches are often discriminatory because they unwittingly assume a male outlook is in accordance with the conception of equality found in the South African Constitution. This conception is one of substantive, rather than merely formal, equality. It recognises indirect as well as direct discrimination, implicit as well as explicit and intentional bias.
- 4 The Commission took up the challenge of the CALS submission. It organised two workshops to which it invited representatives of women's organisations and

the media. Participants discussed how they could attempt to bring more women into the Commission process. The Commission also agreed to the proposal for special women's hearings. Three women's hearings were subsequently held – in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg. It should be noted that the absence of a special hearing in the Eastern Cape could, in itself, distort the picture as the Eastern Cape is known as an area in which treatment in prison was particularly brutal. The testimony of Ms Zubeida Jaffer (referred to below) about her torture while held in Eastern Cape prisons is illustrative.

- 5 The Commission also attempted to amend its procedures in ways that would encourage women to speak. By April 1997, the form used by the Commission to record statements had been refined (Version 5) and included the following cautionary note:

IMPORTANT: Some women testify about violations of human rights that happened to family members or friends, but they have also suffered abuses. Don't forget to tell us what happened to you yourself if you were the victim of a gross human rights abuse.

- 6 This chapter of the report focuses primarily on what was revealed during the special women's hearings. Women were by no means absent from other hearings of the Commission. Indeed, the CALS submission acknowledged that they were alerted to gender bias when they noticed that over half of those who spoke were women, but that the roles and capacities in which women and men spoke differed. They saw that, while the overwhelming majority of women spoke as relatives and dependants of those (mainly males) who had directly suffered human rights violations, most of the men spoke as direct victims. The figures below confirm that this pattern persisted over the full period of the hearings.
- 7 Over the life of the Commission, commissioners distinguished less and less between what were originally perceived as 'primary' and 'secondary' victims. They acknowledged the difficulty of distinguishing between, or weighting, the physical and psychological pain suffered by the direct victim and the psychological pain of those to whom this person was precious. The CALS submission elaborated on other types of pain and suffering, such as when a family loses a breadwinner and the loss of status of a woman who is widowed when her husband is killed. It quotes Ms Seipati Mlangeni, widow of Mr Bheki Mlangeni, widowed two months after her marriage: "I am an outcast in my own society"¹.

¹ Goldblatt B and S Meintjes (1996), 'Gender and the Truth Commission. Submission to the Commission', page 29.

- 8 During the special women's hearings, the testimony of Ms Agnes Gounden emphasised how easy it was for a 'secondary' victim to become a direct target. Ms Gounden was resting at home, medicated, trying to get over the death of her only sister a few days earlier at the hands of the police, when the police arrived to demand a statement.

They said to my mother, that if this child is drunk like this again tomorrow, you'll see what we will do to you. So can you imagine the fear that we felt.

- 9 Most of those who spoke at the special hearings spoke of their experience as direct victims. This chapter, in focusing on their stories, underlines the fact that there were many women who suffered from the full range of abuses which fell within the Commission's understanding of its ambit. It also, however, points out the particular ways in which these women might have experienced abuses. At the level of biology, it points to sexual abuses and threats. At a broader level, it looks at how gendered roles affected the experience and its aftermath.
- 10 This short chapter cannot hope to do justice to the testimonies heard. It can do no more than give a flavour of what was said. It will, however, attempt to give an idea of the range of roles in which women were revealed, and in particular, the ways in which their experiences might have differed from those of men.
- 11 The chapter commences by presenting gender-disaggregated statistics culled from the database of the Commission. It follows with general discussion as to how the outlook of the Commission might have affected what was heard, given the gendered roles and socialisation within the society. It looks at the nature of possible 'silences'. Against this background, the chapter then presents some of the stories related in the special hearings or recorded in the submissions. These provide some idea of the range of sexual, physical and psychological abuses experienced by women. While most of the stories focused on experiences while in detention, one section looks specifically at abuses suffered by women outside of prison. The penultimate section looks at relationships, a theme that emerged strongly when women discussed all forms of abuse. The final section looks at women as perpetrators.

■ THE STATISTICS

- 12 Table 1 below shows that, overall, somewhat over half of all deponents to the Commission were women. The pattern varied geographically, ranging from four in every ten deponents in Cape Town to three-quarters of deponents in Durban, the centre with by far the largest number of deponents.

Table 1:

Statements describing gross violation of human rights by sex of deponent

OFFICE	WOMEN	MEN	UNSPECIFIED	TOTAL	% WOMEN WHERE SEX KNOWN
Cape Town	593	866	78	1537	40.6
Durban	5945	3050	432	9427	66.1
East London	1181	1495	51	2727	44.1
Johannesburg	2634	2877	17	5528	47.8
Grand Total	10353	8288	578	19219	55.5

- 13 Table 2 records only those deponents who reported violations of which they themselves were victims. Here the overall percentage falls to 43,9 per cent, suggesting that men were more likely than women to talk about their own experiences as direct victims. Durban again accounted for the highest proportion of female victims, and in this centre women were somewhat more likely than men to present themselves as the direct victims.

Table 2:

Deponents who were themselves victims of gross human rights violations

Office	Women	Men	Unspecified	Total	% women
Cape Town	229	715	55	999	24.3
Durban	3523	2373	320	6216	59.8
East London	386	1227	30	1643	23.9
Johannesburg	991	2242	9	3242	30.7
Total	5129	6557	414	12100	43.9

- 14 Table 3 breaks down the violations into four broad categories of attempted killing, killing, severe ill treatment and torture. The first column provides the percentage of reports of this category reported by women. It shows, for example, that while, overall, women accounted for 70 per cent of reports of killings, they accounted for only 19 per cent of reports of torture. The second column indicates the percentage of women's reports of this category where the woman said she herself was the victim. Here women are seen to be most likely to present themselves as victims of severe ill treatment. The third column gives the percentage of all reports (with known sex) of self as victim where the deponent was a woman. Women are again under-represented among those reporting torture. The fourth column indicates, for each centre, what proportion of primary victim women deponents reported each of the four categories. This column reveals that, overall, a full 8 per cent of women deponents who were themselves victims, spoke about severe ill treatment.

Table 3:

Women's reports of gross human rights violations by type of violation

		% REPORTS	SELF VICTIM/ WOMEN	WOMAN SELF VICTIM/ ALL SELF	TYPE/ WOMEN/S REPORTS
Cape Town	Attempt to kill	33%	37%	21%	4%
	Killing	61%	0%		0%
	Severe ill treatment	30%	55%	22%	80%
	Torture	14%	69%	11%	16%
	TOTAL	33%	36%	19%	100%
Durban	Attempt to kill	54%	42%	39%	3%
	Killing	73%	0%		0%
	Severe ill treatment	62%	66%	58%	96%
	Torture	16%	45%	9%	1%
	TOTAL	63%	40%	54%	100%
East London	Attempt to kill	30%	58%	22%	9%
	Killing	72%	0%		0%
	Severe ill treatment	32%	59%	24%	64%
	Torture	22%	56%	15%	27%
	TOTAL	36%	37%	20%	100%

		% REPORTS	SELF VICTIM/ WOMEN	WOMAN SELF VICTIM/ ALL SELF	TYPE/ WOMEN/S REPORTS
Johannesburg	Attempt to kill	45%	54%	36%	11%
	Killing	66%	0%		0%
	Severe ill treatment	34%	54%	28%	67%
	Torture	19%	61%	15%	22%
	TOTAL	39%	31%	24%	100%
All Offices	Attempt to kill	43%	49%	32%	5%
	Killing	70%	0%		0%
	Severe ill treatment	48%	63%	42%	85%
	Torture	19%	58%	14%	9%
	TOTAL	49%	37%	35%	100%

■ THE DEFINITION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

- 15 The Commission went some way towards meeting the criticisms of gender bias. Nonetheless, there were those who argued that it did not go far enough. Activist lawyer Ms Ilse Olckers, describing discussions between two commissioners and women working on gender issues, said it was as if they “were asking them to convince the other members of the Commission to see the earth as round. We added a third dimension to a task already wearisome. A task which they felt they could hardly cope with in its current two dimensional state”.²
- 16 The inclusion of a separate chapter on gender will be understood by some readers as sidelining, rather than mainstreaming, the issue. Women will again be seen as having been portrayed as a ‘special interest group’, rather than as ‘normal’ members of the society.
- 17 To integrate gender fully, however, would have required the Commission to amend its understanding of its mandate and how it defined gross human rights violations. The Act states that

² Olckers, I (1996), ‘Gender-neutral truth — a reality shamefully distorted’, in *Agenda* 31, pp 61-7.

'gross violation of human rights' means the violation of human rights through – (a) the killing, abduction, torture or severe ill treatment of any person; or (b) any attempt, conspiracy, incitement, instigation, command or procurement to commit an act referred to in paragraph (a).

- 18 The CALS submission argued that the definition of 'severe ill treatment' should be interpreted to include apartheid abuses such as forced removals, pass law arrests, alienation of land and breaking up of families. This approach finds support in the declaration to the Commission by five top judges at the legal systems hearing that apartheid was in and of itself a gross violation of human rights.³
- 19 The Commission's relative neglect of the effects of the 'ordinary' workings of apartheid has a gender bias, as well as a racial one. A large number of statistics can be produced to substantiate the fact that women were subject to more restrictions and suffered more in economic terms than did men during the apartheid years. The most direct measure of disadvantage is poverty, and there is a clear link between the distribution of poverty and apartheid policies. Black women, in particular, are disadvantaged, and black women living in former homeland areas remain the most disadvantaged of all. It is also true that this type of abuse affected a far larger number of people, and usually with much longer-term consequences, than the types of violations on which the Commission was mandated to focus its attention.
- 20 The suffering caused by influx control and related laws was not only physical, but attacked the very selfhood of many women and men. In this respect, Goldblatt and Meintjes quote from an interview with Ms Lydia Kompe, formerly a trade unionist and organiser of rural women, and now a parliamentarian. Ms Kompe was forced to use a different name so as to be able to pass for 'coloured' and remain in an urban area:

*I had to do away with my own African culture, with my own self and call myself a different thing so that I could come and work, because I was not allowed to work in the so-called proclaimed areas of Johannesburg.*⁴

³ This issue is discussed in full in *The Mandate* in Volume One of this report. Also appended to that chapter is a discussion of apartheid as a crime against humanity.

⁴ Goldblatt and Meintjes (1996), page 24.

■ GENDERED ROLES AND SOCIALISATION

- 21 While a person's sex is determined by biology, gender is a social construct. It is determined by the relationships between women and men and by the roles they play. One of the more important divisions in terms of gender analysis is that between the public and private spheres. Men are more commonly 'active' in roles in the public sphere, while women predominate in roles in the private sphere. Politics as usually understood pertains primarily to the public sphere. The public-private distinction played itself out in the Commission hearings to the extent that women were often constructed – and constructed themselves — as wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of the active (mainly male) players on the public political stage.
- 22 In some cases, it was clear that men actively prevented women from engaging in politics. In one of the general hearings, Ms Ncediwe Euphambia Mfeti remarked: "We are not allowed to ask our husbands about politics in my culture". Her observation was confirmed by nods and laughter in the audience. African National Congress (ANC) veteran Mr Govan Mbeki testified that:

*The police were looking for meetings. So when you left you did not tell your wife where you were going, and when you returned ... they were asleep and your food was on the stove... Women created problems for the (liberation) movement because they wanted to know.*⁵

- 23 Ms Sheila Masote, daughter of Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng, said that they had a similar policy that:

women should stay at home, should not participate. It was all by way of trying to say when we go out to jail, when we go out and be killed, you look after the children... The husbands wouldn't share much.

- 24 The statistics on Commission evidence bear out the differential engagement of women and men in 'active' politics. Very early in the process, anthropologist Fiona Ross analysed the 204 testimonies that she heard presented during the first five weeks of Commission hearings. She found that close on six of every ten deponents were women, but that over three-quarters of the women's testimonies and 88 per cent of the men's testimonies were about abuses to men. Only 17 per cent of the women's testimonies and 5 per cent of the men's were about

⁵ Ross, FC (1996), 'Speech and Silence: Women's Testimony in the First Five Weeks of Public Hearings of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission', p 22.

abuses to women, with the remainder about abuses to women and men. Ross found that 25 per cent of all cases involved women speaking about their sons, 11 per cent were women speaking about their spouses and 8 per cent were women speaking about their brothers. Only 4 per cent of the cases involved men speaking about sons, and 0 per cent of the cases involved men speaking about either spouses or sisters.

- 25 Commenting on these figures, Beth Goldblatt writes that they:

*reflect the reality that women were less of a direct threat to the apartheid state and were thus less often the victims of murder, abduction and torture. This was due to the nature of the society which was, and is, structured along traditional patriarchal lines. Men were expected to engage with the state in active struggle while women were denied 'active citizenship' because of their location within the private sphere.*⁶

- 26 To the extent that people came to the Commission hoping for compensation, the figures could also reflect the fact that men who were killed or otherwise incapacitated were more likely than women to have been primary breadwinners upon whom whole families were dependent.
- 27 Other figures provide some support for Goldblatt's assertions. In 1986/7, for example, it was estimated that only 12 per cent of all state of emergency detainees were women. In the Sharpville massacre of March 1960, at the beginning of the period covered by the Commission, fifty-one men were killed, compared to eight women and ten children. Within the armed forces, women accounted for a small minority during the 1960s and 1970s. By the early 1990s, women still accounted for only 14 per cent of the Permanent Force of the South African Defence Force (SADF) and approximately 20 per cent of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres. Moving away from politics, official figures show that only 13 per cent of all those convicted of crimes between July 1995 and June 1996 were women.
- 28 One can, however, overstate the case. The hearings provided ample evidence that women fulfilled all roles in the struggle and suffered the full range of human rights violations. There were stories of women active – and abused — in all three decades covered by the Commission. There were stories of and by women of all races and of all ages. In terms of educational level, the women ranged from those with limited formal education to others with tertiary degrees. Ms Lita

⁶ Goldblatt, B (1997), 'Violence, gender and human rights — an examination of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission' paper presented to the annual meeting of the Law and Society Association, St Louis, Missouri, pp 7-8.

Nombango Mazibuko emphasised the fact that, despite her lack of (formal) education, “the contribution that I’ve put in within the ANC structures is quite massive”. Elsewhere, there is plenty of documentary and other evidence⁷ that women were active before the 1960s – in particular in the memorable 1956 anti-pass march that is today celebrated each year on Women’s Day. There is also plenty of evidence in documents⁸ that women were severely punished – through detention, torture and other means – for their involvement.

- 29 Further, in South Africa, as elsewhere, women’s ‘private’ roles have often been a strong motivating factor in their political engagement. Ms Thandi Modise of MK, for example, has stated emphatically that she was a guerrilla “because I am a mother”. During the women’s hearing, Ms Zodwa Lephina Thobela said that it was when her son was arrested in 1976 that she and her husband became involved in politics and “started being enemies with the security police”. Also at the hearings, Ms Noncebo Zokwe recalled how the security police named her a “Communist mother”. She used her role as mother and protector of the home when a policeman came to her home, telling him: “On these premises I am the government”. When he threatened to kill her, she said: “The only pain I know is the pain of giving birth”. She said: “It is womanhood which brought me this strength”.⁹
- 30 Women’s socialisation and roles could also mean that certain experiences, although seemingly similar, might bear more heavily on women than on men. For example, women’s socialisation, more than that of men, focuses on intimate relationships. Without negating the pain felt by men in solitary confinement, this could make the experience even more painful for women. During the hearings, many women spoke in particular about what it meant to be separated from their children. Ms Evelyn de Bruin of Upington who, together with her husband, spent many long months on death row after being convicted of common purpose simply because they were present at a killing, told how she had to leave her two young children behind. On the basis both of the unfair judgement and the cruelty of separation, she was certain that “Judge Basson will never see the heavens”.
- 31 Some women spoke about how their torturers used the strength of the mother-child bond against them. Ms Albertina Sisulu was told that her child was in intensive care with pneumonia and that, if she did not give a statement, “you won’t bury the child”. Ms Joyce Sikhakhane Ranken feared that she herself would be killed in detention, leaving her three-year-old child an orphan.

7 Walker, C (1991), *Women and Resistance in South Africa*. David Philip Publishers: Cape Town

8 Such as an undated document by the Federation of Transvaal Women, ‘A Woman’s place is in the Struggle, not behind bars!’, Johannesburg.

9 Ross, FC (1996), pp 14-15.

To crown it all, during a torturous interrogation session ... a three year old Afrikaner toddler was brought in to remind me of Nkosingithi.

- 32 Ms Zubeida Jaffer, in an early stage of pregnancy, was told that she would be assaulted until she lost her baby.
- 33 Some of the women who had been threatened in this way went on to describe their reasons for resisting. Ms Albertina Sisulu felt "let the child die if the nation is saved". Ms Joyce Sikhakhane Ranken felt "the price to pay ... was worth our cruel separation." Ms Zubeida Jaffer,

didn't want my child to grow up with that burden on her, because ... if she is brought into this world thinking that her mother gave this information so that she could live, that's a heavy burden for a child to carry.

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

boasted about this evil attack on a woman whose only crime was that she had given birth to children who did not want to stand by and watch while their people were brutalised.

Ms Kubeka ... had no particular interest in politics. Her hands were already full anyway with the burden of scratching a living for herself and her children. It was the brutal experience that turned her into one of the strongest and (most) resilient fighters of our movement.

- 35 Finally, one can argue that the centrality of women in the struggle depended on the nature of that struggle and the chief protagonists at a particular point. In the 1980s, for example, when much of the activity was undertaken by scholars and students, these young women did not have the same social constraints against engaging in the struggle that might have been felt by slightly older women or those with more family responsibilities. In terms of the public/private distinction, women scholars and students were more firmly located in the public sphere, the sphere in which political action is most explicit, and where it was most likely to provoke state retaliation.

■ SILENCES

- 36 A primary aim of the Commission was to end the silences around the atrocities under apartheid. A primary aim of civil society's intervention around gender was to end the silences around the gendered nature of those atrocities.
- 37 One of the silences was that of women who had themselves suffered gross human rights violations, but spoke only as secondary victims — as relatives of men who had suffered. Hence, for example, in the first week of hearings in the Eastern Cape, the widows of the Cradock Four spoke about their murdered husbands. Each had herself been arrested and harassed, but their own stories did not become the subject of the hearings. Later in the hearings, Dr Liz Floyd and Ms Nyameka Goniwe spoke about the abuses suffered by their partners, Mr Neil Aggett and Mr Matthew Goniwe. They, too, mentioned their own roles and suffering only in passing.
- 38 Several of the women who spoke at the special hearings began their testimony by stating their reluctance to come forward. Some said that they felt their sufferings were less severe than those of many other people. Ms Jubie Mayet, who had been banned and detained, said she was reluctant “because my experiences under the old regime were nothing compared to what so many countless other people suffered.” Ms Nozizwe Madlala, detained for a year in solitary confinement, said that when people ask her if she was tortured, “I usually answer in the negative, for my own experience of torture was much milder than that of many others.”
- 39 At the time the abuses occurred, many women (and men) remained silent about their sufferings. Ms Wilhelmina Cupido, reported that after her sister, Ms Coline William's, detention, Coline “said she just want to go on with her life, she just want to leave it there and carry on.” There could be multiple reasons for this silence — a desire to protect her family, a desire to protect herself by keeping silent about ‘illegal’ activities, and/or a desire to forget a terrible experience.
- 40 Others might have kept silent because they felt there were not ready listeners. Thus Ms Zubeida Jaffer described how most people react:

They'll smile at me and say: "Oh, you're the journalist, you were detained..." Then they'll say to me: "But I am sure they never did anything to you". I think it's maybe too much for people to think that things [like this can happen]. I think also because I am a woman there is always the assumption that they wouldn't have touched me ... "[they] didn't really do anything to you, did they?"

- 41 In opening one of the special hearings, Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso spoke about the difficulties of describing ones suffering in a public arena. Ms Mtintso had previously spoken openly in a face-to-face interview as part of the CALS research. She was not, however, prepared to speak about her personal experiences in the open hearings. She congratulated the women who were prepared to “open those wounds... The personal cost may be high. They may have to go back home and deal with the pain that has opened today.”
- 42 Many claim that, by talking things through, people come to terms with what has happened and the pain is lessened. In opening the Cape Town hearings, Trauma Centre psychologist Ms Nomfundo Walaza questioned this conventional wisdom:

We talk very glibly about the fact that we can show our weaknesses in a way that will render us much more strong later on. Some women are sceptical that the process will uncover the wounds that are healing and render them even more vulnerable that they started off with...

- 43 After hearing Ms Zubeida Jaffer's testimony, Commissioner Mary Burton commented on how someone “who is known as a strong person in the community” had been brave enough to give “a glimpse into a vulnerable side” of herself.

■ SILENCES ABOUT SEXUAL ABUSE

- 44 One of the particularly difficult areas of silence is sexual abuse. The Commission saw its provision of the opportunity “to relate their own accounts” as a way of restoring “the human and civil dignity” of victims. For many women, relating the story of their sexual abuse would in no way serve this purpose. It would, instead, leave them feeling a loss of dignity.
- 45 It is, perhaps, surprising that as many women as did spoke about being raped or otherwise sexually abused. As Ms Jessie Duarte put it, “the Commission is actually asking people to open the empty cupboard and expose that there are no groceries in the cupboard and then they have to live with that”.
- 46 She noted the way in which the liberation movements had contributed to the silence during the 1980s, in that “if women said that they were raped, they were regarded as having sold out to the system in one way or another”.¹⁰ She noted that women were among the cruellest in enforcing these attitudes.

10 Goldblatt B and Meintjes S (1997), ‘Dealing with the Aftermath — sexual violence and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’, in *Agenda*, p 5.

- 47 Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso suggested that men use sexual abuse to show the weakness of the men on the opposing side “because women are supposed to be these people that are protected by these men”. She suggested that sexual violence is also used by those in power to destroy the identity of women who have rejected traditional roles, for example by engaging in ‘masculine’ roles in the struggle. Seifert suggests that in a war situation men, or the ‘nation’, might well collude in silencing talk of sexual abuse.

(T)he commemoration of female war victims would pass on the violation of manhood into peacetime. This would be a continuous reminder that ‘national manhood’ has been humiliated by the enemy. What is chosen instead is the mechanism of repression.¹¹

- 48 Where the sexual abuse was perpetrated by men within the liberation movements, there were further pressures not to speak. Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso described how “comrades who were contacts inside the country would come outside to report ... They would put up a comrade in a particular place and comrades would sleep with them. And that’s rape. That for me is rape”.
- 49 She described how, despite her own high position, one of her male comrades said to her:

You know, it’s going to get to the point that I am going to rape you. And it’s going to be very easy to rape you ... and I know there is no way that you are going to stand in front of all these people and say I raped you.¹²

- 50 In presenting the ANC report to the Commission, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki acknowledged that men in the camps had committed “gender-specific offences” against their woman comrades. He said that the perpetrators had been punished, but did not describe either the offences or the punishment in any detail. In the light of these silences, Commissioner Hlengiwe Mkhize remarked that “the submission fail(ed) women”.
- 51 Some of those who spoke about sexual abuse said that this was the first time they had done so. Ms Thandi Shezi said that this would be the first time her mother would hear about her having been gang raped by security police. She said that one of the reasons she had remained silent was because, as so often happens with rape

11 Seifert, R (1995), ‘The Female Body as a Symbol and a Sign: Gender-specific violence and the cultural construction of war’ in Andreas Gestrich (Ed) *Gewalt im Krieg. Ausübung, Erfahrung und Verweigerung von Gewalt in Kriegen des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Jahrbuch für Historische Friedensforschung (translation), p 21.

12 Goldblatt & Meintjes (1996), p 58.

victims, she had felt that she was in some way to blame: "I thought I'd done something that I deserved to be treated like that." Ms Kedibone Dube said that after her abduction and rape, she had only told her family that she was kidnapped. Other women said that they had only been able to talk after undergoing counselling.

■ SEXUAL ABUSE

- 52 Given the close relationship between sex and gender, one of the more obvious differences in the way women and men might experience gross human rights violations is the extent to which they suffered from sexual violations, and the nature of those sexual violations. Of the 446 statements that were coded as involving sexual abuse, 398 specified the sex of the victim. Of these 158, or 40 per cent, were women. Rape was explicitly mentioned in over 140 cases.
- 53 The Commission regarded rape as 'severe ill treatment' regardless of the circumstances under which it occurred. Solitary confinement was the other abuse categorised in this way. The women who described how they had been raped while in detention were, in effect, often describing a double experience of those abuses regarded as most severe. Ms Thandi Shezi first had her hands and feet chained while she was assaulted.

Then they unchained me, and Sam took the white sack and put it on my head... they poured acid on this water that they were pouring on me and that acid got into my eye and today I can't see properly in the other eye ... they used this electrodes to choke me ... until I bit my tongue and my tongue got torn ... And one of them said, "We must just humiliate her and show her that this ANC can't do anything for her"... then the whole four of them started raping me whilst they were insulting me and using vulgar words and said I must tell them the truth.

- 54 Ms Phyllis Naidoo reported that, in 1976, when assisting child detainees, she came across several young women who had been raped and impregnated by the officers who detained them. Despite her offer of assistance, "they wouldn't (abort). They feared the special branch."
- 55 Several women described how they had been sexually abused, although not necessarily raped, while in detention. Ms Evelyn Masego Thunyiswa was twenty-two years old in 1977 when she and others were detained by police on their way to Steve Biko's funeral. She told the story at the special hearing on children and youth:

The other one came to me... and said, "Stand up! I want to see your vagina", and they started hitting me with fists. After that, they electrocuted us... I can't remember where did they apply this to my body because, when they switched it on, I felt as if my private parts were falling... While [I was] crying, they were sitting in front of me laughing .

- 56 Ms Funzani Joyce Marubini was a member of the Youth Congress in the Northern Province at the time of her detention in 1986. She and five other women were arrested.

They did not give us food, they did not give us water, they shut the toilets so that we could not go in there to relieve ourselves... that night, they came and woke us up and they switched off the lights and said we should lie on our stomachs. They started assaulting us with sjamboks [whips] ... assaulting us on our buttocks up to the time that our panties were torn and our undergarments were exposed.

- 57 Their assailants said the reason they had undressed the women was that "they said they wanted to show us as to where Mandela is".

- 58 Ms Nomvula Mokonyane was arrested and put into solitary confinement eleven days after her wedding and two months into her pregnancy. The district surgeons disputed the fact that she was pregnant. They said that her fallopian tube was blocked "and they had to make sure that they unblock them so that then you can begin to have menstruations; and if you begin to resist that then torture will take its own course." Ms Sheila Segametsi Masote also miscarried in detention after being kicked and left "all bleeding, blood oozing down your legs and drying up there."

- 59 Ms Hilda Bernstein documented the torture of Black Consciousness leader, Ms Joyce Dipale, while in solitary confinement for 500 days. Dipale's torture included electric shocks on her naked breasts, buttocks and genitals. She said that she "got used to the pain, but never the humiliation" ¹³

- 60 Ms Elaine Mohamed was made to strip, do star jumps, and was fondled by doctors and prison officials. During the hearings, Ms Virginia Mbatha described how her captors "would fondle me in whatever part of the body that they wanted to and I couldn't do anything because my hands were tied to the back".

- 61 Women who were not actually raped spoke about the ever-constant fear that they would be. Ms Joyce Sikhakhane Ranken described how, while in prison,

¹³ Goldblatt and Meintjes (1996) p 16.

she “was terrified that one day I would be gang raped by those bullies.” Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso described an incident in which she was captured by a group of eight security force members and taken to Kei Bridge.

They asked me to get out of the car and they all got out. And I had not minded being beaten or anything or even died in the process, but rape, just as far as I was concerned, this was... going to be a gang rape and they were just going to leave me here...”.¹⁴

- 62 Ms Yvonne Khutwane of Worcester described how she was first humiliated by repeated questions about her sex life. She broke down and cried when one of the young soldiers who had arrested her put his hand inside her vagina: “I was afraid [because] we have heard that the soldiers are very notorious of raping people”.
- 63 There were many stories of how women were degraded when menstruating. Most commonly, women would be forced to stand, with or without pads, with blood running down their legs while being tortured. Ms Phyllis Naidoo was forced to use newspapers instead of pads: “It was horrible, and terribly demeaning.” For Ms Joyce Sikhakhane Ranken, “the feel and smell of the sticky blood [was] a reminder of imminent slaughter at the hands of your torturers”. When Ms Elaine Mohamed was told she was not allowed to use tampons, a policeman “shook the pad and hit it against the wall saying ‘Put it on’”. Ms Mohamed also reported that another woman had rats pushed into her vagina. She said that rats would come into her own cell and eat her soiled pads. “I’d just pick up the bits of my pads, but that experience was terror for me. I always felt that the rats were gnawing at me”.¹⁵
- 64 Stories of rape and sexual abuse were not confined to those that occurred in detention. In the Durban hearings, speaking from behind a screen, a woman described how she was gang raped by youths from an opposing political organisation. Her husband was forced to watch the entire attack. When she awoke in hospital, she was told that she needed a hysterectomy. Like some others, this woman felt she was in some way responsible: “Sometimes I feel like I invited the trouble myself. I feel very degraded and dirty. And especially because I am a Christian.”
- 65 Ms Gloria Ella Mahlophe related how her sixteen-year-old daughter went with two other young girls to a meeting in Thokoza.

¹⁴ Goldblatt and Meintjes (1996) p 35.

¹⁵ Goldblatt and Meintjes (1996), p 19.

When they arrived in Thokoza, they were put inside the hostel. They started undressing them, taking of their clothes. After they've undressed them, they raped them. After they raped them, they took them and threw them outside the hostel, at the back of the hostel and they started shooting at them. They were trying to chop them with some huge bush knives.

- 66 Fourteen-year-old Ms Winnie Makhubela, the child of Ms Mahlophe's brother, was the only one of the three young women to survive. In her testimony, Ms Makhubela said that the meeting was attended by women as well as men, and that the women "started applauding and they were very happy when they saw this happening to us. They slapped us when we tried to plead to them to help us."
- 67 Another anonymous witness from KwaZulu-Natal also described herself as apolitical, but said she lived between an Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and ANC area, and that "they used to tell themselves that in my house that's where Inkatha people were staying." One day, on her way to hospital, the woman was offered a lift by a man who then abducted and raped her. This rape was followed by further rapes by other men. The woman was sixteen when this happened, and had been hoping to preserve her virginity as her mother had done. However, the rape resulted in pregnancy "and now I have a child whom I don't know his father". Further, when this woman tried to report the incident to the police, "the judge told me that I was just a concubine in that area, [that] I am lying, they didn't rape me."
- 68 Ms Kedibone Dube, who also said she "wasn't a comrade", spoke about her experience when Inkatha invaded Swanieville in 1992. A man, promising to take her to safety, took her instead to a house in which no one was living.

And each and everyone pulled their own girls there and they were sitting together with their girls. And I said to him, "I'm not going to sleep here, I want to go home." He said, "I will take you to the Xhosa people and the Xhosa are going to kill you." And he beat me up the whole night until he raped me.

- 69 Ms Khosi Dora Mkhize of Mpumalanga said that, when she and her family were attacked in 1987, they were living in an ANC stronghold. However, she said, "I didn't know anything about politics". In the middle of the night, a gang attacked the house, seemingly without reason. Three of the attackers raped her as well – she suspects – as her sister. The assailants stabbed her mother to death, and then burnt down the house. Ms Mkhize said she had never told anyone, even her sister, about the rape. Today, she said, "I totally do not trust a man... I regard

him as an enemy". This legacy was echoed by Ms Thandi Shezi, who said that her experiences had left her unable to have a good relationship with a man: "They say to me I'm frigid. Because if I get involved with a man I get very scared."

■ OTHER PHYSICAL ABUSE

- 70 Several women spoke about how their femaleness affected how they were treated, and how they themselves behaved when tortured. Ms Jenny Schreiner described how, when she articulated her rights, she was met with brute force:

*(Mostert) walked around the table and physically picked me up and stood me up ... so that he could slam my back into the wall. Which although, I mean he didn't shatter my skull or anything, but it's a clear statement from step one: "I am in control of this, I am bigger than you, I'm more aggressive than you and I have no respect for you". And ... I think that it's also a question of it being a gender thing. There's a man who is physically picking you up and shoving you into a wall.*¹⁶

- 71 Ms Zubeida Jaffer recalled how, when the security police came to detain her at her parent's house, Warrant Officer 'Spyker' van Wyk

said to me as we were going out of my mom's house, "Pollsmoor Prison is a five star hotel compared to where you are going". And then he said that they were going to break my nose and they were going to beat me up and that was as I walked out of my parents' house.

- 72 Ms Elaine Mohamed recounted how she burst into tears when a security policeman said to her, "I really enjoy interrogating women. I can get things out of them and do things to them that I can't do to a man".¹⁷

- 73 Several people spoke of the strength women showed in withstanding severe physical torture. Tokyo Sexwale recalled the detention and trial of the Pretoria Twelve in 1977/8.

We learnt with horror what one of us, Paulina Mohale, went through ... the kind of pain that even we, as men, could not withstand, was doubly inflicted upon her... (N)evertheless ... Paulina Mohale stood tall. To us that represented a focal point of admiration. We often thought that it is only the men who were supposed to withstand the kind of pain.

¹⁶ Goldblatt and Meintjes.

¹⁷ Russell, DEH (1989), Lives of Courage: Women for a New South Africa, Basic Books. New York, p 37.

74 Ms Thandi Shezi recalled that, when she was arrested and detained, the members of her unit “were not even too alarmed ... because they knew I was a strong person, I could withstand difficulties.”

75 Nevertheless, this strength could be a double-edged sword for the women concerned. Sandra Adonis, a member of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing, described at the children’s hearing in the Western Cape how she “was like trying to hit back at (the policeman) all the time, but also in a very gentle way not to have him think that this is a stubborn woman, because once you show stubbornness, they would show no mercy”. Similarly, Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso noted that when men:

stood ground against the physical abuse, there was a sense of respect – where the torturers would even say: “Hy is ‘n man” [He is a man]. But when a woman refused to bow down, to be cowed down, then that unleashed the wrath of the torturers, because in their own discourse a woman, a black ‘meid’, a ‘kaffermeid’ [kaffir servant girl], had no right to have the strength to withstand their torture.

76 Ms Mtintso recalled the anger of her captors when she was still holding out after two months of detention – anger “for not fitting the stereotype of this woman who was going to break down... It was always ‘You think you are a man, you think you are strong, we are going to bring you down, we’ve brought down better people than yourself, men, strong men’”.¹⁸

77 Most of those who were detained were kept in solitary confinement, which in itself was understood by the Commission to constitute severe ill treatment. Many were subjected to further physical abuse.

78 Several of the women described in some detail the extent and nature of the physical abuse to which they were subjected. Ms Sylvia Nomhle Dlamini was hit with a wet towel. She was hung through a window and threatened that she would be dropped. She was blindfolded, handcuffed and then assaulted. She was forced to do the ‘frog jump’ and, when sweating, had a tube put over her head. Ms Deborah Matshoba was strangled with a towel and had her head bashed against the wall: “The beating up lasted for a week. I was asthmatic and they refused to give me medication.” Ms Evelyn de Bruin described how her neck was measured against a metre-long rope in preparation for her hanging.

¹⁸ Goldblatt and Meintjes (1996), p 39.

- 79 Ms Zubeida Jaffer was not allowed to sleep for several days, during which time she was offered only coffee and dry bread. Finally, she was offered curry, rice and tea which she realised, once out of prison, had been drugged. After she had eaten, the captain in charge kept repeating that her heart was going to collapse as a result of the lack of sleep. She was also threatened with being thrown out of a window, threatened with rape, and then left in a room with two policemen.

I was starting to get very hot and I was getting these pains across my chest. I just felt I was getting really ill because I hadn't slept for the few days... And then I started seeing all my veins in my hand dilating... it looked like worms coming out of my hands... I felt pains across my chest and suddenly I started feeling like all my insides were going to come out. And I said to them I am going to get sick.

- 80 Ms Virginia Mbatha said she, too, had been given daily medication in the form of nine tablets: "I would feel very tired and my eyes would be hazy and when I came out of the prison I was partially blind."
- 81 Some women, such as Ms Yvonne Khutwane, described how they fought back against their torturers. Ms Khutwane's counter-attack provoked insults and taunts from onlookers that "I am a John Tait and a Gerrie Coetzee", but she persevered until her shirt was "in tatters". Ms Khutwane's anger was heightened by the fact that her young, white male attacker "could be as old as one of my children".
- 82 While several white women had been detained before, Ms Stephanie Kemp was perhaps the first to be physically tortured when she was arrested in 1964. Ms Kemp's Afrikaner background may have increased her captors' anger, but she also acknowledged her relative 'advantage' in that the fact that she, a white woman, was assaulted "made international headlines... (when) this was commonplace for black women in this country."
- 83 In describing her experiences, Ms Kemp recalled how "Rossouw said he was very sorry that we had used women, but if I wanted to behave like a man, he would treat me like a man." She then related how Warrant Officer 'Spyker' van Wyk "pleaded with Rossouw to allow him to be alone with me. In retrospect it was clear that he was seeking permission to use violence to break me." Warrant Officer Van Wyk was also a primary actor in the stories of several other women victims of abuse. Ms Shirley Gunn recalled her own feelings when confronted with Warrant Officer van Wyk, as she had named her son after Iman Haron, who Warrant Officer van Wyk had been accused of killing in detention.

- 84 Age was no defence against torture. Ms Elda Bani was fifty years old when she was detained in 1986 in Port Elizabeth. A diabetic, Ms Bani was denied medication and forced to eat normal prison food at prison meal times. After Ms Bani was finally taken away, allegedly to see the doctor, she returned with blood on her clothes and injuries on her back. Shortly afterwards she died. Ms Jubie Mayet described another case of an attack on an elderly women when she described how Ms Gladys Hope Manzi, of Umlazi, bore *sjambok* marks on her back.
- 85 Even where they were not physically assaulted, the living conditions of women in detention in themselves often posed severe physical hardship. Ms Zahrah Narkedien spoke about the huge “cat-size” rats that inhabited her cell. Ms Shirley Gunn spoke about the toilet in her cell, whose contents overflowed and ran under the bed and into the yard when it was flushed.

■ PSYCHOLOGICAL ABUSE

- 86 The Commission’s conception of gross violations of human rights explicitly included mental or psychological torture in its definition of torture. Nevertheless, commenting on the first five weeks of hearings, Fiona Ross wrote that “the main focus has been on bodies and on the visible embodiment of suffering”.¹⁹ It was not insignificant that psychologists were prominent among the CALS grouping and that the two opening addresses in the Cape Town women’s hearings were by psychologists Ms Nomfundo Walaza and Ms Cheryl de la Rey.
- 87 It is often difficult to distinguish between physical and psychological abuse. Many of the stories indicated the way in which physical abuse was exacerbated by psychological. Many also showed how physical abuse was used to humiliate the victims. Women, more than men, were prepared to talk about psychological aspects of their experience. Women were also more likely than men to talk about the psychosomatic and psychological problems experienced afterwards.
- 88 Ms Dee Dicks, for example, told the children and youth hearing that she had been arrested and charged with public violence at the age of seventeen: “[T]he experience that I lived through in the 1980s is like forever in my mind. And it has become quite difficult for me to cope and it makes me very angry, because at that time I could and now I cannot”. Ms Zubeida Jaffer who, after sustained torture, signed a statement, said that “it completely made me feel like I was worthless, that I had gone against everything that I stood for... and I was never able to overcome it for many, many years.” Ms Joyce Sikhakhane Ranken, tortured

¹⁹ Ross (1996), p 4.

twenty-six years previously, said she still often found herself “back in the dungeons of solitary confinement, ready to take away my life... I hate it when my mind brings those terrifying memories, but my mind just does it for me,” Ms Jetta Sethwala spoke about how, after the death of her son, the Paballelo community accused her of ‘shopping’ him to the police for money. She said she felt she was “already dead” and that it “will take a lot of effort to make me entirely normal again”. Ms Ruth First and Ms Jenny Schreiner have both described how they tried to kill themselves while in detention.

- 89 One possibility is that women were more affected than men psychologically. Another possibility is that men had more need, because of socialisation, to see the abuse as a test of their strength. If this is true, by listening to women we can also learn something about men’s unacknowledged suffering.
- 90 Solitary confinement and detention are, in themselves, psychological abuses. Often, however, psychological abuse was used consciously by captors to achieve their purposes. In many instances, their tactics focused on the victim’s female roles. Thus, Ms Lydia Kompe said she was asked: “What do you think your husband thinks about you? This is the reason why all the men are getting divorced”.²⁰ Ms Jenny Schreiner related how she was subjected to

*ruthless prying into an area of a person’s personal life that they knew was vulnerable ... and in a context where they are going to send you back to a police cell to sit with nothing other than the emotions that they’ve scratched open. You’re thirty and you’re single, therefore there’s something wrong with you as a woman, and that’s why you get involved with politics.*²¹

- 91 Similarly, Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso described taunts that women combatants had joined because they had failed to find a husband, to look after their children, or because they were unpaid prostitutes:

This consistency of drawing away from your own activism, from your own commitment as an actor, was perhaps worse than torture, was worse than the physical assault... when even what you have stood for is reduced to prostitution, unpaid prostitution.

- 92 Many women related how threats to their children or other family members were used to try to extract information from them. Ms Zubeida Jaffer signed a statement

²¹ Goldblatt and Meintjes (1996), p 21.

²¹ Goldblatt and Meintjes (1996), p 37.

only when police threatened that her father would be detained, and put him on the telephone to confirm the veracity of the threat: "I was shattered at that point. I just felt that it's fine if they involve me, but why involve my family to this extent, and why involve my father?"

- 93 Ms Deborah Matshoba recounted how she had only broken down and cried when she was eventually allowed to see her son and family:

You can go very strong when they beat you up and you become stubborn and you stand your ground, but once they start being kind to you it can, it is a very, very delicate spot.

- 94 Ms Sylvia Nomhle Dlamini described how her child was taken away from her when it wanted to suck. In the end, she stopped breast-feeding and the child became very sickly. This and subsequent events left Ms Dlamini insecure about her ability as a mother: "I don't know whether I acted in the proper manner; I doubt myself as a mother."

- 95 Ms Thandi Shezi was told that her children had been handed over to welfare, "and if I didn't tell them the truth, they would kill my children". Ms Shirley Gunn had a young toddler and was eight months pregnant when she was detained in 1989. Her alleged crime was that she had blown up Khotso House, a deed which, it was later confirmed, was actually performed by agents of the then government. Ms Gunn found her detention particularly hard "at a point in my life where I as a woman really needed to be with other woman and I really needed to be with my mother too, specifically." Despite her objections, Ms Gunn's toddler was taken away from her. She now feels she suffers from an exaggerated and irrational fear that she will lose her child.

- 96 In some cases, there was evidence that a woman's social role was to her advantage. When police first came to detain Ms Jubie Mayet, she pointed to her fatherless children and asked whether they were now going to deprive them of their mother as well: "Some of the children started crying and I remember son number three saying through his tears: 'No, they cannot do this, they cannot take our mother away from us.'" The police left without Ms Mayet, although she was indeed arrested at a later stage. Similarly, Ms Marie Odendaal Magwaza said she heard from another detainee that the security police complained to him that she "had been cheeky and if it had not been for the baby he would have detained me".

- 97 On the other hand, Ms Phyllis Naidoo described how her maternal duties and feelings were ignored when she was sentenced to ten days imprisonment on failing to report as prescribed by her banning order when her son suffered an asthma attack during her law exams.

■ NON-PRISON EXPERIENCES

- 98 While torture, as defined by the Commission, occurs in prison or in custody – and is thus primarily perpetrated by agents of the state – there were also women who described gross violations of human rights which occurred outside of captivity, and which were perpetrated both by the state and others.
- 99 In the earlier decades covered by the Commission, banishments and banning were a popular form of punishment. The punishment provided for people to become their own jailers, thus relieving the state of the burden of providing for them. Ms Frances Baard, an Eastern Cape unionist, was banished to Mabopane in the Transvaal. She was dumped there in the cold with only the clothes she was wearing, without even a blanket for protection. She faced severe isolation on a personal level:

I didn't even know a person in that place; I couldn't even speak the language of the people there. Since I was brought there by the SB [Security Branch], the people were afraid to talk to me.²²

- 100 Ms Fatima Meer and her husband were first banned in 1954 and needed special permission to speak to each other. In 1977, during her second banning term, someone attempted to kill Ms Meer in the home to which she was confined. She escaped only because a taller visitor opened the door, catching on his shoulder the shot that was aimed at Ms Meer's head level. The would-be assassin's car was suspiciously similar to that seen at the time of Mr Rick Turner's murderer.²³
- 101 Harassment continued for those who went into exile. Ms Phyllis Naidoo described how her "backside ... is full of potted holes" from a parcel bomb received while outside the country.
- 102 Ms Selina Williams, mother of Ms Coline Williams, was convinced that her daughter had actually been murdered. Ms Williams was sceptical of the police story that her daughter and Mr Robert Waterwitch had blown themselves up in error. Her other daughter, Ms Wilhelmina Cupido, pointed out that the fact that

²² Goldblatt and Meintjes (1996), p 13.

²³ See further, chapter on *Natal and KwaZulu* elsewhere in this report.

Coline's nose was still intact, while her eyes were out of her sockets, seemed inconsistent with death from a bomb. Ms Williams herself had a further, 'gendered' reason for disbelief. She noted that when the police handed back some of Coline's goods, her bag contained intact sanitary towels. She asked: "How could sanitary towels survive a bomb blast?"

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

They took us to a guesthouse. We were bleeding... They told us to face the wall. We stripped naked, all of us, against the wall, boys and girls the same. They assaulted us. They threw us out on the grass and poured water on us and left us there.

- 104 While much of the evidence related to abuse by government forces, women within the opposition also faced abuse from colleagues. General Masondo, who testified to the Commission about the ANC Quatro camps, gave the following evidence on the position of women MK members in exile

In Angola there are at one time twenty-two women in a group of more than 1 000 people ... there was an allegation that ... Commanders were misusing women ... the law of supply and demand must have created some problems.

- 105 Ms Lita Nombango Mazibuko had a long tale of her suffering at the hands of ANC colleagues while in exile. Ms Mazibuko was responsible for assisting people to cross the border illegally. In 1988, after one of her comrades had been killed, she became "regarded as an enemy and as a spy". She was kidnapped, tortured and interrogated. Torture included hitting and kicking, as well as being forced to stay in holes for long periods. Ms Mazibuko was confident that there "was no mistake in the job that I was doing, but there was some hatred because I did not want to get intimately involved with one of them.... They said I should have some men in my life who could sort out my problems."

- 106 Ms Mazibuko acknowledged that "within the ANC there is no such rule that women should be violated in this manner. We used to be in camps and we would be told that men do not have a right to violate us. You could only get involved if you wanted to." Nevertheless, she reported being raped by at least three comrades, one of whom "cut through my genitals and ... he tied my

hands, my legs, they were apart, he also tied my neck and he would also pour Dettol over my genitals."

- 107 Attitudes towards women who played active roles in organisations engaged in violent conflict were illustrated in evidence given at the Children and Youth hearings by Mr George Ndlozi, who had been involved with self-defence units (SDUs).

Ms Seroke: *George were there girl SDUs?*

Mr Ndlozi: Yes.

Ms Seroke: *And what was their role?*

Mr Ndlozi: *There were some of them who were, I wouldn't say brave enough because I consider all of them to be brave, there were some of them who used to say we also need to take part, I also need to carry an AK47 to defend, I should not be discriminated against because I am a female. And there were those who were very important, who played parts in cooking. Although it may look a bit sexist, but they decided that they better cook for people who will be going outside to actually defend the community. So they were all involved.*

Ms Seroke: *But there were those who also carried AK47s?*

Mr Ndlozi: *Definitely. Definitely, there were those.*

- 108 Ms Beth Savage described how, in November 1992, she was severely injured in a "terrorist attack" on an annual Christmas party at which she was present. Savage told of the effects on herself and her family. Both she and her daughter suffered nervous breakdowns, and her son was also affected. Her father went into a deep depression that lasted until his death. Nevertheless, Savage felt that the experience had been an "enriching" one "and a growing curve". She also expressed her appreciation to ANC members who visited her in hospital.

- 109 Ms Annamaria Landman spoke about a 1980 guerrilla attack on the bank in which she worked. She and her colleagues were held hostage for seven hours, during which as the senior employee she acted as spokesperson. After the attack, Ms Landman underwent twelve operations to her elbow, which had been shot. Ms Landman was a single parent at the time of the incident and endeavoured to remain strong so that she could retain her job. She succeeded to the extent that she earned the nickname "the iron lady". She said that when she was approached to give evidence to the Commission, "this really brought sixteen years of pain and stress to the front". She underwent shock therapy and was on sick leave at the time she spoke.

- 110 Most of the women who spoke at the special hearings were political leaders and activists in their own right. There were, however, also those who described how they, or their relatives, had suffered abuse, despite their lack of direct political engagement at the time. Ms Fatima Meer, in reflecting on her own suffering and that of her family, felt that they were perhaps fortunate compared to those who became involved unwittingly:

(P)eople in my position who are articulate, who had the comfort and support of friends, who knew exactly why we were opposing the government, we were far better placed to cope with these sorts of persecutions.

- 111 Ms Monica Daniels was shot by the police during the 1985 boycotts, on her way back from buying bread, coffee and a candle for her grandmother. As a result of her injuries, first half her arm, then the whole limb were amputated, and she was left with bullets in her leg and vagina. Monica related that she had been planning to go to a dance on the evening that the accident occurred. Now, however, “since my arm is off I don’t go to dances any more”. Monica was not a “political person” at the time of the accident. The incident radicalised her. She was brutally treated – her screams for help when lying wounded were met with a kick and a “voetsek, shut up or I’ll shoot and kill you” from a policeman. Consequently, she then “joined the then UDF because I had already been shot”. Monica’s response to the question as to how the Commission could assist her, was for help with her eight-year-old child – “I cannot even peel a potato”.

■ RELATIONSHIPS

- 112 As noted, women’s relationships were often used against them to weaken them and extract information. In their testimony, women also related how their experiences had affected those close to them, and their relationships with them.
- 113 On the one hand, concern for family could make women act fiercely. Ms Adonis told the Commission that she hit a policeman on the head with a chair when he came to arrest her son²⁴. Ms Lephina Zodwa Thobela related how, when she went to visit her husband in prison and a policeman tried to prevent her, she forced her way into the office of a superior officer: “He tried to assault me ... and we started fighting... I challenged him to kill me ... and at that time we were grabbing each other by the throats.”

24 Ross (1996) p20.

- 114 On the other hand, their involvement in the struggle and subjection to abuse could endanger important relationships. Ms Ntombenkulu Ngubane was served with a banning order in 1963 for ANC membership. While pregnant, she was arrested and jailed for breaking the order. While in jail, her child was delivered by a fellow-prisoner who was a nurse as no doctors were available.

The next day I found my child yellow ... they took my child, they told me they are taking him to another cell in hospital. When I asked them how can they take my child when he is sick and leave me behind, I am supposed to breast-feed my child, they told me, "You are a prisoner" and then the next day they came back and they told me that, "Your child is dead"... they told me that, "this child will be buried by the government". I don't know up until today if my child is still alive or really my child died.

- 115 On her release from detention, Ms Ngubane's husband, a reverend, claimed that she was "crazy", and began to beat her. The lack of "peace" between herself and her husband ended in divorce.
- 116 Ms Deborah Matshoba, too, lost her husband because of her political involvement. Her husband "grew impatient" when Ms Matshoba was restricted to Krugersdorp by a banning order. He objected to the restrictions placed on her, which he saw as offending him and his "man's pride". Ms Virginia Mbatha said that after her arrest, "we were not able to conduct a proper family life" and she ended up separating from her husband. Ms Kedeboni Dube said that after being raped during the Inkatha-ANC conflict in Natal, she was not able to conceive, and that this had caused fights with her boyfriend. Ms Fowzia Turner and Ms Joyce Sikhakhane Ranken spoke about the harassment suffered by those who ignored the Immorality Act and married across the colour line.
- 117 Several women said that their experience had left them unable to handle their children and other family members as well as they wished. Ms Thandi Shezi said she would "beat up" her children, or even her parents, "because deep down within me I was trying to grapple with this painful experience". Ms Sheila Masote described how her mother, out of frustration at being excluded from the struggle, used to beat her. "And this I carried along even into my marriage life. I also bashed my son. I almost killed my son."
- 118 Several women felt guilty about how their activities had rebounded on those close to them. Ms Virginia Mbatha acknowledged a broader burden, when she apologised to all the mothers whose children she assisted to leave the country: "I

did this because I loved this country and I love those kids." Others spoke more intimately about their own loved ones.

- 119 Ms Fatima Meer said that her son, Rashid, was only three months old when her husband was arrested for treason. His absence from home "affected the children fairly profoundly". Ms Nozizwe Madlala recounted how, at two years of age, her son saw his father detained, tried and then sentenced to a prison term of ten years:

Although he has grown up to be a gentle young man, at that tender age he had learnt to hate... My mother tells me that during that time he used to complain of pain, physical pain, for which there was no physical explanation.

- 120 Ms Sheila Masote, speaking as the child of a leading politician, described how, "from my childhood I developed a block. I hated politics. I hated this *gogga* that took my father away from me, that destroyed my home."

- 121 Many women tried to protect their families. Ms Thandi Shezi, active in the ANC Youth and Women's Leagues, recalled how, when she told her mother that she suspected she would be detained, her mother told her to run away. "I said: 'No, if I run away, they're going to beat all of you here in the house and even the children. I don't want you to get hurt'."

- 122 Ms Sylvia Nomhle Dlamini had a longer tale describing how her mother was actually victimised. Ms Dlamini initially felt unable to tell her mother she was a UDF member. "My mother was old and she was very strict. She didn't like things like politics... because she was a Christian." One night, when Ms Dlamini was out, police arrived at their house. "Police asked my mother where we were and she didn't know truly and they took my mother with them." When her mother returned the following day, she would not relate what happened but simply asked for painkillers. Later she revealed the extent of her torture:

She was given an electrical shock and she couldn't remember what they used to use hitting her head. Other day they put a plastic over her head and she couldn't breathe, and one day she told me one white man came and he tied her and then he hit her, and even after she died, she had bruises all over her ribs.

- 123 When her mother died some time later from heart disease, Ms Dlamini felt responsible for her death: "I realised that my mother died because of me." She said that relatives ostracised her and also blamed her for her mother's death.

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

- 124 It would be wrong, however, to assume that it is only women who experience strong family ties and the associated guilt and protectiveness. Ms Sylvia Dlomo-Jele related how her son, Sicelo, refused to stay at home once he began to be harassed by the police. He said "that it would not be nice for his parents to see the police killing him".²⁵

■ WOMEN AS PERPETRATORS

- 125 The women who spoke at the hearings spoke as primary or secondary victims of abuses. There were, however, also women who perpetrated abuses on others. In her address to the hearings, Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso pointed out that nowadays:

We go to the women's conferences and hug and kiss, we are kissing with some of the perpetrators. It is okay that we kiss, but it is not okay that they do not come forward and talk about the role that they played.

- 126 She included among the perpetrators those who supported the "boys on the border" by sending them packages, by giving space to them in the media, and by otherwise "egging them on". She was clear that "patriarchy must not be allowed to shield these women, because they claim they did this for their partners, for their husbands, for their brothers."
- 127 Ms Ann-Marie Wallace, on the other hand, spoke as the mother of a white soldier who was killed. She spoke about the pain of losing a son in this way, but also about her and her community's ignorance of what men were doing in the army. She said that they "had come to accept that it is the law. Your children get called up for two years and that's it." She noted that her son, too, "did not have time to learn that it was all lies. According to him, he died a hero because that's all he knew."
- 128 Of the 7 128 applications for amnesty received by the Commission, only fifty-six were known to come from women and 4 665 from men, while in 2 407 cases the sex of the applicant was unknown. Thus only 1 per cent of those where the

²⁵ Ross (1996), p 17.

sex was known came from women. Of the forty women's applications available for analysis, two had been granted amnesty, twenty-four had been refused and fourteen cases were still awaiting a decision at the time of reporting. The two whose applications were granted were ANC members. One had planted bombs and been involved in theft, while the other had been found guilty of possession and distribution of weapons.

129 Amongst those still awaiting decisions were seven women who had applied for amnesty under the ANC's collective responsibility application, or had otherwise failed to specify the exact nature of their act. Of the thirty-eight who had been refused, the most common offences were murder (five applications) and theft or fraud (eight applications).

130 One of the most intriguing applications came from a young Indian woman, who applied for amnesty for what she describes as her "apathy". The application stated that those applying on these grounds recognised that they:

as individuals can and should be held accountable by history for our lack of necessary action in times of crisis ... in exercising apathy rather than commitment we allow(ed) others to sacrifice their lives for the sake of our freedom and an increase in our standard of living.

131 The applicants argued that apathy fell within the Commission's ambit as an act of omission. The application was, however, refused on the basis that it did "not disclose an action or omission which amounts to an offence or a delict in respect of which amnesty can be granted."

132 From the men's side, one of the more bizarre applications was that of Mr Michael Bellingham. Mr Bellingham was one of the more than thirty security policemen who applied for amnesty for the bombing of Khotso House, Cosatu House and 'Cry Freedom' cinemas.²⁶ Bellingham requested amnesty for the murder of his wife on the grounds that she had threatened to reveal his political role.²⁷

133 Several of those who testified at the hearings spoke about the extent to which those who had perpetrated abuses against them were women. They spoke, in particular, about women warders in prisons. The CALS interviews provided further evidence on this topic.

²⁶ Cinemas which dared to show the banned film about the life of Steve Biko

²⁷ *Sunday Independent*, 26 July 1998.

- 134 Most of those who had suffered explicit torture had done so at the hands of men, most of whom were white. Mr Thandi Shezi explained that “the female used to hand over their assault and brutalisation to their male counterparts”. However, Ms Nomvula Mokonyane said that it was women who pumped water into fallopian tubes. She could not understand this betrayal:

*This woman knows exactly what the effects of that pain will be on that other woman. It is hard to know if you will be able to reconcile with that woman perpetrator.*²⁸

- 135 In the main, women warders exhibited cruelty in the way they treated prisoners outside of the explicit torture sessions. Thus, Ms Deborah Matshoba described as ‘torture’ the way that women warders threw her (bad) food at her. Her exasperation was such that one day she grabbed the hair of the woman concerned and “started bashing her head against the bars”. Her resistance won her a new warder, as well as exercise time and a weekly shower. Ms Matshoba noted that, when women warders were black, one was able to “conscientise them as time went on and to appeal to their senses and you would sensitise them to the point that they would realise that you are there for them.”
- 136 Ms Elaine Mohamed said she felt betrayed by the way the women police would “flick with their nails on my nipples, saying, ‘It’s a shame nobody wants you. You’ve obviously never had a boyfriend. No one touched these breasts, else why are they so firm?’”²⁹. Ms Phyllis Naidoo said that while, at first, she thought that women warders would be better because they would understand the women detainees’ fears of rape and violence, her experience of the “horrors” in Durban Central changed her mind.
- 137 Stephanie Kemp, on the other hand, remembered some kindness. She remembered a 19-year old warder “with uncommon sensitivity” who took the risk of telling her John Harris had been hanged. She remembered the then matron of Kroonstad Prison, Ms Erica van Zyl, who “sent the special branch away. She sat down with me and said that as long as I was in her prison, she would not allow the special branch near me.”
- 138 At the human rights violation hearing in Port Elizabeth, Ms Ivy Gcina told of the kindness of her warder at North End Prison, a Ms Irene Crouse:

²⁸ Goldblatt and Meintjes (1996) pp 44-5.

²⁹ Goldblatt and Meintjes (1996) p20.

The same night I saw a light at night and my cell was opened. I did not see who was opening my cell. I did not look at the person. She said to me, "Ivy, it is me. I am Sergeant Crouse. I have fetched your medicine". She rubbed me. She made me take my medicine. I told her that I could not even hold anything but I can try. I told her I was going to try by all means. She said "It is fine, do not worry yourself. I will help you". So she made me take the medicine and then she massaged me. Then after that I could at least try and sleep.

- 139 A few days later the local newspaper, the Eastern Province Herald, carried a front page, full size picture of Ivy Gcina hugging Irene Crouse: The report read:

Tortured activist Ivy Gcina was yesterday reunited with her Angel of Mercy – the kind jailer who held her hand and tended her wounds after hours of brutal interrogation by security police. "I never thought you'd remember me", said Irene, 37, as the two women threw their arms around its other on the stoep, crying and laughing at the same time. Ivy, 59, replied: "But after I was assaulted it was you who was there to help me, who entered my cell at night. Can you ever forget someone like that?"

- 140 "We met as human beings, as women," Ivy recalled. "There was such communication there. Ensuring I had a clean towel, asking me how I was. The relationship was so good." Irene felt she was "only doing her duty" when she helped Ivy.
- 141 Ms Deborah Matshoba recalled how a white, male, Afrikaans-speaking uniformed policeman had assisted her by smuggling her asthma spray and tablets to her, and later smuggling her out to see a doctor.
- 142 Outside of the prison context, Ms Agnes Gounden and Ms Zodwa Lephina Thobela described how nurses had assisted and protected them when security police wanted to interrogate them. However, as emerged in the health hearings, nurses (most of whom are women), although not active perpetrators, often turned a blind eye to what was happening. Ms Betty Ncanywa, who worked at Livingstone Hospital in the 1980s, explained that they had been instructed not to obstruct the work of the security forces — that they must "try to refrain from politics, otherwise my future would be in jeopardy".

■ CONCLUSION


- 143 This chapter draws primarily on the testimony of women who made presentations during the three special hearings organised in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg. It also draws on the associated submissions to the Commission and on statistics generated from the Commission's database of deponents and applicants. As elsewhere in the Commission, the relatively few women whose experiences are recorded must represent many, many more who did not want to present their own stories, or were not able to do so for some reason. Nevertheless, the limited evidence available confirms the fact that women were active in all roles – as perpetrators, and in the full range of different primary and secondary victim roles. It also indicates ways in which women's experience of abuse might have differed from that of men.
- 144 The chapter suggests further that the definition of gross violation of human rights adopted by the Commission resulted in a blindness to the types of abuse predominantly experienced by women. In this respect, the full report of the Commission and the evidence presented to it can be compared to reports on South African poverty, which make it very clear that while women are not the only sufferers, they bear the brunt of the suffering.

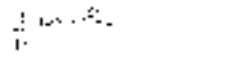
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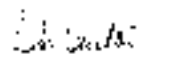
The report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was presented to President Nelson Mandela on 29 October 1998.

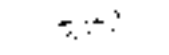

Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Chairperson


Ms Hlengiwe Mkhize

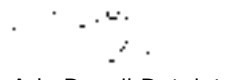

Dr Alex Boraine
Vice-Chairperson


Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza

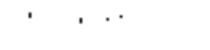

Ms Mary Burton



Dr Wendy Orr

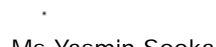

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Adv Denzil Potgieter


Ms Sisi Khampepe

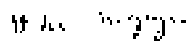

Dr Fazel Randera


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Analysis of Gross Violations of Human Rights

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The Committee on Human Rights Violations (the Committee) was established on 16 December 1995 at the first meeting of the Commission. It was composed of Archbishop Desmond Tutu (chairperson of the committee), Yasmin Sooka and Wynand Malan (vice-chairpersons), Alex Boraine, Mary Burton, Bongani Finca, Richard Lyster, Dumisa Ntsebeza, Denzil Potgieter and Fazel Randera.
- 2 At its first meeting, the Committee considered the appointment of ten additional committee members, as provided in the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act). Consideration was given to regional needs as well as the wish to ensure the broadest possible representation in terms of skills, culture, language, faith and gender. The following members were appointed to the Human Rights Violations Committee: Russell Ally, June Crichton, Mdu Dlamini, Virginia Gcabashe, Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, Ilan Lax, Hugh Lewin, Yolisa (Tiny) Maya, Ntsikelelo Sandi, Joyce Seroke, and, in the final months, Mothofela Mosuhli.
- 3 The Committee met at an early date to discuss and begin to implement its duties and functions as laid down in the Act¹. It was guided by the underlying principles of compassion, respect and equality of treatment in all its dealings with people who were to be defined as “victims of gross violations of human rights”.
- 4 Its first responsibility was to establish a mechanism by which the “complete picture” of gross violations of human rights was to be drawn. There were enormous expectations, from the public and also from within the Commission, that public hearings would be held which would expose a considerable part of this picture. It was even hoped that a first public hearing could be held as early as February 1996, but it soon became apparent that a great deal of preparatory work had to be done first. Looking back with the wisdom of hindsight from the perspective of July 1998, it is amazing that a public hearing was in fact achieved as early as April 1996.

¹ See further, volume one, *The Mandate and Administrative Report of the Human Rights Violations Committee*.

- 5 Information had first to be gathered. A number of sources were available, with substantial documentation that could be accessed from organisations which had endeavoured to keep records of abuses that had taken place during the period under review. These were studied and augmented by submissions later received from such organisations. This information was invaluable for research purposes and was used for the corroboration of statements (although some difficulties were experienced, for example, with incompatible databases). At a later stage in the Commission's life, a much debated resolution was taken to use these secondary sources for corroboration purposes only, and not for the identification of 'victims' for the purpose of reparations.

The public hearings

- 6 Thus, the preparation and organisation of the first public hearing became the primary goal of the Committee in the first months. Together with the whole Commission, it had decided that particular emphasis would be placed on hearing the experiences of victims of gross violations from the people themselves. It would seek out all such people, old and young, living in urban or rural areas, and provide a forum for many voices that had previously been silenced.
- 7 The first public hearing was held in East London in April 1996. The choice of a centre in the Eastern Cape was no accident, but a deliberate decision to focus attention on an area which had borne the brunt of some of the heaviest repression by the security forces of the previous government, in direct response to some of the most militant resistance.
- 8 The four days of hearing set a model for future hearings (later reduced to three days), and it is worth describing in some detail the planning and arrangements that took place.
- 9 The selected venue was the East London City Hall, an imposing Victorian-style building in the centre of the city. Stringent security measures had to be put in place, and were provided and maintained by the South African Police Services (as at all subsequent public hearings). Provision had to be made for the media. Food and accommodation had to be provided for the deponents and for at least some of their families who attended to support them. Transport had to be arranged, entailing heavy costs and considerable logistical difficulties, and interpretation services had to be arranged for simultaneous translation into all the languages to be used. The placing of tables for the witnesses and for Commission members received careful attention — witnesses were to take pride of place and there

was to be no suggestion of their being 'in the dock' as in a court. They were also always to be accompanied by a Commission 'briefer'² and, if they chose, by a family member or other supporter. The deponents were brought together during the weekend before the hearings in order to prepare them, and the Committee worked closely with members of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee in this process.

- 10 All the hearings were to have a ceremonial aspect: the chairperson's opening remarks were often preceded by prayer, by the lighting of a memorial candle, by hymns or songs. When Archbishop Tutu presided, he wore his purple robes, lending his own special presence to the occasion. This religious aspect of the hearings was sometimes criticised, especially for its mainly Christian focus. It became clear, however, that this was not inappropriate in a country where a considerable majority of the population is Christian. In later hearings, when Archbishop Tutu himself was not present, other religious leaders were often asked to pray. Often, too, local community groups would introduce songs and ceremony (in the little country town of Hanover a choir sang a song composed specially for the Commission).
- 11 In East London, a special inter-faith ceremony was held the day before the hearing, and the hearing itself opened to a packed hall humming with anticipation.
- 12 The four days were extremely emotional and dramatic. The witnesses included the families of the well-known 'Cradock Four', community leaders assassinated in 1985; individuals and the families of those who were killed or injured in bombings carried out by revolutionary activists; and people who were detained, tortured, or victimised in other ways. Deponents were sometimes stoical, almost matter of fact, but others succumbed to tears or expressed their anger as they relived their experiences. The panel of commissioners and committee members was visibly overcome. The public sat silent and spellbound during the testimony, but was occasionally moved to angry murmuring. Tea and lunch breaks were marked by singing and chanting of political slogans.
- 13 The large media contingent included national and international representatives, and filled to overflowing the room provided for them. By the end of the week, awareness of the work of the Commission had burst upon the newspapers, television screens and radio broadcasts in a way that began to change the perceptions of millions of people.

² As defined the chapter on *Methodology* in Volume One.

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

Preparations for the hearings

- 15 The preparatory work began with the dissemination of information about the Commission and its work, followed by the gathering of statements and background information.
- 16 Preparatory discussions, during what was usually an eight-week cycle, often coincided with preparations made by the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee to lay foundations for counselling and other assistance which could be obtained from local sources.

Public information

- 17 Public meetings and workshops were held in each area selected for a hearing, organised with the assistance of local municipalities, faith organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), civic bodies or any other appropriate grouping. Commissioners would explain the aims of the Commission and the way it would work, and would answer questions and attempt to allay fears or respond to criticism. Announcements would be made about the advent of statement taking in the area, and where statements could be made. The media and communications staff assisted with leaflets, banners and press releases.⁴

The gathering of statements

- 18 The Commission devised a form, referred to as a 'protocol' or 'statement form', for recording the statements made to the Commission by people who believed they had suffered gross violations of human rights. It appointed and trained 'statement takers' to listen to the accounts related by such persons, and to record them in a manner which would facilitate their entry into the Commission's database.⁵

³ See appendix 1 for a list of hearings, including dates.

⁴ See *Administrative Report: Media and Communications* in Volume One for details of publications and the workshop manual.

⁵ For further details of this process, see the chapter on *Methodology* and its appendix on the information management system in Volume One.

- 19 For thousands of people, statement takers represented their first and often their only face-to-face encounter with the Commission. They were selected for their ability to listen to the stories told by people in their chosen language, to distil the essential facts, and to record them in English (since for practical reasons this was the language the Commission had decided to use). Equally important was their ability to listen with empathy and respect, so that the interview itself became part of the therapeutic and healing work of the Commission. Interviews often took several hours, and involved both the deponent and the statement taker in an intense process of reliving anguishing experiences. Many deponents clearly found this to be a catharsis, but others were still bitterly angry or deeply wounded. Some were referred to supportive organisations for counselling and treatment.
- 20 The statement takers thus carried a heavy burden of responsibility and were the front rank of those who gathered the memories of the pain and suffering of the past. They themselves required support as the work took its toll on them, and the Commission made counselling and, if necessary, further therapy available to them.
- 21 Statement takers were based in each of the four regional offices of the Commission, and the public was informed about where to find them. They also moved out into surrounding areas, responding to requests or to recommendations from the Research Department or other sources of information. Their numbers were increased by volunteers (who were also trained by the Commission) and at a later stage by a project of 'designated statement takers' drawn from community-based NGOs.⁶
- 22 In this way the Commission was able to fulfil its aim of reaching the widest possible number of people located across the entire country, making itself accessible to them, protecting their safety and privacy and allowing them to communicate in the language of their choice.

The selection of witnesses for public hearings

- 23 After the statements had been taken and submitted to the information management team for entry onto the database, the Human Rights Violations Committee in the region would select a number of them for public hearing. The criteria used were:
- a the hearing should reflect accounts from all sides of the political conflicts of the past;

⁶ The designated statement taker programme is described in the chapter on *Methodology* in Volume One.

- b the entire thirty-four-year mandate period should be covered;
 - c women as well as men should be heard, and the experiences of the youth should also be considered;
 - d finally, since not all the people of the area could be heard, there should be an attempt at least to provide an overall picture of the experience of the region so that all people could identify in some way with what was demonstrated.
- 24 Deponents making statements were always asked whether they would be willing, if invited, to testify in public. The majority of them were willing, even eager, and many were angry or disappointed if they were not selected. The exceptions were people who feared possible repercussions. In fact, it is noteworthy that there were not many such repercussions, and fears of intimidation or retaliatory attacks appear to have been largely unfounded. Where there was any such risk, the Commission's Witness Protection Programme was available.⁷ The bomb threat made to the East London hearing was a sobering illustration of what might come, but such threats were not realised.

The bomb scare

- 25 The first human rights violations hearing took place in a context that was very antagonistic to the work of the Commission with threats coming, presumably, from the right-wing sector. There was a determined effort to silence the voices of the victims and to stop the Commission from exposing the atrocities that had taken place in the past. It came as no surprise at all when a telephone call from the local police reported that they had been telephoned to warn of a bomb in the East London City Hall which could explode at any time. The consideration of the safety of the public and the victims' families in particular weighed heavily on the Commission, and the deliberations were adjourned as police came in with sniffer-dogs to inspect the hall. There was no bomb. This experience reinforced the Commission's concern that stringent security measures needed to be maintained.

Notice to alleged perpetrators

- 26 Any alleged perpetrator named in a statement had to be given due notice that he/she was thus implicated and given an opportunity to respond. This led to one of the legal challenges to the Commission.

⁷ See *Administrative Report: Witness Protection Unit* in Volume One.

Legal challenge to the public hearing

- 27 The first legal challenge to the Commission confronted it on the first day of the first public hearing in East London. The lawyers representing Mr Gideon Nieuwoudt *et al* demanded that the Commission must not hear the testimony of Mr and Ms Mthimkulu about the death of their son, Sipiwe Mthimkulu, a prominent student leader who was detained and tortured several times, allegedly poisoned with thallium and who disappeared in 1982. The lawyers claimed that Mr Nieuwoudt had the right to be represented in a hearing and to defend his good name from being falsely implicated. They threatened to interdict the Commission from hearing Mrs Mthimkulu's testimony. The Commission finally conceded and requested Mr and Mrs Mthimkulu not to testify - to their great distress. This was the beginning of a number of court challenges faced by the Commission throughout its life. Mr Gideon Nieuwoudt *et al* subsequently applied for amnesty for the abduction and killing of Sipiwe Mthimkulu whose body they claimed they had burnt to ashes that they afterwards threw into the Fish River.

The impact of the Human Rights Violations hearings

- 28 For the eighteen-month period during which they were a major part of the work of the Human Rights Violations Committee, the hearings became the public face of the Commission. They captured the imagination of the public and attracted both praise and criticism. The focus on the suffering of individuals and the reminders of the reconciling aspects of mourning and of forgiveness were in some cases a deterrent to people who were unwilling to come forward to make statements. Thus, political activists did not regard themselves as 'victims' who needed to weep or to forgive or be forgiven, but rather as participants in the struggle for liberation, who had known they would suffer for their cause.
- 29 Furthermore, deponents who had made statements but who had not been invited to testify in public felt in some way that they had been overlooked. It required a great deal of effort to assure them that their statements would be equally carefully investigated, and that they would receive equal attention from the Human Rights Violations Committee in terms of making findings in their case.
- 30 One of the significant features of the hearings was the simultaneous translation into any of the local languages being used. As the months progressed, the interpreters rapidly developed their skills and sensitive understanding. When the Commission ends, they will continue to be a valuable resource to the country.

Nevertheless, the nature of the work meant that they absorbed a great deal of the pain and anger of the witnesses.

- 31 The public hearings took their toll on all members of the Commission - the staff involved and also the commissioners who served on the panels. Debriefing sessions were provided for those who wished to participate. The impact also spread more widely, to the journalists covering the process and to the wider society.
- 32 The public hearings were successful in two major aspects. They met one of the statutory objectives of the Commission, that of "restoring the human and civil dignity of such victims by granting them an opportunity to relate their own accounts of the violations of which they are the victims"; and, together with the public hearings of applications for amnesty, they revealed the extent of gross violations of human rights and made it impossible for South Africans ever again to deny that such violations had indeed taken place.

Other public hearings

- 33 In addition to hearing testimony from victims of violations, the Committee held other public hearings, which allowed it to explore the motives and perspectives of the different role players. A mechanism for this was provided in the Act (from sections 29 to 32), empowering the Commission to require persons to appear before it at open or closed hearings for the purpose of establishing and gathering the facts.
- 34 The Commission interpreted this provision in the broadest sense and was able to establish forums for a variety of topics. Public hearings were held to enquire into the roles of the state, the liberation movements, the political parties and various different sectors of society. Investigative hearings were also conducted into events of particular significance - the Bisho massacre, the 'Trojan Horse' incident (in Athlone, Cape Town, on 15 October 1985), and others. Many more such hearings were proposed, but not all could be held, for lack of time. The purpose of these hearings was to enable the Commission to gain a deeper understanding of the complete context within which violations had been able to take place.
- 35 These hearings were structured differently from the individual victim hearings, where no cross-examinations took place. In the investigative hearings, people were *subpoenaed* to appear; they could be questioned by lawyers and victims, as well as by the commissioners and staff.

- 36 Where it was necessary, for investigative purposes, or to protect people who might be implicated, hearings were held *in camera*, but whenever possible they were held in open session. The Committee sought to be as transparent as possible. As an illustration of this, when the closed hearing into the Mandela United Football Club was challenged by the lawyers representing Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and by the Freedom of Expression Institute, they were allowed to argue their case in public. The closed hearing still took place, but a subsequent open hearing was held.
- 37 Furthermore, the Commission held open hearings on specific topics which enabled it, and the public, to explore other key sectors of society and to understand the ways in which such gross violations were able to occur.⁸

The work behind the scenes

- 38 The people who testified in public made up less than one-tenth of all the people who made statements. It is important to stress that all the statements received the same degree of attention by the Human Rights Violations Committee. In order to provide this attention, it became necessary to curtail the public hearings and focus on the mass of statements and on making findings in every case.

The processing of the information

- 39 Once a statement had been registered on the database, the deponent was sent a letter of acknowledgement, thanking them for having made it, and giving the reference number to be used in the case of any enquiries.
- 40 Thereafter, each stage of the process (the corroboration, and later the finding) was captured on the database.⁹

Corroboration

- 41 Each of the statements had to be investigated so that the Commission could be assured of its veracity. This task was carried out by the Investigation Unit and is fully described in its report.¹⁰

⁸ Reports on these hearings can be found in Volume Four.

⁹ See chapter on *Methodology* in Volume One.

¹⁰ See *Administrative Report: Investigation Unit* in Volume One.

- 42 The Human Rights Violations Committee relied extensively on the team of investigators to obtain corroborative evidence to substantiate the statements it received. A great deal of this work consisted of seeking documentary evidence – court records, inquest records, police occurrence books, prison registers, hospital or other medical records. All too often, this was not available: either the normal passage of time or deliberate concealment had led to its being destroyed. When such material could not be found, either the deponents themselves or witnesses had to be tracked down and statements obtained from them.
- 43 Other difficulties stemmed from decisions to amend the statement form or ‘protocol’, which went through several changes, influenced both by evaluations of the early batches of statements and by the need to obtain information in a format which allowed for its standardisation and capture. At an early stage, it was decided to remove the demand for the statement to be made on oath, since there was a potential for error in the process of its being written down by the statement taker. At a later stage, it was decided to remove the portion providing for a general narrative and to focus instead on capturing multiple violations and many perpetrators. This may have made it easier to systematise the information, but it resulted in the loss of a potentially rich source of broader information which could have enhanced the corroboration process.
- 44 In a limited number of cases, no corroboration could be obtained, not even a statement from an eyewitness. For most of these, the Committee was reluctantly obliged to declare that it was ‘unable to make a finding’ and notify the deponent accordingly. Such deponents still had the right to revert to the Commission with any further arguments or documentation they could put forward. In other cases, details of date, place, event and perpetrators were sufficiently accurate and consonant with known incidents to allow a finding to be made on ‘a balance of probabilities’.
- 45 In the final, overall national ratification of the findings made (see below), commissioners relied on the principle of inclusivity and concern for the victims, and endeavoured to reach positive findings whenever the circumstances allowed this, even where available information was extremely scanty.

Decisions on policy

- 46 Before findings could be made, clarity was required on definitions and criteria.
- 47 The founding legislation spelt out the fairly circumscribed nature of human rights violations on which the Commission was to focus: “the violation of human rights

through the killing, abduction, torture or severe ill-treatment of any person” emanating from the conflicts of the past and carried out or planned by any person acting with a political motive.¹¹ There were many challenges from outside the Commission about what this should include, and many debates within the Commission and the Human Rights Violations Committee.

Definition of ‘gross violation of human rights’

- 48 This definition limited the attention of the Commission to events which emanated from the conflicts of the past, rather than from the policies of apartheid. There had been an expectation that the Commission would investigate many of the human rights violations which were caused, for example, by the denial of freedom of movement through the pass laws, by forced removals of people from their land, by the denial of the franchise to citizens, by the treatment of farm workers and other labour disputes, and by discrimination in such areas as education and work opportunities. Many organisations lobbied the Commission to insist that these issues should form part of its investigations. Commission members, too, felt that these were important areas that could not be ignored. Nevertheless, they could not be interpreted as falling directly within the Commission’s mandate.
- 49 The Commission recognised that these issues formed part of the broader context within which the specifically defined gross human rights violations had taken place. It sought to give attention to them by receiving submissions from a number of organisations that had been particularly concerned with these issues in the past.¹² These submissions made a valuable contribution to the section of the final report dealing with the broad context within which the gross violations of human rights took place, although they could not be considered as victim hearings. They gave depth to the larger picture, but they still excluded individuals from recognition and from access to reparations, and many people remained aggrieved.

The definition of ‘severe ill treatment’

- 50 As the broadest category provided in the legislation, this was the one that required the most careful consideration. It became extremely difficult to decide exactly what constituted an act of sufficient severity to be included. As statements were received and studied, subtleties arose that influenced the thinking of members of the Committee. Some of the criteria employed are spelt out in the chapter on the mandate of the Commission (in Volume One), illustrating how

11 For a full discussion of this, see chapter on *The Mandate* in Volume One.

12 See the appendix to Volume Four, Chapter 1 for a list of submissions to the Commission.

international criteria deriving from the experiences of other countries were used as guidelines. Some decisions arose out of the workings of the committee itself.

- 51 For example, many accounts spoke of the effects on people of teargas used by the security forces. It would be impossible to say that teargas used in the legitimate control of an unruly crowd constituted a gross violation of human rights. Yet teargas canisters hurled into a hall or a church, or a small room or vehicle, could do serious damage to the health of a young child or elderly person. In such cases, where the damage could be assessed, it could be found that the person had indeed suffered a gross violation of human rights.
- 52 The discussion about how to decide whether combatants in the political conflict could be defined as victims of gross human rights violations continued for many months. The final decision is also described in the chapter on *The Mandate*.
- 53 Damage to property was another very difficult issue, on which the Committee postponed a decision for many months. Arson was a frequent allegation, and at first it did not seem to constitute a gross violation in terms of the Act. The more it was discussed, the more it was seen as a deliberate tool used by political groupings to devastate an area and force people to move away, the more it became necessary to consider it seriously. Eventually a decision was taken: arson would be considered as 'severe ill treatment' if it resulted in the destruction of a person's dwelling to an extent that the person could no longer live there. The motivation for this decision lay partly in the result - the displacement of the person - and partly in the psychological suffering of a person experiencing the total loss of home and possessions. (It did not make it any easier to have to decide that a person who lost cattle or vehicles, which might constitute their entire livelihood, did not qualify as a 'victim' of a gross violation).
- 54 The delay in arriving at this decision meant that, at earlier stages, people wishing to make statements about arson were turned away by statement takers, and in some areas it was impossible to get them back. In some regions, most notably KwaZulu-Natal, a list was kept and people were brought back into the process, but this happened very late and corroboration was extremely difficult.
- 55 Conflicts which were described as 'tribal disputes', or caused by 'witchcraft', might have seemed to fall outside the requirement of having a political motive in terms of the conflicts of the past, yet on closer investigation they frequently masked profoundly political issues.

- 56 Numerous statements referred to people who had ‘disappeared’. In some cases, it was possible through investigations, through information obtained from the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), or through applications for amnesty, to discover their fate. Some had gone voluntarily into exile and either been killed in combat or died under other circumstances; some had been abducted and killed; but for many others it was not possible to find out any more information.
- 57 Other difficult decisions arose from statements about detention, solitary confinement, and capital punishment. The decisions taken in this regard are also recorded in the chapter on *The Mandate*.

The process of making findings and notifying deponents

- 58 Once all corroboration had been completed, the regionally based members of the Human Rights Violations Committee considered them and made ‘pre-findings’ in every case, deciding either that there was sufficient proof to find that a gross human rights violation had occurred, or that it had not. A 10 per cent sample of these pre-findings went through a national check, to ensure that regions were operating on the same criteria so that the findings would be uniform, and also to double-check for possible mistakes.
- 59 Again, all decisions were captured on the database, and complete registers were drawn up and referred to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.
- 60 A Notification Unit was then established, which again brought together the work of the two committees. All deponents were notified by letter of the finding relevant to their statement, and very often it was necessary to notify additional victims who had been mentioned in the statement. When the finding was positive (that is, a decision was made that a gross violation had occurred), such persons were invited to complete and return the application form for reparations.
- 61 Some people were identified as victims through the process of amnesty – when they were mentioned by an applicant and a decision was taken by the Amnesty Committee. These were dealt with in the same way.
- 62 Where a ‘negative’ finding was made, deponents were also notified by letter and given information about the grounds on which the decision was made. These fell into five broad categories:

- a the event fell outside the mandate period of the Commission
 - b there appeared to be no political motive
 - c the violation was not sufficiently severe to qualify as a 'gross violation'
 - d the person killed or injured was a combatant on active duty
 - e there was insufficient evidence to allow a finding to be made.
- 63 Deponents were informed that, if they had additional information that might persuade the Committee to review the finding, they should submit it within a period of three weeks.
- 64 This introduced a new area of work in the last months of the Commission, where a Review Committee was established to deal with such appeals.

Findings concerning perpetrators

- 65 All alleged perpetrators about whom findings were contemplated were sent letters in terms of section 30 (2) of the Act, giving them an opportunity to respond. Findings in these matters are covered in the chapters on the four different regions (in Volume Three).

Individual findings

- 66 It was decided that every person found to have been a victim of a gross violation had the right to have their name and a brief account of the violation in the report of the Commission¹³.

¹³ The volume of the report containing this section will appear during the course of 1999.

■ APPENDIX 1

CODING FRAME FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

■ INTRODUCTION

The task of the Commission is to identify those people who suffered gross violations of human rights, defined as KILLING, ABDUCTION, TORTURE and SEVERE ILL TREATMENT. In addition to these four, there is a fifth category, the ASSOCIATED VIOLATION. This has not been defined as a gross violation, yet it is important for the understanding it provides of the context in which violations could and did take place. Each of the five categories has several sub-headings, which explain how the violation took place.

The categories of Human Rights Violations

The table below shows the categories of human rights violations (HRV) with their definitions.

HRV CATEGORY	CODE	DEFINITION
Killing	KILLING	<p>A killing is when a person dies, in one of three ways:</p> <p>Assassination is killing of a <i>targeted person</i> by a person or group who <i>developed a secret plan or plot</i> to achieve this. A person is targeted because of political position.</p> <p>Execution is capital punishment (death sentence) imposed and carried out by a legal or authorised body such as court of law or tribunal. Victim is aware of death sentence. Perpetrators are the state, homeland governments, or security structures of political movements.</p> <p>Killing is all other deaths, including a killing by a crowd of people.</p>

HRV CATEGORY	CODE	DEFINITION
Torture	TORTURE	<p>Torture happens in <i>captivity</i> or in <i>custody</i> of any kind, formal or informal (for example, prisons, police cells, detention camps, private houses, containers, or anywhere while the individual is tied up or bound to something).</p> <p>Torture is usually used to get information, or to force the person to do something (for example, admit to a crime, or sign a statement), but it is also used for punishment, degradation, and systematic breakdown of an individual.</p> <p>It includes mental or psychological torture (for example, witnessing torture, or telling the person that their family is dead).</p>
Severe ill-treatment	SEVERE	<p>Severe ill treatment covers attempted killing and all forms of inflicted suffering causing <i>extreme</i> bodily and/or mental harm.</p> <p>It tends to take place outside of custody (for example, injury by a car bomb, or assault at a rally), but a person can be subjected to severe ill treatment in custody too (for example, a single severe beating, or tear gas in the cell).</p>
Abduction	ABDUCTION	<p>Abduction is when a person is forcibly and illegally taken away (for example, kidnapping). It does <i>not</i> mean detention or arrest. Arrest is not a gross violation of human rights (see <i>associated violations</i>).</p> <p>If the person is never found again, it is a disappearance.</p>
Associated violation	ASSOCIATED	<p>These are not gross violations of human rights, but are important for understanding the context of the violation (for example, detention, harassment, framing, violating a corpse after death).</p>

The violation types

The tables below show the HRV categories and the types of violations within each.

KILLING	CODE	DEFINITION
Beaten to death	BEATING	Beaten to death by being hit, kicked, punched, specifying description of part of body assaulted, if known (e.g. feet, face, head, genitals, breasts), or object used (e.g. sjambok, baton, gun, rifle, stick, rope, whip, plank, beat against wall).
Burnt to death	BURNING	Killed in a fire or burnt to death using petrol, chemicals, fire, scalding, arson. This does <i>not</i> include 'necklacing' or petrol bombing.
Killed by poison, drugs or chemicals	CHEMICALS	Killed by poison, drugs, or household substance, such as bleach or drain cleaner.
Killed by drowning	DROWNING	Drowned in a river, swimming pool, or even in a bucket of water.
Killed by electrocution	ELECTRIC	Killed by an electric shock.
Killing by death sentence	EXECUTE	Hanged or shot as decided by a formal body (court or tribunal) such as the state, homeland state, or political party. It is the consequence of a death sentence.
Killed in an explosion	EXPLOSION	Killed by any manufactured explosive or bomb, but <i>not</i> a petrol bomb (see below). Explosives include dynamite, landmine, limpet mine, car bomb, hand grenade, plastic explosives, detonator, booby-trap, letter bomb, parcel bomb, special device (e.g. walkman).
Killed by exposure	EXPOSURE	Person dies after being subjected to extremes such as heat, cold, weather, exercise, forced labour.
Necklacing	NECKLACING	Burnt with petrol and tyre. Necklacing is coded separately from burning, because it featured heavily in the past. It is differentiated from, for example, setting alight with petrol or burning in a house.
Other type killing	OTHER	All other methods of killing, including being buried alive, strangling, tear gas, decapitation, disembowelling.
Petrol bomb	PETROL BOMB	Killed by a burning bottle of petrol. Petrol bombing falls in a category between burning and bombing, so, like necklacing, it is useful to code it separately. Also called Molotov Cocktail.
Shot dead	SHOOTING	Shot and killed by live bullet, gunshot, birdshot, buckshot, pellets, rubber bullet.

Stabbed to death	STABBING	Killed with a sharp object, such as a knife, panga, axe, scissors, spear (including assegai).
Suspicious suicide or accident	STAGED	Died in a <i>suspicious</i> suicide or fatal accident. Examples are: slipped on soap, jumped out of window, fell down stairs, hanged oneself, car accident, booby-trapped hand grenades or explosives, shot oneself.
Stoned to death	STONING	Killed with bricks, stones or other thrown missile.
Tortured to death	TORTURE	Tortured to death.
Unknown cause of death	UNKNOWN	Person is dead, but there is no further information.
Killing involving vehicle	VEHICLE	Dragged behind, thrown out of, driven over, put in a boot of car, specifying type of vehicle involved (for example, car, train, truck, van, <i>bakkie</i> , Hippo, Casspir). <i>Not</i> a car bomb (see bombing)
TORTURE	CODE	DEFINITION
Torture by beating	BEATING	Tortured by being beaten severely or for a long time (for example, hit, kicked, punched), specifying part of body assaulted (for example, feet, face, head, genitals, breasts) and object used in the beating (for example, <i>sjambok</i> , baton, gun, rifle, stick, rope, whip, plank, beat against wall, or if the victim is pregnant or miscarries.)
Torture by burning	BURNING	Burnt with cigarettes, or fire, for example.
Torture with poison, drugs or chemicals	CHEMICALS	Tortured with poison, drugs, or household substance, such as bleach or drain cleaner.
Torture by deprivation	DEPRIVE	Tortured by withholding essentials, such as food, or medical attention where there is serious injury or need. (See associated violations for general lack of medical care while in custody).
Electric shock torture	ELECTRIC	Electric shocks administered to the body, specifying which body part was shocked (for example, genitals, breasts, fingers, toes, ears, etc.)
Torture by exposure to extremes	EXPOSURE	Tortured by subjecting victim to extremes such as heat, cold, weather, exercise, labour, noise, darkness, light (including flashing lights, blinding by light), blind-folding, confinement to small space, smells, immobilisation.

Psychological or mental torture	MENTAL	Tortured psychologically, mentally or emotionally, for example by simulated execution (includes Russian roulette), solitary confinement, degradation (includes use of excrement, urine, spit), insults, disinformation (for example, telling the person that a loved one is dead), threats, witnessing torture, forced participation in torture, exposure when washing or on toilet, threat of torture.
Torture by bodily mutilation	MUTILATION	Torture involving injuries to the body where parts of the body are partly or wholly cut, severed or broken, specifying body part, for example, genitals, finger nails, ears, hair, etc. It includes amputation of body parts, breaking of bones, pulling out nails, hair or teeth, scalping.
Other type of torture	OTHER	All other methods of torture, including use of animals (for example, snake, tortoise, baboon), use of vehicle.
Torture by forced posture	POSTURE	Tortured by forcing the body into painful positions, for example, suspension, 'helicopter', tied up, hand-cuffed, stretching of body parts, prolonged standing, standing on bricks, uncomfortable position (includes squatting, 'imaginary chair', standing on one leg, pebbles in shoes), forced exercise, forced labour, blindfolding and gagging.
Torture by sexual assault abuse	SEXUAL	Torture using the victim's gender or genitals as a weak point. (See elsewhere for electric or shock, mutilation or beating.) It includes: slamming genitals or breasts in drawer or other device, suspension of weights on genitals, squeezing genitals or breasts, rape by opposite sex, rape by same sex, gang rape, forced sexual acts (e.g. oral sex, simulating intercourse), introduction of objects into vagina or rectum, sexual abuse using animals, threats of rape, touching, nakedness, sexual comments or insults, sexual enticement, deprivation of sanitary facilities for menstruation.
Torture by suffocation	SUFFOCATE	Torture by stopping a victim from breathing, for example by bag, towel, tube (wet or dry) over head, drowning (head, whole body submerged), choking, strangling, stifling, throttling, teargassing, burying alive.
Unknown type of torture	UNKNOWN	Tortured by an unknown method.

SEVERE ILL TREATMENT	CODE	DEFINITION
Severely beaten	BEATING	Badly or severely beaten, or beaten for a long period. Victim may be hit, kicked, punched, twisted, specifying part of the body (for example, feet, face, head, genitals, breasts), or object used (for example, sjambok, baton, gun/rifle, stick, rope, whip, plank, wall), specifying if the victim is pregnant.
Injured by burning	BURNING	Injured by burning with fire, petrol, chemical, scalding, but not necklacing or petrol bomb (See below), specifying body part if burning is localised.
Injured by poison, drugs or chemicals	CHEMICALS	Poisoned or injured by poison, drugs, household substance (for example, bleach or drain cleaner).
Injured in an explosion	EXPLOSION	Injured by a bomb or explosives, but not petrol bomb. Explosives include dynamite, landmine, limpet mine, car bomb, hand grenade, plastic explosives, detonator, booby-trap, letter bomb, parcel bomb, special device (e.g. booby-trapped walkman).
Psychological or mental ill treatment	MENTAL	Severe psychological, mental or emotional ill treatment, for example by simulated execution (includes Russian roulette), degradation (includes use of excrement, urine, spit), death threats, threat of torture.
Bodily mutilation	MUTILATE	Injured by having parts of body mutilated or damaged, specifying body part, (for example, genitals, fingernails, ears, hair, etc.) Includes amputation of body parts, breaking of bones, pulling out nails, hair or teeth, scalping.
Necklacing	NECKLACING	Injured in an attempted necklacing.
Other type of severe ill treatment	OTHER	All other types of severe ill treatment, describing method, and including strangling, drowning, spreading of disease.
Sexually assaulted or abused	SEXUAL	All forms of attack on a person using their gender or genitals as a weak point, for example rape by opposite sex, rape by same sex, gang rape, forced sexual acts (e.g. oral sex, simulating intercourse), introduction of objects or substances into vagina or rectum, sexual abuse using animals.
Injured in a shooting	SHOOTING	Injured by being shot with live bullets, gunshot, birdshot, buckshot, pellets, rubber bullet, specifying body part injured, if known.

Stabbed or hacked with a sharp object	STABBING	Injured with a sharp object, such as a knife, <i>panga</i> , axe, scissors, spear (including <i>assegai</i>).
Injured in a stoning	STONING	Person is injured by bricks or stones thrown at them.
Teargassed	TEARGAS	Severe injury caused by teargassing in a confined space (for example, tear gas in a prison van or packed hall).
Suffocated	SUFFOCATE	Injury or ill treatment by stopping someone from breathing, for example by drowning (head, whole body submerged), choking, strangling, stifling, throttling, teargassing, burying alive.
Unknown type of severe ill treatment	UNKNOWN	Severe ill treatment by methods that are unclear.
Injury involving a vehicle	VEHICLE	Injuries caused by being dragged behind, thrown out of, driven over, put in boot of a vehicle, specifying the vehicle (for example, car, train, truck, van, <i>bakkie</i> , Hippo, Casspir).
ABDUCTION	CODE	DEFINITION
Illegal and forcible abduction	ABDUCTION	Forcibly and illegally taken away (for example, kidnapping), but found again, returned or released. It does <i>not</i> refer to detention or arrest (see associated violations).
Disappearance	DISAPPEAR	Forcibly and illegally taken away and is never seen again. It does <i>not</i> include cases where a person goes into exile and never returns. It <i>does</i> include people who have disappeared for unknown reasons (instead of abduction, they might have run away or been shot and buried). In this case, a finding will be made and the code will be left as it is, or changed to Killing if the person was killed, or found to be out of the mandate of the Commission.

ASSOCIATED VIOLATIONS	CODE	DEFINITION
Beating	BEATING	Person is beaten, but it is not a severe or prolonged beating. It includes once-off mild beating, specifying if in custody or if victim is pregnant or miscarried.
Violation after death	CORPSE	Body of victim violated after death, for example by improper burial, body mutilated or burnt or blown up, funeral restrictions, funeral disruption, anonymous burial, mass grave.
Deprivation	DEPRIVE	Deprivation of facilities or essentials, for example medical attention, food, water, sanitary facilities, privacy, family visits.
Destruction of property	DESTROY	Includes violations such as arson, destruction, vandalism, theft, forced removal, eviction.
Financial impropriety	FINANCIAL	Subjection to bribery, extortion, pay-off, ransom, blackmail, ruin of business.
Framing	FRAMING	Labelling as an informer, collaborator (<i>impimpi</i>) or criminal, false information is spread about the person, or a smear campaign against the person is started.
Incarceration imprisonment	INCARCERAT	Includes police custody, detention, house arrest, or restrictions, banning, banishment, prison, informal prison.
Intimidation or harassment	INTIMIDATE	Intimidation or harassment by dismissal from work, threats, animals killed, visits, telephone calls, surveillance, boycott enforcement, pointing of firearms (<i>not</i> in custody), threat of violence. It does <i>not</i> include vandalism or arson. These come under Destruction of Property.
Other type of associated violation	OTHER	All other types of associated violations, including released into hostile environment, released into unknown place, left for dead, rough ride, detention of family or loved ones.
Sexual harassment	SEXUAL	Person is sexually harassed. It includes: threats of rape, touching, nakedness, sexual comments or insults, sexual enticement, deprivation of sanitary facilities for menstruation.
Petrol bombing	PETROL BOMB	Severely injured by a burning bottle of petrol. Also called Molotov Cocktail.

Professional misconduct	PROFESS	Subjection to professional misconduct by one of the following: health professionals (including doctors, nurses, orderlies, clinicians, district surgeons, psychiatrists, psychologists and others) who neglect or ignore injuries, collaborate in torture, or conceal the cause of death or injuries; judiciary (magistrates, judges etc.) who ignore torture allegations, for example; police who neglect the case, ignore or tamper with evidence; lawyers who neglect the case, ignore or tamper with evidence, misappropriate funds or fail to hand over damages; businesses which collaborate with perpetrators.
Teargassed	TEARGAS	Victim is teargassed, but not while in custody (see torture).
Theft or stealing	THEFT	Money or possessions stolen from the victim.

Glossary of Terms

Necklacing refers to the practice of placing a car tyre around the neck of a victim and setting it alight.

A *panga* is a large knife with a flat blade (used for cane cutting).

An *asegai* is a spear, either short for stabbing or long for throwing.

A *bakkie* is a light truck or van with a cabin and open back.

Hippos and Casspirs are armoured personnel carriers.

A *sjambok* is a whip.

An *impimpi* is an informer or spy.

The ‘helicopter’ technique refers to a method of torture where a victim was suspended from the ceiling, with hands and feet shackled to a stick, and spun around.

The ‘invisible chair’ technique refers to a method of torture where a victim was forced to pretend to sit on a chair while being interrogated.

■ APPENDIX 2

HRV HEARINGS

DATE OF HEARING 1996	VENUE
April 15 - 18	East London
April 22 - 25	Cape Town
April 29 - 30	Johannesburg
May 02 - 03	Johannesburg
May 07 - 10	Durban
May 21 - 23	Port Elizabeth
June 10 - 11	Kimberley (Northern Cape)
June 18 - 19	George (Southern Cape)
June 18 - 20	Umtata
June 24 - 26	Worcester
June 26 - 27	Port Elizabeth
July 02 - 04	Bloemfontein
July 08 - 12	Mmabatho
July 17 - 19	Pietersburg
July 22 - 26	Soweto
July 23 - 25	Pietermaritzburg
July 22 - 24	Queenstown
August 05 - 07	Peninsula (Helderberg/Tygerberg)
August 05 - 08	Sebokeng
August 12 - 16	Pretoria
August 12 - 14	Beaufort West
August 12 - 14	Port Shepstone
August 26 - 28	Uitenhage
August 29 - 30	Durban
September 02 - 05	Nelspruit
September 09 - 11	Bisho
September 11 - 12	Newcastle
September 23 - 26	Klerksdorp
September 23 - 24	Duncan Village (East London)
October 02 - 03	Upington
October 03 - 04	Thohoyandou
October 07	De Aar
October 08	Hanover
October 09	Colesberg
October 08 - 10	Welkom

DATE OF HEARING 1996	VENUE
October 14 - 16	Paarl
October 21 - 23	Aliwal North
October 24 - 25	Durban
October 28 - 30	Alexandra
November 04 -06	Empangeni
November 11 - 14	Krugersdorp (West Rand)
November 18 - 19	Bisho (East London)
November 18 - 21	Pietermaritzburg
November 26 - 28	Cape Peninsula
November 26 - 28	Tembisa
December 02 - 05	Moutse
February 4 - 7	Duduza, Benoni, Katorus
February 10 - 11	Cradock
March 24 - 26	Lusikisiki
April 7 - 9	Grahamstown
April 8	Messina
April 9	Louis Trichardt
April 10	Tzaneen
April 17 - 18	Vryheid
April 28 - 30	Parys
May 6	Zeerust
May 7	Rustenburg
May 8	Mabopane
May 12 - 14	King William's Town
May 13 - 14	Durban
May 20 - 21	Cape Town
May 21	Piet Retief
May 22	Ermelo
May 22	Cape Town (Athlone)
May 23	Balfour
May 27 - 29	Mooi River
June 3 - 5	Witbank, Middelburg, Leandra, Ermelo, Piet Retief
June 9 - 11	Cape Town (KTC)
June 9 - 13	East London
June 12	Johannesburg (Children's Hearings)
June 17 - 18	Cape Town (Health Sector)
June 18	East London (Youth Submissions)
June 24	Bloemfontein (Children's Hearing)
June 24 - 26	Ladybrand
July 28 - 29	Johannesburg (Women's Hearing)
August 4 - 15	Durban (Caprivi Hearings)

Victims of gross violations of human rights

■ INTRODUCTION

The list which follows was taken from the database of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) on 30 August 1998. It contains the names of all those people who, by that date, had been found by the Commission to have suffered a gross violation of human rights. The cut-off date of 30 August was necessary in order that the list could be checked and prepared for inclusion in this report.

If people do not find their name on this list, there is no cause for concern. There are thousands more names to come, because the process of making finding and of dealing with queries, reviews and appeals has continued beyond that date. In addition, there will be further victims of human rights violations who will be identified through applications for amnesty.

It is the intention of the Commission to publish a complete list at a later date, as an addendum to this report. At that stage, the list will include not only names, but a brief summary of the finding made in every case.

AARON, Thabo Simon	ADOONS, Phineus Zenzile	ANDREWS, Levena
ABRAHAM, Nzaliseko Christopher	ADRIAANSE, Noel John	ANDREWS, Piet September
ABRAHAM, Achmat Fardiel	AFRIKA, Anna	ANDREY, Karl
ABRAHAM, Annalene Mildred Ann	AFRIKA, Jan	ANGLESS, Edwin
ABRAHAM, Ashraf	AFRIKA, Pieter	APHANE, Dolly Elizabeth
ABRAHAM, Derrek	AGGETT, Neil Hudson	APHANE, Karl Maisela
ABRAHAM, John	ALA, Wezeka Getrude	APHANE, Tiny
ABRAHAM, Moegsien	ALBERT, Nombuyiselo Francis	APIES, Katriena
ABRAHAM, Moegsien	ALFRED, Nomthandazo Amelia	APLENI, Sicelo Wellington
ABRAHAM, Rashid	ALLAM, Ernest	APOLSI, Khobone Vernon
ABRAHAM, Toyer	ALLAM, Joyce	APIES, David
ACKERMAN, Marita	ALLAM, Nozipho	APPOLS, Simphiwe
ADAMS, Koos	ALLIE, Abdurahman	APRIL, Cecil Patrick
ADAMS, Magadien	ALSET, Walter Titus	APRIL, Doreen
ADAMS, Noel	AMTHENJA, Billy Veli	APRIL, Gibson Mxolisi
ADAMS, Sandra Joyce	ANDERSON, Cynthia Valerie	APRIL, Lindile
ADAMS, Zwelinzima Sidwell	ANDERSON, Kid	APRIL, Lungephi Lunga
ADONIS, Jacques	ANDERSON, Peter	APRIL, Ngubeni Stanley
ADONIS, Sandra Noreen	ANDREAS, Niklaas	APRIL, Ntsundu

ARANES, Joseph
 ARENDS, John Jacobus
 ARENDESE, Aubrey Cecil
 ASIYA, Zinakile Charles
 ASMAN, Roockea
 ASVAT, Abu-Baker
 ATSHOSE, Myekeni Given
 AUGUST, Felisizwe Lucky
 AUGUST, Siphso
 AUGUST, Thobeka Joyce
 AUGUST, Thobile Morgan
 AZIZ, Haroon Erasheed

BAARD, Frances Goitsimang
 BAARDMAN, Tusetso Henry
 BAART, Nokuzola Gloria
 BAARTMAN, Angela
 BAARTMAN, Ben
 BAARTMAN, Grace
 BAARTMAN, Phinda Gladstone
 BAARTMAN, William
 BAAS, Jeffrey
 BAAS, Nkele
 BAATJIES, Desmond
 BAATJIES, Lourens Johannes
 BAATJIES, Zolile Eric
 BABA, Khayaalethu
 BABA, Mbonambi
 BABE, Yvonne Keitumetse
 BABUPI, Pule Edward
 BACELA, Lungile
 BACELA, Sakhiwe Lewis
 BADAT, Mohamed Saleem
 BADELA, Mzontsundu
 BADI, Ben Ngqumbo
 BADI, Eric Fumanekile
 BADI, Nontsikelelo
 BADI, Nowinile Nanyuku
 BADI, Vuyokazi
 BADIMA, Frans Madimetja
 BAFABANTU, Johannes Tata
 BAGLEY, Martin
 BAHUME, Nation Nkosana
 BAIKEDI, Keaobaka
 BAILEY, Quentin
 BAKANE, Sekhomothane Frederick
 BAKARDIEN, Baderoon Ismail
 BAKAULI, Mangaliso Wonder
 BAKAULI, Nodanile Gertrude
 BAKER, Yazeed
 BAKHE, Bongani
 BALA, Ivy Nomvuyo
 BALADZI, Mthavini Langisa
 BALATA-MALOBOLA, Lilian Mantha
 BALEMMAGO, Kebogile Freda
 BALENI, Nomonde Glenda Nokeri
 Malgas
 BALOI, Zuka Samuel
 BALOYI, Bafana
 BALOYI, Daniel
 BALOYI, Eddie Simon
 BALOYI, Joseph
 BALOYI, Maphantshi Joseph
 BALOYI, Patrick
 BALOYI, Refiloe Doreen

BALOYI, Selina Makao
 BALOYI, Solly
 BAM, John Nkunku
 BAM, Mlugisi David
 BAM, Setsibe Pinaar
 BAM, Siphso Noshongqo
 BAMBELO, Funani September
 BAMBO, Malose Nicolus
 BANDA, Fanyana Samuel
 BANDA, Gungqile Emson
 BANDA, Johannes
 BANDA, Khingi Edward
 BANDA, Richard
 BANDA, Sello Joseph
 BANDA, Wonder-Boy Simphiwe Mpo
 BANE, Saraphina
 BANGANI, Nomatana Dinah
 BANGELA, Sizwe Leon
 BANGELI, Matongisi Willie
 BANGILIZWE, Ntombenhlophe
 BANGISO, Dambile David
 BANGISO, Monwabisi Comfort
 BANGISO, Sibina
 BANI, Nobandla Nontitetwa Elda
 BANNANE, Botie John
 BANOKO, Lesiba Johannes
 BANTOM, Butana Stephen
 BAPELA, Constance Bontle
 BARENDS, Brian Peter
 BARKER, Charoldine
 BARNARDO, Christiaan
 BARNES, Leslie Alfred
 BARON, Roseline
 BARROW, Bradley
 BARTLETT, Mogamat Nurudien
 BARTON, James Allan Petros
 BAS, Samuel
 BASA, Mhlangabezi
 BASE, Charlie
 BASE, Shoni
 BASE, Vanish
 BASHE, Monwabisi Livingstone
 BASI, Khanyisile
 BASI, Mdedelwa
 BASI, Michael Mandlenkosi
 BASI, Mkhanyiselwa
 BASOPU, Mike
 BASSON, Maria
 BASSON, Niklaas
 BASSON, Shelly Erica
 BATA, Lizo Desmond
 BATANI, Buti Solati
 BATATU, Mzwanele
 BATWALI, Hendrik
 BATYI, Buyile Patrick
 BATYI, Vuyisile
 BAVUMA, Mncedisi
 BAWANA, Noyedwa
 BAYANA, Christopher Mvumeni
 BAYISA, Nomayazi Yaliwe
 BAZI, Noluthando Stella
 BAZLEY, Brian John
 BAZLEY, Dora Nombulelo
 BEBETO, Tamara Nomakula
 BECK, Gregory

BECK, Randolph Alexander
 BEES, Charlie
 BEES, Jonny Henry
 BEFILE, Hukubele Speelman
 BEFILE, Kaliman Jackson Kelman
 BEFILE, Pumezile Lennox Kid
 BEFILE, Zonke Edward
 BEINGOTLO, Choice
 BEKEBEKE, Bereng Barry
 BEKEBEKE, Justice
 BEKWA, Mfanafuthi
 BEKWA, Ntombizakhe Constance
 BEKWA, Thulani
 BEKWA, Zalisile Langa
 BELAWENI, Sibiya Jeremia
 BELE, Headman Phakamile
 BELE, Nothimba
 BELE, Nyangilizwe
 BELEBANE, Templeton Mangaliso
 BELEBESI, Puleng
 BELEHE, Michael
 BELING, Neville
 BELLE, Mbulelo Heathcourt
 BELO, Solomon
 BEMBE, Bhukumuzi Erick
 BEME, Zandisile
 BEME, Zukiswa
 BENCINI, Irma
 BENE, Vuyelwa
 BENGGE, Elphie Fanigo
 BENGGE, Mpumelelo
 BENGGE, Nomahlubi
 BENGU, Deliweyo Emmanuel
 BENGU, Ethel
 BENGU, Gladwin
 BENGU, Johannes
 BENGU, Maggie Phenyaba
 BENGU, Michael
 BENGU, Richard
 BENGU, Thembeni
 BENTELE, Mandla
 BENYA, Mcoseleli
 BERA, Ndumiso
 BERRY, Fikile Matywana
 BESANA, Sibongile
 BESSIE, Buti James
 BEST, Temba Douglas
 BETE, Anele Justice
 BETE, Vuyani Richard
 BEULA, David
 BEUZANA, Ntombekhaya Beauty
 BEVU, Zenzile Dan
 BEWU, Gilbert Quntswana
 BEWULA, Thembile Matshaya
 BEZUIDENHOUT, Isaac
 BHALALA, Mranqwa
 BHAMBULA, Stanford Bhifane
 BHAMBULE, Albertina
 BHAMGOSI, Mathubeni
 BHEKISISA, Myeza
 BHENGU, Bafikile Rosta
 BHENGU, Beauty
 BHENGU, Bhokinkosi
 BHENGU, Busiswe Maria
 BHENGU, David Nyangenzima

BHENGU, Hlengiwe Mary-Jane
 BHENGU, Jotham
 BHENGU, Madodenzani
 BHENGU, Michael Thembinkosi
 BHENGU, Njabuliso
 BHENGU, Nomini Netta
 BHENGU, Oralia Ntombenhle
 BHENGU, Philida
 BHENGU, Senzosenkosi
 BHENGU, Siphelele Brian
 BHENGU, Tembani Gertrude
 BHENGU, Thobelani
 BHENGU, Thulani
 BHENGU, Zagiyana Muzofikayo
 BHENGU, Zakhona Doreen
 BHENGU, Zitutsile Doris
 BHENTSWANA, Magadzuzela
 BHENTSWANA, Makostada
 BHILA, Stanley Siphos
 BHILISHO, Mzingisi
 BHOLI, Zamilie Kenneth
 BHOTO, Buyiswa Patience
 BHUDA, Abram
 BHUDA, Government
 BHUDA, Josiah
 BHUDA, Sheelbooi Mhletswa
 BHUDA, William
 BHULOSE, Fephi
 BHULOSE, Gabisile Buselaphi
 BHULOSE, Senzeni Ritta
 BHUNGANE, Elizabeth Thuku
 BHUNKU, Zandise Richard
 BHUNU, Evelyn Nontlungu
 BHUNU, Hlela
 BIBI, Michael
 BIGGARS, Clifford Henry
 BIGGARS, Leslie Adrian
 BIKITSHA, Zwelakhe
 BILLIE, Tembinkosi Harold
 BIMBI, Jan
 BINTA, Mfenana
 BISIWE, Masayidi Khagahlegusha
 BITAMKHONO, Nohlanhla Mina
 Makagugu
 BITTERHOUT, Priscilla Nomakhaya
 BIXA, Vuyisile Antony
 BIYASE, Michael Joy
 BIYASE, Qondeni Morencia
 BIYELA, Alleta Sthembile
 BIYELA, Bheki Themba
 BIYELA, Bongekile
 BIYELA, Bonisiwe
 BIYELA, Charlie
 BIYELA, Ethel
 BIYELA, Ivy Thandi
 BIYELA, Joyce Theku
 BIYELA, Lindiwe Cynthia
 BIYELA, Lucy
 BIYELA, Mandla Lawrence
 BIYELA, Mbongeni Bethuel
 BIYELA, Mildred
 BIYELA, Moses Mjabuliseni
 BIYELA, Msebenziwomhle Caiphas
 BIYELA, Mshayela Simon
 BIYELA, Musawenkosi

BIYELA, Mzikayise
 BIYELA, Nompumelelo Zodwa
 BIYELA, Phuleni
 BIYELA, Qondeni
 BIYELA, Richard Zitha
 BIYELA, Sehlukene
 BIYELA, Sibongile
 BIYELA, Sibongile Zibuyisize
 BIYELA, Sizeni Sbhongile
 BIYELA, Thandabezizwe
 BIYELA, Vusumuzi
 BLAAUW, Andile Phillip
 BLAAUW, Buyile Gladstone
 BLAAUW, Manneltjie Sizwe
 BLAAUW, Miriam
 BLAAUW, Mzwandile Matthews
 BLAAUW, Nosipho Patricia
 BLAKE, Stanko
 BLAYI, Welile Dindala
 BLESS, Mnyamezeli
 BLESS, Raymond Mthetheleli
 BLOEM, Trevor
 BLOM, Ernest
 BLOM, Mgcineni Jackson
 BLOSE, Bahlamukile Thembeni
 BLOSE, Bangizwe
 BLOSE, Bongi Jahephi
 BLOSE, Florence Lethiwe
 BLOSE, Harrie
 BLOSE, Hawukeleni
 BLOSE, Hlekisile Thandazile
 BLOSE, Khetheyakhe John
 BLOSE, Lindiwe Vimbephi
 BLOSE, Lungile Joyce
 BLOSE, Mandlenkosi Michael
 BLOSE, Mantombi
 BLOSE, Maureen Shiela
 BLOSE, Mayvis
 BLOSE, Nonhlanhla Bellinah
 BLOSE, Nonkululeko Sindisiwe
 BLOSE, Ntombenhle Lindiwe
 BLOSE, Ntombeyiningi Rene
 BLOSE, Ntombiphi
 BLOSE, Phillisiwe Alice
 BLOSE, Phumelaphi Virginia
 BLOSE, Ritta
 BLOSE, Seli Lettah
 BLOSE, Sibongile Isabel
 BLOSE, Sitele
 BLOSE, Thandazile Sikhona
 BLOSE, Yeye
 BLOU, Mzukisi Sidwell
 BLOU, Ndlamafa
 BOBE, Mandla Christopher
 BOBELO, Edward Vuyisile
 BOBELO, Mongezi Henry
 BOBOTYANE, Wilson
 BOCKS, Zo - Marius
 BODIBA, George
 BODIBA, Thapelo Jacob
 BODINGTON, Ian
 BODLANI, Ndim
 BOIKANYO, Joseph
 BOIKANYO, Kedineetse Memory
 BOILANE, Bangiso Petros

BOINAMO, Gaolathle George
 BOJOSI, Grace
 BOJOSI, Tshepo
 BOKABA, Solomon Monko
 BOKHALE, Buti Herbert
 BOKHATSI, Lehlohonolo Edward
 BOLELWANG, Solly Saul Nukuki
 BOLOFO, Michael Ntjanyana
 BOLOKA, Matome Philemon
 BOLOTSHWA, Mcekiswa
 BOLTINA, Daniel Tembinkosi
 BOMU, David Kanene
 BONA, Sithembele Slovo
 BONAS, Johannes Nqabeni
 BONGCO, Mpumelelo Washington
 BONGISILE, Honey Mzimkhulu
 BONGO, Sidwell
 BONGOZA, Theophilus Ndlovu
 BONGWE, Joyce Livhuwani
 BONOKO, Thupetsi William
 BONTSI, Nosisi Daisy
 BONTSI, Vulindlela
 BONYANE, Morongwaotsile Pieter
 BOOI Archie
 BOOI, Andile Adwin
 BOOI, Cele
 BOOI, Edward Vuyisile
 BOOI, Mzwandile Michael
 BOOI, Nomvo
 BOOI, Roselinah Notembekile Ndokosa
 BOOI, Simpiwe
 BOOI, Sindiphi Stalin
 BOOI, Sylvia Mandisa
 BOOI, Vuyisani
 BOOIS, Motshabi Emely
 BOOKHOLANE, Thabang Moses
 BOOSMAN, Klaas
 BOOYSEN, Edward
 BOOYSEN, Hercules Benjamin
 BOOYSEN, Mbuyiselo Poni
 BOOYSEN, Queenie
 BOOYSEN, Zetembele Arnold
 BOPALAMO, Maggie Mirriam Chinto
 BOPAPE, Dominic
 BOPAPE, Mackenzie
 BOPAPE, Stanza
 BOPAPE, Tsekera Abner
 BORENE, Paulina
 BOROKO, Lucas
 BOROKO, Motlatsi
 BOROKO, Phora Jacob
 BOROKO, Poppie Elizabeth
 BOSCH, Zwenlinzima Hamilton
 BOSHIGO, Johannes Mosheku
 BOSHIGO, Papi
 BOSIAME, Kabelo Harry
 BOSMAN, Merriam
 BOSMAN, Mission
 BOSMAN, Molatshiwa Solomon
 BOSMAN, Mqolisi Gilbert
 BOSMAN, Nzimeni Patric
 BOSS, Tanduxolo
 BOTA, Hlalatu Theophilus
 BOTA, Mlandeli
 BOTA, Zimasile Joseph

BOTHA, Daniel
 BOTHA, George
 BOTHA, Neville
 BOTHA, Paula
 BOTHA, Petrus Frederik
 BOTHA, Sandile Izak
 BOTHA, Selwyn
 BOTHA, Willie
 BOTHA, Zamikhaya Wilberforce
 BOTIPE, Ilan
 BOTO, Themba
 BOTSOERRE, Sebezile Jacob
 BOTTOMAN, Mqondeli Wilmot
 BOVU, David
 BOVU, Nompumelelo Ruth
 BOWERS, Gordon Edward
 BOWERS, Maria Elisabeth
 BOYCE, Nomandi Christina
 BOYI, Makhi
 BOZO, Tabani Candra
 BRANDER, Carel Carolus
 BRAUDE, Benjamin
 BRINK, Deon Peter
 BRITTON, Susan Barbara
 BRITZ, Annie Petronella
 BRITZ, Mapule Alice
 BRITZ, Wetton
 BRODY, Abegail
 BRODY, Shane Ryan
 BRODY-MALHERBE, Michelle
 BRONKHORST, Richard
 BUCIBO, Champein Abram
 BUCKTON, Cedric Henry
 BUCWA, Kwanele Moses
 BUHALI, Joseph Mshayina
 BUKA, Alfred Zakade
 BUKHOSINI, Constance Jabulisiwe
 BUKHOSINI, Thandiwe Mirriet
 BUKOSINI, Zamazulu Eunice
 BUKU-BUKWANA, Mkhululi
 BUKULA, Elias
 BULALA, Mkhusele Wiseman
 BULO, Tuli Wellington
 BULOSE, Bhabhe Zebulon
 BULOSE, Bongeni Tholakele
 BULOSE, Fakazile Phakamile
 BULOSE, Gqigqa
 BULOSE, Lindeni
 BULOSE, Makazi Muriel
 BULOSE, Musakawukho John
 BULOSE, Ndu Basisiwe
 BULOSE, Ngenzeni Gretta
 BULOSE, Siph
 BULOSE, Zombo
 BULUKA, Robert
 BUNGANA, Mcingelwa Peter
 BUNGANA, Mond
 BUQA, Daniel Mazizi
 BURGERS, Raymond
 BURT, Henry George
 BURULANI, Thabani
 BURWANA, Abel Siphio
 BUSAKWE, Kukisina
 BUSAKWE, Moses Badanile
 BUSAKWE, Mxolisi Patrick

BUSAKWE, Nosidima Nomvuyo
 BUSAKWE, Wiseman
 BUSANE, Bonubakhe Siph
 BUSANE, Busisiwe
 BUSANE, Diphoza Zakithi
 BUSANE, Fotho
 BUSANE, Hlambephi
 BUSANE, Mchiki
 BUSANE, Mkhombeni
 BUSANE, Qhamukile Thamaroz
 BUSANE, Sibongile Shongani
 BUSANE, Thandi Muriel
 BUSANE, Thoko Flora
 BUSANE, Tholakele
 BUSANI, Bonbakhe Siph
 BUSANI, Busisiwe
 BUSANI, Daniel
 BUSANI, Julie Sithembile
 BUSANI, Khopo
 BUSANI, Kohlwangifile Daniel
 BUSANI, Lungile
 BUSANI, Nikiwe Khethiyoni
 BUSANI, Rose
 BUSANI, Sibongile Dolly
 BUSANI, Zondwayo
 BUSHULA, Foli
 BUSHULA, Justice Lungisa
 BUSIKA, Mthetheli Middleton
 BUSIKA, Neliswa Nonhunha Dyantyi
 BUSOBUBI, Makulele
 BUSWANA, Addison Zacharia
 BUTA, Sombere Bert
 BUTELE, Sophie
 BUTELEZI, Phumephi Florence
 BUTELI, Sophy
 BUTHELEZI, Adrina
 BUTHELEZI, Alfred
 BUTHELEZI, Alfred Phillemon
 BUTHELEZI, Alson
 BUTHELEZI, Bhukumusa Mdhakamiseni
 BUTHELEZI, Bongani Justice
 BUTHELEZI, Bonile Girlie Deli
 BUTHELEZI, Busisiwe Ntombi
 BUTHELEZI, Christina Thethiwe
 BUTHELEZI, Gabangani Tom
 BUTHELEZI, Gatsha
 BUTHELEZI, Henry Ditaba
 BUTHELEZI, Hlalele Anna
 BUTHELEZI, Idah Freda
 BUTHELEZI, Isabel
 BUTHELEZI, Jabulani Phillip
 BUTHELEZI, James Dumisani
 BUTHELEZI, Jerry Mbongeleni
 BUTHELEZI, Jostine Makho
 BUTHELEZI, Julia
 BUTHELEZI, Malekgithi Ellen
 BUTHELEZI, Mbube Phillip
 BUTHELEZI, Mduduzi Zephania
 BUTHELEZI, Mfene
 BUTHELEZI, Mfihlo Alfred
 BUTHELEZI, Mkhombiseni
 BUTHELEZI, Mkhulu Joseph
 BUTHELEZI, Msizi
 BUTHELEZI, Mthobi Anton
 BUTHELEZI, Muzinamandla

BUTHELEZI, Nelson
 BUTHELEZI, Nhlanhla John
 BUTHELEZI, Ntombinkulu Kate
 BUTHELEZI, Ntombizonke
 BUTHELEZI, Obert Bhokuyise
 BUTHELEZI, Princess
 BUTHELEZI, Roster
 BUTHELEZI, Samson Punch
 BUTHELEZI, Samuel Bafana
 BUTHELEZI, Sibongasonke
 BUTHELEZI, Sibongile Prisca
 BUTHELEZI, Sibongile Mintha
 BUTHELEZI, Sigcawu Siphio
 BUTHELEZI, Siph
 BUTHELEZI, Tembeni Isabel
 BUTHELEZI, Themba Alpheus
 BUTHELEZI, Thembekile Joyce
 BUTHELEZI, Thokozani
 BUTHELEZI, Thulani Vincents
 BUTHELEZI, Vera
 BUTHELEZI, Victor
 BUTHELEZI, Vumephi Joyce
 BUTHELEZI, Yonke James
 BUTLER, Shane
 BUTSHWANE, Mamakie
 BUYAPI, James Manka
 BUYEYE, David
 BUYS, Khethiwe
 BUYS, Marshall Cornelius
 BUZA, Daniel
 BYNEVELDT, Shaun

CABE, Thembekile Phillip
 CAICAI, Esther Nontombi
 CALATA, Fort
 CALUZA, Precious Nomathemba
 CALUZA, Selby Thamsanqa
 CALUZA, Tiyo Dorah
 CAMAGU, Khayalethu Reginald
 CAMP, Gregory
 CAMPBELL, Gillian
 CANDLOVU, Ndobazakhe
 CAROLISSEN, Gasant
 CAROLISSEN, Ronald Charles
 CASEY, Anthony Mark
 CASSIEM, Shahied
 CAWAYI, Xolile Michael
 CAZA, Fuzile William
 CAZA, Myekeni Wellington
 CEBEKHUKU, Khumbulani Aubrey
 CEBEKHULU, Bernard Vincent
 CEBEKHULU, Bongani
 CEBEKHULU, Elsie
 CEBEKHULU, Gugile Melca
 CEBEKHULU, Harriet
 CEBEKHULU, Linda
 CEBEKHULU, Mandlakayise Alson
 CEBEKHULU, Mathli Pennuel
 CEBEKHULU, Mdimiseni
 CEBEKHULU, Mphile Victoria
 CEBEKHULU, Ottilla
 CEBEKHULU, Sifiso Archibald Majobha
 CEBEKHULU, Sifiso Halalisan
 CEBEKHULU, Simangele Esther

CEBEKHULU, Thandanani
 CEBEKHULU, Thokozile
 CEBEKHULU, Thomas
 CEBEKULU, Bongani Bryan
 CEBEKULU, Nkosinathi
 CEBEKULU, Tolwaphi Florence
 CEBEKULU, Zodwa
 CEBISA, Khoto Stephen
 CEBISA, Lindinkosi Blessing Links
 CEBISA, Zolile Andile Menenja
 CECANE, Lawrence Vukile
 CECILS, Jurie
 CEKISANI, Buyiswa Margaret
 CEKISANI, Moki Jacob Bonisile
 CEKISO, George
 CEKISO, Mzwandile
 CELE, Abednigo
 CELE, Abednigo Vilo
 CELE, Adolphus
 CELE, Alfred Mfanafuthi
 CELE, Alsin Nenezi
 CELE, Amon Simo
 CELE, Andreas Njabulo
 CELE, Badanile Benedicta
 CELE, Bafanyana Naphtal
 CELE, Bandile Caleb
 CELE, Bangukufa
 CELE, Beatrice Ntombazane
 CELE, Bekhukwenza
 CELE, Besizani Jannet
 CELE, Bhekani
 CELE, Bheki
 CELE, Bhekinkosi Samuel
 CELE, Bhekinkosi Seleku
 CELE, Bhekiwe Lilliosa
 CELE, Bhukumuzi George
 CELE, Bongani Cyril
 CELE, Bonginkosi
 CELE, Bongiwe
 CELE, Bonisile Florence
 CELE, Cabangani Jalile
 CELE, Christopher
 CELE, Clifton
 CELE, Cyril Bongani
 CELE, David Jabulani
 CELE, Dlamu Annie Mam Dlasi
 CELE, Doris
 CELE, Doris Thembeliphi Maka Eric
 CELE, Dorothy Thabisile Thabo
 CELE, Duduzile Aubrey
 CELE, Dumisani
 CELE, Duno Jona
 CELE, Edmund Thalente
 CELE, Elizabeth Naqhenya
 CELE, Elliot Makhehlani
 CELE, Fanizana
 CELE, Fanyana
 CELE, France Vunga
 CELE, Gladys Ngomeni
 CELE, Gloria Zinhle
 CELE, Godfrey Bongani
 CELE, Grace Zanele
 CELE, Gugu
 CELE, Harriet
 CELE, Hlelphi

CELE, Irene Ntombingani
 CELE, Jabu
 CELE, James Qalumuzi
 CELE, Jeanette Ncuncu
 CELE, Jenneth Thembi
 CELE, Jojo
 CELE, Joshua Elias
 CELE, Josiah
 CELE, Langalakhe
 CELE, Leluter Thoko
 CELE, Lena Fezani
 CELE, Lolozi
 CELE, Mabhampe December
 CELE, Mamayi Madrina Matshapha
 CELE, Mandla Gilbert
 CELE, Mantombi Ntombkezi Hostensia
 CELE, Margaret Bangani
 CELE, Matilda Vierra Mathi
 CELE, Mbekezeli
 CELE, Mkhokheli Michael
 CELE, Mondli
 CELE, Msamaniselwa
 CELE, Mtshingiswa Jones
 CELE, Mtungani Alford
 CELE, Muntuzelula Gladness
 CELE, Musawenkosi Richard
 CELE, Mvusen Michael
 CELE, Mzonjani Albert
 CELE, Nceni Doreen
 CELE, Ncanyibe
 CELE, Ndwangu Petros
 CELE, Ngoneni Mayo
 CELE, Nicholas Ndoda
 CELE, Nico Sicelo
 CELE, Nkamezi
 CELE, Nkosinathi Humphry
 CELE, Nobangane Ellen Gigi
 CELE, Nokupila Alvina
 CELE, Nokwe Virginia
 CELE, Nomathemba Cyndy
 CELE, Nomaza
 CELE, Nombuso
 CELE, Nompumelelo Iris
 CELE, Nomvula Eunice
 CELE, Nonhlanhla Evelina
 CELE, Nozipahla
 CELE, Nsingizi
 CELE, Ntombintombi Mirriam
 CELE, Patrick Siphon
 CELE, Paul Mandla
 CELE, Philmon Bhaka
 CELE, Phiwani
 CELE, Phumzile Idah
 CELE, Qalumuzi
 CELE, Qamnda Meta
 CELE, Qedani
 CELE, Qhumile
 CELE, Robert Ken
 CELE, S'Bongiseni
 CELE, Salabenzeni
 CELE, Saraphina
 CELE, Sbusiso Richard
 CELE, Sdumo Goodwill
 CELE, Shakes
 CELE, Shabakubo Margaret

CELE, Shiyaba
 CELE, Simon
 CELE, Siphon
 CELE, Solani
 CELE, Solo
 CELE, Thandanam Thobelani
 CELE, Thathokwakhe
 CELE, Thembalakhe Michael Bhozo
 CELE, Thembekile
 CELE, Thembekile Irene
 CELE, Thembeni Eunice
 CELE, Thembeni Margaret
 CELE, Thembeni Prince
 CELE, Thembisile Thembani
 CELE, Thulani Christopher Chester
 CELE, Thulisile Doris
 CELE, Timothy Khosela
 CELE, Titise
 CELE, Tombi Getrude
 CELE, Veli
 CELE, Vorster Bhutiza
 CELE, Vumani
 CELE, Vusumuzi Prince
 CELE, William Ndosi
 CELE, Willip Singisi
 CELE, Wilson Bonginkosi
 CELE, Yalekile
 CELE, Zibuse
 CELE, Zinini Joseph
 CELE, Zwelakhe Mdu Emelo
 CETYWAYO, Zamil Jackson
 CETYWAYO, Mziselwa
 CEWU, Artherstone Buyile Abc
 CHABA, Herbert
 CHABALALA, Patrick Belelani
 CHABELI, Andrew Staki
 CHAGI, Khoyo
 CHAKA, Patricia Kelebileman
 CHAKA, Sekgoba Piet
 CHAKALE, Robert Stephen
 CHAKATA, Siwanana
 CHAKOEHE, Tshediso Daniel
 CHAMANE, Buhle Monica
 CHAMANE, Florence Ntombinikile
 CHAMANE, Mandla Willis
 CHAMANE, Mynah
 CHAMANE, Sibusiso Elijah
 CHAMANE, Sithembiso
 CHAND, Ameen
 CHAND, Emraan
 CHAND, Hagera
 CHAND, Ridwaan
 CHAND, Samsodien
 CHANZA, Jacob Matheka
 CHANZA, Johannes Fish
 CHAPO, Elijah Monyane
 CHARLES, Edward Vuyo
 CHARLES, Rodger Neil
 CHARLES, Thozamile
 CHARLIE, Jersey
 CHARLIE, Mc Donald
 CHARLIE, Monwabisi Stanley
 CHARLIE, Nombulelo
 CHARLIMAN, Ntoyakhe Tommy
 CHASO, Stewart Mtyelwa

CHAUKE, Albert
 CHAUKE, David Molato
 CHAUKE, Ellie Phi-Khona
 CHAUKE, Johannes
 CHAUKE, Levy Dikatshe
 CHAUKE, Patrick
 CHAUKE, William Vusi
 CHAWANE, Moses Mzokhonyayo
 CHAWE, Gilbert Gigimane
 CHECHE, Lamege Mothogoane
 CHENEKE, Francina Ntsoaki
 CHEPE, Makoena Frans
 CHEQVEIRA, Jose Nosolino
 CHERRY, Janet
 CHIBA, Laloo
 CHIKANE, Frank
 CHILI, Aaron
 CHILI, Barbara
 CHILI, Dudu Olive
 CHILI, Duduzile Pamela
 CHILI, Msawenkosi
 CHILI, Mzwandile Bethwell
 CHILI, Pholi
 CHILI, Sibusiso
 CHILI, Simon
 CHILI, Thembase Gladys
 CHILIDIZA, George
 CHILIZA, Balungisile
 CHILIZA, Bhekekhwakhe
 CHILIZA, Bozo Welcome
 CHILIZA, Constance
 CHILIZA, Elizabeth
 CHILIZA, Lucy
 CHILIZA, Maria
 CHILIZA, Moses Boy-Boy
 CHILIZA, Nomaphuthukezi
 CHILIZA, Skhumbuzo
 CHILIZA, Themba Sylverius
 CHILIZA, Tsitsi
 CHILIZA, Zilungile Florence
 CHILOANE, Ananias Philip
 CHILOANE, Anna
 CHILOANE, Caswell
 CHILOANE, Godwin Tshepo
 CHILOANE, Moeti Lesly
 CHILOANE, Taetso
 CHISALE, Alfred Leo
 CHISANE, Sifiso Obed
 CHITHA, Mncedisi Merriman
 CHITHABATHWA, Vukile
 CHITSHAWA, Alton
 CHITWAYO, Maxhanga Annie
 CHIWAYO, Lassy Lekota Lazarus
 CHIYA, Buzani
 CHIYA, David
 CHIYA, Delani Tokozani
 CHIYA, Nomusa Maureen Manhlumayo
 CHIYA, Unknown
 CHOLO, Makolobe Kuranta
 CHOLO, Mamokwena Kante
 CHOLO, Nataniel Disegi
 CHOLO, Tlou Theophilus
 CHOMA, Sydney Sekwati
 CHONCO, Balephi Erica
 CHONCO, Boy

CHONCO, Debra Thembeke
 CHONCO, Doris
 CHONCO, Hilarius Budabuphangwa
 CHONCO, Nhlanhla Zepried
 CHONCO, Sifiso
 CHONCO, Swahili
 CHONCO, Thembeni Beauty
 CHONCO, Wiseman Sifiso
 CHRISTIANS, Andrew Saul
 CHRISTIE, Daniel Johannes
 CHRISTIE, Magrietha Johanna
 CHUKE, Malulika July
 CHUMA, Douglas Ndimiso
 CHUMA, Nozimo Elsie
 CHUSHELA, Walaza
 CHUTSHELA, Agness
 CHWEBA, William Balekile
 CIKOLO, Elizabeth
 CIKWAYO, Babo Caiphas
 CIKWAYO, Mdu Mvalelwa
 CILIZA, Balungile Virginia
 CILIZA, Madiya Florence
 CILIZA, Maliyezwe
 CILIZA, Zwelake Phinas
 CILIZA, Zwelibanzi Alpheus
 CINDI, Johannes Sepule
 CINDI, Thembinkosi Reuben
 CINDI, Treva Themba
 CINGO, Abraham Thanduxolo
 CINGWENI, Nomajimi Angelina
 CIRA, Jabulani Dennis
 CIRA, Mthembeni Lucky
 CITWA, Tembisle
 CLAASEN, Jonathan
 CLAASSEN, Shedrak Kholisile
 CLARENCE, Neville James
 CLARKE, Kenneth Ralph
 CLOETE, Petrus Alberts
 CLOETE, Roseline Desiree
 CLUCAS, Clive
 COERECIUS, Winston Errol
 COETZEE, Adrie
 COETZEE, Hester Catharina
 COETZEE, Mercia
 COETZEE, Rieta
 COETZER, Martin Jacobus
 COGWANE, Godfrey
 COGWANE, Maputso Agnes
 COLA, Victor Khumbulele
 COLE, Bennie
 COLIDIZA, Poto Wilfred
 COLLINS, Dawn
 COLOGU, Siphio
 COLOSSA, Zwelibanzi Daniel
 CONA, Dahliya Princess
 CONCO, Ellen
 CONCO, Fakazile Doris
 CONCO, Sinethemba
 CONSTABLE, Ivor
 COOPER, Revabalan
 COOPER, Sathasivan
 CORNELIUS, Quentin
 COTANI, Lungisile Robert
 COTHOZA, Ntsikelelo June-Rose
 CRONJE, Jacobus

CRONJE, Pieter
 CULE, Sipiwe Elsie
 CULLING, Stanley Johannes
 CUPIDO, Clive Christopher
 CUTSHWA, Weleshia Puleng
 CUYA, Hlalebane Medrina
 CYSTER, Belinda

DA SOUZA, Colin Mark
 DADASE, Matoto
 DAHILE, Henry Barnabas Loshe
 DAKI, Xolisa Lennox Nkonkobe
 DAKI, Xosheni Francis
 DAKISI, Thabo Phillemon
 DAKUSE, Monde
 DALI, Anthony Sureboy
 DALI, Funzani Metha
 DALIWE, Mnyamana
 DAMANE, Dumisani Christopher
 DAMANE, Mlungisi Abednego
 DAMANE, Songezile Zephania
 DAMON, Ismail
 DAN, Ngozi
 DANCA, Aaron
 DANCA, Dumisani Shadrack
 DANCA, Ellina Ntombitheni
 DANCA, Nomkuba
 DANCA, Patrick
 DANCA, Patrick Mlungu
 DANGA, Goliath
 DANGALA, Petros
 DANIELS, Dibakiso Emily
 DANIELS, Elginah Romeo
 DANIELS, James
 DANIELS, Monica
 DANIELS, Veronica Debra
 DANISA, Maria Nozamide
 DANISILE, Wagaba
 DANISO, Fuzile
 DANISO, Justice Zanoxolo
 DANISO, Ntyeki Monica
 DANSTER, Nceba Enoch
 DANSTER, Xolile Simon
 DANSTER, Zongezile Gerald
 DANTILE, Julius Khayalethu Mabhuti
 DARA, Mpumeleli Elias
 DARA, Zisiwe Agnes
 DARRIES, Simon
 DASTILE, Mimi Nontozanele
 DATHINI, Andile
 DAUMAS, Willington Pusho
 DAVHULA, Namadzavho Phanuel
 DAVID, Mkhuseli Michael
 DAVIDS, Anele
 DAVIES, Boetie
 DAY, Mina
 DAYENI, Mayenzeke Washington
 DAYENI, Veleleni
 DAYI, Agrineth Khalelani
 DAYI, Toti
 DAYI, Zukiswa
 DAYILE, Alfred Mcekeleli
 DAYILE, Punki Mzamo
 DAYIMANI, Zolile Leslie Nteyana
 DE BEER, Deon Du Plessis

DE BRAGANZA, Aquino	DICK, Siyabonga	DLADLA, Christopher Bothi
DE BRUIN, Arno	DICKS, Dee Neshia	DLADLA, Constance
DE BRUIN, David	DICKSON, Peter John	DLADLA, Constance Sindile
DE BRUIN, Ivolyne	DIEDRICKS, Gerald	DLADLA, Deli Nomhlangano
DE BRUIN, Jacques	DIGABANE, Sydney Mahlabe	DLADLA, Dumisani
DE BRUIN, Max	DIHEMO, Madipuo Nancy	DLADLA, Elibodwe Elijah Elias
DE BRUYN, Avril Cecil	DIHLABI, Paul Dikotsi	DLADLA, Evans
DE KLERK, Anna Marieta	DIKANA, Thembaethu	DLADLA, Florah Funani
Susanna Jacoba	DIKANI, Fudwana	DLADLA, Florence Thandi
DE KOK, Felicity	DIKGALE, Max	DLADLA, Fox Mthokozisi
DE KOKER, Abri Jacobus	DIKGANG, John Jankula	DLADLA, Funani
DE NYSCHEN, Carla	DIKO, Amos Tamsanqa	DLADLA, Jabulani Derrick
DE NYSCHEN, Grizelle	DIKO, Gungi Simon	DLADLA, Jabulani Vivian
DE NYSCHEN, Marie	DIKO, Nkosiyabekwa	DLADLA, Joshua Bhékifa
DE NYSCHEN, Thea	DIKO, Nontsikelelo	DLADLA, Khanyisile Beauty
DE NYSCHEEN, Johannes Jacobus	DIKLOMELA, Gert Modisoatsile	DLADLA, Khifilina Lisbeth
DE VILLIERS, Annamari Trilgaard	DILATO, Julia Nombulelo	DLADLA, Lawrence Fanizini
DE VILLIERS, Simphiwo Jeffrey	DILATO, Stanford Thembile	DLADLA, Li
DE VOS, John Paul	DILIMA, Mangaliso Johnson	DLADLA, Lota
DE WAAL, Jan De Villiers Hoffman	DIMA, Phumephi	DLADLA, Lucky Tollman
DE WET, Peter	DIMENE, Felix Isaías	DLADLA, Mandla
DEBEILA, Senwelo Andrew Monosi	DINAT, Mohamed Ismail	DLADLA, Molo Bongani
DECEMBER, Siphó	DINCA, Zizwe	DLADLA, Mqothu Muzongekho
DEGLON, David Alan	DINDIKAZI, Gijima Solomon	DLADLA, Mtshingeni
DELIHLAZO, Noamen Noboneko	DINDIKAZI, Zebulon Bablo	DLADLA, Mubi
DENGA, Alfred Mafhungo	DINILE, Gcobani Raymond	DLADLA, Muzithini
DENGA, Mamaila Esther	DINISO, Mandla Welcome	DLADLA, Ncengeni Doris
DENGE, Zamilé Ben	DINISO, Oupa	DLADLA, Nkosikhona Thokozani
DENISA, David Mangaliso	DINWA, Nomonde	DLADLA, Nokusa Charlotte
DENYA-NTEWETYANA, Keli	DINWA, Qhekwane	DLADLA, Nomsa Kekekile
DEPOTOKO, Archie Koati	DINWA, Vuyo Patrick	DLADLA, Ntombenhle Kate
DESAI, Khalied	DIOKA, Keodirile	DLADLA, Osborne Nsundu
DESEMELA, Masisinyi Agnes	DIPHOKO, Zayedwa	DLADLA, Patricia Ntombeningi
DHLADHLAMA, Mjanyelwa	DIPICO, Sephiri Ignatius	DLADLA, Phillip Mzo
DHLAKA, Zondwayo Charlie	DIRANE, Jacob	DLADLA, Princess Ntombifuthi
DHLAMINI, Bonita Helen	DISEKO, George	DLADLA, Regina Bafunani
DHLAMINI, David Siphó	DISEKO, Seipati Welheminah	DLADLA, Scelo Daniel
DHLAMINI, Lenkoe Sydney	DISEMBA, Totyi Sidwell	DLADLA, Sibongile Bonisile
DHLAMINI, Michael Tsepo	DITHEBE, Jacob	DLADLA, Sibusiso
DHLAMINI, Mphikeleli Elias	DITHEBE, John	DLADLA, Sikhumukane
DHLAMINI, Ntahi Kayser	DITHEKO, Daniel Mile	DLADLA, Siphó
DHLAMINI, Pakhoma	DITHIPE, Lucky Raymond	DLADLA, Sithembile Elizabeth
DHLAMINI, Rachel	DITHIPE, William	DLADLA, Stanley Law
DHLAMINI, Sibusiso	DITSE, Randitshe Shadrack	DLADLA, Teresa Mbhalenhle
DHLAMINI, Solomon Hluwulani	DITSEGO, Malekutu Johannes	DLADLA, Thandekile Philomaner
DHLAMINI, Thabani Eugene	DITSELA, Kgabo David	DLADLA, Thembinkosi Richard
DHLAMINI, Themba Edwin	DITSHEGO, Jacob	DLADLA, Thirty Mano
DHLAMINI, Themba Resign Francis	DITSHEGO, Kgarebyana Sarah	DLADLA, Thokozani Nicholas
DHLAMINI, Walter	DITSHEGO, Khomotso Tebogo	DLADLA, Thokozile
DHLAMUKA, Getrude Zintombi	DITSHEGO, Kokane Isaac	DLADLA, Velaphi
DHLODHLO, Vusimuzi	DITSHEGO, Lenaka	DLADLA, Zabalaza
DHLOMO, Johannes Mbangomuni	DITSHEGO, Maswiki Thomas	DLADLA, Zakhele Thomas
DIAHO, Gideon	DITSHEGO, Ntsara Alex	DLALA, Mapemba George Skaro
DIAHO, Masekake Emelia	DITSHEGO, Rebecca	DLALA, Mzukisi
DIAHO, Pontso	DITSHEGO, Sirage Johannes	DLALI, Masande Emmanuel
DIALE, Makopane Maria	DIUTLUILENG, David	DLAME, Canan Andeas
DIALE, Nelson Letsau	DJIANE, Melekwa Tom	DLAMINI, Themba Kenneth
DIBECHO, Kgositsele	DLADLA Phyllis Busisiwe	DLAMINI, Alois
DIBELA, Mhlangabezi	DLADLA, Aaron Sandile	DLAMINI, Amos
DIBELA, Nofundile Maria	DLADLA, Abel	DLAMINI, Angelina
DIBETE, France Leshole	DLADLA, Aubrey Fikizolo	DLAMINI, Anthony
DIBETE, Phuti David	DLADLA, Babloshe Robert	DLAMINI, Armstrong Stembiso
DIBETSO, Koos	DLADLA, Bhékise	DLAMINI, Bafana
DIBOKA, Elisa Mamoferefere	DLADLA, Bhékokwakhe	DLAMINI, Bafunani Paula
DIBONGO, Michael	DLADLA, Bonani	DLAMINI, Baketile Clementina

DLAMINI, Bangukufa Enoch
 DLAMINI, Bekumdeni Josiah
 DLAMINI, Bernard Sipo
 DLAMINI, Beuty Nelisiwe
 DLAMINI, Bhekabantu
 DLAMINI, Bhekani
 DLAMINI, Bheki
 DLAMINI, Bhekisisa Wellington
 DLAMINI, Bhekuyise Harry
 DLAMINI, Blondie Khathazile
 DLAMINI, Bongani
 DLAMINI, Bongani Thobani
 DLAMINI, Bongani Zamayedwa Walter
 DLAMINI, Bonginkosi
 DLAMINI, Bonginkosi Aggrippa
 DLAMINI, Boy Mbuyiseni
 DLAMINI, Crescencia Jabulile
 DLAMINI, Daisy Ntozakhe
 DLAMINI, David Vusi
 DLAMINI, Duduzi Vincent
 DLAMINI, Duduzile Eunice
 DLAMINI, Dumazithimba
 DLAMINI, Edith Mimi
 DLAMINI, Edmund Sethusi
 DLAMINI, Elijah
 DLAMINI, Elizabeth
 DLAMINI, Elias Shayinkomo
 DLAMINI, Emily
 DLAMINI, Emmanuel Simphiwe
 DLAMINI, Eugene Bonginkosi
 DLAMINI, Fakazile Cresenlia
 DLAMINI, Fana Bhekani
 DLAMINI, Felaphi Phillip
 DLAMINI, Fikile Faith
 DLAMINI, Florence Busisiwe
 DLAMINI, Gerley Harriet
 DLAMINI, Gesi
 DLAMINI, Gingi
 DLAMINI, Grammar Thulisile Ndende
 DLAMINI, Ida
 DLAMINI, Innocent Phumla
 DLAMINI, Isabel Dumisile
 DLAMINI, Jabu Eunice
 DLAMINI, Jabulani Alfred
 DLAMINI, Jacob
 DLAMINI, Jamela
 DLAMINI, Jerome
 DLAMINI, Joseph Zenzile
 DLAMINI, Julia
 DLAMINI, Khalelani
 DLAMINI, Khawulezile Patric
 DLAMINI, Khumbulani
 DLAMINI, Khuzwayo
 DLAMINI, Layekile Veronica
 DLAMINI, Leona
 DLAMINI, Lephina
 DLAMINI, Lilly Mirriam
 DLAMINI, Lindela Vitus
 DLAMINI, Lindiwe
 DLAMINI, Lizzie Maria
 DLAMINI, Lozi Lema
 DLAMINI, Lucky
 DLAMINI, MKHIZE, Zasembo
 DLAMINI, Maadu Jerome
 DLAMINI, Mabongi

DLAMINI, Macicayi Lina
 DLAMINI, Magaret
 DLAMINI, Maggie Phumlile
 DLAMINI, Malandula Pius
 DLAMINI, Mamo Josephina
 DLAMINI, Mamoya Maria
 DLAMINI, Mandla
 DLAMINI, Mandla Johannes
 DLAMINI, Mandlenkosi
 DLAMINI, Margaret
 DLAMINI, Matshu
 DLAMINI, Maureen Duduzile
 DLAMINI, Mawoti
 DLAMINI, Mbho Johannes
 DLAMINI, Mbongeleni
 DLAMINI, Mbongeni
 DLAMINI, Mbuso
 DLAMINI, Mduduzi
 DLAMINI, Mduduzi
 DLAMINI, Mfanizane Joseph
 DLAMINI, Mildred
 DLAMINI, Mtheleli
 DLAMINI, Mthukutheli Patrick
 DLAMINI, Muntu Peter
 DLAMINI, Musa Cyprian
 DLAMINI, Musawenkosi
 DLAMINI, Muziwendoda
 DLAMINI, Myelile France
 DLAMINI, Mzwandile Cleopas
 DLAMINI, Ngenzeni Joyce
 DLAMINI, Ngenzeni Joyce
 DLAMINI, Nhlanhla
 DLAMINI, Nikwadona Gadalina
 DLAMINI, Njabulo Comfort
 DLAMINI, Nkosingiphile Phillphina
 DLAMINI, Nkosinomusa
 Nkosinathi Cyril
 DLAMINI, Nohlekisa Saraphina
 DLAMINI, Nokuphiwa Abegail
 DLAMINI, Nomabeka Medrina
 DLAMINI, Nombeko Saraphina
 DLAMINI, Nombulelo Christina
 DLAMINI, Nomusa
 DLAMINI, Nomuzinto
 DLAMINI, Nongilishi
 DLAMINI, Nonguquko Buselaphi
 DLAMINI, Nonhlanhla Joyce
 DLAMINI, Nonhlanhla Maria
 DLAMINI, Ntombi Lefina
 DLAMINI, Nzumeni
 DLAMINI, Osborne Mbongeni
 DLAMINI, Patrick Vusumuzi
 DLAMINI, Percival Nyanda
 DLAMINI, Percival Vusumuzi
 DLAMINI, Perm
 DLAMINI, Peter France
 DLAMINI, Peter Nkosinathi
 DLAMINI, Petrus
 DLAMINI, Phakama
 DLAMINI, Phela Catherine
 DLAMINI, Phika Isaac
 DLAMINI, Rachel
 DLAMINI, Reuben Mthungelwa
 DLAMINI, Richard
 DLAMINI, Richard Mpilo

DLAMINI, Rosemary Tholakele
 DLAMINI, Samson
 DLAMINI, Samuel Nconeni
 DLAMINI, Sdongiseni Terence
 DLAMINI, Shonaphi Florence
 DLAMINI, Sibongile
 DLAMINI, Sidudla Florence
 DLAMINI, Sifiso
 DLAMINI, Sikhumbuzo David
 DLAMINI, Simphiwe
 DLAMINI, Siphwiwe Agrippa
 DLAMINI, Siphwo
 DLAMINI, Siphwo Mzofayo
 DLAMINI, Siyabonga Elijah
 DLAMINI, Skhumbuzo
 DLAMINI, Soyi Irene
 DLAMINI, Sponono John
 DLAMINI, Sylvia Nomhle
 DLAMINI, Tahluliesbeth
 DLAMINI, Tembekile Betty
 DLAMINI, Thabane
 DLAMINI, Thabiso Joshua
 DLAMINI, Thandayiphi Leonard
 DLAMINI, Thandekile Goodness
 DLAMINI, Thandeyakhe Sydney
 DLAMINI, Thandi
 DLAMINI, Themba Douglas
 DLAMINI, Themba Francis Resign
 DLAMINI, Themba Zephania
 DLAMINI, Thembeni Christina
 DLAMINI, Thembeni Sizakele
 DLAMINI, Thembinkosi
 DLAMINI, Thembinkosi Stanley
 DLAMINI, Thokozile Zibuyile
 DLAMINI, Tholakele
 DLAMINI, Thulani Walter
 DLAMINI, Tulisizwe
 DLAMINI, Velaphi Lot Mavela
 DLAMINI, Vet
 DLAMINI, Vincent
 DLAMINI, Vusi Gladman
 DLAMINI, Walter Thulani
 DLAMINI, Wilson Zakhele
 DLAMINI, Yomisi
 DLAMINI, Zakhele
 DLAMINI, Zamo Emmanuel
 DLAMINI, Zibonele
 DLAMINI, Zinti Patrick
 DLAMINI, Zweekibi
 DLAMINI, Zwellibi
 DLAMINI-MAGUBANE, Elizabeth
 DLAMIS, Dumisani
 DLAMUKA, Doli Doris
 DLAMUKA, Khangisile
 DLAMUKA, Kwezakhe
 DLAMUKA, Magenqe
 DLAMUKA, Mashayina Mira
 DLAMUKA, Mkuzeni
 DLAMUKA, Qapheleni Princess
 DLAMUKA, Shongani Gane
 DLAMUKA, Songeleni
 DLANGA, Denis Bantu
 DLANGAMANDLA, Khanya
 DLANGAMANDLA, Siphwo
 DLANJWA, Albertina Nontsikelelo

DLELAPHANTSI, Nomthetho Prudence	DONDASHE, Whitey Thozamile Michael	DUBE, Thambolini Elizabeth
DLEPI, Welcome	DONDI, Thandinkosi Sidwell	DUBE, Theobold Dumisani
DLEZI, Ganta	DONDISA, Maxhalezima	DUBE, Vusumzi Samuel
DLEZI, Mziwabantu	DONGWE, Naledi Eugenia	DUBE, Yvonne
DLEZI, Zandile Irene	DONLEY, Esther Nene	DUBE, Zebon Mfana
DLHAMINI, Bafana	DOUGLAS, Dane	DUBE, Zibokwakhe Frederick
DLODLO, Busisiwe	DOUGLAS, Njenani	DUBON, Isaac
DLODLO, Linda	DOUSE, Soyisile	DUBULEKWELA, Brenda
DLODLO, Mbongeni Mqavi	DOYI, Abram Lesley	DUDA, Phakamile William
DLODLO, Theophilus	DOYISA, David	DUDU, Howard
DLOKOLO, Mpompi Melfred	DOYISA, David Vusumuzi	DUDU, Nester
DLOMO, Albert	DOYISA, Phucuyise	DUDU, Phoswa
DLOMO, Atwell	DOYISA, Thoko Patricia	DUKE, Mimise
DLOMO, Bhelinah Manje	DRAMAT, Anwar	DUKU, Kaizer Nimrod
DLOMO, Bongani	DU PREEZ, Peter William	DULCHARAN, Kishorelal
DLOMO, Dumisani	DU TOIT, Afrika Johannes	DULI, Craig
DLOMO, Eunice	DU TOIT, David	DUMA, Bakheleni Mana
DLOMO, Khanyisile Mavis	DUBAZANA, Mduduzi	DUMA, Bongani
DLOMO, Kololiyase	DUBAZANA, Wonderboy Hamilton	DUMA, Bongani Joseph
DLOMO, Mdingiseni	DUBAZANE, Mandla Ray	DUMA, Christopher Veli
DLOMO, Melta Duduzile	DUBAZANE, Sindisiwe	DUMA, Fihlaphi
DLOMO, Mfanafuthi Moses	DUBE, Beatrice	DUMA, Kenneth Dumsani
DLOMO, Mfanthula Moses	DUBE, Bekizizwe Robert	DUMA, Lili Gertrude
DLOMO, Mkhanyisi Eric	DUBE, Boneni Grace	DUMA, Lombo Alson
DLOMO, Musawenkosi Mlinden	DUBE, Bonisiwe Dorcas	DUMA, Mantombi Premrose
DLOMO, Nkanyiso Iuen	DUBE, Brenda Mbalenhle	DUMA, Mbalekelwa Richard
DLOMO, Pumuzile Patricia	DUBE, Dicky	DUMA, Mthokozisi Christopher
DLOMO, Regina	DUBE, Dina Doshana	DUMA, Musa Agrippa
DLOMO, Robert Zinsizwa	DUBE, Duduzile Lucy	DUMA, Nlozi George
DLOMO, Sihle	DUBE, Ellie Mncopeni	DUMA, Nobuhle
DLOMO, Thoko Mabel	DUBE, Emily Fikile	DUMA, Nojise Constance
DLUBOM, Nkebe Nkebana Wilson	DUBE, Emerald Thanda	DUMA, Nombe Edelina
DLUDLA, Bongiwe Mavis	DUBE, Florence Ntombizonke	DUMA, Nonceba Martha
DLUDLA, Gerald	DUBE, George Gladstone Linda	DUMA, Ntomi Mavis
DLUDLA, Joshua	DUBE, Gezepi Gladys Mashiyabedla	DUMA, Qondeni
DLUDLA, Joyce	DUBE, Grace	DUMA, Regina Babhekile
DLUDLA, Mantombi	DUBE, Herbert Mduduzi	DUMA, Robert
DLUDLA, Msawenkosi	DUBE, Hleziphi Sylvia	DUMA, Sibongile Promise
DLUDLA, Ntombifuthi	DUBE, Isaac	DUMA, Siyabonga
DLUDLA, Ntombini	DUBE, Johannes	DUMA, Snandu Braveman
DLUDLA, Thokozani Petros	DUBE, Josephine	DUMA, Solomon
DLUDLU, Elizabeth	DUBE, Kedibone	DUMA, Tende
DLUDLU, Siphon Jeremiah	DUBE, Lina Nesta	DUMA, Thabsile
DLULISA, Bazamile Anabel	DUBE, Lucy	DUMA, Thulani
DLULISA, Dilizumbondo	DUBE, Mabandla Amos	DUMA, Zandile
Petros Mansuet	DUBE, Mandlakayise Ahazie	DUMA, Zephania Hiqi
DLUMBA, Mawonga Simon	DUBE, Mbokode Bhekizwe	DUMA-MTOLO, Mkhuthali Buzani
DLUNGWANE, Anna Mildred	DUBE, Mgcineni	DUMAKUDE, Tembani Sellina
DLUNGWANE, Anton	DUBE, Mirriam Khumbuleni	DUMAKUDE, Thandi Venetia
DLUNGWANE, Mantombi	DUBE, Mpakanyisa	DUMAKUDE, Thembekile
DLUNGWANE, Ndleleni Anthony	DUBE, Mqashelwa William	DUMANA, Vusumzi
DOBE, Nomsa Cleopatra	DUBE, Mtholeni	DUMELA, Nobantu Elsie
DODO, Bernnet	DUBE, Mzungezeni	DUMELA, Nombulelo
DODO, Bernnet	DUBE, Natalian Nhlanhla	DUMEZWENI, Phikiso
DODO, Fanekile	DUBE, Ngakeni	DUMILE, Zolani
DODO, Norman	DUBE, Nkosinathi Christopher	DUMISA, Mandla Sedrick
DODO, Nxumalo	DUBE, Nonkanyiso Jennet	DUMISA, Dorothy Nonhlanhla
DODO, Preacher Man	DUBE, Ntontoza Elias	DUMUSA, Gede
DODO, Richard	DUBE, Olpha Ningi	DUMUSILE, Juliet
DODO, Simon Solani	DUBE, Pelapi Merry	DUNA, Mandile Tawa
DOKODA, Danisa Michael	DUBE, Phendu Annah	DUNJWA, Bonisile
DOLO, John Mokgaetsi	DUBE, Qomeleni Hellen	DUNJWA, Selby
DONCABE, Bhekimpi	DUBE, Rosalia	DUNN, Hitler Mzikayifani
DONCABE, Eilias Omo	DUBE, Siphon	DUVENHAGE, Andre'
DONCABE, Thomas Mhlawu Phenduka	DUBE, Solomon	DUZANE, Anton Thulani

DUZE, Roosevelt Cheritom Vusimuzi
 DWAYISA, Theminkosi Fanaye
 DWEBA, Toto Gcinuxolo
 DWEBA, Zanele Daphney Mumsie
 DYABOOI, Xolile
 DYABUZA, Vuyani Douglas
 DYAFITA, Thobile Livingstone
 DYALVAN, Zonwabele
 DYANTI, Mzwamadoda Tyhali
 DYANTJI, Sonwabile
 DYANTJIE, Nomkango Phumza
 DYANTYI, Amos Similo
 DYANTYI, Angelina Ntombizodwa
 DYANTYI, Basil
 DYANTYI, Ernest
 DYANTYI, Fuzile Sidwell
 DYANTYI, Mpumelelo Manityi
 DYANTYI, Nokholekile
 DYANTYI, Sandile
 DYANTYI, Thanduxolo Lawrence
 DYANTYI, Wandile Leonard
 DYANTYI, Winnie
 DYANTYI, Zenzile Ephrite
 DYARVANE, Sonwabiso Linton
 DYASI, Ceswel
 DYASI, Goodman Mzolisi
 DYASI, Lungisile Qheyana
 DYASI, Nonkawulelo Albertinah
 DYASI, William Khotso
 DYASI, Xolani Patrick
 DYASOP, Luthando Nicholas
 DYASOPHU, Madodana
 DYODA, Temba
 DYONASE, Mimi
 DYONASHE, Vuyane
 DYOSI, Masixole
 DYWASHU, Tembelizwe
 DYWILI, Bonisile
 DYWILI, Headman
 DYWILI, Mzwandile Joseph Mpush
 DZANIBE, Ntombivelile Princess

EBRAHIM, Ebrahim Ismail
 EDELSTEIN, Melville Leonard
 EDWARDS, Johanna Catharina Aletta
 ELESE, De Poutch
 ELESE, Joyce-Ndinisa
 ELESE, Tinie
 ELLIAS, Sophie
 ENGELBRECHT, Johannes
 Petrus George
 ENKELA, Qottle Ben Kadafie
 ERASMUS, Martha Johanna
 ERASMUS, Niklaus
 ERASMUS, Stephen Mthuthuzeli
 ERNEST, Suzan
 ESAU, June
 ESSACK, Riedewaan
 EVANS, Gavin

FAAS, Adri
 FABA, July Soul
 FADANA, Buzile
 FAFUDI, Rosy Matshidiso
 FAHRENFORT, Craig

FAHRENFORT, Grant
 FAKATHI, Enoch Knox
 FAKAZI, David Bano Bekithemba
 FAKAZI, Harrison Thobani
 FAKAZI, Nkosiyapha Selnick
 FAKAZI, Rosemary Nonhlanhla
 FAKO, Nonhlanhla
 FAKU, Jane Grace Gazi
 FAKU, Matthews Lindile
 FAKU, Mhlabuvukile
 FAKU, Nonhlanhla Elsie
 FAKU, Queeneth
 FAKU, Sisa
 FAKU, Zola
 FAKUDE, Amos
 FAKUDE, Bongani Wonderboy
 FAKUDE, Duma
 FAKUDE, Fanyana Gordon
 FAKUDE, Rodney Rhodah
 FAKUDE, Sibusiso
 FALAKHE, Nontshiki
 FALAKHE, Portia
 FALAKHE, Thumeka
 FALE, Jerry
 FALI, Zamuxolo
 FALTEIN, Andile
 FALTEIN, Lizwi Voice
 FANA, Bangizwe Maydon
 FANEPHU, Jackson Nowathu
 FANI, Mlandelwa
 FANI, Nqeke
 FANTE, Mathew
 FANTE, Phyllis Nontutuzelo
 FANTI, Mzwandile Wilson
 FARISANI, Tshenuwani Simon
 FATMAN, Eric Mxolisi
 FATYELA, Fuzile
 FATYELA, Richard Masinda
 FAZZIE, Mzwanele
 FEBANA, Cikizwa Ntsiki Gladys
 FENI, Andile Elvis
 FENI, Angelina Zanyawe
 FENI, Mbophele Petrus
 FERGUSON, Andrew Henry Douglas
 FERHELST, Muhammad Farid
 FERUS, John Marinus
 FESI, Mzukisi Johannes
 FESTER, Gertrude Magdalene Nethania
 FESTILE, Nombulelo Joyce
 FICK, Chantel
 FICK, Colleen
 FIKANI, Lungile
 FILANE, Joyce Maesha
 FILIZWE, Lulamile Nqayi
 FINCA, Xolile
 FINGER, Mathews Moeketsi
 FINI, Dingaan
 FINI, Phumzile
 FINI, Rebecca
 FINIZA, Ndileka Ivy
 FINIZA, Pumzile Wilson
 FINTI, Samuel Funekile
 FINYE, Likhanyiso
 FIRST, Ruth
 FISANT, Cecilia

FISANT, Nontsikelelo Chrissie
 FISCHER, Bram (Braam??)
 FISHA, Phuti Phineas
 FISHER, Louis
 FISHER, Segegenyane Daniel
 FITOLI, Banana
 FIVANA, Griffiths
 FLATELA, Nombi Ethel
 FLEMMER, Charles
 FLEPU, Ntsikelelo Dugmore
 FODO, Sthembele
 FOKHWEBE, Amos Mxolisi
 FOKOTI, Nombulelo Eunice
 FOLOTSI, Elizabeth Maserame
 FOLOTSI, Solomon Santi Henry
 FONK, Thelma Nonzaliseko
 FORBES, Ashley
 FOROSI, Nomvuyiseko
 FORTEWU, Henry
 FORTUIN, Bernard Gordon
 FOSTER, Anne
 FOURIE, Dries
 FOURIE, Lindy-Anne
 FOURIE, Mark Dirk
 FOURIE, Petrus Johannes
 FRANCE, Thamsanqa Anderson
 FRANCIS, Marie
 FRANSCH, Anton
 FREDERICKS, Hendrik
 FRIDIE, Abdul Karriem
 FROMENA, Ngubane
 FULA, Sam Thamsanqa
 FULANI, Aubrey Jacob
 FULANI, Nokuzola Carol-Anne
 FULANI, Rena Ntombexolo
 FULANI, Vuyani Wessley
 FUMBA, Stanley
 FUMBA, Stanley Mbuzeli
 FUMBA, Zwelibangile Jacob
 FUMBATA, Fezile Marontjie
 FUNANI, Alfred
 FUNANI, Mthuthuzele Michael
 FUNANI, Mzingiso
 FUNANI, Oupa Mathew
 FUNDA, Simon Ndindi
 FUNQU, Bambaliphi
 FUNZI, Phindiwe Regina
 FUSAZA, Tolo Thobile
 FUTSHANE, Lulama
 FUTYANA, Phumzile William
 FUTYANA, Phuthumile Wellington

GAANAKGOMO, Modisaemang John
 GAANAKGOMO, Ninife Jonas
 GABA, Lazarus
 GABELA, Aaron
 GABELA, Gula Joseph
 GABELA, Jethro Bonginkosi
 GABELA, Khona
 GABELA, Lindiwe
 GABELA, Nokwazi
 GABELA, Nozipho Daphney
 GABELA, Sibonelo Cyril
 GABELA, Skhumbuzo
 GABELA, Zanele Doris

GABELA, Zebulon
 GABELA, Zinhle
 GABOBO, Gordon
 GABOUTLOELOE, Keresephe Patrick
 GABUZA, Abednigo
 GABUZA, Michael Nkosana
 GABUZA, Moses
 GADEBE, Malose William
 GADUKA, Boeang Palmer
 GAGA Emmanuel Bongani
 GAGA, Headman Mbuso
 GAGANE, Rubby
 GAGILE, Lahlwe
 GAIKA, Eurice
 GALAWE, Letshego Patrick
 GALAWENI, John Matatana
 GALAWENI, Notayini Nomangesi
 GALEBOE, Taule Moreo
 GALELA, Champion
 GALELA, Himilton Piyose
 GALELA, Lendiso Richard Ndumo
 GALELA, Mandla Lucas
 GALELA, Zuko
 GALENG, Goatlhotsemang Hoffman
 GALI, Nondim
 GALLANT, Reuben Selebogo
 GAMA, Kenneth Sibusiso
 GAMA, Mondli
 GAMA, Mtetonzima Alfred
 GAMA, Nkosinathi
 GAMA, Nomvula Zonke
 GAMA, Thamsanqa
 GAMA, Thandele Joshua
 GAMBUSHE, Duncan Sibongiseni
 GAMBUSHE, Florence Nomzamo
 GAMBUSHE, Ntombilezi
 GAMEDE MAPHALALA, Thokozile Lesiah
 GAMEDE, Beauty Delisile
 GAMEDE, Fana Richard
 GAMEDE, Nompumelelo
 GAMEDE, Thembinkosi Tetete
 GAMPI, Maxanjana John
 GAMTELA, Nomabulu Princess
 GAMZANA, Qhama
 GAMZANA, Sylvia Nolundi
 GAMZANA, Zangezile John
 GANCA, Siganda Lawrence
 GANGALA, Diliza
 GANGATHELA, Bhalisile Welcome
 GANGATHELE, Daniel
 GANGCA, Monde Heston
 GANGQA, Nomtule Virginia
 GANJANA, Solomon Ntobeko Koko
 GANTA, Mutana
 GANYA, Dlevalile John
 GASA, Bonowakhe William
 GASA, Goodness Delile
 GASA, Gotiza Anastasia
 GASA, Ngidleni
 GASA, Phillip Muzikayise
 GASA, Sweetness Mana
 GASA, Thembinkosi Jonathan
 GASEALAHWE, Lentikile Joseph
 GASEBUE, Monamodi Sylvester

GASEKOMA, Orateng
 GASELA, Legina
 GASELA, Thamsanqa Francis
 GAVU, Gugulethu Mzwabantu
 GAVU, Mavis Busisiwe
 GAWU, Bannie Anton
 GAWULA, Buyisile
 GAZU, Gugu Clarice
 GAZU, Jacob Themba
 GAZULA, Nanabezi
 GCABA, Andreas Bhékani
 GCABA, Josephina Mamo
 GCABA, Simon
 GCABA, Zakhele Jerome
 GCABA, Zebulon Veni
 GCABA, Zibuyile Busisiwe
 GCABASHE, Bheki
 GCABASHE, Busani
 GCABASHE, Mpoloza
 GCABASHE, Petros Vusumuzi
 GCABASHE, Sizwe Reginald
 GCADO, Samson Sifo
 GCAGCISO, Thobeka Deborah
 GCALEKA, Lizwi Stanley
 GCANGA, Nosiphiwo
 GCANGA, Solani
 GCAYIYA, Mpendulelwa
 GCINA, Sibiya
 GCINISA, Richard
 GCOLOTELA, Gcinikhaya Samson
 GCOTYANA, Sakhumzi
 GCUMISA, Khethiwe Annatoria
 GCUMISA, Mandlakayise
 GCUMISA, Zipathe
 GEBASHE, Vusi Emmanuel
 GEBE, Nobamba
 GEGE, Zukiswa Cynthia
 GELDENHUIS, Harry
 GELDENHUIJS, Marina Louis
 GEMA, Mayvis Sibongile
 GENU, Benjamin Bafana
 GEOFFREYS, Timothy Colin
 GEORGE, Bangani Godfrey
 GEORGE, Gladstone
 GEORGE, Samson Xolisani
 GEORGE, Shadrack
 GEORGE, Thembelakhe
 GERBER, Wyle
 GERRARD Marchelle Cheryl
 GERTSE, Jan
 GETYESIE, David Dayi
 GETYESIE, Livuyo
 GETYEZA, Mncanyalwa Ernest
 GEYSER, John
 GEZA, Lucky Mishack
 GHOSA, Desiree Veronica
 GIBE, Mongezi Mosset
 GIDIMANA, Fonjana
 GIE, Janet
 GIGABA, Ambrose Thulani
 GIGABA, John
 GIGABA, Kholekile
 GIGABA, Lungu Domnic
 GIJA, Vuyisile Victor
 GIJIMA, Mnyamezeli

GILBERT, George Oupa
 GINA, Bernard
 GINA, Cebile Irine
 GINA, Ethel Fikile
 GINA, Fikile
 GINA, John
 GINA, Johnson Myengeni
 GINA, Mbenzezo
 GININDA, Zodwa
 GINYA, Tebogo Aaron
 GIOSE, Gerald Herman
 GIQI, Simon
 GISHI, Elsie
 GISHI, Jackson
 GIWU, Jostinah
 GIWU, Nomvuzo Grace
 GIYO, Sibidiyela
 GLABA, Nomusa Badingile
 GOBA, Bongani Selby
 GOBA, Mzwamandla
 GOBINGCA, Bhabha
 GOBINGCA, Prince Kosekhaya
 GOBIZEMBE, Albertina Nombuyiselo Pamini
 GOBIZEMBE, David
 GOBOZA, Mxolisi Sithole
 GODDA, Rose
 GODLIMPI, Robert
 GODOLA, Samson
 GODOLA, Xolile Simon Magaqa
 GODOLOZI, Qaqawuli
 GOEBESE, Olebogeng Samuel
 GOGA, Temba
 GOGA, Tiko Juditha
 GOGELA, Sipho Michael
 GOGO, Bongokwakhe Moses
 GOGO, Saraphina
 GOGO, Sifiso
 GOGWANA, Thozamile Tony
 GOJE, Johannes Matshediso
 GOLIATH, Patricia Phyllis Vissie
 GOLIATH, Shadrack Mzimkhulu
 GOLIATH, Victor
 GOM, Mawonga
 GOMANI, Dorothy Nosisi
 GOMBA, Headman Mthuthuzeli
 GOMBA, Mninawa Richard
 GOMBA, Wellington
 GOMBI, Nokuzola
 GOMFA, Agha Ernest
 GONGO, Sylvia Nocawe
 GONGWANE, Ntombizanele Mavis
 GONGXEKA, Sydney Zwelakhe
 GONIWE, Danile Thomas
 GONIWE, Fumanekile
 GONIWE, Mabotshelelo Paul
 GONIWE, Matthew
 GONIWE, Matthew
 GONTSHI, Nkosinathi Alfred
 GOPANE, Caroline
 GOQO, Sifiso
 GOQO, Thulani Percy
 GORDON, Denise
 GORDON, Denise
 GORDON, Peter Dennis Anthony

GOREWANG, Isaac Mawele
 GOSENYEGANG, Joseph Thusitse
 GOUWS, Mbombo William
 GOWANE, Nomachule Albertina
 GOABI, Joe
 GOABI, Nomathamsanqa Princess
 GQAGQA, Nobakabona Ester
 GOAYI, Zolile
 GOEBE, Rogers
 GOINEBE, Oupa John
 GOIRANA, Nomasomi
 GOIRANA, Mongameli
 GOOBANA, Wani
 GOODI, Noxolo Lovedelia
 GOOLOZA, Mlindeli
 GOUBELA, Velile Henry
 GOUBULE, Fundile Lawrence
 GOWETANI, Gemjikile
 GOWETHA, Sabelo
 GRADWELL, Andrew Desmond
 GRANT, Esther Esi
 GRANT, John Walter
 GREAVE, Khanyile Catherine
 GREEF, Stefanie
 GREGORY, Chaucer Mphiwa
 GREY, Fundisile
 GRIFFITHS, Thatela Benedict
 GROBELAAR, Hendrik
 GROOTBOOM, Mxolisi Sydney
 GROOTBOOM, Norman Mabhaso
 GROOTBOOM, Richard Themba
 GROOTBOOM, Rosanne
 GROOTBOOM, Steven Bongani
 GROOTBOOM, Thamsanqa Arthur
 GUBHELA, Bafikile Beauty
 GUDASI, Siphosenkosi
 GUDLE, Sishiqi Miles
 GUGA, Buyisile
 GUGUSHE, Bless William
 GULE, Nkosinathi Emmanuel
 GULUBELA, Thembhikaya
 GULWA, Phakamisa Clearance Castor
 GUMA, Mduduzi
 GUMBI, Anna
 GUMBI, Dolina
 GUMBI, Josephine
 GUMBI, Khalelani Doris
 GUMBI, Nkululeko Rodderick Zi
 GUMBI, Nomacala Rosy
 GUMBI, Nozibusiso Egnés
 GUMBI, Ntombizethu Verah Zethu
 GUMBI, Peterson Maviyo
 GUMBI, Phumlani Brian
 GUMBI, Sibongile Anna
 GUMBI, Thomas
 GUMBI, Vumani
 GUMBI, Zibuse Jeffrey
 GUMBI, Zidumokaziphelel Sibusiso
 GUMEDE, Abraham Themba
 GUMEDE, Agrineth
 GUMEDE, Agrineth Gugu
 GUMEDE, Alfred Dumile
 GUMEDE, Alvina
 GUMEDE, Anthony George
 GUMEDE, Aron

GUMEDE, Babongile Ngunda
 GUMEDE, Bafana
 GUMEDE, Bafana Albert
 GUMEDE, Beauty Jabu
 GUMEDE, Bhekekile Catherine
 GUMEDE, Bhekitshe
 GUMEDE, Bongani Collen
 GUMEDE, Cyril Thandumusa
 GUMEDE, David Fixon
 GUMEDE, Doris
 GUMEDE, Dubha
 GUMEDE, Gcina Shepherd
 GUMEDE, Gertrude
 GUMEDE, Gimson Mfukeni
 GUMEDE, Gleynroux
 GUMEDE, Gugu
 GUMEDE, Hlebani Thembisile
 GUMEDE, Hlengiwe Bawinile
 GUMEDE, Hlengiwe Cihl
 GUMEDE, James
 GUMEDE, Jane
 GUMEDE, Jeamson
 GUMEDE, Jeanette
 GUMEDE, Jeffrey Sipho
 GUMEDE, Jimson Mfukeni
 GUMEDE, Joseph Khetheyakhe
 GUMEDE, Joyce Jabu
 GUMEDE, Khethiwe
 GUMEDE, Khofi
 GUMEDE, Khulekani Cyril
 GUMEDE, Leonard Thulasizwe
 GUMEDE, Livingstone Ntsikelelo
 GUMEDE, Mandlakayise Joe
 GUMEDE, Mandlenkosi
 GUMEDE, Mangalisile
 GUMEDE, Manosi Bukisiwe
 GUMEDE, Maqhawe Gordon Gumza
 GUMEDE, Mbango James
 GUMEDE, Mbongeni
 GUMEDE, Mdotise Minah
 GUMEDE, Mduduzi
 GUMEDE, Melusi Cyril
 GUMEDE, Michael
 GUMEDE, Mkhonodaka
 GUMEDE, Mnqobi
 GUMEDE, Mntukathenjwa Dennis
 GUMEDE, Mphahleni Elphas
 GUMEDE, Mphakanyiswa Oscar
 GUMEDE, Mthembeni
 GUMEDE, Mthobisi
 GUMEDE, Mtokozo Bhekitshe
 GUMEDE, Mtsheka John
 GUMEDE, Muzikayise Simon
 GUMEDE, Mzweleni
 GUMEDE, Nelisile Victoria
 GUMEDE, Nhlanhla
 GUMEDE, Nomthandazo Norah
 GUMEDE, Ntombizethu
 GUMEDE, Ntombizodwa Eunice
 GUMEDE, Nyanisile Norah
 GUMEDE, Phakiwe
 GUMEDE, Phillip
 GUMEDE, Pho
 GUMEDE, Pholi Gladness
 GUMEDE, Priscilla Bizeni

GUMEDE, Qalangani Vitals
 GUMEDE, Rachel
 GUMEDE, Rebecca
 GUMEDE, Reggie
 GUMEDE, Richard
 GUMEDE, Sebenzile Ziqhelile
 Magwaza Makoti
 GUMEDE, Senzo
 GUMEDE, Sibongile Happiness
 GUMEDE, Sibusiso
 GUMEDE, Sidudla Patricia
 GUMEDE, Sindiwiwe
 GUMEDE, Sipho
 GUMEDE, Siyabonga Isaac
 GUMEDE, Siyanda David
 GUMEDE, Sunboy
 GUMEDE, Sunrise Ntombizethu
 GUMEDE, Thabani
 GUMEDE, Thabile
 GUMEDE, Thami Ronald
 GUMEDE, Thembi Linah
 GUMEDE, Thembi Qapheleni
 GUMEDE, Thokozani
 GUMEDE, Thokozani Penelope
 GUMEDE, Thokozani Xolani
 GUMEDE, Tholakele Celiwe
 GUMEDE, Tholakele Thulisiwe
 GUMEDE, Vela Cecil
 GUMEDE, Vusumuzi Ernest
 GUMEDE, Xolani
 GUMEDE, Zakhele
 GUMEDE, Zandele
 GUMEDE, Zanele Zamanguni
 GUMEDE, Zisiwe Virginia
 GUMENGE, Welile Wellington
 GUNGQISA, Henjisi
 GUNGBELE, Nomalungelo
 GUNGULUZA, Hendisini Anderson
 GUNN, Haroon
 GUNN, Shirley Renee
 GUNUZA, Amos
 GUSH, Thembelihle Arnold
 GUSHA, Ella Ntombekhaya
 GUSHA, Siyabulela
 GWABE, Mantanbama Sibongile
 GWABENG, Amos Msutu
 GWACELA, Richard
 GWADELA, Zingisile
 GWAJUZA, Agnes
 GWAJUZA, Elizabeth
 GWAJUZA, Hlengiwe
 GWAJUZA, June-Rose Thembisile
 GWAJUZA, Neli
 GWAJUZA, Zinhle
 GWALA, Babanje Phillimon
 GWALA, Bhekisigcino Patrick
 GWALA, Bhekithemba
 GWALA, Bonisile Doris
 GWALA, Elizabeth Ntongolozzi
 GWALA, Ellias Gubane
 GWALA, Henry Mduduzi
 GWALA, Jabulani
 GWALA, James
 GWALA, Josephina
 GWALA, Khathazile

GWALA, Linah Mano
 GWALA, Magaret
 GWALA, Mana Constance
 GWALA, Mandlakayise Sixtus
 GWALA, Manqukela
 GWALA, Mhlekhona
 GWALA, Michael
 GWALA, Mkhalelwa France
 GWALA, Mnyamana Blackie
 GWALA, Musawenkosi Silence
 GWALA, Ngikholiwe Elizabeth
 GWALA, Nkosinathi Emmanuel
 GWALA, Sarah
 GWALA, Siphwe
 GWALA, Siphso
 GWALA, Sizwe Moses
 GWALA, Thembekile Sophia
 GWALA, Thulani
 GWALA, Zintembi
 GWAMANDA, David Khonzokwakhe
 GWAMANDA, Esther
 GWAMANDA, Lucky Jabulani
 GWAMANDA, Nokuzaba Tryphina
 GWAMANDA, Selby Bonga
 GWAMANDA, Thulani Christopher
 GWAMBI, Robert Langalakhe
 GWAQU, Zolile Alfred
 GWAYI, Adolphus
 GWAYI, Jonas Masoyini
 GWAYI, Mabel Namse
 GWAYI, Zwelenkosi Baba
 GWEBILE, Evelyn
 GWEBU, Vanrooyen Wilson
 GWENTSHE, Mzwandile
 GWESHA, Wellington Mpuntsu
 GWICANA, Vukile
 GWIJA, Petros Kimbali
 GWILISO, Themba Gerrad
 GWILIZA, Isaac
 GWILIZA, Mawethu
 GWINTSA, Felicia Vuyiswa
 GXABALASHE, Nandipha
 GXABU, Clement Khehlana
 GXEKWA, Ntombomzi Nopinki
 GXEKWA, Siculo Aron
 GXEYANE, Goodboy Kenneth
 GXIDI, Patricia Phumla
 GXOLI, Nonkoliseko
 GXOTHANI, July Potongwana
 GXOWA, Thandolwethu Noruru
 GXOYIYA, Sindiswa Maria Maxhamela
 GXUBANI, Jabulani Wilfred

HAAI, Lerato Virginia
 HAAS, Tembile Wilmot
 HABANA, Sandile Dennis Shabi
 HABIYA, Nokuthula Hazel
 HABIYA, Ntombijenkosi Thandiwe
 HADEBE, Alias
 HADEBE, Anna
 HADEBE, Bekwenze Absolom
 HADEBE, Bertina
 HADEBE, David Zamfana
 HADEBE, Elias
 HADEBE, Eugene Mlungisi

HADEBE, Fanny Richard
 HADEBE, Hamilton
 HADEBE, Jabulile Elizabeth
 HADEBE, Khalelwa Jeza
 HADEBE, Khulekani
 HADEBE, Lancelot Mfanafuthi
 HADEBE, Makhosi Priscilla
 HADEBE, Mandlakayise Meshack
 HADEBE, Melisiwe Eunice
 HADEBE, Mirriam
 HADEBE, Mongezi
 HADEBE, Moses
 HADEBE, Mqanjelwa Paulos
 HADEBE, Musawenkosi Pipi
 HADEBE, Nomfundo
 HADEBE, Nozipho
 HADEBE, Ntokozo Jacky
 HADEBE, Patricia
 HADEBE, Patricia Nontuthuzelo
 HADEBE, Phillip
 HADEBE, Phindile
 HADEBE, Promise Philisiwe
 HADEBE, Prudence
 HADEBE, Reginald Behumuzi
 HADEBE, Sandile
 HADEBE, Sbusiso
 HADEBE, Shiyinduku Elias
 HADEBE, Siphwe Alson
 HADEBE, Siyabonga
 HADEBE, Thandokuhle Cyril
 HADEBE, Thembinkosi
 HADEBE, Thula Felix
 HADEBE, Thulisile
 HADEBE, Zamani
 HADEBE, Zwi Boy
 HAFFEJEE, Hoosen Mia
 HAFFEJEE, Mohamed Saed Hassiam
 HAGERTY, Roger Christian
 HAJANE, Frans
 HAJANE, Johannes
 HAJANE, Leah
 HAJANE, Semole
 HALL, Priscilla
 HANABE, Nomsa
 HANASE, Henry
 HANI, Buyisile Patrick
 HANS, Gqibile Nicholas
 HANS, Ncunyiswa Agatha
 HANSE, Fezile Thomas
 HARKER, Gerhard
 HARKER, Wesley
 HARMANS, Zonwabele Moksom Pele
 HARRIS, Abida
 HARRIS, Lindi
 HARRIS, Ronald
 HARTLEY, Sedick
 HARTZENBERG, Fuad
 HASHE, Elizabeth Notobile
 HASHE, Siphso
 HATTAS, Riefaat
 HAWULANA, Mbulelo Steven
 HAYI, Zonisele Brevis
 HAYIYA, Gideon Zamiqinga
 HEERS, Katy
 HEISE, Khabele

HEKA, Nonceba Priscilla Majola
 HEKTOOR, Andries Hector
 HEKTOOR, Mienie
 HELA, Khayaletu
 HELESI, Vuyani Richard
 HENNING, Izak Jacobus
 HENRY, Yazir Mark
 HERBST, Jacqueline Edna
 HERCULES, Ebrahim
 HERMANS, Gilbert Thembile
 HERMANUS, Doris Novakele
 HERMANUS, Richard
 HEWUKILE, Deborah Notembile
 HEYNES, Eric
 HIMBE, Zachariah
 HINA, Siphso Fielden
 HINI, Nombulelo Reginah
 HLABAKWE, Patrick
 HLABAKWE, Thabitha Dorcas
 HLABANE, Thenji Vusi
 HLABATHE, Francina Sweetty
 HLABE, Mxoxiswa
 HLABISA, Khona Gustina
 HLABISA, Mildred
 HLABISO, Tshidiso Moses
 HLAHANE, Madala Steven
 HLAKEYANA, Monwabisi David
 HLAKEYANA, Bessel Basil
 HLAKEYANA, Lefuma Jonathan
 HLAKEYANA, Mhloholo Patrick
 HLAKEYANA, Segamorohe Magdalene
 HLAKEYANA, Thabiso Pascali
 HLAKEYANA, Hans Ramaphakeng
 HLANGU, Bahlamkile Otilia
 HLANGU, Bavelle Florence
 HLANGULELA, Joyce Annastasia
 HLANGULELA, Siphso
 HLANGULELA, Thembekile
 HLANGUZA, Hlophe
 HLANGUZA, Thembelihle Nomafa
 HLANJWA, Lulama Joyce
 HLANYANE, Sello Benjamin
 HLAPEZULU, Samuel
 HLATSHWAYO, Angelina
 HLATSHWAYO, Bonginkosi
 HLATSHWAYO, Dewu
 HLATSHWAYO, Makhehla Piet
 HLATSHWAYO, Mokoroane Petrus
 HLATSHWAYO, Muziwenkani Moses
 HLATSHWAYO, Mzwandile Khehla
 HLATSHWAYO, Thokozeni Nelson
 HLATSHWAYO, Bongi
 HLATSHWAYO, Buti Lucas
 HLATSHWAYO, Freddie Vusi
 HLATSHWAYO, Johny
 HLATSHWAYO, Joseph Makhozonke
 HLATSHWAYO, Mtakati Samuel
 HLATSHWAYO, Ncabeni Phillip
 HLATSHWAYO, Puseletso Emily
 HLATSHWAYO, Sifiso
 HLATSHWAYO, Siphwe Victor
 HLATSHWAYO, Themba
 HLATSHWAYO, Wiseman
 HLAULI, Mohanuwa Edith
 HLAZO, Desmond Zolile

HLAZO, Mariam Nothobile Nongenangaye	HLONGWANE, Bazothini Lungile	HLOPHE, Robert
HLAZO, Nkosinathi Patrick	HLONGWANE, Bennet	HLOPHE, Robert Complete
HLAZO, Sandile	HLONGWANE, Bethuel	HLOPHE, Samuel
HLEKANI, Nomalisa Doris	HLONGWANE, Biziwe Albertina Makhosi	HLOPHE, Savelle Vusumuzi
HLEKWAYO, Bakhokhisile	HLONGWANE, Bongumusa Ndabitheni	HLOPHE, Sihembiso Eugene
HLEKWAYO, Cabangile Doris	HLONGWANE, Bonisiwe Lephina	HLOPHE, Thandeka
HLEKWAYO, Erick Muziwakhe	HLONGWANE, China Gray	HLOPHE, Thembisile Philda
HLEKWAYO, Mafomu Thembukwazi	HLONGWANE, Christopher	HLOPHE, Toloto Christina
HLEKWAYO, Mhlanggabezi	HLONGWANE, Daniel	HLOPHE, Victor Jeffrey Wuya
HLEKWAYO, Siphiwe Mpikeni	HLONGWANE, David	HLOPHE, Xolani
HLEKWAYO, Thulani	HLONGWANE, Elias	HLOPHE, Zodwa Lydia
HLELA, Bhunu Muzikayise Ellington	HLONGWANE, Hlekiwe	HLOTSE, Keku Edwina
HLELA, Calungile Paulina	HLONGWANE, Innocent Mbuso	HLOYI, Goliath
HLELA, Ephraim	HLONGWANE, Jeslina Qinisile	HLUBI, Bekizizwe Conrad
HLELA, Khonzeni Petrinah	HLONGWANE, Madile Alzinah	HLUBI, Bhekizizwe Goodluck
HLELA, Maqmu Elphas	HLONGWANE, Magwagwa Elias	HLOBI, Nowellile
HLELA, Mavis Khonzeni	HLONGWANE, Maria	HLUNGWANE, Reckson
HLELA, Nkosinathi Emmanuel	HLONGWANE, Ningi Promise	HLWELE, Bonisile
HLELA, Nomoto Anastelia	HLONGWANE, Nokiki	HLWELE, Mthuthuzeli Richard
HLELA, Ntombenhle	HLONGWANE, Nomshado Dinah	HOARST, Cecilia
HLELA, Phillisiwe	HLONGWANE, Nsizwane Johannes	HOBANA, George
HLELA, Shoti Robert	HLONGWANE, Ntobeko Patrick	HOBANA, Nora Nomonde
HLELA, Velephi Emigard	HLONGWANE, Paul Hickson	HOBIYA, Sivuyile Wellington
HLENGWA, Alice	HLONGWANE, Phakamani	HOBOYI, Lizo Leonard
HLENGWA, Basongile	HLONGWANE, Phillip Smanga	HOBOSHE, Nohose
HLENGWA, Bekisisa	HLONGWANE, Phumlani	HOBOSHE, Vuyiswa
HLENGWA, Bongani Richard	HLONGWANE, Pretty Elsie	HOBOSHE, Yunguma Priscilla
HLENGWA, Bongiwé	HLONGWANE, Richard	HOBOTI, Lizo Leonard
HLENGWA, Clement Mandlakayise	HLONGWANE, Ruth	HOFFMAN, Marius
HLENGWA, Edmah Lezi	HLONGWANE, Samuel	HOFFMAN, Michael Tim
HLENGWA, Emmanuel Sipho	HLONGWANE, Sebenzile Sabhina	HOFFMAN, Mzayifane Naphtale
HLENGWA, Mzayifani	HLONGWANE, Sibusiso Erick	HOGAN, Sarah Susanna
HLENGWA, Sipho Emmanuel	HLONGWANE, Siphiwe Solomon	HOHO, Acacia
HLENGWA, Siyazi	HLONGWANE, Sweleni Sibengile	HOHO, Fana Nelson
HLENGWA, Thembo	HLONGWANE, Thandi Cicilina	HOHO, Qonda
HLEZA, Skhumbuzo Enoch	HLONGWANE, Tryphina Thoko	HONOKO, Daniel Molebatse
HLEZA, Sthuli Godwin	HLONGWANE, Vusumuzi Richard	HOOGAARDT, Spasiena Carolina
HLOBE, Shadrack	HLONGWANE, Walter Sokesimbone	HOPSHIRE, Roseline Nomhle
HLOKOFA, Benard	HLONGWANE, William	HORN, Nozillio Ellen
HLOKWE, Valley Mogale	HLONGWE, Cenjulwa	HOTANA, David
HLOMENDLINI, Alfred	HLOPE, Arsenius Joseph	HUGHS, Pat
HLOMUKA, Vusi	HLOPE, Ellinah Makho	HUGO, Rosy
HLONGWA, Balungile	HLOPE, Mfihlelwa Elliot	HUMA, Sylvia Mono
HLONGWA, Dingisono	HLOPE, Mfihlelwa Elliot	
HLONGWA, Doris Thembi	HLOPE, Mfihlelwa Elliot	IDLABISE, Albertina Tate
HLONGWA, Gatu	HLOPE, Zondani	IKANENG, Jeffrey Motsamai
HLONGWA, Khetheyakhe	HLOPHE, Bhekizitha	IKANENG, Lerotodi Andrew
HLONGWA, Lucky	HLOPHE, Bongimuzi George	INDIA, Nomvulo
HLONGWA, Mandla Aaron	HLOPHE, Cosmas Ntando	ISAACS, Abdusalaam
HLONGWA, Mandla Jacob	HLOPHE, Dlokwakhe Eugene	ISAACS, Clive
HLONGWA, Mantu Agnes Manhlanyeni	HLOPHE, Doctor Ndoda	ISAACS, Faieza
HLONGWA, Mcupheni Joseph	HLOPHE, Emma Nkehlena	ISAACS, Shanaaz
HLONGWA, Mdituthumeni Mkhadi	HLOPHE, Galus	ISAAKS, Beulin
HLONGWA, Musawenkosi Richard	HLOPHE, Isaac	ISAAKS, David
HLONGWA, Ntombile Happygirl	HLOPHE, Johannes	ISSEL, James Victor
HLONGWA, Shadrack Thamsanqa	HLOPHE, Justice Bhekisisa	ITUMELENG, Thapelo Ishmael
HLONGWA, Sishingishane	HLOPHE, Lillie Ntombizokwenzani	
HLONGWA, Thembisile	HLOPHE, Lina	JABANE, Petros Linda
HLONGWA, Vusi Victor	HLOPHE, Mayvis	JABULANA, Mantombi Kate
HLONGWA, Zibuyile Lucia	HLOPHE, Mildred Eunice	JABULANI, Jeffrey
HLONGWA, Zwelethamba	HLOPHE, Mphikeleli Alfred	JACA, Nkobe Joseph
HLONGWANA, Bekindlela Andreas	HLOPHE, Nhlanhla Goodman Nqeshe	JACK, Andile
HLONGWANE, Alfred	HLOPHE, Nokudiwa	JACK, Bennet Ndyundyu
HLONGWANE, Anthony	HLOPHE, Nomasonto Sibongile	JACK, Gladman Luyanda

JACK, Mkhusele
 JACK, Mthuthuzeli
 JACK, Mziwonke
 JACK, Rhotsi
 JACK, Strekkie Mizayifani
 JACKSON, Kumvusele William
 JACKSON, Mayela Zekelo
 JACOB, Toko Larnard
 JACOBS, Allan
 JACOBS, Bernette Bonakele
 JACOBS, David Brasilo
 JACOBS, Gideon
 JACOBS, Mxolisi Johannes
 JACOBS, Nkosomzi Jeffrey 'Banda'
 JACOBS, Ntombomzi Nancy
 JACOBS, October
 JACOBS, Paulus
 JACOBS, Peter
 JACOBS, Sarel
 JACOBS, Sebenzile Jackson
 JACOBS, Shahied
 JACOBS, Thandiwe Alinah
 JACOBS, Thembekile John
 JACOBSON, Peter Maurice
 JADA, Lungelo Michael
 JADA, Vuyani Ernest
 JAFFER, Zubeida
 JAFTA, Benjamin Siphio
 JAFTA, Kholiwe
 JAFTA, Mkosana Alfred
 JAFTA, Noxolo
 JAGGER, Stella
 JAKO, Shumikazi Sarah
 JAKOBA, Leah
 JAKWE, Mompoti Joseph
 JALI, Delani
 JALI, Evangelin Nokuthemba
 JALI, Namajali Ivy
 JALI, Ntombenhle Elsina
 JALI, Savumase
 JALI, Swelakile
 JALI, Thengela Nicholas
 JAM, Mzukisi Deffender
 JAMA, Dudu Mirriam
 JAMA, Joyce Thoko
 JAMA, Lucky
 JAMA, Manono Ntombize
 JAMA, Mbongeni
 JAMA, Mkhonjwa
 JAMA, Nonhlanhla Viola
 JAMA, Patric
 JAMAAR, Veronica
 JAMES, Hilton
 JAMES, Khayaletu Wellington
 JAMES, Mnimimzi
 JAMES, Rocky Abel
 JAMES, Sakhumzi
 JAMES, Samuel
 JAMES, Stanford Mzwandile
 JAMES, Thembanani Jacobs
 JAMESON, Reginald
 JANGAISO, John Mbalekelwa
 JANKIE, Limakatso Flora
 JANNA, Thembinkosi Abednego
 JANSE VAN RENSBURG, Catharina
 Elizabeth

JANSE VAN RENSBURG, Tarina
 JANSEN, Frederick Casper
 JANSEN, Thomas
 JANTJIES, Annie
 JANTJIES, Boy
 JANTJIES, Daniso
 JANTJIES, Nkotiiso Frans
 JANTJIES, Siphiwo Stanley
 JANTJIES, Themba
 JANUARI, Ragel
 JANUARY, Michael Jacob
 JANUARY, Mongameli Theophilus
 JANUARY, Nomfanelo
 JARDINE, Anthony
 JAS, Daniel Tahleho
 JASKA, Mziwebango Ebenezer
 JASSAT, Abdulhay
 JAVENS, Guy Cooper
 JAVENS, Marilyn
 JAWWE, Lulamile Shepherd
 JAXA, Mzukisi Candry
 JAYILE, Nokuphila Eunice
 JAZA, Michael Vusumzi
 JEBE, Martin Xola
 JEENAH, Feizel Roshan
 JEENAH, Sabera
 JEFFERS, Jonathan Joseph
 JEKEQA, Nkosizile Livingstone
 JEKEQA, Pindile Albert
 JELE (JELA), Nontshizana Mocica
 (Monica)
 JELE, Bafana
 JELE, Cyprian Mlungisi
 JELEMSI, Government
 JENGETA, Bongile Grace
 JENTE, Mfukuka
 JERLING, Johan
 JEVU, Mawethu
 JEZA, Flomencia
 JEZA, Richard
 JIBA, Mthuthuzeli Alfred
 JIKOLO, Thembekile
 JILI, Dombi Sizeni
 JILI, Erasmus Tholumuzi
 JILI, Jerome Thandokuhle
 JILI, Lina
 JILI, Ncamokwakhe
 JILI, Ndeke Sylvacia
 JILI, Simon Manyakazisa
 JILI, Thembisile Zanele
 JILINGISI, Maboyi
 JILIZA, Sithembiso
 JIM, Richard
 JINGANA, Lizo Livingstone
 JINGELA, Bekabakubo Paulos
 JINIKWE, Hilton Vusumzi
 JININEKA, Mzonke Ben
 JININEKA, Nelson
 JIYANE, Isiah
 JIYANE, Jemimah
 JIYANE, Ritta
 JIZA, Thobeka Sylvia
 JIZANA, Phambili Mzwandile
 JOBE, Hitler
 JOBE, Nkosinathi Velaphi
 JOBELA, Ntunaye

JOBO, Daliwonga Justice
 JOBO, Magaret Sibongile
 JOFILE, Lucas
 JOHANE, Joseph
 JOHANNES, Ben
 JOHNSON, Mvula Simon Petros
 JOHNSON, Mzimkhulu Stanley
 JOHNSON, Rafeek
 JOHNSON, Thamsanqa Major
 JOHNSON, Vuyiswa Sheilla
 JOHNSON, Wana
 JOJI, Nothemba
 JOKA, Ngeba Andrew
 JOKAZI, Viela Getrude
 JOKAZI, Vuyelwa Deborah
 JOKWANA, Walda
 JOKWENI, Tryphina
 JOLOZA, Nkosiymzi Christopher
 JOMBELE, Mukisiwe
 JOMOSE, Xolani
 JONAS, Frederick Yanda
 JONAS, Mbulelo Michael
 JONAS, Zolile
 JONES, Ali
 JONES, Johannes
 JONES, Nancy Sanuse
 JONGA, Elliot Mbulelo
 JONGILE, Landile Andrew
 JONNIE, Siculo Corie
 JOOSTE, Ursula Amelda
 JORDAAN, Puseletso Hilda
 JORDAAN, Wayne Henry
 JORDAN, Joe Thethinene
 JORDAN, Pallo
 JOSEPH, Grace
 JOSEPH, Wesley
 JOSHUA, Joseph Patrick James
 JOTINA, Meisie
 JOYI, Anderson Dalagubhe
 JOYI, Mbeki Marhelane Bangilizwe
 JOYI, Mnjenjwe
 JOYI, Nolingene
 JOYI, Twalimfene
 JOYISA, Mavis
 JOZI, Nomatshawe Amelia
 JUDA, Mongenzi
 JUJWANA, Ntsikelelo
 JULA, Mchithwa
 JULA, Wellington Solomon
 JULIES, Abraham
 JULIES, Micheal (spelling!!)
 JULY, Bonakele
 JUQU, Fuzile Petros
 JUZE, Ntunja
 JWAMBI, Lungisa
 JWAMBI, Nokwakha
 JWAMBI, Sisipho
 JWAMBI, Thanduxolo
 JWAXA, Victoria

KABAI, Seabata Salman
 KABANYANE, Unknown
 KABI, Sekoala Elliot
 KABINI, Ndube Lina
 KABINI, Sam Benzane
 KABINI, Walther Siphio

KADI, Bennet
 KADI, Matokelo Selina
 KADIAKA, Austin Letlapa
 KADIAKA, Matswene Frans
 KADILE, Tsholofetso Daniel
 KADINI, Mthuthuzeli
 KADISA, Evelyn
 KADISE, Dimakatso Kleinboo
 KAHLA, Mlungisi Atwell
 KAIBE, Ben
 KAIZER, Tobias Hendrik Frans
 KAJANE, Cecil Jeffery Kalili
 KAKANA, Batayi
 KAKANA, Buti John
 KAKANA, Mabhuti
 KAKANA, Mabhuti
 KAKANA, Mpendulo
 KAKANA, Nororo Lulama
 KAKANA, Wele Samuel
 KAKANA, Whewheyi
 KAKANA, Zolani
 KAKAZA, Andile
 KAKGALAKANE, Mothoane David
 KALA, Masuduka
 KALAKE, James Buti
 KALAKE, Samuel Rasemoko
 KALALA, Posho Rogers
 KALENI, Velile Lennox
 KALENI, Xolani
 KALI, Thobile
 KALIPA, Luvuyo Calvin
 KALIPA, Patekile Albert
 KALLIPA, Wandile
 KAMA, Lindani
 KAMA, Lulama
 KAMA, Mnoneleli Samson
 KAMA, Sonwabo
 KAMA, Vusumzi Aaron
 KAMATI, Siphivo
 KAMATI, Thamsanqa
 KAMAVUSO-MBATHA, Khosi
 KAMBULE, Thamsanqa David Owen
 KAMTENI, Malakhiwe Joseph Maliki
 KAMTENI, Nontente
 KANANA, George Ouman
 KANGO, Amos Mazizi
 KANI, Cameron
 KANUNU, Petros
 KANYE, Yvonne Shiwe
 KANYILE, Daphne Tandani
 KANYILE, Ntombikayise Lucy
 KAPA, Reggie
 KAPP, Cornelius Johannes
 KARAPI, Andries
 KARELSE, Johnny
 KARELSE, Simon
 KARIEM, Juan Nolan
 KARIEM, Ridwaan
 KARRIEM, Shu-Eib
 KASA, Selebal Sidwell
 KATAMZI, Lindela
 KATANA, Siphio Edwin
 KATANE, Dederick Baleseng
 KATI, James Zamiwonga
 KATI, Nomajipethe

KATYWA, Thobeka
 KAU, Jan Debelatsane
 KAULELA, Mzamo Louis
 KAWA, Zayo Jackson
 KAWULE, Bajaswa Lena
 KAYE, Hendrina Magdalena
 KAZI, Ivan
 KEANE, Susan-Anne
 KEARNEY, Gerald Patrick
 KEARNEY, Helen
 KEARNS, John Eugene
 KEGOENG, Motlhaedi
 KEIKELANE, Mpe Jonas
 KEITSOP, Jonathan
 KEKAE, Simon Madimetja
 KEKANA, Jim Madimetja
 KEKANA, Kgalabe
 KEKANA, Lesiba Jan
 KEKANA, Malose Reuben
 KEKANA, Matlakala Josephine
 KEKANA, Ophilia
 KEKANA, Tlhabane Maxwell Silas
 KEKANE, Theodisha Thenjiwe
 KELE, George Molelle
 KELEMI, Lesley
 KELLEM, Jongisiswe Witness
 KEMP, Stephanie Sachs
 KEMPELE, Vuyisile
 KENALEMANG, Kelebile Wagon
 KERAETSWE, Serurubele Agnes
 KERCHHOFF, Peter Campbell
 KESWA, Bongani
 KESWA, Rodney Goba Eleazor
 KETANI, Patricia Nontsikelelo
 KETETSI, Ellen Lebogo
 KETLHAPILE, Elizabeth Serufo
 KETLHAPILE, Lucas Poloko
 KETLHAPILE, Nkele
 KETSE, Sylvia Vuyelwa
 KETSHABILE, Mogagabi George
 KETSHENGANA, Sigaga Mziwandile
 KETSISE, Moeketsi Moses
 KEWUTE, Kululekile Simon
 KEWUTI, Yoliswa Shiyiwe
 KEYE, Madoda Jeffery
 KEYE, Misiwe Evelyn
 KGABILENG, Piet Basimane
 KGAFELA, Annah Kwena
 KGAFELA, Joel
 KGAFELA, Ngoepe Johanna
 KGAFELA, Oupa
 KGAFELA, Tshophe White
 KGAKETSANE, Johannes Gogang
 KGALEMA, Jabu Jacob
 KGAPHOLA, Mmabje Harold
 KGAPHOLA, Petrus Ggarakgara
 KGARENG, Matlakala
 KGASE, Jimmy
 KGASE, Kenneth
 KGASE, Raesibe Maria
 KGATIHANE, Aubrey
 KGATIWANE, Tommy Kgosimang
 KGAU, Karabo Jonas
 KGIBA, Samuel Lethola
 KGOADI, Phuti Manoko

KGOARE, Matsiliso Yvonne
 KGOTHE, Nicodimas Kakadi
 KGOBADI, Andries
 KGOBO, Maesela Thomas Sinky
 KGOFELA, Jerry Majeremane
 KGOGO, Daniel
 KGOGOME, Doctor Nakale
 KGOMO, John
 KGOMO, Koena Jan
 KGOMO, Kwena William
 KGOMO, Machoene Johannes
 KGOMO, Maifo Frans
 KGOMO, Makgabo
 KGOMO, Makwena Mosima
 KGOMO, Maphuti Alfred
 KGOMO, Maphuti Elisa
 KGOMO, Mapula Dinah
 KGOMO, Matina Josias
 KGOMO, Mosima Nyatsina
 KGOMO, Nare Gideon
 KGOMO, Phala Tyus
 KGOMO, Phelepina Nare Makwena
 KGOMO, Phuti Frans
 KGOMO, Tshepishi Elias
 KGOMONGOE, Linah Ouma
 KGOPA, Hodi Ananias
 KGOPA, Mabona Johannes
 KGOPANE, Abram Rapule
 KGOPODIMETSE, Thusoeamodimo
 Elias
 KGOROEABOGO, Mokolobe John
 KGWAHLA, James Mashilo
 KGWAKGWA, Bosinki John
 KGWAKGWA, Mmakgaje Sophy
 KGWALA, Mara Simon
 KGWASI, Esther
 KGWETE, Makgabutlane Frans.
 KGWETE, Moraka John
 KHABA, Ntemi Simon
 KHABA, Ntombizodwa Christina
 KHABANYANE, Mavuzo Atwell
 KHABINGCA, Aaron Saki
 KHADI, Mbuyiseli
 KHAHIDE, Duduzi
 KHAHLA, Veronica Nomvula
 KHAILE, Elizabeth Meme
 KHAILE, Mokete
 KHAILE, Selinah
 KHAKHANE, Samson Thabiso
 KHALA, Nophakamile
 KHALIPHA, Senzangabom Vusumzi
 KHAMBA, Njabulo Cyprian
 KHAMBULA, Sitololo Gladys
 KHAMBULE, Bajabuhle Christinah
 KHAMBULE, Baza
 KHAMBULE, Ben November
 KHAMBULE, Khombisile
 KHAMBULE, Khombisile
 KHAMBULE, Nhlanhleni Pius
 KHAMBULE, Nonhlanhla
 KHAMBULE, Ntombikayise
 KHAMBULE, Regina
 KHAMBULE, Sibongiseni Bethuel
 KHAMBULE, Thembi Gladys Siso
 KHAMBULE, Tshelinkosi Amos

KHAMBULE, Vayo Wilbert
 KHAMBULE, Vusumuzi Khethokwakhe
 KHAMBULE, Welkom
 KHAMPEPE, Mampho Rosinah
 KHAMPEPE, Rosina Mampho
 KHAN, Dennis
 KHAN, Gulzar
 KHANG, Mphafane Jacob
 KHANGE, Nyadzanga
 KHANGO, Zandisile
 KHANO, Malcolm
 KHANTSI, Neo
 KHANTSI, Sheila Tselane
 KHANYA, Tshehla Joseph
 KHANYASE, Andreas Mboneni
 KHANYE, Martha Fransina
 KHANYENDE, Thororo Michael
 KHANYEZA, Lucky Michael
 KHANYILE Siphio
 KHANYILE, Absolom Fano
 KHANYILE, Benedict Bongani
 KHANYILE, Bongani
 KHANYILE, Busisiwe Ellen
 KHANYILE, David Mzwelihle
 KHANYILE, Dlezakhe Wilson
 KHANYILE, Doris
 KHANYILE, Ectina Babakeleni
 KHANYILE, Fanyana
 KHANYILE, Gerlie Constance
 KHANYILE, Gezani Margaret
 KHANYILE, James
 KHANYILE, Japani Robert
 KHANYILE, Mandla Prince
 KHANYILE, Mbango Johannes
 KHANYILE, Mhokozisi Welcome
 KHANYILE, Musawenkosi Vincent
 KHANYILE, Silungile Alexina
 KHANYILE, Sithembiso Wiseman
 KHANYILE, Sphaza
 KHANYILE, Thembekile Esther
 KHANYILE, Thulani Reynos
 KHANYILE, Vusi
 KHANYILE, Welcome Mthokozisi
 KHANYILE, William
 KHANYILE, Xolile
 KHANYILE, Zenzele Lenos
 KHAPHA, Lholho
 KHAPHA, Lizo
 KHASIBE, Bayephi Khasibe
 KHATHAZA, Elias Zamane
 KHATHI, Busisiwe Ester
 KHATHI, Matakua Ernestina
 KHATHIDE, Thabi Francisca
 KHATHINI, Siphio Bethwell
 KHATHULA, Mlithalwa
 KHATI, Bangeni Hermina
 KHATSHWA, Makulana
 KHAULA, Soliwe Scholastica
 KHAVE, Mthundezi
 KHAWULA, Allen Thembitshe
 KHAWULA, Annatoria Ncamisile
 KHAWULA, Aubrey Mnguthu Khanla
 KHAWULA, Crawford Sandile
 KHAWULA, Felani Florence
 KHAWULA, Margate

KHAWULA, Mbhekiseni
 KHAWULA, Nkampu Timothy
 KHAWULA, Nzo Victoria
 KHAWULA, Sebenza Maria
 KHAWULA, Thembitshe Allen
 KHAWULA, Zazi Amos
 KHAWULA, Zibonele Wilson Joja
 KHAYIYANA, Donald
 KHAYIYANA, Inah Delicia Mama
 KHAYIYANA, Victor Lunga
 KHENA, Pius
 KHENISA, Edward Mduduzi
 KHESWA, Fana Simon
 KHESWA, Felix Thulani
 KHESWA, Felix Thulani
 KHESWA, Fikile Caroline
 KHESWA, Johannes Jabulani
 KHESWA, Mduduzi Paulos
 KHESWA, Modiehi Annah
 KHESWA, Moses
 KHESWA, Mzwandile
 KHESWA, P. Xolani
 KHESWA, Samuel Molefi
 KHESWA, Sibusiso
 KHESWA, Simangele Loveness
 KHETHWA, Simphiwe
 KHOALI, Jacob
 KHOBO, Siyabulela
 KHOBOKOANE, Patrick Vuyisile
 KHODOBO, Livhuwani Bertina
 KHOELI, Anna
 KHOHLAKALA, Funeka Caroline
 KHOHLOKOANE, Muso Johannes
 KHOJANE, Sehloho John
 KHOKHO, Thembile David
 KHOLOBENG, Kenneth Mpho
 KHOMFANA, Bulelwa
 KHOMO, Bakhephi
 KHOMO, Bewula
 KHOMO, Cashephi
 KHOMO, Lindiwe
 KHOMO, Mongezi
 KHOMO, Nompumelelo Mildred
 KHOMO, Ntombazi Adelaide
 Ntombikayise
 KHOMO, Sibonelo Alpheus Khosi
 KHOMO, Thembekile Maria
 KHOMO, Thulukuphela
 KHOMOTSWANE, Boy Victor
 KHOMOYASERA, Lucas Mabitsela
 KHONDLO, Siyabulela Xolani
 KHONELA, Thandiwe
 KHONGO, Dolman
 KHONJWAYO, Mantondwano
 KHONKHUBE, Thembi Rachel
 KHONOU, Simon
 KHONZANA, Siphio Eric
 KHOSA, Michael Mbika
 KHOSANA, Molelekoa Petros
 KHOSI, Mantahli Anestacia
 KHOSI, Tselisa Pule Dodo
 KHOWA, Bongani
 KHOWA, Busisiwe
 KHOWA, David Fanilo
 KHOWA, Myekeni Zakariya

KHOWA, Sithembela
 KHOWA, Tholakele Margaret
 KHOWA, Thulisile Theku
 KHOWA, Zenzele Wilfred
 KHOWA, Zwelifile
 KHOZA, Beyans
 KHOZA, Bhekuyise
 KHOZA, Bindiwe Mamxineka
 KHOZA, Bongani Sylvester
 KHOZA, Christian Kungumuzi
 KHOZA, Dami Lydia
 KHOZA, David Bheka
 KHOZA, Derrick
 KHOZA, Dolly
 KHOZA, Dudu Lynette
 KHOZA, Elsie
 KHOZA, Excellent Xoli
 KHOZA, Fanani Hendrick
 KHOZA, Irene
 KHOZA, Joseph Sirero
 KHOZA, Jutas
 KHOZA, Kelzina Nokulunga
 KHOZA, Lindiwe Georgina
 KHOZA, Mandlakayise Daniel
 KHOZA, Mathithibala Aaron
 KHOZA, Matimba Bheki
 KHOZA, Mdau Zebo
 KHOZA, Mhlupheki
 KHOZA, Mntungani
 KHOZA, Mveli
 KHOZA, Ngnane Aron
 KHOZA, Ntombifikile Jabu
 KHOZA, Ossis Peter
 KHOZA, Patrick
 KHOZA, Robert Siphio
 KHOZA, Sindisiwe
 KHOZA, Solomon Boy
 KHOZA, Themba Joseph
 KHOZA, Thembekile Roselyn
 KHOZA, Thomas
 KHOZA, Ti
 KHOZA, Zenzele Alpheus
 KHOZA, Ziningi Eunice
 KHOZA, Zondani Gretta
 KHUBEKA, Ntombikayise Priscilla
 KHUBEKA, Paulina Maponto
 KHUBEKA, Timothy
 KHUBISA, Bonifus
 KHUBISA, Ntombithini Elizabeth
 KHUBISA, Siphio
 KHUBISA, Thokozani
 KHUBONE, Nomathamsanqa Priscilla
 KHUBONI, Cornelius Bhekamabhele
 KHULEZWENI, Tswana
 KHULU, Ntombiyesichaka Minah
 KHULU, Zazi Carol
 KHULUSE, Fikile Jennifer
 KHULUSE, Nikwephi Doris
 KHULUSE, Sdumo
 KHULUSE/MKHIZE, Bongani Paris
 KHUMALO Ewert Vusi
 KHUMALO Ntobeko
 KHUMALO, Ntokoza
 KHUMALO, Anthony
 KHUMALO, Armstrong Veli

KHUMALO, Babazile Busangani
 KHUMALO, Bafanyana
 KHUMALO, Bangizwe
 KHUMALO, Bavelile Florence
 KHUMALO, Beatrice
 KHUMALO, Ben
 KHUMALO, Bheki
 KHUMALO, Bheki Simon
 KHUMALO, Bongani
 KHUMALO, Bongwiwe
 KHUMALO, Boy Simon
 KHUMALO, Busisiwe Emily
 KHUMALO, Casswell Castro
 KHUMALO, Charlotte Siziwe
 KHUMALO, Cynthia Busie
 KHUMALO, Delani Selby
 KHUMALO, Delisile Cynthia
 KHUMALO, Derrick
 KHUMALO, Dombi Annitah
 KHUMALO, Duduzile
 KHUMALO, Duma Joshua
 KHUMALO, Elizabeth
 KHUMALO, Emmanuel Xolani
 KHUMALO, Eric George
 KHUMALO, Fana
 KHUMALO, Fanyana Godfrey
 KHUMALO, Fenter Lucas
 KHUMALO, Florence Zanyana
 KHUMALO, Fofu
 KHUMALO, Fundisiwe
 KHUMALO, Gcinizenzo Alpheus
 KHUMALO, Gezepi Josephina
 KHUMALO, Gladys
 KHUMALO, Gloria Sisi
 KHUMALO, Godfrey
 KHUMALO, Godfrey
 KHUMALO, Gombo Engelinah
 KHUMALO, Gugu Erick
 KHUMALO, Gugulani
 KHUMALO, Innocent Jabulani
 KHUMALO, Innocent Thulani
 KHUMALO, Jabulani Elphas
 KHUMALO, Jabulile Gladisie
 KHUMALO, Jabulisile Grace
 KHUMALO, Jack
 KHUMALO, James
 KHUMALO, Japie
 KHUMALO, Johannes
 KHUMALO, Joseph
 KHUMALO, Josia
 KHUMALO, Joyce Ntombifikile
 KHUMALO, Leli Alfred
 KHUMALO, Madoda Elphas
 KHUMALO, Makhosazani
 KHUMALO, Mamsie Thandie
 KHUMALO, Mandla
 KHUMALO, Mantombi Millicent
 KHUMALO, Matilda
 KHUMALO, Mavis
 KHUMALO, Mbango Empire
 KHUMALO, Mbhekiseni Allen
 KHUMALO, Mbuyiseni Aron
 KHUMALO, Mfanafuthi
 KHUMALO, Mfunyaniseni Sizuyise
 KHUMALO, Mjabulelwa Vitus

KHUMALO, Mlando Amon
 KHUMALO, Musawenkosi
 KHUMALO, Mxolisi Innocent
 KHUMALO, Nduku
 KHUMALO, Nelson Bhekezakhe
 KHUMALO, Nhlanhla
 KHUMALO, Njabulo
 KHUMALO, Nje Alpheus
 KHUMALO, Nokolonga Lillian
 KHUMALO, Nokulungu Phyllis
 KHUMALO, Nompumelelo Jabu
 KHUMALO, Norman
 KHUMALO, Norman Sidumo
 KHUMALO, Nosipho
 KHUMALO, Ntombanyana
 KHUMALO, Ntombi Gertrude
 KHUMALO, Ntombi Mavis
 KHUMALO, Ntombi Petronica
 KHUMALO, Ntulizwe Robert
 KHUMALO, Petronella Nomagugu
 KHUMALO, Phabantu
 KHUMALO, Phiwayinkosi
 KHUMALO, Phumzile
 KHUMALO, Phyllis Nomathemba
 KHUMALO, Pretty
 KHUMALO, Prudence Nomusa
 KHUMALO, Qhoshephi
 KHUMALO, Rejoice Dudu
 KHUMALO, Robert Gadla
 KHUMALO, Robert Ndabezitha
 KHUMALO, Robert Sipiwe
 KHUMALO, Rodney Bizzah
 KHUMALO, Sandile Braveman
 KHUMALO, Sebenzile
 KHUMALO, Sevi
 KHUMALO, Sibongiseni
 KHUMALO, Sihle
 KHUMALO, Siphi Phillemon
 KHUMALO, Sipiwe
 KHUMALO, Sipiwe Alfred
 KHUMALO, Siphu Ezrom
 KHUMALO, Sizakele Princess
 KHUMALO, Sizeni
 KHUMALO, Templeton
 KHUMALO, Themba Emmanuel Liberty
 KHUMALO, Themba Jerry
 KHUMALO, Themba Simon
 KHUMALO, Themba Walter
 KHUMALO, Thembile
 KHUMALO, Thembinkosi Freedom
 Victus
 KHUMALO, Thoko
 KHUMALO, Thokozile
 KHUMALO, Thokozile Margaret
 KHUMALO, Tholakele Philisiwe
 KHUMALO, Thubelihle Goodwill
 KHUMALO, Thulani
 KHUMALO, Thuthukani
 KHUMALO, Velaphi Stanley
 KHUMALO, Vuka Moses
 KHUMALO, Xolani
 KHUMALO, Zakhele Simon
 KHUMALO, Zakhile
 KHUMALO, Zinhle
 KHUMALO, Zodwa Albertina

KHUMALO, Zodwa Makutulu
 KHUMALO, Zolile Columbus
 KHUMALO, Zondwayo
 KHUMBULE, Thulebona
 KHUMBUZA, Jeremiah
 KHUMBUZA, Joyce Ntombintathu
 KHUMBUZA, Thandekile
 KHUNDULU, Siphu
 KHUNONG, Billy Boy
 KHUNOU, Abram Reuben
 KHUNYELI, Irish
 KHUPANE, Paul Santu Chopper
 KHUSELO, Martin Meza
 KHUSI, Ntombi
 KHUSI, Ntombi Innah
 KHUSI, Sithembiso
 KHUSI, Sithembiso
 KHUSI, Sithembiso
 KHUTLEDI, Lucky
 KHUTO, Edward Ngwanammakau
 KHUTWANE, Yvonne
 KHUZWAYO, Bethwell
 KHUZWAYO, Bhudluza
 KHUZWAYO, Blessing Sibusiso
 KHUZWAYO, Bongani
 KHUZWAYO, Cebisile Prisca
 KHUZWAYO, Chithekile
 KHUZWAYO, Cyprian Zibonele
 KHUZWAYO, Duduzile
 KHUZWAYO, Ellen
 KHUZWAYO, Elliot Mkhanyiselwa
 KHUZWAYO, Emanuel Smakade
 KHUZWAYO, Emmanuel Norman
 KHUZWAYO, Fandoda Alpheus
 KHUZWAYO, Gcinimali Abraham
 KHUZWAYO, Hawukile Christinah
 KHUZWAYO, Howaard Freeze
 KHUZWAYO, Iris Busisiwe
 KHUZWAYO, Johnson
 KHUZWAYO, Josephina
 KHUZWAYO, Khalangani
 KHUZWAYO, Khetha Muhlebona
 KHUZWAYO, Khumbulani
 KHUZWAYO, Lindiwe Victoria
 Mambhele
 KHUZWAYO, Lobeleni Mavis
 KHUZWAYO, Mandlenkosi Obed
 KHUZWAYO, Michael
 KHUZWAYO, Mxolelwa James
 KHUZWAYO, Mzwandile Christopher
 KHUZWAYO, Nelisiwe
 KHUZWAYO, Ngenzeni Rejoice
 KHUZWAYO, Nhlanhla Victor
 KHUZWAYO, Nkosenhle
 KHUZWAYO, Nokulunga
 KHUZWAYO, Nqobile
 KHUZWAYO, Ntombi Phaqa Bekisepi
 KHUZWAYO, Petronella Nelisiwe
 KHUZWAYO, Phendukile
 KHUZWAYO, Phumulani
 KHUZWAYO, Pumapi
 KHUZWAYO, Qondeni Tryphina
 KHUZWAYO, Rosemary
 KHUZWAYO, Sibongile Mavis
 KHUZWAYO, Sibongiseni Aubry

KHUZWAYO, Sigana
 KHUZWAYO, Simama
 KHUZWAYO, Sindisiwe Thuleleni
 KHUZWAYO, Siphiwo James
 KHUZWAYO, Sphe
 KHUZWAYO, Sthembiso
 KHUZWAYO, Sthomba Lillian
 KHUZWAYO, Teressa Ntombifuthi
 KHUZWAYO, Thembinkosi Enoch
 KHUZWAYO, Thembisile Agnes
 KHUZWAYO, Thokozani
 KHUZWAYO, Tholakele
 KHUZWAYO, Vusi
 KHUZWAYO, Vusumuzi
 KHUZWAYO, Vusumuzi Vincent
 KHUZWAYO, Winnifred
 KHUZWAYO, Xolani Eric
 KHUZWAYO, Zazi
 KHUZWAYO, Zwi
 KHWELA, Balekile
 KHWELA, Bonga Dominic Boysie
 KHWELA, Jabulani Timothy
 KHWELA, Makhosazana Ethel Makho
 KHWELA, Mandlakayise Barthemius
 KHWELA, Mzwamanka Cyprian
 KHWELA, Patricia Themba
 KHWELA, Richard Mpuvele
 KHWELA, Thandanani Siphiwe
 KHWEZI, Mabila Ju
 KIBI, Bhutiki John
 KIKA, Theophullis
 KIKABE, Sharon Raymond Lethusang
 KILANI, Mbuzeli Robbie Norontose
 KILANI, Nomonde Sylvia
 KILANI, Toto Lawrence
 KILI, Jerry Simmango
 KILIBANE, Zolisa
 KILLEEN, Peggy Shona
 KIMBILI, Stoto
 KING, Dorothy
 KING, Gerard Quintin
 KING, Gwen
 KING, Russel
 KINIKINI, Lulamile Patrick
 KINIKINI, Luvuyo Stanley
 KINIKINI, Mzoxolo
 KINIKINI, Qondile
 KINIKINI, Silumko Welcome
 KINIKINI, Thamsanqa Benjamin
 KINIKINI, Zamuxolo Eric
 KIRSTEN, Rene
 KIVITI, Mxolisi Desmond
 KLAAS, Buyisile Nicholas
 KLAAS, Livingstone Pawulezi
 KLAAS, Mbuyiseli Sidwell
 KLAAS, Phumelelo
 KLAAS, Sililo Joseph
 KLAAS, Thembisile John
 KLAAS, Vuyelwa
 KLAASEN, Boetman Matanzi
 KLAASEN, Johanna Aleta
 KLAASEN, Nombulelo Mina
 KLAASSEN, Andile Amos
 KLAASTE, Aubrey
 KLAASTE, Gerald

KLAASTE, Rubin
 KLEIN, Brenda
 KLEINBOOI, David
 KNOUWDS, Salomon Jacobus
 KOAHO, Lalula
 KOAHO, Moya Kleinbooi
 KOAPENG, Johannah Refilwe
 KOBE, Andile Anton
 KOBESE, James
 KOBOKA, Bubele
 KOBOLA, Phaladi Phineas
 KODISANG, Shadrack
 KODISANG, Sipho Adam
 KOEE, Aobakwe Gilbert
 KOELMAN, Bernard
 KOELMAN, Noma-Efese Nielmary
 KOEN, Chrissie
 KOENA, Anna
 KOHL, Aliston Phillip
 KOHLAKALI, Ntontle
 KOHLI, Qalisile John
 KOITENG, Moses Mothuphi
 KOKA, Ben France
 KOKI, Mamokgele Roslyn
 KOKOME, Betty Onini
 KOLA, Elizabeth
 KOLA, Thomas
 KOLE, Ntati David
 KOLISANG, Daniel Khopotso
 KOLISANG, Petrus Lepekola
 KOLISANG, Tsepiso Faith
 KOLISI, Tatana
 KOLISILE, Gampimpi Doctor
 KOLITI, Nontle
 KOLO, Tomas
 KOLOBE, Henry Malapile
 KOLOI, Kenathatha Alice
 KOLOI, Machaya Phineas
 KOLOI, Ohentse Richard
 KOLOTI, Elvis Radimakatso
 KOLOTLA, James Madebe
 KOLWANE, Eliyot Mosimanegape
 KOM, Gladys Nomgcobo
 KOMANE, Nombuselo
 KOMANI, Brian
 KOMANI, Nonesi Nocawe
 KOMANI, Vumile
 KOMAPE, Mosima Elisa
 KOMAPE, Phaka Maphuti
 KOMAPE, Phuti Elsie
 KOMETSI, Isaac Modikeng
 KOMO, Bashintshile
 KOMO, Bonakabi
 KOMO, Reginald Wonder
 KOMSASI, Sikade Council
 KONDILE, Gcinisizwe
 KONDLO, Thembekile
 KONE, Mmbengeni Bernard
 KONGO, Lawrence Thobile
 KONILE, Zabonke John
 KONTYO, Siphiwo Hendry
 KONYA, Tom
 KONYANE, Paphala Richard
 KONYANE, Ralepheto Jackson
 KOPELE, Philemon

KOPELEDI, Kebarileng Hagai
 KOPOLO, Albert Magayiva
 KOPUNG, Paulos
 KORDOM, Kerneels
 KOROTSOANE, Franscis Tahleho
 KOTA, Mzolisi Simon
 KOTA, Vuyo
 KOTANE, Tumeleng Ernest Lebalda
 KOTELLO, Mathabo Johannes
 KOTLOLO, Walesela Daniel
 KOTO, Andries Odrie
 KOTOPE, Motsamai Albert Zapu
 KOTOTSI, Mosipili Paulina
 KOTSELE, Zwelandle Simon
 KOWA, Phangiwe Irene
 KOZA, Kasbay
 KOZA, Mandla Aaron
 KOZA, Tembani Ntombinkulu
 KRATSHANE, Tswinana Alfred
 KRATSHI, Mandlenkosi
 KRECKIE LEKONE, Sonny
 KRECKIE, Loot Peter
 KRECKIE, Rocky
 KRIEL, Ashley James
 KROLI, Phumzile Samuel
 KROMA, Sipho
 KROMBERG, Anita Helen
 KRUGER, Franz
 KRUGER, Ryan Christopher
 KRUSER, Gary John
 KUAPE, Mantwa Lydia
 KUBAYI, Solomon Muzamane
 KUBEKA, Zamokwakhe
 KUBEKA- MODISE, Abigale Sibongile
 KUBEKA, Albertina
 KUBEKA, Amos Bongani
 KUBEKA, Bongani
 KUBEKA, Booi
 KUBEKA, Clement
 KUBEKA, Dumisani
 KUBEKA, Dumisani Wilfred
 KUBEKA, Elvis
 KUBEKA, Fakazi Jerome
 KUBEKA, Jeffrey
 KUBEKA, Joshua
 KUBEKA, Linda Bethuel
 KUBEKA, Mondli Petros
 KUBEKA, Mphikeleli Kenneth
 KUBEKA, Ndoda
 KUBEKA, Nkosinath
 KUBEKA, Perceival Mlamuli
 KUBEKA, Phumelele Beula
 KUBEKA, Piet
 KUBEKA, Pijone John
 KUBEKA, Sabatha
 KUBEKA, Siphiwe Patrick
 KUBEKA, Sipho Hamilton
 KUBEKA, Solomon Mandla
 KUBEKA, Swenki Autry
 KUBEKA, Thandi Anna
 KUBEKA, Themba Petros
 KUBEKA, Thoko Tryphina
 KUBEKA, Thusi Hezekiel
 KUBEKA, Vusumuzi Joseph
 KUBEKA, Zozo Jerry

KUBONE, Bakwenzile Anna
 KUBONE, Thomas
 KUEBELO, Makupula
 KUHLANE, Mntunyane
 KUHLANE, Mzwandile
 KUILDER, Garth
 KULA, Fezile Terrance
 KULA, Jimmy
 KULA, Madoda Shackleton
 KULA, Nombulelo Ida
 KULA, Nowinini Minah
 KULANI, Ntsikelelo Eric
 KULATI, Nokuzola Agnes
 KUMALO, Bongani Jameson
 KUMALO, Jabulisile Topsie
 KUMALO, Johannes Dumisani
 KUMALO, Kulumilo Merinah
 KUMALO, Makhlophehi John
 KUMALO, Mamota Rosy
 KUMALO, Nomakhosazana
 KUMALO, Nomasonto
 KUMALO, Peseniya Caiphas
 KUMALO, Sheqe Albert
 KUMALO, Sholo Menesa
 KUMALO, Timothy Mandla
 KUMALO, Vuyelwa Edith
 KUNENE, Alfred Bongani
 KUNENE, Alice Fikile
 KUNENE, Alson Bhokamina
 KUNENE, Bafana Julius
 KUNENE, Barry Mandla
 KUNENE, Bhokinduku
 KUNENE, Bhokuyise Godfrey
 KUNENE, Daniel Musi
 KUNENE, Douglas Nhlanhla
 KUNENE, Duduzile Monica
 KUNENE, Francisca Khushu
 KUNENE, Jabulani
 KUNENE, Jabulani Alexendra
 KUNENE, Lolo
 KUNENE, Mandla John
 KUNENE, Maria Makhosazane
 KUNENE, Mfana Julius
 KUNENE, Mjwayezeni
 KUNENE, Mlungisi Mandlenkosi Petros
 KUNENE, Musa Moses
 KUNENE, Ngigalile Sizani
 KUNENE, Nhlangu
 KUNENE, Nhlangula
 KUNENE, Nombuso Mariam
 KUNENE, Nompumelelo Ethel
 KUNENE, Nonhlanhla
 KUNENE, Ntombisithi
 KUNENE, Philanyenkosi Jouakim
 KUNENE, Phumzile Victoria
 KUNENE, Simon
 KUNENE, Wiseman
 KUTOANE, Joseph
 KUTOANE, Seabata Azael Gordon
 KUTU, Abel Mzwentlanga
 KUTU, Kgabuso David
 KUTUMELA, Lesiba David
 KUTUMELA, Lucky Makombo
 KUWANA, Nonkululeko Edith
 KUZWAYO, Emelina Doreen

KUZWAYO, Mfanomuhle Gideon
 KUZWAYO, Ndoloza Maria
 KUZWAYO, Tuman
 KWAAMAN, Christopher
 KWATI, Simanko Frans
 KWAYI, Amon
 KWAYINTO, Stototolo
 KWAZA, Minah Baba
 KWAZA, Nomkhanyelo
 KWAZA, Shadrack
 KWELA, Emerald Sandile
 KWELA, Phumzile Claudia
 KWELA, Timothy S'Thembiso
 KWENA, Matshediso Gloria
 KWENAI, Ngwako Johannes
 KWENDA, Sifiso Patrick
 KWETEPANE, Masoga Phillemon
 KWEYAMA, Ambrose Bekizizwe
 KWEYAMA, Austine
 KWEYAMA, Bernard
 KWEYAMA, Bhokintaba Bernard
 KWEYAMA, Bhokizitha Johnson
 KWEYAMA, Bhokoni
 KWEYAMA, Khethukuthula Wiseman
 KWEYAMA, Lukhawu Armstrong
 KWEYAMA, Mabhozi Isaac
 KWEYAMA, Mthethawavuvumi
 KWEYAMA, Nhlanhla Emmanuel
 KWEYAMA, Ntombihlezithi Grace
 KWEYAMA, Richman Zama
 KWEYAMA, Thandeka Rejoice
 KWEYAMA, Thembokwakhe James
 KWEZI, Ntsikelelo Abdul
 KWINANA, Alfred
 KWINDA, Tshinane Daphney
 KWINDLA, Joseph Themba
 KWIPI, Nonzima Virginia
 KWIWOMBA, Henry
 KYDE, Brian

LABUSCHAGNE, Jeremy
 LADLOKOVA, Mzolisi Pilton
 LAKABE, Thomas Pule
 LAKEYI, Meanwell
 LALA, Thomazile Solomon
 LALI, Zwelitsha
 LAMANI, Edward Madonela
 LAMOLA, Piet Molathegi
 LAMULA, Bongani Petros
 LAMULA, Zibonele Jahannes
 LANDE, Kolisile Christopher
 LANDE, Nkosana
 LANDINGWE, Danile Julius
 LANDINGWE, Lilly Wikha
 LANDINGWE, Mandla Patrick
 LANDMAN, Annamaria
 LANDU, Vusumzi Khotso Patrick
 LANGA, Amon
 LANGA, Babini
 LANGA, Bester
 LANGA, Bongani
 LANGA, Bongani Selby
 LANGA, Christine Shirley
 LANGA, Diphapang Marcus Mareka
 LANGA, Gilbert Mandlenkosi
 LANGA, Lerato
 LANGA, Linden Ivy
 LANGA, Lucky Thulani
 LANGA, Magekeni Herbet
 LANGA, Mbongeni Robert
 LANGA, Mfundisi Douglas
 LANGA, Micheal Ngamula
 LANGA, Mvakash
 LANGA, Mzu Calphas
 LANGA, Nkosinathi Emmanuel
 LANGA, Nombulele
 LANGA, Phaphamani
 LANGA, Phumzile Josephina
 LANGA, Thembelani Reginald
 LANGA, Vukani Melusi
 LANGA, Wellington Phungulu
 LANGA, Zoleka Rosemary
 LANGBOOI, Bulelwa Cynthia Sbenge
 LANGENHOVEN, Robert
 LANGFORD, Bernadette Sharon
 LAPSLEY, Michael Alan
 LATHA, Bangizwe Eric
 LATHA, Fakazani Albertina
 LATHA, Jemina
 LATHA, Lindiwe
 LATHA, Sam
 LAUFS, Bernett
 LAUFS, Carol
 LE BRUN, Louis James
 LE CLUE, Jenny
 LE CLUE, Noel
 LEAKOHILE, Moses Moshweunyane
 LEBALLO, Koen Steven
 LEBALLO, Tisetso
 LEBATLA, Sisi Emily
 LEBEBE, Ramokoni Queen
 LEBELWANE, Victor Kabelo
 LEBEPE, Johannes
 LEBEREKO, Fish Ben
 LEBEREKO, Litshoane Elizabeth
 LEBESE, Mdungwadi J.
 LEBETE, Watkins
 LEBETHE, Romanne Phillip
 LEBOGO, Ledile
 LEBOGO, Mamoletelo
 LEBOGO, Maphuti Maria
 LEBOGO, Mosima Nelly
 LEBOKO, Joseph Lesoana
 LEBOKO, Tsietsi
 LEBOPU, Puleng Martha
 LEDGERWOOD, Timothy John
 LEDILE, Moja
 LEDULA, Shadrack
 LEDWABA, Bonginkosi Samuel
 LEDWABA, Elias
 LEDWABA, Elizabeth
 LEDWABA, Jacob
 LEDWABA, Johanna Rakgadi
 LEDWABA, Johannes
 LEDWABA, Lawrence Mphodisa
 LEDWABA, Lucy Nono
 LEDWABA, Masabata Miriam
 LEDWABA, Motsaleledi Johannes
 LEDWABA, Stanley Moalusi
 LEDWABA, Walter

LEEMANS, Ivan
 LEEPILE, Joseph
 LEEUW, Libakiso Sinah
 LEEUW, Tshidiso Isaiah
 LEEUW, Victor Mvuyisi
 LEFAKANE, Tshehla Simon
 LEFHIEDI, Elias Rangoane
 LEFHIEDI, Justinah
 LEFHIEDI, Khabi Elias
 LEFHIEDI, Lekhooa Elias
 LEFHIEDI, Matshediso Johanna
 LEFHIEDI, Wesi
 LEFHIEDI, Zacharia
 LEFOKA, Tshivhidzo Frank
 LEGARE, Mkhokho Simon
 LEGODI, Philip Mahwiti
 LEGWETE, Maki Francina
 LEHOBYE, Malose John
 LEHOKO, Samuel Winston
 LEHOMO, Doctor Mahlodi
 LEHPHADI, John Modisaotlile
 LEKABE, Modise Jacob
 LEKABE, Pule Thomas
 LEKALAKALA, Mokgaetsi Letta
 LEKALAKALA, Monica Lina
 LEKALAKALA, Rasenono Shadrack
 LEKALAKALA, Seketla Philip
 LEKATSA, Samuel Molefe
 LEKGHELE, Tosi
 LEKGETHISO, Justice
 LEKGOTHOANE, Bishop Victor
 LEKHHELE, Samson Mabaki Sami
 LEKHESI, Petrus Thembeni
 LEKOALETSO, Palesa Nthato Palesa
 LEKOMA, Nicholas
 LEKONE, Cascious
 LEKWANA, Ezekiel Zakes
 LEKWAPE, Kgosietsile Paul
 LELE, Charles
 LELEKI, Mxolisi Canwell
 LEMAOANE, Puseletso Phillip
 LEMBEDE, Hezekial Mandla
 LEMBETHE, Tobis Cabangile
 LENGANTE, Puleng
 LENGENE, Moleke Peter
 LENGOSANE, Hosea
 LENG, Nomathemba
 LENG, Temba
 LENG, Tutu Phillip
 LENGWATI, Ruben
 LENGWATI, Thokozile Josephine
 LENISA, Pileng Maria
 LENKOE, James Thabiso
 LENKOE, Nathaniel Titus
 LENONG, Mathew Dithoko
 LENONG, Simon
 LENTSELA, Richard Bushi
 LENZI, Nzenzi
 LEPAKU, Molate Violet
 LEPEE, Merriam Leya
 LEPHADI, Ishmael
 LEPHADI, Jacob
 LEPHADI, Motshehwa Sinah
 LEPEHEANE, Seloane Louisa
 LEPHOTHE, Sello Michael
 LEPHUTING, Kenneth
 LEPHUTING, Moko Melita
 LEPITA, Erusmas
 LEROBA, Thabiso Temple
 LERUELE, Makgotle Samuel
 LERUMO, Luvuyo
 LERUMO, Molatelo Ribone
 LERUMO, Nana Nelly
 LERUTLA, Mathews Prompane
 LERUTLA, Phillistus Botsietsa
 LESABA, Esau Lion Letsatsi
 LESCH, Mark Colin
 LESEJANE, Johanna
 LESENYEHO, Godfrey Teko
 LESENYEHO, Trevor Tsepo
 LESETJA, Makgala Maria
 LESHOBO, Rebecca
 LESHORO MATSUKU, Lydia Matsoku
 LESIBA, Berth Rachel
 LESIGE, Reeves Kenosi
 LESO, Johannes
 LESOETSA, Tladi Charles
 LESOTHO, Molefi Klaas
 LESOTHO, Spanki David
 LETEBELE, Mogomotsi
 LETHELA, Patience
 LETHLAKE, Titi Saltiel
 LETIANE, Gaitsewe Selina
 LETLABIKA, Moni Joseph
 LETLAPE, Blumi Chritina
 LETSABA, Andries Kholokoane
 LETSEBE, Noah
 LETSELE, Goerge Mampala
 LETSHETI, Ndaphulele
 LETSHOLO, Boetie Johannes
 LETSHOLONYANA, Jacob Nothi
 LETSHOLONYANA, Jacob Ramosiko
 LETSHOLONYANA, Maenia Dorothy
 LETSHWENE, Charley Letjatji
 LETSIE, Augustina Mmapaniki
 LETSIE, Daniel Moarabi
 LETSIE, David Tebello
 LETSIE, Evelyn
 LETSIE, Sanna Puleng
 LETSIRI, Callion Mokoena
 LETSOALO, Benjamin Zilwa
 LETSOALO, Malenu Raesibe
 LETSOALO, Moshai Joseph
 LETSOENYO, Tom Ratshabonyana
 LETSWALO, Ernest
 LETSWALO, Fano Marcus
 LETSWALO, Jane Phumzile
 LETSWALO, Princess
 LEVE, Phikolomzi Bigboy
 LEVUNO, Velile Churchill
 LEVY, Ricardo
 LEWIS, Edith
 LEWIS, Gavin
 LIBERTY, Eric Robert
 LIETSIISO, Puseletso Nono
 LIGHT, Mzwandile Eric
 LIHLITLIE, Isaac Monyeke
 LIKOTSI, Joang Johannes
 LIKOTSI, Thomas
 LILA, Douglas Thembi
 LIMAKO, Nomusa Qondile
 LIMAKO, Qondeni Nomusa
 LINDA, Buzani
 LINDA, Ernest Ndoda
 LINDA, Frank
 LINDA, Kwanele Alfred
 LINDA, Nomashosha Agnes
 LINDA, Norman
 LINDA, Sindisiwe
 LINDA, Sindisiwe Euginia
 LINDA, Thoko Lephinah
 LINDI, Nozuko
 LINDWA, Mgangathi
 LINGWATE, Noelana
 LINKS, Aletta Irene
 LINKS, Lewellyn Neil Cornelius
 LION, Matshediso Neria
 LIPHOKO, David Maluta
 LIPHOKO, Sophia Matseliso
 LITLAME, Nthabiseng Germaine
 LITLHAKANYANE, Lietsiso Eckoo
 LITTLE, Kathleen
 LIWANE, Georgina Ma-Umfundisi
 LIWANE, Mzwandile
 LIZANI, Nomathemba Sheilla
 LIZO, Anderson Mpendelo
 LLALE, Mathodi Diane
 LOBELO, Derrick Boitlthomo
 LOBELO, Francis Ohaletse
 LOBESE, Thobigunya
 LOCHENBURG, Ernest
 LOEWE, Michael Ian
 LOLO, Lucky Hendrick
 LOLWANA, Zenzile
 LOLWANE, Nomhle Beauty
 LOMBO, Arnold Lolo
 LOMBO, Ntombizonke Virginia
 LONDON, Wessel
 LONGWE, Patrick Skobho
 LONGWE, Sipho Leonard
 LONGZI, Thembisile Simon
 LOTHERING, Dennis David
 LOUW, Billy Boy
 LOUW, Daniel
 LOUW, Lewis Hamilton Thabo
 LOUW, Michael
 LOUW, Nosisana Celia
 LOUW, Robert
 LOUW, September Joseph
 LOVA, Tendijeni
 LOVING, Steven Kaumba
 LOZA, Nkwenkwe Elijah
 LUBANE, Petros Boy
 LUBANYANA, Agnes Phumzile
 LUBANYANA, Mkhosi Isaac
 LUBISI, Johnson Ncimbithi
 LUBISI, Samuel Ovar
 LUCAS, Brian
 LUCAS, Cornelius
 LUCAS, Jenny
 LUCAS, Sydney
 LUCAS, William
 LUDIDI, Abraham
 LUDUBE, Mnyamana
 LUDZIYA, Magangana

LUFUNDO, Catherine Thokozani
 LUKAS, John Johannes
 LUKAS, Michael
 LUKAS, Xolani
 LUKE, Mzamo Nelson
 LUKHELE, Brian Siphio
 LUKHELE, Clarence
 LUKHELE, David
 LUKHELE, Isaac Vusi
 LUKHELE, Moswaila Elizabeth
 LUKHELE, Oupa
 LUKHELE, Samaria
 LUKHELE, Siphwe Daniel
 LUKHULENI, Siphio Marcus
 LUKHULENI, Tokie Willie
 LUKREQO, Nonejele
 LUKWE, Simon
 LUMBO, Mandlakayise Singleton
 LUMKO, Tasi John
 LUMKO, Tassie
 LUND, Ralph Thomas
 LUNDA, Nombuyeselo Marie
 LUNGA, Bakhona Eric
 LUNGA, Mhlakazi Caswell
 LUNGU, Fanele Lefleur
 LUNGU, Willis Emily
 LUNGWASE, Busisiwe
 LUPHOKO, Michael
 LURULI, Ntshavheni Abram
 LUSHABA, Mence
 LUSHABA, Patrick Mfana
 LUSHABA, Sbongiseni Caiphaz
 LUSHABA, Thamsanqa Madoda
 LUSHABA, Thokozile Joshina
 LUSIKI, Lindile
 LUSIKI, Yoliswa Eurance
 LUTHANGO, Tholakele Doreen
 LUTHAYI, Jabulani Christian
 LUTHILI, Phillip
 LUTHULI, Azariah
 LUTHULI, Bekile
 LUTHULI, Bill Emmanuel
 LUTHULI, Boneni Christina
 LUTHULI, Bongani Mage
 LUTHULI, Bongive Fortune
 LUTHULI, Bongokwakhe Norman
 LUTHULI, Cabangile
 LUTHULI, Dlelaphi Ncengeni
 LUTHULI, Dumisani Romanus
 LUTHULI, Eric Langa
 LUTHULI, Fela Robert
 LUTHULI, Fortunate Nonhlanhla
 LUTHULI, Gamalakha Elphas
 LUTHULI, Gertrude
 LUTHULI, Henry Vika
 LUTHULI, Jabhisile
 LUTHULI, Jabulani Pavis
 LUTHULI, Jabulani Rogers
 LUTHULI, James
 LUTHULI, Lindiwe Thandi
 LUTHULI, Lovejoy Nomusa
 LUTHULI, Madoda James
 LUTHULI, Mandla Vincent
 LUTHULI, Mathonto Joyce
 LUTHULI, Mbekeni

LUTHULI, Mfihleni George
 LUTHULI, Mthintwa Azaria
 LUTHULI, Mtshelwa Pieter
 LUTHULI, Mudi Irene
 LUTHULI, Ndombolozi Sylvia
 LUTHULI, Ngethembi
 LUTHULI, Nicholas Sihle
 LUTHULI, Ntombi Annah
 LUTHULI, Penelope Gugulethu
 LUTHULI, Phayiphile Frans
 LUTHULI, Poza
 LUTHULI, Pumepi
 LUTHULI, Qondeni Mabongwe
 LUTHULI, Richard
 LUTHULI, Rita Gelasia
 LUTHULI, Sifiso
 LUTHULI, Simon Nkomemhlophe
 LUTHULI, Sizani Jester
 LUTHULI, Thandi Mayvis
 LUTHULI, Themba Phenias
 LUTHULI, Themba Theofrid
 LUTHULI, Thembekile
 LUTHULI, Thembikile
 LUTHULI, Thokozile Elsie
 LUTHULI, Victor
 LUTHULI, Vika Henry
 LUTHULI, Wiseman Nkosinathi
 LUTHULI, Ziphi Francisca
 LUTHULI, Zithulele
 LUTHULI, Balungile Khonzani
 LUTOLO, Fundisile
 LUTU, Olga Nomonde
 LUTULI, Alzina Mhlophe
 LUTULI, Fikisewe
 LUTULI, Nomajaji
 LUTULI, Tili
 LUTULI, Tolakele Mara
 LUTYA, Wiseman Madodomzi
 LUVATSHA, Themba
 LUVUNO, Dennis
 LUVUNO, Nomvuyiseko Eudicate
 LWANA, Mcpherson
 LWANA, Nimrod
 LWANA, Xolile Nicholas
 LWANE, Joshua
 LWAZINI, Nontetho

MAAKA, Makinta Elizabeth
 MAAKE, Jackson
 MAAKE, Matome David
 MAAKO, Tumishi
 MAAPE, David Thimelang
 MAARMAN, Sophie Nunusi
 MABALANE, Friddah
 MABANDLA, Gxakela
 MABANGA, Abraham Doctor
 MABANGA, Bhinkosi Moses
 MABANGA, Grinance Thembi
 MABANGA, Musa
 MABANGA, Thengindawu
 MABARA, Christinah
 MABASA, Joyinile
 MABASA, Matopi
 MABASA, Msisinyani Moses
 MABASA, Mthavini

MABASA, Nomafoze
 MABASA, Sizani Lindeni
 MABASO, Fana Alpheus
 MABASO, Alfred Mhlopheki
 MABASO, Bafana Leonard
 MABASO, Castro Mandla
 MABASO, Christopher Siphio
 MABASO, David Vusi
 MABASO, Dinah
 MABASO, Dombi Cathrine
 MABASO, Dwana Eslina
 MABASO, Ernest Themba
 MABASO, Francis Khanyisiwe
 MABASO, Goodman Sibusiso
 MABASO, Gugu Goodness
 MABASO, Hlengiwe
 MABASO, Hluphekile Ntombizonke
 MABASO, Jabulisile Caline
 MABASO, Jane Makhosazane
 MABASO, Johannes
 MABASO, Joseph Sibusiso
 MABASO, Joyful
 MABASO, Khangwayeni Beatrice
 MABASO, Lindiwe Sarah
 MABASO, Maqinqi Idah
 MABASO, Mcoyi
 MABASO, Mgodleni
 MABASO, Michael Thulani
 MABASO, Mngoma Johannes
 MABASO, Muzi David
 MABASO, Muzikawufunwa
 MABASO, Njabulo
 MABASO, Nkosinathi Augustini
 MABASO, Noble
 MABASO, Nomhlaulo
 MABASO, Nomsa
 MABASO, Ntombikayise Victoria
 MABASO, Ouma Sarah
 MABASO, Owen Sibuzza
 MABASO, Raphael
 MABASO, Sarah
 MABASO, Sibongile Constance
 MABASO, Sibusiso
 MABASO, Simon Zibani
 MABASO, Simphiwe Victor
 MABASO, Siphamandla
 MABASO, Siphio Jeremiah
 MABASO, Thamsanqa
 MABASO, Thembi Vinty
 MABASO, Thokozani Simon
 MABASO, Thulani Petros
 MABASO, Vincent Sibusiso
 MABASO, Vusi David
 MABASO, Vusi Jetro
 MABASO, Vusumuzi
 MABATHOANA SEKALEDI, Maria
 MABATHWANA, Thabang
 MABAXA, Vuyani
 MABE, Mmatlou Ramakone
 MABEBA, Nakedi Charles
 MABEKA, David Ryder
 MABEKO, Kwena Edward
 MABELANE, Matthews Marwale
 MABELANE, Sekomane Samuel
 MABELANE, Thokwana Petrus

MABELE, Boy Solomon
 MABELE, Boysie Eugene
 MABELE, Sithembiso Oscar
 MABELEBELE, Tumishi John
 MABENA, Ben
 MABENA, Daniel Mnindwa
 MABENA, Goodman
 MABENA, Irene Sylvia
 MABENA, James
 MABENA, Maria
 MABENA, Oupa Geelboo
 MABENA, Ronny Makhosonke
 MABENA, Salome
 MABENA, Simlindile
 MABENA, Siphon Aaron
 MABENA, Vusumuzi Paulos
 MABHALA, Madoda
 MABHANGA, Lucky
 MABHENA, Nomzamo
 MABHIDA, Benjamin
 MABHIDA, Bonga Micheal
 MABHIDA, Doda Joseph
 MABHIDA, Gabisile
 MABHIDA, Kumakwabo Gubevu
 MABHIDA, Linda
 MABHIDA, Mandla Jeffrey
 MABHIDA, Mduduzi
 MABHIDA, Shiela Sara
 MABHUDE, Zenzele
 MABIDA, Florentina
 MABIDA, Joseph Doda
 MABIDA, Thulani
 MABUJA, Phakamile Harry
 MABIKA, John Siphon
 MABILA, James Nhliyiyo
 MABILA, Kufa Jamesfish
 MABILO, Daniel
 MABILO, Mary
 MABILO, Peter Latlhi
 MABILU, Marcus Mohlamme
 MABINA, Raeseta Lydia
 MABINCA, Khedamile
 MABITJA, Manoko
 MABITLE, Motlogeloa George
 MABIZELA, Jacob
 MABOA, Happy Nkuneng
 MABOANE, Karabo Jacob
 MABOE, Solomon
 MABOEA, Rufus Amon
 MABOGO, Phillemon Aifheli
 MABOKANO, Nare Francis
 MABOKELA, Frans
 MABOKELA, Makwena Ramakoni
 MABOKELA, Tlou Isaac
 MABOKELA, Tlou Maphuti
 MABOKOANE, Teboho Abram
 MABOMBO, David
 MABOMBO, Mxolisi
 MABONA, Boekie April
 MABOPE, Expeditious Mzolisi
 MABOTE, Mahlomola Israel
 MABOTE, Petunia
 MABOTHA, Johannes
 MABOTJA, Alpheus
 MABOTJA, Kgoro William

MABOTJA, Malesela George
 MABOTJA, Manoko Caroline
 MABOTJA, Phuti Salome
 MABOTSA, Leswika Samuel
 MABOTSA, Seemole Mosel
 MABOWA, Mathabe Willem
 MABOWELA, Makgabo Seemola
 MABOYA, Abel Tsakani
 MABOZO, Sheila
 MABUKANE, Ndumiso Samuel
 MABUKELA, Josias
 MABULA, Agnes Ouma
 MABULA, Zacharia
 MABULANA, Violet Makole
 MABUNDA, Bekhaphi
 MABUNDA, Jonas
 MABUNDA, Ken
 MABUNDA, Kobi Owen
 MABUNDA, Stefaans
 MABUNGA, Muziwakhe
 MABUSA, Aubrey
 MABUSE, Koos
 MABUSELA, Matsobane Katibe
 MABUTHA, Eunice Kedibone
 MABUTHO, Mhlaba Joseph
 MABUTHO, Walter Charles
 MABUTO, Bazukilebonke
 MABUYANE, Qhathani Staford
 MABUZA, Bongekile
 MABUZA, Henry Dumisani
 MABUZA, Jacob
 MABUZA, Kenneth Armadu
 MABUZA, Mellows Sibangani
 MABUZA, Moses
 MABUZA, Muntukanti Timothy
 MABUZA, Nomsa Nobuhle
 MABUZA, Obert Sidala
 MABUZA, Queen Gladys
 MABUZA, Sidney
 MABUZA, Sifiso Selby
 MABUZA, Thuli Joyce
 MACATIES, Justice
 MACENGWANA
 MACESHANE, Teleni Sarah
 MACHANE, Kholeka Maggie
 MACHEDI, Mpho Jacob
 MACHETE, Marupini Alpheus
 MACHIMANA, Adolf
 MACHIMANE, Ludick
 MACHITJE, Jonas Mpati
 MACHOBA, Debra
 MACHOBANE, Duke
 MACHOBANE, Frank
 MACHOBANE, Joseph Modise
 MACHOBANE, Likeleli Stephina
 MACHOBANE, Monkeng Lebohlang
 MACHOBANE, Mutle
 MACHOBANE, Sekgonyane John
 MACHONA, Tahleho Hendrik
 MACIKI, Krakra
 MACINGWANE, Gilbert
 MACINGWANE, Ntuli Reginah
 MACULUVE, Andrias
 MACUPHE, Thembinkosi
 MACWASHE, Sakhile

MADAKA, Mbuyiselo
 MADAKA, Tobekile
 MADAKANA, Thozamile Swartboo
 MADALANE, Makhwenkwe
 MADANDA, Bafana Jele
 MADELA, Gcinumuzi Josiah
 MADELA, Mabhoi Thomas
 MADELA, Mandlakayise Victor
 MADELA, Vusumuzi Samuel
 MADI, Dikgope Andrew
 MADI, Zakhele Marcus
 MADIBA, Alpheus
 MADIBA, Elizabeth
 MADIBA, Gervasia
 MADIBA, Nokuthula
 MADIBA, Ntsikelelo
 MADIBA, Patrick Phangilifa
 MADIBA, Thibi Thobela
 MADIBANE, Johannes Raseponapona
 MADIDA, Elizabeth
 MADIDA, Timothy
 MADIHLABA, Mokgatla
 MADIKANE, Dickson Matholengwe
 MADIKANE, Nontsikelelo Cynthia
 MADIKANE, Patrick
 MADIKANE, Philisile Nomgcobo
 MADIKELA, Bimbo Eustice
 MADIKIZELA, Datani
 MADIKIZELA, Gwebityala
 MADIKIZELA, Mbambani Solomon
 MADIKIZELA, Micheal Spehepheke
 MADIKIZELA, Milner
 MADIKIZELA, Msingwa
 MADIKIZELA, Mthethunzima Paulos
 MADIKIZELA, Sabata Horatius
 MADIKIZELA, Sylvia Noyolo
 MADIKIZELA, Wiseman Potiyana
 MADILAYI, Gwelani
 MADINDA, Mkuseli Maxwell
 MADINDA, Thenjiwe Queenette
 MADINDI, George
 MADISA, Frans Malemeli
 MADISA, Klaas Boesman
 MADISA, Kleinboo Makwe
 MADISA, William Kimbi
 MADISHA, Fana Phineas
 MADISHA, Mashima Jan Bucks
 MADISHA, Thapelo Donald Dudu
 MADITSI, Solomon Tsekere
 MADIYA, Strydom Laga
 MADLABETSHA, Bhekisisa
 MADLALA, Aaron
 MADLALA, Alfred
 MADLALA, Alpheus
 MADLALA, Bakazi Minah
 Mamtshilotshi
 MADLALA, Besinia Leannar
 MADLALA, Bheki
 MADLALA, Bhekisisa Trueman
 MADLALA, Bilingi Nhlayenza
 MADLALA, Bongani Gracious
 MADLALA, Dumisani Duke
 MADLALA, France
 MADLALA, Ggambi Cecilia
 MADLALA, Jabulile Lucy

MADLALA, Kati Masitolo
MADLALA, Khonjwayo
MADLALA, Khumbuzile Mildred
MADLALA, Lahliwe Mahluza
MADLALA, Lamrani Donatus
MADLALA, Lephina
MADLALA, Mabandla Andreas
MADLALA, Manjilo Manana
MADLALA, Matilida
MADLALA, Mbuyelwa
MADLALA, Mduduzi Eric
MADLALA, Mdtshwa
MADLALA, Mgwanzaza
MADLALA, Michael
MADLALA, Mzayifani Jacob
MADLALA, Ngenzeni Nkaza
MADLALA, Nicholas Siphwe
MADLALA, Nkosi Gladys Masikheshe
MADLALA, Nomusa Goodness
MADLALA, Ntuthuko Reginald
MADLALA, Nyusiwe Mamlisani
MADLALA, Phineas Thulebona
MADLALA, Raymond Fikani
MADLALA, Sangozile Gennet
MADLALA, Sdongile
MADLALA, Sicelo Michael
MADLALA, Siphwe
MADLALA, Sylvia
MADLALA, Thando
MADLALA, Thobile Gladness
MADLALA, Thokoza Norah
MADLALA, Tom Mjabulelwa
MADLALA, Tuthuma Samson
MADLALA, Veliveli Alfred
MADLALA, Vuyani
MADLALA, Zibuyisile
MADLAMBANA, Reginald Tshisibodo
MADLAVU, Aaron Sibhabhabha
MADLAVU, Alfred Tinisile
MADLAVU, Ngangelizwe Moses
MADLE, Richard Sithembiso
MADLITYANE, Valencia Ntombiyakhe
MADLOLO, Nkohliso Johnson
MADLOPHA, Charmaine Daisy
MADLOPHE, Bonginkosi Elphasi
MADODA, Lesley
MADODA, Velaphi Daniel
MADOLO, Augustin
MADOLO, Nontana
MADOLO, Pasika
MADONDA, Crescentia Zamisile
MADONDA, Nomthandazo Mirriam
MADONDA, Thombile Gretha
MADONDO, Antony Ndabinghelele
MADONDO, Dlangamandla Dumisani
MADONDO, Gibson Petros
MADONDO, Gobo William
MADONDO, Johannes
MADONDO, Lindela Phillip
MADONDO, Mandla Wellington
MADONDO, Maqphuzu
MADONDO, Nontombi
MADONDO, Oupa Ronald
MADONDO, Phumelele Linet
MADONDO, Sibusiso

MADONDO, Sihle Johan
MADONDO, Siyabonga Wilson
MADONDO, Thamsanqa Wellington
MADONDO, Thandi
MADONSELA, Anthony
MADONSELA, Jabulani Samson
MADONSELA, Lena Nongsado
MADONSELA, Philip Toto
MADONSELA, Piet Petrus
MADONSELA, Samuel
MADONSELA, Sbusiso Haine
MADUBEDUBE, Lungelwa
MADUBELA, Stormont
MADUBULA, Baba
MADUENYANE, Robert Lepodisi
MADULUBE, Nomamfengu Maureen
MADUMA, Moleki Joseph
MADUNA, Fanyana Reuben
MADUNA, Masole Petros
MADUTWANE, Percia Nomp
MADUWA, Nomgidi Martha
MADWANYA, Themba Melville
MADWE, Thembekile Joyce
MADZIVHANI, Muyaabo Sarah
MAEMA, Pitso Simon
MAENETJE, Tshepo Brown Anthony
MAFABATHO, Piet
MAFAFO, Moloko Jarios
MAFANYA, Ntabenkosi
MAFATA, Hobofanoe Daniel
MAFATLE, Simon Thabo
MAFATSHE, Johannes
MAFENGU, Mabonjwa Nelson
MAFEREKA, Selleane Paulina
MAFFA, Mosima Elizabeth
MAFFODI, Jemina Maphuti
MAFHALA, Phineas
MAFIKA, Daniel
MAFIKA, Lindiwe Sara Makazibuyile
MAFIKE, Mmanini Martha
MAFILIKA, Mkanyeli Edward
MAFILIKA, Violet
MAFOBOKWANE, Letsatsi Elias
MAFODI, Chuene Maria
MAFODI, Mmaphuti Maria
MAFODI, Phuti Matlou
MAFOLO, Khabo Naomi
MAFONGOSI, Gqili Compton
MAFORA, Abel
MAFREKA, Ramphuthing Elias
MAFU, Musa
MAFU, Nyamleko Chemiston
MAFU, Sidawa
MAFUMANA, Tolika
MAFUNDA, Wellington
MAFUNDITYALA, Lawrence Mxolisi
MAFUYA, Godfrey
MAFUYA, Knowlen Luluma
MAGADLA, Mziwandile Michael
MAGAGA, Zolile
MAGAGULA, Gibson Linda
MAGAGULA, Jeremiah
MAGAGULA, Robert Absalom
MAGAGULA, Wandile Joseph
MAGALE, Mhlaré Kenneth

MAGAM, Aron
MAGAMA, John
MAGAMLE, Ganda William
MAGANADISA, Jacob
MAGANGXA, Moffat Marhanana
MAGANO, Seponono Johanna
MAGAQA, Mongameli Walter
MAGAQA, Mzama Goodwell
MAGASELA, Mzimkhulu Patrick
MAGASELA, Nomshado Lillian
MAGASELA, Siyabonga Aaron
MAGATSELA, Sekgoetsi Jim
MAGAWANA, Barnabas Mhlali
MAGAWANA, Douglas Khewula
MAGAWANA, Joseph Bora
MAGAWANA, Yaliwe Martha
MAGAWU, Vuyelwa Sophie
MAGAZI, Michael
MAGCABA, Elias Bonginkhosi
MAGCABA, Lawrence Sphiwe
MAGCABA, Ntombinkulu Lillian
MAGCABA, Zisolile Buyelaphi
MAGEVEZA, Tamsanqa Steven
MAGEZA, Basil Earnest
MAGINGXA, Nomute Veronica
MAGINXA, Baso Win
MAGMOED, Shaun
MAGO, Mthenjwa
MAGODA, Nonkoliswa Dolly
MAGODIELA, Tsietsi
MAGOLEGO, Martha Kedibone
MAGOLEGO, William Mboikana
MAGOMOLA, Petrus Shimane
MAGONGOA, William Madimetja
MAGOOQOZA, Gertrude
MAGOOQWANA, Mziwonke Cedric
MAGORO, Jeffrey Sikhali
MAGOSHA, Lilian
MAGOSO, Hluphekile Annie
MAGOSO, Khipha Protas
MAGOSO, Makhehla
MAGOSO, Mtshelekwana
MAGOSO, Swelekile Annadetta
MAGQAGQA, Enoch Buti
MAGQI, Danisile
MAGOO, Mteteleli Anderson
MAGQUNTULU, Lulamile
MAGUBANE, Amos
MAGUBANE, Bheki
MAGUBANE, Bhono
MAGUBANE, Bongane Stephen
MAGUBANE, Bongani Emmanuel
MAGUBANE, Gemu Bonginkosi
MAGUBANE, Kehla Thamsanqa Mbola
MAGUBANE, Ncishekile Kosi
MAGUBANE, Ntombiza Sellina
MAGUBANE, Ntuthane
MAGUBANE, Peter
MAGUBANE, Theminkosi Christopher
MAGUBANE, Wellington Msawenkosi
MAGUBANE, Zibonele Mshikiza
MAGUBANE, Zibonele Mshikiza
MAGUDELELA, Stephen
MAGUDULELA, Mandla

MAGUGA, Mncedi
MAGUGU, Ntombizonke Ethel
MAGUGU, Zamekile Solomon
MAGUTSHWA, Thandiwe
MAGWA, Thando Sergeant
MAGWA, Zwelethemba Eric
MAGWACA, Popi Michael Vukile
MAGWANYANA, Nikho Annah
MAGWAYI, Nzimeni Kidwell
MAGWAZA, Albert Thanda
MAGWAZA, Bekinkosi Peter
MAGWAZA, Bongani Errol
MAGWAZA, Bongelepi
MAGWAZA, Caleb Bongumusa
MAGWAZA, Cijimpi
MAGWAZA, Dudu
MAGWAZA, Dumisani
MAGWAZA, Dunford Mandlenkosi
MAGWAZA, Edward Bongani
MAGWAZA, Elizabeth
MAGWAZA, Ellington
MAGWAZA, Fanyana Mike
MAGWAZA, Lillian
MAGWAZA, Loni Thamlaban
MAGWAZA, Magqubu Mbongeni
MAGWAZA, Manqumu Isaac
MAGWAZA, Mildred S'Bongile
MAGWAZA, Mondli Fano
MAGWAZA, Ngenalutho
MAGWAZA, Nozipho Lillian
MAGWAZA, Ntombi Ellen
MAGWAZA, Ntombizodwa Augustina
MAGWAZA, Princess
MAGWAZA, Shonangaphi
MAGWAZA, Sikhumbuzo
MAGWAZA, Tembani
MAGWAZA, Thembisile Thandekile
MAGWAZA, Thokozani Patience
MAGWAZA, Velephi
MAGWAZA, Michael
MAGWAZA, Vusumuzi Joseph
MAGWAZA, Zabantu Joyce
MAGWAZA, Zanele Angeline
MAGWEBU, Mzwandile Joseph
MAGWENTSHU, Temba Tedd
MAGXAKI, Monwabisi Eric
MAHAMOTSA, Petros Papadi
MAHANJANA, Bhungwayo
MAHAPO, Godfrey
MAHAPO, Herman
MAHARAJ, Rajeshwar Raseh Fish
MAHASA, Matsidiso Jane
MAHAU, Lereng Martin
MAHAVLE, Mayeza Peter
MAHAYE, Khohlwangifile
MAHAYE, Ntolwana Busisiwe
MAHJANA, Lundi Shadrack
MAHITI, Khayalethu Patrick
MAHLABA, Albertina Thokozile
MAHLABA, Bellina Dolly
MAHLABA, Bongani Ernest
MAHLABA, Enoch Siphon
MAHLABA, Likhohlwa Samuel
MAHLABA, Linda Welcome
MAHLABA, Lungi

MAHLABA, Mahlupha
MAHLABA, Mbuyiselwa Patrick
MAHLABA, Mmakgabo Elias
MAHLABA, Nare Piet
MAHLABA, Nonhlanhla
MAHLABA, Patricia Dolly
MAHLABA, Simangele Gloria
MAHLABA, Xolisile
MAHLABE, Jacob
MAHLAELA, Moses
MAHLAHLA, Thozamile Tshonyane
MAHLAKULA, Phillimon
MAHLALA, Nqatyana
MAHLALELA, Annah Lobi
MAHLAMBI, Dumisani George
MAHLAMBI, Petros
MAHLAMONYANE, Sobashile
MAHLAMVU, Douglas
MAHLANGU, Magdelina
MAHLANGU, Abram
MAHLANGU, Andrew Siphon
MAHLANGU, Anna Hlamazani
MAHLANGU, Anna Nomqibelo
MAHLANGU, April Jan
MAHLANGU, Aubrey
MAHLANGU, Baphelle Lenah
MAHLANGU, Bengwabo Daniel
MAHLANGU, Bettie Busisiwe
MAHLANGU, Betty
MAHLANGU, Bhizana Joseph
MAHLANGU, Bikwaphi Martha
MAHLANGU, Boy Simon
MAHLANGU, Collin
MAHLANGU, David
MAHLANGU, Eleanor
MAHLANGU, Elias
MAHLANGU, Elijah
MAHLANGU, Erick Nkosinathi
MAHLANGU, Fanie Joseph
MAHLANGU, Felani Buffel
MAHLANGU, Fikile Patrick
MAHLANGU, George
MAHLANGU, George Bernard
MAHLANGU, George Sompeka
MAHLANGU, Isaac
MAHLANGU, Izek
MAHLANGU, Jabulani
MAHLANGU, Jacob
MAHLANGU, Jan
MAHLANGU, Jan Mphele
MAHLANGU, Jantjie
MAHLANGU, Jim Msebenzi
MAHLANGU, Johanna Sesi
MAHLANGU, Johannes
MAHLANGU, Joseph
MAHLANGU, Kedu Simon
MAHLANGU, Koos Mamekwa
MAHLANGU, Kortman Shorty
MAHLANGU, Lahle Rosy
MAHLANGU, Legogolating Piet
MAHLANGU, Litha Andries
MAHLANGU, Lizzy
MAHLANGU, Lucas Silila
MAHLANGU, Mabuti
MAHLANGU, Martha

MAHLANGU, Martin Patrick
MAHLANGU, Mbhutini Simon
MAHLANGU, Mbingweni Maria
MAHLANGU, Mbuyelwa Martha
MAHLANGU, Menti Piet
MAHLANGU, Mhlupheki Paulos
MAHLANGU, Mlothe Johannes
MAHLANGU, Mondlina Lina
MAHLANGU, Moses Moti
MAHLANGU, Motswaledi Johannes
MAHLANGU, Msili Pinkie
MAHLANGU, Ndinzana Daniel
MAHLANGU, Nomajana Sarah
MAHLANGU, Nomqibelo
MAHLANGU, Notina William
MAHLANGU, Ntshaye Geelbooi
MAHLANGU, Nyumbambo Cornelius
MAHLANGU, Pepe Rhoney
MAHLANGU, Peter Gwayela
MAHLANGU, Phephelaphi Ncema
MAHLANGU, Philip
MAHLANGU, Plehlele Johnna
MAHLANGU, Popi Lena
MAHLANGU, Rampie Ngene
MAHLANGU, Rickie
MAHLANGU, Selaki Langa
MAHLANGU, Senzangakhona James
MAHLANGU, Sibongile Maria
MAHLANGU, Sikhukhuni
MAHLANGU, Sikman Johannes
MAHLANGU, Simon
MAHLANGU, Simon Bangani
MAHLANGU, Solly Mntungwa
MAHLANGU, Solomon Funani
MAHLANGU, Solomon Kalushe
MAHLANGU, Soni David
MAHLANGU, Sophie
MAHLANGU, Sophy Mncane
MAHLANGU, Sprinkie John
MAHLANGU, Sussanah Emmah
MAHLANGU, Tozi Martha
MAHLANGU, Venile Simon
MAHLANGU, Vusi
MAHLANGU, Vusumuzi Jeremiah
MAHLANYANA, Andile
MAHLANYANA, Thando Paul
MAHLANZA, Mkhululi
MAHLANZA, Nomfunzo Alberta
MAHLASE, Iphafus
MAHLASE, Teme Phineas
MAHLASELA, Msebenzi Wellington
MAHLATSANE, Ennuel
MAHLATSI, Edward Mohaka
MAHLATSI, Esau Pule
MAHLATSI, Lesege Patrice
MAHLATSI, Martha Tsatsane
MAHLATSI, William Phera
MAHLENTLE, Nelson Mandla
MAHLENTLE, Nonzuzo
MAHLENTLE, Sonwabile
MAHLOBISA, Mbulelo
MAHLOBO, Bafana Makhafula Cyril
MAHLOBO, Nelson
MAHLOKO, Thabang Samuel
MAHLOMBE, Bafana Cyril

MAHLOMOYANE, James Basekgama
 MAHLOMUZA, Jan
 MAHLONGOLWANA, Gideon
 MAHLOPE, Thembi Brilliant
 MAHLULO, Mzwakhe Mayford
 MAHLULO, Tandsile Collen
 MAHOAI, Tsebishi John
 MAHOBE, Jonas
 MAHOKO, Alfred Motlalentoa
 MAHOKO, David
 MAHOMED, Garrat Tony
 MAHONE, Joseph Mokgohloa
 MAHONGA, Jeanette
 MAHUDU, Jim
 MAHUDU, Mathee Committee
 MAHUMAPELO, Solomon
 MAHUMAPELO, Thebe Clifford
 MAHUNA, Kenneth Thobekile
 MAHUNGELA, Lucas Mabhoyisana
 MAHURA, Matlhomare Jerry
 MAHURA, Tuelo Payment
 MAHWA, Jongile
 MAIFADI, Benjamin
 MAIFO, Jan Tito
 MAKETSO, Thabo Shadrack
 MAILANE, Alfred Madoda
 MAILULA, Solomon Ramavhulani
 MAILULA, Stone Maribe
 MAIMANE, Albelina Regina
 MAIMANE, Sekwati David
 MAIMELA, Kwadishi Frans
 MAIMELA, Lengoi Moses
 MAIMELA, Mogale Judas
 MAINE, Selinah Nthabiseng
 MAISA, Sabata Daniel
 MAITSE, Julia Maki Maitse
 MAITSE, Petrus Mahlomola
 MAITSHOTLO, Pogisho Thomas
 MAJA, Paul Teboho
 MAJAFE, Victor Oupa
 MAJAJA, Mxolisi Alfred
 MAJALI, Elizabeth Nokhaya Lindiwe
 MAJALI, Sindile
 MAJALI, Zakuthwa
 MAJALISA, Nomhle
 MAJAMANI, Themba Welcome
 MAJANAGA, Michael Molefi
 MAJARA, Mapuleng Anna Tsatsane
 MAJENGE, Daludumo
 MAJENGE, Dumisani
 MAJETJA, Tshibishi Daniel
 MAJIET, Stefanus Andrew
 MAJJA, Linda
 MAJIYA, Delisile
 MAJIYA, Sbusiso
 MAJOKA, Magic Msizi
 MAJOLA, Abednego
 MAJOLA, Andile
 MAJOLA, Bekisisa Lionel
 MAJOLA, Bhinkinkosi
 MAJOLA, Bhukumuzi
 MAJOLA, Bonakele
 MAJOLA, Bongiwe
 MAJOLA, Busiswe Nomusa
 MAJOLA, Cyril Muzikayifani

MAJOLA, Cyril Thulane
 MAJOLA, Derrick Sunnyboy
 MAJOLA, Elizabeth Lindiwe
 MAJOLA, Eustace
 MAJOLA, Joana Anna
 MAJOLA, Konzapi Eunice
 MAJOLA, Mayvis
 MAJOLA, Meshack Boyi
 MAJOLA, Muntukaziwa
 MAJOLA, Muziwentombi Getrude
 MAJOLA, Mzwandile Guy
 MAJOLA, Nelisiwe
 MAJOLA, Nga Simon
 MAJOLA, Nonkululeko
 MAJOLA, Ntozakhe
 MAJOLA, Pius
 MAJOLA, Pius Bonginkosi
 MAJOLA, Primrose Thandiwe
 MAJOLA, Robert Fourie
 MAJOLA, Samsan Bhkifa
 MAJOLA, Samuel
 MAJOLA, Sipho Bridget
 MAJOLA, Thelma Nombulelo
 MAJOLA, Themba Howard
 MAJOLA, Thembeni Gloria
 MAJOLA, Thulani Cyril
 MAJOLA, Thulasizwe Fatho
 MAJOLA, Vusumuzi Johannes
 MAJOLA, Yoshuwa Amson Vuyani
 MAJOLA, Zibindaba Faloyi
 MAJOLA, Zithulele Nicholas
 MAJOLA, Zuki Butomkhulu Toto
 MAJOLA, Zwanani Terrence
 MAJOVA, Mzwandile Watson
 MAJOVA, Sambhathi
 MAJOZI, Bonginkosi Vusi
 MAJOZI, Brian
 MAJOZI, Christopher Vumazi
 MAJOZI, Clergyman
 MAJOZI, David Mzomuhle
 MAJOZI, Duma
 MAJOZI, Dumisani
 MAJOZI, Edmond
 MAJOZI, Elizabeth Ntombi
 MAJOZI, Funani Beauty
 MAJOZI, Maria Mankhulu
 MAJOZI, Mbizo
 MAJOZI, Mngciki
 MAJOZI, Ntokozo
 MAJOZI, Paulos Lucky
 MAJOZI, Promise
 MAJOZI, Sbusiso Ewart
 MAJUBA, Themba Joseph
 MAJWEDE, Phillip Libalele
 MAK, Johannes
 MAK, Nopikisa Angelina
 MAKAE, Maferong Jacob
 MAKAFE, Ntombomzi
 MAKAI, Lungile Edward
 MAKAI, Maluse Adam
 MAKALUZA, Ellen
 MAKAMA, Nambono Annie
 MAKANDA, Ntombentsha Jeanette
 MAKAPELA, Zwelandile
 MAKASI, Manfred Zolile

MAKASI, Milli Miriam
 MAKASO, Thulani
 MAKATESI, Pumelele Action
 MAKATHINI, Wintombi Bongekile
 MAKATSHANE, Sampson Sandile
 MAKATU, Maladzi Annah
 MAKAU, Lebhang Lucas
 MAKLAULA, Monwabisi Gladwell
 MAKLAULA, Sindekile
 MAKAYI, Gideon
 MAKAZA, Michael Mthetheleli
 MAKAZA, Samuel James
 MAKAZENI, Shuluthu
 MAKEBE, Ramakhomane Adam Dipepe
 MAKEKE, Michael
 MAKENA, Mapoti Stephen
 MAKENA, Steven Rakosho
 MAKETHA, Elizabeth Mantoa
 MAKEWU, Ntlukwane
 MAKGA, Moses
 MAKGA, Moshe Moses
 MAKGAJANE, Maria Dimakatso
 MAKGALA, Phillip Willie
 MAKGALE, Christopher Ntshimane
 MAKGALEMELE, Agnes
 MAKGALEMELE, Anna
 MAKGALEMELE, Isaac
 MAKGALEMELE, Mmaphefo Sinah
 MAKGALEMELE, Rebecca
 MAKGALEMELE, William
 MAKGANYE, Snowball
 MAKGATA, Nixon Nkwane
 MAKGATHO, Edward Tsaitsai
 MAKGATHO, Rufus Ramaboya
 MAKGATI, Mathibe Philemon
 MAKGOBA, Ramakone Tlou
 MAKGOBA, Solomon Maphuti
 MAKGOBATLOU, Johannes
 MAKGOLO, Victor Manase
 MAKGOTHI, Henry Gordon
 MAKGOTLHO, Dikene Joshua
 MAKHABANE, Petrus
 MAKHALE, Ratselane Joshua Moholo
 MAKHALEMELE, Goodman
 MAKHANYA, Badiniwe
 MAKHANYA, Beauty
 MAKHANYA, Bernard Mlungisi
 MAKHANYA, Bhinkinkosi Malcolm
 MAKHANYA, Busisiwe Mavis
 MAKHANYA, Busisiwe Michal
 MAKHANYA, Cornish Mmeko
 MAKHANYA, Doris
 MAKHANYA, Dumisani Micheal
 MAKHANYA, Fakazile Khonzephi
 MAKHANYA, Fikile Angel
 MAKHANYA, Goodnight
 MAKHANYA, Ida
 MAKHANYA, Mahluleli
 MAKHANYA, Mandla Percy
 MAKHANYA, Margaret
 MAKHANYA, Maxwell Jabulani
 MAKHANYA, Menzi Michael
 MAKHANYA, Mfanufikile
 MAKHANYA, Mlungisi
 MAKHANYA, Nakeni Mitta

MAKHANYA, Nomhawu Ida
 MAKHANYA, Norah Ngenzeleni
 MAKHANYA, Ntombi Alzina
 MAKHANYA, Petros
 MAKHANYA, Siphio Siphwe
 MAKHANYA, Siyabonga
 MAKHANYA, Thamsanqa Mandla
 MAKHANYA, Thandiwe Rose
 MAKHANYA, Themba Christopher
 MAKHANYA, Thembani Anastasia
 MAKHANYA, Trizza (Mandlovu)
 MAKHANYA, Virginia Nombuthano
 MAKHANYA, Vusumuzi Gijmani
 MAKHANYA, Zamokwakhe
 MAKHANYE, Bhukumuzi Alfred
 MAKHAPELA, Cawe Thomas
 MAKHAPHELA, Gogo Daphney
 MAKHASI, Siphwiwo
 MAKHATHINI, Abion
 MAKHATHINI, Agnes
 MAKHATHINI, Clarice Mhlengi
 MAKHATHINI, Elizabeth
 MAKHATHINI, Innocent Sibusiso
 MAKHATHINI, Joe Zephred
 MAKHATHINI, Johan
 MAKHATHINI, John Mthokozisi
 MAKHATHINI, Ngura
 MAKHATHINI, Njeleshe
 MAKHATHINI, Nompumelelo Patricia
 MAKHATHINI, Otto
 MAKHATHINI, Simon Ubukhosibakhe
 MAKHATHINI, Siphwe
 MAKHATHINI, Siza
 MAKHATHINI, Skhumbuzo
 MAKHATHINI, Thoko Lizzy
 MAKHATHINI, Valekile Letia
 MAKHATHINI, Victor Thulani
 MAKHATHINI, Xolile
 MAKHATHINI, Zanele
 MAKHATHINI, Fana Shadrack
 MAKHATHINI, Vincent Siphio
 MAKHATHI, Joseph
 MAKHAYA, Dan
 MAKHAYE, Amos
 MAKHAYE, Boy
 MAKHAYE, Khulekile Christina
 MAKHAYE, Leonard Fanifani
 MAKHAYE, Matombi Sophie
 MAKHAYE, Nhlanhla
 MAKHAYE, Nomasotsha Christina
 MAKHAYE, Patrick Prince
 MAKHAYE, Sipamo Hezekia
 MAKHAYE, Thabo
 MAKHAYE, Victoria
 MAKHAZA, Joseph Nhlanhla
 MAKHAZA, Nomusa Maria
 MAKHAZI, Nhlanhla
 MAKHENE, Solomon Motsumi Andrew
 MAKHETHA, Gabriel
 MAKHETHA, Ntombi Beatrice
 MAKHOB, Albert Mthandeni
 MAKHOB, Bhakisisa Robert
 MAKHOB, Bongani Albert
 MAKHOB, Dina
 MAKHOB, Dingumbuzi

MAKHOB, Dolly
 MAKHOB, Faziza Raymond
 MAKHOB, Getrude
 MAKHOB, Nelisiwe
 MAKHOB, Nothando
 MAKHOB, Noziga Selina
 MAKHOB, Samson
 MAKHOB, Sikutu Leonard
 MAKHOB, Siphio
 MAKHOB, Thembisile
 MAKHOB, Zinhle
 MAKHOBELA, Eric
 MAKHOBELA, Mphahlele Eric
 MAKHONZA, Phikeleni Florence
 MAKHOSI, Elizabeth Nomakula
 MAKHOSI, Nyoka
 MAKHOTHI, Jingles Kito
 MAKHUBA, Herbert Bonginkosi
 MAKHUBALO, Lumka
 MAKHUBEDU, David Malaisha
 MAKHUBEDU, David Malaisha
 MAKHUBELA, Edward Bongani
 MAKHUBELA, Sellinah Mapontsho
 MAKHUBELA, Siphio Albert
 MAKHUBELA, Winnie
 MAKHUBO, Beatrice Lindiwe
 MAKHUBO, Morris
 MAKHUBO, Stanley Mzwandile
 MAKHUBO, Thabo
 MAKHUBU, Nombulelo Elizabeth
 MAKHUBU, Selby Dumisani
 MAKHUBU, Vusi
 MAKHUDU, Ishmael Dingaan
 MAKHUNGA, Sifo Titus
 MAKHUZA, Teboho
 MAKI, Thandeka Yvonne
 MAKI, Thembeke Nocawe
 MAKIBINYANE, Sello Andries
 MAKINANA, William
 MAKITLA, Chelane Wilson
 MAKITLA, Morare Christopher
 MAKITLA, Ntshengwane Morgan
 MAKITLA, Philemon Nkhulang
 MAKITLA, Phillimon
 MAKOA, Tselane Joseph
 MAKOGON, Dimitri Evganyevich
 MAKOKGA, Robert Marothi
 MAKOLA, Boy Johannes
 MAKOLA, Lazarus
 MAKOLA, Richard Tshepho
 MAKOLA, Thabo Melvern
 MAKOLANE, Abraham
 MAKOLOI, Phokoyantwa Jack
 MAKOMA, Joseph
 MAKONGO, Ntombi Evelyn
 MAKONGO-GAMEDE, Ntombi Evelyn
 MAKOP, Andrew
 MAKOTI, Kgomotso Alfred
 MAKOTOKO, Daniel Thabo
 MAKOWANI, Linos
 MAKUA, Abram
 MAKUBALO, Nkosoyise Gideon
 MAKUBALO, Nyembezi Richard
 MAKUBALO, Taruni Tapepe
 MAKULANI, William Rhorhwana

MAKUME, Godfrey Ntai
 MAKUME, Mokutu Given
 MAKUME, Oupa Everest
 MAKUME, Thomas Kabelo
 MAKUNGA, Duduzile
 MAKUNGA, Phumzile
 MAKUNYANE, David
 MAKUPE, Andrew
 MAKUPULA, Nosilingi Patricia
 MAKUTWANA, Tapela Meshack
 MAKWAE, Atella Sebolelo
 MAKWAE, Sebolelo Atello
 MAKWANA, Paulos Letsleka
 MAKWATA, Simon Basayi
 MAKWE, Aaron
 MAKWELA, Lucas Mabule
 MAKWENA, Seema
 MAKWETU, Mandla Joseph
 MALAKA, Johannah Mabolawo
 MALAKA, Motimedi Gabriel
 MALAKOANE, Amos Bafana
 MALAMBILE, Mzukisi Magenisi
 MALANGA, Bhabha
 MALANGA, Thulani Albert
 MALANGABI, Edwin Mvuleni
 MALANGABI, Jane Nomathamsanqa
 MALANGENI, Vuyisile
 MALATANA, Bukelwa Christino
 MALATJHE, Jerry
 MALATJI, Mavis
 MALATJI, Paris Molefi
 MALATSI, Jeffrey Moshishi
 MALATSI, Tsidiso Selby
 MALAZA, Elsie Popana
 MALAZA, Hessie
 MALAZA, Jabu
 MALAZA, Joseph
 MALAZA, Kheni Thomas
 MALAZA, Thoko
 MALAZA, Winnie
 MALEBE, Jimmy Johannes
 MALEBO, Louisa Manku
 MALEFAHLE, Alfred
 MALEFAHLO, Makwape
 MALEFAHLO, Moseme
 MALEFAHLO, Selele Peter
 MALEFAHLO, Simon
 MALEFANE, Adam
 MALEFANE, Captain Petrus
 MALEHO, Puseletso Zephora
 MALEKA, Alfred
 MALEKA, Solomon
 MALEKA, William Madime
 MALEKE, Khani Jacob
 MALELE, Almond
 MALEMA, Paulos Vincent
 MALEMBE, Nonhlahla Eunice
 MALEMONE, Mamotshabo Evelina
 MALEPE, Motshabi Lucas
 MALESA, Emmanuel Phaladi
 MALETJANE, Modjadjji Florah
 MALEVU, Lettie Mamiki
 MALEWA, Elizabeth Paulinah
 MALGAS, Basi Kimberley
 MALGAS, Bethwell

MALGAS, Columbus
 MALGAS, Nombolelo Evelyn
 MALGAS, Noncethakalo Catherine
 MALGAS, Nonkululeko Regina Nkulu
 MALGAS, Sinqokwana Ernest
 MALGAS, Vuyani Mbuyiselo
 MALGAS, Zola Golden
 MALI, Goodwin Mengxani
 MALI, Latiswa Telmina
 MALI, Matthews Mayezana
 MALIBE, Reuben Mandla
 MALIE, Tseko Justinus
 MALIEHE, Joseph Mahlomola
 MALINDI, Fanyana Ishmael
 MALINDI, Mkhonto Samson
 MALINDI, Zolile Zolile
 MALINDISA, Jabulile Lina
 MALINGA, Belesia
 MALINGA, Bigboy Godfrey
 MALINGA, Busisiwe Beauty
 MALINGA, Dolly Doris
 MALINGA, Eunice Zandile
 MALINGA, Jabu James
 MALINGA, Leonard Mshiyeni
 MALINGA, Mami Nontsikelelo
 MALINGA, Mbuyiselwa
 MALINGA, Mphikeleli Joseph
 MALINGA, Msende Michael
 MALINGA, Nkosi Amos
 MALINGA, Nkosinathi Zwelonke Imaan
 MALINGA, Queen Dorothy
 MALINGA, Samuel Julie
 MALINGA, Thomas
 MALINGA, Zacharia
 MALISHE, Linah Ntombi
 MALISHE, Themba
 MALITI, Robert Nana
 MALIWA, Oupa Joseph
 MALOBA, Elias
 MALOBELA, Kamtajanga Justice
 MALOBOLA, Balise Ernest
 MALOBOLA, Mabuza
 MALOKA, Molefe Abel
 MALOKE, Charles Tokelo
 MALOMA, Sibonisile Phumzile
 MALONGO, George
 MALOPE, Edward
 MALOPE, Johannes
 MALOPE, Johannes Lekgoa
 MALU, Vusi Brian
 MALUANE, Felisberto Catine
 MALUKA, Andries Fana
 MALUKA, Paulus
 MALULEKA, Charlie
 MALULEKA, Nonhlahla
 MALULEKA, Spando Evelyn
 MALULEKE, Patrick Nyiko
 MALULEKE, Peter
 MALUNDA, Sikowukowu William
 MALUNGA, Bongani
 MALUNGA, Dlanyana
 MALUNGA, Mndeni
 MALUNGA, Sibusiso
 MALUNGA, Victoria Zanele
 MALUNGA, Yengiwe Esther

MALUSI, Ntloko
 MALUSI, Dominic
 MALUSI, Lillian Elinah
 MALUSI, Mfenana Jackson
 MALUSI, Thembile Alfred
 MAMA, Nomntu Virginia
 MAMA, Shadric Sindile Lhelhe
 MAMANI, Lungisile Matthews
 MAMARO, Lethole Steve
 MAMATELA, Ronney
 MAMBA, Alan
 MAMKELI, Charles Vuyisile
 MAMKELI, Nombuyiselo Maria
 MAMOGALE, Maralena January
 MAMOGALE, William
 MAMOGOBO, Johannes
 MAMOROBELA, Lazarus
 MAMOSADI, Sengange John
 MAMOTHO, Molelekeng Claudia
 MAMPANE, Beatrice
 MAMPANE, Elias Mbopo
 MAMPANE, Prince Seakgosing
 MAMPOFU, Thobeka Elizabeth
 MAMPURU, Jacob
 MAMPURU, Lillian Buyisiwe
 MAMPURU, Lucky Sibusiso
 MAMUSA, Amos Madala
 MAMZI, Julia Khumbuzile
 MANA, Kholekile
 MANA, Mthetheleli Richard
 MANAHA, Kundwani Lawrance
 MANAKA, George Solly
 MANAKAZA, Nelson
 MANAKE, Alfred
 MANALI, Laurence Nceba
 MANAMELA, Kgabo Daniel
 MANAMELA, Maphuti Ephraim
 MANAMELA, Meisie Raisibe
 MANAMELA, Pitso Piet
 MANAMELA, Raisbe
 MANAMELA, Ramokone
 MANAMELA, Sebtsi Phineas
 MANAMELA, Tlou Isaac
 MANANA, Abel Butana
 MANANA, Godfrey
 MANANA, John Velaphi
 MANANA, Mpikwa
 MANANA, Muzikayise Goodwill
 MANANA, Sicelo Sidney
 MANANA, Susan Ntozokudla
 MANANA, Theophilus
 MANANGANA, Christopher Mlindeli
 MANASE, Fani
 MANCAM, Mthobeli
 MANCANCENI, Nomgwene
 MANCANYIWA, Indi David
 MANCE, Zinukile Annatoria
 MANCENJANE, John
 MANCHESA, Tefo Timothy
 MANCI, Dimanda
 MANCI, Gcinephi Saraphina
 MANDABANA, Moses Siphiwo
 MANDEKA, Lulamile
 MANDITA, Nomangwana
 MANDLAKAPHELI, Norman

MANDLAKAZI, Lolo Beauty
 MANDLAZI, David
 MANDLAZI, Solomon
 MANELI, Bubele Jeffrey
 MANELI, Nonzwakazi Iris
 MANELI, Simphiwe Sidwell Mpaydo
 MANELI, Tandeka Lillian Ntshakaza
 MANENTSA, Sibongile
 MANENTSA, Siphiwo Harry
 MANGA, Siphiwo
 MANGALE, Talitha Kebawetse
 MANGALI, Elliot Petse
 MANGANE, Thomas Joshua
 MANGANYE, Lucky
 MANGANYI, Joshua Ntsako Mandela
 MANGANYI, Lucky
 MANGANYINI, Angel Nondo
 MANGAYI, Steven
 MANGAZI, Bonakalisiwe Maggie
 MANGAZI, Mandlakhe
 MANGANGAZA, Lungile
 MANGCOLA, Vuyisile John
 MANGE, Barbara Priscilla
 MANGE, Siboniwe Cyprian
 MANGELE, Musa Oswald
 MANGEMPUKU, Tabankulu
 MANGENA, Phillip Comfort
 MANGERA, Mohamed Ahmed
 MANGOAKE, Tshekishi Phineas
 MANGONA, Mbulelo
 MANGQANGWANA, Mpolose Paulos
 MANGQIKANA, Right
 MANGWEJANE, George Morwabusi
 MANGWELE, Nkete Welhelmina
 MANGWENI, TsaliKhuba Thomas
 MANI, Mhlo Phegi Daniel
 MANI, Motlagomane Johanna
 MANINJWA, Fikile Eric
 MANISI, February
 MANJATHI, Boyi
 MANJATI, Mcebisi
 MANKAYI, Arthur
 MANKAYI, Benjamin
 MANKAYI, Passman Stukuna
 MANKUNGU, Daniel Manoko
 MANKUNGU, Gxiva
 MANKUROANE, Beauty Monnye
 MANKUROANE, Elizabeth Mamatchaba
 MANKUROANE, John
 MANKUROANE, Matshidisho Monica
 MANKUROANE, Samuel Morwagabusi
 MANKURUANE, Ruth
 MANNS, Ruben
 MANONG, Emily
 MANONG, Gertrude
 MANONG, Mzolisi
 MANONG, Nozuko Denise
 MANONG, Owen
 MANONG, Stanley
 MANONG, Vernon Moyisisi
 MANQA, Ntsoaki Rebecca
 MANQA, David Tshikilo
 MANQELE, Khombiseni Ntombikayise
 MANQELE, Mandlakapheli Hendry
 MANQELE, Myekeni George

MANQELE, Tandekile
 MANQELE, Vellele
 MANQINA, Shumi
 MANQINDI, Sikhumbuzo
 MANTENGU, Bheki
 MANTILE, Jane Msuthukazi
 MANTILE, Johnson Phikile
 MANTLANE, Sisa James
 MANTUTLE, Imameleng Lorraine
 MANTYI, Albert Zithulele Style
 MANTYI, Booi
 MANTYI, Pawulosi
 MANTYI, Sikhulu
 MANUEL, Shaun Norman
 MANYAKA, Jan Makgale
 MANYAKA, Monnana Abram
 MANYAKA, Mosimpila Lucas
 MANYAKANYAKA, Nobuzwe Cynthia
 MANYAMALALA, Elbin Thandabantu
 MANYANGA, Bhelokwakhe
 MANYASHE, Zilindile
 MANYATHI, Thabo Benedict
 MANYEFANA, Thembelani Stanley
 MANYELO, Alfred Moloko
 MANYELO, Asnath Noko
 MANYELO, Benjamin
 MANYELO, Christinah Makwena
 MANYELO, Eunice Matsidiso
 MANYELO, Katleho Cavin
 MANYELO, Winnie
 MANYI, Sile Sipho
 MANYIKA, Andries
 MANYIKA, Dinah
 MANYIKA, Sibongile Dinah
 MANYISA, Agnes Fahlaza
 MANYISA, Loveness
 MANYISI, Agnes
 MANYOBE, Doreen
 MANYOKOLE, Rantsoli Joseph
 MANYONI, Agnes Zanele
 MANYONI, Nomathemba Mavis
 MANYONI, Ntombikayise Victoria
 MANYONI, Nurse Maria
 MANYONI, Sibongile
 MANYONTA, Nompumelelo Freda
 MANZANA, Mandla James
 MANZI, Esther
 MANZI, Gladys Hope
 MANZI, Martin
 MANZI, Mfuneni Richard
 MANZI, Mkoti Nomusa
 MANZI, Sabekile Maureen
 MANZI, Simangele Nancy
 MANZI, Thembeni Ncamisile
 MANZI, Thembinkosi Zephania
 MANZI, Tholakele Doris
 MANZINI, Mthombi Flora
 MANZINI, Solly Stephen
 MANZIYA, Mthuzimele Phillip
 MAOBA, Elijah
 MAOBOTE, Moeketsi Ben
 MAOKAWE, Mariah Mamoeng
 MAPALALA, Sifiso
 MAPAPU, Sipiwo Michael
 MAPAYA, Moleboge Phineas
 MAPELA, Mncedisi Holford
 MAPELA, Mzukisi Petros
 MAPELA, Zimasile Michael
 MAPHALALA, Alphina Sbuko
 MAPHALALA, Mantwa Virginia Virsy
 MAPHALALA, Sydney
 MAPHALANE, Lennox Thabang
 MAPHANGA, Bhelizwe Russell
 MAPHANGA, James
 MAPHANGA, Leonard George
 MAPHANGA, Mondli
 MAPHANGA, Ngazi Albert
 MAPHANGA, Sibusiso
 MAPHANGA, Sukumani Vitans
 MAPHANGA, Themba Albert
 MAPHANGA, Tiny Lydia
 MAPHANGA-MKHWANAZI, Kate Martha
 MAPHAPHU, Nongezile Nomathemba
 MAPHIPA, Mzukisi
 MAPHOLOGELA, Sene Johannes
 MAPHOLOGELA, Solomon Madimetja
 MAPHOSA, Beauty Sesana
 MAPHOSA, Simon Petrus
 MAPHOSA, Vincent
 MAPHUMANE, Hali Petrus
 MAPHUMULO, Africa Mthokozisi
 MAPHUMULO, Agrippa
 MAPHUMULO, Bahambephi
 MAPHUMULO, Bhekithemba Eugene
 MAPHUMULO, Bongani
 MAPHUMULO, Bongiwwe
 MAPHUMULO, Doto
 MAPHUMULO, Edward Bonginkosi
 MAPHUMULO, Eric Mhlabunzima
 MAPHUMULO, Fanlo William
 MAPHUMULO, Fanyana Amos
 MAPHUMULO, Flora
 MAPHUMULO, Gcina Geoffrey
 MAPHUMULO, Gladness Thoko
 MAPHUMULO, Joseph Mhlabunzima
 MAPHUMULO, Joy Maryjane
 MAPHUMULO, Justice Nkosingiphile
 MAPHUMULO, Kenneth Mazibuko
 MAPHUMULO, Kenneth Nkosinathi
 MAPHUMULO, Khathi Nomusa
 MAPHUMULO, Linda Michael
 MAPHUMULO, Lulu Dinah
 MAPHUMULO, Mandla Ophius
 MAPHUMULO, Mandla Erik
 MAPHUMULO, Mandlenkosi
 MAPHUMULO, Maghikiza Fanisile
 MAPHUMULO, Mhlabunzima
 MAPHUMULO, Msawenkosi
 MAPHUMULO, Msizeni
 MAPHUMULO, Mzwamandla
 MAPHUMULO, Nakoti
 MAPHUMULO, Nhlanhla Gerald
 MAPHUMULO, Nonkantolo Ganephi
 MAPHUMULO, Nosibhedela
 MAPHUMULO, Penelope Nombuso
 MAPHUMULO, Pikinini Ephraim
 MAPHUMULO, Primrose Khwezi
 MAPHUMULO, S'Mangile Mavis
 MAPHUMULO, Shadrack
 MAPHUMULO, Sibongile Patricia
 MAPHUMULO, Sibusiso
 MAPHUMULO, Sihle Cyprian
 MAPHUMULO, Sikhumbuzo Richard
 MAPHUMULO, Simon Qhimilili
 MAPHUMULO, Simphiwe Hamilton
 MAPHUMULO, Thembinkosi
 MAPHUMULO, Thomi Thomas
 MAPHUMULO, Venaneia
 MAPHUMULO, Vusi Wilson
 MAPHUMULO, Zanele
 MAPHUMULO, Zibuyile Joyce
 MAPHUMULO, Zithulele Gilbert
 MAPHUTHUMA, Namwele
 MAPIPA, Mvumelwano Nicholas
 MAPISA, Buyisile Ryan
 MAPOLISA, Msetshwa
 MAPOMA, Phuti Lina
 MAPONGWANA, Mhleli Michael
 MAPONGWANA, Nomsa
 MAPONYA, Andries Itumeleng
 MAPONYA, Japie Kereng
 MAPOULA, Noko Albert
 MAPOULO, Monyane Joseph
 MAPOULO, Ramkoni Martina
 MAPUA, Oupa Josiah
 MAPUMULO, Danisiel Amy
 MAPUMULO, Gilford Katshana
 MAPUMULO, Nokuphiwa
 MAPUMULO, Nomlomo
 MAPUMULO, Siwoti
 MAPUMULO, Siyangoshoua
 MAPUOA, Ronald Mosebetsi
 MAPUTLA, Phadishi Abram
 MAPUTLA, Simon Selema
 MAQANDA, Themba Abeshai
 MAQEKEZA, Dugard Zweledinga
 MAQEKEZA, Jama Hamilton
 MAQEKEZA, Mazizi Attwell
 MAQENUKANE, Shakespeare
 MAQETHUKA, Thamsanqa
 MAQETHUKA, Thembi Joyce
 MAQETUKA, Vuyo
 MAQEWU, Manhanha
 MAQHABA, Freeman James
 MAQHASHALALA, Mantuntu Jackson
 MAQINUKANA, Zandisile Shakespeare
 MAQOGI, Monwabisi
 MAQOKO, Ndolotswana
 MAQOLO, Mbuyiselo Maxin
 MAQOMA, Nomagabiso Greta
 MAQOMA, Nomalungelo
 MAQUBELA, Wonke Withiel
 MAQUNGO, Andile
 MAQUNGO, Babalwa
 MAQWANE, Andrew Mbuiselo
 MARABA, Daniel Joseph
 MARABA, Thibeli
 MARAI, Lipota
 MARAIS, Ezekiel
 MARAIS, Philmarin Annelize
 MARAKALALA, Dikeledi Johannes
 MARAKALALA, Josephine Mokgadi
 MARAKE, Paki George
 MARAMBA, Zukiswa
 MARANANA

MARANXA, Pumla
 MARAWU, Howard
 MARAWU, Mziwabantu Jafta
 MARCH, Joseph
 MARCH, Phillip
 MARCUS, Lulamile Madala
 MARE, Linus
 MAREMAMA, Kweni Alber
 MAREMAME, Makwena Rosina
 MAREMANE, Celia Kgabo
 MAREMANE, Makoena Joseph
 MARENENE, Patrick
 MARETLOANE, Thabang
 MARETLWA, Joseph Mozwethemba
 MARI, Ndooyisile William
 MARIPA, Suzan Kelebugile
 MARKLOE, Martin
 MARKS, Elizabeth
 MAROBELA, Hellen
 MAROEKOANE, Anah
 MAROGA, Lazarus
 MAROLA, Andrew Thozamile
 MAROPE, Evans
 MAROTI, Kholekile Charles
 MARRAND, Wellington Thembinkosi
 MARTIN, Belinda
 MARTIN, Kevin Peter Robert
 MARTIN, Muzi Mongezi
 MARTIN, Vuyelwa Joyce
 MARTINS, Bongani
 MARTINS, Bryn Lewis Kabelu
 MARUBINI, Fonzani Joyce
 MARUFANE, Mildred
 MARULA, Patrick Pheteswayo
 MARUMO, Basilius Matlogelwa
 MARUMO, Elizabeth Lesholobe
 MARUMO, James December
 MARUMO, Maki Martha
 MARUMO, Wessels Skuta Mahoko
 MARUNGWANA, Lucas Billy-Boy
 MARUPING, Jacksoni Rakoena
 MARUTLA, Maphuti
 MARWANE, Wilfred Sebonege
 MARWANQANA, Alfred Fikile
 MARWANQANA, Mzukisi
 MARWANQANA, Thandiswa
 MARWEBU, Talente Mirriam
 MARWESHE, Mahlaola Jeanet
 MASABALALA, Sandra
 MASAKALA, Jamina
 MASAKALA, Joshua
 MASALA, Edith
 MASALA, Nicholas
 MASAMANZI, Mlungisi Samuel
 MASANABO, Folobi Jacob
 MASANABO, Petrus Paulus
 MASANABO, Simon Babili
 MASANG, Ntombifikile Nesta
 MASANGANE, Mozi Benjamin
 MASANGO, Aaron
 MASANGO, Bettie Baqedeni
 MASANGO, Bheki Moses
 MASANGO, Dina Jeli
 MASANGO, George
 MASANGO, Herbert Mnindwa

MASANGO, Lindiwe Susana
 MASANGO, Michael Phakama
 MASANGO, Mirriam Nomzi
 MASANGO, Ronnie Buyaphi
 MASANGO, Shevula
 MASANGO, Wele Archibald
 MASANGU, Paul
 MASE, Ncedani
 MASE, Sindile Simon Bhawi
 MASEBENI, Victor Mlandeli
 MASEKO, Thandi Mirriam
 MASEKO, Aaron Mazithulele
 MASEKO, Alfred
 MASEKO, Ben
 MASEKO, Bheki Ernest
 MASEKO, Carnie Alice
 MASEKO, David
 MASEKO, Edward
 MASEKO, Ezra Emmanuel Msimelolo
 MASEKO, George
 MASEKO, Israel
 MASEKO, Jabu
 MASEKO, Jabu Dennis
 MASEKO, Jeffrey Paulus
 MASEKO, Jerome Mlungisi
 MASEKO, Johannes Siphio
 MASEKO, John
 MASEKO, Joshua Nsizwa
 MASEKO, Khosi
 MASEKO, Leonard
 MASEKO, Lucky Ben
 MASEKO, Maphuti David
 MASEKO, Mbuti Petrus
 MASEKO, Msongelwa Amos
 MASEKO, Nelson Zuzuile
 MASEKO, Ngcolongcolo Elliot
 MASEKO, Ntabela Lucas
 MASEKO, Ntombizodwa Maria
 MASEKO, Patrick Dumisani
 MASEKO, Phillip Nkosinathi
 MASEKO, Sicelo Christopher Lefty
 MASEKO, Siphio Josala
 MASEKO, Veli Badnock
 MASEKO, Vincent Jabu
 MASEKO, Wilson
 MASEKWANA, Nosipho
 MASELELA, Aby
 MASELELA, Morris
 MASELELA, Samuel
 MASELOA, Makgasane Aaron
 MASEMOLA, Alfred Mpho
 MASEMOLA, Annah
 MASEMOLA, Busi
 MASEMOLA, Kedibone Patricia
 MASEMOLA, Thelma Jeannie
 MASENG, Joshua Monnapule
 MASENYA, Grace
 MASERUMULE, Mammeshoana
 MASETI, Agnes
 MASETI, Matthews Poppie
 MASETI, Monwabisi Siegfried
 MASETI, Mzwandile Tofi
 MASETI, Zixolisile Mathews
 MASHA, Patrick Luneng
 MASHABA, Esme

MASHABA, Njabulo
 MASHABA, Nonhlanhla Pinkie
 MASHABA, Skhumbuzo Elvis
 MASHABA, Solani Princess
 MASHABA, Wilson Fanyane
 MASHABANE, Jarman Gem
 MASHABANE, Solomon Ngungunyane
 MASHABELA, Hendrick Ramphele
 MASHABELA, Marule Klaas
 MASHABELA, Sethaba Johannes
 MASHAKANE, Piletji Wellington
 MASHALA, Johanna Chuene
 MASHALA, Manare Seemole
 MASHALA, Maphuti Kweni
 MASHALA, Ngoako Frans
 MASHALA, Ngwako Vincent
 MASHALA, Powishi Moses
 MASHALANE, David
 MASHALANE, Maphuti Phineas
 MASHALANE, Mokgadi Johannes
 MASHALANE, Obed Tlou
 MASHAMAITE, Bushman
 MASHAMAITE, Maphuti Stephen
 MASHAMAITE, Nare Elliot
 MASHAMAITE, Phuti Andries
 MASHAMAITE, Phuti Martinos
 MASHAMAITE, Pitsi David
 MASHANGOANE, David
 MASHAYA, Ghandi Goodwill
 MASHAYA, Goodwill Makhosonke
 MASHAYA, Samson Bafana
 MASHAYA, Thembekile Virginia
 MASHAZI, Jan Mkhombiseni
 MASHEGO, Andries
 MASHEGO, Joseph
 MASHEGO, Nancy
 MASHEGO, Sekwayi Barney
 MASHEGO, Steven Subie Boy
 MASHEGOANE, Selby Matsusa
 MASHEKANE, Machoene Joas
 MASHELE, Agnes Mimi
 MASHELE, Calvin Khazamula
 MASHELE, George
 MASHELE, Mosabelo Anna
 MASHELE, Murray Elleck
 MASHELE, Ndanduleni Agnes
 MASHETENG, Mamare Ramokone
 MASHIA, Mfana Jacob
 MASHIANE, Bafunani Sophy
 MASHIANE, Bhekani Francis
 MASHIANE, Joseph Thabo
 MASHIANE, Mbowa Morhoa
 MASHIANE, Mvuqu Jim
 MASHIANE, Rose Sponong
 MASHIATSHIDI, Mosima Melita
 MASHIEA, Boysie Isaac
 MASHIEA, Modise Mathews
 MASHIEA, Selepe Petrus
 MASHIFANE, Daniel
 MASHIGO, Daisey
 MASHIGO, Joseph Johannes
 MASHIGO, Tamati Elias
 MASHIGOANE, Simon Senyekile
 MASHILE, Aledulege Benson
 MASHILE, Joe

MASHILE, Thaopi Ethel
 MASHILO, Speed Katishi
 MASHILOANE, Tsietsi Anthony
 MASHIMA, Lucia Tiou
 MASHIMBYI, Dickson
 MASHIMBYI, Dixon Mkhatchana
 MASHININI, Humphrey
 MASHININI, Julia
 MASHININI, Lehlohonolo
 MASHININI, Moeketsi
 MASHININI, Mphikeleli Godfrey
 MASHININI, Nomkhatha Virginia
 MASHININI, Thandi
 MASHISHI, Fulubi Esau
 MASHISHI, Stephen Fani
 MASHITA, Chou Johannes
 MASHITA, Nkoko Moses
 MASHITENG, Chuene Johanna
 MASHITENG, Kweni Silas
 MASHITENG, Phuti Jermina
 MASHIYA, Oupa George
 MASHIYA, Sylvia Monica
 MASHIYA, Tsietsi Dungan
 MASHIYANE, Aaron
 MASHIYANE, Dize Aaron
 MASHIYANE, Mndawe Elijah
 MASHOBANE, Derrick
 MASHOENG, Mpho Desmond
 MASHOKWE, Molefi Geoffrey
 MASHUMI, Melvin Mluleki
 MASHUMPA, Lucas
 MASHWABANA, Wiseman
 MASHYIANE, January
 MASHYIANE, Lololo
 MASIA, Joseph
 MASIA, Tebello Gloria
 MASIBA, Mlingiswa Justice
 MASIBI, Charles Tjale
 MASIBISE, Isaac Zozo
 MASIGO, Reginald Kenny
 MASIJELA, Masilo Petrus
 MASIKANE, Mhlonganisa William
 MASIKANE, Mlandeni Anton Jaguar
 MASIKANE, Ntombana
 MASIKANE, Patrick Vusi
 MASIKANE, Philisiwe
 MASIKE, Isaac
 MASIKE, Pitso Andries
 MASIKO, Sara
 MASILELA, Ben Andrew
 MASILELA, Booi
 MASILELA, Boyana Jan
 MASILELA, Jim
 MASILELA, Jonas
 MASILELA, Joseph
 MASILELA, Khabonina Leah
 MASILELA, Lomatshe Lizzie
 MASILELA, Mafele Joana
 MASILELA, Manikie
 MASILELA, Mdasie Johanna
 MASILELA, Skons Petrus
 MASILELA, Sophy
 MASILELA, Thulani
 MASILELA, Thulare Booi
 MASILELA, Velaphi

MASILO, Geelbooi Mabote
 MASILO, Innocentia Tebogo
 MASILO, Jones Tomy
 MASILO, Solomon Mohauli
 MASILWANE, Eliza
 MASIMINI, Nogwebile
 MASIMOLA, Mthunjela Eva
 MASIMULA, Jan
 MASIMULA, Noyende Paulina
 MASIMULA, Sithengani Helen
 MASINA, Elias
 MASINA, Hloniphile
 MASINA, Johannes
 MASINA, Musa Thomas
 MASINA, Stanley Sandile
 MASINA, Zodwa
 MASINGA, Bongiwe
 MASINGA, Lemonade Mkase
 MASINGA, Mirriam Nomathimithi
 MASINGA, Thozwana
 MASIPHA, Ananias Boksa
 MASITHI, Nyamukamadi
 MASITHI, Thari William
 MASOEU, Samuel
 MASOGA, Tihong Justice
 MASOKANYE, Liziwe
 MASOKOAMENG, Norah
 MASOLA, Jabulane James
 MASOLA, Mothomone Ephraim
 MASOLENG, Pinkie Sidney
 MASOMBUKA, Ester Mfithana
 MASOMBUKA, Bapalela Johanna
 MASOMBUKA, Elizabeth
 MASOMBUKA, John
 MASOMBUKA, Josephine Thandi
 MASOMBUKA, Zanele
 MASONDO, Mduduzi
 MASONDO, Sipiwe Eric
 MASONDO, Zacharia Mhlabunzima
 MASOPA, Elina
 MASOPA, Eunice
 MASOPA, Manta
 MASOPA, Melzina
 MASOPA, Moses Godfrey
 MASOPA, Nompoti Elinah
 MASOTE, Sheila
 MASOTE, Sheila Segametsi
 MASUDUBELE, Hilda Matshidiso
 MASUKU, Alpheus Zakhele
 MASUKU, Cliff
 MASUKU, Dumazile
 MASUKU, Ezekiel Oupa
 MASUKU, Jacob Samuel
 MASUKU, Madiphoso Esther
 MASUKU, Phwayinkosi
 MASUKU, Samson
 MASUKU, Samuel Veli
 MASUKU, Thokozile Pam Rejoice
 MASUKU, Thulani
 MASUNYANE, Mathabo Adelina
 MASWANGANYI, Alina
 MASWANGANYI, Joel
 MASWANGANYI, Tinyiko Believe
 MATA, Bungane Jackson
 MATA, Thembisile

MATABANE, Peter Itumeleng
 MATABOGE, Moitheki Isaac
 MATAFENI, Mziuvukile
 MATAKANA, Mtutuzeli
 MATAKANE, David Laka
 MATALA, Phadishi Erasmus
 MATASA, Getrude
 MATAU, Sefako Frans
 MATCHES, Joseph Mateti
 MATCHES, William
 MATCHISI, Mxolisi Gladman
 MATEKANE, Hendrick Paladi
 MATELA, Monkane Joseph
 MATELA, Samuel Serame
 MATELA, Sefilara Steven
 MATENDE, Dingindawo David
 MATENJWA, Ziphozonke Patrick
 MATERA, Monwabisi Zwelicingile
 MATETA, Matome Simon
 MATETA, Patrick Mphathi
 MATETA, Phineas
 MATETE, Moseklemang Meriam
 MATETE, Phoka Patriot
 MATGALA, Mmatlou Alfred
 MATHABA, Elinah
 MATHABA, Gorden Thembinkosi
 MATHABA, Masondo Zesizwe
 MATHABA, Nicholina
 MATHABA, Rosemary Pretty
 MATHABA, Xolani
 MATHABATHA, Paul Maboyi
 MATHABATHE, Modiegi Constance
 MATHABATHE, Moleshewe
 MATHABE, Ramasedi David
 MATHABELA, Bhikizizwe Daniel
 MATHABELA, Boy
 MATHABELA, Evelyn Kemoneilwe
 MATHANG, Josia Booi
 MATHAWENE, Pule
 MATHE, Anthony
 MATHE, Augustine
 MATHE, Bhikizitha
 MATHE, Eunice Shisekile
 MATHE, Joseph Albino
 MATHE, Mishake
 MATHE, Petros
 MATHE, Reuben Fisokwakhe
 MATHE, Sibongiseni
 MATHE, Sipho Bethuel
 MATHE, Tolakele Juiditha
 MATHEBA, Elizabeth Matu
 MATHEBE, Charles Baledi Doctor
 MATHEBE, Collert Mohlamme Piet
 MATHEBE, Daniel Mankurwana
 MATHEBE, Godfrey Matekane
 MATHEBE, Magaruba
 MATHEBE, Magomothabi
 MATHEBE, Majadihlago Jim
 MATHEBE, Matholo
 MATHEBE, Maxwell Molefe
 MATHEBE, Mmakgosi
 MATHEBE, Mmamothalo
 MATHEBE, Mmapule Elizabeth
 MATHEBE, Mmusi Moses
 MATHEBE, Mogwape

MATHEBE, Morako
 MATHEBE, Nnima
 MATHEBE, Norman Chipane
 MATHEBE, Paledi
 MATHEBE, Philemon
 MATHEBE, Piet
 MATHEBE, Queensly
 MATHEBE, Sarah Matlakalana
 MATHEBE, Selape Walter
 MATHEBE, Wellington Chipane
 MATHEBULA, Dumalile Agnes
 MATHEBULA, Gladys Thandi
 MATHEBULA, Kenneth Chimane
 MATHEBULA, Lenah Makhoakane
 MATHEBULA, Lizzy Nkiyasi
 MATHEBULA, Michael Funfun
 MATHEBULA, Robert Themba
 MATHEBULA, Samuel
 MATHEBULA, Themba Zobha
 MATHEBULA, Vincent
 MATHEBULA, Zephania
 MATHENJWA, Busisiwe
 MATHENJWA, Dumingo Sigwili
 MATHENJWA, Julia Sizani
 MATHENJWA, Phyllis
 MATHENJWA, Sifiso
 MATHEWS, Musa
 MATHEZA, Martha Josephine
 MATHIBE, Thembisile Samson
 MATHIBELA, Bongani
 MATHIBELA, David Butana
 MATHIBELA, Fantisi Piet
 MATHIBELA, Kleinbooi
 MATHIBELA, Magidi Feitjee
 MATHIBELA, Mali Lena
 MATHIBELA, Mfanyana Stefans
 MATHIBELA, Phillip Buti
 MATHIBELA, Phomolo Samson
 MATHIBELA, Selina
 MATHIBELA, William
 MATHIBELI, Lekhoa Robet
 MATHIKGE, Jacob Molefe
 MATHISO, Joseph Sana
 MATHISO, Mbuyiselo James
 MATHIZA, Aaron
 MATHOBELA, Refiloe Grace
 MATHONSI, Isaac Mkombe
 MATHONSI, Thembelihle Felix
 MATHONSI, Winnie Nobuhle
 MATHOPE, Aaron
 MATHOPENG, Mabuti
 MATHUDI, Thys
 MATHWASA, Milfred Marhasha
 MATHWASA, Petros
 MATIA, Don Moltino
 MATIBIDI, Phineas Nkgafeng
 MATIDZA, Matoria William
 MATIDZA, William
 MATIKINCA, Buzelwa Eunice
 MATIKINCA, Patrick Dumile
 MATIKINCA, Siputsu Cameron
 MATIMA, Ntshiuoa Agnes
 MATIMA, Solomon Mabusane
 MATIMA, Tefo Johannes
 MATISO, Mbuyiseli Michael

MATISO, Peace
 MATISO, Sithembele
 MATITI, Zandisile
 MATIWANA, Hombakazi
 MATIWANA, Nontombi Beauty
 MATIWANA, Sipiwe Headman
 MATIWANE, David Ndumiso
 MATIWANE, Lungisa Welcome
 MATJEE, Lawrence
 MATJHEDISO, Joyce
 MATJILA, Motshentshe Jan
 MATLAKALA, Seboge Frans
 MATLALA, China Jacob
 MATLALA, Choene Solomon
 MATLALA, Chuene Salphy
 MATLALA, Comfort
 MATLALA, Godfrey Daniel
 MATLALA, Jacob Madisha
 MATLALA, Kgadi Petrus
 MATLALA, Lebogang Johannes
 MATLALA, Makeku Flora
 MATLALA, George
 MATLALA, Mathebe Geofry
 MATLALA, Molotshi Richard
 MATLALA, Morwata Joseph
 MATLALA, Mothokoa Terror
 MATLALA, Noko Solomon
 MATLALA, Phillip Seabe
 MATLALA, Plantina Seemole
 MATLALA, Seemole Modjadji
 MATLALENG, Junior
 MATLASULELE, Madimetja
 MATLAWE, Seleciso Howard
 MATLHABE, Daniel
 MATLHAKO, Christopher Tshepo
 MATLHAKOANE, Daniel Thebe
 MATLHARE, Isaac Rocks
 MATLHOKO, Senatlana Thomas
 MATLHOKO, Thomas Oupa
 MATLOGA, Raselina Ntombizodwa
 MATLOMBE, Christina Mantombi
 MATLOTLO, Paulos
 MATLOU, Aletta Mamogabi
 MATLOU, Ezekiel Matsiela
 MATLOU, Lebiba Joseph
 MATLOU, Magadu David
 MATLOU, Makgalane Solomon
 MATLOU, Mashala Elisa
 MATLOU, Mediyamere Sana
 MATLOU, Ngdakoana Maggie
 MATLOU, Thahedi Mack
 MATODLANA, Mxhasi Matthew
 MATOLENGWE, Fezeka
 MATOLENGWE, Mongazi Florence
 MATOME, Blantina
 MATOME, Maphuti
 MATOMELA, Mkhangel
 MATOMELA, Qinisekile Jeffrey
 MATONG, Gilbert Kgomotso
 MATONSI, Pumzile Ester
 MATOTI, Felicity Nomonde
 MATOTI, Kutazwa Constance
 MATOTO, Mpoye Elias
 MATOTO, Richard
 MATROOS, Aleta

MATROOS, Mziwamadoda Paulos
 MATROOS, Paulos
 MATROSS, Zolile Christopher
 MATSALUKA, Mzimkhulu Desmond
 MATSANE, Thabo Godfrey
 MATSAPOLA, Elizabeth
 MATSEMELA, Mantshabi Elizabeth
 MATSEMELA, Matsobane Morris
 MATSEMELA, Ramolobi Robert
 MATSEMELA, Solomon
 MATSENA, Michael Silas
 MATSETELA, Lucas
 MATSHA, Ntombizakhe Cynthia
 MATSHABA, Nunu Andrew Freddy
 MATSHANA, Lazarus Ndebele
 MATSHATSHA, Lina Dieketseng
 MATSHAYA, Magdaline Nombulelo
 MATSHAYI, Temba
 MATSHEHLE, Lucas
 MATSHEKA, Ketlogetswe Joseph
 MATSHEKE, Gugulethu
 MATSHEKETETE, Mphangeli
 MATSHELE, Andile
 MATSHELE, Dan
 MATSHIANE, Seopele John
 MATSHIKA, Nobayeni Lettie
 MATSHIKI, Milton Chumani Nozulu
 MATSHINGA, Abner Vusi
 MATSHIPA, Maringisile
 MATSHISI, Sipiwo Macdonald Kaiser
 MATSHIYANE, Babereki Piccanin
 MATSHOBA, Andile
 MATSHOBA, Diliza Benedict
 MATSHOBA, Fezile
 MATSHOBA, Nomathemba Amoree
 MATSHOBA, Sicero Sherperd
 MATSHOBA, Wanton
 MATSHOBANE, Mandla
 MATSHOGO, Allen
 MATSHONISA, Noxolo
 MATSHWINYANE, Margaret
 MATSI, Mosima Julia
 MATSIE, Adelade
 MATSIE, Mosele Sinah
 MATSIE, Schalk
 MATSOBANE, Ninki Maria
 MATSOBANE, Thomas
 MATSOBE, Mpedi Richard
 MATSOELE, Grace Mantshe
 MATSOGI, Philip Filipo
 MATSOLO, Luthando Duncan
 MATSOLO, Sabelo
 MATSOLO, Willie Kolisile
 MATSOMANE, Solomon
 MATSONO, Nomathamsanqa
 MATSOSO, Masetheo Jerminah
 MATSUNYANE, Mogale Hekman
 MATTEWS, John Edward
 MATTHEE, Vivian Stanley
 MATTHEWS, Doris Thokozani
 MATTHEWS, Reuben
 MATTHYS, Johnny Martin
 MATUBA, Makwena Christina
 MATUKKWANA, Ntobeko Arthur
 MATUTOANE, Mpule Johanna

MATYALENI, Nomveliso
 MATYENI, Makhwenkwe
 MATYENI, Nelson
 MATYHOLO, Zalisile Ernest
 MATYOBENI, Mfundo
 MATYOBENI, Nothabelani Agnes
 MATYOLO, Nokulunga
 MATYWATYWA, Daweti
 MAUMELA, Tshifhiwa Anthony
 MAVATHA, Sdumo
 MAVHUNGA, Ntendeleni Frans
 MAVIKELA, Andile Cheerful Ace
 MAVIMBELA, Nomphumelelo
 MAVUNDLA, Alson Mandlenkosi
 MAVUNDLA, Bangubukhosi George
 MAVUNDLA, Elvis Mphilelwa Prizer
 MAVUNDLA, Elwin Thamsanqa
 MAVUNDLA, Emma Bonani
 MAVUNDLA, Emmah Qondeni
 MAVUNDLA, Gwaziwe
 MAVUNDLA, Kenneth
 MAVUNDLA, Khothamile Thokozile
 MAVUNDLA, Lindela Claud
 MAVUNDLA, Lucky Wilfred
 MAVUNDLA, Ningi Happiness
 MAVUNDLA, Nonhlanhla Goodness
 MAVUNDLA, Ntombini Sylvester
 MAVUNDLA, Obert Nunu
 MAVUNDLA, Priscilla Khanyisile
 MAVUNDLA, Siyabonga Alson
 MAVUNDLA, Sylvester
 MAVUNDLA, Thembeni Bazothile
 MAVUNDLA, Thulisile Purity
 MAVUNDLA, Zodwa
 MAVUSO, Derrick
 MAVUSO, Ditaba
 MAVUSO, Dumisani Christopher
 MAVUSO, Henry Mandla
 MAVUSO, Jacob Jankie
 MAVUSO, Johannes Vusumuzi
 MAVUSO, Lokufa
 MAVUSO, Mathoko
 MAVUSO, Mhlupheki Cornelius
 MAVUSO, Nomathemba
 MAVUSO, Nombuzo
 MAVUSO, Selby
 MAVUSO, Velile Jeremiah
 MAVUSO, Zakhe Moses
 MAWELA, Keke
 MAWELA, Mhlamukile Simon
 MAWELA, Peter Bigboy
 MAWENI, Hendrick Shima
 MAXAMA, Stewart
 MAXELA, Nontobeko Fancy
 MAXHEGWANA, Eric Sindile
 MAXITI, Lumkile
 MAXITI, Nonikile
 MAXONGO, Amos Vabantu
 MAXWELL, Gavin
 MAY, Alicia Thembakazi
 MAY, Mlandeli Mickey
 MAY, Simphiwe Hantjie
 MAY, Stanford
 MAY, Zenzele
 MAYA, John Gert
 MAYABA, Bhekisisa Stanley
 MAYABA, Henry Mduduzi
 MAYABA, Ntombeningi
 MAYAMA, Patrick Mnyamana
 MAYANA, Ndileka No-Unit
 MAYAPI, Zonwabele
 MAYATI, Delingubo
 MAYEKISO, Caleb
 MAYEKISO, Mzwandile Shadrack
 MAYEKO, David
 MAYELA, Dickson Dlavukile
 MAYET, Zubeida
 MAYEZA, Joseph Banzi
 MAYIDUME, Thakatskana
 MAYISA, Ampie
 MAYISA, Jabulani
 MAYISA, Josiah Mshayina
 MAYISA, Mamatshi Lina
 MAYISA, Mnantsheni Daniel
 MAYISA, Ndabayakhe
 MAYISE, Deliwe Esther
 MAYISELA, Ashley Lungile
 MAYISELA, Madoda Zephania
 MAYISELA, Mxolisi Ishmael
 MAYISELA, Victor Sipho
 MAYISELA, Zangaza Albert
 MAYOLI, Caroline Nontinti
 MAYOLI, Joseph Monwabisi
 MAYOYO, Itumeleng Isaac
 MAZAKA, Mike
 MAZALENI, Luyanda
 MAZEKA, Bhekizenzo Joseph
 MAZEKA, Menzi Michael Mdumise
 MAZIBUKO, Abram Mgodo
 MAZIBUKO, Alfred Mabalane
 MAZIBUKO, Betty
 MAZIBUKO, Bonginkosi
 MAZIBUKO, Bongiwe
 MAZIBUKO, Brian Mbulelwo
 MAZIBUKO, Cleopas Fana
 MAZIBUKO, Eli Ntombana
 MAZIBUKO, Elias Sesing
 MAZIBUKO, Elizabeth
 MAZIBUKO, Funani
 MAZIBUKO, Gugwana
 MAZIBUKO, Hlakaniphani Wiseman
 MAZIBUKO, Isak
 MAZIBUKO, Johannes Veli
 MAZIBUKO, John Maphakula
 MAZIBUKO, Joseph Mfanakadliwa
 MAZIBUKO, Joseph Titus
 MAZIBUKO, Levis
 MAZIBUKO, Linah Masesi
 MAZIBUKO, Lindinkosi Clive
 MAZIBUKO, Lita Nombango
 MAZIBUKO, Lucia Mampi
 MAZIBUKO, Lukas
 MAZIBUKO, Mashinkane Johannes
 MAZIBUKO, Maureen Lango
 MAZIBUKO, McRobert Boy
 MAZIBUKO, Mduduzi
 MAZIBUKO, Ndukuzakhe Joseph
 MAZIBUKO, Nkosinathi
 MAZIBUKO, Nomalanga
 MAZIBUKO, Nomusa Anna
 MAZIBUKO, Ntombikayise
 MAZIBUKO, Patricia Jabulile
 MAZIBUKO, Petros Nqobile
 MAZIBUKO, Phumlani
 MAZIBUKO, Robert
 MAZIBUKO, Rose Thandi
 MAZIBUKO, Sibusiso Abednego
 MAZIBUKO, Siphila John
 MAZIBUKO, Suzan Elizabeth
 MAZIBUKO, Thabeleni
 MAZIBUKO, Thandiwe
 MAZIBUKO, Thokozile Samaria
 MAZIBUKO, Thulisile
 MAZIBUKO, Vikinduku Stephen
 MAZIBUKO, Vusi Anderson
 MAZIBUKO, Vusumuzi Mapheshi
 MAZIBUKO, Zinhle Yvonne
 MAZIKO, Princess Mandisa
 MAZIYA, Lindiwe Roseline
 MAZIYA, Mokabhe Ali
 MAZIYA, Thandi Elizabeth
 MAZIYA, Zwelakhe
 MAZIYANE, Nozukile
 MAZOKWANA, China Gray
 MAZOMBA, Boy Charles
 MAZOMBA, Sindiswa Flora
 MAZUBANE, Lamekhi Mbongiseni
 MAZUBANE, Ngwala
 MAZUBANE, Thokozile Alice
 MAZUBANE, Thomas Sakhiwe
 MAZUBANE, Thulani Goodboy
 MAZUBANI, Dumephi
 MAZUBANA, Kenneth Mbulelo
 MAZUNGULA, Sizwe Douglas
 MAZUZA, Phillip Lukhele
 MAZWEMBE, Luke Storie
 MAZWI, Abednigo Nzimeni
 MAZWI, Abednigo Nzimeni
 MBABELA, Gladman Mankenke
 MBADI, Moses Themba
 MBALANE, Matwethu Sheshe
 MBALI, Buziwe
 MBALI, Nozuko Monica
 MBALI, Thembeke Eunice
 MBALI-POTO, Thamsanqa
 MBALIGONTSI, Vulindlela
 MBALISO, Banoyi
 MBALO, Micheal Msindisi
 MBALO, Mini Agnes
 MBALULA, Nobeki Marie
 MBALWA, Coster
 MBAMBANI, Thobeka Sylvia
 MBAMBABA, Nomvulazana Ellen
 MBAMBO, Chwepeshe Khanyile
 MBAMBO, Alfred Lucky
 MBAMBO, Andrias Mduduzi
 MBAMBO, Anna Nomusa
 MBAMBO, Bangeni Lingani
 MBAMBO, Bantwanyana John
 MBAMBO, Bonginkosi Lawrence
 MBAMBO, Charles Michael
 MBAMBO, Christian Sifiso
 MBAMBO, Florence
 MBAMBO, Joel Dumisani
 MBAMBO, Kolindi David

MBAMBO, Lindiwe Siyathemba Joyce
 MBAMBO, Manti Doris
 MBAMBO, Mashifu
 MBAMBO, Math Mayvis Gunathi
 MBAMBO, Musa Matthew
 MBAMBO, Mzwethu
 MBAMBO, Nani Gertie Magumede
 MBAMBO, Nhlanhla Rafael
 MBAMBO, Partick Bhekuyise
 MBAMBO, Phumzile Patricia
 MBAMBO, Queen Elizabeth
 MBAMBO, Sakhile Alpheus
 MBAMBO, Simon Sibusiso
 MBAMBO, Stanley
 MBAMBO, Thoko Alice
 MBAMBO, Zakhele Patrick
 MBANA, Christabella Nomzilankatha
 MBANA, Nolesini Victoria
 MBANA, Noncedo
 MBANA, Ntsikelelo Alfred
 MBANA, Ntsikelelo Alfred
 MBANA, Ntsikelelo Alfred
 MBANA, Silas Lehlohonolo
 MBANA, Sipokazi
 MBANA, Solomon Mbulelo
 MBANDA, Thokozile Doris
 MBANDLWA, Themba Christopher
 MBANE, Kayaletu Thankslord
 MBANGA, Oliver Mongezi
 MBANGENI, Khishwa Mackenzie
 MBANGI, Nkosana Jeffrey
 MBANGO, Nhlanhla Jerome
 MBANI, Mpazamo Bethwell
 MBANJWA, Alex Madodawonke
 MBANJWA, Bangumuzi
 MBANJWA, Bazokwakhe Jerome
 MBANJWA, Bhekithemba
 MBANJWA, Bhulushe
 MBANJWA, Bongane Maqhawe
 MBANJWA, Bongani
 MBANJWA, Bongani Maqhawe
 MBANJWA, Boselapi Annie
 MBANJWA, Dida Malchion
 MBANJWA, Foli
 MBANJWA, Griffiths Sthembiso
 MBANJWA, Hawulengwe Mandla
 MBANJWA, Israel
 MBANJWA, Khanyisile
 MBANJWA, Khulumile Clarah
 MBANJWA, Lengiswa Roselina
 MBANJWA, Makhawu Johannes
 MBANJWA, Mchithwa
 MBANJWA, Mduduzi Emmanuel
 MBANJWA, Mgedane
 MBANJWA, Mhlanganyelwa Gideon
 MBANJWA, Mkhulunyelwa
 MBANJWA, Mkhuzeni
 MBANJWA, Mntungani Richard
 MBANJWA, Mpoloza
 MBANJWA, Mthokozisi Raphael
 MBANJWA, Nelson Jimbephi
 MBANJWA, Netive
 MBANJWA, Nokwazi
 MBANJWA, Nomzanyana
 MBANJWA, Ntombifikile Rosemary

MBANJWA, Phezila Sephronia
 MBANJWA, Sdindi Hilaria
 MBANJWA, Senene
 MBANJWA, Sidlabehleli
 MBANJWA, Sipho Erastus
 MBANJWA, Sizakele Doris
 MBANJWA, Sizani Kate
 MBANJWA, Skhumbuzo
 MBANJWA, Sokalezwe Sixtus
 MBANJWA, Sthembiso
 MBANJWA, Thandani Africa
 MBANJWA, Theku
 MBANJWA, Themba Vincent
 MBANJWA, Theodonsia
 MBANJWA, Thobile Matutu
 MBANJWA, Thoko Rosemary
 MBANJWA, Vovo Dingephi
 MBANJWA, Zakhe Milton
 MBAQA, Sipho Moses
 MBATA, Dumisani
 MBATA, Ester
 MBATA, John Fakazi
 MBATA, Mzameni Jacksonia
 MBATA, Obedia
 MBATA, Vusi Samson
 MBATHA, Kohli Lira
 MBATHA, Abel Mgedi
 MBATHA, Adelina Nobelungu
 MBATHA, Alex
 MBATHA, Alexander Eli
 MBATHA, Alois Sibeko
 MBATHA, Bernard
 MBATHA, Bhekinkosi
 MBATHA, Bongani Jeremiah
 MBATHA, Bongini Besta
 MBATHA, Busisiwe Merrica
 MBATHA, Currie Andries
 MBATHA, Cyril Sibusiso
 MBATHA, Dinjana Abram
 MBATHA, Dudu
 MBATHA, Elizabeth Nombuso
 MBATHA, Hanyane Anna
 MBATHA, Isaac Bhekumusa
 MBATHA, Jabu
 MBATHA, Joshua
 MBATHA, Khosi
 MBATHA, Maria Zodwa
 MBATHA, Martin
 MBATHA, Mduduzi William
 MBATHA, Mfanuthini Alton
 MBATHA, Michael Thulani
 MBATHA, Mohloki Jonas
 MBATHA, Nani Lucy
 MBATHA, Ndayizana Richard
 MBATHA, Nonhlanhla
 MBATHA, Ntuthumbe Elsaphina
 MBATHA, Paulina
 MBATHA, Pearl Lucky
 MBATHA, Phillip
 MBATHA, Popi Nokuthula
 MBATHA, Poppie
 MBATHA, Samuel
 MBATHA, Skhumbuzo Emmanuel
 MBATHA, Sylvia
 MBATHA, Thamsanqa

MBATHA, Thandi
 MBATHA, Themba
 MBATHA, Thembane Dinah
 MBATHA, Thembi Mabel
 MBATHA, Tholakele
 MBATHA, Thulebona
 MBATHA, Timothy
 MBATHA, Tokozile Rosemary
 MBATHA, Virginia Ntozethu
 MBATHA, Vumi Stanley
 MBATHA, Vusi
 MBATHA, Vusi Stanley
 MBATHA, Vusumuzi Norman
 MBATHA, Vuyani Pelvis
 MBATHA, Zibuyisile Melisah
 MBATHU, Mthetheleli Shadrack
 MBATHU, Wandile Major
 MBATYOTHI, Songezo Papana
 MBAYI, Nandipa
 MBAYI, Phila Percy
 MBAYI, Semuseni Ducard
 MBAYO, Suzen Nozenzo
 MBEBE, Lucas Mdunyiswa
 MBEDLILA, Mbulelo Aaron
 MBEDU, Thetephi
 MBEJE, Bhekuyise
 MBEJE, Bongani Nicholas
 MBEJE, Elianorah Nokulunga
 MBEJE, Eunice Thembisile
 MBEJE, Nomusa Constance
 MBEJE, Ntombenhle Beatrice
 MBEJE, Ntombeningi Ancial
 MBEJE, Vincent Bhekani Mpumelelo
 MBEJE, Xolani
 MBEKA, Nondumiso
 MBEKELA, Mxoliswa Christian
 MBEKELA, Sonwabo Sydwel
 MBEKI, Joseph Molefi
 MBEKI, Monwabisi Kwanda
 MBEKI, Mteteleli
 MBEKILE, Maholwane
 MBEKO, Mfanufikile
 MBEKO, Muzomuhle
 MBEKO, Xolani
 MBEKUSHE, Sizakele
 MBEKWA, Sibunu
 MBELE, Andrew Vusi
 MBELE, Ben
 MBELE, Bettie Tomfikile
 MBELE, David
 MBELE, Dumisane Cyril
 MBELE, Eugene
 MBELE, France
 MBELE, George Mduduzi
 MBELE, Happy Frank
 MBELE, Joseph
 MBELE, Lilian
 MBELE, Lucia
 MBELE, Mazwi Lynos
 MBELE, Mfolwane
 MBELE, Mhleli
 MBELE, Millicent Zandile
 MBELE, Mina Nyane
 MBELE, Mkhohlisi Wellington
 MBELE, Mlungisi

MBELE, Msongelwa Jeremiah
 MBELE, Mzawu Solani
 MBELE, Mzondwase Ivy
 MBELE, Nguzimangabemtu
 MBELE, Ntombenhlophe Ritta
 MBELE, Ntombifikile Elizabeth
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 MBELE, Ronnie Michael
 MBELE, Sipho
 MBELE, Sitoni Clementina
 MBELE, Vukani
 MBELE, Vusumzi Eric
 MBELE, Zithulele Solomon
 MBELU, Bhokuyise
 MBELU, Lovey Gideon
 MBELU, Percy Mpho
 MBENENGE, Simon Simangele
 MBENENGE, Thembekile Eric
 MBENENTO, Matse Wellington
 MBENGA, Adam
 MBENGE, Phindile Lhelhe
 MBENGO, Vusumzi Mzuvukile
 MBENGWA, Elias
 MBENSE, Eugene Siyabonga
 MBENSE, Mduduzi Sydney
 MBESE, Nosisana Regina
 MBESI, Esther Nokolosani
 MBETE, Mzwandile
 MBEWANA, Mxolisi Tototo
 MBEWE, Isaac
 MBEWE, Monsi Lolland
 MBEWE, Thos Bethuel
 MBEWU, Nolungile
 MBEWU, Vuyani Edward
 MBHALI, Aaron Mandokoza
 MBHAMALI, Sigodi
 MBHELE, Balungile Donata
 MBHELE, Bazisola Augustine
 MBHELE, Bhokabantu
 MBHELE, Boy
 MBHELE, Dumisani
 MBHELE, Florence
 MBHELE, Fokozi
 MBHELE, Gretta Thandi
 MBHELE, Khayelihle Madlokovu
 MBHELE, Lindiwe Ignatia
 MBHELE, Livingstone Gabriel
 MBHELE, Lynette Lindekile
 MBHELE, Magdaline Sessie
 MBHELE, Mandla Joseph
 MBHELE, Mandlenkosi Alois
 MBHELE, Meluli
 MBHELE, Mfiseni Sibusiso
 MBHELE, Mkhombeni James
 MBHELE, Mzondile Aaron Papanyame
 MBHELE, Nomakhwezi Veronica
 MBHELE, Nompumelelo
 MBHELE, Ntombenhlophe Ritta
 MBHELE, Ntombikayise Getrude
 MBHELE, Oupa Johannes
 MBHELE, Phumephi
 MBHELE, Purity Thuleleni
 MBHELE, Qondeni Evelinah
 MBHELE, Qude Anthony
 MBHELE, Rose Philisiwe
 MBHELE, Shuqwana Jessie
 MBHELE, Sibongile Luckey
 MBHELE, Siphiwe Lesley
 MBHELE, Sizeni
 MBHELE, Thezaphi Doris
 MBHELE, Thulebona Justice
 MBHELE, Velepi Elizabeth
 MBHELE, Vimba Wiseman
 MBHELE, Xolani
 MBHELE, Zakhele Elijah
 MBHELE, Zodwa
 MBHELE, Zonduyise
 MBHUDU, Qaphela Anselem
 MBIBI, Margaret Ntombicacile
 MBIKO, Ntombizanele Annnatolia
 MBILI, Bhokani
 MBILI, Hleziphi Mirriam
 MBILI, Isaac Khalesakhe
 MBILI, Jabula Hemington
 MBILI, Kelele
 MBILI, Kufakwakhe
 MBILI, Lindani
 MBILI, Mabhovu
 MBILI, Mampapanana Lillian
 MBILI, Mavis
 MBILI, Mduduzi Aubrey
 MBILI, Nino Elias Ntontoza
 MBILI, Nkosiyezwe Maxwell
 MBILI, Nkosiyezwe Zibo
 MBILI, Phathowubani Phillis
 MBILI, Rabukani Agnes
 MBILI, Richard
 MBILI, Richman Zibokwakhe
 MBILI, Sihle Maxwell
 MBILI, Simon Vela
 MBILI, Thandekile
 MBILI, Thembekile
 MBILI, Tobhi Beatrice
 MBILI, Wellington
 MBINDA, Mpumelelo Ashwelli
 MBINQO, Mpumelelo
 MBITYO, Vuyiswa Gladys
 MBIWA, Mankwekwe Ben
 MBIXANE, Mzwandile
 MBIXANE, Nceba Mpimpi
 MBIZA, Witnes Gezani
 MBIZANA, Justice Mfulathelwa
 MBIZANE, Bhanoyi
 MBIZANE, Sibongiseni Simon
 MBIZO, Modi
 MBODLA, Nkosana
 MBOKANE, Madoda Lionel
 MBOKAZI, Alzina
 MBOKAZI, Esias Dingile
 MBOKAZI, Mlungisi Wellington
 MBOKAZI, Phiwase
 MBOKOTHA, Mbiza Penstone
 MBOKWE, Nonkenyana
 MBOLA, Nonkosi Muriel
 MBOLA, Sindiswa Orienda
 MBOLEKWA, Betshwana
 MBOLEKWA, Mntukanti
 MBOMA, Nosipho
 MBONA, Vusumuzi Michael
 MBONAMBI, Beauty
 MBONAMBI, Bhokabakubo
 MBONAMBI, Bhokani
 MBONAMBI, Bongani Ephraim
 MBONAMBI, Bonginkosi Vincent
 MBONAMBI, Bungu Simon
 MBONAMBI, Busisiwe Prudence
 MBONAMBI, Clara
 MBONAMBI, Glenrose
 MBONAMBI, Mbongeni
 MBONAMBI, Mbuzeni Mabalane
 MBONAMBI, Muziwenhlanhla Gilbert
 MBONAMBI, Ngila Balungile
 MBONAMBI, Nokulunga
 MBONAMBI, Sibusiso Patrick
 MBONAMBI, Vimba Enoch
 MBONAMBI, Vincent Bonginkosi
 MBONAMBI, Zandile Anna
 MBONAMBI, Zwelempi
 MBONANE, John
 MBONANE, Lucas Lucky
 MBONANI, Adam Mgid
 MBONANI, Mlotshwa David
 MBONANI, Oupa Josiah
 MBONANI, Swartbooi Skhangeni
 MBONANI, Themba Tsepo
 MBONDE, Siphiwo Headman
 MBONGO, Jane Nozillilo
 MBONGO, Mbuyiswa Ezfrose
 MBONGO, Victoria
 MBONGWA, Emmanuel Mfanufikile
 MBONGWA, Ntokozo Joyce
 MBONGWA, Sihla
 MBONGWA, Sindiswa
 MBONGWA, Thamsanqa
 MBONGWE, Bonisiwe Constance
 MBONGWE, Thembekile Jemina
 MBONISWA, Ntomboxolo
 MBONWA, Cosmos
 MBOTHO, Daphney
 MBOTHO, Dudu Princess
 MBOTHO, Nyembani Mafoloz
 MBOTHO, Rose Nombuluko
 MBOTHO, Thobekile Florence
 MBOTHO, Vunina Tryphinah
 MBOTHE, Nomajaji Gladys
 MBOTWE, Sibusiso Jerome
 MBOTYA, Thembekile Edwin
 MBOVANA, Cynthia
 MBOVANA, Xolile
 MBOVANE, Ntozelizwe Stulo
 MBOYA, Mthobeli Herold
 MBOYA, Vuyisile John
 MBOYANA, Mncedisi Barrington
 MBOZA, Nomsa Cecilia
 MBUBE, Ntanz
 MBUKWANE, Fortune Dudu
 MBULA, Vukani Goodman
 MBULANA, Kanisile
 MBULAWA, Eugene
 MBULAWA, Nofayini Elsie
 MBULENI, Zitulele Reginald
 MBULI, Boysie Innocent
 MBULI, Khanyisile
 MBULI, Petros Mafika
 MBULI, Simon Mbusomoni

MBUNDU, Nceba Mxolisi	MCHUNU, Bhukumuzi Moses	MCOYANA, Moses
MBUNGE, Thami Stanford	MCHUNU, Bhekuyise Phillip	MCUBE, Buyanaye Mirriam
MBUNGE, Zola Joseph	MCHUNU, Dumisani	MCUBE, Themhani Ester
MBUNGELA, Thomas	MCHUNU, Elsie	MCULWANE, Elizabeth
MBUNGWA, Manthiywa Jeanet	MCHUNU, Elta	MCULWANE, Hluthu
MBUQE, Xolile Humphrey	MCHUNU, Flemina	MCULWANE, Matata Gremma
MBUQE, Zwelitsha	MCHUNU, Goodwill Bheki	MCULWANE, Ntobeko
MBUSI, Nomakhaya Patricia	MCHUNU, Hezekia	MCULWANE, Ntokozo Petros
MBUTHO, Khulile Rejoice	MCHUNU, Jonathan Mlungiseni	MCUNU, Dali Stephen
MBUTHO, Siyabonga Lawrence	MCHUNU, Joseph	MCUNU, Johannes Bigboy
MBUTHO, Titiza Ivy	MCHUNU, Khetheni Beauty	MCUNU, Vimbekhaya
MBUTHU, Constance	MCHUNU, Lindiwe Lilian	MCUNUKELWA, Makhubalo
MBUTHU, Florence	MCHUNU, Lungi Elizabeth	MDA, Anele
MBUTHU, Goodness Nonhlanhla Fikile	MCHUNU, Mandlakayise Elias	MDABE, Makazi
MBUTHU, Wellington Bafana	MCHUNU, Margaret	MDABE, Ndukuzempi
MBUTHUMA, Deliwe Paulinus	MCHUNU, Matika Mabel	MDAKANA, Jafter Mphangeleni
MBUTHUMA, Emerencia	MCHUNU, Mhlaliseni Bernard	MDAKANA, Maleti Alice
MBUTHUMA, Msongelwa Nicholas	MCHUNU, Michael	MDAKANE, Eugene
MBUTHUMA, Ruth Zitshu	MCHUNU, Mirriam Bayabulile	MDAKANE, Muzikayise
MBUTHUMA, Simo	MCHUNU, Moses	MDAKANE, Sifiso
MBUTHUMA, Thami	MCHUNU, Musawenkosi	MDAKANE, Zephania
MBUTO, Nongephi Elizabeth	MCHUNU, Mzikayise Zebulon	MDAMBA, Muzokkhana Mntukayise
MBUTO, Skhumbuzo Moses	MCHUNU, Ndabayakhe	MDANDA, Alzinah
MBUTWA, Bandiwe Annie Mandaba	MCHUNU, Ndleleni	MDANDA, Lilly
MBUYAZI, Gladness	MCHUNU, Ndodo	MDAYI, Eugenia Tamara
MBUYAZI, Joseph	MCHUNU, Nhlanhla Isiah Brian	MDAYIMANI, Nkanyezi
MBUYAZI, Luntu	MCHUNU, Nkosinathi Joel	MDEBUKA, Sandile Patrick
MBUYAZI, Madabuli	MCHUNU, Nontobeko	MDEKAZI, Sonwabo
MBUYAZI, Nelisiwe	MCHUNU, Nozi	MDHLULI-PIKELELA, Moses
MBUYAZI, Paulos	MCHUNU, Ntinti Amos	MDIDIMBA, Mzukisi Cathnick
MBUYAZI, Sibongile Magaret	MCHUNU, Oscar Thamduxolo	MDIKENI, Nowanda
MBUYAZI, Thamsanqa	MCHUNU, Peter Jabulani	MDIMA, Gibe
MBUYAZI, Thembinkosini Lexhur	MCHUNU, Richard	MDIMA, Khokhiwe
MBUYAZI, Victor Ntando	MCHUNU, Robert	MDIMA, Lulu
MBUYISA, Mapi	MCHUNU, Shadrack Mechack	MDIMA, Nomtshezi Eliza
MBUYISA, Niniza Bernadet	MCHUNU, Simphiwe	MDIMA, Salelem Dorcas
MBUYISA, Nozipho Mavis	MCHUNU, Sizakele	MDIMA, Sizani
MBUYISA, Sfiso	MCHUNU, Thandazo Jumama	MDIMA, Solekhaya Jack
MBUYISA, Sibusiso	MCHUNU, Thandeka Cynthia	MDINGANE, Bandile
MBUYISA, Welcome Mdayi Dumisani	MCHUNU, Thandiwe	MDINGI, Leonard Maqhashu
MBUYISELO, James Jack	MCHUNU, Thembi Irene	MDINGI, Yongama
MC GOSH, Samuel Navarro	MCHUNU, Thembisile Gloria	MDINISO, Duduzile Paulina
MCAKOLO, Msongelwa	MCHUNU, Thenjiwe Maria	MDISHWA, Mavusi
MCAMA, Zombeyana Benard	MCHUNU, Thulani Dumisane	MDISHWA, Zimisele
MCAMBI, Alson Thulebona	MCHUNU, Tuku Thembi	MDITSHWA, Stanford
MCAMBI, Gibson Sbongiseni	MCHUNU, Vincent Mazwi	MDLADLA, Bhékani Gilbert
MCAMBI, Hlaba Anna	MCHUNU, Wiseman Siphó	MDLADLA, Eligius Mbuyiselwa
MCAMBI, Thulebona Andrias	MCHUNU, Zamani	MDLADLA, Felani Elizabeth
MCAMGISA, Simon Mzwandile	MCHUNU, Zodwa Margaret	MDLADLA, Mondli Kulana
MCANDA, Ntombizodwa Miriam	MCILONGO, David	MDLADLA, Ntombizonke Dora
MCANYANA, Ntombenhle Christina	MCILONGO, Fumbathile Gladman	MDLADLA, Stobi Constance
MCATA, Lawrence Mzwanda	MCILONGO, Lulama	MDLADLA, Vincent Senti
MCBRIDE, Derrick	MCILONGO, Mzonke	MDLADLA, Zibuyile Kinini
MCCLUNE, Robert Edward	MCILONGO, Nomathokazi Deborah	MDLALO, Makhosi
MCEDI, Vincent Mpho	MCILONGO, Nomavela Ethelina	MDLALO, Africa
MCELU, Morris Mzimkhulu	MCILONGO, Nomight Ella	MDLALO, Amos Mbongiseni
MCERWA, Ndimiso	MCILONGO, Vuyisile Victor	MDLALO, Bheki
MCETYWA, Harriet Jabulile	MCINEKA, Lawrence Linda	MDLALO, Butana Wilmoth
MCETYWA, Michael Zolane	MCIZWA, Pungula	MDLALO, Caro
MCGLUWA, Patric William	MCKAY, Anne Frances	MDLALO, Elliot Bhudiza
MCHIZWA, Phungula	MCKENZIE, Keith Charles	MDLALO, Ephrem Maswelindoda
MCHOLWA, Mthingwevu Lizethile	MCLEAN, Thamsanqa Godfrey	MDLALO, Fikile Irene
MCHUNU, Andrinah Malithi	MCOSANA, Mampho Betty	MDLALO, Jabulani
MCHUNU, Baphindile	MCOSANA, Sweeness Tanetjie	MDLALO, Jabulisile Julia
MCHUNU, Batembile	MCOSINI, Nombali Philby	MDLALO, Knowledge

MDLALOSE, Madoda Simon
MDLALOSE, Makehlana Simon
MDLALOSE, Mandlenkosi James
MDLALOSE, Mashudu
MDLALOSE, Mbhasobheni
MDLALOSE, Mfana Patric
MDLALOSE, Mgbeni
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MDLALOSE, Nana Constance
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MDLALOSE, Robert
MDLALOSE, Sibongile Candice
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MDLALOSE, Themba Deon
MDLAMBUI, Thakatshana
MDLAMLA, Bambaliphi
MDLANGATHI, Mbalekelwa Thomas
MDLANGATHI, Thomas Mbalekelwa
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MDLANKOMO, Ligwa Graham
MDLETSHE, Balindle
MDLETSHE, Bibiyana Isaac
MDLETSHE, Bonginkosi Ewart
MDLETSHE, Bonginkosi Siphwe
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MDLETSHE, Dennis
MDLETSHE, Derrick Bhinkosi
MDLETSHE, Dumisani
MDLETSHE, Khayelihle
MDLETSHE, Lindiwe
MDLETSHE, Lucy Nokusa
MDLETSHE, Makatamane Gideon
MDLETSHE, Mbuyiseni
MDLETSHE, Mduduzi Prince
MDLETSHE, Mirriam Edna
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MDLETSHE, Ntondo
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MDLOLO, Alvina
MDLOLO, Mshiyeni
MDLOPHANE, Bhika Brian
MDLSHE, Nombuyiselom
MDLUDLUWATHA, Kululekile
MDLULI, Alfred Mkize
MDLULI, Aubrey
MDLULI, Barry Qethu
MDLULI, Bekingosi Wellington
MDLULI, Elizabeth Sizane
MDLULI, Elsie
MDLULI, Ephraim Tsepo
MDLULI, Gabazile
MDLULI, Hambani Question
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MDLULI, Regina Mawini
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MDLULI, Sebonile
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MDLULI, Sikhumbuzo Msethenzwa
MDLULI, Sthembiso
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MDOKO, Songezo Elvis Sogie
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MDOLO, Phillip Mfanalezi
MDOLOMBA, Ntombizandile
MDUBA, Sithembiso Sydney
MDUBO, Bazini Ivy Magambushe
MDUNA, Nomahlubi Prisca
MDUNFANA, Sizwe Sylvia
MDUNGE, Malungelo
MDUNGE, Mantombi Pauline
MDUNGE, Margaret
MDUNGE, Mthandeni Misheck
MDUNGE, Musawenkosi
MDUNGE, Patrick
MDUNGE, Sandile Richard
MDUNGE, Thandiwe Verah
MDUNGE, Thembinkosi Ernest
MDUNGWA, Ntombemhlophe Precious
MDUNGWANE, Tefa Joseph
MDUNYELWA, Bukubukwana
MDUNYELWE, Mohlonuphile
MDUTSHANE, Nkebe Soswiti
MDWAYI, Melikhaya
MDYESHA, Thozama Jennifer
MDYESHA, Thozamile Edward
MDYOGOLO, Mthandazeli Patrick
MDZEKE, Mzimkhulu
MEDUPE, Itumeleng James Nango
MEGALE, Mpho
MEHALE, Manke Kwena
MEHLALA, James Mncedisi
MEINTJIES, David Kaiser
MEJANA, Thembile
MEJANE, Thozama Samson
MEJE, Michael Zalimpi
MEKENI, Mimi Phineas
MEKO, Diki
MEKO, Kgomotso
MEKO, Zolani
MELANE, Nkopodi Joyce
MELANE, Oliver
MELANI, Nongxaki Nora
MELAPE, Robert
MELATO Percy
MELATO, Alice Dikeledi
MELATO, David Moeti
MELATO, Mahlomola Percy
MELATO, Tonny
MELESI, Victor
MELLO, Ntombi Merriam
MELWANE, Borolo Godfrey
MEMA, Alfred Wilson Jabu
MEMA, Mzamo
MEMANI, Caroline Nanziwe
MEMANI, Lennox Themba Kokinana
MEMANI, Mzenzi Griffiths
MEMANI, Peggy Nontuthuzelo Suzie
MEMANI, Sebenzile Oliver
MEMANI, Toti James
MEMANI, Zenzile William
MEMELA, Thabani
MEMELA, Bernard Jabulani
MEMELA, Bhikani Nelson
MEMELA, Christophora
MEMELA, Daniel Mthungathi
MEMELA, Lindiwe
MEMELA, Mkwe
MEMELA, Nomathemba Maria
MEMELA, Ntombikayise Sylvia
MEMELA, Thandi Ernestina
MEMELA, Vusumuzi Lawrence
MEMELA, Wilson Bambezakhe
MEMELA, Zodwa Constance
MEMELA, Zowakhe Mdunywisa
MEMEZA, George Siphwe
MENDELE, Nowanathi Patricia
MENDU, Alson Fikile
MENDU, Mbayiyana
MENDU, Ntombile Margaret
MENDU, Xolani Christian
MENE, Jongile
MENE, Julian Lansa
MENE, Thembile Tiny
MENGOANE, Lindile
MENGOANE, Mzunani
MENTILE, Daniel Wandile Lennox
MENTOOR, Edward Ntsikelelo
MENYATSO, Bullboy Johannes Bull
MENZE, Kenose Andrew
MENZE, Zukile Mopedi
MENZI, Edward Gugwana
MENZI, Nokhaya Mina
MENZI, Osmen
MENZIWA, Gwebinkundla
MERAE, Baile Piet Bizza
MESHEKI, Nono
METELE, Florida Thembeke
METHULA, Jan
METHULE, Mfanasilili Jack
METROVICH, Ivon
METSHE, Patrick Motsamai
METSING, Thabo Abraham
METSWEMERE, Sello Jacob
MEYA, Mamapiloko Maria
MEYER, Adriana Johanna Christiana
MEYER, Clement
MEYER, Jacqueline Anne
MEYER, Leon Lionel
MEYERS, Donne
MEYERS, Michael
MEYI, Johannes Mpiyakhe
MEYIWA, Bahlakaniphile
MEYIWA, Bhikisizwe Million
MEYIWA, Constance Zethu
MEYIWA, Dumangeze
MEYIWA, Limephi Ntombini
MEYIWA, Mphiwa
MEYIWA, Mzokhethwayo Mcindezelwa
MEYIWA, Soleni
MEYIWA, Zakhona S
MFABANA, Nozipho Mabel
MFACO, Nondumiso Dorothy
MFANEKISO, Ashwell Siluva

MFAZWE, Diliza Mayford
 MFAZWE, Mkhonto Kingsworth
 MFAZWE, Toto Alex
 MFEKANE, Fumanekile Wycliff
 MFEKA, Bonisile Dorothy
 MFEKA, Busisiwe Constance
 MFEKA, Dasi Gertrude
 MFEKA, Gladys Kathazile
 MFEKA, Hlalawazi Alois
 MFEKA, Londiwe Audrey
 MFEKA, Mxolisi Jethro
 MFEKA, Nonhlanhla Goodness
 MFEKA, Ntombi Yemali
 MFEKA, Siyabonga Innocent
 MFEKA, Tembekile Kobozi
 MFEKA, Tembeni
 MFEKA, Thandekile
 MFEKA, Thikabonwa
 MFEKA, Thobekile Margaret
 MFEKA, Zandilie Precious
 MFEKA, Zintombi Phumzile
 MFEKETHO, Isaac Dumile
 MFENE, Thulisile Cynthia
 MFENE, Zakhele Mlungisi Edward
 MFENGU, Titimani Frank
 MFENQE, Monde Ben
 MFENYANA, Ntombi Johanna
 MFENYANE, Zacharia Zwelakhe
 MFETE, Mametja Selina
 MFETSHELA, Tyhileka
 MFINGWANA, Maju Ellais
 MFO, Mcebisi
 MFOLOZI, Zoleka
 MFONO, Masibonge Kenneth
 MFUIGWANA, Bambaliphi
 MFUKO, Msoso Daniel
 MFUKU, Clarence
 MFULENI, Vuyisile Bethwell Boy
 MFUNDISI, Bafana Martin
 MFUNDISI, Mpumelelo Spekire
 MFUNTANE, Mhlazwa
 MFUNZANA, Mpumelelo Goodman
 MFUYWA, Sigwebo
 MGABI, Monwabisi Atwell
 MGABI, Sandile Henry
 MGADI, Donald
 MGADI, Dubelani Agnes
 MGADI, Isaac
 MGADI, Musawenkosi
 MGADI, Thembisile
 MGADIBE, Simon
 MGAGA, Abel Siph
 MGAGA, Abel Siph
 MGAGA, Thamsanqa
 MGALI, Matenza
 MGANDELA, Golden
 MGATSHI, Bulelani Sivuyile
 MGAZI, Mbonane Phillip
 MGCINA, John Hluphekile
 MGCINEKA, Ndaba
 MGOBO, Mgweyake
 MGCUWE, Mzimkhulu
 MGEDEZI, Ephraim Mbongeni
 MGENG, Fayedwa
 MGENG, Grace Tholani

MGENG, Lindiwe Dorah
 MGENG, Ntombentsha
 MGEXO, Gcinintetho
 MGIBANTAKA, Patrick
 MGIDI, Abie Soyobi
 MGIDI, Given
 MGIDI, Jabulani Petrus
 MGIDI, Jeffrey Lucas
 MGIDI, Patrick
 MGIDINGO, Leonard
 MGIDLANA, Melusi
 MGINYWA, Bigboy Mgcini
 MGOBHOZI, Busisiwe
 MGOBHOZI, Magedlase Ngoneni
 MGOBHOZI, Tobias
 MGOBOZA, Mxolisi
 MGOBOZI, Busisiwe Lethiwe
 MGOBOZI, Khizana
 MGOBOZI, Qweqweni
 MGOBOZI, Thabani Robert
 MGOBELI, Mngqabisi Tallman
 MGODUKA, Mbambalala Glen
 MGODUKA, Mbambalala Glen
 MGOGODLO, Vuliwe Willie
 MGOLOMBANA, Msondezi Isaac
 MGOMA, Thabo Robert
 MGOMEZULU, Siph
 MGOQI, Ncedo Paul
 MGOZA, Albert
 MGQABUZANA, Sonwabo
 MGQIBISA, Mantoni Mathews
 MGQOLOZANA, Simphiwe
 MGQOSINI, Fani David
 MGUBASI, Lulamile Andrew
 MGULWA, Marelana Horance
 MGUNGU, Papani John
 MGUNI, Magcata
 MGUNI, Skhumbuzo
 MGWABA, Bernard
 MGWABA, Daniel
 MGWABA, Ndoda Mthembiseni
 MGWABA, Richard
 MGWABA, Vusumuzi
 MGWADLENI, Ethel Gebisile
 MGWANGQA, Lloyd Phuphu
 MGWAXELA, Petrus Boy
 MGWEB, Thembekile Moses
 MGWEB, Viege
 MGWEJE, Goodman Nceba
 MGWENYA, Siph Lucky
 MHKIZE, Muzomusha
 MHKIZE, Siph Douglas
 MHLABA, Andries
 MHLABA, Emmanuel Dentegnali
 MHLABA, Siqoq William
 MHLABA, Thozama Millicent
 MHLABANE, Thoko Lindiwe
 MHLAHELE, Simphiwo
 MHLAKAZA, Fuzile
 MHLAMBI, Muziwabantu Prince
 MHLAMBI, Samson Lucky
 MHLAMBISO, Charles
 MHLANA, Msikeleli Cornelius
 MHLANGA, Amos Happy
 MHLANGA, Andries Velaphi

MHLANGA, Bradly Siph
 MHLANGA, Butinyana
 MHLANGA, Cornilius
 MHLANGA, Derrick
 MHLANGA, Elizabeth Mduduzi
 MHLANGA, Elmon Mphamba
 MHLANGA, Johannes Mfanethu
 MHLANGA, Jongilizwe Thanduxolo
 MHLANGA, Malefane Samuel
 MHLANGA, Marie Thembisile
 MHLANGA, Mbulelo Anderson
 MHLANGA, Moses
 MHLANGA, Njabulo
 MHLANGA, Ntombifikile Eunice
 MHLANGA, Tsunana Jonnas
 MHLANGA, Zingisile Kidwell
 MHLANGENYAMA, Thembaletu
 MHLANGU, Tunywadni
 MHLANTI, Bhakisisa
 MHLAULI, Sicelo
 MHLAWULI, Mncedisi Edward
 MHLAWULI, Nocawe Rosey
 MHLTSHWA, Ziyele
 MHLKHULU, Sheleni
 MHLOLA, Thembelani Stanford
 MHLONGO, Adelete
 MHLONGO, Albertina Totana
 MHLONGO, Alfred Dabulizwe
 MHLONGO, Anthony Bhoyi
 MHLONGO, Ben
 MHLONGO, Bheki Richard
 MHLONGO, Bhinkkosi Armstrong
 MHLONGO, Bhakisisa
 MHLONGO, Bhelokwakhe
 MHLONGO, Bitsene Amos
 MHLONGO, Bongani Zwelethu
 MHLONGO, Bongekile Patience
 MHLONGO, Boyi Abednigo
 MHLONGO, Busisiwe Ernestine
 MHLONGO, Buyaphi
 MHLONGO, Buyelaphi Prudence
 MHLONGO, Christina
 MHLONGO, Collen Sfiso
 MHLONGO, Cynthia Nkosingiphile
 MHLONGO, David Ntewu
 MHLONGO, Derrick Mduduzi
 MHLONGO, Dokotela Dokter
 MHLONGO, Dombi Josephina
 MHLONGO, Dominic
 MHLONGO, Elizabeth
 MHLONGO, Elsie
 MHLONGO, Emma Mcane
 MHLONGO, Enock
 MHLONGO, Fikile Mirriam
 MHLONGO, Filda Mankanaza
 MHLONGO, Gabisile
 MHLONGO, Gazo Amom
 MHLONGO, Gettie Mthomoloz
 MHLONGO, Godfrey Vusi
 MHLONGO, Grace Makhosazana
 MHLONGO, Gugu Saraphina Mirriam
 MHLONGO, Isaac Nalati
 MHLONGO, Johannes
 MHLONGO, Johnie
 MHLONGO, Joseph Mlethwa

MHLONGO, Kege Mandlenkosi
 MHLONGO, Khulekani Derrick
 MHLONGO, Khumbulani Sydney
 MHLONGO, Latombi Paulina
 MHLONGO, Mahelane Msawenkosi
 MHLONGO, Mahlasela Paul
 MHLONGO, Mamiti Fakazile
 MHLONGO, Mandla
 MHLONGO, Mandla Emmanuel
 MHLONGO, Mandle Nkosi
 MHLONGO, Martin
 MHLONGO, Masinga Emmanuel
 MHLONGO, Mbusi
 MHLONGO, Mbuso
 MHLONGO, Mdali
 MHLONGO, Mduduzi
 MHLONGO, Mdumiseni
 MHLONGO, Meshack
 MHLONGO, Mkakwa Richard
 MHLONGO, Mkhalsiseni
 MHLONGO, Mla
 MHLONGO, Mshayeni
 MHLONGO, Mtente
 MHLONGO, Mthinteni
 MHLONGO, Muntu Nqenamuzi
 MHLONGO, Ngenzeni
 MHLONGO, Nicholas
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 MHLONGO, Nohwaqela Thokozile
 MHLONGO, Nokukhanya Brightness
 MHLONGO, Nokuthula Gladness
 MHLONGO, Nomnyango Mahwanqa
 MHLONGO, Nompumelelo
 MHLONGO, Nomvula
 MHLONGO, Nonhlanhla Irene
 MHLONGO, Nonhle
 MHLONGO, Nqashiya
 MHLONGO, Ntombi
 MHLONGO, Ntombinani
 MHLONGO, Ntombini Eslina
 MHLONGO, Patrick
 MHLONGO, Phillip
 MHLONGO, Prince Ncunze
 MHLONGO, Richard
 MHLONGO, Robert
 MHLONGO, Seralo Rebecca
 MHLONGO, Sibongile Fikisiwe
 MHLONGO, Sibusiso Sicelle
 MHLONGO, Sicelo
 MHLONGO, Sipho
 MHLONGO, Sithembiso
 MHLONGO, Sizani Catherine
 MHLONGO, Soli Solomon
 MHLONGO, Themba
 MHLONGO, Themba Godfrey
 MHLONGO, Thembekile
 MHLONGO, Thembekile Ntombizo
 MHLONGO, Thembinkosi Christopher
 MHLONGO, Thokoza
 MHLONGO, Thokozeni Richard
 MHLONGO, Tholakele Dorah
 MHLONGO, Titi
 MHLONGO, Tobias Bhekithemba
 MHLONGO, Vusumuzi
 MHLONGO, Zakhele

MHLONGO, Zibuse Eric
 MHLLOTJANE, Martha Nomalanga
 MHLUNGU, Alton Sipiwe
 MHLUNGU, Khayelihle Muzi
 MHLUNGU, Sabela Smorden
 MHLUNGU, Sibusiso Ntokozo
 MHLUNGWANA, Johannes Omecor
 MICHAEL, Mzolisi Johannes
 MIDDLETON, Edmund Charles
 MIDDLETON, Jean
 MIGELS, Mzwandile Verenus
 MIHURA, Michael
 MILANZI, Newton Neverdie
 MILE, Phillip
 MILLER, Magdalena
 MILLER, Nomawabo Freda
 MIMI, Mankamkela
 MINDLULA, Raisibe Brancina
 MINERS, Eddie
 MINI, Noluthando Doreen
 MINI, Nombuyiselo Jane
 MINI, Nomkhosi
 MINI, Vuyisile
 MINYANE, Nomasonto Mirriam
 MIRANDA, Michael
 MISHOMBO, Ben
 MIYA, Bongamusa
 MIYA, Dibhiliza Gesta
 MIYA, Jabulani Godfrey
 MIYA, Mbhekiswana Ephraim
 MIYA, Mbusiso
 MIYA, Mduduzi Aubrey
 MIYA, Mpotsane Albert
 MIYA, Msolwa
 MIYA, Mthokozisi Johan
 MIYA, Phillip
 MIYA, Qatisa Alfred
 MIYA, Sithembiso Robert
 MIYA, Themba Selby
 MIYA, Thulani
 MIYA, Thulani Patric
 MIYEN, Cyprian Majamu
 MIZA, Mthetheleli
 MIZAH, Nicholas Mziwonga
 MIZAH, Nkosiyo Christopher
 MJACU, Jackson
 MJACU, Sandile Joseph
 MJADA, Noti
 MJADA, Yibanathi Michael
 MJADU, Lindinkosi Happy
 MJADU, Nokwethemba Ntombizakhona
 MJAJA, Venene Mayvis
 MJALI, Oupa Gert
 MJANDANA, Mamntu
 MJETHU, Harold Vuyo
 MJUJWA, Nimrod Monde
 MJIKILO, July Xwele
 MJILA, Noxolo Lindelwa
 MJILO, Jumouma
 MJIWU, Sizwe Witness
 MJOBO, Zandisile Zenieth
 MJODO, Enoch
 MJOKA, Nontobeko
 MJOLI, Bhoko July
 MJOLI, Nkosinathi Musa

MJOLI, Nomabisinya Esther
 MJOLI, Nombuyiselo Alzina
 MJOLI, Ntsikelelo Eric
 MJONGENI, Hlamadana
 MJWARA, Getrude
 MKABALASA, Silumko Leonard
 MKABELA, Hendrik Fani
 MKALIPI, Pretty Ntombomzi
 MKAMBA, Bobby
 MKAMBA, Thandiwe Primrose
 MKAMBULA, Dinekile Lillian
 MKANYISWA, Nomathemba Gertrude
 MKATSHWA, Bennet Madala
 MKAZA, Fikile Kenneth
 MKETI, Irvin Vuyisile
 MKETI, Ntsikelelo Michael
 MKETI, Rex Meyisi
 MKETI, Sophia Nomahlubi
 MKETI, Trevor Xola Raymond Mvelase
 MKETI, Valencia Tembisa
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 MKHABELA, Mandla Metro
 MKHABELA, Mfariseni
 MKHABELA, Sizwe
 MKHABILE, Mzikhaya Dekstad
 MKHALANI, Nontetho Meslinah
 MKHALIPHI, Stella Zelfa
 MKHALIPHI, Theophilus
 MKHANAZI, Thandazile
 MKHASIBE, Petros Sibonelo
 MKHASIBE, Thomas Muzi
 MKHATSHANE, Veleleni Enoch
 MKHATSHWA, Angelina
 MKHATSHWA, Moses
 MKHATSHWA, Tryphinah
 MKHATSWA, Bokweni Bethuel
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 MKHATSWA, Jonathan
 MKHELE, Jabulane
 MKHESENG, Willbeloved Xakekile
 MKHETHWA, Marhoborhobo
 MKHETSHANE, Funani
 MKHETSHANE, Nopasile
 MKHIWANE, Michael
 MKHIZE, Abednigo
 MKHIZE, Abednigo Mbhekiseni
 MKHIZE, Agnes Ntombizonke
 MKHIZE, Alfred Bheki
 MKHIZE, Alfred Zolile
 MKHIZE, Ambros
 MKHIZE, Amos Bhekisizwe
 MKHIZE, Angelina Khuluza
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 MKHIZE, Bafunani
 MKHIZE, Bavumile
 MKHIZE, Beauty Ntombizodwa
 MKHIZE, Bernard Ben
 MKHIZE, Bheki
 MKHIZE, Bheki Petros
 MKHIZE, Bhekithemba Bridgeman
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 MKHIZE, Bhelizitha
 MKHIZE, Bhelukufa
 MKHIZE, Bhoyi Patrick

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 MKHIZE, Bongani Vincent
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 MKHIZE, Bridgeman Musa
 MKHIZE, Busi Mildred
 MKHIZE, Busisiwe
 MKHIZE, Busisiwe Gugu Daphne
 MKHIZE, Caslina
 MKHIZE, Catherine Hlamkile
 MKHIZE, Collin Cecil Bhukumuzi
 MKHIZE, Dominic Mandlenkosi
 MKHIZE, Duduzile Winnie
 MKHIZE, Dumazile Florah
 MKHIZE, Dumezweni Jeffrey
 MKHIZE, Edgar Sandile
 MKHIZE, Emmanuel Bonga
 MKHIZE, Ephraim
 MKHIZE, Ernest Mandlenkosi
 MKHIZE, Fanana Sixtus
 MKHIZE, Fihline
 MKHIZE, Fihliwe
 MKHIZE, Fikelephi
 MKHIZE, Fikile Crezencia
 MKHIZE, Flora Bazibile
 MKHIZE, Florence Fisani
 MKHIZE, Gladness Ganile
 MKHIZE, Gqizo Ntombeziningi
 MKHIZE, Gqokeleni Mpompo
 MKHIZE, Gugu Ritta
 MKHIZE, Happy-Girl
 MKHIZE, Henry Nkenke
 MKHIZE, Hlekisile Paulina
 MKHIZE, Ian Sipho Winston
 MKHIZE, Jabu Rose
 MKHIZE, Japhet
 MKHIZE, Juanna
 MKHIZE, Justice Sipho Mxhegu
 MKHIZE, Kenilworth Solomuzi Ronald
 MKHIZE, Khanyisile
 MKHIZE, Khanyisile Mavis
 MKHIZE, Khehla
 MKHIZE, Khengane Edmund
 MKHIZE, Khiphabanye Jerome
 MKHIZE, Khosi Dora
 MKHIZE, Khumbu
 MKHIZE, Kulumile Teresa
 MKHIZE, Lindeni Dorah
 MKHIZE, Linus
 MKHIZE, Lucky Nhlanhla
 MKHIZE, Lungile
 MKHIZE, Lungisani
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 MKHIZE, Margaret
 MKHIZE, Mbali
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 MKHIZE, Mboniseni Petros

MKHIZE, Mduduzi Madoda
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 MKHIZE, Michael Mfungeleni
 MKHIZE, Mlungisi
 MKHIZE, Moses Bhokokwakhe
 MKHIZE, Moses Bonginkosi
 MKHIZE, Mqoqi Maxwell
 MKHIZE, Mtebekhuzi Pearl
 MKHIZE, Muntu
 MKHIZE, Muntukayise
 MKHIZE, Musa Mfanukhona
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 MKHIZE, Ndodakubo
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 MKHIZE, Nomzinto Esther
 MKHIZE, Nonhlanhla Florence
 MKHIZE, Norah
 MKHIZE, Ntokozo
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 MKHIZE, Ntombifkile Finest
 MKHIZE, Ntombikayise Elizabeth
 MKHIZE, Ntumuzana Mirriam
 MKHIZE, Nukiwe Marriet
 MKHIZE, Orleria Duduzile
 MKHIZE, Papa Steven
 MKHIZE, Patricia Sibongile
 MKHIZE, Phikisiwe Nyezile
 MKHIZE, Phumuzile Irene
 MKHIZE, Richard Mduduzi
 MKHIZE, Rose
 MKHIZE, Samson
 MKHIZE, Sandile
 MKHIZE, Sarah Nelisiwe
 MKHIZE, Saraphine
 MKHIZE, Sebenzile Cathrine
 MKHIZE, Selby Khehla
 MKHIZE, Sellina Regina
 MKHIZE, Sibusiso
 MKHIZE, Sibusiso Dwana
 MKHIZE, Sibusiso Qhubeka
 MKHIZE, Sidumo Vincent
 MKHIZE, Sifiso Baba Conwell
 MKHIZE, Sipho Bheki
 MKHIZE, Sipho George
 MKHIZE, Sipho Joel
 MKHIZE, Sipho Nicholas
 MKHIZE, Sipho Wildrod
 MKHIZE, Siyabinga Linda
 MKHIZE, Skhetheni
 MKHIZE, Snenhlanhla
 MKHIZE, Stanley
 MKHIZE, Steden
 MKHIZE, Sthembiso Mavice
 MKHIZE, Thamsanqa

MKHIZE, Thembinkosi Raphael
 MKHIZE, Thobekile Gladys
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 MKHIZE, Tholakele Margaret
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 MKHIZE, Thulani Michael
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 MKHIZE, Timothy Thulubheke
 MKHIZE, Tiniza Petros
 MKHIZE, William Spoho
 MKHIZE, Wiseman
 MKHIZE, Zakhele
 MKHIZE, Zamsile Boniwe
 MKHIZE, Zanele Gladys
 MKHIZE, Zanele Maria
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 MKHIZE, Zazi Joseph
 MKHIZE, Zazini
 MKHIZE, Zenzile Maphithiza
 MKHIZE, Zibezwile
 MKHIZE, Zifikele Solomon
 MKHIZE, Ziningi Lorraine
 MKHIZE, Zitobi
 MKHIZE, Zwe Runneth
 MKHIZE-MPANZA, Gcinaphi
 MKHOLO, France
 MKHOLO, Sifiso
 MKHONDE, Jabulani Benjamin
 MKHONDWANE, Wilson Mpumelelo
 MKHONTA, Phillip
 MKHONTO, Mukhehli Edward
 MKHONZA, Andrew Bafana
 MKHONZA, Christopher Mpanukhona
 MKHONZA, Fakazi Birthwell
 MKHONZA, Joshua David
 MKHONZA, Lungisani
 MKHONZA, Patience Manize
 MKHONZA, Sibusiso
 MKHULISE, Kebi Amos
 MKHULISI, Sbongile Ritta
 MKHUNGO, Aggrippa Themba
 MKHUNGO, Bantu Wellington
 MKHUNGO, Ishmail Fazafa
 MKHUNGO, Mantombi Agnes
 MKHUNGO, Moses
 MKHUNGO, Mthakathiswa
 MKHUNGO, Nozimodo Viola
 MKHUNGO, Sikhaleni Aamon
 MKHUNGO, Soliwe Catherine
 MKHUNGO, Thembize Agrippa
 MKHUNGO, Vincent Vela
 MKHUNGO, Vumani Maxwell
 MKHUNGO, Zitha Harry
 MKHUNYA, Balungile Fortunate
 MKHWANAZI, Amon Bheki
 MKHWANAZI, Bancamile Mirriam
 MKHWANAZI, Bhekayena Raymond
 MKHWANAZI, Bhekisiwe
 MKHWANAZI, Bonginkosi Lucky
 MKHWANAZI, David Mziwakhe
 MKHWANAZI, David Thamsanqa
 MKHWANAZI, Eliam
 MKHWANAZI, Elizabeth
 MKHWANAZI, Elizabeth Vumile

MKHWANAZI, Emly Nomvula
 MKHWANAZI, Emmanuel
 MKHWANAZI, Enock
 MKHWANAZI, Fikile Promise
 MKHWANAZI, Grace
 MKHWANAZI, Innock
 MKHWANAZI, Janet Ndala
 MKHWANAZI, John Muzikayise
 MKHWANAZI, Joseph
 MKHWANAZI, Joseph Ngemane
 MKHWANAZI, Kateleni Irene
 MKHWANAZI, Linah Nonatjie
 MKHWANAZI, Mfana Simeon
 MKHWANAZI, Michael Jabulani
 MKHWANAZI, Mlungisi Malchus
 MKHWANAZI, Mtunzi Jeffrey
 MKHWANAZI, Mziwefa Bethwell
 MKHWANAZI, Ndani
 MKHWANAZI, Nokuthula Khululiwe
 MKHWANAZI, Nolwazi
 MKHWANAZI, Nombulelo Freida
 MKHWANAZI, Phetetso Jeffrey
 MKHWANAZI, Philangani Margaret
 MKHWANAZI, Princess Linidwe
 MKHWANAZI, Sam Simon
 MKHWANAZI, Sbonelo
 MKHWANAZI, Sindisiwe Reginah
 MKHWANAZI, Sipho Bhinkinkosi
 MKHWANAZI, Thamsanqa Knowledge
 MKHWANAZI, Tholi Francisca
 MKHWANAZI, Tshengang
 MKHWANE, Babajulisile Beatrice
 MKHWANI, Mhlabushitshile Joseph
 MKHWANI, Zicelele
 MKHWENKWE, Pelepele
 MKIZE, Bongani
 MKIZE, Eugene Boy
 MKIZE, Fikile Mary-Jane
 MKIZE, Khehla
 MKIZE, Khumbulani Cyprian
 MKIZE, Muzikayise
 MKIZE, Nokuhlupeka
 MKIZE, Nyosi Mvikelwa
 MKIZE, Piet
 MKIZE, Thulani Pani
 MKIZE, Thulasizwe Cyprian
 MKIZE, William
 MKIZE, Zipate
 MKOBOSHE, Mteteleli Kingwell
 MKOMANE, George
 MKOMAZI, Senyegile Monica
 MKONDE, Gamali Janet Mavezi
 MKONDE, Goodman Magenqe
 MKONKO, Ntombekhaya Brenda
 MKONTO, Sparrow
 MKROLA, Nontsikelele Mavis
 MKROLA, Patience
 MKUMATELA, Nako Likhanyile
 MKUNGO, Harry Zitha
 MKUSANE, Thembekile John
 MKUUSI, Nomsibi Elizabeth
 MKWANAZI, Colin
 MKWANAZI, George Mkwana
 MKWANAZI, Henrick Moleleki
 MKWANAZI, Paulus Serame

MKWANAZI, Qhikiza Joyce
 MKWENA, Elija Bunch
 MLABA, Dingizwe Absalom
 MLABA, Eric Fanavele
 MLABA, Msinga Petros
 MLABA, Muziwabantu Edward
 MLABA, Nicholas
 MLABA, Sipho Lindelinjani
 MLABE, Bavelle Eunice
 MLAKALAKA, Nomvuyiso
 MLAMBO, Bheki Emmanuel
 MLAMBO, Charles
 MLAMBO, Cyril
 MLAMBO, Ernest Themba
 MLAMBO, Gabali
 MLAMBO, Jabulani Sibusiso
 MLAMBO, Johnson Phillip
 MLAMBO, Mabedla Christopher
 MLAMBO, Mandla
 MLAMBO, Maxson
 MLAMBO, Mkulekeleni
 MLAMBO, Muziwakhe Derrick
 MLAMBO, Mzondeni Willie
 MLAMBO, Phiyayinkosi Sibusiso
 MLAMBO, Pukupe
 MLAMBO, Tezane Norah
 MLAMBO, Themba
 MLAMLA, Mteteleli
 MLAMLI, Petukile John
 MLANDELWA, Sijumba
 MLANGA, David Mfana
 MLANGENI, Agatha
 MLANGENI, Bhikizizwe Godfrey
 MLANGENI, Elias
 MLANGENI, John Pipana
 MLANGENI, Mandlenkosi Simon
 MLANGENI, Mbopha
 MLANGENI, Mphikeleli Sydney
 MLANGENI, Qondephi
 MLANGENI, Sipho Solomon
 MLANGENI, Solomon
 MLANGENI, Themba Garnet
 MLANGENI-MALAKOANE, Maria
 MLATA, Misheke
 MLATSHENI, Vuyelwa Vivian
 MLENZANA, Mxolisi
 MLILO, Mathukuthela Alfred
 MLILWANA, Lungile
 MLILWANA, Velile Wellington
 MLILWANA, Wawi Getrude
 MLINDI, Mandonya Amos
 MLISANA, Sindiswa Elmina
 MLOKOTHI, Jokweni Barret
 MLOKOTI, Ellen
 MLOKOTI, Sthembiso Christopher
 MLOLOMBA, Janet
 MLOMO, Bernard Sizathu
 MLOMO, Sandi William Anthony
 MLONDO, Bhinkinkosi
 MLONDO, Bokwe
 MLONDO, Handsome Lindani
 MLONDO, Khethokwakhe
 MLONDO, Mbekeni Benson
 MLONDO, Njengabantu Christian
 MLONDO, Ntondo Wilfred

MLONDO, Sbonginkosi Khulekani
 MLONDO, Zihlathi
 MLONGO, Mali
 MLONGO, Sbusiso
 MLONYENI, Timoti Mbuyiselo Pota
 MLONYENI, Tshoniswa Elsie
 MLOTSHWA, Billy Rammington
 MLOTSHWA, Frank Mfanakatiwa
 MLOTSHWA, Khethani Thembinkosi
 MLOTSHWA, Peter Tsietisi
 MLOTSHWA, Prince Zamakuthula
 MLOTSHWA, Qondeni Julia
 MLOTSHWA, Rose Tshidi
 MLOTSHWA, Sapoyana
 MLOTSHWA, Thandiwe Margaret
 MLOTSHWA, Tisha
 MLOTSHWA, Wilson
 MLOTSHWA, Zamokuhle
 MLOTSHWA, Simon Bhinkinkosi
 MLQTYWA, Mzivukile Anderson
 MLUNGU, Ledia
 MMAKO, Mareka Simon
 MMAKO, Peter Moleko
 MMAKOLA, Swazile Elizabeth
 MMAKOLA, Magoshi Doctor
 MMAKOU, Monageng Patrick
 MMALEDIMO, Thomas Tumishi
 MMATLADI, Patrick
 MMELE, Abram Modige
 MMELESI, Elizabeth Sojakgomo
 MMESI, Israel
 MMITSHANE, Norman
 MMOLAWA, Ezekiel Itumeleng
 MMOLEDI, Sonnyboy Jochonia
 MMONTHA, Rikana Teliza
 MNAMATHA, Vukile
 MNAMATHELI, Steven
 MNCEDI, David Khotso
 MNCEDISI, Kaludi
 MNCIBI, Charles
 MNCIBI, Manyathela
 MNCIVE, Nopam
 MNCUBE, Abednego
 MNCUBE, Mpheni Emmanuel
 MNCUBE, Mzonjani
 MNCUBE, Thulani Abner
 MNCWABE, Albert
 MNCWABE, Bakulumile
 MNCWABE, Bekizwe
 MNCWABE, Betty Bhinkisile
 MNCWABE, Bhikani Robert
 MNCWABE, Celestina
 MNCWABE, Clementina Badidile
 MNCWABE, Emmerencia
 MNCWABE, Fana
 MNCWABE, Kwenza Ephraim
 MNCWABE, Mbukelwa Jerome
 MNCWABE, Pheteni Clementia
 MNCWABE, Rich Happy Girl
 MNCWABE, Sifiso Thomas
 MNCWABE, Thofa Chashisiwe
 MNCWABE, Vusi Derrick
 MNCWANGO, Hlengiwe
 MNCWANGO, Ntombi
 MNCWANGO, Tholake Vothu

MNDAWE, Jabulani Michael
 MNDAWE, Thembuyise Simon
 MNDAWENI, Babhekile Rejoice
 MNDAWENI, David Siyahi Beira
 MNDAWENI, Fikile Rejoice
 MNDAWENI, Zebulon Mzikayifani
 MNDEBELE, Lucas
 MNDEBELE, Sifundo Comfort
 MNDITHI, Walter Mali
 MNDUNGE, Nosenodi
 MNEMBE, Nonhlanhla Thandani
 MNGADI, Alie Mapeta
 MNGADI, Anton Mfauo
 MNGADI, Busisiwe Mavis
 MNGADI, Cikathi Johnson
 MNGADI, Daniel
 MNGADI, Duduzile Princess
 MNGADI, Fisani Hendretta
 MNGADI, Happy
 MNGADI, Hector Ntshowe
 MNGADI, Herman
 MNGADI, Khanyisile Eunice
 MNGADI, Kosana Prince
 MNGADI, Lindiwe Sdi
 MNGADI, Makazi Ngenzeni
 MNGADI, Makhosi Annacletta
 MNGADI, Mduduzi Wiseman
 MNGADI, Mkhuzelwa Knowledge
 MNGADI, Mlindelwa Francis
 MNGADI, Mzwakhe Petros
 MNGADI, Nhlanhla Innocent
 MNGADI, Nosifiso Alois
 MNGADI, Percy Siza
 MNGADI, Peter Bernard
 MNGADI, Phyllis Phamamile
 MNGADI, Prudence Sibongile
 MNGADI, Regina Nontsikelelo
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 MNGADI, Siphon William
 MNGADI, Sithlangu Johnson
 MNGADI, Sithembiso Derrick
 MNGADI, Tembani
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 MNGADI, Trueman Angelicus
 MNGADI, Vusumuzi Michael
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 MNGAMA, Hluphekile
 MNGANGA, Zandile Grace
 MNGAZA, Vuyani
 MNGENELA, Jabulani Reginald
 MNGESE, Mzimasi
 MNGOMA, Amos
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 MNGOMA, Bongekile Joyce
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 MNGOMA, Faith Thembisile
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 MNGOMA, Thulisile Gladness

MNGOMA, Zibuyisile
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 MNGOMEZULU, Ntokozo Lungile
 MNGOMEZULU, Patuence S'Dudla
 MNGOMEZULU, Aubrey
 MNGOMEZULU, Busisiwe Alice
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 MNGOMEZULU, Juli Mackson
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 MNGOMEZULU, Khululiwe
 MNGOMEZULU, Mary
 MNGOMEZULU, Mavis Thoko
 MNGOMEZULU, Mfanafuthi
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 MNGOMEZULU, Nicky
 MNGOMEZULU, Ntombizakithi
 MNGOMEZULU, Peter Dingaan
 MNGOMEZULU, Sibusiso Thethelela
 MNGOMEZULU, Siphon Raynold
 MNGOMEZULU, Susana Maureen
 MNGOMEZULU, Teboho Reginald
 MNGOMEZULU, Thandi Maria
 MNGOMEZULU, Tholakele Sylvia
 MNGOMEZULU, Thoko
 MNGQIBISA, Olefile Samuel
 MNGQUSHO, Mthombi Jovuka
 MNGQUSHO, Wantuke Khaya
 MNGUNI, Jabulani Mbulaleni
 MNGUNI, Abram
 MNGUNI, Ambrose Khohlanangifile
 MNGUNI, Bafana Esaiiah
 MNGUNI, Begene Amos
 MNGUNI, Cynthia Thembeke
 MNGUNI, Dorris Cingephi
 MNGUNI, Gqabalazi
 MNGUNI, Henry Kopori
 MNGUNI, Jeanette Hluphekile
 MNGUNI, Johanna
 MNGUNI, Johannes Bangumuzi
 MNGUNI, John Thulasizwe
 MNGUNI, Khaya
 MNGUNI, Mbongeni Eric
 MNGUNI, Meshack
 MNGUNI, Mfana
 MNGUNI, Nkotho
 MNGUNI, Nthabiseng Patricia
 MNGUNI, Otjiwe Simon
 MNGUNI, Sabusile Trace
 MNGUNI, Sibongile
 MNGUNI, Sibongile Lillian
 MNGUNI, Sibongile Sylvia
 MNGUNI, Sibusiso
 MNGUNI, Sizakele Gladys
 MNGUNI, Sizwe
 MNGUNI, Tandatu Seon
 MNGUNI, Te
 MNGUNI, Thembeni
 MNGUNI, Thembi Qhamukile
 MNGUNI, Tholakele
 MNGUNI, Vukaphi
 MNGUNI, Vusi
 MNGUNI, Zakhe Abram
 MNGUNI-MOLEFE, Rachel
 MNGUNU, Sihle Jaby
 MNGWENGWE, Brightman

MNGWENGWE, Dele Zokwenzani
 MNGWENGWE, Diniwe Mpempe
 MNGWENGWE, Mhlakiseni
 MNGWENGWE, Mpandlana
 MNGWENGWE, Nkosenye
 MNGWENGWE, Silvester
 MNGWENGWE, Zwelebi Feldkwakhe
 MNGWEVU, Goden Ayanda
 MNGXUNYENI, Sandile
 MNIKA, Sandile Geoffrey
 MNIKATHI, Alfred Bangizwe
 MNIKATHI, Allios Mkhethelwa
 MNIKATHI, Antony Fana
 MNIKATHI, Dumazile Gladys
 MNIKATHI, Elizabeth
 MNIKATHI, Flomena Nomusa
 MNIKATHI, Flora
 MNIKATHI, Jabulani Henry
 MNIKATHI, Jeffrey
 MNIKATHI, Mbalekelwa Champion
 MNIKATHI, Nomusa
 MNIKATHI, Ntombizethu
 MNIKATHI, Sifiso
 MNIKATHI, Simon
 MNIKATHI, Smanga Felix
 MNIKATHI, Vika Jeffrey
 MNIKELO, Nompucuko Vinoria
 MNIKINA, Monwabisi Michael
 MNISI, Bongiwe Princess
 MNISI, Clement Siphon
 MNISI, Derick
 MNISI, Joseph Besham
 MNISI, Labi
 MNISI, Lucky Clifford
 MNISI, Lucky Lawrence
 MNISI, Mantsholo Victor
 MNISI, Patrick
 MNISI, Peer
 MNISI, Wiseman Moferefere
 MNISI, Zacharia
 MNKONYENI, Qondeni Prizer
 MNOMIYA, Velile
 MNOXWA, Nyatelwa
 MNQAYI, Lindelani
 MNQAYI, Mary-Jane
 MNQAYI, Nkolo
 MNQAYI, Patrick Joshua
 MNQAYI, Thomas Mpisi
 MNQAYI, Wiseman
 MNQOSINI, Nati
 MNQWAZI, Vakele
 MNTAKA, Bongani Patriot
 MNTAKA, Nontombi Elizabeth
 MNTAMBO, Bhekeni Job
 MNTAMBO, Celokuhle
 MNTAMBO, Duncan Thabo
 MNTAMBO, Gabangaye Felokhwakhe
 MNTAMBO, Harriet Beatrice
 MNTAMBO, Jabu Nomusa
 MNTAMBO, Jacob Mazinyo
 MNTAMBO, Jerome Mashalaze
 MNTAMBO, Lina
 MNTAMBO, Makosi Mzikayise
 MNTAMBO, Nomzamo Lillian
 MNTAMBO, Wiseman Siyabonga

MNTANZI, Phikelakhe
MNTSHALI, Collin Bheki
MNTUNGWA, Edward
MNTUNGWA, Fikile
MNWANA, Ntombi Matilda
MNWEBE, Wally Ntemi
MNYAKA, Mazaba Mirriet
MNYAKENI, David Basani
MNYAKENI, Thomas
MNYAMANA, Judge Themba
MNYAMANA, Molefe
MNYAMANA, Nonceba Glory
MNYAMANE, Best Mfundisi
MNYAMEZELI, Nkosana Nowinile
MNYANDA, Lindelwa Dunu
MNYANDEKI, Pelose James
MNYANDU, Bajingile
MNYANDU, Bheki Bernard
MNYANDU, Cijimpi
MNYANDU, David
MNYANDU, Dumisani Felton
MNYANDU, Elizabeth Sizakele
MNYANDU, Fikakubuswa
MNYANDU, Fikile
MNYANDU, Lungi
MNYANDU, Madoda
MNYANDU, Mphikiswa John
MNYANDU, Myekeni Simon
MNYANDU, Ntombi Rose
MNYANDU, Ntonto Ntozini
MNYANDU, Sabeni Zondeni
MNYANDU, Sibusiso
MNYANDU, Siphwe
MNYANDU, Sipho Jambros
MNYANDU, Thandi Nomthandazo
MNYANDU, Thokozami Wiseman
MNYANDU, Victor Mandlakhe
MNYANGO, Dade Margaret Stout
MNYANGO, Sibongile
MNYANI, Hubert Vuyisile
MNYAPE, Macala
MNYAPE, Nopepencu Margaret
MNYAPE, Ntsikelelo
MNYATHELI, Zandisile Dickson
MNYAZANA, Theminkosi Sindiswa
MNYELE, Mamanyena Sarah
MNYELE, Mpumelelo Isiah
MNYELE, Thamsanqa Harry
MNYEMBANÉ, Peter Nelson
MNYIWAMBE, Amos Mandla
MNYONI, Sibongile Tryphina
MNYUTE, Ndiko John
MNYWABE, George
MOABELE, Grace Kwema
MOABELO, Mamoloko Frans Sebata
MOABELO, Manoko
MOABELO, Mosima Johanna
MOABELO, Naku William
MOABI, Maria Thandi
MOABI, Sabata Daniel
MOAG, Annelin
MOAGI, Sello Winsor
MOALAHl, Segoe Petrus
MOALO, Chapman
MOALUSI, David Matlhare

MOALUSI, Levy Mokhale
MOATLHODI, Kgosietsile Ezekiel
MOATSHE, Jacob Peter
MOATSHE, Jeremiah Ntsitsi
MOATSHE, Leslie Jairus
MOBELE, George Bambo
MOCHALIBANE, Tselapeli Elias
MOCHANGA, Butinyana Samuel
MOCHAWÉ, Shadrack Mochawé
MODANDA, Skhumbuzo Selby
MODIAKGOTLA, David
MODIAKGOTLA, Yvonne Maki
MODIKOANE, Lawrence
MODIMOENG, David Mpontshi
MODIMOENG, Josiah Ramakgole
MODIMOENG, Nkele Joyce
MODIMOLA, Alpheus
MODIMOLA, Makelepe Ephraim
MODIPA, Petros
MODIPANE, Solomon Difako
MODISAKENG, Israel
MODISANE, Abram
MODISANE, Steven
MODISANGANE, Andries Lekgowe
MODISAOTSILE, Jeselina Nnyana
MODISAPUDI, Modise Isaac
MODISE, Abel Motlhanka Augustus
MODISE, Daniel
MODISE, Goitsemodimo
MODISE, Lucky Joseph
MODISE, Lukas
MODISE, Martha Mampono
MODISE, Motlaseo Dorah
MODISE, Motlohegi Mirriam
MODISE, Phillip
MODISE, Rejoice
MODISE, Simon
MODISE, Thabo Benjamin
MODUKANELE, Thuso Kenneth
MODUKANENE, Phorogotho Peter
MODUTWANE, Sophia Baratang
MODUTWANE, Zebedia Badirwane
MOEKETSI, Dolly Dimakatso
MOEKWA, Moses Thami
MOELAJEE, Mansoor
MOELI, Johannes
MOEMA, Isaac
MOEPI, Sengadi Lucas
MOEPYE, Pheho
MOERANE, Eliazara Jakane
MOERANE, Lenare
MOERANE, Modingwoa Edward
MOETI, Aletta
MOETI, Dickson Butinyana
MOETLO, Singleboy
MOETSE, Anderson Olefre
MOETSE, Lesego Lawrence
MOETSE, Mosimanegape Lucas
MOFOKENG, Aaron
MOFOKENG, Abram
MOFOKENG, Arron Tseko
MOFOKENG, Daniel Mashone
MOFOKENG, David
MOFOKENG, Edwin Sonny
MOFOKENG, Elizabeth Kesugileng

MOFOKENG, Esther
MOFOKENG, Jack
MOFOKENG, Jack Tlhoriso
MOFOKENG, Jacob Monyatheli
MOFOKENG, Jacob Sello
MOFOKENG, Kebareng Maria
MOFOKENG, Kothope Johannes
Matala
MOFOKENG, Makaya John
MOFOKENG, Mamothetsi Flora Peggy
MOFOKENG, Manhloesa Maria
MOFOKENG, Maureen
MOFOKENG, Mbongeni
MOFOKENG, Mkhoesa Silvesta
MOFOKENG, Mmathabang Alinah
MOFOKENG, Moeketsi Sylvester
MOFOKENG, Moli
MOFOKENG, Nkele
MOFOKENG, Oupa Daniel
MOFOKENG, Piet
MOFOKENG, Piet M.
MOFOKENG, Sebayi Mirriam
MOFOKENG, Sekolotsa Abram
MOFOKENG, Sello Ephraim
MOFOKENG, Thabo Jonny
MOFOKENG, Thabo William
MOFOKENG, Tjhetane Makwanyane
MOFOKENG, Tsietisi Ben
MOFOKENG, Tyheta Harry Makwa
MOGAADILE, Gaokaiwa Tiny
MOGADI, Peter
MOGAGABE, Aviva Johannes
MOGAGABE, Job Oupa Magale Baby
MOGALE, Ephraim Phumuga
MOGALE, Linda
MOGALE, Mantsia Paulina
MOGALE, Meshack Whiskey
MOGALE, Simon
MOGANEDI, Nkonko Petrus
MOGANEDI, Stephen Ntoampe
MOGANO, Mmashipi Aldo
MOGANO, Silas
MOGAPI, Ben Tiego
MOGAPI, Jonas
MOGAPI, Keikantsemang Annie
MOGAPI, Molapisi Petrus
MOGAPI, Motsamai Patrick
MOGAPI, Timothy Josia
MOGASHOA, Kgwaboi Hendrick
MOGASHOA, Nicholas Lazarus Kamele
MOGASHOA, Rantho Tihabane
MOGASHOA, Thabane Rantho Mpai
MOGASWANE, Khala Andreas
MOGATA, Kabai
MOGATSHANI, Takadimane Stephen
MOGERI, Knox
MOGOAI, Mamotuku Pauline
MOGOANENG, Lokishi Lazarus
MOGOBU, Ledile Moloko
MOGODI, Lincoln Lucky
MOGOHLWANE, Thembeke Ethel
MOGOKOSI, Danson Dan
MOGOMOTSI, Bettie Mapula
MOGOPODI, Abram Motshikiri
MOGOROSI, Mohlomi Daddy

MOGOROSI, Phuthang Arthur
 MOGOROSI, Tennyson Tebogo
 MOGOSETSI, Siphon Simon
 MOGOTLANE, Isaac
 MOGOTSI, Abel Lekhutlile
 MOGOTSI, Herman Mothibedi
 MOGOTSI, Isaka Thomas
 MOGOTSI, Lucas
 MOGOTSI, Nchimane Philemon
 MOGWENG, Kedlitteretse James
 MOGWENG, Lawrence
 MOGWENG, Oatweng David
 MOHAJANE, Ramorakane Simon
 MOHALANYANE, Sello Isaac
 MOHALE, Asael Mopeli
 MOHALE, Babazi Thulani
 MOHALE, Baikie Lazarus Madi
 MOHALE, Christopher Letsezo
 MOHALE, Louis
 MOHALE, Magdeline
 MOHALE, Mamagotla Pauline
 MOHALE, Moses Sabbie
 MOHALE, Oupa Jan
 MOHALE, Phetola David
 MOHAMED, Abduragmaan
 MOHANDE, Letshaba
 MOHAPI MONYANE, Kenneth
 MOHAPI, Botha Paul
 MOHAPI, Edgar Nkane
 MOHAPI, Mapetla Frank
 MOHAPI, Mokheseng
 MOHAPI, Nobuhle Hilary
 MOHAPI, Peter Mokhobo
 MOHAPI, Tebogo
 MOHAPI, Tsiyocolo
 MOHAPI, White Mosoeunyane
 MOHLABI, Gladys Tsepiso
 MOHLABI, Thomas Themba
 MOHLAHLI, Motloang Vitalis
 MOHLAHLI, Thomas Jonas
 MOHLAKOANA, Majoro Nephtally
 MOHLAKOANE, Smangele Nomsa
 MOHLAKOHLA, Petros Lekheke
 MOHLAKOLA, Simakaleng Mkhonose
 MOHLALA, Clement Vusi
 MOHLALA, Evelina Maria
 MOHLALA, Moses Nnete
 MOHLAMBI, Prince
 MOHLAMME, Frans
 MOHLAMONYANE, Jeffrey
 MOHLANGU, Msingweni Maria
 MOHLANYANE, Osborn
 MOHLOBOLI, Lebohlang Emanuel
 MOHLOMI, Siyabonga Goodwill
 MOHOHLA, Mottalepule Martha
 MOHOLING, Dokotela James
 MOHOLO, Jerry
 MOHOLOENG, Masalela Esbie
 MOHONTI, Malaki
 MOIDI, Elina Nomadlozi
 MOILA, Manku Rachel
 MOILOA, Petrus Masala
 MOILWA, David Moswana
 MOIMA, George
 MOITOI, Johanna Meiditje

MOITSHEKI, Serame Andries
 MOITSEHLA, Seemole Tshaisha
 MOJAFI, Gasebonwe Daniel
 MOJALEFA, Pontsho Samuel
 MOJELA, Bethuel
 MOKABA, Daniel Madimetja
 MOKABA, Florina Tselane
 MOKABA, Maria
 MOKABA, Paulina
 MOKABA, Tjane Ernest
 MOKAKALE, Tironyane Benjamin
 MOKALE, Siphon Sydney Eugene
 MOKALENG, Jacob
 MOKATAKA, Abram Boetie
 MOKATAKA, Buti
 MOKATI, Shekeshane Jack Petrus
 MOKENA, Ngaka
 MOKERI, Edward Dhlaiy
 MOKETSEPAN, Khaba Virginia
 MOKETSEPAN, Sophie
 MOKGABI, Motsamai Jacob
 MOKGABUDI, Montso
 MOKGABUDI, Thato Hlafuru
 MOKGAMATHA, Elijah
 MOKGAMATHE, Steven
 MOKGANYE, Evelyn Mampo
 MOKGATHLE, Glad
 MOKGATLANYANE, John Ntoko
 MOKGATLE, Zongezile Ziwewe
 MOKGATLANYANA, Ntoko
 MOKGAUTSI, Thebeitsile Frans
 MOKGELE, Boikanyo Donald
 MOKGETHI, Jerry
 MOKGOBU, Ramokone Elizabeth
 MOKGOHLWA, Kgadi Philemon
 MOKGOKOLO, Nooi
 MOKGOME, Boy Samuel
 MOKGONYANE, Mmanoko Martina
 MOKGONYE, Evelyn Mampo
 MOKGOPHA, Ledile Manare
 MOKGOSI, Maria
 MOKGOSINYANE, Florence
 MOKGOTHO, Jan Thwakga
 MOKGOTHU, Tebogo Patrick
 MOKGOTSI, Lucas
 MOKGWENG, Kanetani Elizabeth
 MOKHASHANE, Samuel Nkopane
 MOKHATHI, Andries Ramapai
 MOKHELE, Isaac
 MOKHELE, Mokete Francis
 MOKHELE, Samuel Malle
 MOKHESENG, Dutsong Lungisa
 MOKHESENG, Simon Tsietsi
 MOKHETHI, Jerry Paseka
 MOKHOABANE, Moahloli
 MOKHOBLO, Samson Moketsi
 MOKHOELWA, Paul
 MOKHOMO, Klaas
 MOKHONOANA, Soja Phillip
 MOKHONWANA, Obed
 MOKHOTU, Molebohlang Alice
 MOKHUWANE, Motlhachi Christopher
 MOKOANA, Philemon
 MOKOBA, Vuyani Daniel
 MOKOBAKE, George Lulu

MOKOBANE, Tshedisha
 MOKOBORI, Itumeleng Simon
 MOKODUTLO, Ompile Daniel
 MOKOENA, Abel Buti
 MOKOENA, Abraham
 MOKOENA, Alfred
 MOKOENA, Amos Dendeng
 MOKOENA, Aubrey
 MOKOENA, Basetsana
 MOKOENA, Busisiwe
 MOKOENA, Dan
 MOKOENA, Daniel
 MOKOENA, David
 MOKOENA, Elliot
 MOKOENA, Ephraim Phakiso
 MOKOENA, Erick
 MOKOENA, Fanyane Sophonia
 MOKOENA, Grace
 MOKOENA, Herbert Bheki
 MOKOENA, Isaack Raditsela
 MOKOENA, Jack
 MOKOENA, Jan
 MOKOENA, John
 MOKOENA, Joseph
 MOKOENA, Julia Mamasole
 MOKOENA, Lefu
 MOKOENA, Lettie
 MOKOENA, Masilo Johannes
 MOKOENA, Mathate David
 MOKOENA, Matthews
 MOKOENA, Michael
 MOKOENA, Molahleli Joseph
 MOKOENA, Morake Petros
 MOKOENA, Ndlela Joseph
 MOKOENA, Nkosinathi Christopher
 MOKOENA, Patrick Stoffel
 MOKOENA, Philemon
 MOKOENA, Rebecca
 MOKOENA, Samuel
 MOKOENA, Silas
 MOKOENA, Sonnyboy
 MOKOENA, Tahleho Ishmael
 MOKOENA, Thabile Patricia
 MOKOENA, Thabiso Victor
 MOKOENA, Thamsanga
 MOKOENA, Thandi
 MOKOENA, Thomas
 MOKOENA, Tladi Alfred
 MOKOENA, Tshotleho Michael
 MOKOENA, Wali
 MOKOENA, Zanele Attretta
 MOKOFANE, Sello
 MOKOISA, Dimakatso Dorcas
 MOKOKA, Eva Molebengeng
 MOKOMA, Edward
 MOKONE, Ella Margaret
 MOKONE, Daniel Pappie
 MOKONE, Izakiel
 MOKONE, Johannes Rabogadi
 MOKONE, Nhlanhla Jeremiah
 MOKONE, Tabello Clement
 MOKONE, Vivian Teboho
 MOKONYANA, Nomvula Paula
 MOKOPANE, Julia
 MOKOPANE, Teboho Patrick

MOKOTEDI, Anna
 MOKOTEDI, Gabriel Pununu
 MOKOTEDI, Hendrick Motsamai
 MOKOTEDI, Lerome Petrus
 MOKOTEDI, Maria Mabatho
 MOKOTO, Sam Goitsemodimo
 MOKOTONG, Jeremiah Matome
 MOKUWE, Sarah Mapule
 MOKWALAKWALA, Mokgapa
 MOKWAYI, Mzwandile Edward
 MOKWELE, Reuben Modipana
 MOKWENA, Bella
 MOKWENA, Israel William
 MOKWENA, Robert
 MOKWENI, Sarah Nongabom
 MOKWENYANA, Tsokolo Jonas
 MOKWETSE, Kehilwenyane Lydia
 MOLAKENG, Johannes Sephara
 MOLAKENG, Jostina Vanyile
 MOLAKENG, Martha Meisie
 MOLAKENG, Zacharia Samuel
 MOLALE, Lawrance Zamele
 MOLALE, Mokhasi Michael
 MOLALE, Thabiso Stanley
 MOLAMU, Mantsioa Emma
 MOLAOA, Luthuli
 MOLAOA, Makholela Johannes
 MOLAOLWA, Edwin Boitumelo
 MOLAOLWE, Gift
 MOLAPISANE, Boiki Michael
 MOLAPISANE, Ngubeni Moses
 MOLAPISI, Chrisphos Myra
 MOLAPO, David Mottalentoa
 MOLAPO, Euphemia Dudu
 MOLAPO, Komape Davidson
 MOLAPO, Matsie Amelia
 MOLAPO, Nokuthula Patricia
 MOLAPO, Silas Molapo
 MOLATE, Randolph Malefetsane
 MOLATSELI, Elias Enoch
 MOLATULI, Joyce
 MOLAUTSI, Mashala Sugar
 MOLEBALWA, Sootho Macdonald
 MOLEBATSI, Daniel
 MOLEBATSI, Fannie Solomon
 MOLEBATSI, Sannah
 MOLEBATSI, Tshotlego
 MOLEDI, Solom Ramotsoni
 MOLEFABANGWE, Baratang Margaret
 MOLEFABANGWE, Botkie Nicholas
 MOLEFAHLE, Solomon
 MOLEFE, Johannes
 MOLEFE, Alfred
 MOLEFE, Andrina
 MOLEFE, Bokang
 MOLEFE, Dennis Musa
 MOLEFE, Elizabeth
 MOLEFE, Elphas
 MOLEFE, Fanono
 MOLEFE, Filda
 MOLEFE, Gerald Mnyamana
 MOLEFE, Henry Tseko
 MOLEFE, Herbet
 MOLEFE, Hhawuta Joshua
 MOLEFE, Ikgopoleng Gladys

MOLEFE, Jeffrey Tshelo
 MOLEFE, Jele Jerry
 MOLEFE, Johannes
 MOLEFE, John Thabe
 MOLEFE, Kerileng Flora
 MOLEFE, Limakatso Virginia
 MOLEFE, Lolo
 MOLEFE, Lucas
 MOLEFE, Luwesa Johannes
 MOLEFE, Makabelo
 MOLEFE, Makemiso Napie
 MOLEFE, Mandla Innocent
 MOLEFE, Marks
 MOLEFE, Matsibo
 MOLEFE, Michael
 MOLEFE, Mmabatho
 MOLEFE, Molifi Paulus Paul
 MOLEFE, Morse Moses
 MOLEFE, Mpho Patrick
 MOLEFE, Ndabuko David Gordon
 MOLEFE, Nonoti Armstrong
 MOLEFE, Ntswareleng
 MOLEFE, Paul Freddy
 MOLEFE, Peiso
 MOLEFE, Phakiso
 MOLEFE, Phala Nelson
 MOLEFE, Philda
 MOLEFE, Philemon Mjanyelwa
 MOLEFE, Pulelo Jani
 MOLEFE, Rantsing
 MOLEFE, Rejoice
 MOLEFE, Richard Oupa
 MOLEFE, Shadrack
 MOLEFE, Siphwe Ephraim
 MOLEFE, Siphon Gordon
 MOLEFE, Sontie Simon
 MOLEFE, Thabang
 MOLEFE, Thabo Jephrey
 MOLEFE, Thomas
 MOLEFE, Tsepo
 MOLEFE, Tsitsana Elma
 MOLEFI, Dimakatso Mary
 MOLEFI, Jan
 MOLEFI, Osekile Daniel
 MOLEFI, Sekgarametso Suzan
 MOLEFI, Serame Shadrack
 MOLEHE, Mankanke Jonas
 MOLEKO, Thabo
 MOLEKO, Jacob Cyril
 MOLEKO, Sannah Senkwele Ntela
 MOLEKO, Sompi Flip
 MOLEKO, Tebuho
 MOLEKO, Victor
 MOLEKOA, Charlie Petrus
 MOLELE, Chuene Frans
 MOLELE, Seemole Kgosisi Betha
 MOLELEKENG, Bathusi Flavios
 MOLELEKI, Jappie Jacob
 MOLELEKI, Vuzwa Sylvia
 MOLELI, Vuyo Gladman
 MOLEMA, Meshack Moleko
 MOLEMA, Walter
 MOLETE, Florence Makgwedi
 MOLETE, Innocencia
 MOLETE, Jackson

MOLETE, Mapaseka Adelisa
 MOLETE, Mmatseleleng Mirriam
 MOLETSANA, Ponki Patricia
 MOLETSANE, Johannes Nteke
 MOLETSANE, Peter Pitso
 MOLETSANE, Pitso Jeffrey
 MOLEWA, Patricia Malebo
 MOLEWA, Victor Thabo
 MOLIBOLA, Tsietzi Lazarus
 MOLIFE, Thomas
 MOLISE, Abia Tshidiso Dyna
 MOLISE, Blou Johannes
 MOLISE, Lucas Modise
 MOLISIWA, Seun Jerry
 MOLLO, Moses
 MOLOATSI, Bafana Clement
 MOLOENA, Voeltjie
 MOLOI, Aaron Kgosiesile
 MOLOI, Andries
 MOLOI, Eddie Mpho
 MOLOI, Elphus
 MOLOI, Jacob
 MOLOI, Johanna
 MOLOI, Joseph
 MOLOI, Kebane Phineas
 MOLOI, Malekea Abram Faniki
 MOLOI, Maria Dimakatso
 MOLOI, Meshack Sizwe
 MOLOI, Montgomery Michael
 MOLOI, Mothohalahlwe Esaiih
 MOLOI, Paulos Lenloa Paulos
 MOLOI, Samuel Danny
 MOLOI, Sefako Johannes
 MOLOI, Thokozile Glenda Yvonne
 MOLOI, Vusimuza Samuel
 MOLOKO, Esthras Tlou
 MOLOKO, Vermaas Josiah
 MOLOKOANE, Andronica Kelebogile
 MOLOKOANE, Barnard Kgasitsiwe
 MOLOKOANE, Barney
 MOLOKOANE, Maria Puleng
 MOLOMO, Keresemose Johannes
 MOLOMONYANA, Moses Laki
 MOLONYANA, Rahube Daniel
 MOLOPO, Geelbooi
 MOLOPO, Lucas
 MOLOROSI, Jimmy
 MOLOSE, Mzwabantu
 MOLOSIDA, Bella Joyce
 MOLOSIOA, Tumelo Neville Nicholas
 MOLOTO, Kitimi Johannes
 MOLOTO, Nganyago Elias
 MOLOTO, Peter Reginald
 MOLOTO, Raisetja
 MOLOTO, Ramokone Mokgad
 MOLOTSI, Esther
 MOLOTSI, Frederick Sefike
 MOLOTSI, Irish Pule
 MOLOTSI, Limakatso Anna
 MOLOTSI, Ramasoeu Saul
 MOLOTSI, Tiny Christinah
 MOLOWITZ, Jan
 MOLUTSI, Selolo Suzan
 MOMOZA, Michael Steem
 MONA, Erick Sihudu

MONA, Nolungile Belly
 MONAISA, Josiah Rakwena
 MONAKALE, Stephen Lesala
 MONAKALI, Mxolisi Anthony
 MONAKALI, Ntsikelelo
 MONAKEDI, France
 MONAKEDI, Frans Makgale
 MONAMA, Samuel Semana
 MONAMBILI, Obed
 MONARENG, Alfred Oupa
 MONARENG, Mantshepiseng Sefora
 MONARENG, Mokoni
 MONARENG, Paul
 MONARENG, Thabo Joseph
 MONASI, Matskidi Petrus
 MONCHO, Shadrack
 MONDI, Nozatu Eleanor
 MONDILE, Zamuxolo Louis
 MONDO, Dumisani
 MONEGI, Molefe Abel
 MONEI, Isaac Diseko
 MONGALAKI, Jacob Nxoli
 MONGALE, Johannes
 MONGALE, Keketso Edward
 MONGALE, Thomas Zero
 MONGKGE, Tebogo
 MONGO, Thozamile Leslie
 MONKHE, Tebogo Simon
 MONKOE, Thaluki Piet
 MONNAESI, Khumo Hilda
 MONNAKGOTLA, Itumeleng Tiro
 MONNAKGOTLA, Mark Modise
 MONNANA, Ipeleng
 MONNANA, Mmuniemang Gladys
 MONNANA, Moitlobo Ruth (Junior)
 MONNANA, Onkemetse Collen
 MONNANA, Rabusang Blacknumbi
 MONNAPULA, Michael
 MONNYE, Mohloloa Jacob
 MONO, Gabriel Barend Thabiso
 MONO, Kudumane Daniel
 MONOKHOA, Albert
 MONOKOANE, Josias Moagi
 MONOKWA, Lomile Lydia
 MONONE, Philimon Nkosana
 MONONYE, Moses Motsumi
 MONTJA, Makhabo Christina
 MONTJA, Matlou
 MONTJA, Thabo Petrus
 MONTLELENG, Zanzile Simon
 MONTODI, Tebogo Christopher
 MONTODI, Abel Tobiasi
 MONTSHIMA, Mbuyiselo Norman
 MONTSHO, Gibert Moleko
 MONTSHO, Keikantsemang Vivian
 MONTWEDI, Elizabeth
 MONTWEDI, Ephraim Morgan
 MONTWEDI, Lucky
 MONTWEDI, Martha
 MONTWEDI, Motsei
 MONTWEDI, Thabo
 MONYAI, Dingaan Peter
 MONYAKALLE, Papo John
 MONYANE, Mathabe Lydia
 MONYE, Lenah

MONYE, Loosboy
 MONYE, Nananyane Susan
 MONYEBODI, Kwenja Johannes
 MONYEPAO, Daniel Lucas
 MOOI, Dalinyebo
 MOOI, Martha Nomathamsanqa
 MOOI, Mziwamadoda
 MOOKO, Isaac
 MOOKO, Tshidiso David
 MOOROSI, Thabo Lucas
 MOOS, Turnell
 MOOSA, Samuel Albert
 MOOTSI, Itumeleng
 MOPANE, Motamo
 MOPEDI, Charles
 MOPELOA, Thabeng Reginald
 MOPHUTHING, Mosoeu Daniel
 MOQHAE, Idah
 MOQHAE, Mabusane Boy
 MOQHOSANE, Tohlang Ismael
 MORABA, Baldwin
 MORABA, Tshalo Joseph
 MORABE, Sello Brian
 MORAI, Motsoane
 MORAJANE, Albert
 MORAKA, Kgahludi Bethuel
 MORAKA, Letoba Caroline
 MORAKA, Mosai Barnard
 MORAKE, Sello Aziel
 MORAKE, Senzani Mateu
 MORAPEDI, Drummond Peter
 MORAPEDI, Mantswe Morgan
 MORARA, Phuti Solomon
 MORARE, Isaac Sakkie
 MORARE, Onkemetse Elinah
 MORARE, Stoki Nathaniel
 MORE, Theophilus
 MOREBODI, Thomas Mmereki
 MOREBUDI, Kenewang Ester
 MOREBUDI, Tumelo Alec
 MOREMEDI, Ramodile Changer
 MOREMI, David Semakaleng
 MOREMI, Hlabana Jeminah
 MOREMI, Makwena Edward
 MOREMI, Matladi Christinah
 MOREMI, Raisibe Freddie
 MOREMI, Seemole
 MOREMI, Tstetsi Aaron
 MORESEKAO, David Thupaetsile
 MORETI, Daniel Nteseng
 MOREWANE, Kgopotjo Ronald
 MORIA, Gert Ditabe
 MOROBANE, Tlou Dalson
 MOROKE, Johannes Molatlhegi
 MOROPODI, Kiki
 MORUDI, Lydia
 MORUDI, Mittah
 MORUDI, Monica
 MORUDI, Scheepers
 MORUDU, David
 MORUDU, Moss
 MORULANE, Petrus
 MORURI, Jacob
 MORURI, Lerato
 MORURI, Manana

MORURI, Selina Masoabi
 MOSAE, Phatsoa Andrias Abuti Broek
 MOSAKA, Rueben
 MOSALA, Masibinyane Joseph
 MOSALA, Michael Samane
 MOSALA, Sello Joel
 MOSALO, Caroline
 MOSALO, Mankitseng
 MOSALO, Moagi Peter
 MOSAMO, Lehomo Ben
 MOSANE, Joe Buti
 MOSE, Luyanda Eric
 MOSEBI, Solomon
 MOSEBI, Thabo
 MOSEHLA, Betty
 MOSEKI, Michael Sipho
 MOSELA, Mokgaetji Malejiba
 MOSENSA, David
 MOSENSA, Ponko James
 MOSES, Johanna
 MOSES, Neil
 MOSETLHENG, Evelyn Letlhogonolo
 MOSHANE, Moses Phakwe Moleme
 MOSHANE, Zoyisile Given
 MOSHANI, Sabatha
 MOSHANI, Vuyisile William
 MOSHI, Seemole
 MOSHOAI, John
 MOSHOANE, Josephine Sekgana
 MOSHODI, Maria Maki
 MOSHODI, Paul
 MOSHOESHOE, Tsela Gregory
 MOSHOEU, Gabriel Paki
 MOSHOEU, Goitseone Gordon
 MOSHOKO, Benedict Ngoaketsi
 MOSHOLI, Ernest
 MOSHOPE, Flora Luvhengo
 MOSHWETSI, Mosalakae Percival
 MOSHWEU, Ellen Mochudimang
 MOSHWEUNYANE, Maje Joseph
 MOSI, Norman Sandile
 MOSIA, Mirriam Tshidi
 MOSIA, Mokete
 MOSIA, Nthateng Olga
 MOSIA, Ouboy Joseph
 MOSIAPOA, Beebop
 MOSIMA, Anna Mmuwaja
 MOSIMANE, Piet
 MOSIMANE, Sabata Francis
 MOSIMANYANA, Abueng Joyce
 MOSIMANYANA, Binkie Anna
 MOSIMANYANA, Mmadolo
 MOSIMANYANA, Ntebo Florah
 MOSIROE, Thabang Augustinues
 MOSITO, Isaac Ike
 MOSIYA, Mechack
 MOSOEU, Lazarus John
 MOSOEUNYANE, Diseko Isaac
 MOSOLO, Pule Meshack
 MOSOLOLI, Jerry Joseph
 MOSOME, Adolphus Motsemme
 MOSUE, Solomon
 MOSWANE, Samuel Motlhabaneni
 MOSWEU, Jacobus
 MOTALE, Sibongile Anna

MOTASI, Rita
MOTAU, Refilwe Gift
MOTAU, Abednigo Botiki Leu
MOTAU, Peter Sello
MOTAU, Tagishe Willkie
MOTAU, Thomas Tommy
MOTAUNG, Didae
MOTAUNG, Diratsagae Winston
MOTAUNG, George Samuel
MOTAUNG, Hendrick Oupa
MOTAUNG, Henry Moloantsoa
MOTAUNG, Joseph Makhwakhwa
MOTAUNG, Judith Fikile
MOTAUNG, Kgomoatso Alfred
MOTAUNG, Lekgotla Ezekiel
MOTAUNG, Malefetsane Johannes
MOTAUNG, Maria Thabisile
MOTAUNG, Mikia
MOTAUNG, Modiemli Elizabeth
MOTAUNG, Ntamakhalala Dyke
MOTAUNG, Petros
MOTAUNG, Rebecca
MOTAUNG, Ruth
MOTAUNG, Sekonyela Gerald
MOTAUNG, Sello Paul
MOTAUNG, Thabo Isaac
MOTAUNG, Tieho David
MOTAUNG, Tseliso Joseph
MOTEAANE, Hellen Galebaitse
MOTEBELE, Rosina Dikeledi
MOTELE, Bethuel
MOTELE, Pinkie
MOTELE, Rosina Puleng Stormy
MOTETE, Mohlahluoa Phineas
MOTHA, Dinah Hadebe
MOTHA, Jan Usityata
MOTHA, Janawarie
MOTHA, Meshack
MOTHA, Mthokozisi
MOTHA, Sindisiwe Veronica
MOTHA, Veli Joseph
MOTHABE, Molatthegei Floers
MOTHANDOBUIZO, Nomadule
MOTHAPO, Rebecca Fahla
MOTHIBA, Lesiba Maxwell
MOTHIBE, Frans
MOTHIBEDI, Vincent George
MOTHIBELI, Kok Daniel
MOTHIBELI, Nkopane Meshack
MOTHIBELI, Sechake Samuel
MOTHIBI, Badiri Ephraim
MOTHIBI, Kgosietsile
MOTHIBI, Lucas Mareko
MOTHIBINYANE, Bothobile Dorah
MOTHUJOA, Samuel Tsediso
MOTHOA, Frans Monawa
MOTHOA, Kleinboy Masenten Yang
MOTHOA, Paulos Papa
MOTHOA, Rachel Mamothusi
MOTHOB, Keletu Emma
MOTHOB, Molatelo Mary
MOTHOKOAMA, Selloane Maria
MOTHOPENG, Bibi Urbanah
MOTHOPENG, Zephania Lekoane
MOTHUNSI, Nkhushi Moses

MOTHUPI, Daniel
MOTHUPI, George Jordan
MOTHUSI, Sello Paulos
MOTINGOE, Joseph
MOTJEANE, Ceaser
MOTJEANE, Maud Fikile Lucy
MOTJHEKWANE, Philip
MOTJOEGE, Gladys
MOTJOPE, Thato Eunice
MOTJOTJI, Makalo Charles
MOTJUOADI, Mpho Samuel
MOTLAFI, Isaac
MOTLAFI, Manaki Violet
MOTLAFI, Steve Kgotso
MOTLALE, Charles Motlogelwa
MOTLALEKGOSI, Martha Doreen
MOTLALENTOA, Pharasi
MOTLATSI, Tahleho Canaseus
MOTLEENG, Richard Tankiso
MOTLHABANE, Nokuhlopheka Daisy
MOTLHABI, Gobuamang Evah
MOTLHAJWA, Johannes
MOTLODISI, Alfred
MOTLOHI, Moses Matumpule
MOTLOHI, Solomon Ramasale
MOTLOKWA, Katlhodi Alpheus
MOTLOKWA, Madumetja Simon
MOTLOUNG, Gerald Meshack
MOTLOUNG, Isaac Mbuyisana
MOTLOUNG, Lydia Mmatieho
MOTLOUNG, Makereke
MOTLOUNG, Meshack
MOTLOUNG, Nkhyelema Elizabeth
MOTLOUNG, Philemon
MOTLOUNG, Victoria Penelope
MOTMANI, Nkosemntu
MOTOAI, Daniel
MOTOAI, Maureen
MOTONA, Matlou Lulu
MOTONA, Mosima Gladys
MOTONA, Tshweni Johannes
MOTSAMAI, Jan
MOTSAMAI, Kgashoane Daniel
MOTSANANA, Malope Petrus
MOTSANANA, Petrus Molefe
MOTSAPI, Michael
MOTSAU, Jacob
MOTSE, David
MOTSE, Merry Dikeledi
MOTSEI, Moses
MOTSEPE, Godfrey Josiah Moditseng
MOTSEPE, Goodwill Linda
MOTSEPE, Joseph Philemon
MOTSEPE, Ngoato Mannie
MOTSEPO, Tseko Joshua
MOTSETSI, Tankiso Simon
MOTSHEPE, Salmon Monalane
MOTSHEPE, Tamporo James
MOTSIRI, Nthoesang Stephen
MOTSIRI, Sam
MOTSISI, Patrick
MOTSITSE, Teboho Jacob
MOTSITSI, Doctor Elliot
MOTSITSI, Joseph
MOTSOALEDI, Elias Mathope

MOTSOANE, John Lehlohonolo
MOTSOENENG, Bikinyana David
MOTSOENENG, Emma
MOTSOENENG, Esther
MOTSOENENG, Jeanette Maletsatsi
MOTSOENENG, Joyce
MOTSOENENG, Polediso Hubert
MOTSOENENG, Sello
MOTSOENENG, Virginia
MOTSOENYANE, Petrus Tshiemane
MOTSOTI, Johannes Soke
MOTSMANE, Solomon
MOTSOTI, Bella
MOTSUENYANE, Jocelyn Nomqgibelo
MOTSUMI, Ephraim Jonas Israel
MOTSUMI, Thapelo Martiens
MOTSWADIRENG, Molefi William
MOTSWANA, Eunice
MOTSWANA, Margaret Mapule
MOTSWANA, Phillis
MOTSWANA, Queen
MOTSWENI, Bitana Emma
MOTUMI, Israel Lepekola
MOUKANGOE, Sarah Mantwa
MOUMAKWA, Khutsafalo Elizabeth
MOUMAKWA, Ntebo
MOUMAKWE, Moses Mataiwa
MOYAKE, Daisy
MOYANA, Sanangele Getrude
MOYANE, Bernadette Disebo
MOYENI, Tembani
MOYI, Sizakele Ephron
MOYISWA, Sikkili
MOYO, Norman Baye
MPAHUMULO, Samukelo
MPAKATHI, Noluthando Sweetness
MPALALA, Ncedani Samson
MPALWENI, Wellington Uzwakhe
MPAMBANE, Khanyiswa
MPAMBANI, Luvuyo
MPANGASE, Mlandeli Andrias
MPANGE, Maphelo
MPANGELA, Mahlangulise Sellina
MPANGISA, Nomsa
MPANI, Licence
MPANI, Nobuntu Maud
MPANTSHWA, Mcingelwa
MPANZA, Bekapi Netha
MPANZA, Bonginkosi
MPANZA, Bongile Lucia
MPANZA, Busisiwe
MPANZA, Dingamandla Aloes
MPANZA, Joseph
MPANZA, Kwenzokwabo Hezekial
MPANZA, Madoda
MPANZA, Mathwele Jeconias
MPANZA, Mpume
MPANZA, Mpumelelo
MPANZA, Nsukwana Wilberforce
MPANZA, Octavia Duduzile
MPANZA, Petros Zakhele
MPANZA, Prince Sihle
MPANZA, Sibongile Qhamukile
MPANZA, Sibusiso
MPANZA, Sihle

MPANZA, Sizani Christinah
 MPANZA, Thethelela
 MPANZA, Thobile
 MPANZA, Vikangani Evelina
 MPANZA, William
 MPANZA, Zakhe Gregory
 MPAPA, Ernest Thabo
 MPEDI, Isaac
 MPEDI, Jacob Malaka
 MPEDI, Roselia Dikeledi
 MPEKANE, Nomvula Anna Sarah
 MPELE, Vusumuzi
 MPEMBA, Jacob
 MPEMBA, Phumulile
 MPEPETO, Embrose
 MPETSHENI, Boyce
 MPEVANA, Mandla
 MPFUNI, Tshinakaho Sophie
 MPHAGA, Mogupudi Buurman
 MPHAGO, Patrick Thumetjie
 MPHABLELE, Marothi Vincent
 MPHABLELE, Mkhululi Brian
 MPHABLELE, Nkeko
 MPHABLELE, Pururu Louis Rhee
 MPHAKI, Leonard
 MPHALALA, Kholisile France
 MPHAMBANE, Bukiswa
 MPHAMBANI, Nohombile
 MPHAMBO, Fanyana Mathews
 MPHATHI, Ngidi
 MPHELA, Lucky Isaac
 MPHELE, Lydia
 MPHIKWA, Mbongeni Moses
 MPHIRIME, Abednigo
 MPHITI, Mandlakayise Matu
 MPHIO, Joel Parara
 MPHIOLO, Ephraim Mosulundi
 MPHIOLO, Ishmael
 MPHOMANE, Mtuzi Hackington
 MPHOSHA, Tsetsani Daniel
 MPHOTHULO, Joseph
 MPHUPHU, Timoti Crosby
 MPHUTHI, France Tseko
 MPHUTHI, Samuel
 MPHUTING, Ntsemeleli
 MPILA, Tobi Tryphinah
 MPIND, Samkela
 MPINDI, Mzwamadoda
 MPISANE, Bongani Anderson
 MPISANE, Siyabonga Ndoda
 MPISANE, Ten Vincent
 MPISANE, Thembisile Princess
 MPISI, Lincon Sihle
 MPISI, Siphio Cyprian
 MPITI, Simiselo
 MPOFU, Elizabeth Sonto
 MPOFU, Joseph
 MPOHOHLE, Majalefa Aaron
 MPOLOKENG, Lebogang Sheila
 MPOMPI, Mvukwa
 MPONDIWA, Andrews
 MPONDO, Godfrey Ngalephi
 MPONDO, Mlungisi Michael
 MPONDO, Mziwakhe John
 MPONDO, Sidwell Mzwandile

MPONGO, Mantahle Junia
 MPONGOSHE, Joseph Pakamile
 MPONGOSHE, Pascalina
 MPONGOSHE, Thozama
 MPOSULA, Mohanoe Johannes
 MPOTULO, Nozipho Edith
 MPOZA, Lulama Jeremiah
 MPUKUNYONI, Ngxolo
 MPULO, Happy
 MPULO, James George
 MPULO, Mkipheni Petrus
 MPULO, Sifiso Emmanuel
 MPULO, Zandile
 MPULO, Zanele
 MPULO, Zaneni
 MPUMLO, Thobekile Sidwell
 MPUMLWANA, Vincent
 MPUNGA, Desmond Manzolwandle
 MPUNGOSE, Themba Richard
 MPUSHE, Lele
 MPUSHE, Sidumo Archibold
 MPUTANA, Matuse
 MPYA, Sello George
 MPYANE, Martin Stephen
 MQADI, Ivy Zanele
 MQADI, Lunga
 MQADI, Sifiso Goodman
 MQADI, Tolani Eunice
 MQADI, Vikinduku
 MQAKAZA, Sixebebele
 MQALANGA, Tukie Joseph
 MQATHI, Loza Geratina
 MQHANA, Msokoli
 MQIKELA, Mlandeli Walter
 MQIKELA, Mzandile
 MQIKELA, Zoleka Constance
 MQOKOLO, Sindiswa Virginia
 MQOMEZULO, Petrus Mohau
 MQOMI, Bongani
 MQONDELA, Golden
 MQONI, Menziwa Voltarie
 MQUDLWA, Pietman
 MQUINSENI, Khuzwayo
 MQULWANA, Mzuvuliwe
 MQWEBE, Nomachule Glenrose
 MRALASI, Alwinus Ndodiphela
 MRALEKANA, Sizwe
 MRASHULA, Jongintlalo
 MROLA, Simanga Sidwell
 MROLOTA, Eunice Boniswa
 MROXISA, Neliswa
 MRUBATA, Petrus
 MRUBATA, Pringle Oscar Ntando
 MSABALA, Allen Darius
 MSABALA, Sibusisiwe Lucia
 MSAHILE, Treyer Freda Nidda
 MSANE, Babazile
 MSANE, Nkosinathi
 MSANE, Nkosiyezwe
 MSANE, Phwayinkosi
 MSANE, Tshoku
 MSANE, Victoria Khanyile
 MSANI, Bongumusa
 MSANI, Fisani Busisiwe
 MSANI, Gladys

MSANI, Khohliwe
 MSANI, Khulumile
 MSANI, Maduthi Thandi
 MSANI, Muzomuhle Shadrack Robert
 MSANI, Petros Kwanzakufani
 MSANI, Thokozile Evelyn
 MSAULI, Vusumzi Attwell
 MSAWULI, Olifant
 MSEBENI, Gladys Khombisile
 MSEBENI, Ntombikabani
 MSELEKU, Armstrong
 MSELEKU, Bongani
 MSELEKU, Nhlanhla Petro
 MSELEKU, Ntombikayise
 MSELEKU, Ntonto Florina
 MSELEKU, Olive Bajabulile
 MSELEKU, Qondeni Albertina
 MSELEKU, Robert
 MSELEKU, Sandile
 MSELEKU, Sydney
 MSHENGU, Themba Alfred
 MSELEKU, Zamaduma
 MSHAYISA, Jingxi
 MSHENGU, Fanyana Job
 MSHENGU, Johannes Madevu
 MSHENGU, Patrick
 MSHENGU, Thembinkosi
 MSHOLE, Edward
 MSHUBA, Alzina
 MSHUDULU, Ntsikelelo Justice
 MSIA, Nkosana Kingsley
 MSIBI, Jabulani Joseph
 MSIBI, Jabulani Sidney
 MSIBI, Jubilia Jabulile
 MSIBI, Kidibone Johana
 MSIBI, Moffat Siphwe
 MSIBI, Msesi Tryphina
 MSIBI, Petros Peta
 MSIBI, Sbu
 MSIBI, Sibobo Christina
 MSIBI, Sikhalo
 MSIBI, Siphamandla Stanley
 MSIKINYA, Mtutuzeli Charles Mbuyi
 MSIMANG, Fikile Isabel
 MSIMANG, Noma Barbara
 MSIMANG, Thulani
 MSIMANGA, Dadi Saul
 MSIMANGA, Jebello Anna
 MSIMANGA, Maditaba
 MSIMANGA, Mamokete Maria
 MSIMANGA, Shezi
 MSIMANGA, Thomas
 MSIMANGA, Baloni Richard
 MSIMANGA, Bolawene Loraine
 MSIMANGA, Dress Jack
 MSIMANGA, Elvis Sibusiso
 MSIMANGA, Emmanuel Mhlakaniphi
 MSIMANGA, Eric Fana
 MSIMANGA, Evelinah Ouma
 MSIMANGA, Herbert Zibuse
 MSIMANGA, Jabulani
 MSIMANGA, Jabulani Abraham
 MSIMANGA, Joseph Msebe
 MSIMANGA, Joseph Skhele
 MSIMANGA, Joyce

MSIMANGO, Mzondase Elizabeth
 MSIMANGO, Thabani
 MSIMANGO, Zenzele Sixtus
 MSIZA, Babasani Sophia
 MSIZA, Bella Fiki
 MSIZA, Daniel Mamphe
 MSIZA, Elizabeth Baphelle
 MSIZA, Johannes Legare
 MSIZA, Joseph Mshiwa
 MSIZA, Julia
 MSIZA, Lettie Nomrubha
 MSIZA, Moses
 MSIZA, Piet
 MSIZA, Solomon
 MSIZA, Thoko
 MSIZAZWE, Joyce Nomvuyo
 MSIZI, Mncedisi
 MSIZI, Mongezi Harlington
 MSIZI, Timothy Vusumzi Tics
 MSOBOMVU, Thompson
 MSOKI, Mzwandile
 MSOKI, Nqweniso Charles
 MSOMI, Alphina Zamekile
 MSOMI, Bachumile Eunice
 MSOMI, Bangelakhe
 MSOMI, Bhacephi
 MSOMI, Bhekezamandla
 MSOMI, Bheki
 MSOMI, Bongani
 MSOMI, Bongile Ntombi
 MSOMI, Busisiwe Zibuyile
 MSOMI, Buyilephi Khumbuzile
 MSOMI, Clementine
 MSOMI, Cornelius Thulisani
 MSOMI, Dingeni
 MSOMI, Enock Muntu
 MSOMI, Fephi Thophi
 MSOMI, Fikelephi Zintombi
 MSOMI, Finkie Maria
 MSOMI, Gamalakhe Amos
 MSOMI, Geslina Ngoane
 MSOMI, Gibson Thulani
 MSOMI, Hawukile
 MSOMI, Joana Makhosazane
 MSOMI, Judith Mthandeni
 MSOMI, Juke Twana
 MSOMI, Khangelani
 MSOMI, Khanyisile Glotidia
 MSOMI, Khanyisile Margaret
 MSOMI, Linda Edmund
 MSOMI, Luke Richard
 MSOMI, Mandlakayise Raphael
 MSOMI, Mbuso Holiness
 MSOMI, Mbuyiselwa
 MSOMI, Melta Magumbi
 MSOMI, Mfungelwa
 MSOMI, Mggqambi
 MSOMI, Mgwazeni
 MSOMI, Mkanyiseleni Elphas
 MSOMI, Moses Mandla
 MSOMI, Mtiyepi Evelina
 MSOMI, Ndukuzeze
 MSOMI, Ngangesandla
 MSOMI, Nhlanhla
 MSOMI, Nivard

MSOMI, Nkosiyangithanda
 MSOMI, Nomathekisi
 MSOMI, Nomsa Mildred
 MSOMI, Nomusa
 MSOMI, Ntombe Anastasia
 MSOMI, Ntombifikile
 MSOMI, Patience Nokuthula
 MSOMI, Paul Sibusiso
 MSOMI, Petros Bonginkosi
 MSOMI, Rosebina
 MSOMI, Siculo Gestophus
 MSOMI, Simiso
 MSOMI, Siphio Herbert
 MSOMI, Siphio Themba Frederick
 MSOMI, Solani
 MSOMI, Steven
 MSOMI, Thandekile
 MSOMI, Thandilie Mayvis
 MSOMI, Thandwayinosi
 MSOMI, Thembekile Florah
 MSOMI, Thembeni
 MSOMI, Thembi
 MSOMI, Thokozani Goodenough
 MSOMI, Thokozile
 MSOMI, Thulani Patrcik
 MSOMI, Thuthuka Philemon Joe
 MSOMI, Timothy
 MSOMI, Tryphina
 MSOMI, Velepithi
 MSOMI, Winnie
 MSOMI, Zanele Abigail
 MSOMI, Zothini
 MSUBO, Edward
 MSUBO, Elliot Sandile
 MSUBO, Emmanuel Thandazani
 MSUBO, Ernest Saziso
 MSUBO, Evangeline Nomasonto
 MSUBO, Yvonne Nomphumelelo
 MSUKENI, Mamaliken
 MSUKENI, Nkosayiphele
 MSUTHU, Litha
 MSUTHWANA, Xoliswa
 MSUTU, Mbulelo
 MSUTU, Mthunzi Pendly
 MSUTWANA, Nomthunzi Valencia
 MSWANE, Derrick Vusumuzi
 MSWANE, Isaac
 MSWAZI, Alexia
 MSWELI, Buti Ronald
 MSWELI, Duduzile Patricia
 MSWELI, Falisendlini
 MSWELI, Goodness Makhosazane
 MSWELI, Hemilton Bukhosibani
 MSWELI, Irene Thandiwe
 MSWELI, Katshani
 MSWELI, Khangekile Thembekile
 MSWELI, Lucas Pickup
 MSWELI, Musa
 MSWELI, Sbusiso
 MSWELI, Simon Bogani
 MSWESWE, Ganda
 MTALANE, Amadeus
 MTALANE, Khosi
 MTALANE, Nobuhle
 MTALANE, Nomusa

MTALANE, Nonhlanhla
 MTALANE, Thoko Saraphina
 MTAMBO, Bongani Joseph
 MTAMBO, Boyboy
 MTAMBO, Lindiwe Theodorah
 MTAMBO, Zondumuntu Ephraim
 MTAMO, Khululekile Shadrack
 MTAMZELI, Toto Lulamile Albert
 MTEBEKWANA, Loli
 MTEBESE, Mlungisi
 MTEBULE, Ignatius Iggy
 MTEMBU, Constance Sizakele
 MTEMBU, Daliwe
 MTEMBU, Frank
 MTEMBU, Qalokwakhe
 MTEMBU, Thoko Grace
 MTHABWA, Makhosezwe Elliot
 MTETWA, Bertinah
 MTETWA, Josiah
 MTETWA, Mandla Joseph
 MTETWA, Maria
 MTETWA, Ndodayi Vincent
 MTETWA, Zikhokhile Grace Celiwe
 MTETWA, Zwelini John
 MTHABEL, Manqoba
 MTHABELA, Bheki
 MTHABELA, Philane Innocent
 MTHALANE, Bhekise Wallace
 MTHALANE, Bhekuyise Percy
 MTHALANE, Bonagele
 MTHALANE, Bongani
 MTHALANE, Bonginkosi Cyril
 MTHALANE, David Themba
 MTHALANE, Ephina
 MTHALANE, Fikelephi Ellena
 MTHALANE, Melta
 MTHALANE, Musawenkosi Elias
 MTHALANE, Nkosinathi
 MTHALANE, Ntuthuko
 MTHALANE, Richard Ambrose
 MTHALANE, Themban Dulana
 MTHAMZELI, Gama
 MTHANA, Martha Nompumelelo
 MTHEBULE, Ignatius Iggy
 MTHEMBA, Maud Constance Themba
 MTHEMBU, Abel Patrick
 MTHEMBU, Agnes Elsie
 MTHEMBU, Agnes Sibongile
 MTHEMBU, Bayisaphi
 MTHEMBU, Beatrice Badingile
 MTHEMBU, Ben
 MTHEMBU, Bheki
 MTHEMBU, Bhekisisa
 MTHEMBU, Bonakele Ntombivele
 MTHEMBU, Bonginkosi Amon
 MTHEMBU, Bonginkosi Fulathela
 MTHEMBU, Boxer Joseph
 MTHEMBU, Boyiboyi
 MTHEMBU, Celeb Fani
 MTHEMBU, Christobel Thuleleni
 MTHEMBU, Derrick Breeze
 MTHEMBU, Diliza Abednego
 MTHEMBU, Dina
 MTHEMBU, Dumazile Esther
 MTHEMBU, Dumisani

MTHEMBU, Eliakim Makhosi
 MTHEMBU, Elphas
 MTHEMBU, Ernest
 MTHEMBU, Fani Caleb
 MTHEMBU, Francisca
 MTHEMBU, Freddie Musa
 MTHEMBU, Gimbane Johannes
 MTHEMBU, Gini Mitta
 MTHEMBU, Goodness Qondeni
 MTHEMBU, Grace
 MTHEMBU, Isabel Nobuyiselo
 MTHEMBU, Israel Linduyise
 MTHEMBU, Jabu Zikhokhile
 MTHEMBU, Jabulani
 MTHEMBU, Jackson
 MTHEMBU, James
 MTHEMBU, Jerry
 MTHEMBU, Johannes
 MTHEMBU, Keli Wiseman Mkhuphukeli
 MTHEMBU, Khaya John
 MTHEMBU, Khokhi
 MTHEMBU, Khulisile
 MTHEMBU, Kwazikwakhe Mfana
 MTHEMBU, Lindiwe
 MTHEMBU, Lingsay Bhekukwenza
 MTHEMBU, Lucky Moffet
 MTHEMBU, Mabhozi Elphas
 MTHEMBU, Makhanyi
 MTHEMBU, Mano Caleb
 MTHEMBU, Manyongotwana
 MTHEMBU, Maria
 MTHEMBU, Mayvis Philpinah
 MTHEMBU, Mellina Thembe
 MTHEMBU, Mfanufikile Jericho
 MTHEMBU, Mfundo Siyanda
 MTHEMBU, Mhlushwa Samuel
 MTHEMBU, Msebenzi John
 MTHEMBU, Musawenkosi Amos
 MTHEMBU, Mziwabantu
 MTHEMBU, Mzule Victor
 MTHEMBU, Ndabane Emmanuel
 MTHEMBU, Nkosinathi Sonnyboy
 MTHEMBU, Nobayeni
 MTHEMBU, Nomsa
 MTHEMBU, Nomthandazo Confidence
 MTHEMBU, Nomusa Margaret
 MTHEMBU, Nqobile
 MTHEMBU, Ntombi Gladys
 MTHEMBU, Obed
 MTHEMBU, Petros Thulani
 MTHEMBU, Phethekabi
 MTHEMBU, Phillip Velaphi
 MTHEMBU, Phiwayinkosi Michael
 MTHEMBU, Phumzile Nelisiwe
 MTHEMBU, Prince Griffiths
 MTHEMBU, Qhamukile
 MTHEMBU, Rose Sibongile
 MTHEMBU, Russel Nkosinathi
 MTHEMBU, Samuel Smodell
 MTHEMBU, Sandile
 MTHEMBU, Sarah
 MTHEMBU, Sibusiso Joseph
 MTHEMBU, Sibusiso Leonard
 MTHEMBU, Sibusiso Steven
 MTHEMBU, Siculo Ezrom

MTHEMBU, Simon
 MTHEMBU, Sipiwe Justice
 MTHEMBU, Siphio
 MTHEMBU, Siphio Rold
 MTHEMBU, Siphio Tudu
 MTHEMBU, Smalridge
 MTHEMBU, Thandazile Margaret
 MTHEMBU, Thathokwakhe
 MTHEMBU, Thembinkosi
 MTHEMBU, Thenjwaphi
 MTHEMBU, Thoko Elizabeth
 MTHEMBU, Thokozane Ronald
 MTHEMBU, Tholakele
 MTHEMBU, Thompolo
 MTHEMBU, Thulani
 MTHEMBU, Vusi Innocent
 MTHEMBU, Vuyiswa Charity
 MTHEMBU, Wilson
 MTHEMBU, Wiseman Mkhuphukeli
 MTHEMBU, Xolani
 MTHEMBU, Xolani Eric
 MTHEMBU, Zandile Maureen
 MTHEMBU, Zanyile Agness
 MTHEMBU, Zibuyile Jeannet
 MTHEMBU, Zinhle Norris
 MTHETHO, Mavalini
 MTHETHO, Nomadlangathi
 MTHETHWA, Aaron Mxosheni
 MTHETHWA, Adeline Sibong
 MTHETHWA, Agnes Nene
 MTHETHWA, Amos
 MTHETHWA, Babane Derrick
 MTHETHWA, Beshwara
 MTHETHWA, Betty
 MTHETHWA, Bhekilifa
 MTHETHWA, Bhekizenzo Moses
 MTHETHWA, Bheko Phillip
 MTHETHWA, Bhekuyise
 MTHETHWA, Bonga
 MTHETHWA, Bongani
 MTHETHWA, Bongani Sindrie
 MTHETHWA, Bonginkosi Phanga
 MTHETHWA, Bonisiwe
 MTHETHWA, Canan
 MTHETHWA, Casheleni
 MTHETHWA, Chizelubani
 MTHETHWA, Dumisani
 MTHETHWA, Emmanuel Bongani
 MTHETHWA, Ephraim Thami
 MTHETHWA, Ettie
 MTHETHWA, Felokwakhe
 MTHETHWA, Fikile
 MTHETHWA, Fundaphi
 MTHETHWA, Gugu
 MTHETHWA, Hlakaniphile Beatrice
 MTHETHWA, Jabulani
 MTHETHWA, Joyce Thulisile
 MTHETHWA, Kaya
 MTHETHWA, Kekana Canan
 MTHETHWA, Khalelani
 MTHETHWA, Lucky Johannes
 MTHETHWA, Magejane Jameson
 MTHETHWA, Mandlenkosi Sydwell
 MTHETHWA, Mavis
 MTHETHWA, Mawu

MTHETHWA, Mfanafuthi Victor
 MTHETHWA, Micheal
 MTHETHWA, Mphumuzeni Andreas
 MTHETHWA, Mthiyeni Joseph
 MTHETHWA, Muntungikhona Leonard
 MTHETHWA, Nkosinathi Godfrey
 MTHETHWA, Nomakhimbili
 MTHETHWA, Nomashinga Bazaar
 MTHETHWA, Nomsombuluko Selina
 MTHETHWA, Nothi Elijah
 MTHETHWA, Nozipho Rejoice
 MTHETHWA, Nyambose
 MTHETHWA, Nyenyzele
 MTHETHWA, Petros Muntu
 MTHETHWA, Phineas
 MTHETHWA, Rachel Thulisile
 MTHETHWA, Rose Makhosi
 MTHETHWA, Sabatha Irene
 MTHETHWA, Sabelo
 MTHETHWA, Seradike Herbert
 MTHETHWA, Shadrack Ntokozo
 MTHETHWA, Shayilanga John
 MTHETHWA, Sibeko
 MTHETHWA, Sibongile
 MTHETHWA, Simangele Doreen
 MTHETHWA, Siphio Percy
 MTHETHWA, Sizakele Gretta
 MTHETHWA, Sizeka
 MTHETHWA, Thami Ephraim
 MTHETHWA, Thamsanqa
 MTHETHWA, Thokozile
 MTHETHWA, Thuleleni
 MTHETHWA, Victor Velaphi
 MTHETHWA, Vivian Mphiwe
 MTHETHWA, Vusumuzi Vincent
 MTHETHWA, Welcome Themba
 MTHETHWA, Xolani
 MTHETHWA, Yithuma
 MTHETHWA, Zinhle
 MTHETHWA, Ngenzeni Margaret
 MTHETO, Monaza Norah
 MTHETWA, Mduduzi
 MTHETWA, Phila
 MTHETWA, Siphio
 MTHIMKHULU, Ambrose
 MTHIMKHULU, Billy Caswell
 MTHIMKHULU, John Mphekeleli
 MTHIMKHULU, Mbuiselo Petrus
 MTHIMKHULU, Merriet Velephi
 MTHIMKHULU, Nicodemus Mahleu
 MTHIMKHULU, Phineas
 MTHIMKHULU, Raymond
 MTHIMKHULU, Simon
 MTHIMKHULU, Thembeni
 MTHIMKHULU, Thokozile Maria
 MTHIMKHULU, Welcome
 MTHIMKHULU, Xolisile Thikane
 MTHIMKHULU, Paul Nkosi
 MTHIMKHULU, Thembeni
 MTHIMMUNYE, Aaron Khohliswa
 MTHIMMUNYE, Anna Ncema
 MTHIMMUNYE, Bkwaphi Martha
 MTHIMMUNYE, Cashile Pauline
 MTHIMMUNYE, Freddy
 MTHIMMUNYE, Jabulane Johannes

MTHIMUNYE, Lahline Emily
MTHIMUNYE, Mgutshwe John
MTHIMUNYE, Nana Eva
MTHIMUNYE, Thoko Sarah
MTHIMUNYE, Zondani Moses
MTHINI, Mabuthinyana Johannes
MTHINI, Mbali
MTHINI, Nombulelo Beauty
MTHINYANE, Theminkosi
MTHIYA, Komo
MTHIYA, Nelisiwe
MTHIYA, Nqenwase Gugulabasha
MTHIYA, Pumangiteni Otria
MTHIYA, Vimbephi Mavis
MTHIYANE, Nomadabi Patricia
MTHIYANE, Alson
MTHIYANE, Bheki
MTHIYANE, Bhekizizwe Bethuel
MTHIYANE, Edmund
MTHIYANE, Emmanuel Mazwi
MTHIYANE, Enock Mbuso
MTHIYANE, George, Mzwake
MTHIYANE, Gugu Evidence
MTHIYANE, Hlanganisile Florence
MTHIYANE, Hopewell
MTHIYANE, Justice Bhuti
MTHIYANE, Lindumusa Norman
MTHIYANE, Mavis Deliwe
MTHIYANE, Mbabazeni Enoch
MTHIYANE, Mordern
MTHIYANE, Musa Howard
MTHIYANE, Mykeni
MTHIYANE, Pam Louis
MTHIYANE, Thembi Gladness
MTHIYANE, Theminkosi
MTHIYANE, Timothy
MTHIYANE, Toho
MTHIYANI, Sikumbuso
MTHOMBENI, Elias Ndoloane
MTHOMBENI, Eugene Sfiso
MTHOMBENI, Ezekiel Toyisa
MTHOMBENI, Frans Mkhukhula
MTHOMBENI, James Jabulani
MTHOMBENI, Rybe Betty
MTHOMBENI, Samuel
MTHOMBENI, Sipho Wilmoth
MTHOMBENI, Willem Ncengwane
MTHULI, Vusi Bongani
MTHULU, Mongameli
MTHUNYWA, Mnyaka
MTHWA, Pololo Ezekiel
MTIKITIKI, Zakhele
MTILANA, Fezekile
MTIMKA, Noxolo
MTIMKHULU, Tladi
MTIMKULU, Siphiwo
MTINTSO, Thenjiwe Ethel
MTIRARA, Lubalo
MTIYA, Bushuli Effie
MTIYEDWA, Nkenke Eric
MTOLO, Bongekile Olga
MTOLO, Buyephi
MTOLO, Dumisani
MTOLO, Funizwe
MTOLO, Gertrude Ntombifikile

MTOLO, Hlengiwe
MTOLO, Maphumulo Ethel
MTOLO, Mmiseni
MTOLO, Nombulelo Annah
MTOLO, Ntombini
MTOLO, Ntozini
MTOLO, Philemon
MTOLO, Siponyoza Sayitsheni
MTOLO, Solekile
MTOLO, Thembisile
MTOLO, Vitus Funeyakhle
MTOLO, Zilandile
MTONGANA, Selwyn Mveleli Ndlovu
MTOTO, Boyce
MTSEKI, Elisa Modiehi
MTSEU, Sifungo
MTEWU, Tanduxolo
MTSHALI, Benson
MTSHALI, Bhekamatshali
MTSHALI, Cupheni Phambansile
MTSHALI, David Celani
MTSHALI, Elphas Ntamfela
MTSHALI, Eugene Zakhele
MTSHALI, Heriet Sisi
MTSHALI, Isaac Fundeyake
MTSHALI, Jim France
MTSHALI, Johannes Brian
MTSHALI, Khululiwe Nosipho
MTSHALI, Linda
MTSHALI, Lucky
MTSHALI, Makhosazana Muriel
MTSHALI, Mandlakayise Augustine
MTSHALI, Mandlenkosi
MTSHALI, Mary-Jane
MTSHALI, Mbuzokawukho
MTSHALI, Mntukayise Jonathan
MTSHALI, Mpisi Zakhele
MTSHALI, Mthokozisi
MTSHALI, Nde
MTSHALI, Nester
MTSHALI, Nge Mzonjani
MTSHALI, Nkosana Joseph
MTSHALI, Nkululeko
MTSHALI, Pretty Lindiwe
MTSHALI, Simon Mandla
MTSHALI, Simzoni Elphas
MTSHALI, Sipho Aaron
MTSHALI, Sphamandla Dennis
MTSHALI, Sydney
MTSHALI, Thokozile Lesiah
MTSHALI, Two-Boy
MTSHALI, Vincent Vikabonke
MTSHALI, Vusumuzi
MTSHALI, Walter Buhlebuyeza
MTSHALINTSHALI, Mehlo
MTSHAMBA, Mxoleli
MTSHEKETSHE, Nomonde
MTSHEKETSHE, Pumla
MTSHILIBE, Smanga
MTSHINTSHI, Ntini
MTSHISELWA, Xolile
MTSHONTSHI, Ezra Zeera
MTSHOTWANA, Nonzwakazi
MTSHWENE, Bateng Sarah
MTSHWENI, Elias

MTSHWENI, Hendrick Petros
MTSHWENI, Jacob
MTSHWENI, Mbatha Cassellius
MTSHWENI, Siponono Anna
MTSHWEWI, Gijimane Jacob
MTSWENI, Buti Mathews
MTSWENI, Dick
MTSWENI, Kenneth Mlwayedwa
MTSWENI, Mbovane France
MTSWENI, Patron
MTSWENI, Petrus Jabulani
MTSWENI, Piet Mtshilo
MTSWENI, Salvation Bakhumbuzile
MTSWENI, Sikhumbuzo Isaac
MTULI, Baboyi Joseph
MTULI, Bahikile Generose
MTULI, Evelyn
MTULI, Mfiswa
MTUNDEZI, Joseph
MTUNGWA, Frances Fana
MTUNGWA, Hlengiwe Prudence
MTUNGWA, Khongani
MTUNGWA, Mduduzi Kenneth
MTUNGWA, Ntombi Jane
MTUNZI, Moses Tholie
MTUTA, Manani
MTUZE, Mbuyiseli Botamani
MTUZELA, Dumisani
MTWA, Siyabulela Theo
MTWISHA, Kumbula Remember
MTYALI, Jabulani Lucas
MTYEBI, Stanford Vusumzi
MTYOBILE, Andrew Magcina
MTYINGWANA, Thembela
MTYOBILE, Mary Juliet
MTYOBILE, Rodney Ntu
MUDAU, Bethuel
MUDAU, Tuwam Frans
MUENDA, Athikholi Samson
MUFHADI, David
MUGADI, Mamaila Annah
MUGIVHELA, Asivhanga Reuben
MUGIVHELA, Samuel Tshikudo
MUGIVHELA, Tshikudo Samuel
MUGWENA, Paul
MULAMAVU, Tshifhiwa Jeffrey
MULAUDZI, Humbelani Elwin
MULAUDZI, Muumisi Samson
MULAUDZI, Phaniel
MULAUDZI, Tshililo Jackson
MULEYA, Betty
MULLER, Frederick MacLagan
MULLER, Patrick
MULOBELA, David
MULOBELA, Jeanete Nyoni
MULOBELA, Sydney
MUNDAU, Antoneita
MUNGWE, Abel Mandla
MUNISI, Mathews Lentikile
MUNYAI, Moses
MUNYAI, Thilaiwi Benjamin
MUNYANDU, Paulos Mahliwa
MUNZANA-MASINGA, Dorah
MUOFHE, Isaac Tshifhiwa
MUSAKU, Michael

MUSANDIWA, Ndwakhulu Elias
MUSI, Zandisile John
MUTHWA, Bamu Janet
MUTHWA, Mildred Duduzile
MUTHWA, Sbonelo
MUTIMBA, Naftal Manuel
MUTIZWA, Andrew
MUTSI, Siphophilip
MUTWA, Elias Siphophilip
MUTWA, Francisca
MUWANZA, Caroline
MVALA, Mary Mantwa
MVAMBI, Mankuntswana Alfred
MVANI, Tetomana
MVELASE, Agnes
MVELASE, Elizabeth Ketty Nomkhosi
MVELASE, Florence
MVELASE, Joenah Jabulisile
MVELASE, Mandla Vincent
MVELASE, Mtembeni
MVELASE, Siphophilip Aubrey
MVELASE, Thulani Siphamandla
MVELELI, Mamfengu
MVELO, Ethel Nomvuzo
MVELO, Nkosinathi
MVEMVE, Nkosinathi Milton
MVEZWA, Nomawetsha
MVIMBELA, Nathi
MVIMBI, Moses Mvuyo
MVOKO, Khaya Stanley
MVOKWE, Aphafaras Hlomela
MVOTO, Alven Mtembu
MVUBU, Beauty Sizani
MVUBU, Mduduzi
MVUBU, Mziwakhe Justice
MVUBU, Thembeni Esther
MVUKA, Philemon, Mxolisi
MVULA, Duduzile Gertie Junior
MVULA, Mabatho Lydia
MVUNDALE, Georgina
MVUNDLA, Amon Bhelakhe
MVUNDLA, David Sengeni
MVUNDLA, Mantombi Eslina
MVUNDLA, Msitho
MVUNDLA, Patrick Sandile
MVUNDLA, Sithonga Jacob
MVUNDLA, Sylvia Ntuthu
MVUNDLA, Thulisile Purity
MVUNDLE, Thamsanqa
MVUNE, Mthiyonke
MVUNE, Nzanana Linah
MVUNI, Flora Ntombikayise
MVUNI, Lungile Pretty
MVUNI, Thamsanqa Norman
MVUNYANA, Thembaneni Jennet
MVUNYISWA, Ndlanganyana
MVUYANA, Buselaphi Busisiwe
MVUYANA, Busowakhe Nicholas
MVUYANA, James
MVUYANA, Khethubani Isaac
MVUYANA, Mbuzame Charlie
MVUYANA, Mngqiseni Charlie
MVUYANA, Ntombizakhe
MVUYANA, Orhomo
MVUYANA, Qhamukile Velephi

MVUYANA, Thakathile
MVUYANA, Thembaneni Jennet
MVUYANE, Sibongile Evidence
MVUYANE, Thakathile
MWALE, Richard Gosebo
MWALI, Goodman Jabulani
MWANDABA, Nontutuzelo Totyiswa
MWANDLA, Nkosiphile Headwick
MWANDLA, Zamisu
MWELASE, Dumisani Nicholas
MWELASE, Mgcini Emmanuel
MWELASE, Nkosiyeziwe Bernadine
MWELASE, Ntombikayise Doris
MWELI, Lucky
MWELI, Mandla
MWELI, Phineus Mthenjwa
MWELI, Ronnie
MWENDLO, Mildred
MXABANGELI, Sidwell Fumbatha
MXAKATO, Kate
MXAKATO, Mbangete James
MXAKU, Kemele Kenneth
MXATHULE, Nozibele Maria
MXENGE, Griffiths Mlungisi
MXINWA, Simon Mandla
MXOLI, Banele William
MXOLI, Ntsikelelo
MXOSANA, German Sibusiso
MXOVULA, Sibonile
MYAKA, Arron
MYANDU, Fanile Lennox
MYEHA, Mnyamezeli Nathiel
MYELISO, Malwey Wiliam
MYENDE, Ambrose Jabulani
MYENI, Bonginkosi
MYENI, Caiphus
MYENI, Cornelius Simphiwe
MYENI, Dingase
MYENI, Eunice
MYENI, Hazel Jabulile
MYENI, Maria Ncengani
MYENI, Nehemia
MYENI, Sibongile Jabu
MYENI, Thandazile
MYENI, Thilili Beatrice
MYEZA, Bhakisisa
MYEZA, Maria Joyce
MYEZA, Mbabazeni Mpi
MYEZA, Moonlight Bhakisisa
MYEZA, Mtholeni
MYEZA, Ngoneni Irene
MYEZA, Nicholas Mfanukhona
MYEZA, Sibongile Elizabeth
MYEZA, Simakahle
MYEZA, Victor
MYEZO, Mthayini
MYIKO, Zilayile Abegale
MZALIYA, Winniefreda
MZAMA, Jericho
MZAMO, Bubele Benjamin
MZAMO, Wandase Wanders
MZATHI, Patrick
MZATI, Ayanda
MZATI, Xolile Gadion Qhega
MZATU, Mandlanke Stanford

MZAZA, Mncedisi Matthews
MZELEMA, Lena Mashaya
MZELEMU, Ambulos Mathayi
MZELEMU, Elina
MZELEMU, Eunice Badumile
MZELEMU, Hlanganani Stanley
MZELEMU, Hlengiwe
MZELEMU, Johannes
MZELEMU, Khululekile
MZELEMU, Lindiwe
MZELEMU, Lizi
MZELEMU, Mathayi
MZELEMU, Mhlabunzima Johannes
MZELEMU, Mtshengiswa Cebenga
MZELEMU, Ndkuzempi Emmanuel
MZELEMU, Nkanaza
MZELEMU, Ntombifuthi Mildred
MZELEMU, Patricia
MZELEMU, Phelelisile
MZELEMU, Phindile
MZELEMU, Phumelele
MZELEMU, Princess
MZELEMU, Qhubugwegwe
MZELEMU, Simon Bhakinkosi
MZELEMU, Sindi
MZELEMU, Siphile Simon
MZELEMU, Zithulile
MZI, Bethuel Zwelinjani
MZIBUKO, Bethuel Thulani
MZILA, Bhaki Martin
MZILA, Makhosazane Eunice
MZILA, Mfanvela Alpheus
MZILA, Thandiwe Sylvia
MZILENI, Mandla Boy
MZIMBA, Elizabeth
MZIMBA, Mirriam
MZIMBA, Babhekile
MZIMELA, Bhakumuzi
MZIMELA, Cyprian
MZIMELA, Mbhekini Phumelele
MZIMELA, Mbova Emmanuel
MZIMELA, Mildred
MZIMELA, Mngunikacandulwa
MZIMELA, Mzobanzi Isaac
MZIMELA, Nkosiphile
MZIMELA, Nkuva Mbongeni
MZIMELA, Sandile
MZIMELA, Sibani Mbekeni
MZIMELA, Sikulute
MZIMELA, Siphile Ntombenzima
MZIMELA, Thandekile Mantombi
MZIMELA, Thembi Mirriam
MZIMELA, Thozo
MZIMELA, Xolani
MZINDLE, Brian Sandile
MZINDLE, Elias Siquaqa
MZINDLE, Fanile Carphas
MZINDLE, Gimbi
MZINDLE, Jackson Mbekezelwa
MZINDLE, Mantombi
MZINDLE, Maghawe Michael
MZINDLE, Meslina Duduzile
MZINDLE, Ntombi Ella
MZINDLE, Ntombinkulu Charity
MZINDLE, Sandile

MZINDLE, Sarah Nukiwe
 MZINDLE, Zenzele Alfred
 MZINYANE, Zwelakhe
 MZINZI, Xolani Maxin
 MZIZI, Bizani Clementia
 MZIZI, Mbongeni
 MZIZI, Mjanyelwa
 MZIZI, Nkosinathi Bhonobhono
 MZIZI, Nokuthula
 MZIZI, Philip Dilikile
 MZIZI, Sandile
 MZOBE, Albert Bekinkosi
 MZOBE, Alfred Sybruck
 MZOBE, Annie
 MZOBE, Bafana
 MZOBE, Balungile Claudia
 MZOBE, Bonakele
 MZOBE, Bonginkosi Aaron
 MZOBE, Bonginkosi Petros
 MZOBE, Bongiwe
 MZOBE, Busisiwe
 MZOBE, Dumisani
 MZOBE, Gudlumphonto Derrick
 MZOBE, Hlanganisile Christobel
 MZOBE, Hlengiwe Christinah
 MZOBE, Joseph
 MZOBE, Kohlwangfile Elias
 MZOBE, Maxwell
 MZOBE, Mphendukelwa
 MZOBE, Neli
 MZOBE, Nomthandazo Elsie
 MZOBE, Nosipho
 MZOBE, Phumelaphi Dorah
 MZOBE, Sibonelo
 MZOBE, Sibongiseni
 MZOBE, Stanley Zamokwakhe
 MZOBE, Thandi Gladness
 MZOBE, Thulani
 MZOBE, Vusumuzi Douglas
 MZOBE, Zebulon Zibuse
 MZOBOSHE, Stephen Douglas
 MZOLA, Sizakele
 MZOLISA, Andile Cecil
 MZOLISA, George
 MZOLISA, Nocollege Agrinett
 MZOLISA, Nozamile
 MZOLO, Bengazi Toto
 MZOLO, Daniel Themba
 MZOLO, Hawukile Eugina
 MZOLO, Mabel
 MZOLO, Mbuso
 MZOLO, Mthandeni Caiphus
 MZOLO, Ngenzeni Annie
 MZOLO, Nomonde
 MZOLO, Saleleni Mirriam
 MZOLO, Simon
 MZOLO, Solomon Nganencani Babayi
 MZONELI, Siyabonga Lionel
 MZONOI, Fikiswa Pascalina
 MZULWINI, Augustine Bajabulile
 MZULWINI, Bhekamakhosi
 MZULWINI, Fakekaya Joseph
 MZULWINI, Hlekisiwe Liye
 MZULWINI, Mandla
 MZULWINI, Mano Doris

MZULWINI, Mfanazane Robert
 MZULWINI, Mfano Phillip
 MZULWINI, Msawenkosi
 MZULWINI, Mzomeli
 MZULWINI, Zodwa Gloria
 MZUZWANA, Mathews Zwelinjani
 MZUZWANA, Zwelinjani Matthews
 MZWALI, Zololo Freeman

NADITSE, Constance Bengbahlogo
 NAGE, Maxwell Thamsanqa
 NAGI, Poyinda Masokisi
 NAIDOO, Indris
 NAIDOO, Phyllis Vasendha Ruth
 NAIDOO, Sahdhan
 NAIDOO, Shantharothie
 NAIDU, Surendra
 NAIK, Kantilal Chhangalal
 NAKA, Bafo
 NAKEDI, Johannes Lefu
 NAKEDI, Tebogo
 NAKELE, Bongani
 NAKO, Mbulelo Boy
 NAKO, Toto Samuel
 NAKWA, Golide
 NAKWA, Kholisile
 NAKWA, Mzayifani Alfred
 NALA, Lillian
 NALA, Zodwa Rachel
 NALELI Adam Mochela
 NAMA, Nosisana Colleen
 NAMANE, Klaas Ontshitse
 NAMANE, Ramolipa
 NAMANYANE, Pakiso David
 NAMANYUHA, Tshimangazo Samuel
 NAMBA, Mlami
 NANA, Desmond
 NANA, Gladness
 NANABHAI, Sharish
 NANJI, Nondumiso Leticia
 NANGALEMBE, Christopher Mphikeleli
 NANGALEMBE, Mbalekelwa Albert
 NAPE, Joel Molifi
 NAPHAKEDE, Ronnie Sipho
 NAPHI, Hilton Nkosivumile
 NAPO, Tholi David
 NARKEDIEN Zahrah
 NAZIMA, Sipho Eugene
 NAZO, Dingaan David
 NAZO, Shotie Joseph
 NCACA, Mawethu Selby
 NCALA, Cynthia
 NCALA, Gladness
 NCALA, Isaac
 NCALA, Lucy Nompoti
 NCALO, Nokuzola Faith
 NCALO, Nokuzola Faith
 NCALO, Nokuzola Faith
 NCALU, Lungile Johnson
 NCAMA, Gilbert John
 NCAMA, Lotshiwe Maggie Mamchithwa
 NCAMA, Tshabethu
 NCAMA, Victor
 NCAMANE, Lehloholo James
 NCAMISILE, Khuwula Annotoria

NCAMLA, Velile
 NCANANA, Bhiekie
 NCANDA, Jeffrey
 NCANDA, Simancamanca
 NCANE, Khishiwe
 NCANE, Mandlakayise Amos Skhova
 NCANE, Meslinah Maje
 NCANE, Nomusa Beauty
 NCANE, Nqumu Rose
 NCANI, Busisiwe Rose
 NCANI, Thuleleni Berthina
 NCAPAI, Sisa Mabuya Matshaya
 NCAPAYI, Kenneth
 NCAPAYI, Tatise William
 NCAPHAYI, Thozamile Samson
 NCAWENI, Mahleka Wiislon
 NCAYIYANA, Mawani Elizabeth
 NCEBA, Casswell Richard
 NCEBETSHA, Vuyisile King
 NCETEZO, Vuyelwa
 NCGOBO, Thembi Beatrice
 NCHABELENG, Peter Mampogoane
 NCHABELENG, Thompson Lejane
 NCHE, Manthibi Rosy
 NCHE, Sabata Abram
 NCIDI, Busisiwe
 NCOKAZI, Mthetheleli
 NCOKO, Mtobi Sydney
 NCONCO, Zilibele Ben
 NCUBE, Bongani Ntelezi
 NCUBE, David
 NCUBE, David Mbangwa
 NCUBE, Dumezwene
 NCUBE, Fano
 NCUBE, Gideon
 NCUBE, Godo Joseph
 NCUBE, Johannes Funumuzi
 NCUBE, Johnson Dario
 NCUBE, Kati Nhlanhla
 NCUBE, Mannelji (Maniki)
 NCUBE, Manukelana George
 NCUBE, Mary Mamolefe
 NCUBE, Masesi
 NCUBE, Mdu Afrika
 NCUBE, Mvumeni
 NCUBE, Nokuyola Rosemary
 NCUBE, Nomusa
 NCUBE, Norah
 NCUBE, Ntozane
 NCUBE, Patrick Oupa
 NCUBE, Philip Sefiri
 NCUBE, Sifiso Ernest
 NCUBE, Tholihemba
 NCUBE, Thulani Cyril
 NCUBE, Zinhle Georgina
 NCWANE, Evidence Thulisile
 NCWANE, Menziwa Ezra
 NCWANE, Nete Plastus
 NCWANE, Ntombilezi Jostina
 NCWANE, Phyllis Nokuthula
 NCWANGO, Esau
 NDABA, Amos
 NDABA, Babolile Tryphina Madlamini
 NDABA, Bheki
 NDABA, Celani Johannes

NDABA, Christopher
 NDABA, Dingiswayo
 NDABA, Emily
 NDABA, Ethel Zodwa
 NDABA, Eunice Nozizwe
 NDABA, Khona David
 NDABA, Khulumile Thembeni
 NDABA, Mbalekelwa Jamblead
 NDABA, Mntungwa
 NDABA, Mithandeni
 NDABA, Muzi
 NDABA, Ndodo Solomon
 NDABA, Nkanyiso Patrick
 NDABA, Nomahlubi Diagracia
 NDABA, Ntombentsundu Gladys
 NDABA, Ntombizodwa Maureen
 NDABA, Owen Thula
 NDABA, Phetheni Ellen
 NDABA, Samukelisiwe Innocent
 NDABA, Sphiwe Obed
 NDABA, Swelababa Idah
 NDABA, Thabiso
 NDABA, Veli Ephraim
 NDABA, Vusumuzi Petros
 NDABA, Vuyisile Wesley
 NDABA, Zakhele Charles
 NDABAGITHEWTA, Joy
 NDABAMBI, Bandile
 NDABAMBI, Busisiwe
 NDABANDABA, Emelina
 NDABANINZI, Duncan
 NDABAYIPHELI, Vuyiswa Nobongile
 NDABENI, Athenkosi
 NDABENI, Joseph Vondo
 NDABENI, Nguquulo
 NDABEZINBI, Nomvelo
 NDABEZITHA, Joseph
 NDABUKA, Nongqutelo
 NDADANA, Zweledinga
 NDALA, Boesman
 NDALA, Kleinbooi Job
 NDALA, Maibudi George
 NDALA, Obed Mnyaza
 NDALA, Phumzile Beauty
 NDALA, Robert
 NDALA, Sonny Milton
 NDALISO, Mzimasi
 NDAM, Steven Mbuyiselo
 NDAMANE, Elizabeth Francinah
 NDAMASE, Louisa Nonzwakazi Bias
 NDAMASE, Nondipentoni
 NDAMBALE, Wilson Molati
 NDANDANI, Luvuyo Lennox
 NDANDANI, Xola Gradner
 NDARANA, Zola Wellington
 NDATYANA, Kewu
 NDAWO, Boyi Zephania
 NDAWONDE, Anton
 NDAWONDE, Victoria
 NDEBELA, Dumisani Bernard
 NDEBELE, Ernest Mshiyeni
 NDEBELE, Khathazile Alter
 NDEBELE, Lindiwe Benedict
 NDEBELE, Lindiwe Bernadette
 NDEBELE, Lymon

NDEBELE, Pretty
 NDEBELE, Sibusiso
 NDEBELE, Thokozani Brian
 NDEBELE, Thomas
 NDELU, Khanyisile
 NDELU, Mbandla
 NDELU, Mhlushekelwa
 NDELU, Musawenkosi William
 NDELU, Nellie Nakekile
 NDELU, Robert Bhoyi
 NDEMBU, Andile
 NDESI, Connie Khunjuza
 NDESI, Sithembele Rodwell
 NDESI, Sithembiso
 NDEVU, Daniel
 NDEVU, Fundile Milton
 NDEVU, Kaya Shephard
 NDEVU, Themba
 NDHLAZI, Nomadlozi
 NDHLELA, Cynthia
 NDHLOVU, Gezani David
 NDHLOVU, Lillian Nthabiseng
 NDHLOVU, Michael Sphiwe
 NDHLOVU, Phumuwakhe Jan
 NDHLOVU, Sibusisiwe Mabel
 NDHLOVU, Sphiwe Solomon
 NDIKI, Mfundo
 NDIKI, Mzwandile Du Preeze
 NDIKO, Zola Kingsley
 NDIMA, Busisiwe
 NDIMA, Mandla
 NDIMA, Mfnafuthi Henry
 NDIMA, Mzimkhulu
 NDIMA, Zolisile
 NDIMANDE, Bakhethile Thokozile
 NDIMANDE, Bhikizazi
 NDIMANDE, Busangani Busisiwe
 NDIMANDE, Duduzile Eunice
 NDIMANDE, Enoch
 NDIMANDE, Gilbert Msongelwa
 NDIMANDE, Jeremiah
 NDIMANDE, Linda Hawulempi
 NDIMANDE, Mbhekeni Lucas
 NDIMANDE, Ntombifuthi Precious
 NDIMANDE, Thulisile
 NDINGANE, Selby Zanemali
 NDINGI, Felokwakhe
 NDINISA, Andile Hubert
 NDINISA, Ayanda
 NDINISA, Crosby
 NDINISA, David
 NDINISA, Nomathemba Ivy
 NDINISA, Themba Bennet
 NDINWA, Ntomisa
 NDISHI, Jerry Msindisi
 NDIYASE, Ambrose
 NDIYAZE, Cwasha Ambrose
 NDIZA, Dumisane Gerald Sabbata
 Dumaro
 NDLAKU, Thobile Maxon
 NDLAKUSE, Dumisani
 NDLALA, Kuku Wilhemina
 NDLALA, William Mziwakhe
 NDLALA, Zenze
 NDLAMLENZE, Vusumuzi Alfred

NDLANGISA, Lindiwe Lucratia
 NDLANGISA, Ruth Thadzile
 NDLANZI, Sydney
 NDLAZI, Michael
 NDLAZI, Stanley Vuyisile
 NDLEBE, Gabantu
 NDLEBE, Jeanett Nomachule
 Maradebe
 NDLEBE, Lefu Samuel
 NDLEBE, Mahlokoma
 NDLEBE, Michael Mzwandile
 NDLEBE, Sibongile
 NDLEBENDE, Thiyiwe Magdelina
 NDLEKO, Liziwe Victoria
 NDLEKO, Mansizwana Solomon
 NDLELA, Alfred Ncobela
 NDLELA, David
 NDLELA, Dumisani Bernard
 NDLELA, Elda Gabisile
 NDLELA, Emmanuel Siphon
 NDLELA, Evelyn
 NDLELA, Jabulani
 NDLELA, Jabulani Richard
 NDLELA, Lizo
 NDLELA, Magnificent Mbongiseni
 NDLELA, Mondli Elias
 NDLELA, Moses
 NDLELA, Nokuthula Milicent
 NDLELA, Nokuzola
 NDLELA, Qedi
 NDLELA, Sindile
 NDLELA, Siphile
 NDLELA, Thengisile Ethel
 NDLELA, Zandile Rejoice
 NDLELA, Zithulele
 NDLELA, Zwelakhe
 NDLELENI, Luleka Rinnet
 NDLELENI, Nelson
 NDLELENI, Nonela Faith
 NDLELENI, Vuyo Gladman Kato
 NDLETYANA, Tanduxolo
 NDLOMO, Nyangayakhe
 NDLONDLO, Lincoln Lunga
 NDLONGA, Lungisile Selvis
 NDLOVO, Bhikizitha
 NDLOVU Bhikisisa
 NDLOVU, Absolom Thokozani
 NDLOVU, Albert Hlukananami
 NDLOVU, Albertina
 NDLOVU, Alice
 NDLOVU, Alice Mamshiqwa
 NDLOVU, Alphod
 NDLOVU, Andreas
 NDLOVU, Annah
 NDLOVU, Babekile
 NDLOVU, Basayinile Eunice
 NDLOVU, Bazothini
 NDLOVU, Beauty Ntombinkulu
 NDLOVU, Bekamafa
 NDLOVU, Bheki
 NDLOVU, Bheki Christopher
 NDLOVU, Bheki Naftan
 NDLOVU, Bheki Nicholas
 NDLOVU, Bheki Raphael
 NDLOVU, Bhelukwenza Raymond

NDLOVU, Makombuyiselo
NDLOVU, Makoti Primrose
NDLOVU, Malusi
NDLOVU, Mandla
NDLOVU, Mandla
NDLOVU, Mandlenkosi
NDLOVU, Maphola Collin
NDLOVU, Maphola Collin
NDLOVU, Margaret Sizakele
NDLOVU, Masilitso Mallita
NDLOVU, Masolokohlo Mzonjani
NDLOVU, Matata
NDLOVU, Mathombi Gladys
NDLOVU, Mavis Bagcinile
NDLOVU, Maxwell Malusi
NDLOVU, Mbekeni Augustine
NDLOVU, Mbongiseni
NDLOVU, Mdunywisa
NDLOVU, Mfanelo Landford
NDLOVU, Michael
NDLOVU, Mkhishwa David
NDLOVU, Mncane Simeon
NDLOVU, Mninimuzi Phillip
NDLOVU, Molwana
NDLOVU, Mpikayipheli
NDLOVU, Musi
NDLOVU, Muziwendoda
NDLOVU, Mxolisi Bheki
NDLOVU, Mzingelwa Elija
NDLOVU, Ndianhla
NDLOVU, Nester
NDLOVU, Nhlanhla John
NDLOVU, Nkanyiso Reginald
NDLOVU, Nkosenye Ephraim
NDLOVU, Nobuhle Pride
NDLOVU, Nomagesi Ivy
NDLOVU, Nomakhaya Mabel
NDLOVU, Nomakhosi Nonhlanhla
NDLOVU, Nombukiso Resina
NDLOVU, Nopumelelo Pellegrine
NDLOVU, Norman
NDLOVU, Norman Hlalabelwa
NDLOVU, Nozimukuthu Nokuthula
NDLOVU, Nqobile Mildred
NDLOVU, Ntokozo Aubrey
NDLOVU, Pambuyise
NDLOVU, Paul
NDLOVU, Petros Mbongeni
NDLOVU, Philisiwe Alzina
NDLOVU, Phuthunywa
NDLOVU, Raphael
NDLOVU, Rash Annaclele
NDLOVU, Richard Mzomuhle
NDLOVU, Robert Dinkebo
NDLOVU, Sabello Meshack
NDLOVU, Sabelo Cicel
NDLOVU, Sarah Obeline
NDLOVU, Selby
NDLOVU, Setha Simon
NDLOVU, Sibongile
NDLOVU, Sibusiso
NDLOVU, Sibusiso
NDLOVU, Sibusiso Pius
NDLOVU, Sifiso Ephraim
NDLOVU, Sindisiwe Hlenqiwe

VOLUME 5 CHAPTER 2 Victims of gross violations of human rights

NDULINI, Thembakuphi	NEMBULA, Eugene Senzo	NGCANU, Solomon Nkongo
NDUMBA, Hester Nongaith	NENE, Andries	NGCECE, Makosazana Florence
NDUMO, Dingindawo	NENE, Bekinkosi Selby Norman	NGCECE, Moses Nhlanhla
NDUMO, Doris	NENE, Clemencia	NGCECE, Moses Nhlanhla
NDUMO, Evelyn	NENE, Cliff Siboniso	NGCECE, Simon Hloimpi
NDUMO, Sipho Wellington	NENE, December Anthony	NGCECE, Stanley
NDUMO, Tobi Martha	NENE, Elizabeth Nobuhle	NGCECE, Stanly Thulani
NDUNA, Bongani Wilson	NENE, Florence Fisani	NGCEMU, Bernard Mahawule
NDUNA, Sifanele Kenneth	NENE, Henry Wilson	NGCEMU, Bhokizizwe
NDUNAMVULA, Nelson	NENE, Johan Ntandoyenkosi	NGCEMU, Fikile Mavis
NDUNGA, Jabu	NENE, Mandla Abdingo	NGCEMU, Low Gladys
NDUNGANE, Joe Lungile	NENE, Mathombi Norah	NGCEMU, Wiseman Zola
NDUTI, David	NENE, Michael Siphoh	NGCIPHE, Vuyani Vista
NDWALANA, Sishosanke Gilbert	NENE, Mqanjelwa Mathews	NGCOBO, Nosizi Annastasia
NDWALANE, Christopher Fanile	NENE, Nelisiwe	NGCOBO, Aaron Goli
NDWALANE, Ivy Goko	NENE, Ngenbeni Minah Makhanyile	NGCOBO, Abigail Gugu
NDWALANE, Liwa Sivyon	NENE, Nomusa Rebecca	NGCOBO, Adelaide Duduzile
NDWALANE, Momo Wilton	NENE, Pius	NGCOBO, Alice
NDWALANE, Moto	NENE, Siphoh	NGCOBO, Alpheus Bafanyana
NDWALANE, Newone	NENE, Steven	NGCOBO, Alvina Gcinefikile
NDWALANE, Nkomazana	NENE, Thandiwe Augustinah	NGCOBO, Andile
NDWALANE, Patrick Wasazi	NENE, Theresa Lindi	NGCOBO, Andrew Sono
NDWALANE, Richard	NENE, Vusumuzi Jacob Hezekia	NGCOBO, Anna
NDWALANE, Salukazi Patricia	NENGOVHELA, Shonisani Maria	NGCOBO, Bahle Florence
NDWALANE, Thandazile Gretta	NENGWEKHULU, Mandela Wilson	NGCOBO, Bajabulile Doris
NDWANDWE, Beatrice	NENTSA, Jacobus	NGCOBO, Balingile
NDWANDWE, Mkhonzeni Anthony	NENTSA, Nomawonga Debrah	NGCOBO, Bambekile Qondeni
NDWANDWE, Mzuthini Obed	NETSHAKHUMA, Aida Takalani	NGCOBO, Bathini
NDWANDWE, Phila Portia	NGABOM, Mandlakapheli	NGCOBO, Baveni Philemon
NDWANDWE, Sibusiso Khonzise	NGAKANE, Aaron	NGCOBO, Bawinile Gladys
NDWANDWE, Stanley Sandile	NGAKANE, Japhta Mabuti	NGCOBO, Beauty Balekile
NDWANYA, Lungile Sydwele	NGAKI, Galelekile Avery	NGCOBO, Bele Patrick
NDWAWONDE, Ghini Khanyisile	NGAKI, Mboneli Shepherd	NGCOBO, Benjamin Bhokizazi
Daphney	NGALAVU, Sithembile Mphoswa	NGCOBO, Bhokani Excelson
NDXEKU, Senki	NGALO, Makhaya Eugene	NGCOBO, Bhoki Zephania
NDYAMARA, Themba	NGALO, Nkosinam	NGCOBO, Bhokizwe Philemon
NDYEBI, Andile Witbooi	NGALO, Ntombina	NGCOBO, Bhizeni Idah
NDZAMA, Joyce	NGALO, Veronica	NGCOBO, Bhutilo Alson
NDZANDZE, Loyiso	NGALO, William	NGCOBO, Bonakele Mavis
NDZEKU, Freddy	NGALO, Willy	NGCOBO, Bonani Idah
NDZILANE, Ndodana, Mlungisi, Harold	NGAMLANA, Sicelo Alfred	NGCOBO, Bongebani
NDZIMA, Douglas Mawethu	NGAMLANA, Xolani Luyanda	NGCOBO, Bonginkosi Cyril Ngcoeni
NDZIMELA, Saul Ngxamile	NGAMNTWINI, Twelve	NGCOBO, Bongiwe Daisy
NDZISHE, Rennick	NGANGE, Funeka Nobantu	NGCOBO, Bonisiwe Anatoria
NDZIWENI, Mtutuzeli Stewart	NGANGE, Nombande Nomriti	NGCOBO, Boyi Petrus
NDZONGWANE, Kolase David	NGATI, Sefako Ishmael	NGCOBO, Bulalumuzi Joan
NDZOYIYANA, Madodana	NGAWU, Dlavini	NGCOBO, Busisiwe Vimbephi
NDZUBE, Ntombi Monica	NGCAKA, Ayanda Perez	NGCOBO, Busisiwe Zibuyile
NDZULE, Wellington Mxolisi	NGCAKA, Thembekile	NGCOBO, Buyaphi Eddie
NDZUMO, Kolisile Saul	NGCAKO, Jerry Johaness	NGCOBO, Catherine
NDZUNGA, Tembisa	NGCAMU, Abel	NGCOBO, Charles Zenzele
NDZUNGU, Elvis Ngajuse	NGCAMU, Elizabeth Babhekile	NGCOBO, Christina
NEBE, Wandile	NGCAMU, Mathanzima	NGCOBO, Clementine Nomakholidi
NEDE, Phillemon Nqaba	NGCAMU, Princess Nomusa	NGCOBO, Constance Ntombenye
NEELS, Hendrik	NGCAMU, Sibusiso Josias	NGCOBO, Cosmos Bona
NEELS, Philip	NGCAMU, Simon Fono	NGCOBO, Dlokwakhe Arson
NEER, Dennis Sehloho	NGCAMU, Siphoh Hlulukwenza	NGCOBO, Dlupehi
NEL, Joachim Martinus	NGCAMU, Siphoh Meshack	NGCOBO, Doda Moses
NEL, Mhlabeni Jacob	NGCAMU, Solomon	NGCOBO, Dombi Catherine
NEL, Nomvula Margaret	NGCAMU, Theodora Sbhongile	NGCOBO, Donald Siphwe
NELANI, Mzwanele Melton	NGCAMU, Tshotsho Alice	NGCOBO, Doreen
NELANI, Simon	NGCANA, Ntombizodwa Victoria	NGCOBO, Doris Mathombi
NELANI, Zoyisile William	NGCANA, Xolile Edward	NGCOBO, Duba John
NELUSHI, Matodzi Alphonso	NGCANGELA, Abel Ngame	NGCOBO, Dudu Evangeline
NEMBIIDZANI, Khantshi Willie	NGCANU, Abel	NGCOBO, Dumazile

NGCOBO, Dumazile Alescia	NGCOBO, Melisile Barbara	NGCOBO, Qhatimpi
NGCOBO, Dumazile Busisiwe	NGCOBO, Menzi	NGCOBO, Qinisela Hezekia
NGCOBO, Dumephi Bertina	NGCOBO, Mfihleni	NGCOBO, Qondephi
NGCOBO, Elias Sipiwe	NGCOBO, Michael	NGCOBO, Robert Joseph
NGCOBO, Elizabeth	NGCOBO, Moses Mazisi	NGCOBO, Rose
NGCOBO, Elizabeth Jima	NGCOBO, Mpande Moses	NGCOBO, Russell Bongani
NGCOBO, Elizabeth Jiphi	NGCOBO, Mpiyakhe	NGCOBO, Sakhiseni Johnson
NGCOBO, Ellen Nonacala	NGCOBO, Mpiyonke	NGCOBO, Samuel Maviyo
NGCOBO, Elsie Elizabeth	NGCOBO, Mteryiwe Zwelini	NGCOBO, Samuel Mduduzi
NGCOBO, Ephraim Mqapheleni	NGCOBO, Mthunzi Sydney	NGCOBO, Sbongile Jannet
NGCOBO, Ernest Mfana	NGCOBO, Muntu Nozibani	NGCOBO, Sebengiphile Robert
NGCOBO, Felokwakhe	NGCOBO, Muzi	NGCOBO, Sebenzile Sylvia
NGCOBO, Felumuzi	NGCOBO, Muziwakhe	NGCOBO, Sibongile Euginia
NGCOBO, Florah Joyce	NGCOBO, Muzwempi Cyprian	NGCOBO, Sibongile Beauty
NGCOBO, Funani Ida	NGCOBO, Mzikayifani	NGCOBO, Sibongile Gladness
NGCOBO, Gabazile Velephi	NGCOBO, Mzoneli	NGCOBO, Sibongile Octavia
NGCOBO, Galanti Anna	NGCOBO, Ndabenhle Wilson	NGCOBO, Sibongiseni Isaac Shezi
NGCOBO, Galota Gertrude	NGCOBO, Ndelelo	NGCOBO, Sibongiseni Sandile
NGCOBO, Gcinekile	NGCOBO, Ndukuyakhe	NGCOBO, Sifiso
NGCOBO, Godfrey Thamsanqa	NGCOBO, Nelisiwe Gloria	NGCOBO, Sihlangu
NGCOBO, Graginah	NGCOBO, Ngasho Agnes	NGCOBO, Siliya Bangiwe
NGCOBO, Green Maseline	NGCOBO, Ngifuzebani Ziningi	NGCOBO, Simaku Hesta
NGCOBO, Henry Mthanzi	NGCOBO, Ngitheni Wilhemina	NGCOBO, Simon
NGCOBO, Herbert	NGCOBO, Nhlanhla Lucky	NGCOBO, Singangenkani Alfred
NGCOBO, Hloniphile Josephine	NGCOBO, Nhlanhla Mthokozi	NGCOBO, Sithembiso Ndode
NGCOBO, Hloniphile Sibongile	NGCOBO, Nhlanhla Patrick	NGCOBO, Sithembiso Owen
NGCOBO, Innocent Sanele	NGCOBO, Nico Mbongeni	NGCOBO, Siziwe Ablertina
NGCOBO, Irvin Mlungisi	NGCOBO, Njiga Goodman	NGCOBO, Solomon Bhekabantu
NGCOBO, Isaac	NGCOBO, Nkonqo Delisile	NGCOBO, Stephen
NGCOBO, Ivy Thembekile	NGCOBO, Nkosazana Agnes	NGCOBO, Sydney
NGCOBO, Jabulile Felicity	NGCOBO, Nobuhle Beauty	NGCOBO, Tembisile Esther Makubheka
NGCOBO, Janet	NGCOBO, Nobuhle Winnie	NGCOBO, Teni Theodosia
NGCOBO, Johannes Khethokuhle	NGCOBO, Nokuthula Jannet	NGCOBO, Thamsanqa
NGCOBO, Joseph Maqhing	NGCOBO, Nokuthula Ntombezincane	NGCOBO, Thandanani Israel
NGCOBO, Khombomunye Phineas	NGCOBO, Nomadresi Thenjiwe	NGCOBO, Thandazi
NGCOBO, Khonani Bongiwe	NGCOBO, Nomkahes	NGCOBO, Thandekile Kathleen Lovel
NGCOBO, Khonzaphi Nomatoli	NGCOBO, Nomsa	NGCOBO, Thandephi Mduduzi
NGCOBO, Khonzile	NGCOBO, Nomtandazo	NGCOBO, Thandiwe Isabel
NGCOBO, Lillian	NGCOBO, Nomthandazo Iris	NGCOBO, Thandiwe Maria
NGCOBO, Lindeni Gladys	NGCOBO, Nomthandazo Sylvia	NGCOBO, Thandiwe Thembisile
NGCOBO, Lindiwe	NGCOBO, Nomusa Teresa	NGCOBO, Thatheni
NGCOBO, Lindiwe Ignatia	NGCOBO, Nomusa Nokuthula	NGCOBO, Themba Mishack
NGCOBO, Lindiwe Mitta	NGCOBO, Nontuthuzelo Ignancia	NGCOBO, Themba Vitus
NGCOBO, Lindiwe Regina	NGCOBO, Norah	NGCOBO, Thembeni Andrina
NGCOBO, Louis Bongani	NGCOBO, Ntombazana Alzinah	NGCOBO, Thembeni Lilian
NGCOBO, Lungi Lucy	NGCOBO, Ntombenya Rhoda	NGCOBO, Thembi Janet
NGCOBO, Lynette Badumazile	NGCOBO, Ntombezingi Angelina	NGCOBO, Thembinkosi Obed Mguyo
NGCOBO, Magayise Phillip	NGCOBO, Ntombifikile Lussia	NGCOBO, Thembisile Margaret
NGCOBO, Mamo Doris	NGCOBO, Ntombifuthi Aanah	NGCOBO, Thodlana James
NGCOBO, Mandla	NGCOBO, Ntombigiti Josephine	NGCOBO, Thoko Sibongile
NGCOBO, Mandla Michael	NGCOBO, Ntombikayise Elizabeth	NGCOBO, Thokozani Iris
NGCOBO, Mandlenkosi Hebron	NGCOBO, Ntombinathi Joyce	NGCOBO, Thokozile Annie
NGCOBO, Mantombi Witness	NGCOBO, Ntombizodwa Alvina	NGCOBO, Thokozile Elizabeth
NGCOBO, Margaret	NGCOBO, Ntombizodwa Victoria	NGCOBO, Thokozile Eunice
NGCOBO, Mathovana Sistonja	NGCOBO, Ntulu	NGCOBO, Tholakele
NGCOBO, Mavis	NGCOBO, Olive	NGCOBO, Thulani Andreas
NGCOBO, Mazisi Moses	NGCOBO, Patrick Bonginkosi	NGCOBO, Tombalane Evelyn
NGCOBO, Mboneni Justine	NGCOBO, Patrick Nkosinathi	NGCOBO, Tshelizwe Moses
NGCOBO, Mbongeni	NGCOBO, Peggy	NGCOBO, Tsheniswiwe Norah
NGCOBO, Mboniseni Nqobizwe	NGCOBO, Peter	NGCOBO, Velephi Lephinah
Patrick	NGCOBO, Phakamile Mavis	NGCOBO, Vunisile Dombiza
NGCOBO, Mboniseni Timothy	NGCOBO, Phineas Thulasizwe	NGCOBO, Vusi
NGCOBO, Mbulaleni Tom	NGCOBO, Phineas Thulasizwe	NGCOBO, Vusumuzi
NGCOBO, Mbuyiseni Clement	NGCOBO, Phumzile	NGCOBO, Winnie Ntombi
NGCOBO, Mduduzi Samuel	NGCOBO, Prince Jabulani Mdashazi	NGCOBO, Wiseman Mdumiseni

NGCOBO, Xolisile Mthili	NGHONYAMA, Risimata Joseph	NGIDI, Margaret
NGCOBO, Yintezi	NGIBA, Florence Sizakele	NGIDI, Maria Tozi
NGCOBO, Zakhele	NGIBA, Khayelihle Phumaphi	NGIDI, Mary
NGCOBO, Zakhona Cynthia	NGIBA, Khehla Leonard Vusumuzi	NGIDI, Masende Jerome
NGCOBO, Zama Senzi Jonathan	NGIBA, Maria	NGIDI, Mbhekiseni
NGCOBO, Zanele	NGIBA, Mfaniseni Muntukabani	NGIDI, Mloloyi Mavis
NGCOBO, Zenzele Wellington	NGIBA, Sibongile Purity	NGIDI, Muntu Frederick
NGCOBO, Zenzile	NGIBE, Mfana Dugmore	NGIDI, Mzikayifani
NGCOBO, Zibuyile Priscilla	NGIDI, Bacoshile	NGIDI, Mziwenpi
NGCOBO, Zinyezile Busisiwe	NGIDI, Bawellile Gwiji	NGIDI, Ngenzeni
NGCOBO, Zipunepi	NGIDI, Beauty Thembi	NGIDI, Ngicuphile
NGCOBO, Zithulele Selby	NGIDI, Bekizizwe Philip	NGIDI, Ngiteni Busisilie
NGCOBO, Zodwa Docas	NGIDI, Benzelani Emmerencia	NGIDI, Ngitheni Deke
NGCOKOTHO, Samuel	NGIDI, Bertina Mcube	NGIDI, Nkomezikale Siswini
NGCONGO, Balibele	NGIDI, Bhekinkosi	NGIDI, Nkosinathi
NGCONGO, Khangezile Agnes	NGIDI, Bhekisile	NGIDI, Nobuqili Thandi
NGCONGO, Kumakwakhe Joseph	NGIDI, Bonakele Khohliwe	NGIDI, Nomadiphi
NGCONGO, Mfungelwa	NGIDI, Boneleni Babazile	NGIDI, Nomajacimani
NGCONGO, Ntombini Velencia	NGIDI, Bongani Francis	NGIDI, Nomatoshi
NGCONGO, Richard Rhee	NGIDI, Bongekile Abegail	NGIDI, Nombuso Constance
NGCONGO, Sithembiso Patrick Sthe	NGIDI, Bongephiwe Happiness	NGIDI, Nomhlango
NGCONGO, Sphiwe Moffat	NGIDI, Bonisiwe Monica	NGIDI, Nomusa Elizabeth
NGCONGO, Thamsanqa Brian	NGIDI, Bukelaphi Ntombe	NGIDI, Ntombengaka
NGCONGO, Witness Themba	NGIDI, Busisiwe	NGIDI, Ntombilizwe Annacleta
NGCONGOLO, Hopi Leyland	NGIDI, Busisiwe Thobekile Mazondi	NGIDI, Ntombizani Elizabeth
NGCONGWANE, Siphon Cyprian	NGIDI, Catherine	NGIDI, Ntombizimbili Nomuza
NGCOZELA, Thembile Livingstone	NGIDI, Cebile Promise	NGIDI, Ntombizini
NGCUKA, Mbuyiseli Bethuel	NGIDI, Cimezile	NGIDI, Ntombizonke
NGCUME, Thembani Samuel	NGIDI, Dangwana	NGIDI, Phansi
NGCUNGCA, Nomthandazo	NGIDI, Davadi	NGIDI, Phumaphi Martha
NGCUWA, Sipho	NGIDI, Delisile	NGIDI, Princess Phawulina
NGCWANA, Galela	NGIDI, Disi Nokuthoba	NGIDI, Puputekile
NGEDLE, Maureen	NGIDI, Dombi Zondekile	NGIDI, Qhamukile Yaluzile
NGEMA, Alpheus	NGIDI, Duduzile	NGIDI, Sanele
NGEMA, Babongile	NGIDI, Duduzile Maureen	NGIDI, Sebenzani Elizabeth
NGEMA, Dumoluhle	NGIDI, Duduzile Zamokwakhe	NGIDI, Sebenzile Kumbuzile
NGEMA, Fikile Remember	NGIDI, Dukuza Albert	NGIDI, Sibongile
NGEMA, Gladys	NGIDI, Emgard Emily	NGIDI, Tebisile Evelyn
NGEMA, Johannes Mjogo	NGIDI, Emmanuel Mondli	NGIDI, Thandekile Irene
NGEMA, Kwaziwakhe Nicholas	NGIDI, Favourite Tholani	NGIDI, Thembelihle Nester Sidudla
NGEMA, Mkhulumeleni	NGIDI, Fikelephi Mahadebe	NGIDI, Thobile Eunice
NGEMA, Muzikawubonwa	NGIDI, Gladys	NGIDI, Thunyewepi
NGEMA, Nesta Julie	NGIDI, Gomengani Cynthia	NGIDI, Tusile
NGEMA, Netelina	NGIDI, Gundu	NGIDI, Vusumuzi Patrick
NGEMA, Nkosini	NGIDI, Hambeleni Tuleleni	NGIDI, Zamekile Thulisile
NGEMA, Nokwethemba Phillie	NGIDI, Hilda	NGIDI, Zenele Josiphina
NGEMA, Ntombizonke Ntombinkulu	NGIDI, Hlanganisile	NGIDI, Zinekakhe Martha
NGEMA, Phillip Mzikayifani	NGIDI, Israel M	NGIDI, Zitusele Vezeni
NGEMA, Sibani	NGIDI, Jabulani	NGIDI, Zondani
NGEMA, Sisi Joanah	NGIDI, Jabulile Petronela	NGIDI, Zondeleni Lethiwe
NGEMA, Thandazile	NGIDI, Jabulisile	NGKOENG, Ramokone
NGEMA, Thembekile	NGIDI, Kathleen Thendekile	NGKWENG, Raesibe
NGEMA, Thembisile Qondeni	NGIDI, Khethiwe Joyce	NGOAKO, William
NGEMNTU, Mary Zinyelwa	NGIDI, Khonzeni	NGOBE, Madoda Elfas
NGEMNTU, Ndoda	NGIDI, Khulumani John	NGOBE, Phindile Mavis
NGENALISILE, Ndabayakhe	NGIDI, Kwekaliko	NGOBENI, Anna
NGESEKI, Mthuthuzeli Use	NGIDI, Lalelani Aqenas	NGOBENI, Machuene Meryn
NGESI, Makurutu Peter	NGIDI, Linda	NGOBENI, Mageni Selina
NGESI, Msawenkosi Ellery	NGIDI, Lindiwe Nomusa	NGOBENI, Mittah
NGESMAN, Khwaza Reuben	NGIDI, Lishi Bonakele	NGOBENI, Mvula Petrus
NGESMAN, Nontsapo Phillis	NGIDI, Lungeleni Agnes	NGOBENI, Thomas
NGESMAN, Sigezenga Desmond	NGIDI, Lungiseni N.	NGOBESE, Alice
NGETU, Vumile Gladman	NGIDI, Makosazane	NGOBESE, Busisiwe
NGEVAYO, Mthetheleli Albert	NGIDI, Mantombi	NGOBESE, Constance
NGEVAYO, Simphiwe Desmond	NGIDI, Mantozi Evelinah	NGOBESE, Duduzile

NGOBESE, Eric Sithembiso	NGUBANE, Bukani	NGUBO, Ntombizonke Rita
NGOBESE, Geillie Thembisile	NGUBANE, Busisiwe Francina	NGUBO, Sibusiso Bethuel
NGOBESE, Gideon Bafana	NGUBANE, Concert Zazi	NGUBO, Sindile Vincent Sira
NGOBESE, Kalelani	NGUBANE, Daniel Mduduzi	NGUBO, Thembisile Lynnet
NGOBESE, Khethezakhe Fundi	NGUBANE, Dingizwe Isaac	NGUBO, Victor
NGOBESE, Mamita	NGUBANE, Doris	NGUBO, Ziyalile Baqiphile
NGOBESE, Mfanekiso	NGUBANE, Eric	NGUDLE, Looksmart Khulile
NGOBESE, Namnam	NGUBANE, Ernest Mduduzi	NGUNA, Andile Nobleman
NGOBESE, Nkosinathi Lucas	NGUBANE, Flora Khosi	NGUTSHANE, Madoda
NGOBESE, Ntombifuthi	NGUBANE, Gilbert	NGUZO, Kabefunwa
NGOBESE, Phethemuphi Margaret	NGUBANE, Jabulile Ntombifuthi	NGWABE, Nonhlanzeko Maggie
NGOBESE, Sakhi	NGUBANE, John Mbuzana	Hlomuka
NGOBESE, Samson Bekifa	NGUBANE, Joseph Nkankabula	NGWAMBA, Musa
NGOBESE, Sicelimpilo Celokwakhe	NGUBANE, Maggie	NGWANANG, Moffat
NGOBESE, Sithembiso Ernest	NGUBANE, Maureen	NGWANDI, Lucky Brian
NGOBESE, Skhosiphi	NGUBANE, Mavis Mkhosazana	NGWANE Mathuli
NGOBESE, Thoko Jeanette	NGUBANE, Mavis Thokozile	NGWANE, Andlie Isaac
NGOBESE, Thokozile	NGUBANE, Mcitwa	NGWANE, Babo Michael
NGOBESE, Velephi Florence	NGUBANE, Mgwazeni Daniel	NGWANE, Bongani Micheal
NGOBESE, Zakhele Samuel	NGUBANE, Mildred	NGWANE, Boyi
NGOBESI, Faith Thuli	NGUBANE, Musa Clement	NGWANE, Busisiwe Reginah
NGOBI, Ngcobo	NGUBANE, Musa Wiseman	NGWANE, Dolly Tholakele
NGODWANA, Nomantombazana	NGUBANE, Muzi Musa	NGWANE, Joseph
Regina	NGUBANE, Nonhlanhla Lucy	NGWANE, Mhlengi
NGOEPE, Kgobe Agnes	NGUBANE, Ntombenkulu	NGWANE, Ngibonisele Nethwell
NGOEPE, Ledile	NGUBANE, Ntombifikile Ellina	NGWANE, Nonlanhla
NGOEPE, Rabateng David	NGUBANE, Ntombinkulu Regina	NGWANE, Sibusiso Abraham
NGOEPE, Tlou Nelson	NGUBANE, Ntombizanele Eleanor	NGWANE, Sizakele Gertrude
NGOETJANA, Tlou Elizabeth	NGUBANE, Phillipina Beatrice	NGWANE, Sqomu
NGOMANA, Xaniseka Robert	NGUBANE, Qhikiza Ntombifikile	NGWANE, Thembaliphele Goodman
NGOMANE, Matletla	NGUBANE, Sandile Victor	NGWANE, Zibukele
NGOMANE, Muziwakhe Macmillan	NGUBANE, Saraphina	NGWANE Dennis Bonginkosi
NGOMANE, Samson	NGUBANE, Sayco	NGWANQA, Xola
NGOMBANE, Mncedisi	NGUBANE, Sidumo Paulinus	NGWANYA, Constance
NGONDO, Engelina Nomvuyo	NGUBANE, Simon	NGWANYA, Themba Wilfred
NGONJOLO, Nomvuyo Selinah	NGUBANE, Simon Mzungezwa	NGWAZI, Alson
NGONYAMA, Mfano Elizabeth	NGUBANE, Sipho Sakhile	NGWAZI, Balungile
NGONYAMA, Siboniso	NGUBANE, Sizakele Doreen	NGWAZI, Florah Khusi
NGONYAMA, Sipho Funokwakhe	NGUBANE, Stish P.	NGWAZI, Florence
NGOOO, Derrick	NGUBANE, Swabe Marry	NGWAZI, Gila Thompson
NGOOO, Nceba	NGUBANE, Thandiwe Florence	NGWAZI, Gugu Beta
NGOTSHA, Ntsikelelo	NGUBANE, Themba	NGWAZI, Makhosi
NGOYI, Edgar Dumile	NGUBANE, Thembekile Lillios	NGWAZI, Mbekelwa
NGQAMFANA, Zongezile Patrick	NGUBANE, Thembelihle Wilson	NGWAZI, Tomson Kopana
NGQANDU, Ronald	NGUBANE, Thokozile Nelisiwe	NGWAZI, Toto Alson
NGQAVU, Andile	NGUBANE, Tholakele Patricia	NGWEKAZI, Ndabayakhe
NGQAZO, Ringile	NGUBANE, Thulani	NGWENDU, Ziphilele
NGQENDESHA, Godfrey Mlamleli	NGUBANE, Virginia Kholekile	NGWENYA, Alex
NGQOKOMA, Mlamli Moses	NGUBANE, Vusumuzi Joseph	NGWENYA, Delile Dora
NGQOKOTYA, Rita	NGUBANI, Bafana	NGWENYA, Elizabeth
NGQOLA, Loyiso Thibang	NGUBANI, Evelyn Nomangesi	NGWENYA, Jobe
NGQULUNGA, Brian Boy Elliot	NGUBANI, Gift	NGWENYA, Johannes Rankie
NGQULUNGA, Mthetho	NGUBANI, Howick	NGWENYA, Joyce Spongile
NGQULUNGA, Siphamandla	NGUBANI, Mahotea	NGWENYA, Lahlwe Getrude
NGQUTYWA, Livingstone Ngenaphi	NGUBANI, Malefetsane Frank	NGWENYA, Lerato Alpheus
NGQWALA, Zamikhaya Shadrack	NGUBANI, Mlambo Michael	NGWENYA, Lindiswa
NGQWEMLA, Mncedisi Lawrence	NGUBANI, Modcai Lucky	NGWENYA, Lolo
NGUBANE, Anna	NGUBANI, Sipho Kenneth	NGWENYA, Madlimbi Julia
NGUBANE, Anton	NGUBO, Accadius Busani Cedric	NGWENYA, Mary Poneng
NGUBANE, Bani Gretta	NGUBO, Eliot Msongelwa	NGWENYA, Milushekela Mosese
NGUBANE, Beauty	NGUBO, Judith Nosisa	NGWENYA, Mohlophehi Alex
NGUBANE, Bekuyise Amishada	NGUBO, Kennest Ndodo	NGWENYA, Mqotywa Japan
NGUBANE, Bhekinduna	NGUBO, Michael Bayo	NGWENYA, Muziwakhe Boniface
NGUBANE, Bhululu Samuel	NGUBO, Nhlanhla	NGWENYA, Nelisiwe
NGUBANE, Bongzi Sylvia	NGUBO, Nkosinathi	NGWENYA, Nhlanhla Bernard

NGWENYA, Nkosinathi Emmanuel
 NGWENYA, Peter
 NGWENYA, Richard
 NGWENYA, Selina
 NGWENYA, Sifiso Freeda
 NGWENYA, Skhumbuzo
 NGWENYA, Smangalisso Moses
 NGWENYA, Sombu Monica
 NGWENYA, Thembeni Doris
 NGWENYA, Thembeni Rosemary
 NGWENYA, Thembinkosi Alfred
 NGWENYA, Thethi Emily
 NGWENYA, Veli Moses
 NGWENYA, Vincent
 NGWENYA, Vincent
 NGWENYA, Vusumuzi
 NGWENYA, Wilson Diani
 NGWENYANA, Lithare Alina
 NGWEPE, Ledile
 NGWEPE, Maphuma Piet
 NGWEPE, Phuti Alpha
 NGWEPE, Tlou Caroline
 NGWEVENTSHA, Sipho Makhwenkwe
 NGWEVUSHE, Nonzuzo
 NGXABANE, Aubrey Mandla
 NGXABAZI, Monti Lolo
 NGXATA, Sidumo
 NGXOKELA, Mzwabantu
 NGXOKO, Zwelihle Zacharia
 NGXONGO, Masewu
 NGXUKUMA, Fever Sydney
 NGXUKUMA, Sininmi Kenedy
 NGXUMZA, Khwelintonga
 NGXUMZA, Solethu
 NHLABATHI, Thula Alson
 NHLANHLA, Petros
 NHLANHLA, Vusi Meshack
 NHLANZI, Solomon Zakhele
 NHLAPHO, Ben Mboshwa
 NHLAPHO, Khehla Meshack
 NHLAPHO, Linda
 NHLAPHO, Macaleni Shedrack
 NHLAPHO, Nhlanhla Obed
 NHLAPHO, Nobelungu Sannah
 NHLAPHO, Sipho Paulos
 NHLAPO, Bafana Swartbooi
 NHLAPO, Buti Samson
 NHLAPO, David Sello
 NHLAPO, Fanyana
 NHLAPO, Lucas Mbalekelwa
 NHLAPO, Mzwakhe Moses
 NHLAPO, Nelisile
 NHLAPO, Sematla Ezekiel
 NHLAPO, Velaphi Moses
 NHLEBELA, Marosa Rose
 NHLEBEYA, Trilo Aaron
 NHLEBO, Hazekia Ngoyoli
 NHLEKO, Simanga Clever
 NHLEKO, Themba
 NHLENGETHWA, Collen Mandla
 NHLENGETHWA, Enos
 NHLUMAYO, Kota
 NHLUMAYO, Musi Raymond
 NHLUMAYO, Nomvuyo Sweetness
 NHLUMAYO, Phillip Siggoko

NHLUMAYO, Richard Nomaqhiza
 NHLUMAYO, Siggoko Philip
 NIKANI, Nkosana
 NIKELO, Christopher Tello
 NIKWE, Fana
 NIKWE, Mboniseni Chicken
 NIKWE, Xolani
 NINELA, Blessing
 NINELA, Margaret Evelina
 NINI, Lulama
 NINI, Nombasa Lydia
 NINI, Xoliswa Virginia
 NJADU, Nhlanhla Kenneth
 NJAKAZI, Mthunzi Velemseni
 NJALO, Boy Goodman Mzimkulu
 NJAMELA, Felinyaniso Abner
 NJAMELA, Langa Likhanya
 NJAPA, David
 NJAPA, Sibongile Mildred Makhosi
 NJAPHA, David Vamasi
 NJAPHA, Hlohlampi John
 NJAPHA, Joana Mano
 NJAPHA, Patrick Magabhana
 NJATO, Gilbert Moeketsi
 NJATU, Nopola
 NJEJE, Nokwendisa Priscilla
 NJENINI, Mzwandile Jeffrey
 NJEYA, Lteti
 NIKELANA, Rebecca Nomsa
 NJILO, Edista
 NJILO, Ernest Muntu
 NJILO, Funokwakhe
 NJILO, Ntombintombi Getrude
 NJODO, Constance Thandeka
 NJOKWENI, Mandla
 NJOKWENI, Meyers
 NJOLI, Francis
 NJOLI, Princess Nontutuzelo Norhi
 NJOVANE, Nkosayithethi Precious
 NJUZA, Nzimene Jeffrey
 NKABALAZA, Nonkululeko Margaret
 NKABINDE, Albert
 NKABINDE, Alpheus
 NKABINDE, Annie
 NKABINDE, Constance Veliwe
 NKABINDE, Daniel
 NKABINDE, Dedisi
 NKABINDE, Eric Sephiwe
 NKABINDE, Fanasi Frans
 NKABINDE, Hluphekile Letia
 NKABINDE, Jan Zeblon
 NKABINDE, Khulumani Lena
 NKABINDE, Lalitho Martha
 NKABINDE, Maruping Job
 NKABINDE, Michael
 NKABINDE, Morris
 NKABINDE, Muziwakhe
 NKABINDE, Peter Ngungunyane
 NKABINDE, Sara Margaret
 NKABINDE, Themba Ephraim
 NKABINDE, Thembisile Rita
 NKABINDE, Thoko
 NKABINDE, Thomas London
 NKABINDE, Thuliswe Seddy Ntu
 NKABINI, Clifford

NKABINI, Dikekile Ignancia
 NKABINI, Getrude Thokozile
 NKABINI, Isalah Mfana
 NKABINI, Nkosinathi Almon
 NKABINI, Sezwesihle Agrippa
 NKABINI, Snoti Norman
 NKABINI, Thokozile Beauty
 NKABINI, Zwelihle Derek
 NKADIMENG, Joel
 NKADIMENG, Mefolo Abram
 NKADIMENG, Vernon
 NKALA, Flora Tshidi
 NKALA, Mtholeni Hezekia
 NKALA, Sebenzile Garentina
 NKALA, Velaphi Angelina
 NKALANGA, John Bongani
 NKALI, George Tlali
 NKAMBULE, David
 NKAMBULE, Gubane Samuel
 NKAMBULE, Michael
 NKANI, Samuel Jomo
 NKANI, Simon Zollie
 NKANYEZI, Dalindyabo
 NKANYEZI, Mafoxini
 NKASAWA, Gideon Lungile
 NKATE, Isiah Pule
 NKATLO, Pitso
 NKATSHANE, Eslina
 NKAWENG, Nthlodi Onicah
 NKAWULE, Nkosini
 NKAYI, Nomalinge
 NKAYI, Phila
 NKENKANA, Billy Ben
 NKENKE, Bongani
 NKEU, Benjamin Mati
 NKEU, Johannes
 NKEU, Martha Daza
 NKEU, Mirriam Nombulelo
 NKEU, Paul Buti
 NKEU, Zwelinzima George
 NKGEONG, Matlou Frans
 NKGMEENG, Seemola Mamoloko
 NKGOENG, Albert Piletjie
 NKGOENG, Kgopishi Phillip
 NKGOENG, Ledile Machuene
 NKGOENG, Mamoyagabo Time
 NKGOENG, Mosima Samuel
 NKGOENG, Mottalepula Alpheus
 NKGOENG, Selali Andries
 NKGWENG, Gebediela Joas
 NKGWENG, Kemishi Goodright
 NKGWENG, Kgajudi
 NKGWENG, Ledile Mamoyahabo
 NKGWENG, Mamolatelid Lidle
 NKGWENG, Maselelo
 NKGWENG, Mosima Melatelo
 NKGWENG, Nkone
 NKGWENG, Nkwata Samuel
 NKGWENG, Ntshipi Wilson
 NKGWENG, Raisibe
 NKGWENG, Sarah Joseph
 NKGWENG, Seroto Elliot
 NKGWONG, Moshokane
 NKOANE, Gilbert Teboho
 NKOANE, Kefiloe Mirriam

NKOBINDI, Stemmer John
 NKOFUNGA, Mkululi
 NKOHLA, Darlington Nkosinathi
 NKOHLA, Fungile Livingstone
 NKOHLA, Lulama Vivian
 NKOHLA, Nomziwakhe Francina
 NKOHLA, Zolisa Elsies
 NKOKO, Julien
 NKOKO, Ramokoeni
 NKOMANA, Nibidyara Francis
 NKOMBI, Kholeka
 NKOMBI, Winifred Zodwa
 NKOMBISA, Monde Matthews
 NKOMBONI, Simon
 NKOMO, Delisile Immaculate
 NKOMO, Fikile
 NKOMO, Hloniphile Winniefrieda
 NKOMO, Ncamsile
 NKOMO, Ngangezinye Medrina
 NKOMO, Nkosenye Jeremiah
 NKOMO, Rebecca Duduzile
 NKOMO, Thembi
 NKOMO, Zephetheni Alexia
 NKONDE, Ambag Paulos
 NKONDE, Solomon Khethomthandayo
 NKONTWANA, Boza
 NKONYANA, Bafa Benjamin
 NKONYANA, Samson Themba
 NKONYANE, Boynyane Freddy
 NKONYANE, Noel
 NKONYANE, Sifiso John
 NKONYENI, Bheki Patric
 NKONYENI, Jabu Beauty
 NKONYENI, Shomo Nokwendisa
 NKONYENI, Wilson Ndindana
 NKOSI, Absalom
 NKOSI, Aldred Siphio
 NKOSI, Amos Fani
 NKOSI, Bantu Emelina
 NKOSI, Bartholomew Diaz Bongani
 NKOSI, Betina
 NKOSI, Bheki
 NKOSI, Bheki Steven
 NKOSI, Boyi Abram
 NKOSI, Carlton
 NKOSI, Catherine
 NKOSI, Charles
 NKOSI, Christopher
 NKOSI, Cleopas Mandla
 NKOSI, Daniel Makhosomke
 NKOSI, David
 NKOSI, David Nicholas
 NKOSI, Dickson
 NKOSI, Dingaana Jordan
 NKOSI, Ephraim
 NKOSI, Eric Richard
 NKOSI, Fanyana
 NKOSI, Florence
 NKOSI, Getrude Velaphi Thoko
 NKOSI, Godfrey Jabulane
 NKOSI, Graham
 NKOSI, Howard
 NKOSI, Isaac Vusumuzi
 NKOSI, Jacob Sibongo
 NKOSI, Joseph

NKOSI, Jozi Ephriam
 NKOSI, Lazarus
 NKOSI, Lessiah
 NKOSI, Lucky France
 NKOSI, Lungile Lawrence
 NKOSI, Mabendla Azariah
 NKOSI, Madala
 NKOSI, Mandlane Eric
 NKOSI, Maphindi Portia
 NKOSI, Maria Matshidiso
 NKOSI, Martha
 NKOSI, Masentsho Popie
 NKOSI, Mbhekwa Solomon
 NKOSI, Mbonji
 NKOSI, Mfanafuthi Abel
 NKOSI, Moses Enoch
 NKOSI, Muzikababa Alpheos
 NKOSI, Nana Florence
 NKOSI, Nlekelu Jerry
 NKOSI, Nomakuwa Sophia
 NKOSI, Nomusa Ethel
 NKOSI, Nondumiso
 NKOSI, Nonzuza Setty
 NKOSI, Nyanyekile Norah
 NKOSI, Patricia Bonisiwe
 NKOSI, Peter Bonginkosi
 NKOSI, Petrus
 NKOSI, Phineas
 NKOSI, Prysina Mambundu
 NKOSI, Richard Japie
 NKOSI, S'Bulelo
 NKOSI, Sakhile
 NKOSI, Samuel
 NKOSI, Shobeni Elizabeth
 NKOSI, Simon Duga
 NKOSI, Siphio
 NKOSI, Sizakele Emelela
 NKOSI, Solomon Daniel Abel
 NKOSI, Thabang Lucas
 NKOSI, Thabile
 NKOSI, Thamsanqa Shadrack
 NKOSI, Thembani
 NKOSI, Thembelihle Dumazile
 NKOSI, Thembinkosi Patrick
 NKOSI, Thomas
 NKOSI, Tito
 NKOSI, Virginia Cabangani
 NKOSI, Vukani Gilbert
 NKOSI, Winnifred Notini
 NKOSI, Zephania
 NKOSIYANA, Nomanesi
 NKOSIYANE, Dumasi Douglas
 NKOSIYANE, Siculo Thembleton
 NKOSIYANE-MPOPOSHE, Jackson
 Balisile
 NKOTA, Amon
 NKOWENG, Mamoloko Grace
 NKUKHU, Sisbusiso
 NKUKHU, Themba Rudolf
 NKUMANDA, Tshukumani Jeffrey
 NKUMBI, Albert Thozamile
 NKUMBI, Charlotte
 NKUMBI, Mziwoxolo Christopher Boy
 NKUMBI, William Thamsanqa
 NKUME, Thozamile

NKUNA, Albert Ngwavela
 NKUNA, Joe
 NKUNA, Johanna Tsatsawane
 NKUNA, Joseph Harold
 NKUNA, Robert
 NKUNA, Ronny
 NKUNA, Selina
 NKUNDLANDE, Fachman
 Nompumelelo
 NKUNKUMA, Bethuel Thobelani
 NKUPANE, Josiah
 NKUSHUBANA, Edith Nobafo
 NKUTA, Albert Khehla
 NKUTA, Obed Ramahlape
 NKUTA, Thalitha Rachel
 NKUTHA, Josiah Thami
 NKUTHA, Martha Malefu
 NKUTU, Fukutha Jackson
 NKUWENG, Sebolashi
 NKWAMBA, Matias Mathews
 NKWAMBA, Victor
 NKWANA, Mashine Joseph
 NKWANA, Mohlopi Amos
 NKWANA, Nakedi Maria
 NKWANE, Michael
 NKWANYANA, Bongekile
 NKWANYANA, Dudu Gqoza
 NKWANYANA, Duduzile Doris
 NKWANYANA, Elizabeth
 NKWANYANA, Emanuel
 NKWANYANA, Jabulisile
 NKWANYANA, Khethiwe Fortunate
 NKWANYANA, Magenge Richard
 NKWANYANA, Musawenkosi
 NKWANYANA, Nkosingiphile Fano
 NKWANYANA, Ntombi Wusisi
 NKWANYANA, Phineas
 NKWANYANA, Sebenzile Ngantombi
 NKWANYANA, Tandukwenzelwa
 NKWANYANA, Teresia
 NKWANYANA, Thulani Vincent
 NKWANYANA, Thulisile Lindeni
 Goodness
 NKWANYANA, Zephania
 NKWANYANA, Zibuyisele Bhaku
 NKWANYANE, Dumisane Gracious
 NKWANYANE, Jamba
 NKWAYANA, Ntombi Wusisi
 NKWENG, Florina Tabudi
 NKWENG, Mosima Jessy
 NKWENG, Nkabane Julia
 NKWENKWE, Nkanyiso
 NKWENYANE, Donald
 NKWINIKA, Theron Mduwazi
 NOBADULA, Mzukisi Melvin
 NOBANGELA, Fuzile Elvis
 NOBATANA, Vuyo Aubrey
 NOBAVU, Nontanganyani
 NOBEBE, Danisile Chris
 NOBIVA, Boy
 NOBOZA, Thembeki
 NODADA, Brian
 NODIKIDA, Mcebisi
 NODIPHA, Manana
 NODLUNG, Allvinah

NODOSHA, Maqhilane Solamase
 NOEMDOE, Doreen Josephine
 NOFEMELE, Vuyisile
 NOGAGA, Leopold
 NOGAYO, Nowings Engelinah
 NOGIKILE, Dinah Vuyiswa
 NOGOBA, Letticia Nomhle
 NOGORHA, Patric Nkosinathi
 NOGQALA, Sidwell Mandithini
 NOGQUM, Zingewathile
 NOHENNE, Noncinane Gladys
 NOJAHOLO, Evelyn Kulie
 NOJIYESA, Vusimuzi Moses
 NOKEMANE, Mzoxolo
 NOKERE, Paulus Shaba
 NOKHONoya, Nomveliso Francis
 NOKHONYA, Gladstone
 NOKIE, Tina Babsie
 NOKO, Robert
 NOKONYA, Mzwakhe Livingstone
 NOKRAYO, Mbi
 NOKWANDA, Mcholwa
 NOKWAZI, Rose
 NOKWINDLA, Khelekile Vincent
 NOLUBABALO, Mdlungu
 NOMAJAVA, Yoliswa
 NOMANDLA, Mbuyiselo John
 NOMANDLA, Nomajamini Agnes
 NOMANDLA, Thembile David
 NOMAQHIZA, Noxolo Cynthia
 NOMATHWETSHO, Maqethuka Dlamini
 NOMAXHAI, Wandisile Godfrey
 NOMBULELO, Olifant
 NOMBYANA, Jorge Nessele
 NOMEVA, Philipina Thenjiwe
 NOMGOGWANA, Gilindoda
 NOMGQOKWANA, Brian Miselo
 NOMKONKO, Sipho Given
 NOMONGO, Tod Nkwenkwana
 MOMOYI, Caroline
 NOMPANDO, Vuyisina Lilian
 NOMPONDO, Jongile Joseph
 NOMPONDO, Ntombomzi Priscilla
 NOMPUMA, Thobile
 NOMTHULI, Philemon Mzwandile
 NOMTWANA, Bhayisekile
 NOMVUSELELO, Abegail Mbali
 NONCUNGO, Sajini Welcome
 NONDABA, Ernest Dingindawo
 NONDABULA, Clement
 NONDABULA, Nonyameko
 NONDALA, Joseph Mzwamandla
 NONDALA, Vuyo
 NONDULA, Bongani
 NONDULA, Nomusa Leticia
 NONDZUBE, Misile Devilliers
 NONG, Meshack
 NONG, Raesibe Johana
 NONGAUZA, Velekaya Hofmeyr
 NONGAYI, Bheswa
 NONGENA, Daniel Paulos
 NONGENA, Mvulo Johnson
 NONGQAYI, Nkombikanina Nothembile
 NONGQO, Ndongela Eric
 NONGUBO, Nyusiwe

NONJOLI, Martha Memi
 NONJOLI, Ntombifikile
 NONKONELA, Nomabhele Angelina
 NONKONELA, Phumeza
 NONKUMBANA, Fakati Simon
 NONKUMBANA, Nontsapho Evelyn
 NONKUMBANA, Velliswa Patricia
 NONOYI, Mzukisi Samuel
 NONOYI, Thobeka Joyce
 NONQANDELA, Robert
 NONTAMO, Nondumiso Alice
 NONTSHINGA, Headman
 NONTYI, Patrick Sympathy Phakamile
 NONYAMA, Nonceba Irene
 NONYANE, Johannes Mogomotsi
 NONYANE, Sello Alfred
 NONYANE, Thabo Christopher
 NONYUSA, Ndeleleni Januarie Mqwathi
 NOOI, Julius Khotsang
 NOQAYI, Zolile
 NOQHOLI, Nkululeko John
 NORDIEN, Esmat
 NOREXE, Joseph
 NORMAN, George Yizanemvula
 NORUSHE, Bonisile Philemon
 NORUSHE, Ntombizodwa Elizabeth
 NOSI, Carol
 NOTHOLE, Thelma
 NOTHWALA, Michael
 NOTUNUNU, James
 NOTYHAGI, Gcotshi
 NOVEMBER, Johnson
 NOZAKUZAKU, Zilindile
 NOZAZA, Agrippa
 NOZAZA, Nontsikelelo
 NOZEMBA, Mlindeli
 NOZEWU, Zola
 NQABENI, Xoliswa Elizabeth Maxoli
 NQABISA, Vusumzi Sydney
 NQAMRA, William
 NQANDU, Johnson
 NQANDU, Xolisile
 NQANGISA, Carius
 NQAYI, Calvin Sibusiso
 NQEME, Bongani
 NQENTSWANA, Bhekimphe Sabiso
 NQENTSWANA, Nozuko Ronica
 NQEZA, Thandi
 NQEZU, Mzuvukile
 NQGULUNGA, Nkanikayipheli
 NQIDI, Thembisile Nobuhle
 NQIKASHE, Lungisile William
 NQINQHI, Monwabisi Edgar
 NQOKO, Dingiwe
 NQOKO, Remigia Ntombizini
 NQOKO, Sishani Eunice
 NQOKOTO, Mbuyiselo Monster
 NQONO, Boyce
 NQONO, Vuyani Manjuwi
 NQULO, Mnikaya
 NQUMAKO, Dlangamandla Thilomu
 NQUMAKO, Dora Hlobozani
 NQUMAKO, Mampontsha
 NQUMSE, Afrika Lorence
 NQUMSE, Zibonele Edward

NQWALA, Zamilé Terrence
 NQWELE, Mncedisi Rooi
 NSELE, Msophile
 NSIBANDE, Jacob Musawenkosi
 NSIBANDE, Robert Mbongeleni
 NSIMBI, Doti Phillip
 NSIMBI, Lakobi Phyllis
 NSUNTSHA, Manani Matrana
 NTABENI, Nomonde
 NTABENI, Zwelakhe Alfred
 NTABI, Flory Mahlomola
 NTAKA, Bongani
 NTAKA, Hloniphile Princess
 NTAKA, Mfanukile Simon
 NTAKA, Vusumuzi
 NTAMANE, Mandla Solomon
 NTAME, Simphiwe Jeffrey
 NTANDO, Merika Wellington
 NTANJANA, Nelsie
 NTANJANA, Vuyisile Victor
 NTANTISO, Dumile
 NTANTISO, Mdubeki Johannes
 NTANTISO, Sicelo
 NTANZI, Alvina (Ntombenkulu)
 NTANZI, Boneni
 NTANZI, Bukani
 NTANZI, Busisiwe
 NTANZI, Cashephi
 NTANZI, Dokazi
 NTANZI, Dumazile
 NTANZI, Emmerentina
 NTANZI, Fakazile
 NTANZI, Gcinekile
 NTANZI, Gideon
 NTANZI, Gugu Khonzeni
 NTANZI, Hengani
 NTANZI, Jabu Sibongile
 NTANZI, Jordan
 NTANZI, Khephansi Charlie
 NTANZI, Mkhetheni Sakhephi
 NTANZI, Mkholiseni Alpheus
 NTANZI, Mlungisi Terence
 NTANZI, Moses
 NTANZI, Mtete
 NTANZI, Mthembeni Joseph
 NTANZI, Mxolisi Cornelious
 NTANZI, Mzikayifani Minias
 NTANZI, Mzogwele Isaac
 NTANZI, Ndukwembi
 NTANZI, Nkosinathi Emmanuel
 NTANZI, Nokubheka Jabulile
 NTANZI, Nokuthula
 NTANZI, Nomzimba Thembani
 NTANZI, Ntombiyani
 NTANZI, Ntshinakaho Martha
 NTANZI, Qondeni Esther
 NTANZI, Roy Themba
 NTANZI, Sebenzeni Thandazile
 NTANZI, Sheki Pheneas
 NTANZI, Shongishile Gabazengani
 NTANZI, Sibangaliphi Japhet
 NTANZI, Siboniseni Lawrence
 NTANZI, Sithembile Mantombi
 NTANZI, Tickey Florence
 NTANZI, Zakhele

NTANZI, Zodwa
 NTANZI, Zothini Hlalisile
 NTEKELE, Natlo Macxon
 NTEKISO, Ndimpiwe
 NTELELE, Anthony Mpho
 NTEMA (MASUSU), Seabata Albert
 NTEMANE, Caleb Mojalefa
 NTENE, Lilian Matshomo
 NTENGA, Fikile Tryphina
 NTENGA, Jabulile Leslinah
 NTENGENTO, David Samdywida
 Lamani
 NTENGENTO, Thembinkosi Mcdonald
 NTENGESHE, Mabhunga Wellington
 NTEYANA, Nosipho
 NTEPE, Samuel
 NTETHA, Armstrong Thembinkosi
 NTETHA, George Nkosana
 NTEU, Nwaniki Maria
 NTHAKO, Sebolelo Mirriam
 NTHETE, Meshack Letshabo
 NTHO, Thabiso Samuel
 NTHOTSO, Moeketsi Isaac
 NTHSANGASE, Siyabonga
 NTHUNYA, Mohau Samuel Sam
 NTIKILI, Sam
 NTIKINCA, Rufus Mandlenkosi
 NTLASHE, Alfred Mzwandi
 NTIMANA, Lucky
 NTIMBANE, Vusi
 NTINEZA, Luka Hlomendlini
 NTINEZA, Qondeni Bertina
 NTINEZA, Sphiwo Mbongeni
 NTINGA, Boyi Sandile Ernest
 NTINGA, Maginqa
 NTINTILI, Nosipho Victoria
 Ntirara, Nomsa Olive
 NTITSHANE, Thembekile Thomas
 NTLABA, Taelo Joseph
 NTLABATHI, Mzikayise
 NTLANGENI, Dumisani David
 NTLAPO, Motlaetsona Petros
 NTLEBI, Zolisa Sydney
 NTLEKO, Zuzile
 NTLHAENG, Thabo Kevin
 NTLHE, Kefilwe Agnes
 NTLIZIYOMBI, Mzwabantu Wellington
 NTLIZIYWANA, Sithembile Richard
 NTLOKWANA, Vuyisile
 NTLOKWANE, Nikiwe Margaret
 NTLUMAYO, Nkosiphi
 NTOBELA, John
 NTOBELA, Mandleko Agnes Mkosile
 NTOMBANA, David Phathisiwe
 NTOMBELA, Amon Sicelo
 NTOMBELA, Babane Joseph
 NTOMBELA, Bafo Justic
 NTOMBELA, Beauty Funani
 NTOMBELA, Bekithemba Mandlenkosi
 NTOMBELA, Beselina Nozidumo
 NTOMBELA, Busisiwe Prudence
 NTOMBELA, Casephi Alpha
 NTOMBELA, Debhu Gerald
 NTOMBELA, Dini Alfred
 NTOMBELA, Duduzile Busisiwe

NTOMBELA, Gabriel
 NTOMBELA, Johannes
 NTOMBELA, Kipalipi Johannes
 NTOMBELA, Kwenya Johannes
 NTOMBELA, Mandlenkosi Eric
 NTOMBELA, Mbekezela
 NTOMBELA, Mbimbi Lettie
 NTOMBELA, Minah Phoko
 NTOMBELA, Moses Ngede
 NTOMBELA, Muzi
 NTOMBELA, Njabulo
 NTOMBELA, Nkosikhona
 NTOMBELA, Petrus Bafana
 NTOMBELA, Queen
 NTOMBELA, Shadrack Mhlanganis
 NTOMBELA, Simeon Thandukwazi
 NTOMBELA, Sindisiwe Beatrice
 NTOMBELA, Sipho
 NTOMBELA, Skhumbuzo Lesley
 NTOMBELA, Thabo Michael
 NTOMBELA, Themba
 NTOMBELA, Thembikile
 NTOMBELA, Thokozani
 NTOMBELA, Thokozile
 NTOMBELA, Thulani Petros
 NTOMBELA, Vika
 NTOMBELA, Welcome Mseshi
 NTOMBELA, Zanele
 NTONGANA, Noluthando Tsimi
 NTONGANA, Penwell Saphulelo
 NTONGOLO, Samuel Mzwandile
 NTONI, Anthony Thozamile
 NTONI, Fezani Phillip
 NTONI, Nomvula Elizabeth Nomfazi
 NTOYAKHE, Nontobeko Meggie
 NTOYANTO, Nomalungelo Margaret
 NTOZAKHE, Beauty Tholakele
 NTOZAKHE, Girlie Viera Mafanoyi
 NTOZAKHE, Leonard Ngobayini
 NTOZAKHE, Mgabiselwa
 NTOZAKHE, Michael Mteto
 NTOZAKHE, Muziwakona Timothy
 NTOZAKHE, Nhlanhla Emmanuel
 NTOZELA, Sibusiso
 NTOZELA, Thembisile
 NTOZELA, Zanele
 NTOZINI, Xolile Daniel Mabhanya
 NTSALA, Mapitso Lizie
 NTSALI, Bhokuyise
 NTSANE, Elizabeth
 NTSANE, Lejelang
 NTSATHA, Nomakhephu Jane
 NTSUDE, Wani Mhlhiva
 NTSEKE, Mlungisi Lawrence
 NTSEKE, Velelo Alphius
 NTSELE, Bongani Emmanuel
 NTSELE, Fraser Thamusanqa
 NTSELE, Jabulani Eric
 NTSELE, Ndodakeni
 NTSELE, Noel
 NTSELE, Zikoko
 NTSENDWANA, Mqelele
 NTSEPO, Velile
 NTSESO, Michael Motseki
 NTSETHE, Boysie Malusi Collen

NTSETHE, Mpumelelo Moses
 NTSETHE, Nokholekile Joslina
 NTSETHE, Zacharia Dumile
 NTSEWA, Makgabo Agnes
 NTSHABA, Mthakashana Elias
 NTSHAKO, Johannes Fusi
 NTSALINTSHALI, Lawrence
 NTSANGASE, Amos
 NTSANGASE, Bhengkosi
 NTSANGASE, Busisiwe Fikanenala
 NTSANGASE, Daniel
 NTSANGASE, Juliet Tu
 NTSANGASE, Lillian Khethiwe
 NTSANGASE, Makhosi Frida
 NTSANGASE, Mnakwe
 NTSANGASE, Monica Thembisile
 NTSANGASE, Muntukathandwa
 NTSANGASE, Mxosheni Pheneas
 NTSANGASE, Ndendesi Minah
 NTSANGASE, Njabulo
 NTSANGASE, Richard Elfias
 NTSANGASE, Sibusiso Christopher
 NTSANGASE, Simon
 NTSANGASE, Siyabonga
 NTSANGULA, Xolani
 NTSANTSHA, Thokogoni
 NTSANYANA, Nomhlobo Valencia
 NTSAPA, Doris Mary
 NTSHENGE, Kwanele Collen
 NTSHENGE, Mbulelo Colin
 NTSHINGA, Danie William
 NTSHINGA, Mhlupheki Elias
 NTSHINGILA, Duduzile
 NTSHINGILA, Mohambi Jeremiah
 NTSHINGILA, Ntombikayise Murriel
 NTSHINKA, Monwabisi
 NTSHINSILA, Simon Glenn Bongani
 NTSHINTSHI, Thembekile Simon
 NTSHONGWANA, Alfred Lungisile
 NTSHOTA, Mxolisi
 NTSHUDE, Maki
 NTSHUDU, Andile Joseph
 NTSHUNTSHA, Naboath Mandaluhlwile
 NTSIBANDE, Daniel
 NTSIBANDE, David
 NTSIKENI, Mabembe
 NTSIZAKALO, Siphiso Alfred
 NTSIZI, Noqhubile
 NTSOELENGOE, Reginald
 NTSOERENG, Stefane Meshack
 NTSOMI, Zandisile
 NTSUBA, Zabolun Mofokeng
 NTSUNDU, Meli
 NTSUSA, Zolile Kenneth
 NTSWAYI, Sandile Latone
 NTULI, Joyce
 NTULI, Abel Zwane
 NTULI, Advocate Mtetleli
 NTULI, Bafana
 NTULI, Bhokabantu Mzowomna
 NTULI, Bhoki
 NTULI, Bongani
 NTULI, Bonginkosi Musa
 NTULI, Chaka Piecanni
 NTULI, Christian

NTULI, David Makhelwa
 NTULI, Derrick
 NTULI, Dinga Bonginkosi
 NTULI, Duduzile Doris
 NTULI, Dumisa Paulus
 NTULI, Edward Hlengiwe
 NTULI, Ellen
 NTULI, Elliot Celeni
 NTULI, Filda
 NTULI, Gabisile Joy
 NTULI, Gloria
 NTULI, Hleziphi
 NTULI, Ivy Gabisile
 NTULI, Jackson
 NTULI, Jacob Nkopane
 NTULI, James Phamakusho
 NTULI, Jeremiah
 NTULI, Keqe Zakhasa
 NTULI, Kufakomuzi Joseph
 NTULI, Leah
 NTULI, Leonard Jerry
 NTULI, Lesiba Joseph
 NTULI, Lucky
 NTULI, Magau Richard
 NTULI, Mandla Samuel
 NTULI, Mankehl
 NTULI, Mbali Innocetia
 NTULI, Mbongeni
 NTULI, Mbukeni
 NTULI, Mbusi
 NTULI, Mseleni
 NTULI, Mthandeni
 NTULI, Muntukayise Bhekuyise
 NTULI, Muntuwempi
 NTULI, Muzikayise Isaac
 NTULI, Muzingeli James
 NTULI, Ncamisile
 NTULI, Nelisiwe
 NTULI, Ngcebo Shadrack
 NTULI, Nkosana Ndukuzakhe
 NTULI, Nozipho
 NTULI, Paulos
 NTULI, Petros
 NTULI, Philip Sikhirikhiri
 NTULI, Phillip
 NTULI, Piet Maqhawe Mbalekwa
 NTULI, Pumelela
 NTULI, Rosa Khanyisile Mango
 NTULI, Sakhephi
 NTULI, Samson Nomzeni
 NTULI, Samuel Hambolwakhe
 NTULI, Sazi Johan
 NTULI, Sazi Victor
 NTULI, Sibongile
 NTULI, Siphiso Isaac
 NTULI, Siziwe Cabangile
 NTULI, Steven Ntofo
 NTULI, Thandekile
 NTULI, Theodora
 NTULI, Tholethemba
 NTULI, Thomas Isaac
 NTULI, Thuliswe Grace
 NTULI, Tsotsi Rothi
 NTULI, Velaphi Ntombiyokwenziwa
 NTULI, Victor

NTULI, Victor
 NTULI, Willie
 NTULI, Xolani
 NTULI, Zinhle
 NTULI, Zwelibanzi Alford
 NTUMBA, Mandlenkosi Emmanuel
 NTUNJA, Better Gugu
 NTUNJA, Mtwana
 NTUNJWA, Ernest Bonga
 NTUNJWA, Nhlanhla Stanford
 NTUSI, Arthur Themba
 NTUTHUZELO, Lennox Matrosse
 NTUZELA, Nokulungisa Gugu Goodness
 NTWAGAE, Madira
 NTWAGAE, Rebecca
 NTWANA, Abel Mavandla
 NTWANAMBI, Vincent Mzwandile
 NTYABA, Nopinki Cathrine
 NTYEFE, Nico
 NUKENI, Michael Kalusi
 NUKERI, Tsastawani Josephina
 NWATLA, Jerry
 NXAGUNI, Nomalizo Magret
 NXAKO, Wete
 NXANXA, William
 NXASANA, Ndovela
 NXASANA, Thamsanqa Vivian
 NXASANA, Trueman
 NXELE, Bekilizwe
 NXELE, Boniwe
 NXELE, Cebisile Maria
 NXELE, David Zekhaya
 NXELE, Dedisile
 NXELE, Duduzile Elsie
 NXELE, Dumazile
 NXELE, Elijah
 NXELE, Getrude Thombi
 NXELE, Gugu
 NXELE, Jaff Phyllis
 NXELE, Josiah
 NXELE, Khulumelani
 NXELE, Lillian
 NXELE, Mafoko Hendrieta
 NXELE, Mbongeni
 NXELE, Mbovane Nkosibomvu
 NXELE, Mpetu Dennis
 NXELE, Mpume
 NXELE, Mzwakhephi Johannes
 NXELE, Phata-Phata
 NXELE, Phetheni
 NXELE, Phumlani
 NXELE, Phumlile
 NXELE, Sizwe Wilson
 NXELE, Sthembiso
 NXIBA, Thomas
 NXOPO, Zwelinzima Albert
 NXUMALO, Anthony
 NXUMALO, Arron
 NXUMALO, Bachazile
 NXUMALO, Bafana Mckenzie
 NXUMALO, Bhekisisa Elliot
 NXUMALO, Bob Hosiah
 NXUMALO, Bongani Mntabhana
 NXUMALO, Busisiwe Mantombi
 NXUMALO, Cebolamandwandwe

NXUMALO, Cynthia Duduzile
 NXUMALO, Deka
 NXUMALO, Dudu Gladys
 NXUMALO, Dumisani Mbozombozo
 NXUMALO, Elizabeth
 NXUMALO, Fana
 NXUMALO, Fanyana Thomas
 NXUMALO, Gertrude Maxulu
 NXUMALO, Girlie Lindiwe
 NXUMALO, Hendrik Madoda
 NXUMALO, Jabulani
 NXUMALO, Jabulani
 NXUMALO, Mahlathini Jackson
 NXUMALO, Mathani
 NXUMALO, Mawewe Memezi
 NXUMALO, Mbongeni
 NXUMALO, Musa
 NXUMALO, Naphtal Muziwenkosi
 NXUMALO, Nkosinathi Emmanuel
 NXUMALO, Nomusa
 NXUMALO, Nondumiso
 NXUMALO, Ntombazana Eggie
 NXUMALO, Patrick Mandla
 NXUMALO, Philisiwe
 NXUMALO, Rejoice
 NXUMALO, Ronnie Sihle
 NXUMALO, Sbhongile
 NXUMALO, Simon
 NXUMALO, Simon Kufakwezwe
 NXUMALO, Siphile
 NXUMALO, Son-Boy Pius
 NXUMALO, Tebiya Lucky
 NXUMALO, Vukani Herman
 NXUMALO, Vusumuzi Elton
 NXUMALO, Zakhele
 NXUMALO, Zanele Rejoice
 NXUSANI, Elizabeth Thozama
 NYAKA, Mazaba Miriet
 NYAKENI, Mamaza
 NYAKENI, Ntombithula
 NYAKENI, Sikha Philie
 NYAKENI, Thembinkosi
 NYALELA, Nonyentse
 NYALENDE, Lawrence Jacey
 NYALUNGA, Frank
 NYAMAKAZI, Mziwamadoda
 NYAMAMBI, Mvunyelwa
 NYAMANKULU, Jongisizwe
 NYAMANKULU, Songile
 NYAMEKA, Sandile Learnard
 NYAMENDE, Mxolisi Abedingo
 NYAMFU, Lulama Christian
 NYANDENI, Thandi Dorcus
 NYANGA, George Mojanaka
 NYANGENI, Mzwabantu Eric
 NYANI, Khongozela Elliot
 NYASULU, Vincent Timmy
 NYATHI, Bonga
 NYATHI, Constance
 NYATHI, David Mandla
 NYATHI, Doris Ntombi
 NYATHI, Jabulani Owen
 NYATHI, Johanna Masana
 NYATHI, Meshack
 NYATHI, Mfanlozi Ernest

NYATHI, Peter Sipiwe
 NYATHI, Sesinyana Lettie
 NYATHI, Themba Enock
 NYATHIKAZI, Erick Jojo
 NYAUZA, Mpayipheli Norman
 NYAWO, Boni Maxwell
 NYAWO, Boy Erick
 NYAWO, Dumezweni
 NYAWO, Falini Jeremiah
 NYAWO, Hleziphi Jeslina
 NYAWO, Muziwakhe Alfred
 NYAWO, Samson Diya Mfanafuthi
 NYAWO, Samson Musawenkosi
 NYAWO, Themba Clement Nhlanhla
 NYAWO, Thembekile
 NYAWOSE, Alsina
 NYAWOSE, Fana Joshua
 NYAWOSE, Ntombenhle Rebecca
 NYAWOSE, Sikameko
 NYAWUZA, Eric Thulani
 NYEKA, John
 NYELELE, Michael
 NYEMBE, Vumani
 NYEMBEZI, Constance Nokwanelo
 NYEMBEZI, Mlise Hallock
 NYIDE, Balungile
 NYILA, Shadrack Vuyisile
 NYIRENDA, Jabulani Goodwill
 NYOKA, Sarah
 NYOKA, Alegria
 NYOKA, Caiphus
 NYOKA, Dumisani Kenneth
 NYOKA, Mandlenkosi Bethuel
 NYOKA, Sarah
 NYUMBOKA, Nongetheni Gerty
 NYUSWA, Mavis Hlekani
 NZALA, Mgwabule
 NZAMA, Allison
 NZAMA, Baba
 NZAMA, Badingile
 NZAMA, Bajabulile Gloria
 NZAMA, Bengazi George
 NZAMA, Cwepesha
 NZAMA, Dumezulu
 NZAMA, Dumisani Elvis Presley
 NZAMA, Elliot
 NZAMA, Gezekile Prudence
 NZAMA, Girlie Malitha
 NZAMA, Gogo
 NZAMA, Grace Kwenzakele
 NZAMA, Innocent Thandazani
 NZAMA, Jabulani Andreas
 NZAMA, Jabulile Ntombizembi
 NZAMA, Khulani
 NZAMA, Leonard Nbazini
 NZAMA, Lewis Zibonele
 NZAMA, Madoda Derrick
 NZAMA, Maqhinga John
 NZAMA, Maryjane
 NZAMA, Mhlethsha
 NZAMA, Micheal Zwelisha
 NZAMA, Mlinganiswa Richard
 NZAMA, Mntonjani Evion
 NZAMA, Mthokozisi Vusumuzi
 NZAMA, Ngakephi Judith

NZAMA, Ngenzeni Florence
 NZAMA, Nondo Petros
 NZAMA, Ntombifuthi
 NZAMA, Percivan Tebgo
 NZAMA, Pius Vusumuzi
 NZAMA, Prince Norbert Nhlanhla
 NZAMA, Sabelo Elliot
 NZAMA, Shongani
 NZAMA, Sibongile Rose
 NZAMA, Sicelo
 NZAMA, Sifiso
 NZAMA, Simangele
 NZAMA, Simon
 NZAMA, Sithembiso Sonny
 NZAMA, Thuleleni Floreni
 NZAMA, Thuleleni
 NZAMA, Vusumuzi
 NZAMA, Za Jacolin Nakeni
 NZAMA, Zanele Nelly
 NZENDIVA, Toto Samuel
 NZIMAKWE, Constance Thembekile
 NZIMAKWE, Obrey Mcungisi
 NZIMANDE, Angeline
 NZIMANDE, Anton Sibongiseni
 NZIMANDE, Bagcinile Victoria
 NZIMANDE, Banafikile
 NZIMANDE, Beauty Thulile
 NZIMANDE, Bhokani Protus
 NZIMANDE, Bhezu Annanias
 NZIMANDE, Catherine Thembani
 NZIMANDE, Chukwe Florence
 NZIMANDE, Dudu Gladys
 NZIMANDE, Duduzile
 NZIMANDE, Fikile Catherine
 NZIMANDE, Fisani
 NZIMANDE, Gobile
 NZIMANDE, Ivy
 NZIMANDE, Khehla Anton
 NZIMANDE, Lawrence Mlungu
 NZIMANDE, Lindela Raphael
 NZIMANDE, Maray Maggie
 NZIMANDE, Moses
 NZIMANDE, Mshishi Sipiwo Johnson
 NZIMANDE, Mzofile
 NZIMANDE, Mzwakhe Stompie
 NZIMANDE, Ndabenzima Nyangembi
 NZIMANDE, Nokuphiwa
 NZIMANDE, Regina Siziwe
 NZIMANDE, Sibomu
 NZIMANDE, Sifiso
 NZIMANDE, Sipiwe Eric
 NZIMANDE, Tabolo Samuel
 NZIMANDE, Thamsanqa Ernest
 NZIMANDE, Thembinkosi
 NZIMANDE, Thombi Ntombi
 NZIMANDE, Xolani
 NZIMANDE, Xolisile
 NZIMANDE, Zanele
 NZIMANDE, Zonzani Christina
 NZIMANDE, Zwe
 NZIMELA, Hombile Stephen
 NZIMENI, Thandeka Regina
 NZUKE, Vusumuzi Abednego
 NZUNGA, Lerole Paul
 NZUZA, Bhokisiwe

NZUZA, Bhoyi
 NZUZA, Doris Ntombikayise
 NZUZA, Dorothy Ivy
 NZUZA, Florah Zezi
 NZUZA, Girlie
 NZUZA, Godfrey Mthokozeleni
 NZUZA, Hlengiwe
 NZUZA, Isaac
 NZUZA, Jabulani
 NZUZA, Khonzaphi Rejoice
 NZUZA, Khulekani Vusi
 NZUZA, Moses
 NZUZA, Muntukatsingwa
 NZUZA, Ndoda Robert
 NZUZA, Nessie
 NZUZA, Nothando Florah
 NZUZA, Ntombikayise Happiness
 NZUZA, Ntombikayise Patricia
 NZUZA, Ntombili Esther
 NZUZA, Patricia Babhekile
 NZUZA, Siphio
 NZUZA, Themba
 NZUZA, Thlelebone
 NZUZA, Velephi
 NZUZA, Vusi
 NZUZA, Zwelabantu Philemon
 NZUZO, Nomsinya Grace

O' REILLY, Welmar
 O'KILL, Richard Olivier Pierce
 O'LAUGHLIN, Bridget
 OCTOBER, Ronald
 OLDJOHN, Victor
 OLEG, Karamzim
 OLIFEN, Willie Ronny
 OLIFANT, Joel
 OLIFANT, Tshidiso Paulos
 OLIPHANT, Alfred Welile
 OLIPHANT, Benjamin Tomelotso
 OLIPHANT, George David
 OLIPHANT, Ivan
 OLIPHANT, Lean Olefame
 OLIPHANT, Malebo Wilfred
 OLIPHANT, Norman Mpumelelo
 OLIPHANT, Patricia
 OLIPHANT, Rufus
 OLIVIER, John David
 OLIVIER, Mervin Govan
 ONIWE, Vuyo Aubrey
 ONVERWACHT, Abraham Carel
 OOSTHUIZEN, Patrick Edgar Vernon
 OPPERMAN, Karel
 OSHUPENG, Boikie
 OSMERS, John
 OSS, Andrew
 OTTO, Ewette Jauneen

PADI, Isaac Butinyana
 PADI, Itumeleng
 PADI, Refiloe
 PADLEY, Karen
 PAGE, Pedro Amandrio
 PAHLA, Ben
 PAILANE, Phillip Kedibone
 PAKISI, Raphael

PALEO, David
 PALM, Rolande Lucielle
 PAMA, Priscilla
 PANDA, William Wali
 PANDLE, Nomfusi
 PANGOMSO, Sipho Jackson
 PANZISO, Virginia
 PAPA, Reverend Vuyani
 PAPALA, Samuel Chobane
 PAPO, Piet Lehameze
 PAPU, Benjamin
 PARAFINI, Abram
 PARKIES, Nomthandazo Virginia
 PARKIES, Tiego Ben
 PATEL, Alec Armien
 PATHENI, Velephi N
 PATLAKI, Willy
 PATSA, Vuyani
 PAULI, Sicelo
 PAULSEN, Lionel
 PAVEL, Vuluev
 PAYI, Bukelwa Notargane
 PAYI, Clarence Lucky
 PAYI, Nomathamsanqa Ethel Thamie
 PAYI, Nosipho
 PEA, Maphuti Joseph
 PEDRO, Niclo
 PEHLUKWAYO, Mirriam Kalelani
 PEKEW, Lawrence
 PENYA, James Mongadi
 PENYANE, Nkululeko Michael
 PETA, Eric Skumbuzo
 PETA, Tom Bombes
 PETA, Vakele Joseph
 PETA, Wonga Horatius
 PETE, Thuli Abram
 PETENI, Zolisile Harret
 PETER, Elijah
 PETER, Lulamile Basie
 PETER, Mbulelo Lawrence Toyo
 PETER, Sebenzile Richard Butter
 PETERS, Dorothy Ethelrede
 PETERSEN, Daniel
 PETERSEN, Mogamat Shahim
 PETERSEN, Norman
 PETERSON, Glynn John
 PETERSON, Hector Zolile
 PETLELE, Abram Mogapi
 PETLEY, Jared
 PETRUS, Andrew
 PETWANE, Moseki John
 PEU, Chuene Daniel
 PEU, Mameloko Lina
 PEU, Mankopi Heather
 PEU, Raisibe Maphuti
 PEWA, Nhlanhla Adrian
 PHADI, Jacob Japi
 PHADU, Lesetja William
 PHADU, Mosima Rosina
 PHAGO, Chai Elias
 PHAGO, Maputi Johanna
 PHAGO, Phuti Joel
 PHAHLADIRA, Makwena Petrus
 PHAHLADIRA, Mosima
 PHAHLAMOHLAKA, Tseke John

PHAHLE, George Cecil
 PHAHLE, Lindi
 PHAHLE, Livingstone
 PHAJANE, Gilbert Mosehlane
 PHAKA, Kgabo Phineas
 PHAKA, Nare Johannes
 PHAKA, Vuyisile Andrew
 PHAKADE, Linda Ntombizodidi
 PHAKALITHA, Tshediso
 PHAKANI, Beki Jeremia
 PHAKATHI, Bhekani
 PHAKATHI, Charles
 PHAKATHI, Gabisile Doris
 PHAKATHI, Gqiba
 PHAKATHI, Makhosazane Patience
 PHAKATHI, Makhosonke Patrick
 PHAKATHI, Norah Hluleleni
 PHAKATHI, Rebecca
 PHAKATHI, Sipho Gift Thokozani
 PHAKATHI, Thule
 PHAKATHU, Gqiba
 PHAKATI, Philemon
 PHAKATI, Prince Simangalisio
 PHAKISI, David
 PHAKOAGO, Sam Maoto
 PHAKOE, Abel Teboho Leeuk
 PHALA, Mahwidi John
 PHALA, Patrick Phaule
 PHALALI, Nndwamato Edward
 PHALANE, Elijah Michael
 PHALANE, Ronald
 PHALANE, Sehlohlo Daniel
 PHALANE, Thembinkosi Jibilili
 PHALATSE, Irene
 PHALE, Maria
 PHALENG, Madimatja Johannes
 PHALI, Zabulion Mouso
 PHANDA, Mxolisi Christian Stokwe
 PHANGWANA, Vuyisile Rogers
 PHANTSI, Pulane Adelina
 PHANYANE, Hadiyo Adelice
 PHASHA, Thomas
 PHASHE, Steven
 PHASWANA, Khorombi Josius
 PHASWANA, Ndanganeni Petrus
 PHATANG, Wilfred Kotope Chivos
 PHATHI, Tseko Jacob
 PHATLANE, Lucky Joseph
 PHATO, Makulana
 PHAWE, Lephoi Nape
 PHEFO, Solomon Chippa
 PHEHLANE, Patrick
 PHEHLANE, Susan Mosela
 PHEKO, Mokete Lemuel Kidman
 PHEKU, Moteletsa Paulus Nico
 PHELANE, Khuduga Hendrick
 PHELE, Frans
 PHELE, Maphuti
 PHESE, Vusumuzi
 PHETHANE, Lelaka Athanasias
 PHETJAULEMA, Vuyiswa Violet
 PHETLA, Essau Mogolongwane
 PHETO, Shorty Christopher
 PHETO, Sitembiso Masenyane
 PHETOANE, Boitumelo Mantumi

PHETOE, Isaac Kenosi
 PHETOLO, Kgomotso
 PHETOLO, Mmaditsebe
 PHETU, Anele Moses
 PHEWA, Ganishwe
 PHEWA, Linden Happy
 PHEWA, Musa Sbh
 PHEWA, Nomusa Babhekile
 PHEWA, Rosemary Khanyisile
 PHEWA, Sibongile
 PHEWA, Sobho Musa
 PHEWA, Thokozile Mininja
 PHEWA, Wilson Mthembeni
 PHIKE, Lizzy
 PHIKE, Ntemi Abel
 PHIKE, Pakamisa
 PHILI, Faith Thabile
 PHILI, Nhanhleni
 PHILI, Woyi Richard
 PHILLIP, Fikile
 PHILLIP, Lenard
 PHILLIPS, Faizel
 PHILLIPS, Lance Henry
 PHILLIPS, Lindiwe
 PHILLIPS, Ntsokolo Moses
 PHINDA, Samuel
 PHIRI, Atazaxes Adam
 PHIRI, Clifford
 PHIRI, Cresencia
 PHIRI, Enna
 PHIRI, Jackie Sandile
 PHIRI, Mbuyisela Nixon
 PHIRI, Paulus Oupa
 PHIRI, Petrus
 PHIRI, William
 PHIRI, Wilson Mbuselo
 PHOFU, Florence
 PHOKO, Makgabo Julia
 PHOKO, Moferefere
 PHOKOJE, Andrew Motsamai
 PHOLOTHO, Samuel Solomon
 PHONGWAKO, Elijah Mmutla
 PHONOSHE, Gushe
 PHOSHISHI, Daniel Papakwe
 PHOSIWA, Mbulaheni Phineas
 PHOSWA, Bheka
 PHOSWA, Bongani
 PHOSWA, Busisiwe
 PHOSWA, David Ziphathele
 PHOSWA, Jabulani Shadrack
 PHOSWA, Jerome
 PHOSWA, Khilela
 PHOSWA, Mpisi Moses
 PHOSWA, Niniza Rose
 PHOSWA, Paul Sakhumuzi
 PHOSWA, Qhfoza Mzwenkani
 PHOSWA, Simon Mantutu
 PHOSWA, Thulebona
 PHOSWA, Zibonele
 PHOSWA, Ziphathele David
 PHOSWA, Zondile
 PHOTOLO, Boikie
 PHULWANA, Muzila Livingstone
 PHUMELO, Sipho Gift
 PHUMO, Theodorha

PHUNGOLA, Zakoshiwo
 PHUNGULA, Bakiphile
 PHUNGULA, Bhokuzumi Mdinti
 PHUNGULA, Bongani Raphael
 PHUNGULA, Cromwell Sizwe
 PHUNGULA, Dumisani Samuel
 PHUNGULA, Flora
 PHUNGULA, Gasta
 PHUNGULA, Lawrence Felokwakhe
 PHUNGULA, Mandlenkosi Eugene
 PHUNGULA, Manti Dorah
 PHUNGULA, Manuthu Gabiseni
 PHUNGULA, Mary-Jane Janet
 PHUNGULA, Mbongeni
 PHUNGULA, Muziwandile
 PHUNGULA, Nkosinophile Emmanuel
 PHUNGULA, Pius
 PHUNGULA, Sebenzile Elsie
 PHUNGULA, Sindiswa Mavis
 PHUNGULA, Thami
 PHUNGULA, Thembinkosi Timothy
 PHUNGULA, William
 PHUNGULA, Zakhe Rose
 PHUNGULA, Zamokhule Sibongiseni
 PHUNGULWA, Mzamo Philget
 PHUNGWAI, David Mutheki
 PHUPHANI, Mthuthuzeli Jameson
 PIENAAR, Clifford Lawrence
 PIENAAR, Kathleen
 PIET, Christopher
 PIETER, Yoliswa
 PIETERSE, Irvin Xavier Hond
 PIETERSE, Karel
 PIETERSEN, James
 PIKA, April Nose
 PIKANI, Alfred
 PIKASHE, Mphumzi Shadrack
 PIKOLI, Zamzolo Lordwyck
 PILANE, Kgositjha Johannes
 PILAPHI, Katsekile
 PILISO, Sibulelo Gladstone
 PILUSA, Stephens Punko
 PINDISO, Zimambani
 PININI-RANULE, Thathisizwe Collin
 PISTOL, Ncinani Edward
 PISTOLI, Meledini
 PITANA, Buyile Patrick
 PITANA, Ntombekhaya Cinthia Pixie
 PITIKOE, Mark-Anthony Mosala
 PITSI, Richard
 PITSO, Arthur Setaba
 PITSO, Belo
 PITSO, Daniel
 PITSO, Manana
 PITSO, Mengu Elizabeth
 PITSO, Rosta Malehloa
 PITSO, Simon Tukkie
 PITSO, Tebello
 PITSO, Victor Goalatlwhe
 PIYOSE, Hamilton
 PLAATJIE, Andile Alfred
 PLAATJIE, Ezekiel Lebuso
 PLAATJIE, Luthando Patrick
 PLAATJIE, Napo Boy
 PLAATJIE, Nozipho Ruth

PLAATJIE, Rammusi Patrick
 PLAATJIE, Sydney Themba
 PLAATJIE, Thomas Mokoena
 PLAATJIES, Albert Jacques
 PLAATJIES, Andries Pierce
 PLAATJIES, Pieter
 PLAATJIES, Thembekile Horatius
 PODILE, Leshata Wilson
 POKOLO, Nomabhulu
 POLE, Malefu Meriam
 PONNEN, Gangen George
 PONNEN, Murugas
 PONNEN, Soogawathee
 PONNEN, Tholasi
 POSWA, Bizokwakhe
 POSWA, Valumoya Amos
 POSWA, Vincent Dali
 POSWA, Vuyane
 POTYE, Ndebayiphele Tatamawele
 POTYO, Mpitizeli Ntulele
 POYO, Siculo Commando
 PRAM, Bongiwe Cynthia
 PRAM, Fezekile
 PRINGANE, Gladys
 PRINGANE, Mthozamo Theophilus
 PRINS, Andre Peter
 PRINSLOO, Anna Christina Frederika
 PRINSLOO, Anna Maria
 PRINSLOO, Ansie
 PRINSLOO, Sarah
 PRISMON, Nkosi Bekizizwe
 PUKWANA, Philis Ntombekhaya
 PULE, Anna Mary Rebuwe
 PULE, Daniel Monageng
 PULE, Dimakatso Margaret
 PULE, Ezekiel
 PULE, Monnye Joyce
 PULE, Motlhaga Ishmael
 PULE, Nyanako Andronic
 PULE, Pontso Anna
 PULE, Simon
 PUNGANTSHE, Magegeni
 PUNGULWA, Mncedisi Eddie
 PURAVHATHY, Milandu Samuel
 PUTINI, Yergan

QABAKA, Mandlonke Sobantu
 QALANYOBE, Nomnyaka
 QALI, Lennox Sebenzile
 QAMBATA, Vaughn Thamsanqa
 QANGWE, Zandile
 QANKASI, Phelomon Sipho
 QANYA, Steven
 QATA, Phumasivale Morrison
 QATHANA, Bakhulule Siphithiphithi
 QATHANA, Henry Thembekile
 QAWULA, Palele Windvoel
 QAYI, Nonight Annie
 QAYI, Siculo
 QAYI, Zongezile
 QAYISO, Pierce
 QAZA, Zolile
 QEBEYI, Mxolisi Bethwell
 QEJA, Wilson Dalihanga
 QHAMAKOANE, Tabela Peter

QHANA, Nomalungisa Miranda
 QHANQISO, Bylla Miemie
 QHAYI, Godfrey Zoyisile
 QHELIISO, Sazise Cyprian
 QHENA, Lipuo Primrose
 QHINEBE, Philip Haqumia
 QHINEBE, Phillip Layunina
 QHIWEBO, Emmah Evelinah
 QHOBOSHEANE, Teboho Augustine
 QHOKIYANA, Samane
 QHUTHU, Nomatile
 QIHELE, Mbuzeli Joseph
 QINA, Phindile Michael
 QINISILE, Sipho Patrick
 QOBEKA, Nelson Makhenkeleza
 QOBONGOSHE, Nkululeko Eric
 QOBOTWANA, Gengelele
 QODASHE, Zukile Sidion
 QONGWANA, Selina
 QONI, Mandla
 QOTYWA, Nomazizi Elsie
 QOZA, Siyabulela
 QOZA, Siziwe Joyce
 QUBEKA, Elliot Zithembile
 QUIN, Phoenix
 QULO, Nontokoza
 QULU, Glen Lungile
 QUMA, Rex Moneli
 QUMZA, Patric
 QUNGQU, Nombulelo Thelma
 QUNGQUTHO, Telford
 QUNTU, Sandile Eric
 QUTSU, Khululekile
 QWABA, Msetyenzelwa
 QWABAZA, Gloria Noxolo
 QWABE, Annastacia
 QWABE, Baban Aaron
 QWABE, Bhokokwakhe Mluka
 QWABE, Leonard Dumisani
 QWABE, Mzonjani Michael
 QWABE, Nimrod
 QWABE, Zondeni
 QWALELA, Boniswa Rosemary
 QWATEKANA, Ndebaziphele Myekwa
 QWENYA, Didekile Richard
 QWESHA, Sithonga Horatius

RAADT, Edward
 RABANNYE, Mpe
 RABEDE, Paulus
 RABILLAL, Krishna
 RABOROKO, Mapokane Ester
 RABOTAPI, Granny
 RABOTAPI, Lineo Patricia
 RABOTAPI, Thabeng Samuel
 RABOTAPI, Thokoane John
 RABULA, Michael
 RADAMBA, Mubvathi Samuel
 RADEBE THOLO, Winnie
 RADEBE, Alfred Molefi
 RADEBE, Alison
 RADEBE, Alpha Bonga
 RADEBE, Anthony Mdeni
 RADEBE, Bathobile Princess
 RADEBE, Bongani Solomon

RADEBE, Buti William
 RADEBE, Cithekile Eunice
 RADEBE, Elias Khulu
 RADEBE, Ephraim Mzwandile
 RADEBE, Graham Sibusiso Boniface
 RADEBE, Gretta
 RADEBE, Ida
 RADEBE, Innocentia
 RADEBE, Isaac Nkululeko
 RADEBE, Jabulani
 RADEBE, Jabulani Elvis
 RADEBE, Jabulani Primon
 RADEBE, James
 RADEBE, Jerry
 RADEBE, Josephine Nana
 RADEBE, Khesaya
 RADEBE, Lawrence
 RADEBE, Linda Aaron
 RADEBE, Mandlenkosi Steven
 RADEBE, Manelo
 RADEBE, Michael Mvula Jekeje
 RADEBE, Michael Mzwandile
 RADEBE, Mongezi
 RADEBE, Mzwandile
 RADEBE, Namtungwa Jane
 RADEBE, Nelisiwe
 RADEBE, Nhlanhla Ernest
 RADEBE, Nkonzo Vitalice
 RADEBE, Nkosinathi
 RADEBE, Nomthandazo Maureen
 RADEBE, Nomusa Constance
 RADEBE, Nontsokolo Lilly
 RADEBE, Obusitsoe Isaac
 RADEBE, Patrick Pakiso
 RADEBE, Philemon Fiki
 RADEBE, Sibongiseni
 RADEBE, Sigobongo
 RADEBE, Sophy
 RADEBE, Stefaan
 RADEBE, Sydwell Phehello
 RADEBE, Tamsanqa Wordsworth
 RADEBE, Thembani Athanasia
 RADEBE, Thulani Simon
 RADEBE, Victor Thulani
 RADEBE, Zwelinjani Herold
 RADILE, Sebako Johannes
 RADINGOANE, Joseph Sebako
 RADITLHARE, Dennis Tefo
 RADITSELA, Andries
 RADU, Bonisile Edward
 RADZILANI, Ndiambane William
 RADZILANI, Vele
 RAFUBE, Mosito Daniel
 RAGAVEN, Chengiah
 RAGOO, Ramola Devi Meena
 RAGOPHALA, Motloga Andries
 RAIKANA, George
 RAISA, Nontembiso Lucy
 RAJOO, Sonny Jaggernath
 RAKATE, Israel Kabelo
 RAKHETSI, John Khuwanyana
 RAKOMANE, Daniel Mosete
 RAKOSA, Solomon Kgopi
 RAKUDA, David
 RAKWENA, Masilo Ephraim

RALANE, Nomphele Getrude
 RALIVHESA, Muthuphei Jeremia
 RAMABULANA, Mehloti Emily
 RAMADI, Mavhungu
 RAMAGALELA, Frans Ratshilumela
 RAMAHUTA, Henry Billyboy
 RAMAINE, Raphael Refiloe
 RAMAITE, Moloantwa Stranger
 RAMAJWE, Mamatshidiso Rebecca
 RAMAKABA-LESIEA, Mildred Mhe
 RAMAKAU, Job Molefi
 RAMAKAU, Matsoso Paulus
 RAMAKGOLO, Ramasela Maria
 RAMALEPE, France Ngoako
 RAMALEPE, Ngoako Chris
 RAMALEPE, Reuben Matome
 RAMAN, Boyce
 RAMAOKA, Raisibe Meriam
 RAMARA, Kolobe Maria
 RAMARA, Mosima Francina
 RAMARA, Ramaesela Agent
 RAMASEGA, Patrick Alpheus
 RAMASHALA, Lethetsa Sonny
 RAMASHAMOLA, Machabane
 RAMASIMONG, George Ramodikne
 RAMASOBANE, Jim
 RAMATELETSE, Thuso Stephen
 RAMATHE, Wendy Sizeka
 RAMATHIBELA, David Basie
 RAMATLO, Jenifer
 RAMATLOTLO, Benjamin
 RAMAUBE, Amos
 RAMAUBE, Johannes
 RAMAUBE, Solly
 RAMESEGA, Kenneth Kgori
 RAMESEGA, Kgosithebe James
 RAMETSI, Mohale Titus
 RAMGOBIN, Kush
 RAMMULE, Tshosane Frans
 RAMMUTLA, Mac
 RAMMUTLA, Makwana
 RAMMUTLA, Rammadimetja Sanah
 RAMMUTLA, Solomon Maphuti
 RAMMUTLA, Tumishi Johannes
 RAMNCWA, Ngqunga Jimcrow
 RAMNCWANA, Edith Myrtle
 RAMNCWANA, Elias Masebenza
 RAMNCWANA, Luzuko
 RAMNCWANA, Velile Willie
 RAMNCWANA, Zanamawonga
 RAMOGOGANE, George Gaborone
 RAMOGOLA, Jane Foggs
 RAMOGOLA, Paul
 RAMOGOLA, Solomon
 RAMOGOLA, Timothy
 RAMOHLALE, Johannes Piet
 RAMOKGADI, Beauty
 RAMOKGOLA, Matome Nelson
 RAMOKGOPA, Skhwiri Schoeman
 RAMOKGOTHOANE, Lejone John
 RAMOKHABI, Belina
 RAMOKHOASA, Molefi Johannes
 RAMOKHOASE, Lebisa Solomon
 RAMOKHOASE, Ntele David
 RAMOKHOASE, Oupa Samuel

RAMOKHOASE, Setime William
 RAMOKOBYE, Sello
 RAMOKOBYE, Sello
 RAMOKOENA, Khehla Jacob
 RAMOKONOI, Jacob Mzimhulu
 RAMOKONOI, Ndunana
 RAMOKULA, Sheki
 RAMOKWATEDI, James Butiki
 RAMOLLA, Kleinbooi
 RAMOLLO, Setlabocha Paulus
 RAMOLOBENG, Kwenja Jaard
 RAMOLORENG, Makwena Ramokone
 RAMOLOSO, Majosi John
 RAMONGANE, Monyadiwa Suzan
 RAMONTSA, Tsimini Jacob
 RAMORWAGADI, Edward Gaobusiwe
 RAMOSEPELE, Samuel Molemane
 RAMOTHATA, Goodstuff
 RAMOTHIBA, Masai Machuene
 RAMOTHIBE, Boikie Jacob
 RAMOTHIBE, Dumazile Patricia
 RAMOTHIBE, Mapule Sylvia
 RAMOTO, Matswene Jacob
 RAMOTSHOOTSWANA, Bob
 RAMOTSOMA, Pascal Phindi
 RAMPA, Betta Mapaseka
 RAMPELE, Thomas
 RAMPHORE, Johannes Morapedi
 RAMPONE, Mahase Pieter
 RAMTSIENG, Ishmael Moliffi
 RANGAZA, Ntsokolo Paul
 RANGONGO, Moraka Johannes
 RANGULA, Toto Daniel
 RANGULE, Siphiwo Simon
 RANI, Isaac Ndazenzela
 RANKGABO, German
 RANTAO, Elvis Mmolo
 RANTAO, Lydia Mmasethunya
 RANTAO, Mogatlakgomo
 RANTAO, Mpho
 RANTAO, Ntsetsa
 RANTAO, Poloko
 RANTEE, Lefu George
 RANTIE, Mahomola Solomon
 RANTOBETSE, Hendry Pico
 RANUGA, Msutukazi Nancy
 RANYAOA, Kunyamane Arios
 RAPETSOA, Mabitteng William
 RAPHADU, Christina
 RAPHELA, Fredda Maria
 RAPHIPHE, Abram
 RAPOO, Nithuru Zipporah
 RAPOO, Samson Ramorwa
 RAPUDI, Pieter
 RAPULENG, Ratsie Joseph
 RAPULENG, Zacharia
 RAS, Jacob Johannes
 RASEALA, Lucas Thupetsi
 RASEGO, Ezekiel Lefu
 RASELETE, Michael
 RASENTSOERE, William Thabeng
 RASETHABA, Phokela Yasser
 RASMAN, Mcarthur Mphitizeli
 RASMANTE, Mimi Themba Sonamzi
 RASMENI, Lena

RASMENI, Sandile Hurwitz
 RASMENI, Solomon Mandlenkosi
 RASONA, Nkosini Jonathan
 RASS, Leonard
 RATEFANE, Remaketse Jim
 RATHABA, Fusi
 RATHEBE, Betty Johanna
 RATHEBE, Isaac Moeletsi
 RATHETHE, Peter
 RATHOKOLO, Frans
 RATHOKOLO, Kwama Solomon
 RATLADI, Sithembiso James
 RATLOU, Aubrey Mothusi
 RATLOU, Simon Sello
 RATSOMA, Ralekoe Oriah
 RAVEL, James
 RAVELE, Jonah Mbengeni
 RAWANA, Mongameli Austin
 RAWULA, Zukile
 RAYI, Thandile
 REBE, Erick Mxolisi
 RENGASAMI, Annamalai
 RENGASAMI, Leelavathie
 RENYA, Mantyi
 RHAYI, Mzukisi Wilberforce Azisa
 RHERETYANE, Abram
 RHOMO, Gudleni
 RHULA, Ben
 RIBEIRO, Fabian Defu
 RIBEIRO, Florence
 RICHARDS, Mymoena
 RIET, Monapula Ishmael
 ROBERTS, Ben
 ROBERTS, Molatlhegi Samuel
 ROGERS, Richard
 ROJI, Fusante Stanley
 ROLEBESE, Mpuse
 RONOTI, Nogcinumzi
 ROODT, Martin
 ROOI, Guybon Jomo
 ROOS, Cornelia Gertruida
 ROOS, Johannes Jacobus
 ROOS, Marietjie Cornelia
 ROSE, William
 ROTWANA, Tembeka Amanda
 ROXISO, Deliswa Sweetness
 ROXO, Makalima Napoleon Varkie
 RUBUSHE, Betty Nokuthemba
 RUBUSHE, Vusumzi
 RUBUSHE, Wele
 RUITER, Ntsonyane Boy
 RUITERS, Pieter
 RUITERS, Sandra Nomvuyo
 RULA, Benjamin Desmond
 RUSTOFF, Hendriek Tully
 RWANQANA, Khoyi Mountain
 RWARWA, Mpumelelo Vincent
 RWAYI, Vulindlela
 RWEQANA, Andile Andrew
 RWEXU, Mava Xolela
 RYAN, William Henry
 RYKLIEF, Ghalieb
 RYKLIEF, Ismael
 RYKLIEF, Ismael
 RYKLIEF, Mogamat Shafwaan

RYKLIEF, Zainab
 SAAIRES, Rojen
 SABANI, Dumezweni Patrick
 SABATANA, Mncedisi Welcome
 SABELA, Debra Baphi
 SABELA, Lucky
 SABELA, Skhumbuzo
 SABELA, Thoko Regina
 SABELA, Thokozile Duduzile
 SABELO, Jabulani
 SABELO, Johannes
 SABELO, Sibongile Dorah
 SABELO, Thuleleni Irene
 SABELO, Winnington
 SABI, Eddie Simphiwe
 SABOSHEGO, Potlako Mokgwadi
 SACCO, Robert
 SADIKI, Mavhungu Samuel
 SADIKI, Rossert
 SAFERS, Deon Walter
 SAHAWULI, Pumelele
 SAJINI, Nomthandazo Sylvia
 SAKHA, Mazola
 SAKIA, Jeffrey Tumisang
 SAKMAN, Kedanile
 SAKU, Xolile Eric
 SALI, George Mncedisi
 SALI, John Delekile
 SALIWA, Mveleli Thanduxolo
 SALIWA, Mzolisi Wellington
 SALMANI, Mzoxolo Leonard
 SALOOJEE, Suliman
 SALUKAZANA, Benjamin
 SALUKAZANA, Jonguvuyo Thabane
 SALUKAZANA, Nomathemba
 SALUMANI, Thamsanqa
 SAM, Benjamin
 SAM, David Macala
 SAM, Dumisani Edwin
 SAM, Mlindeli Bethwell
 SAM, Mthetho Alpheus
 SAM, Simphiwo Merven
 SAMBO, Sasco Sozabile
 SAMBO, Sizombi Mirriam
 SAMBO, Trea Gulaphi
 SAME, Dick
 SAMUEL, Lee
 SANGO, Makhosandile David
 SANGONI, Zolile
 SANGWENI, Doctor
 SANGWENI, Enock Scoreman
 SANGWENI, Eveline
 SANGWENI, Gladys Duster
 SANGWENI, Khosi Irine
 SANGWENI, Killeyon Ntuluyise
 SANGWENI, Mandla Simon
 SANGWENI, Mfanazana George
 SANGWENI, Mhlengeni
 SANGWENI, Moffet Lucky
 SANGWENI, Nonjabulo
 SANGWENI, Nthuluyise Kilion
 SANGWENI, Phakamani Christopher
 SANGWENI, Sibongiseni
 SANGWENI, Zandile Christophollar

SANOGU, Sipiwé
 SANTOS, Bongani
 SAPO, Livingstone Siphelo
 SARAGE, Muntu Elizabeth
 SATEGE, Abel Lathane
 SATHEKGE, Elliot
 SATHEKGE, Emma Mathodi
 SATHEKGE, Naredi Louis
 SAUL, Thando Amos
 SAVAGE, Beth
 SAWONI, Mhanjiswa
 SCHAKAZA, Hleziphi Dorah
 SCHEEPERS, Glenda
 SCHERMBRUCKER, Gillian
 SCHOEMAN, Peter Ivan
 SCHOEMAN, Pieter
 SEABO, Kenneth Tebogo
 SEAKAMELA, Betty Maria
 SEAKAMELA, Podu Philemon
 SEAKAMELA, Ramokoni Maria
 SEAKGOA, Madibo Shadrack
 SEAKGWA, Tsotetsi Hendrik
 SEALA, Ramokoni Matlou
 SEANE, Mark
 SEATTLE, Stocky
 SEATLHOLO, Jacob Gaonakala
 SEATLHOLO, Setibane Sisky Annah
 SEBAE, John Moeketsi
 SEBAKA, Justice Kleinkie
 SEBAKA, Stephen
 SEBAKE, Gosalamang Vironica
 SEBATANE, Johanes Judia
 SEBATHE, Boitumelo Pamela
 SEBATJANE, Matshwene
 SEBE, Charles
 SEBEL, Moshobotlale Lucas
 SEBEKEDI, Mosa Anthony
 SEBETHE, Sylvester
 SEBIHO, Gordon Mooketsi
 SEBOA, Nicolas Rabotadi
 SEBOHODI
 SEBOKA, Solomon Trueman
 SEBOLA, Billy Butiki
 SEBOLAI, Anna
 SEBOLAI, Mathetha Paul
 SEBOLAI, Percival
 SEBONI, Mosima Phuti
 SEBOPA, Thero Lina Sebopa
 SEBOTSA, Bernard Tefo
 SEBUSI, Maditaba Maggie
 SEDIBE, Sareta Sarah
 SEDINYANE, Nthabiseng
 SEDUMEDI, Olga
 SEDUMEDI-ZINGENI, Boshalala Martha
 SEDUTLA, Lambert Mangopo
 SEEMA, Charlie Charles Steven
 SEEMA, Edward
 SEEMA, Hilda Kwinaite
 SEEMA, Machuene Ntina
 SEEMA, Malose Kenneth
 SEEMA, Manare Ramasela
 SEEMA, Maphuti
 SEEMA, Maripa Obed
 SEEMA, Matlou Evens
 SEEMA, Rosina

SEEMA, Tlou Obed	SEKHENJANA, Cerial Vusimuzi	SEMPE, Thabang David
SEEMANE, Randolph	SEKHOPA, Mathabiso Marie	SENABE, Oupa Freddy
SEEMOLA, Seemola	SEKHUKHUNE, Kgolane	SENAMELA, Lazarus Matsebe
SEFAKO, Andrew	SEKHUKHUNE, Khetsepe Philemon	SENATLA, Samson
SEFAKO, Vincent	SEKHUKHUNE, Mogaramedi Godfrey	SENATLE, Sam Jenny
SEFALA, Dileka Reuben	SEKHUKHUNE, Mogase Piet	SENEKAL, Joseph Matthew
SEFALI, Bassie	SEKHUKHUNE, Nwatsomane Jim	SENOKOANE, Gadio Elias
SEFATA, David	SEKHUKHUNE, Sello Bennet	SENOKOANE, Mpho Tsietsi Jacob
SEFATSA, Phehello Sam	SEKHUKHUNI, Jan Mashume	SENOTSI, Daniel
SEFATSA, Reginald Jaja	SEKHULA, Seemole Ntsatsa	SENYANE, Lydia
SEFOLO, Harold Sello	SEKHUTHE, Rosemary	SEOKOLO, Serai Israel
SEFOLO, Nelson Sello	SEKHWANA, Sarah	SEOKOLO, Thabang
SEFULARO, Ntebang Nelly	SEKOKOTOANA, Eisa	SEOKOLO, Thatayaone
SEFULARO, Surprise	SEKONYANA, Cecilia Mmatsepo	SEOPA, Elizabeth Chuene
SEFULI, Mpho Stella	SEKONYANA, Uria	SEOPA, Mamoloko Jacob
SEFUME, Dorothy Dorcas	SEKONYANE, Gladys Keitumetse	SEOPA, Maphuti Abner
Mankadimeng	SEKU, Nomdakana Janet	SEOPA, Ramakone Machuene
SEFUME, Oupa Daniel	SEKWANE, Mathotho Elizabeth	SEOPELE, Daniel Sebile
SEGAGE, Baby	SELA, Nelson Molefe	SEOTHAENG, Kagiso Joseph
SEGAGE, Lindiwe	SELALA, Dimakatso Petrus	SEOTHAENG, Kealeboga Lizza
SEGALO, Wesi Eleazer	SELALA, Thomas	SEPENG, Thomas Cecil Daniel
SEGAMI, Ivan	SELANE, Andile	SEPHAPO, Michael Majara
SEGANO, Kgagamatso David	SELANI, Mbuyiselo Ernest	SEPHESY, Malose Samuel
SEGOBELA, Sammy Mpho	SELANI, Mzwandile	SEPIP, Amos Sampo
SEGOBODI, Lekolobo Norah	SELANI, Sandile	SEPOTOKELE, Motuki Richard
SEGOLA, Elisa Dikeledi	SELANI, Thomas Dumalisile	SERACHE, Nathaniel Mooketsa
SEGOLE, Ezekiel Mamae	SELATOLE, Mageru Daniel	SEREMANE, Timothy Tebogo
SEGOLE, Kelo Ignatious	SELEBALO, Johannes Sontaha	SERETLO, Tlou Julia
SEGOLE, Samuel	SELEBE, Isaac Butiki	SERIPE, Amanda Flaga
SEGOLODI, Anthony	SELEKE, Martha	SEROBE, Lawrence Molati
SEGOTLONG, George	SELEKE, Thatayaone	SEROKOLO, Motshidisi Kate
SEGOTLONG, Regina	SELEKE, Vincent	SERRANO, Maryanne De Olivetra Neto
SEGRYS, Maria Regina	SELELO, Marcus Tlhako	SERUWE, Simon Bushy
SEGUTYA, Virginia Nanthandazo	SELEPE, Douglas	SESELE, Melodi
SEGWENYANE, John Tladi	SELEPE, Julian	SESHAI, Christopher Moeketse
SEHERI, Mophethe Joshua	SELEPE, Kagiso Wilson	SESINYI, Dolly Marry
SEHLABO, Thandiwe Innocentia	SELEPE, Lydia	SETABELA, Samuel Molefi
SEHLAKO, Keneiwe Sylvia	SELEPE, Metseki Ishmael	SETEBE, Timu Lawrence
SEHLANE, Lerato Hopewell	SELEPE, Moleko Jacob	SETENE, Mpho Rosalina
SEHLWANE, Rashibjana Samuel	SELEPE, N. Cecilia	SETENTE, Francis
SEHULARO, Ntebang Nelly	SELEPE, Orah Lydia	SETHEBE, Lewis Ndolo
SEHULARO, Surprise	SELEPE, Petrus	SETHLODI, Majeng
SEHUNELO, Simanyana Moses	SELEPE, Tello Ezekiel	SETHOGA, Mokgaetji Florah
SEIPEI, Moeketsi James	SELEPE, Vusi	SETHOKGA, Mirriam
SEIPEI, Stompie	SELOLO, Kwena Florina	SETHOKGA, Thalifi Philemon
SEITSANG, Thomas Kealebetse	SELOLO, Ledile Christina	SETHOLE, Amos Monafa
SEITSHIRO, Ishmael Mosala	SELOLO, Makwena	SETHWALE, Tsenolo
SEITSHIRO, Seuntjie Sonnyboy	SELOLO, Mampedi Welhemina	SETI, Melekile Allan
SEJAKE, Godfrey	SELOLO, Mashapa Simon	SETJANE, Mpho David
SEJAMOHOLO, James Moshe	SELOLO, Matlou Alpheus	SETLALE, Asaph
SEJAMOHOLO, Modise Simon	SELOLO, Mmakoenla Tshedisa	SETLE, Martin
SEJOSENGOE, Annie	SELOLO, Mongau Phidas	SETLE, Paul Jabulane
SEJWE, Kgomoiso Richard	SELOLO, Ramakone Lisbeth	SETJANE, Mpho David
SEKALEDI, Nuku	SELOLO, Sempho Moses	SETLALE, Asaph
SEKAMOENG, Gloria Kebareleng	SELOLO, Thaketji Theophilus	SETLE, Paul Jabulane
SEKATE, Sello Joseph	SELOLO, Tshikare Ezekiel	SETLALE, Asaph
SEKATI, Elizabeth Kedibone	SELOLO, Tshwene David	SETLE, Paul Jabulane
SEKATI, Gabriel Mphahlele	SELOMO, Michael	SETLALE, Asaph
SEKATI, Mirriam	SELORO, Levy Molefe	SETLALE, Asaph
SEKETE, Toroki George	SEMASE, Joseph	SETLALE, Asaph
SEKETE, Vincent	SEME, Siyabonga	SETLALE, Asaph
SEKGABI, Sejale Emily	SEME, Thandazile Agnes	SETLALE, Asaph
SEKGABI, Tshiamo Daniel	SEMEKAZI, Ntsikelelo	SETLALE, Asaph
SEKGALAKANA, Makwena Salome	SEMENO, Joseph Modigaotsile	SETLALE, Asaph
SEKHAULELO, Matome Cornelius	SEMETHE, Francis Mdlafetsane	SETLALE, Asaph

SHABALALA, Goodness
 SHABALALA, Jabulani Innocentia
 SHABALALA, Jabulile Victoria
 SHABALALA, Jeffrey Siphos
 SHABALALA, Joey
 SHABALALA, Makhosonke Solomon
 SHABALALA, Maswazini Petros
 SHABALALA, Mbuso Edmund
 SHABALALA, Michael Phaseka
 SHABALALA, Mitchell Nomgalajelwa
 SHABALALA, Nicholas Thulani
 SHABALALA, Nomhlangano Mavis
 SHABALALA, Ntombifikile Happy
 SHABALALA, Pearl
 SHABALALA, Phephezela Johannes
 SHABALALA, S'Bongile
 SHABALALA, Sebastian Piyoyo
 SHABALALA, Sibongiseni France
 SHABALALA, Sindisiwe Rejoice
 SHABALALA, Smanga Simon
 SHABALALA, Sonto Emily
 SHABALALA, Thesi
 SHABALALA, Thobile Venetia
 SHABALALA, Thokozani
 SHABALALA, Timothy S.
 SHABALALA, Veli Samson
 SHABALALA, Wendelene Mvoshos
 SHABALALA, Xolani Eddie
 SHABALALA, Yvonne
 SHABALALA, Zanele Florina
 SHABANE, Busisiwe Jalta
 SHABANE, Gano
 SHABANE, Maria
 SHABANE, Nonkanyiso Clemencia
 SHABANE, Ruben Nkosikhona
 SHABANE, Te Amon
 SHABANGU, Beauty Mbambo
 SHABANGU, Edward
 SHABANGU, Eunice
 SHABANGU, Gabriel
 SHABANGU, George
 SHABANGU, Jack
 SHABANGU, Johannes Mandla
 SHABANGU, Khulumile Portia
 SHABANGU, Lilimane Simon
 SHABANGU, Mamphatole Lazarus
 SHABANGU, Mandla Larribee
 SHABANGU, Mkhulu Exodus
 SHABANGU, Neville
 SHABANGU, Percy
 SHABANGU, Portia
 SHABANGU, Sibongile Nelisiwe
 SHABANGU, Simanga Elias
 SHABANGU, Vincent Muziwenhlanhla
 SHABANGU, Vusumuzi Emmanuel
 SHADA, Mohau Nicholas
 SHAI, Kleinboy Oupa
 SHALANGU, Phindwe
 SHALE, Geoffry Godfrey
 SHALE, Moeketsi Fahian
 SHAMASE, Shokwakhe
 SHAMDU, Betty
 SHANDU, Bethuel
 SHANDU, Celani
 SHANDU, Hlaselaphi Agnes

SHANDU, Jabulani Emmanuel
 SHANDU, Johannes
 SHANDU, Khumbulani
 SHANDU, Linda Wilfred
 SHANDU, Mafiki Zandele
 SHANDU, Nokwazi Josephine
 SHANDU, Nothulile
 SHANDU, Nozipho
 SHANDU, Phumaphi Emelea
 SHANDU, Primrose Ntombifuthi
 SHANDU, Sibongile Gladness
 SHANDU, Sitifani Stephen
 SHANDU, Sizakele
 SHANDU, Thembeni Agnes
 SHANDU, Tholile
 SHANDU, Thulani Joseph
 SHANDU, Walter Mansi
 SHANDU, Zibuyile
 SHANGASE, Alson Dingizizwe
 SHANGASE, Bhkekukwazi
 SHANGASE, Busisiwe Gadeni
 SHANGASE, Daphney Zehlile
 SHANGASE, Dudu
 SHANGASE, Fikile
 SHANGASE, Garazile Gertrude
 SHANGASE, Hansford Thabo
 SHANGASE, Hawukile
 SHANGASE, Jabulane
 SHANGASE, Khalangani
 SHANGASE, Khethiwe
 SHANGASE, Margaret
 SHANGASE, Mbhekeni Mbhulelwa
 SHANGASE, Mkhhipheni Ben
 SHANGASE, Moses
 SHANGASE, Mthandeni Vincent
 SHANGASE, Muzi
 SHANGASE, Ndabayomlungu
 SHANGASE, Ngazini Buzani
 SHANGASE, Nkonyeni
 SHANGASE, Nkosikhona
 SHANGASE, Nomvula Goodness
 SHANGASE, Ntombenjani Bonangani
 SHANGASE, Philisiwe Mpompo
 SHANGASE, Phindile Josephina
 SHANGASE, Phumelaphi Eunice
 SHANGASE, Phumelaphi Sylvia
 SHANGASE, Sibusiso
 SHANGASE, Zamokuhle Sbhongiseni
 SHANGASE, Zetha
 SHANGE, Sarah-Jane
 SHANGE, Antony
 SHANGE, Banelile Sbhongile
 SHANGE, Basitile
 SHANGE, Bhekizwe
 SHANGE, Bongani Jeffrey
 SHANGE, Bongani Petros
 SHANGE, Buyisile Precious
 SHANGE, Constance Badelile
 SHANGE, Dinci
 SHANGE, Eugene Nkosikhona
 SHANGE, Fihliwe Emmah
 SHANGE, Florence Tonnet
 SHANGE, Isaac Bhekisono
 SHANGE, Langelakhe
 SHANGE, Lindiwe Evelin

SHANGE, Mabhula Richard
 SHANGE, Mazo
 SHANGE, Mkhkekethiwe
 SHANGE, Msolwa
 SHANGE, Muntu Isaac
 SHANGE, Musa Raymond
 SHANGE, Mzwandile Wonderboy
 SHANGE, Nelie Teressa
 SHANGE, Nelisiwe Maggie
 SHANGE, Nokhebevu Samson
 SHANGE, Ntombikayise Elizabeth
 SHANGE, Phumzile Elizabeth
 SHANGE, Prudence Nompumelelo
 SHANGE, Robert Vusumuzi
 SHANGE, Roselina Kulhatile
 SHANGE, Sidudla Benzangani
 SHANGE, Sizani
 SHANGE, Thulani Ntu
 SHANGE, Vivian Thulasizwe
 SHANGE, Zanele
 SHAPO, David Molefe
 SHAZA, Hlokomani Alfred
 SHAZA, Madimane
 SHAZA, Siphos
 SHAZI, Nompumelelo Eunice
 SHAZI, Thoko
 SHAZI, Wilson
 SHEARER, Anna Petronella
 SHEBI, Bonginkosi Berry
 SHELEMBE, Albert Sakhephi
 SHELEMBE, Doris Dumazile
 SHELEMBE, Majalimane
 SHELEMBE, Nelisiwe Irene
 SHELEMBE, Nhlanhla
 SHELEMBE, Phikisizoni Alphina
 SHELEMBE, Rosaline
 SHELEMBE, Sebenzile Dora
 SHELEMBE, Sibekapi Bangizwe Albert
 SHELEMBE, Sophillinah
 SHELEMBE, Thalithi
 SHELEMBE, Vusumuzi Ezekia
 SHEMANE, Joseph
 SHEMANE, Joseph
 SHEMANE, Joseph
 SHEMBE, Londa Nsika
 SHEMBE, Sikhumbuzo Elphas
 SHEYI, Nomfundiso Priscilla
 SHEZI, Anthon Mahawu
 SHEZI, Anthon Mahawu
 SHEZI, Bheki Bonokwakhe
 SHEZI, Bhekuyise Ambrose
 SHEZI, Bongekile Albertina
 SHEZI, Bongiwe
 SHEZI, Delisile
 SHEZI, Dodo Elphas
 SHEZI, Felumuzi Obed
 SHEZI, Gilbert Vusumuzi
 SHEZI, Goodness Bongekile
 SHEZI, Hawukile Ennie
 SHEZI, Isau
 SHEZI, Lolo Cornelius
 SHEZI, Lucky Jerome
 SHEZI, Makhosazane Rosa
 SHEZI, Maria
 SHEZI, Mbongeni Eric

SHEZI, Mfanufikile Petros	SHONGWE, Thembinkosi	SIBAXABAXA, Ngxito
SHEZI, Mike Makhini	SHOZI, Alfred	SIBEKO, Thoko Maria
SHEZI, Mpumelelo Solomon	SHOZI, Bhakabakubo Samson	SIBEKO, Bubu
SHEZI, Muziwavuka Hubert	SHOZI, Busiziwe	SIBEKO, David Maphumzana
SHEZI, Muziwempi	SHOZI, Clementine	SIBEKO, Joseph Vicks
SHEZI, Ncamisile Thokozile	SHOZI, Doris Nompumelelo	SIBEKO, Kevin Thabo
SHEZI, Nhlanhla	SHOZI, Hapleone	SIBEKO, Khayelihle
SHEZI, Nkosingiphile Ronald	SHOZI, Hlupheni Beauty Dade	SIBEKO, Linah Khali
SHEZI, Paulos	SHOZI, Kwenzekile	SIBEKO, Mark Glen Condos
SHEZI, Philisiwe Martha	SHOZI, Mandlenkosi David	SIBEKO, Monde Bheki
SHEZI, Sbu	SHOZI, Mathosi Busisiwe	SIBEKO, Mpini Amos
SHEZI, Sebenzile	SHOZI, Mbuzeni	SIBEKO, Nkele Ephodia
SHEZI, Sibusiso Wiseman	SHOZI, Mhlophekazi Mirriam	SIBEKO, Nomakhosi Thembisile
SHEZI, Sifiso Rudolph	SHOZI, Mphiliseni	SIBEKO, Thabo
SHEZI, Silwayiphi Daniel	SHOZI, Msizi Patrick	SIBEKO, Thabo Reginald
SHEZI, Siphwe	SHOZI, Nzuzo Raymond	SIBEKO, Thembani Norah
SHEZI, Sipho	SHOZI, Qabukwayo	SIBEKU, Gladstone Kathazile
SHEZI, Thabile	SHOZI, Raymond	SIBEKU, Nomakula Mirriam
SHEZI, Thandiwe Gladys	SHOZI, Sandile	SIBENGILE, Msondezi Eric
SHEZI, Thembinkosi Kayikayi	SHOZI, Siboniso	SIBEWU, Mtutuzeli Norman
SHEZI, Thembisile Pricilla	SHOZI, Sincenge Joseph	SIBI, Tebogo Julius
SHEZI, Thembuyise Innocent	SHOZI, Sizani Claudia	SIBILWANE, Pedunka Enos
SHEZI, Thoko Lephinah	SHOZI, Thandi Happiness	SIBISI, Agnes
SHEZI, Thombo Zibeni	SHOZI, Thandi Princess	SIBISI, Beauty Thandekile
SHEZI, Zakhele	SHOZI, Thembinkosi Oswald	SIBISI, Bhekinkosi
SHEZI, Zethulele	SHOZI, Tholwapi Mamcunu	SIBISI, Bhukumuzi Simon
SHIBANDA, Mhlaba Solomon	SHOZI, Victoria Duduzile	SIBISI, Jabulani
SHIBE, Jabu Adelaide	SHOZI, Viliza	SIBISI, Jeremiah
SHIBE, Linda Elphas	SHOZI, Vincent	SIBISI, Jerome Sbonsiseni
SHIBE, Vusi Gunnet	SHOZI, Vusumuzi Wiseman	SIBISI, Kehla Joseph
SHIBURI, Elias	SHUDE, Busisiwe Margaret	SIBISI, Khathazile Matrina
SHIKITA, Fuzile	SHUDE, Mbizwa	SIBISI, Louisa Bongwiwe
SHIKITA, Zanyokwe	SHUDE, Siyabonga	SIBISI, Mandlenkosi
SHIKOANE, Mkgoma	SHUMA, Bella Thembekile	SIBISI, Mhlushwa John
SHILLOW, Craig	SHUMA, Musa Patford	SIBISI, Michael Bafana
SHILLOW, Roger	SHUPING, Abel Goitsimodimo	SIBISI, Nelson Bheki
SHINGA, Themba	SHUPING, Abram Botaeletse	SIBISI, Nomthetho Christian
SHINGA, Bheki Bethlehem	SHUPING, Arabia Puoeng	SIBISI, Phonduka
SHINGA, Gilbert	SHUPING, Dibanka Johannes	SIBISI, Phumelele Priscilla
SHINGA, Nana Michael	SHUPING, Leaoa Paul Daddy	SIBISI, Qimba Mphikeleli
SHINGA, Nkosinathi Dennis	SHUPING, Moses	SIBISI, Sibusiso
SHINGA, Viya Typhina	SHUPING, Silence	SIBISI, Sibusiso Alfred
SHINGANGE, Thomas	SHUSHA, Majola	SIBISI, Sizani Remikia
SHIPALANA, John	SHUSHA, Mantwetwe Eric	SIBISI, Themba
SHIRINDA, David Mikhuzza	SHUSHA, Thembsile	SIBISI, Thembinkosi Humphrey
SHIYANI, Billy	SHUSHA, Tutu Mesta	SIBISI, Timothy Sipho
SHOBA, Bafana Michael	SHUSHWANA, Vuyisile	SIBISI, Victor Langelakhe
SHOBA, Mlandelwa Michael	SIAGA, Pule Solomon	SIBISI, Viera
SHOBEDE, Mduduzi Vincent	SIBAM, Ntsikelelo	SIBISI, Vusumuzi Ronnie
SHOBEDE, Ntombizethu Clarah	SIBANDA, Ntombi Sibongile	SIBISI, Xolani
SHOBEDE, Sonosini	SIBANDE, Busisiwe	SIBIYA, Auzius Samuel
SHOBEDI, Samson	SIBANDE, Mathews	SIBIYA, Bafana Makhenji
SHOMANG, Labuang Amas	SIBANDILE, Aaron Stephen	SIBIYA, Beaula Bongwiwe
SHOMOLEKAE, Teboho Phillip	SIBANKULU, Hlalanathi Professor	SIBIYA, Bezile
SHONAPHI, Xolo	SIBANYONI, David	SIBIYA, Bezile Mecia
SHONGWE, Aaron Mdtushwa.	SIBANYONI, Fuduka Sarah	SIBIYA, Bhozo Philisiwe
SHONGWE, Anna	SIBANYONI, Jabulani	SIBIYA, Bongani
SHONGWE, David Bogelo	SIBANYONI, Jerry	SIBIYA, Bongani Michael
SHONGWE, Mabalane Fontwane	SIBANYONI, Martha Sphenye	SIBIYA, Busisiwe Virginia
SHONGWE, Madabula	SIBANYONI, Masibanyoni Ennie	SIBIYA, Buyisiwe
SHONGWE, Michael	SIBANYONI, Miti Bradjie	SIBIYA, Dumisani Themba
SHONGWE, Mlamuli	SIBANYONI, Paulos	SIBIYA, Ernest Michael
SHONGWE, Mtuwelizwe Abram	SIBANYONI, Philip	SIBIYA, Esaw
SHONGWE, Mxosheni	SIBANYONI, Popi Lettie	SIBIYA, Getrude Boneni
SHONGWE, Thandi Josephine	SIBANYONI, Titi Johannes	SIBIYA, Jabulisiwe Clerance

SIBIYA, Jack Sipatshana
 SIBIYA, Jeffrey
 SIBIYA, Johannes Mokhine
 SIBIYA, Jonga Jacob
 SIBIYA, Judith
 SIBIYA, Kulana Christopher
 SIBIYA, Mable Scbenzile
 SIBIYA, Mamsy
 SIBIYA, Mandla Shadrack
 SIBIYA, Marriet
 SIBIYA, Micca Mnikwa
 SIBIYA, Michael Dumisani
 SIBIYA, Mike
 SIBIYA, Mike Killer Siphosakhe
 SIBIYA, Moyeni
 SIBIYA, Mqondiseni Elias
 SIBIYA, Msizi Edward
 SIBIYA, Mthembeni
 SIBIYA, Musa Welcome
 SIBIYA, Musawenkosi
 SIBIYA, Ndlela Abel
 SIBIYA, Ndwendwe Azaria
 SIBIYA, Nesi Grace
 SIBIYA, Nkosinathi
 SIBIYA, Nokwenziwa
 SIBIYA, Nomakhosazana Patricia
 SIBIYA, Ntombiyomthakathi Ennie
 SIBIYA, Ntombizodwa
 SIBIYA, Petros
 SIBIYA, Philisiwe
 SIBIYA, Phineas Sodi
 SIBIYA, Sibongile Catherine
 SIBIYA, Sibongile Melta
 SIBIYA, Sigqanya Sibusiso
 SIBIYA, Simion
 SIBIYA, Sithandwa Prince
 SIBIYA, Skhumbuzo
 SIBIYA, Sweleni
 SIBIYA, Themba Simon
 SIBIYA, Themba Vitus
 SIBIYA, Thembisile Elentraute
 SIBIYA, Thokozani Elmond
 SIBIYA, Velani Victor
 SIBOTO, Nozici
 SIBOTO, Papane Raymond Lewyllen
 SIBOTO, Siphio Abiathar
 SIBOZO, Magojoman David
 SIBUMBE, Jotham Mzayas
 SICANULO, Ntshomela
 SICEKA, Sicelo
 SICETSHE, Felishile Freddy
 SICHA, Tabampe Daniel
 SICHLO, Walter
 SICKLE, Deidre Michelle
 SIDANDALA, Nomathemba Euphene
 SIDLAYIYA, Christopher Liyanda
 SIFUKU, Mjoko Jackson
 SIFUMBA, Harold Mvuyo
 SIGABI, Ephraim Mxolisi
 SIGAGAYI, December
 SIGAGAYI, Michael Mangaliso
 SIGAGAYI, Nothobani Agnes
 SIGAM, Kenneth Mncedisi
 SIGANGA, Mpheni
 SIGASA, Amos Sam

SIGCAWANA, Molose
 SIGEBENGA, Wilson Kwama
 SIGUBA, Henry
 SIGUDU, Bulelwa Sylvia
 SIGWEBELA, Zodwa Mirriam
 SIGWEBO, Nginisile
 SIGWELA, Ezra
 SIGWELA, Lennox Mbuyiseli
 SIGWELA, Monica Nomonde
 SIGWINTA, Motshwa
 SIGWINTA, Zongezile Rinkie
 SIHLALI, Fortunate Jabulile
 SIHLANGU, Managale Sarah
 SIKAKANE, Bhokuyise Christopher
 SIKAMA, Jongikhaya
 SIKEMANE, Hendrick Vuyani
 SIKENJANA, Morris
 SIKHAKANE, Celumuzi Moses
 SIKHAKHANE, Andrinah Thokozile
 SIKHAKHANE, Basil Kelly
 SIKHAKHANE, Bheki Richard
 SIKHAKHANE, Elizabeth Ntombi
 SIKHAKHANE, Gugu Mandy
 SIKHAKHANE, Henry Mfana
 SIKHAKHANE, Lawrence Themba
 SIKHAKHANE, Mandla Caswell
 SIKHAKHANE, Mbongeni Mtuseni
 SIKHAKHANE, Mntomuhle
 Ndukushayizazi
 SIKHAKHANE, Mzikayise Phillip
 SIKHAKHANE, Nomkhosi Lima
 SIKHAKHANE, Ntombikayise R
 SIKHAKHANE, Oscar Khulekani
 SIKHAKHANE, Skafu Busisiwe
 SIKHAKHANE, Theodora Nomcebo
 SIKHEPHE, Msetyenzelwa
 SIKHOSANA, Elliot
 SIKHOSANA, Monono Mavis
 SIKHOSANA, Themba Daniel
 SIKHOSANA, Thengani
 SIKITI, Shoti
 SIKITI, Siphio
 SIKITI, Zuzeka Regina
 SIKO, Nomakwezi Georgina
 SIKO, Thamsanqa
 SIKO, Zuko Belmont Mech
 SIKOBI, Boyi Joseph
 SIKOBI, Mavis Mklazi
 SIKOBI, Mazabiwe
 SIKOBI, Ngqakaza
 SIKOBI, Qondeni Irene Makhosi
 SIKONDE, David Siphio
 SIKUMKANI, Wenzile Florence
 SIKUNANA, Tozama Mary
 SIKUTSHWA, Mamanci Tena
 SIKUTSHWA, Merriman Siphio
 SIKWEPERE, Lucas Baba
 SIKWEYIYA, Sizizo
 SILANGO, Ntombikile Anna
 SILANGWE, Babongile Florence
 SILANGWE, Bhulekwana
 SILANGWE, Mbethwa
 SILEKU, Themba Simon
 SILINDA, Anthony Linda
 SILINGA, Wantu

SILLANDS, Colleen
 SILLANDS, Margaret
 SILO, Dorothy Lulama Kunuse
 SILO, Novintwembi Violet
 SILOLO, Elizabeth
 SILOMO, Pikiwe Ennie
 SILULWANE, Zukiswa Patricia
 SILUMA, Vusi
 SILWANE, Tutu
 SILWANYANA, Nomkhumbuzo Morina
 SIMA FAMILY
 SIMA, Fikile Margaret
 SIMA, Gcineni
 SIMA, Gladis Khethiwe Masima
 SIMA, Mzuvukile Wiseman
 SIMA, Vusumuzi
 SIMAMANE, Nomajongosi Mavis
 SIMAMANE, Nomakhosi Dilili
 SIMAMANE, Qondeni Sylvester
 SIMAMANE, Velaphi
 SIMAMANE, Vusumuzi Moses
 SIMANDLA, Bonisile David
 SIMANGA, Enoch Kadimo
 SIMANGO, Cynthia
 SIMANGO, Khangela Thomas
 SIMANI, Goodman
 SIMAYILE, Code
 SIMBINE, Jeronimo Vicente
 SIMELA, Namkoni Selinah
 SIMELANE, Allison
 SIMELANE, Bheki
 SIMELANE, Bhokuyise Simon
 SIMELANE, Buti Peter
 SIMELANE, Eunice
 SIMELANE, Gwete Enock
 SIMELANE, Jabulani Kom
 SIMELANE, Joe Johannes
 SIMELANE, Johannes Melehi
 SIMELANE, Johannes Zwelibanzi
 SIMELANE, Linah Silukazi
 SIMELANE, Milly
 SIMELANE, Mpembe Amos
 SIMELANE, Nonozana Anna
 SIMELANE, Simon
 SIMELANE, Solomon
 SIMELANE, Sothini Thembellhle
 SIMELANE, Thallina Phumzile
 SIMELANE, Zandi Moses
 SIMINYA, Mberegani Marcus
 SIMON, Ngubane
 SIMPSON, James Marren
 SINAMA, Ntshwenca
 SINCUBA, Zion Jeremiah
 SINDANE, Bhokizitha Jones
 SINDANE, Manel Mtshiselwa
 SINDANE, Nomqgibelo Sarah
 SINDANE, Piet
 SINDANE, Thomi Joseph
 SINDANI, Maneel Mashiselwa
 SINDU, Banzi Elphas
 SINGQOTO, Alport
 SINGWANE, Thomas Velaphi
 SINOANE, Singalela Jeremiah
 SINXOSHE, Nelson
 SINYEMFU, Luxolile Ben

SIOBO, Tshibili Elisa
 SIPHIKA, Gladys Mbagem
 SIPHIKA, Mzwandile Ruben
 SIPIKA, Ntamehlo
 SIPIKA, Silo
 SIPOLO, Ngwazi
 SIPOYA, Busang
 SIPOYA, Jarius Mokotedi
 SIPOYA, Samuel
 SIQA, Zetule
 SIQAKAZA, Mathopisi
 SIQAZA, Archibald
 SIQAZA, Jessie
 SISHI, Bongani John
 SISHI, Buselaphi Xolisile
 SISHI, Feni Eveline
 SISHI, Fundisiwe
 SISHI, Gabisile Margaret
 SISHI, Hlakaniphanio Agrippah
 SISHI, Jabulani Patrick
 SISHI, John Mkakeni
 SISHI, Lawrence Nqobizwe
 SISHI, Mkakeni
 SISHI, Ntombitheni Mamsishi
 SISHI, Sebenzile Esther
 SISHI, Sfiso Neil Magwaba
 SISHI, Thokozani Otrinah
 SISHIMANE, Nomathemba Patience
 SISULU, Mpumelelo
 SITALI, Msokoli
 SITHEBE, Christian Bhokuyise
 SITHEBE, Esther Jabhisa
 SITHEBE, Mzwakhe Ezard
 SITHEBE, Peter
 SITHEBE, Zakhe
 SITHETHO, Galelekile
 SITHOLE, Albert Nsizwa
 SITHOLE, Alfred
 SITHOLE, Alfred Mfana
 SITHOLE, Alinah Poppy
 SITHOLE, Arthur
 SITHOLE, Bafana Petros
 SITHOLE, Bakhuzi
 SITHOLE, Benjamin Velaphi
 SITHOLE, Boyi
 SITHOLE, Chashaza Andries
 SITHOLE, Cusa Johanna
 SITHOLE, David
 SITHOLE, Delani
 SITHOLE, Eunice Nonhlanhla
 SITHOLE, Fredah
 SITHOLE, Girty Ngenzeni
 SITHOLE, Gloria
 SITHOLE, Gratian Futhi
 SITHOLE, Isaac Isaka
 SITHOLE, Jabulani
 SITHOLE, Jeremiah Victor
 SITHOLE, Johannes Mplyonke
 SITHOLE, Joseph
 SITHOLE, Joseph Boy
 SITHOLE, Lewis
 SITHOLE, Mamo Alexia
 SITHOLE, Mandla
 SITHOLE, Martha
 SITHOLE, Meshack Mnganelwa

SITHOLE, Mhlaba Ernest
 SITHOLE, Mhlawilale Piet
 SITHOLE, Moses Ngalo
 SITHOLE, Mphani Andreas
 SITHOLE, Muriel
 SITHOLE, Mvelase
 SITHOLE, Nataniel
 SITHOLE, Ncena Sarah
 SITHOLE, Ndoda Mfaniseni
 SITHOLE, Nelson
 SITHOLE, Njengabantu
 SITHOLE, Nombuso Happiness
 SITHOLE, Nonhlanhla
 SITHOLE, Ntombi Maureen
 SITHOLE, Ntombiliza Gertrude
 SITHOLE, Omega Nhlanhla
 SITHOLE, Paulos Mtusi
 SITHOLE, Philisiwe Ellen
 SITHOLE, Phumlani Welcome
 SITHOLE, Romeo
 SITHOLE, Sbusiso
 SITHOLE, Sengiphelile
 SITHOLE, Sentanda
 SITHOLE, Sibongile Eslina
 SITHOLE, Sibusiso Vusumuzi
 SITHOLE, Sicelo
 SITHOLE, Simphiwe Patrick
 SITHOLE, Sipiwe
 SITHOLE, Sisedewu
 SITHOLE, Sokhela
 SITHOLE, Sylvasia Bacabangile
 SITHOLE, Tepana Anna
 SITHOLE, Thabo Emmanuel
 SITHOLE, Thandi C
 SITHOLE, Thembisile Merina
 SITHOLE, Thembisile Muriel
 SITHOLE, Thobelani
 SITHOLE, Thokozile Esther
 SITHOLE, Vinah
 SITHOLE, Vusumuzi Clobas
 SITHOLE, Zenze John
 SITHOLE, Zilungisele Muntukabonwa
 SITHOLE, Zine Sizephi
 SITHOLE, Zithulele
 SITHOMO, Mzonzo Sipho
 SITOLE, Sphiwe
 SITSHONGAYE, Maxwell
 SITU, Ncedani William
 SITYATA, Similo Sizwe Matolweni
 SIVELA, Nomfazwe Nowinile
 SIWA, Mangaliso Frank
 SIWALI, Thembisa
 SIWAYI, Meyile Malcomeso
 SIWISA, Nkhola
 SIXHASO, Shadrack
 SIXISHE, Lungile Selwyne
 SIXISHI, Siphio Joseph
 SIYA, Howard
 SIYAWELA, Mabhudi Ngamlana
 SIYO, Nombulelo Lizzie
 SIYOKO, Elliot Sindezama
 SIYOLO, Clifford Mendisi
 SIYONZANA, Funeka
 SIYONZANA, Liza
 SIZAKELE, Mxobe

SIZANI, Lucas
 SIZANI, Mkhululi Mvuzo
 SIZIBA, Sibongile Lydia
 SIZIBA, Siphio Boy Edward
 SKEPE, Siphiwo Gideon
 SKEPE, Vusumzi September
 SKEPU, Mongezi
 SKEPU, Zanethemba Benjamin
 SKEYI, Tshonisile
 SKHAKHANE, Mpilo
 SKHAKHANE, Sibongile Daphney
 SKHOSANA, Betty
 SKHOSANA, Christina
 SKHOSANA, Ezekiel
 SKHOSANA, Isiah Cetswayo
 SKHOSANA, Jacob
 SKHOSANA, Jappie
 SKHOSANA, Kleinboo
 SKHOSANA, Lucas
 SKHOSANA, Machi Maria
 SKHOSANA, Mafutha David
 SKHOSANA, Maki Roselyn
 SKHOSANA, Mandla
 SKHOSANA, Mhlalulani Jacob
 SKHOSANA, Sahlelami Elias
 SKHOSANA, Senzani Samuel
 SKHOSANA, Siphio Solomon
 SKHOSANA, Surgeant Frans
 SKHWAMBANE, Siphio Joseph
 SKISAZANA, Hope Themisile
 SKOLI, Zama
 SKOLO, Ntsikelelo Attwell
 SKOSANA, Aaron
 SKOSANA, Abram Malinganiso
 SKOSANA, Bandile Sophie
 SKOSANA, Christinah
 SKOSANA, Diana Velaphi
 SKOSANA, Dini Samson
 SKOSANA, Jabulani Velaphi
 SKOSANA, Jeffrey Very
 SKOSANA, Johanna
 SKOSANA, Johanna Nomthadazo
 SKOSANA, Joyce Nonhlanhla
 SKOSANA, Makhazaza Paulina
 SKOSANA, Mbulawa Amos
 SKOSANA, Mbulawa Jonathan
 SKOSANA, Mbulelo Benjamin
 SKOSANA, Noah Lucas
 SKOSANA, Phillip David
 SKOSANA, Richard
 SKOSANA, Sefako Job
 SKOSANA, Sello Samuel
 SKOSANA, Sphiwe Richard
 SKOSANA, Tlaki Anna
 SKRITSHI, Loyiso
 SKRITSHI, Ngqondo
 SKRITSHI, Siphio Joseph
 SKUKUKAZI, Lebohlang Godfrey
 SKWATSHA, Million
 SKWEYIYA, Mangaliso Wesley
 SKWEYIYA, Sinzino
 SLADE, Cynthia
 SLATSHA, Mkhululi
 SLATSHA, Zola
 SLAVERS, Gavin Godfrey

SMAKATHANA, Koos	SOLOMON, Theo Simon	STEIN, Isalah
SMANGA, Sthembele	SOLONTSI, Henry Linda	STELLENBERG, Percy Christian
SMART, Brian Clifford	SOLWANDLE, December	STEPHANUS, Paul
SMAYILE, Tenjiwe Gladys	SOLWANDLE, Mongameli Godfrey	STEPHENS-HLATSWAYO, Maureen
SMILES, Benny	SOMANA, William Zotusile	STEVEN, Thembinkosi Edward
SMILES, Molebatsi Jerry	SOMANA, Wiwi	STEWART, Clare
SMININI, Mandla Nhonho	SOMDIZELA, Mandlenkosi	STEWART, Sandra Margaret Sandy
SMIT, Anna	SOMFULA, Moses Ndade	STEYN, Annie
SMIT, Cornelius	SOMTSEWU, Monde	STEYN, Avril Rachewell
SMITH, David	SOMXO, Tutu	STOK, Ndoma Ndumisa
SMITH, Elizabeth Mmaletsatsi	SONAMZI, Goli	STOLLS, Ronnie
SMITH, Myrtle	SONAMZI, Ncamisili Stanley	STONA, Moeketsi Wellington
SMITH, Nanki	SONDEZI, Busisiwe Gladness	STONE, Khutsahalo Violet
SMITH, Oupa Abram	SONDEZI, Maliteke Catherine	STRACHAN, Robert Harold Lundie
SMITH, Pule Jordane	SONDEZI, Thulani Michael	STREET, Mable
SMITH, Sanni Alina	SONDYAZI, Samson Boiki	STRYDOM, Monica Elizabeth
SNUMA, Nceba Cassius	SONGO, Dipuo Jacob	STUART, Joy Elaine Nomvuyo
SNYMAN, Gilbert Lungile Ncinci	SONI, Malolo Cyprian	STUBBS, Julian
SOBETHWA, Siphon Elford	SONI, Sibonisane Lazu	STUURMAN, Jacob Goli (Gauta)
SOBOTO, Papane Raymond Lewynlen	SONJICA, Sikhumbuzo Macnick	STUURMAN, John
SOBOYISE, Zulisa	SONKWALA, Nkosinathi	STUURMAN, Mlungisi Wilnard
SOBUKWE, Robert Mangaliso	SONO, David	STUURMAN, Sipibo Ivin
SOCIA, Timothy	SONO, Lolo	STUURMAN, Xolani Kannetjie
SODISA, Maxeleku Williams	SONO, Petrus	STWAYI, Venvol Cofayishiye
SOGA, William	SONTSHAKA, Samfumfu	SUKAZI, Alvinah Elizabeth
SOGCWAYI, David Mlondolozu	SONTUNDU, Nena	SUKWANA, Mzwamadoda Devilliers
SOGIBA, Mzoxolo	SOPHISEKA, Nomhlophe Catherine	SULUBA, Xolela Richard
SOGO, Ntesang Robert	SOPHISEKA, Philemon	SUME, Mzuvukile Richard
SOGQIBA, Bidekile	SOPHISEKA, Sityasinye Leanard	SUMMERS, Freddie
SOJEZI, Mbulelo James	SOSIBO, Albert	SUNDUZA, Sifiso
SOKELA, Miya	SOSIBO, Maxwell Mbhekeni	SUNDUZA, Sithembiso Christopher
SOKHABASE, Henry Nduna	SOSIBO, Nhlanhla Ernest	SUNDUZA, Solomon Mandlenkosi
SOKHABASE, Nokuthula Angelina	SOSIBO, Nkosinathi Emmanuel	Mazibuko
SOKHELA, Amos Mpompo Mduduzi	SOSIBO, Sifiso Enoch	SUTHU, Nothozayo
SOKHELA, Bongani	SOSIBO, Sihli Ronnie	SWAARTBOOI, Themba Simon
SOKHELA, Daniel	SOSIBO, Sizakele Eropa	SWANEOPEL, Willem
SOKHELA, George	SOSIBO, Thanana Johannes	SWART, Basil
SOKHELA, James	SOSIBO, Vukani Joseph	SWARTBOOI, Bushy Voltaire
SOKHELA, Muzi	SOTHENI, Mlungisi	SWARTBOOI, Buyelwa Gladys
SOKHELA, Nelson Thulani	SOTHOANE, Rantsho Nathaniel	SWARTBOOI, Eric Buyisile
SOKHELA, Nomusa Faith	SOTIYA, Kapsie Alfred	SWARTBOOI, Melvin Khayaletu
SOKHELA, Norman	SOTONDOSHE, Thiyekile Christian	SWARTBOOI, Roy Bomwana
SOKHELA, Nothile Alice	SOTSU, Constance	SWARTBOOI, Tembile Alfred
SOKHELA, Tholani Getrude	SOTSU, Ernest Ngxokolo	SWARTBOOI, Zwelenkomo Alfred
SOKHELA, Vincent Philani	SOTSU, Margaret	SWARTZ, Jonathan
SOKHELE, Bethuel Monali	SOTSU, Sabata	SWARTZ, Magdalene
SOKHELE, Clement Nkosinathi	SOTSU, Vusi	SWELANKOMO, David Mphikelelo
SOKHELE, France Dennis	SOTSU, Vuyani	SWELINDAWO, Nomvuyo Elmina
SOKHELE, Mtonyani Royal	SOUCHON, Dominique	
SOKHELE, Nhloko	SOULS, Peter Madoda Alfred	TABALAZA, Lungile
SOKHELE, Simon	SOUT, Xolisile Abram	TABALAZA, Nombuyiselo
SOKHETYE, Maphelo	SOWAZI, Constance Sikelwa	TABANA, Job
SOKHULU, Bongumusa Archiles	SOYA, Mthantiso Alfred	TABETE, Thembisile Mirriam
SOKOYI, Gilbert	SOYA, Seantjie Msokoli	TABETE, Vusumuzi Zamani
SOKOYI, Mshiceleli Samuel	SOYAMA, Charbet Mpumelelo	TABU, Mayenzeke
SOKOYI, Sandile Petros	SOYISO, Tembiso	TAFANE, Ritz Jeremia
SOKUPA, Maggie Danjiswa	SPECIWE, Nthabiseng	TAFANI, Menzi
SOKUPA, Silumko	SPEELMAN, Andiswa	TAHBETHE, Vivian Mjabuliswa
SOKUTU, Innes Mpumelelo	SPILI, Mkhonzeni	TAIOE, Matsie Anna
SOLANI, Nombuyiselo Gladys	SPOGTER, Meizo July	TAKALI, Siyabonga Maxwell
SOLANI, Ntsikelelo Wellington	SPOPO, Zuzile Nelson	TAKALO, Baby Elizabeth
SOLANI, Vusumzi Patrick	STAMPER, Mziwakhe Godfrey	TALANE, Piet Nkgere
SOLOMON, Meshack Tekoetsile	STANFORD, Robert David Norman	TAMAKO, Banyana Ellen
SOLOMON, Phakamile Nicholas	STANLEY, Rose	TAMBODALA, Mandlenkosi
SOLOMON, Thembisile Alfred	STEELE, Richard	TAME, Nkululo Isaac

TAMLE, Frans Lehlohonolo	THABETHE, Thabisile	THOANE, Nthisane Paulina
TANANA, Khanyeekile	THABETHE, Vusi Dick	THOBEDI, Nicholas
TANANA, Xolile Matthews	THABETHE, Zikhono	THOBEJANE, Tsoaledi Daniel
TANTU, Titus	THAFENI, March	THOBELA, Eva Zanele
TANTSÍ, Beauty	THAFENI, Zwelinzima Joseph	THOBELA, Joseph
TANTSÍ, Ida	THAGE, Joseph Masale	THOBELA, Joseph Fanary
TANTSÍ, Olga	THAHETSI, Moeketsi Walter	THOBELA, Patricia Sonto
TANZI, Genla Maria	THAISÍ, Matamo William	THOBELA, Zodwa Lephina
TARLWE, April Makhwenkwa	THAISÍ, Moramang David	THOBI, Douglas
TASANA, Winana	THAISÍ, Tello Maria	THOFU, Wilfred
TASI, Gamalandile Herbert	THAKANYANE, Monti Sabath	THOKO, Minah
TATIYA, Vuyani	THAKULU, Selinah Mafotho	THOKOANA, Lerotholi Ben
TATUBANA, David Machel	THALE, Keitumetse Elizabeth	THOLE, Zandisile Dudana
TAU, Matiso Olympia	THAMAE, Lesole David	THOLO, Noto William
TAU, Moroesi Dorah	THAMAE, Motsamai Charles	THOMAS, Francis Thati
TAU, Ntsie Isaii	THAMAGA, Elizabeth Setlaleweng	THOMI, Mzimkhulu Simon
TAUKUBONG, Nnanabo Elizabeth	THAMAGA, Mosima Maphuti	THOMPSON, Leon
TAULA, Protas Jabulani	THAMAGA, Nana Martha	THOMPSON, Robert Patric
TAUYATSWALA, Jan Lesiba	THAMAGA, Steward	THOMSON, Marsheen Thandi
TAWÉ, Patrick Oupa	THANGAVHUELELO, Samuel	THOOE, Maria Mathoee
TAYI, Wiseman Rotso	Tshikhakhisa	THORPE, Nawaaldien
TAYLOR, George Benjamin	THANGAVHUELELO, Moshoni Piet	THOSE, Fanie Bafana
TAYLOR, Lucia	THANGO, Duduzile Flora	THOSHOLO, Ndumiso Tisholo
TAYO, Mncedi	THANGO, Dumisani Vivienne	THUBANA, Yenu Johannes
TCHULU, James Mzwandile	THANJEKWAYO, Barnabas Nsikelelo	THUBANE, Geelbooi
TEBANE, Michael Tsimokwane	THANJEKWAYO, Barnabas Nsikelelo	THUBE, Limakatso Maria
TEBEILE, Mokgathi Frans	THANJEKWAYO, Bonginkosi	THUHLO, Eric Moejalifa
TEFFO, Joel Malose	THANJEKWAYO, Nkosikhona	THULE, Thuleleni
TEFFO, Philemon Madimetja	THANJEKWAYO, Raymond	THULELA, Sonwabile
TEFU, Jabulani	THANJEKWAYO, Thabile Beatrice	THULO, Emily
TEFU, Sarah	THANTSHA, Frans	THULO, Martha Mampoke
TEKANA, Thembinkosi	THANTSÍ, Bonakele	THUNGO, Babazi Bhekuyise
TEKANO, Ramotsohae William Moshe	THANTSÍ, John	THUNTULWANA, Nkululeko Simon
TEKETSI, Koadi Emmanuel	THANTSÍ, John Mpumalelo	THUNYISWA, Evelyn Masego
TELE, Harry Diphapang	THATO, Lebohang Henry	THUPAEMANG, Gonnarnam Jack
TELE, Moses Teboho	THEBE, Alfred December	THUSANA, Mhoyi Amon
TEMBE, Thandazile	THEBE, Gerald Babitsane	THUSÍ, Ernest Beki
TEME, Matthews Mathloko	THEBE, Joseph	THUSÍ, Kehla
TEMO, Manare Josephina	THEBE, Moreng Walter Davids	THUSÍ, Mbeki Ziphred
TENGANI, Johannes Denis	THEBE, Phokwana Johanna	THUSÍ, Sipho Witness
TENTENI, Sinawunawu Johnson	THEBE, Piet	THUSÍ, Soni
TENZA, Eugene Xolisani	THEKISHO, Gaarekwe Surprise	THUSÍ, Thembinkosi Wiseman
TENZA, Merriman Vuyani	THEKISO, Abram Motlhabane	THUSÍ, Thembuyise
TETE, Monwabisi	THEKISO, Eddie Simon	THUTSE, Mamonakane Steven
THABANA, Hlaku Theodora	THEKISO, Job	THUTSHANA, Ndihambile
THABANCHU, Terresia Masabatha	THEKISO, Neo Marriam	THUTSHANA, Wilson
THABANE	THELA, Jabulani Peter	THUTSHINI, Phumlile Pinky
THABANE, Zackia Taka	THELEDI, Phuti Evelyn	THUTSHINI, Thokozile Jessie
THABEDE, Badeni Josiah	THEMA, Paulous Teboho	THWALA, Daphney Nozipho
THABELA, Lufuno Philemon	THEMANE, Samuel Isaac	THWALA, Martha Olga
THABETHE, Agnes	THEMBA, Msimyana Joseph	THWALA, Mhlupheki
THABETHE, Beauty	THEMBA, Simon Kgosiemang	THWALA, Tamsanqa William
THABETHE, Bongani Petros	THEMBELA, Zibokokwakhe Jeffrey	THWALA, Thulani Napoleon
THABETHE, Bongekile Qondeni	THEMBISILE, Mpisane	THWANE, Samuel Galeboe
THABETHE, Ciko Joseph	THEMELI, Mushavho Victor	THWANI, Mamoruti Johanna
THABETHE, Gladys	THETHWAYO, Mthokozisi James	THYSE, Jan
THABETHE, Lena Zihlazi	THEYS, Christopher Thami	TIBANE, Wilson
THABETHE, Mabutho Caiphaz	THIBILE, Litaba Jimmy	TIFI, Thembisa
THABETHE, Maxwell	THIKA, Rapula	THABUDUGWANE, Mofana Stephen
THABETHE, Mduduzi Dennis	THINANE, Elias Mvulane	TIKA, Tandeka Euglet
THABETHE, Mzimela Absolom	THINDA, Mongisi Sonny Tys	TILE, Sicelo Raymond
THABETHE, Mzwandile	THIPE, Mogovosi Jacob	TILL, Brenda
THABETHE, Natham	THIPE, Petrus	TIMANE, Themba
THABETHE, Ngune	THIPE, Vincent Johannes Gaolaolwe	TIMBANE, Mkhotsane
THABETHE, S'Buso	THIPE, Zacharia Oshupile	TINA, Polisa
THABETHE, Sithembile	THLAPI, Ramatua Nicholas	TINGANA, Nonkolelo

TINGANA, Sipo Douglas
 TINII, Siyabonga Gideon
 TINTO, Christmas Fihla
 TIRO, Abraham Ongkopotse
 TIRO, Mojalefa Andrew Sthando
 TITOTI, Thamsanqa Bartholomeu
 TITUS, Floors Albertus
 TITUS, Johannes Petrus Hendry
 TITUS, Raymond
 TIYA, Linah Nomvula
 TIYO, Fezile
 TIYO, Moses Banzi
 TIYO, Zoliswa Florence
 TJIANE, Jimmy
 TJOTJO, Petrus
 TLADI, Lethula Jacob
 TLAKA, Johannes
 TLAKA, William Letlakane
 TLALE, Kereng Patrick
 TLALE, Mahlomola Isaac
 TLALI, Sechele Benjamin
 TLAMAMA, Matsobane April
 TLEANE, Thabang Ephraim
 TLHABATLHABA, Molehe Zacharia
 TLHANYANE, Maitlomola David
 TLHAPANE, Phillip Mosire
 TLISANE, Lebohlang Samuel
 TLOANE, Philemon Lesiba
 TLOU, Charles Ngoti
 TLOU, Daniel Sekwakwa
 TLOU, Fani Daniel
 TLOU, Khonjiwe Peikie
 TLOU, Mdlolphe Johanna
 TLOU, Ngoti
 TLOU, Nyokana Poppie
 TLOU, Rose Dolly
 TOBELA, Annah
 TOBIAS, Molefi Richard
 TOBIN, Derek
 TOFILE, Golden Sidaphi
 TOFILE, Victoria
 TOISE, Mtshutshisisi Christopher
 TOKO, Monwabisi
 TOKO, Raymond
 TOKOTA, Mzwandile Wellington
 TOKWE, Nomvana Yvonne
 TOKWE, Richard
 TOLI, Joseph Mlungisi
 TOLO, Olibile Samuel Shakes
 TOM, Andile
 TOM, Baba
 TOM, Jabulane Lucas
 TOM, Mkongozeli Tharborn
 TOM, Nofungile Letticia
 TOM, Thembekile Matthews
 TOM, Thembinkosi
 TOM, Vintwambi
 TOM, Vuyani
 TOMMY, Zenni Gabriel
 TOMOTOMO, Cornelius
 TOMSANA, Johnson Dalixolo
 TOMTALA, Vuyani Isaac
 TONGA, Bafana
 TONGA, Dlayizeka
 TONGA, Pikana William

TONJENI, Africa Zwelethu
 TONTSI, Lulamile James
 TONYELA, Miska
 TORA, Mthuthuzeli Wellington
 TOTA, Tusi David
 TOTOLO, Agnes Ouma
 TOTOTO, Clifford
 TOTOTO, Elliot Mcebisi
 TOTWANA, Nompumelelo
 TOYANA, Amelia
 TOYANA, Zukiswa
 TOYI, Velisile Lopy
 TROM, Balisani Jackson
 TROMP, Jan
 TRUSSELL, Julian Angelo
 TRUTER, Christopher
 TSATSANE, Paulina Matsie
 TSATSI, Maboe
 TSATSI, Paseka Emmanuel
 TSATSI, Richard
 TSEBE, Johannes Matsobane
 TSEKA, Kodi Lawrence
 TSEKELA, Morero
 TSEKI, Michael Lekgotla
 TSELANA, Thabitha Ramatsobane
 TSELANE, Baniti David
 TSELE, Joseph Seun
 TSEMBEYI, Ncamile
 TSENOLI, Mosala Andrew Potlaki
 TSENOLI, Pule Firkins Pumiks
 TSENZE, Nowowo Emily
 TSETSEI, Kiepie Themba
 TSEWU, Kwalukwalu Barry
 TSHABA, Lucas
 TSHABALALA, Aaron Phikabu
 TSHABALALA, Alfred
 TSHABALALA, Amos Buti
 TSHABALALA, Anna Lisebo
 TSHABALALA, Buti Amos
 TSHABALALA, Christina Nomvula
 TSHABALALA, David Mtshengezeni
 TSHABALALA, Enoch Doctor
 TSHABALALA, Faith Funeka
 TSHABALALA, Frank
 TSHABALALA, Gibi Johannes
 TSHABALALA, Hahonang Jonas
 TSHABALALA, Isaac
 TSHABALALA, Jabulani William
 TSHABALALA, James
 TSHABALALA, Johannes
 TSHABALALA, Jonas
 TSHABALALA, Joseph
 TSHABALALA, Joyce Ntombifikile
 TSHABALALA, Kulunyana David
 TSHABALALA, Martin
 TSHABALALA, Mercy
 TSHABALALA, Meshack Mkhulu
 TSHABALALA, Mkatshwa Michael
 TSHABALALA, Mpumi
 TSHABALALA, Nhlanhla Maria
 TSHABALALA, Nomacala Sophie
 TSHABALALA, Ntomzodwa Lessiah
 TSHABALALA, Peace Mziwakhe
 TSHABALALA, Pearl Thokozile
 TSHABALALA, Percy

TSHABALALA, Rejoice Nompumelelo
 TSHABALALA, Rosetta Dumazile
 TSHABALALA, Sarah
 TSHABALALA, Sizakele Maria
 TSHABALALA, Stanley Mbuso
 TSHABALALA, Thamsanqa Clifford
 TSHABALALA, Thandumuzi Samuel
 TSHABALALA, Thomas
 TSHABALALA, Thulani Lloyd
 TSHABALALA, Vusumuzi Joseph
 TSHABANGU, David Lucas
 TSHABANGU, Jama Johannes
 TSHABANGU, Matilda Nomthandazo
 TSHAKA, Miena Boniswa
 TSHAKALA, Solomon
 TSHAKAZA, Macdonald Mdojijana
 Mpitshi
 TSHALI, Phumzile Robert
 TSHANDA, Mdodi
 TSHANGA, Simon Mkulu
 TSHANGANA, Cifi
 TSHANGELA, Jackie
 TSHANGELA, Mama Fennie
 TSHARANE, Alie Samuel
 TSHAUKE, Timothy Mandla
 TSHAZI, Makutuza Shalestica
 TSHAZIBANA, Wellington Mlungisi
 TSHEGARE, Andrew
 TSHEGARE, Philemon
 TSHEHLA, Nkgekgethi John
 TSHEKOESELE, Kagiso James
 TSHELANE, David Baruti
 TSHEMESE, Fanisile
 TSHEMESE, Geelboy Vakele
 TSHEMESE, Lena
 TSHEMESE, Silingo Simon
 TSHEMESE, Witness
 TSHEPO, Ramokoni
 TSHETU, Nceba Wellington
 TSHEZI, Bhungweni
 TSHEZI, Siyaabulela
 TSHEZI, Thomeka
 TSHEZI, Tozama
 TSHIBAVHALEMBA, Nkhetheeni Reginald
 TSHIBE, Bangilize
 TSHIEAME, Daniel Ramankwane
 TSHIKALANGE, Rangoezi Gilbert
 TSHIKANE, Manyele Lucas
 TSHIKHAKHISA, Elsie
 TSHIKHUDO, Elmon
 TSHIKILA, Archie Welile
 TSHIKILA, Lungelo Ayliff
 TSHIKILA, Msokoli Apollo
 TSHIKILA, Walter Zifozonke
 TSHIKORORO, Ramaano Selwyn
 TSHIPI, Motseole Ben
 TSHISHONGA, Robert Mmbofheni
 TSHITAHE, Ntsumbedzeni A.
 TSHIVHASE, Samuel Mugivhela
 TSHO, Mkhize
 TSHO, Zondi
 TSHOBA, Abel Piliki
 TSHOBA, Benjamin Zanephi
 TSHOBA, Jan
 TSHOKELA, Gladman Mzwandile

TSHOKO, James
 TSHOKO, Meriam Nomase
 TSHOLEKA, Mncedisi Coulbert
 TSHONA, Matthews Matiyasi
 TSHONA, Vuyisile
 TSHONISWA, Phakamile Petrus
 TSHUKU, Abigail Mbimbi
 TSHUKU, Mncedisi
 TSHUKU, Nolundi
 TSHUKU, Nomanqulo
 TSHUKU, Nophumzile
 TSHUKU, Solomon
 TSHUKUDU, Khumotjule Gladys
 TSHUKUTSWANE, Gloria Kgalalelo
 TSHUTSHA, Majola
 TSHWAGONG, Motlagomang Jacob
 TSHWENI, Nontasi Albert
 TSHWILI, Jongumzi Anderson
 TSIBANE, Michael Lahlekile
 TSIBANI, Johnson
 TSIBANI, Ntombizodwa Beauty
 TSIE, Matselane
 TSILI, Blacky Freddie
 TSILI, Violet
 TSIMO, Elias
 TSIPA, Matlou Ernest
 TSOABISI, Stephen Molefe
 TSOAELAMI, David Rantsoake
 TSOAELI, Moses Oupa
 TSOAELI, Tankiso Lenah
 TSOARI, Thomas
 TSOBANE, Zacharia
 TSOBILEYO, Nomatise Evelyn
 TSOKE, Armstrong Thathi
 TSOKELA, Isaac
 TSOKOLIBANE, Malijewe Miriam
 TSOKOLIBANE, Thomas Mahlomola
 TSOKU, Ingrid Mmaditau
 TSOLO, Motang Jonas
 TSOLO, Patrick
 TSOANE, Mpho
 TSOTETSI, Abel
 TSOTETSI, Anna Mamokete
 TSOTETSI, Joyce Dibane
 TSOTETSI, Malente Emmerantia
 TSOTETSI, Mmasole Christinah
 TSOTETSI, Musoe Jonas
 TSOTETSI, Nelson
 TSOTETSI, Oupa Ishmael
 TSOTETSI, Piet Monkey
 TSOTETSI, Saul Andrew
 TSOTETSI, Tumelo Johannes
 TSOTSO, Nkosemntu Louis
 TSOTSOTSO, Abel
 TSOTSOTSO, Moorosi Samuel
 TSUENE, Igrid Magdeline
 TSUME, Eugene Howard Mvuyo
 TUBATSI, Daniel
 TUGWANA, Gabudhla Jan
 TUKANI, John
 TUKANI, Thamsanqa Boy
 TUKELA, Shannon Mzimkhulu
 TULE, Ngenisile Michael
 TUMENG, Maronko Azael
 TURNER, Richard Albert David

TUROK, Ben
 TUSHINI, Mbeshe
 TUSI, Dumisani
 TUTANI, Freddie Qwantsu
 TUTANI, Nombulelo
 TUTU, Jerry Thozamile
 TUTU, Mhlanbunzima
 TUTU, Zukile
 TUTUBALA, Limakatso Elizabeth
 TWABU, Siyabulela
 TWALA, Clement Linda
 TWALA, Elizabeth Genekelo
 TWALA, Elsie
 TWALA, Frans
 TWALA, Gladys Ntasana
 TWALA, Jabu Petrus
 TWALA, Lucky
 TWALA, Lucky Abram
 TWALA, Lucky Mandla
 TWALA, Mduduzi
 TWALA, Mwezi Rodney
 TWALA, Petros
 TWALA, Phumzile
 TWALA, Sebeletso Anna
 TWALA, Solomon Bongani
 TWALA, Thabo Reuben
 TWALO, Gwaza Duckworth
 TWANA, Xhankasholo
 TWETHA, Mtobise Lillian
 TYAKUME, Dumalisile Sydney
 TYANTI, Zoliswa Phyllis
 TYATYALA, Julia Nomvula
 TYAWA, Penelope Baby
 TYBOSCH, Monwabisi Wright
 TYEKU, Mlandeni Wakeford
 TYHAWANA, Xoliswa
 TYHILA, Mbulelo L.
 TYHOKOLO, Headman
 TYHULU, Christina Nosisi
 TYIWA, Kivi William
 TYIWANE, Alfred Mcimbi
 TYOBA, Vuyiswa Ellen
 TYOBEKA, Cebisa
 TYOBEKA, Maggie
 TYOBEKA-NYEMBE, Esther
 Ntombenhle
 TYUKA, Madodana Zalisile
 TYULU, Fotho Albert
 TYULU, Tamsanqa Abraham Saku
 TYUMRE, Bonisile
 TYUMRE, Violet
 TYUTHUZA, Mxolisi Takana Patrick
 TYWABI, Sicelo
 TYWABI, Tutwana Baw'Utshezi Safdan

VAALTYN, Bulwana
 VAKELE, Totswana
 VALA, Edward
 VALA, Jeremia Siphos
 VALELA, Thenjiwe Patricia
 VALENTIN, Varaksa
 VAN ASWEGEN, Darryl Donovan
 VAN DER MERWE, Cheryl-Anne
 Charmaine
 VAN DER MERWE, Jacob Gabriel

VAN DER MERWE/DAVIDS, Donald
 VAN DER SCHYFF, Mogamat Nadeem
 VAN DYK, Amina Elizabeth
 VAN ECK, Jacoba
 VAN ECK, Johannes Frederick
 VAN ECK, Johannes Frederick (Junior)
 VAN ECK, Michael Ignatius
 VAN ECK, Nelmar
 VAN HEERDEN, Ferdinand Pretorius
 VAN KERKE, Naomi
 VAN NIEKERK, George Richard
 VAN NIEKERK, Johannes
 VAN RENSBURG, Jan Louis
 VAN ROOYEN, Christina Francina
 VAN ROOYEN, Coenraad
 VAN ROOYEN, Festina
 VAN STADEN, Cecil Roos Tamsanqa
 VAN VUUREN, Magdeline Mmapholo
 VAN WYK, Hendrik Jacobus
 VAN WYK, Janetta Adriana
 VAN WYK, Jeremiah Shadrack
 VAN WYK, Johannes Bongizembe
 VAN WYK, Lehodi Mishack
 VAN WYK, Leon
 VAN WYK, Pedro
 VAN WYK, Rintjie Ousie
 VAN WYK, Sarah
 VAN WYK, Thelma
 VAN WYK, Willem Arie
 VANDA, Ngwenduna
 VANDA, Pumelele Cecil
 VANDEYAR, Rajeegopal Pakiry
 VANDQYI, Wilson
 VANI, Mzwamadoda Eric
 VANSTDAN, Rose Ntsoaki
 VANTO, Mbuyiselo
 VANTYU, Petros
 VAPI, Nicholas Mongameli
 VARA, Lulamile Eric
 VARA, Mafasi Agnes
 VARA, Stanford
 VATIWE, Thanduxolo
 VAVA, Siphos Steven
 VAWDA, Yousouff
 VELA, Patrick Gwebile
 VELDSMAN, Patrick Pat
 VELELO, Thembinkosi
 VELEM, Selina
 VELL, Ntombizanele
 VELLE, Mbulelo
 VELLE, Mkuseli
 VENA, John Thembisile
 VENA, May
 VENA, Mpumelelo Hansie
 VENA, Mxolisi Michael
 VENA, Vuyisile
 VENA, Zalisile
 VENGADASAMY, Tyrone Garfield
 VERWEY, Julie
 VESSEL, Gladman Nkosana
 VETANI, Mziwethemba Xolile
 VETMAN, Mabhoti Alfred
 VETO, Mbulelo Gideon
 VETO, Zola Richman
 VETYU, Thandabantu Alfred

VEYI, Popayi
 VEZI, Agnes Bashadile
 VEZI, Agrippa Sibusiso
 VEZI, Khulekalwe Smallman
 VEZI, Sibusiso Agrippa
 VEZI, Siphon Christos
 VEZI, Xolani Siphon
 VIDIMA, Dumisani
 VIDIMA, Mshungwini
 VIDIMA, Tolakele Flora
 VILAKAZI, Abraham
 VILAKAZI, Bonginkosi Isaac
 VILAKAZI, Bukani
 VILAKAZI, Christina
 VILAKAZI, Clifford Qedukwazi
 VILAKAZI, Dudu Elsie
 VILAKAZI, Dumisani Paulos
 VILAKAZI, Enerstina
 VILAKAZI, Goli
 VILAKAZI, Jabulani Samuel
 VILAKAZI, Jafta
 VILAKAZI, Lina Landubase
 VILAKAZI, Makhiseni
 VILAKAZI, Mandla Jeffrey
 VILAKAZI, Mandlenkosi Mathews
 VILAKAZI, Matsheni Julius
 VILAKAZI, Mazwi
 VILAKAZI, Ngicuphile
 VILAKAZI, Nomini Mary
 VILAKAZI, Poppy Mathilda
 VILAKAZI, Qedukwazi Clifford
 VILAKAZI, Raymond Bonginkosi
 VILAKAZI, Robert Gabangani
 VILAKAZI, Sibusiso Michael
 VILAKAZI, Simanga
 VILAKAZI, Solani Nokuthula
 VILAKAZI, Sphamandla
 VILAKAZI, Thamari Maria
 VILAKAZI, Thebizile Ntoyi
 VILAKAZI, Thulani
 VILAKAZI, Twodays Cecelia
 VILAKAZI, Victoria Ntombi
 VILAKAZI, Wami Enoch
 VILAKAZI, William
 VILAKAZI-TSHABALALA, Desmond
 Moses
 VILANCULO, Raul Respeito
 VILANE, Sihlangu Joffrey
 VILJOEN, Sarah Jane
 VIMNECEMBE, Andrew
 VINGER, Ronald
 VININDWA, Violet Nofikile
 VISAGIE, Cleotom Darryl
 VISAGIE, Dewald Jacobus
 VISAGIE, Getrude
 VISSER, Jacobus Raymond
 VOGEL, Clasina Johanna Salomina
 VOYIYA, Funeka
 VRIES, Andries Basil
 VUMAZONKE, Dora
 VUMAZONKE, Gerald Zolile Bonisile
 VUMAZONKE, Mlahlwa
 VUMAZONKE, Olga
 VUMAZONKE, Paulus
 VUMAZONKE, Phindile Ronald

VUMAZONKE, Yogi Eugenia
 VUNDLA, Dumazi Themba
 VUNDLA, Theminkosi Bongani
 VUNGAYI, Mhlutshwa
 VUSANI, Mgcineni
 VUSO, Mathemba
 VUTHELA, Nzimeni Johannes

WABENA, Jeff Ngxeke
 WALTERS, Sebastation Stephanus
 WATIZA, Zenzile
 WEAKLEY, Alistair James
 WEAKLEY, Glen Pearsall
 WEBER, Karl Andrew
 WEBSTER, David
 WEBSTER, Edward
 WEKENI, Joseph
 WESINYANE, Moses Mathere
 WESSELS, Tandiwe Rina
 WESTLEY, Helen
 WESTLEY, Lorraine
 WEWERS, Saul Jacobus
 WHEELER, Boyce Michael
 WHITFIELD, Deric John
 WIEHAHN, Geraldine Mathilda
 WILI, Goodboy
 WILKENS, Kobus
 WILLEMSE, Johannes
 WILLIAM, Bonile Johnson
 WILLIAMS, Abraham
 WILLIAMS, Abubakr
 WILLIAMS, Daniel Sicelo
 WILLIAMS, Greshna
 WILLIAMS, Henry
 WILLIAMS, Moegamat Qasim
 WILLIAMS, Noel John
 WILLIAMS, Paul Manuel
 WILLIAMS, Piet
 WILLIAMS, Teddy Edward Mwase
 WILLIAMS, Tekana Steven
 WILSON, Nomvula Maggie
 WINER, William Stan
 WITBOOI, Florence Eunice
 WITBOOI, Neville
 WITBOOI, Nomathamsanga Elita
 WITBOOI, Nomawethu Veronica
 WITBOOI, Shadrack Jongikaya
 WOJI, Lulamile Henry
 WOKONA, Pumlal
 WOLF, Oupa Vincent
 WONCI, Theminkosi Michael
 WOOD, Michael John
 WULANA, Sandile
 WULANA, Solomon, Wotose

XABA, Absalom Bhekuyise
 XABA, Alice Zodwa
 XABA, Bongile Lillian
 XABA, Brenda Thulisiwe
 XABA, Buyo
 XABA, Dumisani Norman
 XABA, Elloff
 XABA, Elvis Siphon
 XABA, Emmanuel Kenny Vusi
 XABA, Ester Nosiphon

XABA, John Njinga
 XABA, Joseph
 XABA, Joseph Mbonankulu
 XABA, Khehla
 XABA, Lawrence
 XABA, Mandla Vincent
 XABA, Marita
 XABA, Mchozo Nathaniel
 XABA, Monster Ntsietsa
 XABA, Moses
 XABA, Mthandazo
 XABA, Ndoda Anthony
 XABA, Nkosinathi Salmon
 XABA, Noluthando
 XABA, Nomvula Sanna
 XABA, Nonhlanhla Cybthia
 XABA, Ntombizodwa
 XABA, Robert Mphikeleli
 XABA, Shampiyoni Josiah
 XABA, Sibongiseni Eric
 XABA, Simon
 XABA, Sina
 XABA, Taku Annah
 XABA, Thandeka
 XABA, Thembanil
 XABA, Thembi Patience
 XABA, Thulani Innocent
 XABA, Totoli
 XABANDLINI, Zuko Gow
 XABANISA, Harriet Nomonde
 XABENDLINI, Heerboy
 XABENDLINI, Pumile Richard
 XAKA, Malixole
 XAKISA, Mntunaye Wellington
 XAKWE, Simon
 XALUVA, Zongezile Matthews
 XAM, Lalala
 XAM, Nowezile Florence
 XAM, Pungutyanal
 XATULA, Leo
 XEGO, Malgas
 XEGO, September Sikhathile
 XEGWANA, Lindela Alfred
 XEKELA, Samson
 XEKETWANA, Eric
 XHAKANA, Rubin Shomboto
 XHAMFU, Ndoiyisile Albert
 XHOBA, Aubrey
 XHOBA, Bashintshile
 XHOBA, Khipekile Relieth
 XHOBA, Ncishiwe Alvia
 XHOBA, Nonhlanhla
 XHOBA, Singqobile
 XHOBA, Winile
 XHOBISO, Xola
 XHOLA, Thembisile Martin
 XIMBA, Gane
 XIMBA, Mpiyakhe Mandlenkosi
 XIMBA, Muziwenkosi
 XIMBA, Ndondile
 XIMBA, Phala Rose
 XIMBA, Siphamandla
 XIMBA, Sonny Mduduzeni
 XIMBA, Themba
 XIMBA, Theminkosi Mziwakhe Elphus

XIMBA, Welcome Sipiwe
 XOBOLOLO, Sipwi Alfred
 XOFA, Nozipho Eunice
 XOKISO/JOHNSON, Goodman Tatasi
 XOLILI, Sam
 XOLISILE, Clifton
 XOLO, Landiwe Mambhele
 XOLO, Muzikawupheli Eric
 XOLO, Safa Vincent
 XOLO, Tanana
 XOLO, Thembisile Esther
 XOLO, Thumani Eunice Mamdleo
 XONGO, Ntombizanele Princess
 XOSANI, Zamani David
 XULU, Agnes
 XULU, Bella
 XULU, Bisisiwe Thombe
 XULU, Christopher Musa
 XULU, Dumisani
 XULU, Halalisani Samuel
 XULU, Joel Msizi
 XULU, Khanyisile Lephina
 XULU, Mbongeleni
 XULU, Mkhombiseni Herron
 XULU, Mzomonje Phineas
 XULU, Nicholas
 XULU, Ngobizwe Anderson
 XULU, Ntombikile Nora
 XULU, Sibongile Constance Thandeka
 XULU, Sipho Aubrey
 XULU, Sipho Brigitte
 XULU, Thabani Percival
 XULU, Thandiwe Pretty
 XULU, Thengiswa Victoria
 XULU, Thokozani
 XUZA, Mandla

YABO, Sidney
 YAKA, Mbangomuni
 YALI, Khayaletu
 YALO, Bikiwe
 YALOLO-BOOYSEN, Geoffrey Yali
 YAMANI, Nomeyi Nomarket
 YANTA, Mathews Sindile
 YANTOLO, Skepi Tom
 YAPHI, Aweni
 YAPHI, Illias
 YAPHI, Welile
 YASIN, Ridwaan
 YAWA, Bonisile Moses
 YAWA, Thembile
 YAWA-NCISANA, Alfred Xolile
 YAWU, Stanley
 YAYA, Enoch
 YAYI, Eric Zimasile
 YEBE, Lungisile William
 YEKANI, Wazina
 YEKANI, Zongile
 YEKELA, Ntabankulu
 YEKI, Hillbrow N
 YELANI, David Mbulelo
 YELANI, Sipho Pleare
 YENDE, Joseph Mzanempie
 YENDE, Matha Phelo
 YENDE, Thoko

YENGANA, Sipiwe
 YENGANI, Mayosi Morrison
 YENGANI, Tony Sithembiso
 YENGWA, Bhkizazi Ernest
 YENGWA, Felizwe
 YENGWA, Khalelani
 YENGWA, Mnje
 YENGWA, NkosiyoKuthula Bongani
 YENGWA, Phumapi
 YENGWA, Zintle
 YENI, Gugu Phyllis
 YENI, Thabani Almon
 YENI, Venon Basil
 YIKA, Maxwel Nick
 YIKA, Saule Zililo
 YILIWE, Mvuzo Wages
 YIMBA, Winnie
 YOKWANA, Matse Jacob
 YONA, Godfrey Xolile
 YONA, Stomberg Xolela
 YOSE, Mandla Elby
 YOSE, Mantunge Prichard Ngculazi
 YOYO, Mfene Simon
 YOYO, Wilby Macebo

ZACA, Mandla Bethwell
 ZACA, Mothi Solomon
 ZACA, Muhle Elijah
 ZACA, Nhlomla
 ZACA, Ntombilezi Ireene
 ZACA, Sonnyboy Ernest
 ZACA, Thulani
 ZADUNGE, Gavu Mkhize
 ZAHELA, Nomthetho Jeanette
 ZAKHE, Khayaletu
 ZAKWE, Dumisani
 ZAKWE, Kumakwakhe
 ZAKWE, Ntombithini Patience
 ZAKWE, Simon Zonke
 ZALI, Monde Mendly
 ZAMA, Ivan Bhkizitha
 ZAMA, Thamsanqa Mata Linock
 ZAMA, Zwelakhe Albert Mqgashiyu
 ZAMBODLA, Mzwandile Leonard
 ZAMELA, Nosipho
 ZAMISA, Bongani Phikingkani
 ZAMISA, Ian Phumuza
 ZAMISA, Mandla Lucas
 ZAMISA, Mathiya Albert
 ZAMISA, Miriam Ncane
 ZAMISA, Phineas Veni
 ZAMISA, Victor Dumisa
 ZAMISA, Vusi Nelson
 ZAMISA, Zandile Benedicta
 ZAMKANA, Nodida Jane
 ZANDILE, Sonwabo
 ZANELO, Msongelwa Michael
 ZANQINQI, Hloholo
 ZANTANTA, Mzimasi Michael
 ZANTSI, Sonnyboy Willie
 ZAWANA, Sandile
 ZAWUKANA, Noluntu
 ZAZAYOKWE, Israel Makhosonke
 ZEKANA, Nocawa Dorah
 ZEKEVU, Nobakabonwa

ZENANE, Victor Charles
 ZENANI, Cordelia
 ZENANI, Mbulelo
 ZENANI, Mbulelo
 ZENGETWA, Luleka
 ZENGETWA, Moses Mnyamezeli
 ZENGETWA, Ntsikelelo
 ZENZE, Thandi Jabu
 ZENZILE, David
 ZENZILE, Ndaphi
 ZENZILE, Siphelo Isaac
 ZIBANE, Innocent Bernard
 ZIBANE, Jabulani Edward
 ZIBANE, Jomo John
 ZIBANE, Muzikayise Blessing
 ZIBANE, Sebenzile
 ZIBANE, Vusumuzi
 ZIBANI, Bokhethile
 ZIBANI, Dingeni
 ZIBANI, Freedom Mkhombiseni
 ZIBANI, Muzikayise
 ZIBANI, Muziwenkosi
 ZIBANI, Thandekile
 ZIBANI, Thembani
 ZIBANI, Thembinkosi
 ZIBANI, Tude Minah
 ZIBI, Vuyani Victor
 ZIBONELE, Shweni
 ZIBULA, Bongani
 ZIBULA, Dumisani
 ZIEGLER, Grace
 ZIKALALA, Phakokwakhe Fanweli
 ZIKALALA, Sibusiso Governor
 ZIKHALI, Bhkumuzi
 ZIKHALI, Gabisile Princess
 ZIKHALI, Sibongile
 ZIKHUNDLA, Maradere Bellina
 ZIKODE, Buyiswa Josephine
 ZIKODE, Lungisani
 ZIKODE, Thobezweni
 ZIKODE, Zibuki Alfred
 ZIMA, Emmerenica Benzani
 ZIMO, Tshokolo Ernest
 ZIMU (MBANGA), Phondo Nellie
 ZIMU, Bhkinkosi Godfrey
 ZIMU, Mduduzi
 ZIMU, Mfanoza Fraser
 ZIMU, Thulane Petros
 ZIMU, Vukani Rodgers
 ZINDELA, Gwentu
 ZINDELA, Janet Poni Majitsheyi
 ZINGO, Vusi James
 ZINGXONDO, Ntombizanele Elsie
 ZINYOSINI, Mnyenjwa
 ZIQUBU, Bhki Edward
 ZIQUBU, Danki Harriet
 ZIQUBU, Emmanuel
 ZIQUBU, Ethel Thokozile
 ZIQUBU, Fikile
 ZIQUBU, Isaac Mjele
 ZIQUBU, Martha
 ZIQUBU, Nonhlinh Linah
 ZIQUBU, Phetheni Catherine
 ZIQUBU, Thembela
 ZIQUBU, Violet

ZITHA, Bafana	ZONDI, Nkosinathi Innocent	ZULU, Babo Joseph
ZITHA, Buyelem Florence	ZONDI, Nomusa Doris	ZULU, Bafana Gideon
ZITHA, John Dayson	ZONDI, Ntombi Eslina	ZULU, Barent
ZITHA, Jujwa Alfred	ZONDI, Ntombikazi Viola	ZULU, Beatrice
ZITHA, Petrus	ZONDI, Pat	ZULU, Bheki
ZITHA, Vusi	ZONDI, Patricia	ZULU, Bhekokwakhe
ZITO, Mvuleni William	ZONDI, Pearl Lungile	ZULU, Bonakele
ZIYAYA, Israel	ZONDI, Sam	ZULU, Cebisile Sindisiwe
ZOKOLO, Shadrack Ntsikelelo	ZONDI, Seleni Sizani	ZULU, Celani Busisiwe
ZOKUFA, Milton	ZONDI, Sicelo	ZULU, Clemencia Qondeni
ZOKUFA, Nogcina Myriel Zokufa Mam	ZONDI, Sihle Brian	ZULU, Clifford
ZOKUFA, Sendikho	ZONDI, Simon	ZULU, David Mbuti
ZOKWE, Ensarah Ndabakazi Mamajola	ZONDI, Simon Jabulani	ZULU, Duduzile Gladys
ZOKWE, Mthobeli	ZONDI, Siphso	ZULU, Dumazile
ZOKWE, Obett Makhwenkwe	ZONDI, Thokozani M	ZULU, Edith Celmpilo
ZOKWE, Sitembele	ZONDI, Tholakeke Beatrice	ZULU, Elias
ZOLEKA, Mavis Lolo	ZONDI, Tozi Constance	ZULU, Fano David
ZONDANI, Patric Mkhuseli	ZONDI, Vusumuzi Mfanifikile	ZULU, Funani Dina
ZONDANI, Zelda	ZONDI, Wellington Mandlenkosi	ZULU, Fuzuyise Sakhile
ZONDI, Anos	ZONDI, Zanele Phyllis	ZULU, Hendry
ZONDI, Bekinkosi Ephraim	ZONDI, Zenzele Humphrey	ZULU, Herbert Mkononzeni
ZONDI, Bernard	ZONDI, Zithulele	ZULU, Herbert Nhlanhla Solomon
ZONDI, Bheji Michion	ZONDI, Zithulele Reginald	ZULU, Jabu Joyce
ZONDI, Bongani Jabulani Justice	ZONDI, Zithulele Sydney	ZULU, Jabulani
ZONDI, Bongi Mary-Jane	ZONDI, Zodwa Eunice	ZULU, James Madlala
ZONDI, Busisiwe Monica	ZONDO, Abeuter	ZULU, Johannes
ZONDI, Christina Sibongile	ZONDO, Andrew	ZULU, Julia
ZONDI, Datsi Washington	ZONDO, Bangifa	ZULU, Khumalo
ZONDI, Dumisami Alfred	ZONDO, Busi Dephney	ZULU, Linda Montgomery
ZONDI, Dumisani	ZONDO, Funani Joyce	ZULU, Lindiwe Francisca
ZONDI, Dumisani Henson	ZONDO, Fungeleni Adelaide	ZULU, Lucy
ZONDI, Elliott	ZONDO, Hlengiwe Allita	ZULU, Mabathu Enoch
ZONDI, Emmanuel Mqapheleni	ZONDO, Ida Sizani	ZULU, Madaleni Agnes
Mbhekaphansi	ZONDO, Khonzile Maria	ZULU, Mankankane Veronica
ZONDI, Enoch David	ZONDO, Khulani Hamilton	ZULU, Maureen
ZONDI, Fikile	ZONDO, Kuntuza Killer	ZULU, Mthembeni Christopher
ZONDI, Fikile Beauty Masantu	ZONDO, Magugi Emmanuel	ZULU, Muzi Stephane
ZONDI, George	ZONDO, Menzi Patric	ZULU, Myekeni Joseph
ZONDI, Grace Gabangani	ZONDO, Michael	ZULU, Mzovukayo Clifford
ZONDI, Helga Mazodwa	ZONDO, Nomakhemesi	ZULU, Ndawo Alfred
ZONDI, Jabulani	ZONDO, Ntombiyecala	ZULU, Nhlanhla
ZONDI, Jameson	ZONDO, Prince Ntshingila	ZULU, Nkosingiphile Bajabulile
ZONDI, Lungisile	ZONDO, Qaphea Blessing	ZULU, Nobahle Gloria
ZONDI, Makhosazana Esther	ZONDO, Rabi Moses	ZULU, Nomadinyana
ZONDI, Mamo Emily	ZONDO, Sandile	ZULU, Nomagoli Annie
ZONDI, Mangaliso	ZONDO, Sifiso	ZULU, Nomusa Mildred
ZONDI, Martha	ZONDO, Thanduxolo Patrick	ZULU, Nonhlanhla
ZONDI, Mbandeni	ZONDO, Winnie	ZULU, Ntombela Robson
ZONDI, Mdingi Zephania	ZONKE, Thomas	ZULU, Ntombikayise
ZONDI, Mduduzi	ZONO, Nobantu	ZULU, Ntombo
ZONDI, Menziwa Alson Voyi	ZONO, Simon	ZULU, Ntombo Ellen
ZONDI, Meyi Mayvis	ZONO, Xoliswa Eunice	ZULU, Peter
ZONDI, Mfaniseni	ZOTE, Edgar Ngqokweni	ZULU, Petros
ZONDI, Mgonothi	ZOTE, Magcina Xhamela	ZULU, Phuzukwenaba Leonard
ZONDI, Mhlophe Micho	ZOTWA, Nomafa	ZULU, Prince Cyril Bonginkosi
ZONDI, Mjabu	ZUBA, Christian Mbokothwana	ZULU, Richard Siphso
ZONDI, Mlindelwa Gibson	ZUKE, Bhekezakhe	ZULU, Sabbinan Makhosazana
ZONDI, Mlungisi Kenneth	ZUKE, Michael Zamokwakhe	ZULU, Samuel Themba
ZONDI, Molly	ZUKE, Pricilla Sibongile	ZULU, Shabane
ZONDI, Mthembeni Richard	ZULU, Agnes	ZULU, Shabane Zibokwakhe
ZONDI, Mzikayifani	ZULU, Albertine	ZULU, Siboniso Phumiani
ZONDI, Mzikayifani Amon	ZULU, Alfred	ZULU, Signoria Thembani
ZONDI, Mzomuhle Samson	ZULU, Alton Baba Kamiso	ZULU, Sikhumbuzo
ZONDI, Ngiteni Eslina	ZULU, Amon Benoli	ZULU, Sindisiwe Ntombi
ZONDI, Nivard	ZULU, Armstrong	ZULU, Sinenhlanhla

ZULU, Siphso David
 ZULU, Sizwe Moses
 ZULU, Thabane Richard
 ZULU, Thandi Henrieta
 ZULU, Themba Petronella
 ZULU, Thembani
 ZULU, Thembekile
 ZULU, Thembelihle
 ZULU, Thembeni Faith
 ZULU, Thembi
 ZULU, Thembinkosi
 ZULU, Thembinkosi Enoch
 ZULU, Thobile Muriel
 ZULU, Thulani
 ZULU, Thulasizwe
 ZULU, Umbuso Errol
 ZULU, Vusumuzi Petros
 ZULU, Yanizana Bethah
 ZULU, Zantombazana Beslina
 ZULU, Zephetheni Alexia
 ZULU, Zimiphi Hlengiwe
 ZUMA, Andreas Bongsi
 ZUMA, Batsokole
 ZUMA, Beatrice Makhosazane
 ZUMA, Bheki
 ZUMA, Bongani Petros
 ZUMA, Bonginkosi
 ZUMA, Christopher
 ZUMA, Christopher
 ZUMA, Dingaan Job
 ZUMA, Dinguyise Nicholas
 ZUMA, Dudu
 ZUMA, Ephraim
 ZUMA, Evelyne
 ZUMA, Florence
 ZUMA, Jabulani Phillip
 ZUMA, Jacob Maxwell Mthokozisi
 ZUMA, Jeremiah
 ZUMA, John Nkosinathi Fana
 ZUMA, Makholwa Elliot
 ZUMA, Mandla
 ZUMA, Maria Nontombi
 ZUMA, Mbali
 ZUMA, Mbambowehashi
 ZUMA, Mduduzi Linus
 ZUMA, Michael Siphso
 ZUMA, Mishack Mdi
 ZUMA, Mkheshe Cashina
 ZUMA, Mkhululeni Caiphas
 ZUMA, Ngezeleni Gertrude
 ZUMA, Nomakhowe Norah
 ZUMA, Nongilandi
 ZUMA, Nontethelelo
 ZUMA, Nora
 ZUMA, Nosihle Viola
 ZUMA, Ntombikayise Gladys
 ZUMA, Patrick
 ZUMA, Paulos Bonginkosi
 ZUMA, Phumele Euginia
 ZUMA, Pintsholi Elias
 ZUMA, Scebi
 ZUMA, Siboniso
 ZUMA, Sifiso Phillip
 ZUMA, Thabile
 ZUMA, Thandekile
 ZUMA, Thembani Doris

ZUMA, Thembekile Annatoria
 ZUMA, Tshelubani
 ZUNGA, Emily Mpolai
 ZUNGA, Maude Nonhlahla
 ZUNGU, Andretta Lilly
 ZUNGU, Angeline Nokuzola
 ZUNGU, Anna Dutshulwe
 ZUNGU, Bangani Thandi
 ZUNGU, Bonakele Qondeni
 ZUNGU, Boy
 ZUNGU, Cynthia Ntombifuthi
 ZUNGU, Dankie Makhosonke
 ZUNGU, Ethel Busisiwe Thandile
 ZUNGU, Evens Zikhauleni
 ZUNGU, Khulu
 ZUNGU, Lucky Nhlahla
 ZUNGU, Lucky Raphael
 ZUNGU, Mangalisiwe Simangele
 ZUNGU, Mbongeni Absolom
 ZUNGU, Mhambiseni Jeremiah
 ZUNGU, Mholeni Amon
 ZUNGU, Mlungisi Russell
 ZUNGU, Msizi
 ZUNGU, Ngitholiwe
 ZUNGU, Ntandoyethu
 ZUNGU, Qinisile Gabazile
 ZUNGU, Sabani Jonga
 ZUNGU, Shayizandla Mfaniseni James
 ZUNGU, Thuleleni
 ZUNGU, Toti
 ZUNGU, Veronica Vuyelwa
 ZUNGU, Victor
 ZUNGU, Vokotwaca
 ZUNGU, Yawuza Isaac
 ZUZA, Zelpha
 ZUZANI, Desmond Lungelo
 ZWAKALA, Maqhubela Shadrack
 ZWANE, Aaron Mandlenkosi
 ZWANE, Aubrey
 ZWANE, Austin Xolani
 ZWANE, Bekile Gladys
 ZWANE, Bhékani Johannes
 ZWANE, Bhéki Patrick
 ZWANE, Bongani
 ZWANE, Botati Samuel
 ZWANE, Busisiwe Alice
 ZWANE, Buti Petro
 ZWANE, Charles Bongani
 ZWANE, Dorothy
 ZWANE, Elijah
 ZWANE, Elphas Mbongeni
 ZWANE, Hlome G
 ZWANE, Johannes
 ZWANE, Josiah Zwelakhe
 ZWANE, Khathazile Ivy
 ZWANE, Kutshwa Johanna
 ZWANE, Lenah Tshidile
 ZWANE, Linda William
 ZWANE, Lindiwe Princess
 ZWANE, Lucas Boy
 ZWANE, Mandlenkosi
 ZWANE, Maureen
 ZWANE, May Precious
 ZWANE, Michael Mzikayifani
 ZWANE, Mqiniseni Simon
 ZWANE, Ncheteka Stelco

ZWANE, Nganama Jotham
 ZWANE, Njabulo
 ZWANE, Ntombikile Pretty
 ZWANE, Obed
 ZWANE, Patrick Emmanuel
 ZWANE, Patrick Mandlakayise
 ZWANE, Philane
 ZWANE, Philisiwe Elsie
 ZWANE, Reggie
 ZWANE, Regina Jabulile
 ZWANE, Shongani Nonhlanhla
 ZWANE, Sibongile Esther
 ZWANE, Siphso Gerald
 ZWANE, Siphso Reginald
 ZWANE, Siphso Russell
 ZWANE, Thembi Mavis
 ZWANE, Tony Bongani
 ZWANE, Zanele
 ZWANE-NDLOVU, Nomasonto
 Georgina
 ZWELIBANZI, Trayishile Samuel
 ZWELIFILE, Bonakele Bongani
 ZWELINZIMA, Lucas Norman
 ZWENI, Douglas Ndakuthini
 ZWENI, Lebuthi
 ZWENI, Louis
 ZWENI, Mpantessa William

Interim Report of the Amnesty Committee

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The Amnesty Committee (the Committee), one of three statutory committees of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission), was established in terms of section 17 of the Act.¹ This provision was amended on three occasions in order to provide for the extension of the Committee. The principal function of the Committee is to decide applications for amnesty received from perpetrators of offences or delicts associated with a political objective within the mandate period.²
- 2 At the time of reporting the Committee consisted of seventeen members,³ whose principal function is to decide applications for amnesty either in chambers or at a public hearing, sitting in panels of at least three members, which is the statutory quorum.
- 3 At the time of reporting, a considerable part of the Committee's workload was incomplete.⁴ The life span of the Committee has been extended to enable these outstanding matters to be finalised, while the rest of the Commission was suspended on 31 October 1998. Provision has been made for a further report to be submitted after the finalisation of the outstanding amnesty applications. The present chapter is intended to give a broad overview of the Committee's activities in the interim and will be followed by a more detailed report which covers the rest of the period and will contain a full list of all matters decided by the Committee.

■ FORMATION AND COMPOSITION

- 4 The head office of the Committee was established in Cape Town, which was also the seat of the Commission.

1 Acts 18 of 1997, 84 of 1997 and 33 of 1998. The various increases in the number of members are dealt with later.

2 The term "act associated with a political objective" is defined in sections 20(2) and (3) of the Act. The mandate period was initially 1 May 1960 - 5 December 1993 which was later extended to 10 May 1994 by a constitutional amendment on 29 August 1997.

3 The members are identified in the *Administrative Report of the Amnesty Committee* in Volume One.

4 An audit of the work of the Amnesty Committee is contained in the chapter on *Administrative Reports of the Statutory Committees: Amnesty Committee* in Volume One.

- 5 The various versions of section 17 reflect the changes effected to the composition of the Committee from time to time. In its original form, section 17 provided for a single entity consisting of five members under the chairpersonship of a serving or retired judge of the High Court.⁵ The section provided that two members of the Committee should be commissioners appointed in consultation with the Commission. The two commissioners nominated and appointed to the Committee are both qualified lawyers and legal practitioners.
- 6 The others were appointed by the President and no formal process for such appointments was provided for in the section. In exercising this prerogative, the President appointed three judges together with the two Commissioners nominated by the Commission, to the Committee. It is clear from a reading of the Act that the Committee is required to perform a largely judicial function. This made it expedient to appoint three judges to the Committee, although the section only explicitly made provision for the appointment of one judge to chair the Committee.
- 7 There were considerable delays in appointing the members of the Committee, which resulted in the loss of valuable time in putting the work of the Committee into operation.

■ ESTABLISHING AN INFRASTRUCTURE

- 8 The Committee was faced with similar logistical problems as those experienced by the rest of the Commission. It had to set up offices and establish an infrastructure out of nothing. The Committee was initially allocated one whole floor in the building occupied by the Commission. This was converted into offices as well as a hearings room. Given the rapid expansion of the Committee, further accommodation was subsequently taken on another floor in the Commission offices.
- 9 The Committee also had to engage in the process of recruiting the requisite staff. The Act provides only for the office of an executive secretary for the Committee. In the absence of any specific guidelines, the Committee decided that, in order properly to perform its functions, it would be necessary to appoint a complement of suitably qualified lawyers and a complement of appropriate administrative staff. The professional services personnel were referred to as leaders of evidence, a term that reflects one of their principal functions – namely the leading of evidence at public hearings of the Committee. The Committee initially appointed a core staff consisting, *inter alia*, of an administrative secretary and two leaders of evidence,

⁵ The present chairperson, Mr Justice Hassen Mall, retired from active service as a judge during the course of his tenure of office as chairperson of the Committee.

one of whom doubled as the executive secretary of the Committee, significantly increasing the workload of the chief leader of evidence who was called upon to perform these functions as well. Both the professional staff complement as well as the administrative staff complement was gradually expanded as the workload of the Committee increased. In view of the novelty of the process, considerable time had to be invested in the training of staff on an ongoing basis.

- 10 One of the other urgent tasks of the Committee was to formulate and publish an application form for the purpose of amnesty applications. Logistical delays were experienced in formulating the amnesty application form and having it considered, approved and printed by the government. This led to additional pressure on the amnesty process in that there was a twelve-month period calculated from 15 December 1995 within which amnesty applications had to be submitted. It was, of course, not possible to apply for amnesty until the prescribed application form became available.
- 11 In view of the time limitations for the submission of applications, as well as their confidential nature, it was necessary to exercise strict control over all applications received and to keep accurate records thereof. Some logistical problems were occasioned by the fact that applications were received in a decentralised fashion in that it was open to applicants to submit their applications at the various regional offices of the Commission. This was in fact done on a significant scale. It was an important aspect of making the process of the Commission in general and the Committee specifically, accessible to the public. In practice, however, this resulted in duplication and an added workload on the Commission in that records of applications submitted at the regional offices were kept at the relevant regional office, and again registered in the central register at the head office of the Committee. A more detailed exposition of the process followed in registering and processing applications, in both narrative and diagrammatic form, is contained in the administrative report of the Amnesty Committee in Volume One.
- 12 One of the early problems resulting from the absence of a full staff complement was that members of the Committee had to engage in analysing and processing applications for amnesty, in addition to their principal duty of considering and deciding on the applications.

■ COMMUNICATION AND ACCESSIBILITY

- 13 In conjunction with the rest of the Commission, it was necessary to engage in a co-ordinated process of communicating the nature of amnesty and the process for submitting applications. The purpose was not only to publicise the process, but also to ensure that that proper applications were submitted, obviating the need for the Committee to spend time ensuring that applicants complied with the procedural requirements. The Commissioners on the Committee assumed the responsibility of communicating the process and, in particular, the procedural requirements to the public. This entailed visiting various centres, including several prisons, and engaging in public talks. Particular emphasis was placed on issues such as who qualified for amnesty, how application forms should be completed and where assistance could be obtained in completing application forms. In general, this contributed towards the enhanced formal quality of applications received, although a large percentage of applications fell short of the formal requirements.
- 14 A further aspect of rendering the amnesty process more accessible was to design the application form in an easily understandable and user friendly format and to ensure that it was available in all of the official languages, in considerable supplies at accessible points. All of the Commission offices were in a position to respond adequately to any request for application forms.
- 15 In addition and as part of the communication campaign, an appropriate interpretation service was provided both to members of the public and to the parties participating in public hearings of the Committee. Steps were also taken to ensure that members of the media were given full access to hearings and were positioned so they could report fully on the proceedings. The Committee initially had some reservations concerning the presence of television cameras at the public hearings. It was feared that this might have an inhibiting effect on the proceedings and on the willingness of applicants to come forward and submit applications for amnesty. It was, however, accepted that it would amount to unfair treatment of the electronic media – and indeed an inconsistency in the process – if only the print media and radio had access. It was also accepted that there was an overriding necessity to communicate the process to everyone through every conceivable means. The original fears proved unfounded and television coverage became and remains a standard feature of all of the Committee's public hearings.
- 16 The issue of amnesty turned out to be a very controversial one in most of the public discussions concerning the Committee and the Commission in general.

The immunity from criminal or civil proceedings that results from the granting of amnesty was one of the main reasons or grounds for opposition raised by direct victims of politically-motivated acts or their next of kin. One of the early legal challenges to the Commission was an attack upon the constitutionality of the amnesty provisions by the Azanian Peoples Organisations (AZAPO) and some prominent families who had suffered human rights violations at the hands of the security forces under apartheid. The Constitutional Court eventually decided this matter against the applicants, upholding the constitutionality of amnesty. This case is more fully discussed in the chapter on *Legal Challenges* in Volume One.

- 17 Most South Africans have, over time, come to accept the necessity of amnesty for the overall objective of national unity and reconciliation in the country.

■ PRIORITISING APPLICATIONS

- 18 The Act enjoins the Committee, wherever possible, to give priority to the applications of people in custody and to prescribe procedures to give effect thereto. This was a further source of the initial delays that resulted from difficulties in formulating and publishing appropriate regulations in this regard. By far the majority of applications, particularly the initial ones, were received from prisoners. This category also constitutes the majority of applications rejected for falling outside of the mandate of the Committee.
- 19 It was, however, also important to deal with applications that gave a broader and more balanced perspective of the past political conflict – which is indeed the subject matter of the work of the Commission. There were initially very few applications from persons falling into this latter category. It was considered important to encourage as many of the important role players in the conflict as possible to come forward and apply for amnesty. To serve this objective, at an early stage the Committee heard an important application from a group of security police members.⁶
- 20 For the above reasons, the Committee endeavoured as far as possible to maintain a balance between considering applications from those in custody and those who are not.
- 21 The above-mentioned approach of focussing on representative or window cases resulted in the receipt of a significant volume of amnesty applications from

⁶ The application of Cronje & Others Nos.

important role players in the conflict. This in turn assisted the Commission in pursuing its objectives of, inter alia, establishing the broadest possible picture of the past conflict and formulating recommendations to avoid such a situation from developing in future.

- 22 It is also important to point out that the Committee has been in contact and discussion with various leadership figures of the main political groupings and that considerable assistance was given to the Committee in this regard. This has been an ongoing process and the Committee has endeavoured to identify and respond to difficulties experienced by various groupings in order to facilitate their participation in the amnesty process. The Committee obtained valuable assistance and co-operation from the various submissions of political parties to the Commission and from individual leaders.

■ PROCESS

- 23 Once most of the initial administrative and logistical problems had been overcome, the Committee was in a position to introduce a process for dealing with applications. One of the fundamental aspects which had to be attended to in this regard was the categorisation of applications into those it was compelled to deal with at public hearings and those which could be dealt with by the Committee in chambers. The categorisation of an application determined the various preparatory steps that had to be taken in order to render the application ripe for a hearing or decision (see further Volume One).
- 24 The other important step was to obtain all relevant information and material required to supplement omissions or outstanding aspects of the application. This required the obtaining of official records like court transcripts, judgements, charge sheets and the like. It was also necessary to obtain further particulars from the applicant where this was needed.⁷
- 25 Once all of the information and material had been obtained, it was taken into account in deciding whether the application would amount to a chamber matter or to a matter for public hearing. This was regulated by the provisions of the Act, which compelled the Committee to hear all applications concerning a gross violation of human rights (as defined), at public hearings and gave the Committee the discretion as to how it would deal with all other matters. In practice, most of the applications not involving gross human rights violations were dealt with in chambers.

⁷ Section 19(1) of the Act makes provision for obtaining further particulars from applicants.

Chamber matters would then be allocated to a panel and a decision taken by a majority of the panel. In view of the fewer formalities involved in processing chamber matters, the majority of the early decisions of the Committee were taken in chambers. Consequently, all of the chamber matters had been finalised before the writing of this report.

- 26 A number of additional steps were necessary to prepare hearable matters for a public hearing. A lot of this entailed logistic work. First, a hearing date had to be allocated to the matter in consultation with all of the interested parties or their legal representatives. Included in this process was the issue of obtaining an appropriate venue for the hearing. In view of the importance of accessibility, every endeavour is made to obtain a venue that will be most convenient for most of the interested parties, particularly victims. In addition to this, it is also important that the most essential facilities should be available at the venue. Regard is also given to the issue of safety and security.
- 27 It is also necessary to give statutory notice of the hearing to all of the interested parties including victims. The Act explicitly entitles any party to the proceedings to have legal representation. A legal assistance scheme was created in terms of the Act to render assistance in appropriate cases to parties who are unable to afford legal representation. This is important issue in ensuring the fairness of the proceedings before the Committee and is linked to the question of accessibility.
- 28 Insofar as the hearing itself is concerned, the Act empowers the Committee either to promulgate rules of procedure which are generally applicable to hearings or alternatively to determine the procedure to be followed at a particular hearing. To avoid overly formalising the process and to retain the degree of flexibility necessary to ensure the fullest possible participation within the limited time available, the Committee decided against prescribing a set of generally applicable rules of procedure. This decision was partly based upon an acceptance by the Committee of the Commission's approach: that its process should not be equated to that of a court of law and should not be overly regulated. However, the proceedings of the Committee are largely judicial in nature and include in particular the right of cross-examination within reasonable bounds. All parties are allowed to adduce relevant evidence and to address argument to the hearings panel concerning all issues that have to be decided. The proceedings are recorded and the Committee gives reasoned decisions on each application. The Commission publishes these decisions. Within these parameters, the Committee endeavoured to conduct its proceedings in such a manner as to ensure that all parties are treated fairly.

- 29 A further important provision that assists in rationalising the work of the Committee is the provision of the Act, which allows the Committee to hear jointly all matters relating to the same incident. This is being used extensively by the Committee in order to expedite finalisation of its work.

■ EXTENSION OF THE COMMITTEE

- 30 As the deadline for the submission of applications approached, the volume of amnesty applications dramatically increased.⁸ It became apparent that it would be impossible to finalise all of the applications within the limited life span of the Commission unless the number of members of the Committee was increased to allow for more than one hearings panel. Therefore, section 17 of the Act was amended to provide for the appointment of a larger number of committee members.⁹ Following this amendment, two further members were appointed to the Committee, creating the possibility of simultaneous hearings by two hearings panels.
- 31 After the extension of the cut-off date of the Commission's mandate period from 5 December 1993 to 10 May 1994, it became possible for persons involved in a whole range of matters not previously covered to apply for amnesty in respect of their conduct. This in turn led to a new influx of amnesty applications, further increasing the mounting pressure on the Committee to finalise an overwhelming workload within the limited life span of the Commission.
- 32 Further amendments of section 17 followed, allowing for the appointment of at first nineteen¹⁰ and finally of an unlimited number of Committee members.¹¹ The Committee was extended to its present number of seventeen members, following these amendments.
- 33 Notwithstanding all these measures, it was not been possible to finalise all of the hearable amnesty applications by the time of reporting. This has resulted in the extension of the life span of the Committee beyond 30 October 1998. On

⁸ The initial deadline for submitting applications was 14 December 1996. This was subsequently extended by proclamation firstly to 10 May 1997 to coincide with the extension of the Commission mandate period to 10 May 1994. This extension was secured after the Commission intervened towards the end of 1996 pursuant to representations by some political parties, particularly the Freedom Front and the Pan Africanist Congress, and others. After the government agreed to the extension close to the deadline for submitting amnesty applications, the first extension of the deadline was proclaimed. Due to delays in enacting the constitutional amendment required to extend the mandate period, which was only done on 29 August 1997, the deadline was again extended to 30 September 1997 to allow for a further period of one month for amnesty applications after the constitutional amendment.

⁹ Section 1(a) of Act 18 of 1997 enacted the first amendment and provided for the number of members to be increased to no more than 13.

¹⁰ Section 1 of Act 87 of 1997.

¹¹ Section 1 of Act 33 of 1998.

this date, the rest of the Commission goes into suspension, pending finalisation of its work by the Committee. No date has presently been specified for the completion of the work of the Amnesty Committee. Provision is made for the President to determine the date for completion of amnesty work by proclamation in the Gazette.

- 34 It should be noted in this regard that a great deal of time is required for the preparation, actual hearing and the deciding of hearable matters. It was not possible to anticipate any of the logistic and other delays and difficulties experienced in finalising hearable matters at the time when the Commission was formed. This necessitated all of the legislative amendments to cater for the realities and practicalities of administering the amnesty process.

■ CHALLENGES

- 35 The main challenges that confronted the Committee were as follows:
- 36 One of the main challenges faced by the Committee was dealing with the various causes of delays in the process. Numerous difficulties are occasioned in this regard by the applications of prisoners and persons who are not legally represented. This resulted in the Committee taking various steps to ensure that the cases of such persons were properly and fully placed before the Committee. Some of the particular problems experienced were incomplete or improperly completed applications, difficulties in communicating with applicants and difficulties in investigating such cases. This meant that these cases took considerably longer to become ripe for a hearing or decision. In order to address this difficulty, the Committee has prevailed upon the Commission to ensure as far as possible that legal representation is provided to persons in these categories. This has been put into effect.
- 37 Considerable time is taken up by the actual hearing of applications, since it is open to affected or interested parties to participate in the proceedings to the extent of their interests therein. By the nature of things, opposed applications took much more time than other matters to complete. In many cases, interested parties and victims appeared but, rather than actively oppose the application, either kept a watching brief or abided by the proceedings. Following directions given by the Committee, it was also made possible for interested parties to submit written representations to the hearings panel or to place their views on record at the hearing through the services of the leader of evidence. The Committee

has endeavoured to limit the time spent in sittings by controlling unnecessary and time-consuming cross-examination or argument, the submission of irrelevant documentation or the leading of irrelevant evidence. In appropriate cases, pre-hearing conferences are held in order to limit or properly define the issues to be decided at the hearing. This involves all the parties to the matter and is conducted by the Committee.

- 38 Other delays during hearings resulted from unforeseen circumstances like a lack of time to complete matters within the period for which they had been set down or the granting of postponements to parties so they could properly prepare new material or evidence or to enable them to attend the proceedings. The availability of a preferred legal representative often caused delays in finalising matters. In spite of all these circumstances, the Committee has largely succeeded in curbing any abuse of the process and streamlining the hearings with the assistance and co-operation of most parties.
- 39 A further cause for some concern is the inequality in legal representation afforded to various parties. This has a negative affect on victims particularly. This concerns the vexing question of severe constraints on public resources or even the lack of such resources. This affects the issue of legal representation because the Commission's legal assistance scheme operates on a very limited budget, which prescribes tariffs for legal services very much in line with the government's legal aid scheme. These tariffs are notoriously low compared to the fees lawyers are able to demand on the open market. The more highly skilled lawyers are thus not easily attracted to work involving such limited tariffs. Most of the victims who participate in hearings are compelled to rely on the Commission's legal assistance scheme, since they are unable to fund legal representation from their own resources. This also applies to indigent applicants for amnesty. On the other hand, present or former state employees or members of liberation movements qualify for legal assistance by the state in terms of a special dispensation. The appearance of such persons before the Commission or its Committees is funded by the State and the State Attorney arranges their legal representation. Lawyers who appear on these instructions are allowed substantially higher tariffs than those provided for by the Commission's legal assistance scheme. These lawyers also have better resources at their disposal to prepare for hearings and represent their clients. In many instances, senior counsel handles these cases. The inherent inequality and unfairness of this situation is self-evident. Although the Committee is grateful to the many legal representatives who have, despite these hardships,

rendered a splendid service to the indigent, particularly victims, it remains disturbing to realise that there may be instances where justice was not done in respect of indigent amnesty applicants or victims at amnesty hearings.

■ CONCLUSION

- 40 In view of the judicial nature of the Committee's work and the fact that its decisions are subject to judicial scrutiny, it would be inappropriate for the Committee to comment on or indulge in an analysis of its decisions on the novel and interesting legal and other questions surrounding the amnesty process or the concept of amnesty in general. A list of all amnesty applications granted to date is contained in the appendix to this chapter. The Committee's decisions are made public. In order to avoid fragmentation, a full list of all decisions taken will accompany the report of the Committee that will be submitted upon completion of its work.

■ APPENDIX

AMNESTIES GRANTED AT TIME OF REPORTING

AM	APPLICANT	MANNER	DECISION	DATE
6210/97	ANDERSON, FB	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/09/15
8077/97	ANDERSON, GP	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/04/07
0101/96	BAM, ME	HEARING	GRANTED	97/04/14
2878/96	BATZOFIN, S	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/04/02
4118/96	BESTER, P	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/11/28
0105/96	BHEQEZI, S	HEARING	GRANTED	97/04/14
1190/96	BHILA, A	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/04/02
0041/96	BLEKI, SL	HEARING	GRANTED	98/05/11
0057/96	BOTHA, DP <i>(unlawful poss. of arms & ammu)</i>	HEARING	GRANTED	97/09/05
1703/96	BOTHA, JJC	CHAMBER	GRANTED	96/12/09
6422/97	BRAND, C	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/02
1298/96	BUSAKWE, E	HEARING	GRANTED	97/03/13
1548/96	CARD, DJ	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/04/02
0554/96	CHOLOTA, DB	HEARING	GRANTED	97/08/14
6610/97	CHRISTIE, MJS	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/02
0063/96	COETZEE, D <i>(Mxenge murder)</i>	HEARING	GRANTED	97/08/04
2478/96	CROWE, RJJ	CHAMBER	GRANTED	96/12/09
2337/96	DE BEER, JJ	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/08/21
3375/96	DE JONGH, NW	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/07/28
0081/96	DIALE, B	HEARING	GRANTED	96/08/22
4019/96	DLADLA, MA	HEARING	GRANTED	98/05/26
3905/96	DLAMINI, BP	HEARING	GRANTED	97/08/01
2466/96	DYANTI, WM	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/08/21
4133/96	ELS, WJ	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/11/28

AM	APPLICANT	MANNER	DECISION	DATE
0214/96	FAKU, NM	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/05/26
0483/96	FIETIES, C	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/09/15
0395/96	FRONEMAN, LH	HEARING	GRANTED	97/07/30
3514/96	GELDENHUYS, HC	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/08/17
3515/96	GELDENHUYS, HP	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/08/17
4139/96	GERBER, TH	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/11/28
4140/96	GEYSER, FH	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/11/28
0106/96	GOLA, AN	HEARING	GRANTED	97/04/14
4141/96	GOUS, AZ	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/06/01
0949/96	GOOMFA, H L (Heidelberg Tavern)	HEARING	GRANTED	98/07/15
1289/96	GSINISIZWE, D (Att. murder-Mhlambiso)	HEARING	GRANTED	97/01/23
0148/96	GXEKWA, N G	HEARING	GRANTED	98/07/21
3275/96	HARMSE, PJ	HEARING	GRANTED	97/07/13
1779/96	HLOPE, MJ	HEARING	GRANTED	97/08/07
4480/96	HLUBI, SS	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/07/02
5961/97	HOWELL, A	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/02
3613/96	HURTER, W	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/07/08
0919/96	JACK, TWO BOY	HEARING	GRANTED	97/05/20
0496/96	JAMESON, R	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/04/02
6178/97	JARDINE, HS	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/02
5240/97	JUDEEL, PJ	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/06/11
5619/97	KHOTLE, LA	HEARING	GRANTED	98/08/21
3443/96	KHOTLE, MI	HEARING	GRANTED	98/08/21
0632/96	KLAAS, MM	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/04/02
2893/96	KRIEL, AS	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/06/22
5180/97	KUBUKELI, P	HEARING	GRANTED	98/08/13
6440/97	KULA, MS	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/11/27
0312/96	LEBONA, P	HEARING	GRANTED	97/03/13
1297/96	LEKITLANE, TS	HEARING	GRANTED	97/03/13
4072/97	LETELE, MR	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/08/21
1004/96	LOTTERING, CJ (Robbery & escape)	HEARING	GRANTED	98/07/08

AM	APPLICANT	MANNER	DECISION	DATE
5931/97	MABALA, Z P <i>(Heidelberg Tavern)</i>	HEARING	GRANTED	98/07/15
5178/97	MABITSA, JT	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/22
6077/97	MADASI, V B <i>(Heidelberg Tavern)</i>	HEARING	GRANTED	98/07/15
0038/96	MADELA, M	HEARING	GRANTED	97/04/14
0865/96	MADODA, T	HEARING	GRANTED	97/07/17
6438/97	MAKAPELA, Z Z	HEARING	GRANTED	98/07/22
0080/96	MAKGALE, C	HEARING	GRANTED	96/08/22
0087/96	MAKOM, J	HEARING	GRANTED	97/04/14
0164/96	MAKOMA, G	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/11
0362/96	MAKROSI, T	HEARING	GRANTED	97/04/14
2567/96	MAKWENKWE, W	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/08/27
0293/97	MALEVU, BG	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/03
0998/96	MAMA, ST	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/08/18
0669/96	MANQINA, MC <i>(Amy Biehl)</i>	HEARING	GRANTED	98/07/28
0054/96	MARAI, E	HEARING	GRANTED	97/09/05
1880/96	MASEKO, AN	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/08/21
6439/97	MATI, L S	HEARING	GRANTED	98/07/22
2467/96	MATOMELA, WS	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/08/21
7016/97	MATSHAYA, MD	HEARING	GRANTED	98/08/13
1283/96	MAXAM, P <i>(Housebreaking)</i>	HEARING	GRANTED	97/07/17
0180/96	MAY, LJ	HEARING	GRANTED	97/10/27
0102/96	MBHEBE, DE	HEARING	GRANTED	97/04/14
4309/96	MDALANA, NJ	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/08/27
0103/96	MDYOGOLA, N	HEARING	GRANTED	97/04/14
0015/96	MENERA, NJ <i>(Murder-4 counts)</i>	HEARING	GRANTED	97/08/12
2586/96	MITCHELL, BV	HEARING	GRANTED	96/12/09
1290/96	MKHONTWANA, TP <i>(Att murder-Mhlambiso)</i>	HEARING	GRANTED	97/01/23
6140/97	MKHUMBUZI, BM	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/11
7596/97	MLAMBISI, T	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/11
4483/96	MNGUNI, MS	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/07/02
3998/96	MOALOSI, SP	HEARING	GRANTED	97/08/14
0116/97	MOHAPI, PT	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/22
0097/96	MOILWANYANE, D	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/04/02
4060/97	MONTOELI, TA	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/08/21
3902/96	MOTAUNG, SW	HEARING	GRANTED	97/08/01

AM	APPLICANT	MANNER	DECISION	DATE
2469/96	MOTSOPI, A	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/04/02
7110/97	MPANZA, B	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/09/15
0104/96	MPHAMBANI, SV	HEARING	GRANTED	97/04/14
6656/97	MPIYAKHE, LS	HEARING	GRANTED	98/08/13
0012/96	MPONDO, JP	HEARING	GRANTED	96/12/09
1249/96	MTJIKELO, TP	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/22
0638/96	MTSHALI, N G	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/08/11
0118/96	MXHOSANA, VW	HEARING	GRANTED	97/10/27
0435/96	MZIMELA, C	HEARING	GRANTED	97/07/14
0048/96	MZOMBA, FEP	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/04/02
0121/96	NCUBE, JT	HEARING	GRANTED	97/01/23
8080/97	NDABA, S	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/04/07
6692/97	NDABAPHI, M	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/12/15
3802/96	NDINISA, CS	HEARING	GRANTED	97/07/17
4058/96	NDLOVU, NW	HEARING	GRANTED	98/05/26
1702/96	NDLOVU, P	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/04/03
0184/96	NDLUMBINI, PM	HEARING	GRANTED	97/05/20
5051/97	NDZAMELA, IN	HEARING	GRANTED	98/08/13
0100/96	NGWENDU, MR	HEARING	GRANTED	97/04/14
0759/96	NGWENYA, DA	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/05/22
3813/96	NIEUWOUDT, JA	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/09/18
0826/96	NKUNA, C	HEARING	GRANTED	97/11/05
0812/96	NKUNA, H J	HEARING	GRANTED	97/11/05
5282/97	NOFEMELA, E M <i>(Amy Biehl)</i>	HEARING	GRANTED	98/07/28
0064/96	NOFOMELA, BA <i>(Murder-Mxenge)</i>	HEARING	GRANTED	97/08/04
6657/97	NOMASHIZOLO, ST	HEARING	GRANTED	98/08/13
0003/96	NONGONGO, OT	HEARING	GRANTED	98/05/11
4734/97	NTAMO, S N <i>(Amy Biehl)</i>	HEARING	GRANTED	98/07/28
6658/97	NTIKINCA, LL	HEARING	GRANTED	98/08/13
0677/96	NTSHOBANE, TR	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/05/20
1323/96	NTSITSI, SO	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/04/02
4481/96	NYAKANE, TJ	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/07/02
6624/97	NYEMBEZI, M	HEARING	GRANTED	98/08/13
3095/96	NZIMANDE, MA	HEARING	GRANTED	97/10/22

AM	APPLICANT	MANNER	DECISION	DATE
5177/97	OLIPHANT, ST	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/22
5188/07	PENI, N A (<i>Amy Biehl</i>)	HEARING	GRANTED	98/07/28
6612/97	PETE, AD	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/08/21
0027/96	PETRUS, RR	HEARING	GRANTED	96/12/06
0660/96	PHAKAMISA, M	HEARING	GRANTED	97/05/20
3641/96	PHOSWA, MT	HEARING	GRANTED	97/10/22
1288/96	POPANE, MM	HEARING	GRANTED	97/01/23
5179/97	PYPER, C R	HEARING	GRANTED	98/07/30
7168/97	RADEBE, TM	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/09/12
2758/96	ROBINSON, RK	CHAMBER	GRANTED	96/12/09
0094/96	ROUX, GPD	CHAMBER	GRANTED	96/12/09
7158/97	SALOOJEE, R	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/10/20
1567/96	SAMBO, J	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/08/18
3670/96	SCHUTTE, SM	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/03/25
1701/96	SEBILOANE, WMM	HEARING	GRANTED	97/06/12
4482/96	SEKERE, MD	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/07/02
0143/96	SEROALO, PT	HEARING	GRANTED	97/08/26
5939/97	SHICEKA, A (<i>Crazy Beat Disco</i>)	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/03
3903/96	SIBISI, NJ	HEARING	GRANTED	97/08/01
3904/96	SITHOLE, JM	HEARING	GRANTED	97/08/01
6139/97	SIYOLO, NM	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/07/16
3387/96	SKOSANA, DM	HEARING	GRANTED	97/11/05
1002/96	SLIPPERS, HJ (<i>Att. murder</i>)	HEARING	GRANTED	97/11/21
0056/96	SMUTS, A	HEARING	GRANTED	97/09/05
0193/96	SOLO, AS	CHAMBER	GRANTED	96/08/28
0069/96	STEYN, HJ	HEARING	GRANTED	97/05/28
4394/96	STOLS, D	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/11/28

AM	APPLICANT	MANNER	DECISION	DATE
5784/97	THANDA, WF <i>(Crazy Beat Disco)</i>	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/03
4245/96	THERON, PJ	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/09/25
3844/96	THOABALA, WO	HEARING	GRANTED	97/08/14
0077/96	THOBA, KE	HEARING	GRANTED	97/04/14
0078/96	THOMPSON, WR	HEARING	GRANTED	97/04/14
0030/96	THULO, MP	HEARING	GRANTED	96/12/09
0637/96	TOVELA, AA	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/08/18
1909/96	TRYSTMAN, KJ	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/04/02
7711/97	TSHABALALA, AC	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/09/15
0065/96	TSHIKALANGE, D <i>(Murder-Mxenge)</i>	HEARING	GRANTED	97/08/04
7983/97	TUTU, TAT	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/11/28
0079/96	VAN DER MERWE, AF	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/04/02
3718/96	VAN DER MERWE, CWA	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/02/05
1730/96	VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, J	CHAMBER	GRANTED	98/08/21
2759/96	VOLSCHENK, CG	CHAMBER	GRANTED	96/12/09
7253/97	VORSTER, O	CHAMBER	GRANTED	97/12/11
2997/96	WA-NTHOBA, JN	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/22
2084/96	WHEELER, J	HEARING	GRANTED	98/07/30
1215/96	XHIBA, JM	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/22
5864/97	ZULU, JM	HEARING	GRANTED	98/06/02

Consequences of Gross Violations of Human Rights

■ CONSEQUENCES OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ON PEOPLE'S LIVES

- 1 The apartheid system was maintained through repressive means, depriving the majority of South Africans of the most basic human rights, including civil, political, social and economic rights. Its legacy is a society in which vast numbers of people suffer from pervasive poverty and lack of opportunities. Moreover, those who were directly engaged in the armed conflict (whether on the side of the state or of the liberation movements) suffered particular kinds of consequences.
- 2 The consequences of repression and resistance include the physical toll taken by torture and other forms of severe ill treatment. The psychological effects are multiple and are amplified by the other stresses of living in a deprived society. Hence, lingering physical, psychological, economic and social effects are felt in all corners of South African society. The implications of this extend beyond the individual - to the family, the community and the nation.
- 3 When considering the consequences of gross human rights violations on people's lives, it is hard to differentiate between the consequences of overt physical and psychological abuses and the overall effects of apartheid itself. This makes it difficult to make causal links or to assume that violations are the result of a particular experience of hardship. In many instances, however, violations undoubtedly played the most significant role as, for example, when a breadwinner was killed or when the violation caused physical disabilities, affecting individual and family incomes.
- 4 It must also be remembered that human rights violations affect many more people than simply their direct victims. Family members, communities and societies themselves were all adversely affected. Moreover, the South African conflict had effects far beyond those who were activists or agents of the state; many victims who approached the Commission were simply going about their daily business when they were caught in the crossfire. Human rights violations can also trigger

a cascade of psychological, physical and interpersonal problems for victims that, in their turn, influence the functioning of the surrounding social system.

- 5 This chapter addresses some of the consequences of gross human rights violations that were reported to the Commission. It attempts to report on the patterns and trends in relation to psychological effects, physical consequences and how these have affected families and communities in South Africa. In order to obtain a full picture, it should be read in combination with the chapters on *Children and Youth* and *Women*.

■ METHODOLOGY

- 6 Numerous sources were used in compiling this chapter, including national and international literature, testimony presented at various hearings of the Commission, statements, interviews with statement takers and briefers and input from Commissioners and staff.

Use of statistics

- 7 Statistics cited were generated from statements made to the Commission. Out of a total of some 21 300 statements, 2 000 were selected as a sample, proportionally weighted according to region. The sample was randomly selected and focused on the consequences of the violation(s), as perceived by deponents, as well as on expectations of the Commission.¹
- 8 It must be borne in mind that information generated from the sample reflects the consequences and expectations as expressed in the *entire* statement of the deponent and that the majority of statements do not reflect the experience of one individual only. Often deponents referred to a violation of a person or persons other than or in addition to themselves - for example, other family members, comrades and friends. A deponent might, for instance, refer to the death of her son, but highlight the consequences for her grandchild's education, her daughter's emotional state and her own financial situation. This reflects the communal consequences of gross human rights violations and the ripple effects they have on families and communities.

Questionnaire bias

- 9 Another factor that needs to be taken into account is that of statement taker and questionnaire bias. In the 'expectations' section of the questionnaire in particular,

¹ Percentage figures have been rounded off.

suggestions were included to guide the deponent. These suggestions included items such as peace parks, memorials, medals and other similar forms of reparation. However, although often guided by these requests, deponents also listed individual or family needs. An example of this is reflected in the statement by Mr Buzifa Mbambo who requested “housing, employment, clinics and treatment for my elbow.”

■ PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

- 10 South Africa’s history of repression and exploitation severely affected the mental well-being of the majority of its citizens. South Africans have had to deal with a psychological stress which has arisen as a result of deprivation and dire socio-economic conditions, coupled with the cumulative trauma arising from violent state repression and intra-community conflicts.
- 11 Trauma has both a medical and psychological meaning. Medically it refers to bodily injury, wounds or shock. In psychological terms, it refers to “a painful emotional experience or shock, often producing lasting psychic effect.”²
- 12 Exposure to extreme trauma can lead to a condition known as post-traumatic stress disorder. This may be caused by:
 - a direct personal experience of an event involving actual or threatened death, serious injury or other threat to physical integrity;
 - b witnessing an event that involves death, injury or threat to the physical integrity of another person;
 - c learning about unexpected or violent death, serious harm or threat of death or injury experienced by a family member or close associate.³
- 13 Perpetrators of human rights violations used numerous tactics of repression, with both physical and psychological consequences. These found their expression in the killing, abduction, severe ill treatment and torture of activists, families and communities. Psychological damage caused by detention was not merely a by-product of torture by state agents. It was deliberate and aimed at discouraging further active opposition to apartheid. Jacklyn Cock says:

2 ‘The Mental Health Consequences of Torture and Related Violence and Trauma,’ [National Institute of Mental Health](#), March 1998.

3 American Psychiatry Association, 1994 in [National Institute of Mental Health](#).

*Torture is not only considered as a means of obtaining information on clandestine networks at any price, but also a means of destroying every individual who is captured, as well as his or her sense of solidarity with an organisation or community.*⁴

- 14 Mr Mike Basopu, an activist during the 1980s, was arrested in 1986. At the Mdantsane hearing, he told the Commission that activists were aware of the possibility that they might be tortured:

As the freedom fighters, we were struggling; we knew the consequences. What I am trying to say is that, when we were fighting against the whites - when we were fighting against the Boers - we knew that we were going to be harassed.

- 15 This awareness did not, however, protect Mr Basopu from the physical strains he experienced when he was detained in Fort Glamorgan Prison. He recognised that the role of torture and ill treatment was to inflict permanent damage on activists and limit their future activities. "These prison warders were trying to treat us [so] badly that if we were released from prison we would not be able to continue with our struggle."
- 16 Psychological abuse in torture can be divided into four types:
- a communication techniques such as verbal abuse;
 - b attempts to weaken mentally through, for example, solitary confinement or drugs;
 - c psychological terror tactics, including threats against families or witnessing the torture of other detainees;
 - d humiliation, such as being kept naked or undergoing vaginal examinations.⁵
- 17 The South African security forces and third force agents used a combination of these techniques.
- 18 The intention of torture was not to kill victims but to render them incapable of further activities on their release. Mr Mapela became aware of this during his detention and goaded the police to kill him. In 1964, after being arrested by

4 Cock, J 'Political Violence' in People and Violence in South Africa, Eds. B McKendrick and W Hoffman, Oxford University Press 1990

5 Human Rights Commission, 'Violence in Detention' in People and Violence in South Africa, Eds. B McKendrick and W Hoffman, Oxford University Press 1990

police who wanted information about a colleague, he was severely tortured and hung on the bars of the cell with handcuffs. He told the Commission about his continued resistance in prison:

There would be Boers coming in and out with a gun. They would put it against my neck. I would ask them to pull the trigger. They refused. Some of them would come and hold a knife against my neck. I would ask them to cut my head off. They would refuse.

- 19 In 1981, Brigadier Rodney Goba Keswa was arrested and detained by the Security Police in the Transkei and was subjected to mental torture. At the Lusikisiki hearing, he described his first view of his cell the morning after his first bitterly cold night in detention:

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

Psychological problems

- 20 Internationally, the best-documented psychological consequences of human rights violations relate to the effects of torture. Torture can lead to wide ranging psychological, behavioural and medical problems, including post-traumatic stress disorder whose symptoms include “re-experiencing of the traumatic event, persistent avoidance stimuli associated with the event and persistent symptoms of increased arousal not present before the traumatic event.”⁶
- 21 Post-traumatic stress disorder is not, however, the only consequence of torture and human rights violations. Other problems include depression, anxiety disorders and psychotic conditions. The effects are multidimensional and interconnected, leaving no part of the victim's life untouched. Exposure to trauma can lead to sleep disorders, sexual dysfunction, chronic irritability, physical illness and a disruption of interpersonal relations and occupational, family and social functioning.

6 'Mental health consequences of torture and related violence' in National Institute of Mental Health, March 1998.

22 In many statements made to the Commission, deponents described symptoms of psychological disturbance. Although many deponents and victims referred to their symptoms, it was not possible to diagnose actual disorders or problems based on the statements and testimony at hearings. However, the following examples illustrate the kinds of psychological problems that resulted from gross human rights violations.

23 In 1987, after he refused to join the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League, Mr Bhaki George Morake's house in Botshabelo township was burnt down. He described the effects of this on his wife at the Bloemfontein hearing:

From 1987, my first wife had lost her mind - until the 1994 elections when we separated ... She might have suffered some anxiety, because she didn't really act like a normal person ... When our house was petrol bombed, the bomb fell on the bed on which she was sleeping. Then I noticed thereafter that she was quite depressed.

24 Mr Sizwe Kondile went into exile in response to constant harassment by the police. In 1981, he was arrested and killed in detention. At the East London hearing, his mother, Ms Charity Nongqalelo Kondile described the effects on the family:

Lindiwe and Sizwe have been very close, were very closely placed. Lindiwe never reconciled. She never accepted the fact that her brother [had] been killed. Until recently she suffered from depressive psychosis which the doctors at the hospital referred to as some depression that has been bottled up for a long time, and I feel that this [was] the result of all that she has been bottling up for all these years.

25 Ms Elizabeth Sizane Mduli was shot and paralysed while attending a school boycott gathering in Nelspruit in 1986. From being a fit athlete, she became physically disabled and has since suffered from psychological problems:

My mind, my mental state, is unstable. At times I just stop thinking ... I realise that it seems as if I am a bit insane.

26 Many victims reported problems of memory loss and emotional numbness.

27 Mr Morgan Sabatha Phehlani was a councillor whose home and business were burnt down by youth in the course of a community conflict in 1991. Mr Phehlani's

son was eleven years old when he witnessed the stabbing and burning of his mother. Since this incident, he has suffered psychologically:

You know, he goes and forgets. He forgets, now and then he forgets. You must always remind him. That's the trouble we're having with him.

- 28 Ms Nobuthi Winnie Ncaca's sixteen-year-old son, Mawethu, was shot and killed by the police in Cradock in 1986. Since his death, Ms Ncaca has been suffering from psychological problems. At the Cradock hearing, she told the Commission:

My memory was affected, if you tell me something I just forget. I always forget.

- 29 Mr Johannes Petrus Roos spoke of the death of his wife and son in a landmine explosion in 1986. He and his other two children witnessed the explosion. He described the effects on his daughter at the Nelspruit hearing:

It was not easy, an easy time for my five-year old daughter who had turned six, who had to go to school the following year without her mom. It was not easy to explain all this to her. That child never cried. That child doesn't cry today either.

- 30 Mr Mthembeni Sipho Magwaza was attending a peace rally when members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) abducted him and five of his friends. One of his friends and five other people were shot and killed. His shop was later looted and destroyed. He described his psychological state:

I am a living zombie; psychologically and emotionally, I am dead.

- 31 Jose Saporta and Bessel van der Kolk have identified two common consequences of traumatic events.

- a The first is incomprehension, where the sense of the experience overwhelms the victim's psychological capacity to cope. Traumatic experiences cannot be assimilated because they threaten basic assumptions about one's place in the world. After the abuse, the victim's view of the world and self can never be the same again.
- b The second feature is what is called disrupted attachment. This is often exacerbated by an inability to turn to others for help or comfort in the aftermath of trauma. It thus represents the loss of an important resource that helps

people to cope. Traumatic rupture is an integral part of the torture experience. Victims are kept in isolation and their captors threaten them with the capture and death of family and friends. If they are then forced into exile, they feel further alienated and estranged. Traumatized individuals often show enduring difficulties in forming relationships. They tend to alternate between withdrawing socially and attaching themselves impulsively to others.⁷

- 32 The torture of Mr Abel Tsakani Maboya's wife resulted in her psychological breakdown and subsequent social withdrawal. Mr Maboya's cousin was a member of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), based in Tanzania, and was sent on missions to South Africa. Both Mr Maboya and his wife were arrested with a view to extracting information about the cousin's activities. Ms Mboya was tortured and suffered psychological damage as a result. At the Venda hearing in October 1996 Mr Maboya told the Commission that their marriage had not survived these experiences:

She is a sensitive person actually. I think there are some other people, people that would believe that now we are not free. Those nightmares are still there. She can't face crowds like this. I tried by all means for her to make a statement so that people will - she was beautiful to me, I don't know what happened to her.

- 33 Feelings of helplessness also undermine people's sense of themselves as competent and in control of their fate.⁸ This makes them incapable of picking up the pieces of their previous lives.
- 34 Mr David Mabeka was a youth activist who was arrested and tortured in Barkly West in 1986. He described the consequences of his experience at the Kimberley hearing:

In 1993, I went back to school to do my standard nine. It was not easy ... I would forget things most of the time... The life that I'm leading now is a bit difficult. I cannot cope because of this Double Eyes and Rosa and their friend [those who arrested and tortured him]. I don't know why should I live with this pain, knowing that I was defenceless.

- 35 Mr Lebetsa Solomon Ramohoase was shot in the 1960 massacre at Sharpsville. He told the Commission at the Sebokeng hearing that he sustained permanent injuries to his leg and had subsequently struggled to find employment:

7 Saporta, J and B van der Kolk. Psychobiological consequences of Severe Trauma: Current Approaches. Cambridge University Press, 1992.

8 Saporta, J and B van der Kolk. Psychobiological consequences of Severe Trauma: Current Approaches. Cambridge University Press, 1992.

My life changed. I led a miserable life. You know my feelings changed altogether. But I didn't know what kind of help I [could] give myself and I was satisfied. I said I have to be satisfied because it is something that happened to me. I am helpless; I can't do anything for myself.

- 36 Political activists were less prone to post-traumatic stress disorder, owing to their commitment to a cause and their psychological preparedness for torture. Mr Mike Basupo (see above) was arrested for his activities in 1986. He referred to the strength that may be drawn from such commitment:

The circumstances I was under and many people were subjected to was very painful. However, we must remember that, even if you were released from detention under such circumstances, you would not give up. You would continue with the struggle for liberation.⁹

- 37 International studies have shown that non-activists, even if subjected to lower levels of torture, display significantly more severe symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. The less the psychological preparation for the trauma of torture, the greater the distress during torture and the more severe the subsequent psychological problems.¹⁰ The Commission's statistics provide evidence of this phenomenon.
- 38 Psychological re-experiencing of the event can have debilitating consequences for survivors trying to rebuild their lives.
- 39 Mr Mike Wilsner is a friend of Father Michael Lapsley, a member of the ANC who was injured in a parcel bomb explosion in Harare on 28 April 1990. He told the Commission about Father Lapsley's condition after the bombing.

He would wake up at night, screaming, re-living the bomb. I wanted to touch him but everywhere you looked - everywhere over his body was red and swollen and painful. There was nowhere to touch him. We were grateful that he was alive, but we were very aware that his life would be changed irrevocably from that moment on.

⁹ Cock, J 'Political Violence' in *People and Violence in South Africa*, Eds. B McKendrick and W Hoffman, Oxford University Press 1990.

¹⁰ Saporta, J and B van der Kolk. *Psychobiological consequences of Severe Trauma: Current Approaches*, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

- 40 At the Johannesburg hearing Ms Hawa Timol spoke of her pain after the death of her son, Ahmed Timol, at the hands of the security forces:

I told them [the police] that if my body had a zip they could open the zip to see how I was aching inside.

- 41 Another son, Mr Mohammed Timol, described her enduring pain:

I think it's an indication, from what you see here, she has lived through this every day of her life for the last twenty-five years.

- 42 Ms Doreen Rousseau was shot and injured during an attack on the Highgate Hotel in 1993. At the second East London hearing, she described the lingering effects of trauma:

I still have terrible nightmares. I wake up in the night and I see this man standing in my doorway with a gun.

- 43 Recurring thoughts of traumas that have been experienced continued to invade the lives of many South Africans. Mr Madala Andres Ndlazi's sixteen-year-old son was shot by the police on 16 June 1986. At the Nelspruit hearing, he told the Commission that memories of his son's death haunted him to that day:

I found my child brought to the home. I found him in the dining room. He was lying dead there in the dining room. When I looked at him, it was very painful for me to see how injured he was - and I controlled myself together with my wife as Christians. We knew very well that we will have to die one day but we know there are many ways to pass away from this earth. But the way in which my son, Sidney Ndlazi, was injured, it makes me very painful. I cannot forget this. It is almost ten years now.

- 44 Many members of the state forces, both conscripts and career officials, also described their experiences of post-traumatic stress disorder. Some perpetrators may also be considered victims of gross human rights violations and there is a need to address their struggle to live with the consequences of their experiences and actions. Others found themselves caught up in and traumatised by situations over which they had no control. Mr Sean Callaghan told the Commission at the health sector hearing:

[I was] confronted with a patient who had no arms or legs, was blind and was deaf. [He] had been in a mortar pit launching 80mm mortars when one of them exploded in the pipe. That was the first patient I ever saw in the operational area.

Right there and then I realised that, as an eighteen year old, I am not going to be able to handle this after six months of training. I had applied for medical school ... and I went for an interview with Wits medical school during [my] leave, and said to them, "I don't want to be a doctor anymore, not after what I've seen" ...

I was hyper-vigilant. I was having screaming nightmares every night for at least six months. I was very anti-establishment, anti-social. I was cold. Whenever I heard a loud noise, I would dive to the ground. When I heard helicopters, I would look for somewhere to hide.

- 45 The tendency for the original trauma to reactivate after many years is a troubling and challenging aspect of post-traumatic stress disorder and reveals its persistence. The long-term relationship between physical disease and post-traumatic stress disorder in torture survivors is complex and presents a challenge for researchers in the field.
- 46 High rates of co-morbid (simultaneous) symptoms have also been found, including major depression, dysthymic disorder (a less severe form of major depressive disorder), antisocial personality disorder and substance abuse.¹¹ Surprisingly, few deponents referred to alcohol or substance abuse as an outcome. This could be due to the high levels of acceptability of the use and abuse of alcohol in South African society or a lack of probing by the Commission's statement takers.

Treatment in the South African context

- 47 In South Africa, the area of mental health has been historically neglected. There are few trained psychologists and clinical social workers, and few attempts have been made to provide culturally appropriate mental health care to all South Africans. At the time of reporting, mental health care still consisted largely of institutionalisation.¹²

11 Fairbank, J A, M Friedman & S Southwick, 'Veterans of armed conflict' in National Institute of Mental Health, March 1998.

12 See chapter on *Institutional Hearings: Health*

48 Moreover, dire social circumstances have made it difficult for individuals to deal with past psychological traumas. At times, current problems are merely symptoms of long-term traumatising, compounded by impoverished living conditions. In South Africa, successful therapeutic interventions are difficult, because of the inability to protect the individual from further trauma.¹³

49 Mr Lennox Mbuyiseli Sigwela was paralysed during a police shooting and attack by *Witdoeke* vigilantes in Crossroads in 1986. Once the family breadwinner, he became dependent on family members. His situation provides an example of the interconnectedness of psychological, physical and economic consequences of human rights violations. At the KTC hearing, he told the Commission:

We are struggling, we are struggling. The children at my home are suffering for new school uniforms, for clothes. That is why I will never - although I have accepted this - I will never, I will never forget what happened because, when I look at the way we struggle at home, sometimes I feel like committing suicide.

50 It is therefore difficult to distinguish between the response to the psychological effects of the violation and other stressful events in the life of the victim. Studies do, however, provide evidence that, in some individuals, exposure to violence has psychological effects independent of other associated factors causing stress.

51 It is also suspected that diagnoses of mental illness were also used to silence activists or opponents by condemning them to institutions where they were under the control of the state. Doctors and mental health professionals are alleged to have advised torturers on how to identify potential victims, break down their resistance and exploit their vulnerabilities.

52 The above factors led to resistance to seeking formal psychological treatment. Statement takers found that the suggestion of a referral for psychological treatment was often met with a rebuttal such as, "I am not mad". Mr Robert David Norman Stanford, a victim of the attack on the King William's Town Golf Club on 28 November 1992, agreed that there is a reluctance to recognise that one is psychologically damaged. He described the difficulties he had experienced in connection with his psychological problems at the East London hearing:

No one is prepared to accept that you're not quite normal. And you tend to fight against it and you tend to try and uplift yourself; you tend to try and

¹³ Hamber, B & S Lewis, 'An overview of the Consequences of Violence and Trauma in South Africa' *CSV* (full citation please) 1998.

show that you've returned to a state of normality whereas, in fact, you haven't done so.

- 53 Others who sought treatment found difficulty in obtaining it¹⁴. Mr Sean Callaghan (see above) told the Commission:

Around that time, I remember phoning my mother and telling her that I wasn't sure if we were actually going to survive the night because we had got to the point of being completely suicidal. We had come to the end of our tether. We had been involved in that kind of thing - seeing patients, seeing people killed for twelve months already - and all I wanted to do was go and heal people and not kill them ...

We went to see the local psychiatrist who was resident in Oshakati and the major in charge of South African Medical Services up there, and we were basically told to grow up and carry on; there was nothing wrong with us ... There was no debriefing. There was no "what happened to you?" There was no "this is what you can expect when you go home. This is how you should try and integrate yourself back into society."

I do remember a letter, I think, being sent to our parents with ten points on it, saying something like: "You had better lock your alcohol and your young girls away because these young boys are coming back home". But that was the extent of the support we got ...

I saw a psychiatrist ... He declared me fit for battle and sent me home [saying] that there was nothing wrong with me. The point is that I wasn't fit to be a father and I wasn't fit to be a husband, but I was certainly fit to pull the trigger of a gun.

Essentially, I think I am pretty healed. I think I have come to the point of being whole. I have my emotions back. I am a father. I am a husband and I can do those things pretty well. But no thanks to the SANDF or SADF for helping me.

- 54 In order to heal, trauma victims must ultimately put words to their experience and thereby integrate the traumatic experience in order to find new meanings for themselves and their place in the world. An essential feature of recovery from trauma is re-establishing and normalising relationships of attachment with others.

¹⁴ See chapter on *Institutional Hearings: Health*.

- 55 Yet, while many victims of violations spoke of psychological problems that resulted from trauma, many others spoke of the strength and resilience they drew from friends and comrades in times of hardship. Courage, love and support networks kept many families and communities functioning and intact.

■ PHYSICAL CONSEQUENCES OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

- 56 Physical injuries and disabilities caused by torture or severe ill treatment exact an immense toll on the individual, community and society. Physical scars and disabilities have been described by one survivor as: “a tattoo, a permanent physical reminder of what was done to us, a symbol that in many cases brings shame.”¹⁵
- 57 Most physical injuries caused by torture result from blows to the body. An increased risk of infectious diseases, malignancies, cerebrovascular accidents and heart disease has also been reported in survivors of torture or prolonged arbitrary detention.¹⁶
- 58 Ms Evelyn Masego Thunyiswa was arrested on her way to attend the funeral of Steve Biko in 1977. At the Mmabatho hearing she told the Commission that she had been beaten and shocked on her genitals:

After torturing me like that, they trucked us off the road. When I tried to urinate, I was urinating blood. Because I left on my own - it was not through the permission of my parents - I was scared to even tell my mom where I had been to because of the whole situation. I stayed like that for a month or two. I remember I went to the doctor in the beginning of November and then I said to my mother I have tonsils, because I realised this sickness of mine was getting worse and worse.

- 59 Despite receiving treatment, Evelyn reported recurring symptoms.

In 1992, the pains came back. The pain that I felt when I was tortured came back in 1992. That was the same pain that I felt when I was tortured. As I [told] you, when it attacks me I stay three or four days not going outside and I cannot even urinate. I have never given birth since that time and I am a married wife.

15 Sister Dianna Ortiz. 'Survivor's Perspective: Voices from the Centre' in National Institute of Mental Health, 1998

16 Basoglu, M, J Jaranson, R Mollica, M Kastrup. 'Torture and it's consequences' in National Institute of Mental Health, 1998

- 60 Physical injuries and disabilities were also sustained in shooting incidents, physical attacks and beatings, as well as in failed assassination attempts by hit squads. Father Michael Lapsley (see above) described the extent of his physical injuries:

It blew off my hands. I lost an eye, my eardrums were shattered ... I'd faced the possibility of my own death and I had never - I'd never - sorry, but I'd never faced the possibility of major permanent disability.

- 61 He articulated the devastation that he felt:

I thought maybe it would have been better to have died when I realised I had no hands. I'd never met another human being with no hands. I didn't know whether life would be life in any meaningful sense. They didn't know whether I would ever see properly again. I lost one eye - [I] couldn't see properly out of the other. I couldn't hear properly because the eardrums were shattered. I was burnt extensively.

- 62 Mr Neville James Clarence was blinded in the Church Street bombing at the Air Force Headquarters in Pretoria on 20 May 1983. He described his physical rehabilitation at the Pretoria hearing:

I was able to slot in with ... a course presented by the National Council for the Blind, a rehabilitation course which I duly did attend a few months later. And I was taught to read and write Braille, to touch type on a typewriter. I was also taught various skills of daily living: how to pour a glass of water without spilling; how to dress myself; how to ... recognise various things around the house simply through touch. I also received training in the use of a long cane - a white stick in other words - and how to walk around town and how to orientate and find myself in case I get a bit lost walking in town.

- 63 Physical disabilities fundamentally alter the victim's life. Ms Elizabeth Sizane Mduli was an eighteen-year-old student during the 1986 school boycotts in Nelspruit. During a protest gathering, she was shot by the police. At the Nelspruit hearing, she told the Commission:

What worries me, and what actually made me feel very painful, it is because I am not a member of any organisation and I am not actually a person who is affiliated to any movement. But today I am crippled because it is just [that] I was found at school. That was my sin.

64 She described her deteriorating health since the incident.

I have a problem with my chest. At the back, I am always tired. I have a problem with my bladder. I am sickly at all times. I have a pain that keeps haunting me every day. There are times when I urinate blood. I was fit, I have to tell you; I was an athlete at school.

65 Physical disabilities may exacerbate psychological problems, as the victim suffers not only from pain and other afflictions, but may also suffer a loss of independence and dignity. On 4 June 1987, Mr Namadzavho Phaniel Davhula was shot in a case of mistaken identity. The wound to his shoulder resulted in a permanent physical disability. He described his anguish at the Venda hearing:

I hope that everyone who is here is able to realise that the government really did malicious damage to me because I can't even wash myself. People have to bath me. But in the past, I used to bath myself. This is painful.

66 At the first East London hearing, Mr Karl Webber told the Commission:

I lost my left arm. It was amputated at the elbow, below the elbow. I've got 80 per cent use of my right arm plus three fingers are not in operation. It took me plus/minus a year to teach myself how to get dressed, to feed myself. There are things I can't do. I can't get to the right hand side of my face because of the fixtures in my elbow. I need assistance when I need to be shaved. I need assistance when I need to be bathed. And there are many other things that I need to be helped with which I can't do. I've tried to sort of cope on my own, but it's a bit difficult. So, there is someone that assists me, helping me with things.

I can't accept charity for the rest of my life. I can't accept to be looked after for the rest of my life. I want to be independent, and I want to lead a normal life again.

67 Random shootings by the police into demonstrating or fleeing crowds resulted in many physical injuries. A number of victims who came to the Commission were blinded in such shootings. When Ms Sibonisile Maloma was a fifteen-year-old student in Nelspruit, she was shot by the police while returning home from a school boycott:

We took different directions to go home. And when we approached the corner I saw a Hippo¹⁷ and a gun was pointed at me, they shot me with this pellet gun, and I was unconscious.

- 68 Ms Maloma was blinded as a result of this attack and had to halt her education. According to her father:

Today my daughter doesn't see. She has lost everything, her future as well.

- 69 Such incidents were echoed in many statements made to the Commission. Ms Amina Elizabeth van Dyk told the Commission at the Pollsmoor hearing that she had been shot with birdshot by the police in 1985:

I lost my one eye and it bothers me because I get these sharp pains in my eye. I get migraines and then sometimes I want nothing to do with my children because of the pain. This has caused me to lose my job, my house and my medical aid benefits and I have got absolutely no income.

- 70 There is also evidence that people exposed to trauma, even indirectly, are more likely to develop stress-related illnesses such as heart disease and high blood pressure. Ms Daseko's son Sam was a student activist who died in detention in 1990. She described the effects of his death on her own health at the Bloemfontein hearing:

There is a lot of difference because, at times, I would feel my heart shaking and sometimes - so many things have changed in my life. I get terrible headaches at times.

- 71 In 1989, Mr Modise Elias Moiloa's brother was killed in an attack by members of an organisation called *Dikwankwella*. He told the Commission at the Bloemfontein hearing that his parents manifested physical symptoms of the stress:

My mother and father, after the death of my elder brother, both of them suffered from high blood. They are still very sick.

- 72 Thus, physical injuries have multiple effects, not only on the individual but also on the family and community as a whole. Physical injuries and disabilities cause or exacerbate psychological, economic and social problems, substantially altering the lives of victims and those around them.

¹⁷ A hippo is an armoured personnel carrier.

■ FAMILIES

Disruptions to Family Life

- 73 In 1984, Mr Anton Lubowski became a publicly declared member of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO). This marked the beginning of a road that led to tragedy, pain and suffering, not only for him but also for his wife, his children and his loved ones. At the Heideveld hearing, his mother, Ms Molly Lubowski, said he became a social outcast and was treated as if he had some kind of contagious disease. Mr Anton Lubowski was assassinated on the 12 September 1989.
- 74 As a core structure in society, the family should be protected and supported by the state. Apartheid generated a crisis in South African family life. Group areas legislation and forced removals have both been linked to disruptions in healthy family functioning, and the migrant labour system also deprived people of family life. Children were denied fatherly guidance and support during their formative years and the fact that women were obliged to take on domestic work meant that children were denied the care of their mothers. In trying to deal with these problems, extended family networks came into play.
- 75 The pressure on families was relentless. They experienced poverty and the degradation of living conditions in the townships, rural areas and informal settlements. Malnutrition was rife. Migrant labour policies meant that many fathers were away from their children for long periods and, perhaps more seriously in a patriarchal society, separated mothers from their children for long stretches. Even those parents who were able to live with their children worked long hours, sometimes leaving before the children went to school and coming home after they were in bed. In many cases, a traumatised child was simply an extra burden on the family; yet another problem for his or her already overburdened parents.¹⁸
- 76 In South Africa, the roots of violence were partly political, but were also exacerbated by demographic and socio-economic circumstances. Socio-political factors, such as the structural, economic, cultural and racial inequalities imposed by the former state, led to and exacerbated violence: According to McKendrick and Hoffman (1990)¹⁹:

¹⁸ Presentation by Ann McKay at the hearing on children and youth, Durban 12 June 1997.

¹⁹ McKendrick, B & W Hoffman. 'The nature of violence' in People and Violence in South Africa, Oxford University Press, 1990

The objective conditions of inequality make it clear that South Africa is a highly stratified society, characterised by intense structural and institutional injustice and violence.

- 77 Constant exposure to violence may lead to desensitisation, a situation where a person may deny his or her feelings. Responding to conflict with violence became a typical, rather than an isolated, phenomenon. Violence in South African society is also reflected in domestic violence such as wife and child abuse.
- 78 The particularly grim situation in KwaZulu-Natal was described by Ms Nosimelo Zama at the Durban hearings on children and youth.

The stress on family life created by the constant pressure of the violence in this province cannot be underestimated. Children of depressed mothers would end up running away from home, because at home they are being neglected because their mothers are too depressed and sad to take care of them. Parents were separated in the violence; others were taken by the police and, up until today, they have never come back home. Children are now living with grandparents or sisters, and these people who are caregivers are facing problems because they can't provide all the needs for these children.

- 79 The social pressures caused by apartheid and the repression associated with it have resulted in changes to the family structure in South Africa. Some families have been unable to withstand the pressure, whilst others have harnessed support and nurture from extended family networks to ensure their survival.

Invasion of homes

- 80 The invasion of homes by the police and security forces in house-to-house searches affected families badly. Homes were neither private nor secure and parents were unable to protect their children.
- 81 The police displayed flagrant disrespect for homes and families in their quest to suppress opposition. Ms Edith Mjobo, whose children were activists in 1985, described the regular invasion of her home at the Gugulethu hearing:

In 1985, the police were after my twins, Zandisele and Zanisele. They were looking all over for them. They would come to my home looking for them and they would be all around the house searching for them, and they would keep the doors with their guns, and my twins would go out of the backdoor and run.

- 82 The police had a sense of their own omnipotence and sometimes even seemed to view other people's homes as their own territory. Ms Mjobo told the Commission:

Sometimes they used to come in the morning and they stayed in the house for the whole day ... and my husband couldn't even go to work because of this.

- 83 Even families where activists had gone into exile were not free from harassment by the security forces. Mr Leon Meyer was an MK activist who was killed in Lesotho in a South African Defence Force (SADF) cross-border raid in 1985. At the Mdantsane hearing, his brother, Mr Christian Meyer, told the Commission about the harassment his family endured before Leon's death:

He was definitely regarded as an enemy to the apartheid regime. My late parents' house was frequently visited and on some occasions searched by the East London Security Branch policemen.

- 84 After Leon's exile, "the harassment of my parents, who were both suffering from cancer at the time took on a new dimension". In 1985, Christian's mother passed away. Five months later, his brother and sister-in-law were assassinated during the raid in Lesotho.

- 85 Vigilante attacks also affected entire families. Many of these attacks were conducted in and on people's homes. Mr Modisi Elias Moyhilwa (see above) testified:

On that very same night, they attacked my aunt's home and my brother was there. When they were asked what the problem was, they said they were looking for comrades. My aunt never wanted to open the door; she refused. Thereafter they kicked the door. They bored holes into the door. It was no longer a door... when my brother came out, they chopped his head with a panga²⁰.

Arrest of family members

- 86 Detentions and restrictions had devastating effects on families, communities and society at large. The effects of detention are extremely dehumanising as the detainee becomes powerless and his or her life is no longer predictable. Detention separates the individual from family, friends, comrades and colleagues. A general sense of impotence and low self-esteem may result. Added to these stresses are fears and worries about the welfare and safety of family and friends. Mr

²⁰ A large, broad-bladed knife, used for cutting cane.

Tshabalala's cousin, Edward Viyu Charles, was a United Democratic Front (UDF) activist in Welkom. He was constantly harassed and, in 1987, was killed by the police. At the Bloemfontein hearing, Mr Tshabalala described how the entire family was threatened:

They were people who kept on harassing him. Those were the law people. They were using death threats and they threatened that they would wipe the whole family out.

- 87 In this repressive context, people lost their individuality in the eyes of the security forces, who saw them simply as symbols of resistance or political affiliation. Family members were regularly detained in order to extract information about the whereabouts of wanted persons, as an enticement for wanted persons to come forward or confess or to provide an example to other possible dissenters. Three of Ms Edith Mjobo's (see above) sons were activists in the Cape in 1985:

As they were looking for my son, they used to arrest my husband. And they used to cover his face with black plastic bags, asking him where my twin [son] was. They were torturing him all the time and they were torturing his genitals. And he became sick because of this. He couldn't continue working. So, he was not working at this time. One day when I looked at him, his ears were bleeding and he suffered a lot until he died.

- 88 Mr Trayishile Samuel Zwelibanzi was arrested by the Ciskei police in 1984, in connection with the murder of a police officer. After two years of torture, they arrested his mother, at which stage he finally confessed to the killing. At the Mdantsane hearing, Mr Zwelibanzi described his experience:

They said that they are going to destroy my family members because they ... said they are not going to allow terrorists in this area. They went to fetch my mother. Baleni took me from the prison cell to show me my mother. My mother was in that cell. She was naked. There was blood all over that prison cell. I then admitted to the killing.

- 89 Mr Zwelibanzi's sister, Ms Nosisi Florence Giya, spoke of the ripple effects of his arrest on the family:

What my brother has already said is that we suffered a lot. My mother was arrested. My mother was staying with my daughter and my brother's girl-

friend. The girlfriend was pregnant at the time. A child came to the house saying that the police have arrested my mother. This child [had also been] assaulted by the police. The child was injured. Again the police came and they took my son, Amos Giya. They assaulted him. As a result of this, he ... is mentally disturbed.

- 90 The search for children who had been arrested also placed a heavy burden on mothers and other family members, who often went from one police station to another at great emotional cost.

The effect on the mothers was devastating. The feeling of impotence was regarded as a failure on their part to protect their child and most certainly affected inter-generational relationships of dependence, trust and security.²¹

- 91 Upon their release, many already stressed individuals were freed into a stressed society. Others faced the additional burden of restrictions - including house arrest, being prohibited from participating in the activities of organisations and being prevented from attending meetings. Restrictions made recovery from detention more difficult, as the individual had to deal with the after-effects of detention, as well as the effects of the restrictions. Social networks suffered and the isolation of the restricted person continued outside the cell. Many victims came from families that were already under financial pressure and whose economic welfare had been affected by the detention of one of its members. Moreover, the costs of transport to and from the police station in order to report in accordance with the restriction order added to other demands on the family budget. Restriction orders also made it difficult to obtain employment or to continue with schooling or studies.

Separation of families

- 92 Arrests, detentions, abductions, restrictions and exile of family members affected the cohesion of families, with negative effects on family relationships. Ms Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge's political activism began in the 1970s when she became an organiser and chairperson of the Natal Organisation of Women. At the Durban hearing, she told the Commission that: "like many women who joined the struggle against apartheid, I was harassed by the police and detained a number of times." She described the disruptions this caused to her family and the impact on her children:

21 Audrey Coleman of the Detainees Parents Support Committee, 12 June 1997.

My first child is now fourteen; [he] grew up before his time. At two years of age, he saw his father detained, tried and sentenced to a prison term of ten years. Although he has grown up to [be] a gentle young man, at that tender age he had learnt to hate. When I took him to visit his father at Johannesburg maximum security prison, he shocked me one day when he said, "Mama I hate the police". He said, "I hate them because they locked up my father". He was five years old when I was detained myself and taken away from him. My mother tells me that during that time he used to complain of pain, physical pain, for which there was no physical explanation.

- 93 Separations in families often altered family relations, especially if the detained person was a parent. Sometimes other family members took over the role of head of the family or breadwinner and did not wish to relinquish this status when the detainee was released. Very young children sometimes regarded released family members as strangers. Adaptation could be difficult if the released person was suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder.²²

Sowing distrust in the community

- 94 A part of the state strategy in suppressing communities was to undermine the unity of resistance through a system of informers (both real and alleged). This was highly effective in creating a climate of suspicion and breaking down trust both within and between families and communities. Ms Edith Mjobo (see above) told the Commission that:

They [the police] used to come to try and bribe the person, the people in the township, because they told the people in the township that my son was a 'terrorist' and if someone could come and tell the police where he was, they would get money.

- 95 The consequences of being exposed as an informer were social isolation and, sometimes, physical danger. Communities were constantly on guard against informers in their midst. Moreover, being falsely accused could have extremely distressing consequences for the affected person and his or her family. Mr Simon Lufuno Mariba was arrested and tortured on suspicion of participating in a witch burning in Venda. After being severely beaten, he finally convinced the police of his innocence and was released. His early release sparked suspicion in the community. He told the Commission at the Venda hearing:

²² Human Rights Commission, 'Violence in Detention' in *People and Violence in South Africa*, Oxford University Press, 1990

The parents of the people who were involved, since I didn't know their names, thought maybe I was there when such activities [took place] and regarded me as a spy - and I was labelled as a spy. And I was unaccepted; people never wanted to accept me ... I couldn't even concentrate on my studies since everybody was hating me and that really affected me so much that I never passed my matric.

Inter-family conflicts

- 96 Conflicts that arose because of the apartheid system led to tension within some families, sometimes spilling over into violence. At the Pietermaritzburg hearing (19 November 1996), Father Timothy Smith told the Commission that Mr David Ntombela, a feared *induna* (headman) in the Pietermaritzburg area, is alleged to have killed his own brother in full view of members of the community.

- 97 Ms Ndamase described how she left home to go to Durban in search of a job and joined the forces against apartheid. When she returned home in 1991 with the intention of launching a branch of the South African Communist Party (SACP) in her village, she was arrested. She described the consequences at the Lusikisiki hearing:

My children are uneducated; I abused them by joining the struggle. But today I don't see anything happening to me. There was conflict in my family because of all of this. The government is doing nothing for me.

- 98 Politics entered the Phillips family home because of divisions between the ANC and IFP. Mr Moses Ntsokolo Phillips, an ANC member, was hit in the face with the butt of a gun by his cousin, an IFP member. He was then taken to the home of his uncle who was also an IFP member and further assaulted.
- 99 Other family conflicts were intergenerational. Parents did not support their children's activism because they feared for their lives. Often, too, they were concerned about disruptions to their children's education. Misunderstandings and conflicting interests strained intergenerational relationships. Mr David Ryder Mabeka was a youth activist in Barkly West in 1986. At the Kimberley hearing, he spoke about the tensions between some of the politically active students and their parents:

I realised that many parents at that time thought that I ... didn't want to go to school. And they thought that I would take their children out of school.

There were lots and lots of allegations from the parents. I think it's because they didn't understand quite well the political situation at that time.

- 100 Intergenerational conflicts also occurred in white families involved in defending the apartheid *status quo*. Mr John Deegan, a South African Police (SAP) Security Branch conscript and later a member of Koevoet, described his attempts to communicate his traumatic experiences to his more conservative father:

Although I tried to tell him that there were incidents that I was involved in that caused me great guilt and remorse, he would not believe that his son could have been involved in anything so dishonourable.²³

- 101 Emerging young leaders challenged traditional patriarchal hierarchies and elders increasingly lost control over the activities of younger people. Mr Morgan Sabatha Phehlani was a councillor whose home and business were burnt down by youth in intra-community conflict in 1991. In his view:

That's the trouble that we are having in the smaller towns, you know, that you find these youngsters - they call themselves ... young leaders; they are leading a section. But looking at them, you find they are so terrible; they are hooligans; they are undisciplined.

- 102 The emotional and financial pressure experienced by families sometimes led to strained relations with young activists in the home. Detention and political activism gave some young detainees a sense of independence and autonomy, and they found themselves unable to revert to their earlier roles in the family. Others felt that their families would not understand what they were doing or why, and wanted to protect them from the knowledge of their activism. The reality that parents often did not know what their children were doing was reflected time and again during hearings and in statements. At the Bloemfontein hearing, Ms Pumla Marina Mashoang, whose son was killed by the security forces for his role in the South African National Students Congress (SANSCO) in 1988, said she was not clear about her son's role:

I believe he was holding a prominent position because he had a van that he had been given, so I think he was organising for the Free State.

23 Interview with Marius Van Niekerk, part of submission to the Commission.

- 103 At the same hearing, Ms Daseko, whose son was killed in detention, also said she was not acquainted with her child's activities outside of the home:

Sam used to tell me that he was going to meetings, but I couldn't understand ... which meetings was he going to. I think [he] was fond of the ANC.

- 104 Ms Evelyn Masego Thunyiswa was detained and severely tortured. At the Mmabatho hearing, she told the Commission that, despite her suffering, she was unable to tell her parents of her predicament:

Our parents used to hate politics during that time. My mother was actually not in favour of politics. If you said anything about politics, she would tell you that you are against the law.

- 105 Owing to her inability to communicate with or draw support from her parents, the only person Evelyn confided in was her husband:

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

- 106 When asked at the Nelspruit hearing whether his son was a member of an organisation, Mr Madala Ndlazi (see above) replied:

There is nothing that I can say because really they don't tell you. They just disappear from home. You don't know what they are doing on the other side.

- 107 Thus, in many families, even where activism did not generate outright conflict, a shroud of secrecy often affected intergenerational relationships. In some families, political activism was seen as operating in a sphere outside of family life. This was sometimes linked with parents' feelings of helplessness about the public realm of politics. This lack of communication was aggravated by disruptions to family life, caused by the absence of parents who worked as migrant labourers, domestic workers, or because group areas legislation and other apartheid laws prevented them from living with their families.

Family killings

- 108 In some families more than one family member died, with tremendous implications for the survivors. The Manyika family was awakened on the night of the 17 June 1992 by a vigilante attack in Sebokeng. Although the children managed to escape, both parents were killed:

We have lost our parents. As I'm talking, we are only the kids at home. My sisters and my brothers, especially the two boys, had to quit school because there was no breadwinner at home. We had to go and look for some jobs.

- 109 Their survival became a terrible struggle:

The ones who were still going to school were four. One of them was Mavis but she has completed standard ten. The other one is Anna, she's in standard ten and Elizabeth, she's in standard four and Godfrey, he's in standard three. And Godfrey hardly ever passes at school. Especially after this event he's not performing well at school.

- 110 Also in Sebokeng, Mr Ernst Sotsu spoke of a triple family killing. After surviving years in the underground, Sotsu finally settled in the Vaal area and joined the Vaal Civic Association which was vehemently opposed to black councillors. When the IFP emerged on the political scene, the conflict escalated. He and his wife were both intimidated by the police and the IFP:

On the 3 July 1991, whilst attending an African National Congress meeting in Durban, my family was attacked. My wife Constance, my daughter Margaret and grandson Sabatha were shot dead with AK47's at close range ... Two of my grandchildren, Vuyani and Vusi narrowly escaped death but were seriously injured with bullet wounds.

- 111 This attack affected the entire family, resulting in the deaths of family members across three generations.

The burden of death

- 112 The death of family members has many negative consequences. The effects of the loss are exacerbated by the responsibility of having to inform other family members of the loss as well as by the financial burden of funeral expenses. At

the Heideveld hearing, Mr Kama described the anguish of his family after the police killed his brother-in-law:

Who would contribute to his funeral, where would his funeral be held and how would we take the body home? ... And even then, we were still left with the burden of informing the mother plus the burden of knowing what to do with the body.

- 113 The low value many police officers placed on black people's lives was evident in the death of Ms Nobeki Mbalula, who was shot and killed in a random police shooting in Cradock. When the family confronted the police and told them that they had shot a woman who was breast feeding a baby, the police response was, "the corpse can breast feed the baby."

- 114 After killing Nobeki, the police continued to harass the family.

On the Monday, they came to the house. They kicked down the door; they ate food; they took food from the fridge and ate.

- 115 The death led to additional burdens on the extended family.

I had this baby to look after. Because I had no help, I had to take these children to my sister-in-law's ex-husband.

- 116 The distress caused by the death of a family member was, in some cases, exacerbated by a sense of betrayal by trusted forces, such as the liberation movements. At the hearing on prisons, Mr Joseph Seremane gave testimony about the execution of his brother, Chief Timothy, in the ANC camp known as Quatro.

I come here on behalf of my family. I come here to express my feeling of betrayal by compatriots and comrades. I come here to express our disappointment and the way we feel cheated of a dear little brother, a promising young man, a brilliant young man.

- 117 For other families, the pain of the loss of a loved one was perpetuated because the opportunity for appropriate rituals for grieving was denied. Mr Tshabalala (see above) described the indignity suffered after his cousin's death. "Amongst all other things when he was being buried, he was buried by the police. I believe they just buried him like a dog or a puppy."

- 118 In other cases, uncertainty about the fact of death itself - as where victims simply disappeared - led to long-term psychological and practical problems. Ms Susan van der Merwe's husband disappeared on 1 November 1978. It was established much later that he had been murdered by a group of MK soldiers, to whom he had offered a lift.

The uncertainty and the utter feeling of helplessness that was caused by the disappearance of my husband was probably worse than receiving news of his death, one time. If I could put it this way, it would have been better for me just to hear that he had an accident with a gun or he had a car accident. It would have been better for me to digest the news. But the fact that there was no body even to bury led to the fact that there was no official evidence of his death.

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

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

- 119 Many who were able to bury their family members had the funeral terms dictated by those who had killed them. Ms Tony Lillian Mazwai's son died in 1988 while he was in exile. She described the atmosphere at his funeral.

I was informed that my son was a well-trained guerrilla and that the people who attend the funeral have to be limited to 200 in number ... They insisted there should be no speeches, no freedom songs, nothing. It was like a war. It seemed as if it was a battle. There's a big gate next to Josa. There was a convoy, police, soldiers, hippos, everybody.

- 120 The lack of respect for traditional rituals around death caused many people a great deal of pain. Not only were funerals disrupted, graves were also not respected. At the Nelspruit hearing, Mr Mtsorombane Carlson Ngwenyama described events that took place in 1964 when his community was being forcibly removed:

In 1964, the message came to us that the graves were to be exhumed. The owners of these graves were not even informed ... As I am a parent today, I

am having twelve children but they don't know the grave of my mother ... As blacks this is a problem to us because it is our tradition that they must know; they must worship their elders.

- 121 Thus, there was a lack of respect not only for the living but also for the dead, with repercussions for generations to come.

Economic consequences

- 122 Loss of social or occupational status and abilities because of prolonged imprisonment, physical disability or psychological problems may result in difficulties in finding employment and thus contribute to social and economic hardships.

- 123 Father Michael Lapsley (see above) discussed the difficulties he experienced trying to resume his work after his return from hospital:

I returned to Zimbabwe to joblessness in that the Bishop who was supposed to employ me had said, 'well you're disabled now, what can you do?'

- 124 Mr Lebetsa Solomon Ramokhoase was shot in the 1960 massacre at Sharpsville. The injuries he sustained resulted in chronic pains which impinged on his ability to retain employment.

When I was now working, I wouldn't stay a long period in the employment. I would tell them my problem and they would say, if we knew before we would never employ you. And I realised that I have to pack my clothes now; there is nothing I live on. I have to go out and go and seek for another employment. But every time I got a new employment I wouldn't tell them that I was shot but as soon as they discover that I had been shot, they let me go. And every time I would lose my job. Now this leg was really destroying my future. My children were starving.

- 125 Psychological problems, including post-traumatic stress disorder and depression, may cause significant social upheaval and undermine chances of finding employment. Memory and concentration difficulties may reduce the capacity for learning and impair work performance. Avoidance of feared situations may cause work, social and family dysfunction. Another factor affecting earning ability is the tendency to develop physical symptoms and a preoccupation with bodily complaints.

- 126 Disability and illness affect the ability to work. People lose time and become ineffective at work, at school and in the household. Thus, illness causes undeniable loss to individuals, families, communities and the entire society.²⁴ Figures from the Commission's database revealed immense economic loss due to the perpetration of gross human rights violations. Twenty-nine per cent of deponents who made statements to the Commission reported a loss of income as a direct result of their violation. Fifty-four per cent of those who coped through the assistance of family members and friends also reported a loss of income because of the violation. These factors placed an additional burden on the extended family.
- 127 Economic hardships can cause disruptions in relationships. Fifty-one per cent of those who reported problems in their relationships also identified loss of income because of their violations. Moreover, financial losses are not confined to one generation, a fact reflected in 51 per cent of statements which demonstrated a disruption to education and a loss of income.
- 128 Ms Mpehelo's husband was shot by unknown assailants during political conflict in the Eastern Cape. At the first East London hearing, she described the consequences for her family:

After my husband's death, many things befell me, one after the other. I never enjoyed life anymore. As I'm sitting here, I'm asking the Commission, my children want to learn. I have an elder son, he was at technikon in Port Elizabeth, and he was forced to stop studying. You know even now the lawyers are running after me to get money that was left behind.

- 129 Ms Koloti's son died in exile in Tanzania in 1990. At the East London hearing, she described the consequences for her family:

We, as the parents of those who did not come back due to different reasons, are affected because the children who came back are supporting their families. If my child was here in 1986, he promised to do certain things for me and our home. But unfortunately now he passed away and I don't know who is going to fulfil his promises to me.

- 130 Mr Willem Petrus de Klerk, whose wife Annetjie de Klerk was a victim of the MK 'Volkscas siege' in Pretoria on 25 January 1980, described the emotional and financial impact of his wife's death on the family at the Pretoria hearing:

²⁴ Rupp, A & E Sorel, 'Economic Models' in National Institute for Mental Health, March 1998.

My children were denied the love of a mother and I, of course, had to raise them. Financially I suffered as my wife's salary was no longer there, which [meant] that, after completing my police duties at night, I would have to take other tasks in order to look after my children. In the meantime, my three children were left alone at home without a mother and father and, as a result of that, even today, even though I am a pensioner now, I am still forced to do other work in order to supplement my income.

- 131 Other largely unmeasured costs included the value of time contributed by family members to caring for sick relatives. Many had to leave the labour market to care for family members. Others had to enter the labour market to pay for health costs. These added to the stresses on the family. Of those who reported that they were attempting to cope financially by doing odd jobs such as hawking or with the assistance of a pension or disability grant, 47 per cent also reported symptoms of anxiety, depression and difficulty in coping.

Family violence

- 132 Domestic violence is associated with social strain and disintegration and often with a weakening or disruption of traditional norms governing interpersonal behaviour in families. Studies demonstrate that war experiences or prolonged detention may result in problems in marital relationships. This may be due to the direct effects of trauma-coping behaviour, the inability of trauma survivors to function in expected family and social roles, and/or conflicts associated with changes in gender and family roles resulting from prolonged detention or migration. Family disintegration, such as the death of a parent or parent-in-law, also means the removal of those who would traditionally have mediated such conflict.²⁵
- 133 The effects of exposure to trauma have been linked to domestic violence in the home. At the Venda hearing, Mr Abel Tsakani Maboya alluded to domestic violence by an activist. His cousin, who was in the underground movement in Tanzania and had endured numerous detentions, committed suicide after a dispute with his wife.

He used to quarrel with his wife every time, that is the information that I got ... I don't know what made him to fight with his wife, maybe it comes from what he experienced from jail or some other things.

²⁵ Engdahl, B & J Fairbank. 'Former Prisoners of War: Highlights of Empirical Research' in National Institute of Mental Health, March 1998

- 134 Mr John Deegan described the problems he experienced in taking up his role in the family after returning from service on the Namibian border in the early 1980s:

I had a lot of anger and I couldn't relate to people in the RSA at home any more ... I just burst out into rages with my family and with my fiancée ... [I] started to do weird stuff like that.²⁶

■ THE CONSEQUENCES OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON COMMUNITIES

- 135 Apartheid's racial and ethnic-based social engineering resulted in both the construction and destruction of communities. Legislation such as the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and influx control laws were all attempts to define and regulate communities. Apartheid created communities that were racially, linguistically and ethnically determined. Resources for the development of these state-defined communities were differentially allocated resulting in the deprivation, particularly, of African communities. These racial categories were adopted by communities themselves, resulting in generally understood divisions between white, African, Indian and coloured groups.
- 136 Clearly, differences of various kinds existed within these groups. However, in the period under the focus of the Commission, some of these internal differences were masked. The white community generally shared a common sense of defending and maintaining the *status quo* while the black community united in a common resistance to their oppression. The state therefore viewed communities as homogeneous and polarised entities.
- 137 From the mid-1980s, intra- and inter-community violence began to emerge and differences between communities along class, ethnic, linguistic and political lines led increasingly to violence. The security forces manipulated these differences through the recruitment and collaboration of vigilantes, which generally represented the more conservative elements in black communities.

Black communities

- 138 In 1960, the year that marks the starting point of the Commission's mandate, the state embarked on the rigid enforcement of apartheid legislation, in particular the Group Areas Act. It was an era characterised by mass forced removals and the

²⁶ Interview with Marius Van Niekerk, part of submission to the Commission.

consequent dislocation of communities. Resistance to forced removals generated fierce conflicts which resulted in grave human rights abuses as the state violently enforced its policies.

- 139 The townships and residential areas constructed in this period were grossly under-serviced. Many were without basic services such as water, electricity, adequate housing, roads, schools and clinics. Lack of services and appalling living conditions generated tensions that laid the ground for much of the conflict that was generated in South Africa's contemporary history. From rural farming areas to homeland settlements to urban townships, living conditions and economic deprivation provided fertile ground for conflict. The battle for national liberation and civil and political rights cannot, therefore, be separated from countless localised battles rooted in socio-economic deprivation.
- 140 Many communities mobilised around issues relating to poor living conditions such as inadequate housing, water, infrastructure and the lack of services. The death of three Robertson residents in 1990 bears testimony to the kinds of violations experienced as a result of such protest by communities. At the funeral of these young men, a pamphlet was produced and circulated. It read:

Their death is due to police action before, during and subsequent to community protests against those unacceptable living conditions in the community despite several efforts and memorandums from the community to the local Municipal authorities to improve these conditions.²⁷

- 141 At the Mmabatho hearing, Ms Florence Madodi Nkosi told the Commission why her activism was rooted in community issues:

We wished that Huhudi could undergo changes, because at that time we were using bucket systems for the toilets and people were forced to go to Pudumo and didn't also want to go to Pudumo.

- 142 Community mobilisation influenced the state's view of entire communities as homogeneous entities. This often resulted in the arrest, detention, torture or killing of individuals who were seen as symbols of the resistance. Thus, according to the construction of communities as 'us' and 'them', and articulated in the South African context in racial terms, the white state constructed black South Africans as the enemy. Mr Anderson Lizo, a youth from Upington, was a victim of this indiscriminate persecution. In 1985, while waiting for friends after a rugby game

²⁷ Testimony by Sarahline Joseph, Commission hearing in the Boland, 26 June 1996

at school, he was picked up by the Commanding Officer of Upington, known as the *Rooi Majoor* (Red Major). It was assumed that he had information on the organisers of resistance in the local township, Paballelo. Although only fifteen years of age at the time, he was repeatedly thrown off a high bridge into a river in an attempt to elicit information.

- 143 Such attacks by the police and security forces undermined the dignity and sense of security of communities. Testimonies of random shootings and arrests dominated hearings. Victims of these violations included women, children, elderly people and residents of communities going about their daily business. Pastor Dyantyi told the Commission at the Oudtshoorn post-hearing workshop that:

You would see a Jeep from the police launching teargas all over the township. As you can imagine, the township is so clustered - this teargas would be blown all over the township.

- 144 Police and defence force violence wreaked havoc in communities and destroyed the natural flow of life, evidenced by the fact that young people commonly died before their parents or grandparents. The killing of Ms Anna Maria Sam's grandchild was one such case. At the Upington hearing, Ms Sam told the Commission that Ms Beulin Isaacs was fifteen years old and about to give birth to her first child when she was shot dead. She had been buying milk for her grandmother. Thus, in some communities, daily activities such as buying bread or visiting friends meant risking one's life. The situation was exacerbated when police turned community rituals of grieving (after incidents caused by police violence) into further traumatic incidents. Police harassment at funerals and denying families the right to see the bodies of their loved ones were common. Ms Xoliswa Stella Lumkwana said at the Upington hearing that, after the police shot her brother:

they decide when to bury him and where and as to how must he be buried and yet they are the ones who were wrongdoers.

- 145 Funerals became both a symbol of the effects of the repression and an opportunity for mobilisation. Consequently, the state sent police to monitor and disrupt many funerals, perpetuating the cycle of violence. More killings occurred at funerals, and then there were more funerals. This was a particularly brutal manifestation of the South African conflict, especially in the light of the importance of funeral rituals in the black community.

- 146 The sense of powerlessness experienced by communities was increased by the culture of impunity within which the police and security forces operated. Ms Anna Sam described how the Commanding Officer of Upington, *Rooi Majoer*, “could go into your house and shoot somebody but nobody could stop him”²⁸. This perception of omnipotence was used by the state to undermine communities and discourage resistance and counter-mobilisation. Indiscriminate victimisation was intended to serve as a warning of the dangers of dissent.
- 147 Persistent poverty, economic hardship and unemployment, together with various forms of torture, made it possible for the state to manipulate communities through the recruitment of informers and collaborators. This manipulation exploited existing inter-community rivalry - including rural/urban divides and conservatives who feared progressives - and was usually articulated through intergenerational conflicts which pitted ‘fathers’ against the ‘comrades’. The exploitation of these divisions lay at the heart of the destabilisation strategy adopted by the state in the late 1980s.

Inter and intra-community violence

- 148 By the 1980s, international pressures and local resistance forced the state to adopt alternatives to brute force. However, the introduction of reforms was accompanied by a destabilisation strategy that relied on collusion between elements within black communities which were beneficiaries of the *status quo* and elements within the state. According to Jacklyn Cock:

*The reliance on vigilantes as a disorganising force represents a shift away from a reliance on the SADF and SAP to suppress black resistance. It is crucial to appreciate that this shift is part of a military strategy.*²⁹

- 149 From the late 1980s, vigilantism and inter-community violence became a feature in many communities.
- 150 Destabilisation was adopted as a tactic on both sides of the conflict. In communities around the country, people mobilised around the slogan ‘Forward to People’s Power’. Forms of opposition included the removal of illegitimate authorities and included strategies for destabilising the government at all levels. The call to make the townships ungovernable was heeded by activists who attempted to mobilise

28 ‘The Mental Health Consequences of Torture and Related violence and Trauma,’ National Institute of Mental Health, March 1998

29 Cock, J. ‘Political violence’ in People and Violence in South Africa, Eds B McKendrick and W Hoffman, Oxford University Press, 1990

communities and replace what were described as 'illegitimate' structures with block committees, street committees, self defence units and people's courts.

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

152 Councillors were perceived as collaborating with the state and came to be seen as symbols of oppression and exploitation. This was one of the premises upon which so-called 'black on black' violence was founded. Community councillors came to be seen as the 'faces' of the system, thereby reducing the visibility of the state in the conflict.

153 At the Sebokeng post-hearing workshop, Mr Mkiwane described conditions in Sebokeng in 1984:

All hell broke out. Property was destroyed, houses were burned and belongings were either destroyed by fire or carried away by the very same people who elected us. Some of our colleagues who were found at home were brutally killed.

154 For councillors, the consequence was banishment from their communities. Those who left their posts found it difficult to find subsequent employment and many were unable to return to their previous homes for fear for their lives. Mr Maseko, a former councillor from Wesselton, was forced out of his community. At the Sebokeng post-hearing workshop, he said:

As a result, I still do fear for my life and I feel that I no longer have the dignity that I had at that time ... I still have this problem of not trusting my community.

155 There were also consequences for councillors' wives and children. At the Worcester hearing, Mr Malinge Zweni, the son of a councillor who was killed in Ashton in 1986, described the community hostility his family faced.

We were called impimpis [spies]; we were called informers by the community. Children would throw stones and children would persecute us in the street.

156 He contemplated leaving Ashton because, "I had no friends and they were thinking that I was an informer as well." Other children of councillors were afraid to go to school. Mr Mkiwane appealed for assistance from the Commission, saying, "we feel that something has to be done to bring us back into the community."

157 The Vaal area was particularly badly affected by the destabilisation tactics of the late 1980s and early 1990s. The government sponsored dissident groups in places like Sebokeng, Boipatong and Sharpville. At the Sebokeng post-hearing workshop, Father Photolo commented:

In the broad community, these operations, characterised by mass and indiscriminate killings, became part of everyday life in the community in the Vaal and perpetrators were never brought to court.

158 Once again, the abnormal became normal as violence, fear and insecurity engulfed communities in South Africa. In the Vaal, from March 1992 to February 1993, about 1 650 murders took place; 2 900 violent confrontations involving weapons other than firearms and 6 700 cases of assault were reported. According to Ms Joyce Seroke, violence was experienced in the form of random IFP/ANC violence in the community, drive-by shootings, third force attacks and train massacres.

159 Many youth were recruited into vigilante groups, which enjoyed the protection and support of the police. This led to further polarisation of communities. Reverend Khumalo of Ermelo told the Commission how the church attempted to intervene:

There [was] a group of young men who were called the Black Cats. There was a time when it was said they were being protected by the police and they were living at the police station. We went there as a group of pastors and we talked to the policemen of the danger of separating these young men from their community.

160 In KwaZulu-Natal, inter- and intra-community violence degenerated into near civil war and communities were torn apart. The conflict was characterised by assassinations, attacks on entire families and the burning down of family homes. Thousands of people were forced to flee their homes and took refuge in forests, squatter settlements or with relatives.

- 161 The aftermath of the ‘Seven Days War’ conflict, when IFP *impis* attacked the non-IFP areas of Elandskop in Pietermaritzburg, was described by Father Smith at the Pietermaritzburg hearing:

Even today, you can see the aftermath of the violence that took place in 1990. The houses, the shops were burnt down. The schools were also burnt down. You will see the place where a number of people were staying, and they are no longer there at this present moment.

- 162 According to Mr Mbanjwa, a resident of Elandskop at the time: “that is the thing that killed the community, that people were forced to join Inkatha”.
- 163 The consequence has been the shattering and dislocation of communities. Many people are still unable to return home due to the destruction of their houses and fear of continued violence. Suspicion, mistrust, anger and revenge lingered after the overt conflict subsided.
- 164 The manifestations of intra-community violence through attacks on and in homes resulted in many people being left homeless. Lifetime investments in homes and material goods were lost in the conflict. Of those who reported violations because of intra-community violence, 43 per cent reported that they were homeless as a result. Of these, 36 per cent spoke of disruptions to their own or their children’s education. A further 42 per cent of those who were displaced reported that their forced relocation was a result of intra-community violence, and 59 per cent of those displaced reported psychological problems of anxiety, depression and difficulties in coping. Thus, homelessness and displacement have multiple consequences. Homelessness in KwaZulu-Natal affected three times as many people as in any other region and has particular implications for communities in KwaZulu-Natal.

■ RURAL COMMUNITIES

- 165 Much of the media and literature on human rights violations and its consequences published to date have focused on the urban areas. The Commission’s human rights violation hearings and post-hearing workshops allowed for a unique insight into opposition, violations and consequences experienced in rural communities. In many ways, these have mirrored events at the national level.

- 166 Rural communities have been characterised by stark racial polarisation and unequal power relations. They have been described as the most conservative and the most neglected in South Africa.
- 167 Rural areas were subject to the rigid enforcement of apartheid legislation. For example, in Oudtshoorn, from 1961 until the early 1970s, the Group Areas Act resulted in the removal of thousands of coloured and African people from the town. In 1966, a new township called Bongoletu was proclaimed. This allowed for the destruction of Klippiess Eiland and the removal of Africans to the new area. As Oudtshoorn fell within the 'coloured labour preference' policy area, African people were allowed only limited access to Oudtshoorn. Apartheid was enforced through measures such as forcing the residents of Bridgeton, a neighbouring coloured township, to obtain permits to visit relatives and friends in Bongoletu.
- 168 In rural communities, racism and conservatism entrenched vastly unequal social and economic relations. These were entrenched through the awesome power wielded by the small white communities, who were able to control and regulate black lives from the cradle to the grave. People who grew up on farms were often regarded as the farmers' possessions. Many breadwinners lost their jobs because they became involved in politics and were seen as troublemakers. For farm workers, the loss of a job often threatened homelessness for the entire family. Thus, political activity generated divisions within families, as some attempted to maintain their fragile existence through acquiescence in the oppressive situation and others continued to resist, regardless of the consequences. At the Worcester hearing, Father Michael Weeder said that, when he first arrived in the Boland, he observed this fear of challenging the system.

What I mistook for apathy and submissiveness was just another means of coping, of surviving ... people leading quiet lives of desperation.

- 169 He said that resistance against the white community could have repercussions not only for the individual, but also for other family members who risked losing their jobs or ending up in jail.
- 170 Resistance did, however, occur. In Oudtshoorn, for example, there was a growth in community organisations between 1973 and 1983. Those in leadership positions were under constant police surveillance, and suffered arrest and harassment. In 1985, open conflict broke out and, on 2 May, SADF troops moved into Bongoletu township. The conflict escalated and anyone associated with the state became a community target.

- 171 In 1990, the residents of Ashton embarked on a series of non-violent actions that set in motion an irreversible process of change. According to Father Michael Weeder.

Many months later they emerged bloodied and brutalised but immensely proud ... they knew for themselves that the days of baasskap [white supremacy] were over and they had helped bury it.

- 172 Resistance generated pride in oppressed communities which, through their opposition to the system fought, not only for justice, but also to reclaim their dignity.

Resistance to homeland incorporation

- 173 Rural community opposition was often characterised by complex constellations of state repression, ethnic tensions and resistance to incorporation into ethnically defined homelands. In a submission to the Amnesty Committee at Phokeng, Mr Brian Currin spoke of the resistance of the Baphokeng tribe to incorporation into Bophuthatswana:

Resistance, both organised and spontaneous to the formation and continued existence of the homelands, has long been a feature of South African politics. In Bophuthatswana itself, political struggles were waged by rural communities and political organisations against the issues of forced incorporation.

- 174 This conflict was linked with tribal conflicts as non-Tswanas were evicted and persecuted in Bophuthatswana soon after independence.
- 175 In rural areas, the nature of reprisals against those who were seen as collaborators differed from that in urban areas, owing to the frequent dominance of traditional leaders. The state and homeland leaders attempted to co-opt supportive leaders and, where this failed, the legitimate chiefs were replaced. This was the case in Baphokeng, where Chief Molokele refused to acknowledge Lucas Mangope's leadership and suffered harassment and detention as a result. Following Chief Molokele's exile to Botswana, President Mangope appointed his brother, George Molokele, to the position. The tribe fiercely opposed this. The community continued to mobilise against its incorporation into Bophuthatswana and the illegitimacy of Molokele's appointment.
- 176 Thus, the system of apartheid and the accompanying construction of ethnically defined homelands resulted not only in resistance, but also in the polarisation of

communities. In this instance, those who opposed Mangope's rule were subsequently forced to mobilise against a member of their own community who attempted to capitalise on the repression.

- 177 The theme of collaboration also emerges in the rural context. This was illustrated by the state's use of *kitskonstabels*³⁰ who, after only six weeks of training, were deployed in communities. They proved to be ill disciplined and a law unto themselves.
- 178 Vigilantism was also a feature in rural communities. In Zolani in Ashton, the *Amasolomzi* patrolled the streets as the henchmen of local councillors. Their unregulated activities resulted in many human rights violations. Mr Nthando Mrubata, who testified at the Worcester hearing, was a victim of the *Amasolomzi*: "It was due to the police and the vigilantes that I am now a cripple."
- 179 Intra-community violence extended beyond the activities of the state and vigilante groups to inter-party conflict. Mr Jim Bonakele Yanta, an ANC Youth League member in Upington, spoke of the Upington hearing of conflict between ANC and National Party supporters. This conflict led to displacement as "some of the ANC members who lived in the location had to actually move out of the location, out of the Red Block and they had to come to live in E'Thembeni because they were constantly being threatened." He alleged police complicity with the NP supporters.
- 180 The consequences of these conflicts are extremely complex, with spiralling and contradictory implications. It is clear that gross human rights violations have ripple effects that extend beyond the individual into the heart of communities.

■ WHITE COMMUNITIES

- 181 Apartheid policies resulted in the division of South African communities along racial lines. At a post hearing workshop of the Commission, Mr Tjol Lategan said:

Politics beset every fibre of our community, in our schools, in our churches, in our agricultural unions, in our cultural organisations, every bit of the community got politicised and polarised.

30 Or special constables, nicknamed 'instant' constables because they were incorporated into the police after only a very short training course.

- 182 Through apartheid, the white community retained political and economic power. The unequal distribution of resources meant that white communities benefited through well-serviced suburbs, accessible education, access to government and other employment opportunities and countless other advantages. Whilst only a minority of white people engaged in the direct perpetration of violence, many gross human rights violations were committed in order to retain these benefits.
- 183 The mobilisation of members of the white community to uphold the system began when they were still children. The state-owned media presented a distorted view of South Africa. Militarisation of young white males began at school through the system of cadets, which was a training ground for their subsequent conscription. This militarisation has had many negative consequences - not least with regard to the level of violence prevalent in contemporary society.
- 184 Many perpetrators worked in a context in which the end was seen to justify the means. Attacks on white targets by the liberation movements further strengthened this resolve. Many white communities felt a sense of fear and insecurity, which was legitimised through landmine attacks in the rural areas and other incidents such as the Church Street and Magoo's Bar bombings.
- 185 Many who are now seen as perpetrators viewed themselves as defenders of their nation and were, at the time, showered with praises and rewards for achieving their goals. Their actions appeared justified in what they viewed as a war context.
- 186 Former leaders subsequently distanced themselves from those who were doing the work of the state. As Eugene de Kock said in mitigation of sentence, "One would now believe that I was the only individual who fought the ANC." Once loyal subjects of the former government expressed the view that their leaders had abandoned them. This has exacerbated fear of the Commission. At a workshop in Ermelo, Dominee Gerhard Barnard described the sentiments in some white communities:

The people don't see it as a reconciliation commission but as a punitive commission; somebody has to be punished and this is where our Afrikaners had to take their punishment ... I realised that the fear which arose is not the fear of confessing, but the fear of what is going to happen to the evidence? In what ways will people be punished in the future?

187 This reflects the fact that different communities have different perceptions of the Commission. Many victims, mainly from black communities, have criticised the Commission for being too soft and accommodating of perpetrators through the provision of amnesty. Perpetrators, on the other hand, appear to view the Commission with fear because of its perceived retributive powers.

188 The majority of individual white South Africans did not actively engage in the perpetration of gross human rights violations. At the same time, they did not overtly resist the dehumanising system within which these violations took place. Some white South Africans have recognised their bystander complicity. This has generated a sense of guilt, shame or denial. At a post-hearing workshop, Ms Lesley Morgan, a white South African housewife, described these feelings:

There is a sense of complicity, a terrible feeling of failure ... the choices I made in the past to avoid what I perceived in my fear and cowardice as having consequences too dangerous to deal with have resulted in consequences worse than I ever feared.

189 Fears of an imminent civil war resulted in many white South Africans leaving the country. Emigration, although a voluntary activity, had widespread consequences for families and communities. In some ways, these mirror the experience of exile in that they result in the scattering and dislocation of families. Emigration also had economic consequences for the country, as it was those with skills who were most likely to emigrate.

190 The absence of white South Africans at the Commission hearings has been disappointing. If true reconciliation is to take place, white communities will have to take responsibility and acknowledge their role as beneficiaries of apartheid. The consequences of this lack of participation are likely to perpetuate the polarisation of South African communities and further obstruct processes of reconciliation.

■ CONCLUSION

191 This chapter has tried to assess the effects of thirty-four years of oppression and resistance. It has addressed some of the psychological and physical consequences of gross violations of human rights as reported to the Commission. The Commission heard testimony from a broad range of people, many of whom testified about violations experienced by others. Mothers, sisters, fathers, brothers, relatives and friends came forward to speak of their pain and anguish. Their testimonies spoke

of the ripple effects on families and communities of the system of apartheid and the oppressive manner in which it was implemented.

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

Reparation and Rehabilitation Policy

■ INTRODUCTION

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

■ WHY REPARATION?

- 2 Victims of human rights abuses have suffered a multiplicity of losses and therefore have the right to reparation. Without adequate reparation and rehabilitation measures, there can be no healing or reconciliation.
- 3 In addition, in the context of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, reparation is essential to counterbalance amnesty. The granting of amnesty denies victims the right to institute civil claims against perpetrators. The government should thus accept responsibility for reparation.

The legal basis for reparation

- 4 The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act) mandates the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee of the Commission to provide, amongst other things, measures to be taken in order to grant reparation to victims of gross human rights violations (see below).

- 5 The legal authority for reparation is further entrenched in domestic law by the judgement in the case of the AZAPO and Others v The President of the Republic of South Africa and Others (1996(8) BCLR 1015 (CC), in which the applicants sought an order declaring section 20(7) of the Act unconstitutional. Section 20(7) states that a person who has been granted amnesty shall not be criminally or civilly liable in respect of that act. The court held that section 20(7) is not unconstitutional. In arriving at such decision Didcott J held at paragraph 62:

Reparation is usually payable by states, and there is no reason to doubt that the postscript envisages our own state shouldering the national responsibility for those. It therefore does not contemplate that the state will go Scot-free. On the contrary, I believe an actual commitment on the point is implicit in its terms, a commitment in principle to the assumption by the state of the burden.

- 6 He stated further at paragraph 65:

The Statute does not, it is true, grant any legally enforceable rights in lieu of those lost by claimants whom the amnesties hit. It nevertheless offers some quid pro quo for the loss and establishes the machinery for determining such alternative redress. I cannot see what else it might have achieved immediately once, in the light of the painful choices described by Mohammed DP and in the exercise of the legislative judgement brought to bear on them, the basic decision had been taken to substitute the indeterminate prospect of reparations for the concrete reality of legal claims wherever those were enjoyed. For nothing more definite, detailed and efficacious could feasibly have been promised at that stage, and with no prior investigations, recommendations and decisions of the very sort for which provision is now made.

Review of the Act

- 7 The Preamble to the Act, stipulates that one of the objectives of the Commission is to provide for:

the taking of measures aimed at the granting of reparation to, and the rehabilitation and the restoration of the human and civil dignity, of victims of violations of human rights.

- 8 Pursuant thereto, section 4(f) states that one of the functions of the Commission shall be to make recommendations to the President with regard to:

the policy which should be followed or measures which should be taken with regard to the granting of reparation to victims or the taking of other measures aimed at rehabilitating and restoring the human and civil dignity of victims; measures which should be taken to grant Urgent Interim Reparation to victims.

- 9 Furthermore, section 25(b)(i) stipulates that the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee may:

make recommendations which may include urgent interim measures as contemplated in section 4(f)(ii), as to appropriate measures of reparation to victims.

- 10 In terms of section 42, the State President, in consultation with the Ministers of Justice and Finance, will establish a President's Fund. All money payable to victims in terms of regulations promulgated by the President shall be disbursed from this fund.

International legal framework

- 11 The right of victims of human rights abuse to fair and adequate compensation is well established in international law. In the past three years, South Africa has signed a number of important international instruments, which place it under an obligation¹ to provide victims of human rights abuse with fair and adequate compensation. The provisions of these instruments, together with the rulings of those bodies established to ensure compliance with them, indicate that it is not sufficient to award 'token' or nominal compensation to victims. The amount of reparation awarded must be sufficient to make a meaningful and substantial impact on their lives. In terms of United Nations Conventions, there is well established right of victims of human rights abuse to compensation for their losses and suffering. It is important that the reparation policy adopted by the government, based on recommendations made by the Commission is in accordance with South Africa's international obligations. The reparation awarded to victims must be significant.
- 12 What follows is a brief review of international law in this regard.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights²

- 13 Article 8 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulates that:

1 Once a treaty has been signed, a country is obliged, according to article 18 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, to 'refrain from acts which would defeat the objects and purpose of such treaty'. South Africa is therefore bound by the provisions and jurisprudence of those treaties it has signed.

2 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been accepted as customary international law.

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

- 14 The use of the words “effective remedy” underscores the point that the reparation awarded must be meaningful and substantial.

***The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*³**

- 15 Section 3(a) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights reads:

Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes:

(a) To ensure that any person whose rights or freedoms as herein recognised are violated shall have an effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity.

- 16 The Human Rights Committee established under the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to consider alleged breaches of the Covenant has considered a number of cases relating to the right to compensation arising from gross violations of human rights.⁴ In all these cases, it has been held that, where the state or any of its agents is responsible for killings, torture, abductions or disappearances, it is under a legal obligation to pay compensation to the victims or their families. The fact that, in the majority of instances, the Committee has used the term ‘compensation’ implies that the award to victims should be substantial.

***The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*⁵**

- 17 The Committee against Torture, established to ensure compliance with the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, has found that complaints relating to acts of torture which occurred before the Convention entered into force are inadmissible because the Convention cannot be applied retroactively. Consequently, the Committee declared inadmissible a series of complaints by Argentinean citizens who alleged that they had been

³ Signed by South Africa on 3 October 1994.

⁴ See *Bleier v Uruguay* (Case No. 30/1978); *Camargo v Columbia* (case No. 45/1979); *Dermitt v Uruguay* (Case No. 84/1981); *Quinteros v Uruguay* (Case No. 107/1981); *Baboerem v Suriname* (Case Nos. 146/1983 & 148-154/1983); *Muiyo v Zaire* (Case No. 194/1985). Scores more cases can be referred to. See generally the T Van Boven Study concerning the right to restitution, compensation and rehabilitation for victims of gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, (Report submitted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, 2 July 1993).

⁵ Signed by South Africa on 29 January 1993.

tortured before the Convention had come into force. Despite this rather technical finding, the Committee stressed in its communication to the government of Argentina that it should, in order to comply with the spirit of the Convention against Torture, ensure that victims of torture receive “adequate compensation”. This is another example of an international body requiring, not just token, but significant reparation to be made to victims of human rights abuse.

The Inter-American Conventions on Human Rights

- 18 The Inter-American Convention on Human Rights contains provisions that grant victims of human rights abuse a right to compensation. In the famous Velasquez Rodriguez case⁶, the Inter-American Court held that a state is under an obligation to “provide compensation as warranted for damages resulting from the violations [of the rights recognised by the Convention]”. On numerous other occasions – most recently in 1992 with respect to the governments of Uruguay and Argentina – the Inter-American Court has reasserted its view that victims of human rights abuse are entitled to compensation .

The moral argument

- 19 The South African conflict produced casualties. Many people were killed, tortured, abducted and subjected to various forms of severe ill treatment. This not only destroyed individual lives, but also affected families, communities and the nation as a whole.⁸ As a result, the new South Africa has inherited thousands of people whose lives have been severely affected. If we are to transcend the past and build national unity and reconciliation, we must ensure that those whose rights have been violated are acknowledged through access to reparation and rehabilitation. While such measures can never bring back the dead, nor adequately compensate for pain and suffering, they can and must improve the quality of life of the victims of human rights violations and/or their dependants.
- 20 The present government has accepted that it is morally obliged to carry the debts of its predecessors and is thus equally responsible for reparation. Implementation of reparation will afford all South Africans an opportunity to contribute to healing and reconciliation.

⁶ Judgement, Inter-American Court of Human Rights, Series C. No. 4 (1988).

⁷ Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Report No. 29/92 (October 2 1992); Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Report No. 28/92 (October 2 1992).

⁸ See chapter on *Consequences of Gross Human Rights Violations*.

- 21 Without adequate reparation and rehabilitation measures, there can be no healing and reconciliation, either at an individual or a community level. Comprehensive forms of reparation should also be implemented to restore the physical and mental well being of victims.
- 22 The following policy proposals and recommendations in respect of both urgent interim reparation and reparation itself are, therefore, submitted to the State President for his consideration in terms of sections 27 and 40(1)(d) of the Act.

■ WHAT CONSTITUTES REPARATION AND REHABILITATION

- 23 Section 1(1) (xiv) of the Act defines reparation as including: “any form of compensation, *ex gratia* payment, restitution, rehabilitation or recognition.”
- 24 The proposed reparation and rehabilitation policy has five components:

Urgent Interim Reparation

- 25 Urgent interim reparation is assistance for people in urgent need, to provide them with access to appropriate services and facilities. It is recommended that limited financial resources be made available to facilitate this access.

Individual Reparation Grants

- 26 This is an individual financial grant scheme. It is recommended that each victim of a gross human rights violation receive a financial grant, according to various criteria, paid over a period of six years.

Symbolic reparation/legal and administrative measures

- 27 Symbolic reparation encompasses measures to facilitate the communal process of remembering and commemorating the pain and victories of the past.
- 28 Amongst other measures, symbolic reparation should entail identifying a national day of remembrance and reconciliation, erection of memorials and monuments, and the development of museums.

- 29 Legal and administrative measures will also be proposed to assist individuals to obtain death certificates, expedite outstanding legal matters and expunge criminal records.

Community rehabilitation programmes

- 30 The Commission consulted with relevant government ministries in preparing its proposals for the establishment of community-based services and activities, aimed at promoting the healing and recovery of individuals and communities that have been affected by human rights violations.
- 31 During the life of the Commission, a number of victims were referred to the relevant government departments for assistance. It is recommended that this process continue after the Commission closes.

Institutional reform

- 32 These proposals include legal, administrative and institutional measures designed to prevent the recurrence of human rights abuses.

■ WHO IS ENTITLED TO REPARATION AND REHABILITATION?

- 33 It is recommended that the recipients of urgent interim reparation and individual reparation grants should be victims as found by the Commission, as well as their relatives and dependants who are found to be in urgent need, after the consideration of a completed prescribed application form, according to the proposed urgency criteria.
- 34 For the purposes of this policy, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (chapter 1 of the Act) defines relatives and dependants of a victim as:
- a parents (or those who acted/act in place of a parent);
 - b spouse (according to customary, common, religious or indigenous law);
 - c children (either in or out of wedlock or adopted);
 - d someone the victim has/had a customary or legal duty to support.

- 35 It should be noted that, if the victim died as the result of the violation, the definition of relatives and dependants will apply to the situation *at the time of the victim's death*. If the victim is alive, the definition will apply to the situation as at 14 December 1997.

■ REPARATION AND REHABILITATION POLICY DEVELOPMENT

- 36 In formulating these policies and recommendations, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee collected information from a variety of sources. Specifically, the Committee collected information from victims and survivors, representatives of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community based organisations (CBOs), faith communities and academic institutions. Consultative workshops were held throughout the country. The information collected from deponents was processed and coded in the Commission database and assisted the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee to:
- a establish harm suffered;
 - b determine the needs and expectations of victims;
 - c establish criteria to identify victims in urgent need;
 - d develop proposals regarding long term reparation and rehabilitation measures.
- 37 The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was also guided by internationally accepted approaches to reparation and rehabilitation:
- a redress: the right to fair and adequate compensation;
 - b restitution: the right to the re-establishment, as far as possible, of the situation that existed prior to the violation;
 - c rehabilitation: the right to the provision of medical and psychological care and fulfilment of significant personal and community needs;
 - d restoration of dignity: the right of the individual/community to a sense of worth; and

- e reassurance of non-repetition: the strategies for the creation of legislative and administrative measures that contribute to the maintenance of a stable society and the prevention of the re-occurrence of human rights violations.
- 38 Policy development was also informed by the work and recommendations of other Truth Commissions, in particular the Chilean Commission, which awarded a 'pension' to the families of the dead and disappeared; by the decision of the United Nations to award financial compensation to the victims of the Iran-Iraq war; and, most pertinently, by the conclusions of the Skweyiya and Motsuenyane Commissions.
- 39 The Skweyiya Commission⁹ recommended that victims of "maltreatment during detention" should receive monetary compensation, appropriate medical and psychological assistance, assistance in completing interrupted education and compensation for property lost. The Motsuenyane Commission¹⁰ also recommended compensation to those who suffered human rights violations and assistance with medical expenses.
- 40 In the process of developing policy, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was faced with a number of decisions. Perhaps the most important of these was whether reparation should be financial and, if so, how much money should be given.
- 41 The alternative to a financial grant would be a 'service package'. Offering a service package has a number of pitfalls:
- a The costs of administering the process might reduce the amount available to victims.
 - b Victims' needs change over time. Thus, a service package tailored to meet present needs could well be inappropriate after a period.
 - c Dependants' needs (and status) also change over time.
 - d Giving preferential access to services to select individuals in a community could give rise to tensions.
 - e The way in which a distant implementing body chooses to service a need may not be the way the individual would have chosen him or herself.

9 The 'Report of the Skweyiya Commission of Enquiry into complaints by former African National Congress prisoners and detainees', August 1992.

10 The 'Report of the Motsuenyane Commission of Enquiry into certain allegations of cruelty and human rights abuse against ANC prisoners and detainees by ANC members', August 1993.

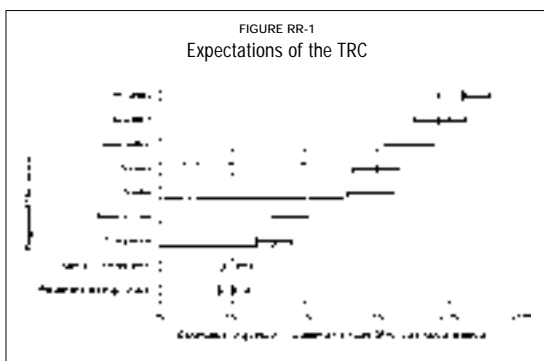
42 The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee decided that a well-structured monetary grant would be preferable to a services package, providing it took two things into account:

a It should enable reasonable access to essential basic services.

b It should generate opportunities to achieve a dignified standard of living within the South African socio-economic context.

43 A monetary package also gives freedom of choice to the recipient. He or she can use the money in a way that is most appropriate to redress the injustice experienced. Because a monetary package provides government with a set of predictable, limited expenses, it makes fiscal management more feasible. An appropriately organised package requires minimal bureaucratic oversight.

44 The final, and most important factor in favour of an individual monetary grant, was that analysis of a representative sample of statements revealed that most deponents requested reparation in the form of money or services that money can purchase (see Figure RR1). The highest



expectation of the reparation process was for monetary assistance.

Compensation, bursaries, shelter, medical care and tombstones occupied third to seventh places respectively in the most frequent requests (the second most commonly requested intervention was for investigation of the violation).

45 For all these reasons, it was decided to recommend the provision of urgent interim reparations and individual reparation grants in the form of money.

■ PRINCIPLES OF REPARATION AND REHABILITATION POLICY

Development-centred

- 46 This policy is development-centred. Central to the approach is a focus on resources, knowledge and choice. Development is not about provision of resources to passive individuals, but rather about actively empowering individuals and communities to take control of their own lives. In adherence to this principle, it is essential to provide individuals with sufficient knowledge and information about available resources and to help them utilise those resources to their maximum benefit.
- 47 Implementation must be a participatory process. This strengthens collective community development and local reconstruction and development initiatives.

Simplicity and efficacy

- 48 The policy should be simple, efficient and fair to ensure that the allocated resources are utilised to the maximum benefit of the recipients.

Cultural appropriateness

- 49 The services developed as a result of this policy should be responsive to the religious and cultural beliefs and practices of the community in which the services are provided.

Community-based

- 50 In consultation with appropriate ministries, community-based services and delivery should be strengthened and expanded to have a lasting and sustainable impact on communities.

Capacity development

- 51 Those community resources that are developed should focus not only on delivery of services, but also on local capacity building, to ensure sustainability of programmes.

Promoting healing and reconciliation

- 52 The activities that emerge from this policy should aim to bring people together, to promote mutual understanding and reconciliation.
- 53 The Act provides for two stages in the process of Reparation and Rehabilitation, namely, Urgent Interim Reparation and Final Reparation Measures.

■ URGENT INTERIM REPARATION

- 54 Urgent Interim Reparation is the delivery of reparative measures to victims who are in urgent need. During the life of the Commission, urgent interim reparation was granted to certain victims. It was further recommended that all applicants be considered for this grant while awaiting final reparation.

Benefits

- 55 It was recommended that beneficiaries be entitled to the following:
- a Information about and or referral to appropriate services (government, non-government and/or private sector), depending on type of need.
 - b Financial assistance in order to access and/or pay for services deemed necessary to meet specifically identified urgent needs. Payment will be based on a sliding scale according to number of dependants and need. Thus:

■ NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN NEED

One (i.e. applicant only)	R 2 000
One plus one	R 2 900
One plus two	R 3 750
One plus three	R 4 530
One plus four	R 5 205
One plus five or more	R 5 705

Intervention categories and eligibility criteria

- 56 Victims or their relatives and dependants who have urgent medical, emotional, educational, material and/or symbolic needs will be entitled to urgent interim reparations.
- 57 Urgency will be determined in each of the above categories using a detailed set of criteria available to the Committee and the proposed government implementing structure.

Implementation

- 58 The promulgation of government regulations on urgent interim reparation took longer than expected, which resulted in a delay in making this relief available. The time it would have taken for a multi-disciplinary implementing body (as originally envisaged) to be set up would, in turn, have meant further delay in delivering tangible reparation to victims.
- 59 The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee thus took responsibility for disseminating, receiving and assessing reparation application forms. Two committee members recommended a cash payment and made suggestions about appropriate services that the applicant could access. This information was forwarded to the President's Fund in Pretoria. The President's Fund made payment to the applicant, either via electronic bank transfer or a cheque posted by registered mail and, through a network of nodal points in provincial governments, informed applicants of available services.
- 60 While this system was being implemented (first payments were made in July 1998), ongoing discussion took place about the constitution of the implementing body that would eventually take over from the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee. This matter had not been finalised at the time of reporting.

Implementation of Urgent Interim Reparations before the date specified by the President in terms of section 43(1)

- 61 This section outlines the different ways in which urgent interim relief policy was implemented before the date specified by the President in terms of section 43(1).

- 62 Regional Human Rights Violations Committees made preliminary findings on victim statements gathered from their areas. Preliminary regional findings were considered by the national Human Rights Violations Committee and were either accepted or rejected. If the Human Rights Violations Committee found that a gross violation of human rights had occurred and was of the opinion that a person was a victim of such a violation, it referred the statement of the person concerned to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee. Moreover, if the Amnesty Committee granted amnesty in respect of any act and was of the opinion that a person was a victim of that act, it referred the identified individual to the Human Rights Violations Committee which, if it concurred, referred the matter to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee. In addition, if the Amnesty Committee did not grant amnesty for an act and was of the opinion that the act was a gross violation of human rights and that a person was a victim in the matter, it referred the matter to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee through the Human Rights Violations Committee.
- 63 Any person referred to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee, in terms of the steps outlined above, was entitled to apply for reparation on the prescribed form that was sent to them.
- 64 The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee applied its mind to the information contained in the prescribed application form and other evidence or information of possible relevance in order to determine whether the applicant was a victim (that is, whether he or she had suffered harm in terms of section 1(1)(xix) of the Act), whether s/he was in urgent need and to identify the nature of the urgency. The final decision was based on the information contained in the prescribed application form. If the applicant was found to be both a victim and in urgent need, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee conveyed this decision and all other relevant information regarding this application to the President's Fund.
- 65 Delivery of urgent interim reparation by the President's Fund involved the following steps:
- a Receiving decisions from the Commission's Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.
 - b Referring victims to appropriate service/s.
 - c Making payment according to the approved sliding scale and/or type of need.

- 66 It is recommended that all those found to be victims will be eligible for final reparation, regardless of urgency of need.

■ INDIVIDUAL REPARATION GRANTS

- 67 In acknowledgement of victim's rights to reparation, it is recommended that final reparation involve an amount of money, called an individual reparation grant, to be made available to each victim (if he/she is alive) or equally divided amongst relatives and/or dependants who have applied for reparation (as defined above) if the victim is dead. The amount of the grant will be based on the formula outlined below. The formula is based on three components, namely an amount to *acknowledge the suffering* caused by the gross violation that took place, an amount to *enable access to services and facilities* and an amount to *subsidise daily living costs*, based on socio-economic circumstances.

Rationale

- 68 The individual reparation grant is an acknowledgement of a person's suffering due to his/her experience of a gross human rights violation. It is based on the fact that survivors of human rights violations have a right to reparation and rehabilitation. The individual reparation grant provides resources to victims in an effort to restore their dignity. It will be accompanied by information and advice in order to allow the recipient to make the best possible use of these resources. Thirty-eight per cent of the Commission's deponents requested financial assistance to improve the quality of their lives. In addition, over 90 per cent of deponents asked for a range of services which can be purchased if money is made available – for example, education, medical care, housing and so on.

Formula for calculating Interim Reparation Grants¹¹

- 69 The monetary package is based on a benchmark amount of R21 700, which was the median annual household income in South Africa in 1997. The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee believes that this is an appropriate amount to achieve the aims of the individual reparation grant – that is to enable access to services and to assist in establishing a dignified way of life. The poverty line of R15 600 per annum was rejected as a benchmark, as this would be condemning victims to a life of near poverty, rather than one of minimum dignity.

¹¹ The Commission acknowledges the assistance of the University of Cape Town Budget Project in this regard.

- 70 The actual amount that each victim receives will be based on an easily administered formula, which differentiates according to three criteria:
- a an acknowledgement of the suffering caused by the violation (#1);
 - b an amount to facilitate access to services. Because services are less accessible in rural areas, those living in rural communities will receive a premium in this part of the grant. The difference is based on the assumption that accessing services in rural areas is 30 per cent more expensive than in urban areas (#2)¹²;
 - c an amount to subsidise daily living costs. This will be differentiated according to numbers of dependants and/or relatives, which will be capped at nine. In addition, because the cost of living is higher in urban areas, people living in urban areas will be favoured in this portion of the grant. The difference is based on the assumption that the cost of living in urban areas is 15 per cent higher than in urban areas (#3).
- 71 Each portion of the formula is given a weighting or ranking as follows:
- #1= 50%, #2 = 25%, #3=25% of total Interim Reparations grant.
- 72 The actual variation in amounts payable according to the formula and differentiation criteria is shown in the table.
- 73 Using the proposed projections, no individual will receive more than R23 023 per annum (the maximum individual reparation grant). This maximum amount would apply to an individual, living in a rural area, who has nine or more dependants.
- 74 The annual individual reparation grant should be calculated for each beneficiary and paid as 50 per cent of the total every six months. The annual payments will continue for a period of six years.

Administration/President's Fund

- 75 The grant will be funded and administered by the President's Fund. The President's Fund will accrue resources through allocations from the national fiscus, international and local donations and earned interest on the funds. Based on the given policy and formula, and estimating 22 000 victims, the total cost of this policy will be R477 400 000 per annum or R2 864 400 000 over six years. The figure of 22 000

¹² Rural versus urban to be determined by standard census delimitation.

victims is based on the Commission's Human Rights Violations Statement as the only point of entry.

76 It is recommended that the President's Fund functions on an interdepartmental or interdisciplinary basis as a dual structure with:

- a an administrative capacity to disburse the money which has been allocated;
- b a multi-disciplinary Reparation Panel to assess application forms and to advise appropriately. While the Commission is still in existence, members of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee may sit on this panel.

■ REPARATION PAYMENT SCHEDULE (PER ANNUM PER VICTIM)

#1	#2	#3	
Acknowledgement of Violation	Access to Services ¹³	Daily Living Costs ¹⁴	TOTAL ANNUAL REPARATION
50%	25%	25%	

■ RURAL

0.5 x 21 700 = 10850	0.25 x 24 630 = 61 57.5	Household Size	0.25 x
		1	5 169
		2	8 396
		3	11 152
		4	13 640
		5	15 946
		6	18 117
		7	20 181
		8	22 158
		9	+24 063

■ URBAN

0.5 x 21 700 = 10850	0.25 x 18 771 = 4 693	Household Size	0.25 x
		1	5 947
		2	9 660
		3	12 831
		4	15 693
		5	18 347
		6	20 844
		7	23 219
		8	25 494
		9	+27 685

¹³ The rural/urban difference for this category is based on the assumption that accessing rural health is 30 per cent more expensive in rural areas.

¹⁴ The rural urban difference for this category is based on the assumption that the cost of living is 15 per cent lower in rural areas and the differences within rural and urban categories reflect differences in household size. Concerning household size, the calculations assume that a seven-person household will receive R21 700 on average. Households with less than seven members receive less than the anchor and larger households receive up to a maximum set by a nine-person household. It is also assumed that each additional household member costs the household slightly less than the preceding family member.

■ SYMBOLIC REPARATION / LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE INTERVENTIONS

- 78 Symbolic reparation measures are aimed at restoring the dignity of victims and survivors of gross human rights violations. These include measures to facilitate the communal process of commemorating the pain and celebrating the victories of the past. Deponents to the Commission have indicated that these types of interventions are an important part of coming to terms with the past.

Individual interventions

- 79 The following services will be made available:

Issuing of death certificates

- 80 Many people making statements to the Commission highlighted the fact that they did not receive death certificates for deceased relatives. It is recommended that mechanisms to facilitate the issuing of death certificates be established by the appropriate ministry.¹⁵

Exhumations, reburials and ceremonies

- 81 In a number of cases, the need for exhumations and reburials became evident. It is recommended that mechanisms to expedite this process be established by the appropriate ministries. Alternative culture-specific ceremonies should similarly be facilitated. Costs associated with exhumations, reburials and alternative ceremonies will be met from the individual reparation grant.

Headstones and tombstones

- 82 In a number of cases, deponents asked for tombstones and headstones to be erected on the graves of the deceased. It is recommended that these will be paid for from the individual reparation grant.

Declarations of death

- 83 In many cases of disappearances reported to the Commission, people have not formally been declared dead. It is recommended that mechanisms to facilitate the declaration of deaths be established and implemented in those cases where

¹⁵ See *Recommendations*.

the family requests an official declaration of death. This is an obligation of the Commission according to section (k) of the Act.

Expunging of criminal records

- 84 Many victims received criminal sentences for political activities. It is recommended that mechanisms to facilitate the expunging of these records be established by the appropriate ministry.

Expediting outstanding legal matters related to the violations

- 85 A careful analysis of statements indicates that there are still many outstanding legal matters that deponents would like to have resolved. Mechanisms to facilitate the resolution of outstanding legal matters which are directly related to reported violations, should be established within the President's Fund.

Community interventions

- 86 It is recommended that the following measures be taken:

Renaming of streets and facilities

- 87 It is recommended that streets and community facilities be renamed to reflect, remember and honour individuals or events in particular communities. Local and provincial authorities should be informed about these requests.

Memorials/monuments

- 88 It is recommended that monuments and memorials be built to commemorate the conflicts and/or victories of the past. These monuments and memorials should be built in consultation with local government structures. Local and provincial authorities should establish the necessary mechanisms in this regard.

Culturally appropriate ceremonies

- 89 It is recommended that specific needs of communities regarding remembering and/or celebrating be honoured through culturally appropriate ceremonies. This, according to requests, could include cleansing ceremonies. Local and provincial authorities should establish the necessary mechanisms in this regard, in close co-operation with the appropriate faith communities and cultural and community organisations.

National interventions

90 The following measures need to be taken:

Renaming of public facilities

91 It is recommended that, after careful consideration and consultation, public facilities should be renamed in honour of individuals or past events. The necessary mechanisms should be put in place by the appropriate ministries.

Monuments and memorials

92 In response to the requests of many victims and the broader community, the erection of appropriate monuments/memorials should be considered. The appropriate ministries should put the necessary mechanisms in place to plan and implement this.

A day of remembrance

93 In response to the requests of many victims and the broader community, it is recommended that the government declare a National Day of Remembrance. The appropriate ministries should facilitate this, in close liaison with the different faith communities and cultural organisations in the country.

■ COMMUNITY REHABILITATION

94 Individuals eligible for individual reparation grants are members of communities that have been subjected to systemic abuse. Entire communities suffer the adverse effects of post-traumatic stress disorder, expressed by a wide range of deponents to the Commission. It is therefore recommended that rehabilitation programmes be established both at community and national levels.

95 Rehabilitation programmes should form part of a general initiative to transform the way in which services are provided in South Africa. Such programmes can also promote reconciliation within communities. The following possible rehabilitation programmes have been identified with reference to the needs expressed by deponents in their statements. For community rehabilitation programmes to have the desired positive effect and to be sustainable, relevant government ministries should facilitate their development, in consultation with other partners

like representatives of organised businesses, victim support groups, NGOs, faith communities and so on.

Health and social services

National demilitarisation

- 96 Because of ongoing exposure to and involvement in political violence, young people have become socialised to accept violence as a way of resolving conflict. This issue needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency.
- 97 The demilitarisation programme should be systematic and assist in demilitarising youth, who have for decades been involved in violent activity to effect political change. Secondary and tertiary educational institutions and sporting bodies should be involved in the implementation of this programme. The programme should consist of a combination of social, therapeutic and political processes and interventions, appropriate to the area in which they are being implemented.

Dislocation and displacement

- 98 South Africa has thousands of 'internal' refugees, who have been driven from their homes by political conflict. Displacement can lead to psychological distress, unemployment and trauma.
- 99 It is recommended that a multi-disciplinary programme, involving all relevant ministries and departments (such as health, welfare and housing) be put in place to resettle displaced persons and address the problems of displaced communities.

Appropriate local treatment centres

- 100 Victims and survivors of gross human rights violations have complex physical and emotional needs which can be most appropriately addressed by multi-disciplinary teams – taking cultural and personal preferences into account - at accessible local treatment centres. It is recommended that the Department of Health establish such centres.

Rehabilitation for perpetrators and their families

- 101 Perpetrators and their families need to be reintegrated into normal community life. This is essential to create a society in which human rights abuses will not

recur. Individual and family rehabilitative systems need to be instituted to assist individuals and families in coming to terms with their violent past and learning constructive and peaceful ways of resolving conflict without resort to violence.

Mental health services

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

Community-based interventions

- 103 It is recommended that self-sustaining, community-based survivor support groups be established, staffed by trained facilitators from the community. This method of support and treatment is not a unique concept and enjoys success where facilitators focus on therapy. The support group method represents a cost effective, accessible, non-threatening way in which people can access counselling.

Skills training

- 104 Community members should be trained in a variety of skills to enable them to assist victims of human rights abuses. These should include crisis management, critical incident briefing, trauma awareness training, referral skills and knowledge of available resources.

Specialised trauma counselling services

- 105 Specialised emotional trauma counselling services should be established. A national strategy to train trauma counsellors should be developed.

Family-based therapy

- 106 The impact of gross human rights violations on the family is often underestimated. To address this issue, it is recommended that training programmes for health care workers, aimed at improving their skills in the family systems approach be instituted by the relevant ministries.

Education

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

Assistance for continuation of studies

- 108 It is recommended that the establishment of community colleges and youth centres be prioritised, to facilitate the re-integration of affected youth into society.
- 109 Specific accelerated adult basic education and training (ABET) programmes should be established to meet the needs of youth and adults who are semi-literate and have lost educational opportunities due to human rights abuses.

Building and improvement of schools

- 110 Rebuilding of demolished schools, particularly in rural and disadvantaged areas should be prioritised.

Special educational support services

- 111 Remedial and emotional support should be included in mainstream educational programmes.
- 112 Mainstream educational facilities should provide skills based training courses in order to respond to the needs of mature students and to help them find employment.

Housing

Housing provision

- 113 It is recommended that specific attention be given to establishing housing projects in communities where gross violations of human rights led to mass destruction of property and/or displacement. The appropriate ministry should put the necessary mechanisms in place.

Institutional reform

- 114 One of the functions of the Commission is to make recommendations on institutional legislative and administrative measures designed to prevent the recurrence of human rights abuses in the future.¹⁶
- 115 The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee recommends that the measures and programmes outlined in the chapter on *Recommendations* become part of the operational plans and ethos of a wide range of sectors in society including the judiciary, media, security forces, business, education and correctional services.

■ IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS AND RESPONSIBILITY

- 116 The nature and structure of the body which implements Final Reparation will need to be debated and will obviously depend on the decisions taken by Parliament about the form that final reparation will take. Based on present policy proposals, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee believes that the following issues must be considered:
- a Implementation must take place at national, provincial and local levels.
 - b The national implementing body should be located in the office of the State President or Deputy President. The body should not be allocated to one particular ministry, as its functions will require access to the resources, infrastructure and services of a number of ministries (such as housing, health, welfare, and education).
 - c The national body should be headed by a National Director of Reparation and Rehabilitation, who will be advised by a panel or board of trustees, composed of appropriately qualified members from relevant ministries and human rights organisations.
- 117 The national body will have the following functions:
- a Implementing and administering any financial reparation policy.

¹⁶ See chapter on *Recommendations*.

- b Maintaining regular contact with relevant ministries, to ensure appropriate service provision.
 - c Establishing provincial reparation desks.
 - d Facilitating the formation of partnerships with NGOs, the private sector, faith communities and other appropriate groupings, in order to meet victims' needs.
 - e Promoting fund raising and communication strategies.
 - f Monitoring, evaluating and documenting the national implementation of reparation and rehabilitation.
 - g Reporting to the Inter-Ministerial Committee.
- 118 Provincial reparation desks should be established within existing provincial government structures.
- 119 Provincial reparation desks will have the following functions:
- a Ensuring that reparation recipients are linked to appropriate service providers.
 - b Monitoring dispersal of financial reparation and providing suitable financial counselling to recipients.
 - c Taking particular responsibility for community reparation and symbolic reparation at a local level.
 - d Monitoring, evaluating and documenting implementation of reparation at a provincial level.
 - e Reporting to the National Director of Reparation and Rehabilitation.

Findings and Conclusions

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The Promotion of National Reconciliation and Unity Act (the Act) was a contested piece of legislation. Its protracted passage through cabinet and Parliament and its final form mirror the many different interests, fears and perspectives in South African society (see further Volume One).
- 2 The new government settled on a compromise. Focusing not only on those violations committed by the former state, the Act chose instead to focus on violations committed by *all* parties to the conflict. It eschewed notions of vengeance or retribution, and instead created a mechanism for the granting of amnesty for politically motivated actions, providing full individual disclosure was made.
- 3 It is the view of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) that the spirit of generosity and reconciliation enshrined in the founding Act was not matched by those at whom it was mainly directed. Despite amnesty provisions extending to criminal and civil charges, the white community often seemed either indifferent or plainly hostile to the work of the Commission, and certain media appear to have actively sought to sustain this indifference and hostility. With rare individual exceptions, the response of the former state, its leaders, institutions and the predominant organs of civil society of that era, was to hedge and obfuscate. Few grasped the olive branch of full disclosure.
- 4 Even where political leaders and institutional spokespersons of the former state claimed to take full responsibility for the actions of the past, these sometimes seemed to take the form of ritualised platitudes rather than genuine expressions of remorse. Often, it seemed to the Commission, there was no real appreciation of the enormity of the violations of which these leaders and those under them were accused, or of the massive degree of hurt and pain their actions had caused.
- 5 In making its findings, the Commission drew on a wide range of evidence. Apart from over 21 000 statements on violations of human rights, it considered the

evidence contained in numerous submissions, amnesty applications and other documents to which it had access.

Submissions to the Commission

- 6 Political parties, institutions and sectors were asked to make submissions to the Commission about their role in the conflict and their motives and perspectives.
- 7 A number of party leaders, some prominent past politicians, and representatives of institutions of the former state – the South African Police (SAP) and the South African Defence Force (SADF) – made submissions to the Commission. The usefulness of these submissions varied widely, but they were generally disappointing and did little to further the work of the Commission. Frequently, they consisted of little more than recitations of the policies under which these groups operated and often unconvincing apologies for excesses committed.
- 8 The appearance before the Commission of former President FW de Klerk as spokesperson of the National Party (NP) perspective was a particular disappointment to the Commission. As one who had done so much to turn the tide of South African history, his evasiveness and unwillingness candidly to acknowledge the full burden of the NP's responsibility seemed to the Commission to be a missed opportunity to take the reconciliation process forward.
- 9 Other former NP leaders were, however, more forthcoming. Former Foreign Minister 'Pik' Botha submitted responses to the Commission's questions that were rich in detail, while former Ministers Roelf Meyer and Leon Wessels frankly acknowledged the wrongs of the former ruling party's past. Mr Wessels cast doubt on the argument by members of the former cabinet and State Security Council (SSC) that they had been unaware of the excesses of the security forces. Wessels concluded with an apology rare in its eloquence and sincerity:

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

- 10 While some members of the former state displayed half-heartedness and reluctance to make full disclosure, others seemed intent on obstructing the work of the Commission. In this respect, the Commission refers particularly to former State President PW Botha.

- 11 The facts pertaining to the PW Botha case and his conviction are well known and require little comment. The irony in the fact that the man who took the state into the realms of criminality should have himself chosen to incur a criminal record at the hands of its democratic successor has not been lost on the Commission.
- 12 Much was made by Mr Botha's defence team of his willingness to co-operate with the Commission by way of written responses to questions. Despite this, it took ten months for his state-sponsored legal team to supply these answers, reflecting a disdain for the Commission and its work. Furthermore, although Mr Botha's answers were comprehensive and, at points, informative as to detail, they failed to engage frankly with the issues that had been raised.
- 13 Former generals of the SAP, under the banner of an organisation called the Foundation of Equality before the Law, submitted a lengthy submission to the Commission. While the submission provided extensive details about the atrocities allegedly committed by forces opposing the state, it did not even attempt to deal with those committed by the former SAP. It was left to scores of amnesty applicants to provide the details so clearly absent in the generals' submission.
- 14 The first submission by the SADF was so insubstantial that the Commission asked for a second, more comprehensive, submission. This too, however, reflected the enormous – perhaps unbridgeable – chasm between the perspectives of those who wielded power in the apartheid era and those who suffered at their hands. Nowhere was this more clearly illustrated than in the opening remarks of General Viljoen's submission on behalf of the SADF at the Commission's armed forces hearing:

The former SADF was politically neutral whilst your Commission is highly politicised ... The governing party of the former government did not demonstrate interest in the former SADF. You really erred in your assumption, and the expectations you created in public, that the SADF was guilty of gross violation of human rights on a substantial scale.

- 15 In the light of the Commission's findings that the security forces, including the SADF, were responsible for the commission of gross violations of human rights on a massive scale, this statement seemed to the Commission to epitomise the overarching sense of denial which seems to have enveloped so many of those who were the leaders and beneficiaries of the former state.

- 16 In late 1996, a set of questions was submitted to the SADF. Only after considerable prodding did it respond – and then only in piecemeal fashion over a period of months. While some of the data relating to structural and organisational detail was useful, it demonstrated a studied determination to oppose the Commission's efforts to prise open the lid on the SADF's past.
- 17 The appearance of the African National Congress (ANC) national leadership before the Commission was marked by the fact that, in contrast to the National Party, it took collective responsibility for the human rights violations of its membership and dealt frankly with the Commission's questions. The ANC also made the reports of the various enquiries conducted into its alleged excesses at Quatro and elsewhere freely available to the Commission.
- 18 This spirit of openness was not, however, always translated into participation by other echelons, and frequently membership, of the ANC. The Commission received few statements from ANC leaders, past or present. Almost none of the ANC's senior leaders in exile came to the Commission to give first-hand details of what had led them into exile or of their experiences at the hands of cross-border intruders. No one who survived the raids at Matola, Maseru or Gaborone, or individual assassination attempts, made submissions on these experiences. Few Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres or underground activists, aside from those who applied for amnesty, made statements to the Commission.
- 19 Thus, while the Commission tapped a rich seam of experience from rank and file supporters of the ANC, its knowledge of those who led and those who worked in its structures for lengthy periods of time is largely non-existent. This has severely constrained the Commission's capacity to provide the "full and complete" picture that the Act demands. Particularly regrettable was the non-appearance of those who are the remaining repositories of important historic details about the 1960s, on which very few submissions were made to the Commission. The Commission accepts that its framework may have been problematic to some. Many refused to regard themselves as victims. The consequence is, however, that the historical record of violations in this country and outside it has suffered grievous omissions, particularly in regard to the 1960s and, more broadly, in relation to torture.
- 20 One ANC member who did experience a close encounter with the Commission did not do so voluntarily. Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's contempt not only for the Commission but for the notion of accountability was palpable to the millions who followed the hearing in which she appeared.

- 21 The Commission's experience of the ANC's major internal ally, the United Democratic Front (UDF) , was also unsatisfactory. The Commission erred in that it did not identify early enough the importance of soliciting a formal and separate submission from this grouping, which largely permitted the ANC to speak for it. The Commission's attempts to rectify this error were extremely frustrating, not least because the UDF was no longer in existence and its former leadership no longer constituted a coherent working body. Scarcely any former UDF regional or local leadership figures gave statements to the Commission. In some areas they were openly cynical. The UDF played a central role for a significant part of the 1980s, the period which saw a considerable intensification of conflict and abuses. Thus again, an important and crucial input has been denied to the Commission.
- 22 The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) made no pretence of co-operating with the Commission. Its submission to the Commission consisted largely of a lengthy exposition of how the president of the IFP had been 'vilified' by his political enemies over the years. It also included a list of IFP office-bearers who had allegedly been killed by UDF/ANC members over the past fifteen years. It contained a muted apology, in little more than a sentence, for any hurt that Inkatha members may have caused others in the political conflict. Considering the overwhelming evidence that Inkatha/the IFP was the primary non-state perpetrator, and that it was responsible for approximately 33 per cent of all the violations reported to the Commission, its submission was singularly unforthcoming, evasive and defensive.
- 23 The IFP's very public opposition had the effect of dissuading thousands of ordinary IFP supporters from coming forward to the Commission. This had a number of consequences for the Commission and for the IFP. From the Commission's point of view, the consequence was that it received few first-hand accounts of violations committed against the IFP to draw on in the preparation of its report. It was thus forced to resort to secondary sources in an attempt to produce a balanced report on the virtual civil war that has raged in KwaZulu-Natal for many years.
- 24 The repercussions of the IFP's opposition to the Commission are even more serious for its own members. If and when financial reparation is made available by the government to those that the Commission has found to be victims of human rights violations, only those very few IFP members who flouted their party's opposition and made statements to the Commission will qualify. This may well exacerbate existing tensions between IFP and ANC members in the region and, ironically, contribute to more bloodshed and violence.

- 25 The Commission was further disturbed by the fact that high-ranking office-bearers of the IFP visited the party's members in prison to persuade them not to apply for amnesty, for fear that their applications would reveal collusion by senior IFP leaders in gross violations of human rights. The Commission finds it difficult to accept that the IFP appeared willing to allow certain of its members to remain in prison in order to protect the leadership.
- 26 Although refusing to participate in the process, the IFP nonetheless complained that the Commission appeared not to take seriously its claim that 400 of its office-bearers had been killed in the violence of recent years. In fact, the investigation into this list was one of the most intensive of the many investigations undertaken by the Commission.
- 27 Before leaving this question, the Commission wishes to put on record its disappointment at the flimsiness and lack of coherence displayed by the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) when it appeared before the Commission. The PAC's interaction with the Commission was characterised by, on the one hand, repudiation of the Commission and, on the other, its complaint that its members' amnesty applications were not being dealt with speedily enough.
- 28 The Commission also received submissions from organisations representing various sectors of civil society, such as media, health, business and the judiciary. While these varied in their openness and frankness, they were generally characterised by defensiveness and a failure to come to terms with the role these sectors had played in supporting the *status quo*, whether by commission or omission.
- 29 As regards the Commission's hearings on the legal system, it must be noted with great regret that judges refused to appear before the Commission on the basis that this would negatively affect their independence and would harm the institution of the judiciary. The Commission fails to understand how their appearance would have undermined such independence. The Commission was a unique occurrence and therefore unlikely to create a precedent. Furthermore, when one considers the historic significance of the Commission and its envisaged role in the transformation of South African society into a caring, humane and just one, the judges' decision is all the more lamentable. In effect, the Commission was denied the opportunity to engage in debate with judges on how the administration of justice could adapt to fulfil the tasks demanded of it in the new legal system. The intention was not to dictate or bind them in the future, but to underline the urgent need to re-evaluate the nature of the judiciary.

- 30 Similarly, few magistrates responded to the Commission's invitation. The Commission found this stance deplorable given the previous lack of formal independence of magistrates and their dismal record as servants of the apartheid state. Both they and the country lost an opportunity to examine their role in the transition from oppression to democracy.

Amnesty applications

- 31 Given the difficulties and constraints in accessing information, the Commission relied, to a large extent, on a different form of submission – amnesty applications.
- 32 In reviewing its efforts to uncover the deeper truth behind the violations of the apartheid era, the Commission frankly acknowledges that much of its success is due to the fact that large numbers of security police members grasped at the possibility of amnesty in exchange for full disclosure. The Commission is not, however, so naïve as to believe that it was this alone that persuaded them to 'blow the whistle' on their past actions. The fact is that they would have preferred the cloak of silence. The ironic truth is that what brought them to the Commission was the fullness of the disclosures made by an individual often painted as the arch-villain of the apartheid era – Mr Eugene de Kock. Whatever his motives, the Commission acknowledges that it was largely he who broke the code of silence.
- 33 It is unfortunate, in the Commission's view, that a comparable 'whistle blower' did not emerge from the ranks of the SADF. Nevertheless, some of the information provided by former members of Military Intelligence (MI) and Special Forces helped the Commission to obtain a clear insight into the role played by the SADF in respect of cross-border target identification and operations, as well as providing a broader insight into the role of the SADF in the formulation of security policy.
- 34 The Commission received not a single amnesty application from members of the former National Intelligence Service (NIS). Former members of NIS consistently maintained that, although they had provided information about specific individuals and activists and had passed these on to operational units in the SAP and SADF, they were not responsible for the actions that arose as a result. The Commission rejects this position.
- 35 In line with its overall approach, the ANC and MK leadership applied for amnesty, accepting collective responsibility for the actions of members and operatives. Perhaps because of this, not all MK operatives applied for individual amnesty.

This is unfortunate because it denied the Commission the kind of rich and specific detail about individual operations that it gleaned, for example, from Security Branch operatives. The bulk of ANC applications were for the post-1990 period and were received from former members of self-defence units (SDUs).

- 36 Most IFP amnesty applications were from people convicted of serious crimes committed with a political motive. In spite of pressure brought to bear on convicted prisoners by senior IFP office-bearers, a handful of key members did apply for amnesty, giving the Commission important insights into the workings of IFP hit squads, as well as details and names of senior IFP officials implicated in hit squad activities.
- 37 Most of the PAC and Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) applications related to their major period of activity – the post-1990s.

Accessing information from role-players

- 38 Aside from submissions, the Commission required ongoing access to documentation and information held by primary role-players.
- 39 It needs to be stated at the outset that the former state deliberately and systematically destroyed state documentation in an attempt to ensure that a new democratic government would be denied access to incriminating evidence. Hundreds of thousands of classified records – literally scores of tons – were destroyed. Much of this documentation related to the inner workings of the security forces and intelligence agencies, covert projects, informer networks, personnel records of security force members, and material confiscated from institutions and individuals. The destruction of this documentation deprived the Commission and the country as a whole of a rich and valuable source of material for its investigation into the conflicts of the past. (See further Volume One.)
- 40 With regard to the former security forces, specific personnel were assigned to 'nodal (liaison) points' to respond to ongoing requests by the Commission. The SANDF nodal point was staffed entirely by former SADF members. In respect of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), Commission staff were required to go through lengthy procedures of security clearance. Thus, despite the fact that the Act stipulated that the Commission should have access to whatever records and documentation were required, it was, in this respect, subjected to a series of filters and blocks rather than the free and open access envisaged by the Act.

- 41 Overall, the Commission concluded that the SANDF nodal point, rather than facilitating its work, appeared at times to act as gatekeeper to the SADF's secrets and military archives for close on two years. Access was granted, in an extremely limited form, only towards the end of the time available for sustained research. Of even more concern to the Commission was the fact that the nodal point appears to have played a similar screening role when channelling the requests of its former members who wished to apply for amnesty. The Commission is aware of at least one case in which a former member of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), who in the Commission's view should definitely have applied for amnesty, was advised not to do so.
- 42 The Commission is of the view that the role of the nodal point was decided at the highest (present and past) officer level. Appeals to the Minister and Deputy Minister of Defence for assistance bore little or no fruit and led the Commission to conclude that it had erred in not conducting a search-and-seizure raid on the archives.
- 43 The ANC established a 'TRC desk' that was intended to function as a point of reference both for its members and for the Commission. While the Commission is unable to comment on whether it performed a useful service for its own members, the desk was not always helpful to the Commission. To give just one example, not one of the 250 requests submitted by the Commission's Johannesburg office received a response from the ANC TRC desk.

Legal challenges

- 44 The Commission also faced a number of legal challenges, which it met successfully – with the exception of the matter brought against it by two former members of the security police (see further Volume One). In April 1996, Brigadier du Preez and Major General Nic van Rensburg sought to restrain the Commission from receiving or allowing any evidence during its hearings which might adversely affect them. The court ruled that the Commission had an obligation to furnish the applicants with sufficient facts and information to enable them to identify the events and incidents involved as well as the people proposing to lead detrimental evidence.
- 45 The Commission appealed against this decision to a full bench of the Cape High Court in June 1996. That Court held that, in the context of the objectives of the Commission and the limited time frame within which it had to complete its work, the Commission was not obliged to give prior notice to any person who might be implicated in a human rights violations hearing. It did, however, stipulate that

when a negative or detrimental finding against an implicated person was being contemplated, the implicated person had to be given prior warning and an opportunity to submit representations to the Commission. It also concluded that the Commission was obliged to supply the implicated person with the relevant evidence on which the contemplated finding was based, to enable him or her to answer the allegations.

- 46 In a further appeal to the Appellate Division in regard to this latter aspect, the Commission argued that the limitations imposed on it by the Cape Court would severely hamper its work. The Commission drew on arguments of such renowned international jurists as Sir Richard Scott and Sir Louis Blom-Cooper QC to the effect that there are fundamental and significant differences between enquiries and litigation, and the adversarial procedures adopted in the legal system were wholly inappropriate to an enquiry.
- 47 In his judgement, Chief Justice Corbett relied on common-law principles, requiring persons and bodies to observe the rules of natural justice. He ruled that implicated perpetrators were entitled to timeous notice of the allegations against them, details by way of witness statements or other documents to enable them to identify the person making the allegations, the date and place of the alleged incidents where appropriate, and the right to cross-examine witnesses at hearings.
- 48 The judgement imposed a huge administrative and logistic burden on the Commission, requiring it to employ further staff and allocate further resources to identifying and tracing implicated persons. In most instances, the alleged perpetrators were no longer in the same employment as previously, and their addresses were not easily available. In addition, the Commission had to contend with alleged perpetrators demanding to be heard at the same hearings as victims and demanding the right to cross-examine witnesses.
- 49 It was, however, only when the public hearings had been completed that the full impact of the judgement became clear. In order for the Commission to make detrimental findings against persons for inclusion in its final report, implicated persons had to be notified of the contemplated decision and afforded the opportunity to make written representations – a huge administrative task. In essence, the Corbett ruling obliged the Commission to give alleged perpetrators a prior view of its findings. Other commissions of enquiry in this country, such as the Goldstone Commission, were never hampered or restricted in this way.

- 50 In seeking to fulfil the Appellate Division's ruling, the Commission was obliged to delete from this report the names of a large number of alleged perpetrators, whose whereabouts were not known and who could not be traced. Consequently, the incidents or events in which they were allegedly involved are either not recorded or not fully described. In many instances, the Commission's report contains the names of fewer alleged perpetrators than are contained in recently published South African books on political and so-called third force violence.
- 51 In a final and supreme irony, the two original applicants, Van Rensburg and Du Preez, who effectively hamstrung the Commission in its work, applied for amnesty for the very act they had for so long succeeded in preventing the Commission from hearing about – the murder of political activist Siphiwe Mthimkulu.

The Commission's shortcomings

- 52 The Commission also wishes to acknowledge some of its own failings and constraints. Chief among these were the following:

Its failure to identify early enough a number of areas to which it should have devoted more time and energy.

- 53 In particular, the Commission failed to make significant breakthroughs in relation to violence in the 1990s. The events in question were extremely recent and few leads emerged from groups operating at the time. Thus few entry points for investigation were opened up and a great deal of further investigation is required.
- 54 Further, while the Commission believes that it broke new ground in its probes into the SSC and the elimination of political opponents, the Chemical and Biological Warfare programme and the activities of the Caprivi-trained hit squad, its investigation into the role of MI and Special Forces in the target identification process was conducted too late for adequate follow-up.

Its failure to call before it certain key actors, most notably Mangosuthu Buthelezi

- 55 Following an invitation to the Commission, Chief Buthelezi made a submission and thereafter publicly stated that he had nothing more to add. Given its stance in regard to Mr PW Botha, the Commission is thus vulnerable to the charge of double standards. The only defence that can be offered is that the issue was

intensely debated by the Commission, which ultimately succumbed to the fears of those who argued that Buthelezi's appearance would give him a platform from which to oppose the Commission and would stoke the flames of violence in KwaZulu-Natal, as indeed he himself promised. In retrospect, it was probably an incorrect decision.

Its failure to spread wide enough its examination of civil society's complicity in the crimes and misdeeds of the past.

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

Its failure to deal with significant geopolitical areas, and the violations that occurred in those areas, in sufficient detail.

- 57 The substantial violations that were perpetrated, primarily by security force members, in areas such as Venda, Lebowa and Bophuthatswana are dealt with only cursorily. In short, the Commission did not have the resources or sufficiently qualified personnel to make a significant research or investigative impact in these regions. If one considers that the northern areas of the country included seven homelands, each with their own security forces and vigilante groupings, and were served by the modest resource capacity of the Johannesburg office of the Commission, the omission is understandable.

The constraints imposed by its investigative capacity

- 58 The Commission recognised early on that it would not be able to investigate all the cases before it. It decided, therefore, to focus on specific 'window' cases – representative of a far larger number of violations of a similar type and involving the same perpetrator groupings.
- 59 One of the reasons for this decision was the necessity to corroborate and verify allegations made to the Commission by victims of gross human rights violations, particularly in the light of the decision to pay financial reparations. Payment could be made only to those who had been clearly verified by the Commission

as being victims of gross violations of human rights. This left little time for proactive investigations into unsolved apartheid-era violations.

- 60 The Investigation Unit (IU) was also severely restricted in its inability to access military archives and classified records.
- 61 The Commission also acknowledges that, in view of its reliance on members of the police and the non-governmental organisation (NGO) and private sectors to make up the IU, it was difficult to develop, in a short space of time, the highly effective, closely knit unit required for the enormous task it faced. Divergent approaches led to tensions. Despite these drawbacks, the Unit functioned remarkably efficiently and can claim credit for large numbers of successful and high-profile investigations, not least the numerous exhumations of extra-judicially executed political activists.
- 62 The Commission can only plead that, when it began its work, it entered uncharted waters. Not only was it unique in this country's experience, but there were few international role models. Its entire existence was a steep learning curve and, even with the extensions to its life, there was insufficient time for all the things it should have done or wished to do.

■ HOW THE FINDINGS WERE MADE

- 63 It should be noted that the findings that follow focus largely on institutions or structures of society and in only a few cases on major political figures. A number of other findings – which are not repeated here and which deal with particular events or perpetrators – are to be found in Volumes Two, Three and Four. The names of those in respect of whom individual victim findings are made appear elsewhere in this volume. Further details on these will be available at a later stage.
- 64 Some of those in respect of whom the Commission has made adverse findings may complain of the untested nature of some of its evidence. The point to note here is that the Commission is not a court of law. It was set up as a commission of enquiry and, as such, was not bound by the same rules of evidence as are the courts. In order to make a finding, it had to operate within the framework of a balance of probabilities, which is the standard criterion used in civil litigation. Its conclusions are therefore findings rather than judicial verdicts.

The Commission's position on responsibility and accountability

- 65 In evaluating the role played by those who were involved in the conflicts of the past, the Commission was guided, in particular, by section 4 of its enabling Act, the relevant portions of which read as follows:

The functions of the Commission shall be to achieve its objectives, and to that end it shall –

(a) facilitate and where necessary initiate or co-ordinate, inquiries into ...

(iii) the identity of all persons, authorities, institutions and organisations involved in [gross violations of human rights]

(iv) the question whether such violations were the result of deliberate planning on the part of the State or a former state or any of their organs, or of any political organisation, liberation movement or other group or individual; and

(v) accountability, political or otherwise, for any such violations.

- 66 In the light of the above and of the evidence received, the Commission is of the view that gross violations of human rights were perpetrated or facilitated by all the major role-players in the conflicts of the mandate era. These include:

- a The state and its security, intelligence and law-enforcement agencies, the SAP, the SADF and the NIS.
- b Groups and institutions which, to a greater or lesser extent, were affiliated or allied to the state in an official capacity. These include homeland governments and their security forces as well as groups and institutions informally allied to the state or receiving financial or logistic assistance from the state in order to oppose and/or withstand the liberation movements and their internal allies. Groups falling into this category include the IFP and conservative surrogate organisations and groupings like the *witdoeke*, *AmaAfrika* and the Eagles.
- c White right-wing organisations which, while actively opposing the state, actively and violently took action to preserve the *status quo* in the 1990s. These include the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB), the *Afrikaner Volksfront* and the *Boere Bevrydingsbeweging*.
- d Liberation movements and organisations which sought to bring about change through armed struggle and which operated outside South Africa and by covert and underground means inside the country.

- e Organisations which sought to bring about change by non-violent means prior to and post-1990, including the United Democratic Front; and
 - f Non-state paramilitary formations such as the ANC's self-defence units and the IFP's self-protection units (SPUs).
- 67 Evidence before the Commission indicates that all of the above were responsible for gross violations of human rights – including killing, attempted killing, torture and severe ill treatment – at different stages during the mandate period and that, to varying degrees, such violations entailed deliberate planning on the part of the organisations and institutions concerned, or were of such a nature that the organisations are accountable for them.
- 68 At the same time, the Commission is not of the view that all such parties can be held to be equally culpable for violations committed in the mandate period. Indeed, the evidence accumulated by the Commission and documented in this report shows that this was not the case. The preponderance of responsibility rests with the state and its allies.
- 69 Even if it were true that both the major groupings to the conflicts of the mandate era – the state and its allies and the liberation movements – had been equally culpable, the preponderance of responsibility would still rest with the state.
- 70 The mandate to investigate and report on violations committed by all parties to the conflict placed a responsibility on the Commission to work in a balanced and even-handed way. This is an issue with which the Commission grappled long and hard and in respect of which it has been repeatedly criticised. In attempting to develop a framework in which to exercise such a responsibility meaningfully, the Commission was guided by three broad principles:
- 71 In the first place, as argued in the chapter on *The Mandate*, the Commission followed the internationally accepted position that apartheid was a crime against humanity. Accordingly, it upheld and endorsed the liberation movements' argument that they were engaged in a just war. Further, the Commission was also guided by international humanitarian law, and specifically the Geneva Conventions, in its evaluation of the concept of a 'just war'. Just war does not legitimate the perpetration of gross violations of human rights in pursuit of a just end. Hence the Commission believes that violations committed in the course of a just war should be subjected to the same rigorous scrutiny as violations committed by

the former state. The Commission's position in this regard is clearly articulated in the chapter on *The Mandate*. A just cause does not exempt an organisation from pursuing its goals through just means. Moreover, the evidence shows that the perpetration of gross violations of human rights by non-state actors often took place in circumstances where they were acting in opposition to the official state ideology and the policy of apartheid. In this sense, it was the state that generated violent political conflict in the mandate period – either through its own direct action or by eliciting reactions to its policies and strategies.

- 72 Secondly, the Commission is of the view that the measures used to assess the actions of a legally constituted and elected government cannot be the same as those used in the case of a voluntary grouping of individuals who come together in pursuit of certain commonly agreed goals. A state has powers, resources, obligations, responsibilities and privileges that are much greater than those of any group within that state. It must therefore be held to a higher standard of moral and political conduct than are voluntary associations operating within its political terrain – particularly where they operate underground with limited communication and less-developed structures of accountability.
- 73 Third, the Commission has always been violation driven. Its task in this respect was to identify those responsible for gross human rights violations. Having identified the former state and the IFP as undoubtedly responsible for the greatest number of violations, the Commission directed its resources towards the investigation of those bodies.
- 74 It would, however, be misleading and wrong to assign blame for the gross violation of human rights only to those who confronted each other on the political and military battlefields, engaged in acts of commission. Others, like the church or faith groups, the media, the legal profession, the judiciary, the magistracy, the medical/health, educational and business sectors, are found by the Commission to have been guilty of acts of omission in that they failed to adhere or live up to the ethics of their profession and to accepted codes of conduct.
- 75 It is also the view of the Commission that these sectors failed not so much out of fear of the powers and wrath of the state – although those were not insignificant factors – but primarily because they were the beneficiaries of the state system. They prospered from it by staying silent. By doing nothing or not enough, they contributed to the emergence of a culture of impunity within which the gross violations of human rights documented in this report could and did occur.

- 76 These then are, in summary, the main findings of the Commission, while more specific findings appear in the body of the report. The Commission's case in regard to the primary actors to the conflicts of the past is developed below.

■ PRIMARY FINDING

- 77 On the basis of the evidence available to it, the primary finding of the Commission is that:

THE PREDOMINANT PORTION OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WAS COMMITTED BY THE FORMER STATE THROUGH ITS SECURITY AND LAW-ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES.

MOREOVER, THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE IN THE PERIOD FROM THE LATE 1970S TO EARLY 1990S BECAME INVOLVED IN ACTIVITIES OF A CRIMINAL NATURE WHEN, AMONGST OTHER THINGS, IT KNOWINGLY PLANNED, UNDERTOOK, CONDONED AND COVERED UP THE COMMISSION OF UNLAWFUL ACTS, INCLUDING THE EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS AND OTHERS, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA.

IN PURSUIT OF THESE UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES, THE STATE ACTED IN COLLUSION WITH CERTAIN OTHER POLITICAL GROUPINGS, MOST NOTABLY THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY (IFP).

■ FINDINGS IN RESPECT OF THE STATE AND ITS ALLIES

I further do not believe the political defence of 'we did not know' is available to me because in many respects I believe we did not want to know. (Mr Leon Wessels, State Security Council hearing.)

The Security Forces will hammer them, wherever they find them. What I am saying is the policy of the government. We will not sit here with hands folded waiting for them to cross our borders. We shall carry out ongoing surveillance. We shall determine the correct targets and we shall settle the hash of those terrorists, their fellow-travellers and those who help them. (General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, parliamentary speech, 4 February 1986.)

All the powers were to avoid the ANC/SACP achieving their revolutionary aims and often with the approval of the previous government we had to move outside the boundaries of our law. That inevitably led to the fact that the capabilities of the SAP, especially the security forces, included illegal acts. (General Johan van der Merwe, former commissioner of police, armed forces hearing.)

There was never any lack of clarity about 'take out' or 'eliminate', it meant that the person had to be killed. (Brigadier Alfred Oosthuizen, former head of Security Branch intelligence section, armed forces hearing.)

- 78 As previously stated, the Commission's evidence indicates that the state – in particular its security agencies and affiliated policy and strategy formulation committees and councils (such as the SSC) – was responsible for the greatest number of gross violations of human rights committed during the thirty-four-year mandate period.
- 79 The Commission concluded that, at a certain point in the mandate period, the state resorted to unlawful ways of dealing with challenges to its authority. The period during which the South African state ventured into the realm of criminal misconduct stretches from PW Botha's accession to power in 1978 into the early 1990s, including a part of the period in which his successor held office.
- 80 At the beginning of the mandate period, the system of government in the country was undoubtedly an unjust and discriminatory one, but it was still essentially a system of laws, albeit unjust laws. In the course of the first two decades of the mandate period, the rule of law was steadily eroded and the system of public administration purged of its remaining democratic substance. By the time President Botha took power, the system was characterised by severe repression. It had not yet, however, adopted a policy of killing its opponents.
- 81 This is not to suggest that prior to 1978 the state did not kill its opponents. Indeed, it had just recently killed hundreds in its suppression of the Soweto uprising. The mandate period itself began with a massacre of protesters at Sharpsville in 1960. These two sets of killings, and numbers of other routine killings of demonstrators, occurred in the course of the SAP's public-order policing policy involving, in the Commission's view, an unjustifiable use of deadly force.
- 82 Deplorable and racist though this security policy was (and the Commission has made a finding declaring it to have been a gross violation of human rights), it did not at that time involve the systematic targeting of certain categories of political activists for killing by high echelons of state. Evidence placed before the Commission indicates, however, that from the late 1970s, senior politicians – as well as police, national intelligence and defence force leaders – developed a strategy to deal with opposition to the government. This entailed, among other actions, the unlawful killing, within and beyond South Africa, of people whom they perceived as posing a significant challenge to the state's authority.
- 83 Killing is the most extreme human rights violation. Any legally constituted state that executes people outside of its own existing legal framework enters the realm of criminality and must, from that point on, be regarded as unlawful.

Findings on the SSC and the policy of elimination

- 84 The basis for the following finding can be found in Volume Two of this report, in particular in the sections that deal with the killing of MK operatives and other political opponents. Because of the seriousness of this charge, a summary of the arguments and reasons for the adoption of the finding is included here.
- 85 Volume Two charts the intensification of the conflict during the 1980s, and the development of a 'total strategy' by senior politicians and security force personnel to meet what was considered a 'revolutionary onslaught'. It has been noted that, for the first five to seven years of the Botha administration, the security forces engaged in various forms of counter-revolutionary warfare with the states it perceived as a threat to the existence of that administration. With the intensification of conflict inside South Africa in the mid-1980s, tactics that had worked externally began to be applied on the domestic front.
- 86 The domestic application of an essentially military counter-revolutionary strategy was a significant landmark. Whereas the SADF had previously directed its military operations at external targets, it now began to play an increasing role in support of the SAP inside South Africa. The policing of internal resistance became militarised.
- 87 Military operations aim at eliminating enemy personnel, weaponry and bases. Hence, as a military approach to policing gained ascendancy inside South Africa from the mid-1980s, so too did the incidence of killing or 'eliminating' activists, which had already become an established practice outside the country.
- 88 This application of a more military-style approach to opposing internal dissent was the expressed policy of the SSC, perhaps the most influential body in South Africa at the time. Although the SSC was merely an advisory body to cabinet and had no executive powers of its own, its decisions were almost always accepted or adopted by cabinet. All the key cabinet ministers sat on the SSC, as did the leadership of the security forces. The SSC also formed the pinnacle of a vast network of joint security structures in the form of the National Security Management System (NSMS), which extended from national to local level. Thus the SSC carried enormous influence. Its decisions both reflected and influenced the perceptions and mindsets of senior politicians and security force personnel. Members of the security forces who participated in SSC- or NSMS-linked structures, and to whom decisions or policy were communicated, would have regarded those decisions as specific instructions or general authorisation.

- 89 It seems highly improbable to this Commission that the members of the SSC did not foresee the possible consequences of such a shift in counter-revolutionary strategy. Indeed, their increasingly strident language and rhetoric on both public platforms and in documents was laced with phrases such as:

'elimineer vyandelike leiers' (eliminate enemy leaders)

'neutralise intimidators by using formal and informal policing'

'destroy terrorists'

'fisiese vernietiging – mense, fasilliteite, fondse, ens' (physical destruction – people, facilities, funds, etc)

'uithaal' (take out),

'neutraliseer' (neutralise),

'uitwis' (wipe out),

'verwyder' (remove/ cause to disappear),

'maak 'n plan' (make a plan),

'metodes ander as aanhouding' (methods other than detention),

'onkonvensionele metodes' (unconventional methods).

- 90 This rhetoric made no distinction between persons engaged in military operations or acts of terrorism and those who opposed apartheid by lawful or peaceful means. The word 'terrorist' was used constantly, but never defined. Nor was a distinction drawn between activists and those who only supported or associated with them. All were lumped together as one target – a single category of persons to be killed. Whether one carried a gun, or only shared a bed or offered food and shelter to the combatant, seems to have been a matter of indifference to the total strategists. In the opinion of the Commission, the kind of rhetoric employed by politicians and SSC functionaries was reckless, inflammatory and an incitement to unlawful acts.

- 91 This led to a blurred distinction in the minds of the security forces between persons who posed a real danger to public safety and those who simply opposed the policies of the government, and consequently between those who might be legitimate targets of military action and those who were not. The sheer scale of resistance, the time-consuming and resource-intensive nature of prosecutions and the widespread reluctance of ordinary people to testify in courts of law resulted in a shift to unlawful methods of combating resistance. This shift was

conceded by numerous high-ranking security force members, including former police commissioner Johan van der Merwe (see above quotation).

- 92 At the Commission's hearings on the SSC, senior politicians and some senior military and intelligence heads argued emphatically that although what they referred to as "ambiguous language" might or could have been interpreted as authorising illegal conduct, it was not the intention of the SSC or the cabinet that any illegal acts or actions should be undertaken.

- 93 This view was in sharp contrast to that of security force operatives who said that the word 'eliminate' could, in certain circumstances, mean 'kill', or that they interpreted it as meaning 'kill'. General Johan van der Merwe, himself a member of the SSC during his period of office as police commissioner, testified thus:

If you tell a soldier "eliminate your enemy", depending on the circumstances he will understand that means killing. It is not the only meaning, but it is specifically one meaning. (Armed forces hearing , transcript, p. 32.)

- 94 He said that the use of this language at the SSC did cause security forces to take actions that resulted in the death of activists:

Commission: ... I am saying would you agree that that unfortunate use of that language, "vernietig", "uitroei", "uit te wis", "elimineer" [destroy, eradicate, to wipe out, eliminate] and so on, ... resulted in deaths, would you agree with that?

General van der Merwe: Yes Mr Chairman. (Ibid, p. 34.)

- 95 It is in this context that one must evaluate the use by the SSC of words such as 'elimineer', 'neutraliseer', 'uitwis', 'verwyder' in relation to steps to be taken against members of the ANC and their sympathisers.

- 96 Consequently, the Commission cannot accept that members of the security forces serving on the SSC, and ministers in charge of security portfolios, did not reasonably foresee that such words could be interpreted by members of the security forces as authorisation under certain circumstances to kill persons involved in resistance.

- 97 The Commission makes this assertion for a number of reasons:

- a If the decisions or recommendations of the SSC and its plans were intended to authorise only lawful steps, as alleged by members like Mr de Klerk,

General Magnus Malan and Dr LD (Niel) Barnard, these should have been explicitly spelt out. If the intention was to detain, restrict, arrest, ban or deport, it is incomprehensible that such words were not used rather than words such as *'elimineer'* and *'verwyder'*. It is also incomprehensible that senior politicians and other members of the SSC did not, where they considered the instructions vague or imprecise, alter any of the documents submitted to them and replace them with words whose meaning was perfectly clear.

- b Words such as *'elimineer'* and *'neutraliseer'* are used in earlier SSC documents with the unambiguous meaning of 'kill' or 'assassinate'.
- c All military and police structures operate on a basis of clear and precise instructions and have conventions of service writing that stress the necessity of operatives knowing and understanding exactly what is required and expected of them.¹ Given that the SSC was central to an essentially militarily driven strategy, one must conclude that these words were intended to mean exactly what they said.
- d The Commission does not believe it possible that senior politicians and generals in charge of the security forces could be so out of touch with the mindsets and discourses of the period that they did not anticipate, understand and foresee the consequences of the decisions they took in the SSC. The Commission's view is that they must have foreseen that security police and SADF operatives would interpret expressions as 'take out', 'wipe out', 'eradicate' and 'eliminate' as meaning 'kill'. Indeed, it is the Commission's view that SSC documents represent a perfect illustration of the notion of plausible deniability. The Commission rejects attempts by politicians to phrase instructions in a way that causes their subordinates to take responsibility for acts of which the politicians are the intellectual authors.
- e A further basis for concluding that members of the SSC did foresee that the use of words such as 'eliminate' would result in deaths is that there is no evidence of any attempt by the SSC to set in motion any substantive or comprehensive investigation into the killing of political opponents once this began to happen. Although there were police investigations after each killing, these were often manifestly inadequate and often took the form of cover-ups. Neither did the SSC at any stage issue any statement or directive clarifying its orders and strategies to the effect that they should under no circumstances be interpreted

1 See, for example, SADF 'Conventions of Service Writing' or the SAP's guidelines for writing reports, both of which stress the importance of using language that cannot be misinterpreted given the long chains of command through which instructions, orders and policy must pass.

as authorisation for illegal activities. This failure is aggravated by the fact that Dr Niel Barnard, former head of NIS and a member of the SSC, did draw to the attention of the chairperson of the SSC, Mr PW Botha, that he had received information that there were 'misunderstandings' by the security forces and that he was concerned that they might be engaged in unlawful activities.

98 There was extensive coverage of the deaths of prominent anti-apartheid activists in both the international and local media and, in many instances, strong suspicion was directed at the security forces. Despite this, there was a consistent failure to devote sufficient attention to this information or to heed the protests of persons drawing attention to abuses by the security forces. This is summed up in the words of a former Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels, to the effect that 'we did not wish to know'.

99 It is on these grounds that the Commission finds in relation to members of the SSC, that:

CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE SSC (THE STATE PRESIDENT, MINISTER OF DEFENCE, MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER, AND HEADS OF SECURITY FORCES) DID FORESEE THAT THE USE OF WORDS SUCH AS 'TAKE OUT', 'WIPE OUT', 'ERADICATE', AND 'ELIMINATE' WOULD RESULT IN THE KILLING OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS. THEY ARE THEREFORE RESPONSIBLE FOR DELIBERATE PLANNING WHICH CAUSED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS [IN TERMS OF SECTION 4(A)(IV) OF THE ACT].

THE COMMISSION THEREFORE FINDS THEM TO BE PERSONS INVOLVED IN THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH DID OCCUR AND, FURTHERMORE, THAT THE SSC WAS AN INSTITUTION INVOLVED IN GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS [IN TERMS OF SECTION 4(A)(III) OF THE ACT].

CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE SSC (PARTICULARLY THOSE NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN SECURITY MATTERS) DID NOT FORESEE THAT THE USE OF THESE WORDS WOULD RESULT IN KILLINGS, BUT NEVERTHELESS REMAIN POLITICALLY AND MORALLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE DEATHS THAT OCCURRED [IN TERMS OF SECTION 4(A)(V) OF THE ACT] FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS. THEY FAILED TO EXERCISE PROPER CARE IN THE WORDS THEY USED; THEY FAILED PROPERLY TO INVESTIGATE KILLINGS THAT OCCURRED AND THEY FAILED TO HEED COMPLAINTS ABOUT ABUSE. THROUGH THEIR USE OF MILITANT RHETORIC, THEY ALSO CREATED A CLIMATE WHERE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WERE POSSIBLE. THEY ARE THEREFORE GUILTY OF 'OFFICIAL TOLERANCE' OF VIOLATIONS AND ARE ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS.

Findings on the state and unlawful activities

100 This finding forms a major part of the Commission's overall conclusion that the South African state in the 1980s and early 1990s engaged in or undertook a range of unlawful activities. Other evidence to support this assertion is, in brief:

- a The admission by both senior security force officers and security police operatives that they were ordered by either the then State President or senior members of the government to:
- commit criminal acts of sabotage by blowing up such public facilities as the diplomatic mission of the ANC in London, the offices of the South African Council of Churches (SACC – Khotso House), the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (Khanya House) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU);
 - undertake a 'false-flag' operation in the form of the placing and uncovering of an arms cache in order to provide a pretext for the state's armed forces to attack targets in an independent neighbouring state, in a clear violation of international law.
- b Evidence presented to the Commission that certain sections of the security police, such as the Soweto Intelligence Unit, undertook illegal acts such as sabotage and arson, within and outside the country, in order to give credibility to their agents.
- c Evidence from security police members that, in the latter 1980s, they sometimes deliberately circumvented what they saw as negative or adverse court decisions by, for example, killing alleged political activists acquitted in political trials.
- d Evidence presented to the Commission under oath and by way of amnesty applications that, on the instruction of their senior officers, security police members abducted MK cadres, executed them when they refused to co-operate and buried them secretly on farms owned or rented by the police.
- e Evidence presented under oath to the Commission by the former secretary of a state structure, the Joint Management Centre (JMC), that he was instructed by a senior police officer to arrange and facilitate the attack on a suspected UDF house in Trustfeeds, KwaZulu-Natal, in which eleven people were killed, and that the subsequent investigation into the killing was covered up at the highest level.
- f Evidence presented under oath to the Commission that the South African government authorised and financed the formation of a clandestine security force unit (the CCB) whose objective was to "inflict maximal damage to the enemy"¹ including, among other actions, the killing of political opponents.

1 Hendrik Christoffel Nel in section 29 hearing, dated 18 May 1998, p51 (quoting CCB planning document for 1987).

- g Evidence made available to the Commission that, after 1990, MI devised an official plan to abduct and/or assassinate Mr Chris Hani and Mr Bantu Holomisa.
- h Evidence presented to the Commission of covert assistance given by the SADF to the IFP to establish, train, arm and pay an offensive para-military unit or hit squad to be deployed against mutual enemies of the state and the IFP.
- i Evidence in the possession of the Commission that it was state policy to foster division between communities and organisations, and that security force and state officials gave material and other support to conservative groupings which frequently engaged in violent attacks on political opponents of the government.
- j Evidence made available to the Commission that the South African government armed, trained, financed and in other ways assisted foreign nationals to undertake military operations against neighbouring governments in violation of international law and the sovereignty of those states; and further that these domestically generated foreign wars and military operations resulted in the gross violation of the human rights of non-South African nationals on a vast scale.
- k Evidence presented under oath to the Commission that the weapons used in a state-planned massacre of alleged government opponents were given over to a state corporation (ISCOR) for smelting in order to destroy the evidence of a crime.
- l Evidence presented under oath to the Commission that high-ranking members of a state corporation (ESKOM) attempted to make available or sell a portion of its armoury to a political party engaged in a civil war – in the knowledge that those weapons could or would be used against alleged ANC supporters. This was authorised and done with the knowledge of the commissioner of police. The ESKOM deal formed only a small part of a wider practice of covert shipment of arms by state operatives to groups engaged in violent activities against opponents of the government.
- m Evidence presented under oath to the Commission that air hostesses of the state carrier, South African Airways, were required or put under pressure to eavesdrop on passengers' conversations and to report those of a suspicious nature to the security police.

- n Evidence made available to the Commission that state or public vehicles, such as ambulances, were used to transport weapons supplied by the state to surrogates for use against opponents of the state.
- o Evidence presented under oath to the Commission that members of the security police placed explosives in cinemas showing the film *Cry Freedom*, thus committing serious criminal offences. Earlier, the state had tried unsuccessfully to obtain a ruling from another state body prohibiting the screening of the film. This action reflects an attitude that the security police would not be impeded by the law in the pursuit of their objectives.
- p Evidence presented under oath to the Commission that on a number of occasions, and usually at the behest of their superiors, members of the security forces presented false testimony at court inquests, including those dealing with the deaths in detention of Mr Stanza Bopape and Mr Steve Biko, as well as to trials of alleged political offenders and state commissions like the Harms Commission. The Commission also received evidence of deliberate falsification and/or destruction of evidence, and of widespread and deliberate cover-ups of investigations including the hiding of persons accused of killings, in SADF bases.
- q Evidence presented under oath by former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, and in other amnesty applications, that strategic communication (Stratcom) activities transgressed the law.
- r Evidence presented to the Commission of a widespread system of covert funding of secret operations, involving the expenditure of more than R2.75 billion in the period 1978–94. Though the funding system was not illegal in terms of existing statutory law, there is evidence that portions of those funds were used in the pursuit of unlawful activities, such as those undertaken by the CCB. In a report submitted to the Commission on secret state funding, the Auditor-General stated that certain secret projects of the SADF were never subjected to a full audit. Access to the operational files of the CCB was consistently denied by its so-called managing director, who was a high-ranking Special Forces officer. The Commission regards the following statement made to the Commission by the Auditor-General as significant:

The Office has always maintained and has publicly reported that the audit assurance obtained from auditing secret funds is lower than would normally be the case. It is with regret that, because of the inherent limitations of any audit as well as the particular circumstances set out earlier, the Office must

accept that expenditure audited by it may have been incurred, or assets may have been acquired, from the relevant secret funds for the purpose of committing gross violation of human rights.

This Commission believes it can be more emphatic than the Auditor-General in asserting that some of these funds were used for unlawful activities. The CCB is a clear instance. Project Echoes involved the spreading of disinformation about ANC and MK leaders in the post-1990 period and amounted in large part to an exercise in criminal defamation.

- 101 Arising from the above, and from evidence presented in Volume Two of this report, the Commission makes the following findings in respect of the state's involvement in gross violations of human rights during the period 1960–94:

THE COMMISSION ENDORSES THE POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW THAT APARTHEID AS A FORM OF SYSTEMATIC RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND SEPARATION CONSTITUTED A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY.

WITHIN THIS CONTEXT, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT:

- THE STATE – IN THE FORM OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, THE CIVIL SERVICE AND ITS SECURITY FORCES – WAS, IN THE PERIOD 1960–94 THE PRIMARY PERPETRATOR OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND FROM 1974, IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.
- IN THE APPLICATION OF THE POLICY OF APARTHEID, THE STATE IN THE COMMISSION'S MANDATE PERIOD WAS INCREASINGLY AUTHORITARIAN IN NATURE AND INTOLERANT OF DISSENT. THIS WAS MANIFESTED, *INTER ALIA*, IN A HOST OF LEGISLATIVE MEASURES WHICH SEVERELY ABRIDGED THE PRINCIPLES OF THE RULE OF LAW AND LIMITED THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY.
- THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL ORDER IN THE MANDATE PERIOD WAS FACILITATED BY A CULTURE OF IMPUNITY WHICH EMERGED AS A RESULT OF LEGISLATIVE AND OTHER MEASURES BY THE STATE, AND BY THE FAILURE, LARGELY AS A CONSEQUENCE OF STATE PRESSURE, OF ORGANS OF CIVIL SOCIETY – POLITICAL PARTIES, THE MASS MEDIA, FAITH, BUSINESS, LEGAL, MEDICAL AND OTHER GROUPS – TO OBSERVE AND ADHERE TO THE CODES AND STANDARDS OF CONDUCT INTEGRAL TO THEIR PROFESSIONS.
- IN THE APPLICATION OF THE POLICY OF APARTHEID, THE STATE IN THE PERIOD 1960–90 SOUGHT TO PROTECT THE POWER AND PRIVILEGE OF A RACIAL MINORITY. RACISM THEREFORE CONSTITUTED THE MOTIVATING CORE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL ORDER, AN ATTITUDE LARGELY ENDORSED BY THE INVESTMENT AND OTHER POLICIES OF SOUTH AFRICA'S MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS IN THIS PERIOD. A CONSEQUENCE OF THIS RACISM WAS THAT WHITE CITIZENS IN GENERAL ADOPTED A DEHUMANISING POSITION TOWARDS BLACK CITIZENS, TO THE POINT WHERE THE RULING ORDER OF THE STATE CEASED TO REGARD THEM AS FELLOW CITIZENS AND LARGELY LABELLED THEM AS 'THE ENEMY'. THIS CREATED A CLIMATE IN WHICH GROSS ATROCITIES COMMITTED AGAINST THEM WERE SEEN AS LEGITIMATE.

AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THESE FACTORS, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE STATE PERPETRATED, AMONG OTHERS, THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH AND/OR SOUTHERN AFRICA:

- TORTURE, INCLUDING NOT ONLY THE INTENTIONAL INFLICTION OF PAIN BUT ALSO DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL AND SOLITARY CONFINEMENT;
- ABDUCTION, INVOLVING THE FORCIBLE AND ILLEGAL REMOVAL OR CAPTURE OF PEOPLE, OFTEN FROM BEYOND THE BORDERS OF SOUTH AFRICA;
- SEVERE ILL TREATMENT INCLUDING SEXUAL ASSAULT, ABUSE OR HARASSMENT, THE IMPOSITION OF RESTRICTIONS ON INDIVIDUALS IN THE FORM OF BANNING AND BANISHMENT ORDERS, THE DELIBERATE WITHHOLDING OF MEDICAL ATTENTION, FOOD AND WATER, THE DESTRUCTION OF HOMES OR OFFICES THROUGH ARSON OR SABOTAGE, AND THE MUTILATION OF BODY PARTS;
- THE UNJUSTIFIED USE OF DEADLY FORCE IN SITUATIONS WHERE LESSER MEASURES WOULD HAVE BEEN ADEQUATE TO CONTROL DEMONSTRATIONS OR DETAIN OR ARREST SUSPECTS;
- THE DELIBERATE MANIPULATION OF SOCIAL DIVISIONS IN SOCIETY WITH THE INTENTION OF MOBILISING ONE GROUP AGAINST ANOTHER, RESULTING, AT TIMES, IN VIOLENT CLASHES;
- THE ARMING, FUNDING AND TRAINING OF FOREIGN NATIONALS FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENTS IN THE REGION;
- INCURSIONS ACROSS SOUTH AFRICA'S BORDERS WITH THE INTENTION OF KILLING OR ABDUCTING OPPONENTS LIVING OUTSIDE OF SOUTH AFRICA;
- JUDICIAL KILLINGS, INVOLVING THE EXECUTION OF OPPONENTS FOR OFFENCES OF A POLITICAL AND NOT A CRIMINAL NATURE;
- EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS IN THE FORM OF STATE-PLANNED AND EXECUTED ASSASSINATIONS, ATTEMPTED KILLINGS, DISAPPEARANCES, ABDUCTIONS AND SO-CALLED 'ENTRAPMENT KILLINGS', WHERE INDIVIDUALS WERE DELIBERATELY ENTICED INTO SITUATIONS;
- THE COVERT TRAINING, ARMING AND FUNDING OF OFFENSIVE PARAMILITARY UNITS OR HIT SQUADS FOR DEPLOYMENT INTERNALLY AGAINST OPPONENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Finding on former President PW Botha

102 Mr PW Botha presided as executive head of the former South African government (the government) from 1978 to 1984 as Prime Minister, and from 1984 to 1989 as Executive State President. Given his centrality in the politics of the 1970s and 1980s, the Commission has made a finding on the role of former the State President:

DURING THE PERIOD THAT HE PRESIDED AS HEAD OF STATE (1978–1989), ACCORDING TO SUBMISSIONS MADE TO, AND FINDINGS MADE BY, THE COMMISSION, GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER UNLAWFUL ACTS WERE PERPETRATED ON A WIDE SCALE BY MEMBERS OF THE FORMER SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE (SAP) AND THE FORMER SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE (SADF), AMONG OTHERS. SUCH VIOLATIONS INCLUDED:

- THE DELIBERATE UNLAWFUL KILLING, AND ATTEMPTED KILLING, OF PERSONS OPPOSED TO THE POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT, WITHIN AND OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA;
- THE WIDESPREAD USE OF TORTURE AND OTHER FORMS OF SEVERE ILL TREATMENT AGAINST SUCH PERSONS;
- THE FORCIBLE ABDUCTION OF SUCH PERSONS WHO WERE RESIDENT IN NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES;
- COVERT LOGISTICAL AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO ORGANISATIONS OPPOSED TO THE IDEOLOGY OF THE ANC AND OTHER LIBERATION MOVEMENTS BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE OF SOUTH AFRICA, ENABLING THOSE ORGANISATIONS TO COMMIT GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ON A WIDE SCALE WITHIN AND BEYOND THE BORDERS OF THIS COUNTRY;
- ACTS OF ARSON AND SABOTAGE AGAINST THE PROPERTY OF PERSONS AND ORGANISATIONS OPPOSED TO THE GOVERNMENT, WITHIN AND OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY.

DURING THE PERIOD 1979–89, MR PW BOTHA CHAIRED THE STATE SECURITY COUNCIL (SSC), ESTABLISHED TO ADVISE THE GOVERNMENT ON NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES WHICH WERE, OR WERE PERCEIVED TO BE, A THREAT TO THE GOVERNMENT. UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP, THE SSC –

- PLACED GREAT PRESSURE ON THE GOVERNMENT’S SECURITY FORCES TO ENGAGE ROBUSTLY AGAINST ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONS OPPOSED TO THE GOVERNMENT, IN THEIR PERCEIVED ONSLAUGHT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT;
- USED LANGUAGE IN ITS MEETINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS THAT WAS HIGHLY AMBIGUOUS AND WAS INTERPRETED BY PERSONS WITH ACCESS TO THE MEETINGS, THEIR MINUTES AND RECOMMENDATIONS, AS AUTHORISING THE KILLING OF PEOPLE;
- FAILED TO RECOMMEND TO THE GOVERNMENT THAT APPROPRIATE STEPS BE TAKEN AGAINST MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES WHO WERE INVOLVED IN OR WHO WERE SUSPECTED OF BEING INVOLVED IN GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THUS CONTRIBUTING TO THE PREVAILING CULTURE OF IMPUNITY;
- RECOMMENDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT IMPOSE STATES OF EMERGENCY, UNDER WHICH GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED AGAINST PERSONS OPPOSED TO THE GOVERNMENT INCREASED, AND ASSISTED THE GOVERNMENT IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STATES OF EMERGENCY;
- RECOMMENDED THE ADOPTION OF PRINCIPLES OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE WHICH LED TO THE INCREASED DEPLOYMENT OF SPECIAL UNITS OF THE SADF IN SUPPORT OF THE SAP IN SOUTH AFRICA, RESULTING IN A SHIFT OF FOCUS IN POLICING FROM ARRESTING AND CHARGING OPPONENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT TO ELIMINATING OPPONENTS AND THEIR BASES;
- RECOMMENDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT SUPPORT COVERT PROJECTS AIMED AT OPPOSING AND DESTABILISING THE GOVERNMENTS OF NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES WHICH WERE SUPPORTIVE OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS;
- RECOMMENDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT SUPPORT COVERT PROJECTS TO HELP DESTABILISE AND OPPOSE ORGANISATIONS AND PEOPLE OPPOSED TO THE GOVERNMENT.

AS A CONSEQUENCE, THE SSC CREATED A POLITICAL CLIMATE THAT GREATLY FACILITATED THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND IN WHICH SUCH VIOLATIONS OCCURRED ON A WIDE SCALE.

MR BOTHA WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR ORDERING FORMER MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER ADRIAAN VLOK AND FORMER POLICE COMMISSIONER JOHAN VAN DER MERWE UNLAWFULLY TO DESTROY KHOTSO HOUSE IN JOHANNESBURG, (A BUILDING OCCUPIED BY ORGANISATIONS CONSIDERED BY BOTHA TO BE A THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF THE GOVERNMENT), THEREBY ENDANGERING THE LIVES OF PEOPLE IN AND AROUND THE BUILDING. THIS DECISION GREATLY ENHANCED THE PREVAILING CULTURE OF IMPUNITY AND FACILITATED THE FURTHER GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES.

FOR THE REASONS SET OUT ABOVE AND BY VIRTUE OF HIS POSITION AS HEAD OF STATE AND CHAIRPERSON OF THE SSC, BOTHA CONTRIBUTED TO AND FACILITATED A CLIMATE IN WHICH THE ABOVE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COULD AND DID OCCUR, AND AS SUCH IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS.

Finding on former State President FW de Klerk

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Findings on the destruction of documents by the former state

105 Reference has already been made to the extensive destruction of documents by the former state (see Volume One). The following is a summary of the Commission's finding with regard to this issue:

THE FORMER GOVERNMENT DELIBERATELY AND SYSTEMATICALLY DESTROYED STATE DOCUMENTATION OVER A NUMBER OF YEARS. THIS PROCESS BEGAN IN 1978, WHEN CLASSIFIED RECORDS WERE ROUTINELY DESTROYED, SUPPOSEDLY IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD STATE SECURITY. BY THE 1990S THE PROCESS OF DESTRUCTION OF RECORDS AND DOCUMENTS HAD BECOME A CO-ORDINATED ENDEAVOUR, SANCTIONED BY THE CABINET, WITH THE AIM OF DENYING A NEW GOVERNMENT ACCESS TO INCRIMINATING EVIDENCE AND SANITISING THE HISTORY OF THE APARTHEID ERA.

THE DESTRUCTION PROCESS TOOK PLACE AS FOLLOWS:

- IN 1978, THE THEN PRIME MINISTER ORDERED THE DESTRUCTION OF CLASSIFIED RECORDS OF THE SAP AND THE SADF. THIS TOOK PLACE OVER A TEN-YEAR PERIOD, FOLLOWING GUIDELINES LAID DOWN BY THE PRIME MINISTER, WHICH WERE UPDATED IN 1984 AND WERE LATER CHANNELLED TO THE STATE SECURITY COUNCIL AS A BASIS FOR GOVERNMENT-WIDE DESTRUCTION OF RECORDS.
- IN 1988, THE BULK OF THE CLASSIFIED RECORDS OF THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA TERRITORY FORCE WERE DESTROYED.
- IN 1991, THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (NIS) BEGAN A SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION PROGRAMME WHICH CONTINUED UNTIL LATE IN 1994.
- IN NOVEMBER 1991, THE NIS ATTEMPTED TO COLLECT ALL NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (NSMS) RECORDS, IN ORDER TO IMPLEMENT SELECTIVE DESTRUCTION.
- IN 1992, THE SECURITY BRANCH OF THE SAP BEGAN A SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION PROGRAMME WHICH CONTINUED INTO 1993.
- ON 3 JULY 1992, THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND THE NIS AUTHORISED THE DESTRUCTION OF NIS FINANCIAL AND RELATED RECORDS BEYOND THE PARAMETERS LAID DOWN BY THE TREASURY.
- ON 2 JUNE 1993, CABINET APPROVED GUIDELINES FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF 'STATE SENSITIVE' RECORDS ACROSS ALL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS. THE GUIDELINES WERE SUBMITTED TO CABINET BY THE SSC AND INCORPORATED THE PRINCIPLES OF THE 3 JULY 1992 AUTHORISATION REFERRED TO ABOVE. THE SADF AND OTHER GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES IMMEDIATELY BEGAN SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION PROGRAMMES.
- IN JULY 1993, THE SECURITY SECRETARIAT ADVISED GOVERNMENT OFFICES TO DESTROY CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF CLASSIFIED RECORDS. WIDESPREAD IMPLEMENTATION FOLLOWED.

THE MASS DESTRUCTION OF RECORDS OUTLINED ABOVE HAS HAD A SEVERE IMPACT ON SOUTH AFRICA'S SOCIAL MEMORY. VAST AMOUNTS OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTATION, PARTICULARLY AROUND THE INNER WORKINGS OF THE STATE'S SECURITY APPARATUS, HAVE BEEN OBLITERATED. MOREOVER, THE APPARENT COMPLETE DESTRUCTION OF ALL RECORDS CONFISCATED FROM INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANISATIONS BY THE SECURITY BRANCH OF THE SAP HAS REMOVED FROM SOUTH AFRICA'S HERITAGE A VALUABLE DOCUMENTATION OF EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID.

THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION HAS SUFFERED AS A RESULT OF THIS WHOLESALE DESTRUCTION. NUMEROUS INVESTIGATIONS OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WERE SEVERELY HAMPERED BY THE ABSENCE OF DOCUMENTATION. ULTIMATELY ALL SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE SUFFERED THE CONSEQUENCES, IN THAT THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION AND HEALING THROUGH A DISCLOSURE OF THE PAST HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY CURTAILED.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FOLLOWING OFFICIAL BODIES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF DOCUMENTS: THE CABINET OF THE FORMER GOVERNMENT, THE NIS, THE SECURITY BRANCH OF THE SAP, AND THE SADF.

■ FINDINGS ON THE ROLE OF ALLIES OF THE STATE

The homelands

- 106 As has been stated above, the state was not acting alone in its strategies involving gross human rights violations. It had the active and passive support of numerous other elements in society. One of these was the white electorate which returned the National Party to power in one election after another. Others were the institutional creations of the apartheid system and the political parties that operated largely within these creations. The homeland or bantustan system gave rise to a set of semi-autonomous security and law-enforcement structures and such political groupings as the Inkatha Freedom Party.
- 107 So-called independent and semi-autonomous homelands emerged on the political landscape of South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s. From the outset, they were sites of steadily escalating resistance and repression. All forms of human rights abuse (torture, extra-judicial killings, unjustifiable use of deadly force etc) which occurred within so-called white South Africa were also found in the homelands arena. Indeed, such factors as a lack of public attention or scrutiny, little media interest and weak civil society structures, created an environment in the homelands that was even more conducive to gross violations of human rights than the wider South African society.

108 In consequence, human rights were grossly violated on a vast scale. The great majority of those who suffered human rights abuses in South Africa in the mandate period were the victims of black perpetrators, acting in many cases as surrogates for the South African government. Nowhere is this more true than in Natal and KwaZulu. It is for this reason that the IFP is the only homeland-based party and the KwaZulu Police (KZP) the only homeland security structure singled out by the Commission for specific findings.

109 Before focusing on those two entities, the Commission has made the following general finding on the homelands system:

THE FORMER STATE'S POLICY OF ESTABLISHING ETHNICALLY SEPARATE RESERVATIONS LAY AT THE CORE OF ITS POLICY OF TERRITORIAL AND POLITICAL SEPARATION ON THE BASIS OF RACE. THE POLICY WAS AN EXTENSION OF A COLONIALY ESTABLISHED PRACTICE OF 'DIVIDE AND RULE' AND HAD THE DUAL AIM OF SEEKING TO INHIBIT OR DIVERT THE STRUGGLE BY AFRICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY PROTECTING AND PRESERVING THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PRIVILEGES OF THE WHITE MINORITY.

THE ADMINISTRATIONS AND GOVERNMENTS THAT PRESIDED OVER THE VARIOUS HOMELANDS WERE, ACCORDINGLY, A CORNERSTONE OF THE STATE'S POLICY OF APARTHEID IN THAT THEY PURPORTED TO GRANT FULL POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS TO BLACK CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC GROUPINGS, BUT ONLY WITHIN DEFINED LIMITED GEOGRAPHIC AND ETHNICALLY EXCLUSIVE ENCLAVES. ECONOMICALLY, THEY REMAINED NON-VIABLE, WHICH LEFT THEM LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO COLLABORATE WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE ON SECURITY AND RELATED MATTERS, AND FUNCTION AS EXTENSIONS OF THAT STATE AND AS INSTRUMENTS OF ITS SECURITY FORCES. THIS DOES NOT, HOWEVER, EXONERATE THEM OR THEIR LEADERS FROM RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS PERPETRATED IN THE HOMELANDS.

HOMELAND GOVERNMENTS IMPLEMENTED SYSTEMS OF RURAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION WHICH LED TO WIDESPREAD ABUSES AND GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AS DID THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CIVIL CODES BY CHIEFS AND HEADMEN.

HOMELAND GOVERNMENTS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF POLICE FORCES AND, IN THE CASE OF THE 'INDEPENDENT' HOMELANDS SUCH AS TRANSKEI AND CISKEI, DEFENCE FORCES CHARACTERISED BY INCOMPETENCE, BRUTALITY, AND POLITICAL BIAS. IN PARTICULAR, THEY –

- DISPLAYED BIAS AND PARTIALITY TOWARDS MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE HOMELAND GOVERNMENTS, BOTH THROUGH ACTS OF COMMISSION, WHEN THEY WORKED OPENLY WITH PRO-HOMELAND GOVERNMENT VIGILANTES AND/OR COVERT ARMED GROUPS, AND THROUGH ACTS OF OMISSION WHEN THEY FAILED TO PROTECT OR SERVE THOSE WHO DID NOT SUPPORT THE HOMELAND GOVERNMENTS;
- WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR LARGE NUMBERS OF KILLINGS AND ATTEMPTED KILLINGS AS WELL AS ACTS OF INCITEMENT AND CONSPIRACY TO KILL, SEVERE ILL TREATMENT, ABDUCTION, TORTURE AND ARSON, THE VICTIMS OF WHICH WERE ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY NON-SUPPORTERS OF HOMELAND GOVERNMENT;

- WERE INVOLVED IN COVERING UP CRIMES COMMITTED BY SUPPORTERS OF THE HOMELAND GOVERNMENTS. THESE PRACTICES INCLUDED NEGLECTING BASIC INVESTIGATIVE PROCEDURES AND DELIBERATELY TAMPERING WITH EVIDENCE.

IN KWAZULU SPECIFICALLY, THE HOMELAND GOVERNMENT AND POLICE FORCE (KZP) WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR:

- ENSURING THAT SUSPECTS IN MATTERS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE WERE CONCEALED, OFTEN FOR LENGTHY PERIODS, IN SADF AND OTHER TRAINING CAMPS;
- ISSUING FALSE POLICE CERTIFICATES AND IDENTITY DOCUMENTS TO SUPPORTERS OF THE HOMELAND GOVERNMENTS WHO WERE INVOLVED IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE, IN ORDER TO PREVENT THEIR ARREST AND CONVICTION AND TO FACILITATE THEIR CONTINUED CRIMINAL ACTIVITY;
- TAKING PART IN KILLINGS AND PURPORTING TO INVESTIGATE THE VERY CASES IN WHICH THEY HAD BEEN INVOLVED AS PERPETRATORS;
- COLLABORATING WITH MEMBERS OF THE SAP'S SECURITY BRANCH AND SADF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE (MI) SECTION IN COVERT ACTIVITIES AND PROJECTS AIMED AT DESTABILISING POPULAR OPPOSITION TO STATE AND HOMELAND GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE HOMELAND SECURITY FORCES ACCOUNTABLE NOT ONLY FOR THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS PERPETRATED BY THEIR MEMBERS BUT ALSO FOR THOSE PERPETRATED BY MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE HOMELAND GOVERNMENTS' RULING PARTIES, AS A RESULT OF THE SECURITY FORCES' FAILURE TO ACT AGAINST SUCH MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS. THAT FAILURE ENGENDERED A CLIMATE OF IMPUNITY THAT FACILITATED SUCH GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

AT A POLITICAL LEVEL, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS CITED ABOVE RESTS JOINTLY WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE HOMELANDS.

Findings on the Inkatha Freedom Party

110 As stated above, gross violations of human rights occurred in all the homelands. In some, like Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and KwaZulu, they occurred on a vast scale. There is, however, one significant difference between KwaZulu and the other three. In the latter, the perpetrators were almost invariably members of the homeland security forces. This was not the case in KwaZulu. Whilst the KwaZulu homeland's security arm, the KZP, committed large numbers of human rights violations, a far larger number of violations was committed by members, supporters and office-bearers of the IFP itself. It is for this reason that the IFP has been singled out for special attention.

111 The IFP was the only one of the various homeland political parties to develop a substantial mass base, and whereas in other homelands it was the governments

and their security forces that dominated the political landscape, in KwaZulu it was Inkatha, renamed in 1990 to the Inkatha Freedom Party. The IFP dominated the KwaZulu government – both its executive and its bureaucracy – to the extent that the government and the IFP became interchangeable concepts. The organisation effectively ruled KwaZulu as a one-party state. It further used KwaZulu government resources and finances to fund its party political activities as well as actions constituting gross violations of the human rights of non-Inkatha persons.

- 112 Both South African government officials and IFP politicians regularly failed to distinguish between the KwaZulu government and the IFP. Vice Admiral Andries Putter, former chief of staff intelligence of the SADF told the Commission:

As far as I can remember, I never myself drew a distinction between Inkatha and the KwaZulu government. In practice ... I did not realise that one could distinguish between Inkatha and the KwaZulu government. It was basically the same organisation.

- 113 Former IFP National Council member, Mr Walter Felgate, told the Commission:

The interests of Inkatha and the KwaZulu government were indistinguishable. There was never a conflict of interest. I can bring to mind no conflict between Inkatha and the KLA (KwaZulu Legislative Assembly) on any matter of principle, any matter of strategy. They were just one amalgam with operating bases and nexuses of people.

- 114 A former member of a KZP hit squad, now serving a number of life sentences for murder, told the Commission:

There was no difference between the KwaZulu Police, the IFP and the KwaZulu government. In my opinion they were one entity. I received instructions [to kill people] from Captain Langeni (KZP), Mr MZ Khumalo (KwaZulu government) and [Mr Daluxolo] Luthuli (IFP).

- 115 As early as 1982, Inkatha began to foster the concept of paramilitary training, particularly among its youth movement. This led to a process by which violence became institutionalised in KwaZulu, with the result that Inkatha supporters turned inexorably to violence and militaristic methods. In the period after July 1990, IFP violence spread to other regions, particularly the Transvaal. The Commission received evidence from thousands of people about attacks and massacres perpetrated by IFP supporters over the twelve-year period from April 1983, the date of the killing of Mr Msizi Dube by hired Inkatha hit-men, to the 1994 pre-election

killing by an IFP headman of seven members of the Independent Electoral Commission for handing out pamphlets on how to vote.

116 These included:

- a the killing by Inkatha members in Hambanathi of members of the Hambanathi Residents Association in August 1983;
- b the killing of UDF supporters from 1983–89 by members of the Inkatha-supporting Chesterville 'A Team' vigilante group;
- c the killing of four students at the University of Zululand in October 1983 (the so-called Ngoye massacre) by some 500 Inkatha Youth Brigade members;
- d the killing of fourteen people by Inkatha supporters at the Umlazi Cinema memorial service for Victoria Mxenge in August 1985;
- e the establishment in early 1986 of a covert, offensive paramilitary unit trained, armed and paid by Military Intelligence, and their deployment throughout KwaZulu until September 1990, during which the 'Caprivi trainees' killed large numbers of people and permanently altered the political landscape in the areas in which they were deployed (see separate finding below);
- f the December 1988 joint Inkatha-SAP operation in Trust Feeds which resulted in the death of eleven people;
- g the killing of over 100 people and the destruction of 3 000 houses in the March 1990 armed incursion by IFP supporters into the Edenvale area near Pietermaritzburg in what is referred to as the Seven Day War (see finding in regional profile, Volume Three);
- h the killing of thirty-four people in two armed attacks by IFP supporters in Bruntville township, Mooi River, in November and December 1990;
- i the deployment of a joint KZP-IFP hit squad in Esikhawini township in 1990, and the resultant killing of over 100 people (see separate finding below);
- j the deployment of the IFP-based 'Black Cats' hit squad in Wesselton and Ermelo in 1990, and the resultant killing of large numbers of people;
- k the Sebokeng massacres of July and September 1990, in which seventy-seven people in all were killed by Inkatha supporters;

- l the Alexandra night vigil massacre of March 1991, in which fifteen people were killed by Inkatha supporters;
 - m the Swanieville massacre of May 1991, in which twenty-seven people were killed by Inkatha supporters;
 - n The Boipatong massacre of June 1992, in which forty-five people were killed by armed groups which included Inkatha supporters;
 - o the Phola Park and Kathlehong massacres in August 1990, in which forty people were killed by Inkatha supporters;
 - p the Sebokeng massacre of January 1991, in which forty-five people were killed by IFP supporters;
 - q the joint IFP/AWB attack and killing at the Flagstaff police station in 1993;
 - r the 1994 pre-election killings by an IFP Youth League leader in A Section, KwaMashu and an Inkatha headman in Ndwedwe.
- 117 The above incidents represent iconic events over the past twelve years in which IFP office-bearers, members and supporters were involved in acts of serious political violence. They do not purport to be a complete list of such incidents. However, the most devastating indictment of the role of the IFP in political violence during the Commission's mandate period is to be found in the statistics compiled by the Commission directly from submissions by victims of gross human rights violations. These established the IFP as the foremost perpetrator of gross human rights violations in KwaZulu and Natal during the 1990–94 period. Indeed, IFP violations constituted almost 50 per cent of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for this period, and over one-third of the total number of gross human rights violations committed during the thirty-four-year period of the Commission's mandate. The statistics also indicate that IFP members, supporters and office-bearers in KwaZulu and Natal were responsible for more than 55 per cent of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for the period between July 1993 and May 1994.
- 118 Other statistics derived from the Commission's database show that Inkatha/the IFP was responsible, in the mandate period, for some 3 800 killings in the Natal and KwaZulu area compared with approximately 1 100 attributed to the ANC and some 700 to the SAP. The IFP remains the major perpetrator of killings on a national scale, being allegedly responsible for over 4 500 killings compared to 2 700

attributed to the SAP and 1 300 to the ANC. These statistics suggest that the IFP was responsible for approximately 3.5 killings for every one killing attributed to the ANC. A graph included in the Natal regional profile (Volume Three) illustrates that in 1987–88 the IFP exceeded even the SAP in terms of numbers of people killed by a single perpetrator organisation.

119 It must be noted here that, for much of the period in which the Commission was able to accept human rights violations statements, the IFP discouraged its members and supporters from making submissions to the Commission. The result is that only about 10 per cent of all statements taken in KwaZulu-Natal came from people linked to the IFP. *The significant point is that the statistics derived from the Commission's database do not diverge from those published by other national and international bodies. All of these are consistent in identifying the IFP as the primary non-state perpetrator of gross human rights abuse in South Africa from the latter 1980s through to 1994.*

120 The description of the KwaZulu government and the IFP as state allies derives largely from the covert collaboration of senior Inkatha/IFP office-bearers with senior members of the SAP Security Branch and SADF Military Intelligence. This factor distinguished the IFP from other homeland-based perpetrators, particularly in the 1990s. At a time when it portrayed itself nationally and abroad as a liberation movement, the IFP, through the intervention of its senior members, was receiving direct financial and logistical assistance from the highest echelons of the apartheid state's security apparatus. Evidence before the Commission indicates that Inkatha's opposition to the South African government's policies had changed to covert collaboration by the latter half of the 1980s, and the two had united against a common enemy, the UDF/ANC and their affiliates.

121 The formal finding of the Commission in regard to the IFP is set out below:

DURING THE PERIOD 1982–94, THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY, KNOWN AS INKATHA PRIOR TO JULY 1990 (HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS "THE ORGANISATION") WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED IN THE FORMER TRANSVAAL, NATAL AND KWAZULU AGAINST :

- **PERSONS WHO WERE PERCEIVED TO BE LEADERS, MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS OF THE UDF, ANC, SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (SACP) AND COSATU;**
- **PERSONS WHO WERE IDENTIFIED AS POSING A THREAT TO THE ORGANISATION;**
- **MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS OF THE ORGANISATION WHOSE LOYALTY WAS DOUBTED.**

IT IS A FURTHER FINDING OF THE COMMISSION THAT SUCH VIOLATIONS FORMED PART OF A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE ORGANISATION.

THE COMMISSION BASED THIS FINDING ON THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS OF THE IFP:

- SPEECHES BY THE IFP PRESIDENT, SENIOR PARTY OFFICIALS AND PERSONS ALIGNED TO THE ORGANISATION'S IDEOLOGY, WHICH HAD THE EFFECT OF INCITING SUPPORTERS OF THE ORGANISATION TO COMMIT ACTS OF VIOLENCE;
- ARMING THE ORGANISATION'S SUPPORTERS WITH WEAPONS IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE ARMS AND AMMUNITION, AND EXPLOSIVES AND DANGEROUS WEAPONS ACTS;
- MASS ATTACKS BY SUPPORTERS OF THE ORGANISATION ON COMMUNITIES INHABITED BY PERSONS REFERRED TO ABOVE, RESULTING IN DEATH AND INJURY AND THE DESTRUCTION AND THEFT OF PROPERTY;
- KILLING OF LEADERS OF THE POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONS REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- COLLUSION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY FORCES TO COMMIT THE VIOLATIONS REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- ENTERING INTO A PACT WITH THE SADF TO CREATE A PARAMILITARY FORCE FOR THE ORGANISATION, WHICH WAS INTENDED TO AND DID CAUSE DEATH AND INJURY TO THE PERSONS REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- ESTABLISHING HIT SQUADS WITHIN THE KZP AND THE SPECIAL CONSTABLE STRUCTURE OF THE SAP TO KILL OR CAUSE INJURY TO THE PERSONS REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SELF-PROTECTION UNIT PROJECT, TRAINING LARGE NUMBERS OF THE ORGANISATION'S SUPPORTERS WITH THE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE OF PREVENTING, BY MEANS OF VIOLENCE, THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS IN KWAZULU-NATAL IN APRIL 1994, UNDER A CONSTITUTION WHICH DID NOT RECOGNISE THE ORGANISATION'S DEMANDS FOR SOVEREIGNTY. IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE, THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT AND ITS KWAZULU POLICE STRUCTURES WERE SUBVERTED;
- CONSPIRING WITH RIGHT-WING ORGANISATIONS AND FORMER MEMBERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY FORCES TO COMMIT ACTS WHICH RESULTED IN LOSS OF LIFE OR INJURY IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVE REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- CREATING A CLIMATE OF IMPUNITY BY EXPRESSLY OR IMPLICITLY CONDONING GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND OTHER UNLAWFUL ACTS COMMITTED BY MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS OF THE ORGANISATION.

CHIEF MG BUTHELEZI SERVED SIMULTANEOUSLY AS PRESIDENT OF THE IFP AND AS THE CHIEF MINISTER OF THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT AND WAS THE ONLY SERVING MINISTER OF POLICE IN THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT DURING THE ENTIRE THIRTEEN-YEAR EXISTENCE OF THE KWAZULU POLICE. WHERE THESE THREE AGENCIES ARE FOUND TO HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS, CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI IS HELD BY THIS COMMISSION TO BE ACCOUNTABLE IN HIS REPRESENTATIVE CAPACITY AS THE LEADER, HEAD OR RESPONSIBLE MINISTER OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED.

Other findings related to the IFP and/or KwaZulu government

- 122 The Commission also made comprehensive findings with regard to a number of key incidents involving members of the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal, all of which are dealt with in more detail in the Natal regional study in Volume Three of this report. The Commission has also made a finding on the KZP, which has been dealt with in the chapter on *Homelands* in Volume Two.

Operation Marion

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT IN 1986, THE SADF CONSPIRED WITH INKATHA TO PROVIDE THE LATTER WITH A COVERT, OFFENSIVE PARAMILITARY UNIT (OR "HIT SQUAD") TO BE DEPLOYED ILLEGALLY AGAINST PERSONS AND ORGANISATIONS PERCEIVED TO BE OPPOSED TO BOTH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND INKATHA. THE SADF PROVIDED TRAINING, FINANCIAL AND LOGISTICAL MANAGEMENT AND BEHIND-THE-SCENES SUPERVISION OF THE TRAINEES, WHO WERE TRAINED BY THE SPECIAL FORCES UNIT OF THE SADF IN THE CAPRIVI STRIP.

THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHERMORE THAT THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE PARAMILITARY UNIT IN KWAZULU LED TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE, AMONG OTHERS, ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS; MR PW BOTHA, GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN, CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, MR MZ KHUMALO, MR PIETER GROENEWALD, VICE ADMIRAL ANDRIES PUTTER, MR LOUIS BOTHA, MR CORNELIUS VAN NIEKERK AND MR MIKE VAN DEN BERG.

Esikhawini hit squad

IT IS THE FINDING OF THIS COMMISSION THAT IN 1990, SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE IFP CONSPIRED WITH SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE KZP TO ESTABLISH A HIT SQUAD IN ESIKHAWINI TOWNSHIP, TO BE DEPLOYED ILLEGALLY AGAINST PERSONS PERCEIVED TO BE OPPOSED TO THE IFP. THE HIT SQUAD CONSISTED OF 'CAPRIVI TRAINEES' AND MEMBERS OF THE KZP, AND ITS MEMBERS TOOK INSTRUCTIONS FROM SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE IFP AND OF THE KZP, FOR THE ELIMINATION OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS AFFILIATED TO THE ANC AND COSATU AS WELL AS MEMBERS OF THE SAP WHO WERE NOT SEEN TO BE SUPPORTIVE OF THE IFP. THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE HIT SQUAD LED TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING, ARSON AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT. THE PERSONS ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS INCLUDE: PRINCE GIDEON ZULU, MS LINDIWE MBUYAZI, MR BB BIYELA, CAPTAIN L LANGENI, MR MZ KHUMALO, MR ROBERT MZIMELA, CHIEF MATHABA AND MR ROBERT MKHIZE.

The Mlaba self-protection unit camp

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT DURING THE PERIOD 1993-94, THE INKATHA SELF-PROTECTION UNIT (SPU) PROJECT, BASED PRIMARILY AT MLABA CAMP, PROVIDED TRAINING FOR 5 000 TO 8 000 PEOPLE. ALTHOUGH OFFICIALLY PLACED WITHIN THE AMBIT OF THE PEACE ACCORD AND CONTAINING AN ELEMENT OF SELF-PROTECTION, THE PROJECT WAS ALSO INTENDED TO FURNISH THE IFP WITH THE MILITARY CAPACITY TO PREVENT THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT/INDEPENDENT

ELECTORAL COMMISSION BY FORCE FROM HOLDING ELECTIONS WHICH DID NOT ACCOMMODATE THE IFP'S DESIRES FOR SELF-DETERMINATION. SUCH ARMED RESISTANCE WAS TO ENTAIL THE RISK OF UNLAWFUL DEATH AND INJURY TO PERSONS AND THUS CONSTITUTED A CONSPIRACY TO COMMIT GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

CONSEQUENTLY IT IS THE FINDING OF THIS COMMISSION THAT THE SPU PROJECT CONSTITUTED A GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN AS FAR AS IT ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY AND MEMBERS OF THE THEN KWA-ZULU GOVERNMENT AND POLICE FORCE. THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS ARE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE VIOLATIONS ARISING FROM THE SPU CAMP: MR PHILIP POWELL, CHIEF MG BUTHELEZI, GENERAL SM MATHE, CAPTAIN LEONARD LANGENI AND MEMBERS (NOT INDIVIDUALLY IDENTIFIED) OF THE KWAZULU LEGISLATURE AND CABINET WHO KNEW OF THE PROJECT'S UNLAWFUL AIMS AND SUPPORTED IT.

Right-wing opposition groups

123 In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a number of Afrikaner right-wing groups became active in the political arena. They operated in a loose coalition intent on securing the political interests of conservative Afrikaners through a range of activities seemingly intent on disrupting the negotiations process then underway. Operating both within and outside of the negotiations process, members of these groups undertook actions which constituted gross violations of human rights.

124 In regard to these groups, the Commission makes the following findings:

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE *AFRIKANER VOLKSFRONT* AND STRUCTURES OPERATING UNDER ITS BROAD UMBRELLA WERE RESPONSIBLE, BETWEEN APRIL 1993 AND MAY 1994, FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF PERSONS PERCEIVED TO BE SUPPORTERS AND LEADERS OF THE ANC, SACP, UDF, PAC, NATIONAL PARTY AND OTHER GROUPS PERCEIVED NOT TO SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF AFRIKANER SELF-DETERMINATION OR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A *VOLKSTAAT*. TO THAT END, THE MOVEMENT'S POLITICAL LEADERS AND MILITARY GENERALS ADVOCATED THE USE OF VIOLENCE IN PURSUIT OF THE MOVEMENT'S AIMS AND/OR IN AN ATTEMPT TO MOBILISE FOR AN INSURRECTION.

THE COMMISSION BASED THIS FINDING ON:

- SPEECHES AND ORDERS BY THE MOVEMENT'S SENIOR LEADERS WHICH HAD THE EFFECT OF INCITING ITS SUPPORTERS TO COMMIT ACTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS PERCEIVED TO BE THE ENEMY OF THE AFRIKANER;
- THE ARMING OF SUPPORTERS WITH WEAPONS IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE LAW;
- RANDOM ATTACKS BY MEMBERS ON BLACK PERSONS;
- CLANDESTINE COLLUSION WITH MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES AND/OR THE IFP EITHER TO COMMIT THE VIOLATIONS CITED ABOVE OR TO TRAIN PARAMILITARY FORCES TO COMMIT ACTS WHICH RESULTED IN DEATH OR INJURY;

- THE TRAINING OF SUPPORTERS TO UNDERTAKE VIOLENT ACTIONS DESIGNED TO PREVENT ELECTIONS FROM BEING HELD IN 1994;
- THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A *VOLKSLEËR* AND OTHER PARAMILITARY GROUPINGS TO THREATEN INSURRECTION AND REVOLUTION WITH A VIEW TO DERAILING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.

BY VIRTUE OF THEIR LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN THE MOVEMENT, THE COMMISSION FINDS THE FOLLOWING TO BE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS COMMITTED BY SUPPORTERS OF THE MOVEMENT: GENERAL CONSTAND VILJOEN, GENERAL PIETER GROENEWALD AND MR EUGENE TERREBLANCHE.

125 Broadly similar findings are made against three other groupings, namely, the *Orde van die Boerevolk*, the *Boere Weerstandbeweging* and the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB).

Finding on the ‘third force’

126 The early 1990s saw unprecedented levels of violence: more people died in political conflict during this time than for the whole of the earlier mandate period. Numerous allegations were made that a ‘hidden hand’ or ‘third force’ was involved in orchestrating and fomenting such violence in order to derail the negotiation process. This ‘third force’ was seen to involve covert units of the security forces acting in concert with other individuals or groupings, such as the IFP and various right-wing paramilitary structures.

127 Regarding security force involvement in ‘third force’-type activities, the Commission found evidence of –

- a involvement by members of the security forces in the provision of weapons and training to the IFP;
- b a cover-up, following the arrest of Transvaal IFP youth leader Themba Khoza with weapons on the scene, of the identity of perpetrators of the Sebokeng massacre;
- c the involvement by MI operatives and structures in destabilisation in the homelands, including the development of a plan to invade the Transkei;
- d an official plan by MI to abduct and/or assassinate Mr Chris Hani and Mr Bantu Holomisa in the Transkei;
- e the existence of SAP hit-squads;

- f sustained efforts to conduct disinformation campaigns both against the liberation movements generally and against particular individuals;
 - g the activities of high-level security branch sources such as the ANC's Sifiso Nkabinde and the IFP's David Ntombela, who were deeply implicated in violence in the Richmond and Pietermaritzburg areas respectively.
- 128 In addition, the Commission found some evidence regarding the involvement of security force operatives and IFP members in train violence and in right-wing agendas and structures, possibly including the establishment of some right-wing groupings; the involvement of an MI source, Prince Gobingca, as a key player in several sites of violence in the western and eastern Cape; and the existence of alliances between certain security force operatives, the right-wing and sectors of the IFP, who clearly believed they were arming and training people for a full-scale war.
- 129 While little evidence exists of a centrally directed, coherent and formally constituted 'third force', on the basis of the above:

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT A NETWORK OF SECURITY AND EX-SECURITY FORCE OPERATIVES, OFTEN ACTING IN CONJUNCTION WITH RIGHT-WING ELEMENTS AND/OR SECTORS OF THE IFP, FOMENTED, INITIATED, FACILITATED AND ENGAGED IN VIOLENCE WHICH RESULTED IN GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING RANDOM AND TARGETED KILLINGS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUCH NETWORKS HAD ESTABLISHED 'PARTNERSHIPS' DURING THE 1980S WITH PRO-GOVERNMENT INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS AT A LOCAL LEVEL WHICH THEN ACTED IN CONCERT TO PERPETRATE SUCH VIOLATIONS. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT THE SANCTION OF ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES BY SECURITY FORCE OPERATIVES DURING THE 1980S PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR THEIR CONTINUATION IN THE 1990S.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUCH NETWORKS, AT TIMES, FUNCTIONED WITH THE ACTIVE COLLUSION AND/OR KNOWLEDGE OF SENIOR SECURITY FORCE PERSONNEL, AND THAT THE FORMER GOVERNMENT, EITHER DELIBERATELY OR BY OMISSION, FAILED TO TAKE SUFFICIENT STEPS TO PUT AN END TO SUCH PRACTICES.

THE COMMISSION ALSO FINDS THAT THE SUCCESS OF 'THIRD FORCE' ATTEMPTS TO GENERATE VIOLENCE WAS AT LEAST IN PART A CONSEQUENCE OF EXTREMELY HIGH LEVELS OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE, FOR WHICH BOTH THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND OTHER STRUCTURES SUCH AS THE IFP ARE HELD TO BE MORALLY AND POLITICALLY ACCOUNTABLE.

■ THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

- 130 This section includes the Commission's findings on the ANC, PAC, UDF and on ANC national executive member, Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

- 131 In reviewing the activities of the ANC and PAC, the Commission endorsed the position in international law that the policy of apartheid was a crime against humanity and that both the ANC and PAC were internationally recognised liberation movements conducting legitimate struggles against the former South African government and its policy of apartheid.
- 132 Nonetheless, as indicated previously, the Commission drew a distinction between a 'just war' and 'just means' and has found that in terms of international conventions, the ANC and its organs (the National Executive Council, the National Working Committee, the Revolutionary Council, the Secretariat and its armed wing, MK, as well as the PAC and its armed formations Poqo and APLA, committed gross violations of human rights in the course of their political activities and armed struggles, for which they are morally and politically accountable.
- 133 The Commission also wishes to note that the fact that the Commission makes a more detailed finding and comments more extensively on the ANC than on the PAC should not be interpreted as suggesting that the Commission finds it to have been more responsible for gross violations of human rights than the PAC. This is not the case. Instead, what it reflects is the far greater degree of openness to the Commission of the ANC than the PAC. The ANC made two full submissions to the Commission, answered its questions on the exile camps and made available to the Commission its various enquiry reports into alleged human rights abuses in exile. By contrast, the PAC offered very little by way of information on any of its activities, including exile abuses, and supplied no documentation.
- 134 The Commission has taken note that of the three main parties to the armed struggle – the state, the ANC and the PAC – only the ANC signed the Geneva Convention in regard to the conduct of wars of national liberation, and made the most conscious effort to conduct its armed struggle within the framework of international humanitarian law. While actions were undertaken which violated the ANC's guidelines – and the Commission has made adverse findings on them – the Commission acknowledges that it was in general not ANC policy to target civilians. By contrast, the PAC consciously targeted certain categories of civilians, and whites in general, and the Commission has made findings in this regard.
- 135 The Commission acknowledges the comparative restraint with which the ANC conducted its armed struggle, at least in terms of its identification of targets, and the fact that the ANC leadership instructed its MK cadres to abandon the landmine campaign when it became clear that innocent civilians were being killed and hurt by it.

Findings on the African National Congress

Our conference itself will be remembered by our people as a council of war that planned the seizure of power by these masses, the penultimate convention that gave the order for us to take our country through the terrible but cleansing fires of revolutionary war to a condition of peace. (OR Tambo, Tambo Speaks.)

To the extent that the Motsuenyane Commission found that some detainees were maltreated and recommended that the ANC should apologise for these violations of their human rights, the ANC does so without qualification, within the context of the standards it sets for itself – standards it wishes our country to attain and maintain, now and in the future. (First ANC first submission to the Commission.)

'The political and operational leadership of the movement is ready to accept collective responsibility for all operations of its properly constituted offensive structures, including operations ... that might have been outside of the established norms. (Mr Thabo Mbeki, Ibid.)

Violations committed in the course of the armed struggle

- 136 The ANC has accepted responsibility for all actions committed by members of MK under its command in the period 1961 to August 1990. In this period there were a number of such actions – in particular the placing of limpet and landmines – which resulted in civilian casualties. Whatever the justification given by the ANC for such acts – misinterpretation of policy, poor surveillance, anger or differing interpretations of what constituted a 'legitimate military target' – the people who were killed or injured by such explosions are all victims of gross violations of human rights perpetrated by the ANC. While it is accepted that targeting civilians was not ANC policy, MK operations nonetheless ended up killing fewer security force members than civilians.

WITH REGARD TO ACTIONS COMMITTED DURING THE ARMED STRUGGLE, THE COMMISSION MAKES THE FOLLOWING FINDINGS:

WHILE IT WAS ANC POLICY THAT THE LOSS OF CIVILIAN LIFE SHOULD BE 'AVOIDED', THERE WERE INSTANCES WHERE MEMBERS OF MK PERPETRATED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THAT THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN TARGETS WAS BLURRED IN CERTAIN ARMED ACTIONS, SUCH AS THE 1983 CHURCH STREET BOMBING OF THE SAAF HEAD-QUARTERS, RESULTING IN GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH CIVILIAN INJURY AND LOSS OF LIFE.

IN THE COURSE OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE THERE WERE INSTANCES WHERE MEMBERS OF MK CONDUCTED UNPLANNED MILITARY OPERATIONS USING THEIR OWN DISCRETION, AND, WITHOUT ADEQUATE CONTROL AND SUPERVISION AT AN OPERATIONAL LEVEL, DETERMINED TARGETS FOR ATTACK OUTSIDE OF OFFICIAL POLICY GUIDELINES. WHILE RECOGNISING THAT SUCH OPERATIONS WERE FREQUENTLY UNDERTAKEN IN RETALIATION FOR RAIDS BY THE FORMER SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT INTO NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES, SUCH UNPLANNED OPERATIONS NONETHELESS OFTEN RESULTED IN CIVILIAN INJURY AND LOSS OF LIFE, AMOUNTING TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE 1985 AMANZIMTOTI SHOPPING CENTRE BOMBING IS REGARDED BY THE COMMISSION IN THIS LIGHT.

IN THE COURSE OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE THE ANC, THROUGH MK, PLANNED AND UNDERTOOK MILITARY OPERATIONS WHICH, THOUGH INTENDED FOR MILITARY OR SECURITY FORCE TARGETS, SOMETIMES WENT AWRY FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS, INCLUDING POOR INTELLIGENCE AND RECONNAISSANCE. THE CONSEQUENCES IN THESE CASES, SUCH AS THE MAGOO'S BAR AND DURBAN ESPLANADE BOMBINGS, WERE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN RESPECT OF THE INJURIES TO AND LOSS OF LIVES OF CIVILIANS.

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

INDIVIDUALS WHO DEFECTED TO THE STATE AND BECAME INFORMERS AND/OR MEMBERS WHO BECAME STATE WITNESSES IN POLITICAL TRIALS AND/OR BECAME ASKARIS WERE OFTEN LABELLED BY THE ANC AS COLLABORATORS AND REGARDED AS LEGITIMATE TARGETS TO BE KILLED. THE COMMISSION DOES NOT CONDONE THE LEGITIMISATION OF SUCH INDIVIDUALS AS MILITARY TARGETS AND FINDS THAT THE EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS OF SUCH INDIVIDUALS CONSTITUTED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN THE 1980S IN PARTICULAR, A NUMBER OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WERE PERPETRATED NOT BY DIRECT MEMBERS OF THE ANC OR THOSE OPERATING UNDER ITS FORMAL COMMAND, BUT BY CIVILIANS WHO SAW THEMSELVES AS ANC SUPPORTERS. IN THIS REGARD, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ANC IS MORALLY AND POLITICALLY ACCOUNTABLE FOR CREATING A CLIMATE IN WHICH SUCH SUPPORTERS BELIEVED THEIR ACTIONS TO BE LEGITIMATE AND CARRIED OUT WITHIN THE BROAD PARAMETERS OF A 'PEOPLE'S WAR' AS ENUNCIATED BY THE ANC.

Gross violations of human rights committed by the ANC in exile

- 137 The Commission has studied the reports of the Stuart, Skweyiya, Sachs and Motsuenyane commissions of enquiry appointed by the ANC, as well as that of the Douglas Commission, into various forms of human rights abuse in exile. It also took evidence both from alleged victims of abuse in the camps and from those

in positions of command or authority. The Commission has also heard evidence from the ANC on persons executed in exile for a variety of different offences.

ON THE BASIS OF THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO IT, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE ANC, AND PARTICULARLY ITS MILITARY STRUCTURES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TREATMENT AND WELFARE OF THOSE IN ITS CAMPS, WERE GUILTY OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES AND AGAINST TWO CATEGORIES OF INDIVIDUALS, NAMELY SUSPECTED 'ENEMY AGENTS' AND MUTINEERS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT SUSPECTED 'AGENTS' WERE ROUTINELY SUBJECTED TO TORTURE AND OTHER FORMS OF SEVERE ILL TREATMENT AND THAT THERE WERE CASES OF SUCH INDIVIDUALS BEING CHARGED AND CONVICTED BY TRIBUNALS WITHOUT PROPER ATTENTION TO DUE PROCESS, SENTENCED TO DEATH AND EXECUTED. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUALS SO AFFECTED WERE GROSSLY VIOLATED. LIKEWISE, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE FAILURE TO COMMUNICATE PROPERLY WITH THE FAMILIES OF SUCH VICTIMS CONSTITUTED CALLOUS AND INSENSITIVE CONDUCT.

THE COMMISSION ALSO FINDS THAT ALL SO-CALLED MUTINEERS WHO WERE EXECUTED AFTER CONVICTION BY MILITARY TRIBUNAL, IRRESPECTIVE OF WHETHER THEY WERE AFFORDED PROPER LEGAL REPRESENTATION AND DUE PROCESS OR NOT, SUFFERED A GROSS VIOLATION OF THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS.

WITH REGARD TO ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT ALTHOUGH TORTURE WAS NOT WITHIN ANC POLICY, THE SECURITY DEPARTMENT OF THE ANC ROUTINELY USED TORTURE TO EXTRACT INFORMATION AND CONFESSIONS FROM THOSE BEING HELD IN CAMPS, PARTICULARLY IN THE PERIOD 1979-89. THE COMMISSION HAS TAKEN NOTE OF THE VARIOUS FORMS OF TORTURE DETAILED BY THE MOTSUENYANE COMMISSION, NAMELY THE DELIBERATE INFLICTION OF PAIN, SEVERE ILL TREATMENT IN THE FORM OF DETENTION IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT, AND THE DELIBERATE WITHHOLDING OF FOOD AND WATER AND/OR MEDICAL CARE, AND FINDS THAT THEY AMOUNTED TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION FURTHER FINDS THAT ADEQUATE STEPS WERE NOT TAKEN IN GOOD TIME AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS.

Gross violations of human rights committed by the ANC after its unbanning

- 138 While the Commission accepts that the violent conflict which consumed the country in the post-1990 period was neither initiated by nor in the interests of the ANC, the ANC must nonetheless account for the many hundreds of people killed or injured by its members in the conflict. While the ANC leadership has argued that its members were acting in self-defence, it is the Commission's view that at times the conflict assumed local dynamics in which proactive revenge attacks were carried out by both sides. This situation was exacerbated by high levels of political intolerance among all parties, including the ANC.

Further, the Commission contends that the leadership should have been aware of the consequences of training and arming members of SDUs in a volatile situation in which they had little control over the actions of such members.

THE COMMISSION THEREFORE FINDS THAT IN THE PERIOD 1990-94, THE ANC WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR:

- KILLINGS, ASSAULTS AND ATTACKS ON POLITICAL OPPONENTS INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE IFP, PAC, AZAPO AND THE SAP;
- CONTRIBUTING TO A SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRY THROUGH THE CREATION AND ARMING OF SELF-DEFENCE UNITS (SDUS). WHILST ACKNOWLEDGING THAT IT WAS NOT THE POLICY OF THE ANC TO ATTACK AND KILL POLITICAL OPPONENTS, THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF ADEQUATE COMMAND STRUCTURES AND IN THE CONTEXT OF WIDESPREAD STATE-SPONSORED OR -DIRECTED VIOLENCE AND A CLIMATE OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE, SDU MEMBERS OFTEN 'TOOK THE LAW INTO THEIR OWN HANDS' AND COMMITTED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE COMMISSION TAKES NOTE THAT THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE COMMAND STRUCTURE OF UMKHONTO WESIZWE HAS ACCEPTED POLITICAL AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL THE ACTIONS OF ITS MEMBERS IN THE PERIOD 1960-94 AND THEREFORE FINDS THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ANC AND MK MUST TAKE RESPONSIBILITY, AND BE ACCOUNTABLE, FOR ALL GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS PERPETRATED BY ITS MEMBERSHIP AND CADRES IN THE MANDATE PERIOD.

Findings in regard to Mrs Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and the Mandela Football Club

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA WAS CENTRAL TO THE ESTABLISHMENT AND FORMATION OF THE MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB, WHICH LATER DEVELOPED INTO A PRIVATE VIGILANTE UNIT OPERATING AROUND MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA AND FROM HER HOUSES IN BOTH ORLANDO WEST AND DIEPKLOOF. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE COMMUNITY ANGER AGAINST MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA AND THE FOOTBALL CLUB MANIFESTED ITSELF IN THE BURNING OF THE MANDELA HOME IN ORLANDO WEST IN JULY 1988, WHICH LED TO POLITICAL, COMMUNITY AND CHURCH LEADERS REQUESTING THAT SHE DISBAND THE FOOTBALL CLUB.

THE COMMISSION FURTHER FINDS THAT THE MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB WAS INVOLVED IN A NUMBER OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES INCLUDING KILLING, TORTURE, ASSAULTS AND ARSON IN THE COMMUNITY. IT IS THE COMMISSION'S VIEW THAT MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA WAS AWARE OF THE CRIMINAL ACTIVITY AND THE DISQUIET IT CAUSED IN THE COMMUNITY, BUT CHOSE DELIBERATELY NOT TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS EMANATING FROM THE FOOTBALL CLUB. THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THOSE WHO OPPOSED MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA AND THE MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB, OR DISSENTED FROM THEM, WERE BRANDED AS INFORMERS, AND KILLED. THE LABELLING BY MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA OF OPPONENTS AS INFORMERS CREATED THE PERCEPTION THAT THEY WERE LEGITIMATE TARGETS. IT IS THE FINDING OF THIS COMMISSION THAT MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA HAD KNOWLEDGE OF AND/OR PARTICIPATED IN THE ACTIVITIES OF CLUB MEMBERS, AND/OR THAT THEY WERE AUTHORISED AND/OR SANCTIONED BY HER.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT MS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA FAILED TO ACCOUNT TO COMMUNITY AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES. FURTHER THAT SHE IS ACCOUNTABLE, POLITICALLY AND MORALLY,

FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED BY THE MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB. THE COMMISSION FINDS FURTHER THAT MRS MADIKIZELA-MANDELA HERSELF WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR COMMITTING SUCH GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

Findings in regard to the Pan Africanist Congress

The enemy of the liberation movement of South Africa and of its people was always the settler colonial regime of South Africa. Reduced to its simplest form, the apartheid regime meant white domination, not leadership, but control and supremacy. The pillars of apartheid protecting white South Africa from the black danger, were the military and the process of arming of the entire white South African society. This militarisation, therefore, of necessity made every white citizen a member of the security establishment. (Brigadier Mofokeng, armed forces hearing)

- 139 Within the context of the international position on apartheid and the recognition of the PAC as a liberation movement, the Commission makes the following findings:

Violations committed by POQO in the early 1960s

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

- MEMBERS OF THE POLICE, PARTICULARLY THOSE LIVING IN BLACK TOWNSHIPS;
- THE SO-CALLED 'KATANGESE', DISSIDENT MEMBERS OF THE PAC WHO OPPOSED THE CAMPAIGN AND WERE SUBJECTED TO PHYSICAL ATTACKS AND ASSASSINATIONS BY OTHER POQO MEMBERS;
- REPRESENTATIVES OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY IN THE HOMELANDS, THAT IS, CHIEFS AND HEADMEN;
- WHITE CIVILIANS IN NON-COMBAT SITUATIONS.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE PAC ACCOUNTABLE FOR SUCH VIOLATIONS.

Gross violations of human rights committed by the PAC during its armed struggle

- 140 While the PAC proclaimed a military strategy of a protracted people's war, which involved the infiltration of guerrillas into the country to conduct rural guerrilla warfare

and attacks in the townships, in actuality the primary target of its operations were civilians. This was especially so after 1990 when, in terms of its 'Year of the Great Storm' campaign, the PAC/APLA targeted whites at random, and white farmers in particular.

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

Gross violations of human rights committed by the PAC against its own members

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT NUMBERS OF MEMBERS OF THE PAC WERE EXTRA-JUDICIALLY KILLED IN EXILE, PARTICULARLY IN CAMPS IN TANZANIA, BY APLA CADRES ACTING ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF ITS HIGH COMMAND, AND THAT MEMBERS INSIDE THE COUNTRY BRANDED AS INFORMERS OR AGENTS, AND THOSE WHO OPPOSED PAC POLICIES, WERE ALSO KILLED. ALL SUCH ACTIONS CONSTITUTED INSTANCES OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE PAC AND APLA ARE HELD TO BE RESPONSIBLE AND ACCOUNTABLE.

Findings in regard to the United Democratic Front (UDF)

Having looked at this question long and hard among us, we conceded that the language used by some of us from time to time could have provided the reasonable basis for some of our members to infer that violence or even killing was acceptable. (Mr Azhar Cachalia, UDF appearance before the Commission.)

... we accept political and moral responsibility. We cannot say these people have nothing to do with us. We organised them, we led them. (Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF appearance before the Commission.)

- 141 The UDF, launched in August 1983, was a loose federation which brought together a large number of social, civic and political organisations of differing class backgrounds, racial constituency and political orientation. The UDF was intended as a vehicle to bring together under a single umbrella the various political opponents of race-based government reforms. It sought to achieve a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa. Although its founding document stated that it was not a front for banned liberation movements, the UDF was increasingly supportive of the ANC.

142 Because of its organisationally based membership, the UDF was the rallying point for a wide range of affiliates comprising youth and civic organisations, scholar and student organisations, church and welfare societies, trade unions, sporting and cultural organisations, and political and quasi-political organisations. It was able to mobilise very large groups of people for rallies and meetings, which were characterised by powerful oratory and wide-ranging demands for political change.

143 From 1985, the UDF sought to dismantle government and security force control and administration. It further sought to promote and enact the concept of 'people's power', which envisaged administrative, welfare and judicial functions in the townships being assumed by community-based and sectoral organisations. This included the establishment of forums to administer civil and criminal justice through 'people's courts'.

144 The Commission makes the following findings in respect of the UDF:

THE COMMISSION ACKNOWLEDGES THAT IT WAS NOT THE POLICY OF THE UDF TO ATTACK AND KILL POLITICAL OPPONENTS, BUT FINDS THAT MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF UDF AFFILIATE ORGANISATIONS OFTEN COMMITTED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CONTEXT OF WIDESPREAD STATE-SPONSORED OR -DIRECTED VIOLENCE AND A CLIMATE OF POLITICAL INTOLERANCE.

THE UDF FACILITATED SUCH GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THAT ITS LEADERS, OFFICE-BEARERS AND MEMBERS, THROUGH THEIR CAMPAIGNS, PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES, ACTED IN A MANNER WHICH HELPED CREATE A CLIMATE IN WHICH MEMBERS OF AFFILIATED ORGANISATIONS BELIEVED THAT THEY WERE MORALLY JUSTIFIED IN TAKING UNLAWFUL ACTION AGAINST STATE STRUCTURES, INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF STATE ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONS PERCEIVED AS SUPPORTERS OF THE STATE AND ITS STRUCTURES. FURTHER, IN ITS ENDORSEMENT AND PROMOTION OF THE 'TOYI-TOYI', SLOGANS AND SONGS THAT ENCOURAGED AND/OR EULOGISED VIOLENT ACTIONS, THE UDF CREATED A CLIMATE IN WHICH SUCH ACTIONS WERE CONSIDERED LEGITIMATE. INASMUCH AS THE STATE IS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE USE OF LANGUAGE IN SPEECHES AND SLOGANS, SO TOO MUST THE MASS DEMOCRATIC AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT FACTORS REFERRED TO IN THE PARAGRAPH ABOVE LED TO WIDESPREAD EXCESSES, ABUSES AND GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY SUPPORTERS AND MEMBERS OF ORGANISATIONS AFFILIATED TO THE UDF. THESE ACTIONS INCLUDE:

- THE KILLING (OFTEN BY MEANS OF 'NECKLACING'), ATTEMPTED KILLING, AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS, MEMBERS OF STATE STRUCTURES SUCH AS BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THE SAP, AND THE BURNING AND DESTRUCTION OF HOMES AND PROPERTIES;
- THE VIOLENT ENFORCEMENT OF WORK STAY AWAYS AND BOYCOTTS OF, AMONG OTHERS, PRIVATE AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT AND PRIVATE RETAIL SHOPS, LEADING TO KILLING, ATTEMPTED KILLING, AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT;

- POLITICAL INTOLERANCE RESULTING IN VIOLENT INTER-ORGANISATIONAL CONFLICT WITH AZAPO AND THE IFP, AMONG OTHERS;

THE UDF AND ITS LEADERSHIP:

- FAILED TO EXERT THE POLITICAL AND MORAL AUTHORITY AVAILABLE TO IT TO STOP THE PRACTICES OUTLINED ABOVE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT SUCH PRACTICES WERE FREQUENTLY ASSOCIATED WITH OFFICIAL UDF CAMPAIGNS SUCH AS CONSUMER BOYCOTTS OR CAMPAIGNS AGAINST BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES. IN PARTICULAR, THE UDF AND ITS LEADERSHIP FAILED TO USE THE FULL EXTENT OF SUCH AUTHORITY TO BRING AN END TO THE PRACTICE OF NECKLACING, COMMITTED IN MANY INSTANCES BY ITS MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS.
- FAILED TO TAKE APPROPRIATELY STRONG OR ROBUST STEPS OR MEASURES TO PREVENT, DISCOURAGE, RESTRAIN AND INHIBIT ITS AFFILIATES AND SUPPORTERS FROM BECOMING INVOLVED IN ACTION LEADING TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AS REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- FAILED TO EXERT SANCTIONS OR DISCIPLINARY ACTION ON MEMBER ORGANISATIONS WHOSE MEMBERS WERE INVOLVED IN THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS DESCRIBED ABOVE, OR FAILED TO URGE SUCH MEMBER ORGANISATIONS TO TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTIONS AGAINST THEIR MEMBERS

THE COMMISSION NOTES THAT THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UDF HAS ACCEPTED POLITICAL AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ACTIONS OF ITS MEMBERS. ACCORDINGLY THE UDF IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED IN ITS NAME AND AS A CONSEQUENCE OF ITS FAILURE TO TAKE THE STEPS REFERRED TO ABOVE.

Finding in respect of the killing of IFP office-bearers

- 145 The IFP submitted a list of over 400 alleged office-bearers who, according to the IFP, had been deliberately targeted and killed by structures of the ANC and its affiliates. The IFP's submission made it clear that it believed that the killings were part of a deliberate pattern of behaviour on the part of the ANC – or in the words of the IFP, “serial killing”. The Durban office of the Commission conducted an intensive investigation into those incidents that occurred in former Natal and KwaZulu and produced an extremely detailed and comprehensive report.
- 146 A significant percentage of the incidents on the list fell outside of the Commission's mandate, in that they occurred after the cut-off date of April 1994, and the Commission was thus not able to investigate these. However, it would be safe to assume, from the nature of the information supplied by the IFP, that the trends and patterns with regard to these incidents would be similar to those which the Commission was able to investigate. As indicated above, those incidents occurring in the Transvaal also fell outside of the scope of this investigation, owing to a limited investigative capacity.

- 147 The Commission investigated 289 incidents. Of these it was unable to corroborate 136. In many of these cases, despite searches of inquest court records, police dockets and government departments supplying birth and death certificates, no trace whatsoever of the individuals could be found. In each of these cases, further information was sought from the IFP, without any success.
- 148 With regard to the remaining 153 incidents, the Commission did not verify as to whether the deceased were, in fact, office-bearers of the IFP, and accepted the *bona fides* of the IFP in this regard. However, in a small number of incidents, death certificates show that the deceased were children, and were patently not office-bearers.
- 149 The Commission was able to identify the perpetrators or their political allegiance, or both, in ninety of the 289 incidents.
- a UDF/ANC-aligned paramilitary structures were implicated in the killing of thirty-nine IFP office-bearers.
 - b UDF/ANC community members or youth were implicated in the killing of thirty IFP office-bearers. These killings took place within the context of the ongoing IFP/ANC conflict.
 - c MK cadres were implicated in the killing of seven IFP office-bearers.
 - d UDF/ANC-aligned extra-judicial tribunals (people's courts) were implicated in the killing of eight IFP office-bearers. The primary reasons found for these killings concerned matters such as witchcraft, personal relationships and crime.
 - e Members of the SAP were implicated in the killing of four IFP office-bearers, in the course of confiscating illegal weapons.
 - f IFP members were implicated in the killing of six IFP office-bearers due to internal rivalry within the IFP.
 - g Non-political criminals were implicated in the killing of four IFP office-bearers, in the course of ordinary criminal activities such as burglary.
 - h In three incidents, the deceased died in motor vehicle accidents or as a result of personal/domestic disputes.
 - i In four incidents, investigations proved that the 'deceased' were not in fact dead.

150 Accordingly, investigations reveal that ANC, UDF or MK structures were responsible for the killing of seventy-six IFP office-bearers during the period 1985 to 1994. In only two of the incidents did the perpetrators hold leadership positions in the UDF, ANC or MK. In eight of the incidents, the killings were administered by people's courts and it was not possible to establish whether IFP members had been targeted because of their IFP membership. However, given the history of the conflict, it would seem safe to assume that membership of the IFP would have been a factor.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, IN SEVENTY-SIX INCIDENTS, THE DECEASED WERE DELIBERATELY TARGETED BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT THEY HELD POSITIONS WITHIN THE IFP. THE KILLINGS OF THE IFP OFFICE-BEARERS AMOUNT TO A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE, ENTAILING DELIBERATE PLANNING, AND CONSTITUTE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR WHICH THE RESPECTIVE LOCAL STRUCTURES OF THE UDF, ANC AND MK ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

■ CIVIL SOCIETY

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

151 The Commission sought and received a number of submissions from organisations representing specific sectors of civil society. These sectors, while generally not directly involved in gross violations of human rights, were structurally part of an overall system designed to protect the rights and privileges of a racial minority. Many, such as the media and organised religion, exerted immense influence, not least of which was their capacity to influence the ideas and morals of generations of South Africans. In a society organised not only along lines of race but of class as well, professional bodies representing lawyers and doctors were frequently seen to be the custodians of scientific knowledge and impartiality. As such, their failure to oppose the injustice around them vociferously and actively, contributed in no small way to an ethos and climate that supported the *status quo* and isolated those who did oppose injustice.

- 152 It should be noted that in almost every sector, complicity relates both to the continuing perpetuation of race-based systems and structures and to a failure to speak out against the gross violations of human rights occurring throughout the society.
- 153 The Commission also notes that within these sectors, there were pockets of individuals, sometimes organised into formal structures, that did indeed resist apartheid and other injustices, and sometimes paid dearly for their stance. Many of these structures were isolated by the mainstream bodies and were frequently cast as 'fringe' elements. There were not many who chose this path. Had their number been greater, and had they not been so harassed and isolated by both government and the professions, the moral bankruptcy of apartheid would have been more quickly and starkly exposed. To their credit, most representatives of the various civil society sectors who appeared before the Commission acknowledged their omissions and failures and apologised for them.
- 154 The following are the main findings of the Commission in respect of the health, faith, media and judicial sectors. It should be noted that more comprehensive and specific findings are contained in the various sector reports in Volume Four. Finally, the Commission had neither the time nor the resources to explore the area of civil society exhaustively. As indicated earlier, a number of crucial sectors, such as education, were not subjected to scrutiny. Many of the findings set out below apply in general terms to such sectors.

The health sector

- 155 Little evidence was found of the direct involvement of health professionals in gross violations of human rights. However, the health sector, through apathy, acceptance of the *status quo* and acts of omission, allowed the creation of an environment in which the health of millions of South Africans was neglected, even at times actively compromised, and in which violations of moral and ethical codes of practice were frequent, facilitating violations of human rights.

THE COMMISSION THUS FINDS THAT:

THE FORMER GOVERNMENT, AND MORE SPECIFICALLY THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, FAILED TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE FACILITIES TO BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS.

THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, THE SADF, THE SAP AND PRISONS SERVICE FAILED TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE TRAINING, SUPPORT AND ETHICAL GUIDANCE TO HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONALS IN THEIR EMPLOY, THUS FREQUENTLY SUBJUGATING THE INTERESTS OF THE PATIENT/CLIENT TO THOSE OF THE STATE OR THE EMPLOYER.

PROFESSIONAL MEDICAL BODIES AND ASSOCIATED STRUCTURES FAILED TO FULFIL THEIR PROFESSIONAL DUTY AND STATED AIM OF PROTECTING THE HEALTH OF PATIENTS, BY NEGLECTING TO DRAW ATTENTION, AMONGST OTHER THINGS, TO THE EFFECTS OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF APARTHEID ON THE HEALTH OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS.

SEGREGATED HEALTH CARE AND UNEQUAL BUDGETARY ALLOCATIONS WERE DETRIMENTAL TO THE PROVISION OF HEALTH CARE IN QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE TERMS AND RESULTED IN GROSS INEQUALITIES IN TERMS OF FACILITIES, RESOURCES AND TRAINING.

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT IS A FORM OF TORTURE, AND DETENTION HAD A SEVERE IMPACT ON THE HEALTH OF CHILDREN DETAINEES. THE MEDICAL PROFESSION FAILED TO TAKE A SUFFICIENTLY ROBUST STAND AGAINST SUCH PRACTICES.

THE STATUTORY COUNCILS AND PROFESSIONAL BODIES REPRESENTED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY THE WHITE MALE MINDSET, THUS IGNORING THE NEEDS AND INTERESTS OF MILLIONS OF SOUTH AFRICANS. NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO ADDRESS THIS PROBLEM AND IMPROVE REPRESENTIVITY.

STATUTORY COUNCILS AND PROFESSIONAL BODIES FAILED TO CONDUCT PROPER INVESTIGATIONS INTO ALLEGATIONS OF MISCONDUCT BY DOCTORS AND NURSES AGAINST POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DETAINEES.

DISTRICT SURGEONS, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, FAILED TO RECORD COMPLAINTS AND/OR REPORT ALLEGATIONS AND EVIDENCE OF TORTURE AND ABUSE OF POLITICAL DETAINEES, THUS ENABLING SUCH PRACTICES TO CONTINUE UNABATED FOR YEARS.

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

THE LIMITATION OF THE COUNCILS' ABILITY TO INSTIGATE PROACTIVE INVESTIGATIONS INTO MISCONDUCT OFTEN ENABLED SUCH MISCONDUCT TO CONTINUE UNCHECKED. NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO CONFRONT THIS PROBLEM.

Faith communities

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT CHRISTIANITY, AS THE DOMINANT RELIGION IN SOUTH AFRICA, PROMOTED THE IDEOLOGY OF APARTHEID IN A RANGE OF DIFFERENT WAYS THAT INCLUDED BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL TEACHING IN SUPPORT OF APARTHEID; ECCLESIASTICAL APARTHEID BY APPOINTING MINISTERS TO CONGREGATIONS BASED ON RACE, AND THE PAYMENT OF UNEQUAL STIPENDS; A FAILURE TO SUPPORT DISSIDENT CLERGY WHO FOUND THEMSELVES IN CONFRONTATION WITH THE STATE; AND A FAILURE TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC SUPPORT TO THOSE MOST SEVERELY AFFECTED BY APARTHEID.

THE FAILURE OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES TO GIVE ADEQUATE EXPRESSION TO THE ETHICAL TEACHING OF THEIR RESPECTIVE TRADITIONS, ALL OF WHICH STAND IN DIRECT CONTRADICTION TO APARTHEID, CONTRIBUTED TO A CLIMATE WITHIN WHICH APARTHEID WAS ABLE TO SURVIVE. THE FAILURE OF THE CHURCHES IN THIS REGARD CONTRIBUTED TO THE PERPETUATION OF THE MYTH, PREVALENT IN CERTAIN CIRCLES, THAT APARTHEID WAS BOTH A MORAL AND CHRISTIAN INITIATIVE IN A HOSTILE AND UNGODLY WORLD.

CHAPLAINS, PROVIDED BY THE CHURCHES TO SERVE THE MILITARY, THE POLICE AND OTHER UNIFORMED SERVICES, WORE THE UNIFORMS OF THESE SERVICES, ENJOYED THE RANK OF ARMED PERSONNEL, AND SOME CARRIED SIDE ARMS. THEY WERE PART OF THE ILLEGAL CROSS-BORDER ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT BY THE MILITARY, AND THEY ACCOMPANIED TROOPS INTO THE TOWNSHIPS AND OTHER INTERNAL SITUATIONS OF CONFLICT ON OCCASION. THEY WERE SEEN TO BE SUPPORTIVE OF THE OFFENSIVE STRUCTURES OF THE FORMER STATE. CHURCHES MUST THEREFORE ACCEPT MORAL ACCOUNTABILITY FOR PROVIDING RELIGIOUS SANCTION AND THEOLOGICAL LEGITIMISATION FOR MANY ACTIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES.

IT IS THE FINDING OF THE COMMISSION THAT RELIGIOUS PROSELYTISING AND RELIGIOUS-BASED NATIONALISM HAVE NOT ONLY SOWN THE SEEDS OF INTER-RELIGIOUS SUSPICION, DISTRUST AND STRIFE, BUT THEY HAVE ALSO CONTRIBUTED DIRECTLY TO RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED CONFLICT. RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES MUST TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ACTIONS OF THEIR FOLLOWERS IN THIS REGARD.

The business sector

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

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT:

THE DENIAL OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS TO BLACK WORKERS CONSTITUTED A VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. ACTIONS TAKEN AGAINST TRADE UNIONS BY THE STATE, AT TIMES WITH THE COLLUSION OF CERTAIN BUSINESSES, FREQUENTLY LED TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE BUSINESS SECTOR FAILED, IN THE HEARINGS, TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS INVOLVEMENT IN STATE SECURITY INITIATIVES, INCLUDING THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH THE NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM, SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED TO SUSTAIN APARTHEID RULE. SEVERAL BUSINESSES, IN TURN, BENEFITED DIRECTLY FROM THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN THE COMPLEX WEB THAT CONSTITUTED THE MILITARY INDUSTRY.

The media

- 157 State restrictions on the freedom of the media played an important role in facilitating gross violations of human rights. These restrictions grew in intensity until more than 100 laws controlled the right to publish and broadcast. Although not themselves a gross violation of human rights, the restrictions denied South Africans the right to a free flow of information and ideas. At their worst, particularly during the successive states of emergency after 1985, the restrictions amounted to

pre-publication censorship of information on state-inspired and state-sanctioned violations.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT:

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE MAINSTREAM ENGLISH LANGUAGE MEDIA OFTEN ADOPTED A POLICY OF APPEASEMENT TOWARDS THE STATE, ENSURING A LARGE MEASURE OF SELF-CENSORSHIP. THE ROLE OF THE NEWSPAPER PRESS UNION – NOT LEAST CONCERNING SECURITY MEASURES – REFLECTS A WILLINGNESS BY THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA NOT TO DEAL WITH MATTERS THAT EXPOSED THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SECURITY FORCES. THE AFRIKAANS MEDIA, WITH RARE EXCEPTIONS, CHOSE TO PROVIDE DIRECT SUPPORT FOR APARTHEID AND THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SECURITY FORCES, MANY OF WHICH LED DIRECTLY TO GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE RACISM THAT PERVADED MOST OF WHITE SOCIETY PERMEATED THE MEDIA INDUSTRY.

The judiciary

158 The longevity of apartheid was in part due to the superficial adherence to the ‘rule by law’ by the National Party, whose leaders sought and relied on the aura of legitimacy which ‘the law’ bestowed on unjust apartheid rule. During the period 1960 to 1990, the judiciary and the magistracy and the organised legal profession collaborated, largely by omission, silence and inaction, in the legislative and executive pursuit of injustice. Furthermore there are examples where they and the legal profession actively contributed to the entrenchment and defence of apartheid through the courts. Examples of such acts include:

- a Adherence to race-based systems as evidenced by the Pretoria Bar’s refusal to admit black members and other bar councils’ dishonourable stance towards black colleagues seeking chambers in ‘white group areas’ through a race-based permit system.
- b Collusion with the police regarding the torture of detainees and those in police custody, as evidenced by: prosecutors who knowingly colluded with police who had been involved in torture of accused persons; judges and magistrates who routinely rejected evidence of assault and torture – even when this was supported by medical evidence – and accepted uncritically the evidence of police witnesses over that of the accused; judges and magistrates who uncritically accepted the evidence of police witnesses at inquests, and routinely found no one to be responsible for injuries and deaths in detention.
- c Failure to take effective measures to make justice accessible to those who could not afford it and those who were involved in anti-apartheid activities, for fear

of social ostracism or loss of lucrative commercial clients. This is contrasted by the willingness of advocates and attorneys to appear for the government in civil actions where some of the basic building blocks of apartheid, such as racial classification or influx control or group areas, were being attacked as the unreasonable and invalid exercise of executive discretion. Similarly, organised professional bodies were frequently obsequious in their attitudes to government policies, striking off and hounding those of their members who fell foul of the political system, or who chose to confront it.

- d The participation of judges in producing the highest capital punishment rate in the 'western' world, an execution rate which impacted overwhelmingly on poor black male accused.

THE COMMISSION REJECTS THE ARGUMENT MADE PARTICULARLY BY JUDGES OF THEIR IMPOTENCE IN THE FACE OF THE EXERCISE OF LEGISLATIVE POWER BY A SOVEREIGN PARLIAMENT. THE COMMISSION REGARDS THIS AS A FLAWED ARGUMENT ON THE BASIS THAT PARLIAMENTARY SOVEREIGNTY AND THE RULE OF LAW WORK HAND IN HAND, AND ARE PREMISED ON A POLITICAL SYSTEM WHICH IS FUNDAMENTALLY REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL THE PEOPLE SUBJECT TO THAT PARLIAMENT. THIS SITUATION NEVER APPLIED IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE SITUATION THEREFORE REQUIRED SOMETHING MORE BY WAY OF RESPONSE FROM THE JUDICIARY AND THE LEGAL PROFESSION.

JUDGES HAD A CHOICE OTHER THAN THE ULTIMATE BUT HONOURABLE COURSE OF RESIGNATION FROM THE BENCH. THEY COULD HAVE RESISTED ENCROACHMENTS TO BASIC RIGHTS AND FAIRNESS, USING THE SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE WHICH THEY POSSESSED, ARGUING FROM COMMON-LAW PRINCIPLES. A CONCERTED STAND BY A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF JUDGES COULD HAVE MOVED THE GOVERNMENT FORMALLY TO CURTAIL THE JURISDICTION OF THE COURTS, THEREBY LAYING BARE THE DEGENERACY OF ITS POLICIES MORE DEVASTATINGLY.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT BOTH THE JUDICIARY AND THE MAGISTRACY AS WELL AS THE ORGANISED LEGAL PROFESSION WERE LOCKED INTO AN OVERWHELMINGLY PASSIVE MINDSET WHICH CHARACTERISED THE JUDGEMENTS OF THE BENCH IN THE FACE OF INJUSTICES OF APARTHEID, AND THE REACTION OF THE PROFESSIONS TO SUCH INJUSTICES.

■ FURTHER FINDINGS

Children and youth

- 159 The Commission endorses the international position that children and youth under the age of eighteen are entitled to special protection from government and society. As the Commission's statistics have shown, the greatest proportion of victims of gross violations of human rights were youth, many of them under eighteen.

160 With regard to children and youth, the Commission finds that:

THE STATE, IN THE FORM OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE CIVIL SERVICES, WAS, IN THE PERIOD 1960–94, THE PRIMARY PERPETRATOR OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AGAINST CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA.

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

THE BANNING BY THE GOVERNMENT OF STUDENT AND YOUTH ORGANISATIONS DENIED YOUNG PEOPLE AN AVENUE FOR DISCUSSION AND PROTEST AND RESULTED IN THE CRIMINALISATION OF LEGITIMATE POLITICAL ACTIVITY, THUS ENCOURAGING YOUTH TO TURN TO VIOLENT FORMS OF PROTEST. THE STATE IS FURTHER ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE POLITICAL REPRESSION WHICH FORCED YOUNG PEOPLE TO GO INTO EXILE, LEAVING THEIR FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES. EXILE DISTORTED THE NORMAL SOCIALISATION OF YOUTH AND NORMAL FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS.

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

BLACK CHILDREN AND YOUTH WERE DEMONISED AS THE ‘ENEMY’ BY THE SECURITY FORCES IN PARTICULAR AND, MORE GENERALLY, THROUGH THE POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF YOUTH AND CHILDREN AS PART OF ‘A COMMUNIST ONSLAUGHT’, THUS FACILITATING AND LEGITIMATING THE USE OF VIOLENCE AND FORCE AGAINST THEM. THE COMMISSION HAS FOUND THAT THE SECURITY FORCES UNNECESSARILY RESORTED TO LETHAL FORCE IN PUBLIC ORDER POLICING, WHERE ALTERNATIVE MECHANISMS OF CROWD CONTROL WOULD HAVE BEEN ADEQUATE TO CONTROL MARCHES, PROTESTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS. THE USE OF LETHAL FORCE AGAINST CHILDREN AND YOUTH IS PARTICULARLY SINGLED OUT AND CONDEMNED.

THE STATE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL AND TORTURE, INCLUDING SOLITARY CONFINEMENT, OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH UNDER THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN. SUCH DETENTION INCLUDED DETENTION IN TERMS OF SECURITY LEGISLATION AS WELL AS THE ABDUCTION OF YOUTH AND THEIR FORCIBLE REMOVAL TO PLACES WHERE THEY WERE DETAINED ILLEGALLY AND TORTURED. THE STATE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SEVERE ILL TREATMENT IN CUSTODY OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH UNDER THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN, IN THE FORM OF HARASSMENT AND THE DELIBERATE WITHHOLDING OF MEDICAL ATTENTION, FOOD AND WATER.

THE STATE, THROUGH ITS SECURITY FORCES, EXPLOITED AND MANIPULATED DIVISIONS IN SOCIETY AND ENGAGED IN THE INFORMAL REPRESSION OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH BY IDENTIFYING YOUTH LEADERS, ISOLATING THEM AND, THROUGH VIOLENCE OR FINANCIAL INDUCEMENT, INDUCING THEM TO ACT AS INFORMERS OR VIGILANTES.

IN CERTAIN CASES, PROACTIVE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE SECURITY FORCES DURING THE 1980S INCLUDED INFILTRATING YOUTH AND STUDENT STRUCTURES, POSING AS MEMBERS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, RECRUITING YOUNG PEOPLE FOR MILITARY TRAINING AND THEN KILLING THEM.

THE STATE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MILITARISATION OF YOUNG WHITE MALES THROUGH CONSCRIPTION.

THE MASS AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS MOBILISED AND, IN THE CASE OF THE LATTER, ARMED AND TRAINED CHILDREN AND YOUTH AS PART OF THEIR ARMED FORMATIONS. THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND THE IFP ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR RECRUITING YOUTH INTO THE SDUS AND SPUS IN THE 1990S AND TRAINING THEM TO KILL, THUS DEHUMANISING AND DESENSITISING THEM.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE ANC AND THE IFP DISPLACED LARGE NUMBERS OF YOUTH, LEAVING THEM HOMELESS. IN THIS RESPECT, THE STATE, THE ANC AND IFP ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE FAILURE BY THE ANC AND THE IFP AFTER 1994 TO REINTEGRATE YOUTH TO ENABLE THEM TO BECOME VALUED MEMBERS OF SOCIETY AND TO DEVELOP A SENSE OF SELF-ESTEEM, HAS LED TO THEIR CRIMINALISATION AND CREATED THE POTENTIAL FOR FURTHER GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

Women

- 161 Many of the statements made to the Commission by women detail the violations inflicted on others – children, husbands, siblings and parents – rather than what they themselves suffered. Undoubtedly the violation of family members had significant consequences for women. However, women too suffered direct gross violations of human rights, many of which were gender specific in their exploitative and humiliating nature.

THE COMMISSION THUS FINDS THAT:

THE STATE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SEVERE ILL TREATMENT OF WOMEN IN CUSTODY IN THE FORM OF HARASSMENT AND THE DELIBERATE WITHHOLDING OF MEDICAL ATTENTION, FOOD AND WATER.

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

WOMEN IN EXILE, PARTICULARLY THOSE IN CAMPS, WERE SUBJECTED TO VARIOUS FORMS OF SEXUAL ABUSE AND HARASSMENT, INCLUDING RAPE.

Conscription

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT:

THE STATE'S POLICY OF CONSCRIPTION WAS IMMORAL AND DENIED CONSCRIPTS THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND THE RIGHT TO REFUSE TO SERVE IN THE SADF.

THROUGH THE POLICY OF CONSCRIPTION, THE STATE AND THE SADF USED YOUNG MEN TO ASSIST, IMPLEMENT AND DEFEND THE POLICY OF APARTHEID, TO MAINTAIN THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA AND TO WAGE WAR AGAINST NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

THE STATE'S VILIFICATION OF CONSCRIPTS WHO REFUSED TO SERVE IN THE SADF BY LABELLING THEM "COWARDS AND TRAITORS" CONSTITUTES A VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

SOME CHURCHES (IN PARTICULAR MAINSTREAM AFRIKAANS CHURCHES) OPENLY SUPPORTED THE POLICY OF CONSCRIPTION, THUS CREATING A CLIMATE IN WHICH GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COULD TAKE PLACE.

■ CONCLUSION

- 162 The findings outlined above, to a greater or lesser extent, touch *all* the major role-players who were party to the conflict that enveloped South Africa during its mandate period. No major role-player emerges unscathed although, as already stated, a distinction must be made between those who fought for and those who fought against apartheid. There are many who will reject these findings and argue that they fail to understand the complexities and historical realities of the time, and of the motives and perspectives of those who perpetrated gross violations of human rights. In this regard it needs to be firmly stated that, while the Commission has attempted to convey some of these complexities and has grappled with the motives and perspectives of perpetrators in other sections of this report, it is not the Commission's task to write the history of this country. Rather, it is the Commission's function to expose the violations of all parties in an attempt to lay the basis for a culture in which human rights are respected and not violated.
- 163 It should also be noted – as will be obvious from the content above – that the Commission's findings have focused mainly on events and violations that occurred *inside* South Africa in the 1960–94 period. There are obvious and good reasons for that, but it represents something of a historical distortion. It is the view of the Commission that, in terms of the gross violations of human rights, most of these occurred not internally, but *beyond the borders* of South Africa, in some of the poorest nations of the world. It was the residents of the Southern African region who bore the brunt of the South African conflict and suffered the greatest number of individual casualties and the greatest damage to their countries' economies and infrastructure.

- 164 Finally, in the context of a society moving towards reconciliation, South Africans need to acknowledge this country's divided history and its regional burden; to understand the processes whereby all, citizens included, were drawn in and are implicated in the fabric of human rights abuse, both as victims and perpetrators – at times as both.
- 165 The primary task of the Commission was to address the moral, political and legal consequences of the apartheid years. The socio-economic implications are left to other structures – the Land Commission, the Gender Commission, the Youth Commission and a range of reform processes in education, social welfare, health care, housing and job creation. Ultimately, however, because the work of the Commission includes reconciliation, it needs to unleash a process that contributes to economic developments that redress past wrongs as a basis for promoting lasting reconciliation. This requires *all those who benefited* from apartheid, not only those whom the Act defines as perpetrators, to commit themselves to the reconciliation process.

Causes, Motives and Perspectives of Perpetrators¹

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The Act governing the work of the Commission requires not only that it establish as complete a picture as possible of activities during the years falling under its mandate and that it identify perpetrators of gross human rights violations, but also that it establish the “antecedent circumstances, factors and context of [gross human rights] violations as well as the causes, motives and perspectives of the persons responsible”.²
- 2 Who were the perpetrators and what ‘made’ them, moved them or contributed to their behaviour? It is essential to examine perpetrators as multi-dimensional and rounded individuals rather than simply characterising them as purveyors of horrendous acts. Building on the factual history presented in earlier chapters, and utilising research developed in relation to the Holocaust and other situations of sustained oppression that gave rise to systematic acts of gross human rights violations, this chapter attempts to explain *why* and *how* these violations transpired, as a basis for informing the debate concerning reconciliation and recommendations to prevent violations in future. A diagnosis of persons and institutions responsible for gross human rights violations is of paramount importance in seeking to prevent future gross human rights violations.
- 3 It could be argued that prevention is only effective in the early stages of the development of a culture of gross human rights violations, and that signs and symptoms of the ‘syndrome’ should be made known widely. Itzhak Fried³ has suggested that:

Individuals in most societies know that a constellation of high fever and coughing may indicate pneumonia. In the same sense, people might become aware that symptoms of an emerging obsessive ideology, hyper-arousal, diminished affective reactivity, and group dependent aggression,

¹ This chapter was compiled with the assistance of Professor Don Foster.

² Section 3(1)(a).

³ Itzhak Fried, ‘Syndrome E’, *The Lancet*, Vol. 350 No. 9094 (20/27 December 1997), pp. 1845–7.

directed at members of other sub-groups may signify a situation which needs immediate political, social, and social scientific attention.

- 4 The tale to be told in this chapter is incomplete and in some respects premature for, although the Commission heard evidence over two and a half years, the bulk of this material came from victims. The work of the Amnesty Committee, which involved hearing testimony from alleged perpetrators, was incomplete at the time of reporting and was scheduled to continue for approximately another twelve months – until July 1999. Hence, a complete picture would emerge only when that task was done and the testimonies thoroughly studied to reveal the full pattern of motives and perspectives of all perpetrators. Even then the tale will be incomplete, since not all categories of perpetrators, for instance ‘neck-lace’ murder cases, are likely to be fully represented.
- 5 Further limitations of this chapter need to be clearly stated. The Commission is aware that the quotations in this chapter are not necessarily even-handed extracts from all parties concerned. Quotations are used to illustrate the processes described and the perspectives of various groups. This could result in allegations of bias. However, in some instances, this was unavoidable. Not all groups or parties co-operated equally with the Commission. As a result, comprehensive searches through documents revealed few instances of statements from Inkatha perpetrators, from township ‘vigilante groups’, from torturers or from African National Congress (ANC)-aligned self-defence units (SDUs). Documentary evidence is thus only partly available. Furthermore, the precise question of motives of perpetrators was often not fully canvassed by amnesty panels, nor by special hearings of the Commission. These shortcomings should be attributed to partial failings of the Commission itself, rather than to systematic bias.
- 6 As a premature effort, the chapter draws on a wide-ranging literature, from local as well as international sources, in an attempt to understand the position of perpetrators. It would be helpful to understand this chapter as being in the form of an agenda for future research and verification rather than a closed book. Nonetheless, partial understandings may be better than none.
- 7 The chapter begins with a general perspective on patterns of violence, with examples drawn from the information given to the Commission. This is followed by a discussion on the problem of perspectives on the conflict and its participants. It then explores various possible explanations of causes and motives of perpetrators, giving attention both to the political context of the violations and to individual

psychological explanations of perpetrators' actions and the situations in which violations occurred. Consideration is then given to the role of language, the existence of secret societies and silences in the conflict. The information set out above will then be applied to two case examples, exploring the causes, motives and perspectives of torturers and of participants in crowd violence. The chapter concludes with some ideas for the future prevention of atrocities.

■ A GENERAL PERSPECTIVE ON PATTERNS OF VIOLENCE

- 8 A number of general patterns are discernible from the huge body of materials collected by the Commission. A description of these general patterns is essential to an understanding of the particular – that is, the acts of individual perpetrators. Acts of violence are in many ways quite different from each other: they range from careful calculated intentional actions to unintentional, unplanned acts that occurred because things 'went wrong'.

Intentional military actions: "We were at war."

- 9 As is apparent from the testimony of the former head of ANC special operations, Mr Aboobaker Ismail, in the amnesty hearing on the Church Street bombing of the South African Air Force headquarters (in which nineteen people were killed and over 200 injured), many acts were carefully calculated actions of war:

Special operations were set up in 1979 to undertake high-profile acts of sabotage on key economic installations. This structure reported directly to [then ANC president] OR Tambo.

- 10 Later, in terms of a shift in ANC policy which resulted in the inclusion of military personnel as justifiable targets, the Church Street operation in Pretoria was carried out (with the stated approval of Mr Tambo) on 20 May 1983. The operation was conducted –

... in the wake of the SADF cross-border raid into Lesotho, killing forty-two ANC supporters and Lesotho civilians, and also in the wake of the assassination of Ms Ruth First in Maputo by the security forces.

In terms of stated ANC policy, military targets including personnel [were] justifiable, even if these entailed limited loss of civilian life.

- 11 Acts such as these were quite clearly rational, intentional and thoroughly planned (although mistakes did occur; for example, the two ANC operatives in the Church Street bombing were themselves killed in the attack). Often, as indicated above, they occurred in retaliation against state security violence. Following the Church Street bombing, the South African Defence Force (SADF) conducted various attacks, including air raids on Maputo. The sequential nature of such calculated attacks constituted something of a 'dialogue' or a 'spiral of violence'.
- 12 As a further illustration of calculated attacks, Mr Ismail described the Dolphin Unit, established in 1982, which "had been established inside the country to carry out operations within the broad mandate of the ANC and MK [the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe]". In an amnesty hearing in May 1998, Mr Mohammed Shaik, head of the Dolphin Unit, described thirty-two carefully planned operations against police, embassy, magistrate's court and state department targets within South Africa. Mr Shaik stated in conclusion that:

At all times I acted within the policy and guidelines laid down by the ANC; I was comprehensively briefed on the modus operandi of special operations in MK. I accordingly attempted to avoid or minimise civilian casualties whenever I conducted operations. To this end, whenever circumstances permitted, I timed my operations after hours, when targeted buildings had been vacated by civilians. I accept that, in the end, there was always a possibility of civilian casualties.

Where there were civilian casualties these were never at any stage intended to be targets, but were rather caught in the crossfire. To the extent that there were civilian casualties, I express my deep regret to those who experienced pain and suffering. The apartheid state left us no choice but to take up arms.

- 13 These rational and calculated acts of violence were justified on each side by the statement that "we were at war". General Andrew Masondo was national political commissar of the ANC between 1977 and 1985, and earlier a Robben Island prisoner. In a section 29 hearing, when responding to enquiries about atrocities, including executions in the Angolan Quatro camp, he repeatedly stated that "we were at war":

You remember I said we were at war ... There might be times that I will use third degree, in spite of the fact that it is not policy.

People who it was found that they were enemy agents, we executed them, and I wouldn't make an apology. We were at war.

- 14 General Constand Viljoen, former chief of the SADF, expressed it this way in a public Commission debate on the notion of a 'just war':

The liberation struggle used revolutionary methods to coerce. This was a new kind of total war, not total in its destructiveness but total in its means of applying different ways of coercion: political, psychological, economic, propaganda. It was a new kind of war.

This war, if it could be called a war, is so unique that the traditional 'just war' theory cannot be easily applied.

- 15 Even the conflict between Inkatha and the ANC was repeatedly described as a war situation. Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) amnesty applicant Mr Victor Mthembu stated:

If it had not been a war situation between the IFP and the ANC, I would not have participated.

- 16 In a situation regarded as war, violent actions were undertaken with pride rather than with distress and embarrassment. In this regard former senior security force member Major Craig Williamson said:

The psychological effect of fighting such a counter-revolutionary war should not be underestimated, especially when this entailed long periods of covert operations. The members of the security forces, especially in covert units ... saw themselves as the elite frontline troops in a critically important theatre of the overall war. Security force successes ... produced praise, pride and relief from pressure.

- 17 Even a self-confessed torturer such as Captain Jeffrey Benzien admitted to pride in his work when cross-examined by Mr Tony Yengeni (ANC) whom he had tortured. After saying, in respect of a particular torture method, that "I applied it well and with caution", Captain Benzien went on to make this extraordinary statement:

Mr Yengeni, with my absolutely unorthodox methods and by removing your weaponry from you, I am wholly convinced that I prevented you and your colleagues ... I may have prevented you from being branded a murderer nowadays.

Denial: the gap between authorities and followers

- 18 From a range of different quarters, there was denial from senior persons in authority that they knew what was happening, or denial that they gave specific orders, even while their supporters or followers were claiming to have acted under instructions. In other words, there was a gap between the perceptions of leaders and followers. In the second National Party (NP) submission, Mr FW de Klerk said:

... but things happened which were not authorised, not intended, or of which we were not aware ... I have never condoned gross violations of human rights ... and reject any insinuation that it was ever the policy of my party or government.

- 19 In contrast, there is the perception of convicted Vlakplaas killer Colonel Eugene de Kock in the closing pages of his book:⁴

Yet the person who sticks most of all in my throat is former State President FW de Klerk. Not because I can prove, without a shadow of doubt, that he ordered the death of X or cross-border raid Y. Not even because of the holier than thou attitude that is discernible in the evidence he gave before the [Commission] on behalf of the National Party.

It is because, in that evidence, he simply did not have the courage to declare: "yes we at the top levels condoned what was done on our behalf by the security forces. What's more, we instructed that it should be implemented. Or – if we did not actually give instructions we turned a blind eye. We didn't move heaven and earth to stop the ghastliness. Therefore let the foot soldiers be excused".

- 20 From another side of the conflict comes the position of the president of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

On no occasion has the IFP's leadership ever made any decision anywhere at any time to use violence for political purposes. I have always abhorred violence now and will die abhorring violence. I personally have never made any decision to employ violence anywhere for any purpose whatsoever.

- 21 By contrast, here are extracts from statements by Inkatha members applying for amnesty on grounds of numerous murders:

⁴ E de Kock, *A long night's damage: working for the apartheid state*. Saxonwold: Contra Press, 1998, p. 227.

Mr Wills: *Now what was the purpose of this training?*

Mr Hlongwane: *It was to protect IFP or areas controlled by Chiefs, as well as to kill the ANC.*

22 IFP member, Mr Dlamini, said:

I will say that it is painful to me that after all these activities that we committed that people should deny our existence and call us criminals. When I went for training at Caprivi, nobody called me a criminal. When I killed people here, I was not called a criminal. Today they do call us criminals and deny knowledge of our activities and ourselves. No IFP leader is prepared to stand before this Commission and admit to these activities. We decided among ourselves to expose these activities. We in fact were not mad persons who just took weapons and started shooting people at random. Therefore it hurts me very much for the IFP to desert us and say that they do not know anything about us – when they know that they were in fact responsible for all these things.

23 In yet another context, in the section 29 hearing into the violent activities of the Mandela United Football Club, Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela repeatedly denied, in the face of allegations of her awareness, that she had knowledge of events:

I knew nothing about these activities.

I did not monitor them when they were in and out of my house.

I did not know who recruited who into the Mandela United.

I knew nothing about who took what decision. I had nothing to do with the activities of the boys.

24 The gap between leadership and foot soldiers, particularly amongst the youth, was also described in the United Democratic Front (UDF) submission to the Commission. A gap of this sort means there were possibilities of misinterpretation that led to atrocities on the part of youthful activists.

In this context, many activists interpreted statements by the UDF and its allies making reference to the breaking down of apartheid to mean that this should be done by means of violence.

- 25 Regarding questions about the brutal enforcement of labour, consumer and student boycotts that involved gross violations of human rights, the UDF submission argued that such acts should be seen against –

... the background of emergency when most of the UDF leadership was in detention or on the run. The acts were committed by youths acting on their own, even though some may have believed that this was being done in the interests of the struggle.

- 26 Similarly, within the ANC and MK, although for different reasons (not least of which was the physical distance between leadership in exile and operatives within South Africa), there was recognition of a gap, a distance, between top and bottom. In this case, it is not expressed as a denial but as a concession of problems caused by this gap. An MK leader testified at an amnesty hearing as follows:

There were long and insecure lines of communication, command and control. Many of the established MK units had been allowed a degree of initiative in executing operations, as long as these remained within policy guidelines. In contrast with the conventional military force in which planning takes place at headquarters levels, in guerrilla warfare most of the detailed planning takes place at the lowest level ... There is no so-called hot-line to higher structures to ask for guidance. Communication could and at times did result in deaths, given the degree to which communication lines were monitored.

- 27 Overall, across different parties in the conflict, the above quotations indicate that, although particular contexts varied, a common problem existed in terms of a distance between top authorities and field soldiers, supporters or followers. Atrocities, it is suggested here, emerged precisely because of this gap, opening up possibilities of miscommunication, misinterpretation and possibly, as Mr FW de Klerk suggested, *male fides*.

What went wrong? “We made mistakes.”

- 28 Different parties to the conflict admitted that there were errors, mistakes and unintended consequences. Several parties contended that violence occurred precisely because of the grey areas that developed.
- 29 At one of the hearings on children and youth, Mr George Ndlozi, reporting on the activities of SDUs, said things “went wrong” because they –

had to depend on criminals and people took advantage of the situation. They ended up operating out of personal gain.

- 30 Mr Niel Barnard, former head of National Intelligence, said at the hearings on the State Security Council:

It is true that instructions and mandates were sometimes vague and were communicated poorly [and] ... in large bureaucratic institutions such as the public sector there is a danger that decisions and instructions are not formulated, conveyed and interpreted in a correct way.

- 31 Mr Johan van der Merwe, former commissioner of police, said at the State Security Council hearings that “we had to move outside the boundaries of our law”, leading to all sorts of blurred distinctions between acceptable and unacceptable methods. This point was also conceded by Mr FW de Klerk in the NP submission.

- 32 General Andrew Masondo, former political commissar of the ANC, admitted that they “could have made mistakes” as a result of disinformation or when they had to rely on young, inexperienced people in authority in the Quatro camp.

- 33 Mr FW de Klerk, answering questions on widespread torture during the 1980s in the second NP submission, said:

I'm not saying we were perfect ... I'm not saying we didn't make mistakes. Detailed operationalisation (of security policy) takes place at a much lower level ... that is where, either through over-zealousness or a male fide approach, where things get out of hand.

History has subsequently shown that, as far as the policy of apartheid was concerned, they were deeply mistaken.

None of these unconventional projects was intended to lead to any gross violations of human rights ... but ... they did create an atmosphere conducive to abuses.

- 34 Former MK leader Mr Ronnie Kasrils, speaking during the Commission's public debate on the notion of 'just war', said: “I'm not saying that there weren't certain departures, certain aberrations”. Similarly, the ANC submission to the Commission reported concern in late 1987 regarding an increase in “attacks which did not

accord with ANC policy”, conceding that “some incidents not entirely consistent with ANC policy did take place”. In its second submission, the ANC repeated that “mistakes were made”. In similar vein the UDF stated that the –

... activities of the UDF and its allies, while making invaluable contributions to the democratisation of South African society, had many regrettable consequences.

- 35 Even in the details of operations of bomb attacks, things could go wrong, mistakes were made. Regarding the explosion at the Krugersdorp magistrate’s court adjacent to a “notorious security police branch”, Mr Mohammed Shaik told the amnesty hearing:

I prepared two charges; one being a decoy which I placed in the toilet used by police officers in the court complex, the other being a car bomb. The decoy was to have exploded first, drawing out police officers, who in a few minutes would have cordoned, cleared and secured the area. Their presence would have been very near to the car bomb which was to explode minutes later. Unfortunately the decoy failed to explode due to some malfunction. The car bomb detonated as planned. The intended aim of a large number of enemy personnel being killed, injured was not achieved. A civilian and two security branch members were killed.

- 36 In the Freedom Front submission, General Constand Viljoen also reported on mistakes of the former government. Referring to the NP government, in which he was chief of the defence force, he testified:

Forty years of governmental control made them power-drunk. Expediency, manipulation, propaganda ... and in the end the ruthless tactics of an unconventional sort to retain power – all these things are not necessarily part and parcel of the original concept of differentiation that prevailed within Afrikaner political thinking. The original motivation of the Afrikaner was not to rule others.

- 37 He argued further that errors were made due to the arbitrary powers given to ministers and “even officials in the security forces” during the states of emergency.

... because of the absence of normal checks and balances that would avoid misuse of these powers ... most cases of gross violations of human rights resulted from these practices and they had the serious additional effect of

keeping the public in the dark on these activities and creating a sense of fear and bondage in general that was not conducive to free and responsible citizenship.

- 38 The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), in its submission to the Commission, also admitted to mistakes. Reporting on "a new pattern in the 1990s where civilians within the white community were attacked", the PAC submission stated:

In the nature of guerrilla war, which is unlike conventional warfare, detailed plans could not be made from Dar-es-Salaam. The actual targets were decided by local commanders ... In the militarised environment in our country in the 1990s ... internally based operatives often made errors that APLA [the Azanian People's Liberation Army] had earlier avoided. These are the causes of the departures in the 1990s.

- 39 Specifically on the murder of Ms Amy Biehl, the PAC submission regretted its error, stating that:

PASO was not a part of APLA. They are a component part of the PAC not involved in armed struggle. They wrongly targeted and killed Amy Biehl. We expressed our regret and condolences.

Lack of discipline/restraint: "Us and them"

- 40 A lack of discipline exercised by the state over its security officials, and by other parties over their activists, could clearly have contributed to the escalating spiral of violence. The Commission specifically questioned the leading parties in the conflict regarding their tolerance for violent acts among their own members, and efforts they made to discipline transgressors. Psychological factors appear to have played a role in the general pattern, on all sides, of condoning lack of restraint in their own members, and the relative absence of tough discipline regarding violent offenders. The UDF submission, in an honest attempt to get to grips with what they admitted was a "dilemma", put the case most clearly:

The way we approached this question is like a father, like parents would approach, let's say, an aberrant child: that child is part of your family, these were people who were oppressed people, part of this history. Now if a child misbehaves and hopefully [the parent] disciplines that child

and shouts at the child and does what is possible within the limits of the family ... alright, but they don't disown these people. For us to disown these people would mean that we don't understand the history of these people [who] tended to do these sort of things.

So they were undisciplined in some instances. When they did that they were not acting within the UDF policy – but we own them, they are part of us, and they are part of our history and we accept them as part of our family.

- 41 The dilemma posed for the UDF, and similarly for other organisations, is highlighted in the response to a question about the 'young lions'. The UDF expressed pride in the efforts of this generation:

In general, the generations of young people from 1976 onwards have been ... should be amongst the most admired citizens of this country. They laid down life and limb to wage the struggle ... Generally the young lions were doing a wonderful piece of work.

- 42 Although various efforts were made to impose restraint and discipline in all parties concerned (for example, the ANC and MK developed codes of conduct, and attempted to discipline conduct through political education), evidence before the Commission showed that all parties fell short, in some respects, in imposing restraints and discipline on their own members, followers and supporters. The dilemma, as clearly indicated in the UDF quote above, is that harsh discipline imposed on "our own" (even where it was feasible to track down transgressors) would have risked alienating their own supporters.
- 43 This phenomenon is exacerbated in a highly conflictual war-like situation. Militaristic authorities were clearly at times covertly proud of the violent actions of 'their own'.
- 44 Sometimes, this pride was not even covert. Colonel Eugene de Kock was awarded numerous medals for his actions. It is claimed that the former Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, attended a party with Vlakplaas operatives after they had blown up Khotso House.

■ THE PROBLEM OF PERSPECTIVES

- 45 It is important to state from the outset that emotions may run high when considering the actions of perpetrators, and that perspectives may differ sharply, leading to difficulties with reconciliation. Some will tend to blame, condemn and feel bitterness towards perpetrators while others are able to demonstrate empathy, understanding, sympathy or even praise for those who did some of these deeds. Given the divisions of the past, such varying perspectives towards perpetrators from the varying sides of the struggle are not surprising. It is neither simple nor easy to take a neutral or wholly objective stance towards perpetrators of evil deeds. Nevertheless, this part of the report needs to provide an understanding of dreadful deeds, without condemnation. At the same time, as Browning, a leading Holocaust scholar, puts it: “Explaining is not excusing, understanding is not forgiving”⁵. The Commission, in this chapter, is seeking to fulfil its objective to –

*... promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflicts and divisions of the past.*⁶

- 46 In an effort to grasp and understand, rather than to condemn or excuse the actions of perpetrators, it is important to be aware of difficulties of perspective.

The problem of perspectives

- 47 The Act makes a clear distinction between “the perspectives of victims and the motives and perspectives of the persons responsible for the commission of the violations”⁷. Baumeister, in a recent major study⁸, describes this as the “magnitude gap”: the discrepancy between the “importance of the act to the perpetrator and to the victim”. This magnitude gap has a number of features:
- a The importance of the act is usually far greater for the victim. Horror of the experience is usually seen in the victim’s terms; for the perpetrator it is often “a very small thing”.
 - b Perpetrators tend to have less emotions about their acts than do victims. This may be illustrated in the recent book by Vlakplaas operative Colonel Eugene de Kock⁹, where repeated acts of violence are described in a matter-of-fact manner:

5 C Browning, *Ordinary men*. New York: Harper Collins, 1992.

6 Section 3(1).

7 Section 3(1)(a).

8 R Baumeister, *Evil: inside human violence and cruelty*. New York: W. H. Freeman, 1997, p. 18.

9 De Kock (1997).

I continued to shoot at him. He finally fell down dead.

Nortje shot him in the temple ... he died instantly.

I took the decision to kill them because I was convinced they were armed.

We beat him very badly and for a long time. He was a broken man by the time we were finished.

I shot him with a .38 Special revolver. He died instantly.

The body was destroyed ... Mabotha was utterly blown up.

I reduced the charges to about 60kg to 80kg. They were placed in the cellar. The explosion shook Johannesburg and we celebrated at Vlakplaas with the Minister of Police, Adriaan Vlok. [On blowing up Khotso House.]

- c The magnitude gap manifests in different time perspectives. The experience of violence typically fades faster for perpetrators than for victims. For victims, the suffering may continue long after the event.
 - d Moral evaluations of the events may differ: actions may appear less wrong, less evil, to the perpetrator than to the victim. While victims tend to rate events in stark categories of right and wrong, perpetrators may see large grey areas.
 - e Discrepancies exist between victims and perpetrators regarding the question of motives and intentions, the crucial question of *why*? Victims' accounts show two versions, one which emphasises sheer incomprehensibility – the perpetrator had no reason at all – and the other which presents the perpetrator's action as deliberately malicious, as sadistic, as an end in itself. By contrast, the vast majority of perpetrators, even if they admit wrongfulness, provide comprehensible reasons for their actions, and almost never admit to being motivated by sheer maliciousness or the wish to inflict harm as an end in itself.
- 48 This perspective gap may be illustrated by the case of Mr John Deegan, a former member of the Security Branch and a Koevoet operative responsible for various atrocities. In a testimony dated 30 June 1996, he reports as follows on the recent death of his father:

He was cold-bloodedly shot dead and his murderers escaped. I cannot come to terms with his death in that it was a senseless act of violence in the pursuit of greed. This is the first time that my family and I have come so close to experiencing the horror of violence so directly in this country.

- 49 Here is the perspective of the victim. But this is the same man who, in a report dated 23 August 1993, appeared as perpetrator, a Koevoet member in then South West Africa, dealing with a wounded SWAPO¹⁰ operative:

Even at that stage he was denying everything and I just started to go into this uncontrollable rage and he started going floppy ... and I remember thinking "how dare you" and then – this is what I was told afterwards – I started ripping. I ripped all the bandages, the drip which Sean had put into this guy ... pulled out my 9mm ... put the barrel between his eyes and fucking boom ... I executed him. I got on the radio and said to Colonel X ... "We floored one ... we are all tired and I want to come in."

- 50 From the point of view of the victim, violence is a "senseless act" and he experiences it with horror (the first time he claims to have had such an experience), yet as the perpetrator he has reasons and strong emotions, even expressing outrage (a moral stance) at the apparent defiance of his captive. The magnitude gap is a discrepancy between two quite different and irreconcilable positions.

Third parties: the perspective of the Commission

- 51 There is a third perspective: that of the onlooker, the outsider, the observer, the recorder, the evaluator, the scientist. That is the position of the Commission. Neither victim nor perpetrator, but charged with the task of understanding such acts of evil and helping to prevent them in future, it is a difficult stance. From the observer's difficult position, it is both helpful and instructive to grasp the notion that the perspectives of victims and perpetrators may differ sharply.
- 52 While its overall aim is to be even-handed and as objective as possible, to view the Commission as homogeneous, as all of one piece, is a rather oversimplified approach. The Commission is made up of many people with different perspectives. Members have had sympathy with the victims not least because of the harrowing process of hearing month after month of testimony from victims. In addition, some Commission members have shared the perspectives of victims in their own past experience. Depending on the context, members may also have had some empathy

¹⁰ South West African People's Organisation.

with perpetrators, perceiving them to some extent also as victims. This is not to decry the efforts of the Commission to be objective. It is an honest admission that the perspective of the Commission and its members is a complex one.

Perpetrators as victims?

- 53 A further problem of perspective is the thorny question of whether perpetrators may also be viewed as victims. Although one may wish to have a clear-cut position on perpetrators, it is possible that there are grey areas. Perpetrators may be seen as acting under orders, as subjects of indoctrination, as subjected to threats, as outcomes of earlier doctrinaire education. In the most pernicious situation, *askaris* (former ANC cadres who were 'turned', frequently through torture, threats and brutality, into state agents) are themselves transformed into killers and torturers. Military conscripts could view themselves in part as victims of a state system. *Kitskonstabels* (special constables) could see themselves as victims of poverty, in need of a job.
- 54 To understand these potential grey areas involves being drawn into a position of some sympathy with the perpetrator. The dangers of this are twofold: first to forget and ignore the suffering of victims of abuse, and second, to exonerate the doer of violent deeds. From the third perspective of the Commission, difficulties are once again manifest. Two statements may be fruitful. First, it is important to recognise that perpetrators may in part be victims. Second, recognition of the grey areas should not be regarded as absolving perpetrators of responsibility for their deeds.
- 55 The position of the Commission regarding accountability and responsibility is quite clear and was repeatedly stated by the chairperson of the Commission. While acts of gross violations of human rights may be regarded as demonic, it is counter-productive to regard persons who perpetrated those acts as necessarily demonic. The work of the Commission towards reconciliation would be useless if such a stance were to be upheld.

Violence of the powerful and the powerless

- 56 As Frantz Fanon recognised some forty years ago, violence of the powerful and the powerless is not equivalent. An unhappy characteristic of oppression is that violence is often committed by the powerless against other oppressed groups. Bishop Peter Storey expressed this succinctly in a Commission hearing into the activities of the Mandela United Football Club:

The primary cancer ... will always be the apartheid oppression, but the secondary infection has touched many of apartheid's opponents and eroded their knowledge of good and evil.

- 57 The phenomenon whereby the oppressed turn their violence against each other was expressed in many forms in South Africa: between the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and the UDF, between township vigilante groups and more youthful 'comrades', between township groupings in the enforcement of boycotts, in the case of the gruesome 'necklace' murders which numbered many hundreds from the mid-1980s onwards, in the case of violence by the Mandela United Football Club, in the case of *askaris*, and most prominently in the murderous violence between Inkatha on the one hand and Charterist groupings – ANC, UDF, SDUs – on the other, all of which often took the form of cycles of revenge. An IFP amnesty applicant in respect of the Boipatong massacre, Mr Victor Mthembu, expressed it as follows:

We would not have done these things if the people of Boipatong did not terrorise IFP members, if the comrades had not killed IFP members. If it had not been a war situation between the IFP and the ANC I would not have participated.

- 58 Violence among the oppressed has often been described as 'black on black' violence. This is an unfortunate and potentially racist depiction since it camouflages the role of the state in orchestrating or steering such divisions. It is common knowledge that the state provided covert support for homeland leaders and for Inkatha. The security police gave support for conservative, anti-UDF 'vigilante' groupings. In its submission to the Commission, the UDF said:

The State repeatedly distributed leaflets all around the country in the names of various organisations with the aim of causing confusion and fermenting violence between the UDF and AZAPO. Unfortunately we say that this sometimes succeeded in doing precisely that.

... attitudes of intolerance ... had to be seen against the background of a climate of suspicion and intolerance that was created by the regime ... People who are constantly fearful of attack or arrest not surprisingly develop attitudes that are not only intolerant but also undemocratic in such a climate.

Even-handedness

- 59 There is a final major area regarding the problem of perspective: the question of even-handedness in understanding perpetrators from the multiple and varied sides of the struggle. Perpetrators of gross violations of human rights came from all sides: the security forces, military conscripts, the liberation movements and their armed wings, Inkatha and the UDF, from *askaris* and *kitskonstabels*, from township vigilante groups, youth organisations, from torturers and assassination squads, from the far-right, and from township crowds responsible for ‘necklace’ killings. It is probably not possible to provide a neat, tidy or exhaustive classification of perpetrators.
- 60 In this respect, the Commission wishes to state that:
- a It is important to recognise unequivocally that perpetrators came from all sides of the struggle.
 - b The motives and causes of violence are not the same for the different groupings; understanding the actions of perpetrators requires recognition that the multiple forms may have differing explanations.
 - c Perhaps most significantly, it is vital to state that, although the Commission recognises perpetrators from all sides, it simultaneously recognises that it was not an equivalent struggle – in terms of forces deployed, members, or justice¹¹. To be even-handed in understanding the motives of perpetrators also requires full recognition that violence of the powerful, the South African state, was not necessarily equal with violence of the powerless, the disenfranchised, oppressed and relatively voiceless black majority. While each side may put forward reasonable and quite understandable explanations or justifications for such actions, the task of the third perspective, that of the Commission, is to recognise that these accounts are not necessarily equivalent. This non-equivalence means that protagonists in the thirty-year conflict were motivated by quite different political perspectives.

■ EXPLANATIONS OF MOTIVES AND CAUSES

A political understanding of causes

- 61 To understand perpetrators’ actions, it is essential to locate them within a particular pattern or sequence of events. One aspect stands out above all others

¹¹ See *Mandate* chapter.

when one looks back at the patterns of numerous atrocities over the twentieth century. They begin under certain political configurations, increase rapidly in scope, diversity and spread, peak, then decline quite rapidly when political circumstances change. In the South African case, this pattern spanned the historical period 1960 to 1994, although the majority of violent acts occurred mainly towards the tail-end of this period, between 1983 and 1994. This means that the motives of perpetrators need to be understood primarily in historico-political terms; that is, psychological explanations and motives, while not irrelevant, are secondary.

- 62 None of this means, however, that there were no atrocities beforehand. Historical circumstances build over a long period and, in South Africa, conflict goes back to the initial appearance of invader-settlers. Nor does it mean that atrocities decline entirely following a change in political dispensation. There have, indeed, been isolated incidents of violence from far-right-wing groups and ominous recent attacks against farmers. Violence continues in KwaZulu-Natal and, of course, criminal violence and violence against women have not abated.
- 63 Yet the pattern is different. Atrocities are widespread and rampant at particular times, then decline and dribble away to sporadic cases. Types of violence change; hit squads, torture, abductions, cross-border raids, assassinations, guerrilla bombings decline and disappear. Criminal activities, and violence against women, have different motives.

The primacy of the political motive

- 64 The primacy of the political context as an explanation for violence was persuasively put by General Constand Viljoen in the submission of the Freedom Front to the Commission. Regarding accountability, General Viljoen said:

I still maintain it is unfair that the operators be exposed as the chief perpetrators of atrocities and violence in general when the politicians and strategy managers hide behind their status and positions. The iniquity of our past was of a political nature first, and mainly in that way a moral problem on an individual level.

- 65 Mr FW de Klerk also confirmed the primacy of the political in creating the over-all climate for subsequent violence. In the NP's submission statement to the Commission in May 1997, he said:

Let me state clearly that the National Party and I accept full responsibility for all our policies, decisions and actions. We stand by our security forces who

implemented such policies. We accept that our security legislation and the state of emergency created circumstances which were conducive to many of the abuses and transgressions against human rights ... We acknowledge that our implementation of unconventional projects and strategies likewise created such an atmosphere.

Contexts of political motives

- 66 What were the political motives? While apartheid, rooted in colonialism, may be the primary context for the struggle, two other, wider, contexts combined to produce the particularly volatile mix in South Africa.

The cold war context

- 67 The first was the international climate of cold war, in particular the virulent form of anti-Communism and anti-Marxism that took root after the 1948 election victory of the NP. According to former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok at the Commission hearing of 14 October 1997:

The mother organisations of the liberation movements, the ANC-PAC, were seen with justification as fronts and tools of the Marxist-Communist threat against the country ... I believed and still believe that if the forces of Communism and Marxism since the 1950s were allowed to take over South Africa, our country would today be destroyed, impoverished and a backward country with an atheist communist ideology as the government policy ... I saw it as part of my duty to fight against such thoughts, programmes or initiatives and to ensure that these objectives were not successful.

- 68 Not only leaders but countless foot-soldiers were fed on a diet of this sort of propaganda over a long period. In the same testimony, Mr Vlok says clearly:

We actually still referred to them as the enemy in those days; the enemy was doing this that and the other.

The anti-colonial context

- 69 The second wider context was the anti-colonial resistance movement in Africa, particularly in the neighbouring territories of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. This occurred over the same period and became deeply entangled

with the South African struggle. Although the liberation movement was dominated by the non-racialism of the ANC and anti-racism of other movements such as Black Consciousness, some organisations interpreted it as a struggle against whites. Mr Ntobeki Peni, a member of the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (PASO) who was involved in the murder of Ms Amy Biehl in Gugulethu in August 1993, expressed it thus:

These speeches were closed with the slogan "one settler, one bullet". I understood this slogan to apply to every white person who came into the line of fire during an APLA operation, or an operation to support APLA, or where we, as PASO members were to assist in making the country ungovernable.

- 70 While both the ANC and the PAC made it clear in their political submissions that their primary motives were in response to the apartheid regime, it is also clear in their joint campaign and their alliance with others in the front-line states, together with their involvement in organisations such as the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organisation for African Unity, that the local struggle was part of the wider anti-colonial movement in Africa. The PAC submission stated:

When the Organisation of African Unity was formed in May 1963, it gave support to armed struggle through its Liberation Committee based in Dar-es-Salaam. Many countries in Europe and Asia channelled their aid to our people through the OAU Liberation Committee.

- 71 The ANC submission quite succinctly identifies anti-colonialism as the central political motive:

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

- 72 Further on, the ANC submission states:

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

- 73 The issues surrounding resistance to colonial domination in South Africa were further complicated by the perception on the part of many of the dominant political forces that the Afrikaner population, too, had been injured by attempts at colonial subjugation by the British. This perspective was carefully laid out in the political party submission of the Freedom Front. Describing the effects of the discovery of South Africa's mineral wealth, General Constand Viljoen states:

It invited the greedy attentions of colonialist powers, particularly Great Britain who in its imperialistic drive soon had second thoughts on its endorsement of the independence of existing Boer republics ... The result was war and trauma of a sort that have in a way not yet been resolved.

For it conditioned the white tribe of Africa – the Afrikaners – to consolidate in a nation around the dangerous sentiments of a collective sense of injustice, discrimination and deprivation.

- 74 In the first Freedom Front submission, General Viljoen suggests:

We may have redirected our quarrel with the British to our compatriots in South Africa.

The apartheid context

- 75 The third and most direct political context was the NP policy of apartheid, long rooted in colonialism and segregation, but increasingly from 1948 – and particularly after the banning of the PAC and the ANC in 1960 – involving a direct struggle between oppressed and oppressor: an armed conflict which gradually intensified over the subsequent years. Here of course the political perspectives differed widely. For the PAC the conflict was:

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

- 76 For the ANC, apartheid was, quite starkly: "a crime against humanity".
- 77 By contrast, for supporters of the NP, 'separate development' was a defensible policy fashioned in order to solve local problems. The NP submission to the Commission on 21 August 1996 states that:

We thought we could solve the complex problems that confronted us by giving each of the ten distinguishable Black South African nations self-government and independence in the core areas that they had traditionally occupied ... The underlying principle of territorial partition to assure self-determination for different peoples living in a common area was widely accepted.

78 Further on, the same NP submission says:

The great majority of those who served in the security forces during the conflict were honourable, professional and dedicated men and women. They were convinced that their cause was just, necessary and legitimate.

The perception of those on the side of the Government was accordingly that the installation of an ANC Government would lead to Communist domination. They believed that in conducting their struggle against the ANC, they were playing an important role in the West's global resistance to the expansion of Soviet Communism.

79 How did the purported idealism of the apparently righteous struggle of the Afrikaners for self-determination go wrong? Here again, not surprisingly, there are differing political perspectives. For Mr FW de Klerk, who repeatedly stated that he had no knowledge of NP or cabinet authorisation of gross human rights violations, things went wrong because:

You cannot fight that type of thing in the normal way.

80 The result, according to the NP submission, was:

... more authority to the security people to fight a very specific kind of war, and across the world where this type of war occurred there have been these aberrations.

81 The version of the Freedom Front submission was that Afrikaners, rooted originally in the ideals of 'freedom from bondage', gradually lost their way and, during this process, the NP denied "on a racial basis, democratic rights to others" and found themselves "far removed from their traditional value systems". According to General Constand Viljoen, the NP –

started slipping and they had to resort to unconventional devices, propaganda and group force in order to keep political control.

82 The ANC submission puts a different argument:

Apartheid oppression and repression was therefore not an aberration of a well-intentioned undertaking that went horribly wrong. Neither was it, as we were told later, an attempt to stave off the 'evil of communism'. Its ideological underpinnings and the programmes set in motion constituted a deliberate and systematic mission of a ruling clique that saw itself the champion of a 'super-race'. In order to maintain and reproduce a political and social order which is premised upon large-scale denial of human rights, far reaching and vicious criminal, security and penal codes were necessary ... the system increasingly relied upon intimidation, coercion and violence to curb and eliminate the opposition that apartheid inevitably engendered.

83 Racism, as a central ideological ingredient at the core of the political struggle, was unfortunately underplayed in the NP submission. Racism as an ideology, a means of domination and oppression, provided the central grounds for the systematic exclusion, segregation and denigration of the black majority. Racism is a systematic ideological doctrine which creates the 'other' as essentially different. In South Africa this was the rhetorical basis for apartheid and 'separate development': blacks required development, but at their own, slower and different pace, since (as the argument went) they were essentially different from the more civilised, developed people of European origins. Not only politicians but also leading academics, scientists, theologians and churches such as the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) provided constant fuel to bolster such ideological positions. Racism, it hardly bears reminding, also served to distance and to dehumanise the black 'other', a process which opened the way for violence. In the practice of torture, for instance, black people were more severely brutalised in the main than white people.

84 These three political frameworks, the cold war, anti-colonialism and the racist and oppressive apartheid regime, ideologically fuelled by Christian-Nationalism and increasing militarism, provided the arguments and justifications, the passions and the furies for the eventual commission of dreadful deeds. If political frameworks provide the fuel for atrocities, they must also form the focus of primary attention for future prevention. Political contexts do not, however, provide the full set of explanations.

■ OTHER EXPLANATIONS OF MOTIVES

Individualistic psychological explanations

- 85 In a comprehensive analysis of many and varied forms of evil deeds, Baumeister distinguishes between four main clusters of motives underlying the actions of perpetrators¹². In this section, a slightly different but overlapping scheme is followed, also listing four main forms of explanation. It ends with an enquiry as to which forms of explanation best fit the South African situation and which apply best to particular forms of violent action – for example, torture and ‘mob’ killings. Both the popular and more scientific understandings of perpetrators are interrogated. In addressing motives, it is important to be mindful that reasons are likely to be pluralistic, overlapping, multi-layered and contingent on particular and local circumstances.
- 86 Popular accounts sooner or later raise the suggestion that violence is due either to deep, ingrained aspects of human nature (“it is in our nature to be violent” or “he is inherently evil”) or to various forms of psychological malady (“these actions are crazy, mad or mindless” or “these torturers must be sadists”). Since these everyday examples are so widespread and commonplace, they warrant asking questions about the substance of such claims. Much of the social psychological evidence points against these hypotheses, however.

Human nature

- 87 Let us examine the first claim, that violence is in our human nature. The notion is usually couched in some form of evolutionary or biological explanation – that we have descended from animals, that current violence is a throwback to more primordial, primitive or regressed forms, or that there are particular biological mechanisms (genes, primitive brain stems, hormones) that predispose us to repeated episodes of atrocities. Against this, one should consider the following. Why is it that mass atrocities appear only at certain historical times and not others? Why is it that some societies or cultures are in the main peaceable? Why is it that half of humanity, women, are not particularly violent and are seldom involved in large-scale atrocities? Even if one could identify atavistic predisposing factors, this would not explain the plain fact that large-scale killings (as in Rwanda, Bosnia, the Holocaust, the cultural revolution in China and Cambodia) occur over relatively brief historical periods and then cease. Atavistic accounts are simply not adequate.

¹² These are listed as follows: (i) as means to an end, (ii) egotism and revenge, (iii) true believers and idealists, and (iv) joy of hurting.

Psychological abnormalities

88 The claim that violence is due to psychological dysfunction appears to warrant more attention. Nevertheless, the bulk of the international literature on atrocities and perpetrators¹³ reports little evidence of severe abnormality. Even in regard to sadism (Baumeister's final potential motive of perpetrators: pleasure in hurting others), the general consensus is that, while it cannot be entirely dismissed, only about 5 per cent of all types of perpetrators (for example, serial killers, torturers, rapists) may be classed as sadists, and furthermore that this motive is gradually and slowly acquired over time. It is not inherent, but a consequence rather of earlier perpetration of violence. Although there is scant evidence that perpetrators suffer from major or severe psychological pathologies, other studies suggest that perpetrators may experience severe stress and anxiety along with denial, disassociation, 'doubling' and other defence mechanisms¹⁴.

89 In the South African case, some submissions to the Commission have made claims of post-traumatic stress disorder among some perpetrators. However, the diagnostic manual on post-traumatic stress disorder attributes this state to victims, not to perpetrators. Furthermore, post-traumatic stress disorder, even if diagnosed among perpetrators, is far more likely to be a consequence of appalling actions, not primarily a causal factor. There is sizeable evidence that perpetrators experience severe stress reactions, and take to heavy bouts of drinking and drug-taking: but these are consequences.

90 An extract from the written statement of Koevoet member Mr John Deegan states:

I really had bad dreams ... I have dreams of bodies, or parts of bodies ... like an arm ... this is a recurring dream I still have now ... an arm sticking out of the ground and I'm trying to cover it up and there were people around and I know that I killed them, whatever is down there and its been down there for weeks ... and it is this intense feeling of guilt and horror that this thing has come out of the ground again ... and I had a dream that I actually met a guy that I shot.

91 While it is premature for the Commission to draw any final conclusions on this matter, the considerable bulk of international literature, and also the testimony submitted to the Commission, suggests that severe psychological dysfunction is not a primary cause of atrocities. Instead, most commentators have emphasised

13 For some recent accounts see: Browning (1992); N Kressel, Mass hate, New York: Plenum, 1996; E Staub, The roots of evil, Cambridge University Press, 1989.

14 See Kressel (1996), R Lifton, The Nazi doctors, New York: Basic Books, 1986.

the ordinary, rather unexceptional character of perpetrators, typified in Hannah Arendt's celebrated phrase, the "banality of evil", or in Browning's term "ordinary men"¹⁵. In this regard, it is instructive to quote Colonel Eugene de Kock, the Vlakplaas multiple killer who distances himself from psychological accounts that put the blame on childhood experiences, another form of explanation which seeks dysfunctions.

*I know it has become fashionable to blame a person's adulthood on his childhood ... But such an approach makes me uncomfortable. I do not believe my childhood was especially bizarre. To be sure, my father was the proverbial hard man and he drank too much. So what? Many sons had hard men and drinkers for fathers ... I find it unacceptable to blame my father and my home life for me.*¹⁶

- 92 Along similar lines, in explanation of ANC-inspired SDUs in Gauteng townships, the Commission heard testimony that such persons were not dysfunctional but quite dutiful citizens. At the special hearing on children and youth, the Commission heard that –

... far from being a bunch of undisciplined comrades or the last generation, SDUs were in many ways the backbone of defence in certain townships.

- 93 Rather it was the social system and wider context that changed people. Mr Jimmy Nkondo, who joined an SDU at age thirteen –

... changed from a carefree young man who enjoyed school and sport to a person with no mercy. Instead of being nurtured in the family home he became a killing machine. There was no choice, it was kill or be killed.

Authoritarianism

- 94 Before leaving individualistic psychological explanations, it is worth asking whether perpetrators are not self-selected, that is, people with particular kinds of personality predispositions who are drawn to certain careers and circumstances to emerge as killers and torturers. The theory of the authoritarian personality presents such a view. Rooted in earlier thinking from the 1920s, the authoritarian thesis was made famous in a major book published in 1950¹⁷. A particular kind of person,

¹⁵ H Arendt, Eichmann in Jerusalem. New York: Viking, 1964; Browning, (1992).

¹⁶ De Kock (1998) p. 45.

¹⁷ T Adorno et al, The authoritarian personality. New York: Harper, 1950.

the 'authoritarian personality', it was claimed, emerged from rigid and punitive family structures. Drawing on psychoanalytic theory, it was argued that children of such families split off and repressed feelings of hostility and resentment towards their parents and projected these hostile feelings towards members of weaker and stigmatised groups. As Adorno once put it, authoritarians metaphorically resemble cyclists: "above they bow, below they kick". Authoritarians as a type also manifest a particular pattern of social attitudes: ethnocentrism (or favouritism towards their own group), prejudice towards out-group members, anti-democratic views and a propensity towards conservatism and fascist ideology.

- 95 There is solid and reliable recent evidence that authoritarianism was manifest among white South Africans, that it was correlated with anti-black prejudice and anti-democratic tendencies, and was more prevalent among Afrikaans rather than English-speakers, and among those who regarded themselves as conservative.
- 96 In recent years, the theoretical base of authoritarianism has been revised. It is no longer seen as rooted primarily in either intrapsychic conflict or in strict, hierarchical and rigid family socialisation. Rather, it is a set of beliefs expressing strong and loyal identification with one's own social or cultural group – ethnic, national, racial, religious – with strong demands on group togetherness (cohesion). Respect and unconditional obedience is given to own-group leaders and authorities (an attitude of bowing to the top) while authoritarian aggression reflects negative prejudice, intolerance and punitiveness towards out-group members (the kicks below). Authoritarianism in this view is a form of social identity rather than a particular personality type. It is nevertheless a modality of identity with tendencies towards hostility towards 'others' – expressed in South Africa as the intolerance and hostility of whites towards blacks and those on the left¹⁸. It is certainly not far-fetched to argue that such people may be drawn towards lives in the police and the army, themselves rather rigid and hierarchical institutions, which then reinforce authoritarian tendencies that are already present. Hence, self-selection on psychological grounds is quite feasible.
- 97 But does this offer an explanation for a predisposition to commit atrocities? Evidence is really rather thin. There is no direct evidence that shows that authoritarian identities are actually more violent in terms of behaviour. Research of this sort has shown evidence of expressed intolerance, prejudice, racism and anti-democratic tendencies but not direct evidence of murderous actions. It is dubious in the additional sense that there may be many authoritarians in a given social order,

¹⁸ J Duckitt, *The social psychology of prejudice*. New York: Springer, 1992.

but far fewer perpetrators of violent deeds. Therefore the links to violence are neither direct nor proven.

- 98 However, authoritarianism may form a contributing factor in the propensity towards violence in that both central elements of the authoritarian personality – obedience and loyalties to in-group authorities, and hostile distancing from others (a tendency towards dehumanisation of the ‘enemy’) – have been directly implicated in aggression. It is a feasible link in the chain; it is not the whole story.
- 99 In evidence before the Commission it would seem that many perpetrators, particularly from the security forces and right-wing organisations, would fit rather closely the description of authoritarian identity. Certainly there is evidence that security force training, perhaps particularly of the sort found in South Africa prior to 1994, may facilitate such tendencies. Here again are extracts from Mr John Deegan’s testimony, describing police training:

During police training at the college in Pretoria, the ‘code of silence’ was soon inculcated into new recruits through various methods of indoctrination and brainwashing and reprisals for not being one of the group. If one person stepped out of line, no matter how trivial the offence, the whole platoon or company would be punished. Individualistic behaviour was punishable not only by the system of instructors, trainers and officers, but by your peers as well – fellow trainees eventually through fear of punishment would punish fellow students before infringements came to the notice of superiors ... I learnt early on in my training that individualism was out.

- 100 It should be apparent from the above that violence is not a matter of individual psychology alone. It is the combination of personal biographies interwoven with institutional forms (organisations, military structures, hierarchical arrangements of power) and an escalation of events in historical terms that provides the assemblages or configurations that produce awful deeds. It is not a mechanistic formula. Since authoritarianism in this view is a particular form of identification, social identity frameworks as potential motives for violence will now be examined.

Social identities: Preconditions for violations

- 101 Put most simply, people do not act only due to personal or individual attributes. We also act in terms of the norms, values, standards of groups that provide us with social identities (racial, national, ethnic, gendered). When groups are in

hostile, suspicious relations with each other, we are capable of acting towards others in a dehumanised fashion, treating them as the enemy, as described in Mr Adriaan Vlok's statement:

We also have to remember that we were engaged in war and that makes it even more difficult to really do what you ought to do. And we made a mistake, we should have listened to people ... but we were engaged in a war, we had all been indoctrinated not to listen to each other ...

- 102 In such situations, people act primarily in terms of their social identities rather than personal attributes. What implications does this have for explaining violence? The critical implication is that the psychological dynamics of inter-group relations are of a different order from those of interpersonal relations. Perpetrators' actions are instances of inter-group rather than interpersonal relations, and require a different order of psychological explanation. A range of possible options may make the contrast clear.
- 103 One class of account places the emphasis on a loss of personal identity, or a loss of moral restraints. This understanding is common enough in everyday descriptions such as "killing frenzy", "mob madness" "war brutalisation" or "losing control". This "loss", or dysfunctional, class of understanding is also prevalent in formal psychological theorising such as de-individuation, extreme stress, frustration, aggression and the like. These versions imply a move away (disintegration) from a normal personal rationality into a mode of irrationality, or a regressed, more 'primitive' state.
- 104 A second class of understanding motives explains violence as a product of personal or interpersonal psychology. Violence is due either to an intrinsic personality trait or type such as a sadist, psychopath, Machiavellian or authoritarian type, or conversely an inner psychological state or mood (rage, jealousy, frustration, revenge, provocation induced via interpersonal processes and interactions). Such explanations do not account adequately for violence against categories of people with whom we have little or no interaction, as in the case of warfare. The two domains, interpersonal and inter-group, are controlled by different processes.
- 105 A third class of explanations is located at an inter-group level. We act towards or against others because they are construed as members of other groups/categories: the 'enemy' or the out-group. Processes which contrast group differences, stereotype the other and promote ethnocentrism all serve to differentiate, distance

from and ultimately dehumanise members of other groups. This goes hand in hand with strong feelings. This is put very succinctly by Mr Adriaan Vlok in his testimony to the Commission:

I believe that most policemen who found themselves in such a situation, where he found himself obliged to act in an illegal way, probably did this by virtue of his position as a policeman and not from personal considerations.

- 106 Numerous and multiply overlapping influences reinforce and manufacture these particular social identities. Here again is former Minister Vlok:

There was a plethora of various influences on a typical Afrikaans-speaking conservative, Christian person, for instance teachers at schools, parents and the way they brought up their children, professors and teachers at university, eminent people in society by means of statements and documents, the press, politicians in their statements and policies and the ministers in their churches.

- 107 The generalised categorisation and dehumanisation of the other was chillingly expressed by amnesty applicant Victor Mthembu when asked why children as young as nine months of age were attacked. He replied: "a snake gives birth to another snake". While the expressed aim was given as an attack against the ANC and particularly the SDUs organised by the ANC, Mr Mthembu said: "... we did not discriminate, it was not discriminated against as to who was attacked".

- 108 It may be noted that social identity theory does not explain violence itself, but the preconditions of violence. It is employed here in order to emphasise the necessity of locating explanations of mass violence at the inter-group rather than the interpersonal or intrapsychic levels alone. It is obvious enough that racialised identities loomed very large on the South African landscape. There is plenty of evidence of racialised prejudice, stereotyping and distancing. Here are three examples from reports to the Commission:

I'd say that Apartheid turned me from being a human being into a white man, and so for me the motivation of joining the struggle against Apartheid was to seek to recover my own humanity I'd been robbed of by Apartheid ... under Apartheid I found it impossible to be a neighbour to a person of a different colour ... I was locked into the relationship of oppressors and oppressed. (Father Michael Lapsley, victim of a parcel bomb.)

At the time of the killing we were in very high spirits and the white people were oppressive, we had no mercy on the white people. A white person was a white person to our eyes. (Mr Ntombeki Peni, granted amnesty for the murder of Amy Biehl.)

... the Lord wished separate peoples to maintain their separateness (Apartheid) ... respect for the principles of Apartheid had God's blessing. (DRC's submission to the Commission.)

- 109 While racial and ethnic identities (which also promoted division among black people) were made particularly salient as a systematic part of apartheid and Christian-National ideology, these were not the only pertinent identities. Religious identities, for instance, became intertwined with the military defence of apartheid:

Through the idea of the total onslaught, the Church immediately became an ally in the war. The total onslaught concept assumed that only twenty per cent of the onslaught was of military nature, eighty per cent was directed against the economical and spiritual welfare of the people ... the Church was now totally convinced that we were fighting a just war. Almost every synod of the DRC during this time supported the military effort in their prayers. (Reverend Neels du Plooy, during the hearings on compulsory military service.)

- 110 An additional form of salient identity, often ignored in explanation of mass atrocities, is that of masculinity. It is most surprising to find, in masses of literature on atrocities of many kinds, the sheer neglect of a simple fact: most of these acts are committed almost exclusively by men. Few women were found among perpetrators in the South African case. Although this is a matter which requires further investigation, this pattern of overwhelming male predominance among perpetrators appears to be confirmed in the preliminary analysis of the period under review by the Commission.
- 111 What is the relation between masculinity and violence? There have been many and varied efforts to explain male aggression: genes, hormones, socialisation, roles, essence, archetypes, peer pressure, status, careers, warrior mythology, the Oedipal complex and more. Patriarchy, the ideology of male domination, portrays men as protectors and defenders of women, property, territory and nation. Patriarchy is a significant explanation of the male's apparent propensity towards violence, but patriarchy as ideology itself requires explanation. It is beyond the scope of this report to explore the issue fully, but it remains an important part of the

understanding of violence. In South Africa, it is clear that patriarchy and the cult of masculinity has been embedded deeply in each of the various cultural streams: black, Boer, British. Its significance as a contributing factor should not be undermined.

- 112 Masculinity intertwines with other identities, for instance those forged in military establishments. Baumeister lists egotism (self-pride or group-pride, bordering on self-aggrandisement) as one of the key motives of perpetrators. Masculinity intertwined with militarism jointly act as constituents of potentially lethal forms of egotism. Here again is Mr John Deegan, later a Koevoet operative, talking about police training. Apart from fear, discipline and propaganda there was also pride.

Pride was also worked into the equation and in the closed smallness of our lives under training, pride became of paramount importance. Pride in ourselves and our platoons. Pride in the company of platoons. Pride in the college. Pride in the police force, the nation, the country, the flag. Pride and patriotism. By the end of our training we were fully indoctrinated in the functions of the established system ... they strip away your individuality and they make you a man, kind of thing.

- 113 Here is a more stark statement given at the special hearing on compulsory military service:

Action, especially for young national servicemen, is often a thrill, an ego-trip. There is a tremendous sense of power in beating someone up – even if you are the most put-upon dumb sonofabitch, you are still better than a kaffir and can beat him up to prove it.

- 114 This last quote is a stark example of the intertwining of multiple identity forms to produce violence. A threatened sense of masculinity is interwoven with a racialised identity and militarism to effect a volatile mixture. It bears repeating that it is not merely a single identity form that leads to violence. Multiple social identities such as masculinity and racial, militaristic and national patriotism combine with religious, ethnic and political identities to render people quite willingly capable of murderous deeds in the play of egotism and pride. If the construction of particular identities provides the preconditions for violence, it is the contradictory pushes and pulls, sequences and spirals of situations that provide the triggers.

Situations: triggers of violence

- 115 If there is a single dominant message emerging from psychological research over the past fifty years, it is a tale that emphasises the persuasive power of the immediate situation. While it is dangerous to regard situational forces as inevitable since there are always possibilities of resistance, it would be as much of an error to see resistance to situational forces as merely freedom of choice, strength of character or individual moral maturity. We are social creatures, and resistance to situational powers is also a matter of positioning in relation to others. For instance, resistance to the powers of group pressure is easier if you are part of a small group standing together, than on your own.
- 116 The literature in this area is quite technical and complex and a more detailed account is given in Foster's paper to the Commission¹⁹. Centrally at issue here is a question of the motives involved in 'binding people' into groups and to authority. There are three main motivational processes: compliance, identification and internalisation.

Binding forces

- a *Compliance* is a process of going along with a group because we wish to avoid censure (avoid sticking out like a sore thumb) or gain approval, and because groups provide us with information, they shape reality.
 - b *Identification* is a second process of binding a person to authority, in which one 'goes along' because one feels the same identity (group, culture, racial, national) as the authority. This is the version of social identity theory, given above.
 - c *Internalisation* is a process in which one goes along, complies with a particular institutional authority because it is consonant, in agreement with one's values.
- 117 While these three processes begin to explain why we become bound into groups, institutions and authorities, they do not yet suggest violence. Stanley Milgram's experiments, in which ordinary people gave high levels of electric shocks to innocent people in a laboratory, point out further processes in the steps towards violent actions.²⁰

¹⁹ D Foster, 'Perpetrators of gross violations of human rights'. Paper submitted to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, May 1997.

²⁰ S Milgram, *Obedience to authority*. New York: Harper, 1974.

- 118 Two intertwined sets of processes are discernible from Milgram's work. On the one hand, there are those forces that bind the person into the situation. On the other hand, there are processes that distance us from the victim. These two operate in tandem. The 'binding in' processes turn on the hierarchy, surveillance and legitimacy of authority. Obedience to authority even to the point of acting violently is more likely when authorities are powerful, act as a group (consensually), are regarded as legitimate and have increased surveillance. On the other side, the greater the degree of psychological distance from the victim, and the more the perpetrator is reduced to a link in the chain of orders (the bureaucratic process), the more substantial is the degree of violence. Obedience to authority is not inevitable however. When circumstances were so arranged that two peers rebelled together, obedience dropped dramatically. Milgram commented as follows:

Revolt against malevolent authority is most effectively brought about by collective rather than individual action. (1974, p. 116.)

- 119 Two further aspects are pertinent to an understanding of the binding to authority. Both refer to subtle, almost imperceptible, but powerful 'rules' that operate in everyday life. The first refers to the sheer embarrassment involved in refusal. It requires making a scene, disruption, argument, making a fuss. The second process involves sequencing: a step-by-step interactive spiral that draws the person in – by volunteering in the first instance, by accepting the early steps, by being drawn into the experimenter's definition of the situation and by 'tuning in' to the authority rather than the victim.
- 120 These two processes, working together, operate in subtle, quite normal ways to suck a person into a positioning of obedience, rendering refusals and resistance difficult. Regarding this process of sequencing, here we extract from John Deegan's story.

Slowly the artistic side started slipping away and I started getting into the kind of conventional, macho world of things.

I really didn't understand the function of the Special Branch until I was in it ... I thought I could still hold onto the real person in me, the artist, the sensitive idealist ... I thought I could actually do good within the police force ... but the system changed me, and it was a long process of erosion and mixing with these people and becoming part of the culture.

- 121 As Bauman stated in his study of the Holocaust: "Cruelty is social in its origins much more than it is characterological"²¹. Other studies have shown that it is particular roles and positions that people are placed in, rather than their personal characters, that lead to abusive actions. Perpetrators themselves may be in part victims of their circumstances; lines may blur and grey areas appear.
- 122 Crimes of obedience occur due to three main reasons, reiterating themes already discussed above.
- a *Authorisation* is the process in which authorities order, implicitly encourage, or tacitly approve of violence. The impulse to obey orders, to follow rules even with pride (to do one's duty) propels perpetrators forward.
 - b *Routinisation* is understood as a sequence in which events are organised as routine, repetitive, programmed: little in the way of serious thinking or decision is required.
 - c *Dehumanisation* is a process in which victims are transformed into creatures to whom normal morality does not apply.
- 123 Although the top political structures of the apartheid government repeatedly denied giving orders, as in the words of former Minister Vlok, "I never gained the impression anybody proposed an instruction or issued an instruction with such a sinister objective", it is also quite clear that in the minds of operatives such as Colonel Eugene de Kock, they were acting under orders. There seems to be ample evidence of such orders in De Kock's recent book. It is also clear from De Kock's account that all these factors implicated in crimes of obedience – that is, authorisation, routinisation, and dehumanisation – systematically became part of the security force culture.

Language and ideology

- 124 It is commonplace to treat language as mere words, not deeds, therefore language is taken to play a minimal role in understanding violence. The Commission wishes to take a different view here. Language, discourse and rhetoric *does* things: it constructs social categories, it gives orders, it persuades us, it justifies, explains, gives reasons, excuses. It constructs reality. It moves certain people against other people.

21 Z Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*. London: Fontana, 1989, p.116.

125 Apartheid discourse constructed socialised categories, enshrined in the language of laws, which forged differences and distance between groups. As the spiral of conflict escalated and the ANC and PAC turned to armed struggle in the 1960s, so the language of the apartheid security apparatus broadened. From the late 1970s onwards, the language of 'total onslaught and total strategy' enmeshed people increasingly in a discourse of militarism, side-taking and construction of 'enemies'. From the side of the liberation movements, the apartheid regime was similarly constructed as the 'enemy'. A spiral of discourses increasingly dehumanised the 'other', creating the conditions for violence.

126 Language calls people up, motivates people for action. Mr Clive Derby-Lewis testified in his amnesty application for the murder of ANC leader Mr Chris Hani:

Dr Treurnicht had called us up for the third freedom struggle, Mr Chairman, which in Afrikaner history means only one thing.

127 Language instructs and advises people. Here again is Mr Clive Derby-Lewis:

In terms of the Bible teachings ... we as Christians are told that it is our duty to fight the anti-Christ in whichever way we can ... the impression I got from Dr Treurnicht was that under certain circumstances it would be permissible to even kill in the battle against the anti-Christ.

128 Former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok noted with some surprise in hindsight that language could potentially construct a climate of violence, but he conceded eventually that this could be so.

It is a fact that our country, especially during the conflict of the past, was plunged into a war psychosis where ... words and expressions which were derived from the military became part of the vernacular, just as other expressions with the same import became part of the revolutionary language. At that stage there was nothing unnatural or unusual in the use of these expressions. It is however so, as already said, that with the benefit of hindsight, it is an indisputable fact that there wasn't necessary consideration of the perspectives in interpretations of other people who did not attend those meetings.

I realise with shock now, with shock and dismay that this language usage obviously and apparently gave rise to illegal actions by policemen whereby not only victims were prejudiced but from which also certain negative results came for policemen and their families.

I don't know how the man on the ground saw the position. Perhaps because of the greater pressure we exerted on them, they experienced greater pressure to act illegally ... and perhaps then ... we pressurised them to such an extent that it led to people being killed and that policemen landed up in problem situations. Once again it was a case of perceptions which we perhaps had a hand in creating because I said to the policemen and the men on the ground, you have to achieve and perform, you have to solve this problem and this matter. So perhaps, if that led to that kind of pressure, I'm sorry.

- 129 If Minister Vlok is surprised at the manner in which language could create impressions, Eugene de Kock is quite adamant about the meaning of certain expressions. In testimony, De Kock indicated that orders were usually given in the form of euphemisms such as “go for a drive” (a person wouldn’t return), “had to be removed”, “neutralise” “make a plan with these people”. De Kock laconically commented that the phrase “take them out” did not mean that “you had to take the person out and entertain them”. Referring to the orders to bomb Khotso House, De Kock expressed surprise that in this case the orders were quite clearly to “blow up”. Usually, he said, the instruction would be “to shake up a little” or “to put a couple of cracks in the wall”. Although the link between language and violence in the South African case has not yet been studied sufficiently and must form part of a future research agenda, the above examples point to the importance of the topic.

- 130 In the UDF submission to the Commission, the question of language and violence is discussed as follows:

The usage of militant language within the Front took place against a background of increasing struggle and general escalation of violence. We were concerned about this development and discouraged the use of militant rhetoric. But, having looked at this question hard and for a long time among us, we concede that the language used by some of us from time to time could have provided the reasonable basis for some of our members to infer that violence and even killing was acceptable.

- 131 Ideology is a form of power in which meaning (signification) serves to sustain and reproduce relations of domination. Language, in its many and varied forms, is the central element in ideology as power. As language, ideology ‘does things’. In the South African context, it is important to understand how multiple discourses combined, intersected and intertwined to create climates of violence. In this

respect, the ideologies of racism, patriarchy, religions, capitalism, apartheid and militarism all intertwined to 'manufacture' people capable of violence. Ideologies in these sorts of combinations provide the means and grounds for people to act violently and yet, ironically, believe they are acting in terms of worthy, noble and morally righteous principles. Thus some Afrikaner nationalists could claim a 'just war' not against black people, but against Communism. There are examples of such rhetoric above. On the other side, with greater legitimacy, the liberation movements could justify violence as a means to a greater end, 'freedom and democracy'. Although that has indeed been the result, the language and slogans deployed could nonetheless justify atrocities of various forms.

- 132 In this sense, the language of violence takes a form akin to a dialogue, an arrangement of sequences and spirals that enmesh each side and in turn increase the likelihood of violent acts. These steps and sequences have been described as a process of "ideological acceleration". People in political movements take a series of steps which increasingly commit them to their ideological arguments and lead them to distance themselves from outsiders.

The sequence consists of acts of increasing violent contempt for outsiders. It may start with words and uniforms and end in killing.²²

- 133 It is sufficiently plain that language, discourses and ideological processes are important factors in the understanding of the motives of perpetrators. Human beings act in terms of the meanings of particular situations.

■ TWO NEGLECTED FACTORS

- 134 It is frequently unremarked that violence is perpetrated mainly by men. While it needs more research, this chapter has dealt with this neglected area above. Two further factors are also often neglected. The first is the place of special organisations, the second the role of secrecy and silence. Taken together, attention to these matters may enhance understanding of particular contexts of atrocities as well as pointing towards possible remedial actions.

Special organisations

- 135 Surely it is only some people, not others, and then only a relatively small number, who actually committed atrocities in South Africa. One may be tempted back to characterological explanations, but these, as we have seen, generally run into

²² P du Preez, *Genocide*. London: Bayers/Bowerdean, 1994.

infertile ground. More fertile soil presents itself in the form of special organisations. People join up or are recruited, and are then selectively drawn deeper into the organisational culture in sequential steps of training, specialised allocation and 'ideological acceleration'. South African history is littered with special groupings of a semi-secretive nature, designed to do either ideological work (the *Broederbond*) or repressive work, or sometimes both.

- 136 The military and the police are habitually semi-closed establishments, but within them, given the specialised divisions of labour of modernity, some sections are given even more clandestine tasks: the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), the State Security Council (SSC), the National Security Management System (NSMS), the National Intelligence Service (NIS), Joint Management Centres (JMCs), the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) – a euphemism if ever there was one – *Koevoet*, Vlakplaas, the Roodeplaat Research Laboratory, the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB), C10, Stratcom and others that may yet be unearthed. On the other side of the struggle, for somewhat different reasons, there were also specialised organisations. Not least of these were the armed wings, such as MK and APLA, as well as SDUs, which also operated in clandestine ways. Special organisations within Inkatha, such as the Caprivi-trained group, as well as numerous township vigilante groups (such as *witdoeke*), constitute further examples. Within many of these organisations, yet smaller groups were given the task of special operations. According to John Deegan:

... becoming part of the culture ... you have the police force culture and the plainclothes culture ... and then you have the Special Branch and within the Special Branch you have still smaller and smaller cliques and inner circles and really there is such clandestine stuff.

- 137 There is appreciable evidence of the involvement of these organisations and special operations groups in atrocities. Further investigation is needed to explore the *modus operandi* of such special groups: methods of training, recruitment, hierarchical responsibilities, psychological profiles and the like. Until the work of the Amnesty Committee is complete, final conclusions would be premature. The role and place of specialised groupings in murderous deeds remains an important avenue for future research.

Secrecy and silence

- 138 Secrecy was particularly characteristic of apartheid rule. The massive curtailment

of press freedom, restrictions on academic freedom, a considerable increase in censorship, the banning of organisations – all these went hand in hand with secrecy of the security apparatus and even of cabinet and parliamentary procedures. Along with secrecy went silence, and much of the country's populace was silent, through fear, apathy, indifference or genuine lack of information. Finally, some of the victims were silenced – through death, being killed because they knew too much, or through imprisonment, detention, threats and torture. Collaborators, spies and double agents did their work in secrecy and silence. The silence of the media, the state and collaborators, along with the secrets held inside sequestered special organisations, all helped to jog the terrible process onwards. Much has emerged through the Commission; the amnesty process is still in progress. Yet many secrets and silences remain in various closets.

- 139 The antidotes are simple and clear. Open, transparent, accountable government should remain a central priority. Academic freedom and freedom of the press should be inviolable principles. Security forces should be prised open; their operations, budgets and methods of training opened to public scrutiny. Non-accountable vigilante groupings should be regarded with suspicion and concern. If atrocities thrive in the soil and climate of silence and secrecy, one must remove the conditions in which they flower. Much has already been effected through the new Constitution. More remains to be done to cultivate a climate favourable to human rights, in all social institutions.

■ TWO CASE EXAMPLES: TORTURERS AND 'MOBS'

- 140 Having considered the array of motives, perspectives and explanations outlined above, let us speculatively apply them in the case of two rather different forms of human rights abuses. Perpetrators' actions cannot necessarily be understood in terms of the same set of factors.

Torturers

- 141 Although some torture took place at the hands of liberation movements, the bulk of torturers were members of the security police – paid state officials using state powers, including draconian laws providing for protracted periods of detention for purposes of interrogation²³. In such cases, victims were almost entirely at the mercy of their captors. It was a closed system of state powers, governed by

23 D Foster, D Davis and D Sandler, *Detention and torture in South Africa* Cape Town: David Philip, 1987.

the legal apparatus. As such, it involved forms and paperwork, working shifts, possibilities of job promotion, and lines of hierarchical authority going up, in principle, to ministerial level. Despite the official lines of authority, it was, due to its secrecy, also open to falsification, fabrication of documents, lies and distortions, as evidenced by the operations of Vlakplaas. Senior officials, while ultimately responsible, did not always want to know the details. As Eugene de Kock put it in testimony to the Commission:

They [senior officials] would have a document that, should anything happen, that "this was only a suggestion, we never did it". In other words by means of [euphemistic] language, they removed themselves from the death, from the attack itself. And I'm not trying to place a burden on people, I'm just telling you how it worked in those days.

- 142 How to describe the motives of torturers? From testimony to the Commission it is clear that most, deeply informed by the ideologies and discourses of apartheid, total onslaught rhetoric, and the masculine and militarised culture of the Security Branch, believed that they were doing their duty. Clearly they perceived themselves as authorised from above. Such people were praised, promoted and received awards for such activities (Eugene de Kock was, for instance, repeatedly decorated). Compliance with the norms of police culture constituted additional binding practices. Egotism and pride in doing the task added positive emotions. Only a minority would have been 'true believers' and only a minority would have learned to become sadists – experiencing joy out of hurting; more would have enjoyed the sense of power in such situations. It was not a job done unwillingly.
- 143 The perspective of torturers and victims would have been grossly discrepant. For the latter, the situation would be engulfed in fear, helplessness and terror. For the torturer, the situation would have been a means to an end (breaking a 'bolshie' victim, extracting information, exerting power, doing the job) and somewhat routinised and banal, done in shifts. A combination of such factors, differing to various extents among individuals, would have been sufficient to lead to repeated atrocities. There was little evidence before the Commission that any such perpetrators were suffering from severe psychological abnormalities. Stress, certainly quite commonly expressed, would have been a consequence rather than a cause. Many may have felt shame, remorse and regret. Under entirely changed circumstances, there would be little likelihood of the recurrence of such actions.

Crowd violence

- 144 This constituted a very different situation. In the majority of cases of 'necklace' murders, for instance, victims were members of the same community. Events were fast-paced, apparently emotionally charged and relatively spontaneous. No legal apparatus, bureaucracy and hierarchical authorisation was involved. Perpetrators were, in the main, young men, aligned to liberation movements and linked to youth organisations, bearing the social identities of 'comrades'. Targets of attack were repeatedly people seen as linked to the apartheid system (councillors or their families, police, sell-outs) and invariably rumoured to be, or identified – whether justifiably or not – as *impimpis* (informers).
- 145 The dominant explanation of such atrocities is that of the 'crazed mob'; of people who are out of control, irrational, over-emotional; in the formal nomenclature of psychology, in a state of deindividuation. Violence is apparently due to a loss, a lack, a reduction or regression to more 'primitive' forms of behaviour. There is however an alternative picture of crowds: the sequence of action was far more patterned, directed and limited than usually depicted. Crowd violence was invariably preceded by a series of violent incidents, mostly at the hands of security forces and often leading to the deaths of community members. Crowd violence was directed only at particular targets: people believed to be *impimpis*, or places symbolic of apartheid oppression – beer halls, local council buildings, police vehicles. It was not simply random violence.
- 146 A better explanation comes from social identity theory. While there certainly is a switch that makes people see, think and act in a manner quite different from that of an isolated individual, it is a shift from personal to social identity rather than from individual rationality to a loss of identity or control. Crowd violence is an instance of inter-group action in which particular, local identities (for example, 'comrades' versus 'sell-outs') become salient. People act violently not because they are out of their minds, but because they are acting in terms of a social frame of reference. Emotions ran high because the struggle against apartheid was seen in strongly emotional terms of taking sides against the 'enemy' or against the 'system' of oppression. Lives, quite literally, were on the line. Within such situations, perpetrators became bound and 'sucked in' by the sequences and meanings of the particular events, but it is the salience of local identities, on different sides, that structure the situation. Again it is not psychological dysfunctions that account for the actions. Social explanations are both more plausible and more coherent. Implications are that with changed circumstances, perpetrators are not likely to commit such offences again.

■ PREVENTION OF ATROCITIES

147 If the above descriptions of motives and explanations have merit, then steps towards prevention of future atrocities are quite clear. If political circumstances – literally power arrangements in a social order – constitute the primary explanation, such circumstances must be changed. In South Africa this has already been effected. The dramatic changes which have ushered in the new principles of democracy, non-racialism, non-sexism, and equal opportunity citizenship in a unified state are major steps in the right direction. However, until real economic inequalities are eliminated, until equal opportunities become feasible realities, such noble ideas and principles remain under partial threat.

148 As an important first step towards the prevention of future possibilities of crimes of obedience, the South African Constitution states in Chapter 11, section 199, that:

The security services must act, and must teach and require their members to act, in accordance with the Constitution and the law.

No member of any security service may obey a manifestly illegal order.

149 If secrecy and silence and clandestine organisations provide fertile ground for evil deeds, then solutions lie in open, transparent and accountable social institutions. Since security forces, private armies and vigilante groups constitute particular sites of recruitment, training, propaganda and promotion of violence, these sites demand special scrutiny. Open scrutiny by the public seems the most powerful rehabilitation device. Freedom of the mass media, academic freedom, and the role of civil society as watchdogs are all vital.

150 Since ideologies, discourses and language codes are the constituent grounds for social identities of difference, disparagement and disgust and for inter-group cleavages based on hostility, resentment, suspicion and revenge, these factors demand sharp vigilance and radical change. The various Commissions recently established provide a good start. The vigorous promotion of a culture of human rights, of equality and mutual respect in every sector, is of paramount importance. Particular attention needs to be given to language codes that promote, quite subtly, images of hatred, distance and disparagement between groups.

151 Obedience to authorities, compliance with group norms and the power of the immediate situation were all identified as dangers. Encouragement of dissent,

the power of minor influence and the promotion of dialogue, negotiation and multi-vocality all constitute steps toward prevention.

- 152 If crowds are a potential seedbed for violence, they require adequate channels for expressing voice and opening dialogue. The new Regulation of Gatherings Act is a vast improvement. This Act will require further education and promotion to establish freedom of association, the right of protest and effective channels for dialogue as part of the daily bread of the fledgling democratic order.
- 153 These few ideas, neither too lengthy nor too cumbersome, would seem to be but a limited burden to effect the future prevention of atrocities.

Recommendations

■ COMMITMENT TO RECONCILIATION AND UNITY

The Commission, believing that reconciliation is a process vital and necessary for enduring peace and stability, invites fellow South Africans to:

- accept our own need for healing;
- reach out to fellow South Africans in a spirit of tolerance and understanding;
- work actively to build bridges across the divisions of language, faith and history;
- strive constantly, in the process of transformation, to be sensitive to the needs of those groups which have been particularly disadvantaged in the past, specifically women and children;
- encourage a culture of debate so that, together, we can resolve the pressing issues of our time;
- initiate programmes of action in our own spheres of interest and influence, whether it be education, religion, business, labour, arts or politics, so that the process of reconciliation can be implemented from a grassroots level;
- address the reality of ongoing racial discrimination and work towards a non-racial society;
- call upon leaders in local, provincial and national government to place the goal of reconciliation and unity at the top of their respective agendas.

In order to give expression to this commitment, we request the President of South Africa to call a National Summit on Reconciliation, not only to consider the specific recommendations made by the Commission, but to ensure maximum involvement by representatives of all sectors of our society in the pursuit of reconciliation.

The Summit should be held towards the end of 1999. In this way South Africa, on the eve of the new millennium, should re-commit itself to a future characterised by reconciliation and unity by: –

- re-looking at the haunting memories of conflicts and division;
- opening our eyes to the legacies of the past.

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (the Act) required the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) to make recommendations with regard to the creation of institutions conducive to a stable and fair society and the institutional, administrative and legislative measures which should be introduced to prevent the commission of human rights violations.¹
- 2 However, the Act goes further and grants the Commission powers to make recommendations concerning any matter with a view to promoting or achieving national unity and reconciliation. It is with this in mind that this chapter begins with a statement entitled “Commitment to Reconciliation and Unity”. It is the conviction of the Commission that the goal of reconciliation remains elusive and deserves central importance. This section of the report will also incorporate specific recommendations which, in the opinion of the Commission, contribute to the common search for reconciliation and unity.
- 3 These are followed by a series of recommendations related to specific areas of the public and private sectors that the Commission believes could assist in the consolidation of democracy and the building of a culture of human rights. Although separately itemised, all the recommendations in this chapter should be seen as part of a whole and as contributing to the quest for overall stability and peace in South African society. It is important to state explicitly that there is a need for sensitivity to the particular issues pertaining to women and children.

¹ Sections 3(1)(d) and 4(h) of the Act.

■ RECONCILIATION AND UNITY

- 4 A common criticism of the Commission is that it has been strong on truth but has made little or no contribution to reconciliation.
- 5 History will judge whether or not this particular criticism is accurate. It is, nevertheless, worth making two points in this regard. The first is that, while truth may not always lead to reconciliation, there can be no genuine, lasting reconciliation without truth. Certainly, lies, half-truths and denial are not a desirable foundation on which to build the new South Africa. Second, it is readily conceded that it is not possible for one commission, with a limited life-span and resources, on its own to achieve reconciliation against the background of decades of oppression, conflict and deep divisions.
- 6 The Commission accepts that, if reconciliation and unity are to become a reality in South Africa, the energy and commitment of all of its people will be required. While the Commission may have made a small contribution to laying some foundation stones, proactive steps from all institutions, organisations and individuals will be required if the building is to be completed.
- 7 During the life of the Commission, Commissioners and staff travelled the length and breadth of South Africa. Hearings were held in rural towns and urban cities – in small church halls and large, dignified city halls, in the offices of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), school classrooms, town halls and magistrates' courts. Sometimes attendance was quite small – an intimate community huddled together in grief and memory. On other occasions, halls have been packed to overflowing. The largest audience, in a Port Elizabeth township, consisted of three and a half thousand people, with long queues of people waiting to take the places of those who left. Most times the mood was sombre and dignified; at others, there was an undercurrent of anger. Yet always there was an awareness of a spirit of compassion and acceptance which enabled victims to talk freely and in their own language.
- 8 Above all, the Commission tried to listen, really to listen – not passively but actively – to voices that for so long had been stilled. And as it listened to stories of horror, of pathos and of tragic proportion, it became aware again of the high cost that has been paid by so many for freedom. Commissioners were almost overwhelmed by the capacity of human beings to damage and destroy each other. Yet they listened, too, to stories of great courage, concluding often with

an astonishing generosity of spirit, from those who had for so long carried the burden of loss and tragedy. It was often a deeply humbling experience.

- 9 The Commission also listened to perpetrators describing in awful detail the acts of terror, assassination and torture that they inflicted on so many over so long a period. Here the mood was very different. Encouraging, though, were the expressions of remorse and a seeking for forgiveness on the part of some of those who applied for amnesty.
- 10 In this complicated process of conflict and pain, the Commission often became aware that one of the most destructive legacies of the past is the labelling of sometimes innocent people as 'informers' or collaborators. Individuals and their families were killed, assaulted, harassed and ostracised as a result of this stigmatisation. Many people still live with the daily experience of rejection because they were identified as informers during the period of the Commission's mandate. The problem is complex and not readily resolved and the Commission was unable, in the vast majority of cases, to prove or disprove such allegations. However, the ongoing persecution of these so-called informers is a serious hindrance to the process of reconciliation.
- 11 After so long a journey with so many different and challenging experiences, the Commission concluded that all of South Africa – rural, urban, black, white, men, women and children – had been caught up in oppression and resistance that left no one with clean hands. Reconciliation is necessary for all, because all need to be healed.
- 12 These experiences and conclusions reinforced the view that reconciliation is not something that the Commission alone can achieve. The Commission believes that reconciliation without cost and pain is cheap, shallow and must be spurned. Those who, through the Commission, witnessed the scars on so many human bodies and spirits as well as the deep scars on the country as a whole, found themselves unable to remain onlookers. They came to acknowledge their own complicity, their own weakness, and accepted their own need for healing.
- 13 It is in this spirit of listening, sharing and acknowledging its own need for reconciliation, that the Commission invites its fellow South Africans to share a commitment to reconciliation and unity.

■ PREVENTION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE FUTURE

- 14 One of the essential goals of the Commission was to ensure that there would be no repetition of the past. For reconciliation to have any chance of success, it is imperative that a strong human rights culture be developed. The Commission recognises, however, that for such a culture to become a reality, a number of simultaneous actions will have to take place.

THE RECORDS OF THE COMMISSION'S PROCEEDINGS, THIS REPORT AND THE RECORDED AUDIO AND VIDEO TAPES OF THE PUBLIC HEARINGS FORM A RICH CONTRIBUTION TO THE PUBLIC MEMORY, AND SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE IN THE WIDEST POSSIBLE WAY. MUSEUMS WHICH CELEBRATE DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE PAST SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED AND MAINTAINED.

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

IN REGARD TO THE CREATION OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES, THE COMMISSION APPRECIATES THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR AS WELL AS GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE. TWO AREAS WHICH THE COMMISSION ASKS GOVERNMENT TO CONSIDER ARE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PEACE CORPS AND A MORE FOCUSED EMPHASIS ON PUBLIC WORKS WHICH, BY DEFINITION, WOULD BE LABOUR INTENSIVE.

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

FURTHER, THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT A SCHEME BE PUT INTO PLACE TO ENABLE THOSE WHO BENEFITED FROM APARTHEID POLICIES TO CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS THE ALLEVIATION OF POVERTY. IN SUBMISSIONS MADE TO THE COMMISSION, A WEALTH TAX WAS PROPOSED. THE COMMISSION DOES NOT, HOWEVER, SEEK TO PRESCRIBE ONE OR OTHER STRATEGY, BUT RECOMMENDS THAT URGENT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN BY GOVERNMENT TO HARNESSING ALL AVAILABLE RESOURCES IN THE WAR AGAINST POVERTY.

RECOGNISING THAT RACISM UNDERLIES MANY OF THE RIFTS AND DIVISIONS STILL PRESENT IN SOCIETY, THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS AS WELL AS THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND CIVIL SOCIETY TAKE ALL POSSIBLE MEASURES TO OVERCOME RACISM. SUCH MEASURES SHOULD INCLUDE POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF TRANSFORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT WITH REGARD TO STRUCTURES, CULTURE AND ATTITUDES.

ONE FACTOR MILITATING AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A HUMAN RIGHTS CULTURE IS THE HIGH INCIDENCE OF SERIOUS CRIME. SECURITY OF PERSON AND PROPERTY IS A FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHT. TO ADDRESS THE UNACCEPTABLY HIGH RATE OF SERIOUS CRIME, GOVERNMENT IS REQUESTED TO GIVE CONSIDERATION TO THE INTRODUCTION OF COMMUNITY POLICING AT ALL LEVELS AS A MATTER OF URGENCY.

ANOTHER BARRIER TO THE CREATION OF A HUMAN RIGHTS CULTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA IS THE EXTENT OF WIDESPREAD CORRUPTION IN BOTH THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECTORS. IF THERE IS TO BE AN ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE BY THE GENERAL PUBLIC TO THE WAR AGAINST POVERTY AND CRIME, THERE HAS ALSO TO BE A CORRESPONDING RUTHLESS STAND AGAINST INEFFICIENCY, CORRUPTION AND MALADMINISTRATION AT EVERY LEVEL OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS.

THE RULE OF LAW – THAT PRINCIPLE WHICH ENSURES THAT NO EDICT OF STATE MAY OVERRULE THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS, IS NOW SPECIFICALLY PROTECTED IN THE CONSTITUTION. EVEN IF CONDITIONS REQUIRE THE PROCLAMATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY, NO ONE SHOULD BE ABLE TO BE HELD INCOMMUNICADO AND WITHOUT BEING CHARGED, OR IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE THEY ARE VULNERABLE TO TORTURE AND SEVERE ILL TREATMENT. IN ADDITION, GOVERNMENT SHOULD NEVER AGAIN PASS LEGISLATION INDEMNIFYING THE POLICE OR OTHER SECURITY FORCES AGAINST PROSECUTION OR CIVIL CLAIMS FOR ILLEGAL ACTIONS CARRIED OUT IN SUPPORT OF THE STATE, EVEN UNDER A STATE OF EMERGENCY.

Where human relations are strained by war, meaningful human rights enforcement requires constant vigilance, and an unyielding commitment to sanctions – no matter how worthy the cause for which one is fighting.²

■ ACCOUNTABILITY

WHERE AMNESTY HAS NOT BEEN SOUGHT OR HAS BEEN DENIED, PROSECUTION SHOULD BE CONSIDERED WHERE EVIDENCE EXISTS THAT AN INDIVIDUAL HAS COMMITTED A GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION. IN THIS REGARD, THE COMMISSION WILL MAKE AVAILABLE TO THE APPROPRIATE AUTHORITIES INFORMATION IN ITS POSSESSION CONCERNING SERIOUS ALLEGATIONS AGAINST INDIVIDUALS (EXCLUDING PRIVILEGED INFORMATION SUCH AS THAT CONTAINED IN AMNESTY APPLICATIONS). CONSIDERATION MUST BE GIVEN TO IMPOSING A TIME LIMIT ON SUCH PROSECUTIONS.

ATTORNEYS-GENERAL MUST PAY RIGOROUS ATTENTION TO THE PROSECUTION OF MEMBERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE (SAPS) WHO ARE FOUND TO HAVE ASSAULTED, TORTURED AND/OR KILLED PERSONS IN THEIR CARE.

IN ORDER TO AVOID A CULTURE OF IMPUNITY AND TO ENTRENCH THE RULE OF LAW, THE GRANTING OF GENERAL AMNESTY IN WHATEVER GUISE SHOULD BE RESISTED.

² The report of the Motsuenyane Commission of Enquiry into certain allegations of cruelty and human rights abuses against ANC prisoners and detainees by African National Congress members, August 1993.

■ HEALING AND REHABILITATION

- 15 Recognising that victims and perpetrators alike need healing, the Commission recommends that all possible steps be taken to achieve this:

SEVERAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (NGOS) EXIST TO ASSIST VICTIMS AND SURVIVORS, AND THESE SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED AND HELPED TO EXTEND THEIR SERVICES AND SHARE THEIR SKILLS AND KNOWLEDGE.

CLINICS AND APPROPRIATE SERVICES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED TO FACILITATE THE REHABILITATION OF PERPETRATORS. SUCH CLINICS WOULD ASSESS THE NEED FOR PSYCHIATRIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL COUNSELLING AND MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUCH TREATMENT TO BE ADMINISTERED. (THE COMMISSION NOTED THAT THERE WAS A SERIOUS LACK OF SUCH FACILITIES.)

Reintegration and rehabilitation

- 16 Recognising that the promotion of national unity and reconciliation will require the rehabilitation of people of all political perspectives and their reintegration into society, the Commission recommends that:

STRATEGIES BE DEvised FOR REINTEGRATING PERPETRATORS INTO SOCIETY. IN THIS REGARD THEY MAY ASSIST IN COMMUNITY-BASED PROJECTS INVOLVING THE COMMUNITIES WHO WERE WRONGED, OFFERING EITHER DONATIONS OR THEIR SKILLS AND TIME.

WHERE PEOPLE WERE ACCUSED OF HAVING BEEN COLLABORATORS OR INFORMERS, AND HAD THEIR LIVES DESTROYED AS A RESULT, A PROCESS SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED WHEREBY THEIR SITUATION CAN BE REMEDIED. POLITICAL PARTIES, COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS AND OTHER BODIES INVOLVED SHOULD TAKE ACTION, POSSIBLY IN THE FORM OF CEREMONIES OR MEDIATION, TO FACILITATE A PUBLIC PROCESS OF REINTEGRATION AND FORGIVENESS.

COMMUNITIES SHOULD BE ASSISTED IN PREPARING TO ACCEPT SUCH PERSONS BACK INTO THEIR MIDST.

Lustration

- 17 The Commission gave careful consideration to the possibility of lustration as a mechanism for dealing with people responsible for violations of human rights. As used in several Eastern European countries, lustration (from the Latin meaning to illuminate or to purify by sacrificing or purging) involves the disqualification of such persons from certain categories of public office, or their removal from office. Other international and South African commissions have commented on this matter. For example, the report of the Skweyiya Commission recommends

that “no person who is guilty of committing atrocities should ever again be allowed to assume a position of power”.³

- 18 The current opinion in International Law is that lustration should be limited to positions in which there is good reason to believe that the subject would pose a significant danger to human rights, and that it should not apply to positions in private organisations.
- 19 The Commission decided not to recommend lustration because it was felt that it would be inappropriate in the South African context.

Commercial publications

- 20 Those who publish works for commercial sale which have drawn or will draw substantially upon the statements, testimony and submissions of victims of violations of human rights have a responsibility towards such victims.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT A PORTION OF THE PROFITS DERIVED FROM SUCH PUBLICATIONS BE CONTRIBUTED TO THE PRESIDENT’S FUND FOR REPARATIONS AND REHABILITATION.

Promotion of a human rights culture

- 21 To enhance the development of a human rights culture, which is a cornerstone of reconciliation, the Commission recommends that:

THE GOVERNMENT RECOMMIT ITSELF TO REGULAR AND FAIR ELECTIONS.

THE GOVERNMENT RECOMMIT ITSELF TO OPEN, CLEAN AND TRANSPARENT GOVERNANCE.

THE GOVERNMENT RE-EXAMINE THE REFORM AND STRENGTHENING OF STATE INSTITUTIONS IN ORDER TO REINFORCE THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS BUREAUX IN GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AND TO INCREASING THE RESOURCES GRANTED TO INDEPENDENT WATCHDOGS, ESPECIALLY THE OFFICE OF THE PUBLIC PROTECTOR.

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

THE GOVERNMENT GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO THE POSSIBILITY AND DESIRABILITY OF INCLUDING THE YOUTH, GENDER AND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS IN A SINGLE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SO AS TO IMPROVE EFFICIENCY, CO-ORDINATION AND COST-EFFECTIVENESS; ALSO

³ The Skweyiya Commission of Enquiry into complaints by former African National Congress prisoners and detainees, August 1992.

THAT SUCH A BODY BE ADEQUATELY FINANCED AND EQUIPPED TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY AND INDEPENDENTLY, WHILE COMPLYING WITH PRINCIPLES OF OPENNESS AND ACCOUNTABILITY.

AS THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION AND ITS REPORT ARE VITAL RESOURCES FOR HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION, GOVERNMENT ENSURE THAT THE CONTENTS OF THE REPORT ARE MADE AS WIDELY AVAILABLE AS POSSIBLE TO ALL SECTORS AND LANGUAGE GROUPS OF OUR COUNTRY. THIS COULD BE DONE IN PARTNERSHIP WITH CIVIL SOCIETY AND SHOULD INCLUDE AUDIO AND VIDEO TAPES, TO ENSURE THAT THOSE WHO CANNOT READ OR WRITE HAVE ACCESS TO THE REPORT.

ACADEMICS, JOURNALISTS AND RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS BE ENCOURAGED TO UNDERTAKE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSES OF THE DATA GIVEN TO THE COMMISSION AS A BASIS FOR UNDERSTANDING THE MOTIVES AND PERSPECTIVES OF THOSE ENGAGED IN THE CONFLICTS OF THE PAST. RESEARCH AND FIELD-BASED INITIATIVES AIMED AT PROMOTING A BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT PERSUASIONS SHOULD ALSO BE ENCOURAGED.

■ REPARATIONS AND REHABILITATION⁴

22 The granting of reparation awards to victims of gross violations of human rights adds value to the “truth-seeking” phase by:

- a enabling the survivors to experience in a concrete way the state’s acknowledgement of wrongs done to victims and survivors, family members, communities and the nation at large;
- b restoring the survivors’ dignity;
- c affirming the values, interests, aspirations and rights advanced by those who suffered;
- d raising consciousness about the public’s moral responsibility to participate in healing the wounded and facilitating nation-building.

23 Thus the Commission recommends that:

A STRUCTURE BE DEVELOPED IN THE PRESIDENT’S OFFICE, WITH A LIMITED SECRETARIAT AND A FIXED LIFE-SPAN, WHOSE FUNCTION WILL BE TO OVERSEE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF REPARATION AND REHABILITATION POLICY PROPOSALS AND RECOMMENDATIONS. THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PROPOSED SECRETARIAT WILL REQUIRE CO-OPERATION WITH A NUMBER OF MINISTRIES WHICH HAVE A LONG-TERM MANDATE TO INTEGRATE SERVICES AND ACTIVITIES. THE SECRETARIAT WILL ALSO APPLY ITSELF TO:

- FACILITATING MECHANISMS FOR FINANCIAL REPARATION;
- FACILITATING THE ISSUING OF DEATH CERTIFICATES BY THE APPROPRIATE MINISTRY;
- EXPEDITING EXHUMATIONS AND BURIALS BY THE APPROPRIATE MINISTRY;

⁴ See also Volume Five Chapter 5: *Reparation and Rehabilitation Policy*.

- FACILITATING THE ISSUING OF A DECLARATION OF DEATH IN THOSE CASES WHERE THE FAMILY MEMBERS REQUEST IT;
- FACILITATING THE EXPUNGING OF CRIMINAL RECORDS WHERE THE POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF INDIVIDUALS WAS CRIMINALISED;
- FACILITATING THE RESOLUTION OF OUTSTANDING LEGAL MATTERS RELATED TO REPORTED VIOLATIONS;
- FACILITATING THE RENAMING OF STREETS AND COMMUNITY FACILITIES IN ORDER TO REMEMBER AND HONOUR INDIVIDUALS OR SIGNIFICANT EVENTS;
- FACILITATING THE BUILDING OF MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSEUMS TO COMMEMORATE EVENTS OF THE PAST.

THE GOVERNMENT DECLARE A NATIONAL DAY OF REMEMBRANCE.

THE PRESIDENT, IN CONSULTATION WITH ORGANISED BUSINESS AND CIVIL SOCIETY AT LARGE, ESTABLISH A TRUST FUND WHOSE FINANCES WILL SUPPORT REPARATION AND RESTITUTION INITIATIVES AS PRIORITISED BY DIFFERENT MINISTRIES AND CIVIL SOCIETY.

■ ORGANISATION, ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT

- 24 To build, protect and maintain a new human rights culture in line with the new dispensation in South Africa, the Commission recommends that:

CORPORATE AND GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES COMMIT THEMSELVES TO THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS WITH RENEWED VIGOUR. THE COMMISSION WELCOMES THE PRINCIPLES ENCAPSULATED IN THE EMPLOYMENT EQUITY ACT, WHILE RECOGNISING THE NEED FOR GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS AND LABOUR TO FIND VIABLE WAYS TO IMPLEMENT ITS PROVISIONS, PRIOR TO THE PROMULGATION OF THE ACT. THE PRINCIPLES OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND EMPLOYMENT EQUITY ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS. TO FACILITATE THIS, TRAINING IN CAREER DEVELOPMENT AND PROFESSIONAL SKILLS FOR ALL SECTIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY NEED TO BE GIVEN PRIORITY. SPECIAL ATTENTION, IN THIS REGARD, NEEDS TO BE GIVEN TO THE ERADICATION OF INEFFICIENCY AND THE PROMOTION OF A CULTURE OF HARD WORK AND HONESTY.

THE GOVERNMENT MUST ENSURE THAT THE RULE OF LAW, HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICE, TRANSPARENCY, ACCOUNTABILITY AND THE ROOTING OUT OF CORRUPTION AND OTHER FORMS OF CRIMINALITY AT ALL LEVELS OF SOCIETY ARE SERIOUSLY ADDRESSED.

■ PRISONS

- 25 Apart from the need for greater security at all our prisons, it is the view of the Commission that the bureaucratic organisation of the Department of Correctional Services makes it particularly difficult to institute the appropriate initiatives to promote transformation. The relatively closed institutional culture of Correctional

Services also makes it difficult to ensure that the moral and legal imperatives of law are implemented at the level of daily practice. The authority of prison officers and even that of heads of prisons tends, in practice, to derive from the prison hierarchy and an entrenched culture within which gross violations of human rights occurred in the past, rather than the norms of prison law, human rights law and the Constitution.

Training of prison personnel

26 The Commission recommends that:

PRISON OFFICERS RECEIVE HUMAN RIGHTS TRAINING, AS A BASIC GUIDE FOR TREATMENT OF PRISONERS AND THE MANAGEMENT OF THE PRISON SYSTEMS.

PRISON STAFF BE ADEQUATELY TRAINED IN PRISON LAW, THEIR DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES, ETHICS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION.

PRISON STAFF RECEIVE TRAINING IN CREATIVE AND HUMANE WAYS OF MOTIVATING PRISONERS TO REGAIN THEIR HUMAN DIGNITY AND CO-OPERATE WITH THE REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES IN PRISONS.

ALL PRISON STAFF INVOLVED IN THE HEALTH CARE OF INMATES RECEIVE APPROPRIATE TRAINING TO ENABLE THEM TO UNDERSTAND AND DEAL WITH THE MENTAL STRESS OF IMPRISONMENT.

Rehabilitation of prisoners

27 The Commission recommends that:

SKILLS TRAINING FOR PRISONERS BECOME A PRIORITY.

ALL INMATES BE INFORMED OF THEIR BASIC RIGHTS AND RECEIVE A COPY OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THEIR CHOICE. THEY SHOULD ALSO HAVE ACCESS TO INDEPENDENT LEGAL ADVICE.

ALL PRISON WARDERS RECEIVE TRAINING WHICH WILL ENABLE THEM TO RECOGNISE THE BASIC NEEDS OF PRISONERS IN THIS REGARD.

PRISONERS RECEIVE TRAINING IN HUMAN RIGHTS AND NON-VIOLENT WAYS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION.

COUNSELLING BE MADE AVAILABLE TO ALL PRISONERS.

PRISONERS HAVE ACCESS TO LITERACY CLASSES AND SKILLS TRAINING. WORK SESSIONS SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO PROMOTE REHABILITATION, RATHER THAN SIMPLY BEING PUNITIVE HARD LABOUR.

Health care⁵

- 28 The Commission recommends that:

PRISONERS BE ALLOWED ACCESS TO MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS OF THEIR CHOICE (AT THEIR OWN EXPENSE).

International standards

- 29 The Commission recommends that:

THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES PUBLICLY REAFFIRM ITS COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF PENAL REFORM AND ENCOURAGE THE PUBLIC TO ENSURE THAT THESE STANDARDS ARE UPHELD.

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT AND OTHER FORMS OF ISOLATION, DEPRIVATION OF FOOD AND EXERCISE, AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN AND DEGRADING TREATMENT BE ELIMINATED. IN THIS REGARD, THE COMMISSION NOTES WITH CONCERN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MAXIMUM SECURITY FACILITY KNOWN AS C-MAX, WHERE CONDITIONS OF DETENTION AMOUNT TO ALMOST COMPLETE SENSORY DEPRIVATION.

Public awareness and monitoring

- 30 The Commission recommends that:

LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL WATCHDOG ORGANISATIONS BE ENCOURAGED TO MAKE INFORMATION AVAILABLE ON PRISON CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE AND RECOMMEND STRATEGIES FOR PENAL REFORM.

AN INDEPENDENT MONITORING BODY, WITH STATUTORY POWERS, BE INTRODUCED TO MONITOR ALL PRISONS, POLICE CELLS AND OTHER PLACES OF DETENTION. THIS BODY SHOULD REPORT TO PARLIAMENT ON A REGULAR BASIS.

RESTRAINTS ON MEDIA COVERAGE OF PRISONS BE RECONSIDERED TO ENHANCE TRANSPARENCY ABOUT THE CONDITIONS IN AND MANAGEMENT OF PRISONS.

- 31 Responsibility for developing and implementing these recommendations, and for monitoring their implementation, rests primarily with:

- a The Department of Correctional Services;
- b The Department of Health;
- c Professional organisations representing health professionals;
- d Unions representing prison staff;
- e Organisations representing the interests of prisoners.

⁵ See also section on [The Health Sector](#), below.

■ FAITH COMMUNITIES

- 32 Faith communities enjoy a unique and privileged position in South African society. They are widely respected and have far-reaching moral influence. As such, they should play a key role in healing and reconciliation initiatives.

Healing

- 33 The Commission recommends that:

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES ORGANISE CEREMONIES DESIGNED TO ENABLE PEOPLE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THEIR DIFFERENT LEVELS OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OF THE PAST. THESE SERVICES SHOULD BE HELD AT DENOMINATIONAL, ECUMENICAL AND INTER-FAITH LEVELS AND SHOULD BE ORGANISED LOCALLY, REGIONALLY AND NATIONALLY.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF JOINING WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN SETTING UP TRAUMA CENTRES AND COUNSELLING INITIATIVES.

Redistribution of skills and resources

- 34 The Commission recommends that:

RELIGIOUS GROUPS UTILISE THE SKILLS ENJOYED BY OF MANY OF THEIR MEMBERS, TO PROVIDE TRAINING AND LEADERSHIP SKILLS TO DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITIES.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES FROM DIFFERENT RACIAL AND CLASS GROUPS SEEK WAYS OF SHARING MATERIAL RESOURCES.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES UNDERTAKE A 'LAND AUDIT', IDENTIFYING LAND IN THEIR POSSESSION (INCLUDING GLEBES) WHICH CAN BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE LANDLESS POOR.

WHERE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES HAVE ACQUIRED LAND AS A RESULT OF APARTHEID LEGISLATION, THIS LAND BE RETURNED TO ITS RIGHTFUL OWNERS.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES CONSIDER CREATING A GENERAL FUND, TO BE FINANCED IN PROPORTION TO THEIR RESOURCES, THAT CAN BE USED FOR THE VICTIMS OF PAST ABUSES.

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

Reconciliation

- 35 The Commission recommends that:

DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS GROUPS SEEK WAYS TO COMMUNICATE WITH ONE ANOTHER AS A BASIS FOR ELIMINATING RELIGIOUS CONFLICT AND PROMOTING INTER-RELIGIOUS UNDERSTANDING.

RELIGIOUS GROUPS SEEK WAYS OF INCORPORATING MARGINALISED GROUPS INTO THEIR COMMUNITIES AS A WAY OF ADDRESSING THE PROBLEMS CONTRIBUTING TO VARIOUS FORMS OF ASOCIAL BEHAVIOUR.

FAITH COMMUNITIES PROMOTE A CULTURE OF TOLERANCE AND PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE.

FORMS OF WORSHIP BE EXPLORED WHICH TRANSCEND LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO EXPOSE MEMBERS FROM PREDOMINANTLY WHITE AND BLACK COMMUNITIES TO ONE ANOTHER.

RELIGIOUS GROUPS, IN CONSULTATION WITH OTHER NGOS, ESTABLISH INSTITUTIONAL FORUMS TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION. SPECIFIC ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PEACE CORPS, NOT ONLY AS A MEANS OF HELPING COMMUNITIES IN NEED, BUT ALSO FOR DEVELOPING THE SKILLS OF LESS PRIVILEGED YOUTH. SUCH A BODY COULD ALSO BE USED TO EXPOSE MORE PRIVILEGED MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY TO THE NEEDS AND THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS. GIVEN THE RACIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT PREVALENT IN THE COUNTRY, THE PEACE CORPS SHOULD INCLUDE CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACEMAKING AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF ITS CURRICULUM.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES DEVELOP THEOLOGIES DESIGNED TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION AND A TRUE SENSE OF COMMUNITY IN THE NATION. PARTICULAR CONSIDERATION COULD TO BE GIVEN TO:

- THE ROLE OF WHITES AS THE BENEFICIARIES OF APARTHEID, WITH REGARD TO RECONSTRUCTION AND RECONCILIATION;
- THE EMPOWERMENT OF BLACK PEOPLE AND THOSE WHO HAVE SUFFERED GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO MOVE BEYOND 'VICTIMHOOD' IN REGAINING THEIR HUMANITY;
- THE CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP, THE RULE OF LAW AND THE 'COMMON GOOD' IN SOCIETY;
- THE ARTICULATION OF A GLOBAL ETHICAL FOUNDATION WHICH IS IN KEEPING WITH THE MAJOR BELIEFS OF THE VARIOUS RELIGIONS.

Relationship with the state

- 36 Given the strained relations which existed between at least some churches and the security forces concerning the chaplaincy services, and what was effectively the absence of chaplains of other faiths, the Commission recommends that:

THOSE AGENCIES OF THE STATE WHICH EITHER RECEIVE OR APPOINT CHAPLAINS, MEET WITH ALL FAITH COMMUNITIES IN ORDER TO ADDRESS THE FOLLOWING CONCERNS:

- THE INDEPENDENCE OF RELIGIOUS CHAPLAINS, ESPECIALLY IN THE MILITARY AND POLICE SERVICES, TO TEACH THE TENETS OF THEIR FAITH IN AN UNHINDERED MANNER;
- THE DUAL LOYALTY WHICH CHAPLAINS HAVE TRADITIONALLY HAD TO THE AGENCY THEY ARE REQUIRED TO SERVE AND THE RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION TO WHICH THEY BELONG;

- WAYS OF ENSURING THAT NO PARTICULAR FAITH ENJOYS PRIVILEGES NOT OFFERED TO ALL FAITHS;
- OPTIONS FOR PROMOTING AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN RELIGIOUS GROUPS;
- THE CREATION OF AN AGREEMENT DESIGNED TO AVOID CHAPLAINS BEING IDENTIFIED TOO CLOSELY WITH THE INSTITUTION TO WHICH THEY ARE APPOINTED. TO ENSURE THIS, CHAPLAINS SHOULD NOT WEAR THE UNIFORM OF THE STATE INSTITUTION WHICH THEY SERVE, NOR HOLD MILITARY OR OTHER INSTITUTIONAL RANK;
- THE NEED TO ENSURE THAT ALL THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF FAITH COMMUNITIES, PROVIDED IT PASSES SCRUTINY BY AN INTER-FAITH BODY TO ENSURE THAT IT DOES NOT CONTAIN DEROGATORY MATERIAL ABOUT OTHER FAITHS.

37 Responsibility for developing and implementing these recommendations, and for monitoring their implementation, rests primarily with:

- a Faith communities, both individual members and congregations, and overseeing bodies, e.g. general assemblies, synods etc;
- b The South African National Defence Force (SANDF);
- c The SAPS.

■ BUSINESS

38 The huge and widening gap between the rich and poor is a disturbing legacy of the past, which has not been reduced by the democratic process. It is morally reprehensible, politically dangerous and economically unsound to allow this to continue. Business has a particularly significant role to play in this regard.

Restitution

39 The Commission recommends that:

CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO THE MOST APPROPRIATE WAYS IN WHICH TO PROVIDE RESTITUTION FOR THOSE WHO HAVE SUFFERED FROM THE EFFECTS OF APARTHEID DISCRIMINATION, FOR EXAMPLE AS A RESULT OF RACISM, GENDER DISCRIMINATION, JOB RESERVATION, GROUP AREAS LEGISLATION, THE EFFECTS OF THE MIGRANT LABOUR SYSTEM, INFERIOR WAGES AND INADEQUATE OR NON-EXISTENT SOCIAL BENEFITS.

THE FEASIBILITY OF THE FOLLOWING AS A MEANS OF EMPOWERING THE POOR SHOULD BE CONSIDERED:

- A WEALTH TAX;
- A ONCE-OFF LEVY ON CORPORATE AND PRIVATE INCOME;
- EACH COMPANY LISTED ON THE JOHANNESBURG STOCK EXCHANGE TO MAKE A ONCE-OFF DONATION OF 1% OF ITS MARKET CAPITALISATION;
- A RETROSPECTIVE SURCHARGE ON CORPORATE PROFITS EXTENDING BACK TO A DATE TO BE SUGGESTED;
- A SURCHARGE ON GOLDEN HANDSHAKES GIVEN TO SENIOR PUBLIC SERVANTS SINCE 1990;
- THE SUSPENSION OF ALL TAXES ON LAND AND OTHER MATERIAL DONATIONS TO FORMERLY DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITIES.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE REPAYMENT OF THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT'S 'ODIOUS DEBT' BE CRITICALLY RECONSIDERED. INTEREST AND CAPITAL REPAYMENTS ON THIS DEBT ARE A CRIPPLING BURDEN ON THE NATIONAL FISCUS. THIS MONEY COULD BE MADE AVAILABLE FOR PURPOSES OF REPARATION AS WELL AS RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE INVESTIGATE THE VIABILITY OF THE SASRIA FUND (CONTRIBUTED TO BY BUSINESS AS A SAFEGUARD AGAINST MATERIAL LOSS DURING THE LATTER PART OF THE APARTHEID YEARS) BEING USED AS A POSSIBLE SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR REPARATION, RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT.

Land

40 The Commission recommends that:

THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, TOGETHER WITH LOCAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT, IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE LAND COMMISSION, UNDERTAKE AN AUDIT OF ALL UNUSED AND UNDER-UTILISED LAND, WITH A VIEW TO MAKING THIS AVAILABLE TO LANDLESS PEOPLE. LAND APPROPRIATED OR EXPROPRIATED PRIOR TO 1994 SHOULD ALSO BE CONSIDERED IN THE AUDITING PROCESS, WITH A VIEW TO COMPENSATING THOSE WHO LOST THEIR LAND.

Special fund

41 The Commission recommends that:

A "BUSINESS RECONCILIATION FUND" BE ESTABLISHED. THE TRUSTEES OF THIS FUND WOULD BE REQUIRED TO GENERATE RESOURCES TO BE USED, ON A TARGETED BASIS, TO INITIATE, SUPPLEMENT OR COMPLEMENT OTHER DEVELOPMENT OPTIONS. BASED ON CRITERIA RELATED TO SPECIFIC EPISODES OF PAST SUFFERING OR THE PARTICULARLY HARMFUL EFFECTS OF APARTHEID, THE FUND COULD PROVIDE NON-REPAYABLE GRANTS, LOANS AND/OR GUARANTEES TO BUSINESS-RELATED FUNDING FOR BLACK SMALL ENTREPRENEURS IN NEED OF EITHER SPECIFIC TRAINING SKILLS OR CAPITAL FOR THE LAUNCHING OF A BUSINESS. THE FUND SHOULD NOT SEEK TO REPLACE OR COMPETE WITH EXISTING SCHEMES OF A SIMILAR NATURE,

BUT RATHER TO AUGMENT THEM. IT SHOULD HAVE A SMALL, EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION, HAVE A LIMITED LIFE-SPAN AND BE FUNDED FROM PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RESOURCES. FOREIGN DONORS SHOULD ALSO BE APPROACHED FOR FUNDING. BUSINESS SHOULD PROVIDE THE NECESSARY ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT SKILLS REQUIRED TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE INITIATIVE.

Banking

- 42 The Commission recommends that:

THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE RESERVE BANK BE PROTECTED. THE BANK NEEDS TO BECOME MORE TRANSPARENT AND ACCOUNTABLE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC BY REPORTING DIRECTLY TO PARLIAMENT ON AN ANNUAL BASIS.

THE BANKING INDUSTRY DEVELOP A SUBSIDISED LOAN SCHEME FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL BUSINESSES AND LABOUR INTENSIVE INDUSTRIES.

THE DEVELOPMENT BANK OF SOUTH AFRICA GIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO FUNDING PROGRAMMES OF RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT, WITH A VIEW TO CORRECTING THE IMBALANCES OF THE PAST.

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

Affirmative action and skills training

- 43 The Commission recommends that:

BUSINESS GIVE PRIORITY TO THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF SKILLS TRAINING AND MENTORING PROGRAMMES, TO ENSURE WELL-PLANNED CORRECTIVE ACTION WITH REGARD TO EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES. THE COMMISSION SUPPORTS THE PRINCIPLES ENCAPSULATED IN THE EMPLOYMENT EQUITY ACT.

Other socio-economic legacies of apartheid

- 44 Limitations imposed by the Act forced the Commission to take the view that the loss of business and/or income as a result of a politically motivated act did not constitute a gross violation of human rights. However, in the course of our work, we became aware that such losses were significant. The Commission therefore recommends that:

THE STATE CONSIDER SOME FORM OF COMPENSATION FOR PERSONS WHO LOST THEIR BUSINESSES OR OTHER MEANS OF INCOME DURING THE UNREST PERIOD OF THE 1980S AND 1990S, PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO WERE NOT INSURED AGAINST SUCH LOSS. SPECIAL ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE PLIGHT OF BLACK BUSINESS PEOPLE WHO LOST THEIR ENTIRE MEANS OF INCOME AS A RESULT OF THE UNREST.

WHERE THE COURTS OR OTHER STRUCTURES RULE IN FAVOUR OF STRIKING WORKERS, THOSE CONCERNED BE ADEQUATELY COMPENSATED. THE BUSINESS SECTOR SHOULD GIVE CONSIDERATION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TRUST FUND FOR THESE PURPOSES.

RECOGNISING THAT SO-CALLED "SINGLE-SEX" HOSTELS FOR WORKERS ARE LIKELY TO REMAIN A PART OF THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, A REPRESENTATIVE COMMISSION BE APPOINTED TO:

- UNDERTAKE AN AUDIT OF ALL HOSTELS IN THE COUNTRY TO ESTABLISH THE STATE OF THE BUILDINGS CONCERNED, THE NUMBER OF PERSONS BEING ACCOMMODATED AND THE NATURE OF THE FACILITIES BEING OFFERED;
- MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS WITH REGARD TO IMPROVING HOSTEL FACILITIES AND INVESTIGATING THEIR LONG TERM DESIRABILITY.

Children and youth

45 The Commission recommends that:

CHILD LABOUR IN ALL FORMS BE ELIMINATED THROUGH APPROPRIATE LEGISLATION.

PROVISION BE MADE FOR ADEQUATE HOUSING AND EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN;⁶

TAX INCENTIVES FOR BUSINESSES AND INDIVIDUALS CONTRIBUTING TO BURSARY FUNDS BE INCREASED.

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

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

The environment

46 The Commission recommends that:

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE BUSINESS SECTOR ENSURE THAT PLANS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION INCLUDE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AS A KEY INGREDIENT. THE STATE HAS AN OBLIGATION TO CONSIDER THESE MATTERS AT A LEGISLATIVE LEVEL AND BUSINESS SHOULD REGULARLY INFORM THE PUBLIC OF ITS INVOLVEMENT IN ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION INITIATIVES THROUGH ITS ANNUAL REPORT TO SHAREHOLDERS OR IN SOME OTHER WAY.

⁶ While the above two recommendations should be regarded as primarily the responsibility of the state, business should seek ways of supporting facilities that protect the rights of the child.

Responsibility for developing and implementing these recommendations, and for monitoring their implementation, rests primarily with:

- a The Department of Trade and Industry
- b The Department of Finance
- c The Department of Labour
- d The Department of Environmental Affairs
- e The private business sector

■ **LEGAL AND JUDICIAL**

- 47 In spite of the various clauses contained in the Constitution relating to the judiciary, and in spite of the substantial steps taken since 1994 by the Ministry of Justice to review the justice system, serious problems still remain with regard to access to justice and the general administration of justice.
- 48 The Commission has analysed the various submissions by members of the judiciary and magistracy, NGOs and government with regard to these issues, and has incorporated these, where appropriate, into the following recommendations. These recommendations are brief and merely direct attention to the most important areas requiring attention.

Access to justice for victims of crime

- 49 The victims of crime are the most neglected and disempowered of the role-players in the legal system. They are not being adequately served by the criminal justice system for a number of reasons, including:
 - the absence of a professional, motivated and appropriately staffed national police service;
 - the inability of the prosecutorial system to prosecute effectively and ensure criminal convictions in a manner that will change the current perception of criminals and potential criminals that their wrongdoing is unlikely to be detected and punished;
 - the inability of the Department of Correctional Services to carry out its role of effectively incarcerating awaiting-trial and convicted prisoners.

50 The Commission thus recommends that:

THE FEASIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING A SERIOUS CRIMES COMPENSATION FUND, AS EXISTS IN COUNTRIES LIKE AUSTRALIA, BE EXAMINED.

A CODE OF CONDUCT FOR PROSECUTORS BE DRAWN UP, TO ENSURE IN PARTICULAR THAT THE INTERESTS OF VICTIMS ARE PROPERLY CONSIDERED. THE CODE OF CONDUCT SHOULD BE AIMED AT ASSISTING AND EMPOWERING VICTIMS BY:

- ADVISING THEM ON COMPLAINTS AND REMEDIES;
- ADVISING THEM ABOUT THE MERITS AND DEMERITS OF THEIR PARTICULAR CASE;
- INFORMING THEM OF THEIR RIGHTS TO COMPENSATION UNDER SECTION 300 OF THE CRIMINAL PROCEDURE ACT, IN TERMS OF WHICH FINANCIAL COMPENSATION MAY BE PAYABLE BY A CONVICTED PERSON TO A VICTIM;
- UPDATING THEM REGULARLY CONCERNING DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CASE;
- PREPARING THEM TO GIVE EVIDENCE IN COURT, AND FOR CROSS-EXAMINATION; ENABLING PROSECUTORS TO CARRY OUT AN EFFECTIVE AND EFFICIENT PROSECUTION.

Access to justice for accused persons

51 Although accused persons have a constitutional right to legal representation, the way in which this is implemented is often unsatisfactory. Legal representation is one of the most important protections against abuse of suspects by the police and criminal justice system. The Commission thus recommends that:

FURTHER ATTENTION BE GIVEN TO THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE LEGAL AID BOARD AND THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC DEFENDERS, TO ENSURE THAT AT LEAST A CONSISTENT MINIMUM STANDARD OF LEGAL REPRESENTATION IS EXTENDED TO ACCUSED PERSONS.

PUBLIC DEFENDER OFFICES BE SET UP IN ALL THE MAIN CENTRES IN THE COUNTRY.

THE OPTION OF COMPULSORY COMMUNITY SERVICE FOR LAW GRADUATES, AND STUDENT PRACTICE RULES FOR LAW CLINICS, BE EXPLORED TO AUGMENT THE PUBLIC DEFENDER PROGRAM.

PUBLIC DEFENDERS BE INDEPENDENT FROM THE PROSECUTION ARM OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, SO AS NOT TO COMPROMISE THEIR SERVICES.

LEGISLATION WHICH RESTRICTS THE RIGHTS OF DEFENDANTS TO BAIL BE RESISTED.

LEGITIMATE CONCERNS ABOUT THE INAPPROPRIATE GRANTING OF BAIL TO ACCUSED PERSONS WHO HAVE PREVIOUSLY COMMITTED OFFENCES WHILE ON BAIL, BE ADDRESSED THROUGH THOROUGH POLICE INVESTIGATION OF THE STATUS OF THOSE APPLYING FOR BAIL AND THE PROPER TRAINING OF MAGISTRATES AND PROSECUTORS IN THE APPLICATION OF BAIL PROCEDURES, RATHER THAN BY AMENDING THE LAW.

PROSECUTORS, MAGISTRATES AND JUDGES DISALLOW EVIDENCE OBTAINED THROUGH UNLAWFUL METHODS.

CO-ORDINATION AND SUPERVISION

- 52 The Commission recommends that:

LAW STUDENTS WORKING IN LAW CLINICS BE ENTITLED TO ADMISSION UNDER STUDENT PRACTICE RULES, TO ASSIST THE DELIVERY OF LEGAL AID SERVICES IN THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE'S COURT.

Training and education

- 53 The effective administration of justice demands training, not only to facilitate the efficiency of prosecutorial and other duties, but also of a more general nature, to ensure that judicial officers understand and uphold the values and principles contained in the Constitution. The Commission thus recommends that:

ALL PERSONNEL WITHIN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM (FROM CLERKS TO JUDGES) UNDERGO INTENSIVE TRAINING IN THE VALUES OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTION AND IN THE REQUIREMENTS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND STANDARDS, INCLUDING THE UNITED NATIONS BASIC PRINCIPLES ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY. ONGOING TRAINING SHOULD INCLUDE SENSITISATION TO HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLES, INCLUDING GENDER-SPECIFIC ABUSE AND APPROPRIATE RESPONSES. CARE MUST BE TAKEN THAT THE INDEPENDENCE OF JUDGES IS NOT COMPROMISED BY ANY TRAINING PROCESS.

TRAINING OF PROSECUTORS AND MAGISTRATES BE UNDERTAKEN BY BOTH THE JUSTICE COLLEGE AND LOCAL UNIVERSITIES.

TRAINING OF MAGISTRATES BE UNDERTAKEN SEPARATELY FROM THAT OF JUDGES.

TRAINING OF JUDGES BE CONDUCTED BY JUDGES TOGETHER WITH ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS, RATHER THAN BY THE JUSTICE COLLEGE. JUDGES ALREADY TRAINED IN CONSTITUTIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES SHOULD ASSIST WITH THE TRAINING.

MAGISTRATES BE PROPERLY TRAINED TO APPLY THE NEW BAIL PROCEDURES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CONSTITUTION, TO ENSURE THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE PUBLIC ARE BALANCED AGAINST THOSE OF THE ACCUSED.

- 54 The manner in which the legal profession develops in South Africa is to some extent determined by how those at its entry point are introduced to the system. Creative use of senior law students, e.g. as public defenders for unrepresented accused, could ensure that students graduate with appropriate practical experience. The Commission thus recommends that:

LAW SCHOOLS REVIEW THEIR COURSES TO ENSURE THAT THE INTERESTS OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS ARE SERVED. CONSIDERATION MUST BE GIVEN TO INCREASING PRACTICAL TRAINING

AND/OR THE INTRODUCTION OF COMPULSORY COMMUNITY SERVICE AS REQUIREMENTS FOR GRADUATION.

LAW STUDENTS BE GIVEN A GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS LAW AND MORE INTENSIVE TRAINING IN LEGAL ETHICS.

THE MAGISTRATES' COMMISSION ATTEMPT TO ATTRACT PRIVATE PRACTITIONERS TO THE BENCH, SO THAT IT IS NO LONGER DOMINATED BY MAGISTRATES WHOSE TRAINING IS MAINLY IN THE AREA OF PROSECUTIONS.

ALL POLICE OFFICERS BE IMBUED, THROUGH TRAINING AND THE INTRODUCTION OF A CODE OF ETHICAL PRACTICE, WITH AN ETHOS OF SERVICE IN A DEMOCRATIC STATE AND UNDER A CULTURE OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

INVESTIGATING OFFICERS BE TRAINED IN PROPER FORENSIC INVESTIGATION TECHNIQUES, TO REPLACE THE CURRENT PRACTICE OF EXTRACTING CONFESSIONS UNDER DURESS, THROUGH VIOLENCE AND BY OTHER IRREGULAR AND UNORTHODOX METHODS.

THE WORK OF THE DETECTIVE ACADEMY BE EXPANDED AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

THE STANDARD OF TRAINING OF COURT INTERPRETERS BE IMPROVED. TERTIARY ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS SHOULD DEVELOP MULTI-DISCIPLINARY UNDERGRADUATE TRAINING COURSES (INVOLVING, AMONGST OTHERS, APPLIED LINGUISTICS DEPARTMENTS AND LAW FACULTIES), TO ENSURE THAT MORE HIGHLY SKILLED COURT INTERPRETERS ARE TRAINED. SALARIES MUST BE COMMENSURATE WITH SKILLS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

PEOPLE WHO HAVE PARALEGAL DIPLOMAS BE CERTIFIED BY A PARALEGAL INSTITUTE. ONCE CERTIFIED, THEY SHOULD BE ABLE TO APPEAR IN THE LOWER COURTS ON BASIC MATTERS SUCH AS BAIL APPLICATIONS AND REMANDS, AND SHOULD ALSO HAVE PRISON VISITING RIGHTS. PARALEGALS SHOULD BE INTEGRATED INTO THE PROPOSED LEGAL AID BOARD SCHEME.

SPECIALIST PROSECUTORIAL TASK TEAMS BE ESTABLISHED TO ADDRESS SERIOUS ENDEMIC CRIME, SUCH AS TAXI VIOLENCE, DRUG TRAFFICKING, CAR THEFT AND LICENSING SYNDICATES AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE. SUCH UNITS SHOULD HAVE SIMILAR POWERS AND INDEPENDENCE TO THOSE OF THE INDEPENDENT COMPLAINTS DIRECTORATE. THE WORK OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE TEAMS, E.G. THE INVESTIGATIVE TASK UNIT IN KWAZULU-NATAL, IS NULLIFIED IF THE RESULTS OF INVESTIGATIONS ARE NOT APPROPRIATELY PURSUED IN THE PROSECUTORIAL PHASE.

Witness protection

Protection of complainants

- 55 In many cases victims are unwilling to lay charges because of fear of reprisals from the persons whom they implicate. The current system of witness protection is dysfunctional and inhibits successful prosecutions. The establishment of a fair, efficient and all-embracing programme is seen as a matter of urgency.

Protection of other state witnesses

- 56 The exposure of politically motivated human rights abuses has only been possible as a result of perpetrators coming forward and “blowing the whistle” on their organisations’ activities. Similarly, if organised crime is to be combated, those involved in crime syndicates will have to come forward. This is only likely if such persons are assured of comprehensive witness protection.

Juvenile offenders

- 57 A growing number of accused persons appearing on a daily basis in South African courts are juveniles. The Commission thus recommends that:

MORE EXTENSIVE PROBATION SERVICES BE MADE AVAILABLE, TO ENSURE THAT JUVENILES RECEIVE APPROPRIATE SENTENCES.

SECURE PLACES OF SAFETY FOR AWAITING-TRIAL JUVENILE OFFENDERS BE CONSTRUCTED AS A MATTER OF URGENCY.

THE POLICE MAKE PROPER EFFORTS TO TRACE THE RELATIVES OF JUVENILES WHO HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES OUTSIDE THE MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS IN WHICH THEY LIVE.

THE POSSIBILITY OF LAW STUDENTS ACTING AS PUBLIC DEFENDERS TO REPRESENT JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN COURT BE EXPLORED, EVEN BEFORE THE INTRODUCTION OF STUDENT PRACTICE RULES.

Representativity

- 58 The Commission recommends that:

IMBALANCES IN THE RACIAL AND GENDER COMPOSITION OF JUDGES IN THE HIGH COURT BE URGENTLY ADDRESSED.

A FAST-TRACK JUDICIAL TRAINING PROGRAM BE INTRODUCED FOR BLACK AND WOMAN ADVOCATES, ATTORNEYS OR ACADEMICS WHO ASPIRE TO JUDICIAL APPOINTMENT.

AN ATTEMPT BE MADE TO ATTRACT MORE PRIVATE PRACTITIONERS TO AN APPOINTMENT ON THE BENCH.

IMBALANCES IN THE GENDER COMPOSITION OF THE MAGISTRACY BE ADDRESSED.

BECAUSE MOST MAGISTRATES PRESENTLY SITTING HAVE ONLY STATE PROSECUTION EXPERIENCE, MAGISTRATES BE APPOINTED FROM PRIVATE PRACTICE.

Courts of chiefs and headmen

- 59 Many civil legal matters in South Africa are decided by bodies outside the formal court structure, namely tribunals administered by chiefs in the former homeland areas, under laws dating from the colonial period. The Commission thus recommends that:

AN URGENT AUDIT OF THESE COURTS AND THEIR PERSONNEL BE UNDERTAKEN BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE PROVINCIAL MINISTRIES OF TRADITIONAL AFFAIRS.

DESPITE THE FACT THAT SUCH COURTS DO NOT HAVE CRIMINAL JURISDICTION, THE *DE FACTO* POSITION IS THAT, IN MANY AREAS, THIS RIGHT HAS BEEN ASSUMED AND CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AND OTHER ILLEGAL SANCTIONS ARE ROUTINELY IMPOSED. THIS PRACTICE MUST BE ENDED AS A MATTER OF URGENCY.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE CAREFULLY MONITOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AT THIS LEVEL.

IT BE ENSURED THAT THESE TRIBUNALS RESPECT THE RIGHTS ESTABLISHED BY THE CONSTITUTION, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO DUE PROCESS. CODES OF PRACTICE, INCLUDING RULES PERTAINING TO WRITTEN RECORDS, MUST BE IMPLEMENTED.

Informal courts

- 60 Informal courts or “people’s courts” were established in many townships, especially during the 1980s, partly in response to the perceived illegitimacy of the state-sanctioned court system. In general they were repressive and did not comply with the basic requirements of the rules of natural justice. There is ample evidence of a reversion to alternative structures for exacting “justice” as delays in the criminal justice and policing systems increase. The Commission thus recommends that:

STEPS BE TAKEN TO INHIBIT THE REAPPEARANCE OF THE “PEOPLE’S COURT” PHENOMENON, AND THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE SHOULD, AS A MATTER OF URGENCY, ESTABLISH CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND MEDIATION STRUCTURES AT COMMUNITY LEVEL.

- 61 Responsibility for developing and implementing these recommendations, and for monitoring the implementation thereof, rests primarily with:

- a The Ministry and Department of Justice;
- b The Ministry and Department of Safety and Security;
- c The Law Society of South Africa;

- d Tertiary academic institutions;
- e NGOs involved in the law;
- f Professional organisations representing the legal profession.

■ SECURITY FORCES

Intelligence services

- 62 The Commission had little success in its efforts to access the archives of the former National Intelligence Service. It is therefore the recommendation of the Commission that:

A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS BY INDEPENDENT RESEARCHERS BE UNDERTAKEN INTO BOTH THE SCOPE AND CONTENT OF THE REMAINING ARCHIVAL HOLDINGS OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES OF ALL DIVISIONS OF THE SECURITY FORCES.

ONCE SUCH AN ANALYSIS HAS BEEN COMPLETED, THESE DOCUMENTS BE SUBJECTED TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA ACT NO 43 OF 1996 (THE ARCHIVES ACT) AND BE TRANSFERRED TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

THESE STRUCTURES BE REQUIRED TO DELIVER AN ANNUAL REPORT TO PARLIAMENT REGARDING THEIR ACTIVITIES.

ALL EXPENDITURE BY THESE SERVICES BE SUBJECT TO REGULAR AUDITS BY THE AUDITOR GENERAL.

THE MINISTERS TASKED WITH THE OVERSIGHT OF THE RESPECTIVE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES ALSO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ENSURING THAT ALL GATHERING OF INTELLIGENCE IS DONE IN TERMS OF THE ACT GOVERNING SUCH ACTIVITIES, AND THAT NO INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING IN RELATION TO LEGITIMATE POLITICAL ACTIVITY BE TOLERATED.

THAT THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE (NICOC) ENSURE THAT ALL INTELLIGENCE IS SHARED OPENLY AND THOROUGHLY BETWEEN THE RESPECTIVE DIVISIONS OF THE SECURITY FORCES.

THAT ALL MANUALS USED BY THE SECURITY FORCES BE REVIEWED AND ALTERED TO CONFORM TO THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

South African National Defence Force

- 63 The Commission's hearings into activities of the SADF showed that the secrecy with which the SADF operated provided the basis for operations and programmes that led to gross human rights violations. The Commission therefore recommends that:

MEMBERS OF THE SANDF SHOULD NOT BE ENTITLED TO ENGAGE IN ANY COVERT ACTIVITIES NOT SPECIFICALLY AUTHORISED BY THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE AS WELL AS A MINISTER WITH AN UNRELATED PORTFOLIO, AND THAT SPENDING ON SUCH COVERT ACTIVITIES BE SUBJECT TO THE SAME AUDITING PROCESS AS OTHER EXPENDITURE.

A JUDICIAL COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY BE ESTABLISHED WITH REGARD TO PROJECT COAST, TO INVESTIGATE THE FOLLOWING MATTERS:

- WHETHER THE STREET DRUGS PRODUCED BY COMPANIES RELATED TO THE CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE (CBW) PROGRAMME, AS WELL AS THE DRUGS PURCHASED OUTSIDE OF SOUTH AFRICA, WERE DESTROYED OR WHETHER THEY ENDED UP ON THE STREETS OF SOUTH AFRICA;
- WHETHER THE DIRECTORS OF COMPANIES LINKED TO PROJECT COAST WERE PARTY TO FRAUDULENT ACTIVITIES USING STATE FUNDS;
- WHETHER INFORMATION RELATING TO THE CBW PROGRAMME WAS COPIED ONTO OPTICAL DISKS THAT ARE CURRENTLY IN A SAFE IN PRETORIA, AND WHETHER UNAUTHORISED COPIES OF THESE DISKS EXIST;
- ANY OTHER ISSUES NOT FULLY CANVASSED BY THE COMMISSION OR THE CRIMINAL TRIAL OF DR BASSON.

THAT ALL ASPECTS OF THE CBW PROGRAMME STILL IN EXISTENCE BE DISMANTLED AND ALL ACTIVITIES BE DISCONTINUED, AND THAT THE MANUFACTURE AND RESEARCH OF SUBSTANCES INTENDED FOR USE AS CROWD CONTROL MECHANISMS BE CEASED.

THAT AN APPROPRIATE POLICY BE PUT IN PLACE TO ENSURE THAT THE FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS OF THE MILITARY ARE REGULARLY AUDITED.

THAT THE SANDF CEASE TO MAKE USE OF FRONT COMPANIES FOR THEIR OPERATIONS.

- 64 The civil education programme that has been proposed in the Defence White Paper is a positive initiative to prevent future human rights abuses by members of the security forces and to encourage and instil an understanding of human rights values in the population at large.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDS THAT THIS PROGRAMME BE IMPLEMENTED RIGOROUSLY.

- 65 The onus is on government to ensure that any members of the security forces found to have committed human rights abuses or engaged in criminal activity of any kind are decisively dealt with through the justice system.
- 66 The Commission has had little success in its efforts to access the archives of the former South African Defence Force (SADF), despite the fact that significant holdings still remain in the custody of the SANDF. The limited access that the Commission did manage to obtain was controlled, selected and censored by the

SANDF nodal point. These problems of access have been detailed elsewhere in this report and have led the Commission to conclude that its research and investigation into the activities of the former SADF were insufficient and constrained by such lack of access. Commission investigations have, however, established that the former SADF, contrary to its submission to the Commission, was significantly involved in the perpetration of gross human rights violations.

67 It is therefore the recommendation of the Commission that:

A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS BY INDEPENDENT RESEARCHERS BE UNDERTAKEN INTO BOTH THE SCOPE AND CONTENT OF THE REMAINING ARCHIVAL HOLDINGS OF THE FORMER SADF.

ONCE SUCH AN ANALYSIS HAS BEEN COMPLETED, THAT THESE DOCUMENTS, PRESENTLY WITHIN THE ARCHIVES OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, BE SUBJECTED TO THE ARCHIVES ACT AND BE TRANSFERRED TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

Policing

68 The Commission found that members of the SAPS were responsible for a substantial proportion of human rights violations committed during its mandate period. These recommendations are based on the Commission's understanding of the role played by the South African Police (SAP) in the past and the concern that, despite all efforts to reform the SAPS and improve police performance, reports of torture, coerced confessions, deaths in custody and other human rights violations remain common occurrences. More than 370 deaths in police custody or as a result of police action were reported in the six-month period from April to September 1997. While reform within the SAPS is obviously essential, this must be accompanied by appropriate independent monitoring and proper accountability.

Provincial police services

69 The Commission thus recommends that:

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS NOT BE PERMITTED TO EXERCISE UNFETTERED POWER OVER PROVINCIAL POLICE SERVICES.

The Independent Complaints Directorate

70 The Commission recommends that:

THE INDEPENDENT COMPLAINTS DIRECTORATE (ICD) BE GOVERNED BY NEW LEGISLATION, INDEPENDENT OF GENERAL POLICE LEGISLATION.

THE ICD BE GENUINELY INDEPENDENT OF THE MINISTRY FOR SAFETY AND SECURITY.

THE ICD HAVE POWERS TO COMPEL THE SAPS AND OTHERS TO COMPLY WITH ITS REQUESTS RELATED TO CONDUCTING AN INVESTIGATION, INCLUDING POWERS OF SEARCH AND SEIZURE.

THE ICD BE GIVEN THE AUTHORITY TO BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF RELEVANT OFFICIALS ANY FAILURE ON THE PART OF THE SAPS TO RESPOND TO ICD RECOMMENDATIONS TO TAKE DISCIPLINARY OR LEGAL ACTION.

THE ICD BE MANDATED TO INVESTIGATE CORRUPTION WITHIN THE SAPS, RATHER THAN THIS TASK BEING ALLOCATED TO A UNIT WITHIN THE SAPS.

THE ICD BE GIVEN THE CAPACITY, RESOURCES AND AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT PROACTIVE INVESTIGATIONS AND EVALUATIONS OF OVERALL POLICING POLICIES AND PRACTICE, AS WELL AS TO RESPOND TO COMPLAINTS.

Public order policing

- 71 Undue use of force by security forces in controlling crowds was one of the most significant causes of deaths and injuries reported to the Commission. To address this issue, the Commission recommends that:

ALL MEMBERS OF THE SAPS DEALING WITH PUBLIC ORDER INCIDENTS RECEIVE THE REQUIRED TRAINING, AND THAT TRAINING STANDARDS WITH REGARD TO THE POLICING OF CROWDS BE MAINTAINED AT INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS IN FUTURE. IMPROVED TRAINING WILL LEAD TO GREATER CONFIDENCE ON THE PART OF THOSE POLICING CROWDS AND GATHERINGS, WHICH SHOULD RESULT IN LESS RELIANCE ON FORCE.

PUBLIC ORDER POLICING BE DECENTRALISED AND INTEGRATED INTO THE NORMAL STRUCTURES OF THE SAPS (AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE NEW POLICY), AND THAT THE TENDENCY TO CENTRALISE AND MILITARISE THIS FUNCTION BE AVOIDED IN FUTURE.

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

ANY PERSON OR PARTY WHO CONTRAVENES THE REGULATION OF GATHERINGS ACT BE PROSECUTED TO ENSURE COMPLIANCE WITH THE NEW APPROACH.

THE POLICE ESTABLISH AN INSPECTORATE, EITHER INTERNALLY OR WITHIN THE SECRETARIAT FOR SAFETY AND SECURITY, AS WELL AS AT PROVINCIAL LEVEL, TO CHECK ADHERENCE TO NEW NATIONAL STANDARDS, AND TO INVESTIGATE THE POLICING OF PARTICULAR INCIDENTS.

THE POLICE BE ISSUED WITH NEW EQUIPMENT AND APPAREL TO IMPROVE THEIR SAFETY AND PROTECTION – THE MORE PROTECTED THE POLICE OFFICIALS FEEL, THE LESS LIKELY THEY ARE TO USE FORCE OR ACT AGGRESSIVELY.

THE SAPS ENHANCE INTERNAL PROCEDURES TO ENSURE ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE STORAGE AND USE OF WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION.

POST-INCIDENT INVESTIGATION BECOME STANDARD PROCEDURE IN ALL CASES WHERE FORCE WAS USED.

THE SAPS CREATE, EQUIP AND TRAIN CAMERA TEAMS TO FILM EVERY INCIDENT WHERE THE POLICE ARE DEPLOYED FOR CROWD MANAGEMENT. THIS WOULD BE A USEFUL DEVICE FOR IMPROVED ACCOUNTABILITY AS WELL AS FOR DEBRIEFING AND TRAINING OF THE POLICE OFFICIALS THEMSELVES.

THE LEGISLATION CONCERNING THE CARRYING OF WEAPONS IN CROWDS SHOULD BE FULLY ENFORCED AT ALL TIMES.

THE PUBLIC ORDER POLICING COMPONENT OF THE SAPS BE ENCOURAGED TO IMPLEMENT A MEANINGFUL AFFIRMATIVE ACTION STRATEGY TO IMPROVE REPRESENTIVITY AT SENIOR LEVELS.

CASE STUDIES OF PAST INCIDENTS OF BAD PRACTICE BY THE FORMER SAP AND HOMELAND POLICE IN THE POLICING OF GATHERINGS BE USED IN TRAINING.

Police involvement in crimes

- 72 Where it is alleged that a serious crime was carried out by or with the acquiescence of police, the Commission recommends that:

POLICE OFFICERS FROM OUTSIDE THE AREA INVOLVED BE BROUGHT IN TO INVESTIGATE.

PROPER DISCIPLINARY MEASURES BE TAKEN AGAINST POLICE WHO ABUSE THEIR POWERS.

INDEMNITY FOR POLICE WHO ENGAGE IN UNLAWFUL ACTIVITY IN SUPPORT OF THE STATE, EVEN DURING A STATE OF EMERGENCY, BE ERADICATED.

ATTORNEYS-GENERAL RIGOROUSLY PROSECUTE SAPS MEMBERS WHO ARE FOUND TO HAVE ASSAULTED, TORTURED OR KILLED PERSONS IN THEIR CUSTODY, AND THAT ANY MEMBERS OF THE SAPS FOUND TO HAVE REPEATEDLY BEEN ACCUSED OF HAVING USED FORCE IN THE QUESTIONING OF SUSPECTS OR ANY PERSONS IN THEIR CUSTODY, BE SUBJECT TO AN INTERNAL INVESTIGATION, WHICH MAY RESULT IN PROSECUTION.

Recruitment and training

- 73 The Commission recommends that:

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

ALL POLICE OFFICERS BE IMBUED, THROUGH TRAINING AND THE INTRODUCTION OF A CODE OF ETHICAL PRACTICE, WITH AN ETHOS OF SERVICE IN A DEMOCRATIC STATE AND UNDER A CULTURE OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

INVESTIGATING OFFICERS BE TRAINED IN PROPER FORENSIC INVESTIGATION TECHNIQUES, TO REPLACE THE CURRENT PRACTICE OF EXTRACTING CONFESSIONS UNDER DURESS, BY VIOLENCE AND OTHER IRREGULAR AND UNORTHODOX METHODS.

THE WORK OF THE DETECTIVE ACADEMY BE EXPANDED AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

The SAPS and correctional services

74 To maintain control and continuity in the dealings between the SAPS and the Department of Correctional Services, the Commission recommends that there be closer liaison between the two departments. For example, at present, sentenced prisoners are paroled at the discretion of the Department of Correctional Services.

75 It is recommended that:

THE RELEASE OF SUCH PERSONS SHOULD BE IN CONSULTATION WITH THE COURTS THAT SENTENCED THEM.

76 In addition, it is recommended that

- A SOCIAL WORKER BE RESPONSIBLE FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT INTO WHICH THE PRISONER IS TO BE RELEASED;
- THERE BE AN ASSURANCE THAT THE PRISONER WILL HAVE A MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD;
- A RECORD OF COMPLETE REHABILITATION IS MADE AVAILABLE;
- THE GOVERNMENT TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR TRAINING OF PRISONERS AND TO ENSURE THAT THEY ARE EQUIPPED FOR LIFE OUTSIDE THE PRISON;
- THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES CHECK WHETHER THE PRISONER HAS BREACHED ANY PAROLE CONDITIONS IN THE PAST;
- THE INVESTIGATING OFFICER, MAGISTRATE AND CORRECTIONAL SERVICES OFFICIAL EXAMINE THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE PRISONER TO BE PAROLED.

Security companies

77 The Commission recommends that:

THE RELEVANT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE REVIEW AND INVESTIGATE THE STATE OF THE SECURITY INDUSTRY WITH THE AIM OF INCREASING CONTROLS ON THE INDUSTRY AND ENSURING AN INDUSTRY-WIDE CODE OF CONDUCT.

Improved control over ownership and use of guns.

- 78 Noting that many deaths and injuries reported to the Commission, as well as many occurring after the end of the mandate period, were caused by guns, the Commission recommends that:

EXISTING CONTROLS OVER THE OWNERSHIP AND USE OF GUNS BE EXTENSIVELY REVIEWED.

■ THE HEALTH SECTOR

- 79 Millions of South Africans were denied access to appropriate, affordable health care during the period under review. Health care workers, through acts of commission and omission, ignorance, fear and failure to exercise clinical independence, subjected many individuals and groups to further abuse. Fundamental reforms in the health care delivery system, legislative controls, monitoring and accountability mechanisms, and the training of health professionals are required.

Legislation

- 80 The Commission recommends that:

ALL LEGISLATION PERTAINING TO HEALTH CARE FOCUS ON PRIMARY HEALTH.

PRESENT HEALTH CARE LEGISLATION BE REVIEWED, AND FUTURE LEGISLATION DEVELOPED, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE NEED FOR TRANSPARENCY, EVALUATION AND MONITORING, THE RIGHTS OF SERVICE USERS AND THE PRIMACY OF CONFIDENTIALITY.

Professional standards of conduct

- 81 The Commission recommends that:

A UNIFORM CODE OF CONDUCT FOR HEALTH PROFESSIONALS BE DEVELOPED, IMPLEMENTED, AND TAUGHT IN ALL HEALTH SCIENCE FACULTIES.

THE STATUTORY COUNCILS ENSURE THAT ALL HEALTH PROFESSIONALS REGISTERED WITH THOSE COUNCILS ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS TO WHICH THEY MUST ADHERE. HEALTH PROFESSIONALS MUST BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE IF THEY VIOLATE THESE STANDARDS.

HEALTH PROFESSIONALS ENGAGE IN "SELF-AUDITS" OF THEIR PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT BY MEETING REGULARLY IN SMALL FACILITATED GROUPS TO DISCUSS ETHICAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS DILEMMAS.

Training

82 The Commission recommends that:

HEALTH SCIENCE FACULTIES ESTABLISH PROGRAMMES AIMED AT INCREASING THE NUMBER OF BLACK UNDER- AND POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS. THIS MAY REQUIRE BRIDGING PROGRAMMES, FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE, TUTORS, MENTORING ETC.

TRAINING IN HUMAN RIGHTS BE A FUNDAMENTAL AND INTEGRAL ASPECT OF ALL CURRICULA FOR HEALTH PROFESSIONALS. THIS TRAINING SHOULD ADDRESS FACTORS AFFECTING HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICE, SUCH AS KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, ATTITUDES, AND ETHICAL RESEARCH PRACTICES. KNOWLEDGE OF AND COMPETENCE AND PROFICIENCY IN THE STANDARDS (BOTH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL) TO WHICH DOCTORS WILL BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE SHOULD BE A REQUIREMENT FOR QUALIFICATION AND REGISTRATION

THE CONTENT OF THE OATHS PERTAINING TO HEALTH CARE AND THE ETHICAL PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THEM BE TAUGHT AS PART OF UNDERGRADUATE TRAINING FROM THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY POSSIBLE. THIS FACILITATES AN INTERACTION WITH THE PRINCIPLES ESPOUSED AND AN OPPORTUNITY TO QUESTION AND IMPLEMENT THEM DURING THE TRAINING PERIOD.

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

Safeguards for vulnerable health professionals

83 In order to ensure that health professionals who work in situations in which they have dual loyalties are not complicit in committing human rights abuses, the Commission recommends that:

APPROPRIATE ONGOING TRAINING IN INSTITUTIONAL HEALTH CARE AND HUMAN RIGHTS BE MANDATORY FOR ALL HEALTH PROFESSIONALS WORKING IN PUBLIC FACILITIES.

TRAINING BE DEVELOPED FOR NON-MEDICAL PRISON STAFF, SANDF MEMBERS AND POLICE, TO FACILITATE A MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS OF HEALTH PROFESSIONALS WORKING IN THOSE ENVIRONMENTS. THIS WILL SUPPORT PROFESSIONAL AND ETHICAL HEALTH PRACTICES.

STANDARDS AND NORMS THAT UPHOLD HUMAN RIGHTS BE DEVELOPED FOR INSTITUTIONAL HEALTH CARE. THESE NEED TO BE PUT INTO OPERATION VIA REGULAR INDEPENDENT AUDITS.

THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH ASSUME *DE JURE* AND *DE FACTO* CONTROL OF PRISON AND DETAINEE HEALTH CARE, MILITARY HEALTH CARE, STATE MORTUARIES AND FORENSIC SERVICES. (THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR FORENSIC SERVICES SHOULD NOT ALSO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR PROVIDING HEALTH CARE TO PRISONERS AND DETAINEES, AS IS PRESENTLY THE CASE.) IN OTHER WORDS, HEALTH PROFESSIONALS WORKING IN THESE ENVIRONMENTS MUST BE EMPLOYED BY, REPORT TO AND BE PROFESSIONALLY ACCOUNTABLE TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH.

Health care services in prisons

84 The Commission recommends that:

THE ROLE, RESPONSIBILITIES AND OBLIGATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE HEALTH CARE OF PRISONERS AND DETAINEES, BOTH IN PRISONS AND POLICE CELLS, BE CLEARLY DEFINED AND ACCEPTED BY ALL POLICE AND PRISON STAFF.

AN AUDIT OF DISTRICT SURGEONS CURRENTLY EMPLOYED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH BE CARRIED OUT, TO ENSURE THAT THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN OR COLLUDED WITH HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE PAST ARE NO LONGER IN A POSITION TO OFFER TREATMENT TO DETAINEES AND PRISONERS. (NOTE: THIS IS NOT A RECOMMENDATION THAT SUCH PEOPLE SHOULD NO LONGER BE ALLOWED TO PRACTISE, ONLY THAT THEY BE REMOVED FROM SITUATIONS IN WHICH THEY MIGHT BE VULNERABLE TO COLLUSION.)

THE MEDICAL RECORDS OF PRISONERS AND DETAINEES BE INACCESSIBLE TO NON-MEDICAL PRISON STAFF AND/OR POLICE, UNLESS THE HEALTH PROFESSIONAL IN CHARGE DEEMS SUCH ACCESS TO BE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PATIENT.

MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS OF PRISONERS AND DETAINEES TAKE PLACE IN PRIVATE, UNLESS THE PATIENT OR THE HEALTH PROFESSIONAL PERFORMING THE EXAMINATION REQUESTS OTHERWISE.

REGULAR INDEPENDENT REVIEWS OF HEALTH CARE IN PRISONS AND OTHER PLACES OF INCARCERATION, MILITARY INSTALLATIONS AND MENTAL INSTITUTIONS BE CONDUCTED.

AN INDEPENDENT LINE OF AUTHORITY BE ESTABLISHED TO ADVISE, GUIDE AND SUPPORT DISTRICT SURGEONS AND OTHER PRISON HEALTH CARE PERSONNEL FACING CONTROVERSIAL ETHICAL DECISIONS.

COMPULSORY REFRESHER COURSES FOR PRISON HEALTH CARE WORKERS FOCUS ON ETHICS, MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE SPECIFIC HEALTH NEEDS OF PRISONERS.

THE FORMAT OF DOCUMENTATION COMPLETED BY HEALTH PROFESSIONALS PROVIDING HEALTH CARE FOR PRISONERS AND DETAINEES SPECIFICALLY INCLUDE SECTIONS ON ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE OR ABUSE, EVIDENCE OF SUCH ABUSE AND HOW THE ALLEGATIONS ARE BEING INVESTIGATED. ALL ALLEGATIONS OF ABUSE MUST BE REPORTED TO AN INDEPENDENT MONITORING BODY. FAILURE TO REPORT ABUSE SHOULD BE A DISCIPLINARY OFFENCE.

Medico-legal services

85 The Commission recommends that:

THERE BE UNIFORM STANDARDS OF TRAINING FOR ALL STAFF REQUIRED TO PERFORM *POST MORTEM*S OR OTHER FORENSIC EXAMINATIONS.

CUSTODIAL CARE AND FORENSIC SERVICES BE SEPARATED. TO PREVENT A CONFLICT OF INTERESTS, PROFESSIONALS WHO PROVIDE HEALTH CARE TO PRISONERS AND TO OTHERS INCARCERATED OR DETAINED SHOULD NOT HAVE FORENSIC RESPONSIBILITY.

THE LEGISLATION GOVERNING FORENSIC PSYCHIATRY BE REVISED, THE SECRECY CLAUSE RELATED TO FORENSIC PSYCHIATRY BE LIFTED, AND FORENSIC PSYCHIATRY SERVICES BE REVIEWED.

THE STATE FUND AN INDEPENDENT FORENSIC SERVICE FOR THE USE OF THE FAMILY OF ANYONE WHO DIES IN CUSTODY. THE FAMILIES BE INFORMED OF THEIR RIGHT TO HAVE AN INDEPENDENT FORENSIC PATHOLOGIST PRESENT AT A *POST MORTEM*.

THERE BE REGULAR INDEPENDENT AUDITS OF THE POLICE MORTUARIES AND FORENSIC PATHOLOGY LABORATORIES.

POLICE MORTUARIES AND FORENSIC LABORATORIES BE ADEQUATELY EQUIPPED. THE ABSENCE OF X-RAY FACILITIES, FOR INSTANCE, IN THE MAJORITY OF MORTUARIES IS NOTED WITH CONCERN.

Mental health

86 The Commission recommends that:

MENTAL HEALTH BE GIVEN PRIORITY AS A NATIONAL CONCERN AND BE BROUGHT INTO THE PRIMARY HEALTH CARE SYSTEM.

MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES BE ACCESSIBLE TO ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE RURAL AREAS.

THE FOCUS OF MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES BE SHIFTED FROM THE ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ONE-ON-ONE THERAPY MODEL, TO BECOME COMMUNITY BASED. DIFFERENT CARE AND THERAPY MODALITIES BE EXPLORED AND INSTITUTED, PARTICULARLY TRADITIONAL AND INDIGENOUS MODES OF TREATMENT. COMMUNITY COUNSELLORS AND FAMILY MEMBERS BE INVOLVED IN CARE PROVISION. SERVICE USERS MUST BE INCLUDED IN DECISIONS ABOUT SERVICE PROVISION.

THE QUALITY AND TYPE OF CARE PROVIDED IN MENTAL INSTITUTIONS BE MONITORED BY AN INDEPENDENT BODY.

PSYCHOMETRIC TESTS WHICH ARE CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE IN ALL ASPECTS BE DEVELOPED AND APPROPRIATELY APPLIED.

APPROPRIATE MODELS FOR TRAUMA COUNSELLING IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT BE DEVELOPED AND IMPLEMENTED.

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

MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES HAVE A DEVELOPMENTAL FOCUS.

THERE BE INCREASED RESEARCH INTO THE CONSEQUENCES OF TRAUMA RELATED TO THE EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE. THE GROWING BODY OF RESEARCH ON POST-TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER (PTSD) NEEDS TO BE MORE WIDELY SHARED AND PRACTICALLY APPLIED IN SOCIAL SETTINGS. KNOWLEDGE AND AWARENESS OF PTSD SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED IN INSTITUTIONS, COMMUNITIES AND THE FAMILY.

The organised medical profession

87 The Commission recommends that:

THE STATUTORY COUNCILS GOVERNING THE HEALTH PROFESSIONS BE PROACTIVE IN PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE STATUTORY COUNCILS BE GIVEN A PROACTIVE CAPACITY TO INVESTIGATE UNETHICAL/UNPROFESSIONAL CONDUCT, WITHOUT HAVING TO DEPEND ON THE SUBMISSION OF A FORMAL COMPLAINT.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCILS REPRESENT SOCIETY IN TERMS OF GENDER, RACE ETC. AND THAT THE COUNCILS INCLUDE COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES AND MEMBERS OF OTHER PROFESSIONS. THIS WILL ENSURE THAT THE SYSTEM OF SELF-REGULATION, WHICH HAS FAILED SO OBVIOUSLY IN THE PAST, IS NOT PERPETUATED. THE APPOINTMENT OF COUNCIL MEMBERS SHOULD BE A TRANSPARENT PROCESS WHICH ENSURES THE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE COUNCILS.

THE DISCIPLINARY "ARMS" OF THE COUNCILS BE BODIES WHOSE MEMBERS HAVE A CORE OF APPROPRIATE KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE; DISCIPLINARY MEASURES AND SANCTIONS BE IMPLEMENTED IN A CONSISTENT, FAIR MANNER; THE FULL COUNCILS HAVE THE POWER TO REVIEW OUTCOMES OF DISCIPLINARY ENQUIRIES AND THE SANCTION(S) IMPOSED.

POLITICAL AND FUNCTIONAL AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE OF STATUTORY COUNCILS BE ENTRENCHED.

THE COUNCILS ENSURE THAT NO LEGISLATION OR POLICIES VIOLATE THE RIGHTS OR DIGNITY OF PATIENTS, CLIENTS OR HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONALS.

HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONALS WHO OPPOSE OR DRAW ATTENTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BE ACTIVELY SUPPORTED AND PROTECTED BY STATUTORY COUNCILS AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

Checks and balances for state-run organisations

88 The Commission recommends that:

A BODY ON HEALTH AND HUMAN RIGHTS BE ESTABLISHED, CONSISTING OF HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONALS, HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERTS, CONSUMER REPRESENTATIVES AND LEGAL EXPERTS. THIS BODY COULD BE APPROPRIATELY LOCATED WITHIN THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. IT SHOULD BE INDEPENDENT OF GOVERNMENT, PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND STATUTORY COUNCILS, BUT WOULD OBVIOUSLY WORK IN CO-OPERATION WITH THESE.

THIS BODY BE RESPONSIBLE, AMONGST OTHER THINGS, FOR:

- IMPLEMENTING HEALTH SECTOR-RELATED RECOMMENDATIONS ADOPTED BY PARLIAMENT AS A RESULT OF THIS COMMISSION'S REPORT;
- MONITORING INSTITUTIONAL HEALTH CARE;
- ADVISING ON CURRICULA IN HEALTH AND HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION;

- RECEIVING AND DEALING WITH REPORTS AND COMPLAINTS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN THE HEALTH PROFESSIONS;
- CREATING THE POSITION OF AND OVERSEEING THE WORK OF A “MEDICAL PUBLIC PROTECTOR” OR OMBUDSPERSON;
- IMPLEMENTING AN ENQUIRY INTO THE LEGAL, ETHICAL AND PROFESSIONAL POSITION OF HEALTH PERSONNEL IN THE MILITARY, AND DEVELOPING CLEAR GUIDELINES TO AVOID CONFLICT BETWEEN MILITARY LAW AND PROFESSIONAL ETHICS.

THIS BODY HAVE A MECHANISM TO ALLOW FOR ONGOING CONFIDENTIAL REPORTING OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BY HEALTH PROFESSIONALS.

Service users

89 The Commission recommends that:

CURRENT EFFORTS TO CREATE A PATIENTS’ RIGHTS CHARTER BE ENCOURAGED. THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, STATUTORY COUNCILS AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS BE REQUIRED TO ENGAGE IN ONGOING PROGRAMMES TO INFORM USERS OF HEALTH SERVICES OF THEIR RIGHTS AND OF WAYS IN WHICH COMPLAINTS CAN BE LODGED.

State health organisations (Department of Health and South African Medical Services)

90 The Commission recommends that:

THE DISPARITIES IN HEALTH CARE RESOURCE ALLOCATION BE REDRESSED, WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE URBAN AREAS AND TOWNSHIPS, AS WELL AS BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS. THIS COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH A ONCE-OFF TAX, OR SLOWLY OVER TIME.

ALL EMPLOYEES OF STATE-RUN INSTITUTIONS BE MADE AWARE OF THEIR DUTIES, OBLIGATIONS AND RIGHTS.

HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONALS EXERCISE THE PRIVILEGE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF HAVING FINAL AUTHORITY REGARDING DECISIONS AFFECTING THE HEALTH OF PATIENTS. THIS IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IN SITUATIONS WHERE THE PATIENT IS INCARCERATED.

THE SANDF PROVIDE APPROPRIATE MENTAL AND PHYSICAL HEALTH CARE FOR THOSE SUFFERING FROM THE EFFECTS OF SADF ACTIONS OR PARTICIPATION IN THEM. SIMILARLY, SERVICES ARE NEEDED FOR THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN AND SUFFERED THE RESULTS OF OTHER STATE-SPONSORED OR LIBERATION MOVEMENT VIOLENCE.

ALL HEALTH CARE FACILITIES HAVE POLICIES THAT PROTECT AND PROMOTE:

- DOCTOR-PATIENT CONFIDENTIALITY
- CLINICAL INDEPENDENCE

- INSTITUTIONAL INDEPENDENCE
- PATIENT ADVOCACY

Research and publications

91 The Commission recommends that:

THE PROFESSIONAL BODIES, STATUTORY COUNCILS, AND THE HEALTH AND HUMAN RIGHTS BODY (REFERRED TO ABOVE) MONITOR RESEARCH PRACTICES, ESPECIALLY AMONG VULNERABLE POPULATIONS WHOSE MEMBERS MAY BE UNAWARE OF THEIR RIGHTS.

THERE BE A PROHIBITION AGAINST RESEARCH INTO SCIENTIFIC METHODS OF INTERROGATION AND TORTURE.

SOUTH AFRICA ADHERE RIGOROUSLY TO ALL THE STIPULATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS ON CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, PARTICULARLY THOSE PERTAINING TO RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT.

THE *SOUTH AFRICAN MEDICAL JOURNAL* (SAMJ) HAVE EDITORIAL INDEPENDENCE FROM ANY INTEREST GROUP SUCH AS THE STATE, THE MEDICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA (MASA) ETC.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE SAMJ BE BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE AND INCLUDE COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES.

92 Responsibility for developing and implementing these recommendations, and for monitoring their implementation, rests primarily with:

- a The Department of Health – national and provincial;
- b The statutory councils;
- c Professional organisations;
- d The SANDF;
- e Health science faculties;
- f The Human Rights Commission;
- g NGOs involved in health.

■ MEDIA

- 93 State restrictions on the freedom of the media played an important role in facilitating gross violations of human rights during the period covered by the Commission's mandate. While these restrictions were not in themselves a gross violation of human rights as defined in the Act, they denied South Africans the right to a free flow of information and ideas, and created conditions conducive to the perpetration of gross human rights violations by a range of forces. Laws and restrictions controlling the media created an atmosphere conducive to self-censorship in the white-controlled media. As a result, most journalists failed to delve thoroughly enough into allegations that gross violations of human rights were occurring, or to speak out strongly enough when evidence was uncovered.

Legislation

- 94 The Commission thus recommends that:

THERE BE LESS LEGISLATION CONTROLLING THE MEDIA, RATHER THAN MORE.

SECTION 205 OF THE CRIMINAL PROCEDURE ACT, WHICH COMPELS THE REVELATION OF SOURCES, BE REPEALED. THIS IS IN LINE WITH THE CODE OF CONDUCT OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS, WHICH STRESSES THAT THE JOURNALIST SHOULD OBSERVE PROFESSIONAL SECRECY ON SOURCES OF INFORMATION OBTAINED IN CONFIDENCE. THERE MAY BE A NEED TO DEVISE A NEW FORMULATION, WHICH WOULD ASSURE THE MEDIA'S RIGHT TO PROTECT A SOURCE AND ITS INTEGRITY, AS WELL AS THE STATE'S NEED FOR INFORMATION, FOR INSTANCE WHEN STATE SECURITY IS THREATENED.

A THOROUGH REVIEW OF ALL LAWS BE UNDERTAKEN WITH A VIEW TO REDUCING RESTRICTIONS ON THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION, ON FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ON DIVERSITY OF OPINION. THERE SHOULD BE NO INTERFERENCE FROM GOVERNMENT IN EDITORIAL MATTERS.

RECRUITMENT OF AGENTS AMONG, OR PAYMENTS FOR INFORMATION FROM, THE RANKS OF JOURNALISTS AND OTHER MEDIA WORKERS BY ANY STATE INTELLIGENCE OR SECURITY AGENCIES BE PROHIBITED BY LAW.

Independence

- 95 The Commission recommends that:

THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION, FROM BOTH GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCIAL PRESSURES, BE ESTABLISHED AND RETAINED.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY FROM GOVERNMENT BE MAINTAINED.

Alternative media

96 The Commission recommends that:

THE STATE PROMOTE A MULTIPLICITY OF MEDIA VOICES IN SOCIETY BY ESTABLISHING A LEGISLATIVE ENVIRONMENT AND STATE SUBSIDIES TO ENCOURAGE THE GROWTH OF GRASSROOTS PUBLICATIONS AND LOCAL BROADCASTING STATIONS.

THE ESTABLISHED PRESS PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN HELPING TO ENCOURAGE A VARIETY OF MEDIA SOURCES BY, FOR INSTANCE, FUNDING AND RESOURCING ALTERNATIVE PUBLICATIONS. COMMUNITY PUBLICATIONS SHOULD BE DEVELOPED ALONG THE LINES OF LOCAL, PROVEN GRASSROOTS MODELS LIKE *GRASSROOTS*, *SOUTH* AND *SAAMSTAAN*. MODELS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES SUCH AS ZIMBABWE AND PAPUA NEW GUINEA SHOULD ALSO BE EXPLORED.

Media self-regulation

97 The Commission recommends that:

THE ESTABLISHED PRESS TAKE STEPS TO WIDEN THE DIVERSITY OF OPINIONS AND INFORMATION PUBLISHED IN ITS NEWSPAPERS BY ESTABLISHING LOCAL EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARDS FOR ITS NEWSPAPERS AND BY NEGOTIATING EDITORIAL CHARTERS WITH ITS JOURNALISTS.

THE PRINT MEDIA AND BROADCASTERS INTRODUCE A CONDITION OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE CONTRACTS OF JOURNALISTS AND OTHER MEDIA WORKERS MAKING IT A DISMISSIBLE OFFENCE TO TAKE PAYMENT FROM ANY STATE INTELLIGENCE OR SECURITY AGENCY IN EXCHANGE FOR INFORMATION.

JOURNALISTS' ORGANISATIONS AND EDITORS DEBATE THE DEGREE TO WHICH IT IS PERMISSIBLE FOR JOURNALISTS, IN THE COURSE OF NEWS GATHERING, TO HAVE CONTACTS AND SHARE INFORMATION WITH OPERATIVES OF STATE INTELLIGENCE OR SECURITY AGENCIES. (IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT, AT THE VERY LEAST, SUCH CONTACTS FOR NEWSGATHERING PURPOSES OUGHT TO BE DECLARED IN WRITING TO EDITORS.)

MEDIA EMPLOYERS REQUIRE JOURNALISTS TO DECLARE PAST RECEIPT OF PAYMENTS FROM STATE INTELLIGENCE OR SECURITY AGENCIES, AND REMOVE SUCH JOURNALISTS FROM COVERING THE ACTIVITIES OF THESE OR SIMILAR AGENCIES IN THE FUTURE.

Labour and employment issues

98 The Commission recommends that:

MEDIA EMPLOYERS INTENSIFY PROGRAMMES OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND THE EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN AND BLACK MEDIA WORKERS WITHIN THE MEDIA, WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF ENSURING THAT MORE, BETTER-SKILLED AND QUALIFIED BLACK PEOPLE ARE EMPLOYED IN ALL NEWSROOMS AND THAT THERE IS A PROPER GENDER BALANCE AT ALL LEVELS, MANAGERIAL AND PROFESSIONAL.

- 99 Responsibility for developing and implementing these recommendations, and for monitoring their implementation, rests primarily with:
- a The Department of Posts and Telecommunications;
 - b The South African Broadcasting Corporation;
 - c The Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA);
 - d Publishing houses: Independent Newspapers, NasPers, TML;
 - e The Newspaper Press Union;
 - f Trade unions: The South African Union of Journalists, The Union of Black Journalists;
 - g NGOs.

■ ARCHIVING COMMISSION MATERIAL AND PUBLIC ACCESS⁷

- 100 One of the key aspects of the Commission's work has been its commitment to transparency and public scrutiny. Its records, which are in the form of documents, video and audio tapes, pictures and photographs as well as a computerised database, are a national asset which must be both protected and made accessible.
- 101 Sections 11(2) and 13(2)(a), of the Archives Act stipulate that no public record may be disposed of (transferred from one office to another, erased, destroyed or disposed of in any other manner) without the written authorisation of the national archivist.
- 102 The Archives Act further requires that public records with enduring value must be transferred into the custody of the archives only when they have been in existence for twenty years. The national archivist is, however, empowered to identify records which should be transferred to the National Archives sooner, after consultation with the head of the governmental body concerned.

⁷ The Commission acknowledges the contribution of Ms Trudy Huskamp Peterson of UNESCO for her expert assistance in formulating these recommendations.

ALL COMMISSION RECORDS BE TRANSFERRED TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES WHEN THE CODICIL TO THE FINAL REPORT IS MADE PUBLIC.

ALL COMMISSION RECORDS BE ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC, UNLESS COMPELLING REASONS EXIST FOR DENYING SUCH ACCESS, BEARING IN MIND THAT THE INDIVIDUAL'S RIGHTS TO PRIVACY, CONFIDENTIALITY AND RELATED MATTERS MUST BE RESPECTED. IN THIS REGARD, PARTICULAR ATTENTION NEEDS TO BE GIVEN TO THE RELEASE OR WITHHOLDING OF DETAILS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS STATEMENTS IN CASES WHERE INDIVIDUALS FEEL THEIR SAFETY IS PREJUDICED.

VICTIMS HAVE THE RIGHT OF ACCESS TO THEIR OWN FILES, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THESE ARE PUBLICLY AVAILABLE OR NOT. VICTIMS SHOULD BE PROVIDED WITH A COPY OF THEIR FILE IF THEY SO WISH.

TO FACILITATE THE ABOVE, THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE PROVIDE PUBLIC NOTICE OF THE INTENT TO TRANSFER THE RECORDS OF THE COMMISSION TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES. THE NOTICE SHOULD INCLUDE A STATEMENT ABOUT THE BASIC ACCESS PROVISIONS FOR THE RECORDS.

THE FOLLOWING GUIDELINES BE USED TO DETERMINE ACCESS TO COMMISSION RECORDS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES:

- BECAUSE COMMISSION RECORDS ARE LESS THAN TWENTY YEARS OLD, ACCESS TO THESE RECORDS BE DETERMINED BY THE NATIONAL ARCHIVIST IN TERMS OF SECTION 12(1) OF THE ARCHIVES ACT.
- IN THE CASE OF RECORD CATEGORIES IDENTIFIED AS REQUIRING PROTECTION, THE NATIONAL ARCHIVIST REFER REQUESTS FOR ACCESS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. IN THE CASE OF ALL OTHER RECORD CATEGORIES, A POLICY OF UNRESTRICTED PUBLIC ACCESS SHOULD BE APPLIED.
- THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION, WHICH IS ALREADY IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN, BE MADE AVAILABLE AS SOON AS PRACTICALLY POSSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC: TRANSCRIPTS OF HEARINGS; REASONS FOR AMNESTY DECISIONS; PUBLIC STATEMENTS ISSUED BY THE COMMISSION; ALL OTHER MATERIAL ALREADY AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC ON THE COMMISSION'S INTERNET WEBSITE (www.truth.org.za).
- THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES TAKE OVER THE COMMISSION'S INTERNET WEBSITE, CONTINUE TO MAKE EXISTING MATERIAL – INCLUDING THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION – AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC, LOCALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY, ON THE WEBSITE, AND EXPAND THE WEBSITE IN CREATIVE WAYS (TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT MANY COMMISSION RECORDS ARE STORED IN COMPUTER FILES).

THE GOVERNMENT ALLOCATE ADEQUATE ADDITIONAL FUNDING TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES TO PRESERVE AND MAINTAIN THE RECORDS OF THE COMMISSION. TO THIS END, THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES SHOULD PREPARE A COMPREHENSIVE BUDGET PLAN ON THE COSTS OF ADMINISTERING THE COMMISSION'S RECORDS.

THE GOVERNMENT GIVE SPECIAL SUPPORT TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES TO FACILITATE THE CREATION OF DECENTRALISED, NATION-WIDE 'CENTRES OF MEMORY', AT WHICH MEMBERS OF

THE PUBLIC WHO DO NOT HAVE PERSONAL ACCESS TO COMPUTERS CAN ACCESS DETAILS OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMISSION, INCLUDING TRANSCRIPTS AND SOUND AND VIDEO CLIPS OF HEARINGS.

104 Responsibility for developing and implementing these recommendations, and for monitoring the implementation thereof, rests primarily with:

a The Department of Arts and Culture, Science and Technology;

b The Department of Justice.

■ DESTRUCTION OF DOCUMENTS

105 Measures must be implemented to prevent the destruction of records which form part of our history, however unpleasant. Particularly cynical is the deliberate destruction of records which may incriminate individuals or groups in power. To prevent such destruction, appropriate legal powers must be given to the state's public archives service. The Archives Act provides the necessary legislative framework, but requires rigorous implementation.

Legislation

106 The Commission thus recommends that:

THE GOVERNMENT ENSURE THAT FUTURE PROVINCIAL ARCHIVAL LEGISLATION EMBODIES THE FEATURES OF THE NATIONAL ACT.

THE GOVERNMENT PROVIDE THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES WITH THE RESOURCES IT REQUIRES TO IMPLEMENT THE ACT. THE POWER TO INSPECT GOVERNMENTAL BODIES, FOR INSTANCE, IS RENDERED MEANINGLESS IF THE RESOURCES TO EXERCISE THIS RIGHT ARE NOT MADE AVAILABLE.

THE GOVERNMENT TAKE STEPS TO ENSURE THAT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES FUNCTIONS AS THE AUDITOR OF GOVERNMENT RECORD-KEEPING. THIS REQUIRES THAT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES BECOMES AN INDEPENDENT AGENCY, RATHER THAN REMAINING A SUB-COMPONENT OF A SINGLE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT (PRESENTLY THE DEPARTMENT OF ARTS AND CULTURE, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY). CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO CREATING A NATIONAL ARCHIVES UNIT IN THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OR DEPUTY PRESIDENT.

THE SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT NOT BE ALLOWED TO BYPASS THE OPERATION OF THE ACT. WHILE A SPECIAL STATUS APPROPRIATE TO THE SENSITIVITY OF ITS RECORDS WOULD BE LEGITIMATE, IT SHOULD REMAIN FULLY SUBJECT TO THE PROFESSIONAL SUPERVISION OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

Implementation of legislation

107 The Commission recommends that:

THE MINISTRY OF SAFETY AND SECURITY TRANSFER ALL SURVIVING SECURITY BRANCH RECORDS TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY AND SOUTH AFRICAN SECRET SERVICE TAKE APPROPRIATE STEPS TO FINALISE THE SECURING OF ALL DOCUMENTATION PRE-DATING 1995 IN THEIR CUSTODY, AND THAT SUCH DOCUMENTATION BE SUBJECTED TO APPRAISAL BY THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

NO STATE RECORDS PERTAINING TO HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BE DESTROYED WITHOUT THE EXPRESS APPROVAL OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVIST, EVEN IF OTHER DISPOSAL AUTHORITIES AUTHORISE SUCH ACTION.

THE SANDF COMPILE A COMPREHENSIVE INVENTORY OF ALL NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (NSMS) RECORDS IN ITS CUSTODY, FOR SUBMISSION TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVIST.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ACKNOWLEDGE THAT, IN TERMS OF INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNISED ARCHIVAL PRINCIPLES, THE EXTANT RECORDS OF THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA TERRITORY FORCE (CURRENTLY IN THE SANDF ARCHIVES) PROPERLY BELONG IN NAMIBIA AND MUST BE RETURNED TO THE NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT. (IT MUST BE NOTED THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT COVERING EQUIVALENT CIVILIAN RECORDS IS ALREADY IN PLACE.)

THE TRANSFER TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF DOCUMENTATION ON THE SECURITY LEGISLATION DIRECTORATE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, SECURITY DETAINEES, POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS SENTENCED TO DEATH BE NEGOTIATED BETWEEN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND THE APPROPRIATE MINISTRIES.

THE SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT MAKE EVERY ATTEMPT TO LOCATE AND RETRIEVE DOCUMENTS REMOVED WITHOUT AUTHORISATION BY OPERATIVES OF APARTHEID SECURITY STRUCTURES.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES BE ENABLED TO FILL THE GAPS IN OFFICIAL MEMORY, THROUGH THE COLLECTION OF NON-PUBLIC RECORDS AND THE PROMOTION OF ORAL HISTORY PROJECTS (IN TERMS OF SECTION 3(D) OF THE ARCHIVES ACT).

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES BE GIVEN THE NECESSARY RESOURCES TO TAKE TRANSFER OF, PROCESS PROFESSIONALLY AND MAKE AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC, THE RECORDS OF THE COMMISSION (WHICH IN THEMSELVES FILL MANY GAPS IN SOUTH AFRICA'S SOCIAL MEMORY).

108 Responsibility for developing and implementing these recommendations, and for monitoring their implementation, rests primarily with:

- a The Department of Arts and Culture, Science and Technology;
- b The Department of Justice;
- c The Department of Defence, particularly the SANDF;

- d The National Intelligence Agency;
- e The Department of Safety and Security, particularly the SAPS;
- f The Department of Foreign Affairs.

■ THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

- 109 The Commission notes that, while the liberation movements were motivated by a just cause in the struggle against apartheid, they nevertheless committed gross violations of human rights both inside and outside of the country.
- 110 The Commission notes further that, in this conflict, the African National Congress was the only party which signed the Geneva Convention and its protocols regarding the conduct of national wars of liberation, that it made a conscious effort to conduct itself within that framework, and that it instituted several commissions of enquiry into its conduct.
- 111 The Commission therefore recommends that:

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ISSUE A CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL APOLOGY TO:

- EACH VICTIM OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN EXILE;
- THOSE DETAINED WITHOUT TRIAL AND THOSE DETAINED, TRIED AND FOUND TO BE INNOCENT.

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WITHDRAW ALL ALLEGATIONS AGAINST AND PUBLICLY CLEAR THE NAMES OF THOSE DETAINED WITHOUT TRIAL AND THOSE DETAINED, TRIED AND FOUND TO BE INNOCENT.

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS SEEK TO RECONCILE WITH AND REINTEGRATE THE VICTIMS OF ABUSES.

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS SEEK TO ESTABLISH THE WHEREABOUTS AND FATE OF ALL THOSE WHO WENT MISSING IN EXILE, AND REGULARLY PUBLISH INFORMATION ABOUT PROGRESS IN THESE INVESTIGATIONS.

■ INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS

International human rights instruments

112 The Commission recommends that:

SOUTH AFRICA RATIFY, IN PARTICULAR:

- THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS (ICCPR) AND BOTH ITS PROTOCOLS;
- THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS;
- THE UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION AGAINST TORTURE AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN AND DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT.

THE GOVERNMENT ENGAGE IN AN INTERNAL REVIEW OF POLICY – SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH OCCURRED AFTER THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN (CEDAW) AND THE ATTENDANCE OF A HIGH-LEVEL GOVERNMENT DELEGATION AT THE 1995 UNITED NATIONS FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN, HELD IN BEIJING, CHINA – TO DETERMINE WHETHER SOUTH AFRICAN LAW AND PRACTICE CONFORM TO INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

RENEWED INTERNATIONAL CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO:

- THE WAY IN WHICH LIBERATION WARS AND CIVIL WARS ARE CONDUCTED.
- THE TREATMENT OF PARTICIPANTS IN ARMED COMBAT IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF WAR, CIVIL WAR, REVOLUTIONS, INSURGENCY OR GUERRILLA WARFARE.

IN THIS ERA OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, IT IS NECESSARY TO EXAMINE WHETHER IT IS ACCEPTABLE FOR DESERTERS OR TRAITORS TO BE EXECUTED, EVEN IF THEY HAVE BEEN TRIED BY A TRIBUNAL. IT MUST BE BORNE IN MIND THAT IN MANY SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR TRIBUNALS TO COMPLY WITH ALL THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL REQUIREMENTS. MINIMUM ACCEPTABLE STANDARDS SHOULD BE DEVISED, GOVERNING CONDITIONS OF DETENTION AND FAIR TRIALS. THE COMMISSION FOUND THE GENEVA CONVENTION AND ITS VARIOUS PROTOCOLS TO BE OF GREAT ASSISTANCE, BUT BELIEVES THERE IS STILL MORE THAT COULD BE ADDED.

Apologies to neighbouring states

113 The Commission received a number of statements from citizens of neighbouring countries, including Namibia, alleging that they had suffered gross violations of their human rights as a result of actions of representatives of the previous South African government. The Commission, lacking the resources and time to address such claims, has not made findings on such violations, nor is it recommending that reparations be paid to the victims. However, the Commission recommends that:

THE SUFFERING OF SUCH PERSONS BE CONSIDERED IN GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATIONS.

A PUBLIC APOLOGY BE MADE TO THE PEOPLE OF OUR NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES FOR PAST VIOLATIONS.

IMMEDIATE AND APPROPRIATE SYMBOLIC REPARATIONS BE CONSIDERED, IN THE FORM OF STATUES OR MONUMENTS, SCHOLARSHIPS OR OTHER FORMS OF RECOGNITION, DEMONSTRATING SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENS' EMPATHY WITH THE SUFFERING OF THE CITIZENS OF OUR NEIGHBOURING STATES AND APPRECIATION OF THEIR SOLIDARITY.

Prosecutions for apartheid as a crime against humanity

- 114 The definition of apartheid as a crime against humanity has given rise to a concern that persons who are seen to have been responsible for apartheid policies and practices might become liable to international prosecutions. The Commission believes that international recognition should be given to the fact that the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, and the processes of this Commission itself, have sought to deal appropriately with the matter of responsibility for such policies.

■ CONCLUSION

- 115 This chapter concludes where it began. Reconciliation is a process which is never-ending, is costly and often painful. For this process to develop, it is imperative that democracy and a human rights culture be consolidated. Reconciliation is centred on the call for a more decent, more caring and more just society. It is up to each individual to respond by committing ourselves to concrete ways of easing the burden of the oppressed and empowering the poor to play their rightful part as citizens of South Africa.

Reconciliation

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 The Commission sought to highlight the deep damage inflicted by past gross human rights violations on human relationships in South Africa. While the main conflict was between a state representing a white minority and an oppressed black population, the conflict found expression in various ways and involved different sections of the population, exploiting and creating divisions within and between communities. The young and the old, men and women, members of the same family or organisation, neighbours, different ethnic and racial groups often turned against each other. People were victimised in different ways and a range of gross human rights violations was committed. The result demands extensive healing and social and physical reconstruction at every level of society. Sometimes these different needs themselves compete with one another, leading to fresh conflicts. This makes reconciliation a complex, long-term process with many dimensions.
- 2 With its short lifespan and limited mandate and resources, it was obviously impossible for the Commission to reconcile the nation. The following selected moments from the life of the Commission do, however, express significant steps in the reconciliation process. Some are beacons of hope. Others warn of pitfalls. Together they constitute signposts on the long road towards making individual, communal and national reconciliation a living, lasting reality in South Africa.
- 3 Clearly, everyone who came before the Commission did not experience healing and reconciliation. However, extracts from testimonies before the Commission illustrate the varying ways and degrees in which people have been helped by the Commission to restore their human dignity and to make peace with their troubled past. They include cases where an astonishing willingness to forgive was displayed, where those responsible for violations apologised and committed themselves to a process of restitution, and where the building or rebuilding of relationships was initiated.
- 4 This chapter underlines the vital importance of the multi-layered healing of human relationships in post-apartheid South Africa: relationships of individuals with

themselves; relationships between victims; relationships between survivors and perpetrators; relationships within families, between neighbours and within and between communities; relationships within different institutions, between different generations, between racial and ethnic groups, between workers and management and, above all, between the beneficiaries of apartheid and those who have been disadvantaged by it. After a visit to Rwanda, Archbishop Tutu said:

We must break the spiral of reprisal and counter-reprisal... I said to them in Kigali "unless you move beyond justice in the form of a tribunal, there is no hope for Rwanda". Confession, forgiveness and reconciliation in the lives of nations are not just airy-fairy religious and spiritual things, nebulous and unrealistic. They are the stuff of practical politics.

■ TOWARDS THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN DIGNITY: VICTIMS

Healing through truth-telling and official acknowledgement

- 5 At a follow-up post-hearing workshop in Reiger Park, Anglican Bishop David Beetge said:

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

We retell our painful stories so that we shall remember the years that lie behind with all their struggles and terror as the way that led to new life...

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

- 7 At a Commission hearing in Heideveld, Cape Town, Mr Lukas Baba Sikwepere was given the opportunity to relate, in his own language¹, his account of the human rights violations of which he had been a victim. During a political conflict in KTC (one of the informal settlements around Cape Town) on 31 December 1985, police allegedly began shooting at a number of people gathered around a police vehicle.

I decided to walk, because I knew that if you run, you were going to be shot... When I arrived at the place – when I thought, now I am safe, I felt something hitting my cheek... I felt my eyes itching... I was scratching my eyes, I wasn't quite sure what happened to my eyes....

- 8 Mr Sikwepere described to the Commission how he was shot in the face and lost his sight. He also told of how, two years later, the police beat him with electric ropes, suffocated him, forced him to lie in an empty grave and tortured him in other ways.

- 9 When a Commissioner asked Mr Sikwepere how he felt after having delivered his testimony, he replied:

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

- 10 Quite often, witnesses revealed far more in oral testimony than they had in their written statements. This is illustrated by the testimony of a middle-aged woman, Ms Yvonne Khutwane, at the Worcester hearing:

I was just alone at the back of the Hippo² and they [two South African Defence Force members] were just driving. It was pitch dark outside. They alighted [from] the Hippo and then they came to take me out of the Hippo. One of them said to me, can I see what I have put myself in, and then they asked me when did I last sleep with a man. I was so embarrassed by this question. And I felt so humiliated. I informed them that I have nobody. I didn't have a partner. And then they asked me with whom am I staying. I informed them that I was with my family.

The other question that they asked me is, how do I feel when they – when I am having intercourse with a man. This was too much for me because they were repeating it time and again, asking me the same question, asking me what do I like with the intercourse, do I like the size of the penis or what do I enjoy most.

1 As required by the Act.

2 An armoured vehicle used by the SAP and SADF to patrol the black townships.

So the other one was just putting his hand inside me through the vagina. I was crying because I was afraid – we have heard that the soldiers are very notorious of raping people. This one continued putting his finger right through me, he kept on penetrating and I was asking for forgiveness and I was asking them what have I done, I am old enough to be your mother. But why are you treating me like this. This was very, very embarrassing. It was so painful. I couldn't stand it, because these kids were young and they were still at a very young age, they had all the powers to respect and honour me. They were just the same age as my children and look what were they doing to me.

11 In her written statement, Ms Khutwane had made no mention of this sexual assault. In her debriefing session, she said that this was the first time she had spoken of it and that she felt tremendously relieved.

12 Mr Tim Ledgerwood, a former conscript in the South African Defence Force (SADF), went absent without leave in 1981 and later tried to join the African National Congress (ANC) military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK). He was caught and severely tortured by the security police. At a special hearing on conscription in Cape Town on 23 July 1997, he said:

The [Commission] has deeply affected my life in a short space of time that has elapsed since I first came to their offices here in Cape Town and told my story to one of the investigators. It has begun a healing process in all sorts of relationships in my family and has enabled me to begin on my own road to inner healing. Having gone to the [Commission] with my story, it is almost as if it is all right to talk about it now. Slowly things are changing. As if I've been freed from a prison in which I have been for eighteen years. It is also as if my family has been freed.

My brother, who worked for Armscor [manufacturing military equipment for the apartheid state] for five or six years in the 1980s, is all of a sudden much softer, more human and more able to talk to me ... It is almost as if the silence is ending, as if we are waking up from a long bad nightmare.

13 Storytelling activities, inspired by the work of the Commission, also took place outside the Commission itself. In the Western Cape, for example, the 'Religious Response to the TRC' held a number of 'Healing of the Memories' workshops. In different regions of the country, important work was done by, amongst others, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and Khulumani, a victim support group facilitated by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in Johannesburg.

- 14 In June 1997, at the workshop that followed the human rights violation hearing in Sebokeng, Mr Duma Khumalo, representing Khulumani, expressed his appreciation of the Commission's contribution:

We, as the Khulumani Support Group, the group that is mainly composed of victims based in the Vaal Triangle, would like to thank the Centre for Study of Violence for having considered the people of Vaal and, in that sense, having helped us to form this group that is existing today with a membership of more than 200 victims. I should say the Khulumani Support Group is very much aware of the objective of the [Commission], which is to promote healing, reconciliation and rehabilitation. We needed to consider the fear that was within the people in the Vaal Triangle of coming forward to tell of their experiences concerning the events and the incidents of the apartheid era. The [Commission] helped many of our people to break the shells of their griefs and fear that they had lived with in the past many years.

It's the intervention of the [Commission] that brought about the dignity of the people that was lost during the political era in our country. People had no one to listen to their griefs or pay attention to some of those griefs until the establishment of [Commission] came into being. Then many of the victims came forward and started, for the first time, to talk about their past griefs... [edited]

- 15 The diversity of individual experiences was significant, certain of which vividly highlighted the long, difficult road to healing.
- 16 Ms Eleanor Juqu told the Commission about the killing of her son, Fuzile, by the police. Mr Juqu then testified about his painful search for his son:

Mr Juqu: *I started at Tygerberg. I went through all the wards but I couldn't find him there. I came back. I told myself, my wife, that I couldn't find him. So, I went to Salt River. There I went to the police station. I asked them. They said no, they don't know anything. They said no; you're wasting our time. They said just go and sit over there. When I got to the police station, I was told that my son is in the mortuary... I saw him. Actually, he was lying on his stomach. His whole back was full of bullet holes. This policeman was a white man. I don't even know his name. I didn't even want to know his name because I was already hateful towards him.*

Commissioner Ntsebeza: *When you identified him, was he already dead?*

Mr Juqu: *Yes, they just told me that here he is, what do you think I should do?*

Commissioner Ntsebeza: *How did you feel during that moment when he said that?*

Mr Juqu: *If I had anything in front – in front of me or anything – any, any stick or any, any arm at all I will just throw it at him because my son was just lying there dead ... [His clothes] looked like [they were] eaten by mice, and it was full of blood. There were many, many bullets. He had blood coming out of his nose. He was – he was just shot at the back by very many, many bullets.*

Commissioner Ntsebeza: *Were you called in to any court? Maybe in Wynberg?*

Mr Juqu: *Yes sir, I was called at Wynberg... They asked me, is this your son? I said, yes he is. He said, ja he is dead. So I said, so what should I do? He said: Oh! We are very sorry. So, I said, what are you sorry about? At that time I was already confused but I told myself no, let me just stand here and listen and this. [The] magistrate said, okay, there is nothing we can do. So I just turned around and I left. I didn't give a damn what he was thinking about me, and I simply left.*

Commissioner Ntsebeza: *Do you know who can be blamed for this?*

Mr Juqu: *No. They just told me that they are sorry that my son has been shot; there is nothing then they can do. I said: Oh! Is that what you say? They said, yes, that's what we say. So I just turned around and left.*

- 17 When Mr Juqu was asked if the Commission could be of any help, his response was:

Ma'am, I am not here to get any compensation, I am just – I feel very hurtful for my shot son. It is the Commission that will see what it can do, but I am not here to tell the Commission what to do. I am not here to gain anything about that. I just feel very sore inside. My heart is broken. There is nothing else I am going to say now.

- 18 There were also, of course, people who were critical of the human rights violations hearings. These included survivors, who demanded justice and retribution, and activists who saw themselves as heroes rather than victims. Some psychologists and others expressed concern that adequate professional support was not provided after the hearings. The latter view was voiced by Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso, former Chairperson of the Commission on Gender Equality and currently Deputy Secretary General of the ANC, at the Commission hearing on women in Johannesburg:

I know, Chairperson, that the Truth Commission has got a programme of therapy, but I hope it can be sustained, because my own experience in the

few months has been that some of the women whose wounds you opened – we did not pay enough time or give them enough opportunity to heal once they left these halls.

I have been to Cape Town where there were hearings, Chairperson. I have been to Port Elizabeth. I have been to King William's Town. There are wounds that have been left gaping. It may not be the duty of the [Commission] alone; it may be the duty of the public, of all of us; but those wounds, they need to be addressed, Chairperson. You cannot open them in this hall and leave them gaping. Somebody has got to take responsibility.

- 19 A further cause of concern was the inevitably long delay between victims' testimony at hearings and the implementation by the state of the Commission's recommendations on reparations and rehabilitation. In a submission to the health sector hearing in Cape Town, Professor M Simpson, a psychiatrist specialising in post-traumatic stress disorder, raised a further concern:

There has been far too little genuine debate about the nature of social healing and what surely promotes it. Truth is one essential component of the needed social antiseptic which could cleanse the social fabric of the systematised habit of disregard for human rights, but it needs to be an examined truth; it needs to be considered, thought about, debated and digested and metabolised by individuals and by society. Failure to comprehend recent suffering is too often, in the studies I have made, the seed of future suffering.

Decriminalisation

- 20 Individual and social healing are lengthy, complex processes, of which the restoration of human dignity must be seen as an essential part. One of the most important contributions of the Commission was to help decriminalise the actions of the majority of those victims who opposed the former state. During the uprisings in the 1980s, in particular, thousands of young people were sentenced to prison for arson, public violence or attempted murder. An extract from a Ministry of Foreign Affairs secret memorandum to all members of the State Security Council (SSC), dated 12 November 1984, is significant in this regard – illustrating some of the ways in which political opposition was criminalised as part of the 'total strategy' against the 'total onslaught':

Unrest situations: suggested terminological guidelines for official spokesmen

1. Goals

1.1 *To withhold positive political/social recognition, credit and publicity from the organisers (UDF³ et al) of riots, boycotts etc.*

1.2 *To channel the anger of the innocent masses against **criminal activities**.*

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

2. The Conceptual Framework for the Terminology

*From the abovementioned goals it is clear that the main emphasis should fall on **specific common law crimes** and that references to crimes with political connotations should mostly be avoided, for example:*

arsonists, looters, murderers, muggers

Where it is not practically possible to refer to specific common law crimes, descriptions such as "rioters", "boycotters", "protesters" should rather be avoided and replaced where applicable with descriptions such as:

hooligans, vandals, thugs

Where the instigator is associated with widespread actions/unrest his status is enhanced. As a guideline, it is suggested that militant organisations (ANC, UDF etc.) should rather be linked to individual atrocities (e.g. car bombs) than to mass actions.

3. Innocent victims of criminal actions

It is of the utmost importance that publicity should be given to the victims of violent activities. The "human dimension" is the key factor which must be used to foment sympathy and condemnation...⁴

- 21 The ideas contained in the memorandum illustrate the official mindset at that time – frequently appropriated by the media and promoted by many who were themselves directly involved in perpetrating gross violations of human rights. The guidelines provide some context for a statement by a mother of one of the seven activists killed in Gugulethu. After the second day of police testimony at the

³ United Democratic Front.

⁴ Drawn up by the Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs, DJL Nel, after consultation with the South African Police and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). He recommended that the "systematic use" of these guidelines should receive high priority. The memorandum also states explicitly that these guidelines should apply to the SABC.

Commission's hearing on the 'Gugulethu Seven', she told Commissioner Mary Burton that she felt much more comforted and reconciled; not, she said, because she was yet feeling forgiveness, but because "people now know that our sons were not criminals, but freedom fighters".

- 22 After Mr Jacob Nombiba's testimony at the human rights violation hearing in Grahamstown on 7 April 1997, the chairperson, the Reverend Bongani Finca, captured this point as follows:

We found that many parents are not aware whether their children died as heroes because at that time you couldn't go home and tell your parents what you were involved in. You did not want them to expect you to be shot and to be in jail. I think this is one of the important things in this Commission, that old people like you, at last, would find out the truth, the truth about the struggle of their children, because they did not tell them what was happening.

What is important to me is that maybe the Commission will give out a report that will help you to go to your children's graves, to talk to your children – that you were not aware that they were fighting for their country – so that you can salute them.

- 23 Mr Richard Steele, a conscientious objector during the apartheid era, confirmed the healing power of decriminalisation at the special hearing on compulsory military service in Cape Town:

On the 25th of February 1980, I was sentenced by a military court in Pretoria to twelve months in military prison for refusing to be conscripted into the SADF. Although that day was scary because I knew that by nightfall I would be in prison, it was also one of the most powerful days in my life. On that day, I publicly and practically said 'no' to the whole system of apartheid and military conscription, both of which were anathema to my principles.

I can say that today, the 23rd of July 1997, is one of the most powerful days of my life as well, when I have the opportunity to publicly celebrate my survival through that year in prison and to say 'yes' to a society based on truth and reconciliation.

- 24 Thus on many occasions, the Commission was able to help restore the dignity of victims and their loved ones by respectfully acknowledging their contribution to the struggle against apartheid. Archbishop Tutu's response to testimony by family members of the 'Cradock Four' at the East London hearing provides an example of this:

I wanted to say this when Miss Mhlawuli was here – but perhaps I should speak and you will tell her. I said after Ms Mazwai that I was deeply proud of the fact that I was black and that we had people of her calibre. We are proud to have people like you and your husbands, and the reason why we won the struggle is not because we had guns; we won the struggle because of people like you: people of incredible strength. And this country is fortunate to have people like you... We have a tremendous country, which has tremendous people, and you are one example of why we make it in this country. And that she, your daughter, should say, "I want to forgive, we want to forgive", after what she has experienced and seen what happened to her mother and to her father, and she says, "we want to forgive, but we want to know who to forgive". We give thanks to God for you, and thank you for your contribution to our struggle, and thank you, even if it was reluctant in a sense, rightly, thank you for sacrificing your husbands.

- 25 The work of the Commission also highlighted the impact of decriminalisation on those who always believed that the security forces were upholding the moral order and legitimately enforcing law and order against 'terrorists', 'hooligans', 'vandals', 'arsonists' and 'murderers'. Those who supported the previous state or were conditioned by 'total onslaught' propaganda needed to come to terms with the painful truths uncovered by the Commission. This is illustrated in the following extract from an interview with a white Afrikaner victim of the St James Church massacre:

Coming from the apartheid era at my age, forty-three, I was never a supporter – an active supporter – of apartheid. But it's something that you grew up with, and things changed quite fast in the last couple of years. All of a sudden you start hearing from the blacks how they've been ill-treated, exploited, all kinds of words, and all of a sudden you start seeing the bad side of it, and I think the media ran away with it. I think the media, from the one extreme, they went to the other extreme where we were hearing this on a constant basis. At first, it was an eye-opener to hear of it then, after a while, my feeling was, gee! when are they going to stop moaning? We're just hearing the same type of thing all the time. It's just sort of the names [that] change, but it's the same thing all the time and was it really that bad?

You know, coming from a background where everything was fine for all these years, now all of a sudden the picture [is] changing, that the police were the 'baddies'.

I don't have a lot of contact with blacks myself in every day life, so your perceptions aren't always a hundred per cent correct, and you tend to believe what the media tells you. And all of a sudden, the media turns around and [makes] the white guy, the police ... the bad guy.

I started questioning the whole [Commission process], I think the role of the media – I think they went overboard and that created the impression that they just want to keep on highlighting that side of things. Yes, I think that's why I called it a circus; that's why I wasn't keen on going at first. But then, because of my personal involvement, I thought, "no, let me just see".

And I think it was a sort of initial resistance that came about, which I think if I think of my friends and so on, it's a fairly natural reaction.

- 26 It was even more difficult for those who were directly involved in the security forces to reconcile themselves with the decriminalisation of their former enemies. This difficulty was articulated by Ms Trudy de Ridder, a psychologist who had recently worked with a number of ex-SADF conscripts struggling to cope with their involvement in the war on the Namibian border during the 1970s and 1980s. In her written submission to the Commission, Ms de Ridder said⁵:

Central to most of these testimonies [by ex-conscripts] is the notion that the present has destroyed the foundations of 'meaning' these conscripts adopted to cope with their traumatic experiences. It is easier to cope with having killed someone you believe to be the sub-human agent of forces that wish to destroy everything you hold dear than it is to cope with having killed a normal man, woman or child that history happened to cast as 'your enemy'.

This crisis is greatly intensified when it is revealed to you that the person you have killed is a 'hero' or 'freedom fighter' or 'innocent civilian' – which the South African transformation correctly described him or her to have been. Most of these conscripts have, up until now, silently considered themselves victims (of neglect and manipulation) but are now publicly portrayed as perpetrators (of apartheid military objectives or even of gross human rights violations)...

The Truth Commission has helped break the silence of past suffering, atrocities and abuses. In so doing, it has both released some traumatised ex-conscripts from the prison of silence and trapped them in the role of perpetrators of apartheid. For some, the contradictions of their experience might prove intolerable; for others, the process of revealing the truth about the past might allow them to confront and deal with their experiences.

⁵ See also report on special hearing on *Compulsory National Service*.

- 27 The complexity of the impact of decriminalisation on different communities was illustrated by the testimony of Mr Chris van Eeden, president of a mainstream Afrikaner youth organisation, the Junior Rapportryers Beweging (JRB) at the Commission's special hearing on children and youth, in Johannesburg:

In our organisation, there are a couple of thousand of young men. More than 50 per cent of them were national servicemen; the rest were too young. In my work in the JRB, I see most of these people during the year and we talk to each other.

I don't want to blame the [Commission] – the media is inclined to look at these atrocities. But the same names, the same police are repeatedly referred to, while there is no mention made of the majority of people who were in the police and the Defence Force who weren't involved in the atrocities.

They provided a service for the country, because they loved the country. This is still the case at present and they would probably do it again.

Commissioner Malan: *Could I just interrupt you here, because I think we've got the message. I refer to the other part, you hear the same names and things but those are things that you didn't hear when you were in the army? That is my question.*

Mr Van Eeden: *I can honestly say to you that these kinds of acts, no one can approve of. It makes you furious and angry because that is not what myself and thousands of young Afrikaner men got involved to do.*

Commissioner Malan: *Can I take the question a bit further and the answer. I know is very difficult for people to understand who look at this whole history from a different perspective... How is it possible that you didn't know anything of it or did anything about it? Do you have a perspective on that?*

Mr Van Eeden: *War as such is a crime against humanity; there are no victors. I had personal knowledge because I saw it, of certain of these actions that took place. I saw the result of bodies being burnt. I had knowledge of that. I didn't have knowledge of orchestrated efforts of forces that I served to incite such incidents...*

Commissioner Malan: *You say that you saw bodies that were burnt. What did you think was the reason for that? Who burnt them?*

Mr Van Eeden: *I didn't have to think of what the reason was; it was quite clear. I did my service in Vaal Triangle in the 1990s and it was black on black violence. That it could have been incited from another force, well we have evidence for that now. But I have personal knowledge of, well, let's refer to it as violence between ethnic groups, black ethnic groups in the Vaal Triangle, I saw that.*

Commissioner Malan: *You never saw some kind of an orchestrated effort from government?*

Mr Van Eeden: *No, I never experienced it as such and I think the evidence came as a shock.*

- 28 The testimony of Ms Beatrice Sethwale on the death of her son, a black police officer, also drew attention to the difficult challenge of reconciliation within black communities: between those who fought against the apartheid system and those who were seen as 'collaborators' because they participated in state structures (black councillors) or helped to enforce the apartheid system (black police, '*kitskonstabels*'⁶). At the human rights violation hearing in Upington, Ms Sethwale said:

On the 13th November 1985, it was a Wednesday morning. My son was driven out of the house by a crowd of people who were stoning the house. We were in the house, 405 Philani Street. He was driven out of the house, and shortly afterwards, he was killed and burnt.

Briefly, what I would like to say is that the effect of my son's death has been great. I have been scarred by my son's death. Shortly afterwards, I had to remove my children from Upington, and I had to enrol them at schools elsewhere.

In 1986 December, I went back to my home, and I tried to pick up the pieces of my life again. Thereafter, I had to hear from the people in the Paballelo community that I had shopped my son to the police, that I had betrayed him to the police and that I had been paid for doing so – that I had been paid for my child's murder.

I went through a great deal of pain through all these years. It is now ten years and ten months and forty-three days ago that he died, but the pain is still with me. It still lives inside of me because the 'whys' and the 'wherefores' I still don't know. Although there are some people who pretend that nothing happened; there is a peace on the surface. The pain which I suffered, well I think my second eldest son, the one just after the deceased, I think his drinking problem is the result of the death of his brother.

During the time that I suffered so much, I felt like I had been ostracised from the community, that I had been rejected by the people. I felt that I could not look the world in the eye. I should just accept things as the world accepted me. It was a great pain for me to move in amongst the other women in the women's associations and groups to go and pray. It was always, it felt to me as if I was accused of this 'Upington 26' case. It didn't matter to them what was

6 'Instant' constables, so called because they underwent a very short period of training before being admitted to the police.

happening to me. Their prayers were always plaintive. I always had to hear about the food that they were dishing out to their loved ones, never mind the ones who had died. Even the ministers were the same. Not one, I didn't hear one minister praying for the deceased's mother who had also suffered a loss, who had also lost a son. The pain has been living with me through all these years.

The court case was a long protracted one, and I had to suffer a lot of prejudice, and people swearing at me, insults that I had to endure. But the fact that I am sitting here today does not mean that I want to accuse anybody in Paballelo of anything. I was quite sincere when I spoke to you during the Court case after I gave evidence. I was given the opportunity to speak to you and I am, I still say to you, I am extremely disappointed in you people of Paballelo community. Paballelo is a small community. We know each other. We know each other very, very intimately, and when we speak of each other, we immediately know who is being referred to and I still say to you, "I am disappointed in you". But there is nothing in my heart. I thought I just had to endure the pain and suffering that I was going through, but I still maintain that my faith in my fellow human beings has been scarred for life. I will, can never violate anybody else's rights because you knew my son, Tsenolo Lukas. Some of you were his friends. But that means nothing. Talk will not bring him back.

My pain and suffering is still a reality, and that played a major role in that household because I don't have a child in the Paballelo school. I would also have wanted my child to go to school there. I had to remove my children, and I had to go and live with other people. The hardship, the songs that you sang for me, that really affected me badly. It happened not that long ago. The last song was u-Jetta and that was such a bitter thing for me because some of you who sang that song, you go to the same church as I do, and some of you have very high posts, as you sit here. Some of you didn't know what exactly took place that day, but you just felt that you could just ride roughshod over my feelings. You felt that you could sing that song, but when you saw me walking across the street you started singing this u-Jetta song. I laughed at you. I answered you and said Jetta didn't hurt you, he is dead and that is nothing less than the truth.

Paballelo community, the community killed my child and they burnt him to death. That is the truth. Lastly, I would like to say thank you very much to the South African Police (SAP) who looked after me and my children as well during that time. Thank you very much. For the 'Upington 26' group I want to say it was a low blow, it was a heavy blow, but I picked myself up again, I survived. Thank you...

Commissioner Wildschut: *[That is] why we felt it is important that you too have the opportunity to tell your story today. I think that many people say, looking back they acknowledge the fact that they didn't give you that opportunity and didn't recognise your pain and your grief. People are saying today that it is important for reconciliation and for healing to take place; that we begin to acknowledge that you too went through a lot of suffering. How do you feel about the fact that people are now beginning to say that they would like to work towards reconciliation first by beginning to acknowledge that you yourself have suffered?*

Ms Sethwale: *I feel I am already dead and that this process will be a very long and time-consuming one. It will take a lot of effort to make me entirely normal again because I have actually become quite used to my pain and place where I find myself currently. I don't bear any grudges against anybody. But if you lose your confidence and your faith in other people, it is very hard to restore. My faith in my fellow human being has been shattered, but I don't bear anybody any grudges.*

Exoneration

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

Maki was a Comrade. She was politically active. We woke up, and we saw quite a number of corpses around the place lying on the ground. Maki went to have a look at these bodies because we were preparing to go to work on that particular morning. Maki came back, and she was in tears when she came back, and she was in shock. She also mentioned the names of the people or the bodies that were lying around on the ground. She said they were Ngungun Yani, Lucky and others. After that incident, we heard that there were rumours around the location, and it seemed it was common knowledge that Maki had a hand in the killing of those youths...

I spoke to Maki as a sister, and I told Maki that it was better for her to run away, and she told me that she was not going to run away because whatever they

said she had done, she had not done. She was innocent. Maybe they will realise later on that they were making a mistake. That is when Maki decided to stay at home and not hide...

We knew that Maki was an innocent victim, and today it has come to the surface. Mamasela [former security police agent/askari⁷] has also spoken that he was involved in giving the youths hand grenades. Now it has surfaced that Maki also took part, and she was also politically active. I also spoke to some of the survivors of the hand grenade, and they told me that they never, ever had Maki in their meetings, and Maki did not know of their plans on that particular day. There was absolutely nothing that she knew, and they were also surprised as to why Maki was killed. Now, this is a very painful situation because there were a lot of rumours flowing around, they branded us a family of informers...

We were hearing rumours that informers have a lot of money, but Maki did not have any. There is quite a number of rumours as well as lies that were disseminated with regard to my sister. They said that the Government had bought us the coffin. We collected our own money in order to conduct the funeral. The Government did not help us in any way... after Maki's funeral there were also rumours that were circulating that they had killed the wrong person...

Chairperson: *Puleng Moloko and the family, we would like you to note that the death of Maki was a national shame. South Africa was looked upon internationally, more especially those who were fighting against apartheid, as beasts, as carnivores and that the family managed to stand by Maki even at a time when everybody was saying, away with that family. We salute you... Maki and the family have emerged, after all these disclosures, as heroes. I would say this hearing and this hall have witnessed, who have witnessed this testimony, are witnesses of how noble Maki was, and I will, without shame, request this house to stand and observe a moment of silence. Can we all rise. Thank you.*

Exhumation and reburial

- 30 Victims regularly requested the Commission to help them find loved ones who had disappeared or to locate the bones of those who died in the conflicts of the past. The Commission was, through intense investigation, able to uncover the truth in more than fifty cases.⁸ For example, the body of Ms Phila Portia Ndwandwe (MK alias, Zandile) was exhumed on 12 March 1997. Ms Ndwande

⁷ Informer 'turned' by the police.

⁸ Details of these cases are discussed elsewhere in this report.

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

- 31 The Commission provided financial and logistic assistance to the relatives of those victims whose remains were exhumed, so that dignified reburials could take place. These exhumations and reburials were sad occasions, but the families expressed their relief at the end of many years of uncertainty.
- 32 There were, sadly, still at least 200 such cases outstanding when the Commission's work ended in June 1998. There were also requests and demands that the programme of exhumation be extended to neighbouring and other foreign countries.

■ TOWARDS THE RESTORATION OF HUMAN DIGNITY: PERPETRATORS

- 33 Reconciliation meant that perpetrators of gross human rights violations must be given the opportunity to become human again. Ms Cynthia Ngewu, whose son was killed by the police in the 'Gugulethu Seven' incident, confirmed this crucial insight. At the forum on Reconciliation, Reconstruction and Economic Justice in Cape Town on 19 March 1997, Ms Ngewu was asked how she saw the notion of reconciliation. She responded as follows:

Ms Ngewu: *What we are hoping for when we embrace the notion of reconciliation is that we restore the humanity to those who were perpetrators. We do not want to return evil by another evil. We simply want to ensure that the perpetrators are returned to humanity.*

Ms Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela: *Many people in this country would like to see perpetrators going to prison and serving long sentences. What is your view on this?*

Ms Ngewu: *In my opinion, I do not agree with this view. We do not want to see people suffer in the same way that we did suffer, and we did not want our families to have suffered. We do not want to return the suffering that*

was imposed upon us. So, I do not agree with that view at all. We would like to see peace in this country... I think that all South Africans should be committed to the idea of re-accepting these people back into the community. We do not want to return the evil that perpetrators committed to the nation. We want to demonstrate humaneness towards them, so that they in turn may restore their own humanity.

- 34 Similar sentiments were echoed at the amnesty hearing of Mr Brian Gcina Mkhize, a former Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) hit squad commander in the Esikhwini area on the KwaZulu-Natal north coast. Mr Mkhize was serving a life sentence for two murders. He applied, together with six other members of a Caprivi-trained hit squad, for amnesty for more than fifty-six incidents of violence. At the amnesty hearing in Richards Bay, Mr Mkhize drew attention to the need for the many IFP and ANC “foot soldiers” who committed gross human rights violations to “become human again”:

We represent IFP prisoners in reconciliation with ANC prisoners... There are a lot of people who are in prison who are responsible for actions similar to ours. But organisations today are not interested in those people. They are speaking about peace processes, but are not concerned about the foot soldiers who carried out these activities...

We need counselling because this affects you mentally, psychologically. Nobody has come forth to suggest how we can get this counselling; how the element of criminality can be rooted out; how we can become human again.

- 35 Testimony to the Commission underlined the profound challenges faced by perpetrators and victims in the light of the violations perpetrators had committed against their fellow human beings. The restoration of their dignity would be a painful and difficult process. The following testimony was given at the gross human rights violations hearings in East London:

Ms Bawuli Mhlawuli: *After my father's death, we went back to Oudtshoorn. That's where my mother was teaching. There was this particular morning when we were all sleeping in one room... they would just kick it open you know, and my mother just thought there was nothing else she could do. She just went to open the door. She led them into the house, and as usual they came in and were searching for things that we didn't know. They came across one big poster titled 'Freedom Now' and they took it. And they saw some sympathy cards from people who were very sympathetic and sent the stuff from all over the world... This one policeman whose name was Kroeter,*

he came across those, and he was making fun of them saying, "Dit is die kaarte van die dooie man" [These are the cards of the dead man], and they were kind of making a joke out of it, out of the death.

After that, this man Kroeter was like harassing my mother; he was screaming and yelling at her, asking whose belongings are these, why does she say everything belongs to my father? And my mother said, "because the stuff does belong to him", and he doesn't necessarily do what he does with her, because he was like barking, like talking to a dog. My mother said, "I'm a human being, so are you, so you don't need to speak the way you do."

This man said, "The truth will come out one day", and that was very ironic because here we are today in the Truth Commission talking about this truth. And I mean I never expected him to say that because the truth that is coming out is based on him now, not us. We're the victims. He's the one that committed all this pain to us, you know. And after that my mother said, "I agree with you very much, I strongly agree with you. The truth is definitely coming out one day." And this man sat down, and for once ever since he entered the door, he sat down, and he asked my mother if he could smoke. My mother said, "Okay fine", he could smoke. He lit a cigarette and he sat down and smoked. He looked quite withdrawn after that. And they had arrived at our house around about twelve midnight, and now it was around about six in the morning.

Mr Smith: *So they were there for the whole evening?*

Ms Mhlawuli: *For the whole evening.*

Mr Smith: *Kept you out of sleep?*

Ms Mhlawuli: *Yes, and we never got to go back and sleep; we just had to get ready to go to school.*

Mr Smith: *How old was your younger brother at the time?*

Ms Mhlawuli: *He was three years.*

Mr Smith: *Three years! How was he affected by this?*

Ms Mhlawuli: *We used to go to town with my mother or just go out, but my brother, immediately he saw the policeman or a white person, or he saw whoever was non-black, he would say, "Here are these dogs who killed my father".*

- 36 The questioning of Captain Jeffrey T Benzien at his amnesty hearing in Cape Town provided another example of the difficulties many perpetrators face in reconciling

with themselves, their families, their victims and the rest of society. Amongst those who questioned Captain Benzien was Mr Tony Yengeni, one of his victims, who asked him to demonstrate his torture methods:

Captain Benzien: *It was a cloth bag that would be submerged in water to get it completely wet. And then the way I applied it was: I get the person to lie down on the ground, on his stomach normally on a mat or something similar with that person's hands handcuffed behind his back.*

Then I would take up a position in the small of the person's back, put my feet through between his arms to maintain my balance and then pull the bag over the person's head and twist it closed around the neck in that way, cutting off the air supply to the person.

Chairperson: *What happens to the person while he is being choked? Can you describe [it]?*

Captain Benzien: *There would be movement. There would be head movement, distress. All the time there would be questions being asked: do you want to speak? And as soon as an indication was given that this person wanted to speak, the air would be allowed back to this person to say what he wanted to say.*

Mr Tony Yengeni: *Would the person groan, moan, cry, scream? What would the person do?*

Captain Benzien: *Yes, the person would moan, cry, although muffled; yes, it does happen.*

Mr Tony Yengeni: *And you did this to each and every one of us?*

Captain Benzien: *To the majority of you, yes.*

Mr Tony Yengeni: *But were there any ... was there any physical condition that would make you to release the bag on the part of the person who is tortured?*

Captain Benzien: *On occasions people have I presume, and I say presume, lost consciousness. They would go slack and every time that was done, I would release the bag...*

Mr Tony Yengeni: *What kind of man uses a method like this – one of the wet bag, to people, to other human beings, repeatedly and listening to those moans and cries and groans and taking each of those people very near to their deaths – what kind of man are you? What kind of man is it that, that can do that kind of – what kind of human being is that Mr Benzien?*

I want to understand really why, what happened? I am not talking now about the politics or your family. I am talking about the man behind the wet bag? When you do those things, what happens to you as a human being? What goes through your head, your mind? You know, what effect does that torture activity done to you as a human being?

Captain Benzien: *Mr Yengeni, not only you have asked me that question. I – I, Jeff Benzien, have asked myself that question to such an extent that I voluntarily – and it is not easy for me to say this in a full court with a lot of people who do not know me ... approached psychiatrists to have myself evaluated, to find out what type of person am I.*

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

37 Ronnie Kasrils spoke of the appeal he had made to the soldiers who had fired on marchers at Bisho:

I would like to say a few words about the Ciskeian soldiers who opened fire on the march. An irony of this rainbow nation of ours, as you've coined it Archbishop, is that, with all the strange things happening, Raymond Mhlaba is now here at Bisho where Oupa Gqozo used to lord it. Here I am, a Deputy Minister of Defence in this democratic government, and I have a responsibility to the soldiers of this country including [these] and to the members of former SADF who trained and commanded them. We are creating a new defence force of seven former antagonistic forces, and we can only do this on the basis of reconciliation, which is vital to the well-being of our society and our future.

Can we blame any of the – any individual in their rank? I've had to meet them, old SADF, former Ciskei. I've been to the barracks here at Bisho – on a tour of inspection with Minister Modise, trying to create this new defence force which must defend and guard the freedom and the sovereignty which the Archbishop referred to, and I have had to grapple with my conscience. They were products of an evil system that conditioned them to fear the manifestations of democracy, and they were programmed to believe that we were devils incarnate.

As I have mentioned, they must have been worked up ... to believe that we were a threat to their lives. As recently as this past Friday I visited Defence Headquarters here in King William's Town and, through the commanding officers, I encouraged them all to seek indemnity because they did commit a

heinous crime. They must expunge their guilt by telling the truth and seeking forgiveness from their victims. They can shed light on what actually happened and need to be encouraged to seek indemnity because this is the key thing: they have been afraid to tell the truth. And I have been told stories about this officer and that commander, and this one who is suicidal and this one who is drinking himself to death, and I must tell you that I have feeling for them, which is why I am making this statement, and I have sent back this message to tell them they've got nothing to fear if they come forward.

But that's not the only thing. It's not the only thing in creating a new defence force, because anyone in our new defence force now must demonstrate by their actions as soldiers that they wish to serve and protect the people of our country and our democratic system.

■ FORGIVENESS

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

Alwinus Mralasi: *Thequewe Willie Manene was a member of the Methodist Church, and he accused me, together with his brother and another brother of his. I must tell you everything that I thought about him so that one could make a story out of this.*

I hated him for five years. I even wanted to stab him to death ... stab him because he had hurt me, and he implicated me, and said I was there in that meeting. And he said I was ... we were hiding. There was a lamp that was hidden under a table, and this is an indication that this was a real lie.

I saw him in King Williams Town in 1972, and I was with my children. And my children were not succeeding at school, so I decided to send them to King William's Town because I was working then. I took them to King William's Town and that is where things went better for them, even in Somerset.

That is where I met Willie Manene who was working in a showroom where they sell cars. And one of my children pointed him and said there he is. So I asked for my knife, I opened it, I put it into my pocket ... I went close to Willie Manene. This is God's work because His works are wonderful.

I had intentions to stab him. I opened the door, and I saw a white man who asked me whether I wanted a car. Then I said, no. I had last seen Willie in 1968, in court. At the time, he was wiping the car, and he saw me as I was

moving slowly towards him. In fact, a person who was guilty will always spot you, and you know this is the truth.

So I went and greeted him, and I asked him how he was, and I asked him to go out with me. We went outside, and he stood there, and he had some difficulty to talk. And I was surprised [and wondered] what was wrong with him, and I looked at him and I could see there was real change in him. He had gone through a lot of suffering, I could see. It showed on his face. And I asked: "why are you like this? Do your people know that you are like this?" Then he said, "no".

I asked him about Frans Manene, Samuel Manene. Then I asked him if I could see Samuel to give him some messages. Then he ... said he was suffering from high blood pressure, he had pains on his hip and his son too was ill-treating and beating him. I could see he was finished, I then called my wife and even that one who was born when I was detained. I called all them – all of them – and I said Willie: "here are your children", because we had the same clan name. So, he greeted them.

Then I said: "these are your children, you can see they are old". Then he said: "Are you still going on with this?" Then I said to my wife: "Look at this person, how he looks like". And I asked my wife to take out one pound and give it to this man so that he could buy food for himself. And that was the last I saw of him. He never went back to his house. He never went to see his family. He went to hospital and that was the end of his life. So, when he asked me how I had come there, I said I had come in a car...

This is the man who was trying to drown me and, as I was driving [away] ... he lifted his hand, trying to wave. And I also waved back ... I kept on waving for a long time, hooting, and then I drove off to Mdantsane. That was the last I saw of him, because he died thereafter. So, even the hatred I had just faded away. So that's why I say, God is there and God is with us – we are parents but things may not do – people may not do bad things to others because we've got children. We have got children who we are bringing up.

So today, you have allowed me to say everything to you, and everything that has been locked in within my heart now, you have allowed me to have a clean breast of – so I am not even embarrassed today. You can go to my house. You will be surprised because God is like those old bottles of wine that used to be closed with a cork. And if you were to fill ... a bucket with water and then you take that cork and put it into that water, it will not sink, it will float. Thank you. I thank you for all you have done for me.

Beth Savage: *On the 28th of November 1992, I attended our annual Christmas Party. It was our wine tasting club... We were seated at one long table... David did his usual thing by coming around and greeting us all, and he was squatting, chatting to Bob and me when I suddenly became aware of something that sounded like firecrackers. I saw Rhoda Macdonald throw back her arms and die, and I did exactly the same thing. I swung around to look at the door to see what was happening, and I saw a man there with a balaclava on his head (but not over his head) with an AK-47, and my immediate reaction was, "Oh my goodness, this is a terrorist attack!" After that I blacked out, and I don't remember anything else until I was on the helicopter being flown to Bloemfontein...*

I spent a month in ICU [intensive care unit]. It was quite traumatic. I had to learn to walk again. [When] I came home, my children were unbelievable. They used to fight over who is to bath me, who was to dress me, who was to feed me. I don't know whether I could ever have made it without them.

I had open-heart surgery, I had a hole in the aorta, and I actually stopped breathing but, through the work of Dr John Pennel, they managed to get me to live. And I also had half my large intestine removed. I've got really very ugly scarring up the middle, and I have a damaged thumb from the shrapnel. I've still got shrapnel in my body, but all that means is that all the bells ring when I go through the airport; that makes life exciting. And I have an injury on the knee.

But all in all, what I must say is, through the trauma of it all, I honestly feel richer. I think it's been a really enriching experience for me and a growing curve, and I think it's given me the ability to relate to other people who may be going through trauma...

The bomb blast took its toll on my family. I believe I'm a very strong person, [but] I did have a complete breakdown after six months. My daughter also had a breakdown ... she was ... well all the children tried to be mother, father, sister, brother, husband, everything to me. They really carried me. They picked me up and carried me.

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

six months ago. When I was ill, he just used to sit next my bed and cry and say, "You know, I can't believe this".

I feel bad because you know I'm not the only victim, but that is how it affected us ... and then my mum, she couldn't carry on without him, and she died two months later. Basically, it just broke his heart.

Ms Crichton: *Beth, what are you actually feeling towards the perpetrators at this time?*

Ms Savage: *It's a difficult question, but I honestly feel that, there but for the grace of God go I. I really don't know how I would have reacted if I had been in their situation. I know ... that's about all I can say.*

Ms Crichton: *Is there – and this is my last question to you – is there anything that you were hoping the Commission will do for you?*

Ms Savage: *Really there's nothing in particular that I would like the Commission to do for me. I think it's fantastic that we're having the Commission. I think the idea that speaking out causes healing – I think that is really a wonderful idea ... and I really hope that healing comes to everybody. You know there are people here who have had far worse problems that I could ever have.*

Panel Member: *Is it important for you to have the identity – if the Commission can assist you to do so, to find out – is it important for you to have the identity of the people who are responsible?*

Ms Savage: *It's not important to me, but – and I've said this to many people – what I would really, really like is, I would like to meet that man that threw that grenade in an attitude of forgiveness and hope that he could forgive me too for whatever reason. But I would very much like to meet them.*

Archbishop Tutu: *Thank you, I just want to say, we are, I think, a fantastic country. We have some quite extraordinary people. Yesterday, I had spoken about how proud I was to be black in seeing the kind of spirit that people showed in adversity, and now we're seeing another example, and I think it just augers so wonderfully well for our country. We thank you for the spirit that you are showing and pray that those who hear you, who see you will say, "Hey, we do have an incredible country with quite extraordinary people of all races".*

- 40 Ms Savage's wish was fulfilled in April 1998 at the amnesty hearing of Mr Thembelani Xundu, the former Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) commander responsible for her injuries. In a newspaper interview, she said that, after meeting with Xundu, currently a major in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), she no longer had nightmares about the attack.

- 41 Mr Nundlal Rabilall gave testimony on the death of his brother, Krish, who died in Mozambique in the 1981 Matola cross-border raid. At the East London human rights violations hearing, he said:

This had a traumatic effect on the entire family. I will briefly relate the effect it had on me, because it symbolises what – the same kind of effect it had on other members of the family. I became bitter towards white people, and the fact that the majority of them voted for the National Party election after election. I could never understand how they could sleep with an easy conscience at night, knowing that black children were dying in the homelands, when black people were given the most menial jobs, and that the Government they voted for used every conceivable kind of dirty trick and brutality to suppress the legitimate resistance of black people against the oppression of apartheid.

In short, I became anti-white, and this attitude was reinforced by an incident I also had when I was travelling in a train to Durban. I had accidentally walked into a white compartment, and the white conductor came and swore at me, called me a 'coolie', and told me as soon as the train stops at the next station I must get into the next coach, which I had to do.

I taught at an all-Indian school and had no white friends. I became ecstatic whenever a black boxer knocked a white boxer down, or when the South African rugby team lost its rebel tour matches. This anti-white obsession grew, and I would dream about burning down white businesses and farms, but it was sheer fear that prevented me from doing these things. I then began to fantasise and, while this may seem laughable, I sincerely prayed to God to make me invisible for just one day so that I could do the things I dreamed of, and when God did not comply, I reduced the time to one hour, and in that one hour I was determined to go to Parliament and shoot every one cabinet minister.

As time passed, however, I realised that this would negate everything that my brother stood for, his ideal of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa. I grew to realise that hate is a boomerang that circles back and hurts you. The turning point came when I read in Martin Luther King's book called Strength to Love – now, I cannot remember the exact words used in the book, but it goes something like this: "Hate for hate multiplies hate. Darkness cannot destroy darkness, only light can do that. Hate cannot destroy hate, only love can do that." I also started reading books on Mahatma Gandhi...

So, I changed my philosophy of life. I realised that I could not hate white people. It dawned on me that most white people were to a large extent by-products of apartheid, just as much as the freedom fighters were. I learned also that

there were many white people who sincerely hated the obnoxious system of apartheid, and that some of them had lost their lives fighting it. I admired people like Rick Turner, Nell Aggett, Joe Slovo and Beyers Naudé. I also realised that I wasn't being true to my religion if I hated somebody. Knowing the power of vengeful thoughts, Mahatma Gandhi had said, "Fight without malice". This meant a great deal to me. We have the right to fight injustice without hating the personalities or circumstances involved and, to taste the sweetness of life, one must have the power to forget the past.

42 Mr Johan (Hennie) Smit gave testimony at the human rights violations hearing in East London:

Ms Seroke: *You live in Pretoria, and you are the parents of Cornio Smit who at the age of eight years in 1985 was killed in a bomb blast in Amanzimtoti. At the time, he had gone to Natal with his grandparents for a holiday, and, whilst they were shopping, two days before Christmas at the Sanlam Shopping Centre in Amanzimtoti, this bomb blast occurred. Can you tell us, how did you get the news and what happened?*

Mr Smit: *I got a phone call from my uncle who stayed in Malvern in Durban, and he told me that my son was in an accident; and I had to come down and see him. I thought that it might be a car accident because he didn't explain what type of accident it was ... We only found out that it was a bomb blast when we arrived in Durban in the hospital. I can't remember the name of the hospital. They told us that my son's not there, but they know of a little boy who was in the mortuary. By that time it was very late; the mortuary was already closed, and I went to my uncle's house ...*

We went to see him the following morning, but I didn't want to believe that it was my son that was lying there. I asked them to take him out of the glass case so that I could see his chin. Under his chin, he had a small little cut which he got when I accidentally dropped him when he was a child. I still really didn't want to believe it, and my wife and my father had to convince me it was my child.

Then after that, we came up to Pretoria. We buried him in Pretoria. I told newspapers that I thought my son was a hero because he died for freedom for people that (I would prefer to speak Afrikaans). He died in the cause of the oppressed people. A lot of people criticised me for this. They thought that I was a traitor, and they condemned me, but I still feel that way today...

Ms Seroke: *You had the opportunity to meet the parents of the boy who planted the bomb.*

Mr Smit: *That's true.*

Ms Seroke: *How did you and Annamarie feel during this meeting with his parents?*

Mr Smit: *I've got no grudge against them. I mean it was actually a rebellion. It was war. In war things happen that the generals don't plan. Nobody plans it. It just happens. You don't always – it may happen that the troops become a little bit over-zealous and start making their own terms and do things that they weren't given orders to do, but in a war you just obey orders. You don't question and ask why you should do certain things. So, I accept that it was an order that was given which this person or persons executed by planting the bomb.*

Ms Seroke: *How did you feel receiving these parents of this boy in your own house and what took place there?*

Mr Smit: *It was a great relief seeing them and expressing my feelings towards them that I felt glad that I could tell them that I felt no hatred for them. I bore them no grudge. And there was no hatred in my heart...*

Ms Seroke: *When your son was bomb-blasted you said, in the midst of acute grief, that you wished that these killings would stop and that the Nationalist Government could negotiate with the ANC for peace. That was a very profound statement. Hennie, what did your family think when you said that?*

Mr Smit: *Like I said, they couldn't understand it; some of them still don't understand it. They can't see my point of view. They are not as liberal as I am. They really don't understand it. Like my mum was in the same bomb blast, and she doesn't feel the same way that I feel. So, there are different viewpoints on the subject...*

Mr Malan: *Did you find peace in the knowledge of what had happened? Did that bring reconciliation for you?*

Mr Smit: *Yes, it gave me peace because I knew what was happening. I thought that if I placed myself in the other person's shoes, how would I have felt about it. [How] would I have liked not to be able to vote, not to have any rights, and that kind of thing? So I realised that I would not have liked it, so I realised how it must have felt for them.*

Chairperson (Archbishop Tutu): *My Afrikaans is not that fluent, but I would like to say this in your mother tongue. The people of this country are incredible, and the testimony that you have just given is something which people really admire. ... [we take] our hats off to you, and we would really like to express our appreciation and thanks to God that he created people like yourself, and*

that the reason why we still have this hope that reconciliation will triumph in the end is because there are people like yourself.

We would like to say how much we appreciate what you have done, and I really hope that all the people in this country, and you've referred in your statement to this fact, that we must forget about skin colour and that we must not apply reverse racism in the new South Africa. I do hope that our people will heed your appeal.

On behalf of all of us here and also on behalf of the whole nation, I can say there has been so much pain and suffering in this country. On behalf of all of us, I would just like to say thank you very, very much for what you have said here today and for what you have suffered and experienced with your family at a time when nobody would have wanted to believe that such a thing was possible.

- 43 A number of statements emphasised the importance of truth in the reconciliation process between victims and perpetrators: in other words, knowing whom to forgive and why the violation(s) took place:

- 44 At the Empangeni human rights violations hearing in November 1996, Ms J Msweli testified about the killing of her son, Simon Msweli:

They took them to SAPPI to a certain corner... I think they were assaulted until they died because we couldn't even identify him. His eyes had been gouged out. He was never shot. He was tortured. He was violated. He was also mutilated. We could not identify him. I only identified him through his thumb. There was a certain mark on his thumb.

- 45 She continued:

I want the people who killed my sons to come forward because this is a time for reconciliation. I want to forgive them, and I also have a bit of my mind to tell them. I would be happy if they could come before me because I don't have sons today. Their father died at an early age, and I put them through school. Now, they've never been criminals. They've never had any problems, even with the neighbours. They were Christians. I also want to speak to [my sons' killers] because I want to speak to them before I forgive them. I want them to tell me who sent them to come and kill my sons. Maybe they are my enemies, maybe they are not. So, I want to establish as to who they are and why they did what they did.

- 46 At the Port Elizabeth human rights violations hearings, an unnamed witness testified:

Chairperson: *Thank you very much for taking the trouble to come to us. Our sympathy goes to you for all the hurt that you had to go through. What we are going to try and do according to the powers that we have, we are going to find the truth and medicine that will heal our country to make us one – something that will unite all of us and make us one, so that we can have reconciliation. Thank you very much for having sympathy for other people while you have your own problems and your own hurt. That is called humanity. Something that we are trying for our country to have, and everybody should have humanity. That is what we are trying to have now so that everybody can stop being selfish. Thank you very much.*

Witness: *Thank you, Bishop, but I am sorry there is something else that I would like to ask. Do not take me wrong my Bishop, you cannot make peace with somebody who does not come to you and tell you what he has done. We will have peace only when somebody comes to you and says, this is what I did. I did this and this and that and that. If they do not come, if we do not know who they are, we would not be able to. But now I will forgive somebody who has. That is the whole truth, sir. We take it that the people who are listening and the people who are coming to the Commission will be touched as well. Their conscience will tell them that if they want forgiveness they should come and expose themselves so that they can also get the healing that the victims are getting.*

Unidentified: *This is why we are trying to investigate the truth. Thank you.*

Witness: *Thank you, Bishop, but there is something more. I do not want to lie to this house. Yes, Bishop, you are my Bishop. I will not be able to forgive anyone until I know who they are. Then I will shake their hands. Otherwise, I will not be able to forgive somebody that I do not know."*

- 47 At the youth hearings in East London, the Inter-Church Youth (ICY) made the following statement:

We on our side were violated brutally, and we therefore plead with those who were involved in violating our own rights whether they were actively involved or otherwise, to humble themselves and confess to those who suffered in the atrocities of the past. Mr Chairperson, Sir, we are saying we were mostly wronged, but we are prepared to forgive people if they come and tell us what they have done. Surely, this hall here today is full of those people who were mostly sinned against. But where are those people that were involved in the atrocities. If they can come to us and tell us what they have done and start owning up the to process ... But instead what we are finding in this country is that those who were involved in the process of violating other people's

human rights are starting to disassociate themselves with the acts of terror. And those people do that publicly because they are political figures, and they say they were not involved. But on the other hand, they call themselves committed Christians who are committed to nation building. We question that.

Coming forward here with a submission as the sinned-against group is an explanation of what type of people we are as black people. We are notoriously forgiving and up against what the missionaries have been saying in statements that are written down in books, implied that we are a non-religious community. I want to say that we are more religious than many a nation. It is because we are notoriously religious that we are notoriously forgiving. So said Dr Weli Mazamisa.

In conclusion, I want to say again that we are more than just religious. We are a peace-loving people and, if the Bible says, "blessed are the peacemakers", we might have had so many blessings if and only if these people will come forward. The people we want to make peace with are not coming to tell us what they have done so that at least we can forgive them. Please people, we need to be blessed by God for the peace, but they are deciding to run away. They are not just running away with themselves, but they are running away with our long overdue blessings. We want our blessing please. People we urge you to bring back our blessings. I thank you Mr Chairman.

- 48 Testimony at the Alexandra human rights violations illustrated that forgiveness is not cheap, and the journey towards overcoming deep feelings of anger and humiliation is a long one:

Ms Margaret Madlana: *After my child's death, these white policemen came, and they came to one house where there was a tent, and they were running after some children. The children ran towards the house, and got into the house. When they arrived and entered the house I asked them (I didn't know that they understood Zulu and I asked in Zulu) what are they looking for because they have already killed my son. And one of the white men answered me, and he said to me, we are looking for the young kids. There were so many people in my house, and they [the police] said they are going to take me and kill me in the house. However, the people tried to ask them not to kill me ...*

I would like to apologise before God ... if ever I was to be employed, I was going to poison the white man's children. The way they killed my son hitting him against a rock, and we found him with a swollen head. They killed him in a tragic manner, and I don't think I will ever forgive in this case, especially to these police who were involved, and who were there ...

This Sindani came to me to tell me that he has not finished the killings – they are still going to kill – and Mtebi himself came to say the very same words. They said they are coming to kill all the young kids and the dogs, and they are also coming to kill the leaders. Therefore, I don't think there will be any reconciliation or forgiveness because today the police in Alexandra, they promote crime because they eat together with these criminals. They are crooks. They are still doing the very same things that they used to do, and therefore I don't think I will ever forgive police. [Witness upset] ...

What will make me to forgive is if Sindani and Mtebi, these two policemen, come and tell us why he killed these sons of the wars and also ask for forgiveness before the mothers of these children. It is then that I can forgive him. I am so surprised to find out that today that Mtebi is today a reverend and which children is he preaching to and which parents is he preaching to if he killed the children of the wars.

I would like Sindani and Mtebi to come and ask for forgiveness. Thereafter I might consider forgiving them, together with his fellow white people who came to kill our children. They just killed these defenceless children with their machine guns. They brought their dogs and hoses running after young children with machine guns with the aim of killing the black nation, the black race underneath the sun. I will say that I will never forgive because this was my last born. Maybe if he was still alive, he was going to be married by now [and] have some children and a wife. But because they have killed him, I will never rest ...

I used to go out and go and sleep on top of his grave because even today I still go there and pray in his grave. I will never forgive them if they don't come before the Commission...

I would like to say that for me to forgive, and I don't see the opportunity of me forgiving anyone, I suffered a lot because of this because I didn't understand why the children were killed. But there is just one important thing I would like to say before the Commission, before our children and the whole country.

At the beginning of the struggle – the struggle started at Wits⁹ University within the white community where white students threw away their books [and] not even a single of them was teargassed or killed. However, when black children started fighting for their liberation, they were shot by guns. We had to bury a lot of people killed by these guns and I would like to say I have buried a lot. I am only left with four children. However, when their children started to fight for their rights, they were not killed. However, our children when they started the very same thing, they were killed since from 1976 up to 1986. They never buried any-

⁹ University of the Witwatersrand.

one, or where we find them coming to a mass funeral saying that these white people were on strike, and we shot them or killed them. Even today, they still do that, they fight for their rights but they are not teargassed or killed.

Things like that we can find out that there was this apartheid system working within the black community. We were taken as dogs, baboons and all such things. These dogs and baboons which work for them, which bath their children, cook for their children, however, they are still content to kill them.

■ APOLOGIES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

49 The Commission heard acknowledgements from a range of individuals and representatives of various institutions about their direct and/or indirect involvement with gross human rights violations. Many offered unqualified apologies for their acts of commission and/or omission and asked for forgiveness. The response of others was qualified. In the process, the role of sincere apologies in the reconciliation process emerged. While insincere apologies add insult to injury, honest apologies encourage forgiveness by “helping to pour balm on the wounds of many”¹⁰.

50 At the ‘Bisho massacre’ event hearing in Bisho, the following statements were made:

Colonel Schobesberger (former Chief of Staff, Ciskei Defence Force):

From my point of view and for the soldiers of the Ciskei Defence Force I can speak. I say we are sorry. I say the burden of the ‘Bisho massacre’ will be on our shoulders for the rest of our lives. We cannot wish it away – it happened – but please I ask ... the victims not to forget (I cannot ask this), but to forgive us, to get the soldiers back into the community, to accept them fully, to try to understand also the pressure they were under then. This is all I can do.

Major Mbina (former captain, Ciskei Defence Force): *Some people shot, probably shot without having been given orders, knowing that at the end it’s the boss that will answer. That is what I want to make clear. I also ask for forgiveness. I empathise with families that lost their members. I ask forgiveness on behalf of the Ciskeian Defence Force, especially those that were involved. We ask forgiveness. We will be very glad if the Commission would forgive us. To the community, we ask for forgiveness.*

51 The testimony of Major General Marius Oelschig, head of the Ciskei Defence Force at the time of the ‘Bisho massacre’, highlighted some of the difficulties with public apologies. At the time of the hearing, Major General Oelschig was

¹⁰ Archbishop Tutu in response to the submissions of former NP ministers Meyer and Wessels at the State Security Council Hearing, 15 October 1997.

serving as Director of Transformation Management in the SADF:

I repeat that I have been a soldier, a professional soldier of 35 years' standing. I do not know how else to express myself than in purely professional terms...

A commander grieves on his own and he grieves quietly. You learn through the years to accept it as such. I apologise if the Commission expected me really to open my heart and to put it out for public display. That, that is my grief, that is my concern that I live with as I have during my professional career and as I will until the end of my days. I am a committed, loyal South African. I feel very, very deeply about everything that has happened in our country, and I have made my contribution where I could. I have done my very best as an officer and as a South African, to promote what is happening in this country today...

I would like to conclude by insisting that I be allowed to grieve the way I grieve, and if, in my professional language of expressing my regret that loved ones have been lost and injured, if that is not sufficient, I apologise for that, but that is how I feel. I am a soldier, and I have been taught to hide my tears, and I have been taught to grieve on my own.

52 A submission at the East London youth hearing stated:

This past week, we met in Burgersdorp to do what we call a reconciliation service where we were going to cleanse ourselves of the past deeds. We'd slaughter a goat and cleanse ourselves with the blood that is shed. In a symbolic sense we'd cleanse ourselves of the wrong deeds, even if they were justifiable... The following were acknowledged. That we as the Inter-Church Youth or the church within the youth have, in one way or the other, killed people or at least were involved in the process of killings. That we were involved in demolishing people's property... That we informed on others who ended up being tortured severely and who died in the process. We watched hopelessly whilst people were being 'necklaced'. If we didn't do the 'necklacing', we would have gone to buy petrol, arrange tyres and be part of making petrol bombs etc.

We were part of this as the church youth. One needs to emphasise that this was justifiable for the cause of the liberation of ourselves.

We want to say we believe that 70 to 80 per cent of the young people who died during the period of the struggle, most of them were church going youth or were young people who believed in Christ, or who were baptised in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit as it were. These people were all disappointed by the church. We are here to say that we take full responsibility for any human rights violations committed by our members. To families who

perhaps had no idea that ICY members were involved, we are [unqualifiedly] apologising to you all.

- 53 In May 1998, at the hearing on the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Cape Town, Mr Patrick 'Terror' Lekota, former UDF leader and currently chairperson of the National Council of Provinces, had the following to say about 'necklacing' by UDF activists:

We accept political and moral responsibility. We cannot say these people have nothing to do with us. We organised them; we led them. When we were taken into prisons, they were left without leadership and many of them, angry even at our arrest, did things which were irrational.

- 54 At the human rights hearing in Upington, on 2 October 1996, local community leader and minister Aubrey Beukes apologised to the mother of the murdered municipal constable, Lukas 'Jetta' Sethwale (see above):

We were silent on the pain of the mother, the family of Jetta. As someone actively involved in campaigning for the release of the Upington 14 (those sentenced to death), I would like to say to Ms Sethwale and the family of Jetta: please forgive us that we allowed you to suffer in silence amid all the media attention. We were all victims. Forgive us the times when we drove past your house, showing journalists and foreign people where Jetta stayed and telling them our stories, and not inviting them to make some time to listen to your pain.

- 55 A spokesperson for the Stellenbosch Presbytery of the Dutch Reformed Church made the following statement at the human rights violations hearing in Paarl:

[We] are not doing this presentation on behalf of the Dutch Reformed Church – only the Synod has this right to do this. But what we are doing here this afternoon is the deepest conviction of the Presbytery of Stellenbosch ...

In looking back, we realise that there have been times in the history of Stellenbosch when we as a Presbytery (and also as separate congregations) either failed wholesale or made only the most timid of efforts to fulfil the prophetic responsibility the Lord has given us.

We think especially of the past forty years during which the official policy of apartheid radically impaired the human dignity of people all around us and resulted in gross violations of human rights. Within the borders of our Presbytery, there were those who actively developed and defended the ideological framework by which these violations and actions were justified.

At times, standpoints and decisions taken within this Presbytery itself functioned within this ideological framework.

There were voices among our own ranks and within our church that condemned apartheid and sought to call our church to its senses and who witnessed against injustice within society. However, the testimony and the protest of many of these people were, time and again, suppressed or ignored, also from within our own ranks. Others were maligned and some were even personally wronged...

Various factors contributed to this lack of a strong, unified witness from within our Presbytery. The nationalist ideology deeply influenced the way in which local Christians thought and read the Bible. This made us insensitive to the injustice and suffering inflicted by the policy of apartheid on those living around us. Other factors which aggravated the situation were the privileged position occupied by most members of our church and the fact that apartheid increasingly isolated people from each other's lives and experiences.

As a result of the growing ecumenical isolation and the lack of meaningful church unity, we became deaf to the protest and the cries for help by many of our brothers and sisters in faith. Many church members and church ministers therefore often uncritically accepted that, because many of them were also members of our church, political leaders could be trusted to do what is right. This further reinforced the widespread belief that apartheid or separate development was truly in the best interest of all groups in the country. Misinformation and a lack of exposure to other people's suffering are other factors that contributed to this omission.

We cannot and do not want to deny that behind such factors there often was a large measure of selfishness and an unwillingness to listen sincerely to God's word and to fellow Christians. The result has been that we in Stellenbosch did not speak out enough against injustice in our society; did not speak out enough against racist attitudes among our church members; did not speak out enough against the violation of people's rights and human dignity.

During the Soweto riots of 1976 and the countrywide unrest that followed, general decisions were taken concerning the situation in the country, but very little protest was made against the gross violations of people's rights taking place at that time.

When forced removals were carried out in our town, when people were forced to leave their historic neighbourhoods and had to resettle elsewhere, little or no protest was voiced by the Presbytery. These removals constituted a violation of human rights, which invariably went hand in hand with severe personal trauma, financial loss and social disruption. Tragically, as a result of the great separation brought about in South Africa by apartheid, we of the Presbytery often were not even aware of this suffering.

Over many years, people of our town [were] shut out from important decision-making positions simply because of the colour of their skin. More decisions were made about them than with them. Also in the church and amongst individual Christians there was often insensitivity to how grievously people's human dignity was violated in these and many other ways...

Eventually we did begin to see the error of our ways. And this is why the Lord brought us to these insights. That is why, in a formal resolution adopted in 1985, the Presbytery confessed our guilt for our actions during the apartheid era. Now that the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is confronting us once again with the pain and grief endured by fellow citizens and fellow believers under the previous political dispensation, we feel the need to confess our guilt once again before God and before people. We feel the need to make this confession specifically at this session of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, because it is here that people from our own vicinity are sharing the pain and grief that they have to live through.

We confess that we kept silent at times when we should have spoken out clearly in testimony. We confess that although we did at times try to protest against the unjust treatment of people, we often did so only with great timidity and circumspection. We did at times comment critically, but we often in doing so were not prepared to speak out against the system itself. What is more, we often gave way to the opposition we encountered. At the very times when we should have continued to speak out clearly for the truth and against injustice, we grew tired and gave up protesting.

Today we confess these things anew before the many people of Stellenbosch and vicinity who suffered injustice because of that. We confess these things before the youth and the children of our own church and our own congregations who feel that through our actions we have failed them...

- 56 At the faith communities hearing in East London on 17 November 1997, Anglican Bishop Michael Nuttall made the following apology on behalf of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA):

[T]he CPSA acknowledges that there were occasions when, through the silence of its leadership or its parishes, or their actions in acquiescing with apartheid laws, where they believed it to be in the interest of the church, deep wrong was done to those who bore the brunt of the onslaught of apartheid. What aided and abetted this kind of moral lethargy and acquiescence was the fact that, in many respects, our church had developed, over many years, its own pattern of racial inequality and discrimination. It was all too easy to pass

resolutions or make lofty pronouncements condemning apartheid. It was all too easy to point a morally superior finger at Afrikaner nationalist prejudice and pride. English pride and prejudice was no less real and it was never very far below the surface of our high sounding moral pronouncements. The Anglican Lord Milner must be as problematic to Afrikaner Christians as DF Malan, the dominee, is to us.

In a strange way, I think many white Anglicans in the CPSA owe an apology to the Afrikaner community for their attitude of moral superiority. I became aware of this need when, as Bishop of Pretoria from 1976 to 1981, I got to know such fine Afrikaner Christians as David Bosch and Piet Meiring. Perhaps, Chairperson, I could ask Professor Piet Meiring in his capacity as a member of the [Commission] kindly to receive this expression of apology from a Bishop of 'die Engelse kerk' [the 'English' (Anglican) Church]. (Applause.)

But our chief expression of apology must be to our own black membership, and I am using the word 'black' inclusively. Here we are speaking of the overwhelming majority of the CPSA, both in Southern Africa as a whole and in South Africa particularly. Interestingly, our black membership increased significantly in the early apartheid years, especially on the reef where the witness against the new ideology was strong. Ours is primarily a black church; it has been and still is in many ways, a suffering church. Suffering at the hands of the church itself.

Chairperson, our so-called white parishes, like white businesses (and I am thinking of last week's [Commission] hearings), have unquestionably benefited from apartheid and its political predecessors. In their church facilities, including housing and transport for their priests, they have been bastions of relative privilege. So-called black parishes by contrast, like black businesses, have been decidedly disadvantaged in these respects. Within the black Anglican community, there has been a further disparity in that, very often, as in the secular apartheid scenario, the African church has been worse off than the coloured, and the coloured church worse off than the Indian.

57 At the health sector hearing in Cape Town, the following apologies were made:

Medical Association of South Africa (MASA): *Our written submission details the many failures and compromises that occurred along the way, failures of will and courage, compromises founded on expediency, many of these occurring even in the years since 1989. It's not possible in the time available today to explore in detail all the misdeeds of commission and especially of omission that have been detailed in our written submission. However, I can assure the*

Commission that we have made every possible effort to provide as complete and as honest a disclosure as it lies in our power to do.

I plead with you and with the nation, that this submission be accepted with respect for the truth which it embodies. It is vital for the Association, at this point in its development, [for] its renewal and its transformation, to achieve reconciliation, and this can only happen if there has been full disclosure and full acknowledgement of all the wrongs of the past. If there are gaps or omissions in this submission, they are unintentional. We would welcome any input in this regard from whatever quarter it may come.

The transformation of MASA of which I speak is an ongoing process. A significant event along the way was the unconditional apology for the past wrongs of the Association that was made in June 1995. We stand by every word that was spoken in that apology. However, there are those who understood this apology to be an attempt on the part of the Association to achieve what they termed blanket amnesty and to sweep everything else from our past under the carpet. This was far from the intention of that apology. The apology was a necessary step along the road we are travelling, but it was only a step. Our wholehearted participation in the work of this Commission is yet another step on this road, but again only a step.

In terms of the way forward, there is much that we have done to make sure that the wrongs perpetrated in the past by doctors can never occur again, but there is much that remains to be done. We intend to participate fully in the work of the proposed over-arching Health and Human Rights Organisation. We propose to enlarge and to strengthen the office and the activities of our ombudsman, our public protector. Our peer review system has already been sharpened and structured much more effectively than it ever was before. We are currently engaged in a programme designed to promote structured ethics education in all the medical schools in this country, and we are planning formal structured training for prisons' health service personnel.

However, in all these efforts, we still find ourselves hampered by the huge baggage of past wrongs that the Association has had to drag along with itself and from which it has found it impossible to free itself. It will only be through the process of truthful disclosure and reconciliation that we will finally be freed from the burden of this baggage.

- 58 In a written submission to the Commission presented at the institutional hearing on the legal profession, the following apologies were made:

LWH Ackermann, Constitutional Court Judge: *It is difficult, if not impossible, for me as a white South African to draw a clear or steady line between my personal and my professional failures in regard to addressing wrongs of racism generally and institutionalised professional racism in particular. I failed as an advocate, in terms of my ethical, moral and religious beliefs, by not speaking out sooner, and when I did, not sufficiently powerfully or persistently, against the Pretoria Bar's colour bar and, in general, against the discriminatory treatment meted out to blacks by the justice system, and by not trying to motivate the organised profession to protest against all such discrimination, particularly as it affected black colleagues. I did not do enough to resist the pervasive institutional culture and to dismiss my fears that, if I did speak out, my career would be jeopardised at a Bar where, soon after joining, I was as branded as a liberal.*

I similarly failed on the Bench, prior to my resignation, by not pursuing the avenues ... soon enough, vigorously enough or at all. Of course, my failure to combat racism more vigorously extends beyond my profession and legal career...

I acknowledge and regret these failures. I am deeply saddened by the consequences of these failures on the lives of black people, and I wish to apologise for my role in denying them their full and equal humanity.

GL Grobler SC, Chairperson Pretoria Bar: *We apologise to our colleagues, to the judiciary, the attorneys' profession, the public at large and in particular the victims of unjust laws for these failures. As is the case with the apology which we tendered in regard to the racial discrimination which our Bar practised until 1980, we should have offered our expression of regret at a much earlier stage. We apologise for this remissness. We are grateful for the opportunity which our fellow bars and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission have given us to set the record straight in public.*

59 At the business sector hearing in Johannesburg, the following was said:

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

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

Restrictions on trading and commercial activities also prevented blacks from establishing and operating business when they saw opportunities to do so. Latent entrepreneurship, potential skills and hidden talents: none of these assets in the black community could be used.

The practice of job reservation denied the black community access to skills and progress and thus prevented fair competition in the job market. It is also a fact that the mobilisation of the savings of the white [inaudible] produced remarkable results in terms of economic growth empowerment of the white Afrikaans-speaking community.

If we look at [the section in our submission on] ... omissions and commissions, it is clear from the submission, if we look back with the benefit of hindsight, that the AHI committed major mistakes.

Firstly, we deal with support for separate development. As explained before, the AHI supported separate development in the belief that it would bring about acceptable results for all in the country. This it didn't do. Separate development in the end meant social engineering with brutal human costs and enormous wastage of resources.

As a business organisation, we should have appreciated much earlier that moral and economic realities militate conclusively against even the loftiest interpretation of separate development. This failure was without doubt one of the worst mistakes the AHI made.

Then we look at the lack of critical evaluation of policies – another major mistake that was committed and that was one of omissions. No moral and economic objections to apartheid were lodged for many years. At the time, there was sufficient appreciation for the hardship and suffering caused by the policy. Whether those hardships were shacks being demolished in the wet and cold of the Cape winter, or of people being shot whilst protesting or the consequences of bombs which killed civilians in Church Street in Pretoria as part of the struggle against apartheid – all of which was seen on our TV screens – the AHI could not have escaped the impact of these policies.

[Point] 5.3 [of the submission] deals with insensitivity into issues involving human rights, although there were frequent references at AHI conferences to the importance of good labour relations, training, proper wages and productivity.

There was for many years an acceptance of the absence of a proper labour relations law that makes provision for workers' rights for all and of the lack of training and other discriminatory measures. This is also regrettable. There was

support for the later developments under Professor Nic Wiehahn. A similar omission occurred in regard to discrimination against women. The AHI should have helped to remove the barriers for women much earlier.

For its part in these omissions and commissions, the AHI firstly accepts moral responsibility. Secondly, admits that fellow South Africans were gravely wronged by these actions or inaction. Thirdly, we wish to express our sincere regret for these failings and, lastly, we apologise to all of those affected as a consequence hereof.

In doing so, the AHI earnestly wishes to contribute to reconciliation in our country and the building of a South Africa in which we all can grow and prosper.

- 60 A number of amnesty applicants also expressed remorse, even though this was not required by the Act. This was, indeed, a controversial feature of the legislation, and some argued strongly that contrition should have been another precondition for amnesty. Others, however, said that this saved the process from lies and faked apologies.
- 61 At the amnesty hearing of the 'Pebco Three', Mr Kimpani Peter Mogoai, a former askari was questioned:

Advocate Lamey: *Mr Mogoai, at this hearing you are aware that the – let me just say this – at this hearing you are aware that the family members of Mr Hashe, Godolosi and Galela are present. Is there anything that you would like to convey to them?*

Mr Mogoai: *... I know that they are present, but I don't know them well... These are the words which I want to say. I have written them down. They come from my heart, which I wanted to address them before this Commission, before the members of the deceased and then before the audience and those who are not present here. I have written them in English, Mr Chairperson.*

Advocate Lamey: *You can proceed.*

Mr Mogoai: *I have taken this opportunity to speak the truth and to express my torturing regrets about wasted years and my shame about a mean and petty past. As I regard myself today as a disgrace to my mother, my family and my relatives. My friends and the families of the Pebco Three and the nation as such, it is with my deepest remorse that I ask for forgiveness and hopefully wish to be reconciled with everybody once more and be part of a better and brighter future of South Africa.*

I say it now here today, as I could not have done so in the earlier days of this realisation for obvious reasons. I thank you.

■ TOWARDS RECONCILIATION BETWEEN VICTIMS/SURVIVORS AND PERPETRATORS

- 62 Although it was not part of the Commission's mandate to effect reconciliation between victims, the community and perpetrators, there were a number of significant instances where the Commission directly facilitated the beginning of this complex process.

Neville Clarence and Aboobaker Ismail

- 63 Fifteen years after he was blinded in the Church Street bomb in Pretoria, Mr Neville Clarence, a former South African Air Force captain, shook hands with the man who planned the attack aimed at the South African Air Force headquarters. During the amnesty hearing, Mr Aboobaker Ismail (former head of the special operations unit of the ANC's military wing MK and currently head of policy and planning in the Defence Secretariat) told the Committee that he regretted the deaths of civilians in the course of the armed struggle. In a face-to-face meeting before the start of the hearing, Ismail told Clarence: "This is very difficult, I am sorry about what happened to you." Clarence said that he understood, adding, "I don't hold any grudges". Both agreed that they should meet again, and they exchanged telephone numbers. "Talking about it is the only way to become reconciled", Ismail said.
- 64 Afterwards, Clarence told reporters that he could not comprehend the full extent of the healing that had taken place at the meeting.

I came here today partly out of curiosity and hoping to meet Mr Ismail. I wanted to say I have never felt any bitterness towards him. It was a wonderful experience... Reconciliation does not just come from one side. We were on opposite sides and, in this instance, I came off second best.

- 65 According to an editorial in the *Sowetan*, "Clarence's magnanimous gesture will no doubt stand out as a symbol of hope for a society that remains deeply divided". The editor of another major newspaper saw the meeting between Clarence and Ismail as a lesson that:

Despite 'our war' (or perhaps because of it) we can live together. That is possible because people on both sides possess magnanimity of spirit. This

*is not a call to naivety and the creating of a 'new' South African nation will not happen overnight. But looking at other parts of the world – be it the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Somalia, Rwanda – we should never forget our ability to forgive.*¹¹

Ivy Gcina and Irene Crouse

- 66 At the human rights violation hearing in Port Elizabeth, veteran activist and ANC MP Cikizwa Ivy Gcina gave harrowing testimony on her torture in detention in 1985. Ms Gcina also had praise for a warder at North End Prison, Ms Irene Crouse:

The same night I saw a light at night and my cell was opened. I did not see who was opening my cell. I did not look at the person. She said to me, "Ivy, it is me. I am Sergeant Crouse. I have fetched your medicine". She rubbed me. She made me take my medicine. I told her that I could not even hold anything but I can try. I told her I was going to try by all means. She said "It is fine, do not worry yourself. I will help you." So she made me take the medicine and then she massaged me. Then after that I could at least try and sleep.

- 67 A few days later the local newspaper, the *Eastern Province Herald*, carried a front page, full size picture of Ivy Gcina hugging Irene Crouse, under the main headline: "Ivy meets her Angel of Mercy. Now here's what reconciliation is all about". The report read:

Tortured activist Ivy Gcina was yesterday reunited with her Angel of Mercy – the kind jailer who held her hand and tended her wounds after hours of brutal interrogation by security police. "I never thought you'd remember me", said Irene, 37, as the two women threw their arms around each other on the stoep [verandah], crying and laughing at the same time. Ivy, 59, replied: "But after I was assaulted it was you who was there to help me, who entered my cell at night. Can you ever forget someone like that?"

- 68 Both women said the Commission hearings had brought out necessary, though painful, details about the country's past – but equally important, it had brought them together. "We met as human beings, as women," Ivy recalled. "There was such communication there. Ensuring I had a clean towel, asking me how I was. The relationship was so good." Irene felt she was "only doing her duty" when she helped Ivy.

¹¹ As reported in *The Star*, 6 May 1998. See also reports in the *Sowetan*, *Cape Times*, *Beeld*, and *Pretoria News*.

- 69 At the Eastern Cape hearing, chairperson Revd Bongani Finca said the Commission was not only bent on discovering the hurt that had been done, but also those who had "risen above the system. It is wonderful that even in a system like that there were people who rose above it. I salute Ms Crouse that in such a situation she was able to show kindness".

Brian Mitchell and the Trust Feed Community

- 70 Trust Feed is a rural community situated north-west of Pietermaritzburg in KwaZulu-Natal. It is a freehold area with a hierarchical structure of landowners and tenants. The area has a long history of peaceful co-existence that changed in the mid-1980s as a result of political tensions between the UDF and the IFP. Threatened by the activities of the UDF, the local police unit colluded with the IFP to wipe out UDF members. This led to a sequence of atrocities culminating in the Trust Feed massacre in December 1988.
- 71 The massacre was directly related to the clandestine activities of Captain Brian Mitchell, Station Commander at the New Hanover police station at the time. On his orders, eleven people were killed and two others wounded at a night vigil following the death of a relative. Five of them were men and the rest were women and children. None were UDF members. In April 1992, Captain Mitchell was sentenced to death eleven times for his role in ordering the attacks. His sentence was subsequently commuted to life imprisonment in 1994. After serving a prison term of about five years, Captain Mitchell was granted amnesty by Commission in 1997.
- 72 The Trust Feed community (though they had not reportedly opposed amnesty) was enraged and seemed not to have forgiven Captain Mitchell. The hurt was profound, and the community went through a process of re-experiencing the original anger and pain. Captain Mitchell expressed remorse and asked for forgiveness. He pledged to honour the community request to help reconstruct the community he had polarised and destroyed through his clandestine operations.
- 73 In this way, two parties, divided by negative feelings of hostility and rage, were able to come together with the common purpose of reconciliation. For Trust Feed, polarised and divided by destructive forces, it offered an opportunity to help restore broken relationships and create a stronger sense of community.
- 74 Some of the essential and necessary elements for reconciliation were already in place. Captain Mitchell had made a confession. He appeared to repent of his own

atrocious deeds and had made a request for forgiveness. He had also reconciled himself with God and was a member of the Rhema Church. At the same time, the community of Trust Feed was still in pain and needed time to heal its wounds. It had, however, indirectly paved the way for forgiveness by asking Captain Mitchell to commit himself to playing a part in the reconstruction of the Trust Feed community as an overt act of repentance.

- 75 The Commission facilitated the various stages of the process. Initial contact was made with Captain Mitchell who, accompanied by a Minister from Rhema Church, once again declared his intention to reconcile with the Trust Feed community.
- 76 This was followed by series of meetings with a special committee representing the Trust Feed community. Since the committee had a strong ANC bias, attempts were made to invite IFP members to join. This was followed by a community meeting that proved to be a cathartic experience. Community members were able to work through their feelings to the point where they were willing to meet Captain Mitchell.
- 77 This in turn paved the way for a reconciliation meeting between the Trust Feed community and Captain Mitchell. The meeting presented a major challenge to the Commission and the community. All efforts were made to mobilise professional expertise, including the services of mediation consultants.
- 78 The reconciliation meeting was held in July 1997 and was well attended by the Trust Feed community – including both ANC and IFP members. The community was given enough time to express its feelings and ask direct, clarifying questions of Captain Mitchell who was also given an opportunity to express his feelings and ask for forgiveness. A process of mediation followed, focusing on Captain Mitchell's offer to participate in community reconstruction and try to meet the community's expectations of him.
- 79 Following careful deliberations, all parties agreed that a committee should be formed to look into the needs of the relationship with Captain Mitchell. The meeting ended emotionally. As Captain Mitchell was driven away from the community he had so grossly violated, he was followed with parting calls of "Bye-bye, *uhambe kahle* [go well] Mitchell".
- 80 The reconciliation meeting was a considerable success and the spirit of goodwill and willingness to forgive by the Trust Feed community was very touching. The community's sense of trust is still very fragile and will need to be sustained by

Captain Mitchell's long-term commitment to his offer. The fact that the community opened its heart to Brian Mitchell made it vulnerable to secondary violation and traumatisation should Mitchell fail to honour his offer of reconciliation. Thus, the meeting was simply the beginning of a long process of reconciliation. The community and Brian Mitchell carry the major responsibility for ultimate reconciliation.

- 81 Reconciliation at the meeting went beyond this, however, and led to a healing of community tensions between ANC and IFP members. During the meeting, leaders of both parties expressed a great willingness to work together as a united community and committed themselves to follow-up meetings.
- 82 There were, however, problems. The overseas press sought to sensationalise the reconciliation initiatives by talking to Mitchell and a few selected families from the Trust Feed community. This created divisions and renewed feelings of mistrust. The situation was, however, well managed by the Trust Feed committee. In addition, the heavy police presence at the meeting did not create an ideal environment for conciliation. On the other hand, in the light of the potentially explosive nature of the situation, the role of the police force in helping to maintain a contained and controlled environment seemed necessary.¹²

Reconciliation in Esikhawini, Northern KwaZulu-Natal

- 83 Journalist Ken Daniels describes the process of reconciliation in Esikhawini in northern KwaZulu-Natal:

Hit squad members reconcile with community they terrorised

The people of Esikhawini township near Richards Bay on the KwaZulu-Natal North Coast for the past two weeks relived the horror that befell their community six years ago and at the end of it all on Friday, somehow found it in their hearts to forgive the men who had subjected them to a living hell.

The residents had, before this month's Truth and Reconciliation Commission Amnesty Committee hearings in Richards Bay, been in the dark as to who attacked them mercilessly on a daily basis. They were finally able to confront the seven members of an Inkatha Freedom Party hit squad that has admitted carrying out random attacks on the community of Esikhawini in an attempt to eliminate any support for the African National Congress.

When the community sat down on Thursday afternoon to hear pleas for forgiveness from the row of men that made up their nightmare, they found it had

¹² Reported by Professor AS Magwaza, member of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee.

a human face. They saw it in Daluxolo Wordsworth Luthuli's resemblance to his Nobel Peace Prize-winning grandfather Albert Luthuli. They saw it in Brian Gcina Mkhize who had been stern throughout the two week hearing but let a faint smile slip across his face as he watched a young child wander playfully amongst applicants and victims oblivious to the shocking loss of life being discussed around him. And they saw it in the face of Romeo Mbamba whose face suddenly became awash with tears when he came face to face with a young woman he had crippled.

The victims found it hard to believe these were their tormentors – stripped of their balaclavas and blazing guns – who sat ready to take everything the community was willing to throw at them and then ask for forgiveness. The community and their former tormentors came together in an informal hearing that did not form part of the Truth Commission proceedings and was aimed at giving locals a chance to ask the applicants about particular incidents.

With the emotion drained from everyone after the applicants' harrowing testimony, the final performance took on a different complexion as perpetrator and victim discussed the mechanics of the political process which brought about a season of bloodletting in the previously peaceful community.

A thin old man with flashing eyes and upright stance indignantly asked Romeo Mbambo why he had killed his neighbour's son who was not at all involved in politics. Mbambo, recalling the incidents instantly, replied that it had been a mistake and that on the night in question he had been searching for an ANC activist but the assassins had attacked the wrong house and killed the young man along with three of his friends. The old man listened to the account and, as he walked away, he said sorrowfully that his own son had been one of the four killed that night.

Another elderly gentleman walked up to the microphone and in a booming voice questioned Hlongwane's version to the Amnesty Committee about an attack the old man had suffered. The tough old warrior with grey-tinged beard and hair and the young hit man then engaged in a lengthy discussion about their life and death battle on the night in question. At times the old man smiled as he told Hlongwane how he had avoided the bullets and the blows during the attack.

Finally, the old man told Hlongwane he was lucky that he had not succeeded in his mission, because then he would apologise to him now.

A young woman who had earlier reduced tough hit man Mbambo to tears sat in her wheelchair throughout the proceedings. Nokuthula Zulu was a 20-year-old student when Mbambo and his colleagues fired a shot into her side,

paralysing her from the waist down. After the hearing she said she now felt more healed by the experience of confronting her assailants and she had overcome her anger at not being able to walk or to complete her studies.

At end of the meeting, the residents took a unanimous vote to forgive the members of the hit squad. All parties embraced and shook hands. For the residents of Esikhawini the nightmare was finally over.¹³

Reconciliation in Upington, Northern Cape: Nicholas ‘Oupa’ Links and the Jonga family

- 84 The house of Mr Nicholas Links, a municipal police officer, came under attack by youths in December 1986. When his daughter’s head was injured by a stone hurled by the four youths attacking his house, he fired a shot which fatally wounded twenty-one year old Matan Jonga.
- 85 Links gave testimony at the human rights violations hearing in Upington on 2-3 October 1996. He related that he was congratulated by his superiors for his first murder and offered further lethal weapons and one hundred rounds of ammunition. This only had the effect of making him feel extremely guilty, especially since the victim was so young.
- 86 Mr Links left Upington as he could not live with his guilt in the town. He returned only in 1991 and claims to have been well received by the community. At the hearing, he expressed the wish to publicly apologise to the family for causing the death of their son and relative.
- 87 Despite having apologised, when the hearing team returned to the Upington for the follow up meeting, Mr Links again, in an extremely emotionally charged meeting, asked the family to forgive him. He referred to the fact that it was difficult for them to come to terms with the death of the son, as it was such a senseless killing. He acknowledged that receiving forgiveness from them would not return their son to them, but their acceptance of his apology would free him of the guilt he had carried for so many years.
- 88 Most of the people in the meeting had by this time been reduced to tears. Mr Links, who was speaking from the front of the church hall, asked a representative of the family to come forward if they were prepared to forgive him. An aunt came forward to accept the apology. However, she pointed out that the matter could

¹³ South African Press Association (SAPA) report, 23 April 1998.

not be completely resolved in such a forum and that a meeting of the elders of both sides of the family should be called. She seemed reluctant to be the spokesperson for the family.

- 89 Those present from the Commission had the impression that a process of reconciliation had started for these two families and for the community as a whole. The clergy at the meeting suggested that a reconciliation service be held, culminating in a communion mass and community feast.

Reconciliation in Ashton, Western Cape

- 90 In the late 1980s, the town of Ashton and the neighbouring town of Zolani were the sites of intense conflict between community members. A group of vigilantes called the *Amasolomzi*, allegedly supported by the police, terrorised residents believed to be engaged in anti-government protest or other political activity. It was believed that the *Amasolomzi* used the Langeberg-Koo factory as their 'headquarters' and that many of its members were on the staff at the factory.
- 91 The *Amasolomzi* were held responsible for numerous beatings, shootings and deaths. A number of residents told the Commission that *Amasolomzi* members also accompanied police on raids and other operations in Zolani and Ashton.
- 92 Almost a decade later, Ashton and Zolani were relatively peaceful. However, many of those who participated in *Amasolomzi* activities were still living in the town and while, on the surface, all seemed to be well, there was still a significant amount of distrust and anger between previous *Amasolomzi* members and other residents. These feelings resurfaced in the course of statement taking in the area and because of testimony given at hearings in Worcester. For example, Zolani residents told the Commission that they would only give statements to Commission staff from Cape Town, not to specifically trained Ashton or Zolani inhabitants, as no one knew who could be trusted.
- 93 It became evident that some sort of conflict resolution was needed in the area. Residents approached the Commission saying that they had decided to hold a service of reconciliation. The Commission was asked if it could help with the organisation of the service and attend it. The Cape Town Reparation and Rehabilitation co-ordinator worked with the Trauma Centre Satellite Clinic (based in Zolani) to help facilitate the process of bringing people from different factions together. In August 1996, a large inter-denominational church service was held

at which residents committed themselves to reconciliation and peaceful co-existence. Obviously, peace and reconciliation were not achieved overnight, but the service seems to have been the start of a process in which township residents reached a stage of acceptance of the past and tolerance of each other.

■ RECONCILIATION WITHOUT FORGIVENESS

- 94 The above-mentioned emphasis on peaceful or non-violent co-existence suggests that a weak or limited form of reconciliation may often be the most realistic goal towards which to strive, at least at the beginning of the peacemaking process. This applied to relationships between former enemies within communities, but also to the network of relationships between communities, ethnic and racial groups at regional and national levels. This form of reconciliation, without apologies by those responsible or forgiveness by victims, is also reflected in the following individual testimonies:

- 95 At the Parys human rights violations hearing in April 1997, Ms Mathabiso Marie Sekhopa said:

In 1990, it was in September on the twenty-second. It was on Sunday. I was in the house. My husband was working outside. I was staying with my two children. The other two were not inside the house. It was at about half past three. The Mangesi family – their shop is next to my house – Alina Matsimela, Senela Mangesi and Popo Mangesi. When they come, they were having stones. They threw stones at my house. They broke all my windows. I was in the kitchen then. I took my children and put them under the table, and then I was looking. They broke, then from there, they went to the shop. They came again and threw stones at my house up to half past three.

After that, they went back. I didn't see where they went. I took my children. I said to my daughter she must go and fetch a blanket for me so that I'll be able to carry the small one. Afterwards we went outside the house to my next-door neighbour. I sought accommodation at my neighbour. Then I said to my neighbour, "I don't know what is happening. I don't know where I am going to sleep." She said, "I will give you accommodation up to the following day in the morning".

Whilst I was still at her place up to the morning, before then, whilst I was still there, my daughter went outside and then she drank water, then returned and said, "Our house is burning." When I looked through the window, I could see that the house was burning. There were some boys whom we were with

at my neighbour. While we were outside, I heard somebody say: "Here they come." We returned to my neighbour's house. Then I said to those people I was with in the house that they leave my house to burn, otherwise we will be at risk. We were even afraid to go outside.

- 96 When Ms Sekhopa was asked whether there is now peace in the Rouxville township and how she was getting along with the family which destroyed her house, she said:

Yes, there's peace now... Yes, we have reconciled because they are our neighbours.

- 97 At the Duduza human rights violations hearing on 12 February 1997, Ms Evelina Puleng Moloko testified thus:

Ms Seroke: *Puleng, the people who killed Maki, what happened to them thereafter?*

Ms Moloko: *The people who killed Maki were arrested. That is the people who appeared on the video taking part in the killing. They were convicted, but I do not remember quite well as to what sentences were meted out. Some got five years, some ten respectively, and some got a life sentence, but all of them are here at the present moment. They are out.*

Ms Seroke: *Do you ever meet these people?*

Ms Moloko: *Yes, I do.*

Ms Seroke: *Do you talk?*

Ms Moloko: *Yes, I do talk to some others, and I work at a crèche, and there were two who came to bring their children at that crèche, and if you bring your child there you are supposed to speak to me. I am the one who is responsible with regard to admissions, and they had brought their children. I spoke to them as if nothing happened. We accepted their children, and there is nothing amiss. Everything is just as usual.*

■ RESTITUTION OR REPARATION

- 98 The previous two sections illustrated the healing potential of sincere apologies. A sure sign of sincerity is a commitment to restitution or reparation. The following statements from the Commission's hearings capture the vital importance of restitution as part of the reconciliation process. At the public announcement of

the Reparation and Rehabilitation policy recommendations in October 1997, Archbishop Tutu said:

Much of what we are about is saying as a nation 'we are making acknowledgements to people'. The [reparation] amount is going to be symbolic... the nation is saying sorry.

- 99 At the forum on Reconciliation, Reconstruction and Economic Justice in Cape Town on 19 March 1997, Ms Cynthia Ngewu, mother of one of the 'Gugulethu Seven' said:

In my opinion, I think the best way to demonstrate a truthful commitment to peace and a truthful commitment to repentance is that perpetrators of acts of violence would make a contribution, a financial contribution to the families of victims and, in that way, they would then cleanse themselves of their own guilt, and they will then demonstrate with extreme confidence that in fact they are sorry about what they did.

- 100 A few amnesty applicants did seem sensitive to this need for restitution. Colonel Eugene de Kock devoted the royalties from the sale of his autobiography to a trust fund for victims. Mr Sakkie van Zyl saw his participation in the clearing of landmines in Angola as a form of restitution. Mr Brian Gcina Mkhize risked his own life by co-operating with the authorities to expose clandestine operations in KwaZulu-Natal during the years of conflict. The challenge is to involve much larger numbers of those who received amnesty and other perpetrators of gross human rights violations in the process of restitution.
- 101 The following extract from the 'Bisho massacre' hearing shows that perhaps an even greater challenge may be to involve people on a broader scale: for example, those who gave the orders or voted for the previous government and/or continue to benefit from past human rights violations.

Dr Ramashala: *My question relates [not to] Bisho [specifically], but to the gross human rights violations in general which were supported by the then government of the day... We have been very successful in killing. We have been very successful in maiming and leaving people crippled for the rest of their lives. We have been very successful in leaving children without parents and without a future. Have there been any discussions at all within the National Party about these children... We all point to statistics, we all point to who has done what, but I really have never heard any discussions from the political parties about these children and our future, because these are our future South Africa...*

Mr Roelf Meyer: *Chairperson, I would like to thank the Commissioner again also for raising this issue, and I think, may I first of all say I think you have made an appeal to us – but not only to us, the three of us who are here, not only to our Party – I think you have made an appeal to the whole of South Africa, to all political parties, but also civil society in general, the community out there, everybody in South Africa...*

I can say, yes, we are in various ways within the National Party attending to this question and related questions. What I would like to suggest is that we have a responsibility to come back to the Commission on this very question... But I think, Madam Commissioner, if I may say, you have raised with us an issue which is probably the most important one in the final instance of the work of the Commission. Because if we can't find an answer to the very question that you have put, then the work of the Commission, with all respect, is not going to be in the long term worth anything.

May I say that I don't think it's only those that have suffered directly, but there are many, many South Africans, thousands of South Africans who have also indirectly suffered through apartheid, that we have to consider within the whole spectrum of what we want to do in the future. So it's not only a question of the specific terms of reference of the Commission – namely how to address human rights violations of the nature that has been described in your terms of reference – but it is, in the final instance, we as politicians, as political parties, that have to give direction as to how we are going to rectify the wrongs that flowed from apartheid in a very general sense.

Dr Ramashala: *Chairperson, may I ask Mr Meyer and his team that, as you prepare that submission, you consider the following comment from the communities, particularly the greater black communities, and I want to quote: "They get amnesty. They get the golden handshake, (meaning rewards). They get retirement pensions worth millions. And we get nothing. And on television they smirk or they smile to boot."*

As you address that submission, please address the question of the perpetrators on your side. The other parties will deal with the perpetrators on their side. But the perpetrators on your side who, so far, when they apply for amnesty and present themselves, and even say they are sorry. None of them has said: "This is my contribution. I would like to do the following." It stops with, "I am sorry". None of them has said: "As a demonstration, perhaps of how sorry I am, this is what I would like to do". None of them have done that. So as you prepare that submission, could you please address that, because that is the more

tangible thing that people are asking, and people say that is a re-victimisation, that is a dehumanisation and that has caused more pain than you realise. Thank you.

- 102 The following statements illustrate this vital need for broad participation, especially by those who have been unjustly privileged in the past, together with some of the obstacles to restitution. Dr Laurie Nathan, director of the Centre for Conflict Resolution and former Chairperson of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), said at a special hearing on compulsory military service in Cape Town:

I want to end by addressing the question of how, in the light of this history, we should manage the past, and I want to address these comments in particular to the white community. The white community tends to take one of three positions in this regard.

First, they say they are shocked by the revelations of the [Commission]. Had they only known about the atrocities at the time, they would surely have objected. This is a self-serving myth. It is patently dishonest to claim today that any of us were unaware of apartheid; unaware of forced removals and pass laws; unaware of deaths in detention or unaware of the killing of children in our streets.

The second response from the white community is that, well we knew what was happening, and we did everything in our power to object. This is also a myth. The truth of the matter is that a tiny minority of whites voiced any opposition and then mostly in conditions of relative safety and comfort. An even smaller minority of whites participated directly in the campaigns, in the daily struggle of the black community.

The third position comes from whites who say, let bygones be bygones. Rehashing the past will only perpetuate divisions and inhibit reconciliation. Let us concentrate instead, they say, on building a new future. In my view, this position adds insult to injury. It's a monumental deceit. Whatever the individual talents and efforts of whites, our lives of privilege today are the product of a grand historical act of theft. We stole the land, the labour, the dignity and, in countless instances, the lives of the black people of our country. The majority of blacks still live with the consequences, and the majority of whites still enjoy the fruits of our acts of violence. The past is present. It is present in our suburbs and in our townships. It's present in our individual and national psyche. White domination may have been eliminated in the political arena but it still prevails at an economic level and in forums like universities and the media which have a powerful impact on the ideas and the debates of broader society.

White racism is alive and kicking. It no longer takes the form of legislated supremacy, but it continues to manifest itself in crude and subtle ways. The most insidious is the assumption that white values are universal and by implication superior to those of other groups. The most offensive is the endless complaining about corruption, inefficiency and falling standards. This is one of the bad jokes of the new South Africa. The previous government set unsurpassed standards for corruption, incompetence and neglect.

There is a fourth position which is seldom heard and which I believe is the appropriate response. The white community should confront its pervasive racism, and stare our ugly history and its long shelf life in the face. We should acknowledge collective responsibility for our efforts and our acquiescence in constructing and maintaining a wretched system of discrimination, exclusion and repression. To invoke theological terminology, we should confess and engage in meaningful acts of contrition.

These acts of contrition could take many forms: establishing or funding memorials like those which commemorate the holocaust in Nazi Germany, funding bursaries for black students or basic facilities for pupils, providing medical supplies to amputee hospitals in Mozambique and Angola, church actions such as fasts and others, training in respect for human rights and multi-cultural diversity for teachers and pupils. These are only some examples. These and other actions are forms of reparation, but it's critical that they are undertaken, not as charity, but in partnership with black communities...

Let me say in closing that whites who interpret this argument to mean that they should become passive and sycophantic have misunderstood the nature of the challenge. The challenge is to become self-critical not uncritical, to acquire some humility, not be submissive; to become empathetic, not paternalistic. The challenge has nothing to do with self-flagellation or wallowing in guilt. It has everything to do with accepting responsibility for our actions and our lack of action.

- 103 At the hearing on conscripts in Cape Town on 23 July 1997, Mr Craig Botha talked about his involvement in the SADF as a conscript in the Navy during the late 1970s and early 1980s. He spoke honestly about his participation in the war:

As I look back upon this period, it is with deep shame and regret that I took part in these acts of sabotage and violent destabilisation. The struggles that our neighbouring states have had to undergo, even to this time, are partially attributable to these missions.

- 104 Most of his testimony, however, was devoted to his current attempts to be an agent of reconciliation as a pastor in the Jubilee Community Church in the Western Cape:

Along with our church, we also began to work actively towards reconciliation involving seeking forgiveness for the evil of apartheid and making financial restitution. To cut a long story short, we are at present extensively involved in Khayelitsha in the Western Cape. We have planted a non-racial church. The white folk that are part of this church have committed themselves to racial reconciliation in a practical way, not just in theory. We are involved in two pre-schools and are seeking to launch projects to empower the community. We are also involved in a housing project in Tambo Square, Tambo Village and have seen the hand of God really moving in terms of bringing together white and black and healing the divisions and enmity of the past.

I did not feel I needed to apply for amnesty for I personally did not kill anyone. I do feel, however, that I was part of the overall strategy of destabilisation during the apartheid years; and it was because of that, that I've come forward with this account. And I've also made the information available because I have been very disappointed to see the lack of courage that has been shown by many in the defence force in terms of owning up to deeds like this in the past.

I really feel that as a South African and as a Christian pastor that there's a tremendous hope for this nation if individuals can find the grace to speak the truth and be agents of reconciliation as we face the future together.

- 105 He went on to make the important point that a lack of restitution might not be because people are insensitive and indifferent, but because there is a lack of specific advice and concrete guidelines about how ordinary people could get involved in restitution and reconciliation:

We went through a stage when we were quite overwhelmed by the whole situation and didn't really know what to do or how to proceed, and we consulted people in the community, and we also did some soul-searching and some homework ourselves and realised that it would be good to target a particular community to see something established in a particular area. We therefore got this fund going through our church where people could put finances into that fund, knowing that it would be going to a specific community for upliftment and to build a centre in the area of Khayelitsha, and people responded to that in an overwhelming way.

So, I think if one could create channels, even simple channels and people know that there's an end product that it's not just going into a fund somewhere,

but it's helping a particular community in a particular place. I think people want to give to that so that's what we did and it worked, and people are still wanting to give, not just money but also themselves as well. Obviously there are those that are still apprehensive about going to the townships but will give finances into a fund to help with things like that, so that also helps towards uplifting communities and so on...

What we've found is, despite what we've been through as a nation, there are a lot of people looking for places and areas they can go to in order to experience practical reconciliation. And I think what has happened is that, within the church we've been involved with and the project, I think it's provided an arena where people can come in and begin to work through issues and begin to meet people from different backgrounds and language groups and start a process together which is very exciting. That's been good just being a part of facilitating that.

- 106 At the faith community hearing in East London from 17 to 19 November 1997, Chief Rabbi Harris described some of the concrete work that members of the Jewish community are engaged in, born of a sense of shared responsibility for past wrongs while at the same time being sensitive to the pitfalls of patronising charity:

In the Jewish community, we are developing a programme called Tekun. There [was] a great deal of hot air yesterday and this morning about what ought to be done, but there have been very few practical examples which are influencing the grassroots ... Tekun is a Hebrew word meaning repairing, trying to put things right. It is a wonderful exercise; we are trying to apply Jewish resources, skills, expertise and know how, to be of maximum benefit to the upliftment programme. One instance is food: the Jewish housewife, when she shops, is asked to buy an extra tin or extra packet. She is buying half a dozen tins, buy a seventh tin. A dozen packets of something – buy a thirteenth packet. That goes in a separate part of the trolley, goes to the nearest Synagogue...

We have many projects. I give you one instance on welfare. Nokatula, which is a home for the physically and mentally handicapped in Alexandra township, is constantly visited by the Selwyn Segal Centre, which is a similar home for physically and mentally handicapped people in Johannesburg. We share expertise and facilities, and we all go together to Camp David at Magaliesberg. May I point out that here we are not being patronising. I know it sounds terribly patronising. We are trying to empower people to help themselves, and that's why we are handing over the skills. We have a major agricultural project at Rietfontein. It is an educational experience in farming, based on the success

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

the Welsh Male Choir. We are trying to build bridges. We are going across the board.

I have only given you, Mr Chairperson, dear, dear friend – I have only given you a few examples. I know it's a drop in the ocean, but we are trying to galvanise our Jewish community in order that we can actually help. It is our responsibility to be of help.

107 At the hearing on the legal system in Johannesburg, the Natal Law Students said:

One of the more significant ways in which those who enjoyed the benefits of the past could make amends is to provide service to the community whom they allowed to be subjugated. As students, we can say that we do not want the money of these practitioners, we do not want them to go on their hands and knees and beg for forgiveness, we do not want any more platitudes and token gestures. The apology of the Pretoria Bar, amongst others, is noted. However, we need to go beyond this and ask ourselves, what are we going to do in concrete terms to redress the imbalances, to demonstrate that we really are sorry?

The law clinic suggests that these practitioners share their skills and resources. In concrete terms, all it requires is for each governing body to co-ordinate a programme where private practitioners volunteer their time to university law faculties, university law clinics and other community service organisations. If each governing body were to organise such an effort to ensure that more pro bono work and a greater degree of community service are carried out, then we would have gone beyond platitude to really transforming our society, to ensure that resources are shared, skills are shared and that human dignity is restored and protected.

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

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

Secondly, for decades, millions of Africans were paid exploitative wages, in all sectors of the economy but mainly in gold mining and agriculture. The fact that the Africans were politically powerless and economically unorganised might make them easy prey for super-exploitation [in favour of] the white workers.

Thirdly, a great variety of discriminative legislation not only deprived Africans of the opportunity to acquire skills, but also compelled and humiliated them to do really unskilled work at very low wages. While discriminatory measures were often to the disadvantage of business, they were very much to the advantage of white employees.

Fourthly, perhaps the greatest disadvantage which the prevailing power structures had for Africans is that these structures deprived them of opportunities to accumulate human capital, the most important form of capital in the twentieth century. For the first three quarters of the century, social spending, on education, pensions etcetera, on Africans, was per capita more or less ten to eight times smaller than on whites. In 1970, the per capita spending on white education was twenty times higher than the per capita spending on Africans.

Fifthly, the fact that a legal right to own property and to conduct a business was strongly restricted in the case of Africans also deprived them of the opportunity to accumulate property and to develop entrepreneurial and professional capabilities. The position of whites was again the complete opposite. They enjoyed property rights, they deprived Africans of their land, they had access to capital and the opportunity to develop business organisations, entrepreneurial capabilities, and etcetera.

Sixthly, the liberation struggle and the resistance against it had a devastating effect on the poorer 60 per cent of the African population. Their income, already very low in 1975, decreased by more or less 35 per cent from 1975 until 1991. The fact that the poorer 40 to 50 per cent of the total population, more or less eighty million people, cannot satisfy their basic human needs on a regular basis, makes it so much more urgently necessary to do at least something meaningful to improve the quality of their poverty.

Sevently, it was not only individuals that have been impoverished and destroyed by the racist system, but also African societies, while it also prevented the South African people from becoming a society. We can put forward a strong argument, that the depravation, the repression and the injustices inherited in the racist system not only impoverished the African population but also brutalised large numbers of Africans. After decades of apartheid and the struggle against it, South African society is a very disrupted and divided society; not only along racial and ethnic lines but also because of seemingly irreconcilable values and attitudes.

■ THE WAY FORWARD

- 109 During the life of the Commission, other issues relating to national unity and reconciliation were highlighted. Important aspects of reconciliation at a community level as well as the need for a deep, practical commitment by ordinary citizens to the reconciliation process were also emphasised.

Towards national unity and reconciliation: building a culture of democracy and respect for human life

- 110 A statement by Archbishop Tutu at the opening of the 'Bisho massacre' hearings in Bisho on 9 September 1996 serves as a reminder that the Commission's attempts to help restore human dignity had a dual purpose: to restore the dignity of victims of past violations and to prevent future violations of human dignity.
- 111 One of the things the Commission was mandated to do was to make recommendations on ways to ensure that things of this kind never again happen in South Africa.

We will be looking to see how we might be able to inculcate, instil in all of us in this land, a deep reverence for human life against the prevalent cheapness that we see, for instance, in the high level of criminal violence that is happening at the present time in our country. We hope that as we listen to those who are not statistics but human beings of flesh and blood, that you and I will be filled with a new commitment, a new resolve that our country will be a country where violations of this kind will not happen, that the context will be inhospitable for those who seek to treat others as if they were nothing.

- 112 Addressing an angry audience at the same hearing, Archbishop Tutu made it clear that national unity and reconciliation are based on a difficult commitment to democratic values:

Chairperson: *Colonel Peter, please have the podium. I am going to give you [the audience] a warning... I don't know what you have come for – but we came here because we have been given a job to do which is to hear every point of view. Whether we like that point of view or not, that is not the point. We have to hear everything so that we are able to describe as fully as we can what it was that happened... If your strong feelings affect how we listen here, we are then going to ask you to take your feelings and leave with them...*

It is a democracy that we are trying to build up and many of us are believers, and believers say that it is possible for all kinds of people, all of us, to

change and be different. That is why we are talking about reconciliation. You don't get reconciled with someone you agree [with]. You get reconciled with someone with whom you disagree; otherwise there would be no point in having reconciliation. You do not reconcile with someone whom you have no discordance with. We would not have a Commission if there were reconciliation already.

This Commission exists because all kinds of painful things have happened on all sides, and we are being asked to do a small job in a process [indistinct]. It is all of us who have to accept the pain of what happened in the past, to try to move into the future. I will then ask you – please I beg you – will you give everybody a fair chance and don't let anybody feel under pressure.

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

There is one thing that is messing up our country; it is the lack of sincerity in our country. It is the lack of recognising other people's contribution if they don't belong to your camp, if they don't belong to your tribe, if they don't belong to your race. We are still victims of fragmentation. We have achieved very little until we have changed...

We have been tested; we can forgive, we can reconcile; yet we are also capable of forming third forces to hit back. But that is not what we want. We are looking forward to a better South Africa – a South Africa that will respect the integrity of everybody, irrespective of their colour, creed, tribe, too, and social standing for that matter. And worse still, we must get out of this ideological straight-jacket that we can only think of people, only as they belong to your straight-jacket; outside your straightjacket, they are expendable commodities that you can wipe off as you please. Commissioner Wynand Malan emphasised the importance of seeing national unity and reconciliation as the embodiment of both a human rights culture and a democratic culture... A shared understanding of the past may well go a long way towards reconciliation, yet an understanding of the other person's perspectives and motives will immensely increase the capacity to live with and manage the other and oneself, even with different understandings of the past persisting... A true human rights culture is a democratic culture. At the heart of a democratic culture is tolerance of divergent views and understandings of the past, present and future... National unity and reconciliation is a society with its members relaxed, a nation democratically at peace with itself.

Towards national unity and reconciliation: giving priority to the needs of children and youth

114 Ms Anne McKay, from the KwaZulu-Natal Survivors of Violence Project, made the following statement at the children/youth special hearing in Durban:

I think the stress on family life created by the constant pressure of the violence in this province cannot be underestimated. We've heard mothers in Bhambayi saying that they are literally too tired to take care of their children, even now in 1997, because their minds are full of the violence and they have no hope for the future. So they are not able to give that emotional nurturing and support to their children years after the violence has finished, because they have never received support; they have never received any place where they can feel safe enough to deal with their emotions so that they are emotionally available for their children...

[As] the adults that are in a sense the representatives of our society, we need to acknowledge to young people what has happened to them. We actually need to admit to ourselves that we have millions of children who either have left school, or are reaching the end of schooling, and there are no jobs for them to go to. We have to acknowledge that. We cannot wait for the RDP [Reconstruction and Development Programme] and the Macro Economic Plan to come up with economic growth. They are unemployed at the moment. They are at a loose end and not knowing where to go with their futures at the moment. I think the previous speakers spelt it out clearly. They wanted training. They wanted skills training. They want youth programmes. They want the Youth Commission to do something about their problems. They want youth centres, where recreational and intellectual development opportunities are available in their townships, because they don't have money to travel to town and visit the museums, and so on and so forth, here.

Many of them left school at a very early age, and intelligent, interested, intellectually stimulated youth are walking around with standard five or standard seven education, with no one to recognise their potential. Other countries have increased the schooling available so that ex-combatants can go back to school and be educated with people of their own age, not sitting twenty-five-year-olds in the same classroom as fifteen-year-olds. They want proper adult education programmes whereby they can complete their schooling and go forward to fulfil their intellectual development.

I think that the demands are very simple and very practical, but much of the psychological relief would come from having these problems acknowledged, and having them on the debate and on the agenda.

- 115 The vital role of faith communities in the field of education – helping to nurture a democratic culture and becoming more directly involved in formal teaching – was emphasised at the faith community hearing in East London:

Mr Tom Manthata: *Bishop, I'm not asking any new question. This has been raised by Brigalia when she was addressing the issue of poverty ... That is the issue of education and the moral decay. My simple question is: does the Anglican Church consider reviving or establishing schools at community level? Because that is where this country will begin to address the issue of moral decay. It is at that level that we can begin to address even issues of crime. Does the church begin to say we can revive church schools at community level?*

Bishop Michael Nuttall: *Chairperson, I think that what Mr Tom Manthata has raised is of enormous importance. I am not sure what the pattern is throughout the life of our church, but certainly, I think there is a desire to move in this direction. We have recently, in the diocese that I come from, seen the establishment of half a dozen schools at local community level, initiated by parishes as a result of a synod resolution asking for exactly that to take place. Together with the foundation of two new bigger ventures than local community ventures, schools more like the ones that you have just mentioned. So we are following up on that tradition and the whole idea is to try and fill that vacuum that has existed ever since the Bantu Education Act came into being and we lost our schools for one reason or another as a result of that legislation and a sense of the need for the church to re-engage in a whole new creative way in the whole education process. And certainly, that will be one of the areas in which we will try to exercise our influence in regard to the spiritual and moral life of the nation.*

May I just add in that regard that for me in regard to moral reconstruction, one of the most crucial things as I see it is for people to be helped, young and older people alike, particularly the young, to be helped in this new dispensation of freedom in which we find ourselves to make responsible choices. There are some who seem to want to return to earlier tyrannies and censorship of the past. I say no. We need to accept the reality of the new atmosphere of freedom under which we now operate. But it lays upon us an even heavier responsibility to assist one another, and particularly the young, in the making of responsible choices and earning and living by those choices.

And so there is a new set of r's. We talked about the three r's of reading, writing and arithmetic. The three r's of rights, responsibilities and relationships. Rights with responsibilities exercised in the context of affirming relationships.

That is where the making of responsible choices really begins to come in and have some impact. And certainly as part of that process we need to be engaging as much as we can with the schooling process.

- 116 At the special hearing on children and youth in Johannesburg, Mr George Ndlozi gave testimony on the activities of young people involved in self-defence units (SDUs) on the East Rand during the early 1990s. He insisted that "far from being a bunch of undisciplined comrades or the lost generation, SDUs were in many ways the backbone of defence in Katorus. If it were not for them, many of us would not be sitting here today." His submission and those of many of the other young people who testified at the hearing made it clear "that youth involved in SDU activities have suffered a loss that can never be replaced, their childhood".
- 117 He also sketched the extremely difficult conditions they faced and the challenges presented by their reintegration into society :

[At] that stage there was a lot of confusion. You didn't know what to do, you prayed and you thought your prayers – God is not there, prayers are not answered. You do everything, you cry, you do whatever, and there is no answer to the solution.

And at the end of the day when you heard someone has died, and you just smile or laugh and say oh, our comrade is gone.

And if one can understand that confusion, then one would be able to understand that the Commanders and other political leaders were in another state in which they sort of failed enough to concentrate on how to convince younger people from not getting involved.

And there was a situation where you had to choose in which way do you go. It is either you come on this side or you become on the other side, because you cannot be neutral in that area. It was not possible for you to be neutral. If the attacks were launched, you are also affected and your family would be killed.

So what I will say is yes, things went wrong and we will actually like to ask the Commission to make sure if it had powers, that in future younger people are not getting exposed to this kinds of things because at the end of the day they get a disease that is called post stress disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, which if you look back to some of them, they went back to school, but they can't cope any more. They can't cope and they come back and they just leave school. There are a lot of them in the township.

Some of them have made requests to the [Commission] that the [Commission] organise vocational training for them and some of them can't go back to schools, because when they left school they were about thirteen years and some of them left school when they were in standard six, and now they are today about twenty-one, some of them.

Some of the SDU and SPU [self-protection unit] members were incorporated into the police service. One never believed that these two groups will work, you know, without problems with each other. But through the series of discussions that took place amongst them, today the crime around that area is decreased looking at the police statistics. Although not all of them were incorporated, there were some projects that also came [into existence] and there are some security companies which trained other people around there to have certificates so that they could get jobs.

And there are a lot of youth groupings trying to formulate themselves into some kind of a club. For instance I can mention Ithemba lethu, which is existing in Katlehong, trying to bring all the youth who were affected by the violence, together and think about things that they might do to try and develop the community, to try and restore a dignity of the youth, to try and sort of, restore culture of living because the most problematic thing is going to school.

Although we might say there are some of the people today who have decided to become criminals, but there are a very few. You can name them, there are about four, five. And the question of the community discussing issues, I think they can find a remedy to that situation.

- 118 And at the youth hearing in Cape Town on 22 May 1997, Mr Riefaat Hattas, a political activist since the age of fifteen, placed this challenge before the Commission and the youth of today:

These are only the comrades that ... worked close with me. There are thousands of other comrades; I call them the forgotten comrades. Nobody took notice of us; nobody took notice of them. I would like the [Commission] to remember those people and I hope one day all the street children that must still attend school and those people who are sitting here who is coming from high schools, you have a responsibility towards us to try to reach your full potential and you must make the most of your normal lives that you have, because we are not able to do it. We have been messed up... Please, I beg of you, to make the best of your lives. You owe it to us.

Towards national unity and reconciliation: bringing the veterans together

- 119 At the special hearing on compulsory national service in Cape Town, Commissioner Mary Burton placed the following difficult challenge on the agenda:

We heard from people who were opposed to conscription from the beginning or who, through their experiences, were brought face to face with things that changed their minds. But there are many, many citizens of South Africa who did their military service and who still view themselves as having fought a good fight, as having upheld the safety of the State, as having opposed communism in a broad sense and who are still part of our country and who have to be taken into account as we move into a process of reconciliation and unity. Their views also need to be part of the whole stream of coming together. And when we talk about where we go forward we have to be knowledgeable of that view as well.

So perhaps part of the broad reconciliation challenge that lies ahead of this country over many, many years is the bringing together of all the veterans and that is a very big task, not one that this Commission can handle by itself, but one which has to be faced in building national unity.

- 120 A few weeks earlier, at the special hearing on children and youth in Johannesburg, on 12 June 1997, Mr Christo Uys made a similar statement:

Reconciliation is, according to our understanding, embedded in respect and therefore must we respect the struggle that was referred to in front of the [Commission] today in evidence, but we also ask that our role should be respected. We also have victims, people who died in the struggle and eventual reconciliation can only come about if these people are also honoured together with the comrades who were honoured by means of a play today.

Dealing with the legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge

- 121 Many testimonies serve as chilling reminders that the task of “transcending the divisions and strife of the past ... which left a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge” (Preamble to the Act) is far from complete. For example, a facilitator at the special hearing on children and youth in Durban gave this feedback from children’s testimonies and drawings:

- 122 She quoted from the testimony of a thirteen-year-old girl about the killing of her father six years earlier on the South Coast of KwaZulu-Natal:

That night my younger brother, my mum and myself went into the forest looking for our father, and then what I saw that night I have been carrying around with me ever since. My father had bullet wounds and stab wounds all over his body, and ever since that day I vowed to revenge my father's death.

- 123 She said:

Another picture which I have here from an eight-year-old girl. She drew her father as a small or young man, and the mother being short, and when I asked the child why she is drawing the father short she said the reason she drew her father short it's because the father was helpless, and they surrounded her father and they poured petrol on him and burnt him. What is very sad about this is that these children, most of them they know the people who did this, and those people are still alive and they see them every day. And another child, who is eight years old said, "I am just waiting for my revenge".

Building a democracy where men and women can be at home

- 124 Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso said at the hearing on women in Johannesburg:

Chairperson, as the [Commission] wraps up its formal part of the work, as it publishes its report and as it breathes a sigh of relief for a job well done, we must know that the job continues. The mammoth task that still lies ahead is the continuous and consistent struggle for justice and protection of human rights, especially gender justice and gender rights.

The frightening statistics of violence against women and children which has reached, in my own view, Chairperson, genocide levels, have to be addressed. We cannot hope that there is going to be yet another [Commission] to address that, because in these sessions we're backward looking. We've got to take the process forward; we've got to look in the now and the future.

We have just come out of this war. Part of the violence against women and children is because of that war. But part of that is the operation of patriarchy itself, because when male control and authority is in any way challenged or threatened, as it is being challenged and threatened every day in our country, it turns itself to the most violent forms. And with women and children, their bodies being used as, once again, the terrain of anger and struggle.

Democracy, reconciliation and nation-building remain threatened so long as patriarchy in all its forms and all the forms of patriarchy, Chairperson, are violent forms of patriarchy. They are actually a violation of human rights. We cannot limit human rights to what is in the Act. Gender inequality and gender injustice is a violation of human rights. It does not necessarily mean that we must have the hearings, but it means we must have the process of eradicating that.

As we today look back in our gruesome past, we must realise that our present and future remain in jeopardy, despite the good work of the [Commission], if the violence against women and children is allowed to continue.

The South African society needs to be mobilised in the same manner that it was mobilised against apartheid. In the same manner that we won that war against apartheid. Why are we not mobilising and engage in that war against violence against women and children? Why is the nation continuing as if nothing is happening? Why are these massacres allowed to happen? Why is this genocide? Why are we allowing it? Why is it being made a role of women?

It is not the role of Government alone. It is the role of this society, because if we do not do that, one year, two years down the line, we will have to have that Truth and Reconciliation Commission once again for us to come back and retell the stories that we suffered under democracy, Chairperson.

Within our own homes, the domestic violence in our own homes, the violence in our streets, the violence in the work place, the violence that's permeating all of our society. Most of the time what is being highlighted, are the hijackings. I am not undermining this. I am not undermining the deaths. Look at the wall down Wits.¹⁴ That wall! Look at the faces! Ninety-nine per cent – I went there and looked and registered – 99 per cent are faces of men; where are the women who have been killed? Where are the women who have been raped? Where are the women who are getting battered in their own families? They are not in that wall. Why are they not in that wall?

Is that your work, Chairperson, as we build reconciliation? Because I get angry when I pass that wall. I get angry that the women's own suffering is not being recognised by this country. I get angry because the [Commission] is silent about that. Because it is happening now. It is not happening in the days of apartheid, it is happening now.

125 This is an extract from the submission by Dr Sheila Meintjes, on behalf of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, at the same hearing:

¹⁴ University of the Witwatersrand.

I think that what the [Commission] has done has been to open up ... a process which may well just be the tip of the iceberg. We call for further efforts and opportunities to be made for women to speak out. It might take ten or twenty or thirty or even forty years for women to acknowledge their experiences as it did for the women in South East Asia or for the victims of the holocaust to acknowledge sexual abuse by Nazi camp commanders.

- 126 The following extract deals with the role of women in a particular church, but can also be seen as a clear challenge for all South Africans to pay more than lip service to the constitutional ideal of a society where men and women can participate fully, where *human rights* are respected:

Ms Joyce Seroke: *Bishop Michael, I would like to, through you, commend the CPSA [Church of the Province of Southern Africa] for coming to grips at last after a long and painful process of accepting women as priests in the church, but I would like to know what is the church doing to empower those women for meaningful participation with in the church?*

Bishop Michael Nuttall: *Chairperson, as you will know this is a fairly recent development within the life of our church. It goes back to 1992. Perhaps we should have made that decision long before but, like so many other churches in this respect throughout the world, we have been on a journey and all of us have had to come to a profound change of mind when we've come to the point of accepting women clergy should be as free to operate within the life of our church as men clergy. So, we've only been involved in this for the past five years. We now have something like twenty-three women clergy out of 120 within the diocese which I'm part of ... but there's still a very long way to go, and part of that long way to go is the need for the mindset to change because so many of us across the board, this is not a white or black phenomenon, but across the board, so many of us, particularly those of us who are male, but not only men, have got to make a major inner adjustment to this new reality within the life of our church. But as I said just now, I think that a new liberating process is underway for men and women alike in this process.*

Towards reconciliation at a community level

- 127 The following extracts from statements at the post-hearing programme in Oudtshoorn illustrate central aspects of the reconciliation process at a community level. Mr David Piedt, a community leader, reported:

So this was the place, the rural town in the Karoo, after the big march in August 1989 in Cape Town, where in September 1989 we mustered about

15 000 people in Oudtshoorn for the first big rural march. So in this town we decided on two things: the slogan "Submit or fight", because this was a very conservative place, extremely conservative, and the people in town had to make their choice early in the 'sixties: are we going to fight or are we going to submit? And the people took the alternative, and that is to fight back.

So, we headed for one hell of a confrontation. And after the change in the coming of the new Government and the freedom of the State President and everything, then people started to interact with one another. So what I am trying to say is that that phase of confrontation and conflict has passed in Oudtshoorn.

I spent four hours in a meeting yesterday with developers in Oudtshoorn... it went for a confrontation, but through means of interaction and negotiation we could reach some sort of an agreement and consensus.

So what I am trying to say is that this town is now on that way, and I am talking for the majority of people, and that includes white people, that there is a sincerity among the people: that we want to rebuild and reconstruct our town on a humanitarian basis, on the basis of human dignity, on the economic basis and on a social basis.

128 Mr Charles Narkin, representative of Western Cape Provincial Administration, Mental Health Services, said:

We had a meeting of about thirty people, nearly all of whom were from Oudtshoorn, and our mandate was to try and present a working programme that we can begin to implement with almost immediate urgency.

This group decided that they want to try and develop trauma services within their existing resources. There was an acknowledgement that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission cannot in the short term put up any reparation money. They cannot put up a lot of mental health resources. We must turn to the resources within Oudtshoorn and the resources within the Southern Cape.

So, the decision was that there would be two types of processes that will happen. First of all, the existing mental health workers will put the word out that ... people who have suffered from various forms of trauma [should] please feel that the health and the mental health services have an open door to receive them.

And this would also possibly include people who are perpetrators, who are suffering potentially the traumas of having played that role. Maybe deliberating about seeking amnesty, coming out into the open, seeking forgiveness, so it is really an open audit.

They have been trained, but they will get further training around the very particular nature of politically motivated trauma, as well as all the other trauma they deal with, like child abuse, sex abuse, violence, which is clearly no less in Oudtshoorn than in other communities – and we are very concerned about that.

But in addition to the traditional mental health workers, the decision was made by the group – and there were a lot of people there who immediately volunteered to set up a cohort of volunteers. They are going to be trained by Dr Van Wyk's team and a supportive team led by myself from the Provincial Administration, where we are going to develop trauma work skills in this group of people, counselling skills, trauma skills, conflict resolution skills.

So, they are going to be armed with a set of skills that they can offer this community to ease some of the distresses and pains which are both chronic and acute. So, we are going to get going with training programmes, where these people, who are also the volunteers, will put the word out.

So, we want to just make a final message and a final statement to the community to say that put the word out that groups will be starting up. If people are suffering from trauma, if they are having all terrible symptoms and they cannot get their lives back on track, if they are having all kinds of problems which they feel are due to the traumatic events in their life, to feel that there is a supportive web being built up in this neighbourhood and in this community, by people in the community, and it will hopefully grow from strength to strength.

129 Mr Sipho Kroma, Mayor of Oudtshoorn, said:

I am saying that we have a democratically elected municipality in this town. And that democratically elected municipality has got a task and the task of making sure that we play a major role in the reconciliation of our people in this country.

One of the major roles that we have to play and that you must play in that municipality is to make sure that you participate in the whole issue of reparations and the healing of our people in this town. Because if our people are not healed, you are not going to be able to have a community to lead at the end of the day. We must and we are compelled to play a role at that level.

I am saying this, and I know that I am saying this on behalf of the majority of people in this town of ours, and I know that I am saying that on behalf of the majority of the Councillors who are within the Council.

As I mentioned that it is our task. People who are here who for the past three days have been part of this whole endeavour. I think what we need to

do now is to go to the other side and go and convince our brothers and sisters who are living in town and explain to them the importance of the Truth Commission and the importance of us coming together as a nation and the importance of us living together as brothers and sisters in the spirit of reconciliation, what that can do for our town.

There were people of the opinion that there can be no ways in which the people who were formally oppressed can reconcile within ourselves alone. We need to take our brothers and sisters in hand and bring them along with us. Even if that meant that we have to do that on a day to day basis and pursue and continue because it is very, very important for us to move together.

Let me further say that I hope that this is not the end of the whole process. That I hope that this is the first step towards healing and that with [the] step [taken] today we are going to form something concrete that is going to lead to us having a town that is healed.

Let me further say that, when I am saying these things, when I refer to the town I do not necessarily refer to the town council. I refer to the people of Oudtshoorn, to the community of Oudtshoorn. Together we can be able to build, to bridge the gap existing between us in this town. Together we can be able to make sure that our idea of reconciliation becomes a reality at the end of the day.

Some insights from a case study in Duduza¹⁵

- 130 It would be wrong to make broad generalisations from a case study of a specific community where the Commission held a single human rights violations hearing. However, this work by an independent researcher does contain a number of important signposts for other communities on the road to reconciliation.

Duduza is a black township that is part of the Greater Nigel Area. Nigel is a town on the East Rand (Gauteng) with neighbouring African, Indian and Coloured townships. The total population of the town is approximately 150 – 200 000. Over half of these people live in Duduza.

The publicity around the establishment and functioning of the Commission, as well as its operation within Duduza has, at the very least, forced people to examine their own understanding of what reconciliation and forgiveness means to them and their community. For some, this may be primarily an intellectual exercise – looking at existing divisions and formulating some

¹⁵ Abridged version of work undertaken by Hugo van der Merwe, senior researcher at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, with funding provided by the United States Institute of Peace.

ideas about what should be changed, at what a reconciled community would look like. For others, it is a much more personal reflection, involving feelings of hatred, guilt and fear. Thinking about reconciliation means thinking about a process of overcoming the psychological barriers that they have been living with, often for many years.

The messages projected by the Commission and the support it was given by religious leaders and local politicians brought about some change in the way people viewed the idea of reconciliation. Many declared themselves committed to a process of reconciliation – contrasting this to their previous feelings of hatred and the desire for vengeance, the main response to their victimisation. For some, the main reason behind this change in attitude was the election of a new government. For others, it was simply the passage of time. Some victims, however, attribute their change of heart to the work of the Commission.

While some victims still find the idea of reconciliation, and especially forgiveness, insulting, it appears that for most the Commission has contributed to a greater commitment to the process of reconciliation. It has also created the space to pursue reconciliation. It is seen as a forum that provides a platform for storytelling, for revealing the truth, for holding the perpetrator accountable, for reparations, remorse and forgiveness. These are steps in a process that people now understand and accept as legitimate. They are steps that involve an exchange between victim and perpetrator, between individual and state. People have developed a fairly clear idea of what would constitute a fair exchange for them as individuals, involving both give and take.

Most of the conflict of the past was between community residents (particularly activist youth) and the security forces (police who were locally based, security police based in the regional head quarters, and the SADF). The mistrust between the community and the police has been changing, thanks in large part to the police-community forum that has been operating for a number of years. Many of the police who were seen as responsible for past abuses no longer work or live in Duduza and a new police station was built in the township. Nobody was aware of any amnesty applications that may have been submitted by members of the security forces in the area. There are also no pending court cases. It appears that few further details of the police atrocities in the community will be uncovered by the Commission.

The dynamics of the apartheid era conflicts had many spin-offs. The conflict environment led to a range of other associated divisions and intra-community dynamics. There were divisions arising from suspicions regarding police informers, collaborators and internal power struggles among ANC supporters.

Interpersonal conflicts were drawn into the political vortex and the dividing line between politics, criminal activity and interpersonal disputes became very indistinct.

These divisions are not resolved. People still mistrust each other. Victims still wonder if their neighbour or their councillor was the one who informed on them, or who spread the rumour about them being informers. People still wonder what secrets were still buried and how these secrets shape the operation of local politics. One example was a police officer, who is seen by many as implicated in past abuses, who is now a senior council employee. Many suspect that blackmail or other underhand deals are behind arrangements like these.

The political culture is also not liberated from the violent past. There is an increased sense of political tolerance, with people feeling more comfortable expressing support for opposition parties (rather than challenging the ANC internally). The present political leadership in the ANC is, however, alleged to have used intimidation in their fight for internal party control. New divisions are eclipsing those of the past, but they are still interwoven with the past. The emergence of new political parties (such as the United Democratic Movement) in the township draws on (and fans) suspicions that arose regarding past deeds in order to build a support base. Allegations of complicity with past abuses (both in terms of spying for the police or the use of violence directed at internal opposition) are common weapons in undermining support for one's political opponents.

Blacks and whites still live very separate lives. Some blacks have moved into the white suburbs of Nigel, but many don't feel particularly welcome. Racial incidents such as being barred from the health club or (as is commonly alleged) white Afrikaans schools still seem commonplace. Interaction between black and white councillors seems to have built a certain level of mutual trust and a sense of partnership, and this has been broadened through the operation of various council sub-committees. These initiatives have, however, only reached a very limited component of the respective communities. They are also seen as somewhat tentative gains that may easily be undermined by political campaigning before the next elections. They are relationships built on (and limited to) common interests in the social and economic development of the area. The parties have not talked openly about the past.

The attitudes of whites on the council towards reconciliation are built around the idea of a partnership between two communities. We are all in the same boat – we simply need to understand each other better and be more respectful of each other's culture. They see themselves as advocates of reconciliation

among their own community which has to be coaxed into accepting the new status quo.

The Commission hearing was not attended by local whites. It can be assumed that many whites in the town (a traditionally conservative stronghold) saw some Duduza victims testifying at public hearings broadcast on television. Their attitudes, like most whites in South Africa, are a mixture of "we did not know – how can you blame us" or the common "let us rather forget about the past". Some see the Commission as an ANC witch-hunt that is trying to destroy the credibility of the previous government.

Reconciliation is not an event. People cannot simply one day decide that they want to forgive and forget. Most of the victims in this community are committed to a process of reconciliation. They are not necessarily demanding vengeance. They are, at the same time, not simply willing to move ahead as if nothing happened. They demand to hear the truth and to be given time to consider it. They are often not willing to forgive unless the perpetrators show remorse and some form of reparation is offered.

Many victims were understandably bitter about their suffering – while many are willing to engage in a process of reconciliation. The [Commission] has played a part in engaging victims in examining and articulating their needs within a reconciliation process. It has however not done enough in meeting these needs or in facilitating a process through which these needs could be met.

Being promised some form of reparation and being given the opportunity to go on stage and tell their stories was a very powerful experience for many victims. They felt that they now had a voice. But this momentum has to be sustained. The organisational base for them to continue to be heard has only materialised in very few areas. For the reconciliation process to be carried through to some conclusion requires a victim engagement process that gives them space to articulate and voice their concerns. The [Commission] provided for a moment of opportunity, rather than sustained mobilisation. Other processes that allow for victims' (and perpetrators') concerns and interests to be articulated and addressed need to be developed and sustained at community level. Khulumani, which was initially active in the community, was not able to sustain its activities due to financial constraints.

The violence experienced in this community had a wide range of dimensions, and inflicted deep damage on numerous social relations. While the main dimension of the conflict may have been between the black oppressed population and the state, this conflict was fought in various covert ways which undermined

and co-opted sections of the population and created internal divisions that require dedicated attention. The young and the old, neighbours, different ethnic groups have been turned against each other. Different forms of suffering are given different levels of recognition and priority by the [Commission]. People were victimised in different ways and thus have different needs in terms of reparations and social and physical reconstruction. These different interests often compete with one another and can lead to new conflicts within the community.

One important division is that between the population and the political structures. Victims particularly seem to feel alienated from the political system. They don't feel that their needs are taken seriously by any of the political leaders. In extreme cases, victims see the political structures as perpetrator structures (representing the interests of amnesty applicants within their ranks). Thus, when the [Commission] consults with the community via the political structures it means (from this perspective) that they are consulting with the perpetrators and not the victims.

A longer-term reconciliation initiative would need to take the consultation process two steps further. It needs to engage with less developed community structures or networks that do not have a formal voice. Particularly in a community with a history of intense conflict, certain interest groups may not have organised and mobilised, because of fear and/or because of lack of resources. Unless there is assistance for the articulation of these interests, the process will not reach all sectors of the community.

Past conflicts have not disappeared. They have simply taken a new form. In some cases, the conflict entails almost exactly the same issues as in the past; it is simply the way that people pursue their incompatible goals that has changed. This leads to new alliances and new forms of mobilisation of support. Problems in leadership-follower relations have emerged as political leaders attempt to build a support base that is not simply geared at protest politics and which is not sustained by mass mobilisation. The ability of leaders to facilitate public participation processes is limited in this new era, and the public consequently feels that their elected leaders are out of touch or leave them in the dark.

New frustrations have thus emerged regarding old forms of representation, providing space for new political entrepreneurs to challenge the newly dominant political elite. Political entrepreneurs fan the resentments of the past to encourage suspicion and resentment of the existing local leadership. They draw in victims of past abuses (who generally feel neglected) as one element of their constituency.

The [Commission] process assisted in clarifying past conflicts characterising a limited period of our history. Future reconciliation initiatives must make the links between these divisions of the past and current community dynamics.

Victims are individuals with unique experiences and needs. Each victim has to go through a personal journey of dealing with the past. Similarly, each community has a unique history of conflict. There were common dimensions that happened all over the country, but the particular shape and intra-community dynamics took on many different forms. A reconciliation process needs to address these individual and community-specific histories.

One uniform national process is only capable of sketching a skeletal picture in broad terms. If left at that, it, in fact, is in danger of minimising the importance of dealing with particular issues when trying to squeeze the history of the community into [Commission] categories of meaning. A national process can draw attention to some of the dynamics and pressures that impact on a local community, but does not "explain" the local history.

Communities need to be engaged in creating their own agenda for reconciliation, and designing processes that allow local stakeholders to drive the process. The role of the [Commission] can help provide general models to communities regarding how the issue of past human rights abuses can be pursued in much greater depth.

Victims are not ready to engage in a reconciliation process unless they know more about what happened. They often say they are willing to forgive, but they need to know who to forgive and what they are forgiving them for. A willingness to reconcile is dependent on people's ability to cope with and process their knowledge of what had happened. While the past remains hidden, a reconciliation process proceeds on very shaky foundations. The [Commission] has contributed to some of this revealing, but many individual victims are still in the dark about the details of their specific cases.

Victims need to feel that they are no longer in the vulnerable position that they found themselves in at the time of the victimisation. They need to feel that they are now safe from abuses and that if the threat of re-victimisation arises, their pleas for protection will be attended to. These fears are often shaped by local community circumstances rather than the national political situation.

Victims need to have done some personal work in working through what happened to them before they are ready to engage in a reconciliation process. They need to have stopped trying to run away from their memories and accept them as part of who they are. They should feel that their lives

are no longer completely dominated by this experience. The availability of local, accessible mental health support services and victim support structures is crucial in facilitating this step.

Victims also need to perceive that there is a possibility that things could be different. They need to be able to imagine that society could change for the better, that the divisions of the past can be overcome, that people can co-exist without constant fear and hatred. A vision of a society that is based on different values of human interaction is essential in motivating people to take the risk of engaging in a reconciliation process.

Some of these issues (truth, empowerment, healing, and a vision of a new society) will never be completely resolved, and some will be extensively addressed by a reconciliation process. Before such a process starts, however, there needs to be some substantial progress in meeting some of these pre-conditions.

Reconciliation involves various stages of development and change. One essential step is dialogue between adversaries. The victim-oriented and perpetrator-oriented aspects of the Commission's work are broken into separate functions. Victims tell their stories in one forum and perpetrators in another. The interaction is thus often mediated purely by the media coverage of these events. While this may have been useful in providing safe space to engage them, or to maximise information gathering, the subsequent step of facilitating more direct dialogue still needs to be addressed.

For victims there is often a need to have personal interaction with the perpetrator. They want to be able to call that person(s) to account personally. They want to be able to relate their suffering and demand an explanation. Victims in other communities have reported a great sense of empowerment that goes with the ability to stand up to one's victimiser. Some perpetrators have also expressed a need to apologise to their victims. There is also a need to be able to humanise the relationship; to deny the categories and stereotypes that allowed the divisions of the past. The actual dialogue in Duda has, however, not yet started.

Reconciliation and individuals: registering one's individual commitment

- 131 To coincide with the national Day of Reconciliation and to mark the second anniversary of the establishment of the Commission, four 'Registers for Reconciliation' were opened in December 1997, one in each of the regional offices.

- 132 The idea of such a register had been discussed informally among Commissioners and crystallised during a radio 'phone-in programme, when listeners expressed a need for some way in which to articulate the regret and contrition they felt for past wrongs. Announcing the Register, the Commission said:

It has been established in response to a deep wish for reconciliation in the hearts of many South Africans; people who did not perhaps commit gross violations of human rights, but nevertheless wish to indicate their regret for failures in the past to do all they could have done to prevent such violations; people who want to demonstrate in some symbolic way their commitment to a new kind of future in which human rights abuses will not take place.

We know that many South Africans are ready and eager to turn away from a past history of division and discrimination. Guilt for wrongdoing needs to be translated into positive commitment to building a better society – the healthiest and most productive form of atonement.

- 133 Within a short time, dozens of people had come to the Commission offices to sign the Register, and even more used the Internet website to convey their messages. Many letters that were written to the Commission were also attached to the Register. The oft-repeated theme was regret for the past, thankful recognition of the changes that had taken place, and commitment to making a useful contribution to the future. Some of the messages were accompanied by donations to the President's Fund for Reparations. Many asked for forgiveness. Many expressed gratitude for the opportunity "of admitting how we feel publicly at last", to use the words of one contributor.
- 134 Commissioners discussed the Register with many other organisations, in the hope that the idea would take root and not be regarded solely as a Commission project. They encouraged churches and all religious denominations to offer a similar opportunity to their members, creating appropriate ceremonies. They also proposed that other ways of expanding the concept should be considered, possibly by municipalities where such a register might become a part of the history of the period of transformation in their region.
- 135 During such discussions, the challenging question was sometimes posed: "Is this Register not simply a way in which those who were privileged in the past can easily shed their guilt and feel that they have now done all that is required of them?" The answer is to be found in many of the entries themselves:

I can only say I chose not to know. I chose the safety of my own comfort over the pain of knowing... I raised my children with privilege, whilst those around me were deprived. I am so deeply sorry! And the opportunity to express this regret and offer apology does not unburden me. This privilege allows me to reach even further into my soul to express the remorse that I feel. It impels me to seek in my own small way to repair the damage to our people and our land caused not only by 'perpetrators', but also by us, the bystanders, in the tragedy of our past. It impels me also to rejoice in the present freedom to build a new and great South Africa.

It's not too late – yes, I could have done more in the past, could have been more courageous. I regret that I didn't. But now there is a new opportunity to commit to this country... to build respect for human rights, to help develop the country, to make the ideals enshrined in the constitution real.

EXAMPLES OF TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION INITIATIVES AS THE COMMISSION CLOSED

In the faith community: the CPSA in KwaZulu-Natal

Attempts are now being made to rectify these long-standing inequities within the life of our church. Black advancement into leadership roles has been significant, but still, within our church structures, we are significantly dependant on white skill and expertise which can easily look and feel like white power blocking the aspirations of black people. A transformation process is underway, spearheaded by a recently created black Anglican forum. This will promote and facilitate an adjustment process for the CPSA, as it moves into the new millennium, seeming to provide a new authenticity for our life together as a church, setting us free to be more truly African in the broadest sense, to engage in our mission and ministry in a more authentic incarnational way. Chairperson, this is one of the ways in which our denomination sees its commitment to the future of this country and this sub-continent. To be a transformed church under God, serving a transformed society. Central to that task will be our desire to contribute to a continuing process of healing and costly, not cheap, reconciliation. I speak as a church leader now in a province which has seen well over 15 000 politically motivated killings in a decade of traumatic transition. The healing of the resultant wounds, let alone the other wounds, which are the legacy of apartheid, will engage the faith communities and others for a long time to come. One of the things which the KwaZulu-Natal Leaders Group is planning for 1998, is a series of pastoral

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

In the health sector: a mini-Commission at the Faculty of Health Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand

- 136 At the health sector hearing in Cape Town, Professor Trevor Jenkins of the Medical Faculty of the University of the Witwatersrand spoke of his institution's commitment to a "mini-TRC [Commission] process":

For the [Commission] to be effective, to be fully effective, requires that the processes be taken into the places where people live and work and interact. We need, in fact, a mini-[Commission] in our institutions, and we believe that this mini-[Commission] process has already been triggered within our faculty in these last few weeks.

A great deal of hard work though, and creative thinking will undoubtedly be needed if members of the faculty are to be reconciled with one another. The privileged members of the faculty, who were not the victims of apartheid in the teaching hospital settings, must listen to the accounts of their black colleagues and former students. They must be reminded of the many ways in which they wittingly or unwittingly collaborated with the system. They must be prepared to experience and share some of the pain and hurts which their colleagues of colour experienced because of an accident of birth. In such a process, we believe we will all undergo changes and experience healing, and only

¹⁶ Bishop Michael Nuttall, faith communities hearing, East London, 17 November 1997.

then will the faculty be able to develop into a cohesive structure capable of producing well-trained health care professionals motivated to serve the South African community.

So, we can't really over-emphasise the importance of this submission being a beginning of a process which we are committing ourselves to pursue.

137 This commitment led to a formal announcement, on 5 May 1998, of a "programme of reconciliation" in the Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. The first element in this "internal reconciliation process" established by the Faculty Board is an Internal Reconciliation Commission (IRC).

138 The objectives of the IRC are:

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

139 To achieve these objectives, the IRC will collect archival material, obtain written and verbal reports from any interested parties, and publish a final report summarising the findings and recommendations.

140 The announcement by the Dean, Professor Max Price, expresses the hope that "this process and the ensuing report will lead to a public acknowledgement by the Faculty of its record of discrimination and collusion with apartheid and also its opposition to racist government policies, and will begin the reconciliation process within the Faculty and the *alumni*. It will feed into the Faculty's Equal Opportunities Programme which aims to redress past inequalities. And, it will also lead to recommendations for undergraduate teaching – to promote a human rights culture in health science graduates".

In the business sector:

141 The following example of a truth and reconciliation initiative in the business community is based on a report in *Business Day* newspaper by Mzwandile Jacks, on 28 May 1998:

Hearings Disclose Dorbyl's "Racist Past"

In May 1998, industrial holding company Dorbyl released a report by eight independent commissioners appointed two years ago "to conduct truth commission-style hearings and expose the group's past to public and employee scrutiny". The report identified past racism as a factor which continued to have a negative effect on staff morale and showed a lack of trust of management. Many of the complaints heard by the commission related to alleged unfair labour practices. Dorbyl Chief Executive Bill Cooper, who joined the company in 1994, said the process of conducting hearings showed aspects of the group's past of which present senior management was unaware. It is reported that Mr Cooper said: "We also learnt that practices of the past were still rampant in some Dorbyl operations".

As a result of this process, the group is reported to be in the process of establishing a body that will develop and debate new corporate policy. Mr Ketan Lakhani, the convenor of Dorbyl's transformation process, stated that most employees were open to change. "We convinced people that the commission was not a witchhunt but an effort to make the company more productive."

- 142 An editorial in the *Sowetan* newspaper on 29 May 1998 responded as follows to Dorbyl's initiative:

The principle that only a complete and truthful disclosure of past human rights abuses can guarantee lasting reconciliation is now well established. So too is the belief that the obligation to come clean on the past extends beyond our political institutions. To that extent, business, academic and religious institutions also have a responsibility to ensure they disclose the extent of their role in sustaining apartheid. Dorbyl has taken a commendable lead in this regard. Its readiness to investigate and expose its past will go a long way towards repairing relations with workers. It will also help workers reassess their views about management and Dorbyl's claimed commitment to the new political order.

Other enterprises must emulate Dorbyl's example. That will make a valuable contribution to the broader effort under way to construct a durable social partnership.

■ CONCLUSION

- 143 The work of the Commission dispels the “myth that things can be done with magic dust, to bring people together and then they just start working together. There are stages, actually, in reconciliation.”¹⁷ The following stages or signposts on the reconciliation road have been highlighted by this chapter:
- 144 Reconciliation does not come easily. It requires persistence. It takes time.
- 145 Reconciliation is based on respect for our common humanity.
- 146 Reconciliation involves a form of restorative justice which does not seek revenge, nor does it seek impunity. In restoring the perpetrator to society, a milieu needs to emerge within which he or she may contribute to the building of democracy, a culture of human rights and political stability.
- 147 The full disclosure of truth and an understanding of why violations took place encourage forgiveness.
- 148 Equally important is the readiness to accept responsibility for past human rights violations.
- 149 Reconciliation does not wipe away the memories of the past. Indeed, it is motivated by a form of memory that stresses the need to remember without debilitating pain, bitterness, revenge, fear or guilt. It understands the vital importance of learning from and redressing past violations for the sake of our shared present and our children’s future.
- 150 Reconciliation does not necessarily involve forgiveness. It does involve a minimum willingness to co-exist and work for the peaceful handling of continuing differences.
- 151 Reconciliation requires that all South Africans accept moral and political responsibility for nurturing a culture of human rights and democracy within which political and socio-economic conflicts are addressed both seriously and in a non-violent manner.
- 152 Reconciliation requires a commitment, especially by those who have benefited and continue to benefit from past discrimination, to the transformation of unjust inequalities and dehumanising poverty.

¹⁷ Canon Ben Photolo at the Reparation and Rehabilitation follow-up workshop in Sebokeng, 21 June 1997.

Minority Position

Submitted by Commissioner Wynand Malan

■ INTRODUCTION

- 1 We were seventeen individuals appointed by the President to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission). Although not representative of the South African society, we do come from different corners, so to speak, of our society. By definition, we had to have different understandings of our history and immediate past. We were differently exposed and therefore differently disposed. Even where we agreed on facts, their interpretation differed according to our various dispositions.
- 2 Because we see the world differently, in order to cope with it, we respond to it in different ways. We also represent a number of different value systems and empathise with other value systems. Simply stated, we understand some people better than we do others, and we relate better to some than to others.
- 3 At worst, we misrepresent each other. At best, we misunderstand each other, yet we are able to cope and live with each other. We do not necessarily love each other. We may not even like each other.
- 4 I was born towards the end of the Second World War, while my father was interned, "in detention without trial". I was born into the Afrikaner *Volk* and the National Party. I shared its history and its myths. Choice was not an option. During the interview by the panel that put forward the names of potential members to the President, I stated that I supported apartheid under Verwoerd as a moral option that I believed would lead away from domination and discrimination. It took me more than a decade to shed my (ideological) milk teeth, recognise inconsistencies in policy and cut my more permanent (political) teeth. I shifted from *Volk* to nation. Yet, when I entered politics, although my aim was nation, I entered the fold of the *Volk*. Only on looking back do I recognise elements of broader democratic choice. My politics expressed itself through the limited opportunities within the National Party. Only towards the mid-eighties, and then only through friends in struggle politics, did I begin to sense that a covert security 'policy' militated

against my understanding of the political policy of reform, aiming at a democratic dispensation. This sense came about mainly as a result of multiple discretionary detentions without trial of my friends. In their experiences, I recognised some of Afrikaner history.

- 5 When I left the National Party in January 1987, it was with agony, with pain. At the same time, it was with relief. In an atmosphere of a holy war, I positioned myself as part of both system and struggle, promoting both the necessity and reality of national unity. When the liberation movements were unbanned and negotiations started, I left politics in the sincere belief that a constitutional settlement was inevitable. I had no particular interest other than the well-being of the organism that was South Africa. Asked whether I could understand the right-wing Afrikaner, I responded that I had been there. Such is my disposition, my baggage. I wear it without pride or shame.

■ WHY A MINORITY POSITION?

- 6 The structure of the Commission was envisaged by the founding Act as an eighteen-month project with a clear three months to compile a report with recommendations to the President. No preparatory work was done. No infrastructure existed. No Commissioner was appointed because of any management expertise. We were all aware of the hugeness of the task and the urgency thereof. We hit the ground running. We did not plan our programme and scope of activities clearly. We initially agreed on an executive committee to plan and co-ordinate the Commission. For reasons that escaped my understanding, it was decided to abolish the executive on the grounds that it was *ultra vires* the Act. The deputy chair was mandated with overall planning and management responsibilities. In keeping with his responsibility, an outline for the report was prepared by a committee, with proposals for assigning different chapters to various authors, and the Research Department was given overall responsibility for its compilation. I had serious misgivings on both the principle and effect of submitting an outline for the report before we had reached a shared understanding of what we wanted to achieve, and before there had been some discussion on the analysis of data, which at that stage was in the early stages of being captured. The Commission accepted that discussion should precede drafts. A special meeting was arranged (facilitated by the head of Research and his staff) to discuss our understanding of the mandate and certain concepts and principles. This led to a process of drafts, lengthy discussions and positive interactions.

- 7 Our ever-expanding range of activities placed serious constraints on the time available. Meetings for discussion of the final report were often cancelled or reduced, yet we had to finish what we had set out to achieve. I give credit to the head of Research and his staff who tried their level best to facilitate discussions. Soon we fell back on a system of draft preparation followed by discussion, whilst at the same time working to meet the other requirements of the Act (victim findings, perpetrator findings, urgent interim reparation and amnesty hearings). Even reading of draft chapters became virtually impossible. We reverted to a committee system to read, discuss and recommend to the Commission the adoption of drafts. Of course, every Commissioner was entitled to attend and participate fully in any Committee discussion. However, since it was impossible even to read everything, the need to 'trust each other' became a recurrent theme. Of course we trust each other. But we can at best trust each other to reflect honestly our own narrow understandings and interpretations of information and data, not those of our fellow Commissioners. As I have already said, we all interpret facts to fit our various value systems.
- 8 As it is, various findings appear to me to display, if not a lack of understanding of, then certainly a lack of empathy with certain groups living within traditional or nationalistic value systems who were party to the conflict.
- 9 Furthermore, it became clear in plenary sessions for the adoption of the report that the discussions were based on the drafts, and the limited time for such discussion precluded any structural or philosophical change. The schedule for adoption and printing, determined by the lead times for editing by the Research Department and for the actual printing of the report, made any fundamental change impossible.
- 10 It followed that drafts virtually became final documents by default. Where already it had been impossible to read all, we now found it impossible even to check revised drafts, even though Commissioners had serious reservations on some of them. Speaking for myself and considering the sheer volume of this report, much of which I haven't read, it goes against the grain for me to endorse (or reject) what I am surely not prepared or able to defend after publication. I proposed a delay in finalising the report, with some support but ultimately without success. Publication will lead to some reaction that we might have been able to avoid.
- 11 We agreed that I should withdraw from plenary sessions to read as much as was possible and prepare a position within the body of the report. Even where I did not share the views expressed, I would comment for the sake of a clear and better understanding of such views.

- 12 I sincerely hope that we will be able to find a way to revisit this report in our supplementary report after completion of the amnesty process, and that this report can be viewed as preliminary. I hope damage will be limited. The public debate that will ensue will assist us. My signature attached to this report is my identification with the idea and process envisaged in the Act. It is not to be read as an endorsement of the content.
- 13 What follows should therefore be seen as an attempt to facilitate a debate, which is bound to continue, with the aim of further promoting the overarching goal of national unity.

■ NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION

- 14 National unity and reconciliation is to be understood as a single concept. Like the concept of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, it is a single idea. To think or to argue that there is no national unity without reconciliation and no reconciliation without truth would be to imply that the Commission has to achieve or pursue its mandate in stages. This is not the structure of the Act. It is not in keeping with the spirit of the postamble to the interim Constitution. The postamble posits the Constitution as the foundation for transcending division and strife. The postamble is in a sense eschatological in its essence. It posits the unity which is to be achieved, nurtured and promoted amidst all the different views and understandings.
- 15 It is against this background that I make a few observations on the mandate, concepts and principles as discussed in the report.

■ THE ROLE OF RELIGION

- 16 The danger of applying religious frames to phenomena in general should not be underestimated. I may as well comment briefly here on the use (or abuse) of religion in justifying apartheid thinking. The writings of Dr AP Treurnicht (then a man of the cloth) on the moral justification of apartheid, basing his whole argument on an exegesis of scriptures, are but an example. I learnt my politics in church, and much more of my religion in politics. And without going into any detail, I take a dim view of some clergy who, in their submissions on behalf of their institutions, confess their mistake of having trusted their political leaders too much or too unconditionally. It may well be said by some politicians, and with more credibility, that they uncritically accepted their religious leaders' (political) teachings of God's will.

- 17 Religions, by their nature, are most often essentially dogmatic and absolutist. The juxtaposition of forces of light and forces of darkness, good and evil is inherent to religious thought. Who will not recognise this in the rhetoric of the conflicts of the past? The imposition of this framework on the political scene was probably the single greatest contributor to the escalation of the conflict through the Commission's mandate period. The Bible was used not as canon but as cannon. Most gross violations were committed, as has often been testified, because of a belief in the justness of one cause and the evil of another.
- 18 Problems will never be solved at the level at which they are created. This is my main reservation about the structure of the report. The Act is far more advanced in terms of conflict resolution than is the frame of the report. The Act has as its focus gross human rights violations. The Act does not put apartheid on trial. It accepts that apartheid has been convicted by the negotiations at Kempton Park and executed by the adoption of our new Constitution. The Act charges the Commission to deal with gross human rights violations, with crimes both under apartheid law and present law. The Act does not ask us to deal with or expound on morality or ethics.
- 19 The Commission chose to take a moral-ethical approach, more by default than by design, and more so in its ongoing public statements than through its report. Publication of untested allegations rendered them public facts. It is widely believed, for instance, that the National Party government approved of a program to cause infertility to all black women by chemical means although, to the best of my knowledge, no corroborative evidence could be found and certainly no such finding has been made.
- 20 Apartheid had again to be found a crime against humanity. The judgement of a just struggle against an evil system had to be restated. There is no argument with this perspective from within the specific moral ethical frame. But the rhetoric does not take us beyond an endorsement of this one perspective on the conflicts of the past. It does not allow us to move beyond the level of dogma, of the absolute, to a level of politics, of the acceptance of politics with its different views and perspectives operating in civil society under and with acceptance of the processes set down by the Constitution.
- 21 There is no real historical evaluation of roles played by various actors. This is precluded by the moral-ethical approach. Whatever reservations people like FW de Klerk, Leon Wessels, Roelf Meyer and Pik Botha might have had, whatever

the moral imperative might have expected of them, one can but imagine what might have happened had they for moral reasons chosen a different political course of action during the reign of PW Botha. It is debatable whether we would have had our democracy by now, and one can only speculate about potential further escalation of the conflict.

- 22 It would serve us well to reframe and shift from good versus evil to good versus bad, where clearly even good has different meanings. This would allow us to get away from the absolutist to a frame of evaluation of policy, away from right versus wrong, from black versus white, to shades of grey.

■ TRUTH

- 23 Exaggeration is a natural consequence of human suffering. Often deponents were not present at the actual violations to which they testified and their stories were accounts of what they were told. They reflect oral history. They also reflect perspectives. Often deponents gave evidence in terms of their own understanding of what happened. Evidence was not tested. It was not intended to be tested. Except for a few statements, they were not even attested to under oath. Most deponents giving oral evidence, when taking the oath, made it clear that they would speak the truth “as they see it”.
- 24 This resulted in yet another debate in public across value systems. Those with strong minds raised their voices and criticised the Commission for accepting statements as fact without due testing.
- 25 The same problem arose with respect to information obtained through amnesty applications. Applicants generally downplayed their own roles in abuses. Because of the wording of the Act, applicants structured evidence to construct an order. While every application had to be dealt with on its own merit, all too often deceased individuals were implicated. The Amnesty Committee is not obliged to make a finding on implicated persons and seldom does. Implication may be blatantly false. It may also be an honest perspective, especially where there is reliance on implied rather than an explicit order from a superior authority. The same circumspection must be applied.
- 26 The interposition of extracts of such testimonies in the body of the report – where it deals with what *actually* happened and not with perspectives and understandings – poses a problem. We may have contributed to intensifying the debate by making

such interpositions. Awareness of this can ameliorate an otherwise useless and polarising debate on the work of the Commission and on our nation's past.

- 27 Even though the report offers a good exposition of different concepts of truth, especially of factual truth and narrative truth and then of social or interactive truth, the distinction is not sustained. In arriving at findings, all is accepted as evidence, an ingredient of the factual truth. If we ignore the frame of our various dispositions through which evidence reaches us, we lose the context of the multiplicity of truth, both in dimension and in perspective. Truth, reconciliation and national unity can only be understood within the concept of multiple truths. Our perspectives decide our realities. Different elevations of an object give different pictures. It is only by sharing perspectives, by accepting them as real, that we can develop some form of understanding. To pour history into a mould is to recreate the potential for conflict which our Constitution and politics since 1990 have largely removed. A shared understanding of our history requires an understanding of different perspectives, not the building of a new national myth. Presenting 'the truth' as a one-dimensional finding is a continuation of the old frame. Nothing changes, sometimes not even content.
- 28 There is no denying the role of racism in the conflict, but to acknowledge the perspective of a cold war, of the threat of international communism, of nationalism, and then to find that the motivating force was racism, is a negation of all the former, a contradiction in terms, an arrival at a single truth again, not in the least conducive to reconciliation and national unity.

■ RECONCILIATION

- 29 Much has been made of the need to reconcile victims and perpetrators of gross human rights violations. However important this may be to individuals, the work and experience of the Commission has revealed how remote this ideal is, certainly as far as any significant numbers are concerned. Unfortunately, expectations of particular behaviour, determined by a religious frame, were once again imposed on communities seen as actors in the conflict.
- 30 The religious conversion model of confession, repentance and forgiveness is by the very dogma of religion at the level of the very personal, of the individual as against his or her God or offended neighbour. There is no short cut. Yet with regard to the crime of apartheid (and its evils), there was much rhetoric about how whites or Afrikaners should acknowledge the violations, accept the responsibility,

apologise to blacks and experience the liberation of their forgiveness. The religious paradigm is tendered as a solution for our ills. There is a call for representative confession, repentance and forgiveness. Experience shows that, despite “hand-some apologies” by leaders in virtually every sphere of Afrikaner society, there are continued calls for an Afrikaner leader to stand up and apologise in order to experience the level and extent of black readiness to forgive.

- 31 National unity accepts different communities, accepts different cultures, accepts different value systems, accepts different religions, and even accepts different histories, provided there is some shared history. The work and activities of the Commission will certainly contribute to the further development of a shared history. However, such a history cannot be force-fed.
- 32 Reconciliation is built on a mutual understanding and acceptance of these differences and a capacity of people to manage conflict and live with others.
- 33 National unity and reconciliation calls for a commitment to share a future and for each, in his or her own way, to build towards that future. It calls for a commitment to respect law and the procedures and processes laid down by the Constitution. All of this already exists. It may be a fledgling, but it exists. It can only be enhanced.
- 34 If we can arrive at a position where we simply acknowledge the conflicts of the past (as required by the Act), recognising that there were perpetrators and victims of gross human rights violations in these conflicts, we will have advanced some way towards national unity. If we can reframe our history to include both perpetrators and victims as victims of the ultimate perpetrator – namely, the conflict of the past, we will have fully achieved unity and reconciliation and an awareness of the real threat to our future – which is a dogmatic or ideological division that polarises the nation instead of promoting genuine political activity. Somewhere down the line, we must succeed in integrating, through political engagement, all our histories, in order to discontinue the battles of the past. As with the negotiations that preceded the elections and the drafting of the Constitution, our understanding of history must accommodate all interpretations of the past. If we fail in this regard, we will fail to be a nation.

■ AMNESTY

- 35 The provisions for amnesty in the interim Constitution came at the very end of the negotiations. They followed in the wake of provisions for first temporary and

later permanent indemnity, sealing the negotiated settlement. They moved us away from strife and towards understanding, towards forgiveness (by the state) and away from vengeance. They endorsed our reconciliation and national unity after decades, centuries of strife. So we are faced with a paradox: The disclosure of sometimes horrendous deeds, crimes, gross violations of human rights, committed with political motive under an old order, to be followed by a joyous reintegration into society within a new order of the perpetrator of those self-same deeds. This is seeing both the deed and the doer and severing them from each other. This is part of restorative justice. This is part of the spirit of *ubuntu*. It is part of the restoration of the organism that is our nation South Africa.

Victims

- 36 There is a second leg to restorative justice as intended by the Act. This involves the state acknowledging violations committed against victims. The restoration of their dignity is to an extent an unhappy choice of words. It is a legal concept. Victims carried themselves with dignity, even when they broke down. In its deepest sense, human dignity cannot be bestowed on someone. The 'reforming' old order failed to understand that human dignity always exists. It cannot be bequeathed. It can only be acknowledged.
- 37 The process allowed victims to be reintegrated into society. In hearings, victims often approached the Commission almost in a foetal position as they came to take their seats and relate their stories. They told their stories as they saw them, as they experienced them, as they perceived what had happened to them. And as they left their seats, the image was wholly different. They walked tall. They were reintegrated into their community. They could re-assume their roles in society; they could manage themselves and the world around them again. They were healthy cells of the national organism. This too is restorative justice. This too is the spirit of *ubuntu*.
- 38 The challenge to our society is to receive the successful amnesty applicants joyously as an integral and healthy part of our society. It is also to acknowledge the (former) victims as healthy individuals with their own roles and the capacity to manage themselves.
- 39 Our natural responses are to maintain respectively aversion and pity – equally damaging to the individuals and to our nation.

■ APARTHEID FROM YET ANOTHER ANGLE

- 40 The structure of apartheid policy as it emerged in the political system of our country is discussed elsewhere in the report. It originated and developed as a result of different influences over at least a century. Some examples are quoted in the report. I highlight and add a few to widen the context and understanding:
- a The unchecked reign, for many decades, of colonialism, which is concomitant with exploitation and disruption of cultures, customs and mindsets, and operated as a closed system without real access for indigenous people to the worlds and structures of the colonising powers;
 - b The influence of British Empire politics, especially under Rhodes;
 - c The reactive phenomenon of Afrikaner Nationalism, which created its own myths and history of an Afrikaner people dating back to their founding with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 (purely to facilitate trade), with a mission from God to evangelise Africa as His chosen people, seen as a parallel with Israel. Amnesty hearings of right-wing applicants showed ample evidence of remnants of this frame of mind, continuing right up to the end of the Commission's mandate period.
 - d The depression of the 1930s, poverty and, more specifically, the 'poor white' question;
 - e The development of the legal structures of apartheid from 1948 to the late 1950s coinciding with the last days of colonialism and the civil rights struggle in the United States;
 - f The launch by Dr Verwoerd of a change in policy, with a deepening of ideology, at the time of *uhuru* and decolonialisation, and especially after the "Winds of Change" speech by Harold Macmillan, then British Prime Minister. Arguing that discrimination and domination were indefensible, the new policy introduced the concept of partition to create a framework of independent nations, super-imposing the nationalistic perspective on African ethnic groupings. What is seldom appreciated is that it is virtually impossible for the ideological mind to view the world in a frame of reference other than its own. The system of ethnic nation states was perceived as a moral way out for the post-colonial ruling elite.

g As with all ideologies, practice could not be made to fit theory. Those homelands that became independent found themselves with democratic constitutions conflicting with traditional value systems, with their hierarchies and customs. Conflict with existing and emerging democratic forces continued and escalated.

■ APARTHEID'S SHIFT TO SECURITY RULE

- 41 Security legislation, initially adopted in the early 1960s, and vesting ever-increasing discretionary emergency powers, became institutionalised, both in South Africa and in the homelands.
- 42 By the late 1970s, it was clear to most in power that the policy framework was inadequate, that it was simply not working, and a policy of reform developed. The purpose of the new approach was clearly to attain stability and political accommodation, but there was no frame within which this was to be achieved.
- 43 The 1980s were marked by the dismantling of the structures of apartheid built during the 1950s. Whether this was a result of reform or collapse, or a combination of the two factors, is a matter of opinion.
- 44 The Tricameral Parliament, with its total exclusion of black Africans, led to spiralling conflict. The politics of the ruling party proved totally inadequate to deal with the demands flowing from the emergence of the United Democratic Front. Further emergency powers were conferred on the government.
- 45 From evidence that emerged during the life of the Commission, it is clear that activists were being abducted and killed under the protection of emergency legislation and regulations. This coincided with policy changes by the liberation movements with regard to legitimate targets, which led to attacks on community councillors, police, landmines, the killing of so-called collaborators generally and the phenomenon of necklacing. What fed on what during this stage of upward spiralling of the conflict will also remain a matter of opinion and debate.
- 46 The assassination of activists is distinguished from gross human rights violations committed in the name or on behalf of the liberation movements by its clandestine nature. It did not happen in the public domain of the ruling party's body politic. The sense of horror and even betrayal expressed by the support base of the National Party and most of its leadership and even by the body politic of the then system politics in response to the revelations, is a strong indication of a

secret agenda or agendas. Neither the government nor the state or any of its operatives ever accepted responsibility for the assassinations.

- 47 Everything points to some measure of license given to or assumed by some within security and intelligence agencies. Actions by this establishment clearly militated against the efforts of (some) politicians of reform.
- 48 Amnesty applications have already shown the cover-up of some of these activities by superiors. The question of the (level of) involvement of politicians and senior officials is at issue. We failed to address this matter adequately. There are several reasons for this.
- 49 In my opinion, the first reason is that, against the backdrop of apartheid as a crime against humanity, the dominant perception within the Commission, at least sub-consciously, was of a criminal state.
- 50 Secondly, there was clearly some agreement to treat former President PW Botha differently – not to involve him directly in the processes of the Commission. Consequently, vital understandings of his mind and his perceptions were lost to the Commission. His written responses to questions came too late for proper analysis and integration into our understanding of the conflicts of the past. Questions that needed to be asked were lost in the subsequent legal tussles.
- 51 Thirdly, the chickens of the myths of Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaner unity came home to roost. There was very little understanding of the struggle experienced within the Afrikaner. The Afrikaner and the state were approached as a single entity. When the National Party was recalled to the Commission, FW de Klerk was asked to account for the commissioning of assassinations. As an active politician and symbol of the old order, he was seen as fair game. Collective cabinet responsibility under Botha was interpreted as the collective intent of his government.
- 52 We as Commissioners made the mistake of not looking for simplicity on the other side of complexity. We simply stepped into the trap created by the myths of Afrikaner nationalism.
- 53 It is extremely difficult to believe that some operatives could get away for so long without some kind of shielding by at least some of their superiors and at least some politicians in government. At the same time, it is not at all plausible to assume a grand conspiracy of all members of government and senior bureaucrats, let alone by the National Party or the Afrikaner.

- 54 The question of whether and where such a shield existed unfortunately remains unanswered. Further amnesty applications may shed some light on the subject, which could be included in the further report on completion of the amnesty process.

■ THE PERIOD 1990 TO 1994

- 55 The period 1990 to 1994 is characterised in policy terms as one of negotiation towards a Constitution based on the principle of universal adult franchise. Even to suggest that the government had a secret agenda of human rights violations during this period would border on lunacy. To depict De Klerk as having had a double agenda or even, given his track record, of covering up, would be an injustice to him.
- 56 Gross human rights violations continued during this period, and may even have increased; though their nature changed. Conflict continues in parts of the country to this day, which strongly suggests that it would be an over-simplification to ascribe the conflicts of the past only to institutional structures.

■ APARTHEID AS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

- 57 There is little room for debate that apartheid has been found by instruments of the international community to be a crime against humanity. The report, in its appendix to the chapter on *The Mandate* in Volume One, adequately addresses this issue. However, it needs to be further contextualised.
- 58 I have already alluded to the fact that apartheid policy from 1948 to 1960 was applied alongside the practices of colonialism. Measured by the contemporary yardstick of international human rights, it always was a crime against humanity. Slavery is a crime against humanity. Yet Paul, in his letters to the Ephesians and Colossians, is uncritical of the institution and discusses the duties of slaves and their masters. Given a different international balance of power, colonialism too might have been found a crime against humanity. Yet apartheid was first declared a crime against humanity by the United Nations General Assembly in 1973 – and not unanimously so. Moral imperatives are phenomena of their times and locations.
- 59 The Commission does not make any major contribution by again finding apartheid to be a crime against humanity. No doubt, it contributes to the needs and agendas

of human rights organisations and the cause of a human rights culture in general by highlighting what is now trite international law.

- 60 The question is whether such an unqualified finding does not create a double-edged sword in terms of the objectives of national unity and reconciliation. While the endorsement of a position in international law may contribute to national unity, it can as easily be divisive if separated from its historical context. This was the subject of debate within the Commission.
- 61 The permanent International Criminal Court has recently been established. Within its jurisdiction is the trying of crimes against humanity. There are efforts to have apartheid and apartheid crimes tried at this forum. The Commission is not prepared to recommend that the court's powers be limited with respect to prosecution of apartheid as a crime against humanity and to past apartheid crimes.
- 62 In terms of conventions on apartheid as a crime against humanity, those who were functionaries of the system, politicians and bureaucrats alike, are considered criminals. Our government has already publicly taken a position against conferring such jurisdiction on the Court. The Commission would not take a position.
- 63 All gross human rights violations as defined in the Act constituted crimes under the laws that operated during the apartheid years, and as such may well be tried locally. Further, international law does not provide for the granting of amnesty for a crime against humanity. If international law were to be applied, the Commission might as well never have been established. I do not have to elaborate on consequences.
- 64 It is stated in the report that apartheid cannot be likened to genocide. By association, though, comparison continues. The question should seriously be asked whether an investigation of apartheid under international law would have any present or future legal or political value. While genocide remains a potential threat in many societies, apartheid as a system is dead and buried forever.
- 65 There is a certain wisdom in politics; so too in international politics. No tribunal was ever set up to try apartheid or apartheid crimes. It is unlikely that the international community will now override local political positions. The folly of doing so needs to be placed on record. It was a major disappointment to me that the Commission, primarily because of resistance of some Commissioners, would not support this proposal. At the time of writing this contribution, it has come to

my notice that a fellow Commissioner has again formulated a proposal along these lines. The outcome is not yet known.

■ ON VALUE SYSTEMS AND A HUMAN RIGHTS CULTURE

- 66 I have been made aware again of the different value systems operating in different segments of our society. They transcend divisions of race, gender, ethnicity, religion and region, although some value systems seem to be more dominant in some communities than in others.
- 67 Conflict between value systems cannot be resolved through rigid and dogmatic enforcement of one at the expense of others. Often it cannot be resolved at all. Not only does the Constitution wisely account for this fact, but the political leaders of our country are also showing, in word and deed, great sensitivity to this reality. Such conflict can at best be managed. Paradigm shifts in value systems do not happen through debate but through exposure. In this sense, a value system is probably best described as a framework, a set of coping mechanisms, survival mechanisms for responding to your world as you see it.
- 68 Our Constitution, based on a democratic order, even entrenching human rights values, acknowledges the reality of traditional value systems and has regard for traditional leadership.
- 69 Democratic systems, for example, are by definition threatening to traditional systems, where leadership is determined by heredity and not by elections. Hierarchies are intrinsic to their existence. The concepts of merit, ethics and morality are very differently understood and judged.
- 70 The simultaneous operation of different value systems in society calls for wise systemic management if we want to promote a human rights culture at all. Of course, one can always measure another by one's own value system. Invariably the other will be found wanting.
- 71 Promoting a human rights culture does not mean, at least to my mind, the moral judgement of others, especially if they do not share your mindset. As I have often said in the immediate past, I find moralising, if not counter-productive to reconciliation and national unity, offensive to my taste.

- 72 The task of the Commission, amongst others, is to report on the motives and perspectives of perpetrators and on the perspectives of victims. The draft chapter prepared for the Commission on this subject addresses the issue with much understanding and empathy, but in a general way and without an analysis of data. Perspectives quoted are used as examples. As in many other instances, the author had to draw primarily on theory and secondary sources.
- 73 I mention this aspect because I fear that the ensuing public debate will do very little to change structures of thinking, of the very value systems that caused the conflict. It is important to identify communities, operating social systems and geographies if society itself is to have a better understanding and awareness of underlying causes of conflict, which may have nothing to do with apartheid. Apartheid is no longer a threat. It will never be fashionable again. It will not rise from the dead. It was the content of an ideological mindset. Different ideologies, or even different rigidly enforced dogmas, may create similar threats to unity and reconciliation, to peace and stability, to survival itself. Small things may trigger major conflicts. They may well give rise to apparently unlikely and very violent alliances. "Value systems of a feather stick together." Our immediate past bears testimony to this adapted adage.

■ HUMAN RIGHTS CULTURE

- 74 Because of the subject matter of the Commission's task and the focus on gross human rights violations, it is natural to focus on so-called liberal human rights, to the extent that issues such as unemployment, poverty and illiteracy are seen merely as phenomena in our society. Both in our Constitution and in international human rights instruments, certain rights are acknowledged and extrapolated from these phenomena. All who promote a human rights culture need to understand that social rights are indeed rights. Social rights are not passive. They are not, as liberal human rights have been characterised, prohibitive. They are active. Historically, it is the responsibility of government to actualise these rights through its policies. The report does mention the need to address these phenomena for the sake of national unity and reconciliation. However, policy measures and action plans adopted by authorities are by definition threatening to the liberal mindset. It is therefore necessary to promote discussion in the more affluent liberal rights society of all races, genders and religions, to integrate these social rights into their perception of rights. This has always presented a crisis to such thinking. But crises deepened may trigger paradigm shifts, and what is foreign and threatening may thus become integrated. Where the private sector acknowledges

these phenomena, they may become agendas for their resolution. This is the sigh of social rights protagonists. It is the culture underlying many of the speeches of government representatives. Can liberal society make it its agenda? If it does not do so, liberal human rights will remain an obstacle to the actualisation of social human rights.

- 75 The same approach can be adopted with regard to the so-called group rights of culture, language and self-determination, all integrated into society, with a view not to separation but to unity and reconciliation. As with traditionalism, the group phenomena were also acknowledged by the fathers of our Constitution, both in the chapter on human rights and in its provisions for deliberations in the *Volkstaatraad*.
- 76 Managing these conflicting mindsets calls for a 'both and' approach, very seldom an 'either/or' approach. Our politicians presently have a good gut feel for this need. However much energy it may demand, we should be wary of making exclusive choices without optimum accommodation of basic value system needs.
- 77 Lastly, all human rights have to be translated into rules, into dos and don'ts. That is a function of law and regulation. We need to know in simple terms what we must and must not do. Law must then be enforced. And if people comply with the law and live within the law, they are better left alone. They do not have to be made to like it or to observe it for any other reason than the reasons they themselves may choose.

■ RECOMMENDATIONS

Reparation and rehabilitation policy

- 78 I believe the individual reparation grant structured as cash payment to be unwise. It does not distinguish on the basis of either the harm suffered or the needs of individuals. While the expressed or implied purpose is that victims should be using such cash grants to take care of the needs flowing from the harm suffered, the real risk exists that other interests may weigh more. The argument that they should be free to choose how they use the grant sounds plausible at face value. It does not limit the risk, though, that real needs may become or continue to be a burden on the state. It does not take into account that a sizeable number of victims have not suffered any harm other than a wrongdoing or have since fully recovered, whether from emotional or physical suffering. On the other side, some individuals suffered immense physical or psychological harm, much of which is permanent,

and these are in need of ongoing treatment. The individual grants to victims as reparation should not be used to address the much wider phenomenon of poverty. Injection of larger sums of cash into poverty-stricken communities may cause friction and eventually not benefit the individual as intended.

- 79 I recommend that government considers a formula that allows for a multi-layered approach on the basis of affordability to the state. The first leg can be a lesser cash grant to acknowledge the wrongdoing to every individual. It will affirm the finding of victim status. Second, government can render services for all ongoing needs of victims that resulted from the violations suffered. This will include all medical or appropriate psychological treatment and could also include measures such as special housing subsidies or subsidised loans for housing materials where the violation suffered involved the loss of housing. It could include exemption from school fees for children where the breadwinner was lost to the family. No clear data is available yet, but an analysis of application forms may be able to give an estimate of the cost to the state of such an approach. In short, a needs-based policy would be the best approach and an assessment can be made as to the ability of the state to provide necessary services. Priority access to specific services can be arranged simply through the issuing of some form of identification.

Gross violations of human rights committed outside the borders of South Africa

- 80 The amnesty applications elicited by the amnesty provisions in the founding Act were the main source of information on gross human rights violations committed, the main source of our knowledge of what actually happened. Most of our investigations followed up on this information. A source of frustration to the investigation unit and the Commission in general was the refusal by some applicants or would-be applicants to disclose information on cross-border operations, because of the threat of extradition to and prosecution in other countries. In this regard, the provisions have failed the objective.
- 81 I believe that we cannot leave this issue unresolved. To 'allow the law to take its course' in this respect will spell disaster in capital letters. Most of these operations were carried out by operatives of the former South African Defence Force. Its senior officers, a large number of them now retired, attested to their loyalty to the country and its constitution. They have now accepted the new power realities brought about by the new Constitution. The South African National Defence Force

is presently one of the major guarantors of stability in our country and is, by all accounts, is one of the more successful examples of integration and transformation in our society. It is one of our more disciplined instruments. Even a hint of persecution of retired and serving officers may result in a risk of major destabilisation.

- 82 It is recommended that the President urgently place the subject on the agenda of the Southern African Development Community for attention and resolution. I deliberately refrain from making any suggestions as to how this matter may be pursued further.

On amnesty

- 83 It is premature to make any specific recommendation regarding amnesty before completion of the process. However, I will fail my conscience if I do not comment on a matter of my own experience relating to some applications refused, for example (and only as an example), for some actions by members of self-defence units which would never have occurred had it not been for the nature of the conflict, yet which fall outside the ambit of the provisions of the Act. One cannot help but feel that many would never have been criminals and that the imprisonment of some such individuals does not serve the interests of either the individuals concerned or that of society as a whole. Where prosecutions are pending, the courts can still consider such factors when passing sentence. Where unsuccessful applicants are serving long-term sentences, it is a totally different story.
- 84 I struggled with the question of whether to refer to this matter before the completion of the amnesty process. Silence may, however, cause injustice to such persons, given a global perspective. I simply raise the possibility of an inter-departmental committee to consider the issue with a view to devising some kind of special parole procedure where appropriate.

The need for closure

- 85 Recommendations for the establishment of special units to follow up on the uncompleted work of the Investigation Unit, in particular to investigate gross human rights violations that resulted from the political conflicts on the past, should be resisted. Such action would militate against the spirit of understanding, the transcending of the divisions of the past, against bringing to close a chapter in our history. It would negate the spirit of the agreement that gave us our democracy. It is a very sensitive issue that requires great wisdom. It would be politically

unfeasible to prosecute all those who committed gross human rights violations in the course of the liberation struggle and who failed to apply for amnesty. In consequence, the principle of even-handed treatment of perpetrators across the spectrum would be negated. One-sided prosecutions would send a message of amnesty first, Nuremberg second. The counter-argument is one of promoting a culture of impunity. It is as thin an argument as was the initial argument against amnesty. Criminal investigations of violations that do not stand the test of political motivation and thus fall outside the provisions of the Act may well proceed – should indeed proceed. Such investigations are, however, best left to existing structures of state. We need to reach a stage where we can clear our desks of the past without having to clear our memory. We can certainly do without agendas of the past to keep us from forgetting.

Analysis of data, research and public discussion

- 86 A qualitative analysis of the data that has been collected, especially from victim statements and testimonies or through the amnesty process, would have made a very valuable contribution to a better understanding of our society and the underlying endemic risks of the conflicts of the past repeating themselves in different forms. Unfortunately, we have not been able to undertake such an analysis.
- 87 It is recommended that institutions of learning and research, the private sector and civil society promote research programmes aimed at qualitative analysis of the data. It is further recommended that special sponsorships be made available for research programs aimed at a better understanding of the interaction of the different conflicting value systems in our society, and the management of such interaction towards further promotion of national unity and reconciliation.

■ ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- 88 At the outset, I accepted on principle the integrity of my fellow Commissioners. This was largely confirmed by my experience in practice, despite heavy argument and disagreement, sometimes ending in agreement. I have little doubt that other members will have had the same experience with their various colleagues. Some interpersonal relationships developed that I will always appreciate.
- 89 The chair of the Commission, Archbishop Tutu, has no equal when it comes to the acceptance of his *bona fides*, even where people may almost violently disagree

with him. The value of the symbolism of his chairing the Commission cannot be overstated. I wish him health and peace.

- 90 Dr Biki Minyuku was to me a pillar of reassurance of control, with a work ethic, if matched, not surpassed.
- 91 Special thanks too, to the director of research, Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, for stimulating personal interaction and debate and for his efforts to promote similar opportunities within the Commission. How he coped with the responsibility of the compilation of the report, I will never understand.
- 92 Lastly, my appreciation to the President for having appointed me to the Commission. It is an honour and a privilege. It is not often a pleasure.

Response of the Commission

to the Minority Position of Commissioner Wynand Malan

- 1 The Commission finds it regrettable that Commissioner Wynand Malan decided to withdraw midway through the process of discussion and drafting of the Commission's report and eventually to formulate a Minority Position. We regard it as a particular drawback that he declined the opportunity of debating its contents within the Commission, as happened with every other section of the report, or of exploring the possibility of incorporating his position within the appropriate sections of the report itself. Our regret lies in the fact that, by so doing, he deprived both himself and the rest of the Commission of the opportunity of benefiting from the wholesome process of debating and considering the issues raised in the Minority Position and their possible impact on the report. It should be mentioned that, in our experience, the entire report has been enormously enriched by this process of debate and the impact of many perspectives within the Commission. The Commission has, however, been steadfast in its commitment to creating the opportunity for all shades of opinions and views to be fully expressed within the context of the Commission's process as a vital part of its overall objectives. It is in this spirit that we approach the Minority Position expressed by Commissioner Malan.
- 2 It is informative to restate the provisions of sections 4(e) and (h) of Act 34 of 1995 (the Act) which guided the Commission in preparing its report :

4. Functions of Commission – The functions of the Commission shall be to achieve its objectives, and to that end the Commission shall –

(e) prepare a comprehensive report which sets out its activities and findings, based on factual and objective information and evidence collected or received by it or placed at its disposal;

(h) make recommendations to the President with regard to the creation of institutions conducive to a stable and fair society and the institutional, administrative and legislative measures which should be taken or introduced in order to prevent the commission of violations of human rights.

- 3 The general approach applicable to the work of the Commission, as set out below in the provisions of sections 36(1) and 36(5)(a) of the Act, was consistently followed by those Commissioners who prepared the report:

36. Independence of Commission –

(1) The Commission, its commissioners and every member of its staff shall function without political or other bias or interference and shall, unless this Act expressly otherwise provides, be independent and separate from any party, government, administration, or any other functionary or body directly or indirectly representing the interests of any such entity.

(5) Every commissioner and member of a committee shall–

(a) notwithstanding any personal opinion, preference or party affiliation, serve impartially and independently and perform his or her duties in good faith and without fear, favour, bias or prejudice.

- 4 We have some difficulty in responding effectively to the Minority Position of Commissioner Malan, in that it purports to deal with the Commission's report in general terms without raising concrete cases or joining issue with specific portions of the report. It is drafted in subjective terms and apparently from the perspective of an erstwhile member of the parliamentary caucus of the then ruling National Party at the height of apartheid. This emphasis, and the personal historical and political account set out by Commissioner Malan, is most unfortunate and even inappropriate in the context of the Commission's statutory framework.
- 5 Although we agree with Commissioner's Malan's observation that Commissioners "come from different corners, so to speak, of our society", we interpreted our statutory mandate as requiring us to rise above this subjective diversity and execute the duties imposed upon us professionally and strictly in accordance with our mandate, despite our subjective views on specific issues. Where there is an irreconcilable conflict between a Commissioner's statutory duty and the dictates of his/her conscience, the proper course would be to resign from the Commission. All Commissioners accepted this reality when they assumed office.
- 6 We deem it inappropriate to debate the host of personal opinions and subjective views set out in the Minority Position. These are strictly irrelevant to the report in view of the provisions of section 4(e) of the Act and, in any event, in many instances

do not relate to the content of the report. We do, however, feel compelled to rectify a number of factual inaccuracies which tend to misrepresent the Commission process.

- 7 We accordingly proceed to deal with some of these instances.
- 8 It needs to be emphasised that the process of writing the report commenced during 1997 after full discussion and agreement was reached within the Commission on the approach to be followed. As much time as circumstances permitted was allowed and allocated to the report writing process which was always regarded within the Commission as being of vital importance. All of the Commissioners were compelled to create sufficient time within extremely busy schedules to engage in the report writing process. We are satisfied that sufficient opportunity was created for all Commissioners, if they so wished, to participate to the fullest extent possible in writing the report.
- 9 Appropriate structures and persons within the Commission were mandated to prepare drafts of various sections within the report to serve as a basis for discussion. These drafts were by no means binding on the Commission or any commissioner. In practice, the majority of these drafts were substantially re-worked from time to time in the light of the debates within the Commission.
- 10 We are accordingly satisfied that the report gives a full and comprehensive account of all the work and activities of the Commission up to the point of its publication, in accordance with our statutory obligations. There is no basis whatsoever for regarding the report as “preliminary” or subject to revisiting in any subsequent reports.
- 11 We find Commissioner Malan’s characterisation of the testimony of witnesses in human rights violation hearings as largely influenced by exaggeration or in terms of their own understanding of what happened, to be impertinent and startlingly inappropriate. This attitude exhibits a total lack of appreciation of or sensitivity to the situation of victims of gross violations of human rights or the duties of the Commission as set out in section 11 of the Act, in particular to treat victims with compassion and respect for their dignity. We dispute the allegation that “most deponents giving oral evidence, when taking the oath, made it clear that they would speak the truth ‘as they see it’ ”. This is an unfounded generalisation. Quite significantly, no details or examples are given to substantiate this sweeping statement.

- 12 All findings were made on duly corroborated evidence and were made only after all parties who were adversely affected had been given adequate opportunity to respond, and all responses have been duly considered. The suggestion that, in making findings, the Commission relied upon improper material as “evidence” and failed to maintain the distinction between various “concepts of truth” is based on a complete lack of understanding of the findings process. As mentioned earlier, Commissioner Malan chose to withdraw from participating in certain of the Commission’s activities concerning finalisation of the report.
- 13 We note the views expressed regarding the influence of religion upon the reconciliation debate. In view of the fact that this is not linked to the content of the Commission report, we refrain from responding to this aspect. However, to the extent that this might amount to an attempt to criticise the approach or personal views and beliefs of members of the Commission, or to articulate some imagined attack upon Afrikaner leaders, it is deplored.
- 14 These are some of the aspects that need to be placed in proper perspective. On the whole, it is our view that Commissioner Malan’s failure to participate fully in the report writing process resulted in some misunderstanding of, and a lack of information about, the process itself and the content of the report. Some of the views he expressed relate to drafts rather than to the final version of the report. Most of this could have been avoided through discussion and contact with the Commission.
- 15 On the other hand, some of the aspects raised in the Minority Position are helpful and constructive and ought, in our view, to have been included in the body of the report. We can refer by way of example to the various influences listed under the heading “Apartheid from yet another angle” and to the recommendations concerning the analysis of data and research.
- 16 In conclusion, we wish to state that, although we question the wisdom of the course of action decided upon by Commissioner Malan, we remain appreciative of his contribution towards the Commission process and of the fact that he has shared a challenging mandate with the rest of us, often under trying circumstances.

VOLUME SIX

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



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Foreword by Archbishop Desmond Tutu

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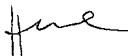
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The codicil to the report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was presented by the Commissioners to State President Thabo Mbeki on 21st March 2003.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Chairperson



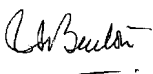
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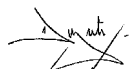
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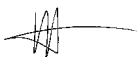
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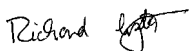
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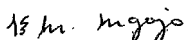
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■ FOREWORD BY ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU

This Report is the culmination of a remarkable effort by extraordinary people, and I want to begin by paying a warm tribute to the Commission's staff, committee members and commissioners. At this time in particular, we give thanks for those staff who, under the direction of Commissioners Hlengiwe Mkhize, Denzil Potgieter and Yasmin Sooka, have given such meticulous attention to bringing the project to finality, to the extent of providing us with summaries of the cases of some twenty thousand people declared to have suffered gross human rights violations in the period between 1960 and our first democratic election. We owe a very great debt of gratitude to Sue de Villiers who, with her editorial colleagues, working under considerable pressure, did wonders to produce this codicil on time. Thank you, thank you. It has been an incredible privilege for those of us who served the Commission to preside over the process of healing a traumatized and wounded people.

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

We hope that the completion of the Commission's Report brings a measure of closure to the process. I regret that at the time of writing we owe so much by way of reparations to those who have been declared victims. The healing of those who came to us does hinge on their receiving more substantial reparations and I would be very deeply distressed if our country were to let down those who had the magnanimity and generosity of spirit to reveal their pain in public. I appeal to the Government that we meet this solemn obligation and responsibility, and I should like to express appreciation that the Minister of Finance has made it clear that he still regards reparations as unfinished business.

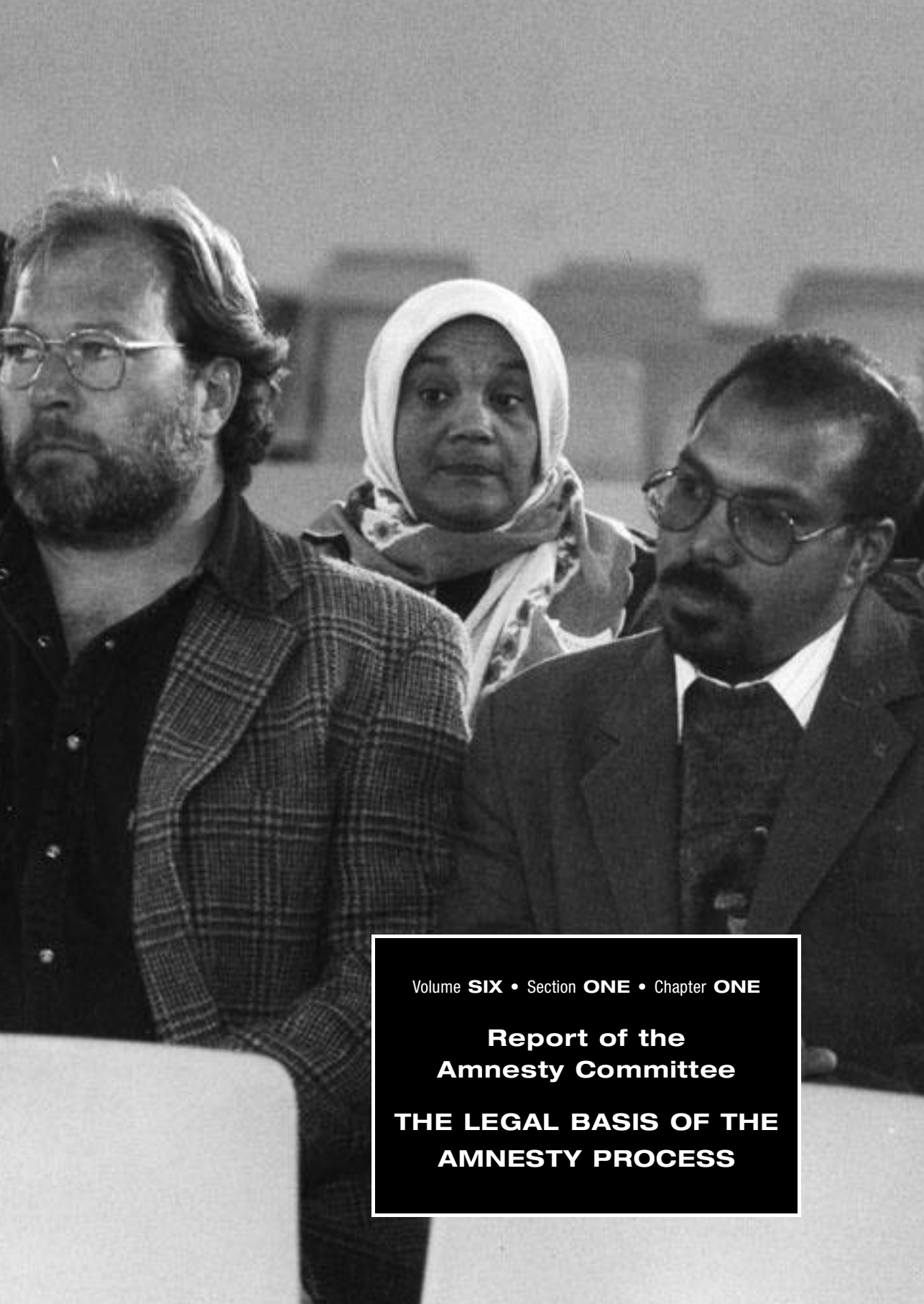
Those who brought to birth the TRC process also ought to be commended for their wisdom, which has recently been demonstrated no more clearly than by the trial of Dr Wouter Basson. Without making any judgment on the correctness of the judge's decision, the case has shown clearly how inadequate the

criminal justice system can be in exposing the full truth of, and establishing clear accountability for what happened in our country. More seriously, we have seen how unsuccessful prosecutions lead to bitterness and frustration in the community. Amnesty applicants often confessed to more gruesome crimes than were the subject of the Basson trial, yet their assumption of responsibility, and the sense that at least people were getting some measure of truth from the process, resulted in much less anger. For the sake of our stability, it is fortunate that the kind of details exposed by the Commission did not come out in a series of criminal trials, which – because of the difficulty of proving cases beyond reasonable doubt in the absence of witnesses other than co-conspirators – most likely would have ended in acquittals.

In terms of the settlement reached between the Commission and Chief Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party, I draw your attention to appendices 1 and 2 to Section 4, Chapter 4 of this volume, being their responses to the findings made against them in the Final Report handed to President Mandela on 29 October 1996.

It is something of a pity that, by and large, the white community failed to take advantage of the Truth and Reconciliation process. They were badly let down by their leadership. Many of them carry a burden of a guilt which would have been assuaged had they actively embraced the opportunities offered by the Commission; those who do not consciously acknowledge any sense of guilt are in a sense worse off than those who do. Apart from the hurt that it causes to those who suffered, the denial by so many white South Africans even that they benefited from apartheid is a crippling, self-inflicted blow to their capacity to enjoy and appropriate the fruits of change. But mercifully there have been glorious exceptions. All of us South Africans must know that reconciliation is a long haul and depends not on a commission for its achievement but on all of us making our contribution. It is a national project after all is said and done.

We have been privileged to help to heal a wounded people, though we ourselves have been, in Henri Nouwen's profound and felicitous phrase, 'wounded healers'. When we look around us at some of the conflict areas of the world, it becomes increasingly clear that there is not much of a future for them without forgiveness, without reconciliation. God has blessed us richly so that we might be a blessing to others. Quite improbably, we as South Africans have become a beacon of hope to others locked in deadly conflict that peace, that a just resolution, is possible. If it could happen in South Africa, then it can certainly happen anywhere else. Such is the exquisite divine sense of humour.



Volume **SIX** • Section **ONE** • Chapter **ONE**

**Report of the
Amnesty Committee**

**THE LEGAL BASIS OF THE
AMNESTY PROCESS**

Report of the Amnesty Committee

■ INTRODUCTION

1. In October 1998, the Amnesty Committee (the Committee) submitted an interim report to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission). This formed part of the Final Report handed to President Mandela on 29 October 1998. The Final Report contains a broad overview of the functioning and activities of the Committee. In addition, Chapters Four ('The Mandate') and Five ('Concepts and Principles') of Volume One of the Final Report contribute towards a fuller understanding of the amnesty process. Chapter Four describes how the Commission was established and outlines the scope of its mandate, including that relating to the granting of amnesty. It also discusses how the Commission interpreted its mandate and how it went about identifying criteria derived from just war theory and other international human rights principles. The mandate and criteria guided the Commission in determining what constituted gross human rights violations and who or what entities could be held accountable for them, as envisaged in its founding Act, the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 (the Act).
2. In Chapter Five of Volume One of its Final Report, the Commission discusses questions of amnesty, truth and justice, the relationship between these three complex concepts and their role in and contribution to furthering the Commission's over-arching objective of promoting reconciliation and a sense of national unity.
3. Although the activities of the Commission were suspended on 29 October 1998, the Amnesty Committee was authorised to continue until it had completed its outstanding work. This it did at the end of May 2001. Moreover, when the lifespan of the Committee was extended in October 1998, certain outstanding duties of both the Human Rights Violations Committee (HRVC) and the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC) were statutorily placed under the auspices of the Committee in accordance with an appropriate amendment of the Act. At this stage, two Commissioners, representing the HRVC and RRC respectively, joined the extended Committee to attend to these duties.

4. The purpose of the present section is to account for the activities of the Amnesty Committee from October 1998 until its dissolution on 31 May 2001.¹
5. It is apposite at the outset of this section to repeat an observation made in the report of the Committee in October 1998, namely that, in the view of the Committee, the terms of its statutory mandate and the judicial nature of its activities preclude it from commenting upon or analysing its decisions or its approach to specific cases in this Report. In the Committee's view, this would amount to an actionable gross irregularity.
6. In compliance with the judicial nature of its mandate, the Committee has given fully reasoned decisions in all hearable amnesty applications as well as motivated decisions in all substantive chamber matters. These decisions constitute the sole repository of the Committee's views on all the substantive issues that were relevant to its activities in relation to the matter of amnesty in general and to the specific amnesty applications it considered. The decisions have been reproduced in full and, due to space constraints, accompany this report in electronic form (compact disc). The decisions are fully indexed to enhance their accessibility to interested parties. All decisions in hearable matters have, moreover, been made available on the website of the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (<http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/index.html>) in order to promote public access.²
7. Finally, we would like to dedicate these chapters on the work of the Amnesty Committee to those members who passed away during the lifespan of the Committee – in recognition of their contribution, dedication and commitment to a process that is, to date, unrivalled not only in South Africa but in the entire world. They are:
 - a The Honourable Mr Justice Hassen Mall: Chairperson;
 - b Advocate Robin Brink: Evidence Leader, and
 - c Mr Dugard Macaqueza: Investigator and Evidence Analyst.
8. The amnesty section of the Report is also dedicated to all Committee members and staff, without whose commitment, dedication and contribution it would have been impossible to give effect to the provisions of the Act. Dealing with the atrocities of the past on a daily basis over a period of almost five and a half years was never easy. Equally difficult were the many days spent on the road, visiting venues all over the country and listening to and adjudicating upon reprehensible acts of severe gross human rights violations.

¹ In terms of Proclamation R31 dated 23 May 2001.

² See Section Five, Chapter Seven, 'Recommendations' in this volume for further action contemplated in respect of the Commission's archives.

The Legal Basis of the Amnesty Process

■ INTRODUCTION

1. The legal basis for the amnesty process of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) is to be found in the legal instruments that emerged from the political negotiations that were initiated in 1990. The original provisions were recorded in the postscript (or what also became known as the 'postamble') to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 200 of 1993 (the Interim Constitution) in the following terms:

NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION:

This Constitution provides a historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice and a future founded on the recognition of human rights, democracy and peaceful co-existence and development opportunities for all South Africans irrespective of colour, race, class, belief or sex.

The pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all South African citizens and peace require reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society.

The adoption of this Constitution lays the secure foundation for the people of South Africa to transcend the divisions and strife of the past, which generated gross violations of human rights, the transgression of humanitarian principles in violent conflicts and a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge. These can now be addressed on the basis that there is a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for ubuntu but not for victimisation.

In order to advance such reconciliation and reconstruction, amnesty shall be granted in respect of acts, omissions and offences associated with political objectives and committed in the course of the conflicts of the past. To this end, Parliament under this Constitution shall adopt a law determining a firm cut-off date, which shall be a date after 8 October 1990 and before 6 December 1993, and providing for the mechanisms, criteria and procedures, including tribunals, if any, through which such amnesty shall be dealt with at any time after the law has been passed.

With this Constitution and these commitments we, the people of South Africa, open a new chapter in the history of our country.

2. These provisions were preserved in Schedule 6, section 22 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 108 of 1996 (the Constitution), which provided that:

Notwithstanding the other provisions of the new Constitution and despite the repeal of the previous Constitution, all the provisions relating to amnesty contained in the previous Constitution under the heading 'National Unity and Reconciliation' are deemed to be part of the new Constitution for the purposes of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995 (Act 34 of 1995), as amended, including for the purposes of its validity.

THE COMMISSION'S FOUNDING ACT

3. These constitutional provisions formed the basis for the enactment of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 (the Act). Chapter Four of the Act outlined the mechanisms and procedures of the amnesty process. These provided for the establishment of an Amnesty Committee (the Committee) as one of the components of the Commission and empowered it to consider and decide on applications for amnesty. The Act provided that the Committee could grant amnesty where it was satisfied that the application complied with the formal requirements of the Act; that the incident in question constituted an act associated with a political objective as envisaged in the Act, and that the applicant had made full disclosure of all the relevant facts.³ These requirements are considered in more detail below.
4. The Act also spelt out the fact that the granting of amnesty meant that the applicant was released from all criminal and civil liability arising from the incident, an indemnification that also extended to all institutions or persons who incurred vicarious liability for the incident.⁴ Successful applicants serving prison sentences in respect of an incident were, therefore, entitled to immediate release and the expunging of any relevant criminal record.⁵

³ Section 20(1)(a-c).

⁴ Section 20(7)(a).

⁵ Section 20(8) & (10).

POWERS, DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE⁶

5. The Committee was a statutory body established in terms of the Act, from which it derived all its powers, functions and responsibilities. It was, in effect, a body with only administrative powers. Due to the adjudicative nature of its functions, the Committee's procedures soon started to resemble a judicial process. This stood in complete contrast to the non-adversarial hearings of the other two Committees of the Commission.

Applications for amnesty

6. Section 18 of the Act provided that any natural person could apply for amnesty on the prescribed form. Institutions and organisations could not apply. Application could be made in respect of any act or omission that amounted to a delict⁷ or offence, provided that it had to have been associated with a political objective and committed in the prescribed period (see further below).
7. The Committee was required to give priority to the applications of persons in custody. Regulations prescribing measures in respect of these applications were promulgated on 17 May 1996, after consultation with the Ministers of Justice and Correctional Services. These regulations provided mechanisms for informing prisoners of the procedures in respect of amnesty and how to complete the application form properly. They also provided for the recording of applications, the supplying of additional information and the hearing of such applications.

FORMAL REQUIREMENTS

8. Before an application could be considered, it had first to comply with the formal requirements of the Act.⁸ That is, the applicant was required to submit a written application on the prescribed amnesty application form. This application had to be made under oath and attested to by a commissioner of oaths.

⁶ Sections 16 to 22.

⁷ A wrongful act for which the injured person has the right to a civil remedy.

⁸ Section 18(1) requires applications to be submitted 'in the prescribed form'. The term 'prescribe' is defined in the Act as 'prescribe by regulation made under section 40' of the Act. The latter section empowers the President to promulgate regulations in respect of any matter referred to in the Act. In this context, the Committee took steps to have a prescribed amnesty application form produced in all official languages, to be promulgated for use by prospective amnesty applicants.

9. If the Committee received an incomplete application, the form would be returned to the applicant with directions to complete it properly. Many applications were not submitted on the prescribed form. In such instances, the matter was registered and a proper form was sent to the applicant for completion. A large number of forms were returned because they were unsigned and/or had not been attested to by a commissioner of oaths. In many instances, application forms had been completed without legal assistance or had been completed by third parties on behalf of illiterate applicants. In such cases, it was often necessary for the Committee to condone an applicant's failure to comply strictly with the formalities. It was sometimes possible to communicate with the applicants in question and place them in a position to cure the formal defects in the application. Where it was not possible to do this before the hearing, condonation⁹ for minor defects in the application¹⁰ was granted at the hearing itself. The Committee adopted the approach of allowing the applicant to present the merits of the application to the hearings panel. In all such instances, some of which were argued comprehensively, the granting of condonation did not result in prejudice to any other party. The hearing into the killings at Boipatong on the East Rand in 1992, for example, involved a substantial condonation application.
10. A further formal requirement was that the application had to be submitted to the Committee before the closing date for applications, as required by the Act.¹¹ The interpretation adopted by the Committee in this respect was that it had no statutory power to condone a failure to comply with this requirement. Thus the Committee did not consider applications submitted after the closing date. Although some late applicants petitioned the High Court for orders compelling the Committee to hear such matters, none was successful.
11. Some applicants attempted to amend their applications after the expiry of the deadline. Proposed amendments that attempted to introduce new incidents after the closing date for amnesty applications were normally refused. However, amendments that elaborated on incidents already expressly dealt with or alluded to in the original application were allowed. These included instances where applicants raised the possibility in the application of having been involved in further incidents, details of which they had been unable to recollect at the time of submitting the original application but which had subsequently come to mind.

9 A legal term meaning to pardon or overlook.

10 Such as a failure to date or attest a duly completed and signed application form.

11 Section 19(1) provided that the closing date was 14 December 1996. This was later extended to 30 September 1997 to cater for an extension of the cut-off date for amnesty from 5 December 1993 to 10 May 1994.

ACTS ASSOCIATED WITH A POLITICAL OBJECTIVE

12. The Act required that the incident forming the subject matter of the amnesty application had to have been associated with a political objective.¹² The latter term was defined in some detail in the Act and included the following components:

The actions of the applicant must have amounted to an offence or a delict

13. The Committee was required to assess the applicant's actions in order to ascertain whether she or he had complied with all the elements of the particular offence or delict. Where there had been a criminal prosecution and conviction based on the incident, this requirement was normally straightforward. Where, however, an applicant denied guilt for an incident, this requirement was not met and the application had to fail.
14. This highlights a significant limitation in the amnesty process. The patent injustice of this situation became clear where it applied to groups of co-applicants, some of whom denied guilt for incidents associated with political objectives for which all members of the group had been convicted and sentenced. Those who admitted guilt qualified for and were granted amnesty, and were released from custody. However, those who were innocent and also had, on the face of it, been wrongly convicted, were unable to benefit from the amnesty process. They were condemned to remain in custody pending the uncertain prospects of cumbersome and often prolonged administrative procedures that might lead to their eventual release (via, for example, a presidential pardon). The Committee had no powers to intervene in this kind of procedure. It did, however, wherever this kind of situation arose (as in the Boipatong case), include in its decision a recommendation that the cases of such 'innocent' applicants be referred to the President for his consideration.
15. The offence or delict requirement was also not met where the applicant successfully raised a defence that excluded legal liability, such as self-defence. In such instances, the fact that the application might comply with all the other requirements of the Act did not qualify the applicant for amnesty.

¹² Section 20(1)(b).

The incident must have occurred within the prescribed time period

16. The time period set by the Act was between 1 March 1960 (the month in which the Sharpeville massacre took place) and 5 December 1993 (the date the final agreement was reached in the political negotiations). This last date was subsequently extended to 10 May 1994 to coincide with the date of the inauguration of the first democratically elected President of the country.¹³

The applicant should fall within one of a number of prescribed categories

17. These categories essentially encompassed supporters, members or employees of the contending parties involved in the past political conflict in the country. It was a pertinent requirement that the incident in question should have related specifically to the South African political conflict.¹⁴

The incident in question should comply with stipulated criteria in order to constitute an act associated with a political objective¹⁵

18. One of the underlying purposes in this regard was to ensure that only conduct associated with the past political conflict in the country would qualify for amnesty. Common crimes were excluded.
19. In this respect, the Act relied heavily on the principles of extradition law and the concomitant definition of a political offence within the international context. A specific and significant influence was the approach followed when preparing for the United Nations-supervised democratic elections in Namibia in 1989. The wording of the Act leaned very heavily on what had become known as the 'Norgaard Principles': an approach formulated under the guidance of Professor CA Norgaard, the former President of the European Commission on Human Rights, and applied to guide the process of identifying Namibian political prisoners for release.
20. The Norgaard Principles were gleaned from a survey of the approaches followed by various state courts in dealing with what is known as the 'political offence exception' in extradition proceedings. In terms of the 'exception', a state that

¹³ The date was initially set in the Interim Constitution to serve as a deterrent to those who wished to continue to use violence to disrupt the elections. However, it was later extended because many of those who had been involved in continued violence later agreed to participate in the democratic process.

¹⁴ This was one of the grounds relied upon by the Supreme Court of Appeal in dismissing the application in the matter of Stopforth and Veenendaal. For further details, see Chapter Four, 'Legal Challenges', in this section.

¹⁵ Section 20(3).

has been requested to extradite an individual may refuse to do so where the crime for which the extradition is sought is political. It was thus necessary for states to formulate an approach to the question of whether a particular crime amounted to a political offence. The background principles, therefore, recorded the common features of the various states' approaches to the issue.

21. The criteria stipulated in the Act contained important guidelines for assessing whether an applicant's conduct would qualify as being politically motivated within the broad context of political offences referred to above. In this regard, the Committee was enjoined to consider a number of factors: the motive of the perpetrator; the context in which the incident occurred (for example whether it occurred in the course of a political uprising); the nature and gravity of the incident; the object or objective of the conduct and, in particular, whether it was directed against political enemies or innocent parties; the existence of any orders or approval of the conduct by a political organisation, and finally, the issue of proportionality. Moreover, the Act specifically provided that, where the perpetrator had acted for personal gain (except in the case of informers) or out of personal malice, ill-will or spite towards the victim, the conduct in question would not qualify as an act associated with a political objective.
22. The approach adopted by the Committee in applying the stipulated criteria was to avoid a piecemeal and mechanical application of the individual criteria. It chose, rather, to adopt a more holistic approach and to assess the totality of the particular facts and circumstances in the light of the criteria as a whole. Where, for example, an applicant had acted on the direct orders of a superior and the conduct in question seemed reasonable, the Committee would see this as going a long way towards satisfying the requirements of the Act. An applicant who had injured or killed an innocent bystander would be subjected to a more critical assessment than if his or her victim had been a clear political enemy. The reality is that each application presented its own peculiar circumstances, making it inappropriate to adopt hard and fast rules. Each case had to be approached with an open mind and decided on its own merits. In this way, the Committee used the criteria as a guide to help it decide whether a particular incident qualified as an act associated with a political objective.
23. The Committee was, moreover, specifically enjoined to take into account the criteria applied in terms of the repealed indemnity legislation that had preceded the Act. These criteria largely overlapped with those stipulated in the Act.¹⁶

¹⁶ See Volume One, Chapter Four, pp. 51–2.

FULL DISCLOSURE

24. The amnesty process had a critical role to play in helping establish the fullest possible picture of the past political conflict in the country. To this end, amnesty applicants were legally required to give a full and truthful account of the incidents in respect of which they were seeking amnesty.¹⁷ They were accordingly required to make full disclosure of all of the facts relevant to the incident in question.
25. It follows that, where an applicant's version was untruthful on a material aspect, the application was refused. It is important to stress, however, that the obligation to make full disclosure related only to relevant facts. This required that the Committee develop an interpretation of the phrase 'relevant facts'. The Committee concluded that the obligation in question related solely to the particular incident forming the subject matter of the application and did not extend to any incidents not raised in the amnesty application. The facts to be disclosed were, therefore, only those relevant to the incident in question. The interpretation adopted by the Committee required that applicants give a full and truthful account of their own role, as well as that of any other person, in the planning and execution of the actions in question. Furthermore, applicants had to give full details of any other relevant conduct or steps taken subsequent to the commission of the particular acts: for example, concealing or destroying evidence of the offence.
26. The interpretation adopted by the Committee has been criticised because it is perceived as having inhibited the potential of the amnesty process to contribute to the overall objective of the truth and reconciliation process, namely of establishing as complete a picture as possible of the political conflicts of the past. It has been argued that it was not conducive to the overall objective of the process to allow amnesty applicants to be selective about the information on past political conflicts they were prepared to share with the South African public. According to this argument, applicants were placed in a position where they were able to hold back information about incidents that were unlikely to be uncovered in the future, an attitude that frustrated the very intention of the overall process.
27. The Committee took note of these arguments, but remains satisfied that it gave a proper interpretation of its obligation as required by the law. The perceived

¹⁷ Section 20(1)(c).

limitations were inherent in the provisions of the Act itself and were accordingly beyond the Committee's control. It should also be pointed out that the Act gave the Commission certain general powers of investigation and subpoena, which allowed it to look further into any matters left unresolved by the amnesty process. The Committee accepts, however, that the criticism relating to possible shortcomings in the process as enacted is serious and substantial.

PROCESSING APPLICATIONS FOR AMNESTY

28. The Committee relied heavily on information furnished by its own investigators and obtained from the South African Police Services, the Department of Correctional Services, the National Prosecuting Authority and the courts of law. Generally only minimal investigation was necessary in respect of those applications completed with the assistance of a legal representative. Upon completion of such an investigation, the Committee would do one of several things:

Acts not associated with a political objective

29. The Committee would inform the applicant that, based on the particulars before it, his or her application did not relate to an act associated with a political objective and, in the applicant's absence and without holding a hearing, refuse the application for amnesty.

Where no gross violation of human rights had been committed

30. If it was satisfied that the formal requirements had been met, the Committee would inform the applicant that there was no need for a hearing as the act to which the application related did not constitute a gross violation of human rights. In such cases, it would grant the applicant amnesty without holding a hearing.

Notification of public hearing

31. Where the application related to a gross violation of human rights as defined in the Act, a public hearing had to be held. The Committee would notify the applicant, any victim and implicated person and any other person having an interest in the application of the date, time and place where such an application would be heard. These persons had to be informed of their right to be present and to testify at the hearing. The Committee could hear applications individually or jointly.

32. In anticipation of the fact that many of these acts, omissions or offences were the subject of court proceedings, the Act provided that:
- a where the act or omission was the subject of a civil claim, the court might, upon the request of the applicant and after proper notice to other interested parties, suspend proceedings pending the outcome of the application for amnesty, and
 - b in those instances where the applicant was charged with an offence to which the application related, or was standing trial on a charge of having committed such an offence, the Committee could request the appropriate authority to postpone the proceedings, pending the outcome of the application for amnesty.
33. In order to protect the identity of the applicants and the information contained in applications, the Act provided that all the applications, the documentation in connection with them, any further information obtained by the Committee before and during an investigation, as well as the deliberations conducted in order to come to a decision or to conduct a hearing, should be treated as confidential. This confidentiality lapsed only when the Commission decided to release such information or when the hearing into the application commenced.

THE ROLE OF PRECEDENT

34. The Act provided expressly for the establishment of subcommittees or hearings panels to deal with amnesty applications. This provision enabled the Committee to arrange for various hearings panels to hear different matters simultaneously and so expedite the finalisation of its work. The composition of these panels was not fixed, which resulted in different permutations of Committee members constituting hearings panels on different occasions. This situation created the potential for inconsistencies of approach between the different hearings panels. There were those who saw this as a risk and believed that it could be eliminated or limited only by introducing a system of precedent, as is followed in the courts, where, in defined circumstances, prior decisions on issues of law become binding in subsequent similar cases.
35. It is important to point out that the Amnesty Committee was an administrative tribunal, and that no formal system of precedent applied to its activities. Apart from certain broad determinations made by the Committee itself (for example the interpretation of what constituted 'relevant facts' for the purpose of full disclosure),

it would, in the Committee's view, have been inappropriate to attempt to establish a system of precedent.

36. In order to facilitate its proceedings, the Committee accepted the submissions made by the leadership of some of the structures involved in the past political conflict as duly established for the purposes of subsequent hearings. For example, according to the submissions of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) leadership, APLA operatives executed robberies in terms of a particular directive and policy decision on the part of the organisation in furtherance of its political struggle. Subsequent APLA amnesty applicants were able to rely on this fact without having to re-establish it. A similar situation applied to the submissions of the African National Congress (ANC) in respect of its role in establishing self-defence units (SDUs) in response to violent conflicts in certain townships during the early 1990s.
37. Apart from such instances, it would have been quite impractical to attempt to establish a system of precedent. The myriad different permutations of facts and circumstances that applied to the various applications resulted in no two being identical or sufficiently comparable to justify applying the principle of precedent. Each case had to be decided in the light of its own peculiar facts and circumstances. Each hearings panel was ultimately responsible for making an independent decision on the particular facts of the case to be decided, even though it was possible to engage in collegial discussions and consultations to elicit the views or draw on the experiences of other members of the Committee in particularly complex matters.
38. Although no formal system of precedent was followed, the Committee approached its work on the basis that every amnesty applicant enjoyed the constitutionally entrenched right to fair administrative action, equality and an even-handed approach. The Committee is ultimately satisfied that the absence of a formal system of precedent did not detract from the quality of decision-making, nor did it result in any patent injustice to any participant in the amnesty process.

GRANTING OF AMNESTY AND THE EFFECT THEREOF (SECTION 20)

39. Amnesty was granted where the Committee was satisfied that the application complied with the requirements of the Act: that is, the act, omission or offence to which the application related was an act associated with a political objective and committed in the course of the conflicts of the past, and the applicant had made a full disclosure of all the relevant facts (as defined above).
40. Where amnesty was granted, the Committee informed the applicant and the victim of the decision and also, by proclamation in the Government Gazette, published the full details of the person concerned as well as the specific act, offence or omission in respect of which amnesty was granted.
41. The granting of amnesty completely extinguished any criminal or civil liability arising from the act in question. Any pending legal proceedings against the applicant were likewise terminated. Where applicants were serving a sentence consequent upon a conviction for the act in question, they were entitled to immediate release from custody. The granting of amnesty also had the effect of expunging any criminal record relating to the offence in respect of which amnesty had been granted. It did not, however, affect the operation of any civil judgment given against the successful applicant based upon the act for which amnesty had been granted.

REFUSAL OF AMNESTY AND THE EFFECT THEREOF (SECTION 21)

42. When the Committee refused an application for amnesty, it notified the applicant and victims concerned of its decision and the reasons for its refusal. If criminal or civil proceedings had been suspended pending the outcome of the amnesty application, the court concerned was notified of this.
43. Where amnesty was refused, the law would take its course against the applicant. Any legal proceeding that might have been suspended pending finalisation of the amnesty application was free to continue. The applicant would, however, be protected against the disclosure or use of the record of the amnesty application in any subsequent criminal proceedings. The prosecution would, moreover, be precluded from relying on the facts disclosed in the amnesty application, or facts that had been discovered as a result of information disclosed in the amnesty application. The Act specifically provides that any

evidence obtained during the amnesty process, as well as any evidence derived from such evidence, may not be used against the person concerned in any criminal proceedings.

REFERRALS TO THE REPARATION AND REHABILITATION COMMITTEE (SECTION 22)

44. In line with the objectives of the Commission relating to reparation and rehabilitation, the Act provided that, where amnesty was granted and the Committee was of the opinion that a person was a victim of the incident in question, the matter should be referred to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC) for consideration. Where amnesty was refused and the Committee was of the opinion that the act constituted a gross violation of human rights and a person was a victim in the matter, it was also referred to the RRC.
45. In these instances, the hearings panel was obliged to endeavour to identify any possible victims. This was not, however, always possible, often due to a lack of sufficient information. In such an event, the hearings panels were compelled to make generic victim findings without identifying specific individuals. This was a particular drawback in the process, given the importance of catering for the needs of victims, particularly where the granting of amnesty obliterated the prospects of civil or criminal proceedings. There was some comfort in the fact that the reparation and rehabilitation process had the potential of dealing with these weaknesses.

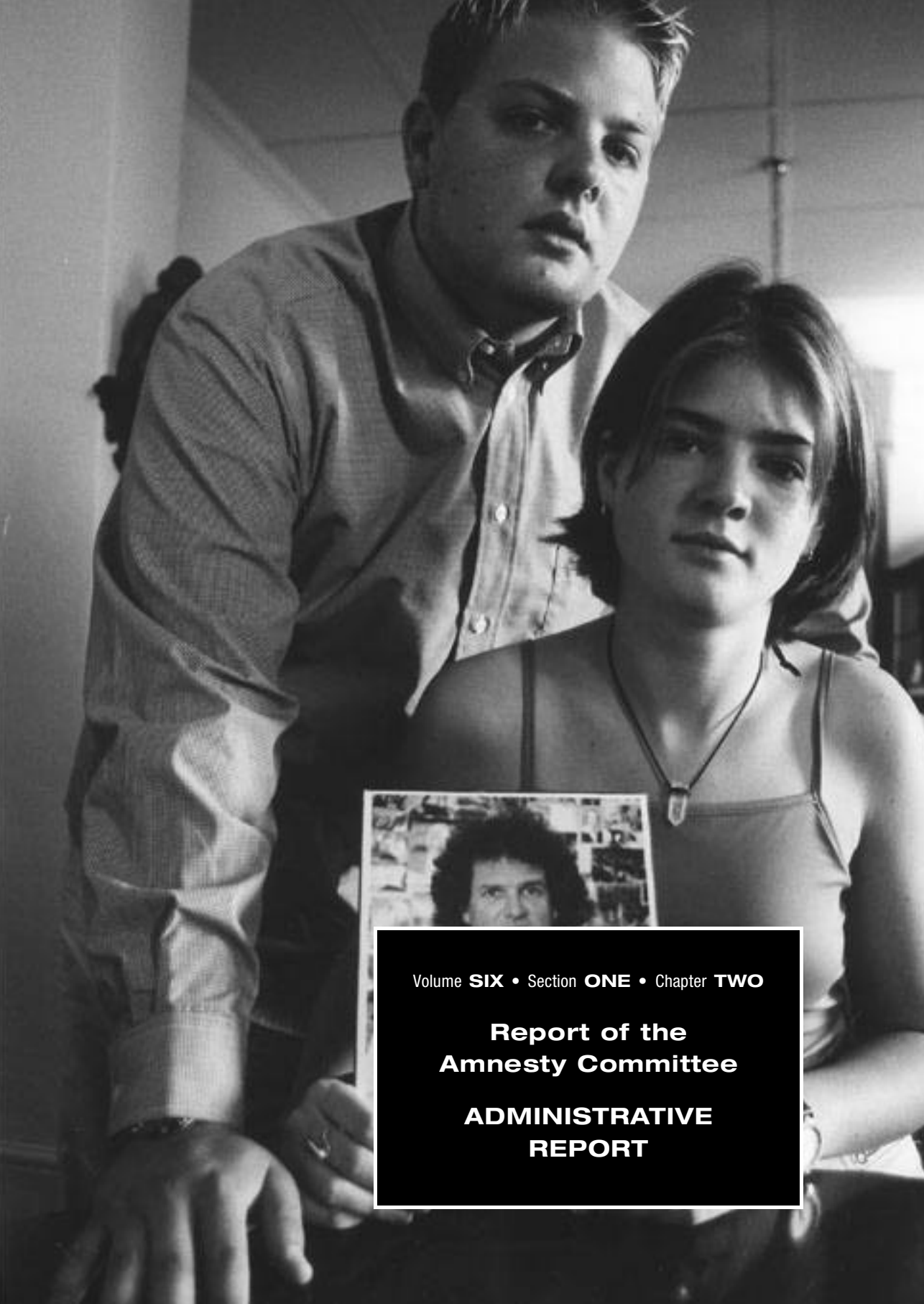
REMEDIES

46. Any party aggrieved by a decision of the Committee had the right to approach the High Court for a review of the decision. The process of review of administrative decisions is regulated by the Constitution,¹⁸ which grants everyone the right to administrative action that is lawful, reasonable and procedurally fair.¹⁹ This constitutional provision has superseded the common-law rules relating to review, the latter having been subsumed under the Constitution.

¹⁸ Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association of SA and Another : In re Ex Parte President of the Republic of South Africa & Others 2000(2) SA 674 (CC) at para 33.

¹⁹ Section 33 of the Constitution, 1996.

47. A court reviewing a decision of the Committee does not consider whether the decision is correct, but rather whether it is *justifiable*. Thus the review court does not retry the matter, but simply concerns itself with the question of whether the decision the Committee has made is justifiable in the sense that there is a rational connection between the facts of the particular application and the decision arrived at by the Committee. The review court does not substitute its own views on the merits of the application for those of the Committee in matters where the rational connection referred to above has been established. The review court does, however, consider the merits of the application in order to decide whether the rational connection has actually been established (see also Chapter Four, 'Legal Challenges').



Volume **SIX** • Section **ONE** • Chapter **TWO**

**Report of the
Amnesty Committee**

**ADMINISTRATIVE
REPORT**

Administrative Report

■ INTRODUCTION

1. The objective of this chapter is to give as clear a picture as possible of the administrative procedures, mechanisms and functions of the Amnesty Committee (the Committee). The functions of the executive secretary as administrative head of the Committee were integrated with those of the chief executive officer (CEO) of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) during 1997 and performed by the same person, but this section deals mainly with the affairs of the Committee. A separate report is presented on the duties of the CEO.
2. For the sake of completeness, this section should be read with the CEO's report and with the earlier Management Report of the Committee, which formed part of the Commission's Final Report that was handed to the President in October 1998.²⁰
3. This chapter offers an overview of the amnesty process from the perspectives of the executive secretary and later the CEO. The provisions of the Act will be reflected upon insofar as they related to the administration and management of, especially, the amnesty process. Reference is also made to the development of the administration and amnesty process since 1996. The contents are based on a variety of documents, including the minutes of the meetings of the Committee since its establishment, internal memoranda, the minutes of meetings of the various components of the Commission and management, as well as inputs from the departments and sections concerned.

ESTABLISHING THE COMMITTEE

4. Section 16 of the Act provided for the establishment of the Committee as one of the three statutory Committees of the Commission. Its mandate was to grant amnesty to those persons who successfully applied for amnesty in respect of acts, omissions and offences that had been associated with political objectives and committed in the course of the conflicts of the past. One of the basic premises was that national unity and reconciliation would become possible only if the truth about past human rights violations became known (see Chapter One of this volume).

²⁰ Volume One, Chapter Ten.

HOW THE AMNESTY COMMITTEE WAS CONSTITUTED

The Committee: An overview

5. In terms of section 17 of the Act, the Committee initially consisted of only five members, two of whom had to be Commissioners. President Nelson Mandela appointed Judge Hassen Mall and Judge Andrew Wilson as chairperson and vice-chairperson respectively and Judge Bernard Ngoepe as the third member. After consultation with the Commission, the President appointed Commissioners Sisi Khampepe and Chris de Jager as members of the Committee.
6. These five members had to attend to the setting up of the Committee and deal with all applications for amnesty received. Due to the large volume of work and in order to expedite the process, the membership of the Committee was subsequently increased to eleven in June 1997 and to nineteen during December 1997. All members were legally qualified, being judges of the High Court, advocates and attorneys. The President dissolved the Committee with effect from 31 May 2001 in terms of Proclamation R31 dated 23 May 2001.
7. Despite the increase in numbers, the Committee never experienced the benefit of its full complement of nineteen members for any significant period of time. This was due to the resignation of some members to take up other positions, and poor health on the part of others. Moreover, the limited lifespan of the Committee made it impractical to fill these vacancies. The Committee also suffered the loss of its chairperson, Judge Hassen Mall, who passed away on 18 August 1999. He was replaced as chairperson by Judge Andrew Wilson, and Acting Judge Denzil Potgieter was appointed vice-chairperson.
8. The following persons served with distinction on the Committee:

Judge H Mall	15/12/1995–18/08/1999
Judge A Wilson	15/12/1995–31/05/2001
Judge B Ngoepe	15/12/1995–01/07/1998
Ms S Khampepe	15/12/1995–31/03/2001
Advocate C de Jager SC	15/12/1995–31/05/2001
Advocate D Potgieter SC	01/07/1997–31/05/2001
Advocate N Sandi	01/07/1997–31/05/2001
Mr W Malan	01/11/1997–31/05/2001
Advocate J Motata	01/11/1997–31/01/2001
Advocate L Gcabashe	01/12/1997–30/08/1999

Judge S Miller	05/02/1998–28/02/2001
Judge R Pillay	05/02/1998–31/05/2001
Judge S Ngcobo	05/02/1998–01/01/1999
Advocate F Bosman	05/02/1998–31/05/2001
Advocate S Sigodi	05/02/1998–31/05/2001
Mr JB Sibanyoni	05/02/1998–31/03/2001
Dr WM Tsotsi	05/02/1998–30/10/1999
Mr J Moloi	05/02/1998–01/07/1998
Mr I Lax	05/02/1998–31/05/2001

The Amnesty Department

9. The Act made no provision for an administrative component for the Committee. It was left to the Committee to secure the services of professional and administrative personnel to assist it in executing its mandate. Resources were initially shared with other components of the Commission. This hampered the Committee in setting up the independent administrative, investigative and corroborative mechanisms it needed.
10. In April 1996, a month before its first public hearing, the Committee had a staff complement of two professional and three administrative officials. A year later, in April 1997, the Committee had only six professional and seven administrative officials to administer, peruse and prepare more than 7000 amnesty applications for decisions by the Committee. Due to tremendous time constraints, there was inadequate opportunity for staff training and development. It was left to the members of the Committee to take care of some of the administrative duties.
11. In an attempt to address these administrative difficulties, Advocate Martin Coetzee, a senior official from the Department of Justice, was seconded to the Commission on a temporary basis in August 1997 to act as the executive secretary of the Committee, with instructions to reassess the entire amnesty process. (Advocate Coetzee was later appointed as executive secretary of the Committee, and became chief executive officer of the Commission in May 1999.)
12. Under Advocate Coetzee, operational processes were co-ordinated and placed under stricter management control. Mechanisms were put in place to deal properly with amnesty applications. The reassessment resulted in an increase in the number of both staff and Committee members. Within a period of six months,

the number of staff members making up the Amnesty Department increased from the original thirteen to ninety-four, in the following categories:

- leaders of evidence;
- evidence analysts;
- information analysts;
- administrative staff members;
- logistics officers;
- investigators;
- witness protectors;
- secretarial staff; and
- an amnesty victim co-ordinator.

Leaders of evidence

13. Leaders of evidence were advocates and attorneys with practical experience. They were responsible for the final preparation of applications that needed to go for public hearing. Supervised by a chief leader of evidence, leaders of evidence conducted and led evidence at hearings. The chief leader of evidence and the executive secretary were responsible for scheduling hearable applications.

Evidence analysts

14. Evidence analysts were legally qualified people without practical experience. Later on in the process, persons without legal training but with sound analytical or investigative skills were also appointed as evidence analysts. Evidence analysts were responsible for the initial perusal and preparation of amnesty applications. They saw to it that the necessary investigations were conducted and gathered all relevant information and documentation.

Information analysts

15. Information analysts were people experienced in analysing data and capturing information on a computer database. They were responsible for the electronic capturing of the contents of applications and other related information.

Administrative staff members

16. Administrative staff members were responsible for the processing, filing and safekeeping of amnesty applications. Some were also responsible for dealing with incoming correspondence relating to applications.

Logistics officers

17. Logistics officers were responsible for all logistical arrangements in connection with public hearings.

Investigators

18. Investigators were responsible for investigating applications and obtaining the evidence and documentation required by the Committee and evidence analysts. The Committee was fortunate in obtaining the services of experienced members of the South African Police Services (SAPS) and Correctional Services and a number of international investigators. Investigators were based in Cape Town and at the Commission's regional offices in Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth.

Witness protectors

19. Witness protectors were experienced members of the security forces responsible for the protection of (predominantly) applicants, implicated persons and victims.

Secretarial staff

20. Secretarial staff consisted of senior and junior secretaries who rendered secretarial services and, in certain instances, served as personal assistants to members of the Committee and senior staff members.

Amnesty victim co-ordinator

21. The amnesty victim co-ordinator was responsible for attending to the victim referral process of the Committee.
22. The functions and responsibilities of the Committee and the various sections of the amnesty department were clearly demarcated. Regular workshops emphasised training and motivation. Proper guidelines were developed for dealing with applications from the moment they were received and registered until they were finally disposed of. (These will be dealt with in more detail later in this chapter.)
23. All these measures proved effective in placing the amnesty process on a sound footing. The position improved even further when the activities of the Commission were suspended on 29 October 1998, and staff members from other parts of the Commission were reallocated to the Committee.

THE AMNESTY PROCESS

24. The purpose of this section is to give an account of how amnesty applications were processed before they were ready for decision by the Committee. The process was far from flawless. Indeed, as has already been pointed out, a complete reassessment and the implementation of new and improved systems became necessary during 1997.
25. It should be emphasised from the outset that the amnesty process was unique. There were no historical or legal precedents on which to draw. The Act was silent on procedures, and the Committee had to find its own way. The end product was the culmination of various ideas and proposals and the result of mechanisms that developed as the process evolved.
26. The Commission came into operation on 15 December 1995 and the first application for amnesty was submitted on 1 January 1996. The Committee, which was based in Cape Town, met for the first time in February 1996. It became operational during April 1996 and held its first hearing on 20 May 1996. By the end of April 1996, a total of 197 applications had been received. At this time, five Committee members and four staff members were dealing with the applications. By 30 September 1997, in excess of 7000 applications had been received and were being dealt with by a maximum of nineteen Committee members and ninety-four staff members.

Receipt and processing of application forms

27. A standard application form for amnesty was developed and distributed for completion by prospective applicants. The form was translated into all eleven official languages of South Africa and was made available at all the offices of the Commission, offices of the Department of Justice and prisons. Upon completion, these forms were handed in at either the head office of the Commission or at one of its three regional offices for forwarding to the head office.
28. Applicants were required to provide the following information and particulars:
 - a personal details;
 - b political or other affiliation, or employment by the state;
 - c particulars regarding the act, omission or offence for which amnesty was sought;

- d particulars regarding victims;
 - e particulars regarding the political objective that was being pursued in committing the act, the omission or offence for which amnesty was sought;
 - f whether any benefits had accrued as a result of the act, omission or offence;
 - g particulars as to whether the act was committed in execution of an order or with implied or express authority; and
 - h particulars regarding prosecutions and civil proceedings.
29. On receipt, each application was registered and allocated a unique registration number. The Committee decided that all applications for amnesty had to be registered, whether or not they were submitted on the prescribed form.²¹ The rationale behind this decision was to avoid penalising any person who had shown a clear intention to apply for amnesty. The correct application form was then sent to the person concerned with a request that she or he complete it and return it to the Committee. It was also made very clear that, unless an application was properly completed and submitted in terms of the Act, the Committee could not consider it. Some of the applications received and registered as amnesty applications were later found to be applications for reparation or statements on human rights violations, and had to be deregistered and referred to the appropriate section of the Commission.

Capturing information

30. All applications received were electronically registered on the Commission's database. In addition, all information initially contained in the application was electronically captured. As the process progressed, all relevant information pertaining to a specific application, including information on hearings, victims and decisions, was added. This process proved invaluable for the purposes of research and cross-referencing. The resultant database will form an integral part of the history concerning the past political conflict.

Safekeeping and administration of application forms

31. Once registered, copies were made of all applications, and the originals were placed in fireproof strongrooms for safekeeping and in order to secure their confidentiality. The copies were used as working documents when applications were being prepared for consideration.

²¹ Indeed, many 'applications' were made simply by writing a letter to the Committee or by furnishing the information on other application forms used by the Commission.

32. The administrative component of the Committee was the nucleus that managed the movement of the applications, and thus played a central role in the amnesty process. A staff component of eight officials, under the direct supervision of the executive secretary, was responsible for the safekeeping and administration of the application forms. All information, correspondence and documents relating to applications were channelled to this section, which was responsible for filing and subsequent distribution to the staff responsible for preparing the applications. Audits were conducted on a regular basis to ensure that all applications were accounted for.
33. An application was finalised only once the Committee took a decision on it. It was then put on file and prepared for archiving.

Workshops

34. The Committee held several workshops during its existence, with the aim of streamlining the process and ensuring the proper execution of its mandate. The first workshop for evidence leaders and investigative personnel was held in October 1996. This was followed by workshops in September and November 1997, April 1998 and March 1999. Workshops were also held for administrative and logistical staff. Regular meetings to discuss and evaluate the amnesty process were held with all the sections in the Department.
35. These workshops proved an invaluable way of training staff and making them part of the process. Participation by Committee members went a long way towards communicating their expertise to staff and proved invaluable in setting up channels of communication. During these workshops, everyone had the opportunity to air their views and work together to identify problem areas and seek solutions.

Developing guidelines

36. With the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that what was expected of the Committee in terms of sheer workload was totally unrealistic. Certainly it could not reasonably have been foreseen that more than 7000 amnesty applications, relating to more than 14 000 different incidents, would be submitted. Nor could anyone have predicted how much work would be involved in perusing and investigating these applications. For example, was it really reasonable to expect that a single application dealing with incidents involving hundreds of victims and implicated persons – that had, moreover, engaged a court for well over three years – could be dealt with in a matter of days?

37. As has already been mentioned, the Committee began its work with no formal guidelines or prescriptions on how it should prepare applications. Over time, however, it evolved guidelines for its work: some through a process of logical reasoning, others through trial and error.
38. For the purposes of this chapter, the process will be discussed in stages, bearing in mind that none of these processes existed in isolation. At times, indeed, they were intertwined, and at others, their sequence was inverted.

First stage

39. The initial perusal of the applications was done by the administrative staff, who checked the forms to ascertain whether they were properly completed, signed and attested to. If not, they were returned to the applicants to be rectified. Those forms that complied with the formal requirements were checked to establish whether they had been submitted before the deadline of 30 September 1997. Applications submitted after this date could not be considered by the Committee and were returned to the applicant with an appropriate note.

Second stage

40. At the second stage, the evidence analysts perused the applications in order to establish which of the following was the case:
- a The act in respect of which amnesty was sought was not committed within the prescribed period. If so, the Committee could not consider the application and the applicant would be informed accordingly.
 - b It appeared, *prima facie*,²² that the application did not relate to an act associated with a political objective, or that the act was committed for personal gain or because of malice, ill will or spite towards the victim. In such cases the application was submitted to the Committee for consideration in chambers.²³ If the Committee was satisfied that the application did not meet the requirements of the Act, amnesty was refused and the applicant was informed accordingly. In certain cases, it might not be possible for the Committee to make a decision without further investigation. Such an investigation would be co-ordinated by an evidence analyst.
 - c It appeared, *prima facie*, that the application related to an act associated with a political objective, but that such an act did not constitute a gross violation of human rights. In such cases, the application was submitted to the Committee in chambers. The granting of amnesty could then be considered in the applicant's absence unless further investigation was required.

²² On the face of it or at first glance.

²³ These applications were referred to as 'chamber' matters because they were not dealt with by the Committee at a public hearing (see 'Chamber Matters' in Chapter Three of this section).

d It appeared, *prima facie*, that the application related to an act that was associated with a political objective and that constituted a gross violation of human rights. The Committee would then direct that the application be scheduled for a public hearing, subject to further investigation.

41. It must be emphasised that, in making each of the above decisions, the Committee was the sole judge and was also intimately involved in the process of categorising the applications. A panel of at least three Committee members, of whom one had to be a judge, made the final decision to grant or refuse amnesty in each case.

Third stage

42. The third stage entailed completing the required investigation before proceeding to finalise the application. This was one of the most difficult and time-consuming stages. Firstly, the level and intensity of the investigation depended on the circumstances surrounding each specific application. Moreover, some applications related to more than one incident, each requiring its own investigation. Depending on the facts that needed to be investigated, investigations varied from the mere confirmation of one fact to an in-depth investigation that might last several months.
43. Investigations required by the Committee could include:
- a obtaining further and/or additional information from an applicant;
 - b corroboration that an incident had occurred;
 - c obtaining prison records from the Department of Correctional Services;
 - d obtaining relevant court records (indictments and judgments) from the Department of Justice, reports from the then attorneys-general, and/or police dockets from the SAPS;
 - e obtaining confirmation from a political party or liberation movement about whether an applicant was a member or supporter; and
 - f obtaining statements about the incident in question from victims, implicated persons and/or witnesses.
44. Over and above the information obtained in the course of its investigation, the Committee also used information gathered by the Commission's research department and the Human Rights Violations Committee (HRVC).
45. The investigations and corroboration were done on behalf of the Committee by a group of dedicated investigators. At its peak, the Committee enjoyed the services of thirty-two investigators. The investigative component consisted of contracted

officials, officials seconded from the departments of Correctional Services and Defence, officials from the SAPS and a number of international investigators seconded to the Commission by their respective governments. Investigations were done in all parts of the country and even overseas. Investigators travelled literally hundreds of thousands of kilometres over all nine provinces. In some cases, isolated areas could be reached only on horseback or on foot.

Fourth stage

46. Upon completion of the required investigations and after final perusal by the evidence analyst, an application was ready for submission to the Committee and would be dealt with either in chambers or at a public hearing.
47. In the early stages of the Committee's life, applications considered at public hearings were dealt with on an individual basis. Later it emerged that duplication could be avoided and staff expertise used more efficiently if applications were clustered into political groupings and geographical regions. This allowed the Committee to hear more than one applicant in the same region or with respect to the same incident. This not only assisted the Committee in evaluating the evidence of various applicants, but also assisted the Commission in obtaining the fullest possible picture in respect of the incident(s) concerned. The groupings into which the applications were divided included:
 - a Members or supporters of the African National Congress (ANC) and aligned organisations;
 - b Members or supporters of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and aligned organisations;
 - c Members or supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and aligned organisations;
 - d Members of the former security forces; and
 - e Members or supporters of the white right-wing organisations.
48. In an effort to assist the Committee, applications were initially submitted to the chief leader of evidence for quality control before submission to the Committee. Incomplete applications were referred back to the analyst with further instructions. If the application did not involve a gross human rights violation, or where it appeared, *prima facie*, that the application was not likely to be successful, the application was referred to the Committee to be dealt with in chambers. If the application involved a gross human rights violation and it appeared, *prima facie*, that amnesty was likely to be granted, the application was handed to an evidence leader to prepare for a public hearing. When the chief leader of evidence resigned during 1998, the quality control function was taken over by members of the Committee.

Fifth stage

49. The leader of evidence was responsible for putting before the Committee all the relevant evidence it might require in order to come to a decision as to whether or not amnesty should be granted. The leader of evidence was also responsible for ensuring that all the necessary investigations were done and that all relevant documentation was available before a hearing was scheduled.
50. The scheduling of an application was a complex issue. Various factors that could influence – and indeed determine – the scheduling needed to be taken into account. These included:
- a the place where the incident (the focus or subject matter of the hearing) took place, so that the local public could attend;
 - b the location of the applicant at the time of the scheduled hearing (if the applicant was in prison, the necessary arrangements had to be made so that s/he could attend);
 - c the location and availability of victims, so that they could attend the hearing;
 - d whether other similar applications should or could be heard simultaneously;
 - e the availability of the necessary logistical services, namely a suitable and secure venue, translating facilities, recording facilities, accommodation, transport and witness protection services; and
 - f the availability of legal representatives of the applicants, victims and/or implicated persons. Some hearings involved no fewer than nineteen legal representatives.
51. There were times when four panels of the Committee sat simultaneously at four different locations, making the scheduling of applications for public hearings a challenging task. Once a hearing was finally scheduled, the chairperson of the Committee assigned a panel consisting of a judge and at least two other members to preside over the hearing. The leader of evidence was then responsible for the following:
- a Issuing the necessary notices in terms of section 19(4) of the Act, and informing the applicant, victims and implicated parties of the date and venue at least fourteen days before the hearing.
 - b Requesting and confirming all logistical requirements and arrangements. As far as was practical and reasonable, the Committee was responsible for providing transport and accommodation for victims.
 - c Preparing the hearing documentation. This bundle contained all the applications and relevant documentation and could vary from fifty to 500 pages. Copies of these bundles were made available to all the members of the panel of the Committee, applicants, victims and implicated persons.

- d Arranging for the services of a legal representative for those applicants and victims who were not legally represented.
 - e Arranging and conducting a pre-hearing conference with all the legal representatives involved. The purpose of this conference was, amongst other things, to identify and limit the issues, determine matters that were common cause and exchange any documents to be used at the hearing.
52. Once a hearing had been scheduled, it was the task of the Committee's logistics officers to take care of all the logistical arrangements. The success of a hearing depended to a very large extent on proper logistical arrangements. The logistics officer was normally the first official with whom the applicants, victims, implicated persons, legal representatives and media made contact. Thus apart from performing their logistical responsibilities, logistics officers had to double as public relations officers. Hearings could last anything from three days to eight weeks, and the logistical arrangements normally had to include:
- a Securing an appropriate and secure venue for the hearing. In determining a venue, one of the factors that needed to be taken into account was its accessibility to the various parties and the public. In line with the Committee's decision to allow the community concerned to be part of the hearing, a venue was secured, as far possible, in the area where the incident in question had occurred.
 - b Taking care of the required security arrangements.
 - c Taking care of travel, accommodation and catering arrangements for members of the Committee, staff and victims.
 - d Arranging for interpreting services. Honouring the decision of the Commission that everyone should be allowed to give evidence before the Commission in his/her mother tongue, the Committee made use of interpreters contracted by the Commission. At certain hearings, interpretation into no fewer than six languages was required.
 - e Arranging for technical assistance for recording the proceedings and operating the simultaneous interpretation system. Bearing in mind that anything between two and four hearings per week took place simultaneously, proper planning was essential to ensure that these services were always available.
 - f Arranging for telephone, faxing and photocopying facilities.
 - g Securing the services of 'briefers' – qualified mental health workers who were responsible for attending to the emotional well-being of victims for the duration of the hearing. Briefers played an invaluable role in assisting grief-stricken victims and relatives. At times, the demand for these services was so high that logistics officers and evidence leaders had to double as briefers.

- h Ensuring that all recordings were submitted to the transcribers for transcribing.
 - i Submitting a reconciliation of all expenses for audit by the finance department at the completion of the hearing.
53. At its inception, the Committee decided that, as an adjudicative body, it would not issue media statements or give interviews about its work or decisions. It also decided that the Commission's media department and the Committee's executive secretary would deal with all communications with the media. The Committee initially had reservations about media coverage of its hearings, especially television coverage. It felt that this might deter people from applying for amnesty or from giving evidence. Concern was also expressed that legal representatives might be tempted to exploit to their advantage the public exposure that television coverage affords.
54. Notwithstanding these concerns, the Committee agreed, albeit reluctantly, that full media coverage would be allowed during hearings, provided that the Committee had the discretion to disallow or halt coverage when it was in the interests of justice to do so.
55. It emerged, however, that the media were to play a very constructive and important role in covering amnesty hearings, and an excellent working relationship developed between the media and the Committee. The role of the media in communicating the essence of the amnesty process and involving the public in the proceedings cannot be underestimated; and it must be said that the process was considerably enriched by this contribution.

Sixth stage: Hearings

56. The hearings of amnesty applications were the only publicly visible part of the amnesty process. Not only did they physically take place in public, but the hearings were also extensively covered by the print and electronic media.
57. The Act provided that the Committee should determine the procedural rules regulating public hearings of amnesty applications. This was done over a period of time, taking into account the practicalities of the process. In general the guidelines were as follows:
- a Any person giving evidence was required to do so under oath or affirmation.
 - b The first to testify were the applicants, followed by any witnesses they wished to call.

- c The next to give evidence were the victim(s) or the relatives of the victim(s) and any witnesses they wished to call. Victims who were unable to contribute towards the merits were allowed to make a statement rather than testify if they so preferred. These statements normally dealt with contextual or background factors and subjective views and experiences, often critical to issues of reconciliation and closure for victims.
 - d If applicable, the Committee could then call witnesses, either of its own volition or, if it was seen to be in the interest of justice, at the request of any person who had a material interest in the proceedings. The Committee could also allow any implicated person an opportunity to rebut any allegations against him/her.
 - e The Committee had the discretion to allow cross-examination of any person giving evidence before it by any interested person or her/his legal representative. The Committee could limit the scope and extent of cross-examination.
 - f At the conclusion of the evidence, the applicant or his/her legal representative was entitled to address the Committee. This would be followed by an address by the other interested parties or their legal representatives. The Committee could, within reasonable limits, restrict the scope and duration of the addresses, which were required to be succinct and to the point.
 - g A person giving oral evidence was entitled to do so in any of the official languages.
 - h Any person who wished to make use of any document during the hearing had to ensure that sufficient copies were furnished to the Committee and to all other known interested parties in good time. This rule was more strictly applied where the person was legally represented.
 - i Evidence was limited to issues that were material to a proper consideration of the application.
58. The Committee could, in its sole discretion, vary any of these procedures, which did not in any way detract from the general competence of the Committee or its inherent powers.
59. The decision to allow cross-examination of any applicant or witness could be influenced by the following factors:
- a whether or not the cross-examiner was opposing the application;
 - b whether or not the concerns of implicated persons could be adequately met by an affidavit in which they stated their version;
 - c whether or not the purpose of the cross-examination was to show that the applicant was not entitled to amnesty;

- d whether or not the cross-examination was directed at specific requirements prescribed by the Act in order to qualify for amnesty; and
 - e whether or not the interests of justice demanded that cross-examination be allowed and to what extent it should be allowed.
60. The decision not to promulgate formal rules of procedure allowed the Committee to adopt a flexible approach that was more appropriate to the unique nature of the amnesty process. The guidelines adopted by the Committee enabled it to use its sole discretion in determining the order of proceedings and to rule on any relevant point of law or matter during the course of a hearing. It was thus able to allow:
- a affidavits to be submitted to the panel from persons not present at or available to attend the hearing;
 - b documents to be submitted as evidence during the course of the proceedings;
 - c hearsay evidence to be heard and its evidentiary value determined; and
 - d cross-examination, having due regard to time constraints, fairness, relevance and the purpose of such cross-examination.
61. Moreover, persons (or legal representatives acting on their behalf) who challenged or contested the allegations contained in affidavits submitted to the Committee could do so by filing written representations or by submitting an affidavit within a reasonable period of time after the hearing.
62. The Committee could, on application by a party, take cognisance of evidence given at judicial proceedings, provided that the party sufficiently specified the relevant portion of the evidence concerned, and allow persons implicated by evidence given during the course of the hearing to make representations within a reasonable period of time after the hearing.

Seventh stage

63. The final stage in dealing with an application was the delivery of a decision by the Committee and the consequent notification of all parties concerned.
64. In certain instances, the Committee gave *ex tempore* (immediate) decisions at the conclusion of a hearing. In the majority of the cases, however, the Committee only decided the matter at a later stage.
65. The reason for this is that many of the hearings stretched over a period of days and the evidence ran to thousands of transcribed pages. Thus, both the Committee and the legal representatives needed time to go through the evidence.

In certain instances, legal representatives required a reasonable period to submit written heads of argument and Committee members needed time to discuss the evidence and prepare a decision.

66. As soon as a decision was reached, it was handed to the executive secretary, who promptly notified the applicant and all other interested parties of the outcome and provided them with a copy of the decision as well as a copy of the proclamation that would be published in the Government Gazette. Known victims and implicated persons were notified through their legal representatives. Where applicable, notifications were also sent to the Department of Correctional Services, the head of the prison concerned, the National Prosecuting Authority and the registrar of the court concerned. The Commission was similarly notified.

CHALLENGES FACED BY THE COMMITTEE

67. The Committee was faced with various challenges, not all of a substantial nature. Only those factors that made it difficult for the Committee to do its work will be reflected upon here.

Reviews

68. No provision was made in the Act for an appeal against any decision of the Committee. Once the Committee had made its decision and informed the applicant, the Committee was *functus officio* (its function fulfilled) and could not review its decision or change it. The only remedy available to those who were dissatisfied with the decision (whether applicant, victim or interested party) was to approach the High Court to review the decision.
69. At the time of compiling this report, eight review applications had been filed against the decisions of the Committee. In two instances, the applications succeeded and the matters were referred back to the Committee for reconsideration. In three instances, the applications were dismissed. The remaining three instances were still pending at the time of publication. (These reviews are dealt with in more detail in Chapter Four, 'Legal Challenges'.)

Operational challenges

70. Operational challenges had the most profound impact on the ability of the Committee to finish a huge workload within the shortest period possible. Some of the most significant are mentioned below:

Staff

71. All members of staff were employed in a temporary capacity and on a contractual basis. Due to the lack of employment security and uncertainty about exactly when the process would end, staff members were understandably constantly on the lookout for permanent employment elsewhere. Apart from a basic salary, staff members were offered no incentives, such as service bonuses, causing the Committee to lose experienced staff on a regular basis. It became increasingly difficult to fill vacancies, as it was almost impossible to find experienced and skilled people willing to enter into contracts for limited periods without being able to offer them substantial incentives.

Budgetary constraints

72. The Committee did not have its own budget and had to compete with the rest of the Commission for available funds. More funds would certainly have gone a long way towards making it possible to employ more staff and so reduce some of the pressure on the Committee.

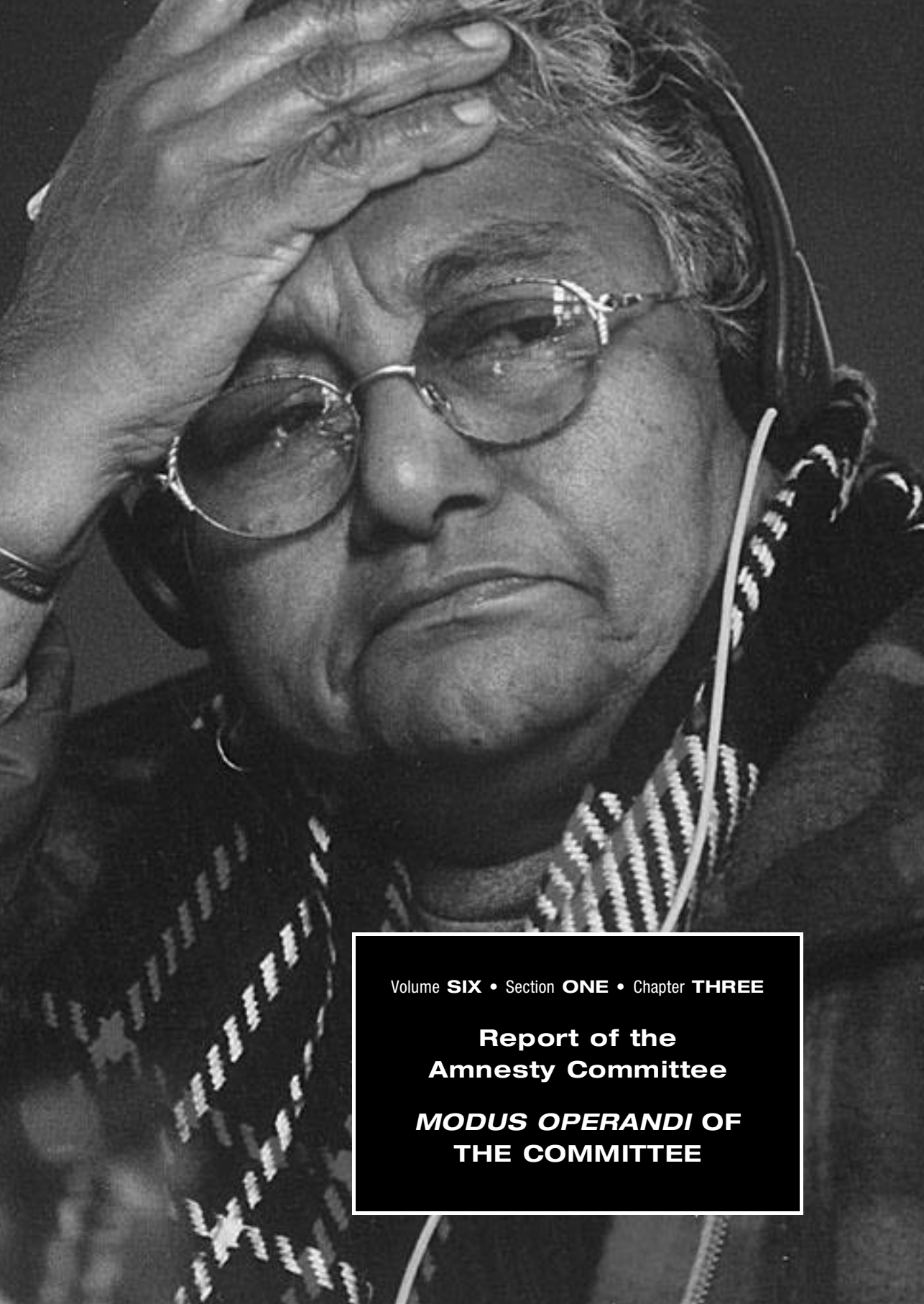
Preparation of applications

73. The preparation of an application entailed substantially more than simply reading it and submitting it to the Committee for finalisation. The information contained in applications was, as a rule, very scant and had to be supplemented in one way or another. The vast majority of applicants did not have the luxury of a legal representative to assist them in completing the application form, and those who had lawyers usually divulged as little as possible. This necessitated a continuous exchange of correspondence between the Committee and applicants to elicit the necessary information.
74. Approximately 65 per cent of the applications were submitted by people who were in custody and had limited means of obtaining information. In most of these instances, court and police records had to be obtained. Delays were frequently experienced in obtaining records from the responsible institutions and, in many instances, the investigators had to go personally to collect them.
75. Corresponding with applicants in custody was often very difficult, since they were often transferred from one prison to another without the Committee being informed. This resulted in correspondence being despatched to the wrong address and reaching them only after a delay.

76. Some of the incidents mentioned by applicants had never previously been investigated by the police or dealt with at a trial. Consequently, the Committee had to investigate these incidents long after the event had taken place.
77. Establishing the identity and location of implicated persons, and especially of victims, was a very difficult and time-consuming task. The print and electronic media had to be used. The cost of placing even a single newspaper advertisement per missing person could add up to a considerable amount of money.
78. Investigative work took investigators all over the country, in many cases to remote and inaccessible areas. Investigators often had to contend with uncooperative victims and implicated persons, but all information furnished by applicants had to be verified.
79. The co-operation of political parties with the amnesty process was at times disappointing. Getting them simply to confirm an applicant's membership or provide information about an incident or policy could take anything between two and six months. In the meantime, the Committee was left to contend with irate and frustrated applicants.

Hearings

80. The task of scheduling – and adhering to a planned schedule – was complicated by a number of factors, including the difficulty of finding a suitable venue. Not all institutions were willing to make accommodation available for a hearing, especially for periods of up to two weeks or longer. Factors that had to be taken into account in the choice of a venue included financial constraints, security, and the accessibility of the venue to applicants, victims and the general public. Another difficulty was finding a date that suited the various legal representatives representing the applicants, the implicated persons and victims. In addition, lawyers tended to treat hearings as criminal trials, with the result that the cross-examination of applicants sometimes continued for days.
81. These are but some of the challenges the Committee faced. Due to dedication and effort on the part of everyone involved, none of these challenges proved insurmountable. Notwithstanding these less than optimum circumstances, the Committee was able to complete its mandate successfully by 31 May 2001.



Volume **SIX** • Section **ONE** • Chapter **THREE**

**Report of the
Amnesty Committee**

***MODUS OPERANDI OF
THE COMMITTEE***

***Modus Operandi* of the Committee**

■ **CHAMBER MATTERS**

1. Section 19(3) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 (the Act) gave the Amnesty Committee (the Committee) the discretion to deal with certain applications in the absence of the applicant and without holding a public hearing – after having investigated the application and having made such enquiries as the Committee considered necessary. These matters were generally referred to as ‘chamber matters’ and concerned incidents that did not constitute gross violations of human rights as defined in the Act (see further Chapter One).²⁴
2. Subsection 19(3)(a) of the Act empowered the Committee to refuse an application in chambers when it was satisfied that the application did not relate to an act associated with a political objective. In appropriate circumstances, the Committee was authorised to give the applicant the opportunity to make a further submission before the matter was finalised. This happened quite frequently where the available information created some doubt as to whether the requirement of a political objective had been satisfied, for example where it was not clear whether the applicant had acted within the scope of a particular order or mandate.
3. In terms of subsection 19(3)(b) of the Act, amnesty could be granted in chambers only if the requirements for amnesty (as set out in section 20(1) of the Act) had been complied with; if there was no need for a hearing, and if the act, omission or offence to which the application related did not constitute a gross violation of human rights.
4. The largest percentage of applications the Committee dealt with were chamber matters. Out of a total of 7115 applications, 5489 were dealt with in chambers.

²⁴ Section 1(ix) defined gross violations of human rights as killings, abductions, torture and severe ill-treatment, including any attempt, conspiracy, incitement, instigation, command or procurement to commit any of these acts.

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED WHEN DEALING WITH CHAMBER MATTERS

5. One of the difficulties the Committee experienced when dealing with chamber matters arose from the lapse of time between the commission of the act or offence and the consideration of the application for amnesty. Where this spanned a period of years, it was often difficult to trace victims or possible witnesses in order to obtain their comments on an applicant's version. In many such cases, it was difficult if not impossible to obtain police or court records. Even where court records were traced, applicants often averred that they had lied to the trial court to escape punishment. It was also not uncommon to learn from applicants that they had concealed the political motivation for their deeds in their court evidence, as this would, at the time, have been regarded as an aggravating circumstance. This left the Committee with the dilemma of having to decide whether an applicant had disclosed the truth in the amnesty application or whether this new version was also just an expedient stratagem. Obviously, these difficulties also arose in 'hearable' matters.
6. Another difficulty arose from the fact that, in the time gap between the submission of an application by a serving prisoner and its consideration by the Committee, an applicant might have been released from prison without leaving any forwarding address or contact details. In these instances, the Committee took the view that applicants had a duty to keep the Committee informed of their whereabouts. Nevertheless, the Committee took all possible steps to trace applicants. If several attempts and a final ultimatum failed to elicit a response, such matters were dealt with on the basis of unsupplemented information.
7. The use of pseudonyms, and references to co-perpetrators by pseudonyms or *noms de guerre*, hampered the proper linking of files relating to the same incident and consequently made it extremely difficult to corroborate the versions of the various applicants by cross-referencing. This was a particular problem when dealing with applications by members of the liberation movements. The resultant delays made the process of dealing with chamber matters more time-consuming than had originally been anticipated.
8. Other delays resulted from slow responses to enquiries directed to political organisations, government institutions and private individuals. This was not always due to reluctance or unwillingness to assist the Committee on the part

of those concerned, but more often reflected a lack of the necessary capacity to deal with these enquiries expeditiously.

9. The Committee was mindful of the particular difficulties experienced by government departments. In many instances, old files had been destroyed in the normal course of events or as part of a deliberate policy to conceal information.²⁵ Some considerable changes in staff after the democratic elections in 1994 caused additional difficulties in accessing archival material. In the case of private individuals, communication by mail presented its own problems, particularly in areas that were not easily accessible, such as outlying rural areas and informal settlements.

PROCEDURE FOLLOWED BY THE COMMITTEE IN DEALING WITH CHAMBER MATTERS

10. The procedure followed when dealing with chamber matters was adapted from time to time to take account of the availability of Committee members. This resulted in differing views on the interpretation of the Act. Initially, when the Committee consisted of only five members, all were required to consider the application and only one member was mandated to sign the decision on behalf of the full Committee. After the enlargement of the Committee, two signatures were at first considered sufficient. The Committee, however, eventually settled on a three-member panel (one of whom had to be a judge) to decide chamber matters.
11. Committee members dealt with chamber matters as and when they were available in between hearings and the writing of decisions. At times, this resulted in the involvement of more than just the three Committee members required to sign the final decision. A Committee member would, for example, be assigned to deal with a particular matter in chambers and might, in the process, direct an administrative official to obtain further particulars (such as a police docket or court record) to clarify the application. Once the additional information became available, the same file might be referred to another Committee member who happened to be available at the time, and not necessarily back to the member who had originally dealt with the file. This member would, if satisfied, take a decision and have a draft decision prepared. If s/he did not consider the application to be a straightforward one, s/he might decide to consult with other Committee members before drafting the decision. Once the decision was drafted and the three members concurred, it would be signed and the interested parties would be informed of the outcome of the application.

25 See particularly Volume One, Chapter Eight, 'The Destruction of Records'.

12. Some chamber matters proved to be of such complexity that they required the attention of more than the requisite three Committee members, and even of the full Committee. However, after appropriate consultations among members, the matter would still be finally decided by a three-member panel.
13. In less complicated cases, where an application was refused, no summary of the facts was given but only the ground/s for the refusal. Where amnesty was granted in less complicated cases, a brief summary of the facts was provided, followed by the Committee's decision.

SPECIAL CASES

14. Some cases that were originally earmarked to be dealt with in chambers were eventually referred to a hearing after further consideration and investigation. These special cases fell into three categories. The first concerned a collection of applications involving witchcraft and the burning of people as a result of this phenomenon. These were particularly prevalent in, but not limited to, the Northern Province. The second category concerned a cluster of cases involving the activities of self-defence units (SDUs) in the townships, some of which did not, strictly speaking, require a hearing, but were ultimately heard to ensure that the Committee obtained a complete account of SDU activities. The last category concerned the activities of Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) operatives, particularly robberies and related violent acts committed, it was argued, to raise funds for the organisation.
15. At first glance, all of these incidents appeared to be common crimes. The SDU applications, moreover, contained scant information, which aggravated the difficulty of determining the events that had taken place. As the context of these incidents was clarified, however, it became evident that these matters could only be properly decided at public hearings where all the relevant circumstances could be fully canvassed. The Committee accordingly opted for this approach.

Witchcraft

16. Applications relating to offences involving witchcraft were considered to fall into a unique category of human rights violations and were given special attention by the Committee. The question as to whether amnesty could be granted where a victim or victims had been attacked or killed as a result of a belief in witchcraft elicited much debate, and members of the Committee were initially divided on the issue. One view was that such a belief was not sufficient grounds for

granting amnesty and that applications of this nature ought to be refused. Others argued that the concept 'conflicts of the past', as envisaged in the Act, also encompassed the very real conflict between traditional values – essentially supporting the *status quo* – and the emerging democratic values supporting transformation.

17. So contentious was the issue initially that it was referred to a full meeting of the Committee. At this meeting, a subcommittee was mandated to investigate the matter and make recommendations. It was ultimately decided that all witchcraft cases should be dealt with in one cluster and referred to a public hearing.
18. The bulk of the witchcraft cases were heard in two hearing sessions at Thohoyandou in the Northern Province. Professor NV Ralushai, an expert witness and chairperson of the 1995 Commission of Inquiry into Witchcraft Violence and Ritual Murder in the Northern Province, testified at the principal hearing. His evidence, as well as the Interim Report of his Commission – which was made available to the hearings panel – were invaluable in helping the Committee make informed decisions on all witchcraft-related applications.
19. Largely as a consequence of these contributions, the Committee concluded that a belief in witchcraft was still widely prevalent in certain rural areas of South Africa. Moreover, it became clear to the Committee that the issue of witchcraft had – at certain times in some rural areas – been a central factor in some of the recent political conflicts between supporters of the liberation movements and the forces seeking to entrench the *status quo*. The former were of the opinion that traditional practices and beliefs related to witchcraft had been exploited by the latter to advance their positions.
20. The Committee accepted the following finding of the Ralushai Commission of Inquiry:
*Apartheid politics turned traditional leaders into politicians representing a system which was not popular with many people, because they were seen as upholders of that system. For this reason, traditional leaders became the target of the now politicised youth.*²⁶
21. It further accepted the view of the Commission of Inquiry that:
*[I]n some cases the youth intimidated traditional leaders in such a way that the latter had little or no option but to sniff out so-called witches.*²⁷

26 Interim Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Witchcraft Violence and Ritual Murder in the Northern Province, p. 49.

27 Interim Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Witchcraft Violence and Ritual Murder in the Northern Province, p. 144.

22. It was also clear from the evidence heard by the Committee that, in Venda particularly, the liberation forces used cases of witchcraft and ritual killings to politicise communities. This strategy was facilitated by the fact that local communities were dissatisfied with the manner in which the apartheid authorities had handled such cases. For example, the failure of the authorities to act against people who were believed to be witches resulted in a belief that the government was the protector of witches. In Venda, where traditional leaders with relatively poor education were politically empowered and were associated with some of the most heinous abuses, the situation was ripe for political conflict.
23. In some cases, where comrades and other pro-liberation movement activists were perceived as having died as a result of witchcraft, community organisations took steps to eliminate those they believed to have been responsible for these deaths.
24. This exposition represents only some aspects of the hearings on these complex witchcraft-related applications. Although the facts and merits of the various applications were diverse, the incidents occurred largely against the background outlined above, which also informed the decisions of the Committee. Within this framework, each application was decided individually and according to its own merits. The specific circumstances of each case are fully recorded in the amnesty decisions accompanying this report.
25. The Committee shares the widespread concern expressed by civil society about the continued prevalence of practices and violent incidents related to a belief in witchcraft in certain areas. It is the Committee's view that this issue warrants further attention by the appropriate government authorities.²⁸

Self-defence units and township violence

26. The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) discussed the phenomenon of SDUs and the various acts of violence their members committed in many parts of the country²⁹. It will not, therefore, be elaborated on here.
27. Applications by former members of SDUs presented the Committee with formidable problems. Most SDU applications were hurriedly completed and submitted just before the closing date for amnesty applications.³⁰ These forms contained only basic information with few, if any, details about the incident(s)

28 See Section 4, Chapter 6, 'Findings and Recommendations' in this volume.

29 See Volume Two, pp. 35,36,675ff, 684; Volume Three, pp. 214–15,298–303,515,692.

30 Applicants had been assisted by a community worker who had been closely involved in monitoring community conflicts.

for which amnesty was being sought. Most were identical and simply contained general reference to unspecified SDU activities.

28. These SDU applications caused a number of specific difficulties.
29. First, and not unnaturally, SDU members stated in their applications that they had acted in self-defence. On a strict legal interpretation, such conduct is not unlawful and does not, therefore, amount to an offence. As one of the statutory requirements for amnesty is that the applicant's conduct must constitute an offence associated with a political objective, SDU applicants did not qualify for amnesty (see also Chapter One of this volume).
30. Second, given the form of the violence in the townships and the nature of the operations undertaken by SDUs during the early 1990s, applicants frequently could not identify any specific victim(s) of their actions. Incidents tended to involve violent conflicts between crowds of African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters. Many applicants were unable to say whether or not any person(s) had been injured or killed as a result of their actions in the course of these clashes. They were often not even able to say whether any injuries or deaths had resulted during specified clashes.
31. Third, some applicants (usually convicted prisoners) denied having participated in or even having been associated with the commission of the offence(s) for which they had been convicted and for which they were seeking amnesty. Again, in terms of the Act, they could not be said to have committed an offence with a political objective as required by the Act. Generally the Committee took the view that it was not a court of appeal and that applicants who had been refused amnesty had to seek redress from the courts. The Committee did, however, endeavour to draw the attention of the appropriate government authority to the anomaly of releasing via the amnesty process those guilty of offences, sometimes of a heinous nature, while retaining in prison those innocent of these offences. This is obviously a matter requiring further focussed attention by the appropriate authorities.
32. Fourth, in some SDU cases the Committee found that the applicant(s) concerned had acted against targets without knowing whether or not they were members or supporters of an opposing political organisation or party. Rather, they acted against communities that were perceived to be supporting a rival organisation. This created a potential complication in that the Act required the applicant to have acted against a political opponent.

33. Fifth, the Committee also heard that some SDU applicants had acted during specific incidents without an order from (a) leader(s) of the political organisation or party they represented or of which they claimed to have been a member or supporter at the time of the commission of the offence(s). Again, this complicated even clearly politically motivated action.
34. Sixth, those ANC-aligned SDU members who had committed acts of robbery ostensibly with the aim of buying arms for their activities could not conceivably be said to have acted in accordance with the general policy of the ANC, which disavowed robbery as part of its policy.
35. Finally, due to the lack of legal representation and advice available to them at the time of the completion of the amnesty application forms, many SDU applicants failed to provide the necessary particularity concerning their actions. These applications were, therefore, at risk of being refused for their failure to comply with the requirements of the Act.
36. After intense discussions prior to the finalisation of SDU applications, the Committee decided to deal with them at public hearings where the context of the conflict and the activities of the SDUs could be fully ventilated.
37. The hearings helped clarify the political background and context within which these offences occurred through the evidence of witnesses who were part of the leadership of the organisations involved in the conflict. The Committee also benefited from the reports and testimony of representatives of non-governmental organisations who had been involved in monitoring the political violence and trends in the areas where these activities occurred. In evaluating the merits of the applications, the Committee also considered the submissions of the ANC, and subjected applicants to pertinent and probing questions about the ANC's tactics and policies.
38. However, although these submissions were generally helpful, they did not always enable the Committee to reach an informed decision on every individual case. It was clear, for example, that it had not always been possible for SDU members to receive a specific order before launching an attack or operation. The areas in question were, moreover, gripped by large-scale, ongoing and indiscriminate violence where the maintenance of law and order had all but collapsed. Testimonies at the hearings depicted a grim picture of day-to-day survival as communities came under attack by clandestine forces, often operating

with the tacit approval and even support of the security forces. The East Rand in the early 1990s offered a clear example of this, with young people testifying about their involvement in violent operations in defence of their communities.

39. It was often difficult to draw a distinction between legitimate SDU operations and criminal actions. Local criminal elements exploited the violence and civil strife for their own ends. Some SDUs became a virtual law unto themselves, even acting against fellow SDU members, as was the case in Katlehong in 1992. Other SDU elements launched operations against the express orders of their political leadership.
40. Investigating the involvement of the security forces in the township violence of the early 1990s proved difficult. Lack of investigative capacity on the part of the Committee was one factor; time constraints were another. But the biggest obstacle was the attitude of the security forces themselves. Security force members were reluctant to appear before the Committee to refute allegations about their role in the violence. In many cases, they responded by submitting affidavits or instructing legal representatives to cross-examine those who had implicated them. Rarely did they attend the hearings to present their own version. The result was that, at the end of these hearings, there was little to contradict the strong impression that certain members of the security forces had been involved in acts of violence against communities which had simply sought to defend themselves.
41. It must also be mentioned that, in some of the SDU cases, there was no objective evidence to corroborate the testimonies of the applicants – either because the victims were unknown to the applicant or because they had left the area in which the attack occurred. This did not deter the Committee from making victim findings (in terms of section 22 of the Act) in the hope that the victims, once they reappeared, would be able to access the reparations process. There were also cases where victims took a conscious decision not to attend the hearings and testify for fear of reprisals by other members of an applicant's political organisation or party.

APLA operations

42. Applications from persons claiming to have been members or supporters of APLA – the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) – presented the Committee with problems peculiar to this particular category of applicants.

43. These problems resulted from certain policies of the organisation, acknowledged by their leaders, which sometimes made it difficult to distinguish between acts associated with a political objective committed by bona fide APLA members and purely criminal acts committed for personal gain, often coupled with severe assault and murder.
44. The first such policy was that expressed in the APLA slogan 'one settler, one bullet'. Given the fact that APLA and the PAC regarded all white people as settlers, this slogan actually translated into 'one white person, one bullet'. Thus individuals became legitimate targets simply because of the colour of their skin, as in the case of the white American exchange student, Ms Amy Bieh³¹, the patrons of the Heidelberg Tavern³², the King William's Town Golf Club, and the Crazy Beat discotheque in Newcastle. These were, of course, analogous to incidents that involved members or supporters of the white right-wing organisation, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)³³, where black people were seen as supporters of the ANC and/or communists simply because they were black, and became targets as a result.
45. The second problematic policy position related to the 'repossession' of property. Particular difficulties arose in respect of 'repossessed' goods that, unlike firearms, could not be used directly in the furtherance of the liberation struggle. Many amnesty applications by APLA operatives involved the robbery or theft of a variety of goods and valuables, including cash and vehicles. They often alleged that some of the proceeds of these operations were used as subsistence for the operatives: that is, the proceeds provided their means of survival so that they could continue with their political work. Where goods other than cash were 'repossessed', it was claimed that these were sold to raise funds for the liberation struggle. APLA commanders who testified at hearings were at pains to point out that they viewed these acts of theft and robbery as the legitimate repossession of goods to which the African people of South Africa were rightfully entitled, in line with APLA policy.
46. In dealing with the APLA applications, the first issue the Committee had to resolve was whether these were bona fide operations associated with the liberation struggle. The Committee adopted the approach that amnesty would be refused if the applicants were unable to satisfy the Committee that the property involved had either been handed over to APLA or used in accordance with APLA policy in furtherance of the liberation struggle.

³¹ Volume One, p. 11; Volume Three, p. 510.

³² Volume Three, p. 508.

³³ Volume One, p. 120; Volume Two, pp. 643,645–8, 665; Volume Five, pp. 209,237.

47. Given the open-ended nature of this 'repossession' policy, it was not surprising that a large number of prison inmates attempted to obtain amnesty ostensibly under the flag of the PAC or APLA. The Committee initially inclined to the view that all these doubtful matters could be dealt with in chambers. However, it later adopted a more cautious approach, with the result that many alleged APLA cases were later revisited and referred to a public hearing.
48. A further difficulty that bedevilled the Committee in assessing the APLA applications was the somewhat loose structure of the APLA units that operated inside the country and, in particular, the 'task force' or 'township trainees' recruited by trained APLA commanders to assist in operations. According to the general submission of the PAC to the Commission, as well as the evidence of APLA commanders at hearings, these task force members were often recruited from the ranks of known criminals both in and outside prison. This was done, it was suggested in evidence, specifically because people with criminal records were best suited to the task of 'repossession' by means of theft and robbery.
49. The use of code names, the unavailability of APLA records and the impossibility at times of ascertaining the true identity of individual amnesty applicants further compounded the problems experienced by the Committee. According to the testimony of APLA commanders, the records of the organisation had been confiscated by the police and never returned. A further difficulty arose from the fact that the PAC and APLA maintained independent organisational structures. This duality is illustrated by the fact that, in the early 1990s, the PAC leadership – which represented the political wing of the organisation – suspended the armed struggle, while APLA, the military wing, continued with the armed struggle in apparent conflict with the PAC position. The resultant confusion presented a further difficulty for the Committee when it came to apply the amnesty-qualifying criteria of the Act – such as the provision that the act under consideration had to be 'associated with a political objective'.
50. The Committee sought the assistance of the PAC and APLA leadership in an attempt to ascertain the truth or relevant information to shed more light on particular aspects of various applications. Unfortunately this assistance was very seldom forthcoming. In those cases where assistance was given, it took an inordinately long time before a query was responded to.
51. Bold allegations of APLA membership or APLA involvement, uncorroborated by any objective proof, were obviously insufficient to comply with the requirements

of the Act. Unfortunately, in many instances, APLA commanders failed to attend hearings or to come to the assistance of applicants. This left the Committee in the position of having to test alleged APLA membership or involvement in incidents as best as it could, for example by evaluating an applicant's knowledge of the history, policies and structures of the organisation.

HEARABLES

52. In line with the provisions of the Act, the Committee was obliged to deal with any application concerning a gross violation of human rights at a public hearing.³⁴ This part of the Committee's mandate encompassed its most visible activities and was its public face. Although the Act provided for hearings to be held behind closed doors under exceptional circumstances, all the hearings conducted by the Committee were accessible to members of the public as well as to all sectors of the media, including television. The media covered most of the hearings and gave particularly extensive coverage to the cases considered to be high-profile amnesty applications, although this coverage and interest waned towards the end of the process.

Constitution of panels

53. The Act empowered the chairperson of the Committee to constitute subcommittees or hearings panels, which had to be presided over by a High Court judge. Normally a hearings panel would consist of three members who constituted a quorum, though at times, and in more complex matters, panels of up to five members were established.³⁵ An effort was always made to ensure that panels were representative of the racial and gender composition of the Committee itself, taking into account the exigencies of the particular case. Other relevant factors such as language were also taken into account. In applications involving official languages other than English, an effort was made to ensure that at least some members of the panel were proficient in the language in question, although a simultaneous interpretation service was provided at every hearing. This approach significantly facilitated the work and deliberations of the hearings panel outside of the formal hearing itself.

³⁴ Subsections 19(3)(b)(iii) & (4).

³⁵ There is no statutory quorum requirement set out in the Act. The quorum stipulation was established by decision of the Committee. The Act initially provided for a single committee of five members to consider applications. This soon proved impractical in view of the tremendous workload of the Committee. The Act was consequently amended to expand the membership of the Committee and to provide for multiple hearings panels in order to expedite finalisation of the work of the Committee within the general time constraints that applied to the Commission's process as a whole. It was, therefore, only on rare occasions that panels of more than three members were constituted later on in the process.

54. There is no doubt that the general representivity of the hearings panels greatly benefited the hearings process and helped the panels to deal with and appreciate the nuances of particular cases, enhancing the ultimate quality of decision-making within the Committee.

Hearings procedure

55. Although the Act gave the Committee the latitude to prescribe a formal set of rules to govern hearings, the Committee decided, after some consideration, that it would be in the best interests of the unique process created by the Act not to opt for a set of rules in advance.³⁶ It settled instead on the more flexible approach of determining the hearings procedure as the amnesty process unfolded, taking into account the practical demands of the process itself. This enabled the Committee to ensure procedural fairness in all cases, even where this required deviations from the procedures followed in the majority of cases. In the end, the procedure followed in most cases did not differ substantially from that which applies in a court of law.
56. It must be noted that there were those who criticised what they described as the 'judicialisation' of the amnesty process, arguing that the Committee was under no statutory obligation to adopt the process it followed: one which, even in the setting and formalities of hearings, very closely resembled the court approach.
57. A further and related criticism concerned the membership of the hearings panels. Although the Act required only that the Committee and the hearings panels be chaired by judges, the membership of the Committee consisted exclusively of lawyers. Critics argued that the exclusion of persons skilled in other disciplines – for example the social sciences – from Committee membership, impoverished the process. It was their view that multi-disciplinary panels would have diluted the legalistic process adopted by the Committee and introduced, instead, a rich variety of perspectives.
58. This criticism is reproduced here without analysis or comment, save to offer the Committee's view that, in a process requiring adjudication, lawyers will inevitably play a significant if not leading role and that the process will tend, therefore, to be judicial in nature. While it must be accepted that any system designed by humans will always leave room for improvement, it is the Committee's view that the adopted process did not result in prejudice to any party.

36 There was a view within the Committee that procedures should have been agreed upon and publicised at the outset.

59. In general, the Act provided for a process with clear inquisitorial elements. The Committee was expressly required to conduct investigations in respect of amnesty applications³⁷ and to ensure that the fullest possible picture emerged of the particular incident forming the subject matter of the application. This process had, moreover, to be undertaken within the context of the new constitutional system, which requires that administrative bodies such as the Committee should engage in fair administrative action.³⁸
60. Within the broad parameters set by the legislation, the Committee endeavoured to steer a middle course between a purely inquisitorial and an adversarial procedure³⁹ in its hearings. The guiding principle followed was to allow every interested party the fullest possible opportunity to participate in the proceedings and to present a case to the panel. Every party that participated in the hearings had the right to legal representation, and even those who were indigent were always afforded some form of legal representation.⁴⁰ This enabled the hearings panels to adopt a less inquisitorial approach during the course of the hearings, which eventually became predominantly adversarial in nature. In some exceptional cases, and where it was demanded by the interests of justice, hearings panels acted proactively by postponing hearings (even when they had already been partly heard) to allow a party the opportunity to investigate or deal with material issues that arose in the course of the hearing. This meant that parties were allowed the fullest possible opportunity either to present or oppose an amnesty application. While endeavouring to make the process as fair as possible, the Committee was cognisant of and guarded against the possible abuse of the flexibility of the adopted procedure to the detriment of one of the parties or the process as a whole.
61. Throughout the process, the Committee was faced with the challenge of having to balance the need to allow applications to be fully canvassed with the need to conclude the process within the shortest possible time and with ever-dwindling resources. To this end, the Committee was authorised by the provisions of the Act to place reasonable limitations on cross-examination and the presentation

37 Section 19(2) provides that the 'Committee shall investigate the application and make such enquiries as it may deem necessary ...'.

38 Section 33 of the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) provides that 'everyone has the right to administrative action that is lawful, reasonable and procedurally fair'.

39 An inquisitorial procedure is one in which the court or committee takes the leading role in questioning witnesses and examining evidence. In an adversarial procedure the court or committee plays a neutral role and allows the parties to present their cases and question each other. South African courts are traditionally adversarial, and commissions of inquiry traditionally inquisitorial.

40 Section 34 of the Act entrenches the right to legal representation while at the same time providing for a legal assistance scheme for indigent parties to amnesty proceedings. In practice this scheme was chiefly applied to assist victims, since the government introduced a state-sponsored scheme to assist applicants who were former or present state employees or members or supporters of liberation movements. The perceptions of the victims with regard to the quality of legal representation provided for in the respective schemes are dealt with elsewhere in this report.

of argument at hearings.⁴¹ Hearings panels were, therefore, in a position to direct cross-examination and argument towards only those elements of a case that were relevant to assessing the factors to be considered in deciding the amnesty application. In many instances, the incidents in question had already been fully canvassed at court hearings – particularly in criminal trials – which had already established the objective facts surrounding an incident (such as the date, time, place and nature of the incident, the identity of the victims and the like).

62. There was, however, a significant limitation to the degree of assistance that could be obtained from the records of many criminal trials in cases where an amnesty applicant had appeared as the accused. The striking difference between an amnesty application and a criminal trial lies in the fact that, in a criminal trial, the accused invariably try to exonerate themselves, while at an amnesty hearing they incriminate themselves. This latter factor is, of course, one of the legal requirements for qualifying for amnesty. The Committee was often struck by the extent to which both defence and prosecution had perverted the normal course of justice in earlier criminal trials. Not only did amnesty applicants who had earlier been accused admit to having presented perjured evidence to the trial court, but similar admissions were often made by amnesty applicants who had appeared as prosecution witnesses at criminal trials or who had investigated cases as members of the former South African Police. A similar situation pertained to official commissions of inquiry, such as the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Alleged Murders convened in 1990 and chaired by Mr Justice LTC Harms.
63. With a few notable exceptions, the Committee generally received the co-operation of legal representatives in confining cross-examination or argument to strictly relevant issues. As the amnesty process progressed, oral argument at the conclusion of hearings became the norm. It was only in particularly complex cases, or where extensive evidence and other material were presented to the hearings panel, that the parties were called to give written argument. In some exceptional cases, hearings panels had to reconvene to receive oral submissions on the written argument that was presented to the panel.

Decision-making

64. Only in the most exceptional cases did the Committee deliver its decision immediately on conclusion of the proceedings. These few *ex tempore* (immediate)

⁴¹ Section 34(2) deals with this issue as follows: '(2) The Commission may, in order to expedite proceedings, place reasonable limitations with regard to the time allowed in respect of cross-examination of witnesses or any address to the Commission.'

decisions were handed down in clear-cut cases where all parties agreed that amnesty ought to be granted and that any further delay would occasion irreparable prejudice to the applicant, who was in many cases serving a prison sentence for the offence for which amnesty was being sought.

65. However, in the normal course of events, the Committee would reserve its decision at the end of the hearing to allow members of the panel to consider the case. In the majority of cases, panels reached consensus. There were, however, instances where dissenting decisions were handed down. For the most part, the dissenting opinion related to the overall outcome of the application. In some cases, however, it applied only to a particular issue, or to only one of a number of incidents forming the subject matter of the application, or to some of the applicants only.
66. In all cases, the hearings panel handed down reasoned, written decisions.⁴² The decision was then made available to all parties that had participated in the application, and was simultaneously made public.
67. Insofar as the specific process of decision-making was concerned, it was the responsibility of the presiding judge to allocate the writing of the particular decision to a member of the hearings panel. In most cases, the panel was able to come to a decision soon after the finalisation of the hearing. In more complex cases, or where there was no immediate consensus, the panel took time to consider the entire case and review the transcript and any preliminary views expressed by members of the panel. Sometimes, one or more meetings had to be convened to canvass the matter.
68. In order to decide a case, the panel had to make a decision based on the relevant facts. These findings were then tested against the requirements laid down in the Act in order to determine whether the particular applicant qualified for amnesty. One of the difficulties that confronted the Committee was that hearings panels were sometimes presented with only a single version, namely that of the amnesty applicant. This was the case where the applicant was the only witness to the incident in question, or where other potential witnesses were untraceable or deceased. Needless to say, this was not a particularly satisfactory way of determining applications, especially those concerning grave incidents. The reality was, however, that panels had to make a decision on each and every application and were left with the task of assessing the single version as best they could,

⁴² A full text electronic version of all decisions handed down in hearable matters accompanies this report in the form of a compact disc.

taking into consideration the established objective facts as well as the probabilities. Unfortunately, there was always the possibility of suspicion or doubt around cases of this nature. There was, however, no foolproof method of eliminating the possibility of abuse of the process in cases of this nature.

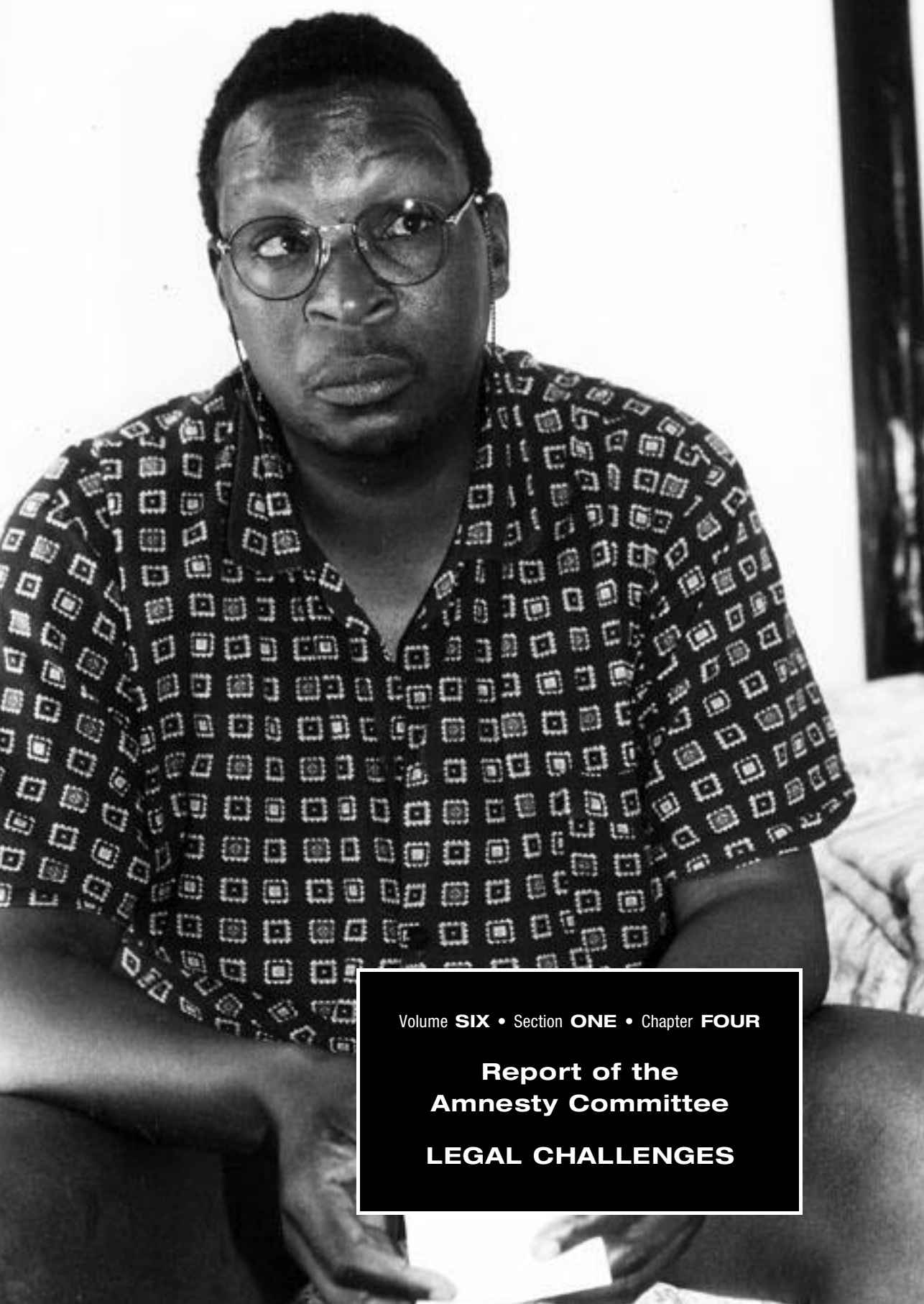
69. Usually, however, hearings panels were faced with the task of deciding cases in the face of conflicting versions of fact. These could and did take a variety of forms and related to both peripheral and material issues. There was often a conflict between the version of the applicant and the version of those opposing the application. Frequently this conflict did not relate directly to the merits of the incident in question but to other relevant issues, such as the political motivation for the incident, or the alleged political activities of a deceased victim. In other instances, the factual dispute related to conflicting versions amongst multiple applicants.
70. Equally frequently, there was a conflict between versions tendered at the amnesty application and those that had been given at earlier criminal trials, inquests, commissions of inquiry and the like. In many instances, there was a conflict between the written application for amnesty and the testimony of the applicant at the amnesty hearing.
71. In situations where amnesty applicants and other parties who appeared at amnesty hearings readily admitted to having given false testimony in earlier judicial proceedings, the Committee could obtain very little assistance from the decisions of those tribunals. The same caveat applied with respect to the potential value of prior police investigations. The shocking injustices that had been perpetrated as a result of police investigations in some of the incidents that came before the Committee often meant that the results of these investigations had to be treated with caution when deciding amnesty applications. One of the more prominent examples of this was the so-called 'Eikenhof incident', where the wrong people were convicted and sentenced on the strength of false confessions obtained in the course of the police investigation.⁴³
72. In these rather challenging circumstances, the Committee tried as best it could, by means of its own investigative capacity and a very careful weighing of all the relevant facts and circumstances, to reach just and fair conclusions. Aggrieved parties had the option of taking decisions of the Committee on review to the High Court. To date, eight of the Committee's decisions have been challenged

43 Phila Dola [AM3485/96].

and taken on review. Though the Committee was required by the High Court to review one of its decisions, that process resulted in the Committee reaffirming its original refusal of amnesty. The most prominent of these cases was that involving the assassins of the senior ANC/South African Communist Party official, Mr Chris Hani – namely Messrs Clive Derby-Lewis and Janusz Walus – where the Committee’s rejection of their amnesty applications was upheld.⁴⁴

73. Finally, it is also pertinent to note that the Act did not expressly introduce an onus of proof on applicants. It simply required that the Committee should be satisfied that the applicant had met the requirements for the granting of amnesty. This requirement is less onerous on applicants and introduced greater flexibility when deciding amnesty applications.

⁴⁴ See this section, Chapter Four, ‘Legal Challenges’.



Volume **SIX** • Section **ONE** • Chapter **FOUR**

**Report of the
Amnesty Committee**

LEGAL CHALLENGES

Legal Challenges

■ INTRODUCTION

1. On 29 October 1998, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) submitted its Final Report to President Mandela. It is a matter of public record that this historic occasion almost failed to take place due to the threat of two legal challenges which, had they succeeded, would have prevented the Commission's Report from being published at this time. Those who instigated these two court actions were the African National Congress (ANC) and former State President Frederick Willem de Klerk.
2. After submitting its Report to the President, the Commission and its Commissioners were placed in suspension pending the completion of the work of the Amnesty Committee (the Committee), which was eventually dissolved on 31 May 2001. This chapter supplements Chapter Seven of Volume One of the Final Report ('Legal Challenges'), and covers the period from October 1998 until dissolution of the Commission.
3. Subsequent to November 1998, the Commission was subjected to further legal challenges, mainly against the decisions of the Committee in respect of various amnesty applications. In addition, several matters that had been initiated before October 1998 were finalised during this period. These included complaints to the Public Protector by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and by certain generals of the former South African Defence Force (SADF).⁴⁵
4. The IFP also launched an application in the High Court with the aim of compelling the Commission to provide all the information and evidence it possessed relating to the findings made against the IFP in the Commission's Final Report. This matter is dealt with below.

⁴⁵ Reported on in Volume One, pp. 196–7.

LEGAL CHALLENGES TO THE PUBLICATION OF THE COMMISSION'S REPORT

African National Congress⁴⁶

5. During the early hours of the morning of 29 October 1998 – the date of the scheduled handover of the Commission's Report to the President in Pretoria – the ANC launched an urgent application to the High Court for an interdict restraining the Commission from publishing any portion of its Final Report that implicated the ANC in gross violations of human rights before the Commission had considered certain written submissions it had received from the ANC on 19 October 1998. The ANC's submissions were made in response to the contemplated findings annexed to the Commission's notice in terms of section 30(2) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 (the Act).⁴⁷
6. The ANC's submissions were largely critical of the Commission's competence, integrity and bona fides in respect of the findings on the ANC. The ANC was especially concerned in view of the fact that the struggle for liberation against the unjust system of apartheid was in itself morally and legally justifiable in terms of international law.
7. It is necessary to understand that the Commission's mandate to investigate and report on the commission of gross violations of human rights required it to cut across political lines and that the Commission was, furthermore, required to conduct its investigations in an objective and transparent manner. Thus, in addition to investigating the former government and its various structures, the Commission also analysed the role of the liberation movements during the mandate period.
8. The Commission also made a distinction between human rights violations committed: firstly, by the armed combatants of the liberation movements in the course of the armed struggle; secondly, against their own members outside South Africa and, thirdly, by their supporters during the 1980s and after the unbanning of the organisations concerned on 2 February 1990.

46 The African National Congress v The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Case No. 1480/98 (Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division).

47 Those findings appear in Volume Two, Chapter Four, pp. 325–66.

9. The Commission based its conclusions and findings on the ANC on a wide range of information and evidence it obtained from:
 - a statements made by those who alleged they had been the victims of gross violations of human rights at the hands of the ANC;
 - b amnesty applications by ANC members and supporters in respect of acts they had committed, which could have resulted in the perpetration of gross violations of human rights; and
 - c the ANC itself in its detailed submissions to the Commission and from its own Commissions of Inquiry into human rights violations, namely the Stewart Report and the Motsuenyane and Skweyiya Commission Reports.
10. The Commission's findings that led to the ANC being held morally and politically responsible for the commission of gross violations of human rights pertained largely to the deaths and physical injuries sustained by unarmed civilians. These, the ANC had itself admitted, could be attributed to two main causes: either poor reconnaissance, faulty intelligence, faulty equipment, infiltration by the security forces, misinterpretation of policy by their cadres and anger on the part of individual members of MK, or the 'blurring of lines' between civilian and military targets during the 1980s.
11. As a result of the information placed before it, the Commission found the ANC to be responsible for a range of gross human rights violations arising out of unplanned operations; the bombing of public buildings, restaurants, hotels and bars; the landmine campaign in the northern and north-eastern parts of South Africa; the killing of individual enemies, defectors and spies; operations of uncertain status; the conflict with the IFP; violations committed by supporters in the context of a 'people's war' fostered by the ANC, and the severe ill-treatment, torture and killing of ANC members outside of South Africa.

Events leading up to the ANC's legal challenge

12. On 24 August 1998, the Commission served notice on the ANC (in terms of section 30(2) of the Act) that it intended to make certain findings against the ANC that would be to the latter's detriment. The notice invited the ANC to respond either by leading evidence before the Commission at a hearing or furnishing submissions within fifteen days of the date of the notice. This meant that the ANC was obliged (in terms of the provisions of the Act) to respond to the notice by no later than 8 September 1998 if it elected to make further submissions or bring further evidence.

13. The ANC failed to respond within the time limit stipulated. Instead, it entered into a series of correspondences with the Commission, seeking an extension of the deadline and requesting an audience with the Commission to discuss the findings the Commission intended to make against it.
14. In this context, it needs to be clearly understood that the Commission was required to set certain absolute deadlines for the receipt of information in order to finalise the editing, printing and publishing of the Final Report by the already determined handover date of 29 October 1998. Yet, despite various extensions acceded to by the Commission, no written submissions were forthcoming from the ANC. The Commission also explained in detail to the ANC why it could not grant the requested audience and, on 2 October 1998, informed the General Secretary that 5 October 1998 would be the last date on which the Commission would be able to consider any submissions.
15. On 19 October 1998, the ANC made its submission to the Commission. On 26 October 1998, the Commission informed the ANC that the submission had arrived too late to be considered but that, nevertheless, some but not all the Commissioners had been given access to the submission and that much of the factual content referred to in the objections had been rectified during the editing process. The ANC was also assured that its position as a liberation movement had been contextualised in the chapter on 'The Mandate' and that the findings of the Commission were based on a careful analysis of the evidence placed before it.
16. The ANC expressed its dissatisfaction with the Commission's response and demanded an assurance from all the Commissioners that they had properly considered all the issues and matters raised in the written submissions of 19 October 1998. The Commission responded on the same day, reiterating its earlier position and indicating that there was nothing more that could be done. The ANC responded with its legal challenge.

The court finding

17. In a judgment by Mr Justice J Hlope, the court dismissed the ANC's application with costs. In summary, the court found that the onus was on the ANC to establish the existence of a clear right (or a right clearly established in its favour) for the granting of an interdict to prevent the publication of the Commission's findings against the ANC. The court found that the Commission was entitled (in terms of section 30(1) of the Act) to adopt a procedure for the purposes of implementing

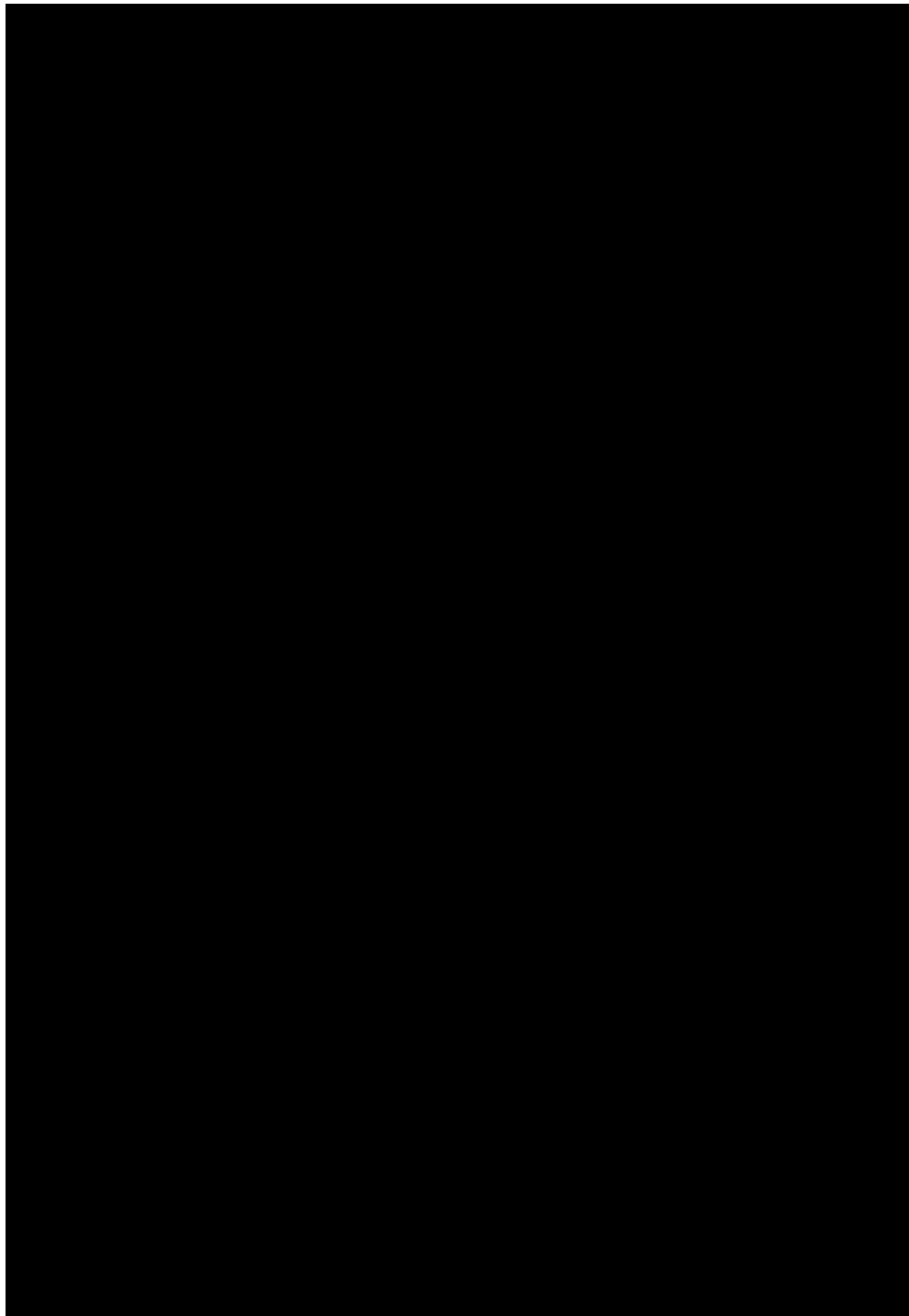
the provisions of section 30(2) (the notice provisions). The procedure was to invite submissions in writing before it made findings to a person's detriment or to receive evidence at a hearing of the Commission, as the case might be.

18. The court found that there had been no objection by the ANC to the fifteen-day notice period. This was substantially in accordance with the ruling in the case of Niewoudt v Truth and Reconciliation Commission 1997 (2) SA 70 SECLD at 75 H-I. The ANC had not argued that this time period was unreasonably short, nor had it elected to testify at a further hearing of the Commission.
19. The ANC was, as a result, lawfully obliged to respond to the section 30(2) notice by no later than 8 September 1998 and, in the circumstances, had no right to insist on a further extension of time. Any extension of time granted by the Commission would be the result of largesse rather than legal obligation.
20. The Commission had clearly impressed on the ANC that it should make its submissions by 5 October 1998, given the Commission's responsibility to finalise the report for handover to the President. Because the ANC submission tendered on 19 October 1998 was extensive and contained serious allegations regarding the Commission's competence, integrity and bona fides, it was unreasonable to have expected it to convene as a body between 19 and 29 October 1998 to discuss and deliberate on submissions delivered so late in the day.
21. The court found that the ANC had failed to prove that the Commission had either condoned the late filing of the submission (in terms of section 30(2) of the Act) or that the ANC had a legitimate expectation of having the submission considered by the Commission, given the fact that the Commission had set 5 October 1998 as a final date for submission in extension of the original date of 8 September 1998, when the submission had been lawfully due.

Former State President de Klerk's challenge⁴⁸

22. On 1 September 1998, the Commission gave notice to former State President FW de Klerk of its intention to make findings against him to his detriment (in terms of the provisions of section 30(2) of the Act). The findings it contemplated making were set out in an annexure to the notice. Mr de Klerk was notified of his rights under the section 30(2) provisions and was required to respond to them. The Annexure read as follows:

⁴⁸ FW de Klerk and Another v The Chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the President of the Republic of South Africa: Case No. 14930/98 (Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division).



23. Despite objections by Mr de Klerk, the Commission resolved to publish its findings. As a result, on 26 October 1998, Mr de Klerk filed an urgent application

with the Cape High Court for an order directing, *inter alia*, that the Commission be interdicted from:

- a making any of the intended findings set out in the annexure to the notice dated 1 September 1998 issued in terms of section 30(2) of the Act;
 - b including any of the intended findings in the report to be submitted to the President on 29 October 1998; and
 - c submitting the report to the President, should it contain any of the intended findings.
24. The Commission's findings against Mr de Klerk were challenged on various grounds, including allegations of bias against him by members of the Commission.
25. Given the timing of this legal challenge (26 October 1998) and the fact that the Commission was due to hand over its Report on 29 October 1998, the Commission was advised by its legal team not to risk an interdict, which would have had the effect of preventing the Report from being handed over to President Mandela. The Commission acted on this advice and agreed not to publish the finding and to deal with the matter after publication and the handover.
26. The Commission 'blacked out' the findings.
27. The matter was to be set down for hearing in the Cape High Court. In the intervening period, the President's Office tried to facilitate a settlement between the Commission and Mr De Klerk. As the full Commission was in suspension and the Amnesty Committee was the only body in existence at the time, it entered into discussions with Mr De Klerk in an effort to resolve the matter.
28. As a result of these discussions, the Amnesty Committee accepted the following finding, which Mr De Klerk conceded to.
29. ***Proposed finding relating to Mr FW de Klerk's knowledge of the Khotso House bombing:***

Mr FW de Klerk was a member of the State Security Council throughout the 1980s and State President and head of the former government during the period 1989 to 1994.

On 31 August 1988, Khotso House, which was located in the central business district of Johannesburg, a densely populated urban area, was bombed by members of the SAP. The bomb had immense explosive force, rendered Khotso

House unusable and damaged neighbouring properties and vehicles. There was a high risk to passers-by who could have been killed or injured; there were blocks of flats in the immediate vicinity which were inhabited; there was a flow of pedestrian traffic in the area which was very high till the early hours of the morning. The effect of the explosion was unpredictable. Colonel Eugene de Kock, who led the SAP bombing team, foresaw the possibility of loss of life as did Mr Vlok, who considered it a miracle that no one was killed. The group of policemen who carried out the task did so armed with automatic assault rifles with orders to shoot – if necessary – even at fellow policemen. As a result of the blast, a number of persons were injured (though not seriously). The inherent risk in unleashing a devastating explosion in a high-density area in the circumstances described above, involved the risk that persons might be killed. This risk was inevitably foreseeable and was in fact foreseen; the bombing was nevertheless ordered and proceeded with by the perpetrators with reckless disregard of the consequences.

During his presidency, Mr de Klerk was told by General JV van der Merwe, his former Commissioner of Police, that he had been ordered as head of the Security Branch of the SAP to bomb Khotso House. Mr de Klerk did not report the matter to the prosecuting authorities or the Goldstone Commission because he knew that General van der Merwe would be applying for amnesty in respect of the relevant bombing.

On 21 August 1996 and 14 May 1997, Mr de Klerk testified before the Commission in his capacity as head of the former government and leader of the National Party. His testimony was accompanied or preceded by written submissions. In his written and oral submissions to the Commission on 21 August 1996, Mr de Klerk stated that neither he nor his colleagues in cabinet, the State Security Council or cabinet committees had authorised assassination, murder, torture, rape, assault or other gross violations of human rights.

In a written question directed to Mr de Klerk on 12 December 1996, he was asked whether he maintained this assertion in the light of the allegation made by General van der Merwe against Mr Vlok. The allegation was to the effect that Mr PW Botha had instructed Mr Vlok to bomb Khotso House, and that Mr Vlok, in turn, had instructed General van der Merwe to do so. In his written reply on 23 March 1997, which reflected his views at the time of the preparation of his submission as well as the views of as many of his Cabinet colleagues as were conveyed to him at the time, he stated that Mr Vlok and any other members of former

Cabinets should be allowed to speak for themselves. In his oral submissions to the Commission on 14 May 1997, Mr de Klerk stated that the bombing of Khotso House was not a gross violation of human rights as there was serious damage to property, but nobody was killed, or seriously injured.

The Commission finds that the bombing of Khotso House constituted a gross violation of human rights and that at all material times, Mr de Klerk must have had knowledge it did despite the fact that no lives were lost.

The Commission finds that when Mr de Klerk testified before the Commission on 21 August 1996, he knew that General van der Merwe had been authorised to bomb Khotso House, and, accordingly, his statement that none of his colleagues in Cabinet, the State Security Council or Cabinet Committees had authorised assassination, murder or other gross violations of human rights was indefensible.

The Commission finds that when Mr de Klerk testified to the Commission on 21 August 1996 and responded in writing to the Commission's questions on 23 March 1997, he failed to make a full disclosure of the involvement of senior members of the government and the SAP in the bombing of Khotso House.

30. However, this finding was never made an order of court as it was never put to the Commission and was thus never discussed, accepted or rejected.

COMPLAINTS TO THE PUBLIC PROTECTOR BY THE IFP AND FORMER SADF GENERALS

31. Both the IFP and a group of former SADF generals made formal complaints to the Office of the Public Protector concerning what they claimed to be disparate treatment of themselves by the Commission. The Commission responded fully to the allegations and the Public Protector neither took nor recommended any action against the Commission.
32. The Commission considers both these matters to be finalised.

LEGAL CHALLENGE: IFP REQUEST FOR INFORMATION⁴⁹

33. As a result of its investigations and hearings in terms of section 29 of the Act, the Commission served notice on the IFP and its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and other members of the IFP, of the contemplated findings it intended to make against them, which were to their detriment. They were invited to respond in writing. On 24 August 1998, the Commission received a comprehensive submission from legal representatives for the IFP, Chief Buthelezi and the other implicated persons. The findings appear in full in Volume Three of the Final Report.⁵⁰
34. In summary, during the period 1982–94, the IFP – known as Inkatha prior to July 1990 – was responsible for gross violations of human rights committed in the former Transvaal, Natal and KwaZulu against persons perceived to be leaders, members or supporters of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the ANC, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Other targets were persons who were identified as posing a threat to the organisation, and Inkatha/IFP members or supporters whose loyalty was questionable.
35. The violations of human rights referred to formed part of a systematic pattern of abuse that entailed deliberate planning on the part of the organisation and its members.
36. The organisation was responsible for the following conduct:
 - a speeches by the IFP President and senior party officials, inciting supporters to commit acts of violence;
 - b mass attacks by members and supporters on persons regarded as their political enemies;
 - c the killing of leaders of political organisations and their supporters who were opposed to Inkatha/IFP policies;
 - d colluding with the South African government's security forces to commit the violations referred to;
 - e colluding with the SADF to create a paramilitary force to carry out such violations;

⁴⁹ Inkatha Freedom Party and Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi v Truth and Reconciliation Commission, The President of the Republic of South Africa and the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology: Case No. 6879/99 (Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division).

⁵⁰ Chapter Three, pp. 155–328.

- f creating self-protection units made up of the organisation's supporters with the specific objective of violently preventing the holding of elections in KwaZulu-Natal in April 1994; and
 - g conspiring with right-wing organisations to commit acts that resulted in injury or loss of life.
37. By virtue of his position as leader of Inkatha and/or the IFP, and Chief Minister in the KwaZulu government, Chief Buthelezi was held accountable by the Commission for the commission of gross violations of human rights by any of the agencies referred to.
38. In court papers served on the Commission in December 1998, the IFP and Chief Buthelezi declared that they regarded the findings of the Commission to have been defamatory of the organisation and himself, unwarranted and unjustified, and not supported by the information and evidence collected or received by the Commission. In the court application, the IFP and Chief Buthelezi sought an order compelling the Commission to provide all the information collected and received upon which it had made its findings. This claim was based on the provisions of section 32(1) of the 1996 Constitution, which reads:
- Everyone has the right to access to – (a) any information held by the state; (b) any information that is held by another person and that is required for the exercise or protection of any rights.*
39. When this matter was argued before Mr Justice Davis in the Cape High Court, the Commission contended, first, that it was not an 'organ of State' nor 'in any sphere of Government' and, second, that the information sought had not been proved to have been required for the exercise and protection of any of the applicants' rights.
40. On 15 December 1999, Mr Justice Davis dismissed the application with costs. The court upheld the second of the Commission's objections, namely that the applicants had not established that the information was required for the exercise and protection of any of their rights. It further held that the applicants should either have sued the Commission for defamation based on bad faith (*male fide*) if so proven, or brought review proceedings in terms of rule 53(3) of the Uniform Rules of the High Court to set the Commission's finding aside.

Settlement

41. The applicants subsequently applied for leave to appeal to the Constitutional Court against the judgment of Mr Justice Davis. This was granted, and the matter was set down for hearing on 9 November 2000. Before the appeal to the Constitutional Court was heard, the parties settled the matter on the basis that each party would withdraw their respective appeals and pay their own legal costs. The Commission agreed to provide access to the record of information and evidence to the applicants by 1 March 2001, on condition that appropriate measures were employed to safeguard the confidentiality of persons who had made statements to the Commission.
42. The decision to settle the matter was based on the consideration that the Promotion of Access to Information Act No. 2 of 2000 was due to be gazetted on 15 September 2000 and that this legislation would have entitled the applicants to obtain the information they were seeking. To proceed with an appeal on a point of law about to be settled by the promulgation of an Act would have been futile and a waste of resources. This decision was taken after consultation with the Commission's senior counsel and in terms of a resolution of the Amnesty Committee acting in terms of section 43 of Act No. 34 of 1995.
43. Despite the above settlement arrangements, the IFP and Chief Buthelezi instituted review proceedings against the findings of the Commission on 20 October 2000.
44. Just before the Commission was due to publish its Codicil, the IFP interdicted it from publication on the grounds that the terms of the settlement had not been met.
45. Discussion culminated in a settlement which was finalised at a hearing on 29 January 2003. The requirements agreed in the settlement appear as an Appendix to Chapter 3 of Section Four of this Volume.

CHALLENGES TO AMNESTY DECISIONS

Clive Derby-Lewis and Janusz Walus: The killing of Chris Hani⁵¹

46. The facts, issues and legal arguments in this matter are reflected in the court's decision in the above case, handed down on 15 December 2000. A summary of the main points and aspects of the review proceedings follows. It needs to be stressed that the source of this summary is the court record and judgment, and should in no way be interpreted as a comment by the Commission or the Committee on its own amnesty decision.
47. On 10 April 1993, Mr Janusz Walus shot and killed Mr Martin Thembisile Hani (aka Chris Hani) in the driveway of the latter's residence in Dawn Park, Boksburg. Mr Walus was arrested on the same day, as were Mr Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife, Mrs Gabrielle (Gaye) Derby-Lewis. They were all charged in the Witwatersrand Local Division of the High Court with, amongst other things, the murder of Mr Hani. All three accused pleaded not guilty, but both Mr Derby-Lewis and Mr Walus were convicted of the murder of Mr Hani and the unlawful possession of the murder weapon (a Z88 pistol). Mr Derby-Lewis was also convicted of the unlawful possession of five rounds of ammunition. Mrs Derby-Lewis was acquitted of all charges against her.
48. On the 15 October 1993, both applicants were sentenced to death on the murder count. Both Derby-Lewis and Walus appealed to the Supreme Court of Appeal against their convictions and sentences; but their appeals were turned down in November 1995. The death penalty was, however, declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court on 6 June 1995.⁵² As a result, the applicants escaped the gallows and had to be re-sentenced by the trial court. On 14 November 2000, the court imposed sentences of life imprisonment on both Derby-Lewis and Walus.
49. In April 1996, the applicants applied for amnesty for the murder convictions and the unlawful possession of the murder weapon and, in the case of Derby-Lewis, the illegal possession of ammunition. The SACP and the family of Chris Hani strenuously opposed the applications for amnesty.

51 Clive John Derby-Lewis and Janusz Jakub Walus v The Chairman of the Committee on Amnesty of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, his Lordship Mr Justice H Mall N.O., The Honourable Chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Right Reverend Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Ms Limpho Hani and The South African Communist Party; Case No. 12447/99 (Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division).

52 See S v Makwanyane and Another 1995 (3) SA 391 (CC).

50. The applications for amnesty were considered by the Amnesty Committee, comprising Mr Justice Mall (as chair) and Judges Wilson, Ngoepe, Potgieter and Khampepe.
51. On 7 April 1999, the Committee refused the amnesty applications of both applicants. Subsequently, an application for a review of the Committee's refusal was brought before a full bench of the High Court, Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division. The applications for a review were opposed by the chairperson of the Committee as well as the Hani family and the SACP.

The facts

52. Mr Clive Derby-Lewis was a founder member of the Conservative Party (CP) in February 1982. In 1987, he became the party's spokesperson on economic affairs and represented the CP in Parliament between May 1987 and September 1989. He was an elected member of the CP's General Council (the highest body of the party).
53. The CP regarded the unbanning of the ANC and SACP by former President FW de Klerk in February 1990 as a betrayal of the country. In May 1990, at a mass meeting of the CP at the Voortrekker Monument, Dr Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the CP, announced that the 'third freedom struggle' had begun. Derby-Lewis regarded this speech as a 'call to arms for Afrikaners' implying that, although diplomatic channels remained open to the CP, its followers should prepare for war and arm themselves accordingly. There was increasing fear within the CP of a National Party (NP) handover to an ANC/SACP government without a mandate from white voters. Various calls to arms led to the implementation of the CP mobilisation plan on 26 March 1993. This was seen as the only way of saving South Africa from plunging into misery and chaos should the ANC/SACP alliance take over the government of South Africa. As the leader of the SACP, Mr Chris Hani was regarded by the CP as the real threat to the future of South Africa. His leadership role and his past position as Chief of Staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) made him a prime military and political target. The CP regarded him as 'enemy number one' of the Afrikaner nation and the likely successor as President to Mr Nelson Mandela.
54. Against this background, Derby-Lewis and Walus started to plan the assassination of Hani in about February 1993. Their objective was to create a situation in which the radicals who supported Hani would cause widespread chaos and mayhem in the wake of his death. Because the NP would not be

able to take effective control, this situation would unite right-wing leaders. They would then be able to combine with the security forces and, by 'stepping in', trigger a 'counter-revolution' and take over the government of the country.

55. Despite the above, the evidence reflected that the CP did not espouse a policy of violence nor the killing of political opponents. It was also common cause that neither Derby-Lewis nor Walus had received any direct or indirect order from anyone in the top structure of the CP to assassinate Hani. Equally plain was the fact that the plan to assassinate Hani was not shared with anyone else. Nevertheless, Derby-Lewis contended that, by virtue of his senior position in the CP, he had the necessary authority in the prevailing circumstances to take the decision to assassinate Hani on behalf of the CP.
56. Derby-Lewis handed Walus a list of names and addresses he had obtained from his wife, a journalist. Walus numbered these names on the list. This was done at a time when Derby-Lewis and Walus had 'started talking about the identification of targets'. Derby-Lewis insisted that they discussed only one target, namely Hani, who had been number three on the list.
57. It was agreed that Walus would carry out the shooting after a certain amount of surveillance had been carried out. During March 1993, Derby-Lewis claimed that he had obtained a Z88 pistol and silencer. This was ostensibly for self-defence purposes, while the silencer was primarily to allow him to practice at home without disturbing the neighbours. It was intended to provide some element of surprise if he were to be attacked at his home by either MK or the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA).
58. Walus had requested an 'untraceable weapon with a silencer' for the purpose of the assassination.
59. On 6 April 1993, Derby-Lewis handed Walus the pistol and a few rounds of subsonic (silencer) ammunition. On 7 and 10 April, Walus requested further subsonic ammunition. On the morning of 10 April, Derby-Lewis informed Walus that he had made arrangements for further ammunition. No discussion about killing Hani took place on that particular day. The shooting of Hani came as a shock to Derby-Lewis because he had wanted to postpone the assassination plan for a variety of reasons.

60. Although Walus' evidence largely coincided with that of Derby-Lewis, Walus indicated that Derby-Lewis had mentioned to him that before the Easter weekend would be a bad time to assassinate Hani.
61. On 10 April 1993 (the day before Easter), Walus decided to reconnoitre the Hani residence. After contacting Derby-Lewis about more subsonic ammunition and being told that it was not yet available, he loaded the unlicensed Z88 pistol with his own ammunition.
62. On arriving at the Hani residence, Walus noticed Hani driving off in his vehicle without his usual bodyguards. He decided that this was the 'best occasion' to execute the assassination and waited for him to return. When Hani got out of his vehicle in the driveway to his house, Walus approached him and fired two shots at him. After he had fallen, Walus shot him twice at close range behind the ear. He left the scene in his vehicle and was arrested a short while later.
63. Walus insisted that he had killed Hani on the instruction of Derby-Lewis and the CP. He had never expressly asked Derby-Lewis whether the CP had authorised the assassination, as it was 'obvious' to him that it had. However, Walus conceded that, had it come to his attention prior to April 1993 that the CP had not changed its policy from non-violence to violence, he would not have proceeded with the murder.

The decision of the Amnesty Committee

64. The basis of the Committee's refusal of amnesty was that it found that both Derby-Lewis and Walus had failed to satisfy two of the three jurisdictional pre-conditions for the granting of amnesty as set out in section 20(1) of the Act: that is, they had failed to comply with the requirements of section 20(1)(b) read together with section 20(2), and they had not made a full disclosure of all relevant facts as required by section 20(1)(c).
65. With reference to section 20(2)(a), the Committee was not satisfied that, in assassinating Hani, the applicants had acted on behalf of or in support of the CP, the publicly-known political organisation of which both applicants were members at the time of the assassination. The Committee expressed itself as follows:

It is common cause that the applicants were not acting on the express authority or orders of the CP, which party they purported to represent in assassinating Mr

Hani. The CP has never adopted or espoused or propagated a policy of violence or the assassination of political opponents.

The CP was never aware of the planning of the assassination and only became aware thereof after the event. It never approved, ratified or condoned the assassination.

66. The Committee did not find it necessary to decide whether the phrase 'on behalf of' (in section 20(2)(a) of the Act) should be interpreted narrowly. This would have had the effect of confining the application of this phrase to cases where a person acted as a representative or agent of the relevant political organisation or liberation movement. The Committee held the view that, in any event, section 20(2)(a) 'does not cover perpetrators who act contrary to the stated policies of the organisation which they purport to represent'. As the assassination of political opponents was contrary to the stated policies of the CP, the applicants had failed to comply with the requirements of section 20(2)(a) of the Act.
67. With reference to section 20(2)(d) of the Act, the Committee found that, in assassinating Hani, the applicants were not acting within the course and scope of their duties or on the express authority of the CP. This was confirmed by the evidence tendered by the leader of the CP, Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg, and by the applicants themselves.
68. In respect of section 20(2)(f), the Committee rejected the argument that the applicants had any 'reasonable grounds' for believing that, by assassinating Hani, they were acting in the course and scope of their duties, or within the scope of their express or implied authority.
69. Finally, the Committee found that both Derby-Lewis and Walus had failed to make full disclosure (as required by section 20(1)(c)) in respect of a number of 'relevant and material issues', identified by the Committee as follows:
 - a the purpose of the list of names and addresses found in Walus' apartment after his arrest and on which Hani's name and address appeared;
 - b the purpose for which the names on the list were 'prioritised';
 - c the purpose for which the Z88 pistol (the murder weapon) was obtained and fitted with a silencer; and
 - d whether or not Walus, in assassinating Hani, was acting on the orders or instructions of Derby-Lewis.

The applicants' challenge

70. The applicants challenged all the above grounds provided by the Committee in refusing amnesty, and argued that its decision should be reviewed and set aside on the grounds that they had complied with all the legal requirements for amnesty. They argued that the Committee had misinterpreted section 20(2)(a); that the Committee had failed to follow the correct interpretation of section 20(2)(a) as established by other (differently constituted) amnesty committees in previous decisions where amnesty had been granted (such as the murder of Ms Amy Biehl and the St James' Church attack); that the Committee had misdirected itself both in fact and in law in its interpretation of section 20(2)(f), and that its findings in respect of these subsections were not justifiable in relation to the reasons given for them. The case of Mr Koos Botha, a CP member of Parliament who planted a bomb at a school, was cited. Mr Botha had been granted amnesty for purely political objectives because he 'had interpreted the public utterances of the CP leaders as a call to violence'.
71. With regard to the question as to whether or not Walus had acted on the orders of Derby-Lewis, they claimed that the Committee had erred in law by setting a higher standard than the Act required, because it had elevated the criterion or consideration set out in section 20(3)(e) of the Act to the status of a substantive requirement for amnesty in the context of section 20(1).
72. With the exception of the purpose for obtaining the pistol and silencer, the other issues identified as relevant facts for purposes of section 20(1)(c) were not relevant facts required to be disclosed fully by the applicants in order to qualify for amnesty.
73. Even if the issues referred to above, or only some of them, were relevant facts for the purposes of section 20(1)(c), the decision of the Committee in respect of each of these issues was not justifiable (objectively rational) in relation to the reasons given for them.

The decision of the court

74. The full bench of the High Court decided that the questions to be decided were whether there was any merit in the applicants' main points of argument. The court considered all the evidence that had been presented before the Committee, as well as the arguments by all the parties, and analysed the various provisions of section 20 of the Act in considerable detail. The court's main findings were as follows:

75. The court held that the established principles of interpretation should be applied in interpreting the provisions of section 20. Legislative purpose, as opposed to legislative intent, was only one of the principles to be applied. The court should not adopt a purely benevolent or a purely restrictive interpretation.
76. The fact that other amnesty committees had interpreted or applied section 20 in an incorrect way could not create a legitimate expectation that such an error, either of law or of fact, would be perpetuated by the court.
77. In respect of Section 20(2)(a), the court held that the applicants did not act on behalf of the CP, but that they had embarked on a terrorist foray of their own. Although the applicants said that they held the *subjective* belief that their conduct would advance the cause of their party, the court held that it should assess *objectively* whether it was reasonable for them to hold such a belief. The court concluded that the Committee had correctly rejected the applicants' contention that they fell within the ambit of this section.
78. In respect of section 20(2)(d), the Committee had correctly held that the applicants had not acted in the course and scope of their duties as members of the CP as required by this section of the Act, as assassination had never been one of Derby-Lewis' duties as a senior member of the CP. It followed that Derby-Lewis could not have shared a nonexistent duty with Walus; nor could he have delegated part of it to Walus. It also followed that assassination never formed part of Walus' duties.
79. In respect of section 20(2)(f), Derby-Lewis did not act, and could not have had any reasonable grounds for believing that he was acting, in the course and scope of his duties and within the scope of his authority in assassinating Hani. He was a senior ranking member of the CP, a parliamentarian and a serving member of the President's Council.
80. Walus was, however, in a different position, as he was a rank-and-file member who was entitled to assume that Derby-Lewis had authority to speak on behalf of the party. Walus could have made a case for such a proposition and this could have led to a closer evaluation of his (Walus') beliefs and the reasonableness of them. This was not, however, the case that he had made. Walus had stated in his original application that 'he had acted alone in the planning and commission of the deed'. Under cross-examination, he said that this was not true. He later amended his amnesty application to incorporate Derby-Lewis as his accomplice, insisting that this was the truth. Walus' version was that he believed that he had been assigned the assassination plan as an order from Derby-Lewis, given as a

result of his senior position within the CP or as part of his duties as a member of the party. The court found that this claim lacked objective credibility, and therefore Walus also did not meet the requirements of this section.

81. With regard to relevance and full disclosure, the evidence of the applicants in respect of the main issues (namely the purpose of obtaining the pistol and silencer, the purpose of the list of names and the prioritising of the names on the list) was generally improbable, contradictory and lacked candour. The Committee was correct in rejecting the applicants' evidence in these respects as being false and was, therefore, entitled to find that the applicants had failed to make full disclosure of all relevant facts as required by section 20(1)(c) of the Act.
82. In the result, the full bench dismissed the application with costs. Both Derby-Lewis and Walus subsequently brought an application before the same court for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court of Appeal. The court refused leave to appeal on the grounds that the applicants had failed to show that there were any reasonable prospects of success on appeal or that another court could come to a different conclusion on the same facts.
83. On 31 May 2001, the applicants filed a petition to the Chief Justice seeking leave to appeal. The petition was refused. The applicants have now exhausted all their available remedies in law.

APPEAL BY MEMBERS OF THE NASIONAL SOSIALISTE PARTISANE⁵³

84. Mr CJ van Wyk and Mr Pierre du Plessis applied for amnesty for a wide range of criminal offences, including the theft of a motor vehicle, three counts of murder, attempted robbery with aggravating circumstances, contravention of the Firearms and Ammunition Act, housebreaking with the intent to steal, theft, two counts of robbery and contraventions of the Explosives Act.
85. Mr van Wyk had been convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment, and Mr du Plessis had been sentenced to an effective twelve years' imprisonment. The applicants belonged to an organisation or movement called the Nasional Sosialiste Partisane (NSP). At the time of the acts for which amnesty was sought, this organisation had only four members, inclusive of the two applicants. The other two members died during a shootout with the police when the applicants were arrested.

⁵³ CJ van Wyk and P du Plessis v Komitee oor Amnestie; Saak Nr. 16602/99 (Transvaal Provinsiale Afdeling).

The facts

86. On 13 October 1991, the applicants and two others (deceased) travelled in a stolen vehicle to Louis Trichardt, where they planned to rob a household belonging to a Ms Roux. They believed that only a servant, a Ms Dubane, would be present. However, things did not go according to plan, and one of the others in their group shot and killed Ms Dubane and cut her throat. When Ms Dubane's husband appeared, he too was shot and killed and had his throat cut. Ms Roux tried to escape the attack by hiding in a cupboard, but she too was shot and killed and had her throat cut by one of the other members of the group (later deceased). Nothing was taken from the house, despite the fact that the group had been informed that there would be an R4 rifle and ammunition at the premises.
87. From Louis Trichardt the group proceeded to Oudtshoorn, where they planned to steal weapons from an army base. Here they obtained a quantity of arms, ammunition and explosives. They also broke into an army base in Potchefstroom, where they stole two R4 rifles. They fired shots at the soldiers in an attempt to kill them.

Amnesty decision

88. The Committee refused to grant amnesty to the two men for the following reasons:
89. First, the NSP was not a publicly known bona fide political organisation or liberation movement acting in furtherance of a political struggle waged against the state or any former state; nor was it a publicly known political organisation or liberation movement as required by the provisions of section 20(2)(a) of the Act.
90. Second, when they committed the acts for which amnesty was sought, the applicants had done so specifically in their capacity as members of the NSP. The fact that their objectives may have been similar to or the same as those of other recognised political organisations or liberation movements was irrelevant.

Court's findings on review

91. The High Court found nothing untoward in the reasoning of the Committee and dismissed the application for review with costs. The presiding judge, Mr Justice van der Walt, indicated that, although it was a tragic situation and one would possibly want to grant amnesty to persons of the calibre of the applicants, one could not do so because they had placed themselves beyond the pale of the provisions of section 20(2) of the Act, and that was solely their own doing.

THE DUFFS ROAD ATTACK: APPEAL BY MEMBERS OF THE ORDE BOEREVOLK⁵⁴

92. Mr David Petrus Botha and two other persons, Messrs Smuts and Marais, were convicted in the Supreme Court, Durban, on seven counts of murder, twenty-seven counts of attempted murder and one count of unlawful possession of firearms and ammunition. They were members of a right-wing group called the Orde Boerevolk. All three were sentenced to death on 13 September 1991. This sentence was subsequently commuted to 30 years' imprisonment.
93. On 9 October 1990, the applicants and their colleagues attacked a bus full of black commuters on Duffs Road, Durban, by shooting at them with automatic weapons. The reason they gave for the attack was retaliation for an incident that had occurred earlier that day, when a group of approximately thirty supporters of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) or APLA, wearing PAC T-shirts, had randomly attacked white people on Durban's beachfront with knives, killing an elderly person and injuring several others.
94. All three applied for amnesty and appeared before the Committee on 5 September 1997.
95. The Committee accepted that Orde Boerevolk was a recognised political organisation involved in a political struggle with the then government and other political organisations, and that their acts were associated with a political objective. In applying the additional criteria set out in section 20(3) of the Act, the Committee distinguished between the roles played by Mr Botha on the one hand and by Messrs Smuts and Marais on the other. The basis for the distinction was that Smuts and Marais were subordinates of Botha and were under orders to carry out the attack as members of the Orde Boerevolk. Botha, on the other hand, had received no order or instructions to carry out the attack; nor had his actions been approved by any one of his superiors or by the organisation.
96. For this reason, Smuts and Marais were granted amnesty. Botha was refused amnesty in respect of the charges of murder and attempted murder, but was granted amnesty in respect of the charges of unlawful possession of firearms and ammunition.

⁵⁴ *David Petrus Botha v Die Voorsitter SubKomitee oor Amnestie van die Kommissie vir Waarheid en Versoening*, Saak Nr. 17395/99 (Transvaal Provinsiale Afdeling).

97. Botha appealed to the Transvaal Provincial Division⁵⁵ against the Committee's refusal to grant him amnesty.

Review proceedings

98. The presiding judge, Mr Justice J Smit, held that the Committee had failed to consider properly whether the applicant's conduct in respect of the attack on the bus had complied with the requirements of section 20(3)(e) of the Act as to whether the 'act, omission or offence was committed in the execution of an order of, or on behalf of, or with the approval of, the organisation, institution, liberation movement or body of which the person who committed the act was a member, an agent or a supporter'.
99. The court also found that the Committee had misdirected itself in losing sight of the fact that the provisions of section 20(3)(e) were merely criteria to be applied to determine whether an act was committed with a political objective, and not requirements necessary for the granting or refusal of amnesty.
100. As a result of this, the court determined that it could interfere in the Committee's finding and made an order setting aside the refusal of amnesty and referring the matter back to the Committee to hear further evidence on this point.

Second amnesty hearing

101. On the 13 December 2000, Botha again appeared before the Committee and led evidence by the leader of the Orde Boerevolk, Mr Pieter Rudolph. This evidence did not take the matter any further as Mr Rudolph indicated that he would not have authorised the attack had he been asked to do so by the applicant and that, in any event, he had had no way of communicating with his supporters at the time as he had been in detention.
102. The Committee subsequently refused amnesty to the applicant on the same basis as before, namely that Botha had had no authority from his political organisation to launch such an attack on innocent and unarmed civilians.

⁵⁵ The name of this court still refers to the pre-1994 provincial arrangement in South Africa, as the complex process of restructuring the court system is still underway.

THE NAMIBIAN EXTRADITION CASE: APPEALS OF DARRYLE STOPFORTH AND LEONARD VEENENDAL⁵⁶

103. Because similar questions of law were raised in both these appeals, the Supreme Court of Appeal deemed it convenient to deal with them at one and the same time.
104. The court was constituted of five judges, namely Justices Mahomed, Olivier, Melunsky, Farlam and Madlanga. The only question raised in these appeals that affected the work of the Commission concerned the jurisdiction of the Committee to grant amnesty for offences committed by South African citizens outside the Republic. This matter was reported in Volume One⁵⁷ of the Commission's Final Report, where the facts are comprehensively set out.

Background to the appeal

105. In November 1996, the appellants launched motion proceedings in the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa. The proceedings were, amongst other things, for an order suspending the Minister of Justice's decision of 10 October 1996 ordering their extradition to Namibia, pending the adjudication by the Committee of their applications for amnesty – primarily for the killing of two persons during an attack on the United Nations Transitional Action Group (UNTAG) offices in Outjo on 10 August 1989.
106. The application was heard by Justice Daniels who came to the conclusion that the Commission (acting through the Committee) could not grant amnesty for deeds committed in Namibia, because it had no jurisdiction over crimes that had been committed in what was then South West Africa. The court also held that section 20 of the Act was not applicable, as Namibia could not be classified as a 'former state' of South Africa. He accordingly dismissed the application with costs.
107. On appeal, the court investigated the competency of the Committee to grant amnesty to an applicant for gross violations of human rights committed outside the country. The court relied on the provisions of section 20(2) of the Act, namely that the act in question must have been advised, planned, directed, commanded,

⁵⁶ Darryle Garth Stopforth v The Minister of Justice, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Amnesty Committee), The Government of Namibia, The Minister of Safety and Security: Case No. 317/97 (Supreme Court of Appeal of South Africa) and

Leonard Michael Veenendal v The Minister of Justice, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Amnesty Committee), The Government of Namibia, The Minister of Safety and Security: Case No. 316/97 (Supreme Court of Appeal of South Africa).

⁵⁷ p. 192.

ordered or committed within or outside the Republic against the state, or any former state or another publicly known political organisation (section 20(2)(a)).

108. According to the preamble to the Act, amnesty is to be granted in respect of acts, omissions and offences associated with political objectives committed in the course of the conflicts of the past. These conflicts must have sprung from South Africa's deeply divided society. The envisaged amnesty is intended to reconcile opposing South African people.
109. The court held further that the acts of the appellants committed in 1989 in what was then South West Africa were not part of the conflicts of the past as intended by the Act. Those acts were not directed against South African opponents in the context of South Africa's own past. Thus an internal conflict between groups in South West African society fell outside the jurisdiction of the Committee.
110. The appeals were accordingly dismissed.

THE 'MOTHERWELL FOUR'⁵⁸

111. Messrs Marthinus Dawid Ras, Wybrand Andreas Lodewicus du Toit, Gideon Johannes Nieuwoudt and Nicolaas Jacobus Janse van Rensburg each filed review proceedings against the refusal of the Committee to grant them amnesty arising from the murders of Warrant Officer Mbalala Mgoduka, Sergeant Amos Temba Faku, Sergeant Desmond Daliwonga Mpipa and Mr Xolile Shepard Sakati, aka Charles Jack, committed at Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, on the 14 December 1989. This matter became known as the 'Motherwell Four' amnesty application.
112. The applicants in the review proceedings were part of a group of nine amnesty applicants, including Messrs Eugene Alexander de Kock, Daniel Lionel Snyman, Gerhardus Lotz, Jacobus Kok, and Nicolas Johannes Vermeulen. All were former members of the security forces.
113. The four deceased were killed when the motor vehicle in which they were travelling was blown up by an explosive device that had been attached to it. They were all members of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch, except for Charles Jack, who was an askari (a turned ANC/MK member) and also on the Security Branch payroll.

⁵⁸ Marthinus Dawid Ras v The Chairman of the Amnesty Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Case No. 7285/00 (Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division); Wybrand Andreas Lodewicus du Toit v Die Voorsitter Subkomitee oor Amnestie van die Kommissie vir Waarheid en Versoening: Saak Nr. 9188/00 (Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division); Gideon Johannes Nieuwoudt v Die Voorsitter Subkomitee oor Amnestie van die Kommissie vir Waarheid en Versoening: Saak Nr. 366/01: (Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division); Nicolaas Jacobus Janse van Rensburg v Die Voorsitter Subkomitee oor Amnestie van die Kommissie vir Waarheid en Versoening: Saak Nr. 4925/01 (Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division).

114. At the criminal trial, Nieuwoudt, Du Toit and Ras were convicted of murder, perjury and defeating the ends of justice, and sentenced to twenty, fifteen and ten years' imprisonment respectively. Lotz and Kok were acquitted, whilst De Kock, Snyman and Vermeulen gave evidence on behalf of the State and were, except for Vermeulen, granted indemnity against prosecution.
115. The motive for the killings was that the deceased were believed to have been involved in a breach of security. Nieuwoudt, who had been in charge of the group, had received an order from one of his superiors – one Gilbert – that the deceased should be killed to prevent them from disclosing information about the affairs of the Security Branch, as they had threatened to do.
116. Nieuwoudt sought the assistance of Van Rensburg, who approached De Kock at Vlakplaas to help with the assassination of the deceased. Du Toit and Kok from the Technical Division of the Security Branch, Pretoria, were to manufacture the explosive device. Snyman, Vermeulen and Ras were instructed by De Kock to assist as back-up should the planned explosion fail to kill the deceased, in which event they were to shoot them with (untraceable) Eastern Bloc weapons. An explosive device was fitted to a motor vehicle in which the victims would be driving when it exploded.
117. The Amnesty Committee refused amnesty to the other eight applicants on the following grounds:
- a Except for De Kock, the applicants were not found to be credible as witnesses. Their evidence was vague and somewhat contradictory regarding the motive behind the killing.
 - b The motive for killing the deceased was to prevent them from carrying out their threat of exposing the illegal activities of the security police. The deceased had made the threat because they were facing charges of fraud after having been involved in intercepting cheques and funds mailed to various trade unions and left-wing organisations. They were not killed for any political objective associated with the conflicts of the past, nor was the killing directed against any member or supporter of the ANC or any other publicly known political organisation as was required by the Act.
 - c With the exception of De Kock, the applicants had failed to make a proper and full disclosure of all relevant facts relating to their own participation in the assassination of the deceased.
 - d The killing of the deceased was wholly disproportionate to any objective that the applicants might have pursued. There was no reliable evidence to link the

deceased with the ANC or any other political grouping. There was, in fact, evidence from the applicants themselves that there was no good reason to doubt the loyalty of the deceased to the Security Branch.

118. As a result, the applications for amnesty were refused.
119. Each of the applicants contested the findings of the Amnesty Committee and were successful in their application in the High Court for the review of the Amnesty Committee's decision to refuse them amnesty. The High Court ordered that the Committee's decision be set aside and that the Minister of Justice reconvene an Amnesty Committee to hear the applications.

THE KILLING OF RUTH FIRST, JEANETTE CURTIS SCHOON AND KATRYN SCHOON⁵⁹

120. On 30 May 2000, the Amnesty Committee granted amnesty to Messrs Craig Michael Williamson and Roger Howard Leslie Raven for the killing of Ms Ruth First in Maputo on 17 August 1982 and of Ms Jeannette Schoon and her daughter Katryn Schoon in Angola on 28 June 1984.
121. It was common cause that Ruth First and Jeanette and Katryn Schoon were killed by bombs concealed in parcels that were addressed to them. Both Williamson and Raven were members of the Security Branch. The assassinations of the deceased were ordered, advised, planned and/or directed within the Republic of South Africa, while the explosion and resulting deaths occurred outside the borders of the Republic.
122. The Committee was mindful of the Stopforth and Veenendal judgment referred to above. It held that it had the necessary jurisdiction to hear these amnesty applications, despite the fact that the killings occurred outside the Republic.
123. After a protracted hearing, the Committee was satisfied that the following applied:
- a The killings of Ruth First and Jeannette and Katryn Schoon were offences committed in the course of the conflicts of the past.

⁵⁹ Claire Sherry McLean N.O.; Shaun Slovo, Gillian Slovo; Robyn Jean Slovo v Amnesty Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Judge Andrew Wilson N.O. (Chairperson) Craig Michael Williamson and Roger Howard Leslie Raven; Case No. 8272/00 (Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division).

- b The applicants were members of the Security Police and, as such, were employees of the state. They had acted within the course and scope of their duties and within the scope of their express or implied authority.
- c The offences were directed against publicly-known political organisations or liberation movements, namely the ANC and SACP and/or members or supporters of those organisations, and were committed bona fide to the objective of countering or resisting the struggle.
- d Katryn Schoon, aged six years, was tragically killed in the crossfire. Williamson testified that he had not expected the Schoon children to be with their parents in a military zone, but to have been in London at the time.
- e The evidence indicated that, although the Schoons and Ruth First were lecturing at their respective universities, they had not totally withdrawn from politics and were still involved in the liberation struggle waged by the ANC/SACP.
- f There was no evidence to support the allegation that Williamson acted out of malice towards the deceased. The Committee held that there was evidence that Williamson had received orders from his superiors to proceed with the letter bombs.
- g The killings of Jeannette and Katryn Schoon and Ruth First achieved their objective to shock, destabilise and demoralise the ANC/SACP. The acts were accordingly not disproportionate to their objectives.
- h The applicants had made a full disclosure of all relevant facts.

Review application

- 124. Following the granting of amnesty to both applicants, the Schoon and Slovo families launched review proceedings against the granting of amnesty. The Committee did not oppose the application and chose to abide by the judgment of the High Court. The various grounds for review may be summarised as follows:
- 125. First, the Committee had failed properly to consider the evidence relating to the applicants' knowledge of the Schoons' domestic arrangements abroad.
- 126. Second, the Committee had failed properly to consider the requirements of proportionality (as required by section 20(3)(f)) in the killing of a six-year-old child. Further, the Committee should have refused amnesty on the grounds that the statement that 'it had served the Schoons right that their daughter had been killed because they had used her as their bomb disposal expert' indicated personal malice or spite as contemplated in section 20(3)(ii).

127. Third, the Amnesty Committee had misdirected itself in finding that the Schoons were still engaged in political work, thereby justifying its conclusion that the bomb was sent bona fide with the object of countering or resisting the struggle within the meaning of section 20(2) of the Act.
128. Fourth, the sending of a letter bomb to kill the Schoons had not been act associated with a political objective, as the Security Police had already succeeded in driving the Schoons out of South Africa.
129. Fifth, there had been failure to make full disclosure in respect of a wide range of evidence given by Williamson and Raven. This related to the identification of the targets to whom the bombs were sent, the manner in which the bombs were packaged, the construction of the device itself, the involvement of General Petrus Johannes Coetzee and the precise role played by each of the applicants.
130. Similar objections were raised by the applicants in respect of the killing of Ms First.
131. The respondents (Williamson and Raven) had not, at the time of publication, responded to the allegations set out in the founding papers. As the Committee decided not to oppose the application, the interest of the Commission in this matter is limited. Both Williamson and Raven filed an exception to the review application on the basis that a review against the granting of amnesty in terms of section 20 was not permissible in law.
132. This matter had not yet been resolved and was still pending at the time of publication of this Codicil.

THE CASE OF BHEKUMNDENI QEDUSIZI PENUEL SIMELANE

133. Mr Simelane brought an application to the Cape High Court to review the Amnesty Committee's decision to refuse him amnesty. At the time of publication, this application was still pending and is currently being handled by the Ministry of Justice.



Volume **SIX** • Section **ONE** • Chapter **FIVE**

**Report of the
Amnesty Committee**

**SOME REFLECTIONS ON
THE AMNESTY PROCESS**

Some Reflections on the Amnesty Process

1. As was noted in Chapter Two of this volume, the South African amnesty process was unique in that it provided not for blanket amnesty but for a conditional amnesty, requiring that offences and delicts related to gross human rights violations be publicly disclosed before amnesty could be granted. This meant that the Amnesty Committee (the Committee) set sail in uncharted waters, with no international or local precedents to guide it.
2. Nobody foresaw the immensity of the work ahead. The legislature originally envisaged that the entire task could be completed within a mere eighteen months. Both the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) and the Committee were astonished at the sheer volume of amnesty applications.
3. While the Committee is aware that the process as it developed was by no means perfect, it believes nonetheless that the experience was in many respects a positive one for South Africa. While recognising that the realisation of national unity and reconciliation is a long-term project involving a range of role players, the Committee is of the view that the amnesty process has contributed in no small way to the promotion of these objectives.
4. The Committee is also aware that its work has been closely watched and widely admired by the international community. While mindful of the fact that the work of truth commissions must be tailored to the individual cultural, political and other needs of the societies within which they operate, and that the South African model cannot be randomly superimposed on other societies, the Committee believes, nonetheless, that there are lessons to be learnt from the South African experience. It is in this light that the following comments are made.

Perceptions about the Committee

5. Even before the Committee was established, the controversial idea of amnesty and the way it should be dealt with became the topic of lengthy debates and deliberations (see Chapter Four of Volume One). Shortly after the Amnesty Committee was established, the very constitutionality of the amnesty provisions

was challenged in the Constitutional Court in the case of Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) & Others v The President of the Republic of South Africa & Others (Constitutional Court Case No. CCT17/96). The Constitutional Court unanimously upheld the constitutionality of the amnesty provisions.

6. There were negative perceptions about that part of the Committee's work that related to indemnifying offenders. These perceptions were prevalent not only amongst the general public, but were also evident amongst some officials of the prosecuting authority and the police, especially during the early stages of the Committee's existence. There was some resistance from some of the officials who were requested to assist the Committee with investigations into amnesty applications. This resistance could possibly be ascribed to an understandable view that the Committee was undermining their work in fighting crime by indemnifying criminals. Various meetings, at which the role and objectives of the Committee were explained, helped ease the situation and improve the working relationship with members of these bodies.
7. Thus the amnesty process was often the subject of scrutiny and criticism. Although the Committee was a creature of statute, some critics saw its work as being at odds with that of the Commission's other Committees. While the Human Rights Violations Committee (HRVC) was perceived to be devoting its time and energy to acknowledging the painful experiences of victims of gross violations of human rights, the Amnesty Committee, it was argued, was indemnifying many of the perpetrators of such violations against prosecution and the legal consequences of their actions. These perceptions were, of course, the result of the statutory scheme created by the provisions of the Act. Moreover, while the Amnesty Committee had the powers to implement its decisions, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC), for example, could only make recommendations for reparations for victims. Thus, while perpetrators were granted immediate indemnification if their amnesty applications succeeded, victims were required to wait until Parliament took a final decision on implementing reparations.
8. The resultant view that the Committee was 'perpetrator friendly' was thus to an extent understandable and even unavoidable. Any accusation that the Committee was insensitive towards victims is, however, totally unfounded. The Committee's records bear ample testimony to the resources made available to assist victims. Substantial budgetary provision was made for locating victims, arranging for their legal representation and providing subsistence, transport and accommodation to enable them to attend and participate fully in amnesty hearings.

9. The statutory provisions that ensured the Committee's independence as an adjudicative body unfortunately resulted in the development of some distance and differences of opinion between the Committee and the rest of the Commission. It was, however, considered necessary to maintain such an 'arm's length' relationship in order to allay fears that the Commission might influence the decisions of the Committee. This was vividly exemplified by the fact that the Commission, on one occasion, brought a court application to set aside the Committee's decision in respect of the collective amnesty application of thirty-seven prominent leaders of the African National Congress (ANC).
10. It was against this background that the Committee was required to perform its statutory functions. The Committee never allowed any of these circumstances to deter it from its statutory mandate to adjudicate objectively, impartially and even-handedly on all applications for amnesty.

Composition of the Amnesty Committee

11. Appointments to the Committee were made exclusively from the ranks of the legal profession: that is, its members were judges, advocates and attorneys. There were those who questioned this. It was their view that the process would have been enriched had social scientists and other non-lawyers – for instance historians or anthropologists – been appointed to the Committee. The argument was that the specialised knowledge of such persons could have benefited the deliberations of the Committee.
12. In the view of the Committee, this argument entailed the danger of assuming findings of fact prior to evidence having been heard. It also felt that the presence of non-lawyers could have increased the fears of those persons who were concerned that they might not receive a fair and impartial hearing.
13. Committee members were all aware of the fact that they had entered the process with different perspectives. They were equally aware of their statutory duty to act impartially and decide applications objectively. Given the fact that its role was largely adjudicative, the Committee remained convinced that the legal training of its members rendered them better equipped to perform this adjudicative function. Hence, in the Committee's view, its impartiality was generally accepted by all those who participated in the amnesty process.

14. The question does, however, raise the need for expert evidence concerning the background and context of incidents in respect of which amnesty was applied for. Only on rare occasions did the Committee avail itself of the opportunity to receive such inputs. This was helpful in matters concerning witchcraft, the self-defence units (SDUs), the policies of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA)⁶⁰ and the activities of so-called right-wing groupings. Given the positive inputs of these non-legal experts, it might well have assisted the process had the Committee been empowered to use the services of experts qualified in a particular field of enquiry as assessors at hearings on an *ad hoc* basis.

Unfolding of the Process

15. What was true for the Commission as a whole was also true for the Committee: no preparatory work had been done before the Committee was established. The original Committee of five members had to start from scratch, designing application forms and determining its own operational procedures. It had to appoint staff with no clear idea either of the scope of its tasks nor of the volume of work that lay ahead. As it turned out, the number of staff members appointed was inadequate to cope with the workload.
16. In spite of this obvious lack of preparedness, the Commission exerted pressure on the Committee to commence with hearings. Despite a concerted effort to summarise applications and capture the information on a database, the first hearings were held before the closing date for the filing of applications for amnesty, and before all applicants who had applied for amnesty for the same incidents had been linked. As a result, not all the evidence that related to a specific incident had been placed before the Committee or could form part of the record of the hearing. This necessitated different panels hearing different applicants on the same incident, resulting in duplication and extra costs. Moreover, the Commission's Investigation Unit was at that time taken up with investigations on behalf of other arms of the Commission. As a result, the Committee had done no proactive investigations by the time the initial hearings began.
17. There was, however, one very positive result that arose from these early hearings. The fact that the amnesty process was being publicly observed seems to have reduced public scepticism, and consequently the volume of applications increased.
18. The lack of a dedicated or adequate investigative capacity for the Committee created numerous problems, which are discussed briefly below.

⁶⁰ See this section, Chapter Four.

19. First, although hearings were scheduled in the expectation that the relevant applications would have been properly investigated prior to the hearing, on more than one occasion this turned out not to be the case. In some cases, not all victims had been informed of the hearing, and some had not even been traced. The result was that hearings had to be postponed, prolonging the overall process.
20. Occasionally, however, hearings had to proceed at a stage when more extensive investigations could possibly still have been done, or even where the event for which an applicant had applied for amnesty had not been fully corroborated by the Committee. The Committee had to weigh the interests of all parties in deciding at what particular stage to set a matter down for a hearing. The prejudice caused by delays, especially to applicants in custody, was of particular relevance in this regard.
21. Second, in those instances where the Committee realised that further applicants still had to be heard in respect of the same incident, a decision was held over, pending the hearing of all applications relating to that incident. This was done in order to avoid potential prejudice to interested parties. Decisions on specific incidents were thus also postponed. By so doing, the Committee simply created more work for itself, since the hearings panel had to revisit the record of the proceedings and their notes in order to refresh their memories before finalising the delayed decision.
22. Third, the delay in finalising decisions on incidents that concerned clusters of applicants deprived lawyers for those applicants of guidelines on the requirements for amnesty contained in decisions of the Committee. This resulted in the presentation of extensive evidence on minutiae and non-material matters, and sometimes unnecessary cross-examination, out of excessive caution on the part of legal representatives. This added a lot of unnecessary time to the process.
23. There are a number of observations to be made in respect of the above.
24. First, the prescribed application form could have been simplified by providing for a narrative summary of both the incident and the role of the applicant. In far too many applications, correspondence with applicants was required simply to obtain information the application form should have elicited in the first place.
25. Second, legal assistance should have been made available to applicants who required help with the completion and submission of their applications. This would have substantially reduced the number of defective applications, particularly those that failed to disclose a political objective or an offence or delict. People in prison were particularly vulnerable in this respect. The saving of time and

effort in processing better quality applications, taken together with the enhanced prospects of justice being done in respect of indigent applicants, would have more than compensated for the extra costs of providing additional legal assistance. This situation contrasted sharply with the situation of amnesty applicants who qualified for legal assistance from the state. These applicants were entitled to legal representation from the stage of preparing their applications.

26. Third, and in the same vein, legal assistance should have been provided to all applicants on a basis of parity from the outset. The Legal Aid Board provided legal assistance to applicants at much lower rates than that provided to former or present employees of state departments. Victims or their families also received the lower rates and, by implication, less experienced legal assistance. The Committee assumed the responsibility for providing legal assistance towards the middle of 1999, after which its legal department negotiated better fee structures with legal representatives. This made for a more equitable arrangement. Although the Committee is of the opinion that no real prejudice resulted from this situation in view of the more inquisitorial approach it adopted in these earlier hearings, victims understandably felt aggrieved by that semblance of inequality. This should not detract from the very positive aspects of the process, particularly the fact that legal assistance was afforded to all interested parties.
27. Fourth, the absence of useful precedents inhibited the Committee's ability to conceptualise, plan and manage the process in an integrated fashion from the outset. It would, for example, have served the process much better had the Committee immediately dedicated its full capacity to capturing all applications on the database with the least possible delay. All linked applications should have been prioritised for analysis and subjected to focused and managed investigations. This should have entailed the tracing of victims or their next-of-kin and other interested parties with a view to obtaining their versions of events and, where applicable, to obtaining research material relevant to the applications in question.
28. Fifth, pre-hearing conferences involving legal representatives could have been better utilised to limit the scope of hearings by minuting common cause facts and thus focusing the hearing solely on matters actually in dispute.
29. Sixth, the more regular use of *ex tempore* decisions in the many instances where applications were clear-cut would have contributed towards effecting savings and speeding up the overall process.

A Few Reflections on the Provisions of the Act

30. In some instances, applicants applied for amnesty in respect of offences for which, they maintained, they had been wrongly convicted. Since the Act required that the conduct for which amnesty was sought should have constituted an offence or delict, the Committee could not consider such applications favourably. In some cases, co-applicants confirmed the innocence of such an applicant. The Committee referred those cases to the Department of Justice in the hope that they could be dealt with in terms of the Presidential prerogative. The Committee merely wishes to record that such cases could have been dealt with had the legislation either conferred additional powers on the Committee or provided for a concurrent process to deal with those cases.
31. In a few cases, the Committee found that gross human rights violations that did not fall within the ambit of the Act had occurred during and as a result of the conflicts of the past. These related mainly to intra-organisational conflicts. In such conflicts, the acts in question were not directed at a political opponent as required by the Act. Although these cases might have been deserving, they could not qualify for amnesty. This difficulty could have been addressed by extending the ambit of 'an act associated with a political objective' so as to encompass matters of this nature.
32. In many instances, where applications were unopposed and the facts common cause among all interested parties, the Committee was still compelled to hold public hearings merely by virtue of the fact that these matters concerned gross human rights violations. These included, for example, matters related to conspiracies to commit a gross violation of human rights where plans were later aborted, and abductions of persons for a very limited period of a few hours without any physical harm being done to the victim. A wider discretion to grant amnesty in matters where the application was unopposed and the facts common cause, without having had to hold a public hearing, would have contributed to a more expeditious process and cost savings.
33. Applications for amnesty were received from persons in leadership positions in various political groupings, who accepted collective responsibility for (gross) human rights violations committed within the ambit of their policies or resulting from a misguided but bona fide belief that these violations were perpetrated in the implementation of such policies. Often these applications were made pursuant to calls by the Commission on persons in leadership to apply for amnesty. The application of the provisions of the Act to such matters was fully dealt with in the High Court review of the collective amnesty application by ANC leaders.

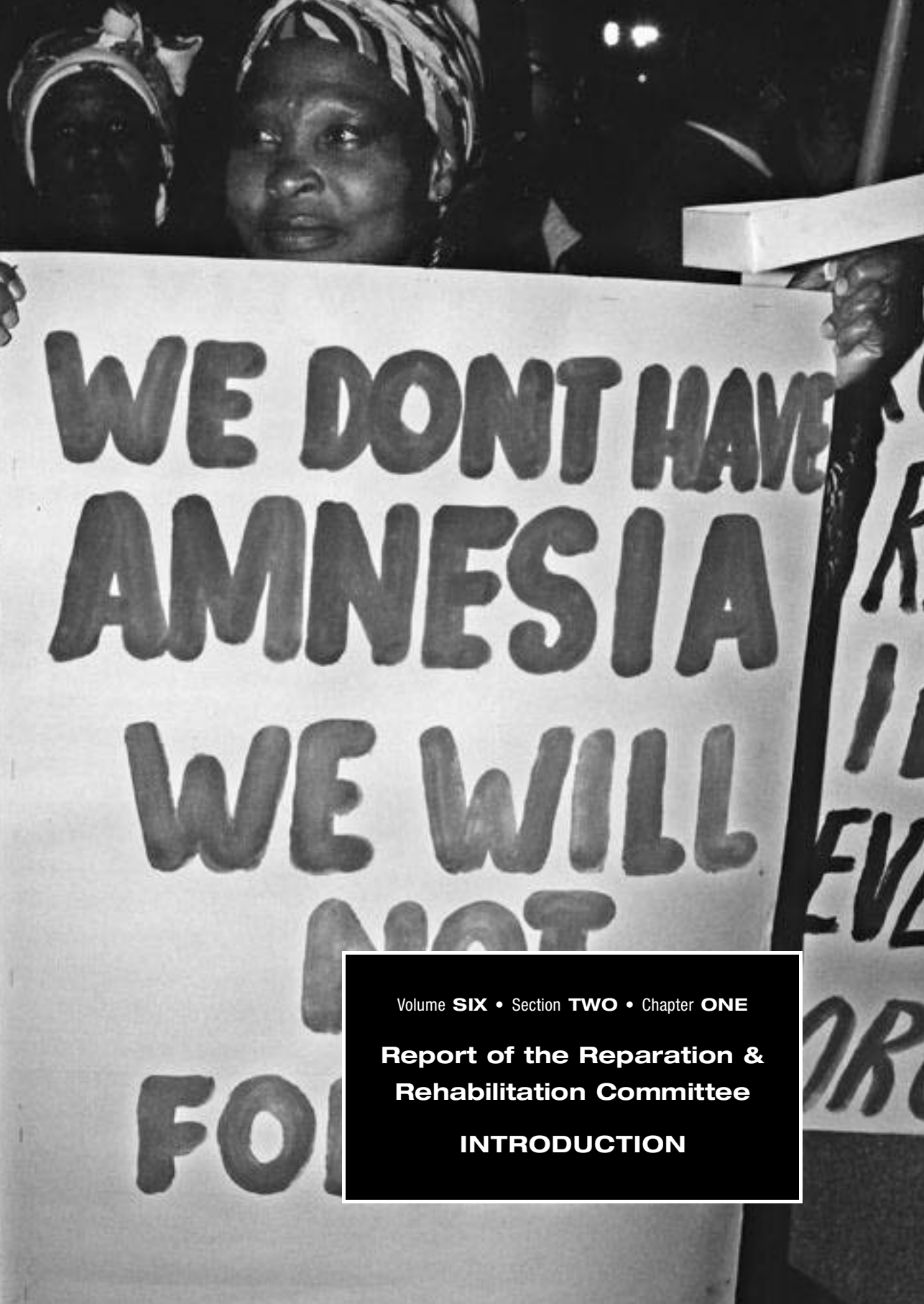
The latter applications were eventually disposed of on the basis that no act or omission had been disclosed which constituted an offence or delict. The findings of the Committee in these applications were not, therefore, to the effect that an offence or delict had been committed for which amnesty was refused. On the contrary, the findings on the applications *per se* were that none of the applicants had committed any offence or delict.

34. The Committee considers it to be in the interests of justice to clarify the mistaken public impression that these applicants (most of whom occupy key public positions) are liable for prosecution in the light of their unsuccessful amnesty applications. It is arguable whether statutory provision for such applications was necessary or would have benefited the Commission process.

Reconciliation and National Unity

35. The various participants experienced the Amnesty Committee process differently. Victims who attended hearings had to contend, generally speaking, with the reopening of old wounds. Their responses varied from strongly opposing to supporting applications for amnesty; from opposing the principles underlying the amnesty process to embracing them; from frustration with perceived non-disclosure by perpetrators to satisfaction at having learnt the facts; from animosity towards applicants to embracing them in forgiveness and reconciliation. Often they merely stated that they had learnt the truth and now at least they understood how and why particular incidents had happened.
36. Perpetrators' attitudes ranged from taking pride in their past actions, to disavowing any further support for their earlier attitudes, to expressions of deep remorse. Often they had to experience the humiliation of public exposure of their shameful pasts. Others said that they would probably repeat what they had done in similar circumstances.
37. The Committee believes that, in all its many facets, the amnesty process made a meaningful contribution to a better understanding of the causes, nature and extent of the conflicts and divisions of the past. It did so by uncovering many aspects of our past that been hidden from view, and by giving us a unique insight into the perspectives and motives of those who committed gross violations of human rights and the context in which these events took place.

38. By sharing these insights, the Committee hopes that its efforts have made a real contribution to the challenge of ensuring that our country and future generations will continue to build on the process towards unity and reconciliation in which the Commission has played so integral a part. (... p92)



Volume **SIX** • Section **TWO** • Chapter **ONE**

**Report of the Reparation &
Rehabilitation Committee**

INTRODUCTION

Report of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee

■ INTRODUCTION

1. In 1998, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC) reported on its work and presented its policy recommendations to the President.¹ This formed part of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission), which was handed to the President of South Africa on 28 October 1998. In that chapter, the RRC discussed the need for reparation and the moral and legal obligation to meet the needs of victims of gross human rights violations. The RRC also outlined the nature and progress of the urgent interim reparation (UIR) programme and submitted a comprehensive set of proposals for final reparations. The present chapter needs to be read in conjunction with that earlier chapter.

MANDATE OF THE REPARATION AND REHABILITATION COMMITTEE

2. The RRC received its mandate from the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 (the Act)², which made provision for reparations for those who had suffered human rights violations.
3. As stated in the Final Report of the Commission, the Preamble to the Act stipulates that one of the objectives of the Commission was to provide for:
the taking of measures aimed at the granting of reparation to, and the rehabilitation and the restoration of the human and civil dignity of, victims of violations of human rights; ...
4. As an integral part of the Commission, the RRC was required to draw up a set of recommendations to the President with regard to:
(i) the policy which should be followed or measures which should be taken with regard to the granting of reparation to victims or the taking of other measures aimed at rehabilitating and restoring the human and civil dignity of victims;

¹ See Volume Five, Chapter Five.

² Sections 25 and 26 of the Act.

(ii) *measures which should be taken to grant urgent interim reparation to victims; ...*³

5. Furthermore, section 25(b)(i) of the Act stipulates that the RRC may:

make recommendations which may include urgent interim measures as contemplated in section 4(f)(ii), as to appropriate measures of reparation to victims; ...

6. The Act also provides for referral to the RRC by the other Committees of the Commission. Thus:

*When the Committee [on Human Rights Violations] finds that a gross violation of human rights has been committed and if the Committee is of the opinion that a person is a victim of such violation, it shall refer the matter to the Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation for its consideration in terms of section 26.*⁴

7. Similarly:

(1) *Where amnesty is granted to any person in respect of any act, omission or offence and the [Amnesty] Committee is of the opinion that a person is a victim in relation to that act, omission or offence, it shall refer the matter to the Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation for its consideration in terms of section 26.*⁵

(2) *Where amnesty is refused by the Committee and if it is of the opinion that –*
(a) *the act, omission or offence concerned constitutes a gross violation of human rights; and*
(b) *a person is a victim in the matter, it shall refer the matter to the Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation for consideration in terms of section 26.*

THE COMMISSION'S REPARATION AND REHABILITATION POLICY

8. The policy recommendations submitted to the President by the Commission consisted of five basic components. Following internationally accepted approaches to reparation and rehabilitation, the RRC stressed the following principles:

- a Redress: the right to fair and adequate compensation;
- b Restitution: the right to the restoration, where possible, of the situation existing prior to the violation;

³ Section 4(f) of the Act.

⁴ Section 15(1).

⁵ Section 22.

- c Rehabilitation: the right to medical and psychological care, as well as such other services and/or interventions at both individual and community level that would facilitate full rehabilitation;
 - d Restoration of dignity: the right of the individual/community to an acknowledgment of the violation committed and the right to a sense of worth, and
 - e Reassurance of non-repetition: the right to a guarantee, by means of appropriate legislative and/or institutional intervention and reform, that the violation will not be repeated.
9. These principles provided a basic framework from which to elaborate the specific proposals outlined below:⁶

Urgent interim reparation

10. UIR is defined as assistance for people in urgent need, with a view to providing them with access to appropriate services and facilities. In this regard, the Commission recommended that limited financial resources be made available to facilitate such access where necessary.

Individual reparation grants

11. This is an individual financial grant scheme. The Commission recommended that each victim of a gross human rights violation receive a financial grant, based on various criteria, to be paid over a period of six years.
12. It was proposed that individual reparation grants be paid to victims (if alive) or relatives/dependants (where victims were deceased). The amount to be paid should be calculated according to three criteria: an amount that acknowledges the suffering caused by the violation; an amount that enables access to requisite services and facilities, and an amount that subsidises daily living costs according to socio-economic circumstances. As the cost of living is higher in rural than in urban areas, it was recommended that victims living in the rural areas should receive a slightly higher grant. The amount also varied according to the number of dependants (up to a maximum of R23 023 per annum). It was recommended that the annual amount be paid twice a year for a period of six years and be administered by the President's Fund, which is located within the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development.

⁶ See Volume Five, Chapter Five.

Symbolic reparation and legal and administrative measures

13. Symbolic reparation encompasses measures that facilitate the communal process of remembering and commemorating the pain and victories of the past. Such measures aim to restore the dignity of victims and survivors.
14. Commemorative aspects include exhumations, tombstones, memorials or monuments, and the renaming of streets or public facilities.
15. Legal and administrative measures include matters such as the issuing of death certificates or declarations of death in the case of people who have disappeared, expunging criminal records where people were sentenced for politically related offences, and expediting outstanding legal matters.

Community rehabilitation programmes

16. The establishment of government-led community-based services and activities is aimed at promoting the healing and recovery of individuals and communities affected by human rights violations. As many victims were based in communities that were subjected to systemic abuse, the RRC identified possible rehabilitation programmes and recommended a series of interventions at both community and national level. These included programmes to demilitarise youth who had been involved in or witnessed political violence over decades; programmes to resettle the many thousands displaced by political violence; mental health and trauma counselling, as well as programmes to rehabilitate and reintegrate perpetrators of gross violations of human rights into normal community life.

Institutional reform

17. Institutional reform included legal, administrative and institutional measures designed to prevent the recurrence of abuses of human rights. The Commission drew up a fairly substantial set of recommendations aimed at the creation and maintenance of a stable society – a society that would never again allow the kind of violations experienced during the Commission's mandate period. These included recommendations relating to the judiciary, security forces and correctional services as well as other sectors in society such as education, business and media.
18. The RRC, focusing on the need to implement these recommendations, proposed that a structure or body be set up in the office of the State President or Deputy President and headed by a national director of Reparation and Rehabilitation.

Further, the RRC recommended that reparation desks be established at provincial and municipal levels to ensure effective delivery and monitoring.

DELAYS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF REPARATION THUS FAR

19. Since the submission of the Final Report of the Commission with its proposals for reparation, there has been a considerable delay on the part of government in setting forth its vision for the Reparation and Rehabilitation programme. Indeed, government's only response thus far has been to challenge the individual reparation grant component of the Commission's recommendations.
20. This delay has led to ongoing public debate and widespread criticism. Much of this criticism has been directed at the Commission, as public perception, frequently fuelled by the media, has continued to see reparation as the responsibility of the Commission rather than of the government.
21. The fact that this delay has taken place against the background of the amnesty process is also unfortunate. The fact that victims continue to wait for reparations while perpetrators receive amnesty has fuelled the debate about justice for victims⁷ within the Commission process.
22. It needs to be strongly emphasised that giving victim evidence before the Commission was not simply a question of reporting on the past. It was intended to change peoples' views and experiences of their own pain and suffering. It was intended, moreover, to play an important role in reconciling the nation. This exposure and exploration of past experiences – this reconciliation – needed to be accompanied by reparation and rehabilitation-related services and the meeting of financial and other needs. Without this important component, the work of the Commission remains essentially unbalanced.
23. It should be noted further that, while the public debate has tended to focus on individual financial grants, the reparation policy proposed by the RRC was much broader in intent. In other words, it did not focus simply on financial compensation.

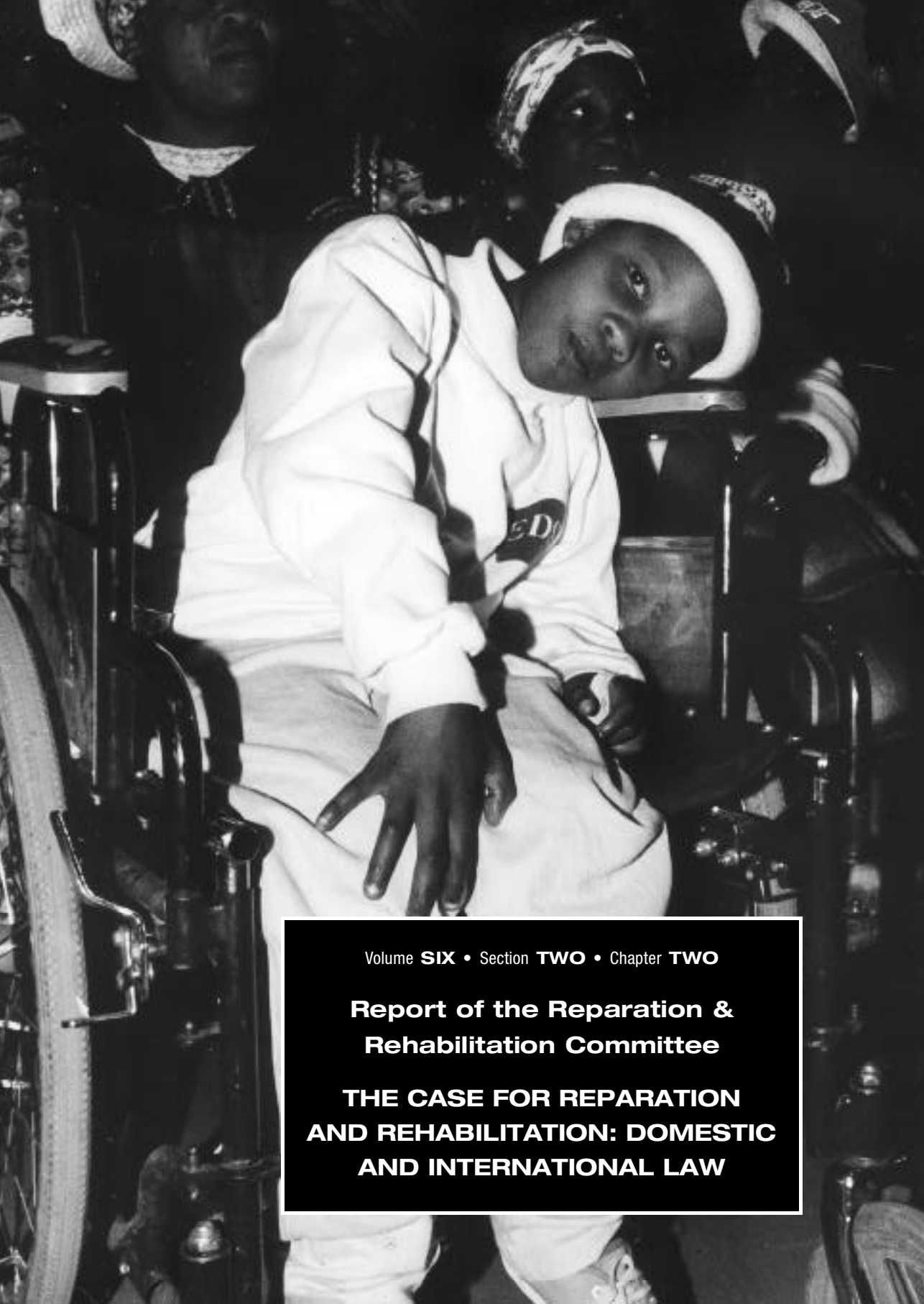
⁷ The Commission's use of the term 'victim' was explained in its Final Report on the grounds of the original wording of the Act. The RRC acknowledges the connotations associated with the term as a multiplicity of experiences, or engendering notions of the 'victim' having being vanquished or conquered in some way. The alternative, 'survivor', is open to a more fluid interpretation, but still fails to represent the variations of that survival. In the context of the Commission, it is a definition based on the specific violation experienced by the individual – that is, killing, abduction, torture or severe ill-treatment. It is not a term based on the individual's current state or understanding of himself or herself. This 'violation-based' definition is unsatisfactory to the Commission in that it promotes a homogeneous grouping of those who approached the Commission and has the potential to stifle creative approaches to the issue of reparative interventions.

It catered not only for the individual needs of those who suffered from past abuses, but had implications for communities that had been targeted for abuse as well as those requiring fundamental institutional transformation.

THE FOCUS OF THIS REPORT

24. The purpose of these chapters is to re-emphasise the urgency and importance of the recommendations for reparation and rehabilitation. This section also focuses on the work undertaken by the RRC since 29 October 1998. At that time, the RRC had processed seventy applications and sent them to the President's Fund. As of 30 November 2001, when the RRC closed down, a total of 17 016 forms for UIR grants had been submitted to the President's Fund, of which some 16 855 payments had been made, totalling R50 million. The processing of forms and data in respect of UIR has formed the bulk of the RRC's work since October 1998.
25. In addition to the above, the RRC has been responsible for considering victims referred to it by the Amnesty Committee for purposes of reparations.⁸ Further, the Committee on Human Rights Violations has continuously referred new victims to the RRC as it completed its findings and dealt with appeals against earlier negative findings. As a result of these two processes, victim referrals were still being made to the RRC up to the time of finalising this report.

⁸ In terms of section 22 of the Act.



Volume **SIX** • Section **TWO** • Chapter **TWO**

**Report of the Reparation &
Rehabilitation Committee**

**THE CASE FOR REPARATION
AND REHABILITATION: DOMESTIC
AND INTERNATIONAL LAW**

The Case for Reparation and Rehabilitation: Domestic and International Law

1. In its broadest sense, the mandate of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC) was to affirm, acknowledge and consider the impact and consequences of gross violations of human rights⁹ on victims, and to make recommendations accordingly. In doing so, the RRC had access to a rich source of information about reparations, drawn from domestic and international law and opinion.

DOMESTIC LAW AND DEMOCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY

Domestic Law

2. The obligation to institute reparations is enshrined in South African law itself.
3. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 200 of 1993¹⁰ (the Interim Constitution) recognised the principle that the conflicts of the past had caused immeasurable injury and suffering to the people of South Africa and that, because of the country's legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge: 'there is a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for *ubuntu* but not for victimisation'.¹¹ This view was given concrete expression in the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 (the Act), which mandated the Commission to develop measures for the provision of reparation to those found to have been victims of gross violations of human rights.
4. Through the Act and in unambiguous language, the legislature made clear its intention that 'reparations' of some kind or form should be awarded to victims.

9 Killings, torture, severe ill-treatment and abduction. A number of violations were reported to the Commission which did not fall into these categories. These were described as 'associated violations'.

10 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 200 of 1993, 'National Unity and Reconciliation', Chapter Fifteen.

11 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 200 of 1993.

This reaffirms the belief that the Act created rights in favour of victims. For example:

[T]he Commission shall – ...

(f) make recommendations to the President with regard to –

- (i) the policy which should be followed or measures which should be taken with regard to the granting of reparation to victims or the taking of other measures aimed at rehabilitating and restoring the human and civil dignity of victims [section 4];*

Any person who is of the opinion that he or she has suffered harm as a result of a gross violation of human rights may apply to the Committee for reparation in the prescribed form ... [section 26(1)].

The recommendations referred to in section 4(f)(i) shall be considered by the President with a view to making recommendations to Parliament and making regulations [section 27(1)].

5. Entitlement to reparation therefore arises from the provisions of the Act itself. The only qualification is that the recipient must be a victim of a gross violation of human rights as defined in section 1 of the Act,¹² and as further elaborated in subsequent promulgated regulations.

Legitimate expectation

6. The general statutory obligations imposed upon the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) created a legitimate expectation on the part of victims of gross violations of human rights that the Commission would fulfil this part of its mandate. This legitimate expectation gave rise to legally enforceable rights in terms of section 26 of the Act. According to this section, persons are entitled to apply for reparations by virtue of having been referred as a victim to the RRC either by the Amnesty Committee¹³ (the Committee) or the Human Rights Violations Committee¹⁴ (HRVC).

¹² Section 1(xix) of the Act defines ‘victims’ as – (a) persons who, individually or together with one or more persons, suffered harm in the form of physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, pecuniary loss or a substantial impairment of human rights – (i) as a result of a gross violation of human rights; or (ii) as a result of an act associated with a political objective for which amnesty has been granted; (b) persons who, individually or together with one or more persons, suffered harm in the form of physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, pecuniary loss or a substantial impairment of human rights, as a result of such person intervening to assist persons contemplated in paragraph (a) who were in distress or to prevent victimization of such persons; and (c) such relatives or dependants of victims as may be prescribed.

¹³ Section 22 of the Act.

¹⁴ Section 15(1).

7. The principle of legitimate expectation has been accepted in our law¹⁵ and has since been enshrined in the South African Constitution. Victims, therefore, have a legitimate expectation that they are entitled to reparations once the RRC has considered their applications for reparation and referred them to the President's Fund and/or relevant government department in the proper manner.

Amnesty and reparations: Achieving a balance

8. The argument that the case for reparations is well founded in the Constitution and in the Act is also supported and underpinned by a majority judgment of the Constitutional Court.¹⁶ The judgment emphasises the obligation on the state to meet the 'need for reparations' as enshrined in the Constitution.
9. The Act requires that, once a perpetrator has been granted amnesty, the right of the victims and/or their families to institute criminal and/or civil proceedings is extinguished.¹⁷ In 1996, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and several relatives¹⁸ of persons killed by the security forces challenged the constitutionality of the amnesty provisions.¹⁹ The Constitutional Court dismissed the application in a majority judgment. Affirming the constitutionality of the provisions, the Court²⁰ noted that the notion of amnesty was a cornerstone of the negotiated settlement and was enshrined in the 'postamble' to the Interim Constitution²¹. However, the judgment noted that the 'postamble' made provision not only for amnesty, but also for a reparations process:

The election made by the makers of the Constitution was to permit Parliament to favour 'the reconstruction of society' involving in the process a wider concept of 'reparation' which would allow the state to take into account the competing claims on its resources, but at the same time, to have regard to the 'untold sufferings' of individuals and families whose fundamental human rights had been invaded during the conflict of the past.²²

15 Administrator of the Transvaal and Others v Traub and Others 1989 (4) SA 731 (A) at 761 D.

16 Constitutional Court Case No. CCT 19/96.

17 See section 20(7) of Act No. 34 of 1995.

18 Ms NM Biko, wife of Mr Steven Bantu Biko who died in detention in October 1977; Mr CH Mxenge, brother of Mr Griffiths Mxenge who was killed in November 1981 by a Security Branch hit squad; and Mr C Ribeiro, son of Dr Fabian and Ms Florence Ribeiro who were killed in a joint Security Branch and SADF Special Forces operation in December 1986.

19 See Volume One, Chapter Seven, pp. 175–8.

20 Constitutional Court Case No. CCT 19/96.

21 The Interim Constitution provided the framework for the transition to a democratic order.

22 See AZAPO judgment per Judge Mahomed at p. 40 para 45.

10. The Court offered some examples of such reparations, including: bursaries and scholarships for the youth; occupational training and rehabilitation; surgical intervention and medical assistance; housing subsidies, and tombstones and memorials.²³
11. Thus it may be seen that the Act as passed by Parliament includes provisions for both amnesty and reparations, and embodies and endorses the spirit of the Interim Constitution.
12. Mr Justice Didcott, a Constitutional Court judge, issued a separate judgment in which he considered various constitutional matters and questions of law. In this judgment, which in no way disagrees with the majority view, Judge Didcott expressed the following opinion on the phrase 'need for reparation', which appears in the postscript of the Interim Constitution:

Reparations are usually payable by states, and there is no reason to doubt that the postscript envisages our own state shouldering the national responsibility for those. It therefore does not contemplate that the state will go scot-free. On the contrary, I believe, an actual commitment on the point is implicit in its terms, a commitment in principle to the assumption by the state of the burden. What remains to be examined is the extent to which the statute gives effect to the acknowledgment of that responsibility. The question arises because it was said in argument to have done so insufficiently.

The long title of the statute declares one of the objects that it promotes to be: '... the taking of measures aimed at the granting of reparation to, and the rehabilitation and restoration of the human and civil dignity of, victims of violations of human rights'.

Section 1 defines 'reparation' in terms that include – '... any form of compensation, ex gratia payment, restoration, rehabilitation or recognition'.²⁴

13. Judge Didcott discussed the effects of granting amnesty and the award of reparations as follows:

The statute does not, it is true, grant any legally enforceable rights in lieu of those lost by claimants whom the amnesties hit. It nevertheless offers some quid pro quo for the loss and established the machinery for determining such alternate redress.²⁵

²³ See [AZAPO judgment per Judge Mahomed](#) at p. 40 para 45.

²⁴ See [AZAPO judgment per Didcott I](#) paras 62–4.

²⁵ See [AZAPO judgment per Didcott I](#) at pp. 55–6, para 65.

14. Whilst the granting of reparations to victims whose rights to criminal prosecution and civil claims have been destroyed by the granting of amnesty to perpetrators may conceivably be described as a *quid pro quo*, it must be noted that the proportion of victims emerging from the amnesty process is relatively small compared to the total number of persons declared to be victims by the Commission. It must be stressed, however, that any reparation policy that attempted to make a distinction between these two categories of victims would be divisive and counter-productive.

THE INTERNATIONAL ARGUMENTS

15. In its Final Report,²⁶ the Commission made it clear that its position with regard to reparations was consistent with well-established international principles. The following section re-states and elaborates this position.

The right to reparation

16. The protection of human rights is widely recognised as a fundamental aim of modern international law, which holds states liable for human rights violations and the abuses they or their agents commit. For some considerable time now, the minds of the international legal community have been preoccupied with the issue of compensation for injuries arising from human rights violations and the formulation of effective reparation policies. Although no consistent reparations policy has evolved in international human rights law, there is nevertheless reasonable consensus about the obligations of states to make reparations for violations of human rights.
17. A survey of international law institutions, bodies and tribunals at both global and regional level, taken together with the many treaties, declarations, conventions and protocols in respect of the protection of civil liberties and human rights, provides overwhelming proof of the moral and legal support the Commission's reparations policy finds in international law. Indeed, as will be shown, the reparation policy proposed by the RRC is in many respects framed by the policy positions of the international human rights community.
18. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the founding document on international human rights, states that: 'Everyone has the right to an effective

²⁶ Volume Five, Chapter Five.

remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or laws'. The declaration further states that any person unlawfully arrested, detained or convicted has an enforceable right to compensation.²⁷

19. Further examples of support for reparation can be found in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966); the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1966); the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide (1948); the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984); the Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power (1985); the United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution on the Establishment of the UN Compensation Commission (1991), and the study by the United Nations High Commission on Human Rights (UNHCHR) concerning the right to restitution, compensation and rehabilitation for victims of gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms (1993).
20. In the Commission's Final Report, reference was made to the last-mentioned study, in which the UNHCHR argued that, where a state or any of its agents is responsible for killings, torture, abductions or disappearances, it has a legal obligation to compensate victims or their families.
21. Subsequent to the publication of the Commission's Final Report, the UN authorised a further study on the subject of reparations. On 18 January 2000, a UNHCHR working group, headed by international human rights scholar M Cherif Bassiouni, drew up a report that incorporated the UN 'Draft Principles and Guidelines on the Right to Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Violations of International Human Rights and Humanitarian Law' (the Draft Principles). The report confirms that, in order to comply with their international human rights and humanitarian law obligations, states must adopt *inter alia*:
 - a appropriate and effective judicial and administrative procedures and other appropriate measures that provide fair, effective and prompt access to justice; and
 - b measures to make available adequate effective and prompt reparation.
22. In terms of these Draft Principles, the expression 'access to justice' is not limited to access to ordinary courts of law, but also includes equal and effective access to justice in the form of adequate reparations. In order to give effect to

²⁷ Articles 9(5) and 14(6) United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

these principles, states must provide victims with appropriate mechanisms for accessing and receiving reparations.

Nature of remedy or reparation offered

23. As the right to a remedy for victims of human rights abuse has increasingly been accepted in international human rights and humanitarian law, reasonable consensus has begun to emerge as to what such reparation should entail. Significantly, in almost every instance, the remedy envisaged goes far beyond individual monetary compensation.
24. The UNHCHR, established to ensure state compliance with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, has recommended that a state that is in violation of the Covenant should:
 - a pay financial compensation to the victim;
 - b provide appropriate care where necessary;
 - c investigate the matter; and
 - d take appropriate action, including bringing the perpetrator to justice.
25. Article 14 of the Convention against Torture states that:

Each State Party shall ensure in its legal system that the victim of an act of torture obtains redress and has an enforceable right to fair and adequate compensation, including the means for as full rehabilitation as possible. In the event of the death of the victim as the result of an act of torture, his dependants shall be entitled to compensation.
26. In 1998, the Working Group on Involuntary or Enforced Disappearances issued a similar declaration. However, it extended the right of redress to the family of the victims and stipulated that, in the case of enforced disappearances, it was the primary duty of the state to establish the fate and whereabouts of the disappeared. In considering what could be regarded as adequate reparation, the Working Group stated that it should be 'proportionate to the gravity of the human rights violations (that is the period of disappearance, the conditions of detentions and so on) and to the suffering of the victim and the family'. In determining compensation, the Working Group noted that consideration should be given to the following:
 - a physical and mental harm;
 - b lost opportunities;
 - c material damages and loss of earnings;

- d harm to reputation; and
- e legal costs incurred as a result of the violation.

27. In the event of the death of a victim, additional compensation should be awarded.
28. Additional measures to ensure rehabilitation (such as physical and mental services) and restitution (restoration of personal liberty, family life, citizenship, employment or property, return to the place of residence) should be provided. Finally the victim and her/his family should be guaranteed the non-repetition of the violation.
29. The Draft Principles (as drafted by Professor M Cherif Bassiouni) give fairly detailed guidance on the possible forms of reparation. These are worth setting out in full, as the recommendations made by the Commission exemplify these principles in many respects, demonstrating the extent to which the recommendations the Commission proposes are in line with those proposed internationally.

Article 22: Restitution should, wherever possible, restore the victim to the original situation before the violations of international human rights or humanitarian law occurred. Restitution includes: restoration of liberty; legal rights; social status; family life or citizenship; return to one's place of residence; restoration of employment and return of property.

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

Article 24: Rehabilitation should include medical and psychological care as well as legal and social services.

Article 25: Satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition should include, where applicable, any or all of the following: cessation of continuing violations; verification of the facts and full and public disclosure of the truth to the extent that such disclosure does not cause further unnecessary harm or threaten the safety of the victim, witnesses or others; the search for the bodies of those killed or disappeared and assistance in the identification and reburial of the bodies in accordance with the cultural practices of the families and communities; an official declaration or

a judicial decision restoring the dignity, reputation and legal and social rights of the victim and of the persons closely connected with the victim; apology, including public acknowledgment of the facts and acceptance of responsibility; judicial or administrative sanctions against persons responsible for the violations; commemorations and tributes to the victims; inclusion of an accurate account of the violations that occurred of international human rights and humanitarian law in training and in educational material at all levels.

Preventing the recurrence of violations by such means as (1) Ensuring effective civilian control of military and security forces; (2) Restricting the jurisdiction of military tribunals only to specifically military offences committed by members of the armed forces; (3) Strengthening the independence of the judiciary; (4) Protecting persons in the legal, media and other related professions and human rights' defenders; (5) Conducting and strengthening, on a priority and continued basis, human rights training to all sectors of society, in particular to military and security forces and to law enforcement officials; (6) Promoting the observance of codes of conduct and ethical norms, in particular international standards, by public servants, including law enforcement, correctional, media, medical, psychological, social service and military personnel, as well as the staff of economic enterprises; (7) Creating mechanisms for monitoring conflict resolution and preventive intervention.

Decisions of international human rights bodies supporting the right to reparation

30. The creation of numerous bodies and procedures within the UN system has created a powerful mechanism for (amongst other things) the investigation of reported violations of human rights, the holding of public hearings, and recommendations on international policy. Yet none of the UN's permanent treaty or internal bodies is legally empowered to give concrete effect to reparations or the bringing of perpetrators to book.
31. Despite this, several regional bodies established to promote and protect human rights do have such competence. European and Inter-American bodies in particular have developed a rich jurisprudence around international human rights and humanitarian law generally, as well as on specific issues such as reparation.
32. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) is, for example, empowered to investigate complaints and to effect the amicable settlement of disputes. In two well-publicised cases, the IACHR brokered a settlement where

damages were claimed from Ecuador for the disappearance of two young men. Ecuador admitted liability and agreed to implement the following reparations:

- a payment of a lump sum US\$ 2 000 000 settlement without prejudice to civil remedies against the perpetrators;
- b an undertaking to conduct a definitive and complete search of the area where the boys allegedly disappeared and to provide all necessary and reasonable logistical support to carry out the search, including training men to recover the bodies;
- c an undertaking not to interfere with any ceremonies commemorating the deaths of the youths;
- d an undertaking to rehabilitate the reputation of the family by publicly affirming that the young men were not guilty of crimes under Ecuadorian law or morality;
- e an undertaking properly to investigate, prosecute and punish the perpetrators of the violation of the human rights of the deceased and their families.

- 33. This case study is a good example of how a package of recommendations (such as the RRC has proposed in South Africa) can be holistically combined rather than quantifying the violations committed against the victims or their families to a sum of money alone.
- 34. The IACHR has made important contributions to the growing body of jurisprudence with respect to formulating reparation policy as an alternative to monetary compensation. It has, in a number of cases, recommended the reform of the military court system, methods of investigation (Columbia), prosecution and the punishment of violators (Tarcisso Meduna Charry v Colombia), the adoption or modification of offending legislation, and guarantees for the safety of witnesses. Similarly, the South African Commission has made many recommendations in respect of institutional reform.²⁸
- 35. The IACHR has been particularly concerned with an important area of international jurisprudence relating to the issue of impunity: not only as it concerns past violations, but also to the prospect of violations that may take place in the future. This has a direct bearing on the kinds of reparation needed to remedy the situation. In its report on the *Ley de Caducidad* in Uruguay, the IACHR concluded that the impunity granted to officials who had violated human rights during the

²⁸ See Volume Five, Chapter Five, 'Recommendations'.

period of military rule was in breach of the American Convention on Human Rights. A similar finding was made in respect of Argentina's *Ley de Punto Final* (the 'full-stop law') and Presidential Pardon No. 1002. In this respect, the South African Commission's recommendations in relation to prosecution²⁹ need to be seen as being an important part of reparation policy in that they address the issue of the non-repetition of violations by seeking to put an end to a culture of impunity.

36. Where settlement is not possible, the IACHR refers disputes to the Inter-American Court on Human Rights. In Valesquez Rodriguez v Honduras 1988 and Godinez Cruz v Honduras 1989, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights found the government of Honduras responsible for the disappearances of two young men at the hands of the military. Despite the argument by Honduras that the Court was limited to awarding the most favourable benefit under Honduran law for accidental death, the Court decided that international law required restitution of the *status quo ante* (before the violation occurred) where possible. Another case where full compensation was required was in the Barrios Altos case.³⁰ In Loayza Tamayo v Peru, the Court agreed that reparations could be granted, based on identifiable damage suffered as a result of a violation that included lost opportunities (*proyecto de vida* or 'enjoyment of life'). It should be noted that compensation proposed by the RRC does not include the notion of 'lost opportunities' addressed in this and other international human rights instruments and law. In this respect, the individual compensation proposed by the RRC is a far more modest amount.
37. The former European Court of Human Rights gave a more restrictive interpretation to Article 50 of the European Convention for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, which provided, *inter alia*, for adequate compensation for human rights violations. This hampered the evolution of remedies in the European system. However, since the creation of the new European Court of Human Rights on 1 November 1998, the Court has expressed its opinion³¹ that, in terms of the Convention, the state should do more than financially compensate the victim. Rather it should effect restitution so that the victim is restored to the position s/he held before the violation.
38. More recently, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) established a system designed to ensure adherence to human rights. In 1986, the OAU issued an African Charter on Human and People's Rights. This Charter established an

29 See recommendation on 'Accountability', Volume Five, Chapter Eight, p. 309.

30 Judgment March 14 2001, Inter-American Court on Human Rights Sec. C No 75 2001.

31 In cases like Papamichalopoulos and Others v Greece.

independent African Commission on Human and People's Rights, which was entrusted with, *inter alia*, the promotion and protection of human rights in African states as well as interpretation of the Charter.

39. In June 1998, the OAU went on to adopt a draft protocol for the establishment of an African Court on Human Rights. Article 26(1) provides that, if the Court should find that a violation of a human or people's rights has been committed, it should make appropriate orders to remedy the violation, including the payment of fair compensation or reparation.

Amnesty and reparation in international law

40. The aim of restorative justice internationally is to restore the balance in favour of the victim to whom wrong has been done. The intention is to provide compensation for loss, to make victims whole and to sanction perpetrators and ensure that they are deterred from engaging in future misconduct.³² The Final Report offers a definition of restorative justice as a process that satisfies the following criteria:³³
 - a It seeks to redefine crime: it shifts the primary focus of crime from the breaking of laws or offences against a faceless state to a perception of crime as violations against human beings, as injury or wrong done to another person.
 - b It is based on reparation: it aims for the healing and the restoration of all concerned – of victims in the first place, but also of offenders, their families and the larger community.
 - c It encourages victims, offenders and the community to be directly involved in resolving conflict, with the state and legal professionals acting as facilitators.
 - d It supports a criminal justice system that aims at offender accountability, full participation of both the victims and offenders, and making good or putting right what is wrong.
41. International law has been hostile to blanket amnesties and to amnesty provisions that deprive victims of their civil law rights. The granting of amnesty undermines victims' rights to justice through the courts by removing their rights to pursue civil claims against perpetrators, who thereby escape liability. In a 1998 ruling,

32 See, for example, York, K., and Bauman, J., *Remedies: Cases and Materials*, 1979.

33 Volume One, Chapter Five, p. 126, para 82, from South African Law Commission, 'Sentencing Restorative Justice' Issue Paper 7, p. 6.

the IAHRIC condemned the 1993 El Salvadorean amnesty law because it 'expressly eliminat[ed] all civil liability (article 4) ... Prevent[ing] the surviving victims and those with legal claims ... from access to effective judicial recourse'.

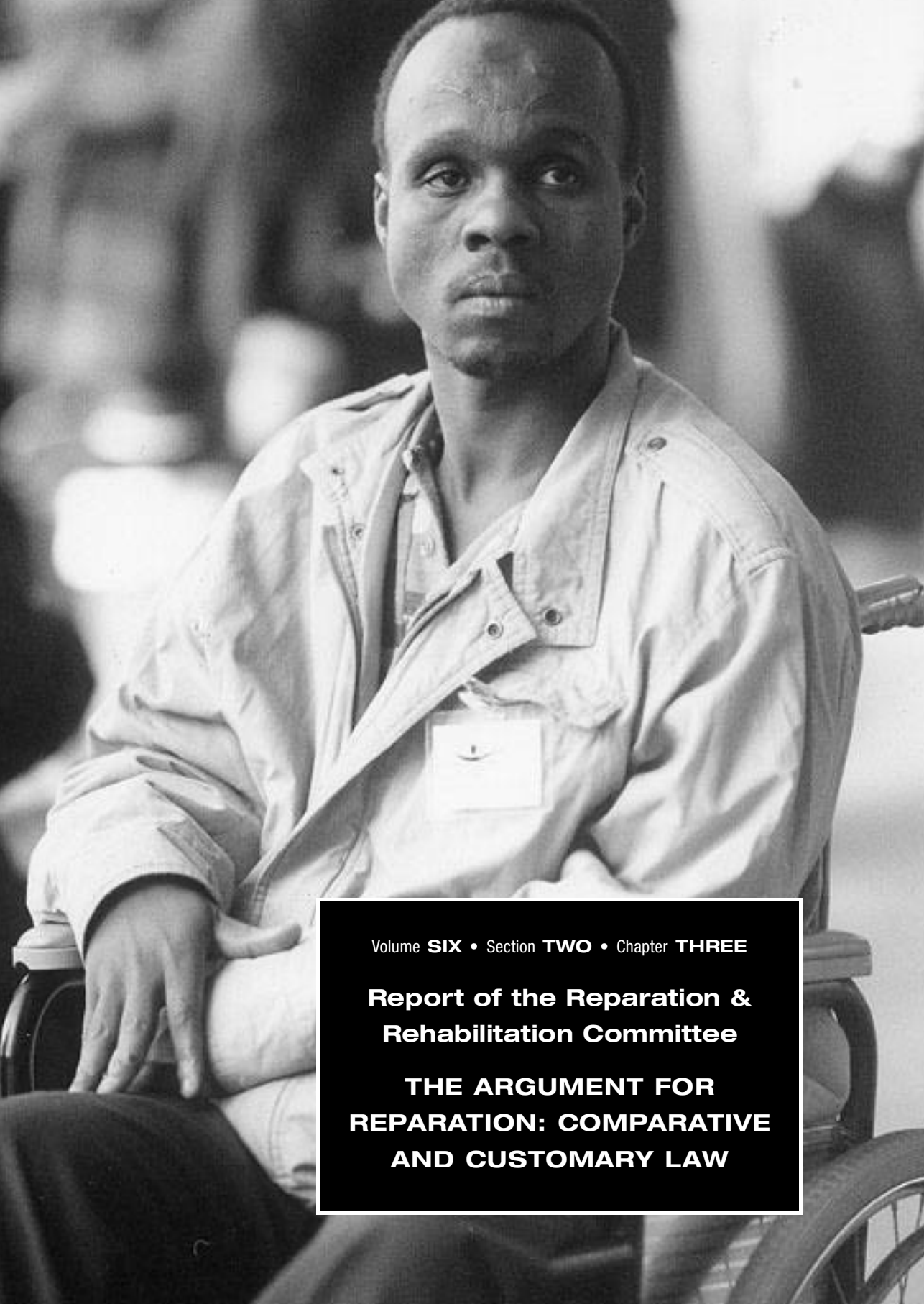
42. This implies that amnesty in respect of civil liability for human rights violations can be reconciled with international law only where the state has simultaneously furnished some mechanism of investigation and some form of reparation for victims. Thus the 'Draft Set of Principles for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights through Action to Combat Impunity' prepared for the UNHCHR's Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in October 1997 stipulates that:

Even when intended to establish conditions conducive to a peace agreement or to foster national reconciliation, amnesty and other measures of clemency shall be kept within the following bounds. They shall be without effect with respect to the victims' right to reparation ...

43. Repeated references in international human rights instruments and treaties, echoed by state practice and expert opinion, to the obligation of states to respect and ensure respect for rights, right of access to justice and the right to remedy, provide strong evidence of a customary obligation. Such obligation implies that victim reparations are a minimum requirement where ordinary access to the courts is limited.
44. Therefore, because the South African amnesty process deprives victims of access to the courts, its international legitimacy depends on the provision of adequate reparations to the victims of gross violations of human rights. Making good the injuries to victims of gross violations of human rights where their ability to seek reparation has been taken away from them is thus an inescapable moral obligation on the part of the post-apartheid democratic state.
45. In short, amnesty coupled with an adequate and effective provision for reparation and rehabilitation meets government's obligation to ensure justice to the victims of the past. Stated differently, amnesty without an effective reparations and rehabilitation programme would be a gross injustice and betrayal of the spirit of the Act, the Constitution and the country.
46. It can be seen from the above discussion that the reparation policy proposed by the RRC is well within the bounds determined by international human rights law.

Indeed, as suggested above, the policy proposed by the RRC is, in many respects, an attempt to take seriously international consensus on developing a defensible and sound reparations programme.

47. Finally, it must be noted that the former government was not a party to any of the major international human rights treaties during the Commission's mandate period – that is, the period during which violations of human rights were perpetrated on a large scale. This does not, however, render the current South African government immune from the obligation to make reparation for gross violations committed during the mandate period. As indicated above, South Africa is bound by customary international law for violations committed during the apartheid era.



Volume **SIX** • Section **TWO** • Chapter **THREE**

**Report of the Reparation &
Rehabilitation Committee**

**THE ARGUMENT FOR
REPARATION: COMPARATIVE
AND CUSTOMARY LAW**

The Argument for Reparation: Comparative and Customary Law

1. Most of the many advances made over recent decades with respect to reparation policy have taken place at the level of global bodies and individual case law. More recently, however, the issue of reparations has become a matter of national significance in countries that have experienced transitions to democracy after years of repression.³⁴ For example, first in Argentina and then elsewhere in South America, a series of truth commissions were established by transitional governments with the aim of investigating human rights violations and abuses committed by predecessor regimes. The issue of reparations emerged strongly from the work of such commissions.
2. It needs to be noted that some South American governments have accepted and implemented recommendations for reparation in countries that, in many respects, face similar economic constraints to those of South Africa. Their commitment to reparation is thus of particular significance.

Argentina

3. In May 1987, the Law of Due Obedience (Law No. 23521) created a presumption that low- and middle-ranking officers as well as most officers of higher rank acted under superior orders and duress and could not, therefore, be prosecuted for human rights abuses.³⁵ This was widely viewed as compromising the initiatives of the Argentine National Commission on the Disappeared.³⁶ In October 1989 the new President, Carlos Menem, decreed a general pardon³⁷ of military personnel and civilians convicted of military or politically-motivated crimes, and senior officers facing charges for abductions. Initially the pardon excluded certain named leaders, but it was extended in December 1989 to cover all those convicted.

³⁴ See also this volume, Section One, Chapter Two.

³⁵ Kritz, NJ (ed), *Transitional Justice*, Vol II: Country Studies. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1995, p. 363.

³⁶ Hayner, PB, *Unspeakable Truths*. New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 233, 258.

³⁷ Hayner, PB, *Unspeakable Truths*. New York: Routledge, 2001, p. 161.

4. However, such amnesties did not preclude the possibility of victims and families of victims instituting civil claims. In addition, a number of laws were passed providing for reparations to compensate victims of human rights violations.³⁸
- a Law No. 24 411 (Argentina, 7 December 1994) provided for monetary reparations for families of the disappeared and killed. Victims had to have been listed in the report of the National Commission on the Disappeared or have been subsequently reported to the government's Human Rights Office (which requires verification through mention in the media, a human rights report or court documents). The amount of the award was a one-time payment to the family of \$220 000 paid in state bonds. The amount was determined with reference to the civil service pay scheme and equivalent to 100 months at the salary level of the highest-paid civil servant.
 - b Law No. 23 466 (Argentina, 1987) granted a pension of \$140 per month to children of the disappeared (until they reached the age of 21 years). The estimated cost to the state of these reparations is between \$2 and \$3 billion.
 - c Law No. 24 043 (Argentina, 11 May 1994) provided monetary reparations for those imprisoned for political reasons or forced into exile. The law applied to political prisoners held without trial; those who had been 'temporarily disappeared', and whose case was reported to the media, to the truth commission or to a human rights organisation at the time, and to those arrested and sent into exile by the authorities. The award amounted to the equivalent of the daily salary rate of the highest-paid civil servant for each day the victim spent in prison or in forced exile. The award was made in a one-time payment of state bonds and could not exceed \$220 000. If the victim had died while in prison, his or her family was entitled to the same daily rate up until the date of death plus the equivalent of five years at the same rate up to a total of \$220 000. If the victim had been seriously wounded while in prison, his or her family was entitled to the daily rate plus the equivalent of 3.5 years at the same rate, up to a total of \$220 000. The estimated cost of these reparations to the state was approximately \$500 million.

38 Hayner, PB, *Unspeakable Truths*. New York:Routledge, 2001,pp. 316–17.

- d Non-monetary reparations consist of:
 - i. the creation of new legal category of 'forcibly disappeared', which holds the legal equivalent of death for purposes of the law (allowing the processing of wills and closing of estates) while preserving the possibility of a person's reappearance (Law No. 24 321, Argentina, 11 May 1994);
 - ii. a waiver of military service for children of the disappeared, and
 - iii. housing credits for children of the disappeared.
- 5. While the law sought to compensate for the injuries suffered by unlawfully detained persons, a number of constraints prevented many individuals from benefiting in practice. For example, victims were required to corroborate a period of detention by producing an arrest order and an order of liberty (issued by the executive). However, the military government refused to acknowledge the abductions and the new government failed to obtain disclosure of many of the necessary facts required to corroborate such cases.

CHILE

- 6. A National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation (the Chilean Commission) was set up in 1990 to account for the dead and disappeared in Chile during the period 11 September 1973 to 11 March 1990. This corresponds to the period during which the Pinochet regime ruled Chile.³⁹
- 7. The Chilean Commission envisaged three aspects to reparation, namely:
 - a disclosure of the truth and the 'end of secrecy';
 - b recognition of the dignity of victims and the pain suffered by their relatives, and
 - c measures to improve the quality of the lives of victims.
- 8. While the Chilean Commission largely fulfilled the first objective of reparations – namely that of 'ending secrecy' and establishing the fate of victims – the third objective remained unfulfilled and the Chilean government accepted the Chilean Commission's recommendation that specific measures be taken to compensate victims and their families. As a consequence, a National Corporation for Reparation and Reconciliation (the Chilean Corporation) was established in 1992 to see to the unfinished business of the Chilean Commission and to implement recommendations, including reparations.⁴⁰

39 Hayner, PB, *Unspeakable Truths*. New York:Routledge, 2001,pp. 293 & 35.

40 Hayner, PB, *Unspeakable Truths*. New York:Routledge, 2001, p. 293.

9. The Law Creating the National Corporation for Reparation and Reconciliation (Law No. 19, 123, Chile, 31 January 1992) established the following benefits:⁴¹ monthly pensions for the relatives of those killed or disappeared; fixed-sum payments for prison time and lost income of dependants of those who died or disappeared, health and educational benefits.⁴²
- a Monetary reparations included a monthly pension paid by cheque to family members of those killed or disappeared (as determined by the Chilean Commission or Corporation). If only one family member survived, the pension amounted to \$345 per month. If more than one family member survived, the pension amounted to \$481 per month, to be distributed amongst immediate family members. Family members were entitled to the pension for their lifetimes, except for children, whose pensions ended at the age 25 years. In addition to the monthly pension, family members were entitled to a one-time start-up payment of the total annual sum. The total cost to the state was \$13 million per year.
 - b Medical benefits to the families of the disappeared and killed included a monthly medical allowance (calculated at 7 % of the pension mentioned above) as well as free access to special state counselling and medical programmes. The total cost to the state was \$950 000 per year.
 - c Educational benefits to the children of the disappeared and killed included full coverage of tuition and expenses for university training up to the age of 35 years. The total cost to the state was \$1.2 million per year.
 - d Children of victims were exempted from mandatory military service.
 - e Those who had lost a state job for political reasons could reinstate their retirement pensions with lost years credited with the assistance of a special state office.
 - f Those who returned from exile abroad were eligible for a waiver of re-entry tax for vehicles.
10. The total cost of the reparations programme in the years when the greatest numbers of survivors were still alive was approximately \$16 million per year.
11. With respect to symbolic reparations, former Chilean President, Patricio Aylwin, issued a formal apology to the victims and their families on behalf of the state and requested the army to acknowledge its role in the violence.

41 Hayner, PB, *Unspeakable Truths*. New York: Routledge, 2001, p. 317, and Kritz, NJ (ed), *Transitional Justice*, Vol III: Country Studies, Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1995, pp. 683–95.

42 Hayner, PB, *Unspeakable Truths*. New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 314–15.

12. Despite what are generous measures by comparison with the recommendations of the South African Commission, critics of the Chilean initiative pointed out that compensation would have been greater under Chilean civil law had this course not been precluded by the 1978 amnesty decree. In terms of the decree, the former military regime headed by General Augusto Pinochet promulgated an amnesty that had the effect of awarding itself a self-imposed and unconditional immunity for criminal offences committed between 1973 and 1978. This amnesty granted to itself by the former regime – and not repealed by its successor civilian government – survived for over 20 years.⁴³
13. Moreover, as the Chilean Commission/Corporation's mandate was confined to investigating cases of deaths and disappearances, reparations – aside from a little-known medical assistance programme – did not include survivors of imprisonment and torture.

HAITI, EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA

14. Truth commissions in Haiti, El Salvador and Guatemala all drew up proposals for reparation.
15. In its final report, delivered in February 1996, the National Truth and Justice Commission in Haiti recommended the creation of a reparations commission to determine the 'legal, moral, and material obligations' due to victims, and suggested that funds come from the state, from national and international private donations and from voluntary contributions by the United Nations member states.⁴⁴
16. The Commission on the Truth in El Salvador, established in 1992, recommended:
 - a the creation of a special fund to award 'appropriate material compensation to the victims' to be funded by the state and substantial contributions from the international community (the El Salvadorian Commission suggested that not less than 1 % of all international assistance reaching El Salvador be set aside for reparations);
 - b the creation of a national holiday in memory of the victims;
 - c the construction of a monument bearing the names of all the victims of the conflict, and
 - d recognition of the 'good name of the victims' and the 'serious crimes of which they were victims'.⁴⁵

⁴³ See further this volume, Section One, Chapter Two.

⁴⁴ Hayner, PB, *Unspeakable Truths*. New York: Routledge, 2001, p. 179.

⁴⁵ Hayner, PB, *Unspeakable Truths*. New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 179–80, 311–12.

17. The Commission for Historical Clarification in Guatemala recommended:
 - a a declaration by Congress affirming the dignity and honour of the victims;
 - b the establishment of a day of commemoration of the victims;
 - c the construction of monuments and parks in memory of the victims, and
 - d the creation of a National Reparations Programme, to be overseen by a broadly representative board, to provide moral and material reparations, psycho-social rehabilitation and other benefits.⁴⁶
18. However, these recommendations were not taken seriously by the respective governments, nor have foreign agencies pursued recommendations that they contribute towards such reparation programmes.

BRAZIL AND MALAWI

19. While neither Brazil nor Malawi instituted truth commissions following the transition from dictatorship to democracy, both countries have subsequently recognised the need to provide some form of compensation to victims of human rights abuse.
20. In Brazil, a reparations commission was established in 1995 to provide between US\$100 000 and US\$150 000 to the families of 135 disappeared individuals. The vast majority of the families decided to accept the money. No other benefits (pensions, health services and so on) were offered. About US\$18 million was spent by the Brazilian Commission.
21. Malawi's National Compensation Tribunal was established in 1996 after the 1994 multi-party elections that followed the 30-year despotic regime of Kamuzu Banda. Although the Tribunal has received over 15 500 claims, only 4566 victims had been fully compensated as of July 2001.⁴⁷

OTHER REPARATION PROGRAMMES

22. Payment of reparations as a consequence of war has long been a customary and/or legal obligation, generally extracted by the winning party. While historically such reparations or compensation tended to be based on collective claims, the twentieth century brought an increasing recognition of the rights of individual

⁴⁶ Hayner, PB, *Unspeakable Truths*. New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 312–13.

⁴⁷ Africa News, 31 August, 1999; *Agence France Presse*, 25 July, 2001.

victims to compensation. In 1977, one of the additional protocols added to the 1949 Geneva Convention recognised the obligation of belligerent parties to pay reparations for acts committed by members of their armed forces.⁴⁸

23. This obligation should be borne in mind when considering the countries in Southern Africa, whose citizens suffered extensive violations of their human rights as a consequence of the South African conflict and whose economies were devastated by South Africa's destabilisation policy during the 1980s.

Reparations arising from World War II

24. Possibly the most extensive and costly reparations programme ever was borne by the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) following World War II. Reparations were paid both to victims of state violence (German citizens who suffered human rights abuse at the hands of the Nazi state) and to nationals of occupied territories, the latter assuming the form of both collective and individual compensation. A Reparations Conference in Paris at the end of 1945 agreed on the principle of compensation to victims of Nazi atrocities. Since then, literally billions of Deutsche Mark (DM) have been paid.
25. Inside Germany, for example, a Federal Law on Reparation awarded damages to victims of Nazi persecution according to a range of categories. These categories included dependants of those who died as a result of political persecution, those who suffered lasting physical or mental impairment, those imprisoned or held in concentration camps and those for whom persecution resulted in loss of earning power.
26. A 1952 treaty concluded with Israel acknowledged, 'that Israel had assumed the burden of resettling many Jewish refugees'⁴⁹ and thus awarded Israel an amount of DM 3 000 million. Agreements with Western European nations between 1959 and 1964 provided for compensation, 'for the injury to life, health and liberty of their nationals'⁵⁰. Lesser amounts were paid to Eastern European countries, including compensation for victims of pseudo-medical experiments conducted by the Nazis. Given the extensive displacement of persons as a consequence of the war, West Germany also made a contribution to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

48 Geneva Convention, Article 91 of Additional Protocol 1 of 1977.

49 Shelton, D, *Remedies in International Human Rights Law*. Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 335.

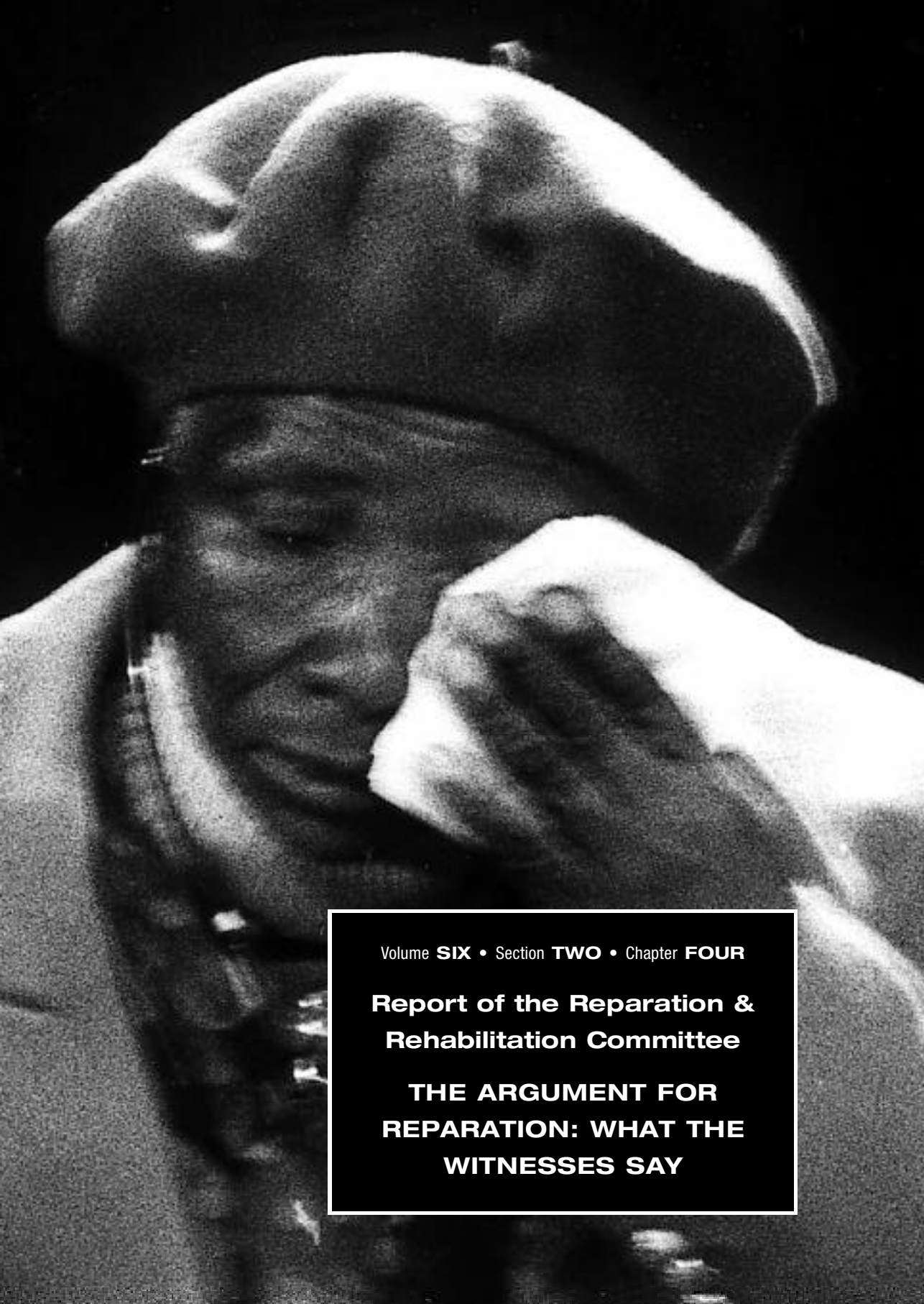
50 Shelton, D, *Remedies in International Human Rights Law*, p. 335.

27. By 1988, the total sum paid by West Germany in reparations was DM 80.57 billion. Nor is this process complete, as is evidenced by the recent demand and agreement to pay compensation to victims of Nazi forced labour camps.
28. The former German Democratic Republic (GDR) has also paid reparations. While it is not known to what extent East German victims were compensated, in 1990 the GDR offered compensation to the World Jewish Congress. Japan also agreed to pay reparations, in terms of the 1951 Peace Treaty with the Allied Powers, including reparations to former prisoners of war.
29. More recently, however, reparations have been offered or demanded not just from those countries that emerged defeated, but also for those victims who suffered at the hands of the Allied Forces or even other parties. In 1988, the United States (US) agreed to compensate its own citizens and permanent residents of Japanese descent whose rights had been violated by being interned during the war. Symbolic reparations were also offered by way of an apology from the US President and Congress. Swiss banks have agreed to pay compensation to people of Jewish descent whose assets were unjustly misappropriated.

Other examples of reparation

30. The following are other recent examples of reparation or calls for reparation:
31. As a result of the Gulf War in 1990, the United Nations Compensation Commission has already paid out billions of dollars in reparation to victims, including corporations and foreign governments. The revenue was obtained from levies on Israeli oil production.
32. In the Philippines, the victims of human rights abuses brought a class action suit against the estate of former President Ferdinand Marcos.⁵¹ The US Federal Courts awarded compensation amounting to millions of dollars to victims of disappearances, torture and unlawful detention, for which the former President was held personally liable.
33. There was a call for reparations for the African slave trade and the consequences of European colonialism at the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance at Durban in September 2001.

⁵¹ Hilao v Marcos, 103 F.3d p. 767 (9 April 1996).



Volume **SIX** • Section **TWO** • Chapter **FOUR**

**Report of the Reparation &
Rehabilitation Committee**

**THE ARGUMENT FOR
REPARATION: WHAT THE
WITNESSES SAY**

The Argument for Reparation: What the Witnesses say

1. Any broad process such as that undertaken by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) must necessarily summarise and generalise vast amounts of information to allow for presentation in a useful and accessible format. Yet, as we are all so acutely aware, behind each statistic lies a unique human story. It is the essence of this experience that the following section seeks to capture.
2. The stories below have not been chosen because they represent specific categories of the consequences of human rights violations and the issues they raise for reparation and rehabilitation. They are not and cannot be representative. They simply try to offer a context, a way to bring us back to what sometimes risks being obscured in the process of amassing and interpreting so vast a body of material. In so doing, they provide an opportunity to remember why we began this long and difficult journey into our past ... a chance to hear once again the voices of some of those who spoke to us along the way.

THE STORY OF THE MZELEMU FAMILY

3. On 2 April 1994, members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) attacked the Mzelemu family home at Port Shepstone. On that day, Ndukuzempi William Mzelemu lost almost his entire family: his 84-year-old mother, Cekise, his first wife Doris and seven of his daughters, Gugu, Hlengiwe, Joyce, Khululekile, Lindiwe, Phelelisile and Phindile, aged between five months and 18 years. His second wife, Ntombifuthi Mildred Mzelemu, survived but was injured, shot and stabbed. The reason for the attack was simply his son's alleged involvement with the African National Congress (ANC).
4. On that fateful day, Mr Mzelemu heard a terrible knocking at his front door. He refused to open up but his attackers persisted, threatening to shoot if he refused to open up. Jumping out of the window, he ran to get help, with his attackers in hot pursuit.
5. Mr Mzelemu managed to evade the men and eventually got help from the chief's son. Together they went to the police station and arranged for members

of the security forces to accompany them to his homestead. On the way, Mr Mzelemu saw his second wife, Ntombifuthi, crawling towards the main road, carrying their five-month-old baby girl on her back. When he saw that his wife had been stabbed and was covered with blood, he asked the soldiers to stop and help him take her to hospital. At the hospital, he was shocked to discover that the baby had also been stabbed. She was certified dead on arrival.

6. When Mr Mzelemu returned home, he found that eight members of his family had been hacked to death.
7. Mr Mzelemu was employed at the time of the attack. The area in which he lived was tense due to violent political conflict and people were afraid to help him arrange for the funeral of his family members. As a result, he had to make the burial arrangements himself and had little time to mourn or grieve.
8. After the funerals, Mr Mzelemu's life became unbearable. He received constant threats from the people who had killed his family and was forced to resign from his job because of repeated anonymous telephone calls at work.
9. He finally fled the area to escape those who threatened to hunt him down. As a result, he was separated from the remaining members of his family, whom he was forced to leave behind in Port Shepstone. Then his daughter Elizabeth disappeared during violence in the area and he lost contact with her as well. Although he reported her disappearance to the police, to this day he has not heard from them. He has no idea where she is or whether she is still alive. This is a source of great concern to him.
10. Although he reported the killings to the police station, he was later told that the docket had gone missing. The police also tried to persuade him not to proceed with the case, telling him that he would get nothing out of pursuing the matter but his own death. He was told that people holding high positions in the 'previous system' were involved.
11. Mr Mzelemu settled in KwaMashu where he now lives with his married son. Both he and his wife are unemployed. In an interview with the Commission⁵², Mr Mzelemu said that he always carries a picture of his children in his mind and that he does not know how he survived the ordeal. He raised a number of concerns,

52 Interview conducted with deponent by the Commission, 2000.

including the fact that he cannot forget the brutal killing of his family members or his missing daughter and that his wife is finding it difficult to adjust to township life, which she finds very violent. He made the following requests:

- a He would appreciate it if the Commission could help him to find a place of his own.
- b He would like assistance in finding his daughter Elizabeth, who is still missing.
- c The family is facing a terrible financial situation.
- d His children's educational needs need to be addressed.
- e The experiences have been very traumatic for the entire family and they would appreciate some form of counselling.

THE DEATH OF GEORGE AND LINDY PHAHLE AND JOSEPH MALAZA

12. This is the story Hilda Phahle told the Commission about the South African Defence Force (SADF) raid on Gaborone in 1985:⁵³

I will start from 'is hulle dood, morsdood'?⁵⁴ These are the words of the SADF members after killing our children on lot 15717 in Gaborone, Botswana, on that fateful night of June 13/14 1985.

It all began on 10 December 1976, when police from John Vorster Square raided and ransacked our home. They did not have the decency to tell us what they were looking for. Their language was spiced with the violence of words. Yes, this was the beginning of the rest of our beloved son George's life, which ended when he, his wife Lindy née Malaza and her cousin Joseph Malaza were brutally massacred in their home by the SADF in Botswana in Gaborone on the 14th of June 1985.

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

It is now time and it is their right to rest in peace on the soil where they were born, the soil they died for. It is time they were brought home to be buried where we can visit them at our convenience.

The victims, George Phahle, our son, who tried to make ends meet by running a transport business on a hired permit in Botswana; Lindi, BA Social Sciences, his wife, employed as a social worker by the Botswana government; Joseph Malaza,

⁵³ Evidence of H Phahle to the HRV hearing in Alexandra, 30 October 1996.

⁵⁴ 'Are they dead, stone-dead?'

Lindi's cousin who was just visiting there for the night. Survivor: Levi, our younger son who lived to tell the story and was adversely affected.

He tells the gruesome story of how the SADF arrived swearing and behaving like people well-drugged and drunk, ordering George to open the door. The door was blown open. Instead of opening, George and Lindi ran into his bedroom, locked the door, and pushed his portable piano against it. Lindi threw herself face down in a corner. George fell over her as a sign of protection. There was nothing impossible with these murderers. They blew the door open, pushed it and the piano fell against Levi's bed under which he was hiding. God spared him to tell the story.

THE STORY OF MRS ELSIE LIZIWE GISHI

13. On 26 December 1976, Mrs Gishi was shot in Nyanga, Cape Town, during a conflict involving riot police, hostel-dwellers and township residents. On the same day, her children went out to look for her husband, who they feared had been attacked by the hostel-dwellers. Mrs Gishi explained:⁵⁵

When my children got to the house, they found their father full of blood, the house on fire, and he was dead. The hostel-dwellers had killed him, and threw him outside. They had cut his ears. And then my children called people. God gave them strength. This time my son who was 16 years old was put inside a van with his dead father, to save him. The men decided that at least the son should survive so that the father has someone remaining to take his place. This is how they explained to me when I came back from hospital. The vans were transporting people; children were dead; houses burning, and I was taken to Tygerberg Hospital.

14. Mrs Gishi's husband died in hospital and she describes herself as 'never physically well' since the shooting. It proved impossible to remove some of the bullets in her body due to the risk of damaging vital organs. Mrs Gishi complained of paralysis on the one side of her body and said she was unable to undertake various everyday tasks like buttoning her clothes due to brain damage. She has to take sleeping pills and said she would end up in 'Pinelands' (Valkenberg Hospital, a psychiatric hospital) were she not to do so. She described what happened when she tried to manage without the pills:

Once I did not take the sleeping pills. I was tired of taking pills; my body is always sore because of all this medication. Just when I was beginning to fall

⁵⁵ Interview conducted with deponent by the Commission, 2000.

asleep, I experienced a sharp pain, I woke up; the pain moved to the head, I felt like my head was on fire. I screamed and then collapsed. My children came and found me unconscious. The first time was '77, my children could not see any fire and they called the neighbours, who also came and said they couldn't see anything. So since '77 I have been taking these pills.

15. Mrs Gishi's physical incapacity, emotional difficulties and ongoing financial struggles form the backdrop of everyday life for the family. 'I lost my health, my life, my husband and my furniture, and I was a worker', she said.
16. Mrs Gishi has five children. Her only son was stabbed at a party some time ago and he lost the use of one of his hands. Her youngest daughter has experienced emotional difficulties and abuses alcohol as a result. Although it could be argued that these problems with her son and youngest daughter cannot be directly linked to the events of 1976, there is little doubt that the circumstances in which she was shot and partially disabled, and the manner in which she was traumatically widowed and had her home burnt down, impacted on her children's experiences while growing up.
17. Mrs Gishi's son, Bonisile, who accompanied his dying father to hospital, must have been affected by this event and his mother's shooting that same day. The daughters in the family must also have been affected by these tragic events. Any family undergoing these experiences and the ongoing difficulties they cause needs both practical and emotional resources to help them deal with these issues over time. Mrs Gishi's ability to provide or seek out these resources was traumatically interrupted many years ago and her own mental and physical condition has become a burden for herself and her family over the years.
18. Mrs Gishi reported that she spent the R2000 given to her after she testified before the Commission mainly on furniture. She asked, however: 'Where is my husband's share? What is R2000?' She has, however, had some acknowledgment of what happened to her and her family, as is the case with most of those who received a financial grant of interim reparation.
19. Mrs Gishi's case raises the recurring question as to whether interim reparation is sufficient.

THE STORY OF MRS LEONILLA TENZA

20. Early in Mrs Tenza's interview⁵⁶ she said, 'Hmm! I have been really traumatised in life.' Born in 1932, she described being bitten by police dogs while 'we were toyi-toying for our freedom'. She said that she fell while running away from police dogs and consequently lost a child. At the time, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was still a member of the ANC. Subsequently, when the ANC was banned, 'we all joined IFP-Inkatha'. Her brother divorced his first wife when their infant son, Eugene Xolisani Tenza, was seven months old, and Mrs Tenza took the child in and raised him. When her nephew grew up, there were few employment opportunities and she recommended that he join the KwaZulu Police (KZP).
21. On 13 June 1989, during a period of great tension between the ANC and IFP in KwaZulu/Natal, Xolisani was murdered. This incident formed the basis of Mrs Tenza's testimony to the Commission.
22. According to Mrs Tenza, she was made to witness her already injured nephew being axed to death. For some time she was also in danger and had to remain on the run until a community member finally arranged a meeting at which ANC 'comrades' were persuaded not to kill her and to allow her to return home.
23. Among other difficulties, Mrs Tenza now had sole responsibility for her slain nephew's two-year-old child. She claimed that her own children were not killed because, 'they were ANC members to avoid being killed'. Her business as an indigenous healer or *inyanga* was severely affected, as clients were afraid to consult her because of her alleged political leanings. She has subsequently lost a daughter to AIDS, and this daughter left four children 'of whom I do not know their fathers'. One of these grandchildren is apparently mentally handicapped, and is in Grade I at the age of fourteen. One of her sons also died of a stroke 'while they were *toyi-toying*'. Another child was laid off from work for reasons she did not specify.
24. Currently, Mrs Tenza is struggling to support her various dependants. She feels emotionally unable to continue her *inyanga* practice and is helping the health authority with health education issues, specifically in relation to HIV/AIDS. She says that she has a heart condition and must take medication for this. Her participation in the local health forum has been compromised by her health:

⁵⁶ Interview conducted with deponent by the Commission, 2000.

They called me recently for a Forum since I have not been able to attend them because I was sick for a long time last year. I underwent an operation because my intestines were burst due to my low blood flow. The organisers of these Forums were surprised of my behaviour because we were working well. They were the ones who referred me to the hospital. My behaviour was so odd: I used to have outbursts and did not wait for my turn to talk, and confabulated when asked questions. I did not know what was happening in my head and these people came to my house to beg me to come back to the Forum. I then got better because I used to cry every day before.

25. At the outset of the interview, Mrs Tenza seemed robust and full of humour. As she began to relate her story, she became tearful and deeply upset. Although she claimed to be 'better' than in the previous year (1999), her distress was very apparent.
26. As we have seen with other cases, the particular event Mrs Tenza reported to the Commission was little more than a punctuation mark in a life of ongoing difficulties. Both she and her family made political decisions at times influenced at least as much by attempts to survive violence and poverty as by ideological persuasions. The tone throughout is of a long struggle to eke out a meagre existence in a violent world. Mrs Tenza's life story paints a vivid picture of the convoluted political history of KwaZulu/Natal and the human consequences. The awful experience of seeing her nephew murdered in front of her is just one example of a broader tragedy.
27. It is very difficult to separate out the complex mixture of physical and emotional complaints and distress suffered by Mrs Tenza. The distinction between mind and body that remains intrinsic to much of western biomedicine does not make any sense to her. She does not experience physical and emotional sensations separately.
28. Mrs Tenza's experience points to important issues to be considered when planning services. One of the most significant is that commonly held distinctions between the physical and the emotional may not apply to all those who need assistance. Other distinctions – for example, between financial, educational, and emotional needs – may also prove problematic. Emotional issues can play a decisive role in the extent to which a person is able to learn or earn a living; conversely, success or failure in learning impacts not only on economic well being, but also on emotions.

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

29. Richard Mothasi was a police sergeant based at the Hammanskraal Police College. An assault by a white fellow officer left him with a burst eardrum. After he had laid a charge of assault, several unsuccessful efforts were made to pressure him into withdrawing charges. On 30 November 1987, operatives of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch shot Sergeant Mothasi dead, allegedly at the request of the then Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Northern Transvaal. His wife, Mrs Busisiwe Irene Mothasi, was also killed in the incident.
30. Some of those responsible for the killing applied for amnesty and testified that they had been told that Sergeant Mothasi was suspected of having made contact with the ANC.
31. Mrs Mothasi’s mother, Mrs Gloria Hlabangane, told the Amnesty Committee (the Committee) of the circumstances surrounding the deaths of her daughter and son-in-law:⁵⁷

I received a telephone call in the morning as I was just preparing myself to go to town, and they said I should go to Hammanskraal ... And I started to panic because at the time I knew that something had happened ... I sat down and I begged [to be told] what had happened so that I may be able to gather enough courage to face the truth. Then [I heard] that my son-in-law had died as well as Irene had died.

We went to Irene’s home ... I got out of the car ... When I got out of the car there was a hearse, and when I went into the kitchen, I came across somebody pushing a stretcher and I had a look. I saw that it was my daughter, Irene, and I discovered that my daughter had died and she had one wound on the forehead. And I left her because I realised that she had died. I went into the dining room ... When I got there I discovered that Mothasi was laying in a pool of blood. And he had also been shot. And the spent cartridges were on the floor, his brains were also splattered, as well as certain pieces of the skull were on the floor, scattered all over the place and I looked at his ear, something whitish was coming out of his ears – I don’t know whether it was his brains – and he was also dead.

And from there I ran. I went into the bedroom. That is their son’s bedroom, or their child’s bedroom. I looked for the child, but I couldn’t find the child. I

⁵⁷ Evidence by G Hlabangane at a hearing before the Committee, Pretoria, 5 March 1997.

looked in all the other rooms without any success, and I started getting very confused at this stage because I didn't know where the child was. And when I went outside, I heard – I could feel somebody grabbing me and it was the child. I took the child ... He was five years old. I took the child. I lifted [him] to my chest and the parents were taken in the hearse...

32. Asked where the child had been during the murders, Mrs Hlabangane testified:

When I asked my neighbours, they told me that the child was inside the house at that time, but nobody knows as to how he survived, because he escaped unscathed, but they heard the child screaming throughout the night asking for help, saying 'help me, help me'. He realised that something was happening, probably he hid somewhere, but people were woken up by the screams of the child inside the house. And my next-door neighbour came into the house in the morning to fetch the child and they stayed with the child ... He stayed with the corpses of his parents and he was running from pillar to post trying to wake his parents up, but there was no help coming at that particular moment.

33. While still at the house, three policemen arrived. Mrs Hlabangane thought that they had come to express sympathy about a fellow colleague's death. Instead they demanded Sergeant Mothasi's uniform. After removing the insignia, they threw the uniform back at her, telling her to give it to her 'old man'. One of them, a white police officer, then brandished a gun:

Do I know what a gun is used for ... do you see what the gun has done to Mothasi and his wife. He said 'if you talk too much, this is what you get' and at the time he was pointing the gun at my forehead.

34. Since the death of Richard and Busisiwe Mothasi, Mrs Hlabangane and her husband, a pensioner, have cared for their grandson. They receive R500 for child maintenance from Richard Mothasi's pension, so they are able to pay for transport, groceries and schooling. However, her grandson requires ongoing psychological support:

*My grandson didn't care throughout, he didn't show any signs of being disturbed. But when he grew up, there were certain signs, even when he gets a newspaper where there is something about a person who has died, he always came with the newspaper clipping and showed it to me. At some stage he got a **Tribute** magazine that had his father's photo and he showed it to me and he said: 'This is my father and look what they have done to him'. And since then he has been very disturbed,*

I had to seek medical attention for him ... I ... take him to the clinic, but now I am facing a difficulty because where he is attending they want medical aid and I don't have a medical aid and that is the problem that I am facing at this juncture.

35. While Mrs Hlabangane and her husband struggle to care for their grandson, three⁵⁸ of the perpetrators responsible for the killing received amnesty.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS: THE 'NIETVERDIEND TEN' AND SIYABULELA TWABU

36. Whilst the Commission process did unearth a significant amount of new information with regard to the causes, nature and extent of gross human rights violations, its processes inevitably also produced important information that could not be brought to an absolute conclusion or closure.
37. Perhaps the most painful scenario that arose from the limitations of the process was that the families of deceased victims learnt of the fate of their loved one(s), but did not learn of the whereabouts of their remains. One such example of this is the 'Nietverdiend Ten', the case of ten youths killed in a joint SADF and Security Police operation. The youths, aged between 14 and 19 years, had been 'recruited' by Security Branch agent, Joe Mamasela, purporting to be an Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) operative.
38. The youths left their Mamelodi homes on 26 June 1986, accompanied by Constable Mamasela, believing they were being taken to Botswana for military training. Instead, Mamasela drove them to a spot close to the Botswana border where a team of SADF Special Forces operatives surrounded them and injected them with a chemical substance, rendering them unconscious. A Special Forces operative then drove the vehicle towards an embankment, leapt out and left the vehicle to careen into a tree where it burst into flames, killing all of them.
39. The families of these youths spent ten years in ignorance of their children's fate. Many waited eagerly for their homecoming in the early 1990s when most exiles were returning to the country. Only in 1996, following investigations by a special unit set up by the Attorney-General, did the families learn that their children were dead. The circumstances surrounding their death remained sketchy, however, and it was another three years before they were to witness the amnesty hearings of the perpetrators of these killings.

58 A fourth person involved in the incident, Constable Joe Mamasela, did not apply for amnesty.

40. The families appealed for the remains of their children. Mrs Martha Makolane, the mother of 17-year-old Abraham, testified:⁵⁹

I don't have the [reconciliation] as they have taken them from my place to the place where they have killed them. I want them to go and fetch them where they've left them to bring them home so that we will be able to bury them peacefully. Yes, we want those bodies as they have taken them from Mamelodi. They have got to go back and fetch them from that place and bring them back to Mamelodi so that we will be able to bury them.

41. Mrs Phiri, the mother of 21-year-old Thomas, testified⁶⁰:

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

I want to enquire from the killers: yes, they told us that they killed them, they told us that they injected them with drugs and they are buried, but I want them to know that their graves are open and even in heaven they will not get forgiveness at all because they killed minor children. Had these children killed people before, we would have understood that, yes, it was their turn to be killed. But I want to tell them today that they will never get forgiveness from God at all. Their graves are waiting for them, waiting open.

42. Further investigations revealed that the youths had been buried in pauper's graves in Winterveld cemetery. After three visits to the cemetery, the families made contact with two workers who remembered burying the remains. They were, however, unable to locate the exact sites.
43. The most recent attempt to exhume the remains was carried out on 3 March 2001. However, the areas indicated by the cemetery staff did not produce anything. Fourteen years after the youths disappeared, the search has now been reduced to an area the size of half a football field – seemingly so near, yet so far away from the sort of ceremony that the families need traditionally, culturally and emotionally for closure. All those who applied for amnesty for this incident have had their applications granted.

⁵⁹ Evidence heard at hearing of the Committee in Johannesburg in the application of J Cronje and others, 21–31 October 1996.

⁶⁰ Evidence heard at hearing of the Committee in Johannesburg in the application of J Cronje and others, 21–31 October 1996.

THE CASE OF SIYABULELA TWABU

44. While the families of the 'Nietverdiend Ten' and others still search for the remains of their children who died inside South Africa, other families live with the pain of knowing their children are buried in foreign lands. Siyabulela Twabu was 19 years old when he left his Transkei home and went into exile. His mother told the Commission how she learnt of his fate:⁶¹

Time and time again the police would come. Sometimes I would be at work: I am a teacher. I requested politely that they should not come to my workplace because the people from the village are against the police. They were going to be under the impression that I was liaising with the police. After a while I was called; there was a meeting, a teachers' meeting and I was called outside. Mr Sifuma was outside. I got into the car, he drove a bit, gave me a newspaper. There was an article about Siyabulela's death – apparently he had been shot.

45. Siyabulela was one of six Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (APLA) members killed in a shoot-out with Transkei and Lesotho security forces at Quacha's Nek on the Transkei–Lesotho border in March 1985. Their bodies were found several days later, decomposing in a forest. Siyabulela was buried in a grave in Lesotho, without his family being present:

We went to the funeral. We got there; he was already buried. Because we were travelling on the gravel road, we were trying to escape from the police. When we got to Maseru, it was too late. The police took us to where he was staying. I came back from the funeral and I continued with my life.

46. Mrs Twabu made the following plea to the Commission:

I request that my child's body be exhumed from Lesotho because he is buried next to a river. The riverbanks are quite big and it is not safe. Could the Commission help me with medical aid, I am mentally ill, I am also – my heart also is ailing. His father died in 1983, then my son in 1985. After that, I – my health started deteriorating.

47. These scenarios illustrate the kind of unfinished business raised at the Commission that will be impossible to follow through without the necessary resources and skills.

61 Evidence by Mrs N Twabu at HRC hearing, Lusikisiki, 26 March 1997.

48. In many cases, the mere fact that information emerged at the Commission did not lead to a quick and easy solution. In too many instances, this resulted in a protracted and painful search that, for many, may never reach conclusion.

THE STORY OF MAGISENG ABRAM MOTHUPHI

49. Mr Magiseng Mothuphi was 21 years old when he, his brother, his sister and seven others stopped at a roadblock between Krugersdorp and Ventersdorp in 1993. This was not a police roadblock but was manned by a group of heavily armed Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) members. The occupants were forced out of the vehicle:

[They] took us out of the car and they said we should raise up our hands. Then they searched us. After they searched us, they showed us where we should stay. We sat down in a line. Whilst we were sitting there in a line, they were asking us questions as to ... where do we come from and where do we go, about our work situations, as to whether are we employed or not. At the time when we were questioned, they were hitting us with the gun butts on the head. I was bleeding at the time with my nose. Then I was bending my head ...

[After] that then they told us that we were members of the ANC. Simon Nkompone said that we are not members of the ANC and we don't know anything about the ANC. Again they started to hit us [and] told us that we are not telling them the truth. ...

[Then] they were conniving amongst themselves. After that they came back and then I heard a gun shot; I didn't know what happened. Then I woke up. I was bleeding and when I looked at myself on the mirror of the car, I was bleeding and injured. Next to me was Simon Nkompone. Then the young [girl] who is my [niece], was crying.⁶²

50. Mr Mothuphi's brother and sister and two other passengers were killed in the shooting and his nose was destroyed. For seven years, the young man covered the hole in his face with an 'Elastoplast' bandage. In 1998, Mr Mothuphi was invited to attend the amnesty hearing of the AWB members involved in this incident. At the time of the hearing, Mr Mothuphi had not been declared a victim of a gross violation of human rights by the Commission, as he had not made a statement to the Committee on Human Rights Violations (HRVC).

⁶² Evidence by M Mothuphi heard at hearing of the Committee in the amnesty application of AWB members for the 'Rodora Crossing' incident in Johannesburg, 12 June 1998.

51. The sight of Mr Mothuphi in the television coverage of the hearing sparked the interest of Greg Bass, head of the department of dental technology at Natal Technikon, which specialises in the construction of facial prostheses. Mr Bass contacted the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC) to offer assistance. He said that his department had funds for charity work and would be in a position to pay for the treatment. This proactive response from the doctor was unusual, compared with the usual passive witnessing of victim testimony that characterised the attitude of the majority of viewers.
52. A lengthy wait ensued until the Committee had finalised the matter and referred Mr Mothuphi to the RRC as a victim, whereupon he became eligible for reparation. Thereafter, the RRC arranged for the Technikon to make a prosthetic nose for Mr Mothuphi. His transport to Durban was donated by Transnet and he used his interim reparation grant to pay for his stay while he was having treatment.
53. After having the prosthetic nose fitted, Mr Mothuphi was asked if his life had changed:
- My life has changed very much. Before this operation I was afraid even to go to the shops because many people looked at me and stared. Since I got this nose, I'm free. I want to go somewhere I can study so that I can get a job but it's hard because I have no money. After the accident [violation], I lost my girlfriend because of my face; but since the treatment I have found a new girlfriend, I'm very, very happy now.⁶³*
54. Months after the medical procedure, Mr Mothuphi approached the Commission with a request that may be seen as a symbolic and instructive metaphor. He telephoned the Commission to ask for the contact details of the Technikon as he had run out of the special surgical glue needed to attach the prosthetic nose to his face. Although undoubtedly an oversight, such a situation highlights the crucial importance of the sustainability of any reparation intervention and the potential for counter-productive and traumatic side effects from quick fix solutions. This example also demonstrates clearly that one intervention, however significant, is insufficient to address the wide-ranging consequences of a particular violation.
55. At the same time, unique as it is in terms of the usual experiences of victims and the Commission, Mr Mothuphi's story is important because it illustrates the potential benefit that interventions from a number of sectors can have. It also shows how the amnesty process identified victims who would not otherwise have entered into the Commission process.

63 From communication with the RRC.

‘LEFTOVERS FROM THE STRUGGLE’: THE STORY OF MR XOLILE DYABOOI

56. In 1987, Mr Xolile Dyabooi was detained by the Bophuthatswana Police. He was tortured in Mmabatho and held in solitary confinement in Brandvlei prison, before being convicted of terrorism and jailed for five years. He was released as part of the indemnity process in December 1990.
57. In Mr Dyabooi’s view, reconciliation can only effectively be achieved when those who have suffered are given an opportunity to participate in rebuilding society. As a person who fought on the side of what became the present government, he told the Commission:⁶⁴

What I am saying is that we contributed a lot to the struggle: our contribution can never be necessarily only paid on money, there are many things. But now after all these things I feel the other people tend to forget our role. There are those who might benefit from our victories. So now feel that we are people who are leftovers from the struggle.

Because we were supposed to be given an opportunity, like of using the skills we got from our times in the struggles, in terms of building reconstruction, I mean in terms of building reconciliation, because I don’t believe reconciliation can only come through Mandela or Thabo Mbeki’s speeches. I believe that people on the ground, who experienced those things, must be able to be given opportunities, like opportunities in terms of work, bursaries and all those things. But I strongly believe that the contribution we can be, like we need to be on the ground, and all that, to do something. But now our skills instead of being used, they are wasted, you see. Because after the whole thing you don’t feel comfortable in this situation, ja.

I am still suffering. I’m still at my home. My life is in ruins. I don’t have hope for tomorrow. Maybe I will survive. I don’t know. I am just a human that goes up and down like a zombie. Although there are some sung heroes who are there. So I believe that we are unsung heroes. We contributed to the struggle, then we were banned until the new order came and even the new order banned us. Don’t talk, maybe someone from above will come and address these things. We waited until now.

64 Interview conducted with deponent by the Commission, 2000.

58. Mr Dyabooi expressed anger at the present government and at the Commission, which he sees as working closely with the government:

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

In the beginning the government promised to give us reparation, but at the end the government now is trying to play hide and seek. They don't give us a opportunity to express our views. They don't call us into their commissions, to present our ideas or our feelings about the whole thing – they just sum up, and go and take decisions on their own.

So therefore I am saying, there can't be reconciliation without taking those people who were victims into their board.

CONSEQUENCES OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS: DISCUSSION

59. It must be stressed once again here that the stories presented in this section are not representative either in terms of violations or the experiences of victims. Each of these stories has its own individuality and texture, and this must be borne in mind when considering the special needs and circumstances of each victim.
60. What is, of course, representative about these stories is that they are about ordinary men and women whose lives were irrevocably changed by the violations they suffered during the course of political conflict.
61. Some of the arguments politicians have raised in response to calls to implement the recommendations of the Commission's RRC have caused concern. They make the point that the majority of victims were political activists who, in one way or another, made a conscious decision to engage in a political struggle against apartheid. The argument is often expressed thus: 'we were not in the struggle for money'. While the Commission understands the grounds upon which this statement is made, in terms of international human rights law on reparations and rehabilitation even political activists who decided to become involved in the struggle against apartheid should be compensated if they became casualties of the conflict.

62. The Reparation and Rehabilitation policy raises far-reaching and complex questions concerning individuals who have been victims of gross violations of human rights. How can we assess the impact of an abuse of human rights on the life of any one individual? Is it possible to separate that abuse from other aspects of a person's life? Is it possible to make an accurate assessment of the impact without understanding the full context of that person's life? How can we conclude what a person's life would have been like had the violation not occurred?
63. The simplest model (and one that is commonly used) is of a single negative event having a single negative consequence for the person involved. It would be convenient if we could simply draw up a list of negative things that happen to people, assign a weighting to them and from there determine accurately the impact of event X on person Y. This would certainly simplify the issues and administration of reparations and rehabilitation.
64. However, in many cases, people affected by what are defined as gross violations of human rights have been living lives in which other, ongoing stressors have played their part. These stressors include living with poverty, discrimination, lack of access to the resources the country has to offer and the experiences of humiliation and disrespect that many black South Africans have borne for generations. Moreover, oppression, humiliation and racism have serious consequences not only for individuals but for the social fabric as well. Thus, although the Commission is bound by its mandate to consider only certain kinds of violations, it is necessary to describe the context within which these violations took place.
65. This leads to a further question to be considered: how do we understand the consequences of social injustice and human rights violations for individuals, for their families and for communities?
66. Compounding the matter even further is the fact that the effects of trauma appear to be felt by succeeding generations. For example, studies on children and grandchildren of survivors of the Holocaust in Europe in the middle of the twentieth century show clearly that these now-distant events continue to impact on the course of people's lives, their patterns of attachment and the quality of their relationships. Arguments about financial compensation from that now-distant calamity also continue unabated.
67. Thus, it is not only the case that events occur in context, as we have already mentioned, but that the consequences of events impact on the way people

continue with their lives, their relationships, their child-rearing practices and those of their children and grandchildren for decades after the traumatic event.

68. Another complexity in understanding human rights violations lies in the fact that the same people have, in different events, been both victims and perpetrators. One reasonably common consequence of abuse is that abused people have a greater likelihood of becoming perpetrators of abuse. Many people who have perpetrated what are defined as gross violations of human rights have themselves been affected by abuse, poverty and discrimination.
69. Furthermore, the consequences of human rights abuse and political oppression may at times cross the boundaries of public and private life. For example, a person who has been abused and humiliated in the context of a political struggle may be more likely to perpetrate abuse and humiliation in the context of family life. It has also been well established in many contexts that people who have been oppressed may be at risk of emulating their oppressors – and of taking on the oppressor role in the future. Active intervention in this cycle is often necessary in order to break it.
70. White South Africans who were protected by the state bear scars of a different kind. Although there is no question that being a target of discrimination generally has far more serious consequences than being a beneficiary of it, social injustice has consequences for all who live in the society. If the Commission is to fulfil its role of contributing to the rehabilitation not only of individuals but of the nation as a whole, South Africa must look seriously at the social consequences of allowing the beneficiaries of an unjust system to reproduce discrimination at a cost to themselves and future generations. A nation that turns its back on these social realities places itself at serious risk of an ongoing cycle of injustice and violence.

REPARATIONS AS A VEHICLE FOR RECONCILIATION AND HEALING

71. There are examples worldwide of noble agreements aimed at resolving bloody conflicts that have proved unsustainable beyond the lifetimes of the peacemakers. Talks about reconciliation that fails to emphasise justice for victims seem doomed to fail in their promise of national unity and reconciliation. This is why calls for reparation and rehabilitation urge South Africans to dismantle the ‘conspiracy of silence’ that often characterises the ongoing experience of victims and survivors of violations of gross human rights.

72. Dr Yael Danieli, director of the Group Project for Holocaust Survivors and their Children and director of the Centre for Rehabilitation of Torture Victims in New York, suggests that silence is the most common way society responds to the survivors of trauma. Because most people find trauma overwhelming, they choose to avoid dealing with it. Unfortunately such avoidance further isolates the individual or the community, entrenching the feeling of alienation and vulnerability often experienced by those who have been in the hands of torturers and killers. The silence may leave the 'sufferers' with no option but to repress their pain, thereby delaying the desired complex healing process from being initiated.
73. The Commission's Final Report discussed in some detail the enormous importance of reconciliation as 'a goal and a process' of the Commission.⁶⁵ It highlighted the different levels at which reconciliation needs to take place in South Africa and the complexity of the links between them.

*Many years ago, Albert Luthuli, the first South African recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, articulated a vision of South Africa as 'a home for all her sons and daughters'. This concept is implicit in the Interim Constitution. Thus, not only must we lay the foundation for a society in which physical needs will be met; we must also create a home for all South Africans. The road to reconciliation, therefore, means both material reconstruction and the restoration of dignity. It involves the redress of gross inequalities and the nurturing of respect for our common humanity. It entails sustainable growth and development in the spirit of **ubuntu** ... It implies wide-ranging structural and institutional transformation and the healing of broken human relationships. It demands guarantees that the past will not be repeated. It requires restitution and the restoration of our humanity – as individuals, as communities and as a nation.*⁶⁶

74. The policy proposed by the RRC and described in the Final Report⁶⁷ encompasses the spirit of this paragraph. Urgent interim reparation seeks to provide assistance for people in urgent need. Individual reparation grants seek to 'transform abject poverty into modest security'.⁶⁸ Symbolic reparation and legal and administrative measures seek to assist communities and individuals in commemorating the pains and victories of the past. Community rehabilitation programmes seek to establish community-based services in order to aid the

⁶⁵ Volume One, Chapter Five, p. 106.

⁶⁶ Volume One, Chapter Five, p. 110, para 26.

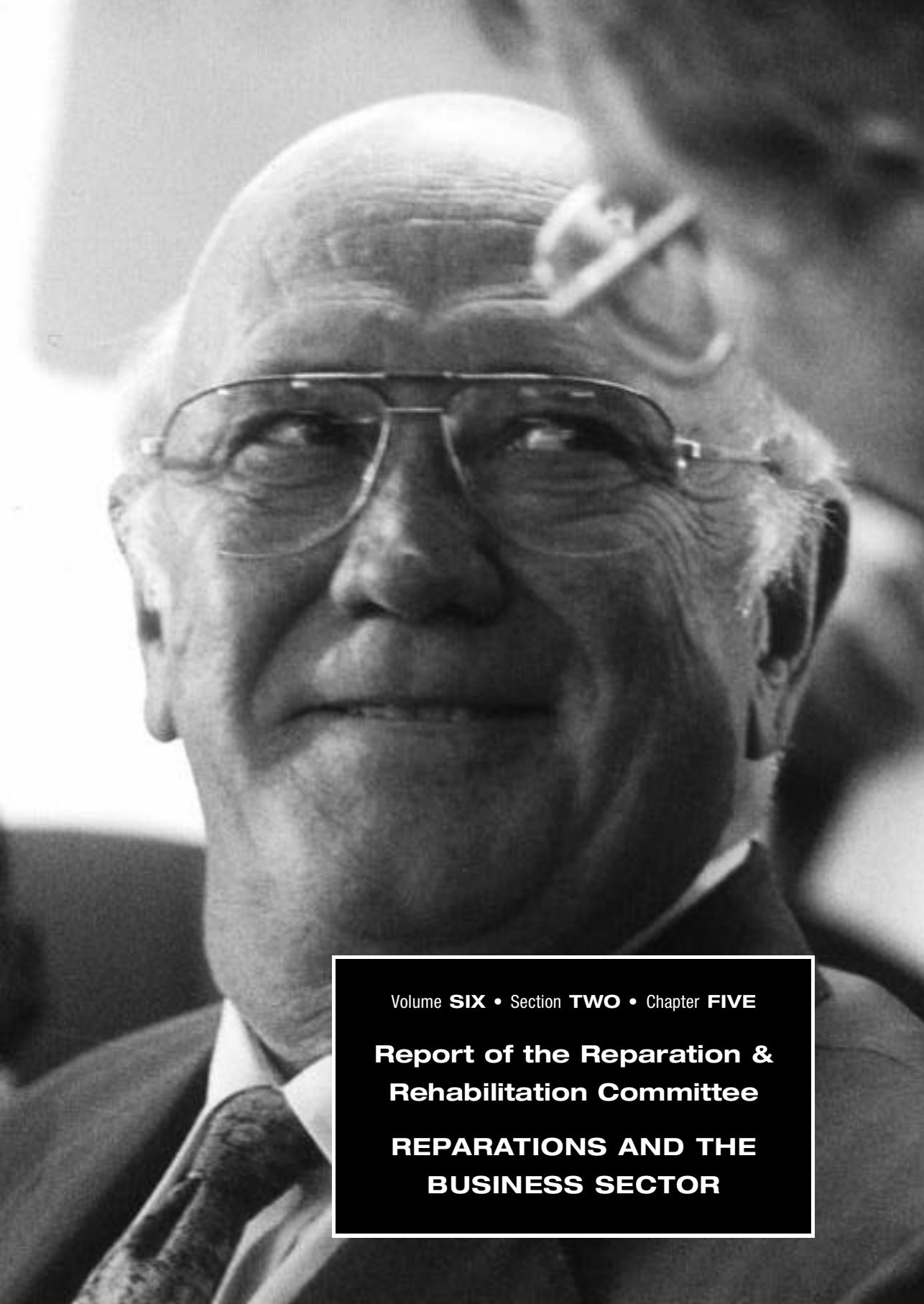
⁶⁷ Volume Five, Chapter Five.

healing and recovery of individuals and communities. Institutional, legal and administrative reforms are designed to prevent the recurrence of human rights abuses.

75. Speaking at a series of workshops hosted by the Commission in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape, Dr Danieli warned that failure to act will cause South Africans to pay for the legacy of political violence in the future. She proposed that healing and reparation in South Africa should be prioritised as a cornerstone for transformation beyond the life of the Commission, and should take place at individual as well as community (school, church, workplace) and national levels. In the words of Wole Soyinka:

As the world draws closer together – the expression ‘global village’ did not come into currency for no just cause – it seems only natural to examine the scoresheet of relationships between converging communities. Where there has been inequity, especially of a singularly brutalizing kind, of a kind that robs one side of its most fundamental attribute – its humanity – it seems only appropriate that some form of atonement be made, in order to exorcise that past.

Reparations, we repeat, serve as a cogent critique of history and thus a potent restraint on its repetition ... It is not possible to ignore the example of the Jews and the obsessed commitment of survivors of the Holocaust, and their descendants, to recover both their material patrimony, and the humanity of which they were brutally deprived.



Volume **SIX** • Section **TWO** • Chapter **FIVE**

**Report of the Reparation &
Rehabilitation Committee**

**REPARATIONS AND THE
BUSINESS SECTOR**

Reparations and the Business Sector

■ INTRODUCTION

1. Information received from the business and labour hearings indicated that: 'Business was central to the economy that sustained the South African state during the apartheid years'.⁶⁹ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) noted that the degree to which business maintained the status quo varied from direct involvement in shaping government policies or engaging in activities directly associated with repressive functions to simply benefiting from operating in a racially structured society in which wages were low and workers were denied basic democratic rights.⁷⁰
2. While numerous submissions by business to the Commission argued that apartheid harmed business, sometimes resulting in reduced profits and distortions and restrictions on the labour market, the Commission noted further that such business opposition to apartheid as there was came very late in the day and was weak and indecisive.
3. The final position and finding of the Commission was that business generally benefited financially and materially from apartheid policies. Some examples illustrating this finding emanate from points made during submissions:
 - a White-owned large-scale agricultural, farming and agri-business enterprises benefited from the colonial-era restrictions on black land ownership that were maintained during apartheid, and the extremely low wages such enterprises were able to pay to the landless.
 - b Those enterprises involved in extracting and exploiting the mineral wealth of the country benefited from the provision of a relatively cheap migratory labour force, which was brought into being by land expropriation, forced removals, apartheid pass laws and influx controls.
 - c Those businesses with an industrial workforce benefited from the existence of a reserve of unemployed workers resulting from enforced landlessness.

⁶⁹ Volume Four, Chapter Two, p. 58

⁷⁰ Volume Four, Chapter Two, p. 18

They also made use of state suppression of trade union activity, which would otherwise have exerted upward pressure on wages.

- d Those enterprises involved in manufacturing processes that depend heavily on energy inputs such as electricity benefited from the relatively cheap power that was generated through the exploitation of cheap labour on the coal mines.
 - e The arms industry benefited substantially from the military requirements of the apartheid regime, which resulted from its internal repression and external destabilisation.
 - f Those banks and financial institutions that bankrolled the military-industrial complex and the minerals-energy complexes in South Africa benefited vicariously from all the above conditions.
 - g Those banks and financial institutions that lent directly to the apartheid regime during the 1980s benefited from the relatively high interest rates they were able to charge as a consequence of the difficulty Pretoria encountered in borrowing during the imposition of sanctions internationally.
 - h White residents generally benefited from the discrepancies in public investment between white towns and black townships and rural areas – in everything from health and education to water and sanitation – and from the existence of cheap domestic labour to be employed in the home.
4. Noting that the ‘huge and widening gap between the rich and poor is a disturbing legacy of the past’ and given this historic benefit enjoyed by business, the Commission made specific recommendations regarding the responsibility of business in the area of restitution ‘to those who have suffered from the effects of apartheid discrimination’.⁷¹
5. Implicit in this and other recommendations relating to business was the notion of the involvement of business in a wider project of reparation, relating not simply to those identified as victims by the Commission, but to all those South Africans whose normal development was impaired by the system of apartheid. The desirability of such involvement was reinforced by the socio-economic reality of South Africa. Although South Africa is a middle-income economy, about half of South Africa’s population lives in poverty. Half of the African population is homeless or lives in informal accommodation, such as shacks. More than half of Africans aged twenty or more have no secondary education, compared to 2 per cent of whites. As many as 42 per cent of Africans are unemployed or have given up

⁷¹ Volume Five, Chapter Eight, p. 318.

looking for employment, compared to 5 per cent of whites. The poverty of Africans in relation to whites is also reflected in the huge disparities in services: for example, three quarters of Africans lack running water in their homes, compared to 2 per cent of whites.

6. On the other side of the divide, a small section of the population, mainly from the white community, enjoys a higher standard of living than most residents of high-income developed countries. These sharp divisions in our society are evidenced in the high South African crime rate and other expressions of popular dissatisfaction. These factors militate against national unity and reconciliation and led the Commission to consider reparative measures to the very large majority who remain victims of South Africa's past.
7. It is for this reason that the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (the RRC) approached organised business and individual business leaders with the aim of encouraging them to contribute to the President's Fund.

THE REPARATION AND RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE AND THE BUSINESS TRUST

8. At a consultative forum between business and the Commission, business leadership referred to the Business Trust as the vehicle through which business, in agreement with government, would honour its responsibility to the victims of apartheid. Some trustees of the Business Trust expressed great concern that there seemed to be no real relationship between the objectives of the Trust and the recommendations of the Commission. Another trustee seemed concerned that, on the whole, the majority of organised business was not committed, or had not shown serious commitment, to the Trust.
9. The Business Trust, established for the purpose of reparations, has to date received a total of some R800 million from the South African private sector. This is a paltry amount when one considers the massive amount needed to repair the inequities and damage caused to entire communities. A recent fund established in Switzerland to contribute to reconstruction and development in South Africa secured a commitment of less than 0.02 per cent of the profits made by Swiss banks and investors in South Africa each year during the 1980s.⁷²

⁷² See the section on the role of Swiss banks during the apartheid years, later in this chapter.

REITERATION OF PROPOSALS

10. In these disappointing circumstances, it seems essential to restate the proposals made by the Commission for ways in which business could generate funds for this broader project of reparation and restitution. These were:
 - a a wealth tax;
 - b a once-off levy on corporate or private income;
 - c each company listed on the Johannesburg Securities Exchange to make a once-off donation of 1 per cent of its market capitalisation;
 - d a retrospective surcharge on corporate profits extending back to a date to be suggested;
 - e a surcharge on golden handshakes given to senior public servants since 1990, and
 - f the SASRIA (SA Special Risks Association) Fund (contributed to by business and individuals as insurance against material loss arising from political conflict).
11. The Commission further suggested that repayment of the former government's 'odious debt' be reconsidered and that money released from this could potentially be used to fund both reparations and programmes of reconstruction and development.
12. It was also recommended that a 'Business Reconciliation Fund' be established that 'could provide non-repayable grants, loans and/or guarantees to business-related funding for black small entrepreneurs in need of either ... skills or capital for the launching of a business'.⁷³
13. Further ways in which funding could be generated could include:
 - a a restructuring of the state pension fund to release assets for social development;
 - b a restructuring of service charges on parastatals such as the South African Energy Supply Commission (Eskom) to ensure that subsidies for white-owned large-scale businesses are replaced by subsidies for the poorest black consumers;
 - c A claim for reparations lodged against the lenders who profited illegitimately from lending to apartheid institutions during the sanctions period.
14. The Commission reiterates its finding that business benefited substantially during the apartheid era either through commission or omission and has, at the

⁷³ Volume Five, Chapter Eight, p. 319.

very least, a moral obligation to assist in the reconstruction and development of post-apartheid South Africa through active reparative measures. While individual businesses may well have contributed to individual projects falling under the general rubric of restitution or reparation, it is the Commission's view that business, possibly through the Business Trust, needs to commit itself to a far more focused programme of reparation.

SWISS BANKS AND OTHER LENDERS

15. As noted above, it is the aim of a recently established reconstruction and development fund established in Switzerland to persuade those who benefited substantially from doing business with Pretoria during the 1980s to contribute to the fund. It is estimated that the amount pledged by Swiss banks and investors currently totals less than 0.02 per cent of profits generated by Swiss banks and investors each year during the 1980s, during which period gross violations of human rights were committed on a wide scale.
16. This section examines the role of Swiss banks in South Africa during the apartheid era and the case for making a significant reparation claim against these banks.
17. The major Swiss banks were important partners of Pretoria during apartheid. Both *Credit Suisse* and the predecessor of UBS opened offices in South Africa within a few years of apartheid being institutionalised in 1948, and played a central role in marketing South African gold. They also invested in apartheid-era infrastructure in South Africa and in the homelands.
18. After the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the chairman of the largest Swiss bank, UBS, was asked: 'Is apartheid necessary or desirable?' His response was: 'Not really necessary, but definitely desirable.'
19. In 1968, the Swiss banks formed the Zurich Gold Pool and Zurich became the most important gold market in the world. In 1969, the Swiss banks imported over 1000 tons of gold – half the world's annual production. Three quarters of this came from South Africa. The Swiss banks encouraged their customers to buy gold from South Africa and to buy shares in the gold mines.

20. After the 1976 Soweto uprising, the United Nations (UN) condemned apartheid as a crime against humanity and expelled South Africa. This was the time of the gold boom. In 1980, the gold price reached an all-time high of US\$850 an ounce, filling Pretoria's coffers. Soon afterwards, the gold price fell dramatically, the economy plunged into crisis and the apartheid government was forced to look for financial help from around the world. In 1984, President PW Botha visited Switzerland. In that year, his government took seven international loans, four of which were arranged by the Swiss banks. After the British, the Swiss banks were the most important lenders to the apartheid government at this time.
21. During the debt crisis of 1985, the Swiss banks played an especially important role. After Chase Manhattan, an American bank, cut back its lending facility, there was crisis in Pretoria. In a sudden loss of confidence, banks refused to lend money to South Africa and the government was unable to pay its debts. With pressure from the masses and internationally, there seemed no way to save apartheid. Swiss banks came to the rescue. Mr Fritz Leutwiler, former President of the Swiss National Bank, negotiated with the world's banks on behalf of South Africa and secured an agreement to give South Africa a two-year break from paying its debts and 15 years to make the repayments. Despite international pressure, he refused to use the deal to force Pretoria to dismantle apartheid. Mr Leutwiler gave the South African regime a breathing space during one of its most violent and repressive periods – the late 1980s. While many countries were imposing sanctions against apartheid gold and the United States (US) had banned the direct import of gold bars, the Swiss banks continued to import over half the gold produced in South Africa.
22. South Africa was discussed repeatedly in the Swiss Parliament. Over 100 calls for sanctions were rejected. Despite this, there was recognition that the policy of the banks was dangerous. One parliamentarian declared: 'Let's be honest. Our businessmen just want to do business in South Africa at any price. And this policy is not a sound policy for our country internationally. One of these days it's going to come back and haunt us.'

THE SWISS BANKS AND OTHER LENDERS: THE CASE FOR REPARATIONS

23. The case for reparations from the banks is based on three arguments:
 - a As Pretoria's key partner in the international gold trade, Swiss banks benefited over several decades from the exploitation of the black mineworkers, whose human rights were violated by (amongst other apartheid policies) the pass laws, the migrant labour system and suppression of trade union activity.
 - b The banks ignored the call for sanctions against Pretoria initiated by the UN and continued to enrich themselves through the gold trade and lending.
 - c The banks played an instrumental role in prolonging apartheid from the time of the debt crisis in 1985 onwards.
24. It can be argued that there are legal grounds for instituting a claim for reparation. The law governing the enforcement of contracts such as bank loans is heavily influenced by public policy considerations. The common thread is that contracts concluded contrary to public policy are unenforceable. In South African contract law, these agreements may fall into one of two possible categories – those that are tainted with criminality or those that are *per se* immoral.
25. Hence a contract that is contrary to the community's sense of justice is not capable of being enforced in a court of law. A significant date in this regard is 18 July 1976, the date on which the UN Apartheid Convention came into effect. Article 1 of the Convention reads:
 1. *The States Parties to the present Convention declare that apartheid is a crime against humanity and that inhuman acts resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid and similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination, as defined in article II of the Convention, are crimes violating the principles of international law, in particular the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and constituting a serious threat to international peace and security.*
 2. *The States Parties to the present Convention declare criminal those organizations, institutions and individuals committing the crime of apartheid.*
26. According to this, any credit institution or private money-lending corporation that financed the apartheid state ought to be targeted as a profiteer of an immoral and illegal system. It is also possible to argue that banks that gave

financial support to the apartheid state were accomplices to a criminal government that consistently violated international law.

27. Arguments also exist based on the doctrine of 'odious debt'. The principle is that debts incurred for illegitimate purposes by illegitimate parties are unenforceable. Debts incurred in the furtherance of apartheid would fall under the principle. The fact that the General Assembly of the UN did not recognise the apartheid government's delegation as the legitimate representatives of the state of South Africa from 1965 onwards lends even more credibility to the argument. There are several precedents for the doctrine, including a 1923 arbitration case between the Costa Rican government and the Royal Bank of Canada. In this case, the US repudiated a debt incurred by Cuba and owed to Spain in its peace treaty after the US had taken sovereign control of Cuba at the end of the Spanish–American war. Similarly, the Soviet government repudiated the debts incurred by the Tsar in the previous Russian regime. An article in a professional journal written by lawyers at the First National Bank of Chicago in 1982 warns lenders of the potential risks of making loans that infringe the doctrine.
28. Swiss banks are not the only lenders whose support for and enrichment under apartheid may provide grounds for reparations. British, German, French and North American banks are amongst those that financed Pretoria during the 1970s and 1980s. In addition, in 1976 and 1977 the IMF granted South Africa balance of payment loans totalling US\$464 million, which helped to cover the increased expenses needed for the South African Defence Force (SADF) and were used to fuel the apartheid machine. More research is required on these matters.

THE CASE OF THE PARASTATALS

29. The parastatal sector sheds further light on the role and responsibility of business in the apartheid era, particularly in view of the way the apartheid government used the parastatals to further its own objectives. Eskom is used here as an example without prejudice. In using this example, we need to acknowledge the many changes Eskom has made in the last decade in relation to the racial identity of its employees and the pioneering role it has played among South African industrial giants in investing in building infrastructure in poor black neighbourhoods. This does not, of course, dilute the critique of its apartheid-era practices and its deep collusion with the political and economic structures of apartheid.

30. Between 1950 and 1980, international financial institutions and foreign private banks granted loans to Eskom amounting to at least US\$7.5 billion. British banks contributed 26 per cent, banks in France almost 24 per cent, West Germany about 17 per cent and Switzerland more than 12 per cent. Substantial amounts were also granted by the World Bank, public export credit agencies and parastatal banks. Loans to public sector corporations and business enterprises were the economic lifelines of the apartheid economy. This point is reinforced by correspondence between Swiss banks and the Finance Ministry in Pretoria: foreign banks would grant loans to Eskom only on condition that central government signed a declaration of guarantee or a warrant to the creditor banks.
31. During the sanctions years (1986 to 1989), foreign debt represented between 44 and 56 per cent of Eskom's total net debts. During the 1980s, Eskom's capital investments at current prices amounted to R35 billion. A fairly large part of these investments involved the importation of capital goods and services. The South African Reserve Bank provided long-term forward cover, especially in the US\$/Rand market. From April 1981 to the end of January 1998, a total loss of R26.4 billion was recorded on the Forward Exchange Contracts Adjustment Account. Of this amount, R19.1 billion was directly attributable to long-term forward cover granted directly to the erstwhile parastatals, primarily Eskom, in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Such losses had to be paid for by the taxpayer.
32. As a parastatal within the apartheid system, Eskom produced extremely cheap energy, making the exploitation of the rich mineral endowment the foremost 'comparative advantage' in South Africa's relations with global markets.
33. At least until the mid-1980s, the minerals-energy complex produced more value added per worker employed than any other economic sector. It was here that most capital accumulation took place, where most of South Africa's exports and a sizeable part of its gross domestic product were produced. Historically, the production of electrical energy served mainly the needs of the mining industry.
34. Like mine workers, black electricity workers were mainly migrants, housed in the same controlled single-sex compounds and receiving the same low wages (which disregarded the needs of the workers' families back in the labour reserves). For the 58 years between 1911 and 1969 there was no increase in the real wages of black miners and electricity workers.

35. Eskom also had to promote the political objectives of the ruling National Party. Since the Broederbond⁷⁴ influenced the selection of Eskom's chief executive officers, there was seldom a conflict of interests. Thus, Eskom:
- a offered preferential employment to poor whites as guard labour;
 - b did not recognise independent, non-racial trade unions until 1987;
 - c replaced the racial job colour bar with security concerns in the 1980s, requiring black employees to get clearance from the security police;
 - d offered long-term supplier contracts to Afrikaner coal mining companies;
 - e used Afrikaner financial institutions to issue and market Eskom public bonds in the domestic market, to procure foreign exchange on its behalf and administer its bank accounts;
 - f supported the implementation of apartheid's Bantustan policy by offering extra cheap tariffs for industries settling in 'border areas', like Alusaf in Richards Bay;
 - g buttressed the state's claim to regional hegemony by controlling the development of electricity generation and distribution in occupied Namibia;
 - h propped up the colonial empire of Portugal in Angola and Mozambique by supporting the building of the Cahora Bassa and the Gove and Calueque dams, as well as the hydro-electric power stations at Ruacana in the Cunene river basin and at Cahora Bassa on the Zambezi, and
 - i followed the state's guidelines in response to the threat of economic sanctions by establishing a mammoth oversupply capacity of electricity generation.
36. Because of its strategic importance, Eskom, its power stations, substations and control centres were declared national key points in 1980. All senior security officers and senior personnel at key points had to obtain security clearance. Eskom established its own counter-intelligence unit, which worked closely with the security police and military intelligence. Eskom also created its own militia force, procured a substantial number of firearms and established its own armoury.
37. Evidence was presented under oath to the Commission that, during the twilight years of the apartheid system, high-ranking members of Eskom attempted to make available or sell a portion of this armoury to Inkatha. According to the evidence, this was authorised and done with the knowledge of the Commissioner of Police.

⁷⁴ A secret society composed of Afrikaners holding key jobs in all walks of life.

38. Eskom co-financed the South African Uranium Enrichment Corporation and financially supported research into the development and manufacture of apartheid's nuclear bombs.
39. During its rapid expansion period between 1950 and 1980, Eskom had no particular interest in supplying the households of black people with electrical energy. The Group Areas Act of 1950 separated the administration of black urban areas from that of white cities. This often meant that black areas were without electricity services altogether. White municipal areas normally had industrial as well as residential demand. This could be used to balance the load factor, resulting in lower overall costs for industrial as well as residential users. As black townships were electrified, there were no industrial users to balance the peak load, with the result that consumers in black townships paid a very high demand charge whilst using considerably less electricity. Thus, in effect, electrified black townships subsidised neighbouring white municipal areas.
40. It was estimated in 1992 that about three million black households had no access to electricity – this after a history of electricity generation in South Africa of more than 85 years; equally some 19 000 schools and 4000 clinics serving black communities had not been linked to the national electrical grid.
41. The politics of racial segregation and apartheid suppressed for decades both the human rights and the consumer demands of South Africa's black people. People living in low-income black residential areas, both urban and rural, persistently faced high environmental costs. Energy sources other than electricity (low-quality coal and wood burning in open indoor fires without proper stoves and chimneys, paraffin and candles) have constantly polluted the air and endangered their users. Accidental fires and burns, paraffin poisoning and chronic bronchitis were all too common. On winter evenings, dense smog with high concentrations of sulphur dioxide, carbon dioxide, airborne ash particles and dust was found hanging low over black residential areas, leading to respiratory diseases and even circulatory disorders, and severely reducing the quality of life for young and old.

ESKOM AND OTHER PARASTATALS: THE CASE FOR REPARATIONS

42. In summary, the case for reparations in relation to parastatals such as Eskom is based on the following two factors:
- a The role of foreign lenders in supporting key institutions of apartheid. Debts incurred by Eskom and other parastatals during apartheid should also be considered 'odious' insofar as the new political dispensation is concerned.
 - b The failure of the parastatals to invest in infrastructure and services for the majority of the population, despite being financed by public means. Hence there is a case for highly subsidised investments in electricity and other services for the poor black majority today.

THE MINING CORPORATIONS

43. Again, as it is not possible to develop case studies on each private corporation, reference will be made to the Anglo American Corporation, without prejudice.
44. Through punitive taxes in rural reserves and through land dispossession (the Land Act of 1913 and 1936), the black male worker was dislodged from agricultural subsistence farming and forced to work at the underground rock faces. This influx of a large black population instigated early stirrings of *swart gevaar* ('black danger') – and more broadly a fear of the threat posed not only to frontier political control but also to the stability and profitability of diamond and gold mining.
45. Migration control regulations were first drafted by the Chamber of Mines' Native Labour Department in 1895 as a response to perceived state reluctance to organise a stable and constant labour supply. The President of the Chamber of Mines enthused: '... a most excellent law ... which should enable us to have complete control over the Kaffirs'. In its submission to a 1944 commission on 'native wages', the Chamber of Mines argued openly for the 'subsidiary means of subsistence' that migration back to homelands guaranteed. This would subsidise the cost of labour and the costs of reproducing that labour. This zeal for population control on the part of the mining houses set a precedent for the pass laws of the apartheid government.
46. The mines' thirst for migratory labour led them to establish recruiting agencies in distant rural areas and neighbouring countries, originally opened to capital by

military conquest. In this way 'native reserves' evolved into labour reserves. Offering financial inducements to the Swazi monarch, the Native Recruiting Commission set up by the Chamber of Mines was able to diminish the severe labour shortage in the post-World War II economic boom, while migrant work assured the King of his subjects' annual repatriation to fulfil tributary labour 'loyalties'. Tribalism on the Rand originated in recruitment strategies and bargain-hunting by the mines. It was perpetuated by a closed compound system of hostels that fostered separate identity and anticipated the conflicts within the hostels and with permanent township residents. Thus the blueprint for 'grand apartheid' was provided by the mines and was not an Afrikaner state innovation. The mines' instigation of tribalism in employment and housing practices is admitted in their submission to the Commission.

47. The single-sex hostels, moreover, eroded family structures. Women who had accompanied their male partners and husbands to the compounds were 'endorsed out' or sent back to the homelands. A corollary to the slave-like conditions of work on the mines, women were left to rear children and cultivate fields ultimately on behalf of the mine owners. When occupational hazards ejected invalid workers, the social security of homesteads helped absolve companies of providing adequate compensation and/or pensions.
48. In mitigation of its housing policy, the Anglo American Corporation contends that it was frustrated in its attempts to develop an 'urban model for black South Africans' by the apartheid regime. The Corporation argued that Sir Harry Oppenheimer appealed to the Verwoerd government in the 1950s to be allowed to house 10 per cent of black workers with their families at the Free State gold mines. These appeals were rejected by the state, but they cannot atone for the cellblock structures and systems the company provided for each of its armies of black miners.
49. Harsh conditions on the mines were enforced by state repression which employers – and Anglo American – did nothing to discourage. Strikes were unheard of during the booming 1960s. When the upsurge of worker resistance began with the wave of strike actions in Durban in 1973, state security forces became almost permanently resident on production sites to maintain and restore order. From the outset, Anglo American did not hesitate to use the services of the apartheid security apparatus to curb working-class militancy during this period. A strike at its Western Deep mine was dealt with by government forces and resulted in the deaths of twelve miners. Worker resistance to the state-led

'total onslaught' campaign led to the detention of five executive members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

50. The consensus between business and the apartheid government was given institutional expression in an array of joint committees at the interface of private capital and the state. 'Total strategy' was quickly sold to business South Africa at the government-convened Carlton Conference in 1979. Harry Oppenheimer promoted the 'new era' of business and state détente. Joint Management Centres (JMCs) were set up to gather intelligence about trade union activity. Their reports to the State Security Council (SSC) effectively drafted business leaders into the state apparatuses.
51. The renting of Waterloo farm to security force agents by Tongaat Hulett, a sugar-producing company with a majority Anglo American shareholding, represents one example of such collusion. Business, moreover, directly financed the SADF through its participation in the Defence Manpower Liaison Committee structures. These were designed to facilitate the least disruptive conscription of white men to the armed forces by supplementing the income of soldiers during their stints in the army.
52. Outsourcing the function and/or costs of national security to private interests was accomplished by the 1980 National Keypoints Act of the Botha regime. 'Keypoints' of national interest, usually production sites, were identified as possible targets. Protection was supplied by the SADF and paid for by the business concerned.
53. By 1976, the Anglo American group enjoyed a shareholding interest of 20 per cent in Barlow Rand. Through a number of its subsidiaries, Barlow Rand was a major producer of defence electronics, dividends from which were paid to Anglo American. Three members of the Barlow Rand board of executives (including the chairman) were also members of PW Botha's Defence Advisory Board. Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly himself served intermittently on the Armscor board. The sinews of the military-industrial complex were firmly enmeshed with the mine-based economy.
54. The high level of accidents on the mines went far beyond anything that can be excused by the ordinary hazards of working underground. Here again it was the mines themselves that must take responsibility for ignoring the most basic safety standards applied by the International Labour Organisation (ILO). By 1993, the

mortality rate on the gold mines as a result of accidents stood at 113 for every 100 000 miners. This does not take into account the delayed deaths and disability resulting from the occupational hazards of work underground. The migratory labour system allowed employers to repatriate miners suffering from injury, silicosis, pulmonary tuberculosis and other work-related ailments to their distant homes, where they would often die slow and painful deaths, living on meagre pensions and without the necessary medical treatment. Even though a curative treatment for pulmonary tuberculosis was available by the 1950s, mines continued to send sick miners home, with the result that up to 60 per cent would die within two years, and families became infected. By the 1980s, only 10 per cent of these workers – effectively retrenched – received the necessary treatment.

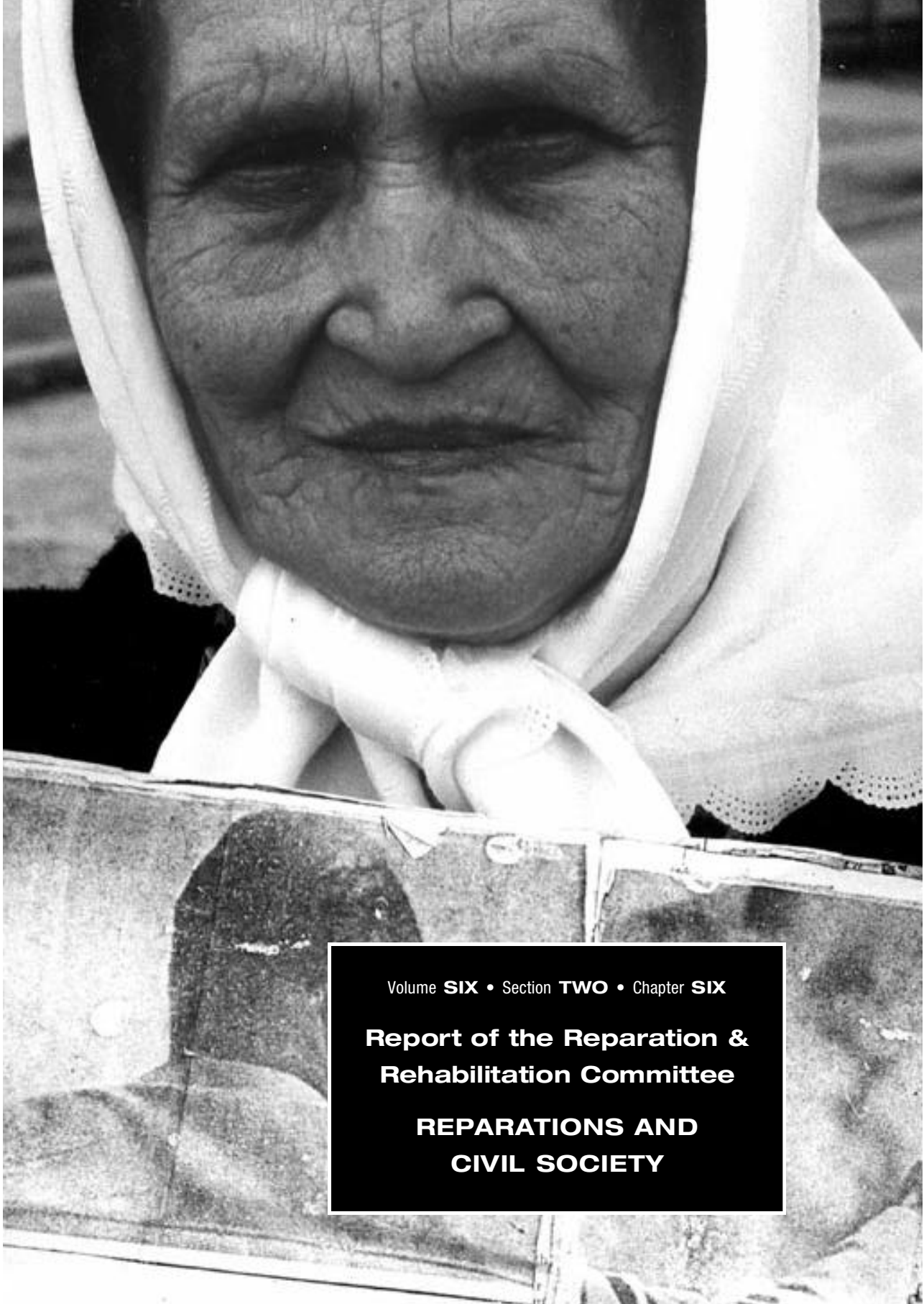
55. Apartheid also affected how workers were recompensed by the state, and can be seen in the inadequacy and racial differentials of lump sums paid out. The structure of the Workmen's Compensation Fund cleared mine owners of liabilities stemming from whatever civil claims could have been brought against them. Thus deference to the state made good business. As late as the early 1990s, permanently disabled black workers were paid only R2000, with a 1:13 compensation ratio between black and white workers.
56. In 1974, 'Harry Oppenheimer made a public call to review South Africa's labour laws' and was 'amongst the first to grant independent black unions access, recruiting and collective bargaining rights'. The Anglo American submission to the Commission attributes this to Oppenheimer philanthropy. Yet his sudden concern about the absence of union organisation amongst black workers cannot have been coincidental: his call was stoked by the fear of disruption of production schedules when industrial relations are not mediated by union representation. Despite the orderly bargaining framework that union recognition brought to industrial relations, apartheid employers did not take this to imply that legally striking workers ought not to be dismissed. Anglo American cut the biggest swathe through workers' ranks when it dismissed 50 000 workers who were on strike for a living wage.
57. Nor did the recognition of black trade unions preclude security cordons around mines and the control of union meetings. An NUM report on repression at Anglo American mines described how meetings had to be approved by mine management. The significance of union recognition was further downplayed by the spread of Anglo American companies throughout the Bantustans. Unions enjoyed legal status only if the labour laws upheld by the homeland puppet states allowed

this. Rustenburg Platinum, owned by the Anglo American subsidiary, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, adopted schizophrenic policies that saw the company recognise NUM representatives in South Africa but not on the other side of the Bophuthatswana border.

58. When Botha's reforms of apartheid only elicited increased labour unrest, and economic sanctions looked set to force the regime to default on its debt, business leaders broke ranks with the government, and a delegation, including Mr Gavin Relly, flew to Lusaka to meet with African National Congress (ANC) leaders. Yet just two years later, in 1987, after the declaration of the second state of emergency, Mr Relly described the national alert as 'necessary'. 'Open minds' closed again once mass detentions brought a modicum of quiet to the townships and factory floors, and once debt payments had been successfully rescheduled by agreement with the International Monetary Fund.
59. The extent of Anglo American's 'real and permanent contribution to the well being of the people of southern Africa' and its founding 'economic nationalism' must be judged according to its deeds. Nor can its 'deeds' be represented by cases of its magnanimity when these stand out as exceptions against a general rule of profiteering based on racist systems of exclusion, indignity, manslaughter and expropriation. Even in terms of the modernisation thesis the corporation propounds in its literature – 'the slow march to modernity' – Anglo American fails. The basic premise that a modern, non-racial capitalist economy will engender full democratic rights for all South African citizens presumes the necessity of coerced labour and racist employment policies, because it is precisely on these practices that its empire was built. The estimated R20 billion that the corporation 'exported' in offshore investments between 1970 and 1988 cannot have benefited the modernisation project it claims to cherish.

THE MINING COMPANIES: THE CASE FOR REPARATIONS

60. A reparations claim against corporations like Anglo American would be based on the extent to which decades of profits were based on systematic violations of human rights. In legal terms, this could be based on the principle of 'unjust enrichment'. 'Unjust enrichment' is a source of legal obligation. Actions based on 'unjust enrichment' are common to most modern legal systems. These kinds of claims give rise to an obligation in terms of which the enriched party incurs a duty to restore the extent of his/her enrichment to the impoverished party. Put differently, the impoverished party acquires a legal right to claim that the extent of the other's enrichment be restored to him/her if it was acquired at his/her expense.



Volume **SIX** • Section **TWO** • Chapter **SIX**

**Report of the Reparation &
Rehabilitation Committee**

**REPARATIONS AND
CIVIL SOCIETY**

Reparations and Civil Society

1. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) seized the imagination of many South Africans and, from the start of its work, initiatives aimed at healing and reparation sprang up all over the country. They provide an example of the enormous value of the role of civil society in the work of bringing about the healing and reconciliation our society so urgently needs. They also demonstrate the fact that reparation is a multi-faceted process and can be approached from many sides by many people. In other words, it needs to be seen as a national project to which we are all committed as South Africans.

CREATIVE APPROACHES TO REPARATION AND HEALING

2. There are many examples of organisations, individuals, artists and events that have used creative approaches to begin to address the issues of healing and reparation. That they have seldom been given the same amount of publicity as the Commission itself does not detract from their importance. It would be true to say that some of the most profound experiences of reconciliation, acknowledgment and healing happened in intimate spaces away from the public gaze. This is as it should be, since it is in those intimate spaces that peoples' most powerful emotions reside. Many of these initiatives have a great impact on peoples' lives because details of the victim's experience and interactions between participants can be freely expressed.
3. This chapter outlines some such forums or creative expressions by various civil society groups and individuals.

The story I'm about to tell

4. One such example is a theatrical play called *The story I'm about to tell*. This was (and still is) an initiative using acting, audience participation, real-life recollections of violations and an improvised script that was true to life events.
5. The actors are survivors of gross human rights violations, and indeed only act in the sense that they are on a stage engaged in a performance of their experiences. Their role changes to that of facilitators when, importantly, the play does not end, but moves on to include the audience in an interactive debate and discussion.

6. An individual who gave testimony at Commission hearings, Mr Duma Khumalo (a former death row prisoner), says that audiences seem to open up more and travel much further into the past than occurred at the formal Commission hearings. Members of audiences have expressed their difficulties about opening up and speaking of the past, which they had often kept secretly to themselves.
7. One such powerful encounter occurred whilst performing the play in Germany. The widow of a man killed by the South African Defence Force (SADF) approached the actors, saying that she had always felt that she would die in unresolved pain. However, through experiencing the stories retold in the play, she found herself able to forgive and let go.
8. The play was staged at the Grahamstown Arts Festival, one of South Africa's major arts festivals. After the play, an elderly white South African man approached one of the players, Ma Mlangeni, embraced her, sobbing, and then left without saying a word. For the actors, no words were necessary: such was the power of this intimate encounter.
9. In another instance, an audience member asked Duma Khumalo: 'How did you feel when you were about to die?' Mr Khumalo recalls being shocked that no one had previously felt able to ask him this. He attributes this to the unique power of the play. He summed up his experiences of performing in the play as 'a piece of delicious cake'.
10. Far from being simply a forum for profound moments of healing, the play has also proved a catalyst for expressions and questions that were often not articulated in the context of the Commission, especially those that were conflictual or anti-reconciliatory. While performing in South Africa, a youth expressed his sense of injustice at having to witness lies by perpetrators, asking, 'How do they expect us to feel?' In some instances, when the play was touring London and Great Britain, there were exchanges and debates between members of the audience about who had benefited from apartheid.
11. *The story I'm about to tell* is an ongoing initiative and many requests have been made for it to be staged in township contexts. Importantly, the play has received sponsorship from the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

The Healing of Memories Project

12. The Healing of Memories Project is based in Cape Town and was established to facilitate the healing process of individuals and communities. It originated as the Chaplaincy Project of the Trauma Centre and is now the Institute of Healing of Memories.
13. One of the main techniques used by the project is workshops. The workshops were developed by the Religious Response to the Commission, now the Centre for Ubuntu and the Healing of Memories.
14. Each workshop is an individual and collective journey aimed at exploring the effects of the apartheid years. The emphasis is on dealing with these issues at an emotional, psychological and spiritual – rather than at an intellectual – level. Time is given for individual reflection, creative exercises and opportunities to share in a small group. Typical themes that arise are anger, hope, hatred, joy, isolation, endurance and a discovery of the depths of common humanity shared. The workshops end in a liturgy/celebration.
15. The collective and uniquely spiritual focus of this initiative marks it as one of the more profound treatments of the challenge of healing.

The Khumbula Project

16. Khumbula was launched in Mbekweni, Paarl on 16 December 1998. A non-governmental organisation registered as a Section 21 Company, Khumbula aims to address the conditions under which ex-combatants of the South African liberation struggle find themselves. It has also recently launched an educational initiative.
17. Driven by volunteers, Khumbula's main aim is the exhumation of former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres who died outside the borders of South Africa and assisting families to rebury the remains of their loved ones. A significant number of witnesses who approached the Commission requested assistance in locating and reburying their loved ones in a culturally appropriate way.

Khulumani support group

18. The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation played a significant role in the establishment of the victims' support group commonly known as

Khulumani. The philosophy behind this initiative is a belief that the violations of the apartheid era not only left deep psychological wounds in peoples' minds, but also left people with a sense of isolation and feelings of disconnectedness. Being part of a victims' support group was seen by many as having a therapeutic effect.

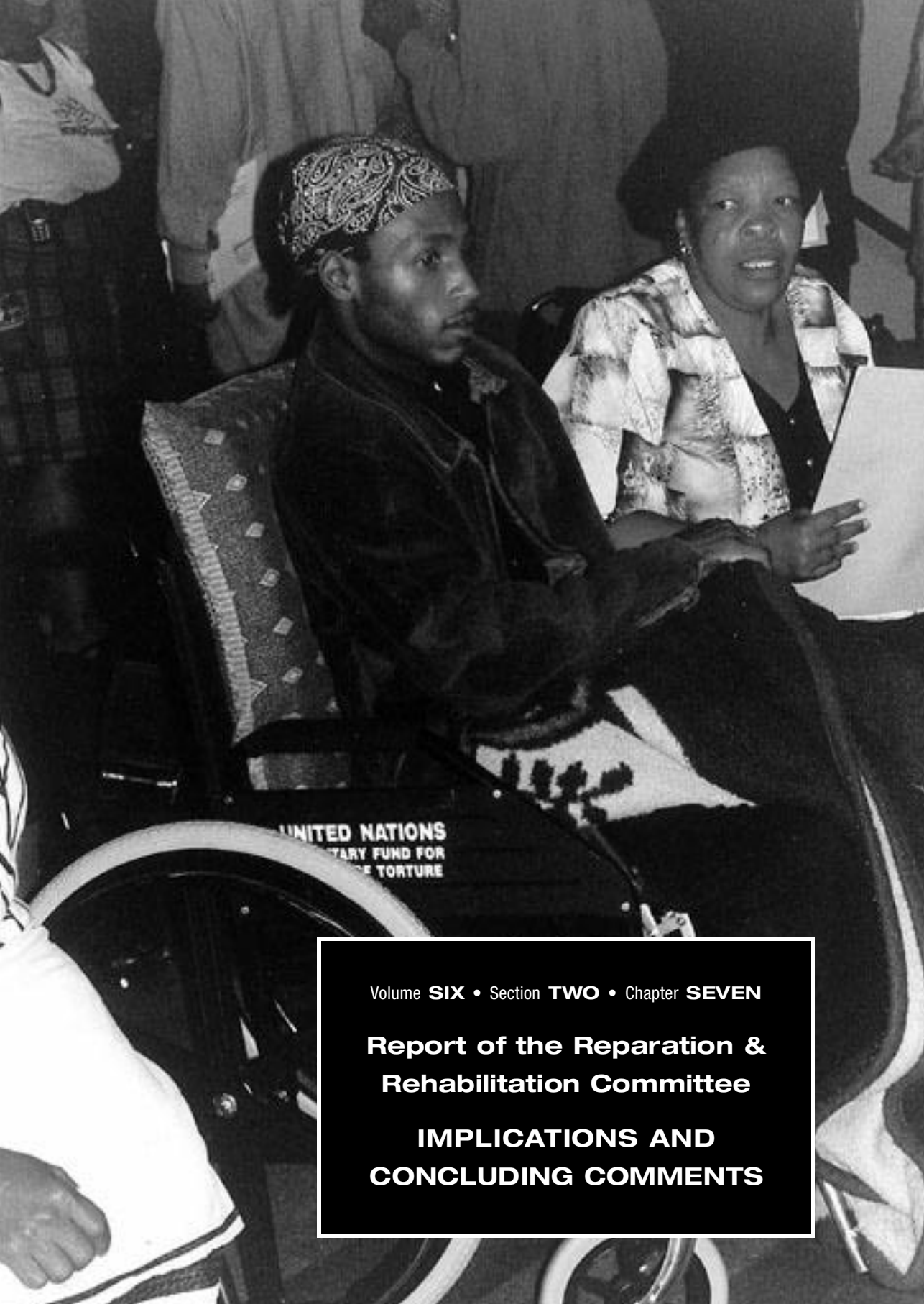
The Northern Province and Mpumalanga branches of the South African Council of Churches

19. The Mpumalanga Provincial Chapter of the South African Council of Churches played a significant role in providing emotional and spiritual support, especially during the hearings.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR REPARATION

20. Khulumani and some representatives of the faith community have publicly campaigned for the implementation of the Commission's Reparation and Rehabilitation policy.
21. Khulumani has not only mobilised the South African government and local business but has, in consultation with sister organisations such as Jubilee 2000, continued to emphasise the responsibility of local business and international governments and banks in respect of reparation and rehabilitation.
22. The Northern Province branch of the South African Council of Churches, under the leadership of Reverend Mautji Pataki, has also continued to play a significant role in campaigning for the restoration of the dignity of witnesses through a government-led reparation and rehabilitation programme. Their focus has been on mobilising government support at a provincial level, and exerting pressure on it to spearhead service delivery.
23. It is the Commission's view that, while government is both legally and morally obliged to pay reparation to individual victims, the responsibility for reparations goes far wider. With regard to the financial cost of reparation, the Commission believes that business, in particular, should bear some of the burden.⁷⁵ More broadly, however, other institutions of civil society, and indeed all South Africans, should be part of a national project of reparation and rehabilitation.

⁷⁵ See this section, Chapter Five.



Volume **SIX** • Section **TWO** • Chapter **SEVEN**

**Report of the Reparation &
Rehabilitation Committee**

**IMPLICATIONS AND
CONCLUDING COMMENTS**

Implications and Concluding Comments

If you saw me at a distance, you would think I was an ordinary person. Even if you get closer, you still couldn't tell. Maybe if you observed me very carefully, you might notice that I seem somehow alone, even in the middle of a crowd.

You would be right. But you would also be wrong. For I am never truly alone. Thousands of people are always with me. My head is so crowded with ghosts I sometimes think it will burst. My ears ring with cries from the voices of the dead.

My dreams flame with horror. My memories are grey with ash.

The Survivor, Jack Eisner

1. The issue of reparation and rehabilitation is real for every victim, though to varying degrees. As history takes the country further and further away from the historical moment of the negotiated settlement in South Africa, and as other challenges, especially that of HIV/AIDS, press ever more insistently on the national consciousness, it may become more and more tempting to deal dismissively with the issue of reparation and rehabilitation. There may be those who feel that there are things that cannot be repaired or rehabilitated. This too may discourage further consideration of the issue. Moreover, it may be argued that there is something very positive about a country that wishes to move forward.
2. Although we may currently be experiencing fatigue about the consequences of the past, it remains true that if we do not deal with the past it will haunt and may indeed jeopardise the future. We need to remember that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) was established in large part because of the dangers of inappropriate forgetting. We acknowledged then and must remember now that moving forward requires acknowledgement of the past, rather than denial. To ignore the suffering of those found by the Commission to be victims would be a particular kind of cruelty. After all, it was the testimony of these victims that gave us a window onto how others saw the past and allowed us to construct an image of the future.
3. There has been a tendency to dismiss those declared as victims by the Commission as an 'elite victim group'. It needs to be borne in mind that, given

the systemic abuse committed during the apartheid era, virtually every black South African can be said to be a victim of human rights abuse. By using the fact that they testified as evidence of their 'elite' character, these critics are in essence propounding the astounding argument that these victims should be punished (denied legitimate expectations) for having come forward.

4. There were very many victims of apartheid and, certainly, those who came before the Commission are only a subset of a much larger group. This is why, when balancing individual and socially oriented reparations, the Commission sought to address the specific needs of those who came before it in order to contribute to the wider truth about the nation's history, whilst at the same time addressing the broader consequences of apartheid. It is almost impossible to design a reparation programme without leaving some gaps. Nevertheless, the fact that not all victims will receive individual financial grants cannot be allowed to prevent at least some clearly deserving victims from getting such awards.
5. The reality is that a specific group of victims was identified via a legislated and broadly accepted process. While their circumstances are possibly more representative than otherwise, their uniqueness lies in the fact that they chose to engage in the process.
6. There are major challenges for the reparation and rehabilitation process. As indicated in earlier chapters, it is often difficult to distinguish victims from non-victims and even to isolate key events that caused subsequent problems in people's lives. It is not always possible to draw a clear line between a gross violation of human rights and the more general features of oppression. It is difficult to know where, in the ongoing development of individuals, families and communities, one could measure the effects of human rights abuses, even if such measurement were theoretically possible. Given the very limited resources in South Africa, very little of this work can be done.
7. Besides, even if South Africa had unlimited resources at its disposal, much of the damage that has taken place is irreparable. Human development in the context of abuse and violation is not infinitely reparable, and part of the task for healing in South Africa lies in accepting what cannot be done.
8. The acceptance of limitations, however, does not mean the abdication of responsibility, but rather a sober assessment of what can and cannot be achieved.

9. It is this assessment that must form the basis of our future growth as a nation. Poverty and the economic implications of the AIDS epidemic make economic considerations important in the rehabilitation process. The line between victims and non-victims is often obscure; hence it may be ethically problematic to provide victims with preferential access to services such as education, housing and employment. It is, moreover, common knowledge that many public sector services – such as health, welfare and education – are woefully under-resourced in South Africa. Wishing that things were different will not make these problems go away. Again, attempts to give preference to victims in these services could potentially meet with resistance because there is not, in any case, enough to go around.
10. Despite this, preferential opportunities on the basis of need for victims across the political spectrum may be important symbolic acts: they would communicate that the current leadership takes seriously what South Africans have endured, and signal a commitment to establishing a just and humane society in which human rights are respected.
11. Given resource constraints, creative ways of generating funds earmarked for rehabilitation services should be considered. These could include tax incentives to encourage private sector businesses to contribute to a specific post-Truth and Reconciliation Commission Fund. The economic and social implications of a time-limited taxation levy on wealthier South Africans' earnings also need to be considered.
12. However funds are generated or redirected from other budgets, it is important that we do not forget the high levels of emotional pain in our country and the fact that we need to build up services to deal specifically with these. Public sector mental health provision is inadequately resourced at present and there is insufficient training and ongoing support for frontline helpers across a range of sectors including education, labour, safety and security, defence, health, and welfare. Resourcing is an issue, and there is a lack of creative thinking about making services physically, linguistically and culturally acceptable to communities. Professional mental health and welfare organisations should be encouraged to share information on successful projects, on methods of assessing impact and on improving the cost-effectiveness of such endeavours. Professional services should act in concert with community-based services. The combination of professional expertise and community-driven support is likely to provide the most cost-effective, helpful and culture-friendly mix.

13. Within the public health sector, dedicated posts for working on rehabilitation and reparation issues need to be established countrywide. The reparation and rehabilitation aspects need to be emphasised for a limited period, after which time these posts could become part of the general public mental health pool. It is important to attract talented and energetic people to such posts. In this respect, the secondment of personnel from other sectors (the health system, the non-governmental organisation (NGO) sector, higher education and the private sector) should be considered.
14. Symbolic reparations such as monuments and museums are important but should ideally be linked with endeavours that improve the everyday lives of victims and their communities. One way of combining the two aims is to involve victims prominently in the design and/or manufacture of monuments and in the running of museums. There are already good examples of this in the country.
15. There is much to do, and not all our ideals can be realised. But the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 (the Act) gave an undertaking that something would be done and, for the sake of the future, steps must be taken to take the process forward. Furthermore, much of the current order's legitimacy rests on a fair and appropriate response. The issues, problematic though they are, cannot be ignored.
16. It cannot and must not be forgotten that the Act allowed for reparations for those who testified before the Commission and were subsequently identified as victims. While the recommended reparations are not and cannot ever be proportionate to the harm suffered, reparations may be understood at least as an act of good faith and a serious attempt to alleviate some of the material and psychological trauma that victims endured. Today, when the government is spending so substantial a portion of its budget on submarines and other military equipment, it is unconvincing to argue that it is too financially strapped to meet at least this minimal commitment.
17. In this context, the argument that individual reparations come at the cost of social reparations is hardly persuasive; the two are not mutually exclusive within the context of broader budgetary priorities.

18. As we showed earlier in this section, the legal and normative arguments are unassailable. It may be recalled, too, that the overarching goal of reconciliation and national unity, as expressed in the Constitution and the founding Act, was born of a fragile balance with consequences that go far beyond the Commission itself.
19. The challenge to decision makers is how to acknowledge those who actively engaged with the legal framework of the Act and were found to be victims of gross human rights violations. They must honour the social contract in which these victims engaged, while at the same time adequately acknowledging those who did not or were not able to engage in the process, without overvaluing or undervaluing either party.
20. The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (the RRC) believes that its recommendations – which emphasise both individual and collective reparations – represent a blueprint for a workable solution to this pervasive tension.
21. The challenge to us all is to honour the process and to take responsibility for shaping our future. If we ignore the implications of the stories of many ordinary South Africans, we become complicit in contributing to an impoverished social fabric – to a society that may not be worth the pain the country has endured.



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Volume **SIX** • Section **TWO** • Chapter **EIGHT**

**Report of the Reparation &
Rehabilitation Committee**

**ADMINISTRATIVE
REPORT**

Administrative Report

■ INTRODUCTION

1. Unlike the other statutory Committees of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission), the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC) began the bulk of its administrative work at the tail end of the processes of both the Human Rights Violations Committee (HRVC) and the Amnesty Committee. The RRC received its first list of victims'⁷⁶ findings from the HRVC in September 1998, a month before the Commission went into suspension. Since then its work has increased progressively as more victims have been referred to it.
2. To date, the RRC has processed and submitted to the President's Fund 17 088 of the total of 19 890 victim claims received.⁷⁷ This chapter focuses on the administrative and management aspects of the RRC and its functions.

THE REHABILITATION AND REPARATION COMMITTEE

3. With the handover of the Final Report in October 1998, the Commission was suspended and the activities of the RRC statutorily placed under the auspices of the Amnesty Committee in accordance with an appropriate amendment to the Commission's founding Act, the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 (the Act). Once that Committee had completed its work, the Commission and its three Committees reconvened on 1 June 2001.
4. At this stage, the RRC consisted of a chairperson, an executive secretary, co-ordinators based in satellite offices, victim consultants and an administrative co-ordinator and staff. The three satellite offices were based in the Eastern Cape (East London), Gauteng (Johannesburg), and KwaZulu-Natal (Durban). Regional staff represented a crucial point of access for victims, enabling them to interact directly with the RRC. Because the Commissioners and RRC members had now departed the scaled-down Commission, members of staff in charge of processing claims became the public face of the Commission.

⁷⁶ See discussion on use of the term victim, this section, Chapter One, footnote 7.

⁷⁷ See section on 'Interim Reparation Statistics' below.

5. Following negotiations between the government and the Commission, it was agreed that the RRC would be given an extended mandate to initiate the delivery of urgent interim reparations (UIR) on behalf of government. This became the primary function of the RRC after the finalisation of the drafting of the Reparation and Rehabilitation policy document. UIR entailed the promulgation of regulations (3 April 1998); the distribution of the promulgated reparation application form to all those witnesses who had been found to be victims; the determination of harm suffered, and recommendations to the President's Fund on appropriate reparations on a case-by-case basis.
6. As explained in the Final Report, the Act provided for the granting of UIR as a means of fast-tracking assistance to victims urgently in need of immediate intervention as a consequence of the violation(s) they had suffered. Although the legislators had initially conceived of this measure as applying only to a small fraction of victims, an analysis of the impact of the violations in the current lives of victims showed that this category was far larger than had been anticipated. This, together with delays in finalising a final reparations package, as well as a substantial allocation to the President's Fund, undoubtedly broadened the notion of 'urgent' and gave momentum to a more inclusive approach to UIR.
7. The following sections describe the implementation of UIR and the challenges that arose during this process.

IMPLEMENTATION OF URGENT INTERIM REPARATIONS

Administration

8. Once the HRVC had referred its victim findings to the RRC, the RRC notified each victim of the findings and sent her or him an individual reparation application form, as required by the Act. The Commission had earlier decided not to elicit the required information at the initial statement-making stage for two reasons. First, the human rights violation statement did not constitute a sworn affidavit. Second, the Commission was reluctant to raise expectations concerning reparations before a finding had been made, in order to avoid disappointment in those instances where it might make a negative finding or where it might be unable to make a finding because of insufficient corroboration.
9. Moreover, because only declared victims were eligible for reparation, the RRC eventually decided to limit access to reparation application forms to those who

had been declared 'victims' by the Commission. The risks and benefits of making application forms available at public offices such as post offices or municipal structures were considered at length by the RRC. Again it was eventually decided that public access would create confusion and lead to raised expectations on the part of those who did not make human rights violation statements to the Commission.

10. Individualised application forms greatly limited the possibilities of such confusion and disappointment, and this route was encouraged and approved by the Auditor-General's office as the safest and most controllable approach. Each form was given an individualised 'TRR' identification number in order to prevent the unauthorised distribution or submission of applications by persons other than the victims, which would allow fraudulent claims to be made.
11. These and other security measures were deemed necessary in order to reduce potential abuse of the process and the mispending of taxpayers' money.
12. The reparation form (in the form of a sworn affidavit) gathered information related to the harm⁷⁸ and suffering endured as a result of the gross human rights violations, under the categories of housing, health, mental health or emotional state, education and an 'other' category. In addition to completing the form, victims were required, where possible, to submit additional corroborative documentation. The administrative and security measures that had to be put in place and the submission of extensive corroborative documentation established a tension between the need for speedy implementation (in the face of pressing trauma-related needs) and the necessity to maintain strict and unavoidable administrative control in order to ensure accuracy and financial accountability. This tension affected both the RRC – keen to deliver as soon as possible – and those applicants who had completed application forms, who often perceived requests for additional information and documentation as superfluous and overly bureaucratic.

Outreach and assistance to victims

13. Each regional office received batches of notifications and reparation application forms and was responsible for the co-ordination and dissemination of forms to victims.

⁷⁸ Categories of harm were derived from the Act's definition of 'victim' (section 1(1)(xix)). They were: physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, pecuniary loss, or a substantial impairment of human rights.

14. In line with the Commission's policy of pursuing a victim-centred approach in its work, the RRC attempted to find ways of dealing with what might be seen as a bureaucratic and potentially alienating process in as humane a way as possible. Consequently, rather than expecting applicants to approach what consisted of no more than four small offices based in city centres, the RRC employed field-workers – or what were called Designated Reparation Statement Takers (DRSTs) – as a way of reaching out to applicants in their communities. Another reason for employing DRSTs was to promote the speed and efficiency of the process. A return rate of 92 per cent of application forms is testimony to the success of this approach.
15. The importance of the reparation application in assessing the needs of victims and the desire to provide as much back-up as possible for applicants required that DRSTs be responsible for:
 - a locating the recipient, especially where the address given was limited;
 - b assisting with any language and translation difficulties encountered;
 - c explaining, where necessary, what was meant by each question on the form;
 - d assisting in the gathering of any statutory supportive documentation that was required to process the application;
 - e assisting in the location of a Commissioner of Oaths to sign the application;
 - f being a supportive presence during what was usually an emotionally difficult time, when the victim recounted the consequences of the violation.
16. The desired profile of a DRST was that s/he be community-based, know the locality in which s/he would be working and possess the know-how to access basic facilities such as photocopying, Commissioners of Oaths, the required documentation and so forth. An international funding agency, USAID, funded the salaries and training of the DRSTs.

Assessing applications and the President's Fund Process

17. Once the forms were completed, they were forwarded to the relevant regional office where they were checked for completeness and then forwarded to the national office in Cape Town. On receipt they entered a systematic information flow involving numerous checks to avoid duplication, clarify discrepancies and rectify any omissions. After this, each form was assessed and individual recommendations were made on the basis of the responses made by each applicant. Prior to the suspension of the Commission, the assessment of applications was the responsibility of RRC members. Subsequently, it became the responsibility chiefly of the chairperson of the RRC.

18. The assessment established what harm and suffering had taken place, who the beneficiaries were, how many dependents were involved and who they were, and the consequences of the violation in terms of housing situation, emotional state, medical state, educational situation and other aspects.
19. The assessor then made a broad recommendation for (a) service intervention(s), categorising evident needs and monetary grants according to the schedule set out in the Final Report.⁷⁹
20. This assessment, together with the application form, was then forwarded to the President's Fund.

The RRC's relationship to the President's Fund and Department of Justice

21. The RRC enjoyed an interdependent relationship with the President's Fund. The mandate of the Act, as well as the regulations governing interim reparations, clearly demarcated each body's responsibilities.⁸⁰
22. The RRC was responsible for making individualised recommendations, both for a required service and a monetary grant, and the President's Fund was responsible for implementing those recommendations – that is, making the payments and informing recipients of the RRC's recommendations and of the name of the government official in their province who would act as a conduit through which they would gain access to services in the relevant department or departments.

False perceptions about the role of the RRC

23. Both victims and the public developed a perception that reparation matters (administration *and* implementation) began and ended within the domain of the Commission. As far as they were concerned, if the other two Committees of the Commission dealt with their affairs, so too did the RRC. This perception led inevitably to the belief that the RRC had reparation funds under its direct control, leading to many direct approaches for assistance.

⁷⁹ Volume Five, Chapter Five, paragraphs 54–66.

⁸⁰ Sections 4(f)(ii); 25(b)(i) and 42 of the Act, and the regulations to the Act.

24. This misperception was further perpetuated by inaccurate media reportage. Media campaigns were directed at the Commission, charging it to speed up the delivery of reparation awards.
25. This ongoing misperception left the RRC and the President's Fund with the responsibility of correcting and responding to the many complaints and enquiries it received from victims. In the face of extremely scarce human resources, this made working conditions extremely difficult. From the outset, the Fund employed three people, including the Director. Given the administrative responsibilities of processing all forthcoming applications and preparing them for payment, in addition to fielding the many enquiries that came in, a considerable burden was placed on already severely strained resources. Complicated enquiries were referred back to the RRC's offices, which employed two enquiry secretaries to deal with problems of this kind.

The process followed by the President's Fund

26. Once forwarded to the President's Fund, application forms were registered and prepared for payment and service recommendation. Victims were sent a letter from the President and a letter from the President's Fund. This included the amount of the financial grant they were to receive and the name of an official in the Department of Welfare who would assist them in accessing the services recommended by the RRC. This usually meant referring the individual to the relevant government department.

Interim reparation referral

27. This referral process lay at the heart of the interim reparation process in that it emphasised a reparative intervention based on the reported consequences of a gross human rights violation and did not focus merely on making a financial grant. The fact that this aspect of the programme has so significantly failed to deliver so far is extremely disappointing. The Commission's policy recommendations published in its Final Report depended on a carefully balanced reparation package.
28. The referral process was discussed and formulated in conjunction with the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Reparation, chaired by the then Minister of Justice, Mr Abdullah Omar. Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, then Minister of Welfare and Population Development, volunteered that her Ministry would serve as the conduit through which victims could be channelled to other government departments. This offer was not in line with the initial policy direction of the RRC, which preferred the location and responsibility of the referrals to be in an office like the Presidency, so that it would command co-operation from all government ministries.

29. Despite its reservations, the RRC decided to co-operate with this suggestion. In October 1998, Minister Fraser-Moleketi provided the framework for the following referral process through her Director-General's Office. The following memorandum, dated 14 October 1998 and written to the Minister of Welfare by the Director General of Welfare, Ms Luci Abrahams, outlined the Department's planned approach. It was forwarded to the RRC with the names of allocated officials by province.

1. The Department of Welfare in Provinces should be the focal point for referrals.

The President's Fund refers the victim to Provincial Head of Department for Welfare and the victim's application form is forwarded to the HOD. A copy of such a referral is sent to the Provincial Director General and the National Department of Welfare.

The President's Fund informs the victim that the Provincial Government has been requested to render services.

The Provincial Head of Department of Welfare constitutes an Inter-Departmental Committee (sanctioned by the office of the Premier and Provincial Director-General) comprised of senior representatives at provincial line function department.

The Inter-Governmental Committee decides which provincial department/s should render services to the victim.

Departmental services offices or institutions to give service to the victim.

Reports on services rendered to be given to the Provincial Head of Department of Welfare for channelling to the Commission and the President's Fund with copies to Provincial Director-General and the National Department of Welfare.

There should be a two-week turn around period for processing of applications and referrals.

The period within which the process is to be finalised will be four to six weeks.

2. Services provided should include the following:

*Trauma Counselling and support even if the event happened a long time ago
The National Victim Empowerment programme makes provision for assistance to victims of all forms of crime and violence*

Provincial victim empowerment forums should be set up and engaged as a contact point with service providers in government and NGO sector

Provincial networks on violence against women co-ordinate related services to abused women

A list of contact persons in the provinces is attached

3. Information on records of individuals and communities should be made available by the TRC.

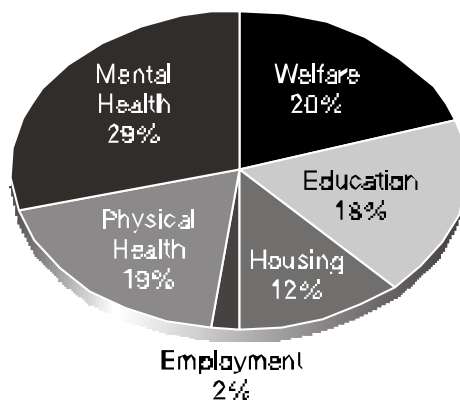
Services recommended by the RRC

30. As of 5 May 2001, the President's Fund compiled statistics reflecting which services were being recommended by the RRC, using a sample of 14 160. The following picture emerged:

Totals of recommended service interventions according to provinces, as of 06.11.01

Province	Education	Housing	Employment	Physical Health	Mental Health	Welfare
Gauteng	1697	569	194	2154	3101	1897
Eastern Cape	1219	380	136	1398	2154	1298
Northern Cape	36	6	7	73	81	30
Free State	133	67	27	217	292	148
Northern Province	225	271	27	199	303	376
Mpumalanga	347	169	45	381	606	381
North West	259	70	40	425	564	361
Western Cape	411	153	71	488	719	388
KwaZulu-Natal	4675	4184	281	4273	6596	4822
Totals	9002	5869	828	9608	14416	9701

National Interventions



31. These tables and graphs represent what the RRC officially recommended. However, the RRC has not been given reports on the actual implementation or assistance rendered to individual applicants. Information has been requested on many occasions from the Ministries of Justice and Constitutional Development, Welfare and Population Development, as well as the Social Cluster under the leadership of Dr Ayanda Ntsaluba, Director-General of Health. Up to the time of finalising this report, the Commission has been unable to establish how many approaches were made by victims and to what degree assistance was facilitated.
32. The failure of the responsible government bodies to provide the required information, combined with the fact that victims return constantly to the President's Fund and the RRC empty-handed, points to a complete breakdown in the agreement forged between government (the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Reparation) and the RRC, as recorded in the quoted memorandum of 14 October 1998.
33. The appalling failure to meet the basic urgent needs of victims partly affirms the Commission's recommendations that the implementation of the reparation and rehabilitation policy should be facilitated through the office with the highest authority, so as to ensure co-operation and accountability on the part of government departments.

CHALLENGES IN PROCESSING APPLICATIONS

Uneven flow

34. The uneven flow of application forms being received by the RRC meant that, when there was an increase in the forms received, the time it took to process them also increased. This was especially true of the period May 1999 to July 1999.
35. Four extra application form administrators were employed for the RRC, and the President's Fund was also obliged to employ additional staff. This enabled applications to be processed within a six-week period (three weeks at the RRC and three at the President's Fund).
36. At the same time, it is important to highlight that the Reparation and Rehabilitation process was at all times desperately under-resourced. The Commission's position was that the role of the RRC should be to help initiate reparation processes. Because the process would ultimately be finalised within

government, this is where full capacity should be developed. The result of uncertainty regarding the locus of responsibility for the reparation process meant that the RRC operated on an *ad hoc* basis and was, given the task at hand, ever under-resourced.

Distribution of awards

37. In addition to prioritising the speedy delivery of payment to victims, it was also necessary to synchronise the receipt of payment with an official communication from the President's Fund, informing victims of the outcome of their applications.
38. Payments were, in the main, made directly into individual banking accounts, using an electronic banking system (the BDB Data Bureau System). Whilst this was the quickest and most secure way of effecting payment, one had to ensure that the letter from the President's Fund reached the recipient by post before the money was transferred into the individual's account. Postal delays were potentially problematic in that a recipient might be unaware that a payment had been made, or might spend the money without realising where it came from or what it was intended for (for example, to facilitate access to a recommended service). This early warning system is essential and should be maintained for the future, even where the payment is sent by registered post (in this case by the Department of Justice). Pressure to deliver should not compromise providing such crucial information to recipients.

Challenges relating to payment

39. The President's Fund reports two major problems with effecting payment:
 - a Invalid account numbers: The RRC, lacking the authority to check the validity of account numbers with banks, was unable to pick up errors in this respect at the application form checking stage. Where an account number turned out to be invalid, the President's Fund would try to contact the recipient by post or telephone and request that a valid bank account be submitted.
 - b Valid accounts that had closed down: As a result of the pervasive poverty of most victims, accounts that had been opened for the purpose of receiving payment quickly became dormant in the absence of funds being transferred. Although special arrangements had been made with the Banking Council of South Africa to avoid this frustrating situation, many banks were not flexible.

In the event of the transaction being rejected due to closed bank accounts, the President's Fund would contact the recipients and inform them of the situation.

Alternative methods of payment

Requests for cheques

40. Some recipients would request that the payment be made by cheque. This practice was agreed to only in exceptional cases, and only after the President's Fund had made direct contact with the requesting individual.

Postbank payments

41. The Postbank is not on the BDB (electronic banking) system. Requests made to deposit into post office accounts were forwarded to the post office head office. Composite cheques were made out to batches of recipients – usually about ten at a time – and the funds were then paid into their accounts.

Special banking arrangements for victims

42. The RRC set up meetings with the General Manager of the Banking Council of South Africa to propose an arrangement whereby recipients of reparation, already of limited income, might encounter an 'account friendly' service that would accommodate minimal financial traffic or activity. The dilemma, as indicated above, was that, if the time between opening an account and being paid interim grants exceeded a certain number of days, the automatic banking system of any given bank would close down the account.
43. In November 1998, the Banking Council informed the RRC that a number of banks had responded positively to its request and were willing to use special savings accounts to assist victims of gross human rights violations. This positive response must be qualified, as the banks in question, although helpful in bringing the RRC's direct attention to existing products, did not initiate any new or tailor-made banking products. The banks that indicated their co-operation were: ABSA, First National, Cape of Good Hope, Meeg Bank Limited and Mercantile Lisbon, Saambou and Standard banks.
44. In retrospect, the most positive aspect of these discussions with banks through the Banking Council was that the RRC was furnished with a list of contact personnel in the banks. These lists were distributed to regional offices, enabling regional

co-ordinators to contact the personnel in the event of a reported problem. The banks' official 'co-operative' stance provided the necessary leverage to get bank accounts re-opened without resistance. In the main though, victims were obliged to use the banking products of various banks without special arrangements being made.

Disputes over the guardianship of funds

45. The RRC was very careful to make sure that all parties concerned agreed on the name of the account into which the interim grant would be paid. This assurance was certified by means of an affidavit. However, it was occasionally brought to the attention of the RRC that a person failed to behave in good faith in respect of an agreement that had been reached. In such cases, the RRC made clear how seriously it viewed such breaches and, as far as possible, facilitated fair conduct and adherence to the original commitments.

Problems and challenges encountered by regional offices

Victims who approached the Commission after the cut-off date for making the initial human rights violation statement

46. The fact that that only those declared to be victims by the HRVC or Amnesty Committee were eligible for reparation was constantly brought to the RRC's attention. The cut-off date for submissions of human rights violations (HRV) statements (December 1997) presented a number of difficulties, as many people felt they had been unable to make a statement for a number of legitimate reasons. This was especially true in KwaZulu-Natal, where many victims had been advised – either by their political party or by their traditional leadership – not to approach the Commission. The initial statement cut-off date was extended in an attempt to accommodate this group, and as many as 3000 statements were submitted at the eleventh hour.
47. The challenge for regional RRC staff was to explain the Commission's closed-list policy, often in the face of a situation where individuals who were clearly victims of political violence had missed the opportunity to make an HRV statement.

Difficulty locating victims

48. Regions and the respective fieldworkers struggled to locate victims who had moved after making their initial statement to the Commission; whose recorded

addresses were incomplete or inaccurate, or who lived in remote and inaccessible areas. This was especially marked in the Northern Province and northern KwaZulu-Natal.

49. Local radio and press were used on many occasions to call on victims either to approach regional offices or to meet at local venues where they could be assisted in completing application forms. This produced only sporadic results, but did have the effect of encouraging a number of people to make contact. *Radio Zulu, Lesedi FM, Ilanga* and the *South Coast Herald* in KwaZulu-Natal and the Free State were generous in their allocation of free air time and column space.

Providing documentation

50. Supplying the necessary supporting documentation with the application form proved to be one of the biggest delaying factors in the application process. Many individuals simply did not have original birth or marriage certificates. They then had to produce affidavits as official proof of the relevant information.

Accessing commissioners of oaths

51. Because the application form was itself an affidavit, each application had to be attested to by a commissioner of oaths. This proved to be a major, recurrent problem in rural areas, and further delayed the process. In some regions it was reported that police officers who were commissioners of oaths were reluctant to assist. Their attitude was perceived as a political or personal reluctance to support the process.

Copying documentation

52. Many people were approached in domestic situations where no photocopying facilities were available. Again, this meant delays in processing applications. Though the RRC purchased a mobile photocopier for each region, this did not solve the problem.

Inaccessible roads

53. The RRC experienced great difficulty in accessing victims in the Northern Province during the months of March to July 2000, owing to flood damage. Four-wheel drive vehicles had to be used to reach applicants.

Mistrust of the process

54. For a number of reasons, some victims felt that the Commission's mandate was a pretence that would inevitably fail to deliver anything constructive. As a result some identified victims, on receiving application forms, would send the field-worker away, presumably waiting to see if delivery seemed likely before inviting the fieldworker to return. This further delayed the process.
55. Another difficulty was that many individuals associated the Commission with the ruling political party. This issue was often raised directly with staff, whom were regularly accused of delaying or pushing forward the applications of certain individuals because of some perceived political or personal bias.

Increasing efficiency of application form recovery

56. A number of factors enabled the RRC to improve its processing times. Regional co-ordinators monitored the efficiency of DRSTs, and the analysis of performance indicators enabled the RRC to identify those who regularly took longer than the two-week turn-around period to deliver completed application forms. The contracts of these DRSTs were not extended. In this way, the national DRST team was right-sized, leading to a better quality of assistance and reducing the number of forms that had to be referred back for further information. The added incentive of a higher remuneration rate when assessing applicants helped consolidate improved performance levels.

Negotiating assistance to those who visited regional offices

57. Many victims approached regional offices directly. Staff had to exercise a great deal of creativity in limiting expectations of direct assistance from the Commission while, at the same time, providing adequate support.
58. It should be noted that the idea that the Commission would assist and support victims was founded in the spontaneous commitments made by Commissioners serving on panels during the human rights violations hearings. Although such commitments were understandable in the traumatic environment of the time, these declarations were made before a reparation policy was in place, and left the RRC with a legacy of perceived undertakings that could not possibly be met and which, in turn, led to a great deal of frustration from victims.

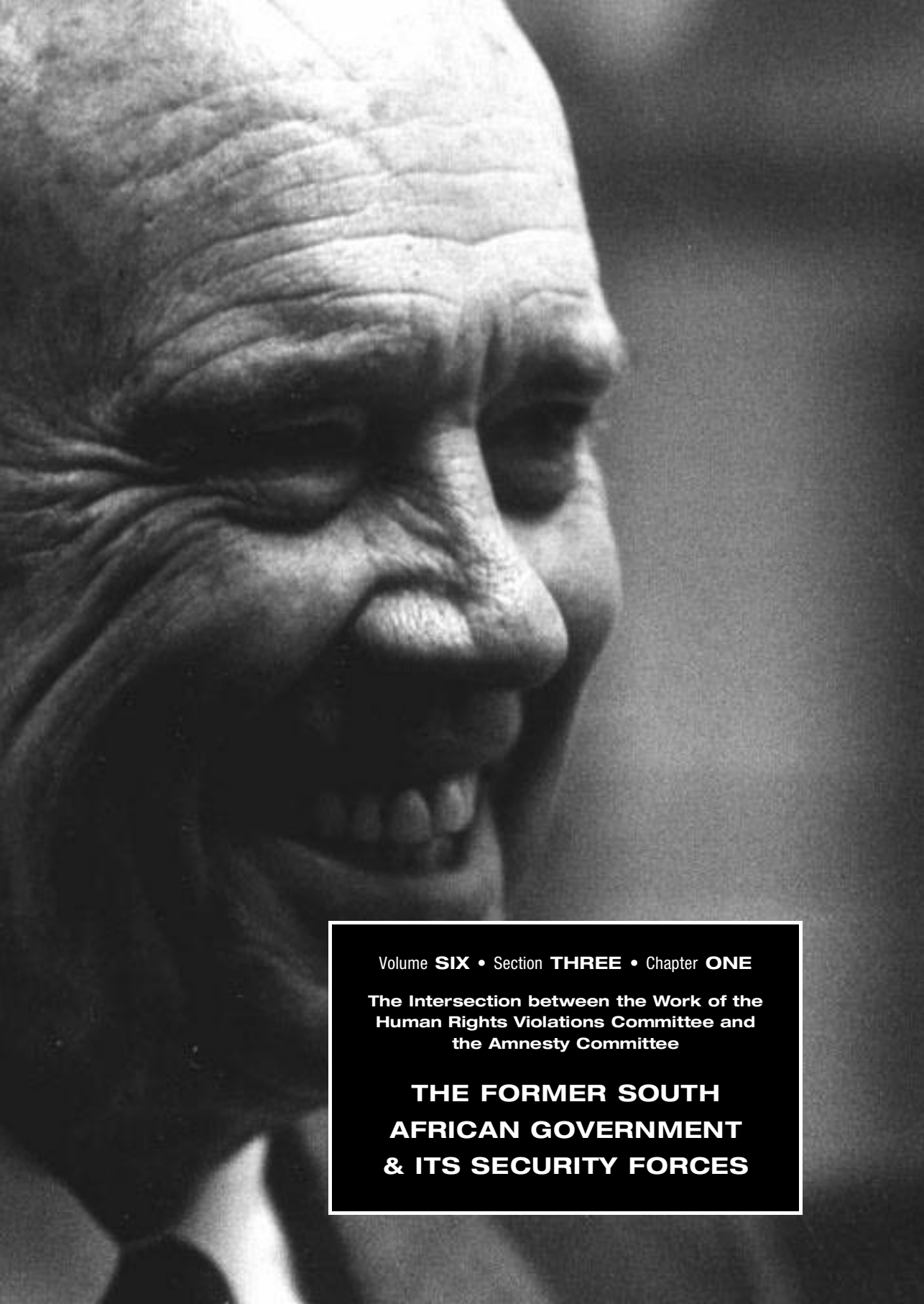
CAPTURING REPARATION APPLICATION FORM INFORMATION

59. When the interim reparations regulations were promulgated, it became clear to the RRC that the information submitted by applicants should be captured onto its database. This was discussed with the President's Fund, as the RRC had neither the staffing resources nor the mandate to proceed with this. Although the President's Fund undertook to carry out this responsibility, it later emerged that this information had never been captured.
60. In November 2000, the Department of Justice approached the Commission with a request that applications be captured. Cabinet had concluded that the information on the application forms should be available in a more user-friendly format. The Department allocated R350 000 for this purpose, of which the RRC used R150 000 to contract a data-capturing company. The capture of all forms currently on hand was completed by February 2001.
61. The value of this project was that any number of variables related to an individual victim or applicant could now be isolated. For example, it is now possible for the Department of Housing to request all the names, identification numbers, addresses and verbatim comments related to a housing recommendation made by the RRC. This applies equally to other departments and reparations areas: education, medical, mental health, symbolic, welfare and employment.

INTERIM REPARATION STATISTICS

62. In the three and a half years since the adoption of the regulations for interim reparations, the RRC completed the following:
 - a As at 30 November 2001, 22 274 victim finding notifications with reparation application forms had been sent out via regional offices and field workers to survivors and/or their relatives.
 - b Of these, 20 389 applications were returned (representing a 92 per cent return rate).
 - c The RRC was able to access, process and make recommendations on 17 016 of these returned applications. These were then forwarded to the President's Fund in the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development.
 - d Interim grants to the value of R50 million were awarded by the President's Fund to assist individuals to access the recommended services.

- e The unreturned applications (1821) were re-sent to identified recipients, using alternative addresses if provided. Where possible, the voters' role was used (under the auspices of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)) to find new addresses. If and when these are returned, they will be processed by the President's Fund.
- f The RRC has been unable to trace 1770 identified victims, for whom no identifiable addresses or identity numbers were provided. Their names are on record and will be given to the Presidents' Fund. Unidentified victims mentioned in amnesty hearings make up 20 per cent of the untraceable potential recipients. Their names are unknown to the Commission.
- g The RRC believes that the four years of collecting detailed profiles of the consequences of gross human rights violations for identified victims will assist in the costing and development of an acceptable final reparation policy.



Volume **SIX** • Section **THREE** • Chapter **ONE**

**The Intersection between the Work of the
Human Rights Violations Committee and
the Amnesty Committee**

**THE FORMER SOUTH
AFRICAN GOVERNMENT
& ITS SECURITY FORCES**

The Former South African Government and its Security Forces

PART ONE: OVERVIEW OF AMNESTY APPLICATIONS FROM MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES: 1960–1994

■ INTRODUCTION

1. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) found the state – and in particular its security agencies and affiliated policy and strategy formulation committees and councils – to be the primary perpetrators of gross violations of human rights committed during the thirty-four years it was mandated to investigate.¹
2. Some 50 per cent of all amnesty applications received from members of the security forces related to incidents that occurred between 1985 and 1989. No applications were received in respect of incidents that occurred in the first decade of the Commission's mandate and few applications were received for the pre-1985 and post-1990 periods. Despite this, evidence received by the Commission shows that the security forces were responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations during both of these periods.
3. Most of the applications were received from members of the Security Branch, both from Security Branch headquarters and from the nineteen regional Security Branch divisions. These applications and the ensuing amnesty hearings provided new and compelling detail about how the Security Branch understood and participated in the political conflict.
4. On the other hand, despite the fact that the South African Defence Force (SADF) was responsible for numerous violations, especially outside of South Africa,

¹ For an overview of the role of the security forces in suppressing resistance and countering armed actions by the opponents of apartheid, refer to Volume Two, Chapter Two, p. 42; Chapter Three, p. 165; Chapter Seven, p. 577. Refer also to the Regional Profiles in Volume Three. For a summary of the findings made against the state, refer to Volume Five, Chapter Six, p. 212ff.

very few SADF members and operatives applied for amnesty. The major SADF applications related to incidents committed inside South Africa that were either already in the public domain or were connected to applications by Security Branch applicants.

5. Inside the country, the SADF was involved in the development and management of national security policy, especially with respect to the National Security Management System (NSMS) and the development of the strategy of counter-revolutionary warfare, which provided the framework in which gross violations of human rights took place.
6. The dearth of applications reflects the general reluctance of SADF members to participate in the amnesty process.
7. The small number of applications for external operations contrasts strikingly with the Commission's conclusion that the regions beyond South Africa's borders bore the brunt of the counter-revolutionary warfare waged by the South African security forces, including the police, the defence force and intelligence.²
8. No members of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) applied for amnesty. This was consistent with their stated position that, as members of a non-operational structure, they were not directly involved in the commission of gross violations of human rights.

STATISTICAL OVERVIEW³

9. A total of 293 members of the former government's security forces applied for amnesty. Of these, 256 (87.4%) applied for offences committed while they were South African Police (SAP) force members; thirty-one (10.6%) applied for offences committed while they were SADF members; two applied for offences committed while they were SAP members and later SADF members; two applied for offences committed while they were in the Department of Prisons; one applicant was the Minister of Law and Order and two applicants' specific affiliation is not known. The overwhelming majority (229, or 78%) of the SAP members were based in the Security Branch at the time of the violation.

² Volume Five, Chapter Six, p. 257, para 16; Volume Two, Chapter Two.

³ The statistics in this section are based on amnesty matters for which the Amnesty Committee made written decisions. It thus excludes all those who were refused amnesty administratively at the outset of the process because the applications failed to meet the most basic criteria for amnesty. Thus all obviously criminal matters, and matters otherwise out of mandate (e.g. offences committed after the cut-off date) were immediately excluded and applicants received pro-forma refusals. As a consequence, the statistics in this section do not correlate with those referred to in the report of the Amnesty Committee.

10. Only thirty-one of the amnesty applicants were members of the SADF. Moreover, the greater part of this batch of applications related to violations committed by SADF members inside South Africa. Only five SADF applicants applied for amnesty for external violations, despite the large numbers of violations reported as a result of their activities in neighbouring countries.⁴
11. Two of these applications were from white conscripts. Medic and conscript Sean Mark Callaghan applied for and was refused amnesty for acts of omission regarding his role while attached to a Koevoet unit during 1983, and conscript Kevin Hall was granted amnesty for his role in killings committed as part of a unit on patrol during the mid-1970s.⁵

FACTORS IMPEDING AND ENCOURAGING APPLICATIONS

12. The most striking aspect about the applications from the state is that, on the whole, security force members who applied to the Commission for amnesty were not supported by politicians and policy-makers at whose behest they had operated. While there were significant applications from command levels, this was by no means exhaustive and the majority of applicants were the 'trigger-pullers'.
13. In the early days of the Commission, most members of the former security forces viewed the amnesty process with antipathy and deep suspicion. Many of them were bitter and confused. They had committed their careers (and indeed their hearts and minds) to defending the interests of the former regime. Now that the ANC was in power, they found themselves in the spotlight, torn between the need to account for their actions and their fear as to what might happen if they did. Many were angered by what they saw as betrayal by their former political masters as every man scrambled to save himself. Moreover, despite the fact that the negotiated settlement, the Interim Constitution and the ensuing legislation required that the amnesty provisions be even-handed, state perpetrators of human rights violations continued to be wary of the Amnesty Committee and the Commission as a whole.
14. A number of factors eventually persuaded state operatives to participate in the process:

⁴ Volume Two, Chapter Two.

⁵ See further Volume Four, Chapter Eight.

Threat of prosecution

15. The granting of amnesty based on individual disclosure was built on what was described as the 'carrot and stick' approach. In other words, if you came forward and told all (other factors being equal), you would be granted amnesty. If you did not, you could face prosecution for your crimes. Hence, some members of the security forces submitted applications for amnesty because they knew they would be found out and prosecuted.
16. There is no doubt that, without the prosecution of Colonel Eugene de Kock, the Commission would have received far fewer amnesty applications. In October 1996, De Kock, the former commander of the C1/Vlakplaas⁶ unit, was found guilty on eighty-nine charges and sentenced to two life terms plus 212 years' imprisonment. De Kock was one of the first to submit an application for amnesty to the Amnesty Committee, leading to a stream of applications from co-perpetrators. Indeed, the number of applicants in De Kock-related incidents accounts for 48% of all Security Branch applications.
17. The Amnesty Committee also received applications from Northern Transvaal security force operatives and several from the SADF following an extensive investigation by the Transvaal Attorney General's Office. Similarly, when the Eastern Cape Attorney General's Office investigated the disappearance of the 'PEBCO⁷ Three' and the killing of the 'Cradock Four', a number of applications were received from the Eastern Cape Security Branch.
18. Likewise, following an investigation by the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation led by Judge Goldstone, and a later investigation by the Natal Attorney-General's Office into the activities of the Port Natal Security Branch, a number of applications were received from members of that branch.
19. Conversely, in a number of instances, it is clear that applicants chose not to apply for incidents where they believed that there was little investigative interest or likelihood that the state would make headway with a case against them. Applications from Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) operatives, for example, referred to only a handful of incidents committed in the Western Cape, despite their involvement in a far wider range of unlawful activity both inside and outside South Africa.

⁶ See Part Three of this chapter.

⁷ Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation.

Protection from civil liability

20. Although amnesty granted by the Amnesty Committee provides protection from civil liability, the various South African indemnity laws do not.⁸ The former security forces enjoyed extensive indemnity under the law, which covered actions arising from unrest policing and the apprehension of political suspects. Such indemnity did not, however, apply to abuses committed during covert operations. Many members applied for amnesty in order to avoid being privately sued.

Official interventions

21. Urged by a former state attorney, Mr Jan Wagener, General van der Merwe, the former Commissioner of Police, approached the Commission to discuss the concerns of security force operatives. He afterwards convened a meeting of members of the former Security Branch and assured them that they would have the backing of the generals for actions undertaken in the course of their duty, provided that such actions had been authorised.
22. Discussions were also held between former SADF generals and the Amnesty Committee. The generals were concerned about the fact that, while the legislation gave both the Amnesty Committee and the Commission a mandate beyond South Africa's borders, amnesty granted by the Amnesty Committee did not preclude a foreign state from seeking to pursue prosecution. Because an amnesty granted in South Africa has no validity in international law, the former SADF leadership advised its members not to apply for amnesty for actions outside South Africa.
23. Amnesty applications from former SADF members were channeled through a 'nodal point' set up by the South African National Defence Force (SANDF)⁹ and run entirely by former members of the SADF. The purpose of the nodal point was to channel requests from the Commission. Members of the former SADF were encouraged to work through the nodal point when applying for amnesty. As noted earlier, few applications for amnesty were received from SADF-linked

⁸ In order to open the way for negotiations, new indemnity provisions were introduced to allow for the return of the exiles and the release of those serving sentences for political offences. For a detailed description of the indemnity laws and processes that began during the negotiations period and ended only when the Commission began its work, see Volume One, Chapter Four.

⁹ After 1994, the national defence force changed its name from the South African Defence Force (SADF) to the South African National Defence Force (SANDF).

operatives, and the Commission received a strong impression that the nodal point acted as a gate-keeper rather than facilitator for amnesty applications.

VIOLATIONS BY CATEGORY

24. Security force applicants applied for a total of 550 incidents, eighty-six of which encompassed a number of separate acts.¹⁰ Examples of these were assaults/torture during interrogation between 1984 and 1989; the arson/bombing campaign by the Northern Transvaal Security Branch in 1986 to 1988; various Stratcom¹¹ activities between 1977 and 1994; supplying the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) with weapons between 1991 and 1992, and the intimidation of named civilians from 1974 onwards.

25. The 550 incidents involved or resulted in the following 1583 acts:¹²

Abductions	80
Attempted abductions	2
Arms caches	9
Bombing and arson	83
Attempted bombing and arson	4
Cover-up ¹³	8
Body mutilation/destruction	44
Disinformation/discrediting actions	21
Fraud and theft	34
Attempted fraud/theft	9
Illegal weapons	4
Intimidation	72
Killings ¹⁴	889
Attempted killings	143
Torture/assault	98
Other	42

10 As early as 1996, the Amnesty Committee decided to deal with incidents rather than individual acts in order to make it possible to deal with groups of applicants who had been involved in the same incident but who may have committed a number of different acts. Thus, when dealing with applications, the Committee decided to focus on specific incidents, with each incident logically comprising a number of different acts/offences.

11 Strategic communication or Stratcom: a form of psychological warfare waged by both conventional and unconventional means.

12 These statistics count major acts rather than each offence associated with an incident. For example, the 'Cradock Four' incident would be counted as abduction, killing and body mutilation. In numerous incidents, applicants applied for a range of associated offences, such as use or transport of an illegal weapon, crossing a border illegally, and so forth. These associated acts have not been counted.

13 This figure counts applicants who applied only for covering-up an offence – for example, applications from Stratcom operatives for being associated with the cover-up related to the death of Mr Neil Aggett in detention in February 1982. It must be noted that virtually every offence committed by a member of the security forces includes an element of subterfuge and cover-up. In this regard, this statistic represents a massive under-count.

14 This figure includes the killing of 624 persons in one single incident – see para 36.

26. The eighty-six incidents for which there were a number of acts or victims or outcomes can be classified according to the following violations:

Abduction	2
Bombing and arson	1
Body mutilation/destruction	1
Disinformation/discrediting actions	4
Fomenting violence	27
Fraud and theft	5
Illegal weapons	4
Intimidation	21
Killing ¹⁵	3
Attempted killings	6
Torture/assault	17
Unspecified	4
Weapon modification	7

27. The majority of incidents (446) were committed while the applicants were employed by the SAP's Security Branch:

Violations by date

28. Some 50 per cent of all incidents for which amnesty was sought occurred between 1985 and 1989. A far smaller number of applications was received for incidents occurring during the pre-1985 and post 1990 periods, and none for the first decade of the Commission's mandate period:

1960–1969	0
1970–1979	29
1980–1984	86
1985–1989	274
1990–1994	83
Multiple periods	47
Unspecified	31

¹⁵ Acts of intimidation of a single person or family over a limited period of time have been counted as one specified act of intimidation although several separate acts may have been involved. However, where a single person or family or organisation was targeted over a lengthy period (often over years) this has been counted with the 'process' or 'umbrella event' violations.

Violations by region

29. The 550 incidents were spread over the regions as follows:

Homelands	19
Orange Free State	24
Cape	48
Natal	49
Transvaal	307
Outside SA	73
Multiple place ¹⁶	19
Unspecified	11

30. Over 100 of the 307 incidents (56%) that occurred in the Transvaal appeared in two applications covering Stratcom activities. The overwhelming majority of incidents took place in the Transvaal.

31. Seventy-three, or some 13 per cent, of incidents took place outside of South Africa: Angola (2), Botswana (14), Lesotho (8), Mozambique (5), Namibia (10), Swaziland (29), Tanzania (1), United Kingdom (1), Zambia (2) and Zimbabwe (1). The majority of external incidents for which there were applications (some 40%) took place in Swaziland, which was regarded as a police rather than a military domain.

Violations by rank

32. It was possible to determine only 862 ranks out of a possible 1222 across the 550 incidents. Just over 48 per cent of all applicants were lower-ranking personnel at the time the violation was committed, while just under 52 per cent were commissioned officers (lieutenant and above). The overwhelming majority of incidents for which there were applications involved several applicants of varying ranks and appear no different from routine operational profiles. This challenges the view that violations were committed by small renegade groups of operatives.

33. The fact that senior personnel drew on trusted operatives of considerably lower rank in a routine chain of command suggests that such operations were part of normal police duties. Moreover, three former heads of the Security Branch

¹⁶ Some incidents took place over more than one region or country. For example, several MK operatives were abducted from Swaziland and tortured, assaulted or killed in Transvaal or Natal.

applied for amnesty, two of whom went on to become Commissioners of Police, the highest position in the SAP. One former cabinet minister responsible for Law and Order also applied for amnesty.

Violations by race and gender

34. All of the applicants were male, and some 255 (86%) were white. Only seven of the black security force applicants were *askaris*¹⁷ A significant proportion of black applicants had already given statements to the Attorney-General and several were potential state witnesses.
35. All the black security force operatives who applied for amnesty were of extremely low rank, often despite lengthy periods of service. This is doubtless the result of the racism inherent in the former SAP.

TYPES OF VIOLATIONS (MOST COMMON CATEGORIES)

Killings and attempted killings

36. Killings were by far the largest category of violation for which amnesty applications were received. However, the numbers need to be approached with caution. One soldier applied for a single incident that resulted in 624 killings, during the SADF raid on Kassinga in Southern Angola on 4 May 1978.¹⁸ Almost all of the remaining 265 relate to the killing of political activists, especially those believed to have had links with the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).
37. In sharp contrast, most of the killings recorded in the human rights violations data are associated with public order policing or so-called 'riot control'.¹⁹ Only two amnesty applications were received in this category.
38. The number of attempted killings reflects those individuals targeted in failed operations as well as those injured 'in the crossfire' where such information was specified. In many instances, however, no such detail was given and this figure is thus a significant under-count. For example, this figure does not include

¹⁷ Former members of the liberation movements who came to work for the Security Branch, providing information, identifying and tracing former comrades.

¹⁸ Johan Frederich 'Rich' Verster was refused amnesty for his involvement in the Kassinga massacre on 4 May 1978 and granted amnesty in chambers for several attempted killings of SWAPO personnel and other incidents that took place in Namibia.

¹⁹ Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp.174–87.

those present in a building or residence when it was attacked, unless they were named as having been injured.

39. Similarly, incidents involving 'weapon modification' are counted separately, unless deaths or injuries were specified or known of. 'Weapon modification' involved tampering with or modifying a weapon with the intention of making it lethal to the user, and thus constitutes attempted killing.
40. Forty-four of the applicants in the 'killing' category applied for amnesty for the mutilation and destruction of the bodies of their victims. The purpose of such mutilation was to disguise the fact that the victim had been killed. In some instances, bodies were completely destroyed by burning or the repeated use of explosives. In others, bodies were placed on limpet mines or landmines, which were then detonated in order to make it appear that the victim had blown himself up while laying them.
41. The eighty-three successful and four attempted cases of bombing and arson are counted separately. These include forty-eight attacks on homes using petrol bombs or other explosive devices, twenty-one cases of bombing of non-residential buildings as well as several attacks on installations or government buildings. Only six of the eighty-four cases were arson attacks on vehicles.
42. It should be noted, however, that the statistics do not in any way represent the full extent of this practice. Members of a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch applied for an unspecified number of attacks on activists' homes using either petrol bombs or other more lethal explosive devices in several townships during 1986 and 1987. One applicant estimated that he was involved in between thirty and forty such attacks, another in as many as sixty.

Torture and assault

43. The Amnesty Committee received applications specifying only ninety cases of torture or assault. In addition, seventeen applications or investigations involved the use of torture and assault against an unspecified number of victims. A small number of applications involved torture in formal custody. These figures stand in sharp contrast to the 4792²⁰ torture violations recorded in HRV statements.

20 This figure is based on torture violations inside South Africa (i.e. excluding ANC camp torture) as reflected in the Final Report. See further Volume Two, Chapter Three, p. 190, para 103.

44. These low figures may be partly explained by the fact that perpetrators seldom seem to have regarded torture as a major violation. Evidence of torture often emerged only during amnesty hearings and then as part of an amnesty application for an abduction or a killing, not as a human rights violation in its own right. Numerous applicants admitted that psychological and physical coercion was routinely used in both legal detentions and unlawful custody.
45. Further, although the Amnesty Committee received a number of applications for killings in unlawful custody, it received applications for only two of the fifty-nine known deaths in legal detention²¹: those of Mr Steve Biko and Mr Stanza Bopape. In addition, several detainees ²² appear to have been formally released, but handed over to members of C1/Vlakplaas or other Security Branch operatives and killed.

Intimidation and disinformation

46. The majority of the ninety-one incidents in this category relate primarily to the so-called Stratcom activities of the Witwatersrand Security Branch. Acts of intimidation included harassing individuals by damaging their property; constant and obvious surveillance; making threatening phone calls, and firing shots at houses or throwing bricks through windows. Apart from one or two isolated incidents, no similar applications were received from regions outside of the Witwatersrand, despite the fact that such forms of intimidation were fairly routine elsewhere.
47. The twenty-five incidents involving discrediting or disinformation also relate mainly, though not exclusively, to Stratcom activities. These were not exclusively carried out by the Witwatersrand Security Branch.

Fomenting violence

48. Twenty-seven applications confirmed earlier suspicions about the state's involvement in fomenting the violence and bloodshed that engulfed areas of South Africa in the 1990s. The Amnesty Committee heard evidence that support, arms and training were given to the IFP – mainly by Vlakplaas/C1 – and that

²¹ See Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp. 208–11.

²² These include two unknown PAC detainees [AC/2001/194]; MK Scorpion (possibly Mr Ronald Madondo – AC/2000/151); Mr Gcinisizwe Kondile [AC/1999/037]; Mr Johannes Mabothea [AC/2000/084] and an unknown detainee [AC/2000/081].

support and arms were provided to the homelands in order to back attempted coups and promote destabilisation amongst the police and the military.

49. Six such incidents occurred during the 1980s and involved the provision of paramilitary capacity to the IFP (Operation Marion) and an attempt to set up an Inkatha-like organisation in the Eastern Cape/Ciskei/Transkei area (Operation Katzen).

PART TWO: ANALYSIS OF AMNESTY INFORMATION: 1960–1994

EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS

50. The Commission identified several types of extrajudicial killings: targeted killings or assassinations; killing following abduction and interrogation; ambushes; entrapment killings, and killing of own forces.

51. Applications were received for 114 incidents involving 889 killings. The Kassinga raid alone accounts for 624 deaths. The killings took place in the following time-periods and regions:

• 1970–1979:	Cape	1
	Transvaal	2
	Outside SA	627
• 1980–1984:	Cape	3
	Transvaal	13
	Natal	2
	Outside SA	13
• 1985–1989:	Cape	20
	Transvaal	67
	Natal	42
	Orange Free State	4
	Homelands	15
	Outside SA	44

Targeted killings

52. Applications were received for the assassination of seventeen high-profile political leaders both inside and outside South Africa.²³ In addition, applications were received for the attempted or planned assassination of several others.²⁴
53. Applications were received for targeting the homes of activists living inside the country, leading to the deaths of twenty-eight people. Of these, at least twenty-four were killed in two attacks in Natal and KwaZulu.²⁵ In what became known as the 'KwaMakhutha massacre', thirteen people, mostly women and children, were killed by an IFP hit squad, armed and trained by the SADF as part of Operation Marion, on 21 January 1987.²⁶ Kommandant Jan Anton Nieuwoudt [AM3813/96; AC/2001/264] and Andre Cloete [AM5726/97; AC/2000/224] of the SADF were respectively granted and refused amnesty for their role in Operation Marion.²⁷ An SADF operative was refused amnesty for his part in the attack.
54. In the 'Trust Feeds massacre',²⁸ which took place on 3 December 1988, eleven people attending an all-night funeral vigil were killed in an attack on a house believed to be occupied by United Democratic Front (UDF) supporters. The attack was planned by the local Joint Management Centre (JMC) in collaboration with local IFP leaders. None of the victims was an UDF supporter. The chairperson of the local JMC was granted amnesty for the attack.
55. Applications were received from Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives²⁹ for the deaths of four people killed during their campaign of bombing local activists' homes in the Pretoria region. None of the four killed was a target in the attacks.
56. Applications were received for the targeting and killing of eighteen individual MK or APLA personnel outside South Africa. Targeted killings were generally

23 Outside South Africa: Ruth First, Jabulile Nyawose, Petros Nyawose, Jeanette Curtis Schoon, Vernon Nkadimeng. Inside South Africa: Griffiths Mxenge, Sphiwe Mtinkulu, Topsy Madaka, Qaqawuli Godolozzi, Siphon Hashe, Champion Galela, Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlawuli, Fabian Ribeiro, Florence Ribeiro.

24 Dikgang Moseneke, Smangalis Mkhathshwa, Abdullah Omar, Gavin Evans, Albie Sachs.

25 From 1972, KwaZulu comprised twenty territorial fragments scattered throughout the province of Natal. During the period of transition in the early 1990s and as the KwaZulu Administration was dismantled, all areas in the province came to be known as KwaZulu/Natal and, following the April 1994 elections, as KwaZulu-Natal.

26 Volume Two, Chapter Five, pp.464–9.

27 Volume Two, Chapter Five, pp. 464–9.

28 Volume Two, Chapter Three, p. 198ff.

29 AM5183/97;AM2776/96;AM2773/96;AM2777/96;AM2775/96.

conducted at night and, in several instances, resulted in persons other than the target being killed. In at least two incidents, children were the victims.

57. In addition, applications were received for the killing of persons in two large-scale cross-border raids. Security Branch Headquarters, Western Transvaal and Soweto Security Branch operatives applied for amnesty for their role in identifying targets for the SADF Special Forces raid into Gaborone, Botswana on 14 June 1985, in which twelve people were killed.³⁰ Members of C1/Vlakplaas and Security Branch Headquarters applied for amnesty for the killing of nine people in a raid into Maseru, Lesotho on 19 December 1985.³¹
58. Applicants testified that when cross-border raids were being planned before the mid-1980s, *ad hoc* groups would be set up to identify and collect intelligence. Such groups would consist of representatives from the relevant Security Branch Headquarters desk, as well as Security Branch divisional offices with specific intelligence expertise, the NIS, SADF Military Intelligence and Special Forces. Thus, for example, the following structures engaged in target identification for the Gaborone raid: the Africa Desk at Security Branch Headquarters; the Western Transvaal, Soweto and Transvaal Security Branch offices; NIS; SADF Military Intelligence (in all probability the Home Front sections of the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) as well as of the Directorate (South Africa) and Special Forces.
59. Although the applicants professed that it was not policy to target civilians not associated with MK or living in the country where targets were based, they admitted that civilians were 'caught in the crossfire'. Moreover, despite applicants' claims that a number of targets were removed from the original Botswana raid list because of the presence of children and Batswana citizens, both children and non-South African civilians were killed in the raid.
60. A number of applicants from different regions testified that, in 1985/86, a more formalised structure known as TREWITS was established to conduct target identification ³². Although based in Section C2 at Security Branch Headquarters, personnel from both SADF Military Intelligence and NIS was

30 AM4032/96;AM4122/96;AM4126/96;AM4149/96;AM4152/96;AM4389/96;AM4513/96;AM7040/97; AM4125/96 and AM4386/9.

31 AM0066/96;AM3764/96;AM3765/96;AM4385/96; AM4396/96 and AM4157/96.

32 See Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp. 275–98 for a discussion on the establishment of TREWITS and target development.

permanently seconded to TREWITS. Applicants also referred to regional TREWITS meetings made up of representatives from the different intelligence structures.

61. Three applications were received from former SADF personnel in connection with their work on target identification structures. One was received from Commandant Jan Anton Nieuwoudt, a member of the Home Front Section of Military Intelligence, responsible for target development.
62. The second application was received from Jacobus Adriaan Huisamen, who served as an SADF Military Intelligence representative on TREWITS in the early 1990s. His application was refused administratively at the outset of the process, as it failed to identify specific violations that had resulted from the targets he had developed. In his application and supporting documentation Huisamen made available to the Commission's investigative unit, he made it clear that he believed that target information provided by TREWITS was used operationally and led to the commission of gross violations of human rights that included killing.
63. In 1986, Captain Henri van der Westhuizen, a member of Military Intelligence involved in target identification, began working closely with the Security Branch in Ladybrand. He was later assigned responsibility for working on target intelligence on MK in Lesotho. At this stage he was based in the projects section of Military Intelligence whose primary focus was monitoring the activities of the ANC. He played a role in establishing a target development group that functioned first as part of Military Intelligence and later (from 1987) as part of Special Forces Headquarters. This group worked in close liaison with TREWITS.
64. Captain van der Westhuizen testified that intelligence was collected on ANC and SACP personnel and facilities in Lesotho. Once sufficient information had been collected, it was presented to the General Staff of the SADF for possible action. Evidence from Security Branch applicants in joint operations with Special Forces supports the view that, at least as far as external targets were concerned, authorisation took place at a high level in the SADF.
65. Applications were received for the targeted killings of fourteen of the fifty-two MK personnel³³ listed on the ANC submission as having died in Swaziland 'at enemy hands'. The majority of these applications were joint C1/Vlakplaas and Eastern Transvaal operations.

33 In fact there are sixty-two names. However the list includes those killed in the two Piet Retief ambushes in 1988 as well as some duplication where persons have been listed under both MK and birth names.

66. Captain Hendrik 'Henri' van der Westhuizen applied for amnesty for the attempted killings of Mr Albie Sachs in Mozambique in 1987 and 7 April 1988 respectively. His application was granted [AM9079/97; AC/2001/257].
67. No applications were received for the following targeted killings of high-profile political activists: Mr Abram Okgopotso Tiro (Botswana, 1 February 1974); Mr John Dube, aka Boy Mvemve (Zambia, 12 February 1974; Dr Richard Turner (Durban, 8 January 1978), Mr Joe Gqabi (Zimbabwe, 31 July 1981), Ms Victoria Mxenge (Durban, 1 August 1985); Mr Toto Dweba (Eshowe, Natal, 20 August 1985); Ms Dulcie September (France, 29 March 1988); Dr David Webster (Johannesburg, 1 May 1989), and Dr Anton Lubowski (Namibia, 12 September 1989).
68. No applications were received for the attempted killings of Mr Godfrey Motsepe (Belgium, 2 February 1988 and 27 March 1988), Ms Joan and Mr Jeremy Brickhill (Zimbabwe, 13 October 1987); Mr Lazarus Chikane (1989), and Fr Michael Lapsley (Zimbabwe, 28 April 1990).
69. Of the twenty-one³⁴ people recorded in the ANC submission as having been killed in Botswana, eleven were killed in the 14 June 1985 Special Forces raid on Gaborone. No applications were received for six of the remaining ten killings. Botswana was regarded as the responsibility of the SADF. C1/Vlakplaas and the Western Transvaal Security Branch both testified to close co-operation with the Special Forces group tasked to work on disrupting the ANC's activities in Botswana.
70. No applications were received for the following large-scale cross-border raids:
 - a Matola, Mozambique, 30 January 1981 by SADF Special Forces: sixteen people were killed;
 - b Maseru, Lesotho, 9 December 1982 by SADF Special Forces: forty-two people were killed;
 - c Matola, 23 May 1983 by the South African Air Force: six people were killed;
 - d Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, 19 May 1986 (the so-called EPG raids) conducted by the SADF, and
 - e Umtata, 17 Oct 1993 by the SADF: five youths were killed.

³⁴ The MK submission list gives twenty-three names but two are duplicated.

71. No amnesty applications were received with regard to twenty-nine of the forty-five³⁵ people recorded as having been killed in the 9 December 1982 raid on Maseru. Applications were received for only nine of the remaining sixteen people who were killed in the subsequent December 1985 raid. No applications were submitted for the remaining seven deaths.
72. No applications were received for four or possibly five killings in Mozambique, excluding the deaths in the Matola raid. No applications were received for five of the seven deaths listed in Zambia.
73. As noted above, Security Branch operatives involved in the process of target identification made application for their involvement in the June 1985 Gaborone raid. Special Forces members who conducted the raid did not apply.

Ambushes

74. The Amnesty Committee received amnesty applications for seven ambushes. Five ambushes took place between 1986 and 1988. Informers and/or agents played a role in five cases. In the remaining two, captive MK personnel were used to lure targets to the place where the ambush took place. The following cases illustrate the nature of these violations:
 - a Two unknown MK Special Operations operatives were killed in the Western Transvaal in 1972. The incident followed the arrest of a number of Special Operations personnel, one of whom was allegedly induced to lure two operatives into South Africa. The applicant, Willem Schoon, was granted amnesty [AC/2001/193].
 - b On 14 August 1986, two MK operatives, Jeremiah Timola (aka Tallman) and Mmbengeni Kone (aka Bernard Shange), were killed by C1/Vlakplaas and Eastern Transvaal Security Branch operatives while infiltrating South Africa. A Security Branch source, Shadrack Sithole, responsible for their transport, was also killed. At the same time, the two MK operatives responsible for transporting them to the Swaziland border were ambushed on the Swazi side of the border and one of the two, Mr Mzwandile Radebe, was killed. The survivor, Mr Vusumuzi Lawrence Sindane, escaped but was captured a day later. All of the applicants were granted amnesty for the killing of the MK operatives, but three applicants were refused amnesty for the killing of Mr Shadrack Sithole, the Security Branch source.³⁶

³⁵ Forty-eight names appeared on the list, but three are duplicated.

³⁶ See Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp. 246–8 for further detail.

- c Ms Lita Mazibuko was responsible for the transport arrangements of two groups of MK personnel in June 1988. Her handlers at Piet Retief Security Branch provided transport and drivers. Both groups were ambushed and killed on 8 and 12 June 1988 after which Mazibuko was paid for her services. She was subsequently apprehended by MK intelligence and severely tortured. Her handler, Flip Coenraad Theron, testified that, on her return to South Africa, she reported to him and was paid a further sum for her involvement.

Deaths in unknown circumstances

- 75. According to an MK list, 197 combatants died inside South Africa during the Commission's mandate period, the overwhelming majority of them being killed in combat situations. The MK list includes the names of the twenty-eight people for whose killings amnesty applications were received.
- 76. The Commission accepts that many operatives infiltrating South Africa were armed and that in this process, situations of combat arose. However, the possibility that some of these were not actually skirmishes but ambushes cannot be ruled out. Aside from the element of surprise, the security forces were able to choose the ambush ground, the targets were outnumbered and the security forces were able to deploy highly-trained personnel in the form of Special Forces, C1/Vlakplaas or the Special Task Force. In short, claims of deaths during attempted arrest should be regarded with scepticism.
- 77. In many instances, those who were killed were not identified at the time and were buried as paupers. Some were identified but their families were not informed of their deaths. As a result many post mortems and inquests were not properly conducted or subjected to independent scrutiny.

Entrapment operations and incidents in which weapons had been tampered with

- 78. Entrapment operations often involved supplying ANC and MK operators with modified weaponry such as hand grenades, limpet mines, landmines, guns and ammunition. Members of the Technical Section of Security Branch Headquarters admitted in amnesty hearings that a common *modus operandi* was to modify weaponry to make it lethal to users by such methods as zero-timing. There are numerous instances of combatants being killed by their own weaponry.

79. The Amnesty Committee received applications for seven entrapment operations in which forty-five youth activists were killed. These operations tended to target youth groups like South African National Student Congress (SANSCO) and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), which were active in townships that the Security Branch regarded as hot spots. Such youth groups were infiltrated with a view to identifying and eliminating key leaders.
80. Using *askaris* posing as MK operatives, the security forces offered young men arms, training and transport out of South Africa. The *askaris* then lured them into ambushes or gave them zero-timed explosive devices with which they blew themselves up. Arrest was not regarded as an option in any of these operations: the intention was always to kill.

The 'COSAS Four'

81. Three COSAS members were killed and one was seriously injured in an entrapment operation organised by the West Rand Security Branch in Krugersdorp on 15 February 1982.³⁷ The operation entailed detonating explosives in a pump-house on an abandoned mine where an *askari*, whom the youths believed to be an MK operative, had promised to give them basic military training.
82. The applicants were, by majority decision, refused amnesty for this operation. The Committee felt that the decision to eliminate the group was not justifiable and that the applicants had failed to make use of other options available to them, such as arrest and arraignment, or preventive detention under the prevailing security legislation [AC/2001/198].

Operation Zero Zero

83. In June 1985, an entrapment operation³⁸ was conducted in the East Rand townships of Duduza, Tsakane and Kwa-Thema by a joint team from Security Branch Headquarters. General Johan van der Merwe, then second-in-command of the Security Branch, sought and received approval for the operation from then Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange.
84. The group of youths was infiltrated by Constable Joe Mamasela, who masqueraded as an MK operative.³⁹ Mamasela showed the young men how to detonate a

37 Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp.257–8.

38 Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp. 259–61, and Volume Three, pp. 628–631.

39 Although Constable Joe Mamasela played a role in many such incidents, he never applied for amnesty.

hand grenade and supplied them with grenades whose timing devices had been reduced to zero seconds. The person with whom Constable Mamasela had initially established contact, Congress Mtsweni, was given a zero-timed limpet mine to ensure that he did not survive to identify Mamasela. At midnight on the night of 25 June 1985, eight of the COSAS members were killed and seven were seriously injured as they attempted to throw the grenades at their chosen targets. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, applied for and were granted amnesty for the operation [AC/2001/058].

85. ***The ‘Guguletu Seven’***

On 3 March 1986, seven operatives were killed in Guguletu, Cape Town, by a combined C1/Vlakplaas, Western Cape Security Branch and Riot Squad team. The group of youth activists had been infiltrated by C1/Vlakplaas operatives (working in conjunction with the Western Cape Security Branch), who provided them with weapons and training. Only one of the seven had apparently previously received military training from MK. The applicants presented conflicting evidence as to whether the intention had been to arrest or kill the activists. Two C1/Vlakplaas applicants were granted amnesty for this operation [AC/2001/276].

The ‘Nietverdiend Ten’

86. On 26 June 1986, a joint operation by the Northern Transvaal Security Branch and SADF Special Forces led to the killing of ten youths from Mamelodi near Nietverdiend in the Western Transvaal.⁴⁰ The youths believed they were en route to Botswana for military training.
87. The applicants testified that this was one of several joint operations undertaken by Special Forces and the Northern Transvaal Security Branch. The role of the Security Branch was to identify the targets and that of Special Forces to carry out the operational aspects.
88. In this case, Constable Joe Mamasela, who had transferred to the Northern Transvaal Security Branch after his former C1/Vlakplaas commander Brigadier Cronje became divisional commander, was responsible for identifying the individuals. On the night of 26 June 1986, Mamasela drove ten young activists to the location in the Nietverdiend area.

⁴⁰ Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp. 264–5.

89. The youths were ordered out of the minibus at gunpoint and injected with a chemical substance by Commandant Dave Trippet (deceased). Now unconscious, they were bundled back into the minibus and driven into Bophuthatswana by Special Forces operative Diederick Jacobus Vorster. A limpet mine and an AK47 were placed in the minibus, an accident was staged and the minibus was set alight.
90. The bodies were burnt so severely that identification was difficult, and there is some confusion about who was killed in this incident. These difficulties were compounded by the fact that the operation was followed by a second entrapment operation, also involving youths from Mamelodi, who became known as the 'Kwandebele Nine' (see below).
91. Mr Vorster testified that, following these operations, he had requested not to be deployed on such missions, both because of security concerns and because he did not believe that such operations were the proper function of a soldier. The applicants were granted amnesty.⁴¹

The 'Kwandebele Nine'

92. On the night of 15 July 1986, just two weeks after the killing of the 'Nietverdiend Ten', nine youths were shot dead and their bodies set alight in a house in Kwandebele.⁴² The youths had been expecting Constable Joe Mamasela, who had offered to provide them with arms and training, but when they opened the door to him, Northern Transvaal hit squad members burst in. The youths were lined up and shot. Captain Hechter poured petrol over the bodies before setting them alight. The applicants were granted amnesty for this operation [AC/1999/248; AC/1999/030; AC/1999/033].

Jeffrey Sibaya and Mpho

93. In June 1987, Constable Joe Mamasela, posing as an MK operative, lured Mr Jeffrey Sibaya and a man known as 'Mpho' (possibly Mr Moses Lerutla) out of the township. Believing they were being taken for military training, the men followed Mamasela to a place north of Pienaarsrivier where they were beaten, kicked and then strangled to death by Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives. Their bodies were subsequently placed on a landmine on a road in Bophuthatswana, which was then detonated. The applicants were granted amnesty for this operation [AC/1999/030; AC/1999/032].

41 AM3761/96;AM3759/96;AM3760/96; DJ Vorster AM5641/97;AM3799/96;AM5443/97;AM5471/96; AM4149/96;AM4125/96;AM2776/96;AM2773/96.

42 Volume Two, Chapter Three, p. 264.

The 'Soweto Three'

94. The Soweto Intelligence Unit (SIU) received information that a local Soweto activist, Casswell Richard Nceba, and other Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO) members were involved in a campaign of intimidation, including attacks on the homes of policemen and informers. They also believed it possible that the group was in contact with MK structures. As a result, an *askari* attached to the SIU, Constable Moleke Peter Lengene, infiltrated SOYCO.
95. Constable Lengene supplied the group with AK47s, hand grenades and an SPM limpet mine. He later drew in two Vlakplaas *askaris* who provided training in the use of these weapons.
96. At this stage, the commander of the SIU, Lieutenant Anton Pretorius, approached the divisional commander of the Soweto Security Branch, Brigadier Sarel Petrus Nienaber, who granted permission to launch an entrapment operation. On 2 July 1989, three members of the SOYCO group were supplied with zero-timed limpet mines: Mr Nceba was killed when the zero-timed limpet mine detonated, Mr Bheki Khumalo was shot dead and Mr Richard Ngwenya died from injuries sustained after being shot.
97. The applicants were granted amnesty for the operation [AC/2001/007]. However, when granting them amnesty the Amnesty Committee had the following to say:

We must express our concern at the practice of giving training to these activists in the use of sophisticated and dangerous weaponry and then justify the need to act pro-actively by killing them, advancing the reason that they (activists) had become dangerous resultant to that training. In the present matter, Nienaber stated that the police created 'a monster' when they gave training to the activist. We agree with these sentiments. It however begs the question whether there were indeed no other available methods short of 'creating a monster' that could have been effectively used to obtain the required information [AC/2001/007].
98. In most of the above cases, the applicants admitted that they had not known the identity of the targets at the time. On their own evidence, they made little attempt to establish the identities of the individuals concerned, nor to check whether the Security Branch already had information about them and whether prosecutions would have been possible. On the other hand, one also needs to approach the version of events the applicants presented to the Amnesty

Committee with some caution. It may well be that applicants intended to give the Amnesty Committee the impression that they were mere pawns in the hands of their superiors, rather than active players with a far greater knowledge and understanding of the operations in which they were involved.

Killing of own people

99. The Amnesty Committee received security force applications for sixteen deaths in this category.
100. Four of the killings occurred in the 1980/81 period: two were *askaris* killed by C1/Vlakplaas because their loyalties were questioned, and two were alleged informants.
101. Applicants from C1/Vlakplaas, Security Branch Headquarters, Northern and Eastern Transvaal and the Eastern Cape Security Branches applied for amnesty for the killing of four black policemen, the wife of a policeman, two *askaris* and two sources between 1986 and 1989. C1/Vlakplaas and Port Natal Security Branch sought amnesty for the killing of three *askaris* in the post-1990 period. In addition, C1/Vlakplaas operatives applied for amnesty for the killing of two former *askaris* who had escaped.
102. With the exception of one *askari* who was killed by white members of C1/Vlakplaas on a drunken spree and two who were killed during ambushes, the remaining *askaris* appear to have been killed for fear that they might disclose evidence about hit squad activities.
103. Only in one instance, that of the 'Motherwell Four', were the perpetrators charged and convicted.
104. In addition to the above killings, C1/Vlakplaas and operatives from the Technical Division of Security Branch Headquarters applied for amnesty for the attempted killing of former Vlakplaas commander, Captain Dirk Coetzee. Although the attempt failed, it resulted in the killing of human rights lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

Killings during an arrest or while in custody

105. Amnesty applications were received for approximately twenty-three killings committed while people were either being arrested or in custody. Eleven people

died while they themselves were being arrested, and five others were also killed during arrests. A further three died as a result of torture or assault⁴³ and four were killed during their detention or on their release.

Abductions/disappearances

106. Evidence from amnesty applications and hearings reveals that the Security Forces (including covert units, the Security Branch and the SADF) engaged in abduction operations inside and outside South Africa. The main purpose of the abductions was interrogation, killing or recruitment.
107. Of the eighty⁴⁴ abductions for which amnesty applications were received, only three people were abducted prior to 1980. Two of these were subsequently charged and one was returned to Swaziland. Twelve people were abducted between 1980 and the end of 1984. Abductions increased sharply between 1985 and 1989, and a total of sixty-two applications were received for this period. Forty-one of the people abducted were killed, two or possibly three were recruited and the fate of the remainder is unknown. Applications were received for two abductions and killings in 1990. In some cases, fairly high-profile individuals were abducted with a view to killing them, and interrogation seems to have played a secondary role. In other cases, those abducted were interrogated, beaten and released.
108. Several abductions were associated with the assassination of fairly high-profile activists. These include Messrs Griffiths Mxenge, Sphiwe Mthimkulu and Topsy Madaka, the 'Pebco Three' and the 'Cradock Four'.
109. Thirty-nine out of the total number of eighty abductions were MK or ANC-linked. Twenty-four of these occurred inside South Africa, where the usual method was interrogation followed by killing. Eighteen of the victims are known to have been killed, seven by the Northern Transvaal Security Branch and ten by the Port Natal Security Branch, while the fate of four⁴⁵ remains unknown. The remaining two of the twenty-four internal abductees survived.
110. All the internal abductions for which amnesty was sought occurred after 1986, with sixteen in 1987 and 1988. The dramatic upsurge in the killing of internal

43 Steve Biko, Stanza Bopape and Sam Xolile, aka Valdez Mbathani.

44 This figure excludes the abductions allegedly carried out by the SADF in Kwandebele.

45 Moabi Dipale, Nokuthula Simelane, Moses Morudu and Peter Thabuleka.

activists confirms the Commission's earlier finding that the practice of killing people outside South Africa became widespread in response to the intensified internal uprising of the mid-1980s.⁴⁶

111. Seventeen of the abductions involved MK operatives based outside South Africa's borders. Of these, only Mr Cleophas Ndlovu and Mr Joseph Nduli, who were abducted in 1976, were formally detained and charged. Mr Herbert Fanele Mbale was abducted in 1972 and was returned to Lesotho following a formal protest from the Lesotho government.
112. A strong motive for the remaining external abductions seems to have been that the targets were regarded as key persons in MK's military machinery. The intention was to interrogate and if possible recruit them. Where the attempt at 'turning' failed, the victims were killed. Amnesty applicants confessed to three such killings, namely those of Messrs Jameson Ngoloyi Mngomezulu, Mbovane Emmanuel Mzimela (aka Dion Cele) and Ms Phila Portia Ndwandwe (aka Zandile). A further five, and possibly six⁴⁷, are said to have been recruited. The exact fate of the remaining five⁴⁸ is unknown.
113. In addition to the above MK abductions, the brother of an MK operative was abducted and killed by C1/Vlakplaas⁴⁹ and another internal activist⁵⁰ was killed while being abducted or arrested by the Transkei Security Branch and C1/Vlakplaas *askaris*.
114. Three amnesty applications dealing with the abduction and torture of local activists were received from SADF members in different regions of the country. In his application, Major Gert Cornelius Hugo referred to Orpheus, an operation that was designed to destroy the leadership and second tier leadership of the UDF. Hugo testified that the targets were abducted and taken to one of several abandoned premises at Barkly Bridge, Newton Park and Fairview, Port Elizabeth, where they were interrogated and tortured. According to Hugo, who was involved in providing logistical support, the operation began in the Eastern Cape in 1986 but later became a national operation and continued through 1987.

46 Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp.287-9, and Volume Five, Chapter Six, p. 214ff.

47 Gaboutwelwe Christopher Mosiane, Vikelisizwe Colin Khumalo, Michael Dauwanga Matikinca, Ernest Nonjawangu (the 'Bhunye Four' abducted from Swaziland in April 1984), Glorius 'Glory' Lefoshie Sedibe, aka September, and possibly Jabulani Sidney Msibi, again both taken from Swaziland

48 All were abducted from Lesotho, the 'Ladybrand Four' (Joyce Keokanyetswe 'Betty' Boom, Tax Sejaname, Nomasonto Mashiya and Mbulelo Alfred Ngono), abducted in late December 1987 or early 1988, and Simon Mokgethla, aka Old Timer, abducted in mid-1986 [AC/2001/257].

49 Japie Maponya, brother of Odirile Maponya, aka Mainstay.

50 Batandwa Ndondo.

115. When the Commission asked the SADF about Operation Orpheus, the SADF denied its existence. However, applications received from Messrs Johan Edward Moerdyk [AM2001/031; AM7218/97] and Frans Nyoni Mandlazi [AM5027/97; AC/2001/277] concerning abductions in Kwandebile and the Eastern Transvaal reveal a similar *modus operandi* to that described by Hugo. Although Mandlazi was granted amnesty for the incidents for which he applied, Moerdyk's application was refused, as he had sought amnesty for knowledge of rather than participation in such abductions and torture.

Torture

116. As discussed above, a very small proportion of security force applicants applied specifically for torture violations. When prompted, however, several applicants gave vivid and sometimes horrifying testimony of torture techniques used by members of the Security Branch and the SAP. One applicant described it thus:

CAPT. ZEELIE: ... there were methods used, common assault, slapping with an open hand or with fists. Then there was also the tube method that was used and at that stage we used a wet bag that was pulled over a person's head ... and basically the person was suffocated for a short while. And then we also used shock methods where, at that stage, two electrical wires which were connected to a telephone-like device, was attached to the person. We would at that stage put a stick between a person's teeth so he can bite on it and then the telephone handle was turned and this sent a shock through the person, and at that stage that also sort of suffocated the person.

And then what I can recall now is the method of a broomstick where a person is handcuffed and his hands are pulled over his knees and the broomstick is pushed in-between, through his arms and legs and he's hung between two tables, and it is in that position that he is questioned...

... you took the person's mind and you made him believe that something could happen to him ... I took a hand grenade and it was a hand grenade that has been secured, there's no explosives in it, there's no detonator that could go off. And then that hand grenade, this is what I did, I would for example, take it and have the person hold it between his legs while his hands are bound behind his back and then psychologically you made him believe that if he opens his legs the hand grenade will drop to the floor and it will blow him up. .. and then, for example, we also used methods where persons would be assaulted by an interrogator and then the assault would be ceased and then perhaps the following

day you would use another interrogator and that interrogator would be the so-called 'nice guy' and he would speak nicely to the person and then psychologically that man will, this guy who is nice to him, he would trust this guy more and supply information to him ...

... I will honestly say that it was general practice in the Police and specifically in the final years where I was involved in the Security Branch. There was never any person that was ashamed to say that he had assaulted a person or had applied certain techniques in order to obtain certain information. (Bloemfontein hearing, 9 October 2000.)

117. General Erasmus, who was Divisional Commander of the Eastern Cape and Witwatersrand Security Branches at the time of Mr Stanza Bopape's detention and death, told the Committee that he accepted that violence was used as part of interrogation. He confirmed that, while members of the Security Branch were never instructed to use torture, members of the police engaged in such practices with the tacit approval of their seniors (Pretoria hearing, 4 June 1998).
118. Yet, despite such testimony, two former commanding officers of the Security Branch and the SAP, Generals Johan Coetzee and Johan van der Merwe, denied that torture was condoned at a senior level. General Coetzee said that, where persons were found using such methods, the case would be investigated and, where sufficient evidence existed, the offending party would be charged. However, aside from one incident in which two police officers had been charged and convicted, he was unable to specify any other incident or produce any documentation or evidence showing that such action had been taken.
119. General van der Merwe, who applied for amnesty for his involvement in the cover up of the actions of Security Branch members involved in the killing of Mr Bopape, told the Amnesty Committee that torture and deaths in detention 'would be a very serious embarrassment for the South African Police and the national government'. He testified, however, that there was some sympathy for members who used torture 'in an effort to obtain information which could have led to the saving of lives'. Yet he insisted that they would have had to face the consequences of their actions. Police members who engaged in torture were aware of the seriousness of the offence and the 'dangerous position that could have come about if this matter was handled in the wrong manner'. He believed that offenders would not repeat their mistakes and, for this reason, he did nothing further about it. Ultimately, General van der Merwe conceded that his refusal to warn police members that the practice of torture would not be tolerated

amounted to a condonation of the practice and the protection from senior officers (Pretoria hearing, 1 September 1998).

Arson and sabotage

120. The 1980s saw a pattern of state-directed sabotage and arson, authorised from the highest levels of government. The Amnesty Committee received applications for eighty-three incidents of bombing or arson.

Attacks on buildings

121. Attacks on offices included the 1982 bombing of the ANC offices in London, Cosatu House and Khotso House, all operations that were authorised at the highest level.⁵¹ At the amnesty hearing into the bombing of Cosatu House, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) produced evidence of forty-six attacks on their offices around the country.

122. Applications for amnesty were received for over twenty attacks on offices or buildings, including the following:

- a The bombing of Community House in Salt River, Cape Town on 29 August 1987. Tenants of the recently completed building were to include COSATU and several anti-apartheid organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Operatives from the Western Cape Security Branch, Security Branch Headquarters and SADF Special Forces applied for and were granted amnesty for this incident [AC/2002/150 AC/2002/042].
- b An arson attack on Khanya House, the Pretoria offices of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference on 12 October 1988, leading to the building being extensively damaged by fire. Members of C1/Vlakplaas and the Technical Section of Security Branch Headquarters applied for and were granted amnesty for this incident. A number of people were in the building at the time of the attack [AC/2000/215].⁵²
- c An explosion at the offices of the Early Learning Centre in Athlone Cape Town on 31 August 1989, minutes before the Cape Youth Congress were due to hold an executive meeting there. Members of Region Six of the CCB, an SADF Special Forces covert unit, were refused amnesty for lack of full disclosure [AC/2001/232].

⁵¹ Volume Two, Chapter Two, p. 157; Volume Two, Chapter Three, p. 289; Volume Two, Chapter Three, p. 29.

⁵² AM5283/97;AM3765/96;AM3745/96;AM0066/96;AM4129/96;AM5184/97;AM4361/96;AM5452/97; AM4076/96;AM3916/96;AM3811/96;AM3922/96;AM3812/96;AM5451/97;AM3584/96;AM3764/96; AM5183/97;AM4358/97;AM3721/96.

Attacks on homes

123. There were also applications for forty-eight attacks on houses by petrol bombing, other 'home-made' devices or, in the case of credibility operations,⁵³ modified grenades. A covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch, acting in concert with certain members of the SAP's Special Investigation Unit into unrest, was responsible for a number of petrol bomb and pentolite bomb attacks on the homes of activists in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Tembisa, Ekangala, Moutse and Pietersburg. At least three people are known to have died in these attacks.

Stratcom⁵⁴ operations

124. Several applications related to activities in the mid-1970s by Stratcom operatives. These applications provided details of a range of threatening actions including vandalising cars and property and making threatening phone calls. Condoned by commanders, this behaviour developed into more serious attacks such as throwing bricks through windows, blackmail, loosening bolts on car wheels and firing shots at homes.

Credibility operations

125. Attacks on installations were used to provide credibility for deep-cover agents and sources. This was the method used by the SIU during the 1980s. Applications were received from members of the SIU for approximately fourteen credibility operations, including several grenade attacks on houses using modified grenades, as well as a range of attacks on installations. These included blowing up railway lines, attacks on administration board offices and detonating dummy explosive devices on the property of a councillor and a university official. A more serious operation included the placing of explosive devices outside migrant hostels.

Illegal weapons

126. Amnesty applications for dealing with the illegal movement of arms were dealt with in Chambers.⁵⁵

⁵³ Credibility operations were designed to provide cover for deep cover agents.

⁵⁴ Strategic communication or Stratcom: a form of psychological warfare waged by both conventional and unconventional means.

⁵⁵ See this volume, Section One, Chapter Three for more information about chamber matters.

127. Some applications in this respect related to operations where the Security Branch was attempting to establish the credibility of a source or agent. Others involved Stratcom operations like the Krugersdorp incident where an arms cache of Eastern Bloc weapons was planted and then 'discovered,' providing the pretext for an SADF raid into Botswana⁵⁶ A number of applications involved establishing private arms caches in the 1990s, ostensibly to provide access to weapons in the event of the failure of negotiations and the outbreak of civil war.⁵⁷
128. At least seven applicants from C1/Vlakplaas applied for amnesty for unlawfully transporting massive quantities of arms of Eastern Bloc origin from Koevoet in Namibia to South Africa. These were weapons that had been seized in the course of the Namibian war and were transferred and stored in an armoury belonging to Vlakplaas.⁵⁸
129. However, the bulk of applications relating to the provision of unlawful weapons concern the supply of weaponry to the IFP in the 1990s.⁵⁹ These applications⁶⁰ came principally from C1/Vlakplaas and described how weapons seized in Namibia were supplied to the IFP on the East Rand and Natal. Several C1/Vlakplaas applicants also applied for amnesty for training the IFP in the use of such weaponry. Some of the applicants testified that the provision of arms was done with the approval of Security Branch Headquarters and was in line with a policy of support for the IFP.
130. C1/Vlakplaas operatives also applied for amnesty for the provision of weapons for the attempted overthrow of the then Chief Minister of the Transkei, General Bantu Holomisa. Testimony at the amnesty hearings confirms that this was done at the request of SADF operatives.⁶¹ Kommandant Jan Anton Nieuwoudt of the SADF applied for amnesty for the attempt to overthrow General Holomisa in the Transkei in November 1990, but later withdrew his application.⁶²

56 AM4120/96;AM4152/96;AM4362/96; AM0066/96 and AM4396.

57 AM3766/96 and AM4358/96.

58 AC/2001/162; AC/2001/178; AC/2001/192; AC/2001/199; AC/2001/202; AC/2001/210; AC/2001/214.

59 See Volume Two, Chapter Seven, pp. 605–10 for further detail on the provision of weapons to the IFP.

60 AM5666/97;AM3764/96;AM3762/96;AM2775/96;AM2538/96.

61 AM 0066/96; AM3764/96;AM3766/96; AM5183/97 and AM4358/96.

62 The Amnesty Committee also received several applications from members of C1/Vlakplaas for their role in providing Kommandant Jan Anton Nieuwoudt with arms to be used in the coup. At the time Kommandant Nieuwoudt was based in IR-CIS, allegedly a private company that provided an intelligence capacity to General Oupa Gqoza, Chief Minister of the Ciskei, but in fact a front for the SADF.

131. The Amnesty Committee heard that the armoury was moved from Vlakplaas during the Harms investigation (East London hearing, 19 April 1999) and transferred first to Daisy farm (owned by Security Branch Headquarters) and then to Mechem, a subsidiary of Armscor. However, operatives continued to have access to the armoury long after they ceased to be members of the SAP. In one instance, Mr Phillip Powell of the IFP received from Colonel de Kock six 10-ton truckloads of weapons, said to be a fraction of the remaining armoury. At the time of this handover, in October 1993, Colonel de Kock was no longer a member of the SAP.⁶³
132. Evidence that emerged before the Amnesty Committee confirmed the long-held view that the Security Branch was involved in the conflict in the 1990s. Colonel de Kock and others of his operatives asserted in their applications that the provision of arms was authorised by the commander of Group C, Brigadier ‘Krappies’ Engelbrecht and the head of the Security Branch⁶⁴, General SJJ ‘Basie’ Smit.
133. Mr Gary Leon Pollock, who was based first at Alexandra Security Branch (a sub-branch of Witwatersrand) and later at the Natal Security Branch, confirmed that these actions were in line with Security Branch policy at the time. He testified that, following what he described as ‘the severe lowering of morale and confusion among Security Branch personnel that accompanied the negotiations phase,’ generals from Security Branch Headquarters visited the Alexandra Security Branch. The generals assured members that their ‘tasks were still the same’ and would in fact be increased to strengthen the bargaining positions of the National Party in the negotiating process. These ‘tasks’ involved creating an environment of instability and eroding the credibility of the ANC.
134. Pollock, who testified at the Security Forces hearing in November 2000, applied for amnesty for number of incidents, which included the supply of weapons to the IFP; warning IFP hostels of impending police raids; discharge of firearms in Alexandra at night to intensify residents’ insecurity, and furnishing the IFP with the names of ANC members.

⁶³ Volume Three, Chapter Three, p. 318ff.

⁶⁴ By that stage known as Crime Combating and Investigation following the re-organisation of the SAP in the 1990s.

JOINT OPERATIONS OF THE SECURITY BRANCH AND SPECIAL FORCES: EXAMPLES OF CASES WHERE SPECIAL FORCES DID NOT APPLY FOR AMNESTY

135. Members of the SADF did not seek amnesty for any external operations, even where the planning of such operations took place inside South Africa. In a number of cases, however, applications were received from Security Branch operatives for their role in operations conducted with or by Special Forces operatives. In other words, we learn about the following cases from applications by the Security Branch and not from the SADF itself.

Nat Serache

136. On 13 February 1985, a Special Forces team attacked the house of Mr Nat Serache in Gaborone, Botswana. According to applicants, MK members infiltrating South Africa used Mr Serache's home as a transit facility. Several days before the attack, a planning meeting attended by General Stanley Schutte, then head of the Security Branch and General AJ 'Kat' Liebenberg, then head of Special Forces, was held at a Security Branch safe house in Ottoshoop, Transvaal. The attack was launched that night, injuring Mr Serache and another person.

Vernon Nkadimeng

137. On 14 May 1985, Vernon Nkadimeng (aka Rogers Mevi), a senior ANC/SACTU official,⁶⁵ was killed in a car bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana. The divisional commander of the Western Transvaal Security Branch, Brigadier Wickus Loots, and the commander of the Zeerust Security branch, Captain Rudi Crause, applied for amnesty for their role in providing target intelligence on Mr Nkadimeng and MK Jackie Molefe to Commandant Charl Naude, then operational commander of Barnacle, approximately one month before the operation.

The Gaborone raid, 1985

138. On the night of 14 June 1985, the eve of the ANC's consultative conference in Kabwe, Zambia, Special Forces conducted a government-sanctioned cross-border raid into Gaborone, Botswana, killing twelve people. Security Branch

⁶⁵ South African Congress of Trade Unions

operatives from Security Branch Headquarters and the Western Transvaal and Soweto divisions applied for amnesty for identifying targets and supplying intelligence. The applicants testified to attending high-level meetings at Security Branch and Special Forces Headquarters at which generals from the SAP and SADF were present. One operative testified to accompanying Military Intelligence and Special Forces personnel to Cape Town to brief Ministers le Grange and Malan several days before the raid.

139. A Special Forces operations centre was set up at Nietverdiend near the Botswana border, and SADF forces were assembled to strike at Botswana should the Botswana Defence Force retaliate.

Aubrey Mkhwanazi and Sadi Pule

140. On 31 December 1986, the Western Transvaal Security Branch heard from a source that two MK operatives, Aubrey Mkhwanazi (aka Take Five) and Sadi Pule, were staying in a house in Ramoutse, Botswana. Acting immediately on this information, they were authorised by Security Branch Headquarters to approach Special Forces with a view to conducting an operation. A raid was launched that night, leading to the death of a 72-year-old Botswana national, Maponyana Thero Segopa. Both of the intended targets had apparently been warned of an impending attack and were not in the house at the time.

The McKenzie car bomb

141. On 9 April 1987, Ms Mmaditsebe Phetolo, a Botswana national, and two children were killed when a car bomb exploded outside their home in Gaborone, Botswana. The explosion was the result of a failed operation undertaken jointly by the Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches and Special Forces/Barnacle operatives. The bomb had been placed in a secret compartment in a vehicle belonging to a Northern Transvaal Security Branch source, Charles McKenzie. McKenzie, who had successfully infiltrated MK Special Operations in Botswana, had transported arms into South Africa for MK.
142. According to applicants, the intended targets of the operation were Messrs Johannes Mnisi (aka Victor Molefe), Lester Dumakude and Ernest Lekoto Pule, all Special Operations operatives. The plan was to deliver the vehicle to the MK operatives and to detonate it by remote control while they were in the vehicle. Alternatively the bomb would detonate when the secret compartment in which

the arms were stored was opened. However, McKenzie was already suspected of being a spy and was apprehended by MK on his arrival in Botswana. McKenzie was allegedly not aware of the bomb. His vehicle was parked in a street in Gaborone, Botswana, where it exploded several days later, killing Ms Phetolo, her seven-year-old daughter and infant niece.

143. As Special Forces operatives were responsible for the Botswana leg of the operation, it is not known whether the explosion happened accidentally or whether Special Forces detonated the bomb.
144. Amnesty applications were received from Brigadier Cronje and two Section A⁶⁶ operatives, from two members of the Western Transvaal Security Branch who assisted with the operations, and from General Johan van der Merwe, who authorised it.

The Oasis Motel

145. Applicants from the Western Transvaal and Soweto Security Branches testified that they took part in two aborted operations with Special Forces in August or September 1987. The aim had been to kill several prominent MK and SACTU leaders based in Botswana who were allegedly in the process of setting up MK or Industrial Combat Units within the Post and Telegraphic Workers' Association (POTWA), a trade union in South Africa. Special Forces called off the first attempt for reasons unknown to the applicants. In the second operation, an explosive device was set up in the room of the Oasis Motel, where the targets were due to meet a source of the Soweto Security Branch, SWT 180. When they did not arrive for the meeting, the device was dismantled.

The Bulawayo operation

146. On 11 January 1988, a car bomb exploded outside a house in Harare, Zimbabwe. During the subsequent trial it emerged that the incident had been an operation conducted by the Zimbabwe cell of the CCB.
147. According to evidence at the trial, Mr Kevin John Woods, a Zimbabwean citizen recruited by the NIS, had received information that MK was using the house as a transit facility. He later received instructions from Pretoria to liaise with the

⁶⁶ Section A monitored the activities of Indian, coloured and white activists and organisations.

CCB cell with a view to launching an attack on the transit facility. The CCB cell assembled a car bomb and recruited Mr Amon Mwanza, an unemployed Zimbabwean citizen, to drive the car to the targeted house. The car was detonated outside the house, killing Mr Mwanza and severely injuring a resident of the house.

148. Kevin Woods and three members of the CCB cell, Barry Bawden, Philip Conjwayo and Michael Smith, were sentenced to death for this operation. The sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. Mr Woods, the only one of the four to apply for amnesty, later withdrew his application.

Patrick Vundla and the arms cache

149. A number of Security Branch operatives applied for their role in one, or possibly two, operations involving the establishment of an arms cache in Krugersdorp on 28 March 1988 [AC/2001/228 & AC/2001/119]. The applicants were Messrs JH le Roux [AM4148/96], JC Meyer [AM4152/96] MJ Naude [AM4362/96], EA de Kock [AM0066/96], JC Coetzee [AM4120/96] and WF Schoon [AM4396/96].
150. Brigadier Schoon, head of Group C at Security Branch Headquarters, told the Committee that he was approached by the Chief of the Army, General AJ ‘Kat’ Liebenberg, and asked whether the Security Branch could establish and then ‘discover’ an arms cache of Eastern Bloc weapons. The arms cache could be ascribed to MK units in Botswana, thus providing a pretext to launch an attack. The SADF seems to have been having difficulty in getting political authorisation for the proposed operation and was hoping that this would tilt the balance in their favour. Brigadier Schoon’s allegation could not be tested, as General Liebenberg was no longer alive and none of the SADF personnel had applied for amnesty for this incident.
151. An arms cache was duly established at Krugersdorp and later ‘uncovered’ by the Security Branch. Brigadier Schoon and one of his operatives accompanied Generals Liebenberg and Joubert to Cape Town to be on standby should they be required to brief the relevant ministers. The proposed attack was authorised and conducted on 28 March 1988. The target and outcome of this attack is not clear.
152. On the same day, a separate ‘hot pursuit’ operation was launched on an alleged transit house in Botswana. This followed the capture of one and the killing three

days later of three MK operatives near Derdepoort, Thabazimbi by an SADF patrol. Mr Vuyo Moleli (aka Kagiso Mogale or Vito), the captured operative, was handed to the Western Transvaal Security Branch. During interrogation, they established that his unit had stayed overnight at a transit house in Botswana. They then handed him over to Special Forces who launched an attack on the house, killing a senior MK commander, Mr Patrick Sandile Mvundla, (aka Naledi Sehume) and two women, both of whom were Batswana nationals. Mr WJ Loots [AM4149/96; AC/2001/228] was granted amnesty for this incident.

153. While it is possible that the above two incidents are in fact one, detail from the amnesty hearing seems to suggest two separate incidents.

Other operations

154. Some of the other operations in which SADF personnel have been implicated by Security Branch personnel include:
- a The bombing of two houses in Mbabane, Swaziland, on 4 June 1980 in which MK operative Patrick Mmakou and a seven-year-old boy, Patrick Nkosi, were killed.
 - b The abduction from Swaziland and subsequent torture of ANC member Dayan 'Joe' Pillay on 19 May 1981.
 - c The killing of seven COSAS activists and the injuring of eight people on the East Rand on 26 June 1985 in a Security Branch operation code-named Operation Zero.

PART THREE: KEY SECURITY FORCE UNITS INVOLVED IN GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

SECURITY BRANCH HEADQUARTERS

155. The Headquarters of the Security Branch was based in Pretoria. Until 1992, the Security Branch was organised centrally, with headquarters in Pretoria and nineteen regional divisions (excluding South West Africa).⁶⁷

⁶⁷ In the 1990s, the Security Branch was renamed Crime Intelligence and Investigation and fell under the same division as the old Criminal Investigation Department (CID), and several of the regional divisions were combined. However, for the sake of simplicity and because the bulk of applications fall into the pre-1990 period, this report has not distinguished between the pre- and post-1990 periods.

156. A total of eighty-one applicants applied for amnesty for offences committed while based at Security Branch Headquarters. Forty-seven of these applicants were based in C1/Vlakplaas.

Case study: C1/Vlakplaas

157. Thirty-five of the forty-seven Vlakplaas members who applied for amnesty were white Security Branch operatives and seven were black. Only five C1-based *askaris* applied for amnesty.⁶⁸

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

159. From its inception through the 1980s, C1/Vlakplaas was deployed in the following ways:

- a assisting in the tracking and identification of members of the liberation movement who had received military training and were active in MK and APLA structures;
- b conducting covert cross-border operations (Swaziland remained the pre-eminent area of activity, always in close liaison with the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch division), and
- c conducting internal covert operations, either where a political decision or the command structure of the Security Branch decided on a covert operation or during the routine deployment of *askaris* in regions. In some instances this was at the request of the divisional or local branch; in others as an outcome of the tracking work being undertaken.

160. *Askaris* were former members of the liberation movements who came to work for the Security Branch, providing information, identifying and tracing former comrades. A number were also operationally deployed.

161. Former members of the liberation movements became *askaris* if they defected from the liberation movements of their own accord or if they were arrested or captured. In some cases, attempts were made to 'turn' captured MK operatives using both orthodox and unorthodox methods during interrogation. Other

⁶⁸ At least two others applied for amnesty but subsequently withdrew their applications.

askaris were MK operatives who had been abducted by the Security Branch from neighbouring states.⁶⁹ Several abductees remain disappeared and are believed to have been killed. The threats of death used to 'turn' *askaris* were not idle. Amnesty applications revealed that several operatives were killed for steadfastly refusing to co-operate.

162. *Askaris* were primarily used to infiltrate groups and to identify former comrades with whom they had trained in other countries. At the Pretoria hearing in July 1999, Mr Chris Mosiane testified:

In the initial stages askaris were used as police dogs to sniff out insurgents with white SB [Security Branch members] as their handlers. Black SB were used to monitor the askaris.

163. *Askaris* were initially treated as informers and were paid from a secret fund. Later, they were integrated into the SAP at the level of constable and were paid an SAP salary. While deployed in the regions, they were paid an additional amount, which was usually generated by making false claims to a secret fund. After successful operations they usually received bonuses.
164. The *askaris* used Vlakplaas as an operational base and resided in the townships where they attempted to maintain their cover as underground MK operatives. Although a few *askaris* escaped, most were far too frightened to attempt it. At his amnesty hearing, Colonel Eugene de Kock⁷⁰ testified that he had set up a spy network amongst the *askaris* and used electronic surveillance. He told the Amnesty Committee that he had also established a disciplinary structure to deal with internal issues and other infractions by *askaris* and white officers. However, *askaris* who exceeded their authority in operational situations or criminal matters were seldom punished.
165. Generally *askaris* were extremely effective. Because of their internal experience of MK structures, they were invaluable in identifying potential suspects, in infiltrating networks, in interrogations and in giving evidence for the state in trials.
166. A large number of white C1 operatives were drawn from Koevoet, the SAP Special Task Force or had specific counter-insurgency experience. Several had explosives training while a small number were former detectives who could 'arrange scenes' after covert operations in order to ensure they would not be traced to the security forces.

⁶⁹ See Chris Mosiane interview, below.

⁷⁰ See further details on Eugene de Kock below (para 170 onwards).

167. In August 1980, Captain Dirk Coetzee was appointed commander of Vlakplaas. Under his command, C1/Vlakplaas members were drawn into other operational tasks, both within and outside South Africa. Coetzee and two black Vlakplaas operatives applied for amnesty for a number of operations.
168. Captain Jan Carel Coetzee assumed command of the unit after Dirk Coetzee was transferred to the uniform branch of the SAP at the end of 1981. Lieutenant Colonel Jan Hatting 'Jack' Cronje became commander of Vlakplaas in early 1983, with Jan Coetzee serving as second in command. Cronje, who had been a part of the SAP contingent in Rhodesia in 1974 and 1975 and afterwards did 'border duty' at Katimo Mulilo in SWA/Namibia, brought to the unit a far wider experience in the use of unconventional methods of counter-insurgency warfare.
169. Brigadier Cronje applied for amnesty for numerous offences committed during his subsequent appointment as divisional commander of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch, but for only two operations conducted as commander of C1/Vlakplaas. Both these operations confirm the continued use of C1/Vlakplaas as an operational unit. The first was the 22 November 1983 cross-border attack on Mr Zwelibanzi Nyanda, a member of MK's Natal urban machinery in which both Mr Nyanda and fellow-MK operative Keith McFadden were killed. The second was Operation Zero Zero, an entrapment operation which led to the deaths of eight and severe injuries to seven COSAS youths.
170. In 1983, during Cronje's term of office, another veteran of the Rhodesian and SWA/Namibian wars, Captain Eugene de Kock, was transferred to C1.⁷¹ He remained as commander of C1 until 1993, when he left the SAP as a colonel with a payout of over R1 million.
171. In May 1994, Colonel de Kock was arrested and subsequently convicted. He applied for amnesty [AM0066/96] for incidents associated with⁷²:

71 Constable Eugene Alexander de Kock joined the SAP in January 1968 and spent nine months at Police College before being sent to Rhodesia to do 'border duty.' In 1978, he was deployed to the Security Branch office at Oshakati and on 1 January 1979 was transferred to the newly established Koevoet unit, attached to Security Branch Headquarters. De Kock himself engaged in numerous 'contacts' in the four years he spent as the head of a highly successful Koevoet unit. While still at Koevoet, De Kock had been identified as one of the operatives to take part in the bombing of the ANC offices in London, for which he was awarded the highest decoration, the SAP Star for Outstanding Service.

72 AC/1999/0242; AC/1999/0345; AC/1999/0349; AC/1999/0350; AC/2000/040; AC/2000/057; AC/2000/084; AC/2000/085; AC/2000/086; AC/2000/089; AC/2000/087; AC/2000/090; AC/2000/152; AC/2000/215; AC/2001/002; AC/2001/004; AC/2001/006; AC/2001/047; AC/2001/049; AC/2001/058; AC/2001/063; AC/2001/081-MK; AC/2001/094; AC/2001/095; AC/2001/108; AC/2001/141; AC/2001/146; AC/2001/148; AC/2001/167; AC/2001/171; AC/2001/179; AC/2001/225; AC/2001/227; AC/2001/228; AC/2001/231; AC/2001/241; AC/2001/252; AC/2001/272; AC/2001/273.

- over seventy killings, of which twenty-six were committed outside South Africa, including five of *askaris* or ex-*askaris*;
- nine abductions, three of which were committed outside South Africa;
- sabotage of five buildings;
- supply of weapons for attempted coup in the Transkei, and
- supply of weapons to the IFP.

172. During his amnesty hearings, De Kock repeatedly said that he took overall responsibility for the operatives under his command.

173. Fifteen of the killings for which De Kock sought amnesty were committed in the post-1990 period and fell into three broad categories. The first category reflected a continuation of C1's earlier cross border operations and involved the killing of six people in Botswana in April 1990 (the Chand incident). The second category related to the killing of own forces where it was feared they would disclose the nature of previous covert operations or, in the case of the attempted killing of Captain Dirk Coetzee, where they had already done so. The third category consisted of two incidents in which nine people were killed and which arose from operations related to the new focus for combating crime. In the first incident, Vlakplaas operatives applied for amnesty for covering up the killing of four alleged arm smugglers on 21 April 1991 in an abortive entrapment operation near Komatipoort. In the second incident, De Kock and his operatives ambushed a vehicle near Nelspruit on 26 March 1992, killing all four unarmed occupants, allegedly to foil a planned armed robbery. The leader of the group, Mr Tiisetso Leballo, a former driver of Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, was later apprehended, interrogated and then shot dead. The applicants, who were denied amnesty, claimed that they believed the planned armed robbery to have been aimed at securing funds for the ANC.

174. In addition to killings, applicant De Kock and some of his team applied for a range of offences relating to the supply of weapons to the IFP in Johannesburg and Natal and to SADF operatives and agents involved in the attempted overthrow of Chief Minister Bantu Holomisa in the Transkei.

175. The Amnesty Committee also received applications for the killing of seven *askaris* from Dirk Coetzee and Eugene de Kock of C1/Vlakplaas and several of their operatives, and from Port Natal Security Branch operatives: Nkosinathi Peter Dlamini and Ace Moema were killed while Coetzee was commander of Vlakplaas, and Pat Mafuna was killed on an unknown date between 1982 and 1986. Moses

Nthelang was killed in a drunken frenzy after he reported having lost his firearm. The remaining three (Brian Ngqulunga, Neville Goodwill Sikhakane and escaped *askari* Johannes Temba Mabotha) were killed in the post-1990 period. Following the disclosures of Butana Nofomela and Dirk Coetzee in 1989, there was increasing fear that *askaris* would reveal the workings of C1/Vlakplaas.

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

177. After the bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979, the ANC became extremely edgy about security. It was at this stage that Mr Mfalapitsa found himself party to the torture of suspects during interrogation and witnessed the killing of an operative by other members of his unit. He testified to the Amnesty Committee that he became increasingly disillusioned with the ANC and, in November 1981, returned to South Africa and handed himself over to the SAP:

I told the South African Police that I am not interested in joining either side of the conflict. I wanted them to debrief me and set me free because there was nowhere else to go and this is my country. And it was my experience and my arrest in Botswana, I saw many people who were stateless, who had no place to go. ... And then, they refused me. They said they could not let me, after having been in military structure in which Joe Modise is the Chief of the armed forces of the MK. So I helped and I was forced to join the South African Police. (Johannesburg hearing, May 1999.)

178. In January 1982, Mr Mfalapitsa was enrolled as an *askari* at C1/Vlakplaas. Shortly afterwards, he was approached by a neighbour's son, Mr Zandisile Musi, who asked him for help in leaving South Africa. Musi, whose two brothers had left South Africa with Mfalapitsa, had no idea that he had changed sides. Unsure whether this was a trap, Mr Mfalapitsa reported the request and was instructed to continue posing as an MK operative.

179. C1 commander Jan Coetzee asked for and received authorisation for an entrapment operation. On instructions from Coetzee, Mfalapitsa offered to train Zandisile Musi and his friends. On the appointed day, he took the four youths to an outbuilding on a disused mine near Krugersdorp where explosives had already been laid. Mfalapitsa left the building and the explosives were detonated, killing three and severely injuring Musi.

Eastern Transvaal Security Branch

180. The divisional headquarters of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch was based at Middelburg, with branches in Ermelo (a sub-branch in Piet Retief), Witbank, Nelspruit, Secunda, Lebombo and Burgersfort. Members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch were also based at several border posts, including Oshoek, Golela, Houtkop, and Nerston.
181. Seventeen members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch applied for amnesty for fifteen incidents committed between the late 1970s and 1988. These incidents included twenty-five killings, seven abductions and at least three instances of torture and/or severe assault.
182. With minor exceptions, the applications relate to cross-border action against MK operatives in Swaziland or entering South Africa from Swaziland. The ANC submission records a total of at least fifty-two deaths of Swaziland-based MK operatives 'at enemy hands'. A further eight on the list were killed near Piet Retief while infiltrating South Africa, as were several other MK combatants. The above applications account for only fourteen of these.
183. Members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch sought amnesty only for operations that were conducted jointly with other Security Branch divisions, principally C1/Vlakplaas, and for which the Amnesty Committee had already received applications.⁷³ Amnesty was granted in thirty-eight cases, partially granted in two and refused in one instance.
184. One case involved ANC intelligence operative Jabulani Sidney Msibi, a former bodyguard of ANC President Oliver Tambo. The situation arose because members of the Branch suspected that they had been infiltrated by the ANC. When suspicion fell on a Nelspruit Security Branch operative, Warrant Officer Malaza, he allegedly confessed, naming Msibi as his handler. He was then instructed to set up a meeting with Msibi in Swaziland. Msibi was abducted and taken to Daisy Farm.
185. Although the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch claimed that Msibi became an informer, De Kock denied this at his amnesty hearing. Addressing Mr Msibi's family, he said:

⁷³ Note, for example, a late amendment to the application by FHS Labuschagne during the section 29 process, which the Amnesty Committee later rejected.

And I just want to tell you that his dignity and his integrity, his faith and his loyalty in the ANC, remained unscathed consistently and that is how he died. He was the sort of man who I, at any time, would have wanted in my life with me at my darkest hours. That is the kind of person I would have wanted with me. In my limited capacity as a human being, he has all the respect that I could muster and I believe that if any of my members have the courage of their conviction and if they would speak the truth, they would underwrite what I have just said, that he is worthy of respect of the party and the people whom he served at that time.

Within my limited capacity as a human being and my even more limited capacity due to my special circumstances, I would like to say that regarding me, he was one of the ANC's and the country's most loyal supporters. He stubbornly refused that anything should break him or his loyalty, and I would just like to tell the family that. (Hearing, August 2000.)

186. Shortly after his release from detention, Mr Jabulani Msibi was killed in unknown circumstances.

Far Northern Transvaal Division

187. The Far Northern Transvaal Security Branch was based at Pietersburg and had branches in Nylstroom, Thabazimbi, Ellisras, Louis Trichardt, Messina, Tzaneen, Phalaborwa and Giyani. Its area of operation included three international borders: Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Botswana.
188. Nineteen applicants from the Far Northern Transvaal Security Branch applied for amnesty for two separate incidents.
189. The first was for the killing of six MK operatives at Alldays on 10 July 1986 and for perjury committed during the inquest into the deaths. This matter was investigated by the Transvaal Attorney-General after one of the participants in the ambush made a statement to the effect that he had led the six into the ambush without any intention of arresting them. Several of the applicants had been advised by the investigating team that charges of murder were being considered. Only five out of fourteen applicants were granted amnesty for the Alldays ambush [AC/1999/176].
190. A second set of applications involved two acts of illegal entry and theft from the ANC and COSATU offices in the 1990–92 period. One applicant sought amnesty

for both incidents. Six applicants were granted amnesty for the latter incident [AC/1997/071; AC/2001/234].

Western Transvaal Security Branch

191. The divisional headquarters of the Western Transvaal Security Branch was based in Potchefstroom, with branches and sub-branches at Zeerust, Rustenburg and Klerksdorp. Security Branch operatives were also based at the Derdepoort, Kopfontein and Buffelsdrifhek border posts with Botswana.
192. Eleven members of the Western Transvaal Security Branch applied for amnesty. The eleven included two divisional commanders and the branch commander of Zeerust. The thirteen incidents applied for involved thirty-three killings, numerous attempted killings and several counts of assault or torture.
193. Amnesty was granted in thirty-four instances, refused in two and partially granted in three.⁷⁴

Soweto Security Branch

194. A key component of the Soweto Security Branch was the SIU⁷⁵, which ran a number of covert agents and sources both inside and outside the country.
195. Twenty-two members of the Soweto Security Branch, including three divisional commanders and at least eleven members of the SIU, applied for amnesty for twenty-nine incidents committed between 1980 and 1992. These incidents involved at least twenty-two killings, two abductions/torture and approximately fourteen sabotage and/or credibility operations.
196. Four of the killings resulted from Soweto Security Branch operations. Soweto Security Branch members either provided intelligence for or participated directly in the other operations.
197. Most of the incidents applied for were so-called 'credibility operations', conducted by members of the SIU in order to build up the credibility of sources

⁷⁴ With regard to target identification for the Gaborone Raid, applicants were granted amnesty for the targets in respect of which they specifically remembered supplying information.

⁷⁵ Soweto Intelligence Unit.

or to facilitate infiltration by deep-cover agents. These operations covered a range of activities such as the establishment of arms caches, the sabotage of offices and installations and attacks on homes and hostels.

198. Amnesty was granted in seventy-six instances, refused in four, conditionally granted in five and granted/refused in three. No decision was handed down in one instance, in which the applicant had died.
199. During the hearing concerning the abduction of Ms Nokuthula Simelane, aka Sibongile, a 23-year-old University of Swaziland student and member of MK's Transvaal Urban Machinery, sharp differences emerged between the various applicants as black members of the SIU challenged the version of white applicants.
200. The Amnesty Committee heard evidence that, in the early 1980s, two deep cover agents of the SIU, RS269 (Sergeant Langa, aka Frank or Big) and RS243 (Sergeant 'Terror' Mkhonza, aka Scotch) infiltrated MK's Transvaal machinery with the help of an informer, SWT66 (Nompumelelo).
201. Early in September 1983, Mkhonza was instructed by his MK contact to meet Sibongile (Ms Nokuthula Simelane) at the Carlton Centre, Johannesburg. After the meeting, Mkhonza led her to the basement parking area where they were seized by waiting SIU members and bundled into the boot of a car. Ms Simelane was, according to all applicants, severely assaulted and brutally beaten.
202. She was subsequently transferred to a farm near Northam in the current North West. Here she was held in a room in an outside building for a period of approximately four to five weeks. Lieutenant Willem 'Timol' Coetzee, Warrant Officer Anton Pretorius and Sergeant Frederick Barnard Mong were tasked with interrogating and recruiting Ms Simelane. When she was not being interrogated, Ms Simelane was under constant guard by black members of the SIU. At night, she was cuffed and chained to her bed with leg irons. The black members, who were responsible for guarding her, slept either in or outside her room.
203. Black SIU applicants, Constables Veyi and Selamolela, testified that she was repeatedly and brutally tortured throughout her stay on the farm, finally becoming 'unrecognisable'. The white applicants denied this vehemently.
204. According to their evidence, the victim had been severely assaulted during the first week and had, on more than one occasion, been put in a dam after soiling

herself while being tortured. However, they alleged that, after the first week, she agreed to work for them and that they spent the remaining weeks of her 'detention' preparing her for her work as an agent. Thereafter, they claimed that they returned her to Swaziland with the help of Sergeants Mothiba and Langa, both since deceased. After that they lost contact with her.

205. This testimony was challenged by Veyi and Selamolela, who testified that the victim's physical state made it extremely unlikely that she could have been in a fit state to be returned to Swaziland. Constable Veyi testified that he had last seen Ms Simelane bound and in the boot of Lieutenant Coetzee's car and that Sergeant Mothiba had told him that she had been killed.

206. In refusing amnesty to applicants Coetzee, Pretorius and Mong, the Amnesty Committee said of Ms Simelane:

During her detention for a period of approximately five weeks, she was continuously and very seriously assaulted by the group of Security Police, under the command of Coetzee, who held her captive. All attempts to extract information concerning MK or its operations as well as attempts to recruit her to become a Security Police informer, were fruitless. Due to the prolonged and sustained assaults, Ms Simelane's physical condition deteriorated to the extent that she was hardly recognisable and could barely walk. Ms Simelane was last seen where she was lying with her hands and feet cuffed in the boot of Coetzee's vehicle. She never returned to her familiar environment in Swaziland ... and has disappeared since. It is not necessary for the purpose of this matter to make a definitive finding on the eventual fate of Ms Simelane. [AC/2001/185.]

Witwatersrand Security Branch

207. The divisional headquarters of the Witwatersrand Security Branch was based at John Vorster Square in Johannesburg. Seventeen of its members sought amnesty for various offences committed between the late 1970s and 1992. Two members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch, one of whom was the divisional commander, applied for amnesty for assisting with the disposal of the body of Mr Stanza Bopape, a detainee who died in Witwatersrand Security Branch custody.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ See Volume Two, Chapter Two, pp. 212–14, and Volume Three, Chapter Six, pp. 620–24.

208. The nature of the violations for which amnesty was sought included scores of Stratcom operations (see below); eleven specified acts of torture and/or assault and a number of unspecified acts of torture and/or assault; numerous instances of attempting to cover up offences committed by the police; involvement in some seven acts of sabotage and bombing (including the bombings of Cosatu House and Khotso House); several attempted killings; several instances of supplying weapons to the IFP in the early 1990s, and one killing.

Stratcom and Intelligence Johannesburg

209. Intelligence Johannesburg (IJ) was a unit at John Vorster Square whose functions included routine intelligence tasks such as surveillance and recruitment, unlawful tapping of telephones and interception of mail. IJ was also involved in a number of activities connected to Stratcom operations.

210. The Amnesty Committee received an application from Lieutenant Michael Bellingan [AM2880/96], who was attached to IJ between 1984 and 1986. Two other applications regarding Stratcom operations were received from members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, Paul Francis Erasmus [AM3690/96] and Gary Leon Pollock [AM2538/96]. All three applicants applied for a range of unlawful operations, broadly classified as disinformation, propaganda and 'dirty tricks'.

211. Stratcom (Strategic communication) was a form of psychological warfare waged by both conventional and unconventional means. Its earlier activities involved random acts of intimidation such as the vandalising of property, the making of threatening phone calls and so on. Later it involved actions such as the unlawful establishing of arms caches in an attempt to establish the credibility of Security Branch agents or to provide a pretext for actions such as the SADF raid into Botswana in 1985.

212. From 1984, following the appointment of Brigadier Gerrit Erasmus as head of the Security Branch, Stratcom actions became less random and more co-ordinated. This shift coincided with the formal adoption of Stratcom as state policy in 1984 and the establishment of a sub-committee Tak Strategiese Kommunikasie (TSK – Strategic Communications Branch) as part of the Secretariat of the State Security Council, with representatives from the Security Branch, Military Intelligence and the NIS.

213. Former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok testified that Stratcom was an official policy of the government and conceded that it was engaged in unlawful actions. An example of a Stratcom action, he told the Amnesty Committee, might include spreading disinformation about an individual in order to cause people to suspect him of being an agent or even attack him.⁷⁷
214. Applicants Erasmus and Bellingan testified that there were two kinds of Stratcom, loosely referred to as 'soft' and 'hard' Stratcom. Propaganda and disinformation made up the 'soft' side of Stratcom while 'hard' Stratcom referred to 'active measures'. Mr Bellingan cited the examples of the bombings of Cosatu House and Khotso House and the 'Cry Freedom' incident. He said that the use of 'hard' Stratcom came about as a consequence of intensifying resistance, which led to the adoption of the strategy of counter-revolutionary warfare.
215. The bulk of the incidents for which the applicants sought amnesty fell broadly within the range of 'soft' and 'hard' actions. They included: graffiti, fake pamphlets, pouring paint remover over vehicles, disrupting protest gatherings through the use of stink bombs or teargas, theft, threatening phone calls, blackmail, framing, assault, slashing of car tyres, bricks through windows, loosening wheel nuts and bolts of vehicles, firing shots at houses, and arson and petrol bomb attacks on vehicles, homes and buildings.
216. Erasmus, Bellingan and Pollock all testified that one of the aims and strategies of Stratcom was to sow division among 'the enemy'. According to Bellingan, intelligence reports were used to expose ideological rifts in organisations and then find ways to exploit the differences. The effect would be to 'divert their time and effort and resources away from us and as far as possible, against each other'.
217. Several of the incidents for which applicant Pollock sought amnesty fall into this category. He testified that the strategy of the Alexandra Security Branch in the early 1990s was to increase tensions between the IFP and those Alexandra residents perceived to be ANC supporters. Incidents included driving through Alexandra at night firing randomly, and furnishing the names of ANC members to the IFP.

West Rand Security Branch

218. The divisional headquarters of the West Rand Security Branch was based at Krugersdorp, with branches at Roodepoort and Vereeniging. Five members of

⁷⁷ Pretoria hearing, 20–30 July 1998.

the Branch applied for amnesty for six incidents. These include one abduction (which ended in a killing); three attempted killings; the establishment of an arms cache used as a pretext for a raid on Botswana in which three persons were killed, and two acts of sabotage (see above).

219. Amnesty was granted to all but one of the five.

East Rand Security Branch

220. The East Rand Security Branch was based in Springs, with branches in Benoni and Germiston. Amnesty applications for two incidents were received from five applicants, including both divisional commanders. The incidents involved eight killings and at least seven attempted killings (all in Operation Zero Zero) and an attack on the home of a political activist. All applicants were granted amnesty.

Port Natal Security Branch

221. The divisional headquarters of the Port Natal Security Branch was based at CR Swart SAP Headquarters in Durban, with branches or operatives based at Port Shepstone, Scottsburgh and Stanger.

222. Port Natal Security Branch played an extensive role in relation to MK activities in and from Swaziland. Like its counterparts in other parts of the country, it set up a Terrorist Detection or Tracing Unit in the mid-1980s. The unit was headed by then Major Andrew 'Andy' Russell Cavill Taylor and established a significant *askari* base, drawing additionally on the resources of the Pietermaritzburg-based Natal Security Branch and operating throughout the province. Most amnesty applicants applied for offences committed while they were part of this unit.

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

224. One of the ANC's submissions to the Commission notes a significant number of losses amongst its Natal operatives during the 1980s, with the number of operatives killed or disappeared rising sharply in 1987 and 1988. The rising number of deaths in these years coincides with the establishment of the Natal *askari* unit.

225. Sixteen members of the Port Natal Security Branch, including the divisional commander and the head of the Terrorist Detection Unit, applied for amnesty for twenty incidents committed between the late 1970s and 1991. These incidents involved more than ten abductions and seventeen killings, almost exclusively committed by members of the Terrorist Detection/*askari* unit between 1986 and 1990. The Amnesty Committee also received several amnesty applications for numerous acts of torture in the 1970s, including one from Colonel Taylor.
226. Applicants were granted amnesty in fifty-two instances and refused in four (the abduction and killing of Ms Ntombi Khubeka – see below). In five instances no decision was made as the applicant, Colonel Taylor, had died before the hearing.
227. Six members of the Port Natal Security Branch based in the Terrorism Investigation Section and two C1/Vlakplaas operatives applied for amnesty for their role in the abduction, death and subsequent disposal of the body of Ms Ntombikayise (Ntombi) Priscilla Ngcobo (née Khubeka) in April or May 1987.
228. Ms Khubeka lived in KwaMashu near Durban, and was suspected of acting as a co-ordinator between the external and internal units of MK. Two C1/Vlakplaas *askaris*, Xola Frank Mbane and a Mr Dube, made contact with her.
229. Mr Mbane drove Ms Khubeka to Battery Beach from where she was abducted by the Port Natal team, blindfolded, bound and taken to an abandoned shooting range at Winkelspruit, south of Durban. Still blindfolded, she was interrogated by a team consisting of Colonel Andy Taylor, Captain Hentie Botha, Sergeant Laurie Wasserman, Sergeant Cassie van der Westhuizen, Joe Coetzer and Warrant Officer ‘Bossie’ Basson.
230. Captain Botha testified that the interrogation lasted approximately fifteen to twenty minutes and that Taylor struck her approximately ten to fifteen times with a sjambok. Sergeant van der Westhuizen’s testimony suggests that the interrogation lasted an hour. Both of these accounts were disputed by *askari* Mbane, who alleged that the interrogation lasted for about two hours and that he could hear her ‘screams of pain’ from where he waited outside.
231. Ms Khubeka’s dead body was dumped near the Bhambayi informal settlement, some distance away from her home. Later Captain Botha established that her family was unaware of her death and appeared to believe that she had gone into exile. It was subsequently rumoured that she had left the country for

Mozambique because of the attentions of the Security Branch. It was only after the application was received by the Amnesty Committee that it became possible to discover what had happened to Ms Khubeka. Cases like this demonstrate the value of the principle of requiring full disclosure before amnesty is granted.

232. The Commission exhumed remains believed to be Ms Kubeka's from a pauper's grave at Charlottedale Cemetery in Stanger. In a post-mortem examination, a pathologist concluded that the remains matched those of Ntombi Khubeka. A single metallic object of approximately 10 mm in length fell from the skull and was later identified by a ballistics expert as a spent 7.65mm bullet. The University of Glasgow made a positive facial identification of the skull. Following a challenge by the applicants, the findings were confirmed by the SAPS Forensic Science Laboratory in Pretoria.
233. Applicants Botha, Du Preez, Wasserman and Van der Westhuizen were refused amnesty for failing to make full disclosure. Applicants Radebe and Baker, who were neither present during the interrogation nor involved in the disposal of the body, were granted amnesty for her abduction.

Natal Security Branch

234. The Natal Security Branch was based in Pietermaritzburg, with branches or operatives based at Ladysmith, Greytown, Kokstad and Matatiele. Natal Security Branch operatives were also based at the Sani Pass and Boesmansnek Border Posts with Lesotho. Amongst the Branch's divisional commanders was Brigadier Jacobus Hendrik 'Jac' Buchner.
235. As mentioned above, the Natal Security Branch participated in the work of the *askari* unit and owned one of the farms from which the unit operated. It was on this farm near Elandskop that the bodies of three abductees were exhumed.
236. Applications were received from five members of the Natal Security Branch for six incidents committed between 1980 and 1988. These incidents included four killings, an attack on a homestead belonging to an IFP member as part of establishing credibility for a source, and an attempted abduction.
237. Amnesty was granted to all applicants for all incidents excluding an attempted abduction in Swaziland.

Northern Natal Security Branch

238. The Northern Natal Security Branch was based at Newcastle, with operatives based at Vryheid, Empangeni, Eshowe, Jozini, Ndumo, Melmoth and Nongoma.
239. Two applications were received from the Northern Natal Security Branch for an abduction and two killings, one in 1980 and one in 1985. Both applicants, warrant officers at the time, were granted amnesty for the 1980 killing, but the applications for the 1985 abduction and the killing of Mr Jameson Ngoloyi Mngomezulu were refused.

Eastern Cape Security Branch

240. The divisional headquarters of the Eastern Cape Security Branch was based in the Sanlam building in Port Elizabeth, where several detainees lost their lives at the hands of the Security Branch. The headquarters later moved to Louis Le Grange Square. Branches and sub-branches were based in Uitenhage, Cradock, Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort.
241. Twelve members of the Eastern Cape Security Branch, including two divisional commanders, applied for amnesty for eight incidents. A Security Branch informer, Patrick Mncedisi Hlongwane, also applied for amnesty for a number of incidents. Applications were also received from members of the C1 (Vlakplaas) unit and from the Technical Division of Security Branch Headquarters for their participation in Eastern Cape Security Branch operations.
242. Incidents applied for include nine or possibly ten abductions and fifteen killings that occurred between 1977 and 1989. Only three of the victims appeared to be directly linked to MK structures (Gcinisizwe Kondile, Siphiwe Mthimkulu and Topsy Madaka). Eight of the remaining twelve were prominent political figures (Steve Biko, the 'Pebco Three' and the 'Cradock Four'), three were Security Branch operatives and one was an informer (linked to the 'Motherwell Four').
243. Applicants were granted amnesty in ten instances and refused in eighteen⁷⁸ Mr Hlongwane was refused amnesty for all acts associated with his activities as an informer for the Eastern Cape Security Branch in the 1980s.

⁷⁸ Steve Biko, the 'Pebco Three', the 'Cradock Four', the 'Motherwell Four', the torture of Mkhuseleli Jack.

Border Security Branch

244. The Border Security Branch was based in East London, with branches at Queenstown, Aliwal North, King William's Town and Elliot.
245. The Amnesty Committee received an application from a former Divisional Commander of the Border Security Branch, then Colonel Johannes Lodewikus Griebenaauw, and one from one of his subordinates for their role in assisting the SADF in an operation code-named Katzen.⁷⁹ They were both granted amnesty. Major General Griebenaauw, then still a Colonel, also applied for amnesty for his role in securing jobs in the SADF for two Transkei Security Branch operatives who were facing charges arising from the killing of MK operative Sithembele Zokwe in Butterworth in the Transkei on 11 June 1988. This application was refused, as no offence was specified.

Western Cape Security Branch

246. The divisional headquarters of the Western Cape Security Branch was based at Caledon Square and later in Loop Street in Cape Town.
247. Five members of the Western Cape Security Branch applied for amnesty for five incidents and an unspecified number of incidents involving torture. The five incidents included three acts of sabotage, one killing and one attempted killing. Several of the applicants belonged to the Terrorist Tracking Unit.
248. Amnesty was granted in all but two incidents.

Orange Free State Security Branch

249. The Orange Free State Security Branch was based at Bloemfontein with a branch at Ladybrand and a sub-branch at ThabaNchu and Bethlehem. Orange Free State Security Branch operatives were also based at several border posts with Lesotho.
250. Nine applicants from the Orange Free State Security Branch applied for twelve specified incidents. These included four abductions, four attempted killings, torture, and a number of attacks on houses or vehicles using petrol bombs. Applicants

79 Johannes Lodewikus Griebenaauw [AM5182/97], Phillip Jacobus Fouche [AM6742/97].

in three incidents were divisional commanders: then Lieutenant-Colonels Johan van der Merwe, Dirk Genis and Eben Coetzee. An informer, later a police recruit, sought amnesty for some of the above incidents as well as an additional eight incidents. Amnesty was granted in eleven instances and refused in eighteen.

Northern Cape Security Branch

251. The Northern Cape Security Branch was based in Kimberley and included a branch at Vryburg.
252. The branch commander of Vryburg applied for and was granted amnesty for an attack on a church conducted in co-operation with C1/Vlakplaas.

Northern Transvaal Security Branch: A case study

253. The Northern Transvaal Security Branch was based in Pretoria and was responsible for Pretoria and its environs, including the black townships of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville. The Branch had sub-branches in Brits and Bronkhorstspuit, from where it monitored Kwandebele. Brigadier Jan Hattingh 'Jack' Cronje was the divisional commander during the key period for which most applications were received. During this period, Brigadier Cronje also served in an official capacity on the JMC.⁸⁰
254. Thirty members of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch applied for amnesty for sixty incidents committed between 1981 and 1990. Several operatives, including the Divisional Commander, also sought amnesty for a number of attacks on the homes of activists in the mid-1980s. In addition, two applications were received from members of the Western Transvaal Security Branch, six from the SADF Special Forces and five from members of other SAP units for a number of joint operations or incidents in which they had participated. An application was also received from the commanding officer of the Security Branch and from the Chairperson of a security sub-committee of the Northern Transvaal JMC for incidents that they had authorised.
255. Approximately twelve of the incidents involved torture or serious assault. There were twenty-two abductions; forty-five killings, three of which took place outside South Africa's borders; sixteen bombing/arson attacks on homes, and an

⁸⁰ Joint Management Committee.

undisclosed number of attacks on the homes of activists, either with petrol bombs or with more lethal explosive devices.⁸¹

256. Amnesty was granted in 120 instances, refused in nine, conditionally granted or granted/refused in five. No decision was taken in two instances where the applicant was deceased and in one where the application was withdrawn.
257. Most of the violations for which amnesty was sought emanated from a covert group under the command of Lieutenant Jacques Hechter.
258. Attacks on the homes of activists took place primarily in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Brits and Tembisa. Targets of abductions and killings tended to be MK operatives or those suspected of being linked to MK members. Targets for intimidation tended to be those involved in mass campaigns. In several instances, these attacks led to deaths.
259. A pentolite bomb was thrown at the home of the Ledwaba family shortly after midnight on 18 September 1986. There were nine people in the house at the time of the attack, including a 62-year-old woman and children under the age of fifteen. The target of the attack, Ms May Ledwaba, was unharmed but Mr Walter Ledwaba, a relative, was killed and Mr Julian Selepe lost a hand and suffered severe damage to his leg [AM4158/96; AM2776/96; AM3759/96; AM2773/96].
260. In February 1987, the home of Mr Scheepers Morodu, chairperson of the Mamelodi Students' Congress, was petrol-bombed. Mr Morodu was uninjured, but his eleven-year-old niece, Sanna Puleng Letsie, was killed. Lieutenant Willem Johannes Momberg, Sergeant Eric Goosen, Captain Jacques Hechter, Brigadier Jan Hattingh Cronje and Brigadier Gilles van de Wall, who chaired the security sub-committee of the Northern Transvaal Joint Management Centre, applied for and were granted amnesty for this incident [AC/2001/061].
261. Approximately three months later, Scheepers Morodu was detained by the Northern Transvaal Security Branch. During interrogation, Lieutenant Hechter and Sergeant van Vuuren subjected him to various forms of torture, including electric shock, suffocation and assault. Eventually he agreed to become an informer. At the amnesty hearing into his torture, Mr Morodu testified that:

⁸¹ These are not mutually exclusive categories: many incidents involve multiple violations, where a person may be abducted, tortured and then killed. Similarly killings include those killed during an attack on a home.

This act ruined my life and I could not walk safe in the township and each and every person suspected me ... I wouldn't have collaborated with them and they knew that for a fact when they interrogated me and that is why they brought in Mr Mamasela to come and talk to me – whereby I even refused. And when one of them left the office, Joe Mamasela told me in no uncertain terms that I am going to die if I don't work with them. (Pretoria hearing, 21 March 1999.)

262. Morodu also testified that he has had to continue to receive medical treatment as a consequence of his torture:

My last operation was last October 31st ... According to that doctor they said my nose was the bone which separates the two nostrils was went to the other side. I think it is as a result of them kicking me in my face.

263. The covert operational unit was also involved in a number of abductions and killings. Lieutenant Hechter testified at the Masuku hearing on 26 March 2000 that:

It started with petrol bombs and then, as we began to target the more serious activists, it went over to bomb attacks and then there were specific activists who were removed and eliminated from society.

264. The covert unit was also involved in the following operations:

- a On 6 May 1987, Mr Joe Tsele, a UDF activist, was shot dead in his home in Bophuthatswana by Joe Mamasela.⁸²
- b On the night of 15 July 1986, nine youths were shot dead and their bodies set alight in a house in Kwandebele. This operation happened just three weeks after ten youths had been killed near Nietverdiend (see above).
- c In the same month, Messrs Jackson Maake, Andrew Maponye Makope and Harold Sello Sefolo were abducted and taken to an abandoned Portland Cement Company property near Pretoria. Here they were interrogated and shocked with high voltage electricity until they were dead, one by one. Mr Sefolo, the last to die, witnessed the deaths of Mr Maake and Mr Makope. The bodies of the three were taken and placed on a landmine on an abandoned road in Bophuthatswana. The landmine was then detonated.⁸³
- d Shortly after the above operation, an unknown person was abducted and taken to a deserted area in Bophuthatswana. Applicant Constable Sampina Bokaba testified that Hechter questioned Sefolo and, dissatisfied with his

⁸² Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp. 232–3.

⁸³ See Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp. 238–9.

responses, tied a wire around his neck and strangled him, with the assistance of Warrant Officer van Vuuren. Sefolo's body was then dumped in the veld with a tyre placed around his neck. Petrol was poured over him and he was set alight.⁸⁴

- e In 1987, an unnamed man believed by the Security Branch to be a member of MK was picked up for questioning. He was driven into Mamelodi by between six and eight operatives, including Brigadier Cronje, the Divisional Commander of Northern Transvaal Security Branch, and asked to identify houses where MK members were hiding. When he was unable to identify a single house, he was assaulted by the operatives. Captain Prinsloo testified that he throttled the captive until his body became limp and sank to the ground. Lieutenant Momberg and Sergeant Goosen picked the victim up and placed him on a landmine, which was then detonated. Lieutenant Momberg, who lit the fuse, testified that he heard the explosion as he 'walked away from this scene towards the bus and climbed in'. The group then went back to Pretoria (Pretoria hearing, 1999).
- f Amnesty applicants confirmed that Sergeant David Mothasi and Mrs Busisiwe Irene Mothasi were killed by members of the covert unit at their home in Temba, Bophuthatswana on 30 November 1987, allegedly on the instructions of the Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Stemmet.⁸⁵ They further testified that there had been no instruction to kill Mrs Mothasi, and that her killing by Constable Joe Mamasela was unauthorised. In his section 29 appearance before the Commission, Mamasela claimed that his instructions were that both Sergeant and Mrs Mothasi and their five-year-old son were to be killed, but that he had spared the life of the child. Constable Mamasela did not apply for amnesty.

265. Lieutenant Jacques Hechter of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch (see above) also acted as the link with an SADF Special Forces covert operational unit that was involved in conducting joint operations with the Northern Transvaal Security Branch. Brigadier Cronje testified that Brigadier Schoon, head of Section C (terrorist investigations) at Security Branch Headquarters, instructed him to work with the SADF's Special Forces. This confirmed Brigadier Cronje's opinion that the Security Branch was now engaged in all-out war. At the Security Forces hearing that took place from 2–10 October 2000, he testified that:

84 Hearing 27 March to 7 April 2000. See Volume Two, Chapter Three, p. 238; AC/1999/032,AM2777/96, AC/1999/030,AM2776/96, AC/2000/107,AM5460/97.

85 See Volume Two, Chapter Two, p. 271.

[Special Forces] was the special combat unit working with covert actions. If Brigadier Schoon gave me instruction to work with Military Intelligence I would not have considered that an instruction [for] war, but the instruction to work with Special Forces was a direct instruction to get involved in direct military warfare. I accepted Brigadier Schoon's instruction and respected it as an instruction to get directly involved with military action in a military way. It was therefore no longer normal policing actions or tasks which I had to carry out. My responsibilities were therefore far wider.

266. The covert unit undertook at least three joint operations with SADF Special Forces (see below).

Section C

267. Like its counterpart at Security Branch headquarters, Section C was the so-called Terrorist Investigation Unit. As an investigative rather than intelligence-gathering unit, its function was to investigate all matters relating to MK and other armed formations.
268. Nine Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives based in Section C applied for amnesty for a number of abductions and killings committed between 1986 and 1987.
269. During 1986, an MK elimination unit (sometimes referred to as the 'Icing Unit') was active in the Northern Transvaal and Bophuthatswana area.
270. On 18 March 1986, Mr Patrick Martin Mahlangu, who was allegedly linked to the Icing Unit, was abducted from his Mamelodi home by Vlakplaas *askaris* purporting to be MK operatives. He was taken to a place near Northam in the Transvaal and was strangled en route by Colonel Marthinus Dawid Ras. His body was placed on top of approximately eight kilograms of TNT, which was detonated in an attempt to make it appear as if he had blown himself up while laying a landmine.
271. In September 1986, four members of the Icing Unit (Messrs Jabu Masina, Ting-Ting Masango, Joseph Makuru and Neo Potsane) were detained and later sentenced to death. At around the time of their arrest, a fifth member of the unit, Mr Justice Mbizana (aka Mandla Shezi) disappeared and none of the other four

knew what had happened to him. Ten Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the Divisional Commander, Brigadier Cronje, the head of Section C, Major Sarel du Plessis Crafford, and his second-in-command, Captain Hendrik Prinsloo, applied for amnesty for his abduction [AC/2001/248]. Five of the ten applicants admitted in their applications that they had been responsible for killing Mr Mbizana.

272. On 14 October 1986, Captain Prinsloo (then head of Section C) instructed Constables Mathebula and Chenny William More of Section C to go to the house of Mr Moses Morudu, who was also suspected of being linked to the 'Icing Unit'. Their orders were to pretend to be MK operatives and to persuade Mr Morudu to go into exile. Morudu agreed to go with them and was handed over to white members of Section C. He was taken to a farm near Hammanskraal where he was held for approximately one week, during which time he was interrogated by members of both Section C and the covert unit, including Lieutenant Hechter and Constables van Vuuren and Mamasela.
273. Constables Mathebula, More and Matjeni applied for amnesty for this incident[AC/2000/010]. They testified that they had no idea of Morudu's ultimate fate, except that he disappeared from the farm after a week. The Morudu family believed that he had gone into exile but realised that something must have happened to him when he failed to return with the other exiles after 1990.
274. Another killing linked to Section C of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch was that of Mr Ernest Ramango, alleged to be a Security Branch source (Source 402) but suspected of being a double agent. Mr Ramango was picked up, interrogated and assaulted and given a poisonous drink. He was transported to Mamelodi in an unconscious state and placed on top of a landmine, which was then detonated. Captain JJH van Jaarsveld confirmed that Ramango had been one of his sources but had later reported to Major SdP Crafford [AM3761/96]. J P Roodt [AC5466/97] and D J Kruger [AM5233/97] applied for and were granted amnesty for the murder of Ramango and related offences [AC/1999/307]. Major Crafford [AM5468/97; AC/2000/110] also received amnesty for his role in this murder.
275. In June 1987, Jeffrey Sibaya and a man known as Mpho were killed by members of the covert unit and Section C⁸⁶. Although no specific mention is made of Mr Sibaya's link to the 'Icing Unit', applicant Van Vuuren suggested that Mr Sibaya

⁸⁶ See above, para 93.

had been connected to the death of Sergeant Seuntjie Vuma, for which members of the 'Icing Unit' had been sentenced to death [AM2777/96].

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

277. Mr Lubane's family has requested that the site where he was killed be identified so that they can look for fragments of his remains and perform the customary burial rites.

The South African Defence Force

278. General Johannes Jacobus 'Jannie' Geldenhuys, Chief of the SADF, General Andreas Jacobus 'Kat' Liebenberg, Chief of the Army, Admiral Andries Petrus 'Dries' Putter, Chief of Staff Intelligence,⁸⁷ and Brigadier Christoffel Pierre 'Joffel' van der Westhuizen, Officer Commanding Eastern Province Command applied for amnesty for Operation Katzen, an attempt to establish a surrogate force in the Eastern Cape as well as the overthrow of the Ciskei government of Lennox Sebe. Amnesty was granted [AC/2000/192; AC/1999/243; AC/2000/037].

⁸⁷ Admiral Putter subsequently withdrew this application.

279. The following members of the SADF applied for amnesty for their role in destabilising the homelands:
- a Captain Henri van der Westhuizen for his role in providing arms to General Oupa Gqozo (granted in Chambers) [AM5462/97; AC/2001/212];
 - b Kommandant Jan Anton Nieuwoudt for his involvement in the attempt to overthrow Chief Bantu Holomisa in the Transkei in November 1990 (application later withdrawn); and
 - c Clive Brink for his involvement in the killing of Messrs Onward Guzana and Charles Sebe on 27 January 1991 (application later withdrawn).
280. The Amnesty Committee also received several applications from members of C1/Vlakplaas for their role in providing Kommandant Jan Anton Nieuwoudt with arms to be used in the coup [AM8079/97; AM3766/96; AM4358/96]. At the time Kommandant Nieuwoudt was based in IR-CIS, allegedly a private company which provided an intelligence capacity to General Oupa Gqozo, Chief Minister of the Ciskei, but was in fact a front for the SADF.

Northern Transvaal Security Branch and Special Forces Joint Operations

281. Giving evidence before the Amnesty Committee, Major General Abraham 'Joep' Joubert [AM3799/96] testified that the new Chief of the Defence Force, General Johannes Jacobus 'Jannie' Geldenhuys, had informed him that the government planned to expand the state of emergency countrywide in June 1986. General Geldenhuys instructed him to draw up a plan showing how Special Forces could provide support for the Security Branch internally. While it is clear from other evidence brought before the Commission and the Amnesty Committee that co-operation between Special Forces and the Security Branch pre-dated 1986, such co-operation probably related to external operations for which the Security Branch provided target intelligence.
282. According to General Joubert, Officer Commanding Special Forces⁸⁸:

At this stage, everybody of importance had realised that the unconventional and revolutionary methods provided the only hope of success. The fact that Special Forces was involved on an internal level, confirmed this.

⁸⁸ A veteran of the war in Namibia and Angola, recipient of the Southern Cross Medal and other awards, and past chair of the SWA Joint Management Committee.

By this time it was also clear that the ANC was not going to be stopped by normal conventional methods and that revolutionary methods would have to be used. As the institution for external operations, Special Forces would also have to intensify its external operations. (Amnesty hearing into the death of the 'Nietverdiend Ten' and other incidents: AC/1999/188.)

283. General Joubert testified that the decision to involve Special Forces internally confirmed the recognition that 'unconventional and revolutionary methods offered the only hope of success'.
284. Joubert's plan involved killing ANC leaders and others making a substantial contribution to the struggle, and destroying ANC facilities and support services. Because the SAP and not the SADF were primarily responsible for the internal security situation, the plan foresaw that the Security Branch would be responsible for the identification of potential targets for killing. Thereafter both forces would jointly decide on operations and their *modus operandi* which, once they had been authorised by the respective commanders, would be executed by Special Forces.
285. General Joubert envisaged that this plan would be implemented in three 'hotspots': the Northern Transvaal, the Witwatersrand and the Eastern Cape.
286. After outlining the plan to General Geldenhuys at a function at Armscor in April or May 1986, General Joubert received the go-ahead. He testified that he believed that the plan had been vetted by General Johan Coetzee, then Commissioner of Police.
287. Generals Geldenhuys and Coetzee were earlier questioned by the Commission in connection with the amnesty applications of Joubert and others.⁸⁹ They both denied authorising the plan and neither applied for amnesty, although they were given notice as implicated parties.
288. The involvement of Special Forces in 'unconventional and revolutionary' activities was clearly unlawful. This meant that such operations had to be conducted in a covert manner. They required a partial restructuring of the covert operational structures of Special Forces. Special Forces' covert operational capacity had been known initially as D40, later as Barnacle, and in the mid-1980s as the CCB.

⁸⁹ Armed Forces hearing, 8–9 October 1997.

289. Amnesty applications in respect of General Joubert's plan related only to joint operations conducted with the Northern Transvaal Security Branch. It is not known what operations were conducted in co-operation with the Security Branch in the Witwatersrand area, although General Joubert denied that any other killings took place as a result of the above plan. A sworn statement that forms part of an amnesty application by a Soweto Security Branch applicant refers to two of the Special Forces applicants, one of whom is implicated in the bombing of a building.
290. Members of Northern Transvaal Security Branch and several Special Forces operatives sought amnesty for three operations conducted in terms of the joint plan, including the killing of the 'Nietverdiend Ten' on 26 June 1986, the killing of Mr Piet Mbalekwa Ntuli, minister in the Kwandebele government, on 29 July 1986 and the killing of Dr Fabian and Mrs Florence Ribeiro on 1 December 1986.
291. A further joint operation between Special Forces and Section A of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch was conducted in April 1987. This operation involved the attempted killing of MK Special Operations operatives in Botswana and resulted in the killing of three Batswana citizens. (See 'The McKenzie car bomb' above). Applications were received from Brigadier Cronje and two Section A operatives; from two members of the Western Transvaal Security Branch who assisted with the operation, and from General Johan van der Merwe who authorised it. In line with their policy of not seeking amnesty for external violations, members of Special Forces did not apply for amnesty.

Operation Katzen

292. Brigadier Christoffel Pierre 'Joffel' van der Westhuizen devised Operation Katzen⁹⁰ in response to intense pressure from high-ranking members of the security forces and the political leadership of the National Party to stabilise the security situation in the Eastern Cape. In the short term, Operation Katzen aimed to fracture resistance politics in the Eastern Cape by creating an organisation along the lines of Inkatha. In the longer term, its ambitious plan was to lay the basis for a new constitutional dispensation in the region, allowing for African involvement in local and regional political structures.
293. Applicant Van der Westhuizen testified that the broad outline of this plan was in line with the thinking of State Security Council (SSC) structures at the time.

90 See Volume Two, Chapter Five, pp. 435–40.

Operation Katzen was approved by both the Chief of the Army, General 'Kat' Liebenberg, and his superior, the Chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and put into operation.

294. By January 1987, the following actions had been taken:

- a *Iliso Lomzi* had been established by anti-Sebe forces as the pro-government 'resistance movement' and had undergone training.
- b Charles Sebe, who had been identified as the leader of *Iliso Lomzi*, had been sprung from prison in Middledrift by members of Special Forces/CCB.
- c Kwane Sebe, son of Lennox Sebe and head of the Ciskei Police Elite Unit, and his second in command had been kidnapped and were being held in the Transkei.⁹¹
- d A shadow cabinet for the Ciskei had been established and plans had been made to topple the government.
- e A Stratcom plan aimed at discrediting Lennox Sebe had been put into effect as part of the plan to remove him from power by force.

295. By now Brigadier van der Westhuizen had been transferred to the Witwatersrand Command. He told the Amnesty Committee that Operation Katzen was terminated at this time. Yet despite his protestations, an attempted coup did take place in February 1987. Although Brigadier van der Westhuizen claimed that this no longer had the support of the SADF, he conceded that it was the direct result of Operation Katzen.

296. Planning documents submitted to the Amnesty Committee in connection with Operation Katzen make generous use of terminology such as 'permanently disappear', 'take out', 'get rid of' and similar expressions. Applicant van der Westhuizen denied that such terminology was intended to mean killing, although he continued to make the somewhat fantastic assertion that only 'an uninformed person who could possibly read the Plan, could be encouraged to kill or kidnap or discredit' those so identified as targets for 'removal'.

297. Van der Westhuizen's testimony was contradicted by that of Brigadier Johannes Lodewickus Griebenaauw, divisional commander of the Security Branch in the Border Region. Griebenaauw testified that he had been instructed by his superiors to participate in Operation Katzen. He said that he had had reservations about

⁹¹ The Amnesty Committee also received applications from members of the Ciskei Elite Unit, who sought amnesty for the torture of several detainees who had been detained in the aftermath of Charles Sebe's escape from prison and in connection with the activities of *Iliso Lomzi*.

this, particularly after *Iliso Lomzi* started engaging in 'certain [...] acts of terror' (East London hearing, 7 April 1999).

At that stage ... I found it hard to swallow as a policeman, because on the one hand I was trying to combat terrorism and on the other hand, I was aware of people who were being trained as terrorists. (East London hearing, 7 April 1999.)

298. In November 1986, one of his operatives had reported back to him from Operation Katzen meetings held in the Transkei, giving him the impression:

that what we were now concerned with was killing, actual, physical killing and physical removal, and that was probably the biggest reason that I withdrew and why I asked Head Office that we as the police should withdraw completely. (East London hearing, 7 April 1999.)

Directorate of Covert Collections-linked applications

299. The applications from Directorate of Covert Collections (DCC) personnel indicate that the SADF's involvement in the destabilisation of the homelands did not end with Operation Katzen. However, as two of these applications were withdrawn and the third was decided in Chambers, little new detail emerged regarding the incidents in question.⁹²

300. Besides these applications, a further two operatives linked to the DCC, Johan Frederich Verster and Leon Flores, formerly a Vlakplaas member, applied for amnesty for various operations aimed at discrediting the ANC in the 1990s.

301. The role and functions of the DCC came under the spotlight after a raid on DCC premises by the Goldstone Commission in November 1992. Following this raid, then President de Klerk ordered an investigation headed by South African Air Force general Pierre Steyn. Drawing on two earlier investigations conducted by the SADF's Counter-Intelligence Unit as well as the NIS, General Steyn concluded that DCC personnel were involved in a range of unlawful activities. These included the planning and execution of coups in the Ciskei and Transkei; manipulating important role players in the Transkei and Ciskei; involvement with the IFP; fanning unrest through killing, arming of political factions and intimidation actions; participation in planning to escalate violence in order to thwart the government's reform initiatives, and corruption with regard to illegal arms deals.

⁹² See Volume Two, Chapter Seven, pp. 616–23 regarding destabilisation of the homelands in the 1990s.

302. The investigation by General Steyn also revealed that several members of the CCB, including its second in command, Dawid Fourie, Wouter Basson, 'Staal' Burger and 'Chappies' Maree, had been employed by the DCC following its dismantling.
303. The applications by DCC personnel provided some confirmation of these allegations.

CCB Region Six

304. The activities of Region Six of the CCB surfaced during the investigations into the Lubowski and Webster killings. According to evidence presented to the Amnesty Committee, the SADF decided to establish an internal region of the CCB, namely Region Six, in 1988.
305. Eight applications for amnesty were received in connection with the activities of Region Six.⁹³ These involved the attempted killing of UDF Western Cape Chair Abdullah Omar, the planned killing of Mr Gavin Evans, an End Conscription Campaign member, the bombing of the Early Learning Centre in Athlone Cape Town on 31 August 1989, and the harassment of Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town in 1989.
306. Applicants from Region Six claimed that the operations applied for were the only internal operations of Region Six. They stressed that the CCB had been a long-term plan, the fruition of which was cut short by the disbandment of the organisation in 1990.
307. The identity of Region Six had remained top secret even within the network of CCB operatives. Because there was only one amnesty application, there is still very little knowledge about the internal operations of the CCB.

93 Major General Edward Webb, GOC Special Forces and 'Chairman' of the CCB; Colonel Pieter Johan 'Joe' Verster, 'Managing Director' of the CCB; Wouter Jacobus Basson, aka Christo Brits, co-ordinator of Region Six; Daniel du Toit 'Staal' Burger, manager of Region Six; Leon Andre 'Chappies' Maree, Region Six, responsible for Natal; Carl Casteling 'Calla' Botha, Region Six, responsible for Transvaal; Abram 'Slang' van Zyl, Region Six, responsible for the Western Cape, and Ferdinand 'Ferdie' Barnard.

PART FOUR: ACCOUNTABILITY, DISCIPLINE AND THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP

ACCOUNTABILITY

308. In theory, the Commanding Officer of Security Branch Headquarters was accountable to the Commissioner of Police. However, because he had direct access to the Minister, he had considerable autonomy in authorising operations.⁹⁴ For example, in Operation Zero Zero (1985), the bombings of Cosatu House (1987) and Khotso House (1988) and the 'Cry Freedom' incident (1988), communication seems to have taken place directly between the Minister and the Officer Commanding the Security Branch.
309. The Officer Commanding's second in command could authorise operations when his superior was not present. Thus, Brigadier Jan du Preez, second in command in the early 1980s, is said to have authorised several operations, including the entrapment operation in which three COSAS youths were killed in February 1982. According to Brigadier Schoon, Brigadier du Preez was functionally senior to the divisional commanders with whom he shared the same rank.
310. Where both the Officer Commanding and his second in command were unavailable, it appears that in certain circumstances Brigadier Schoon, head of Group C (counter-terrorism) and one of the most senior officers at Headquarters, was able to issue such authorisation. He appears to have provided a crucial line of communication and authorisation, and several applicants in divisional offices cite him as their line of communication. Following the killing of the Ribeiros⁹⁵, General Coetzee testified that, as Commissioner of Police, he telephoned Brigadier Schoon directly following allegations of security force complicity and instructed him to make enquiries of Brigadier Cronje, the Divisional Commander in whose jurisdiction the killing had taken place, and to report back to him and the Security Branch chief.
311. During the execution of an operation, operational commanders were allowed considerable discretion. According to applicants, it was not always possible to set guidelines and standing orders because decisions frequently had to be made

⁹⁴ It should be noted, however, that throughout the Commission's mandate period, Commissioners of Police were in most instances former Commanding Officers of the Security Branch.

⁹⁵ Volume Two, Chapter Three, p. 231.

quickly. Brigadier van der Merwe told the Amnesty Committee that planning was usually done:

*on the ground level by members who knew the circumstances and who were involved with the execution. [He] ... just accepted that the people who were involved were experienced, competent and that they would have the ability to manage and execute it.*⁹⁶

312. Extrajudicial killings formed part of a counter-revolutionary strategy authorised by the state at the highest level.⁹⁷ Targets included civilians who were either political opponents or supporters of the liberation movements.
313. Applicants in numerous hearings testified that those who assisted MK operatives by providing logistical support such as finance and transport and safe houses were also regarded as legitimate or justifiable targets.
314. It would appear that most internal targets for elimination were decided at a divisional level, as emerged at the 'Pebco Three' and Ribeiro hearings. Lieutenant Jacques Hechter told the Committee that targets for elimination were decided on 'an *ad hoc basis*', particularly those who were high-profile activists or 'untouchables' who could not be prosecuted in a court of law.⁹⁸
315. However, such decisions were made within a broader national context: the former in response to an instruction from the Minister of Law and Order to 'stabilise the Eastern Cape by all means' and the latter in response to an instruction by Security Branch Headquarters to work with Special Forces.
316. Colonel de Kock and other applicants said that, because external operations put operatives in a far more vulnerable position, they always sought approval for these from Security Branch Headquarters. Major Williamson testified at the Pretoria hearing on 15 September 1998:

the impression that I probably got at the time ... was that if one was carrying out an operation which was on behalf of the State ... if a problem arose we would have the backing of the State. I never got the impression that it was like the movies you see where James Bond or somebody gets called in and the

⁹⁶ Pretoria amnesty hearing, 21 April 1999.

⁹⁷ Volume Five, Chapter Six, pp. 214–18.

⁹⁸ Pretoria Hearing, 28 February 1997.

Minister says to him: 'I want you to go and kill somebody in the Bahamas but if you are caught we don't know who you are.' I had the feeling that we had the backing of the State and that if necessary they would take the necessary pain.

317. Many applicants testified that they worked in a culture where information about clandestine and covert activities was tightly guarded and details were not widely circulated beyond those requiring specific knowledge. Adherence to the 'need to know' principle was regarded as essential in order to maintain the integrity of intelligence gathered and to ensure that operations were not compromised. This was especially so in covert operations, where every attempt was made to ensure that actions could not be traced back to their origins. Unlike clandestine acts, where the aim was to prevent information leaking prior to an operation, secrecy surrounding covert operations had to be maintained in perpetuity. In this context then, asking questions of commanders and colleagues was regarded as taboo. Major Craig Williamson told the Committee that anyone asking questions 'on an ongoing basis ... would definitely have been moved out of security branch headquarters'.

318. The 'need to know' principle extended to reporting on operations. Again, according to Major Williamson: 'what the commanders at that level and the politicians needed to know was the result of the operation and nothing further'. Applicants made it clear that their commanders expected to be told very little. But, said Williamson, 'the General had the right to know and the prerogative of using the right to know was the General's'.⁹⁹

319. However, said Williamson, there was 'a tendency in a social environment for lapses to occur'. Captain van Jaarsveld of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch pointed out that:

one of those anomalies in the Police ... (the) need to know was sustained on an official level, but when people met informally, like at a braaivleis, they discussed these matters. (Pretoria hearing, 5 May 1999.)

320. The 'need to know' principle helped prevent knowledge emerging as to who was responsible for covert operations. At another level, however, it appears to have operated together with another well-known security principle, that of 'plausible deniability'. Testimony to the Amnesty Committee on a number of matters clearly revealed that, in deciding 'who needed to know', there was a

⁹⁹ Pretoria hearing, 5 May 1997.

tendency to try to protect those higher up the command chain. At the Stanza Bopape hearing in Johannesburg (23–27 February 1998), General van der Merwe was asked why he had not informed his minister. He responded:

You must remember I was head of the security branch and the head security adviser and General Erasmus was head of the most important – and I think the burning point in South Africa – and we would have placed him in an impossible situation. They would not have had any other choice to comply with what we did. It would have been disadvantageous to them and it would have made them vulnerable and we would have used them as a rubber stamp and it would have been unethical. And because of that reason I took the decision on my own. And in all honesty I believed that it was in the best interest of the Minister and the government and the whole situation ...

... let's just look at what would have happened in the practice if I decided to approach the Minister. Would he have been able to handle this on his own? Wouldn't it have been put to him that he should advise the President and the President would have approached the State Security Council. Where would all of this have ended? The Minister had no more capacity in order to decide about this issue than me. I was responsible for the maintaining of law and order. The Minister was purely the political head. So his capacities were more restricted... So the Minister by knowing about this, could not have attributed to improve the situation as far as I'm concerned. But if I asked him to help with this, in order to maintain the smokescreen he would have had to answer questions to Parliament and he would have made himself guilty of telling untruths. And right through the whole issue he would have followed the same behaviour we did, and for him and the government it could have been very dangerous. You must remember that we were willing to do this in the interest of that which we tried to achieve, which was public order. Something we considered very heavily at that stage. And also to protect the interest of the government. And if the Minister himself would have become involved it would have meant that those interests we wanted to protect, we would have jeopardised them.

321. In line with the above principles, orders were almost always verbal and tended to be conducted on a one-to-one basis. Written reports contained the barest detail. A lexicon of euphemisms, shrugs and winks developed. Discussions were brief, heavily dependent on body language and on a shared sense of purpose. Thus verbal, one-to-one commands ensured an absence of witnesses and documentary evidence, while obscure language allowed commanders to claim that they had misunderstood or misinterpreted a communication, providing enormous scope for denial of involvement and/or authorisation.

AUTHORISATION OF UNLAWFUL ACTIVITIES

322. Increasingly, as time went on, the security forces used unlawful and criminal actions, particularly extrajudicial killings, to respond to the political situation. By now, the condonation and tolerance of extrajudicial activity had led to a culture of impunity throughout the security forces.
323. The Commission noted a number of words and phrases in security policy documents, speeches in Parliament and elsewhere in the mid-1980s such as: '*elimineer*' (eliminate); '*uithaal*' (take out); '*fisiese vernietiging – mense, fasiliteite, fondse*' (physical destruction – people, facilities, funds); '*maak 'n plan*' (make a plan); '*uitwis*' (wipe out). Numerous amnesty applicants, including senior personnel, confirmed that they had understood such words to mean killing. Major Williamson told the Committee that he understood 'these words to have a simple meaning and that is to get rid of, kill, destroy'.
324. Despite this, former Minister Vlok and Generals van der Merwe and Coetzee continued to assert that at no stage did the State Security Council (SSC) authorise any policies that included extrajudicial killing. Indeed they went further, saying that the SSC neither authorised nor recommended any illegal action, although Mr Vlok did concede that certain Stratcom activities approved by the SSC could be regarded as unlawful. They did, however, agree that operatives could have 'misunderstood' their intentions. Mr Vlok said, for example, that the phrase 'destroy the enemy' could have been understood in a literal sense.
325. This position appears to have been an attempt to support Security Branch applicants in their efforts to gain amnesty while, at the same time, exonerating those in command and political authority. The Commission did not support the arguments put forward by former Minister Vlok and Generals van der Merwe and Coetzee.¹⁰⁰
326. The applications referred to below, which covered a range of violations, involved direct political authorisation:

100 Volume Five, pp. 214–19.

- a In 1982, amnesty applicant General Petrus Johannes Coetzee said he was instructed by then Minister le Grange to assemble a team to strike at the offices of the ANC in London in the United Kingdom, saying that this was ‘the decision of the government’ (Pretoria hearing, 22 February – 5 March 1999).
- b In 1985, Minister le Grange allegedly authorised a plan,¹⁰¹ codenamed Operation Zero Zero, to issue hand grenades to a number of young COSAS activists on the East Rand.¹⁰² As a result of this operation, seven youths were killed and eight severely injured when they attempted to detonate the hand grenades as instructed.¹⁰³
- c In 1987, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok authorised the destruction of Cosatu House, national headquarters of the trade union federation, in central Johannesburg. A C1/Vlakplaas team, with assistance from the Witwatersrand Security Branch as well as the technical and explosives sections at Security Branch Headquarters, undertook the operation on the night of 3 May 1987, extensively damaging the building.¹⁰⁴
- d In July 1988, Minister Vlok authorised the placing of dummy explosives in several cinemas around South Africa, to provide a pretext for the seizure and banning of the film *Cry Freedom* about the death of detainee Steve Biko at the hands of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch. This action was undertaken after numerous unsuccessful attempts to force the government-appointed Publications Control Board to ban the film. In the words of Mr Vlok, ‘we had walked the legal way ... I judged the risk that this film would have and it would be so inciteful that this risk was too big’.¹⁰⁵
- e In August 1988, Minister Vlok was allegedly ordered by State President PW Botha to render Khotso House ‘unusable’, but to do so without loss of life. According to Mr Vlok and General van der Merwe, the Security Branch had evidence that arms were stored on the premises and that people with MK links had been seen entering the building. Mr Vlok further testified that, although he had not been given specific instructions to bomb Khotso House, neither he nor General van der Merwe was able to think of a legal way to carry out Mr Botha’s instructions. He said, moreover, that Mr Botha’s injunction to ensure that there was no loss of life led him to believe that Mr Botha was suggesting the use of unlawful means. The operation, conducted by C1 with assistance from the Witwatersrand Security Branch and the

101 As Le Grange is deceased, his authorisation cannot be confirmed. However, Delpont gave evidence that Le Grange visited the East Rand shortly after the incident and congratulated him.

102 See ‘Operation Zero Zero’ in Part Two of this chapter.

103 Evidence relating to the entrapment differs between the applicants and the survivor.

104 Cosatu House hearing, 21–31 July 1998, and Volume Two, Chapter Three, p. 289.

105 Johannesburg hearing, 20–31 July 1998.

explosives section at Security Branch headquarters, took place on the night of 31 August 1988. Following this operation, both Minister Vlok and General van der Merwe were involved in the cover-up.¹⁰⁶

327. The above incidents demonstrate that there was direct political authorisation for clearly unlawful activities that included killing. In addition, evidence was led that a number of cross-border operations had been authorised by the state, and General Coetzee testified to involvement in the 1982 Maseru raid and the 1985 Gaborone raid.

328. Applicants gave further evidence of high-level political authorisation at a meeting of the senior national and divisional leadership of the Security Branch in early 1985. The meeting was addressed by then State President PW Botha who commanded them to bring the security situation under control by 'whatever means possible'. This was interpreted as authorisation to use unconventional and unlawful methods.

329. One of the arguments presented by representatives of the National Party and certain high-ranking security and intelligence officials is that the CI/Vlakplaas unit was a renegade gang, acting outside of official policy.

330. It is indeed so that higher authorisation was not conclusively established in a number of operations conducted by C1. However, with regard to one matter, that relating to the killing of Mr Griffiths Mxenge in November 1981, the Amnesty Committee commented as follows:

With regard to [Dirk Coetzee], there was no direct evidence to confirm that he acted on the orders of Van der Hoven [Divisional Commander of Port Natal] or Taylor [Section C, Port Natal]. In fact, it is a matter of public knowledge that Van der Hoven and Taylor denied any involvement; they did so during their recent trial in which they were co-accused with the applicants on a criminal charge in respect of this very incident. While there may be some doubt about the identity of the person or persons on whose advice, command or order, the first applicant acted, the fact that he acted on the advice, command or order of one or more senior members of the Security Branch, admits of no doubt; particularly if regard is had to the following:

106 Khotso House hearing, 20–31 July 1998, and Volume Two, Chapter Three, p. 291.

- *He knew nothing about Mxenge and had never heard of him;*
- *He was not based in Durban, but in Vlakplaas near Pretoria. It is inconceivable that he would have, on his own, come all the way to Durban to launch an operation of this magnitude;*
- *Being from Pretoria, he must have been given the necessary logistical and other support on the orders of someone who was his superior;*
- *In order to carry out the operation he requested that Joe Mamasela, who was at that time based in the North West area, be brought to Durban. This was done; Mamasela was released and sent to Durban to be part of the squad;*
- *The murder was indeed covered up and the truth did not emerge until later when it was revealed by the first applicant. This give credence to the allegation of Security Branch involvement on a high level as alleged by first applicant;*
- *An amount of three thousand rand (R3 000.00) was paid to the second and third applicants and to Mamasela by the Security Police, for their part in the killing of Mxenge. [AC/1997/041.]*

331. The scenario sketched by the Amnesty Committee is, in the Commission's view, of more general applicability to many of the other killings committed by C1/Vlakplaas.

332. The consistent pattern of violations committed by both C1/Vlakplaas and other regions provides compelling evidence that operatives were pursuing a policy that was widely accepted and broadly authorised. Moreover, considerable evidence was led during amnesty hearings that supported the Commission's viewpoint that unlawful activity was widely condoned. The Commission bases this viewpoint on the following evidence:

Failure to discipline

333. There was a consistent failure to discipline those who behaved in an unlawful manner. Applicants cited numerous incidents in which senior personnel failed to take action against subordinates who had committed transgressions.

334. Brigadier Cronje, Divisional Commander of the Northern Transvaal, was present when Captain Hendrik Prinsloo assaulted an unknown MK operative. Yet, even when Captain Prinsloo began to throttle the victim, he made no effort to stop the assault. The victim died of strangulation.

335. On 6 May 1987, Constable Joe Mamasela is alleged to have shot dead Mr Joe Tsele when his instructions had simply been to check whether he was at home. Brigadier Cronje, who was present during the incident, testified that he had seen no point in reprimanding Mamasela as the covert unit had intended to kill Mr Tsele in any case.
336. On 30 November 1987, the covert operational unit killed police officer David Mothasi and his wife Busi Irene. Applicants said there had been no instruction to kill Mrs Mothasi. Joe Mamasela, who was responsible for the killing of Mrs Mothasi, was neither reprimanded nor disciplined.
337. On 12 June 1988, detainee Stanza Bopape died while being tortured with electric shock treatment. Those responsible reported the matter to their Divisional Commander, Brigadier Gerrit Nicholas Erasmus, who in turn informed the Officer Commanding the Security Branch, General Johan van der Merwe. Not only did Brigadier Erasmus and General van der Merwe then conspire to cover up the death of Mr Bopape, but they also failed to take any disciplinary actions against those responsible.
338. In June 1986, Mr Jabulani Sydney Msibi, a prominent MK operative, was abducted from Swaziland on instructions from Security Branch Headquarters. He was subsequently transferred to Daisy Farm where Captain de Kock and another severely assaulted him in the presence of Brigadier Herman Stadler, head of the Intelligence Section of Security Branch Headquarters. Brigadier Stadler instructed Captain de Kock to stop the assault, but took no further action.
339. In December 1985, General van der Merwe, then second in command of the Security Branch, authorised a raid on Maseru, Lesotho, that left nine persons dead, including three Lesotho citizens. When informed of this situation in early January, the Commissioner of Police, General Coetzee, took no action against General van der Merwe. This contradicts his testimony in an earlier Commission hearing, in which he testified that he had taken action whenever he received evidence of unlawful activity. On the contrary, Brigadier van der Merwe's promotion to General and his appointment as Commanding Officer of the Security Branch from the beginning of January 1986 went through as planned. In his defence, General Coetzee said that he had reported the matter to Minister le Grange and it had been up to the Minister to decide whether action should be taken. He further testified:

On that particular day in the context of what was happening then and then in the milieu that reigned there, if I had gone to the Minister and said 'and now I think criminal prosecution has to be instituted against General van der Merwe', he would have shown me the door and said 'listen here, you are out of your mind' because he believed it was in the interest of the country and that was the general thought or the general train of thought not only with the National Party but also with the government then. (Pretoria hearing, 3 March 2000.)

340. This provides conclusive evidence that he condoned the action.

Cover-ups

341. Further evidence that unlawful behaviour was widely condoned may be found in the many cover-ups that took place. In many instances, operatives – often with the sanction and assistance of those in higher command – played an active role in covering up unlawful activity. Types of cover-up included:

Placing arms at the scene of an ambush

342. On 8 June 1988, a joint C1/Eastern Transvaal team ambushed a vehicle they believed would be carrying armed MK operatives near Piet Retief. Three women and a man, all unarmed, were killed. In order to give the impression that a shoot-out had occurred, shots were fired from inside the vehicle and arms were planted in the vehicle.

343. Eugene de Kock testified that he had informed his superior, Brigadier Schoon, that there had been a 'problem with regards to the weapons', but that it had been rectified.

Appointing as investigating officers one of the operatives who had been involved in an incident

344. In many instances, applicants testified that they had both participated in an operation and acted as investigating officer afterwards, thus ensuring that the true facts did not emerge. In the two June 1988 Piet Retief ambushes, for example, then Captain Frederick Pienaar, commander of the Piet Retief sub-branch, initially acted as the investigating officer, despite the fact that he had been part of both operations. Further, in an arson attack on the Ledwaba home by the covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch, Sergeant Goosen,

who had accompanied Lieutenant Hechter on the operation, later attended the scene and described how he ‘purposely destroyed evidence in order to protect the real perpetrators, including myself’.

Using Stratcom activities to turn attention away from the perpetrators and cast blame on other parties

345. In many cases, an attempt was made to lay the blame on a third party. For example, former minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok testified that he himself was party to the attempt to lay blame for the Khotso House bomb on MK operative Shirley Gunn. Ms Gunn was subsequently detained.
346. The use of Eastern Bloc weapons in many operations was a further means of disguising the identity of the perpetrators. It is significant that security force operatives had easy access to, and carried around an armoury of, such weaponry.
347. Northern Transvaal operatives testified that their *modus operandi* with regard to extrajudicial killings was to get rid of bodies by blowing them up. This not only destroyed evidence, but also created the impression that the victims had killed themselves while laying a landmine, making them appear incompetent and poorly trained.
348. In some cases, measures were taken to perpetuate the myth that a victim who had been killed was still alive. For example, following the killing of Messrs Siphwe Mthimkhulu and Topsy Madaka, the Port Elizabeth Security Branch abandoned Mr Madaka’s car near the Lesotho border and continued to harass their families to reinforce the impression that they were still alive. Similarly, before being killed by the Northern Transvaal Security Branch in 1986, Patrick Mahlangu was forced to write his family a letter which was then posted in Botswana, thereby creating the illusion that he had gone into exile. His family believed this and eagerly awaited his return in the early 1990s.
349. Some applicants testified to even more malicious behaviour. Those who applied for the killing of Ms Phila Portia Ndwandwe in October 1988 testified that they had spread a rumour that she had been recruited as an *askari*. Friends and family testified that they had come to accept this painful fact and, following the disclosure of the facts surrounding her killing, were ridden with guilt by their failure to believe in her integrity.

350. In other examples of deception, Major Craig Williamson testified that the Security Branch had been responsible for the story that had surfaced, suggesting that Mr Joe Slovo had been responsible for the death of his wife, Ruth First.
351. Captain Willem Coetzee testified that he had given Major de Kock a letter to place at the ambush scene of three SANSCO¹⁰⁷ students in February 1989 to suggest that they had been killed by the ANC, following suspicions that they were informers.
352. As the above examples demonstrate, many of these Stratcom operations not only turned attention away from the perpetrators but cruelly increased the trauma of victims' families.

Giving false evidence to inquest and other courts and Commissions of Inquiry

353. The Amnesty Committee heard evidence of Security Branch members providing false information to inquest and investigative proceedings.
354. During the inquest into the Piet Retief ambushes, for example, false evidence included the fact that the first group had been unarmed. Further, Major de Kock's command of the second operation was not disclosed.
355. When questions were asked in Parliament about the *askari* who had killed MK suspect Batandwa Ndonga, the name of the *askari* was formally changed so that Minister Vlok would not be lying when he told Parliament that the individual was not in the employ of the SAP.

Complicity by other parts of police/security structures

356. Numerous applicants testified to complicity in unlawful activity by other security force structures. In several incidents, evidence was led about approaches to border patrol units or those stationed at border posts to ensure free passage for covert units. Furthermore, several names of investigating officers attached to the Detective Branch repeatedly came up as having played the role of 'sweeper' – in other words, being responsible for ensuring that the identity of perpetrators remained concealed.

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Failure to ask questions

357. While Mr de Klerk and others have consistently denied knowing that the security forces were involved in illegal action, the Commission was struck by the fact that, in numerous cases, nobody appears to have asked any questions. Applicants themselves occasionally expressed their amazement at such disclaimers.

358. For example, former Minister of Foreign Affairs Roelof 'Pik' Botha, Dr LD 'Niel' Barnard, and General Coetzee all testified that when they had convened for the State Security Council at 11am on 20 December 1985, they had been unaware of the raid on Maseru the night before. They further testified that the raid had not been reported at the meeting nor had there had been any discussion about it. The astonishing failure even to mention the raid is best expressed by General van der Merwe, who testified as follows:

[By] lunch, it was headline news in the newspapers and no-one asked any questions.. One would have expected that if they did not know who it was, the State President would have at least asked the Chairperson of the CIC: 'What is going on here? A number of MK members were killed in Lesotho and this is an essential aspect of the threat with regard to us' and he would have wanted to know who was responsible for it.. [No] member of the SSC [who] had security background and who received information about this threat, could have pretended for any moment that the only people who had the capabilities of doing such things would be the Security Forces of South Africa. Anyone who pretended not to have that knowledge and wanted to blame any other body for this operation, would have been extremely naïve and extremely ignorant at that stage. (Pretoria hearing, 29 February 2000.)

359. In his evidence before the Amnesty Committee, Mr Vlok testified that there were no questions in the State Security Council about the Cosatu House and Khotso House bombings. He testified that, at the next SSC meeting, he had been congratulated by the State President for the Khotso House incident. However, despite the fact that there had been specific input about the problems Khotso House was giving at the previous meeting, nobody asked any questions or commented on the destruction of the building.

360. This determination to ask no questions seems to have been replicated throughout the command structures of the Security Branch. For example, when asked to get rid of 'a package' (the body of Stanza Bopape), Brigadier Schalk Visser,

divisional commander of the Eastern Transvaal, told Brigadier Gerrit Erasmus that he did not want to know the details.

361. According to Brigadier Cronje:

All actions under my jurisdiction which happened in this manner were taken up in situation reports which were sent through on a daily basis to my head office. The procedure was that further reports with this information would then have been passed on to the State Security Council. Events which took place under my command in the Security Branch in Pretoria were, therefore, passed on to Head Office and must have been taken up in reports to the State Security Council ... I do not believe anyone in my Head Office could have been so naive as to believe that the ANC were killing and attacking their own people. They must have known what the true facts were. (Johannesburg hearing, 21 October 1996.)

362. Applicant Craig Williamson, who was a political appointee on the President's Council in the late 1980s, commented:

Once it got up to the NGBS (NJMC), it became the political control level where a deputy minister then received the information from the civil service below – and when I say civil service I include the security forces – and this information was then fed up via the [Work Committee] and the State Security Council and on a political level I believed directly either to Cabinet or to the State President ... Once the information had arrived at the NGBS and then to the State Security Council, the information was in political hands. (Pretoria hearing, 14 September 1998.)

363. At the same time, the clandestine and covert nature of much of the Security Branch's work meant that, while certain information circulated and was discussed in formal forums, other mechanisms operated to ensure that sensitive information was kept under wraps. It became clear in many matters before the Amnesty Committee that, while the *fact* of an incident was passed on, in terms of covert rules, the *detail* in respect of Security Branch involvement was not.

364. On another level, of course, this is nonsense. A number of the people who were killed were extremely well-known and their deaths could hardly have been ignored. For example, Brigadier Schoon testified he had first learned of the death of Ms Jeanette Curtis Schoon and her daughter Katryn Schoon in the newspapers and at the morning 'Sanhedrin'. Asked who would have reported it, he replied 'The desk that dealt with that same file, that would be the A Section'.

Williamson testified that some time after that he had organised for an explosive device to be put into an envelope:

[T]here was an intelligence report to the effect that there had been an explosion ... in the office of Ruth First and that she had been killed and at the next ... Sanhedrin when this point was just noted, Brigadier Goosen looked up, looked at me, nodded his head and that was it. (Pretoria hearing, 14 September 1998.)

365. Not only would these incidents have been reported but, unlike most victims of MK action, most of these victims would have had Security Branch files, requiring an entry. For example, where members of the Soweto Intelligence Unit or the Northern Transvaal Security Branch were involved in attacks on individuals' homes, the attacks but not the authors were reported. However, to use the Northern Transvaal Security Branch as an example, it would have been inescapably evident to Group B at Security Branch Headquarters that the homes of some forty to fifty activists had been attacked by 'unknown perpetrators' between February and May 1986.

366. It is extremely unlikely that security and intelligence forces would have made no effort to know who was assisting them in their task, especially given the general policy to promote divisions. Asked whether people attending the 'Sanhedrin' could 'have believed that forces other than their own were ... responsible', Williamson replied:

During my time in the Security Forces, I certainly ... didn't believe that it was the fairies ... I believed that there was a co-ordinated counter-insurgency strategy being applied. (Pretoria hearing, 16 September 1998.)

Line of command

367. It can be seen from the above that the unlawful operations for which the Amnesty Committee received applications tended to conform to routine lines of command within the Security Branch and reflected a similar *modus operandi* across the country. This does not mean that all operations were centrally organised and directed by the SSC or Security Branch Headquarters. Although the overall strategy and planning was authorised at the highest level of the government and the state, under the prevailing culture of impunity many operations were initiated and carried out at the lower levels.

368. Whether operations were politically authorised or initiated at lower levels, they tended to function according to relatively routine lines of command and communication. For example, even in covert operations, those in charge often tended to follow the courtesy rule of informing commanders in whose area such activities were to take place, thus widening the circle of exposure and experience and encouraging further activity along similar lines. This was particularly so when the operation was politically authorised or conducted by a Headquarters component.

369. Lower ranks were inducted into covert and unlawful operations via their normal command structures, thus legitimising and normalising such activities. The heightened sense of being at war, combined with the strongly hierarchical structure of the Security Branch, made those who were drawn into such operations feel privileged and honoured.

370. Juniors were often drawn into operations without being aware of their nature or of the individual roles they were expected to play. Thus, for example, Captain Abraham Kendall, Branch Commander of Bronkhorstpruit Security Branch (a branch of Northern Transvaal), testified that he was asked to accompany Brigadier Cronje and Lieutenant Hechter to the house of the Chief Minister of KwaNdebele. While Brigadier Cronje and Captain Kendall were inside meeting the Chief Minister, Lieutenant Hechter placed a bomb under Mr Piet Ntuli's car. Asked whether he realised that Ntuli was about to be killed, Kendall responded:

I suspected that as Hechter was lying in the back of the vehicle, there would be dirty tricks. If I have to think back thirteen years, I cannot think that I thought that somebody was going to die. I wasn't part of that Security Branch, within the Security Branch plan, if we have to put it that way, I had never been a member of such activity. I was a small man, who carried small secrets around with me at that stage. (Pretoria hearing, 9 April 1999.)

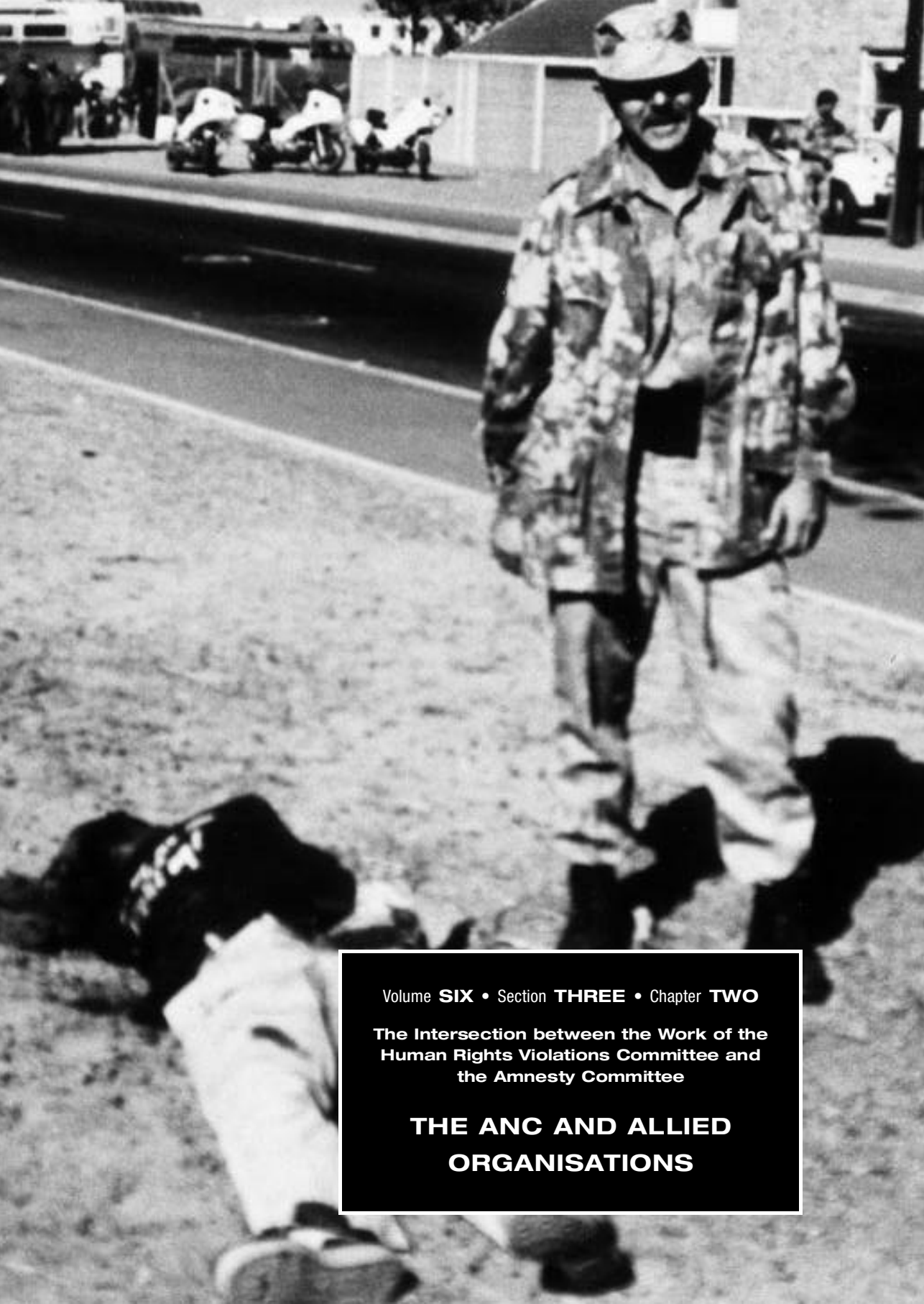
371. Captain Kendall was later transferred to Security Branch Headquarters and applied for amnesty for instructing members of the Eastern Cape Security Branch to throw a petrol bomb at the home of the Revd Allan Hendrickse after he had embarrassed the tricameral parliament by going to a 'whites only' beach. Kendall also sought amnesty for his part in the 'Cry Freedom' operation.

372. Given the overwhelming evidence in this respect, the Commission concluded that the leadership of the Security Branch and a significant proportion of the military leadership were involved in unlawful covert operations. Former State President FW de Klerk has suggested that such activity was unauthorised and undertaken

by groups of renegades or 'bad apples'. The placing and promotion of personnel suggests that those in charge of the Security Branch were well aware of the existence and effectiveness of covert operations. Officers such as General Gerrit Erasmus, Brigadier Nicolaas van Rensburg and Major Hermanus du Plessis, all of whom had a long history of committing abuses, were not only promoted but, by the end of the 1980s, were based at Security Branch Headquarters. Thus, not only were their activities endorsed, but they were placed in a position where they were able significantly to influence and direct security policy from national headquarters.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

373. The purpose of this chapter was to examine the extent to which the amnesty process enlarged the Commission's knowledge of the human rights violations committed by the state. By employing the 'carrot and stick' principle adopted in the founding Act, it was hoped that state perpetrators, amongst others, would take advantage of the opportunities offered by the legislation and, in the process, shed light on state involvement in gross violations of human rights.
374. This chapter has shown that the appeal to self-interest in the legislation was a wise one and that, where perpetrators saw the benefit to themselves, they came forward and applied for amnesty. From these applicants, the Commission and indeed South Africa was able to learn a great deal.
375. Unhappily the former SADF, advised that the Commission could offer them no safety from prosecution for the many violations its members had committed in countries outside South Africa, made pitifully few applications.
376. One of the most shameful aspects to emerge from the amnesty process was the failure of the political leadership to stand by those who committed violations at their behest and in their name. In several amnesty hearings, the disdain, contempt and betrayal of those who had expected better of their leadership is evident.
377. One of the more remarkable strengths of the Commission itself was that it has opened the way for the stories of individual people. The amnesty process continued the work of the Commission by helping to find people who would not otherwise have been found and by helping to lead families to a truth that would otherwise forever have been denied. Without some of these applications, many deaths and disappearances would have remained unexplained.



Volume **SIX** • Section **THREE** • Chapter **TWO**

**The Intersection between the Work of the
Human Rights Violations Committee and
the Amnesty Committee**

**THE ANC AND ALLIED
ORGANISATIONS**

The ANC and Allied Organisations

PART ONE: OVERVIEW OF THE ANC AND ALLIED AMNESTY APPLICATIONS: 1960–1994

■ INTRODUCTION

1. The purpose of this chapter is to review the information that emerged out of the amnesty process of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) in respect of the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies and to consider its intersection with information that emerged through the processes of the Committee on Human Rights Violations (HRVC).
2. Broadly speaking, ANC-related amnesty applications can be divided into a number of categories. The first concerns applications from members of the ANC leadership. These were accompanied by a ‘Declaration of Responsibility’ and became known as the ‘collective responsibility’ applications. The second were applications from Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) operatives. The third were applications from self-defence unit (SDU) members, who can claim some level of practical and moral authorisation from the ANC.¹⁰⁸
3. A fourth category of applicants was made up of civilians who were members of, or who acted in the name of, or in support of the ANC. In this category, the political and moral responsibility of the ANC and those who acted in its name was considerably less. This is even so when considering applications from members of organisations that operated internally during the final years of the ANC’s exile from South Africa. The most prominent example is that of the United Democratic Front (UDF). Although the UDF and its affiliate organisations associated themselves with the ANC and its goals and principles, they operated as independent organisations.

¹⁰⁸ The ANC Declaration embraces SDU members.

4. This chapter will also distinguish between applications that relate to the period prior to the lifting of the banning order on the ANC (1960 to 1989) and those that relate to the period from 1990 to 1994 – that is, from when the ban on the ANC was lifted and negotiations began until 10 May 1994, the closing date of the Commission's mandate.

STATISTICAL OVERVIEW

5. A total of 998 persons who were members or supporters of the ANC or related organisations applied for amnesty for 1025 incidents. Only twenty-six (or 3 %) of these applicants were female.
6. The regional breakdown was as follows:

Transvaal	628	(61 %)
KwaZulu/Natal	170	(17 %)
Eastern Cape	61	(6 %)
Homelands ¹⁰⁹	56	(5 %)
Western/Northern Cape	33	(3 %)
Orange Free State	20	(2 %)
Outside South Africa	19	(2 %)

7. The annual breakdown was as follows:

1960–1969	20	(2 %)
1970–1979	35	(3 %)
1980–1984	113	(11 %)
1985–1989	339	(33 %)
1990–1994	493	(48 %)
Non-specific	25	(3 %)

¹⁰⁹ Excluding KwaZulu, which is counted with Natal.

8. The 1025 incidents involved the following acts:¹¹⁰

Killings	464	(17%)
Killings ¹¹¹	24 incidents	(1%)
Attempted killings	1118	(42%)
Attempted killings ¹¹²	67 incidents	(3%)
Assaults	56	(2%)
Abductions	58	(2%)
Robberies	84	(3%)
Arson, public violence, etc.	140	(5%)
Attacks using explosives	320	(12%)
Illegal possession of arms and ammunition	153	(6%)
Infiltration/distribution of weapons	24	(1%)
Other	151	(6%)

OVERVIEW OF APPLICATIONS

9. ANC-related amnesty applications far outnumber those from other protagonists in the political conflict, yet it can be seen from the figures that the number of applications was not large, fewer than a thousand in all. It is of some interest why people did or did not apply for amnesty.

Loyalty to the ANC

10. One reason ANC members gave for applying for amnesty was that the very idea of a South African truth commission originated from within the ranks of the ANC. Hence, many ANC applicants expressed a desire to participate in the amnesty process in order to support the new democratic government and its programme of political and economic transformation.
11. Yet, although the ANC had promoted the idea and led the legislation through parliament, the party appeared divided on the issue. Some of its leadership stated publicly that ANC members need not submit amnesty applications, on the grounds that the ANC had engaged in a just war against apartheid. Finally,

¹¹⁰ As early as 1996, the Amnesty Committee decided to deal with incidents rather than individual acts in order to make it possible to deal with groups of applicants who had been involved in the same incident but who may have committed a number of different acts. Thus, when dealing with applications, the Committee decided to focus on specific incidents, each comprising a number of different acts/offences.

¹¹¹ Where exact number of victims is unknown.

¹¹² Where exact number of victims is unknown.

following a meeting between the Commission and the ANC leadership, the ANC agreed to persuade its members to submit amnesty applications. This opened the road to substantial numbers of amnesty applications from MK operatives, as well as the 'collective responsibility' applications by ANC leadership figures.

Desire for reconciliation

12. For others, amnesty applications represented a commitment to reconciliation. Mr Frans Ting Ting Masango [AM7087/97] told the Amnesty Committee at the Pretoria hearing on 8 June 1999:

We are all South Africans and the past should remain what it is, the past. There should be that reconciliation. We should go forwards with our lives and try to build together South Africa. That's why I basically applied for amnesty.

13. At the same hearing, Mr Neo Potsane [AM7159/97] expressed himself thus:¹¹³

Well I want to put it this way now, when this idea of Truth and Reconciliation now first came into this country and was in actual fact adopted, I've always supported it. I supported it because I felt we cannot stand at one place pointing fingers at one another, looking at the past as something that is – should dominate our lives ... I felt that was the opportunity that I will never let ... pass me. I had to jump in and actually now also extend my hand of friendship to the victims or the people that suffered because of my actions in pursuit of democracy and I'm happy today that I'm here, sitting here explaining my actions so that you know, other people can understand why I did those things.

14. Some operatives expressed a wish to take responsibility for their actions, particularly towards their victims. In Pretoria on 14 June 1999, Mr Lazarus Chikane told the Amnesty Committee:

My motive for being here is to actually show that the family finally knows who actually was part of the activities of eliminating their brother, their parent, their father and for that reason, I felt motivated to come here, simply because it wouldn't have been fair on them not to know who actually carried out this attack on their father. For that reason I feel that because there was no (indistinct), there was no investigation, or suspicion against me, it really touched me deeply, to have to come out and expose myself, to say I was part of that type of activity.

¹¹³ Mr Masango and Mr Potsane applied for and were granted amnesty for the killing of Mr David Lukhele, former minister of KaNgwane, in April 1986 [AC/1998/0048; AC/1999/0257; AC/2000/142]. They and two others had been convicted of the killing and sentenced to death, but their sentences had been commuted to twenty-five years' imprisonment on appeal. The four were released in the early 1990s in terms of a deal struck between the ANC and the former government.

Criminal and civil action

15. Many ANC members and MK operatives had already served prison terms and even spent periods on death row for the offences for which they sought amnesty. Some who had received indemnity from criminal prosecution during the early 1990s wished to avoid or prevent possible civil claims that might be brought against them.
16. Some who had already faced convictions and punishment expressed a desire to have their criminal records expunged, although many applicants appeared unaware of this dimension of the amnesty process.
17. Although few amnesty applicants for MK actions in the period 1960 to 1989 appear to have been motivated by fear of prosecution, political violence between 1990 and 1994 was the subject of ongoing prosecutions during the life of the Commission and provided a genuine incentive for amnesty applications. A number of ANC members had been sentenced to prison terms in the post-1994 period for incidents relating mainly to SDU activities or the political conflict in KwaZulu and Natal, and made amnesty applications as sentenced prisoners. Where charges were pending or trials were in progress, cases were suspended pending the outcome of their amnesty applications.

Problems experienced by MK operatives applying for amnesty

18. The dissolution of MK as an organised formation and the disintegration of its networks made it difficult to trace operatives. The Commission's founding Act, the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, Act 34 of 1995 (the Act) required individual applications, and MK operatives were faced with making the difficult decision of whether or not to apply for amnesty – separated as they were from their former comrades, operating without structures of any kind and trained in a culture of underground work and secrecy.

MR LALLA: *What you must take into account, that now we were at home, there was no Umkhonto we Sizwe, there was no structure, there was no command and control. We are now left on our own to pick up the pieces. How do I have responsibility of an individual when the structure legally has folded? (Durban hearing, 4 April 2000.)*

ADVOCATE BOSMAN: *And do you know whether anybody else in that group had applied for amnesty at all for this incident?*

MR MDLULWA: *I don't know, because we are all over South Africa, we are not*

communicating with each other. (Johannesburg hearing, 22 May 2000.)

MR BUHALI: *When the thing of the TRC started, first I was not fully briefed as to what is going to happen considering the TRC, and when I made the application I had not met my Commander then because I did not know his address. (Johannesburg hearing, 13 July 2000.)*

Low levels of civilian applications

19. By far the greatest number of casualties inside South Africa arose out of violent community conflicts into which ordinary residents were mobilised or drawn. This category was not reflected in amnesty applications from any side of the conflict, including that of the ANC and its allies.

Poor representation of SDU applications

20. Although SDU members applied in large numbers, these applications did not, in the view of the Commission, adequately reflect the full scope of SDU activity. One of the reasons for this was because SDU activity continued in certain areas after the cut-off date for applications.
21. In one significant case, the local ANC political leadership in Tokoza, which had had a strong relationship with the SDUs in the area, threw its weight into promoting amnesty applications. Meetings were held and questions answered. Assistance was provided with completing forms. As a result, approximately 200 SDU members from Tokoza applied for amnesty for very serious violations. Most had never been charged for these offences and were motivated by an appeal to their sense of political duty and the national imperative for reconciliation. The Tokoza SDU case points to the merit and feasibility of political parties investing energy at local level.

Low levels of applications in KwaZulu/Natal

22. As with the IFP, the scale of the violence in KwaZulu/Natal is not reflected in the volume of amnesty applications from the ANC in this region. Here again, the vast majority of incidents were inter-civilian.
23. It is possible that political developments after 1994 may also have played a role in inhibiting applications. In the immediate post-1994 era, the national ANC strategy for ending the bloodshed in KwaZulu-Natal was one of incorporation and appeasement of the IFP and a reluctance to inflame the still-simmering

conflict. This period of rapprochement resulted in a tendency to draw a veil of silence over the bloody past and a tacit agreement to suspend blame.

According to the ANC:

*The apartheid counter-insurgency machinery inserted itself into the IFP and, as it carried out its murderous campaign, cloaked itself in IFP colours, whereas the genuine leaders and members of the IFP had nothing to do with planning or carrying out any acts of violence originally conceived of by themselves.*¹¹⁴

24. The 'special case' character of the region is also reflected in ongoing suggestions for a special amnesty for KwaZulu/Natal matters, possibly a 'blanket amnesty' for perpetrators in that region.
25. Moreover, as the majority of the KwaZulu/Natal ANC applicants were in jail at the time of making their amnesty applications, they suffered from the same serious problems faced by all applicants in prison, primarily a lack of legal advice. Although some prisoner applicants were assisted to some extent by the ANC, and the ANC leadership visited prisoners in an effort to facilitate their amnesty applications, this collective political advice did not adequately substitute for individual legal advice.
26. One of the consequences of this was that applicants were unable to obtain clarity on what acts or incidents to apply for. Thus an applicant might list only a single incident where a number of related offences should have been specified. For example, one applicant, Mr Skhumbuzo Chris Masondo [AM4183/96] believed he had only to apply for offences for which he had been convicted and he later spoke about many other offences at the hearing. These latter matters were excluded by the Amnesty Committee.
27. Another applicant testified about how helpless prisoners felt when faced with applying for amnesty:

MR LAX: *But you did understand that you were supposed to tell the full truth when you filled out this application?*

MR MSANI: *Yes, I did explain initially that in jail the brain doesn't function properly when we are in jail. We are like children when we are in jail. The brain*

¹¹⁴ Submission of the African National Congress to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in reply to Section 30[2] of Act 34 of 1996, on the TRC, 'Findings On The African National Congress', October 1998, point 28.3, submitted by Thenjiwe Mthintso.

is actually sort of disturbed to a certain extent when you are in jail.
(Pietermaritzburg hearing, 23 November 1998.)

28. Another problem was that many perpetrators involved in the same incident were scattered throughout the country in different prisons and were unable to contact one another. This tended to discourage applications, as applicants feared implicating others.

‘Declaration of Responsibility’

29. In line with the ANC’s position that its leadership accepted full political and moral responsibility for the actions of its members, large numbers of National Executive Committee (NEC)¹¹⁵ members and those involved in ANC hierarchies submitted collective amnesty applications to the Commission. These were framed in a general ANC ‘Declaration of Responsibility’. The declaration reads as follows:

We, the applicants, having at various times between 1 March 1960 and 10 May 1994, as indicated below been members and leaders of the African National Congress (hereinafter referred to as the ANC), elected and/or appointed to serve in various structures including its highest organ, the National Executive Committee, do hereby make the following declaration:

During the said period, the ANC played the foremost role in the leadership of the struggle of the masses of our people for the end of the hateful system of apartheid, appropriately dubbed a crime against humanity by the international community.

*In the course of our people’s struggle, with the intent to induce the apartheid government of the National Party to abandon apartheid with its concomitant violent repression, and with the intent to achieve, bring about and promote fundamental political, social and economic changes in the Republic, the ANC, **inter alia**, established its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, through which it prosecuted an armed struggle.*

At all material times, Umkhonto we Sizwe operated under the political authority, direction and leadership of the ANC.

Due to its peculiar circumstances, and the attacks mounted upon it by its adversary, the apartheid government, the ANC established various organs at

115 The highest elected body of the ANC.

various times such as the RC, PMC and a security organ NAT which at all material times also operated under its authority, direction and leadership.¹¹⁶ Due to the circumstances which prevailed in the townships, in the early 1990s as a result of third force activities, the leadership of the ANC established and, in some instances encouraged the establishment of self-defence units (SDUs), which played a critical role in the defence of defenceless communities.

In the event, and to the extent that any of the activities of any of the above-mentioned institutions and structures including the SDUs could in any manner whatsoever be regarded as the kinds of acts or omissions or offences envisaged in the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, we collectively take full responsibility therefore applying for amnesty in respect thereof.. [AM5780/97.]

30. The 'Declaration' applicants did not specify particular acts but attempted to take collective responsibility for actions that may have resulted in gross human rights violations either by the ANC's military operatives or by the SDUs.
31. Although initially granted amnesty by the Amnesty Committee, these amnesties were subsequently overturned in the Supreme Court. The applications were considered again by the Amnesty Committee and were refused. The Committee found that the applications did not comply with the requirements of the Act as they did not specify particular acts, omissions or offences.

116 See list of Acronyms in this volume.

**PART TWO: ANALYSIS OF AMNESTY INFORMATION:
1960–1989**

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (MK) AND THE ANC: 1960–1990

32. The Commission received a significant number of applications relating to the activities of MK in the period 1960 to 1989. One hundred and eighty persons, including eight females, sought amnesty for 420 incidents in the period 1960 to 1989.¹¹⁷

33 Applications ranged from individual operatives applying for amnesty for one or more acts, to units of operatives applying for a range of activities, to applications from command personnel based in the neighbouring states and in Military Headquarters (MHQ) in Lusaka, Zambia.

34. The regional breakdown of incidents was as follows:

Transvaal	285
Natal	80
Western Cape	7
Orange Free State	2
Eastern Cape	1
KwaNdebele	5
Transkei	5
Bophuthatswana	3
Venda	1
Non-specific ¹¹⁸	31

35. The annual breakdown was as follows:

1960–1969	19
1970–1979	23
1980–1984	87
1985–1989	268
Non-specific ¹¹⁹	23

117 A small amount of duplication may have occurred where applicants described the same incident in slightly different ways.

118 The last category includes incidents that took place throughout South Africa and/or neighbouring countries (e.g. weapons infiltration from Swaziland to Transvaal and Natal).

119 The last category also covers activities that took place over many years (e.g. the provision of weapons from 1978 to 1989).

36. Of the 420 incidents, 338 relate to actual attacks, while eighty-two relate to associated activities such as leaving South Africa illegally, escape from custody, possession of explosives or involvement in ongoing activities such as military training, infiltration of arms and operatives and aiding MK operatives. Included in the eighty-two are seven persons who applied for amnesty with respect to their convictions for terrorism without detailing specific acts. Three persons also sought amnesty for acts of sabotage.

37. The 338 attacks involved some 1276 separate incidents:

Killings	106
Attempted killings (specified) ¹²⁰	807
Attempted killings	22
Robbery (weapons and vehicles)	14
Attacks using explosives (sabotage) ¹²¹	315
Arson (petrol bomb attacks)	6
Other	6

38. Possession of illegal arms and ammunition is not specified in these attacks since all such MK attacks involved such possession. Most applicants were granted amnesty in this regard.

39. Amnesty was granted for 412 of the 420 incidents, seven were refused, and one was partially granted and partially refused. Two applicants were struck off the hearings roll. Mr John Itumeleng Dube [AM5310/97] was refused permission to add two additional incidents to his amnesty application.

Overview of MK's armed actions: 1960 to August 1990

40. On 8 April 1960, some three weeks after the Sharpeville massacre, the former South African government banned the ANC along with the PAC. This put an end to decades of largely peaceful protest by the ANC and, over the year that followed, the ANC adopted a strategy of armed resistance. MK was officially launched on 16 December 1961.

120 This number is somewhat inflated by the use of judicial charge sheets which tend to list all persons involved as cases of attempted killing, even if they only experienced minor trauma such as shock. Hence this figure does not refer to injury only, although it does include all specified injuries.

121 Of the 315 attacks using explosives, thirty-two involved attacks on individual homes (usually those of police and community councillors) and sixteen involved landmines.

41. Between 1961 and 1963 there were some 190 actions, undertaken mainly by regional operatives in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. These were almost entirely aimed at installations.
42. The Commission received five applications from MK operatives for this very early period of sabotage. These were from Mr Ronnie Kasrils [AM5509/97; AC/2001/168], Ms Eleanor Kasrils [AM7725/97; AC/2000/067], Mr Ben Turok [AM3723/96; AC/2001/013], Mr Muzivukile Curnick Ndlovu [AM5952/97] and Mr Billy Nair [AM5613/97; AC/2000/170], who applied for amnesty for over fifty acts of sabotage and related acts (such as theft of dynamite or escape from custody) in and around Durban and Johannesburg. All were granted amnesty.
43. Armed actions inside South Africa were, by and large, terminated with the arrest of key members of MK's high command in Rivonia in July 1963, all of whom were subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment. Mr Nelson Mandela, arrested a year earlier, was also sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia trial. One of the Rivonia trialists, Mr Ahmed Kathrada [AM6240/97; AC/1999/0199] applied for and was granted amnesty for the offences for which he was convicted. No significant armed actions were undertaken by MK inside South Africa between 1964 and 1975, although several infiltrations led to arrests and the imprisonment or killing of MK operatives.
44. The 1976 student-led uprising inside South Africa injected new life into the ANC. From 1976 to 1984, there was a steady incremental growth in armed attacks, and approximately 265 incidents were recorded. These included attacks on police stations and assassinations.¹²²
45. During this period the ANC's Special Operations Unit launched several high-profile armed attacks on economic and energy installations, infrastructure and police stations, as well as an attack on the South African Air Force headquarters in Pretoria, in which nineteen people died. In terms of casualties, this was the largest attack in MK history. Other high-profile attacks included the 1980 SASOL attacks, the 1982 attack on the Voortrekkerhoogte SADF base, attacks on police stations and the 1982 sabotage attack on the Koeberg nuclear power station.

¹²² For example AM5307/97, AM5886/97.

46. The Commission received amnesty applications in respect of seventy-nine incidents in this period. These were largely from the command personnel of Special Operations then based in Maputo, Mozambique, and the Transvaal military machinery based in Swaziland. In some cases, operatives also applied.
47. MK activity inside South Africa peaked between 1985 and 1988. The number of incidents increased from forty-four in 1984 to 136 in 1985 and 228 in 1986. Numbers continued to escalate, with 242 incidents in 1987, and peaked in 1988 with 300 incidents as a result of increased resistance to the municipal elections of October 1988. In 1989 the number of incidents dropped by nearly a third to 216. This period also saw a diversification of targets and an increase in attacks on public places where civilians were at high risk.
48. In February 1990 the ANC was unbanned, but the armed struggle was only suspended in August of that year. Armed actions continued, although they were fewer in number. According to police statistics, there were some eighty armed attacks between January and the end of May 1990. These resulted in three deaths (two police officers and one civilian) and eleven injuries (six police officers and five civilians). In general, the attacks were on the homes of perceived collaborators and police officers, police stations and fuel and electricity installations.
49. Police documentation obtained by the Commission suggests that the total number of incidents (including skirmishes, failed sabotage attempts and so on) for the period October 1976 to May 1990 totalled approximately 1555.¹²³
50. The armed struggle was suspended by the ANC with the signing, on 6 August 1990, of the Pretoria Minute, the terms of which were spelt out in greater detail in the DF Malan Accord. MK was formally disbanded on 16 December 1993.

123 These statistics were obtained from police documentation submitted to the Harms Commission of Inquiry and were drawn from the records of the Security Branch. The Commission concluded that these figures and details were numerically reliable as they had been compiled for police and not for public use. In other words, no purpose would have been served by falsifying them. Furthermore, no other incidents came to light through the Commission's work that did not appear on these lists, further confirming their general accuracy. Naturally, the Commission did not necessarily adopt the same characterisation of the incidents.

An important comment regarding numbers must be made here. The Commission has, through amnesty applications and its own investigations, established that there were a number of 'false flag' operations in which members of the security forces engaged in acts of sabotage. While these were included in the police statistics used above, the Commission has not included these known cases in the numbers cited above. There are, however, doubtless other 'false flag' incidents which remain uncovered, but it is unlikely that these would affect the general trends indicated above.

ANC Targets

51. ANC targets remained fairly constant and, with certain exceptions, MK operatives remained within these boundaries:
- a economic, communications and energy installations and infrastructure (electricity substations, oil refineries, telecommunications structures, etc.);
 - b government buildings and infrastructure and other apartheid symbols (courts, post offices, government offices);
 - c security force targets (personnel and physical structures of the police and military); and
 - d individuals identified as ‘collaborators’ (councillors, state witnesses, suspected informers and defectors).
 - e In addition, some targets related to specific campaigns being supported by MK, such as labour actions and anti-election campaigns.
52. The stated objective of MK was never to engage in operations that deliberately targeted civilians or indeed white people. Targets were not selected on the basis of race, and most attacks were aimed at the state, its organs and ‘collaborators’. Attacks on ‘collaborators’ form a significant proportion of MK armed actions. According to Mr Aboobaker Ismail, who gave evidence at the hearing on the Church Street bombing in Pretoria on 4 May 1998:

This was never a target, an attack against whites. We never fought a racist war. We fought to undo racism ... We never set out deliberately to attack civilian targets. We followed the political objectives of the African National Congress in the course of a just struggle. However, in the course of a war, life is lost, and the injury to and the loss of life of innocent civilians sometimes becomes inevitable. The challenge before us was to avoid indiscriminate killing and to focus on enemy security forces ... Whilst Umkhonto we Sizwe had the means to attack civilians, it would have been very easy to come to various houses and shoot people, Umkhonto never did that sort of a thing. It did not take the easy route. Instead it concentrated on military targets, on state infrastructure, often at the cost of the lives of its own cadres.

53. Despite these noble intentions, the majority of casualties of MK operations were civilians. These civilians included those that members of the ANC apparently regarded as legitimate targets: ‘collaborators’ in the form of councillors, state witnesses at the trials of ANC members, suspected informers and the like. In other words, they were ‘deliberately targeted civilians’. For example, in the period 1976 to 1984, of some seventy-one deaths as a result of MK actions, nineteen were members of the security forces and fifty-two were civilians.

54. The ANC Kabwe Conference held in Zambia in June 1985 showed a hardening in the ANC's attitude towards civilian casualties. Two days before the Conference, South African security forces launched a cross-border raid on residences in Gaborone in Botswana, killing twelve people.¹²⁴ According to the ANC, none of the casualties were MK operatives. This attack on what the ANC described as 'very, very soft targets' formed the background to the Conference. The ANC submission to the Commission states that the Conference:

reaffirmed ANC policy with regard to targets considered legitimate: SADF and SAP personnel and installations, selected economic installations and administrative infrastructure. But the risk of civilians being caught in the crossfire when such operations took place could no longer be allowed to prevent the urgently needed, all-round intensification of the armed struggle. The focus of armed operations had to shift towards striking directly at enemy personnel, and the struggle had to move out of the townships to the white areas.

Security force targets

55. A large number of amnesty applications related to attacks on police, military personnel and buildings.¹²⁵ The bomb outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's court was planned and authorised by Sphiwe Nyanda, then head of the Transvaal military machinery and chairperson of the Swaziland Regional Politico-Military Council (RPMC). Nyanda decided to plant a mini-limpet mine in order to lure members of the South African Police (SAP) to the chosen area. A larger bomb placed in a car nearby would then be detonated by means of a remote control device. Four police officers were killed in the explosion and several others were injured, including a few civilians.¹²⁶
56. Mr Heinrich Johannes Grosskopf [AM5917/97], a young white man from an Afrikaans background, left South Africa in early 1986 to join the ANC in exile. While in Lusaka, he was recruited to Special Operations. About six months were spent planning his infiltration, target and means of attack. Ultimately, the SADF's Witwatersrand Command was selected as the target. Mr Grosskopf gave his evidence at a hearing in Johannesburg on 20 November 2000:

124 See Volume Two, Chapter Two, page 146.

125 See, for example AM5303/97, AM7164/97, AM5293/97.

126 AM7500/97, AM5303/97, AM5313/97.

A great amount of thought and planning went into considering the political content and consequences of an attack on this military headquarters in central Johannesburg. ... The object of the operation was to attack military personnel inside Wits Command by blast damage to the building. The intention was therefore not to attack sentries or military personnel or civilians for that matter outside the command, the intention was to bring the car bomb into actual contact with the Wits Command building so that the effect of the explosion would be maximised.

57. They decided to plant a bomb in a car with an automatic gearbox that would be able to move itself up to Wits Command without a driver before the bomb exploded.
58. No one was killed in the blast, but about sixty-eight people were injured. Grosskopf subsequently travelled to MK military headquarters in Lusaka where he reported back to his superiors and was debriefed by MK personnel. Grosskopf, Aboobaker Ismail and Johannes Mnisi were granted amnesty for the attack [AC/2000/248; AC/2001/003].
59. A number of applications related to skirmishes in which security force personnel and MK members were injured or killed¹²⁷ or sabotage attacks on security force buildings and personnel.

Attacks on black security forces

60. Black security force personnel were prime targets for attack. The fact that they lived in the townships meant that they brought the apartheid regime onto home ground, making them extremely dangerous to local residents. They were seen as the enemy within. Many MK attacks on security force personnel took place while they were off duty, often while they were at home with their families. Of the sixty-one MK attacks on the security forces in 1986, twenty-three (roughly one third) were on the homes of police officers, and resulted in four deaths and nine injuries.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ See, for example, AM5298/97.

¹²⁸ See, for example, AM 7193/97, AM6207/97, AM5305/97, AM6059/97.

Attacks on collaborators with apartheid political structures

61. There were many attacks on the homes of people involved with the tripartite parliamentary elections and other structures that were regarded as illegitimate. For example, four of the five attacks carried out in 1986 and 1987 by Mr Velaphi Dlamini, a local MK operative in Soweto [AM3887/96; AC/1999/0317], targeted male and female councillors. Family members, children and visitors were sometimes casualties of these attacks.
62. The most common forms of attack were grenades thrown at or into houses at night, sometimes accompanied by shooting. Limpet mines were also occasionally used. MK applicants tended to describe such attacks as 'intimidation' rather than as attempted assassinations.

MS MTANGA: *Mr Ndlovu, when you got your instructions were you told what was the intention? Was the intention just to throw the hand grenade and kill people or to just throw it?*

MR NDLOVU: *Okay. My answer will be twofold. One, carrying an order you do what you're told but the intention was not to kill. But there was a likelihood that somebody could actually die, knowing the kind of weapon that I've used.*

MS MTANGA: *How were you going to ensure that no one was killed?*

MR NDLOVU: *I was not going to ensure when a person gets killed or not. The point I'm trying to make here, knowing the nature or the type of weapon that I used, somebody could have died but that was not the intention, to kill a person. (Mr Hluphela Morris Ndlovu, Pretoria hearing, 14 June 1999.)*

63. Eight of the thirty-three limpet mine sabotage operations carried out by the Ahmed Timol MK unit were on the homes of persons associated with local or parliamentary government structures such as the President's Council and the Management Committees. The limpet mines were timed so that they would explode outside houses between midnight and 04h00. No injuries or deaths resulted. Amnesty applicant Jameel Chand [AM7026/97] stated that:

It was only after our Commander (Prakash Napier) had received confirmation that we would carry out the action. The unit always carried out the attacks between 11pm and 4am. We would also monitor the scene of the intended action. The limpet would be placed in a location that would not cause injury or death. If explosion did not take place within the time it was scheduled to have we would contact the police and inform them of the device. We would also do dummy runs and evaluate afterwards. (Amnesty granted in chambers.)

64. The killing of homeland politician Mr David Lukhele¹²⁹ provides an example of the assassination of a civilian politician that was approved by MHQ. Lukhele was a prominent leader in the KaNgwane homeland and was perceived as supporting the proposed incorporation of this homeland into Swaziland, a move fiercely resisted by many residents. For this he was regarded as a collaborator and members of the Elimination Unit identified him as a possible target.
65. They sought and received approval from MHQ in Lusaka and, on 6 June 1986, Mr Neo Griffiths Potsane entered Mr Lukhele's home in Mamelodi township and opened fire with an AK47, killing him, while Mr Obed Jabu Masina waited outside. The shots also killed Lukhele's sister, Ms Elizabeth Busisiwe Dlodlu, and injured Lukhele's wife.

Attacks in public places

66. MK operatives detonated explosives in public places where civilians were present and died. Amnesty applications were received for a number of the most well-known 'public place' bombs. The applicants put forward a range of explanations for these attacks.
67. In the case of the Durban Why Not/Magoo's Bar bomb¹³⁰, the Benoni Wimpy Bar¹³¹ bomb and the bomb detonated near the Juicy Lucy restaurant in Pretoria, applicants explained that their intelligence and reconnaissance had led them to believe that security force members frequented these places. Despite the fact that no or very few security force members were injured in these attacks, the applicants continued to hold the view that the venues were appropriate targets. The Amnesty Committee accepted that the operatives had acted 'in good faith' although they pointed out that, in retrospect, their intelligence had been faulty or simply wrong. Amnesty was granted in these cases [AC/2001/128; AC/1999/294].
68. Applicants in respect of two car bombs detonated in public places explained that these were placed outside the offices of security force structures: the South African Air Force headquarters in Pretoria and the Security Branch offices in Witbank. The civilians killed or injured were not the intended target. Similarly, the ANC landmine campaign was aimed at security force patrols even though the casualties were overwhelmingly civilian.

129 AC/1998/0048; AC/1999/0257; AC/2000/142.

130 AM7032/97, AM7139/97, AM7679/97, AM7096/97, AM4028/96, AM4026/96.

131 AM5300/97, AM5725/97, AM5301/97, AM4351/97.

69. Amnesty applicants for the Ellis Park stadium car bomb¹³² and the bomb at the Wild Coast Casino¹³³ in the Transkei explained that these were intended to send messages to the white community and the Transkei homeland respectively regarding the futility of apartheid. Similarly, a number of facilities such as segregated ‘whites only’ bus stops were apparently selected in order to highlight apartheid discrimination.

Bombs outside security force offices

70. Car bombs were detonated outside buildings housing security force offices. The offices were located in the busy central areas of towns, in buildings shared by other civilian offices. Thus, although the intended targets were members of the security forces, the casualties were predominantly civilian passers-by. According to Mr Aboobaker Ismail, testifying at the hearing on the Church Street bombing (Pretoria, 4 May 1998):

If we were to accept that nobody would be killed at any stage, then we wouldn't have executed the armed struggle. You often found that the security forces themselves had based themselves in civilian areas and the choice then is always 'do you attack them or not'?

71. The car bomb that exploded outside the headquarters of the South African Air Force in Pretoria became known as the ‘Church Street bomb’. The explosion claimed more casualties than any other single MK attack, killing nineteen people, including the two MK operatives themselves, and injuring more than 200 people. Three persons applied for and were granted amnesty for aspects of this operation: Mr Aboobaker Ismail, Mr Johannes Mnisi (MK Victor Molefe) and Ms Hélène Passtoors [AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023].

Landmine campaign

72. Landmine operations began in late 1985 under the overall command of MHQ and were approved by ANC President Oliver Tambo. In terms of ANC policy, only anti-tank landmines were approved for use; anti-personnel mines were specifically excluded. The targets were military personnel, both regular and combat

¹³² The explosive, which was detonated outside the stadium on 2 July 1988 using a remote control device, killed two spectators as they were leaving a rugby match. Thirty-seven others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's Special Operations unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty [AC/2001/161].

¹³³ Two people were killed and several others injured in the explosion on 18 April 1986. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty [AC/99/0181 and AC/2000/240].

units made up of farmers in the militarised border zones near Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Botswana. The landmines were placed mainly in the border areas by operatives sent in via these countries.

73. The campaign was halted by the ANC in late 1987 due to the high number of civilian casualties. According to police records, at least twenty-one landmines were detonated, causing twenty deaths. Only one of those killed was a member of the security forces. The others were civilians, divided more or less equally between black and white. Nineteen security force members were injured during the campaign as against forty civilians, of whom twenty-nine were black and eleven were white. Three landmines were placed in the Western Transvaal, thirteen in the Eastern Transvaal and twenty-five in the Northern Transvaal. A further twenty landmines were discovered and defused.
74. Two batches of amnesty applications were received and granted in respect of the landmine campaign. The first was from two members of the command structure based in Swaziland, Mr Sipiwe Nyanda [AM6231/97] and Mr Solly Shoke [AM5303/97] and one of their operatives, Mr Dick Mkhonto [AM5304/97], who planted landmines in the Eastern Transvaal and applied for amnesty for at least seven incidents. The second batch was from three operatives who laid landmines in the Messina area in the Northern Transvaal in November 1985, resulting in eight explosions: Mr Mzondeleli Nondula [AM7275/97], Mr Mthetheleli Mncube [AM5829/97] and Mr Jabulani Mbuli [AM6046/97]. All were granted amnesty [AC/2000/111; AC/1999/0054, and AC/2001/093]. No applications were received with regard to the three incidents in the Western Transvaal or the handful of landmines placed in the Northern Transvaal in 1986 and 1987.
75. Mr Dick Mkhonto, one of the operatives involved in placing the landmines, spoke of careful reconnaissance at the White River hearing on 2 May 1999:

After the reconnaissance we found that that place was only used by the military and the police and there were no inhabitants around that area. The only people who were using that road, it was used for logistical supply for the people who were in the border, who are working around the fence of Swaziland and South Africa. Then it was taken into consideration that there were no civilians who are using those roads. We have stayed there for three days reconnoitring that place.

76. Despite this reconnaissance, the landmine was detonated by a vehicle driven by black civilians on 28 March 1987. Four of them were killed and the fifth was injured.

77. In a landmine incident¹³⁴ on 15 December 1985, the Van Eck and De Nysschen families were on holiday on their game farm in the Messina area when their vehicle detonated a landmine. Four children, aged between three and nine years, and two women were killed in the blast. Mr Johannes Frederick van Eck and his eighteen-month-old baby boy, Mr de Nysschen and his daughter survived this ordeal, although they were seriously wounded.
78. The former head of the ANC's military intelligence, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, initially applied¹³⁵ for amnesty for the provision of:

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

ANC violations against its members outside South Africa

79. Although the Commission received significant information from the ANC through its submissions, its own commission reports and certain internal files, it received very few individual amnesty applications in respect of ANC violations against its own members outside South Africa. Twenty-one persons in all applied for incidents outside South Africa's borders. These applications came primarily from members of the ANC's Security Department (NAT) and camp commanders. Nine applications were later withdrawn. The remaining twelve applications covered nineteen incidents involving various offences against persons suspected of infiltration or defection in Angola (seven incidents); Zambia (nine); Mozambique (one); Botswana (one), and Swaziland (one). The incidents included four killings, three cases of negligence that contributed to deaths, one attempted killing, three abductions and twelve cases of assault of persons in the ANC's custody. Amnesty was granted to all twelve applicants in respect of all nineteen incidents.

134 Three MK operatives were granted amnesty [AC/2001/093].

135 When the applicant's legal counsel argued that the applicant was not in a position to identify particular incidents in respect of which he would qualify for amnesty, his application was struck off the roll.

80. The four killings are: the assassination of suspected defector Mr Sipho Ngema¹³⁶ in 1988 in Swaziland; the killing of suspected defector Mr Monde Mpatheni¹³⁷ after he and Mr Joe Mamasela were abducted in Botswana in 1981; the execution of Mr Thabo Naphatli Mokudubete (MK Rufus)¹³⁸ in Viana camp in 1984, and the killing of an unknown ANC member called 'Shorty'¹³⁹ in 1981 in Zambia.
81. Two members of the ANC's Security Department applied for amnesty for the deaths of three prisoners in their custody. According to the applicants, their negligence may have contributed to the deaths, and the applications described some of the dire conditions under which prisoners were held. Mr Thabo John Sphambo [AM5097/97; AC/2000/149] was granted amnesty for negligence contributing to the death of Mr Eric Pharasi in 1981 at Quibaxe, also known as Camp 13.¹⁴⁰
82. Similarly, Mr Mzwandile Alpheus Damoyi [AM6303/97; AC/2000/149], a camp commander at Camp 32, applied for and was granted amnesty for the deaths of Mr Zaba Madledza and Mr Edward Masuku in 1984 and 1985. Madledza and Masuku were both inmates at the camp.
83. Amnesty applications were also made for several cases of beating during interrogation.¹⁴¹
84. Mr Moruti Edmond Noosi (MK Stanley) [AM6307/97] was granted amnesty for an assault on Mr Don Sipho Mashele (MK Ben Maseko) in the early 1980s. Noosi was a senior member of the administration of Camp 32 where Mashele was being held. Noosi admitted that assault was not permitted in terms of ANC camp regulations.

136 AM6403/97.

137 AM5294/97,AM5297/97.

138 AM7058/97.

139 AM3592/96 TE Mfalapitsa.

140 The ANC's confidential submission lists a Motlalentoa Pharasi (MK Elick Mabuza) who 'died as a result of excessively harsh treatment after committing breaches of discipline' in 1981.

141 AM5095/97,AM3592/97,AM5100/97,AM5295/97.

Discipline

85. The Commission did not hear of any specific cases where operatives were censured or punished for improper action or unauthorised operations. However, some amnesty applicants made general reference to operatives being recalled to MHQ or to the frontal command and being asked to account for or explain their actions. The approach adopted when operatives strayed beyond their mandate appears to have been one of 're-education'. The ANC submission to the Commission asserts that:

maintaining discipline in guerrilla and conventional armed forces is also fundamentally different. In the case of a guerrilla force, discipline flows from a thorough understanding of the political objectives of the armed struggle, not from the threats of court martial or punishment.

86. At the Durban hearing on 27 September 1999, Mr Aboobaker Ismail explained the ANC's approach:

Comrades were called in, they were talked to, people were asked to explain what they were doing, what their objectives were. In this case [Magoo's Bar], had comrade Robert come back, we would have spoken about it, looked at the way he went about it, what were the failures ... what was he trying to do, what was the outcome of it, how could we have improved it? Any suggestion that we would simply mete out punitive action against operatives who in good faith went to carry out an operation, is not so. I don't think this was the style of the ANC, certainly that was not my approach to command.

87. Operatives responded in different ways when asked if they still considered that their targets had been 'legitimate'. Some insisted they had not changed their minds. However, when Mr Raymond Lalla [AM2756/97], head of intelligence of the Natal machinery based in Swaziland, was asked whether the two car bombs that exploded in Durban in 1984 hit legitimate targets, he seemed less confident.

MR MAPOMA: *Can it be fairly put that these targets which were ultimately hit were in fact wrong targets?*

MR LALLA: *I think it's a bit difficult for me to answer that question. I think the best person to answer the question was Rabbit himself and Rabbit perhaps could provide some explanation as to why and whether the legitimacy of it or not, but in my personal opinion, looking from afar, a lot of civilians lost their lives and personally I'm not sure whether I can call it a legitimate target.*

(Pietermaritzburg hearing, 4 September 2000.)

88. Mr Lalla had been part of the structure commanding the operative ('Rabbit') authorised to launch car bomb attacks, but had not been involved in selecting the targets.
89. Another amnesty applicant, Mr Rodney Abram Moeketsi Toka [AM6034/97], testified that a mission in which a baby girl was killed when a grenade was thrown into the home of her father, a police officer, had been regarded as a failure by the unit:

The intelligence gathered was totally inappropriate ... no man in his good senses can rather throw a grenade when he knows that there is only a baby and a mother in the house. (Pretoria hearing, 29 January 1999).

90. Early signs that the ANC was concerned about the nature of certain attacks made by operatives emerged in late 1987. Late that year ANC President Oliver Tambo called in all members of MHQ and expressed his concern at the number of unnecessary civilian casualties in certain attacks, particularly those involving the use of anti-tank landmines. The landmine campaign was then suspended. Tambo also tasked MHQ with ensuring that all operatives fully understood ANC policy in respect of legitimate targets. Failure to comply with these orders would be considered a violation of policy and action would be taken against offenders.
91. Senior commanders were then sent to all the forward areas to raise these concerns with MK structures and, where possible, to meet with units. The command structures in the forward areas were told to contact all command structures in their units, whether or not they had been involved in attacks of this nature, and to ensure that all units and operatives were entirely clear on ANC policy regarding legitimate targets.
92. In August 1988, the NEC issued a statement specifically dealing with the conduct of the armed struggle in the country. While the NEC reaffirmed the 'centrality of the armed struggle in the national democratic revolution and the need to further escalate armed actions and transform our offensive into a generalised people's war', it also expressed concern at the recent spate of attacks on civilian targets and stated that some of the attacks were carried out by MK operatives motivated by anger in response to state repression.

Unfinished business

93. The hearings pointed to the legacy of bitterness and pain felt by ANC members who had experienced the harsh hand of NAT. These experiences of assault left more than physical scars on the recipients. At the Johannesburg hearing on 17 July 2000, Mr Mashele (see above) testified that, despite remaining with the ANC as a disciplined member, he had never received an apology for being assaulted by Mr ME Noosi [AM6304/97].

MR MASHELE: *We met at Luthuli House [ANC Head office]. I met him, I asked him what he did there because I'm fully convinced it was not motivated by any good intentions, that he must apologise to me for that and this was done seriously because I wanted him to take an opportunity then to apologise to me. It was around 1994 or 1995.*

MS MAKHUBELE: *Yes and what was his response?*

MR MASHELE: *He never apologised, and moved away from me. Turned his back against me. I met him on maybe two or three occasions at the general practitioner, which is my practitioner, and you know, this thing is straining our relationship, especially when we meet because he just looks at me and he doesn't care. You see, he doesn't want to extend, you know, even a smile, to show that I recognise you, you see? And recently we met at a funeral, he also you know, exhibited the same – I don't know whether to call it arrogance or what.*

94. At the same hearing, Mr Noosi responded:

MR NOOSI: *I saw him at Luthuli House; that was when he said I should apologise to him personally.*

JUDGE DE JAGER: *What did he say why should you apologise, what have you done to him?*

MR NOOSI: *He said because I've assaulted him, I assaulted him.*

JUDGE DE JAGER: *And did he tell you what you've done to him?*

MR NOOSI: *No, he said I assaulted him and I said to him no, I can't apologise to you because I was not doing that for my personal interests, I was doing it for the organisation. If you want an apology, the ANC has apologised. That's what I said to him.*

95. The hearings also highlighted the trauma suffered by families whose members went into exile but never returned. In Johannesburg on 22 May 2000, the Mokudubete family told the Amnesty Committee of the difficulties they had

encountered in obtaining information from the ANC as to the fate of their family member, Thabo:

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

96. Cases where ANC members were executed by their own organisation left a particular legacy of trauma. Eighteen-year-old Sicelo Dlomo, a member of the Soweto Students Congress and a volunteer worker for the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee, was shot dead in Soweto on 23 January 1988. He had experienced several periods of detention and had become well-known through his testimony on a video called 'Children of Apartheid'. Dlomo's mother, Ms Sylvia Dlomo-Jele, told the Commission:

I want these people who killed my child to be found out and I want them to appear and explain what happened. I think maybe that can really satisfy me and console my spirit. (Johannesburg hearing, 15 February 1999.)

97. It was widely assumed that the security forces had assassinated Dlomo. However, one of the Commission's investigators obtained information from sources within the police that a particular Special Operations operative, Mr John Itumeleng Dube, had killed Dlomo. On being questioned by the investigator, Dube confessed to his role and submitted an amnesty application for the killing, along with two other members of his MK cell. Dube [AM5310/97] testified that Dlomo had been recruited into one of his cells. He said he became suspicious of Dlomo and instructed a member of his unit to execute him in the presence of other cell members. They followed his instruction. Ms Dlomo-Jele experienced tremendous shock when she learnt that her son had been killed by his own friends and comrades, all of whom had remained close to the family after the killing. She died a month after the amnesty hearing. Dube and three others were granted amnesty for the killing [AC/2000/019].

98. MK operative Joel George Martins [AM6450/97; AC/2000/157] testified about how he assassinated ANC supporter Benjamin Langa in Pietmaritzburg on 20 May 1984. Langa, a member of a politically active family, was a local activist known to Martins. His brother, Mr Mandla Langa, was a writer of note in exile and another brother, Mr Pius Langa, was a prominent human rights lawyer involved in defending political activists on trial.

MR MARTINS: *I enquired why they had such an instruction and they told me that a certain Ralph who was their commander in Swaziland, had given them that instruction to kill Ben because Ben had basically sold out 'comrades'.*

MR VAN DEN BERG: *Did you question the instruction?*

MR MARTINS: *No, I did not question the instruction, I could not question it – if you'll recall, you know, the early 80s, you know, anything that came from the ANC was hardly questioned, especially from operatives in the country in a word, you know, this was an impeccable source where it came from an MK guy who had just come back from the front, so yes, I did not have a basis on which I could question it. ... The three of us walked up to Benj's apartment. We got there, I knocked, Benj asked who it was. I answered that it was me. He knew who me was. He then said 'come in'. These two guerrillas walked in and, ja, they shot and killed him and immediately after that we ran to the car and we drove off. (Pinetown hearing, 17 June 2000.)*

99. Mandla Langa told the Commission about his sense that this matter had never really been dealt with:

There was at the beginning quite a lot of confusion. I have a memory of the time when this was announced and when this came out that it was because Ben had been labelled an informer and I remember that there was a sense of disbelief among my – I was in Lusaka at the time – among the comrades, my colleagues were there, you know, the broader community in exile, all the way since from 1984 through today I have not received any feedback from my comrades which could have made me know or understand or feel that they felt that Ben had been an informer. I have yet to find somebody who will say to me that they really did believe that Ben had been this or that. (Pinetown hearing, 17 June 2000.)

100. The ANC commander apparently responsible for giving the order, Mr Edward Lawrence, aka Fear or Ralph, later came under suspicion by the ANC and was detained and interrogated. Under questioning, he confessed to being a police spy and subsequently died in ANC custody. According to the ANC, therefore, the killing of Benjamin Langa had taken place on the orders of a government

agent, as opposed to a genuine ANC order. According to the ANC Submission to the Commission:

In a few cases, deliberate disinformation resulted in attacks and assassinations in which dedicated cadres lost their lives. In one of the most painful examples of this nature, a state agent with the name of 'Fear' ordered two cadres to execute Ben Langa on the grounds that Langa was an agent of the regime ... Once the facts were known to the leadership of the ANC, President Tambo personally met with the family to explain and apologise for this action.

101. However, security police amnesty applicants denied that Lawrence was an informer.¹⁴²

102. Killings of suspected defectors also took place outside the borders of South Africa. Mr Kevin Maballengwe Mandlakomo [AM6403/97; AC/2000/230] applied for and was granted amnesty for the assassination of Mr Sipho Ngema in a restaurant in Manzini, Swaziland, on 6 January 1988.

103. Mandlakomo was deployed to Swaziland in 1987 as part of a four-person unit made up of himself, Thabiso, Dumele Xiniya and Shezi. The other three are now deceased. Ngema was believed to have defected in 1986 and was suspected of having played a 'pointing out' role in the events leading to the assassination of senior MK official Cassius Make and others in Swaziland on 9 July 1987. Mr Mandlakomo described the killing of Ngema at a Johannesburg hearing on 20 November 2000:

MR MANDLAKOMO: *It was in a restaurant, a Mozambique Restaurant in Manzini. You know, people were drinking, some were eating and we found him. He was seated in a corner.*

MR KOOPEDI: *And what did you do? Did you say anything to him? What happened?*

MR MANDLAKOMO: *No, I just told him to identify himself to confirm that he was Sipho and he did.*

MR KOOPEDI: *And thereafter?*

MR MANDLAKOMO: *I shot him.*

MR KOOPEDI: *How many times?*

MR MANDLAKOMO: *Four times.*

MR KOOPEDI: *Where on his body did you shoot him?*

MR MANDLAKOMO: *At the chest and head.*

¹⁴² Evidence of Eugene de Kock, amnesty hearing into the killing of ANC operative Zweli Nyanda, 14 June 1999, Pretoria.

104. Mandlakomo and Dumele then left the restaurant and climbed into the getaway vehicle. The group then drove to Mbabane. No one was ever charged for the killing.
105. In an interview with the Commission, Vlakplaas Commander Eugene de Kock denied that Ngema was ever a source, but testified that one of the assassins had been. This allegation was not investigated.

POPULAR RESISTANCE: 1960–1990

106. The second cluster of applications relating to events prior to 1990 is from civilians who engaged in various forms of protest, both peaceful and violent. During the 1980s, the ANC called on South Africans to ‘make the townships ungovernable’. Yet, while the UDF and its affiliates attempted to structure peaceful campaigns and programmes, their supporters often acted on their own initiative and translated the militant rhetoric and slogans of the UDF and ANC into violent actions.
107. While MK operations formed a significant component of resistance in the pre-1990 period, its estimated 1500 operations pale beside the scale of protest action by civilian opponents of the apartheid government inside South Africa. Police statistics¹⁴³ cite tens of thousands of cases of what they described as ‘unrest’, including over 900 cases of burning and ‘necklacings’ between September 1984 and 31 December 1989. While these figures must be viewed with caution, there is little doubt that the wave of protest that swept South Africa prior to 1990 was extensive, leaving hardly any town untouched.
108. Ninety-nine persons, all male, applied for amnesty for ‘internal protest’ and UDF-related activities covering 104 incidents or events in the pre-1990 period. Of these, twenty-one are not linked to the UDF, either because they predate its launch or because they are applications from persons not clearly aligned to the organisation.

¹⁴³ See, for example, the submission to the Commission by the Foundation for Equality before the Law, headed by Major General Herman Stadler and other retired officers of the SAP, April 1996.

109. These 104 incidents include 214 separate acts as follows:

Killings	79
Attempted killings	34
Assault	18
Arson/public violence	27
Abductions	17
Robbery	14
Illegal possession of arms and ammunition	4
Other ¹⁴⁴	21

110. The regional breakdown is as follows:

Eastern Cape	38
Transvaal	36
Natal	15
Western/Northern Cape	11
Orange Free State	2
Venda	1
Unspecified	1

111. The annual breakdown is as follows:

1960–1969	1
1970–1979	11
1980–1984	11
1985–1989	61
1990–1994 ¹⁴⁵	18
Unspecified	2

112. Amnesty was refused for eleven incidents, partially granted for three and granted for ninety.

¹⁴⁴ The last category covers cases that generally did not involve gross human rights violations, including, for example, refusal to serve in the SADF, spraypainting of political slogans, illegal gatherings and the like.

¹⁴⁵ Although this section covers the pre-1990 period, these incidents are included here as they specifically relate to the UDF. Most took place in the early months of 1990.

Group attacks

113. Many of these attacks were spontaneous and unplanned, but several had some organisational links. The application by Mr Mziwoxolo Stokwe [AM6538/96] offers a compelling example of the latter. At his amnesty hearing, Stokwe explained that a certain Mr Skune Tembisile Maarman, aged nineteen, was identified as an informer used by the police to identify 'comrades'. At the Port Elizabeth hearing on 17 July 1999, he described how Maarman was killed on 6 April 1985:

One night we had a COSAS¹⁴⁶ meeting, when I was chairing, and in that meeting we took a decision to kill Maarman because he was dangerous to us. ... And we sent a few 'comrades' to go and kidnap [him] from the disco. We were about 200, ± 200 people at that night. Mr Maarman was brought to us by the delegation and we stoned him into death. Thereafter we burnt him with a tyre on his neck. But only eight people were charged for the killing and I was accused number one.

114. After the arrests, information emerged that a woman who had also participated in the killing, Ms Cikizwa Ntiki Febana, was going to be a state witness at the trial. On 14 December 1985, she too was killed.
115. Stokwe expressed a wish to contribute to reconciliation and building a united community that knew the truth about the events of the past. The families of the victims supported his application, which was granted [AC/1999/240].¹⁴⁷
116. In many instances, applicants explained that their actions were spontaneous and often came about in direct response to clashes with police. UDF supporter, Justice Bekebeke [AM6370/97; AC/1999/203], applied for and was granted amnesty for the killing of Municipal Police officer Lucas Tsenolo 'Jetta' Sethwale in Paballelo township in Upington in the Northern Cape on 13 November 1985. The turbulent events of the previous three days had enraged residents, and Mr Bekebeke described this as a 'crowd attack' during a period of conflict.
117. Mr Bekebeke was part of the well-known trial of the 'Upington 26' in which twenty-five residents were convicted of the killing in terms of the 'common purpose' doctrine. The twenty-sixth person was convicted of attempted murder. Fourteen of the accused were sentenced to death, including Mr Bekebeke. Many of the convictions and all of the death sentences were overturned on appeal. Mr Bekebeke was given a ten-year prison sentence but was released as a political prisoner in January 1992.

¹⁴⁶ Congress of South African Students.

¹⁴⁷ See also AM5487/97, AM6400/97, AM6401/97, AM6402/97, AM6601/97, AM0148/96.

Robberies on farms

118. The Amnesty Committee also heard applications from UDF supporters who planned and participated in robberies, often on farms, largely for the purpose of acquiring arms.
119. Five UDF supporters from Kubusi township, Stutterheim in the Eastern Cape, applied for and were partially granted amnesty for five attacks on white civilians, mainly living on farms, during the period January to March 1990 [AC/1999/0277]. The applicants were Messrs Randile Bhayi [AM0122/96], Jimmy Nokawusana [AM1977/96], Mziyanda Ntonga [AM2018/96], Melumuzi Nokawusana [AM2009/96] and Bonakele Bhayi [AM2770/96].
120. In their applications, they sketched the turbulent political history of the township since 1985, including serious clashes with security forces. They testified that local farmers served as police reservists and had played a role in other forms of political repression. As a consequence, groups of up to forty youths, including the applicants, had embarked on raids and robberies on white farmers. In most instances, the motive was to acquire weapons and ammunition. In some of the attacks, farmers or farm workers were shot and injured. Amnesty was granted for four of the attacks and refused for one.
121. In a similar case, three UDF supporters applied for amnesty for an attack on a farm in Paarl outside Cape Town on 15 April 1986. The three applicants, Mr P Maxam [AM1283], Mr T Madoda [AM0865/96] and Mr CS Ndinisa [AM3802/96], were members of the UDF-affiliated Paarl Youth Congress in Mbekweni township outside Paarl. The three applicants testified that the purpose of the robbery had been to obtain weapons to defend themselves against the police and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), which they believed was being supported by the police.
122. The three applicants, together with four or five other 'comrades', set out to rob the farm where they had been told weapons were available. During the robbery, Maxam shot and killed the domestic worker, Ms Anne Foster, and the gardener, Mr John Geyser. Madoda and Ndinisa expressed their shock at the killings, which had not been part of the plan. The group fled and several were later arrested, convicted and sentenced for the robbery and the killings. All three were granted amnesty for the robbery, but only Ndinisa and Madoda were granted amnesty for their role in the killings.

PART THREE: PERIOD OF TRANSITION: 1990–1994

■ INTRODUCTION

123. While it was possible to draw a sharp distinction between those involved in the clandestine military operations of MK and those engaged in other forms of protest in the pre-1990 era, such distinctions become far less clear in the early 1990s. During this period, the borders began to blur as MK operatives became involved in community SDU structures and activities and civilians were increasingly drawn into paramilitary activities. The categories described in this section must, therefore, be seen as overlapping, with players moving from one to another and frequently inhabiting two or more simultaneously.
124. The Pretoria Minute between the former government and the ANC was signed on 6 August 1990. It included an announcement that the ANC would suspend its armed struggle with immediate effect, based on the presumption that the negotiations process would, amongst other things, lead to a suspension of ‘armed actions and related activities’ by the ANC and its military wing MK.
125. However, in the light of the widespread violence that almost immediately erupted in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) area and spread to other parts of the country, the ANC gave its support to the formation of SDUs in order to protect communities from violent attack.
126. In September 1990, Mr Nelson Mandela publicly pledged the support of MK members to help form and train SDUs. The violence was so extensive that the ANC’s Consultative Conference in December 1990 asserted that, ‘in the light of the endemic violence and the slaughter of innocent people by the regime and its allies, we reaffirm our right and duty as a people to defend ourselves with any means at our disposal’. The Conference resolved ‘to mandate the NEC to take active steps to create people’s defence units as a matter of extreme urgency for the defence of our people.’¹⁴⁸
127. The SDUs were conceived as tightly structured paramilitary units with a specific command and control system. Their members were to be highly trained and

¹⁴⁸ Conference resolution on negotiations and suspension of armed actions, in the report on the ANC National Consultative Conference, *Advance to National Democracy*, Johannesburg, 14–16 December.

subject to a high degree of discipline. MK members were envisaged as playing an important role in the establishment of these structures.

128. While the ANC was concerned that formal MK involvement would jeopardise negotiations, it approved the involvement of individual MK members in community defence. MK Military Headquarters (MHQ) was to play a limited and secondary role, although certain members of MHQ were given the task of assisting SDUs with organisation, training and the provision of weaponry. Various clandestine units were set up for these purposes. The general approach, however, was that the overall control of the SDUs was to remain with community structures and that MK operatives were to participate as members of the community.
129. The ANC told the Commission that it had no records of MK's role in the SDUs, since they were not HQ-controlled structures:

MR ISMAIL: Senior ANC leaders decided that selected SDUs should be assisted in those areas of the Reef which were hardest hit by destabilisation. Selected members of MK, including senior officials from the Command structures, were drawn into an ad hoc structure to assist with the arming of units and to train and co-ordinate efforts in self-defence in these communities; this was done on a need-to-know basis. (Pretoria hearing 4 May 1998.)

130. Although the conflict in the 1990s took place primarily between the IFP and the ANC, its roots were deeply complex. Ethnicity, age, gender, language and social position played their part in the upheaval and fed into long-standing differences between urban dwellers and rural migrants. Migrants found themselves in conflict with town dwellers. In the reports of the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation¹⁴⁹, Justice Richard J Goldstone commented at length on the structural, linguistic and social cleavages that fed into the conflicts in the Tokoza¹⁵⁰ area. The Goldstone report into violence in Tokoza noted that

the political rivalry between hostel-dwellers and shack-dwellers, Zulu-speakers and Xhosa-speakers, Zulus and Xhosas, and migrant workers and those who have their families with them, all tend to resolve themselves into a very simple IFP/ANC tension.

¹⁴⁹ 1992–95.

¹⁵⁰ Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Phenomenon and Causes of Violence in the Thokoza area, under the chairmanship of Mr MNS Sithole, November 1992.

131. These deep-seated dimensions of the conflict are a significant feature of the amnesty applications by SDU members (and many applications from all political groupings relating to the 1990s). While inherently a political conflict, testimony by applicants points to a range of complex social and other factors that formed part of the warp and woof of local conflicts.

CATEGORIES OF VIOLATIONS COMMITTED BY MK

Offensive armed actions

132. Some applications for armed actions apply to the period January to August 1990, before the suspension of armed struggle. Thereafter, certain MK operatives engaged in armed actions on their own initiative, often based on what they described as the 'command initiative' delegated to MK operatives. Although the bulk of MK applications relate to the activities of SDUs, a small number relate to incidents undertaken at the initiative of MK operatives. On the whole, these were 'own missions', unauthorised by the ANC. They include assassinations, armed robbery, skirmishes with security forces, internal clashes and the possession and provision of firearms, ammunition and explosives.
133. On 25 May 1993, the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) organised a march to the Bophuthatswana Consulate in Kimberley in the Northern Cape to hand over memoranda of protest to the Consulate and the SAP. As the marchers began to disperse, one of the protesters threw a hand grenade at the building. It bounced back towards the crowd and exploded, killing ANC marcher Mr Ezekial Mokone and wounding up to forty others.
134. Northern Cape Regional MK Commander Khululekani Lawrence Mbatha [AM3363/96] and ANCYL member Walter Smiles [AM3365/96] applied for amnesty for the incident. Mr Sipho Moses Mbaqa [AM0010/96] and Mr Nkosinathi Darlington Nkohla [AM0013/96], who were convicted of the attack, also applied for amnesty although they denied involvement in the incident.
135. Mbatha told the Amnesty Committee that he had instructed Smiles to throw the grenade. He said that as commander he had discretionary powers to act in circumstances where no direct instructions from the civilian leadership (from whom he took instructions) could be obtained, and that he had acted within the scope of his express or implied authority.

136. This operation was contrary to the ANC's suspension of armed struggle. It was not committed in the execution of an order on behalf of or with the approval of his organisation. On the contrary, the local ANC leaders under whose authority he fell conceded that he had given an assurance to the local Peace Committee¹⁵¹ that the march would be a peaceful event. Indeed, the grenade was thrown while the local chairperson of the ANCYL was asking marchers to disperse peacefully.
137. Thus Mbatha acted contrary to the express undertakings given by his organisation. Any bona fide belief that he was acting within the scope of his authority was further contradicted by his behaviour after the event. He did not report to his leaders about the event which, had it been carried out within the policy of the organisation, would surely have been approved by them.
138. The Amnesty Committee found the evidence of Walter Smiles to be contradictory and unreliable. Both he and Mbatha were denied amnesty [AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241]. Mbaqa and Nkohla were also refused amnesty as they maintained that they had not committed any offence or delict and thus fell outside the ambit of the requirements of the Act.

Robberies

139. The transition period (1990 to 1994) was a difficult time for many MK operatives. In exile, the ANC had provided basic necessities and provisions and supplies for operational purposes. Back home, MK structures dissolved, MK operatives dispersed and the old support base fell away.
140. In testimony before the Commission, it emerged that while robbery remained contrary to ANC policy, the ANC turned something of a blind eye to acts of robbery for operational purposes – that is, robberies to secure weapons or money for logistics.
141. For example, a senior MK operative, Mr Japie Aaron Mkhwanazi [AM6215/97] deployed an MK operative to establish an SDU to counter the IFP-aligned 'Black Cats' gang in Ermelo in the Transvaal. At the Ermelo hearing on 28 August 1998 he testified that he was aware that the operative had engaged in armed robberies:

151. Peace Committees were established across South Africa during the early 1990s to monitor political protests and state action and ensure liaison between the various groups involved so as to avoid violent confrontations.

I know that that is not the policy of the ANC; but the situation under which we lived at the time was that we had no alternative ... The instruction that I gave was that he [MH Gushu] should form and arm the self-defence units. It was therefore up to him to take the necessary steps as to how the self-defence units should be armed and that's what decision he took: armed robbery.

142. Mr VL Dlamini, an MK operative who was active in SDUs in the Transvaal, concurred:

There is no policy [supporting] robbery in the ANC but with regards to the needs of the units on the ground you would try to raise funds in any way. Even then the leaders would not expressly give you authority to involve yourself in robberies but would only say that whatever you do you should not compromise the movement ... (Johannesburg hearing, 30 September 1999.)

143. The security forces were the most obvious and popular targets for such robberies, although private persons and businesses were also targeted for vehicles and money. As a result, there were several amnesty applications for acts of robbery by both MK and SDU personnel, some of which resulted in injuries and deaths.
144. Mr Pumlani Kubukeli [AM5180/97], an MK operative deployed in Umtata in the Transkei, was tasked with the training and provisioning of new recruits. Due to budgetary constraints, it was decided that alternative means of obtaining the requisite finance should be employed. Kubukeli and two others robbed the Engcobo Wiers Cash and Carry store. There were no injuries or damage. The three were later arrested, convicted and sentenced to prison terms for armed robbery.
145. On 17 August 1992, four ANC members, including at least two MK members, shot and killed Mr André de Villiers outside his farmhouse in Addo, Port Elizabeth. Mr de Villiers was due to testify at the forthcoming inquest into the killing of activist Mathew Goniwe and others. Mr Thamsanqa Oliver Mali [AM0124/96] asserted that they had been told by Chris Hani to use their own initiative to acquire arms.
146. The robbery went wrong and Mr de Villiers was fatally wounded and other family members were fired at. A few days later the group was arrested and eventually sentenced to long prison terms. The leader of the group, Mr Xolani Ncinane, died in prison; another member escaped. The remaining two, Mali and Mr Lindile John Stemela [AM0125/96], applied for amnesty. Mali was granted

amnesty; Stemela, who was not an MK member but a recent SDU recruit, was refused amnesty [AC/1999/0234].

147. The ANC distanced itself to some extent from their application. At the Port Elizabeth hearing on 19 January 1999, ANC representative Thembisi Mbatha told the Commission that:

Our investigation with our Port Elizabeth office could not establish that a meeting between SDUs and the late comrade Chris Hani was held in early 1992. Secondly, it is sad that the name of Chris Hani, because he is not there to answer for himself, should be used to support the amnesty applications. According to our comrades in Port Elizabeth, the motive for the incident was armed robbery and not political at all. We have unfortunately not been able to trace the Xholani Tjebilisa to which they refer as their commander.

148. A more common form of robbery was to attack police or police stations in order to secure weapons. Mr Moses Vuyani Mamani [AM6141/97] was part of a group of four MK operatives who attacked and robbed the Frankfort police station in the Ciskei on 12 August 1992 in order to acquire weapons. One police officer was shot and wounded in the attack. Mr Mamani was granted amnesty [AC/1999/0354].

Skirmishes with police

149. Skirmishes with police usually occurred when operatives were in possession of weapons and wished to avoid arrest or were being pursued by police.
150. Mr Wilson Mokotjo Sebiloane [AM1701/96], a former COSAS activist, left South Africa to join the ANC in 1986. On 25 May 1991, one month after his return from exile, his vehicle was pulled over by the police. Fearing arrest, he attempted to shoot his way out, injuring both police officers. He was captured, convicted and sentenced to 13 years' imprisonment. Sebiloane was granted amnesty [AC/1997/0035].

Possession and distribution of arms and ammunition

151. Thirteen applicants applied for amnesty for the possession of arms and ammunition, while another seventeen applied for the infiltration and supply of arms.

Shell House shooting

152. Perhaps the best-known case involving ANC trained personnel in this period was the shooting outside the ANC headquarters at Shell House and its offices at Lancet Hall in Johannesburg on 28 March 1994. The event, in which IFP marchers were shot dead by ANC security guards, took place one month before the first democratic elections of April 1994.
153. Ten ANC security personnel applied for amnesty for the Shell House shooting, and three applied for the shooting outside the Lancet Hall offices. Two of the latter subsequently withdrew their applications.
154. Although it is clear that the applicants believed that they were under attack, the Amnesty Committee found no evidence of an attack on Shell House by the IFP marchers. Objective ballistic and medical evidence indicates that the shooting was without justification as most of the deceased were shot after they had turned back. The applicants admitted that they might have shot at the marchers as they were running away. All eleven applicants were granted amnesty [AC/2000/142].

SELF-DEFENCE UNITS 1990–1994

Background to self-defence units

155. In the period 1990 to 1994, self-defence units (SDUs) emerged in many urban townships in the PWV, Eastern Cape, Transkei and Ciskei, Western Cape, Orange Free State and in both urban and rural areas of KwaZulu and Natal. In the PWV and KwaZulu/Natal, the SDUs clashed primarily with the IFP. Elsewhere, a range of localised conflicts involving different protagonists took place. These included clashes with gangster and vigilante groupings (sometimes linked to the IFP), with more anonymous groups and with the police.
156. As violence engulfed many areas, it became increasingly clear that communities could not rely on the security and legal structures of the state to protect and defend them. As a result, many felt compelled to take steps to protect themselves. At the Durban hearing on 1 December 1998, amnesty applicant Jeff Radebe [AM7170/97] argued that:

These self-defence units in fact were imposed on us, by the inability of the security forces that were supposed to protect our people. Instead of protecting

our people, they were the ones that were guilty of atrocities against our people. As a result we had no choice but to make sure that we assist our people in defending themselves. I believe that it is a right of anybody in South Africa to defend himself or herself when attacked. That is the background against which we operated as the ANC.

157. The ANC submission to the Commission is frank about the direction SDU activity took:

Before long there were two kinds of SDUs in existence: genuine community defence groups, and violent gangs presenting themselves as ANC-aligned SDUs ... Some SDUs became little more than gangs of criminals at times led by police agents, and inflicted great damage on popular ANC aligned-community structures.

158. Then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki told the Commission that:

there was a basic assumption ... that there would be in those communities local political structures, local structures of civil society strong enough to be able to constitute these committees that would then take charge of the self-protection units. I'm saying that was an assumption ... when that didn't happen and we moved in a different direction, its clear that we should perhaps have reviewed the matter of that control but we continued to proceed as though you could as ANC arm the units and surrender them to these local civil and political structures to control. An attempt was made to keep an eye on them. I am talking now from the national leadership, from headquarters, and there are instances where we had to intervene when there were all sorts of crazy things that were planned. It may very well be that we should recognise that the situation having changed from the original conception we needed to have taken steps in terms of a control which would be consistent with the changed circumstances, but there was a carry through of a particular concept of self-protection units which was perhaps then not founded on reality with regard to the control and so on within those communities. (Oral evidence at HRV hearing on ANC.)

159. It is probably in the supply of weaponry by MHQ that the strongest case for a link between the ANC and SDUs can be made. According to Mr Ronnie Kasrils [AM5509/97; AC/2001/168], the ANC established an MK unit to assist in arming the SDUs. The unit was made up of himself, Mr Aboobaker Ismail [AM7109/97; AC/2000/153] and Mr Riaz Saloojee [AM7158/97; AC/2001/128]. This unit created DLBs ('dead letter boxes', or arms caches) in the areas badly affected by

violence – including Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Vaal Triangle, East and West Rand, Eastern Cape, Ciskei and the Western Cape. Kasrils liaised with other MK personnel including Mr Jeff Radebe in Natal, Mr Robert McBride [AM7032/97; AC/2001/128] in the East Rand, Ms Janet Love [AM5509/97; AC/2001/028] in the Transvaal and Ms Felicity ‘Muff’ Andersson [AM6210/97; AC/1997/0057]. Mr Chris Hani also played a crucial role in passing on DLB diagrams and sketches to those responsible in the areas concerned. All of these persons applied for and were granted amnesty. According to Kasrils, the supply of weapons to SDUs throughout the country had ceased by the end of 1993.

160. Aside from three applications from KwaZulu and Natal, the Amnesty Committee dealt with applications from MHQ personnel administratively as they were not directly linked to gross human rights violations. There is, as a consequence, little detail available on the quantities of weaponry involved, the frequency of handover or the subsequent management or retrieval of such weaponry. There are indications that the distribution of weaponry to SDUs by MHQ was done in a fairly limited way. According to then Deputy President Mbeki, who gave oral evidence at the human rights violations hearing on the ANC:

There was not a big massive distribution of weapons by the ANC or MK to ordinary cadres, there wasn't. As that violence from 1990 onwards was mounting one of the strongest demands that came from within the constituency of the ANC was arm the masses. Many of us sitting here had to do very stormy and rowdy and heated meetings contesting that, saying that there are no masses that are going to be armed. But it was a demand to say here we are, you people in the midst of all of this violence you decide to suspend armed action and therefore you demobilise or deactivate MK, and then here we are being killed, and where are the weapons, arm the masses so that the masses can defend themselves. As I say, that many of us sitting here participated in many public meetings where this demand was made very strongly and then we said no, there are no masses that are going to be armed because we are concerned about the consequences of arming everybody. ... As a movement we resisted the notion of arming too many people.

When weapons were distributed by people from MK ... they were in fact distributed to specific people. It was not like sort of handing out sweets in the street, and clearly the people to whom those weapons would be given would be people that in your best judgement are people who have got the necessary political capacity and the discipline to handle those weapons properly.

161. This assertion is to some extent borne out by the amnesty applications received from MK Command personnel and operatives. Testimony from amnesty hearings indicates fairly strongly that SDUs acquired the majority of their weapons from private sources¹⁵² and not from the ANC.
162. Although the ANC kept its distance from the command and control of most of the SDUs, it was forced to intervene in several instances when SDU structures drifted into criminality or internecine conflicts.

Lines of command and operational practices

163. SDUs were by no means a homogeneous category. Rather they reflected the character of local political developments in particular townships and the diversity of the conflicts they engaged in.
164. In most cases, SDUs had some form of contact with ANC structures, albeit in an *ad hoc* and unstructured way. Some existed in areas where there were no strong ANC branches that could provide political leadership. Some of these were led by MK operatives who had returned from exile and faced strong pressure to initiate and train SDUs. Such MK operatives were unlikely to be high-level ANC personnel.
165. Some – notably the Tokoza SDUs and some of the KwaZulu and Natal SDUs – worked closely with the ANC's political structures. Regular meetings and liaison took place between the ANC branch and the SDU commanders. In many instances the local political ANC structure might even have initiated the formation of the SDU and was able to play a monitoring and disciplinary role. Yet even in these cases, the political link with the ANC was primarily local rather than regional. It was the local ANC branch that played the supervisory role, and the quality of that supervision depended largely upon the quality of leadership and political maturity of the branch leadership. Moreover, the existence of such political control did not lessen the ferocity of the conflicts or the offensive character of the attacks carried out by the SDUs. Thus, despite political control, the Tokoza SDUs engaged in extreme forms of violence.
166. A third version of SDUs may have regarded itself as part of the ANC but, in reality, had little structural or political connection with the organisation. Such SDUs

¹⁵² See, for example, AM5594/97.

tended to be established by local communities through civic organisations, street committees or mass meetings. These SDUs might borrow the language and sometimes the structure of more formal ANC SDUs, using terms such as 'orders' and designations such as 'commander'. Such SDUs were particularly evident in the informal settlements in and around townships. Incidents associated with these SDUs tended to be characterised by spontaneous crowd activity and violent collective action. The weaponry involved was often unsophisticated.

Types of violations

167. The SDU amnesty applications cover a very wide range of offences and attacks on a range of targets. Each region had its own particular features. The offences applied for fall into the following broad categories.

Arson attacks on homes and communities

168. Arson attacks were employed as a means of forcibly displacing opponents or suspected 'collaborators' from their homes or, in the case of informal settlements, from entire areas.

169. Mr JM Mabuza [AM7633/97; AC/1999/0053], applied for and was granted amnesty for several arson attacks on homes in the Katlehong area that were believed to be occupied by IFP members or supporters. Some of the attacks were carried out with the assistance of local residents. In his testimony at the Palm Ridge hearing on 8 December 1998, he describes one such incident:

MR MABUZA: Yes, I was at school, just before lunchtime, as we are still busy at school, we were hearing gunshots outside and we were quite uncomfortable and we couldn't go on. We just decided to go home. On my way home, I was seeing hit squads and the people were being shot at, but fortunately I managed to get home unharmed, but just before I could get home, I saw a house that was on fire. Next to that house, there was a dead body. I went into the house and I put my books there and I took my pistol and I went out. Just in front of my house, there was a group of people that were known to me. I enquired about what was happening in the community. They told me that the fight between the ANC and IFP had started. They said to me I must stop asking questions because things were bad. We went to house number 256 at Hlongwani, that was the same street where I was residing. There were IFP members that were residing there, we used to see them going to the rallies, IFP rallies and meetings

... We wanted to destroy IFP, because it also managed to destroy us in 1990 as we were unarmed as a community.

MR SHEIN: *But who did you find there?*

MR MABUZA: *We got women there, there were women and children, but I am not a coward, I don't kill women ... The community was very angry, as I was still talking to these people, they started to stone the house, and I had to get out of the house. When I went out to the group of people, some women followed me and though the community was very angry, they did no harm to women. I know that my community is not composed of cowards, they don't kill women. That is when the house was set alight and the windows were already broken. I can't remember whether it was Aubrey or someone else who put petrol in one of the bedrooms and the dining room. I am the one who set the house alight.*

Attacks on hostels

170. Hostels were also attacked. Applicants applied for amnesty for attacks on IFP hostels, which usually involved an exchange of gunfire between SDU members and IFP hostel-dwellers. In one unusual incident, Tokoza SDU members attacked a police patrol and took control of a Casspir¹⁵³ Amnesty applicant Mr Radebe [AM0200/96] describes the attack:

We decided that we will shoot the police because of their acts. We shot indiscriminately, we kept shooting, until we got an opportunity to injure some of the policemen. But one policeman I saw in the morning, I realised he was dead. We decided to take the Casspir and use it for counter attacks to the hostel-dwellers, because they had attacked previously during the day. Nyauza was the name of the colleague who drove the Casspir. We proceeded to Katuza hostel, alighted from the Casspir and we knocked at the doors and the windows of the hostel, and we shouted they should wake up and open the doors, we are here to attack. And as they woke up they switched on the lights and we started firing towards them and threw the petrol bombs into their room. It took about some time because we did that to numerous hostel rooms, and we decided it's time to go back now. We went back to the Casspir and we drove towards the first hostel, and we found them standing there amazed as to what was happening, and I do believe that they thought these were police and we started at shooting at them since they were not running away. We shot towards them and we drove towards Phola Park. Just towards Phola Park we decided to stop the Casspir and alight from the Casspir, and walked into the neighbourhood. (Hearing, 8 February 1999.)

153 Armoured personnel carrier.

Abductions followed by executions

171. Abductions of suspects were a particular feature of the East Rand SDUs. The suspects would be taken for questioning and assaulted in order to extract a confession. These appeared invariably to be followed by summary execution. Amnesty applicants often asserted that, after abduction and assault, victims would admit or 'confess' to being IFP members.

Targeted killings

172. Particular persons who had been identified as IFP members or supporters would be targeted for assassination. A public assassination might take place on the spot or at some later date.
173. In one incident, Mr Jerry Chimanyana Motaung [AM5594/97], an MK operative in an SDU in Vosloorus, targeted and attacked two women suspected of being IFP members and of having provided information to IFP hostel-dwellers. However, when questioned at the Johannesburg hearing on 13 October 1998, the applicant was unable to provide any evidence for his suspicions:

MR MHLABA: *Did Patricia and Gladness pose any threat to the wellbeing of the political organisation which you were trying to further the objectives thereof?*

MR MOTAUNG: *They never had any interference in our work.*

MR MHLABA: *Then why were they attacked Mr Motaung, can you just recap on that, because it is not very clear?*

MR MOTAUNG: *Patricia Motshwene and Gladness Mvelase were members of the IFP, we saw them at the funeral of the IFP and we at the township were fighting against the IFP and these people of the IFP were attacking people and killing people in the township. That is when we realised that the people who were staying in the township, were giving information to other people in the hostel, who were members of the IFP. That is why we took a decision that these people should be killed, because they were giving out the information to the people who were staying at the hostel. These were the people who were more dangerous because they would monitor our movements and give information to those who were living at the hostel.*

ADV GCABASHE: *Could I just ask Mr Motaung, did you have evidence that Patricia and Gladness were involved in those spying activities, that they were giving information to people at the hostel?*

MR MOTAUNG: *We didn't have evidence to that effect, but our understanding*

was that the people who were staying in the township were more dangerous than those in the hostel.

Internal clashes

174. The SDUs were vulnerable to infighting and internal clashes, both amongst themselves and with other ANC members or structures such as the ANCYL. The Tokoza SDU regarded this problem so seriously that it adopted a policy of an 'eye for an eye' or 'kill and be killed': that is, any SDU member that killed another SDU member would himself be killed.

MR SOKO: Such a policy helped us not to lose a lot of our members, especially the SDU members. We laid this rule down so that there could be some semblance of order and there should be a framework within which we worked as SDU members not to kill each other, so that people could be prevented from killing each other. (Lucky Soko, Hearing at Palm Ridge, 30 November 1998.)

MR RADEBE: I explained earlier on that there was a hard and fast rule or policy, that is you had taken somebody's life, your life should also be taken. (Patrick Mozamahlube Radebe, Hearing at Palm Ridge, 24 November 1998.)

175. The most notorious example of this type of intra-organisational conflict was the abduction and killing of nine ANCYL members by a Katlehong SDU on 7 December 1993. The victims, some of whom were 17 years old and younger, were shot, hacked and stabbed to death. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty for this violation [AC/1998/0013].
176. The ANC established an SDU in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, to take control of a situation in which local ANCYL members had engaged in violent and/or criminal activities. However, the SDU itself became involved in incidents of violence. Mr Zwelitsha Mkhulwa [AM0665/96] and Mr Ndithini Thyido [AM0755/96] applied for amnesty for the attempted killing of ANC member, Mr Bongani Mpisane, in 1993. A young child, Solethu Ngxumza, was accidentally shot dead in the shooting. Amnesty was refused [AC/1997/0034].
177. Members of an SDU in Philippi, also in Cape Town, were involved in the killing of senior ANC and MK member Mziwonke 'Pro' Jack, in Nyanga on 19 June 1991. Mr Jack's nephew, Andile, was wounded in the attack in which three men opened fire on their vehicle at close range. This was portrayed at the time as an assassination by the security forces or their 'surrogates'. However, the ANC

came to suspect the involvement of its own members and instituted an inquiry. Mr Xola Tembinkosi Yekwani [AM7970/97] applied for amnesty for his role in the shooting. His application was refused [AC/2000/003].

Crowd killings

178. Although SDUs were usually small units, some of the less structured SDUs seem to have operated in conjunction with larger groups of residents or crowds in 'collective action'.
179. Amnesty applicant Foreman Mngomezulu [AM0187/96; AC/2000/048] described himself as a member of the ANC and a deputy commander in the SDU 'responsible for protecting the community'. He applied for and was granted amnesty for his role in an incident that took place in Mandela Section, Daveyton, Transvaal, on 21 March 1992.
180. Patrick Khumalo and Mr Absolom Mnyakeni, who were suspected of killing the Secretary of the Youth League in the area, were violently assaulted and abducted from their home along with two others who were believed to be harbouring them. The four were taken to a nearby sports ground where they were further assaulted with iron bars and sjamboks in front of a 'large crowd of 'comrades' and the community'. Petrol was then poured over them and they were burnt alive.

MS LOCKHAT: *And whose decision was it to burn the two victims?*

MR MNGOMEZULU: *All the 'comrades' took that decision ... It was the street committee that came up with the idea and we all agreed. ...*

JUDGE DE JAGER: *Could you tell me, did you – were they still conscious when you poured the petrol on them and burnt them, or were they in a coma or unconscious at that stage, what was their physical state when you started the burning?*

MR MNGOMEZULU: *They were still alive.*

JUDGE DE JAGER: *Still standing upright?*

MR MNGOMEZULU: *Yes, they were still conscious. ...*

MS LOCKHAT: *Tell me, wasn't it you, you also, I think one of the deceased asked for water and you said that they should give them petrol to drink rather? Is that true?*

MR MNGOMEZULU: *No, it was the street committee. (Johannesburg hearing, 1 November 1999.)*

Armed robbery

181. SDUs executed a number of armed robberies, targeting both civilians and security forces. Applicants explained that they needed money to buy weapons.
182. Mr Mlungiselele Ndamane, an SDU member in Katilehong [AM3124/96; AC/1999/0231], applied for and was granted amnesty for the armed robbery of a branch of Volkskas bank in February 1992. Mr Zakhele Jan Simelane [AM3122/96; AC/1999/0209] applied for and was granted amnesty for the robbery of vehicles and a bank to obtain money for arms on SDU orders. Mr Molife Michael Selepe [AM7154/97; AC/2000/139] described how a group of Tokoza SDU members staged an armed robbery on the Klipriver police station in order to acquire weapons. Similarly, four members of a newly formed SDU in Heilbron, Orange Free State, robbed a police station of weapons on 8 July 1992.
183. Mr SM Manyamalala [AM3150/96] explained that he was recruited to an SDU in Soweto in 1992. He was ordered to fetch weapons and, in order to obey this order, hijacked a vehicle on 3 February 1993, killing the civilian driver, Mr WS Froneman, and injuring the passenger, Ms Ruth Jennifer Barker.

Attacks on police and skirmishes

184. A number of skirmishes took place between SDU members and the police, often while police were attempting to make arrests. Mr Mxolisi Duma [AM3145/96; AC/1999/0210] was granted amnesty for a shoot-out with police while he was transporting weapons near Soweto in November 1990.
185. SDU members also launched offensive attacks and ambushes on police while engaged in defensive skirmishes. Mr Mhlabunzima Phakamisa [AM0660/96] and Mr Two-boy Vakele Jack [AM0919/96], members of an SDU in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, concealed themselves in a shack and opened fire on an Internal Stability Unit (ISU) patrol on 22 July 1992. Four members of an SDU in the Transkei abducted two policemen from the Bhongweni police station near Kokstad, Transkei, on 17 October 1993. The two police officers allegedly attempted to escape from the vehicle and the SDU members shot them dead. The SDU members claimed that these abductions were in retaliation for the SADF attack on the home of a PAC member in Umtata on 8 October 1993 in which five sleeping youths, including two twelve-year-old children, were shot dead.¹⁵⁴ The two applicants were granted amnesty [AC/1998/0029].

¹⁵⁴ See Volume Two, Chapter Seven, p. 600.

Attacks on vigilantes and criminal groups

186. In the period 1990 to 1994, a number of anti-ANC criminal and vigilante groups engaged in attacks on ANC members and supporters. Mr Sandile Birmingham Garane [AM5474/97; AC/2000/117] and Mr Joel Mhlahleni Sishaba [AM5186/97; AC/1999/232] were granted amnesty for the killings of two 'Toaster Gang' members in 1990 and 1993 respectively.

Attacks on transport routes

187. In the Katorus area, particular transport routes became associated with one or other political grouping. Residents of Katlehong became extremely concerned and upset when the railway line that ran past their homes to the hostel became a site of violence. Shots were fired at residents as the train went past and commuters were thrown to their deaths off the train. At the Johannesburg hearing on 24 November 1998, SDU member and amnesty applicant Jeremia Mbongeni Mabuza [AM7633/97] described the reaction of the residents:

We had a meeting one morning. [The residents] would wake up to dead bodies in the morning, these people whose houses were facing the railroad, and we decided to come up with a strategy to stop this from continuing.

188. The residents' first response was to shoot at the train as it went past. Later they decided to destroy the railway line itself.

We went to the railroad as the community and we took the first line, we also used hammers. We counted three times, and we bent the railroad or the rail itself, but that didn't help us in any way. On taking that resolve, we took a cutting torch from some of the Shangaan-speaking or Tsonga-speaking group and we went straight to the rail line. We used this cutting torch to break down this rail line, or to cut this rail line. We did not remove the one piece that we had cut from the line, we just left it there to appear as if there was nothing wrong with the line. This piece remained, the train came as usual and when the train came to the spot, two coaches were derailed, and as this was happening, the shooting was going on.

Lesser offences

189. Offences that did not fall into the category of gross human rights violations included the illegal possession of arms and ammunition, the collection of money

from residents for the purchasing of weapons, reconnaissance work, incitement, public violence and the obstruction of the police in the performance of their duties.

190. Three amnesty applicants, Mr Simphiwe Godfrey Ndlovu [AM7075/97], Mr Thulani Richard Mbatha [AM7027/97], and Mr Aubrey Matlema Maile [AM7694/97], applied for amnesty for doing reconnaissance work, cleaning weapons and similar work with the Tokoza SDUs while they were between the ages of ten and twelve. The three were granted amnesty for the unlawful possession of AK47s and a number of other firearms and ammunition and for obstructing the police in the performance of their duties [AC/1999/0243].

Features of the conflict

191. Spontaneous violence by crowds continued occurred during this period, making political control extremely difficult. Many incidents reported to the Commission took place at the hands of large groups of people engaged in collective action. Crowds had a spontaneity and momentum of their own and were unlikely to conform to the discipline of ANC policy or wait for orders or approval.

MR MSIMANGO: ... we did not plan as such. We would react to what will be happening at the time. We will not sit down and plan the attack but we will just revenge as it happens. (Hearing at Palm Ridge, 23 November 1998.)

MR MOPEDI: Why was it necessary to attack the house in Dube Street?

MR NDLOVU: The attack on that day was prompted by the fact that we lost five of our members the previous Friday and therefore it was necessary for us to avenge their death so that they could learn from this experience that we too can fight back, we are not happy about this. (Hearing at Johannesburg, 24 November 1998.)

192. Suspicion and unsupported rumour thrived in this tense atmosphere. Mr Bongani Nkosi [AM7268/97], one of the chief commanders of the SDUs in Tokoza, described an incident in which he executed an unidentified person on the spot:

MR NKOSI: It was in the morning, I was in my house, I heard a noise outside, I went out. I was wearing nothing on my upper body. I saw people chasing a person. They told me that it was an informer that was there to survey the place, therefore they were chasing him. I went back to my house. Under the table, I took my AK47 ... They brought this person, I gave them the firearm, they

misfired four times and Sicelo also misfired with four bullets. I took back my firearm, I bridged this firearm. He was at a distance of about 20 meters. I shot only once on the head and he fell.

MR SHANE: *Did you know who this person was, the one who died? Did you know his name, did you see him before?*

MR NKOSI: *I just saw this person for the very first time, I did not search for his identity card or something else. We would just do the work, without looking for further details. (Johannesburg hearing, 9 February 1999.)*

193. Many applicants would state that ‘it was common knowledge’ that so-and-so was an IFP member. Any form of association with the IFP could result in a death sentence. A variety of social and physical markers were used to determine the possible affiliation of a suspect, including clothing, language, physical features, and being seen in a suspect area or suspect taxi.

194. In this heightened atmosphere of revenge and rage even the remains of suspected IFP members were targets of attack. Bodies of ‘the enemy’ were dug up out of their graves and burnt or dismembered. In several instances, the coffins of deceased persons were seized from hearses and set alight. SDU members described attacking a body in a hearse:

MR MADONDO: *It was myself and Jamani who dragged the coffin out of the hearse. I don’t even know where the petrol came from but I saw petrol there and the person was in flames, the dead body was in flames. The only thing that I did was to drag the coffin out of the hearse and it broke.*

MR MOPEDI: *And do you know who was in the coffin?*

MR MADONDO: *No, I did not know. I had Jamani who told me that it was an IFP commander. (Johannesburg hearing, 24 November 1998.)*

195. The polarisation of physical space took extreme forms. Not only in residential areas but on public transport, separation became necessary in order to ensure survival.

196. While the main protagonists were IFP and ANC supporters and members, it was mainly ordinary residents who suffered arson attacks, injuries and even death during the protracted conflict. Taxis, trains, funeral vigils, taverns, the places of ordinary daily life became sites of attack. Residents or visitors who happened to cross into ‘enemy’ territory were likely to become victims.

197. On the one hand, one of the most significant features of the violence of the 1990s is the total anonymity of the victims from the point of view of the applicants. Civilians were killed simply because they were in the wrong place at the wrong time or because there were suspicions about their allegiance.
198. Furthermore, because clashes between IFP and ANC supporters took the form of skirmishes, with groups opening fire on each other, often at a distance, applicants were frequently unable to state conclusively whether anyone had been injured or killed as a result of their actions, even if they assumed or speculated that deaths and injuries must have occurred. As applicants were usually barely able to recall the year of an incident, let alone the month or day, tracing victims through police and mortuary reports was virtually impossible. Similarly, although the Commission received a number of human rights violation statements relating to these very conflicts, the absence of information about when events took place meant that very few links could be made between victims and amnesty applications.
199. In other cases, victims were well known to perpetrators and life-long neighbours became enemies on the basis of suspect allegiances. In one such case, SDU member Sidney Vincent Nkosi abducted his former friend and neighbour Jabulani from a tavern after his allegiances became suspect. Although Jabulani pleaded for his life, he was taken behind a nearby stadium and shot dead. At the Johannesburg hearing on 2 February 1999, Mr Nkosi, himself a Zulu, told the Commission that:
- MR NKOSI: He had Zulu friends, and other 'comrades' turned against him because they could see that this person had another agenda that was different from ours. That's when the people started to distance themselves from him. We heard that from other 'comrades' that they could no longer trust him because of his movements. I would like to ask for forgiveness more especially his mother, the one I grew up in front of and his sisters, the whole family. I would like to ask for forgiveness.*
200. The interweaving of local issues with national political issues emerged regularly in the amnesty hearings. Traditional and magical elements were not confined to the witchcraft hearings described in the previous section. Even ANC SDU members drew on traditional and magical elements to protect their members and advance their cause. Several SDU applicants referred to *ntelesi* or other magical dimensions in their testimony.

201. Mr Victor WM Mabaso, who participated in the killing of Mr Stephen Radebe, whom he knew personally, spoke about the role of *ntlesi* at the Johannesburg hearing on 2 February 1999:

MR MABASO: *First of all, he was a member of Inkatha. Secondly, he was an inyanga of Inkatha, and an informer of Inkatha. And he's one person who used to provide them with 'ntlesi' on their attacking sprees or going out to shoot a person. ... Something that happened, something that I witnessed, he cut somebody's private parts, a person who was alleged to be an Ikosa (sic) who had alighted from a taxi, and he cut his private parts after he was shot. That is one thing that I witnessed him doing. He also used to give them 'ntelezi' when they went out to attack Phola Park.*

CHAIRPERSON: *What is ntelezi?*

MR MABASO: *Ntelezi is a medicine, a kind of medicine that one would use going out to attack, so that the targets should get drunk and not see what's happening, and to protect oneself against bullets in a war situation, and one would easily come back safe.*

202. Inevitably the violence began to eat into the soul of its perpetrators and victims. Many SDU members spoke of the merciless and hard attitude they developed towards their 'enemies'. One SDU member in Katlehong described this attitude while describing the abduction and killing of Mr Beki Khanyile at the Johannesburg hearing on 23 November 1998:

MR MABASO: *Yes he apologised profusely. I was supposed to be sensitive towards his apology, but because we had been harassed and we had suffered a lot, so that we no longer had mercy, we no longer cared, we no longer cared about everything, we had lost heart. And anybody who was operating within the IFP could not have survived, and therefore I issued this order [for his death] after his plea. He cried pleading with us, but then because of the things that he did, remembering the many people who died on Sam Ntuli's memorial service, these were old people who were shot simply because they were wearing Mandela T-shirts.*

CHAIRPERSON: *One last aspect I want to cover with you. It is perhaps a sensitive issue, but I need to know what your attitude would be. When you killed these two deceased, how did you feel yourself?*

MR MABASO: *As I've already explained that the heart, I did not have the heart. I felt nothing. I was not even guilty. Whatever I feel it's now I'm thinking for Beki's family and Stephen because they have lost, I had lost and I know there's*

always a gap when someone dies but at that time I did not have a problem. If it was possible I would kill even ten people because I did not have a heart at that time. I was hurt because of my parents that were killed. I did not have a heart. I was going to do whatever so as to protect myself. (Hearing at Johannesburg, 02 February 1999.)

MR SIBEKO: *Are you by any chance saying the way you were so affected or the way this violence affected you there was no other way in which your community and yourselves could have defended your property without resorting to arms?*

MR MBATHA: *No, there was no alternative because the violence affected everybody, young and old. It is like something that creeps so that when it crawls into a group of people it just destroys everybody.*

POPULAR PROTESTS 1990–1994

203. The Commission received a number of applications from local civilian ANC members or supporters. In the main, these applications cover local level conflicts with perceived enemies and political opponents, as well as incidents of arson and public violence relating to national campaigns and protests.

Clashes with the PAC

204. While clashes with the IFP dominate the picture in the 1990s, there were also several serious outbreaks of conflict between the ANC and PAC – mainly between the youth organisations linked to these bodies, COSAS and the ANCYL on the one hand, and the Pan Africanist Student Organisation (PASO) on the other. This conflict manifested itself in the Eastern Cape, Transkei and PWV townships.
205. In Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape, conflict broke out between PASO and COSAS, spilling over into the community. There were attacks on both ANC and PAC members. On 21 February 1993, a large crowd of ANCYL supporters, including Mr Thobani Makrosi [AM0362/96], abducted two women, Ms Nomsa Mpangiso and Ms Nomangwana Mandita. Ms Mandita was later found dead in a street, partially burnt, with a motor vehicle tyre around her neck and a large bloody stone near her head. Medical evidence indicated that she had been set alight while she was alive and had sustained serious head wounds. Ms Mpangiso, who was pregnant, managed to escape. Makrosi was granted amnesty for his role in the abduction of the two women [AC/1997/0022].¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ See also AM3125/96.

Clashes in the homelands

206. Rank and file ANC membership, particularly youth, clashed with the traditional authorities and their political structures in the former homelands, particularly in the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, which resisted free ANC political activity and threatened to oppose participation in the 1994 democratic elections.

207. Amnesty applications were received in respect of two attacks on suspected African Democratic Movement (ADM) members in the Ciskei. On 26 April 1993, the ANCYL resolved to kill 51-year-old Ms Nohombile Ntombazembi Mphambani, in the belief that she was an ADM member recruiting others to the party in order to attack the ANC. The following day, a group of over 100 youths chased Ms Mphambani and two of her teenage children towards the forest. When they caught Ms Mphambani she pleaded for her life, begging for forgiveness and promising to join the ANC. At its East London hearing on 18 March 1997, the Amnesty Committee heard that her pleas had failed:

MR MPHAMBANE: *We continued to throw stones at her. She fell on the ground. The others arrived. She was already on the ground. They continued to throw stones at her. Some were beating her on the head with canes. After that when we were sure that she died we left as the 'comrades', we left her body there. We saw her children on the way. They asked if we'd killed their mother. We told them that we'd killed her and we then proceeded to ask which side they belonged to. The daughter then said she is an ANC member. Then she was asked to sing one song of the struggle. She sang.*

208. Seven youth were convicted for the killing. At their hearing the amnesty applicants spoke with remorse about their actions. They were granted amnesty and released from prison.¹⁵⁶

209. ANC supporters in Bophuthatswana, another homeland ruled by conservative traditional authorities, faced a similarly restrictive political environment post-1990. Two members of the Bafokeng Action Committee and the ANC, Mr Boy Diala [AM0081/96] and Mr Christopher Makgale [AM0080/96], applied for amnesty for the killing of the tribal chairman, Mr Glad Mokgatle, in the Bafokeng district on 29 October 1990.

¹⁵⁶ Mzwimhle Elvis Bam [AM0101/96], Sakhumzi Bheqezi [AM0105/96], Andile Namathe Gola [AM0106/96], Dumisani Ernest Mbhebe [AM0102/96], Ndumiso Mdyogolo [AM0103/96], Sikhumbuzo Victor Mphambani [AM0104/96] and Mvuyisi Raymond Ngwendu [AM0100/96].

210. The Amnesty Committee heard testimony on the political and immediate context of the killing. In 1990, the former Bophuthatswana was caught up in struggles to destroy the homeland government of Mr Lucas Mangope and his political representatives. Mangope's appointment of Glad Mokgatle as tribal chairperson was bitterly opposed by the Bafokeng, whose rightful leader had been forced into exile. A group of people, including the two applicants, decided in a tribal meeting to kidnap Mokgatle and wrest from him the keys of the Phokeng Civic Centre from where the tribe's affairs were administered. It was during this attempt that he was killed.
211. Members of the Bafokeng tribe, including the sons of Glad Mokgatle, testified in support of the amnesty application. They argued that amnesty would foster reconciliation and unity in their community. The two were granted amnesty [AC/1996/0001].

Incidents arising from national protest action called by the ANC

212. Several amnesty applications were received in respect of incidents in response to national events or campaigns called by the ANC. For example, the two-day national strike on 3 and 4 August 1992 during the campaign of 'rolling mass action' called by the Tripartite Alliance¹⁵⁷ saw widespread protest.¹⁵⁸ In one incident, two ANC members were granted amnesty for an arson attack on a building society in Ciskei and seven others for an arson attack in King William's Town, Eastern Cape.

Action in the wake of the assassination of Chris Hani

213. The wave of protest and violence that followed the assassination of Chris Hani in April 1993 resulted in large numbers of convictions for public violence, arson and other violence. Amnesty applications were granted for acts of public violence committed by ordinary ANC members at this time.

¹⁵⁷ ANC /SACP /COSATU.

¹⁵⁸ After the collapse of the negotiations process following the Boipatong massacre, the ANC alliance embarked on a campaign of 'rolling mass action' in an attempt to bring pressure on the National Party to revise its negotiating positions and stop the violence.

KWAZULU AND NATAL AMNESTY APPLICATIONS 1990–1994

Introduction and findings

214. KwaZulu and Natal has been selected as a case study for a number of reasons. First, the violence in KwaZulu was more extreme and widespread than in any other part of the country. Second, the conflict that had begun between the UDF, the unions and Inkatha in the 1980s had, by the 1990s, spread far beyond the urban townships into the rural villages, homesteads and kraals of the region. Third, Inkatha was virtually synonymous with the KwaZulu government and, emerging in the 1990s as the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), opposed the positions taken by the ANC throughout the negotiations process. Hence the hostilities continued unabated throughout the early 1990s.
215. The ANC was also an active participant in the conflict, as reflected in the amnesty applications relating to this region. The scale of the violence drew in ANC members at every level: some as active participants in the conflict, some as refugees, others as peacemakers. At a local level, where conflicts erupted in urban townships and rural kraals and villages scattered across the remote hills of the region, there was no possibility of remaining outside the fray. For many, fight or flight became the only options. Self-defence units, made up primarily of young local men, mushroomed in these areas.

Statistics

216. One hundred ANC-linked persons applied for amnesty in respect of seventy-two incidents consisting of 200 separate acts that took place in the KwaZulu and Natal areas in the 1990 to 1994 period. They include fifty civilian ANC members or supporters, twenty MK operatives (including three senior ANC regional leaders) and thirty SDU members. Applications were made primarily by people who were in custody or facing prosecution.

217. The 200 acts included:

Killings	89
Attempted killings	81
Attempted killings ¹⁵⁹	1
Robbery	13
Abductions	1
Assault	1
Arson, public violence	1
Distribution of weapons	4
Possession of weapons	7
Other	2

218. Of these one hundred applications, ninety-three involved hearable matters involving gross human rights violations, while seven were dealt with administratively in chambers. These seven non-hearables involved primarily the illegal possession of arms and ammunition, and were all granted. Of the applications that involved hearings, sixty-eight were granted. Twenty-two were refused. A further three were partially granted and partially refused.

Structures of the ANC and the nature of the conflicts

219. Evidence from applicants suggests that ANC branch structures in KwaZulu/Natal, as elsewhere, played a mixed role regarding the activities of the SDUs. Branches could be and were used to launch attacks in the name of the ANC, but many SDUs appear to have had little or no relationship with their local branch, if indeed there was one. SDUs also emerged in areas where no ANC branches existed.

220. Not one amnesty applicant said that s/he had received authorisation from the ANC regional leadership for these attacks. Several, however, claimed authorisation by their ANC branch or local ANC leader. Regional leadership played a role in the provision of weapons and the training of SDUs.

221. In one of the most direct cases of ANC authorisation at branch level, SDU member Khetha Mpilo Khuzwayo [AM6175/97; AC/2000/004] was granted amnesty for the assassination of Mr Eliakim Makhosi Mthembu and the attempted killing of Mr Amos Sibiya at Mankwanyaneni Reserve, Empangeni, on 3 May 1994. The attack took place between the elections of 27 April and the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as President on 10 May.

¹⁵⁹ Unspecified – in other words, the victim was not identified.

222. Mr Khuzwayo and five other SDU members set themselves up beside a road and opened fire on Mthembu's vehicle as he drove by. Mr Sibiya, a passenger, managed to escape. At the Johannesburg hearing on 15 November 1999, Mr Khuzwayo told the Amnesty Committee that he had been given a hit list by his ANC branch chairperson.

MR KHUZWAYO: *After the training, I received a list of people who were supposed to be killed because they were destabilising the ANC campaign which was geared towards the 1994 election. I was informed that by the time the elections come, these people should have been removed.*

MS LOONAT: *Who gave you this list?*

MR KHUZWAYO: *From Shadrack, the chairperson of the ANC at the time.*

MS LOONAT: *Before we proceed with this list, did you always receive instructions only from Shadrack or from other people to commit these attacks on the IFP members?*

MR KHUZWAYO: *Shadrack, as the chairperson of the area, was the one responsible for giving reports to the ANC office and he would also give us feedback on the information he had received from the ANC office.*

MS LOONAT: *How did you get the information from Shadrack? Was it given personally, or did you have rallies, or how was it communicated to you?*

MR KHUZWAYO: *I was not alone, but everyone who had been trained internally received a list of people who should be targeted and killed.*

223. Historical fiefdoms and allegiances in KwaZulu and Natal made it impossible for residents to remain neutral. People's identities were tied to where they lived, to their families, their clans and to local authority figures such as *indunas*¹⁶⁰ and chiefs.

224. This confluence of place and political allegiance could have fatal consequences, as simply being found or seen in the wrong area could result in death. On 28 September 1991, Ms Thembi Victoria Mzquso Mthembu, an ANC supporter, was apparently seen in the HRH compound hostel in Greytown. Because the compound was an IFP bastion, she was assaulted and stabbed to death by ANC members who suspected her of collaboration with the IFP. Three ANC supporters were granted amnesty for the killing [AC/2000/017].

225. The conflict also threw up old rivalries. In some cases, the roots of conflict were found in clashes between extended families. Traditional structures featured prominently

¹⁶⁰ Local headmen.

in incidents described by amnesty applicants. While chiefs, *indunas* and other such traditional structures were more common to the IFP, in some cases chiefs were ANC supporters, or different members of a chief's family supported different parties.

226. Mr Celinhlanhla Zenith Mzimela [AM0435/96], the son of an ailing IFP-supporting chief, was an ANC supporter. In 1990, one of his brothers, also an ANC supporter, was killed by local IFP members, including a Mr Gumede, councillor to his father. The dead man was the rightful heir and was killed in order to prevent his succession to the chieftainship, to clear the way for an IFP-supporting brother, Mr Boozi Mzimela.
227. In February 1992, Gumede and his people struck again, killing another of the brothers, also an ANC supporter and next in line to the chieftainship.
228. CZ Mzimela then decided to act. He and another brother went to Mr Gumede's house and shot him dead while he was washing. Mzimela was granted amnesty for the killing [AC/1997/0037].
229. This case raises one of the difficult issues that the Amnesty Committee had to deal with in respect of KwaZulu Natal applications in particular – that of personal revenge. In terms of the amnesty criteria, revenge does not qualify as a political objective, and yet it emerged that many incidents occurred in response to previous acts of violence against a perpetrator or his family members. The Amnesty Committee noted, however, that while personal revenge was a feature of the conflicts in the region, the issue had to be seen against the wider backdrop of political conflict and the cycle of violence that gripped villages and townships during this period. Revenge, personal and political, was part of the fabric and momentum of the conflict and could not be separated out from it.
230. In the urban areas, several incidents were connected with crime, migrancy and labour disputes. Some incidents also intersected with other running disputes, such as access to land, or economic conflicts that acquired a political dimension, such as taxi conflicts. In some cases, however, victims disputed the political dimensions of the incidents, arguing that the conflict was simply a faction fight arising from local disputes such as demarcation problems.
231. Many ANC applicants in KwaZulu and Natal acknowledged the gap between the ANC's organisational national policies and the imperatives of the violent situation in which they lived at local level. Thus:

MR MSANI: *It was not the ANC's aim that we should kill people. But it was the situation that forced us to fight IFP. Any ANC member, bottom or up, knew that if you are ANC, you shouldn't attack your political opponent, but because of the situation, we were forced to kill each other, IFP and ANC, because a lot of people were killed, it was the situation that forced us to do that. (Durban hearing, 24 November 1998.)*

MR LUTHULI: *It wasn't my organisation which sent me to kill him, but it was the situation in that area. (Caprivi hearings at Johannesburg and KwaZulu-Natal, 7 April 1998 to 14 September 1998.)*

MR NCOKWANE: *I know that the ANC does not kill, but we killed because we were forced by the situation, where we were being killed without a place where we could voice this out. (Hearing at Durban, 29 April 1999.)*

MR MATJELE: *Since it was twenty days before the elections of 1994, the first elections of this country, the honourable President of the African National Congress, your organisation, President Mandela and other respectable leaders, they were passing information that people should not resort to violence, that was the policy of the ANC, isn't that so sir?*

MR SIMA: *Yes, that is so. But people at grassroots did not actually take it that that should be the case, they were actually perpetrating violence. (Hearing at Pietermaritzburg, 3 February 1999.)*

232. Most ANC perpetrators were themselves victims of the conflict. Several had lost members of their families in the violence. They were often refugees, having been violently evicted from areas, their homes and property destroyed. Some had narrowly escaped death themselves. These applicants repeatedly described the failure of the security forces and the judicial system to take steps against the IFP or other perpetrators. As a consequence of the failure and betrayal by state structures, applicants took up arms in the belief that they were compelled to do so to secure and protect their own lives and property. This 'right to self defence' did not require ANC policy approval.
233. Applicants also interpreted many attacks as defensive, even if they involved offensive means, such as launching an attack on the homestead of an IFP member. They argued that a particular killing or attack was self-defence, in order to halt the source of ongoing attacks on themselves.
234. Several applicants applied for incidents in which they were in fact victims of attacks. The attack on COSATU regional chairperson Muntukayise Bhekuyise Ntuli [AM5201/97] by members of the IFP Esikhawini hit squad on 26 August 1992 is a case in point (see below).

235. Many applicants displayed deep regret and remorse for their involvement in the conflict between the ANC and IFP in the region and explained their actions in terms of the situation that prevailed at the time. They spoke of a yearning for reconciliation.

MR MZIMELA: *Mrs Gumede, I respect you very much. I just want to say how deeply hurt and regretful I am because you have lost your husband and a friend. That was not my aim to just kill your husband. It was the situation that forced me to behave in the manner that I did. ... I wish to express my sincere apologies to you. I thank this honourable Commission for having granted me the chance to address Mrs Gumede. (Hearing at Pietermaritzburg, 22 May 2000.)*

MR HLENGWA: *I would like to say to the family and the relatives of Mbeko that I am here today to apologise to them for my actions, and I took the law in my hands, and I'm asking them to please forgive me. It was because of the situation at Umgababa. IFP and ANC were in conflict. Even our minds were not working very well. Therefore I would please like them to forgive me. (Hearing at Pietermaritzburg, 1 February 1999.)*

236. In particular, conflicts that had divided families showed evidence of healing relationships.

ADV MPSHE: *What is the relationship between yourself now and Becker Phoswa's family?*

MR PHOSWA: *I do not know very much, because I am still in prison, but my brothers who are outside and my children, they are saying they have a peaceful relationship. They even visit each other and live together.*

ADV MPSHE: *And I can take it that you are also in a position to, if you are released, if you meet them to go back to them and to get engaged in some kind of reconciliation with them? You prepared to do that?*

MR PHOSWA: *Yes, I will have to continue where they are from now. I also wanted to add Indaba Zimboeza Phoswa came twice to me in prison. We shake, we shook hands and he said, he asked for forgiveness that his son has killed my son and that we were also affected by the political situation and this what created this. This was not supposed to have happened and that he is sorry about it. We shook hands and he also gave me money and food. (Hearing at Pietermaritzburg, 30 July 1997.)*

237. The father of one of the victims responded to Mr Phoswa:

ADV MPSHE: *Now, how did you, how did the death of your son affect you, if it did affect you?*

MR MTHEMBU: *This hurt me a lot, because he was about to be married, but I blame the political situation, because before this political activity in the area, we were living in peace. There was not an IFP or ANC, it was a peaceful situation. Therefore, I blame politics and the organisations which had caused the death of my son.*

ADV MPSHE: *Mr Mthembu, part of the mandate of the Truth Commission is to foster reconciliation particularly between or amongst people who have been torn apart by politics. Do you understand?*

MR MTHEMBU: *That is correct.*

ADV MPSHE: *Now, what is your view about this reconciliation?*

MR MTHEMBU: *I knew that we were not enemies. It was only the politics which infiltrated the area and at the moment, I will say, we have reconciled in the area. People at Patene and Richmond have reconciled and even at Gengeshe and I would like to see peace in this area, because we are not enemies, but the organisations made us to be enemies. Although I lost my son I will still think we should be reconciled.*

ADV MPSHE: *The two applicants, whose evidence you listened to today, they are before this committee, particularly, for amnesty and they are also asking for forgiveness. What is your attitude towards that?*

MR MTHEMBU: *I do forgive them, because I knew we were not enemies. It was politics that caused the animosity in the whole world and even today when we talk to them, they are so nice to us and they also wish for reconciliation.*

MR WILLS: *I have no questions. I would just like to express my great respect for the witness at this stage.*

JUDGE WILSON: *Mr Mthembu, I would like to express the view of the committee, that we sympathise with you in your very tragic loss and we admire this forgiving approach that you have adopted and respect you for the honesty that you have shown in coming to tell us all what your feelings are today. We would like to thank you very much for all you have done here. (Hearing at Pietermaritzburg, 30 July 1997.)*

Types of violations

Group attacks

238. Many applications involved incidents in which groups of ANC supporters clashed with IFP supporters in skirmishes. These attacks took the form of pitched battles and formed part of a cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. Several incidents also involved attacks on individuals by large groups.¹⁶¹ Such attacks sometimes led to fairly indiscriminate killings, often including the killing of women and children.
239. On 15 March 1992, a group of ANC members launched an attack on Ngcobo's kraal at Nomhele reserve in the Maphumulo district, described by amnesty applicant Mkheyi Khanyile [AM0288/96] as a 'counter-attack'. A 73-year-old woman, a 38-year-old woman and a two-year-old boy were killed in the attack. Amnesty was refused, as the testimony of a young male survivor contradicted the version presented by Khanyile [AC/1997/0045].

Assassinations

240. Most amnesty applications in the KwaZulu and Natal region related to assassinations carried out chiefly by SDU members.
241. Five SDU members in Umkomaas on the Natal south coast targeted and killed a prominent IFP leader, Mr Mkhize, on 7 November 1990, believing that he had led attacks on the ANC in the area. Mr Phelela Bhekizenzo Vitalis Hlongwa [AM3684/96], Mr Fani Simphiwe Mbutho [AM4164/96] and Mr Kwenzakwakhe N Msani [AM3473/96], applied for and were granted amnesty for the attack, for which they had been convicted [AC/1998/0102]. At the Durban hearing on 24 November 1998, Mr Msani described the determination of their group to kill Mr Mkhize:

We have been trying for several times to kill Mkhize, but in vain. We have been shooting at him and actually throwing stones at him, but in vain. It was not that on that day we actually took a decision on that particular day, we have been trying for several times to shoot at him. ... We met at a place, at a hill, a sort of a hill place. We held a meeting there and strategised how to attack Mkhize and we knew that he had a gun and he had the official gun and then there and there

¹⁶¹ See for example AM4297/96, AM4314/96, AM0409/96, AM3665/96, AM5023/97, AM3480/96, AM3641/96, and AM3095/96.

we left to attack him ... Myself, I shot him, he ran away. I initially explained that Palela Hlongwa and Mabuno actually shot as well, and I actually took the bush knife from Jogolo Cele and then I hit him because he was still moving by then. Then I struck him, using the knife and then I ran away because the police were by then approaching.

242. Suspected informers or ANC members believed to have defected to the IFP were also especially targeted for attack. Mr Thulasizwe Philemon Moses Cele [AM5498/97; AC/1998/0105] was granted amnesty for assaulting and stabbing Mr Zulu to death in Nokweja Location, Ixopo, on 15 July 1993. This was a voluntary application as Mr Cele had never been charged for the offence that he and two other SDU members committed.

Ambushes/attacks on vehicles

243. Some of the most indiscriminate attacks to take place were ambushes on vehicles. In one case, Mr Aaron Zibuse Zulu [AM2186/96] was one of a group of ANC supporters who opened fire on a bakkie¹⁶² in the Table Mountain area near Pietermaritzburg on 2 February 1993. The attackers believed that the vehicle was owned and driven by a local IFP warlord who had attacked ANC supporters. In fact, the bakkie was taking schoolchildren to school. Six children were killed and fifteen survived with serious injuries. Mr Zulu, who has never been charged for this incident, was refused amnesty [AC/2000/162].
244. Three members of an SDU applied for amnesty for an attack on a bus in the Umkomaas area on 27 April 1992. Mr Jabulani Doda Cele [AM3682/96], Mr Jabulani Tunene Ncokwane [AM3694/96] and Mr Isaac Mhlekona Shange [AM3384/96] had been convicted of the attack. They were aged 18, 23 and 18 respectively and had only very recently joined the ANC.
245. They stopped the bus as it drove along a rural road and ordered women and children to get off. They then allowed passengers who were not from that area to get off as well. They opened fire on the remaining passengers, killing six and injuring eight. Amnesty was granted [AC/2001/088].

MR WILLIS: *Did anybody order you to do this attack, or to perform this act?*

MR SHANGE: *We decided as a group, no-one told us. We decided as a group,*

162 A light truck or van.

all of us, we agreed on one thing ... The reason we attacked the bus was because we were trying to fight back to the people who forced us to leave our area, or our places. We wanted to stay there as ANC members, freely, and also we wanted to kick out Inkatha members because they were the reason why we were out of our places. We were born there and it was sad and difficult for us to leave our homes. We were forced and we were attacked. That's why we saw it necessary for us to go back. (Hearing at Durban, 26 April 1997.)

Internal clashes

246. Some of the conflicts in KwaZulu/Natal relate to internal disputes within the ANC and its allies. Two ANC members, Mr Thulani Christopher Madlala [AM5993/97] and Mr Happy A Mngomezulu [AM7322/97], were granted amnesty [AC/2000/104] for fatally shooting Mr Mpumelelo Phewa at Wembezi, near Estcourt, on 25 March 1994. The incident took place in the context of violent clashes between ANC members and former ANC members who had joined the South African Communist Party (SACP). Despite the intervention of the ANC, which explained that the ANC and SACP were allies, the fighting continued and more people were killed.

Acting in 'self-defence'

247. Several applicants sought amnesty for incidents in which they themselves were victims of attacks. Regional COSATU chairperson, Mr Muntukayise Bhekuyise Ntuli [AM5201/97], was the victim of an attack by members of the IFP Esikhawini hit squad on 26 August 1992.¹⁶³ Union leaders in particular were targeted for attack by IFP members during this period and most had been assigned bodyguards by the ANC, usually former MK members.

248. Mr Ntuli's home was surrounded in the middle of the night and he threw a hand grenade belonging to his bodyguard at the attackers, injuring several of them. Several other homes were attacked by the hit squad that night, and eight people were killed. Mr Ntuli applied for and was granted amnesty for the possession of a hand grenade and the attempted killing of four of his attackers [AC/1998/0061].

¹⁶³ Members of the IFP's Esikhawini hit squad applied for and were granted amnesty for the attack on Mr Ntuli's home.

Clashes with police

249. Five persons applied for amnesty for incidents involving clashes with police. All were granted. In the main, these clashes took place when applicants were attempting to avoid arrest. For example, MK operative Joel MC Makanya [AM6627/97; AC/2000/058] was granted amnesty for a shoot-out with police in the Umzumbe area while he was transporting weapons from Gamalakhe, Port Shepstone, in July 1991. ANCYL and SDU member Frank B Khanyile [AM6108/97; AC/2000/014] was granted amnesty for an incident in October 1991 when he and others opened fire on a prefabricated police station in Greytown.

Attacks on criminals

250. Eight people applied for amnesty for killing persons whose criminal activities impeded political activities in the area. Mr Bongani Sydney Dunywa [AM7623/97; AC/2000/103] was granted amnesty for his role in implementing 'popular justice'. He participated in the panga¹⁶⁴ killing of Mr Nyani Xolo on 26 October 1990 at Thelawayeka Ward, Paddock, near Port Shepstone. Mr Xolo was believed to be a criminal aiding the IFP and police.

251. In a different type of incident involving 'popular justice', Mr Joe Ngema [AM8078/97; AC/2000/033], who described himself as an SDU commander and a chief marshal in the Umgababa area near Durban, applied for amnesty for two incidents in which alleged criminals were sjambokked¹⁶⁵ and beaten to death in front of residents in June 1993. Mr Ngema alleged that, after incidents of rape and robbery, the perpetrators were found by 'comrades' and brought to a stadium for punishment in the form of lashes. When supporters of the criminals came to intervene, they too were beaten. Two died. The following day, after a second reported rape, the 'comrades' took a man called Etosh to be disciplined. He too was lashed and died of his injuries.

Armed robberies

252. Nineteen persons applied for amnesty in respect of a number of armed robberies. The Amnesty Committee found the majority of these to be criminally rather than politically motivated and consequently refused amnesty. Four ANC

¹⁶⁴ A large broad-bladed knife, originally introduced for cutting of cane or bush and often used as a weapon.

¹⁶⁵ A sjambok was originally a stout rhinoceros or hippopotamus hide whip. Now often made of other materials, they are used to 'horsewhip' or sjambok victims.

members were refused amnesty [AC/2000/123] for the fatal shooting of Mr Victor Lembede at Ngonyameni Reserve on 21 June 1991 during an armed robbery of his shop.¹⁶⁶ The applicants claimed that the attack was a political assassination as Mr Lembede was allegedly an IFP member. Mr Lembede's son, who was present during the attack, disputed their version and denied that his father was an IFP member. The Lembede family was in fact related to Anton Lembede, a former ANC president. The Amnesty Committee rejected the applicants' version.

Self-defence units and weapons supply

253. The most senior ANC applications received in respect of this region relate to the provision of weapons and training of SDUs by three ANC leadership figures. Mr Jeff Radebe [AM7170/97], Mr Ian Phillips [AM5951/97] and Mr Sipho Sithole [AM5950/97] served on the ANC South Natal Regional Executive Committee in a political capacity and also gave military support to the SDUs involved in the conflict.

254. The method adopted for weapons provision was that a vehicle with weapons loaded into secret compartments was left at a specified site in Durban. Radebe passed the car keys to Sithole who collected the vehicle, offloaded the weapons and secured them. He then distributed them to persons he had identified as trustworthy in different areas, mainly people he had worked with in exile. These persons would then distribute weapons on the ground. At the Durban hearing on 1 December 1998, Sithole told the Amnesty Committee:

I was responsible for setting up structures to ensure that those weapons were infiltrated down into areas, trouble spots where our own people were under attack.

255. Sithole estimated that some 150 AK47s with ammunition and a smaller quantity of grenades were brought in through this arrangement. Around twenty Stechkin and ten Makarov pistols were also brought in, although these were specifically for command personnel's own protection. However, he testified:

The amount of weapons was about 100 to 150 which was very little by the demand that we were getting from the communities. In fact we would run dry most of the time, so we were not in a position to actually effectively organise our own communities in terms of self defence. (Durban hearing, 1 December 1998.)

¹⁶⁶ FT Meyiwa [AM4505/96], FM Ndimande [AM6456/97], E Nyawuza [AM3010/96] and NE Nyawuza [AM7807/97].

256. A second regional MK commander also applied for and was granted amnesty for his role in the training of SDUs and the supply of weapons. Mr Ntela Richard Sikhosana [AM6332/97; AC/1999/290] was the Natal Midlands regional commander of MK. He testified that he was involved in the training of SDUs in the Midlands area from November 1992 to April 1994. Mr Sikhosana died in 1998.
257. As in the Transvaal, the evidence from amnesty applications suggests that communities and SDUs also sourced weapons from a variety of other sources, particularly Mozambique. Two members of an SDU in KwaMashu, Mr Thami Peter Mthunzi [AM5259/97] and Mr Timothy Mjabulelwa Tembe [AM5171/97], under the command of MK operative Linda Geoffrey Xaba, were arrested returning from Mozambique on 16 November 1994 in possession of AK47s hidden in their car door. Their passports revealed that they had made many visits to Mozambique during the 1992 to 1993 period.
258. Khetha Mpilo Khuzwayo [AM6175/97; AC/2000/004] was an SDU member in the Empangeni area who received training both locally and in Mozambique in 1992. He was arrested in a stolen vehicle provided by his commander Shadrack in early May 1994. At the time of his arrest he was in possession of two AK47s and ammunition, one Makarov pistol and ammunition, hand grenades and camouflage uniforms. He testified at the Amnesty Committee hearing in Durban on 15 November 1999:

After a while a need arose for us to be able to use bigger firearms, that was the time when we were dispatched to Mozambique, so that we could receive training in bigger firearms as well as in explosives, because our enemies used to attack us using bigger firearms ... At that time we were running short of bigger firearms in our area so I had to go to Mozambique to fetch bigger firearms so that our area and other neighbouring areas could receive such weapons for protection ... I did not question it when Shadrack gave me a vehicle to take to Mozambique and I would do so as he instructed. On my arrival to Mozambique, I will give that car to Steven Nkenyene and he will return the car with the firearms inside and I would drive the car back into South Africa.

WITCHCRAFT APPLICATIONS 1990–1994

259. While the Amnesty Committee did not initially consider witchcraft to be a political matter, closer study and expert input made it clear that many of these cases were embedded in a political context. As elsewhere in South Africa,

issues of local significance intersected with and were in many ways inextricably locked into national political expression and activity. The motives for the decision to hold a special hearing on witchcraft are argued in the Amnesty section in this volume.¹⁶⁷

260. In 1979 Venda, the epicentre of witch-hunting cases, became an 'independent' homeland under Chief Patrick Mphephu, later declared President for Life. After his death in April 1988, he was succeeded by Chief Frank Ravele, who ruled until he was ousted in a military coup in April 1990.
261. The period 1988 to 1990 saw an escalation of political unrest and mobilisation in Venda. Much of the protest against the Venda authorities centred around the issue of ritual killings, in which those in power were believed to be implicated. Officials such as cabinet ministers, directors-general and chiefs were alleged to have used ritual murders to achieve their prestige and fortune. Thus ritual killings were a source of both social and political discontent.
262. Professor VN Ralushai, who testified as an expert witness at the Thohoyandou witchcraft amnesty hearings which took place from 8 to 19 May 2000, defined a witch in the context of Northern Transvaal beliefs as 'a person who is believed to be endowed with powers of causing illness or ill luck or death to the person that he wants to destroy'.
263. The February 1990 lifting of the ban on the liberation movements and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela precipitated an extensive mobilisation of youth, who embarked on a number of activities to express their opposition to the old order in Venda. Apartheid legislation had largely transformed traditional leaders into political functionaries who were seen not only as corrupt and self-serving but also as lackeys of the apartheid regime. Accusations of witchcraft were used to destabilise the Ravele government and to focus political protest in an effort to root out traditional superstitious beliefs. Mr Rogers Khathushelo Ramasitsi [AM2723/96] testified as follows at the Thoyohandou hearing on 12 July 1999:
- The time [Mandela] was released, I still remember every feeling of the youth here in Venda, particularly in our region, there was a general feeling that we have to be free and that freedom was to come through our contribution ... In the urban areas the youth were involved in many things to render the country ungovernable as such. So in the rural areas there came to be a time when things weren't going right, as I can say.*

167 Section One, Chapter Three.

264. Part of this wave of political energy was expressed in attacks and attempts to expel suspected witches. Belief in witches, wizards and related supernatural occurrences had long formed part of the fabric of rural Venda life. The association of witches with the political order had politicised the issue. Supporters of the liberation movement in areas where witchcraft was prevalent regarded the chiefs and traditional leaders as the protectors of witchcraft. At the same hearing, Mr David Makana Nemakhavani [AM2725/96] testified that:

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

265. Fifty-four individuals submitted applications in respect of twenty-one incidents or attacks linked to witchcraft. All of the incidents took place in the period 1990 to 1994. Of the twenty-one incidents, fourteen took place in Venda, two in the KwaNdebele homeland, one in Gazankulu, three in Lebowa and one in the Eastern Transvaal. Thirteen of the fourteen Venda incidents took place between February and April 1990, shortly after the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations. These applications covered some forty-eight separate acts, including thirty-two killings and three attempted killings or injuries and twenty-three arson attacks on homesteads and kraals. Of the deceased victims, eighteen were female and fourteen were male. Fifteen applicants were refused amnesty in respect of twenty acts – that is, sixteen killings, three cases of arson and one attempted killing. The remaining twenty-eight applications were all granted.

266. The large crowds that took up witch-hunting between February and April 1990 consisted mainly of youth. The majority of the victims were female. In scores of villages in Venda, people accused of engaging in witchcraft were burnt or stoned to death. Others were injured, lost their homes in arson attacks or were forced to flee to distant safe havens. Most of these killings took place in the most remote rural areas of Venda rather than the more urbanised areas of Thohoyandou or Sibasa. The Commission of Inquiry into Witchcraft Violence and Ritual Murders in the Northern Province of the Republic of South Africa¹⁶⁸ reports thirty-six registered cases of ‘witch killings’ in Venda in 1990 alone. A smaller number of attacks took place in other predominantly rural Northern Transvaal homelands such as Lebowa and Gazankulu.

¹⁶⁸ The Commission was appointed in 1995 by the Member of the Northern Province Executive Council for Safety and Security, Advocate Seth Nthai. It submitted an interim report in July 1995 and a final report in January 1996.

267. Several amnesty applicants, residents of remote rural Venda villages, explained that, through their actions, they sought to emulate the progressive protest activities of their urban counterparts and shed the label of rural backwardness. In this way, they aimed to contribute to the national democratic struggle. At the Thoyohandou hearing, Mr Ramitsi said:

During that time, it was the time that everyone said that there was a quest for freedom, so there came to be a time when we had to strategise so as to be in form with those 'comrades' in the urban area. As I still remember, our 'comrades' in the urban areas were involved in rent boycotts, consumer boycotts, strikes and all the likes, whereas here in the rural areas there were no such things, so there came to be a time when we thought that for us to contribute in our struggle, we have to remove such obstacles that were making it difficult for us to be free as such, as everybody was thinking that now Mandela is out, we are going to be free.

In the rural villages it was different from urban areas. In the rural areas we grew up with the belief that there are witches surrounding us. They are people who have the power to practice supernatural powers that we cannot see by our naked eyes ... So sometimes you found that they were jealous, they inflict diseases on other people, they are causing death to other people. They were crippling people somehow, so they felt that before we get this freedom we are talking about, we must be free of ills amongst us, that's why we said that those witches have to be eliminated before we get that freedom because it is no use getting freedom with obstacles on our doorsteps.

268. Twelve members of the Mavungha Youth Organisation¹⁶⁹ applied for amnesty for the killing of Mr Edward Mavhunga which took place in the Mavhunga area, Venda, on 6 April 1990. Mr Mavhunga was a member of a high-profile family in the area, related to the headman and linked to government. During the celebrations and political activity that followed the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela, he interfered with youth activities and was believed to have been involved in the stoning and beating of youth gathered at a meeting. Village residents called for him to be expelled from the area but he refused to leave. As a consequence, a crowd of thousands of residents descended on his home-stand. He was stoned and burnt to death. Amnesty was granted to the twelve applicants [AC/2000/094].

¹⁶⁹ AM2717/96,AM2718/96,AM2719/96,AM2720/96,AM2723/96,AM2724/96,AM2725/96,AM2726/96,AM2727/96,AM4300/96, AM4319/96 AM7348/96.

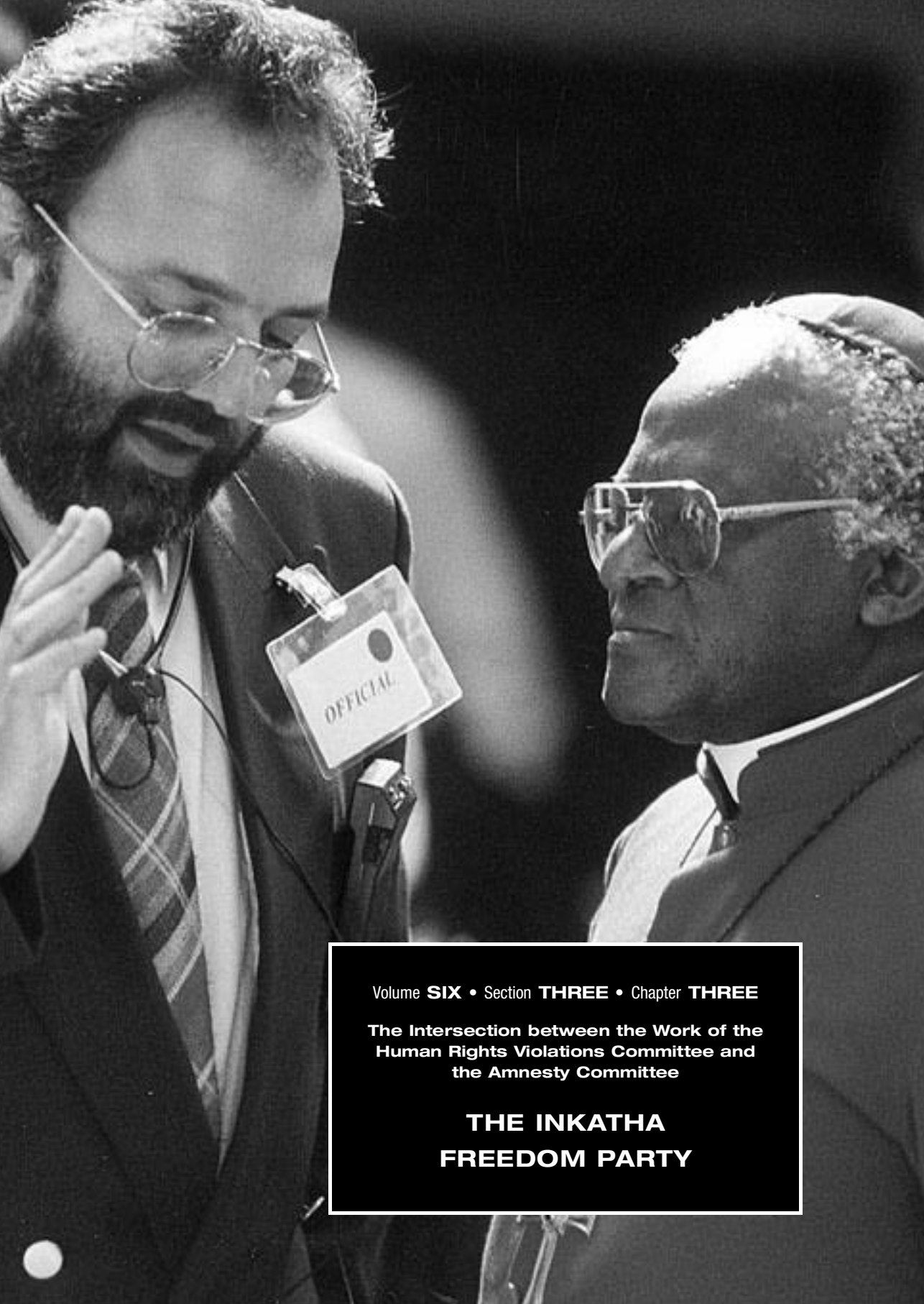
269. Mr Avhaphani Joseph Lukwa [AM3278/96] and Mr Tshamano Edson Tshibalo [AM3277/96] killed nine people and burnt eleven properties at Folovhodwe and Muswodi Dipeni areas, Venda, on 10 March 1990. The two were part of a large crowd that went from house to house. They even targeted Tshibalo's own father's house. Their applications were refused due to lack of full disclosure [AC/2000/094].
270. Mr Josia Mauludzi [AM3282/96], Mr Norman Ramalata [AM3283/96] and Mr Samuel Matala [AM3284/96] applied for the killing of Ms Munzhedzi Emely Makulana in Mufunzi village on 21 March 1990. Members of an informal youth congress met and discussed the relationship between witchcraft and political repression, and decided that witches should be killed. Armed with petrol and tyres, a large group went to the home of Ms Makulana. She was pulled out of her home and assaulted with a sjambok, and petrol was poured over her. She was then burnt to death. Amnesty was granted [AC/2000/094].
271. Mr Marobini George Leshaba [AM4313/96], Mr Harriot Mathebula [AM4188/96] and Mr Muvhulawa Johannes Makananise [AM4301/97] applied for amnesty for the killing of Mr Johannes Soidaha Silema-Malatsi (also referred to as Malatsi or Malatjie) in the Ha Maila area on 19 March 1990. At a youth meeting held that day, four people, including Mr Malatsi, were identified as people who used witchcraft to assist government officials to retain their power. Money to buy petrol and other materials to kill them was collected at the meeting. At a second meeting, involving the wider community, it was resolved that the four who had been identified should be killed. Mr Malatsi, who was at the meeting, was attacked. A tyre was placed around his neck and lit. Mr Malatsi managed to get the tyre off and ran away burning. He was pelted with stones by the crowd, hit with sticks and stabbed. He was further questioned about his alleged witchcraft activities and identified others who worked with him, allegedly the same people identified earlier by the meeting. Tyres and petrol were fetched and he was ordered to drink the petrol. When he refused, petrol was poured over him, he was set alight and tyres were placed on top of him. Finally he died. Leshaba and Makananise were granted amnesty for this incident, but Mr Mathebula, who denied his role in the events, was refused amnesty [AC/2000/094].
272. The Amnesty Committee did not accept that all witchcraft incidents had a political orientation. Some accusations and attacks were clearly rooted in personal jealousies, feuds, local dynamics or relationships. For example, Mr Magome Freddy Tladi [AM2043/96; AC/2000/112] was refused amnesty for the killing of Ms Matule Bapela. Ms Bapela was doused with petrol and set alight in Marishane Village in the Nebo district, Northern Transvaal, on 20 August 1992.

Mr Golden Holiday Sekgobela [AM1026/96; AC/2000/113] was refused amnesty for hacking Ms Poppy Seerane to death on 15 December 1990 in Leboeng, Lydenburg District, Eastern Transvaal.

273. These 'witchcraft killings' were evidently the initiative of youth and residents responding at a local level to a period of political turmoil and transition. Through their actions they sought to express their opposition to the old homeland order and its social underpinnings. The killings provide a good example of how the banners of the UDF and the ANC were used to mobilise and embrace forms of collective social action against perceived oppression. Although the T-shirts, banners, songs and slogans of political organisations were worn, carried or sung during 'witch-hunts', there were virtually no links to formal ANC structures. Most of the killings were essentially spontaneous. There is, indeed, evidence that the UDF and the ANC intervened during the early 1990 wave of witch-hunts in an effort to halt them.

CONCLUSION

274. Amnesty applications in respect of ANC operatives, members and supporters reflect the fact that the ANC was both a formal liberation organisation with an armed wing, as well a 'social movement' that mobilised ordinary citizens who fell outside its formal structures. The ANC sought to spearhead a 'people's war' and to provide the banner under which widespread and varied forms of protest could be enacted by a range of participants. The ANC thus embraced those who acted in concert with its goals although outside its formal discipline.
275. Amnesty applications run the full gamut from leadership figures, MK operatives and SDU members to ordinary rank and file ANC supporters on the fringe of or even outside the organisation. Clearly, the ANC cannot be held accountable to the same degree for the activities of all these groupings.
276. Formal MK operatives constitute the group with the most direct line of command and control within the ANC. The ANC clearly has the highest level of authority in respect of its own trained military operatives who had the most direct line of command and control within the ANC. Secondly, there are SDU members, who clearly had some level of practical and moral authorisation from the ANC, and indeed the ANC Declaration embraces SDU members. Lastly, there are ordinary civilian applicants who acted in the name of or in support of the ANC. The ANC has the most remote level of responsibility for this group.
277. The findings made by the Commission reflect this range of levels of accountability, and have been confirmed.



Volume **SIX** • Section **THREE** • Chapter **THREE**

**The Intersection between the Work of the
Human Rights Violations Committee and
the Amnesty Committee**

**THE INKATHA
FREEDOM PARTY**

The Inkatha Freedom Party

■ INTRODUCTION

1. The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) expressed reservations about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) process from the outset. In his submission to the Commission, the President of the IFP Dr Mangosuthu G Buthelezi said that he believed that it would 'neither reveal the truth, nor [would it] bring about the reconciliation we so desperately need in our land'. He went on to say:

I have decided to come here because we cannot in all conscience remain silent when no effort is made by this Commission to question who has killed 420 of the IFP's leaders and murdered thousands of its supporters. These serial killings are a crime against humanity and demand answers. (IFP Submission, 6 September 1996, p10)

2. Although the IFP appeared before the Commission, the party did not officially cooperate with either the Human Rights Violations Committee or the Amnesty Committee. When he appeared before the Commission, Dr Buthelezi used the opportunity to argue why members and supporters of his party had been drawn into acts of political violence. He told the Commission:

On no occasion has the Inkatha Freedom Party's leadership ever made any decision anywhere at any time to use violence for political purposes ... My own deep convictions that violence is evil and must not be used for political purpose and despite the Inkatha Freedom Party's constant vigil to keep violence out of Inkatha Freedom Party politics, I know that Inkatha Freedom Party members and supporters have been drawn into violence. I say that I am sorry to South Africa for this because, although I have not orchestrated one single act of violence against one single victim of the political violence that has cost us many lives, as the Leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, I know that the buck stops right in front of me. (IFP Submission, 6 September 1996, p12)

3. The IFP expressed the view that the original source of the violent conflict in the then Natal and Transvaal lay in the adoption of differing strategies to liberating the country. These, the IFP claimed, dated from an historic London meeting in

1979 between the then Inkatha National Cultural Liberation Movement (Inkatha) and the African National Congress (ANC) in exile. The ANC, the IFP noted, chose to embark on a course of armed struggle aimed at destroying all forms of authority – including the homeland government of KwaZulu, the structures of traditional leadership through which local government was administered and the IFP itself. This culminated in the ANC's campaign to render South Africa ungovernable. This, in the IFP's view, was the root cause of the violence.

4. The Commission is of another view entirely. Evidence before its Committees and documents in its possession have shown that the IFP participated in state-sponsored violence and acted as a surrogate for the state against the ANC and its allies. It also sought and received training and arms from the security forces which assisted it in forming death squads. Furthermore, the evidence shows that members of the IFP and KwaZulu Police leadership knew of and participated in the planning of the violence and has no reason or justification in doubting or claiming ignorance of its causes.
5. Several officials of the IFP and the KwaZulu Police were implicated in hearings before the Amnesty Committee. These persons either denied all charges made against them or failed to respond to these allegations, despite the fact that they could potentially lead to their being prosecuted by the Directorate of Public Prosecutions.
6. In 1996, the ANC and the IFP instituted a peace process led by a national ten-a-side committee¹⁷⁰ This was subsequently expanded to include grassroots structures in KwaZulu-Natal. This process has been regarded as the main contributing factor in the decline of political violence in the province. In the interests of consolidating the peace process, the national leadership of the ANC and IFP has had extensive discussions about the granting of a special amnesty to those that did not appear before the Commission in the interests of consolidating the peace process. There has, however, been little public discussion about the nature of the amnesty to be granted or the process envisaged.

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF AMNESTY APPLICATIONS

7. The IFP's policy of non-engagement in the amnesty process adversely affected the numbers of applications received from IFP officials and supporters.

¹⁷⁰ Helen Suzman Foundation, Briefing 14, Interview with S'bu Ndebele, www.hsf.org.za/Briefing_14.

8. The incidents for which applications were received took place between 1987 and 1994 when the conflict between Inkatha and the UDF (and later the IFP and the ANC) raged in urban and rural areas of KwaZulu/Natal¹⁷¹; Mpumalanga, KwaZulu near Pinetown, and the ANC-aligned communities and IFP-controlled hostels in the Transvaal.
9. Some of the applicants were in the service of the South African Police (SAP), the South African Defence Force (SADF) or the KwaZulu Police (KZP) at the time that they committed the offence/s and alleged that these bodies had colluded in incidents either by acts of commission or omission. Prior to the democratic elections in 1994, applicants applied for amnesty in conjunction with members of right-wing groups such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) who were opposed to the ANC and its alliance partners.
10. All the applicants from the IFP were male. However, a few applicants implicated individual women in their human rights violations.
11. Many IFP applicants had been either convicted of the offences in question and gaoled, or had been implicated in investigations and anticipated prosecution.
12. A total of 109 applications were received from IFP members and supporters in the following categories:

Caprivi trainees

13. The Amnesty Committee received applications from eleven IFP members known informally as the 'Caprivi trainees' (individuals who had received paramilitary training by the SADF in the Caprivi Strip during 1986) or from individuals who later joined the 'Caprivi trainees' at different levels of the structure and were deployed in areas around KwaZulu/Natal. Some former Caprivi trainees, after consultation with one another, approached the Amnesty Committee as a group.
14. Mr Daluxolo Wordsworth Luthuli [AM4075/96], the political commissar and operational commander of the Caprivi unit, testified before the Commission that the Caprivi unit was a covert offensive paramilitary unit within the IFP. He testified that its members were trained by senior commanders of the SADF and

¹⁷¹ From 1972, KwaZulu comprised twenty territorial fragments scattered throughout the province of Natal. During the period of transition in the early 1990s and as the KwaZulu Administration was dismantled, all areas in the province came to be known as KwaZulu/Natal and, following the April 1994 elections, as KwaZulu-Natal.

deployed against the political enemies of the State, namely the United Democratic Front (UDF), the ANC and its allies. The Caprivi trainees were initially paid salaries by the SADF and were later incorporated into the KwaZulu Police, then headed by Dr Buthelezi as Minister of Police. The Amnesty Committee granted all these applicants amnesty, with one exception involving an incident of rape.

The South African Police

15. Two members of the SAP Riot Unit, two members of the SAP and two Special Constables (see below) deployed by the SAP Riot Unit in the Pietermaritzburg and KwaMashu area applied for amnesty for targeted killings. They claimed the killings were at least in line with police policy to support the IFP if not directly authorised by their superior officers in the police. The Riot Unit, the police members and one Special Constable were not categorised as IFP applicants and were later denied amnesty as they were found to have no political motive. However, three of the Special Constables were granted amnesty for their offences.

‘Amasinyora’ gang

16. One IFP member applied for amnesty for the killing of an ANC member in KwaMashu. He linked the activities of the IFP in this area to the notorious ‘AmaSinyora’ gang, which had been implicated in a reign of terror during the mid- to late 1980s.

IFP self-protection units

17. Six self-protection unit (SPU) members, who had been trained by the IFP at such informal and formal training facilities as the Mlaba or Amatikhulu camps, applied for amnesty. This number excludes the Caprivi trainees and their operatives who either provided training or attended these camps (together with former members of the SAP’s Vlakplaas Unit).

IFP officials

18. The Amnesty Committee received eleven applications from political officials of the IFP. The majority of these were received from IFP Youth Brigade leaders or organisers. Three bodyguards of senior IFP leaders applied for amnesty, claiming they had acted under the instructions of their leaders. A further two applicants were leaders of the *amabutho* (the IFP local military wing).

19. The highest-ranking IFP political official to apply for amnesty was Mr James Mkhazwa Zulu [AM5864/97], regional leader of the lower South Coast. Mr Zulu applied for amnesty in conjunction with four right-wing applicants and another IFP member after all six had been charged with an attack at the Flagstaff police station to obtain weapons.¹⁷² However, Mr Zulu was shot and killed at a taxi rank in Port Shepstone before his amnesty hearing. Several victims testified before the Commission that Zulu had been implicated in a number of assassinations in the lower South Coast area after his family had been killed in political violence. Mr Zulu did not, however, apply for amnesty for any incidents other than the Flagstaff attack.

IFP ordinary members

20. The Committee received seventy applications from ordinary IFP members for human rights violations committed in areas all over KwaZulu/Natal.

ISSUES IMPACTING ON THE AMNESTY PROCESS

21. At the inception of the Commission, the IFP announced that it would not urge its members or IFP victims of gross human rights violations to participate in its processes. In spite of written representations and personal requests by senior members of the Commission, the IFP did not depart from this position until approximately one month before the cut-off date for the submission of victim statements. At this stage, the party called on its members to apply for reparations. Such a shift of position did not, however, occur with respect to the amnesty process.
22. In his submission to the Commission, Dr Buthelezi stated that IFP officials or members who had carried out illegal activities had been acting without instructions and on their own initiative, and had been responding to the violent conflict raging at the time. It is therefore unlikely that potential IFP amnesty applicants, whether or not they were in gaol, had been briefed about the amnesty process by their political leadership. With little hope that the party leadership would assist them, potential applicants faced the risk of having their political bona fides questioned by the Amnesty Committee.

¹⁷² See below. See also Chapter Six of this section.

23. Poor literacy amongst some potential applicants also seems likely to have been a factor in the low level of applications. This became clear when, on the eve of the cut-off date, officials of the Department of Correctional Services approached the Commission on behalf of imprisoned IFP members who had requested assistance in making amnesty applications. At the amnesty hearing of Mr Zakhele Amos Zulu [AC/2000/075; AM2099/96], it emerged that his co-accused was also in prison for the same offence¹⁷³ but had not applied for amnesty because he was illiterate and had been unable to fill out the necessary form.
24. The extent to which potential applicants were intimidated into not applying for amnesty is difficult to establish. This cannot be discounted, however, given the continuation of political violence during the life of the Commission, particularly in some areas of KwaZulu-Natal. IFP applicants who made allegations of intimidation were found to be in genuine danger and were placed in witness protection programmes.
25. Mr Mbuzeni Nsindane [AM4071/96, AM 3689/96 and AM 4071/96] alleged that a certain Captain Hlengwa had visited prisoners and told them that they should not implicate leaders in the killing of ANC member Mr Thabani Mghobozi at Amahlongwa reserve in Umzinto in 1990. Mr Nsindane told the Amnesty Committee that he feared that disclosing this information would endanger the lives of his family members:

***MR WILLS:** So I notice in both your application forms that you make no mention of one, the leadership who knew what you were doing, and second, the other persons, other than your brother, who were involved in the attack. They're not mentioned in your application form, can you explain that?*

***MR NSINDANE:** Yes, it is the truth.*

***MR WILLS:** But now why didn't you mention these people's names in your application form?*

***MR NSINDANE:** I was afraid that they may actually attack my family.*

***MR WILLS:** Did any of the parties that saw you from the IFP, influence you in regard to the omission of these names?*

***MR NSINDANE:** Yes, it is like that.*

***MR WILLS:** Well tell us, who?*

***MR NSINDANE:** Mr Captain Hlengwa. He said we shouldn't include people's names. (Pietermaritzburg Hearing, 2 February 1999.)*

¹⁷³ In an attack on ANC supporters in Ndwedwe in July 1992.

26. Many of the applicants were motivated to apply for amnesty because they were serving long prison sentences. Others had become disillusioned in some way with the part they played in the violent conflict. Mr Daluxolo Luthuli said in a statement attached to his amnesty application:

During the period that I was a hit squad operative I was proud to be a brave soldier fighting for the Zulu nation against communism. I felt my activities were justified and that it was incumbent on me to assist in the fight on the side of the IFP against the ANC. On many occasions, senior IFP officials who respected me for my total commitment to the Zulu cause congratulated me. I had the reputation of being one of the most loyal and effective operatives.

Since my arrest, however, I have had time to contemplate my past in circumstances where I am removed from the extreme political influences to which I was previously subjected. I have come to realise the horror of my past and deeply regret the extensive pain and suffering that I have caused my victims and their relatives ...

Whilst I cannot change the past I took a decision during 1994 to assist in whatever way possible to bring an end to the conflict that still rages in KwaZulu-Natal. (D W Luthuli, Statement)

27. Many applicants wished to dispel the notion that they were merely criminals acting in a personal capacity. Mr Gcina Mkhize [AM4599/96], a Caprivi trainee and leader of the Esikhawini hit squad, told the Amnesty Committee:

MR MKHIZE: *I will like to respond to the Chairperson first, before I get to the question. Chairperson, can I please say that the details that I am mentioning here, I do that because in this Commission and in the general public, I appear as a criminal.*

I appear as a person who because of his criminality just wiped out the entire community. Statements made by the IFP, B B Ndlovu that are broadcast on the media implicate me as a criminal.

I would like to make it clear to the Commission and the public that the criminality that they are according me today, started at that time before the training, during the training, and after the training, when I started killing people. That is when the criminality started.

That they taught me.

CHAIRPERSON: *You can proceed. I don't want to hinder you in your evidence,*

I am just saying we don't have to get the very fine detail as to the exact training that you received, but those points that you feel that you wish to stress, be free to do so.

MR MKHIZE: *I would also like to say that coming to this Commission, is not just to seek amnesty. What is more important is to clear my name and explain to the public what happened. It is therefore important that I mention all the details so that everybody will know what happened. (Durban Hearing, August 1997)*

SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF AMNESTY APPLICATIONS

Total number received

28. The Amnesty Committee received 109 amnesty applications from persons aligned to the IFP for offences committed between 1983 to 1994 in KwaZulu-Natal and the former Transvaal. In addition, four police officers and three right-wing applicants submitted applications, purporting to be acting on behalf of the IFP. These were not categorised as IFP applicants.
29. The Committee granted amnesty to sixty applicants (57 %) and refused amnesty to forty (38 %). Two applicants were granted amnesty for some incidents but were refused amnesty for others for reasons of motive and proportionality.
30. Most matters were dealt with in a hearing convened by the Amnesty Committee. A total of twelve matters were dealt with in chambers.¹⁷⁴ All applications except one were successful.
31. Three applicants withdrew their applications because they did not meet the legal criteria governing the amnesty process. One application was struck off the roll because the applicant did not attend the proceedings. By far the largest number of applicants had been convicted of their offences before making application to the Amnesty Committee. Some applicants gave testimony about incidents for which they had not been charged. Others were in gaol for offences committed after the Commission's cut-off date in April 1994.
32. The applicants who claimed allegiance to the aims and objectives of the IFP can be divided into the following categories:

¹⁷⁴ See this volume, Section One, Chapter Three for more information about chamber matters.

- a Caprivi trainees;
 - b Esikhawini hit squad;
 - c Self-protection unit members;
 - d Civilian IFP supporters;
 - e Political leadership of the IFP;
 - f KwaZulu Police;
 - g South African Riot Unit (including Special Constables);
 - h South African Police;
 - i The right wing, and
 - j IFP-linked vigilantes.
33. Many of the IFP applicants applying for amnesty testified that their activities were sponsored by the apartheid government and/ or the homeland government and/ or their political leadership. The Commission was required to investigate these allegations insofar as they shed light on the lines of command, motives and political context in which the IFP applicants were operating. This was particularly necessary in the light of the fact that the leadership of the IFP, unlike other groupings testifying before the Commission, gave no details of human rights violations committed by their members.

Those who did not apply

34. The Amnesty Committee did not receive amnesty applications from any high-ranking members of the national or provincial political leadership of the IFP, nor did it receive applications from senior officials of the KwaZulu Police. Several key members of these groups were implicated by the operational commander of the Caprivi trainees, Mr Daluxolo Luthuli, whose claims were corroborated by ten members of the paramilitary units under his command. The Amnesty Committee relied on these first-hand accounts as well as upon documentary evidence presented to it in order to make certain findings against the above individuals in their personal capacity or as functionaries of the then KwaZulu Government.
35. Similarly, Mr Luthuli and other applicants implicated several regional and local political leaders of the IFP, claiming that they had provided instructions in target selection and logistical support. None of the leadership figures implicated applied for amnesty.
36. The Amnesty Committee was thus presented with evidence from the 'military' operatives of the IFP but received no significant admissions from its political

leadership. The Committee found that the eleven Caprivi trainees had made a full disclosure of facts and were acting in accordance with a political objective, thereby acknowledging that there was sufficient viva voce and documentary evidence to support the veracity of their claims.

37. The Caprivi unit members' legal representative, Advocate A Stewart, explained how the applicants perceived the role of the political leadership of the IFP:

... in addition to which Mr Luthuli and then Mr Mbambo in particular, and some of the other applicants too, discussed really what they saw as the two faces, the private and the public face, to IFP policy. And the public face being one which said, we're a peaceful organisation, we embark only upon peaceful tactics and objectives. But the private face, the one being propagated from the meetings of the cabinet of the KwaZulu homeland through to public meetings, mass meetings, was one of anger and of revenge and of attack, and that was the very real experience of the applicants in the way in which they explained it to the Committee, that public and private face.

And so their understanding is that that was the policy that was being embarked upon and they had it confirmed to them in so many ways. In addition to which it was confirmed to them inasmuch as they were hidden and protected when the arm of the law was able to reach out to them. So in instances where Mr Khumalo was arrested, where Mr Dlamini was arrested, he was whisked out of hospital where he had been lying with his leg up in a sling and he was pulled out of hospital and taken away in a car and then hidden for a long period of time in different places including in Venda and in the Mkuzi camp.

The same with Mr Khumalo when it appeared the police were on his trail, in fact on the one occasion he was arrested and bail was paid, and then he was hidden away and instructed not to go back. And those activities, in hiding and protecting the applicants from the law, in those instances, that was done by senior members in the IFP itself and in the KwaZulu Police, and that gives credence to their claim that this was the policy and this was how they understood the policy to be, that these are the things they should be doing. (Pinetown Hearing, 8 March 1999)

38. A similar situation applied with respect to members of the self-protection units, who were trained in the early 1990s. While the political leadership admitted having trained thousands of people for defensive purposes at various camps in KwaZulu/Natal, not one member of the political or senior military leadership applied for amnesty for any unlawful activities.

39. None of the applicants in the service of the SAP or the KZP at the time of the incidents for which amnesty was sought (including the Caprivi trainees) was supported by applications from their senior officers. There were no applications from senior members of the KZP, despite documentation suggesting that, at the very least, they allocated resources or attempted to cover up the activities of their members. Nor did the Riot Unit members and Special Constables who applied for amnesty receive the support of their commanders.
40. At a local level, although some IFP political leaders assisted applicants in establishing a context for the political violence between the IFP and the ANC in support of their applications, few of those implicated applied for amnesty,
41. Corroborated victim statements before the Commission provide evidence that ordinary IFP members were involved in politically motivated illegal activities. Moreover, the correlation between victims' statements and amnesty applications demonstrates that a very small minority of perpetrators applied for amnesty.

Categories of violations

42. The IFP applicants applied for the following types of violations:
 - a targeted killings of ANC supporters;
 - b planned attacks on people believed to be UDF or ANC supporters and members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU);
 - c spontaneous attacks on people believed to be UDF or ANC supporters and COSATU members;
 - d revenge attacks on UDF and ANC supporters;
 - e attacks on state officials;
 - f mistaken identity, and
 - g internal IFP attacks.

Attacks by IFP supporters

43. The Amnesty Committee heard that IFP applicants became involved in spontaneous attacks on people they believed to be UDF and/ or ANC supporters. The aim was generally to drive non-IFP supporters out of particular areas, thereby entrenching IFP strongholds. According to Mr Phumlani Derrick Mweli [AM0599/96], the UDF was a threat to the IFP and 'should cease to exist'. Mr Mweli spoke of receiving instructions to further this aim:

MR MWELI: The instructions would entail killing, to kill and eliminate UDF and in other words UDF should cease to exist.

MR SAMUEL: Why did you want UDF to cease to exist?

MR MWELI: It's because it was alleged that it was burning people's houses and that they will bring ideas of the communists.

MR SAMUEL: So was that your political objective in trying, in carrying out these orders to kill UDF people?

MR MWELI: Yes.

MR SAMUEL: Now without going into the specific instances that you were charged for, I'd like you to describe and set the background about these skirmishes, the fights that were going on. Without going into individual cases here, tell us ...(intervention)

CHAIRPERSON: What, are you talking about skirmishes in which he personally was involved?

MR SAMUEL: I want you to speak about those instances where you and the UDF people clashed, in which you were involved, without dealing with specific instances. Just tell us what used to happen when UDF members confronted ANC members, or IFP members. What happened then?

MR MWELI: Between IFP and UDF there was enmity, and the two groups were fighting against each other, and each time IFP member would be seen around the area of Penduka we would be killed by the others, and as well as vice versa, each time they would see the UDF members in ...(indistinct) would be killed. So there was that, and the fact that the IFP members, they wanted to eliminate UDF members and they will cease to exist, and ANC people as well, we aimed at killing. Sometimes there will be people killed from IFP's area who will be killed for no apparent reason, for the fact that that person is residing in the area of IFP will be killed for that, without any action whatsoever. (Pietermaritzburg Hearing, 11 February 1999)

44. Mr Mabhungu Absolom Dladla [AM4019/96] and Mr Nkanyiso Wilfred Ndlovu [AM4058/96] applied for amnesty for an attack on a taxi in the Table Mountain area in which ten people were killed on 5 March 1993.

MR ALBERTS: Yes, can you explain to us what you hoped to achieve by attacking this kombi?

MR DLADLA: Nkanyezini is an ANC stronghold and we people from Mboyi could no longer walk past there. We could no longer go to town to buy. We were imprisoned in our area. Our people would be free to walk after this. (Durban Hearing, 26 March 1998)

45. The applicants testified before the Amnesty Committee that they had carried out the attack with the intention of killing the occupants of the vehicle whom they believed to be ANC supporters on the grounds that an ANC member called Qeda Zulu had used the vehicle to transport members in the area. The attack had been triggered by an event three days earlier when unknown gunmen had shot and killed six children who were on their way to school. The parents of the children were all Inkatha members. The Committee heard that they and other residents of the Inkatha-controlled area of Mboyi were constantly attacked when they travelled through Nkanyezini, an ANC-controlled area. The applicants testified that, although they had not been instructed by their leaders to shoot and kill the occupants of the minibus, they had taken it upon themselves to do so.
46. The Amnesty Committee accepted the argument that they were 'caught up in the senseless violence in the area between members of the ANC on the one hand and the IFP on the other', and that the offences for which they were convicted and for which they were applying for amnesty were committed in the course of the struggles of the past and were associated with a political objective. Amnesty was granted to Mr Dladla and Mr Ndlovu for the killing of ten people and the attempted killing of six people in their armed ambush of the vehicle [AC/98/0012].
47. Mr Phumlani Derrick Mveli [AM 0599/96], IFP Youth Chairperson, applied for amnesty for killing seven ANC supporters. The killings were preceded by a series of attempted killings and assaults in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg.
48. At the time of the incidents, the Black Local authorities Act 192 of 1982 had come into effect, imposing town councils on a number of townships. In many areas in KwaZulu, the IFP had gained control of these councils, which were perceived to be to be illegitimate by supporters of the UDF. In Imbali, this manifested itself as a battle for territory between Stage 1 (a predominantly UDF area) and Stage 2 (a predominantly IFP area).
49. Phumlani Mveli was between 14 and 15 years of age when he committed offences that were directed indiscriminately at supporters of the UDF. He told the Amnesty Committee that he had received general instructions from IFP leader Mr Abdul Awetha and prominent IFP members Mr Jerome Mncwabe and Mr Gasela to attack members of the UDF who had been identified as 'enemies' because of their residence in an 'IFP area'. Mveli received firearms and ammunition from the IFP leaders. He was also given *muti* (traditional medicine), which

he claimed 'would give us a crave to kill and braveness to kill others but be protected at the same time...' [AC/1999/334]

50. Between 3 and 16 January, Mveli killed seven UDF supporters, including an 11-year-old child, Simphiwe Patrick Majozi, for which offences he was convicted in 1990. He was also responsible for the killing of Mr Stanley Shezi, four attempted killings and two assaults.
51. Mveli killed Mr Vikani Jacobs Sosiba near his home on the instructions of Mr Thu Ngcobo and Mr Gasela. He testified that Sosiba was bringing UDF 'comrades into Stage 2 to attack IFP members' [AC/1999/334]. After an attack on the car of IFP leader Mr Abdul Awetha near a garage in Stage 1, Mveli and Imbali (together with Mr Hoosain Awetha and Mr Bheki Zulu) shot Mr Thokozani Hlela and Mr Linda Moloi near a garage that was regarded as UDF-controlled. Mveli said that he did not know if the deceased had been involved in the attack on the vehicle but that they had killed them in order to send a message that they would defend themselves.
52. On the instructions of Mr Jerome Mncwabe, Mveli then embarked on a random killing spree to scare the UDF into leaving Stage 1. In the process, he killed Mr Sibusiso Mdluli, Mr Simphiwe Majozi and Mr Bhekizulu Gwala.
53. The families of the victims had reservations about whether the applicant had fully disclosed the facts but gestures towards reconciliation were extended between the parties. The Amnesty Committee granted Mveli amnesty on all counts, with the exception of the murder of 11-year-old Simphiwe Majozi. The Committee noted that this murder could not be regarded as an attack directed at a political opponent as there was no evidence connecting Majozi to the UDF.

Caprivi trainees

54. Mr Daluxolo Luthuli [AM4075/96], grandson of Chief Albert Luthuli, was trained in the Caprivi by members of the SADF. He applied for amnesty for twenty-one incidents of murder and attempted murder in KwaZulu/Natal and admitted to giving orders to ten other applicants who were involved in a total of 165 human rights violations. It emerged in his testimony before the Amnesty Committee that he was the political commissar and commander of hit squads that had been trained in the Caprivi in 1986 and at Mlaba camp in 1993.

55. Mr A Stewart, who represented Luthuli and some of the Caprivi trainees, argued before the Committee that structures had already been put into place for the deployment of the trainees once they returned from the Caprivi:

It was clear, in my submission, that on the Caprivi trainees returning to KwaZulu Natal there were structures in place, there was quite a sophisticated idea at least as to how those structures should work. The Caprivi trainees were split up into different groups, as the Committee is well aware, the offensive group, defensive group, contra mobilisation, and so on. And they were each supposed to have their own roles, and they were commanded, below Luthuli, by particular people, and there was the planning committee with the ongoing liaison between the IFP people responsible on the one hand, being chiefly MZ Khumalo and Mr Luthuli, and on the other hand the SADF and the SAP. (Pinetown Hearing, 8 March 1999)

56. Luthuli gave evidence about the first planning meeting he attended on his return from the Caprivi:

I was then taken by M.Z. Khumalo who asked me to go with him to a meeting. We went to 121 Battalion. The people whom I remember present there were Brigadier Van Niekerk, Louis Botha from the Special Branch, J.P. and Jerry. The last two men mentioned were also instructors at Caprivi.

What we discussed was that the trainees were back. In what way were they going to work and their safety was also an issue because they would be working covertly. How were they going to be protected?

This was discussed in detail. We then discussed that they should get contra-mobilisation and then we decided that we should open bases for them all over KwaZulu Natal so that they would be working in collaboration with the defensive group that used to pick up all troublesome individuals in the community. Secondly, the offensive group was supposed to stay in a particular area, because it wasn't supposed to meet with the other groups, because it was only used for attacks.

We found a base for them at Port Durnford where they stayed. We then discussed that since they had no identification, I was then asked with M.Z. Khumalo to talk to Brigadier Mathe, so that identity cards or documents could be made for those trainees. (Hammarisdale Hearing, 11-14 August 1998)

57. Mr Stewart noted that this method of operation worked initially but then began to change.

And at that time it seems that there was an attempt to implement those structures, and ensure that those groupings worked in the way in which it had been planned that they would work.

And the KwaMakutha massacre which took place relatively shortly after the return of the Caprivi trainees, and which was perpetrated in, initially at least, a model way inasmuch as it, there was prior surveillance, there was a reporting back, there was proper planning, there was a proper liaison between the military and military intelligence and SAP security branch on the one hand, and the Caprivi trainees on the other, and then the move in to hit the house. It turned out that it may have been the wrong house, but certainly it turned out that it may not have been planned that so many uninvolved people were murdered. But prior to that it seemed that it was implemented in the fashion that had been intended.

But we also know that, from what Luthuli has told the Committee, that he became, on returning from Caprivi and attending the first planning committee, and seeing the involvement of the SADF through military intelligence, and the SAP through the security branch, he became concerned about the extent to which, as he put it, the Boers were directing things, and the extent to which Inkatha was dependent on the Boers. And he then didn't attend planning committee meetings thereafter, save for one which he was called to, to attend to explain a certain incident.

And so right from then the channels of command started to disintegrate, and although we have statements in the affidavits and on record about how things were intended to happen, and how things were intended, and how orders were intended to be relayed, that as time goes on we see that those structures were operating in the initial planned fashion less and less. There was a level of disintegration, there was a level of informality, whereas at the beginning, for example, reports to MZ Khumalo were done only through Luthuli. It happened fairly soon after the KwaMakutha massacre, for example, that some of the Caprivi trainees were reporting directly to MZ Khumalo themselves. They were going direct to MZ Khumalo themselves to get weapons. (Hearing at Pinetown, 8 March 1990)

58. Many of the Caprivi trainees were then deployed in different units within the SAP or KZP and given appointment certificates.

There was an attempt to offer the Caprivi trainees some sort of cover under the auspices of the KwaZulu Police by the issue of appointment certificates, and even by the stationing of certain of the Caprivi trainees at KZP police stations.

Mr Mkhize, my learned friend Mr Wills' client, being stationed at the police station in Esikhawini, for example. And then, we saw an attempt, and now I use the word integrate, to integrate the Caprivi trainees into the special constable forces of the South African Police, and we have that particularly from Mr Khumalo and Mr Dlamini. Mr Khumalo explains how they were trained at Koeberg, they returned to Pietermaritzburg, they had certain duties there, but in respect of themselves and some of those that were with them, that only lasted a month or two and then they became disgruntled and they left. But all of that is an indication, in my submission, of this lack of formality in the lines of command, and the cross over in areas of responsibility between the formations of the South African Government on the one hand and the formations of the KwaZulu Government and the IFP on the other. (Mr A Stewart, Argument: Hearing at Pinetown, 8 March 1990)

59. The Commission's Final Report contains a summary of the incidents for which the Caprivi trainees applied for amnesty for training and assisting the IFP-aligned Black Cats gang to kill UDF/ANC supporters.¹⁷⁵ Mr Israel Hlongwane applied for amnesty for incidents in Ermelo. He was questioned by his Counsel about the interest the IFP political leadership showed in the activities of the Black Cats.

MR WILLS: *Now, you've indicated in your affidavit, whilst the Black Cats were being trained in Mkuze they were visited by certain person from Ermelo. Can you just tell us about those persons?*

MR HLONGWANE: *Yes, they were visit by Noah Mqobakazi.*

MR WILLS: *And who was he?*

MR HLONGWANE: *Noah Mqobakazi was the chairperson of the IFP and also Mkhonza. Mkhonza was the mayor of Davel.*

MR WILLS: *When you say Noah was the chairperson of the IFP, what area was he the chairperson of the IFP of?*

MR HLONGWANE: *In Ermelo and the surrounding areas. (Hearing at Ermelo, 14 September 1998)*

60. The nexus between the Caprivi trainees and the state and KwaZulu Government continued, despite the fact that many of them were dispersed into other structures. In Luthuli's amnesty hearing the following emerged:

MR STUART: *There was a time when you were sent into hiding by the Planning Committee, do you remember that?*

MR LUTHULI: *Yes, I do.*

¹⁷⁵ Volume Two, Chapter Five, p. 464 ff; Volume Three, Chapter Three, p. 220ff.

MR STUART: *Were you called to a meeting of the Planning Committee?*

MR LUTHULI: *Yes, that is true.*

MR STUART: *Where was that meeting?*

MR LUTHULI: *The meeting was in Durban, in one of the hotels although I cannot remember the name of the hotel. M.Z. Khumalo, Louis Botha of the Special Branch, Van Niekerk, JP and Kevin were present. It was discussed that because the trial was not going well, or this charge was not good, I wouldn't go back to report at Webber Police Station as per bail arrangements.*

I was to be taken into hiding. In the meantime they would be trying to destroy this charge, to get rid of the charge.

MR STUART: *What did they fear would happen if the charge against you persisted?*

MR LUTHULI: *It would emerge that the IFP possessed AK47's that would lead to the disclosure of the Caprivi training.*

MR STUART: *Whereabouts did you go into hiding?*

MR LUTHULI: *I was taken into hiding in the mountains at a place called Cathkin Peak, towards Estcourt, in the mountains of Lesotho. There was a base that was controlled by the Military Intelligence. At this base I found the following people, the Lesotho Liberation Army that was trained there, but I was going to go under cover as a person from Rhodesia, Ndebele. (Hearing at Durban, August 1997)*

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

Members of other Amnesty Committees that have sat, have on occasion refused amnesty where clearly those were cases where someone's been convicted of something, they try and dress it up in political clothes in order to try and get out of prison. These in respect of those applicants that I represent, that doesn't apply. And in respect of most of the incidents, or certainly many of the incidents that they've been involved, they have been the only sources of information in the hands of the State, broadly speaking about these incidents. It's not as 'though they faced imminent prosecution. They've come in a genuine effort to tell their whole story. (Hearing at Durban, August 1997)

Vigilantes

62. A key technique of counter-revolutionary war was the mobilisation of sections of the community who were regarded as loyal to the government and could be

expected to resist pro-ANC groups by force. In some cases such elements were armed, as with the provision of arms and training to Inkatha. In others, vigilante forces were created.¹⁷⁶

63. IFP member Mr Conrad Bheki Magoso [AM4014/96] applied for amnesty for a number of offences related to a conflict between IFP supporters residing in an informal settlement in Richmond Farm near KwaMashu and ANC supporters residing in K-section, KwaMashu in the late 1980s and early 1990s. According to the applicant, members of a known criminal gang of dissident former UDF supporters, the '*AmaSinyora*', became an integral part of the IFP group. The conflict was sparked by arson attacks on the border between the two areas, culminating in the alleged 'necklacing'¹⁷⁷ of an elderly man by ANC supporters. The applicant was granted amnesty for a number of arson attacks and four killings [AC2001/054]. The Amnesty Committee had great difficulty in tracing some of the victims of these attacks due to the applicant's poor memory and the lack of documentary evidence.

Special Constables

64. Similar measures included the deployment of Special Constables. These included some of the 200 'Caprivi trainees' trained by the SADF in support of Inkatha. Several hundred Inkatha supporters were sent for Special Constable training at Koeberg during 1987. One hundred and thirty of these were Caprivi trainees.
65. At the end of 1987, the recruits were summoned back to Ulundi by Mr M Z Khumalo, at that time personal secretary to the Chief Minister. He informed them that, in view of the escalation of violence and the killing of Inkatha members in the Pietermaritzburg area, they would be sent on a six-week SAP Special Constables training course. They would then be deployed to the troubled areas in and around Pietermaritzburg.
66. Special Constables were first recruited in the Upper Vulindlela area near Pietermaritzburg in 1988. They were recruited on the recommendation of the local tribal authorities. The main criterion for recruitment was not education, standing in the community or reputation but simply membership of Inkatha.

¹⁷⁶ Major-General FMA Steenkamp, 'Alternatiewe strukture as Faktor in die Rewolusionere Aanslag teen die RSA', (Unpublished, SAP HQ, Pretoria, Feb. 1987).

¹⁷⁷ The 'necklace' method of attack was used mainly by UDF supporters in the late 1980s and involved burning a victim to death by placing car tyre filled with petrol around his/her neck. For the most part, victims were those persons regarded as collaborators and police informers.

After a brief training, they were attached to the Riot Unit of the SAP in Pietermaritzburg under the command of Major Deon Terblanche.

67. Mr Mduduzi Remember Ndlovu [AM1632/96; AC1998/0092] was a Special Constable in the KZP based at KwaMashu and a member of the IFP. Together with his late brother, Mr Thabani Ndlovu (chairperson of the Mpumzuza branch of the IFP Youth Brigade), Ndlovu had killed Mr Sibusiso Gumede (a reserve constable of the KZP) on 16 April 1991 and removed his HMC sub-machine gun. The weapon was later found at the Ndlovu house after a fire. Ndlovu was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for the murder. Whilst the Amnesty Committee noted that there were inconsistencies in Ndlovu's testimony, it was satisfied that the applicant had made full disclosure on all material facts and did not act out of ill will or for personal gain. Ndlovu was granted amnesty.

Esikhawini unit

68. Offensive actions by the Caprivi Trainees continued under the cover of the KZP force in the early 1990s. The Esikhawini hit squad, based near Empangeni, was composed of individual trainees and was controlled by a local committee of IFP leaders and senior KZP officers. The hit squad carried out a large number of attacks on ANC and COSATU individuals, resulting in many deaths. It was allowed to act with impunity and the KZP commander, Brigadier C P Mzimela, ensured that its activities were covered up. The few KZP officers who attempted to investigate its activities were either murdered or intimidated from acting.
69. Key figures in the KwaZulu government at Ulundi, including a cabinet minister, Prince Gideon Zulu, and the Secretary of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr M R Mzimela, provided logistical support and direction to the hit squad. This was also a finding made by the Supreme Court in the Mbambo¹⁷⁸ matter for purposes of sentence. The state of affairs in Esikhawini in the early 1990s was similar to that in other areas.
70. The *modus operandi* of the Esikhawini unit emerged in cross-examination of Mr Daluxolo Luthuli at the amnesty hearing of Gcina Mkhize and others:

178 In 1995 the Durban Supreme Court found Romeo Mbambo, Israel Hlongwane and Gcina Mkhize guilty of murdering KZP Sergeant Dlamini on 19 June 1993. See Volume Two, Chapter Seven, pp. 633–5.

MR WILLS: *As I understand this military structure, or military struggle, certain people received training like for example Mr Mkhize was trained in Caprivi and in Koeberg and at Mkuze camp and at various other camps, by various people, the SADF?*

MR LUTHULI: *That is correct.*

MR WILLS: *The SAP at Koeberg?*

MR LUTHULI: *Yes, that is correct.*

MR WILLS: *And by Inkatha people at Mkuze camp?*

MR LUTHULI: *That is correct.*

MR WILLS: *But the policy of the IFP was that these people must be transferred into various townships and they must gather loyal and staunch younger IFP persons and give them similar training?*

MR LUTHULI: *That is correct.*

MR WILLS: *So when both Mr Mbambo and Mr Mkhize give evidence later to the effect that they were involved in setting up of another hit squad and specifically trained other persons and specifically people like Mkhana Lipo, Matenywa, Ben Mlambo, Lucky Mbuyasi, that these activities were done in the full knowledge and they were in fact part of the IFP policies at the time?*

MR LUTHULI: *That is correct.*

MR WILLS: *That wasn't against any policy or orders of the IFP?*

MR LUTHULI: *No.*

MR WILLS: *And again, this was well known by the leadership and encouraged by the leadership?*

MR LUTHULI: *That is correct.*

MR WILLS: *Now, unfortunately I am not in a position to know how high that leadership went, but to be specific, I know for example or I am told for example that this was encouraged by persons like BB Biyela and Mrs Mbuyasi in eSikhawini?*

MR LUTHULI: *That is correct.*

MR WILLS: *The way certain specific targets were identified, was also varied, but you mentioned something that Mr Mkhize alludes to in his affidavit, and I refer you to page, I refer the Committee to page 231 of the bundle.*

That is to the effect that the IFP leadership on the ground, would determine who the problematical UDF persons were? (Durban Hearing, August 1997)

Amatikhulu and Emandleni trainees

71. According to IFP senator Mr Philip Powell, the IFP started training IFP recruits in Patheni near Richmond at the end of 1992. The project was so successful that, after some months, another training camp was established at Elandskop.¹⁷⁹ Powell said that he helped train sixty volunteers at Patheni and a smaller group at Elandskop. According to media reports, by the time the self-protection unit (SPU) training project got underway at Mlaba Camp near Umfolozi a year later, about 1200 men had been 'informally' trained at both Patheni and Elandskop.¹⁸⁰ Training continued in other areas.
72. According to Mr Cyril Bongani Thusi, an IFP member in Richmond, IFP supporters grouped together to attack ANC supporters with homemade firearms in about 1991. ANC supporters left the area as a result and took up residence in Dambuza. Thusi testified before the Amnesty Committee that, in the same year, armed ANC supporters returned from Pietermaritzburg and retaliated by killing some IFP members. At this stage, some of the IFP youth joined the ANC because they felt that the IFP were inadequately armed with homemade firearms.
73. Thusi testified that he was informed that Nkosi Majozi had sent Chief Buthelezi messages that they were under attack. Majozi received a response that certain people were to be sent for training at Amatikhulu camp and that they should collect G3 rifles at the same time. He testified that six persons went for one week's training with Phillip Powell at Amatikhulu camp and were given five G3 rifles [AM8013/97; AC990217].
74. Mr Thulani Myeza, who was trained at Emandleni camp and applied for amnesty for a number of gross human rights violations in Eshowe, testified that the SPUs were trained in preparation for the 1994 elections. He gave evidence before the Amnesty Committee:

ADV MOTATA: *I take it, correct me if I am mistaken, that you were trained in handling firearms, how to kill, would I be right to say you're saying so?*

MR MYEZA: *Yes, we were told that we were trained for 1994 election, to kill.*

ADV MOTATA: *Could you just tell us more that you were trained for the 1994 elections to do what, to show people how to vote or to kill people not to vote?*

MR MYEZA: *To kill the ANC leadership.*

ADV MOTATA: *Did you know which leaders were you supposed to kill from the ANC?*

179 N Claude, KwaZulu-Natal Briefing, Number 4, October 1996 (Helen Suzman Foundation).

180 Ryan Cresswell, Sunday Times, 14 November 1993.

MR MYEZA: Yes, I know a few of them.

ADV MOTATA: Would you be kind enough to just give us the few you know?

MR MYEZA: The first one was Bongani Msomi in eSikhawini.

ADV MOTATA: Proceed.

R MYEZA: The second one was Bheki Ntuli in Mtubatuba.

ADV MOTATA: Can you remember only the two?

MR MYEZA: Mr Nxumalo, here in Eshowe. Given Mthethwa from Eshowe, Schoolboy from Eshowe, Mr Msweli in Mandini. Those are the only people who were disturbing the election in KwaZulu Natal.

ADV MOTATA: Now lastly, you mentioned that when you attacked you were accompanied by the KwaZulu Police ...(indistinct)?

MR MYEZA: Yes.

ADV MOTATA: And prior to your attack you held a meeting, do you recall that?

MR MYEZA: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON: Were the KwaZulu Police present in that meeting or if not when did they join you or how did they know that you planned this attack?

MR MYEZA: The KwaZulu Police would not be present when the decision is taken, but they would be told to go and raid the ANC members after we had taken a decision. The KwaZulu Police would then be led by Nr Nyawuza where they were supposed to raid.

ADV MOTATA: Would we understand you correctly that the police, that is the KwaZulu Police, were your allies when you attacked the ANC members, would we understand you to say that?

MR MYEZA: Yes. (Durban hearing, 26 March 1998.)

75. The trainees were receiving payments from the KwaZulu government in Ulundi until Mr Lombo allegedly absconded with this money.

MR MYEZA: We were being paid as SPU members. We received it from a certain person in Ulundi who was in charge of finances there. I cannot recall his name.

CHAIRPERSON: Was that every month or every week, how often was that?

MR MYEZA: After every two months.

CHAIRPERSON: I thought I heard you say during your evidence that this money that you were getting from Ulundi stopped when a middleman disappeared or left. Can you clear that up first of all? Who was the middleman and what do you mean by he disappeared or he left, what does that mean?

MR MYEZA: I did not know the name of this middleman. However, when all KwaZulu-Natal SPU members were called to Ulundi to get their monies that was Friday we went to camp at Emandleni. The following Saturday, we went to the soccer field in E section in Ulundi, and we were told that this person had run away. We barricaded the Parliament in protest of our salaries and demanded to

talk to Mr Powell himself. He came and told us that that person had run away. He left Ulundi. I did not know his name. (Durban hearing, 26 March 1998.)

76. Most of the trainees claimed that they had received instructions from the local political leadership of the IFP on a day-to-day basis.

CHAIRPERSON: *And as member of the SPU who did you take orders from?*

MR MYEZA: *We got some orders from Phillip Powell when we were still in training.*

CHAIRPERSON: *Would he come there to where you were and give instructions or were these instructions conveyed to you in some other way?*

MR MYEZA: *At Umfolozi where we received training, we had commanders who were working under him. We had commanders like 'Somatekisi' and others that I cannot recall their surnames.*

CHAIRPERSON: *But that was only during the time that you have for training but you were only for training for a short period?*

MR MYEZA: *Yes, ...[indistinct] six months.*

CHAIRPERSON: *After the training was over that did you get instructions from?*

MR MYEZA: *The person who organised training for us was Mr Nyawuza. (Durban hearing, 26 March 1998.)*

Self-protection units

77. In August 1993, IFP leader, Dr M G Buthelezi called on every Zulu to pay a R5 levy for the establishment of a 'private army' to 'guard against the obliteration of KwaZulu'¹⁸¹ In fact, the project was sponsored by monies drawn from the KwaZulu Government. At a KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) meeting on 25 August 1993 a resolution was taken to establish a self-protection unit training project.¹⁸²
78. In September 1993, the training of SPUs began at Mlaba Camp on the edge of the Umfolozi Game Reserve. Senior IFP member Philip Powell later acknowledged that, prior to the opening of Mlaba, training of IFP recruits had been going on for more than a year and about 1200 men had been 'informally' trained. Between 5000 and 8000 IFP supporters were trained at Mlaba camp. Certain Caprivi trainees were deployed to assist in the project. Trainees received instruction in offensive methods and the use of AK 47s. With the assistance of former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock, Powell arranged for the delivery of a number of truckloads of sophisticated weaponry to be delivered to the region.

¹⁸¹ Report of the Civilian Component of the ITU, 27 January 1997.

¹⁸² Ibid.

79. On 15 March 1994, the KwaZulu Cabinet adopted a secret plan drawn up by Powell to circumvent legal restraints on the development of military force in KwaZulu. Powell's plan aimed to counter perceived threats that the ANC would make KwaZulu ungovernable. He claimed that, amongst other factors, there were internal problems within the KZP 'due to political allegiances of members to the ANC or the NP'¹⁸³
80. The plan involved the setting up of a 'battalion/ regimental sized paramilitary unit' within the KZP. The proposed unit would be structured in the following manner:
- (a) Five regionally recruited companies of approximately 200 men each. The unit would be drawn from the following elements:
 - 1000 selected graduates of the KZG self-protection unit-training project appointed as Special Constables ...
 - 100 KZP members who received counter-insurgency training from the SADF (non-commissioned element). These members would provide the basic leadership element at a section, platoon and company level ...
 - A small group of professional advisors drawn from former SADF or SAP officers ...
 - (b) The unit would be based at Mlaba camp with additional operational bases in the following areas:
 - (i) North Coast base (hand-written - Esikhawini)
 - (ii) South Coast base (Folweni)
 - (iii) Durban base (Folweni)
 - (iv) Midlands base (Madadeni)
 - (v) Northern Natal (Empangeni)
 - (c) Logistical Requirements:
 - (i) The unit would require 1000 G3 rifles ... These would have to be drafted from KZP strength or purchased urgently ...
 - (iii) Support weapons would have to be acquired for counter-insurgency operations. These include squad level weapons such as MAG type belt-fed machine guns and 60 mm mortars.
 - (iv) Uniforms: ... supplemented by 1000 sets of second hand canvas SADF style webbing (ammo pouches and packs), 1000 water bottles ...
 - (v) Specialised vehicles could be made available from the Dept of Works and Health and modified if necessary to a paramilitary role ...¹⁸⁴

183 Secret Memorandum prepared by Powell and introduced by him to a KwaZulu Cabinet meeting on 15 March 1994 (according to a hand-written note. The memo is dated 15/4/94.) (RPD, AG), Supplied to the TRC by the ITU.

184 Ibid.

81. KZP Commissioner During wrote a letter to Buthelezi dated 18 March 1994 in which he pointed out:

that the deployment of these trainees who have not had, even remotely, sufficient training in law or exposure to police procedures, could lead to extremely serious repercussions for which I, as Commissioner can be held responsible both criminally and civilly.

82. He expressed his concern about the ruling that he had to waive the standard requirements for qualification as Special Constables and opposition to the proposal to use Caprivi trainees as leadership for the platoons of Special Constables:

Your Excellency is well aware of the controversy surrounding the employment of Caprivi Trainees as members of the KZP and the allegations of hit squad activities ...

83. He was opposed to arming the Special Constables with G3s as 'the indiscriminate use of such a lethal arm can be expected from persons who have not been adequately trained ...'. With regard to the group of 'professional advisers drawn from former SADF or SAP officers', he advised that he did not know their identities or backgrounds.¹⁸⁵
84. Buthelezi overruled During and the implementation of the project commenced.¹⁸⁶
85. The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) led a raid on Mlaba camp on 26 April 1994, forcing its closure and bringing a halt to the plan to place 1000 Mlaba trainees into the KZP.

THE AMNESTY ARENA

Full disclosure

86. Some applicants approached the Amnesty Committee in the erroneous belief that it would offer them a hearing on what they believed to be false charges against them and for which they had been wrongfully imprisoned.

¹⁸⁵ Letter from During to Buthelezi dated 18 March 1994, entitled PROPOSED EMPLOYMENT OF 1000 MLABA TRAINEES AS SPECIAL CONSTABLES. (Ref 7/8/9, hand-written F.3/36).(RD, SM), Supplied to the TRC by the ITU.

¹⁸⁶ Resolutions of a Special Cabinet meeting held at Ulundi on 18 March 1994 (80/94): Appointment of special constables), supplied to the TRC by the ITU.

87. Mr Baba Langelihle Khomo [AM 4036/97], an ordinary member of the IFP, was convicted and sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for the murder of eight people and the attempted murder of five people at a traditional function at Ndlovu's kraal in KwaNdeni Reserve in Mpumalanga near Durban on 7 March 1992. The trial court found that the applicant had acted in 'common purpose' in killing Mr Kati Ndlovu and others. The applicant testified that, although he had witnessed the attack, he had not taken part in it. He had admitted his involvement in his application with a view to protesting his innocence before the Commission. His application for amnesty was refused on the grounds that he had not disclosed any involvement in a politically motivated offence.

Furtherance of political objectives

88. Most IFP applicants were granted amnesty after testifying that their motivation for committing offences was linked to the general conflict and in the reasonable belief that a particular act was in furtherance of a political objective.
89. The Amnesty Committee frequently had to face the difficult question of making a finding in attacks that could be regarded as 'random' or 'indiscriminate' and where the applicant/s did not know for certain whether the victims were UDF or ANC supporters. In some such cases, attacks were launched upon people perceived to be UDF and ANC supporters in an effort to drive the UDF or ANC out of an area.
90. Acting for Mr Gcina Mkhize [AM4599/96] and other Caprivi trainees and KZP members, Mr John Wills testified before the Committee:

It's a unique feature of the Natal violence, in my submission, that the conflict relates so directly to territory, and the whole of the conflict was about dominance of particular geographical areas, to the extent, as I say in my heads, that one could more or less rely on the fact of if one lived in a particular area than one would be a member of the political party that was dominant in that area. This aspect of the conflict I submit is important particularly when one looks at what might, had it not been for that characteristic, be considered indiscriminate attacks. (Pinetown hearing, 8 March 1999.)

91. Other applicants testified that the aim of such attacks was to create terror in ANC-dominated areas, thereby making political organisation difficult and dangerous and making people afraid to live in the areas concerned. Moreover, such attacks amounted to a show of strength for Inkatha (the IFP) and a demonstration that the UDF (and later the ANC) was unable to defend its people in a particular area.

92. Some of the applicants had mixed political and personal motives, such as revenge for earlier incidents in which they or their relatives had been attacked.
93. Mr Vusi Thokozani Manqele [AM4037/96; AC1999/0016] killed ANC chairperson Mr E Bhengu in a spontaneous attack in KwaMakhutha during July 1991. The attack took place after Manqele's home had been attacked and his relatives killed by the deceased. The Amnesty Committee accepted that, although there was an element of revenge in the attack, there was sufficient political motivation to justify the granting of amnesty.
94. IFP member Mr Vusi Linda Hlengwa [AM 4687/97] was convicted of the murders of Mr Mahluleli Makhanya and Mr Bheki Zwane and the attempted murder of Mr Simiso Msomi of the UDF after unknown persons in KwaMakhutha attacked his home during April 1990. Mr Zwane was allegedly with the applicant at the time of the attack and was shot and killed by Hlengwa a week later.
95. The Amnesty Committee found that Makhanya's killing and Msomi's injury were motivated by revenge and did not disclose a political objective. The applicant withdrew his request for amnesty for the murder of Zwane after contradicting his application by indicating that the latter was killed accidentally.
96. Mr W Harrington [AM0173/96] and Mr F Erasmus [AM0174/96], both constables in the SAP Riot Unit, and Mr N Madlala [AM3432/96], recruited from the ranks of the IFP and employed as a Special Constable, applied for amnesty for the killing of Mr Mbongeni Jama in Elandskop near Pietermaritzburg on 24 February 1991. The applicants had captured, assaulted and killed Jama after an ANC rally in Noshesi and had been convicted of the offence. Counsel for the applicants argued that they had been indoctrinated to see the ANC as the enemy and that they had found a pocket book on the deceased revealing that he had been involved in attacks on IFP members. The Amnesty Committee concluded that the evidence suggested that the applicants had beaten Jama so severely that they had decided to destroy the evidence of their illegal conduct as they would not have been able to justify this to their superiors. For this reason, the Amnesty committee found that the act did not disclose a political objective.
97. The Amnesty Committee, relying on the testimony of applicants and witnesses and on background information on the area in question, refused amnesty to some applicants where it appeared that political violence was not rife in the area. Mr Nimrod Mbewu Mthembu [AM6683/97] and Mr Mshengu Ngobese

[AM6344/97], card-carrying members of the IFP, applied for amnesty for the killing of Mr Siya Enack Cele and Ms Elizabeth Zondime Khumalo and the attempted killing of Mr Mdikivani Mkhize on 24 August 1991 in the Mapumulo area, an IFP stronghold.

98. The applicants were on their way home from a traditional celebration held to celebrate a man's gratitude to his daughter for good behaviour. On their way home, they passed Mr Cele and Mr Mkhize who apparently insulted them, calling them 'Ukova', a derogatory name for IFP members.
99. The applicants stabbed Mr Cele, but Mr Mkhize managed to escape. They then went to the home of Ms E Khumalo, who they believed to be opposed to the IFP because she had protested against a tax levied on dogs. They shot her with a homemade weapon and then stabbed her.
100. The Amnesty Committee noted that there was no turmoil in the area at the time. They found that the applicants had not acted with a political objective since their acts were not directed at clear political opponents nor were executed in furtherance of the aims and objectives of a political organisation. They also noted that alcohol might have played a significant role in the incidents and denied amnesty to the applicants [AC1998/0009].
101. A factor mentioned in many incidents was the use of traditional medicine or 'muti' while preparing to perpetrate human rights violations. For example, Mr Phumlani Derrick Mveli, told the Committee:

MR MWELI: *The traditional healer will come. We did not know that person. We've never seen him or her before. Sometimes we will get Mr Themba Tjale and the traditional healer would arrive there, every after six months they will go and revive them.*

MR SAMUEL: *Why were you given muti by these people? What was the purpose?*

MR MWELI: *The purpose was to give us that crave to kill and give us that bravery to kill others but be protected at the same time from being shot and killed.*

MR SAMUEL: *So were you told that if you have this muti on you the opposition's bullets won't strike you?*

MR MWELI: *Yes, sometimes that happened. I'm one example, it has happened to me. I was never shot. There were places I could not receive, or bullets would not hit me. (Pietermaritzburg hearing, 11 February 1999.)*

Personal gain

102. The Committee refused amnesty to any applicant who clearly appeared to be motivated by personal gain when committing a human rights violation. Mr Mdu John Msibi [AM0624/96] applied for amnesty for the killing of ANC members Mr Mandla Alfred Mgudulela and Mr Mphiheleli Joseph Malinga in Piet Retief on 9 June 1993, for which he had been convicted and sentenced.
103. Msibi testified: 'The IFP contracted me to shoot the two leaders of the ANC as they were a threat to the IFP'. He told the Amnesty Committee that Mr Ali Msibi, an IFP leader and a Constable Mkhwanazi of the Crime Intelligence unit of the SAP had instructed him to do the killings. However, because he had admitted in his trial¹⁸⁷ that Mr Msibi had paid him R15 000, the Amnesty Committee found that he had acted for personal gain rather than with a political objective and he was refused amnesty.

Proportionality

104. Mr Phumlani Derrick Mweli [AM0599/96] was refused amnesty for the killing of Simphiwe Patrick Majosi in Imbali on 16 January 1989 (see above). Mweli claimed that he was instructed by Mr Jerome Mncwabe to do something that would 'scare' UDF people in Stage 1 and induce them to flee the area.¹⁸⁸ In the course of an indiscriminate attack, Majosi was killed. The Amnesty Committee found that the killing of a child could not be regarded as an attack directed at a political opponent. Ironically, the applicant at the time of this offence was himself only 14 years old [AC/99/0334].

THE RIGHT WING AND THE IFP

105. According to the statement of Patrick Dlongwane (known as Pat Hlongwane) in about February 1994, he, Mr Thomas Shabalala (IFP, Lindelani) and AWB members General Nick Fourie (who died in the Bophuthatswana coup), Mr Norman Starkey, Captain Schoeman, Brigadier van Vuuren, General Monty Markow and others met at Ocean Green in Point Road, Durban. Here it was agreed that the AWB would train IFP members and the Natal Liberation Army (NLA) was formed.

¹⁸⁷ Piet Retief Circuit Court, case number CC18/95.

¹⁸⁸ Hearing at Pietermaritzburg, 12 February 1999.

Attack on the Flagstaff police station

106. On 6 March 1994, an IFP official and AWB members attacked the Flagstaff police station with the intention of obtaining arms for IFP self-protection units.¹⁸⁹ In the course of the attack, they killed Constable Barnabas Jagers and wounded Constable Wele Nyangana and Inspector Mzingizi Mkhondweni. They removed a police van, six police heavy calibre rifles, some rounds of ammunition, a metal trunk and about R140 in cash.
107. The following persons were charged and convicted of murder, attempted murder and robbery: Mr James Mkhazwa Zulu (IFP Regional Chairperson, lower south coast); Mr Harry Marvis Simon Jardine (AWB); Mr Andrew Howell (AWB); Mr Morton Christie (*Veldkornet* in the AWB and IFP member), and Mr Christo Brand (Lieutenant in the *Ystergarde*, AWB). Mr Robin Shoesmith (IFP) and Mr Roy Lane (AWB) turned state witness.
108. According to the amnesty application of Mr James Mkhazwa Zulu [AM5864/97], who died before his amnesty hearing, Mr Robin Shoesmith approached him with the idea of forming self-protection units before the 1994 election. Because they had no firearms with which to train the units, Shoesmith's plan was to attack the Flagstaff police station and steal firearms.
109. According to the evidence led at the trial, Shoesmith approached AWB member Morton Christie and asked whether the AWB would be prepared to assist the IFP. Christie and Jardine of the AWB agreed. Flagstaff police station was selected because Mr Sipho Ngcobo, an IFP member, had told them that there would only be one police officer on duty late on a Saturday night and that he would probably be drunk. They were told that the weapons were kept in a steel trunk in the charge office. Later Howell, Christo Brand [AM6422/97] and Lane of the AWB joined the plot.¹⁹⁰
110. According to Morton Christie's amnesty application¹⁹¹, Nick Fourie¹⁹² and Patrick Pedlar were his superior officers in the AWB. Christie testified that the Security Branch in Port Shepstone encouraged the operation and monitored it while it was taking place. He also testified that Patrick Pedlar, the operational leader of the AWB, was an informer and that it was his role to ensure that the operation went ahead.

¹⁸⁹ See also Chapter Six of this section.

¹⁹⁰ See court records annexed to amnesty application of James Zulu.

¹⁹¹ Christie and others were also arrested for the bombing of the Seychelles Restaurant in Port Shepstone but were released. The restaurant was believed to be frequented by ANC members. Christie claims in his amnesty application that Roy and Rob Lane carried out the bombing (AM6610/97).

¹⁹² Fourie died in the Bophuthatswana Coup in 1994.

111. Christie testified that Shoesmith instigated the plan to raid the Flagstaff police station and that he, Harry Jardine, Corrie van der Westhuizen, Shoesmith and Patrick Pedlar discussed it at a meeting. Christo Brand was not at the meeting. About two weeks later, Pedlar told Henry Jardine and Morton Christie that they should assist the IFP with the operation and involve James Zulu of the IFP. In the meantime, Warrant Officer Ferdi Wentzel of the Security Branch had instructed Pedlar to ensure that the operation went ahead.
112. Christie testified that they were followed by a red Cressida on their way to the police station and had the impression that its occupants were trying to count the number of persons in the car. When they arrived, Howell went into the charge office but came out saying he believed that they had been 'set-up' as there were armed policemen on the premises. Inspector Mkhondweni, who was parked outside the police station, arrested the men. It was then that the shoot-out began.
113. Christie testified that, during the trial, the Port Shepstone Security Branch was unable to explain why, having had knowledge of the operation, it did not attempt to stop it and why it took nine months to arrest the known suspects. Pedlar was not charged and his role emerged for the first time at the amnesty hearing. Mr Barry Jardine [AM5864/97] of the AWB had this to say about Patrick Pedlar:

It later transpired, at the Criminal Case at the High Court in Bizana that Patrick Pedlar was a Security Police informant and that he revealed our plans to Inspector Wentzel. Inspector Wentzel informed the Flagstaff Police Station that APLA would attack the Police Station on the evening of the 5th of March 1994.

MR DE KLERK: *Can we just have some clarity here? Patrick Pedlar was your Commander?*

MR JARDINE: *That's correct.*

MR DE KLERK: *According to your information was he the man that said that you had to get the weapons?*

MR JARDINE: *That's correct.*

MR DE KLERK: *And later it became apparent that he was a Police informer because he conveyed to the police that you would fetch the weapons on a specific time?*

MR JARDINE: *That's correct, that APLA would attack the Police Station. As a result of this an ambush was set for us and that is why there were so many armed policemen at the Police Station. Here, I wish to refer to the judgment of Judge Beck, on page 1054, when he put forward his doubts as to why Inspector Wentzel allowed the attack to proceed, and did not try to prevent it. (Hearing at Durban, 24 April 1998.)*

114. The surviving victims objected to amnesty being granted on the grounds that the applicants did not disclose who killed the deceased and wounded the other victims. However, the Amnesty Committee found that Christie shot Mzinigizi Mkhondweni and was satisfied that the other applicants could not testify who shot the other victims as it was dark when the shoot-out occurred. The applicants were granted amnesty.
115. In another incident, Mr Boy Vusumuzi Gwamanda [AM1972/96] applied for amnesty for the conspiracy to murder former Mpumalanga premier, Mr Matthews Phosa whilst he was incarcerated in Barberton prison in 1990. The applicant testified that he was trained by AWB-linked warders at Barberton prison in the use of firearms and hand grenades. Mr Gwamanda was granted amnesty.

MOTIVES AND PERSPECTIVES

116. In summary, the Amnesty Committee heard that most of the acts for which members and supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party applied for amnesty were motivated by a sense of loyalty to an organisation which had embarked on what it perceived to be an alternative strategy for bringing about an end to apartheid. While senior members of the IFP claimed that there had never been an Inkatha decision to employ violence in this aim, amnesty applicants claimed that their use of violent means to achieve these aims were both authorised and sanctioned by the political leadership of the party.
117. The Commission took cognisance of the views expressed by leaders that the original source of the conflict in the then Natal and Transvaal lay in the opposition to the IFP's adoption of this alternative strategy.
118. In its 1998 Report, the Commission found that the IFP was responsible for gross violations of human rights committed in the former Transvaal, Natal and KwaZulu against persons who were perceived to be leaders, members or supporters of the UDF, ANC or its alliance partners, and persons identified as posing a threat to the organisation or whose loyalty was doubted¹⁹³. It was a further finding of the Commission that such violations formed part of a systematic pattern of abuse which entailed deliberate planning on the part of the organisation¹⁹⁴.

193 Volume Five, p. 233

194 Ibid, p. 234

119. The assertions by the Caprivi trainee amnesty applicants that they were acting as part of a well-resourced and orchestrated strategy coincided with the Commission's finding that in 1986 the SADF conspired with Inkatha to provide the latter with a covert, offensive paramilitary unit (hit squad) to be deployed illegally against persons and organisations perceived to be opposed to or enemies of both the South African government and Inkatha. The SADF provided training, financial and logistical management and behind-the-scenes supervision of the trainees who were trained by the special forces unit of the SADF in the Caprivi strip.¹⁹⁵
120. The purpose and nature of the training (which has been documented in Volume Two, Chapter Five and Volume Three, Chapter Three) was succinctly summed up by one of the military trainers, Colonel Jan Anton Nieuwoudt [AM3813/96; AC/2001/264], in his amnesty application, as being 'to identify and eliminate ANC, SACP and PAC targets'. Nieuwoudt also explained to the Commission how the trainees were taught the art of '*nie terug spoorbaarheid*' or how to cover up their crimes. It was hardly surprising that the military planners of the Caprivi project requested 'indemnity from prosecution for offences carrying the death penalty'.¹⁹⁶ Indeed the Operation Marion documents are littered with acknowledgements and references to the unlawful nature of the actions involved. The Commission found that probabilities that the Caprivi project amounted to a conspiracy to murder were overwhelming.
121. With regard to the KwaZulu Police, the Commission found that from the period 1986 to 1994, the KZP acted in a biased manner and overwhelmingly in furtherance of the interests of Inkatha, and later the IFP. This was a view that was also expressed by several amnesty applicants. Although there were exceptions to the following general statement, in that some members of the KZP did carry out their duties in an unbiased and lawful manner, the KZP generally was characterised by incompetence, brutality and political bias in favour of the IFP, all of which contributed to the widespread commission of gross human rights abuses¹⁹⁷.
122. With regard to the Esikhawini hit squad led by Gcina Mkhize, who applied for Amnesty along with others, the Commission found that in 1990, certain senior members of the IFP conspired with senior members of the KZP to establish a hit squad in Esikhawini township, to be deployed illegally against people perceived to be opposed to the IFP¹⁹⁸. Contrary to the claims of the IFP leadership that it

¹⁹⁵ See Volume Three, Chapter Three, p. 221ff. and Volume Five, Chapter Six, p. 234.

¹⁹⁶ UTERS GEHEIM ST-2/3/310/4/MARION/2/3.

¹⁹⁷ Volume 3.

¹⁹⁸ Volume 5, p. 235.

was never the policy of the organisation to engage in violence in furtherance of its political objectives, the Amnesty Committee accepted the evidence of amnesty applicants that they took instructions from certain senior members of the organisation, and that these activities resulted in the commission of gross human rights violations.

123. With regard to the self-protection unit members, the Commission found that during the period 1993–1994, the self-protection unit (SPU) project, although officially placed within the ambit of the Peace Accord and containing an element of self-protection, was also intended to furnish the Inkatha Freedom Party with the military capacity to, by force, prevent the central government and the Transitional Executive Council from holding elections that did not accommodate the IFP's desires for self-determination. Evidence from former members of self-protection units placed before the Amnesty Committee reinforced the finding of the Commission that such armed resistance would entail the risk of violence and injury to persons.
124. The Commission gave due attention to the response of the IFP to these and other findings of the Human Rights Violations Committee. However, the Commission is of the view that the evidence which has emerged through the amnesty process has done nothing to cause the Commission to change or moderate these findings in any way. On the contrary, on the completion of the work of the Amnesty Committee, the Commission is satisfied that the core findings made in its 1998 report are justified.

RECONCILIATION

125. During several amnesty hearings, the Amnesty Committee or the applicants' legal representatives facilitated meetings between applicants and the relatives of victims or the victims themselves. This occurred, for example, at the hearings of Mr Daluxolo Luthuli and others where the community of Esikhawini expressed forgiveness. A key precipitating factor for this reconciliation appeared to be the extent to which the applicant was regarded as having made full disclosure and his openness about his motives and lines of command.
126. For example, in Luthuli's amnesty hearing, his legal representative, Advocate A Stewart, said:

The position taken by Mr Luthuli has been one where he accepts moral responsibility for all the activities that the Caprivi trainees were involved in,

even where he didn't know what those activities were, or may not have given orders in relation to them. (Hearing at Pinetown, 8 March 1999.)

127. On the other hand, implicated persons who continued to deny their role in events made reconciliation impossible.
128. At the amnesty hearing of Mr 'Sosha' Mbhele, there were bitter words between the applicant and his former commander, Mr Bheki Mkhize:

MR MKHIZE: *Sosha, what I would like to tell the community is that you were a killer, you were even responsible for killing IFP. I don't know you to have been killing ANC members.*

MR LAX: *Do you want him to answer that? Are you putting that to him as a question, do you want him to respond to your comment? What is your response to that, Mr Mbhele? You see, you mustn't put too much to him, then it's too difficult for him to respond.*

MR MBHELE: *When I came here, I knew exactly what he is going to say, because when you are in such a situation as I am, you are regarded, or you are put to appear as a criminal. I know a lot of other people who are in prison and have been labelled criminals because of what the situation is now. When I was not in prison, when I was working for them, I was regarded as a comrade, but now that I am in prison and I have a sentence of life imprisonment, I am no longer useful to them. You came here and when you ... (indistinct) stood up, I knew what you were going to say, I knew what's your reason for coming in front was. When we are convicted, nobody admits that they know us, nobody admits that they know us, even in the organisation. I know all of this. When a person is in trouble, they're actually regarded as criminals. Even the people you are with now, if they get into trouble, you will deny any knowledge of them, but if you were to go to the IFP office now and inquire about me, they will tell you about me, I am a card carrying member of the IFP. You are a criminal. You have even acquired a shop, because you have forced people to donate money for ammunition allegedly. I have all the information about you. My family is in trouble because of what happened to me, because I am in prison, but you are free, because of you, whatever you have come for here is not true, because you want to appear to be God in front of the community's eyes. (Pietermaritzburg hearing, 18 December 1998.)*

CONCLUSION

129. Despite the relatively few applications from IFP members, the Amnesty Committee found that the evidence they contained was consistent with the trends and patterns revealed in the testimony of victims of human rights violations who appeared before the Commission and in the documentary material made available to the Commission by state officials.

Who I am.

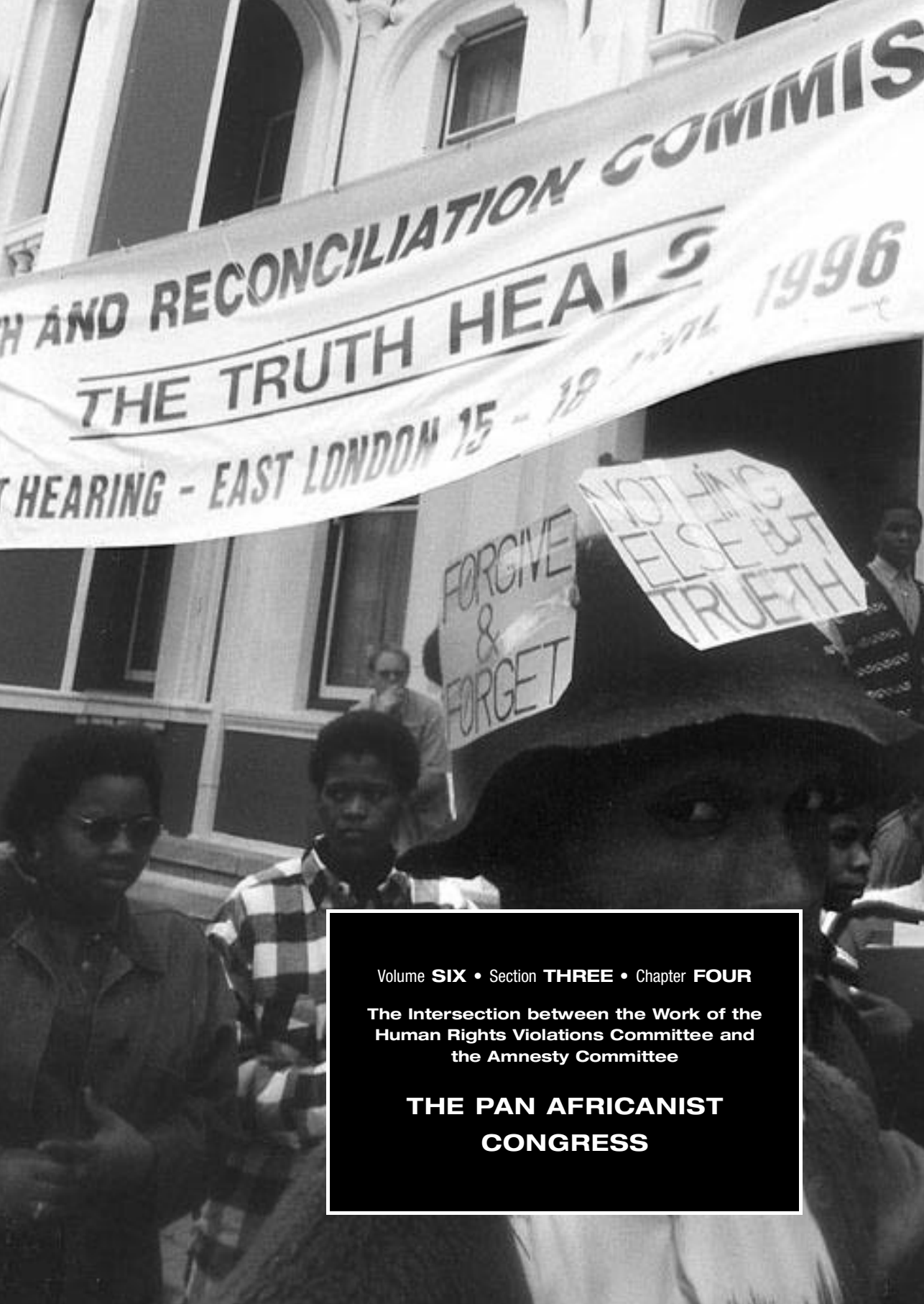
I am the IFP, I am the soldier who I am. I am well trained. I am the son of Goodwill (The King of the Zulus.) Who I am, I am an incredible, you can't find me anywhere, but I am there for protection at iZingolweni. They know me. At Ulundi they saw me. Everywhere they know me, who I am. I am the one who was trained, trained at eMandleni at uMfolozi. (This place where I say I was trained at is not true. It is true that I was trained but not at this mentioned place).

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

My soul will cry no more, for though hearts are free to be stopped, for my eyes are free to be closed, for my feet will walk no more, but if my present is for the struggle of letting my friends in the hands of Buthelezi, who I am. Mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, brothers and sisters, I remember the spirit of Gqozo, who said the blood will heal the broken soul. Who I am. Some call me uklova, for though that is true, I am the son of the free area.

I am the son of liberation. (That is all).

Poem written by Mr Goodman Musawakhe Ngcobo [AM5632/97; AC1999/0339], Nkulu IFP Youth leader, while on death row for the assassination of ten ANC supporters in 1991



Volume **SIX** • Section **THREE** • Chapter **FOUR**

The Intersection between the Work of the
Human Rights Violations Committee and
the Amnesty Committee

**THE PAN AFRICANIST
CONGRESS**

The Pan Africanist Congress

SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF AMNESTY APPLICATIONS

■ OVERVIEW

1. The Amnesty Committee received amnesty applications from 134 supporters and members of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and/or African People's Liberation Army (APLA). Six of the applicants claimed to be members of the Pan Africanist Student Organisation (PASO).
2. PAC/ APLA members applied for amnesty for a range of offences. These included violations arising from attacks on the security forces, attacks on white farmers and civilians and armed robberies and sabotage operations. Individuals generally applied for amnesty for several acts. These included the execution of the operation; the possession of arms, ammunition and/or explosives; casualties and injuries arising out of the operation, and violations committed while retreating from the operation (for example during a shoot-out with the police).
3. In all, 138 individual applicants applied for 204 violations. All the applicants were male. Most were aged between 17 and 35 years of age. The youngest applicant was 14 years old at the time of the violation.
4. The Amnesty Committee granted amnesty for 155 out of 204 acts (76 %) committed in the course of eighty separate incidents. It refused amnesty for forty-nine acts (24 %) committed in the course of thirty-three separate incidents.¹⁹⁹
5. A total of 109 people were killed and 140 people survived attempted killings, many with severe injuries.

¹⁹⁹ As early as 1996, the Amnesty Committee decided to deal with incidents rather than individual acts in order to make it possible to deal with groups of applicants who had been involved in the same incident but who may have committed a number of different acts. Thus, when dealing with applications, the Committee decided to focus on specific incidents, each comprising a number of different acts/offences.

6. The violations for which amnesty was sought occurred in all four of the former provinces.²⁰⁰ However, the PAC operation was more concentrated in the Western Cape and in areas within striking distance of the Transkei, where its operational platform was based during the early 1990s.
7. The majority of the amnesty applications related to violations committed between February 1990 and April 1994 and were submitted by members of APLA. Amnesty applications for violations committed in the earlier period were for offences that were not strictly defined as gross violations of human rights. These included activities such as furthering the aims and membership of a banned organisation, the possession of arms and ammunition and harbouring guerrillas in order to further the armed struggle. For the most part, these applications were dealt with in chambers²⁰¹ and were granted by the Amnesty Committee.
8. This chapter will deal mainly with applications in the following categories:
 - a Violations committed by the PAC within its own ranks;
 - b Armed robberies;
 - c Attacks on security forces;
 - d Armed ambushes;
 - e Attacks on civilians;
 - f Attacks on farms;
 - g Sabotage;
 - h Procurement and possession of arms, explosives and munitions, and
 - i Other matters.
9. It should be noted, however, that these are not discrete categories. In some instances, for example, APLA attacks on security forces were motivated by the intention to strip the victims of their firearms and could therefore also be described as armed robberies. Many attacks on farmers and farms were also intended as armed robberies.

²⁰⁰ Transvaal, Cape, Orange Free State and Natal.

²⁰¹ See this volume, Section One, Chapter Three for more information about chamber matters.

Statistics: Amnesties granted and refused

Category	Granted	Refused
Violations in PAC camps	60%	40%
Armed robberies	59%	41%
Attacks on security forces	93%	7%
Attacks on civilians	100%	0%
Attacks on farmers	70%	30%
Sabotage	100%	0%
Arms possession	100%	0%

FACTORS ENCOURAGING OR IMPEDING APPLICATIONS

10. Many applicants were serving prison sentences at the time that they made their amnesty applications. However, not all had necessarily been convicted of the offences for which they sought amnesty. In other words, they were sometimes serving sentences for offences other than those for which they sought amnesty.
11. At a meeting with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) in January 1998, representatives of the APLA High Command expressed the organisation's reservations about the amnesty process. The meeting ended, however, with an agreement that APLA cadres currently in prison would be encouraged to apply for amnesty. The Amnesty Committee agreed that the PAC should appoint counsel to represent PAC/APLA applicants. It was also agreed that consultations between Amnesty Committee staff and applicants in prison would take place only in the presence of a PAC representative.
12. The quality of legal advice received by members of the liberation forces was a weakness of the process. Many were not aware of the fact that government had set up a fund (administered by the Department of Justice) through which ANC and PAC applicants had access to the same levels of legal assistance as applicants in the employ of the state. The Commission, on the other hand, was able to provide legal aid only through the Legal Aid Board and at a much lower rate. It is probable that a not insignificant number of such applications either lapsed or failed as a result of this.

ANALYSIS OF AMNESTY INFORMATION

Poqo

13. No applications for amnesty were received from members of Poqo for violations committed during the 1960s.

Violations committed by the PAC within its own ranks

PAC camps in exile

14. The Commission received evidence indicating that many gross violations of human rights occurred in the ranks of the PAC in exile, mainly in Tanzania. Despite this, only one application for amnesty was received. Amnesty was granted to Mr Mawethu Lubabalo Ntlabathi [AM5693/97] for assaults on Messrs Matsokoshe and Tebogo in a PAC camp in Tanzania in 1992 and 1993, with the approval of its military attaché, Mr Bafana Yose.
15. The applicant told the Amnesty Committee that the assaults were a means of disciplining the two APLA cadres for their involvement in stealing APLA property, thereby undermining army discipline and the building of an effective army to attack and overthrow the government of South Africa.
16. The Amnesty Committee accepted that military forces have to maintain strict discipline in order to operate successfully and that offences associated with that objective fell within the definition of acts, omissions or offences associated with a political objective [AC/2000/247].

PAC ranks at home

17. The Amnesty Committee received four applications for the killing of three individuals suspected of collaborating with the security police.
18. PAC/APLA member, Mr Mduduzi Cyril Ngema [AM3681/96], was granted amnesty for the killing of Mr Christopher Nhlanhla Myeza on 1 October 1992. Ngema was instructed by a man called Thompson to kill Myeza, a fellow PAC and APLA member. Myeza had been seen in the company of police officer and had allegedly also been overheard promising a police officer that he would report on a PAC meeting. He was therefore believed to be an informer. He was killed in a sugar cane plantation in Verulam outside Durban.

19. The Amnesty Committee accepted the evidence presented that the PAC, like other liberation movements, viewed individuals who worked as police informers as the enemy and thus as targets for elimination (killing). Mr Ngema was granted amnesty on the grounds that the act was committed with a political objective within a particular context and that he had made a full disclosure of all relevant facts [AC/1998/0116].
20. PAC/APLA member Shakespeare Buthelezi [AM1488/96], was granted amnesty for the robbery and attempted killing of Mr Basie Tladi at Twala Section, Katlehong, on 16 March 1993 [AC/1998/0051]. The incident occurred two weeks after an attack on the police in Katlehong in which a police officer, Mr Freddy Mashamaite, had been killed. Buthelezi was implicated in the attack.
21. When Buthelezi heard that the police and Basie Tladi were looking for him, he decided to kill Tladi, whom he believed to be a police informer. Buthelezi testified that his decision to kill Tladi had been based on the 'fifteen points of attention' that constituted the APLA Code of Conduct. He made two attempts to kill Tladi at his house, both of which failed. In the second attempt, he shot Tladi as the latter left his house. When Tladi returned with the police a short while later, there was a shootout. Buthelezi was injured, arrested and eventually convicted of a number of offences.
22. Here again, the Amnesty Committee accepted that the killing or attempted killing of an informer was an act associated with a political objective, taking into consideration the situation in the country at the time of the commission of the offence. The Committee also accepted that Buthelezi was a member of a publicly-known political organisation and that his actions were undertaken on behalf of that organisation. The Committee also accepted that Buthelezi had acted within the scope of his authority or that he had a reasonable belief that he was acting within the scope of his organisation's express or implied authority. Finally, the Committee accepted that Buthelezi had made full disclosure of events and had not acted out of malice or for personal gain.

Armed robberies committed by APLA

23. The Amnesty Committee received applications from thirty-nine APLA members for fifty-nine armed robberies committed between 1990 and 1994. Most of these were committed in 1993. Amnesty was granted for thirty-five (59 %) of these robberies and refused for the remaining twenty-four (41 %).

24. Amnesty applicants claimed that armed robberies were committed on the instructions of the APLA High Command as part of the work of APLA 'repossession units' in order to raise funds and/or obtain weapons and vehicles to enable APLA to carry out its military strategy. These operatives killed twenty-seven civilians and injured sixteen, some seriously.
25. In some of these attacks, large amounts of money were seized, including, in one instance, cash amounting to R500 000.²⁰² In some instances, personal goods were taken, including vehicles and firearms.
26. In reaching its decisions, the Amnesty Committee grappled to draw a distinction between acts that were genuinely 'political' and those that were purely 'criminal' in nature. Ultimately, it granted amnesty to those applicants who were able to show that the robbery had a political motive and a proven chain of command, and had not been undertaken on grounds of malice or personal gain.
27. On occasion, the Amnesty Committee heard evidence that APLA frequently conscripted criminals to the repossession units because they were 'fearless' and had the 'practical skills' necessary to carry out successful robberies. Such recruits would be given a basic grounding in the political objectives of APLA.
28. In general, the size of the repossession units varied from three to eight persons, though some robberies were carried out by individuals acting alone. Unit commanders would generally divide their men into groups of three. Each group would be allocated its own commander and each would be given a different function to perform. The 'assault group' would penetrate the target building and execute the action; the 'support group' would ensure the safe withdrawal of the first group and the 'cut-out or security group' would be positioned outside the target to prevent any interference with the operation.
29. Amongst the amnesty applications granted were the following:

Attack on Giovanni Francescato

30. Mr Giovanni Francescato, an elderly white male, was attacked at Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape on 6 September 1992 when three armed men burst into his

²⁰² Armed robbery carried out by Patrick Thapelo Maseko [AM 5918/97] at the University of the Transkei (UNITRA), Umtata, on 18 February 1993.

home and assaulted him. Mr Francescato was forced to point out where he kept his firearms, his house was ransacked and he was then shot dead with a pistol.

31. PAC/APLA members Sipho Mabhuti Biko [AM 2916/96], Winile Veveza [AM 2918/96] and Mwamadoda Yengeni [AM 0334/96] applied for amnesty for the robbery. Because they had been acquitted by the court on the murder charge, they did not seek amnesty for the killing.
32. The applicants told the Committee that they were carrying out the orders of their local commander, Mr Tamsanqa Duma. The attack was in line with APLA's policy of attacking white homesteads to secure arms for the defence of PAC members. The arms seized were to be used in other APLA operations. Duma was not in direct communication with all the applicants but dealt only with Biko, who issued orders to Yengeni and Veveza.
33. Biko had identified the target before he applied to Duma for clearance, which he then obtained. He knew of the house because his mother, by then deceased, had previously worked as a domestic for Mr Francescato. He had also reconnoitred the house before the attack. Yengeni and Veveza knew of no plans to attack this particular house but knew generally that, in line with APLA policy, white homes were to be attacked to secure weapons. It was only when they were in front of the gate of Francescato's house that Biko instructed them to break into the house and look for weapons. Biko admitted that it was he who had shot Francescato dead.
34. As the group retreated from the scene, Biko searched his two accomplices to ensure that they had not removed anything else from the house against his instructions. He told the Committee:

As commander of that operation ... I was supposed to search my sub-ordinates to ensure that they did not take anything like money. If the order was to take money and firearms, we are supposed to do exactly per order. We are not supposed to take anything. Therefore it was necessary to do that, to make sure that they didn't take anything from the house. (Hearing at East London, 8 October 1998.)
35. After the attack, Biko handed the arms over to Duma. Duma confirmed to the Amnesty Committee that he received the arms that day and the money the following day. He also confirmed having given the order that Mr Francescato be robbed and killed to prevent him from identifying the applicants and testifying against them in

court. Asked why it was necessary to kill Mr Francescato after he had shown them where the firearms were, Duma replied that it was the policy of APLA to attack and kill whites, who were seen at that time as 'enemies of the African people'.

36. The Amnesty Committee took cognisance of the fact that Biko and Veveza had many previous convictions, mainly for housebreaking, theft of motor vehicles and robbery and, even though they were not seeking amnesty for any of these acts, they were both questioned at length about these. The Committee found their explanations 'most unsatisfactory' and described them as 'a mixture of unmitigated lies and self-exoneration'. However, Duma and Mr Bulelani Xuma, former Deputy Director of Operations and Director of Special Operations in APLA, confirmed the versions relevant to their application in this matter.
37. The Amnesty Committee granted amnesty to Mr Sipho Biko, Mr Winile Veveza and Mr Mwamadoda Yengeni [AC/1999/0251], based on its conclusion that the operation was undertaken for political reasons and that the applicants had made the necessary disclosure.

Attack on a vegetable shop in Randfontein

38. On 16 April 1994, a three-person APLA unit attacked a vegetable shop at Station Street, Randfontein near Johannesburg. The object of the operation was to obtain funds for APLA, and the unit stole an amount of R3 000. While they were robbing the shop, they shot and killed the owner, Mr Joao Manuel Jardim. Fleeing the scene afterwards, the attackers shot and injured a bystander, Mr David Oupa Motshaole, probably in an attempt to avoid identification.
39. Mr Jardim had been the victim of an earlier APLA armed robbery, at Elsburg Mine in Westonaria on 16 November 1990. In this earlier incident, three APLA operatives, led by Mr Thapelo Patrick Maseko [AM 5918/97], entered the store and removed a number of items, an unspecified sum of cash and a vehicle. When some of the people in the shop resisted, the unit opened fire, killing one person and injuring Mr Jardim. Mr Maseko was granted amnesty for this incident [AC/1998/0104].
40. The person who gave the order for the 1994 Randfontein attack and to whom the money was handed after the attack (described above) was the same Mr Maseko who had been involved in the earlier Westonaria attack.

41. Mr Maseko testified that he had given the instruction notwithstanding the fact that the first democratic elections were due to take place within a matter of days. He told the Amnesty Committee that the PAC had not yet suspended the armed struggle. On the contrary, he said, the President of the PAC had stated publicly that the PAC would not 'abandon the bullet until the ballot is secured'. He added that certain right-wing movements were still actively pursuing a policy of violence with the intention of disrupting the elections. He also confirmed that it was policy to raise funds for APLA by 'repossessing' money and other valuables from white people, and that no distinction was made between hard and soft targets in this respect.
42. PAC/APLA members Nkopane Diaho-Monaheng [AM3828/96] and Mangalisekile Bhani [AM5708/97] were granted amnesty for the 1994 robbery and killing in Randfontein on the basis that they had made full disclosure of the relevant facts and had acted within the ambit of PAC and APLA policy at that time [AC/1998/0119; AC/2000/065].

Attack on a PEP Store at Botshabelo

43. On 17 February 1992, a three-person APLA unit robbed a Pep Store in Botshabelo near Bloemfontein. Although one of the attackers was armed, no violence was used in the actual robbery. After the operation, the armed APLA member became involved in a shoot-out with the police in which two police officers and the APLA operative died.
44. The Amnesty Committee agreed that the shoot-out should not affect the application, which related only to the robbery, for which the applicants, Mr Moshuwa Isaiah Khotle [AM5619/97] and Mr Lerato Abel Khotle [AM3443/96], had been gaoled.
45. A significant feature of this case is the fact that the trial court had accepted the political motivation for the incident presented by the accused. This was one of very few cases that came before the Amnesty Committee where applicants had raised a political argument as part of their defence in the course of an earlier criminal trial. This was regarded as significant by the Amnesty Committee, which noted that:

[T]here appears to be no doubt whatsoever that the act was committed during the course of the political struggle of the past, that the objective was to assist

the political organisation of which they were members, that there was no motive of private gain on their part. The money was to be used by the unit, it was to be held by the unit commander. [AC/1998/0046.]

46. Accordingly, Khotle and Khotle were granted amnesty [AC/1998/0046] for their role in the attack

Attack on the Sentra Hyperserve supermarket at Wesselsbron

47. Five people were killed and four were wounded in an armed attack on the Sentra Hyperserve supermarket in Wesselsbron in the Orange Free State on 3 July 1993. Cash and cheques to the approximate value of R9 000 were stolen. The deceased victims were Messrs Michael Andries Sparkhams, George Christiaan Frederick Kleynhans, Herbert Jacobus van Niekerk and Johannes Arnoldus Lourens, and Ms Maria Fatima de Castro. Three people were severely injured in the attack. They were Mr Joao Avelono de Castro, Ms Susana Catharina Viljoen and Mr Hendrik Viljoen.
48. Six members of the PAC, Mr Mangalisekele Bhani [AM5708/97], Mr Silimela Qukubona Ngesi [AM020/97], Mr Lerato Abel Khotle [AM5619/97], Mr Stanley Michael Tshoane [AM5901/97], Mr Moalusi Morrison [AM5953/97] and Mr George Thabang Mazete [AM6630/97] were granted amnesty [AC/2000/250] for the attack. All the applicants were either APLA members or members of a PAC task force.
49. Mr Bhani, who commanded the attack, told the Amnesty Committee that he had received instructions from the APLA Director of Operations, Mr Letlapha Mphahlele, to go to Welkom where he would be received and deployed by the Orange Free State regional commander Lerato Abel Khotle. Khotle took Bhani to Wesselsbron where he was instructed to 'identify a target' for a robbery for the purposes of raising funds for APLA.
50. The Wesselsbron Supermarket was selected because the owner was thought to be a member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), and members of the AWB and members of the South African Police (SAP) were amongst those who normally did their shopping there. Khotle secured approval for the target from the Director of Operations. At the hearing, Mr Bhani was asked how the shoppers were identified as members of the AWB. He replied:

It's easy, because of their khaki uniform and their big hats like the cowboy hats

and they were armed. Some were armed with two firearms. So it was quite easy to identify them. (Hearing at Bloemfontein, 17 August 1988.)

51. Mr Bhani led the attack into the shop and ordered the customers present to raise their hands. He then told the other two operatives to shoot them. Mrs de Castro, one of the owners, was then ordered to open the tills. She opened the three tills and the money was taken. She was then shot dead. The operatives then opened fire on the other customers. None of the victims had resisted the attack. They all obeyed the instruction to raise their arms in surrender but were executed extrajudicially.
52. The survivors of the attack opposed the applications on the grounds that neither the robbery nor the shooting was associated with a political objective.
53. Mr Pedro Ignatius de Castro lost his wife, Ms Maria Fatima de Castro, in the attack. He told the Committee that he believed the attackers had come to rob him. He denied any AWB links and denied that he even supported any political party.
54. Despite various contradictions and inconsistencies in the evidence of the applicants, the Committee accepted that the incident occurred during the period referred to as the 'Year of the Great Storm' and that such conduct was indeed party policy at that time. The applicants were granted amnesty.

Robbery at UNITRA

55. Mr Patrick Thapelo Maseko [AM5918/97] and eight others carried out a robbery at the University of Transkei (UNITRA) in Umtata on 18 February 1993. At the time of the robbery, the university was busy with the registration of students. University staff members were counting money when the operatives entered the auditorium.
56. The assault group opened fire on the people in the hall, killing a security guard, Mr Mason Mlindeli Mankumba, and injuring two police officers, Mr Wilberforce Sandla Mkhizwayo and Mr Elliot Michael Pama.
57. Maseko, who was standing outside the hall to prevent any interference with the operation, told the Amnesty Committee that, although he did not see what

happened, the commanders of the other two groups told him that the police had started the shooting. He testified that APLA had a standing rule that, if a target drew a firearm, operatives were to open fire immediately and not wait to be killed.

58. An amount of R500 000 was seized in the attack. Significantly, this huge amount – by far the largest acquired in Mr Maseko's 'repossession' activities – was not delivered to Botswana. Instead, Mr Maseko alleged that he gave it to a Mr Mandla Lenin. However, he produced no evidence to support this assertion, nor were details given as to how the money was used.
59. Despite the fact that UNITRA was a historically-black institution, Mr Maseko explained that it was targeted as 'an enemy institution because it was oppressing the African people'. He was granted amnesty for the operation [AC/2000/106].

APLA attacks on security forces

60. The Amnesty Committee received a total of twenty-eight amnesty applications from twenty-three individual applicants for attacks on security force members. The attacks resulted in twenty-seven deaths, while thirteen victims survived attempts on their lives.
61. The first APLA attacks on security force members were three actions undertaken by the Alexandra township-based 'Scorpion Gang' between December 1986 and February 1987. PAC/APLA members, Mr Themba Jack Phikwane [AM6032/97] and Mr Mandla Michael Yende [AM5648/97], were granted amnesty for the three attacks: the first on 16 December 1986, in which three SADF members died; the second on 1 January 1987, in which at least six SADF members died, and the third a month later, in which at least five SADF members died. At the hearing, precise figures of the number of SADF deaths in the latter two incidents could not be given. The Amnesty Committee was told that six or seven died in the first attack and five or six in the second. The names of the dead victims were not given.

The 'Lichtenburg Battle'

62. In July 1988, Mr Louis Nkululeko Dlova [AM6596/97] injured a member of the SAP with a hand grenade in what became known as the 'Lichtenburg Battle' in the Western Transvaal.

63. Mr Dlova told the Committee that he and other APLA cadres had entered South Africa from Botswana under the command of the late Mr Sipho Mahlangu with a view to seeking, identifying and attacking 'the enemy'. On their way to Johannesburg in a minibus taxi, they were confronted by the police. Dlova and Mahlangu threw hand grenades at the police. Dlova managed to escape in the ensuing confusion, but his commander and two other comrades died. The Committee was of the view that Dlova had acted with a political objective, and he was granted amnesty [AC/1999/0187].
64. All other applications for attacks on members of the security forces pertain to operations carried out in the early 1990s. They took the form of ambushes of police vehicles in Brakpan [AC/2001/067], Heilbron [AC/1999/002], Crossroads [AC/1998/0103], Khayelitsha [AC/1998/0103], Pimville [AC/1998/0053] and Diepkloof [AC/1998/0050]; assaults on police stations in Batho [AC/1997/0064], Dimbaza [AC/1999/0333], Lady Grey [AC/2001/057] and Yeoville [AC/1998/0050]), and an attack on what was assumed to be a police contingent at the Khayelitsha railway station [AC/1998/0103], which turned out to be a group of private security guards. The Committee granted amnesty to all applicants in each case.

Ambush on a police vehicle at Diepkloof

65. On 28 May 1993, APLA member Phila Martin Dolo [AM3485/96] commanded an APLA unit that attacked a police vehicle in Diepkloof near Johannesburg. One police officer, Constable Jacob Hlomela Mabaso, was killed and Sergeant Edward Nelushi was injured.
66. At the time of his application, Dolo was serving a life sentence on several convictions including murder, attempted murder and possession of arms, ammunition and explosives relating to the attack.
67. Dolo testified before the Committee that the attack was in retaliation for an act of aggression on the part of the security forces who had 'launched a national swoop on the offices of PAC' and arrested various members, including those in national leadership positions. In his affidavit he noted that: 'this act was seen as being provocative and a declaration of hostilities against the PAC ... which action had to be responded to'.
68. Dolo testified that he had received an instruction from the Director of Special Operations, Mr Sipho Bulelani Xuma (code-named 'Polite'), to launch operations

against the SAP in his area. He testified that he had been an APLA regional commander with several units under his command and that he had been deployed in the Gauteng area (then Transvaal) in early 1993.

69. The ambush of a police vehicle was planned with Messrs Peter Muchindu, Godfrey Mathebula, Musa (who later turned out to be an informer) and a fifth person. The group used a home-made bomb laced with nails and other explosives.
70. The Committee found that Dolo's actions were all within the ambit of the policies of APLA and PAC and that they were associated with a political objective. He was accordingly granted amnesty [AC/1998/0050].

Yeoville police station attack

71. Mr Dolo [AM3485/96] was also granted amnesty for an attack he ordered on the Yeoville police station on 30 May 1993, two days after the Diepkloof attack. Dolo gave Muchindu and Mathebula explosives and instructed them to carry out the attack. They travelled to Yeoville with fellow unit member Musa, but were intercepted by the police before they could reach their target. SAP member Ian Alexander was injured in an exchange of fire. Muchindu and Mathebula were arrested, convicted for the possession of explosives and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment each. Dolo said he learnt later that Musa had tipped off the police about the intended attack.

Khayelitsha railway station attack

72. In the early hours of 5 December 1992, four APLA operatives, including Mr Andile Shiceka [AM5939/97] and Mr Walter Falibango Thanda [AM5784/97], attacked the Khayelitsha railway station, killing Mr Jan Mbambo and injuring Messrs Cosmos Bhukumuzi, Jackson Mjakiya, Sandisile Ntshica and Sihlanu Mtamzeli, all black employees of the Springbok Security company.
73. The APLA operatives had believed that police officers would be present at the station and that there would be no civilians on the scene at that hour. When the attack began, security company personnel ran into a small room to take cover. The operatives continued firing at them through the closed door.
74. Shiceka had received orders from an APLA commander codenamed 'Power' (aka Mzala or Mandla) 'to carry out operations to attack members of then racist

South African Police, the South African Defence Force and other white people'. He was told that the purpose was 'to take the war to white areas and to steal by force weapons from the police and members of the Defence Force'.

75. Despite the fact that this was a botched operation in that the victims turned out to be neither whites nor members of the police, Shiceka and Thanda were both granted amnesty [AC/1998/0103] for their roles in the attack. The Amnesty Committee accepted that the attack was politically motivated and consistent with the political objectives of the PAC and APLA.

The story of Andile Shiceka

76. Born in Guguletu in Cape Town in 1969, Andile Shiceka joined the PAC and went into exile in 1989. He underwent military training in Tanzania and Uganda and returned to South Africa as an APLA combatant in 1992. He was then deployed to Cape Town by APLA commander 'Power' and given instructions to launch attacks on members of the security forces and white people congregated in 'white' areas. The Claremont restaurant attack (see below) was one such attack.
77. In addition to the Khayelitsha railway station attack, Shiceka was granted amnesty for attacks on the Claremont Steaks Restaurant in Cape Town and the Crazy Beat Disco in Newcastle in Natal. For this latter action, he had been charged, convicted and sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment in May 1994. With respect to the Khayelitsha railway station shooting, Shiceka had been charged with one count of murder and five counts of attempted murder. However, the matter never came to trial.

Attacks on the Cape Flats

78. Towards the end of 1992, three APLA operatives opened fire on a police vehicle travelling on Zola Budd Road in Khayelitsha near Cape Town, injuring one of its occupants. Mr Gcinikhaya Christopher Makoma [AM0164/96] and Mr Walter Falibango Thanda [AM5784/97] were granted amnesty [AC/1998/0103] for the attack.
79. On 8 September 1992, Mr Walter Thanda and two other operatives opened fire on a police officer (Mr Patrick Tutu) and a Spoornet employee (Mr Peter Dyani) who were on foot in the Crossroads area of Cape Town. Both were killed.

Before the operatives could search their victims for firearms, the lights of an oncoming vehicle shone in their direction, causing them to retreat hastily. Thanda only learnt that the victims had died when he returned to the scene the following day. He told the Amnesty Committee that he had reported the attack to 'Power' the following day and 'Power' had said he would claim it as an APLA operation.

80. On 12 January 1993, Thanda, Shiceka and others opened fire on a police vehicle travelling along NY108 in Guguletu, killing one passenger, a Constable Mkwanazi, and injuring the driver, Sergeant Johannes Meyer. Thanda was arrested and charged, but the case was eventually dropped for lack of evidence.

The story of Walter Falibango Thanda

81. Born at Molteno in the Eastern Cape on 29 November 1960, Thanda became a member of the PAC Youth League and APLA in 1990. He told the hearing on the Crazy Beat Disco attack that he was motivated to join APLA because of the conditions under which African people were living.

Nobody dragged me to join APLA. I saw how our brothers were killed by white people together with the police and the soldiers, defending the apartheid system. So therefore nobody pushed me behind to go and join APLA, I personally joined APLA. (Hearing at Pietermaritzburg, 10 October 1998.)

82. Thanda came to Cape Town on the instruction of his commander, 'Mandla' (aka Power, Mzala or Jones). He was instructed to start an APLA base in Cape Town and launched a task force unit in 1991, the purpose of which was to provide military training to members and involve them in APLA operations thereafter.
83. Thanda applied for amnesty for the three above-mentioned attacks on members of the SAP and for the 1994 attack on the Crazy Beat Disco in Newcastle in Natal (see below). In the latter case, he was convicted and sentenced on 26 May 1994 to 25 years' imprisonment. He was granted amnesty for all incidents [AC/1998/0103 and AC/1998/0016].
84. Thanda is currently serving with the South African National Defence Force (SANDF).

The story of Gcinikhaya Makoma

85. Born in Cape Town on 20 January 1976, Gcinikhaya Christopher Makoma was sixteen years-old at the time of his involvement in the Khayelitsha police vehicle

ambush and the St James' Church attack in 1993 (see below). He was granted amnesty in both cases.

86. In December 1992, Mr Walter Thanda invited Makoma to a meeting with 'Africans who were introduced to him as PAC members'. Without giving details, Thanda informed the meeting that they were going to carry out an operation. He distributed two AK47 rifles and two R4 rifles to members of the unit and ordered them to inspect them to ensure that they were functioning properly. Thanda then instructed those present to follow him, which they did. Makoma told the Amnesty Committee that, 'because he (Thanda) was on the command structures of the PAC and a member of APLA, and I was his underling, it was not open to me to question his command.' (Hearing at Cape Town, July 1997.)
87. In the attack on a police vehicle on Zola Budd Road, Khayelitsha, Makoma was ordered to stand at one end of the road and to give a warning signal to the others when the police van approached.
88. Makoma testified to the Amnesty Committee that the instruction he received and carried out in respect of the St James' Church attack (see below) was to steal a motor vehicle for use in an undisclosed operation. On the way to St James' Church, Makoma was handed an R4 rifle and a hand grenade and ordered to accompany his commander, Mr Sichumiso Lester Nonxuba, into the church and to fire indiscriminately at the congregation. Makoma used his full R4 magazine of about thirty-one rounds of ammunition to shoot at the congregation. He testified that he had been trained not to question orders but to obey them at all times, and that the slogan 'one settler, one bullet' meant that 'any white person in South Africa was regarded as a settler and if we came across any settler during our operation, they had to be killed or injured'.

Attacks on civilians

89. The Amnesty Committee received a total of thirty-two amnesty applications for attacks on civilians. Twenty-four people were killed in these attacks and 122 seriously injured.
90. Most of these attacks took place between 1991 and 1994 and formed part of the PAC's 'Operation Great Storm'. In this campaign, the targets of APLA attacks were, on the one hand, white-owned farms in the Orange Free State, the Eastern Cape and areas bordering the Transkei and, on the other, public

places in urban areas identified as being frequented essentially by white civilians and/or white security force members.

91. Several PAC and APLA applicants were adamant that the attacks in which civilians were often killed were not motivated by racism. They testified that they targeted places believed to be frequented by whites because all whites were perceived to be complicit in the government's policy of apartheid.
92. All the amnesty applicants in these matters testified that they had acted on behalf of APLA. At a media conference during the amnesty hearings in Bloemfontein on 28 August 1997, Mr Letlapa Mphahlele, APLA Director of Operations, said that 'there was no regret and no apology offered' for the lives lost during 'Operation Great Storm' in 1993. He acknowledged his involvement in the planning and execution of the operation. He said that his 'proudest moment was seeing whites dying in the killing fields' and that the Commission's Amnesty Committee was a 'farce and a sham', which sought to 'perpetuate white supremacy'.
93. Amongst the operations directed at 'white' civilian targets were:

The King William's Town Golf Club attack

94. APLA operatives armed with hand grenades and automatic rifles attacked the King William's Town Golf Club on the night of 28 November 1992. At the time, the club was hosting an end-of-year dinner function. Four people – Mr Ian MacDonald and Ms Rhoda MacDonald, Ms Gillian Davies and Mr David Davies – were killed in the attack and seventeen others were injured.²⁰³
95. Four PAC/APLA members, Mr Thembelani Thandekile Xundu [AM3840/96], Mr Malusi Morrison [AM5953/97], Mr Thobela Mlambisa [AM7596/97] and Mr Lungisa Ntintili [AM6539/97], were all granted amnesty for their roles in the attack. Mr Xundu, who is now serving in the SANDF, testified before the Amnesty Committee that Mr Letlapa Mphahlele had sanctioned the operation. The weapons used in the attack were supplied by the Regional Commander based in Umtata, the late Mr Sichumiso Nonxuba. Morrison was instructed to deliver them to Xundu, which he did. The club was targeted because it was believed that security force personnel would attend a function on the night planned for the attack.

203 Volume Two, Chapter Seven, p. 688; Volume Three, Chapter Two, p. 146, and Volume Five, Chapter Four, p. 136.

96. At about 21h50 on the night of the attack, Xundu and Nonxuba entered the dining hall of the club and threw hand grenades and opened fire with R4 and R5 assault rifles. Two other operatives, who had been posted outside the building, threw petrol bombs and opened fire on the building. Mlambisa, the driver, was armed with a 9mm pistol.
97. The group split up the following day. A few days later, Xundu, Ntintili and another operative disposed of the stolen Jetta used in the attack along the Butterworth to Grahamstown road. The vehicle was pushed off the road and was found, burnt out, some time later.
98. The Amnesty Committee granted amnesty to the four operatives, accepting that the aim of attacks of this nature had been to impress on whites the need to abandon their support for the government of the day, and to make it clear that they would continue to be targets of such attacks unless there was political change in the country. Furthermore, the Committee was satisfied that the applicants had acted under the orders of Commander Mphahlele and that the act was committed in the course of the conflicts of the past.

Attack on the Steaks Restaurant in Claremont

99. An APLA unit opened fire on the Steaks Restaurant in Claremont, Cape Town, on 26 December 1992, injuring five people. Mr Malcolm Visser, the owner of the restaurant, was the only victim to be seriously wounded.
100. Amnesty applicant Mr Andile Shiceka [AM 5939/97] told the Committee that he and four others had stolen a Datsun bakkie and driven to the restaurant that night. After surveying the scene and deciding there would be few obstacles to an attack, he and an operative codenamed 'Scorpion' stood at the door of the restaurant and opened fire for about four to five seconds. They then ran back to the bakkie²⁰⁴ and drove to the home of one of the operatives in Khayelitsha where they abandoned the vehicle. They heard the attack reported on the radio news the following morning. Shiceka testified that he then telephoned 'Power' to report the operation and said that 'Power' told him that he would claim it as an APLA attack under the code name 'Bambata'.

204 A light open truck.

101. Ms Amanda Warner, one of the victims and a waitress at the restaurant at the time of the attack, opposed the application in an affidavit. She stated that, since the attack, she had suffered severe emotional trauma to the extent that she was no longer able to work as a waitress or even enjoy a meal at a restaurant for fear of being attacked. She also stated that she was unable to live alone for fear of being attacked and that she feared that her attackers would hunt her down and kill her. For all these reasons, she had decided to take up residence in the United Kingdom.
102. At the conclusion of the evidence Advocate Warner, appearing for Amanda Warner, addressed the Amnesty Committee. He conceded that the evidence disclosed that the offences committed by the applicants were associated with a political objective and were committed in the course of the conflicts of the past. He conceded too that the applicants held no personal malice or grudge against the victims of the attack and that they were engaged in the liberation of the African people from white oppression.
103. Mr Andile Shiceka was granted amnesty for the attack [AM5939/97 and AC/1998/0103].

Attack on Yellowwoods Hotel, Fort Beaufort

104. APLA members Nkopani Diaho-Monaheng [AM3828/96], Lungisa Mziwonke Ntintili [AM6539/97] and Vuyisile Brian Madasi [AM6077/97] were granted amnesty [AC/2000/225] for an attack on the Yellowwoods Hotel at Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape on 20 March 1993, in which Mr John Jerling was shot and died instantly.²⁰⁵
105. Mr Madasi, who acted as commander of the operation, told the Amnesty Committee that he had received instructions from a member of the APLA High Command, the late Mr Sichumiso Nonxuba, to go to Fort Beaufort to carry out an attack at the Yellowwoods Hotel, which had been identified as a place frequented by members of the SADF, particularly on weekend evenings.
106. The following Friday, Madasi, one 'Nceba' (who was to drive the getaway vehicle for the attack and was not part of this amnesty application) and Diaho-Monaheng hijacked a red Langley vehicle from an unknown driver in Mdantsane.

²⁰⁵ Volume Two, Chapter Seven, p. 689.

They drove to Alice where they collected weapons. (Ntintili confirmed to the Committee that he had supplied the other applicants with the arms in terms of orders from APLA.) They then drove to Fort Beaufort but found the hotel closed. They returned to Mxhelo Village where they left the weapons and abandoned the hijacked vehicle near Alice.

107. A week later, on 20 March, they hijacked a Nissan Sentra vehicle belonging to Mr Kenneth Mashalaba. Promising not to damage the vehicle, the applicants released Mr Mashalaba and his passenger, Ms Virginia Khatshwa, between Alice and Fort Beaufort.
108. On their arrival at the hotel, Nceba parked the car and he and Madasi positioned themselves at the front door to prevent anybody from escaping. Diaho-Monaheng positioned himself at the window.
109. The applicants then opened fire on the patrons who were drinking and playing darts in the bar. The shooting lasted for about three minutes, after which the applicants retreated. The following day they left for Transkei where Madasi reported to 'Power' and Letlapa Mphahlele, members of the APLA High Command.
110. As it turned out, the hotel was not frequented by SADF members as the applicants had believed. The patrons were youthful civilians with no ties to the security forces. All except Mr Jerling escaped serious injury. At the hearing, the mother of the deceased, Ms Anna Jerling, testified that her son had no interest in politics and was still a student. He was eighteen and had friends across the racial spectrum. When he was killed, the family received condolences and messages of support from members of the local ANC Youth League.
111. Amnesty was granted as the Amnesty Committee was satisfied that the applicants were acting on the instructions of the PAC and APLA and that their actions were in line with the policies and activities of these organisations.

Attack on St James' Church, Kenilworth

112. Eleven people were killed and fifty-eight wounded when APLA operatives opened fire with automatic rifles and threw hand grenades at worshippers in St James' Church, Kenilworth in Cape Town, at approximately 019h30 on 25 July 1993.²⁰⁶

206 Volume Two, Chapter Seven, p. 686, and Volume Three, Chapter Five, p.505.

113. Those killed were Mr Guy Javens [CT00620/SOU], Ms Denise Gordon [CT01124/SOU], Ms Marita Ackerman [CT02922/SOU], Mr Richard O'Kill [CT03029/SOU], Ms Myrtle Smith [CT03029/SOU], Mr Gerhard Harker, Mr Wesley Harker, Mr Oleg Karamjin, Mr Andrey Kayl, Mr Valuev Pavel and Mr Valentin Varaska. The last four were Russian sailors.
114. PAC/APLA members Mr Gcinikhaya Makoma [AM0164/96], Mr Bassie Mzukisi Mkhumbuzi [AM6140/97] and Mr Tobela Mlambisi [AM7596/97] applied for amnesty for the attack [AC/1998/018]. Mr Letlapa Mphahlele, who initially applied for amnesty for the same incident, failed to appear at the hearing. On the second day of the hearing, the Amnesty Committee heard via the press that his failure to appear at the hearing was in protest against the Commission's lack of objectivity. Mr Mphahlele's application was accordingly set aside.
115. At the hearing on 9 July 1997, Mr Mkhumbuzi testified that his unit leader, the late Mr Sichumiso Nonxuba, had selected the target because 'whites were using churches to oppress blacks' and whites 'took our country using churches and bibles. We know and we have read from books that they are the ones who have taken the land from us'. The applicants testified before the Amnesty Committee that killing white people would 'put pressure on the white government to return the land to the African people'.
116. The Amnesty Committee heard testimony that Makoma and Mlambisi stole a vehicle on Nonxuba's orders on 25 July 1993. The applicants testified that they had no prior knowledge of the operation until they actually arrived at the church. Although the target was not disclosed, the unit prepared for the attack during the week before it took place. Mkhumbuzi was instructed to travel to the Transkei to procure weapons and ammunition from members of the APLA High Command. He was given two R4 rifles, 365 rounds of R4 ammunition, three M26 hand grenades and R200. He took these in a bag to a house in Khayelitsha and reported this to Nonxuba. The day before the attack he was ordered to prepare four petrol bombs for use in an operation that was to take place the following day. This he duly did.
117. At 18h00 the attackers convened at a taxi rank and drove to the church. Nonxuba still did not reveal any details about the target but simply told the others that Mkhumbuzi would be 'security', Mlambisa the driver, and that Nonxuba and Makoma would enter the target building. Makoma testified as follows:

When we entered the church, Nonxuba led the way and as we entered we were in a passage which led to the main doors. People were walking up and down the passage. We left off the passage for a few seconds and then Nonxuba said we will enter through the main doors. Nonxuba then told me to throw the hand-grenade and to shoot to kill. Nonxuba led the way and we then burst through the doors of the church. Nonxuba first threw his hand grenade (he was on my left hand side) and then I threw mine. As the hand grenades exploded, we took cover behind the doors, re-entered and, while the people inside were screaming, we started to shoot. We shot indiscriminately and I finished my full R4 magazine, some thirty-one rounds of ammunition. We had also heard a shot outside and a car screeching. We went back into the passage to re-load for our later protection. Inside the church one of the churchgoers had also fired at us... (Cape Town hearing, 9 July 1997.

118. When they came out of the building, Mkhumbuzi was supposed to throw the petrol bombs into the church. He did not do so because

I heard a grenade and gunshots and then saw a red car stopping in front of us, apparently to block us. I got out of the car and threw a petrol bomb at the car and Mlambisa got out and shot at the car causing the car to speed away. Then Nonxuba and Makoma came out of the church, jumped into the car and we immediately sped away. (Cape Town hearing, 9 July 1997.)

119. After the attack, Mlambisi drove the operatives to a house in Ottery where he left Nonxuba and Makoma. He and Mkhumbuzi then drove to a nearby scrap-yard, left the car there and returned to the house on foot. Later that night, they saw a CNN television report about what had happened in the church.
120. Makoma was arrested on 5 August 1993. He was charged and convicted on eleven charges of murder and fifty-eight charges of attempted murder and sentenced to 237 years' imprisonment. The trial court found that a palm print on the interior surface of the left rear window of the stolen car linked Makoma to the crime. Bloodstains on the print were of the same blood group as Makoma's. DNA tests showed a very high degree of probability that the blood found in the Datsun was his.
121. Mlambisi returned to the Transkei when he heard of Makoma's arrest. He himself was arrested at Tempe, Bloemfontein, on 25 January 1996. Mkhumbuzi, who had also returned to the Transkei, was arrested in February 1996 while already in custody in connection with a charge of armed robbery.

122. Mr Dawie Ackerman, whose wife was killed in the attack, opposed their amnesty applications. There was also opposition from Mr Lorenzo Smith and Mr Dimitri Makogon, who had lost an arm and both legs in the attack. Both Messrs Ackerman and Smith argued that the applicants had not fully disclosed the nature of the facts of their participation in the attack and, further, that the offences were disproportionate to the political objectives of the PAC.
123. They also contended that, because APLA's Director of Information denied at the time that the attack was an APLA operation, it could not have accorded with the political objectives of the PAC. Furthermore, they pointed out that Mr Barney Desai of the PAC had accused the so-called 'third force' of mischievously connecting the attack with the PAC's military wing in order to derail negotiations which were then underway and in which the PAC was a participant.
124. The Amnesty Committee considered these arguments but concluded that many political parties or liberation movements could have decided to deny involvement in this incident because they might have considered it strategically and politically wise and expedient to do so, and that accordingly the statements distancing the organisation from the attack needed to be viewed within the political context that prevailed at the time.

In our view what is of cardinal importance is the fact that both the PAC and APLA have acknowledged in their submissions to the TRC in 1996 and 1997 respectively that the St James attack was one of the authorised operations carried out by APLA. [AC/1998/0018.]

125. The victims also disputed the legitimacy of APLA's claim that it had directed the attack against a white congregation in a white suburb of Cape Town. According to Mr Ackerman, the congregation was about '35 to 40 per cent people of colour and the others so-called whites' on the night of the attack. However, counsel for the applicants argued that the operatives had assumed that all the churchgoers would be white because St James was in a white group area, but that they had obviously been wrong in their assumption. Mr Arendse, for the applicants, went on to say:

We will also submit that the acts were performed in the execution of an APLA High Command order; that having regard to the political context at the time, that the offences were directly proportionate to the political objectives sought to be achieved by APLA and lastly, Mr Chairman, that the offences were not committed

for personal gain and were not done out of personal malice, ill-will or spite against any of the deceased or the victims concerned. (Cape Town hearing, 9 July 1997.)

126. Survivors of the attack gave vivid accounts of the sequence of events in the church that evening. They also described the effects of the attack on them as individuals, on their families and on their subsequent ability to function effectively in their work environments and communities. The Amnesty Committee heard of the extreme psychological and emotional consequences of the attack on individuals and on the congregation. Yet all the victims spoke of their ability, deriving from their strong Christian convictions, to forgive the attackers and to move on with their lives. Mr Dawie Ackerman told the Committee:

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

127. Mr Ackerman requested that the Committee allow him to address the applicants directly at the hearing:

May I ask the applicants to turn around and to face me? This is the first opportunity we've had to look each other in the eye and talk. I want to ask Mr Makoma who actually entered the church – my wife was sitting right at the door when we came in, where you came in, she was wearing a long, blue coat; can you remember if you shot her?

MR MAKOMA: *I do remember that I fired some shots, but I couldn't identify, I don't know whom did I shoot or not, but my gun pointed at the people.*

MR ACKERMAN: *It is important for me to know if it is possible, as much as it is important for your people who suffered, to know who killed. I don't know why it is so important for me, but it just is. If you don't remember, I will accept that. I have heard you through your attorney say and into the microphone, apologise and I have also heard your leadership extend an invitation to my church leadership which is still required, I think, to be considered, that they want to come to our church to offer condolences and they said that they would bring you along, whether or not you receive amnesty in a show of reconciliation. I would like to hear from each one of you, as you look me in the face, that you are sorry for what you have done, that you regret it and that you want to be personally reconciled. You can speak in your own language directly to me; you don't have to worry about the microphone.*

MR MAKOMA: *We are sorry for what we have done. It was the situation in South Africa. Although people died during that struggle, we didn't do that out of our own will. It is the situation that we were living under. We are asking from you, please do forgive us. All that we did, we can see the results today.*

MR MLAMBISA: *I am also asking for an apology. As we were working under orders, we didn't know that this will come to such a place. We wanted to be where we are today. We were working under the orders. As the TRC is alive today, we hope that this will come to an end. I hope that you do forgive me, because I ask for forgiveness. Thank you.*

MR MKHUMBUZI: *I also want to say I do apologise to those people who were in the church at that time, while there was that shooting. We also thought that we would meet with the church members, those who were there. Even if we can also go to the church to show that we want reconciliation with them under the circumstances that we were, I also say please forgive me to everybody who is White and Black, who are in this new South Africa. Thank you.*

MR ACKERMAN: *I want you to know that I forgive you unconditionally. I do that because I am a Christian and I can forgive you for the hurt that you have caused me, but I cannot forgive you the sin that you have done. Only God can forgive you for that ... (Cape Town hearing, 9 July 1997.)*

128. The Amnesty Committee accepted that the applicants were APLA members. It found no evidence to suggest that Nonxuba did not command the operation; nor that the applicants had themselves selected St James' Church as a target. It accepted that the applicants had carried out the operation on orders from their commanders. The Committee was satisfied that the applicants had complied with all the requirements of section 20(1) of the Promotion of National

Unity and Reconciliation Act, Act 34 of 1995, (the Act), and amnesty was accordingly granted [AC/1998/0024].

Attack on Riverside Lodge, Ladybrand

129. On 16 September 1993, a unit of four APLA operatives threw hand grenades and Molotov cocktails at the Riverside Lodge, outside Ladybrand in the Orange Free State, near South Africa's border with Lesotho. Nobody was injured in the attack.
130. APLA member Nkopane Diaho-Monaheng [AM3828/96] applied for amnesty for the attack. He testified before the Amnesty Committee that, as a regional commander, he was under orders from the Deputy Director of Operations of APLA to 'drive white people from the land because it did not belong to them'.
131. In line with this policy, Diaho-Monaheng identified two farms in Fouriesburg and the Riverside Lodge outside Ladybrand for attack. The Lodge was also chosen as a target because it was believed that it was frequented by members of the security forces on border duty. The applicant also had information that the AWB was having a meeting there. In the event, the meeting APLA believed was going to take place had either finished or did not take place at all.
132. Satisfied that full disclosure had been made and that the applicant had acted within the dictates of PAC and APLA policy at the time, the Amnesty Committee granted Mr Nkopane Diaho-Monaheng amnesty [AC/2001/0102] for the attack.

Heidelberg Tavern attack

133. Three women were killed and six people injured when two APLA operatives opened fire on patrons in the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory in Cape Town on 31 December 1993. Another person was killed and one injured when the attackers fired on two people outside a neighbouring restaurant as they were making their escape.²⁰⁷
134. The three people killed in the tavern were Ms Rolande Palm [CT00415], Ms Lindy-Anne Fourie [CT02703] and Ms Bernadette Langford [CT00415]. Mr Jose 'Joe' Cerqueira was also shot dead and Mr Benjamin Broude was shot and injured when they ran out of a neighbouring restaurant into the street.

207 Volume Three, Chapter Five, p. 507.

135. APLA members Luyanda Gqomfa [AM0949/96], Zola Mabala [AM5931/97] and Vuyisile Madasi [AM6077/97] applied for amnesty for the attack. They had been found guilty in December 1993 on four counts of murder and five counts of attempted murder and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 24 to 27 years.

136. The applicants argued that they had acted on instructions from the APLA High Command in executing the killings at the Heidelberg Tavern. Gqomfa testified before the Committee that he had received an order to launch the attack from Mr Sichumiso Nonxuba and Mr Letlapa Mphahlele on the grounds that the tavern was frequented by members of the security forces.

137. At the amnesty hearing, Mr Bulelani Sipho Xuma also claimed to have been amongst those who gave the order. He gave evidence before the Committee as follows:

On behalf of the High Command of APLA, in my capacity as the member or members of High Command of APLA, the Deputy Director of Operation and Head of Special Operations, I have nothing to hide, affirm unashamedly with pride that Brian Vuyisile Madasi who happened to be Unit Commander, Humphrey Luyanda Gqomfa and Zola Mabala, in an order group attended by myself and the late comrade Sumiso Nonxuba, were given clear and loud orders to conduct attacks in Cape Town. Suffice to say that the Heidelberg Tavern was attacked as a result of orders given by me in my capacity as APLA's Head of Special Operations. According to intelligence reports prior to the attack, we learnt that the Heidelberg Tavern was a regular relax-in for South African police members. (Cape Town hearing, 28 October 1997.)

138. Gqomfa testified that Nonxuba brought Madasi and Mabala to his house on 13 November 1993. He said that he was the only person to be told what the targets were and that he notified the other members of the unit only on the morning of the attack.

139. The Amnesty Committee described the attack on the Tavern as particularly brutal.

It appears from the evidence and the other information available to us that the tavern was a place largely used by students and other young people, and that those who made use of its facilities were not only members of the white community, that is the people frequently referred to as 'settlers' by APLA members. Of the three young ladies killed, only one was White; the other was Coloured

and the third was an Indian. It is quite clear that they intended to kill as many people as possible. The evidence was that nails had been glued onto one of the grenades to increase the lethal effect of the explosion. After their arrival at the tavern, shots were fired into the tavern using automatic weapons, and a rifle grenade was fired which did not explode. [AC/1998/026.]

140. In an interview with members of the Amnesty Committee, APLA's Director of Operations Mr Letlapa Mphahlele said he accepted responsibility for the attack on the tavern. The fact that APLA took overall responsibility for operations was confirmed in its submission to the Commission:

It should, therefore, not surprise anyone that targets like the St James Church, King Williams Town Golf Club, Heidelberg Tavern etc. were selected. The leadership of the APLA takes full responsibility for all these operations. The APLA forces who carried out these operations followed the directives from their commanders and those directives were from the highest echelons of the military leadership. We do not therefore regret that such operations took place and there is therefore nothing to apologise for.

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

As APLA soldiers, we are members of PAC, which is the mother body. The political direction which was taken by the country, did not affect me. As soldiers we had to fight the war. Our political leadership did not say that we must stop fighting it; we could not stop fighting then. As soldiers, if an order had not come that we must stop fighting, we could not have stopped. PAC had not reached that decision at that time, that we must stop fighting. We were following orders accordingly. (Hearing at Cape Town, 27 October 1997.)

142. Gqomfa conceded at the hearing that, during their political and military training, APLA soldiers were never briefed on the codes of guerrilla warfare or international

humanitarian law insofar as they related to the killing of civilians. Indeed, former APLA member Brigadier Fischla told the Committee that:

The fact of the matter is that we did not consider any international humanitarian law. At no stage did we in our camps educate our forces about international humanitarian law. The first time I understood what international humanitarian law is, is when I integrated into the South African National Defence Force and that is when I got the meaning of what international humanitarian law is. And what I discovered also when I integrated into the SANDF is that equally the former SADF did not even know what international humanitarian law was. (Cape Town hearing, 27 October 1997.)

143. Gqomfa testified that it made no difference if a given order involved killing soldiers, police or civilians. He said that APLA drew no distinction between so-called 'soft' and 'hard' targets. Asked if, as a commander, he had any discretion to break off an attack once it was realised that the targets could not advance a political objective, Gqomfa testified that he was expected to comply with any order. He was not expected to change orders or to defy them.
144. Relatives of the deceased and survivors of the attack expressed their opposition to the applications for amnesty for reasons similar to those expressed by the victims of the St James' Church attack. Many chose to address the applicants directly at the hearing.
145. Mr Quentin Cornelius was severely injured in the attack, as a result of which he lost his right kidney and up to 60 per cent of his intestines. Today he is a paraplegic and in constant need of both physiotherapy and psychotherapy. He asked the applicants:

The question is – and I am looking at each one, every single one of you now, directly across this table – I want to know from each one of you and your leaders, to explain to us why this was done, if there was any logical reason for what you have done, to launch a senseless terrorist attack on a pub with young, cheerful, innocent students at a time in South Africa's history when we were already on the road to democracy after you had all accepted and taken part in the accepting of an interim constitution on the 3rd of December? Is there any reason, sensible reason, why you had to still continue with something like that? Could you not think for yourself? (Cape Town hearing, 27 October 1997.)

146. Gqomfa replied that he thought that Cornelius had been indoctrinated in a way that led him to refer to them as 'terrorists'. They were not terrorists but freedom fighters. Gqomfa added:

[I]t is the person who is in a position of oppression that feels the oppression. He refers to this as having been senseless: it is because he did not feel the pain that we were under. If he was in my shoes, he would not speak the way he is speaking now. ... We had to continue the war until the political leadership, our political leadership, PAC, gave a command that we must stop fighting. Our political leadership had not given the command that we must stop fighting. I think that should be clear, this is why we acted the way we did. We were not subordinated to the ANC or the National Party; we were subordinated to the PAC. This is how I propose to answer the question. (Cape Town hearing, 27 October 1997.)

147. The mother of one of the deceased victims, Mrs Langford, wanted to know if the applicants could remember how they felt about attacking apparently unarmed young people who appeared to be enjoying themselves:

I'm going to ask you another question Mr Madasi. I need to know, I really need to know how you felt when you saw what you had done to human life. I really, really need to know that because, can you remember their faces maybe? Can you remember how shocked they looked? Can you remember when they fell? Can you remember anything about that, when that happened; because I ask you this for the simple reason because, when you got away, you showed much more feeling for the vehicle – that the vehicle shouldn't be damaged – yet you'd just come away from showing no feeling towards life. I need to know how can one go from one kind of a feeling to another in the same instance, the same happening. I need to know how you can cope with that: how did you feel and how do you feel now? (Cape Town hearing, 28 October 1997.)

148. Madasi said that, while he knew that nobody had the right to take another's life, the conditions under which people were living at the time were such that many members of the oppressed had shed their blood. Oppressed people felt the pain of losing a loved one equally.

149. Mrs Clarissa January, the mother of Mr Michael January, who survived the attack, asked why the applicants appeared to show no remorse whatsoever – which would have given the victims some sort of comfort.

You have only spoken of the orders and the killings that you have done. I understand a great deal of your suffering – we have also suffered; but I think it's about time that you must face us and ask us directly for forgiveness. That's all I want to say to you or ask you – if there is an answer. (Cape Town hearing, 28 October 1997.)

150. Mr Madasi replied:

I greet you Madam. I'm glad for this opportunity to meet you and the people that lost so much from this matter. The fact of what you're saying – that we're not showing remorse or empathy – we are human beings, we are also sons to our fathers given birth to by our mothers. I know that a person survives in this world or makes it because of the support of other people. You perhaps look at me and think that I'm not showing remorse. However, our families know us well – I know that people who ...[indistinct] closely with us in connection with this matter. They would tell you how much remorse we are experiencing. If we did not, we would not be here even at this moment. This would show that we do not care about you, you can feel however you feel. To show and to demonstrate that, as the people we are, we feel remorse, we are here to ask for forgiveness. I know that forgiveness is not a small matter, no matter how small the offence. However, if somebody's asking for forgiveness, forgiveness is forgiveness – you must know that if the person is asking you for forgiveness they mean it. If we did not want to show remorse, we would not be here. I don't know whether we've answered – I've answered the question. (Hearing at Cape Town, 28 October 1997.)

151. Mr Roland Lewis Palm lost his twenty-two year old daughter, Ms Rolande Lucielle Palm, in the attack. He told the applicants that the irony of his daughter's death was that she was not a white person:

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

Your commander Brigadier Nene stated that it was difficult to control the forces on the ground due to lack of proper communication and proper political training. These are simply empty excuses that in fact expose APLA for what it was: an

unguided missile, out of the control of the PAC, at loggerheads with each other and unable to accept the political decisions of their political masters.

If proper planning and surveillance had been done, APLA would have discovered the following: (1) the tavern catered for a multiracial clientele; (2) the predominant patrons were young students from the UCT; (3) the Tavern did not cater exclusively for military personnel, nor could be described by any intelligent person as a military target where arms could be obtained; (4) its resident musician was Josh Sithole, a black man who was loved and respected throughout the country by multiracial audiences countrywide and who was entertaining the patrons at the time of the attack; (5) a better 'military target' which fulfilled their criteria was the Woodstock Police station a short distance away.

*APLA, as well as the applicants, cannot be truthful when they state that by murdering patrons at the Heidelberg Tavern was a **bona fide** act associated with a political objective. (Cape Town hearing, 31 October 1997.)*

152. Mr Francisco Cerqueira, brother of the deceased restaurateur, Mr José Cerqueira, appeared before the Committee to register his opposition to the amnesty applications on the grounds that he believed the applicants had falsely implicated his brother when they testified that he had opened fire on the getaway vehicle outside his restaurant.
153. The Amnesty Committee viewed the two incidents as part and parcel of the same attack. There was some doubt as to whether Mr Cequeira had fired shots at the attackers as no traces of powder were subsequently found on his hand. The Committee accepted, however, that the applicants were under the impression that they were being attacked when they shot in his direction.
154. The Committee also heard argument from and evidence led by counsel for Commissioner Dumisa Ntsebeza, head of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Investigation Unit. Mr Ntsebeza was implicated in the attack when a Mr Bernard Sibaya claimed that the Commissioner's car had been used by APLA members. Sibaya later confessed that he had been blackmailed by the police into naming Ntsebeza.²⁰⁸
155. The Amnesty Committee concluded that the three applicants in this matter had complied with the requirements of the Act and demonstrated that they were

²⁰⁸ Volume Three, Chapter Five, p. 508.

quite clearly acting on behalf of APLA, which was engaged in political struggle against the state at that time. The Committee found that the applicants had not acted for personal gain or out of personal malice, ill will or spite directed against the deceased and the victims. They had no knowledge of the victims and had merely been sent by their organisation to act on its behalf.

156. Mr Luyanda Gqomfa, Mr Zola Mabala and Mr Vuyisile Madasi were granted amnesty for the Heidelberg Tavern attack [AC/1998/026].

The Crazy Beat Disco attack

157. Ms Gerbrecht van Wyk was shot dead and at least two other people were injured when APLA operatives fired shots through an iron grid at the entrance to the Crazy Beat Disco club in Newcastle, Natal, on 14 February 1994.

158. APLA members Walter Falibango Thanda [AM5784/97] and Andile Shiceka [AM5939/97], and PAC member Bongani Golden Malevu [AM0293/97] applied for amnesty for the attack. All three had been convicted on 26 May 1994 on charges arising from their roles in the attack. Thanda and Shiceka had been sentenced to 25 years and Malevu to ten years; both were serving prison terms at the time of their amnesty hearing.

159. In their evidence to the Amnesty Committee, the applicants testified that they had been sent by their commanders in the Transkei to Newcastle to 'identify areas where whites gather'. They said they targeted the disco because it was frequented by white patrons. They had initially targeted a restaurant in the area. However, when they arrived at the restaurant on the night of the attack, they saw a number of black people in the vicinity and decided to attack the discotheque instead.

160. Thanda was the commander of the small unit that planned and carried out the attack. He testified that he reported to his commander 'Power' from time to time in order to keep him up to date with the developments. Asked why he did not question the order, he responded, 'it was not for one to do so; if one had any question to ask, it would only be after the execution of instructions'.

161. In May or June 1993, Mr Malevu received information from a member of the High Command in Transkei that APLA would be taking its struggle to Natal. He was given arms to transport to the Newcastle area. He also helped transport

the other applicants to a point where a vehicle was forcibly taken from its owner for use in the attack. Like his comrades, Malevu testified that white people were targeted because they were regarded as political oppressors. If they attacked white people, the government would take them seriously; white people were the ones who could persuade the government to change.

162. The Amnesty Committee challenged the applicants on the issue of whether race was a factor in the selection of the target:

ADV PRIOR: *I must put to you the question ... that the reason for not attacking the restaurant and attacking the disco instead seemed to be a decision which smacked at racism. You weren't prepared to injure anyone other than white people. Could you comment on that? Was that part of your motivation in attacking the discotheque?*

MR SHICEKA: *Mr Chairman, APLA is not a racist organisation. I think you are aware that whites were oppressing us; that was the race that was oppressing us. We didn't attack white people because we hated white people; we don't hate white people. Even the documents of the PAC clearly state that those who are accepting a democratic goal in Africa should be recognised as Africans. We didn't attack the Crazy Disco because we are racist. Right from the foundation of the organisation we are not a racist organisation. However, the situation in which we had to live created a conflict between a white person and a black person: it's not that we are racist. (Pietermaritzburg hearing, 9–11 February 1998.)*

163. In his defence, Mr Shiceka argued that, although he regretted the attack, he did not regard the operation as a success, as only one person was killed. He said that whites were the only oppressors and that this is why they were targeted. For this reason, he denied that his action smacked of racism.

164. In argument, counsel for the applicants offered three reasons why the Committee should not find that the attack had been a purely racist act:

MR ARENDSE: *Firstly, the applicants, on the uncontested evidence were foot soldiers carrying out orders; that is not disputed. They were not part of the APLA hierarchy or High Command which, it is well established, made the policy decisions and decided on matters of strategy. For the same reason that Brian Mitchell or Coetzee or any other ex-South African Defence Force soldier wasn't part of the inner ...[indistinct] of Botha's cabinet making decisions to pursue cross-border raids, etc.*

Secondly, the struggle for liberation in this country inevitably had to have a racial dimension and the reason for that is quite simple and very glaring; and we don't need evidence for that because the applicants lived through it.

Black people in this country lived through it who were born here. They were governed by whites; they were controlled by whites; they were suppressed by whites, and the overwhelming majority of the white electorate voted in the same government repeatedly by, in fact, increased majorities as we moved towards the April 1994 election.

So that was an inevitable part of the history of this country. Now it's very important that our Parliament, a democratic elected Parliament, recognised this by making the cut-off date the 10th of May 1997. It recognised, the law makers recognised, that we were engaged in a racial struggle up to that point. And the 14th of February falls within that cut-off date.

Then just thirdly, again on a parity of – because this is what this Committee must do, this is what the Commission as a whole must do is to be even-handed and to treat people in the same fashion. The apartheid government targeted overwhelmingly black people. Coetzee was told to get rid of Griffiths Mxenge and he did so very effectively. Griffiths Mxenge was a well-known human rights activist but he was a black civilian. Brian Mitchell committed the Trust Feeds murder where he killed innocent black young men, woman and children; he slaughtered them. Those were civilians and both of them got amnesty. (Hearing at Pietermaritzburg, 9–11 February 1998.)

165. The applicants expressed their remorse at the hearing and their desire to meet the family of the victim and ask for their forgiveness. They said that they wished to explain to the family that the act was carried out on instructions and that, as soldiers, they had no option but to obey them. The victim's mother declined to attend the proceedings, preferring instead to leave the decision in the hands of the Amnesty Committee.
166. The Amnesty Committee deliberated about whether or not this was an APLA operation. It noted that two of the applicants did not live in Natal and that they had not known one another at all until they met for the purpose of carrying out the operation. This gave credence to their story that they were brought together by their military commander 'Power', who was known to all of them. The victims of the attack were also not known to them and they derived no personal benefit from the attack. In considering why strangers should come together and trust each other in order to plan such an operation, the Committee reached the inescapable

conclusion that the operation must have been ordered and co-ordinated by APLA. The Amnesty Committee also noted that, at a meeting in Umtata before the incident (the meeting at which Malevu was given the weapons used), the PAC had passed a resolution not to suspend the armed struggle. Despite this, it accepted that APLA was autonomous in military matters.

167. Mr Walter Falibango Thanda, Mr Bongani Golden Malevu and Mr Andile Shiceka [AM5939/97] were granted amnesty for the attack [AC/1998/0016].

The killing of Amy Biehl

168. In April 1994, PASO members Mongezi Christopher Manqina [AM0669/96], Vusumzi Samuel Ntamo [AM4734/97] and Mzikhona Easy Nofemela [AM5282/97] were convicted of killing American Fulbright scholar Amy Elizabeth Biehl in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 25 August 1993. They were each sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment. Subsequently, in June 1995, Mr Ntobeko Ambrose Peni [AM5188/97] was also convicted of the offence and sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment.²⁰⁹

169. The four applied for amnesty. The Amnesty Committee heard that, on the afternoon of her death, Amy Biehl was giving three colleagues a lift in her car with a view to dropping some of them off in Guguletu, when her vehicle came under attack by people running towards it and throwing stones. The stones smashed the windscreen and windows of the car. One of the stones hit Ms Biehl on her head, causing her to bleed profusely. She could not continue driving and climbed out of her car and ran towards a garage across the road. Her attackers did not relent, but pursued her, still throwing stones. Manqina tripped her, causing her to fall. By now she was surrounded by between seven and ten people who stoned and stabbed her. She died as a result of her injuries.

170. The Amnesty Committee heard that the four applicants were amongst those involved in the attack. Peni admitted to having thrown stones at Ms Biehl from about three to four metres away. Manqina stabbed her with a knife and threw stones at her. Nofemela threw stones at her and stabbed her three or four times. Ntamo threw many stones at her head from a distance of only a metre away. They stopped attacking her only when the police arrived at the scene.

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171. The attack on the car driven by Amy Biehl was one of many incidents in the area that afternoon. Bands of *toyi-toying*²¹⁰ youths had been throwing stones at delivery vehicles and cars driven by white people. A delivery vehicle had been pushed over and set alight. Only the arrival of the police prevented further damage.
172. The applicants explained their behaviour in the following way. They testified that earlier that day they had attended a meeting at the Langa High School, where a PASO unit had been re-launched. Peni had been elected chairperson at the meeting. Manqina was vice-chairperson of the PASO unit at the Gugulethu Comprehensive School and Nofemela was a PASO organiser at the Joe Slovo High School. The meeting was addressed by Mr Simpiwe Mfengu, the Regional Secretary of PASO; Mr Wanda Madubula, the Regional Chairperson of PASO, and many other speakers. The applicants told the Committee that speakers dealt with various issues: the strike by teachers in the Western Cape who were demanding recognition for the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU); the struggles of APLA for the return of the land to the African people, and the fact that APLA had declared 1993 as the 'Year of the Great Storm'. Reference was also made to the launching of 'Operation Barcelona', aimed at stopping all deliveries into the townships.
173. The speakers urged PASO members to take an active part in the struggle of APLA by assisting APLA operators on the ground to make the country ungovernable. The speeches were militant and punctuated by frequent chanting of the slogan 'one settler, one bullet'.
174. The applicants testified that they were so inspired by the speakers that they left the meeting in a militant mood. They marched through the township toyi-toying and chanting slogans, determined to put into effect what they had been urged to do. This, they testified, is how they became involved in the killing of Amy Biehl.
175. Referring to this incident in its testimony to the Amnesty Committee, the PAC stated:
- On the Amy Biehl issue, we wish to state that PASO was not a part of APLA. They are a component part of the PAC not involved in armed struggle. This act occurred in the context of a strike for recognition by South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) in the Western Cape. To support the strike, 'Operation Barcelona' was launched to stop deliveries from towns into the townships.*

²¹⁰ The toyi-toyi is a revolutionary dance.

Although the PAC was not involved, PASO acted in solidarity with their teachers and with COSAS. They wrongly targeted and killed Amy Biehl. We expressed our regret and condolences to Amy Biehl's family in a letter to the United States Ambassador. We restate this position yet again through the TRC. But misguided as the deed was, we support the amnesty applications of all those convicted and sentenced for the offence.

176. The applicants testified that, although they did not act on the orders or instructions of APLA or the PAC that day, they believed they owed loyalty to the same cause. Nofemela and Peni had attended lectures by APLA operators on political matters and had received elementary lessons on the handling of arms and ammunition. As members of PASO, they were active supporters of the PAC and subscribed to its political philosophy and policies. By stoning company delivery vehicles and making it difficult for them to make deliveries in the townships, they were taking part in a political disturbance and contributing towards making their area ungovernable. Thus their activities were aimed at supporting the liberation struggle against the state.
177. The Amnesty Committee carefully considered why it was that Ms Amy Biehl, a private civilian, was killed during this disturbance. It concluded that part of the answer could be found in the fact that her attackers were so aroused and incited that they lost control of themselves and became caught up in a frenzy of violence. While giving his evidence, one of the applicants said that they all subscribed to the slogan 'one settler, one bullet'. This meant that they believed that every white person was an enemy of the black people, and saw Amy Biehl as a representative of the white community. They believed that by killing civilian whites, APLA was sending a serious political message to the government of the day. By intensifying their activities, they believed that they would eventually increase political pressure on the government to such an extent that it would be compelled to hand over political power to the majority of the people of South Africa.
178. Viewing the conduct of the applicants in this light, the Amnesty Committee accepted that the crime committed by Amy Biehl's killers was related to a political objective. The Committee accepted that the applicants had made full disclosure of all the relevant facts as required by section 20(1) of the Act. Amnesty was therefore granted to the four applicants.
179. The Amy Biehl incident provided the Commission with an extraordinary example of reconciliation. Members of the Biehl family who attended the hearing did not oppose the application.

180. The applicants expressed regret for their actions. In his application for amnesty, Peni said:

I feel sorry and very downhearted especially today, realising the contribution Amy Biehl played in the struggle ... I took part in killing someone that we could have used to achieve our own aims. Amy was one of the people who could have, in an international sense, worked for our country so that the world knows what's going on in South Africa, so that the government of the day would get support. I ask Amy's parents, Amy's friends and relatives, I ask them to forgive me. (Hearing at Cape Town, 8 July 1997.)

181. At the conclusion of the evidence, Mr Peter Biehl addressed the Amnesty Committee. A part of his statement follows:

We have the highest respect for your Truth and Reconciliation Commission and process. We recognise that, if this process had not been a pre-negotiated condition, your democratic free elections could not possibly have occurred. Therefore, and believing as Amy did in the absolute importance of those democratic elections occurring, we unabashedly support the process which we recognise to be unprecedented in contemporary human history.

At the same time we say to you, it's your process, not ours. We cannot, therefore, oppose amnesty if it is granted on the merits. In the truest sense it is for the community of South Africa to forgive its own and this has its basis in traditions of ubuntu and other principles of human dignity. Amnesty is not clearly for Linda and Peter Biehl to grant.

You face a challenging and extraordinarily difficult decision. How do you value a committed life? What value do you place on Amy and her legacy in South Africa? How do you exercise responsibility to the community in granting forgiveness, in the granting of amnesty? How are we preparing prisoners, such as these young men before us, to re-enter the community as a benefit to the community, acknowledging that the vast majority of South Africa's prisoners are under 30 years of age – acknowledging as we do that there's massive unemployment in the marginalised community; acknowledging that the recidivism rate is roughly 95 per cent? So how do we, as friends, link arms and do something? There are clear needs for prisoner rehabilitation in our country as well as here. There are clear needs for literacy training and education, and there are clear needs for the development of targeted job skill training. We, as the Amy Biehl Foundation, are willing to do our part as catalysts for social progress. All anyone need do is ask.

Are you, the community of South Africa, prepared to do your part? (Cape Town hearing, 9 July 1997.)

Armed ambushes

182. Other attacks on civilians took the form of armed ambushes on vehicles. These attacks, ascribed to APLA, became the subject of bitter dispute between the Transkei and South African governments, with South Africa accusing Transkei of harbouring APLA members and providing them with weapons and training. The Commission received no statements or amnesty applications in connection with such training or provision of weaponry.

Attack on a Translux bus, Beaufort West

183. APLA member Mr Thembinkosi Henge [AM6137/97] applied for amnesty for an armed attack on a Translux bus at or near the Gamka River Bridge in Beaufort West on 27 August 1993. Eight people were injured in the attack.

184. Mr Henge testified that he received orders from his commander, the late Mr Sichumiso Nonxuba, to attack a Translux bus that passed through Beaufort West on its way to Johannesburg. Two buses apparently travelled that route, and the applicant had to decide which of them to attack. He eventually chose the midnight bus as it entailed a lower probability of detection and offered a better opportunity for retreat.

185. The applicant was ordered to collect firearms and ammunition from the Ngangelizwe location in Umtata. He collected two R4 rifles and five loaded magazines and returned to Beaufort West. After approximately two weeks, he was informed that a certain 'Mandla' (an alias) would be sent from Umtata to assist in the operation. When Mandla arrived, Henge showed him the layout of the area and briefed him about the plan for the attack.

186. The next day, 27 August 1993, Mandla and Henge fired a magazine at the bus. In total, approximately fifty shots were fired. Although they had intended shooting the driver so that the bus would crash off the bridge and into the river below, they missed him altogether, even though they fired at the front of the bus. Eight people were injured in the attack and all the occupants of the bus were traumatised and shocked by the incident.

187. Under cross-examination, the applicant conceded that he had previously been a supporter of the ANC, having become politicised at the age of ten. He said he had decided to join the PAC because he preferred its policies and was not

happy with the progress of national negotiations. He expressed his regret at what had happened.

188. In reaching its decision, the Amnesty Committee noted that the attack took place when most political parties were engaged in negotiations, but that the PAC had not yet abandoned the armed struggle. The applicant was a member of APLA and had received an order to attack the bus. The arms and ammunition used in the attack were supplied by APLA and the orders came from Mr Nonxuba, who was at that time a member of APLA's High Command.
189. The applicant felt obliged to carry out the order, which he believed would speed up the negotiation process and make whites understand that the PAC was serious about its position. His actions were, therefore, found to be associated with a political objective as defined by the Act, and the application was granted [AC/2000/167].

Ambush of a vehicle near Zastron

190. Mr Luyanda Humphrey Gqomfa [AM0949/96] applied for amnesty for the ambush of a vehicle travelling from Zastron to Sterkspruit in the Orange Free State on 18 March 1992.
191. The victims lived in Zastron and travelled daily to Sterkspruit, where they were running a furniture business. Mr Fanie Smith was shot dead in the attack while he lay injured next to the car. Mr Deon Martins was seriously injured in the left hand and his finger was subsequently amputated. Mr Ben Maliehe and Mr Andrew Lategan Franzsen escaped the ambush unhurt and were able to flee from the scene.
192. Though APLA commander Mr Letlapa Mphahlele was listed as a co-applicant, it became clear during the hearing that he had no intention of participating in the proceedings. His counsel Mr Lungelo Mbandazayo made a number of attempts to secure his co-operation and attendance, but to no avail. As a result, his application lapsed.
193. Mr Gqomfa testified that, as a member of APLA, he had received military training in exile and then returned to the country, where he carried out various operations on behalf of the organisation. He received orders in respect of all these operations

from the High Command of APLA, most often from Mr Mphahlele, who was APLA's Director of Operations at the time.

194. At the time of the incident, Gqomfa was being harboured at a house in Sterkspruit, secured for him by Mphahlele. Whilst he was there, Mphahlele and another APLA member, Ben Wakumzi (an alias), took him to a meeting with a group of APLA operatives.
195. Mphahlele ordered them to attack white travellers along the Mayaputhi road near the Sterkspruit bridge. In order to acquire a vehicle, Gqomfa and two other operatives went to Ndofela Village where they robbed Mr Nkopane Johannes Lesia of his Isuzu 2200 Diesel Bakkie.
196. Lesia reported the incident to the police and later received a report that his vehicle had been found. He told the police that, on the afternoon of 18 March 1992, he was on his way from Palmietfontein (where he lived) to Ditapoleng village. As he drove past Ndofela village, he saw three black men standing next to a small bridge. They were all armed and fired shots to force him stop. They told him that they were freedom fighters and needed his car 'for the struggle' and gave him R20 so he could travel to work.
197. After robbing Lesia of his vehicle, Gqomfa and his comrades proceeded to the Mayaputhi road near Sterkspruit bridge. Here they found that Mphahlele was in charge of the operation. When Smith and the other victims approached, Mphahlele opened fire. The others followed suit. The vehicle stopped immediately and Martins, Maliehe and Franzsen alighted and fled the scene. Smith was injured and fell to the ground next to the vehicle, unable to flee. Mphahlele ordered Gqomfa to shoot Smith, which he did.
198. At the hearing, Gqomfa expressed his regrets at the shooting but said that he had had no choice as he was carrying out orders.
199. The Amnesty Committee found that Gqomfa was a member of the PAC and APLA and that he had acted in terms of these organisations' policies and objectives. The Committee accepted that APLA was still engaged in the armed struggle at the time and that it regarded all whites as supporters of the government. The Committee found that Gqomfa had acted under the orders of Mphahlele, that the offences and acts applied for were acts associated with a political objective and that the applicant had made full disclosure of all relevant facts. He was granted amnesty [AM0949/96].

Eikenhof attack

200. Mr Phila Martin Dolo [AM3485/97] applied for amnesty for the killing of Ms Zandra Mitchley, her son Shaun and Claire Silberbauer, as well as the attempted killing of Mr Norman Mitchley and Craig Lamprecht. The victims were shot while driving in their vehicle in the Eikenhof area of Johannesburg on 19 March 1993. Three ANC members were arrested and later convicted of the attack, for which two were sentenced to death and the third was given a long term of imprisonment.
201. However, in 1997, Mr Dolo asserted in his amnesty application that the attack had been an APLA operation, conducted by four APLA operatives known only by their codenames. Mr Dolo had given the orders for the attack, originally aimed at a school bus carrying what he termed 'settler school children'. The four attackers were unable to carry out the attack and instead opened fire on the Mitchley's vehicle. The sentenced ANC members were released from prison in November 1999. Mr Dolo was granted amnesty [AC/2000/147].

Attacks on farms

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

Attack on Mr RJ Fourie on the farm 'Stormberg'

203. PAC/APLA members Hendrik Leeuw, Daniel Magoda, Meshack May and Sebolai Petrus Nkgwedi applied for amnesty for the robbery and killing of Mr Roelof Johannes Fourie on the farm 'Stormberg' in the district of Verkeerdevlei, Orange Free State, on 12 February 1992.²¹¹
204. The Committee heard testimony that, during 1991, the PAC and APLA launched their 'Operation Great Storm', in terms of which APLA operatives were instructed to attack and to instil fear in farmers. The applicants testified that the purpose was to drive the white farming community from their farms in order 'to get the land back'. During November 1991, APLA Commander Jan Shoba (now

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deceased) instructed the applicants to carry out attacks on farmers in the vicinity of Botshabelo, Tweespruit and Verkeerdevlei. He supplied them with a .38 special revolver for this purpose.

205. The farm of Mr RJJ Fourie was identified as a target by Mr Leeuw and Mr Nkgwedi: Mr Nkgwedi had grown up on the farm. The four applicants went onto the farm property and observed Mr Fourie and his companion leaving, apparently on their way to town. They also noticed that Mr Fourie had left the gate open. The applicants closed the gate so that, on his return, Mr Fourie would be obliged to stop and open it. They then positioned themselves in the bushes adjacent to the gate and waited for the couple to return. When Mr Fourie stopped to open the gate as anticipated, one of the applicants shot him in the back of his head. His companion, Mrs May, remained in the car, which the attackers then drove to the farmhouse.
206. The applicants searched the house and stole two firearms, money, watches, a camera and numerous personal belongings. After tying up Mrs May and disconnecting the telephone and radio, they drove off in the deceased's car.
207. The Amnesty Committee received a submission from Mrs Margot Penstone, who stated that the deceased was not involved in party politics and was a progressive farmer who had assisted his farm workers to improve their stock, housed them in brick houses with running hot and cold water, built a school for their children on the farm and provided them with a soccer field. She added that she believed the murder to have been a purely criminal act. In this, she was supported by Mrs May, who stated in an affidavit that the applicants had repeatedly asked her where the money was kept and said that they were only interested in valuable articles. Mrs May and Mrs Penstone did not give evidence before the Committee, so the applicants' counsel did not have the opportunity to cross-examine them on these claims.
208. The applicants testified that they were instructed to take the property and hand it over to their commander, Mr Jan Shoba, who would sell it in order to obtain money for their struggle. They had also intended to hand the vehicle to him. However, they testified that they were arrested two days after the robbery and before they had had the opportunity to hand the property over. The applicants were all convicted and sentenced to terms of between nine and fifteen years' imprisonment.

209. In making its decision, the Amnesty Committee first considered Mr Nkgwedi's involvement in the attack and whether, having grown up on the farm, he might have been motivated by ill-will or personal malice. In reaching a decision on this issue, the Committee concluded that an act that was, or may have been, motivated by a personal grievance could, nonetheless, qualify for amnesty where there was also a strong political motive. Therefore, although there was some evidence of a personal motive in Nkgwedi's case, the fact that the applicant would have killed any white person in furtherance of official APLA policy meant that the political motive for the attack outweighed the personal.

210. The Amnesty Committee further accepted that, in both their submissions and oral evidence to the Commission, the PAC and APLA had stated that 'Operation Great Storm' involved the killing of farmers and the stealing of weapons. It also noted that, while the PAC had stated that it was opposed to armed robbery, it had also referred to 'repossession' and to the existence of 'repossession units'. The Committee felt that it was by no means clear about the distinction between 'robbery' and 'repossession', save that in the case of repossession the proceeds would be handed over to the Commander to be used to further APLA's goals.

No distinction was drawn between what might have been property for military use and property taken for personal gain. The Committee is therefore faced with the dilemma that the act does not authorise us to grant amnesty in respect of a portion of a sentence. Having found that the murder of Mr Fourie and the robbery of the firearms were offences associated with a political objective, the Committee is obliged to grant amnesty in respect thereof. No provision is made in the Act for dealing with offences which have elements of criminality as well as political motivation in it. [AC/1999/297.]

211. Amnesty was granted to Messrs Hendrik Leeuw, Daniel Magoda, Meshack May and Sebolai Petrus Nkgwedi [AC/1999/0297].

The killing of Mr John Bernard Smith

212. Mr Jacob T Mabitsa [AM5178/97], Mr Petrus T Mohapi [AM1167/97], Mr Thabo Paulus Mtjikelo [AM1249/96], Mr Simon T Olifant [AM5177/97], Mr John Wanthoba [AM2997/96] and Mr John Xhiba [AM1215/96] applied for amnesty for the killing of Mr John Bernard Smith on 25 July 1993 on his farm at Wesselsdal in the district of Vanstadensrus in the Eastern Cape.
213. The applicants also stole a motor vehicle, three firearms, various pieces of equipment and clothing, two bottles of liquor and a sum of cash. Mohapi, Oliphant and Mtjikelo were convicted of murder and robbery and sentenced to an effective 25 years' imprisonment. The other applicants were convicted only on the charge of robbery with aggravating circumstances and were each sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment.
214. The applicants testified that they left Botshabelo for Wesselsdal on the 23 July 1993 with the intention of carrying out the attack. They called this off because of the presence of visitors on the farm. On 25 July, Mtjikelo, Mohapi, Oliphant and Xhiba went back to the farm and approached Mrs Smith with a request for petrol, saying that their car had run out of fuel. Mrs Smith called her husband who said he would help them to syphon some petrol from his car. Mr Smith gave Xhiba his storeroom key and asked him to fetch a container and a pipe.
215. The other three applicants accompanied Smith to the garage and, while he was syphoning petrol from the car, Mohapi stabbed him in the back. Mr Smith fell to the ground and Oliphant stabbed him in the chest and other parts of his body, ultimately inflicting approximately nine wounds. The attackers then searched the house, seizing three guns and a small amount of cash. They tied Mrs Smith up and locked her in a wardrobe. They then took possession of the Smiths' Mercedes Benz for use in future operations.
216. Oliphant confirmed the evidence and testified that it was the objective of the PAC to wage the struggle for the return of land to the African people, which was why he was involved in that operation. When it was pointed out to Oliphant that the attack took place while negotiations were underway at Codesa (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) in which the PAC was a participant, Oliphant stated that the PAC had not suspended the armed struggle and that, while the negotiations continued, operations were conducted in order to put pressure on the government to give in to the demands of the liberation movements.

217. The applicants called Mr Lerato Abel Kotle, the regional commander of APLA in Bloemfontein, to give evidence about 'Operation Great Storm'. Khotle explained that 'Operation Storm' was intended as a means of intensifying the armed struggle and was decided upon by APLA's military commission, which included the political leadership of the PAC and the military leadership of APLA. He described the attacks on farmers as one of the phases of the campaign. The PAC believed that the farming community had participated in the dispossession of the African people and that farmers were beneficiaries of the land taken away from the Africans.
218. The Amnesty Committee accepted the contention that the applicants had committed the offences believing they were advancing the struggle being waged by their political organisation with the aim of returning the land to the African people. The offences committed were, therefore, acts associated with a political objective. The possession of the pistol and knives used for carrying out the operation was also associated with a political objective. Amnesty was granted to the applicants [AC/1998/0020].

Various attacks in Ficksburg

219. Mr Phila Martin Dolo [AM3485/96], Mr Lerato Abel Khotle [AM5619/97] and Mr Luvuyo Kenneth Kulman [AM1638/96] applied for amnesty for several attacks on homes in Ficksburg in the Orange Free State on 10 December 1992. The acts were committed with other persons, known only by their code-names: 'Roger', 'Scorpion', 'Jabu', 'Nduna' and 'Kenny'.
220. The Committee heard that Phila Dolo was in charge of the APLA base in Lesotho, that Lerato Khotle was in charge of the APLA base at Sterkspruit, and that the two liaised closely to plan attacks in the area between.
221. Dolo testified that certain houses in Ficksburg on the Lesotho border were regarded as belonging to members of the security forces. These he described as 'in the first line of defence' and 'acting as the garrisons of the then apartheid state'. They therefore qualified as suitable targets for attack. Khotle told the Committee that he attempted to confirm this information:
- I ... reconnoitred the place and I also interacted with the people who were working there, domestic workers, and I engaged with them in discussions to get information from them as to whether those places were occupied by the members*

of the regime. That is how I ended up making a decision that we have to attack this place, because they were occupied by the security personnel. Those were the reasons why I needed his [Dolo's] help and he agreed and he came to my side to give us help. (Hearing at Bloemfontein, August 1998.)

222. The operatives travelled on foot from Lesotho, Dolo carrying a bag of rifle grenades, M26 grenades and Molotovs. At Ficksburg they divided into two units. The first, commanded by Dolo, attacked a house at No. 143 Veld Street, Ficksburg. The second, commanded by Khotle, targeted an old age home but was foiled in the attack. They then conducted random attacks on various homes in Ficksburg.
223. The house of Mrs Cornelia Gertruda Pienaar (then Roos) was severely damaged in the Veld Street attack. Mrs Pienaar was at home with her two daughters, aged five and twelve years, when the attack occurred. She testified that her house was not owned by the police but belonged to her and her husband who had died only a week earlier. Before his death, he had performed light duties in the police mortuary. He had at one time been a member of the South African Police and had become unfit for ordinary police duties as a result of an accident.
224. The attack began after she and the children had gone to bed. The attackers threw a grenade into the children's bedroom and started shooting at the house. Mrs Pienaar and her children managed to escape through the back door and crept through the fence into the neighbour's yard.
225. Dolo told the Committee that the attack had been motivated by a recent statement by the Minister of Defence that there would be no more farm attacks in the area. The applicants had carried out the operation 'to show the enemy what we can do. We can continue with the armed struggle; nothing will stop us.' He said it was 'unfortunate' that they had ended up attacking a house that was not occupied by the police. All whites, however, were regarded as supporters of the government, with whom APLA was still locked in armed struggle because the oppression of blacks had not yet stopped.

Our interest was not on Mr Pienaar or Mrs Pienaar or Van der Merwe, all the White people were oppressing the Black people. If it happened that at the end a house that was attacked did not belong to a policeman or a soldier, still that house falls under our programme because, when we participated in our struggle, we

never heard who was smiling with us or who loved us [and] we all treated white people as participants in oppression. (Bloemfontein hearing, August 1998.)

226. When asked why they had targeted an old age home, Khotle said it was unacceptable for Africans to be killed in the way they were. The purpose of targeting an old age home was to:

make whites feel the pain the same as Africans who felt the pain ... Why I'm saying age was not an issue is that, firstly, the oppressors themselves, when they see me, they saw me as a boy. My father was regarded as a boy; my grandfather was regarded as a boy; my sister was regarded as a girl; my mother was a girl – so they did not differentiate between the various age groups or they didn't see a difference between me and my father or my grandfather. We were all boys so therefore we did not have a problem to respond to that oppression knowing that there was no young persons and old persons, all of them were oppressors. (Bloemfontein hearing, August 1998.)

227. The Committee accepted that the applicants had acted on behalf of APLA and in accordance with what was then the policy of the PAC. It was satisfied that they had made a full disclosure of their respective roles and participation in the attacks. Accordingly, Mr Lerato Abel Khotle, Mr Luvuyo Kulman and Mr Phila Martin Dolo were granted amnesty for the attacks in Ficksburg.

228. They were also granted amnesty for a shoot-out on the Ficksburg bypass in which two people were injured. This incident had occurred as Dolo and his unit were withdrawing from the town. They fired shots at a police vehicle in the vicinity of the Ficksburg bypass, injuring Sergeant Otto Coetzee (who was in the police vehicle) and Ms Mathapelo Lethena who was travelling in a passing taxi.

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

Sabotage

230. The Committee received just three applications for amnesty for acts and attempted acts of sabotage. Two of these matters were dealt with in chambers. All were granted. No casualties or injuries resulted from these actions.
231. Mr Wandile Merriman Dyanti [AM2486/96] and Mr Shylock Wele Matomela [AM2467/96] applied for amnesty for being in possession of explosive material and for intentionally causing an explosion at the Easigas Plant in Port Elizabeth. Amnesty was granted in chambers [AC/1998/0038 and 0039].
232. PAC/APLA member Silimela Ngesi [AM6020/97] applied for amnesty for an attack on the East London petrol depot on 19 August 1993, and for the attempted killing of a Sergeant Oosthuizen and other members of the SAP in a subsequent shoot-out on the same day.
233. Ngesi told the Amnesty Committee that the acts were committed in execution of the orders of his commander, Mr Bulelani Xuma, who also provided the arms for the operation. He testified that the mission was unsuccessful because the petrol tank did not explode as was intended, and subsequently resulted in the shoot-out with the police.
234. The Amnesty Committee accepted that the applicant was a trained APLA soldier and that his actions were in execution of APLA orders and were therefore associated with a political objective as required by the Act. Mr Ngesi was granted amnesty.

Limpet mine explosion in Durban

235. APLA member Ndoda Mgengo [AM6386/97] and PASO members Xolani Cuba [AM3845/96] and Mfundo Peter Seyisi [AM6386/97] applied for amnesty for a limpet mine explosion on a bus in Durban on 30 November 1993. Mr Vuyani Namba, also an APLA member, died in the explosion and eleven other people were injured.
236. Mgengo testified that he had introduced Mr Namba to the other two applicants after he had received instructions from APLA commander Sichumiso Simphiwe Nonxuba, who was based in Umtata. The instructions were to assist Namba in a mission which entailed the bombing by limpet mine of either the Umbilo or Brighton Beach police stations in Durban.

237. Namba, Cuba and Seyisi were on the bus on their way to Umbilo police station when the limpet mine exploded prematurely, killing Namba and injuring Cuba and Seyisi and other passengers.
238. The Amnesty Committee accepted that all the applicants had acted in pursuit of a political objective, which was in accordance with the policies and strategies of the PAC, APLA and PASO. It had not been the applicants' intention to cause injury to the people on the bus as the limpet mine appeared to have exploded accidentally. The applicants did not act out of ill will, spite or malice or for personal gain. None of the victims who were present at the hearing opposed the applications. The Committee granted amnesty to all three applicants.

Procurement and possession of arms and ammunition

239. The Committee received a total of nine applications for amnesty from PAC and APLA members exclusively for dealing in arms and ammunition. Most were granted in chambers.
240. PAC member Abel Sgubhu Dube [AM6040/97] applied for amnesty for being in unlawful possession of arms and ammunition near the Saambou Bridge on the Limpopo Border on 21 April 1982. He testified that he had obtained the weapons from a Mr Andrew Moeti, the deputy Commander of APLA, then based in Gaborone, Botswana. He was arrested soon after entering the country and was found in possession of an AK-47 and a 9mm Luger pistol. He also applied for amnesty for furthering the aims and objectives of a banned organisation and for harbouring APLA operatives during the armed struggle.
241. Mr Dube satisfied the Committee that the offence was associated with a political objective and he was accordingly granted amnesty [AC/2000/169].
242. Mr Musa Patrick Hadebe [AM6667/97] applied for amnesty for the illegal possession of a machine gun, ammunition and a hand grenade and for one count of murder and one count of attempted murder, offences for which he had been convicted and was serving an effective sentence of 13 years.
243. On 11 November 1997, the Amnesty Committee requested further particulars about the murder cases from both the applicant and the PAC, but received no response. Accordingly, Mr Hadebe was refused amnesty for murder and

attempted murder on the grounds that the essential particulars concerning these acts were not supplied in the application or upon request. He was, however, granted amnesty for the illegal possession of arms, ammunition and an explosive [AC/1999/0059].

Other matters

244. A range of other amnesty requests were placed before the Amnesty Committee by PAC and APLA members.

245. Six PAC members applied for amnesty for furthering the aims of a banned organisation between 1980 and 1990; for the recruitment of youths for military training, and for harbouring trained APLA cadres infiltrated into the country between 1980 and 1993. Satisfied that the offences committed were acts associated with a political objective and complied with the requirements of the Act, the Amnesty Committee granted amnesty to all the applicants.

246. Mr Patrick Mabuya Baleka [AM5929/97] applied for amnesty for the offence of high treason committed in or around September 1984. The particular offence constituted the subject matter of a high-profile political trial held at Delmas in which the applicant was acquitted. The Committee ruled that there could be no doubt that the charge of high treason related to the political conflicts of the past. Mr Patrick Baleka was accordingly granted amnesty [AC/2001/021].

PAC/ANC conflict

247. The Amnesty Committee received applications from four PAC members relating to offences committed in the course of localised conflict between members of the PAC and the ANC.

248. PAC member Sonnyboy Johannes Sibiya [AM3381/96] applied for amnesty for the killing of Mr Vusumuzi Ephraim Dhludhlu at eMzinoni, Bethel in the Transvaal on 17 October 1992. He was convicted and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

249. Sibiya testified that he joined the PAC task force in 1991. He described his duties as the protection of PAC members and their homes. Soon after this, he was sent to the then Transkei for basic training under the auspices of APLA. After a short stay at Folweni near Durban, he was deployed to eMzinoni.

250. Sibiya described a situation of ongoing political conflict between PAC and ANC members in the area. He related a number of incidents in which people were killed, homes burnt and people forced to leave the township. He said that he took steps to try to report the problems caused by this conflict to APLA's Director of Operations, but was unable to contact him. He managed to get in touch with 'Mandla', APLA's regional commander for the Highveld area. He met with him in Embalenhle and, after explaining the situation to him, received orders to identify the ANC ringleaders and attack them in order to prevent further attacks on PAC people.
251. By the night of 15 October 1992, Sibiya had gathered sufficient information and went out in search of the ANC ringleaders. However, it was not until 17 October 1992 that he located Dhludhlu and another person in a shop. Both, he claimed, had been identified as ANC culprits. He testified that he called Dhludhlu over to him and, after trying to negotiate and reason with him, shot him dead.
252. Some years before, Dhludhlu had been a suspect in an attack on Sibiya's uncle's home, which resulted in the death of three members of his family. Sibiya, however, denied any suggestion that he had been motivated by feelings of revenge against Dhludhlu. Further to this, a member of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the PAC, Mr Jabulani Khumalo, testified that there had been conflict between the PAC and ANC in the area from 1990 until 1992/93. He said that this conflict affected a number of areas, including eMzinoni. He was aware that APLA cadres were deployed in those areas where attempts at negotiation had failed to prevent further conflict. He said he had knowledge of these matters because he had been a PAC leader in the East Rand at the time.
253. The Committee accepted that Sibiya had acted on behalf of and in support of the PAC in the context of the conflict with the ANC and his conduct was held to be an act associated with a political objective. Satisfied that he had made full disclosure of all material facts and did not appear to have acted for personal gain, personal malice, ill-will or spite, The Committee granted Mr Sonnyboy Johannes Sibiya amnesty [AC/1998/0052].

APPLICATIONS REFUSED

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

255. The reasons for the refusal of amnesty are as follows:

Absence of political motivation

256. Mr Stephen Vusumuzi Dolo [AM0320/96] applied for amnesty for malicious injury to property when he wrecked his cell at the Burgersdorp prison on 12 August 1992 in an apparent effort to force the authorities to allow him to join other awaiting-trial prisoners. He testified that he was suspicious of the motives of the prison authorities and believed they were keeping him separately in order to intimidate him.

257. The Amnesty Committee was not satisfied that the applicant's actions were aimed at furthering the political struggle and objectives of APLA and the PAC; they were more probably inspired by a personal motive of improving the conditions of his incarceration whilst awaiting trial. Accordingly, Mr Dolo was refused amnesty [AM0320/96].

Failure to prove political motive

258. Mr ZW Mgandela [AM7889/97] was refused amnesty [AC2000/072] for robbery, abduction and the unlawful possession of a firearm and ammunition. All these offences were committed on 27 November 1993 at the premises of a shop known as 'Pick Fit and Take' in Port Elizabeth. Mgandela claimed that he joined the PAC in 1978 and became a member of APLA after receiving training in the Transkei in 1992. Mgandela was unable to convince the Committee that he was an APLA cadre and that the robbery was an APLA operation. The applicant had scant knowledge of the then leadership of APLA and the PAC, and did not know who the APLA Director of Operations was.

259. Mr Paballo Ernest Pumulo [AM6634/97] was refused amnesty [AC/2000/132] for the killing of 70-year-old Mr Jacobus Petrus Ward and 39-year-old Mrs Emmarentia

Cornelia Ward on 21 December 1992, and for the attempted killing of 69-year-old Mrs Anna Wilhelmina Ward on the farm Emmaus in the district of Theunissen.

260. Pumulo professed to be a South African citizen, but could not produce any identity documents and later confessed that he was not in possession of any. He also testified to joining the PAC in Virginia in 1990. There was no PAC branch in Virginia and the only PAC members he was able to recall meeting were a certain 'Sebande', who recruited him, Rasta Moloto to whom he was introduced by 'Sebande' and Lebohang Mey and whom he met on one occasion before the incident. He had never attended a PAC meeting, could not give the motto of the PAC and could only vaguely refer to its aims and objectives.
261. Mr Page Hlalele Hlelesi [AM5020/97] was refused amnesty [AC/1998/0100] for the killing of Mrs Maria Janse van Nieuwenhuizen, an 83-year-old pensioner in Brakpan, on 6 May 1994.
262. At the time of his application, Mr Hlalele was serving a 40-year sentence for murder, attempted robbery with aggravating circumstances and the possession of arms. He told the Committee that he was a PAC supporter and that he had been recruited to the organisation by a Mr Moses Mogage in 1993.
263. Hlalele said that, in January 1994, Mogage had instructed him and three others to go to Brakpan to 'seek guns' since the movement needed arms and ammunition. The 'order' was only carried out in May 1994.
264. The Amnesty Committee found that, although the application complied with the formal requirements of the Act, it was not satisfied that the offences listed were associated with a political objective for the following reasons:
- a Hlelesi's affiliation to the PAC was not supported by his own or any other evidence. Throughout his evidence, he referred to himself as a 'new recruit' who had never received any training and who was going to establish 'a lot of things' about the PAC later.
 - b The offences were committed after the elections in April 1994. The applicant had not even cast his vote in the elections. He denied having known that the PAC had already suspended the armed struggle in January 1994, the year of the elections.
 - c The reason advanced by Hlelesi for committing these offences was 'to achieve freedom'. However, a new political dispensation was taking shape by 4 May 1994, when the offences were committed. His reason was therefore rejected by the Committee as false.

- d A considerable period of time had elapsed between the alleged instructions and his carrying them out.

265. The Committee concluded that the acts for which Hlelesi was applying for amnesty were common criminal acts committed for personal gain rather than political reasons.

266. Mr Phakamile Cishe [AM1272/96] and Mr Kwanele Msizi [AM199/96] were both refused amnesty for killing two policemen and an informer in an armed attack in Zwide township, Port Elizabeth, on 18 November 1990. Both applicants were convicted of these and other offences on 20 September 1991. They received the death sentence, later commuted to life imprisonment, for the three killings.

267. The Amnesty Committee found that the discrepancies and contradictions in the applicants' completed application forms impacted directly on their credibility. This, in turn, impacted substantially on the questions of political objective and full disclosure, which are requirements for amnesty in terms of the Act [AC/1998/0115].

Lack of full disclosure

Attack on Sophia and Gabriel Rossouw

268. Although APLA policy authorised robbery as a means of raising money, amnesty was denied to Mr Sithembiso Vanana [AM6540/97] for a robbery in which money was used for the personal benefit of the applicants and not the organisation.

269. Mr Vanana applied for amnesty for the killing of Mrs Jane Sophia Rossouw, aged 72 years, the attempted killing of Mr Casper Gabriel Rossouw, aged 81 years, robbery, housebreaking with the intent to steal, and theft of a motor vehicle. These offences were committed on the farm 'Sarahsdale' in the district of Dordrecht on 1 August 1993.

270. According to the applicant, the operation was planned in order to 'raise funds' to enable him to travel to the Transkei where he would receive basic APLA military training. He spoke to a Mr Nelson Gebe, an APLA cadre, about joining APLA. Gebe informed him that he would have to undergo military training in Transkei and that he (Gebe) knew a person in Butterworth who would be able to make the necessary arrangements.

271. Vanana, Gebe and one other person participated in the attack on the Rossouws. They were unsuccessful in finding either money or arms in the house and instead stole the Rossouws' motor vehicle and drove to the Transkei, where they stayed for at least six weeks. The applicant testified that he was unsuccessful in reaching the contact Gebe had told him would arrange for his training. Nor did they make any attempt to get in touch with any other members of the PAC or APLA in Transkei.
272. They sold the Rossouw's vehicle for R5 000 and used the money for their own benefit. They also robbed a bottle store and hijacked a motor vehicle. Soon after this, they were chased by the police, who shot at them. The applicant was hit and injured. He was arrested and detained in hospital where he received treatment.
273. The applicant escaped from hospital and went to Cape Town. Here, he and some others killed a Mr van Niekerk on a smallholding. The applicant was eventually arrested in the Cape Town area while robbing a shop.
274. The Amnesty Committee noted that there was:

no corroboration that the applicant was ever a member of the PAC. He states that he lost his membership card when being chased by the police in Transkei and there is no evidence before us, other than his assertion, that he is or was a member of the PAC. We are also of the view that the applicant's evidence that Gebe was an APLA cadre is both untruthful and improbable. Gebe has a criminal record which reflects that he has, from June 1973 to March 1988, had twenty-nine previous convictions and that he has on four occasions been declared an habitual criminal ... It is also apparent from applicant's own version, untrustworthy as it is, that the proceeds from the sale of the Rossouws' vehicle was used for the perpetrators own benefits and not for the benefit of any political organisation.

We are of the conclusion that the crimes committed by the applicant were committed for personal gain. [AC/2000/072.]

Failure to declare specific acts

275. The APLA High Command [AM7832/97] submitted an application for amnesty without specifying individual names in order to accept collective responsibility for 'any act, omission, offence or delict committed by members of the PAC as a result of which people died, others were injured and property was damaged'.

276. The Amnesty Committee found that an act, omission or offence had to be the subject matter of an application. Where no such act, omission or offence had been disclosed, the applicants did not comply with the requirements of the Act, as this would be tantamount to granting a general amnesty. The application was similar to the one submitted by members of the ANC,²¹² based on the declaration of responsibility.
277. Moreover, section 18 of the Act states that ‘any person’ who applies for amnesty will qualify. The APLA application was not signed by any person acting on behalf of the body cited as the applicant: in other words, no person was named as applicant. The application from the APLA High Command was accordingly refused [AC/2000/0101].
278. Similarly, amnesty was denied to a former APLA member who had become an *askari*. In his application, Mr Sello David Thejane [AM7942/97] failed to supply the names of the many activists he claimed to have assaulted and tortured [AC/2001/038].

COMMAND STRUCTURES

Political and military leadership

1960s: PAC National Working Committee/Task Force/Poqo

279. The PAC explained in its submission that the response of the government to the anti-pass campaign (the Sharpeville massacre) led to the ‘formation of rudimentary units comprising mainly task force members. Armed operations were carried out at Bashee, Paarl, Ntlonze and Queenstown between 1960 and 1962’. Poqo was formed in September 1961, following the formation of underground cells and the decision to embark on armed struggle and target police stations, post offices, power installations, fuel depots and various government buildings. In addition, white suburbs were selected as targets. Branches, theoretically consisting of no more than fifteen members, were set up. In larger branches, smaller cells were set up – with their own small committees and ‘task force’ leaders. The task force was made up of foot soldiers to be in a state of readiness at all times. Foot soldiers also served as the organisation’s police who stood guard during meetings.

212 See Chapter Two of this section.

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

1962: Revolutionary Council

281. Mr Potlako Leballo (founding PAC national secretary and acting president in exile) set up the Revolutionary Council in Lesotho, which was to plan and execute the next phase of the PAC struggle to overthrow white domination and establish ‘an Africanist socialist democracy’ via Poqo cells.

282. In the late 1960s, the PAC established a base in exile, headquartered first in Lusaka, Zambia and later in Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania. It established missions in eighteen countries and began a programme of military instruction for PAC members: first in the Congo alongside the FNLA²¹³ and later in Ghana and Algeria.

1968: Formation of APLA/PAC High Command and Military Commission

283. APLA was founded in exile in 1968 and the PAC planned for the infiltration of trained guerrillas into South Africa. After 1975, members of the APLA High Command were despatched to the frontline states to prepare an underground trail.

Late 1980s

284. From 1989, APLA cadres were infiltrated into the country and established as self-reliant, easily-manageable and controllable task force units of no more than three guerrillas. They consisted of a political commissar, whose brief was to make sure that all operations enhanced the PAC’s political positions and ideology; a cadre in charge of securing logistics whenever needed, and a commander who was in charge of the military aspects of operations.

213 National Front for the Liberation of Angola

285. The political commissars were the first to be infiltrated to occupy certain positions inside the country, followed by the logistic personnel and then the commanders, who were 'the actual fighters'.
286. APLA based reconnaissance units all over the frontline states. Inside the country, however, the political commissars, whose task was generally to pave the way for the entry of the fighters, also had to do the major reconnaissance work. As part of APLA's all-round training, cadres were equipped to perform any tasks at any given time and situation. It was the commissars who had to answer to the Military Commission in the event of mishaps arising in the course of operations.
287. According to the testimony of Mr Vuma Ntikinca, an APLA operative in the Transkei at the time, this *modus operandi* made the APLA units:
- more slippery, more mobile and more efficient in an encounter with a big army. These units were independent of each other. They selected their own targets and they did not face any dangers of their operations and movements being known by the enemy as a result of the capture of one cadre or the whole unit, or as a result of enemy infiltration at headquarters. These tiny units also had the advantage of depriving the enemy of the opportunity of using heavy weaponry. It was easier for us acquiring small and light weapons that suited the size of the units, which could not be easily detected. In the latter part of the operations, though, APLA forces had expanded into much bigger units which were now using rocket launchers such as RPG7s and other weaponry. (Interview with the Commission.)*
288. The units were deployed in a manner that ensured that they had no contact with one another. They reported directly to APLA's headquarters in Tanzania after an operation had been carried out. If serious political repercussions arose from any one military operation, it was the political commissars who answered to the Military Commission, explaining any deviation from PAC ideology, strategy and programme.
289. Local commanders in small units were given a fair degree of autonomy in selecting targets, undertaking reconnaissance, procuring arms and establishing tactics for APLA operations. Once a target had been selected, however, a local commander would have to seek authorisation from a regional commander or some superior official. According to the evidence presented in amnesty hearings, this was generally done.

290. The operational planning of an attack was the task of the commander of the unit assigned to it. As will be clear from the operations described earlier in this chapter, a feature common to most was the fact that the foot soldiers were briefed on the details only moments before they were launched. They were deliberately kept in the dark and prevented by APLA's operational code from asking questions about the proposed attack. Nor were they at liberty to question the instructions they received. The Amnesty Committee repeatedly heard applicants say that it was not their place to question the instructions or the legitimacy of operations.
291. Applicant Andile Shiceka told the Committee that APLA soldiers on the ground had no capacity either to determine or influence policy. They were merely expected to obey orders. They did not participate in making or changing policy in respect of target selection, but simply followed instructions. Many applicants told the Committee that they would never have questioned the orders given to them. They had been trained never to question an order or instruction. A disciplined member of the army would simply carry out the order. Defying an order would be tantamount to 'mutiny' within the army ranks.

Early 1990s: APLA repossession units

292. Mr Patrick Thapelo Maseko [AM5918/97] told the Committee that, after receiving PAC training outside the country between 1983 and 1989, he re-entered the country as a member of APLA and was deployed to a repossession unit code-named 'Beauty Salon':

I was deployed inside the country with specific instructions to advance the struggle for the liberation of African people in all fronts. We were told that the PAC and APLA have no funds and therefore the cadres should be self-reliant. We were told that the targets will be chosen by us. This unit therefore was called 'Repossession Unit'. This was the first unit to be sent in the country for this purpose, though we were to conduct other operations. (Statement to the Commission.)

293. Maseko was involved in commanding at least twenty-eight operations. Initially, he reported to a man called Msiki in Botswana via a courier code-named 'General'. Later he reported to Mr Letlapa Mphahlele who had returned to South Africa as part of the APLA High Command after the unbanning of organisations in February 1990. He was expected to hand over to Msiki whatever had been

repossessed by the unit, with the exception of arms and ammunition, which he retained for further use by operatives. If the money obtained was less than R3 000, the unit used it to conduct further operations. According to the evidence before the Amnesty Committee, the 'Beauty Salon' unit was responsible for the theft of over R40 550. In 1991, over R532 000 was stolen.

Transkei operational bases

294. From operational bases secured in the Transkei, APLA conducted a series of attacks on civilian targets in the early 1990s. Operations in the Western Cape had particularly strong links to APLA structures in the Transkei. Weaponry was also sourced from the Transkei security forces. For example, the Amnesty Committee heard that the hand grenades used in the St James' and Heidelberg attacks originated from a batch of grenades supplied to the Transkei Defence Force. Transkei also provided refuge for APLA operatives after operations. In most attacks, APLA personnel from the Transkei were deployed in conjunction with locally-trained operatives, while local PAC structures provided logistical support to such operatives.

MOTIVES AND PERSPECTIVES

PAC/APLA perspectives

295. The PAC believed that its members were fighting a just war of liberation from white domination. Its definition of the enemy included all those identified as 'settlers' rather than 'Africans'. This meant that the distinction between civilian and non-civilian targets was not considered significant.
296. Most of the human rights violations attributed to APLA took place between 1990 and 1994 while negotiations and eventually the run up to elections were in progress.
297. The primary objective of the PAC and its armed wing APLA in the early 1990s was the overthrow of the apartheid regime. To that end, the PAC recruited young men into self-defence or, as the PAC termed them, 'task force' units.
298. APLA's first task was to wage an armed struggle against the security forces. While APLA's strategy in the 1980s had been to target security structures, 'a new strategy arose in the 1990s where civilians within the white community

were attacked'. White persons (male and female) came to be described as 'the underbelly of apartheid'. By attacking white civilians, APLA hoped to bring pressure to bear on the apartheid government and thereby expedite the liberation of the African masses.

299. Due to the logistical difficulties faced by APLA headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, target selection was left to local commanders. However, evidence presented to the Commission revealed that, while internally-trained cadres were in a position to carry out better reconnaissance and thus avert detection and arrest, they faced the disadvantage of not having received the political education available to cadres in the exile camps. Consequently, strategic errors were made by these locally-trained operatives, for which the APLA leadership accepted full responsibility. However, the Commission was given no details of these errors.
300. The Amnesty Committee heard evidence that the PAC's armed struggle was essentially a guerrilla war directed against 'the then racist minority regime which was undemocratic and oppressive'. In order to conduct the armed struggle, APLA cadres were instructed to 'seek and attack the bastions and minions' of the regime with the ultimate objective of toppling it and returning the land to the majority of the African people. This was the general directive issued to commanders and units on the ground.
301. Applicant Phila Martin Dolo [AM 3485/96] told the Committee that the 'bastions and minions of the ... erstwhile regime' were, from the APLA perspective, members of the SADF, members of the SAP, reservists, and farmers, as they belonged to commando structures and occupied farms and white homes described as 'garrisons of apartheid'.
302. The aim of attacking white farmers, Dolo testified, was to drive them away in order 'to widen our territorial operational base which was aimed at eventually consolidating the liberated and repossessed land'.
- My general instruction was to seek, identify and attack the enemy who was seen in the context of the above-stated bastions and minions of the regime, and also to train other cadres and command them in whatever operation that is being embarked upon. (East London hearing, 26 April 1999.)*
303. Mr Andile Shiceka [AM5939/97] explained that the shift from targeting members of the security forces to targeting whites in general was not a major policy change. A precedent had been created by Poqo's targeting of whites:

[T]he attack on white civilians is not a new thing, when you look back at the history of PAC – the formation of Poqo on the 11th of September 1961. If you remember the attacks at Mbashe, Paarl and Komane, those comrades of those days were members of the PAC which was converted into APLA. They were attacking white civilians during those days; even history confirms that. Therefore I find it difficult for me when one of the panel members says we're shifting as to our targets. Instead of attacking security forces, we were attacking white civilians which I refer to as 'soft targets' ... That's the reason why I say I am confused when they say we have shifted in constituting targets because this started long ago. (Pietermaritzburg hearing, 11 February 1998.)

304. Mr Luvuyo Kulman [AM1638/96], who applied for amnesty for various attacks in Ficksburg, quoted Robert Sobukwe to underscore the point:

I want to make it clear that we did not attack whites because they were white; we attacked them because they were oppressors. Sobukwe, the founding President of the PAC, put it this way: 'In every struggle, whether national or class, the masses do not fight an abstraction. They do not hate oppression or capitalism. They concretise these and hate the oppressor, be he, the governor-general or a colonial power, the landlord or the factory owner, or in South Africa, the whites. But they hate these groups because they associate them with their oppression. Remove the association and you remove the hatred.' In South Africa then, once white domination has been overthrown and the white is no longer 'white boss' but is an individual member of society, there will be no reason to hate him and he will not be hated even by the masses. We are not anti-white therefore. We do not hate the European because he is white. We hate him because he is an oppressor. And it is plain dishonesty to say 'I hate the sjambok and not the one who wields it'. (Application to Commission and hearing at East London, 26 April 1999.)

Suspension of the armed struggle

305. After the lifting of the banning orders on the liberation movements on 2 February 1990, the PAC adopted a different strategic position to that of the ANC. While the ANC engaged almost immediately in 'talks about talks' with government representatives, the PAC told the Commission that it adopted a principled approach to negotiations and believed that 'one must negotiate from a position of strength'.

306. Its continuation of armed struggle – reaffirmed by the PAC’s national conference as late as December 1993 – was, however, an issue of contention within the organisation. Amnesty applicant Bongani Malevu [AM0293/96], who attended the conference, testified before the Amnesty Committee that the resolution on the armed struggle did not receive unanimous agreement. There was a split between those who felt that the struggle should continue and those who were opposed to armed attacks continuing during the run-up to the elections in April 1994.
307. In his January 1994 New Year’s message, and with the election only months away, APLA commander Sabelo Phama declared 1994 as the year of the ‘great offensive on all fronts’ and said that ‘the bullet and the ballot’ were to be used effectively in 1994. Mr Phama stated that political power without military and economic power would be meaningless and that APLA should double its efforts both politically and on the military front.
308. When shortly thereafter (on 16 January 1994), the PAC leadership announced a suspension of its armed struggle and a wish to participate in the negotiations for the new dispensation and in the pending general election, rebellion broke out inside the organisation. The PAC’s central Transkei secretary, Mr Mfanelo Skwatsha, called the leadership’s decision a ‘surrender’.

Perspectives of the survivors

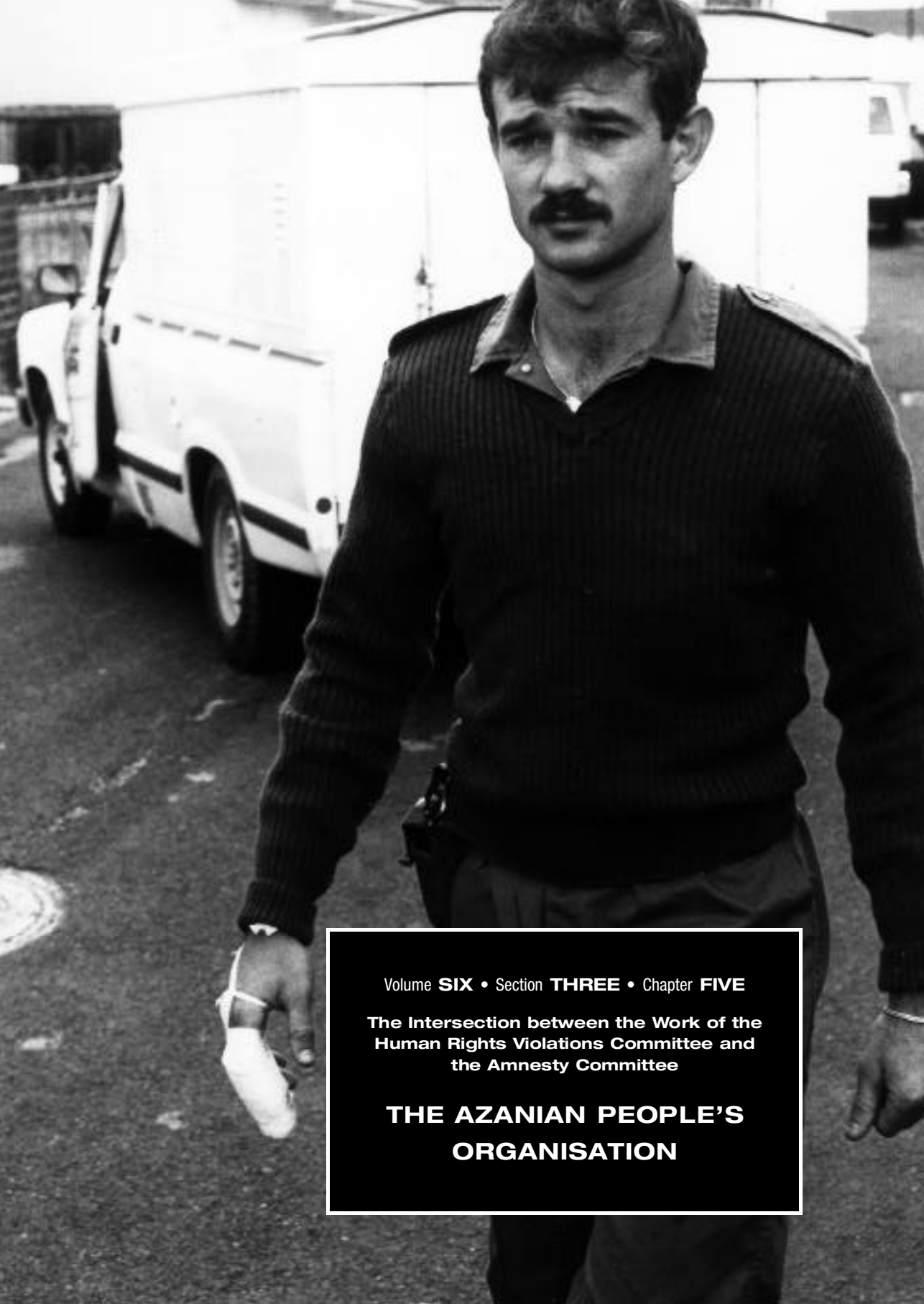
309. For the most part, the survivors of the attacks opposed the applications for amnesty on the grounds that the acts themselves were not ‘political’ in character, but were motivated rather by personal interests and, in some cases, by racial hatred. Some victims appeared before the Amnesty Committee to make their case. Others declined to give testimony and stated that they were happy to leave matters in the hands of the Committee. Several victims and members of victims’ families declined to attend the hearings or to be involved in the amnesty process in any way. In a few instances, particularly those that involved high-profile attacks on civilians, survivors and victims chose to use the opportunity offered by hearings to challenge applicants directly and to ask them to account for what appeared to be errors of judgement, particularly in the selection of targets.
310. On the whole, applicants refused to apologise for attacks and lives lost, particularly where the victims had been members of the police or of white political

organisations, white civilians or white farmers. Yet many expressed remorse for the consequences of their actions, and the desire to be reconciled with the surviving victims of attacks or the families of deceased victims.

CONCLUSION

311. The Commission gave due attention to the response of the PAC to the findings of the Human Rights Violations Committee. However, the Commission is of the view that the evidence that has emerged through the amnesty process has done nothing to cause the Commission to change or moderate these findings in any way. On the contrary, on completion of the work of the Amnesty Committee, the Commission is able to confirm these findings, particularly those with regard to the activities of the PAC and APLA during the 1990s.²¹⁴

214 See Section 5, 'Findings and Recommendations' in this volume.



Volume **SIX** • Section **THREE** • Chapter **FIVE**

**The Intersection between the Work of the
Human Rights Violations Committee and
the Amnesty Committee**

**THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S
ORGANISATION**

Azanian People's Organisation

1. The Amnesty Committee received one application from the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO).
2. Azapo member Mr Thembinkosi Vivian Mabika [AM7761/97] applied for amnesty
for robbery with aggravating circumstances, attempted murder and the unlawful possession of a 9mm Makarov pistol and ammunition; offences for which he was convicted in July 1993 and sentenced to an effective term of eighteen years' imprisonment.
3. The incident which gave rise to the charges took place during the morning of 18 January 1992 at the Acme Dry Cleaners in Kimberley. The applicant and six other persons entered the premises with the intention of committing a robbery. Ms Sonja Spicer, an employee of Acme Dry Cleaners, was shot in the chest and seriously injured during the course of the robbery.
4. The applicant testified that only two of the seven persons involved understood that the intention was to obtain money to purchase firearms for AZAPO. The others participated in the robbery for personal gain.
5. The Committee ruled that it was clear from the evidence that the applicant did not participate in the robbery under instructions or orders from any person in AZAPO. Nor was the robbery committed with the knowledge of any office-holder in AZAPO. The majority of the applicant's co-perpetrators were not members of the AZAPO but had involved themselves purely for personal gain. In the opinion of the Amnesty Committee (Committee), it was deceitful to refer to the robbery as an AZAPO operation.
6. According to the applicant's version, the lion's share of the proceeds of the robbery would have gone to common criminals and would not have been used for the benefit of AZAPO. The Committee found that the reason given by the

applicant for involving his co-perpetrators – namely that he wanted strength in numbers – was unimpressive. The fact that the applicant and one of his co-perpetrators were members of AZAPO was not enough to persuade the Committee that their motive in participating in the robbery was political.

7. Given the probability that all the perpetrators participated for their own personal gain and that the crimes committed by the applicant were not acts associated with a political objective, Mr Mabika was denied amnesty [AC2000/070].



Volume **SIX** • Section **THREE** • Chapter **SIX**

**The Intersection between the Work of the
Human Rights Violations Committee and
the Amnesty Committee**

RIGHT-WING GROUPS

Right-Wing Groups

■ INTRODUCTION

8. For the purposes of this chapter, the definition of the 'white right wing' refers to all white groups and individuals who organised themselves to campaign for self-determination and who mobilised against the democratic changes sweeping South Africa in the early 1990s. Most of these groups and individuals emerged from conservative Afrikaner circles in the country.
9. During the early 1990s, the movement away from apartheid by the National Party government was regarded by some as a treasonous capitulation to black political demands, which would result in the country being handed over to 'communists'. In response to this perceived threat, the 'white right wing' began organising itself with a view to creating structures that would ensure the safety of its members and the protection of their property. Neighbourhood watches and surveillance groups (verkenningsgroepe) were formed in various areas. As the political situation progressively deteriorated from the right-wing perspective, radical talk and an inclination towards violence increased exponentially in its ranks. Right-wing groups showed phenomenal growth and came to accommodate a wide range of right-wing views and sentiments. Elements from the military joined in, bringing with them their own professional skills, such as the manufacture of explosives.
10. It was against the background of this volatile situation in right-wing circles that matters came to a head when the National Party government lifted the ban on the liberation movements in February 1990. For the right wing, this must have seemed like the beginning of the end. The next step would be the enfranchisement of the black majority leading to black majority rule in South Africa. This would inevitably lead to the total destruction of their values and way of life.
11. During the period under review, the ranks of conservative Afrikanerdom were characterised by a great diversity of political, cultural and paramilitary formations. Many of these groupings emerged as a result of their disaffection with the ruling National Party, which had, since the 1940s, been seen as the sole custodian of Afrikaner identity. What they shared was a desire to conserve traditional Afrikaner

values by reaching back to the original principles of Afrikaner politics, rather than endorsing the adaptations of policy advanced by the Afrikaner government of the day. Even in their disaffection, however, they continued to be fragmented.

PART ONE: PROFILE OF RIGHT-WING GROUPS

12. At the start of the 1990s, the so-called 'right wing' embodied a large number of groups, some operating underground to avoid detection and infiltration by the security forces. Many of the groups were characterised by splintering and leadership struggles. However, once the negotiating parties had agreed on a formula and date for democratic elections, right-wing forces began uniting to mobilise for their struggle for self-determination.
13. The following is a summary of the main features of the organisations making up the 'right wing' as it evolved from the time of the first right-wing breakaway from the National Party in 1969. Those described represent only a few of the numerous right-wing organisations that were operating at the time of the first democratic election in April 1994. Many amnesty applicants claimed membership of one or more of these organisations simultaneously, with the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) providing an umbrella for the smaller groups.

HERSTIGTE NASIONALE PARTY

14. The Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP),²¹⁵ which broke away from the ruling National Party (NP) in 1969, was the first right-wing group to do so. Its reasons, as with all the breakaway parliamentary groups that followed, centred on dissatisfaction with NP reforms at the time. The HNP clung to its belief in the grand apartheid of the Verwoerd years, believing that a white government should dominate the entire territory of South Africa, with clear partition between the races.

BLANKE BEVRYDINGSBEWEGING

15. The Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB)²¹⁶ was founded in 1987 and advocated an extreme version of fascist apartheid based on 'refined Nazism'. Its aim was to 'repatriate' all blacks, Jews and Indians and nationalise the assets of 'non-whites'. The BBB had links with the British National Front (BNF) and similar

²¹⁵ Re-established National Party.

²¹⁶ White Liberation Movement.

groups in Australia, New Zealand and America. It is also believed to have had links with the Ku Klux Klan. The BBB was banned under the state of emergency in 1988 and unbanned with other political organisations on 2 February 1990.

AFRIKANER VRYHEIDSTIGTING

16. The Afrikaner Vryheidstigting (Avstig)²¹⁷ was established by theologian Carel Boshoff in 1988 for the purpose of campaigning for a white homeland. Avstig was instrumental in establishing the town of Orania in 1991.²¹⁸ It was granted observer status at the multi-party negotiations.

AFRIKANER WEERSTANDBEWEGING

17. The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)²¹⁹ was founded in Heidelberg during 1973 on a more radical and militant manifesto of conservative aims. AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche traced the origins of the movement to dissatisfaction with the policy of 'appeasement' of then Prime Minister BJ Vorster. He and six others met to start a cultural/political movement with the aim of protecting the interests of Afrikaners, uniting the *Boerevolk* (Boer people) and establishing a *volkstaat* (nation-state). It was felt that Afrikaners did not share the same destiny as other whites in the country. A *volkstaat* would have a form similar to that of the old Boer republics.
18. The AWB was not willing to further its cause at the ballot box or negotiating table. Mr Terre'Blanche stated on numerous occasions that the borders of such a *volkstaat* would be drawn in blood.
19. The AWB has been the most prominent of all ultra-right movements. Its prominence owed much to the media profile of Terre'Blanche, although this was seriously eroded following the ill-fated intervention of AWB troopers in Bophuthatwana in March 1994.²²⁰ Up to forty of its members were arrested in election week in April 1994 and charged with a spate of pre-election bombings. Many applied to the Committee for amnesty.

217 Afrikaner Freedom Foundation.

218 Orania was envisaged as the growth point of a *volkstaat* that would stretch over a large part of the arid north western Cape Province. Orania has a population of about 350, including Mrs Betsie Verwoerd, widow of the late former premier Hendrik Verwoerd.

219 Afrikaner Resistance Movement.

220 Volume Two, Chapter Seven, p. 614, para 141.

WENKOMMANDO

20. The Wenkommando (WK)²²¹ was established by the AWB in 1990 to take over from the various paramilitary groups operating under the banner of the AWB. Attached to the WK was the elite *Ystergarde* (Iron Guards), the *Rooivalke* (Red Falcons), the *Witkruisarende* (Black Eagles), the *Penkoppe* (Youth), *Stormvalke* (Storm Falcons), the underwater unit and various 'ethnic' units such as the exclusively Portuguese commandos in Johannesburg. In 1993, an air wing was also introduced and parachute training initiated.
21. The *Ystergarde* unit, with its membership of up to 200 men, was regarded as a more polished fighting unit, as several of its members were former members of the South African Defence Force (SADF) and South African Police (SAP) Special Forces.
22. The *Rooivalke* were the female counterpart of the *Ystergarde* and operated under the command of Mrs Ansie Cruywagen, wife of a *Wenkommando* chief of staff, Mr Alec Cruywagen. The *Witkruisarende* appeared to be a medical team consisting of female members of the Wenkommando with paramedical training. The *Penkoppe* were regarded as the Wenkommando Youth League and consisted almost exclusively of the children of active AWB members.
23. The *Stormvalke* unit was founded in late 1979 and can be regarded as the first paramilitary wing of the AWB. It never became more than a motorcycle gang wearing AWB insignia. Dormant in the mid-eighties, it was revived again in 1992 under the leadership of a Roodepoort motorcyclist.
24. Three men clad in diving gear made their first appearance at a May 1992 rally as the underwater unit of the *Wenkommando*. They surfaced again in 1993 at a joint rally of the AWB and AVF on 29 May.
25. In 1993, AWB spokesmen numbered Wenkommando membership at between 34 000 and 36 000. In September 1992, an official police assessment put WK membership at 15 000. Analysts have claimed that both figures were inflated. However, it is true that the WK expanded rapidly during the course of 1993. Political violence and concurrent polarisation played into the hands of the AWB, with an estimated 2 000 members joining up in the two weeks following

²²¹ Winning commando.

the killing of Chris Hani. Towards the end of 1993, membership may have totalled 25 000.

26. Although it had a relatively large membership compared to other private armies, a distinction must be made between active members of the Wenkommando and those who had signed up at some stage but did not become active in the movement. Indications, such as attendance figures at rallies in 1992, suggest an active membership of no more than 5 000 countrywide.

KONSERWATIEWE PARTY

27. The Conservative Party (CP) was founded in March 1982 under the leadership of Dr Andries Treurnicht who, until earlier that month, had been Transvaal leader of the National Party and a minister in President PW Botha's cabinet.
28. After serious differences of opinion between Treurnicht and the cabinet on issues such as mixed sport in schools and intimations that Indian and coloured representatives might soon become part of the decision-making process, Treurnicht and fellow cabinet minister Ferdi Hartzenberg resigned their posts.
29. On 9 March they were expelled from the NP and, together with fifteen other right-wing MPs, founded the CP on 20 March 1982.
30. The CP grew rapidly and soon became the white right's most important representative body. With 31 per cent of the vote in the September 1989 all-white general election, the CP became the official opposition in parliament. However, the party was dealt a devastating blow by the 1992 referendum and the reforms instituted by President FW de Klerk on 2 February 1990. Moreover, its members became frustrated with the lack of a clear policy direction in the party. In August, disaffection led to the establishment of the *Afrikaner Volksunie* (AVU)²²² by a breakaway group of five MPs who propagated a smaller homeland for the Afrikaner. The AVU was never able to gather much grassroots support, but the CP subsequently took over its homeland policy.

²²² Afrikaner People's Union.

TOEKOMSGESPREK

31. The Toekomsgesprek (TG)²²³ was established in the mid-eighties as a counter to the NP's Broederbond²²⁴, using similar structures, procedures for recruitment, initiation rites and so on. Membership of the TG was by invitation only and only after proper screening by all other members. In October 1990, the TG argued in a policy document that the CP would have to settle for a smaller state, taking cognisance of the fact that blacks had become a permanent fixture in 'white' South Africa. Although supposedly a political and cultural movement, evidence in amnesty applications points to its paramilitary activities.
32. Amnesty applicant Mr Daniel Benjamin Snyders [AM0074/96] testified that he had been involved with Toekomsgesprek since the mid-1980s, helping to set up neighbourhood watch groups from the CP, HNP and AWB. In late 1990, the AWB declared a 'white-by-night' rule for blacks in many rural towns, giving their members 'permission' to use violence to forcibly remove blacks who transgressed the 'curfew'. Eugene Terre'Blanche claimed that Adriaan Vlok gave them the go-ahead for this 'crime prevention exercise'.
33. Toekomsgesprek's defence system grew rapidly, as did the other activities with which it was tasked at the *Volksberaad*.²²⁵ These included burning down NP offices, taking charge of the commando system, making bombs with explosives obtained from the mines and joining forces with the SADF and the SAP. The country was divided into regions and commanders were appointed.

BOEREWEERSTANDBEWEGING

34. The Boereweerstandsbeweging (BWB)²²⁶ was established in 1991 as one of the most radical and potentially most violent groupings. Led by Mr Andrew Ford, a farmer from the Rustenburg area, the BWB was strongly influenced by the ideas of Mr Robert van Tonder's Boerestaats Party²²⁷. Its organisation was based on a cell structure, and the separate cells were not supposed to have knowledge of one another. These cells were associated with numerous bombings, notably the bombing of an Indian business area at Bronkhorstspruit in October 1993 in

223 Discussion of the Future.

224 A secret society composed of Afrikaners holding key jobs in all walks of life.

225 National or people's consultation.

226 Boer Resistance Movement.

227 Boer State Party.

which a police officer was killed when he went to investigate a suspicious-looking parcel (see below). Those implicated in the bombing allegedly belonged to the Cullinan cell of the BWB.

35. Ford also laid claim to the establishment of the Boere Republikeinse Leër (BRL).²²⁸ The BRL was launched in 1991 when a document was circulated in far right-wing circles, calling on right-wingers to join. The BRL claimed responsibility, through anonymous callers, for various acts of sabotage that later turned out to be the work of other organisations or individuals. Doubts have been expressed as to whether the BRL actually existed or whether it was just one of several so-called 'telephone ghosts' of the right.
36. BWB deputy leader, Mr Piet Rudolph, went on to form the more militant Orde Boerevolk (OB), which declared war on the government through the medium of a videotape posted to an Afrikaans newspaper. At the time, Rudolph was on the run from the law following the theft of weapons from the SADF to launch the so-called 'Third War of Freedom'. By 1993, OB members had been organised in underground cells and were preparing for war. They were responsible for a number of violent acts and violations in the early 1990s.
37. At this time, the AWB created local self-protection committees modelled on the neighbourhood watch system in many right-wing towns, including *Blanke Veiligheid* (White Safety) in Welkom; *Brandwag* (Sentinel) in Brits; *Aksie Selfbeskerming* (Action Self-Protection) in Klerksdorp and *Die Flaminke* (Flamingos) in Virginia. Some engaged in vigilante actions such as the enforcement of the 'white-by-night' curfew instituted by the AWB across the country in 1990. On several occasions, these organisations entered into conflict with black residents in the towns and adjacent townships, particularly during consumer boycotts. During such incidents, white vigilantes encountered little or no intervention from law enforcement agencies.

VEKOM AND THE AFRIKANER VOLKSFRONT

38. In the wake of the 1993 killing of Chris Hani, a group of retired SADF generals founded the Volkseenheidskomitee (Vekom)²²⁹, a well co-ordinated movement which established regional committees in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

²²⁸ Boer Republican Army.

²²⁹ Nations/People's Unity Committee.

Vekom aimed to create a paramilitary structure to facilitate access to armaments and other resources during the run-up to the 1994 election. Together with up to sixty-five other organisations, the formation of a 'right wing front' was discussed and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) was conceived, drawing in a broad spectrum of right wing groups. These included the CP, the HNP, Afrikaner Volksunie, the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting (Avstig), the Wêreld Apartheid Beweging (WAB)²³⁰, the Boere Vryheidsbeweging²³¹, the Pretoria Boerekommando Group, Vekom, the Mine Workers' Union, the Church of the Creator, the Oranjewerkers-Vereniging and some business and other church groupings. The AWB was also persuaded to participate. Later the BWB and the BRL also supported the front. The front's rallying call was for a *volkstaat*.

39. While the AWB fell in with the AVF, the latter's formation in May 1993 came as a blow to Eugene Terre'Blanche, who now found himself sidelined. Terre'Blanche had liked to see himself as the strongest force in extra-parliamentary right-wing politics and the AWB as the original and true carrier of the *volkstaat* ideal. Tensions erupted in March 1994 when three AWB members were killed during the Bophuthatswana debacle. Shortly thereafter, AVF leader General Constand Viljoen cited AWB lack of discipline as one of the main reasons for the failure of a right wing, and resigned from the AVF directorate. For their part, the AWB and Terre'Blanche accused Viljoen of being a traitor.

THE FREEDOM ALLIANCE

40. The Freedom Alliance (FA), which grew out of the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) in 1993, was a political pressure group comprising the AVF, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana homeland governments and the CP. All its members had at one stage or another pulled out of the multi-party negotiations, giving as their central reason their perception that the NP and ANC were pushing a pre-determined agenda past the other parties.
41. For its part, the FA pushed a strong regional agenda. Some of its members subscribed to confederalism and others to federalism, following the principles of the right to self-determination, the protection and promotion of free enterprise and the limitations of powers of central government. The AVF's General Viljoen spoke on behalf of the alliance at a meeting in Pietersburg during July

²³⁰ World Apartheid Movement, aka the World Preservatist Movement.

²³¹ Boer Freedom Movement.

1993, saying that the potential for conflict was so high that a bloodbath was unavoidable if the demands of the alliance were not recognised.

42. However, General Viljoen ultimately supported participation in the democratic elections in 1994.

PART TWO: SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF AMNESTY APPLICATIONS

■ OVERVIEW

43. A large number of victim statements implicating right-wing perpetrators were received by the Commission, nearly all relating to violations committed from the late 1980s until the election in April 1994. The number of statements received showed a distinct increase in violations as the election approached, peaking in late 1993 when the political climate for extremism was at its height. Most violations occurred in the former Orange Free State and Transvaal and many were as racist as they were political in character.
44. A total of 107 applications for amnesty were received from members of right-wing organisations. This figure does not include those applicants who were found not to be bona fide members of such organisations, or those who participated in right-wing activities while they were members of the security forces.
45. The overwhelming majority (71 %) of applicants claimed membership of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). Ten per cent of applicants claimed membership of the Conservative Party (CP). The remaining 19 per cent of the applicants claimed to belong to a variety of organisations, including the non-specific 'right wing'.
46. Most applications for amnesty from right-wing applicants were heard and settled in the early stages of the Amnesty Committee's work. Of these, 68 per cent were granted amnesty. Roughly half the applications were dealt with in chambers²³² and half in hearings convened by the Amnesty Committee. Sixty per cent of the hearable applications and 67 per cent of the chamber matters were granted amnesty.

232 See this volume, Section One, Chapter Three for more information about chamber matters.

47. The Amnesty Committee heard that, prior to February 1990, violations committed by members of right-wing organisations took the form of isolated attacks with a strong racist character. From February 1990, right-wing violence took on a more organised and orchestrated form. Isolated racist attacks on individuals were replaced by mass demonstrations and orchestrated bombing and sabotage campaigns. Perhaps the two most dramatic of these mass actions were the June 1993 occupation by members of the AWB and other right-wing groups of the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park²³³ and the invasion by members of the AWB of Bophuthatswana in support of the homeland administration in 1994²³⁴. In the first incident, Eugene Terre'Blanche led a crowd of up to 3000 right-wingers around a police cordon and smashed an armoured vehicle through the plate glass doors of the Centre, where constitutional negotiations were underway. The right-wingers occupied the chamber for more than two hours singing *Die Stem*²³⁵. Their representatives handed over demands for a *volkstaat*. In the Bophuthatswana incident on 11 March 1994, Eugene Terre'Blanche mobilised a force of 600 AWB members following an appeal by President Mangope to the Volksfront for assistance in suppressing civil action calling for political reforms in the homeland. They entered Mafikeng in Bophuthatswana and proceeded to attack local residents. Over forty-five people were killed, including three AWB members.
48. It should be noted that one of the main reasons for extending the cut-off date for amnesty applications was to accommodate potential applicants who had been involved in these two incidents. Yet amnesty applications were received in respect of neither. The original cut-off date was 30 November 1993.

CATEGORIES OF VIOLATIONS

49. This chapter deals with the violations committed by the right wing prior to the unbanning of political organisations in February 1990 and the violations that followed the unbannings until the first democratic election in April 1994 in the following broad categories: attacks on individuals; possession of arms, explosives and ammunition; sabotage of the transitional process, and sabotage of the electoral process.

233 Volume Two, Chapter Seven, p. 663; Volume Three, Chapter Six, p. 736.

234 Volume Two, Chapter Seven, p. 614, para 141.

235 The former national anthem.

50. The first category deals with right-wing attacks on individuals, on those perceived to have betrayed the nationalist ideal and on black persons insofar as race determined the notion of the 'enemy'. Few human rights violations were committed by right-wing groups during the 1960s and 1970s.
51. The second category deals with applications for amnesty for the possession (including the theft or manufacture) of arms, explosives and ammunition.
52. The third category deals with violations committed between February 1990 and December 1993, which were intended in one way or another to derail the process of negotiations by instilling a climate of terror and fear in the country. Included in this category are indiscriminate attacks on individuals, targeted assassinations, interference with political activities and sabotage attacks on symbolic targets, including schools, businesses, newspapers, court buildings and so on.
53. The fourth category deals with violations committed between 1 January and 27 April 1994 with the specific intention of throwing the preparations for the first democratic elections in April into disarray. These violations include those arising from a comprehensive pre-election bombing campaign of strategic attacks as well as ongoing attacks on individuals.
54. It should be noted that the violations reported to the Commission represented less than half of the actual number of violations for which members of right wing organisations were responsible in the months leading to the April 1994 elections.

LINKS WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Links with the security forces

55. The evidence shows that the right wing enjoyed a doubled-edged relationship with the security forces.
56. On the one hand, both the security forces and right-wing groupings shared a 'common enemy' in the ANC/SACP alliance. Although members of the former SADF and SAP were, from 1984, prohibited by law from being members of the AWB and other right-wing organisations, many members of the police force were sympathetic to the right wing. Police and right-wingers often moved in the same circles, especially in small towns where white communities were small.

Moreover, many members of right-wing organisations had at some time undergone military training in the SADF and continued to receive support in the form of training, information and weapons. The AWB claimed on several occasions that their strength within the army and police ranged from between 40 and 60 per cent.

57. The Commission heard evidence that Military Intelligence structures were involved in the formation of Vekom and later the AVF. There are, of course, other possible explanations for this. It might have been a strategy to defuse militant ultra-right and rogue security force members and bring them into the fold of the negotiations process. Alternatively, the aim could have been to mobilise the right wing in order to create the impression that a military-style coup was on the agenda, thus either strengthening the NP's bargaining position in the negotiations or as a prelude to a military-style coup.
58. The Committee received amnesty applications from security force members who supported the right wing and actively assisted them with training, information and weapons. Boereweerstandsbeweging (BWB) 'general', Mr Horst Klentz [AM 0316/96] testified how the Security Branch in towns like Cullinan provided weapons directly to the groups' deputy leader (one Von Beenz), for use by the BWB's approximately 100 active members.
59. On the other hand, right-wing organisations were themselves infiltrated by the Security Branch. According to intelligence documents before the Commission, the SAP ran a Stratcom project ('Operation Cosmopolitan') in the early 1990s. This aimed, inter alia, to utilise strategic intelligence to persuade the right wing to take part in negotiations and a peaceful settlement and to influence members of the SAP to accept and support the negotiations process.
60. Mr Roelof Venter, a security policeman who applied for amnesty for a vast array of violations, mostly in connection with the liberation movements, also admitted to acting against right-wingers between the early 1980s and 1994. Venter said he 'questioned' a number of right-wingers:

They talked easily without the necessity to use physical force, but we were in no doubt to use the same interrogation techniques against them as those used against the black activists, if necessary. (Pretoria hearing, February 1997.)

61. An unidentified security policeman applied for amnesty for several premeditated violations against right-wingers and right-wing organisations. In the late 1980s,

he was instructed to infiltrate the right wing and sow divisions. He testified that he was involved in *crimen injuria*, defamation, invasion of privacy and other violations against AWB leader Eugene Terre'blanche during 1988/89. This involved smear campaigns and 24-hour tapping of his telephones, leading to the exposure of his alleged affair with a Sunday newspaper journalist.

62. The same Security Branch policeman applied for amnesty for theft and a break-in at the AWB offices in Pretoria in 1989, when a number of documents were taken. He believes the information gained as a result helped the police (and government) to keep the right wing 'under control'.
63. He also admitted to arson, damage to property, intimidation and conspiracy during the early 1990s, and carrying out actions in the name of the Wit Wolwe ('White Wolves') in Pretoria and Verwoerdburg. These actions targeted white activists such as members of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) and the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) affiliates and involved the creation and distribution of Stratcom-style pamphlets in the name of the Wit Wolwe.

Links with the CCB

64. One of the earliest known right-wing violations seems to have been orchestrated by the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB). Applicant Leonard Michael Veenendal [AM3675/96], who was involved with a number of right-wing groups, testified that he was a paid CCB member while at the same time carrying out actions with various right-wingers. Veenendal, together with another CCB member, a German right-winger and other right-wingers – most related to the BWB – were involved in the killing of an UNTAG guard in Namibia in 1989. Veenendal escaped from custody, killing the police officer guarding them. He was refused amnesty [AC1998/002].

Links with the Inkatha Freedom Party

65. Applications and intelligence documents provide evidence that some IFP members and right-wingers collaborated on a wide front, particularly in efforts to procure weapons.
66. With the formation of the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) in 1993, the IFP formalised its ties with the Afrikaner Volksfront, an umbrella body comprising a variety of conservative and right-wing groups.

67. Evidence before the Committee confirmed that, even before the formation of COSAG, AWB groups were working closely with the IFP, particularly on the KwaZulu/Natal north coast and to some extent on the West Rand. This association involved mainly the procurement of arms and ammunition, although there were also reports of AWB groups providing training assistance. Joint operations were planned in at least two instances on the KwaZulu/Natal south coast (See the Flagstaff police station attack below).
68. Former IFP member Walter Felgate testified at a section 29 hearing²³⁶ that most right-wing offers for joint operations to procure weapons were declined by the IFP.
69. Amnesty was granted to Mr Gerrit Phillipus Anderson [AM8077/97], an AWB member whose cell in Natal co-operated with the IFP to procure and hide weapons between May 1993 and June 1994 [AC/1998/0005]. Anderson was an adviser on special AWB operations in Natal. He testified before the Amnesty Committee that the AWB procured weapons for the IFP as it was believed that the IFP could help the AWB realise its ideal of a *volkstaat*. He testified that the AWB leadership approved these actions. Anderson stated in his application that the homemade guns were hidden by an IFP member and later handed over to the Security Branch by a third party.
70. IFP supporter Mr Allan Nolte [AM2501/96] applied for amnesty for planning to poison the water supply of Umlazi in Durban with cyanide during 1993/4. The plan was never executed. Nolte testified that he was 'on loan to the AWB' for the planned operation and named other right-wingers who were party to the proposed poisoning operation. Nolte was later convicted of illegal possession of arms and explosives, an offence for which he was refused amnesty because it was committed after the cut-off date [AC/1999/0073]²³⁷ He testified that the aim of joint IFP/AWB operations was to isolate KwaZulu-Natal from the rest of the country in order to 'take control of it'.

The Flagstaff police station attack

71. Four AWB members and three IFP members launched an attack on the Flagstaff police station in the Eastern Cape on 6 March 1994, with the intention of stealing

²³⁶ In terms of Section 29 of the Act, witnesses and alleged perpetrators could be subpoenaed in order to 'establish the fate or whereabouts of victims' and the identity of those responsible for human rights violations.

²³⁷ The initial cut-off date for amnesty applications was 14 December 1996. This was, however, extended to 10 May 1997.

arms for use by IFP self-protection units (SPUs).²³⁸ AWB members Harry Simon Jardine [AM6178/97] and Andrew Howell [AM5961/97], AWB/IFP member Morton Christie [AM6610/97] and IFP members Christo Brand [AM6422/97] and James Mkhazwa Zulu [AM5864/97] applied for amnesty for the incident. Before the start of the hearing, Mr Zulu was killed in a violent altercation and his application could not be proceeded with.

72. The applicants testified before the Committee that AWB Commander Patrick Pedlar and Mr Robin Shoesmith, an IFP SPU member, requested that they attack the Flagstaff station on a Sunday when it was thought that there would be only one SAP officer on duty. However, unbeknown to the applicants, the police were tipped off about the attack, allegedly by Pedlar himself. Reinforcements were sent to the police station and what had been foreseen as an easy robbery turned into a shoot-out. The police officer on duty, Mr Barnabas Jaggars, died in the attack and officers Wele Edmund Nyanguna and Mzingizi Abednego Mkhondweni were injured. The applicants managed to get away with a vehicle, arms and ammunition and a trunk containing R140 in cash.
73. Mr Jardine testified that, at the time, the AWB was preparing for war because the ANC was going to take over the country. In this volatile political climate, the AWB co-operated with the IFP because they shared 'a common enemy' in the ANC/SACP alliance. Working with the IFP would strengthen the might of the AWB in the south coastal areas of KwaZulu/Natal (Durban hearing, April 1998).
74. Mr Howell testified before the Committee that the IFP and the AWB shared the same belief in the self-determination of their people. Working together to combat the ANC's rise to power would strengthen the AWB's aim of achieving a *Boerestaat* (Durban hearing, April 1998).
75. Mr Christie testified that he had been instructed by AWB General Nick Fourie²³⁹ to assist the IFP in any way possible.

MR CHRISTIE: ... I see in the news and what-not, the IFP or Zulus, as such, had marched with other right-wingers in other parts of the country. So, our objective was, obviously, to assist the IFP. You know, they not having the benefit of military training as what we've had and, of course, the ANC having benefit of military training from overseas, the IFP are left with no military training. I was instructed

²³⁸ See Chapter Three in this section.

²³⁹ Nick Fourie was killed about a week after this event when AWB forces invaded Bophuthatswana.

on that regard that we should assist the IFP in any way possible. (Durban hearing, 24 April 1998.)

76. Although he authorised the attack, Fourie was not involved in planning it. He did, however, warn Christie to proceed with caution and to be wary of local AWB Commander Patrick Pedlar, who was thought to be an informer for the Security Branch.
77. All five applicants were convicted of the robbery, the killing of Mr Barnabas Jagers and the attempted killing of Mr Wele Edmund Nyanguna and Mr Mzingizi Abednego Mkhondweni. Their sentencing in the matter was delayed pending the outcome of their amnesty applications. The surviving victims, Mr Nyanguna and Mr Mkhondweni, opposed their applications on the grounds that the applicants did not disclose who actually wounded them and killed Mr Jagers.
78. The Amnesty Committee found that the operation was associated with a political objective committed in the course of the conflicts of the past and that the relevant facts relating to the particular offenses had been disclosed, bearing in mind the circumstances prevailing that night. Amnesty was granted the four applicants [AC/1998/0015].

The Seychelles Restaurant attack

79. In February 1994, the same IFP and AWB members conspired to carry out an attack on the Seychelles Restaurant at Port Shepstone. Mr Morton Christie, Mr Harry Jardine and Mr Andrew Howell applied for amnesty for the arson attack that destroyed the restaurant. They testified before the Amnesty Committee that the restaurant was a known meeting place for ANC supporters.
80. At the hearing on the Flagstaff police station attack, the applicants revealed that they had conspired to bomb the Port Shepstone offices of the NP and the ANC on the same day as the Seychelles Restaurant attack, but had abandoned these plans because of the commotion caused in the town by the bombing of the restaurant. No casualties or injuries were reported after the bombing.
81. Amnesty was granted to the applicants for the attack on the restaurant, for the conspiracy to attack the NP and ANC offices and for preparing and being in possession of explosives, on the basis that the relevant facts had been disclosed

and that the offences were associated with a political objective committed in the course of the conflicts of the past [AC/1999/0183, 0184, 0185].

Links with international right-wing organisations

82. Support from international right-wing organisations mainly took the form of moral support and the supply of propaganda materials.
83. Mr Robert Mahler [AM6397/97], an American citizen, stated in an amnesty application that he had been recruited by the SAP to act as a firearms instructor. Mahler had illegally imported a large cache of weapons to South Africa, using fraudulent names and passports. He claimed allegiance to the CP and said he had contact with other groups like the AVF and AWB. He also said he was the USA fund-raising representative of the AWB. He was refused amnesty on the grounds that he could show no political objective for his offences.
84. After the assassination of Mr Chris Hani, reports appeared in international and local media linking Mr Janusz Walus and Mr Clive Derby-Lewis to international groups. This supported suspicions that there was a wider international conspiracy behind the killing. However, the Commission was unable to find that Walus and Derby-Lewis took orders from international groups (see below).²⁴⁰

PRE-1980 ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUALS

85. In the pre-1990 period, the right wing was associated mainly with isolated incidents of racial violence and politically motivated attacks on individuals.

The tarring and feathering of Floors van Jaarsveld

86. The earliest incident for which an amnesty application was received was the tarring and feathering of Professor Floors van Jaarsveld on 28 March 1979. The attack followed his delivery of a 'liberal' speech at the UNISA Senate Hall in Potchefstroom. AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche [AM7994/97], applied for amnesty for the incident.
87. When addressing the gathering, Professor van Jaarsveld, a leading historian attached to the University of Pretoria, had proposed a different approach to the

²⁴⁰ See also Section 1, 'Report of the Amnesty Committee', in this volume.

celebration of the Day of the Covenant, a day held sacrosanct by the majority of Afrikaners as it commemorated the battle of Blood River, where a small group of Voortrekkers staved off the attack of a large number of Zulu warriors.

88. Terre'Blanche and his followers, all members of the AWB, decided that Professor van Jaarsveld had abused his influential position in an attempt to further leftist political objectives, and saw this as an attack on the ultimate freedom of the Afrikaner *volk*. They regarded the new direction given by Van Jaarsveld to Afrikaner history as contrary to the then South African Constitution, which recognised God as the highest authority. It was for this reason that the AWB took a decision to 'tar and feather'²⁴¹ Professor van Jaarsveld in the lecture hall. They poured tar over him in front of his audience and thereafter strewed feathers all over his clothes and body. In the process, expensive carpets in the university hall were damaged. Mr Terre'Blanche was convicted of *crimen injuria* and malicious damage to property.
89. In his written application, Mr Terre'Blanche fully disclosed the names of his co-perpetrators. He testified at the hearing that it had been the intention of the AWB to send a message to Professor van Jaarsveld that he had broken the vow the Afrikaners had taken at Blood River. The lecture, in his opinion, was part of a clever political move, a typical onslaught on 'my God and my people who thereafter could not ask God for victory'.

I could think of no other measure to enable us, as a group of young people, to state our case. And in those days the powerful regime of the National Party destroyed us and we had no access to the press and the media, who to a great extent did not support us. The power and the force of the communism and the liberalists and the way it could be seen in the press as a cancer. We did not want to injure, cause injury to Professor van Jaarsveld; we did not want to cause damage to the property of the University; we never wanted to injure anybody from the audience. (Klerksdorp hearing, 10 May 1999.)

90. Terre'Blanche testified that, after the tarring and feathering, history books written by the professor were withdrawn from schools and that the AWB had therefore partially succeeded in its political objective since Professor van Jaarsveld could no longer influence the minds of the youth, the voters of the future.

²⁴¹ 'Tarring and feathering' was by no means an uncommon way of dealing with political enemies and deviants in Afrikaner political extremist circles.

91. The application was not formally opposed by the members of the family of the late Professor van Jaarsveld, who preferred to leave the matter in the hands of the Amnesty Committee. However, one of Professor van Jaarsveld's sons, Mr Albert van Jaarsveld, said that some individual members of the family opposed the application on the grounds that the act was not perpetrated to meet a political objective, but rather to gain publicity for the newly-formed AWB.
92. Mr van Jaarsveld read out a statement at the hearing, explaining the effect that the incident had had on the Van Jaarsveld family. Overnight, Professor van Jaarsveld had been 'transformed into a man who was looked upon with suspicion by his peers'. As a man deeply rooted in the Afrikaner culture, who had lived and worked within the inner circles of Afrikanerdom, he was humiliated and belittled at a public conference in front of an audience of his academic peers. The tarring and feathering incident effectively expelled him 'from that same community which he so dearly served'.

As regards my father's viewpoint on the Day of the Covenant, Mr Terre'Blanche is still spreading lies. It is clear that Professor van Jaarsveld took issue with legislation which effectively was forced upon South Africans other than Afrikaners, who felt themselves bound by the Covenant to celebrate the Day of the Covenant as a Sabbath, which legislation was enacted by the National Party in 1952.

At that stage, it was necessary to investigate this legislation seen in the light of the political changes which began to creep into the country. It is clear that he [Mr Terre'Blanche] does not want to or cannot understand the information in that paper. (Klerksdorp hearing, 10 May 1999.)

93. Mr van Jaarsveld confirmed that one of the consequences of the incident was that Afrikaans publishers like Perskor turned their backs on Professor van Jaarsveld and removed 'his popular and well-known history textbooks from the market'. He was ignored by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) to which he had regularly contributed to radio programmes. He was investigated by the security police and threatened with anonymous telephone calls and hate mail. Shortly after Terre'blanche and others had been found guilty, an attempt was made on the professor's life and he was shot at with a crossbow. Other members of the family were threatened and a stone-throwing incident took place at the family home.

94. In response to Mr van Jaarsveld's statement, Terre'Blanche told the Committee: *Mr Chairman, all these things did not happen because the professor was tarred and feathered; these things happened because of the incorrect version of the Covenant and the fact that history was twisted, which can be the worst that can happen to a nation if you abuse your power to rewrite history so that you all of a sudden can become acceptable to other nations. If we sit here at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, it is scaring to think that the Van Jaarsveld's family admit in front of this body seeking reconciliation and truth, that his father treated the truth in this way to the extent that his books were no longer published as textbooks because what he said was not acceptable to students and pupils. (Klerksdorp hearing, 10 May 1999.)*
95. After having considered the documentation placed before it and the testimony of the applicant, the Committee was satisfied that the acts committed by Terre'Blanche and other members of the AWB occurred in the course of the political struggle of the past and in furtherance of the political objectives of that organisation. The Committee was also satisfied that Terre'Blanche had made full disclosure of all the material facts as required by the Act.
96. It was suggested by the evidence leader, in argument, that the incident was the result of a religious dispute and thus fell outside the ambit of the Act. The Committee considered this argument but took the view that it had to accept the applicant's argument that his political conviction was driven by his education and belief in God. It was not possible to divorce the religious stance of the AWB from its politics. Amnesty was accordingly granted to Terre'Blanche in respect of the incident [AC/1999/221].

PRE-1990 ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUALS

97. Towards the end of the 1980s, targeted and indiscriminate attacks on individuals were becoming more and more frequent. With very few exceptions, the targets of these attacks were black persons. Individuals like Wit Wolwe member Barend Strydom, who killed eight people and injured sixteen when he opened fire on people in a busy Pretoria street in 1988, believed that black people were valid targets in their quest for political self-determination. Strydom submitted an application for amnesty for this incident, then later withdrew it.

The Killing of Potoka Franzar Makgalamela

98. On 29 August 1989, a black taxi driver, Mr Potoka Franzar Makgalamela, was fatally stabbed and shot by two right-wingers. Mr Cornelius Johannes Lottering [AM1004/96] applied for amnesty for three offences, namely murder, robbery and escaping from lawful custody. He admitted to killing Mr Makgalamela on 29 August and committing a robbery at the Poolside Liquor Store on 19 September 1989. These offences took place after he had resigned from the AWB and joined an organisation known as the Orde van die Dood ('Order of Death').
99. The evidence portrays the Orde van die Dood as having been an extremist right-wing political organisation, whose aim was the assassination of senior members of government and, at a later stage, members of the ANC. Its ultimate objective was the establishment of a volkstaat. Later the emphasis shifted to targeting members of the left wing who had, according to the applicant, 'become too strong at that point for the right wing'.
100. The Committee heard that individuals in the AWB had joined the shadowy organisation (also known as the 'Aquillos') after it was formed in 1988/9 because of security problems in the AWB. For example, when Lottering received his instructions from Mr Dawie de Beer, administrative head of the Aquillos, he was under the impression that they came from the AWB and the CP. Mr Andries Stephanus Kriel, a witness called by the applicant, confirmed the relationship between the two organisations:

MR KRIEL: Yes, that is completely acceptable because at that stage there were various factions within the AWB and we, as Commanders of a right wing organisation which housed activists, supported them. I would like to say that the Aquillos were selected by or according to the criteria of persons who would carry out instructions almost immediately – if I might say that they were people who could be manipulated, that you could give them instructions and no matter what the instructions were, they would have carried them out immediately. And those sort of people were taken up in the Aquillo – among others, Mr Lottering. (Pretoria hearing, March 1998.)

101. According to Kriel, it was desirable that people who carried out instructions should not be directly traced to the AWB.

MR KRIEL: ... in other words, if such a person were to be caught as a result of a murder or a robbery then it would not have left tracks which would lead to the AWB. (Pretoria hearing, March 1998.)

102. Lottering testified before the Amnesty Committee that he had killed Mr Makgalamela because he had received an instruction from the leader of the Orde van die Dood to kill a person to prove that he would be an effective member of the order. The applicant testified that he also wished to satisfy himself that he was capable of carrying out his duties as an assassin.
103. Lottering testified that he received no instruction as to whom he should kill for the purposes of being initiated into the order. He testified that he had selected Makgalamela as his victim because he was a black man, explaining that, according to his religious beliefs, black people were his natural enemies. He had selected Makgalamela because he had seen him ferrying white girls in his taxi. This he found to be objectionable.

MR LOTTERING: The decision making about who and what it would be was left up to me personally; and I didn't want to simply just do anything, that is why I chose a Black taxi driver who transported white persons in his taxi. I basically chose him in order to protest against integration so that it would serve a dual purpose – that I would not simply find someone on the street and kill him. (Pretoria hearing, March 1998.)

104. All that the applicant knew of Makgalamela was that he was a taxi driver. He did not and still does not know the deceased's political affiliation or views or whether or not he was politically active. Lottering was also not given any instructions or guidance by his leaders as to when and how his initiation victim should be killed, nor was he informed of any report-back procedure.
105. The Amnesty Committee found that the fact that the applicant murdered the deceased following an order given to him by the leadership of the political organisation of which he was a member did not, in the circumstances of this matter, justify his being granted amnesty for the killing. Makgalamela was killed to satisfy the internal initiation requirements of the Orde van die Dood. The Committee ruled that there were no grounds for concluding that the murder of the deceased was committed bona fide in furtherance of a political struggle waged by the Orde van die Dood against the state or another political organisation or liberation movement; nor that the killing was directed against the state or a political organisation or liberation movement or any member of the security forces or member of any political organisation or liberation movement. This was particularly so because the deceased must be regarded as having been an innocent private individual whose political affiliation and views were unknown.

106. The Committee found that, although the applicant had killed the deceased in the execution of an order, this was not sufficient to warrant the granting of amnesty. His motive in killing the deceased was to appease his superiors in the order and to displace any doubts they (or indeed the applicant) might have had about his ability to act as an assassin. The killing of the deceased was not only unreasonable, but was totally out of line with and disproportionate to the achievement of the stated political objective of the organisation – that is, the elimination of senior members of government or other political movements. It amounted to nothing more than a tragic loss of life, with no tangible or foreseeable benefit for the applicant's political organisation.

107. The Committee found that the killing did not achieve any desired political objective, and amnesty was accordingly refused [AC/1998/0025].

108. As regards the application for amnesty for the robbery, the applicant testified at the amnesty hearing that it was the policy of the Orde van die Dood to commit robberies to raise funds for the subsistence of members of the organisation and that he had committed the robbery in furtherance of such policy.

109. In his evidence, Mr Andries Kriel confirmed the existence of such a policy.

MR KRIEL: ... I would also like to add, Chairperson, that at that time when people struggled with the collection of finances and funds, they were constantly told that if they did not have money to continue that they should not come to us and ask for money, they should commit robbery. (Pretoria hearing, March 1998.)

110. After careful consideration, the Committee decided to give the applicant the benefit of the doubt and to find that the robbery was not committed for personal gain. This meant accepting the applicant's explanation of why the evidence he gave before the Committee differed from that placed before the trial court. Amnesty for the robbery was therefore granted [AC/1998/0025].

111. According to Lottering and Kriel, another general order given to members was that they should attempt to escape from prison in order to continue to fight for the cause of the organisation.

MR KRIEL: Regarding escapes, we told the people prior to the fact that – and we also this to them when we visited them in prison – we told them that if they could escape and if we could help them escape we should do it immediately so that we could continue with the struggle. That was also a general order which was issued. (Pretoria hearing, March 1998.)

112. Lottering's escape from legal custody did not involve any gross violation of human rights and the applicant continued to serve the Orde van die Dood in the period following his escape until his recapture. The Committee granted amnesty to Lottering in respect of his escape from custody [AC/1998/0025].

POSSESSION OF ARMS, EXPLOSIVES AND AMMUNITION

113. The Committee received thirty-one amnesty applications for the possession of arms, explosives and ammunition. The offences included possession and storage of arms caches, theft of weapons, manufacture of weapons and explosives and distribution for the purposes of furthering the activities of right-wing organisations and the IFP. Twenty-nine of these applications were granted.
114. AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche [AM7994/97] was granted amnesty for the illegal possession of arms and ammunition in Ventersburg in about 1982 [AC/1999/221]. Terre'Blanche testified that the weapons, which included a number of AK47s and two pistols, were obtained by his organisation from a Mr Kees Mouse, whom Terre'Blanche later established to have been an SAP agent. The intention was to store the weapons and keep them until such time as members of the AWB needed them to protect themselves. The AWB feared that the then government would hand power to a black government and that the same fate would befall South Africa as had befallen other African countries, where chaos had followed political change.
115. It was eventually decided to bury the weapons on a farm belonging to Mr Terre'Blanche's brother until they were be needed. The weapons were later seized by the police and Terre'Blanche was arrested and convicted.
116. In another incident, AWB member Willie Hurter [AM 3613/96] was granted amnesty for being in possession of four shock grenades, a homemade shotgun and ammunition and an unlicensed Lama pistol at Bloemfontein on the 15 September 1992 [AC/1998/0024].

Robbery at Welkom military base

117. AWB members Roelof Johannes Fouche [AM 3507/96], Guillaume Cornelius Loots [AM 3508/96], Petrus Johannes Pelser [AM 3512/96], Roelof Johannes Jordaan [AM 3861/96], Cornelius Johannes Strydom [AM 3862/96] and Coenraad Josephes Pelser [AM 4719/97] applied for amnesty for the theft of

weapons and equipment from the Group 34 Commando Base at Welkom during the night of 2nd/3rd January 1993.

118. Under the leadership of Mr Jordaan (who holds the rank of General in the AWB), the applicants broke into the military base and made off with a large amount of weaponry, including rifles, handguns, ammunition, flares and smoke grenades as well as other equipment. No one was injured during the incident. The police recovered the stolen weapons and equipment a few days later on a farm in the Hobhouse district.
119. The applicants testified that they had committed the offence as an organised group of AWB members pursuant to a decision that was made by the AWB at regional level. The motivation behind the theft was to arm farmers on the eastern border of the then Orange Free State in order to enable them to protect themselves from attacks by members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) who were operating from Lesotho. They testified that this was necessary as the government of the day was unable to maintain law and order in that region. None of the applicants derived any personal gain from the theft of the weapons and equipment.
120. The Committee was satisfied that the applications related to an act associated with a political objective committed in the course of the conflicts of the past and that the applicants had made a full disclosure. All were granted amnesty [AC/1998/0075].

POST-1990 VIOLATIONS

Sabotage of the transitional process

121. The Committee received thirty-five applications from members of right-wing organisations in respect of a range of violations committed with the aim of sabotaging the process of negotiations in the country. The violations, for the most part, consisted of attacks on individuals and included targeted assassinations. Most (71 %) were refused amnesty.
122. The Committee received forty-one applications in respect of attacks on symbolically important targets such as schools, business premises and court buildings. Most of these (95 %) were granted.

123. The lifting of the banning orders on the liberation movements in February 1990 triggered a spate of attacks by right-wingers on black persons around the country. At the end of November 1990, the AWB adopted the so-called 'white-by-night' policy, in terms of which black people were denied the right to remain in the then 'white areas' after 21h00. AWB members set up roadblocks and tried to enforce a 'white-by-night' curfew in the small towns in which they were most organised.
124. Photographers and journalists were thrown out of AWB meetings, some severely injured in beatings and attacks.
125. Schools were targeted for sabotage attacks. Following announcements that the Group Areas Act was to be repealed and schools would be opened to all race groups, a number of schools were destroyed in a series of bomb blasts.

Targeted killings

126. In 1990, two AWB members from Potgietersrus killed a civic member, Mr Max Serame, because of his alleged role in a boycott action in the town. Mr Jan Harm Christiaan Roos [AM0801/96] and Mr A J Vermaak [AM0818/96] claimed they were in a position to make their own decisions, even though direct commanders did not ask them to kill Serame. Amnesty was refused on the grounds that the attack had no political objective.
127. Earlier that year, J W Rautenbach [AM0412/96] murdered Mr Iponse Beyi Dlamini in Lamontville. He was refused amnesty on the grounds that the attack had no political objective.

The killing of Chris Hani

128. SACP and ANC leader Mr Chris Hani was one of the most popular and influential political figures in South Africa. He was gunned down in the driveway of his home in Dawnpark, Boksburg in the former Transvaal on 10 April 1993, the Saturday of the Easter weekend. Polish immigrant Mr Janusz Walus [AM0271/96] was found to have fired the shots that killed Mr Hani and Conservative Party member of the President's Council, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis [AM0271/96], was found to have planned and conspired with Walus to execute the assassination. Both were sentenced to life imprisonment and applied for amnesty.

129. Walus and Derby-Lewis were both thought to have strong ties with members of two international right-wing organisations, namely the World Preservatist Movement (WPB) and the World Apartheid Movement (WAM). Despite suspicion of a larger conspiracy behind Hani's death, the Commission found no evidence that the two convicted killers took orders from either of these international groups, nor from members of the security forces or higher up in the right-wing echelons.
130. Both applicants and numerous other witnesses testified at a hearing that lasted for several weeks. In addition, a substantial volume of documents and exhibits as well as full written arguments were placed before the Amnesty Committee.
131. The application was strenuously opposed by the Hani family and the SACP.

The testimony of Clive Derby-Lewis

132. The Committee found that Mr Clive Derby-Lewis was a seasoned politician steeped in conservative politics who had been popular in Afrikaner right-wing circles at the time of the incident. He was an English-speaking South African with a distinguished military background. He had been one of the founder members of the Conservative Party (CP) which had been launched in February 1982, had represented the party in Parliament during the period May 1987 to September 1989 and had served on the President's Council from September 1989 until the assassination.
133. Right-wing organisations were convinced that the political reforms of the early 1990s would result in the destruction of the Afrikaner's culture, values and way of life. It was in this context that Derby-Lewis and Walus plotted the assassination of Mr Hani. Their hope was that the followers of Mr Hani, many of them young people, would react to his assassination by causing widespread mayhem. This would create an opportunity for the security forces and the right wing to step in to restore order and take over the government of the country.
134. They never obtained the express authority of the CP for the assassination, nor were they acting upon the instructions or orders of the CP. Derby-Lewis had engaged in a discussion with Dr Treurnicht who indicated that it would be justified to kill the anti-Christ in a situation of war. Derby-Lewis contended that his senior position in the CP gave him the necessary authority to take the decision to assassinate Mr Hani on behalf of the CP.

135. In the course of their discussions about the assassination, Derby-Lewis handed Walus a list of names and addresses. The evidence led was that Mrs Derby-Lewis had prepared it for the purpose of exposing the luxurious lifestyles of those on the list for newspaper articles she intended writing. Her intention was to embarrass those concerned because their lifestyles conflicted with the cause for which they stood.
136. Derby-Lewis instructed Walus to number the names on the list in sequence of their enmity towards the CP. In other words, he contended that the list was not numbered for the purpose of eliminations; Mr Hani, the third on the list, was the only person identified for elimination.
137. It was agreed that Walus would shoot Mr Hani and that he would reconnoitre the Hani home and determine the logistics for the execution of the plan. Derby-Lewis would obtain an unlicensed firearm with a silencer to be used in the assassination.
138. During March 1993, Derby-Lewis obtained an unlicensed firearm from an old acquaintance, Mr Faan Venter, and arranged for a silencer to be fitted to the firearm through a friend in Cape Town, Mr Keith Darrel.
139. On 6 April 1993, Walus had breakfast with Derby-Lewis and his wife. After breakfast, Mrs Derby-Lewis left the house. Derby-Lewis handed the murder weapon, a Z88 pistol with a silencer and subsonic ammunition, to Walus.
140. On 7 April 1993, Walus called again at Derby-Lewis' house to enquire about the ammunition Derby-Lewis had said he would obtain for the pistol. Derby-Lewis had not yet managed to obtain the ammunition but instructed Walus to proceed with the assassination, repeating that he would leave the detailed execution of the plan to Walus.
141. Derby-Lewis testified that he was shocked when he heard about the assassination on 10 April 1993. He had not planned to assassinate Mr Hani over the Easter weekend and had indeed decided to postpone the assassination in order to give the matter further careful thought. Besides, he had not yet given Walus the ammunition. He concluded, therefore, that someone other than Walus had been responsible for the assassination. However, he saw from the media reports the next day that it was indeed Walus who had killed Mr Hani. Derby-Lewis was arrested at home on 17 April 1993.

142. At first, Derby-Lewis refused to co-operate with the police. It was only after he was detained in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act that, under prolonged interrogation and pressure, he made certain statements. He gave false information, notably about the list of names, in order to protect innocent people including his wife. He was also untruthful when he told the police that he had last seen Walus in December 1992.
143. He also gave false information in the affidavit he made (dated 29 October 1993) in support of the application to reopen his case in the criminal trial. He testified that he did so because he believed that the political struggle was still continuing at that stage and that he had to explore every avenue to secure his release.

The Testimony of Janusz Walus

144. The Committee found that Mr Janusz Walus was a member of both the CP and the AWB at the time of the incident. He was born in Poland and emigrated to South Africa in 1982 to escape the Communist regime in Poland. He chose South Africa because he believed that the Afrikaner would never succumb to Communism.
145. The Committee heard that Walus had a keen interest in South African politics and met Derby-Lewis and his wife in 1985. He participated in many CP activities with Derby-Lewis and formally joined the CP that year. In the same year, Walus met AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and subsequently joined the AWB. He attended various AWB meetings during 1985 and 1986 and learnt of their resistance to NP policies and their fear that the NP would hand the country over to 'Communists'.
146. Walus was granted South African citizenship in 1988 and was able to vote in the 1989 elections. Although the NP gave voters the assurance that the ANC or SACP would not be unbanned before the election, it unbanned them in February 1990. It then became clear to him that negotiations would involve the NP and ANC to the exclusion of opposition parties.
147. After the 1992 referendum, the NP government reneged on its undertaking to consult the electorate before any constitutional amendments were effected. It then became clear to the CP that democratic channels were blocked. Walus feared that Mr Hani would take over the country as he was a popular leader in the SACP and saw himself being subjected to the Communist regime from which he

had escaped in Poland. This made him apprehensive to the extent that 'he vowed to do something to try and stop the handing over of his country to a Communist ruler'. It was at this stage that Walus began holding numerous detailed discussions with Derby-Lewis about solutions to the deteriorating political situation. Walus regarded Derby-Lewis as one of the policy makers of the CP and relied on him to provide direction. In one of these discussions (February 1993) Derby-Lewis handed him the list of names and they decided that Mr Hani should be shot.

148. On 10 April 1993, after reconnoitring the Hani home, Walus saw Mr Hani get into a vehicle. He ascertained that Mr Hani had no bodyguards with him. He followed the vehicle to the local shopping centre. Mr Hani went inside and later returned with a newspaper. Walus decided that this was an ideal opportunity to execute the order and drove to the Hani home where he awaited Mr Hani's return. After Mr Hani had pulled into the driveway, Walus approached and fired two shots at him. After Mr Hani had fallen down, Walus shot him twice behind the ear at close range. Walus left the scene in his vehicle. He was stopped by the police soon after the incident and was found in possession of the Z88 pistol, whereupon he was arrested.

149. During his detention, Walus was at first not prepared to give any statements to the police. After prolonged interrogation and after being given alcohol by the police, he began co-operating. He was also misled into believing that some members of the interrogation team were members of right-wing political organisations who had infiltrated the security police. Walus disputed the contents of certain statements the police alleged he had made while in detention and which form part of the record. He denied having said some of the things ascribed to him in these statements and indicated that the police had amended the statements to suit their own purposes.

The Testimony of Gaye Derby-Lewis

150. Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis' testimony before the Committee concerning her role prior to the assassination coincided largely with that of her husband. She had not been involved in the plot to kill Mr Hani and was totally unaware of the plans. The list of names found in the possession of Walus was prepared at her instance by a journalist friend, Mr Arthur Kemp. She intended to use it to write a series of newspaper articles exposing the luxurious lifestyles of those identified on the list. This would have embarrassed them because it would expose their 'grave train' lifestyles, which were at odds with the cause they represented.
151. Mrs Derby-Lewis had also left the list in the Cape Town office of Dr Hartzenberg for his use in his speeches in Parliament. He never made use of it and the list was returned to her. She testified that she was unaware of the fact that her husband had given the list to Walus.
152. She confirmed having had breakfast with her husband and Walus at her home on 6 April 1993, but testified that she had left while her husband and Walus were still having a discussion.
153. She heard the news about Mr Hani's assassination while she and her husband were visiting Mr Faan Venter on 10 April 1993. She was arrested on 21 April 1993 and placed under section 29 detention. She was subsequently charged and acquitted. She gave false testimony at the trial on the question as to whether her husband had told her on 12 April 1993 that he had given the list to Walus.
154. A substantial part of her testimony before the Amnesty Committee was devoted to her detention and treatment at the hands of the police.
155. While in police detention, Mrs Derby-Lewis wrote and signed a number of statements. She personally typed one of the hand-written statements to help the police sergeant who was charged with doing the typing. Despite this, she argued that she had been unduly influenced to make these statements and that they had not been freely and voluntarily made for the following reasons:
 - a She was not warned in terms of the Judges' Rules. However, under cross-examination on behalf of the police officers, she conceded that it was possible that she had been warned.

- b She was denied access to a legal representative and was at times falsely told that her attorney was on his way.
 - c She was threatened with section 29 detention.
 - d She was badly treated by Captain Deetlefs who was insulting towards her and threatened her with long-term imprisonment. She had a personal fear of Deetlefs and complained that he was intoxicated.
 - e Sleep deprivation contributed towards her writing false statements.
 - f Mr de Waal made her change her statement and write various untruths. He would come to her after she had written a statement and inform her that Colonel Van Niekerk was not happy with what she had written. She would then amend her statement accordingly.
156. Under cross-examination on behalf of the police officers, Derby-Lewis conceded that those parts of the video recording of her questioning which were put to her showed that her conversation with Deetlefs was quite civilised. They also showed her fully participating in the discussion. She then indicated that Deetlefs had threatened her during those parts of the conversation that were not on the tape. She praised the police and said she would like to join the police force, but said this was meant as a joke.
157. She also confirmed that Deetlefs' attitude did not, at any stage, lead to her telling an untruth and agreed that he did not compel her to tell any untruths. She said that she 'stuck to her guns' and spoke the truth.
158. When referred to a portion of the video recording where she says she had slept for twelve hours, she conceded that sleep deprivation did not play a role when she signed some of her statements on 24 April 1993.
159. Under cross-examination, she conceded that De Waal was reasonably civil towards her. On most occasions when he questioned her, there was a female police officer present. He helped her to obtain some personal items and to attend to other personal matters. On one occasion, she told De Waal that she did not wish to do a 'pointing out', which he accepted.
160. Mrs Derby-Lewis saw her personal doctor in April 1993, some days after Deetlefs had concluded his interrogation. Although only the District Surgeon was present, she failed to tell her doctor about her maltreatment or that she had been compelled to make false statements. When she was asked under cross-

examination to explain the meaning of, 'I am sure it is going to be used in court', words she uses on the video, she declined to do so. She testified that she really did not know what these words meant because she had used them while she was being held under section 29 detention.

The Decision of the Amnesty Committee

161. In arriving at a decision, the Committee had to isolate several issues for consideration.

- a Were the applicants acting bona fide on behalf of or in support of the CP in furtherance of a political struggle by the CP against the ANC/SACP alliance, as required by section 20 (2)(a) of the Act?
- b Were the applicants acting bona fide as employees or members of the CP in the course and scope of their duties and within the scope of their express or implied authority in furtherance of a political struggle with the ANC/SACP alliance, as required by section 20(2)(d) of the Act?
- c Did the applicants have reasonable grounds for believing that they were acting in the course and scope of their duties and within the scope of their express or implied authority as required by section 20(2)(f) of the Act?
- d Did the applicants make a full disclosure of all relevant facts as required by section 20(1)(c) of the Act with specific reference to:
 - e the purpose for which the list of names was compiled;
 - f the purpose for which names were prioritised on the list;
 - g the purpose for which the Z88 pistol was obtained and fitted with a silencer;
 - h whether Walus was acting upon orders from Derby-Lewis in assassinating Mr Hani;
 - i the role played by Mrs Derby-Lewis in the killing and whether she had advance knowledge of the assassination?

162. The Amnesty Committee devoted time to two further issues: the weight to be attached to statements that Derby-Lewis and Walus made while in detention and the question of a wider conspiracy to kill Mr Hani. Although the Committee was not persuaded that the applicants' versions detracted from the weight of these statements, it made an assessment of the applicants' evidence without having regard to these statements. Furthermore, although there were compelling arguments in favour of the conclusion that there was a wider conspiracy to kill Mr Hani, the Committee found that the evidence did not conclusively establish this fact.

163. The Committee found that it was common cause that the applicants were not acting on the express authority or orders of the CP, which party they purported to represent in assassinating Mr Hani. The CP had never adopted, propagated or espoused a policy of violence or the assassination of political opponents.
164. Various newspaper reports immediately after the assassination evidence the CP leadership's disapproval of the incident and their rejection of murder as a political tool. The arrest of Mrs Derby-Lewis came as a shock to them. They had denied earlier that Walus was a listed CP member. In fact, during a television interview on 20 April 1993, the acting leader of the CP, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, unequivocally distanced the CP from violence and reiterated the commitment of the CP to non-violent, democratic means of pursuing its aims. He expressly denied that the statements made by CP leaders amounted to tacit approval of violence, or that the CP had ever planned violence on an offensive basis. Rather, the CP was looking at means to defend its followers from the violence that was taking place.
165. In testifying before the Committee, Dr Hartzenberg also denied that the objective which the applicants pursued, namely to cause chaos and revolution in the country, formed part of CP policy. He testified further that it was not CP policy to eliminate opposition political leaders. The CP had never been aware of the planning of the assassination and only became aware of it after the event. It never approved, ratified or condoned the assassination. In an apparent concession of this fact, the applicants submitted in their written argument that it was not a legal requirement that the CP should have been aware of or expressly approved the assassination. It was merely required that the CP should have benefited from the assassination.
166. The applicants also relied on the dictionary definition of the Afrikaans term 'ten behoewe van' which is the equivalent of the term 'on behalf of' used in section 20(2)(a). According to the definition, the term means '*tot voordeel van*' (to the benefit of). The applicants failed to specify what benefit allegedly accrued to the CP following to the assassination. On the contrary, the evidence before the Committee did not show that any benefit had accrued to the CP.
167. Those who objected to the applications submitted in their written argument that the words 'on behalf of' in the context of section 20(2)(a) were used in the narrow sense as referring to someone who is mandated or authorised to act by an

organisation. Any other interpretation, and particularly the wider meaning suggested by the applicants, would lead to absurd results. They illustrated such absurdity by referring to the example of bank robbers claiming to be acting on behalf of a liberation movement because their actions were crippling the economy and thus benefiting the struggle of the liberation movement.

168. Taking into account the submissions of the objectors, the Committee noted that subsection 20(2)(a) of the Act did not cover perpetrators who acted contrary to the stated policies of the organisation which they purported to represent. The Committee was therefore not satisfied that the applicants had acted on behalf of or in support of the CP in assassinating Mr Hani.
169. The Committee accepted that the applicants clearly and subjectively believed that they were acting against a political opponent. The objective facts supported this belief, in particular the fact that Mr Hani was regarded as such by the CP and the right wing. However, this factor, while relevant, was insufficient on its own to render the application successful.
170. The Committee found that it was clear that the applicants had not been acting within the course and scope of their duties or on express authority from the CP. The clear evidence of Dr Hartzenberg negated any claim that the public utterances of the CP leadership constituted implied authority for the assassination. The Committee found that it would have been futile for the applicants to rely on such a claim, given the fact that they were both active CP members, acquainted with the party structures and constitution as well as the policy of non-violence. Mr Derby-Lewis, in particular, was part of the CP leadership and national decision-making structure and could not reasonably rely on the utterances of his colleagues to support his claim that they had implied authority from the CP for the assassination. His discussions with Dr Treurnicht about killing the 'anti-Christ' could hardly amount to authority or an instruction to commit the assassination. To his knowledge, Dr Treurnicht had no power in terms of the CP constitution to bind the CP without the necessary mandate, especially in so radical an undertaking as the assassination of a high-profile political opponent.
171. The Committee found the inference that the public speeches and statements relied upon by the applicants amounted to a call for armed struggle or violence to be unfounded. These were no more than predictions or warnings that the CP might adopt a course of violence in the future.

172. Nor did the random explosions and acts of violence referred to by the applicants support their argument. None of these acts were committed by or on behalf of the CP. Indeed, Mr Koos Botha was repudiated by the CP during October 1992 for causing an explosion at the Hillview School. The basis of this repudiation was that the speeches of Dr Treurnicht could not be interpreted as a call for violence.
173. The Committee was satisfied that the applicants were not acting within the scope of any implied authority from the CP in assassinating Mr Hani. The applications accordingly failed to comply with the requirements of section 20(2)(d).
174. The Committee was not satisfied that the applicants had any reasonable grounds for believing that they were acting within the course and scope of their duties. The applications accordingly failed to comply with the requirement of section 20(2)(f).
175. In determining whether the applicants had made full disclosure, the Committee gave consideration to the purpose of the list of names. The applicants testified that Mrs Derby-Lewis had prepared the list of names for innocuous reasons and that Derby-Lewis had decided to use it for a totally different purpose. The Committee found that the reason Mrs Derby-Lewis gave for requiring the addresses of the persons on the list was unconvincing. Her explanation that she needed addresses in order to arrange interviews makes little sense in view of her concession that there was no likelihood of Mr Hani giving her an interview in his home.
176. The Committee found that the names constituted a hit list compiled for the purpose of planning assassinations. The evidence of the applicants that the list was to assist them to communicate confidentially was wholly unconvincing and the Committee found their version to be untrue in this regard.
177. On the question of the murder weapon, Mr Derby-Lewis told the Committee that he had acquired the Z88 pistol in order to protect his family. The silencer was fitted so that he could practice at home without disturbing his neighbours. The silencer would also give him a strategic advantage during an attack upon his home. Derby-Lewis thus contended that the original reason for obtaining the firearm was unrelated to the subsequent assassination of Mr Hani. It was purely fortuitous that he was in possession of an unlicensed firearm fitted with a silencer at a time when Walus was looking for an appropriate murder weapon to execute the assassination.

178. The Committee had no hesitation in rejecting Derby-Lewis' evidence in this regard. His explanation for fitting a silencer to the unlicensed firearm was inherently improbable and his explanation of the reason for obtaining the firearm was clearly false. It was particularly significant that he obtained a weapon that was perfectly suited for the purposes of the assassination fairly soon before the incident and at about the time when the applicants agreed that Mr Hani should be shot. The Z88 pistol was clearly obtained for the express purpose of assassinating Mr Hani.
179. The Committee gave its attention to whether Walus had acted on the instruction of Derby-Lewis in executing the attack. Walus initially stated in his application that he had acted alone in planning and executing the assassination. Subsequently, his application was amended to indicate that he had acted on the instructions of Derby-Lewis, but that they had jointly planned the assassination.
180. The Committee found that it was clear from the record that Walus was not acting as a mere functionary. He had a clear understanding of the political situation and was active in right-wing politics. He was clearly activated by his personal desire to stop the 'Communists' from taking over the country. He participated fully in political discussions and in hatching the plot to assassinate Mr Hani. He was under no duress or coercion and executed the plan as he deemed fit. Indeed, Derby-Lewis indicated that he was taken by surprise by the timing of the assassination.
181. In any event, Walus' own testimony is contradictory on the issue of orders. It is also contradicted by the testimony of Derby-Lewis, whose evidence was that the applicants were acting as co-conspirators who had jointly taken the decision to assassinate Mr Hani.
182. As an active CP member, Walus would have been aware that the CP has constitutionally established decision-making structures and that Derby-Lewis had no power to order him to commit murder, particularly in the light of the CP's policy of non-violence. There was no suggestion that he was ever previously ordered by the CP to commit any unlawful acts, let alone murder. Moreover, he failed to raise the alleged order to assassinate Mr Hani with any person in authority or with any governing structure in the CP.
183. In the circumstances, the Committee was satisfied that Walus was a co-conspirator and that he was not merely acting on orders from Derby-Lewis.

Accordingly, the Committee rejected the argument raised on behalf of Walus in this respect. The Committee judged that this was an afterthought and was resorted to in an attempt to enhance Walus' chances of receiving amnesty by curing deficiencies in the original application, and to bring the application within the ambit of the provisions of the Act, particularly section 20(3)(e).

184. In summary, the Committee found that the applicants had failed to make a full disclosure in respect of any of the relevant and material issues and was not satisfied that they had complied with the requirements of the Act, in particular the provisions of section 20(2)(a) thereof. Amnesty was refused [AC/1999/0172].

Legal challenge

185. A full bench of the High Court sat to review an application from the applicants challenging the decision of the Amnesty Committee. The Court considered all the evidence that had been presented before the Committee, as well as the arguments by all the parties, and analysed the various provisions of section 20 of the Act in detail.
186. In summary, the Court's main findings were that the Amnesty Committee had correctly rejected the applicants' contention that they had acted on behalf of the CP, subjectively believing that their conduct would advance the cause of their party. Further, the Court endorsed the finding of the Committee that the applicants had not acted in the course and scope of their duties as members of the CP, as is required by section 20(2)(d) of the Act, as assassination was never one of Derby-Lewis' duties as a senior member of the CP. It followed that Derby-Lewis could not have shared a non-existent duty with Walus; nor could he have delegated part of it to Walus. It followed that assassination never formed part of Walus' duties either.
187. The Court found that Walus was in a different position as a rank and file member and was entitled to assume that Derby-Lewis had authority to speak on behalf of the CP. In his original application, Walus stated that, 'he had acted alone in the planning and commission of the deed'. Under cross-examination, he said that this was not true. Walus later amended his amnesty application to incorporate Derby-Lewis as his accomplice, which he then insisted was the truth. Walus' version was that he believed that his assignment was an order from Derby-Lewis, given as a result of his senior position in the CP. This claim, the Court found, lacked objective credibility.

188. The Court found that the Amnesty Committee was correct in rejecting the applicants' evidence in respect of obtaining of the pistol and the silencer and the purpose of the list of names as improbable, contradictory and lacking in candour.

189. The Full Bench dismissed the application with costs.

Attacks on individuals

The Putco bus attack – Duffs Road, Durban

190. Members of the Orde Boerevolk Mr David Petrus Botha [AM 0057/96], Mr Adriaan Smuts [AM 0056/96] and Mr Eugene Marais [AM 0054/96] applied for amnesty for an attack on a bus full of black commuters in Duffs Road, Durban on 9 October 1990, in which seven people were killed. The three applicants were all convicted on seven counts of murder and twenty-seven counts of attempted murder and were sentenced to death on 13 September 1991. This sentence was subsequently commuted to thirty years' imprisonment.

191. Botha told the Committee that the attack was in retaliation for an incident which had taken place earlier in the day, in which PAC and APLA supporters wearing PAC T-shirts had randomly attacked white people on Durban's beachfront, killing one elderly person and injuring several others.

MR BOTHA: *I was under the impression that the campaign of terror by the PAC against Whites had now commenced, and since we had already declared war against the National Party, and as a result of this attack, I as cell leader felt that we should launch a counter-attack to prove to the government of the day, and to show to it that the road it was following was full of danger and that incidents of this kind would increase in frequency.*

Our purpose was also to show to the PAC and its communist allies that attacks of this kind would not be tolerated, and that we would take counter-measures in a very forceful way.

*And I also felt that the counter-attack should take place in Durban where the attack from the PAC had taken place in the morning and I felt that the attack by the PAC and the counter-attack should be seen in context, and I think we succeeded in this, because in the **Sunday Tribune** of the 14th of October 1990 – in which interviews had been conducted with passengers in a bus from where the attack*

was launched – it said that they believed that the attack had been launched by Boers as a result of the PAC attack that morning on White people at the beach front. (Durban review hearing, December 2000.)

192. Botha and the two other members of his cell, Smuts and Marais, travelled down from Richards Bay to Durban, arriving after 20h00 on the night of the 9 October. Upon arrival, they drove around the bus terminus area and, observing that the streets were very quiet, decided to attack a minibus taxi that passed them. The minibus was full of passengers. They followed the vehicle as it travelled from the centre of Durban to KwaMashu but, when it turned off into a densely populated area, the applicants decided to abort the planned attack.
193. They returned to the highway and stopped at a garage for something to drink. They then observed a Putco bus full of people driving in the direction of KwaMashu. Botha decided that they would attack the bus and accordingly gave the instruction. He was driving the car as they set out to follow the bus in the direction of the Duffs Road off-ramp.

MR BOTHA: *We overtook the bus and I told my colleagues to fire in the direction of the bus. We used automatic attack rifles to fire at the bus as we passed the bus – as we overtook it. Immediately after the attack we returned to Richards Bay. (Durban review hearing, December 2000.)*

194. On the following day, Botha contacted the SABC and, on behalf of the Orde Boerevolk, claimed responsibility for the attack on the bus. He testified before the Amnesty Committee:

*I don't know whether the person I spoke to took me seriously, but he was fooling around and asked me to furnish my name and address. I then put down the phone and then contacted the news office of the **Natal Mercury**. I spoke to somebody in the news office there. I told them that I was a member of the Orde Boerevolk and that we accepted responsibility for the previous night's attack, and I also furnished the reasons why we launched the attack. There was no report in any of the papers the next day regarding this incident and I realised that there was a state of emergency at the time in Natal and I suspected that either the security police of the government or both had probably suppressed news of this kind.*

*I once again contacted the **Natal Mercury** offices, spoke to the same reporter and told him that I was aware of the fact that news of this kind would normally*

*be suppressed by the government and I threatened that, unless the news was published and unless they mentioned that the attack had been launched by the **Orde Boerevolk** and mentioned our reasons for doing so, unless this was published, I would launch a similar attack. (Durban review hearing, December 2000.)*

195. The Committee accepted that the Orde Boerevolk was a recognised political organisation involved in a political struggle with the previous government and other political organisations. It also found that their acts were associated with a political objective.
196. In reaching a decision, the Committee distinguished between the roles played by Botha on the one hand and Smuts and Marais on the other, on the grounds that Smuts and Marais were Botha's subordinates and were under orders to carry out the attack as members of the *Orde*. Botha had not received any order or instructions to carry out the attack; nor did his actions carry the approval of any of his superiors or of the organisation.
197. Botha was refused and Smuts and Marais were granted amnesty for the incident. Botha was, however, granted amnesty for the unlawful possession of firearms and ammunition [AC/1997/0053].
198. David Petrus Botha submitted an application for the review of the Committee's refusal to grant him amnesty. The presiding judge, Mr Justice Smit, found that the Amnesty Committee had:
 - a failed to consider properly whether Botha's conduct had not in fact complied with the requirements of the Act as to whether the 'act, omission or offence was committed in the execution of an order of, or on behalf of, or with the approval of, the organisation, institution, liberation movement or body of which the person who committed the act was a member, an agent or supporter';
 - b lost sight of the fact that the provisions of section 20(3)(e) were merely criteria to be applied to determine whether an act was committed with a political objective and not requirements necessary for the granting or refusal of amnesty.
199. The Court set aside the refusal of amnesty and referred the matter back to the Committee to hear further evidence.

200. The applicant appeared before the Committee again in December 2000 and adduced the evidence of the leader of the Orde Boerevolk, Mr Pieter Rudolph. Rudolph said that he would not have authorised the attack if he had been asked to do so and that, in any event, he would have had no way of communicating with his supporters as he had been in detention at the time.
201. The Committee subsequently refused amnesty to Botha on the same basis as before, namely that he had had no authority from his political organisation to launch an attack on innocent and unarmed civilians.

The killing of George Mkomane

202. AWB member, Mr Hendrik Johannes Slippers [AM 1002/96] applied for amnesty for the abduction and killing of Mr George Mkomane in Belfast in the Eastern Transvaal on 13 February 1991. For these offences, Mr Slippers was sentenced to two years and twelve years.
203. Mr Slippers testified before the Amnesty Committee that, at an AWB meeting held in November 1990, his Commander AWB Commandant Volshenk had instructed members to implement a policy of 'white-by-night'. This amounted to the re-implementation of the curfew laws of the apartheid era, which prohibited blacks from being in so-called 'white areas' without a permit after 21h00. Blacks present in white townships after 21h00 should be told to leave and, if they refused, should be removed by force if necessary. The Committee received affidavits from Brigadier Kloppers and John Wayne Rautenbach confirming the policy and the instructions to carry it out.
204. Mr Slippers testified that the instruction he received:
- ... fitted in with my political objectives, namely the protection of whites, the interests of whites and I believed that the action would serve to intimidate people of other colours or other races in the country and also put a stop to blacks taking over in this country. I believed that these kind of actions would put a stop to the political changes in the country, it would either stop it or slow them down. (Nelspruit hearing, 7 May 1997.)*
205. He testified that, on the night in question, he and four other AWB members in Belfast were driving around trying to enforce the 'white-by-night' policy in the town. Although they had been drinking before they went on patrol, he testified

that he had not been drunk and knew at all times what he was doing and that the intake of alcohol did not influence his judgment.

206. They saw the deceased, George Nkomane, walking in the street, confronted him and loaded him onto the bakkie against his will. Their intention was to drive out of town and to 'off-load' him on the way to the black township. On the way, the deceased protested, saying that he intended to return to the 'white' township of Belfast. The applicant and one of the other members then assaulted Nkomane then deposited him outside the township. At this stage, Mr Nkomane began running back towards the white area.

207. The group pursued him, caught him and the applicant assaulted him by fisting him until he fell down. The applicant's co-accused then kicked him and jumped on him. The applicant testified that they had had no intention of assaulting Mr Nkomane but that things went wrong, an argument ensued and, as a result of the deceased's protest against the abduction, the brutal assault followed. He realised afterwards that he should have foreseen that the assault could have resulted in the death of Mr Nkomane.

208. The Court that tried the case had found that there was no direct intent to kill, but that the applicant was guilty on the basis of *dolus eventualis*. The Court found further that the offence was politically coloured. However, the applicant testified, he pleaded guilty at his trial and handed in a statement in which he did not reveal the full facts about the AWB's involvement as it seemed politically inappropriate to do so at the time.

209. Slippers expressed his remorse to the Committee:

If I was ever to have planned to kill anybody, I would rather have shot the person or stabbed the person and gone and hid that person's body in a safe place. My actions were in accordance with the instruction issued by the AWB and the entire incident took a different course to that planned.

After this incident, I and my ex-wife suffered various attacks in retaliation to this action which were launched by the Black community against us. After court sittings, mini buses would turn up at our house and the house; our vehicle and our caravan would be stoned and damaged, and the grass on my property and other things were also set alight.

On the 26th of March 1991, a month and thirteen days after the incident, I lost my wife in a car accident. The collision was caused by a black man who drove

into the passenger side of my vehicle. At that stage, I also experienced the misery and the loss which was experienced by the families of the deceased in the loss of a loved one. In spite of the fact that I am serving a ten-year prison term for my action, I regarded the loss of my wife as a far greater punishment and also saw it as part of my punishment for my action against the deceased. I suddenly realised what it was to be a single parent with two children. I now realise the senselessness of my action and the unnecessary of the attack. I am also very remorseful about the death of the deceased and the grief which it caused his family and his community. I now realise how important harmonious racial relationships are in our country and I will do everything in my power to ensure harmony amongst the races. (Nelspruit hearing, 7 May 1997.)

210. Mr Slippers was granted amnesty for the abduction of Mr George Mkomane but was refused amnesty for the killing. In the view of the Amnesty Committee, the killing of the deceased constituted an act grossly out of proportion with the stated objective of the AWB, which was to keep blacks out of the town after 21h00. The killing of the deceased was not, therefore, seen as an act associated with a political objective.

211. Moreover, the Committee found that the contention that the deceased was killed because he provoked an argument, that he strongly protested against being driven out of town and that he actually tried to run back into town when he was so close to a black township is so highly improbable that it can safely be rejected as false.

212. In reaching its decision, the Committee said:

How could the deceased dare argue and protest against three belligerent trouble seekers? How could he dare do so in the destitution of a cemetery when he had not done so in the relative safety of a town, albeit a not-so-friendly one? How could he dare provoke an argument when he had already been assaulted before being off-loaded at the cemetery? Why should the deceased be so obstinate in the face of such hostility and elect to run back into town when he could have run into a nearby black township? How could he hope to outrun a bakkie back to exactly the same situation which had invoked the wrath of his attackers? In any event, even if what the applicant has said were true, it would not change the fact that their conduct was grossly out of proportion to the objective sought to be achieved.

It is noteworthy that the applicant did not attempt to say that the killing was in accordance with the policy of the AWB. On his own version, the killing was not part of the plan and, if his version is correct, then the deceased became obstinate and pertinaciously attempted to go back into town, it means they killed him simply because he would not listen. At that level, there would be nothing political about the murder.

Furthermore the applicant's motivation that the ultimate objective of the AWB was to intimidate black people and discourage them in their quest for political take over becomes senseless when one considers that, had the applicant had his way, the killing as well as the reasons therefor would have remained unknown. While a surviving victim of abduction would be able to warn other black people to stay out of the town, a dead one would obviously not be able to do so. This is a further indication that no political objective was being pursued at the time of the actual killing [AC/1997/0069]

213. A dissenting decision on the matter was handed down by Amnesty Committee member Chris de Jager. In the light of the Committee finding that the abduction was an act associated with a political objective committed within the course of the conflicts of the past, Advocate de Jager found that:

[T]he question then arises whether the murder which flowed from the abduction, would also fall within the same ambit. It was argued on behalf of the applicant that the two offences were interrelated and cannot be totally separated from each other. The assault was carried out in order to make the abduction from the white area effective and to prevent the deceased from carrying out his intention to negate the white-by-night policy of the AWB. The applicant averred that it was carried out to intimidate blacks into slowing down the process of change or stopping it completely. He also stated that his action (to remove blacks from the white townships) was to prove that the whites were taking a stand against change and also to show the government that they were not satisfied with what was taking place in the country at the time. When the person was picked up, it never occurred to him that the person could be seriously or fatally injured, but the whole operation went wrong when the deceased told them that he would return to the white area and an argument followed resulting in assaults and the deceased running back towards the town. It was submitted on behalf of the applicant that the assault could not be separated from the abduction, and that the assault itself and its consequences were therefore associated with the original political objective.

The Committee previously had occasion to hear how an abduction with no intent to kill, ultimately got out of hand and lead to the intentional killing of the victim. The Committee then found that the ultimate killing, although carried out because of a fear for arrest, was interlinked and should not be separated from the political motivated abduction.

In the present application, things ... got out of hand after the victim refused to leave the white township and started to run back towards it. Contrary to the previous applications, they didn't intend to kill him, but they should have foreseen that that could be the result of the assault that followed. Seeing, however, that the one offence flowed out of the other and the one being interlinked with the other, the one cannot be seen as totally separated from the politically motivated abduction.

*I am of the opinion that amnesty should be granted as applied for.
[AC/1997/0069.]*

Killing of an unknown black person

214. AWB supporter Mr Vernon Vosloo [AM1003/96] was refused amnesty for stabbing an unknown black victim to death in Johannesburg on 10 May 1992. The deceased was identified neither at the hearing nor during the course of Mr Vosloo's murder trial – which resulted in his conviction and sentencing to fifteen years' imprisonment.

215. Mr Vosloo told the Committee that he had grown up in the south of Johannesburg where the majority of people were 'conservative'. He had regarded black people in general as 'the opposition party'. Mr Vosloo said he was not a registered member of any political organisation, although he had strong sympathies with the AWB.

216. He said that:

As long as Black people did not come into conflict with me, and as long as their ways and goals were not enforced on me, I did not have any problems with that, but I did not want any interference with myself from them. ...[F]rom time to time, we were in conflict... There was enmity in the sense that I didn't want them to be in control of my life. (Johannesburg hearing, 7 April 1997.)

217. At around 22h00 on the night of 10 May 1992, Vosloo was standing next to the road in a residential area and in front of a shopping complex in South Hills,

Johannesburg, having a few drinks with friends. They saw a black person walking on the other side of the road and Vosloo took a knife from the boot of his car and followed the man for about thirty or forty metres before grabbing him from behind and stabbing him in the chest and all over the body. He said he did not know the victim at all and that the victim had done nothing to provoke the attack.

MR VOSLOO: *He didn't do to anything to me; he walked past. He walked past and I saw him as the person who could possibly govern me some day.*
(Johannesburg hearing, 7 April 1997.)

218. Vosloo testified that he attacked and killed the man because he was afraid that, in the then political climate, he would not have a say in anything at the end of the day. The Afrikaner felt threatened and could not allow blacks to take over the country without resisting in some way.
219. He testified further that, although he had believed at the time that he had done the right thing, he was sorry today about what he had done: 'I took the life of an innocent person and it is something which no rational person will do.' He said that if he had been sober on that occasion, he wouldn't have done this as, 'any rational person would certainly have found other ways of resisting'. The liquor had given him 'the false courage to act in accordance with that which I felt so strongly' (Johannesburg hearing, 7 April 1997).
220. Vosloo testified that he had been aware of the negotiations taking place at Kempton Park at the time and was afraid of a black take-over from the National Party-led government. He was aware that the AWB had threatened to take up arms to protect itself against the rule of others. However, he had not considered enrolling with a commando:
- MR VOSLOO: *I am a solitary person; I see things very individualistically. I understand things in my own view and I act in those terms. If things continued in that direction and if I was forced to join such a action group, I might have, but I would still have preferred to act on my own and do things in my own way.*
(Johannesburg hearing, 7 April 1997.)
221. Killing an unknown black person was, in his view, a contribution to the Afrikaner resistance movement. He never attended meetings of the AWB or any other similar organisation but kept up-to-date with their policies and activities by watching television and associating with people who were more directly

involved. He testified that during 1992 he had become uncertain about the political situation in the country and feared that he would not have a voice in the changing South Africa. He had a growing feeling that something should be done about the situation, which he saw as advancing rapidly towards black majority rule.

222. The Committee found that the act committed by Vosloo amounted to no more than a purely criminal deed and he was denied amnesty [AC/1997/0026].

The Rodora roadblock killings

223. Four people, including two children aged nine and thirteen, were killed by an AWB gang which set up a roadblock at the 'Rodora crossing' outside Ventersdorp on 12 December 1993. Nine members of the AWB applied for amnesty for the incident: Phillipus Cornelius Kloppers [AM4627/97], Deon Martin [AM4621/97], Andre Francois Visser [AM4571/97], Marius Etienne Visser [AM7003/97], Petrus Matthews [AM4624/97], Carel Hendrik Meiring [AM7002/97], Gerhardus Johannes Diedrichs [AM6662/97], Frederick Jacobus Badenhorst [AM7004/97] and Marthinus Lodewikes van der Schyff [AM5435/97].
224. After mounting a roadblock, the applicants searched several cars for weapons they wanted to confiscate for their 'war'. The occupants of two cars were assaulted and later shot. An ear of one of the victims was cut off to show their commander, AWB General Japie Oelofse, allegedly at his request. Oelofse did not appear in person and did not formally oppose the applications but, through his Counsel, disassociated himself from all the killings, attempted killings and the severed ear.
225. The applicants (with the exception of Diederichs who was convicted of culpable homicide) were convicted of the four murders and six attempted murders and sentenced in the Supreme Court. Some of the applicants were also convicted on charges of assault and/or theft, arising from the theft of a leather jacket, radio cassettes and equipment taken from the victims' cars. With the exception Van der Schyff, who did not apply for amnesty for theft, all the applicants applied for amnesty in respect of all the offences of which they were convicted.
226. Two AWB members, Mr Myburgh and Brigadier Kriel, testified on behalf of the applicants. Neither had first-hand knowledge of the incident or the orders allegedly given by Oelofse.

227. All but one of the applicants testified that they were engaged in an official AWB operation on the orders of the General Staff of the AWB and General Japie Oelofse, as conveyed to them by Kloppers at the roadhouse where they had gathered prior to the incident.²⁴² They testified that Kloppers had told them that they were to go out and ‘work’ that night, as the countrywide revolution was to start that particular evening.
228. Kloppers told them that Oelofse wanted them to identify targets, exercise hard options and that he wanted to see ‘lyke’ (dead bodies). They proceeded to various places where alcohol was consumed and eventually went to Martin’s place. Only on the way and in response to a suggestion to go to the township, did Kloppers communicate to them that Oelofse had ordered the setting up of a roadblock.
229. According to the applicants, the victims were ordered out of their cars and told to sit on an embankment on the side of the road. They were then questioned by Martin as to their political affiliations and asked particularly whether they were members of the ANC, which the AWB regarded as its enemy. The applicants testified that they did not notice that there were children in the group.
230. The applicants testified that, while members of the group were being questioned by Martin, Kloppers would ‘lightly tap’ them on the head in order to encourage them to co-operate. Some members of the group allegedly admitted that they were supporters of the ANC and, according to Martin’s testimony, after a small group of the applicants had assembled (including Martins, Matthews, Kloppers, Marius Visser and Badenhorst), they decided to shoot the victims.
231. Three of the applicants, namely Andre Visser, Diederichs and Meiring, did not participate in the decision to shoot or the shooting itself. Van der Schyff testified that he participated in the shooting but did not form part of the group taking the decision. Martin fired the command shot and most of the others followed suit. Andre Visser, Matthews, Diederichs and Meiring then jumped into a car and fled the scene of the shooting.
232. Kloppers called out that they should all assemble at the City Hall and ordered Martin to cut off the ear of one of the victims so it could be taken to General

²⁴² Save for Van der Schyff, whose evidence differed in some material respects from that of the others.

Oelofse. Various items were taken. The empty shells were removed from the scene, the vehicles of the victims were set alight and the rest of the applicants left the scene thereafter.

233. Van der Schyff testified that no mention had been made of the planned shooting at any time prior to the setting up of the road block and that his first knowledge of the shooting came after the first shots had been fired at the scene. He further testified that no mention had been made of the revolution or of the fact that Oelofse wanted to see dead bodies. Their purpose was to search for weapons. He was not part of the group that had decided on the shooting. He did, however, fire shots in the direction of the group because he had received a message that Kloppers had ordered the shooting of the victims.
234. The applicants conceded that they had consumed alcoholic liquor in varying quantities prior to and on the way to the spot where the roadblock was set up. They also testified that, on their way to the scene of the incident, they harassed two black people and assaulted an unknown black man, during which incident some of the applicants engaged in some frivolous fun amongst themselves.
235. The applications were opposed by surviving victims and relatives of the deceased.
236. The Committee found that, in broad outline, the evidence given by the victims confirmed the applicants' version as to the course of the events at the scene of the shootings. There were, however, some material differences in respect of questioning of the victims. According to the surviving victims, Martins and Kloppers had questioned the victims in a far more aggressive manner than they had led the Committee to believe and none of the victims had admitted that they were members or supporters of the ANC.
237. In considering the evidence, the Committee accepted that the setting up of the roadblock was in line with general AWB policy and that the prime objective of the exercise had been to obtain weapons in this manner. The Committee did not, however, accept that it was AWB policy to kill people at roadblocks. The applicants had all the necessary equipment to carry out the designated operation, which was carried out with some precision until the shooting took place.
238. The Committee found that Martin had taken the initiative in 'questioning' the victims, in calling together the group when the decision was taken to shoot and in firing the commanding shot. He knew that the group was exceeding the

bounds of its mandate and that it was he and Kloppers who had made the decision to shoot. There had been no reason to shoot the victims. The victims had had no firearms or other weapons; they did not admit to being members of the ANC; nor did they offer any substantial resistance to the treatment that was meted out to them. Martin's application for amnesty was accordingly refused [AC/1999/0045].

239. The Committee also refused the applications of those other members of the group who were in a position to question the reasons for the decision to shoot [AC/1999/0045].

240. Andre Visser, Van der Schyff, Dietrichs and Meiring – who were not in the group and who did not receive direct orders – could not be said to have known or to have been in a position to establish the reasons for the decision. They nevertheless associated themselves with the events by accompanying others in circumstances where it might become necessary to shoot. With the exception of Van der Schyff, these applications also failed [AC/1999/0045].

241. The Committee was of the opinion that Van der Schyff, the fifth applicant, made full disclosure of the relevant facts. He had acted on the instruction of Kloppers, conveyed to him by a member of the group. Although his evidence was found to be unsatisfactory in all respects, it was not such as to bar him from being granted amnesty. He was accordingly granted amnesty for assault, possession of firearms and ammunition and for the four murders and six attempted murders committed at the Rodora Crossing near Ventersdorp on 12 December 1993 [AC/1999/0045].

Interference in political activities

Ventersdorp incident

242. On 9 August 1991, an open confrontation between members of the AWB and State President FW de Klerk occurred at Ventersdorp in the Transvaal when the NP planned a political meeting in a town the CP regarded as a CP constituency. According to the AWB, advertisements for the meeting limited attendance to NP supporters only. The AWB insisted that its supporters be permitted to attend as they wished to discuss certain burning issues with the President. The AWB mobilised some 2 000 of its supporters who gathered in the town. A confrontation with the police ensued and three AWB members were killed and fifty-eight people

injured. Almost the entire AWB leadership was arrested on charges of public violence. AWB leaders, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche [AM7994/97] and Mr Petrus Johannes 'Piet Skiet' Rudolph [AM6329/97] applied for amnesty for the incident.

243. Both applicants testified that they had been key figures although they had had no personal involvement in the various incidents that which took place during the violent confrontation with the police. Both averred that the State President and members of the security forces charged with the keeping of law and order at the time of the incident were the proximate causes of the ensuing violence, and they applied to the Committee to subpoena Mr de Klerk as a witness.

RUDOLPH: What I told, or wanted to tell Mr de Klerk that evening was exactly what I have just told you, and that is that we did not go there to fight for or against apartheid and to demonstrate against apartheid, but simply for our freedom. Mr de Klerk chose to destroy us. He employed his forces there and thought well to set the police on us in an unbridled manner. (Klerksdorp hearing, 10 May 1999.)

244. The application was refused on the grounds that the Amnesty Committee did not regard Mr de Klerk as a necessary or essential witness to enable the Committee to arrive at a decision.
245. The Committee also did not deem it necessary to make a finding as to the proximate cause of the public violence. All the Committee needed to consider was whether the applicants complied with the formal requirements of the Act, whether the acts were committed with a political objective as required by the Act and whether the applicants had made a full disclosure of all relevant facts with regard to their participation.
246. Mr Rudolph testified that he, together with Mr Terre'Blanche, had been at the forefront of the procession of armed AWB members as they marched to the meeting in Ventersdorp. He testified he was arrested before the major part of the confrontation with the police took place. During this fracas, a number of people were killed and injured. Rudolph himself sustained minor injuries.
247. Rudolph testified that he was fully aware of the high political tension that prevailed and that he had foreseen that conflict would arise from the actions that they regarded as the exercise of their democratic right. The demonstrators were intent on conveying their political sentiments to the leaders of the government of the time.

248. Mr Terre'Blanche likewise testified that he appreciated and knew of the high political tension and foresaw the possibility of conflict. He and his followers regarded the government at the time as a weak one – as a government without principle to whom they could not trust the governance of the country. He and his organisation were in favour of a *volkstaat* for the Afrikaner and were prepared to fight for it, even outside the law.

249. The Committee considered the evidence of the two applicants and all the relevant documentation and was satisfied that the acts were committed with a political objective in the course of the political struggle of the time and that the applicants had made a full and proper disclosure of their role in the incident. Amnesty was accordingly granted to Mr Rudolph and Mr Terre'Blanche for the offence of public violence in Ventersdorp on 9 August 1991 [AC/1999/0221].

Bombing of strategic targets

250. After a period of relative calm on the right-wing front between 1991 and 1993, acts of sabotage and bombings resumed in late 1993, this time with the explicit aim of derailing the election process.

251. The AWB, BWB and AVF all engaged in bombing campaigns in the pre-election period. The AWB targeted cities while the AVF focused on rural areas. From amnesty applications, it appears that AWB members had a 'conventional war' in mind with a view to overthrowing the former NP government and converting South Africa to a *Boere Republiek*. The express aim was to create secession in certain regions and finally to take over the government with 'military violence'. This would happen in three phases:

- a A propaganda campaign inside and outside the country to prepare the ground for a revolution – to create unrest and dissatisfaction with the government and gain support for the revolution.
- b A subversion of the authority of the government, the creation of weapons and food caches and reconnaissance of the terrain.
- c Action by guerrilla fighters; simultaneously sabotage, terror, uprising, strikes, assassinations would be committed to propel the government into as much social and political chaos as possible.

252. Bombing sprees were simply campaigns of terror. The Committee heard that the primary objective of these campaigns was the establishment of a *volkstaat*. The strategy adopted was to bomb state property as well as residential areas,

offices and facilities used by ANC supporters in order to force the then government to acknowledge the struggle for a *volkstaat* and to impress upon the ANC the seriousness of the right wing's intentions in obtaining a *volkstaat*, thereby strengthening the hands of the Volksfront leaders at the Codesa negotiations.

253. Many of these acts did not lead to loss of life, although some deaths and injuries were recorded.
254. Following the announcement that the Group Areas Act was to be repealed, as well as an earlier announcement on the removal of racial barriers in schools, a number of schools were destroyed in a series of bomb blasts. For example, a formerly white school in Pretoria where ANC exiles' children were to be accommodated was the target of two bomb attacks. Various radical right wing groups simultaneously claimed responsibility.

Attacks in the Lowveld

255. CP members, Mr Jan Petrus Kruger [AM2734/96], Mr Daniel Benjamin Snyders [AM0073/96] and Marthinus Christoffel Ras [AM2735/96] applied for amnesty for a series of sabotage attacks in Lowveld during 1991 and 1992, including:
256. An explosion at the Sabie Magistrate's Court on 20 December 1991 in which Kruger and Ras argued that they had acted on the instructions of a member of Toekomsgesprek leadership, Mr Douw Steyn, conveyed to them by Snyders. The explosives used were manufactured by Snyders. The buildings were damaged but no deaths or injuries resulted from the explosion. The applicants were facing a charge of sabotage pursuant to this incident at the time of their amnesty hearing.
257. An explosion at the Lowveld High School in Nelspruit on 1 January 1992 in which Kruger and Ras again argued that they had acted on the instructions of Douw Steyn as conveyed by Snyders. The building was damaged. The applicants were facing a charge of sabotage for the incident at the time of their amnesty hearing.
258. An explosion at the Nelspruit Agricultural Colleged during the period 14 to 15 March 1992, causing damage to the property. The attack was launched on the instructions of Douw Steyn. Snyders manufactured the explosives and gave them to another member of Toekomsgesprek who executed the actual attack. Snyders was facing criminal charges as well as a civil claim for the incident.

259. An explosion at the Lowveld High School on 16 March 1992, after a gardener at the school discovered and handled an explosive device found in the grounds of the premises. The gardener, Mr Chashasa Andries Sithole, was killed in the explosion and another person, Mrs Sophie Mashaba, was injured. Snyders had planted explosive devices at the school during the period 14 to 15 March 1992, with the intention that they detonate simultaneously with explosives placed at Nelspruit Agricultural College. All reasonable steps were taken to avoid any loss of life or injuries in the operation. The explosives were primed to detonate at 03h00 when no one would be present on the school premises. Unbeknownst to Snyders and due to some defect in the detonator, the devices did not explode simultaneously. Snyders and his colleagues were shocked at the death and injury that resulted. He expressed remorse at the consequences of the explosion. Snyders said he had acted on the instructions of Douw Steyn in placing the explosives at the school. He was facing various criminal charges including murder and attempted murder as well as a civil claim for the incident.
260. Subsequent to the arrest of applicants, the police discovered various arms caches on farms in the vicinity of Nelspruit and Sabie. One of the farms belonged to Kruger. Various charges were brought against the applicants as a result. The arms and explosives in question had been stockpiled on the instructions of the leadership of Toekomsgesprek in accordance with its policy of preparing for armed resistance against the political reforms introduced by the NP government at the time.
261. None of the implicated parties, including Douw Steyn, appeared at the hearing. Only one of the interested parties submitted an affidavit which, to some extent, provided the political context for the incidents and supported the subjective political beliefs of the applicants.
262. The Amnesty Committee was satisfied that the applicants made a full disclosure of all facts relevant to the applications. The Committee accepted that the applicants had acted on the orders of one of their superiors within Toekomsgesprek and that the attacks fell within the policy of that organisation at the time. Although membership and the activities of Toekomsgesprek were secret, the Committee was satisfied that, even if not widely known, it was a publicly known political organisation, independent of the CP, whose policies did not include the kind of offensive, violent actions undertaken by the applicants.
263. Insofar as the death of Mr Sithole and the injuries of Mrs Mashaba were concerned, the Committee took into account that all reasonable steps had been

taken to avoid this kind of consequence. In the context of what was patently a political act, the unfortunate death and injury were aberrations which could not reasonably have been avoided. The Committee accepted that the attack was aimed solely at state property, which was seen as representing the applicants' political foes.

264. Amnesty was granted to Daniel Snyders, Jan Kruger and Marthinus Ras in respect of the respective offences set out in the charge sheet [AC/2000/121].

Attacks on schools

265. Amnesty was granted to BWB members Mr Cornelius Gabriel Volschenk [AM2759/96], Mr Rowland Keith Robinson [AM 2758/96] and CP member Mr Gerhard Pieter Daniel Roux [AM 0094/96] for the bombing of the Melkriver School near Nylstroom in the Transvaal and the Perdekop School near Volksrust in Natal, and for the possession of unlicensed firearms and ammunition and the manufacture and supply of explosives [AC/1996/0009; AC/1996/0013; AC/1996/0014]. BWB member Mr Carel Willem Andries van der Merwe [AM3718/96] was also granted amnesty for offences committed in the district of Nystroom on or around 2 January 1992 and for the bombing of Melkriver School [AC/1998/0001].
266. Conservative Party members Mr Jacobus Johannes Christoffel Botha [AM1703/96] and Mr Carl Mathinus Kriel [AM6699/97] and AWB members Mr Petrus Jacobus Judeel [AM5240/97] and Mr Andries Stefanus Kriel [AM2893/96] were granted amnesty for various acts of 'terrorism' relating to the bombing of the Hillview School, Cosatu House and the Verwoerdburg and Krugersdorp Post Offices during 1991/92, and for the theft of explosives at the Rustenburg Platinum Mine in the Transvaal during 1991 [AC/1996/0012; AC/1998/0017].
267. AWB Commander Mr Pieter Stephanus Albertus Nel [AM2733/96] was granted amnesty for the theft of explosives and being in unlawful possession of explosives, including a homemade bomb, on 28 December 1991. Together with two AWB colleagues, he stole explosives and detonators from a coalmine and used these to manufacture a homemade bomb [AC/1998/0094].
268. On 16 January 1992, the applicant and a colleague place the bomb on the premises of the Calvary Church School at Nelspruit. The bomb was defused before it exploded and caused no damage.

269. The applicant was charged with and convicted of the offences in the Regional Court in Middelburg. On 4 April 1995 he was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment, conditionally suspended for five years for the theft of the explosive material and to five years' imprisonment, also conditionally suspended for five years, for the possession of explosive material and the homemade bomb.
270. The applicant testified that his motive for committing the offences was to enable him to make direct attacks against racially mixed schools and churches with the view to derailing the government's democratisation process.
271. The Amnesty Committee was satisfied that the offences were committed by the applicant in the course of the conflicts of the past and with a political objective, and that the applicant had made full disclosure. Amnesty was granted in chambers.

Explosion in Bronkhorstspuit

272. Two BWB members from Cullinan, Mr Leo Hendrik Froneman [AM0395/96] and Mr Pieter Johannes Harmse [AM3275/96], also a commander in the BRL, were jointly convicted for an explosion at an Indian business complex in Bronkhorstspuit on 17 September 1993. One police officer, Mr Abraham Labuschagne, died in the explosion and six people were injured. Froneman was convicted of culpable homicide for which he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. Harmse was convicted of murder, attempted murder, the unlawful possession of explosives and malicious damage to property and was sentenced to an effective eighteen years.
273. The bomb was homemade and one of a series made by the BWB cell. The BWB planned a coup d'état and a part of their plan entailed interrupting the country's power supply. During the amnesty hearing, the applicants handed in a video of a BWB meeting held in 1993, in which it was said that the party would declare war against the government which, 'wanted to hand the country over to the ANC/SACP alliance'. At other meetings, members were instructed to collect explosives and create chaos in their own areas.
274. Harmse told the Committee that, in September 1993, he received a telephone call from the BRL informing him that the war had started. He had been warned at meetings to expect such a message. He instructed Froneman to choose a target that would involve Muslims, which is why the Indian Shopping Centre at

Bronkhorstspuit was selected. They set about preparing the bomb and at 03h00 the following morning they set off to plant it.

275. The trial judge and the regional magistrate who convicted the two applicants regarded the incident as political. Under cross-examination, Froneman explained that he had selected the target because he believed that the majority of Indians were Muslims and ANC supporters. By attacking this target, they would show the government and others that the BWB was intent on taking their country back by force if necessary. In doing what he did, he was carrying out orders given to him through Harmse.
276. The Amnesty Committee was satisfied that the applicants did what they did in the belief that they were acting on instructions given to them by the BWB, a publicly known organisation, and that the act was done in furtherance of the policies of that organisation. They were granted amnesty [AC/1998/0039].

Pre-election bombing campaigns

September 1993–February 1994

277. AWB member Mr Nicolaas Willem de Jongh [AM3375/96] was granted amnesty for two bomb attacks in the Eastern Cape during August 1993.
278. De Jongh, who held the rank of Commandant in the AWB, assisted two other members of that organisation to bomb two premises. The first bombing took place during the night of 13 August 1993 at the premises of Mr Wiseman Zitembile Sana in Queenstown; the second occurred on the night of 14 August 1993 at the premises of Mr Johnson Dumile Sateni in Hofmeyr in the Eastern Cape. The bombings caused damage to both properties but did not result in any bodily injury. The Committee found that both bombings were executed in support of the AWB with a political objective associated with the conflicts of the past. Amnesty was granted [AC/1998/0029].
279. An AWB colonel, Mr Jan Cornelius Labuschagne [AM3671/96], claimed responsibility for a series of explosions he carried out with other members: Mr Daniel Wilhelm van der Watt [AM3674/96], Mr Andries Stefanus Kriel [AM2893/96] and Mr Johannes Jacobus Botes [AM3672/96] between September 1993 and February 1994. They placed more than twenty explosive devices on railway tracks, power stations and in black townships to disrupt the

infrastructure and gain publicity for the right wing's anti-election cause. A number of people were injured.

280. In October 1993, Andries Stefanus Kriel, a brigadier in the AWB and deputy leader of the Volksfront in the Northern Free State, instructed AWB Colonel Jan Cornelius Labuschagne to form a cell of operatives in order to participate in a terror campaign to be conducted by the Volksfront.
281. Labuschagne formed a cell consisting of himself, Johannes Jacobus Roos Botes and Daniel Wilhelm van der Watt, both members of the AWB and the Volksfront. They underwent a short period of training in the manufacture, handling and use of explosives in the Bothaville area.
282. The bombing campaign commenced on 9 November 1993 and lasted until 7 February 1994. During that period they placed twenty-one bombs at different targets, including Welkom, Wesselbron, Potchefstroom, Orkney, Viljoenskroon, Hoopstad, Bothaville, Stilfontein, Kroonstad, Leeudoringstad and Vierfontein. Nineteen of these exploded. The other two (at Welkom and at Leeudoringstad) did not detonate. All the bombs were homemade. Eleven of the targets were railway lines, three were power installations, four were black residential areas, two were business premises and one was a farm school.
283. Nobody was killed in the bombings. However, a number of people were injured, including Mrs M Bayo, Mr Seipata Mokadatlo (both at Wesselsbron), Mr Stephen Semelo, Mr Andries Semelo, Mrs Ramorakane and Ms Margaret Malinga (all at Viljoenskroon). The bombings caused damage to both private and state property.
284. Labuschagne told the Committee it was not their intention to kill or injure people, although they realised that people might be killed or injured by their actions. He said they took steps to minimise the prospect of this by setting the bombs to explode late at night.
285. All the applicants were facing charges relating to their training, all the bombings as well as the illegal possession of firearms and explosives. Their trial had been postponed pending the outcome of their applications.
286. Labuschagne accepted equal responsibility with the other applicants for all the incidents on the basis that he was their leader and had given them the instruc-

tions to carry out the bombing campaign. All the applicants ceased being members of the AWB during the course of the bombing campaign, but continued with the campaign as members of the Volksfront.

287. The Committee was satisfied that the applicants acted at all relevant times in furtherance of the policies of the Volksfront and that the offences committed by them were acts associated with a political objective committed during the course of the conflicts of the past. There was nothing to suggest that the applicants committed the offences for personal gain or out personal malice, ill-will or spite directed against their victims. Satisfied that the applicants had made full disclosure of all relevant facts and that their applications complied with the requirements of the Act, they were all granted amnesty in respect of the incidents for which they each made application [AC/1999/0001].

21 April 1994

288. On 21 April 1994, the office of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in Hoopstad was bombed, causing considerable damage. Freedom Front (FF) and BKA member Mr Eduard Pieter Roux [AM 5661/97] was granted amnesty for the attack. Roux was also convicted of sabotaging power installations. There was no loss of life [AC/1998/0097].

23 April 1994

289. The Devon Radar complex, an Airforce base in the Secunda area in the Transvaal, was attacked and robbed on the night of the 23 April 1994. A police guard, Sergeant Steven Frederich Terblanche, was shot dead and robbed of his firearm. BWB member Mr Okkert Anthonie de Meillon [AM4570/97] and AWB members Mr Edmund William Holder [AM5610/97] and Mr Willem Johannes van Zyl [AM5611/97] applied for amnesty for the attack.

290. Okkert de Meillon was convicted of murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances and sentenced to an effective fifteen years' imprisonment. On 5 November 1996, Edmund Holder and Willem van Zyl were jointly tried in a separate trial and convicted on similar charges. Van Zyl was also convicted of the unlawful possession of a firearm and ammunition. They were sentenced to effective imprisonment of ten and eight years respectively.

291. All the applicants, as well as Constable Andre Renier Swart who was in the company of the deceased victim at the time, testified at the hearing.
292. The Amnesty Committee heard from the applicants that right-wing organisations took various steps to prepare for an attack on whites on the 27th April 1994, the day of the election. Members of right-wing organisations were ordered to obtain appropriate firearms to ward off the attack. Because the 'enemy' would be armed with automatic weapons, they believed that the anticipated attack could only be effectively warded off if the right wing was armed with automatic weapons.
293. On the day of the incident, the applicants armed themselves and drove to an army building in Pretoria city centre. The building was guarded by armed guards. This plan was foiled as they were totally outnumbered by the guards. According to Holder and Van Zyl, De Meillon had suggested they attack the guards for the purpose of making propaganda. This they refused to do. They testified that by then it had become clear to them that De Meillon was a fanatic.
294. Driving home in the direction of Secunda, De Meillon remembered an Airforce base at Devon where he had done a part of his military service in 1992. They decided to go there. Holder and Van Zyl testified that they intended to reconnoitre the base in preparation for an arms robbery.
295. Led by De Meillon, the applicants entered the guardhouse at the Devon base without first ascertaining who was inside. It became apparent that the guardhouse was occupied by members of the police. De Meillon ordered the police to hand over their weapons. However, although both police officers were armed with their service pistols, there were no automatic weapons in the guardhouse.
296. In the course of disarming the deceased victim, a scuffle ensued between him and De Meillon. Shots were fired and De Meillon was wounded and Sergeant Terblanche killed. De Meillon took the deceased victim's service pistol and ran to the vehicle followed by Holder. They drove to Secunda where De Meillon obtained medical assistance and was later arrested in hospital. Van Zyl kept possession of the deceased's pistol for a few days, whereafter he took it apart and threw it into a dam. Holder and Van Zyl were also subsequently arrested.
297. The Committee found that the attack on the deceased fell outside the orders or authority given to the applicants to obtain automatic weapons for the purposes

of their respective political organisations. De Meillon had taken the initiative in the mission and ordered the others to assist.

298. De Meillon testified that, to his mind, the mission was unsuccessful. Had he known that the base was occupied by the SAP, he would not have embarked upon the operation at Devon. The Committee found that Holder and Van Zyl's testimony as to the purpose of their visit to the base was true. It would have been reckless to decide to attack the base for automatic weapons without reconnoitring the target first. They would have had no idea whether they would find the weapons they were looking for or what kind of resistance they would meet. They obviously went to the base to see what the situation was there, as testified to by Holder and Van Zyl.
299. The Committee found that the attack on the guardhouse was clearly a result of impulsive, overhasty and haphazard actions on the part of De Meillon.
300. The Committee noted that another important factor was the fact that the pistol of the deceased was subsequently disposed of without being used for any of the purposes of the political organisations in question. This was further indication of the fact that attacking and robbing the deceased of his pistol fell outside any mandate or order given. The applicants testified that the order had been to obtain automatic weapons.
301. The Committee found that the killing of the deceased in all of the circumstances of the case was disproportionate to any conceivable objective pursued by the applicants. The Committee was not satisfied that the incident constituted an act associated with a political objective in terms of the requirements of the Act and the applications were refused [AC/1999/0014].

24 and 25 April 1994

302. A number of people were killed on 24 and 25 April 1994 when eleven members of an AWB cell went on a bombing spree. The targets were mainly taxi ranks serving black commuters. The eleven were part of a group of twenty-six found guilty on ninety-six counts of pre-election bombings, murder and damage to property. Altogether twenty people died and forty-six were injured.
303. Nine applicants claimed responsibility for a number of different actions during this period.

304. Mr Etienne Jacobus le Roux [AM6467/97] and Mr Johan Wilhelm du Plessis [AM6480/907] were granted amnesty for violations arising from an explosion in Bree Street, Johannesburg on 24 April 1994. The explosion killed seven people: Mr Jostine Makho Buthelezi, Mr Makomene Alfred Matsepene, Mr Goodman Dumisani Ludidi, Ms Gloria Thoko Fani, Ms Susan Ann Keane, Mr Peter Lester Malcolm Ryland and an unidentified man. At least thirteen other people were injured in the attack. The applicants were also granted amnesty for malicious injury to property and the unlawful possession of explosive devices and material [AC/1999/0342].
305. Le Roux and Du Plessis were granted amnesty for violations arising from an explosion at Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg on election day, 27 April 1994, in which at least ten people were injured. They were also granted amnesty for malicious injury to property and the unlawful possession of explosive devices and material [AC/1999/0342].
306. Mr Etienne le Roux, Mr Jan Bastiaan de Wet [AM6466/97], Mr Johannes Abraham Vlok [AM7888/97] and Mr Johan du Plessis were granted amnesty for violations arising from a bomb explosion on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Transvaal on 25 April 1994. Ten people were killed by the bomb: Mr Phillip Nelaphi Nkosi, Mr Mbulawa Jonathan Skosana, Mr Lucas Shemane Bokaba, Ms Gloria Khoza, Mr Fickson Mlala, Mr Mbereyeni Marcus Siminza, Mr Paul Etere Ontory, Mr Thulani Buthelezi and Ms Thoko Rose Sithole. At least seven other people were injured in the explosion. The applicants were also granted amnesty for malicious injury to property and the unlawful possession of explosive devices and material [AC/1999/0342].
307. Mr Johan du Plessis, Mr Abraham Christoffel 'Abie' Fourie [AM6478/97], Mr Johannes Andries 'JJ' Venter [AM6577/97], Mr Jacobus Petrus Nel [AM6469/97], Mr Petrus Paulus Steyn [AM6479/97] and Mr Gerhardus Daniel 'Gert' Fourie [AM6468/97] were granted amnesty for violations resulting from:
308. An explosion on 25 April 1994 on the corner of Blood Street and 7th Avenue in Pretoria. The explosion killed three people: Ms Joyce Baloyi, Mr Samuel Masemola and unidentified man. At least four other people were injured;
309. An explosion at Westonaria on 25 April 1994. The explosion killed five people: Mr James Ncube, Mr Alfred Dayele, Mr Peter Mogoshe, Mr Phillip Plaatjies and Mr Alex Maziba

310. An explosion on 25 April 1994 at a taxi rank on the corner of Third and Park Streets in Randfontein, Transvaal. The explosion injured at least six people;
311. The unlawful possession of explosive devices and materials at the Springfontein Farm in Rustenburg between 22 and 27 April 1994.
312. Mr Jan de Wet, Mr Johannes Vlok and Mr Johan du Plessis were granted amnesty for the unlawful possession of explosive devices and materials at the Koesterfontein Farm in Krugersdorp between 22 and 27 April 1994.
313. Mr Etienne le Roux, Mr Jan de Wet and Mr Johan du Plessis were granted amnesty for the theft of a motor vehicle at Randfontein on 25 April 1994.

27 April 1994

314. On election day, the 27th April 1994, two AWB members travelling in a vehicle on the R28 road between Westonaria and Randfontein on the West Rand, opened fire at a minibus taxi killing the taxi's driver, Mr Viyani Papiyana, and injuring a passenger, Mr Godfrey Papiyana.
315. AWB members, Mr James Wheeler [AM 2084/96] and Mr Cornelius Rudolph Pyper [AM5179/97] were serving fifteen-year jail sentences for the attack when they were granted amnesty. The Amnesty Committee accepted that the applicants believed themselves to be under orders from the AWB and were under the impression that other members would be committing acts of violence in order to cause chaos and disrupt the elections.
316. The applicants testified before the Amnesty Committee that they had consumed alcohol and discussed politics and ways to disrupt the election. They decided on a course of action, allegedly based on the orders of a fellow AWB member, Mr de Bruyn, whom they believed to have some authority in the organisation.
317. Both applicants testified that their sole motivation in committing the crime was political and that their immediate aim was to cause chaos which would lead to the disruption of the elections. They believed that many other supporters of the AWB would be participating in the uprising and that the cumulative effect their of actions would have a significant impact on the political events of the day. They both denied that the consumption of alcohol was the driving force of their actions.

318. The surviving victim and those members of the victims' family who opposed the application said they believed the applicants had committed the offences in their personal capacities out of ill-will, malice or spite while under the influence of intoxicating liquor. There was also insufficient evidence to find that the applicants were members or supporters of the AWB; that they acted on behalf of or under orders from the AWB or within their duties as members of that organisation. It was suggested that this was a spontaneous and poorly planned attack on a taxi that was not in the vicinity of a polling station.
319. The Committee was satisfied that the applicants could at least have been seen as supporters of the AWB and believed themselves to be members.
320. The Committee accepted the uncontradicted evidence that the AWB propagated the use of violence to resist the ANC winning the election and that it called upon its members to prepare themselves for a state of war. The applicants had believed that the revolution had begun before consuming liquor on the day in question. Drunkenness could not therefore have been the root cause of their actions, though the consumption of liquor could have provided them with false courage and was the reason for the sloppy planning and preparation of the attack. Both the applicants stated that they knew what they were doing. The fact that the first applicant drove the vehicle without mishap and that the second applicant accurately aimed the shot he fired indicates that they were not so drunk as to eliminate their belief that they were acting in support of the AWB. The fact that the AWB never admitted its involvement in the applicants' crimes did not obviate the applicants' subjective belief that they were acting in support of AWB when they committed the act.
321. The Amnesty Committee accepted that the applicants were under the impression that other members of the AWB would, that day, commit acts of violence in order to cause chaos and so disrupt the elections. They gained this impression after having heard the report of the bombings on the East Rand and after their discussion with Du Bruyn. They only learnt after the event that, save for the bombings on the East Rand, they had acted in isolation. They testified that they decided to shoot a black man as they were of the opinion that the vast majority of black people were supporters of the ANC. Their intention was to commit an act of terror which, together with other such acts committed by other members of the AWB, would instil fear and result in chaos and anarchy and so disrupt the elections.

322. In this context, despite the tragic consequences and futility of their actions, the Committee concluded that the violation was not disproportionate to the political objective they were pursuing. The attack was found to be associated with a political objective committed in the course of the conflict of the past and amnesty was granted to the applicants [AC/1998/0032].

PART TWO: MOTIVES AND PERSPECTIVES

323. Threatened by the prospect of a non-racial, democratic South Africa, many sectors of the conservative Afrikaner community mobilised to challenge the impending changes and to protect a way of life and a sense of identity perceived to be under threat. One of the central objectives that emerged as a focus of the mobilisation of the right-wing groups was the creation of a *volkstaat*. In some senses the initiative represented a hearkening back to the idea of the *Boere* republics, confiscated by the British and finally lost in the turn of the century Anglo-Boer War. If the African liberation struggle in South Africa was a 'just war', so too was the struggle of Afrikaners to restore the Boer republics.

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

325. Evidence before the Commission indicates that the strongest mobilisation for a nation-state, and the most aggressive acts in promoting this goal, occurred in the former Western Transvaal and on the West Rand. Fewer violations occurred in the territories now known as the Western and Northern Cape. AWB applicants told the Amnesty Committee that their aim was turn the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Northern Natal into a Christian and Afrikaner Boer states.

326. The concept of 'freedom' related to the question of whether Afrikaner communities could be in control of their own destiny and to general constitutional protection. During the process of negotiations, therefore, the idea of 'freedom'

became a recurring theme in the militant rhetoric of the right-wing leaders and a central motivating factor in the planning and execution of operations that resulted in gross violations of human rights.

327. At the time of the formation of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), some Afrikaner groups felt that 'an elite' deal was being fashioned at the Kempton Park negotiations between the ANC and the NP in conjunction with big business. The deal threatened to marginalise Afrikaner demands for the preservation of Afrikaner culture and the recognition of their Christian-national aspirations.

328. At this time, when there seemed to be little hope in obtaining a volkstaat, there was talk of a 'liberation war' using violence as a means to achieve an end. However, no loss of life was intended. AWB leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche testified before the Commission that no orders for killing were given. In his submission to the Commission, General Constand Viljoen said that the AVF had no option but to organise resistance to secure the future of Afrikaners:

I submit that it was quite reasonable that the ethnic Afrikaners felt threatened to the point that they felt the proverbial back against the wall. ... And we prepared for conflict – not anarchy, not a total war but a well-planned campaign of resistance and mass action' against the NP government and also against the ANC. (Viljoen: submission)

329. General Viljoen unequivocally linked Afrikaner resistance with the transitional process in the country.

It was further aimed as an anti-revolutionary power to counter the anarchy, intimidation and intolerance of the revolutionary powerw, because in our opinion the government of the day had neither the will or the guts to do so. ... Our action programme was necessary as the NP in the multi-party conference watered down the Afrikanervolk's right to self-determination, and our own bilateral process of negotiations with the ANC on Afrikaner self-determination did not achieve the desired results until shortly before the election. The degree of revolutionary climate called for an action stronger than the political debate; but it had to take place in support of the talks. (Viljoen, AVF: submission)

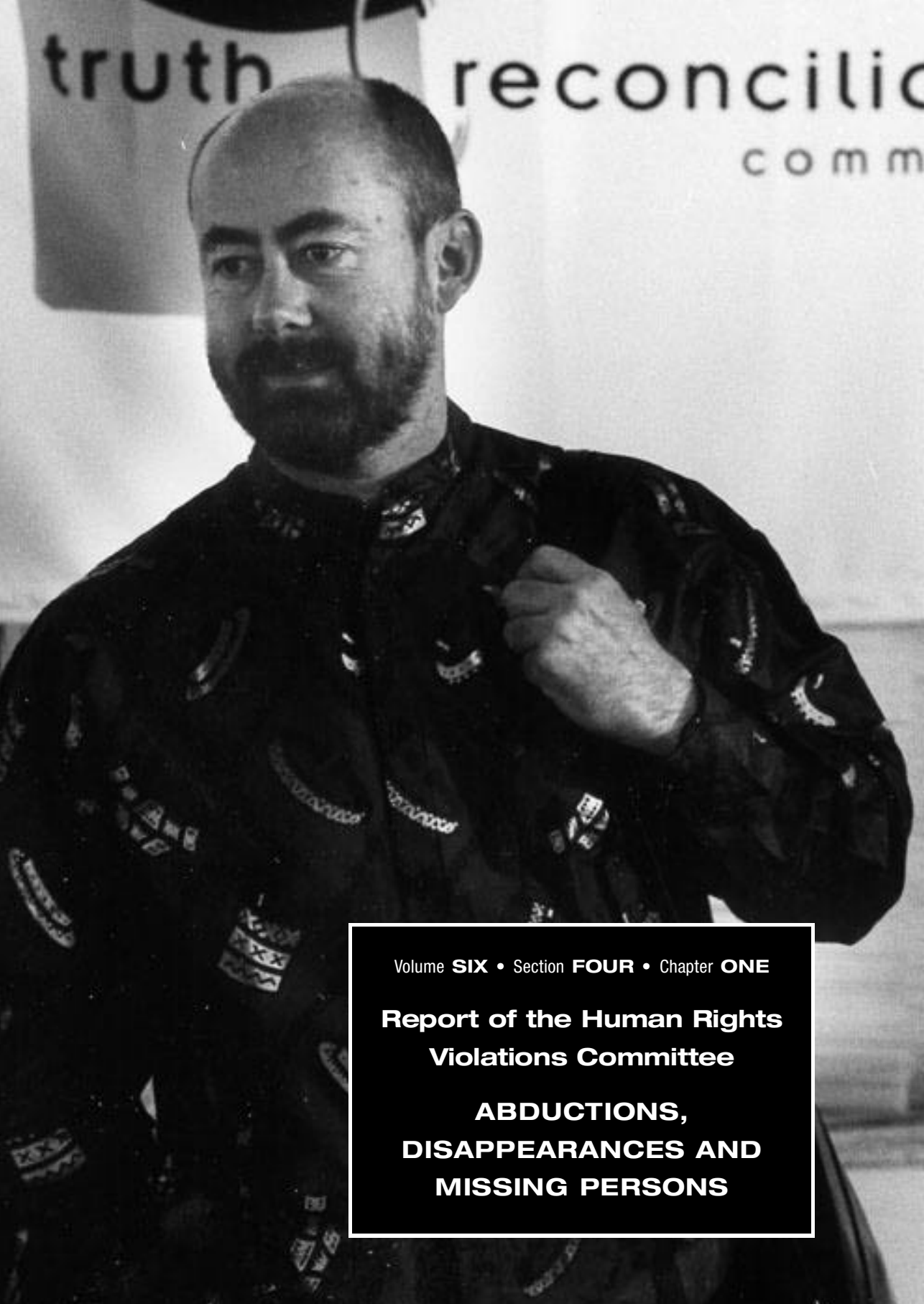
330. In summary, the Amnesty Committee heard that most of the acts for which members of right-wing organisations applied for amnesty were motivated by the following principles:

- a the creation of a Christian *Boerestaat* on Boer territory for the Afrikaner Boerevolk;
- b the promotion of an Afrikaner Boere consciousness of their white lineage and the importance of race purity and the maintenance of Afrikaner Boer culture;
- c the struggle against the enemies of liberalism, humanism, Communism and Marxism;
- d the protection of Afrikaans;
- e the maintenance of a Christian National Education;
- f the return of the volk to the Covenant and the God of the Covenant;
- g self-realisation within a Boerestaat;
- h self-determination for a republic previously internally acknowledged as an independent state;
- i the protection of the land against imperialism;

331. The CP maintained a strictly anti-Communist stance and upheld the need they identified to fight the threat of the African liberation movements, which they believed to be influenced by the SACP. According the CP member, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, who applied for amnesty for the killing of SACP leader, Mr Chris Hani (see above):

*The fact that the ANC/SACP wanted to control **all** of South Africa, was, we believe, the underlying problem of South Africa's continual conflict. Most people want to be ruled by their own. This is an immutable international fact. Thus conservative Whites were faced not only with an alien government if the ANC/SACP came to power, but a communist alien government.*

332. Applications for amnesty from conservative Afrikaners and right-wingers frequently made reference to a romantic image of the Boer nation, derived from the history of seventeenth century freeburgers, Trekkers and ultimately the Anglo-Boer War. A common theme in this history was the desire of conservative Afrikaner groupings to be in control of their own destiny and the wish to achieve self-determination through the creation of a volkstaat or *Boerestaat*.



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Volume **SIX** • Section **FOUR** • Chapter **ONE**

**Report of the Human Rights
Violations Committee**

**ABDUCTIONS,
DISAPPEARANCES AND
MISSING PERSONS**

Abductions, Disappearances and Missing Persons

■ INTRODUCTION

1. On 14 October 1986, activist Moss Morudu [JB00520/02PS] went missing from his home in Mamelodi in Pretoria. Shortly thereafter, his family received a telephone call from an unknown person who said that Mr Morudu was where 'he had always wanted to go'. They deduced from the call that Moss had gone into exile, as he had previously discussed leaving South Africa because of ongoing Security Branch harassment. However, Moss Morudu did not return home with other returning exiles after 1990.
2. A few years later, the Morudu family received a visit from members of the Attorney-General's office, who indicated that they believed that Moss might have been the victim of a Northern Transvaal Security Branch hit squad. In 1996, the family became aware of rumours that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) was in possession of an amnesty application relating to Moss Morudu. Moss's mother, Mrs Morudu, began attending every public hearing of the Commission in the Gauteng area in the hope that she would learn of the fate of her son.
3. This is usually the first phase of a disappearance. The family is ignorant about what has happened and is unclear about what the future will bring. Thus begins the long journey of not knowing whether a loved one is imprisoned or dead.
4. Moss's family was informed about the amnesty application. Finally, in October 1999, the amnesty hearing of three Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives began in Pretoria. The Morudu family heard that the head of the Northern Transvaal's Investigative Unit, Captain Hendrik Prinsloo, had instructed two black Security Branch operatives to abduct Moss Morudu. The two had gone to the home of the Mamelodi activist and, purporting to be MK operatives, had persuaded him to accompany them. They then handed him over to their white colleagues at a pre-arranged spot.

5. According to their version, Moss Morudu was not formally detained, but was taken to a temporary interrogation camp near Hammanskraal where he was held and interrogated for approximately one week. The applicants testified that they did not know when he was removed, or where to. They became aware much later that he was no longer there and assumed that he had been killed, as had other abductees. Neither their commander, Captain Prinsloo, nor other implicated white colleagues applied for amnesty, and all denied the version put forward by the black applicants.
6. Thus, although the amnesty hearing provided the family with new information, the Amnesty Committee was, in the end, unable to establish the exact fate of Moss Morudu. And so the quest of the Morudu family continues.
7. Many other families share the experience of the Morudu family. For them too, continued uncertainty about the fate of loved ones has had devastating consequences. These families remain trapped in the past, unable to move on. Unlike a death, which, however painful, leads eventually to some kind of acceptance, families of the disappeared remain constantly caught between near certainty that the missing person has not survived and hope that he or she will return. In several cases the missing person was the breadwinner, making the burden on the family both financial and emotional.
8. A tiny percentage of families have approached the courts to have the missing person declared dead. This has allowed them to claim unpaid wages or, in some instances, the proceeds of policies held in the missing person's name. In most instances, little or no money is coming in. Expenses increase as families search to find out what happened.
9. The uncertainty of the search and the faint hope that the disappeared will return makes it incredibly difficult for those left behind to cope. The family's life has changed on several fronts, including the political, social and economic. In addition, many face the psychological consequences of dealing with a disappearance without access to psycho-social support or counselling services.
10. During the conflict period, many families bore the pain of the disappearance alone, tormented by uncertainty, fearful of what would happen to them. They feared the consequences of drawing attention to the missing person or to the family. For example, where missing persons had links to anti-government organisations or were students during periods of unrest, families were too afraid to report the

disappearance to the police in case they compromised the missing person's safety. In any case, as a number of statements confirm, those who did report disappearances were often met with hostility. Threats, jeers (such as 'Go ask Mandela where your son is') and sometimes assaults were often the only responses they received from the authorities. Similarly, in areas such as Natal and certain parts of the Transvaal, enquiries could place the entire family in jeopardy from a rival political movement. In such cases, the only option was to search alone: discreetly asking friends, scouring hospitals and mortuaries, desperately trying to find some trace of the missing person.

DEFINITION OF A DISAPPEARANCE

11. In order to deal with this category of violation, the Commission had to define it. While its founding Act, the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 (the Act) used the term 'abduction', this was intended to cover enforced disappearances at the hands of the state, persons who had gone missing in exile or combat, and other missing persons.
12. The Commission had recourse to a number of working definitions developed by human rights groups working in the field. One such was the definition used by Amnesty International, which defined 'disappeared persons' as those 'who have been taken into custody by agents of the State, yet whose whereabouts and fate are concealed, and whose custody is denied'.¹ Amnesty International places the term 'disappeared person' between inverted commas in order to indicate that the persons in question have not really disappeared, but that there are those who know their whereabouts and deliberately remain silent.
13. The UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances has, in its recent work, begun to define 'a disappearance' as 'a person arrested, detained, abducted or otherwise deprived of his/her liberty by officials of different branches or levels of government, or by organised groups or private individuals acting on their behalf, or with the support, direct or indirect, consent or acquiescence of the government, followed by a refusal to disclose the fact or whereabouts of the person concerned or a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of his/her liberty, thereby placing such persons outside the protection of the law'.²

¹ Bronkhorst, Daan, *Truth and Reconciliation: Obstacles and Opportunities for Human Rights*. Amsterdam:Amnesty International – Dutch Section, 1995.

² Draft International Convention on the Protection of all Persons from Forced Disappearance.

14. The Commission finally defined the category 'Abductions' as 'including those persons who were forcibly detained or arrested and last seen in the custody of the security forces or agents of the state, as well as those forcibly and unlawfully abducted by other known or unknown armed groups or parties'.

HOW DISAPPEARANCES RELATE TO OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

15. Disappearances are inextricably bound up with other human rights violations. Often a disappearance is an unacknowledged form of imprisonment for political reasons. In many instances, a disappearance took place during the first days of custody and, more often than not, resulted in a political killing.
16. In some instances, the body was found. In the vast majority of cases that came to the Commission, however, this was not the case. This has condemned many families to a permanent state of limbo: never knowing, never being able to put it to rest.
17. It is acknowledged that the optimum time to solve a disappearance is in the first few days after it takes place. It is thus important to take action during this early period.

CHARACTERISTICS OF DISAPPEARANCES

18. Generally a disappearance is not referred to as such if the fate or whereabouts of the disappeared are known, if a body is found, or if it becomes known that the victim is dead. The Commission has, for the most part, followed this policy in its classification of cases.
19. Generally, two types of disappearances may be distinguished. The first is a 'temporary disappearance' – an unacknowledged, long-term incommunicado type of imprisonment. The second type of disappearance – and the one that the Commission dealt with in most instances – is where the disappeared person has been killed or has died in unknown circumstances without being traced.
20. In most disappearance cases, the perpetrators remain unknown. The disappearance is carried out secretly and usually illegally. The perpetrators do all they can to avoid being found out, identified or held responsible. The rationale for their conduct is that, as long as the disappeared or the body is not found,

there can be no violation and therefore no perpetrator. This is characteristic of the disappearances carried out by state agents in the South African situation.

21. Another important characteristic of disappearances is that, once a state has chosen to embark on this road to criminality, policy decisions in this respect tend to be taken centrally – although the process of execution is usually decentralised. Disappearances are usually planned by small secret groups within the armed forces, where orders for implementation are delegated through various channels that are often difficult to trace. Depending on the nature of the particular situation, disappearances are usually carried out by military groups, paramilitary groups, the police or death squads operating within either police or military structures. Governments usually permit these groups a great deal of latitude to carry out these deeds, and usually disavow all knowledge of the disappearances.
22. Secrecy is another important facet of disappearances. In the South African situation, a number of units within the police and military became secretly involved in disappearances and killings. These units enjoyed a large degree of autonomy and had access to the funds necessary to take people into custody, make them disappear and kill them. The existence of these units and the secrecy with which they operated made it possible for the former state to deny any involvement in such activities. In addition, once their activities became known, the political authorities of the former state continued to insist that they had no knowledge of the actions of these structures, and that the latter had been acting without authorisation.
23. However, the high rank of the state personnel involved, their easy access to funds and resources, and evidence emerging from amnesty applications by former security force personnel negate this argument. One cannot but draw the conclusion that the former state was centrally involved, not only in sanctioning this tactic, but also in planning and providing funds and resources.
24. When governments are addressed on this issue – either by the international community or by human rights groups – they often reply that the person has fled the country and gone into exile. In a number of cases in South Africa, the former state sought to blame the liberation movements for a disappearance. When laying complaints or seeking answers from the police, families were frequently advised that the disappeared had probably gone into exile. The state encouraged families to believe this and, in some instances, staged elaborate hoaxes to hide the fact that it was responsible for the disappearance. The cases of Mr Stanza Bopape, Ms Portia Ndwande and Mr Moss Morudu are just a few examples.

25. Where the state did acknowledge the disappearance, it often lied about the circumstances in which it took place, alleging that the disappeared had 'committed suicide', had 'been turned' and become an 'informer' or had been shot while 'attempting to escape' the authorities. This became a common response of the former state as it became increasingly more adept and sophisticated at concealing the real facts of a disappearance.
26. A common feature of disappearances in South Africa was for the state to declare its opponents 'the enemy', thus ensuring that their disappearance or killing generated little interest. In this respect, the silence of those who were the beneficiaries of the former state must be noted. Had they questioned more, been less acquiescent and less willing to accept the propaganda of the former government, the former state might not have been able to get away with such criminal conduct. Had the judiciary been more vigilant when these matters came before them – more willing to engage with the issues and less willing to believe the versions of the security forces and the police – state forces would have been less likely to resort to such excesses. There is no doubt that, beyond the political figures within government, the judiciary and civil society had a large role to play in allowing disappearances and killings to continue.

WHY DISAPPEARANCES HAPPEN

27. The main *raison d'être* for disappearances is that states want to get rid of those who trouble them – without having to use the law as an instrument. Disappearances are one of the most effective ways of removing people the state considers a threat. Mr Mathew Goniwe was a case in point. Regarded as an opponent of the state, he was abducted and killed, as were his fellow activists Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli. Many others endured a similar fate.
28. Disappearances are usually a very effective way of avoiding international opprobrium. There is no doubt that a large number of troubling inquests – such as the inquest into the death of Mr Neil Aggett – led to government setting up new mechanisms to deal with opponents. The policy on disappearances saved the former state the cost and publicity of trials and inquests, and the acknowledgement of both imprisonment and torture. The state was spared from having to account for its actions in any way.
29. Disappearances also have the effect of causing confusion and sowing discord. Governments can claim that those responsible are groups beyond its control or persons wishing to discredit the state.

30. Disappearances can be used to intimidate political opponents. Families are often told that, if they don't stop asking questions, bothering the authorities or raising a storm in the press, they too will disappear. They are also told that, if they don't keep quiet, they will endanger the life of a loved one. This was confirmed by the testimony of many of the victims who came to the Commission.
31. Disappearances are also an effective way of avoiding international pressure. Although the international community frequently takes issue with governments about the fate of political prisoners and those who are indefinitely detained and tortured, they very rarely address the issue of the disappeared.

DISAPPEARED VERSUS MISSING

32. The Commission dealt with a number of cases where people had gone missing. In some instances, they went missing after a political rally or during a period of political unrest or state of emergency.
33. In a large number of cases reported to the Commission, the disappearance was not linked to a political cause: there was no intent, and the state or armed forces were not responsible for the disappearance.
34. Another category the Commission dealt with were cases referring to persons 'missing in action'. These usually involved soldiers or members of armed forces or groups who went missing, and where it is not clear whether they died in battle or were taken prisoner by the enemy. In these instances, the relatives are also left in a state of great uncertainty. However, in such cases parents or relatives can often rely on the support and assistance of the authorities in whose name the soldier served.
35. It is also usually easier to obtain information about the circumstances in which a soldier went missing. The Geneva Protocols under Article 3 deal with the legal procedures related to those regarded as 'missing in action'.
36. In South Africa, there have been instances where families have been denied relief because the state has refused to confirm that their loved ones were on lawful missions for the country.

ANALYSIS OF DISAPPEARANCE CASES REPORTED TO THE COMMISSION

37. The Commission received more than 1500 victim statements concerning persons who went missing or disappeared after being forcibly abducted.³ The fate of some 477 people named in these statements remains uncertain. The overwhelming majority of missing persons disappeared between 1985 and 1994 – mainly in the Transvaal and Natal, where there was escalating political conflict during this period. This matches the general pattern of violations recorded by the Commission.⁴ In other respects as well, the profile of disappeared persons is no different to that of victims of other violations. Over 90 per cent of missing persons reported to the Commission were male. In those statements where age was specified, 40 per cent were between the ages of 14 and 24, and 31 per cent between the ages of 25 and 36. In those statements where political affiliation was identified, over 70 per cent were members or supporters of liberation movements, while less than 10 per cent were security force members or belonged to or supported pro-government movements such as the IFP. Just over 16 per cent of missing persons are believed to have had no political affiliation.
38. From the statements it received in respect of abductions, the Commission identified the following categories:
- a abductions and enforced disappearances;
 - b disappearances in exile;
 - c disappearances during periods of unrest;
 - d disappearances regarded as out of the Commission's mandate, and
 - e cases of indeterminate cause.

MECHANISMS USED BY THE COMMISSION TO ESTABLISH THE FATE AND WHEREABOUTS OF THE DISAPPEARED

39. The Commission was fortunate in that the legislation under which it operated created a number of enabling mechanisms that allowed it to deal with abductions and disappearances proactively. These included its powers to hold special investigative hearings in terms of section 29; the amnesty process; investigations, and the exhumation process.

³ It is unfortunately not possible to give an accurate number of such cases. In a number of instances where disappearances were solved through investigations or amnesty applications, the data was re-coded to reflect the outcome of the investigation. For example, if a missing person was found to have been killed, the coding was frequently changed from disappearance to killing.

⁴ See Volume Three, pp. 1–11.

40. The Commission's powers in terms of section 29 allowed it to subpoena those it believed had information about an incident or violation to appear before a special panel of Commissioners and to answer questions. Section 29 powers were successfully used to solicit amnesty applications in a number of cases, and often allowed the Commission to establish the facts surrounding a disappearance.
41. The amnesty process also played an important role in dealing with disappearances. Large numbers of amnesty applications relating to disappearance cases helped the Commission to learn a great deal about what had happened to many of the disappeared.
42. Amnesty applicants also provided the Commission with a great deal of information about gravesites. This allowed the Commission's Investigation Unit to carry out a number of exhumations. These helped clarify the facts surrounding some disappearances, thereby establishing the ultimate fate of the disappeared. A number of cases in KwaZulu-Natal helped the Commission to establish that the disappeared had been killed. The cases of Ms Portia Ndwandwe and Ms Ntombi Khubeka are two examples. A number of other exhumations provided similar relief to families of victims.

ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCES

43. Enforced disappearances include persons last seen in the custody of the security forces, as well as those forcibly and unlawfully abducted by other known or unknown parties.
44. Sixty-four people who were last known to have been in the custody of the security forces remain missing. While the majority of these disappearances occurred during the 1980s, twenty-two disappeared between 1960 and 1979 and nine went missing in the 1990s.
45. A number of these disappearances appear to have been Security Branch abduction operations, targeting specific individuals believed to have been members of the African National Congress (ANC) or Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) both inside and outside South Africa. The case of Moss Morudu (described above) is an example of such an abduction.
46. A similar abduction operation involved members of the Orange Free State Security Branch. MK operatives Joyce Koekanyetswe 'Betty' Boom

[KZN/JRW/051/BL], Nomasonto Mashiya and Tax Sejaname – all based in Lesotho – disappeared in December 1986. Unknown persons delivered the infant of Ms Mashiya to the home of her parents in the Orange Free State at about that time. In early 1987, another MK operative, Mbulelo Ngono [EC0330/96PLZ], was forcibly abducted from Maseru. Three members of the Orange Free State Security Branch, based at Ladybrand, applied for amnesty for the abduction of the ‘Ladybrand Four’, but claimed that they had all had been recruited as sources and had disappeared after being returned to Lesotho.⁵ This version was strongly contested by the families, who pointed out that none of the four has been seen since their abduction.

47. Another pattern that emerged was the disappearance of persons formally arrested or detained by the Security Branch or other arms of the South African Police (SAP). One example of this is the disappearance of four Zimbabwean citizens: Mr December Ncube [JB00303/01GTSOW], Mr Mncedisi Helper Nkiwane [JB02648/01GTSOW], Mr Mac Makathini Ncube [JB04064/01GTSOW] and Mr Gideon Ncube [JB02408/01GTSOW]. The Commission came to the conclusion that they were probably apprehended and detained in Johannesburg in the late 1970s. The four are believed to have been part of a group of eighteen Zimbabwean citizens – members or supporters of ZAPU⁶ who were working in South Africa at the time.
48. Another such disappearance is that of Ms Nombulelo Thelma Nkosi [JB00175/01ERKAT]. Ms Nkosi, who was detained several times between 1976 and 1984, was taken into custody after police surrounded her home in Sebokeng on the West Rand at 03h00 one morning. She has not been seen since.
49. While the above were all known activists and specifically targeted by the Security Branch, a number of people went missing after being arrested during township unrest. These include Mr Ndlanganyana Mvunyisa [EC1794/97ETK], Mr Maqhilane Solomase Nodosha [EC2064/97ETK] and Mr Mhletywa Silangwe [EC2152/97ETK], who were arrested during the 1960 Pondoland revolt and were never seen again. The Commission received a number of statements from victims who were arrested and severely tortured during the Pondoland revolt.⁷

⁵ See AC2001/238.

⁶ Zimbabwe African People's Union.

⁷ See Volume Three, pp. 38–39,42.

50. Similarly, Mr Ramatua Nicholas 'Boikie' Thlapi [JB01185/03NW, JB0118/03NW, JB01187/03NW, JB01452/03NW] disappeared following his arrest in 1986. 'Boikie' Thlapi and his friends left Ikageng near Potchefstroom on 20 March 1986 to attend a funeral wake in Klerksdorp for those killed by police during unrest. The group was arrested at a roadblock and taken to Stilfontein, where they were allegedly subjected to beating and electric shock torture. One of those arrested later told Mr Thlapi (Snr) that he had last seen 'Boikie' lying on the floor of a cell, bleeding from the mouth and nose. Police later conceded that 'Boikie' Thlapi had been arrested, but claimed that he had been released. Despite extensive investigations by, amongst others, the Independent Board of Inquiry and Lawyers for Human Rights, as well as an inquest hearing, the fate of 'Boikie' Thlapi remains unknown. None of the police officers involved in his arrest and detention applied for amnesty. The facts of this particular case warrant a new investigation and possibly future prosecutions.
51. A number of amnesty applications from security force members confirm the above patterns. For example, security force members sought amnesty for no fewer than eighty specified abductions, four of which were among the sixty-four persons listed as still missing following arrest or abduction by the security forces.⁸ Of the eighty abductions specified by amnesty applicants, some forty were MK operatives, of whom twenty-one were killed. The fate of eight remains unknown (including Moss Morodu and the 'Ladybrand Four'), while possibly six or seven were recruited by the Security Branch. All those recruited worked as *askaris* for the Security Branch and were based inside South Africa. Not one was returned to the ANC following their abduction and recruitment, as was claimed in the case of the 'Ladybrand Four'.
52. Another pattern that emerged from the amnesty applications was the killing of detainees whom the Security Branch did not wish to release, but had insufficient evidence to bring before the courts; or the disposal of bodies of detainees who had died as a consequence of torture.⁹ In several of these cases, the Security Branch had signed release papers to suggest that they were not responsible for the disappearance,¹⁰ or, as in the case of Maisha Stanza Bopape,¹¹ had claimed that the detainee had escaped.

8 Betty Boom, Mbulelo Ngoni, Moss Morodu and Nokuthula Aurelia Simelane [JB00280/01MPWES]. The remaining 76 abductions for which security force operatives applied for amnesty represent solved disappearance cases as well as cases for which no HRV statements were received.

9 See for example, the killing of Sizwe Kondile [AC/1999/037], MK Scorpion [AC2000/151], Johannes Mabothea [AC/2000/084] & Unknown detainee. For disposal of bodies see Stanza Bopape, Sweet Sambo [AC/2001/141] and Unknown IFP member.

10 See, for example, Sizwe Kondile, Stanza Bopape and Johannes Mabothea.

11 AC/2000/059.

DISAPPEARANCES THROUGH THE INSTANCE OF OTHER PARTIES

53. Forty-nine persons remain missing following their abduction by members of rival political organisations or unknown persons. The overwhelming majority of these disappearances (75 %) took place in areas of KwaZulu /Natal during the second half of the 1980s and the early 1990s; and to a lesser degree in the PWV¹² area (22 %) during the early 1990s. Most of these disappearances related to the ongoing conflict between the UDF/ANC and IFP in these regions – a conflict the Commission has proved was fuelled by the former apartheid government. Fourteen per cent of missing persons in this category were female and, where political affiliation was specified, 19 per cent belonged to or were supporters of the IFP. This is higher than the proportion of female or IFP supporters in the overall disappearance category.
54. The following are some examples of these abductions.
55. Mr Eric Khumalo [KZN/ZJ/042/DN] lived in an area of Shongweni, Pietermaritzburg, that was deemed to be a UDF area. In February 1987, he went to collect his matriculation results from school. In order to get there, he had to pass through an Inkatha stronghold. He was abducted by a named IFP member and not seen again. The KZP, in whose jurisdiction Shongweni fell, provided no assistance in searching for him. Although the family eventually reported the case and the SAP in Pietermaritzburg conducted a search, the investigation yielded no results. His family appealed for the Commission to find ‘even just a bone’ of Eric Khumalo.
56. UDF supporters abducted Mr Petros Nqobile Mazibuko [KZN/NN/106/PM] in Church Street, Pietermaritzburg, on 28 April 1990. He was suspected of defecting to Inkatha. His girlfriend witnessed Mazibuko getting into the car of some UDF supporters. Later the same men returned his clothing to his girlfriend and told her that they had ‘killed a dog’.
57. Mr Nzimande [KZN/NN/253/PM] told the Commission that IFP members who were waging a war on him attacked his home at Landskop, Pietermaritzburg. His two wives and a daughter were killed and his four-day-old baby was abducted.
58. A small number of disappearances in this category involved abductions by persons involved in street justice or people’s courts initiatives. Included in these

¹² Pretoria–Witwatersrand–Vereeniging

are the disappearances of three youths, Lolo Sono [JB00188/01GTSOW], Sibusiso Shabalala [JB00189/01GTSOW] and Kuki Zwane [JB05784/01GTSOW] in Soweto in November and December 1988. The three were last known to be in the custody of the Mandela United Football Club and/or Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

DISAPPEARED IN EXILE

59. Thousands of people went into exile between 1960 and the early 1990s. The vast majority of these joined the ANC, while a far smaller number joined the PAC or other small liberation groups such as the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). A number of exiles died in varying circumstances; others started new lives in host countries and chose not to return in the post-1990 period. Inevitably not all those who fled South Africa have been accounted for. Fifty-five of those still missing disappeared after having gone into exile.¹³
60. For reasons of security, people going into exile seldom informed their families of their plans. Consequently, most families had little information beyond the date that the person had left or gone missing. Some were fortunate enough to receive messages or letters; but in many instances families relied on rumours that family members had left South Africa, and few had any idea of their whereabouts.
61. For many families, the only inkling that something was amiss was when the person did not return with the other exiles in the early 1990s.
62. One of those in the exile category reported missing is Luyanda Eric Mose [EC0953/96/ELN]. On 31 October 1983, Luyanda, a seventeen-year-old member of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), disappeared after leaving his Mdantsane home to buy bread and the local newspaper. After his disappearance, the police continued to look for Luyanda, raiding the family home on more than one occasion, and once surrounding the house in the early hours of the morning. Finally, in 1989, the family received a letter from a friend in Lusaka, informing them that he had seen Luyanda in Angola during 1986. In 1990, Luyanda phoned home, confirming that he was an MK operative and that the organisation was sending him to London to study. This was the last the family heard of him.

13 Where a possibility exists that the missing person has died in combat or in ambushes while infiltrating or operating inside South Africa, s/he has been classified as a disappearance in exile. A large proportion of combatants killed inside South Africa were buried as unknown persons at the time. Unless a positive identification was made at the time or subsequent investigations have established the identity conclusively, missing MK operatives remain the responsibility of the organisation.

63. In a small number of exile cases, there is information to suggest that the missing person is deceased. Where families have accepted this information, such cases are no longer classified as disappearances. However, where this information is disputed, often because families have received incomplete or conflicting information, they remain classified as disappearances.
64. In 1977, Xola Martin Jebe [EC0019/96] and his brother left South Africa for Lesotho, where they attended school. Two years later Xola was recruited by MK and left Lesotho in the company of Mr Chris Hani. The family did not hear from him again. When he did not return home from exile, the family began to make enquiries, but received contradictory information from the ANC. His mother, Mrs Madoda, told the Commission that she had spoken to Mr Hani personally, and had been told by him that her son was alive but was still deployed on 'important business.' Later she was advised that he had been killed in combat. When she contacted ANC Headquarters, she was given different dates for the alleged incident. At the time, there were disclosures in the press about torture and executions in ANC camps. This led the family to suspect that Xola Jebe might have died as a result of abuse and that the contradictory versions they were hearing might be the consequence of a cover-up by the ANC. The Commission established that Xola Jebe had, in fact, been killed in combat.¹⁴ Mrs Jebe, however, remained sceptical. This case illustrates how conflicting information can lead to uncertainty and even paranoia.
65. These cases suggest that the circumstances in which people went into exile, and the lengthy period during which there was no contact or information about the missing person, places families in a particularly vulnerable situation. Any rumour or conflicting piece of information may have a destabilising effect and often leads to disbelief and suspicion. The use of *noms de guerre* further exacerbates problems of this kind: families rarely know the 'combat name' of the missing person, and few operatives and commanders in exile know the birth name.
66. While several of these cases require further investigation, all that is required in some cases is reassurance, further information and, where possible, contact with commanders or those immediately responsible for the death of the deceased. For example, Mr Monoleli Kama [EC2257/97PLZ] was killed in the

¹⁴ The Commission subsequently established that Xola Jebe had indeed left Lesotho with Chris Hani in 1979. After a brief stay in Mozambique he went for military training in Angola and was part of the Madenoga detachment. He later went for further training in the German Democratic Republic before being deployed to Zimbabwe. In November 1983, Xola Jebe (aka Anthony Xaba or Ramyais) and three others infiltrated South Africa from Zimbabwe. The unit was killed in a clash at Spilsby Farm, in the Alldays district, Northern Transvaal. An SADF soldier was also killed in the incident.

December 1982 SADF raid on ANC houses and facilities in Maseru. The family was informed by telegram, but was unable to attend the mass funeral because the Security Branch prevented them from leaving South Africa. At a later stage, they asked a family friend to go to the gravesite. However, the friend was unable to locate a gravestone for Mr Kama among those killed in the Maseru Raid. This created doubt in the minds of family members as to whether he really had been killed in this incident. The information received by the Commission confirms that Mr Kama was indeed killed in the raid. The family needed confirmation of this fact and information about the exact location of Mr Kama's grave.

67. These disappearances place a specific responsibility on liberation movements to assist in establishing the fate of the missing. The Commission notes and acknowledges that, of all the liberation movements, the ANC – despite operating in conditions of hostility and ongoing threats of infiltration – nonetheless maintained records of its membership. It is clear from a number of human rights violations (HRV) statements that, during the years of conflict, the ANC informed many families of the deaths of loved ones in exile or in combat. In some cases, attempts were made to enable them to attend funerals.
68. In the period after 1990, ANC personnel engaged in a co-ordinated effort to inform families of fatalities that had occurred during the exile period. A desk was established at ANC Headquarters to deal with queries about missing persons.
69. The ANC also submitted to the Commission lists of persons who had died in exile. Although it did not detail the circumstances of each case, the list is divided into categories according to mode of death, such as 'died at enemy hands', 'died in accidents', or 'died of natural causes'.
70. While these efforts are to be commended, it is also clear that families were sometimes given incorrect and/or conflicting information. Furthermore, the resources of the missing person's desk at ANC Headquarters were very limited, especially in respect of its research and investigative capacity. In numerous instances, personnel failed to respond to the Commission's requests for information. Current plans to archive documentation at Luthuli House¹⁵ will facilitate in the identification and retrieval of records and may assist in clarifying the fate of missing persons.

¹⁵ Formerly called Shell House.

71. Whatever the difficulties in following up ANC exile disappearances, the situation was immeasurably worse in respect of PAC cadres and supporters. The PAC submitted very little information to the Commission and generally treated it with suspicion and disregard. Moreover, unlike the ANC, the PAC had conducted no internal enquiries into abuses in its camps or suspicious deaths arising from internal conflict. For the most part, the Commission had to rely on the knowledge of particular PAC members who were willing to assist. Tracing missing persons who had joined the PAC presented a far more intractable problem.

MISSING DURING PERIODS OF UNREST OR VIOLENCE

72. Aside from missing persons known to have been abducted or arrested and those known to have gone into exile, an additional 117 people who are still missing disappeared during periods of heightened unrest. Unlike the abduction and exile categories, little is known about the circumstances of these disappearances, save that the area in which the disappeared person lived or worked was in the throes of political upheaval at the time. In some instances, people may have been killed and not identified; in others, it is possible that they fled the area or were abducted. It is also possible that some of these disappearances may simply have coincided with a period of unrest and were not directly associated with the political context. In other words, further investigation or research is required in order to ascertain the nature of certain disappearances.
73. Here again, most disappearances took place in the latter half of the 1980s (27 %) and the early 1990s (61 %), and the primary sites of disappearance were Natal (46 %) and the Transvaal (44 %), both areas of intense political upheaval. Where political affiliation is specified, 26 per cent of those missing are believed to have had no political affiliation or to have been politically neutral. This is a significantly higher percentage than the overall percentage of missing persons with no political affiliation (16 %), testifying to the extent to which entire communities were engulfed in the political conflict.
74. Mr Maqhilane Nodosha [EC2064/97ETK], Mr Nyangilizwe Bele [EC2066/97ETK], Mr Sijumbo Mlandwelwa [EC0880/96ETK] and Mr Madodana Ndzoyiyana [EC/1659/97ETK] all went missing from Bizana and Flagstaff during the Pondoland revolt in 1960. Mr Phineas Shirinda [JB06393/02NPPTB], Mr James Mogadi Penny [JB00196/01GTSOW] and Mr Mandla Khoza [KZN/SANG/013/DN] went missing from Soweto and Alexandra on 16 and 17 June 1976, while several other persons were reported missing in the ensuing months of the Soweto

uprising. Mr Matshediso Mofekeng [JB05732/03VT] went missing in Sebokeng on 3 September 1984, the date marking the start of a period of extensive political violence in the Vaal Triangle.

75. Twelve-year-old Nkazimulo Mabele [KZN/KM/559/DN] went missing one night during a period of ongoing political violence in KwaMakutha, Natal. His mother testified to the Commission that the family was woken one night by youths who were guarding the area, and was forced to flee for fear of an impending attack by IFP supporters. In the panic-stricken flight, nobody realised that Nkazimulo had been left behind. It was only when they gathered several hours later and returned home that they discovered that he was not with them. Mrs Mabele did not know whether he had been taken by the youths guarding the area or by the attacking party, or whether he had simply run away. Another son, Zakile, later left the violence-torn area and was killed in uncertain circumstances. Mrs Mabele appealed to the Commission:

I can't live like this. It's much better – I can live with the other. When you've seen your child dying and you bury him that is something that you can comprehend, but the other I cannot live with that.

OUT-OF-MANDATE CASES

76. Out-of-mandate cases are cases that fall outside of the Commission's mandate period – 21 March 1961 to 10 May 1994 – or where there is no political motive or intent for the disappearance. In general, the Commission placed cases in this category only when it was possible to make a clear determination. Numerous cases in which no political context was directly evident from the HRV statement were placed in the category 'cases of indeterminate cause'. This is largely because ruling a case out-of-mandate effectively precluded the Commission from investigating and thus from the possibility of granting reparation. There are forty-three missing persons in this category.

CASES OF INDETERMINATE CAUSE

77. There are 149 missing persons who do not fit neatly into any of the above categories. In several cases, classification was not possible because the statement from the family gave insufficient details about the disappearance. In other instances, more than one reason may have been given for the disappearance. For example, a family may believe that their missing son left to go into exile, but has received

conflicting information about whether or not he reached his destination. Some of these disappearances may well have taken place during periods of generalised political upheaval. However, they have not been included in the above category because the statement did not contain sufficient information indicating that there was political unrest in the area from which the disappeared person came. In a number of instances, the statement provided no immediate political context.

78. The case of Mr December Ncube provides an example of this. Mr Ncube went missing after being arrested at the home of his wife's employer in February 1980. Nothing in the statement directly suggests a political context, nor does the statement identify him as having had any political affiliation. As a consequence, this case statement was originally ruled out-of-mandate during the findings process. However, during a review of the disappearance files, a press-cutting was found in a separate file dealing with another disappearance. This listed Mr Ncube as one of eighteen ZAPU members who went missing inside South Africa between 1977 and 1980 (see above).
79. Mr Roy Lovely Gondwe [JB01223/01MPNEL], 26 years old and of unknown political affiliation, was visited by two black men at his place of work in White River, Transvaal, on 5 August 1985. The two men returned later and spoke to Mr Gondwe again. Before leaving his place of work, Mr Gondwe gave a fellow employer an envelope with the request that it be passed on to his family. Later, the white regional manager arrived to lock up, a task normally undertaken by Mr Gondwe. The envelope delivered to Mr Gondwe's family contained his personal effects, some money and a note implying that he would not see them again. While nothing immediately suggests a political motive, it cannot be conclusively ruled out. The statement suggests, for example, that the two men so obviously connected with Mr Gondwe's disappearance may have been Security Branch operatives.
80. On 25 September 1985, Mr Ernest Justice Ramokoko [JB00327/01GTSOW] made breakfast for his mother (an unusual occurrence) before leaving the house. He was never seen or heard of again. Earlier that month, Mr Ramokoko had been charged with other students for a politically-related offence, and was out on bail. It is thus highly possible that Mr Ramokoko went into exile and that the breakfast he prepared for his mother was a form of farewell. However, it is also possible that Mr Ramokoko decided to jump bail and that something untoward happened to him at a later stage.

81. The Commission wishes to note that further investigations into a number of such cases may lead to their eventual resolution.

THE COMMISSION'S APPROACH TO DISAPPEARANCE CASES

82. It must be said from the outset that investigating disappearances requires a very focused, multi-faceted approach, a dedicated investigation unit with expertise in investigating human rights violations, good research capacity and specialised forensic skills.
83. The Commission did not have the resources to establish a unit solely dedicated to investigating disappearances. The Commission's Investigation Unit was overwhelmed by the large number of violations and incidents it had to investigate. 'Disappearances' were simply one of the categories that needed investigation. In addition, neither the Investigation Unit nor the Commission recognised the limitations of a number of its policies and procedures with respect to this category of violation until fairly late in the process.
84. In retrospect, the Commission should have recognised that it had limited capacity to deal properly with this category of violation and prioritised its intended outcomes. Instead it tried to investigate all the cases it received.
85. The Commission was greatly assisted by information emerging from amnesty applications. Indeed, many amnesty applicants also assisted in trying to establish the fate and whereabouts of the dead and their graves. However, some amnesty applicants failed to confess to the killing of those whose abduction they admitted. This placed a burden on the Commission to rebut the testimony of amnesty applicants, which it was ill equipped to deal with.
86. The consequence of this is that a number of amnesty applicants were granted amnesty for an abduction they admitted to, while the families of the disappeared still have no finality about whether the disappeared is dead. These cases must be taken further by the prosecuting authorities in the future.

PROBLEMS OF CORROBORATION

87. The Commission received more than 22 000 HRV statements. Most statements contained information relating to multiple victims, requiring the Commission to verify more than 40 000 individual cases. Most statements also referred to more than one violation, thus significantly increasing the number of violations to be corroborated. Although it was impossible for the Commission to investigate each individual case, it was obliged to make victim findings, the effect of which was to make victims and their families eligible for reparation. As a result, the Commission adopted a policy of low-level corroboration when determining whether or not a person was a victim of a gross violation of human rights. In essence, this meant that instead of a full investigation, a series of corroborative 'pointers' would be established – for example the retrieval of a confirmatory press report, or an entry in an SAP occurrence book or a hospital file.
88. In retrospect, this approach was not useful when dealing with disappearances. In such cases, corroborators generally resorted to fairly routine procedures: a letter requesting information would be sent to the relevant SAP office or, in cases of a person missing in exile, to the ANC Missing Persons' Desk at Shell House. In many instances, these requests received no response and the matter could not be taken much further.
89. Where a disappearance was potentially associated with political unrest, the corroborator would note this. In a few cases it was possible to identify actual incidents and, more importantly, deaths. More often, a general pattern would be observed. For example, when Katlehong was the scene of conflict between the ANC and IFP, a number of people were killed. It is thus probable that the missing person was a victim of this conflict, although there was insufficient information to confirm this as fact.
90. In most disappearance cases, family members were not able to give the Commission a great deal of detail or information, making corroboration extremely difficult. This added to problems in tracing a missing person or establishing the facts surrounding a disappearance .
91. In some instances, poor statement-taking also impacted on the corroboration process: basic information such as the personal details of the victim and the circumstances of the disappearance were not always recorded correctly. The Commission was sometimes able to take a second statement or to obtain a

photograph. Where this proved impossible, it was difficult and often impossible to make any progress. These incidents also require further investigation.

VICTIM FINDINGS

92. Disappearance cases presented the Commission with a real challenge. Even where most factors pointed to the probability of the disappeared being dead, it was not possible for the Commission to make a finding to this effect in the absence of conclusive proof. Were such a finding to be made, the file would have to be closed, ending the hope of any further investigation into the matter.
93. Although the inability of the Commission to make a finding obviously impacts on the family's immediate ability to access reparation, this should not prevent them from applying to the President's fund for reparation once the disappearance is resolved.
94. The Commission has always taken the view that unsolved disappearance cases should be further investigated by the National Prosecuting Authority. This unfinished business remains the responsibility of the state. The Commission's fuller report and the special database dealing with disappearances will be handed to the Ministry of Justice and the National Director of Prosecutions, with clear recommendations for further investigation in order to bring finality to these matters.

RECOMMENDATIONS

95. The Commission tried as best it could to carry out its mandate to 'compile of list of the disappeared and those abducted and establish their fate and whereabouts'. It did manage to act as catalyst by bringing disappearance cases to the fore. It also resolved a large number of cases, enabling a number of families to gain a measure of closure. However, despite every attempt by the Commission to complete its work, a number of cases remain unresolved.
96. The resolution of these disappearance cases is perhaps the most significant piece of unfinished business for the Commission. The Commission is therefore of the view that these cases should not simply be abandoned, but that further mechanisms should be put in place to finalise them.

97. After the closure of the Commission, the responsibility for this work passes to the state. This is in line with international humanitarian and human rights law, which obliges governments and other parties to a conflict to determine the fate of the disappeared.¹⁶
98. The United Nations has condemned disappearances as a grave violation of human rights and has stated that their systematic practice is ‘a crime against humanity’. In 1998, the Working Group on Involuntary or Enforced Disappearances issued a General Comment to Article 19 of the 1992 Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance.¹⁷ The Declaration imposes a primary duty to establish the fate and whereabouts of disappeared persons, itself an important remedy for victims. Article 19 complements this duty. It provides as follows:

The victims of acts of enforced disappearances and their family shall obtain redress and shall have the right to adequate compensation, including the means for as complete a rehabilitation as possible. In the event of the death of a victim as a result of an act of enforced disappearance, their dependants shall also be entitled to compensation.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TAKING THESE MATTERS FURTHER

99. The Commission recommends that the state implement the Commission’s recommendations regarding disappearances. The recommendations are as follows:

Recommendation 1: Establishing a special task team

100. A task team should be established within the office of the National Director of Public Prosecutions and be given a specific mandate and time frame. The mandate should include conducting further investigation into individual cases, confirming the disappearance and, where appropriate, making a finding conferring victim

16 For relevant articles in the Geneva Conventions see GCIV, Art 26; in Additional Protocol I see Articles 32, 33 and 74. Although the category of missing persons is not specifically addressed in Additional Protocol II dealing with non-international armed conflicts, there nonetheless remains an obligation to search and account for such persons in terms of customary international law. While the Geneva Conventions address the issue of persons missing as a result of hostilities, certain aspects of international human rights law address the issue of enforced disappearances and abductions. See, for example, the UN Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance and Article 7 of the International Criminal Court Statute. A Draft Convention on the Protection of All Persons from Forced Disappearance obliges states to define enforced disappearances as common-law crimes and prohibits the granting of amnesty to perpetrators who have not been brought to trial and convicted (Articles 5 & 17). Aside from formal international instruments, considerable jurisprudence has developed, especially in Latin America, where the use of enforced disappearances was used on a vast scale.

17 Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, E/CN.4/1998/43, 12 January 1998 at 16.

status on the disappeared. This will enable the families of the disappeared to access reparation. In addition to finalising findings, the task team should compile appropriate recommendations to bring closure to these issues at the end of its mandate period.

101. The task team should work closely with organs of civil society currently involved in related areas of research and investigation. If based in the Office of the National Director, the task team would have the authority to access the files of various state authorities – including the police, the military and the Departments of Correctional Services and Home Affairs.
102. Such a task team would require extensive powers – including the power of subpoena and search and seizure. In addition, the task team would require the full co-operation of relevant state institutions in order to gain access to state archives, including those of the military and the police. It would also need to be able to access the archives of the ANC and retrieve information from the PAC.

Scope

103. While a large number of families made statements to the Commission about their loved ones, the list of persons identified as having disappeared as a result of the conflicts of the past is clearly incomplete. There are undoubtedly scores of families in similar circumstances who have not made statements to the Commission for a range of reasons. In the last three years, victims' groups have collected a large number of statements from families whose loved ones have not returned and whom they regard as having disappeared. A decision will need to be made about whether consideration should be given to such cases. This decision needs to be made in parallel with decisions about victims of other violations who did not come to the Commission.
104. A further consideration concerns the number of persons who disappeared or were displaced during the ongoing violence in KwaZulu-Natal after the end of the Commission's mandate period. The Commission urges the state to consider these cases in order to bring closure for the families.

Investigation

105. The Commission experienced problems with corroboration and its investigations were considerably hampered by the paucity of information contained in the

statements made by families to the Human Rights Violation Committee. The Commission considers, therefore, that the starting point for any task team would be to visit families and gather more information about disappearances. Where possible, photographs of the missing person should be affixed to the statement.

106. The following guidelines are offered for further investigation into disappearances in each of the categories identified earlier:

- a **Category A (Enforced disappearances):** An investigation of category A cases should be guided by the principle that it is the obligation of perpetrating parties to account for the disappearance. It is not sufficient for such parties to claim that the missing person was released or recruited, even where release records are produced.
In several amnesty-related cases, a number of applicants sought amnesty for the abduction and killing of unidentified victims. However, a large number of operatives involved in these abductions did not apply. The task team must make every effort to locate those operatives who have not applied and who have been identified for further investigation, followed by prosecution where necessary. The task team should also make every effort to identify those victims who were not identified by amnesty applicants. The fact that amnesty has been granted does not mean perpetrators should not be required to co-operate with the task team by pinpointing localities where persons were killed and possible grave sites where the disappeared may have been secretly buried.
- b **Category B (Missing in exile):** Category B cases should be guided by the principle that the relevant liberation movement needs to account for its missing members. As already noted, the ANC has already made some effort in this direction. There are, however, numerous inaccuracies and inconsistencies in the various lists produced by the ANC. These lists¹⁸ must be collated and verified. Other sources of information include information submitted to the Special Pensions Board.
- c **Category C (Missing during periods of unrest):** As a first step, the task team should expand on the Commission's list of incidents during periods of unrest, particularly during the various states of emergency. The list should detail key localities and time periods. Compiling such a list requires the utilisation of a range of sources – documentation produced by monitoring organisations, surviving police documentation, newspaper reports, mortuary records and so forth. People taking extended statements from families need

18 Such lists include deaths in exile (submitted to the Commission), combat deaths inside South Africa, returning exiles, names submitted to the Motsuenyane Commission and integration into post-transition security force lists.

to pay particular attention to establishing as accurate a time and locality frame as possible, as well as detailed pre-mortem information related to particular incidents.

- d **Category E (Cases of indeterminate cause):** Here investigation and research need to be directed towards moving persons in this category into one of above three categories or into Category D (non-political/ out of mandate) More detailed statements from family and associates should facilitate this process.

Findings

107. Once the task team has completed its work and compiled its report, it will need to make findings so that the families of victims can access reparation.

108. Findings need to be made for all cases solved by the task team. Findings should be made with respect to solved cases in line with the approach taken by the Commission. Once criteria are established, the task team will need to make findings for all unsolved cases.

Further action

109. Where the task team is satisfied that a person has disappeared or has died, and a finding to that effect has been made, it will need to facilitate the presumption of death. Death certificates will need to be issued and the families must be referred to the President's Fund for reparations.

Recommendation 2: Reburials, exhumations and memorials

110. The task team's mandate should include the possibility of identifying gravesites and facilitating exhumations in conjunction with civil society groupings working within this arena.

111. Memorials should take into account the concerns and wishes of families of the victims.

The role of mortuaries and undertakers

112. When investigating disappearances and conducting exhumations, it became apparent to the Commission that insufficient attention and care had been paid

by those responsible for the handling and burial of unidentified persons and paupers. This is doubtless the consequence of a racist system in which the loss of black life was regarded as being of little importance.

113. The Commission recommends that current legislation, policies and procedures in respect of the handling of unidentified persons and paupers be subjected to scrutiny by the Law Commission. In addition, where municipalities award tenders to funeral companies, it is important to ensure that these companies are subject to proper monitoring.

Records relating to unidentified persons and paupers

114. Current practices regarding the retention and disposal of records (including post-mortem and inquest records) relating to unidentified remains should be reviewed.

CONCLUSION

115. The Commission notes that accounting for the disappeared remains an important reparation mechanism for victims and their families. In this regard the Commission urges the state to take into account the following observations and recommendations:¹⁹

- a It is essential to protect all persons from becoming unaccounted for, without distinction as to the deliberate or incidental character of the events leading to the situation.
- b It is essential that families know the fate, including the whereabouts and, if dead, the cause of death, of family members who are unaccounted for.
- c The principal responsibility in preventing persons from becoming unaccounted for and in ascertaining the fate of all those who are not accounted (as soon as they are reported missing) lies with government authorities. Armed groups also have a responsibility in this regard.
- d Inter-governmental organisations acting in conformity with their respective mandates should be available to support government authorities and armed groups in fulfilling their responsibilities and, if they cannot or will not meet their responsibilities, should take appropriate action.
- e Non-governmental organisations, acting in accordance with their mandates, should make every effort to prevent persons from becoming unaccounted

¹⁹ Courtesy of International Conference of Governmental and Non-governmental experts. Geneva (ICRC): The Missing Conference, February 2003.

- for and to clarify the fate of those who have become unaccounted for.
- f It is essential that all those involved respect each individual's inherent human dignity in all circumstances.
 - g Every effort should be made to respect the cultural, social and religious or spiritual context specific to each situation.

Prevention

116. Respect for international humanitarian and human rights law is fundamental to preventing persons from becoming unaccounted for. There must be full implementation by state parties and dissemination of these obligations.

Clarification of the fate of persons unaccounted for

117. It is crucial that families receive information on the individual fate of unaccounted-for family members. Families and communities also need acknowledgement of the events leading to persons becoming unaccounted for, and for perpetrators to be held accountable.

Information management and the processing of files on persons unaccounted for

118. Co-ordination of activities and the sharing information will heighten the effectiveness of the actions taken to ascertain the fate of persons unaccounted for.

Management of human remains and information on the dead

119. The principle responsibility for the proper handling of the dead without adverse distinction, and the provision of information to families with a view to preventing anxiety and uncertainty, lies with government authorities and armed groups.

Measures that can be taken include:

- a ensuring that all feasible measures be taken to identify the human remains of those who died and to record their identity;
- b avoiding obstruction of, interference with or impediments to the identification of human remains;
- c issuing death certificates;
- d ensuring that all involved respect the legal rules and professional ethics applicable to the management, exhumation and identification of human remains;

- e ensuring that forensic specialists, whenever possible, carry out the exhumation and identification of human remains;
- f ensuring adequate training for all those collecting information on the dead and handling human remains;
- g respecting and developing professional ethics and standards of practice for forensic specialists working in international contexts, and
- h beginning a process of exhumation and identification only once a framework has been agreed on. That framework should include:
 - the establishment of protocols for exhumation, ante-mortem data collection, autopsies and identification based on scientifically valid and reliable methods and technologies and/or customary, clinical or circumstantial evidence that are deemed appropriate and which have been previously adopted by the scientific community;
 - appropriate means of associating the communities and families in the exhumation, autopsy and identification procedures, and
 - procedures for handing over the human remains to the family.

Support for the families

120. The material, financial, psychological and legal needs faced by families awaiting clarification of their family members' fate should be addressed by the authorities concerned – when necessary with the support of inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations. Measures that can be taken include:

- a providing targeted assistance with the aim, as soon as circumstances allow, of promoting the families' self-sufficiency;
- b addressing the legal situation of persons unaccounted for and the consequences for family members, including property administration, guardianship and parental authority;
- c ensuring that children receive special support and protection, and particularly taking measures to reunite unaccompanied children with their families;
- d giving special attention to the needs of single heads of families in the light of the specific circumstances women frequently face in such situations;
- e ensuring that families of persons unaccounted for benefit from support programmes in order to adapt to their altered situations and come to terms with events. Psychological support and, whenever necessary and feasible, psychiatric treatment should be provided to those in need. As far as possible, programmes should be built on local health and healing systems, and
- f encouraging family networks and associations, in order to provide a forum for mutual support.

Families and mourning

121. Respect for the dead and for local funeral rites support peace and social order.

The process whereby families are informed that a family member has died and human remains and/or personal effects are returned needs to be well prepared.

In addition:

- a the death and the mourning practices of individuals and communities need to be respected in all circumstances, and
- b the planning and organisation of commemorations should be left to the families and communities concerned.

Poem by Ariel Dorfman²⁰

And every year September 19th
(soon it will be four years, can so many years have gone by?)
I will have to ask her again
If there is any news
If they have heard anything
And she will say no, thank you very much,
I appreciate your concern,
But her eyes will keep saying
Wordlessly
What they said the first time
(soon it will be three years –
how is it possible?)
no, thank you very much,
I appreciate your concern,
But I am not a widow
So stay away from me,
Don't ask me for anything,
I won't marry you,
I am not a widow,
I am not a widow,
Yet

²⁰ Printed in Index on Censorship, Vol. 8, No 3. 1979.

APPENDIX

LIST OF DISAPPEARED AND MISSING PERSONS

The following list is a list of the persons currently listed as disappeared or missing. It is possible that not all missing persons are recorded here, although every attempt has been made to capture all names. Similarly, it is possible that there are spelling errors, and in a few cases that a persons name may be recorded twice with slightly different spellings. The Commission apologises for any inaccuracies in respect of this list.

ABDULWAHAB, Zakier [JB01351/02PS]
ABRAHAMS, John aka Gaika [JB05149/03WR]
ADAMS, Abe Tony [JB05980/01GTSOW]
AMATHENJA, Billy Veli [JB00973/01GTSOW]
APHANE, Stefaans Losi [JB022090/01MPMOU]
BADIMO, Frans Madimetja [JB02729/01GTTEM]
BASI, Mkanyiselwa [KZN/MR/327/RI]
BEFILE, Khawulezile Michael [EC2390/97UIT]
BELE, Nyangilizwe [EC2066/97ETK]
BHENGU, Senzosenkosi [KZN/TP/012/DN]
BHOSHOMANE, Atamo Abel [JB00979/01GTSOW]
BIBI, Michael [EC2149/97ELN]
BLAAUW, Xolile Petros [EC2801/97UIT]
BLOU, Ndlamafa [EC1292/96KAR/ [EC1297/96KAR]
BOKABA, Obed Makibe [JB00364/03NW]
BOOM, Joyce Koekanyetswe aka Betty Boom or Betty Malati [KZN/JRW/051/BL]
BOPAPE, Mackenzie [JB00567/02NPPTB]
BUTHELEZI, Bongani aka Bobo [JB05745/01GTSOW]
BUTHELEZI, Isaac Bongani [JB03357/01ERKAT]
BUTHELEZI, Stephen [ECO398/96ELN]
BUTHELEZI, Victor [KZN/SS/217/VH]
CEKISO, Elias Mnyamezeli Beatrice [CTO1562/FLA]
CELE, Jeanette Ncuncu [KZN/NNN/383/PS]
CELE, Mondli Vusamazulu [KZN/ZJ/402/DN]
CELE, Nicholas Ndoda [KZN/NNN/379/PM]
CELE, Nkosiyezwe Elliot [KZN/ZJ/054/DN]
CELE, Shadrack Bonginkosi [KZN/TCN/034/PS]
CELE, Victor Columbia [KZN/MZ/014/DN]
CELE, Vorster Bhutiza [KZN/NMS/024/DN]
CHAKA, Joseph Lebelo [KZN/JRW/092/LT]
CHIYA, Thokozani [KZN/NM/040/DN]
DAHILE, Henry Barnabas Loshe [JB05077/01ERKAT]
DAKI, Lennox Xolisa Nkonkobe 'Loyiso Mvelo' [EC2092/97ELN]
DAMANE, Dunisani Christopher [JB05709/01ERKAT]
DAVID, Simphiwe Truman Hobongwana [EC1176/96UIT]
DHLAMINI, Aaron Makhosi [KZN/PJM/015/KRS]
DINTOA, Elias [JB04268/01ERTEM]
DLADLA, Gesi Lucas [JB03758/01MPPIT]
DLADLA, Mthembu Raymond [JB03374/01ERKAT]
DLADLA, Musa [KZN/NNN/045/DN]

DLAMINI , John [JB/06240/01MPNEL & JB06216/01MPNEL]
 DLAMINI, Boy-Boy Henry [KZN/PMB/203/PM]
 DLAMINI, Gingi [KZN/HG/909/DN & KZN/GM/103/DN]
 DLAMINI, Henry [KZN/SN/070/MP]
 DLAMINI, Lindiwe [KZN/MM/005/DN]
 DLAMINI, Mbuso [KZN/NN/173/DN]
 DLAMINI, Unspecified [KZN/FN/239/DN]
 DLAMINI-NKOSI, Charlotte Sipiwe [JB02486/01GTTEM]
 DLOVA, Sqhamo Woodworth [JB03037/01ERKWA]
 DLUDLU, Esau [JB03897/01MPWES]
 DYANTJIE, Sanwabile [CTO8607/FLA]
 FAKU, Matthews Lindile [EC/0571/96PLZ]
 FAKU, Phumelele Michael 'Sugar' [CTO3067/ECA & CT00726/ECA]
 GAMBU, Herbert Sithembiso [KZN/NN/369/DN]
 GCWEZA, Meze Petros [KZN/TCN/006/PS]
 GONDWE, Roy Lovely [JB01223/01MPNEL]
 GQIRANA, Mongameli aka Mobbs [JB01056/02PS]
 GUMEDE, Melusi Cyril [KZN/GM/028/DN]
 GUMEDE, Not specified [KZN/NNN/126/PS]
 GUMEDE, Siphso [KZN/NN/303/DN]
 GWALA, Patrick Sipiwe [KZN/PM/074/MP]
 GWALA, Siphso [KZN/MZ/009/DN & KZN/MR/175/DN]
 HADEBE, Phillip [KZN/NAM/072/DN]
 HLONGWA, Mtumasele [KZN/MM/013/DN]
 HLONGWANE, Boy Siphso [JB05796/01ERKAT]
 HLOPHE, Thuthukani John [KZN/GM/032/DN]
 JACOBS, Johannes [JB00666/01GTSOW]
 JACOBSON, Andries van Vuuren [KZN/PAM/022/FS]
 JALI, Delani [KZN/MZ/009/DN & KZN/MR/175/DN]
 JEBE, Xola Martin aka Anthony Xaba [EC0019/96]
 JINIKWE, Hilton Vusumzi 'Matayi' [EC0091/96TSI]
 KAKAZA, Andile [JB05935/01GTSOW]
 KAMA, Mnoneleli Samson [EC2257/97PLZ]
 KARAPI, Andries [KZN/GM/010/BL]
 KAULELA, Mzamo Louis [EC2486/97UIT]
 KEIKELANE, Mpe Jonas [JB05948/01GTSOW]
 KEKANA, Reginald [JB01283/02PS]
 KGIBA, Samuel Lethola [JB01197/03NW]
 KHAMBULE, Nhlanhleni Pius [KZN/HG/909/DN & KZN/GM/103/DN]
 KHANYILE, Lucky [KZN/SN/169/DN]
 KHESWA, Sbusiso Blessing [KZN/MR/179/DN & KZN/KM/514/DN]
 KHEWU, Themba [JB04482/01ERKAT]
 KHIBA, Mathabiso Grieta [JB01516/03NW]
 KHOASHE, Tieho [CT00794/KAR]
 KHONOU, Simon [JB06315/02PS]
 KHOWA, Zwelifile [KZN/AB/031/PS]
 KHOZA, Bhuthiza Vincent [KZN/TG/016/DN]
 KHOZA, Mandla Arthur [KZN/SANG/013/DN]
 KHOZA, Rain [JB01779/01GTTEM]
 KHUBEKA , Zoza Jerry [KZN/MR/480/LS]
 KHUBONI, Cornelius Bhekambhele [KZN/MR/462/IX]
 KHUMALO, Ehab Siphso [KZN/GZ/012/PM]
 KHUMALO, Gugu Erick [KZN/ZJ/042/DN]
 KHUMALO, Jack [JB05344/02NPPTB]
 KHUMALO, Joseph Bheki [KZN/SANG/006/DN]

KHUMALO, Thelma Nothando [KZN/DM/016/PS]
 KHUZWAYO, Nhlanhla Victor [KZN/NNN/630/DN]
 KHUZWAYO, Senzo Eugene [KZN/FN/211/DN]
 KHUZWAYO, Zwi [KZN/MR/104/DN]
 KLAAS, Michael Zolane [EC2096/97PLZ]
 KOAHELA, Steven Lehlohonono [JB04067/01GTSOW]
 KOZA, Mandla Aaron [KZN/MP/188/DN]
 KUNENE, Bhakamakhosi Paulos [KZN/ZJ/019/DN]
 KWAPHUNA/SKONKWANA, Thamsanqa July [EC0341/96KWT]
 LANGA, Aaron [KZN/SELF/089/DN]
 LEDWABA, Stanley Moalusi [JB00413/01GTSOW]
 LEDWABA, Thomas [JB01257/02PS]
 LEKALAKALA, Lesiba Piet [JB05147/01ERKAT]
 LENONG, Simon [JB00276/01GTSOW]
 LENTSELA, Richard 'Bushy' [JB01404/03NW & 01403/03NW]
 LENZI, Nzenze [JB04951/99OVE & EC2018/97UTA]
 LEPOTHE, Patrick Thibedi [JB01004/02PS]
 LERUTLA, Mathews Prompane [JB00787/02PS; JB02696/02PS]
 LETSHABA, Petros Mokonyane [JB/05482/01ERKAT & JB03479/01ERKAT]
 LUKHULENI, Tokie Willie [JB00998/02PS]
 LUTYA, Thamsanqa [CT00606/FLA]
 MAAKE, Moses Kalwane [JB05117/02NPPTB]
 MABELE, Nkazimulo [KZN/KM/559/DN]
 MABENA, Justice [JB01982/01GTSOW]
 MADEBE, Thumani Joseph [CT00142/KIM]
 MADISHA, Elias [JB02899/02NPPTB]
 MADLEBE, Xoliswa [CT01028/SOU]
 MADONDO, Antony Ndabingehele [KZN/NNN/181/PM]
 MADONSELA, Joseph Memo [JB00958/01MPNEL]
 MADUNA, Khathazile Wilson [EC2833/97UIT]
 MAEGE, Sipho [KZN/SMB/122/FS]
 MAFUMANA, Tolika [CT00226/FLA]
 MAGUBANE, Sarah [KZN/NNN/015/DN]
 MAGWACA, Popi Michael Vukile [EC0667/96PLZ]
 MAHAYE, Phumlani [KZN/NNN/098/EM]
 MAHLANGU, Daniel [JB02819/01MPWES]
 MAHLANGU, Jim Msebenzi [JB02188/01MPMOU]
 MAJOLA, Bhakinkosi [KZN/NM/208/EM]
 MAJORO, Benedict [JB05368/03VT]
 MAKALENG, Johannes Sebotlana [JB05684/01ERKAT]
 MAKETHA, Mashoalane Josiah [JB01630/03VT]
 MAKHALIMA, Patrick Thembani Adam [EC2461/97NWC]
 MAKHOBABA, Pius Zithulele [KZN/NM/226/PM]
 MAKHUBO, Isaac Mbuthi [JB00152/01 ERKAT]
 MAKHUBU, Solomon [JB05712/01ERKAT]
 MAKUYA, Nyatshisevhesingo [JB001129/02NPVEN]
 MAKWELA, Samson Ezekiel aka William Jones [JB01620/02NPPTB & JB05488/02NPPTB]
 MALATJI, Solomon Ntekuma aka Milo aka Mashego Mothusi,
 MALEFAHLO, Simon [JB02921/01MPMOU]
 MALINGA, Abraham Mdungeni [JB06483/01GTSOW]
 MALOPE, Edward aka Joseph Mashiani [JB02900/01MPMOU]
 MALULEKA, Charles [JB02425/01MPMOU]
 MAMA, George Vumile [CT00622/OUT]
 MANDELA, Aaron aka Zakariah Molotsi [EC1172/96PLZ & EC1387/96PLZ]

MANTENGU, Bheki [KZN/ZJ/432/MA]
 MANYONTA, Nompumelelo Freda [EC0769/96PLZ]
 MAPHOTO, Hendrick Malasela [JB05227/01GTSOW]
 MAPONYA, Andrew [JB03947/02PS]
 MAPUMULO, Reginald Sabelo aka Mayisela [JB01309/01GTSOW]
 MARCH, David [JB01863/01GTTEM]
 MASANGO, Oupa Petrus [JB02774/01MPMOU]
 MASHABA, Fanyana Petrus [JB01497/01MPNEL]
 MASHABELA, Jan Mantsho [JB04827/01MPNEL]
 MASHEGO, Philemon Paul [JB03136/01ERKWA]
 MASHELE, David Redimate [JB03339/02NPLTM & JB03340/02NPLT]
 MASHILO, David [JB01946/02NPPTB & JB06494/02PS]
 MASHIYA, Sonti Anna [KZN/FS/350/DN]
 MASILELA, Joseph [JB02539/01MPMOU & JB02874/01MPNEL]
 MASINGA, Ndondo Joseph [JB05759/03VT]
 MASOLANE, Maphem [KZN/BN/004/FS]
 MASUKU, Alpheus Zakhele [KZN/NZ/002/PM]
 MATA, Patrick [EC2272/97ALB]
 MATELA, Tsepo [JB00992/02PS]
 MATHEBULA, Caleb [JB05750/03NWRUS]
 MATHIBA, Johannes Lebogang [JB01854/03NW]
 MATJUDA, Makwetsa Willington [JB04812/02NPTZA]
 MATLADISA, Tsileng [JB03212/02NPLTM]
 MATLOA, Andries [JB01029/02PS]
 MATOBOLA, Mokone Jacob [JB05756/03VT]
 MATSOLE-MOKWEBO, Germina Puleng [JB06418/01ERKAT]
 MAVUKA, Nkosinathi Minti Sydney aka Colbert Kgomane [JB01280/01GTSOW]
 MAXHAM, Sandile, John [EC2014/97UIT]
 MAYISELA, Victor Sipho [JB02393/01MPNEL & JB05926/01GTSOW]
 MAZIBUKO, Amos [KZN/ZJ/439/IX]
 MAZIBUKO, Petros Nqobile [KZN/NN/106/PM]
 MAZUNGULA, Sizwe Douglas [EC0098/96TSI]
 MBALANE, Matwethu Sheshe [EC/2586/97ELN]
 MBANJWA, Thandani Africa [KZN/NN/101/PM]
 MBATHA, Zamokwakhwe Andries [JB02046/01GTSOW]
 MBEJE, Bertha [KZN/ZJ/288/RI]
 MBEKI, Monwabisi Kwanda [EC0308/96PLZ]
 MBELE, Andrew Vusi [JB00457/01GTSOW]
 MBELE, Mbundlu Enoch Nqumako [EC1790/97ETK]
 MBEMBE, Derrick [KZN/LPM/113]
 MBEMBE, Thobane [KZN/LPM/113]
 MBETA, Kholekile Leslie [CT00126/FLA]
 MBONGO, Sasa [KZN/FS/350/DN]
 MBONGO, Aaron Mzondeki [JB05070/03VT]
 MCHUNU, Edward Sibongakonke [KZN/NAM/071/DN]
 MCHUNU, Elsie [KZN/SN/112/PM]
 MCHUNU, Vincent Mazwi [KZN/NN/166/PM]
 MCITSHA, Thami Gilbert [JB04578/01GTSOW]
 MDAKA, Reckson Khayizeni [JB03336/02NPLTM]
 MDAKANE, Nkosinathi Vincent [KZN/NN/334/DN]
 MDLALOSE, Knowledge [KZN/NNN/040/DN]
 MDLALOSE, Thamsanqa Blessing [KZN/NNN/034/DN]
 MDLULI, Levy [JB03947/02PS]
 MENDU, Alson Fikile [KZN/ZJ/317/PS]
 MENDU, Fikile [KZN/HEM/007/PS]

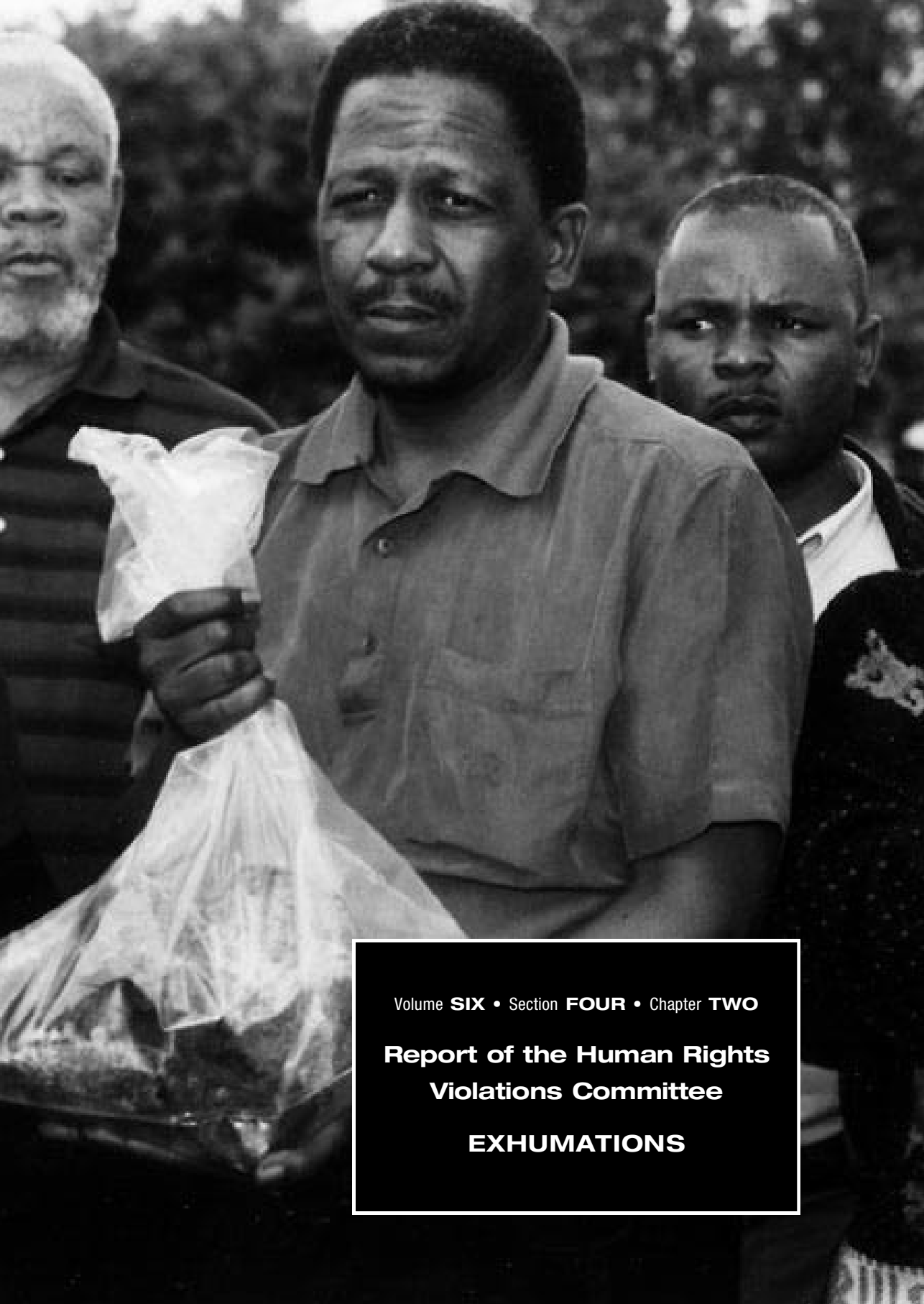
MESHACK, Eric 'Konkon' [JB1190/03NW]
 MFEKA, Dumisani Daniel [KZN/GZ/010/PM]
 MFETI, Phindile Baninawe [EC0020/96STK]
 MGJIMI, Lucky [EC2638/97]
 MGUGUNYEKA, David [CTO1038/FLA]
 MHLONGO, Mbusi [KZN/MR/153/DN]
 MHLONGO, Smanga [KZN/NN/012/DN]
 MHLONGO, Tobias Bhekithemba [KZN/ZJ/416/MA]
 MHLONGO, Vusumuzi [KZN/MR/251/EM]
 MKALIPHI, Theophilus [KZN/MR/114/DN]
 MKHIZE, Khehla [KZN/GM/083/DN]
 MKHIZE, Mlungisi [KZN/NNN/270/PM]
 MKHIZE, Siphwe Eugene 'Fana' [KZN/NM/113/DN]
 MKHIZE, Zinhle Patience [KZN/NMS/037/MP]
 MLAMBO, Bheki Emmanuel [JB00456/01GTSOW]
 MLAMBO, Fanyane [KZN/HG/325/EM]
 MLANDELWA, Sijumbo [EC0880/96ETK]
 MMALEDIMO, Thomas Tumishi [JB01033/02NPPTB]
 MMATLI, Andries [JB02692/02PS]
 MNCONYWA, Mzwapheli Livingston [JB04991/01ERKAT]
 MNCWABE, David [KZN/ZJ/247/PM]
 MNGADI, Beatrice [KZN/MG/001/DN]
 MNGOMEZULU, Stephen [KZN/ARS/029/DN & KZN/SS/202/DN]
 MNISI, Sylvester [JB00959/01MPNEL]
 MNWANA, Thamsanqa Anthony [JB06003/01GTSOW]
 MNYAKENI, Thomas [JB02203/01MPMOU]
 MNYAZANA, Thembinkosi, Sindiswa [KZN/MR/143/NC]
 MODISE, Goitsemotimo [JB03698/03NWRUS]
 MOFOKENG, Matshediso [JB05732/03VT]
 MOGAKI, Sidney Thabo aka Sydney [JB03091/01GTSOW]
 MOGANO, Silas [JB01733/01GTTEM]
 MOHALE, Oupa Jan [JB03323/02PS]
 MOIMA, Mzokhona Nicholas [KZN/TCM/005/DN]
 MOKABA, Daniel Madimetja [JB00532/02PS]
 MOKGOTOE, Temba Joseph [JB01076/01GTSOW]
 MOKOENA, Andrew aka Chicks [JB00672/02NPPTB]
 MOKOENA, Daniel [JB00190/01GTSOW]
 MOKOENA, Mathathe David [JB01640/03VT]
 MOKOENA, Moeketsi [JB01575/01ERKAT]
 MOLEBATSI, Fannie Solomon [JB00650/03WR]
 MOLEFE, Mandla Innocent [KZN/PM/102/MP & KZN/PM/048/MP]
 MOLOI, Johannes Moraleltlatsa 'Joe' [JB04576/01GTSOW]
 MORUDU, Moss [JB00520/02PS]
 MOSE, Luyanda Eric [EC0953/96/ELN]
 MOSITO, Isaac Ike [JB06027/01GTSOW]
 MOTAUNG, Ephraim [KZN/LIT/003/FS]
 MOTEMA, Godfrey Mogege [KZN/ZJ/076/DN]
 MOTHOA, Paulos Papa [JB03041/01MPMOU]
 MOTLAFI, Isaac [JB02516/01MPMOU]
 MOTSAPI, Michael [KZN/KWB/011/FS]
 MOTSEPE, Moses Tefo [JB04960/01ERKAT]
 MOTSETSE, Paul Sabata [JB05338/03WR]
 MOYO, Mosima Milford aka Letsoala [JB06391/02NPPTB & JB06449/02NPPTB]
 MPAHLA, Jomo [EC2222/97ELN]

MPELE, Jonas [JB04903/03VT]
 MPONDO, Mlungisi Michael [CT00293/FLA]
 MPUTANA, Matusi [EC2324/97[CTK]
 MRWEBI, Tyhilekile Solomzi [EC2011/97STK]
 MSIBI, Halifen Majene [JB04942/03VT]
 MSIMANG, Siphwe Edgar aka Selby Hlatshwayo [JB04984/01ERKAT]
 MSIMANGO, Eric Fana [JB00973/01GTSOW]
 MSINDWANA, David Zolisa [CT03042/[KZN & EC0551/96ETK]
 MSOMI, Sibusiso Paul [KZN/ZJ/003/DN]
 MSOMI, Sicelo Gestophus a.k.a. Sporo Mangena [KZN/SANG/008/DN]
 MTEBULE, Ignatius 'Iggy' aka 'Gab' [JB01411/02NPTZA, KZN/DJ/001/AM & JB0260/01/GTSOW]
 MTETWA, Mandla Lucas [KZN/MS/0015/PS]
 MTHEMBU, Dumisani Victor [KZN/TG/073/DN]
 MTHEMBU, Nhlanhla Gerald [KZN/GZ/091/PM]
 MTHEMBU, Thandanani Jacob [KZN/FS/411/DN]
 MTHETHWA, Emmanuel [KZN/NNN/599/ST]
 MTHETHWA, Michael [KZN/FN/133/DN]
 MTHETHWA, Paulos Mandla [JB00948/01MPNEL]
 MTHIMKHULU, John Mphekeleli [JB05577/03VT]
 MTHINI, Mbali [KZN/SM/999/DN]
 MTHIYA, Unknown [KZN/NNN/516/DN]
 MTHOMBENI, Samuel Mhleka [JB02739/01MPMOU]
 MTSHALI, David Mjikiza [JB00961/01MPNEL]
 MTSHALI, Walter Buhlebuyeza [KZN/FS/404/PM]
 MVUKA, Andrew Seuntjie [JB01930/03NW]
 MVULANA, Sifiso [KZN/NN/144/PM]
 MVULANE, Lindiwe [KZN/FS/350/DN]
 MVUNYISWA, Ndlanganyana [EC1794/97ETK]
 MWELASE, Dennis Mzikayifani [KZN/GM/094/DN]
 MYENI, Bonginkosi [KZN/GS/014/PS]
 MZELEMU, Ambrose Mathayi [KZN/SWN/001/PS]
 MZIZI, Khep [KZN/GM/071/DN]
 MZOBE, Bhekezakhe [KZN/NM/046/DN]
 MZOLO, Andile [KZN/PMB/003/PM]
 NARE, Phillip [JB05738/02PS]
 NARE, Sannie [JB05738/02PS]
 NCUBE, December [JB00303/01GTSOW]
 NCUBE, Gideon [JB02408/01GTSOW]
 NCUBE, Mac Makhathini [JB04064/01GTSOW]
 NDABA, Aubrey Jabulani [KZN/GM/098/DN]
 NDABA, Jabulani Aubrey [KZN/GZ/053/PM]
 NDALA, Lucky Alfred [JB03954/01ERKWA]
 NDALISO, Hector Sibulelo [CT00953/OUT]
 NDELU, Mbandla [KZN/ZJ/383AM]
 NDLOVANA, Christian Thomas [JB01227/02PS]
 NDLOVU, Eulogius Trusty a.k.a. George Matlala [KZN/FS/373/DN]
 NDLOVU, Handsome S [JB03470/02NPLTM]
 NDLOVU, Kwenza [KZN/NG009/DN]
 NDZOIYANA, Madodana [EC/1659/97ETK]
 NDZUNGA, Elvis Ngajuse [KZN/TG/065/DN]
 NENE, Scelo [KZN/MZ/066/DN]
 NGALOSHE, Edward Thobile [JB03439/03WR]
 NGCEMU, Thabani [KZN/NNN/030/DN]
 NGCOBO, Donald Siphwe [KZN/ZJ/021/DN]

NGCOBO, Muzwempi Cyprian [KZN/GM/031/DN]
 NGELE, Luvuno Wellington [EC2425/97ETK]
 NGEMA, Alpheus [JB06072/01ERKAT]
 NGOBENI, Samuel Mdunwazi [JB06392/02NPTZA]
 NGONO, Mbulelo Alfred [EC0330/96PLZ]
 NGUBO, Accadius Busani Cedric [KZN/ NNN/289/PM]
 NGWANYA, Themba Wilfred [KZN/NC/0007/DN]
 NGWENYA, Buswabuphele Phillip [KZN/NNN/521/PM]
 NGWENYA, Jobe [JB04083/99OVE]
 NGWENYA, Shepherd [JB05745/01GTSOW]
 NHELENGETHWA, Not specified [CTO2970/GAU]
 NIKA, Maphi [EC2241/97ALB]
 NIKELO, Sensile Christopher [KZN/TIS/042/KRS]
 NKALANGA, Daniel [JB01494/01MPNEL]
 NKHOLA, Nkosinathi [EC2620/97ELN]
 NKIWANE, Mncedisi Helper [JB02648/01GTSOW]
 NKONYANA, Samson Themba [JB03421/01ERKAT]
 NKOSI, Carlton [JB06348/01ERKAT]
 NKOSI, Mboneni Petrus [JB00951/01MPNEL]
 NKOSI, Nombulelo Thelma [JB00175/01ERKAT]
 NKOSI, Nomusa Ethel [KZN/NM/219/HA]
 NKOSI, Samuel [JB03848/01MPWES]
 NKWANYANA, Vusi [KZN/NNN/321/EM]
 NODOSHA, Maqhilane Solamase [EC2064/97ETK]
 NOJOKO, Moses Bongani [JB05185/01GTSOW]
 NOMGQOKWANA, Brian 'Malawu' Miselo [EC0665/96PLZ]
 NONDALA, Vuyo [EC/0232/96ALN]
 NOT SPECIFIED, Sibongiseni [KZN/NNN/207/PS]
 NSIBANDE, Syden aka Special [JB04084/01GTSOW]
 NTANTISO, Sicelo [EC/0410/96ELN]
 NTINGA, Boyi Sandile Ernest [KZN/PM/108/MP]
 NTLOKO, Zola Alfred,[CTO1047/HEL]
 NTOMBELA, Jafta Jabulani [KZN/ZJ/109/WE]
 NTOMBELA, Nicholas [KZN/SS/265/EM]
 NTULI, Abel Z [JB02542/01MPMOU]
 NTULI, Phiwayinkosi [KZN/HG/1026/EM]
 NTULINI, Mbuyiselo Patrick [CTO1355/HEL]
 NXUMALO, Jabulani [KZN/NN/052/DN]
 NXUMALO, Musa [KZN/NNN/393/EM]
 NXUMALO, Sibongile [KZN/MP/412/MP]
 NXUMALO, Sipiwe [KZN/NG/222/DN]
 NYAKAZA, Michael Mzamadoda [JB00764/01GTTEM]
 NYAWUZA, Jabulile [KZN/KM/522/DN]
 NYAWUZA, Nicholas [KZN/NN/155PM]
 NYAWUZA, Zanele [KZN/KM/522/DN]
 NYEMBEZI, Mlise Hallock [EC2231/97STK & EC2740/97STK]
 NZAMA, Pius Vusumuzi [KZN/SRM/001/DN]
 NZAMA, Prince Norbert Nhlanhla [KZN/SRM/001/DN]
 NZIMANDE, Beauty Thulile [KZN/NNN/122/PS]
 NZIMANDE, Unknown baby [KZN/NN/253/PM]
 PARKIES, Bongani [JB03184/01ERKAT]
 PEBANE, Phakiso Samson [KZN/SS/305/DN]
 PENYA, James Mongadi [JB00196/01GTSOW]
 PENYANE, Zanyiwe [JB05346/01ERKAT]

PETERSEN, Hendrik [CTO40001/KIM]
 PHADI, Jacob Japi [JB00412/03WR]
 PHAKALITHA, Tshediso [CTO1533/KAR]
 PHANDLE, Indi David aka Rubber [JB05781/01ERKAT]
 PHEWA, Musa Sbhhu [KZN/ZJ/148/DN]
 PHIRI, Paulus Oupa [JB05028/03VT]
 PIETERSEN, James 'Klonkies' [EC1150/96PLZ]
 PULE, Thabo Stanley [JB05719/01GTSOW]
 QANYA, Steven [JB05934/01GTSOW]
 QHINGA, Mzwandile [KZN/SD/080/DN]
 QWABE, Baban Aaron [KZN/SELF/064/DN]
 RADEBE, Dumisani [KZN/MP/204/MP]
 RADEBE, Jerry [JB01786/01GTTEM]
 RADEBE, John Gibson [KZN/MP/025/BL]
 RADEBE, Monto Samuel [JB01614/03VT]
 RADEBE, Shedi Richard [JB05828/01ERKAT]
 RADEBE, Sibongiseni Richard [KZN/GM/084/DN]
 RAKABE, Kgashane Phillemon [JB00313/01GTTE]
 RAKUBU, Joseph 'Joe' [CT00143/KIM]
 RAMANTSI, Malusi James [JB00393/03WR]
 RAMOKOKO, Ernest Justice [JB00327/01GTSOW]
 RANYAOA, Kunyumane Arios aka Thulani Sibeko [JB005976/01 ERKWA & JB00160/01ERKWA]
 RIKHOTSO, David [JB06379/01GTSOW]
 S[ECHOGELA, Gaopalelwe Benjamin [JB04112/03NW]
 SABATHA, Nzimadze [JB0590/01MPNEL]
 SCOTT, Nkululeko Glen [EC2806/97KAR]
 SEDIBANA, Simon Mafadi [JB03518/02NPPTB]
 SELEPE, Metsheki Ishmael [KZN/TG/060/DN]
 SEMETHE, Francis Mdlafetsane [JB05154/01ERKAT]
 SENNA, Morailwa Iqbad [JB05498/03NWRUS]
 SEPOTOKELE, Benjamin Motswagole [JB02767/03WR]
 SETHEBE, Lewis Ndolo [JB01250/01GTSOW]
 SHABALALA, Jeffrey Siphso [KZN/GM/061/DN]
 SHABALALA, Siboniso [JB00189/01GTSOW]
 SHABANGU, George [JB02849/01 & JB04141/02PS]
 SHABANGU, Lucas David [JB02205/01MPMOU & JB04778/01MPMOU]
 SHANDU, unspecified [KZN/WW/334/DN]
 SHANGASE, Fano [KZN/NG/277/MP]
 SHANGE, Alpheous Magwegwe [KZN/MR/157/DN]
 SHANGE, Thulani Doctor [JB00506/01ERTEM]
 SHANGE, Vincent Lucky [JB00506/01ERTEM]
 SHIBURI / SHIVURI Elias [JB04071/01GTSOW]
 SHIRINDA, Lawrence [JB03337/02NPTZA]
 SHIRINDA, Phineas [JB06393/02NPPTB]
 SHOZI, Doda Elias [KZN/FN/130/DN]
 SHOZI, Mhawukelwa Nkosiyo [KZN/NM/290/EM]
 SIBANGO, Pulwana Leonard [CT00711/GAU]
 SIBIYA, Eunice [KZN/NNN/207/PS]
 SIBUKU, Molefe aka Thuso Lesupa [EC2246/97ALN]
 SIKHAFUNGANA Khanyiso [EC2509/97ETK]
 SIKHAKHANE, Maswampi [KZN/GSN/178/MP]
 SILANGWE, Mhletywa [EC2152/97ETK]
 SIMELANE, Mbapha David [JB05730/01ERKWA]
 SIMELANE, Nokuthula Aurelia [JB00280/01MPWES]

SIMELANE, Thembinkosi Vincent [KZN/KM/512/DN]
 SITHEBE, Bongani Enoch [JB05881/03VT]
 SITHOLE, Innocent [KZN/NN/095/PM]
 SITYATA, Similo Sizwe Matolweni [EC0579/97ELN & EC2193/97STK]
 SKOSANA, Ephraim Baba [KZN/SMB/126/FS]
 SKOSANA, Jan Nara [JB02555/01MPMOU]
 SMANGA, Sthembile [JB04025/01ERKAT]
 SOGIBA, Zamubuntu [CT03706/HEL]
 SONO, Lolo Corlette [JB00188/01GTSOW]
 SONQISHE, Thembe Wilmott [CT00965/[ECA]
 SOSIBO, Maxwell Mbhekeni [KZN/NNN/557/DN]
 SOSIBO, Nhlanhla [KZN/NNN/459/RI]
 SOTHIYA, Kaponsie Alfred [KZN/ZJ/036/DN & KZN/NCB/021/DN]
 TANANA, Xolile Matthews [EC0491/96ELN]
 THABANE, Nqabe Joseph [JB05823/01ERKAT]
 THANJEKWAYO, Barnabas Nsikelelo [JB05469/01ERKAT]
 THOSAGO, Solomon Phaladi [JB01945/02NPPTB]
 THOTHOBOLO, Kenneth Itumeleng [JB06386/01GTSOW]
 THUSI, Mbeki Zipred [JB04897/01GTSOW]
 THUSI, Mkeyi Alpheus [KZN/NCB/006/DN]
 TIYO, Lwazi [CT00693/WIN]
 TLHAPI, Ramatua Nicholas aka Boikie [JB01185/03NW, JB0118/03NW, JB01187/03NW, JB01452/03NW]
 TOTO, Fexie Siphiwo [CT00540/GEO]
 TSELANE, Motlogelwa [JB06119/03NWRUS]
 TSHABALALA, Amos Buti [JB00314/01ERKAT & JB02318/01ERTEM]
 TSHABALALA, Sibusiso Mcmillan (nickname Morgan) [JB02879/01GTSOW]
 TSHANGISA, Miniyakhe [KZN/MR/242/WE]
 TSITIRO, Jeremiah [JB03049/01ERKWA]
 TSOTETSI, Samuel Maloyo [JB03954/01ERKWA]
 TSOTSOTSO, Aarone Mokhele [KZN/HG/002/FS]
 TUKU, Edward [CTO9003]
 TWALA, Joseph Nkani [JB04667/01ERKAT]
 TWALO, Gwaza Duckworth [EC0128/96KWT]
 TYULU, Tamsanqa Abraham [EC0174/96UIT]
 UNKNOWN, Petrus [JB01704/03NW]
 XABA, Dumisani Norman [JB06308/01ERKAT]
 XABA, Joseph Mbonankulu [JB05071/01ERKAT]
 XULU, Joel Msizi [KZN/NN/050/DN]
 XULU, Mkhombiseni Herron [CTO5013/[KZN]
 ZACA, Nhlomla [KZN/FN/142/DN]
 ZENGELE, Willie Motlalentoa [JB01157/03VT]
 ZIKALALA, Zakhele Lawrence [JB04502/03VT]
 ZIQUBU, Dingane Robert Thulani [KZN/NN/302/DN]
 ZITHA, Vusi [KZN/NNN/065/DN]
 ZOKUFA, Milton [JB01897/03WR]
 ZONDI, Mbazo [KZN/FN/113/DN]
 ZULU, Abednigo Mfaniya [JB05105/03NWRUS]
 ZULU, David Mbuti [JB03377/01ERKAT]
 ZUMA, Shaka [KZN/SN/169/DN & SN/114/PM]
 ZWANE, Kuki [JB05784/01GTSWO]
 ZWANE, Not specified [CT02918/[KZN]
 ZWANE, Zanele [KZN/GM/074/DN]
 ZWINGE, Tayitile [EC2341/97[CTK]



Volume **SIX** • Section **FOUR** • Chapter **TWO**

**Report of the Human Rights
Violations Committee**

EXHUMATIONS

Exhumations

■ INTRODUCTION

1. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) undertook a number of exhumations with the aim of providing healing to the families of victims. When successful, exhumations allowed families to retrieve the last physical remains of their loved ones, so that they could bury them according to ceremonies of their own choice. In this way, many families could begin the process putting to rest the painful questions and memories that had haunted them for so long.

The cases of Barney Richard Molokoane, Victor Lunga Khayiyana and Vincent Seleke

2. One of these cases involved the exhumation of the remains of three MK operatives who had been shot dead near Piet Retief in the Transvaal on 28 November 1985.
3. Mr Barney Richard Molokoane, Mr Victor Lunga Khayiyana and Mr Vincent Sekete were killed while on a Special Operations sabotage mission, and were buried as paupers. Following an investigation carried out by the Commission's Johannesburg office, their graves were traced and the remains exhumed. Their families attended the exhumation and were able to rebury them. The Molokoane and the Khayiyana families had suffered other losses of family members during the political conflict, and these exhumations provided some relief.²¹

The case of Phila Portia Ndwandwe

4. The remains of Ms Phila Portia Ndwandwe, an MK operative known as Zandile, were exhumed from Elandskop Farm in KwaZulu-Natal on 12 March 1997.
5. Members of the Port Natal Security Branch had abducted Ms Ndwandwe from Swaziland in October 1988. After a failed attempt to recruit her, Ms Ndwandwe was shot dead and secretly buried. Her whereabouts remained a mystery. Indeed, many believed that she had defected to the security forces. This painful

²¹ See Volume Two, Chapter Six, p. 549.

suspicion was dispelled when amnesty applications from her killers revealed the truth about her disappearance and led Commission investigators to her grave.

6. Forensic examination of her remains revealed that she had been shot in the head execution-style, probably while kneeling. Following press reports on the exhumation, Ms Ndwandwe's young son was united with his grandparents for the first time.²²

The case of Ntombikayise Priscilla Khubeka

7. Six members of the Terrorism Investigation Section of the Port Natal Security Branch and two C1/Vlakplaas operatives applied for amnesty for their role in the abduction, death and subsequent disposal of the body of Ms Ntombikayise Priscilla Ngcobo (née Khubeka) in April or May 1987.
8. Ms Khubeka lived in KwaMashu, a township to the north of Durban, and was suspected of acting in a co-ordinating capacity between external and internal units of MK. She was allegedly responsible for the storage of weaponry, organising safe-houses and collecting intelligence on possible MK targets.
9. Two C1/Vlakplaas askaris, Xola Frank Mbane and one Dube, part of a C1 team under the command of Captain Adriaan David Baker working with the Port Natal Security Branch, were tasked with making contact with her. This they successfully did. Mr Mbane, who did not apply for amnesty, alleged that their infiltration efforts resulted in the entrapment and killing of three MK combatants. This was denied by all applicants.
10. In April or May, possibly two months after the operation had commenced, Mr Mbane drove Ms Khubeka to Battery Beach. She was abducted by the Port Natal team, blindfolded, possibly bound and taken to an abandoned shooting range at Winkelspruit, south of Durban. Still blindfolded, she was then subjected to interrogation by a team consisting of Colonel Andy Taylor, Captain Hentie Botha, Sergeant Laurie Wasserman, Sergeant Cassie van der Westhuizen, Joe Coetzer and Warrant Officer 'Bossie' Basson.
11. During the interrogation, which was conducted largely in Zulu by Colonel Taylor, he struck Ms Khubeka across the back with a sjambok. According to Captain

²² See Volume Two, Chapter Six, pp. 543,545.

Botha, this was not a severe assault but intended to convey the gravity of the situation and persuade her to co-operate with them:

CHAIRPERSON: *Did he hit her hard with this sjambok?*

MR BOTHA: *Chairperson, I would say yes, he hit her hard; but the blows with the sjambok were not the type of blows which would be dealt to grievously injure the person. It was to indicate, 'I'm serious with what I'm asking you to do now' ...*

MR LAX: *How could he hit her hard and not hurt her?*

MR BOTHA: *I'm trying to describe that the degree of the blow was not to the extent that it was taken out and hit hard in comparison to a form of torture. It was more to indicate: 'I'm hitting you in order to prove a serious point.'*

12. While Botha testified that the interrogation lasted approximately fifteen to twenty minutes and that Taylor struck her approximately ten to fifteen times with the sjambok, Sergeant van der Westhuizen's testimony suggests an interrogation of about an hour. Both these accounts were disputed by *askari* Mbane who alleged that the interrogation lasted for about two hours and, although he was outside, he could hear 'screams of pain'.

13. Botha and other applicants testified that, during the course of the interrogation, Ms Khubeka agreed to co-operate with them, but that:

She then suddenly began to gasp for breath, grabbed her chest and fell over. While her body was shaking, she urinated and within seconds lay dead still. I was frightened and someone went to fetch water outside and poured it on her because we thought that she had fainted. She did not respond to the water which I splashed on her face. She had no pulse rate and W/O Basson brought a mirror and held it in front of her mouth. There was no breath. I realised that she was dead, possibly from a heart attack. Khubeka was physically a big woman and in my opinion overweight.

14. According to the applicants, they then decided to dump her body in the vicinity of her home and tasked Sergeants Wasserman and Salman Gerhardus du Preez to do this. This decision was informed by the fact that she had died of natural causes and they thus expected that no foul play would be indicated by a post mortem examination. Inexplicably, however, her body was dumped that night somewhere near the Bhambayi informal settlement, some distance away from her home.

15. Later Captain Botha established that her family was unaware of her death and appeared to believe that she had gone into exile. It was subsequently rumoured that she had left the country for Mozambique because of the attentions of the Security Branch.
16. However, the version given by the applicants was seriously challenged when the Commission's Investigative Unit exhumed remains believed to be Ms Kubeka's from a pauper's grave at Charlottedale Cemetery, Stanger. After the exhumation, DSR Naidoo of the SAP Medico-Legal laboratory conducted a post-mortem examination of the remains, concluding that they matched those of Ntombi Khubeka. In addition, a spent 7.65 bullet fell from the skull, indicating that she had been shot in the head. This was contrary to the perpetrators' account of her death.
17. An attempt to use DNA testing from samples of bone and teeth failed as these had deteriorated and could not be used for DNA typing. The skull was then sent to Dr P Venezis, Regius Professor of Forensic Medicine and Science and Head of Department at the University of Glasgow, a recognised authority on a facial identification technique that entails the use of video superimposition.
18. Dr Venezis concluded that the skull-to-photo superimposition he carried out revealed an excellent match in all respects with the photographs examined.

I am satisfied that there is an excellent match between the photographs examined and the skull in question and I am of the view therefore that it is highly likely that the skull is part of the remains of Ntombi Kubheka.
19. The applicants challenged these findings and demanded that another expert, based at the SAPS Forensic Science Laboratory in Pretoria, examine the skull.
20. Sergeant TM Briers of this laboratory concluded that:

All the above landmarks have been taken into consideration and it is found that the skull and face on both photographs are consistent with each other. No contradictions were found.
21. The applicants did not challenge Brier's conclusions, although they continued to contest the results of the investigation. In reviewing the evidence, the Amnesty Committee found the forensic evidence 'compelling':

What is striking in the final analysis is that, in our view, all the above aspects taken together point to the inescapable conclusion that the body exhumed from the grave at Charlottedale Cemetery, Stanger, is in fact that of the deceased, Ntombikayise Priscilla Khubeka.

22. Applicants Botha, Du Preez, Wasserman and Van der Westhuizen were refused amnesty for failing to make full disclosure. Applicants Radebe and Baker, who had not been present during the interrogation or involved in the disposal of the body, were granted amnesty for her abduction.²³

WORK ON EXHUMATIONS AFTER 1998

23. The Commission received hundreds of requests from families requesting that it trace and exhume the bodies of loved ones. Unfortunately it was not possible to deal with them all: once the Commission's operational period came to an end, it was not permitted by law to continue with this process.
24. Given the fact that the families of victims were expressing a clear need for continued exhumations, the Commission undertook to discuss future exhumations with the Minister of Justice and the Inter-Ministerial Committee established to deal with matters relating to the Commission. At the end of 1998, the Commission advised then Minister of Justice and the Inter-Ministerial committee that many more families were requesting exhumations. In a number of instances, the requests related to the return of remains from exile and places outside the country. The Commission also advised the Minister that any future exhumation programme would require the establishment of clear guidelines and parameters to ensure its success.
25. One of the outcomes of the consultation was a commitment by the Commission to provide the Ministry of Justice and the Inter-Ministerial committee with a comprehensive report on exhumations already carried out, in order to assist government in making a decision on how it would deal with the matter. This was one of the most significant recommendations made in the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee's reparation policy.

²³ The Amnesty Committee made no finding on Applicant Roelof Visagie as he was outside South Africa at the time of the hearing and did thus not give evidence. Given the disputed evidence, the Committee felt it was not able to dispose of his application in chambers.

26. The compilation of a comprehensive report on exhumations was one of the major tasks assigned to the Human Rights Violations (HRV) Committee in the period after the handing over of the Commission's Final Report in October 1998.
27. The HRV Commissioner put a task team in place to produce this report. The report was intended to deal not only with exhumations that had been carried out, but also to allow the Commission to focus on guidelines and criteria for future exhumations. This process was facilitated at a management level by the Commission's acting CEO, who made the necessary resources available.
28. A further issue that had to be considered was that the Commission had, in the early part of 1998, carried out an exhumation at Boshhoek farm near Rustenburg in the Transvaal, which rendered up fifteen bodies instead of the two that had been expected. While the two bodies identified as activists had been handed over to families for reburial, the remaining thirteen needed to be identified so that arrangements for reburial could be made. As an interim measure, the Commission had contracted with Saffas Undertakers to hold the remaining thirteen bodies until such time as the Commission took a decision on how to finalise the matter.
29. The Commission decided that it would be proper to perform a forensic examination on the bodies before taking any decision on dealing with reburial. The matter was placed before the Amnesty Committee which approved the proposed forensic examination. The HRV Commissioner was able to obtain the assistance of the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAAF), who agreed to perform the forensic tests.
30. Using the facilities of the University of the Witwatersrand, the two EAAF members conducted forensic examinations and were able to establish conclusively that the thirteen bodies exhumed were deceased hospital patients and not political activists at all. Their report is available and is fairly conclusive in this respect.²⁴ This raised concerns regarding the exhumation procedures adopted in certain cases and was one of the reasons a more detailed audit was then undertaken.
31. The HRV Commissioner set up a task team to conduct a complete audit of all exhumations conducted by the Commission. The team was made up of the HRV Commissioner, the former Commissioner in charge of the Investigation Unit (IU), the former IU director and two researchers.

²⁴ The Commission extends its thanks to the EAAF for its generous assistance, and to the University of Witwatersrand's Department of Anatomy for making both facilities and personnel available.

32. A review of each of the exhumation case files was conducted in order to confirm the correctness and integrity of the process. All existing documentation relating to exhumations was collected, collated and analysed.
33. Investigators from the Johannesburg office and KwaZulu-Natal provided the task team with the case files. In addition, the chief investigator in charge of exhumations in the Johannesburg office gave the task team a verbal briefing and handed over all case folders, folders containing working notes and reports, various post-mortem and inquest documents, lists of MK deaths supplied by the ANC and a Security Branch photograph album with an index. This was to form the basis of the report.
34. The compilation of the report and dealing with the enquiries that were generated took a year. In the course of that year, the task team scrutinised each individual exhumation case. The task team also dealt with the following issues:
 - a An incident list of MK persons killed in combat, ambush or arrest situations was compiled, using a range of documentary sources. This was essential in order to link those exhumed with specific incidents – thus locating the correct post-mortem, inquest and gravesite documentation.
 - b Additional mortuary, inquest, photographic and fingerprinting records were sought and obtained.
 - c Statements and photographic albums were obtained from the SAPS Forensic Unit that had attended certain of the exhumations.
 - d Contact was made with former MK operatives and commanders who had survived and had information about incidents in which those exhumed had died.
35. Information was obtained according to the internationally accepted exhumation procedures used by bodies such as the United Nations.
36. The IU Director canvassed each exhumation case with the various investigators who had been involved with the exhumations.

Evaluation

37. The task team established that the Commission had carried out at least fifty exhumations throughout the country. It also established that a number of exhumations had not been carried out, due to the expiry of the Commission's operational mandate.

38. The task team also established that the methodology followed differed from region to region. In KwaZulu-Natal, the process included the services of a forensic expert and pathologist, who participated in the exhumations and conducted forensic examinations of the remains.
39. Exhumations carried out in Johannesburg placed a greater emphasis on returning the bodies to the families as quickly as possible. Autopsies were not performed due to resistance from families in some cases.
40. The Johannesburg unit also made greater use of the South African Police Services (SAPS), including the SAPS video and canine sniffer units.
41. The KwaZulu-Natal unit relied to a large extent on the pointing out of grave sites by amnesty applicants. Many of the exhumations were carried out at the 'safe houses' of the former Security Branch, where certain activists who had been abducted were interrogated and killed.
42. The sites where bodies were believed to have been buried were cordoned off, and a team for a specialist undertaker's firm would test the soil for signs of recent disturbance and demarcate an area for excavation. This unit also relied on police sniffer dogs to seek out the presence of lime below the soil surface, as lime was often poured over the bodies to hasten their decomposition.
43. Once the correct spot had been located, a pathologist would supervise the removal of soil until the body was located. The pathologist would enter the grave and remove the body – bone by bone. In many cases, the flesh had disintegrated. The presence of the pathologist during the exhumation process ensured that the integrity of the site was protected.
44. The Johannesburg unit focussed its attention on a number of disappearance cases that had been reported to the Commission, involving Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) operatives who had disappeared or lost their lives, mainly near the borders of South Africa with Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Botswana.
45. MK operatives in a number of incidents had been intercepted while travelling in and out of the country. Many had been killed in shoot-outs with the police or the army. In a number of cases, operatives were abducted and attempts were made to turn them into askaris. Those who did not co-operate with the police were brutally killed and often buried in secret locations or in unnamed graves in cemeteries.

The case of Dikgope ‘Magic Bones’ Madi

46. The difficulties attending the identification process before an exhumation are illustrated by the case of Dikgope ‘Magic Bones’ Madi, one of the cases dealt with by the Johannesburg unit.
47. The case involved three MK combatants who had been killed at Tshipise, Venda, in August 1983. The family of one of the combatants, Mr Patrick Motswaletswale, contacted the Ministry of Safety and Security to ask them to investigate the incident. The Ministry, which passed the matter on to the Commission’s Johannesburg office, had established that the remaining two combatants were Mr Humbulani Mulaudzi and Mr Andrew Mandi. While they had managed to trace the family of the former, the only information they had about Mr Mandi was that he was originally from Alexandra. The Ministry of Safety and Security, via their Pietersburg office, further established that the three operatives had been buried at Mbaleni in Sibasa and that the location of their graves was known.
48. The Commission was requested to establish the identity of Andrew Mandi and to carry out the necessary exhumations. The investigation identified Andrew Mandi as Andrew ‘Magic Bones’ Madi, and his body and that of Motswaletswale were exhumed. According to the investigator, identification was made by an MK commander (now deceased) who had been based in Zimbabwe at the time.
49. The case illustrates some of the numerous difficulties and contradictions the task team encountered while auditing exhumation cases
50. The ANC submission to the Commission, which listed deaths in exile, contained no record of an Andrew Mandi. However, it did list an Andrew Madi as having been killed by ‘enemy forces’ in Zimbabwe in 1979. No record of Andrew Mandi or Madi could be found on the additional lists of MK combatant deaths obtained from ANC headquarters at Shell House, although both contained the names of Patrick Motswaletswale from Sibasa and an MK Basil Zulu as having been killed in 1983. One of the lists indicated that the incident had occurred in Venda sometime in August 1983. There was no reference to a third person, further complicating the matter.
51. The task team located an HRV statement submitted by Mr Matsutse Elias Madi (JB05983/01MPPIT) from Alexandra, Johannesburg. Mr Madi told the Commission

that, on 28 August 1978, his son Dikgope Molefe 'Magic Bones' Madi had told him that a friend had promised to take him across the border into exile. Although the deponent was suspicious and warned his son not to go, Dikgope went out that evening and never returned. The deponent reported the disappearance to the police but was told to search for his son himself. He returned home, 'my heart bleeding'.

52. Some three to four years later, he received an anonymous letter saying that Dikgope was in Tanzania. He heard nothing further until after the unbanning of organisations in 1990. At this stage, another son, Ephraim, informed him about a woman, Ms Lovinest Nyerende from Malawi, who claimed to be Dikgope's girlfriend. According to Ms Nyerende, she had last seen Dikgope in 1978 in Tanzania. He had then gone to Zimbabwe to fetch other exiles, but had never returned to Tanzania. She later heard rumours that he was dead. In July 1992, two ANC officials informed Mr Madi that his son had died in the war in Zimbabwe.
53. This version appeared to confirm the information contained in the ANC submission that Andrew Madi had been killed in Zimbabwe in 1979, thus suggesting that Andrew Madi could not be the same person as the Andrew Mandi who was killed in the Venda incident in 1983. However, the names were virtually identical and there was a strong coincidence in the fact that both were said to have come from Alexandra.
54. Two further HRV statements made to the Commission confirmed that there were indeed three people killed in the Venda incident, but neither shed light on the identity of the third person. Mr Mavhunga Abram Mulaudzi (JB01268/02NPVD) made a statement regarding the death of his son, Humbelani Elvis Tshifhiwa Mulaudzi, at Tshipise in 1983. According to the statement, Mr Mulaudzi identified the body of his son and one of the remaining two as one Mongqretswari (presumably Motswaletswale), also from Venda.
55. Ms Jane Denga (JB01414/02NPVEN) made a statement to the Commission about the torture of her husband, Alfred Mafhungo Denga, who was detained on 4 November 1983 and taken to Masisi Police Station in Mutale. Her husband had been involved in the transportation of three MK operatives, one of whom was a Mutswaletswale from Thohoyandou.

56. Additional information in other records²⁵ indicated that Mr Denga had subsequently given evidence in the trial of several persons charged with harbouring MK operatives. Denga had told the court that he had been introduced to three MK operatives in November 1981 and had assisted in transporting them on numerous occasions. Evidence to the court by the second in command of Venda Security Branch was that one of the three men had been killed in a joint SAP and Venda Defence Force operation on 29 August 1983.
57. These statements confirmed the incident of August 1983 and, notwithstanding the apparent evidence by the second in command of the Venda Security Branch that only one person had been killed, the identities of Mulaudzi and Motswaletswale. However, neither cast light on the identity of the third victim.
58. Finally an MK operative who had been based in Zimbabwe was able to confirm the identity of the third victim as Dikgope Andrew 'Magic Bones' Madi. This operative, who had been based near Beit Bridge, had fought with ZAPU²⁶ forces in the late 1970s. In 1983 he infiltrated South Africa but was detained shortly thereafter. While detained, he was taken to identify the bodies of three MK operatives killed in August 1983. He positively identified one as a person he knew as 'Magic Bones.' According to him, he had known 'Magic Bones' well as they had both been in Zimbabwe and had also played soccer together.

Outcome of audit

59. The task team established that more than 60 per cent of the exhumations had been adequately performed by the units in KwaZulu-Natal and Johannesburg.
60. However, it also established that there were certain serious corroboration problems in 20 per cent of the cases. In the case of the remaining 20 per cent, additional corroboration was required and no determination could yet be made on the accuracy of the exhumations.
61. On the basis of the EAAF report, the task team also determined that the thirteen bodies exhumed from the Boshhoek Farm were not political cases, and the Commission arranged for their re-interment.

²⁵ Focus 53, p. 4.

²⁶ Zimbabwe African People's Union.

62. The task team also established that a further fifteen exhumation cases had yet to be dealt with by the Commission.

OVERVIEW OF PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED IN THE EXHUMATION PROCESS

63. A comprehensive report of the task team's audit will be handed to the Minister of Justice when the Codicil is handed over in March 2003.
64. The task team's report highlighted the following problems:

Inadequate investigations

65. In a number of cases, gravesite identifications were done without first corroborating the incidents concerned. Without clearly establishing the date and place of an incident, gravesite identification becomes tentative at best. Although many documents have been destroyed by the Security Branch, certain state records often remain. These include occurrence books, inquest registers, state mortuary registers, and municipal burial orders.
66. The Johannesburg IU unit established that, in the former Transvaal, those exhumed were formally buried in cemeteries as paupers. They thus passed through a number of bureaucratic processes, including the records of the judiciary, local authorities and undertakers.
67. In certain cases, these corroborative sources were not consulted. Where they were obtained, they were not always properly correlated, leading to potential errors in the location of cemeteries and grave sites and rendering the identification process questionable.
68. Further, there was a range of secondary sources that could have been used to corroborate incidents, such as contemporaneous newspaper reports and NGO publications.

Absence of forensic examination

69. In the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal exhumations, forensic examinations of the skeletal remains were carefully conducted to ascertain age, sex, cause of

death and so on. However, the exhumations carried out on in the former Transvaal had not been subjected to forensic appraisal, making identification uncertain.

70. There was also insufficient and sometimes no pre-mortem investigation. The forensic examination carried out on the 'Boshoek remains' sharply highlighted this issue. Families and fellow-combatants could have provided accurate details of age, physical characteristics and photographs. This was done in very few cases.
71. In addition, the absence of a professional exhumation procedure probably resulted in the loss or destruction of forensic evidence. The absence of forensic examination also meant that, in cases where the version provided by the security forces is contested, no evidence exists to challenge their version of events. This has consequences for the possibility of future prosecutions where proper forensic evidence would be required.
72. While the SAPS Forensic Unit was used in certain cases, the task team discovered that they had only participated in the digging and in identification.
73. There was also a failure to make a photographic record of the exhumations and remains. Only the SAPS Forensic Unit photographs are available. Regrettably, they did not generally photograph individual remains.

Documentation

74. The task team also established that documentation was handled poorly by the Johannesburg unit.

Over-reliance on the ANC lists and information

75. The Johannesburg unit placed a great deal of reliance on two lists that the ANC gave to the Commission. These lists detailed the names of MK operatives who had died inside South Africa. The first lists only the name of the operative and the date and place of death, where known. The second list contains real names, combat MK names, place of origin and place and date of death, where known.
76. In many cases, there were several serious discrepancies regarding place and date of death between the two lists. The lists were defective in a number of instances, and this had an impact on the investigations carried out by this unit.

Failure to make use of the Commission's database

77. The Johannesburg unit did not appear to have used the Commission's database to cross-reference its work, nor did it access the HRV statements in the possession of the Commission, many of which contained valuable corroborative information.

Inadequate consultation with MK commanders/operatives

78. Although the unit did, in certain instances, consult with relevant MK personnel and/or commanders, consultation should have been done in every case to establish the nature of the mission and to confirm the identities of the operatives involved. Consequently, identities were sometimes assigned to the deceased without proper corroboration from commanders based inside South Africa or neighbouring countries.

Problems in identification

79. In the course of its audit, the task team discovered that it was extremely difficult to make positive identifications. One example of such a difficulty is the case of Richard 'Bushy' Lentsela. This case also demonstrates the considerable difficulty encountered in attempting to establish the fate of Mr Lentsela, and how important it is to corroborate each piece of information received.

The case of Richard 'Bushy' Lentsela

80. Richard 'Bushy' Lentsela disappeared from Schweizer-Reneke during the mid-1980s.
81. According to one of two HRV statements received from family members, it was believed that Mr Lentsela was an MK operative who was killed with three others in an incident near Warrenton. The statement also referred to a community pamphlet that circulated in the Schweizer-Reneke area during 1986, listing the identities of the four persons killed in this incident. This information provided the first line of enquiry.
82. Mr Lentsela's name was not contained in the ANC submission, nor was it on either of the lists of MK combatant deaths. Various sources confirmed that an incident had occurred near Warrenton on 13 December 1986.²⁷ However, all of these sources indicated that one person, and not four, had been killed.

²⁷ Terrorism Research Centre; SAP documents; CIS list of MK deaths in combat.

83. Two sources identified the MK operative shot dead as Zonwabele Livingstone Ntlokwana, also known as Lungile, whose name is recorded on the MK lists. The sources indicate that Mr Ntlokwana died on an unknown date in 1987, although one of the lists records the place of death not as Warrenton but Mafikeng. Despite this contradictory information, the identity of the person killed in the Warrenton incident was established as Livingstone Ntlokwana (on the basis of an HRV statement by the Ntlokwana family and an entry in the Warrenton mortuary register). This ruled out the possibility that Mr Lentsela had been killed in this incident.
84. Former activists in the Huhudi-Vryburg-Schweizer-Reneke area were contacted with a view to locating the pamphlet referred to in the HRV statement, said to contain photographs of four persons, including 'Bushy' Lentsela. All three former activists spoken to believed he had been killed in the Warrenton incident, although one indicated that he had heard that Lentsela had been killed in a skirmish elsewhere in the Transvaal. One of the activists traced a copy of the pamphlet, which turned out to have been issued by the SAP. It contained the photographs of four activists wanted by the SAP, one of whom was indeed 'Bushy' Lentsela. While this confirmed police interest in Mr Lentsela, it provided no clue as to his fate.
85. One of the Security Branch photograph albums in the Commission's possession contained photographs of suspected MK combatants, including a photograph of Mr Lentsela. The photograph had been crossed out and his name cancelled on the index. The 'cancellation' of an activist from the album generally indicated that the person concerned was no longer of interest to the Security Branch, because s/he had either died or been arrested or recruited. This suggested that sometime after the pamphlet had been issued, the Security Branch lost interest in Mr Lentsela.
86. Further investigation and research indicated that 'Bushy' Lentsela had, in all probability, been killed near Nietverdiend in the Western Transvaal. The incident took place on 25 June 1986, when a group of four MK operatives entering from Botswana were shot dead. This incident is confirmed by several sources. Two of these indicate that one of the four people killed was one Tumagole Richard Lentsela. However, Lentsela's name does not appear in the record of the Rustenburg state mortuary which received the bodies, although one of the names is recorded as one Wilson *Bushy* Senne. It is possible that the names recorded in the mortuary register were obtained from false identity documents carried by the operatives, as none was identified by their families at the time.

87. Attempts to locate the inquest documentation were unsuccessful. Several Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives applied for amnesty for this incident, but subsequently withdrew their applications. In a final attempt to establish whether Mr Lentsela was involved, the Commission approached two MK commanders who had been based in Botswana at the time of the incident. They were only able to identify one of the persons in the incident, although one of them thought it possible that one of the others may have been a person named 'Bushy.'
88. While the evidence suggests that Richard 'Bushy' Lentsela was killed in the Nietverdiend incident, further investigation is required to confirm this. Although it is known that the bodies of the 'Nietverdiend Four' were buried as paupers at Hartbeesfontein, no exhumation was conducted, and the identities of a further two need to be established.

LESSONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

89. The Commission notes that the issue of exhumations is a sensitive one, requiring further work. The Commission will hand the Ministry of Justice a comprehensive report on the work of the task team, detailing successful exhumations, problematic exhumations and a list of the exhumations that still need to be carried out.
90. The Commission notes, for the benefit of the agencies that will carry out exhumations in the future, the lessons that have been learnt through the exhumation process:

Dealing with families, relatives and communities

91. Any investigation or exhumation carried out by any body or structure must be done in consultation with the families or their representatives, and the community.
92. Prior to any exhumation, families should be approached for ante-mortem information.
93. Undignified or unskilful handling of remains may further traumatise families.
94. Families must be given a realistic expectation of the outcome of any investigation or exhumation – given the state of the remains, the number of bodies and problems with identification.

95. Families must be provided with proper information and psychological support.
96. The subsequent process of identification must be explained to the families.
97. The families must be told whether the identification process will rely on simple or traditional techniques or whether more sophisticated technology will be used. In this regard, it is important to advise that sophisticated technology will only be used if it is available and necessary for the process.
98. The notion of what constitutes a family may vary with cultural context. In addition, clear guidelines need to be developed to deal with divided families.

Dealing with identification responsibly

99. In carrying out exhumations, the identification process is critically important.
100. The EAAF²⁸ has stated that ‘the habitual and in our view mistaken procedure often followed is to open a grave first, and conduct the rest of the investigation afterwards’. The investigation and exhumation process should, in their view, be broken into three phases, each of which is intimately connected to the others:
 - a Prior to the exhumation taking place, there should be an investigation of the oral and written sources, which allows for the construction of the case history and a working hypothesis.
 - b The fieldwork phase includes the retrieval of the body and associated evidence, whether from the site of the discovery or from a regular grave.
 - c In the laboratory work phase, the corresponding analysis of remains and other physical evidence should be carried out.
101. In this regard, it will be important for any structure carrying out exhumations to take the following steps into account:
 - a ‘Identification’ is defined as ‘individualisation by the attribution of birth, name or other appropriate name to human remains’.²⁸
 - b Identification is one aspect of the investigation into a death, which seeks answers to other questions (e.g. the cause of death).

28 Luis Fondebrider, *Human Remains Management*. Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAAF).

29 International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), *The Missing*, 10.2002.EN/3.

- c An identification can generally be made in three different ways:
 - i. visual or customary (relatives or acquaintances viewing the remains, identity documents or tags);
 - ii. the weight of circumstantial evidence (matching of ante-mortem data with information collected during the examination), and
 - iii. scientific/objective methods (use of dental records, fingerprints or DNA).
102. These three steps do not necessarily follow on one another. However, the usual practice is that, as identification becomes more difficult, the emphasis moves from one to the other. Where possible, visual identification should be complemented by any one of the other two methods. Whatever the approach to identification, it must be adapted to the context.
103. The identification of human remains through DNA typing should be undertaken when other investigative techniques of identification prove inadequate.

Responsibility and accountability for the examination and identification of human remains

104. A number of different civil society structures may decide in the future to embark on exhumation program. In this regard it is important to note the following:
- a The state is the authority with the responsibility to ensure that human remains are examined and identified by qualified and competent people.
 - b The examination of remains should be carried out by qualified forensic specialists.
 - c Identification is carried out and confirmed by a medically qualified or legally competent person. Such identification should be confirmed only when all the relevant information has been integrated properly.
 - d The issuing of a certificate of death is the responsibility of a medically qualified person or the legal officer responsible for making the identification.

Exhumation of human remains

105. The Commission recommends that the following guidelines should be taken into account and strictly applied:
- a the grave site should be located;
 - b a security perimeter should be established;
 - c the surface and features should be photographed and documented;

- d the boundaries of the grave should be established;
- e the soil covering the remains should be removed;
- f the remains should be exposed;
- g the location of the remains should be carefully mapped and photographed;
- h the position of any personal effects or other objects not attached to the remains (e.g. keys and bullets) should be carefully noted, labelled distinctly and kept separate;
- i the remains should be carefully removed, keeping them together as an entire body or parts of bodies;
- j the remains should be stored;
- k where appropriate, the family should be permitted visual access to the remains.

Cultural rites

106. In most cultures, sacred rituals dealing with the dead are extremely important. In certain local contexts in Africa, custom demands that 'the spirit of the dead' be officially brought home and inaugurated as an 'ancestor'. Such rituals introduce the spirit to the living. It is believed that such rituals bring the spirit home out from the wilderness and into the home to rest and to watch over the living.
107. The tragedy of politically motivated deaths and disappearances impacts on traditional cultural and spiritual rituals, which can often not be performed. Families are left bereft and kept in a state of suspended mourning, knowing that the dead that can never rest. Certainty about their dead brings families small consolation, as it also renders up memories of how the loved one may have been treated before death.

The need for support

108. Graves may provide answers, but these answers may not be what the families had anticipated. Exhumations may therefore impact negatively on families and communities. Families should be prepared to deal with unexpected outcomes.
109. Families should be carefully prepared by the organisation or institution carrying out the exhumation:
- a An empty grave will cause additional pain to a family.
 - b The grave may contain fewer or more individuals than were expected. The search for identity and for relatives of the deceased then begins.

- c The remains of women who were pregnant at the time of death result in a double sense of loss.
- d Skeletal evidence of great suffering prior to death (such as multiple fractures or dislocations) can provide painful proof of events that occurred before death.
- e Witnessing the bones forces families to accept the reality of death, for which they may be inadequately prepared.

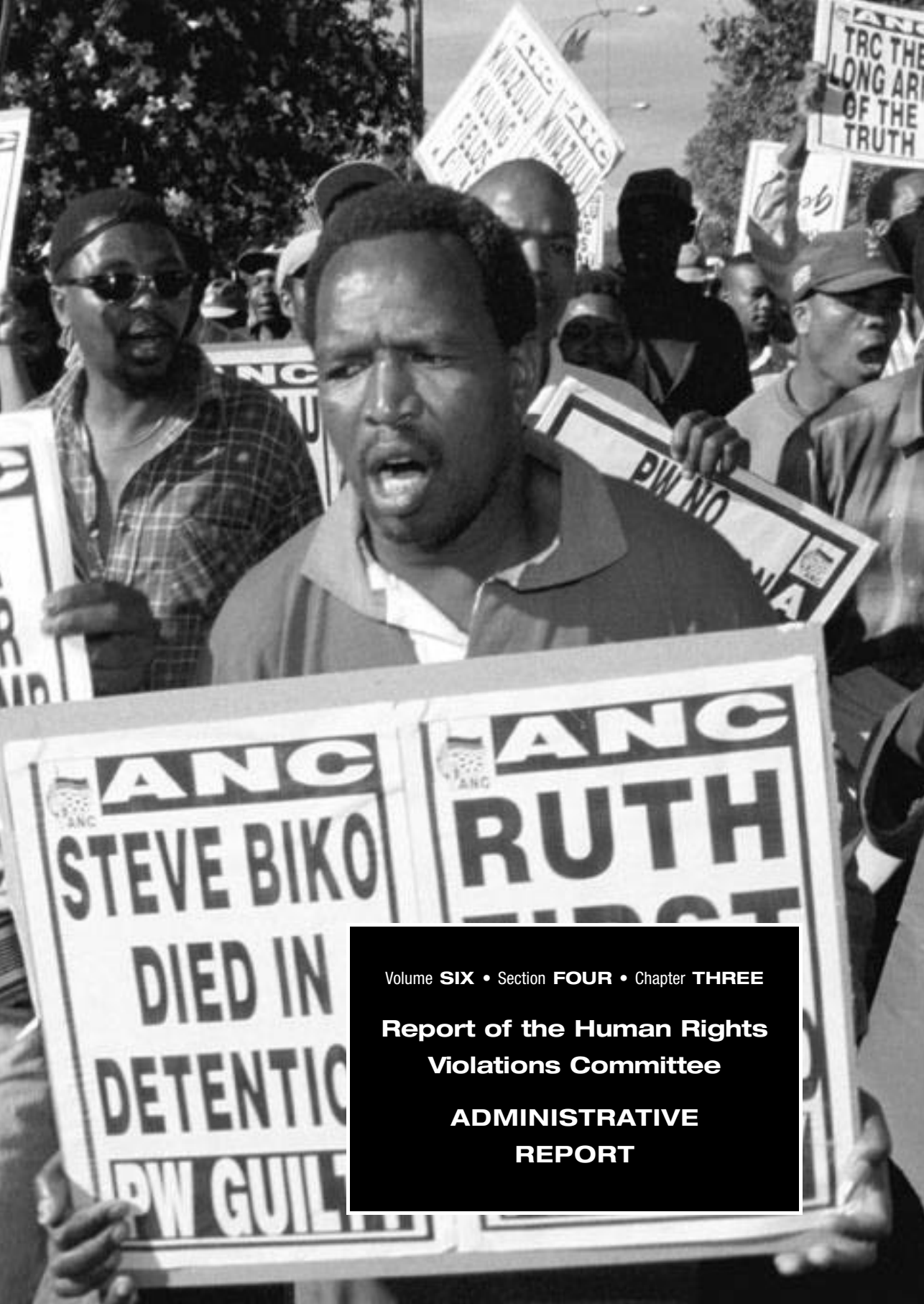
110. Amani Trust, an NGO involved in exhumations in Mataberland, Zimbabwe, has argued that, 'to carry out exhumations without ensuring that families of the exhumed have access to psycho-social and emotional support is irresponsible'.³⁰

CONCLUSION

111. The Commission learnt some painful lessons during this process. While exhumations are a powerful mechanism to break the silence and establish the truth, they can do great harm if not conducted properly and with adequate support for families. Those organisations carrying out exhumations must ensure that they are carried out in proper consultation with families and communities.

112. It is only then that exhumations may contribute to a process of healing.

³⁰ Shari Eppel, Amani Trust, *Healing the dead to transform the living*, ICRC/The Missing/10.2002/EN/3.



Volume **SIX** • Section **FOUR** • Chapter **THREE**

**Report of the Human Rights
Violations Committee**

**ADMINISTRATIVE
REPORT**

Administrative Report

■ INTRODUCTION

1. The duties and functions of the Human Rights Violations Committee (HRVC) were clearly defined in section 14 of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 (the Act). The HRVC was mandated to enquire into systematic patterns of abuse; to attempt to identify motives and perspectives; to establish the identity of individual and institutional perpetrators; to find whether violations were the result of deliberate planning on the part of the state or liberation movements, and to designate accountability, political or otherwise, for gross human rights violations.
2. During the operational phase, the HRVC was responsible for gathering victim statements and the holding of hearings – including victim hearings, event hearings, special hearings, institutional hearings and political party hearings. It was greatly assisted in its work by the Investigation Unit of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission). The Committee was also responsible for making findings confirming that victims had been the subject of gross human rights violation as defined in the Act. The HRVC acted as the engine of the Commission.
3. The HRVC compiled a number of reports that formed part of the Final Report of the Commission, which was handed to President Mandela on 29 October 1998.
4. The HRVC collected a total of 21 519 victim statements during the two-year operational period. More than 15 000 statements contained at least one gross human rights violation. All in all, the 21 519 statements contained more than 30 384 violations. The HRVC made more than 15 000 findings during this period and completed all of its hearings, as was required in terms of its mandate.

COMPLETING THE FINDINGS PROCESS

5. In order to fulfil the terms of its mandate, the HRVC established a findings process.³¹ The HRVC was required to make findings confirming that persons making statements were victims of gross human rights violations as defined in

³¹ See Volume One, 'Methodology'.

the Act. Findings were made on a 'balance of probabilities'. Statements that were rejected as being untrue became negative findings. In those instances where an incident was considered 'not to be politically motivated' or 'not having a political context', the HRVC would classify the finding as 'not political'. Where a statement dealt with an incident that did not fall within the mandate period, it would be classified as 'out of mandate'. These findings were classified as negative findings and were made at regional level by the regional HRVCs.

6. At the time of the publication of the Final Report, at least one third of the required findings had not been completed and confirmed by the national HRVC. The HRVC still had to make more than 5500 victim findings and confirm more than 2000 negative findings.
7. The findings process turned out to be much more complex and time-consuming than the Commission had anticipated. The Commission was required by law to cease its statement-taking phase and hearing operations by 15 December 1997. However, in that month, victims in the province of KwaZulu-Natal decided to join the process and filed more than 5000 statements with the regional office. Offices in Cape Town, East London and Johannesburg were also flooded with last-minute statements from potential victims.
8. Commission policies and processes required that all of these statements be processed, registered, investigated or subjected to low-level corroboration, and finally to have victim findings made on them. The statements taken as the process was about to end placed a huge administrative burden on the Commission.
9. However, by this time, the Commission had already begun to scale down its staff complement in the regional offices. Moreover, all units dealing with investigation and corroboration had been reduced. As a result, the HRVC could not complete its work. Moreover, the Commission could not publish the victims' volume (Volume Seven), a volume consisting of brief summaries of the experiences of all who were declared victims by the Commission. In addition, a number of disappearance cases and exhumations had not been completed or resolved. It became clear that the Commission needed to find a mechanism to deal with these outstanding issues.
10. This led to a decision by the Commission that, in addition to the Amnesty Committee staying on to complete its work, both the HRVC and the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC) would need to appoint a Commissioner to

complete this unfinished business. The Commission requested that the Minister of Justice appoint the Deputy Chair of the Committee³² to complete the outstanding work of the HRVC. The Commissioner was accordingly appointed by the Minister.³³

TASKS OF THE HRVC AFTER OCTOBER 1998

11. The tasks outstanding at December 1998 were identified by the HRVC as the following:
 - a. Making victim findings on the remaining statements received and confirming the gross human rights violations suffered by victims. As at December 1998, these numbered 5500 in total.
 - b. Auditing and verifying the negative findings made at regional level. These negative findings totalled more than 2000 in December 1998. Many of these negative findings were made because the Commission's policy on arson cases had not been clearly established when the findings process had begun. The HRVC was also advised by the Commission's legal advisor that it would need to establish a mechanism to deal with appeals and reviews from potential victims.
 - c. Finalisation of the 'popular version' of the Commission's report;
 - d. Finalisation of the victim summary project;
 - e. Finalisation of the report on disappearances; and
 - f. Finalisation of the report on exhumations.
12. The HRVC was also required to carry out an audit of the database with a view to cleaning up contaminated data. The findings process required that the data be checked and verified in order to maintain the integrity of victim findings. This would ensure that the reparation process would not be compromised by incorrect information that could lead to incorrect payments of interim reparation. In addition, the victim summary project required an accurate account of each victim's experiences. This operation had to be carried out before the victim summary project and the exhumation and disappearances reports could be finalised.
13. This report will deal with progress on each of these tasks, the problems experienced and the mechanisms used to solve the problem areas.

32 Commissioner Yasmin Sooka had been one of two deputies to the Chair, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and she remained behind.

33 She remained in the full time employ of the Committee until January 2001. Thereafter, she acted in a voluntary capacity until the findings were completed.

THE COMPLETION OF VICTIM FINDINGS

14. Completing victim findings was the major task and priority for the HRVC. The Act required that the HRVC establish the 'victim status' of a deponent before s/he could be considered eligible for reparation. Accessing reparation through the RRC was thus dependent on being found to be victim by the HRVC.
15. Earlier findings had been affected by the fact that the HRVC had taken a long time to finalise its policy on what constituted 'severe ill-treatment', one of the violation categories defined in the Act. Initially, the Commission did not treat cases of arson and displacement as gross violations of human rights under this category. However, the nature of the violations emanating from KwaZulu-Natal challenged the narrow definitions originally adopted. Arson and displacement (together with political killings and massacres) were the predominant type of violation during the post-1990s conflict, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng.
16. Because many victim findings were made at a time when the Commission's interpretation of the 'severe ill-treatment' category had not been clearly defined, the HRVC had classified many cases as 'negative'. It became necessary to revisit these negative findings and review them in line with the Commission's new policy decision.
17. This task was assigned to the HRVC commissioner who stayed behind to deal with uncompleted work.
18. The Commissioner also had to deal with the fact that very little corroborative information existed in respect of KwaZulu-Natal matters. Most victims who had been caught up in the violence in this province had not felt secure enough to report the violations they had suffered to the relevant authorities. Furthermore, victims – particularly those who were ANC-aligned – reported that the police had refused to take statements from them.
19. Moreover, when the Commission's investigators requested hospitals and police stations for information, they were told that, as the matters were more than five years old, they no longer had files. This had the potential to cause great hardship to the victims in this province who had, for the most part, lived through a conflict that had lasted much longer than in other parts of the country. They had little hope of assistance if the Commission did not make an effort to find creative ways of corroborating their stories.

20. In a major effort to finalise the KwaZulu-Natal matters, the Commission accessed the records of various groups that had monitored the violence in the province during the conflict years. These included the reports of the Human Rights Commission³⁴, the reports of John Aitcheson and Mary de Haas, as well as many other groups who had worked with victims of violence.
21. At this late stage, the Commission had very few investigators. Those who remained behind were assigned to dealing with amnesty investigations. The HRVC Commissioner was compelled to pass the onus of gathering corroborative information back to the deponents and families of potential victims. Deponents were requested to obtain affidavits from people in the community who had witnessed the conflict or incident. Thus, if a deponent stated in his/her statement that an incident had occurred during a particular time period, the Commission would cross-reference it with the violence-monitoring reports to ascertain whether there had been reports of violence in that particular area within the stated time period. The Commission would also rely on the corroborating affidavit to confirm the deponent's version of events.
22. The Commission required that findings be made on 'a balance of probabilities'. It was not a court of law and deliberately favoured a policy that gave victims the benefit of the doubt. Thus the standard of proof required was lower than that required in criminal matters, where guilt must be proved beyond reasonable doubt.
23. The problem was compounded by the fact that KwaZulu-Natal is a large province, and the scale of the violence had been so great that it was impossible to identify many of the people who had died. Large-scale mass violations also meant that, in a number of instances, witnesses had been displaced from their original communities or had died subsequently. It became impossible for the Commission to track down all these witnesses or the evidence to support many of the KwaZulu-Natal cases.
24. This is one of the major reasons why so many findings for this region are marked as 'unable', a category that describes cases where there is no corroborative evidence at all.
25. Another problem characteristic of the region was the fact that the violence had carried on beyond the Commission's mandate period. Many deponents made statements about cases which fell into this 'out of mandate' category. Thus many victims were excluded from accessing reparation.

³⁴ Now known as the 'Human Rights Committee'.

Absence of political context

26. Many victims came forward to make statements about incidents that were clearly not political and fell into the realm of criminality. In those cases, the Commission made findings to the effect that the case did not fulfil the political requirement.

Review of findings

27. The Commission wanted to ensure that every possible opportunity was given to potential victims in order to ensure that no one was left out of the process. Deponents and victim support groups were notified that there were cases for which it had not been possible to make positive findings because of the paucity of evidence available to the Commission. They were invited to assist the Commission with gathering the evidence relevant to their particular cases. Victims were thus given the opportunity to supply the Commission with further evidence in order to secure a positive finding. The review/appeal process was kept open until January 2002 to allow victims the opportunity of having their findings changed.
28. The HRVC dealt with more than 3000 appeals/reviews during the period 1999 to January 2002. During this period, with the assistance of deponents and victim groups, the Commission was able to make a number of positive findings. The total number of positive victim findings made by the HRVC is 21 074.

The ‘closed list’

29. The HRVC was approached by large numbers of individuals and victim groups who claimed that there were many potential victims who had not been able to make statements to the Commission within the time period allowed by law for the statement-gathering process. The reasons for this ranged from not knowing that there was a cut-off date, to poor communication by the Commission, to unreliable statement-takers who had promised to go back and had failed to do so. Many people also complained that they had made statements to their liberation movement and that these statements had not been forwarded to the Commission. Many complained that their political party had prevented them from coming forward. IFP supporters complained that they had been afraid to participate in the process. More than 8000 statements were collected throughout the country after the Commission had stopped collecting statements.

30. This issue presents a challenge to government. It is clear that many people, through no fault of their own, were unable to make statements to the Commission. While some do, therefore, qualify for reparation, others who may have suffered similar violations do not. This may have a divisive effect in many townships.
31. In many countries that have gone through a similar process, victims have been identified long after the commission has completed its work. There is a recognition that many victims may not have been able to speak out about their pain and suffering at the requisite time. It should be remembered that it took the world more than fifty years to deal with the Holocaust victims. Victims cannot be wished away. Anxious not to burden government with this problem in the future, the Commission adopted a 'closed list' policy which may no longer be appropriate.
32. At the same time, the Commission notes that government has indicated its intention to discuss issue of reparation and future amnesty with the nation. Another item that should be placed on the agenda is the issue of the 'closed list' policy.

THE 'POPULAR VERSION'

33. The Commission had intended to publish a popular version of its report in 1998. Unfortunately, it was unable to complete this task because the Amnesty Committee had not finished its work. Completion of this task was delegated to Commissioners Sooka, Mkhize and Potgieter.
34. A number of extremely talented and creative individuals worked on the 'popular version'. The final document was compiled with the assistance of Professor Njabulo Ndebele and assigned to Professor Bill Nasson of the University of Cape Town and his team.
35. The 'popular version' is now complete. However, decisions still need to be made about the printing and publishing of the book, as well as its distribution strategy. The Commission intends to hand this volume over to the Minister of Justice with the intention that he arrange for it to be published and distributed widely.

THE VICTIMS' VOLUME (VOLUME SEVEN)

36. The Commission decided to prepare a summary of the experiences of each victim who came to the Commission, either through HRVC or the Amnesty

Committee. The completion of this volume became one of the greatest challenges for the HRVC. Many dedicated people worked on creating the summaries and it took over three years to bring this project to fruition.

37. One of the rules adopted was that all summaries would have more or less the same number of words in order to ensure that no one person was perceived to be more important than another.
38. This project became a mission of love and devotion for those who worked on it. The passion of the summary writers and the pain they shared with victims as they wrote their stories is reflected in this volume. In time, it is hoped that it will become a living monument to those who suffered great pain and loss during the years of struggle. Volume Seven will endure in the nation's memory for many years to come. It remains a major achievement of the HRVC.

REPORT ON DISAPPEARANCES

39. The Commission's report on disappearances is contained in Chapter One of this section. Compiling this report took the better part of two years. The task required detailed research and the careful matching of information from a variety of sources including amnesty applications. The HRVC's only human resources for this project were the two remaining researchers who worked extremely hard on compiling the cases for this report. They scanned through the Commission's database, searching for all cases that dealt with the missing and the disappeared. In many instances, if the disappeared person was dead, the case would be classified as a political killing.
40. The Commission has made a number of recommendations with respect to unsolved disappearances. Many of these 'best practices' will be useful guidelines for the future. The recommendations are set out in Chapter 1 of this section.

REPORT ON EXHUMATIONS

41. The HRVC was also responsible for compiling a report on exhumations. This report appears in Chapter Two of the present section. A more comprehensive report has been compiled and will be handed to the Minister of Justice.

DATABASE

42. All the information collected by the HRVC was captured electronically on the Commission's database. This includes testimony from victims' statements, testimony taken at hearings, investigation material, transcripts of section 29 hearings, submissions made by institutions and individuals, and research and corroborative material. Original documents and other hard copy are held in the Commission's archive, which is currently in the custody of the National State Archives.
43. This material represents one of the most remarkable archival collections in the country and belongs to the nation.
44. The Commission has recommended that the National State Archives be the custodian of this archive so that victims and future generations will be able to access it.
45. It is thus important that the material be stored in a way that is accessible to scholars and to the families of victims. For example, the Commission was simply unable to go back to each victim or family that made a statement to inform them of the results of their investigations. By accessing the archives, families will be able to obtain this information.
46. It is therefore important that victims, their families and victim groups be consulted about how to make the Commission's material accessible in a way that does not undermine the integrity of individuals, be they victims or perpetrators. The privacy of victims should also be respected and taken into account when dealing with access.
47. The HRVC concerned itself mainly with victims and their right to know the truth. In the course of its work, it discovered different kinds of truth. It discovered too that truth must be tempered with justice and compassion.

APPENDIX: THE 'THIRD FORCE'

1. In its Final Report to President Mandela in 1998, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) made reference to the 'Third Force' in its discussions on the subject of 'Political Violence in the era of Negotiations and Transition, 1990–1994'³⁵. In addition, the Commission made a set of specific findings on the 'Third Force' during this period.³⁶
2. The early 1990s witnessed unprecedented levels of political violence, with over 14 000 people killed and many more thousands injured. Although violence permeated the country, most violations occurred in the homeland of KwaZulu and the neighbouring Natal province, and in the PWV (Pretoria–Witwatersrand–Vereeniging) region of the Transvaal. In the latter region, the Human Rights Commission (an independent non-governmental organisation) estimated that some 4756 people were killed between July 1990 and June 1993 alone. While many of these killings can be attributed to the internecine conflicts that developed in many communities, primarily between supporters of the IFP and ANC, there were frequent allegations about the role and complicity of elements within the security forces.
3. The 'third force' label was first used by ANC leadership figures in the wake of a wave of seemingly random attacks on the Witwatersrand and Vaal areas in August and September 1990. As the attacks continued, allegations were made that a 'hidden hand', or 'Third Force,' was involved in orchestrating and fomenting violence – to derail the negotiation process and/or to undermine the ANC's efforts to consolidate its political presence. These attacks were believed to involve covert units of the security forces acting in concert with individuals or groupings, such as the IFP and certain right-wing paramilitary organisations.
4. Although the Commission wishes to restrict the understanding of this phenomenon to the post-1990 period, its origins and genesis can be found in the philosophy of the 'Total Strategy' and the practices of covert counter-insurgency that developed throughout the period from the 1960s to the 1980s.
5. The apartheid state's counter-insurgency efforts intensified during the 1980s, and especially after 1986. As testified to by a number of security force amnesty

³⁵ Volume Two, Chapter Seven.

³⁶ Volume Five, Chapter One, para 126–129.

applicants, the methods employed by specialist covert units included murder, torture, kidnapping and various other covert illegal actions. They also involved the use of proxy and surrogate forces, including freelance criminal elements.

6. The development of intelligence-gathering units with an offensive capacity had proved effective in the Rhodesian situation and was subsequently adapted to the South African context by both the police and military. The devolution of decision-making powers resulted in police units such as Vlakplaas and the Namibian-based hunter-killer unit Koevoet operating with virtual impunity, making it extremely difficult to establish lines of command and accountability.
7. Unlike the police, the military made no disclosures to the Commission about its role in violations, with the exception of admissions about two sets of assassinations executed by South African Defence Force (SADF) Special Forces in 1986. In these cases, the head of Special Forces, Brigadier Joep Joubert, claimed that the chief of the defence force gave him approval. Allegations of complicity in 'third force'-type activities in the 1990s were denied, including those relating to an array of charges generated by General Pierre Steyn's preliminary investigations into covert military operations in late 1992.
8. Such denials and the limited evidence available make it difficult for the Commission to make specific findings, especially on the role of the military. This does not mean, however, that such activities did not take place. Indeed, the security forces were repeatedly involved in a long line of cover-ups of illegal or unlawful activity. This is evident, for example, from evidence about torture and killings that emerged in inquests and trials, which again, in cases such as that of Stanza Bopape, reached the highest echelons of the police.
9. There is no evidence to suggest that this practice was halted during the 1990s. The Harms Commission is a significant example of this: not only were witnesses instructed by their seniors to lie, but the Harms Commission failed to deter them from embarking on further operations.
10. The March 1994 Goldstone Commission report on the criminal activities of the South African Police (SAP), KwaZulu Police (KZP) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) provides further compelling evidence of the fact that senior police officers attempted to subvert a government-appointed commission of inquiry. According to the report, senior members of the SAP repeatedly approached police officers

associated with the Goldstone Commission in the course of the investigation – in ways that could only be construed as obstructive. Further, once the police became aware of Goldstone’s interest in false passports, those in possession of such passports were requested to bring them in for destruction. Similarly, Goldstone investigators learnt that Major General Engelbrecht, the last head of the SAP Counter-Insurgency Unit (C-section), had ordered the destruction of all documentation relating to the SAP’s involvement with Inkatha.

11. The fact that such cover-ups involved senior officers and continued well into the 1990s reflects the extent to which such groups felt they had the authority to act with total impunity. In such a context, the impression must have been conveyed to the more junior members of such structures that, despite negotiations, they were still at war and could make use of whatever means they had at their disposal, if not to rout, then at least to weaken ‘the enemy’. The continued practice of referring to the ANC as ‘the enemy’ in SADF operational commands clearly underscores this.
12. While allegations of ‘third force activities’ in no way account for all or even the bulk of violent incidents during this period, these attacks were particularly significant as they appeared to be largely indiscriminate, and consequently spread terror amongst hundreds of thousands of township residents. The types of attacks included drive-by shootings, attacks on trains and taxis, and massacres at social gatherings such as night vigils and shebeens. Regular allegations of collusion between elements of the security forces and the IFP were refuted as propaganda. Although a number of these attacks could be placed within a matrix of revenge violence, many could not. Indeed, they gave the impression of being deliberately designed to provoke further violence.
13. In late 1991, a Johannesburg-based non-governmental organisation, the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), published a research report³⁷ that analysed the first twelve months of Reef violence and highlighted the major actors, victims and alleged patterns of control of the violence that erupted during the period from 22 July 1990 to 31 July 1991. The report was based on thousands of reports from a range of newspapers and figures published by human rights monitoring organisations, including the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR), the Human Rights Commission (HRC), the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALs) and Lawyers for Human Rights.

37 *Who is murdering the peace?* CASE, October 1991.

14. The report stated that IFP supporters and the police were reportedly responsible for the vast bulk of the classifiable acts of violence. Furthermore, it was revealed that the targets or victims of the violence were mainly ordinary citizens. Of the 2271 people killed during the period, 87 per cent were recorded as 'general members of the community'. There were reports of direct collusion between members of the SAP in 257 confirmed incidents. The report also showed that IFP-supporting hostels provided the base for massive attacks on squatter camps, and that at least 915 of the total number of 2271 killed during the period were the result of attacks from these hostels.
15. The report suggested that the violence could not simply reflect a violent power struggle between the ANC and IFP, and that the monthly breakdown of the deaths reported during the period made it difficult to believe that the sharp monthly variations were random.
16. The sudden escalation of violence in 1990 coincided with the establishment of Inkatha as a national political party in July, and its attempts to develop a political base in the Transvaal.
17. Inkatha's relationship with apartheid security force agencies had a long history. In April 1986, the State Security Council approved guidelines for a strategy for a counter-revolutionary war, which, amongst other things, emphasised the fact that the forces of revolution should not be combated by the security forces alone, but also by 'anti-revolutionary groups such as Inkatha ... or the ZCC³⁸ as well as the ethnic factor in South African society'.
18. In 1986, the State Security Council also authorised the provision of military training for 200 Inkatha members by the SADF. The special project to support Inkatha was called Operation Marion and was the responsibility of the Directorate of Special Tasks, a section within the office of the Chief of Staff (Intelligence), which was also responsible for supporting insurgency initiatives in neighbouring front-line states.
19. Support for Inkatha continued in the early 1990s. It is now known that President de Klerk approved a Strategic Communication (Stratcom) propaganda project in 1990, which included financial support by the SAP for Inkatha. In July 1991, the existence of a secret police project to fund Inkatha was revealed in the media.

38 Zion Christian Church.

In response to these revelations – which became known as ‘Inkathagate’ – President de Klerk reshuffled his two leading security ministers, Malan and Vlok, and ordered a new review of secret projects.

20. It is also now evident from evidence presented to the Commission that elements in both the police and the IFP continued to collude with one another throughout the negotiation period, and that the police, mainly through Vlakplaas operatives, supplied considerable amounts of weaponry to the IFP during the 1990s. This was also covered by the March 1994 Goldstone report, which implicated members of the SAP, KZP and IFP in the supply of weapons to the IFP. This included a massive arms cache unearthed in KwaZulu-Natal during 1999, which was provided to the IFP by Vlakplaas, ostensibly for the purpose of training self-protection units. The Commission received a number of amnesty applications corroborating this evidence from both Vlakplaas and IFP operatives. Eugene de Kock, for example, claimed that his unit provided and sold weapons directly to hostels on the East Rand and elsewhere. When Vlakplaas was officially closed down in 1991, unit members were redeployed to work on the recovery of illegal firearms. This provided a perfect cover for the further distribution of weapons and other fraudulent activities. Chapter One of the Investigation Unit’s Gun Running Report deals with the ‘receipt of weapons by the IFP’ and describes the background and systematic distribution of weapons in the PWV³⁹ region.
21. In addition, the Commission received detailed testimony from Vlakplaas operatives about the specific nature of relations with senior IFP officials operating in both the Transvaal and Natal. Security police resources were used, and a core group of IFP members was allegedly placed on the Vlakplaas payroll for a short period of time. According to De Kock, the relationship was known about, approved and even encouraged by senior police officials.
22. When the IFP’s Transvaal Youth Brigade leader, Themba Khoza, was trapped in the grounds of the Sebokeng hostel after the massacre of nineteen hostel inmates on the night of 3/4 September 1990, the local police fabricated evidence to ensure that Khoza and the 137 IFP supporters arrested with him could not be linked to the firearms found in the boot of Khoza’s vehicle and apparently used in the massacre. According to Vlakplaas operatives, the weapons found matched those they had provided to Khoza the previous day, while Khoza’s car was provided by the Security Police. Vlakplaas also allegedly put up Khoza’s bail money.

39 Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging.

23. Amnesty was granted to the head of the Vaal Triangle Security Police, Jacobus Francios Conradie (AM4123/96), who admitted to 'defeating the ends of justice'. The officer investigating the massacre, the head of the Vaal Triangle Murder and Robbery Unit, Jacobus Jacobs (AM 4373/96), and an officer at the scene of the crime, Arthur John van der Gryp (AM 4146/96) were also granted amnesty. Conradie denied that his actions to assist Khoza were approved or authorised, but claimed that he had acted unilaterally when he found out how important Khoza was to the police.
24. While the three amnesty applicants' versions of events largely corroborate one another, other important issues that are not thoroughly covered in their applications saw the light of day at the Section 29 in camera hearings. Regrettably, these amnesty applications were heard in chambers, preventing any further opportunity to explore the case and its broader implications in terms of collusion between the security forces and the IFP.
25. Although no admissions have been made by the IFP regarding these allegations, several investigations undertaken by the National Department of Public Prosecutions are believed to have reached an advanced stage, indicating that there is *prima facie* evidence against certain individuals.
26. Disclosures made regarding the Sebokeng incident support the assertion that 'third force' elements were at play. Not only did one of the security forces' most 'successful' counter-insurgency units supply weaponry to the Inkatha attackers, but the police were also successful in protecting one of the most prominent Inkatha leaders in the region in the legal process following the massacre.
27. Consistent allegations that Themba Khoza and other IFP leaders in the region were involved in the distribution of weapons and had regular meetings with security forces representatives such as Eugene de Kock further supports the findings in the Commission's Final Report.
28. The Commission thus finds that, while little evidence exists of a centrally directed, coherent or formally constituted 'Third Force', a network of security and ex-security force operatives, frequently acting in conjunction with right-wing elements and/or sectors of the IFP, was involved in actions that could be construed as fomenting violence and which resulted in gross human rights violations, including random and target killings.⁴⁰

40 Volume Five, Chapter Six, para 129.

29. Allegations of 'third force' activity reached a crescendo in the wake of the Boipatong massacre in June 1992. The Commission did not undertake detailed investigation into all allegations of security force complicity. Instead it relied on a number of reports submitted to it by monitoring groups who went into Boipatong immediately after the massacre and compiled reports based on the testimony received. The Commission made a series of detailed findings in which it alleged that there had been direct collusion between the security forces and the IFP, and that the security forces' direct participation in the massacre was alleged. Conversely, the Amnesty Committee accepted the version of most amnesty applicants, who denied any security force involvement in the massacre, and rejected the evidence of Andries Matanzima Nosenga, the one applicant who supported victims' assertions that the security forces were complicit. The Amnesty Committee did, however, leave open the possibility of security force complicity: it acknowledged the victims' allegations, while accepting that there was no evidence to connect the amnesty applicants with them. The Commission does not accept that allegations about this complicity were fabricated.
30. An analysis by the Commission's Investigation Unit into available material relating to the massacre and subsequent investigations raises a number of serious shortcomings or issues that raise doubts about the credibility of the police investigation into allegations of police involvement. Within two weeks of the massacre, for example, the SAP officer tasked to investigate the allegations reported that they had been proven to be untrue. The Commission's enquiries established that approximately fifty witnesses testified about the direct or indirect involvement of the security forces. It appears that several of the witnesses were either ignored or deliberately not presented. A number of other shortcomings were presented in the Investigation Unit report.
31. October 1992 seems to have been a turning point for 'third force' activities. The Goldstone Commission's discovery that a Military Intelligence operation against the ANC was still operational led to the appointment of General Steyn by President de Klerk to investigate the allegations of armed forces involvement in the violence. At the same time, Colonel de Kock was approached by his superiors and asked to resign from the police force.
32. Although General Steyn's and subsequent investigations were largely inconclusive in terms of proving SADF involvement in a wide range of illegal and/or unauthorised activities – including 'third force'-style attacks – the pall of suspicion and incriminating evidence has not been lifted. Analysis of violence

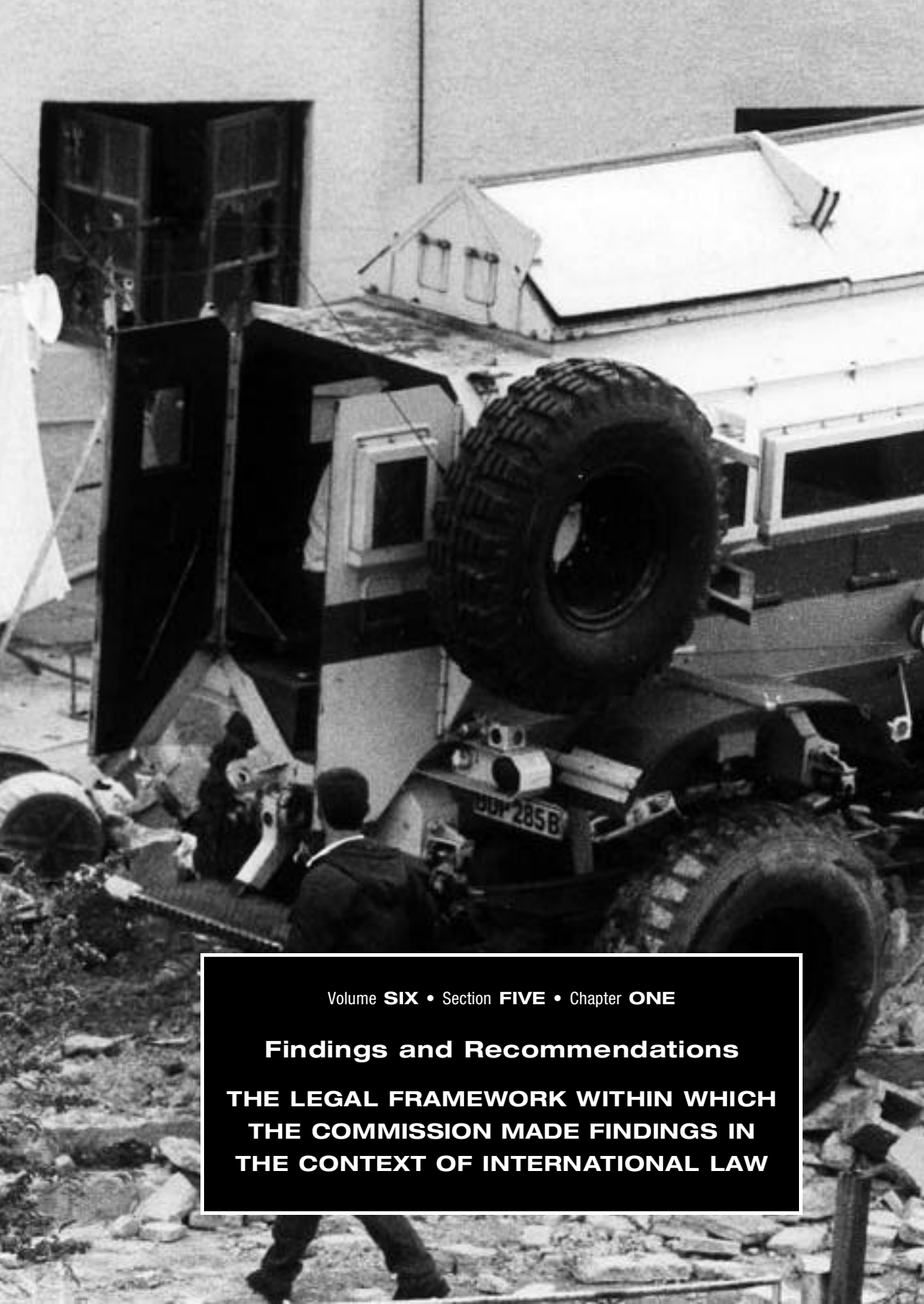
statistics indicates that typical hit-squad attacks declined after mid-1992 while the level of political violence rose steadily until 1994.

33. By the 1990s, patterns of security force conduct that crossed the boundaries of legality emerged. This conduct was condoned and in some instances encouraged. A network of security force operatives – bound by oaths of blood and secrecy – had been developed, with informal channels of communication and in possession of, or with access to, material resources and weaponry. While the new De Klerk government significantly dismantled many formal securocrat structures, little obvious attempt was made to dismantle these networks or to change the mind-set of operatives' intentions to continue an all-out war on the ANC and its allies. Indeed, where efforts were directed at uncovering such networks – as with the establishment of the Harms Commission – security force personnel were instructed by their seniors to lie, sending a clear signal that these were simply public relations initiatives and that they were not intended to change the *status quo*. The fact that Vlakplaas personnel continued with unlawful activities at the very time that the Harms Commission was sitting is clear testimony to this. Given this background, it is unsurprising that evidence emerged of security force involvement in the violence and destabilisation of the 1990s.
34. Various explanations for the violence in the early 1990s have been proffered that do not necessarily take into account the role of the security forces. These have included assertions that the violence was essentially symptomatic of the rapid political change that was taking place, fuelled by ethnic divisions and socio-economic pressures. Certainly, existing tensions between Inkatha and the ANC were exacerbated, fuelled by the mobilisation of ethnic and political tensions. There is also evidence that individuals and groups in some areas were targeted on the basis of their ethnic background. But such ethnic division was far from being monolithic or monocausal in its manifestations.
35. While such explanations for the violence addressed critical aspects of why it was happening, they were largely unsatisfactory in that they failed to engage either with the specific dynamics of violence in particular communities or with emerging patterns and trends. Violence often appeared to take on a life of its own – cycles of revenge often triggered by indiscriminate and unprovoked attacks. Assumptions of guilt and responsibility were manifest. Attempts to instil reason and constraint were drowned by calls for action. The need to defend frequently and rapidly against attacks metamorphosed into offensive action.

36. There were also understandable concerns that the picture being drawn by many commentators and analysts was manipulated and skewed – unconsciously or even deliberately (as much of the internecine conflict in certain communities in the 1980s had been) – as part of a broader depiction of ‘black on black’ violence. This was interpreted in some quarters as part of a deliberate strategy to undermine the ANC alliance and the broader objectives of democratic transformation by creating the perception and imagery that political opportunities for the black majority would result inevitably in conflict and violence. As such, violence was interpreted as a political tool in the power play for the negotiated settlement.
37. We are therefore presented with a spectrum of views about the violence and ‘third force’ allegations. These range from benign interpretations of government and security force action at one level to allegations of a specific agenda to destabilise political opponents at the other.
38. Within this spectrum of views, a host of important questions and issues has been raised, many of which the Commission was not able to address adequately, due to a lack of resources and time constraints. Other relevant structures have not really addressed the outstanding issues either. Unresolved issues include an analysis of exactly what the government did to address the violence, and whether its response can be classified as adequate or reasonable; the extent to which the government had lost control of its security forces; a detailed analysis of how the security forces reacted to and addressed violence in various locations, and the role of leadership and the rank and file, their attitudes and the limitations and obstacles to their work.
39. During the late 1980s, the security forces intensified their counter-insurgency efforts at the same time as the government was developing its preliminary contacts with the ANC. Repression and violence were evidently an integral component of a broader political strategy at this stage. However, the extent to which this was carried over into the negotiations period of the early 1990s is less clear.
40. Understanding the characteristics of violence in the 1990s, therefore, requires a more nuanced appreciation of security force practices and policy within the context of political change and the limits of institutional transformation that accompanied this.
41. While the involvement of security force individuals and structures in ‘third force’ violence was to some degree corroborated, the quality and quantity of available

evidence, whilst significant, is generally thin. No detailed or focused investigations were initiated; few amnesty applications were received, and lines of command and accountability were not established.

42. The Commission was also unable to establish the extent of covert networks and how they evolved and mutated during the conflict period. Consequently, it is not clear whether the senior security force personnel involved represented their own, state or right-wing agendas. In a rapidly changing political situation with shifting alliances, the Commission accepts that it is probable that there were several agendas involved, at different levels within political and security force hierarchies.
43. In this context, explanations for and allegations relating to the dynamics of and rationale behind 'third force' activities remain vociferously contested. The Commission believes that more light must be shed on the role and activities of the military and the police, and especially on the role of covert and other specialist units during the violence in both the 1980s and 1990s. Ongoing research suggests that there is considerably more to be uncovered in this respect. The Commission therefore believes that further enquiries and investigations regarding 'third force' allegations are an essential part of a broader process in terms of developing our understanding of past conflict and those responsible for it.



Volume **SIX** • Section **FIVE** • Chapter **ONE**

Findings and Recommendations
THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH
THE COMMISSION MADE FINDINGS IN
THE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Legal Framework

THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH THE COMMISSION MADE FINDINGS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF CURRENT INTERNATIONAL LAW

■ INVESTIGATING GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

1. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) was charged with the task of investigating and documenting gross violations of human rights committed during the period March 1960 to May 1994. In the course of doing so, it was required to compile as complete a picture as possible of the conflicts of the past.

DEFINING GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

2. The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995, (the Act) defined a gross human rights violation as:

the violation of human rights through (a) the killing, abduction, torture or severe ill-treatment of any person; or (b) any attempt, conspiracy, incitement, instigation, command or procurement to commit an act referred to in paragraph (a), which emanated from conflicts of the past and which was committed during the period 1 March 1960 to the cut-off date [10 May 1994] within or outside the Republic, and the commission of which was advised, planned, directed, commanded or ordered, by any person acting with a political motive;¹

3. The language used in the Act to describe gross human rights violations deliberately avoided the use of terms associated with the legal definitions of crimes in South African law. Thus 'killing' was used rather than 'murder' in order to allow the Commission to examine these violations without having to consider legal justifications or defences used by perpetrators for such conduct. The Commission could therefore make findings that those who had suffered these violations were victims. Chapter Four of Volume One sets this out more elaborately.

¹ Section 1(1)(ix).

Interpreting the definitions

Killing

4. 'Killing' was interpreted to include the following:
 - a the killing of civilians, irrespective of whether they were deliberately targeted or innocent bystanders caught in the crossfire, and
 - b those who were executed for *politically motivated* crimes, irrespective of whether the killing had the sanction of the state, tribunals set up by the liberation movements or 'people's courts' established by communities.²
5. The only exception that the Commission took into account was that of combatants who had died in the course of the armed conflict and were clearly identified as such. The Commission's position in this regard is further elaborated in Volume One, Chapter Four of the Final Report. In this the Commission was guided by the Geneva Conventions' distinction between 'combatants'³ and 'protected persons'⁴.

Torture

6. The Commission accepted the international definition of torture: that is, the intentional infliction of severe pain and suffering, whether physical or mental, on a person for any of the following purposes:
 - a obtaining from that or another person information or a confession;
 - b punishing a person for an act that s/he or a third party committed or is suspected of having committed;
 - c intimidating her, him or a third person; or
 - d any reason based on discrimination of any kind.
7. Pain or suffering that arises from, is inherent in, or is incidental to a lawful sanction does not qualify as torture.⁵

² These interpretations reflect the Commission's position on the death penalty and political killings, which is in line with international human rights law.

³ Geneva Conventions, Article 43 (Paragraphs 1 and 2) of Additional Protocol I of 1977.

⁴ Geneva Conventions, Common Article 3 of all four conventions of 1949. See Appendix 1.

⁵ Article 1(1), Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

Abductions

8. This term was defined as the ‘forcible and illegal removal or capturing of a person’. It was applied to those cases where people had ‘disappeared’ after having last been seen in the custody of the police or of other persons who were using force. It does not include those who were arrested or detained in terms of accepted human rights standards.

Severe ill-treatment

9. This term was defined by the Commission as:
acts or omissions that deliberately and directly inflict severe mental or physical suffering on a victim, taking into account the context and nature of the victim.
10. The Commission took a number of factors into account when determining on a case-by-case basis whether an act qualified as severe ill-treatment. These included the duration of the suffering or hardship, its physical or mental effects and the age, strength and state of health of the victim. Violations included rape, sexual abuse, severe assault, harassment, solitary confinement, detention without trial, arson and displacement. A fuller list of acts that constituted violations is included in the Commission’s Final Report.⁶

ESTABLISHING ACCOUNTABILITY

11. One of the main objectives of the Commission was to establish the identity of the individuals, authorities, institutions and organisations involved in the commission of gross violations of human rights. The Commission was also tasked with establishing accountability for the violations, and determining the role played by those who were involved in the conflicts of the past. In dealing with these complex issues, the Commission was guided by the provisions of section 4 of its enabling Act.
12. The Commission made findings of accountability in respect of the various role players in the conflict on the basis of the evidence it received. It should be noted that it did this in its capacity as a commission of inquiry and not as a court of law. The Commission’s findings are, therefore, made on the basis of probabilities and should not be interpreted as judicial findings of guilt, but rather as findings of accountability within the context of the Act.

⁶ Volume One.

13. The Commission based its conclusions on the evidence and submissions placed before it. It did not focus only on legal and political accountability, but also on establishing moral responsibility.

Moral responsibility

14. In its Final Report, the Commission stated:⁷

A responsible society is committed to the affirmation of human rights and, to addressing the consequences of past violations) which presupposes the acceptance of individual responsibility by all those who supported the system of apartheid or simply allowed it to continue to function and those who did not oppose violations during the political conflicts of the past.

15. In the Final Report, the Commission defines not only legal and political accountability, but also boldly asserts the notion of moral responsibility. The Commission finds that all South Africans are required to examine their own conduct in upholding and supporting the apartheid system. The abdication of responsibility, the unquestioning obeying of commands, submitting to fear of punishment, moral indifference, the closing of one's eyes to events or permitting oneself to be intoxicated, seduced or bought with personal advantages are all part of the multi-layered spiral of responsibility that lays the path for the large-scale and systematic human rights violations committed in modern states.
16. There were those who were responsible for creating and maintaining the brutal system of apartheid; those who supported this brutal system and benefited from it, and those who benefited from the system simply by being born white and enjoying the privileges that flowed from that. Others occupied positions of power and status and enjoyed great influence in the apartheid system, even though they had no direct control over the security establishment and were not directly responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations. It is only by acknowledging this benefit and accepting this moral responsibility that a new South African society can be built. What is required is a moral and spiritual renaissance capable of transforming moral indifference, denial, paralysing guilt and unacknowledged shame into personal and social responsibility. This acceptance of moral responsibility will allow all those who benefited from apartheid – including the business community and ordinary South Africans – to share in the commitment of ensuring that it never happens again.

⁷ Volume One, Chapter Five, para 101.

17. Those who must come under special scrutiny are those who held high office, those who occupied positions of executive authority and those cabinet ministers whose portfolios did not place them in a direct supervisory capacity over the security forces. While the Commission's findings are not judicial findings, the Commission finds them to be morally and politically responsible for the gross human rights violations committed under the apartheid system, given:
- a the specific responsibilities of cabinet ministers who oversaw aspects of the apartheid structure in areas that formed key aspects of apartheid's inhumane social fabric (education, land removals, job reservation, the creation of the Bantustans, for example);
 - b the knowledge they had (given the extensive information regarding apartheid crimes in the public domain), or the knowledge that they are presumed to have had, given their access to classified information – at the highest level – about gross violations of human rights, and
 - c their power to act, given their official leadership positions.

LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY

18. In deliberating on its findings, the Commission was guided by international humanitarian law and the Geneva Conventions.

Apartheid as a crime against humanity

19. The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, adopted by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1973, states in Article 1 that apartheid is a crime against humanity. The Convention is one of a series of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions condemning apartheid as a crime against humanity. This legal categorisation has been echoed in the jurisprudence of the International Court of Justice and the International Law Commission's Draft Articles on State Responsibility and Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind. The classification of apartheid as a crime against humanity has been confirmed, and apartheid has been treated as similar to other egregious crimes such as genocide, slavery and colonialism in international sources as wide-ranging as the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

20. The International Law Commission's description of a crime against humanity⁸ has been interpreted to suggest that such a charge can be brought against a single individual for a single act if that act is on a large scale, and/or if that act can be situated in a systemic pattern of violations⁹

Implications of this classification for the prosecution of human rights crimes under apartheid

21. While executing its mandate, the Commission gained a deep understanding of the apartheid system as a whole and its systematic discrimination and de-humanisation of those who were not white. Moreover, the Commission received a number of submissions from various institutions and structures, requesting that it interpret its mandate more broadly than was defined in the founding Act. Whilst taking these submissions very seriously, the Commission was bound by its legislative mandate to give attention to human rights violations committed as specific acts, resulting in killing, abduction and severe physical and/or mental injury, in the course of the past conflict. Although the Commission endorsed the internationally accepted position that apartheid was a crime against humanity, the focus of its work was not on the effects of the laws and policies passed by the apartheid government. The Commission has been criticised in some quarters for this approach.
22. It could be argued that the new government has an obligation, in terms of international law, to deal with those who were responsible for crimes committed under apartheid, even though their acts were considered legitimate by the South African government at the time. On the other hand, the international community declared apartheid to be a crime against humanity and saw the apartheid government as illegitimate. It can therefore be argued that crimes under apartheid have international implications and demand an appropriate response from the new state.
23. However, the Commission acknowledged in its Final Report that the urgent need to promote reconciliation in South Africa demanded a different response, and that large-scale prosecution of apartheid criminals was not the route the country had chosen. This does not mean, however, that those who were in power during the apartheid years should not acknowledge that the crimes committed in the name of apartheid were grave and heinous. Had there been no such

⁸ ILC, 1886 Draft Code of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind.

⁹ Judgment of Tadic case, 7 May 1997, para 649.

settlement, had the negotiating parties not decided to put reconciliation first, there would have been serious consequences for members of the former Cabinet and Tricameral Parliament, for those who held high office in the security forces, intelligence and the judiciary, and for others who were responsible by virtue of their positions of authority and responsibility.

24. The liberation movements were cognisant of this at the time of negotiations. They were, however, also sharply aware of the fact that prosecutions could endanger the peace process; hence the need for an accountable amnesty provision which did not encourage impunity, while at the same time taking account of the rights of victims. Furthermore, it has always been understood that, where amnesty has not been applied for, it is incumbent on the present state to have a bold prosecution policy in order to avoid any suggestion of impunity or of contravening its obligations in terms of international law.

Importance of this classification for reparation

25. The recognition and finding by the international community that apartheid was a crime against humanity has important consequences for the victims of apartheid. Their right to reparation is acknowledged and can be enforced in terms of international law.
26. The classification of apartheid as a crime against humanity emphasises the scale and depth of victimisation under apartheid and, to that extent, adds further weight and urgency to the need to provide adequate and timely responses to the recommendations of the Commission. It also enhances the legitimacy of the Commission's recommendations in respect of reparations, which now require urgent implementation. The classification also gives greater legal legitimacy to the Commission's recommendations for the institutional reform of apartheid institutions (including the security forces, public administration, the judiciary and business).
27. The Constitutional court in the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) case took the issue further. Not only did it recognise the rights of victims, but it also confirmed the statutory duty of the state to provide an appropriate reparation policy for victims emanating from the Commission process.

Importance of this classification for the struggle of the liberation movements against the apartheid state

28. As elaborated more fully in the section on African National Congress (ANC) violations (see below), the legal designation of apartheid as a crime against humanity has important consequences for the struggle conducted by the liberation movements. In terms of international law, the designation of apartheid as a crime against humanity has ensured that the legal status accorded to the war waged against the former apartheid state is that of a 'just war' or '*ius ad bellum*'.¹⁰
29. The effect of this designation is to render as just the moral, political and legal status of the struggle against apartheid.
30. The criteria for determining whether a struggle can be regarded as a just war are: (i) that those who waged it turned to armed conflict to fight an unjust system, and (ii) that they did this in a context where alternative routes for legal and political action had not only failed, but were likely to trigger further repression.
31. Thus those who waged war against the illegitimate apartheid state had legitimacy conferred upon them in terms of international law.
32. However, a distinction needs to be drawn between the means and the cause. The fact that the cause is just does not automatically confer legitimacy on all conduct carried out in the pursuit of that war (*ius in bello*). International law imposes a continued obligation on the liberation struggle to employ just means, even in the conduct of a just war.
33. The laws that apply to the conduct of a just war rest on two broad principles: the principle of necessity and the principle of humanity. Simply interpreted, this means that 'that which is necessary to vanquish the enemy may be done', but that 'that which causes unnecessary suffering is forbidden'.
34. The balancing of these two principles has been the subject of much debate and writing in international law.
35. In essence, these principles have meant that combatants in a conflict or war situation enjoy certain rights. If they are captured and disarmed, they are considered to be prisoners of war and must be treated accordingly. This

¹⁰ Volume One, Chapter Four.

requires of the party in command of the situation that prisoners of war be safeguarded against execution or deliberate injury. In the event that they are *hors de combat*¹¹ because they have surrendered or have been wounded or captured and disarmed, they must be protected. Warfare cannot be continued against them. These principles also apply to non-combatants or civilians (as they are now known). The laws of war require that civilians or non-combatants may not be subjected to deliberate or indiscriminate attacks, reprisal killings, seizures, hostage taking, starvation or deportation, nor may they have their cultural objects and places of worship destroyed.

36. Both civilians and combatants in conflict circumstances are protected against criminal sanctions unless they have been accorded due process of law.

INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

The Geneva Conventions

37. The Geneva Conventions were adopted in 1949 and additional Protocols I and II in 1977. The Conventions are considered to be binding in international law. Virtually every government in the world has accepted their tenets by ratifying them. However, even where states have not ratified the treaty, they have the force of 'customary international law' – that is, they bind governments irrespective of whether those governments have formally ratified the treaty accepting their obligations. The apartheid state acceded to the Geneva Conventions in 1952. It did not, however, ratify or accept the additional protocols, and sought to argue that it could not be bound by their provisions. However, because the international community does not regard ratification as a criterion for holding a state to be bound, it is generally accepted that, even though the previous government did not ratify these conventions, it was formally bound by the principles enunciated by these bodies during the relevant period, as they are expressions of customary international law on state responsibility for the commission of gross human rights violations.
38. In the case of the ANC, President Oliver Tambo signed a declaration at the headquarters of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva, on 28 November 1980, committing the ANC to be bound by bound by the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I.¹²

11 Out of the fight.

12 See the Appendix to Chapter Three of this section for a full text of the statement and declaration.

Applicability of the Geneva Conventions to the South African conflict

39. The Commission's mandate encompassed the period March 1960 to 10 May 1994, the date of President Mandela's inauguration. Given that Protocols I and II were adopted in 1977, it is appropriate to consider what law was applicable to the conflict raging in South Africa. Of particular note are those sections of the Protocol dealing with grave breaches.
40. The Geneva Conventions and Protocol I draw a distinction between acts that constitute a 'grave breach' and acts that constitute a 'regular breach'.¹³
41. These definitions become important when dealing with those acts or means used during conflict which the Commission found to constitute gross human rights violations. Furthermore, the provisions of the relevant Conventions and Protocol I become particularly important when dealing with the bombing incidents (Khotso House, the Magoo and Why Not Bars, the London ANC office and so on).

The period March 1960 to 1977

42. During the period March 1960 to 1977, the principal treaties that applied to the conflict were the Geneva Conventions, and in particular Common Article 3. Protocols I and II had not yet been drafted.
43. Common Article 2 of the Geneva Conventions states explicitly that, with the exception of Common Article 3 and the Martens Clause, the Conventions exclusively address armed conflicts between states.
44. Whilst on the face of it this may be interpreted to mean that the Geneva Conventions had no application during that period, this is not the case, as a number of bodies within the UN passed resolutions relating to the armed conflict in South Africa. The resolutions covered subjects ranging from apartheid to colonialism and the right to self-determination. In this regard, Resolution 31029(XXXVIII) of the UN General Assembly adopted in 1973 provided as follows:

13 Appendix 2 to this chapter sets out those acts that constitute a grave breach.

The armed conflict involving the struggle of people against colonial and alien domination and racist regimes are to be regarded as international armed conflicts in the sense of the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the legal status envisaged to apply to the combatants in the 1949 Geneva Conventions and other international instruments are to apply to persons engaged in armed struggle against colonial and alien domination and racist regimes.

45. It can, therefore, be argued that the conflict in South Africa was regarded not as an internal conflict but as an international armed conflict.
46. One should also have regard to the provisions of Common Article 3, which expressly provide that this Article applies 'in the case of armed conflict not of an international character occurring in the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties'. Given that South Africa had acceded to the Geneva Conventions in 1952 and has remained a party ever since, there can be no doubt that it was bound by these provisions.
47. The ANC at this time was a non-state actor and lacked the authority or legal capacity to ratify or accede to the Geneva Conventions. However, the ICRC commentary to Common Article 3 makes it clear that non-state parties to non-international armed conflicts become bound to apply the provisions of Common Article 3 upon ratification or accession by the state party to the conflict. Moreover, the ANC itself, in terms of public statements made during this period, considered itself bound by the core principles enshrined in international humanitarian law. The provisions of Common Article 3, therefore, applied to the military and political activities of the ANC during this period.
48. Violations in terms of Common Article 3 fall under the following four sections:
 - a violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture;
 - b taking of hostages;
 - c outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment, and
 - d the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees that are recognised as indispensable by civilised peoples.

49. These provisions apply to 'persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed *hors de combat* by sickness, wounds detention, or any other cause'.

The period March 1977 to 1980

50. It is during this period that Protocol I of the Geneva Conventions was drafted specifically to cover the conflict situations in South Africa and Israel.
51. It is important to note that Protocol I was intended to supplement the existing Geneva Conventions and to ensure that national liberation movements were protected in the conflicts that were taking place.
52. In this regard, Article 1(4) of Protocol I sought to confer prisoner of war status on national liberation movement combatants involved in the conflicts in South Africa and Israel. The article provides that 'armed conflicts in which peoples are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination' are to be treated as international armed conflicts and not as internal conflicts.
53. The effect of this was to bring the conflicts in South Africa and Israel under the ambit of the Geneva Conventions, and specifically of Protocol I.
54. As discussed above, the apartheid government did not accede to the additional protocols, particularly Protocol I. This was in the main due to the fact that it was of the view that Article 1(4) of Protocol I was intended to legitimise the struggle of the liberation movements and provide additional protection for their members.
55. As a liberation movement, the ANC did not apply to the ICRC to ratify or accede to this protocol, thus one can conclude that common Article 3 and not Protocol I continued to apply to the ANC.

The ANC and international humanitarian law: The period 1980 to 1994

56. In 1980, the ANC declared itself to be bound by the general principles of international humanitarian law applicable to the conduct of armed conflicts. The then ANC President Oliver Tambo deposited a declaration¹⁴ with the ICRC

¹⁴ See Appendix 3.

declaring the ANC bound by the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I. In fact, the declaration ought to have been deposited with the Swiss Government; but it is the intention of the party making the declaration that is important. By submitting the declaration, the ANC intended to hold itself bound by the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I.

57. As a result of this declaration, the ANC bound itself to apply Protocol I and the Geneva Conventions. In terms of Article 96(3) of Protocol I, the protocol and the Geneva Conventions came into effect immediately in respect of the conflict, despite the fact that the apartheid state had not acceded to the additional protocol.
58. The importance of the declaration is that the ANC became bound to uphold the same obligations and burdens as other parties to the Conventions and Protocols. It also enjoyed the same rights and benefits. The preamble to Protocol I provides that the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I:

must be fully applied in all circumstances to all persons who are protected by those instruments, without any adverse distinction, based on the nature or origin of the armed conflict or on causes espoused by or attributed to the Parties to the conflict.

59. As discussed above, while the ANC had bound itself unilaterally by way of the declaration to the provisions of Protocol I, the apartheid government did not consider itself so bound. It treated members of the liberation movements as criminals rather than as prisoners of war. The ANC regularly sought to challenge the jurisdiction of the courts on the basis that they were entitled to prisoner-of-war status and invoked the protection of these treaties in an attempt to commute the death sentences of numerous political prisoners. In this they were unsuccessful. Professor John Dugard commented in a book that he wrote on the status of an ANC prisoner of war:¹⁵

The issue that most starkly illustrates the conflict between perceptions of international law in South Africa is the dispute over the status of captured ANC combatants. From the perspective of most Whites, ANC combatants cannot be accorded prisoner-of-war status as this would confer legitimacy on the ANC and condone the acts of its members. On the other hand, many Blacks view them as 'freedom fighters' engaged in a just struggle entitled to be treated as POW's and not ordinary criminals.

15 Article by John Dugard: *Denationalization of Black South Africans in pursuance of Apartheid*

Furthermore, the General Assembly has recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the national liberation movements and demanded that the ANC combatants be treated as prisoners-of-war in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 to include 'armed conflicts in which people are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self determination'.

The doctrine of state responsibility

60. The doctrine of state responsibility has emerged through the development of customary international law. In summary, it states that the state is accountable for the commission of gross human rights violations as follows:
 - a It is strictly responsible for the acts of its organs or agents or persons acting under its control.
 - b It is responsible for its own failure to prevent or adequately respond to the commission of gross human rights violations.
61. It is important to note that South Africa did not until recently become a state party to the principal international human rights instruments. In 1998, the newly democratically elected government ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Genocide convention) and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT).
62. This does not mean that South Africa was not bound by these principles of customary international law at the relevant times. They are regarded as expressions of customary international law on state responsibility for human rights violations and have emerged from the broad rubric of human rights law, which includes the Conventions referred to above, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, regional human rights instruments such as the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the American Convention for Human Rights, the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, and the judgments of the various human rights bodies such as the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights, the Inter-American Court and Commission of Human Rights and the Human Rights Committee.
63. The decisions of the tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda have also had an impact on how the law has developed.

64. The basic principles that have emerged from international customary law can be summarised as follows:

Interpretation of these principles by international human rights bodies, which have application to the question of state accountability

65. In the Velasquez-Rodriguez case¹⁶, the Inter-American Commission on Human rights held that states are strictly responsible for the conduct of their organs or agents who violate human rights norms, whether or not such actors have overstepped the limits of their authority.
66. Thus a state will be held responsible for the actions of an official where excessive force is used that is contrary to law and policy. In South Africa, the practice of the former state was to indemnify the security forces in those incidents where they had used excessive force.
67. It is important to note that, in terms of international law, the state will be held accountable for the act of an agent. The motive or intent of the agent is considered to be irrelevant to the analysis of the crime. In addition, if an agent of the state uses his or her official status to facilitate or cover up a murder s/he commits for personal reasons, the state may still be held responsible for such a gross violation.
68. Another important principle that has evolved from the Velasquez-Rodriguez case is the fact that a state is held responsible for violations perpetrated by any of the organs or structures under its control. In these instances, state responsibility may be invoked independently of any individual responsibility for the crime. All that is required is for the claimant to establish that an agent of the state committed the violation. The fact that the identity of the individual agent who perpetrated the violation is not established does not matter.
69. A difficulty that has been identified in matters of this nature is that the state is the repository of information and is also the party most interested in suppressing the truth. Circumstantial evidence is often all that exists. International human rights law is cognizant of this and thus places the burden on the state to justify its actions in the face of credible allegations of abuses by state agents.

16 The Inter-American Court of Human Rights, 29 July 1988 (Series C, No. 4)

70. In the case of Kurt v Turkey¹⁷, the European Court of Human Rights held that, once the applicant had shown that the victim was in the custody of the security forces, the responsibility to account for the victim's subsequent fate shifted to the authorities.
71. In the case of Ireland v UK, the European Court of Human Rights applied a strict liability test when dealing with the government of the United Kingdom. In this case, the European Court considered allegations by the Irish¹⁸ that the United Kingdom authorities operating in Northern Ireland were engaged in practices that violated Article 3 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. In particular, the Irish alleged that these practices included extrajudicial arrest and internment as well as the use of a coercive set of 'five techniques' in the process of interrogation in order to induce confessions.
72. The court found that that the actions of the UK authorities amounted to a practice 'incompatible with the convention', noting specifically 'the accumulation of identical or analogous breaches which are sufficiently numerous and interconnected to amount not merely to isolated incidents or exceptions but to a pattern or system'.
73. Having heard the evidence, the court commented as follows:
- It is inconceivable that the higher authorities of a State should be unaware of the existence of such a practice. Furthermore, under the convention, those authorities are strictly liable for the conduct of their subordinates; they are under a duty to impose their will on subordinates and cannot shelter behind their inability to ensure that it is respected.*
74. The development of the principle of strict liability in dealing with states reinforces that liability in international law. In other words, the state is under an obligation to organise its institutional apparatus so as to ensure that fundamental human rights are protected and, where they are violated, to 'investigate and punish those responsible and to provide reparation to the victim'.

¹⁷ 74 Reports of Judg. Dec. 1152, 1998 111.

¹⁸ N Ireland v United Kingdom (1978) 25 European Court of Human Rights (Series A).

The accountability of states in respect of omissions or tolerance of violations

75. International human rights law has evolved to the point where states can be held responsible because they have failed to prevent a violation or to respond to violations as required by international law.
76. The court in the Velasquez-Rodriguez case describes such failure as ‘the lack of due diligence to prevent the violation or to respond to it’.
77. This principle expands the accountability of the state to cover the official tolerance of actions, even where proof of the victim’s fate is unavailable. The facts of the Velasquez-Rodriguez case revealed evidence of a pattern of forced disappearances. The evidence included the fact that ‘it was public and notorious knowledge in Honduras that the kidnappings were carried out by military personnel or the police, or persons acting under their orders ...’ The Court also heard evidence that the disappearances followed a similar pattern and were carried out in a systematic manner. These facts, taken together with the fact that officials failed repeatedly to prevent or investigate the crimes, were sufficient to hold the state responsible once the case at hand was shown to fit the pattern.
78. The Inter-American Court of Human Rights noted as follows:

If it can be shown that there was an official practice of disappearances in Honduras carried out by the government or at least tolerated by it, and if the disappearance can be linked to that practice, the allegations will have been proven to the court’s satisfaction.
79. The court went further and held:

that where the acts of private parties that violate the Convention are not seriously investigated, those parties are aided in a sense by the government, thereby making the State responsible.
80. Thus the concept of state responsibility or liability for a failure to act or prevent or punish violations is not limited to cases where the perpetrators are state agents and problems exist with regard to a lack of evidence. The state may be held accountable even where private persons or groups act to deprive individuals of their fundamental rights, if it fails to act to investigate and punish such actions.

81. The key factor in testing responsibility is whether a human rights violation has been committed with the support or tolerance of the public authority or if the state has allowed the violation to go unpunished.¹⁹
82. The European Court of Human Rights has also held that private citizens may hold the state responsible for tolerating human rights abuses that have been carried out. Thus for example, a state whose legal framework leaves individuals vulnerable to violations of their fundamental rights without adequate recourse, or fails to enact laws restraining the excessive use of force by the authorities, or neglects to punish such abuses, may be held accountable at the international level for failing to guarantee rights recognised under international law.

¹⁹ See *Godinez-Cruz*, Inter-American Court of Human Rights, 20 Jan 1989 (Series C No. 5); *Gangaram Panday*, Inter-American Court of Human Rights, 21 Jan 1994 (Series C No. 16).

APPENDIX 1

Applicability of the Geneva Conventions to South Africa

The provisions of the Geneva Conventions that apply to the situation in South Africa are set out below:

1. Common Article 2 to the Geneva Conventions

In addition to the provisions which shall be implemented in peacetime, the present Convention shall apply to all cases of declared war or of any other armed conflict which may arise between two or more of the High Contracting Parties, even if the state of war is not recognised by one of them.

The Convention shall apply to all cases of partial or total occupation of the territory of a High Contracting Party, even if the said occupation meets with no armed resistance.

Although one of the Powers in conflict may not be a party to the present Convention, the Powers who are parties thereto shall remain bound by it in their mutual relations. They shall furthermore be bound by the Convention in relation to the said Power, if the latter accepts and applies the provisions thereof.

2. Common Article 3 to the Geneva Conventions

In the case of armed conflict not of an international character occurring in the territory of one or more of the High Contracting Parties, each Party to the conflict shall be bound to apply, as a minimum, the following provisions:

- (1) Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of the armed forces who have laid down their arms, and those placed *hors de combat* by sickness, wounds, detention, or any other cause, shall, in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth, or any other similar criteria.

To the end, the following acts are and shall remain prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever with respect to the above-mentioned persons:

- (a) Violence to life and person, in particular murder, of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture;
- (b) Taking of hostages;

- (c) Outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment;
 - (d) The passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgement pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognised as indispensable by civilised peoples.
- (2) The wounded and the sick shall be collected and cared for.
- Any impartial humanitarian body, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, may offer its services to the Parties to the conflict.
- The Parties to the conflict shall further endeavour to bring into force, by means of special agreements, all or part of the other provisions of the present Convention. The application of the preceding provisions shall not affect the legal status of the Parties to the conflict.

3. Fifth paragraph of Protocol I

Reaffirming further that the provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and of this Protocol must be fully applied in all circumstances to all persons who are protected by those instruments, without any adverse distinction based on the nature or origin of the armed conflict or on the causes espoused by or attributed to the Parties to the conflict.

Article 1(2) of Protocol I

In cases not covered by this Protocol or by any other international agreements, civilians and combatants remain under the protection and authority of the principles of international law derived from established custom, from the principles of humanity and from the dictates of public conscience.

Article 1(3) of Protocol I

This Protocol, which supplements the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 for the protection of war victims, shall apply in the situations referred to in Article 2 common to those Conventions.

Article 1(4) of Protocol I

The situations referred to in the preceding paragraph include armed conflicts in which peoples are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Article 96(3) of Protocol I

The authority representing a people engaged against a High Contracting Party in an armed conflict of the type referred to in Article 1, paragraph 4, may undertake to apply the Conventions and this Protocol in relation to that conflict by means of a unilateral declaration addressed to the depositary. Such declaration shall, upon its receipt by the depositary, have in relation to that conflict the following effects:

- (a) The Conventions and this Protocol are brought into force for the said authority as a Party to the conflict with immediate effect;
- (b) The said authority assumes the same rights and obligations as those which have been assumed by a High Contracting Party to the Conventions and this Protocol; and
- (c) The Conventions and this Protocol are equally binding upon all Parties to the conflict.

Article 1(1) of Protocol II

This Protocol, which develops and supplements Article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 without modifying its existing conditions or application, shall apply to all armed conflicts which are not covered by Article 1 of the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I) and which take place in the territory of a High Contracting Party between its armed forces and dissident armed forces or other organised armed groups which, under responsible command, exercise such control over a part of its territory as to enable them to carry out sustained and concerted military operations and to implement this Protocol.

APPENDIX 2

These Conventions and Protocols must be read together with the 1980 'Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons which may be deemed to be excessively Injurious or to have Indiscriminate Effects' and the concomitant 'Protocol on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the use of Mines, Booby Traps and Other Devices' (Protocol II).

Article 3 of Protocol II reads as follows:

General restrictions on the use of mines, booby traps and other devices

This Article applies to:

- (a) Mines;
- (b) Booby-traps; and
- (c) Other devices.

1. It is prohibited in all circumstances to direct weapons to which this Article applies, either in offence, defence or by way of reprisals, against the civilian population as such or against individual civilians.
2. The indiscriminate use of weapons to which this Article applies is prohibited. Indiscriminate use is any placement of such weapons:
 - (a) Which is not on, or directed at, a military objective; or
 - (b) Which employs a method or means of delivery which cannot be directed at a specific military objective; or
 - (c) Which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated.
3. All feasible precautions shall be taken to protect civilians from the effects of weapons to which this Article applies. Feasible precautions are those precautions, which are practicable or practically possible taking into account all circumstances ruling at the time, including humanitarian and military considerations.

At Article 2, paragraphs 4 and 5, 'Other devices', 'Military Objective' and 'Civilian objects' are defined in the following terms:

'Other devices' means manually emplaced munitions and devices designed to kill, injure or damage and which are actuated by remote control or automatically after a lapse of time.

'Military objective' means, so far as objects are concerned, any object which by its nature, location, purpose or use makes an effective contribution to military action and whose total or partial destruction, capture or neutralization, in the circumstances ruling at the time, offers a definite military advantage.

'Civilian objects' are all objects which are not military objectives as defined in paragraph 4.

Frederic de Mulinen, in his handbook published by the ICRC²⁰ makes the following statement:

43. Sparing of Civilian Persons and Objects:

Constant care shall be taken to spare the civilian population, civilian persons and civilian objects.

44. Information needed:

The Commander shall keep himself informed on concentrations of civilian persons, important civilian objects and specially protected establishments.

50. Conduct of Attack

51. Choice of Objectives;

Within tactically equivalent alternatives, the directions, objectives and targets of attack shall be chosen so as to cause the least civilian damage.

52. Verification:

The Military character of the objective or target shall be verified by reconnaissance and target identification

53. Weapons

To restrict civilian casualties and damages, the means of combatant weapons shall be adapted to the target

Thus an operative or soldier who operates outside of the scope of the Conventions is punishable in accordance with ordinary law and loses the protection of the status of a combatant.

²⁰ De Mulinen, Frederic. Handbook on the Law of War for Armed Forces. Geneva:ICRC, 1987, Part 5: Conduct of Operations.

‘Grave Breaches’ specified in Protocol I (Articles 11 and 85)

The following acts:

- Seriously endangering, by any wilful and unjustified act or omission, physical or mental health and integrity of persons who are in the power of the adverse Party or who are interned, detained or otherwise deprived of liberty as a result of an armed conflict, in particular physical mutilations, medical or scientific experiments, removal of tissue or organs for transplantation which is not indicated by the state of health of the person concerned or not consistent with generally accepted medical standards which would be applied under similar medical circumstances to persons who are nationals of the Party conducting the procedure and in no way deprived of liberty.

The following acts, when committed wilfully and if they cause death or serious injury to body and health:

- Making the civilian populations or individual civilians the object of attack;
- Launching an indiscriminate attack affecting the civilian population or civilian objects in the knowledge that such attack will cause excessive loss of life, injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects.
- Launching an attack against works or installations containing dangerous forces in the knowledge that such attack will cause excessive loss of life, injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects;
- Making non-defended localities and demilitarised zones the object of attack;
- Making a person the object of an attack in the knowledge that he is *hors de combat*;
- The perfidious use of the distinctive emblem of the red cross and red crescent or other protective signs.

The following acts, when committed wilfully and in violation of the Conventions and the Protocol:

- The transfer by the occupying power of parts of its own population into the territory it occupies, or the deportation or transfer of all parts of the population of the occupied territory within or outside this territory;
- Unjustifiable delay in the reparation of prisoners of war or civilians;
- Practices of apartheid and other inhuman and degrading practices involving outrages upon personal dignity, based on racial discrimination;

- Attacking clearly recognised historic monuments, works of art or places of worship which constitute the cultural or spiritual heritage of peoples and to which special protection has been given, causing as a result extensive destruction thereof when such objects are not located in the immediate proximity of military objectives or used by the adverse party in support of its military effort;
- Depriving a person protected by the Conventions or by Protocol I of the rights of fair and regular trial.

‘Grave breaches’ specified in the four 1949 Geneva Conventions (Articles 50, 51, 130, 147 respectively)

- Wilful killing;
- Torture or inhuman treatment;
- Biological experiments;
- Wilfully causing great suffering;
- Causing serious injury to body or health;
- Extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly.

‘Grave breaches’ specified in the third and fourth 1949 Geneva Conventions (Articles 130 and 147 respectively)

- Compelling a prisoner of war or a protected civilian to serve in the armed forces of the hostile Power;
- Wilfully depriving a prisoner of war or a protected person of the rights of fair and regular trial prescribed in the Conventions.

‘Grave breaches’ specified in the fourth 1949 Geneva Conventions (Articles 147)

- Unlawful deportation or transfer;
- Unlawful confinement of a protected person;
- Taking of hostages.



Volume **SIX** • Section **FIVE** • Chapter **TWO**

**Findings and
Recommendations
HOLDING THE STATE
ACCOUNTABLE**

Holding the State Accountable

1. In its five-volume Final Report, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) was guided by Section 4 of its enabling Act²¹ in evaluating the role played by those who were involved in the conflicts of the past. The relevant sections read as follows:

The functions of the Commission shall be to achieve its objectives, and to that end it shall –

- (a) Facilitate and where necessary initiate or co-ordinate, enquiries into....
 - (iii) The identity of all persons, authorities, institutions and organizations involved in gross violations of human rights;
 - (iv) The question whether such violations were the result of deliberate planning on the part of the State or a former state or any of their organs or of any political organization, liberation movement or other -group or individual; and
 - (v) Accountability, political or otherwise, for any such violations.

2. Describing how findings were made, the Commission stated:

... the Commission is of the view that gross violations of human rights were perpetrated in the conflicts of the mandate era. These include:

*The state and its security, intelligence and law-enforcement agencies, the SAP, the SADF and the NIS ...*²²

3. The Commission wishes to restate its position in its Final Report that, whilst it has made adverse findings on the basis of the evidence it received, it remains a commission of inquiry and, as such, is not bound by the same rules of evidence as a court of law. The Commission based its findings on a balance of probabilities and its conclusions should not be interpreted as judicial findings of guilt but rather as findings of responsibility within the context of its enabling Act.
4. In making these findings, the Commission was guided in its deliberations by international humanitarian law and the Geneva Conventions. The Commission

²¹ The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995.

²² Volume Five, Chapter Six, p. 209.

also endorsed the internationally accepted position that apartheid was a crime against humanity.

5. Whilst the Commission was obliged by its enabling act to evaluate the conduct of all those responsible for committing gross human rights violations, the Commission did not hold that all parties were equally responsible for the violations committed in the mandate period. Indeed, the evidence before the Commission has revealed that the former state was the major violator.
6. The Commission wishes to restate that a legally constituted and elected government is expected to act lawfully and in accordance with accepted international principles of humanitarian law. A state must be held to a higher standard of moral and political conduct than any other role player in a violent conflict. After all, a state has at its command powers, resources, privileges, obligations and responsibilities that liberation movements and other role players do not.
7. The Commission's primary finding in its previous report was that:²³

The predominant portion of gross violations of human rights was committed by the Former State through its security and law-enforcement agencies.

Moreover, the South African State in the period from the late 1970's to early 1990's became involved in activities of a criminal nature when, amongst other things, it knowingly planned, undertook, condoned and covered up the commission of unlawful acts, including the extra-judicial killings of political opponents and others, inside and outside South Africa.

In pursuit of these unlawful activities, the State acted in collusion with certain other political groupings, most notably the Inkatha Freedom party (IFP).

8. The Commission made its findings at a time when the amnesty process had not yet been completed. The amnesty process is now complete and the Amnesty Committee has completed its report.²⁴ This chapter will show that amnesty decisions have tended to support the original findings of the Commission. In dealing with the findings and an analysis of the amnesty process, it is necessary to review how international humanitarian law has evolved to deal with conflicts and gross human rights violations.

²³ Volume Five, Chapter Six, p. 212.

²⁴ See Section One of this volume.

THE APPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION

Introduction

9. The Commission made findings against the South African government and its security forces based on the information it received. These included statements from victims, submissions by organs of civil society, political parties, international human rights groups, local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs), confessions made by amnesty applicants and many other interested parties.
10. It was, however, the statements made by individual victims and perpetrators to the Commission that presented the most compelling picture of the reign of terror conducted by the organs and agencies of the former state. Overwhelmingly, these statements revealed a picture of the gross human rights violations that were perpetrated by the state. These included the widespread use of torture, the use of excessive and indiscriminate force in public order policing, the abduction and disappearance of activists and the extrajudicial killing of political opponents and activists.
11. The Commission was able to investigate a number of cases thoroughly and also used its section 29 powers to hold subpoena hearings which effectively compelled many perpetrators to apply for amnesty.
12. In order to ensure the integrity of the information that it received, the Commission applied a policy of low-level corroboration to each case before declaring a person to have been a victim. Many have criticised this policy. However the Commission did not have the capacity to conduct a full-scale investigation into each case. Therefore, it selected cases and conducted strategic investigations. The Commission acknowledges the fact that more thorough investigations may have yielded more information about particular individuals and incidents. However, it is the Commission's view that it is unlikely that this would have impacted on its view of the role that the former state played in the commission of gross human rights violations, nor on its view that the former state acted in a criminal manner.
13. It is indeed the Commission's opinion that more information would simply have strengthened the patterns that had already emerged.

14. The Commission recorded the fact that patterns of abuse manifested themselves throughout South Africa in much the same way. These were not isolated incidents or the work of mavericks or 'bad apples'; they were the product of a carefully orchestrated policy, designed to subjugate and kill the opponents of the state. In any event, the Commission's findings are supported by the submissions made by many victims to various human rights organisations during the apartheid period.
15. The Commission has also been criticised for making findings without having completed the amnesty process. It should be noted, however, that the Commission did take cognisance of the information contained in many applications. Further, the Commission did not make findings in respect of specific incidents where applications had not been heard or where the Amnesty Committee had not yet made a decision.

FINDINGS OF THE COMMISSION IN RESPECT OF THE FORMER STATE AND ITS ORGANS

Categories of gross human rights violations defined in the Act

State responsibility for torture

16. The Commission found in its five-volume Final Report that torture was systematic and widespread in the ranks of the South African Police (SAP) and that it was the norm for the Security Branch of the SAP during the Commission's mandate period.
17. The Commission also found that the South African government condoned the practice of torture. The Commission held that the Minister of Police and Law and Order, the Commissioners of Police and Commanding Officers of the Security Branch at national, divisional and local levels were directly accountable for the use of torture against detainees and that Cabinet was indirectly responsible.
18. The Human rights instruments that are pertinent to the question of torture include:
 - a. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;
 - b. The Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and
 - c. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

19. These Conventions require that no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of life and that no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.
20. The Convention Against Torture requires that each State Party 'take effective legislative, administrative, judicial or other measures to prevent acts of torture in any territory under its jurisdiction'. The Convention allows no exception to this, and for that reason it is important to note the following:

No exceptional circumstances whatsoever, whether a state of war or a threat or war, internal political instability or any other public emergency may be invoked as a justification for torture.

21. The Commission made its findings on torture based on evidence received from victims through the human rights violations process, perpetrators in amnesty applications and evidence given before the Commission by senior politicians and security force officials of the former government. In addition, local and international human rights groups made a number of submissions to the Commission, based on the studies they had carried out during the apartheid period.
22. The Commission received over 22 000 statements from victims alleging that they had been tortured. In most instances, the torture had been at the instance of members of the security forces.
23. The Commission received a number of applications from amnesty applicants applying for more than ninety-eight incidents of torture and severe assaults.
24. It is important to note that, although the Commission received over 22 000 statements from victims and only very few amnesty applications for torture, many human rights groups estimated that more than 73 000 detentions took place in the country between 1960 and 1990. It was established practice for torture to accompany a detention. Detention, arrest and incarceration without formal charges were commonplace in South Africa at that time. Whilst a plethora of laws existed to silence political dissent, the notorious section 29 of the Internal Security Act 74 was used to detain people indefinitely, without access to a lawyer, family member, priest or physician. Section 29 also permitted the state to hold a detainee in solitary confinement.

25. It is accepted now that detention without trial allowed for the abuse of those held in custody, that torture and maltreatment were widespread and that, whilst officials of the former state were aware of what was happening, they did nothing about it.
26. The torture techniques that have been identified through these cases are the following: assault; various forms of suffocation, including the 'wet bag' or 'tubing' method; enforced posture; electric shocks; sexual torture; forms of psychological torture, and solitary confinement.
27. A submission made to the Commission based on a study released by doctors between September 1987 and March 1990²⁵ found that 94 per cent of detainees in the study claimed either physical or mental abuse. The study found that the beating of detainees was widespread and that half of those alleging physical abuse still showed evidence of the abuse on physical examination. On assessment of their psychological status, 48 per cent of the former detainees were found to be psychologically dysfunctional.
28. Deaths in detention were also commonplace and were the result of the treatment meted out to persons in custody.
29. The Commission found that a considerable number of deaths in detention were a direct or indirect consequence of torture, including those cases where detainees had taken their own lives. The Commission declared those deaths to be induced.
30. In its Final Report, the Commission found that 'little effective action was taken by the state to prohibit or even limit [the use of torture] and that, to the contrary, legislation was enacted with the specific intent of preventing intervention by the Judiciary'.²⁶ The Commission found that the South African government condoned the use of torture as official practice.²⁷

25 Affiliated to NAMDA practicing at a clinic near the centre of Durban.

26 Volume Two, Chapter Three, p. 220.

27 Ibid.

31. Whilst the Commission received thousands of statements alleging torture, few amnesty applications were received specifically for torture. Those received were from applicants Andries Johannes van Heerden [AM3763/96]; Willem Johannes Momberg [AM4159/96]; Stephanus Adriaan Oosthuizen [AM3760/96]; PJ Cornelius Loots [AM5462/97]; Jacques Hechter [AM2776/96]; Christo Nel [AM6609/97]; Lieutenant Colonel Antonie Heystek [AM4145/97]; Colonel Anton Pretorius [AM4389/96]; Helm 'Timol' Coetzee [AM4032/96]; Johannes Jacobus Strijdom [AM5464/97]; Paul van Vuuren [AM6528/97]; Roelof Venter [AM2774/96]; Eric Goosen [AM4158/96]; Marius Greyling [AM8027/97]; Karl Durr [AM8029/97]; Frans Bothma [AM8030/97]; Andy Taylor [AM4077/96]; WCC Smith [AM5469/97]; Jeffrey Benzien [AM5314/97], and Gert Cornelius Hugo [AM3833/96].²⁸
32. It is clear that it was the norm for agents of the state to carry out various torture practices on those who were in their custody or incarcerated. In dealing with questions of accountability, one needs to establish whether the state was aware of the torture taking place and whether it took any action to prevent it happening. In other words, did the state take any action against its agents for the commission of torture and, once it knew that torture was widespread, did it do anything to prevent its repetition?
33. The former government conceded that torture occurred, but claimed that it represented the actions of a few renegade policemen. Former President FW de Klerk stated in his submission to the Commission that:

*The National Party is prepared to accept responsibility for the policies that it adopted and for the actions taken by its office bearers in the implementation of those policies. It is however not prepared to accept responsibility for the criminal actions of a handful of operatives of the security forces of which the Party was not aware and which it never would have condoned.*²⁹

34. Contrary to Mr de Klerk's claim of ignorance of the practice, Mr Leon Wessels, the National Party's former deputy Minister of Police, conceded that it was not possible to deny knowledge of torture. Mr Wessels testified at a special hearing on the role of the State Security Council that:

*it was foreseen that under those circumstances people would be detained, people would be tortured, everybody in the country knew that people were tortured.*³⁰

²⁸ For details see Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp. 214–18. See also section on Torture and Death in Custody, pp 187–214.

²⁹ Second submission by the National Party, 14 May 1997, p. 10.

³⁰ Johannesburg hearing, 14 October 1997.

35. The principles that have been enunciated earlier in this chapter can be summarised as follows:
- a The state is held strictly responsible for the conduct of its agents who commit gross violations of human rights.
 - b State responsibility may be invoked even where the identity of the agent is unknown.
 - c The state has the evidentiary burden to explain its action in the face of credible allegations of abuse by state agents.
 - d States are also held responsible for 'lack of due diligence to prevent the violation or to respond to it' (official tolerance).
36. A key factor here is proving that the human rights violation took place with the support or tolerance of public authority or that the state allowed the violation to go unpunished.
37. The Commission noted in its Final Report that victim statements and amnesty applicants implicated a number of senior officers for having had knowledge of or having covered up incidents of torture. In the case of Mr Stanza Bopape, the then Commissioner of Police covered up the actions of the officers responsible for Bopape's death. Condonation of torture by superior officers was further evidenced by the fact that most well-known torturers were promoted to higher positions.
38. The Commission also noted that no prosecutions resulted from allegations of torture, even though the use of torture emerged in most political trials. The cases of Ahmed Timol, Neil Aggett and Lindy Mogale are pertinent.
39. Magistrates and judges seldom protected detainees or ruled in their favour, even though a pattern of abuse was familiar.
40. In a number of cases, the families of victims or detainees themselves laid charges against the state, resulting in out-of-court settlements.
41. More distressing is the fact that many judges and magistrates continued to accept the testimony of detainees, despite the fact that most of them knew that the testimony had been obtained under interrogation and torture whilst in detention. In this way, the judiciary and the magistracy indirectly sanctioned this practice and, together with the leadership of the former apartheid state, must be held accountable for its actions.

42. A number of human rights bodies made representations to the state about the treatment of detainees and persons in custody. In April 1982, the Detainees Parents Support Committee met with the Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Justice to submit a dossier that included seventy-six statements alleging torture. The dossier named ninety-five individuals as perpetrators and covered the period 1978 to 1982. The ninety-five individuals were all members of the Security Branch and came from eighteen different branch offices. Of the eighteen offices detailed, John Vorster Square, Protea police station and the office in Sanlam building in Port Elizabeth headed the list. A report was subsequently made to parliament, which was informed that forty-three of these cases had been investigated and that eleven of the claims were unfounded. Presumably the remaining thirty-one were found to be of substance, yet no action was taken.

43. In May 1983, the Ad Hoc Committee of the Medical Association of South Africa (MASA) published a report as a supplement to the South African Medical Journal in which it stated that:³¹

there are insufficient safeguards in the existing legislation to ensure that that maltreatment of detainees does not occur. Persuasive evidence has been put before the Committee that where harsh methods are employed in the detention and interrogation of detainees, this may have extremely serious and possibly permanent effects on the physical and mental health of the detainee...

44. The only response from government was a set of directives issued by the Minister of Law and Order in December 1982 as safeguards for those detained under Section 29 of the Terrorist Act. Paragraph 15 stated that:

A detainee shall at all time be treated in a humane manner with proper regard to the rules of decency and shall not in any way be assaulted or other wise ill-treated or subjected to any form of torture or inhuman or degrading treatment.

45. The state did not bother to ensure that the directives were explained and no system was put in place to monitor whether detainees were being treated properly or that their human rights were being safeguarded.

46. The case of Mr Stanza Bopape implicates a number of superior officers in the cover-up and tolerance of torture.

31 This followed the study done by NAMDA referred to earlier.

47. Given the statements of victims, their families, the testimony of amnesty applicants such as Messrs Charles Zeelie, Jeffrey Benzien, Andy Taylor and Paul van Vuuren, and Generals Loggerenberg, Van der Merwe and others on the practice of torture and the condonation and cover up by superior officers when cases went horribly wrong, there can be no doubt that torture was widespread, well known and tolerated.
48. Although aware of the opprobrium being directed at them for this practice, the state continued to do nothing to end it. The state also did nothing about the violators or the agency that harboured them, the Security Branch. No mechanisms were put in place to monitor whether torture was still happening, nor to prevent it from happening. Neither the superior officers nor the officers carrying out the torture were sanctioned in any way. The attitude of the former state can only be described as one that 'tolerated and officially condoned' the practice of torture and the actions of their agents.
49. The Commission therefore confirms the findings it previously made, based on the further evidence it has received that the former state and its agents were responsible for the torture of those they regarded as opponents; and that the state perpetuated a state of impunity by tolerating and sanctioning the practice of torture, the legacy of which still exists today.

Abductions

50. The Commission received fifty-seven amnesty applications for eighty incidents of abduction. The fifty-seven applications included the abduction of thirty-five Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) operatives, eighteen of whom were abducted inside the country and seventeen outside South Africa.
51. Of the fifty-seven abductions, more than twenty-seven resulted in the death of the victim. This raises the possibility that targeted assassinations may have been the perpetrators' intention from the outset.
52. The Commission also received more than 1500 statements dealing with disappearances, including enforced disappearances.
53. The Commission stated in its Final Report that the former state's primary purpose in carrying out abductions was to obtain information. Abductees were often killed in a bid to protect the information that had been received.

54. The victims of these abductions either belonged to MK or supported the movement internally. Amnesty applicants testified that they found it preferable to abduct rather than detain officially. Once the information was obtained, the abducted person would be killed. In many other instances, applicants testified that they attempted to 'turn' or 'recruit' individuals into working for the state. The Commission also learnt that, where the attempt to turn the abductee failed, killing the individual became necessary – although many amnesty applicants denied this. However, in terms of international law, families merely have to prove that the abductee was last seen alive in the hands of an agent of the state for the obligation or onus to explain the deceased's whereabouts to fall on the state.
55. The Commission also stated in its Final Report that this *modus operandi* allowed for greater freedom to torture without fear of consequences. The testimony of many *askaris* at amnesty hearings was at odds with that of white members in their particular units. In their testimony, *askaris* highlighted the brutality of the torture and abuse that many abductees were subjected to. The cases of Nokuthula Simelane³² and Moses Morodu³³ offer examples of this.
56. It is also possible that operatives lost all sense of reality when dealing with abductees and became totally enmeshed in the brutality of the moment. Had the abductee been released or the body found, the heinous behaviour of the abductors and torturers would have been revealed. This was possibly an even more powerful motive to conceal the truth.
57. In its findings on extrajudicial killings, the Commission noted that a particular pattern was established: that is, political opponents were abducted, interrogated and then killed. In evidence that emerged through the amnesty process, another pattern emerged: that of abduction followed by torture or undue pressure to inform and/or become an informer or *askaris*. Those who did not succumb in this way were killed. Information was then leaked to MK that those who had been captured had been turned and had become *askaris*. The most devastating effect of this practice was that those who were abducted did not come home and that families had to live with the political stigma that their loved ones were perceived to be traitors.

32 Amnesty hearings, Pretoria, 28–30 June 1999 and 29–30 May 2000; AC/2001/185.

33 Amnesty hearing, 26 October 1999; AC/2000/010.

58. These abductions must be distinguished from those incidents where the intention of the perpetrators at the outset was to assassinate political opponents. In such operations, the abduction itself was merely a means to capturing the person, and the interrogation and torture that followed were secondary to the intention to kill.
59. Thus the cases of Griffiths Mxenge, Topsy Madaka and Sipiwe Mthimkulu, the 'Pebco Three', the 'Cradock Four' and the Ribeiros should be classified as political assassinations rather than abductions. Here the intention of the perpetrators was to eliminate the individuals concerned and to silence them forever.
60. In the KwaNdebele group of cases, abduction was followed by interrogation, torture and beatings and the abductee was then returned. The intention of these abductions was to intimidate and silence opposition.
61. The principle of customary international law is to hold the state responsible in instances such as these on a strict liability basis. Thus, the former state must be held strictly responsible for the abductions, disappearances and deaths of the abductees. The state is held responsible even in those instances where the perpetrator may not have intended that the final consequence of the abduction would be the death of the abductee. The intention of the perpetrator is irrelevant; the fact of the matter is that death ensued.
62. In those instances where the purpose of the abduction was killing, the state incurs responsibility for both the killing and the abduction. In terms of the accepted principle, even where the perpetrator responsible for the abduction or the disappearance has not been identified, it simply needs to be established that forced disappearance was committed by a police agent. In such an instance, the state is held responsible for accounting for the disappearance.
63. International human rights law places the burden on the state to account for the actions of its agents. Thus it is not sufficient for the state to allege (as it did in the cases of Nokuthula Simelane³⁴ and the four MK members abducted from Lesotho (namely Nomasonto Mashiya, Joyce Keokanyetswe 'Betty' Boom, Tax Sejamane and Mbulelo Ngono)³⁵ that they recruited or turned these agents and that were returned to exile in order to infiltrate the movement.

34 Amnesty hearings, Pretoria, 28–30 June 1999 and 29–30 May 2000. See also AC/2001/185.

35 See amnesty hearings, Johannesburg, 10–13 October 2000 and Bloemfontein 13–15 November 2000.

64. In all of these cases, using the strict liability test, it is likely that the state would be held criminally liable for their disappearances. In the case of Kurt v Turkey, the European court of human rights held that, once the applicant was in the custody of the security forces, the responsibility to account for the victim's subsequent fate shifted to the authorities.
65. In terms of international law and a state's responsibility to guarantee human rights, a state can be held responsible for failing to prevent or respond to a violation. As early as the 1980s, the former state was aware of the fact that disappearances were taking place. Allegations were mounting against the security forces as being responsible.
66. The question is: what did the state do to investigate the allegations being made or what action did the state take against those alleged to be involved in such practices?
67. Although it has been shown that agents in the employ of the state were responsible for the abductions of many political activists, that a pattern had been established and that this had become part of an orchestrated grand plan, the leadership of the former state continued to deny its responsibility for these gross human rights violations. Indeed, in the light of the above, Mr de Klerk might want to reconsider his theory of 'bad apples and mavericks'³⁶. There is no doubt that the apartheid state must be held responsible for the actions and deeds of its agents and that the state's failure to investigate or to take action created a climate of impunity and criminality in the security forces.
68. A key factor when deciding whether a state is responsible is whether the violation has taken place with the support or tolerance of the authority or the state has allowed the violation to go unpunished. In this instance, the state allowed the death squads to act with impunity and abduct, interrogate, torture and kill. Nothing was done to stop them, even when the disappearances became public.
69. Instead the state continued to claim innocence and chose rather to sully the reputations of those who had been abducted and killed. As a result, the minds and memories of family members and loved ones have been haunted by uncertainty, suspicion and mistrust as they continue to wonder whether the loved one was a spy and why the loved one has not returned home.

36 Evidence by Mr FW de Klerk on behalf of the National Party to the TRC, 14 May 1997.

70. The amnesty cases and the evidence of the victims before the Commission have been sufficient to establish a pattern and an assumption that these victims must have died at the hands of the forces that abducted them. In this regard, efforts must be made to restore their dignity and true reputations as patriots who paid the price and were killed in the violence of the past.
71. The law must also take its course in dealing with those who came forward with half-truths and lies. Efforts must be made to integrate and ease the lot of those who became *askaris*. In most instances, their testimony was at considerable variance with that of their white colleagues and superiors. We may never know what pressure was placed on them to 'turn'. What we do know is that, in those instances where they did not succumb or refused to do so, they were killed horribly. The cases of Simelane and Masiya are examples of this.

State responsibility for extrajudicial killings

72. The Commission noted in its Final Report that, as the levels of conflict intensified in the country, the security forces came to believe that it was far preferable to kill people extrajudicially than to rely on the legal process. Many amnesty applicants testified to this in their applications. Deaths in detention began in the 1960s and were attributed to suicides, accidents and natural causes.³⁷
73. Thereafter came the clandestine killings and the death squads. A factor that may account for the rise in extrajudicial deaths and the setting up of death squads was the law that required an inquest in the case of an unnatural death. In order to have an inquest, a body must be produced and examined. While the dead cannot speak for themselves, a forensically examined body could and often did.
74. Inquests are the judicial arena in which the magistracy has shown blind and obdurate loyalty to the former state over the rule of law. In most inquest hearings, despite evidence to the contrary, the word of the police and particular members of the Security Branch was accepted almost unquestioningly, often leaving families and those who defended them astonished.
75. The value of the inquest proceedings was that, in many instances, families of victims were represented by lawyers, who did their utmost to uncover the truth and used the law to do it. This is where the reputation of the former government

³⁷ See Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp. 205–15.

came unstuck. The apartheid government was obsessed with rule by law, and laws were created to cover almost every illegitimate act they could get away with. However, it was legal proceedings in inquest matters that stripped away the veneer of legitimacy and revealed the venality of the agents of the state. The adverse publicity that the government attracted abroad as a result of these deaths in detention forced the state to go underground and look for other mechanisms to deal with persons perceived to be political opponents.

76. Brigadier Jack Cronje [AM2773/96], one of the first officers to appear before the Amnesty Committee, testified that the Security Branch was given orders in 1986 to drop all restraint when dealing with the enemies of the state.

It didn't matter what was done or how we did it, as long as the floodtide of destabilization, unrest and violence was stopped.

77. This, in effect, gave the security forces *carte blanche* to maim and kill, allowing the former apartheid state to move even further into the criminal arena. This was particularly so in the case of its internal operations, where it had to operate at a covert and clandestine level so that no operation was traceable to the state. It was this that led directly to the setting up of various death squads in the country – such as the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) and Vlakplaas – and the training of surrogate forces such as the hit squads in KwaZulu and Natal.
78. In its quest for legality, the former state tried to draw a veil of legitimacy over its operations in the neighbouring states. Even today the military argues that its operations were legitimate, authorised and thus legal. Raids were increasingly openly acknowledged. These raids remain questionable in international law.
79. The fact that our amnesties may not be valid across our borders has meant that there have been almost no applications for amnesty from members of the military.
80. A factor that the state also relied on was that assassinations could be blamed on the liberation movements and, where people disappeared, the police often claimed that those involved had gone into exile. The fact that there was nobody to draw attention to the actions of the state meant that there was no call for an inquiry or inquest, thus creating a further level of impunity for agents of the state. As time went on, the deeds became more daring and more grisly. This is, of course, the problem with license and impunity, where political actions become increasingly blurred and descend into total criminality. It accounts for

why people like Colonel Eugene de Kock and some amnesty applicants will remain in custody. Some of their actions were acts of sheer criminality.

81. The Commission relied on a preliminary analysis of amnesty applications. Three years later, now that the amnesty process is complete, it is clear that the information that emerged from the amnesty hearings confirms the patterns and classifications made in the Final Report.
82. The archive of the Commission has been considerably enriched by the detail that has emerged through the amnesty hearings.
83. Amnesty applications can be categorised as follows:
 - a abductions followed by killing (discussed earlier);
 - b assassinations of persons considered to have a high political profile both inside and outside the country;
 - c assassinations of individual MK and Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) personnel both inside and outside the country, and
 - d cross-border raids.
84. Again, if one examines the picture that emerges from the amnesty process, it is clear that authorisation for individual assassinations took place at different levels. Agents believed that they had a general mandate to kill political opponents whom they believed to be contributing towards the instability of the state. Evidence in the 'Pebco Three' hearing confirms that there had been an instruction from the Minister of Law and Order to 'destabilise the Eastern Cape'. The testimony in amnesty hearings supports the view that, as far as external operations were concerned, approval was usually sought from Security Branch headquarters.
85. TREWITS³⁸, which was set up in 1986, probably represented the state's attempt to collect and share intelligence between all structures, with the intention of operating in a more co-ordinated manner and planning joint operations. Given the fact that both National and Military Intelligence sat on this structure, the state cannot deny that intelligence was used to identify and then eliminate those regarded as political opponents.
86. It is the entrapment operations of the state that really engender a sense of revulsion and horror because they targeted not trained military cadres, but callow township youth who were perceived to be threats to the state because of their

³⁸ See Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp. 275–98 for a discussion on the establishment of TREWITS and target development.

political beliefs. The operations involved mainly youth and school activists who were perceived to be potential MK recruits. The nature of the different operations reveals real evil in their planning and execution. The incident of the 'Nietverdiend Ten'³⁹ and the KwaNdebele youth⁴⁰ highlight the grisly machinations of state agents.

87. The supply of defective hand grenades to the Duduza youths by the Soweto security structure defies all rules of justice.⁴¹ What kind of state targets its own youth in this way? How can a politician fail to ask questions after hearing about these incidents?
88. The decision to grant amnesty in this instance raised some serious questions for the Commission. Did we not take reconciliation too far? Surely the killing of youths cannot be justified as political, and raises questions about the proportionality factor.
89. The amnesty applicants have confirmed their own role in the extrajudicial killings of political opponents. In terms of their actions, they have breached the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and the principles enshrined in international humanitarian law. They have also contravened South Africa's own domestic law. In confirming that they acted as members of the security forces, their actions create a problem for the former state, which must shoulder the responsibility for their actions. There can be little doubt that, in setting up these covert death squads, the former state could have had no misunderstanding about the intention of these units, and indeed intended that those identified as political opponents would be identified, targeted for assassination and ultimately killed. When a state resorts to acting or causing its agents to act outside the boundaries of the law, it acts criminally and must be seen as a criminal state. In the Commission's opinion, the former state must be held responsible for the killings of political opponents in that it knowingly planned, authorised, sanctioned, condoned and covered up the commission of these unlawful acts. It acted extrajudicially and criminally, thus leading the Commission to conclude that it ultimately became a criminal state.
90. The findings of the Amnesty Committee support that view.

39 Amnesty hearings, Johannesburg, 21–31 October 1996; Pretoria, 24 February–13 March 1997 & 6–8 April 1999; AC/1999/30, AC/1999/31, AC/1999/188, AC/1999/190, AC/1999/192, AC/1999/193, AC/1999/194, AC/1999/197; Final Report, Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp. 264–5.

40 Amnesty hearings, Johannesburg, 21–31 October 1996; Pretoria, 24 February–13 March 1997 & 13 April 1999; AC/1999/30; AC/1999/33, AC/1999/189, AC/1999/191; AC/1999/248; Final Report, Volume Two, Chapter Three, p. 264.

41 Volume Two, Chapter Three, pp. 259–398; Volume Three, Chapter Six, pp. 628–631; Amnesty hearings, Pretoria, 2–5 August 1999; AC/2000/58.

COMMAND RESPONSIBILITY

Introduction

91. In dealing with the question of Command responsibility, a key case that has come to embody the contradictions in modern International law is that of General Tomoyuki Yamashita.⁴² General Yamashita was tried by a United States Military Commission at the end of the Second World War for atrocities committed by Japanese forces in the Philippines – which included murder, rape and pillage. On the 6 February 1946, General Douglas MacArthur affirmed the death sentence imposed on General Yamashita.

92. Yamashita appealed to the United States Supreme Court, arguing that he had neither committed the crimes for which he had been found responsible nor ordered that they be committed. Writing the judgment for the Appeal Court, Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone rejected Yamashita's appeal and stated:

[T] his overlooks the fact that the gist of the charge is an unlawful breach of duty by an army commander to control the extensive and widespread atrocities specified ...It is evident that the conduct of military operations by troops whose excesses are unrestrained by the order or efforts of their commander would almost certainly result in violations...Hence the law of war presupposes that its violation is to be avoided through the control of the operations of war by commanders who are to some extent responsible for their subordinates.

93. Justices Wiley B Rutledge and Frank Murphy dissented. Judge Murphy wrote:

Nowhere was it alleged that that [Yamashita] personally committed any of the atrocities, or that he ordered their commission, or that he had any knowledge of the commission thereof by members of his command.

94. These conflicting views raised in the Yamashita case represents the two main schools of thought on the question of command responsibility. On the one hand, General MacArthur, Chief Justice Stone and the military commission considered it to be a dereliction of duty for a Commander not to control the behaviour of his troops. The approach embodies a 'should have known or must have known' approach. Justice Murphy's dissent represents the other view, namely that prosecutors must prove that a commander knew about the commission of

⁴² Yamashita v. Styer, Commanding General, U.S. Army Forces, Western Pacific, US Supreme Court 327 U.S. 1 (1946).

widespread crimes by his troops before his failure to take action against such conduct makes him criminally liable.

95. Not surprisingly, the second is the approach that is followed today. Article 86 of Protocol I of 1977 (additional to the Geneva Convention of 1949 regarding the duty of the parties to an international armed conflict to act against grave breaches) provides that 'if they knew, or had information which should have enabled them to conclude in the circumstances at the time' such crimes were taking place, they are required to 'take all feasible measures within their power to prevent or repress their commission'.

96. One of the most important statements made in modern history is that made by the prosecution in its summation at Nuremberg in the High Command case:

*Somewhere, there is unmitigated responsibility for these atrocities. It is to be borne by the troop? Is it to be borne primarily by the hundreds of subordinates who played a minor role in this pattern of crime? We think it is clear that it is not where the deepest responsibility lies. Men in the mass, particularly when organized and disciplined in armies, must be expected to yield to prestige and authority, the power of example...Mitigation should be reserved for those upon whom superior orders are pressed down, and who lack the means to influence general standard of behavior. It is not, we submit, available to the commander who participates in bringing the criminal pressures to bear, and whose responsibility it is to ensure the preservation of honorable military traditions.*⁴³

97. Yet the Nuremberg Military Tribunal refused to apply this 'almost strict liability' standard. Instead, it established that in order to hold a superior responsible for the criminal acts of his subordinates:

there must be a personal dereliction that can only occur where the act is directly traceable to him or where his failure to properly supervise his subordinates constitutes criminal negligence on his part. In the latter case it must be a personal neglect amounting to wanton, immoral disregard of the action of his subordinates amounting to acquiescence.

98. In the United States v Leeb⁴⁴, the tribunal found that the commander must have had knowledge of an order or have acquiesced in its implementation.

⁴³ Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945 to 1 October 1946 (Sessions 187 and 188, 26–27 July 1946).

⁴⁴ Von Leeb (High Command Case), Trials of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal under Control Council Law, Nuremberg, No. 10 (1951).

99. The statute adopted by the Security Council for the operations of the tribunal for the former Yugoslavia follow the standard of Protocol I and the dissenting view of Justice Murphy in the Yamashita case.
100. In essence, this view provides that commanders are culpable only if they knew about crimes that were being committed by their forces and did not do what they could to stop them.
101. The Appeals Chamber of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the case of Celebici, concluded that Protocol I was customary international law.
102. The international tribunals set up for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda have made rulings on the question of command responsibility. Their rulings are pertinent to understanding international customary law on this point, with particular reference to two categories of individual responsibility for commanders or other superiors. They examine their potential responsibility, which may arise because of their role either in planning, instigating or assisting perpetrators of the violations, and that which they incur for the actions of their subordinates. In both instances, the legal implication of the omissions on the part of state authorities is also canvassed.

Responsibility for complicity

103. In dealing with the atrocities of the past, the search for justice and accountability has meant that it is important to go beyond those who commit the crimes – the trigger-pullers – and to identify those who are complicit in the violations because they planned and conceptualised them.
104. In international law this concept has been formulated in various legal instruments. At Nuremberg, Council Control Law No. 10 singled out accessories, consenting participants, those connected with plans to commit crimes, and members of organisations associated with the crime. Likewise, Article 111 of the Genocide Convention criminalised conspiracy, incitement and complicity in the commission of genocide. The International Law Commission included complicity in its elaboration of the Nuremberg principles. Article 7 (1) of the ICTY statute provides that:

A person who planned, instigated, ordered, committed or otherwise aided and abetted in the planning preparation or execution of a crime referred to in articles 2 to 5 of the present Statute, shall be individually responsible for the crime.

105. In a further legal development, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court criminalises a range of associated acts, such as ordering, soliciting, inducing, aiding, abetting or assisting in the commission of the crime in a detailed scheme that conditions guilt on specific acts or mental state.
106. The tribunals have interpreted each of the elements of Article 7(1). In terms of the Blaskic case⁴⁵, an 'order' does not need to be in writing or in any particular form. It can be explicit or implicit and can be proved through leading evidence of a circumstantial nature. Nor does it require that the superior give the order directly to the perpetrator. In the Akayesu⁴⁶ case, the court held that it was the *mens rea* of the superior that was important, not the *animus* of the perpetrator – that is, the subordinate who executes the order. If one applies this principle to the occasion when Minister le Grange instructed General Petrus Johannes Coetzee to assemble a team to strike at the offices of the ANC in London in 1982, it becomes clear that he took part in the crime. Minister le Grange is deceased but, had he been alive, he would no doubt have needed to apply for amnesty for this act to escape potential prosecution. In this instance, General Coetzee applied for amnesty for his role in the London bombing.
107. General Mike Geldenhuys, the then Commissioner of Police, expressed his opposition to the fact that serving policemen were to be used. He appears thereafter to have played no role beyond remaining silent. Minister le Grange instructed General Coetzee that, notwithstanding his objections: 'the government had decided that the operation would need to go ahead'. Commissioner Geldenhuys could in all probability be held responsible for his omission in that he knew of the intention to commit a crime in another country and did nothing about it.
108. In the Tadic⁴⁷ case, the trial chamber of the ICTY elaborated on the meaning of 'accomplice' liability and concluded that the accomplice is guilty if 'his participation directly and substantially affected the commission of that offence through supporting the actual commission before, during, or after the incident' and that he 'had knowledge of the underlying act'. This test was not challenged and has been adopted by other chambers of the ICTY. In the Akayesu case, the ICTR defined 'planning' to mean 'one or several persons contemplate designing the commission of a crime at both the preparatory and execution phases'.

45 Appeals Chamber, ICTY, paras 281–2 citing *The Prosecutor v Jean Paul Akayesu*, Judgement of ICTR Trial Chamber, 2 September 98.

46 Appeals Chamber, ICTY, paras 281–2 citing *The Prosecutor v Jean Paul Akayesu*, Judgement of ICTR Trial Chamber, 2 September 98.

47 *Prosecution v Dusko Tadic*, Judgement of the Trial Chamber II, 7 May 1997, ICTY.

109. 'Instigating' was defined as 'prompting another to commit an offense with a causal connection between the instigation and the perpetration of the crime'. The ICTY held that whilst 'a causal relationship between the instigation and the physical perpetration of the crime needs to be demonstrated (i.e. that the contribution of the accused has an effect on the commission of the crime), it is not necessary to prove that the crime would not have been perpetrated without the accused's involvement'.
110. If one applies these principles to our situation, Minister le Grange would have been held responsible for the 1985 incident known as Operation Zero Zero. In terms of testimony before the Amnesty Committee, Le Grange authorised a plan that provided for the issue of defective hand grenades to a number of young Congress of South African Students (COSAS) activists on the East Rand. The hand grenades were to be used in operations against the state. However, the timing devices had been tampered with, which resulted in seven youths being killed and eight severely injured. In addition, a young woman who was suspected of being an informer was 'necklaced'⁴⁸, making her one of the first necklace victims in the country. Whilst Minister le Grange might not have known that Ms Maake Skosana would be killed, there is a causal link between her death and the hand grenade incident.
111. In 1987, the then Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok [AM4399/96] authorised the destruction of Cosatu House⁴⁹ in central Johannesburg on the night of 3 May 1987. A team from Vlakplaas, assisted by the Witswatersrand Security Branch and including its technical and explosives sections, undertook the operation. Although nobody was killed, there were approximately twenty people in the building at the time. The building itself was extensively damaged. Minister Vlok could technically have been charged for attempted murder.
112. In July 1988, Minister Vlok authorised the placing of dummy explosives in several cinemas around South Africa to provide a pretext for the seizure and banning of the film, *Cry Freedom*, which details the death of detainee Steve Biko at the hands of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch. This action followed a number of unsuccessful attempts to exert pressure on the Publications Control Board to ban the film. In giving reasons for his actions before the Commission, Minister Vlok expressed the view that he had tried the legal route and failed,

48 Burnt to death using petrol and a tyre placed around the victim.

49 Headquarters of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

and had therefore resorted to illegality as he had judged 'that this film would have been a risk as it was inciteful'.

113. In August 1988, Minister Vlok was allegedly ordered by then State President PW Botha to render Khotso House 'unusable', but to do so without loss of life. Khotso House was the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches, considered to be an opponent of the former state. Numerous anti-apartheid organisations, including the United Democratic Front, also had offices in the building. This case provides an interesting study as, in his evidence before the Amnesty Committee, Minister Vlok testified that, although he had not been given specific instructions to bomb Khotso House, he could not think of a legal way to carry out the State President's injunction. He also testified that, since President Botha had said that 'it should involve no loss of life', he was led to believe that that Mr Botha had been suggesting unlawful means. This operation, which was also conducted by Vlakplaas with assistance from the Witwatersrand security Branch and the explosives section at security Branch Headquarters, took place on the night of 31 August 1988. Given the legal principles enunciated above, there can be little doubt that Mr PW Botha remains liable for these operations.
114. All of these operations indicate that there was direct political authorisation for these unlawful activities, which involved loss of life and/or the potential for loss of life and damage to property.
115. The pattern that was followed by successive apartheid governments was to pass to laws to legitimise their conduct. When that failed, they did not hesitate to act outside of the law and resort to criminality.
116. In the Blaskic case⁵⁰, aiding and abetting was defined as providing practical assistance, encouragement or moral support with a substantial effect on the perpetration of the crime. In terms of the Blaskic decision, an omission may constitute aiding and abetting as long as the 'failure to act had a decisive effect on the commission of the crime'. The *mens rea* in such a case consists of 'knowledge that his acts assist the commission of the crime' and the accused must have 'intended to provide assistance, or as a minimum, accepted that such assistance would be a possible and foreseeable consequence of his conduct'. The Blaskic judgment notes that: 'it is sufficient that the aider and abettor knows that one of a number of crimes will be committed'.

⁵⁰ Appeals Chamber, ICTY, paras 281–2 citing *The Prosecutor v Jean Paul Akayesu*, Judgement of ICTR Trial Chamber, 2 September 98.

117. In the Foca case⁵¹, the trial chamber described ‘aiding and abetting’ as a contribution which may take the form of ‘practical assistance, encouragement or moral support which has a substantial effect on the perpetration of the crime. In this instance, the assistance need not have a causal connection to the act of the principal and it may involve an act or omission and take place before, during or after the commission of the crime’. In order for an individual to be held responsible for aiding and abetting, s/he must know that the acts assist in the commission of a specific crime by the principal. While the individual is not required to share the principal’s *mens rea*, ‘he must know of the essential elements of the crime (including the perpetrator’s *mens rea*) and take the conscious decisions to act in the knowledge that he thereby supports the commission of the crime.’

Command responsibility (omissions)

118. Under international law, an individual may be held responsible for omissions by the doctrine of superior or command responsibility. As set out earlier in this section, this doctrine is ancient in origin and emerged as an important principle particularly after World War II. It has also been a subject of considerable importance for international tribunals, which have recognised command responsibility as a principle firmly established in international law.

119. Article 7(3) of the ICTY statute reflects this rule:

The fact that any of the acts was committed by a subordinate does not relieve his superior of criminal responsibility if he knew or had reason to know that the subordinate was about to commit such acts or had done so and the superior failed to take the necessary and reasonable measures to prevent such acts or to punish the perpetrators thereof.

120. The command responsibility principle is also present in Article 86(2) of the First Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, which provides that:

The fact that a breach of the Conventions or of this Protocol was committed by a subordinate does not absolve his superiors from penal or disciplinary responsibility, as the case may be, if they knew, or had information which should have enabled them to conclude in the circumstances at the time, that he was committing or was going to commit such a breach and if they did not take all feasible measures within their power to prevent or repress the breach.

⁵¹ Appeals Chamber, ICTY, para 391 citing *The Prosecutor v Furundzija* supra paras 235 and 249.

121. Command responsibility requires three elements following proof of the crime itself:
- a a superior–subordinate relationship between the accused and the perpetrator of the crime;
 - b that the accused knew or had reason to know that the crime was about to be or had been committed; and
 - c that the accused failed to take the necessary and reasonable measures to prevent the crime or punish the perpetrator.
122. The same principle has been applied in dealing with civil responsibility under the Alien Tort Claims Act in the United States. In the case of Paul v April⁵², a federal court held that Prosper Avril, a Haitian military dictator, was personally responsible for a systematic pattern of egregious abuses, since the perpetrators acted under his instructions and within the scope of the authority granted by him. The court heard evidence that he had known that the torture was being committed.
123. In the case of Forti v Suarez-Mason,⁵³ the court noted that:
- under International law, responsibility for torture, summary execution or disappearances extends beyond the person or persons who actually committed those acts – anyone with higher authority who authorized, tolerated or knowingly ignored those acts is liable for them.*
124. Using this principle, all former heads of the apartheid state could be held responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations committed by their agents.
125. The meaning of each of the elements of command responsibility require some discussion.

Superior–subordinate relationship

126. Jurisprudence on this point envisions that the principle of superior responsibility encompasses heads of state, political leaders and other civilian superiors in positions of authority.

⁵² 901 F. Supp. 339 (SD FLA 1994).

⁵³ 672 F. Supp. 1531, 1537-8 (N.D. CAL.1987).

127. In clarifying this issue, it is important to note the following:
- a The commander may be at any level.
 - b The commander, even if in an *ad hoc* command position, is responsible for the acts of men operating under him.
 - c Control may be direct or indirect.
 - d Control may be *de facto* as well as *de jure*.
128. The Foca⁵⁴ case clarifies that a superior–subordinate relationship cannot be determined by reference to formal status alone. What must be established is whether the superior had the material ability to exercise his powers to prevent and punish the commission of the subordinates’ offences.
129. It is clear that those superiors (either *de jure* or *de facto*, military or civilian) who are clearly part of a direct or indirect chain of command and who have the power to control or punish the acts of subordinates incur criminal responsibility.
130. The tribunals have not interpreted ‘chain of command’ literally but have held rather that as long as the fundamental requirement of an effective power to control the subordinate, in the sense of preventing or punishing criminal conduct is satisfied, the principle will hold.

Knowledge

131. Knowledge has been elaborated in international law to include: ‘knew or had information which should have enabled them to conclude in the circumstances at the time’; ‘knew or had reason to know’; ‘either knew or, owing to the circumstances at the time should have known’, and ‘either knew, or consciously disregarded information which clearly indicated that subordinates have or are about to commit international crimes’. International law takes into account the law as elaborated after the World War II trials and the terms of Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions, which was written in 1977.
132. The ICTY interpreted customary international law in the Celebic case to be that a superior cannot be held responsible unless:
- He effectively knows, through direct or circumstantial evidence at his disposal, that his subordinates have committed or are about to commit the crimes; or*
- He has reason to believe that they have or are about to commit such crimes.*

⁵⁴ Appeals Chamber, ICTY.

133. The Celebic case draws a distinction between military commanders and civilian superiors, suggesting that a higher standard of proof will be required in the case of civilian superiors.

134. In the Blaskic case, the trial chamber restated the Celebic decision and then conducted its own review of the war crimes case from World War II. The trial chamber concluded that:

after World War II, a standard was established according to which a commander may be liable for crimes by his subordinates if he failed to exercise the means available to him to learn of the offence and, under the circumstances, he should have known and such failure to know constitutes criminal dereliction.

135. After turning to the Additional Protocol, the trial chamber in this judgment found that:

if a commander has exercised due diligence in the fulfilment of his duties lacks knowledge that crimes are about to be or have been committed, such lack of knowledge cannot be held against him. However, taking into account his particular position of command and the circumstances prevailing at the time, such ignorance cannot be a defense where the absence of knowledge is the result of negligence in the discharge of his duties: this commander had reason to know within the meaning of the Statute.

136. This standard does not mean that the superior must have information on subordinate offences in his actual possession in order for liability to attach. It is sufficient that the superior has some general information in his possession that, 'would put him on notice of possible unlawful acts by his subordinates'. The information may be written or oral and does not need to be in the form of reports submitted pursuant to a monitoring system; nor does it have to provide specific information about unlawful acts. In the Celebic case, the Appeals Chamber posits, for example, that if a military commander has received information that some of the soldiers under his command have a violent or unstable character or have been drinking prior to going out on a mission, this may be considered as meeting the knowledge requirement. In this regard, the fact that the state used individuals like Eugene de Kock, Ferdi Barnard and others like them may attach liability to those who appointed them to carry out these deeds. They should indeed have expected them to do so because of the identification of quirks in their character.

Reasonable and necessary measures

137. The question of whether a commander took appropriate steps to prevent atrocities is a factual issue and is dependent on the circumstances of each case. International law is clear that, whilst a superior cannot do the impossible, he can be held responsible for failing to take measures within his real capacity. The ICTY has also held that punishing a perpetrator after the event does not satisfy this obligation if the commander had reason to know beforehand that crimes might be committed. It is not necessary that there should be a causal link between the superior's omission and the violation.

138. The Kordic and Cerkez⁵⁵ cases deal with the twin obligations of preventing and punishing.

the duty to prevent should be understood as resting on a superior at any stage before the commission of a subordinate crime if he acquires knowledge that such a crime is being prepared or planned or when he has reasonable grounds to suspect subordinate crimes. The duty to punish naturally arises after a crime has been committed. Persons who assume command after the commission are under the same duty to punish. This duty includes at least an obligation to investigate the crimes to establish the facts and to report them to the competent authorities, if the superior does not have the power to sanction himself. Civilian superiors would be under a similar obligation, depending upon the effective powers exercised and whether they include an ability to require the competent authorities to take action.

139. If one applies this test to some of the cross-border operations, a number of people could find themselves facing criminal action, given the fact that hardly anybody applied for amnesty for these operations.

140. General Coetzee testified as to his involvement in the Maseru raid and the raid on Gaborone. It is known that these raids were authorised by the former government, despite the fact that no minuted decision can be found in either the records of the State Security Council or Cabinet. Many high-ranking individuals, including Minister Vlok, have argued that, if such unlawful activity had been authorised, such authorisation would be reflected in minutes. The fact that these two raids were not reflected in minutes negates this argument.

141. It is clear that the Commission has no reason to change its findings. In addition, were the state to pursue a vigorous prosecution policy, many high-ranking politicians could find themselves sitting behind bars.

⁵⁵ Trial Chamber, ICTY.



Volume **SIX** • Section **FIVE** • Chapter **THREE**

**Findings and
Recommendations**

**HOLDING THE ANC
ACCOUNTABLE**

Holding the ANC Accountable

■ INTRODUCTION

1. In its five-volume Final Report, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) fully endorsed the international law position that apartheid was a crime against humanity. It also recognised that both the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were internationally recognised liberation movements that conducted a legitimate struggle against the former South African government and its policy of apartheid.
2. The Commission noted that the ANC made submissions to the Commission, including handing over a report on internal inquiries it had conducted in exile. It is important to restate that the ANC was, in all respects, more frank and co-operative with the Commission than either the state or the PAC.

FINDINGS

3. The Commission noted that, of the three main parties to the conflict, only the ANC committed itself to observing the tenets of the Geneva Protocols and, in the main, conducting the armed struggle in accordance with international humanitarian law. This report acknowledges the commitment of the ANC to upholding the Geneva Protocols as well as its comparative restraint in conducting the armed struggle – at least in terms of the manner in which it identified its targets and its leadership's decision to instruct its cadres to abandon the land-mine campaign when it became clear that it was resulting in the deaths and injuries of innocent civilians.
4. However, the Commission drew a distinction between the conduct of a 'just war' and the question of 'just means'. The Commission found that, whilst its struggle was just, the ANC had, in the course of the conflict, contravened the Geneva Protocols and was responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations. For this reason the Commission held that the ANC and its organs – the National Executive Council (NEC), the Secretariat and its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) – had, in the course of their political activities

and in the conduct of the armed struggle, committed gross human rights violations for which they are morally and politically accountable.

THE POSITION AFTER THE HANDING OVER OF THE FINAL REPORT

5. As mentioned above, the Commission wishes to place on record that it sought in its findings to draw a distinction between a 'just war' and 'just means'. It did not criminalise the struggle. It was, however, obliged in terms of its mandate set out in its founding Act⁵⁶ to determine the question of responsibility for the commission of gross human rights violations.
6. On the eve of handing over its Final Report, the ANC sought to interdict the Commission from doing so. The essence of the application was to challenge the Commission's interpretation of the *audi alterem partem* rule and to compel the Commission to meet with it to discuss the proposed findings. This court challenge is dealt with in Section One, Chapter Four of this volume. The High Court of the Western Cape found against the ANC, thereby allowing the Commission to hand its report over to President Mandela. There was, however, a great deal of acrimony between the Commission and the ANC about the findings made. Yet the fact is that the Commission said nothing that had not already been brought to the Commission by the ANC itself. It was indeed the ANC's disclosures and acknowledgment that gross human rights violations had been committed in the conduct of the struggle that assisted the Commission in coming to its conclusions.
7. In February 1999, at a sitting of both houses of parliament convened to discuss the Report, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki reiterated his complaint that the ANC had not been able to meet with the Commission to discuss its findings against the ANC. He made the following statement:

What we had sought to discuss with the TRC pertained to such obviously important matters as the definition of the concept of gross violations of human rights in the context of a war situation and other issues relating to war and peace and the humane conduct of warfare. One of the central matters at issue was, and remains, the erroneous determination of various actions of our liberation movement as gross violations of human rights, including the general implication that any and all military activity which results in the loss of civilian lives constitutes a gross violation of human rights. Indeed, it could also be said that the erroneous

56 The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995, (the Act).

*logic followed by the TRC, which was contrary even to the Geneva Conventions and Protocols governing the conduct of warfare, would result in the characterisation of all irregular wars of liberation as tantamount to a gross violation of human rights. We cannot accept such a conclusion*⁵⁷.

8. The Commission is not required to respond to criticism of its findings by the ANC and other critics. However, at the time that the findings of responsibility were made, the work of the Amnesty Committee was not complete and there was some expectation that the Commission would re-examine these findings in the light of the amnesty decisions and the evidence received through this process. In doing so, it is necessary to deal with both international law and international humanitarian law.

INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

9. The Geneva Conventions were adopted in 1949 and South Africa acceded to them in 1952. In 1977, additional Protocols I and II were adopted. In 1980, the ANC deposited a declaration with the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) committing the ANC to international humanitarian law.⁵⁸
10. The principles of international humanitarian law that apply to the situation in South Africa are set out in Chapter One of this section. The chapter also deals with the ANC's declaration that it would govern the conduct of its struggle in accordance with international humanitarian law.

Moral equivalence

11. One of the criticisms the ANC levelled at the Commission was that of 'moral equivalence'. The ANC claimed that the Commission equated the actions of those who fought a just cause against apartheid with those who fought in defence of an unjust cause.
12. The Commission's position has always been⁵⁹ that it was obliged by statute to deal even-handedly with all victims. Its actions in this respect were guided, amongst other things, by the principle that victims should be treated equally, without discrimination of any kind. Despite this, however, the Commission did not suspend moral judgment and drew a distinction between the actions of the state and those of the liberation movements.

⁵⁷ Hansard: Feb 5–March 26 1999.

⁵⁸ See the Appendix to this chapter.

⁵⁹ See Volume One.

13. When dealing with the question of even-handedness and moral equivalence (whether making its findings against the state, the liberation movements or other parties), the Commission relied on internationally accepted human rights principles. In order to arrive at a definition of a gross human rights violation, the Commission relied on the definition contained in the Act and, in making its assessment, took into account the political context and the circumstances within which the violation had taken place.
14. This did not, however, mean that the Commission treated the conflict as a conflict between equal parties. The Commission recognised that the might of the state, with all its power and legitimacy (however ill-conferred) was in a far stronger position than were the liberation movements.
15. The Commission also never characterised the war that the former state waged against its own people as either morally or legally justified.
16. The Commission also took care not to use apartheid definitions of legal conduct.

IUS IN BELLO AND IUS AD BELLUM

17. The ANC also criticised the Commission for failing to deal adequately with the fact that the apartheid state acted in breach of the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols. According to this view, the actions that the state considered to be legitimate were war crimes. For this reason it is important to elucidate the distinction between a 'just war' and 'just means'.
18. In its five-volume Final Report, the Commission stated the following:

The application of some of the principles and criteria of just war theory have proved difficult and controversial, especially when dealing with unconventional wars, that is wars of national liberation, civil wars and guerrilla wars within states. The distinction between means and cause is a dimension of just war theory that cannot be ignored. Often this distinction is made in terms of justice in war (ius in bello) and justice of war (ius ad bellum).
19. In dealing with the doctrine of justice in war, the Commission stated:

There are limits to how much force may be used in a particular context and restrictions on who or what may be targeted. Two principles dominate this body of law:

The use of force must be reasonably tailored to a legitimate military end;

Certain individuals are entitled to specific protection, making a fundamental distinction between combatants and non-combatants. Thus even an enemy soldier who is armed and ready for combat may be harmed and even killed, but a civilian or a sick, wounded or captured soldiers may not be harmed.

20. The Report stated further:

The Commission's confirmation that the apartheid system was a crime against humanity does not mean that all acts carried out in order to destroy apartheid was necessarily legal, moral and acceptable. The Commission with the international consensus that those who were fighting for a just cause were under an obligation to employ just means in the conduct of this fight.

As far as justice in war is concerned, the framework within which the Commission made its findings was in accordance with international law and the views and findings of international organisations and judicial bodies. The strict prohibitions against torture and abduction and the grave breach of killing and injuring defenceless people, civilians and soldiers 'hors de combat' required the Commission to conclude that not all actions in war could be regarded as morally or legally legitimate, even where the cause was just.

21. Given the ANC's own commitment to upholding the Geneva Conventions and the various principles of international humanitarian law – as well as its own Declaration in 1980 – it is difficult to understand why it wishes to pursue this argument. The Commission, however, stands by this distinction. Hans-Peter Gasser, a former Senior Legal Adviser to the ICRC has stated:

The rules of international law apply to all armed conflicts, irrespective of their origin or cause. They have to be respected in all circumstances and with regard to all persons protected by them, without any discrimination. In modern humanitarian law, there is no place for discriminatory treatment of victims of warfare based on the concept of 'just war'.

22. Professor Kader Asmal, a member of the ANC National Executive and a leading expert in international law, explained the ANC's commitment to the Geneva Conventions as follows:

The applicability of the humanitarian rules of war to conflicts between an incumbent state and a national liberation movement fighting for self-determination is

clearly accepted. The Protocols to the 1977 Geneva Conventions are intended to apply to such a conflict and were subscribed to by the ANC in 1980. Although the Apartheid state did not ratify the relevant Protocol, that Protocol merely codified pre-existing contemporary law on the subject. Thus both belligerents in South Africa were under an obligation to treat the conflict as one governed by the law of war. Under Article 85, paragraph 5 of the Geneva Protocol, 'grave breaches' of the Convention and Protocol constitute war crimes.⁶⁰

23. The report of the Motsuenyane Commission on conditions in the ANC camps in Angola spelt out the ANC's obligations under international humanitarian law, as well as the applicability of Article 75 of Protocol I of 1977 and Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions on the conditions and treatment of MK prisoners in their custody. The Motsuenyane Commission also referred to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. This report was accepted by the ANC and its findings were referred to the Commission.
24. Thus a just cause cannot mean that all restraint in the conduct of the war should be allowed to fall away. Although the cause of the liberation movements amounted to a just war, certain incidents that impacted on those who were *hors de combat* and 'civilians' were considered to be breaches of international law. A number of incidents involving indiscriminate bombings that led to the injury and death of civilians are regarded in law as breaches, the responsibility for which the group or movement that committed these acts must acknowledge.
25. This debate is a crucial one in modern times as the distinction between 'freedom fighter' and 'terrorist' becomes more blurred.
26. Again, the principle that derives is that the fact that the liberation movements' cause was just does not mean that they were not required to act justly in the conduct of that war. Thus the *ius in bello* cannot be separated from the *ius ad bellum*.
27. In essence, the effect of this distinction is to hold individuals, organisations, states and organs of the state accountable for their actions. Thus military commanders cannot evade the consequences of their orders; nor can subordinates evade punishment or accountability on the basis of having followed orders. The

⁶⁰ Asmal, K, Asmal L, and Roberts, RS, *Reconciliation through Truth: A Reckoning of Apartheid's Criminal Governance*. Cape Town, David Phillip, 1996.

responsibility to act within the boundaries of international humanitarian law binds all actors, both state and non-state parties. According to Professor Kader Asmal:

Traditionally, these two branches of international law have addressed separate issues: international humanitarian law has been concerned with the treatment of combatants and non-combatants by their opponents in wartime, while international human rights law has been concerned with the relationship between states and their own national son peacetime. Yet, even in earlier times, they shared a fundamental concern: a commitment to human dignity and welfare, irrespective of the status of the individual (combatant or non-combatant) and of the circumstances under which his rights and responsibilities are to be exercised (peacetime or wartime)⁶¹.

SPECIFIC FINDINGS

28. The Commission made its findings based, in the main, on frank and substantial submissions by the ANC and the testimony of both the political and military leadership at public hearings. In addition, the Commission took into account the statements of victims and testimony received from amnesty applicants and during section 29 hearings.

29. The Commission stated that:

The ANC has accepted responsibility for all actions committed by members of MK under its command in the period 1961 to august 1990. In this period there were a number of such actions – in particular the placing of limpet and land-mines – which resulted in civilian casualties. Whatever the justification given by the ANC for such acts – misinterpretation of policy, poor surveillance, anger or differing interpretations of what constituted a ‘legitimate military target’ – the people who were killed or injured by such explosions are all victims of gross human rights violations of human rights perpetrated by the ANC. While it is accepted that targeting civilians was not ANC policy, MK operations nonetheless ended up killing fewer security force members than civilians.

61 Ibid.

30. With respect to the actions of MK during the armed struggle, the Commission found that:

Whilst it was ANC policy that the loss of civilian life should be avoided, there were instances where members of MK perpetrated gross violations of human rights in that the distinction between military and civilian targets was blurred in certain armed actions, such as the 1983 Church street bombing of the SAAF headquarters, resulting in gross violations of human rights through civilian injury and loss of life.

In the course of the armed struggle there were instances where members of MK conducted unplanned military operations using their own discretion, and, without adequate control and supervision at an operational level, determined targets for attack outside of official policy guidelines. While recognising that such operations were frequently undertaken in retaliation for raids by the former South African Government into neighbouring countries, such unplanned operations nonetheless often resulted in loss of life, amounting to gross violations of human rights. The 1985 Amanzimtoti shopping centre bombing is regarded by the Commission in this light.

In the course of the armed struggle the ANC through MK planned and undertook military operations which, though intended for military or security force targets sometimes went awry for a variety of reasons, including poor intelligence and reconnaissance. The consequences in these cases, such as the Magoo Bar incident and the Durban esplanade bombings were gross violations of human rights in respect of the injuries to and loss of lives of civilians.

While the Commission acknowledges the ANC's submission that the former South African government had itself by the mid-1980's blurred the distinction between military and 'soft' targets by declaring border areas 'military zones' where farmers were trained and equipped to operate as an extension of military structures, it finds that the ANC's landmine campaigns in the period 1985 –1987 in the rural areas of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal cannot be condoned, in that it resulted in gross violations of the human rights of civilians including farm labourers and children, who were killed or injured, The ANC is held accountable for such gross human rights violations.

Individuals who defected to the state and became informers and/or members who became state witnesses in political trials and/or became Askaris were often labelled by the ANC as collaborators and regarded as legitimate targets to be killed. The Commission does not condone the legitimisation of such individuals as military targets and finds that the extra-judicial killings of such individuals constituted gross violations of human rights.

The Commission finds that, in the 1980's in particular, a number of gross violations of human rights were perpetrated not by direct members of the ANC or those operating under its formal command but by civilians who saw themselves as ANC supporters. In this regard, the Commission finds that the ANC is morally and politically accountable for creating a climate in which such supporters believed their actions to be legitimate and carried out within the broad parameters of a 'people's war' as enunciated by the ANC.

31. If these findings are analysed, it can be seen that they fall into the following categories:
 - a attacks ostensibly on military targets but where civilians are killed and injured;
 - b unplanned and indiscriminate attacks on targets outside of official policy guidelines and which affect civilians;
 - c planned military operations that go wrong and where civilians are killed;
 - d the deliberate targeting of individuals labelled as traitors;
 - e attacks carried out by MK on both military and civilian targets, and
 - f attacks carried out by supporters of the ANC. In this regard, actions by UDF supporters and the SDUs are pertinent.

32. If one examines each of these categories in terms of the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I⁶², they are clearly defined as grave breaches.
 - a Articles 50, 51, 130 and 147 specify the following grave breaches of the four Geneva Conventions respectively: wilful killing; torture or inhuman treatment; biological experiments; wilfully causing great suffering; causing serious injury to body or health, and extensive destruction and appropriation of property not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly.
 - b The following are considered to be grave breaches in terms of Articles 130 and 147 of the third and fourth Geneva Conventions: compelling a prisoner of war or a protected civilian to serve in the armed forces of the hostile power, and wilfully depriving a prisoner of war or a protected person of the rights of fair and regular trial prescribed in the conventions.
 - c The following are considered to be grave breaches of the fourth Geneva Convention in terms of Article 147: unlawful deportation or transfer; unlawful confinement of a protected person, and taking of hostages.

⁶² See Appendix 2 to Chapter One of this section.

- d Articles 11 and 85 of Protocol I specify what constitutes a grave breach. For our purposes, the following acts, when committed wilfully and if they cause death or serious injury to body and health constitute grave breaches: making the civilian population or individual civilians the object of attack; launching an indiscriminate attack affecting the civilian population or civilian objects in the knowledge that such attack will cause excessive loss of life, injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects; launching an attack against works or installations containing dangerous forces in the knowledge that such attack will cause excessive loss of life, injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects; making non-defended localities and demilitarised zones the object of attack; making a person the object of an attack in the knowledge that he is *hors de combat*, and depriving a person protected by the Conventions or by Protocol I of the rights of a fair and regular trial.
33. An analysis of the information received by the Commission confirms that there were no actions of note taken by MK inside South Africa during the period 1964 to 1975.
34. The period 1976 to 1984, however, saw a steady rise in the number of armed attacks. The Commission recorded a total of 265 incidents in this regard.
35. Another notable feature of this period are attacks on police stations and police officers, who were deemed to be collaborators and were therefore seen as legitimate targets for execution.
36. David Simelane and Obed Masina, for example, were granted amnesty for the killing of Sergeant Orphan Hlubi Chapi outside his Soweto home in June 1978. It was, however, the formation of the ANC Special Operations Unit in 1979 that led to the launch of several high-profile attacks on police stations, state infrastructure and a major attack on SADF personnel, namely the Church Street bombing. Here a car bomb placed outside the South African Air Force headquarters in Pretoria led to the deaths of nineteen people. In terms of the numbers of casualties, this was the most devastating attack by MK in its entire history. The Commission received amnesty applications for a total of seventy-nine incidents carried out by this unit during this period.⁶³

⁶³ See Section Three, Chapter Two in this volume.

37. The amnesty applications reveal that, whilst orders were given in certain cases, targets were for the most part selected by the unit in question. For example, Mr Maake, a member of the Nchabaleng unit which operated around Kwandabele, was responsible for the death of a local police officer. Maake testified at his amnesty hearing that decisions about specific operations were taken by the unit itself. Mr Shoke, a member of another unit, testified that:

What you must understand that guerrillas as opposed in fact to conventional forces, we exercise what we call command initiative, you rely on the initiative of the individual and everybody in MK was being prepared in fact to become a Commander.

38. Whilst some units testified to the fact that decisions were taken by consensus, there is no doubt that that a number of civilians were killed because of the individualised nature of target selection. In addition, assassinations frequently targeted police officers or individuals perceived to be collaborators with the former state. For example, the members of the elimination unit ('Icing Unit') engaged in six operations, including three assassinations, before they were caught in September 1986.
39. Evidence before the Commission in respect of targets indicates that attacks were aimed primarily at the state and its organs and those who were branded as collaborators, and that it was not ANC policy to engage in operations that deliberately targeted civilians. In his amnesty hearing, Aboobaker Ismail testified as follows:

We never set out deliberately to attack civilian targets. We followed the political objectives of the African National Congress in the course of a just struggle. However in the course of a war, life is lost, and the injury to and the loss of life of innocent civilians becomes inevitable. The challenge before us was to avoid indiscriminate killing and to focus on security forces.

40. Yet, despite the stated intentions and the clear policy of the ANC with regard to the selection of targets, the majority of these casualties were civilians.
41. Another facet of MK operations was the targeting of those regarded as collaborators. These included police officers, their family members, councillors, state witnesses in trials, and suspected informers. In terms of the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I to the Conventions, all of these killings are regarded as grave breaches and therefore constitute 'war crimes' in terms of the definitions.

42. In the submission made by the ANC to the Commission in response to its findings, the ANC made it clear that they regarded spies as legitimate targets for killings. In addition, they raised the fact that civilians killed in the course of attacks on military targets were permissible collateral damage.
43. After its Kabwe Conference, the ANC hardened its stance on civilians. The ANC stated in its submission to the Commission that the Kabwe Conference:
reaffirmed ANC policy with regard to targets considered legitimate: SADF and SAP personnel and installations, selected economic installations and administrative infrastructure. But the risk of civilians being caught in the crossfire when such operations took place could no longer be allowed to prevent the urgently needed, all round intensification of the armed struggle. The focus of the armed operations had to shift towards striking directly at enemy personnel, and the struggle had to move out of the townships to the white areas.
44. Testimony from amnesty applicants indicates that they clearly saw civilian casualties as a necessary consequence of military operations, almost an acceptable form of collateral damage.
45. It is equally clear that action was rarely taken against operatives or units who were responsible for these breaches of humanitarian law. Whilst the ANC acknowledged in its submission that a number of attacks carried out by MK were not in line with ANC policy, it is clear that the operatives concerned were not censured, nor were they repudiated by the movement. The ANC did, however, seek to educate the rank and file on what constituted ANC policy.
46. There is no doubt, however, that as the number of civilian casualties began to rise, ANC President Oliver Tambo and the leadership of the ANC became gravely concerned. In 1987, Mr Tambo expressed his concern about the number of unnecessary civilian casualties resulting from the landmine campaign and ordered that all cadres be fully educated about ANC policy with regard to legitimate targets. Failure to comply with these orders would be considered violations of policy and action would be taken against offenders.
47. In 1988, the NEC issued a statement on the conduct of the armed struggle and expressed its concern at the recent spate of attacks on civilians. Whilst amnesty applicants were fairly sanguine about the legitimacy of their targets, the political leadership was clearly concerned.

ACTS COMMITTED BY CIVILIANS PRIOR TO 1990

48. While MK operations undoubtedly contributed significantly to resistance activities, particularly in the pre-1990s period, civilian activity inside the country took place on a larger scale. The submission made to the Commission by the Foundation for Equality before the Law cited 80 507 unrest-related incidents in the period 1984 to 1992. It also referred to 979 cases of burning and 'necklacing'.
49. In its five-volume Final Report, the Commission described the United Democratic Front (UDF) as a loose federation that brought together a large number of social, civic and political organisations of differing backgrounds, racial constituencies and political orientations. The purpose of the UDF was to act as an umbrella body for opponents of the state who sought to achieve a non-racial, democratic and unitary state. Whilst its founding document stated that it was not a front for the banned liberation movement, it became increasingly supportive of the ANC.
50. The UDF became the rallying point for a wide range of affiliates comprising youth and civic organisations, scholar and student organisations, church and welfare organisations, trade unions, sporting and cultural organisations, and political and quasi-political organisations. It was able to mobilise very large groups of people for rallies and meetings, which were characterised by powerful oratory and wide-ranging demands for political change.
51. The Commission stated that, from 1985, the UDF sought to dismantle government and security force control and administration. It sought to promote and enact the concept of 'people's power', which envisaged administrative, welfare and judicial functions in the townships being assumed by community-based and sectoral organisations. This included the establishment of forums to administer civil and criminal justice through people's courts.
52. The Commission made the following findings against the UDF:⁶⁴

The Commission acknowledges that it was not the policy of the UDF to attack and kill political opponents, but finds that members and supporters of UDF affiliate organisations often committed gross violations of human rights in the context of widespread State-sponsored or –directed violence and a climate of political intolerance.

⁶⁴ Volume Five, Chapter Six, pp. 246–7.

The UDF facilitated such gross violations of human rights in that its leaders, office bearers and members, through their campaigns, public statements and speeches, acted in a manner which helped create a climate in which members of affiliated organisations believed that they were morally justified in taking unlawful action against State structures, individual members of State organisations and persons perceived as supporters of the State and its structures. Further, in its endorsement and promotion of the ‘toyi-toyi’, slogans and songs that encouraged and/or eulogised violent actions, the UDF created a climate in which such actions were considered legitimate. Inasmuch as the State is held accountable for the use of language in speeches and slogans, so must the mass democratic movement and liberation movements be held accountable.

The Commission finds that factors referred to in the paragraph above led to widespread excesses, abuses and gross violations of human rights by supporters and members of organisations affiliated to the UDF. These actions include:

- *The killing (often by means of ‘necklacing’), attempted killing and severe ill-treatment of political opponents, members of state structures such as black local authorities and the SAP, and the burning and destruction of homes and properties;*
- *The violent enforcement of work stay aways and boycotts of, among others, private and public transport and private retail shops, leading to killing, attempted killing and severe ill-treatment;*
- *Political intolerance resulting in violent inter-organisational conflict with Azapo and the IFP, among others.*

The UDF and its leadership:

- *Failed to exert the political and moral authority available to it to stop the practices outlined above, despite the fact that such practices were frequently associated with official UDF campaigns such as consumer boycotts or campaigns against black local authorities. In particular, the UDF and its leadership failed to use the full extent of its authority to bring an end to the practice of necklacing, committed in many instances by its members and supporters.*
- *Failed to take appropriately strong or robust steps or measures to prevent, discourage, restrain and inhibit its affiliates and supporters from becoming involved in action leading to gross violations of human rights, as referred to above.*

- *Failed to exert sanctions or disciplinary action on member organisations whose members were involved in the gross violations of human rights described above, or failed to urge such member organisations to take appropriate actions against their members.*
- *The Commission notes that the political leadership of the UDF has accepted political and moral responsibility for the actions of its members. Accordingly the UDF is accountable for the gross violations of human rights committed in its name and as a consequence of its failure to take the steps referred to above.*

53. The Commission based its findings on the evidence it received both through the human rights violations and the amnesty processes. However, partially because the UDF had already disbanded by 1991, and because no central structure existed to encourage amnesty applications, the number of amnesty applications received do not tally with the figures that the Commission received in respect of violations. The Commission received eighty-five applications, which included fourteen acts not considered to be gross human rights violations. The remaining seventy-one applications dealt with offences ranging from arson affecting government property to gross human rights violations in which people were killed.
54. Whilst it was not UDF policy to kill, there is no doubt that the targeting of certain individuals and their families for killing and arson involving their property was tolerated and encouraged in certain quarters. Some of the most shocking incidents took place during this era. Many organisations targeted those they regarded as traitors and collaborators. Police officers, councillors in the former local government, informers and their families were regarded as fair game.
55. For example, in the amnesty application of Mr Mziwoxolo Stokwe for the killing of Mr Skune Tembisile Maarman, Stokwe testified that COSAS identified Maarman as a police informer and stoned him to death. Later he was necklaced. Eight people including Stokwe were charged for his killing. Stokwe and his group also launched attacks on the homes of perceived collaborators, including a school principal and two councillors.
56. When Stokwe discovered that one of the comrades, Ntiki Fibana, had agreed to appear as a witness for the State, the group decided to deal with her in the following way:

We got information that Ms Ntiki was at her home together with the police with intention of removing her property. We rushed to the place and when the police

saw the crowd they drove away, they left Ntiki inside the house. We took her out and set the house alight. Thereafter we stoned her to death and set her alight with the tyre on her neck. No meeting took a decision to kill Ms Ntiki, but we had to deal with the situation immediately as she was there during that conflict moment. After we killed, we had a meeting where we took a decision to cross the borders of South Africa, to Lesotho for military training and to join Umkhonto weSizwe.

57. Whilst these kinds of incidents are considered to be gross human rights violations, they need to be contextualised. At the time, the country was engulfed in violence in which the apartheid state was the primary actor. It had established covert units, including death squads, whose main intention was to assassinate those considered to be political opponents, and was using all its might to crush opposition. Youth were targeted and enticed into entrapment operations. It would have been quite impossible for the UDF leadership to control the violence and actions of groups within communities all over the country. While the leadership may have uttered words of restraint, it is unlikely that they would have been heeded. This context of violence gave rise to some of the worst excesses in our country.

58. In testimony before the Amnesty Committee, Mr Stokwe stated the following:

As a member of Cosas, when it was said that the country must be ungovernable, those were the means to try and send a message to the government. That is why we are in this present situation today. In a war, if you focus on a certain target and there are stumbling blocks in front of you, you would start with them because we would not be able to reach our goal because they were informers. So in order to reach our target, we had to start with them, so that was our strategy.

59. Amnesty was also sought for an incident in which a police officer, Mr Benjamin Masinga, was killed by members of UDF affiliated organisations. Masinga was taken from his house, attacked with sticks, stones, bricks and axes rendering him unconscious. He was dragged to a nearby school, was doused with petrol and was then set alight.
60. These and other incidents reveal that the perpetrators believed that they were acting under a broad political directive to eliminate those considered to be a threat to the struggle and the movement. In some instances they had contact with members of MK and the ANC but, even where this had been the case, they

testified that they were not acting under orders. They saw it as their role to make the country ungovernable and to eliminate those who were perceived to be 'collaborators'.

61. There is no evidence of UDF leadership encouraging killing or the commission of gross human rights violations. It is also clear from the testimony before the Commission that they did not play an active role in the commission of gross human rights violations. However, the general clarion call that they made to make the townships ungovernable and to eliminate those who collaborated led to the commission of gross human rights violations for which the leadership of the UDF must accept responsibility.
62. Information that emerged from the hearings of the Amnesty Committee strengthens the findings made by the Commission in its Final Report.

GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED BY THE ANC IN EXILE

Introduction

63. In its five-volume Final Report, the Commission recorded that it had received the reports of the Stewart, Skweyiya, Sachs and Motsuenyane Commissions of Inquiry. All of these commissions had been appointed by the ANC. The Commission also had sight of the report of the Douglas Commission. These commissions of inquiry investigated allegations of human rights abuses in the ANC camps and in exile. The Commission also received evidence from victims testifying to their experiences both in the camps and in exile.
64. The Commission must also record its appreciation to the ANC for the frank way in which it handled this question during its submissions to the Commission and during the two political party hearings. The disclosures made enabled the Commission to get a sense of the problems encountered when dealing with young people in the camps and how justice was dispensed in the camps. The ANC also handed over a file that dealt with a number of the executions that had taken place in the camps.
65. A number of section 29 hearings took place, during which those named as responsible for abuses were questioned about their role and the prevailing conditions. The Commission received twenty-one amnesty applications from

members of the ANC's security department. However, nine applications were later withdrawn. This deprived victims of the opportunity to find out what had happened to their loved ones.

66. The twelve remaining applications included four killings, three cases of negligence that may have contributed to deaths, one shooting and eleven cases of assault of persons in the custody of the ANC. All of these applications were granted. Eight of them were dealt with at a public hearing.
67. Whilst the movement at a leadership level made frank disclosures, the same cannot be said of the welfare desk. The Commission was required to deal with this desk on a daily basis in order to verify information supplied by victims and their families. In more than 250 instances, the Commission was unable to obtain any response from the welfare desk, thereby creating further suspicions in the minds of many families about the deaths or disappearances of loved ones.
68. The death of Mr Thabo Naphtali provides one example of this. In terms of the evidence given to the Commission, he was accidentally shot during a night skirmish in the camp at Viana. Although his family knew that he had gone into exile, the movement neither notified them that he had died nor informed of the circumstances of his death. They discovered these facts only at the amnesty hearing.
69. In terms of international law, the fact that persons died in custody at the hands of the ANC places the responsibility for their deaths on the ANC.
70. The Commission recorded the following findings, on the basis of the evidence before it:⁶⁵

The ANC and particularly its military structures responsible for the treatment and welfare of those in its camps were guilty of gross violations of human rights in certain circumstances and against two categories of individuals, namely suspected 'enemy agents' and 'mutineers'.

The Commission found that suspected agents were routinely subjected to torture and other forms of severe ill treatment and that there were cases of such individuals being charged and convicted by Tribunals without proper attention to due process, sentenced to death and executed. The Commission found that the

⁶⁵ Volume Five, Chapter Six, p. 242.

human rights of individuals so affected were grossly violated. Likewise, the Commission found that the failure to communicate properly with the families of such victims constituted callous and insensitive conduct.

The Commission also found that all so-called mutineers who were executed after conviction by military Tribunal, irrespective of whether they were afforded proper legal representation and due process or not, suffered a gross violation of their human rights.

With regard to the allegations of torture and ill treatment, the Commission found that although torture was not within ANC policy, the security department of the ANC routinely used torture to extract information and confessions from those being held in camps particularly in the period 1979–1989. The Commission noted the various forms of torture detailed by the Motsuenyane commission, namely the deliberate infliction of pain, severe ill-treatment in the form of detention in solitary confinement, and the deliberate withholding of food and water and/or medical care, and finds that they amounted to gross violations of human rights.

71. The Motsuenyane Commission submitted its report to the ANC in August 1993. Its conclusion was that there had been severe abuses in ANC detention camps over a number of years. In one detention camp, the Commission concluded that:

Quatro was intended to be a rehabilitation centre. Instead, it became a dumping ground for all who fell foul of the Security Department, whether they were loyal supporters accused of being enemy agents, suspected spies or convicts. All were subjected to torture, ill-treatment and humiliation far too frequently to achieve its purpose as a rehabilitation centre.

72. The Motsuenyane Commission also found that adequate steps were not taken in good time against those responsible for such violations.

Commentary

73. Testimony before the Amnesty Committee has confirmed that there were abuses in exile. The security department of the ANC routinely used torture and assault as a means to extract information from those it suspected of being enemy agents or dissidents. In those instances where operatives were executed, it is clear that there were some instances of due process being afforded to those accused of offences. In the main, however, due process was given perfunctory observance and these so-called trials cannot be conceived of as remotely

resembling fair trials or hearings. These actions are contraventions of the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I.

74. The information that the Commission received subsequent to the submission of its five-volume Final Report has confirmed that the Commission was correct in making the findings that it did.

GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED BY SELF-DEFENCE UNITS

75. In its Final Report, the Commission made the following finding against the ANC in respect of the commission of gross human rights violations perpetrated by self-defence units (SDUs):

Whilst the Commission accepts that the violent conflict which consumed the country in the post-1990 period was neither initiated by nor in the interests of the ANC, the ANC must nonetheless account for the many hundreds of people killed or injured by its members in the conflict. While the ANC leadership has argued that its members were acting in self-defence, it is the Commission's view that at times the conflict assumed local dynamics in which proactive revenge attacks were carried out by both sides. High levels of political intolerance among all parties, including the ANC, further, exacerbated this situation; the Commission contends that the leadership should have been aware of the consequences of training and arming members of SDUs' in a volatile situation in which they had little control over the actions of such members. The Commission therefore found that in the period 1990 to 1994, the ANC was responsible for:

- *Killings, assaults and attacks on political opponents including members of the IFP, PAC, Azapo and the SAP*
- *Contributing to a spiral of violence in the country through the creation and arming of self-defence units (SDUs).*

While acknowledging that it was not the policy of the ANC to attack and kill political opponents, the Commission finds that in the absence of adequate command structures and in the context of widespread state-sponsored or directed violence and a climate of political intolerance, SDU members often 'took the law in their own hands' and committed gross violations of human rights.

The Commission takes note that the political leadership of the African National Congress and the command structure of Umkhonto WeSizwe accepted political and moral responsibility for all the actions of its members in the period

1990–1994 and therefore finds that the leadership of the ANC and MK must take responsibility and be accountable for all gross violations of human rights perpetrated by its membership and cadres during the mandate period.

76. The finding was based on evidence that the Commission received from victims who testified or made statements to the Commission, evidence at hearings and submissions handed to the Commission.

Response of the ANC

77. In its response to the Section 30 finding, the ANC argued that the finding:

has the deliberate intention, contrary to the truth readily available to the TRC, of shifting the blame for the political violence which occurred in the period since 1990 away for the apartheid regime to the democratic movement and condemning the oppressed for the efforts they took to defend themselves against a very intense campaign of repression and terror.

78. The ANC also restated what it had said in its submission to the Commission in May 1997:

The post-1990 violence was the work of the state, was organised at the highest level, and was aimed at strengthening the hand of the government at the negotiations table by forcing a progressively weakened ANC into a reactive position in which it would be held hostage to the violence and forced to make constitutional concession.... the ANC was not engaging in 'ongoing conflict', nor were the majority of the people on the ground embroiled in 'ongoing conflict': they were being attacked by covert units operating in accordance with the wishes of the apartheid regime.

Amnesty process

79. The Commission received a number of applications from members of ANC-aligned SDUs for violations committed during the 1990s. However, this was the result of a concerted effort made by a few individuals. Regrettably, a large number of SDUs were not reached in time and many did not have access to legal assistance. In certain instances, they did not qualify because of ongoing violence, which culminated in further incidents of violence linked but occurring beyond the mandate period. In this regard, the Commission visited a number of young people in prison.

Environment in the townships during the period in question

80. In the period following the unbanning of the ANC, the townships were in turmoil. The stakes were high for both the state and its surrogate, the IFP, both of whom were opposed to the ANC taking power. Township residents were constantly under attack by surrogate forces of the state, which included members of the IFP, renegade forces and members of the rightwing who were, in many instances, armed by the state.
81. The violence affected particularly Gauteng and KwaZulu/Natal. It was against this backdrop of state-sponsored violence that the activities of the SDUs took place.

Findings in respect of SDUs

82. In assessing whether the findings that were made in respect of the SDUs remain relevant in the light of the evidence emerging from the amnesty process, the Commission needed to confirm the following:
- a Was the ANC responsible for the creation and arming of the self-defence units?
 - b Was the Commission's finding that there was not an adequate command structure correct?
 - c Whilst acknowledging the state's role in sponsoring the violence, did SDUs take the law into their own hands and perpetrate gross human rights violations?
 - d Did all of this contribute to the violence of the 1990s?

The ANC's role in the creation of self-defence units

83. The SDU's were created amidst the spiralling violence of the negotiation period. The former state engaged in a strategy of negotiating with the liberation movements on the one hand and fomenting violence on the other. This meant that supporters of the ANC were left vulnerable to attack by dark surrogate forces, which later became known as the 'Third Force'.⁶⁶ After a mass funeral in Soweto in 1990, ANC President Nelson Mandela publicly pledged the ANC's commitment to the formation and training of SDUs. In addition, at its consultative conference in Durban 1990, the ANC resolved to take steps to defend itself with all the means at its disposal and to create people's self-defence units as a matter of urgency as it came under increasing pressure at local level to intervene and respond to the violence.

⁶⁶ See Appendix to Section Four in this volume.

84. In its attempts to manage and control the process, the ANC released a document called 'For the sake of our lives', which attempted to prescribe and regulate the structures and activities of the SDUs. The thrust of this policy document was that SDUs should operate in terms of a political rather than a military strategy and that the long-term goal should be peace. It was envisaged that SDUs would be well trained and highly disciplined.
85. The document envisaged that, although MK members would play a role in the establishment of SDUs, it was imperative that they be controlled from within communities because of the past history of informally established units. It was also envisaged that the units would receive political instruction of some sort. Local MK members were granted permission to participate in these structures. MK involvement took the form of recruiting and training of SDU members and supplying weapons. In some instances, individual members of MK participated in the clashes and skirmishes that took place.
86. ANC policy required that selected units supplied certain SDU units with weapons. A special unit was set up within the ANC to assist with the arming of SDUs. These included Ronnie Kasrils, Aboobaker Ismail, Riaz Saloojee, Muff Anderson and Robert McBride. All of these applied for amnesty for supplying weapons and assisting SDUs. In the KwaZulu/Natal area, Jeff Radebe, Ian Munro Phillips and Sipho Joel Daniel Sithole were involved in the supply of weapons and assistance to the SDUs.
87. It is important to note that the ANC was not the only supplier of weapons. In most instances, the SDU units had other sources of supply.
88. There is no doubt that the ANC played a major role in establishing SDUs in both the Transvaal and KwaZulu/Natal areas.

Command structures

89. In KwaZulu and Natal, SDUs consisted in the main of loose formations comprising youth and community members in a particular community. There was no formal command structure. However, while ANC branch leadership often assumed the command of these structures, ANC structures themselves were often not well established or formalised and consisted of a handful of supporters who came together for particular events or occasions. Thus ordinary residents living in ANC-aligned areas might find themselves having to participate in an

attack simply because they lived in an area. In many instances, there was no specific commander and the group that came together acted in concert either to defend themselves or to launch an attack.

90. What emerged from the amnesty process was that geographical location played a crucial role. Living in a particular area compelled you to take sides in the conflict. In addition, clan or group loyalty often dictated from whom people received their orders. This meant that ostensible political conflicts were fused with other motives, land disputes and issues of an economic nature. Revenge and reprisal featured strongly in the ongoing conflict.
91. These issues must, however, be viewed against the larger political conflict and violence being sponsored by the former state.
92. In Gauteng, the Tokoza units stayed in close contact with the ANC, and the local branch played a monitoring and disciplinary role. Despite this, these units were also responsible for acts of great violence. In many other townships in Gauteng, links depended largely on whether strong ANC branches existed at a local level. In a number of instances, MK members also played a role in establishing and training SDU members. Vosloorus is an example of this. In most instances, SDUs were established through community structures, often in response to attacks from the IFP.

Role of leadership

93. In their evidence, amnesty applicants in Gauteng stated that, whilst they consulted with leadership on policy and guidelines, they did not inform them of their plans and did not advise them about the nature of their operations. Decision-making took place at community level.
94. Whilst many prominent ANC leaders played a major role in supporting local SDUs, in KwaZulu and Natal they also played a crucial role in peace-building efforts.
95. Evidence emerging from amnesty applications confirms that many SDU members on the ground were cognisant of the fact that the ANC at national level was pursuing a strategy of peace through negotiations. However, at a regional level, the violent conflict between the warring sides reduced the impact of the national strategy. Survival required that you be ready to defend yourself. Testimony from the amnesty hearings reveals that, at a community level, many felt that leadership was not in touch with what was happening on the ground.

96. Another factor that played a major role in the conflict was the fact that ANC-aligned communities could expect little or almost no support from the police or any other state structure. Communities were left to defend themselves against attacks, which often resulted in their taking the law into their own hands.
97. Thus leadership of the SDUs was effectively in the hands of local ANC branches. While ANC policy did not allow for killing other than of a defensive nature, communities in these compelling circumstances tended to take their own decisions. Generally speaking, the ANC national and regional leadership was not involved in these decisions and, indeed, engaged in peace-building efforts in an attempt to restore peace.
98. Furthermore, in the vast majority of instances, no report was made to the national leadership after an attack. In many instances, operatives felt that, because no order or authorisation had been given, there was no necessity to report. The Commission's original finding that there was no adequate command structure is correct and is clearly borne out by the evidence that emerged from the amnesty process. In fact, command was *ad hoc* and dependent on the circumstances of the day in a particular area.

Were the SDUs responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations?

99. The picture that emerges from the amnesty process is that communities found themselves in conflict with the IFP and the state. As they could not rely on protection from the organs of the state, they felt compelled to take the law into their own hands to protect themselves. Evidence reveals that issues of a personal nature – such as loyalty to a particular chief or clan – often became intertwined in the particular conflict. The support that the former state lent to the IFP meant that ANC-aligned communities were at a great disadvantage. They became very vulnerable and an easy target for 'Third Force' activity. Within this context, gross human rights violations were perpetrated.

Nature of violations committed by SDUs

100. The Commission's founding Act determined that killings, abductions, torture, severe ill-treatment and attempts, plots and conspiracies to commit the above constituted gross human rights violations. Amnesty applicants have testified in

their amnesty applications to killings; arson attacks on homes of members of the IFP, police officers and those perceived to be collaborators, and attacks on hostels. In a number of instances, houses were occupied at the time of the attacks. Abduction of suspects was a particular *modus operandi* of the East Rand SDUs. This was followed by interrogation of suspects, and later by summary execution. In this sense, SDUs acted no differently from agencies of the state in using torture as a mechanism to extract confessions from alleged suspects that they were 'IFP members'. In most instances, these confessions were believed and often resulted in the 'suspect' being killed. However, one has to question the validity of an admission made under duress.

101. SDU members were responsible for the targeted killing of those they suspected of being informants, collaborators and members of the IFP. In many instances, identification was made on spurious grounds. Many young members of SDU units were involved in reconnaissance work, the cleaning of weapons and lesser offences such as the collection of money from residents for weapons.
102. In KwaZulu and Natal, members of SDUs targeted many IFP members for assassination. An example of this is the killing of a prominent IFP leader, Mr Mkhize, in Umkomaas in November 1990. Those ANC members suspected of being informers or of having defected to the IFP or the state were also targeted for assassination. Fatal mistakes were made by SDU members, which resulted in the deaths of many who were innocent. In one such incident, a bus containing school children was ambushed in the belief that it was carrying members of the IFP. In this tragic incident, six children were killed and many others were injured. The reason the amnesty applicants advanced for the attack was that the IFP was forcing them to leave the area and that they were being displaced from their homes.
103. Internecine war also took place within the ranks of the SDUs. A number of SDU members were killed in internal clashes. Internal fighting among the ranks of different units as well as with members of the ANC Youth League was a major problem. In Tokoza, an 'eye for an eye' policy was adopted. If an SDU member took the life of a member, his life would be forfeit. A number of amnesty applicants testified about this. The evidence is often chilling, as applicants describe the brutal circumstances under which most of these youth lived. It was often kill or be killed.

104. In one incident involving members of a SDU and members of the ANC Youth League, nine ANC members were killed. Several of the victims were under 17 years of age. In this incident, the victims were first shot and later hacked and stabbed to death.
105. Cognisant of this rising problem, a unit was established in the Cape to deal with the tensions between members of different SDUs. They too became involved in the violence that was taking place.
106. In KwaZulu and Natal, internal disputes between ANC and SACP members led to bitter conflict, so that Mr Harry Gwala was forced to intervene in the matter and broker a peace deal. Mr Blade Nzimande also approached the parties to settle the dispute. Most peace efforts failed and a number of people on both sides of the conflict were killed.
107. A small number of SDUs were involved in armed robberies. Robberies were certainly not considered to be ANC policy, but they took place nevertheless. In one incident in KZN, a number of people were killed and others injured. There is also no doubt that many of the incidents involved the personal agendas of individuals rather than the movement. One such incident involved an attack on the Lembede family at their shop, ostensibly on the grounds that they were IFP members. This family is related to the late Anton Lembede, a former ANC President.
108. Similarly a number of SDUs in Gauteng were involved in armed robberies, ostensibly to obtain funds to purchase weapons.

Conclusion and validity of findings

109. It is clear from the evidence that emerged in the amnesty hearings that the conflict took on a life of its own. Once SDUs were established, attempts by ANC leadership to establish control failed dismally. Youth with little or no proper training made decisions spontaneously, based on the need to deal with unfolding events. Often the attacks that took place were in the nature of reprisal strikes; but many were simply based on revenge or the need to get even. Target selection was often capricious and usually followed by killing. Again, the mere labelling of an opponent as the 'IFP' or an 'informer' legitimated the killing of that particular person. The immature way in which people were identified as belonging to

another group had tragic consequences. Clothes in some instances would be used as an identifying mark, or the speaking of Xhosa instead of Sesotho.

110. The evidence that emerged from the amnesty process confirms the correctness of the original findings that the Commission made in respect of SDUs. The evidence has also revealed much more of the political context within which the conflict took place. The picture that emerges is of structures let loose once they had been established. Had ANC leadership been more pro-active in the control and management of these units, there is no doubt that many of incidents would not have taken place and fewer lives would have been lost. Although the ANC did not train all of the units and was not the major supplier of arms, it was politically responsible for the establishment of these units and should have played a greater role in managing them. This failure led directly to the commission of gross human rights violations by many SDUs. In the circumstances, the findings of the Commission are still valid.

APPENDIX

ANC Statement on Signing Declaration on Behalf of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe. Adhering to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Protocol I of 1977. At the Headquarters of International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva, November 28, 1980

Mr President

Ladies and Gentlemen

The African National Congress of South Africa is deeply honoured to be received today by the International Committee of the Red Cross and by its President, M. Alexandre Hay. Our movement, the oldest national liberation movement in Africa, has had a number of meetings with the delegates of the ICRC in the past and we have come to respect their probity and fairness. The Red Cross has rightly been described as the guarantor of the impartiality and efficacy of the famous Conventions of 1949 whose reaffirmation and development in 1977, largely under the auspices of the ICRC, has led to our presence here in Geneva today.

We recognise that your Committee, associated as it is with the work of the Conventions and the need to provide relief and hope to prisoners of war and civilians caught in the violence of war, must remain non-political if it is to retain the trust of governments. But you will not, I hope, take it amiss if I explain the presence of the delegation of the African National Congress in Geneva today to participate in what is a solemn and historic ceremony for my movement.

Apartheid, the policy of official discrimination enshrined in the law and constitution of South Africa, has now been legally denounced as a crime against humanity and has led to an International Convention for the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Protocol I of 1977 itself recognises that 'practices of apartheid and other inhuman and degrading practices involving outrages upon personal dignity, based on racial discrimination' constitute grave breaches of the Conventions and must therefore join the list of crimes identified at the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal.

The international community has therefore recognised that the war waged by this nefarious system against the vast majority of its population is not merely a matter of domestic concern and that any conflict which arises in South Africa cannot be described as a civil war.

The state of war which exists in South Africa is a war of national liberation, for self-determination on the basis of the Freedom Charter, whose adoption we are celebrating the 25th anniversary this year. It is, as Article 1 of Protocol I of 1977 recognises, an armed conflict in which peoples are fighting against 'colonial domination and alien occupation and against regimes in the exercise of their right to self-determination'.

In the past 12 years, since the Teheran conference on Human Rights, the development of international law under the auspices of the United Nations has led to a recognition that the concept of international armed conflict extends to cover wars of national liberation. The International Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, held in Geneva from 1974 to 1977, gave concrete expression to such a development.

We in the African National Congress of South Africa solemnly undertake to respect the Geneva Conventions and the additional Protocol I in so far as they are applicable to the struggle waged on behalf of the African National Congress by its combatants, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In consequence, we demand that the South African regime stop treating our combatants as common criminals. The regime has no right to execute them as it did our noble patriot Solomon Mahlangu and as it would have in the case of James Mange if it had not been for the strength of international public opinion. It has no right to impose savage sentences of imprisonment, contrary to the rules and spirit of international law. There is, therefore, a heavy obligation and an imperative duty on States Parties to the Geneva Conventions to ensure that the South African regime observes the basic tenets of civilisation in its treatment of ANC prisoners of war. This is envisaged both in the Geneva Conventions (to which the South African regime is a party) and in Article 1(1) of the 1977 Protocol where States Parties to the Convention undertake 'to respect and to ensure respect for this Protocol in all circumstances'. It is therefore incumbent on South Africa's major trading partners to encourage the South African regime, whether or not the regime ratifies the Protocol, to stop committing war crimes by executing our combatants, torturing them and generally ill-treating them contrary to international law.

We in the African National Congress have taken the serious step of making a solemn Declaration at the headquarters of the ICRC this afternoon because we have for nearly 70 years respected humanitarian principles in the struggle. We have always defined the enemy in terms of a system of domination and not of a people or a race.

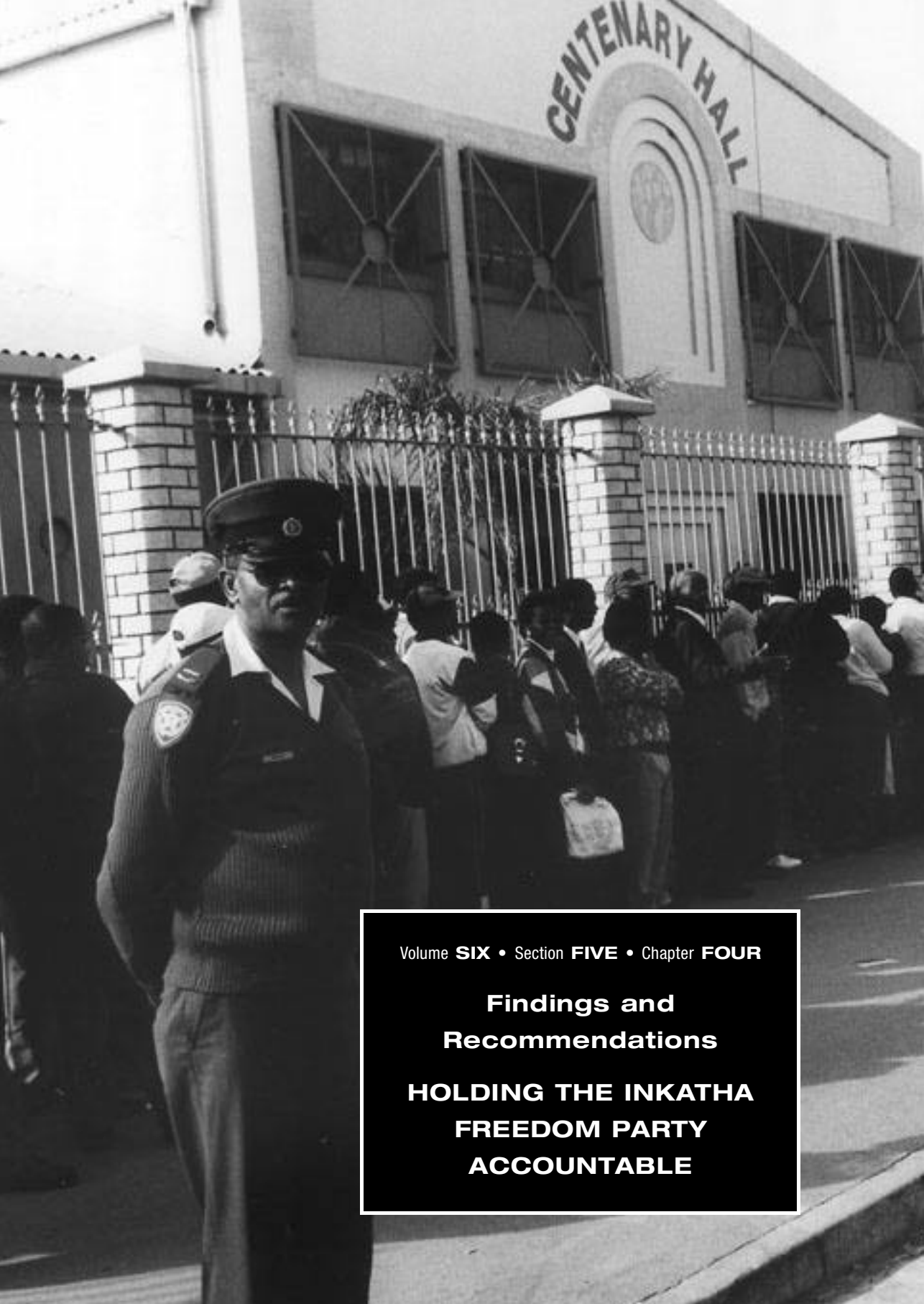
In contrast, the South African regime has displayed a shameless and ruthless disregard for all the norms of humanity.

In signing this Declaration, the African National Congress of South Africa solemnly affirms its adherence to the Geneva Conventions and to Protocol I of 1977. As we have done in the past, so shall we continue, consistently and unreservedly, to support, fight for and abide by the principles of international law. We shall do so in the consciousness of justice, of progress and peace. It is therefore a historic duty that I fulfil on behalf of the African National Congress by signing the following declaration:

It is the conviction of the African National Congress of South Africa that international rules protecting the dignity of human beings must be upheld at all times. Therefore, and for humanitarian reasons, the African National Congress of South Africa hereby declares that, in the conduct of the struggle against apartheid and racism and for self-determination in South Africa, it intends to respect and be guided by the general principles of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts.

Wherever practically possible, the African National Congress of South Africa will endeavour to respect the rules of the four Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 for the victims of armed conflicts and the 1977 additional Protocol I relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts.

O R Tambo
President
ANC of South Africa



Volume **SIX** • Section **FIVE** • Chapter **FOUR**

**Findings and
Recommendations**

**HOLDING THE INKATHA
FREEDOM PARTY
ACCOUNTABLE**

Holding the Inkatha Freedom Party Accountable

1. In its Final Report, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) made findings against the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and associated structures and institutions. In particular, it found against the IFP that:

The IFP was responsible for the commission of gross violations of human rights in the former Transvaal, Natal and KwaZulu, against persons who were perceived to be leaders, members or supporters of the UDF, the ANC or its alliance partners such violations formed part of a systematic pattern of abuse which entailed deliberate planning on the part of the organisation.

2. The Commission based this finding on, *inter alia*:
 - a speeches by the IFP president and senior party officials that had the effect of inciting supporters of the IFP to commit acts of violence;
 - b the arming of IFP supporters in contravention of existing legislation;
 - c mass attacks by IFP supporters on communities and leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and/or the African National Congress (ANC);
 - d collusion with the South African government's security forces to commit violations; in particular, a pact with the South African Defence Force (SADF) to create a paramilitary force for the organisation with the intention of causing death and injury to UDF/ANC members;
 - e the establishment of a hit squad within the KwaZulu Police and the Special Constable structure of the SAP with the intention of causing death or injury to UDF/ANC supporters;
 - f training large numbers of IFP supporters, under the auspices of the Self-Protection Project, with the objective of preventing the holding of elections in April 1994 by violent means;
 - g conspiring with right-wing organisations and former members of the government's security forces to commit acts that resulted in loss of life or injury, and
 - h creating a climate of impunity by expressly or implicitly condoning gross human rights violations and other unlawful acts committed by members of the IFP.

3. The Commission made further findings against several groups aligned to the IFP:

Caprivi trainees

4. The Commission found that, in 1986, the SADF conspired with Inkatha to provide the latter with a covert, offensive paramilitary unit ('hit squad') to be deployed illegally against persons and organisations perceived to be opposed to or enemies of both the South African government and Inkatha. The SADF provided training, financial and logistical management and behind-the-scenes supervision of the trainees who were trained by the Special Forces unit of the SADF on the Caprivi Strip.
5. The Commission found that this illegal deployment of the Caprivi trainees led to gross violations of human rights, including killing and attempted killing, for which it found former President PW Botha, General Magnus Malan and Dr MG Buthelezi accountable.

KwaZulu Police

6. The Commission found that the KwaZulu Police (KZP), in the period 1986 to 1994, acted in a biased and partial manner and overwhelmingly in furtherance of the interests of Inkatha, and later the IFP, in that:
 - a through acts of commission, it worked openly with Inkatha, and through acts of omission, it failed to protect or serve non-IFP supporters;
 - b it was responsible for large numbers of politically motivated gross human rights violations (killings, attempted killings, incitement and conspiracy to kill, severe ill-treatment, abduction, torture and arson), the victims of which were almost exclusively non-IFP members;
 - c it neglected to observe basic investigative procedures;
 - d it deliberately tampered with evidence;
 - e it ensured that KZP and IFP suspects in political violence matters were concealed, often for lengthy periods, in KZP and SADF camps;
 - f it issued false police certificates and identity documents to members of the IFP who were involved in political violence, in order to prevent their arrest and convictions and to facilitate their continued criminal activities; and

g it took part in killings and purported to investigate the very matters in which its members had been involved as perpetrators.

7. In conclusion, the Commission found that, although there were honourable exceptions in that some members of the KZP did carry out their duties in an unbiased and lawful manner, the KZP generally was characterised by incompetence, brutality and political bias in favour of the IFP, all of which contributed to the widespread commission of gross human rights during the period under review.

Special Constables

8. The Commission found that the Special Constables were deliberately established and trained to assist Inkatha against the latter's political enemies, and that Special Constables, acting alone and in concert with Riot Unit 8 of the SAP, regularly committed serious unlawful acts in order to support and assist Inkatha in the period prior to and during the so-called 'seven-day war'.

Esikhawini hit squad

9. The Commission found that, in 1990, senior members of the IFP conspired with senior members of the KZP to establish a hit squad in Esikhawini Township near Empangeni, Natal, to be deployed illegally against people perceived to be opposed to the IFP. The hit squad consisted of Caprivi trainees and members of the KZP. Its members took instructions from senior members of the IFP and of the KZP to eliminate political activists affiliated to the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), as well as members of the SAP who were seen not to be supportive of the IFP.

Self-protection unit members

10. The Commission found that IFP self-protection unit (SPU) project, although officially placed within the ambit of the Peace Accord and containing an element of self-protection, was also intended to furnish the IFP with the military capacity to prevent by force the central government and the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) from holding elections which did not accommodate the IFP's desires for self-determination. Such armed resistance entailed the risk of unlawful death and injuries to persons.

RESPONSE TO THE COMMISSION'S FINDINGS

11. The IFP criticised the Commission's report and, in the parliamentary debate on the report held on 25 February 1999, Mr MA Mncwango of the IFP said of the Commission that it:

has remained stuck in the mind-set of the total onslaught against the IFP that is the legacy of yesterday's politics. Its final report is a clumsily crafted anecdotal mythology through which it has sought to give credibility to yesterday's liberation propaganda ... The final report of the TRC will be consigned to the dustbin of history .⁶⁷

12. He suggested that the work of the Commission had been negatively affected by its bilateral origins as a political accommodation between the ANC and NP and consequently was 'clueless' in its analysis of 'black-on-black conflict', unlike its work in regard to the white/black conflict.

13. With regard to findings made against Dr MG Buthelezi, he said that the Commission's main source of information came from the 'twisted' confessions of people seeking amnesty who had told the Commission what it wanted to hear. He noted with regard to the Caprivi and Esikhawini hit squad operatives:

This distortion clearly happened in the testimony of discredited witnesses and self-confessed killers such as Daluxolu Mandlanduna Luthuli, Romeo Mbambo and Andries Nosenga, who are changing their versions of the facts of their crimes until they concocted lies to implicate Minister Buthelezi in their activities (interjections). In due course, all these were proved to be lies.

14. In respect of the findings made against Dr Buthelezi as President of the IFP and former leader of the KwaZulu Government, Mncwango said that:

While the TRC found no evidence of wrongdoing, or a specific violation of human rights by Dr Buthelezi, it seeks to hold him accountable for the generic violation of human rights. This is legally obscene and morally repugnant. One is politically accountable when certain actions may be the consequence of the policies adopted by a leader. But Minister Buthelezi never adopted any policy other than non-violent passive resistance and the echoing demand for all-inclusive negotiations, which in the final analysis were exactly what caused the demise of apartheid and led to the birth of the new South Africa.

⁶⁷ Hansard, 25 February 1999, p. 77.

15. Mr Mncwango is not correct in his assertion that ‘the TRC found no evidence of wrongdoing, or a specific violation of human rights by Dr Buthelezi ...’. The Commission did in fact make findings against Dr Buthelezi himself. The Commission found that Dr Buthelezi knew that the Caprivi trainees were to be illegally deployed in an offensive manner against people perceived to be anti-Inkatha and was aware that such armed resistance would entail the risk of unlawful death and injury. He was held accountable for killings and attempted killings. The Commission also found that, with regard to the SPUs and the establishment of the Mlaba Camp in the 1993/4 pre-election period, one of the aims of the training was to furnish Inkatha with the military capacity forcibly to prevent the holding of elections, and that Dr Buthelezi was aware that such armed resistance would entail the risk of unlawful death and injury. The Commission found that the SPU project constituted a conspiracy to commit gross human rights violations, for which, *inter alia*, Dr Buthelezi was held accountable.

16. In coming to its findings on Dr Buthelezi’s involvement in the Caprivi trainee exercise, the Commission had regard to very substantial quantities of former State Security Council memoranda and documents, which recorded the progress of the training project in significant detail. These documents, the authenticity of which was never challenged, established that senior SADF officers (Lt. Colonel van Niekerk and Colonel van den Berg) met with Dr Buthelezi on 31st October 1989. This was after the SADF had withdrawn from the Caprivi project. Van Tonder summarised this meeting in a report to a superior officer (Vice Admiral Putter) as follows:

The Chief Minister expressed his concern over the situation in Mpumalanga and the fact that he was losing the ‘armed struggle’. He referred to the ‘cell’ idea for offensive action, which did not get off the ground.

17. At the same meeting Dr Buthelezi expressed concern that he was:

losing the armed struggle and in that regard emphasized that ‘offensive steps’ were still a necessity; meaning the deployment of ‘hit squads’.

18. Van Tonder was specifically subpoenaed by the Commission to comment on this report, and he confirmed his recollection of the meeting. He records Mr MZ Khumalo as saying that, at the very least, Dr Buthelezi still required ‘cells’ capable of taking out undesirable members.

19. Mr Mncwango went so far as to accuse one of the Commissioners, namely the Revd Dr Khoza Mgojo, as having been 'personally involved in supplying arms used in the seven-day war to the fighting units in Richmond'. According to Mr Mncwango, the late Mr Sifiso Nkabinde said in an affidavit that Dr Mgojo had 'used the Federal Theological Seminary (Fedsem) in Imbali as a stock facility for the weapons and he personally handed out these weapons'. To date, no evidence has been tendered to the Commission or to any other structure to support this claim in any way.

REVIEW PROCEEDINGS BROUGHT BY MINISTER BUTHELEZI AND THE IFP

20. Some two years after the publication of the Interim Report presented to the President on 29 October 1998, Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the IFP sought to review and set aside certain findings made by the Commission. They did so essentially on the basis that the findings in question were defamatory of Dr Buthelezi and the IFP. They also complained of certain procedural irregularities.
21. Originally the applicants sought an order recalling the Report and expunging the findings to which they took offence. Although that relief was abandoned, they sought an order compelling the Commission to publish in its final Report a statement setting out certain 'errata' and requiring the Commission to forward the errata to all parties to whom the Report has been distributed where this was practically possible.
22. Dr Buthelezi and the IFP (the Applicants) complained that some thirty-seven findings contained in the Commission's Report – which implicated them in gross human rights violations, criminality and conspiracy – could not have been based on factual and objective information. The Applicants also contended that the Commission had failed to comply with fair procedures and did not afford them a proper and appropriate opportunity to make representations to it in respect of evidence in its possession and the findings it intended to make. The Applicants complained that the findings unjustifiably infringed their entitlement to a good name and reputation and have impaired their right to dignity and political activity free of unwarranted attack. They complained that the findings in question represented a failure by the Commission, its commissioners and employees to apply their minds to the evidence, as there was no rational connection between the factual evidence and the findings made.

23. The Commission contended that the findings were justifiable and that there had been no procedural unfairness. The Commission also contended that there had been an unreasonable delay in launching the application and that no satisfactory explanation for the delay of two years had been furnished. A delay of this magnitude was especially serious in regard to the nature of the mandate of the Commission and its limited lifespan.
24. It was apparent from the Applicants' founding papers that their primary concern was the finding by the Commission that they were implicated in the establishment of a covert offensive para-military unit (also referred to as a 'hit squad') that was deployed against the political enemies of the Applicants. Indeed this was the only finding which was prominently attacked in their legal papers. The Commission contended that the findings in question were proper and, in the light of the oral and authenticated documentary evidence and information on hand, beyond question.
25. The Commission refused to change these critical findings. It was, however, amenable to negotiation on the adjustment of certain lesser findings in order to facilitate settlement and the issue of its Codicil.
26. The case was settled out of court only a few days before the matter was set down for hearing on 29 January 2003. The Commission agreed to the adjustment of certain lesser findings, such as those relating to the activities of certain gangs and the compilation of statistics derived from victim statements. With regard to these findings the Commission replaced findings against the IFP to read as findings against 'members and/or supporters of the IFP'. The Commission has also adjusted similar findings in relation to the ANC and other role players.
27. The bulk of the complaints advanced by the IFP and Minister Buthelezi were rejected by the Commission. Its findings concerning Minister Buthelezi's accountability in his representative capacity as the President of the IFP, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and the only serving Minister of Police in the KwaZulu Police also remained undisturbed. The Commission was satisfied that there was overwhelming evidence to support these and other key findings concerning the IFP and Minister Buthelezi.
28. As part of the settlement, the Commission agreed to publish an appendix in which the IFP and Minister Buthelezi explained why they disagreed with the core findings of against them.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ See appendices to this chapter, below.

SCHEDULE OF CHANGES AND CORRECTIONS TO THE TRC REPORT

Pursuant to review proceedings instituted by the IFP and Minister Buthelezi, upon reconsideration of its initial findings and upon receipt of extensive representations made by the IFP and Minister Buthelezi, the following changes and corrections to the TRC report are made. The original text is followed by the adjusted text.

1. Volume 2, Chapter 5, paragraph 248

- 248 The Commission heard evidence of the involvement of Caprivi trainees in the KwaMakhutha massacre on 21 January 1987 in which thirteen people, mostly women and children, were killed and several others injured in the AK-47 attack on the home of UDF activist Bheki Ntuli. A large number of people including former Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and MZ Khumalo of the IFP, were tried for murder in 1996 in the Durban Supreme Court. Although the accused were acquitted, the Supreme Court found that Inkatha members trained by the SADF in the Caprivi were responsible for the massacre and that the two state witnesses, being members of the SADF Military Intelligence, were directly involved in planning and execution of the operation. The court was not able to find who had provided backing for the attack.

Paragraph 248 is amended as follows:

The Commission heard evidence of the involvement of Caprivi trainees in the KwaMakhutha massacre on 21 January 1987 in which thirteen people, mostly women and children, were killed and several others injured in the AK-47 attack on the home of UDF activist Bheki Ntuli. A large number of people including former Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and MZ Khumalo of the IFP, were tried for murder in 1996 in the Durban Supreme Court. Although the accused were acquitted, the Supreme Court found that Inkatha members trained by the SADF in the Caprivi were responsible for the massacre and that the two state witnesses, being members of the SADF's Directorate of Special Tasks, were directly involved in planning and execution of the operation. The court was not able to find who had provided backing for the attack. The Commission is mindful of the fact that senior members of the former SA Defence Force and Inkatha were acquitted in this lengthy trial on charges of murder and conspiracy to murder. In its findings, the Commission explains fully, in Volume 3 (Regional Profile) as well as in volume 5 (Findings Volume), the basis upon which it found, on a balance of probabilities, that the SADF and Inkatha are nonetheless accountable for the human rights violations committed by Caprivi trainees.

2. Volume 1, Chapter 12, paragraph 44 (l) , page 444:

Tembisa (26-28 November 1996).

Commissioners heard stories of state repression in the 1980s in this township and in the neighbouring Ivory Park informal settlement. In the 1990s, the IFP-aligned Toaster gang committed many violations in the context of violence between the ANC and the IFP.

This paragraph is amended as follows:

Tembisa (26-28 November 1996).

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

3. The statement in volume 2, chapter 5, para 283, p. 476:

- 283 As such, hit squad members had access to KwaZulu government resources, such as vehicles, arms and ammunition. A measure of protection from prosecution was made possible through the collusion of the KZP as well as instruments of the state security forces. Further, Inkatha officials conspired with senior KZP officials to set up hit squads to eliminate ANC/SDU elements. The activities of the hit squads operating in the Esikhawini area near Richards Bay, the New Hanover area of the Natal Midlands, and the activities of a hit squad known as the Black Cats in Wesselton and Ermelo in the Transvaal are documented in other sections of the Commission's report.

This paragraph is amended as follows:

- 283 As such, hit squad members had access to KwaZulu government resources, such as vehicles, arms and ammunition. A measure of protection from prosecution was made possible through the collusion of the KZP as well as instruments of the state security forces. Further, certain Inkatha officials conspired with senior KZP officials to set up hit squads to eliminate ANC/SDU elements. The activities of the hit squads operating in the Esikhawini area near Richards Bay, the New Hanover area of the Natal Midlands, and the activities of a hit squad known as the Black Cats in Wesselton and Ermelo in the Transvaal are documented in other sections of the Commission's report.

4. Volume 2, Chapter 5, paragraph 198, page 454:

- 198 Inkatha dominated the KwaZulu government (both its executive and its bureaucracy) to the extent that the government and Inkatha became interchangeable concepts. The organization effectively ruled the KwaZulu government as a one-party state and used KwaZulu government resources and finances to fund Inkatha party-political activities and in the execution of gross human rights violations against non-Inkatha supporters. The KZP came into existence in 1981 and was disbanded in 1994 following the April 1984 elections. Chief Buthelezi was the only ever serving Minister of Police in KwaZulu. Violations committed by the KZP are dealt with later in this report.

This paragraph is amended as follows:

- 198 Inkatha dominated the KwaZulu government (both its executive and its bureaucracy) to the extent that the government and Inkatha became interchangeable concepts. The organisation was the only political party that participated in the KwaZulu Government. The Commission heard evidence and made

findings that in certain instances, KwaZulu Government resources and finances were used to fund party-political activities and in the execution of gross human rights violations against non-Inkatha supporters. The KZP came into existence in 1980 and was disbanded and integrated into the SAPS in 1994 following the April 1994 elections. Chief Buthelezi was the only ever serving Minister of Police in KwaZulu. Violations committed by the KZP are dealt with later in this report. The SA Commissioner of Police retained a measure of control over the KZP.

5. Volume 2, Chapter 5, paragraph 279, page 475:

- 279 The role of the IFP in the political violence in the early nineties is dealt with under the relevant sections of the Commission's report. In brief, the IFP was found to be the foremost perpetrator of gross human rights violations in KwaZulu and Natal during this period. Approximately 9 000 gross human rights violations were perpetrated by Inkatha in KwaZulu and Natal from 1990 to May 1994. This constituted almost fifty per cent of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for this period and over one-third of the total number of gross human rights violations reported for the thirty-four-year period of the Commission's mandate.

This paragraph is amended as follows:

- 279 The role of the IFP in the political violence in the early 90s is dealt with under the relevant sections of the Commission's report. In brief, the statistical evidence, based on statements made to the Commission by witnesses, indicates that the foremost perpetrators of gross human rights violations (GHRVs) in KwaZulu and Natal for this period, were persons who were named by witnesses as being supporters of, or aligned to, the IFP. Approximately 9000 GHRVs were perpetrated by such persons in KZN and Natal from 1990 – 1994, which constituted 50% of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for this period, and over 33% of the total number of GHRVs reported for the 34 year period of the Commission's mandate. However, in the light of the fact that the vast majority of members and supporters of the IFP stayed away from the Commission, the Commission was denied the opportunity of recording the testimonies of the large numbers of IFP members and supporters who were victims of violence at the hands of supporters of the ANC or its affiliates. Accordingly, any statistical data concerning the respective culpability of the IFP and the ANC during these years, must be seen and understood in the light of the above.

6. Volume 2, Chapter 5, paragraph 280, page 475,:

The following passage is inserted at the beginning of para 280:

The Commission held public hearings into the violence in March 1990, that became known as the Seven Day War, but did not have the benefit of the participation of members and supporters of the IFP, who chose not to participate in the hearings. Thereby the Commission did not have the benefit of hearing the IFP's perspective of the nature and causes to this very intense period of violence and its findings are based on submissions received mainly from those involved in the conflict under the ANC banner.

7. Volume 2, Chapter 5, paragraph 282, page 476:

- 282 The Commission has made a finding that IFP supporters were conscripted into hit squads and that the activities of these hit squads became widespread in KwaZulu and Natal during the 1990s. From information received by the Commission, it would appear that the hit squad operations flowing from the Caprivi training and other political networks were predominantly supportive of the IFP, drawing in officials of the KwaZulu government and KZP as well as senior politicians and leaders of the party.

This paragraph is amended as follows:

- 282 A small number of IFP supporters and/or members became involved in hit squad activities, in various parts of KZN and Natal during the 1990s. Some of those involved had received training from the SA Defence Force in the Caprivi Strip and the evidence before the Commission indicated that they liaised with senior officials of the KZ Government and Inkatha Freedom Party.

7. Volume 2, Chapter 5, paragraph 285, page 477:

- 285 Inkatha supporters were also responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations in the province of KwaZulu/Natal in the run-up to the 1994 elections, when the IFP engaged in a campaign to disrupt the electoral process. During this period, Inkatha received arms and ammunition from right-wing organisations as well as sections of the security forces and embarked upon paramilitary training projects in which IFP supporters were trained in weapons handling and paramilitary tactics. This campaign continued until 29 April, just six days before the elections, when the IFP announced that it would contest the elections. The Commission found that approximately 3 000 gross human rights violations were perpetrated by Inkatha in KwaZulu and Natal from July 1993 to May 1994. This constituted more than 55 per cent of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for this period.

This paragraph is amended as follows:

- 285 Inkatha supporters were also responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations in the province of KwaZulu/Natal in the run-up to the 1994 elections which seriously disrupted the process leading up to the elections. During this period, certain senior IFP members received arms and ammunition from right-wing organisations as well as sections of the security forces and embarked upon paramilitary training projects in which IFP supporters were trained in weapons handling and paramilitary tactics. Just six days before the elections, when the IFP announced that it would contest the elections, political violence in the region came to an abrupt end. The Commission found that approximately 3 000 gross human rights violations were perpetrated by alleged Inkatha supports/ and or members in KwaZulu and Natal from July 1993 to May 1994. This constituted more than 55 per cent of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for this period. Allowance must be made for the fact that many IFP supporters declared that they would not report violations perpetrated against the IFP and would not participate in the Commission's process.

9. Volume 3, Chapter 3, first paragraph of the finding at paragraph 182 (page 220):

- 182 The Commission has made a comprehensive finding concerning Operation Marion. It is contained in a lengthy document which includes the full reasons for the finding and which can be found in the State Archives. The main features of the finding are as follows:

This paragraph is amended as follows:

- 182 The Commission has made a comprehensive finding concerning Operation Marion. It is contained in a lengthy document which includes the full reasons for the finding and which can be found in the State Archives. The Commission is mindful of the fact that senior members of the former SA Defence Force and Inkatha were acquitted in this lengthy trial on charges of murder and conspiracy to murder. In its findings, the Commission explains fully, in this volume as well as in volume 5 (Findings Volume), the basis upon which it found, on a balance of probabilities, that the SADF and Inkatha are nonetheless accountable for the human rights violations committed by Caprivi trainees. The main features of the finding are as follows:

10. Volume 3, Chapter 3, first sub-paragraph at paragraph 292, pages 267-268:

- 292 The full findings of the Commission on the event which became known as the Seven day War are recorded elsewhere in the Commission's report. In summary, they are as follows:

This paragraph is amended as follows:

- 292 The Commission held public hearings relating to the Seven-Day War, but did not have the benefit of the participation of members and supporters of the IFP, who chose not to participate in the hearings. The Commission did not have the benefit of hearing the IFP's perspective of the nature and causes of this intense period of violence and its findings are based on submissions received mainly from those involved in the conflict under the ANC banner. The full findings of the Commission on the event which became known as the Seven day War are recorded elsewhere in the Commission's report. In summary, they are as follows:

11. Volume 3, Chapter 3, the second last indented subparagraph of paragraph 294, page 270:

An informal inquest held in 1991 found that 'persons unknown' were responsible for the deaths. A second inquest was held in May 1995. The inquest magistrate, RA Stewart, found that former special constable Welcome Muzi Hlophe (aka 'BigBoy' Hlophe), SAP Lance Sergeant Peter Smith, KwaZulu government driver Abraham Shoba and a fourth unknown man were prima facie directly responsible for the killings. He also found that the original investigating officer, Major Joseph van Zyl, was an accessory to the killings and recommended that an investigation be opened with a view to a possible conviction of Van Zyl. He further found that the then Secretary of the KwaZulu Legislature, Mr. Robert Mzimela, KwaZulu employee Z Mkhize, and then head of the KLA Protection Unit Major Leonard

Langeni had been implicated in a cover-up operation. (Mzimela and Langeni were both involved in the operations of the Esikhawini hit squad – see below)

This paragraph is amended as follows:

An informal inquest held in 1991 found that ‘persons unknown’ were responsible for the deaths. A second inquest was held in May 1995. The inquest magistrate, RA Stewart, found that former special constable Welcome Muzi Hlophe (aka ‘BigBoy’ Hlophe), SAP Lance Sergeant Peter Smith, KwaZulu government driver Abraham Shoba and a fourth unknown man were prima facie directly responsible for the killings. He also found that the original investigating officer, Major Joseph van Zyl, was an accessory to the killings and recommended that an investigation be opened with a view to a possible conviction of Van Zyl. He further recommended an investigation into the roles of senior KwaZulu Government and Police officials who were strongly suspected of being involved in a cover-up operation.

12. Volume 2, Chapter 7, paragraph 186, page 625:

- 186 Inkatha was found to be the foremost perpetrator of gross human rights violations in KwaZulu and Natal during the 1990s. Approximately 9 000 gross human rights violations were perpetrated by Inkatha in KwaZulu and Natal from 1990 to May 1994. This constituted almost 50 per cent of all violations reported to the Commission’s Durban office for this period.

This paragraph is amended as follows:

- 186 Statistical evidence, based on statements made to the Commission by witnesses, indicates that the foremost perpetrators of gross human rights violations (GHRVs) in KwaZulu and Natal for this period, were persons who were named by witnesses as being supporters and/ or members of the IFP. Approximately 9000 GHRVs were perpetrated by such persons in KZN and Natal from 1990 – 1994, which constituted 50% of all violations reported to the Commission’s Durban office for this period, and over 33% of the total number of GHRVs reported for the 34 year period of the Commission’s mandate. However, in the light of the fact that the vast majority of members and supporters of the IFP stayed away from the Commission, the Commission was denied the opportunity of recording the testimonies of the large numbers of IFP members and supporters who were victims of violence at the hands of supporters of the ANC or its affiliates. Accordingly, any statistical data concerning the respective culpability of the IFP and the ANC during these years, must be seen and understood in the light of the above.

13. The finding in Volume 2, Chapter 7, paragraph 195, page 626:

THE COMMISSION MADE A COMPREHENSIVE FINDING ON THE SEVEN DAY WAR AND ON THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE PRIMARY ROLE-PLAYERS IN A CONFLICT THAT RESULTED IN THE COMMISSION OF MANY HUNDREDS OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE ROLE-PLAYERS INCLUDE: THE RIOT UNIT OF THE SAP, INCLUDING SPECIAL CONSTABLES, AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE.

14. Volume 2, Chapter 7, paragraph 551, page 709 will be amended by the addition of the following bullet point:

- * The IFP perspective on the root causes, dynamics, political objectives and circumstances of the armed struggle and the so-called black-on-black conflict.

15. Volume 3, Chapter 3, paragraph 106, page 190:

- 160 By far the majority of reports of severe ill treatment were attributed to Inkatha. The number of acts attributable to Inkatha was double the number attributed to the police and more than three times the number attributed to the ANC. The number of reports of torture in this period rose to five times that of the previous period. The overwhelming majority of these acts were attributed to the SAP. The majority of reports of associated violations that occurred in the province during this period were attributed to the SAP, followed by those attributed to Inkatha. A small number of similar acts were attributed to other parties and organisations, namely, the ANC, the UDF, the KZP and the SADF.

The paragraph is amended as follows:

- 160 By far the majority of reports of severe ill treatment were attributed to members and/ or supporters of Inkatha. The number of acts attributable to IFP members and/ or supporters was double the number attributed to the police and more than three times the number attributed to members and/ or supporters of the ANC. The fact that the Commission received a greater number of reports implicating Inkatha must be considered within the context of most IFP members having elected not to participate in the Commission's process, and the IFP itself having distanced itself from the Commission's work after its initial submission. The number of reports of torture in this period rose to five times that of the previous period. The overwhelming majority of these acts were attributed to the SAP. The majority of reports of associated violations that occurred in the province during this period were attributed to the SAP, followed by those attributed to members and/ or supporters of Inkatha. A small number of similar acts were attributed to other parties and organisations, namely, the ANC, the UDF, the KZP and the SADF.

16. Volume 2, Chapter 7, the finding at paragraph 251, page 640:

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ALTHOUGH THE SPU PROJECT WAS OFFICIALLY PLACED WITHIN THE AMBIT OF THE PEACE ACCORD AND THAT SELF-PROTECTION FORMED AN ELEMENT THEREOF, INHERENT IN THE PROJECT WAS ALSO AN INTENTION TO FURNISH INKATHA WITH THE MILITARY CAPACITY TO PREVENT BY FORCE THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS WHICH DID NOT ACCOMMODATE INKATHA'S DESIRES FOR SELF-DETERMINATION. SUCH ARMED RESISTANCE WOULD ENTAIL THE RISK OF UNLAWFUL DEATH AND INJURY TO PERSONS AND, AS SUCH, CONSTITUTES A CONSPIRACY TO COMMIT MURDER.

The Commission will delete the last sentence of the bolded statement and substitute the statement with the following statement:

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, ALTHOUGH THE SPU PROJECT WAS OFFICIALLY PLACED WITHIN THE AMBIT OF THE PEACE ACCORD AND THAT SELF-PROTECTION FORMED AN ELEMENT THEREOF, INHERENT IN THE PROJECT WAS ALSO AN INTENTION TO FURNISH INKATHA WITH THE MILITARY CAPACITY TO

DISRUPT THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS WHICH DID NOT ACCOMMODATE INKATHA'S DESIRES FOR SELF-DETERMINATION. THIS VERACITY OF THIS CONCLUSION HAS BEEN DISPUTED BY THE IFP.

16. Volume 2, Chapter 7, paragraph 253, page 641:

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

Paragraph 253 is substituted by the following paragraph:

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

18. Volume 3, Chapter 3, last 3 sub-paragraphs of paragraph 208, page 239:

A formal inquest (Howick Inquest 13/88) into the killing of the three MAWU members found nine known Inkatha members responsible for the killings. Despite the inquest finding, no one has been charged for these killings to date. One of those named was Mr Vela Mchunu, a 'Caprivi trainee'. In order to prevent Mchunu from testifying at the inquest, KZP Captain Leonard Langeni and Chief Minister Buthelezi's personal assistant, Mr MZ Khumalo, arranged for him to be hidden at the Mkhuze camp. IN 1987, Sarmcol signed a recognition agreement with UWUSA, the Inkatha-aligned trade union, set up in opposition to COSATU.

In March 1998to the factory floor.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE KILLING OF PROMINENT TRADE UNIONISTS IN MPHOPHOMENI TOWNSHIP BY MEMBERS OF INKATHA AND THE KZP SET IN MOTION A LENGTHLY PERIOD OF POLITICAL CONFLICT RESULTING IN WIDE-SPREAD GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH INKATHA AND THE KZP ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

This paragraph is amended as follows:

A formal inquest (Howick Inquest 13/88) into the killing of the three MAWU members found nine known Inkatha members responsible for the killings. Despite the inquest finding, no one has been charged for these killings to date. One of those named was Mr Vela Mchunu, a 'Caprivi trainee'. In an apparent attempt to prevent Mchunu from testifying at the inquest, KZP Captain Leonard Langeni and Mr MZ Khumalo, a senior Inkatha official, arranged for him to be hidden at the Mkhuze camp. In 1987, Sarmcol signed a recognition agreement with UWUSA, the Inkatha-aligned trade union, set up in opposition to COSATU.

In March 1998to the factory floor.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THE KILLING OF PROMINENT TRADE UNIONISTS IN MPHOPHOMENI TOWNSHIP BY MEMBERS OF INKATHA AND THE KZP SET IN MOTION A LENGTHLY PERIOD OF POLITICAL CONFLICT RESULTING IN WIDE-SPREAD GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH ELEMENTS OF INKATHA AND THE KZP ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

19. Volume 3, Chapter 3, paragraph 259, pages 256 – 7

The Commission has made a comprehensive finding regarding the KZP, in which it is described, inter alia, as a highly politicised force, openly assisting the IFP – by omission and by active participation -in the commission of gross human rights violations, as well as being grossly incompetent.

This paragraph is amended by the insertion of the first sentence below:

In investigating the activity of the KZP, which was disbanded and integrated into the SAPS in 1994, the Commission did not have the benefit of eliciting the view-point of and evidence from the KZP, as most of its senior members did not volunteer evidence to the Commission. The Commission has made a comprehensive finding regarding the KZP, in which it is described, inter alia, as a highly politicised force, openly assisting the IFP – by omission and by active participation - in the commission of gross human rights violations, as well as being grossly incompetent.

20. Volume 3, Chapter 3, first two sub-paragraphs of the finding at paragraph 390, pages 306 –7:

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, DURING THE PERIOD 1993 – 1994, THE SELF-PROTECTION UNIT PROJECT (SPU),ALTHOUGH OFFICIALLY PLACED WITHIN THE AMBIT OF THE PEACE ACCORD AND CONTAINING AN ELEMENT OF SELF PROTECTION, WAS ALSO INTENDED TO FURNISH THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY WITH THE MILITARY CAPACITY TO, BY FORCE, PREVENT THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FORM HOLDING ELECTIONS WHICH DID NOT ACCOMMODATE THE IFP'S DESIRES FOR SELF-DETERMINATION.

IT WAS ADMITTED AT THE TIME BY THE PERSONS NAMED BELOW THAT SUCH ARMED RESISTANCE WOULD ENTAIL THE RISK OF UNLAWFUL DEATH AND INJURY TO PERSONS.

The second bolded paragraph starting with the words “It was admitted” and ending with the words “injury to persons” will be deleted. The first bolded paragraph will be amended as follows:

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT, DURING THE PERIOD 1993 – 1994, THE SELF-PROTECTION UNIT PROJECT (SPU), ALTHOUGH OFFICIALLY PLACED WITHIN THE AMBIT OF THE PEACE ACCORD AND CONTAINING AN ELEMENT OF SELF PROTECTION, WAS ALSO INTENDED BY SENIOR INKATHA MEMBERS TO FURNISH THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY WITH A PARAMILITARY CAPACITY TO, BY FORCE, DISRUPT THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FORM HOLDING ELECTIONS WHICH DID NOT ACCOMMODATE THE IFP'S DESIRES FOR SELF-DETERMINATION.

21. Volume 3, Chapter 3, paragraph 296, page 270:

- 296 In 1991, as a result of these concerns, Daluxolo Luthuli summoned Gcina Brian Mkhize [AM4599/97] to a meeting in Ulundi. Mkhize was a 'Caprivi trianee' who had joined the KZP and was posted to the Esikhawini Riot Unit in 1990. The meeting was held at KZP Captain Leonard Langeni's office in Ulundi early in 1991. At the time, Langeni was the officer commanding the then KLA Protection Unit. Others present at the meeting were Luthuli, Prince Gideon Zulu (then KwaZulu Minister of Pensions), Mr M R Mzimela (then Secretary of the KwaZulu Legislature), and Mr MZ Khumalo (then personal assistant to Chief Buthelezi).

This paragraph is amended as follows:

- 296 According to Daluxolo Luthuli and Gcina Brian Mkhize [AM4599/97] in 1991, as a result of these concerns, Luthuli summoned Mkhize to a meeting in Ulundi. Mkhize was a 'Caprivi trianee' who had joined the KZP and was posted to the Esikhawini Riot Unit in 1990. The meeting was held at KZP Captain Leonard Langeni's office in Ulundi early in 1991. At the time, Langeni was the officer commanding the then KLA Protection Unit. Others present at the meeting were Luthuli, Prince Gideon Zulu (then KwaZulu Minister of Pensions), Mr M R Mzimela (then Secretary of the KwaZulu Legislature), and Mr MZ Khumalo, a senior Inkatha official.

22 Volume 3, Chapter 3, second bolded sub-paragraph at paragraph 308, pages 276 –9:

INKATHA LEADERS APPROACHED THE INKATHA CENTRAL AUTHORITY IN ULUNDI BECAUSE THEY WERE CONCERNED THAT THEY WERE IN THE PROCESS OF LOSING THE STRUGGLE.

This sub-paragraph is amended as follows:

LOCAL INKATHA LEADERS IN ESIKAWENI APPROACHED CERTAIN SENIOR INKATHA OFFICIALS IN ULUNDI BECAUSE THEY WERE CONCERNED THAT THEY WERE IN THE PROCESS OF LOSING THE STRUGGLE.

The following sub-paragraph is inserted as the final bolded sub-paragraph of the bulleted findings relating to the hit squads on page 278:

THE COMMISSION NOTES THAT THE IFP DISPUTES THE VERSIONS OF DALOXOLO LUTHULI, GCINA BRIAN MKHIZE AND OTHERS. THE COMMISSION NOTES FURTHER THAT THOSE IFP MEMBERS IMPLICATED DID NOT MAKE THEMSELVES AVAILABLE TO THE COMMISSION TO REBUT THE EVIDENCE.

23. Volume 3, Chapter 3, finding at paragraph 318, page 286:

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KILLING OF SIXTEEN PEOPLE ON 8 NOVEMBER 1990 WAS CAUSED BY UNKNOWN SUPPORTERS OF THE IFP FROM THE BRUNTVILLE HOSTEL, CONSTITUTING GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH UNKNOWN INKATHA-SUPPORTING HOSTEL-DWELLERS ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

This paragraph is amended by an insertion of an additional sentence and will read as follows:

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE KILLING OF SIXTEEN PEOPLE ON 8 NOVEMBER 1990 WAS CAUSED BY UNKNOWN SUPPORTERS OF THE IFP FROM THE BRUNTVILLE HOSTEL, CONSTITUTING GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR WHICH UNKNOWN INKATHA-SUPPORTING HOSTEL- DWELLERS ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE. THE COMMISSION NOTES THAT SINCE THE IFP DECLINED TO PARTICIPATE IN HEARING THAT THERE MAY BE OTHER PERSPECTIVES WHICH IT DID NOT HAVE THE BENEFIT OF RECEIVING AND ANALYSING.

24. The statement in Volume 5, Chapter 6, finding at the 5th sub-paragraph of paragraph 109, page 229:

IN KWAZULU SPECIFICALLY, THE HOMELAND GOVERNMENT AND POLICE FORCE (KZP) WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR:

The 5th sub-paragraph is amended as follows:

IN KWAZULU SPECIFICALLY, ELEMENTS OF THE HOMELAND GOVERNMENT AND POLICE (KZP) WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR:

25. Volume 5, Chapter 6, sub-paragraphs e, l and j of paragraph 116, pages 231 – 2:

- e the establishment in early 1986 of a covert, offensive paramilitary unit trained, armed and paid by Military Intelligence, and their deployment throughout KwaZulu until September 1990, during which the ‘Caprivi trainees’ killed large numbers of people and permanently altered the political landscape in the areas in which they were deployed (see separate finding below);
- i the deployment of a joint KZP-IFP hit squad in Esikhawini township in 1990, and the resultant killing of over 100 people (see separate finding below);
- j the deployment of the IFP-based ‘Black Cats’ hit squad in Wesselton and Ermelo in 1990, and the resultant killing of large numbers of people;

Subparagraphs (e), (i) and (j) are amended as follows:

- e the establishment in early 1986 of a covert, offensive paramilitary unit trained, armed and paid by Military Intelligence, and their deployment throughout KwaZulu until September 1990, during which the several ‘Caprivi trainees’ killed large numbers of people and permanently altered the political landscape in the areas in which they were deployed (see separate finding below);
- l the deployment of a hit squad in Esikhawini township comprising elements of the KZP and certain Inkatha supporters in 1990, which resulted in the killing of over 100 people (see separate finding below);
- j the deployment of the ‘Black Cats’ hit squad in Wesselton and Ermelo comprising Inkatha supporters in 1990, and the resultant killing of large numbers of people;

26. Volume 5, Chapter 6, paragraph 117 – 119, page 232:

- 117 The above mentioned incidents represent iconic events over the past twelve years in which IFP office-bearers, members and supporters were involved in acts of serious political violence. They do not purport to be a complete list of such incidents. However, the most devastating indictment of the role of the IFP in political violence during the Commission's mandate period is to be found in the statistics compiled by the Commission directly from submissions by victims of gross human rights violations. These established the IFP as the foremost perpetrator of gross human rights violations in KwaZulu and Natal during the 1990-94 period. Indeed, IFP violations constituted almost 50 per cent of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for this period, and over one-third of the total number of gross human rights violations committed during the thirty-four-year period of the Commission's mandate. The statistics also indicate that IFP members, supporters and office-bearers in KwaZulu and Natal were responsible for more than 55 per cent of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for the period between July 1993 and May 1994.
- 118 Other statistics derived from the Commission's database show that Inkatha/the IFP was responsible, in the mandate period, for some 3 800 killings in the Natal and KwaZulu area compared with approximately 1 100 attributed to the ANC and some 700 to the SAP. The IFP remains the major perpetrator of killings on a national scale, being allegedly responsible for over 4 500 killings compared to 2 700 attributed to the SAP and 1 300 to the ANC. These statistics suggest that the IFP was responsible for approximately 3.5 killings for on killing attributed to the ANC. A graph included in the Natal regional profile (Volume Three) illustrates that in 1987-88 the IFP exceeded even the SAP in terms of numbers of people killed by a single perpetrator organisation.
- 119 It must be noted here that, for much of the period in which the Commission was able to accept human rights violations statements, the IFP discouraged its members and supporters from making submissions to the Commission. The result is that only about 10 per cent of all statements taken in KwaZulu-Natal came from people linked to the IFP. The significant point is that the statistics derived from the Commission's database do not diverge from those published by other national and international bodies. All of these are consistent in identifying the IFP as the primary non-state perpetrator of gross human rights abuse in South Africa from the latter 1980s through to 1994.

The last sentence in paragraph 118 has been deleted and the paragraphs are amended as follows:

- 117 The above incidents represent iconic events over the past twelve years in which IFP office-bearers, members and supporters were involved in acts of serious political violence. They do not purport to be a complete list of such incidents. However, the most devastating indictment of the role of members and/ or supporters of the IFP in political violence during the Commission's mandate period is to be found in the statistics compiled by the Commission directly from submissions by victims of gross human rights violations. These established that members and/ or supporters of the IFP were the foremost perpetrator of gross human rights violations in KwaZulu and Natal during the 1990-94 period. Indeed, such violations constituted almost 50 per cent of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for this period, and over one-third of the total number of gross human rights violations committed during the thirty-four-year period of the Commission's mandate. The statistics also indicate that IFP members, supporters and office-bearers in KwaZulu and Natal were responsible for more than 55 per cent of all violations reported to the Commission's Durban office for the period between July 1993 and May 1994.

- 118 Other statistics derived from the Commission's database show that members and/ or supporters of the IFP were responsible, in the mandate period, for some 3 800 killings in the Natal and KwaZulu area compared with approximately 1 100 attributed to the members and/ or supporters of the ANC and some 700 to the SAP. Members and/ or supporters The IFP remains the major perpetrator of killings on a national scale, being allegedly responsible for over 4 500 killings compared to 2 700 attributed to the SAP and 1 300 to members and/ or supporters of the ANC. These statistics suggest that members and/ or supporters of the IFP was responsible for approximately 3.5 killings for on killing attributed to the members and/ or supporters of the ANC.
- 119 It must be noted here that, for much of the period in which the Commission was able to accept human rights violations statements, the IFP discouraged its members and supporters from making submissions to the Commission. The result is that only about 10 per cent of all statements taken in KwaZulu-Natal came from people linked to the IFP. The significant point is that the statistics derived from the Commission's database do not diverge from those published by other national and international bodies. All of these are consistent in identifying members and/ or supporters of the IFP as the primary non-state perpetrator of gross human rights abuse in South Africa from the latter 1980s through to 1994. The Commission notes that a complete picture of the IFP-ANC conflict could not be formed due to the failure of by many IFP members and supporters to participate in the Commission and the absence of many countervailing complaints of violations against the IFP.

27. Volume 5, Chapter 6, first paragraph 121 pages 233 – 6:

- 121 The formal finding of the Commission in regard to the IFP is set out below:

DURING THE PERIOD 1982-94, THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY, KNOWN AS INKATHA PRIOR TO JULY 1990 (HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS "THE ORGANISATION") WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED IN THE FORMER TRANSVAAL, NATAL AND KWAZULU AGAINST

- PERSONS WHO WERE PERCEIVED TO BE LEADERS, MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS OF THE UDF, ANC, SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (SACP) AND COSATU;
- PERSONS WHO WERE IDENTIFIED AS POSING A THREAT TO THE ORGANISATION;
- MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS OF THE ORGANISATION WHOSE LOYALTY WAS DOUBTED.
- IT IS A FURTHER FINDING OF THE COMMISSION THAT SUCH VIOLATIONS FORMED PART OF A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE ORGANISATION.
- THE COMMISSION BASED THIS FINDING ON THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS OF THE IFP:
- SPEECHES BY THE IFP PRESIDENT, SENIOR PARTY OFFICIALS AND PERSONS ALIGNED TO THE ORGANISATION'S IDEALOGY, WHICH HAD THE EFFECT OF INCITING SUPPORTERS OF THE ORGANISATION TO COMMIT ACTS OF VIOLENCE;

- ARMING THE ORGANISATIONS'S SUPPORTERS WITH WEAPONS IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE ARMS AND AMMUNITION, AND EXPLOSIVES AND DANGEROUS WEAPONS ACTS;
- MASS ATTACKS BY SUPPORTERS OF THE ORGANISATION ON COMMUNITIES INHABITED BY PERSONS REFERRED TO ABOVE, RESULTING IN DEATH AND INJURY AND THE DESTRUCTION AND THEFT OF PROPERTY;
- KILLING OF LEADERS OF THE POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONS REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- COLLUSION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY FORCES TO COMMIT THE VIOLATIONS REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- ENTERING INTO A PACT WITH THE SADF TO CREATE A PARAMILITARY FORCE FOR THE ORGANISATION, WHICH WAS INTENDED TO AND DID CAUSE DEATH AND INJURY TO THE PERSONS REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- ESTABLISHING HIT SQUADS WITHIN THE KZP AND THE SPECIAL CONSTABLES STRUCTURE OF THE SAP TO KILL OR CAUSE INJURY TO THE PERSONS REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SELF-PROTECTION UNIT PROJECT, TRAINING LARGE NUMBERS OF THE ORGANISATIONS'S SUPPORTERS WITH THE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE OF PREVENTING, BY MEANS OF VIOLENCE, THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS IN KWAZULU-NATAL IN APRIL 1994, UNDER A CONSTITUTION WHICH DID NOT RECOGNISE THE ORGANISATIONS'S DEMANDS FOR SOVEREIGNTY. IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE, THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT AND ITS KWAZULU POLICE STRUCTURES WERE SUBVERTED;
- CONSPIRING WITH RIGHT-WING ORGANISATIONS AND FORMER MEMBERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY FORCES TO COMMIT ACTS WHICH RESULTED IN LOSS OF LIFE OR INJURY IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVE REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- CREATING A CLIMATE OF IMPUNITY BY EXPRESSLY OR IMPLICITLY CONDONING GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND OTHER UNLAWFUL ACTS COMMITTED BY MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS OF THE ORGANISATION.
- CHIEF MG BUTHELEZI SERVED SIMULTANEOUSLY AS PRESIDENT OF THE IFP AND AS THE CHIEF MINISTER OF THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT AND WAS THE ONLY SERVING MINISTER OF POLICE IN THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT DURING THE ENTIRE THIRTEEN-YEAR EXISTENCE OF THE KWAZULU POLICE. WHERE THESE THREE AGENCIES ARE FOUND TO HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS, CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI IS HELD BY THIS COMMISSION TO BE ACCOUNTABLE IN HIS REPRESENTATIVE CAPACITY AS THE LEADER, HEAD OR RESPONSIBLE MINISTER OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED.

This paragraph is amended as follows:

121 The formal finding of the Commission on the actions by members, supporters or officials of the organisation, is set out below:

DURING THE PERIOD 1982-94 MEMBERS, SUPPORTERS AND/ OR OFFICIALS OF THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY, KNOWN AS INKATHA PRIOR TO JULY 1990 (HEREINAFTER REFERRED TO AS "THE ORGANISATION") WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTED IN THE FORMER TRANSVAAL, NATAL AND KWAZULU AGAINST:

- PERSONS WHO WERE PERCEIVED TO BE LEADERS, MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS OF THE UDF, ANC, SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (SACP) AND COSATU;
- PERSONS WHO WERE IDENTIFIED AS POSING A THREAT TO THE ORGANISATION;
- MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS OF THE ORGANISATION WHOSE LOYALTY WAS DOUBTED.
- IT IS A FURTHER FINDING OF THE COMMISSION THAT SUCH VIOLATIONS FORMED PART OF A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN OF ABUSE WHICH ENTAILED DELIBERATE PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE MEMBERS, SUPPORTERS OR OFFICIALS OF THE ORGANISATION.

THE COMMISSION BASED THIS FINDING ON THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS OF THE IFP:

- SPEECHES BY SENIOR PARTY OFFICIALS AND PERSONS ALIGNED TO THE ORGANISATION'S IDEALOGY, WHICH HAD THE EFFECT OF INCITING SUPPORTERS OF THE ORGANISATION TO COMMIT ACTS OF VIOLENCE;
- ARMING THE ORGANISATIONS'S SUPPORTERS WITH WEAPONS IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE ARMS AND AMMUNITION, AND EXPLOSIVES AND DANGEROUS WEAPONS ACTS;
- MASS ATTACKS BY SUPPORTERS OF THE ORGANISATION ON COMMUNITIES INHABITED BY PERSONS REFERRED TO ABOVE, RESULTING IN DEATH AND INJURY AND THE DESTRUCTION AND THEFT OF PROPERTY;
- KILLING OF LEADERS OF THE POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONS REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- OCCASIONAL COLLUSION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY FORCES TO COMMIT THE VIOLATIONS REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- ENTERING INTO A PACT WITH THE SADF TO CREATE A PARAMILITARY FORCE FOR THE ORGANISATION, WHICH WAS INTENDED TO AND DID CAUSE DEATH AND INJURY TO THE PERSONS REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- ESTABLISHING HIT SQUADS WITHIN THE KZP AND THE SPECIAL

CONSTABLES STRUCTURE OF THE SAP TO KILL OR CAUSE INJURY TO THE PERSONS REFERRED TO ABOVE;

- UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SELF-PROTECTION UNIT PROJECT, TRAINING LARGE NUMBERS OF THE ORGANISATIONS'S SUPPORTERS WITH THE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE OF PREVENTING, BY MEANS OF VIOLENCE, THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS IN KWAZULU-NATAL IN APRIL 1994, UNDER A CONSTITUTION WHICH DID NOT RECOGNISE THE ORGANISATIONS'S DEMANDS FOR SOVEREIGNTY. IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE, THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT AND ITS KWAZULU POLICE STRUCTURES WERE SUBVERTED;
- CONSPIRING WITH RIGHT-WING ORGANISATIONS AND FORMER MEMBERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY FORCES TO COMMIT ACTS WHICH RESULTED IN LOSS OF LIFE OR INJURY IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVE REFERRED TO ABOVE;
- CREATING A CLIMATE OF IMPUNITY BY EXPRESSLY OR IMPLICITLY CONDONING GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND OTHER UNLAWFUL ACTS COMMITTED BY MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS OF THE ORGANISATION.

CHIEF MG BUTHELEZI SERVED SIMULTANEOUSLY AS PRESIDENT OF THE IFP AND AS THE CHIEF MINISTER OF THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT AND WAS THE ONLY SERVING MINISTER OF POLICE IN THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT DURING THE ENTIRE THIRTEEN-YEAR EXISTENCE OF THE KWAZULU POLICE. WHERE THESE THREE AGENCIES ARE FOUND TO HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COMMISSION OF GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS, CHIEF MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI IS HELD BY THIS COMMISSION TO BE ACCOUNTABLE IN HIS REPRESENTATIVE CAPACITY AS THE LEADER, HEAD OR RESPONSIBLE MINISTER OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED.

28. Volume 5, Chapter 6, paragraph 122, page 234;

- 122 The Commission also made comprehensive findings with regard to a number of key incidents involving members of the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal, all of which are dealt with in more detail in the Natal regional study in Volume Three of this report. The commission has also made a finding on the KZP, which has been dealt with in the chapter on Homelands in Volume Two.

This paragraph is amended as follows:

- 122 The Commission also made comprehensive findings with regard to a number of key incidents involving members and/ or officials of the IFP in KwaZulu-Natal, all of which are dealt with in more detail in the Natal regional study in Volume Three of this report. The commission has also made a finding on the KZP, which has been dealt with in the chapter on Homelands in Volume Two.

APPENDIX 2

In its interim report the TRC made a number of adverse findings concerning the IFP and its President, Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Both the IFP and Minister Buthelezi have taken issue with these findings. To that end, they instituted legal proceedings with a view to reviewing and setting aside those findings and requiring the TRC to publish appropriate corrections in its final report. The TRC accepts the validity of certain of these criticisms and has accordingly made appropriate corrections in its final report. In order to settle the dispute in respect of the remaining complaints and to enable the TRC to complete its mandate, the parties have agreed that the TRC will publish this appendix to the final report reflecting the viewpoint of the IFP and Minister Buthelezi concerning those findings with which they disagree.

APPENDIX TO THE FINAL TRC REPORT REFLECTING THE VIEWS OF THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY AND MINISTER BUTHELEZI CONCERNING THE FINDINGS MADE IN THE INTERIM TRC REPORT

In the review proceedings the IFP and Prince Buthelezi challenged some 37 findings made by the TRC in its interim report. In relation to some of the findings the TRC has made appropriate corrections in its final report. In respect of other findings which are in issue the views of the IFP and Prince Buthelezi are reflected below.

The findings of the TRC in question are, contrary to the statutory obligation imposed on it by section 4(e) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 ('the Act'), not based on factual and objective information and evidence received by the TRC. There is no rational connection between the evidence and material before the TRC and the conclusions reached by it in this regard.

The IFP and Prince Buthelezi wish to record in this regard that:

- The findings implicating the IFP and Prince Buthelezi in gross human rights violations, criminality and conspiracy are without any factual basis.
- The IFP and prince Buthelezi at no stage endorsed policies based on violence, criminal conduct or an armed struggle and they only advocated non-violence, passive resistance and self-defence where legally justified.
- The IFP and Prince Buthelezi have serious reservations regarding the

establishment and functioning of the TRC and its ability to make objective and factually correct findings. The TRC was the product of a mutual political accommodation reached between the ANC and the NP to the exclusion of the other participants in the conflicts of the past. The TRC was thus inclined to approach its mandate by focusing on black-on-white and white-on-black conflicts. It was ill-equipped to deal with black-on-black conflict and explore the genesis, dynamics, purposes and strategies of this conflict. The TRC process was conducted at a time very close to the animosity and tensions of the conflicts of the past and without the benefit of a historical perspective. In this context evidence was taken without any effective means of independent or adversarial verification.

- Notwithstanding the reservations which the IFP and Prince Buthelezi had regarding the TRC, they made written and oral representations to the TRC at the appropriate stages. The TRC has not taken account of these representations in arriving at its findings.
- In many instances the TRC's findings are based on unreliable, uncorroborated or hearsay evidence provided by persons who acknowledged that their conduct constituted an offence or delict. These persons sought amnesty in respect of such conduct which could only be granted if a link between their conduct and a political objective was established. This resulted in untruthful, unreliable or generally vague evidence which in some cases reflected adversely on the IFP or Prince Buthelezi. Such evidence should not have been accepted at face value by the TRC.
- The TRC acted contrary to the provisions of section 30 of the Act which required it to act in a procedurally fair manner and give notice of its contemplated findings to persons who might be implicated. The requirement of procedural fairness was aimed not only at protecting those persons who might be adversely affected but also at enabling the TRC to assess the other side of any given story or allegation. Firstly, the TRC failed to give the IFP and Prince Buthelezi notice of most of its contemplated findings. This meant that they were not afforded the opportunity of rebutting such findings and did not allow the TRC to consider their response to any particular allegation. Secondly, in respect of certain contemplated findings the TRC gave notice of such findings but failed to identify the evidence supporting such findings to enable the IFP and Prince Buthelezi to adduce countervailing evidence. Thirdly, in those cases where adequate notice of the contemplated

findings was given enabling the IFP and Prince Buthelezi to respond thereto the TRC failed properly to apply its mind to the response submitted. Despite the representations that were made rebutting these findings, the actual findings published in the interim report were in all material respects identical to the contemplated findings.

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

The TRC made certain findings relating to the KZP which suggested that on occasions they co-operated with the SAP in perpetrating gross human rights violations. These findings ignored certain relevant facts and are wrong. As the ruling part of KwaZulu, Inkatha had the responsibility of maintaining law and order. The TRC ignored the reality that Prince Buthelezi had no operational control over the KZP which, in terms of law, was under the control of the South African Government in respect of all matters relating to its deployment, training, promotion and operational control. Nothing in the TRC Report or in any credible evidence before the TRC detracts from the fact that Prince Buthelezi never ordered, authorized, approved, condoned or ratified any gross human rights violations.

Certain of the findings in the TRC report endeavour to connect crimes committed by individuals or groups operating at community level with the IFP or Prince Buthelezi. In particular the TRC has in its report reconstructed events relating to the training of 206 young people by the SADF in the Caprivi Strip. The findings in this regard are erroneous and in conflict with the approach taken by the Durban Supreme court to similar evidence before it in extensive criminal proceedings. These people were chosen on the basis of criteria determined by the SADF and trained by it in accordance with its chosen requirements. The training was requested by the KwaZulu Government solely to protect the lives of government officials and the integrity of government structures and assets which were being targeted by terrorism and insurrection related to the armed struggle. Prince Buthelezi was at the time reliably informed of ANC plans to assassinate him, which information was confirmed before

the TRC in the testimony of President Mbeki. The KwaZulu Government never had operational control of these trainees. No basis exists for suggesting Prince Buthelezi could have believed that 206 barely trained security guards could be deployed against hundreds of thousands of ANC cadres who were well equipped and well trained by Soviet and Cuban military personnel.

In fact, Inkatha and the KZG were the only major participants in the conflicts of the past which had no control over a private army to be deployed for political purposes. Private armies were available both to the exiled political forces, such as the ANC and the PAC through the military training camps abroad, as well as to the leaders of the TBVC states and, obviously, to the SAG. Prince Buthelezi's refusal to accept nominal independence was, as admitted by former State President FW de Klerk, the major cause of the demise of the great scheme of apartheid, as it prevented the SAG from consolidating its claim that the white minority was no longer ruling over the majority of disenfranchised black South Africans. The fact that the Zulu people remained South Africans and did not have an independent state, forced the chief Minister of the KZG to provide for their security.

This as the background leading to the training of the Caprivi trainees which was fully scrutinized during the 8 month Malan trial referred to in the TRC report. The trial court found nothing illegal in such training. In arriving at its conclusions the TRC failed to pay proper regard to the evidence before the Court and its judgment.

The TRC in making certain findings in relation to self protection units misconceived their true nature. The training of SPUs was legal and was intended to achieve legal purposes relating to community policing and defense supervised by the National Peace Accord. Factually, SPUs never became involved in the conflict of the past. The only contrary evidence available to the TRC was that of someone whose political allegiance changed from the IFP and its Leader. He was involved in the setting up of a military camp for self-protection training, which he did without any knowledge of the IFP Leader. The TRC never offered the opportunity to the IFP to produce evidence to counter the false testimony placed before it, during in camera hearings at which the IFP was not represented no afforded an opportunity to test such evidence.

The TRC wrongly concluded that the IFP and its Leader could have made plans to disrupt the April 1994 elections by deploying a thousand people trained for a few weeks, against the combined might of the SAP, the SADF and MK, the ANC's private army. In fact, the IFP and its Leader never considered any plan to disrupt the April

1994 elections, the Central Committee (the decision making body of the IFP) never passed a resolution to that effect and the IFP's structures were never involved in any illegal activity. When the IFP expressed its opposition to the 1994 elections, it did so in a principled fashion, relying on its usual methodology of passive resistance and nonviolence, by exercising its democratic option of not participating in such elections.

In various findings made by the TRC against the IFP it sought to create links between a variety of violent activities taking place within community dynamics and individual crimes on the one hand and Inkatha on the other hand. At no stage did Inkatha advocate a policy of violence. In fact, the public and private pronouncements of Inkatha's leader, Prince Buthelezi, indicate that he constantly urged members and supporters to refrain from violence. The TRC has ignored this body of evidence and has sought to rely on a statement by Prince Buthelezi reiterating the recognised principle that people are entitled to self defence and a statement in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in which he reaffirmed his legal responsibility to protect public officials and government assets against acts of violence.

The TRC has tried to make the findings against the IFP mirror the findings made against the South African Government and the ANC. Through the chain of command within the armed struggle the ANC had control of and was responsible for the violence and gross human rights violations committed by its members and supporters, who were acting in accordance with ANC stated policies. The same applies in respect of the covert operations of the South African Government and the illegal activities of the SAP and the SADF, which were conducted within the parameters of an existing structure accountable to certain leaders. In the IFP there was no chain of command or integrated structure which can in any way link community and individual violence to Inkatha or its Leader. In making its findings the TRC had ignored the absence of any causal link and has incorrectly adopted an extended notion of accountability.

Prince Buthelezi served simultaneously as President of the IFP and the Chief minister of the KwaZulu government and during the period 1982-1994 was the Minister of Police in the KwaZulu Government. The TRC sought to hold Prince Buthelezi politically accountable for the commission of gross human rights violations allegedly perpetrated by the entities by virtue of the positions which he held. As appears from this appendix prince Buthelezi does not accept that he can be held accountable, politically or otherwise, in his representative capacity for the commission of any gross human rights violations.

The TRC sought even to connect the IFP to the activities of the groups known as the 'Black Cats' and the 'Toaster Gang' as well as the activities of other groups which perpetrated violence within community level conflicts. Within this context the TRC adopted the expression 'hit squads' to refer to any group of people involved in community violence, suggesting that such people were structurally organized for such nefarious purposes and constantly involved in their pursuance. The reality is that the overwhelming majority of violence by Inkatha's members and supporters was the produce of occasional activities of unstructured groups without any underlying plan. On the contrary, the evidence submitted to the Goldstone Commission demonstrates that the violence targeted against Inkatha followed systematic and well strategized patterns and was the product of an underlying political campaign.



MXVUSILE
MADASI

LUYANDA
GQOME

ZOLA MARALA

Volume **SIX** • Section **FIVE** • Chapter **FIVE**

**Findings and
Recommendations**

**HOLDING THE PAN
AFRICANIST CONGRESS
ACCOUNTABLE**

Holding the Pan Africanist Congress Accountable

■ FINDINGS

1. In its Final Report, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) made findings of accountability against the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in respect of the commission of gross human rights violations.
2. The Commission stated in its report that it recognised the PAC as a legitimate liberation movement which had waged a just struggle against the apartheid government. However, in the course and conduct of that struggle, it had committed gross violations of human rights.
3. While the PAC did not formally commit itself to upholding the provisions of the Geneva Conventions or the Additional Protocols, it was nevertheless bound by international customary law and, in particular, by international humanitarian law.
4. The Commission made three major findings against the PAC. It made a finding against the PAC's armed grouping of the 1960s, Poqo; a finding against the PAC for violations committed in exile, and a finding against its armed wing APLA in the later period.

FINDING ON POQO

5. The Commission stated in its Final Report that:

*While the Commission takes note of the explanation tendered by the PAC that its activities in the early 1990's need to be understood in the context of the 'land wars of the time', it nevertheless finds that the PAC and **Poqo** were responsible for the commission of gross violations of human rights through **Poqo's** campaign to liberate the country. This unleashed a reign of terror, particularly in the Western Cape Townships. In the course of this campaign, the following groups suffered gross violations of their human rights:*

- Members of the police, particularly those living in Black townships;
- The so-called 'Kataganese', dissident members of the PAC who opposed

- the campaign and were subjected to physical attacks and assassinations by other Poqo members;
- Representatives of traditional authority in the homelands, that is Chiefs and headmen;
 - White civilians in non-combat situations.⁶⁹
6. In making these findings, the Commission relied on evidence received from victims and witnesses who made statements and submissions to the Human Rights Violations Committee. In terms of the evidence received, the commission of human rights violations by PAC members began with the activities of its 1960s armed grouping, Poqo. These included forcible conscription drives and attacks on the South African Police, white civilians, and alleged 'collaborators' and 'dissidents' within the movement.
 7. Poqo's activities in the early 1960s unleashed a reign of terror, particularly in the Western Cape townships, where it adopted aggressive conscription methods. These allowed no room for dissent and at times resulted in violent intolerance towards members and outsiders who criticised or failed to support its methods.
 8. The Commission found that Poqo militants targeted civilians indiscriminately, particularly in the November 1962 Paarl attacks, which resulted in the killing of two white civilians. It found that these attacks (on the prison, the police station and the private homes of white residents) were locally planned and executed in response to serious local grievances arising from the strong enforcement of influx control and the corruption of Bantu Administration Board officers. Although not officially sanctioned by the regional or national PAC leadership, the Paarl attacks fell in line with a mass uprising planned for 8 March 1963, which specifically targeted whites and government agents.
 9. The February 1963 attack on a group of whites sleeping at the roadside near Bashee (Mbashe) River Bridge in Transkei, in which five whites were killed, was also found to be an indiscriminate targeting of civilians. A massive police crack-down on the PAC followed. Fifty-five people were subsequently charged with murder, of whom twenty-three were convicted and sentenced to death.
 10. The PAC told the Commission that the incident needed to be understood in the context of the land wars of the time. Families were being forcibly moved from

⁶⁹ Volume Five, p. 244.

their plots and homes without compensation to make way for the construction of a new road between Umtata and Queenstown. In the light of this, the PAC considered their attack to be purely defensive.

11. The Commission took note of the explanation but nonetheless found the PAC and Poqo to have been responsible for the commission of gross violations of human rights in its indiscriminate targeting of civilians.
12. In 1962 and 1963, Poqo members engaged in attacks on representatives of traditional authorities in the homelands, killing two headmen in the St Marks district of Cofimvaba in the Transkei. The attacks were described by the PAC as 'aimed at those headmen and chiefs assisting the dispossession of African people through the rural rehabilitation scheme'. On 12 December 1962, armed Poqo members were intercepted by police while on their way to assassinate Chief Kaiser Matanzima. An armed clash took place at Ntlonze Hill in the Transkei. Seven Poqo members were killed in this encounter and three policemen were seriously injured. The Commission considered this incident to be in the nature of a military encounter in which both sides were armed. It concluded, therefore, that the injuries to the policemen and the deaths of the Poqo members did not constitute gross human rights violations.
13. In the early 1960s, a group of disaffected PAC supporters, dubbed the 'Katangese', began operating outside the PAC's policy framework. They soon became the targets of physical attacks, attempted assassinations and attacks by Poqo gangs.
14. The PAC considered police officers to be an extension of the apartheid machinery and hence legitimate military targets. Spies and informers fell into this category as well. Dissidents in the movement were treated as the 'enemy'. It needs to be remembered that there were continual fears that the liberation movement would be infiltrated by those in the employ of the state. Not unnaturally, vigilance tended to spill over into paranoia.
15. The PAC deliberately targeted 'white farmers' as they were considered to be 'settlers' and thus 'acceptable' targets for killing.
16. The activities of Poqo belong to the 1960s and it is not surprising that the Commission received no amnesty applications from members of Poqo for violations committed during this period. Nor did the PAC furnish the Commission

with any further information related to these matters, providing no reason for the Commission to change its findings in respect of Poqo.

17. The finding with respect to Poqo thus remains unchanged.

FINDING ON PAC 'INTERNAL' VIOLATIONS

18. Like the African National Congress (ANC), the PAC executed a number of persons in custody in their camps without due process. This was usually on the instructions of its high command. In terms of the Protocols, such killings are considered to be grave breaches of the conventions.

19. In its Final Report, the Commission made the following finding:

The Commission finds that a number of members of the PAC were extra-judicially killed in exile, particularly in camps in Tanzania, by APLA cadres acting on the instructions of its high command, and that members inside the country branded as informers or agents, and those who opposed PAC policies were also killed. All such actions constituted instances of gross violations of human rights for which the PAC and APLA are held to be responsible and accountable.⁷⁰

20. In assessing this finding, it is important to note that the violations that occurred in the ranks of the PAC in exile were largely the result of divisions within the PAC leadership, military command structures and APLA members. Evidence received by the Commission revealed that many such violations took place. Whilst the Commission received a number of statements from victims regarding their treatment in exile, it received only one amnesty application in connection with these violations. Unlike the ANC leadership, the PAC leadership made no submissions on this issue to the Commission.
21. The Commission also received statements from families of individuals who went 'missing in exile', and heard evidence of the killing and attempted killing of PAC cadres in exile for which the PAC was allegedly responsible. It also received evidence in respect of a number of cases of assault and torture in PAC camps in Tanzania. Assault and torture were used as mechanisms to deal with suspected dissidents or infiltrators. The PAC did not have a security division responsible for handling such matters. Nevertheless, sections 1.4 and 1.5 of its Disciplinary Code provided constitutional justification for the use of 'firm iron discipline' and

⁷⁰ Volume Five, 'Findings'.

for 'chopping off without ceremony' factional elements in the movement, 'no matter how important'.

22. The Commission found the PAC responsible for the extrajudicial killing and attempted killing of a number of PAC members in exile, particularly in the camps in Tanzania.
23. In reviewing these findings, the Commission records that it received no further information affecting the substance of this finding subsequent to the publication of its Final Report. Moreover, it reiterates that the Geneva Protocols applied to the PAC, even though the latter may not have considered itself bound by its provisions. The Convention on Torture makes it clear that torture is not permitted in any circumstances. Hence, cases of torture clearly constitute contraventions and gross human rights violations. Moreover, the execution of persons in custody without due process is considered to be a grave breach of the Protocols.
24. There is thus no reason, compelling or otherwise, for the Commission to change its findings in respect of these incidents.

VIOLATIONS AGAINST PAC MEMBERS AT HOME

25. The PAC was also responsible for violations against its own members inside South Africa after 1990, for which five applications for amnesty were received. In the main, they involved the killings of suspected informers. The Commission found the PAC responsible for the killing and attempted killing of members branded as informers and agents, as well as of those who opposed PAC policies.
26. The Amnesty Committee received four amnesty applications for the killing of three individuals suspected of collaborating with the security police. In one instance, a fellow PAC and APLA member was seen in the company of a police officer and was allegedly overheard talking to him and promising to report on a PAC meeting. He was killed. The amnesty committee accepted the amnesty applicant's explanation.⁷¹
27. In another application, an amnesty applicant took a decision to kill a comrade whom he regarded as an informer. Although he failed to do so, he himself was injured and captured in the course of his last attempt. He applied for amnesty for

⁷¹ See Section Three, Chapter Four of this volume.

the attempted killing. The Amnesty Committee accepted his version and his proposition that the attempted killing of this police informer was politically justified.⁷²

FINDINGS ON GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS COMMITTED BY PAC/ APLA DURING ITS ARMED STRUGGLE

28. The Commission's major finding on the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) was in respect of the commission of gross violations of human rights committed in the course of the armed struggle inside the country during the 1980s and 1990s.

29. The Commission stated that:

[w]hile the PAC proclaimed a military strategy of a protracted people's war, which involved the infiltration of guerrillas into the country to conduct rural guerrilla warfare and attacks in the township, in actuality, the primary target of its operations were civilians. This was especially so after 1990 when, in terms of its 'Year of the Great Storm' campaign, the PAC/Apla targeted whites at random and white farmers in particular.

30. The Commission noted but rejected the PAC's explanation that the killing of white farmers constituted acts of war. To the contrary, the Commission found PAC actions against civilians and whites to have constituted gross violations of human rights for which the PAC and APLA leadership was held morally and politically responsible and accountable.

31. The Commission found that:

[t]he targeting of civilians for killing not only constitutes a gross violations of human rights of those affected but a violation of international humanitarian law. The Commission notes but rejects the PAC's explanation that its killing white farmers constituted acts of war for which it has no regrets and apologies. To the contrary, the Commission finds PAC action directed towards both civilians and whites to have been a gross violation of human rights for which the PAC and Apla leadership are held to be morally and politically responsible and accountable.

32. In dealing with this issue, an important factor to bear in mind is the PAC's political platform, captured in a statement made by Brigadier Mofokeng at the armed forces hearing:

The enemy of the liberation movement of South Africa and of its people was

⁷² Ibid.

always the settler colonial regime of South Africa. Reduced to its simplest form, the apartheid regime meant white domination, not leadership, but control and supremacy. The pillars of apartheid protecting white South Africa from the black danger, were the military and the process of arming of the entire white South African society. This militarization, therefore, of necessity made every white citizen a member of the security establishment.

33. The vast majority of amnesty applications fall into this category and will be considered in greater detail below.

SUBMISSION MADE BY THE PAC IN RESPONSE TO THE FINDINGS MADE BY THE COMMISSION

34. In terms of section 30 of its founding Act, the Commission sent the PAC a notice setting out its proposed findings on 27 August 1998. The PAC responded on 21 October 1998 through its secretary-general, Mr Ngila Muendane. The response reached the Commission's offices after the cut-off date and was not considered or taken into account at the time of the publication of the Commission's Final Report. In reviewing its findings, however, the Commission returned to the submission made by the PAC.
35. The first objection that the PAC raises in the submission is that the Commission labelled it a gross violator of human rights. The PAC argues that, if the Commission determined that its struggle was just, it was contradictory to find it a violator of gross human rights. The PAC made this point again after the Commission had handed over its Final Report to President Mandela in October 1998.
36. The second issue raised by the PAC was that of 'legal equivalence'. This echoed objections raised by the ANC that violations committed by members of the liberation movements were given legal equivalence to those perpetrated by members of the security forces.
37. Beyond this, the PAC did not respond in any detail to the Commission's findings; nor did it make reference to the problems and reservations it had raised with the Commission while the process was underway. Instead, it affirmed the work of the Commission, despite some general reservations on the Commission's findings on the liberation movements in general.

PAC COMMENTS DURING PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE

38. In the parliamentary debate on the Commission's Report, held on 25 February 1999, PAC President Dr Stanley Mogoba noted that the Commission had revealed the painful truth of past apartheid atrocities but had not succeeded in bringing about reconciliation:

The TRC unavoidably opened the wounds of many families who were hurting in silence. The skeletons of this country came tumbling out of the cupboards. Some of us who had experienced the terrible side of the apartheid repression knew some of the truth, but only a fraction of the truth.

39. However, while Dr Mogoba praised the Commission for 'the positive contribution' it had made in 'the manner in which it revealed the painful truth of past atrocities and shocking barbarity during apartheid', he criticised it for condemning the liberation movements for atrocities perpetrated during the liberation struggle:

Although the context of hostilities, war and the struggle for survival is grudgingly admitted, the condemnation is nevertheless made. How we may ask, can people who were fighting and killing to uphold an oppressive and inhuman apartheid system, which was roundly condemned as a crime against humanity, be placed on the same scales of justice with the victims of that system?⁷³

40. This, indeed, was the criticism levelled at the Commission by all the liberation movements, despite the fact that they themselves had played a leading role in drafting the legislation that required the Commission to adopt an 'even handed' approach to the commission of gross human rights violations. The legislation did not make a distinction between the state and any other party. It required the Commission to investigate *all* gross human rights violations. Moreover, in making its findings, the Commission found the former apartheid state to be the major perpetrator responsible for state-sponsored violence.
41. The Commission considered that the war waged by the liberation movements was a just war and upheld the finding of the United Nations that apartheid was a crime against humanity. Thus the fight against the apartheid government was considered to be just and legitimate. Reference should be made to Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 covering armed conflicts in which

⁷³ *The Sowetan*, 30 October 1998.

⁷⁴ Provisions relating to Geneva Convention of 1949 relating to the protection of victims in armed conflicts, (Protocol I) 1125 53 U.N.T.S.

people are fighting against racist or colonial regimes,⁷⁴ which was specially created to deal with the struggles being conducted in South Africa and Israel. The conflict was therefore regarded as an international armed conflict.⁷⁵

42. The PAC sought disingenuously to blur the lines between a 'just cause' and 'just means', striving to make the point that, if the struggle it waged was just, it could not possibly be a violator. Their point of departure was that, if the cause is just, it follows that the actions performed in support of that cause must also be just. In terms of the Geneva Convention and the Protocols, the means used also have to be just.
43. Taken one step further, the PAC insisted on the view that anybody they considered to be the enemy in terms of their own policy constituted a 'legitimate' target. This view is contrary to the provisions of international humanitarian law, which considers the only acceptable or legitimate target to be a 'combatant'. In addition, civilian casualties are perceived to be grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and the party responsible for the killing is considered to have committed a gross violation of human rights.
44. The PAC also makes the point that the majority of people who die in war are innocent and that that is the very nature of war. This assertion, of course, evades the fundamental purpose of international humanitarian law which is to ensure that innocent people such as civilians are not killed, maimed and tortured and that they, particularly, are protected from the impact and ravages of war.

Application of the Geneva Conventions

45. The Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols set out comprehensively the situations in which grave breaches are said to be committed.⁷⁶ The Geneva Conventions stipulate that, even if one of the parties in a conflict is not a party to the Conventions, the other party will remain bound. Article 1(2) of Protocol I specifically states that, in cases not covered by this Protocol or by other international agreements, civilians and combatants remain under the protection and authority of the principles of international law derived from established custom, from the principles of humanity and from dictates of public conscience. Reference was made in the chapter dealing with the ANC⁷⁷ to the fact that this Protocol was intended to deal with those situations where 'peoples are fighting

⁷⁵ See this section, Chapter Three, 'Holding the ANC Accountable'.

⁷⁶ See Appendix 2 to Chapter One of this section.

⁷⁷ Chapter Three of this section

against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Principles of International law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations'. These Conventions are designed to limit the brutality of war and the loss of civilian life and, in particular, to hold accountable those who wage war in an unacceptable fashion.

46. Common Article 3 defines what kinds of acts constitute violations. There are a total of four acts that, if committed in respect of 'persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of the armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed *hors de combat* by sickness, wounds, detention or any other cause' constitute grave breaches. They include the following:
- a violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture;
 - b taking of hostages;
 - c outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment, and
 - d the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognised as indispensable by civilised peoples.
47. Given the provision of Common Article 3, it can be seen that this argument of the PAC is disingenuous and cannot be taken seriously. Whilst it is true that innocent people lose their lives, it is by no means acceptable that they should do so.

FINDINGS

Police officers as 'legitimate' targets

48. The PAC makes the assertion that they considered all police officers to be legitimate targets because they were the agents of apartheid and thus criminals. Their involvement with the apartheid government made them a legitimate target of the liberation movement.
49. An anomalous factor is that the vast majority of attacks against police officers took place at times when they were technically off duty. In most of these

instances, their houses were attacked and often their families were included in the attack.

50. In this regard, the PAC makes the point that one cannot draw a distinction between the period when police officers are at work and the period when they are off duty. It asserts further that, even when they were off duty, they were reporting to the state.
51. The main thrust of the PAC's argument is that police officers were considered by the vast majority of township residents to be agents of the state, and that in the eyes of the liberation movements they were regarded as collaborators and therefore constituted legitimate targets. The question of being on or off duty or in plain clothes or uniform was not at issue.
52. There is no doubt that police officers were perceived by ordinary people to be an extension of the state and thus legitimate targets of the liberation movements. In most of the townships, police were perceived to be the enemy and in many instances played the role of maintaining the apartheid government's power. This is not true of all police officers, but it is certainly true of the vast majority who became police officers during the apartheid era. One of the most painful experiences for most members of the community was the fact that police officers were an extension of apartheid authority and were responsible for carrying out many brutal acts against members of the community. In a number of instances, they were responsible for the arrest and detention of loved ones. In a vast number of cases, black policemen were responsible for the torture of activists in the townships.
53. In its submission, the PAC makes the point in vivid language:

When is a criminal not a criminal? Is he a criminal only when he commits a crime and stops being such when he retires to his bedroom at night? Would we say that the police must stop pursuing him simply because he is now with his family and enjoying a Sunday meal.
54. It goes on to make the point that the apartheid government did not make that distinction.

55. The PAC points out that, in terms of their own definitions, 'all police were the enemies of oppressed people because under that system they were obliged to work even when they were off duty'.
56. However, even if one accepts the argument that police officers were an extension of the apartheid system and thus legitimate targets, this does not remove from the PAC responsibility for attacks on police officers when they were *hors de combat* or when, unacceptably, innocent family members were killed or injured in these attacks.
57. Furthermore, it is not correct to assume that all police officers collaborated with the former state. In many instances, they joined the force because there was little opportunity for them to do anything else. Are they to be considered any more complicit in the apartheid system than magistrates or other persons who accepted jobs in the apartheid system?
58. If one accepts the argument that police officers were an extension of the apartheid apparatus, does this make a police station a legitimate target? In one case, applicants sought amnesty for an attack on a police vehicle in Diepkloof during which one policeman was killed and another injured.
59. In another incident, amnesty was sought for an attempted attack on the Yeoville police station. In this particular incident, the applicants were intercepted before they got to the police station. However, one SAP member was injured in the crossfire that ensued.
60. A question that must be considered is: Are all policemen who served in the apartheid force to be considered combatants and thus legitimate targets?
61. If one accepts the PAC's argument with regard to police officers, then neither the PAC nor ANC can be held responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations for these attacks. However, if one applies a strict interpretation of the Conventions, they would nevertheless be held accountable.

Traditional leaders as ‘legitimate’ targets

62. The PAC treated traditional leaders who co-operated with the state as an extension of the apartheid system and thus as legitimate targets.
63. In 1962, members of Poqo attacked representatives of traditional authority in the homelands, killing two headmen in the St Marks district of Cofimvaba, Transkei. These attacks were described by the PAC as being ‘aimed at those headmen and chiefs assisting the dispossession of African people through the rural dispossession scheme’.
64. On 12 December 1962, armed Poqo members were intercepted by police while on their way to assassinate Chief Kaiser Matanzima. An armed clash took place. In this encounter, seven Poqo members were killed and three policemen seriously injured. In its original report, the Commission considered this to be a combat situation.
65. The question these incidents raise is whether those who became part of the apartheid system became legitimate targets as identified by the PAC. The above situation relates to but one example of the iniquity of the apartheid system, which dispossessed people of their land, often violently, and frequently replaced hereditary leadership with chiefs of their own. Yet the targeting of traditional leaders and chiefs cannot be condoned and must constitute a gross human violation. Thus the motivation for the attacks can be understood but not condoned.

Civilians and farmers as ‘legitimate’ targets

66. In its second submission to the Commission, the PAC confirmed its earlier stance that whites under apartheid were beneficiaries of the system, that every white person was part of the defence lines of apartheid, and that the Commission had to accept that every white home during the apartheid era was some kind of garrison.
67. While the Commission did not deal conclusively with the notion of ‘beneficiaries’, there is no doubt that white people were the beneficiaries of apartheid and its largesse. White people cannot escape the fact that being white in South Africa enabled them to benefit from the system at the expense of the black majority. Having said that, the Commission cannot accept the argument that every white person must be considered part of the apartheid defence system

and that every white home must be considered to be a garrison. This is absurd and must be rejected. There were a large number of white people who not only opposed apartheid but who also fought against it in a variety of different ways, including the taking up of arms.

68. An analysis of the amnesty applications received from the PAC reveals that a total of thirty-two applications were received for attacks on civilians. In these incidents, twenty-four people were killed and 122 seriously injured.
69. These attacks formed part of the PAC's 'Operation Great Storm'.
70. A number of applicants claimed that the attacks were not motivated by racism. Rather, as whites were seen to be complicit in the government's policy of apartheid, they constituted a legitimate target.
71. Mr Letlapa Mphahlele, APLA director of operations, stated at a media briefing in Bloemfontein on 28 October 1997 that APLA offered no regret or apology for the lives lost during 'Operation Great Storm' in 1993. He said that his 'proudest moment was seeing whites dying in the killing fields'. He also accused the Amnesty Committee of being 'a farce and a sham' which sought to 'perpetuate white supremacy'.
72. Despite such spurious attacks on the Amnesty Committee, there is no doubt that the Committee considered the arguments of applicants very seriously – with the result that APLA members received amnesty for the most heinous of crimes on the basis that they complied with the requirements of the amnesty process. The Amnesty Committee has itself sustained serious criticism for some of these decisions, which many felt represented too generous an interpretation of 'proportionality'.

Attacks on civilians

73. Attacks on civilians included those made on the King William's Town Golf Club; Steaks restaurant in Claremont, Cape Town; Yellowwoods Hotel, Fort Beaufort; St James Church in Kenilworth, Cape Town; the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town, and Amy Biehl in Guguletu, Cape Town.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Amnesty applications for targeting white civilians are detailed in this volume, Section Three, Chapter Four.

74. A common feature of these attacks is the fact that they involved indiscriminate attacks on civilians. Whilst applicants have stated in their amnesty applications that the intended targets were military or security force personnel, no proper investigation was carried out to determine whether their perceptions were correct. In fact, in most of the incidents, their information or intelligence was incorrect and suspect.
75. In terms of the Geneva Conventions, civilians are protected by principles of international law derived from established custom, from the principles of humanity and from the dictates of public conscience. There can be no justification for the choice of civilians as targets.
76. The amnesty decisions have supported the stance the Commission took with regard to attacks on civilians. No compelling evidence has been provided to the Commission to persuade it to change its findings in respect of the attacks on civilians. Indeed, the evidence that emerged from amnesty hearings supports the original findings. While the motive for the attacks are understood and, in most instances, the Commission can understand the rage that motivated them, motive cannot change the fact that the victims in most cases were innocent civilians who were unarmed.
77. The findings that the Commission made in respect of the PAC and APLA in regard to attacks on civilians must stand.

Farmers as ‘legitimate’ targets

78. The Commission made findings against the PAC and APLA for their indiscriminate attacks on farmers. The second submission made by the PAC is curious in this respect, suggesting that, in making this finding, the Commission is biased in favour of white people. The rest of the PAC’s argument is fairly spurious.
79. The Commission received a total of twenty-seven applications from the PAC and APLA for attacks on farms, committed between the period 1990 and 1993. In these attacks, twelve people were killed and thirteen injured. The majority of these applications were granted.
80. APLA and PAC operatives testified that it was part of their strategy and policy in terms of ‘Operation Great Storm’ that farmers would be attacked in order to drive white farmers from their farms in order to get their land back.

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

Specific amnesty applications dealing with attacks on white farmers

82. One of the incidents for which amnesty was applied involved an attack on Mr RJ Fourie on the farm 'Stormberg'. Mr Fourie was attacked from behind, ambush style, and killed. A witness made a submission to the amnesty committee to the effect that the deceased was not interested in politics and was known to be a progressive farmer in the area. He had assisted his workers to improve their stock, housed them in brick houses with running hot and cold water and built a school for their children on the farm, as well as a soccer club.
83. In another incident, the amnesty application involved the killing of Mr John Bernard Smith, also a farmer. Mr Oliphant, one of the applicants, testified that it was the objective of the PAC to wage the struggle for the return of land to the African people, which was why he had become involved in that operation. Another applicant testified that it was part of PAC policy to intensify the armed struggle in order to strengthen the hands of the PAC in the negotiating process. He described the attacks on the farmers as one of the phases of the campaign. The PAC believed that the farming community had participated in the dispossession of the African people and that they were beneficiaries of the land taken away from the Africans.
84. None of the reasons advanced in any of the amnesty applications can condone the fact that, in most of the attacks, the farmers targeted and killed were ordinary civilians, in no way linked to different commando groups. They cannot therefore be seen as an extension of the security forces. In terms of the Conventions, they do not, therefore, constitute a legitimate target. Nor are they considered combatants.
85. The finding made in respect of findings of accountability for gross human rights violations committed against farmers by the PAC and APLA must therefore stand. They were responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations. In most instances the nature of the attack was almost that of an ambush.

PAC/ANC conflict

86. The Commission received four applications for offences committed in the course of the conflict between the PAC and the ANC. While the applicants received amnesty, the evidence led at the hearings cast doubt on whether they were dealing with each other in a combat situation. The evidence that was led spoke of the ongoing violence in the area, but the targeting of opponents often resulted in innocent people being killed. Nevertheless, the PAC must accept responsibility for these killings, which constitute gross human rights violations.

Applications refused

87. The Committee received a number of amnesty applications from persons in custody, which it refused either on the grounds that the incidents were not politically motivated or on grounds of lack of full disclosure. In most of these incidents, the applicants remain in custody serving sentences.
88. The leaders of the PAC maintain that a number of their cadres are languishing in apartheid jails and that special arrangements should be made to pardon them. At a parliamentary briefing after the debate on the Commission's report, Dr Stanley Mogoba, the President of the PAC, made a call to the State President to pardon 'the many freedom fighters who are still languishing in our prisons'.

Now that the TRC work is finished – or is about to be finished – it is time, perhaps, to call on our President, perhaps as a farewell gift or gesture, to give Presidential pardon to these prisoners from the liberation struggle. Many grieving families would be eternally grateful to our President for that. I also want to say that this argument and this discussion must be separated from the discussion on general amnesty. I am not talking about general amnesty.

DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED BY PAC APPLICANTS

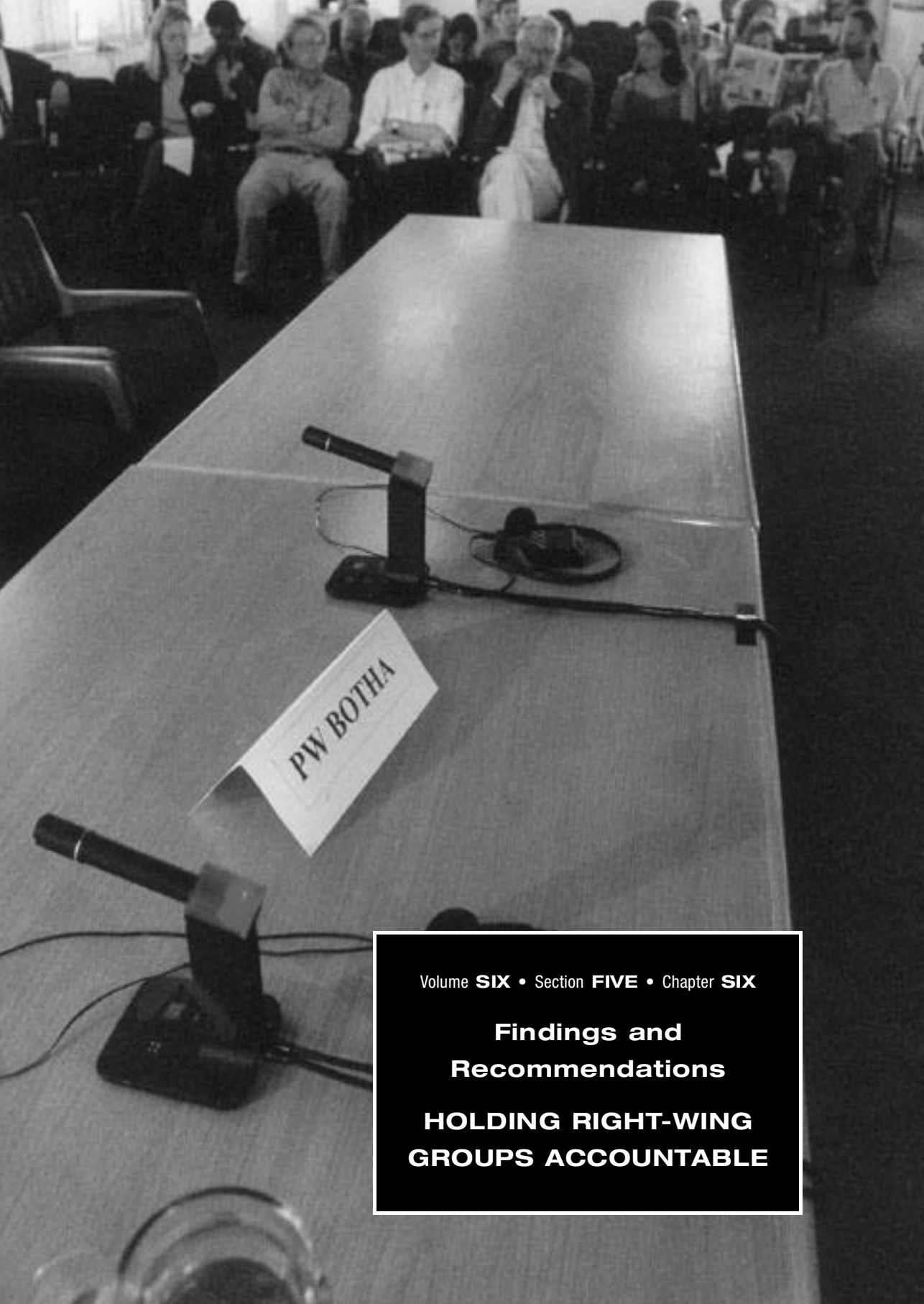
89. It is important for the Commission to acknowledge the great difficulty that the PAC/APLA cadres experienced in filing proper amnesty applications. They were hampered by the fact that, at the time, the Legal Aid Board appointed inadequate Counsel to assist them. In many instances, counsel did not bother to read the Commission's founding Act or endeavour to understand it. It was only after legal practitioners such as Mr Bandazaya were appointed that these applicants began to be properly represented.
90. There is no doubt that a number of people still in custody did not apply for amnesty for a variety of reasons, including the fact that they were not properly advised. The government will need to consider this issue from a humanitarian point of view. It is commendable that the President of the PAC does not consider that another amnesty deal should follow.

Pardons

91. Recently the President pardoned a number of PAC amnesty applicants who had been denied amnesty by the Committee. This decision was widely criticised by civil society and victims, as the pardons were perceived to be a ploy to grant amnesty using the 'presidential pardon' process. There has been a demand from civil society that the President explain why he took this decision, as the use of the presidential pardon to grant amnesty is seen as undermining the work of the Commission whose mandate it was to grant amnesty on an accountable basis.

CONCLUSION

92. The evidence that emerged from the hearings of the Amnesty Committee did not lead to any alteration in the findings of the Commission as recorded in the Final Report.



Volume **SIX** • Section **FIVE** • Chapter **SIX**

**Findings and
Recommendations**

**HOLDING RIGHT-WING
GROUPS ACCOUNTABLE**

Holding the Right-Wing Groups Accountable

■ INTRODUCTION

1. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) made findings against right-wing opposition groups in its Final Report.⁷⁹ These findings were based on the evidence and testimony it received. This included speeches that had been made by senior leaders inciting followers to commit acts of violence against those labelled 'the enemy', the arming of supporters in contravention of the law, and random racist attacks on black civilians.
2. The Commission noted that an important aspect of the insurrection was the clandestine collusion between right-wing forces, members of the security forces and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). This led to the commission of gross human rights violations and the training of IFP paramilitary forces in the hope of preventing the ANC from coming to power.
3. In addition, particularly in the period leading to the holding of the first democratic elections, right-wing supporters embarked on a campaign to destabilise the country and to prevent the holding of elections. The storming of the World Trade Centre and the assistance rendered to the Bophuthatswana homeland by the right wing are examples of this. In terms of the leadership of the right wing, the Commission specifically held Generals Constand Viljoen and Peter Groenewald and Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche accountable for the reign of terror carried out by the various groups and their individual supporters.
4. At the time when the Commission made its findings on the right wing, a number of right-wing amnesty applications had already been heard. However, the Commission decided that findings would be revisited once all decisions of the Amnesty Committee became available.

⁷⁹ Volume Five.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

5. The Commission stated in its Final Report:

In the late 1980's and early 1990's, a number of Afrikaner right-wing groups became active in the political arena. They operated in a loose coalition intent on securing the political interests of conservative Afrikaners through a range of activities seemingly intent on disrupting the negotiations process then underway. Operating both within and outside the negotiations process, members of these groups undertook actions which constituted gross violations of human rights.

6. Specifically:

The Commission finds that the Afrikaner Volksfront and structures operating under its broad umbrella were responsible, between April 1993 and May 1994, for gross violations of human rights of persons perceived to be supporters and leaders of the ANC, SACP, UDF, PAC, National party and other groups perceived not to support the concept of Afrikaner self-determination or the establishment of a volkstaat, to that end, the movement's political leaders and military generals advocated the use of violence in pursuit of the movement's aims and/or in an attempt to mobilise for an insurrection.

REVIEW OF FINDINGS

7. It is important to review the findings in the light of evidence that has emerged from the amnesty process.

Membership of right-wing groups

8. The amnesty applications reveal that many amnesty applicants claimed membership of one or more right-wing groups. In total, 107 applications were received for amnesty, with 71 per cent of the applicants claiming membership of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), 10 per cent of the Conservative party and the remaining 19 per cent claiming membership of a variety of right-wing organisations. The most prominent group was the AWB, under the leadership of Eugene Terre'Blanche. More than forty of his supporters applied for amnesty. Of these, 68 per cent of applications were granted.

Nature of violations

9. Most amnesty applications pertaining to the period prior to 1990 relate to attacks that were intensely individualist, uncoordinated and extremely racist in nature. Amnesty applications for the period after February 1990 reveal a more co-ordinated plan, with better organised and more orchestrated attacks. Two of the best-known incidents were the occupation of the World Trade Centre in 1993 and the support by members of the AWB of the Bantustan administration in Bophuthatswana in 1994.
10. The Commission agreed to the request by President Mandela that it extend the period available for amnesty applications in the interests of reconciliation in order to accommodate the right wing and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the majority of whose violations took place after the original date and during the run-up to elections. This decision proved fruitless as the Commission received no further applications, particularly for the two incidents described above. Thus the argument forwarded by General Viljoen that extending the date would promote reconciliation did not impact on the process.

CONFIRMATION OF FINDINGS

Collusion between the right wing and the security forces

11. Amnesty applications confirm that in a number of incidents, covert units within the security structures assisted in arming right-wing groups. The amnesty application of Mr Leonard Veenendal⁸⁰, a member of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), confirms this.

Collusion with the IFP

12. Right-wing amnesty applicants confirmed that they formalised their ties with the IFP. They were responsible for supplying the IFP with weapons and also worked very closely with IFP groups on the north and south coasts of KwaZulu-Natal. In at least two instances, joint attacks were planned and carried out – at the Flagstaff police station and on the Seychelles restaurant. Mr Walter Felgate, formerly a member of the IFP, testified at a section 29 hearing that the right wing had offered to procure weapons to the IFP. The amnesty applications of Messrs Gerrit Phillipus Anderson and Allan Nolte confirm this.

80 See Veenendal case in Section Three, Chapter Six; [AM3675/96].

Links with international right-wing groups

13. Amnesty applications also confirm that right-wing groups had links with other international right-wing groups. However, deeply held suspicions regarding an international right-wing conspiracy in respect of the murder of Mr Chris Hani were not confirmed in the amnesty process, due to a number of factors.

Attacks on individuals

14. In their evidence, amnesty applicants confirmed that they had targeted and attacked those they regarded as the enemy. The attack by Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and his supporters on Professor Floors van Jaarsveld⁸¹ is an example of such an attack. His children testified in the amnesty hearing that this attack had contributed to the humiliation of their father and his loss of standing in his community. While the expressed motive for the attack was that that they regarded the new direction that Van Jaarsveld had given to Afrikaner history as contrary to the then South African Constitution, which recognised God as the highest authority, it became quite clear during the hearing that the real motivation for the attack was his willingness to accommodate change.

Attacks on black people

15. The right wing carried out a number of racist attacks⁸². One of the worst of these was carried out by Mr Barend Strydom, a member of the Wit Wolwe ('White Wolves'). The attack was carried out indiscriminately against black people, eight of whom were killed. Strydom filed an amnesty application for this attack but later withdrew the application.
16. Members of the Orde Boerevolk attacked a bus full of black commuters in Durban in which seven people were killed. The motivation they expressed for the attack was an earlier Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) incident. In another incident, Mr George Mkomane was killed because he was in a so-called 'white' area at night without permission.⁸³ What is sickening is the random indiscriminate nature of the attacks on people simply because they were black. Despite attempts by amnesty applicants to justify the political nature of these attacks, their testimony reveal that, in most instances, their motives had been

81 See Section Three, Chapter Six in this volume.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

purely racist. One of the worst attacks was carried out by the AWB on innocent civilians outside Ventersdorp, which led to the killing of four people, including two children.

Possession of arms, explosives and ammunition.

17. The Commission received thirty-one amnesty applications for the illegal possession of arms, explosives and ammunition – stolen, in a number of instances, from military bases.

Sabotage of the transitional process

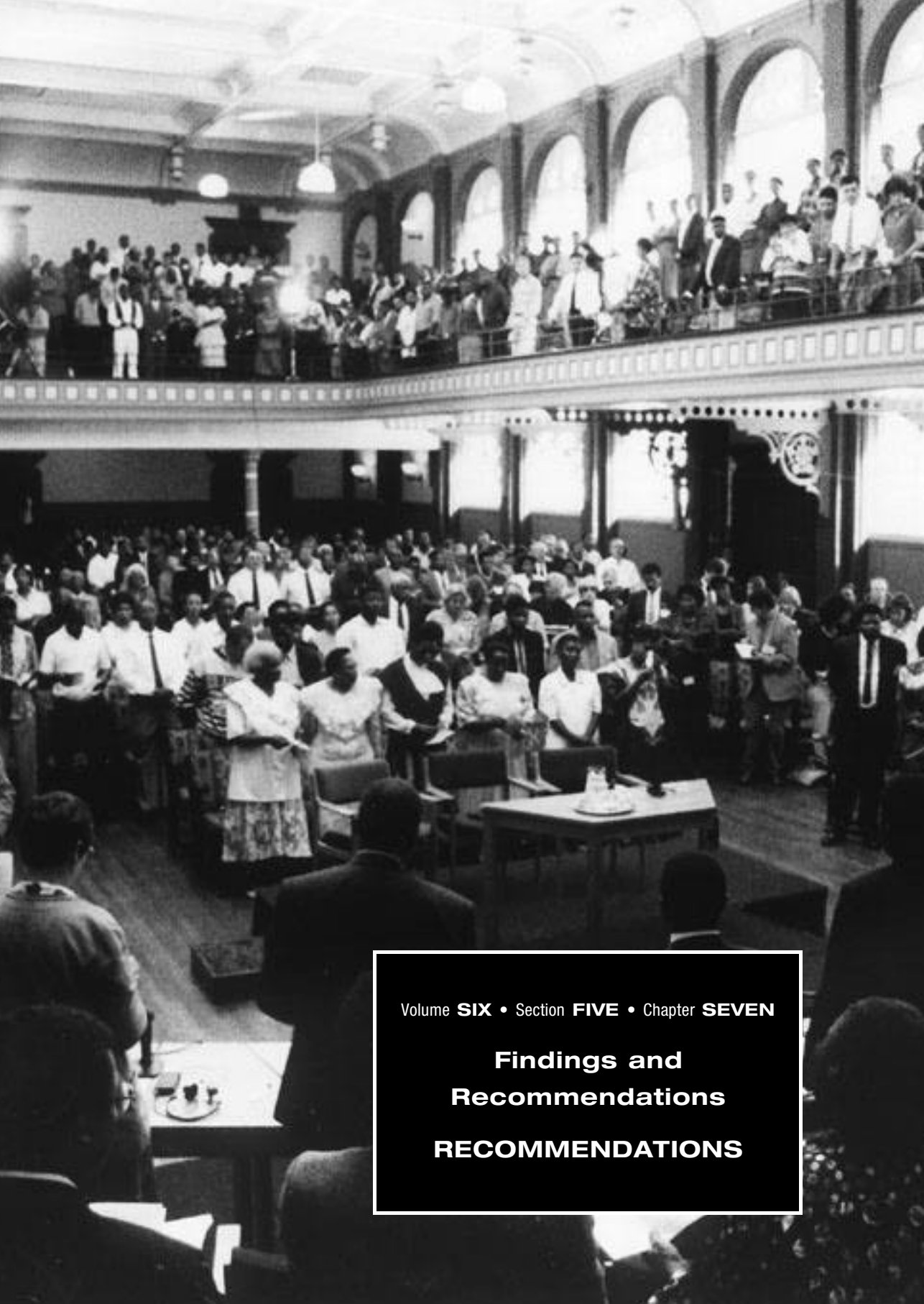
18. The Commission received thirty-five applications for a range of violations involving attempts to sabotage the negotiations process. These consisted of attacks on individuals and included assassinations. A number of innocent individuals were killed for no apparent reason. The killing of Mr Chris Hani by Messrs Clive Derby Lewis and Janusz Walus threatened the stability of the country in the period leading up to the elections. The constraint shown in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the African National Congress (ANC) and the vast majority of the country in dealing with the killing is testament to how deeply people were committed to making peace work.

Bombings

19. The AWB, the Boereweerstandsbeweging (BWB) and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) all engaged in bombing activities during the pre-election period. Much of the bombing was designed to sow terror and to destabilise the country in the period leading up to the elections. A number of offices belonging to the ANC, schools that admitted children of different race groups, and magistrates' courts were attacked. Businesses belonging to Indians were also targeted. The offices of the Independent Electoral Commission in a number of areas, as well as other institutions and offices associated with the election, were targeted and bombed, as were railway lines and power installations.

CONCLUSION

20. The evidence that emerged from the amnesty applications and hearings confirms the original findings made by the Commission in respect of right-wing groups. The testimonies of the applicants were tantamount to confessions that the right wing embarked on a campaign of terror and violence designed to destabilise the country at an extremely sensitive time. Right-wing groups were responsible for committing gross human rights violations as defined by international human rights law. In most instances, the victims were innocent civilians whose only 'sin' was the fact that they were black. The motive for these violations was that members of the various right-wing groups were opposed to majority rule and to a change in their way of life. There was no nobility or morality to their cause, despite their attempts to justify their actions.
21. Having considered the amnesty applications and hearings on the right-wing, the Commission has no reason to change the findings it made in its Final Report.



Volume **SIX** • Section **FIVE** • Chapter **SEVEN**

**Findings and
Recommendations
RECOMMENDATIONS**

Recommendations

RECONFIRMATION OF REPARATION AND REHABILITATION RECOMMENDATIONS IN FINAL REPORT

1. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) reconfirms the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee's recommendations drawn up in terms of sections 25 and 26 of its founding Act⁸⁴ and set out in its Final Report.⁸⁵

RECONFIRMATION OF RECOMMENDATION FOR A SECRETARIAT TO OVERSEE IMPLEMENTATION

2. The Commission confirms and supports the recommendation in its Final Report that a Secretariat be established in the Presidency to oversee the implementation of the recommendations of the Commission. It is recommended that the Secretariat:
 - a be responsible for reporting on and publishing an annual report on the status of victims for a period of six years following the publication of this Codicil to the Commission's Final Report;
 - b establish a particular presence and visibility in rural areas;
 - c establish a Presidential Award for innovative and inclusive projects aimed at 'keeping the memory of the past alive' in schools, research centres and institutions of higher learning;
 - d focus on reparations and democracy-related capacity-building through the specialised training of development workers.

REPARATION TRUST FUND

3. The Commission recommends and urges that a Reparation Trust be set up and trustees appointed.
4. The Reparation Fund should be managed by government, organised local and international business and civil society.

⁸⁴ The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995.

⁸⁵ Chapter Five of Volume Five.

5. The purpose of the trust will be to raise funds, to audit the budget for victim support and to be responsible for financial controls and accounting.

ONCE-OFF WEALTH TAX

6. The Commission recommends and urges that government impose a once-off wealth tax on South African business and industry.

BENEFICIARY CONTRIBUTION TO REPARATION FUND

7. The Commission recommends and urges that all beneficiaries of apartheid make a contribution to the Reparation Fund.

NATIONAL PROGRAMME OF ACTION

8. The Commission recommends and urges that government and civil society adopt the national programme of action proposed by the South African Human Rights Commission, and work towards a society free of racism, xenophobia and related intolerance.
9. It proposes further that government move urgently to implement related programmes, particularly amongst young people.

ANNUAL REPORTING DURING BUDGET VOTE

10. The Commission recommends and urges that all ministers with portfolios relating to issues affecting victims report annually on the status and circumstances of surviving victims during the budget vote in parliament for a period of six years following the publication of this Codicil to the Commission's Final Report.

SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR EDUCATION

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

KEEPING THE PAST ALIVE

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

TASK TEAM TO DEAL WITH DISAPPEARANCES AND EXHUMATIONS

13. The Commission recommends and urges government to act on the recommendation of the Commission in regard to dealing with disappearances and exhumations and to establish a task team to deal with these matters.

‘HEALING THE MEMORY’ CONFERENCE

14. The Commission recommends and urges that government convene an urgent conference aimed at healing the memory in respect of those who did not return.

CONFERENCE DEDICATED TO THE FALLEN

15. The Commission recommends and urges that government convene a conference dedicated to the memories of those who were executed or killed in such circumstances that their honour and reputation and their loyalty to their organisations were deliberately slandered by others, often causing their families and friends great distress and sometimes leading to the death and torture of family members.

APOLOGY BY HEAD OF STATE ON BEHALF OF PERPETRATORS OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

16. The Commission recommends and urges that, as head of state, the President of the Republic of South Africa apologises to all victims on behalf of those members of the security forces of the former state and those armed forces of the liberation movements who committed gross violations of human rights.

THE COMMISSION'S DATABASE

Preamble

17. The Commission created and maintained a database to manage the data requirements of the three Committees. The database was used to register human rights violations statements and amnesty applications as they were lodged with the Commission, after which teams of data processors stored the names of the victims, the violations they suffered and details of the alleged perpetrators. During the life of the Commission, the database was upgraded to assist with the management of the work of the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee. It is still being used by the staff of the President's Fund today to record disbursements made.
18. By the time the Commission closed, the database had become a rich repository of information about the nature, scale, location, dates, types and consequences of violations of human rights suffered by South Africans. As such, it is an essential primary source of valuable historical material, which must be made accessible to future generations.

Data provision

19. The Commission recommends that the database be owned, managed and maintained by the National Archives and Records Service of South Africa, who must take responsibility for ensuring that the database:
 - a forms the cornerstone of an electronic repository of historical materials concerning the work of the Commission;
 - b is enriched by electronic multi-media facilities to support audio-visual and other graphic materials;
 - c is in a format that allows for distribution to schools, other educational institutions and the general public by means of CD-ROM or other portable electronic format, and
 - d uses language that is accessible to the majority of South Africans.

Data reconciliation

20. The work of the Amnesty Committee continued after that of the Human Rights Violations (HRV) Committee had been completed, so a process of data reconciliation is necessary to compare and contrast the victims and violations described in

Amnesty applications with those gathered by the HRV Committee. The Commission recommends that:

- a the database be updated with the victim and violation details from the transcripts of amnesty hearings which, for security reasons, were not always recorded on the database prior to the hearing, and
- b the details of the victims and violations mentioned in each amnesty application be reconciled with those recorded by the HRV Committee, to ensure that every victim in need of reparation and rehabilitation is identified and noted.

Database conversion

21. The Commission's database is a custom-built system whose functionality was designed primarily to record victims and violations to support the work of the three Committees. Its current format does not lend itself easily to use by researchers or the general public.
22. The Commission therefore recommends that the database:
 - a be converted to run on technology best suited for Internet-based, read-only access, using open-source software wherever possible;
 - b be web-enabled in a user-friendly, searchable format, and
 - c have facilities for extracting the data for further research and analysis.

WEBSITE

23. The Commission established a website, which became popular amongst researchers and scholars of transitional justice. The contents of that website currently appear in a section on the Department of Justice website.
24. The Commission recommends that custody of the website should be held by the National State Archives, who should manage it in a way that ensures maximum accessibility. The Commission recommends that the Archives, in consultation with the various stakeholders, should decide on the physical location of the site.

WITCHCRAFT

25. The Commission received statements from many victims as well as a number of amnesty applications regarding the use of witchcraft in the commission of gross

human rights violations. 'Witchcraft' and 'tradition and culture' were major factors cited in a number of cases as being the motivation for the commission of gross human rights violations.

26. The Commission, and in particular the Amnesty Committee, accepted 'witchcraft' as a political motive sufficient within the context of the founding Act to grant amnesty to those applicants who had satisfied the provisions of the amnesty legislation. The political context of the time warranted this approach.
27. However, the Commission notes that this problem is endemic particularly in many parts of Limpopo province. The Commission received hundreds of statements regarding this issue after the cut-off date.
28. The Commission recommends therefore that the authorities note this problem as a matter of urgency, and embark on an education program and take action to stop practices related to witchcraft that lead to the commission of gross human rights violations.

EXERCISE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PARDON

29. The following comments and recommendation are made in the full knowledge that the Commission operated under enormous political and legal constraints and that it was not a holy cow that was not itself open to criticism:
30. With this in mind, the Commission notes:
 - a the recent pardons extended by the President and
 - b the President's constitutional discretion to pardon those who have committed crimes, and further,
 - c that it in no way wishes to impugn or intervene in this discretion.
31. The Commission is, however, of the view that this presidential discretion should not be used to subvert the rights of victims by framing blanket amnesties through a pardon process.
32. The Commission therefore recommends that in the event that the President is considering a further amnesty provision, the following should be taken into account:
 - a that the rationale for establishing the Commission should not be undermined and that the value of its work should not be compromised through such a process;

- b that real reconciliation comes from facing the demons of the past honestly and demanding truth and accountability, and
 - c that victims should not be 'revictimised' and that any amnesty should take into account their needs and their right to the truth and full disclosure and ultimately reparation.
33. The Commission is thus of the view that any amnesty and pardon must make provision for the rights of victims and maintain the constitutionality of our new state based on disclosure and a respect for the human rights of all.

POPULAR VERSION

34. The Commission will hand the Minister of Justice the completed popular version of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report.
35. The Commission recommends that the Minister has this printed, published and distributed to schools and tertiary institutions in conjunction with the Ministry of Education.

'CLOSED LIST' POLICY

36. The Commission, anxious not to impose a huge burden on the government, adopted a 'closed list' policy. Effectively this limited the payment of reparation only to those victims who made statements to the Commission before 15 December 1997. In the period between December 1997 and January 2002, victims' groups confirmed to the Commission that they had collected more than 8000 statements from victims who, for a variety of reasons, were unable to access the Commission. The consequence of ignoring this group of people has potentially dangerous implications for South Africa, as communities may become divided if some receive reparation that is not accessible to others who have had similar experiences.
37. The Commission is of the view that the 'closed list' policy should be reviewed by government, in order to ensure justice and equity. It needs to be noted that, in many other countries which have gone through similar processes, victims have been able to access reparation many years after the truth commission process has been completed.

Report of the Chief Executive Officer

■ INTRODUCTION

1. The activities of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) were suspended on 28 October 1998. Notwithstanding this suspension, the Amnesty Committee had to continue with its functions until a date determined by proclamation by the President. In addition, the Amnesty Committee was required to take over certain duties and functions of the other two statutory Committees, namely the Committee on Human Rights Violations (HRVC) and the Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation (RRC). These duties were related to matters that had not been finalised before 31 July 1998, excluding enquiries and hearings and matters emanating from the amnesty process. To assist the Amnesty Committee in this regard, the President appointed two existing Commissioners to that Committee.
2. In 1988 an amendment to the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 (the Act) gave the President the power to reconvene the Commission to consider the Committee's report and determine a date for the dissolution of the Commission. On 16 November 2001, the President determined 31 March 2002 as the date for the final dissolution of the Commission.¹
3. The responsibility conferred by the amendment was far from simple. Indeed, the forty months that followed the suspension of the Commission were in many ways as challenging and in certain instances even more difficult and strenuous than the thirty-two months prior to the suspension. The Amnesty Committee became the administrative and operational centre of the Commission but was, at the same time, faced with drastic cuts in funding and human resources. It was also under continuous pressure to finalise the outstanding work in the shortest possible time, while at the same time being expected to deliver a product that would serve as a solution to national problems, especially with regard to the victims of gross human rights violations. Statistics show that more correspondence, telephonic enquiries and personal interviews with or in connection with victims were attended to after 1998 than before.

1 Government Gazette No. 22833 dated 16 November 2001.

4. During this period the Commission experienced three events that affected the administrative operations of the Commission:
 - a Following the resignation of the former CEO, the Commission appointed Advocate Martin Coetzee as CEO with effect from 1 May 1999.
 - b During June 1999, Dr P Maduna MP replaced Dr AM Omar MP as Minister of Justice and as minister responsible for the Commission.
 - c On 18 August 2000, Judge H Mall, Chairperson of the Amnesty Committee, passed away.
5. This report represents an effort by the chief executive officer (CEO) to reflect on the operational and administrative functions of the Commission for the period November 1998 to March 2002. Although an independent report, it may be read in conjunction with the report of the CEO in the Commission's Final Report², as matters dealt with in that report will not be revisited. It should also be read in conjunction with the report of the Executive Secretary of the Amnesty Committee.³
6. The section following this report contains the managerial reports of the various departments within the Commission (Legal, Information Technology, Media and Finance). These reports may also be read with the corresponding sections in the Final Report.⁴

MANAGING THE COMMISSION

7. Managing an unconventional institution born out of controversy and political compromise and tasked to find a common ground upon which to promote national unity and reconciliation in South Africa was never going to be easy. Doing it with dedicated Commissioners and Committee members and a corps of loyal managers and employees whose commitment and dedication were exceptional certainly made it a lot more bearable.
8. As a result of the very solid foundation laid by the previous CEO, the various organisational structures were well established, a sound fiscal policy was in place and the respective departments and sections had clear and well-defined areas of responsibility. This meant that the new CEO was able to focus on completing the outstanding work of the Commission as effectively and as quickly as possible.

² Volume One, Chapter Nine.

⁴ Section One, Chapter Two in this volume.

⁵ Volume One, Chapters Ten to Twelve.

Management of the Commission was done by the CEO assisted by a corps of seven managers. Previously the Commission was managed by no less than a CEO and eighteen managers.

9. Apart from day-to-day management responsibilities, managing the Commission during this period involved ensuring the smooth operation of the following processes:
 - a Dealing with continuous public scrutiny and criticism. As an institution of national and international significance, the Commission found itself under constant, and sometimes unrealistic, public pressure to deliver quality outputs within the shortest period of time. To bear its impact, the Commission had to be transparent and accountable to the public throughout its entire existence.
 - b Attempting to address the needs of those with a constitutional right to be acknowledged for the pain and suffering they had endured during the apartheid era.
 - c Providing the machinery for those persons who sought to receive amnesty for committing human rights violations.
 - d Establishing and maintaining an efficient and workable relationship between Commissioners, Committee members and staff members.
 - e Striving towards establishing and maintaining bilateral co-operation between the Commission and various government departments.
 - f Constantly assessing and analysing the Commission's objectives, bearing in mind the available resources and approaching and solving managerial challenges from an integral standpoint. It should be borne in mind that the Commission seldom had the privilege of applying proven and/or tested processes. Many of the Commission's processes had to be 'invented' in accordance with the theoretical and not always practical guidelines as provided by the provisions of the Act.
 - g Continuously evaluating the various processes of the Commission, attending to factors delaying these processes, and developing, implementing and maintaining mechanisms aimed at expediting the finalisation of these processes.
 - h Making decisions that were people-centred and blending individual needs and aspirations with those of the Commission and the public at large.
 - i Motivating staff who, for a period of almost six years, had to deal on a daily basis with the atrocities of the past and who dedicated all their time and energy to giving effect to the objectives and provisions of the Act, with no prospect of any incentive scheme, bonus, gratuity or future employment opportunities following the termination of their contracts.

- j Providing the proverbial 'shoulder to cry on' and serving as a 'punching bag' for those deprived and frustrated victims of gross human rights violations as a result of government non-delivery of reparation and rehabilitation.
- k Seeking a compromise between expectations and reality.
- l Striving towards delivering a product of which the nation could be proud, in the shortest possible period of time and operating within budgetary constraints.
- m Sharing joy and sharing sorrow.
- n Being proud and at the same time being humbled to have the honour and privilege to serve our country and to contribute towards understanding our past history and make present history.

OPERATIONAL AND MANAGEMENT ACTIVITIES

10. Some of the day-to-day management activities and operations of the Commission included:
 - research activities, including the completion of the analysis emanating from amnesty applications, the political context to these applications, and matters arising from the work of the HRVC and RRC;
 - investigative activities, including the in-depth investigations of amnesty applications;
 - preparation for and finalisation of findings regarding 21 000 deponent statements by the HRVC;
 - summarising the contents of 21 000 deponent statements for inclusion in the report to the President;
 - analysis of more than 7000 amnesty applications;
 - preparation of more than 2500 amnesty applications for public hearings by the Amnesty Committee;
 - scheduling the public hearing of more than 2500 amnesty applications;
 - logistical and security arrangements pertaining to 255 public amnesty hearings, totalling approximately 1632 hearing days;
 - providing witness protection to amnesty applicants and to witnesses at amnesty hearings;
 - recording the hearings of the Amnesty Committee, simultaneous interpretations and transcription services;
 - further development of a coding framework to systematise the processing and capturing, cross-referencing, cleaning and analysing of data;
 - archiving and safekeeping of more than 3000 cubic metres of written documentation, tape and video recordings;

- preparation for and complete assessments of approximately 21 000 victims of gross human rights violations by the single remaining Commissioner of the RRC;
- facilitating the payment of urgent interim reparation to approximately 17 000 victims by the President's Fund;
- attempting to establish the whereabouts or correct addresses of almost 3000 victims of gross human rights violations;
- human resources-related activities, including streamlining the Commission's office layouts, structures, staff orientations, development of skills and the provision of service certificates and references for exiting staff;
- financial activities, including the development and implementation of measures aimed at effecting savings, budget forecasts, negotiations and allocations and the preparation and presentation of audited financial statements;
- attending to a constant flow of enquiries regarding the plight of victims and the issue of reparation;
- legal activities, including assistance to the various Committees and dealing with legal challenges to the Commission and the Amnesty Committee;
- media liaison and communication;
- safety and security of physical and intellectual assets, processes, activities and members of the Commission;
- audits, evaluations and appraisals of the Commission's activities, quality of work, staff performances, efficiency and productivity, and updates of registers, files, reports, financial statements and books, and progress in general;
- accounting and reporting to parliamentary committees on the Commission's activities, processes and progress;
- liaising with governmental departments with regard to issues emanating from the activities and processes of the Commission;
- financial and other support to the Commission by international donors;
- addressing and briefing international conferences, international visitors and interested parties on the functions, activities and processes of the Commission, and
- staff 'roll-out' and close-down plans for the Commission.

CHALLENGES TO THE COMMISSION

11. During its existence, the Commission was faced with numerous challenges, some substantial and others less so. Some of these are discussed briefly here.

Perceptions about the Commission

12. Although the Commission was established as a result of negotiations between the major political role players and owed its existence and functions to an Act passed by a democratically elected parliament, it still came in for a fair share of criticism. There were those who saw the Commission as the instrument of an ANC-led government and a witch-hunt. Others perceived it as perpetrator-friendly, insensitive to the plight of victims and biased towards the former regime and security forces, and some simply saw it as 'a waste of taxpayers' money'. Notwithstanding these negative perceptions, the Commission stuck to its mandate and its commitment to give effect to the letter of the Act and the needs of the majority of our nation.
13. The most difficult aspect to deal with was the granting of amnesty. Everything related to the concept was controversial even before the Act was promulgated or the Amnesty Committee established. Giving the Amnesty Committee the power to grant amnesty meant that a visible body was established that could now be blamed for setting perpetrators free. Throughout its existence, the Commission and its entire staff had to cope and deal with this negative sentiment. The work of the Amnesty Committee also seemed to contradict that of the other Committees of the Commission. The HRVC devoted its time and energy to acknowledging the painful experiences of victims of gross violations of human rights and to identifying those who had perpetrated these gross human rights violations. The Amnesty Committee, on the other hand, set many of these perpetrators of gross human rights violations free from prosecution and from prison on the grounds that they had acted with a political objective and had made full disclosure. In addition, in giving effect to the provisions of the Act, the Amnesty Committee had powers of implementation, whilst the RRC could only make recommendations. Some perpetrators were granted immediate freedom. Victims, however, were required to wait until parliament had accepted or rejected the recommendations of the Commission.
14. The Commission was constantly accused of being perpetrator-friendly and of being insensitive to the plight of victims. Looking back across the whole process now, it is clear that, on the physical side especially, more was done for victims than for perpetrators. Hundreds of thousands of rands and hours were spent on locating victims, transporting them to hearings and providing them with food and accommodation. The hours that were spent on foot trying to locate victims or hiring bulldozers to enable victims in flood-stricken areas to attend amnesty

hearings can certainly not be regarded as an insensitive attitude. The Commission is of the strong opinion that the total amount of time and resources spent on victims during the amnesty process was substantially more than that spent on amnesty applicants.

15. On more than one occasion, the Amnesty Committee subjected to severe criticism by individuals and the media, not because it had not done its work properly, but because it had applied the provisions of the Act and granted certain individuals amnesty. The Committee was also accused of being biased, sometimes in favour of the perpetrators, sometimes in favour of the victims; at times in favour of the liberation movements and at times in favour of the former security forces.
16. The Amnesty Committee tried its utmost to be as objective as humanly possible. Listening to evidence of horrendous acts of gross violations of human rights and to evidence of immense human suffering and inhumane treatment over a period of more than five years certainly did not make it easy. Notwithstanding this, the Amnesty Committee was always aware of the fact that it had to apply the provisions of the Act and that it had a role to play in unearthing the truth. It made it its responsibility to do exactly that. The Amnesty Committee was also very aware of the plight of victims, and everything possible was done to ease their suffering and to give them the recognition they deserved.
17. As has already been mentioned, the RRC was not an implementing body. Its responsibility was to identify those victims who were eligible for reparation and/or rehabilitation and to make recommendations in this regard. Despite this, the RRC was perceived as being responsible not only for identifying the interventions that were needed for reparation and rehabilitation, but also for their implementation. Notwithstanding this, the RRC and its staff never shirked their moral responsibility. They continued to listen to victims and tried their utmost to assist them in the absence of the acknowledgement and implementation of the recommendations made by the Commission in October 1998.
18. In many instances, however, negative perceptions about the Commission and its work arose out of ignorance about its objectives and mandate. At the same time, it was encouraging to experience the high regard in which the Commission was held in the international community. Not only did international delegations and visitors show a keen interest in and appreciation of the work of the Commission, but members of the Commission were also frequently invited to address international conferences on the work and experiences of the Commission.

Operational challenges

19. Operational challenges had the most profound impact on the process as they related to the urgency imposed on the Commission to finish a huge amount of work within the shortest period of time. They included:

Staff

20. In any institution staff members are one of the most valuable assets. Without the commitment and dedication of its entire staff complement, the Commission would not have been able to meet its objectives. Unfortunately, staff members were not always acknowledged for the invaluable role they played. Commissioners, Committee members and management were the public face of the Commission; staff maintained the engine room.
21. Because the Commission was initially expected to have a relatively short lifespan, all staff members were employed on temporary contracts. Ultimately, the Commission functioned for almost six years, and contracts were extended on no less than six occasions. With hindsight, this proved to be a very unsatisfactory situation. Because there was no employment security or certainty about when the process would end, staff members were understandably constantly on the lookout for permanent employment. They were paid only a basic salary; no service bonuses or other incentives were offered. As a result, the Commission lost experienced staff on a regular basis and it became increasingly difficult to fill vacancies.
22. Keeping staff motivated also proved to be very challenging. Lack of job and contractual security and incentives, constant criticism of the Commission, no employment offers from government despite six years' dedicated work seem finally to have filtered through to staff. Indeed, the only thing that kept staff going was their commitment to the Commission's objectives. It was therefore no surprise, when another employment opportunity became available, that staff had no hesitation in taking up that position. In many instances, the projects they were working on or their areas of responsibility had to be taken over by the already over-burdened remaining staff members. In certain cases, especially with regard to committee members, the individuals who left were the only ones able to complete or finalise a certain project or function. One then had to rely on the integrity and goodwill of those concerned. In the majority of instances

the work was satisfactorily completed, but in other instances the completion of a specific task was hamstrung by the non-performance of certain individuals.

Budgetary constraints

23. Without the luxury of precedents, and faced with uncertainties as to the financial implications of the activities of the Commission, it was often very difficult to budget accurately. For example, a public hearing might last less than a day or it might take weeks or even months to complete an application. Sometimes it would take only one telephone call to reach a victim; in other cases it could involve hiring a four-by-four vehicle to reach a victim in a rural area.
24. The requirement to 'do more with less' proved to be very frustrating and even counter-productive. The Commission is of the view that the process could have been finished much earlier had it been in a position to employ more personnel to attend to the professional and administrative aspects of its work. It was disappointing to know and accept that, whilst the Commission regarded itself as a project of national significance, it was regarded by government as only one amongst many national priorities to be financially resourced.
25. The government's failure to approve a severance package for deserving staff meant that management was unable to reward its best performers or to retain some of those who found themselves obliged to move elsewhere during the last crucial months.

Co-operation with the Commission

26. The Commission was an institution of national significance and, from the outset, it was clear that its failure or success would depend, to a large extent, on the co-operation it received from those with an interest in its proper functioning. The Commission relied heavily on the assistance and co-operation of, amongst others, government departments, political parties, victims, witnesses, legal representatives and non-governmental institutions and organisations.
27. Generally speaking, the Commission enjoyed the co-operation of many of the above. Unfortunately there were also instances where some of these deliberately or through a lack of commitment delayed the processes of the Commission. In certain cases it was clear that an uninformed perception about the Commission

played a role; in other cases it was resistance against or non-acceptance of transformation and the new democratic dispensation. Where the objectives of the Commission were not in line with certain party political objectives, co-operation was sometimes deliberately withheld. Finally, some individuals saw the Commission as an opportunity to further their own careers or to improve their financial status.

28. The Commission and its staff consequently had to put in a great deal of energy and effort into overcoming these obstacles, not for its own purposes, but for the benefit of victims, amnesty applicants and the country as a whole.
29. These are but some of the challenges the Commission was faced with. Fortunately they were not insurmountable, and the Commission was eventually able to complete its mandate.

Concluding remarks

30. In the belief and hope that South Africa will never again be required to set up a similar commission, it is sufficient to make only two general points about setting up any kind of commission of inquiry. First, care should be taken to provide for a proper and well-resourced infrastructure. Second, and more importantly, there should be proper acknowledgement of those who are not in the public eye, but who grind it out in the dungeons and machine rooms.
31. In preparing this report and reflecting on almost six years of serving this extraordinary Commission, it was ironic that all the negative experiences were completely surpassed and overshadowed by the positive experiences to such an extent that one is left with a feeling of fulfilment, satisfaction and achievement that can only be experienced and shared by those who also had the opportunity to serve in the same way.
32. It was a humbling experience to have had the opportunity to serve and to be led by a truly remarkable Chairperson assisted by a group of Commissioners and Committee members whose integrity, commitment and dedication have been unrivalled.
33. Tribute must be paid to those persons who decided to forsake their constitutional rights in the interests of finding the truth and striving towards unity and reconciliation.

34. Acknowledgement is also given to those persons who, for the sake of national unity and reconciliation, and despite humiliation and embarrassment, came forward and were sincere in admitting to horrendous acts of human rights violations.
35. Finally tribute is paid to all the staff members, interpreters, transcribers, technicians, lawyers and all those who came into touch with the Commission and who, through their commitment and dedication, and notwithstanding the huge demands that were made on their personal and family lives, played an integral part in bringing this process to a conclusion and contributing to the history of South Africa.

Managerial Reports

■ LEGAL DEPARTMENT

General introduction

1. The Legal Department's general responsibilities included the following:
 - a overall responsibility on a national level for all legal matters involving the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) and its Committees, including advising the Commission and CEO on all matters legal;
 - b drafting legal opinions for the Commission in respect of the legal aspects of the work of its various Committees;
 - c reviewing all existing contracts and drafting new contracts on behalf of the Commission;
 - d preparing the Commission's responses and defence to legal challenges such as reviews of amnesty decisions;
 - e liaising with attorneys and counsel on behalf of the Commission and persons appearing before the Amnesty Committee;
 - f dealing with all industrial relations/disciplinary matters on behalf of Commission;
 - g interacting and liaising with the Ministries of Justice and Constitutional Development; Arts, Culture, Science and Technology; Transport; Defence, and Police Services in respect of a wide range of matters concerning their activities, arising from the investigations and hearings of the Commission, and
 - h overall responsibility for the legal assistance programme in terms of section 34 of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34 of 1995 (the Act).

Documentation Centre

2. The national legal officer was assigned the additional responsibility of managing, supervising and supporting the Commission's Documentation Centre. The Documentation Centre was responsible for the entire body of documentation and information within the Commission. The process included recording all information generated by the Commission on CD-ROM, audio and audio-visual tape, magnetic (audio) tape as well as hard copy. Documents archived by the Documentation Centre included the following:
 - a all the Commission's intellectual assets;

- b original human rights violations (HRV) statements and Investigative Unit working files;
- c amnesty applications;
- d amnesty decisions;
- e amnesty hearing material (bundles);
- f applications for reparation and rehabilitation;
- g submissions made to the Commission by a wide range of persons, agencies and institutions in accordance with the investigative hearings of the Commission in terms of section 29 of the Act;
- h news clips of all local, national international news and press releases;
- i the audio and video recordings of hearings, and
- j collections of posters, artefacts (paintings, statues, etc.), photographs, books, journals and police records.

Legal Assistance Programme

3. In terms of Section 34 of the Act, persons who were required to appear before the Commission under a subpoena or notice were entitled to legal representation. The Commission, in conjunction with the Minister of Justice, therefore implemented a legal assistance program to assist indigent persons in obtaining legal assistance.
4. The Legal Aid Board was appointed as an agent of the Commission to administer and reimburse legal representatives for the work done in respect of the Commission's activities.
5. Whilst the normal criterion for qualification to obtain legal assistance was satisfaction of the means test, many people did not qualify, as their income exceeded the limit (sometimes not by very much). This operated unfairly against private persons who might be required to spend considerable time away from home or work with no financial relief for employment lost. The Commission then applied an 'in the interest of justice' test which allowed most people to qualify for legal assistance, and which was given to perpetrators as a matter of course.
6. As of December 1998, it became obvious that the Legal Aid Board's administration was unable to cope with the Commission's instructions. Many hearings were postponed at great cost to the Commission because attorneys had either not been properly instructed or not been paid outstanding fees. In addition, many attorneys had threatened to boycott the process unless payment

of outstanding legal accounts was made before they would accept new work or complete partly-heard matters. As a result, the Legal Assistance Programme was taken over and run by the Commission's Legal Department from August 1999. The agency agreement with the Legal Aid Board was consequently terminated.

7. In order to streamline the legal appointment process, all stakeholders such as state attorneys and Bar Councils (in all nine provinces) were consulted and notified of the new procedures, which entailed the following:
 - a The Legal Department was responsible for issuing the instructions to legal representatives in liaison with the administrative component of the Amnesty Committee.
 - b The Legal Department would negotiate fees (within the parameters of the Regulations published in terms of Section 34 of the Act) up front and confirm precisely the terms of the instructions before any work was undertaken.
 - c The Legal Department would make all necessary accommodation and travelling arrangements with legal representatives and witnesses in consultation with the administrative component of the Amnesty Committee.
 - d The Legal Department would scrutinise all accounts presented, corroborate with the Amnesty Committee, tax the account/fees and issue instructions for payment.
 - e In respect of security force personnel or liberation force members who were dealt with in terms of section 3(3) of the State Attorneys Act 1958, the Legal Department undertook to assist the state attorneys in assuming all the preliminary work in the preparation of a taxed find account for payment by them.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY (IT) DEPARTMENT

General introduction

Network (hardware, software)

8. The Commission initially operated on a wide area network (WAN), which connected all the regional offices. When these offices were closed in September 1998, the WAN was discontinued and the Cape Town office continued to run on a local area network (LAN). Communication between the head office in Cape Town and the satellite offices occurred mainly by Internet. Each office had a stand-alone Internet computer. For security reasons, the LAN was not linked to the Internet.

9. The LAN consisted of workstations and heavy-duty printers connected together by an Ethernet network with a Windows NT server at the centre. The communication protocol was TCP/IP.
10. The workstations ran Windows 95 and the application software was Microsoft Office. The bulk of the office administration work was done using MS Word and the e-mail facility. In addition to Word, the researchers used the Excel spreadsheet to analyse trends in the data and to graph the results of their analysis. The Finance Department used AccPac for the financial and payroll transactions and the Standard Bank BEST system to pay accounts using the Internet.
11. In 2001, a software audit was launched to establish which software was being operated and whether all the software was licensed. This was necessary as there had been a complete staff turnover in the IT Department and there were few records indicating what software had been purchased at the outset of the Commission. After discovering that some software was being used unlicensed, the Commission applied for 'amnesty' during the Business Software Alliance (BSA) Truth or Dare campaign to legalise software. This ensured freedom from prosecution provided that the organisation legalised all its software within a given time frame.

Y2K

12. In 1999, the Commission took precautions against the Y2K computer bug. Y2K cards were installed in all the computers, and patches were downloaded from Microsoft to fix the software. The Commission experienced no Y2K-related problems.

CD-ROM project

13. A CD-ROM project was initiated to preserve the Commission's electronic files. These files were initially backed up onto magnetic tapes, which were deteriorating. All backed-up documents were copied onto searchable CD-ROMs to enable faster and more efficient access. Due to the high staff turnover, it was constantly necessary to refer to files created and research performed by former staff members.

Database development

14. The database was a client-server relational database implemented using Oracle software, which is the industry-standard database technology for this type of

project. Users had a suite of programmes on their workstations. This connected them to the database engines so that they could, for example, register statements and amnesty applications, capture the contents of the violations, carry out complex searches on the data and extract data into spreadsheets. They could also print a variety of computer-generated reports, such as the content of statements or amnesty applications, corroboration carried out, letters of acknowledgement, perpetrator details, incident reports, as well as statistics for monitoring the performance of the information flow.

15. The database linked the findings of the Human Rights Violations Committee (HRVC) with the decisions from the Amnesty Committee to provide lists of victims to the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee (RRC). The names and addresses of eligible victims were printed from the database for sending application forms for reparation.

Website

16. The website (<http://www.truth.org.za>) was launched in 1996 as part of the Commission's media strategy. It contained all the transcripts of both HRVC and amnesty hearings, amnesty decision transcripts, press releases and news reports from the South African Press Agency (SAPA). It also contained an interactive Register of Reconciliation that users could sign.

MEDIA DEPARTMENT

17. The Media Department was central to the planning of each and every amnesty hearing. The department would place advertisements in various newspapers and on various radio stations in order to contact victims and/or perpetrators on behalf of the Amnesty Committee before hearings. This work was performed mainly by the media secretary with the assistance of evidence leaders and analysts. The purpose of this practice was two-fold: it helped the Amnesty Committee locate individuals and also informed members of the public about future hearings.
18. The Media Department was the first source of information for journalists and members of the public with enquiries about the Commission and specific amnesty hearings. The department was also responsible for preparing statements about decisions published by the Amnesty Committee.

Interpreting at the Commission's hearings

19. Although interpretation services were not a department of the Commission but were provided for by the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment (ULFE) of the University of the Free State, they formed an integral part of the processes of the Commission and need to be reflected upon.
20. Section 11(f) of the Act stipulated that: '... appropriate measures shall be taken to allow victims to communicate in the language of their choice'. The hearings 'dramatised' the right of victims and those applying for amnesty to follow proceedings in their own language and of course the right to give testimony in their own language. To respect this, the Commission was compelled to institute a multilingual interpreting service with the applicable infrastructure.
21. In the early part of 1996, the Commission finalised an interpreting service agreement with the Language Facilitation Programme of the University of the Free State. This involved the recruitment, appointment and training of interpreters to manage the service. Technical support was provided by Giant Video Screens (Pty) Limited.

The value of interpreting at the hearings

22. The Commission's hearings yielded an extensive word harvest, probably even more extensive than that of the Nuremberg trials. If it is taken into consideration that a simultaneous interpreter produces on average between 14 000 and 20 000 words a day in a meeting lasting six to seven hours, and that this production can be converted into fifty-six to ninety typed pages, the Commission's hearings have resulted in extensive word production. Since the commencement of the hearings of the Commission in April 1996, altogether 57 008 hours of hearings have been interpreted. Converted into days, this already amounts to approximately 7126 hearing interpreting days, which have yielded an interpreting volume of nearly a billion words, which can, in turn, be converted to in the region of 11 million or more typed pages!
23. The duration of interpreted procedures is normally multiplied between two to three times per interpreted language if one is using the current judicial consecutive interpreting system. It has been estimated that, had the Commission opted for consecutive interpretation, the hearings would have continued into the year 2020. Thus what may seem to some as an apparently 'unnecessary'

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

24. While the vocabulary at HRV hearings was of a more general nature, amnesty hearings took place within a rather strict legal context. Here the interpreter had to have a firm grasp of legal jargon. Lacking the appropriate terminology, interpreters of African languages found the amnesty hearings and the section 29 hearings more difficult.
25. Among the variables involved at hearings of the Commission were the differences in narrative technique from victim to victim, language differences (metaphorically and idiomatically), and tempo and volume of speech.
26. Interpreting at the Commission was no easy task. Many of the freelance interpreters have commented that interpreting as such is not difficult. What made it difficult was the emotional component.
27. The ULFE's team of interpreters covered practically all possible language combinations of the eleven official languages. The statistics on the language combinations for the hearings yielded some interesting facts. (See Table 3 below.)
28. An Afrikaans service was provided at 70 per cent of the hearings. Of the African language services, the Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho services were used the most (respectively 31 %, 35 % and 46 %).

Table 1: Breakdown of time interpreted at the Commission's hearings

	HEARINGS INTERPRETED				ACTUAL TIME INTERPRETED			
	HRV	AMN	Sec 29	Total	HRV	AMN	SEC 29	TOTAL
HOURS	2792	11680	632	15104	10856	44456	1696	57008
DAYS	349	1460	79	1888	1357	5557	212	7126

Table 2: Accumulated number of interpreters used at the Commission's hearings

	HRV	AMN	SEC 29	TOTAL
TOTAL AMOUNT OF INTERPRETERS	373	1538	106	2017

Table 3: Number of languages used at the Commission's hearings

LANGUAGE	TOTAL LANGUAGE USAGE	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
AFRIKAANS	345	70 %
ENGLISH	495	100 %
NDEBELE	4	1 %
NORTHERN SOTHO	21	4 %
SOTHO	172	35 %
SWATI	14	3 %
TSONGA	18	4 %
TSWANA	62	13 %
VENDA	17	3 %
XHOSA	154	31 %
ZULU	229	46 %

FINANCE DEPARTMENT

General introduction

29. Section 46(2) of the Act as amended set out the financial duties of the Commission and provided for the appointment of a chief executive officer who would also act as the chief accounting officer. Thus the financial accountability for the Commission rested with the chief executive officer. Section 46(5) of the Act required the Commission to prepare an estimate of revenue and expenditure for each year of its operation using a format to be determined in consultation with the Audit Commission. Section 9(1) of the Act directed the Commission to determine remuneration allowances in consultation with the Ministries of Finance and Justice, as well as terms and conditions of employment of staff members who were not state employees.

30. In complying with the financial mandate as directed by the Act and interpreted by the Commission, the chief executive officer delegated managerial responsibility to the director of finance. One of the tasks of the director was to assist the Commission by preparing estimates of revenue and expenditure.

Operations

31. The Finance Department consisted of a financial director, a financial manager, a facilities manager, two bookkeepers, four administrative clerks, two facilities clerks and a senior administrative secretary.
32. When the regional offices were scaled down to satellite offices in 1998 the bank accounts of those offices were closed and were managed from the national office. The national financial director reported to the Commission's chief executive officer. The financial director's activities were diversified to include support services, and the description of the portfolio changed to director of finance and support services.

Revenue

33. The Commission's revenues were allocated as a separate line item in the budget of the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, which was voted on and approved by parliament.
34. In addition, many international donor countries contributed financially to add value to the process. The Commission was initially under the impression that it could accept donations directly. Legal opinion provided by the state legal advisers, however, indicated that all donations received by the Commission had to be formally approved by the Department of State Expenditure through the Reconstruction and Development Fund.
35. As the Commission's work progressed, it became clear that it would not be able to complete all its work within the prescribed eighteen-month period or even after several further extensions. The result was that parliament approved an Amendment of the Act (Act 33 of 1998). The Amendment provided for the Committee on Amnesty to continue with its functions until a date determined by the President. This meant that the Commission had to approach the Department of Finance for additional funding.
36. The Department of Finance allocated R14 617 000 to the Commission of for the 1999/2000 financial year, based on the assumption that the estimated date for

the final closure of the Commission was set for the end of June 1999. However, the self-imposed deadline could not be met, and an amount of R8.5 million was then allocated to the Commission for the 2000/2001 financial year. Two additional amounts of R17 million and R4 681 million were allocated to the Commission to continue its work through the 2000/2001 financial year. An amount of R10 million was allocated to the Commission for the 2001/2002 financial year to wrap up the Commission's proceedings. This was based on the assumption that the Commission would have been dissolved by the end of September 2001. The President, however, determined 31 March 2002 as the date upon which the Commission would finally be dissolved. This left the Commission with the dilemma that no provision for additional funding had been made. A very welcome donation was made by the Ford Foundation for the finalisation of the Codicil to the Final Report. However, over and above the grant received, the Department of Justice had to be approached for making available additional funding to ensure the proper and smooth closure of the activities of the Commission. At the time of writing this report a final answer in this regard was still awaited from the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development.

37. The audit for the 2000/2001 fiscal year has been completed and will be tabled in parliament before the end of March 2002. Financial statements for the completed fiscal periods 1997/98, 1998/99 and 1999/2000 are attached as Appendices 1, 2 and 3. The financial statements for the 2001/2002 financial year had not yet been set before parliament at the date of publication of this Report. Generally speaking the Commission received very positive reports from the Auditor-General, especially for the 1999/2000 and 2000/2001 financial years. No major shortcomings were identified and in each report it was made clear that compliance with laws and regulations applicable to financial matters has occurred during each year reported on.

Problems encountered and measures taken

38. The CEO/CAO, assisted by the finance and support services director and the rest of management, were guided by the Commission's fiscal policy. A few of the problems encountered in the Commission and the measures taken to solve them are listed below.
39. Ever conscious of the lack of funding and the fact that taxpayers' monies were utilised to fund the activities of the Commission, the CEO, management and the

finance department were constantly looking for and implementing mechanisms to effect savings. These measures proved to be effective and resulted in the Commission being able to fund many of its activities out of savings. Measures that were adopted included the following:

- a mechanisms to curb the expenses incurred as a result of the public hearings into amnesty applications;
- b proper co-ordination of arrangements relating to public hearings;
- c stricter control with regard to travel and accommodation expenses as well as the use of telephones and cellular phones, and
- d a structured and effective reduction in the staff complement of the Commission.

Satellite offices

- 40. The regional offices of the Commission closed down on 30 June 1998. Satellite offices were then established in Johannesburg, Durban (Pinetown) and East London to co-ordinate work still to be done in the regions. These offices were staffed by a total of thirty-seven employees. An office administrator was appointed in each office to manage these offices and report to the CEO.
- 41. The main task of the satellite offices was to render support services to the reparation and rehabilitation and amnesty processes. The satellite offices also served to make the processes of the Commission more accessible to all South Africans, particularly victims.

Human resources

- 42. All human resources-related activities were dealt with by the financial director assisted by the regional manager.
- 43. At its peak the Commission had 438 employees. By November 1998 this number had decreased to 188. From then on the total kept decreasing as a result of resignations and/or a so-called staff 'roll-out' The latter was to a large extent a direct result of budgetary constraints. The Commission's total staff complement for December 2001 was thirty-one and this number was reduced to nine employees for the months of January to March 2002.
- 44. Terminating a staff member's contract of employment was never easy. Although the CEO was of the opinion that government should accept some responsibility

for those individual staff members who have dedicated years of their lives serving the national process of truth and reconciliation, this view was unfortunately not supported by government. For instance, notwithstanding sincere requests to provide funding for an incentive bonus or some form of gratuity, government remained adamant that no funds were available. In order to see whether staff could be accommodated elsewhere when their contracts were terminated, various government departments were informed of the availability of competent workers. Unfortunately this was to no avail. At the time of writing this report there are still a number of former employees who have not yet been able to secure another job.

Handover of assets to the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development

45. The Act provided for a committee to be responsible for overseeing the handover of the assets of the Commission to the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. Although the committee was established during 2000, this process only really commenced during October 2001.
46. At the time of writing this report almost 99 per cent of the Commission's assets have been handed over to the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. These assets include 339 computers, forty-two motor vehicles, seventy-two cellular phones and no less than 3094 pieces of office furniture and equipment.
47. In addition, 1330 linear metres of documentation, comprising amnesty-related documents, statements, video and audio collections and other miscellaneous documentation, were transported from Cape Town to Pretoria over a period of 6 weeks.
48. All documentation relating to reparation and rehabilitation that has been in the possession of the Commission was handed over to the President's Fund based in Pretoria. This Fund will also deal with issues relating to reparation and rehabilitation

[\(...p756\)](#)

APPENDIX 1

Annual Financial Statements for the period 1 April 1997 to 31 March 1998

The Chief Executive Officer hereby presents his report and submits the annual financial statements for the period ended 31 March 1998.

■ GENERAL REVIEW

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was constituted in terms of The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 on 15 December 1995. During this first financial period the Truth and Reconciliation Commission commenced starting up operations which involved the setting up of its head office in Cape Town as well as three other offices in Gauteng, the Eastern Cape and Kwazulu Natal. The financial activities of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for the above period centred around continuing its activities as in the previous year. The initial closing down date for the Commission was extended in terms of an amendment to the necessary legislation, which meant that the Commission operated at full capacity for virtually the entire year. The results of these activities are clearly reflected in the attached financial statements and may be summarised as follows:

Operating Surplus for the period	R 8 602 940
Capital Expenditure	R 1 252 719
Net Cash Flow Surplus	R16 651 911

The Cash Flow Surplus mainly arises out of funds held on deposit for donor funds to be expended in the next financial year as well as a surplus achieved on the budget of this financial year.

■ CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER AND SECRETARIES

In terms of S46(1) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 the following appointments have been made:-

Chief Executive Officer **Dr B S V Minyuku**

Date of Appointment: 1 March 1996

Executive Secretary to:

The Commission **P van Zyl**

Date of Appointment: 1 March 1996

The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee **T Grenville-Grey**

Date of Appointment: 18 December 1997

The Human Rights Violations Committee **Dr R Richards**

Date of Appointment: 1 September 1996

The Amnesty Committee **Adv. M Coetzee**

Date of Appointment: 8 August 1997

■ FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

The Chief Executive Officer acknowledges his responsibility for the fair presentation in the financial statements of the financial position and results of operations in conformity with generally accepted accounting practice. The Chief Executive Officer has approved the financial statements set out on pages 4 to 9.

■ EVENTS OCCURRING AFTER BALANCE SHEET DATE

During the month of June 1998, the Commission closed down its three regional offices according to its strategic plan. The financial effect of the closure was that assets of the Commission were transferred to the Department of Justice as stipulated by the Act. The total cost of these assets amounts to R912 066. The book value at year end of these assets amounted to R575 303. This event also meant that regional staff were retrenched as per the roll-out plan of the Commission. A total of 40 staff were retrenched. This represented, at that time, 10% of the Commission's staff complement.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

23 October 1998

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

■ **BALANCE SHEET** AS AT 31 MARCH 1998

	Notes	1997-98 R	1996-1997 R
Capital employed			
Accumulated funds		24 853 873	16 241 934
Employment of capital			
Fixed assets	3	8 192 963	11 473 285
Net current assets		16 660 910	4 768 649
Current assets		23 240 268	19 557 049
Sundry debtors	4	1 309 151	1 582 387
Bank and cash balances		21 931 117	17 974 662
Current liabilities		(6 579 358)	(14 788 400)
Sundry creditors	5	6 349 358	4 401 092
Unapproved donations		-	10 313 347
Provisions		230 000	73 961
		24 853 873	16 241 934

Cape Town, 23/10/98

B S V MINYUKU

Accounting Officer

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

■ **INCOME STATEMENT** FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1998

	Notes	1997-98 R	1996-1997 R
Income		81 904 882	74 042 034
State contributions		65 716 000	70 042 034
Donations		13 662 552	2 336 221
Other income	8	2 526 330	2 005 322
Expenditure		(73 292 943)	(61 900 205)
Salaries		37 209 133	31 746 636
Other operating expenditure	9	35 698 511	30 153 569
Discontinued operations	7	385 299	-
Retained income for the year		8 611 939	12 483 372
Retained income at the beginning of the year		16 241 934	3 758 562
Retained income at the end of the year		24 853 873	16 241 934

■ NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS**1. Formation and primary objectives**

- 1.1 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established in terms of section 2(1) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995 (Act No. 34 of 1995). The Commissioners were appointed by the President in terms of section 7(2)(a) of the Act on 15 December 1995.
- 1.2 The objectives of the Commission are to promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflicts and divisions of the past by establishing a complete picture of the causes, nature and extent of gross violations of human rights by conducting investigations and holding hearings; facilitating the granting of amnesty to persons who make full disclosure of all the relevant facts relating to these acts; establishing and making known the fate or whereabouts of victims and recommending reparation measures in respect of them; and compiling a report providing a comprehensive account of the activities and findings of the Commission.

2. Accounting policy

The annual financial statements have been prepared in accordance with generally accepted accounting practice. The principal accounting policy is as follows:

2.1 *Basis of presentation*

The annual financial statements are prepared on the historical cost basis.

2.2. *Fixed assets and depreciation*

Fixed assets are stated at cost price less accumulated depreciation. Leasehold improvements are written off over the expected life-span of the Commission. All other assets are depreciated over their useful lives on the straight line method.

2.3 *Income and expenditure*

Income and expenditure is recognised on the accrual basis.

2.4 *Donations*

Donations and interest earned on donations are recognised in full in the year in which the donations are authorised. However, unspent donor funds and interest earned thereon will be refunded to the donor at the end of the project. The refund of donor funds and interest will be accounted for in the year in which the transfer takes place.

■ **NOTES** (Continued)

3. Fixed Assets

	Computer equipment	Computer software & installation	Furniture & fittings	Office equipment 1997-98	Motor vehicles	Leasehold improve- ments	Security equipment	Total
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Beginning of year:								
Cost price	30 010 355	1 003 441	2 671 545	2 607 430	5 083 435	619 401	347 679	15 343 286
Accumulated depreciation	(811 115)	(1 003 441)	(514 136)	(379 353)	(861 644)	(251 709)	(48 603)	(3 870 001)
Carrying amount beginning of year	2 199 240	-	2 157 409	2 228 077	4 221 791	367 692	299 076	11 473 285
During the year:								
Additions	606 971	97 518	39 924	463 396	3 714	33 696	7 500	1 252 719
Disposals	(28 331)	-	-	(252 520)	(195 496)	-	(4 364)	(480 711)
Transfers	(51 242)	-	(213 692)	-	(103 519)	-	-	(368 453)
Depreciation	(1 153 183)	(97 518)	(538 803)	(531 133)	(980 035)	(313 502)	(69 703)	(3 683 877)
Carrying amount end of year	1 573 455	-	1 444 838	1 907 820	2 946 455	87 886	232 509	8 192 963
Cost price	3 444 665	1 100 959	2 360 762	2 773 242	4 676 357	653 097	349 679	15 358 761
Accumulated depreciation	(1 871 210)	(1 100 959)	(915 924)	(865 422)	(1 729 902)	(565 211)	(117 170)	(7 165 798)
	1 573 455	-	1 444 838	1 907 820	2 946 455	87 886	232 509	8 192 963

■ NOTES (Continued)

3. Fixed Assets (continued)

	Computer equipment	Computer software & installation	Furniture & fittings	Office equipment 1996-97	Motor vehicles	Leasehold improve- ments	Security equipment	Total
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Beginning of year:								
Cost price	310 549	–	1 733 691	163 345	2 358 852	195 534	–	4 761 971
Accumulated depreciation	(7 502)	–	(11 813)	(1 954)	(49 496)	(7 726)	–	(78 491)
Carrying amount beginning of year	303 047	–	1 721 878	161 391	2 309 356	187 808	–	4 683 480
During the year:								
Additions	2 748 312	1 003 441	937 854	2 461 118	2 882 401	423 867	347 679	10 804 671
Disposals	(40 413)	–	–	(15 184)	(141 694)	–	–	(197 290)
Transfers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Depreciation	(811 706)	(1 003 441)	(502 323)	(379 248)	(828 272)	(243 983)	(48 604)	(3 817 576)
Carrying amount end of year	2 199 240	–	2 157 409	2 228 077	4 221 791	367 692	299 076	11 473 285
Cost price	3 010 335	1 003 441	2 671 545	2 607 430	5 083 435	619 401	347 679	15 343 286
Accumulated depreciation	(811 115)	(1 003 441)	(514 136)	(379 353)	(861 644)	(251 709)	(48 603)	(3 870 001)
	2 199 240	–	2 157 409	2 228 077	4 221 791	367 692	299 076	11 473 285

NOTES *(continued)*

	1997-98 R	1996-1997 R
9. Other operating expenditure		
Audit fees	320 588	109 610
Bank costs	51 060	57 030
CMC levies	180 855	–
Communication	4 323 800	2 952 863
Conferences and workshops	294 171	275 724
Consulting fees	925 900	330 861
Consumables	181 712	313 201
Diginet lines	127 192	107 714
Depreciation	3 683 878	3 817 576
DST Programme	395 699	–
Entertainment, teas and refreshments	160 249	114 046
Exhumation costs	155 030	12 677
Hearing costs	948 684	939 322
Insurance	693 583	419 788
Interest paid	11 431	23 805
Legal costs	280 917	36 455
Legal aid	511 858	122 615
Maintenance:	495 356	154 765
Computers	96 785	3 802
Equipment	36 736	21 726
Premises	62 131	26 757
Motor vehicles	299 704	102 480
Postage	59 556	22 878
Printing	398 544	348 573
Publications and subscriptions	100 352	125 841
Relocation costs	199 658	179 363
Rentals:	4 184 994	3 597 814
Equipment	11 199	3 084
Offices	4 173 795	3 594 730
Staff recruitment	101 603	831 198
Stationery	380 413	402 437
Telephones:	2 642 134	2 175 609
Telkom and faxes	1 676 735	1 354 044
Cellular	965 399	821 565
Transport:	886 000	848 556
Freight	146 804	90 676
Motor vehicles expenses	625 438	538 859
Use of private motor vehicles	113 758	219 021
Training	8 685	17 728
Transcription costs	347 594	145 843
Translation costs	3 333 793	3 228 313
Travel and subsistence	9 102 878	7 985 643
Travel management costs	57 834	347 004
Witness protection programme	152 510	108 717
	35 698 511	30 153 569

■ CASH FLOW STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1998

	Notes	1997-98 R	1996-1997 R
Cash flows from operating activities			
Cash generated from operations	A	2 213 565	26 354 785
Interest received		2 514 571	1 617 546
Interest paid		(11 431)	(23 805)
Net cash inflow from operations		4 716 705	27 948 526
Cash flows from investing activities			
Additions to fixed assets		(1 252 719)	(10 804 671)
Disposal of fixed assets		492 469	207 277
Net cash outflow from investing activities		(760 250)	(10 597 394)
Net increase in cash and cash equivalents		3 956 455	17 351 132
Cash and cash equivalents at the beginning of the year	B	17 974 662	623 530
Cash and cash equivalents at the end of the year	B	21 931 117	17 974 662

■ NOTES TO THE CASH FLOW STATEMENT

	Notes	1997-98 R	1996-1997 R
A. Reconciliation of net surplus to cash generated from operations			
Net surplus		8 611 939	12 483 372
Depreciation		3 683 878	3 817 576
Interest received		(2 514 571)	(1 617 546)
Interest expenses		(11 431)	23 805
Transfer of assets		(368 453)	–
Profit on disposal of assets		(11 759)	(9 988)
Operating profit before working capital changes		10 149 371	14 697 217
Working capital changes		(7 935 806)	(11 657 566)
Decrease/(increase) in debtors		273 236	(937 045)
Increase/(decrease) in creditors		(8 209 042)	12 594 611
Cash generated from operations		2 213 565	26 354 785
B. Cash and cash equivalents			
Cash and cash equivalents consist of cash on hand balances with banks.			
Cash and cash equivalents included in the cash flow statement comprises the following balance sheet amount:			
Cash on hand and balances with banks		21 931 117	17 974 662

APPENDIX 2

**Annual Financial Statements
for the period 1 April 1998 to 31 March 1999**

The Chief Executive Officer hereby presents his report and submits the annual financial statements for the period ended 31 March 1999.

■ GENERAL REVIEW

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was constituted in terms of The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 on 15 December 1995. The extent of the work of the Commission could not be foreseen by the legislature and was influenced as a result of the extension granted by the President of the cut-off date of gross violations of human rights from 5 December 1993 to 10 May 1994. The closing date to submit amnesty applications was also extended from 11 May 1997 to 30 September 1997 which greatly influenced the work of the Commission.

It is against this background that the Chairperson of the Commission requested the Minister of Justice to extend the lifespan of the Commission. The result was that the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Amendment Act, 1998 was approved in Parliament in June 1998. The amended Act makes inter alia provision that the Amnesty Committee shall continue with its functions until a date determined by the President.

The Committee on Human Rights Violations and the Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation have more or less completed their work on 31 July 1998. However the assessment of reparation and rehabilitation forms as well as the possible appeals and/or challenges of human rights violations work continued in 1999. The work of the Amnesty Committee will however continue into 2000.

For the continuation for the work of the Amnesty committee with the necessary support services as well as some capacity for the assessment of reparation and rehabilitation forms as well as the possible appeals and/or challenges it is envisaged for work to continue until at least June 2000.

The results of these activities are clearly reflected in the attached financial statements and may be summarised as follows:

Retained income R 4 401 646

Capital Expenditure	R	362 946
Retained income at the beginning of the financial year ..	R	24 853 873

The Cash Flow Surplus mainly arises out of funds held on deposit for donor funds to be expended in the next financial year.

■ CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

In terms of S46(1) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 the following appointments has been made:

Chief Executive Officer **Adv. Martin Coetzee**

Date of Appointment: 1 April 1999

■ FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

The Chief Executive Officer acknowledges his responsibility for the fair presentation in the financial statements of the financial position and results of operations in conformity with generally accepted accounting practice.

The Chief Executive Officer has approved the financial statements for the 1998/1999 financial year.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

16 November 1999

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

■ **BALANCE SHEET** AS AT 31 MARCH 1999

	Notes	1998-99 R	1997-1998 R
Capital employed			
Accumulated funds		29 255 519	24 853 873
Employment of capital			
Property, Plant and Equipment	3	3 754 815	8 192 963
Net current assets		25 500 704	16 660 910
Current assets		29 578 491	23 240 268
Debtors	4	3 691 250	1 309 151
Bank and cash balances		25 887 241	21 931 117
Current liabilities		(4 077 787)	(6 579 358)
Creditors	5	3 902 787	6 349 358
Provisions		175 000	230 000
		29 255 519	24 853 873

ADV. M COETZEE

Accounting Officer

Cape Town, 14/10/99

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

■ **INCOME STATEMENT** FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1999

	Notes	1998-99 R	1997-1998 R
Income		62 345 233	81 904 882
State contributions		54 083 096	65 716 000
Donations		3 324 725	13 662 552
Other income	8	4 937 412	2 526 330
Expenditure		(57 943 587)	(73 292 943)
Salaries		25 161 438	37 209 133
Other operating expenditure	9	28 786 877	35 698 511
Discontinued operations	7	3 995 272	385 299
Retained income for the year		4 401 646	8 611 939
Retained income at the beginning of the year		24 853 873	16 241 934
Retained income at the end of the year		29 255 519	24 853 873

■ NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS**1. Formation and primary objectives**

- 1.1 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established in terms of section 2(1) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995 (Act No. 34 of 1995). The Commissioners were appointed by the President in terms of section 7(2)(a) of the Act on 15 December 1995.
- 1.2 The objectives of the Commission are to promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflicts and divisions of the past by establishing a complete picture of the causes, nature and extent of gross violations of human rights by conducting investigations and holding hearings; facilitating the granting of amnesty to persons who make full disclosure of all the relevant facts relating to these acts; establishing and making known the fate or whereabouts of victims and recommending reparation measures in respect of them; and compiling a report providing a comprehensive account of the activities and findings of the Commission.

2. Accounting policy

The annual financial statements have been prepared in accordance with generally accepted accounting practice. The principal accounting policy is as follows:

2.1 *Basis of presentation*

The annual financial statements are prepared on the historical cost basis.

2.2. *Fixed assets and depreciation*

Fixed assets are stated at cost price less accumulated depreciation. Leasehold improvements are written off over the expected life-span of the Commission. All other assets are depreciated over their useful lives on the straight line method.

2.3 *Income and expenditure*

Income and expenditure is recognised on the accrual basis.

2.4 *Donations*

Donations and interest earned on donations are recognised in full in the year in which the donations are authorised. However, unspent donor funds and interest earned thereon will be refunded to the donor at the end of the project. The refund of donor funds and interest will be accounted for in the year in which the transfer takes place.

NOTES (Continued)**3. Fixed Assets**

	Computer equipment	Computer software & installation	Furniture & fittings	Office equipment 1997-98	Motor vehicles	Leasehold improve- ments	Security equipment	Total
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Beginning of year:								
Cost price	3 444 665	1 100 959	2 360 762	2 773 242	4 676 358	653 097	349 679	15 358 762
Accumulated depreciation	(1 871 211)	(1 100 959)	(915 924)	(865 422)	(1 729 902)	(565 211)	(117 171)	(7 165 799)
Carrying amount beginning of year	1 573 454	-	1 444 838	1 907 821	2 946 456	87 886	232 508	8 192 963
During the year:								
Additions	13 600	61 296	37 256	211 869	11 493	25 272	2 160	362 946
Disposals	(48 506)	-	-	(45 313)	-	(17 264)	-	(111 083)
Transfers	(181 914)	-	(396 483)	(82 810)	(1 181 533)	-	(30 951)	(1 873 691)
Depreciation	(954 899)	(61 296)	(373 963)	(523 378)	(766 542)	(73 649)	(62 594)	(2 816 320)
Carrying amount end of year	401 736	-	711 648	1 468 189	1 009 874	22 245	141 123	3 754 815
Cost price	2 842 523	1 132 065	1 693 749	2 725 014	2 287 214	227 612	301 439	11 209 616
Accumulated depreciation	(2 440 787)	(1 132 065)	(982 101)	(1 256 825)	(1 277 340)	(205 367)	(160 316)	(7 454 801)
	401 736	-	711 648	1 468 189	1 009 874	22 245	141 123	3 754 815

NOTES (Continued)**3. Fixed Assets** (continued)

	Computer equipment	Computer software & installation	Furniture & fittings	Office equipment 1997-98	Motor vehicles	Leasehold improve- ments	Security equipment	Total
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Beginning of year:								
Cost price	3 010 355	1 003 441	2 671 545	2 607 430	5 083 435	619 401	347 679	15 343 286
Accumulated depreciation	(811 115)	(1 003 441)	(514 136)	(379 353)	(861 644)	(251 709)	(48 603)	(3 870 001)
Carrying amount beginning of year	2 199 240	-	2 157 409	2 228 077	4 221 791	367 692	299 076	11 473 285
During the year:								
Additions	606 971	97 518	39 924	463 396	3 714	33 696	7 500	1 252 719
Disposals	(28 331)	-	-	(252 520)	(196 496)	-	(4 364)	(480 711)
Transfers	(51 242)	-	(213 692)	-	(103 519)	-	-	(368 453)
Depreciation	(1 153 183)	(97 518)	(538 803)	(531 133)	(980 035)	(313 502)	(69 703)	(3 683 877)
Carrying amount end of year	1 573 455	-	1 444 838	1 907 820	2 946 455	87 886	232 509	8 192 963
Cost price	3 444 665	1 100 959	2 360 762	2 773 242	4 676 357	653 097	349 679	15 358 761
Accumulated depreciation	(1 871 210)	(1 100 959)	(915 924)	(865 422)	(1 729 902)	(565 211)	(117 170)	(7 165 798)
	1 573 455	-	1 444 838	1 907 820	2 946 455	87 886	232 509	8 192 963

■ NOTES *(continued)*

	1998-99	1997-1998
	R	R
4. Sundry debtors		
Income receivable	427 648	30 217
Interest receivable	298 689	135 291
Legal Aid Board advances	491 958	–
Prepaid expenses	146 166	104 779
Refundable deposits paid on leased premises	11 553	45 366
Salary advances	2 016	25 421
Value Added Tax (VAT) refund	2 313 220	968 077
	3 691 250	1 309 151
5. Creditors		
Accruals for accounts payable	3 902 787	6 349 358
6. Contingent liability		
A claim of R12,5 million was lodged against the Commission by a former employee for damages allegedly caused by statements made against him in the media. Although the outcome of this legal action is not yet known, the Commission's Head Legal Advisor is of the opinion that this claim will not succeed.		
7. Discontinued operations		
Assets transferred to Department of Justice	1 873 691	368 453
VAT on transfers to Department of Justice	133 145	–
Gratuities paid to Commissioners	1 891 164	–
Winding down costs	97 272	16 846
	3 995 272	385 299
The operation of the TRC presently only consists of the Amnesty Committee.		
The Regional Offices were downgraded to Satellite Offices.		
The staff complement decreased from 268 at the beginning of the year to 161 at the end of the year.		
8. Other income		
Interest	4 882 131	2 514 571
Commission	55 281	–
Profit on assets written off	–	11 759
	4 937 412	2 526 330

NOTES *(continued)*

	1998-99 R	1997-1998 R
9. Other operating expenditure		
Audit fees	252 450	320 588
Bank costs	48 103	51 060
CMC levies	64 671	180 855
Communication	1 570 504	4 323 800
Conferences and workshops	34 640	294 171
Consulting fees	436 036	925 900
Consumables	31 959	181 712
Diginet lines	26 886	127 192
Depreciation	2 816 320	3 683 878
DST Programme	862 481	395 699
Entertainment, teas and refreshments	155 704	160 249
Exhumation costs	146 848	155 030
Hearing costs	1 119 498	948 684
Insurance	802 819	693 583
Interest paid	10 400	11 431
Legal costs	717 002	280 917
Legal aid	523 927	511 858
Loss on assets written off	75 847	–
Maintenance:	534 723	495 356
Computers	145 390	96 785
Equipment	59 444	36 736
Premises	67 819	62 131
Motor vechiles	262 070	299 704
Postage	62 930	59 556
Printing	937 819	398 544
Publications and subscriptions	57 900	100 352
Refund of donation to Netherlands Embassy	45 424	–
Refund of interest Danish Embassy	55 983	–
Relocation costs	146 101	199 658
Rentals:	2 728 881	4 184 994
Equipment	2 771	11 199
Offices	2 726 110	4 173 795
Staff recruitment	29 786	101 603
Stationery	187 020	380 413
Telephones:	2 066 435	2 642 134
Telkom and faxes	1 151 807	1 676 735
Cellular	914 628	965 399
Transport:	855 864	886 000
Freight	311 586	146 804
Motor vehicles expenses	466 150	625 438
Use of private motor vehicles	78 128	113 758
Traning	–	8 685
Transcription costs	324 660	347 594
Translation costs	4 813 924	3 333 793
Travel and subsistence	6 089 514	9 102 878
Travel management costs	–	57 834
Witness protection program	153 818	152 510
	28 786 877	35 698 511

10. Post Balance Sheet Event

After the Financial Year End a Donation to the amount of R1 722 750.00 was made available from USAID for expenditure incurred by the TRC during the 1998-1999 Financial Year.

■ CASH FLOW STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1999

	Notes	1998-99 R	1997-1998 R
Cash flows from operating activities			
Cash generated from operations	A	(702 775)	2 213 565
Interest received		4 882 131	2 514 571
Interest paid		(10 400)	(11 431)
Net cash inflow from operations		4 168 956	4 716 705
Net cash outflow from investing activities			
Additions to fixed assets		(362 946)	(1 252 719)
Disposal of fixed assets		150 114	492 469
Net increase in cash and cash equivalents		3 956 124	3 956 455
Cash and cash equivalents at the beginning of the year			
	B	21 931 117	17 974 662
Cash and cash equivalents at the end of the year			
	B	25 887 241	21 931 117

■ NOTES TO THE CASH FLOW STATEMENT

	1998-99 R	1997-1998 R
A. Reconciliation of net surplus to cash generated from operations		
Net surplus	4 401 646	8 611 939
Depreciation	2 816 320	3 683 878
Interest received	(4 882 131)	(2 514 571)
Interest expenses	10 400	11 431
Transfer of assets	1 873 691	368 453
(Profit)/Loss on disposal of fixed assets	(39 031)	(11 759)
Operating profit before working capital changes	4 180 895	10 149 371
Working capital changes	(4 883 670)	(7 935 806)
Decrease/(increase) in accounts receivable	(2 382 099)	273 236
Increase/(decrease) in accounts payable	(2 501 571)	(8 209 042)
Cash generated from operations	(702 775)	2 213 565
B. Cash and cash equivalents		
Cash and cash equivalents consist of cash on hand and balances with banks.		
Cash and cash equivalents included in the cash flow statement comprises the following balance sheet amount:		
Cash on hand and balances with banks	25 887 241	21 931 117
Cash on hand and balances with banks	21 931 117	17 974 662

APPENDIX 3

Annual Financial Statements

for the period 1 April 1999 to 31 March 2000

The Chief Executive Officer hereby presents his report and submits the annual financial statements for the period ended 31 March 2000.

■ GENERAL REVIEW

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was constituted in terms of The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 on 15 December 1995. The TRC was established to investigate the nature, causes and extent of gross violations of human rights during the period 1960 to 1994. To achieve this, Act 34 of 1995 required the establishment of the following committees:

- (a) The Committee on Human Rights Violations (HRV Committee), to investigate gross human rights violations, which, inter alia, afforded victims an opportunity to relate their suffering;
- (b) The Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation (R&R Committee), which seeks to bring about the granting of reparations to victims, and to rehabilitate and restore their human and civil dignity; and
- (c) The Amnesty Committee (AC) to consider applications for amnesty in respect of acts committed during the period stipulated.

The original deadline for completion of these tasks was July 1997. As the extent of the TRC's work became apparent, it became clear that it would not be able to meet this initial 18 month deadline. Subsequent extensions have been granted, the last of which allows the TRC, through the AC, to complete its work without setting a fixed deadline. Although the bulk of the work has been completed (as reported in the first five volumes of the TRC Report) the three committees still have important outstanding tasks.

Work still to be completed by the three committees:

The AC has finalised 6 377 matters, but still has approximately 736 matters to finalise. Of these 366 are hearable matters, many of which involve people in senior positions from both the liberation movements and former security forces. It is expected that these amnesty applications will in all probability be finalised by the end of July 2000, it is however extremely difficult to accurately assess the time required to complete such hearings. Circumstances beyond the control of the AC often result in postponement of hearings.

The R&R Committee has sent out almost out almost 19 000 Urgent Interim Reparations (UIR) forms. While to date more than half of these have already been forwarded to the President's Fund, the Committee still has to retrieve 3 467 forms and process another 2 602 applications in its possession.

The HRV Committee has completed the substantive part of its work. During 1999, it conducted an extensive audit of all negative findings and is now ready to send out negative finding letters, informing approximately 7 000 deponents that they cannot be declared victims. All three committees have to write the codicil to the first five volumes of the Final Report.

Time required to complete the outstanding work:

The work plan shows that the absolute minimum time to complete the outstanding tasks would be up till December 2000. This would include the preparation and organisation of the intellectual property gathered during the TRC process, prior to handing it over to the Department of Justice and National Archives. It will also include the writing of the codicil and its handover to the President.

While it is important that the TRC does not delay its own closure, it is equally important to deliver a completed product which will not place in jeopardy the work already done or lay a basis for potential legal challenges. Further, all those who have participated in the project or observed its progress recognise that the work of the TRC has assisted in laying the foundations for a culture of human rights in our country. The perceived failure of the TRC to complete its historic task would compromise such a view.

Moreover, all loose ends need to be tied sufficiently so that a government established structure might take over the continuing work with a minimum of disruption. To achieve all of these goals, the TRC considers it necessary to work within the confines of deadlines, which are realistic hence, the objective to complete its work in December 2000.

The results of these activities are clearly reflected in the attached financial statements and may be summarised as follows:

Retained income	R -21 510 408
Capital Expenditure	R 126 739
Retained income at the beginning of the financial year	R 29 255 519

The retained income shows a negative figure of R21 510 408 mainly because of the utilisation of the surplus in the bank.

■ **STANDING COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ACCOUNTS**

The TRC appeared before the Standing Committee on Public Accounts on 12 April 2000 in connection with the Auditor-General's report for the 1998/99 financial year. After the briefing the Committee requested the TRC to furnish them with more information especially about the non compliance with State Tender Board regulations mentioned in the Auditor-General's reports for the previous two financial years. The additional information was submitted on 19 May 2000.

■ **FINANCIAL STATEMENTS**

The Chief Executive Officer acknowledges his responsibility for the fair presentation in the financial statements of the financial position and results of operations in conformity with generally accepted accounting practice. The Chief Executive Officer has approved the financial statements for the 1999/2000 financial year.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

26 June 2000

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

■ **BALANCE SHEET** AS AT 31 MARCH 2000

	Notes	1999-2000 R	1998-1999 R
Capital employed			
Accumulated funds		3 909 374	29 255 519
Employment of capital			
Property, plant and equipment	3	1 891 931	3 754 815
Net current assets		2 017 443	25 500 704
Current assets		7 444 874	29 578 491
Debtors	4	1 667 217	3 691 250
Bank and cash balances	11	5 777 657	25 887 241
Less: Current liabilities		(5 427 431)	(4 077 787)
Creditors	5	(5 237 431)	3 902 787
Provisions	12	190 000	175 000
		3 909 374	29 255 519

Cape Town, 19/09/2000

ADV. M COETZEE

Accounting Officer

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

■ **INCOME STATEMENT** FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2000

	Notes	1999-2000 R	1998-1999 R
Income		20 977 237	62 345 233
State and other contributions		14 617 000	54 083 096
Donations		3 872 791	3 324 725
Other income	8	2 487 446	4 937 412
Expenditure		(46 591 536)	(57 943 587)
Salaries	10	21 364 952	25 161 438
Other operating expenditure	9	25 216 388	28 786 877
Discontinued operations	7	10 196	3 995 272
Retained income for the year		(25 614 299)	4 401 646
Retained income at the beginning of the year		29 255 519	24 853 873
Prior year adjustments	13	268 154	–
Retained income at the end of the year		3 909 374	29 255 519

■ NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS**1. Formation and primary objectives**

- 1.1 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established in terms of section 2(1) of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995 (Act No. 34 of 1995). The Commissioners were appointed by the President in terms of section 7(2)(a) of the Act on 15 December 1995.
- 1.2 The objectives of the Commission are to promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflicts and divisions of the past by establishing a complete picture of the causes, nature and extent of gross violations of human rights by conducting investigations and holding hearings; facilitating the granting of amnesty to persons who make full disclosure of all the relevant facts relating to these acts; establishing and making known the fate or whereabouts of victims and recommending reparation measures in respect of them; and compiling a report providing a comprehensive account of the activities and findings of the Commission.

2. Accounting policy

The financial statements have been prepared in accordance with generally accepted accounting practice. The principal accounting policy is as follows:

2.1 *Basis of presentation*

The financial statements are prepared on the historical cost basis.

2.2. *Fixed assets and depreciation*

Fixed assets are stated at cost price less accumulated depreciation. Leasehold improvements are written off over the expected life-span of the Commission. All other assets are depreciated over their useful lives on the straight line method.

2.3 *Income and expenditure*

Income and expenditure is recognised on the accrual basis.

2.4 *Donations*

Donations and interest earned on donations are recognised in full in the year in which the donations are authorised. However, unspent donor funds and interest earned thereon will be refunded to the donor at the end of the project. The refund of donor funds and interest will be accounted for in the year in which the transfer takes place.

■ NOTES (Continued)

3. Property, plant and equipment

	Computer equipment	Computer software & installation	Furniture & fittings	Office equipment 1999-2000	Motor vehicles	Leasehold improve- ments	Security equipment	Total
Rate of depreciation: Period (years)	33,3% 3	100% *	20% 5	20% 5	20% 5	50% 2	20% 5	
*Written off in year of purchase	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Beginning of year:								
Cost price	2 842 523	1 132 065	1 693 749	2 725 014	2 287 214	227 612	301 439	11 209 616
Accumulated depreciation	(2 440 787)	(1 132 065)	(982 101)	(1 256 825)	(1 277 340)	(205 367)	(160 316)	(7 454 801)
Carrying amount beginning of year	401 736	-	711 648	1 468 189	1 009 874	22 245	141 123	3 754 815
During the year:								
Additions	49 202	21 677	5 043	12 724	2 764	35 329	-	126 739
Disposals	(628)	-	-	(291 330)	(22 533)	-	-	(314 491)
Transfers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Depreciation	(361 198)	(21 677)	(339 224)	(420 475)	(449 704)	(22 566)	(60 288)	(1 675 132)
Carrying amount end of year	89 112	-	337 467	769 108	540 401	35 008	80 835	1 891 931
Cost price	2 763 695	1 153 742	1 698 792	2 443 601	2 264 337	76 027	301 439	10 701 633
Accumulated depreciation	(2 674 583)	(1 153 742)	(1 321 325)	(1 674 493)	(1 723 936)	(41 019)	(220 604)	(8 809 702)
	89 112	-	377 467	769 108	540 401	35 008	80 835	1 891 931

■ NOTES (Continued)

3. Property, plant and equipment (continued)

	Computer equipment	Computer software & installation	Furniture & fittings	Office equipment 1998-99	Motor vehicles	Leasehold improve- ments	Security equipment	Total
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Beginning of year:								
Cost price	3 444 665	1 100 959	2 360 762	2 773 242	4 676 358	653 097	349 679	15 358 762
Accumulated depreciation	(1 871 211)	(1 100 959)	(915 924)	(865 421)	(1 729 902)	(565 211)	(117 171)	(7 165 799)
Carrying amount beginning of year	1 573 454	–	1 444 838	1 907 821	2 946 456	87 886	232 508	8 192 963
During the year:								
Additions	13 600	61 296	37 256	211 869	11 493	25 272	2 160	362 946
Disposals	(48 506)	–	–	(45 313)	–	(17 264)	–	(111 083)
Transfers	(181 914)	–	(396 483)	(82 810)	(1 181 533)	–	(30 951)	(1 873 691)
Depreciation	(954 898)	(61 296)	(373 963)	(523 378)	(766 542)	(73 649)	(62 594)	(2 816 320)
Carrying amount end of year	401 736	–	711 648	1 468 189	1 009 874	22 245	141 123	3 754 815
Cost price	2 842 523	1 132 065	1 693 749	2 725 014	2 287 214	227 612	301 439	11 209 616
Accumulated depreciation	(2 440 787)	(1 132 065)	(982 101)	(1 256 825)	(1 277 340)	(205 367)	(160 316)	(7 454 801)
	401 736	–	711 648	1 468 189	1 009 874	22 245	141 123	3 754 815

NOTES *(continued)*

	1999-2000 R	1998-1999 R
4. Debtors		
Income receivable	1 193 575	427 648
Interest receivable	49 466	28 689
Legal Aid Board advances	–	491 958
Prepaid expenses	12 121	146 166
Refundable deposits paid on leased premises	2 192	11 553
Salary advances	10 303	2 016
Value Added Tax (VAT) refund	399 560	2 313 220
	1 667 217	3 691 250
5. Creditors		
Personnel control	2 402 968	1 156 121
Accounts payable	2 240 780	2 496 127
Stannic Fleet Management	–	(4 266)
Diners Club	455 485	254 805
Rennies Travel	138 109	–
WPP budgets	89	–
	5 237 431	3 902 787
6. Contingent liability		
A claim of R12,5 million was lodged against the Commission by a former employee for damages allegedly caused by statements made against him in the media. Although the outcome of this legal action is not yet known, the Commission's national legal officer is of the opinion that this claim will not succeed.		
7. Discontinued operations		
Assets transferred to Department of Justice	–	1 873 691
VAT on transfers to Department of Justice	–	133 145
Gratuities paid to Commissioners	–	1 891 164
Winding-down costs	10 196	97 272
	10 196	3 995 272

The operation of the TRC presently only consists of the Amnesty Committee. The satellite offices are still operational. The staff complement decreased from 156 at beginning of the year to 142 at the end of the year.

NOTES *(continued)*

	1999-2000 R	1998-1999 R
8. Other income		
Interest	2 339 991	4 882 131
Commission	–	55 281
Profit on assets written off	147 455	–
	2 487 446	4 937 412
9. Other operating expenditure		
Audit fees	190 000	252 450
Bank costs	51 588	48 103
CMC levies	51 654	64 671
Communication	1 076 865	1 570 504
Conferences and workshops	31 621	34 640
Consulting fees	37 705	436 036
Consumables	20 349	31 959
Diginet lines	16 152	26 886
Depreciation	1 675 132	2 816 320
DST Programme	–	862 481
Entertainment, teas and refreshments	104 806	155 704
Exhumation costs	15 351	146 848
Hearing costs	1 553 177	1 119 498
Insurance	603 078	802 819
Interest paid	12 379	10 400
Legal costs	342 721	717 002
Legal aid	588 716	523 927
Loss on assets written off	–	75 847
Maintenance:	481 289	534 723
Computers	136 239	145 390
Equipment	38 939	59 444
Premises	62 518	67 819
Motor vehicles	243 593	262 070
Postage	22 282	62 930
Printing	154 632	937 819
Publications and subscriptions	23 055	57 900
Refund of donation to Netherlands Embassy	–	45 424
Refund of interest Danish Embassy	28 217	55 983
Refund of interest Flemish Embassy	194 211	–
Refund of interest to SIDA	6 454	–
Refund of interest to European Union	1 128 970	–
Refund of interest and funds to Norwegian Embassy	51 272	–
Relocation costs	15 726	146 101
Rentals:	2 074 142	2 728 881
Equipment	875	2 771
Offices	2 073 267	2 726 110

■ NOTES *(continued)*

	1999-2000 R	1998-1999 R
9. Other operating expenditure (continued)		
Security	25 143	–
Staff recruitment	–	29 786
Stationery:	88 506	187 020
Telephones:	1 739 575	2 066 435
Telkom and faxes	811 396	1 151 807
Cellular	928 179	914 628
Transport:	769 592	855 864
Freight	192 694	311 586
Motor vehicles expenses	467 930	466 150
Use of private motor vehicles	108 968	78 128
Transcription costs	302 220	324 660
Translation costs	4 868 863	4 813 924
Travel and subsistence	6 738 301	6 089 514
Witness protection program	132 644	153 818
	25 216 388	28 786 877
10. Included in salaries is an amount of R1 062 200, being the under-collection of PAYE for the tax years 1997 to 1999 and R113 201 for the 2000 tax year. Also included in salaries is a provision of R622 304 for penalties and interest on the under-collection of tax for the 1997, 1998 and 1999 tax years.		
11. Bank and cash balances		
Current account	4 217 902	20 040 377
TRC donation account	1 552 503	5 842 769
Plusplan account	1 620	–
Petty cash	5 632	4 095
	5 777 657	25 887 241
12. Provisions		
Audit fees	190 000	175 000
13. Prior year adjustments		
Audit fees – overprovision	53 240	–
Duplicate payment – Department of Justice	(209 222)	–
Legal Costs	(62 063)	–
Danish Embassy – interest refunded	(40 057)	–
Transcription costs	(10 159)	–
Rental – offices	(300)	–
Hearing costs	(29 278)	–
Travel	(135 762)	–
Printing – Final Report – never charged	701 755	–
	268 154	–

■ CASH FLOW STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2000

	Notes	1999-2000 R	1998-1999 R
Cash flows from operating activities			
Cash utilised in operations	A	(22 772 402)	(702 775)
Interest received		2 339 991	4 882 131
Interest paid			(10 400)
Net cash inflow/(outflow) from operations		(20 444 790)	4 168 956
Net cash inflow/(outflow) from investing activities			
Additions to fixed assets		(126 739)	(362 946)
Disposal of fixed assets		461 945	150 114
Net increase/(decrease) in cash and cash equivalents		(20 109 584)	3 956 124
Cash and cash equivalents at the beginning of the year	B	25 887 241	21 931 117
Cash and cash equivalents at the end of the year	B	5 777 657	25 887 241

■ NOTES TO THE CASH FLOW STATEMENT

	Notes	1999-2000 R	1998-1999 R
A. Reconciliation of net cash surplus generated from operations			
Cash utilised in operations	A	(22 772 402)	(702 775)
Net surplus		(25 614 299)	4 401 646
Depreciation		1 675 132	2 816 320
Interest received		(2 339 991)	(4 882 131)
Interest expended		12 379	10 400
Transfer of assets		–	1 873 691
Profit of disposal of fixed assets		(147 454)	(39 031)
Prior year adjustments		268 154	–
Operating profit/(loss) before working capital changes		(26 146 079)	4 180 895
Working capital changes		3 373 677	(4 883 670)
Decrease/(increase) in accounts receivable		2 024 033	2 382 099
Increase/(decrease) in accounts payable		1 349 644	(2 501 571)
Cash utilised in operations		(22 772 402)	(702 775)
B. Cash and cash equivalents			
Cash and cash equivalents consist of			
cash on hand balances with banks.			
Cash and cash equivalents included in the cash flow statement			
comprise the following balance sheet amount:			
Cash on hand and balances with banks		5 777 657	25 887 241

ERRATA

to the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, October 1998

VOLUME ONE

Page 67

Add to footnote 13: 'Volume Four, Chapter Eight'.

Page 106

Add to footnote 3: 'Volume Five, Chapter Nine.'

Page 107

Paragraph 16: The reference to a 'security police parcel bomb' in line 6 should read 'security force parcel bomb'.

Page 108

Paragraph 21: The chapter on 'Reconciliation' referred to appears in Volume Five, Chapter Nine.

Page 149

Add to footnote 3: 'Volume Four, Chapters One to Seven.'

Page 201

Paragraph 2: Replace the last sentence as follows: 'Notable amongst those that could not be traced were the records of the National Security Management System (NSMS) diverse substructures.'

Page 202

Paragraph 6: Replace the last sentence as follows: 'The records and files were disposed of in terms of the Personnel and Financial plans by which the CCB was managed, aspects of which were included in the contracts of the CCB members on attestation.'

Page 208

Paragraph 27: 'Section 1 of the Archives Act' should read 'Section 3 of the Archives Act'.

Page 211

Footnote 11: 'Appendix A' should read 'Appendix 1'.

Page 218

Paragraph 56: Replace the last sentence as follows: 'From 1 January 1995, the National Intelligence Service (NIS) and the three remaining former homeland services were amalgamated, together with the intelligence structures of the liberation movements, to form the NIA and SASS.'

Page 220

Paragraph 62: 'appendices B and C' should read 'appendices 2 and 3'.

Page 292

Add to footnote 5: 'Volume Five, Chapters Nine and Ten'.

Page 373

Add to footnote 1: 'Volume Five, Chapter Eight'.

Page 430

Paragraph 36d: The name 'Maquina' should read 'Maqina'.

VOLUME TWO

Page 57

Paragraph 58: Delete the sentence 'This is certainly the view of former army and SADF chief, General Geldenhuys'. Replace the first part of the following sentence with 'Former army and SADF chief, General Geldenhuys said in his autobiography that:'

Page 70

Paragraph 102: Allegations of torture by SADF members at a camp at Osiri in Namibia are withdrawn in that the camp referred to in this paragraph (there were two places in Namibia called Osiri) was not under the authority of the SADF.

Page 102

Paragraph 226: The name 'Makau' should read 'Mmakau'.

Page 103

Paragraph 230: The name 'Lehlonohono' should read 'Lehlohonolo'.

Page 106

Paragraph 242: Replace 'Two passengers in the car' in line 4 with 'Two bodyguards who were standing next to the car'. The name 'Mr Thokozane Mkhize' should read 'Mr Mlungisi Thokozani Mthlane (MK name Magebhula)'.

Page 106

Paragraph 243: Replace 'for which they have applied for amnesty' in line 3 with 'for which Nofomela and Tshikilange have applied for amnesty'.

Page 107

Paragraph 245: Replace 'eight-year-old daughter, Katryn,' in line 4 with 'six-year-old daughter, Katryn'.

Page 108

Paragraph 254: Replace the name 'Mr Rogers Nkadameng' in line 1 with 'Mr Vernon Nkadameng (aka MK Rogers Mevi)'.

Page 109

Paragraph 257: Replace the fifth sentence (line 5) with 'Those killed were Lulamile Dantile (MK name Morris Seabelo), Vivian Stanley Mathee (MK name Trevor), Nomkhosi Mini (MK name Mary Thabethe), Joseph Monwabisi Mayoli (MK name Themba), and three Basotho citizens, Amelia Leseuyehyo, Mankaelang Mohatle and Boemo Tau.'

Page 110

Paragraph 261: Replace the name 'Mr Philip Nwanematsu' in line 1 with 'Mr Philip Ngwana Makau Edward Khuto'; and the name 'Mr Busi 'Mzala' Majola' in line 2 with 'Ms Busi Majola'.

Page 113

Paragraph 276: Replace the last sentence with 'A Batswana woman, Ms Mmaditsebe Phetolo (33), her daughter Kgomotso (7), and her niece, Tshegofatso Mabeo (aged nine months) were killed. Amongst those injured were the infant's mother, Ms Seonyana Mabeo (20), Ms Phetolo's 12-year-old son, Philip, and a Zimbabwean citizen, Mr Taramuka Samson Mpofu (40).'

Page 112-3

Paragraphs 273-5 imply that security police agent, Keith McKenzie, was involved in the planning of an operation which resulted in the death of three Batswana citizens and serious injuries to seven others. In the amnesty hearing into this matter, it was revealed that Mr McKenzie was unaware that the vehicle he was driving had been fitted with an explosive device.

Page 113

Paragraph 278: Replace the name 'Mr Tutu Nkwanyane' in line 3 with 'Mr Thulani Vincent 'Tutu' Nkwanayama' and the name 'Mr Shezi Msimang' in line 4 with 'Mr Shezi Msimanga'.

Page 113

Paragraph 279: Replace the name 'Mr Cassius Make' in line 1 with 'Mr Job Tabana (aka Cassius Make)'; and the name 'Mr Paul Dikaledi' in line 2 with 'Mr Peter Sello Motau (aka Paul Dikaledi)'.

Page 114

Paragraph 281: The name 'Pantsu Smith' in line 5 should read 'Pansu Smith'.

Page 114

Paragraph 283: The name 'Tsizini' in line 8 should read 'Tsinini'.

Page 121

Paragraph 317: The dates in the first sentence '7 April and 13 October 1988' should read '7 April and 13 October 1987'.

Page 122

Paragraph 321: The first sentence 'In March/April 1989...' should read 'On 11 December 1988...'.

Page 122

Paragraph 322: Replace the first sentence with 'The house was blown up in the attack and, according to the amnesty applicants, two persons were killed, namely, MK operative Ronald Mosebetsi Mapuoa (aka Sidwell Mbele) and a 15-year-old Batswana teenager, Rapula Thika.'

Page 128

Paragraph 351: Replace the name 'Mr Leonard Loghudu Mngomezulu' in line 3 with 'Ms Lokutu Mngomezulu'.

Page 133

Paragraph 373: Replace the name 'Ms Nokhuthula Aurelia Dlamini' in line 1 with 'Ms Nokhuthula Aurelia Simelane'.

Page 133

Paragraph 374: Replace the name 'Derrick Mahobane (aka Mpho Mashoeng)' in line 2 with 'Mpho Mashoeng (aka Derrick Mashobane)'.

Page 145

Paragraph 424: Replace this paragraph with the following: 'Twenty lives were lost in this raid, in which three houses were attacked and largely destroyed. They included Mr José Ramos, a Portuguese citizen killed at a roadblock, three of the attackers – Sergeants Robert Hutchinson and Ian Suttill and Lieutenant Corporal JK Park, all Rhodesians. The Commission can confirm the identities of thirteen of the sixteen South Africans killed in this raid killed, namely: Mr Thabang Moses Bookholane, Mr Mduduzi Guma, Mr Lancelot Mfanafuthi Hadebe, Mr William Khanyile, Mr Bhukumuzi Lawrence Magubane, Mr Levinson Mandisi Manakaza, Mr Dumisani Matandela, Mr Motso Aubrey Mokgabudi, Mr Daniel Molebatsi, Mr Nelson Nduamvula, Mr Stephen Ngcobo, Mr Krishna Rabilal, Mr Sizino Skweyiya. Two occupants of the houses were injured in the attack but survived. They were Ms Naledi Eugenia Dongwe and Mr Themba Dimba while two were abducted and forcibly returned to South Africa where they were pressured to become *askaris*. One of these, Mr Vuyani Mavuso, refused to co-operate with the police and was subsequently killed on the orders of the head of C section of the Security Branch.'

Page 145–6

Paragraph 426: Replace 'two of his teenage children, Mzukisi and Thandisw' in line 8 with 'two of his children, his son Mzukisi (17) and his daughter Thandiswa (32)'.

Page 151

Paragraph 449: Replace 'a prominent local footballer, Mr Jabulani Masila' in line 3 with 'a Ministry of Agriculture employee, Mr Gilbert Masilla'. Replace the

second and third sentences with the following 'Amongst the injured were two local footballers, Mr Alexander Koka and Mr Galolame Makobu, while the fourth victim was an unidentified member of the Botswana Defence Force. Masilla was another case of mistaken identity'.

Page 152

Paragraph 457: Replace the name 'Mr Patrick Sandile Vundla (aka Godfrey Mokoena and Charles Naledi)' in line 3 with 'Mr Patrick Sandile Mvundla (aka Naledi Sehume or Charles Mokoena)'.

Page 171

Paragraph 28: Replace the last part of the fifth sentence (line 6) with 'killing eleven security force personnel and ten civilians'.

Page 212

Paragraph 186: The date '9 or 10 June 1998' in the first sentence should read '9 or 10 June 1988'.

Page 241

Paragraph 310 and 311, the name 'Kkhubeka' should read 'Khubeka'.

Page 242

Subheading between paragraphs 316 and 317, the name 'Vilikazi' should read 'Vilakazi'.

Page 245

Paragraph 326: The date '1982' in line 4 should read '1981'.

Page 249

Paragraph 347: The date '12 June 1988' in line 6 should read '8 June 1988'. The name 'Mr Surendra Makhosi Nyoka' in line 8 should read 'Ms Surenda Nyoka'. The name 'Mr Lenny Naidu' in line 9 should read 'Mr Lenny Naidoo'.

Page 250

Paragraph 348: The name 'Mr Nkosi Thenjekwayo' in line 2 should read 'Mr Nkosinathi Thenjwayo'.

Page 258

Move subheading 'COSAS students Hoseo Lengosane, Joseph Mazibuko ...' to paragraph 387 on page 259.

Page 269

Replace subheading 'Skorpion' with 'Oupa Ronald Madondo (aka MK Skorpion or MK Skorpion)'.

Page 278

Paragraphs 466 and 467: Delete the words 'emphasis added' from the end of each quotation.

Page 284

Paragraph 492: The date '14 and 18 May' in line 2 should read '14 and 18 May 1987'.

Page 296

Paragraph 546: 'Ipelgeng' in line 1 should read 'Ipeleng'.

Page 560

Paragraph 27: The year '1979' in line 3 should read '1989'.

Page 567

Paragraph 52: The date '29 December 1989' in line 3 should read '20 December 1988'.

Page 592

Paragraphs 44: Replace the first sentence with the following: 'On 22 April 1990, five members of the Chand family, Samsodien, Hajira and their children Amina (25) Ridwan (26), and Emraan (16), were killed in an attack on their home in Botswana. A Batswana citizen, Mr Pule Matheakwena (60), who was a security guard, was also killed in the attack.'

Page 595
Paragraph 59: The name 'Kopper' in line 6 should read 'Klopper'.

Page 604
Paragraph 96: The first part of the first sentence should read 'After the Boipatong massacre ...'.

Page 646
Paragraph 278: The Commission withdraws the assertion that Colonel Jan Breytenbach was at some time commander of the 'Volksle_r'.

Paragraph 280: The Commission withdraws the assertion that General Constand Viljoen was leader of the Afrikaner Volksfront (line 4). General Viljoen was, however, on its Directorate of Generals.

Page 658
Paragraph 340: Mr Gabriel Shabangu and three others are reported as being killed at a roadblock mounted by AWB members. This is incorrect. Mr Shabangu survived while the other three died.

VOLUME THREE

Page 34
Paragraph 1: Replace '6 665 million people' in line 5 with '6.65 million people'.

Page 87
Paragraph 181: The first part of the first sentence should read 'Until August 1985...'

Page 92
Paragraph 202: The finding pertaining to the SADF is withdrawn.

Page 98
Paragraph 229: The phrase in the first sentence 'at the funeral of the Cradock Four' should be deleted.

Page 117
Paragraph 298: The name 'Ms Johan Martin 'Sakkie' van Zyl' in line 6 should read 'Mr Johan Martin 'Sakkie' van Zyl'.

Page 143
Paragraph 399: The date '2 September 1992' in the first line of the Commission's finding should read '7 September 1992'.

Page 221
Paragraph 182: The reference as to when Inkatha hit-squad activities were formulated, in the second paragraph of the Commission's finding, is withdrawn. The Commission erred in its original finding that the intention to form hit squads for Inkatha was formulated only months into Operation Marion. The intention to establish hit squads was evident from documented deliberations made at the very start of the operation between the SADF, the State Security Council and Inkatha.

Page 229
Paragraph 193: The first part of the sentence beginning on line 22 should read 'Mr Johan Smit, whose son Cornelius died in the explosion ...'

Page 284
'The Killing of Claire Stewart'. Replace 'a British citizen' in line 2 with 'a South African national'.

Page 294
The Commission's finding in paragraph 348 is incorrect and is withdrawn. The Commission erred in conflating two events, namely the killing of 23 IFP supporters by ANC supporters at Richmond, Natal, on 29 March 1991, and the killing of 14 ANC supporters by IFP supporters

at Ndaleni, near Richmond between 21 and 23 June 1991.

Page 432
Paragraph 153: The date '3 March 1986' in line 9 should read '12 March 1986'.

Page 436
Paragraph 168: Replace 'police' in line 1 with 'members of the Railway Police'.

Page 437
Paragraph 174: Replace this paragraph with the following paragraph:
'During the night of 25 March 1986, Mr Lennox Thabang Maphalane (CT00706) and Mr Goodman Bongani Dastile were killed when security forces concealed in a truck opened fire on people near Crossroads. The following day, Mr Eric Heynes and two others were killed when police concealed in a house opened fire on protestors near Crossroads.'

Page 451
'The Gugulethu Seven': The name 'Mr Zola Swelani' in line 4 should read 'Mr Zola Selani'.

Page 466
Paragraph 257: Mr Roelf Meyer was not present at the SSC meeting on 14 April 1986 and was not at the time a member of the Cabinet. He became Deputy Minister only on 1 December 1986. Mr Meyer's name is duly withdrawn from the first sentence.

Page 657
Paragraph 477: The name 'Gous' in line 6 should read 'Gouws'.

Page 696
The Commission's finding in paragraph 618 is incorrect and is withdrawn. The Commission erred in failing to attribute responsibility for the killing of five IFP supporters in a hand grenade attack at the Jabulani stadium on 8 September 1991, and in attributing responsibility to the IFP for deaths of thirteen (rather than eight) persons in a retaliatory attack that followed this event.

VOLUME FOUR

None

VOLUME FIVE

Page 133
Paragraph 39: the name 'Mr Mike Wilsner' should read 'Mr Mike Worsnip'.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADM	African Democratic Movement
ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	ANC Youth League
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army
AVF	Afrikaner Volksfront
Avstig	Afrikaner Vryheidstigting
AVU	Afrikaner Volksunie ('Afrikaner People's Union')
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging ('Afrikaner Resistance Movement')
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
BBB	Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging ('White Liberation Movement')
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BNF	British National Front
BRL	Boere Republikeinse Leër ('Boer Republican Army')
BSA	Business Software Alliance
BWB	Boereweerstandsbeweging
BWB	Boereweerstandsbeweging ('Boer Resistance Movement')
CALS	Centre for Applied Legal Studies
CASE	Community Agency for Social Enquiry
CAT	Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
CBOs	Community-based organisations
CCB	Civil Co-operation Bureau
CD-ROM	Compact disc: read-only memory
CEO	Chief executive officer
Commission	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Committee	Amnesty Committee
COSAG	Concerned South Africans Group
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CP	Conservative Party
DCC	Directorate of Covert Collection
DLB	'Dead letter box', or arms cache
DM	Deutsche Mark
DRST	Designated reparation statement taker
EAAF	Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team
ECC	End Conscription Campaign
FA	Freedom Alliance
FF	Freedom Front
FNLA	National Front for the Liberation of Angola
GDR	German Democratic Republic
HNP	Herstigte Nasionale Party ('Re-established National Party')
HOD	Head of Department
HRC	Human Rights Commission
HRV	Human rights violations
HRVC	Committee on Human Rights Violations (or Human Rights Violations Committee)
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
IBIIR	Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party – known as Inkatha prior to July 1990
IJ	Intelligence Johannesburg
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISU	Internal Stability Unit
IT	Information Technology
IU	Investigation Unit
JMC	Joint Management Centre
KLA	KwaZulu Legislative Assembly
KZP	KwaZulu Police
LAN	Local area network

MASA	Medical Association of South Africa
MHQ	Military Headquarters
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
NAT	ANC's Security Department
NEC	National Executive Committee
NEC	National Executive Council
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NIS	National Intelligence Service
NLA	Natal Liberation Army
NP	National Party
NSMS	National Security Management System
NSP	Nasional Sosialiste Partisane
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OB	Orde Boerevolk
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PASO	Pan Africanist Student Organisation
PEBCO	Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation.
POTWA	Post and Telegraphic Workers' Association
POW	Prisoner of war
PWV	Pretoria–Witwatersrand–Vereeniging region
RPMC	Swaziland Regional Politico-Military Council
RRC	Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation (or Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee)
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADF	South African Defence Force
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SANSCO	South African National Student Congress
SAP	South African Police
SAPA	South African Press Agency
SAPS	South African Police Services
SASRIA	SA Special Risks Association (Fund)
SDU	Self-defence unit
SIU	Soweto Intelligence Unit
SOYCO	Soweto Youth Congress
SPU	Self-protection unit
SSC	State Security Council
SWA	South West Africa (now Namibia)
TEC	Transitional Executive Council
TG	Toekomsgesprek ('Discussion of the Future')
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TSK	<i>Tak Strategiese Kommunikasie</i> Strategic Communications Branch)
UDF	United Democratic Front
UIR	Urgent interim reparation
UK	United Kingdom
ULFE	Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment
UN	United Nations
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commission on Human Rights
UNISA	University of South Africa
UNITRA	University of Transkei
UNTAG	United Nations Transitional Action Group
US, USA	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WAB	Wêreld Apartheid Beweging ('World Apartheid Movement', aka 'World Preservatist Movement')
WAM	World Apartheid Movement
WAN	Wide area network
WK	Wenkommando ('Winning commando')
WPB	World Preservatist Movement
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZCC	Zion Christian Church

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VOLUME SEVEN

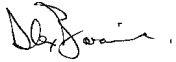
**Truth and
Reconciliation
Commission
of South Africa
Report**



The codicil to the report of the Truth and Reconciliation
Commission was presented by the Commissioners to State
President Thabo Mbeki.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Chairperson




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Vice-Chairperson



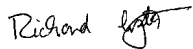
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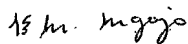
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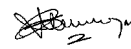
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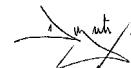
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Adv Denzil Potgieter



Dr Fazel Randera



Ms Yasmin Sooka



Ms Glenda Wildschut

because of you

this country no longer lies

between us but within

it breathes becalmed

after being wounded

in its wondrous throat

in the cradle of my skull

it sings, it ignites

my tongue, my inner ear, the cavity of heart

shudders towards the outline

new in soft intimate clicks and gutturals

of my soul the retina learns to expand

daily because of a thousand stories

I was scorched

a new skin.

I am changed for ever. I want to say:

forgive me

forgive me

forgive me

You whom I have wronged, please

take me

with you.

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Queries about reparations can be directed to: The President's Fund
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Tel: 012 315 1293 Fax 012 324 2105 E-mail: fhoosen@justice.gov.za

Volume **SEVEN**

Victim findings

■ FOREWORD

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

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission would not have happened without the victims. Their willingness to honour the agreements that brought the Commission into being allowed the foundations to be laid for a new society. Furthermore, their willingness to participate in the process enabled the Commission to carry out its task of establishing as complete a picture as is possible of the horrors of our past.

The Commission therefore dedicates this volume of its report to the victims of Apartheid.

Who are the victims?

Many people came forward to tell of their suffering during the period of repression and resistance. Some had been active participants in organised resistance; some had been identified as agents of the Apartheid state; others had been innocent, even ignorant, victims caught up in the wrong place at the wrong time.

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

Given the enormous number of statements, it has not been possible in the time available either to investigate every case, or to write in detail to each deponent. In all too many cases, no further information was found because documentation was either incomplete or had been destroyed. All the information received has been handed over to the National Archives. It is hoped that at some future date those archives will be made accessible to the general public and to the victims and their families in particular.

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

Many of the victims asked for nothing more than information about who was responsible for what they had suffered. It is a matter of great regret that the Commission has only been able to furnish those answers in a few cases that have been well covered by the media, or where amnesty applications have been received.

Every person who made a statement to the Commission received a letter acknowledging the statement and thereafter notification of the finding made. In the case of a person being identified as a 'victim of a gross violation of human rights', that person was informed about how to apply for reparations.

For a number of reasons, many people were not able to access the Commission. Some people learnt too late about the process or the Commission was not able to make contact with them. Others were unable to gain access to a statement-taker. Since the Commission stopped taking statements in December 1997, hundreds of people have come forward to make statements. Unfortunately, the Commission had to make the painful decision to restrict the list of victims to those who came forward before the cut-off date. This means that many victims have been left out of the process with no hope of reparation.

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

Others did not wish to be portrayed as a 'victim'. Indeed, many said expressly that they regarded themselves instead as soldiers who had voluntarily paid the price of their struggle. The Commission resolved to use the terms 'victim' and 'perpetrator' as they are used in the Act, remaining sensitive to the problems experienced with these terms. Many

have expressed reservations about the very notion of a 'victim', a term which is felt to denote a certain passivity and helplessness. Some prefer the term 'survivor' although this applies to cases where a violation did not result in death. There were also problems with the term 'perpetrator' which makes no distinction between different motivations and moral contexts, or between a person who commits one violation and those whose careers were based upon perpetrating such violations. In some cases an individual was both a victim and a perpetrator.

Victim statements versus amnesty applications

In general, there was only a limited overlap between victim statements and amnesty applications. In other words, in many cases perpetrators applied for amnesty in respect of cases for which no victim statements had been made. The victims named in amnesty statements are therefore listed in this volume. This applies to applications that were found to be politically motivated but were, for other reasons, refused amnesty.

In a few amnesty cases dealing with deaths and disappearances, the Commission had no other source of verification of the information received and was forced to rely on the information in the amnesty application in order to make a finding or decision.

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

The summaries

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

The names listed in this volume are those victims of gross human rights violations who emerged through statements made to the Human Rights Violations Committee (HRVC) and in applications for amnesty before the Amnesty Committee (AC). The list is not intended to be exhaustive of all those who may be defined as victims of Apartheid.

This volume is therefore intended to acknowledge those who did come forward to tell their stories.

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

The summary also indicates the date(s) of the violation(s) as accurately as possible. Victims were frequently unable to specify dates accurately. As a result, many summaries contain only the year in which the violation took place. Several victims experienced multiple arrests and periods of detention over decades. This is sometimes specified simply as, for example, 'repeated detentions in the period 1976 to 1989' where it was impossible to cite each and every detention.

Where possible, a victim's political affiliation at the time of the violation is recorded. In several cases this could not be determined, or the victim claimed to be non-partisan. The Commission had some difficulty in that many victims described themselves as ANC *members* prior to the unbanning of the ANC where, unless they were members of the ANC's underground, they were clearly far more likely to have been ANC *supporters*, or indeed UDF supporters. In drafting the summaries, the Commission has largely used the affiliations specified by victims in their HRV statements.

In cases where amnesty applications have generated the victim summary, political affiliation becomes a more complex issue. For example, Security Branch amnesty applicants may have asserted that their victim was an MK operative, or Self-Defence Unit applicants may have claimed that their victim was an informer or an IFP member. The Commission treated these alleged political affiliations of the victim with circumspection. Where victims or their families could be traced, these political affiliations were often denied or disputed. While the Commission may have accepted that the purported political affiliation was the bona fide perception of the perpetrator, it could not accept it as fact. The summaries try to indicate this by using terms such as "an *alleged* IFP supporter", or "the perpetrator *believed* he was an ANC member", while still attempting to retain a sense of the reason for the violation.

Places where violations occurred are recorded by their generally accepted names during the 1960 to 1994 period. These include the four provinces of Natal, Cape, Transvaal, and Orange Free State. Large cities around the country are not further defined by provincial references.

It should be noted however that during this period, some place names and regional boundaries were subject to change, particularly as the status of homelands and self-governing territories changed. In the case of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, where territories were scattered rather than confined to a single identifiable area, homeland place names have been set in reference to the nearest large town, for example, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. The purpose of this approach is to illustrate that Esikhawini was under the administrative control of the KwaZulu territory. In order to assist readers in locating Esikhawini, the nearest obvious map entry has been supplied.

Each summary contains a brief description of violations reported to the Commission and found to be gross human rights violations, according to the categories defined in the Act, i.e. killing, torture, abduction and severe ill treatment. As far as possible, the summaries record a brief sketch of the political context in which a violation took place. The summary contains, in essence, the outcome of investigations and reflects the 'finding' of the Commission on each case. Certain summaries may contain other information for the sake of completeness and context.

While a person may have reported many violations, the summaries tend to confine themselves to the violations that could be corroborated by the Commission. The Commission may have accepted certain aspects of the statement as gross human rights violations and rejected others, because of a lack of corroboration, inadequate information, absence of political context and so on. This may be confusing for victims whose summaries are included here as aspects of their experience may be excluded. However, since the Commission took the route of corroborating statements, it was deemed appropriate to only include corroborated violations in these summaries.

It has been very difficult to describe acts of torture in these summaries. In most cases, acts of torture have been abbreviated to state that a person was tortured without necessarily specifying each method such as electric shocks, suspension from a tree, the 'helicopter' method¹, attempted suffocation by the 'tubing' method², submersion in water and so on. Although rape and other forms of sexual torture were undoubtedly part of the repertoire of torturers, details are generally not included. Where details are specified in the summaries, these should serve to remind readers of the full horror and scope of the use of torture in South Africa during the mandate period.

¹ Victim is handcuffed behind the back and forced into a crouching position then suspended from a rod thrust under the victim's knees.

² Victim has a rubber tube tied around the face.

Silences in the summaries

Some victim groupings are poorly represented in the summaries. For example, military operatives of the liberation movements generally did not report violations they experienced to the Commission, although many who were arrested experienced severe torture. This is in all likelihood a result of their reluctance to be seen as ‘victims’ as opposed to combatants fighting for a moral cause for which they were prepared to suffer such violations. The same can be said for most prominent political activists and leadership figures. The overwhelming majority of cases here come from ordinary South Africans who were either mobilised into political action or caught up in an environment in which they became victims of gross human rights violations.

Violations during the course of imprisonment and detention are also under-represented in the cases that came to the Commission, unless they were specifically linked to other violations such as torture. It is estimated that over 70 000³ people experienced periods of detention without trial in the period from 1960 to 1994. A small fraction of these appear here. Furthermore, prisoners who spent years, even decades, on Robben Island prison or in other such prisons for political offences are also poorly represented in the summaries. The Commission did not, for example, receive a single Human Rights Violation statement from any of the Rivonia trialists.

These summaries cannot do justice to the magnitude of the violations experienced by victims. They do not always convey a sense of the lasting impact of the violations, nor do they describe the wider picture of abuse, discrimination and human rights violations that Apartheid wreaked primarily upon the black citizens of the country.

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

Take the case of Pringle Ntando ‘Oscar’ Mrubata from Worcester, Cape. In 1986, at the age of 17, Pringle was shot and paralysed. He died of sepsis on 10 February 1999. Before he died, he told the Commission:

“I was shot in 1986 and I stayed in hospital for a long time. I went back to school but I had to have breaks when I had bedsores. It had been difficult for me because I wanted to learn, to be somebody with a good job. The Std 10

classes are all upstairs, I had to leave school. It was sore. I cried almost every day that year because the school is near my home. I won’t forget that. We live in a 3-roomed house. We boys sleep at the shack at the backyard. It is very wet in winter and very hot in summer. The wind comes in. It is uncomfortable. The toilet is outside. It is very hard to live in a shack. I need a shelter very much. I have a difficulty in transport. I also need urgently a suitable wheelchair and cushion, a lighter one because this one I’m using it’s very heavy.”

An entry for Pringle does not convey much more than how the shooting made him a victim of a gross violation of human rights.

Although they are not recorded, we have been struck by particular trends that emerged in the compiling of the summaries. It was striking how many persons subjected to severe assaults reported developing epilepsy subsequently. Similarly, many of those held on Robben Island appear to have had their health permanently affected and died soon after their release from prison. These permanently altered life trajectories are not covered in these summaries.

One violation could lead to a series of consequences that are also not fully covered in the summaries. For example, 11-year-old Mzoxolo Sogiba’s fatal shooting by the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 12 October 1976, led to his brother’s flight for exile, from which he has never returned. Another brother told the Commission:

“My little brother Mzoxolo was shot dead by the policeman while he and other boys were watching the garage that was burning in Nyanga East. One of his friends Neo came crying telling me and my mother that the policeman has shot Mzoxolo and they took him to the back of the police van. When we asked the policemen what he has done they said they found a lighter in his pocket, so it’s he who burnt that garage. We asked them where the lighter was. They didn’t show us. It was impossible for a 12-year-old boy to do that. We went to Salt River Mortuary we found him with a bullet hole in his chest. After we buried Mzoxolo my elder brother Zamubuntu who was an ANC member was very upset about what the policemen have done. He crossed the border to the ANC camps. He never wrote even a letter. We never saw him again, even until today. Our mother died in 1980 crying for him.”

The summaries are regrettably not able to convey a full picture of the suffering of the Sogibo family and many others.

³ M Coleman (ed), *A Crime Against Humanity*, David Philip Publishers, Cape Town, page 50.

Associated violations are also not always included in the summaries. For example, several victims described how members of the medical profession ignored their plight. Mr Ratshivhanda Samson Ndou told how badly medical personnel treated him when he tried to get medical attention for the injuries he suffered during torture.

“I showed the doctor the marks on my right wrist and on my right shin which was still very prominent. The doctor was extremely rude. He said he could see that these were handcuff marks but these had been healed and that I was not feeling any pain and that I was wasting everybody’s time. He wrote something on that document. I was not allowed to explain anything because he was extremely rude and hostile.”

In many instances, the Commission heard of cases where parents endured horrors in their encounters with the police and other officials who insulted them while they were looking for their children after they had been shot. Their frantic searches often ended at the mortuary. The police often placed funerals under restrictions, and mourners at vigils and the cemetery were frequently teargassed.

In many instances, families endured a pitiless encounter with the judicial system, with inquests conducted in Afrikaans, and the family ignored. Inquests often ended with the absolution of the perpetrators involved. An alarming number of victims reported that although they attempted to take legal action, they never even heard the outcome from their own lawyers. Worse still, many victims reported that they were informed they had been awarded damages yet they never received any money or only a small fraction of the amount. Mr Sydney Yabo, shot and blinded in both eyes by police in 1988 in Beaufort West, Cape, told the Commission that

“In 1988 I put in a claim against the state, but I cannot remember the amount claimed for. We managed to get a R150 000 settlement. The only time I received money from my lawyers was in 1996 in February when I received R12 500. The letter which I got from them in February also stated that I would receive a monthly income which would be deposited into my banking account, but up till now I have not received a cent from them.”

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

Violations involving sexual torture are also inadequately documented in these summaries. Despite the fact that rape formed part of the fabric of political conflict in the East Rand townships and in the bloody battles in KwaZulu Natal during the early nineties, it was infrequently reported in HRV statements to the Commission.

In many ways, women’s experiences in the political conflicts of the past are not evident in these summaries. Males dominate as victims within the narrow mandate of violations examined by the Commission – killings, torture, abduction, and severe ill treatment. The gender profile of those killed inside South Africa, those shot in street protests, the MK operatives arrested, imprisoned, tortured and killed is largely male. The hundreds of female political prisoners is far less than the thousands of male prisoners on Robben Island and elsewhere. The thousands of people detained under the State of Emergency were largely male, and as a result, those tortured were largely male.

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

Although there are necessary areas of omission, the Commission has published these summaries in acknowledgement of those whose rights were violated in the struggle for justice in our country.

The writing of the summaries has been done by a dedicated team of TRC staff, with the assistance of several volunteers, and themselves often working extra hours on a voluntary basis. Their efforts have been inspired by the courage of those who have suffered.

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

Glossary and List of Abbreviations

In order to save space, a glossary was compiled to provide further information on an event or a violation. These entries generally derive from multiple statements and amnesty applications arising from the same event. Glossary entries in the summaries are marked by terms in SMALL CAPS. A list of abbreviations and acronyms is supplied at the back of the volume.

Victim findings

■ Unknown victims

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

Like other victims of political conflict and violence in South Africa, they experienced suffering and injury. Some died, some lost their homes. Many experienced the loss of friends, family members and a livelihood. Some experienced brutality at the hands of the security forces or vigilante groups. Others experienced ill-treatment at the hands of members of the liberation movements and other political organisations.

The unknown victims of human rights violations in South Africa were not necessarily aligned to any particular political organisation or party. Neither were they confined to a particular province or region in the country. Men and women, young and old alike fell victim to the violence and suffering spawned by Apartheid.

In spite of efforts to trace the individuals involved, the Commission was unable to establish their identities.

AARON, Thabo Simon (22), an ANCYL member, was shot and severely injured by SAP members at Lephoi, Bethulie, OFS, on 17 April 1991. Police opened fire on a gathering at an ANC supporter's house following a dispute between two neighbours, one of whom was linked to the ANC and the other to the SAP and a councillor.

ABBOTT, Montaigne (23), a member of the SADF, was severely injured in a landmine explosion in Messina, Tvl, on 5 May 1987.

ABDUL WAHAB, Zakier (30), a member of QIBLA, disappeared in September 1988 after fleeing the country for political reasons. He had been detained several times before he left South Africa.

ABRAHAM, Nzaliseko Christopher (17), a COSAS supporter, was kicked and beaten with batons and rifle-butts by members of the Ciskei Police during protests against the Ciskei government at Zwelitsha and Mdantsane, Ciskei, in September 1985.

ABRAHAMS, Achmat Fardiel (21), was shot and blinded in one eye by members of the SAP in Athlone, Cape Town, in August 1976, after the SOWETO UPRISING.

ABRAHAMS, Annalene Mildred (42), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Robertson, Cape, on 11 April 1990. Police fired teargas into a crowded hall where residents were meeting. Over 100 people were treated for injuries relating to the subsequent stampede and shootings.

ABRAHAMS, Ashraf (7), was shot and injured by members of the Railway Police on 15 October 1985 in Athlone, in the TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN.

ABRAHAMS, Derrek (30), a street committee member, was shot dead by members of the SAP at Gelvandale, Port Elizabeth, on 3 September 1990.

ABRAHAMS, John (18) (aka 'Gaika'), an MK member, went into exile in 1968. His family last heard from him in 1975 and has received conflicting information from the ANC regarding his fate. The Commission was unable to establish what happened to Mr Abrahams, but he is presumed dead.

ABRAHAMS, Moegsien (23), was stabbed and stoned to death by a group of UDF supporters in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, on 25 May 1986, during a UDF rally where it was alleged that he was an informer. UDF leaders attempted to shield him from attack but Mr Abrahams fled the venue and was pursued and killed.

ABRAHAMS, Rashid (31), was burnt to death, together with a colleague, when their vehicle was stoned and petrol-bombed by protesting youths, near Crossroads, Cape Town, on 28 April 1986. Both were employees of an electrical firm and were returning to their office when they were attacked.

ABRAHAMS, Toyer (10), was shot and injured by members of the Railway Police on 15 October 1985 in Athlone, in the TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN.

ACHHURST, EM, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

ACKERMAN, David Jacobus (48), was injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

ACKERMAN, Marita (45), was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

ACKERMANN, Gerhardus Oliver, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

ADAM, Alfred Mawonga (24), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 14 February 1987.

ADAMS, Koos (29), a UDF organiser, was detained for three days during a consumer boycott in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, in June 1985. In detention he was beaten by named members of the SAP. From June to December 1985, he was held at Middelburg prison, Cape.

ADAMS, Magadien (40), was injured when the car in which he was travelling was petrol-bombed in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 15 April 1993, during widespread protest and unrest following the killing of SACP leader, Chris Hani. His brother-in-law was burnt to death and an employee was injured in the attack.

ADAMS, Noel (18), a UDF supporter, was subjected to psychological torture by members of the SAP while in police custody in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, during the 1985 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS.

ADAMS, Sandra Joyce (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Athlone, Cape Town, on 16 September 1976, while she was standing on the balcony of her third floor flat watching police action against protesters after the SOWETO UPRISING.

ADAMS, Zwelinzima Sidwell (35), was severely beaten and shot in the leg in Guguletu, Cape Town, in 1986, during political conflict between WITDOEKE vigilantes from Crossroads, and UDF supporters in KTC.

ADONIS, Jacques Ferdinand (18), a UDF supporter and member of the BMW, was detained in 1986 and again in July 1987 when he was held for nine months and severely tortured by named members of a special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT.

ADONIS, Motlalepule Sunnyboy Slovo (17), an ANCYL supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP at the Grootvlei police station in Reddersburg, OFS, in May 1990. A boycott was underway at the time, and several youth activists were assaulted and tortured by the police.

ADONIS, Sandra Noreen (19), a member of the BMW, was arrested in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, in 1988, and tortured by named members of a special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT.

ADOONS, Phineus Zenzile, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when members of the SAP opened fire on a crowd of people participating in a protest march in Olifantshoek, Cape, on 16 June 1992.

ADRIAANSE, Noel John (13), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Hanover Park, Cape Town, on 2 September 1976. He was on his way to buy bread during the political unrest following the SOWETO UPRISING.

AFRICANDER, Siphon Victor (60), a cleric and chairperson of the Pietermaritzburg Council of Churches, was shot dead in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 4 May 1990 while taking his child to school. A named Inkatha member was convicted for the murder, but was later acquitted on appeal.

AFRIKA, Anna (30), was shot and injured by a named SAP member in Kakamas, Cape, on 13 February 1988. The perpetrator opened fire on residents outside a house being raided by police. Two children were shot dead and 13 people injured.

AFRIKA, Dick, was detained by alleged members of the SAP at Ipelegeng, Schweizer-Reneke, Tvl, in March 1990.

AFRIKA, Jan (40), was shot and injured by named SAP members during a legal protest march in Wolseley, Cape, on 24 November 1990.

AFRIKA, Pieter (24), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Montagu, Cape, on 11 September 1976, while in a vehicle with other protesters, after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to a number of Cape rural towns.

AGGETT, Joyce, the mother of Neil Aggett who died in detention, was subjected to an unlawful search of her home in Somerset West, Cape, in her absence, by the Witwatersrand Security Branch, during April 1982. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the unlawful search (AC/2001/005). He testified that he had been gathering evidence to be used at the inquest into Dr Aggett's death, in order to support the Security Police's contention that Dr Aggett had committed suicide.

AGGETT, Neil Hudson (28), died in detention at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, on 5 February 1982, following a period of torture, including a 60-hour interrogation session and two months of solitary confinement. Mr Aggett was the Tvl Secretary for the Food and Allied Workers Union. A member of the Special Branch has applied for amnesty for this incident.

ALA, Wezeka Getrude (41), was beaten by members of the SAP in April 1985 during consumer boycotts at Jansenville, Cape.

ALBERT, Nombuyiselo Francis (57), was beaten and stabbed to death on 10 December 1992 in Entshawini, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, by named IFP supporters who thought her to be an ANC supporter.

ALEXANDER, Tammam Edward (35), an ANC supporter, suffered extensive damage to his home and business premises in an explosion triggered by the opening of a booby-trapped computer on 2 October 1990 in Durban. One person was killed in the attack, allegedly carried out by named right-wing extremists.

ALFRED, Nomthandazo Amelia (31), was arrested after arson attacks on the homes of vigilantes in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 20 November 1985. She was convicted of arson and public violence in September 1986 and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment.

ALLAM, Ernest, was attacked with stones by UDF supporters in his home at KwaMandlenkosi, Beaufort West, Cape, on 25 January 1985. Three days earlier, a UDF organiser had been shot dead by police, leading to unrest and attacks on perceived collaborators in the township. Mr Allam's house was destroyed by fire during the attack.

ALLAM, Nozipho Adelaide Thamara (38), lost her home in an arson attack by UDF supporters in KwaMandlenkosi, Beaufort West, Cape, on 25 January 1985. Three days earlier, a UDF organiser had been shot dead by police, leading to an eruption of unrest and attacks on perceived collaborators in the township. Her two children were stoned and injured in the attack.

ALLAM, Zukiswa Joyce, was attacked with stones by UDF supporters in her home at KwaMandlenkosi,

Beaufort West, Cape, on 25 January 1985. Three days earlier, a UDF organiser had been shot dead by police, leading to unrest and attacks on perceived collaborators in the township. Ms Allam's house was destroyed by fire during the attack.

ALLIE, Abdurahman (24), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Ravensmead, Cape Town, on 7 September 1976, after the SOWETO UPRISING.

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

ALSET, Walter Titus (aka 'Shakes Lerumo'), an MK operative, was shot dead in an ambush at Alldays, Tvl, near the Botswana border, on 10 July 1986 by a joint team comprising SADF Special Forces and Far Northern Transvaal Security Branch members. Fourteen Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, applied for amnesty. Nine of these applications were refused (AC/1999/0176).

AM, Sandile Alfred (21), a UDF supporter, was burnt to death by a named perpetrator during a consumer boycott in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 14 September 1985, after he was accused of being a state collaborator.

AMERICA, Jonathan Maurice, was injured in a hand grenade explosion in Kimberley, Cape, on 25 May 1993, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building, which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

AMOD, Felicity, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

AMTHENJA, Billy Veli, disappeared with his brother Eric Msimango, while travelling from Tokoza, Tvl, to Pretoria, on 20 November 1993. An IFP march from Johannesburg to Pretoria was in progress at the time. He has never been seen since and is presumed dead.

ANDERSON, Cynthia Valerie (19), was shot dead in the Silverton bank siege, Pretoria, on 25 January 1980 when three MK members held her hostage during a raid on the bank. Ms Anderson, one other civilian and the three MK members were all killed during a gunfight after police stormed the bank. Several other people were injured.

ANDERSON, Gavin, a trade unionist in Johannesburg, was banned in 1976 and subjected to ongoing harassment during March 1977. A Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for harassment (AC/2001/005).

ANDERSON, Peter, was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

ANDERSON, Sapper A, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

ANDREAS, Niklaas, was arrested with ten friends on 16 June 1986 in Carnavon, Cape, for wearing black ties commemorating those who died in the SOWETO UPRISING. He was repeatedly beaten by named members of the SAP at the police station and detained for 72 days under emergency regulations in Carnarvon and then in Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

ANDREWS, Daniel, a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN, was shot dead by UDF/ANC supporters near the Langa police station, Uitenhage, Cape, on 20 April 1990. Two UDF/ANC supporters were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/99/0280).

ANDREWS, Levena (16), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Paarl, Cape, on 9 September 1976, while walking in the street. Three women were shot dead in Paarl that day, after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to the Cape.

ANDREWS, Piet September (36), was injured when he was shot in the back by SAP members in Wolseley, Cape, on 24 November 1990, during a legal community protest.

ANDREY, Karl, was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

ANGLESS, Edwin, a NUSAS activist, was detained on 16 June 1980 and held in solitary confinement for eight and a half weeks in Caledon Square police station, Cape Town.

ANTHONY, Somasundram Manas (22), was shot through the head and killed on 15 November 1988 by members of the SADF in Pietersburg, Tvl. Mr Anthony was allegedly killed because he had seen confidential information while working for the SADF.

ANTONI, Mxolisi Patrick (21), a BCM member, was arrested in connection with the killing of a suspected collaborator in Port Elizabeth on 20 September 1977. While in detention, he was assaulted by members of the SAP.

ANTONI, Thembisile, an AZAPO member, was 'necklaced' to death by COSAS and UDF supporters in Port Alfred, Cape, in June 1985, during political conflict between the UDF and AZAPO in the area. Several other AZAPO members were assaulted and injured in the attack.

ANVARI, Alex, a member of the Baha'i faith community, died when he and two others were shot and killed by APLA operatives at the Baha'i Faith Centre, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 13 March 1994. The victims, though of Iranian extraction, were allegedly regarded by the perpetrators as 'whites'. A vehicle was also stolen during the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2001/271).

ANZILOTTI, G, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

APHANE, Doly Elizabeth (41), an ANC member, had her house and tuck shop in Sekampaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, demolished on 8 February 1993 by members of the Bophuthatswana Police, acting on an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana government.

APHANE, Karl Maisela (21), a COSAS supporter, was tortured in detention in September 1986 in Middelburg prison, Tvl, during student unrest in the area.

APHANE, Matsosale William, an ANC supporter, died when an IFP member assaulted him and threw him from a moving train in the Johannesburg area on 29 November 1991. See TRAIN VIOLENCE. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0256).

APHANE, Tiny, was arrested in September 1986 by the SAP and imprisoned in Motetema, Lebowa. The police were apparently seeking her brother because of his affiliation to COSAS.

APLENI, Mzikayise (18), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, on 7 October 1986 during the state of emergency. A 1987 inquest concluded that no one was responsible for her death. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

APLENI, Wellington Sicelo (31), a UDF supporter, was shot in the hand during conflict between AZAPO and UDF supporters in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, on 12 May 1985.

APOLOSI, Khobone Vernon (30), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people killed and 25 vehicles burnt in retaliation for the expulsion of IFP supporters from the area. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

APPIES, David Pieter (17), a UDF supporter and SRC representative, was beaten and tortured during his three-month detention under emergency regulations in Carnarvon, Cape, from July 1986. He was later charged with arson and sentenced to a suspended prison term. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

APPIES, Katriena, was injured on 22 August 1985 when the COUNCILLOR's house she was visiting in Kwa-Mandlenkosi, Beaufort West, Cape, was set on fire.

APPOLIS, Wandile Christopher (23), a UDF activist, lost both his eyes after being shot by a named off-duty SAP member in Addo, Cape, on 13 April 1985, while he was publicising a meeting. Upon his discharge from hospital, Mr Appolis was detained in North End prison, Port Elizabeth.

APPOLS, Simphiwe (18), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and tortured by CDF and Peace Force members in Stutterheim, Cape, on 7 September 1992.

APRIL, Cecil Patrick (20), was tortured repeatedly by members of the SAP at Carletonville police station, on 24 November 1985 during a rent boycott in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl.

APRIL, Doreen, was shot and injured by members of the SADF on 15 June 1986 in Nelspruit, Tvl, during a night vigil held to commemorate the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

APRIL, Gibson Mxolisi (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Daveyton, Benoni, Tvl, on 13 April 1986.

APRIL, Lindile (27), died after being assaulted with a rock by named members of the SAP in Lingeletu, Adelaide, Cape, on 16 April 1986. One of the perpetrators was found guilty of the killing.

APRIL, Lungephi Cecil (19), a COSAS supporter, was repeatedly tortured and held in solitary confinement for two months from 5 April 1986 at Addo police station, Cape.

APRIL, Ngubeni Stanley (24), a PAC supporter, was tortured by members of the SAP in Willowvale, Transkei, in April 1963, during the state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

APRIL, Ntsundu, a PAC supporter, was kicked, clubbed with guns and spat upon throughout an entire night by members of the SAP when he was detained at Willowvale, Transkei, in 1963.

ARANES, Joseph Angelo (23), a UDF supporter in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, was detained in June 1986 and held under emergency regulations for several months at Victor Verster prison, Paarl. Thereafter he experienced continuous police harassment and several arrests. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

ARENDS, John Jacobus (32), an ANC supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by a member of the SAP at Uitenhage, Cape, in 1991.

ARENDSE, Aubrey Cecil (16), a school student, was detained during a protest march in Woodstock, Cape Town, on 3 September 1976. He was severely beaten and detained for almost a year without trial. On 10 November 1985 he was shot and injured by police during unrest in Mitchells Plain, Cape.

ARNOLD, David, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

ARRIES, Mina (51), was in her home in Cradock, Cape, when it was stoned and petrol-bombed by unidentified youths in 1985. The attack is believed to have taken place because her son was a policeman.

ASIYA, Zinakile Charles (31), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP at Colesberg police station, Cape, in August 1986, and again later in 1988, allegedly because of his involvement in the campaign against the municipal elections.

ASMAN, Roockea (29), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down on 20 March 1994 in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ASVAT, Abu-Baker (47), was shot dead by two men at his surgery in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 January 1989. Dr Asvat was allegedly killed because he had knowledge about numerous assaults that took place at Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's home in Orlando West, Soweto, including the death of youth activist Stompie Seipei.

ATKINSON, Gary, co-owner and manager of the Heidelberg Tavern situated in Observatory, Cape Town, suffered damages when APLA operatives attacked the tavern with a rocket launcher and automatic weapons on 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026).

ATSHOSE, Myekeni Given (19), was beaten and shot by members of the SAP at a bus stop in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl, during a strike on 16 March 1986.

AUBREY, Mashego, was at home in KwaGuga, Witbank, Tvl, when it was bombed by a member of the SAP in March 1986. The incident occurred at a time of increased political conflict in the country which led to the imposition of a state of emergency.

AUGUST, Felisizwe Lucky (16), a youth congress activist and ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP at a school in Fort Beaufort, Cape, during the 1980 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS. He was subsequently arrested and detained on numerous occasions during the 1980s, and subjected to severe torture by named SAP members. He was imprisoned and released in 1992, after which he was severely assaulted during violent conflict between ANC and PAC supporters in Fort Beaufort.

AUGUST, Siphso (24), an ANC supporter, was beaten by police upon his arrest with more than 70 other youths in Robertson, Cape, on 20 November 1985. Mr August was again beaten by police on 18 June 1986 and thereafter detained for three months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

AUGUST, Thobeka Joyce (63), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by PAC supporters during political conflict at Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 24 February 1993.

AUGUST, Thobile Morgan (18), was arrested and beaten with sjamboks and batons by SAP members near Worcester, Cape, on 18 June 1986. He was then detained for three months in Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape, under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

AUGUSTYN, Joriena Susana, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

AUGUSTYN, Pieter, suffered severe trauma when APLA operatives, armed with automatic weapons and hand grenades, stormed the Yellowwoods Hotel, in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 23 March 1993, and opened fire on staff and patrons. One person was shot dead in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/225).

AVONLY-KGASI, Sekano, and five other scholars were interrogated, tortured and killed by AZAPO members in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 1 August 1986. The incident was sparked off by the burning of the house of an AZAPO leader for which the youths were believed to have been responsible. Three perpetrators were refused amnesty, and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/179 and AC/1999/230).

AZIZ, Haroon Erasheed (27), an ANC supporter, was detained in 1974 under section 6 of the Terrorism Act. He was severely tortured by named Security Branch members at the Greenwood Park and Fischer Street police stations in Durban. During interrogations he was kicked until he was unconscious.

BAARD, Amos, was injured in a hand grenade explosion in Kimberley, Cape, on 25 May 1993, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building, which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

BAARD, Frances Goitsimang (52), an ANC member and trade union organiser, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in East London during 1963. She was held in solitary confinement for a year in North End prison, Port Elizabeth, and then sentenced to five years' imprisonment, which she served in Kroonstad prison. On her release in 1969 she was banished to Mabopane, near Pretoria.

BAARDMAN, Tusetso Henry (36), was arrested in Molteno, Cape, in February 1965 and severely tortured by named members of the SAP at the police station in Burgersdorp, Cape. He was then imprisoned on Robben Island, Cape Town, for 12 years.

BAARTMAN (PEZISA), Watu June Audrey, had her home petrol-bombed in Nyanga, Cape, on 9 November 1977, in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING. Her infant daughter was killed and her son seriously injured in the attack.

BAARTMAN, Ben Kopi (35), an ANC member from Worcester, Cape, was banished to Zululand in 1959. He fled to Swaziland in 1961. He was deported to Tanzania in 1984 when the Swaziland government banned the ANC from operating on Swazi territory.

BAARTMAN, Grace (2), was burnt to death when her parents' house was petrol-bombed in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 9 November 1977, in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING. The attack was allegedly carried out by school students, who considered Grace's father to be a traitor because he was an Afrikaans teacher.

BAARTMAN, Phinda Gladstone (36), a UDF supporter, was beaten, stabbed, and had his left ear and fingers burnt off in an attempted 'necklacing' by other UDF supporters at Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 13 April 1985. Mr Baartman was accused of being a collaborator.

BAARTMAN, William (4), was severely burnt and injured when his parents' house was petrol-bombed in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 9 November 1977, in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING. His face and hands were left severely deformed. The attack was allegedly carried out by school students, who considered William's father to be a traitor because he was an Afrikaans teacher.

BAAS, Jeffrey Tebogo (11), was shot and injured in his home in Tembisa, Tvl, on 3 March 1991 by IFP supporters allegedly supported by SADF members. The Baas home was attacked because the area's Xhosa-speaking residents were assumed to be ANC supporters.

BAAS, Nkele Maria (6), was shot dead by IFP supporters during an attack on her home in Tembisa, Kempton Park, Tvl, on 3 March 1991. The Baas home was attacked because the area's Xhosa-speaking residents were assumed to be ANC supporters.

BAAS, Princess Ntombizodwa (32), was shot and injured by IFP supporters during an attack on her home in Tembisa, Kempton Park, Tvl, on 3 March 1991. Ms Baas's children were also shot during the incident. The Baas home was attacked because the area's Xhosa-speaking residents were assumed to be ANC supporters.

BAATJIE, Piet Ndabeni, was beaten to death by a named perpetrator during political conflict in Port Elizabeth on 23 August 1974.

BAATJIES, Desmond, was shot dead on 15 July 1985 by named members of the Security Branch and the SAP during the 1985 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in Masizakhe, Graaff-Reinet, Cape.

BAATJIES, Lourens Johannes (17), was shot and injured by SAP members who were dispersing a march in Ashton, Cape, on 17 May 1989.

BAATJIES, Zolile Eric (20), was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, on 23 July 1986.

BABA, Khayaletu (19), an ANCYL supporter, was detained, tortured and interrogated by members of the Ciskei Security Police at Peddie, Ciskei, in June 1992, allegedly for information regarding MK operatives and their meetings. He was released only when he promised to consider becoming an informer.

BABA, Mbonambi (7), was shot dead during a shoot-out between the ANC and the IFP at a political rally at King Zwelethini Stadium in Umlazi, Durban, in February 1992.

BABE, Keitumetse Yvonne (17), was one of several people tortured by named SAP members in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 16 June 1986, following a commemoration service for victims of the SOWETO UPRISING in June 1976. The detainees were tortured at Vryburg police station and then interrogated at a farm called *Blou Gom*.

BABUPI, Pule Edward, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police while protecting the SRC president during a student protest at the University of the North West in Mafikeng, on 7 May 1993.

BACELA, Lungile (18), an ANC supporter, was found hanged in his cell while serving a 14-year sentence at Kirkwood prison, Cape, in 1988. Mr Bacela had been convicted of a killing that took place during a consumer boycott in 1987.

BACELA, Sakhile Lewis (33), a UDF supporter, was injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING by named members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE during protests over the Black Local Authority in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 30 November 1985.

BADAT, Mohamed Saleem (26), an AZASM supporter, was detained for four days under the Internal Security Act and severely beaten by named members of the Security Branch near Worcester, Cape, in June 1983.

BADELA, Arthur Sipho (25), a journalist, ANC supporter and PEBCO leader, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in North End prison, Port Elizabeth, on 6 April 1963, and again at Kirkwood police station in January 1980. On 1 November 1984 he was detained at the St Alban's prison under the Internal Security Act, and kept in solitary confinement. His house was petrol-bombed on 5 June 1985 and he was abducted and severely assaulted by AZAPO members during the conflict between AZAPO and UDF in Port Elizabeth in 1985. A former Security Police agent was refused amnesty for the petrol-bombing of his home (AC/2000/239).

BADELA, Mzontsundu (15), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by named members of the SAP during conflict between AZAPO and UDF supporters in Port Elizabeth on 18 May 1985.

BADI, Eric Fumanekile (30), an ANC underground member, was shot several times and severely injured in an attack by members of the CDF at his home in Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei, on 15 October 1992. He escaped but three members of his family were killed and his house was destroyed.

BADI, Nontsikelelo Jeanet (18), an ANC supporter, was shot in the legs by members of the CDF at her home in Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei, on 15 October 1992. Three members of her family were killed in the attack and the house was destroyed.

BADI, Nowinile Nanyuku (73), was shot dead by members of the CDF at her home in Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei, on 15 October 1992. Two other members

of her family were killed in the attack and the house was destroyed.

BADI, Vuyokazi (14), was shot dead by members of the CDF at her home in Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei, on 15 October 1992. Two other members of her family were killed in the attack and the house was destroyed.

BADIMO, Frans Madimetja (24), an ANC supporter, is believed to have been abducted on 7 October 1992 on his way home to Alexandra, Johannesburg, and killed. Several Transvaal townships were engulfed in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at the time.

BAFABANTU, Johannes Tata, was shot dead outside a clinic in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl, on 5 April 1986 by members of the SAP who suspected him of burning businesses in the area during political conflict.

BAGLEY, Martin, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

BAHUME, Nation Nkosana (20), a student activist and UDF supporter, was shot dead by named members of the Security Branch in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, on 16 August 1985. Mr Bahume's funeral on 30 August was placed under restriction orders by the police, who then opened fire on mourners, killing a youth.

BAHUMI, Stephen Zinkie, survived an attack by SADF Special Forces and *Vlakplaas* operatives on homes at Ditlharapeng village, Ramathlabama, Botswana, 1000 metres from the South African border, on 11 December 1988. An MK operative and a 15-year-old boy were killed and three homes were destroyed. The *Vlakplaas* commander and eight of his operatives were granted amnesty for their role in the operation (AC/2001/108).

BAIKEDI, Keaobaka Elijah, was walking in the street on 30 April 1993 when named Bophuthatswana Police members fired teargas and shot and injured him during a raid on ANC supporters at Seoding Village, Kuruman, Cape.

BAILEY, Quentin (13), was one of two young boys shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985. At least 28 people were shot dead by police in the wake of the POLLSMOOR MARCH.

BAKANE, Sekhomothane Frederick (39), a PAC activist, was arrested and assaulted by members of the SAP after giving first aid to people wounded in the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE, in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

BAKARDIEN, Baderoon Ismail (36), an ANC and UDF supporter from Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, was detained for three days by members of the Security Police in November 1985. The following year he was convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC and given

a suspended sentence. Thereafter, a five year banning order restricted him to the magisterial district of Wynberg, Cape Town.

BAKAULI, Mangaliso Wonder (21), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten on the head by named members of the SAP while in detention in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 16 June 1985. He suffered a burst eardrum and hearing loss as a result.

BAKAULI, Nodanile Gertrude (50), was repeatedly assaulted with sjamboks and thrown against the wall by named members of the SAP during a week's detention at Bedford police station, Cape, in March 1985. She was detained in Grahamstown for six months in June 1986 during the state of emergency and consumer boycotts in the area. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

BAKER, Ruth Jennifer, was shot and wounded in Germiston, Tvl, on 3 February 1993 by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) who robbed her and her companion of the vehicle in which they were travelling. Her companion was shot dead. The SDU members were allegedly seeking a vehicle in which to transport weapons. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0058).

BAKER, Yazeed, one of ten students arrested at a rally in Athlone, Cape Town, on 17 September 1985, and detained for 24 hours at the Brackenfell police station. During his arrest, detention and interrogation he was severely beaten, suffocated and forced to perform physical exercises for several hours by named and other members of the SAP.

BAKHE, Bongani (11), a scholar, was shot dead when members of the SAP fired at protesters who gathered in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 12 April 1993 after the killing of ANC/SACP/MK leader, Chris Hani.

BAKSHSHANDEGI, Shamam, a member of the Baha'i faith community, died when he and two others were shot and killed by APLA operatives at the Baha'i Faith Centre, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 13 March 1994. The victims, though of Iranian extraction, were allegedly regarded by the perpetrators as 'whites'. A vehicle was also stolen during the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2001/271).

BALA, Ivy Nomvuyo (44), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 June 1993 in intensified political conflict in the area.

BALADZI, Mthavini Langisa (31), was shot and wounded in the foot by members of the SAP outside her house in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 26 August 1986 during rent boycotts.

BALANG, George, was injured in a hand grenade explosion in Kimberley, Cape, on 25 May 1993, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building, which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

BALATA-MALOBOLA, Lilian Mantha (42), an activist in the Women's Forum in Mossel Bay, Cape, was detained on 16 June 1986 and held for three months under emergency regulations at George police station, Cape, where she was severely ill-treated. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

BALEHI, Nomonde Glenda (24), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the SAP after her arrest on 11 October 1986 in Port Elizabeth. She was then detained for eight months, and interrogated about the activities of her 'comrades'.

BALEMMAGO, Kebogile Freda (43), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 1 January 1994, when they detained her for five days in Pampierstad, Bophuthatswana.

BALIMOGO, Freda, was detained for two weeks at the Pampierstad police station, Bophuthatswana, on 1 January 1994 during a spontaneous community march in support of the first democratic elections to be held in April 1994. Marchers were assaulted by alleged members of the Bophuthatswana Police. There was a court case held subsequently and all the marchers were acquitted.

BALOI, Zuka Samuel (22), an MK operative, was shot dead by *askaris* and members of the Eastern Cape Security Police, on 22 February 1990 in Guguletu, Cape Town. A hand grenade was then planted on Mr Baloi in order to justify his killing.

BALOSHE, Steve (15), was tied to the back of a van and pulled through the *veld* by a named member of the ISU in Kagiso, Tvl, in June 1986.

BALOYI, Bafana, an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the ISU, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 19 April 1994 in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BALOYI, Doreen Refiloe (23), was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Mamelodi, Pretoria, during a protest march on 21 November 1985.

BALOYI, Eddie Simon Shigapi (32), a PAC member from Pietersburg, Tvl, was detained and tortured in March 1965. He was subsequently sentenced to three years' imprisonment for furthering the aims of the banned PAC. During his imprisonment at Baviaanspoort and Barberton, he was subjected to both physical and psychological torture.

BALOYI, Hlengani John (52), lost his home and shop in an arson attack by supporters of Chief Simon Shongoane in Ellisras, Tvl, on 6 March 1981.

BALOYI, Johannes, was attacked with pangas and axes by supporters of Chief BK Matlala in a field in GaMatlala, Lebowa, in January 1980, because Mr Baloyi resisted Lebowa's proposed independence.

BALOYI, Joseph, was injured in an arson attack on his home in Pretoria, on 11 April 1986 by members of the SAP because his son was politically active.

BALOYI, Joyce, was killed when a pipe bomb planted by members of the AWB exploded on 25 April 1994 at a taxi rank on the corner of Blood Street and Seventh Avenue in Pretoria. Three people were killed and four injured in the blast. Six perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

BALOYI, Maphantshi Joseph (46), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Machadodorp, Tvl, on 4 August 1992. Police suspected Mr Baloyi of involvement in a stayaway.

BALOYI, Mashavela Jackson, was stoned to death by ANC supporters and residents of Gandlanani village, Giyani, Gazankulu, on 24 February 1990. His brother was injured in the attack. The applicants testified that they believed that Mr Baloyi's brother was an *inyanga*, a sorcerer, and that witchcraft was used to impede the struggle for liberation. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2001/073).

BALOYI, Mashilile Wilson (72), had his house destroyed by IFP supporters during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

BALOYI, Patrick (22), was killed by members of the SAP in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 14 July 1988.

BALOYI, Resimate Daniel, was detained for two weeks in Lebowakgomo police station in Pietersburg, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SADF in August 1992.

BALOYI, Robert, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

BALOYI, Selina Makao (58), the mother of a political activist, was severely burnt when members of the SAP petrol-bombed her home in Pretoria, on 11 April 1986.

BALOYI, Solly Solomon, was killed by SADF members in Temba, Bophuthatswana, on 11 March 1994. Political tension was high in the area in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BALOYI, William Willy (18), was assaulted by members of the SAP in Pretoria, on 19 March 1986 during school boycotts because he was accused of having killed a policeman in Soshanguve, Pretoria.

BALOYI, Yuza Mack, sustained injuries when he was stoned and his property burnt down by ANC supporters and residents of Gandlanani village, Giyani, Gazankulu, on 24 February 1990. Mr Baloyi's brother was killed in the attack. The applicants testified that they believed that Mr Baloyi was an *inyanga*, a sorcerer, and that witchcraft was used to impede the struggle for liberation. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/073).

BAM, John Nkunku (22), an ANC member, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP at Sebokeng police station, Tvl, in 1992. The community had set up self-defence units to protect themselves against the IFP and the SAP, who they perceived as colluding with the IFP.

BAM, Mlungisi David (15), a COSAS member, was detained by members of the SAP in September 1986. He was held for six months at the Vereeniging police station, Tvl, interrogated and severely beaten. Mlungisi was detained again in 1992.

BAM, Setsibe Pinaar (20), was shot dead in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl, on 20 November 1990 by a named perpetrator.

BAM, Sipho Noshongqo (22), an MK member from Mdantsane, Ciskei, was shot dead by ANC security while undergoing military training in Angola in 1983. The Commission was unable to find out the exact circumstances that led to his being shot dead.

BAMBELO, September Funani (19), a UDF supporter, was detained in Prieska, Cape, and severely tortured at the police station by named and other members of the SAP, on 19 May 1986. He was released from custody in December 1986.

BAMBISO, Khayeni Derrick Mtro (18), a UDF supporter, was tortured by named members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE and the Cradock Security Police members while in custody at the BAAB municipal offices in Bedford, Cape, on 13 June 1986. He was charged and convicted with the attempted 'necklacing' of the girlfriends of Municipal Policemen and when the sentence was suspended, was detained under the emergency regulations.

BAMBO, Adriano Louis, an informer, was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* operatives near Nelspruit during November 1991, allegedly because it was feared that he would disclose sensitive information about covert operations of the Soweto Security Branch. Mr Bambo, a Mozambican citizen, and several others had been apprehended by the SAP in the early 1980s as they crossed illegally into South Africa, and had been induced to work first for Koevoet and later for the Soweto Security Branch. Three *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/252).

BAMBO, Jan, a private security guard, was shot and killed by four APLA operatives during an attack on police members at the Khayelitsha train station, Cape Town, in 1992. Four other private security guards were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

BAMBO, Malesela Adam (26), was severely assaulted at his home and at the police station in Mahwelereng, Potgietersrus, Lebowa, on 19 April 1986, allegedly by members of the SAP. Mr Bambo was president of the Magongwa Youth League and was suspected of organising students in Mahwelereng.

BAMBO, Malose Nicolus (30), was shot and paralysed by members of the SAP who opened fire on mourners at a funeral in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 15 February 1986.

BANANE, Botie John (20), was arrested, deprived of food and repeatedly beaten with rifle-butts by Bophuthatswana Police members in Tsineng police station in Kuruman, Cape, on 26 December 1991, allegedly because he was suspected of assaulting a police officer.

BANDA (first name not given; brother of Wonder-boy Simphiwe Mpo Banda), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by IFP supporters near Stanger, Natal, in September 1993.

BANDA, Cynthia (43), an ANC member, had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 11 June 1993 by IFP supporters, allegedly supported by members of the ISU, during fighting between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

BANDA, Fanyana Samuel (19), an ANC supporter and self-defence unit member, was shot dead by members of the SAP while providing security for ANC officials Joe Slovo and Cyril Ramaphosa during their visit to Katlehong, Tvl, on 9 January 1994.

BANDA, Gungqile Emson (34), a UDF leader, was detained on 27 June 1986 by members of the Security Police and held without trial for ten months at St Alban's prison, Port Elizabeth. While in detention, he was kept in solitary confinement. On his release in 1987 he was attacked by AMAAFRIKA supporters in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, suffering severe and permanent psychological damage as a result.

BANDA, Johannes (19), a COSAS member, was detained and tortured at Lenyenye police station in Tzaneen, Tvl, in April 1985. He was given electric shocks, chained to a chair and assaulted.

BANDA, Khingi Edward (39), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by other IFP supporters in Bhomela, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 December 1991, because they felt he was not being active enough on behalf of the IFP.

BANDA, Nati, was severely assaulted with a sjambok by named and other members of the IMBOKODO vigilante group, at her home in Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, in 1986. Three other people were injured in the attack, which occurred during conflict between local residents and Imbokodo members over the INCORPORATION of Moutse into KwaNdebele.

BANDA, Richard, was shot dead in Matsulu, KaNgwane, on 14 June 1986, when members of the SAP opened fire on mourners returning from a funeral of a person allegedly shot by the police.

BANDA, Sello Joseph (33), was tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Bedwang police station in Moretele 1, Bophuthatswana, in 1992. Mr Banda was accused of attempting to overthrow Chief Nawa, part of the Mangope regime, because he advocated development in his village.

BANDA, Wonder-Boy Simphiwe Mpo (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters near Stanger, Natal, on 9 December 1993.

BANE, Saraphina (43), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban on 19 February 1993 at a time of competition between ANC and IFP supporters for resources and political dominance in the area. About 35 houses were reportedly burnt down in Bhambayi in February 1993.

BANGANI, June Gwadiso had her home in Kwelerha, near East London, stoned and set alight by UDF supporters on 27 March 1986, because she was associated with the Kwelerha tribal authority which supported forced removals. Her three children were injured in the attack, but managed to escape. Another person who was with them was thrown into the burning house and was killed.

BANGANI, K, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

BANGANI, Kuku Dina, had his home in Kwelerha, near East London, stoned and set alight by UDF supporters on 27 March 1986, because he was on a committee connected with the Kwelerha tribal authority which supported forced removals. Committee members were viewed as collaborators.

BANGANI, Martin, had his home in Kwelerha, near East London, stoned and set alight by UDF supporters on 27 March 1986, allegedly because his family was associated with the Kwelerha tribal authority which supported forced removals.

BANGANI, Nomatana Dinah (48), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by supporters of the Lingeletu West Town Council, allegedly aided by SAP members in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 20 February 1992.

BANGELA, Sizwe Leon (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named members of the SAP at New Brighton police station in Somerset East, Cape, on 30 March 1991 during protests against the Black Local Authority.

BANGELI, Matongisi Willie (54), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the Ciskei Police in Berlin, Cape, on 21 September 1985 during a community meeting to protest against the homeland system and to formulate demands to present to then Ciskei President Lennox Sebe.

BANGILIZWE, Ntombenhlophe (60), had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993, in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

BANGISO, Dambile David (43), was shot and injured by a named perpetrator during political conflict at Ugie, Cape, on 6 February 1990.

BANGISO, Monwabisi Comfort (18), was tortured by members of the Security Police at Burgersdorp, Cape, on 18 June 1976, while being interrogated about BPC activities. He was again detained and tortured in 1985 and in 1990.

BANGISO, Sibina (45), an ANC supporter, was tear-gassed and trampled on by people attempting to escape shooting by members of the SAP at a mass meeting in Mzamomhle, Burgersdorp, Cape, in August 1985.

BANI, Nobandla Nontitetwa Elda, died in North End prison, Port Elizabeth, on 29 July 1987, allegedly as a result of being denied access to diabetic medication by a named prison warder. She had been detained and tortured for her activities as a street committee member in her area. Despite her deteriorating health, she was kept in solitary confinement during her last days.

BANOKO, Lesiba Johannes (42), had his house burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980, because Mr Banoko resisted the proposed independence of Lebowa.

BANTOBETSE, Hendry Pico (20), was severely beaten with batons by members of the Bophuthatswana Police, in Taung, Bophuthatswana, while attending a mass meeting in September 1988.

BANTOM, Butana Stephen, was beaten to death by members of the SAP and the security forces in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 17 December 1984, while attending a vigil for the family member of a UDF leader who had died in an arson attack.

BAPELA, Constance Bontle (24), a COSAS and Alexandra Youth Congress member, was tortured while in detention in Johannesburg prison, in 1986. Ms Bapela was detained at Sun City prison under emergency regulations during 1985 and was only released in 1988. Ms Bapela and other activists launched a protest to demand to be charged or released.

BAPELA, Kopeng Obed (24), an ANC member from Alexandra, Johannesburg, was detained in Johannesburg, by members of the SAP on 1 January 1982. Along with several others, he was charged with sedition. After a long trial, he was acquitted. On 31 December 1988 the house where he was staying was petrol-bombed.

BAPELA, Matule, was doused with petrol and set alight by residents of Marishane village, in Nebo, Lebowa, on 20 August 1992. One ANC member, who claimed Ms Bapela was suspected of witchcraft, was refused amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/112).

BARBAS, Pieter Johan, a passing motorist, was shot, killed and robbed of his vehicle by MK operatives in Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 27 September 1991. The MK operatives were escaping arrest after being stopped at a roadblock by traffic officers. Several traffic officers were injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1998/0091).

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

BARENDSE, Brian Peter (16), a member of the BMW, was detained for 17 days in October 1987 in Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town. During his detention he was interrogated, severely beaten and sexually assaulted by members of a special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT.

BARKER, Charoldine (11), was seriously injured in Paarl, Cape, on 28 July 1980, when police fired teargas and rubber bullets at the protesters. In the chaos that followed, Charoldine, who was watching the protest, was knocked off a wall and trampled on, resulting in a broken hip.

BARKER, Douglas Hilton (28), was present when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

BARNABUS, Cassius Kukie (30), from East London, was shot dead by Basotho paramilitary force members at Qacha's Nek, Lesotho, close to the Lesotho-Transkei border, in March 1985. Five other APLA members died in this incident, which occurred at a time of increased LLA activity in the area, aimed at destabilising the pro-ANC government of Chief Leabua Jonathan. The Basotho security forces claimed they had mistaken the APLA unit for LLA members. APLA and the LLA were closely connected at the time.

BARNADO, Christiaan Ignatius (23), suffered serious injuries and was partially blinded when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BARNARD, Frederick Jakobus, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg, on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter, linked to MK, were granted amnesty for their various roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

BARNES, CE, a sergeant in the SADF, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) head-quarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BARNES, Leslie Alfred (34), was seriously injured in a limpet mine attack by APLA members at the Buffalo Springs Spur restaurant in Queenstown, Cape, on 3 December 1992. See APLA ATTACKS.

BARON, Roseline (13), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in Bellville, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985. The policemen hid in a garden and then leapt out, opening fire on protesters and bystanders alike. One person was killed and two seriously injured in the shooting.

BARROW, Bradley (17), a UDF supporter and member of the BMW, was detained for three weeks in Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town. While under interrogation, he was beaten by a named member of a special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT. Numerous public violence charges against the perpetrator were later withdrawn.

BARRY, Brendon, a NUSAS official, was harassed and had his jaw broken when he tried to prevent Witwatersrand Security Branch operatives from disrupting a political gathering in 1985. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/0184).

BARTLETT, Mogamat Nurudien (21), lost an eye, three fingers and sustained severe burns in a limpet mine explosion outside the Bonteheuwel rent office, Cape Town, on 28 September 1988, when he picked

up a milk carton containing a mine, positioned there by members of MK's Ashley Kriel Detachment. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/048).

BARTON, James Allan Petros (31), was injured and permanently disabled after a bomb exploded near a taxi rank in Pretoria, on 11 August 1990. Onlookers assaulted him with bottles and fruit in the mistaken belief that he had planted the bomb.

BAS, Samuel, was arrested with ten other friends in Carnarvon, Cape, on 16 June 1986, for wearing black ties commemorating those who died in the SOWETO UPRISING. He was repeatedly beaten by named members of the SAP at the police station and detained for 72 days under emergency regulations at Carnarvon and then at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

BASA, Mhlangabezi (32), was severely beaten, allegedly by SADF members, at an army base in Tokoza, Tvl, on 21 September 1992. Mr Basa was reportedly detained after members of the SADF searched his car but failed to find weapons.

BASE, Petros Charlie, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters, in Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991. Two others were killed in the attack. The perpetrators were found guilty in a court of law.

BASE, Shoni (80), an ANC supporter, had his home near Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 12 April 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BASE, Vanish (49), and ANC supporter, had her home at GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 4 April 1992.

BASHE, Monwabisi Livingstone (32), was disabled in September 1979 after being beaten by members of the SAP during his detention at Hillbrow police station, Johannesburg. Mr Bashe was detained for three months.

BASHE, Mzikayise (19), was shot dead by members of the Ciskei Police at a night vigil for a fellow student in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in September 1985. Two others were killed in the attack.

BASI, Charlie, an ANC supporter, was killed when IFP supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

BASI, Khanyisile, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Umlazi, Durban, on 7 September 1992, when a crowd of IFP supporters from Unit 17 attacked residents in the adjacent Uganda settlement.

BASI, Mdedelwa, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by other IFP supporters on 16 November 1990 at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, because he was thought to be an informer for the ANC.

BASI, Michael Mandlenkosi (23), an ANC supporter, was shot in the leg by members of the Bophutha-tswana Police in front of his house in Vergenoeg, Uppington, Cape, on 27 May 1993. Mr Basi had just returned from an ANC meeting.

BASI, Mkhanyiselwa, an IFP supporter, disappeared from Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in April 1992.

BASI, Phakamisa John (29), was shot dead in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Ndalenj, Richmond, Natal, on 30 September 1991. His home was burnt down during the incident.

BASI, Xolani Joseph, an ANC supporter, died after being shot and stabbed by IFP supporters near Richmond, Natal, on 9 September 1992.

BASOPU, Mike Price (26), a SAAWU member, suffered severe ill-treatment while he was detained under emergency regulations in Fort Glamorgan prison, East London, in June 1986, allegedly because of his involvement in political protests. See **POLICE BRUTALITY**.

BASSON, Maria (31), was shot and injured by a named SAP member in Kakamas, Cape, on 13 February 1988. The perpetrator opened fire on residents outside a house being raided by police. Two children were shot dead and 13 people injured.

BASSON, Niklaas (26), was arrested in Ashton, Cape, on 17 June 1986, and severely beaten with a sjambok by named members of the SAP while being interrogated in Worcester police station, Cape. He was then detained for three months under emergency regulations. See **POLICE BRUTALITY**.

BASSON, Shelly Erica, was killed and her body mutilated by ANC supporters in Kutloanong, Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 29 September 1990. See **KUTLOANONG MOB ATTACK**. Four ANC supporters were refused amnesty for the attack (AC/97/0007 and AC/97/0027).

BASTERMAN, Olga Dagmar (46), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ixopo, Natal, in June 1993.

BATA, Lizo Desmond (42), was killed when members of the CDF threw an explosive device into his house at Tyutyu, Bisho, Ciskei, on 19 October 1992. The target of this attack was reportedly Mr Bata's brother, an ANC supporter, who was not in the house at the time.

BATANI, Buti Solati (40), was shot and injured in a **DRIVE-BY SHOOTING** while waiting for a bus in Tembisa, Tvl, in 1993. Three people died and several others were injured in the attack during violence between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

BATATU, Mzwanele (28), an ANC supporter, had his home destroyed in an attack by PAC supporters during political conflict in Lady Frere, Transkei, on 24 March 1994.

BATWALI, Hendrik (38), an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Philipstown, Cape, on 16 December 1985. He had been detained allegedly because he was wearing a political T-shirt.

BATYI, Buyile Patrick (25), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See **LANGA SHOOTINGS**.

BATYI, Nomayeza Nolungile Regina (47), had to flee with her family after a crowd threw a petrol bomb through a window of her home at Queenstown, Cape, during a consumer boycott in 1985. Her son had been accused of being a collaborator.

BATYI, Vuyisile (27), was shot and severely injured by named members of the SAP at Queenstown, Cape, on 19 November 1985, while handing himself over to police. Two days earlier, police and residents had clashed at a meeting at the Nonzwakazi Methodist Church. Police opened fire, killing at least 11 people and injuring many more. See **QUEENSTOWN SHOOTINGS**. On 27 November, Mr Batyi was arrested while in hospital and charged with public violence.

BATYI, Vuyo (32), died after he was 'necklaced' during a consumer boycott in Queenstown, Cape, in 1986. The named perpetrators had allegedly accused a member of his family of being a collaborator.

BAUER, CRC, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See **CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA**.

BAVUMA, Mncedisi (26), was severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police near Egerton railway station, Mdantsane, Ciskei, in August 1983, during the **MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT**.

BAWANA, Noyedwa (31), was shot and injured by SAP members near Crossroads, Cape Town, in February 1987.

BAXTER, Barnard Sydney, a local farmer, was shot dead by an MK operative near Mount Ayliff, Transkei, on 3 November 1993. The MK operative was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/002).

BAYANA, Christopher Mvumeni (21), lost his left eye when he was shot by members of the SAP on 19 October 1993 in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg. He had been locked outside the school gate with other latecomers and had started stoning an approaching furniture truck.

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

BAYISA, Nomayazi Yaliwe (46), an ANC supporter, had her home at Umlazi, Durban, set alight by IFP supporters in December 1991.

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

BAZI, Mvuzo (20), a member of the Stutterheim Youth Congress, was detained and tortured by named members of the SAP during a consumer boycott in King William's Town, Cape, on 27 December 1985. He was charged with murder, but the case against him was withdrawn.

BAZI, Noluthando Stella (18), was shot and injured by men wearing balaclavas in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, in November 1991, reportedly during conflict between ANC supporters and local councillors. Several others were also injured in the attack. See BALACLAVA GROUPS.

BAZLEY, Brian John (26), was shot dead by a named IFP supporter on 24 April 1993 at KwaQanyaza, near Port Shepstone, Natal, because he was thought to be an ANC supporter and was working in an IFP area. His family home was destroyed in the attack.

BAZLEY, Dora Nombulelo (57), lost her home and property in an attack by named IFP supporters at KwaQanyaza, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 April 1993. Ms Bazley's son, who was thought to be an ANC supporter, was shot dead in the attack.

BEATON, Norman, a civilian, was killed and then robbed of his firearm by members of APLA in an ambush of his vehicle at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, during March 1991. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0309).

BEBENTSE, Matoane George (59), was severely injured in an arson attack by supporters of Chief Tshjawa in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, during political conflict between supporters of Chief Tshjawa and his rival Chief Lion in 1976.

BEBETO, Tamara Nomakula (25), a UDF supporter, was shot by a member of the Security Branch during the consumer boycott in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, in May 1986. As a result of the shooting, she is paralysed.

BECK, Gregory, a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE, was shot by UDF supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1988 while executing warrants for rent defaulters.

BECK, Randolph Alexander (28), was severely beaten and kicked by 12 members of the SAP who made racist comments while arresting him in Johannesburg for alleged reckless driving on 16 May 1993.

BEES, Charlie 'Ou Koot', an ANCYL leader, was killed by IFP supporters in Griekwastad, Cape, on 31 October 1991.

BEES, Jonny Henry (27,) a UDF activist, was detained, interrogated and severely tortured by named members of the SAP at Willowmore police station, Cape, in June 1986.

BEESLAAR, TG, a sergeant in the ISU, suffered injuries when he and 12 other policemen were attacked by SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) members whilst on foot patrol in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 22 July 1992. Six policemen were injured in the exchange of fire. Two SDU members applied for and were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1997/0029).

BEESLAER, George, a member of the SAP, suffered an attempt on his life when he and his colleagues attempted to stop a vehicle occupied by an MK unit in

Nyanga, Cape Town, on 7 July 1990. An MK operative in the vehicle opened fire, killing one policeman. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0331).

BEETON, Henry George (59), was stoned and stabbed to death by a crowd of protesters on 11 August 1980 while driving near Crossroads, Cape Town. A second motorist was also attacked and killed that afternoon, during protests related to a bus boycott. Six people were convicted of the killings and sentenced to lengthy prison sentences. One of those convicted, an ANC supporter, was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/99/0298).

BEFILE, Hukubele Speelman (67), had his home destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters at Kwa-Nobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, in February 1986. The crowd was reportedly searching for his son, a PAC supporter, whom they believed had killed a UDF supporter.

BEFILE, Kaliman Jackson Kelman (38), had his home and business destroyed in arson attacks by UDF supporters in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, in February 1986. The perpetrators accused him of killing a UDF supporter. In 1990 he again lost his home in an arson attack in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, allegedly because of his leadership role in conflict between the UDF and AMAAFRIKA supporters.

BEFILE, Zonke Edward, a PAC supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, on 17 November 1987.

BEKEBEKE, Bereng Barry (20), a COSAS member, was severely beaten after his arrest by named SAP members in Upington, Cape, on 13 November 1985. He was again arrested and beaten in December. One of the UPINGTON 26, Mr Bekebeke, spent long periods in custody while on trial before receiving a suspended sentence.

BEKEBEKE, Justice (24), a youth activist, was severely beaten by named SAP members for several days after his arrest on 20 November 1985, after which he was charged, with 25 others, for the crowd killing of a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE. One of the UPINGTON 26, Mr Bekebeke was sentenced to death with 13 others and spent two years on death row until his sentence was commuted to a prison term. He was released as a political prisoner in 1992. He was granted amnesty for the killing of Sethwale, the municipal policeman.

BEKWA, Alfred Emmanuel (62), was hacked to death by two named Inkatha supporters at Molweni, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 July 1988, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

BEKWA, Ayanda Pele (12), was abducted, along with six other youths, by UDF supporters in Grahamstown, Cape, on 31 October 1986. The youths were all severely assaulted and tortured. One was shot and killed. One UDF supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0247).

BEKWA, Lundi Irvin, a UDF supporter from East London, died in the aftermath of student protest at the University of Zululand at Ongoye, KwaZulu, near

Empangeni, Natal, on 30 October 1983. Five hundred armed Inkatha supporters and students clashed with other protesting students after Chief MG Buthelezi, then Chancellor, tried to organise a commemoration ceremony in honour of King Cetshewayo.

BEKWA, Mfanafuthi, an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured in Westville Prison, near Durban, in 1985. The Bekwa family suffered continuous police harassment after one member of the family went into exile in 1974.

BEKWA, Ntombizakhe Constance (36), an ANC supporter, was subjected to continuous police harassment in KwaMashu, Durban, from 1974, after her brother went into exile.

BEKWA, Thulani Justice (33), an ANC supporter, was repeatedly intimidated and harassed at KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990 by other ANC supporters who suspected him of 'spying' for the police.

BEKWA, Zalisile Langa (29), an MK operative, was shot and injured by SADF Special Forces operatives on 9 December 1982 in Maseru, Lesotho. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack on several ANC houses and a block of flats.

BELAWENI, Sibiya Jeremia (19), lost a leg after being shot by members of the SAP in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 5 March 1986. Six months later, Mr Belaweni was charged with public violence and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

BELE, Georgina Nomzamo, was harassed by members of the SAP at Bizana, Transkei, in March 1960, after they had arrested her husband, whom they accused of leading the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

BELE, Headman Phakamile, an ANC supporter, was tortured in police cells in Mount Fletcher, Transkei, in March 1960, while being interrogated about NONQULWANA meetings during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

BELE, Nothimba, an ANC supporter, was detained at Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

BELE, Nyangilizwe, disappeared from his home in Bizana, Transkei, in 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

BELEBANE, Templeton Mangaliso (26), was attacked, beaten with spiked sjamboks and thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters between Phomolong and Mzimphophe stations in Soweto, Johannesburg, in June 1991. See TRAIN VIOLENCE

BELELIE, Michael Frederick, was stabbed and burnt to death by ANC supporters in Kutloanong, Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 29 September 1990. See KUTLOANONG MOB ATTACK. Four ANC supporters were refused amnesty for the attack (AC/97/0007 and AC/97/0027).

BELES, Phumzile Gladwell (21), a UDF supporter, died after being run over by an armoured police vehicle in Khayelitsha, Uitenhage, Cape, on 28 December 1989. Mr Beles was fleeing from police during conflict with AMAAFRIKA supporters when he was hit.

BELING, Neville (20), was shot and injured when APLA members carried out an attack on the Highgate Hotel, East London, on 1 May 1993. Five people were killed and several others injured. See APLA ATTACKS.

BELLE, Mbulelo Heathcourt (44), was severely beaten by the sons of the local chief at Dulcie's Neck, Transkei, on 1 October 1964, when his family was forced off their land by the traditional leaders of the area.

BELLINGAN, Felicity Catherine (33), an employee at Nedbank in Caledon Street, Uitenhage, Cape, suffered severe trauma when she was taken hostage and used as a human shield by APLA operatives during a foiled bank robbery on 4 January 1994. See APLA ATTACKS. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty for the armed robbery and kidnapping (AC/2000/125).

BELO, Solomon Pitso (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when police opened fire on a student protest march in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 19 April 1990. Four other ANC supporters were killed and seven injured in the shooting.

BEMBE, Bhukumuzi Erick (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP at a protest meeting against rent increases in Siyathuthuka, Belfast, Tvl, on 4 January 1986.

BEME, Zukiswa Eunice (14), was severely beaten by members of the SAP at Sterkspruit, Transkei, on 1 January 1990 during a consumer boycott and campaign of opposition to the chiefs.

BENCINI, Irma Elfreda (49), was killed when two MK operatives detonated a bomb in a shopping centre on 23 December 1985, in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in retaliation for a South African security forces attack two weeks earlier on ANC members in Lesotho in which nine people had been killed. The explosion in Amanzimtoti killed five people and injured 61. One of the operatives was sentenced to death and later hanged.

BENEKE, Johan (Raban) David, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

BENGE, Elphie Fanigo, a UDF supporter, was attacked with a pickaxe by vigilantes outside his home in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 31 December 1985. He suffered severe head injuries. His wife and son were also beaten in the attack.

BENGE, Mpumelelo, a CAYCO member, was severely beaten by vigilantes near Nyanga, Cape Town, on 31 December 1985. His mother and father were also beaten in the attack.

BENGE, Nomahlubi Sophia (52), a UWO member, was severely beaten by vigilantes at her home in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 31 December 1985. Her husband and son were also injured in the attack.

BENGU, Deliweyo Emmanuel (46), an ANC branch chairman, was stabbed to death, and his wife was seriously injured, by named IFP supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 20 July 1991. Mr Bengu was a member of a Peace Committee facilitating negotiations between the ANC and IFP at the time.

BENGU, Ethel (57), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 11 February 1990, in political conflict in the area following the release of Nelson Mandela from prison.

BENGU, Gladwin Bengwane (53), disappeared on his way to work in Vosloorus, Tvl, during a stayaway to protest against IFP violence on 28 March 1994. Mr Bengu was never seen again. Mr Bengu's car was later found in Natal and three suspects were charged with murder, vehicle theft and kidnapping but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

BENGU, Johannes (18), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 25 December 1987.

BENGU, Maggie Phenyaba (54), had her home burnt down at Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BENGU, Ntombikayise Cyprianah (41), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by named Inkatha supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in 1987. Her husband and son were stabbed to death in separate incidents of political violence in the area.

BENGU, Sifiso Cyril (21), a UDF supporter, was tortured by members of the Special Branch during his detention at Pietermaritzburg in 1986. He was also kept in solitary confinement for three months.

BENGU, Thembeni (49), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in September 1991 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

BENJU, Masebule Anthony (42), died after being shot and stabbed with spears on 6 September 1990 in Soweto, Johannesburg, during clashes between hostel-dwellers and residents. Several other people were injured during this attack.

BENTELE, Mandla, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Zwelethemba, Worcester, Cape, on 21 September 1985, after a crowd had petrol-bombed the policeman's house.

BENYA, Mcoseleli, was beaten and stabbed to death by AWB members in East London on 12 March 1994. See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

BERA, Ndumiso, was shot dead at the Manganese Metal Company in Randfontein, Tvl, on 6 May 1991, during political conflict between the IFP and the ANC in Kagiso, Tvl.

BERENG, Selebaleng Martha (12), was shot and injured by members of the AWB on 12 December 1993 at an illegal roadblock set up outside Ventersdorp, Tvl. Four people, including two children, were killed in the attack. One AWB member was granted amnesty; eight other applications were refused (AC/1999/0045). See RODORA ROADBLOCK KILLINGS.

BERRANGE, Vernon, a banned lawyer and exile, was subjected to constant surveillance and harassment by the Witwatersrand Security Branch during 1981 when he returned to South Africa from Swaziland for medical treatment. A Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/230).

BERRY, Fikile Matywana (17), a UDF activist, was shot and beaten by members of the SAP on 2 May 1985, and kept in hospital under police guard at Kwa-Nobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape.

BERRY, Jacob Joseph (37), was dismissed from work in Uitenhage, Cape, on 25 April 1985, after testifying before the Kannemeyer Commission of Enquiry into the LANGA SHOOTINGS that had taken place on 21 March 1985. Mr Berry, who was an ambulance driver, gave evidence about how police prevented him from helping the wounded at the scene of the shootings.

BESANA, Sibongile (18), an ANC supporter, was one of two people burnt to death when attackers, aligned to a local Crossroads leader, set fire to the house in which she was sleeping in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 7 February 1990. There was conflict in Crossroads between those who wished to join the ANC and the named local leader who opposed this.

BESSIE, Buti James (13), was shot dead by members of the SAP at Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960. See SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE.

BEST, Temba Douglas (31), a UDF supporter, was shot dead in a shoot-out with members of the SAP in Veeplaas, near Port Elizabeth, on 26 May 1987.

BESTER, CB, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BESTER, Reginald Johnny, a UDF supporter, was detained on charges of arson in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, in 1986.

BETE, Anele Justice (23), whose brother was a member of the SAP, was beaten to death with iron bars by members of the UDF-supporting AMABUTHO on a soccer field at Fingo Village, Grahamstown, Cape, on 6 March 1983.

BETE, Vuyani Richard (24), whose brother was a member of the SAP, survived a shooting by members of the UDF-supporting AMABUTHO in Grahamstown, Cape, on 31 December 1985. Mr Bete's car was burnt in the attack.

BETHANU, Dan, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a handgrenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

BEULA, Matu David (57), a Duncan Village street committee member, was poisoned while in detention in Fort Glamorgan prison, East London, in June 1986.

BEULA, Thembile Matshaya (21), was shot dead by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 13 August 1985.

BEUZANA, Ntombekhaya Beauty, a UDF supporter, was arrested in June 1986 and detained for three months under emergency regulations in George, Cape. **BEVU, Zenzile Dan** (20), an SACP supporter, was shot and injured by Ciskei Police during protests in Dimbaza, Ciskei, on 3 September 1985.

BEWU, Gilbert Quntswana, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP who opened fire on a meeting of the local Hill Committee at Flagstaff, Transkei, in November 1960. Four others were injured in the incident. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

BEZUIDENHOUT, Isaac (32), was shot dead by members of the Riot Squad in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 10 September 1976, when police opened fire on protesting residents during the SOWETO UPRISING.

BHALALA, Mranqwa, a member of the ANC and the Hill Committee of Bizana, was tortured in detention and lost his home in 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

BHAMBULA, Stanford Bhifane, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by unidentified persons in an attack on his home in Lamontville, Durban on 30 November 1990 during intensifying political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Mr Bhambula's wife, also an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in the attack.

BHAMBULE, Albertina (57), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in an attack by unidentified persons on her home in Lamontville, Durban, on 30 November 1990 during intensifying political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Ms Bhambula's husband, also an ANC supporter, was killed in the attack.

BHANA, Khayaletu Patrick, was shot in the back by members of the SAP in Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners *toyi-toying* on their way to a funeral.

BHANGOSE, Mathubeni (38), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 at a time of competition for resources and political dominance between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in the area. More than 300 people died violently in Bhambayi in 1993. Hundreds of homes were burnt down.

BHEFILE, Phumezile Lennox 'Kid' (26), had his home destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, in 1986. In February 1990 he again lost his home in an arson attack in KwaNobuhle during conflict between the UDF and AMAAFRIKA supporters.

BHEKI, Mazwazwa John, a UDF supporter, suffered trauma when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

BHEKUMUZI, Cosmos, a private security guard, was shot and injured by four APLA operatives during an attack on police members at the Khayelitsha train station, Cape Town, in 1992. Four other private security guards were injured in the attack. See APLA

ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

BHEME, Nosingile Castalina (38), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Transkei Police in Bebeza Village, near Sterkspruit, Transkei, on 1 January 1990 during a consumer boycott and campaign of opposition to the chiefs.

BHEME, Vuyelwa Cynthia (44), was severely beaten by members of the Transkei Police in Bebeza Village, near Sterkspruit, Transkei, on 1 January 1990 during a consumer boycott and campaign of opposition to the chiefs.

BHEME, Zandisile, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Transkei Police in Bebeza Village, near Sterkspruit, Transkei, on 1 January 1990 during a consumer boycott and campaign of opposition to the chiefs.

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

BHENGU, Bafikile Rosta (49), an Inkatha supporter, had her home in Cottonlands, Verulam, Natal, petrol-bombed on 12 January 1990 when UDF supporters attacked mourners at a night vigil for the slain son of a local Inkatha chairman. Thirteen people, including nine children, were killed. See VERULAM ATTACK. Ms Bhengu suffered another incident of arson on 7 December 1991, this time in Emangwaneni, Bulwer, Natal, during an IFP attack in which she was mistakenly taken to be an ANC supporter.

BHENGU, Beauty Dumisile (36), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 10 February 1990 in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February. Ms Bhengu was reportedly shot dead in Northdale, Pietermaritzburg, two years later.

BHENGU, Bheki (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 November 1989.

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

BHENGU, Bhekinkosi (53), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured and lost his home and shop at Loskop, near Estcourt, Natal, in an attack by ANC supporters on 30 April 1993.

BHENGU, Busiswe Maria (39), was killed when named Inkatha supporters petrol-bombed her home in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 19

January 1990. The attackers suspected the Bhengu family of being sympathetic to the UDF. Ms Bhengu's son and daughter also died in the attack, and her husband was shot and injured.

BHENGU, David Nyangenzima (42), was shot in the leg when named Inkatha supporters attacked his home in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 19 January 1990. The attackers suspected the Bhengu family of being sympathetic to the UDF. Mr Bhengu's son, daughter and wife were all killed in the attack.

BHENGU, Hlengiwe Mary-Jane, was killed when named Inkatha supporters attacked her home in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 19 January 1990. The attackers suspected the Bhengu family of being sympathetic to the UDF. Ms Bhengu's brother and mother were also killed in the attack. Her father survived the attack with gunshot injuries.

BHENGU, Jabulisiwe Florence (39), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Nhlankakazi, near Stanger, Natal, on 16 January 1994.

BHENGU, Jotham, was shot and injured during an arson attack on his home in Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 26 December 1988 in political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

BHENGU, Khangelani, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in December 1985.

BHENGU, Madodenzani (46), was shot and injured by IFP supporters during 1993 in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, at a time of competition for resources and political dominance between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS. More than 300 people died violently in Bhambayi in 1993. Hundreds of homes were burnt down.

BHENGU, Michael Thembinkosi (36), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 14 April 1993. Twelve others died in the area in that week in political violence.

BHENGU, Ningi Yvonne, was shot, burnt, and stabbed to death in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 9 August 1989, in political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

BHENGU, Njabuliso, a COSATU shopsteward and local peace negotiator, was shot dead outside his shop in KwaMnyavu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 May 1991 by IFP supporters who suspected him of providing information to police on IFP actions in the area.

BHENGU, Nomini Netta (78), had her home in the Emangwaneni area, near Bulwer, Natal, burnt down on 7 December 1991 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her sons, who may have been the target of the attack, were believed to be ANC supporters.

BHENGU, Oralisa Ntombenhle (33), an ANC supporter, had her home in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 28 May 1993.

BHENGU, Philida (62), had her home at Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, burnt down by

Inkatha supporters, led by a well-known Inkatha official and supported by SPECIAL CONSTABLES, on 26 December 1988. Seven people were killed in conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area that day. Ms Bhengu's home was burnt down again in August 1992.

BHENGU, Richard (52), a non-partisan community leader, was shot dead by a named ANC supporter in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 6 February 1989 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. The 'com-tsotsi' were youths perceived to support the UDF, who frequently engaged in criminal acts in pursuit of personal and political aims.

BHENGU, Sbhongile Gloria, was shot dead in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 9 August 1989, in political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

BHENGU, Senzosenkosi, an ANC supporter, disappeared from his home in Umkomaas, Natal, in May 1993, after he had been severely assaulted by unidentified persons who attacked his home during political conflict in the area. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

BHENGU, Siphelele Brian (3), was killed in a petrol-bomb attack on his home by named Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 19 January 1990. The attackers suspected the Bhengu family of being sympathetic to the UDF. Siphelele's mother and sister also died in the attack; his father was shot and injured.

BHENGU, Siphiwo Winstone, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

BHENGU, Sipho Ernest, a UDF supporter, was threatened at gunpoint when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

BHENGU, Tembani Gertrude (50), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, at KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in February 1990, during political conflict in the area.

BHENGU, Thenjiwe Mavis, was stabbed and necklaced to death by a crowd of ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 7 April 1991. She and her husband, who was shot dead in the same incident, were suspected of being IFP supporters. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/217).

BHENGU, Thobelani Goodman (15), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 28 May 1993.

BHENGU, Thulani (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 January 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BHENGU, Welcome, sustained injuries when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

BHENGU, Zagiwana Muzofikayo (32), had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Richmond Farm, KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 February 1990, in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

BHENGU, Zakhona Doreen (42), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, Durban, in August 1989, in intense political conflict in the area.

BHENGU, Zitusile Doris, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 1 January 1992 in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in continuing political conflict in the area.

BHENTSWANA, Magaduzela, an IKONGO member, was shot by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

BHESWA, Nongayi (38), had his home destroyed in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

BHIKISHA, Lithaya Joseph, was severely ill-treated and had his property damaged during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

BHILA, Stanley Siphso, an MK operative, was abducted, shot in the head and killed on 22 February 1987 by Security Branch operatives. His body was then allegedly thrown off a cliff in a remote area near Umbumbulu, Natal. Mr Bhila had been acquitted of terrorism charges only days earlier. Two Port Natal and three *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/112).

BHILISHO, Mzingisi (21), a student leader, was shot dead by a named SAP member on 21 August 1985 during political conflict between youth and police in Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape. See ALI WAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

BHOTO, Buyiswa Patience (20), a COSAS supporter, lost an eye when members of the SAP opened fire to disperse a meeting in February 1990 in Maclear, Cape. The meeting was in support of a COSATU stayaway. Ms Bhoto was then arrested. One other person was shot and injured in the same incident.

BHUDA, Abram, was abducted from his place of business in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, by UDF supporters in June 1986 and found burnt to death a few days

later. The incident took place during conflict over the independence of KwaNdebele.

BHUDA, Government, was abducted by 'comrades' from his shop at Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in June 1986. A few days later, he was found burnt to death. Subsequently his shop was burnt down, one of many destroyed during political conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

BHUDA, Josiah, was stabbed to death, allegedly by Inkatha supporters in Kempton Park, Tvl, on 27 January 1990 during political conflict in the area.

BHUDA, Sheelbooi Mhletswa (55), had his house near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, vandalised by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in July 1975, during political conflict over KwaNdebele independence.

BHUDA, William, was abducted from his shop outside Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, and burnt to death by 'comrades' in June 1986. Mr Bhuda's shop was also burnt. Between May and August 1986, 70% of KwaNdebele's businesses were destroyed by residents in violent conflict over the INCORPORATION into the homeland.

BHULOSE, Fephi (56), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BHULOSE, Gabisile Buselaphi (43), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BHULOSE, Khonzeni Nomandelu (45), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BHULOSE, Senzeni Ritta (25), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BHUNDE, Wendy, sustained injuries when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

BHUNGANE, Elizabeth Thuku, an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1990, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

BHUNKU, Zandise Richard (34), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack in Umlazi, Durban, on 17 January 1992, in intense political conflict in the area. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

BHUNTA, Alfred Funani (30), was shot dead by named members of the SAP during protests in Old Location, near Hofmeyr, Cape, on 29 October 1981, while resisting arrest.

BHUNU, Evelyn Nontlungu (64), a PEWO member, suffered a stroke after members of the SAP fired teargas at a group of mourners at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 20 April 1986. She was partially paralysed and lost her speech as a result.

BHUYE, an MK operative, and three others, were abducted by Eastern Transvaal Security Branch operatives from the Bhunya police station in Swaziland on 14 April 1984. All four were coerced into becoming askaris at *Vlakplaas*. Four Eastern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2000/105).

BIBI, Michael (21), disappeared from his school in King William's Town, Cape, in October 1976 and is believed to have died in exile.

BIEHL, Amy (26), an American Fulbright Scholar, was stoned and stabbed to death by a group of PASO supporters in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 25 August 1993, as she was driving friends to their home. The crowd was returning from a PASO meeting addressed by PAC leadership, and was stoning vehicles. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0030).

BIGGARS, Clifford Henry (37), had his home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Ixopo, Natal, in June 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

BIGGARS, Leslie Adrian (39), had his home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Ixopo, Natal, in June 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

BIKISHI, Nonzima Edna (45), was shot and injured by members of the SAP at her home in Fingo Village, Grahamstown, Cape, in 1986. One other person was shot and killed in the same incident.

BIKITSHA, Nonzwakazi, was shot by SPECIAL CONSTABLES during political conflict in Grahamstown, Cape, on 2 February 1987.

BIKITSHA, Zwelakhe Oklee (39), an ANC supporter, was tortured in detention by named members of the Ciskei Security Police at Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 16 July 1987. He was suspected of harbouring freedom fighters.

BIKO, Steven Bantu, a banned senior member of the Black Consciousness Movement, sustained severe brain injuries while being interrogated by members of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch on 6 September 1977. He died of his injuries on 12 September 1977 after being transported in the back of a police vehicle some 1200 km to the Pretoria Central Prison hospital. Five members of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch applied for amnesty for his death, claiming that the injuries had been inflicted accidentally during a violent scuffle. Amnesty was refused (AC/1999/0020).

BILANKULU, Herman Mandiwa, was present when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

BILI, Nozuzile (39), had her house burnt down during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Phoenix, Durban, in 1989. At the time of the arson attack, she had fled to Chibini Church because of the violence in the area.

BILL, Mzwandile John (25), was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Cradock, Cape, on 14 August 1987.

BILLIE, Tembinkosi Harold (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

BIMBI, Jan (22), was detained in Soshanguve, Tvl, in October 1986 and later received a prison sentence for burning a police member's home.

BINALA, Celeste, suffered severe trauma when APLA operatives, armed with automatic weapons and hand grenades, stormed the Yellowwoods hotel, in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 23 March 1993, and opened fire on staff and patrons. One person was shot dead in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/225).

BINAS, Mafome Joseph (41), was assaulted and detained by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 19 July 1989 at Mafikeng Police station, Bophuthatswana. He was arrested on suspicion of transporting members of the liberation movement from Botswana.

BINDER, Mervin David, was killed by ANCYL members on 22 or 23 November 1991 during political conflict in Krugersdorp, Tvl. The ANCYL members abducted Mr Binder while he was transporting weapons to IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in Kagiso to be used in an attack on ANC supporters in nearby Swanieville. One perpetrator was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0295).

BINGWA, John (21), a PAC supporter, was detained and assaulted by SAP members in Sterkstroom police station, Cape, and Kroonstad prison, OFS, in April 1963, allegedly because he was believed to be involved in political activities at school. Mr Bingwa, and other scholars, were charged and sentenced on 26 June 1963. He served his sentence and was released in 1965.

BINTA, Mfenana, a PAC supporter, was convicted of sabotage during the 1960 protests in Cape Town and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town.

BISETI, Mthetheleli, was tortured in police custody on 16 June 1985 in Dimbaza, Ciskei.

BISIWE, Masayidi Xhaghalegusha (46), an ANC supporter, lost three rondavels when they were set alight and bulldozed by members of the Transkei Defence Force at Baziya, near Umtata, Transkei, on 14 December 1980.

BITAMKHONO, Nohlanhla Mina, an ANC supporter, was injured while escaping from an armed attack on a

home in KwaSithole, Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 April 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Ten ANC supporters were killed and two injured in the attack.

BITTERHOUT, Priscilla Nomakhaya (35), was tortured by a named member of the SAP while in detention at Jansenville prison, Cape, during the state of emergency in April 1985. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

BIXA, Vuyisile Antony (23), an MK member, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Thabazimbi, Tvl, in April 1988.

BIYASE, Michael Joy, an IFP supporter, was abducted and shot dead by a named member of the SADF on 14 April 1994 at Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal.

BIYASE, Qondeni Morencia (45), had her home burnt down on 20 April 1992 in Hopewell, Ixopo, Natal, in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

BIYASE, Sandile Gandaye (16), a UDF supporter, was on his way home from a peace meeting on 27 August 1989 in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, when he and his companions were attacked by a named Inkatha supporter. Mr Biyase and another UDF supporter were shot dead, while a third UDF supporter was injured.

BIYASE, Wando (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 1 December 1992 by the same named IFP supporter who had killed his brother in 1989.

BIYELA, Abednigo Themba (33), died after being stabbed and shot while attending an IFP rally on 20 February 1994 at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal.

BIYELA, Alleta Sthembile (17), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 14 October 1992 at Empangeni, Natal, during political conflict in the area. Ms Biyela's father, a prominent ANC member, was also killed in the attack.

BIYELA, Bahlangene (38), had his house destroyed in an arson attack at KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, during 1993, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

BIYELA, Bazibile Mildred (37), had her livestock and possessions stolen during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, during March 1994. Her house was then destroyed.

BIYELA, Bheki Themba, an IFP supporter, was stabbed and injured by ANC supporters in 1993 in KwaThema, Tvl, during political conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents.

BIYELA, Bonisiwe Bongekile (34), had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Mkhukhuze, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in September 1993, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

BIYELA, Charlie, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 June 1993, in political conflict in the area.

BIYELA, David (25), an ANC supporter, was left disabled after being shot and stabbed by IFP supporters near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 May 1994, the day of Nelson Mandela's inauguration as President. The perpetrators stopped their car to attack Mr Biyela, apparently in a case of mistaken identity.

BIYELA, Elizabeth (64), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Bukhanana, KwaMbonambi, near Richards Bay, Natal, in January 1994 after being accused of defecting to the ANC.

BIYELA, Ethel (36), was shot and severely injured, allegedly by KHUMALO GANG members at a shebeen in Tokoza, Tvl, on 13 December 1992. One other person was killed and another severely injured in this attack. Ms Biyela was paralysed as a result of the shooting, reportedly in retaliation for the shooting earlier in the day at the shebeen of a KHUMALO GANG member, allegedly involved in rape and murder.

BIYELA, Ivy Thandi (43), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 23 March 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BIYELA, John Qondeni, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

BIYELA, Joyce Theku (30), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 13 September 1988, in political conflict in the area.

BIYELA, Lindiwe Cynthia (20), had her home burnt down on 28 October 1992 in Ndalen, Richmond, Natal, in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

BIYELA, Lucy (69), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BIYELA, Mandla Lawrence, was shot dead in Mshayazafe hostel, Tokoza, Tvl, on 21 March 1992, allegedly by IFP supporters who suspected him of spying for Phola Park residents. This incident occurred during political conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents.

BIYELA, Mbongeni Bethuel (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured and lost his home in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 14 October 1992. Mr Biyela's daughter was killed in the attack.

BIYELA, Mildred, had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Eshowe, Natal, during February 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

BIYELA, Mohlo, an ANC supporter, had his house set alight by IFP supporters at Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in March 1994. Several homes belonging to ANC members were burnt down in the attack.

BIYELA, Moses Mjabuliseni (19), was arrested at school for distributing pamphlets, and taken to the Empangeni police station, Natal, on 14 June 1989. He was detained for one month, during which he was severely tortured and kept in solitary confinement.

BIYELA, Msebenziwomhle Caiphas (51), had his home destroyed in an arson attack at Empangeni, Natal, on 17 January 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

BIYELA, Mshayela Simon (62), had his home destroyed in an arson attack at Eshowe, Natal, during March 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the first democratic election of April 1994.

BIYELA, Musawenkosi, was severely beaten by unidentified persons at Gezinsila, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 3 December 1993, during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His brother was also beaten in the attack.

BIYELA, Mzikayise (67), lost his house and livestock in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 15 January 1994, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

BIYELA, Nompumelelo Zodwa (20), lost her home in an arson attack at Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 18 March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BIYELA, Phiwawubani Eunice (27), an IFP supporter, had her house petrol-bombed by unidentified persons at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

BIYELA, Phuleni (51), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by prominent IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 14 January 1993. Ms Biyela's nephew was an ANC supporter.

BIYELA, Preety, was shot and injured in an attack on her home at Mhlathuze, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 13 April 1994, during political conflict in the area between ANC and IFP supporters before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BIYELA, Prudence, died after being raped, stabbed and shot by IFP supporters on 21 March 1993 at the Kwa-Magobotiyana stream, near Empangeni, Natal. Her male companion was also killed in the attack, which was allegedly in retaliation for the killing of another IFP supporter.

BIYELA, Qondeni, had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, during 1994, in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

BIYELA, Rejoice Thandekile (38), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down at KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 18 February 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BIYELA, Richard Zitha (45), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named perpetrator in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 November 1993, during continuing political conflict in the area.

BIYELA, Ruth Bongiwe (18), had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Mhlathuze, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 13 April 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the first democratic election on 27 April.

BIYELA, Sehlukene (46), an Inkatha supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 April 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

BIYELA, Sibongile (26), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1993, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

BIYELA, Sibongile Zibuyisize (44), had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Eshowe, Natal, during 1993, in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Natal.

BIYELA, Sizeni Sbongile (33), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BIYELA, Thandabezizwe (77), an ANC supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Eshowe, Natal, in November 1993, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

BIYELA, Themba Mandlakayise (22), an Inkatha supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters, some of whom are named, in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 17 November 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

BIYELA, Vusumuzi Mvana (15), was severely beaten by unidentified persons at Gezinsila, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 3 December 1993, during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His brother was also beaten in the attack.

BIZZELL, John, an ANC supporter, was detained in July 1964 at the Fort prison, Hillbrow, Johannesburg. During his nine-month imprisonment he was tortured by members of the SAP.

BIZZELL, Margeret Josephine, suffered a miscarriage after being pushed downstairs at her home during a raid by members of the SAP in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, looking for her husband.

BLAAUW, Andile Phillip (20), a UDF supporter, was detained and tortured at the Church Street police station in Uitenhage, Cape, on 5 January 1987, and then moved to the Despatch police station, Cape, where he was allegedly injected with chemicals.

BLAAUW, Buyile Gladstone (26), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

BLAAUW, Miriam (36), was shot and severely injured by a member of the SAP at Paballelo, Upington, Cape, on 10 November 1985, while she was participating in a community protest march.

BLAAUW, Mzwandile Matthews (14), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the security forces at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, in August 1980. The shooting occurred while he was attending a meeting during the 1980 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS.

BLAAUW, Nosipho Patricia (15), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

BLAIR, J, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

BLAIR, Michael, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

BLAKE, Michael, was injured when an explosive device was detonated at a CNA (newsagent) in Pinetown, Natal, on 7 October 1988. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/159).

BLAKE, Stanko, was beaten to death while in police custody at Jamestown police station, Cape, in 1991.

BLAYI, Welile Dindala (30), a PAC supporter, was charged with sabotage in 1963 and imprisoned for 15 years on Robben Island, Cape Town, for his Poqo activities. On his release he was banished to the Transkei.

BLEKI, Mntwabukho Oswel (34), a member of the Ciskei Police, was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING while he was on duty at the Potsdam police station in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 12 April 1993. The attack on the police station occurred during political conflict following the assassination of the SACP leader, Chris Hani.

BLESS, Mnyamezeli, a corporal in the CDF, died after being stoned and burnt by a crowd of UDF and ANC supporters at the funeral of UDF leader, Victoria Mxenge, near King William's Town, Cape, on 11 August 1985.

BLESS, Raymond Mthetheleli (19), an ANC supporter, was shot in the leg by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

BLOCK, John, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

BLOEM, Trevor, was detained by members of the Security Branch in Johannesburg, in 1975 and charged under the Terrorism Act. Mr Bloem was active in the BCM and assisted in the formation of the 'Brotherhood', an organisation opposed to the state sponsored Coloured Representative Council.

BLOEM, WJ, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BLOM, Ernest, an ANC supporter, was detained on 21 January 1981 and held without trial for eight months in King William's Town, Cape. During his detention, he was tortured.

BLOM, Mgcineni Jackson (34), an ANC supporter, was shot in the arm by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

BLOM, Sindiswa (25), whose husband was a member of the SAP, was injured when her home was attacked during protests in Cradock, Cape, on 1 January 1984.

BLOSE, Bahlamukile Thembeni (44), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Bangizwe (73), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Bongi Jahephi (29), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Bukisisani (38), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, during March 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

BLOSE, Chrisostomus Thamsanqa (30), a member of the SAP and a UDF supporter, was killed by a fellow SAP member while at work in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 21 April 1988.

BLOSE, Florence Lethiwe (29), had her house set alight by ANC supporters at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, in political conflict following the release of Nelson Mandela from prison.

BLOSE, Funebona Anthony (27), had his house destroyed in an arson attack during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Harry Mafa (55), an ANC supporter, was beaten by a named member of the SAP who was looking for Mr Blose's son at his home in Davel, Tvl, in 1992.

BLOSE, Hawukeleni (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Hlekisile Thandazile (37), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Khetheyakhe John (45), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Lindiwe Vimbephi (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Lungile Joyce (30), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Mandlenkosi Michael (45), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Paddock, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 October 1991.

BLOSE, Mantombi, (57), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Dweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 January 1988.

BLOSE, Maureen Shiela (26), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in 1992.

BLOSE, Mayvis (51), a UDF supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Dweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on 26 January 1988.

BLOSE, Mfanufikile Jeffrey (16), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Mpikayibuyi (62), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Ndauko (43), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Nokujeza Cathrine (56), had her house damaged in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 November 1992, in political conflict in the area.

BLOSE, Nonhlanhla Bellinah (16), an ANC supporter, was beaten by a member of the SAP looking for her brother at her home in Davel, Tvl.

BLOSE, Nonkululeko Sindisiwe (31), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Ntombenhle Lindiwe (26), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Ntombeyiningi Rene (60), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Ntombiphi (54), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Philisiwe Alice (19), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Phumelaphi Virginia (15), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Ritta, was stabbed by a named IFP supporter on 27 July 1991 in Ohlange, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

BLOSE, Seli Lettah (50), an ANC supporter, was pistol-whipped by a member of the SAP looking for her son at her home in Davel, Tvl, in 1992.

BLOSE, Sibongile Isabel (37), an ANC supporter, was shot in the leg and had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Sitete (64), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Siyabonga Justice (22), was shot and injured on 16 February 1992, when IFP supporters returning from a chief's gathering attacked ANC hostels and homes at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Thandazile Sikhona, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOSE, Thomas Mfanafuthi, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by an IFP member during violent political conflict at Izingolweni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 May 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0339).

BLOSE, Yeye, an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BLOU, Mzukisi Sidwell (17), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, in February 1986.

BLOU, Ndlamafa, an ANC supporter, disappeared shortly before he was due to return to his home from exile in 1994.

BOBE, Mandla Christopher (15), was shot and injured by members of the CDF at a funeral in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 27 July 1985 during the 1985 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS.

BOBELO, Edward Vuyisile (41), was severely beaten and interrogated by police in Mossel Bay, Cape, in

August 1976. He was held for over two months. In August 1986 he was detained for two and a half months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

BOBELO, Mongezi Henry (20), a UDF supporter, was detained in Mossel Bay, Cape, in June 1986. He was held for four months under emergency regulations at the George prison. While in detention he was severely beaten and tortured on several occasions by named policemen. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

BOBOTYANE, Wilson (38), a PAC supporter, was shot, stabbed and hacked to death by ANC supporters in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 24 June 1990. He was one of three people killed during clashes between ANC supporters and supporters of a conservative squatter leader who had joined the PAC.

BOCKS, Zo-Marius (19), a UDF supporter and SRC member, was tortured by SAP members while in detention for three months in Carnarvon, Cape, under emergency regulations, from 16 July 1986. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

BODIBA, George (15), was arrested for arson in Thabazimbi, in 1976. He was found guilty and given ten lashes. George was then taken to Pretoria, by members of the Security Police where he was stripped, beaten, shocked and interrogated about weapons. He escaped, and was rearrested in 1978, and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. In 1979 he escaped from prison and joined MK. In 1989 Mr Bodiba was shot while infiltrating South Africa from Botswana, and was detained until the unbanning of the ANC in 1990.

BODIBA, Thapelo Jacob (14), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten and stabbed in the head by members of the A-TEAM, who attacked mourners at a night vigil in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 9 May 1985. A member of the A-TEAM was killed in the ensuing conflict. Thapelo Bodiba lost his sight in one eye as a result of the attack.

BODINGTON, Ian, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

BODLANI, Ndim, a political activist, was assaulted and tortured by named members of the SAP at Willowvale, Transkei, during a state of emergency in April 1963. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

BOESAK, Allan, a church leader and a patron of the UDF, was harassed by the Witwatersrand Security Branch between 1982 and 1986. Two Witwatersrand Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this harassment, while another Security Branch operative based at Security Branch Headquarters was granted amnesty for the abusive humiliation of Dr Boesak during his detention in 1985 (AC/2001/0184 and AC/1999/0029).

BOGACU, Steven Modisaotsile (41), an MK operative, was shot dead by named SAP members outside Ficksburg, OFS, on 24 May 1988. Accompanied by a

self-confessed police informer, Bogacu was lured into an ambush by police shortly after crossing the Lesotho border into South Africa.

BOHLAKO, Puleng Emma, was injured and had her property damaged during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

BOHOLO, Malefetsane William (33), was assaulted and arrested in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 June 1976. Mr Boholo was charged with public violence for the burning of a bottle store and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. He was released after serving 14 years and 12 days. See SOWETO UPRISING.

BOIKANYO, Joseph (33), chair of the Madibogpan ANC, was detained and assaulted by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police after an arson attack on his home in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 21 January 1994.

BOIKANYO, Kedineetse Memory (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when police opened fire on protesters returning from an ANC-organised march in Ditlhake, Koffiefontein, OFS, in April 1990.

BOIKHUTSO, Thokozile (49), was detained for a month in 1990 in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, for allegedly forming an ANC branch in the area. This detention followed several other detentions, beatings and police harassment over a period of 20 years. Ms Boikhutso was targeted because her husband Festus Boikhutso was an ANC member killed in combat in Zimbabwe in 1968.

BOILANE, Bangiso Petros (25), an ANC member from Botshabelo near Bloemfontein, was held in custody by the ANC, first in Tanzania in June 1985, and later in Zambia and Angola. In Angola he was first held at the Viana transit camp and then at Quibaxe. While in custody he was subjected to torture over a prolonged period.

BOINAMO, Gaolathle George (36), was arrested in Mmbatho, Bophuthatswana, on 1 June 1983 and again in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 15 January 1984, and severely tortured by members of the Security Branch because of his opposition to the Mangope regime.

BOJOSI, Grace (2), suffocated when a teargas canister was thrown into her home in Kuruman, Cape, during December 1991 by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police. The incident occurred when police fired teargas and rubber bullets at a crowd in a stadium for singing revolutionary songs.

BOJOSI, Tshepo (1), was severely affected, became ill and later died after members of the Bophuthatswana Police fired teargas at a group of soccer spectators who were singing revolutionary songs at Tsineng Village, near Kuruman, Cape, in December 1991. His sister Grace (2) also died in the same manner.

BOKABA, Lucas Shemane, was killed when a bomb planted by AWB members exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten people were

killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

BOKABA, Solomon Monko (27), a student leader, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, on 7 May 1993 at a protest against the Mangope government at the University of Botswana.

BOKHALE, Buti Herbert (23), was shot in the hand while attending a *stokvel* on 25 July 1993 in Daveyton, Tvl. On the same day, several people were killed or injured during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the township.

BOKHATSI, Lhlohonolo Edward (18), an ANC supporter, was tortured by members of the SAP while in detention in QwaQwa, on 3 December 1990. The police alleged he had been involved in an arson attack on the home of an SAP member.

BOLELWANG, Solly Saul Nukuki, was shot dead in Tembisa, Tvl, on 26 December 1990.

BOLO, Tobile Jackson (42), an ANC member, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment in King William's Town prison, Cape, during the 1960 anti-Pass Law campaign, and later placed under house arrest in King William's Town.

BOLOFO, Michael Ntjanyana (18), was shot and injured by a member of the SADF in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 14 June 1986 soon after a national state of emergency had been declared.

BOLOKA, Matome Philemon, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 10 October 1986. Mr Boloka was attending a community meeting to voice dissatisfaction with the local chief, when members of the SAP attacked those at the meeting.

BOLOSHA, Tembela Rowena, a UDF supporter and executive member of the National Education Union of South Africa, was tortured by Security Branch operatives in Bloemfontein, in August 1986, and had her house at Kasinong, OFS, petrol-bombed on 3 February 1987. An OFS Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for his role in the petrol-bombing (AC/1999/0025).

BOLOTSHWA, Mcekiswa (62), had his house destroyed in an arson attack at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993, in intensifying political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

BOLTINA, Daniel Tembinkosi (17), a PEYCO member monitoring a consumer boycott, was shot in the leg by members of the SAP in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 11 June 1986.

BOLTMAN, (first name not given), a member of the SAP, suffered injuries on 22 July 1992 when he and 12 other policemen were attacked by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members whilst on foot patrol in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. Six policemen were injured in the exchange of fire. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1997/0029).

BOMANI, Constable, a member of the SAP, was burnt to death by members of a youth organisation in Cradock, Cape, during February 1985. Members of the SAP were often seen as legitimate targets in the political conflict of the 1980s.

BOMU, David Kanene (26), an ANC supporter, was detained in Fort Glamorgan prison, East London, and held in solitary confinement from 16 June 1986 to February 1987.

BONA, Sithembele Slovo (22), a SAYCO supporter, was tortured while in detention at Port Elizabeth between 12 June 1986 and 11 April 1989, by named members of the Special Branch and the SAP who allegedly tried to persuade him to become an informer.

BONAS, Johannes Nqabeni (33), a UDF supporter, was shot and then beaten by named members of the SAP when he was arrested at a mass meeting in Richmond, Cape, on 2 July 1985.

BONGANE, Dugmore, was shot dead by NUMSA members during a strike at the Haggie Rand factory in Tembisa, Johannesburg, on 3 April 1990. One NUMSA member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/296).

BONGANI, (first name not given), a suspected criminal, was shot dead in 1992 in Mzimhlope, Soweto, Transvaal, by members of a people's court made up of ANC-supporting street residents. One SDU member who had participated in the people's court was refused amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0317).

BONGCO, Mpumelelo Washington (34), an ANC member, was executed on 10 December 1964 at Pretoria Central Prison, after being found guilty on treason charges.

BONGISILE, Honey Mzimkhulu (18), a UDF supporter, was beaten by members of the SAP in Grahamstown, Cape, on 1 August 1986, during the 1986 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS. He was later charged and served a commuted sentence of two years and six months.

BONGO, Sidwell Zakhele (33), was shot dead at his aunt's house in Senaone, Soweto, Johannesburg, when perpetrators attacked the house on 9 March 1991. Another person was killed in this attack and a third was paralysed. The incident occurred during heightened political conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents.

BONGOZA, Theophilus Ndlovu (35), was detained in the Transkei in June 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

BONGWE, Joyce Livhuwani (12), was shot dead in Dzingane, Thohoyandou, Venda, on 3 February 1990.

BONILE, GH, a member of the SAP, was shot and seriously wounded by APLA members in an armed attack on the Sentra Hyperserve supermarket at Wesselsbron, OFS, on 3 July 1993. Five people were killed and four were wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Six APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/250).

BONOKO, Thupetsi William (36), lost his house in an arson attack by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa. Mr Bonoko resisted the proposed independence of Lebowa.

BONTSI, Nosisi Daisy (43), a UDF supporter, was detained from 27 June 1987 at Cradock, Grahamstown, and East London, Cape, and released on 11 August 1989. Ms Bontsi was also detained on three prior occasions.

BONTSI, Vulindlela Witbooi (49), a UDF supporter, was arrested on 12 June 1986 in East London, and detained until December 1987. He and his wife were

continually arrested during the late 1980s because of their political activities.

BONYANE, Morongwaotsile Pieter (66), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force while attending an ANC meeting on 8 January 1994 in Taung, Bophuthatswana.

BOOI, Andile Adwin (15), was shot dead by unnamed members of the security forces while he was fuelling a burning barricade in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 17 March 1985.

BOOI, Bongani, a teenager, was abducted from his home in Crossroads, Cape Town, in 1993. He was assaulted before being released by men acting for a named Crossroads leader.

BOOI, Edward Vuyisile, a COSAS member, was arrested and severely beaten by members of the SAP on 1 January 1987 in Tembisa, Tvl, for allegedly bombing a shop in Kempton Park, Tvl.

BOOI, Mzwandile Michael (23), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 17 June 1977 at KwaNobuhle, Port Elizabeth, during violent political unrest following a march the previous day to commemorate the SOWETO UPRISING.

BOOI, Nomvo (24), a PAC supporter, was beaten by members of the SAP at Engcobo, Transkei, in August 1963. A year later she was charged with furthering the aims of a banned organisation, and sentenced to three years in prison.

BOOI, Roselinah Notembekile Ndokosa (55), was shot and injured by police during a rally against high rentals in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 22 March 1985. She was reportedly refused medical treatment at the nearest hospital.

BOOI, Simpiwe (21), a UDF and ANC supporter, was arrested and imprisoned for several years on charges of public violence in Cape Town during 1976. In 1986, he survived shootings and an allegedly deliberate attempt by police to run him over with a vehicle while he was part of a *toyi-toying* crowd.

BOOI, Sindiphi Stalin (23), an ANC youth leader, was tied to a telephone pole and beaten with sjamboks by named supporters of the local chief at Stanhope, King William's Town, Cape, on 28 September 1992, allegedly to coerce him into joining the ADM.

BOOI, Sylvia Mandisa (40), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 20 May 1993, during attempts by a local leader to remove residents from Section 2 by force.

BOOI, Vuyisani (16), a UDF supporter, was hit by a ricochet bullet which had been fired by an Inkatha supporter and directed at his uncle, at their home in Lamontville, near Durban, on 15 September 1985.

BOOIS, Motshabi Emely (18), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 21 November 1993. Ms Boois had taken part in a march by the Motsweding community to protest against the misuse of community funds by the Mangope-appointed local chief.

BOOKHOLANE, Thabang Moses (21), an ANC member from Port Elizabeth, was killed in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in

the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique, on 30 January 1981. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed.

BOOSMAN, Klaas (25), was arrested on charges of public violence and tortured in detention at Pearston, Cape, on 19 March 1985. He was acquitted of all charges.

BOOTH, E, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

BOOYENS, Dudley Alexander, was one of five people injured when a limpet mine placed by MK operatives exploded at an electricity sub-station in Chamberlain, Jacobs, Durban, on 9 January 1986. One SAP member was fatally wounded. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/108).

BOOYSE, Jacomina Thespina (49), was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

BOOYSEN, American Petrus, an SAP member, was injured in Bloemfontein in 1990, when an MK operative threw a hand grenade at a police minibus. The MK operative was attempting to evade arrest. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/096).

BOOYSEN, Edward (30), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Wolseley, Cape, on 24 November 1990, when police opened fire on a legal community protest march. Several others were injured.

BOOYSEN, Grace, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

BOOYSEN, Hercules Benjamin (33), a UDF supporter and CAYCO member, was detained and tortured repeatedly at the Guguletu police station, Cape Town, by named and other members of the Security Branch and Riot Police in June 1986. He was then detained under emergency regulations for several months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

BOOYSEN, Jan, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

BOOYSEN, Mbuyiselo Puni (15), a CAYCO member, was shot in the leg in KTC, Cape Town, in 1986. He was one of several CAYCO members arrested in October 1986 and tortured by named SAP members while in detention at the Guguletu police station, Cape Town.

BOOYSEN, Queenie, died after inhaling teargas fired into her home by members of the SAP at Despatch, Cape, on 31 March 1985.

BOOYSEN, Vuyisanani Judith, was robbed of her motor vehicle by four APLA operatives in Herschel, near Lady Grey, OFS, on 19 November 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/134).

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

BOOYSEN, Zetembele Arnold, an ANC supporter, was beaten by members of the SAP while in detention in Klipplaat, Cape, on 13 June 1985.

BOPALAMO, Maggie Mirriam Chinto (49), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured in Mogwase, Bophuthatswana, in June 1988. Ms Bopalamo was reportedly held in solitary confinement for three months and kept under house arrest upon her release.

BOPAPE, Dominic, a COSAS member, was detained for three weeks in September 1986 in Middelburg, Tvl, during clashes between the police and students.

BOPAPE, Mackenzie (53), an ANC supporter and school teacher, disappeared from the police station in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in January 1982 after he called in a named SAP member to help him solve a dispute with his tenants. The policeman allegedly informed Mr Bopape's family that his clothes had been found on a river bank.

BOPAPE, Maisha 'Stanza' Johannes (27), a Mamelodi Civic Association committee member, died while being subjected to electric shock torture at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, on 12 June 1988. Mr Bopape's body was allegedly subsequently thrown into the crocodile-infested Komati River at Komatipoort. Seven Witwatersrand Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, applied for amnesty for the incident and the subsequent cover-up. The head of Security Branch Headquarters and two members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch, including the divisional commander, sought amnesty for their role in the cover-up. All applicants were granted amnesty (AC/2000/059).

BOPAPE, Tsekera Abner (30), was shot dead in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 by local residents who mistook him for a member of IMBOKODO during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

BOQO, Ismael, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

BOQO, Petrus, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two

MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

BORENE, Paulina (44), had her home burnt down by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 25 December 1992. The chief of the community had fallen into disfavour with the Bophuthatswana government and, as a result, residents were forcibly removed.

BOROKO, Lucas (60), was abducted and beaten with several other people with sjamboks and batons by KwaNdebele Police at Philadelphia prison in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in October 1987. The police were trying to stem community resistance to proposed INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

BOROKO, Motlatsi (41), lost her home in Moutse, KwaNdebele, when it was burnt down on 17 December 1985 after youths fleeing an attack by members of the SAP and SADF took refuge there, during conflict around the proposed INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

BOROKO, Phora Jacob, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Bophuthatswana Police during a protest march by the community on 7 March 1990 in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana.

BOROKO, Poppie Elizabeth (49), was shot and injured when IFP supporters and members of the SAP attacked residents in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 August 1990 during intense political conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents.

BOS, Sharon Desire, was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BOSCH, Zwelinzima Hamilton (51), was held in police custody for three months in 1985 after attending a community meeting to discuss rent boycotts in Ethembeni, Prieska, Cape. Mr Bosch lost ownership of his house while in custody.

BOSHIGO, Johannes Mosheku (16), lost an eye after a severe beating by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 17 September 1985 during the partial state of emergency.

BOSHIGO, Papi, was shot and killed by members of the SAP looking for APLA members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 20 June 1993.

BOSHOFF, Martha, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Wild Coast Casino in Bizana, Transkei, on 18 April 1986. Two people were killed and several others injured in the explosion. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/99/0181 and AC/2000/240).

BOSIAME, Kabelo Harry (41), was shot and injured by a named SAP member during Workers' Day protests in Olifantshoek, Cape, on 1 May 1993.

BOSMAN, Amogelang Mirriam, was detained in Tswelelang, Wolmaransstad, Tvl, under the emergency regulations on 26 June 1986. Ms Bosman was detained for three months, beaten and forced to strip naked. Ms Bosman was accused of being a leader of the youth who were burning houses in the township. Ms Bosman's husband was detained at the same time.

BOSMAN, Mission (24), was shot and injured by SAP members in Ethembeni, Prieska, Cape, on 19 November 1990, during an ANC protest march. He was charged with public violence, but released.

BOSMAN, Molatliwa Solomon (36), was detained in Tswelelang, Wolmaransstad, Tvl, under emergency regulations on 26 June 1986. Mr Bosman was detained for five months, beaten and forced to strip naked. He was accused of removing bullets from children shot by the police. Mr Bosman's wife was detained at the same time.

BOSMAN, Mqolisi Gilbert 'Schoolboy' (28), was shot and injured by police in Danielskuil, Cape, in April 1990, during a consumer boycott that led to conflict between the police and the community.

BOSMAN, Nzimeni Patric 'Zee Four' (23), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Kuruman, Cape, on 30 November 1991, while organising a consumer boycott in the community.

BOSMAN, Qhayisile (18), a UDF supporter, was shot and then burnt to death by members of the SAP in Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, on 6 April 1986.

BOSS, Tanduxolo (13), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Zwelitsha, Addo, Cape, on 13 April 1985, while he and others were organising a mass meeting. Two other youths died and another was blinded in the shooting.

BOTA, Hlalathe Theophilus (43), had his home destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters in 1986 during conflict between WITDOEKE vigilantes and UDF supporters in and around Crossroads, Cape Town.

BOTA, Mlandeli (13), drowned in the Buffalo River on 23 July 1985 after being chased by members of the Ciskei Police during SCHOOLBOYCOTTS in Zwelitsha, Ciskei.

BOTA, Zimasile Joseph (29), the Adelaide Youth Congress vice-chairperson, was tortured in detention by named members of the SAP in Adelaide, Cape, in March 1985, and again in March 1986.

BOTES, Gert Jacobus, a traffic officer, was shot and injured by MK operatives in Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 27 September 1991. The MK operatives were escaping arrest after being stopped at a roadblock by traffic officers. Several other traffic officers were also injured and a passing motorist was shot dead and robbed of his vehicle by the fleeing operatives. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1998/0091).

BOTHA (FRANCKE), Paula (17), sustained severe injuries and was badly scarred when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives

were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BOTHA, (first name not given), a sergeant in the SAP, was assaulted by a UDF supporter who was imprisoned at Nylstroom prison, Tvl, in 1988. The assault took place after the death of a fellow prisoner, an incident which had angered the prisoners. One UDF supporter was granted amnesty for the assault (AC/2000/095).

BOTHA, Christoffel, a member of the SAP, was killed when a car bomb exploded outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's court on 20 May 1987. Three other policemen were also killed in the explosion, which took place after a decoy smaller bomb had lured them to the scene. Three other people were injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0067).

BOTHA, Daniel (34), was arrested in Mossel Bay, Cape, in September 1976, and then beaten by members of the SAP at the police station. He was convicted of public violence, and sentenced to 16 months in prison.

BOTHA, George (30), a schoolteacher, died in police custody on 15 December 1976 in the Security Police offices at the Sanlam Building, Strand Street, Port Elizabeth. Mr Botha had been detained for five days. Named members of the Security Police alleged that Mr Botha threw himself off a sixth-floor stairwell after interrogation.

BOTHA, JH, a member of the SAP, was shot and seriously wounded by APLA members in an armed attack on the Sentra Hyperserve supermarket at Wesselsbron, OFS, on 3 July 1993. Five people were killed and four were wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Six APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/250).

BOTHA, JJ, a warrant officer in the SAP, was injured when MK operatives from the 'Dolphin Unit' detonated a limpet mine at the Security Branch offices in Roodepoort, Tvl, on 17 August 1984. Four other members of the Security Branch and several civilians were also injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/0003).

BOTHA, Neville (21), died after being shot by SAP members in Retreat, Cape Town, on 8 September 1976 after the SOWETO UPRISING.

BOTHA, Petrus Frederik (52), a commandant in the SADF, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BOTHA, Sandile Izak (19), a UDF supporter, was arrested and severely tortured by named SAP members in Colesberg, Cape, on 5 July 1985. He was one of 80 Colesberg residents arrested that day, accused of public violence, after the fatal shooting of four youths by police.

BOTHA, Selwyn (22), was shot dead by SPECIAL CONSTABLES in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 16

January 1988. Two other persons were shot dead by Special Constables in Bongoletu that day. A fourth person died of serious injuries two years later. The community subsequently won a court restraining order against the Special Constables.

BOTHA, Weyers Ivor, a member of the SAP, was killed when a car bomb exploded outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's court on 20 May 1987. Three other policemen were also killed in the explosion, which took place after a decoy smaller bomb had lured them to the scene. Three other people were injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0067).

BOTHA, Willie (50) was shot dead by a named SAP member in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels.

BOTHA, Zamikhaya Wilberforce 'Bulldozer' (11), lost an eye after being shot with a rubber bullet by members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, on 16 January 1986. He was shot while an onlooker at a scene of an unrest incident.

BOTILE, (first name not given), a community councillor, suffered damage to his home in a hand grenade attack by MK operatives in Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, during 1986. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0317).

BOTIPE, Ilan (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by the SAP in Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 3 March 1990, when conflict broke out between police and boycotting students. This occurred at a time of widespread and lengthy SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in areas of the OFS.

BOTSOERRE, Sebenzile Jacob (18), a COSAS member, was shot and killed by IFP supporters in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 3 December 1991.

BOTTOMAN, Archibald Clement Pumelele, an ANC member, was detained by the members of the SAP at Idutywa, Transkei, in 1965, and was moved from prison to prison for six years. He appeared in court for the first time in 1971 at Pietermaritzburg, and was charged with being a member of a banned organisation.

BOTTOMAN, Emily Haciwe (45), was repeatedly harassed by members of the SAP in Despatch, Cape, during 1985, after her son had been killed. The perpetrators allegedly insisted that Ms Bottoman sign a letter laying out instructions for her son's funeral arrangements.

BOTTOMAN, Mqondeli Wilmot (55), had his home destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 13 August 1985. Mr Bottoman had reportedly refused to give some UDF youths petrol with which to burn houses.

BOTTOMAN, Xolile (15), was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Despatch, Cape, on 9 March 1985.

BOUWER, C, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives

were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BOUWER, Dawn Meg Manda (30), was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

BOUWER, Etienne (30), was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

BOVU, David, (1), was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, while strapped to his mother's back. The incident occurred on 5 March 1992 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

BOVU, Nompumelelo Ruth (34), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 5 March 1992. Her baby who was strapped to her back was shot dead. The incident occurred during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

BOWERS, Gordon Edward, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

BOWERS, Maria Elisabet (46), was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

BOYCE, Nomandi Christina (39), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 February 1993 in a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing conflict over access to resources. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down in this attack.

BOYI, Guza, was arrested in Lusikisiki, Transkei, in 1960, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

BOYI, Makhi (24), a PAC supporter, was arrested by members of the SAP and a named Security Branch member in King William's Town, Cape, on 9 April 1963.

He was imprisoned for two years during which time he was tortured. He had been involved in an armed attempt to free PAC leaders from prison. In the years following his release he was harassed and assaulted by members of the Security Branch, some of whom are named.

BOZO, Tabani Candra, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Daveyton, Tvl, on 23 July 1993 during political conflict in the area.

BRAAM, Connie, an ANC member, was poisoned in Harare, Zimbabwe, in September 1987. She believes members of the Special Branch, CCB and Military Intelligence were responsible for this incident and other attempts on her life which included a bomb that did not explode. As a result of the poisoning, she suffered post-traumatic stress.

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

BRANDER, Carel Carolus (24), was shot and injured in Wolseley, Cape, on 24 November 1990, when members of the SAP opened fire on a legal community protest march as Mr Brander was passing by. One man was killed and several others injured.

BRAUDE, Benjamin (31), a civilian, was shot and injured when APLA operatives attacked the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town, on 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. Mr Braude was outside a neighbouring restaurant when he was hit. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026).

BREEDT, J, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BRENNER, Friedrich Wilhelm (20), was framed for the murder of three members of an ANC-supporting family in Benoni, Tvl, in 1986. Mr Brenner was shot by members of the Benoni SAP for refusing to implicate his co-accused. He was imprisoned, charged and convicted. Mr Brenner spent ten years in prison – two and a half years on death row. A member of the CCB has applied for amnesty for the killings.

BRETT, D, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

BREYTENBACH, W, suffered material loss when a bomb planted by AWB supporters exploded and destroyed the premises of his medical practice at Sannieshof, Tvl,

on 28 February 1994. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

BRICKHILL, Jeremy, an ANC member, was severely injured in a car bomb in 1987 in Maputo, Mozambique. The attack was instigated by named Special Branch and CCB operatives.

BRINK, Deon Peter, a UDF supporter, was repeatedly beaten by a named SAP member at the Manenberg police station, Cape Town, in November 1985, allegedly because of his involvement in student politics.

BRITS, EMM, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BRITS, Erica (33), was severely injured on 4 April 1992 when a bomb planted by members of the AWB exploded at the Rand Easter Show in Johannesburg. Her husband was also injured in the bomb blast.

BRITS, Fredrich Ivan (35), was injured on 4 April 1992 when a bomb planted by members of the AWB exploded at the Rand Easter Show in Johannesburg. His wife was also injured in the bomb blast.

BRITS, JB, a policeman, and two of his colleagues were injured in an attack by APLA operatives at the Kragbon Police Dog Unit in Sasolburg, OFS, during 1993. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/239).

BRITTION, Susan Barbara (48), an ECC member, was detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act and kept in solitary confinement at CR Swart Square in Durban for 12 days in September 1985.

BRITZ, Adelina (2), was burnt to death by IFP supporters at Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 June 1992 during clashes between IFP and ANC supporters. Her sibling was also burnt to death in this incident.

BRITZ, Annie Petronella (30), was shot and injured in Wolseley, Cape, on 24 November 1990. She was looking for her children at the community hall, where residents were staging a legal protest march, when members of the SAP opened fire on them. One man was killed and several others injured.

BRITZ, Johanna Maria (38), was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

BRITZ, Lazarus (4), was burnt to death by IFP supporters at Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 June 1992 during clashes between IFP and ANC supporters. His sibling was also burnt to death in the incident.

BRITZ, Mapule Alice (40), lost her home in Sebokeng, Tvl, when it was petrol-bombed by IFP supporters on 18 June 1992. Ms Britz's two children burnt to death in the attack. The attack occurred during intense political conflict in the area.

BRITZ, Rapule Daniel, suffered severe ill-treatment and had his property damaged during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

BRITZ, Wetton (4), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Wolseley, Cape, on 24 November 1990. He was with his mother at the community hall, where residents were staging a legal protest march.

BRODY, Abegail (19), was injured in a limpet mine attack by APLA members at the Buffalo Springs Spur restaurant in Queenstown, Cape, on 3 December 1992. See APLA ATTACKS.

BRODY, Shane Ryan (22), was injured in a limpet mine attack by APLA members at the Buffalo Springs Spur restaurant in Queenstown, Cape, on 3 December 1992. See APLA ATTACKS.

BRONKHORST, Richard (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter at Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 November 1991. The incident took place as ANC supporters were returning from a rally in the area.

BROOKS, Alan Keith, a member of the African Resistance Movement, was detained on 4 July 1964 and held for several months in solitary confinement in Cape Town. During his detention he was severely beaten by named Security Branch members at Caledon Square police station. He was convicted of sabotage and served two years of a five-year prison sentence.

BROWN, Leonard, a member of the Brits Action Committee, suffered damage to property on 27 May 1986 when his family home was bombed by a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch in Oukasie, Brits, Tvl. No one was injured in the attack, although eight family members were in the house at the time. Six perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2001/240).

BRUINS-LICH, L, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BRUMMER, Shirley Ethne, a civilian, was shot and killed when APLA operatives opened fire with automatic weapons on the vehicle in which she was travelling between Herschel and Lady Grey, OFS, on 19 November 1992. Three people were killed and five injured in the ambush. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/134).

BRUYNS, Lea Magdalena, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

BRYCE, Gary Duncan, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on

14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

BUCIBO, Champein Abram, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Phiritona, Heilbron, OFS, on 22 July 1992, when police opened fire to disperse a crowd of protesters gathered in the street.

BUCIBO, Joshua Mkhulu, was shot in the leg and stomach when residents of the Vaal Triangle embarked on a rent boycott during 1984. The boycott escalated into a full scale uprising which also led to the deaths of a number of town councillors. See VAAL UPRISING.

BUCKLE, JD, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BUCKLE, P, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BUCKTON, Cedric Henry (28), was shot and injured by members of the South African Railway Police in Athlone, on 15 October 1985, in the TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN.

BUCWA, Kwanele Moses (16), was shot in the head and injured, and then arrested and assaulted by members of the SAP while he was riding a bicycle at the front of procession of mourners marching to a prohibited funeral at Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

BUHALI, Joseph Mshayina (23), was detained on 21 July 1976 and then beaten and tortured with electric shocks. While working at the Witbank Hospital he had illegally supplied food to children injured during the SOWETO UPRISING.

BUKA, Alfred Zakade (54), was charged in 1986 with aiding and abetting terrorists in Umtata, Transkei. He was convicted and sentenced to seven years in prison, and was released in 1989. Mr Buka had also been detained and tortured in 1985.

BUKHOSINI, Constance Jabulisiwe (33), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUKHOSINI, Nomusa N (30), an ANC supporter, had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 18 April 1991.

BUKHOSINI, Thandiwe Mirriet (37), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC

supporters on 11 February 1990 at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, during violent conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

BUKOSINI, Zamazulu Eunice (43), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUKUBUKWANA, Mkhululi (20), an ANC supporter, was tortured after his arrest on 15 June 1984 in Mdantsane, Ciskei. He had allegedly refused to be a police informer.

BUKULA, Elias (27), was arrested and tortured in custody by named SAP members in April 1985 after widespread unrest broke out in De Aar, Cape. He was also charged with public violence and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

BULALA, Mkhusele Wiseman, a UDF supporter, was beaten to death by members of AZAPO during political conflict in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 26 May 1985.

BULO, Tuli Wellington (30), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by AZAPO members during political conflict in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, on 1 April 1988.

BULOSE, Bhabhe Zebulon (33), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BULOSE, Bongeni Tholakele (22), a UDF supporter, had her house near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 26 January 1988.

BULOSE, Buyelaphi (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BULOSE, Fakazile Phakamile (23), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BULOSE, Gqigqa (61), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BULOSE, Lindeni (64), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BULOSE, Makazi Murriel (40), lost her home in an arson attack at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 20 March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BULOSE, Msongellia Elias (54), had his house destroyed in an arson attack at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1989, in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

BULOSE, Musakawukho John (66), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BULOSE, Ndu Basisiwe (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Inanda,

near KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 July 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

BULOSE, Ngenzeni Gretta (42), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BULOSE, Sipho (45), was shot dead by IFP supporters at his home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 August 1993. Mr Bulose and his family had fled their home earlier that year because of the political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. He was killed when he returned to retrieve some of the family's possessions.

BULOSE, Zombo (73), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUNGANA, Mcingelwa Peter, an ANC supporter, broke his shoulder-blade when a political meeting he was attending was raided by members of the SAP in 1960 during the Ngquza raid at Ngqeleni, Transkei. Police hurled another man at Mr Bungana, severely injuring him.

BUNGANA, Mondli, an ANC supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by the police in Bizana, Transkei, in March 1960. The beatings resulted in internal injuries that led to his death four months later. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

BUNGANE, Mzwandile Mbuso (19), an ANC member from Maluti, Transkei, was shot dead on 9 December 1982 in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats on Maseru, Lesotho. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. Mr Bungane's family had not known he was in exile until they heard over the radio that he was among those killed.

BUNGU, Mzuvukile Victor (27), was shot in his right leg by members of the CDF during political protests in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in January 1982.

BUQA, Daniel Mazizi (28), an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by named SAP members during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT in Jagersfontein, OFS, in February 1990.

BURGERS, Raymond, a BCM member, was arrested in 1975 and held at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, where he was beaten in an attempt to force him to testify against Trevor Bloem, charged under the Terrorism and Communism Act. Mr Burgers and Patric Mcgluwa were suspected of being co-conspirators in discouraging participation in the CRC. They were sentenced to one year's imprisonment after refusing to testify.

BURROWS, Ian P, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BURT, Henry George (34), was tortured in detention in Pretoria, by named members of the SAP on 9 June 1986, and framed for the murder of a policeman to whom he had given a lift. Upon his release he laid criminal charges against one of the perpetrators but he was re-arrested, tried and sentenced to death despite evidence that he had been tortured. The death sentence was later commuted to a prison sentence. The named perpetrator applied for amnesty for the policeman's killing and for framing Mr Burt and torturing him.

BURULANI, Thabani (45), ANC member, was killed when SACTU residences in Matola near Maputo, Mozambique, was attacked with mortars and rocket launchers by alleged SADF and SA Air Force members on 30 December 1981. The liberation movements were based in neighbouring countries and the SADF conducted numerous cross-border raids into these frontline states that supported the ANC in exile and other liberation movements. Eleven other ANC members were killed during the attack.

BURWANA, Abel Sipiwo (23), a member of the SAP, was severely burnt when his home was petrol-bombed by ANC and UDF supporters in Robertson, Cape, on 12 October 1985.

BUSAKWE, Kukisina (39), was shot and injured when members of the SAP opened fire on mourners at a night vigil for a member of the community killed by the police, in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in December 1990.

BUSAKWE, Moses Badanile (19), a UDF supporter, was severely tortured by named members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE at Paterson, Cape, in 1987, because he was suspected of involvement in an arson attack.

BUSAKWE, Mxolisi Patrick 'Pororo' (28), was shot and injured by member of the SAP in Kensington, Port Elizabeth, on 25 April 1985 during a curfew.

BUSAKWE, Nosidima Nomvuyo (30), was beaten with sjamboks and rifle-butts by members of the CDF in King William's Town, Cape, on 6 September 1992 during a clash between tribal authorities and ANC supporters.

BUSAKWE, Wiseman (40), was beaten by members of the CDF in King William's Town, Cape, on 6 September 1992 during a clash between tribal authorities and ANC supporters.

BUSANE, Bonubakhe Sipho (59), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by unidentified perpetrators in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 December 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

BUSANE, Busisiwe (64), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANE, Diphoza Zakithi (45), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANE, Fotho (50), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANE, Hlambephi (62), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANE, Lungile Ladyfair, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANE, Mchiki (54), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANE, Mkhombeni (53), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANE, Nosheshe (51), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANE, Ntombenhle (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANE, Qhamukile Themarozzi (45), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANE, Sibongile Shongani (51), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANE, Thandi Muriel (36), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANE, Thoko Flora (43), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANE, Thoko Maureen, an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 20 April 1994 near Tongaat, Natal, in violent conflict between supporters of the ANC and IFP during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BUSANE, Tholakele (74), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANI, Bonbakhe Sipho (59), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 13 December 1993 during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. Mr Busani was allegedly believed to be an ANC supporter.

BUSANI, Busisiwe (54), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANI, Daniel, an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe,

KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANI, Julie Sithembile (27), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANI, Khopo (58), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANI, Kohlwangifile Daniel (59), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANI, Nikiwe Khethiyoni (26), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANI, Rose, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANI, Sibongile Dolly (26), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANI, Ziphozonke (31), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

BUSANI, Zondwayo (51), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF on 20 January 1990 at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

BUSHULA, Foli, was one of several young men abducted, assaulted and necklaced on 2 February 1987, by a large crowd of residents of Mdantsane, Ciskei. The victims were allegedly accused of being part of a criminal gang called the 'Killer Boys'. Mr Bushula and three others were burnt to death while one survived with serious injuries. Twelve perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0049).

BUSHULA, Justice Lungisa (29), was shot and injured when members of the SAP opened fire on residents discussing IFP violence in Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1991 during ongoing political violence on the East Rand.

BUSIKA, Mthetheli Middleton (17), was tortured in detention by named members of the Security Branch at West Bank prison, East London. While attending a commemorative service for the SOWETO UPRISING on 16 June 1986 in Duncan Village, he was arrested and detained for six months.

BUSIKA, Neliswa Nonhunha (18), a UDF supporter, was detained and tortured, and charged with murder, arson and public violence at Stutterheim, Cape, in November 1985. She was released on bail after six months and eventually sentenced to prison on these charges.

BUSOBUBI, Makulele (38), an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters in Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1992.

BUSOBUBI, Songezwa Nosebenzile (33), lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 26 July 1993, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

BUSTIN, Richard, and four SADF members, were attacked in their patrol by MK operatives in Rita township, Lebowa, on 16 June 1990. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/98).

BUSWANA, Addison Zacharia (63), had his home destroyed in two arson attacks by ANC supporters on 3 August and 5 October 1992 in Mfuleni, Cape Town. He was a community COUNCILLOR and a target of the ANC campaign to pressure councillors to resign.

BUTA, Sombere Bert (57), lost his home near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975 during violent conflict between supporters of rival chiefs.

BUTELE, Sophie (43), was beaten and shot dead by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Philipstown, Cape, on 22 December 1985. The policeman's father was then killed by an angry crowd.

BUTELEZI, Phumephi Florence (44), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters on 12 February 1994 during an attack on IFP residents in Wosiyana, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. About 20 deaths of victims, from both the IFP and the ANC, and least 28 incidents of house burning were recorded in this month. Hundreds of people were forced to flee the area, and schools and shops were forced to close.

BUTELI, Sophy, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE during protests in Philipstown, Cape, on 21 December 1985. The perpetrator opened fire allegedly after Ms Buteli had accused him of being an informer.

BUTHELEZI, (first name not given), was shot by a named perpetrator and others while on his way home from an ANC meeting in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl on 16 December 1991.

BUTHELEZI, Agnes (55), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in February 1994, in political conflict in the area.

BUTHELEZI, Alfred Pillemon (36), an ANC member, was abducted, then shot and hacked to death by members of the ANC self-defence unit (SDU) on 7 December 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl. Mr Buthelezi was one of 11 ANC members killed, nine execution style, by SDU members in Moleleki Section, Katlehong, during conflict between the local ANC Youth League and SDU members. His son was also killed in the incident. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

BUTHELEZI, Alson (44), an ANC supporter, was displaced from his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, after it was burnt down in 1992 in intensifying conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

BUTHELEZI, Babekile Andrina, an IFP supporter, was stabbed and shot by ANC supporters at her home in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 14 February 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994

ELECTIONS. She had been accused of storing weapons for the IFP.

BUTHELEZI, Bangokhwakhe, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

BUTHELEZI, Bhukumusa Mdhakamiseni (33), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by named ANC supporters following the funeral of an ANC member in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 October 1992.

BUTHELEZI, Bhekuyise Obert (41), was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

BUTHELEZI, Bongani Justice (26), an ANC youth leader, was arrested, assaulted and forced by members of the ISU to drink petrol on 24 March 1994 at the Mondlo police station, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal. During the incident, his house was burnt by unidentified persons.

BUTHELEZI, Bonginkosi Remegius, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

BUTHELEZI, Bonile Girlie Deli (64), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down at Mahedeni, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 April 1994 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters prior to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BUTHELEZI, Boy, was shot dead by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tembisa, Tvl, on 25 October 1993. The SDU member believed that Mr Buthelezi was a member of the TOASTER GANG. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1999/0232).

BUTHELEZI, Busisiwe Ntombi (30), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters on 13 July 1993 in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Her husband had been hacked to death by ANC supporters a year earlier.

BUTHELEZI, BV, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

BUTHELEZI, Christina Thethiwe (18), was shot in the spine and paralysed by members of the SAP in

Soweto, Johannesburg, during the SOWETO UPRISING of 16 June 1976.

BUTHELEZI, Dudusi, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters during political conflict in Pinetown, Natal, in December 1998.

BUTHELEZI, Ernestina Hlupepi (54), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1993 at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

BUTHELEZI, Gabangani Tom (37), an IFP supporter, was shot and killed by members of the SADF in Tokoza, Tvl, on 13 December 1990, during intense political conflict in the area.

BUTHELEZI, Gatsha, was shot dead by alleged IFP supporters in Emdeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 April 1991 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

BUTHELEZI, Henry Ditaba (22), an ANC supporter and a taxi driver, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 22 February 1990 in conflict between ANC- and IFP-aligned taxi associations following the unbanning of political parties on 2 February 1990.

BUTHELEZI, Hlalele Anna (75), an IFP supporter, was forced to flee her home at Mahedeni, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, when it was burnt down by ANC supporters on 12 February 1994. About 20 deaths of victims from both the IFP and the ANC and at least 28 incidents of house burning were recorded that month. Hundreds of people were forced to flee the area, and schools and shops were forced to close.

BUTHELEZI, Idah 'Freda', was shot and seriously injured by named IFP supporters on 30 September 1993 at Diepdale, near Ermelo, Tvl, when the vehicle in which and she and nine others were travelling was ambushed. Ten youths were returning from a court appearance in connection with the killing of a local chief when they were attacked, allegedly by the chief's son and other IFP supporters. Four of the accused were killed and three others injured in this attack.

BUTHELEZI, Isabel (39), an IFP supporter, had her home near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 21 February 1993.

BUTHELEZI, Jabulani Philip (33), an IFP supporter, was severely assaulted and had his home burnt down by a group of ANC supporters in Blood River, near Dundee, Natal, on 20 April 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BUTHELEZI, James Dumisani (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters assisted by CAPRIVI TRAINEES in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 November 1989.

BUTHELEZI, Jerry Mbongeleni (34), an ANC supporter, was assaulted together with two others and then burnt to death by IFP supporters while distributing ANC material in Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, on 23 April 1994, four days before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BUTHELEZI, Jonathan, an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was

granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

BUTHELEZI, Jostine Makho (30), an ANC supporter, was killed when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

BUTHELEZI, Julia (30), an ANC supporter, was gang-raped in her home by IFP supporters looking for 'comrades' in Katlehong, Tvl, in August 1990. Ms Buthelezi's three sisters and a friend were also gang-raped during this attack. A fourth sister was stabbed in her back.

BUTHELEZI, Julia Maki Maitse, was shot dead by named local self-defence unit (SDU) members in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Ms Buthelezi was one of 11 people killed in Moleleki Section, Katlehong, Tvl between 7 and 8 December 1993 during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members in which nine ANCYL members were killed execution-style. The SDU members involved applied for but were denied amnesty.

BUTHELEZI, Malekgithi Ellen (41), was shot and injured as she left work on 30 April 1991, allegedly by members of the SADF patrolling Katlehong, Tvl, during a protest march of teachers and students.

BUTHELEZI, Mandhla Douglas (50), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 24 April 1993.

BUTHELEZI, Mandla David (20), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by an Inkatha supporter during political conflict at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 21 December 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0334).

BUTHELEZI, Mduduzi Zephania (42), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by other ANC supporters at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 1 January 1993 in a serious internal feud within the organisation.

BUTHELEZI, Mduduzi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 12 May 1990 in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in escalating conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

BUTHELEZI, Mfene (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the IFP in Greytown, Natal, on 25 June 1991.

BUTHELEZI, Mfihlo Alfred (69), fled his house when it was burnt down by Inkatha supporters at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

BUTHELEZI, Mkhombiseni (53), an IFP leader, was shot dead by ANC supporters on 6 June 1993 in Mtubatuba, near Empangeni, Natal.

BUTHELEZI, Mkhulu Joseph (74), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters on 12 February 1994 in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. At least 28 incidents of house burning were recorded that

month. Hundreds of people were forced to flee the area, and schools and shops were forced to close.

BUTHELEZI, Mlungisi, was shot dead by MK operatives at Edendale Hospital, near Pietermaritzburg, on 4 May 1986. He was killed, and four people were injured, in crossfire between the operatives and police when the operatives raided the hospital to free a member of their MK unit who was being held there. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

BUTHELEZI, Ms (first name not given), was shot and severely injured by unidentified attackers at her home in Empangeni, Natal, in the early 1990s. Ms Buthelezi lived in a community that was regarded as ANC-aligned. Her grandson was abducted during the attack and was later found dead.

BUTHELEZI, Mshiyeni Alfred, an ANC supporter, was beaten and shot at, and had his home burnt down, by named IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 17 November 1992.

BUTHELEZI, Msizi (12), from an ANC-supporting family, was stabbed to death and mutilated by named IFP supporters on 16 December 1991 in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal.

BUTHELEZI, Mthobi Anton (24), an IFP supporter, had his home in Vryheid, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 20 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BUTHELEZI, Muzinamandla, was shot and died from his wounds in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban on 5 February 1994 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. At least 28 incidents of house burning were recorded that month. Hundreds of people were forced to flee the area, and schools and shops were forced to close.

BUTHELEZI, Nathaniel, an employee of Rand Water, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 February 1992. Four people died and eight were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225).

BUTHELEZI, Nelson (27), an ANC supporter, was burnt and shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 3 August 1993 in ongoing political conflict on the East Rand which escalated after an ANC march past a Tokoza hostel on May 22 1993. The clashes which followed led to more than 80 deaths.

BUTHELEZI, Ngqangqa Jacob (37), an IFP supporter, had his four houses at Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, destroyed by ANC supporters on 15 June 1991.

BUTHELEZI, Nhlanhla John, a UDF supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP at Duduza police station, Nigel, Tvl, on 1 January 1986.

BUTHELEZI, Nompumelelo Mildred, was shot and injured by IFP supporters during political conflict at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 January 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

BUTHELEZI, Norah Ntombifuthi (37), an ANC supporter, was attacked and had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 3 March 1990 in KwaMashu, Durban.

BUTHELEZI, Ntombinkulu Kate (35), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 2 December 1991. The same people who burnt down Ms Buthelezi's home had earlier that day killed her husband when a dispute at Durnacol Mines escalated into violent ethnic conflict.

BUTHELEZI, Ntombizonke Mavis (34), an ANC supporter, was gang-raped in her home by IFP supporters looking for 'comrades' in Ktlehong, Tvl, in August 1990. Ms Buthelezi's three sisters and a friend were also gang-raped during this attack. A fourth sister was stabbed in her back.

BUTHELEZI, Petros Mehlo, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters during intense political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 December 1989.

BUTHELEZI, Phakathikwempi Ephraim (45), an Inkatha chairman and praise poet for Inkatha leader Chief MG Buthelezi, was severely injured when a bomb planted by UDF supporters exploded at his home in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 13 January 1990.

BUTHELEZI, Princess (30), an ANC supporter, was gang-raped in her home by IFP supporters looking for 'comrades' in August 1990 in Ktlehong, Tvl. Ms Buthelezi's three sisters and a friend were also gang-raped during this attack. A fourth sister was stabbed in her back.

BUTHELEZI, Rista B, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

BUTHELEZI, Robert Paulos, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

BUTHELEZI, Roster (49), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters at Richmond, Natal, on 3 July 1990.

BUTHELEZI, Samson Punch (53), was shot dead when members of the SADF fired into a crowd in Kabokweni, KaNgwane, on 29 December 1990 during unrest that broke out following a music festival he was attending with his son.

BUTHELEZI, Samuel Bafana (45), a councillor, had his house destroyed in an arson attack in Sebokeng, Tvl, in January 1984 during a rent boycott when councillors were targeted because they were seen as legitimate targets in the struggle against apartheid institutions. See VAAL UPRISING.

BUTHELEZI, Sibongasonke Khubeni (21), was severely injured when he was beaten and repeatedly stabbed

by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in January 1990 during intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

BUTHELEZI, Sibongile (34), a UDF supporter, was stabbed by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 2 February 1989, in intense political conflict in the area.

BUTHELEZI, Sibongile Mintha (34), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by a named IFP member at KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1993. The attack was allegedly motivated by the fact that Ms Buthelezi's sons were ANC supporters.

BUTHELEZI, Sigcawu Siphwe (33), was shot dead by ANC supporters on 12 February 1994 in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, while attending the funeral of a local IFP councillor. About 20 killings of both IFP and ANC supporters were recorded that month. Hundreds of people were forced to flee the area, and schools and shops were forced to close.

BUTHELEZI, Simon Mandla, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

BUTHELEZI, Sipho (32), was abducted from a taxi rank and shot dead by AMASINYORA vigilantes on 11 January 1990 in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

BUTHELEZI, Sipho Dennis (39), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in December 1990 during intensifying conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

BUTHELEZI, Tembeni Isabel (54), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990 at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

BUTHELEZI, Themba Alpheus (31), was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

BUTHELEZI, Thembekile Joyce (41), an ANC supporter, was beaten and had her house burnt down by named IFP supporters on 17 November 1992 at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal.

BUTHELEZI, Thokozani (14), an ANC member, was abducted and shot and hacked to death by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members on 7 December 1993 in Ktlehong, Transvaal. Thokozani was one of eleven ANC members killed, nine execution style, by SDU members in Moleleki Section, Ktlehong, during conflict between the local ANC Youth League and SDU members. His father was also shot dead in the incident. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

BUTHELEZI, Thulani Vincents (17), an IFP supporter, was shot dead when named ANC supporters ambushed his car in Estcourt, Natal, on 16 December 1992. Two of the five IFP supporters with whom he was travelling were killed, while three were injured.

BUTHELEZI, Thulani, was killed when a bomb planted by AWB members exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten people were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

BUTHELEZI, Vera (47), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban on 7 September 1989, because she had refused to attend an Inkatha meeting.

BUTHELEZI, Victor, an IFP supporter, was abducted from work in Germiston, Tvl, in August 1993 and has not been seen since. Relatives believe he was abducted by ANC supporters because of his IFP affiliation.

BUTHELEZI, Vumephi Joyce (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhejane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 September 1992.

BUTHELEZI, Vusumuzi Mbusozayo, a member of the Zulu Royal household, was incarcerated in various ANC CAMPS in Angola and Zambia between 1978 and 1983. Although an Inkatha supporter, Mr Buthelezi states that he joined the ANC in exile to bear witness to the alleged victimisation of Zulu members by the ANC. During his imprisonment, he was periodically deprived of food, water and medical treatment.

BUTHELEZI, Yonke James, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters on 14 February 1994 near Empangeni, Natal, because he was hiding weapons for the IFP. Nine people were killed in political conflict in this area in February 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BUTLER (BOWERS), Shane, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

BUTSHWANE, Mamakie (16), was shot and injured with birdshot by a named member of the SAP in Barkly West, Cape, on 28 November 1990.

BUWA, Luvuyo John, suffered severe ill-treatment and had his property damaged during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

BUWA, Nomhle Elsie, was severely injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

BUWA, Nonosi, was severely injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

BUYA, Nomakhwezi (32), a UDF supporter, was kicked and slapped by named members of the SAP on 9 June 1986, and held for six months in a corrugated iron shack on a farm near Cookhouse, Cape. Named SAP members attempted to bribe the victim to become an *impimpi* (informer).

BUYAPI, James Manka, was arrested and tortured by members of the SAP while in detention at the Queenstown police station, Cape, in November 1962, following a clash between police and PAC activists.

BUYEYE, David (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING.

BUYS, Attie, a sergeant-major in the SADF, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

BUYS, Khethiwe (43), had her home and possessions burnt down at Isithebe, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 13 April 1994 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

BUYS, Marshall Cornelius (33), was beaten, tortured and stabbed to death in Brits, Tvl, on 21 May 1988. He was the chairperson of the Brits Action Committee, which was resisting forced INCORPORATION into the former Bophuthatswana homeland. The named perpetrators were allegedly members of a vigilante group acting against the Oukasie community.

BUZA, Tilu Daniel, a FAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while participating in labour strike action in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 4 December 1992. Two police vans entered the work premises and police members opened fire on the striking miners, injuring six.

BYNEVELDT, Shaun, was shot with rubber bullets by police in Eersterivier, Cape Town, on 6 July 1993, while participating in a community sit-in to demand improved water services.

BYRNE, Kevin, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

BYRON, P, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

CABE, Thembekile Phillip (39), was shot in the leg by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

CABELA, Criselda Nceya (57), an Inkatha supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990 at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

CAICAI, Esther Nontombi (26), was seriously injured in a limpet mine explosion near the Standard Bank in Roodepoort, Tvl, on 3 June 1988. Nobody claimed responsibility for the blast.

CAKWE, Nomboniso, was killed on 12 April 1986 by members of the UDF-aligned SADA Youth Congress at Sada, Hewu, Ciskei. The attackers believed her to be a police informer. She was one of two 'collaborators' killed that day, and several homes were attacked. One UDF supporter applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2001/076).

CALATA, Fort, a UDF activist, was one of the CRADOCK FOUR abducted by the Eastern Cape Security Branch while travelling to Cradock, on 27 June 1985. He was stabbed near Port Elizabeth, after which his body was burnt. Six Eastern Cape Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were refused amnesty for the killings. The commander of *Vlakplaas* was granted amnesty for knowledge of the incident (AC/1999/0350).

CALU, Vincent Lungile (21), a UDF supporter from KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, was arrested on 1 June 1986 and again in 1987 by members of the SAP. He was held at Algoa Park and Louis le Grange Square police stations in Port Elizabeth, where he was interrogated about the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition. During interrogation he was tortured by electric shocks to his genitals and by forced posture known as the helicopter.

CALUZA, Precious Nomathemba, a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1988 during political violence in the area.

CALUZA, Selby Thamsanqa (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named Inkatha supporters on 15 September 1988 in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg.

CALUZA, Tyo Dorah (57), lost her home and possessions in looting by IFP supporters in February 1993 at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

CAMAGU, Khayaletu Reginald (19), a COSAS supporter, was injured when struck in the head with an axe and stabbed by a named perpetrator in July 1980 at his home in Fort Beaufort, Cape. The perpetrator believed Mr Camagu had been involved in an arson attack allegedly carried out by students on his home.

CAMP, Gregory (aka 'George Sanderson') (23), an ANC member, was detained in 1980 and held for seven

years at Quatro, Angola, where he was severely and repeatedly tortured by ANC security members. Mr Camp has been left physically and mentally disabled as a result of his torture. A number of ANC members were detained, tortured and killed during a period of anxiety about infiltration by South African agents following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979.

CAMPBELL, Gillian, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

CANDLOVU, Ndabazakhe, an ANC supporter, was assaulted with rifle-butts by members of the SAP at KwaNdela, Bizana, Transkei, in March 1960, after they had ordered him to step down from his horse and had interrogated him about NONQULWANA meetings. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

CAROLISSEN, Gasant (21), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Hanover Park, Cape Town, on 2 September 1976, during the SOWETO UPRISING.

CAROLISSEN, Ronald Charles (24), was shot dead at close range by a named member of the SAP, in Stellenbosch, Cape, on 8 September 1976, when he and his brother sought shelter in flats to escape teargas fired at protesters.

CARTER, Gwendolyn, a political writer, was harassed by the Witwatersrand Security Branch, who stole her tape-recorded interviews with South African political activists. One Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/0184).

CASEY, Anthony Mark, was stabbed and burnt to death by ANC supporters in Kutloanong, Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 29 September 1990. See KUTLOANONG MOB ATTACK. Four ANC supporters were refused amnesty for the attack (AC/97/0007 and AC/97/0027).

CASSANDRA, Adriano, from the United Nations Observer Mission, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

CASSIEM, Shahied (14), a UDF supporter and member of the BMW, was detained, interrogated, severely beaten and held in solitary confinement in Cape Town in October 1987 by members of a special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT.

CAZA, Fuzile (55), an ANC activist, was shot dead by members of the CDF near Egerton railway station, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 4 August 1983, during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

CAZA, Myekeni Wellington (53), was beaten and tear-gassed by members of the SAP in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 16 June 1986 during a commemorative service for the SOWETO UPRISING.

CEBEKHULU, Bernard Vincent (28), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters on 13 June 1989 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

CEBEKHULU, Bongani, an ANC supporter, was forcefully abducted by the police during 1991 and taken to an IFP stronghold in Umlazi, Durban, where he was shot dead.

CEBEKHULU, Gugile Melca (45), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Elandskop, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down in April 1990 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

CEBEKHULU, Harriet (59), was shot dead by members of the IFP and the ISU in an attack on their home in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 9 March 1994. One other family member was killed and one was injured in the attack. The family home was also burnt down.

CEBEKHULU, Khumbulani Aubrey (28), was shot and stabbed to death by AMASINYORA vigilantes in KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 August 1989 during intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

CEBEKHULU, Linda (43), an ANC supporter, had his house in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in November 1993.

CEBEKHULU, Mandlakayise Alson (45), an ANC supporter and shopsteward, had his house at Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in September 1993. Mr Cebekhulu's son was killed by IFP supporters a week later.

CEBEKHULU, Mathli Pennuel, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter on 17 June 1989 in Camperdown, near Pietermaritzburg.

CEBEKHULU, Mdumiseni (29), was shot dead on 7 May 1993 in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

CEBEKHULU, Mphile Victoria (19), an IFP supporter, had her home near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters in September 1993. Her brother was abducted and killed by ANC supporters and his body found in a forest.

CEBEKHULU, Mtethwa Obed (61), had his house in KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by AMASINYORA vigilantes and other Inkatha supporters on 26 December 1989, after he had refused to join Inkatha. His son had been shot and stabbed to death in an earlier attack on his house.

CEBEKHULU, Ottilla, a UDF supporter, had her home burnt down by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM in Durban in 1986. The happened shortly after her son, who was also a UDF supporter, had been killed, and she had fled the area.

CEBEKHULU, Sifiso Archibald Majobha (24), a UDF supporter, was beaten and shot at during his arrest by KWAZULU POLICE members in 1986 at Camperdown, near Pietermaritzburg.

CEBEKHULU, Sifiso Halalisani (17), an IFP supporter, was abducted and burnt to death by named ANC supporters on 9 October 1993 in Empangeni, Natal. His body was found in a forest at Enseleni three days later. ANC supporters had also carried out an arson attack on his home the previous month.

CEBEKHULU, Simangele Esther (37), an ANC supporter, was displaced when her house was burnt down in an attack at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, by members of the IFP and ISU on 9 March 1994. Her husband and mother were killed in the attack, and a sister was injured.

CEBEKHULU, Sithembi Mavis, an IFP supporter, was repeatedly harassed by ANC supporters in Kwa-Makhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, between 1990 and 1994. She was eventually forced to leave her home.

CEBEKHULU, Thandanani Botas (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the CHESTERVILLE A-TEAM on 23 December 1985 in Chesterville, Durban. Mr Cebekhulu had previously been harassed by police because of his political activities.

CEBEKHULU, Thokozile (52), lost her house in an arson attack at Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, during 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

CEBEKHULU, Thomas (19), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters on 26 November 1987 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

CEBEKHULU, Thula Cyril, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

CEBEKHULU, Zodwa, died on 20 August 1988 after being set alight and burnt by UDF supporters during intense political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban.

CEBEKHULU, Zodwa Elsie (33), an ANC supporter, was severely stabbed by IFP supporters at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 9 March 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the first democratic election of April 1994.

CEBEKHULU, Zodwa, died after being set alight and burnt by UDF supporters on 20 August 1988 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

CEBEKHULU, Bongani Bryan, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters near Empangeni, Natal, in September 1993. His home had been burnt down a week earlier, because his father was a shopsteward and ANC recruiter.

CEBEKHULU, Harriet (53), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 17 August 1992.

CEBEKHULU, Nkosinathi (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 13 April 1993 in Mtunzini, Natal, in

continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

CEBISA, Khoto Stephen (66), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by unidentified persons on 8 September 1992 in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Mr Cebisa and others were on their way to an IFP self-defence training camp when they were attacked.

CEBISA, Lindinkosi Blessing Links (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured during a violent confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters in September 1991 while he was attending an ANC self-defence night camp near Port Shepstone, Natal.

CEBISA, Mlungisi (23), an ANC supporter, had his home attacked by IFP supporters at Uganda Squatter Camp, Blood River, Natal, on 1 December 1991. His brother was stabbed to death during this attack.

CEBISA, Msawenkosi (25), an ANC member, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Uganda squatter camp, Blood River, near Dundee, Natal, on 26 March 1990. His home was attacked because he and his brother were members of the ANC.

CEBISA, Zolile Andile (29), was shot and injured by IFP supporters in a drive-by shooting while he and his friends were waiting for a taxi in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 August 1992. Two of his friends were also injured in this attack.

CECANE, Lawrence Vukile, was shot dead by members of the CDF near Egerton railway station, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 4 August 1983, during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

CECILS, Jurie (34), was shot and blinded in one eye by named members of the Riot Police in Paarl, Cape, on 4 August 1992 during a week of 'rolling mass action' called by the ANC-SACP-COSATU alliance to break the deadlock in national political negotiations.

CEDA, Mncedisi Merriman (48), was detained between December 1985 and March 1986 during the state of emergency at Mdantsane, Ciskei. During his detention, he was tortured by named members of the SAP. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

CEKISANI, Buyiswa Margaret, was tortured by a member of the SAP in Fort Beaufort, Cape during July 1986. Ms Cekisani was returning from vacation when she was stopped by police for travelling during a curfew.

CEKISANI, Moki Jacob Bonisile (34), a BPC and PAC member, was beaten and given electric shocks by named members of the SAP during his detention at Baakens Street police station, Port Elizabeth, in September 1977.

CEKISO, George (19), a UDF supporter, was detained under emergency regulations on 25 August 1986 at Willowmore, Cape. During his detention, he was severely beaten and tortured. He was later charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

CEKISO, Mzwandile 'Sheriff' (28), a UDF supporter and COSATU member, was shot dead by a named perpetrator in KTC, Cape Town, on 3 March 1986, in conflict between UDF supporters and vigilantes.

CELE, Abednigo (31), an IFP supporter, was shot at and had his house burnt down by ANC supporters in 1993 in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal.

CELE, Abednigo Vilo, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 24 July 1993 in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban.

CELE, Adolphus (19), an iKONGO member, was shot in the leg by members of the SAP during 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. His home was also burnt down.

CELE, Agnes (50), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack at Esimozomeni, near Richmond, Natal, in 1990, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

CELE, Alfred Mfanafuthi (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters while distributing pamphlets in the Port Shepstone area of Natal on 22 April 1994, a week before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

CELE, Alson Nenezi (36), was hacked to death by IFP supporters on 24 March 1991 in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal. Mr Cele was with about 30 youths who were tracking the killers of Sigameko Nyawose, an ANC member in the Madakane area, when the group was ambushed.

CELE, Amon Simo (28), a PASO member, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 8 August 1993 in Mtengwane, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

CELE, Amos (59), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death when his house was attacked by IFP supporters on 31 July 1991 at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal.

CELE, Andreas Njabulo (23), an APLA cadre, was detained on suspicion of terrorism for six months from 9 May 1987 and was severely assaulted at Protea police station, Soweto, Johannesburg.

CELE, Audrey Zimbili Stella, an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by unidentified persons in April 1990 at Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intensifying conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area.

CELE, Badanile Benedicta (31), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 24 July 1988.

CELE, Bafanyana Naphtal (62), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters in August 1992 at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal.

CELE, Bandile Caleb (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by other ANC supporters in a serious internal feud on 30 May 1992 near Port Shepstone, Natal.

CELE, Bangukufa (67), a prominent IFP supporter, was shot dead by named ANC supporters on 17 October 1991 at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal. See MTENGWANE ATTACK.

CELE, Beatrice Ntombazane (43), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 12 June 1990 in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban.

CELE, Bekhukwenza (23), was shot dead by members of the SAP at KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 6 August 1988, allegedly in a case of mistaken identity.

CELE, Besizani Jannet (33), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in an attack on her home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her husband was killed in the attack, allegedly carried out by members of the SAP.

CELE, Bhekabantu Samuel, was shot dead when ANC supporters attacked alleged IFP supporters in Mguqile, Ezingqolweni, Natal, on 22 May 1993. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/99/0236).

CELE, Bhekani, a UDF supporter, was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP and Inkatha in Eshowe, Natal, in 1989.

CELE, Bheki, a UDF supporter, was assaulted by Inkatha supporters in September 1985 at KwaMashu, Durban.

CELE, Bhekinkosi Samuel (39), died from multiple wounds sustained at an IFP self-defence training camp on 27 December 1991 at Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal. He was killed by other IFP supporters, who suspected him of 'spying' for the ANC.

CELE, Bhekinkosi Seleku (45), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 2 February 1992.

CELE, Bhekiwe Lilliosa (aka 'Mom Cele') (35), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 October 1991.

CELE, Bhekumuzi George, was shot dead by IFP supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 13 August 1990 in intensifying conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Other family members were also injured and killed in later attacks.

CELE, Bongani Cyril (20), was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP, at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 31 March 1990 at the time of the SEVEN-DAY WAR at Pietermaritzburg.

CELE, Bongani Edwin (22), a UDF supporter from Lamontville, Durban, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 9 July 1987 while in police custody in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban. He was detained at the same time as a number of MK operatives who subsequently disappeared. Police claimed he tried to detonate a hand grenade while pointing out an arms cache. Post mortem reports indicated that he had been shot in the back at close range.

CELE, Bongani Wilson Machas, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 August 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

CELE, Bonginkosi, was abducted from his home in December 1993 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban. He has not been seen since.

CELE, Bongiwe (20), an ANC supporter, had her home near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1991.

CELE, Bonisile Florence (31), an ANC supporter, was killed and mutilated when eight IFP supporters attacked her family home on 2 September 1993 near

Port Shepstone, Natal. Her grandmother also died in the attack, while her uncle was seriously injured.

CELE, Busisiwe Alberica (33), had her home burnt down by named perpetrators on 8 March 1992 near Ixopo, Natal, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

CELE, Cabangani Jalile (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 January 1994 in violent conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

CELE, Christopher (42), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 23 February 1992.

CELE, Christopher, an ANC supporter, was severely injured when a petrol bomb was thrown by named Inkatha supporters into a house in the Alfred area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 February 1990.

CELE, Clifton (aka 'Mondli Lucky') (24), an MK operative, was shot dead and his body mutilated on 21 February 1994 in KwaMashu, Durban. Mr Cele had been in exile until 1992. A councillor in the area allegedly had a 'hit list' for returned ANC exiles.

CELE, Dan, was abducted at gun point, interrogated and shot dead by an IFP member during intense political conflict in Port Shepstone, Natal, in January 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty for the abduction and murder (AC/1999/0339).

CELE, David Jabulani (28), was killed when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

CELE, Dlamu Annie (61), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in July 1993 near Port Shepstone, Natal.

CELE, Doris Thembeliphi (29), had her house burnt down by named IFP supporters on 25 February 1992 near Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal. Ms Cele was allegedly targeted because her son was an active ANC supporter. She eventually fled the area.

CELE, Dorothy Thabisile Thabo (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured on 5 February 1992 in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, when armed men in two minibuses opened fire on ANC supporters, killing three people at the home of an ANC supporter and a further three children on their way to school.

CELE, Duduzile Aubrey (42), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 February 1993 in a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in the course of conflict over access to resources. Ten people were killed and 35 houses burnt down.

CELE, Dumisani (20), was hacked to death when IFP supporters attacked his home in March 1994 at Nthawini, near Stanger, Natal, in violent conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The perpetrators mutilated

and removed parts of his body, and burnt down his family home.

CELE, Duno Jona (51), an ANC supporter, was decapitated by a named IFP supporter near Port Shepstone, Natal, in May 1993.

CELE, Edmund Thalente, was stoned to death by IFP supporters on 26 July 1992 at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in the FOLWENI MASSACRE. He was on his way home from a soccer match when he was caught up in the attack.

CELE, Elizabeth Naqhenya (38), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 February 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

CELE, Elizabeth Ntombicezi (30), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Mqolombeni, KwaZulu, on 28 June 1991, in political conflict in the area.

CELE, Elliot Makhehleni (22), an ANC supporter, was stoned and severely injured by other ANC supporters in April 1992 near Port Shepstone, Natal. The attack happened after Mr Cele was seen in the company of IFP youths.

CELE, Enoch, was seriously assaulted and rendered unconscious by IFP members at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 November 1993, when the perpetrators questioned him about certain firearms. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0117).

CELE, Fana Milton, was shot and injured by an IFP member during intense political conflict at Izingolweni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 May 1991. An amnesty applicant testified that he killed Mr Cele because he believed him to be an ANC supporter. He was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0339).

CELE, Fanyana (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 14 February 1991 in Umkomaas, near Durban.

CELE, France Vunga (39), was shot dead by ANC supporters on 5 July 1991 while sleeping at an IFP self-defence training camp near Port Shepstone, Natal.

CELE, Getrude Thulisile (29), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

CELE, Gladys Ngomeni (38), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 April 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

CELE, Gloria Zinhle (27), was seven months pregnant when she was shot and burnt to death in an attack by IFP supporters on 2 September 1990 in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal. Her husband survived, but her child and three others died in the attack on an area considered to be an ANC stronghold.

CELE, Godfrey Bongani (37), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 September 1990 in intensifying conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His wife, child and three others died in the attack.

CELE, Goodwill Mxolisi, was shot and killed by an IFP member during intense political conflict at Izingolweni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 May 1991. An amnesty applicant testified that he killed Mr Cele because he believed him to be an ANC supporter. He was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0339).

CELE, Grace Zanele (28), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 May 1991, because her family supported the ANC.

CELE, Gugu (42), was shot and injured by members of the SADF who opened fire on a violent confrontation between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Umlazi, Durban, in August 1985.

CELE, Harriet (66), was forced to flee her home when it was burnt down by ANC supporters at Richmond, Natal, in May 1991 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

CELE, Hlelphi (13), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1991 near Port Shepstone, Natal.

CELE, Irene Ntombingani (42), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at her home in Gingindlovu, Natal, on 20 March 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

CELE, Jabu (47), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

CELE, James Qalumuzi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters on 18 November 1993 in Ganyaza, near Port Shepstone, Natal. His mother was killed in the same attack.

CELE, Jeanette Ncuncu (21), an ANC supporter, was abducted from her home in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 August 1991, by ANC supporters who accused her of 'consorting' with an IFP member. She has not been seen since.

CELE, Jenneth Thembi (64), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Shakaskraal, near Stanger, Natal, in March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Ms Cele's son was hacked to death in the attack.

CELE, Jojo (42), was abducted and found severely beaten and stabbed to death on 3 March 1988 in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

CELE, Joshua Elias (16), a UDF supporter, was shot by unidentified persons at Camperdown, near Pietermaritzburg, on 30 January 1988 in intensifying conflict between IFP and UDF supporters in the area.

CELE, Josiah (57), an Inkatha supporter, had his home burnt down by UDF supporters on 17 November 1985 in Umlazi, Durban.

CELE, Joyce Mentombi (27), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by a named Inkatha supporter at Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 24 April 1989, in political conflict in the area.

CELE, Kayiya Boy (18), an ANC supporter, was forced to flee his home on 5 May 1990 and live on the run at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in the fear that named Inkatha supporters were attempting to kill him.

CELE, Langalakhe (52), an ANC supporter, was axed to death by named IFP supporters at his home in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 30 January 1991. See UMGABABA ATTACKS.

CELE, Leluter Thoko (34), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

CELE, Lena Fezani (48), an ANC supporter, had her house and belongings burnt by IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in May 1993.

CELE, Lolozi (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Newtown, Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 April 1991.

CELE, Mabhampe December (39), a UDF supporter, had his home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Kwa-Dweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 January 1988.

CELE, Mamayi Madrina (72), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in April 1993.

CELE, Mandla Christopher, was abducted, assaulted and shot by IFP supporters in Eshowe, Natal, on 28 June 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Mr Cele was permanently disabled as a result of the attack.

CELE, Mandla Gilbert (33), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the IFP during an attack on his house in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 July 1990.

CELE, Mandla Muzikayise (28), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by other IFP supporters near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 April 1994, allegedly because his father's brother-in-law was an ANC supporter.

CELE, Mandlenkosi Ntsikelelo (47), had his house destroyed in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during May 1993, in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

CELE, Mantombi Ntombekezi Hotensia (34), had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1988 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

CELE, Matilda Vierra Mathi (38), had her home burnt down in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Ms Cele's son was an MK member and had gone into exile just before the attack.

CELE, Mbekezeli (17), an ANC supporter, was killed in a grenade attack by IFP supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in September 1992.

CELE, Mirriam Ngenzeni (34), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 24 April 1994, days before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

CELE, Mkhokheli Michael (46), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters on 16 September 1993 near Estcourt, Natal.

CELE, Mondli (22), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, in March 1991.

CELE, Msamaniselwa (38), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 29 April 1992.

CELE, Mtshingiswa Jones (39), an Inkatha supporter, had his house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by named UDF supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in November 1989.

CELE, Mtungani Alford (37), lost his home, tuck shop and possessions in an arson attack at Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 13 July 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

CELE, Muntuzelula Gladness (36), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by other IFP supporters on 27 July 1993 in Empangeni, Natal, when she refused to allow her children to attend IFP rallies.

CELE, Musawenkosi Richard (43), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the IFP-supporting 'Ihlali' vigilante group, at Adams Mission, near Durban, on 6 March 1993.

CELE, Muzi Lucky (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured and had his home burnt down at Port Shepstone, Natal, by named IFP supporters in 1992.

CELE, Mvuseni Michael (34), an Inkatha supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

CELE, Mzonjani Albert (43), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 28 April 1992.

CELE, Ncani Doreen (30), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 April 1991.

CELE, Ncanyawe (61), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 March 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

CELE, Ndwangu Petros (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 February 1994, when police opened fire on protesters marching to draw attention to a perceived bias in policing by the SAP.

CELE, Ngoneni Mayo (35), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994 in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

CELE, Nicholas Ndoda, disappeared from his home in Pietermaritzburg during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in 1987. Mr Cele, whose house was burnt down on the same day, has not been seen since.

CELE, Nico Sicelo (10), from an ANC-supporting family, died on 31 January 1991 after being assaulted with knobkerries by IFP supporters who attacked his father's home in Umkomaas, near Durban. His father was also killed in the attack.

CELE, Nkamezi (49), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by named IFP supporters on 6 June 1991 in Umbumbulu, near Durban.

CELE, Nkanyiso Paul (48), a prominent UDF supporter and civic association member, was detained and tortured by named members of the Security Branch in Newcastle, Natal, on 17 June 1986, allegedly because of his involvement in a rates boycott at Sibongile township.

CELE, Nkosikhona (43), was shot dead during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Durban on 24 March 1991.

CELE, Nkosinathi Humphry (23), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 28 December 1991.

CELE, Nobangane Ellen (62), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 March 1992, when IFP supporters attacked ANC-aligned homes in the area. Five people were killed and three injured in this attack.

CELE, Nokupila Alvina (59), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in 1992.

CELE, Nokwe Virginia (42), had her home burnt down on 16 February 1993 when IFP supporters launched a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down.

CELE, Nomathemba Cyndy (25), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 October 1989 in political conflict between the Makhatini and Mabheleni tribal groups. Eight people were killed and many houses were destroyed by fire.

CELE, Nomaza Alzinah (47), an Inkatha supporter, lost her home when it was set alight by UDF members in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1989.

CELE, Nombuso (13), was shot dead by ANC supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 September 1991. The perpetrators suspected her family of being IFP supporters.

CELE, Nompumelelo Iris 'Magwaza', an ANC district organiser for southern Natal, was shot dead by IFP gunmen in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 September 1990. Her husband had been attacked by IFP supporters earlier.

CELE, Nomvula Eunice (53), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 October 1992, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her son, who had refused to join the IFP, was killed in the attack.

CELE, Nonhlanhla Evelina, an IFP supporter, was killed by ANC supporters during political conflict in Transkei on 19 December 1993. Her body was found in a forest near Umzimkulu, Transkei.

CELE, Nozimpahla (65), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

CELE, Nsingizi, an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by named IFP supporters on 2 November 1993 near Port Shepstone, Natal.

CELE, Ntombi Audrey (51), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 November 1990. See MAGABHENI ATTACKS.

CELE, Ntombi, was shot dead by ANC supporters in October 1993 in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. The perpetrators opened fire on a group of commuters alighting from a taxi, killing four people.

CELE, Ntombintombi Mirriam (49), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

CELE, Ntombizodwa Anna, was injured in an attack by UDF and ANC supporters in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990. Thirteen people died in the attack, which targeted IFP supporters. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/041).

CELE, Patrick Fanizana, an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters in an attack on his home near Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 3 April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. A relative was also killed in the attack.

CELE, Patrick Sipho (19), was shot and injured was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

CELE, Patrick Sipho (24), an ANC supporter, was tortured on 15 September 1992 by a named Telkom official and security guards for allegedly damaging public telephones in Durban.

CELE, Paul Mandla (28), a prominent UDF supporter, had his home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in March 1986. The attack was allegedly provoked by his involvement with the UDF-affiliated Newcastle Youth Organisation. Mr Cele was arrested on 21 June 1986 and charged with terrorism. While in detention he was tortured by the Security Branch. In 1990 he was found not guilty and released.

CELE, Phillip Sibongiseni, an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted in an IFP attack on his family home in Madundube, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1992. His family then fled the area, and their home was looted and destroyed.

CELE, Philmon Bheka (37), was shot dead, and his wife was shot and injured, allegedly by a named member of the SAP in 1991 at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, after he and his family had been repeatedly harassed by the police. The perpetrator was found not guilty in a court of law.

CELE, Phiwani (52), had her house petrol-bombed by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1988, in intense political conflict in the area.

CELE, Phumzile Idah, was stabbed and hospitalised after being abducted by three men in a car near her home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, in 1985 during

intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

CELE, Qamanda Meta (67), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1991 shortly after the killing of a well-known ANC supporter in the area.

CELE, Qedani (55), had her home burnt down by a named IFP supporter at Ixopo, Natal, in April 1992. Ms Cele had been suspected of supporting the ANC, because she refused to co-operate with the IFP.

CELE, Qhumile (53), had her home burnt down at Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

CELE, Raphael Yibuse, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in an IFP attack on his family in Madundube, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1992. The family then fled the area, and their home was looted and destroyed.

CELE, Robert Ken (22), an Inkatha supporter, had his home burnt down and was shot at by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1989.

CELE, Salabenzeni (37), an ANC supporter, had her home set alight by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, in 1992.

CELE, Saraphina (51), was stabbed and severely injured by unidentified Inkatha supporters in Umlazi, Durban, in 1988. Ms Cele lived in F Section, Umlazi, which was considered a UDF stronghold.

CELE, Sbusiso Richard (27), was shot and injured by members of the SADF at KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 December 1989 during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. Two friends who were with him at the time, were also shot; one was injured, the other killed.

CELE, Sdumo Goodwill (28), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 July 1988.

CELE, Shakes, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when the car in which he was travelling was ambushed by named IFP members between Richmond and Ixopo, Natal, on 27 October 1992. The occupants of the car were part of an ANC delegation returning from a peace meeting in the area. One person, the ANC Midlands deputy chairman, was killed.

CELE, Shiyaba Margaret (62), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 April 1990.

CELE, Sikhumbuzo, was one of six passengers shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Eight other passengers were injured. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK.

CELE, Simon, an Inkatha supporter, was injured during a petrol bomb attack on his home by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1988, during intense political conflict in the area. His leg had to be amputated as a result of the injury.

CELE, Simphiwe (24), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 January 1992.

CELE, Sipho (19), was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

CELE, Sipho, an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 April 1992, because he was living in an IFP stronghold.

CELE, Skhumbuzo Derrick, a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, on 1 May 1987.

CELE, Solani (47), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 10 February 1992 in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban. At least one person was killed and seven homes were burnt down that month.

CELE, Solo (18), was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Izotsha, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 April 1994 while he was canvassing support for the ANC before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Three others were also killed in the attack.

CELE, Stanford Thembinkosi (34), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 10 December 1992.

CELE, Thandanam Thobelani, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 October 1992, after refusing to join the IFP.

CELE, Thathokwakhe, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death on 30 January 1991 in an attack on his home by IFP supporters at Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban. His son was beaten in the attack and died the following day. See UMGABABA ATTACKS.

CELE, Themba, was stabbed and necklaced to death by members of the Umlazi Youth Congress (UMLAYCO), a UDF affiliate, in Umlazi, Durban, on 7 August 1986. Mr Cele was suspected of being an informer and an Inkatha sympathizer, which was denied by his family. An UMLAYCO member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/006).

CELE, Thembalakhe Michael Bhozo (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 March 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

CELE, Thembekile (53), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

CELE, Thembekile Irene (55), survived an attempted murder when rounds of ammunition were fired at her and her family at their home in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in May 1994 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

CELE, Thembeni Eunice, 43, had her house burnt down in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown,

Natal, in September 1988 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

CELE, Thembeni Margaret (44), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Nkulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in April 1991.

CELE, Thembinkosi Prince (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by police on 4 April 1990 at Umlazi, Durban, while returning from an ANC march calling for the removal of the KWAZULU POLICE from the area. Mr Cele was arrested on his discharge from hospital, but charges against him were later withdrawn.

CELE, Thembisile Thembani (40), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down on 9 June 1990 in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban. Mr Cele had refused to join Inkatha.

CELE, Tholani Grace, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1990.

CELE, Thulani Christopher Chester, an ANC supporter, died after being shot and assaulted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE on 12 November 1990 at Umlazi, Durban, after being accused of possessing firearms.

CELE, Thulisile Doris (43), was killed by named ANC supporters at Mtengwane, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 October 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. See MTENGWANE ATTACK.

CELE, Timothy Khosela (27), an ANC supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Empangeni, Natal, in 1990, in political conflict in the area.

CELE, Titise, an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death by named IFP supporters inside her home at Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 November 1993. Her son and another woman were killed in the same attack.

CELE, Tombi Getrude (57), an ANC supporter, fled her home during an attack by IFP supporters in Madundube, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1992. Her sons were beaten in the attack.

CELE, Veli, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in an attack on his home in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 3 April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His son was also killed in the attack.

CELE, Vorster Bhutiza, an ANC supporter, disappeared from his home in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in September 1992. He has not been seen again.

CELE, Vumani (16), was stabbed to death on 3 October 1993 in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, when IFP supporters attacked the ANC-supporting household where he had been staying. At least three family members were killed and one person was injured in the attack.

CELE, Vusumuzi Prince (40), had his caravan and his motorcycle set alight by named ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, in February 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Later that year, on

23 October 1991, Mr Cele was injured in a shooting in Richmond, Natal, again by ANC supporters.

CELE, Wanda (25), an ANC member and MK operative, from Winkelspruit, was stabbed to death by students at the University of Durban-Westville, Durban, on 12 June 1992. Mr Cele had enrolled at the university in 1990 after having been imprisoned on Robben Island from 1988 to 1990.

CELE, William Ndosi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by police at Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 February 1994. He was one of four men killed while marching to highlight biased policing by members of the SAP.

CELE, Willip Singisi (54), was shot and injured by a named IFP supporter on 6 March 1992 at Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, shortly after he had been elected Mayor of the township. The perpetrator was opposed to the council system that brought Mr Cele to office.

CELE, Wilson Bonginkosi, an ANC supporter and COSATU member, was shot dead in a drive-by shooting by an SAP member and IFP members at a bus stop in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 September 1992.

CELE, Yalekile (63), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

CELE, Zibokwakhe, was shot and burnt to death by unidentified persons at his home near Port Edward, Natal, on 19 December 1993, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

CELE, Zinini Joseph (48), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by named Inkatha/IFP supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during 1990.

CELE, Zwelakhe Mdu Emelo (26), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP on 25 April 1992 at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal.

CERQUEIRA, Jose Nosolino, a civilian, was shot and killed when APLA operatives attacked the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town, 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. Mr Cerqueira was outside a neighbouring restaurant when he was hit. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026).

CETYEWAYO, Zamile Jackson (44), was shot in the leg and had his home destroyed by IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt in retaliation for the expulsion of IFP supporters from the informal settlement. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

CETYWAYO, Mziselwa (38), was injured in a shooting by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 23 May 1991. Five people died and many others were injured when hostel-dwellers attacked a local tavern.

CEWU, Artherstone Buyile 'ABC' (19), a BCM member, was detained by members of the SAP on a charge of public violence in Grahamstown, Cape, in February 1978. During his detention, he was tortured. During the 1980 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in Grahamstown, he was shot with birdshot and severely injured when police opened fire on mourners at a funeral.

CHAANE, Thabiso Isaac, was shot and killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natalspruit, Tvl, on the 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

CHABA, Herbert (15), died in a bomb blast near *Vlakplaas*, Tvl, on 25 November 1991. His body was found to have bullet marks and signs of electric shocks. Mr Chaba died with three friends.

CHABA, V, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

CHABALALA, Patrick Belelani (16), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING.

CHABELI, Andrew Staki (21), an ANCYL member, was severely assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP in Koppies, OFS, in August 1992. At the time he was involved in organising a rent and consumer boycott.

CHABELI, Kgotso Kenneth (17), a UDF-supporting student activist, was kicked and beaten by members of the SAP on 31 August 1985 while in detention at the Lady Grey police station, Cape. Mr Chabeli was accused of burning down a beerhall. The police assaulted him because they wanted to know who was responsible for the 'violence' in the townships.

CHAGI, Khoyo, an IKONGO member, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 during a protest meeting at NGQUZA HILL in Flagstaff, Transkei. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

CHAI, Mary Mmaditsholo (45), was injured when she was ran over by an SADF Casspir in Zeerust, Tvl, on 1 July 1989 during resistance by the Mokgala community to their inclusion into Bophuthatswana. She was seven months pregnant at the time and she gave birth weeks later to a stillborn baby.

CHAKA, Justice, was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

CHAKA, Patricia Kelebileman (28), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Olifantshoek, Cape,

on 16 June 1992, when she was caught up in a political demonstration commemorating the beginning of the SOWETO UPRISING.

CHAKA, Sekgoba Piet (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named police officer in Kutloanong, Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 14 April 1990. This occurred at a time of widespread and lengthy SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in areas of the OFS.

CHAKACHE, Tshediso Daniel (17), a UDF supporter, was detained and held without trial for a total of eight months at the Theunissen and Winburg police stations, OFS, in June 1985. In custody he was beaten and tortured by members of the SAP and accused of 'politicising' children.

CHAKALE, Robert Stephen, an MK cadre, was arrested and severely tortured by members of the SAP on his return from exile in 1990. Mr Chakale now suffers from a psychiatric disorder.

CHAKANE, Jacob Rakololi, a local councillor, was killed by members of the ANC-aligned Vaal Civic Association at Sebokeng, Tvl, in September 1984. See VAAL UPRISING.

CHAKATA, Siwanana (41), was shot dead in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 25 October 1990, when members of the SAP opened fire on a dispersing ANC-led mass march, opposing the Lingeletu West Town Council. At least eight people were killed by police and supporters of the council that day.

CHAKEZA, Clement, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

CHAMANE, Buhle Monica (32), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Appelsbosch, near Stanger, Natal, during April 1992. Ms Chamane was attacked because she and her son had continued to support the ANC during an IFP recruitment campaign.

CHAMANE, Eric Fa (23), an Inkatha supporter, suffered damage to his home at Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, in an attack by UDF supporters in April 1988.

CHAMANE, Fikile Glenrose (38), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Ladysmith, Natal, in August 1993, in political conflict in the area.

CHAMANE, Florence Ntombinikile (28), fled when her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, was demolished in September 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

CHAMANE, Mandla Willis (46), lost his home and taxi in an arson attack by hostel-dwellers in Steadville, Ladysmith, Natal, during November 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

CHAMANE, Mynah, an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Sunrise, near Tongaat, Natal, in April 1988, during political conflict in the area.

CHAMANE, Sgonyela Muzikayifani, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in his home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 December 1987 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

CHAMANE, Sibongile (65), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by other IFP supporters in January 1993 at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, allegedly because she and her sons did not attend weekly IFP meetings in the area.

CHAMANE, Sibusiso Elijah (27), a UDF supporter and NUMSA affiliate, was found dead with his throat slit in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 November 1989. The previous day, Mr Chamane had reportedly been picked up by three partially-disguised members of the SAP and taken to a police station based in an Inkatha stronghold.

CHAMANE, Sithembiso (23), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 25 August 1989 as he returned home from an ANC youth camp.

CHAND, Ameen (25), was shot dead in his home in Sikwane, Botswana, by *Vlakplaas* operatives on 23 April 1990. Four other family members and a security guard were killed in the attack. The house was destroyed with explosives. Mr Chand's father allegedly assisted PAC members who were infiltrating South Africa. Eight *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/089).

CHAND, Emraan (16), was shot dead in his home in Sikwane, Botswana on 23 April 1990 by *Vlakplaas* operatives. Four other family members and a security guard were killed in the attack. The house was destroyed with explosives. Emraan's father allegedly assisted PAC members infiltrating South Africa. Eight *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/0089).

CHAND, Hajera (60), was shot dead in her home in Sikwane, Botswana on 23 April 1990 by *Vlakplaas* operatives. Her husband, three sons and a security guard were killed in the attack. The house was destroyed with explosives. Ms Chand's husband allegedly assisted PAC members infiltrating South Africa. Eight *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/0089).

CHAND, Ridwaan (26), was shot dead in his home in Sikwane, Botswana on 23 April 1990 by *Vlakplaas* operatives. Four other family members and a security guard were killed in the attack. The house was destroyed with explosives. Mr Chand's father allegedly assisted PAC members infiltrating South Africa. Eight *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/0089).

CHAND, Samsodien (66), a PAC member, was shot dead in his home in Sikwane, Botswana on 23 April 1990 by *Vlakplaas* operatives. His wife, three sons and a security guard were also killed in the attack. The house was destroyed with explosives. Mr Chand allegedly assisted PAC members infiltrating South Africa. Eight *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/0089).

CHANKIE, Mantjebele Martha (50), an ANC supporter, was forcibly removed from her home at Morokolong near Hammanskraal, Tvl, by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 25 December 1992. She was detained and her house destroyed as the police wanted to remove people from this land.

CHANZA, Jacob Matheka (18), a COSAS member, was kicked and beaten with rifle butts by named members of the SAP at his home in Sebokeng, Tvl, in 1992 during a search of the house for guns hidden by his activist brother. Police also tried to intimidate him into becoming an informer.

CHANZA, Johannes (21), a COSAS member, was arrested, beaten and tortured at Sebokeng police station, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 27 September 1986.

CHAPI, Orphan, a member of the SAP, was shot dead by MK operatives at his home in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 25 June 1978. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0257).

CHAPO, Elijah Monyane (19), was partially paralysed after being shot in the head with a rubber bullet by members of the SAP in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, on 17 June 1985 following a June 16 commemoration service.

CHARLES, Edward Vuyo, an MK operative and former UDF chairperson for Welkom, was repeatedly detained, threatened and tortured by the SAP in Welkom, OFS. He is reported to have gone into exile in 1985. He was killed at a police roadblock in Brandfort, OFS, on 15 December 1987, while entering South Africa from Lesotho in pursuit of MK activities. His family only learnt of his death shortly before the ANC arranged for exhumation of the body in 1991, and its reburial in Welkom.

CHARLES, Elizabeth Notobile (50), an ANC supporter, was detained for a month and her house was damaged by members of the SAP on 9 May 1985 in Port Elizabeth. Her husband, one of the PEBCO THREE had disappeared the previous day.

CHARLES, Rodger Neil (21), was shot with birdshot by a named member of the SAP on 24 October 1985, as he approached a burning barricade in Belhar, Cape. Mr Charles was charged with public violence and imprisoned for a year.

CHARLES, Thozamile (15), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Tarkastad, Cape, on 15 July 1985, while taking part in student protests against the killing of the CRADOCK FOUR in June 1985.

CHARLIE, Jersey (38), a UDF supporter, was arrested in March 1985 in Pearston, Cape, on suspicion of being involved in burning down a beerhall and school in protest against the local council. He was tortured under interrogation, charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

CHARLIE, Monwabisi Stanley (15), was shot and injured by members of the SAP, some of whom are named, during a mass funeral in Aliwal North, Cape, on 13 August 1986.

CHARLIE, Nombulelo (17), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during unrest in Sterkstroom, Cape, in August 1985.

CHARLIMAN, Ntoyakhe Tommy (67), an ANC supporter, was tortured by named members of the Special Branch while he was in detention in East London in July 1977. Mr Charliman had been arrested for furthering the aims of a banned organisation. He was charged, convicted and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment.

CHASO, Stewart Mtyelwa (44), had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down during June 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

CHAUKE, Albert (50), was assaulted with sticks and lost his home in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986 in an arson attack by members of the SAP who were searching for his neighbour during intense political conflict in the area.

CHAUKE, David Molato, was injured when police opened fire on a crowd at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986. 11 people were killed and 200 injured. The crowd had gathered to protest against POLICE BRUTALITY. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

CHAUKE, Ellie Phi-Khona (31), was shot when IFP supporters attacked the taxi in which she was travelling in Jabulani, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 28 March 1994, the day on which the IFP held a rally in Johannesburg which culminated in the Shell House incident.

CHAUKE, Johannes (46), was shot in the thigh when police fired on a crowd at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana on 26 March 1986. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

CHAUKE, Johannes, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

CHAUKE, Levy Dikatse (32), lost his home when it was burnt down in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980 by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Chauke resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

CHAUKE, Malulika July (58), was shot in the leg by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 26 March 1986 in Soshanguve, Pretoria, at a meeting organised between the police, parents and youth of the community.

CHAUKE, Noke, an SAP member, had his house burnt down by ANCYL supporters at Giyani, Gazankulu, during a protest in the area on 1 March 1992. A local ANCYL member was arrested for this attack.

CHAUKE, Patrick (24), an ANC member and Civic Association chairperson, was shot and injured by members of the SAP who also drove their vehicle over his leg in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 21 June 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

CHAUKE, William Vusi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 13 September 1990 during intense political conflict on the East Rand.

CHAVALALA, Samuel Vogani, was present when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

CHAWANE, Moses Mzokhonyayo, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 31 December 1990.

CHAWE, Gilbert Gigimane (27), a UDF supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by members of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl on 28 May 1986 during intense political conflict in the area. In Katlehong a rent and service charge increase introduced in January 1986 was indefinitely suspended after resistance from the community including an attack on the Katlehong mayor and local councillors during a public meeting at the Huntersfield stadium.

CHEADLE, Halton, a lawyer and former banned unionist, was harassed by members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch between 1982 and 1986. One Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/0184).

CHECHE, Lamege Mothogoane (35), was tortured in detention by named members of the SAP after his arrest in Zebediela, Tvl, on 11 February 1987 on suspicion of being an ANC supporter.

CHENENE, Francina Ntsoaki, was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960. Ms Cheneke was hospitalised for 23 months.

CHEPAPE, Patrick (13), a COSAS member, was at a protest meeting against POLICE BRUTALITY at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986 when police opened fire. Eleven people were killed and 200 injured in the CITY ROCKS SHOOTING. In the aftermath, police allegedly assaulted fleeing people, dragged them out of houses and subjected them to severe battering both at the scene and at GaRankuwa police station.

CHEPE, Makoena Frans (62), lost his house in an arson attack by supporters of Chief BK Matlala at GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980, during political conflict over Lebowa's proposed independence.

CHERRY, Janet (23), an ANC underground member and ECC chairperson, was detained by members of the Security Police in Port Elizabeth in June 1985. During her detention, she was held in solitary confinement. She was redetained under emergency regulations from August 1986 to July 1987 and again in 1988. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

CHETTY, E, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

CHIBA, Laloo, an MK operative involved in the first MK act of sabotage, was tortured in detention in Johannesburg in 1963. Mr Chiba and four others were found guilty of more than 50 acts of sabotage and furthering the aims of communism. Mr Chiba was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment.

CHIKANE, Frank (38), head of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and an ANC activist, was tortured and assaulted by named members of the Security Branch during his detention in 1977 and again a year later. In May 1985, a petrol bomb was thrown at his house. In July 1989, while travelling abroad, he became seriously ill on at least four occasions. Forensic tests established that his clothing had been sprayed with toxic chemical substances. The perpetrators have applied for amnesty.

CHILI, Aaron, was burnt to death by 'comrades' on 27 August 1986 in KwaNdebele, during conflict in KwaNdebele over independence. Mr Chili was accused of being an IMBOKODO member.

CHILI, Barbara (30), was severely burnt in two petrol-bomb attacks on houses in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 22 February 1989 and on 28 February 1989. The attackers were members of the MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB (MUFC) which was closely linked to Ms Madikizela-Mandela.

CHILI, Dudu Olive (47), lost her house in an arson attack by members of the MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB (MUFC) in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 28 February 1989. Members of the MUFC had previously been sent to kill Ms Chili's son because he refused to join the club.

CHILI, Duduzile Pamela (19), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 June 1992.

CHILI, Margaret (58), had her house fired at and set alight by IFP supporters during intense conflict at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 October 1990. Her son was killed in the incident.

CHILI, Msawenkosi (27), a COSATU member, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) in Mandini, Natal, on 9 April 1990 during a factory stayaway at Isithebe organised by COSATU. The same day, KZP members assisted by SPECIAL CONSTABLES attacked Isithebe, killing at least ten people.

CHILI, Mzwandile Bethwell (21), was burnt to death when his home in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, was set alight by IFP supporters on 22 October 1990. Mr Chili was not aligned to any political party and was allegedly killed on the assumption that all residents in the area supported the ANC.

CHILI, Pholi (60), an ANC supporter, fled his home in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1992 to escape political violence in the area. In his absence, his home was burnt down by named members of the IFP, allegedly assisted by the SAP.

CHILI, Sibusiso (25), was tortured and kept in isolation for almost a year at Norwood police station, Johannesburg, after his arrest in February 1989 for killing a member of the MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB (MUFC). Club members had attacked Mr Chili and

others for refusing to join the MUFC. In the process of defending themselves, an MUFC member was killed. Mr Chili was sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

CHILI, Simon (50), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death near Empangeni, Natal, in January 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

CHILI, Thembase Gladys, was severely assaulted by five named policemen at an abandoned police station near Duduza, Tvl, on 12 June 1985. Ms Chili was abducted and beaten after the perpetrators searched unsuccessfully for her politically active grandson.

CHILIDIZA, George, an ANC supporter, was arrested with 80 other protesters in Worcester, Cape, in April 1960, for their involvement in the anti-Pass Law campaign. Mr Chilidiza was severely beaten while in custody in Worcester prison.

CHILIZA (MASONDO), Tsitsi (25), a Zimbabwean citizen married to an ANC official, was killed when a booby-trapped television set exploded in her home in Harare, Zimbabwe, on 11 May 1987. Available evidence suggests this was a joint SADF Special Forces and Military Intelligence operation. Ms Chiliza's husband, Mr Vusumuzi Masondo (aka 'Mhlophe Chiliza'), was not at home at the time. Their two daughters, aged one and five, were in the house at the time but survived the blast.

CHILIZA, Balungisile (37), had her home set alight by Inkatha supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 March 1990 in conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters following the release of Nelson Mandela from prison.

CHILIZA, Barnard Makhusonke (55), an ANC supporter, died from multiple wounds when he was attacked by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at his home near KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 25 November 1990.

CHILIZA, Bhekekwahe (36), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down in KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 July 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

CHILIZA, Bozo Welcome, was found dead on 30 January 1991 in Umkomaas, near Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, at a time when IFP supporters were attacking people perceived to be sympathetic to the ANC. See UMGABABA ATTACKS.

CHILIZA, Constance (60), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

CHILIZA, Elizabeth Bazulile (37), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 11 May 1988, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

CHILIZA, Lucy (49), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1988.

CHILIZA, Makaza Lena (68), was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Lamontville, Durban, on 10 March 1986, allegedly while comforting a neighbour whose son had been shot by the police.

CHILIZA, Maria (36), had her house set alight in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during April 1993 in intense conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in the area.

CHILIZA, Moses Boy-Boy (48), had his house burnt down in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during September 1993 in intense conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in the area.

CHILIZA, Nomaphuthukezi (25), lost her house and possessions in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

CHILIZA, Skhumbuzo (16), was beaten to death by members of the AMASINYORA vigilantes near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 January 1994, allegedly for refusing to join the IFP.

CHILIZA, Themba Sylverius (41), was found dead on 14 July 1993, a day after he was forcefully taken by ANC youth to a 'night camp' in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal. He had been stabbed and shot, and his body set alight.

CHILIZA, Zilungile Florence (40), an ANC supporter, lost her house when it was shot at and petrol-bombed by IFP supporters near Ixopo, Natal, on 9 September 1993.

CHILOA, Joas, was detained by members of the Venda Police in Vleifontein, Tvl, on 16 May 1986. The Vleifontein community had been resisting the INCORPORATION of the area into Venda.

CHILOANE, Ananias Phillip (38), a PAC activist, was killed when a parcel bomb exploded in his office at the magistrates' offices in Bushbuckridge, Tvl, on 29 October 1979. The perpetrators were allegedly members of the SAP.

CHILOANE, Anna, was shot dead in Phelindaba, Tzaneen, Tvl, on 4 June 1991 while helping extinguish a fire caused by an arson attack by the SOFASONKE PARTY vigilante group on a neighbour's home. Ms Chiloane's niece and several others were injured in the attack. The group targeted residents they believed opposed the Lebowa homeland government.

CHILOANE, Caswell (20), a UDF supporter, was confronted by four policemen while returning home from a 'comrades' funeral in Daveyton, Tvl, in March 1988. A teargas canister was fired at Mr Chiloane. He ran away, but was caught later and beaten unconscious. He woke up two days later in the Baragwanath Hospital.

CHILOANE, Felele Laikie (43), lost her home in Bushbuckridge, Tvl, during an arson attack by members of the Sofasonke Party on 25 December 1989. The SOFASONKE PARTY targeted residents they believed opposed the Lebowa homeland government.

CHILOANE, Godwin Tshepo, an ANCYL member, was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 29 August 1993. An ANC rally was being held the same day.

CHILOANE, Moeti Lesly (29), was shot dead by IFP supporters on the train from Katsiwayo to Tembisa, Tvl, on 10 July 1993. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

CHILOANE, Taetso, was shot in the leg by named members of the SOFASONKE PARTY in Phelindaba,

Tzaneen, Tvl, on 4 June 1991. Ms Chiloane's aunt was shot dead and several others were injured in the attack. The SOFASONKE PARTY targeted residents opposed to the Lebowa government.

CHIN, DG, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

CHISALE, Alfred Leo (19), a COSAS member, was shot by members of the SAP in Messina, Tvl, during a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING on 16 June 1982.

CHISANE, Sifiso Obed (23), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at a hostel in KwaMashu, Durban, on 18 April 1991.

CHITHABATHWA, Vukile (20), an MK operative, was detained, interrogated and tortured by SAP members at the Mitchells Plain police station, Cape Town, in June 1987. Thereafter he was kept in detention for several months.

CHITSHAWA, Alton, was shot dead by members of the IFP-supporting TOASTER GANG in Tembisa, Tvl, during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in July 1993.

CHITWAYO, Maxhanga Annie (42), had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1993 during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

CHITWAYO, Nomqondiso Annie (42), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1993, allegedly in the course of conflict over access to resources. Ten people were killed and thirty-five houses were burnt down.

CHIWAYO, Lassy Lekota Lazarus (26), survived a hand grenade attack by MK operatives on the home of an ANC member in KaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, during the night of 10/11 November 1992. Five other occupants of the house also survived. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attempted killings (AC/1997/0065; AC/1997/0066 and AC/1997/0067).

CHIYA, (first name not given), lost her house in an attack by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1987, in intense political conflict in the area.

CHIYA, Buzani Getrude (42), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters from the Glebelands hostel in Umlazi, Durban, in June 1993, during conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents of the Chimora informal settlement.

CHIYA, David, an ANC member, was burnt to death in Johannesburg, on 1 April 1994 during a revenge attack for the Shell House massacre.

CHIYA, Delani Tokozani, an ANC supporter, was shot dead, by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE at

Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in October 1989, during political conflict in the area.

CHIYA, Jabulani, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

CHIYA, Nomusa Maureen Manhlumayo (41), an ANC supporter, lost her home when she was forced to flee in May 1990 after being intimidated by Inkatha supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal. In her absence, her home was looted and stripped.

CHOANE, Abel, was abducted and detained by members of the Bloemfontein Security Branch between 1990 and 1991. During this time, he was repeatedly and severely tortured. His brother was detained at the same time and similarly tortured. A former APLA member, turned *askari*, was granted amnesty for the torture (AC/2001/038).

CHOANE, Norman, was abducted and detained by members of the Bloemfontein Security Branch between 1990 and 1991. During this time, he was repeatedly and severely tortured. His brother was detained at the same time and similarly tortured. A former APLA member, turned *askari*, was granted amnesty for the torture (AC/2001/038).

CHOLO, Makolobe Kuranta (45), lost her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, when it was burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

CHOLO, Mamokwena Kante, was severely assaulted by supporters of Chief BK Matlala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980 because Mr Cholo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. Two people died and about 80 were injured in the attack.

CHOLO, Nataniel Disegi (22), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in Mamelodi, Pretoria, in August and October 1985. Mr Cholo was then detained and charged with public violence.

CHOLO, Rosina, was severely assaulted by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, during political conflict over Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

CHOLO, Tlou Theophilus (46), an MK operative, was arrested in a Northern Transvaal Village in August 1972 and was subjected to severe and repeated torture and deprivation while under interrogation at the Security Branch's head office in Pretoria. After six months in detention he was tried for terrorism in 1973 and was imprisoned for 15 years on Robben Island.

CHOMA, Sydney Sekwati (21), an ANC member, was detained and tortured in February 1977 in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, and in Groblersdal, Tvl. In November 1979 he was found guilty of high treason in Pietermaritzburg and sentenced to 16 years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

CHONCO, Balephi Erica (50), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 8 March 1993 when the bus in

which she was travelling was ambushed by IFP supporters at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg. See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

CHONCO, Boy, died after being shot in police custody in Umbumbulu, near Durban, on 12 June 1991. Three of Mr Chonco's employees, all members of the Mkhize family, were also shot dead in police custody at the time, allegedly in an effort by the security forces to kill members of the prominent, ANC-supporting Bhengu and Mkhize families.

CHONCO, Christine, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

CHONCO, Debra Thembeke (24), an IFP supporter, had her home and possessions burnt by ANC supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1992.

CHONCO, Hendrick, a UDF supporter, was shot at by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 August 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

CHONCO, Hendrieta Nokuthokoza, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 August 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

CHONCO, Hilarius Budabuphangwa (37), an ANC supporter, died after being shot by IFP supporters in an ambush in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 August 1991. Mr Chonco had allegedly switched allegiance from the IFP to the ANC.

CHONCO, Nhlanhla Zepried (36), had her home burnt down by an unidentified group of mourners returning from a funeral near Eshowe, Natal, on 10 April 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

CHONCO, Sifiso (26), an ANC supporter, died after being shot on 10 December 1992 near Mooi River, Natal. Mr Chonco and six others, including three Chonco brothers, were allegedly targets of an IFP hit squad.

CHONCO, Thembeni Beauty (36), an ANC supporter, had her home at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

CHONCO, Wiseman Sifiso (19), a UDF supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters and the SAP in Greytown, Natal, on 13 July 1988.

CHONGO, Siwakhile Paulos, was injured in a shooting on 10 December 1992 near Mooi River, Natal. Mr Chonco and six others, including three Chonco brothers, were allegedly targets of an IFP hit squad.

CHRISTIANS, Andrew Saul (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Elsies River, Cape Town, on 17 June 1980, during a stayaway commemorating the SOWETO UPRISING.

CHRISTIE, Daniel Johannes, was shot in the arm during the Silverton bank siege, Pretoria, when three MK members held him hostage during a raid on the

bank on 25 January 1980. Five people, including the three MK operatives, were killed during a gunfight after police stormed the bank. Several others were injured.

CHRISTIE, Magrietha Johanna (26), was shot and injured during the Silverton bank siege, Pretoria, when three MK operatives held her hostage during a raid on the bank on 25 January 1980. Five people, including the three MK operatives, were killed during a gunfight after police stormed the bank. Several others were injured.

CHUENE, Victor, was one of three people injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Tembisa police station barracks, Tvl, on 10 October 1988. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/132).

CHUMA, Douglas Ndumiso (22), an AZAPO supporter, was stabbed to death by an ANC supporter in Bekkersdal, Tvl, on 28 February 1990 during conflict between AZAPO and the ANC in the area, arising out of historical tensions between AZAPO and the UDF.

CHUMA, Nozimo Elsie (54), lost her house in an arson attack in Bekkersdal, Tvl, in March 1990 during conflict between AZAPO and the ANC in the area, arising out of historical tensions between AZAPO and the UDF.

CHUSHELA, Buyile Nguleni, an ANC supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in March 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

CHUSHELA, Walaza, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Kwasilangwe, Bizana, Transkei, during the 1960 police detentions of Pondo community members. Mr Chushela and others were ploughing their fields when police assaulted and arrested them. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

CHUTSHELA, Agness (32), an iKONGO member, was severely beaten by a member of the SAP at her house in Bizana, Transkei, in 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

CHWEBE, William Balekile (63), was severely injured when a group of youths stoned him and beat him with sticks in January 1985 as he returned home from a shop during a consumer boycott in Molteno, Cape.

CIBANE, Patrick Zakhele (25), was stabbed and injured by a UDF supporter at his home in Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, in June 1988, allegedly because his father was involved in recruiting people to join Inkatha. His father was killed in the attack.

CIBANE, Siponono Raymond (51), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by a UDF supporter at his home in Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, in June 1986, allegedly because he was involved in recruiting people to join Inkatha. His son was stabbed and injured in the attack.

CIBINANI, S, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONGMASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

CIKOLO, Elizabeth (37), an Inkatha supporter, had her house petrol-bombed by ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 30 June 1990.

CIKWAYO, Babo Caiphas (42), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 May 1991.

CIKWAYO, Mdu Mvalelwa (66), an IFP supporter, was burnt to death when he was thrown into a burning house by ANC supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 May 1991.

CILIZA, Balungile Virginia (42), a UDF supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 January 1988.

CILIZA, Madiya Florence (63), an IFP supporter, fled her home when it was attacked by ANC supporters at KwaBotha, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1990.

CILIZA, Maliyewe (41), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by other IFP supporters on 11 November 1991 near Port Shepstone, Natal, because of his active role in trying to resolve the conflict between the IFP and ANC.

CILIZA, Zithobile Livingstone, a municipal policeman, was robbed of his firearm and then shot dead by UDF/ANC supporters in Uitenhage, Cape, on 14 April 1990. Two UDF/ANC supporters applied for and were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0280).

CILIZA, Zwelake Phinas (49), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 24 July 1992 in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban. Mr Ciliza had been involved in a cross-community sports project that brought ANC and IFP youth together but was allegedly frowned on in certain IFP quarters.

CILIZA, Zwelibanzi Alpheus (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP-supporting farmers in Ixopo, Natal, on 19 September 1993. The perpetrators were allegedly carrying out a campaign against ANC supporters in the area.

CINDI, Eleas Nala Stanley Siphso (30), a FAWU member, was injured in a hand grenade attack on a bus he was travelling on by named members of the rival UWUSA union at Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Johannesburg, on 28 September 1992. One passenger died and many others were injured in this incident.

CINDI, Johannes Sepule (25), was stabbed in his stomach by state-sponsored vigilantes in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 27 May 1986 during the government's attempt to declare the area a 'black spot'.

CINDI, Thembinkosi Reuben (48), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down on 16 March 1994 in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

CINDI, Trevor Themba (1), suffered injuries when his family's house was attacked and burnt by a group of youths at Daveyton, Tvl, on 2 July 1987. The youths targeted another person who was not present at the time of the attack. Four persons died and four suffered injuries as a result of the attack. One perpetrator, who claimed to be an ANC supporter and chairperson of a 'people's court', was refused amnesty for the attack (AC/2001/282).

CINGO, Abraham Thanduxolo (17), was shot with birdshot and then assaulted by members of the SAP

while under arrest in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, in February 1986. Mr Cingo stated that the police who shot him were disguised as workers on the back of a truck.

CINGO, Zazise Zacharia (39), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

CINGWENI, Nomajimi Angelina 'Mbotho' (52), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in February 1990 in violence following the release of Nelson Mandela.

CIRA, Jabulani Dennis (21), an ANC supporter, was abducted from his home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 October 1993, and was later found dead at his school. Mr Cira was killed by an MK vigilante group calling themselves the 'Cleaners', who were allegedly targeting ANC members who chose to stay home rather than go into exile.

CIRA, Mthembeni Lucky, an ANC supporter, was beaten with a rifle butt and severely injured by four MK soldiers who entered his family's home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 October 1993 and abducted his brother. Mr Cira was attacked by an MK vigilante group calling themselves the 'Cleaners', who were allegedly targeting ANC members who chose to stay home rather than go into exile.

CITWA, Tembisile (35), was severely injured after being beaten, stabbed and shot by IFP supporters who attacked him as he passed Mshayazafe hostel on his way home to Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 15 August 1991. The attack was reportedly in revenge for the assault of a Mshayazafe hostel resident by a Phola Park resident earlier that day.

CIYA, Hlalebane Medrina (67), had his home near Ixopo, Natal, burnt down in September 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

CIYA, Noqhamuka (45), had her home destroyed in an arson attack at KwaNokweja, Ixopo, Natal, on 17 August 1993, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

CLAASEN, Alida Maria, suffered injuries when a limpet mine placed in a pot plant was detonated near the Juicy Lucy restaurant on the corner of Andries and Vermeulen Streets, Pretoria, on 26 May 1988. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

CLAASEN, Cornelius Nicolaas, a member of the SAP, was killed when his SAP tracking unit ambushed an MK unit of seven members in Ellisras, Tvl, on 8 August 1988. An MK operative was also killed and four SAP members wounded during this confrontation. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/081).

CLAASEN, Jonathan (21), was shot and killed by members of the Railway Police in Athlone, on 15 October 1985, in the TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN.

CLAASENS, Ann, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the

attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

CLAASENS, Mike, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Eastern Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

CLAASSEN, Shedrak Kholisile (18), a UDF supporter, was tortured in detention by named members of the SAP in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 2 October 1986.

CLARENCE, M, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

CLARENCE, Neville James (23), a captain in the South African Air Force, was severely injured and blinded when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the SAAF headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

CLARKE, Kenneth Ralph (37), was shot by police as he walked down a street in Bonteheuvel, Cape Town, on 17 June 1980, during unrest and protest in the area commemorating the SOWETO UPRISING. As a result of the shooting, he is partially paralysed.

CLARKSON, Anik, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

CLARKSON, Christopher, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

CLASSEN, MPG, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

CLEMENTSON, Amanda Jane Elizabeth (14), was present when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

CLOETE, LNJ, a private in the SADF, was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command

headquarters in Durban. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

CLOETE, MC, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

CLOETE, Petrus Alberts (15), was shot and injured in the face and body by members of the SAP in Saldanha, Cape, in June 1986, after students and community organisations had marched to town in commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING.

CLOETE, Roseline Desiree (4), was shot dead by a named SAP member in Kakamas, Cape, on 13 February 1988. The perpetrator opened fire on residents outside a house being raided by police. Two children were shot dead and 13 people injured.

CLUCAS, Clive Winston Quayle (47), was killed when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two spectators leaving the rugby match were killed and 37 others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's Special Operations Unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/161).

COCHRANE (BOTES), Belinda (28), was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

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

COEKS, M, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

COERECIUS, Winston Errol (27), a BCM supporter, was arrested in Oudtshoorn, Cape, in September 1976, and was kept in solitary confinement for three months in a prison in George, Cape.

COETZEE, Abraham Christoffel Naude, a policeman, was shot and injured by ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) members during April 1992, in Ficksburg, OFS. Three of the SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0229 and AC/2000/191).

COETZEE, Adri, was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Gardiner Street, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS.

One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076).

COETZEE, AJ, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

COETZEE, CS, a traffic officer, was shot at and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Alberton, Tvl, on 27 March 1992. One colleague was killed and another injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0225).

COETZEE, Dirk Johannes, a former *Vlakplaas* commander who had exposed the activities of *Vlakplaas*, survived an attempt on his life by Security Branch operatives in 1991. A bomb intended for him detonated when his attorney activated a tape recorder. His attorney died in the explosion. Nine Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/167).

COETZEE, DJ, a colonel in the SADF, was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

COETZEE, Hester Catharina (57), and her husband were severely injured and their business destroyed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

COETZEE, JH, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

COETZEE, Lorraine Gwendaline (33), was severely injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

COETZEE, Mercia Marilyn (25), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in Bellville, Cape, on 29 August 1985. The policemen hid in a garden and then leapt out, opening fire on protesters and bystanders alike. One person was killed and two seriously injured in the shooting.

COETZEE, MPA, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church

Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

COETZEE, Natalie, was injured when a car bomb planted by MK operatives exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

COETZEE, Otto, a member of the SAP, was shot and injured by APLA members during attacks on white civilians and police members at Ficksburg, OFS, on 10 December 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0182).

COETZEE, Philippa Maria, was shot and injured by a named SAP member in Kakamas, Cape, on 13 February 1988. The perpetrator opened fire on residents outside a house being raided by police. Two children were shot dead and 13 people injured. Ms Coetzee became sterile as a result.

COETZER, AT, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

COETZER, Martin Jacobus (18), lost his leg when he drove over a landmine in Boshoeck, Volksrust, Natal, on 10 June 1986. The landmine had been planted by MK operatives. See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

COGWANE, Godfrey, was severely beaten and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in detention in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 29 March 1990. There was a stayaway and boycott in the area at the time.

COGWANE, Mapitso Agnes (19), was arrested and severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police looking for her brother in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 14 September 1988. Many people were tear-gassed that day because of resistance by supporters of Chief Mankuroane.

COLA, Victor Khumbulele (26), was shot and blinded in one eye by members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, on 28 August 1985, the day the POLLSMOOR MARCH was held to demand the release of Nelson Mandela.

COLE, Bennie, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Clarke Estate, Cape Town, on 16 September 1976, after the SOWETO UPRISING.

COLIDIZA, Poto Wilfred (21), a COSAS member, was severely tortured and assaulted on several occasions by named members of the Security Police while under interrogation in Worcester, Cape, in June 1985.

COLLENS, Clarissa, was killed when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg,

on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

COLLIE, Bruce Rutherford, a member of the SAP, was shot and injured by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members in Ficksburg, OFS, during April 1992. Three of the SDU members applied for and were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0229).

COLLIE, Jason, a civilian, was shot and injured when APLA operatives opened fire in the Steaks restaurant in Claremont, Cape Town, on 26 December 1992. Five people were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

COLLINS, Dawn (13), was shot and injured in Mitchells Plain, Cape, on 20 September 1985. Dawn was returning home after watching street protests in the area.

COLLINS, Johnny, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Toekomsrus, Randfontein, Tvl, on 18 October 1990 during conflict over the council decision to cut off electricity to a number of houses in the area.

COLLIS, Magdalena, suffered damage to property when MK operatives detonated an explosive at Daveyton police station, Tvl, on 2 February 1978. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

COLOGU, Siphso (41), was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

COLOSSA, Zwelibanzi Daniel (31), died in police custody in Welkom, OFS, on 20 August 1991. Police and state officials refused to disclose the cause of his death. Family members claimed they had evidence of assault.

COMACHO, Fatima Maria Freitas, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

COMBRINK, Jacobus G, a passenger on a Translux bus, was injured when APLA operatives fired at a Translux bus at the Gamka River Bridge, Beaufort West, Cape, on 27 August 1993. Eight people were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/167).

COMBRINK, LM, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and

AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

CONA, Dahliya Princess (24), was beaten with sjamboks and knobkerries by AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and members of the SAP in May 1986 at the time of a funeral in Zolani, Ashton, Cape. Ms Cona was then detained for three months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

CONCER, Anthony Rex, was shot and killed on 22 March 1993 when APLA members, armed with automatic weapons, fired on the car in which he was travelling on the Vereeniging-Vanderbijlpark road, Tvl. See APLA ATTACKS. Three APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0002).

CONCO, Ellen (60), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

CONCO, Fakazile Doris (70), was stabbed, shot and severely injured on 30 October 1993 in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, when ANC supporters abducted her and two other family members and took them to a neighbour's house. The perpetrators accused them of hiding IFP weapons. Ms Conco's grandchildren were also stabbed, and the neighbour was killed.

CONCO, Sinethemba (3), was stabbed twice and severely injured on 30 October 1993 in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, when ANC supporters abducted her and two other family members and took them to a neighbour's house. The perpetrators accused them of hiding IFP weapons. Sinethemba's cousin and grandmother were also stabbed, and the neighbour was killed.

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

CONSTABLE, Ivor (15), was shot and assaulted by a named SAP member in Bishop Lavis, Cape Town, on 2 September 1985. He was waiting for a shop to open when the policeman fired birdshot at him, then assaulted and arrested him. He was found guilty of public violence.

COOK, Rosemary, suffered severe emotional trauma as a result of an arson attack on Khanya House, the headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, in Pretoria on 12 October 1988. The victims were trapped in the burning building for some time before being rescued. Twelve *Vlakplaas* operatives and seven other Security Branch Headquarters operatives, including senior personnel, were granted amnesty (AC/2000/215).

COOPER, Alimal Ramalinga (38), was harassed by members of the Security Police and ostracised by her community in Durban during the period 1969 to 1986. Her sons, both political activists, were detained and severely tortured by members of the SAP and Special Branch in Pretoria.

COOPER, Revabalan (21), a BPC and SASO activist, was severely beaten in detention in Durban by members of the Security Branch in February 1973, following strikes in Durban, and again in October 1974. He was even more severely tortured in detention when transferred to Pretoria in October 1974, and was kept in solitary confinement. His brother was also detained and tortured at this time. Some of the perpetrators applied for amnesty.

COOPER, Sathasivan, an AZAPO official, survived a petrol bomb attack by the Witwatersrand Security Branch on his residence at the University of Witwatersrand during 1985. The petrol bomb was intended to intimidate him. A Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/0184).

COPPIN, GB, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their various roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

CORNELIUS, Quentin (21), a civilian, was shot and killed when APLA operatives attacked the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town, 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026).

CORRANS, Louise, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

COTANI, Lungisile Robert (33), was shot and injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

COTHOZA, Ntsikelelo June-Rose, was one of four ANC members killed in an ambush by Security Branch operatives near Piet Retief, Tvl, on 8 June 1988. See PIET RETIEF AMBUSHES. Nine Security Branch operatives, including the commander of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/273).

CRANKO, Robin Phillip, was detained by the SAP on 28 December 1966 and held in solitary confinement in Ladybrand, OFS, for more than a month. On his release in January 1967, he was banned in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act for a period of five years, during which he was imprisoned in Fort prison, Johannesburg, for ten days, for contravening the terms of his restriction order.

CRONJE, Albertus (4), was a victim of an armed robbery by APLA operatives at the farm 'Panama', near Bloemfontein, during 1993. The victims were threatened and locked in a bathroom. One person was abducted

and released later. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/239).

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

CRONJE, Pierre, was a victim of an armed robbery by APLA operatives at the farm 'Panama', near Bloemfontein, during 1993. The victims were threatened and locked in a bathroom. One person was abducted and released later. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/239).

CRONJE, Pieter (7), was injured on 16 April 1987 when an MK unit detonated a limpet mine under a car at a shopping centre in Newcastle, Natal. Four people, including two children, were injured in the explosion.

CROUS, Carel Frederick, a commandant in the SADF, was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

CRUCKET, (full names not given), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP members during political violence at Extensia, Ermelo, Tvl, in 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

CRUISE, Nicholas James Elvin (23), was killed on 2 October 1990 in Durban, when he opened a parcel bomb delivered to a computer company that was known to work with trade unions and anti-apartheid organisations. Three other people were injured in the explosion. Six right-wingers were detained and questioned in connection with the incident.

CUBBIT, Jenny, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

CULE, Siphwiwe Elsie (35), an ANC supporter, had her home petrol-bombed by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990.

CULLING, Stanley Johannes (23), an ANCYL member, was severely injured when he was shot and beaten by members of the SAP at 42nd Hill, OFS, on 16 April 1993, when the police opened fire on protesters mourning the death of Chris Hani.

CULLIS, (first name not given), was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

CUPIDO, Clive Christopher (18), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Bellville, Cape Town, on

29 August 1985, in the widespread protest and police shootings that followed the POLLSMOOR MARCH held the previous day.

CURIEL, Henry (60), an ANC member, was shot dead in front of his flat by suspected members of the Delta Group in May 1978 in Paris, France. At the time, he was training and managing ANC exiles.

CURREN, Brian, a human rights lawyer, had his life threatened in a pamphlet manufactured by the Security Branch and purporting to be issued by the *Wit Wolwe*, a right-wing group. One Northern Transvaal Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2001/027).

CUTSHWA, Weleshia Puleng (25), an IFP supporter, died after she was axed and then set alight by a named ANC supporter, in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 12 June 1992.

CWAILE, Boingotlo Moses, was beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, while participating in a march on 13 March 1992.

CWELE, Aubrey Mduduzi (6), was severely traumatized during an armed attack by IFP supporters on his family home in Umlazi, Durban, on 28 November 1992. Three members of his family were shot dead in the attack.

CWELE, Herbert Dingaan, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 28 November 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

CWELE, Mirriam Thenjiwe, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 28 November 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

CWELE, Mzawuqalwa Elliot, an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters, at Umlazi, Durban, on 28 November 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

CWELE, Nonkululeko Michelle, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 28 November 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

CWELE, Ntombazanyana Annie, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 28 November 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

CWELE, Ntombikhona (22), ANC supporter, had her house partly burnt down by IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 28 November 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

CYRNOW, M, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

CYSTER, Belinda (20), a UDF supporter, was detained on 15 June 1986 while attending a church service in Elsies River, Cape Town. The entire congregation of 189 people was detained. Ms Cyster was interrogated and held under emergency regulations for three weeks.

D'ATH, George, a photographer and journalist, was hacked and stabbed to death by WITDOEKE vigilantes in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 10 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps

carried out by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Mr D'Ath was the first journalist to be killed in the political conflict in South Africa.

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

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

DA SILVA WALTERS, EL, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DA SILVA, Kena Gabriela Raminbos, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

DA SOUZA, Colin Mark 'Porky' (16), a BMW member, was detained and tortured by named members of a special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT, in October 1987.

DABULA, (first name not given), was abducted and then executed by a group of ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members in Katlehong, Tvl, during 1993. The SDU members believed that Mr Dabula was an IFP member and a police informer. One SDU member, who actually shot Mr Dabula, was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0348).

DADASE, Matoto (42), a PAC supporter, lost his home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 24 June 1990, during conflict between ANC and supporters of a local conservative squatter leader who had joined the PAC. Three men were killed that day.

DAHILE, Henry Barnabas Loshe, was abducted by IFP supporters in Jabulani, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 20 March 1993. Mr Dahile was last seen accompanying a man to Jabulani hostel. At the time, both the ANC and IFP were holding rallies in the area.

DAKI, Norman Thembinkosi (23), was shot and injured during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 23 October 1992. He is now paralysed as a

result of the shooting.

DAKI, Xolisa Lennox Nkonkobe (23), disappeared in 1977 after visiting his sister in Engcobo, Transkei. He is believed to have gone into exile in Lesotho, but has never been seen again.

DAKI, Xosheni Francis (39), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 1 December 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DAKISI, Thabo Philemon (47), an ANC supporter, was taken from his home by members of the SAP, allegedly masquerading as ANC supporters, and was shot dead in Welkom, OFS, on 4 November 1990. Mr Dakisi, along with his neighbour who was also shot and killed by the police, believed he was being asked to help defend the area against an impending attack by the AMARUSSIANS.

DAKU, Wandile Ponkie (21), a CRADORA member, was detained during political unrest and tortured by members of the SAP while in police custody at the Cradock police station, Cradock, Cape, in 1987.

DAKUSE, Monde (15), a member of the BPC, was tortured with electric shocks by named members of the SAP in Cradock, Cape, during 1977, allegedly in an attempt to force him to admit to his involvement in arson attacks on the labour bureau building and schools in the area.

DALGLEISH, Marlene Carol, was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Gardiner Street, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076).

DALI, Anthony Sureboy, was in a unit of five MK operatives active in the Eastern Cape when he was caught in a police roadblock near Elliot, Cape, in August 1981 and shot dead. Three others were killed in the ambush and the survivor was arrested. The bodies were secretly buried on a farm near Aliwal North, Cape, and exhumed by the Commission in 1997.

DALI, Funzani Metha (23), was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the Venda Police Force in Vuwani, Venda, on 1 January 1990. Ms Dali was taken into custody a day before the military coup in Venda because she was regarded as an instigator of youth protests.

DALIWE, Mnyamana, died after being abducted, beaten, stabbed and burnt by 'comrades' in Old Location, Cathcart, Cape, on 14 November 1985, for breaking a consumer boycott enforced by the UDF.

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

DAMANE, Mlungisi Abednego (23), an ANCYL supporter, was shot in the neck by a named Inkatha supporter in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 17 December 1988, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DAMANE, Songezile Zephania (55), was beaten and stabbed by migrant workers during political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 27 December 1976. An SAP member stood by and did not halt the attack despite the pleas of a witness. Mr Damane was left with permanent physical and mental injuries.

DAMBANE, Breakfast, a PAC supporter, was beaten for the whole night on 1 January 1960 at Cofimvaba, Transkei, during a clampdown on Poqo activities.

DAMON, Ismail (aka 'Nadiem Olson') (17), a UDF supporter and BMW member, was detained and tortured by named members of a special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT in the Brackenfell police station, Cape Town, on 2 October 1987.

DAN, Ngozi (30), lost his house in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1993. Nine people were killed and 11 injured. Eighteen houses were burnt down in Bhambayi that month, in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

DANCA, Aaron (44), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 March 1992, in intense political conflict in the area.

DANCA, Dumisani Shadrack (22), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters on 12 May 1992 in Port Shepstone, Natal, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DANCA, Ellina Ntombitheni (42), Inkatha supporter, was killed by ANC supporters in Gogoza, KwaZulu, Natal, on 7 April 1990, in political conflict in the area.

DANCA, Goodman Bhevu (28), an IFP supporter, was injured in a grenade attack by ANC supporters on an IFP night camp at Nkulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 August 1992. Two people were killed in this attack.

DANCA, Hlanganisile Mildred, an IFP supporter, had to flee her home in March 1992 after several attacks by ANC supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal. Her husband was shot dead in political conflict on 12 March 1992.

DANCA, Nomkuba (55), had his home set alight by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 February 1994, during political conflict in the area.

DANCA, Patrick (33), an IFP supporter, was killed by ANC supporters in Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 August 1992, in political conflict in the area.

DANCA, Patrick Mlungu (33), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Gcilima, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 March 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The shooting occurred when a peace meeting between IFP and ANC supporters became violent.

DANGA, Goliath, was tortured by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT in 1960.

DANGALA, Petros (15), was knocked down and killed by a car driven by a member of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, during a political demonstration in October 1984.

DANIELS, Anne Violet (23), an ANC member, was tortured and subsequently sexually assaulted by

named members of the SAP at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, in 1967 and 1973 respectively.

DANIELS, Dibakiso Emily (34), was beaten with sjamboks by members of the SAP in Evaton, Tvl, on 15 September 1984 while returning by bus from a mass funeral for victims of police violence.

DANIELS, Elginah Romeo (20), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in Noupoort, Cape, on 12 March 1986.

DANIELS, James (21), was severely tortured by named members of the SAP in Pearston, Cape, on 15 May 1986, allegedly in an attempt to force him to admit to involvement in the 'necklace' killing of an informer. A bag was placed over his head and he was given electric shocks.

DANIELS, Monica (20), had an arm amputated after being shot by named members of the Riot Police in Bellville, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985. The policemen hid in a garden and then leapt out, opening fire on protesters and bystanders. One woman was killed and two others injured in the shooting.

DANIELS, Veronica Debra (27), a UDF supporter from Atlantis, Cape, was arrested and detained under emergency regulations in Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town, from June to September 1986.

DANISA, Nomfazi Ethel, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters who attacked a church service at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DANISA, Richard Khethomthandayo (41), an iKONGO leader, had his home destroyed and his fields expropriated by a named chief in Flagstaff, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

DANISILE, Wagaba (41), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 July 1992 during ongoing political violence. His body was later found at the Krugersdorp government mortuary.

DANISO, Fuzile (25), a SAYCO activist, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP during political conflict at New Location, Hofmeyr, Cape, on 15 December 1989.

DANISO, Justice Zanoxolo (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a member of the Ciskei Police, while he was running away from a named member of the police, during a consumer boycott in Whittlesea, Ciskei, on 11 September 1986.

DANISO, Notyeki Monica (35), a SANCO member, was injured in a shooting on 1 April 1986 during widespread protests in Stutterheim, Cape.

DANSTER, Nceba Enoch (38), was shot dead by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 7 May 1986, during conflict arising from protests against the Black Local Authority in the area.

DANSTER, Xolile Simon (21), an ANCYL member, was shot dead in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 13 August 1991, during clashes between supporters of a named Crossroads leader and those he was attempting to remove by force in Unathi section.

DANSTER, Zongezile Gerald (19), a UDF supporter, was arrested, tortured and charged with public violence during political unrest in Pearston, Cape, in June 1986.

DANTILE, Julius Khayaletu Mabhuti (19), a youth activist and UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SADF in Queenstown, Cape, in July 1985, while he was digging a trench to prevent security force personnel from disrupting their activities. Mr Dantile's arms were broken and he was left unconscious, requiring long term hospitalisation.

DARA, Mpumeleli Elias (40), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF during conflict between ANC and ADM supporters in King William's Town, Cape, on 26 December 1991.

DARA, Zisiwe Agnes (33), an ANC supporter, was beaten and detained by members of the CDF during conflict between ADM and ANC supporters in King William's Town, Cape, on 26 December 1991.

DARRIES, Simon (56), was injured on his right leg when he was knocked over by a police van in Klipplaat, Cape, on 13 May 1985, during a political protest in the area. Protesters were *toy-totyping* and singing freedom songs in the street.

DASTILE, Fikile (15,) was shot dead by members of the SAP at a meeting in the Nonzwakazi Methodist Church at Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape, on 17 November 1985. See QUEENSTOWN SHOOTINGS.

DASTILE, James Velile (57), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and injured on his head by named perpetrators in Cookhouse, Cape, on 26 February 1986, during political conflict between members of the Cookhouse community and the Kakana family who were regarded as collaborators. His wife was also injured in the attack.

DASTILE, Mimi Nontozanele (44), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by AZAPO members during a UDF recruitment campaign in Cookhouse, Cape, on 26 February 1986.

DATHINI, Andile (15), a COSAS member, was shot dead on 29 May 1986 in Uitenhage, Cape, when members of the SAP opened fire to disperse a crowd of *toy-totyping* protesters.

DAUMAS, Willington Pusho (16), was attacked with an axe in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 21 November 1993. Mr Daumas had helped organise a meeting with Chief Lucas Modisakoma to ascertain how village funds were spent. He died later that year.

DAVHULA, Namadzavho Phanuel (33), was shot and severely injured in Messina, Venda, on 4 June 1987, by members of the Venda Police, who accused him of being a 'terrorist'.

DAVID, Mkhuseleli Michael (25), an AMAAFRIKA supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters, some of whom are named, during political conflict in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 16 September 1989.

DAVIDS, Anele, an ANC supporter, had his home petrol-bombed at Nonzwakazi, De Aar, Cape, on 2 August 1990. He was allegedly targeted because he was believed to be linked to the petrol-bombing of the mayor's parents' home.

DAVIDS, Muhsin (17), a PAC activist trained in Libya, was arrested on the South African side of the Botswana border in February 1987 and detained and tortured in various prisons over the next year. He was reportedly

interrogated about the QIBLA organisation and forced to testify in court against seven PAC members.

DAVIES, Boetie (42), was killed during the ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI on 22 November 1990.

DAVIS, David, a civilian, was killed when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Eastern Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

DAVIS, Gill, a civilian, was killed when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Eastern Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

DAVIS, Mafu Marvin, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241.

DAWETI, Nontobeko Edith (41), a SAAWU member, was sjambokked and severely injured by a member of the Ciskei Police during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, in October 1985.

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

DAY, Mina (61), was severely beaten by members of the SAP and MUNICIPAL POLICE in her home in Ashton, Cape, on 15 June 1986, while trying to stop the assault and arrest of her son. She was then detained for three months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

DAYELE, Alfred, was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING attacks.

DAYELI, Jongikhaya, was shot and wounded by a member of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1991 during conflict between supporters of the ANC and IFP.

DAYENI, Mayenzeke Washington (56), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP while on his way to an ANC rally in Daveyton, Tvl, in August 1991.

DAYENI, Veleleni, died of throat cancer in 1988 in Robben Island prison, Cape Town, while he was serving a 25-year prison term. Mr Dayeni had been

convicted on charges relating to a confrontation between the police and PAC members at Queenstown station, Cape, in 1962.

DAYI, Agrineth Khalelani (29), lost her home in an arson attack near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 April 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DAYI, Toti (64), was detained without trial for three months from 12 June 1986 in Worcester, Cape, during the state of emergency.

DAYI, Zukiswa, (14) was assaulted by police while being arrested at her home in Robertson, Cape, during November 1985. She was charged with public violence and detained in prison for three months. The charges were later withdrawn.

DAYILE, Alfred Mcekeleli (39), an ANC supporter, was shot and seriously injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

DAYILE, Punki Mzamo (22), a SAYCO supporter, was arrested and detained for 21 days after he was savaged by a dog and beaten by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth during 1986.

DAYIMANI, Zolile Leslie Nteyana (20), a SAYCO member, was detained, beaten and tortured by members of the SAP in Hofmeyr, Cape, on 22 February 1987.

DE BEER, Deon du Plessis (34), was severely injured when a landmine set by MK members and aimed at military patrols in the area exploded at his farm in Stockpoort, Ellisras, Tvl, in January 1986. He lost the use of fingers on his left hand, and two other family members were seriously injured.

DE BEER, Elizabeth (32), was injured when she drove over a landmine set by MK members in Ellisras, Tvl, in January 1986. The explosion was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural areas.

DE BEER, Hubert du Plessis (63), was killed when a landmine planted by ANC operatives exploded in January 1981 on his farm near Ellisras, Tvl. The explosion was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural areas.

DE BEER, JH, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DE BRAGANZA, Aquino, a Mozambican citizen and Director of the Centre for African Studies at Eduardo Mondlane University, was seriously injured in Maputo, Mozambique on 17 August 1982 by a letter bomb sent by members of Security Branch headquarters. Fellow academic Ruth First, who opened the letter when he was in her office, was killed in the explosion. Dr de

Braganza subsequently died on 19 October 1986 in a plane crash in which 32 others, including Mozambican President Samora Machel, were killed.

DE BRUIN, Arno, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

DE BRUIN, David (40), was shot dead after being assaulted by named security officers of the Western Cape Regional Services Council in Elsies River, Cape Town, on 18 June 1992. He had been participating in a sit-in at the Council offices, highlighting community grievances.

DE BRUIN, David, a security guard, was shot dead by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members at the Giwi Breyton Construction compound in Evander, Tvl, on 6 July 1992. Another security guard was shot and injured and two others were tied up. The SDU members, who sought to seize guns at the site, were engaged in clashes with the BLACK CATS in Ermelo, Tvl. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/19998/0121).

DE BRUIN, Ivolyne (52), was sentenced to death for the murder of a policeman in Paballelo, Upington, Cape, on 13 November 1985, and spent two years on death row at Pretoria prison before her death sentence was commuted on appeal in 1991 to a five-year suspended sentence. Ms De Bruin was arrested with others in Upington, Cape, in November 1985 and charged with murder in what became known as the 'Upington 26' trial. Twenty-five were convicted of common purpose; 14 were sentenced to death. One of the 14 applied for amnesty for the killing.

DE BRUIN, Jacques (19), a SAYCO member, was shot dead by a named female shop owner during a housing protest march in Robertson, Cape, on 22 November 1990.

DE BRUIN, Marianna Susan (18), was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

DE BRUIN, Max, an ANC supporter, was assaulted, hacked and burnt to death on 1 August 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by KHUMALO GANG members. The KHUMALO GANG had close links with the IFP and was allegedly involved in the murder of key political leaders in Tokoza.

DE BRUYN, Avril Cecilia (25), was shot dead by a named SAP member when police opened fire on street protesters in Bishop Lavis, Cape Town, on 17 June 1980, during a two-day stayaway. Ms de Bruyn was on her way to visit a friend.

DE BRUYN, Daniel Jakobus (53), was shot and injured on 22 March 1993 when APLA members armed with automatic weapons fired on the car in which he was travelling on the Vereeniging-Vanderbijlpark road, Tvl. See APLA ATTACKS. Three APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0002).

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

DE CASTRO, Joao Avelono, was wounded by APLA members in an armed attack on the Sentra Hyperserve supermarket at Wesselsbron, OFS, on 3 July 1993. Five people were killed and four were wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Six APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/250).

DE CASTRO, Maria Fatima, was shot and killed by APLA members in an armed attack on the Sentra Hyperserve supermarket at Wesselsbron, OFS, on 3 July 1993. Five people were killed and four were wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Six APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/250).

DE CASTRO, Pedro Ignatius, lost his wife in an attack by APLA operatives on his family's supermarket in Wesselsbron, OFS, on 3 July 1993. The supermarket was extensively damaged. The attack was the work of an APLA 'repossession unit' aimed at obtaining arms, cash and disposable property to facilitate APLA's armed struggle. Five people, including Mr de Castro's wife, were killed in the attack, and three others were injured, including Mr de Castro's brother. Six APLA operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/250).

DE FREITAS, Jose, an employee at a bottle store, was robbed by IFP members in Denver, Tvl, on 22 February 1994. Amnesty applicants testified that the robbery was in order to raise funds to purchase weapons. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/221).

DE JAGER, Carel Willem, was killed on 17 June 1985 by members of the UDF-supporting Addo Youth Congress in an attack on the local white farming community. The perpetrators broke the windows of the house, destroyed everything inside and set the De Jager's car alight. Mr De Jager's wife was also killed in the attack. Two applications for amnesty were received. One was withdrawn and the other granted (AC/1999/0264).

DE JAGER, Jan, a member of the SADF, was shot and wounded when APLA members ambushed a military vehicle, firing on it with automatic weapons, in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 16 December 1986. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/0133).

DE JAGER, Myrtle Louisa, was killed in her home at Addo, Cape, on 17 June 1985 by members of the UDF-supporting Addo Youth Congress, in an attack on the local white farming community. The perpetrators broke the windows of the house, destroyed everything inside and set the De Jager's car alight. Ms De Jager's husband was also killed in the attack. Two applications for amnesty were received. One was withdrawn and the other granted (AC/1999/0264).

DE JAGER, PD, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DE JONG, (Daughter one, first name not given), was injured when a limpet mine was detonated beside their vehicle in Durban on 21 December 1985. Her mother and her sister were also injured in the explosion. The attack was in retaliation for a raid by *Vlakplaas* operatives on ANC houses in Lesotho two days earlier, in which nine people were killed. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152 and AC/2001/139).

DE JONG, (Daughter two, first name not given), was injured when a limpet mine was detonated beside their vehicle in Durban on 21 December 1985. Her mother and her sister were also injured in the explosion. The attack was in retaliation for a raid by *Vlakplaas* operatives on ANC houses in Lesotho two days earlier, in which nine people were killed. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152 and AC/2001/139).

DE JONG, Ina, was injured when a limpet mine was detonated beside their vehicle in Durban on 21 December 1985. Her two daughters were also injured in the explosion. The attack was in retaliation for a raid by *Vlakplaas* operatives on ANC houses in Lesotho two days earlier, in which nine people were killed. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152 and AC/2001/139).

DE KLERK, Anna Magrieta Susanna Jacoba (38), was shot dead on 25 January 1980 in the Silverton bank siege, Pretoria, when three MK operatives held her hostage during a raid on the bank. Five people were killed in a gunfight after police stormed the bank and several others were injured.

DE KLERK, Johanna Elizabeth, was the victim of an attack by APLA supporters who threw petrol bombs, hand grenades and opened fire on her farm home in Elliot, Cape, on 8 August 1992. See APLA ATTACKS.

DE KLERK, Nicolaas Johannes Hendrik (58), was the victim of an attack by APLA supporters who threw petrol bombs, hand grenades and opened fire on his farm home in Elliot, Cape, on 8 August 1992. See APLA ATTACKS.

DE KOCK, Helena Kroon (38), was injured in a bomb explosion at a non-racial private school in Witkoppies, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 16 December 1991.

DE KOK, Felicity (19), a UDF supporter and BMW member, was detained in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, on 2 October 1987, and severely beaten by named members of a special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT at the Brackenfell police station.

DE KOKER, Abri Jacobus (15), was shot and injured by SAP members in Ashton, Cape, on 26 June 1990, during a demonstration against continuing apartheid discrimination in the town.

DE LA HARPE, Sharon, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DE LEEUW, KP, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DE LIMA, Alberto De Arzirch Magalhaes, was injured by PAC supporters at the Durban beachfront on 9 October 1990. The perpetrators attacked white people at random, killing one elderly man and injuring several other people. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/144).

DE NYSCHEN, Carla (10), was killed when the vehicle in which she and her family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

DE NYSCHEN, Marie (2), was killed when the vehicle in which she and her family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

DE NYSCHEN, Thea, was seriously injured when the vehicle in which she and her family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

DE NYSSCHEN, Grizelle (7), was killed when the vehicle in which she and her family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

DE NYSSCHEN, Johannes Jacobus (37), was severely injured when the vehicle he was travelling in detonated a landmine, planted by MK members, on 15 December 1985 on a farm in Messina, Tvl. See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

DE SOUSA ALVES, MA, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DE SOUSA, Fransisco, a civilian, was shot and killed in an armed robbery by APLA operatives at his shop in Westonaria, Tvl, on the 16 November 1990. One other person was injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0104).

DE VILLIERS, Andre, a farmer, was shot and killed by MK and ANC members, during a robbery in Addo, Port Elizabeth, on 17 August 1992. Two family members escaped injury. Two MK operatives applied for amnesty. One was granted and the other refused (AC/1999/0234).

DE VILLIERS, Annamarie Triegaardt (27), sustained permanent damage to her right hand and arm when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DE VILLIERS, Elizabeth Brenda, was shot at by MK and ANC members, during a robbery at her family's farm in Addo, Port Elizabeth, on 17 August 1992. One person was killed and Ms de Villiers and one other escaped injury. Two MK operatives applied for amnesty. One was granted and the other refused (AC/1999/0234).

DE VILLIERS, Gert Jacobus, survived a landmine explosion that severely damaged his motor vehicle at Messina, Tvl, on 26 November 1985, in what was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

DE VILLIERS, Johannes, a commander in the South African Air Force (SAAF), was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the SAAF headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DE VILLIERS, Louis Andre, was shot at by MK operatives and ANC members, during a robbery at his family's farm in Addo, Port Elizabeth, on 17 August 1992. One person was killed and Mr de Villiers and one other escaped injury. Two MK operatives applied for amnesty. One was granted and the other refused (AC/1999/0234).

DE VILLIERS, Simphiwo Jeffrey (13), lost an eye after being shot by SAP members on 2 May 1985 when protests and clashes with police broke out in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape.

DE VOS, John Paul (18), a BMW member, was arrested in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, on 2 October 1987 and repeatedly tortured by named members of a special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT.

DE WAAL, Jan de Villiers Hoffman (37), was severely beaten and partially blinded by members of the SAP in Athlone, Cape Town, on 28 August 1985, during the POLLSMOOR MARCH.

DE WET, Peter (29), a local ANC and ANCYL executive member, was severely beaten and choked by named SAP members in Villiersdorp, Cape, on 18 September 1993.

DE WITT, Charmaine (26), was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

DEBEILA, Andrew Senwelo Monosi (21), a local youth congress member, was detained and tortured at Mahwelereng, Lebowa, and then held at Nylstroom prison, on 4 August 1986. Mr Debeila was detained again in 1988.

DECEMBER, Sipho, was beaten by members of the SAP who attacked a mass gathering of students on a mountain in Sada, Ciskei, on 11 September 1980.

DEDERICKS, Graham, sustained injuries when an explosive device detonated at the 'Why Not Club', Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg on the 21 September 1988. The operation was conducted by the Witwatersrand Security Branch and a Vlakplaas operative who believed the club to be frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one Vlakplaas operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

DEETLEFS, JE, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DEETLEFS, JJ, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DEGLON, Alan (28), a civilian, was shot and killed when APLA operatives attacked the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town, on 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026).

DELIHAZO, Noamen Noboneko (29), was doused in petrol and set alight by named hostel-dwellers in

Daveyton, Tvl, on 1 September 1993, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

DELPORT, ME, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DELPORT, WC, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DENGA, Alfred Mafhungo, was severely beaten and tortured by members of the Venda Police after his arrest on 4 November 1983. Mr Denga was detained for five months in Masisi police station, Mutale, Venda, on suspicion of having transported three MK members from Thohoyandou to Tshiwadza, to enable them to cross into Zimbabwe.

DENGA, Isaac, a traffic officer, was shot and injured by MK operatives in Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 27 September 1991. The MK operatives were escaping arrest after being stopped at a roadblock by traffic officers. Several other traffic officers were also injured and a passing motorist was shot dead and robbed of his vehicle by the fleeing operatives. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1998/0091).

DENGA, Mamaila Esther (29), was knocked down by a police vehicle while walking home in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

DENGE, Zamile Ben (27), lost her house and all her possessions in an attack by IFP supporters and members of the SAP in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 17 February 1993 during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DENISA, David Mangaliso (17), an ANCYL member, was shot and injured on 31 January 1990, when members of the SAP opened fire on protesters marching through Bloemfontein to protest against the rebel tour by an English cricket team.

DENYA-NTEWETYANA, Keli (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP during protests in Molteno, Cape, on 5 January 1990.

DEPOTOKO, Archie Koati, was shot and killed by Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 8 January 1991. He was at a prayer meeting at a house burnt down by a pro-Bophuthatswana faction. Police surrounded the house, tear-gassed the people and fired at them.

DES FOUNTAIN, Jo-Anne, was injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in a parking garage at Jan Smuts airport, Johannesburg, on 27 April 1994, in an attempt to derail the electoral process. Polling in the elections had begun that day. Ten people were severely injured in the blast. Two AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING attacks.

DESAI, Khalied (49), was tear-gassed by police in his vehicle during political protests at Alexander Sinton High School in Athlone, Cape Town, where he served as principal. The tear-gassing injured his lung. Thereafter he was detained on 17 June 1986 for seven weeks, three of which were spent seriously ill in hospital under police guard.

DESEMELA, Masisinyi Agnes (39), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 9 October 1988 during conflict between supporters of President Mangope and his political opponent, Chief Mankuroane.

DESWAYO (DISWAI), Jimmy, was harassed and stones were thrown at his home by a crowd of ANC supporters in Rustenburg, Tvl, on 8 August 1993. One ANC member was granted amnesty for his involvement in the incidents (AC/1998/056).

DHLADHLA, Jabu Constance (50), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Estcourt, Natal, in October 1992.

DHLADHLA, Muzweli Zabulon (74), an ANC supporter, was shot and seriously injured outside his shop in Dube hostel, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1993 by named IFP supporters on a recruitment drive during ongoing political conflict in the area.

DHLADHLA, Sibongile, an ANC supporter, was shot in the thigh and abdomen in Dube hostel, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1993 by IFP supporters attempting to recruit the victim's father to their party.

DHLADHLAMA, Mjanyelwa (62), was stabbed by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, in September 1990 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

DHLAKA, Zondwayo Charlie (67), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DHLAMINI, Aaron Makhosi, was abducted during a period of SCHOOL BOYCOTTS and political conflict in Kroonstad, OFS, on 14 March 1990, and has never been seen again.

DHLAMINI, Alpheus Thabo, was shot and killed while sleeping in Mandela informal settlement, Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 12 August 1992 during political conflict at the Rembrandt tobacco company between rival unions aligned to the ANC and IFP.

DHLAMINI, Bhukumuzi Meshack (39), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 17 November 1990.

DHLAMINI, Bonita Helen (42), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down and her husband and son killed by named Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 29 October 1985. The attack is said to have been triggered by an internal dispute within Inkatha.

DHLAMINI, David Sipho (20), a UDF supporter, was stabbed in Sakhile, Standerton, Tvl, in October 1986, allegedly by members of the local football club which was backed by the SAP.

DHLAMINI, Lenkoe Sydney (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed in Katlehong, Tvl, on 26 May 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters.

DHLAMINI, Michael Tsepo, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP while returning from a night vigil for a slain activist in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 6 November 1990.

DHLAMINI, Mphikeleli Elias (50), was beaten with sjamboks and doused with petrol in Diepdale, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 5 March 1993 by a pro-ANC vigilante group.

DHLAMINI, Ntahi Kayser (60), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 30 November 1992 after trying to give refuge to a neighbour who was being pursued by two armed IFP supporters from Kwesine hostel. The neighbour was also shot dead.

DHLAMINI, Sibusiso (17), Inkatha supporter, was shot by other Inkatha supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 29 October 1985, in an attack on his father who was suspected of being an ANC sympathiser.

DHLAMINI, Solomon Hluwulani, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 16 December 1987, when a named SAP member allegedly opened fire in a shop.

DHLAMINI, Themba Edwin, was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP in Duduza, Springs, Tvl, on 2 November 1984 while on his way home from the funeral of a trade unionist.

DHLAMINI, Themba Resign Francis (58), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by other Inkatha supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 29 October 1985, allegedly because he was thought to be an ANC sympathiser.

DHLAMINI, Walter, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by AZAPO supporters in Phiri, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 November 1986 during ongoing political conflict in the area. Earlier that year, Mr Dhlamini was severely beaten and tortured by police.

DHLAMUKA, Getrude Zintombi (35), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DHLODHO, Vusimuzi Godfrey (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Emdeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, in August 1986 after he mobilised the community to resist evictions for non-payment of rent and services.

DHLUDHLU, Vusumuzi Ephraim (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by an APLA member during ongoing political conflict between ANC and PAC supporters at eMzinoni, Bethel, Tvl, on 17 October 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. An APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0052).

DHLUNGWANE, Thamsanqa Reginald (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KwaZULU POLICE in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 March 1990, allegedly when police searched his house for firearms.

DIAHO, Gideon (7), was beaten with a sjambok and a rifle-butt by members of the Transkei Defence Force in Pontseng, Matatiele, Natal, in February 1990, allegedly because he participated in *toyi-toyi* celebrations for the release of Nelson Mandela.

DIAHO, Masekake Emelia (22), was severely beaten by members of the Transkei Police in Matatiele, Natal, on 7 February 1990 during celebrations over the

UNBANNING of political organisations and the impending release of Nelson Mandela. Clashes between the police and protesters erupted when a shop and a police vehicle were set alight.

DIAHO, Pontso (26), was assaulted with sjamboks and a firearm by members of the Transkei Defence Force in Pontseng, Matatiele, Natal, in February 1990, allegedly because she participated in *toy-toy* celebrations for the release of Nelson Mandela.

DIAL, Fuzile 'Breakdown' (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, on 22 August 1985. See ALI WAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

DIALE, Lucky, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter, linked to MK, were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

DIALE, Makopane Maria (49), an ANC supporter, was abducted and tortured by members of the SAP in the veld near Nebo, Lebowa, on 1 September 1991 while her husband was attending a meeting of chiefs with Nelson Mandela. Her son was reportedly abducted with her.

DIALE, Nelson Letsau (41), an MK member, was arrested, assaulted and shocked by members of the SAP in January 1977. Mr Diale was detained for a year in Marble Hall, Tvl, and Pretoria. After his release he was confined to Masemole, Tvl.

DIAMOND, Boiki, was tortured while in detention by members of the SAP in Pretoria, on 16 January 1987 during a state of emergency.

DIAMOND, Monwabisi Joseph, was stabbed to death by a named UDF supporter during conflict between UDF and AZAPO supporters at Uitenhage, Cape, on 1 May 1987.

DIBAKOANE, Enoch Chiloane, a member of the SAP, was injured in a hand grenade explosion at a Municipal Police training centre in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 April 1987. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

DIBECHO, Kgositsele, was sjambokked by members of the Bophuthatswana Police while taking part in a protest march in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 13 March 1992.

DIBELA, Mhlangabezi (23), was shot and stabbed to death by WITDOEKE vigilantes in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 10 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the *Witdoeke*, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 persons were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

DIBELA, Nofundile Maria (27), a Poqo member, was imprisoned in East London from December 1962 to the end of the following year. During her imprisonment, she was tortured.

DIBETE, France Leshole (13), lost his home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, in an arson attack by supporters of

Chief BK Matlala, on 2 February 1980, because Mr Dibete resisted Lebowa's independence from South Africa.

DIBETE, Phuti David (53), a People's Congress supporter, was severely beaten by supporters of Chief BK Matlala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 18 August 1978 because Mr Dibete resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. The village was cordoned off and Chief Matlala and his supporters attacked People's Congress members, burnt their houses and stole their livestock.

DIBETSO, Koos (13), an ANCYL supporter, was severely beaten and deprived of medical treatment by Bophuthatswana Police while in detention in Rustenburg, Tvl, in 1986. He was arrested while attending a funeral in Boekenhout.

DIBOKA, Elisa Mamoferefere (37), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by named ANC supporters in internal conflict between rival ANC factions in Masilo, Theunissen, OFS, in May 1990.

DIBONGO, Michael, was shot by members of the SAP and died on his way to hospital on 18 June 1976. He was on his way home from work in Dlamini, Soweto, Johannesburg, when he was shot. See SOWETO UPRISING.

DICK, Siyabonga (16), an ANC supporter, was shot in the knee by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

DICKENSON, Basil, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

DICKENSON, Margie, a civilian, was killed when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

DICKS, Dee Neshia (17), was detained in Wynberg police station, Cape Town, on 15 October 1985, after attending a protest rally for school pupils. She and six other youths, known as the WYNBERG SEVEN, were sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

DICKSON, Peter John (27), a journalist, was struck in the face with a sharp object by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth during August 1989, while researching CCB hit squad activities.

DIEDERICKS, Anna, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

DIEDERICKS, Gerald (19) was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Bellville, Cape Town, on 30 August 1985, in the aftermath of the POLLSMOOR MARCH.

DIGABANE, Sydney, was tortured by members of the SAP at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, after his arrest for attempting to leave the country. He was sentenced to ten years in prison on charges of terrorism.

DIGANE, D M, a minister in the Ciskei Government, suffered damage to property during 1986 when his house at Sada, Hewu, Ciskei, was petrol-bombed by members of the UDF-supporting SADA Youth Congress. One UDF supporter applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2001/076).

DIHEMO, Madipuo Nancy (35), had her house burnt down by 'comrades' in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in 1990. The perpetrators accused Ms Dihemo's brother of associating with the SAP.

DIHLABI, Paul Dikotsi (25), died after he was shot and burnt by a combined group of IFP supporters and members of the SAP and SADF who attacked the Chris Hani informal settlement, Daveyton, Tvl, on 25 July 1993.

DIKANA, Nofikile Phuthuma, died after being tortured and 'necklaced' by 'comrades' in Duncan Village, East London, on 6 January 1986. She was accused of bewitching her son who had died three months earlier when he was run over by an SADF vehicle. Her daughter was also killed in the incident.

DIKANA, Thembaletu (13), was shot by a named SAP member on 11 April 1985 during student protests in Adelaide, Cape. He died two days later.

DIKANA, Zameka, died after she was tortured and 'necklaced' by 'comrades' in Duncan Village, East London, on 6 January 1986. She was accused of bewitching her brother who had died three months earlier when he was run over by an SADF vehicle. Her mother was also killed in the incident.

DIKANI, Fudwana, an ANC supporter, was killed when he was run over by a SADF vehicle on 24 October 1985 in East London.

DIKGALE, Max, was killed by a hand grenade in a suicide attack by APLA members outside a church in Mahwelereng, Tvl, on 5 March 1993.

DIKGANG, John Jankula (27), was detained by members of the SAP for his involvement in the Swarttruggens Youth Organisation in Swarttruggens, Tvl, in 1988. He was accused of teaching children 'terrorism' and as a result was frequently harassed by the SAP.

DIKHUTSO, Seuntjie Robert (48), was severely beaten with the butt of a gun by members of the SAP in Pampierstad, Bophuthatswana, on 10 March 1994. One of the alleged perpetrators believed Mr Dikhutso's son was involved in the burning of his house.

DIKO, Amos Tamsanqa (45), a prison warder, lost his home in an arson attack in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, during 1985. Mr Diko was accused of being a sell-out by the Duncan Village community because he worked for the SA Prison Services.

DIKO, Gungi Simon (50), lost an arm after being shot and pushed from a moving train in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 9 September 1991. See TRAINVIOLENCE.

DIKO, Nkosiabekwa (71), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and stabbed in Xopozo, Lusikisiki,

Transkei, on 13 December 1992 during conflict between the ANC and followers of a local chief.

DIKO, Nontsikelelo (49), had her home and possessions set alight by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi on 16 February 1993. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down in this attack.

DIKOLOMELA, Gert Modisoatsile, was detained and severely beaten with a sjambok by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Dryharts playground, Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 April 1988. He died later as a result of the injuries he sustained.

DIKWA, Alfred, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

DILATO, Nombulelo Julia (35), was assaulted and set alight by named UDF supporters in Colesberg, Cape, on 2 October 1985, after she had allegedly broken a consumer boycott of white-owned shops. She died in hospital on 9 October 1985 and could not be buried in the town due to hostility from the community. One UDF supporter was sentenced to death, later reprieved, and two others to prison terms for the killing.

DILATO, Stanford Thembile (36), a policeman, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Colesberg, Cape, on 2 October 1985. His wife had been assaulted and set alight by named UDF supporters earlier that day, resulting in her death on 9 October. Mr Dilato suffered a severe and lasting mental breakdown as a result.

DILIMA, Mangaliso Johnson (47), was shot with pellets by a member of the SAP member during a student boycott in Somerset East, Cape, on 1 May 1993.

DILISA, Mankwenkwe Ben Silabetele (23), a PAC supporter in Engcobo, Transkei, was imprisoned for five years on Robben Island, Cape Town, after being charged with sabotage in November 1963. After his release he was placed under house arrest for a further four years.

DILIZA, Ebenezer, a Poqo supporter, was imprisoned for two years on Robben Island in Cape Town, in 1963, after which he was placed under restrictions at Ngqeleni, Cape.

DIMA, Phumephi (63), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DIMBA, Themba Francis (26), an MK member, was seriously injured on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-

Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed.

DINAT, Mohamed Ismail, was detained and held in solitary confinement in Johannesburg, under the 1963 90-day detention law, and again in Pretoria, under the 1964 180-day detention law.

DINCA, Zizwe (32), was shot with birdshot by members of the SAP in Dordrecht, Cape, on 30 September 1985. Mr Dinca was accused of throwing stones at the police.

DINDIKAZI, Gijima Solomon (70), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaXolo, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in April 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the first democratic election on 27 April 1994. His son was killed in the attack.

DINDIKAZI, Zebon Bablo (40), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters in KwaXolo, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in April 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the first democratic election on 27 April 1994. His family home was also burnt down in the attack.

DINEZO, Babongile Khonzaphi (41), had her house burnt down on 16 February 1993 in a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of the Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, allegedly in the course of conflict between ANC and IFP supporters over access to resources. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down. The attackers first fired shots at the houses, sending residents fleeing for safety, before setting the houses alight.

DINGILA, Cyprian Nando, was killed by ANC supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 February 1990, in intense political conflict in the area.

DINGILIZWE, Thabo Benjamin, an SAP member, was shot dead at his home during a party with colleagues in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 May 1991. Relations between the community and the police were tense and police officers were targeted for attack as they were perceived to be enemies of the community.

DINILE, Gcobani Raymond (18), was left permanently disabled when he was shot by named Riot Police members near a burning bottle store in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985, in the aftermath of the POLLSMOOR MARCH held the previous day.

DINISO, Mandla Welcome (43), an ANC supporter, bled to death after he was shot in the leg by IFP supporters in Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1991.

DINISO, Oupa (29), was arrested, imprisoned and tortured with electric shocks by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, in December 1984 during a rent boycott. Mr Diniso was one of the 'SHARPEVILLE 6' whose death sentence for killing a town councillor was commuted to life imprisonment. He was subsequently released when the ANC and National Party government embarked on negotiations to bring about a new dispensation. See also VAAL UPRISING.

DINTWE, Salome, suffered severe damage to her house and property as a result of a car bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security

Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

DINWA, Nomonde, was shot and injured by a BALACLAVA GROUP, allegedly linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council, in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 16 December 1991. The attack left three people dead, three wounded and 40 houses burnt.

DINWA, Nyamaayipheli, was executed in Pretoria, on 5 April 1962 for his participation in the PONDOLAND REVOLT, an extended uprising by groups in Pondoland against imposed tribal authorities and self-government for Transkei.

DINWA, Qhekwane, an ANC supporter, was arrested in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

DINWA, Vuyo Patrick (12), was shot and severely injured by a member of the SAP on 1 May 1990, while on his way to the shops in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape.

DIOKA, Keodirile (25), a UDF supporter, was repeatedly tortured during interrogations by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, in 1986.

DIPHOKO, Samba Joy, survived when shots were fired into the home of the Ntsime family at Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, during an attempted *coup d'état* on 10 February 1988. Two Bophuthatswana Defence Force members were granted amnesty for their role in the attempted coup (AC/2000/044).

DIPHOKO, Zayedwa (41), died after being shot, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 6 July 1993 while on his way to work.

DIPICO, Sephiri Ignatius (21), a member of the Ikageng Civic Association, was arrested and assaulted by named members of the SAP in Potchefstroom, Tvl, in May and June 1986. Mr Dipico had helped form a street committee and participated in the occupation of empty land.

DIPPENAAR, Francois, a member of the SAP, was shot at during an exchange of fire with an ANC member whom the police had come to arrest on 25 March 1993, in northern KwaZulu/Natal. The perpetrator was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0341).

DIRANE, Jacob, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 November 1986 during the state of emergency.

DIREKO, Lettie Maboleta (62), was shot with a rubber bullet by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, during a peaceful march by the community to deliver a memorandum to the magistrate on 7 March 1990.

DISCO, an unidentified *askari*, was stabbed to death by MK operatives who were attempting to escape from the covert Security Branch farm, *Vlakplaas*, Tvl, around New Year in 1981. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/215).

DISEKO, George (17), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death with a *panga* by named perpetrators in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in November 1993 during conflict between COSAS and a newly-elected ANC branch committee in the area.

DISEKO, Seipati Welheminah (29), lost her shack when it was burnt down by members of the SACP-supporting Shenxe vigilante group during violent political conflict in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 25 May 1993.

DISEMBA, Totyi Sidwell (39), was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 20 May 1993, during attempts by a named Crossroads leader to remove residents from Section 2 by force.

DITHEBE, Jacob (17), was shot dead in Evaton, Tvl, on 15 June 1992 on the eve of the sixteenth anniversary of the SOWETO UPRISING. His brother also died in this attack.

DITHEBE, John (26), was shot dead in Evaton, Tvl, on 15 June 1992 on the eve of the sixteenth anniversary of the SOWETO UPRISING. His brother died in the same attack.

DITHEJANE, Kelebogile Elizabeth, was beaten and then shot dead by a member of the SAP in Wolmaransstad, Tvl, on 3 July 1990.

DITHEKO, Daniel Mile (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Johannesburg, on 12 April 1993 en route to the memorial service for assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

DITHIPE, Lucky Raymond, an ANC supporter, was arrested in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, in February 1992 while cleaning graves with other ANC supporters.

DITHIPE, William, an ANC supporter, was arrested in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, in February 1992 while cleaning graves with other ANC supporters.

DITSE, Randitshe Shadrack (18), was severely beaten by a member of the SAP Riot Unit in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in September 1989 and then placed under arrest for a day on a charge of stoning a Casspir.

DITSEGO, Malekutu Johannes (33), an ANC supporter, was injured when a bullet aimed at a policeman hit him in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 2 August 1993. At the time, police officers were attacked because they were seen as part of the apartheid state.

DITSELA, Kgabo David (25), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP and SADF in Ellisras, Tvl, in October 1990 during an ANC mass meeting in Ga-Seleka. The SAP declared the meeting illegal and dispersed the crowd with force.

DITSHEGO, Jacob Sebudi (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 17 November 1991. Mr Ditshego was one of seven people killed and seven seriously injured when gunmen opened fire with AK47s on a group of people at a party in Vosloorus.

DITSHEGO, Kgarebyana Sarah (26), was tear-gassed, assaulted with fists, kicked and arrested in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1987 after 'comrades' called her and a friend to help defend a shop against attack during political conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Ms Ditshego suffered a miscarriage as a result of the assault.

DITSHEGO, Khomotso Tebogo (15), was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Atteridgeville, Pretoria,

on 11 September 1976. Khomotso was attending the funeral of a student killed during the SOWETO UPRISING.

DITSHEGO, Kokane Isaac (44), a civic association activist, was arrested, detained and tortured in Sandton, Johannesburg, in January 1990.

DITSHEGO, Lenaka (44), was abducted from his home in Moutse, KwaNdebele, by IMBOKODO vigilantes led by named KwaNdebele government ministers on 1 January 1986. He and others were taken to Siyabuswa community hall and put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and were then sjambokked and beaten where they fell. The attacks were intended to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

DITSHEGO, Maswiki Thomas (39), was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 28 March 1986 because he was wearing a UDF T-shirt.

DITSHEGO, Ntsara Alex (37), was severely assaulted by members of the SADF when they attacked customers in a bottle store in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

DITSHEGO, Rebecca (22), was tear-gassed and severely beaten by members of the SAP at Moutse, KwaNdebele, at a meeting about INCORPORATION of the area into the homeland during December 1986.

DITSHEGO, Sirage Johannes, was tortured in detention by KwaNdebele Police in Dennilton, Tvl, in 1988 and reportedly died in prison. Mr Ditshego had been active in MOCA, an organisation formed to oppose INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

DIUTLUILENG, David, a political activist, was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Soweto, Johannesburg, by members of the state-backed JACKROLLERS GANG in July 1990. Before his death, Mr Diutluleng and his family were repeatedly harassed, detained and tortured by members of the SAP.

DJIANE, Melekwa Tom (45), was assaulted and his home was burnt down by 'comrades' in KwaNdebele, in 1986, during political conflict in the area. The 'comrades' believed he was an IMBOKODO member.

DLADLA NTULI, Phyllis Busisiwe, a UDF supporter, was publicly assaulted and forced to abandon her home in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, on 5 May 1985, in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi and other townships into KwaZulu. A leading member of the Inkatha Women's Brigade was convicted for her part in the attacks.

DLADLA, Aaron Sandile, was killed by IFP supporters in an attack on a taxi in Tembisa, Tvl, on 21 July 1993. Gunmen shot the occupants of the taxi, and the vehicle was then burnt with the passengers inside during ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Abel (71), an IFP supporter, was shot and killed by another named IFP supporter at his house in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 February 1994, allegedly during an internal dispute.

DLADLA, Aubrey Fikizolo (39), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters, after which he was tied to a vehicle and dragged

through Esikhawini, near Empangeni, Natal, on 13 February 1992, in political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Babloshe Robert (40), an ANC supporter, died after he was stabbed by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 April 1991, in intense political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Bhe (59), was shot dead by ANC supporters in Mthenjwa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 June 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Mr Dladla's home was also burnt down in the attack.

DLADLA, Bhekise, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Greytown, Natal, on 26 July 1990, in political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Bhokokwakhe, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured in an attack by ANC supporters on his aunt's home in Mpumuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg during 1990, in intense political conflict in the area. The house was burnt down in the attack.

DLADLA, Bonani (64), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLADLA, Cedric Nicholas, a member of COSAS, was severely injured when a booby-trapped hand grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. Eight COSAS members and at least seven were severely injured in similar attacks at this time in the Transvaal. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

DLADLA, Christopher Bothi (21), a UDF supporter, was killed in Chesterville, Natal, on 31 December 1990 by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM. They first drove a vehicle over Mr Dladla, then they shot him, beat him, and stabbed him to death. His body was recovered in a forest on 10 January 1991.

DLADLA, Constance (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters, along with two other family members, at their home in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 September 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Constance Sindile (25), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Bergville, Natal, during December 1991, in political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Deli Nomhlangano (68), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLADLA, Duduzile Grace (44), was forced to flee her home in Umbumbulu, near Durban, in November 1993 after repeated harassment by IFP supporters.

DLADLA, Dumisani (16), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Greytown, Natal, on 7 November 1987, in political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Dumsani (30), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Estcourt, Natal, on 26 August 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Elibodwe Elijah Elias (79), was shot dead in an attack on his home at St Bernards Mission in the Nhlakazuka area, Richmond, Natal, on 22 April 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Two ANC-supporting relatives were also killed in the attack.

DLADLA, Evans (50), an IFP supporter, was shot dead on 25 August 1993 in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLADLA, Florah Funani (39), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Mahlabatini, KwaZulu, near Ulundi, in January 1990, in political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Florence Thandi (40), an IFP supporter, had her house and possessions burnt by ANC supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 May 1991.

DLADLA, Fox Mthokozisi (15), an ANC supporter, was abducted from a street and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, on 10 April 1989, in intense political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Funani (73), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 November 1993 during attacks allegedly orchestrated by a local IFP-supporting chief on ANC supporters in the KwaZulu areas between Eshowe and Empangeni.

DLADLA, Jabulani Derrick (31), an IFP supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Estcourt, Natal, during 1993, in political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Jabulani Vivian (30), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLADLA, Joshua Bhekifa (31), an ANC supporter, was found stabbed to death near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 28 October 1991. He had been ordered by IFP supporters to attend a mass funeral for IFP supporters, including a child, who had been killed by ANC supporters earlier that month.

DLADLA, Khanyisile Beauty (33), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 March 1988.

DLADLA, Khifilina Lisbeth (39), was assaulted with rifle butts and had her furniture destroyed and her possessions stolen in Springs, Tvl, on 10 June 1992. Her husband, a taxi driver, was killed by members of the SAP on the same day.

DLADLA, Lawrence Fanizini, an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by SAP members in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban.

DLADLA, Li (44), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1991. On that day IFP supporters reportedly marched through the area, which was predominantly ANC-supporting, on the way to a rally.

DLADLA, Linda Enock (30), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in 1993 during political conflict between the 'RED' AND GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban. Mr Dladla had to move as a result of ongoing arson attacks in the area.

DLADLA, Lota (48), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Mpumaza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during 1990. Ms Dladla's nephew was shot and injured in the attack.

DLADLA, Lucky Tollman (10), was shot and injured by named IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 November 1991. His father, who was an ANC supporter, was killed in the same attack.

DLADLA, Mandla (26), died from multiple stab wounds in Bruntville, KwaZulu, near Mooi River, Natal, on 13 June 1991, in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLADLA, Manqoba, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by named ANC supporters at Estcourt, Natal, on 22 February 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Maria, had her house damaged when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

DLADLA, Mketezi Richard (44), was severely injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

DLADLA, Molo Bongani, was shot dead by named Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 November 1988, during intense political conflict in the area. Mr Dladla was walking in the street when the perpetrators opened fire on him.

DLADLA, Mqothu Muzongekho (51), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in Johannesburg, on 9 May 1991.

DLADLA, Mtshingeni (74), was stabbed to death in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 December 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLADLA, Mubi (63), had his home burnt down by ANC supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 June 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. A family member was shot dead in this attack.

DLADLA, Muzithini (47), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Mooi River, Natal, on 19 September 1991, in political conflict in the area. Mr Dladla was on his way home from work when he was attacked.

DLADLA, Nason, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1985, in political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

DLADLA, Ncengeni Doris (44), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March

1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLADLA, Nelisiwe Joyce Cloudia (25), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1985, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Nkosikhona Thokozani (17), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 4 October 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Nokusa Charlotte (29), lost her home in an arson attack at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 2 December 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLADLA, Nombulelo Imorgirl (27), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Ohlange, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 April 1991.

DLADLA, Nomusa Kekekile, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 April 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Ntombenhle Kate (56), had her husband killed and her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 December 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLADLA, Osborne Nsundu (61), was shot dead and had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 8 December 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLADLA, Patricia Ntombeningi (25), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Mooi River, Natal, on 20 November 1991, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Peter, was stabbed and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

DLADLA, Phillip Mzo (35), a UDF supporter and MAWU shopsteward, had his home burnt down by Inkatha supporters and Special Branch members at KwaHaza, near Howick, Natal, during 1988 in intensifying conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Princess Ntombifuthi (7), was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 April 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLADLA, Regina Bafunani (35), had her house shot at and bombed by members of the ANCYL in Durban, in March 1991, during political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Regina, survived an attempt on her life when self-defence unit (SDU) members attacked her homestead in the Umgababa area, KwaZulu, near

Durban, with a hand grenade on 12 April 1992. The family were believed to be IFP supporters. The grenade bounced back and injured the two attackers. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/061).

DLADLA, Scelo Daniel, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by SAP members on 10 March 1986 during the school boycotts at Lamontville, near Durban.

DLADLA, Sibongile (23), an ANC supporter, had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 18 December 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Sibongile Bonisile (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLADLA, Sibusiso, was shot and paralysed in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in March 1986 by members of the SAP during conflict between popularly elected civic associations and councillors in the area.

DLADLA, Sikhumukane Damasius (40), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, together with his father and another relative, in an attack on his home in Nhlakazuka, Richmond, Natal, on 22 April 1994 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DLADLA, Simon (40), was assaulted and shot dead by named members of the SAP at Springs, Tvl, on 10 June 1992. He was a taxi owner.

DLADLA, Siphiwe (37), died a day after an attack on his home in Nhlakazuka, Richmond, Natal, on 22 April 1994 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Three other family members were also killed in this attack.

DLADLA, Sipho Joseph (34), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Bergville, Natal, on 26 December 1991, in political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Sipho, was shot dead at Empangeni, Natal, on 22 February 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His home was also burnt down during the attack.

DLADLA, Sithembile Elizabeth (41), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 December 1992.

DLADLA, Sizani Margaret (48), an IFP supporter, survived an arson attack by ANC supporters on her home in Empangeni, Natal, on 7 April 1993. Ms Dladla's husband was shot by an ANC supporter later that year.

DLADLA, Teresa Mbhalenhle (25), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in December 1991.

DLADLA, Thandekile Philomaner (43), lost her home and all her possessions in an arson attack in Umlazi, Durban, in 1990 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha/IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLADLA, Thembi, survived an attempt on her life when self-defence unit (SDU) members attacked her homestead in the Umgababa area, KwaZulu, near Durban, with a hand grenade on 12 April 1992. The family were believed to be IFP supporters. The grenade

bounced back and injured the two attackers. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/061).

DLADLA, Thembinkosi Richard (32), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 November 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Thirty Mano (36), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured and had her house damaged in an attack by ANC supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 31 March 1992. Ms Dladla's husband commanded a group of AMABUTHO vigilantes helping the IFP regain control of the area.

DLADLA, Thokozani Nicholas (18), a member of COSAS, lost his fingers when a booby-trapped grenade exploded in his hand in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 25 June 1985. He was one of seven activists in the area recruited for supposed guerrilla training by *Vlakplaas* operatives and then killed or injured in the incident. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

DLADLA, Thokozile (70), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 5 September 1993, after she had been accused of supporting the ANC.

DLADLA, Velaphi (37), an ANC supporter, was shot to death by IFP supporters in Greytown, Natal, on 30 January 1994, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLADLA, Zabalaza (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack on his home in Nhlakazuka, Richmond, Natal, on 22 April 1994 in conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Two other family members also died in this attack.

DLADLA, Zakhele Thomas (29), an ANC supporter, was shot in the head by alleged Inkatha supporters on 9 September 1989 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu.

DLALA, Elijah Bonwile (25), was shot dead by an unidentified perpetrator in a police Hippo in Mabandla Street, KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 23 March 1985.

DLALA, Mapemba George Skaro (46), was detained by members of the SAP for 13 months from August 1986 in Port Elizabeth.

DLALA, Melikhaya (28), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, while on his way home from work in Katilehong, Tvl, on 11 February 1994. Mr Melikhaya suffered permanent paralysis as a result of his injuries.

DLALA, Mzukisi (17), a UDF supporter, was beaten by named members of the SAP at his home in Paterson, Cape, on 21 March 1985 during protests in the area.

DLALA, Thando, was abducted from his home by UDF supporters at Uitenhage, Cape, in September 1987. He was then stabbed, stoned and burnt to death by necklacing. One UDF supporter applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0027).

DLALI, Masande Emmanuel (23), a UDF supporter, was arrested under the 1985 state of emergency regulations in Port Elizabeth. In detention he was

tortured and put under a pressure to testify against his UDF 'comrades' in court. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

DLAME, Canan Andeas (34), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in January 1992.

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

DLAMINI, (first name not given) an ANC supporter, was targeted for elimination by IFP members at Hlanganani Hall, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during 1992. One perpetrator in the conspiracy was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

DLAMINI, (first name not given), was killed by KWAZULU POLICE members in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 June 1993 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Alfred, had his house set alight when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

DLAMINI, Alois T (40), an Inkatha supporter, had her house petrol-bombed by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1988, in intense political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Amos, died after being beaten with an axe, stabbed and shot by named Inkatha supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 25 December 1988, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Andries B, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

DLAMINI, Angelina (21), was shot dead when her house was attacked by members of the IFP-supporting TOASTER GANG in Tembisa, Tvl, on 8 May 1992 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

DLAMINI, Anthony (65), was stabbed and shot to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 22 March 1986, in political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Armstrong Sthembiso (21), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Mbayimbayi, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 May 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, AS, was killed by named IFP supporters at Inkanyezini, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 March 1993, allegedly in a revenge attack. Five other people were killed in the attack. One of the perpetrators applied for amnesty.

DLAMINI, Bafana (29), was found dead in a taxi he was driving in Daveyton, Tvl, in December 1992 during widespread TAXI VIOLENCE in the area.

DLAMINI, Bafana Peter (29), a UDF activist, was beaten and mutilated at Rabasotho police station in Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 July 1987. Mr Dlamini had been detained during the partial state of emergency in March 1986.

DLAMINI, Bafikile Maria (52), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 8 January 1990, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Bafunani Paula (57), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Ixopo, Natal, in October 1993, in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Baketile Clementina (53), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters near Amanzimtoti, Natal, on 8 July 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Bakhiphile (39), survived a petrol bomb attack on her home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, by ANC supporters on 20 June 1992.

DLAMINI, Bangukufa Enoch (64), was shot dead on 10 November 1991 by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intensified violent conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Beauty Nelisiwe (36), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Ladysmith, Natal, in August 1993, and had her house was burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1994. Her son was shot dead in the April 1994 attack.

DLAMINI, Bekeni George (67), an ANC supporter, lost his home in an arson attack by IFP supporters in 1991 in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal.

DLAMINI, Bekimpi (72), an ANC supporter, had his home at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down on 26 May 1990 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Bekumndeni Josiah (36), was severely beaten and his goods were stolen by Inkatha supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1985, during political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Bernard Sipho (47), was beaten and stabbed to death and his body was burnt in Ktlehong, Tvl, on 19 September 1993, allegedly by ANC supporters who killed him because they found an IFP card in his house.

DLAMINI, Betty Makitizana, was severely injured when she was burnt and shot in an attack on her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DLAMINI, Bhekabantu (43), an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters at Marianhill, Natal, on 27 May 1990. Four Inkatha supporters allegedly followed him from Ndaleni, from which he had earlier fled because of political violence.

DLAMINI, Bhekani (32), an ANC supporter, had his home at Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down in June 1992 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. See NCALU ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Bhekayena, was killed on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which he was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of six IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Bheki, an ALUSAF employee, was shot dead by IFP supporters in an ambush at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 14 March 1992. ALUSAF employees were allegedly targeted because they were believed to be ANC supporters.

DLAMINI, Bhekidiya, an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Bhekisisa Wellington (21), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 18 March 1990, during political conflict.

DLAMINI, Bhekithemba, was stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters in Gezubuzo, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 November 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area. A family member was killed in the same attack.

DLAMINI, Bhekuyise Harry, an IFP supporter, was shot and burnt to death by ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 18 October 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Blondie Khathazile (13), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, in February 1986 during a consumer boycott. Ms Dlamini was subsequently arrested and accused of stone throwing, but was acquitted later that year.

DLAMINI, Bonani, was shot on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which he was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of six IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Bongani Thobani Wiseman (20), was severely burnt in an arson attack by UDF supporters on his home at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1988. In 1990 he was assaulted and shot in the head by ANC/UDF supporters while on his way to school near Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. In 1991 he was stabbed in the chest by unidentified attackers at Engwelezi, near Empangeni.

DLAMINI, Bongani Zamayedwa Walter (25), was shot and injured by members of the SADF in Umlazi,

Durban, during the protests which followed the killing of UDF leader, Victoria Mxenge, in 1985.

DLAMINI, Bongani, was shot and injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Daveyton, Tvl, on 22 June 1993. The perpetrators were IFP supporters and members of the security forces who aimed at sowing terror in the East Rand communities with random drive-by shootings.

DLAMINI, Bongani, was stabbed and beaten by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, in 1980, during political violence.

DLAMINI, Bonginkosi (35), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters at Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 August 1988.

DLAMINI, Bonginkosi Aggrippa (Darango) (48), was shot by IFP supporters in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Boy Mbuyiseni, an ANC supporter was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bergville, Natal, on 6 June 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Busisiwe (53), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 18 July 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Cedric Bongani (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at a hostel in KwaMashu A Section, Durban, on 29 March 1994 while on the way to a scheduled peace meeting to resolve the conflict between KwaMashu residents and hostel-dwellers. See KWAMASHU HOSTEL KILLINGS.

DLAMINI, Charles, was seriously injured on 30 September 1993 when the vehicle in which he was travelling was ambushed at Diepdale, near Ermelo, Tvl. Ten youths were returning from a court appearance in connection with the killing of a local chief when they were attacked, allegedly by the chief's son and other IFP supporters. Four of the accused were killed and three others injured in this attack.

DLAMINI, Christopher (39), an Inkatha supporter, had his house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, petrol-bombed in July 1989 in intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Crescencia Jabulile (45), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Ixopo, Natal, in July 1993.

DLAMINI, Cyril Nkosinathi (11), was stabbed and burnt to death by Inkatha-supporting fellow pupils at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 4 May 1988, allegedly because he had refused to attend an Inkatha meeting.

DLAMINI, Daisy Ntozakhe (43), had her house burnt down in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 May 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

DLAMINI, David Vusi (32), an ANC member, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 11 January 1986 at the funeral of an ANCYL member.

DLAMINI, Dinginhlo, was stabbed and injured by ANC supporters during political conflict at Masameni, near Greytown, Natal, on 17 September 1989. His father was killed in the same incident.

DLAMINI, Doctor Wellington (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Clermont, near Durban, on 29 June 1990 during political violence coinciding with a visit by Nelson Mandela to the province.

DLAMINI, Duduzi Vincent (47), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in October 1990, after attending a peace initiative meeting. Mr Dlamini, a leader of the Crisis Committee, had gathered with other residents to discuss ways to promote peace between the ANC and IFP.

DLAMINI, Duduzile Eunice (27), had her house destroyed in an arson attack at Lindelani, near Kwa-Mashu, Durban, on 7 September 1989 in intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Dumazithimba (63), an IFP supporter, had his five rondavels destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Mtunzini, Natal, on 4 April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DLAMINI, Dumisani Solomon (37), an ANC sympathiser and witness at the Goldstone Commission, was killed by IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 19 June 1993. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

DLAMINI, Edith Mimi (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 2 April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DLAMINI, Edmund Sethusi (33), was shot and stabbed to death by a named Inkatha supporter outside his home in Amanzimtoti, Natal, on 11 March 1989, after an Inkatha rally in the area.

DLAMINI, Edward, an MK member, was imprisoned by the ANC after allegedly participating in a mutiny at an ANC camp in Angola during 1984. While being transported to Camp Quatro, he was assaulted by an ANC member in charge of prisoners. One ANC member applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/149). See ANC CAMPS.

DLAMINI, Elijah (30), a UDF supporter, was shot dead at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 6 September 1987, by a named Security Branch member who reportedly colluded with Inkatha. Three of Mr Dlamini's siblings were also killed in political conflict during this period.

DLAMINI, Elizabeth (59), had her home destroyed in two arson attacks by ANC supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 14 and 16 March 1993. Ms Dlamini was targeted because her husband was affiliated to the IFP.

DLAMINI, Elizabeth, chair of the ANCWL, was shot dead when her house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, was attacked by IFP supporters on 3 May 1993.

DLAMINI, Elias Shayinkomo (36), had his home petrol-bombed in Komatipoort, Tvl, on 19 July 1986 by members of the SADF searching for his son, an ANC supporter suspected of having set alight the house of a sergeant in the area.

DLAMINI, Emely (57), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond,

Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

DLAMINI, Emily, was tortured by members of the Security Branch in Pietermaritzburg, in January 1984. Active supporters of the UDF, members of the Dlamini family were repeatedly harassed by the Security Branch.

DLAMINI, Emmanuel Simphiwe (34), was shot dead by IFP supporters in his home at Umlazi, Durban, on 4 May 1992, allegedly because he refused to attend IFP rallies. Shortly thereafter, the house was burned down.

DLAMINI, Enock, had his house badly damaged when a bomb planted by AWB supporters exploded at the ANC offices nearby in Letsopa, near Ottosdal, Tvl, on 4 February 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTION.

DLAMINI, Eugene Bonginkosi (21), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in Machibisa, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 24 September 1987, during political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Fakazile Cresenlia (40), was severely injured while trying to escape an arson attack by IFP supporters at her home in Nkhumba, near Bulwer, Natal, in June 1991 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Fana Bhekani (25), was shot dead in Pietermaritzburg, on 27 August 1988, during intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Felaphi Phillip, an alleged IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death during a confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters at Gengese, Richmond, Natal, on 26 September 1992, in which at least nine people were killed. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/97/0063).

DLAMINI, Fihlwepi (48), an ANC supporter, had her home at Richmond, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha/IFP supporters in 1990.

DLAMINI, Fikile Faith (26), had her home burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in September 1988, in intense political conflict in the area. Her four brothers were killed in the attack.

DLAMINI, Florence Busisiwe (55), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by IFP supporters at Gingindlovu, Natal, on 20 October 1993.

DLAMINI, Florence Mamsile, had her house looted and set alight during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See MPUMALANGA ATTACKS. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

DLAMINI, Gerley Harriet (65), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Kwa-Nxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 26 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

DLAMINI, Gesi (50), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter in Richmond, Natal, on 5 June 1989, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Gezephi Irene (42), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down in an arson attack by members of the IFP-supporting TOASTER GANG in May 1992 in Tembisa, Tvl, in May 1992.

DLAMINI, Gideon Fana (51), had his home burnt down in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 May 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

DLAMINI, Gingi, was abducted and killed by named Inkatha supporters and members of the SAP at Highflats, Ixopo, Natal, on 16 May 1990 in intensifying conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Gladness Busiswe (43), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 17 August 1992.

DLAMINI, Gladys Thoko (41), was displaced from her home in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, when it was ransacked by members of the SAP in April 1985.

DLAMINI, Grammar Thulisile Ndende (33), was assaulted and severely injured by IFP supporters in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 March 1991 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Happy Hlanganisile, an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

DLAMINI, Happy Hlanganisile, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters, one of whom is named, during an attack at Ndaleneni, near Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991. Two IFP supporters were granted amnesty for their role in the attacks. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Ida (Majakobe) (65), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Richmond, Natal, in June 1993, in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Innocent Phumla (20), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, in January 1986, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Isabel Dumisile (37), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in November 1992, during an IFP forced recruitment campaign.

DLAMINI, Jabu Eunice (39), an ANC supporter, was beaten and shot in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, 25 November 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Jabulani Alfred (26), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 20 April 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Jacob, lost his home in Bophelong, Tvl, on 3 September 1984.

DLAMINI, Jacob, was severely burnt by members of the IFP-supporting TOASTER GANG in Tembisa, Tvl, on 8 May 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Jacob, was shot and killed by Inkatha supporters in Umlazi, Durban, in 1985 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Jamela (59), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Nokweja, Ixopo, Natal, on 28 July 1993.

DLAMINI, Jerome Maadu (46), was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

DLAMINI, Joseph Zenzile, died after he had been shot and severely assaulted by residents and ANC supporters in Orkney, Tvl, on 21 July 1991. The perpetrators believed he was linked to the 'Kofifi' vigilante group. Three ANC supporters were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/97/0006).

DLAMINI, Julia (16), was shot dead when her home was attacked by members of the IFP-supporting TOASTER GANG in Tembisa, Tvl, in May 1992.

DLAMINI, Julia P (37), had her home near Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack in 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Khalelani (38), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot to death by IFP supporters at Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 5 February 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Khawulezile Patric (29), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Entshawini, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, in July 1991.

DLAMINI, Khemi (64), lost her home in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Mombazo, near Shakaville, Natal, on 9 January 1993.

DLAMINI, Khikhi (44), was allegedly beaten by members of the SADF using rifle butts and fists in Vosloorus, Tvl, in 1994.

DLAMINI, Khonani (59), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Hlaza, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 April 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Khumbulani (20), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a member of the KwaZULU POLICE at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 July 1990.

DLAMINI, Khuzwayo, was killed in Sharpeville, Tvl, on 3 September 1984.

DLAMINI, Layekile Veronica (64), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 16 August 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Leona (26), was forced to flee her home after it was looted, vandalised and destroyed by UDF supporters at Mpolo, near Marianhill, Pinetown, Natal, in 1989, in political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Lephina, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in April 1992 by members of the IFP-supporting TOASTER GANG in May 1992 in Tembisa, Tvl.

DLAMINI, Lilly Mirriam (60), a local IFP leader, was shot dead, allegedly by ANC supporters, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 9 September 1993.

DLAMINI, Lindela Vitus, an ANC supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters

at Bulwer, Natal, in November 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Lindiwe (20), a UDF supporter, disappeared from Pietermaritzburg on 19 June 1987. She was allegedly abducted by a named member of the SAP, and two named members of Inkatha. She has not been seen again and is presumed dead.

DLAMINI, Lindiwe Christinah (50), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Ixopo, Natal, in July 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Lingeke Sylvina (41), an ANC supporter, had her house in Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in 1990.

DLAMINI, Lozi Lema (54), an ANC supporter, had her house at Gezibuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

DLAMINI, Lucky, was shot dead on 23 December 1993, in a drive-by shooting from a public bus in Ladysmith, Natal.

DLAMINI, Mabaleka, was one of three vigilantes pursued and hacked to death by UDF supporters in Standerton, Tvl, in June 1987, because he was believed to have collaborated with members of the Pirates soccer club and community councillors, to persecute UDF supporters. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/071).

DLAMINI, Mabongi, was stabbed by Inkatha supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 December 1988, in intense political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Mabunzi, was stabbed and injured by UDF supporters during political conflict in Creighton, Natal, on 17 September 1989.

DLAMINI, Macicayi Lina (41), lost her house and possessions in an arson attack by IFP supporters and members of the SAP at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 February 1993, allegedly in the course of conflict over access to resources. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down.

DLAMINI, Madala Wiseman (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Clermont, near Durban, on 29 June 1990 during political violence coinciding with a visit by Nelson Mandela to the province.

DLAMINI, Maggie Phumile, was severely beaten while she was three months pregnant by members of the MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB (MUFC) in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1988. At the time, people suspected of being police informers were abducted and severely beaten by members of the MUFC.

DLAMINI, Malandula Pius (43), an ANC supporter, lost his house and possessions in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Malu Elsie, an ANC supporter, was killed when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

DLAMINI, Mamo Josephina (70), an IFP supporter, had her home destroyed by ANC supporters at

Ntabamhlophe, near Estcourt, Natal, on 9 September 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Mamoya Maria (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named SAP members, at Fouriesburg, OFS, on 1 February 1991. The incident took place days before a general stayaway, while police were patrolling the area.

DLAMINI, Mandla Johannes (44), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters while driving to his home in the ANC stronghold of Bruntville, Mooi River, Natal, on 14 September 1992, during political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Mandla, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named perpetrator in 1993 at Eshowe, Natal. He was a youth leader and community activist and hence perceived as a threat.

DLAMINI, Mandlenkosi Michael (41), an ANC supporter, was beaten and stabbed to death on 26 September 1990 in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in intensified conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Mandlenkosi, an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 2 June 1988, in intense political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Mantombi Gladness (31), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 10 February 1994, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Mantsali Paulina, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

DLAMINI, Margaret (55), an IFP supporter, lost her home and possessions in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Empangeni, Natal, in November 1993.

DLAMINI, Margaret (56), an IFP supporter, had her two huts destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Mtunzini, Natal, during April 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the first democratic election on 27 April.

DLAMINI, Maria, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

DLAMINI, Mathombi, was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Matshu (54), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Estcourt, Natal, on 16 August 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Maureen Duduzile (33), a NEHAWU member, was stabbed by Inkatha supporters at her home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 22 May 1986. Her father, who was killed in the same attack, would not attend Inkatha rallies and meetings.

DLAMINI, Mawoti (50), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Masameni, Creighton, Natal, 17 September 1989, in political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Mbho Johannes, was killed by named Inkatha supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 25 December 1988, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Mbongeleni (41), lost three rondavels and all his possessions in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Entenjane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 21 November 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. One person was killed and more than 45 homes were burnt down in the attacks under the direction of the local chief, an IFP supporter.

DLAMINI, Mbongeni (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, in July 1992.

DLAMINI, Mbuso (25), an ANC supporter, was abducted by unidentified persons in KwaMashu, Durban, on 31 May 1993, during political conflict in the area. He has not been seen again and is presumed dead.

DLAMINI, Mduduzi F, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 July 1988, in intense political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Mduduzi, a UDF supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 28 November 1987, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Mfanizane Joseph (49), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Bulwer, Natal, in June 1991.

DLAMINI, Mhlonipheni, was stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters in Gezubuzo, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 November 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area. A family member was killed in the same attack.

DLAMINI, Michael (77), was shot and injured and had his house set on fire by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Ntshangweni, Eshowe, Natal, on 1 February 1989. His wife, a UDF supporter, was also injured in the shooting.

DLAMINI, Mildred Felani (51), had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack in Empangeni, Natal, on 19 April 1992, in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Mjabulelwa (17), was one of five young ANC supporters shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict at Magoda, Richmond, Natal, on 14 July 1991. Residents accused the security forces of involvement, and a top-level police investigation was launched. The chief of Phatheni was arrested in connection with the massacre.

DLAMINI, Mjabulelwa (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters when conflict broke out following a mass funeral at Ndaleneni, Richmond, Natal, on 16 August 1991.

DLAMINI, Mkhanyiseli, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine

marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

DLAMINI, Mntwana Dolly Emily (52), lost her home in Camperdown, near Pietermaritzburg, in an arson attack by UDF supporters on 2 June 1988, allegedly because her sons were not politically active. Three of her sons were killed between June and August 1988.

DLAMINI, Mpiyakhe (49), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at his home in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, on 26 May 1990. Twenty-one people were killed in political conflict in the area that day.

DLAMINI, Mr (first name not given), was killed by members of the KWAZULU POLICE on 20 June 1993 in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal.

DLAMINI, Msuthelwa Bernard, was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Gardiner Street, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076).

DLAMINI, Mthetheleli David (23), was shot and injured by ANC supporters in Bulwer, Natal, on 17 May 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Mthukutheli Patrick (20), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death on 8 November 1990 when approximately 1200 Inkatha-supporting hostel-dwellers carried out a pre-dawn attack on residents at Bruntville, Mooi River, Natal, following the killing of an Inkatha supporter. Residents alleged that the police assisted the attackers and failed to respond to warnings that attacks were imminent. Sixteen residents were killed. Fifteen hundred people fled their homes.

DLAMINI, Muntu Peter (35), was shot and partially disabled by members of the SAP who fired at him when he was on his way home from a shop in April 1991 in Richmond, Natal.

DLAMINI, Musa Cyprian (17), an ANC supporter, was severely stabbed by Inkatha supporters in Wartburg, Natal, in September 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Muziwendoda, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Escourt, Natal, on 20 May 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Myelile France (52), had his house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 26 May 1990, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Mzumeni (54), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by named ANC supporters in Durban, on 28 October 1992. Mr Dlamini had allegedly gone to work during a two-day stayaway.

DLAMINI, Mzwandile Cleopas (25), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot to death by Inkatha supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 26 May 1990, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Ndawo, was stabbed to death in Richmond, Natal, on 9 September 1989, allegedly because he refused to join the UDF.

DLAMINI, Ndoda Mkholisi (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, in December 1992, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Ngenzeni Joyce (43), fell off the train and broke her leg when armed IFP supporters attacked commuters between Nancefield and Orlando Stations, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 January 1994. The attack occurred during an IFP march to Pretoria to demand recognition of the Zulu monarch.

DLAMINI, Nhlanhla (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 29 May 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Nicholas, was shot dead during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters near Hammarsdale, Natal, in March 1989.

DLAMINI, Nikwadona Gadalina (80), had her house burnt down in KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990 during intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Njabulo Comfort (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP while visiting a neighbour in Umlazi, Durban, on 23 November 1992. Mr Dlamini's friend, who was reportedly the target of this attack, was also killed.

DLAMINI, Nkinti Richel (46), an ANC supporter, died after being shot by KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) members and IFP supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 May 1993. IFP supporters, escorted by the KZP, were returning from a rally called by King Zwelithini, when shots were fired at Ms Dlamini's house.

DLAMINI, Nkosingiphile Phillphina (47), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Nkosinomusa Cyril (17), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death by other ANC supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 16 April 1988. He was living in an Inkatha stronghold and was therefore believed to be an Inkatha supporter.

DLAMINI, Nohlekisa Saraphina (53), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Plainhill, Ixopo, Natal, on 23 June 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Nokuphiwa Abegail (25), had her house shot at, looted and destroyed by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, in 1991.

DLAMINI, Nomabeka Medrina (66), was shot and severely injured by a named IFP supporter who opened fire in a store in Ixopo, Natal, on 22 January 1994, during political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Nombeka Saraphina (39), an ANC supporter, had her house and possessions destroyed by IFP supporters in three separate attacks – first in October 1990, then in February 1992 and again at a later date – at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban.

DLAMINI, Nombulelo Christina (36), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters outside her home in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 December 1993.

DLAMINI, Nomusa (45), a member of FAWU, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by a named IFP supporter at Ixopo, Natal, on 17 May 1992. Prior to the attack, Ms Dlamini was allegedly harassed by the IFP because FAWU was associated with the ANC.

DLAMINI, Nomuzinto (66), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Mevamlhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 9 March 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Ms Dlamini's son, who had refused to join any political organisation, was shot dead in the attack.

DLAMINI, Nongilishi (69), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 October 1993, because she and her family were believed to be IFP supporters.

DLAMINI, Nonguquko Buselaphi (20), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Nonhlanhla Joyce (18), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in October 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Nonhlanhla Maria (36), was severely injured when she was attacked with a broken beer bottle in her home in Uthambeka Section, Tembisa, Tvl, in April 1993 by IFP-supporting TOASTER GANG members. Ms Dlamini's lodger was raped in the attack.

DLAMINI, Norman, was hacked to death by Inkatha supporters during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 10 January 1989.

DLAMINI, Nozethu, an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack in Richmond, Natal, during 1991, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Ntombi Lefina (32), a local IFP leader, lost her house in an arson attack in Tokoza, Tvl, in September 1993 while she was attending the funeral of her mother who had been killed during ongoing political violence in the area.

DLAMINI, Ntombiakile Rittah (46), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in February 1988, in intensifying political conflict in the area. In the attack, Ms Dlamini was assaulted by the perpetrators who were allegedly trying to force her two sons to join the organisation.

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

DLAMINI, Osborne Mbongeni (10), a member of COSAS, was killed when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

DLAMINI, Patrick Vusumuzi (26), was shot dead by ANC supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 March 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Percival Nyanda (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 8 March 1993, allegedly by members of the SADF.

DLAMINI, Percival Vusumuzi (20), an MK operative, was shot dead by unidentified persons in KwaMashu, Durban, on 28 November 1992. The victim was walking with friends after a vigil when they were stopped and shot.

DLAMINI, Perm (37), was severely beaten by SADF members in Ohlange, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 14 December 1989. In the same month, Mr Dlamini's home in Ohlange was burnt down by Inkatha supporters.

DLAMINI, Peter France (22), from Nagina near Pinetown, Natal, was detained with ten others at the Westville Prison for six months from 12 October 1988. In custody, he was severely tortured by members of the SAP, leaving him with impaired vision. The detainees were accused of being *amaqabane*.

DLAMINI, Peter Nkosinathi (27), was abducted and killed, by Security Police operating from *Vlakplaas*, Tvl in 1981. The aim of the abduction was to turn him into an *askari*.

DLAMINI, Petros Sibizi (40), lost his house in an arson attack at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Petrus, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg, on 26 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

DLAMINI, Phakama, an ANC supporter, was shot by a named member of the KwaZULU POLICE at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 16 October 1993. Other members of his family were killed in the same manner between August and October 1993.

DLAMINI, Phela Catherine (38), had her house burnt down by members of the ISU in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993 during continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

DLAMINI, Phika Isaac (44), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters at Richmond, Natal, on 3 July 1990, in intense political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Philemon, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

DLAMINI, Philisiwe, was assaulted by IFP supporters in Eshowe, Natal, on 21 June 1993. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for her son.

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

DLAMINI, Phumzile (18), had her house burnt down and was severely injured by ANC supporters at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 14 October 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Precious, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Ixopo, Natal, on 11 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Pretty, was killed on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which she was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Reuben Mthungelwa (42), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

DLAMINI, Richard Mbongeni, was shot dead on 4 July 1992 when the minibus in which he was travelling was ambushed by Inkatha supporters as it left the home of an ANC regional organiser at Bhomela, near Port Shepstone, Natal. Seven ANC members were killed. Five IFP members were convicted for the attack.

DLAMINI, Richard Mpilo (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named and other supporters of the IFP at Gingindlovu, Natal, on 17 February 1991, at the time of a IFP meeting in the area.

DLAMINI, Richard, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP member in Empangeni, Natal, in February 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Rosemary Tholakele (32), had her house burnt down and her cattle stolen by ANC supporters near Ixopo, Natal, in May 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Sala John (60), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 October 1993.

DLAMINI, Samson (35), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 December 1990, allegedly by IFP supporters.

DLAMINI, Samuel Nconeni, an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in Amanzimtoti, Natal, on 23 April 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Sarah (55), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Ntshangweni, Eshowe, Natal, on 1 February 1989.

DLAMINI, Sbhongiseni Terence (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named perpetrator at KwaPata Junior Secondary School in Pietermaritzburg, on 29 July 1991, during political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Sbusiso Freedom, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

DLAMINI, Shonapi Florence (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Richmond, Natal, on 30 October 1993.

DLAMINI, Sibongile (21), was severely burnt in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during 1988 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Sibongile Mary (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 November 1993.

DLAMINI, Siboniso, sustained burn wounds in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1988 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Sidudla Florence (38), had her home destroyed in an attack by IFP supporters on residents of Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1992, during intense political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Sifiso, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters and *kitskonstabels* in Ncotshane, Tvl, on 27 November 1993 during a night vigil for a victim of conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. An IFP supporter and a *kitskonstabel* were charged with murder for the attack. One of the perpetrators applied for amnesty and implicated several IFP supporters and *kitskonstabels* in the attack.

DLAMINI, Sikhumbuzo David, a UDF supporter, was stabbed, shot and burnt to death by other UDF supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 25 December 1989, allegedly for failing to avenge the death of a 'comrade' killed by the police.

DLAMINI, Simphiwe, an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, in April 1990, in political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Siphamandla Wiseman, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP at Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 18 December 1988, during political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Sipiwe (21), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Gingindlovu, Natal, on 20 March 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the first democratic election of April 1994.

DLAMINI, Sipiwe Agrippa (66), was shot and injured by members of the riot squad during political turmoil in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 30 March 1990. Residents of this area were predominantly UDF supporters, and were often

attacked by neighbouring Inkatha supporters who were allegedly assisted by members of the SAP.

DLAMINI, Sipho (11), was beaten by a named Inkatha supporter and members of the SADF near his home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1987. Sipho and his brothers, all of whom supported the UDF, were regularly harassed by police who were allegedly assisted by local Inkatha supporters.

DLAMINI, Sipho Mzofane, (25) was killed on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which he was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Situtulwana (42), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, on 26 May 1990. Her husband was killed in the attack.

DLAMINI, Siyabonga Elijah (20), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 27 June 1987, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Skhosana Joseph, an ANC member, was shot and killed by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Sebokeng, Tvl, in January 1993. His body and home were later set alight. It was alleged that Mr Dlamini had committed certain acts which angered the community. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0348).

DLAMINI, Skhumbuzo (25), became psychologically disturbed after being tortured by SADF members near Bulwer, Natal, in June 1991, following a mass IFP meeting in the area.

DLAMINI, Skuta Thuthukani Cosmos, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the KwaZULU POLICE in KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 May 1989.

DLAMINI, Slungile Malindi (25), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, in July 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Soyi Irene (36), an Inkatha supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 10 May 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Sponono John (39), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 9 March 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Stanford Simon (18), a Phoyco member, was shot and injured during the state of emergency in Parys, OFS, on 20 June 1986. A few days later he was assaulted by members of the SAP in Harrismith, OFS, and was detained with other Phoyco members and tortured in Bethlehem, OFS. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

DLAMINI, Sylvia Nomhle (24), a UDF supporter, was harassed by police and tortured by means of electrocution while in detention in Pietermaritzburg, in January 1986.

DLAMINI, Tahlú Liesbeth (40), had her home set alight by IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in September 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Tembekile Betty (72), a UDF supporter, had her home petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 11 June 1990. Her pregnant daughter was burnt to death in this attack. Two of Ms Dlamini's other children died in political conflict in Natal in this period.

DLAMINI, Thabane Eugene, was shot and injured by KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) members and IFP supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 May 1993. IFP supporters, escorted by the KZP, were returning from a rally called by King Zwelithini, when shots were fired at Mr Dlamini's house. His mother was killed in the attack.

DLAMINI, Thabani (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ladysmith, Natal, on 3 April 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the first democratic election on 27 April 1994.

DLAMINI, Thabisile, was shot dead in her sleep by IFP supporters who attacked her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 May 1993. Ms Dlamini's mother was the local ANCWL chairperson.

DLAMINI, Thabiso Joshua (16), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured, by members of the SAP Riot Police, in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 8 January 1986. Dlamini was then detained and tortured.

DLAMINI, Thandayiphi Leonard (37), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters near Bulwer, Natal, on 27 January 1993.

DLAMINI, Thandekile Doris (41), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Thandekile Goodness (22), an IFP Youth Brigade member, was shot dead, allegedly by ANC supporters, at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

DLAMINI, Thandeyakhe Sydney (29), was shot and killed by IFP supporters while he was standing at a taxi rank in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 October 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Thandi, was shot and injured by IFP supporters on 28 November 1993 at Iniwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, when gunmen stormed a party and opened fire, injuring Ms Dlamini and another relative and killing eight other family members, all believed to be ANC supporters.

DLAMINI, Themba (48), a UDF supporter, was detained by named members of the Security Branch in Newcastle, Natal, on 17 June 1986, allegedly because of his involvement in the rates boycott at Sibongile township.

DLAMINI, Themba Douglas (70), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 February 1993. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down.

DLAMINI, Themba Kenneth (19), was shot in the arm by members of the SAP in Zola II, Soweto,

Johannesburg, on 18 September 1976 during mass demonstrations and boycotts by high school pupils following the SOWETO UPRISING.

DLAMINI, Themba Zephania (30), an ANC supporter, was detained and kept in solitary confinement in Newcastle, Natal, in June 1985, during a campaign against local councillors.

DLAMINI, Thembeni Christina (42), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by named IFP supporters in Bulwer, Natal, in January 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Thembeni Sizakele (47), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters at Mtunzini, Natal, on 24 April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DLAMINI, Thembinkosi (16), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and burnt to death and her body thrown off a cliff by IFP supporters near the Nkelabantwana River at Emangwaneni, Bulwer, Natal, in 1992.

DLAMINI, Thembinkosi Stanley (23), a UDF supporter, was stabbed, shot and severely injured on 28 March 1990 in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

DLAMINI, Thokozani, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured at Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 February 1991, allegedly because the perpetrator objected to Mr Dlamini wearing an ANC T-shirt.

DLAMINI, Thokozile Zibuyile (45), had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Bulwer, Natal, in January 1992, allegedly because her son had refused to switch allegiance from the ANC to the IFP.

DLAMINI, Tholakele, was shot dead by members of the MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB (MUFC) in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, during 1988.

DLAMINI, Thulani Desmond (17), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 February 1992, allegedly because he had not attended an IFP rally.

DLAMINI, Thulani Walter (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters at Gingindlovu, Natal, on 17 February 1991, in political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Tiny Patricia (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in her home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 3 May 1993.

DLAMINI, Titus, was severely injured on 5 March 1993 when the taxi in which he was travelling was ambushed by armed IFP supporters in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of six IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four others injured. Another pupil died later. See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

DLAMINI, Tony Fansy, lost his house in an arson attack in May 1992, and was fatally shot on 28 July 1992 in Empangeni, Natal, allegedly by IFP supporters. Mr Dlamini was thought to belong to both the IFP and the ANC.

DLAMINI, Tulisizwe (52), was shot dead inside his store in Natal on 15 September 1992 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Velaphi Lot Mavela (22), an MK operative, was arrested after entering the country from Botswana and was tortured in detention at various police stations in Bophuthatswana, and the Transvaal, from September 1987 until November 1988. He was arrested on charges of sabotage in 1990 but was released on bail.

DLAMINI, Venancia Ntombencane (37), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters near Richmond, Natal, on 12 February 1990, a day after Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

DLAMINI, Vet, was shot dead by members of the SAP in the yard of Emdeni Senior Secondary School, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 August 1977 during political conflict which followed the first anniversary of the SOWETO UPRISING.

DLAMINI, Vincent (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 October 1988, in intense political conflict in the area. At least 22 people were reported killed and up to 27 houses reported burned or stoned in Mpumalanga during the month of October 1988.

DLAMINI, Vusi Gladman, was shot by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in October 1991, during political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Wilfred, a caretaker, was injured in a limpet mine attack at the Wild Coast Casino in Bizana, Transkei, on 18 April 1986. Two people were killed and several were injured. Mr Dlamini later died of his injuries. Three MK operatives applied for and were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0181 and AC/2000/240).

DLAMINI, Wilson Zakhele, was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

DLAMINI, Xolani, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed during political conflict at Izingolweni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 March 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0339).

DLAMINI, Yomisi (36), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Margate, Natal, on 26 March 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the first democratic election of April 1994.

DLAMINI, Zakhele (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 24 April 1993, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Zakhele, was shot dead by IFP supporters in his home at Gingindlovu, Natal, on 20 March 1994, in intense political conflict during the run-up to the first democratic election of April 1994. Mr Dlamini's mother and friend were also killed in the attack.

DLAMINI, Zamo Emmanuel (21), was shot by members of the SAP in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

DLAMINI, Ziba Anton, an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, in 1989.

DLAMINI, Zibonele (40), an Inkatha supporter, had his house in Qhulasha, Bulwer, Natal, burnt down by other named Inkatha supporters in April 1990, allegedly because his brother was an ANC supporter.

DLAMINI, Zibonele Peter (38), lost his home in an arson attack at Richmond, Natal, during 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Zibonele, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Ixopo, Natal, on 12 March 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area. Mr Dlamini's family was thought to support the ANC.

DLAMINI, Zinti Patrick, an ANC supporter, was abducted and shot dead by IFP supporters at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 12 January 1994, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Zumekile Ireen (34), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the ISU, in Richmond, Natal, during 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLAMINI, Zweli Enock (37), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993.

DLAMINI, Zwelibi (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death while waiting for a taxi to take him to his home in Richmond, Natal, on 15 February 1991, during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLAMINI, Zwelibi (51), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLAMINI-MAGUBANE, Elizabeth, an ANC supporter, was shot dead during an attack on her home at Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, during 1993. Ms Dlamini-Magubane had opened a window to assist her five children and husband escape when she was shot.

DLAMIS, Dumisani, was shot dead by ANC supporters near Empangeni, Natal, in 1994 in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DLAMINI, Themba Francis Resign (57), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead in an attack on his home during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 28 October 1985.

DLAMUKA, Doli Doris (39), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1992. One person was killed and seven homes were burnt down in the area that month.

DLAMUKA, Khangisile (64), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLAMUKA, Kwezakhe (45), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLAMUKA, Magenqe (72), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLAMUKA, Mashayina Mira (58), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLAMUKA, Mkuzeni (56), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLAMUKA, Mzovele Hamilton (27), a member of the SAP, sustained shrapnel wounds in a hand grenade explosion caused by an ANC member whom the police had come to arrest on 25 March 1993, at Ngidi kraal in Northern KwaZulu/Natal. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/99/0341).

DLAMUKA, Qapheleni Princess (21), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLAMUKA, Shongani Gane (45), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLAMUKA, Songeleni (42), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLAMUKA, Velaphi Phillip (42), an Inkatha supporter, had his house and tuck shop burnt down by ANC supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during May 1990.

DLANGA, Dennis Bantu (23), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Cape Town, on 27 December 1976. The shooting took place after political conflict over the Christmas 1976 period, between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels, spread to Langa.

DLANGAMANDLA, Khanya (27), an ANC supporter, was tortured in detention in 1961 in Bizana, Transkei, after escaping from the NGQUZA HILL raid during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

DLANGAMANDLA, Siphso (40), was shot by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 4 March 1990 while he was attending a protest march. Police opened fire when the crowd was already dispersing.

DLANGISA, Samukelisiwe Cynthia (21), an Inkatha supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Richmond Farm, KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990, during intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

DLANJWA, Albertina Nontsikelelo, a UDF supporter, died 11 days after a petrol bomb was thrown into her home by ANC supporters on 29 July 1986 at Port Elizabeth.

DLELAPHANTSI, Nomthetho Prudence (30), lost her home in KTC, Cape Town, on 10 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people died and 20 000 homes were destroyed in the attacks.

DLEPHU, Busisiwe Emmah, a civilian, was traumatised when the vehicle in which she was a passenger was hijacked at gunpoint by APLA operatives at Herschel, near Lady Grey, OFS, on 19 November 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/134).

DLEPI, Welcome (20), an ANC supporter, was assaulted with rifle-bullets by named members of the SAP in Duncan Village, East London, on 18 June 1986. Mr Dlepi was then detained for four months in Fort Glamorgan prison, East London.

DLEPU, Joseph, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Bethulie, OFS, in April 1991. At the time, Mr Dlepu was defending his family home from an attack by members of the SAP aided by a named former COUNCILLOR. The house was destroyed in the attack.

DLEPU, Limakatso Elizabeth (48), an ANC supporter, had her home at Bethulie, OFS, in April 1991, destroyed in an attack by named SAP members and a named former COUNCILLOR. She and her children were shot at during the attack; one son was shot dead. On reporting the matter to the police, Ms Dlepu and her pregnant daughter were detained without trial for a week, during which they were beaten.

DLEPU, Liza (31), was detained for a week and severely assaulted when she went to the police station with her mother to report an arson attack on her home by police and a named former COUNCILLOR, at Bethulie, OFS, in April 1991. She was pregnant at the time. Her brother was shot dead in the attack and their home was destroyed.

DLEZI, Ganta (55), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DLEZI, Mziwabantu (46), was hacked to death by Inkatha supporters at his home in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 23 January 1986 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

DLEZI, Zandile Irene (34), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in March 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLHAMINI, Bafana, a Soweto Student Congress member, was shot dead by named gang members in Emdeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1989 during political conflict in the area.

DLODLO, Busisiwe (58), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by a named perpetrator near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 March 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DLODLO, Linda, was severely beaten by a named member of the SAP while in detention in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 15 August 1982. Ms Dlodlo was

arrested in an attempt to extricate information about the whereabouts of her sister, a political activist who had gone into exile.

DLODLO, Mbongeni Mqavi (49), an IFP supporter, was severely assaulted by other IFP supporters near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 September 1993. He died later in hospital. Mr Dlodlo had given testimony at the trial of IFP members accused of killing ANC youths.

DLODLO, Theophilus Sidima (aka 'Viva') (29), head of MK's Natal military machinery in Swaziland, was shot dead on 22 May 1987 in a night-time ambush of his car by named members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch in Mbabane, Swaziland. Two other persons were killed and two injured in the operation.

DLOKOLO, Mpompi Melfred (33), a UDF activist, was tortured by named members of the SAP in June 1985 at Despatch, Cape.

DLOMO, Albert (28), an ANC member, was detained for 90 days and charged with furthering the aims of the ANC, in July 1963. After his acquittal, he was rearrested, detained for 180 days in solitary confinement, convicted and sentenced to five years on Robben Island. After his release he was confined to his Umlazi home under banning orders. In 1972 he left the country on an exit permit.

DLOMO, Atwell (52), was shot dead in Lamontville, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 May 1993. He was allegedly targeted because he was a member of the KZP and a former member of the Security Branch.

DLOMO, Bhelinah Manje (51), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured and had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters, at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

DLOMO, Bongani, an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in Pietermaritzburg, during 1990. It is alleged that the family was continually harassed because they were related to Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

DLOMO, Dumisani, was stabbed and killed by IFP supporters who stopped the car in which he was travelling home with his father and brother in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 22 December 1993. His father was also killed in the attack. His brother survived, having managed to escape from the car boot, into which the attackers had put him.

DLOMO, Eunice (39), was shot and injured and had her home burnt down at Umlazi, Durban, on 29 June 1990, allegedly because her husband was a member of the KZP. Ms DloMO's son was also shot in the incident.

DLOMO, Gertrude, a UDF supporter, had her house attacked when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

DLOMO, Johannes Mbangomuni (39), an IFP member, was shot in the leg at a taxi stop in Katilehong, Tvl, on 13 June 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

DLOMO, Khanyisile Mavis (41), an Inkatha supporter, had her home petrol-bombed by UDF supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1988.

DLOMO, Kololiyase (46), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 30 December 1993, allegedly because his son was an active ANC member.

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

DLOMO, Mdingiseni (27), was stabbed and injured by IFP supporters who stopped the car in which he was travelling home with his father and brother in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 22 December 1993. The attackers put him into the boot of the car, from which he managed to escape. His father and brother were both killed in the attack. Mr DloMO suffers from a severe psychological disorder as a result of the attack.

DLOMO, Melta Duduzile (58), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 8 November 1992, during political conflict in the area.

DLOMO, Mfanafuthi Moses (41), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by a named Inkatha member in Howick, Natal, on 24 November 1989.

DLOMO, Mkhanyisi Eric (22), an ANC supporter, was shot by named ISU members at Appelsbosch, near Stanger, Natal, on 22 September 1992. Earlier, he had been involved in an attempt to launch an ANC branch in Ozwathini, but had to flee after IFP supporters allegedly attempted to kill the organisers.

DLOMO, Musawenkosi Mlinden (21), an ANC supporter, died from stab wounds inflicted by named members of the IFP in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 30 December 1993.

DLOMO, Nkanyiso Ivan (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 29 April 1990 at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban. He was attending a night vigil when alleged members of the SADF 3 Battalion fired at them. Other ANC supporters were also killed in this incident.

DLOMO, Pumuzile Patricia (28), an ANC supporter, was severely harassed by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM at Chesterville, Durban, in December 1983.

DLOMO, Regina (57), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named ISU member at Appelsbosch, near Stanger, Natal, on 22 September 1992. Her son was an ANC supporter. Earlier in 1992, the family had been threatened by the IFP.

DLOMO, Robert Zinsizwa (41), an ANC supporter, had his business burnt down by named IFP supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, during 1990.

DLOMO, Sicelo (18), a Soweto Students Congress (SOSCO) member and a volunteer worker for the

Detainees' Parents' Support Committee (DPSC), was shot dead in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 23 January 1988. Mr Dlomo, who was also an MK operative, was shot dead by his MK commander and members of his own MK unit, who alleged he had become a police informer. Four members of an MK Special Operations Unit were granted amnesty (AC/2000/0019).

DLOMO, Sihle, was shot and injured in Umlazi, Durban, on 29 June 1990, allegedly because his father was a member of the KZP.

DLOMO, Sylvia Nomathemba (43), lost her home in a petrol-bomb attack by members of the SAP in Emdeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1986.

DLOMO, Thoko Mabel (34), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters near Empangeni, Natal, on 8 November 1992.

DLUBOM, Nkebe Nkebana Wilson (49), a COSAS member, lost his home in an arson attack by members of the Transkei Police during forced removals at Keilands, Transkei, on 14 April 1977.

DLUDLA, Bongiwe Mavis (36), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndewedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DLUDLA, Joyce (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and her body burnt by IFP supporters in an attack on her home in Emakwanyaneni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 12 February 1994. Two of her sisters and a baby were also shot dead and their bodies burnt in the attack.

DLUDLA, Lezi Joel (44), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by ANC supporters in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 March 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DLUDLA, Mantombi (2), was shot dead and her body burnt by IFP supporters in Emakwanyaneni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 12 February 1994 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Three other family members were also shot dead and their bodies burnt in the attack.

DLUDLA, Maurice (54), an ANC supporter, died in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, on 21 April 1986, allegedly as a result of poisoning by SAP members. Mr Dlodla was a member of MK and had been arrested in Swaziland and brought back to the country by the security forces.

DLUDLA, Mhlaliseni Gerald (51), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 14 March 1992 when IFP supporters carried out attacks in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, following a mass IFP funeral. The local chief allegedly refused permission for the family to bury him in the area.

DLUDLA, Msawenkosi (40), an ANC supporter, had his house petrol-bombed by IFP supporters in Emakwanyaneni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 12 February 1994. Four family members were shot dead and their bodies burnt in the attack.

DLUDLA, Ntombifuthi (34), was shot dead and her body burnt by IFP supporters in Emakwanyaneni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 12 February 1994 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in

the area. Three other family members were also shot dead and their bodies burnt in the attack.

DLUDLA, Ntombini (40), was shot dead and her body burnt by IFP supporters in Emakwanyaneni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 12 February 1994 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Three other family members were also shot dead and their bodies burnt in the attack.

DLUDLA, Sanele Emmanuel (22), was shot and injured by a named IFP supporter in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 5 May 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLUDLA, Thokozani Petros (28), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by ANC supporters near Estcourt, Natal, in 1992.

DLUDLU, Elizabeth, was shot dead by MK operatives belonging to an MK Elimination Unit, at her home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 6 June 1986. The attack was targeted at her brother who was involved in the controversial proposed incorporation of KaNgwane into Swaziland. He was assassinated and her sister-in-law was shot and wounded. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

DLUDLU, Sipho 'Spoenkie' Jeremiah, was shot dead in KwaThema, Tvl, on 28 February 1986 when members of the SAP fired on mourners at a night vigil.

DLULISA, Bazamile Anabel (19), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by IFP-supporting AMABUTHO members at a memorial service for slain UDF leader, Victoria Mxenge, on 8 August 1985 in Umlazi, Durban. Seventeen people were killed and 20 injured in the attack. See VICTORIA MXENGE MEMORIAL SERVICE ATTACK.

DLULISA, Dilizumbondo Petros Mansuet (58), had his house and belongings destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Ixopo, Natal, during July 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DLUMBA, Mawonga Simon 'Maqolo' (34), was tortured in detention in 1961 in Bizana, Transkei, after members of the SAP found an old ANC membership card in his home. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

DLUNGWANE (NZIMANDE), Xolisile Precious (9), was severely injured when named IFP supporters attacked her home on 8 March 1991 at Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal. The attackers were looking for her uncle, an ANC supporter. One family member was killed in the attack; two others were severely injured. The perpetrators were sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

DLUNGWANE, Anna Mildred (63), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at her home in Umzinto, Natal, on 17 June 1992 by IFP supporters posing as policemen.

DLUNGWANE, Anton (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 23 May 1990, allegedly in retaliation for the killing earlier that day of a prominent Inkatha councillor.

DLUNGWANE, Ndeleleni Anthony, was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 23 May 1990, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DLUNGWANE, Zanele Pretty (6), was stabbed and severely injured when her home was attacked by named IFP supporters at Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 8 March 1991. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for her uncle, an ANC supporter. One member of the family was killed and others severely injured in the attack. The perpetrators were arrested and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

DOBE, Nomsa Cleopatra (26), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Dweshula, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 January 1988, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

DOBRSKI, Janusz (38), was severely assaulted and injured by members of the SAP in Cape Town, in October 1985. Mr Dobrski, who is Polish, was called a communist and insulted, as he was with his Coloured girlfriend.

DODO, Bernett (24), a NUM member, was suffocated by members of the SAP while in detention at the Carletonville police station, Tvl, in June 1990. The police were seeking information about Mr Dodo's brother who was wanted because of his political involvement.

DODO, Fanekile, a PAC supporter, was arrested and sentenced to three years on Robben Island, Cape Town, in July 1963, for furthering the aims of the PAC. After his release, he was placed under banning orders and confined to the area of Cofimvaba, Transkei.

DODO, Mteteleli Michael (26), was shot and injured by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, in August 1985.

DODO, Norman, died after being beaten by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 1 September 1990. Police beat Mr Dodo in an attempt to extract information about the whereabouts of his brother.

DODO, Nxumalo, an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death and pushed off a bus by a named ANC supporter, at Kloof, Natal, on 16 July 1988.

DODO, Richard 'Preacher Man', a member of the 'Gadaffis', a faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 17 October 1990 during political conflict between rival factions of the KYC.

DODO, Simon Solani, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 15 June 1990 and his home was burnt down later that day. Mr Dodo's family was targeted by police because one of his sons was a member of the 'Gaddafi' faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS. A second son was killed in the attack.

DOEPEL, Candice (15), was injured when a limpet mine planted by MK operatives exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

DOIDGE, Craig (22), a corporal in the SADF, was detained in a single cell for 14 days by members of the SADF in Wynberg, Cape Town, during 1984. He was then discharged from the permanent force, because he was considered a security risk.

DOKODA, Danisa Michael (29), a union shopsteward, was detained and tortured by the SAP in Sasolburg, OFS, during a labour strike in October 1987. Despite being tortured, Mr Dokoda refused to act as an informer for the police or for his employer.

DOLANA, Suka, suffered damage to property when his house was burnt by COSAS members and UDF supporters in Jansenville, Cape, on 14 December 1985. He was suspected of being a collaborator. One COSAS member and UDF supporter were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0240).

DOLO, John Mokaetsi (48), was shot and stabbed by IFP supporters in Reagile, Koster, Tvl, on 28 September 1991 during an IFP mass funeral.

DOMBI, M, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

DONCABE, Bhekimpi (50), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

DONCABE, Elias Omo (16), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death by named IFP supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 8 April 1992.

DONCABE, Thomas Mhlawu Phenduka (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 8 August 1991.

DONDASHE, Thozamile Michael 'Whitey' (24), a UDF supporter, was abducted by other UDF supporters from his home in Uitenhage, Cape, in March 1988. He was then beaten and hacked to death, and his body set alight. Some of the perpetrators were sentenced to prison terms and later released as political prisoners. One remaining imprisoned UDF supporter applied for and was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1998/027).

DONDI, Thandinkosi Sidwell 'Banki' (19), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP who opened fire on protestors from an unmarked vehicle in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 16 September 1976. A two-day stayaway on 15 and 16 September saw widespread protests and at least 11 deaths in Cape Town.

DONDISA, Maxhalanzima (31), was shot by members of the Venda Police in Kagiso, Tvl, on 9 October 1976.

DONGWE, Naledi Eugenia (aka 'Esther Maseko') (17), an MK member from Durban, was severely injured on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed.

DONLEY, Esther Nene (72), was blinded by teargas thrown into her yard by members of the SAP in Murraysburg, Cape, in 1991. The perpetrators were aiming at *toy-totyping* students as they passed Ms Donley's house.

DONOGHUE, L, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

DONYELI, Mongezi (13), was abducted, along with six other youths, by UDF supporters in Grahamstown, Cape, on 31 October 1986. The youths were all severely assaulted and tortured. One was shot and killed. One UDF supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0247).

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

DOS SANTOS, Debbie, was wounded in a bomb planted by named members of the AWB in Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994 in an attempt to derail the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

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

DOUGLAS, Dane (28), was severely injured when he was hit by stones thrown by protesters as he was driving past Crossroads, Cape Town, in March 1986.

DOUGLAS, Njenani (46), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 27 August 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters.

DOUSE, Soyisile (32), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named Special Constable in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 16 January 1988. Two other persons were shot dead by SPECIAL CONSTABLES in Bongoletu that day. A fourth person died of his serious injuries two years later. The community subsequently won a court restraining order against the Special Constables.

DOUW-MARTIN, Maria Nozamile (29), injured her leg while jumping to safety when a named member of the SAP fired teargas into a crowded hall in Plettenberg Bay, Cape, on 17 July 1990. The incident occurred during a community protest meeting against poor housing conditions.

DOUZE, Vuyani (19), was shot dead by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE during protests in Jansenville, Cape, on 27 April 1986.

DOWNING, Errol, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

DOWNING, Vanessa, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

DOYI, Abram Lesley (23), was shot in Reagile, Koster, Tvl, in September 1991 by an IFP supporter returning from the funeral of an IFP member killed in ongoing political conflict.

DOYISA, David Vusumuzi, was abducted and stabbed to death by IFP supporters after he had left home for work at Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone, Natal. Mr Doyisa's body was later found mutilated near where he was last seen.

DOYISA, Phucuyisa, was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

DOYISA, Princess Buyisiwe (25), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 27 February 1990. See MALUKAZI ATTACKS.

DOYISA, Thoko Patricia (24), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by unidentified persons in KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 March 1991 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DRAMAT, Anwar, an MK operative, was detained under SECTION 29 in August 1987, held for several months and severely tortured by named Western Cape Security Branch members in Cape Town. He was later charged with terrorism and sentenced to 12 years in prison. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the torture (AC/1999/0027).

DRIMMEL, Friedrich, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

DRUMMOND, (first name not given), was attacked in Bafokeng, Bophuthatswana, at the Impala Platinum Mines during union action in 1991.

DU PLESSIS JANSE VAN RENSBURG, Willem, suffered injuries when a landmine exploded as he drove over it in Messina, Tvl, on 12 December 1986. The attack was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/093).

DU PLESSIS, ES, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car

near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

DU PLESSIS, PC, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DU PLESSIS, Pieter, a member of the SAP, was shot and injured on 8 August 1988, when his SAP tracking unit ambushed an MK unit of seven members in Ellisras, Tvl. One SAP member was killed and four wounded during this confrontation. An MK operative was also killed. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/081).

DU PLESSIS, Willem Petrus, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their various roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

DU PREEZ, Peter William, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

DU PREEZE, CJ, a traffic officer, was shot and injured by MK operatives in Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 27 September 1991. The MK operatives were escaping arrest after being stopped at a roadblock by traffic officers. Several other traffic officers were also injured and a passing motorist was shot dead and robbed of his vehicle by the fleeing operatives. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0091).

DU TOIT, Afrika Johannes (21), lost his eye after being shot with birdshot when members of the SAP opened fire on a crowd of protesters in Ashton, Cape, in June 1990. Residents were campaigning against ongoing apartheid segregation and racism in the town.

DU TOIT, CJ, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

DU TOIT, David, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth,

Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

DU TOIT, E, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

DUBAZANA, Mduduzi (12), lost an eye after members of the SAP in a Casspir opened fire on demonstrators in Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976. See SOWETO UPRISING.

DUBAZANA, Sindisiwe (31), a UDF supporter, was severely burnt in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 December 1989. Ms Dubazana suffered burn injuries while rescuing her children who were trapped in the fire.

DUBAZANA, Wonderboy Hamilton (14), a UDF supporter, was shot by an *askari* in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during April 1987. He was accused of stoning the police.

DUBAZANE, Mandla Ray (42), an IFP supporter, was stabbed, shot and burnt to death by ANC supporters on 26 December 1990 in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in intense conflict in the area.

DUBE (Chief Dube's sons), were severely beaten by members of the SAP near Stanger, Natal, in January 1991, during conflict between the IFP and ANC.

DUBE, Beatrice (51), was shot and injured, and her home was burnt down, by Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 10 December 1989 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

DUBE, Bekizizwe Robert (17), was shot and injured when he was caught in cross-fire between 'comrades' and IMBOKODO members in KwaNdebele, on 5 May 1986 during conflict over the homeland's independence.

DUBE, Boneni Grace (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DUBE, Bonisiwe Dorcas (45), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DUBE, Dicky, chairperson of a prisoner's protest committee, was tear-gassed and severely beaten with batons by prison warders at Rooigrond prison in Mmbabatho, Bophuthatswana, on 5 April 1994 when he and other prisoners agitated for the right to vote in the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DUBE, Dina Doshana (65), lost her home in an arson attack on 11 July 1993 in Manzimnyama, Kwa-Mbonambi, near Richards Bay, Natal, in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the region.

DUBE, Duduzile Lucy (39), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umbogintwini, near

Durban, on 8 February 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DUBE, Ellie Mncofeni (64), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 21 April 1992, in political conflict in the area.

DUBE, Emily Fikile (18), was shot by members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 2 October 1984. The Duduza community was demanding a better sewerage system than the bucket system. The burning of a post office triggered the outbreak of violence.

DUBE, Emerald Thanda (30), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP on 30 March 1990 on her way back from work at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal. Police allegedly opened fire to disperse a crowd during conflict in the area.

DUBE, Florence Ntombizonke (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DUBE, Frank Musa (34), was shot and killed when IFP members opened fire on people gathered at a bus stop in Ntokozweni, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in June 1992. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

DUBE, George Linda (28), an ANC member from Alexandra, Johannesburg, was arrested by Angolan police in January 1977 while travelling to Gabela, Angola. He was held in Angolan custody for three years and then handed over to ANC security. He was then interned at an MK camp, Quibaxe, where he was severely tortured by named perpetrators. Mr Dube was finally released in September 1983, after being cleared of suspicions that he was a spy.

DUBE, Gezepi Gladys Mashiyabedla (68), and her three children had to flee their home when they were attacked by Inkatha supporters in 1989 at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. When they returned, their home had been vandalised and all their possessions stolen.

DUBE, Grace, was burnt to death when her home was set alight in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on the night of 23 December 1992

DUBE, Herbert Mduduzi (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaMbiza, near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 20 May 1988.

DUBE, Hleziphi Sylvia (41), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1991.

DUBE, Isaac, (35), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by named ANC supporters on 20 May 1993 in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal.

DUBE, Jephane (aka 'Gobani'), an IFP member, survived two assassination attempts by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU). In early September 1993, he was kidnapped at gunpoint, assaulted and shot at by SDU members in Tokoza, Tvl. Later, in September 1993, SDU members forcibly entered his residence and attempted to kill him by stabbing and

shooting him. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for these incidents (AC/1999/0186).

DUBE, Johanna, was detained and tortured at Moroka Police Station, Soweto, Johannesburg, during January 1986 following the death of Ms Dube's brother and the killing of a woman suspected of instigating his killing. The members of the SAP tortured Ms Dube to force her to confess to arson and murder.

DUBE, Johannes (17), was shot and severely injured in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 9 August 1976, in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING when hostel inmates tried to prevent a youth-initiated boycott.

DUBE, Johannes Sifiso, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

DUBE, Johannes Zwelinanzi, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

DUBE, Josephine (51), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured at her home near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 March 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DUBE, Lina Nesta (31), had her home burnt down by UDF supporters at Hammarsdale, Natal, on 6 August 1989 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

DUBE, Lindisipho (20), was shot at by members of the KwaZULU POLICE at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, during political conflict in the area in November 1990.

DUBE, Lucas Mandla, a member of the SAP, was injured in a hand grenade explosion at a Municipal Police training centre in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 April 1987. One MK operative was granted amnesty for this incident (AC/2000/195).

DUBE, Lucy M (40), was shot dead on 5 April 1994 in Empangeni, Natal, in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her body was reportedly found with her baby still feeding at her breast.

DUBE, Mabandla Amos (23), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 1 April 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. He was studying at Esikhawini at the time, and students from tertiary institutions were being targeted by IFP members.

DUBE, Mandla Mkhonyiseni, an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death by named IFP supporters in Nhlalakazi forest, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban,

on 31 December 1993. Conditions at Ndwedwe in this period were marked by severe intimidation, politically motivated killings and arson attacks, causing families to flee the area in large numbers.

DUBE, Mandlakayise Ahazie (40), was shot dead on his way to work near Eshowe, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DUBE, Mbokode Bhelizwe (38), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DUBE, Mgcineni (44), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 May 1994, in political conflict following the first democratic election in April 1994.

DUBE, Mirriam Khumbuleni (33), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DUBE, Mpakanyisa (22), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters while attending a night vigil for a slain ANC comrade in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 7 July 1990.

DUBE, Mqashelwa William (66), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 31 March 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DUBE, Msizi Harrison (49), an ANC supporter and JORAC member, was shot dead by named perpetrators while returning home from a meeting in Lamontville, Durban, on 25 April 1983 during a bus boycott. The perpetrators were convicted and sentenced for this crime.

DUBE, Msombuluko (40), had his house vandalised and his possessions stolen at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 April 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Mr Dube had already lost one house in an earlier arson attack.

DUBE, Mtholeni Zeblon (35), was shot and killed on 19 May 1993 when the vehicle in which he was travelling was ambushed at the Mangezi Reserve, near the University of Zululand at Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DUBE, Mzungezeni (62), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and beaten to death by fellow IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 17 April 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Dube was suspected of having ANC sympathies.

DUBE, Natalian Nhlanhla (28), was shot dead by IFP supporters in the Ethembeni area, near Stanger, Natal, on 9 April 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DUBE, Ngakeni (73), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994 in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DUBE, Ngenzeleni Agnes (47), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 20

March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DUBE, Nkosinathi Christopher (26), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during a protest against racial discrimination in the use of beach facilities in Durban, on 1 January 1986. People claiming to be PAC supporters assaulted 'whites' and police fired shots randomly in an attempt to disperse the crowd.

DUBE, Nombuso Goodness (23), an ANC supporter, was abducted and sexually abused by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 March 1994. Conditions at Ndwedwe in this period were marked by severe intimidation, politically motivated killings and arson attacks, causing families to flee the area in large numbers.

DUBE, Nonkanyiso Jennet (25), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

DUBE, Ntontoza Elias (83), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed in Tokoza, Tvl, on 8 September 1993 during ongoing political violence in the area.

DUBE, Olpha Ningi (30), an ANC supporter, was forced by IFP supporters to leave her home at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during 1991, in intensifying political conflict in the area. She subsequently lost all her possessions.

DUBE, Pelapi Merry (48), lost his house in an arson attack near Eshowe, Natal, on 26 March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DUBE, Phendu Annah (38), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 January 1993. Conditions at Ndwedwe in this period were marked by severe intimidation, politically motivated killings and arson attacks, causing families to flee the area in large numbers.

DUBE, Qomeleni Hellen (69), had her house in Greytown, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 25 June 1991, allegedly because her sons were ANC supporters.

DUBE, Ralph, was badly burnt when the car in which he was travelling was attacked by members of a self-defence unit (SDU) during ongoing political conflict in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 April 1991. Two occupants of the vehicle were killed and two others injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/066).

DUBE, Rosalia (51), was beaten with a gun by members of the ANC breakaway gang known as the AMAVARAVARA gang, at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in April 1992. Gang members were allegedly looking for her sons who had remained loyal to the ANC.

DUBE, Sipho (28), a member of the ANCYL, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at his home in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 12 June 1990.

DUBE, Sipho, had his house burnt down and was shot by IFP supporters at Sowanjane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in 1994, in political violence during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DUBE, Siphosenkosi Bonginkosi (40), was stabbed to death by unidentified UDF supporters in Clermont, near Durban, on 22 March 1987. He was accused of being an Inkatha supporter because he drove a Hammarsdale-registered car.

DUBE, Solomon (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at his home in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 3 February 1991.

DUBE, Stanley Lebogong, was injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

DUBE, Thambolini Elizabeth (43), an ANC supporter, was shot and her home was burnt down by named IFP supporters in Mtunzini, Natal, in February 1992, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DUBE, Thembinkosi Dennis, was intimidated and harassed by IFP members when they attacked his house at J1 Section, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 January 1993. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

DUBE, Theobald Dumisani (25), was severely intimidated and detained by members of the SAP, one of whom is named, in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 31 March 1990. He was falsely charged with possession of an illegal firearm.

DUBE, Thulani (20), an ANC supporter, was shot at by IFP supporters during political conflict at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 7 August 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

DUBE, Veronica Kedibone (24), was abducted, raped and assaulted by named ANC supporters in Kagiso, Tvl, on 14 May 1992 for allegedly searching dead bodies after the Swanieville massacre of 12 May 1992.

DUBE, Vusumzi Samuel (14), was thrown out of a moving Casspir, tortured, and whipped on his genitals, in Kagiso, Tvl, on 16 June 1986 by members of the ISU who accused him of stoning cars and burning shops and houses in the township.

DUBE, Yvonne (45), was shot dead by a named SAP member in Paarl, Cape, on 9 September 1976, while she was walking home with relatives. Ms Dube was one of three women shot dead in widespread unrest in Paarl that day after the SOWETO UPRISING.

DUBE, Zblon Mfana (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named fellow ANC supporter in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 7 March 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Dube was killed for failing to attend an ANC meeting.

DUBE, Zibokwakhe Frederick (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Umbogintwini, near Durban, in January 1990.

DUBENI, Zola Michael (aka 'Jabulani') (28), an MK operative, was shot dead by named members of the local Security Branch and a *Vlakplaas* operative in a bushy area near Kuilsrivier, Cape Town, on 14 March 1987. The Commission rejected the police version of his death that Mr Dubeni tried to throw a hand grenade

at police while digging up an arms cache in handcuffs and leg irons.

DUBON, Isaac (40), was shot in the right eye when four unidentified gunmen opened fire at random on construction workers in Port Alfred, Cape, in July 1985. He went to hide in a nearby homestead from where he could see a police van stop at the scene of incident, collect all the tools they were working with and leave.

DUBU, Sifiso Siphiwe Blessing (22), was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters at Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 23 October 1993. The perpetrators had allegedly come to the area for a political rally.

DUBULEKWELA, Brenda (1), was left disabled after she was dropped by her mother and trampled by a crowd fleeing an attacking group in Crossroads, Cape Town, in 1982.

DUCROQ, Rodney Douglas, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

DUDA, Phakamile William (55), was shot and injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

DUDA, Zwelakhe Eric (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by PAC supporters in January 1993 during political conflict in Fort Beaufort, Cape.

DUDU, Howard (44), was shot and killed by IFP supporters in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 September 1991. Mr Dudu was reportedly trying to move out of the IFP-dominated area at the time of his death. His wife was killed in the same incident. Mr Dudu's belongings were stolen after he was killed.

DUDU, Nester (41), was shot dead in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 September 1991 by IFP supporters trying to prevent her from leaving the IFP-dominated area. Her husband was killed in the same incident.

DUDU, Phoswa, was shot dead in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 27 July 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

DUDUKETSANG, Kanetsi (38), an ANC supporter, was injured when a bomb planted by the AWB exploded at the ANC offices in Letsopa, Ottosdal, Tvl on 4 February 1994.

DUKE, Mimise, was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 26 November 1986 during ongoing political conflict between civic associations and local councillors.

DUKU, Kaizer Nimrod (51), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by ISU members, in Phola Park, Katlehong, Tvl, on 15 January 1994.

DULI, Craig (44), a former member of the Transkei Military Council, was shot dead by Transkei Defence Force soldiers on 22 November 1990 in Umtata, Transkei, after being arrested for leading an unsuccessful ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANKEI.

DUMA, Alexia Ntombazana (60), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Adams Mission, near Durban, in January 1990.

DUMA, Bafikile, an ANC supporter, suffered injuries when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

DUMA, Bakhaleni Mana (50), an ANC member, had her home burnt down by a named IFP supporter at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 February 1992. Seven homes were burnt down in the area that month, and one person was killed.

DUMA, Bongani (17), an IFP supporter, was abducted by a group of IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1991, allegedly to be taken to an IFP self-defence training camp. He was later found dead near the Mjika River, with stab and hack wounds.

DUMA, Bongani Joseph (39), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and burnt to death, by members of the AMAVARAVARA in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 17 September 1989. Mr Duma had been a committee member of the UDF 'people's court'.

DUMA, Christopher Veli (25), was arrested and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Johannesburg, on 17 June 1976. See SOWETO UPRISING.

DUMA, Douglas Mahayiko, was one of eight passengers shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Six other passengers were shot dead. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK.

DUMA, Fihlaphi (53), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 October 1993. Ms Duma was accused of harbouring people who had allegedly attacked an IFP leader.

DUMA, Getrude, an ANC supporter, suffered injuries when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

DUMA, Jerome (41), an ANC supporter, died on 30 August 1970 after he had been tortured by Security Branch members in Durban. Before his death, he and his wife were regularly detained because of their political activities.

DUMA, Joseph Ndodo (23), a UDF supporter, was shot at by an Inkatha member during political conflict in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 30 November 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0334).

DUMA, Kenneth Dumsani (29), was shot and stabbed to death by named ANC supporters at Ndoleni, near Richmond, Natal, on 21 December 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DUMA, Lili Gertrude (49), was stabbed and injured when her family was attacked by IFP supporters at their home in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, in February 1991 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Four of her daughters were also injured, and her two-year-old grandson was killed.

DUMA, Lombo Alson (49), was shot by IFP supporters while partaking in a traditional feast at his home in Bergville, Natal, on 31 December 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

DUMA, Mantombi Premrose (45), an ANC supporter, had her house petrol-bombed by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 April 1991. Eleven people were killed, at least seven injured and 20 homes torched in politically motivated attacks in the area on this day.

DUMA, Mbalekelwa Richard (44), was shot dead on 28 February 1992 in Hammarsdale, Natal, in intensified violent conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DUMA, Mduduzi Watson (27), an ANC supporter, was severely injured when he was shot and stabbed near Pietermaritzburg by named fellow ANC supporters during an internal feud on 14 March 1990.

DUMA, Mfaniswa Mangwazini (58), non-partisan, was shot and injured in an attack on his home by IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 October 1993. He was allegedly accused of accommodating people who had attacked an IFP leader. His wife was killed in the attack.

DUMA, Mthokozisi Christopher (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by other ANC supporters at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 June 1993, allegedly for refusing to attend ANC self-defence training camps.

DUMA, Musa Agrippa (21), an ANC supporter, was killed on 4 December 1991 when a large armed group of IFP hostel-dwellers, supported by the security forces, launched two attacks on ANC supporters in Bruntville, Mooi River, Natal. In all, eighteen ANC supporters were killed in these attacks and at least a hundred homes were burnt or damaged.

DUMA, Nlozi George (83), was stabbed, shot and burnt to death at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 January 1990 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

DUMA, Nobuhle, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured when her family was attacked by IFP supporters in Ndoleni, near Richmond, Natal, in February 1991, during political violence following a peace meeting in the area. Her mother and three sisters were injured, and a two-year-old child was killed in the attack.

DUMA, Nojise Constance (55), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters at her home near Ixopo, Natal, in March 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

DUMA, Nombe Edelina (60), had her house burnt down at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area. Her husband was shot and burnt to death in the attack, and she fled the area.

DUMA, Nonceba Martha (31), an ANC supporter, was detained by Security Police in Clermont, near Durban, and interrogated about her political activities. The torture she suffered led to heart problems and a nervous breakdown.

DUMA, Ntomi Mavis (40), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 August 1990, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DUMA, Qondeni, an ANC supporter, suffered injuries when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

DUMA, Regina Babhekile (54), was injured when she was trapped in her burning home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 22 March 1988. Ms Duma shared the house with her daughter and grandchild, both of whom were injured when Inkatha youths petrol-bombed the house after her sons went into hiding along with other UDF supporters, following threats to their lives.

DUMA, Robert, a UDF supporter, had his house and car burnt in an arson attack by named Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, during 1990. Mr Duma was a member of the Imbali Residents' Association at the time.

DUMA, Sam, was abducted and later killed and sexually mutilated in Richmond, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in December 1991. A friend who was with him was also killed and mutilated.

DUMA, Shadrack (22), was stabbed and severely injured by named Inkatha supporters on 6 November 1988 at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly because he was perceived to be a UDF supporter.

DUMA, Shadrack Thandoxolo (21), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters during intensifying conflict at Luganda, near Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, on 19 August 1988.

DUMA, Sibongile Promise (29), had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1993 during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

DUMA, Sikhumbuzo (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by other ANC supporters on 14 March 1990 in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in a serious internal feud in the organisation.

DUMA, Sithembile (39), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in April 1991.

DUMA, Siyabonga, an ANC supporter, was killed when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

DUMA, Snandu Braveman (26), was detained on 9 March 1985 and held for four and a half months in Fort Beaufort, Cape.

DUMA, Solomon (31), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters near Ladysmith, Natal, on 5 August 1989.

DUMA, Stinki Nobuhle, an ANC supporter, suffered injuries when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

DUMA, Tende (39), lost his house in an arson attack at Ixopo, Natal, in 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DUMA, Thabisile (15), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured when her family home at Ndalen, Richmond, Natal, was attacked by IFP supporters in February 1991. Ms Duma's mother and two sisters were injured, and a two-year-old child was killed in the attack.

DUMA, Thembinkosi (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by other named ANC supporters while attending a meeting in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 28 October 1989. There was a serious internal feud within the organisation.

DUMA, Thulani (15), was shot and partially paralysed in August 1990 when he and other youths were ambushed at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, by IFP supporters. The victims had been on their way to attend an ANC supporter's funeral when they were attacked.

DUMA, Zandile (16), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees attacked ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

DUMA, Zanele Florina, an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Umkomaas, Natal, on 22 November 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DUMA, Zephania Hiqi (24), an ANC supporter, was abducted by IFP supporters in January 1991 and was later found dead with a broken neck and other wounds in the informal settlement of KwaHaza, near Howick, Natal.

DUMA, Thamsanqa, was shot and injured by IFP supporters at his home in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 24 October 1992, in continuing political conflict in the area.

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

DUMAKUDE, Kwenza Robert (47), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP members outside his home near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 September 1992. Mr Dumakude's wife was also stabbed and injured in the attack.

DUMAKUDE, Ntombizini Beauty (38), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by IFP supporters at her home in Empangeni, Natal, on 25 September 1992. Ms Dumakude's husband was killed in the attack.

DUMAKUDE, Thandi Venetia (35), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in April 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes were burnt down in political violence that month.

DUMAKUDE, Thembekile (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 13 August 1985.

DUMA-MTOLO, Mkhuthali Buzani (43), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Ixopo, Natal, on 26 June 1993, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

DUMANA, Vusumzi (23), an ANC supporter, was detained without charge for 28 days during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT in Paterson, Cape, on 21 March 1985. During his detention he was assaulted by members of the SAP.

DUMANE, Philas, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

DUMELA, Nobantu Elsie (35), an ANC supporter, lost her home and belongings in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 15 June 1993.

DUMELA, Nombulelo, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 1 May 1992.

DUMEZWENI, Phikiso (28), founding member and chair of the Hofmeyr Youth Congress, was detained and tortured at Hofmeyr and Middelburg police stations, Cape, in June 1986 during protests in the area.

DUMILE, Zolani (21), was shot dead shortly after being arrested on 17 September 1993 when the Ciskei Police van he was locked in was ambushed by APLA members in Mdantsane, Ciskei. All the occupants of the police van were killed. See APLA ATTACKS.

DUMISA SEDRICK, Mandla (29), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 November 1991, in intense political conflict in the area.

DUMISA, Dorothy Nonhlahla (44), ANC member, lost her house in an arson attack by alleged IFP supporters in 1990 at Enseleni, KwaZulu, because of her political affiliation.

DUMKUDE, Tembani Sellina (48), a UDF supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by a named Inkatha supporter in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during April 1991, in intense political conflict in the area.

DUMUSA, Mxolisi Dumisa, was shot dead by IFP supporters, assisted by members of the KWAZULU

POLICE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in October 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DUMUSILE, Juliet I, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 September 1993, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DUNA, Mandile Tawa (24), a UDF supporter, was severely injured when he was hit with pellets by named SPECIAL CONSTABLES during protests in Hofmeyr, Cape, on 10 February 1988.

DUNCAN, A, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

DUNGA, Mongezi, was one of four people abducted from home and severely assaulted with sjamboks and iron bars by a large crowd of ANC supporters at a sports stadium in Daveyton, Tvl, on 21 March 1992. Mr Dunga was suspected of collaborating with police. Two of the victims were burnt to death. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/048).

DUNGWANA, Nomakosazana Joyce (29), had her home burnt down during political conflict between the 'RED' AND GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

DUNJWA, Bonisile (27), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Cape Town, in September 1976, after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to the Cape.

DUNJWA, Selby, was paralysed after being shot in the chest and spine by members of the SADF on 12 August 1985, during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London.

DUNN, Hitler Mzikayifani (28), had his house burnt down by unidentified perpetrators in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993. At least 18 people were killed and 75 homes were burnt down in political violence in Bhambayi in March 1993.

DUNN, James Mervyn, was one of five people injured when a limpet mine placed by MK operatives exploded at an electricity sub-station in Chamberlain, Jacobs, Durban, on 9 January 1986. One SAP member was fatally wounded. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/108).

DURLACHARAN, Rajesh, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

DUVENAGE, Andre, was killed when a bomb planted by MK members exploded at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court, on 20 May 1987. The perpetrators have applied for amnesty.

DUVENHAGE, TJ, a member of the SAP, was killed when a car bomb exploded outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's court on 20 May 1987. Three other policemen were also killed in the explosion, which took place after a decoy smaller bomb had lured them to the scene. Three other people were injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0067).

DUZANE, Anton Thulani (33), an ANC supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in June 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

DUZE, Roosevelt Cheritom Vusumuzi (20), a UDF supporter and civic organisation member, was detained under emergency regulations in Newcastle, Natal, on 12 June 1986. Mr Duze was severely tortured during his 29 months of detention.

DWARA, Sindiswa Lynn (10), was shot and injured by members of the Transkei Police in Umtata, Transkei, on 13 July 1987. In the attack, several other family members were severely injured and their home and furniture was damaged.

DWASHU, Funeka (7), was beaten by members of the SAP during political conflict between UDF and AZAPO supporters in Swartkopsdam, Port Elizabeth, on 3 February 1986. The police allegedly wanted information from her about the whereabouts of 'comrades'.

DWASHU, Mandla (13), was beaten by members of the SAP during political conflict between UDF and AZAPO supporters in Swartkopsdam, Port Elizabeth, on 3 February 1986. The police allegedly wanted information from him about the whereabouts of 'comrades'.

DWASHU, Nomathamsanqa (15), a UDF supporter, was assaulted by named members of the SAP when they broke down her door and ransacked her house in Port Elizabeth on 3 February 1986 during the state of emergency. The police were looking for her sister, who was later 'necklaced' to death. See *POLICE BRUTALITY*.

DWAYISA, Thembinkosi Fanaye (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 November 1991. An IFP leader had been killed in the area that day.

DWEBE, Toto Roy (34), was abducted in Durban on 13 August 1985; his mutilated body was found a week later at Mtunzini, Natal. Although the perpetrators have not been identified, police had been searching for Mr Dweba and constantly harassing his wife and family, apparently because he and his wife were active UDF officials. Their home was petrol-bombed by Inkatha members on 27 August.

DWEBE, Zanele Daphney 'Mumsie' (33), an ANCYL member, had her home petrol-bombed by Inkatha members in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 27 August 1985. Her husband's mutilated body had been found near Empangeni a week earlier, after he had been abducted in Durban.

DWYILI, Mzwandile Joseph Mpush (30), a UDF supporter, was shot in the hand by a named member of the SAP during unrest in Cradock, Cape, on 29 November 1986.

DYABOOI, Xolile 'Maqoma' (21), a UDF supporter and Worcester youth activist, was arrested at the Botswana border post while trying to leave the country with four others in June 1987. He was severely tortured, first by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in that area, then taken back to the Cape and tortured again by named members of the Security Branch from

Worcester. After being held under SECTION 29 in solitary confinement for six months, Mr Dyabooi was sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

DYABUZA, Vuyani Douglas (19), a CAYCO member, was abducted from a vehicle by WITDOEKE vigilantes at an informal roadblock at Crossroads, Cape Town, on 24 May 1986. Mr Dyabuza and a friend were then beaten and stabbed to death.

DYAFTA, Thobile Livingstone (23), was shot dead by an employee of the CTC bus company during a bus boycott in East London, on 19 February 1984.

DYALVAN, Zonwabele (40), a SANCO supporter, was beaten by members of the CDF in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 6 April 1993 during political conflict over the reimposition of the headman system in the homeland.

DYANI, Peter, a Spoornet employee, was shot and killed in an attack by three APLA members near the Crossroads police station, Cape Town, on 8 September 1992. A member of the SAP was also killed in the attack. See *APLA ATTACKS*. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

DYANTI, Mzwamadoda Tyhali (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

DYANTJIE, Nomkango Phumza (26), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by WITDOEKE vigilantes near Crossroads, Cape Town, on 17 May 1986. *Witdoeke* members carried out a mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps, with the approval and aid of the security forces. During the attack, Ms Dyantjie brought her six-year-old son to safety. He disappeared from her friend's house and has never been seen since.

DYANTJIES, Thami Goodenough, a member of the SAP, was injured when MK operatives opened fire on and threw hand grenades at the Orlando police station in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 November 1979. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

DYANTYI, Amos Similo (39), was repeatedly detained and tortured by named Security Branch members between 1986 and 1988 in Worcester and Paarl, Cape. Mr Dyantyi was a Civic activist and member of Worcester's Council of Seven.

DYANTYI, Angelina Ntombizodwa (34), was severely beaten by IFP supporters while travelling on a train in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 30 April 1991. See *TRAIN VIOLENCE*.

DYANTYI, Basil (39), was shot and injured by a named local COUNCILLOR outside his home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 25 October 1990. Mr Dyantyi's brother was killed in the same attack. At least eight people were killed that day by police and supporters of the Lingeletu West Town Council, during and after a mass march to express community opposition to the Council.

DYANTYI, Ernest (30), was shot dead by members of the SAP during political unrest in Dordrecht, Cape, on 29 September 1985.

DYANTYI, Fuzile Sidwell, (32) an ANC member, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 18 March 1991 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

DYANTYI, Mongezi Byte (17), a COSAS member, was assaulted by members of the SAP at Mhlotshana High School in Whittlesea, Ciskei, in 1980, during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT. He was later charged, together with other students, with the stoning to death of a policeman, and was detained at Whittlesea police station for two weeks. Charges against the students were withdrawn in October 1981 and the case was dismissed.

DYANTYI, Mpumelelo Manityi (31), was shot dead by a named local COUNCILLOR outside his home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 25 October 1990. Mr Dyantyi's brother was injured in the same attack. At least eight people were killed that day by police and supporters of the Lingeletu West Town Council, during and after a mass march to express community opposition to the Council.

DYANTYI, Nokholekile (31), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by WITDOEKE vigilantes near Crossroads, Cape Town, on 23 May 1986. *Witdoeke* members carried out a mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps, with the approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people died and 20 000 homes were destroyed during the attacks.

DYANTYI, Sandile, was shot dead by members of the SAP while he was *toy-toying* with youth during political unrest in Dordrecht, Cape, on 29 September 1985.

DYANTYI, Sonwabile (6), disappeared from the home of his mother's friend in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 17 May 1986. Sonwabile's mother had brought him to safety during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes. He has not been seen since.

DYANTYI, Thanduxolo Lawrence (25), an MK member, was tortured in detention by members of the Security Branch at Protea police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1988.

DYANTYI, Toto (56), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the Ciskei Police who were looking for his son in Cathcart, Cape, on 22 November 1992.

DYANTYI, Wandile Leonard (16), was injured on the knee when police fired shots into a crowd of demonstrating students during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in Adelaide, Cape, in March 1981.

DYANTYI, Winnie 'Mimizana' (15), was shot, injured and detained for a few days by SAP members following unrest in Worcester, Cape, in November 1985.

DYANTYI, Zenzile Ephrite 'Gumi' (24), was shot and beaten by a named off-duty Special Constable in Noupoot, Cape, in September 1987. At the time the perpetrator was under the influence of liquor.

DYARVANE, Sonwabiso Linton (27), an ANC member, was detained, tortured and sentenced to six months'

imprisonment in Bizana, Transkei, during 1960, for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

DYASI, Ceswel, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 23 November 1993 while on his way home from work, during ongoing political violence in the area.

DYASI, Cynthia Ncikazi, was severely injured when a bomb planted by AWB members exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS

DYASI, Goodman Mzolisi (18), a COSAS member, was detained repeatedly between 1980 and 1987 in Port Elizabeth. In detention he was severely assaulted, interrogated and tortured by named members of the Security Branch.

DYASI, Lungisile Qheyana (20), was shot dead by MUNICIPAL POLICE during unrest in Port Elizabeth on 17 July 1985.

DYASI, Nonkawulelo Albertinah (30), was arrested and charged with public violence during a consumer boycott in Beaufort West, Cape, in 1987. She was sentenced to an effective one year's imprisonment, during which time she was separated from her new-born baby.

DYASI, William Khotso (17), was shot dead by a named SAP member in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, on 3 November 1985. After being shot, Mr Dyasi sought shelter in a shack but, while his father was calling an ambulance, the perpetrator located him. Mr Dyasi was then shot again and killed. The SAP member, who claimed that Mr Dyasi was shot while fleeing custody, was refused amnesty for the killing.

DYASI, Xolani Patrick (14), was paralysed after being shot in the head and neck by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Port Elizabeth, on 17 July 1985. At the time he was shot, Xolani was assisting his cousin who had been shot by the police during the 1985 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS.

DYASOPHU, Luthando, a former MK operative, was shot at by MK operatives in Umtata, Transkei, on 13 June 1990. His colleague, also a former MK operative, was shot dead in the attack. The two were believed to have become askaris. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0034).

DYASOPHU, Madodana (19), an SAYCO member, was beaten and tortured by members of the SAP while in detention in East London during 1985.

DYODA, Themba (15), an ANC supporter, was assaulted with rifle-butts, trampled with boots and shot by members of the CDF during protests in East London in 1985.

DYOMFANA, Andile Addison, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUPIN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military

Intelligence operative who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

DYONASE, Miemie Nomfusi Gratitude (33), was shot and injured by members of the SAP who opened fire on PAC supporters and bystanders outside a PAC meeting in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 6 January 1994. A young boy was shot dead and several others injured in the shooting.

DYONASE, Mzukisi Maxwell, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUPIN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

DYONASHE, Vuyane (14), was shot dead by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, in August 1985.

DYONASI, Mpunoutyane Wilberforce (54), lost his home in an attack by members of the IFP-supporting TOASTER GANG in Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 May 1991 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

DYOSI, Masixole (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the Ciskei Police in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 5 June 1985, while he was returning from a meeting.

DYOSI, Nonceba, was assaulted with sjamboks and batons by members of the SAP during a peaceful church demonstration in Stutterheim, Cape, in June 1986.

DYOSI, Nontsapo Alice (56), was assaulted with batons and sjamboks by members of the SAP during a peaceful church demonstration in Stutterheim, Cape, in June 1986.

DYWASHU, Tembelizwe, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by named members of the ADM in Whittlesea, Ciskei, on 26 August 1992. The perpetrators admitted to planning his murder during conflict between ANC and ADM supporters.

DYWILI, Bonisile (35), was severely beaten and tortured by named and other members of the SAP in Knysna, Cape, on 19 April 1991.

DYWILI, Headman 'Madoda' (15), was arrested and tortured by named members of the SAP while in custody in De Aar, Cape, on 4 July 1985, during consumer and SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in the township.

DZANIBE, Ntombivelile Princess (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

DZUDZUDZU, Zongezile Milford (16), was shot and injured by members of the SADF in Port Alfred, Natal, on 16 November 1984. Mr Dzudzudzu was returning from a funeral of an activist when he was shot. Afterwards he was detained and charged with public violence.

EABY, Dennis, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986.

The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

EBRAHIM, Ebrahim Ismail (49), an ANC member, was abducted from Swaziland by security agents during a cross-border raid. He was later tortured in Pretoria, by members of the Security Police in December 1986. Mr Ebrahim was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for high treason. He was released later on appeal.

ECKSTEIN, Heidi, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

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

EDELSTEIN, Melville Leonard, was killed by protesting students near the Morris Isaacson School, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976. Mr Edelstein, a sociologist for the West Rand Administration Board, was the first white person to be killed in the SOWETO UPRISING.

EDGAR, C, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

EDWABA, Bonginkosi Samuel (17), was one of ten youths from Mamelodi, Tvl, who were recruited during the state of emergency by a named *askari*, ostensibly for ANC military training in Botswana. Near Nietverdiend, the youths were forcibly injected with sedatives or some other chemical substance and were burnt to death when the vehicle they were in was deliberately crashed and exploded during June 1986. The security policemen involved were congratulated for good service and rewarded. The perpetrators applied for amnesty. See NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH.

EDWARDS, Amanda (15), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

EDWARDS, Johanna Catherina Aletta (16), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

EK, CE, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church

Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

ELESE, De Poutch (26), an ANC branch chairperson, was repeatedly harassed and raided by police in Crossroads, Cape Town, in 1993. He was an opponent of a local Crossroads leader who was removing people from the area by force. Masked gunmen attacked his home on 19 March 1993 leaving three family members and friends dead and two injured. One perpetrator was later jailed for the attack. He was refused amnesty.

ELESE, Joyce 'Ndinisa', an ANC supporter, was shot dead by masked gunmen who burst into her home and opened fire on 19 March 1993 in Crossroads, Cape Town. Three family members and friends were shot dead and two injured in the attack. One perpetrator was later convicted and jailed for the attack. He was refused amnesty.

ELESE, Tinie (51), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by masked gunmen who burst into his home and opened fire on 19 March 1993 in Crossroads, Cape Town. Three family members and friends were shot dead and two injured in the attack. One perpetrator was later convicted and jailed for the attack. He was refused amnesty.

ELIAS, Sophie, was severely beaten by SAP members in Paballelo, Upington, Cape, on 23 November 1985. She was returning from the funeral of a slain activist when police beat her with batons. A local doctor refused to treat her.

ELLIS, Michael, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

ELS, Nicholas Johannes, a member of the SAP, was shot dead when an MK operative opened fire from a vehicle in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 7 July 1990. He and his colleagues had attempted to stop the vehicle which was occupied by an MK unit. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0331).

ENGELBRECHT, Johannes Petrus George (30), a former AWB member and a police reservist, was severely beaten by named members of the SAP in Welkom, OFS, in March 1991. Mr Engelbrecht resigned from the SAP and AWB after witnessing a black person being brutally assaulted by police. He was branded a traitor and was arrested.

ENGLISH, K, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

ENKELA, Qoitle Ben (4), was shot and injured by a named police officer while playing in the yard at his home in Ditlhake, Koffiefontein, OFS, in April 1990. Police

were shooting at a crowd of protesting youth activists as they returned from an ANC-organised march.

ERASMUS, B, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

ERASMUS, JJ, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

ERASMUS, Martha Johanna Magdalena (56), was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

ERASMUS, Niklaus (30), was tortured by members of the SAP during protests in Steytlerville, Cape, in July 1985.

ERASMUS, Stephen Mthuthuzeli (25), an ANC supporter, was arrested and detained by named members of the SAP who entered his home on 21 July 1985 in Steytlerville, Cape, and beat him with sjamboks. The beating continued while travelling to the local police station, and during his detention.

ERNEST, Suzan (39), was shot and blinded in one eye by members of the SAP during unrest in Beaufort West, Cape, in 1985.

ERNST, Frederick William, was injured when a car bomb exploded outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's court on 20 May 1987. Four policemen were killed in the explosion, which took place after a decoy smaller bomb had lured them to the scene. Two other people were injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0067).

ESSACK, Riedewaan (19), lost the sight in one eye after being shot by SAP members during a rally in Athlone, Cape Town, on 22 October 1985.

ETHELL, E, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

ETSEBETH, Stefanus Filippus (39), an SAP member, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

EVANS, Gavin (26), a journalist and ANC underground member, was assaulted, threatened and harassed by members of the Security Police in Port Elizabeth in 1984 and 1985. Mr Evans was subsequently monitored by members of the CCB in Johannesburg and was targeted

for assassination in March 1989. Five members of the former CCB were refused amnesty (AC/2001/232).

FAAS, Adri 'Aaron' (18), was shot dead by a named SAP member, using his private firearm, in Paarl, Cape Town, on 28 August 1985, the day of the POLLSMOOR MARCH.

FABA, July Soul, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 30 April 1993 at a night vigil for a civic leader allegedly killed by IFP supporters.

FADANA, Buzile (21), was shot dead by named members of the Riot Police in Worcester, Cape, on 9 November 1985.

FAFUDI, Rosy Matshidiso (15), a youth activist, was arrested and severely beaten with batons by members of the SAP at Welverdiend police station, Carletonville, Tvl, on 13 May 1986.

FAHRENFORT, Craig, was one of ten students arrested after a political rally in Athlone, Cape Town, on 17 September 1985, who were then severely beaten by named and other members of the SAP at the Brackenfell police station.

FAHRENFORT, Grant, was one of ten students arrested after a political rally in Athlone, Cape Town, on 17 September 1985, who were then severely beaten by named and other members of the SAP at the Brackenfell police station.

FAKATHI, Enoch Knox (59), was displaced when his church was burnt down on 27 April 1983 at Lamontville, Durban.

FAKAZI, David Bano Bekithemba, father of an MK operative, was stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters in Durban, on 17 March 1990. The perpetrators were sentenced to twelve years in prison.

FAKAZI, Harrison Thobani 'Themba' (27), has not been seen since he returned from military training abroad in March 1991 to attend his father's funeral in Umlazi, Durban. His name appears on the list of ANC people who died in exile.

FAKAZI, Nkosiapha Selnick (60), a UDF supporter, had his house burnt down by AMASINYORA vigilantes, assisted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, at KwaMashu, Durban, on 26 December 1989. A family member was raped in the attack.

FAKAZI, Rosemary Nonhlanhla (32), a UDF supporter, was raped when AMASINYORA vigilantes, assisted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, attacked her home on 26 December 1989 in KwaMashu, Durban. Her home was also burnt down in the attack.

FAKO, Klenkie (19), an ANCYL member, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP at the Grootvlei police station in Reddersburg, OFS, in May 1990. This occurred during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT, when several youth activists were assaulted and tortured by the police.

FAKO, Nonhlanhla Elsie, a COSAS member, died when she was shot several times in the back by members of the SAP in KwaGuga, Witbank, Tvl, on 16 July 1985 during a school boycott to demand the release of students held in custody for participating in a school fees protest.

FAKU, Jane Grace Gazi (60), was shot dead by members of the SAP during political unrest in

Uitenhage, Cape, on 2 May 1985.

FAKU, Matthews Lindile (21), an ANC supporter, disappeared after he left home for work in Port Elizabeth during 1961. He is thought to have joined MK in exile, but has never been seen again.

FAKU, Mayford Wele (25), a UDF supporter, died in January 1979 while in exile in Botswana.

FAKU, Mhlabuvukile (22), was deported from Kokstad to Sekhukhuneland during the PONDOLAND REVOLT in 1960.

FAKU, Phumelele Michael (27), a UDF supporter, disappeared after his father's funeral in Port Elizabeth on 19 October 1985, and has not been seen since.

FAKU, Queeneth (24), was constantly harassed and intimidated by ANC supporters and, on 15 August 1992, had her house stoned and subsequently burnt down in Paterson, Cape, after she was accused of acting as an informer for the town clerk, who was unpopular with the community at the time.

FAKU, Sisa (16), a COSAS member, was shot dead on 6 August 1983 at Mdantsane, Ciskei, in a random police shooting during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

FAKU, Thembinkosi Amos, a member of the SAP, was killed instantly when a bomb exploded in his car near Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, on 15 December 1989. Three police officers and an informer were killed in the attack by fellow police officers to prevent possible revelations about the killing of the CRADOCK FOUR. Nine members of the Security Police were refused amnesty (AC/1999/0345). See MOTHERWELL CAR BOMB.

FAKU, Wilson (26), was shot dead by a member of the SAP during political protests in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 2 May 1985.

FAKU, Zola (33), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP during political unrest in Port Elizabeth on 19 March 1985.

FAKUDE, Amos, was stabbed to death in Katlehong, Tvl, on 17 October 1992, allegedly by an IFP supporter in conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

FAKUDE, Andries (61), was beaten with wire by members of the SAP for resisting forced removal from his home in Leslie, Tvl, in 1978 after the area had been declared white.

FAKUDE, Banengwe Anna (33), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Iniwé, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1993.

FAKUDE, Beline, was beaten with a gun by a member of the SAP when her father resisted forced removal from Leslie, Tvl, in 1978 after the area had been declared white.

FAKUDE, Bongani Wonderboy (18), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters at his home in Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 July 1992. Mr Fakude is disabled as a result of the attack.

FAKUDE, Duma, was shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned TOASTERGANG in Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 July 1993. The TOASTERGANG members were encouraged by the IFP and the SAP to spread terror among ANC supporters in the area.

FAKUDE, Fanyana Gordon, was tortured in detention by a warder in Pretoria Central prison, in March 1960 following a protest against the carrying of Pass books. **FAKUDE, Rodney Rhodah**, lost his home in an arson attack near Eshowe, Natal, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

FAKUDE, Sibusiso (18), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters on a street in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 18 December 1992 after rescuing two fellow IFP supporters from a burning house. The community is reported to have been particularly tense over the deaths of two IFP supporters a few days earlier.

FAKUDE, Wonderboy, was severely injured when he was stabbed in the neck and chest during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 July 1992.

FALAKHE, Nontshiki (32), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death with three other family members when their shack was set alight in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 18 February 1992. The attack took place during a period of conflict between ANC supporters and persons associated with the Lingeletu West Town Council, who were allegedly aided by the police.

FALAKHE, Portia (12), was burnt to death with three other family members in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 18 February 1992, during conflict between ANC supporters and persons associated with the Lingeletu West Town Council, who were allegedly aided by the police.

FALAKHE, Thumeka (6), was burnt to death with three other family members in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 18 February 1992, during conflict between ANC supporters and persons associated with the Lingeletu West Town Council, who were allegedly aided by the police.

FALENI, Fanekhaya, was imprisoned at Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town, for 15 years until he fell ill and was transferred to Johannesburg hospital, where he died.

FALENI, Nho, a PAC supporter, was arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town, for his involvement in PAC activities. On his release he was placed under house arrest for four years in Engcobo, Transkei.

FALI, Jerry Moholo, was shot dead when police opened fire on a student protest march at Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 19 April 1990. Four other protesters were killed and seven were injured in the shooting.

FALI, Zamuxolo (20), a COSAS member and ANC supporter, was detained and tortured in Burgersdorp, Cape, during January 1984, while travelling to Umtata with other activists.

FALTEIN, Andile (11), was injured in a shooting by members of the SAP in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 13 April 1993, the morning of ANC/SACP/MK leader, Chris Hani's funeral.

FALTEIN, Lizwi Voice (27), was shot by members of the SADF and SAP in Port Elizabeth on 16 June 1976 during the protests in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

He was subsequently charged with public violence, but the charges were withdrawn.

FAMA Mkululi, (36), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Germiston, Tvl, on 16 June 1990.

FANA, Bangizwe Maydon (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 31 May 1989.

FANEPU, Jackson Nowathu (45), was killed by alleged IFP supporters during political conflict in Mqanduli, Transkei, on 3 September 1990.

FANAYO, Monwabisi Reginald 'Lemi', was abducted by UDF supporters from his home at Uitenhage, Cape, in February 1988. He was then stabbed, stoned and burnt to death. One UDF supporter applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0027).

FANI, Gloria Thoko, was killed when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

FANI, Mlandelwa, an IKONGO member, was assaulted in detention and lost his home in an arson attack in 1960 in Emonti, Bizana, Transkei, in a revenge attack after he had burnt down homes belonging to informers. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

FANI, Mphati Douglas (18), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of AMAAFRIKA, in Dube, near Klipplaat, Cape, during 1990, in conflict between the ANC and the Black Local Authority.

FANI, Nqeke, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in her home in Bizana, Transkei, during 1960, when police were conducting a search for her husband, wanted in connection with PONDOLAND REVOLT. Ms Fani was detained and interrogated twice that year.

FANTE, Mathew, a UDF supporter, was severely assaulted by AMASOLOMZI vigilantes, together with police, in Ashton, Cape, in November 1985. Thereafter he was held in custody for many months before being sentenced to eight years' imprisonment for arson.

FANTE, Phillis Nontutuzelo (22), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes in Ashton, Cape, on 4 November 1985. She was again assaulted by vigilantes, aided by members of the SAP, when arrested on 8 April 1986 for the attempted murder of a state witness whose court evidence had resulted in an eight-year prison sentence for her husband. Ms Fante was then herself sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

FANTI, Mzwandile Wilson (37), an ANC member, was imprisoned for eight years on Robben Island in 1964 for his political activities. After his release, he was placed under a banning order in Stutterheim, Cape. He was detained in 1981 and again in 1982 for his leading role in campaigning against the incorporation of the Mgwali area into the Ciskei. During his detention, he was tortured at the Cambridge police station, East London. Mr Fanti was eventually acquitted of charges of promoting the ANC.

FANYANE, Mokganyeng Zebulon (39), a UDF supporter, was beaten by members of the Lebowa Police in Burgersfort, Tvl.

FARISANI, Tshenuwani Simon (29), was arrested by Venda Police and SAP Special Branch officers on 14 March 1977 and taken to Howick, Natal, where he was tortured. Mr Farisani, an ordained minister at the time, was suspected of helping activists flee into exile.

FATHA, Nikele (23), lost an eye after being shot by members of the SAP in Hofmeyr, Cape, on 24 December 1986.

FATMAN, Eric Mxolisi (22), a UDF activist, was detained under emergency regulations in June 1985 at Klipplaat, Cape. He was held for five months at the police station during which he was tortured by named members of the SAP.

FATMAN, Prindile W, was injured when an MK unit attacked the Madeira police station, in Umtata, Transkei, on 29 July 1986. At least eight people were killed in the attack, including members of the SAP, civilians and one of the MK operatives. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

FATYELA, Fuzile, a Steynsburg Youth Congress member, was shot dead by a named councillor and SAP member in Steynsburg, Cape, on 4 July 1990 during a service for fellow activists.

FATYELA, Richard Masinda (27), a student activist, was beaten and tortured by members of the SAP at the police station in Richmond, Cape, in October 1985, during a period of student protest.

FAZZIE, Mzwanele (20), an ANC member from Duncan Village, East London, was shot dead on 9 December 1982 in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho. Mr Fazzie was an ANC courier who had arrived in Maseru the night before the attack. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

FEBANA, Cikizwa Ntsiki Gladys (23), was stabbed and burnt to death by a large group of COSAS members and UDF supporters in Jansenville, Cape, on 14 December 1985. She was suspected of being a state witness in a public violence trial. One COSAS member and UDF supporter applied for and was granted amnesty for his role in the incident AC/1999/0240).

FENI, Andile Elvis (18), a UDF supporter, was shot in the leg by named SAP members in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, on 21 September 1985, after a crowd had petrol-bombed a policeman's house.

FENI, Angelina Zanyiwe (66), suffered severe burn injuries when her house was destroyed in an arson attack carried out by members of the SAP at Cookhouse, Cape, on 4 August 1985. Ms Feni was in hospital for nine months.

FENI, Anna Mingi, was shot and killed by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 22 September 1992, because she was thought to be an IFP supporter. The SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0018).

FENI, Mbophele Petrus (34), an ANC supporter, lost her house in Hammanskraal, Tvl, when it was demolished on 12 January 1993 following an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana government.

FENI, Patrick, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP at Grahamstown, Cape, on 16 November 1984. On 21 May 1985, he was detained by the same perpetrator.

FEREIRA, Henry Shaun, suffered severe trauma when APLA operatives, armed with automatic weapons and hand grenades, stormed the Yellowwoods hotel, in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 23 March 1993 and opened fire on staff and patrons. One person was shot dead in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/225).

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

FERGUSON, Andrew Henry Douglas (30), was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Hanover Park, Cape Town, on 2 September 1976, a day which saw a peak of unrest and casualties of police shootings across Cape Town during the SOWETO UPRISING.

FERGUSON, James, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

FERHELST, Muhammad Farid (18), a UDF supporter and member of the BMW, was detained and severely beaten and suffocated while under interrogation, by named members of the special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT, at the Bishop Lavis police station, Cape Town, on 19 June 1987. He was later detained a second time and again severely beaten at the Brackenfell police station. He was not convicted of any of the charges against him.

FERREIRA (NEE VENTER), Matilda Eleonore, suffered injuries when a limpet mine, placed in a pot plant, was detonated near the Juicy Lucy restaurant on the corner of Andries and Vermeulen Streets, Pretoria, on 26 May 1988. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

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

FERREIRA, Jappie, sustained minor injuries when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two spectators leaving

the rugby match were killed and 37 others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's Special Operations Unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/161).

FERREIRA, R, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

FERUS, John Marinus (20), an ANC supporter, was detained under the 90-day law in 1963 and 1964, and tortured by named SAP members in Worcester, Cape, and Cape Town. He was placed under house arrest in 1964, 1970 and 1981, and served three years on Robben Island, from 1967, for breaches of his banning orders. In 1980 he was detained again for three months and assaulted by police. He died in a car accident in 1981.

FESI, Mzukisi Johannes (21), a UDF supporter, was assaulted by members of the SAP during conflict between the police and members of the community in Cookhouse, Cape, in 1985.

FESTER, Gertrude Magdalene Nethania (36), a UDF and UWCO activist, was detained in Maitland, Cape Town, on 18 May 1988 and held for three and a half months under SECTION 29, in solitary confinement. She was also interrogated, threatened and psychologically tortured by named members of the Security Branch. Thereafter, she spent a further nine months in custody in Pollsmoor prison while on trial with 13 other ANC members, for terrorism. Charges against her were withdrawn in March 1990.

FESTILE, Nombulelo Joyce (37), a street committee secretary, was tortured and interrogated by named members of the Security Police in Port Elizabeth during June 1986. Police allegedly wanted information about the street committee and about a named informer who had been killed.

FICK, Colleen, was one of ten students arrested after a political rally in Athlone, Cape Town, on 17 September 1985. The students were then severely beaten by named and other members of the SAP in the Brackenfell police station.

FICK, Shantel, was one of ten students arrested after a political rally in Athlone, Cape Town, on 17 September 1985. The students were then severely beaten by named and other members of the SAP in the Brackenfell police station.

FIDLER, Jeanne Judith, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

FIDLER, Walter, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

FIKANI, Lungile (28), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with sjamboks and pick handles by members of the SAP in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on 15 March

1986 at a funeral service of 'comrades' when police surrounded mourners and started beating them.

FILANE, Joyce Maesha (20), was severely assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police during an ANC mass meeting in Taung, Bophuthatswana, in March 1992. Ms Filane sustained injuries to her body and ears.

FILIZWE, Lulamile Ngayi (20), was detained for nine months by members of the Security Branch in East London on 18 June 1986.

FINCA, Xolile (21), lost his home when it was burnt down on 9 June 1986, during the mass destruction of KTC squatter camp in Cape Town by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people died and 20 000 homes were destroyed in the attacks.

FINGER, Mathews Moeketsi, was tortured by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 30 March 1993.

FINI, Dinga (48), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by another named ANC supporter at Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 October 1992, because he was believed to be an IFP sympathiser. His wife was injured in the attack, and his daughter burnt to death.

FINI, Phumzile (18), an ANC supporter, died from gunshot wounds and burns sustained in an arson attack on her home by named ANC supporters at Ngwelezane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 October 1992. Ms Fini's family members were believed to be IFP supporters.

FINI, Rebecca, an ANC supporter, was injured in an attack on her home by a named ANC supporter in Empangeni, Natal, on 31 October 1992. The family was allegedly suspected of supporting the IFP.

FINIZA, Ndileka Ivy (28), was arrested in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 24 May 1986 after attending a political funeral. She was then detained under emergency regulations for three months in Robertson, Cape. Two years later, Ms Finiza was beaten by two police reservists during a rent boycott in Robertson. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

FINIZA, Pumzile Wilson, was detained and assaulted by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and the SAP on his arrest at his home in Ashton, Cape, and again at the Montagu police station, Cape, on 13 November 1985. He was charged with arson and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in Brandvlei prison.

FINTI, Samuel Funekile (25), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 24 January 1990. Mr Finti had gathered with other residents to protest against the death in detention of a youth. Shots were fired at residents while they were marching to the police station.

FINYE, Lukhanyiso (19), a CAYCO member, was abducted from a vehicle by WITDOEKE vigilantes at an informal roadblock in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 24 May 1986. Mr Finye and a friend were then beaten and stabbed to death.

FIRST, Ruth (57), a leading ANC/ SACP intellectual and the director of research and investigation at the Centre for African Studies at Eduardo Mondlane

University in Maputo, Mozambique, was killed in her office by a letter bomb on 17 August 1982. Before going into exile, Ms First, from Johannesburg, had also been detained and kept in solitary confinement for 117 days in 1963. Two members of Security Branch headquarters were granted amnesty for her killing (AC/2000/082). At the time of publication, the First family was contesting the decision through the courts.

FISANT, Cecilia (40), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP while in police custody at Jansenville police station, Cape, on 16 June 1986. Ms Fisant was charged and detained for six weeks while awaiting trial.

FISANT, Nontsikelelo Chrissie (41), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by 'comrades' in Jansenville, Cape, during April 1985, allegedly because she was accused of harbouring a local COUNCILLOR.

FISCHER, Bram, an SACP member and leader of the defence team in the Rivonia treason trial, was sentenced to life imprisonment in May 1966 and denied medical treatment by prison authorities in Pretoria.

FISHA, Phuti Phineas (43), lost his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, when it was burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

FISHER, John, suffered damage to property when his house was damaged as a result of a car bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. Three people were killed and seven injured in the explosion, a joint operation of the Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches and SADF Special Forces. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2000/214).

FISHER, Louis Burtrem (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in the chest by Riot Police members in Elsies River, Cape Town, on 17 June 1980, during a stayaway to commemorate the SOWETO UPRISING. Several people were shot dead and many injured during protests that day.

FISHER, Segegenyane Daniel (16), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by community COUNCILLORS and members of the SAP in Tshwaraganang, Dealesville, OFS, in September 1987, allegedly because he instigated a boycott of businesses belonging to the councillors.

FITOLI, Banana, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth, in 1982, allegedly for resisting arrest.

FIVANA, Griffiths (21), an ANC supporter, was shot when SADF members opened fire on demonstrators during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, in August 1985.

FLANAGAN, Bridget, suffered severe emotional trauma as a result of an arson attack on Khanya House, the headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, in Pretoria on 12 October 1988. The victims were trapped in the burning building for some time before being rescued. Twelve *Vlakplaas* operatives and seven other Security Branch Headquarters operatives, including senior personnel, were granted amnesty (AC/2000/215).

FLATELA, Nombi Ethel (42), an ANC supporter, was detained for at least a month in solitary confinement under emergency regulations in Kimberley, Cape, in June 1986. She later experienced ongoing harassment by the Security Police until 1990. Her son, an MK operative, died in exile in Angola while serving in combat against UNITA.

FLEMMER, Charles (48), was shot and fatally stabbed in Tokoza, Tvl, on 12 October 1993 after he was abducted and taken to Madala hostel during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters

FLEPU, Ntsikelelo Dugmore (17), was shot and injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the 'BISHO MASSACRE'. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

FLETCHER, David, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

FLOYD, Liz, a trade unionist, was subjected to a campaign of harassment and intimidation by the Witwatersrand Security Branch over a number of years from June 1982. One Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/005).

FOBE, Sobantu Munich (25), a UDF supporter, burnt to death when he was 'necklaced' by a named perpetrator on 25 June 1986 in Port Elizabeth. Mr Fobe was accused of being an informer.

FODO, Sthembele (38), an ANC member, was abducted and taken to Vusimuzi hostel by IFP supporters, and shot dead on 7 March 1993 in Tembisa, Tvl. His colleague also died in the attack.

FOKHWEBE, Amos Mxolisi (18), a member of Jouberton Youth Congress, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 22 May 1989 during a rent boycott and the illegal occupation of council land.

FOKOTI, Nombulelo Eunice (40), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters in East London in September 1985. She was allegedly targeted because her brother-in-law was a policeman.

FOLEY, Phumelele Duncan (28), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death by named AZAPO supporters in his house during political conflict in Port Elizabeth on 30 August 1986.

FOLOSI, Annah, was injured when MK operatives from the 'Dolphin Unit' detonated a limpet mine at the Security Branch offices in Roodepoort, Tvl, on 17 August 1984. Five members of the Security Branch and several civilians were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/0003).

FOLOTSI, Elizabeth Maserame, was shot and burnt to death in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 October 1993 while visiting relatives at a hostel during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Her husband was shot and burnt to death in the same incident.

FOLOTSI, Solomon Santi Henry, was shot and burnt to death in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 October 1993 while visiting relatives at a hostel during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. His wife was shot and burnt to death in the same incident.

FONK, Thelma Nonzaliseko (23), was detained in Worcester, Cape, on 14 June 1986. She was held under emergency regulations for three months.

FORBES, Ashley 'Yusuf' (22), an MK operative, was detained in May 1987 under SECTION 29, held for six months and severely tortured by named Western Cape Security Branch operatives in Cape Town. He was then charged with terrorism and held in custody while awaiting trial, before being sentenced to 15 years in prison. Two members of the Security Branch were granted amnesty for the torture (AC/1999/0027 and AC/1999/028).

FOROSI, Nomvuyiseko (17), an ANC supporter, lost her hearing in one ear after she was arrested and severely assaulted by members of the SAP in September 1977, for her alleged involvement in the murder of two of their colleagues. The incident took place during widespread arrests on the day of Steve Biko's funeral.

FORTEWU, Henry (46), an ANC supporter, was arrested in Hermanus, Cape Town, and severely beaten by named police during anti-Pass protests. He was detained for a month and later served three months' imprisonment.

FORTUIN, Bernard Gordon (14), died two days after being shot and injured by members of the SAP during protests in Elsies River, Cape, on 28 May 1980.

FOSTER, Anne, a domestic worker on a farm outside Paarl, Cape, was shot dead on 15 April 1986 during an armed robbery of the farmhouse by a small group of UDF supporters who sought to acquire weapons. A gardener was also shot dead in the attack. Three UDF supporters applied for amnesty for the killings and the robbery. Two applicants were granted amnesty for both acts. The applicant who had performed the shootings was refused amnesty for the killings and granted amnesty for the robbery (AC/1997/0038).

FOUCHE, Justin Julian, a civilian, was shot and injured when APLA operatives attacked the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town, on 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026).

FOURIE, (first name not given), suffered injuries when the armoured vehicle in which he was travelling drove over and detonated a landmine in Messina, Tvl, on 27 November 1985. The ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN was aimed at military patrols in the rural areas. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

FOUR YOUTHS, who were ANC supporters, were stabbed and injured by IFP supporters who stormed their house at Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991.

FOURIE, DC, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church

Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

FOURIE, Dries (55), had his home in Durban burnt down by IFP supporters on 25 June 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

FOURIE, J, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

FOURIE, Johannes Petrus, a member of the KwaNdebele Police, was shot dead by MK operatives in an ambush on his vehicle at Moteti in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 11 September 1987. His son was also killed. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/102).

FOURIE, Leonie (25), was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

FOURIE, Lindy-Anne (23), a civilian, was shot and killed when APLA operatives attacked the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town, on 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026).

FOURIE, Mark Dirk, was shot dead in an ambush by MK operatives in Moteti in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 11 September 1987. His father, a member of the KwaNdebele Police, was also killed. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/102).

FOURIE, Nicolas Cornelius, an AWB member, was killed by policemen in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 11 March 1994. Two other AWB members were killed in the BOPHUTHATSWANA INVASION. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0239).

FOURIE, RC, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

FOURIE, Roelof Johannes, a farmer, was shot and killed in an ambush by four members of APLA on his farm in Stormberg, Verkeerdevelei, OFS, on 12 February 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0297).

FOURIE, Wynand, a security guard, was shot and injured by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members at

the Giwi Breyton Construction compound in Evander, Tvl, on 6 July 1992. Another security guard was shot dead and two others were tied up. The SDU members, who sought to seize guns at the site, were engaged in clashes with the BLACK CATS in Ermelo, Tvl. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/19998/0121).

FRAIR, L, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

FRANCE, Thamsanqa Anderson (33), a UDF supporter, was beaten and stabbed by AZAPO members and AMAAFRIKA supporters during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, on 4 January 1987.

FRANCESCATO, Giovanni, was assaulted and shot dead during a robbery by APLA operatives at his home in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 6 September 1992. Three APLA members (who were acquitted of the murder and who applied for amnesty for the robbery alone) were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0251).

FRANCIS, Marie (58), was shot and injured by bullets fired from a passing train in Benoni, Tvl, on 20 February 1994. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

FRANKE, P, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

FRANS, Maigobe Jackson (55), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990 during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when police dispersed the crowd with tear gas and sjamboks.

FRANSCH, Anton (20), an MK operative, was killed in a hand grenade explosion on 17 November 1989 in Athlone, Cape Town. A large group of named police and soldiers surrounded the house and engaged in an exchange of fire with Mr Fransch throughout the night. It could not be determined whether his death was the result of a final act of suicide or from a police grenade.

FRANZSEN, Andrew Lategan, a civilian, was traumatised when APLA operatives opened fire on a vehicle travelling from Zastron to Sterkspruit in the OFS, on 18 March 1992. In the attack, one person was shot dead while he lay injured next to the car. Another was severely injured. Two managed to escape unhurt. See APLA ATTACKS and ZASTRON ROAD AMBUSH. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/148).

FREDDIE, Annah, suffered severe damage to her house and property as a result of a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

FREDERICKS, Hendrik (34), was injured in a shooting by named SAP members in Wolseley, Cape, on 24 November 1990. He was part of a legal protest against the opening of the new community centre by a minister in the tricameral parliament.

FREYSEN, CAR, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

FRIDIE, Abdul Karriem (29), was shot dead by a named SAP member in Athlone, on 17 October 1985, at a meeting to discuss the TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN. Police surrounded the venue and fired teargas and ammunition, hitting Mr Fridie in the stomach, leg and arm. The police claimed that they had been shot at by individuals at the meeting.

FRIEDMAN, Max, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

FROEHLICK, Jan (65), had his house set alight and most of the furniture destroyed in a stoning and petrol bomb attack by youths in Cradock, Cape, on 30 June 1985, allegedly because his son had joined the police force.

FRONEMAN, Willem Stephanus, was shot and killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) who robbed him of his vehicle in Germiston, Tvl, on 3 February 1993. His companion was shot and wounded. The perpetrators were allegedly seeking a vehicle in which to transport weapons. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0058).

FULA, Sam Thamsanqa, was one of a group of 26 men, alleged to be Poqo members, who were arrested in Victoria West, Cape, in April 1968, and held in detention for several months on charges of planning to poison the town's water supply in order to kill white residents. Mr Fula was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

FULANI, Aubrey Jacob, a member of the SAP, was burnt to death after being shot and abducted by 'comrades' in Uitenhage, Cape, on 28 April 1985. Mr Fulani's wife was forced to witness his killing. Six people were convicted of his murder.

FULANI, Nokuzola Carol-Anne (27), was forced to witness the killing of her husband, a policeman, after being abducted by 'comrades' from their home in Uitenhage, Cape, on 28 April 1985. Ms Fulani, who was pregnant at the time, pleaded to be killed with her husband, but the perpetrators took a vote to spare her.

FULANI, Rena Ntombexolo (21), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by named members of the SAP

and AMASOLOMZI vigilantes in Nqubela, Robertson, Cape, in 1986, during extensive unrest in the township at the time.

FULANI, Vuyani Wessley, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

FUMBA, Stanley Mbuzeli (24), was severely beaten by members of the SAP on his arrest and detention in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, on 14 May 1986, on charges of public violence. After being held in custody awaiting trial, he was convicted and served a prison term until his release in 1990.

FUMBA, Zwelibangile Jacob, was arrested and severely beaten in 1960 for burning Pass books during the anti-Pass Law campaign in Worcester, Cape. He was held for three months at a prison in Paarl, Cape.

FUMBATA, Fezile Marontjie (12), was shot in the stomach by members of the SAP in Uitenhage, Cape, on 10 April 1993, when police randomly opened fire on demonstrators following the killing of ANC/SACP/MK leader, Chris Hani.

FUNANI, Mthuthuzele Michael (19), an ANCYL supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP and SADF in Uitenhage, Cape, in 1985, while he was running away from a police Hippo during protests in the area.

FUNANI, Mzingiso, a PAC supporter, was arrested and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on Robben Island in December 1962, for the attempted killing of a local headman. While in Robben Island, he died of brain tumour.

FUNANI, Nokulunga, was seriously injured in a car-bomb explosion on 3 December 1988 in Lusaka, Zambia. A fellow passenger in the car – a member of an ANC security unit – was killed in the explosion.

FUNANI, Oupa Mathew (21), an MK operative, was killed on 22 July 1988 by SADF soldiers after he and a fellow operative crossed the border from Swaziland into South Africa. The SADF soldiers allegedly ordered them to run before opening fire, killing Mr Funani. The other operative was arrested.

FUNDA, Simon Ndindi (45), a SANCO chairperson, survived a hand grenade attack on his home during conflict between ANC and ADM supporters in King William's Town, Cape, on 18 October 1992.

FUNDE, Boy Zama Lennox (30), an AZAPO supporter, died from burns sustained in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters at his home in Red Location, Port Elizabeth, on 11 November 1986.

FUNQU, Bambaliphi (41), an iKONGO member, was tortured by members of the members of the SAP in the Bizana police station, Transkei, during the 1960 PONDOLAND REVOLT.

FUNQU, Cebisa Singelwa, was assaulted by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Her husband was a member of iKONGO.

FUNZI, Phindiwe Regina (40), a UDF supporter, had her home burnt down by 'comrades' in Uitenhage, Cape, in 1986 during political conflict in which one her relatives was accused of being a police collaborator. In March 1985, Ms Funzi had reportedly been shot and injured in the LANGA SHOOTINGS.

FUSAZA, Tolo Thobile (43), an IFP supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, in March 1992, allegedly because her sons were ANC supporters.

FUTSHANE, Lulama (21), a STEYCO supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Steynsburg, Cape, on 4 July 1990. One other youth was also shot dead in this incident.

FUTYANA, Phumzile William (16), an ANCYL member, died after he was shot by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 29 September 1991. He was going to the shop with a friend when police opened fire, allegedly without provocation.

FUTYANA, Phuthumile Wellington, was fatally stabbed by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Tvl, in July 1993 after being accused of being a 'com-tsotsi'.

FYNN, Arlene Theresa, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

GAANAKGOMO, Modisaemang John (25), was wrongfully arrested and severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Khuma, Stilfontein, Tvl, on 11 February 1986. The policemen allegedly believed Mr Gaanakgomo was an ANC member.

GAANAKGOMO, Ninife Jonas (28), was shot and injured in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 5 March 1993 as he was returning from the night vigil of an ANC member.

GAAREKWE, Matlakala Aletta, died in hospital after she was seriously injured when a hand grenade was thrown into a relative's house in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 28 April 1992 by ANC supporters because one of the family members was an IFP supporter. Her sister was killed in the explosion and her niece was seriously injured.

GABA, Lazarus, was burnt to death in Khutsong, Tvl, on 16 December 1991 by members of an ANC-aligned vigilante group in a revenge attack under the leadership of a well-known perpetrator.

GABA, Morris, was shot dead in Tembisa, Tvl, on 20 February 1993 while on his way to a rally in Benoni, allegedly by members of the SAP who opened fire on Mr Gaba and some colleagues at a roadblock. Four people were allegedly shot dead and about ten people were injured in this incident.

GABA, Siyakana, an ANC member, was hit by a police van when teargas made it impossible to see on 6 June 1960 at Flagstaff, Transkei. Mr Gaba was involved in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

GABELA, Aaron (83), was shot dead on 24 February 1993 in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

GABELA, Betty (59), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when IFP supporters attacked her home on 2 December 1992 at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal.

GABELA, Fana (6), was shot and injured in an attack on his home by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 December 1992, during political conflict. Six family members were killed and three injured in the attack. His father was a member of COSATU.

GABELA, Gula Joseph (55), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters while returning from work in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 12 June 1990.

GABELA, Jameson (65), a COSATU trade unionist, was shot dead when IFP supporters attacked his home with petrol bombs, grenades and gunfire at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 December 1992. His wife and four of his children were also killed in the attack. Three children survived with gunshot injuries.

GABELA, Jethro Bonginkosi, an ANC supporter, was killed at a bus stop in Richards Bay, Natal, on 28 March 1992, during political conflict in the area. In December 1992, his family home was attacked and burnt by IFP supporters.

GABELA, Khona (23), an ANC member, was ambushed and killed by *Vlakplaas* operatives and *askaris* in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 19 March 1992. Mr Gabela was one of Ms Winnie Madikezela-Mandela's bodyguards.

GABELA, Lindiwe (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when IFP supporters attacked her home at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 December 1992.

GABELA, Martina Thulisiwe (30), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 December 1992, during political conflict. Six family members were killed and three injured in the attack. Her father was a member of COSATU.

GABELA, Mooi (3), was shot and injured in an attack on her home by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 December 1992, during political conflict. Six family members were killed and three injured in the attack. Her father was a member of COSATU.

GABELA, Nokwazi, was shot dead in an attack on her home by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 December 1992, during political conflict. Six family members were killed and three injured in the attack. Her father was a member of COSATU.

GABELA, Nompilo (10), was shot and injured in an attack on her home by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 December 1992, during political conflict. Six family members were killed and three injured in the attack. Her father was a member of COSATU.

GABELA, Nozipho Daphney (16), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16

March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GABELA, Sibonelo Cyril, an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GABELA, Sipho Edwin (17), an ANC supporter, was tortured by named SAP members who put a tyre around his neck, stuck papers in the tyre and then set them alight, at Inchanga, Natal, on 24 June 1986.

GABELA, Skhumbuzo (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP at a bus stop at Matimalo, Greytown, Natal, on 4 May 1991. Mr Gabela, an ANC supporter, was shot while visiting family in an area considered out of bounds for ANC supporters.

GABELA, Thandekile Emgard (46), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an attack by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

GABELA, Thuli Martina (31), was attacked and severely assaulted by named CAPRIVI TRAINEES at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 9 January 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

GABELA, Zanele Doris (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 18 August 1992 at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg.

GABELA, Zebron (2), was shot dead and burnt when IFP supporters attacked his home at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 December 1992. Four other members of the family, which supported the ANC, were killed in the attack.

GABELA, Zinhle (7), was shot dead and burnt when IFP supporters attacked her home at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 December 1992. Four other members of the family, which supported the ANC, were killed in the attack.

GABO, Brenda, was one of four people abducted from home and severely assaulted with sjamboks and iron bars by a large crowd of ANC supporters at a sports stadium in Daveyton, Tvl, on 21 March 1992. Ms Gabo was suspected of collaborating with police. Two of the victims were burnt to death. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/048).

GABOUTLOELOE, Keresephe Patrick 'Gabs' (47), an ANC supporter, was tortured by members of the SAP at John Vorster Square in Johannesburg, in 1977. He was reportedly accused of helping to smuggle arms into South Africa.

GABUZA, Abednigo (63), an ANC supporter, was forced to flee his home in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in May 1989 to escape frequent harassment by Inkatha supporters. In his absence, his house was burnt down by named Inkatha members. His son died in the course of political conflict in the area.

GABUZA, Michael Nkosana (20), was beaten by members of the SAP and vigilantes in Robertson, Cape, on 24 November 1985, and held in custody for

three months. He was later convicted of public violence and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

GABUZA, Moses (39), a UDF supporter and trade union member, was found dead at Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1989 at a time of intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters. He had stab wounds and his head had been forced into a drain.

GADEBE, Malose William (49), lost his home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, in an arson attack by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

GADUKA, Boeang Palmer (20), a COSAS member and chairperson of the Ikageng Youth Congress, was tortured in detention in Krugersdorp, Tvl, in June 1986 and accused of having taken part in a necklace killing. Mr Gaduka was shot by a member of the SAP in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, on 30 April 1986 and detained for 27 days prior to a planned May Day rally.

GAENAKGANG, Taeco Elias (35), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by Bophuthatswana Police in Tsineng, Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, in 1989 and December 1991. Mr Gaenakgang was detained for supporting Bophuthatswana's reincorporation into South Africa.

GAGA, Headman Mbuso (55), a NUMSA member, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 23 May 1991.

GAGANE, Rubby, was arrested and beaten repeatedly on the head with a gun by members of the SAP in 1989. He was detained at Coligny, and then at Lichtenberg, Tvl, for eight months on suspicion of leading political activity at Matlape Higher Primary School although he was not a pupil there.

GAGILE, Lahliwe (44), had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in November 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

GAIKA, Eurice Nomalungelo (40), was shot and injured in Guguletu, Cape Town, in 1976, when members of the police opened fire on a crowd marching to demand the release of children detained during the SOWETO UPRISING. Police gave the crowd one minute to disperse before they opened fire.

GALANE, John Kontso (39), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Klerksdorp, Tvl, in June 1986.

GALAWE, Letshego Patrick 'Andy' (20), was injured by a rubber bullet, arrested and severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Colesberg, Cape, on 3 July 1985. Four youths were shot dead by police that day and many arrested and assaulted.

GALAWENI, John Matatana (40), a UDF supporter, was shot dead in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 9 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

GALAWENI, Notayini Nomangesi (45), a UDF supporter, lost her home in KTC, Cape Town, on 9 June

1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Ms Galaweni's husband was killed in the attack.

GALEBOE, Taule Moreo (38), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990 during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when police dispersed the crowd with tear gas and sjamboks.

GALELA, Champion, a member of PEBCO, and two colleagues, were abducted from the Port Elizabeth airport in a joint Eastern Cape and *Vlakplaas* operation on 8 May 1985. The PEBCO THREE were allegedly severely assaulted, then shot dead. Their bodies were doused with diesel fuel, set alight and burnt, and their remains were allegedly thrown into the Fish River. Five Eastern Cape Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, and four *Vlakplaas* operatives applied for amnesty. Two of the applications were granted and six were refused (AC/1999/0223 and AC/2001/064).

GALELA, Himilton Piyose, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 September 1990. IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC-supporting residents who followed them and trapped them in Hostel No 3. The SAP and SADF were summoned and shots were fired at residents by IFP supporters inside the hostel and security forces outside. A total of 42 people were killed, four of them by security forces.

GALELA, Lendiso Richard Ndumo (35), a PAC member, was detained and severely beaten in Roeland Street prison, Cape Town, in 1961. He was given an 18-month prison sentence for his PAC membership and was severely beaten by prison warders while on Robben Island. He fled to Zimbabwe after his release.

GALELA, Zuko (22), a UDF supporter, was tortured in detention by named members of the Security Branch at Fleet Street police station, East London, in August 1985. Mr Galela was also detained at Cambridge police station, East London, in June 1986 under emergency regulations.

GALENG, Goatlotsemang Hoffman (35), chairperson of the Northern Cape UDF, survived arson, stoning and firearm attacks by SAP and A-TEAM vigilantes on his home in November 1985. Mr Galeng was detained and tortured in Johannesburg, in January 1986.

GALI, Nondim (38), a SANCO member, lost her home in an arson attack in Crossroads, Cape Town, in 1993, during attempts by a named Crossroads leader to remove residents in Section 2 by force.

GALLANT, Reuben Selebogo (20), an ANCYL member, lost an eye after being shot at close range with a teargas canister by a named SAP member in Herbert, Cape, on 9 November 1990. Mr Gallant was then beaten by policemen on his way to hospital.

GAMA, Kenneth Sibusiso (20), was hit on the head with a gun butt and suffered extensive bruising and injuries after being assaulted by members of the ISU in Katlehong, Tvl, on 4 November 1993. Mr Gama's brother had been tortured and shot dead by the ISU a month earlier.

GAMA, Mondli Rudolph (22), an ANC supporter, was abducted and shot dead by SAP members at Umlazi, Durban, on 1 October 1993.

GAMA, Mtetonzima Alfred (19), was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, on 18 May 1986, during a march by UDF supporters on a hostel occupied by AZAPO supporters. At the time there was violent conflict between AZAPO and the UDF in Mbekweni.

GAMA, Nelson Ntethe (30), an ANC supporter, lost an eye after being attacked with a bottle by a named perpetrator on 31 July 1992 during political conflict in Alexandra, Johannesburg.

GAMA, Nkosinathi, was severely assaulted, tortured and then allegedly shot dead by members of the ISU who took him into custody on 1 October 1993 while he was on his way to a night vigil in Katilehong, Tvl.

GAMA, Nomvula Zonke, was shot and injured by an IFP supporter in Johannesburg, on 1 September 1991. The perpetrator was returning from an IFP rally at the Jabulani stadium, Soweto, Johannesburg.

GAMA, Thamasanqa, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 28 June 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Mr Gama's brother was shot dead, his mother injured and his home burnt down in this attack.

GAMA, Thandele Joshua (60), was shot and stabbed by a named ANC supporter and others in Umlazi, Durban, in August 1985, during widespread political conflict following the killing of UDF leader, Victoria Mxenge.

GAMBUSHE, Duncan Sibongiseni (16), an ANC supporter, was beaten and severely injured by an IFP supporter at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in November 1993.

GAMBUSHE, Florence Nomzamo (53), was shot dead in her home at Shobashobane, near Port Shepstone, Natal, by an IFP supporter on 13 December 1993. Ms Gambushe had been an IFP local secretary but had resigned because her son was an ANC combatant in hiding.

GAMBUSHE, Ntombilezi G, an ANC supporter, was killed in an unspecified manner by an Inkatha-supporting hit squad in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 March 1990. Eleven people died in three days when Inkatha supporters, led by a prominent chief, attacked ANC-supporting homes in the Mahwaqa area.

GAMEDE, Beauty Delisile (16), was beaten and severely injured by IFP supporters in her home near Bergville, Natal, on 2 February 1992. IFP supporters were allegedly going from house to house forcing people to attend an IFP rally.

GAMEDE, Fana Richard (17), an ANC supporter, was abducted together with his sister by named IFP supporters in Ladysmith, Natal, on 20 February 1994. He was later shot dead in front of her.

GAMEDE, Nompumelelo (14), an ANC supporter, was abducted along with her brother by named IFP

supporters as they were walking to a shop in Ladysmith, Natal, on 20 February 1994. She was then forced to watch as her brother was shot dead.

GAMEDE, Thembinkosi Tetete, was shot dead on 28 October 1992 in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GAMENDE, Isaac Mzikayifani, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

GAMPI, Maxanjana John, a member of a Crossroads committee led by Mr Memani, was one of seven men killed in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 11 April 1983, by supporters of an opposing committee led by Mr Ngxobongwana, during conflict arising from the struggle for housing.

GAMTELA, Nomabulu Princess (49), an ANC supporter, had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 30 April 1994, in political conflict following the first democratic election.

GAMZANA, Qhama (15), was shot when ADM supporters attacked his home during political conflict at King William's Town, Cape, on 21 January 1994.

GAMZANA, Sylvia Nolundi (38), was shot and injured by named ADM supporters during political conflict in King William's Town, Cape, on 21 January 1994.

GAMZANA, Zangezile John (41), was hit by shrapnel when hand grenades were thrown into his house by ADM supporters during political conflict in King William's Town, Cape, on 21 January 1994.

GANCA, Siganda Lawrence (54), lost his home and belongings in KTC, Cape Town, on 9 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

GANDA, Shadrack (18), a SASM member, was detained and tortured in various ways and on various occasions in 1976 and 1977 by named members of the SAP in East London.

GANGALA, Diliza (10), was beaten to death by members of the SAP in a random assault on commuters during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT in Ciskei on 3 December 1974.

GANGATHELA, Bhalisile Welcome (33), was kicked and beaten with a baton by a member of the SAP on 23 March 1990 while detained at the East London prison during unrest in the area.

GANGATHELE, Daniel (77), was injured while trying to run away when members of the SAP fired teargas into a church during a service in Bongolethu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, in July 1987.

GANGCA, Monde Heston (22), was stabbed to death by AZAPO members while walking with friends in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth on 25 May 1985 during conflict between UDF and AZAPO supporters in the area.

GANGQA, Nomutle Virginia (58), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named ADM member in King William's Town, Cape, on 24 April 1993 during political conflict over the reimposition of the headman system.

GANGQA, Patrick Sikhumbuzo (32), an ANC supporter, was stripped naked and beaten by members of the CDF and ADM at King William's Town, Cape, in 1992, allegedly because of his opposition to the reimposition of the headman system.

GANJANA, Solomon Ntobeko Koko, lost his home and belongings in an arson attack in Nyanga Extension, near Crossroads, Cape Town, in May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

GANTA, Mutana (65), had his business and vehicles set alight by members of the 'Zim-Zim' faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC) and members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, during 1991. The SAP took advantage of the internal conflict in the KYC and used one faction of the organisation against the other. This resulted in the deaths of at least 17 people before a peace deal was brokered in May 1991.

GANTA, Vuyiswa Ann (34), had her property damaged in 1991 when ANC-aligned members of the KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS split into two factions in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl. The 'Zim-Zim' faction attacked the home during conflict with the 'Gaddafi' faction.

GANTOLO, Malungisa Big-Boy (20), a student activist, was shot and injured and then detained by a named member of the SAP in Burgersdorp, Cape, on 12 October 1985.

GANYA, Dlevalile John (42), a PAC supporter, was detained, severely beaten and deprived of medical treatment in Pietermaritzburg, on 7 November 1977. Mr Ganya had been arrested and tortured frequently since 1963 because of his political affiliation.

GANYA, Siyolo Sisa Lungelo (37), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 11 August 1996, during political conflict.

GAOBUSE, Olebogeng Samuel (18), was whipped with a sjambok by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Motsweding, Bophuthatswana, on 21 November 1993. Mr Goebese was arrested while participating in a march to hand over a memorandum to the chief.

GARNET-BENNET, (first name not given), was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

GASA, Beatrice (46), an Inkatha supporter, had her house attacked by ANC supporters at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 17 February 1990. Her husband was killed in the attack.

GASA, Bonowakhe William (31), a prominent UDF official, was shot and left to die in a cornfield at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on

6 January 1990. His four attackers, including a Special Constable, a member of the SAP and an employee of the KwaZulu Government, were seen leaving the home of a local Inkatha leader before the attack.

GASA, Dabukeleni Arosia (55), an ANC supporter, had her home in Pietermaritzburg burnt down on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

GASA, Daniel Mfanafuthi, a UDF supporter, was shot and killed when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

GASA, David Sponono (57), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by named Inkatha supporters and members of the SAP at Umlazi, Durban, on 11 August 1985. The incident took place after Mr Gasa had made a press statement mentioning the name of the person who led the attack on Victoria Mxenge's funeral service, where 17 people died.

GASA, Emmanuel Bongani (aka 'Martin') (26), an MK operative from Amanzimtoti, Natal, was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* operatives in Swaziland on 12 June 1988 after he and a fellow operative had escorted four MK operatives to the South African border. Mr Gasa's car was set alight and his body burnt. Mr Gasa's companion survived the ambush. The four MK operatives escorted to the border were shot dead later on the same night in an ambush by *Vlakplaas* and Eastern Transvaal Security Branch operatives near Piet Retief, Tvl.

GASA, Goodness Delile (36), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 May 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

GASA, Gotiza Annastasia (47), an ANC supporter, had her house set alight by IFP supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, in 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

GASA, Mabhinini Mabbie (50), an ANC supporter, had her house at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 24 October 1986. One family member was shot and stabbed to death during this attack.

GASA, Muntu, IFP supporter, was killed by unidentified persons at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1991, allegedly because he had information about Caprivi-trained people.

GASA, Mzini Elliot (29), an ANC supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by named members of the Security Branch at John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg, in April 1977, while he was under interrogation about banned literature in his possession. He was then imprisoned on Robben Island, Cape Town, for one year.

GASA, Ngidleni (53), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Wartburg, Natal, on 28 January 1990, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

GASA, Phillip Muzikayise (48), an Inkatha councillor, was stabbed to death when ANC supporters attacked his house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 17 February 1990.

GASA, Phumezweni Christopher (43), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death in an attack on his home at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, by Inkatha supporters on 24 October 1986. Their house was burnt down in the attack.

GASA, Sweetness Mana (30), had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1992 in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

GASA, Thembinkosi Jonathan (40), an Inkatha supporter, lost his house, shop, and vehicle in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 1 November 1988 in an internal feud in the organisation.

GASEALAHWE, Lentikile Joseph (37), an ANC supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police in Pudimoe, Bophuthatswana, on 9 April 1990 while attending a community mass meeting.

GASEBUE, Monamodi Sylvester (20), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named perpetrators in Huhudi, near Vryburg, Tvl, on 25 November 1987 while attending a meeting with fellow 'comrades'.

GASEKOMA, Orateng (73), a member of CONTRALESA, was tortured by Bophuthatswana Police while in detention in September 1993 in Pudimoe, Bophuthatswana, allegedly because he was opposed to the former Bophuthatswana government.

GASELA, Legina (59), an IFP supporter, had her house in Richmond, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 16 August 1991, because her son was a prominent member of the IFP.

GASELA, Ntombizanele (40), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 15 March 1993. At least 18 people were killed in political violence in Bhambayi in March 1993. Seventy-five homes were burnt down. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

GASELA, Phoyisa (30), was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

GASELA, Thamsanqa Francis (37), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 16 August 1991.

GATITE, John Weli, was killed by Inkatha supporters in Newcastle, Natal, on 22 April 1990, in political conflict in the area.

GAVU, Gugulethu Mzwabantu, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985, when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

GAVU, Mavis Busisiwe (35), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Kwa-Makhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 1 July 1992.

GAWU, Bannie Anton (18), an ANC member, disappeared from Port Elizabeth in 1980. He was a

student at St Joseph's Catholic School. He is believed to have been killed in an ANC CAMP in Luanda, Angola.

GAWULA, Buyisile (21), was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

GAYI, Vuyo Newell (33), was severely assaulted with batons by members of the SADF in Uitenhage, Cape, in 1985, while he was walking home with friends, allegedly breaking a curfew during the state of emergency.

GAZU, Gugu Clarice (17), had her home and possessions burnt in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1989 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

GAZU, Jacob Themba (30), a UDF supporter, was severely injured after being stabbed and set alight by other UDF supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 8 May 1987. The perpetrators had accused Mr Gazu of being a spy.

GAZU, Silomo Shadrack, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) on patrol in Boipatong, Tvl, on 28 January 1993. He was assaulted, stabbed, and then set alight after paraffin was poured over him. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/079).

GAZULA, Nanabezi, an IKONGO member, was detained for four years from 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. While in detention, he was tortured.

GCABA, Andreas Bhekani (21), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by named IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 18 December 1991. Earlier that year, on 6 May 1991, Mr Gcaba lost his home in Okhalweni, Palm Beach, Natal, in an arson attack by IFP supporters.

GCABA, Delani Richard, was one of six passengers shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Eight other passengers were injured. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK.

GCABA, Gladys Tholakele (24), had her home set alight by a named IFP supporter during political conflict at Nkulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in April 1994.

GCABA, Josephina Mamo (57), an IFP supporter, fled with her family from their home in KwaNkulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, after it was burnt down by IFP supporters on 9 April 1991, during intense political conflict in the area.

GCABA, Simon (35), an ANC supporter, had his home and possessions burnt in an arson attack by IFP supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, in April 1991.

GCABA, Zakhele Jerome (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by unidentified persons in a pre-dawn attack on a home in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 April 1993. See MURCHISON ATTACKS.

GCABA, Zakhele, was shot dead by an IFP supporter while sleeping in his home in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 November 1993. Mr Gcaba's father-in-law and brother-in-law were also killed in the attack, which was part of ongoing political conflict.

GCABA, Zebon Veni (42), was stabbed and injured by named IFP supporters in Bhomela, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 December 1990. Allegedly he did not attend IFP meetings and was thought to be an ANC supporter.

GCABA, Zibuyile Busisiwe (39), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GCABASHE, Bheki, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named Inkatha members at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 April 1988, in intense political conflict in the area.

GCABASHE, Busani, was shot dead when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

GCABASHE, Mpoloza, was shot dead by named ANC supporters in KwaNyavu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 31 January 1990 on suspicion of being an Inkatha supporter.

GCABASHE, Nokwazi Rose, had her home at KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 14 November 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Twenty-one houses belonging to ANC supporters were burnt down in the attack.

GCABASHE, Petros Vusumuzi (37), was shot and hacked to death on 3 January 1991 at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, when Inkatha supporters attacked a group of 20 people at his home. Seven other people were killed and one seriously injured in this attack.

GCABASHE, Sizwe Reginald (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and hacked to death, and his body mutilated, by IFP supporters in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in 1993. This occurred in a period in which local councillors were allegedly coercing all young people to join the IFP, and killing those who refused.

GCADO, Samson Sifo, had his home burnt down in 1993 during efforts by a named Crossroads leader to remove certain residents in Crossroads, Cape Town, by force.

GCAGCISO, Thobeka Deborah (21), an ANC supporter, was arrested in Somerset East, Cape, in 1985 on a charge of stone-throwing. She was pregnant at the time of her arrest.

GCALEKA, Lizwi Stanley (14), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Umvoti, near Stanger, Natal, on 9 April 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the first democratic election on 27 April.

GCANGA, Nosiphiwo, was severely beaten on 1 January 1990 during political conflict at Sterkspruit, Transkei.

GCANGA, Solani (19), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten and tortured by named members of the SAP and Special Branch in Colesberg, Cape, on 3 July 1985, after he was arrested during a day of widespread protest.

GCAYIYA, Mpendalelwa, was detained at the Bizana police station, Transkei, in 1960, on suspicion of harbouring terrorists in his home. During his detention, Mr Gcayiya was assaulted. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

GCINA, Cikizwa Ivy (49), PEWO chairperson and ANC supporter, was severely tortured by beating and suffocation by named members of the Security Police in Port Elizabeth during the state of emergency in July 1985. She was again detained from June 1986 to June 1987. A former Security Police agent was refused amnesty for the petrol-bombing of her home during the 1980s (AC/2000/239). See POLICE BRUTALITY.

GCINA, Sibiya, was made to lie on the ground and was then killed 'execution style' with two others on 19 June 1992 in Umlazi, Durban, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GCINISA, Richard (18), an ANC supporter, was shot in the head with rubber bullets by members of the SAP during protests in Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, on 22 August 1985. See ALIWAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

GCOLOTELA, Gcinikhaya Samson (19), was arrested during student protests in Worcester, Cape, in May 1980, and was beaten by police while in custody for two weeks. Later that month he was shot and seriously injured by a named private farmer who served in the SADF, while fleeing a clash between students and police in Zolani, Ashton, Cape.

GCOTYANA, Sakhumzi 'Zintsi' (20), was arrested in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 16 June 1986, and detained for three months under emergency regulations. Mr Gcotyana had allegedly been assaulted the previous month at Da Gamas Kop police station. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

GCUMISA, Khetiwe Annatoria (49), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Wartburg, Natal, on 26 November 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

GCUMISA, Mandlakayise (61), was shot dead by ANC supporters in Wartburg, Natal, on 26 November 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area. In the attack his home was also burnt down.

GCUMISA, Zipathe, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 October 1991.

GCWENSA, Alzinah (47), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

GEBASHE, Vusi Emmanuel (29), a SAYCO member, was repeatedly detained under emergency regulations in 1989 and incarcerated in the CR Swart Square and Brighton Beach police stations in Durban. During his detention he was severely beaten and tortured by

members of the SAP and the Security Branch, requiring hospitalisation on numerous occasions.

GEBE, Nobamba, an ANC supporter, was detained for two years from March 1960 by members of the SAP in Kokstad, Natal, for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

GECWA, Nozisa Florence (33), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

GEGE, Zukiswa Cynthia (18), an ANC supporter, was shot in the leg by members of the CDF in Dimbaza, Ciskei, on 19 September 1992 during conflict that followed the BISHO MASSACRE. Ms Gege's home was also burnt down.

GEHLING, Sydney, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) fleeing from a roadblock in Dawn Park, Germiston, Tvl, on 29 October 1992. Another civilian was shot dead in the incident. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/197 and AC/2000/139).

GELDENHUIS, Harry, was arrested and tortured in Mamelodi, Pretoria, in 1986 for not being able to provide members of the SAP with information regarding the disappearance of his brother.

GELDENHUYS, Abram Harry (aka 'Rooibaard') (15 or 19), a COSAS member, was recruited for military training by a Security Branch agent purporting to be an MK operative, and was killed in the NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH near the Botswana border on 26 June 1986. Eight operatives from SADF Special Forces, Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/0190; AC/1999/0192; AC/1999/0194; AC/1999/0031; AC/1999/0188; AC/1999/0030 and AC/1999/0197).

GELDENHUYS, Marina (19), was severely injured and badly scarred when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

GEMA, Mayvis Sibongile (33), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters at Ixopo, Natal, on 27 March 1992, in continuing political conflict in the area.

GENTE, Sandra Glyn, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

GENU, Benjamin Bafana, was shot and killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were

granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

GEOFFREYS, Timothy Colin (20), a SASO member, was severely assaulted while being interrogated by members of the SAP and the Security Branch at Somseu Road police station and Durban Central Prison respectively, in 1973. Mr Geoffreys was again detained, with many other activists, at a mass rally organised by BPC/SASO members at Curries Fountain in Durban, in support of Frelimo.

GEORGE, Andile Gideon (16), a youth congress executive member, was detained because of his political activities in Humansdorp, Cape, in January 1986. In detention, he was assaulted and tortured with electric shocks and attempted suffocation, allegedly by members of the SADF.

GEORGE, Bangani Godfrey (20), an ANC supporter and member of the Mangaung Youth Congress, was detained and severely tortured by members of the Bloemfontein Security Branch in 1986.

GEORGE, Gladstone Andile (13), was shot and detained for three weeks by members of the SAP police in Richmond, Cape, in 1985, during a period of political protest.

GEORGE, Nontozakhe May (25), an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Somerset East, Cape, in 1985, during a boycott and unrest in the area.

GEORGE, Samson Xolisani, an MK member, was shot by UNITA soldiers in an ambush in Angola in 1988. MK soldiers based in Angola assisted the FAPLA forces of the ruling MPLA government in its war against UNITA, which was assisted by the South African government. 1987-8 saw particularly fierce fighting, in which a number of MK soldiers were killed in combat, often in ambushes laid by UNITA.

GEORGE, Shadrack, an *iKongo* supporter, was executed in Pretoria on 21 March 1962 for his alleged role in the killing of Chief Vukayibambe Sigcau and two of his headmen during the 1960 PONDOLAND REVOLT.

GEORGE, Thembelakhe, was beaten to death by members of the SAP during consumer boycotts in Ginsberg, Cape, on 16 August 1985.

GEORGE, Thozamile (28), an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Somerset East, Cape, in 1985, during a boycott and unrest in the area.

GERBER, Theunis Johannes, a member of the SAP, was shot dead by a captured MK operative being transported in the back of a police vehicle in Messina, Tvl, on 26 December 1986. A colleague was also shot dead in the incident. The MK operative escaped, was recaptured and sentenced to death, but was later released as a political prisoner. The MK operative was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/093).

GERBER, Wyle, an SAP member, was shot dead, together with a colleague, by a captured MK operative whom they were transporting in the back of their vehicle in Messina, Tvl, on 26 December 1986. The MK operative escaped, was recaptured and sentenced

to death, but was later released as a political prisoner. He was granted amnesty for the killing.

GERMISHUIZEN, Cornelia Johanna, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

GERRARD (OOSTHUIZEN), Marchelle Cheryl (28), was severely injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

GERTSE, Jan 'Outjie' (20), lost his sight after he was shot by members of the SAP in Ashton, Cape, in July 1990 during a protest march for the opening of public facilities to all races.

GETYESIE, David Dayi (36), was shot and injured in Tembisa, Tvl, in April 1992 during an attack by IFP supporters. In the early 1990s several Transvaal townships were embroiled in political conflict between the ANC and IFP.

GETYESIE, Livuyo (3), died when he was thrown against a wall by alleged IFP supporters in Vusumuzi hostel, Tembisa, Tvl, in March 1992 during conflict in the area between ANC and IFP supporters.

GETYEZA, Mncanyalwa Ernest (40), an ANC supporter, was injured in a shooting in Umlazi, Durban, on 23 June 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

GEWENSA, Hloniphile (23), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

GEYSER, John, a gardener on a farm outside Paarl, Cape, was shot dead on 15 April 1986 during an armed robbery of the farmhouse by a small group of UDF supporters who sought to acquire weapons. A domestic worker was also shot dead in the attack. Three UDF supporters applied for amnesty for the killings and the robbery. Two applicants were granted amnesty for both acts. The applicant who had performed the shootings was refused amnesty for the killings and granted for the robbery (AC/1997/0038).

GEZA, Lucky Mishack (24), was shot dead by an Inkatha supporter in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 16 October 1988, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

GHOSA, Desiree Veronica (21), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Atlantis, Cape, on 17 September 1985, during a rent boycott.

GIANINI, (first name not given), was assaulted and robbed by IFP members at Verwoerdburg, Pretoria, on 24 March 1991. His wife was also a victim in this incident. One IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/226).

GIANINI, Ms (first names not given), was assaulted and robbed by an Inkatha supporter at Verwoerdburg, near Pretoria, on 24 March 1991. One person was granted amnesty (AC/2000/226).

GIBBINGS, Kevin Noil, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on

14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

GIBBINGS, Kim Patrick, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

GIBE, Mongezi Mosset (50), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

GIDDY, B, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

GIDIMANA, Fonjana (33), a PAC supporter, was arrested and sentenced to nine years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town, in 1963, after conflict with the local headmen in Upper Qitsi location, Cofimvaba, Transkei.

GIE, Janet, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

GIGABA, Ambrose Thulani (40), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1992.

GIGABA, John, an ANC supporter, was shot by Inkatha supporters at Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 February 1990.

GIGABA, Kholekile (40), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP who were assisting the local council to demolish shacks in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl on 11 July 1990.

GIGABA, Lungu Dominick (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters on 13 January 1990 in the MngomeZulu area, near Port Shepstone, Natal.

GIGI, Ntomontomo (aka 'Zwelindaba Gova') (42), an ANC member from Engcobo, Transkei, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

GIJA, Vuyisile Victor (59), an ANC supporter, died after being stabbed and shot by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 April 1991.

GIJIMA, Mnyamezeli (47), was severely harassed, assaulted with a gun, arrested on a number of occasions and had his house burnt down by SAP and

Inkatha supporters at Ezimbokodweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1986. Mr Gijima had refused to join Inkatha.

GILAU, Gert Cornelius Johannes, an employee of the South African Railway Services, was shot at by two MK operatives who were attempting to rob him of his vehicle, at Cordelfos railway station in Pretoria, on 9 January 1990. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/081).

GILBERT, George Oupa (18), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, on 27 July 1986.

GINA, Bernard (29), was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in the area.

GINA, Cebile Irine (32), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by an IFP supporter in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 25 June 1991.

GINA, Ethel Fikile (37), a UDF supporter, was intimidated and forced by Inkatha supporters to leave her house in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, in August 1984 during intense conflict between JORAC and Inkatha supporters over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu.

GINA, Fikile, was shot on 28 November 1993, when IFP supporters from Ndabayakhe opened fire on ANC supporters attending a cultural ceremony at Iniwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Eight people, including two children, believed to be ANC supporters, were killed.

GINA, John (59), was shot dead by an ANC supporter at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 February 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

GINA, Johnson Myengeni (68), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by an ANC supporter in Empangeni, Natal, on 26 April 1994, the day before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

GINA, Mbengeza (71), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 November 1993. About five political killings were recorded at Bhambayi that day, in retaliatory attacks by both IFP and ANC supporters.

GININDA, Zodwa, an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in KaNyamazane, KaNgwane, on 16 June 1986 during a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING.

GINYA, Tebogo Aaron (22), was severely beaten by IFP supporters while travelling on a train in Johannesburg, on 3 July 1993. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

GIOSE, Gerald Herman (32), an MK operative, was detained and harassed by Security Police in Cape Town, in 1963. He then tried to leave South Africa but was arrested on a Sweden-bound ship in Walvis Bay, Namibia. After refusing to give evidence against his fellow ANC members, Mr Giose was severely beaten and tortured in Cape Town. His incarceration and torture resulted in a severe mental breakdown and several years in a psychiatric hospital.

GIQI, Simon, lost his home in an arson attack by iKONGO members in Bizana in 1960. The *iKongo* accused him of supporting tribal authorities during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

GISHI, Elsie Liziwe (51), was shot and injured by SAP members in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976. The shooting took place during political conflict, over the Christmas 1976 period, between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels. Her husband was killed in the conflict that day.

GISHI, Jackson (67), was beaten to death in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, when he was attacked outside his home by migrant workers from the hostels. Political differences between Nyanga residents and the hostel-dwellers escalated into conflict over the Christmas 1976 period.

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

GIWU, Jostinah 'Tina' (68), was severely beaten by members of the SAP who burst into her home while on patrol in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 2 October 1985. She and her two teenage granddaughters were sjambokked.

GIWU, Nomvuzo Grace (15), was severely beaten by members of the SAP who burst into her home while on patrol in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 2 October 1985. She was sjambokked, together with her sister and her grandmother.

GIYO, Sibidiyela, an iKONGO member, was assaulted with iron bars by members of the SAP on 7 June 1960 in Flagstaff, Transkei, in the aftermath of the NGQUZA HILL massacre. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

GLABA, Nomusa Badingile (45), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GOBA, Bongani Selby, a UDF supporter, was abducted from his home at Inanda New Town, Durban, and stabbed to death on 17 September 1988 by AMABUTHO members, during a campaign to force residents to pay a R5 self-defence fee.

GOBA, John (37), was severely injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

GOBA, Mzwamandla (43), a police reservist, died of multiple stab wounds in Umlazi, Durban, on 8 July 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. He was repeatedly harassed and accused of being a UDF supporter, and his sons *amaqabane*.

GOBINGCA, Bhabha Nonyaniso Trusma (39), was shot and injured in the mouth in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 6 September 1989, by persons linked to the

Lingeletu West Town Council. Ms Gobingca was attacked because of her husband's involvement in a local leadership conflict.

GOBINGCA, Prince Nkosekhaya (33), a former WITDOEKE vigilante leader, lost his home in 1987 and 1990 in arson attacks launched by his former political allies in Crossroads and Khayelitsha, Cape Town, respectively. He was shot and injured in the 1987 attack. He was also the target of a shooting attack on his Khayelitsha home on 6 September 1989 by persons linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council. His mother-in-law was killed and his wife injured in this attack.

GOBIZEMBE, Albertina Nombuyiselo Pamini (18), an AZAPO member, was severely assaulted when UDF supporters attacked an AZAPO meeting in Port Alfred, Cape, in June 1985.

GOBIZEMBE, David (30), an exiled ANC member, was shot and stabbed by MK members during a mutiny in a military camp in Zimbabwe in 1984.

GOBODO, Gordon, an ANC supporter, was stoned and fatally stabbed, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Vosloorus, Tvl, in August 1991.

GODANA, Mzingaye Joseph (43), a NUM supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP during political conflict in Stutterheim, Cape, on 13 January 1986.

GODDA, Rose, was beaten with knobkerries and later hacked and stabbed to death with *pangas* and spears by Inkatha supporters near Merafe station in Soweto, Johannesburg, in September 1989. She worked in a factory where there was conflict between the Inkatha-aligned UWUSA and COSATU-aligned NUMSA unions.

GODLIMPI, Robert, was severely assaulted on 19 March 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, after addressing people at a meeting in Isikelo Village about the advantages of Transkei being a self-governing state.

GODOLA, Samson (27), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Cookhouse, Cape, on 12 August 1988 during the state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

GODOLA, Xolile Simon Magaqa (36), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a named member of the SAP in Cwaka Street, Cookhouse, Cape, in 1989. In July 1985, Mr Godola had been arrested and detained for three months, allegedly for being in possession of a firearm.

GODOLOZI, Qaqawuli (29), a member of PEBCO, and two colleagues, were abducted from the Port Elizabeth airport in a joint Eastern Cape and *Vlakplaas* operation on 8 May 1985. The PEBCO THREE were allegedly severely assaulted, then shot dead. Their bodies were doused with diesel fuel, set alight and burnt, and their remains were allegedly thrown into the Fish River. Five Eastern Cape Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, and four *Vlakplaas* operatives applied for amnesty. Two of the applications were granted and six were refused (AC/1999/0223 and AC/2001/064).

GOGA, Temba, was killed on 15 October 1992 after he was thrown out of a moving train near Mlamlakunzi station, Soweto, Johannesburg, by perpetrators allegedly linked to the IFP. Two people were killed in the attack and eight were wounded. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

GOGGE, Tiko Juditha (67), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 April 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

GOGO, Bongokwakhe Moses (33), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 3 January 1991 when Inkatha supporters attacked a group of about 20 people at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg. Eight people were killed and one was seriously injured.

GOGO, Saraphina (54), lost her house in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in the area.

GOGOLA, Sipo Michael (46), was tortured by members of the Security Police, through attempted suffocation and electric shocks, while he was in detention in Port Elizabeth on 5 August 1986.

GOGWANA, Thozamile Tony (18), was tortured by named members of the Security Police in Port Elizabeth in May 1980. He was charged with the murder a member of the PEACEMAKERS during a student boycott in Grahamstown. Mr Gogwana was acquitted because he was a minor.

GOITSIMANG, Patrick Olebile, was shot and killed by members of the AWB on 12 December 1993 at an illegal roadblock set up outside Ventersdorp, Tvl. Four people, including two children, were killed in the attack. Eight AWB members were refused amnesty and one was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0045). See RODORA ROADBLOCK KILLINGS.

GOJE, Johannes Matshediso (34), was shot dead by the police in Boshof, OFS, on 18 March 1990, when police opened fire on protesters during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT that enjoyed strong community support.

GOJI, Grace (67), had her home burnt down in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Durban in 1991.

GOLA, Thobani (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

GOLA, Tyhileka Evelyn (19), an ANC supporter, was shot in the arm and head by members of the SAP in Nemato, Port Alfred, Cape, on 16 November 1984, while attending the funeral of a victim of political unrest. She was then detained, charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

GOLACH, Max, an SAP member, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

GOLD, Mckenna, was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

GOLDBERG, EB, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

GOLIATH, Patricia Phyllis Vissie (38), an ANC supporter, was shot in the back of the head by named member of the SAP in Port Alfred, Cape, in 1993, while she was on her way to a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING.

GOLIATH, Shadrack Mzimkhulu, a student, was shot and killed by members of the SAP at Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 8 January 1986 during a school and rent boycott.

GOLIATH, Victor (23), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP during boycotts in Somerset East, Cape, in 1985.

GOLSCHALK, MBE, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

GOM, Mawonga (15), was repeatedly detained and tortured between 1982 and 1986 at Mdantsane and Fort Jackson police stations in Ciskei. On one occasion, named members of the SAP bound his hands and feet and used a tyre tube to suffocate him. Mawonga played an active role in the resistance to the Ciskei government.

GOMANI, Dorothy Nosisi (36), was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Zwelitsha, Ciskei, in August 1985 during the funeral of UDF leader, Victoria Mxenge.

GOMBA, Headman Mthuthuzeli (18), was detained and tortured by members of the Ciskei Police at Bulhoek police station, Whittlesea, Ciskei, in September 1985.

GOMBA, Mninawa Richard (24), was blinded in one eye after he was shot by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 12 August 1985.

GOMBA, Wellington (48), a UDF activist, was detained repeatedly from September 1985 in Hewu, Ciskei. In detention, he was assaulted by members of the Ciskei Police and, on one occasion, charged with public violence.

GOMES, CM, was severely injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

GOMFA, Agha Ernest (36), was shot dead by a member of the SAP and another named perpetrator in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, on 10 June 1990, while he was passing a COUNCILLOR's house. Mr Gomfa had reportedly refused to paint the councillor's house.

GONGO, Sylvia Nocawe (27), lost her home as a result of conflict in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 3 December 1983, and in KTC in January 1988. The day before the second attack, her husband was stabbed to death by UDF supporters during conflict in KTC relating to issues of housing and political organisation.

GONGQOBA, Fezile Alfred (22), was shot dead during political conflict in Port Elizabeth, on 2 July 1985. At the time police were patrolling the streets.

GONGWANE, Ntombizanele Mavis (35), had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in December 1993, in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GONGXEKA, Sydney Zwelakhe (19), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Cape Town, on 27 December 1976, after conflict during the Christmas 1976 period between township residents and migrant workers in the hostels had spread to Langa.

GONIWE, Danile Thomas (43), lost his home in an arson attack in Crossroads, Cape Town, in May 1988. The attack was part of a series of actions by a named Crossroads leader to drive opponents out and obtain their land for upgrading purposes.

GONIWE, Fumanekile (15), was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters, led by a named perpetrator, at Zwelitsha stadium in King William's Town, Cape. The perpetrators were allegedly assisting the Ciskei Police.

GONIWE, Mabotshelero Paul (62), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

GONIWE, Matthew, a UDF activist, was one of the CRADOCK FOUR abducted by the Eastern Cape Security Branch while travelling to Cradock, on 27 June 1985. He was stabbed near Port Elizabeth, after which his body was burnt. Six Eastern Cape Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were refused amnesty for the killings. The commander of *Vlakplaas* was granted amnesty for his knowledge of the incident (AC/1999/0350).

GONTSHI, Nkosinathi Alfred (34), was shot and injured when APLA members carried out an attack on

the Highgate Hotel, East London, on 1 May 1993. Five people were killed and several others injured. Mr Gontshi was working at the bar of the hotel when he was shot. See APLA ATTACKS.

GONYA, Jongile Welcome 'Jay' (21), was shot and severely injured by a named member of the Ciskei Police on 29 March 1987 in Keiskammahoek, Ciskei. After a year of investigation, the perpetrator was charged with attempted murder and convicted. He served a few days of a four-year sentence before he was released.

GOOSEN, MC, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

GOOSEN, Noelene, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

GOOVADIA, Oupa, was shot when members of the SAP fired at a group of people marching and singing liberation songs in Bela-bela, Warmbaths, Tvl, in December 1985.

GOPANE, Caroline (17), was shot and injured by members of the SAP while passing a student protest march in Barkly West, Cape, in May 1993.

GOQO, Sifiso (15), was killed by IFP supporters in Greytown, Natal, on 25 June 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. He was with two friends when they were attacked, allegedly in a dispute over territorial control in the area.

GOQO, Thulani Percy, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Lamontville, near Durban, on 3 July 1986. The perpetrator opened fire on Thulani while he and other children were playing outside his yard.

GOQO, Vuyisile Michael (41), was summarily dismissed from his job by the ambulance division management in Uitenhage, Cape, in 1985, after he testified to the Kannemeyer Commission of Enquiry into the LANGA SHOOTINGS that had taken place on 21 March 1985.

GORDHAN, Pravin Jamnadas, an ANC/SACP member, was tortured at Bethlehem, OFS, by Port Natal Security Branch members during interrogation on 13 July 1990 in connection with an ANC operation codenamed Vula. Four Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/120).

GORDON, Denise, was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

GORDON, Peter Dennis Anthony (29), was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

GOREWANG, Isaac Mawele (23), was detained for 29 days in May 1992 at Meyerton police station, in Vereeniging, Tvl, where members of the SAP beat him extensively with guns and burnt him with cigarettes while interrogating him about a suspected arms cache.

GOSENYEGANG, Joseph Thusitse (42), was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Sebokeng, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 3 July 1992 in a DRIVE-BYSHOOTING.

GOTYANA, Maratjie, a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP at Alexandria, Cape, on 12 April 1986.

GOUWS, Elize, (23), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

GOUWS, Mbombo William (18), an ANC supporter, was severely tortured by named SAP members in Knysna, Cape, in 1986. Although arrested on a non-political matter, he was tortured due to his known political activities.

GOUWS, MM, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

GOUWS, Tarina (8 months), was present when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

GOVANA, Wellington Mongezi (33), a supporter of WITDOEKE vigilante leader Johnson Ngxobongwana, lost his home when it was burnt down in Crossroads, Cape Town, in 1990, by supporters of Jeffrey Nongwe, a former *Witdoek* member who had changed allegiance to the ANC.

GOVENDER, Peter Ramakrishna (41), a supporter of the National Indian Congress, was repeatedly harassed, then detained and assaulted, by named members of the Security Branch at Port Shepstone, Natal, before and after 7 May 1980.

GOWANE, Nomachule Albertina (48), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM

ARSON ATTACKS.

GQWETHA, Sabelo (38) (aka 'Sabelo Phama'), PAC Secretary for Defence, died in a car accident while driving from Dar es Salaam to Zimbabwe on 9 February 1994. At the time of his death, debate within the PAC and APLA concerned the suspension of the PAC's armed struggle. Mr Gqwetha opposed the suspension and it is believed that his death may be related to his opposition.

GQABI, Joe Nzinga (51), the ANC's chief representative in Zimbabwe as well as its head of intelligence and an NEC member, was shot dead on 31 July 1981 while parking his car in his driveway in Harare, Zimbabwe. While the Commission was unable to establish the exact identity of the perpetrators, available evidence points to a SADF Special Forces hit squad commanded by a white former member of the Rhodesian Security Police.

GQABI, Nomathamsanqa Princess (17), an ANC supporter, was beaten with sjamboks and batons by members of the SAP who entered her home in Uitenhage, Cape, on 17 January 1985 during a night vigil for a victim of police shooting. Police also fired teargas at the mourners.

GQADU, Siphiso Johannes (17), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured, together with another ANC supporter in Bethulie, OFS, in October 1990. Both were charged with intimidation for allegedly forcing the children of police and government employees to leave school. They were both acquitted of the charges.

GQAGQA, Nobakabona Ester (38), lost her home in an arson attack on 9 June 1986 in KTC, Cape Town, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

GQAYI, Zolile, was severely beaten and tortured by named supporters of a local Crossroads leader in September 1986 in Crossroads, Cape Town, because of his opposition to the rent system imposed on Crossroads residents.

GQINEBE, Oupa John, was shot dead by members of the SAP in the street in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 19 March 1990 in a random shooting.

GQIRANA (NANZE), Nomasomi (38), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by named perpetrators in Stutterheim, Cape, on 29 September 1992 during political conflict over the reimposition of the headman system.

GQIRANA, Mongameli, an ANC member from Port Elizabeth, was imprisoned for 15 years on Robben Island, in 1963. In February 1983 he disappeared during a trip to Maseru, Lesotho.

GQOBANA, Wani (16), was shot by a named member of the SAP in Steynsburg, Cape, on 6 April 1990, at a rally to commemorate Solomon Mahlangu day.

GQOBHA, Zoleka (12), was shot by members of the SAP in Nemato, Port Alfred, Cape, on 16 November 1984. At the time, Zoleka was singing freedom songs at the funeral of an unrest victim.

GQODI, Noxolo Lovedelia (16), a UDF supporter, was assaulted by members of the SAP at her home on her

arrest and at Oudtshoorn police station, Cape, on 30 August 1985. A policeman attempted to sexually assault her in her cell. Noxolo was convicted of public violence and arson and served a year in prison.

GQOLA, Frederick Bafana Makara (57), an ANC member in the Transkei, was imprisoned for nine years on Robben Island, Cape Town, from 17 December 1964. He was again detained and tortured in 1980 and 1986. On 27 January 1987, Mr Gqola was detained on suspicion of harbouring ANC operatives and was tortured by Transkei police while in detention at the Norwood security offices in Umtata.

GQOLODASHE, Thobile Cecil (36), a SANCO chairperson, was shot by members of the SAP during a funeral at Nemato, Port Alfred, Cape, on 16 November 1984. Mr Gqolodashe was monitoring funeral proceedings to avoid confrontation between police and mourners. He was charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

GQOLOZA, Mlindeli (33), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Ciskei Police at Mdantsane police station, Ciskei, and Cambridge police station, East London, from 31 July to August 1985, allegedly because he was thought to be harbouring MK operatives.

GQOZO, Michael Fanele (24), a UDF supporter, was detained on four occasions, between May 1986 and June 1991, by named members of the SADF under emergency and other regulations in Kroonstad, OFS. He was severely tortured on several occasions while in detention.

GQUBELA, Velile Henry (28), was shot and blinded in the right eye by SAP members in Guguletu, Cape Town. Mr Gqubela was riding a bicycle to work when shots were fired from a security force vehicle during the SOWETO UPRISING.

GQUBULE, Fundile Lawrence (23), was left permanently paralysed after being shot by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

GQWABAZA, Lima Edwin (23), an iKongo member, was detained and severely beaten by SAP members at Mgungundlovu prison in Pietermaritzburg, in January 1961, during the Pondoland Revolt.

GQWETANI, Gemjikile (37), a COSATU activist, was imprisoned in Fort Glamorgan prison, East London, on 28 November 1990. He was convicted of murdering a headman, sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. He was released on 26 September 1992 when political prisoners were granted indemnity.

GQWETHA, Mzamo (17), was shot by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 13 August 1985.

GRADWELL, Andrew Desmond (37), a UDF activist, was detained for 14 days at Graaff-Reinet, Cape, in July 1985. In 1980 he was assaulted at Caledon Square police station while in detention in Cape Town, and held in solitary confinement in Victor Verster prison, Cape Town.

GRANT, D J (34), an ECC activist, was detained by named members of the Security Police in Port Elizabeth during June 1986. He was held in solitary confinement and interrogated at the Algoa Park and Louis le Grange Square police stations.

GRANT, Esther Esi (60), was forced out of her home in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 15 March 1992, during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Evictions of residents from their homes was a tactic used by both parties during the political violence which engulfed the Transvaal in the early 1990s.

GRANT, John Walter (47), lost his house in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986 when groups of unidentified men attacked UDF supporters and their property. When the police arrived on the scene, they started shooting and failed to catch the perpetrators.

GRAY, Beverley (29), was present when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

GRAY, RJ, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

GREAVE, Khanyile Catherine (28), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death on 4 December 1991 when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

GREEF, Stefanie, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

GREEN, Erica, died when an MK operative detonated a car bomb at the Victoria Embankment, Durban, on 3 April 1984. The explosion killed three people and injured 20 others. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the MK command structures in Swaziland that facilitated the attack (AC/2001/175).

GREGORY, Chaucer Mphiwa (32), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured at his home in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in April 1991 by a group of IFP supporters, allegedly accompanied by SADF members, who were systematically searching out ANC-supporting residents and trying to drive them out of the area.

GREY, Fudisile Ntlekevana (31), was shot dead by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 13 August 1985.

GRIESEL, Grant, sustained damage to his property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

GRIFFIN, Elsie Sophia, was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

GRIFFITHS, Thatela Benedict, was shot in the leg by members of the SAP at Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960. See SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE.

GROBELAAR, AC, a colonel in the SADF, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

GROBELAAR, Alwyn Francios (68), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

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

GROENEWALD, (first name not given), a member of the KZP, was shot by members of an ANC-supporting SDU in Bevro, Natal, on 1 July 1991. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

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

GROENEWALD, Fanie, a member of the SAP, was injured when he was shot at by an MK unit at Umzumbe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during July 1991. Mr Groenewald had stopped the operatives' vehicle and proceeded to search it when the operatives opened fire. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/058).

GROENEWALD, Johanna Marie (23), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in

Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

GROENEWALD, Jonathan William, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

GROENWALD, Sgt (first name not given), a member of the SAP, was shot and injured in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 July 1991, when he and five colleagues tried to search a vehicle driven by MK operatives who were carrying weapons. One self-defence unit member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/062).

GRONDO, Ndoda, an ANC supporter, was detained and beaten while in prison in Paarl, Cape, in 1964. He was released in 1965 and died shortly afterwards, allegedly of injuries sustained in prison.

GROOTBOOM, Mxolisi Sydney (17), a COSAS member, was tortured by named members of the SAP in a satellite police station in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, in September 1988.

GROOTBOOM, Mzukisi James, an ANC supporter, was shot by a named Special Constable at Rocky Hill disco hall in Jansenville, Cape, on 23 June 1990, during a stayaway in the area. He died the following day in Livingstone hospital, Port Elizabeth.

GROOTBOOM, Norman Mabhaso (19), a UDF supporter, was assaulted with pick-handles, pangas, and knives by AMAAFRIKA supporters during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, in 1987.

GROOTBOOM, Richard Themba (39), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE while he was playing a ball game in Jansenville, Cape, on 11 October 1986. An inquest found the perpetrator responsible for Mr Grootboom's death.

GROOTBOOM, Rosanne (1), was tear-gassed and later imprisoned with her grandmother on 20 November 1990 in Kimberley, Cape. She was denied medical attention.

GROOTBOOM, Steven Bongani (20), was beaten on the head with a police rifle during boycotts in Jansenville, Cape, on 12 June 1985. He was then arrested and detained in various places and, on one occasion, had teargas sprayed in his face.

GROOTBOOM, Thamsanqa Arthur (26), a SANCO supporter, was permanently injured after he was shot in the stomach by a named PAC member during political conflict at Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 19 February 1993.

GUBHELA, Bafikile Beauty (43), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993 in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

GUDASI, Siphosenkosi (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Dassenhoek, Pinetown, Natal, on 14 November 1991.

GUDLE, Sishiqi Miles, an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted and detained for three months at Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

GUGA, Buyisile, a UDF activist, was shot dead by members of the SAP during a demonstration in Zola, Steynsburg, Cape, on 27 December 1985.

GUGA, Mxolisi Timothy (19), an ANC supporter, died after he was shot in the head by members of the SAP at Ngcobo, Stutterheim, Cape, on 25 November 1985. Police opened fire on a group of people who were returning from a meeting of the Stutterheim Youth Congress.

GULE, Bonginkosi (2), was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 30 April 1992, during political conflict in the area. His mother was killed and his father was shot and injured in the same attack.

GULE, Irene Madomizana (45), ANC supporter, was shot and killed by IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 30 April 1992, during political conflict in the area. Her husband and two-year-old son were both shot and injured in the attack.

GULE, Isaac (48), ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 30 April 1992, during political conflict in the area. His wife was shot dead and his two-year-old son shot and injured in the attack.

GULE, Joseph (23), an APLA operative, was tortured by members of the SAP on 5 April 1987 at the Hlahetsi Police station in Katilehong, Tvl, during conflict between the community and the SAP as well as the ANC and PAC.

GULE, Nkosinathi Emmanuel (21), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, in 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

GULE, Petros Mafika, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

GULUBELA, Thembikhaya, was killed in a shooting by a named SAP member during political conflict in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 14 March 1993.

GULWA, Phakamisa Clearance Castor (39), a UDF supporter, was detained, beaten and tortured by members of the SADF in Port Elizabeth, on 18 September 1986 during the state of emergency.

GUMA, Mduduzi (aka 'Nkululeko' and 'Conqueror Ntswana') (34), a member of MK's Special Operations Unit, was killed on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed. Mr Guma was from Durban.

GUMBI, Anna (51), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMBI, Dolina, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters near Bergville, Natal, during March 1992, in continuing political conflict in the area. The attack was allegedly directed at her neighbours, one of whom was killed in the attack.

GUMBI, Douglas (15), an ANC supporter, was paralysed after being stabbed with bush-knives by Inkatha supporters in Natal on 4 March 1981.

GUMBI, Gezepi (56), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMBI, Josephine (69), lost her house in an arson attack in March 1992 in the Empevu area, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

GUMBI, Khalelani Doris (34), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMBI, Munto Herbert (46), ANC supporter, was stabbed to death and had his body set alight by IFP supporters at Amanzimtoti, Natal, on 15 August 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

GUMBI, Nkululeko Rodderick Zi (20), was abducted by unidentified persons and later decapitated in Umlazi, Durban, on 5 March 1992, allegedly because he refused to join the ANC.

GUMBI, Nokwazi Freida (43), an ANC supporter, was injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

GUMBI, Nomacala Rosy (62), an ANC member and chairperson of a Soweto street committee since 1978, was arrested in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 15 October 1986 during the state of emergency and detained for 14 days without charge in Sun City prison.

GUMBI, Nozibusiso Egnés (14), an ANC supporter, had her home set alight by Inkatha supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

GUMBI, Ntombizethu Verah Zethu (45), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 2 August 1992 when armed men wearing balaclavas attacked several homes in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

GUMBI, Peterson Maviyo (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by two IFP supporters at Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 January 1993, in political conflict in the area.

GUMBI, Phumlani Brian (18), an ANC supporter, was killed in a drive-by shooting at Ladysmith, Natal, on 8 March 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GUMBI, Sibongile Anna (37), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMBI, Thomas (28), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMBI, Vumani (30), a UDF supporter, was shot dead in Etsheni, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 12 March 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

GUMBI, Zibuse Jeffrey (19), a UDF supporter, was hacked to death by unidentified persons on 16 June 1984 in Durban. His burnt body was found on the rails between Zwelethu and Reunion stations in Durban. His family believes he was caught trying to leave the country after attending a commemorative rally at Curries Fountain, Durban.

GUMBI, Zidumokaziphelel Sibusiso (31), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMEDE, Aaron Darcas, had his house damaged when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

GUMEDE, Abraham Themba (24), was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE at his home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 March 1990. His mother was shot and injured in the attack.

GUMEDE, Agrineth Gugu (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 11 September 1992, when armed gunmen attacked a number of homes believed to belong to ANC supporters at Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Six people were killed and several houses burnt down. At least four of those killed were from the Gumede family, which believes it was targeted because a member refused to participate in an IFP night camp.

GUMEDE, Alfred Dumile (30), an ANC supporter, was shot by an IFP supporter on 16 April 1994 and died the following day in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

GUMEDE, Alvinia (73), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMEDE, Anthony George (29), was shot and severely injured in Katlehong, Tvl, on 5 July 1993 when IFP supporters allegedly attacked a funeral procession, during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

GUMEDE, Aron (29), was stabbed to death by UDF supporters at Amoati, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 May 1988, in intensifying political conflict in the area. On the day of his funeral, his house was burnt down.

GUMEDE, Babongile Ngunda (43), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMEDE, Bafana (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death when his home was attacked by named IFP supporters in Ekwazini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 July 1990. Other family members were injured in the attack and at least one other person was killed.

GUMEDE, Bafana Albert, an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead on 6 September 1989 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Bantu Hamilton, was one of eight passengers shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Six other passengers were shot dead. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK.

GUMEDE, Beauty Jabu (41), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 January 1991 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Bhabha Dennis (28), was hacked to death by IFP supporters at Ongoye Mission, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 19 February 1994, in political conflict in the area.

GUMEDE, Bhakani Simon, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in June 1991, during ongoing political conflict. The perpetrators opened fire on a group of people as they were talking with a well-known ANC supporter.

GUMEDE, Bhekekile Catherine (58), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

GUMEDE, Bhakifa (57), was severely stabbed and injured while trying to escape when her home was attacked by a named Inkatha supporter in the Ekwazini area, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 July 1990. Other family members were injured in the attack and at least two other people were killed in the attack.

GUMEDE, Bhakisisa Christopher, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 17 July 1994, during political conflict.

GUMEDE, Bhakitshe (37), an ANC supporter, was abducted by named IFP supporters posing as policemen and was later shot, hacked, and burnt to death on 6 August 1990 in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. Conditions at Ndwedwe during this period were marked by severe intimidation, politically motivated killings and arson attacks, which caused families to flee the area in large numbers.

GUMEDE, Bhakizenzo, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters in Manzimnyama, KwaMbonambi, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 9 July 1993.

GUMEDE, Bongani Collen (17), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 10 October 1988, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

GUMEDE, Bongani Sifikiso, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI

TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

GUMEDE, Cyril Thandumusa, was shot and then stabbed to death in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1989 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, David Fixon (31), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMEDE, Dinah Thusi, was killed on 30 May 1989 in Ndabayakhe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during political violence in the area. The perpetrators were convicted.

GUMEDE, Dinwabembona Mnyakamelwa, was one of six passengers shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Eight other passengers were injured. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK.

GUMEDE, Doris (41), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 5 September 1992.

GUMEDE, Dubha, an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters in Mahaqwa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 February 1990, the day of Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

GUMEDE, Eric, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at his home in KwaMashu, Durban on 16 August 1989. Mr Gumede had frequently been detained and threatened by the KZP.

GUMEDE, Gcina Shepherd (26), was stabbed and severely injured by named ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 28 January 1990 in intensifying conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Gertrude (63), had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Eshowe, Natal, on 29 December 1993, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Gleynroux (30), an ANC supporter, was paralysed after being shot in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 11 May 1992 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

GUMEDE, Goodness Duduzile Manjapha (42), a UDF supporter, had her home petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 22 November 1989.

GUMEDE, Herbert Bheki, was shot dead by IFP supporters at his family's home near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 August 1993, allegedly because a member of Mr Gumede's family was a well-known NEHAWU member.

GUMEDE, Hlebani Thembisile (28), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMEDE, Hlengiwe Bawinile (24), had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1993 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Hlengiwe Cihl (27), lost her home in an arson attack at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1994 during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

GUMEDE, Irene Thandi (44), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, in March 1994 in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

GUMEDE, James (53), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by named IFP supporters at Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 May 1991. Three people died in the attack, and another was injured.

GUMEDE, Jane (43), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by named IFP supporters at Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 May 1991. Three people died in the attack, and another was injured.

GUMEDE, Jeanette (54), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 2 February 1991.

GUMEDE, Jeffrey Sipho (21), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 June 1990, in political conflict in the area.

GUMEDE, Jimson Mfukeni (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 11 September 1992 when armed gunmen attacked a number of homes believed to belong to ANC supporters at Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Six people were killed and several houses burnt down. At least four of those killed were from the Gumede family, which believes it was targeted because a member refused to participate in an IFP night camp.

GUMEDE, Joseph Khetheyakhe (35), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bhobhoyi, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 December 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

GUMEDE, Joyce Jabu (36), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 11 September 1992 when armed gunmen attacked a number of homes believed to belong to ANC supporters at Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Six people were killed and several houses burnt down. At least four of those killed were from the Gumede family, which believes it was targeted because a member refused to participate in an IFP night camp.

GUMEDE, Justice Mandla, was one of eight passengers shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Six other passengers were shot dead. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK.

GUMEDE, Khanyisile Beatrice (35), Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 25 April 1989, during political conflict. Her husband was stabbed to death in the same attack.

GUMEDE, Khethiwe (59), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1993 in intensifying conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Khofi, an ANC supporter, was injured in an attack by Inkatha supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 February 1990, the day of Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

GUMEDE, Khulekani Cyril (22), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and stabbed to death by other ANC supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 December 1993 during a serious internal feud in the organisation.

GUMEDE, Leah (55), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down and her property stolen by IFP supporters in Ogunjini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 May 1993.

GUMEDE, Leonard Thulasizwe (36), from an IFP-supporting family, was stabbed to death on 4 February 1988 in Pietermaritzburg, allegedly because he was believed to be a 'comrade'.

GUMEDE, Livingstone Ntsikelelo (22), was shot and injured by police chasing a group of youths through Lamontville, Durban, on 18 June 1986. Mr Gumede managed to get home, but the police found him and continued assaulting him.

GUMEDE, Malusi (aka 'Guduza'), was shot, stoned and hacked to death by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See MPUMALANGA ATTACKS. See Mpumalanga attacks. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

GUMEDE, Mandlakayise Joe (50), was shot and injured and had his house burnt down by named IFP supporters at Groutville, Stanger, Natal, on 25 April 1994, two days before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Gumede, who had recently arrived in the area, was targeted because he was thought to be an ANC supporter.

GUMEDE, Mandlenkosi (36), an ANC supporter, died of severe burn wounds after his house was petrol-bombed by named ANC supporters in Adams Mission, near Durban, on 22 March 1990. Mr Gumede had reportedly been labelled an IFP supporter and a witchdoctor.

GUMEDE, Mangalisile (3), died after being shot and burnt during an arson attack on her home by named IFP supporters at Ekwasini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 July 1990. Other family members were injured in the attack, and at least one other person was killed.

GUMEDE, Manosi Bukisiwe (33), lost her home in an arson attack in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 October 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Maqhawe Gordon Gumza (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on two occasions by other ANC supporters, in Pietermaritzburg, first in

1991, and then in 1993, allegedly during the course of serious internal conflict in the organisation.

GUMEDE, Mbango James (40), was shot dead by unidentified gunmen in Esikhawini, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 February 1992, during violent political conflict. In the attack, his home was also burnt down.

GUMEDE, Mbongani Vincent, an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 26 July 1993 in Umlazi, Durban, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Mbongeni (63), a counsellor to a local IFP-supporting chief, was shot and killed by an ANC member on 29 February 1992, in Mtunzini, Natal. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1997/0037).

GUMEDE, Mbongeni (64), an IFP supporter, was shot dead at his home by a named ANC supporter at Mkolokohlo Reserve, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 February 1992.

GUMEDE, Mdotise Minah (71), was harassed by IFP supporters and forced to leave her home in the Maqongqo area, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, during 1991 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her house was burnt down in her absence. Around the same time, Ms Gumede's son was killed by IFP supporters, allegedly with the assistance of members of SAP.

GUMEDE, Mduduzi (18), was stabbed and shot dead by named IFP supporters at his home at Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 February 1991. His family members were known to be ANC members.

GUMEDE, Melta (12), was severely injured in an attack on her home near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 May 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Her sister was killed and her mother injured in the same attack. Melta lost the sight in one of her eyes as a result of the attack.

GUMEDE, Melusi Cyril (19), an ANC supporter, was abducted from Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1989. He had allegedly argued with the named son of a councillor and was later that day abducted and beaten up in the soccer field. He has never been seen again.

GUMEDE, Mhlushwa, an IFP supporter, was stabbed, hacked, shot and left for dead on 5 September 1990 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Eston, near Hammarsdale, Natal. On 28 January 1993, he was shot dead in political conflict in the same area.

GUMEDE, Michael (26), an ANCYL official, had his home burnt down and his family's livestock stolen by named IFP supporters at Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 May 1990.

GUMEDE, Michael (47), had his home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in October 1988, during intense political conflict in the area. Mr Gumede was targeted allegedly because his children were linked to the ANC.

GUMEDE, Mkhonodaka, an IFP supporter, was killed by named ANC supporters in Mtunzini, Natal, on 29 February 1992. Mr Gumede was a chief chancellor at Makholokholo Reserve and allegedly gave instructions

to IFP members to kill and destroy ANC members. The perpetrator applied for amnesty.

GUMEDE, Mngobi (3), was seriously injured when a petrol bomb was thrown into his family home by ANC supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 March 1990. The family was attacked allegedly because his father was thought to be an Inkatha supporter.

GUMEDE, Mntukathenjwa Dennis, an Inkatha supporter, was killed on 18 March 1990 when an Inkatha induna's house was attacked with AK47s and grenades in Njobokazi, at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban. Fifteen people were killed, including two KwaZulu Special Constables, in the attack which police attributed to ANC supporters.

GUMEDE, Moses Muzi, had his house looted by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See MPUMALANGA ATTACKS. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

GUMEDE, Moses, was shot dead while trying to escape his burning home at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during March 1993, in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Mphahleni Elphas (54), had his home burnt down by unidentified persons in Ntambanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 March 1994, during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the first democratic election of April 1994.

GUMEDE, Mphakanyiswa Osiah (47), an Inkatha supporter, lost his home in an arson attack at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990 during intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMEDE, Mpsi, a community councillor, had his house petrol-bombed by ANC supporters at Ensimbini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in March 1993. Mr Gumede's wife was injured and his brother was killed in the same attack.

GUMEDE, Mthembeni (23), was shot dead at Mtunzini, Natal, on 5 September 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Mthobisi, was shot dead in an attack on his home in KwaMondi, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 19 November 1993 when IFP supporters attacked several ANC supporters in the areas around Eshowe. One person was killed and more than 45 homes burnt down. Three other family members were injured in the attack. The attack is alleged to have been instigated by a local IFP-supporting chief who wished to drive ANC supporters out of the area.

GUMEDE, Mtokoze Bhakitshe (18), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 July 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Mtsheka John (78), had his house burnt down by named ANCYL members in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 January 1993, allegedly because they suspected him of witchcraft.

GUMEDE, Muzikayise Simon, (51) was shot and killed by IFP supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 March 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

GUMEDE, Mzonjani Michael, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in January 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

GUMEDE, Mzweleni (12), was shot and severely injured when members of the KWAZULU POLICE, accompanied by IFP supporters, attacked his family home at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1991 in continuing political conflict in the area. Mzweleni was blinded in both eyes as a result of the attack.

GUMEDE, Nelisile Victoria (33), an ANC supporter, had her house petrol-bombed by other ANC supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 March 1990, allegedly because her husband was thought to be an Inkatha supporter. Her husband was killed and her son injured in the same attack.

GUMEDE, Nellie, had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Ngiyaisa, an ANC supporter, was killed by a group of IFP supporters at Ndlovu's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010).

GUMEDE, Ngiyaisa, ANC supporter, was attacked and killed by an IFP supporter at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 March 1992. The perpetrator allegedly believed Mr Gumede was plotting to attack IFP supporters.

GUMEDE, Ngonyama, an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death and his body was burnt by UDF supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 25 April 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

GUMEDE, Nhlanhla, an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the SAP and SADF on 26 January 1990 during a memorial service for a slain ANC supporter in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban.

GUMEDE, Nkosinathi, was abducted from his home in Durban on 27 May 1993 by members of the IFP and the KZP. He was then taken to the Esikhawini area, KwaZulu, near Empangeni where he was killed and his body set alight. See **ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD**. Five perpetrators were granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1999/0332).

GUMEDE, Nokuthula, was injured during an attack on her home at Empangeni, Natal, by a named perpetrator on 30 May 1989 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters. She was forced to flee her home as a result of the attack.

GUMEDE, Nokuthula, was shot at by IFP members during political conflict at Ireland Township, Mandini,

Natal, on 31 October 1992. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

GUMEDE, Nomthandazo Norah (28), was shot and severely injured by named SAP members in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein on 12 February 1990. The police members, who were reportedly intoxicated at the time, stopped Ms Gumede and her husband as they travelled through the area by car and opened fire on them.

GUMEDE, Ntokozo Nicholas Thembinkosi (27), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Bhamsheka, Natal, in June 1993, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

GUMEDE, Ntombizethu (47), was shot and injured when her home was attacked by named Inkatha supporters in Ekwazini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 July 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Ms Gumede was forced to watch while her son was being burnt to death, and was herself shot because she would not stop screaming. Other family members were injured in the attack, and at least one other person was killed.

GUMEDE, Ntombizodwa Eunice (36), had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Mahwaqa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 July 1992, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Nyanisile Norah (47), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by named Inkatha supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 13 March 1990, in political conflict in the area.

GUMEDE, Phikiwe (62), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See **SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS**.

GUMEDE, Phillip (55), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in June 1990. Mr Gumede was allegedly targeted because his children were active ANC supporters.

GUMEDE, Pho, an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 February 1990, the day of Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

GUMEDE, Pholi Gladness (40), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in November 1992, because her husband had attended the funeral of a suspected ANC supporter.

GUMEDE, Priscilla Bizeni (47), an ANC supporter, had her home in Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in July 1993.

GUMEDE, Pumepi (60), an IFP supporter, was severely injured when she and her husband were stabbed, hacked and shot in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 September 1990. Her husband was shot dead on 28 January 1993 in political violence in Eston, near Hammarsdale, Natal.

GUMEDE, Qalangani Vitalis (40), an ANC supporter, had his home at Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See **EKUTHULENI ATTACKS**.

GUMEDE, Rachel (55), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Eshowe, Natal, in

March 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the first democratic election of April 1994.

GUMEDE, Rebecca (44), had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 18 January 1989 in intense political conflict in the area.

GUMEDE, Reggie, an ANC supporter, was assaulted, detained, and interrogated about his 'comrades' by members of the SAP in Durban in January 1977.

GUMEDE, Richard Siyenyuka (40), a UDF supporter, lost his possessions when named Inkatha members set fire to his home in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, in August 1984 during conflict between JORAC and Inkatha supporters over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu.

GUMEDE, Senzo, an ANC supporter, was severely burnt when other ANC supporters petrol-bombed his home at Adams Mission, near Durban, on 22 March 1990, because his father was thought to be an Inkatha supporter.

GUMEDE, Sibongile Happiness (23), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Gingindlovu, Natal, on 28 December 1992. The attack came the day before the funeral of a prominent *induna*.

GUMEDE, Sibusiso (24), was shot dead, together with his brother, in KwaNqolothi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 December 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Sibusiso, a member of the SAP Reserve, was shot and killed by members of the IFP, whilst he was guarding a school at KwaMashu, near Durban, on 16 April 1991, during political violence in the area. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0092).

GUMEDE, Sidudla Patricia (40), an ANC supporter, had her house at Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

GUMEDE, Sindisiwe (14), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 11 September 1992 when armed gunmen attacked homes of suspected ANC supporters at Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Six people died, one was injured and several homes were burnt down in this attack. At least four of those killed were from the Gumede family, which believes it was targeted because a member refused to participate in an IFP night camp.

GUMEDE, Siphso (25), a UDF supporter, disappeared from home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 December 1987, during political conflict in the area. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

GUMEDE, Siphso, was hacked and stabbed to death near Pietermaritzburg on 1 March 1989 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Siyanda David (16), a UDF supporter, was detained without trial for six months and tortured while in custody in Westville prison, near Durban, during 1987. Before his detention, his school had been burnt down by SAP members at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, allegedly during a UDF meeting at the school. In 1990, Mr Gumede was shot and injured by the police in Inanda.

GUMEDE, Sunboy, (23) was shot dead when IFP supporters attacked and burnt down his relatives' tuck shop at Embabe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1993 in continuing political conflict.

GUMEDE, Sunrise Ntombizethu (20), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

GUMEDE, Thabani (17), was shot dead in KwaNqolothi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 December 1993, in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Thabile (6 months), was burnt and severely injured when armed gunmen attacked homes of suspected ANC supporters at Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Six people died, one was injured and several homes were burnt down in this attack. At least four of those killed were from the Gumede family, which believes it was targeted because a member refused to participate in an IFP night camp.

GUMEDE, Thali Bonisiwe (37), was severely injured in an attack on her home during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in Ndabayakhe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 May 1989. Her daughter was also severely injured in the attack.

GUMEDE, Thami Ronald (40), lost his house in an arson attack at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 July 1993 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GUMEDE, Thembi Catherine (31), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters, at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 March 1994, in political conflict in the area prior to the first democratic election of April 1994.

GUMEDE, Thembi Linah (36), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMEDE, Thembi Qapheleni (39), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMEDE, Thokozani Penelope (26), an ANC supporter, had her home and possessions burnt in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban in February 1992. Seven homes were burnt down in Bhambayi in this month, and one death was recorded.

GUMEDE, Tholakele Celiwe (43), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by other IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 20 February 1994, allegedly because the Gumede family did not attend an IFP meeting. Both the ANC and the IFP had rallies in the area that day.

GUMEDE, Tholakele Thulisiwe (43), an IFP supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 11 August 1992. Ms Gumede was allegedly targeted because her sons were accused of being ANC supporters.

GUMEDE, Thuleleni Mandulu (33), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

GUMEDE, Thulisile (4), was shot at, while her mother, who was shielding her, was shot twice in her back by a named perpetrator at their home at Mandini, Natal, on 16 April 1994. The family was allegedly attacked because Thulisile's father was thought to be an ANC supporter.

GUMEDE, Vela Cecil (33), an Inkatha supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during November 1989, in political conflict in the area.

GUMEDE, Vusumuzi Ernest (32), lost his home and possessions in an arson attack by named Inkatha supporters in Mona, near Tongaat, Natal, on 12 April 1990, because the tavern that he ran served both IFP and ANC supporters.

GUMEDE, Xolani (9), was shot dead on 11 September 1992 when armed gunmen attacked homes of suspected ANC supporters at Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Six people died, one was injured and several homes were burnt down in this attack. At least four of those killed were from the Gumede family, which believes it was targeted because a member refused to participate in an IFP night camp.

GUMEDE, Zakhele (12), was severely injured with a bush-knife when named Inkatha supporters attacked his family home in Ekwasini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 July 1990 in political conflict in the area. Other family members were injured in the attack and at least two were killed.

GUMEDE, Zandele (52), was disabled after being shot and stabbed by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in June 1990, allegedly because her son-in-law was a UDF/ANC supporter.

GUMEDE, Zanele Zamanguni (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in a drive-by shooting by a named member of the KwaZULU POLICE in KwaMashu, Durban, on 7 January 1994.

GUMEDE, Zisiwe Virginia (29), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 19 September 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

GUMENGE, Welile Wellington (23), a UDF supporter, was assaulted with fists and boots and trampled on by named members of the SAP in the veld near Grahamstown, Cape, on 21 March 1986. Mr Gumenge was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for the killing of a policeman.

GUNGQISA, Henjisi 'George' (55), was shot and injured by members of the SAP while passing a political demonstration after the SOWETO UPRISING in Nyanga, Cape Town, in October 1976.

GUNGUBELE, Nomalungelo (36), died when she was hacked with axes and then 'necklaced' at her home in Mooiplaas, near East London, on 14 April

1986. The perpetrators, some of whom are named, accused Ms Gungubele of being an informant during a dispute between two residential areas.

GUNGULUZA, Hendisini Anderson (39), a PAC member, served an eight-year prison sentence on Robben Island, Cape Town, between 1963 and 1971. Mr Gunguluza experienced severe ill-treatment while a prisoner, including beatings and forced labour. He died in 1986.

GUNN, Haroon (1), was taken from his mother while she was detained under SECTION 29 in a prison in Caledon, Cape. They were separated for eight days in July 1990. When Haroon was returned, his mother tried unsuccessfully to get him medical attention for the illnesses he had developed in her absence.

GUNN, Shirley Renee (35), an MK operative, was detained under SECTION 29 for several months in 1985 and again from 25 June 1990 in Cape Town. During her second detention, her infant son was forcibly removed from her for eight days. She was falsely accused, by the Minister of Law and Order, of carrying out the KHOTSO HOUSE BOMBING in 1988.

GUNUZA, Amos, was detained in 1960, convicted and imprisoned on Robben Island, Cape Town, for his political activities. In 1965, Mr Gunuza's family reportedly received a telegram from prison authorities informing them of his death.

GUSH, Thembelihle Arnold (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP near Vulindlela police station, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 11 February 1990, while he and others were celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela.

GUSHA, Ella Ntombekhaya (28), an ANC supporter, was injured while escaping from a packed hall into which SAP members had fired teargas in Plettenberg Bay, Cape, on 17 July 1990. Ms Gussha suffered a miscarriage soon afterwards.

GUSHA, Siyabulela (18), an ANC supporter, was shot in the shoulder by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

GUYA, Mxolisi Timothy (19), an ANC supporter, died after he was shot in the head by members of the SAP at Ngcobo, Stutterheim, Cape, on 25 November 1985. Police opened fire on a group of people returning from a meeting of the Stutterheim Youth Congress.

GUZANA, Moses Phakamile (19), an ANCYL member, was shot and injured when members of the SAP opened fire on a crowd of ANC supporters marching to the Koppies court in KWAKWATSI, KOPPIES, OFS, on 30 March 1990.

GUZANA, Onward (36), a colonel in the CDF, was shot dead at a CDF roadblock between Stutterheim and King William's Town, Cape, on 27 January 1991. Together with former CDF commander, Major General Charles Sebe, Colonel Guzana left Transkei and drove to Ciskei with the intention of taking over Brigadier

Oupa Gqozo's government, unaware that they were being lured into a trap. The Guzana family claimed Colonel Guzana had been shot after arrest. The inquest court ruled that there was insufficient evidence to find criminal liability in the killing.

GWABE, Mantanbama Sibongile, had her house burnt down and her livestock stolen in Empangeni, Natal, on 17 January 1994 in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

GWABENG, Amos Msutu (70), was severely assaulted, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 24 June 1993 during an escalation of conflict on the East Rand following an ANC march past a Tokoza hostel on May 22 which precipitated clashes leading to more than 80 deaths. His home was also looted by the attackers during the attack. As a result of the intense conflict, his wife was afraid to seek medical assistance for Mr Gwabeng and he died two months later of stomach cancer.

GWACELA, Priscilla, had her house damaged when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

GWACELA, Richard (15), had his family home burnt down by UDF supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1988 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

GWACELA, Sipho Johannes, had his house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters during political conflict in 1988.

GWADELA, Zibele, was injured in an attack on a friend's home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993, when members of a BALACLAVA GROUP opened fire and set the residence alight. Seven people died in the attack.

GWADELA, Zingisile, was injured in an attack on a friend's home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993, when members of a BALACLAVA GROUP opened fire and set the residence alight. Seven people died in the attack.

GWAJUZA, Busani Collin, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

GWAJUZA, Doris Agnes (41), was severely burned when her home was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 January 1990, in continuing political conflict in the area. One family member died in the fire.

GWAJUZA, Elizabeth (76), was severely burnt when her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, was

petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters on 13 January 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area. A child died in the attack and six family members were injured. **GWAJUZA, Emmanuel Bongimusa**, a UDF supporter, sustained injuries when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

GWAJUZA, Hlengiwe (6), was killed when her family home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters on 13 January 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Six other family members were injured in the attack.

GWAJUZA, June-Rose Thembisile (26), was severely burnt when her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters on 13 January 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area. A child died in the attack and six family members were injured.

GWAJUZA, Neli (6), was severely burned when her home was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 January 1990, in continuing political conflict in the area. One family member died in the fire.

GWAJUZA, Zinhle (47), was severely burnt when her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters on 13 January 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area. A child died in the attack and six family members were injured.

GWAJUZA, Zinhle (9), was severely burnt, along with seven family members, when their home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters on 13 January 1990. One of the victims died. The family's home was in an area perceived to be an ANC stronghold. The Gwajuza family, however, were all non-aligned.

GWALA, Advice, was killed in 1992 by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) during political conflict between the BLACK CATS gang and the ANC in Wesselson, Ermelo, Tvl. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1998/0121).

GWALA, Babanje Phillimon (32), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Ngonyameni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 June 1990, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

GWALA, Bahlamgamisile (31), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in an attack by alleged UDF supporters on 18 March 1990. See NJOBOKAZI ATTACK.

GWALA, Bhekisigcino Patrick 'Ntshebe' (26), was shot dead by IFP supporters near Bulwer, Natal, on 12 May 1993 in ongoing political conflict in the area. His family and other non-IFP families were then repeatedly harassed, forcing them to leave the area.

GWALA, Bhekithemba (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at Hammarsdale, Natal, by IFP supporters on 21 November 1993.

GWALA, Bhelizazi Alpheas (21), a UDF supporter, was killed by Inkatha members during ongoing political conflict in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 16 January 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0334).

GWALA, Bongakuphi Hamilton (39), an Inkatha supporter, had his home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters on 18 March 1988.

GWALA, Bonsile Doris (20), an IFP supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 25 August 1991.

GWALA, Dan, was killed at Empangeni, Natal, on 27 February 1993, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

GWALA, Elizabeth Ntongolosi (44), an ANC supporter, had her house near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 17 January 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

GWALA, Elias Gubane (38), an IFP supporter, had his home set alight by ANC supporters in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 10 August 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

GWALA, Henry Mduduzi (15), was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in December 1992, in continuing political conflict in the area.

GWALA, Henry Mduduzi (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a member of the SADF on a street in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 16 June 1990.

GWALA, Jabulani (40), UDF supporter, died from multiple injuries when named Inkatha members attacked his family in Durban, on 7 June 1988. Two other family members were also killed in the attack.

GWALA, James (38), had his house in Hammarsdale, Natal, burnt down by named Inkatha supporters in 1985 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. Mr Gwala's son was burnt to death in the attack.

GWALA, Josephina (40), was burnt to death in an arson attack on her house by ANC supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

GWALA, Khathazile (70), an IFP supporter, was forced to leave his home in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 19 March 1990, during intense political conflict in the area. Mr Gwala was the victim of violent intimidation.

GWALA, Linah Mano, was shot dead by IFP supporters in January 1991 in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

GWALA, Magaret (61), had her home burnt down in Mantunzweni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 13 April 1994, in conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area two weeks before the election on 27 April 1994.

GWALA, Mana Constance (38), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and injured when her home was attacked by named Inkatha supporters in Durban, on 7 June 1988. Three people died in the attack.

GWALA, Mandlakayise Sixtus (33), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Natal, on 11 February

1990, during political conflict following the release of Nelson Mandela from prison.

GWALA, Manqukela (60), an IFP supporter, was abducted by ANC supporters in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 5 June 1991, during political conflict. Three days later his body was found with stab wounds.

GWALA, Mhlekhona (33), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in an attack by alleged UDF supporters on 18 March 1990. See NJOBOKAZI ATTACK.

GWALA, Michael (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a group of IFP supporters at Ndlovu's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010).

GWALA, Mkhalelwa France, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

GWALA, Mnyamana Blackie (43), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death when named Inkatha supporters attacked his family in Durban, on 7 June 1988. Two other family members were also killed.

GWALA, Moses, a UDF supporter, was shot and killed during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See MPUMALANGA ATTACKS. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

GWALA, Musawenkosi Silence (34), an ANC supporter, was imprisoned in 1986 and in 1991 in Wartburg, Natal, and had his home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 17 July 1989. Mr Gwala was involved in underground structures of the ANC and the Swayimane Civic Association.

GWALA, Ngikholiwe Elizabeth (36), an Inkatha supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Durban, Natal, on 18 March 1990, in intense political conflict in the area.

GWALA, Nkosinathi David, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, on 2 December 1991.

GWALA, Nkosinathi Emmanuel (32), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Stanger, Natal, on 15 February 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

GWALA, Nomathenisi Dudweyini (37), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Nkwezela, Bulwer, Natal, in 1992.

GWALA, Sarah (51), had her house looted and possessions stolen in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993, in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

GWALA, Siphwe (20), burnt to death when his home at Hammarsdale, Natal, was attacked by named Inkatha supporters in 1985 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

GWALA, Sipho, a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP at his home in Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, on 12 August 1989. The police searched his home and found bullets and a home-made gun. He was placed in a police van and has never been seen since.

GWALA, Sizwe Moses (34), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Umlazi, Durban, on 4 April 1992 after he was accused of being a 'comrade'.

GWALA, Sulani (26), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 February 1993.

GWALA, Thembikile Sophia, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 March 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

GWALA, Thulani (18), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death when named Inkatha members attacked his family in Durban, on 7 June 1988. Two other family members were also killed.

GWALA, Vusi Joseph (21), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters at Madakane, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 December 1991.

GWALA, Wellton (55), was severely burnt when his house was petrol-bombed by ANC supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

GWALA, Zakhiwo Ngabuzi (24) an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters while the family was in hiding during political violence in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 April 1991.

GWALA, Zikhali (20), was shot dead in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Golokodo, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 10 January 1993.

GWALA, Zintembi (66), was harassed and threatened with death at Bulwer, Natal, in 1993, during ongoing political conflict in the area. As a result, he had to seek refuge in the neighbouring area.

GWALA, Zwelibi Alson, an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead and parts of his body were mutilated by ANC supporters at Hammarsdale, Natal, on 15 March 1990, in intense political conflict in the area.

GWAMANDA, Esther (48), had her home burnt down in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 February 1990 during violent conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters following the mass funeral of several UDF supporters in the area. Ten people, including a member of the SAP, were killed in the fighting, which continued for a week. An amnesty application was received.

GWAMANDA, Khonzokwakhe David (32), was shot dead in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 December 1988 in violent conflict between SPECIAL CONSTABLES and UDF supporters in the area. Seven people were killed, one was injured and a house was damaged.

GWAMANDA, Lucky Jabulani (31), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters at New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 10 April 1993.

GWAMANDA, Nokuzaba Tryphina (54), had her home and belongings destroyed by Inkatha supporters

in KwaMashu, Durban, in October 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

GWAMANDA, Selby Bonga, an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and shot to death at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 September 1989 in intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

GWAMBI, Robert Langalakhe (25), was shot dead in Umlazi, Durban, on 20 April 1992, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

GWANTSHENI, Blayi (42), an iKongo member, was assaulted by members of the SAP in 1971 in the Bizana police station, and then convicted of high treason and sentenced to four months which he served in Pietermaritzburg prison. He died four months after his release.

GWAQU, Zolile Alfred, was shot in the thigh by members of the SAP at a night vigil in Despatch, Cape, in 1985.

GWAYI, Adolphus, an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted during his two-month detention at Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

GWAYI, Jonas Masoyini, lost his home in an arson attack by ANC members in Bizana in 1960. Mr Gwayi refused to join the iKONGO during the PONDOLAND REVOLT and was therefore regarded as an informer.

GWAYI, Mabel Namse (42), had her home destroyed in a petrol bomb attack in Cradock, Cape, during April 1984. Her 18-year-old son was labelled a collaborator because he did not participate in a SCHOOL BOYCOTT.

GWAYI, Zolile Michael, a street committee member, was abducted from his home in Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, on 14 December 1993, and burnt to death by named and other perpetrators believed to be criminals in conflict with the street committee.

GWAYI, Zwelenkosi Baba (14), was shot with birdshot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

GWEBILE, Evelyn (48), had her home set alight by two men wearing balaclavas in May 1986 in Port Alfred, Cape. Ms Gwebile's nephew was an activist and was believed to reside with her.

GWEBU, Vanrooyen Wilson (47), an employee of the Manganese Metal Company in Randfontein, was in a *bakkie* with other passengers when it was ambushed near the company on 6 May 1990 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

GWENTSHE, Alcott Skwenene, an ANC supporter, was detained in Butterworth, Transkei, on 1 January 1964. It is believed that Mr Gwentshe was poisoned to death by members of the Security Branch two years after his detention.

GWENTSHE, Mzwandile, an ANC member, was arrested, tortured and assaulted by members of the Security Police in East London in 1963 and Cape Town in 1964. He was convicted of being a member of a banned organisation and sentenced to imprisonment

on Robben Island, from where he was released in 1970 after developing mental illness. In 1979 he left the country for Tanzania where he died of malaria.

GWESHA, Wellington Mpuntsu (35), a PAC supporter, was arrested and tortured by police in Paarl, Cape, on 22 November 1962, the day after a Poqo march to the police station that left seven people dead. Mr Gweshu was detained for nine months after which he was sentenced to three years on Robben Island, where he was frequently beaten by prison warders.

GWICANA, Vukile, was burnt to death while sleeping in his home in Site B, Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 4 November 1990, in an arson attack allegedly perpetrated by persons linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council.

GWIIJA, Petros Kimbali (29), was assaulted in Bizana and Flagstaff prisons, Transkei, in 1960, after being arrested for attending a NONQULWANA meeting. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

GWILISO, Themba Gerrad (47), had his house looted in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993, during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

GWILIZA, Isaac (54), a conservative squatter leader, survived an arson attack on his home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 5 September 1989, perpetrated by SPECIAL CONSTABLES and security officers from the local town council, during a feud between rival squatter leaders. He subsequently joined the PAC. His home was again destroyed and his son killed on 24 June 1990 during clashes with ANC supporters who perceived him and his followers as collaborators, due to his previous vigilante activities.

GWILIZA, Mawethu (30), a Special Constable and the son of a conservative squatter leader, was abducted, beaten and stabbed to death by ANC supporters on 24 June 1990 in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. Mr Gwiliza was one of three people killed during clashes between ANC supporters and supporters of his father who had joined the PAC.

GWINTSA, Felicia Vuyiswa (45), an ANC underground member, had her house badly damaged on 23 September 1988 during a shoot-out between the members of the security forces and an MK operative in Mdantsane, Ciskei.

GXABALASHE, Nandipha (13), a member of the Kula Youth Organisation, was assaulted with sjamboks, gun-butt and sticks by members of the Ciskei Police on 21 September 1985 while attending a community meeting at the Nobutho Higher Primary School Hall in Berlin, Ciskei. She was then driven with other youth to Mdantsane police station, Ciskei, where they were further assaulted.

GXABU, Clement Khehlana (28), an iKONGO member, was shot in the leg by named members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 during a raid on a mass meeting at NGOUZA HILL, Transkei. Eleven people died in the raid, a turning point in the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Mr Gxabu and 22 others were arrested and tortured.

GXASHI, Norwaliwa Victoria (55), had her home burnt down in political conflict between the 'RED' AND

'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

GXAWULA, Simon, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP at Bedford, Cape, on 29 June 1986, after intervening in a confrontation between the perpetrator and another person.

GXEKWA, Ntombomzi Nopinki (18), was shot and injured while attending an ANCYL fundraising disco in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 8 September 1993. A group of disguised men, allegedly part of an ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU), burst into the venue and opened fire, killing two and injuring several others.

GXEKWA, Sicelo Aron, was shot and killed in Kagiso, Tvl, on 6 August 1990, allegedly by members of the SAP, during violent conflict between ANC and IFP-supporting residents.

GXEYANE, Goodboy Kenneth (20), an ANC supporter, was abducted from his home and stabbed to death by a named member of the AMASINYORA vigilantes in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 13 January 1994.

GXIDI, Patricia Phumla (33), a UDF supporter, was severely tortured on 20 July 1985 in Whittlesea, Ciskei. She was returning to Queenstown from the funeral of the CRADOCK FOUR when the bus was stopped. Passengers were taken to the police station and questioned and assaulted by members of the CDF. Ms Gxidi was five months' pregnant. Her child has brain damage.

GXOLI, Nonkoliseko (46), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 15 February 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

GXOTHANI, July Potongwana (51), fled his job at Durnacol Mines in Newcastle, Natal, after violence erupted following a wage dispute on 18 October 1990. Mr Gxothani received death threats.

GXOWA, Thandolwethu Noruru (10), was shot with pellets and injured by members of the SAP in Cradock, Cape, in March 1987, as he ran away during a police search of his home for his activist brother. The whole Gxowa family was reportedly questioned, detained and assaulted by the police.

GXOYIYA, Sindiswa Maria Maxhamela (36), a UDF supporter, was detained for eight months by the Transkei Police at Dalasile police station, Transkei, in 1986.

GXUBANI, Jabulani Wilfred (33), was shot and severely injured at Bulwer, Natal, on 1 January 1990, in political conflict in the area.

HAAL, Lerato Virginia (39), an ANC supporter, was beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at a political meeting in Seoding Village, on 18 January 1992, and was also beaten while in custody in Mothibistad, Kuruman, Cape.

HAAS, Tembile Wilmot (18), a UDF supporter, was doused with petrol and set alight by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE at the municipal offices in Grahamstown, Cape, on 21 May 1986. Mr Haas was forced to admit that he was an ANC member.

HABANA, Sandile Dennis Shabi (20), a GRAYCO member, was detained at St Alban's prison, Port

Elizabeth, during the state of emergency in April 1988. He was released a year later and placed under house arrest.

HABIYA, Nokuthula Hazel (34), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

HABIYA, Ntombiyenkosi Thandiwe (26), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

HADABE, Bhekithemba Pieterse, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at his home in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 April 1991. The family was forced to flee the area.

HADDEN, Carl, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

HADEBE, Alias, had his house and car set alight by named Inkatha supporters at Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, in August 1984 in intense conflict between JORAC and Inkatha supporters over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu.

HADEBE, Anthony, was abducted from his home along with a friend, by self-defence unit (SDU) members and ANC supporters, in the Motsoaledi informal settlement, Tvl, on 29 March 1994. They were taken to a nearby school in Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, where he was shot and injured and his friend killed. They were suspected of participating in an IFP march that day. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0320).

HADEBE, Bekwenze Absolom (43), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by unidentified attackers while he was washing his car in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 1 October 1991. He was allegedly targeted for refusing to participate in a stayaway.

HADEBE, Bettina (59), was shot dead by named IFP supporters at her neighbour's home in Emamfemfetheni, near Bergville, Natal, in March 1992, allegedly because she was thought to be an ANC supporter. The perpetrators were arrested, but were acquitted for lack of evidence.

HADEBE, David Zamfana, was killed by Inkatha supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990, in intense political conflict in the area.

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

HADEBE, Elias (32), a UDF supporter, had his house and car set alight by named Inkatha supporters at Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, in August 1984 in conflict between JORAC and Inkatha supporters over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu.

HADEBE, Eugene Mlungisi (14), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters at Umkomaas, Natal, in October 1990, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

HADEBE, Fanny Richard, was shot in the knee by IFP supporters, in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Daveyton, Tvl, on 25 July 1993.

HADEBE, Hamilton, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 29 September 1985, because he was thought to be an Inkatha supporter. Mr Hadebe was wearing traditional dress and returning from a Shaka's Day rally.

HADEBE, Ida (44), was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters and members of the SAP at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 December 1988, in the TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The Commission granted amnesty to a former SAP captain for his part in planning and executing the attack.

HADEBE, Jabulani Mpikayipheli, a local chief's councillor, was assaulted, forced to drink petrol and set alight by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at Bhekezulu, Estcourt, Natal, on 25 December 1993. Mr Hadebe survived the attack. One SDU member was refused amnesty (AC/2000/223).

HADEBE, Jabulile Elizabeth (56), had her house burnt down at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1987 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

HADEBE, Joyce Bongumusa, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP members when they attacked her house at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 January 1993. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

HADEBE, Khalelwa Jeza (70), an IFP supporter, was doused with petrol and burnt to death by named ANC supporters in Alfred, Natal, on 3 January 1990. Ms Hadebe was suspected of practising witchcraft.

HADEBE, Khulekani, had his house burnt down on 11 September 1992 when armed gunmen attacked homes of suspected ANC supporters at Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Six people died, one was injured and several homes were burnt down in this attack.

HADEBE, Lancelot Mfanafuthi (aka 'Sobantu ') (31), a member of MK's Special Operations Unit, was killed on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed. Mr Hadebe was from Durban.

HADEBE, Makhosi Priscilla (35), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by named ANC supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 19 July 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

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

HADEBE, Melisiwe Eunice (27), an IFP supporter, was shot and severely injured and her home was burnt down by other named IFP supporters at Emangwaneni, Bulwer, Natal, on 7 December 1991, allegedly because her sons were ANC members.

HADEBE, Mirriam (34), had her home burnt down in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 December 1988 in intense conflict between Inkatha supporters, assisted by SPECIAL CONSTABLES, and UDF supporters in the area.

HADEBE, Mongezi (17), lost his home in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 21 March 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

HADEBE, Moses, was shot and injured while at his cousin's house in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 11 July 1992. The house was raided first by SAP members and then by IFP supporters. Mr Hadebe was arrested and then forced to leave the area.

HADEBE, Mqanjelwa Paulos (47), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in 1993.

HADEBE, Musawenkosi Pipi (14), was shot dead on 2 April 1994 when IFP supporters opened fire on a church congregation in an ANC stronghold in Bhekezulu, Estcourt, Natal. Five other people died in this attack, including Musawenkosi's brother.

HADEBE, Nomfundo (12), the niece of ANC supporters, was killed in her bedroom in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 5 August 1992, by a petrol bomb thrown by IFP supporters. Her brother was also killed, and an aunt was injured in the attack.

HADEBE, Nomusa Mso, was injured in an attack by UDF and ANC supporters in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990. Thirteen people died in the attack, which targeted IFP supporters. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/041).

HADEBE, Nozipho Cynthia Mbabe (19), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and beaten by ANC supporters in her home at Mahwaqa, near Port Shepstone, in 1992.

HADEBE, Ntokozo Jacky (15), was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 20 June 1990, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

HADEBE, Ntombenhle Veronika (54), an ANC supporter, had her house burgled and burnt down by IFP supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 24 October 1992.

HADEBE, Patricia Nontuthuzelo (23), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 February 1993. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down.

HADEBE, Phillip, disappeared on 7 December 1991 after being discharged from hospital in Ntuzuma, near Durban, where he had been treated for gunshot wounds sustained in political conflict. The perpetrators were allegedly IFP supporters from Lindelani.

HADEBE, Phindile (32), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 5 May 1991.

HADEBE, Promise Philisiwe (35), the sister of ANC supporters, was severely burnt when IFP supporters threw a petrol bomb into her house in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 5 August 1992. Her niece and nephew were killed in the attack. The house was destroyed.

HADEBE, Prudence, was burnt to death in an attack on her home at KwaMondi, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, on 30 November 1993, when IFP supporters carried out several attacks on ANC supporters in the areas around Eshowe. One person was killed and more than 45 homes were burnt down. Three other family members were injured in the attack. The attack was allegedly instigated by a local IFP-supporting chief seeking to drive ANC supporters out of the area.

HADEBE, Qinisela Addison, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP members when they attacked his house at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 January 1993. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

HADEBE, Reginald Behumuzi (36), an ANC Midlands Exective Committee member, was shot dead when the car in which he was travelling was ambushed by named members of the IFP between Richmond and Ixopo, Natal, on 27 October 1992. The occupants of the car were part of an ANC delegation returning from a peace meeting in the area.

HADEBE, Richard, executive member of the non-aligned Wembezi Crisis Committee, was shot dead near Estcourt, Natal, in 1993, by named IFP supporters, some of whom were KwaZulu Government officials. Five other executive committee members were also killed, allegedly because the Crisis Committee was perceived as a political threat.

HADEBE, Sandile (8), was shot dead when IFP supporters opened fire on a church congregation in an ANC stronghold in Bhekezulu, Estcourt, Natal, on 2 April 1994. Five other people died in this attack, including Sandile's brother.

HADEBE, Sbusiso, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Mbomboshana, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 27 November 1993 as he was returning from his son's funeral. See ESHOWE ATTACKS.

HADEBE, Shiyinduku Elias (31), had his house and car burnt in an attack by named Inkatha supporters in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, on 27 August 1984, during conflict between UDF supporters, opposed to the incorporation of Hambanathi into KwaZulu, and Inkatha supporters, pro-incorporation.

HADEBE, Sibongiseni Cyprian, an ANC supporter, was abducted from his home in Umlazi, Durban, on 12 January 1990 by named Inkatha supporters, and was found stabbed to death later that day. The family had to flee their home as a result of the attack.

HADEBE, Siphiwe Alson, a COSATU member, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 29 August 1991, because he was assisting ANC youths in the area.

HADEBE, Siyabonga (9), the nephew of ANC supporters, was killed when IFP supporters threw a petrol bomb into a house at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near

Estcourt, Natal, on 5 August 1992. His sister was also killed and an aunt injured in the attack.

HADEBE, Stencellous 'Sibusiso', was burnt to death in an attack on his home by IFP supporters in KwaMondi, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, in November 1993. See ESHOWE ARSON ATTACKS.

HADEBE, Thandokuhle Cyril (39), had his house in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, petrol-bombed on 15 February 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

HADEBE, Thembinkosi, an ANC supporter, had his hands and feet bound and was stoned to death on 30 October 1993 in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, by members of the ANCYL. Mr Hadebe was a bodyguard of a prominent ANC member, and there was conflict within the organisation at the time.

HADEBE, Thula Felix (19), a UDF supporter and MAWU member, died in Chesterville, Durban, on 8 December 1986, when a hand grenade exploded in his hand. The UDF were conducting a counter-attack against the Chesterville A-TEAM. Senior Security Branch members applied for amnesty for tampering with this arms cache.

HADEBE, Thulisile (15), was shot dead when named IFP supporters fired live bullets into a crowd attending a church service in Bhhekuzulu, Natal, on 1 April 1994, during political conflict prior to the first democratic election of 27 April.

HADEBE, Zamani, was shot and injured by unidentified persons at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 26 September 1992, during ongoing political conflict in the area. His sister was also shot dead in the attack and his home was burnt down.

HADEBE, Zwi Boy (34), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Inkanyezi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 October 1992.

HAFFEJEE, Hoosen Mia (27), an ANC supporter, died in custody at Brighton Beach police station in Durban on 3 August 1977 after being severely assaulted by named Security Branch members. The police reported that Mr Haffejee had hanged himself. The inquest found that his death was not brought about by any act or omission involving an offence, but declined to make a finding of suicide.

HAFFEJEE, Mohamed Saed Hassiam (21), was detained for 90 days in solitary confinement on 23 July 1964 in Stilfontein, Tvl, allegedly because the SAP suspected him of being in possession of banned literature.

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

HAJANE, Alpheus, was severely assaulted, his family members killed and his home and possessions burnt by IFP supporters in Katlehong, Tvl, on 10 September 1990 during ongoing clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

HAJANE, Frans (38), a mechanic, was shot dead on 10 September 1990 during an attack on his home in Katlehong, Tvl, by IFP supporters who were sweeping the area. Three other family members were killed in the attack.

HAJANE, Johannes, was shot dead during an attack by IFP supporters on the family home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 10 September 1990. Three other family members were killed in the attack.

HAJANE, Leah, was shot dead during an attack by IFP supporters on the family home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 10 September 1990. Three other family members were killed in the attack.

HAJANE, Semole (70), was shot dead by IFP supporters during an attack on the family home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 10 September 1990. Three other family members were killed in the attack.

HALL, Priscilla, a Black Sash member active in the Grahamstown Rural Committee and the Dependents' Conference, was arrested on 16 July 1986 and held in solitary confinement for 35 days. Ms Hall was released on 3 October 1986 but placed under restrictions for nine months.

HALOM, Nosipho (17), an ANC supporter, was shot in the stomach by a member of the SAP in Somerset East, Cape, while participating in a march to a policeman's house during the consumer boycotts of 1985.

HAMAMOTSA, Petros Papadi, was stabbed, hacked and stoned to death by named members of the SAP in Leandra, Tvl, on 25 January 1986. He belonged to a group of pupils who were against class boycotts and class disruptions.

HAMILTON, Wiseman, was detained and threatened with death by members of the SAP in Johannesburg, in 1975. He was arrested in connection with a new organisation formed under the umbrella of the Black Consciousness Movement.

HANABE, Euvicha Melrose Nomsa, a mayoress, suffered injuries resulting in physical disability when she was shot at by ANC Youth League (ANCYL) members in Uitenhage, Cape, on 14 February 1991. One ANCYL member was refused amnesty for the attack (AC/1997/0028). See COUNCILLORS.

HANASE, Henry 'Perrie' (18), was shot, injured and detained by SAP members in George, Cape, on 13 September 1976, when police opened fire on a crowd during a peak of unrest in the town. He was charged with public violence but was acquitted.

HANI, Buyisile Patrick (19), a UDF supporter, was beaten and tortured by attempted suffocation by members of the SAP in Cradock, Cape, on 24 March 1987, while he was under interrogation.

HANI, Chris, an SACP, MK and ANC leader, was shot dead in the driveway of his home in Dawnpark, Boksburg, Tvl, on 10 April 1993. Political protests and conflict broke out in towns across the country following the assassination and funeral. A Polish immigrant and a former member of the Conservative Party were refused amnesty for the killing (AC/1999/0172).

HANI, Luyanda Matthews (18), an ANCYL member, was beaten by members of the SAP police at his home near Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 6 October 1993.

HANJANA, Tasi Nehemiah (61), a Mgwali Residents' Association member, had his shop burnt down by members of the SAP and the Ciskei Police during a consumer boycott in Stutterheim, Cape, in February 1986.

HANS, Gqibile Nicholas, a Poqo member, was executed in Pretoria, on 30 May 1967 for his alleged involvement in the killing of a white shopkeeper in September 1962 in Paarl, Cape. Mr Hans and other Poqo members had also been arrested and convicted of other charges relating to Poqo activities in Paarl. After serving a three year sentence, he was charged with murder and sentenced to death along with eight other Poqo members, all of whom were hanged.

HANS, Kululekile Matthews (24), a UDF supporter, lost his sight after he was shot in the head by members of the SAP while on his way home from the local shop in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 23 March 1985, during political conflict in the area following the killing of a local COUNCILLOR.

HANS, Ncunyiswa Agatha (33), an ANC supporter, was detained under SECTION 29 on 18 November 1988 for providing support to MK operatives, and was held for two months in solitary confinement in the Sea Point and Macassar police stations, Cape Town. During her detention she was hit, abused and subject to numerous deprivations that resulted in severe depression, requiring hospitalisation. Ms Hans filed a civil suit against the Minister of Law and Order that was settled out of court in her favour.

HANSE, Fezile Thomas (13), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 17 June 1985. Three children were killed and several others injured in the shooting. See BONGOLETHU THREE.

HANSEL, Albin, was assaulted and robbed of firearms by a group of UDF supporters at his home at Greenlands Farm, Stutterheim, Cape, on 31 January 1990. Four UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0277).

HANSEN, Elke Martha, suffered injuries when a limpet mine, placed in a pot plant, was detonated near the Juicy Lucy restaurant on the corner of Andries and Vermeulen Streets, Pretoria, on 26 May 1988. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

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

HARBER, Anton, a journalist, was harassed by the Witwatersrand Security Branch between 1984 and 1985. One Witwatersrand operative was granted amnesty for intimidation (AC/2001/0184).

HARDY, Marie Catherine, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14

June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

HARKER, Gerhard (21), was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

HARKER, Wesley (13), was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

HARMANS, Zonwabele Moksom Pele (24), an AYCO member, was shot dead by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE during protests in Alexandria, Cape, on 23 May 1986.

HARRIS, Abida (12), was shot dead by named SAP members who opened fire on a rioting crowd in George, Cape, on 13 September 1976. Her family asserted that she was shot while on her way to a shop.

HARRIS, John, a member of the Armed Resistance Movement (ARM), was sentenced to death and executed on 1 April 1965 for his role in an explosion at the Johannesburg station, which left one person dead and several injured.

HARRIS, Lindi, a member of the Black Sash, was shot in the back by members of the SAP in East London on 22 April 1986 during the state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

HARRIS, Ronald (25), was shot dead by SAP members in Athlone, Cape Town, on 16 September 1976, during the SOWETO UPRISING.

HARTLEY, Sedick (22), was severely assaulted by SAP members in a Cape Town prison in June 1976, and again in June 1980. Mr Hartley and other supporters were in a march on Cape Town which ended with arson attacks and stone-throwing after the SOWETO UPRISING.

HARTMAN, A, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

HARTZENBERG, Fuad (14), was detained on 2 October 1987 and held for three months, during which time he was severely tortured at the Brackenfell police station and Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town, by named members of the special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT.

HARVEY, Paula, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June

1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

HASHE, Siphso (58), a member of PEBCO, and two colleagues, were abducted from the Port Elizabeth airport in a joint Eastern Cape and *Vlakplaas* operation on 8 May 1985. The PEBCO THREE were allegedly severely assaulted, then shot dead. Their bodies were doused with diesel fuel, set alight and burnt, and their remains were allegedly thrown into the Fish River. Five Eastern Cape Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, and four *Vlakplaas* operatives applied for amnesty. Two of the applications were granted and six were refused (AC/1999/0223 and AC/2001/064).

HATTAS, Riefaat (18), a UDF and ANC supporter, was severely tortured by named members of the SAP in Athlone, Cape Town, in November 1985. He was arrested during a march to honour those who were in detention or had died in political conflict.

HAWULANA, Mbulelo Steven (56), an ANC member, was assaulted by CDF soldiers at Bulembu Airport, near King William's Town, Cape, on 21 August 1992, during political conflict between ANC and ADM supporters.

HAYI, Zonisele Brevis (42), an ANC supporter, was shot in the thigh and injured on his way to work in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SAP, on 3 June 1993.

HAYYA, Gidion Zamiqhinga (28), an ANC supporter, was detained and charged with murder on 15 November 1985 in Middelburg, Cape. He was convicted and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. He had allegedly refused to act as a police informer.

HAYNES, Derrek, was injured when APLA operatives opened fire in the Crazy Beat Disco in Newcastle, Natal, on 14 February 1994. See APLA ATTACKS.

HAYTER, GB, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

HEERS, Katy (32), an ANC member, was detained for two months on 27 May 1986 in Jansenville, Cape. During her detention, she was beaten by members of the SAP.

HEISE, Khabele (59), was shot dead in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 March 1992 during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

HEKA, Nonceba Priscilla Majola (34), a UDF supporter, had her home burnt down in Somerset East, Cape, in May 1985 during a state of emergency and a period of consumer boycotts.

HEKTOOR, Andries Hector (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Robertson, Cape, on 11 April 1990. Police fired teargas into a crowded hall where residents were meeting. Over 100 people were treated for injuries relating to the subsequent stampede and shootings.

HEKTOOR, Mienie (33), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Robertson, Cape, on 11 April 1990. Police fired teargas into a crowded hall where residents were meeting. Over 100 people were treated for injuries relating to the subsequent stampede and shootings.

HELA, Khayaalethu (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Stutterheim, Cape, on 9 October 1985, while on his way from a public meeting.

HELESI, Vuyani Richard (16), was severely beaten and partially paralysed by a named member of the SAP on 7 November 1986 in Grahamstown, Cape. Civil action that followed found in favour of the perpetrator.

HEMPSTEAD, T, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

HENNING, Izak Jacobus (51), a commandant in the South African Air Force (SAAF), was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the SAAF headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

HENRY, Mark 'Yazir' (19), an MK operative, was arrested at his family home in Grassy Park, Cape Town, on 17 November 1989. Named Security Branch members extorted the whereabouts of an MK operative from him by threatening to kill his family members. He was detained under SECTION 29 until 22 March 1990.

HERBST, Abraham Johannes Wiese, suffered severe trauma when APLA operatives, armed with automatic weapons and hand grenades, stormed the Yellowwoods hotel, in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 23 March 1993 and opened fire on staff and patrons. One person was shot dead in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/225).

HERBST, Jacqueline Edna (21), was severely beaten with rifle butts by members of the SADF 32 Battalion, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 8 April 1992. Ms Herbst was one of more than 100 Phola Park residents including women and teenagers assaulted by members of 32 Battalion after an SADF member was shot and injured in Phola Park. Two women were also shot dead and at least four raped during the raid. An investigation by Justice Goldstone concluded that the soldiers had acted in a manner 'completely inconsistent with the function of a peacekeeping force' and recommended that the unit should not be used for peacekeeping duties anywhere in South Africa.

HERCULES, Ebrahim (19), a member of the BMW, was detained in 1987 in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, and severely tortured at the Bishop Lavis police station by named and other members of a special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT. He later served over two and a half years of a five-year prison term.

HERMANS, Gilbert Thembile, a UDF supporter, was hacked to death by AZAPO members during political conflict in Port Elizabeth on 20 October 1985.

HERMANUS, Doris Novakele (49), a Black Local Authority mayoress, had her house burnt down in Cradock, Cape, on 21 July 1985, in political unrest following the killing of the CRADOCK FOUR.

HERMANUS, Manuel Richard (27), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 1 May 1986 when police disrupted a May Day rally. Other people were also wounded in the incident.

HESHU, Mtutuzeli Michael, was shot dead after being assaulted by named members of the SAP in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 28 December 1977, in intense political revolt following the death of Steve Biko in September 1977.

HEWUKILE, Deborah Notembile (41), a SAAWU member, was shot by CDF members on 4 August 1983 at the Mdantsane railway station, Ciskei, during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

HEYNES, Eric (31), was shot dead by a named SAP member near Crossroads, Cape Town, on 26 March 1986. He was one of three protesters shot dead in an apparent ambush by police.

HIBBERT, Ann (44), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

HIBBERT, Lisa Claire (14), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

HIBBERT, Robert Granville, (44), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

HIBBERT, Susan, was present when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

HINA, Eunice Thandiwe, was assaulted while being interrogated by members of the SAP at Algoa Park police station, Port Elizabeth, in December 1984.

HINA, Siphio Fielden (38), an ANC member, was first detained during the 1960 state of emergency in Port Elizabeth. He was arrested and tried in 1964, and banned on his release in 1967. He was redetained in 1977 under the Terrorism Act, and tortured by named members of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch. He

was redetained in 1983 under the Internal Security Act, and tortured by named Security Police, in Port Elizabeth. He was tried for treason in 1983 and served a further sentence on Robben Island before being released in 1991.

HINI, Nombulelo Reginah (33), was abducted, raped and suffered severe mental torture by a named BLA COUNCILLOR and his colleagues during violent conflict between UDF supporters and BLA councillors in Uitenhage, Cape, on 15 March 1985.

HINTSHO, Lennox (39), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Nigel, Tvl, on 25 March 1994 during political conflict in the area in the run-up to the first democratic election on 27 April 1994. Police accused him of being in possession of a firearm.

HINTSHO, Lungile Mawethu, a UMTAYCO member, was stabbed by named perpetrators in Umtata, Transkei, in August 1990 during school protests against multiracial sports.

HLABAKWE, Patrick (18), an SRC member and ANC supporter, was tortured by members of the SAP while in detention in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in 1988.

HLABAKWE, Thabitha Dorcas (36), was suffocated with a wet bag by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in October 1988 during school boycotts in the area.

HLABANE, Thenji Vusi (17), a local ANCYL leader, was assaulted in kaNyamazane, Nelspruit, by members of the SADF, the SAP and the KABASA GANG in 1986. He was also reportedly assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP while in detention.

HLABATHE, Francina Sweetie (22), was shot in the leg and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Zonkesizwe informal settlement near Vosloorus, Tvl, on 19 April 1993 when the vehicle she was travelling in was attacked while returning from Chris Hani's funeral. Two people died in the attack and three were injured.

HLABE, Mxoxiswa (38), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 21 May 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

HLABISA, Khona Gustina (46), was shot and injured and her house in Hlabisa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, was burnt down in January 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

HLABISA, Mildred, was shot dead in Empangeni, Natal, on 4 June 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

HLABISE, Albertina Tate (50), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 22 February 1993 in ongoing political in the area.

HLABISO, Tshidiso Moses (17), a UDF supporter, was detained and beaten by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in June 1983 during a consumer boycott.

HLAHANE, Madala Steven (31), was shot and hacked to death by IFP supporters in Zonkesizwe, near Katilehong, Tvl, on 29 November 1990. Shack settlements on the East Rand were embroiled in violent conflict with IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers

which culminated in the killing of about 100 people in Zonkesizwe in November 1990. More than 11 000 people fled the area on 25 November 1990 and the IFP then established a stronghold there.

HLAKANYANA, Monwabisi David (33), an ANC member, was shot in the arm by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

HLAKOANE, Bessel Basil (38), was severely assaulted by members of the A-TEAM in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on Easter Sunday in April 1985. Mr Hlakoane developed epilepsy as a result of the attack.

HLAKOANE, Lefuma Jonathan (32), was detained and severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Welkom, OFS, on 1 April 1993. The police asked him to identify certain MK operatives from photographs. After identifying one person, he was taken into the veld and tortured.

HLALELE, Anna Puleng (24), a citizen of Lesotho, was shot dead on 9 December 1982 in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats on Maseru, Lesotho. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. Her husband and 15-year-old brother-in-law were also killed in the operation.

HLALELE, Israel 'Pondo' Mojalefa (15), a citizen of Lesotho, was shot dead on 9 December 1982 in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats on Maseru, Lesotho. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. His brother and sister-in-law were also killed in the operation.

HLALELE, Joseph Frenques (21), an ANCYL member, was detained on 21 March 1990 and held for 52 days, during which he was tortured by members of the SAP in Kroonstad, OFS. A boycott was underway at the time and it was believed that Mr Hlalele had participated in boycott action.

HLALELE, Mahlomolo Patrick (24), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named SAP member in Masilo, Theunissen, OFS, on 18 April 1987, allegedly after having been pointed out to the police as a 'big person in the area'. The policeman then allegedly shot him dead on the spot.

HLALELE, Motlatse Peter (26), a citizen of Lesotho, was shot dead on 9 December 1982 in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats on Maseru, Lesotho. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. His wife and 15-year-old brother were also killed in the operation.

HLALELE, Neo Thuloana (9), was injured in a shooting by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 18 April 1993 in the aftermath of the killing of CHRIS HANI.

HLALELE, Segamoroho Magdalene, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993. Ms Hlalele was one of five people killed during a night vigil held for CHRIS HANI.

HLALELE, Thabiso Pascali (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 June 1992 when gunmen opened fire on the taxi in which he was travelling. Random DRIVE-BYSHOOTINGS and attacks on taxis were aimed at sowing terror in the Vaal communities.

HLALETHWA, Hans Ramaphakeng (61), a UDF supporter, was arrested on 12 June 1986 during the state of emergency and detained for a year in Pretoria North police station.

HLALETHWA, Theophilus, was detained by members of the SAP on 12 June 1986 and held for a year in Pretoria police station, under emergency regulations. At the time, there were bus boycotts and conflict over the possible INCORPORATION of Soshanguve into Bophuthatswana.

HLAMANDANA, Mjongeni, an ANC member, was severely assaulted while in detention in March 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

HLANGU, Bahlamkile Otilia (74), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack in Ixopo, Natal, in July 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

HLANGU, Bavelile Florence (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, on 23 April 1992.

HLANGULELA, Joyce Anastasia (44), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

HLANGULELA, Sipho, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters at Emachobeni, Richmond, Natal, in June 1991.

HLANGULELA, Thembekile (78), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Ixopo, Natal, on 13 April 1993.

HLANGUZA, Hlophe, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 October 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

HLANGUZA, Thembelihle Nomafo (58), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 October 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area. Her son was killed in the attack.

HLANJWA, Lulama Joyce (23), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named members of a group opposed to consumer boycotts on 26 January 1991 in Barkly East, Cape.

HLANYANE, Sello Benjamin (26), a UDF supporter, was arrested at a UDF rally in November 1985 in Vanderbijlpark, Tranvaal. While in detention he was assaulted by named members of the SAP.

HLAPEZULU, Samuel (49), an ANC supporter, was detained in Cape Town, in 1963. He was charged with furthering the aims of the ANC, but was acquitted.

HLATSHWAYO, Angelina (48), an ANC supporter, was severely injured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 September 1991 after boarding a bus which was stopped outside Mshayazafe hostel by a hostel-dweller who threw a hand grenade into the bus. Gunmen then opened fire on

the crowded bus. Ms Hlatshwayo attempted to flee the bus and was shot several times from behind. Four people were killed and about 60 injured in the incident.

HLATSHWAYO, Bonginkosi, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 18 March 1990, following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February 1990.

HLATSHWAYO, Dewu Amos (56), a UDF supporter, had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, on 27 August 1984 during intense conflict between JORAC and Inkatha supporters over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu.

HLATSHWAYO, Francis Bheki, was beaten to death in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 June 1993, at a 'people's court' under the command of an officer of a local ANC self-defence unit (SDU). Mr Hlatshwayo was one of two people killed that day, and five others were severely beaten, allegedly for crimes committed in the community. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/033).

HLATSHWAYO, Gibson, was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

HLATSHWAYO, Husband, was shot during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 4 April 1993. He later died as a result of his wounds.

HLATSHWAYO, John Mpikayipheli, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

HLATSHWAYO, Makhehla Piet (51), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and thrown out of a moving train by ANC supporters in Alberton, Tvl, on 15 July 1993. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

HLATSHWAYO, Massie Celiwe, had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 4 April 1993, during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

HLATSHWAYO, Mokoroane Petrus (37), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 July 1993 in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING which left 14 people dead.

HLATSHWAYO, MT, an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 April 1992.

HLATSHWAYO, Muziwenkani Moses (50), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by other Inkatha supporters in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 9 February 1986 in the course of an internal feud within the organisation.

HLATSHWAYO, Mzwandile Khehla (20), an ANC supporter, was abducted and shot dead on 11 May 1993 in KwaMashu, Durban, together with four other ANC supporters, including a pregnant woman. Their bodies were found at a local school, and an IFP chief was implicated in the murders. Mr Hlatshwayo had recently returned from exile.

HLATSHWAYO, Sipho (25), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death by IFP supporters in Dumbé, Paulpietersburg, Natal, on 25 March 1994 while he was distributing ANC voting pamphlets. Five other people were killed in the area that day while distributing pamphlets.

HLATSHWAYO, Thokozani (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a group of IFP supporters at Woodford, Bergville, Natal, on 27 February 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

HLATSHWAYO, Victor, an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Katilehong, Tvl, on 10 January 1994 during political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. One of Mr Hlatshwayo's brothers was shot dead and the other was injured in this incident.

HLATSWAYO, Bongi (8), was shot dead by IFP supporters in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Daveyton, Tvl, on 25 July 1993.

HLATSWAYO, Buti Lucas (18), an IFP supporter, was abducted, shot and hacked to death by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members in Katilehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Eleven people were killed, nine execution-style, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

HLATSWAYO, Freddie Vusi, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death, allegedly by IFP supporters, at his home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 1 January 1992. His brother was killed in the same attack.

HLATSWAYO, Johnny, an SAP member, was shot dead in a tavern in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 2 August 1993 at a time when policemen were being targeted in the area.

HLATSWAYO, Joseph Makhozonke, was stabbed in the back by IFP supporters returning from a funeral on 9 May 1993 in Tembisa, Tvl. At the time, IFP supporters reportedly attacked residents of Giyane and Thafeni in Tembisa at random believing them to be ANC supporters.

HLATSWAYO, Mtakati Samuel (55), was shot and severely injured while travelling in a taxi when gunmen opened fire on it from another taxi near Springs, Tvl, on 21 September 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area. Six people died and two were injured in the incident. Mr Hlatshwayo suffered permanent damage to his leg as a result of the shooting.

HLATSWAYO, Ncabeni Phillip (30), a member of the SAP, lost his house in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Evaton, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 16 December 1990 during a period of boycotts and political rallies in the Transvaal.

HLATSWAYO, Puseletso Emily (35), an ANCWL member, survived a hand grenade attack on her home

in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 2 May 1991. Her four-year-old son was severely injured in the explosion.

HLATSWAYO, Setota Agnes Assa Sota (7), lost her home in Vereeniging, Tvl, when it was burnt down by ANC supporters on 20 September 1990.

HLATSWAYO, Sifiso (4), was critically injured when a hand grenade exploded in his home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 2 May 1991. His mother, an ANCWL member, was also injured in the attack.

HLATSWAYO, Sipiwe Victor, an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, at his home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 1 January 1992. His brother was killed in the same attack.

HLATSWAYO, Themba (16), was shot and injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING, allegedly by IFP supporters in Daveyton, Tvl, on 25 July 1993. At least five people including Themba's brother died, and another brother was also injured in this incident.

HLATSWAYO, Wiseman (16) was shot and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters on 25 July 1993 in Daveyton, Tvl, in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING. At least five people including Themba's brother died, and another brother was also injured in this incident.

HLAULI, Mohanuwa Edith 'Nani' (20), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and raped by IFP supporters at the Lefhiedi household in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 19 April 1993. The perpetrators raped three women before killing a total of seven people. Ms Hlauli was the only survivor because she pretended to be dead.

HLAZO, Desmond Zolile (15), was detained in June 1986 in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, and was beaten by named members of the Security Branch while being interrogated about arson attacks in the area. Shortly after his release he was shot and injured by police in Zweletemba.

HLAZO, Mariam Nothobile Nongenangaye (49), a UDF supporter in Oudtshoorn, Cape, was detained in May 1986 and held for two months in George, Cape. During her detention she was held for four days in an isolation cell.

HLAZO, Nkosinathi Patrick, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Lawaai kamp, George, Cape, on 12 March 1986.

HLAZO, Sandile, a youth activist, was shot and injured by SAP members in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 17 June 1985, during the fatal shooting of the BONGOLETHU THREE. Mr Hlazo was thereafter sentenced to two years' imprisonment for public violence.

HLEKANI, Nomalisa Doris (22), an ANC supporter, was left disabled after being shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

HLEKWAYO, Bakhokhisile (62), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 December 1993.

HLEKWAYO, Cabangile Doris (34), had her family home burnt down by IFP supporters in Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 December 1993. Ms Hlekwayo's son was an ANC supporter.

HLEKWAYO, Elizabeth, an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 July 1993.

HLEKWAYO, Erick Muziwakhe (21), an IFP supporter, was killed by other IFP supporters in Dondata Reserve, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 April 1991, because he was thought to support the ANC.

HLEKWAYO, Mafomu Thembukwazi (45), an ANC supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 27 July 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area. Earlier that month he had been severely assaulted by the same perpetrators.

HLEKWAYO, Mhlangabezi (80), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Emabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in December 1992 during political conflict in the area.

HLEKWAYO, Sipiwe Mpikeni, was shot dead in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 14 September 1993, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

HLEKWAYO, Thulani (26), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Emathunzi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 December 1993.

HLELA, Bhunu Muzikayise Ellington (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and had his throat cut on 14 April 1993 in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal. Rival ANC and IFP groupings allegedly burst into the house and attacked him and two friends after they had reported the death of an injured man. Twelve people were killed in Mpophomeni that week.

HLELA, Calungile Paulina (59), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down in the Kasthebe area of Bulwer, Natal, on 30 November 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

HLELA, Ephraim, was shot dead in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 5 November 1991, allegedly when he tried to stop members of the KWAZULU POLICE from arresting his son.

HLELA, Khonzeni Petrinah (50), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

HLELA, Maqmu Elphas (57), a COSATU member, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 15 December 1990. There had been an IFP meeting that day, and Mr Hlela and his family were attacked because they refused to attend.

HLELA, Mavis Khonzeni, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Pietermaritzburg, on 15 December 1990. Ms Hlela's parents were COSATU members and they had allegedly refused to attend a meeting organised by the IFP.

HLELA, Melusi Nicholas, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by Inkatha members during political conflict

at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in August 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). **HLELA, Ncane Alzina** (55), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

HLELA, Nkosinathi Emmanuel, was stabbed and shot dead at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, in January 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

HLELA, Nomoto Anastelia (70), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by a named attacker in Emangwaneni, Bulwer, Natal, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the early 1990s. Her daughter and granddaughter were stabbed in the attack.

HLELA, Ntombenhle (34), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by a named perpetrator in an attack on her home in Emangwaneni, Bulwer, Natal, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the early 1990s. Another family member was also stabbed, and their home was burnt down.

HLELA, Philisiwe (41), was stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 4 December 1991 in intense political conflict in the area. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

HLELA, Shoti Robert, an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed, beaten and burnt to death by UDF supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 29 September 1985, in intensifying political conflict in the area. Mr Hlela was branded as 'AMABUTHO' because he had gone to work in his traditional attire for a Shaka's Day celebration.

HLELA, Thokozani, was shot and killed by Inkatha supporters during ongoing political conflict in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 13 January 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0334).

HLELA, Velephi Emigard (44), a COSATU member, was stabbed and severely injured and had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 15 December 1990. There had been an IFP meeting that day, and Ms Hlela and her family were attacked for refusing to attend the meeting.

HLELE, Londi Eric (23), an Umlazi Youth League member and UDF supporter, was shot at by Inkatha supporters when they fired live ammunition at his house in Umlazi, Durban, on 19 April 1990, during political conflict.

HLENGWA, Alice (44), an IFP supporter, lost her husband and had her house destroyed in an attack by other IFP supporters in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 January 1994 in the course of a serious internal feud within the organisation.

HLENGWA, Basongile (44), an IFP supporter, was forced by ANC supporters to abandon her home near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 28 August 1991.

HLENGWA, Bekisisa (19), was shot and killed in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 June 1991 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

HLENGWA, Bongani Richard (35), an IFP supporter, was killed in a limpet mine attack on the home of a

well-known IFP leader at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 October 1991. See UMBUMBULU ATTACK.

HLENGWA, Bongiwwe (20), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990 near Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

HLENGWA, Clement Mandlakayise (20), ANC supporter, was shot dead by SAP members in Mtunzini, Natal, on 13 August 1992.

HLENGWA, Edmah Lezi (51), an ANC supporter, had her home set on fire by IFP supporters at KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990 during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

HLENGWA, Emmanuel Sipho (47), an IFP supporter, was shot dead and his house was destroyed in an attack by other IFP supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 January 1994 in the course of a serious internal feud within the organisation.

HLENGWA, Jabulani Johannes, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIM TRAINÉES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

HLENGWA, Khuleka Edwin (18), was shot at KwaNdengezi near Pinetown, Natal, on 30 March 1992 during political conflict.

HLENGWA, Matilda (48), a UDF supporter, was assaulted by Inkatha supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, in Durban in 1989. Her house was burnt down on 5 April 1990.

HLENGWA, Methoyi (53), was shot dead by ANC supporters during political conflict at Umlaas Road, Durban, on 8 April 1993. Mr Hlengwa was on his way back from work when he was attacked.

HLENGWA, Mzayifani, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and stoned to death by IFP supporters outside Pietermaritzburg, on 7 January 1991, in ongoing political conflict. His body was then burnt inside his vehicle.

HLENGWA, Sipho Emmanuel (46), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by fellow IFP supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 January 1994. The perpetrators allegedly believed that he had joined the ANC.

HLENGWA, Siyazi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 18 October 1991.

HLENGWA, Thembo, a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 August 1987.

HLENGWA, Zinhle, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a group of IFP supporters at Ndlovu's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010).

HLEZA, Skhumbuzo Enoch (11), was shot by members of the SAP on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING.

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

HLOBE, Shadrack (20), was shot dead by unidentified perpetrators outside a local primary school in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 April 1994 in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the first democratic election of April 1994.

HLOHLOMI, Mokone Simon (18), a student leader, was detained in Bloemfontein under emergency regulations on 16 June 1986. He was held for two months, during which he was tortured.

HLOKOFA, Benard (40), was abducted, beaten and shot near Crossroads, Cape Town, on 26 January 1984, by persons associated with a named Crossroads leader. Mr Hlokofa belonged to another group that was being violently evicted from Crossroads at the time. The attack left him mentally disabled and he died in 1987.

HLOKWE, Valley Mogale, was shot and injured by alleged members of the SAP in Tzaneen, Tvl, in April 1986 while he was helping organise a night vigil for a 'comrade'. In May 1986, police allegedly beat Mr Hlokwe with sjamboks during a political meeting in Tzaneen.

HLOMENDLINI, Alfred, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, on 21 September 1985, after a crowd had attempted to petrol-bomb the policeman's house.

HLOMENDLINI, Edgar (43), an MK operative, was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police at Rooigrond police station in Motsweneng, outside Zeerust, Tvl, on 26 October 1990. Two other MK operatives were shot dead in the incident.

HLOMUKA, Vusi (43), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP members in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in September 1993.

HLONGO, Mduzana (52), lost her cattle and her house in an arson attack in March 1993 in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her son was killed in the attack.

HLONGWA, Alfred, was killed in Empangeni, Natal, on 23 January 1993, when the wall of his house fell on him. The house had previously been attacked and damaged by alleged IFP supporters.

HLONGWA, Andries M, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

HLONGWA, Balungile (72), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

HLONGWA, Bekumuzi Prince (62), an Inkatha supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Hammarsdale, Natal, in August 1988, in intense political conflict in the area.

HLONGWA, Bennett Mashumpula, an IFP supporter, died after he was shot and axed by ANC supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 March 1991.

HLONGWA, Dingisono, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 October 1983 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

HLONGWA, Doris (47), an ANC supporter, had her house at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1990.

HLONGWA, Doris Thembi (32), a UDF supporter, lost her house in an arson attack in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in July 1987 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

HLONGWA, Gatu, an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death after being abducted from his home by named IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1992, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

HLONGWA, Khetheyakhe (15), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in May 1991 in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal.

HLONGWA, Lucky (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

HLONGWA, Mandla Aaron (57), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 7 December 1987, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

HLONGWA, Mandla Jacob (37), was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters near Durban on 24 July 1987, in political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters.

HLONGWA, Mantu Agnes Manhlanyeni (47), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Okhalweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 March 1991, allegedly because she was perceived to be an ANC supporter.

HLONGWA, Mcupheni Joseph, an ANC supporter, was shot dead while he slept in Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 November 1993. Mr Hlongwa's son and son-in-law were also killed during the attack.

HLONGWA, Mdituthumeni Mkhadi (30), had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 April 1994 in political conflict in the area in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Hlongwa said he was targeted because they wanted him to be a 'spy'. He was forced to flee the area.

HLONGWA, Musawenkosi Richard (33), was shot dead by ANC supporters at Hammarsdale, Natal, in April 1990, in intense political conflict in the area.

HLONGWA, Ntombile Happygirl (18), was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 4 June 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

HLONGWA, Pretty, was shot and killed by IFP supporters at Inkanyezini, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 March 1993, allegedly in a revenge attack. Five other people were killed in the attack.

HLONGWA, Shadrack Thamsanqa (31), an ANC member, was tortured in detention by members of the SAP in Machadadorp, Pretoria, in 1986 because he was suspected of arson. He was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment and paroled in 1991.

HLONGWA, Simon Zwelinjani (25), was shot and severely injured by a member of the ISU during political conflict in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993.

HLONGWA, Sishingishane (50), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in the Glebelands hostel, Umlazi, Durban, on 25 July 1992 in ongoing political conflict.

HLONGWA, Thembisile (21), lost her house in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1994 in violent conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

HLONGWA, Vusi Victor, (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SADF, while sleeping at his home in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 August 1992.

HLONGWA, Zibuyile Norah (22), an ANC supporter, had her house set alight in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 18 June 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

HLONGWA, Zwelethemba (30), an ANC supporter, was beaten to death by named ANC supporters in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 July 1993, allegedly because he was thought to be an IFP supporter.

HLONGWANA, Bekindlela Andreas (60), had his home destroyed in an arson attack in Bulwer, Natal, in January 1992, in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

HLONGWANA, Lefina, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, during ongoing political conflict prior to the first democratic election of April 1994.

HLONGWANA, Leonard Mdtshwa (66), had his house set alight by IFP supporters at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 19 April 1994, during political conflict in the area a week before the first democratic election on 27 April.

HLONGWANA, Rubert Bennet (19), was detained, together with his father and two brothers, in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, during June 1986. They were held for several months under emergency regulations at Victor Verster prison in Paarl, Cape, and interrogated about their political activities.

HLONGWANE (SIGANGI), Bonginkosi, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha members during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in August 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

HLONGWANE, Alfred (49), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 April 1990.

HLONGWANE, Anthony (42), was shot dead in an attack on his home at KwaHaza, near Howick, Natal, on 11 April 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Two other family members died in the same attack.

HLONGWANE, Bazothini Lungile (32), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mkhobeni, near Bulwer, Natal, on 28 November 1991 in ongoing political conflict in the area. Another member of her family was also injured in this attack.

HLONGWANE, Bethuel (30), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in January 1990. He was forced to flee the area.

HLONGWANE, Billy Ace, an Alexandra Civic Association member, was shot and burnt to death by named SAP members in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986. He was helping to organise a mass funeral of 19 people killed in clashes between residents and hostel-dwellers. After he was shot, he ran into a house which was then set alight.

HLONGWANE, Biziwe Albertina 'Mahlongwane' Makhosi (39), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by other Inkatha supporters in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in January 1990, because her brother was an ANC supporter.

HLONGWANE, Bongumusa Ndabitheni (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 October 1993.

HLONGWANE, Bonisiwe Lephina (44), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990, in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

HLONGWANE, China Gray (35), a COSATU member, was stabbed and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in an attack on the Hlobane Colliery near Vryheid, Natal, on 6 June 1986. See HLOBANE COLLIERY ATTACK.

HLONGWANE, Christopher (17), an ANCYL member, was shot in the head and partially paralysed in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 15 February 1986 when members of the SAP opened fire before a mass funeral.

HLONGWANE, David (17), a COSAS and CAYCO member, was detained in Worcester, Cape, during 1993, and charged for participating in a political campaign to boycott taxis belonging to local COUNCILLORS. Thereafter, he was constantly harassed by police, which forced him to flee Worcester and go into hiding in Cape Town. In June 1986 his father and three brothers were detained under emergency regulations for several months.

HLONGWANE, DE (56), an IFP supporter, had her home and possessions burnt in an attack by ANC supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1991.

HLONGWANE, Elias, was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

HLONGWANE, Fikile Jane, a UDF supporter, had her house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a

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

HLONGWANE, Getrude Nomawunga (45), had her home burnt down in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in January 1993.

HLONGWANE, Hlekiwe, was shot and severely injured in an attack by IFP supporters on her home in Mkhobeni, near Bulwer, Natal, on 28 November 1991 in ongoing political conflict in the area. A member of her family was killed in the same attack.

HLONGWANE, Hlengiwe Betty (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in Bulwer, Natal, on 29 October 1992, in continuing political conflict in the area.

HLONGWANE, Innocent Mbuso (19), an ANC supporter, was shot by an IFP supporter in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

HLONGWANE, Innocent Mbuzeni, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

HLONGWANE, Jabulani Mondli (27), an ANC supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack near Bulwer, Natal, on 30 November 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

HLONGWANE, Jeslina Qinisile (24), had her house and possessions burnt by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 May 1987 in intense political conflict in the area.

HLONGWANE, Johannes Khazamula, a member of the SAP, escaped unharmed when a limpet mine, attached to his police van by MK operatives, exploded in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 17 March 1985. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

HLONGWANE, Madile Alzinah (69), an ANC supporter, was seriously injured in a hand grenade attack by IFP supporters in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 22 February 1992. She was at the funeral of a COSAS member held close to an IFP stronghold.

HLONGWANE, Magwagwa Elias (41), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 9 October 1990 when three AWB members opened fire on a bus travelling to Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban. In the attack seven passengers were killed and twenty-seven injured. Two AWB members were granted amnesty. One amnesty application was refused.

HLONGWANE, Maria (39), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on her home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 February 1990.

HLONGWANE, Ningi Promise (12), was shot dead in an attack on her home at KwaHaza, near Howick, Natal, on 11 April 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Two other family members also died in the attack.

HLONGWANE, Nkosinathi Phillip, a supporter of the ANC, was attacked and killed by an Inkatha member during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 July 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

HLONGWANE, Nokiki, was stabbed to death in April 1992 by IFP supporters when she visited the Vusimusi hostel in Tembisa, Tvl, during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Her three-year-old son was also killed in the attack.

HLONGWANE, Nomshado Dinah (38) was stabbed in the back during an attack on her home by IFP supporters looking for 'comrades' in Katilehong, Tvl, in August 1990. Ms Hlongwane's three sisters and a friend were gang-raped during this attack. The incident occurred shortly after the outbreak of violent political conflict on the East Rand.

HLONGWANE, Nomthandazo Gloria (31), had her home burnt down in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in May 1993. Ms Hlongwane's health suffered as a result of the attack, and she died at age 37.

HLONGWANE, Nsizwane Johannes (26), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Bruntville, KwaZulu, near Mooi River, Natal, on 7 June 1991, in intense political conflict in the area.

HLONGWANE, Ntobeko Patrick (40), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in April 1991.

HLONGWANE, Ntombi Carinah (25), had her house and all belongings burnt during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990.

HLONGWANE, Paul Hickson, was detained for six months in 1987 in Johannesburg. During his detention, he did not receive adequate medical attention for his diabetes.

HLONGWANE, Phakamani Joseph (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters while attending an ANC rally near Bergville, Natal, on 6 June 1993. See BERGVILLE ATTACK.

HLONGWANE, Phillip Smanga (19), an ANC supporter, was stabbed in the body and eye by IFP supporters on a train travelling between Phomolong and Phefeni stations in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 15 October 1993. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

HLONGWANE, Phumlani, was shot and injured, together with a friend, by named IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, near Bulwer, Natal, on 4 March 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

HLONGWANE, Pretty Elsie (28), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Hosiyana, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in February 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

HLONGWANE, Richard (26), was injured in a shooting in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 11 May 1992 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

HLONGWANE, Ruth (35), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Taylor's Halt, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

HLONGWANE, Samuel (21), a UDF supporter, was detained, together with his father and two brothers, in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, during June 1986. They were held under emergency regulations for several months at Victor Verster prison in Paarl, Cape, and interrogated about their political activities.

HLONGWANE, Sebenzile Sabhina (38), lost her home in an arson attack in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1991 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

HLONGWANE, Sibusiso Erick (11), an ANC supporter, died instantly when he was stabbed with a spear by IFP supporters in Bruntville, KwaZulu, near Mooi River, Natal, on 16 August 1991, in intense political conflict in the area.

HLONGWANE, Simati Daniel (57), was detained, together with three of his sons, in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, during June 1986. They were held for several months under emergency regulations at Victor Verster prison in Paarl, Cape, and interrogated about their political activities. Mr Hlongwane was assaulted by police during his detention. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

HLONGWANE, Sindisiwe (21), IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 21 August 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

HLONGWANE, Sphiwe Solomon (34), had his home destroyed in an arson attack at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, in political conflict following the mass funeral of several UDF supporters. Fighting in the area continued for up to seven days resulting in the deaths of ten people, including a member of the South African Police.

HLONGWANE, Siphso (31), was stabbed and stoned to death by ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 17 July 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

HLONGWANE, Solomon (34), an ANC supporter, had his home destroyed by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See MPUMALANGA ATTACKS. See Mpumalanga attacks. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

HLONGWANE, Thami, was shot and killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natspruit, Tvl, on the 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

HLONGWANE, Thandi Cicilina (34), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu,

near Estcourt, Natal, during 1990 in intensifying political conflict. Her husband was killed in the attack.

HLONGWANE, Thulane Jerome, was hacked to death by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 July 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

HLONGWANE, Tryphina Thoko (50), was shot and injured by Riot Unit members during school boycotts in Lamontville, Durban, on 10 March 1986. Ms Hlongwane was trying to help a youth who had been shot dead when she was herself shot.

HLONGWANE, Vusumuzi Richard, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Oliviershoek, near Bergville, Natal, on 17 September 1993. Mr Hlongwane was reportedly killed because he supported the return of banished Chief Hlongwane.

HLONGWANE, Walter Sokesimbone (14), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP members near Stanger, Natal, on 9 April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

HLONGWANE, William, a UDF supporter, was burnt to death in an arson attack by Inkatha members on his home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 February 1990. Mr Hlongwane's wife also died in the attack, but he managed to throw his children out of the window to safety before he died.

HLONGWANE-SIBIYA, Sweleni Sibengile (34), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in August 1990, during political conflict in the area.

HLONGWE, Khetheyakhe (15), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by an IFP supporter at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 May 1991, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

HLONGWE, Mcenjulwa, was executed at Pretoria Central prison on 21 March 1962 after being sentenced to death in Kokstad, for his involvement in the 1960 PONDOLAND REVOLT.

HLONGWE, Sikhumbuzo Stanley (20), an ANC supporter, died after being shot and stabbed by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 5 July 1992.

HLOPE, Alexia Fikelephi (42), whose sons were ANC supporters, was beaten and stabbed to death by IFP supporters near Umkomaas, Natal, on 31 December 1992, during political conflict.

HLOPE, Arsenius Joseph (aka 'Jabu Zikalala'), an MK member from Soweto, Johannesburg, was executed in Angola in 1981 on the orders of an ANC military tribunal. A number of ANC members were detained, tortured and killed during a period of anxiety about infiltration by South African agents following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979.

HLOPE, Ellinah Makho (26), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Mpumuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR in March 1990.

HLOPE, Mfihlelwa Elliot, was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27

injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

HLOPE, Sthembiso Eugene (22), was shot by Inkatha supporters at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

HLOPE, Zondani (72), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by alleged UDF supporters at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 March 1990.

HLOPHE, Benzile Sixtonia (26), had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in an arson attack on 4 November 1986 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

HLOPHE, Bhekizitha (54), an ANC supporter, was severely injured in an attack by IFP supporters in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 January 1991.

HLOPHE, Bongimuzi George, an Inkatha supporter, was killed in Machobeni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, by UDF supporters while waiting for a bus on 1 November 1989. This attack was in revenge for the killing of a UDF supporter by Inkatha supporters.

HLOPHE, Cosmas Ntando (21), was shot and injured on 9 October 1990 when three AWB members opened fire on a bus travelling to Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban. In the attack seven passengers were killed and twenty-seven injured. Two AWB members were granted amnesty. One amnesty application was refused.

HLOPHE, Daniel, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in Piet Retief, Tvl, in 1986 by members of the SAP who found him in possession of political leaflets.

HLOPHE, Dlokwakhe Eugene (41), was shot and injured by members of the ANC breakaway gang known as the AMAVARAVARAS in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 23 November 1989. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for his son, an ANC supporter.

HLOPHE, Doctor Ndoda (38), had his property burnt by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in April 1989 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

HLOPHE, Emma Nkehlana 'Mamsayizi' (68), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 18 November 1993. Two members of her family were shot dead in the attack.

HLOPHE, Ennie Mildred (36), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Nsimbini, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 3 April 1990.

HLOPHE, Galus, was stabbed to death by members of the ANC breakaway gang known as the AMAVARAVARAS in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 24 September 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

HLOPHE, Isaac, was stabbed to death by members of the ANC breakaway gang known as the AMAVARAVARAS in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 24 September 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

HLOPHE, Johannes, a worker at the SASOL II plant, was detained and severely beaten by members of the

SAP in Nigel, Tvl, in 1980 because he had the same surname as an MK operative involved in the attack on the SASOL II plant. The MK operative was sentenced to death. Mr Hlope spent four weeks in detention.

HLOPHE, Justice Bhekisisa, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, on 13 October 1990, reportedly because he failed to attend an IFP rally.

HLOPHE, Lille Ntombizokwenzani (70), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters at Mahehle, Ixopo, Natal, on 13 April 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

HLOPHE, Lina (76), had her house damaged in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, in March 1994, during political conflict.

HLOPHE, Mayvis (40), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Bulwer, Natal, on 29 October 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

HLOPHE, Mphikeleli Alfred (32), an ANC supporter, was severely injured by named IFP supporters in a drive-by shooting at Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 22 December 1993, during continuing political conflict in the area.

HLOPHE, Nhlanhla Fortune (7), had his family home burnt down by IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during 1991. He and his ANC-supporting family were in hiding following threats on their lives.

HLOPHE, Nokudiwa (69), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

HLOPHE, Nokuthula (49), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1990 in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

HLOPHE, Nomasonto Sibongile (49), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

HLOPHE, Robert (28), an ANC supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 30 June 1993.

HLOPHE, Robert Complete (22), was arrested at KwaGuga, near Witbank, Tvl, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING. He was hit on the head by members of the SAP before being transferred to the Witbank police station where he was severely assaulted. As a result he was sent to Weskoppies mental hospital for observation.

HLOPHE, Samuel, was burnt to death in an arson attack on his home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 16 August 1993 in conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

HLOPHE, Savelle Vusumuzi, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 18 June 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

HLOPHE, Thandeka (11), was shot dead when her family was attacked by IFP supporters in Bulwer,

Natal, on 29 November 1991, during political conflict in the area. Other family members managed to escape from the attackers.

HLOPHE, Thembisile Philda (52), lost her home in an arson attack at Ngonweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 15 November 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

HLOPHE, Thuthukani John, an ANC supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters on 30 November 1988 in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban. His family was later informed that he had been killed. His body has never been found.

HLOPHE, Toloto Christina (58), had her house destroyed in an arson attack at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 29 August 1992, in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

HLOPHE, Victor Jeffrey Wuya, a UDF supporter, disappeared from Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 9 July 1986. It is assumed he was burnt to death by *Vlakplaas* operatives in Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, during July 1986. He and eight other youths recruited by *Vlakplaas askaris* for supposed military training were killed and the house they were staying in was set alight. Their bodies were burnt beyond recognition. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

HLOPHE, Xolani, was shot dead by members of the ANC breakaway group known as the AMAVARAVARAS at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 6 January 1992, in intense political conflict in the area.

HLOPHE, Zodwa Lydia (25), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

HLOTSE, Keku Edwina (37), lost her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, when it was burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

HLUBI, Bekizizwe Conrad (37), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters when a large armed group of IFP hostel-dwellers, supported by the security forces, launched two attacks on ANC supporters in Bruntville, Mooi River, Natal. In all, eighteen ANC supporters were killed in these attacks and at least a hundred homes were burnt or damaged.

HLUBI, Bernet (12), was shot dead by a member of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, on 21 June 1985 during political conflict.

HLUBI, Bhekizizwe Goodluck, was shot dead by an IFP supporter while sleeping at his home in Woodford, Bergville, Natal, on 31 December 1993. He was reportedly suspected of being an ANC supporter.

HLUBI, Elizabeth, was injured on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

HLUBI, Mathilda, was injured on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark,

Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

HLUBI, Nowelile (49), lost her home in KTC during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, in June 1986, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

HLUBI, Popo Meshack, was injured on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

HLUBI, Valerie, suffered damage to property when her house in Manzini, Swaziland, was bombed on 4 June 1980. The operation was undertaken by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch in retaliation for the MK attack on the Sasol refinery a few days earlier. An MK operative and a seven year-old boy were killed in the operation. Five Security Branch operatives and one member of the SAP were granted amnesty (AC/2001/228 and AC/2001/279).

HLUNGWANE, Reckson, was shot dead at the Manganese Metal Company in Kagiso, Randfontein, Tvl, on 6 May 1990.

HLWELE, Bonisile (18), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Barkly East, Cape, on 9 February 1990, while he was participating in celebrations of the release of Nelson Mandela.

HLWELE, Mthuthuzeli Richard (17), was shot and severely injured in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 22 May 1992 during a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING. The perpetrators allegedly included members of security forces.

HOARST, Cecilia Dinah Magdalena, was shot and injured by SAP members in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, on 20 September 1985. She was returning home with a friend after watching street protests in the area.

HOBANA, George (58), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted with a sjambok by members of the Ciskei Police and CDF in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 16 June 1986. Mr Hobana had attended a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING.

HOBANA, Nora Nomonde (43), was seriously injured when members of the SAP sprayed teargas and shot randomly at mourners in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, in 1986.

HOBIYA, Hombaselo (72), an ANC supporter, lost her home at Mbozama, Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in an arson attack on 24 December 1993 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

HOBIYA, Sivuyile Wellington (27), a member of the East London Youth Congress, was seriously injured when the vehicle in which he was travelling was run over, allegedly deliberately, by a police Casspir in September 1985 in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London.

HOBO, Linah Thenjiwe (43), lost her home in an arson attack by migrant workers from the hostels in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, during political conflict between the hostel-dwellers and Nyanga residents over the Christmas 1976 period.

HOBONGWANA, Mongezi Brian (15), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF during protests at Uitenhage, Cape, on 15 August 1985. At the time of the shooting, Mongezi was on his way to attend a student meeting.

HOBOSHE, Nohose Nonceba, died of burn wounds in Grahamstown, Cape, on 1 September 1986 after the house in which she was sleeping was set alight by 'comrades', allegedly because her mother was a police reservist.

HOBOSHE, Vuyiswa (15), was burnt to death in Grahamstown, Cape, on 1 September 1986 after the house in which she was sleeping was set alight by 'comrades', allegedly because her mother was a police reservist.

HOBOSHE, Yunguma Priscilla, died of burn wounds in Grahamstown, Cape, on 1 September 1986 after the house in which she was sleeping was set alight by 'comrades', allegedly because her mother was a police reservist.

HOBOYI, Lizo Leonard (14), was shot and injured in the home of his father, an ANC supporter, in Tembisa, Kempton Park, Tvl, on 1 August 1993, during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

HOFFMAN, Marius (19), was shot and injured by named security guards of the Regional Services Council in Elsies River, Cape Town, on 18 June 1992. He was participating in a sit-in aimed at highlighting community grievances. Numerous people were injured as police fired at the fleeing crowd.

HOFFMAN, Michael Tim (28), was arrested on 14 June 1986 and detained for 14 days in North End prison, Port Elizabeth, because of his involvement in ECC activities.

HOFFMAN, Mzayifane Naphtale (36), a journalist and chairperson of the Jouberton civic association, was sjambokked and tortured in detention by members of the SAP in Klerksdorp prison, Tvl, on 11 June 1986. Mr Hoffman was detained for a year during the state of emergency.

HOGAN, Barbara (28), an underground ANC member, was detained at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, on 1 December 1981. While in detention, she was assaulted and subjected to intimidation tactics by members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch. Ms Hogan was later sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for high treason. In 1992 a Witwatersrand Security Branch operative set fire to a motor vehicle parked in Ms Hogan's driveway at her home in Johannesburg. Two Witwatersrand Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for the 1981/2 and 1992 violations (AC/2001/005 and AC/1999/0029).

HOGO, Acacia, an MK operative, was shot dead during a shoot-out with members of the SAP on 4 March 1985 at his cousin's house in Khayelitsha, Queenstown, Cape.

HOGO, Fana Nelson (31), an ANC supporter, had his property destroyed when members of the SAP drove an armoured vehicle through his house on 4 March 1985 in Queenstown, Cape. Two MK operatives were killed in the same incident.

HOGO, Qonda, an MK operative, was shot dead during a shoot-out with members of the SAP on 4 March 1985 at his cousin's house in Khayelitsha, Queenstown, Cape.

HOJEM, Mozelle, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

HOLLAND, Abraham Johannes, suffered property loss when his car was stolen by members of the AWB on 25 April 1994 and used in a bombing operation at a taxi rank in Randfontein, Tvl, with the aim of disrupting the electoral process. Six AWB members were granted amnesty for the theft and for the attack (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

HONOKO, Daniel Molebatsi (22), was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING during a night vigil for CHRIS HANI in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993.

HOOGAARDT, Spasiena Carolina (15), was one of three women shot dead by named members of the SAP on 9 September 1976, during extensive street protests in Paarl, Cape. She was returning home from church with her family when she was shot.

HOPSHIRE, Roseline Nomhle (13), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP on 27 May 1985 while playing outside during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in Fingo Village, Grahamstown, Cape. She was hospitalised and suffered permanent disfigurement as a result of the shooting.

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

HORN, Cornelia Johanna Aletta, (67), was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

HORN, Nozilio Ellen (40), was shot with rubber bullets in Boichoko, Postmasburg, Cape, on 18 June 1993. She was charged with public violence, but was acquitted.

HOSHELA, Sedezama Welliam (34), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Phomolong, Henneman, OFS, in 1990. After being hospitalised and released, he was arrested and detained without charge for 50 days.

HOSLETT, DA, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

HOTANA, David (24), a SAYCO member, was detained by members of the SAP at Kareedouw, Cape, in April 1986. In detention he was tortured by attempted suffocation with a wet bag.

HOTANE, Onkokame Rebecca (39), an ANC supporter, was beaten when she was arrested by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Pampierstad, Bophuthatswana, on 1 January 1994. Ms Hotane was arrested with 18 others and accused of arson and malicious damage to property. Charges were dropped in November 1995.

HOTANI, Rebecca, was detained for two weeks at the Pampierstad police station, Bophuthatswana, on 1 January 1994 during a spontaneous community march in support of the first democratic elections to be held in April 1994. Marchers were assaulted by alleged members of the Bophuthatswana Police. There was a court case held subsequently and all the marchers were acquitted.

HOWE, Illana (6), survived an explosion caused by a bomb planted by MK operatives at the Benoni Plaza Wimpy, as part of the MK sabotage campaign. One person died and 56 were injured in the explosion.

HSOZI, Viliza (46), was shot dead by ANC supporters in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 17 June 1991, during political conflict in the area.

HUDSON, Thomas, was killed in a limpet mine explosion at the Wild Coast Casino in Bizana, Transkei, on 18 April 1986. Two people were killed and several others injured in the explosion. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/99/0181 and AC/2000/240).

HUFKIE, Frederick Emmanuel (58), an ANC and UDF supporter, was detained by members of the SAP at Spandau High School, where he was a principal, in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, during a student protest against police harassment. In June 1985 he was again detained and tortured by SAP members outside his home in Graaff-Reinet after returning from Noupoot, Cape, where he had been engaged in church work.

HUGHES, Ann, suffered damage to property when paint remover was thrown over her vehicle while she was visiting Helen Joseph, a banned Congress of Democrats member. A Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/230).

HUGHES, Pat (19), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 31 December 1993 in ongoing political conflict in the area. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

HUGO, Rosy (34), a member of the Council of Ten, was detained on 12 June 1986 and held for six months under emergency regulations in George, Cape. Ms Hugo was pregnant when she was detained.

HULSE, Keith, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

HUMA, Musa Patford (41), was shot dead in Tembisa, Tvl, on the 23 December 1993 during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents.

HUMA, Sylvia Mono, was shot dead by Bophuthatswana Police in Thabane, Bophuthatswana, on 25 February 1990. Youths were burning government buildings when the police opened fire.

HUMAN, Dirk Hendrick, sustained damage to his property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

HUMAN, HS, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

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

HUNT, Sarie, was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Gardiner Street, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076).

HUTCHESON, Andrew, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

HUTCHESON, Marayana, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

HUTCHINSON, Judy, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

HUTTER, JF, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

IKANENG, Jeffrey Motsamai, was shot by IFP supporters in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 May 1991 in conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

IKANENG, Lerotodi Andrew, was stabbed and severely injured by members of the MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, in February 1989. Mr Ikaneng had left the Mandela household a few months before and was labelled an informer.

IKGOPOLENG, Masego, a citizen of Botswana, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on a house in Phiring, near Gaborone, Botswana on 28 March 1988. A senior MK commander and two other Batswana women died in the raid. After being shot, the victims were doused with petrol and set alight. The head of C-Section at Security Branch headquarters and other Security Branch members were refused amnesty for arranging a bogus arms cache to be 'discovered' as a pretext for the raid.

INDIA, Mongezi Gladstone (26), an MK operative, was detained under SECTION 29 and severely tortured in detention by named members of the Security Branch at their offices in Cape Town, on 21 July 1988. He was held for six months until his release in January 1989.

INDIA, Nomvulo (32), a UDF supporter, was detained for three weeks on 25 July 1987 in Mdantsane, Ciskei, by named members of the Ciskei Security Police who wanted information on the whereabouts of her brother. During her detention, she was tortured by attempted suffocation.

IRVING, Mark Robin (20), was incarcerated in Voortrekkerhoogte prison and Boksburg prison between 1981 and 1984 for his refusal to participate in national service in the SADF.

ISAACS, Abdusalaam (18), a UDF supporter, was detained for two weeks at Bishop Lavis police station, Cape Town, in June 1986. He was arrested for possession of banned material.

ISAACS, Colin (28), died the day after he was shot by SAP members in Retreat, Cape Town, on 8 September 1976, during widespread unrest in the area related to the SOWETO UPRISING.

ISAACS, Faiza (16), was detained for one month under emergency regulations in October 1987 at Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town, because of her student activities and political associations.

ISAACS, Henry Eric (24), a SASO activist and later PAC member, was detained in 1973 and later placed under a banning order while serving as the SRC President at the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town. While under house arrest in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, he and his family faced ongoing intimidation by named members of the SAP. He fled into exile and became a senior PAC representative until his resignation in 1982 during severe internal conflict within the PAC.

ISAACS, Shanaaz (17), a Bonteheuwel student activist and UDF supporter, was detained under emergency regulations in June and July 1986 in Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town.

ISAACS, Beulin (16), who was pregnant, was shot dead by SAP members in Paballelo, Upington, Cape, on 11 November 1985. Several other residents were injured. A community meeting held the previous day

to discuss social and political grievances was followed by police shootings and youth attacks on security forces and perceived collaborators.

ISAACS, David, a local Labour Party leader known for challenging discriminatory practices in the area, was shot dead by a named farmer in Upington, Cape, on 29 February 1988. Mr Isaacs had intervened after the farmer had shot at some children.

ISHAPIN, Gordon, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

ISSEL, James Victor (45), an ANC supporter, was held in custody for 11 months from 1 May 1979 in Worcester prison, Cape. He was arrested for alleged involvement in an arson attack in Worcester, but was acquitted. He was again detained in June 1980 and August 1985 for one month.

ISSMAN, Irgard Herna Maria, a passenger on a Translux bus, was injured when APLA operatives fired at a Translux bus at the Gamka River Bridge, Beaufort West, Cape, on the 27 August 1993. Eight people were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/167).

ITUMELENG, Thapelo (18), was beaten to death in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in June 1990 following a split in the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC). The KYC split into two opposing factions, the 'Gadaffis' and the 'Zim-zims'. The split led to a number of deaths in the area.

JABANE, Petros Linda (aka 'Gordon Dikepu'), was shot dead by members of the SAP at a house in Chiawelo, Soweto, Johannesburg, in November 1980. The police allegedly removed the body and did not issue the family with a death certificate. Mr Jabane's burial place has never been revealed although police later released a report that he had committed suicide after killing three policemen. The house owner's son was also killed in the attack.

JABULANA, Mantombi Kate (63), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 March 1993.

JACA, Nkobe Joseph (40), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 28 February 1993 in intense conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

JACK, Andile (16), was shot and injured in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 19 June 1991 when a group of men opened fire on the vehicle in which he was travelling, killing his uncle, an ANC activist. A member of an ANC self-defence unit applied for and was refused amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/003).

JACK, Bennet Ndyundyu (50), an ANC member, was shot in the right leg by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

JACK, Gladman Luyanda, was shot and beaten by SAP members on 21 March 1960 when police broke up an anti-Pass demonstration in Langa, Cape Town, with teargas, batons and bullets.

JACK, Loyiso Roshu (20), a member of the East London Youth Congress, was shot dead by a member of the SADF on 2 September 1985 during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London.

JACK, Mbuyiselo James (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP at Lawaaiikamp, George, Cape, on 15 February 1986, while taking part in protests against forced removals from Lawaaiikamp to Sandkraal.

JACK, Mkhusele John (22), a youth activist, was detained, interrogated and tortured by members of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch during 1979. In 1985, Mr Jack, then a UDF activist and PEYCO president, was again detained and tortured. A former member of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch was refused amnesty for the 1985 torture (AC/1997/0068).

JACK, Mthuthuzeli, a SANCO member, died in East London in August 1985 after he was shot by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London.

JACK, Mziwonke Solomon 'Pro' (33), an ANC member and former Robben Island prisoner, was shot dead in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 19 June 1991 when a group of men opened fire on the vehicle in which he was travelling. His nephew was wounded in the attack. A member of an ANC self-defence unit applied for and was refused amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/003).

JACK, Nothemba Lydia (17), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Indwe, Cape, on 19 June 1986 for allegedly taking part in a *toyi-toyi*.

JACK, Strekkie Mizayifani (41), a PAC supporter, was arrested in April 1968 in Victoria West, Cape, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment for being a Poqo member.

JACK, Stutu Weaveman (42), an ANC member, suffered damages when his house was attacked by named members of ADM and CDF on 18 August 1992 and 22 September 1993, during political conflict in Balasi, King William's Town, Cape.

JACKIE, (other details unknown), an MK operative, and three others were twice targeted for killing, firstly at the Lion Park Motel, and later at the Oasis Motel, Gaborone, during August and September 1987. Both operations, jointly conducted by SADF Special Forces and the Security Branch, were unsuccessful. The divisional commander of the Western Transvaal Security Branch and five Soweto Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for their role in the operations (AC/1999/0308).

JACKSON, Kumvusele William, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

JACKSON, Mayela Zekelo (42), had his home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durba, on 18 February 1993, in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

JACOB, Khululekile Lucky (25), an MK operative, was tortured by members of the Ciskei Police in Dimbaza, Ciskei, in March 1983 during a crackdown on ANC and MK operatives in the area.

JACOB, Toko Lernard (39), a PAC supporter, was arrested, given electric shocks and splashed with water by SAP members in Bellville, Cape Town. He stood trial for having met PAC members in Lesotho but was acquitted.

JACOBS, Allan (18), a UDF supporter, was shot in the eye by a member of the SAP during a consumer boycott in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, on 15 July 1985.

JACOBS, Bernard Bonakele, a student and UDF supporter, was detained for a month on 14 June 1986 under emergency regulations at Upington, Cape. His brother, who was detained with him, was later found dead hanging in his cell.

JACOBS, David Brasilo (18), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP when police opened fire on mourners attending the funeral of an unrest victim in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, in August 1985. Mr Jacobs was shot dead on 7 August 1987 in Guguletu, Cape Town, when an unidentified perpetrator in a vehicle opened fire on Mr Jacobs and his friends.

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

JACOBS, Fezile Donald Madoda (18), a COSAS supporter, was severely beaten in detention by named Security Branch members on 23 October 1980, 3 February 1985, in August 1985 and on 14 July 1986, at Cradock police station, Cape. On 27 March 1984, Mr Jacobs was detained at Pollsmoor prison after which he was served with a banning order.

JACOBS, Fumanekile (15), was shot dead by members of the SAP while he was taking part in a meeting on 28 October 1989 at Mavuya, Indwe, Cape.

JACOBS, Gideon (12), was shot and injured by a named SAP member in Kakamas, Cape, on 13 February 1988. The perpetrator opened fire on residents outside a house being raided by police. Two children were shot dead and 13 people injured.

JACOBS, Johannes, was abducted by members of the SAP from his home in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, in August 1963 because he allegedly

possessed an ANC membership card. He was never seen again although police later informed the family that he had been sent to Robben Island.

JACOBS, Lionel, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

JACOBS, Mxolisi Johannes 'Dikkie', a UDF supporter and youth activist, was found dead hanging in his prison cell in Upington, Cape, on 22 October 1986, after 129 days in detention under emergency regulations.

JACOBS, Nkosomzi Jeffrey 'Banda' (24), was shot at a UDF rally and then detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Knysna, Cape, on 15 March 1986.

JACOBS, Ntombomzi Nancy (24), a UDF supporter and street committee member, was detained by members of the SAP in March 1985 in Somerset East, Cape, and tortured in North End prison, Port Elizabeth.

JACOBS, October (22), was shot dead by a named farmer on 15 February 1992 on a farm in Nieu Bethesda, Cape.

JACOBS, Paulus (17), was shot and injured by a MUNICIPAL POLICE member in Barkly West, Cape, on 24 August 1990, while a group of Mataleng youth were *toyi-toying* in the township. About 13 others were injured in the incident.

JACOBS, Peter, an MK operative, was detained in May 1987 in Cape Town and held under SECTION 29 for six months. During his detention he was severely tortured by named Security Branch members. Mr Jacobs was sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment. Two members of the Security Branch were granted amnesty for his torture (AC/1999/0027 and AC/1999/028).

JACOBS, Sarel, was arrested in Upington, Cape, on 3 December 1985, and spent long periods in custody during the trial of the UPINGTON 26. At the conclusion of the trial, he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment, overturned on appeal.

JACOBS, Sebenzile Jackson (18), was stabbed to death by a named perpetrator in Cradock, Cape, on 15 April 1984 during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT in the area.

JACOBS, Shahied, was shot dead by members of the SAP while in a protest march at Trafalgar High School in Cape Town, on 3 September 1976, during the SOWETO UPRISING.

JACOBS, Thandiwe Alinah (21), an ANC supporter, lost her sight in both eyes after being shot in the face by SAP members in Rocklands, Bloemfontein, on 21 March 1990. Police reportedly fired shots at protesters commemorating the anniversary of the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE.

JACOBS, Thembekile John, was shot dead by members of the SAP during unrest in Uitenhage, Cape, on 4 May 1985.

JACOBSON (nee Pincus), Sharon Eve (23), was detained in solitary confinement and interrogated by members of the SAP at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, between November and December 1971 reportedly because of her brief association with foreign press photographers.

JACOBSON, Peter Maurice (40), was seriously injured when his car was stoned by a group of youths in Port Elizabeth on 19 August 1976 during nationwide political protests.

JADA, Lungelo Michael (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

JADA, Vuyani Ernest (33), had his house in Matatiele, Natal, burnt down by an Inkatha supporter on 29 March 1990. About 12 homes belonging to ANC supporters were burnt down during a period of conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters following Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

JAFFER, Zubeida (22), a journalist, was detained in July 1980 for reporting on police unrest shootings in Cape Town. During a 42-day detention period, she was interrogated, drugged, tortured and denied sleep for several days. Ms Jaffer, then a trade union activist, was again detained in December 1985 for six weeks while pregnant. The life of her unborn child was threatened by a named member of the Security Branch.

JAFTA, Benjamin Sipho (17), a UDF and ANC supporter, was shot dead by named SAP members on 14 June 1986, when police stopped the car in which he was travelling and found an ANC flag and posters.

JAFTA, Joice Enid Nomvuyo (54), who was suspected of harbouring MK guerrillas at her home in Idutywa, Transkei, had her house burnt down and her shop destroyed with rifle grenades, by named members of the Transkei and South African security forces, on 21 January 1987. Together with her husband and child, she was detained and tortured by the Transkei Security Police. A former member of the Transkei Police force was refused amnesty for the destruction to property and granted amnesty for the torture of members of the Jafta family (AC/2000/076).

JAFTA, Kholiwe (27), was beaten by a named SAP member in her home in Colesberg, Cape, in September 1985. Police were seeking information on her politically active brother. She was later detained for several months.

JAFTA, Mangaliso Thamsanqa (aka 'Boy') (22), an MK operative, was detained, interrogated and tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch at their offices in Umtata, Transkei, on 21 January 1987. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/076).

JAFTA, Max (56), had his home and business at Willowvale, Transkei, destroyed in an attack by members of the Transkei Security Branch, Riot Police and Transkei Defence Force as well as the East London Security Branch, on 21 January 1987. Mr Jafta was then detained without charge at the security force offices in Umtata, Transkei, together with his wife and

children. A Transkei Security Branch operative was refused amnesty (AC/2000/076).

JAFTA, Mkosana Alfred (62), was arrested and beaten in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 24 May 1986, by members of the SAP, together with a named member of the Amasomzi vigilantes. Mr Jafta was detained for three months under emergency regulations.

JAFTA, Noxolo 'Zuzeka' (15), was shot and beaten by named SPECIAL CONSTABLES in Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 16 January 1988. Three young men were shot dead that day and several others injured, one of whom died two years later from his injuries.

JAGGER, Stella (47), a UDF supporter, was detained from her home in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, on 29 December 1987, and held for two months at the Brackenfell police station.

JAGGERS, Barnabas, a member of the Transkei Police, was shot and killed during a joint AWB/ IFP attack on the Flagstaff police station, Transkei, on 6 March 1994. The perpetrators testified that their intention was to steal arms and ammunition to arm the IFP against ANC attacks. Five applicants were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0015).

JAKADA, Nohlaza Ngakanani, an ANC member, was tortured under interrogation by members of the SAP near Flagstaff, Transkei, in 1971.

JAKKALS, Edwin (22), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Rustenburg, Tvl, on 28 July 1991, apparently because he refused to get into a police vehicle.

JAKO, Shumikazi Sarah (30), a PAC supporter, was tortured in detention by named members of the Security Branch in 1967 in East London.

JAKOBA, Leah (37), an ANC supporter, had her home in Bekkersdal, Tvl, burnt down by IFP supporters on 28 November 1993 after she attended the funeral of CHRIS HANI.

JAKWE, Mompoti Joseph (22), a COSAS supporter, was shot dead by SAP members in Huhudi, Cape, on 19 October 1990, during a confrontation between protesting residents and police. Several others were shot and wounded.

JALI, Bonginkosi (2), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 17 January 1988. It is alleged that the perpetrators had come to find his uncle, who was thought to be a UDF supporter.

JALI, Bongiwe Betty (24), a UDF supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Emvundleni, Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in March 1989.

JALI, Evangeline Nokuthemba (61), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Thafamasi, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in May 1990, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

JALI, Khawulezile Eric (15), was abducted, along with six other youths, by UDF supporters in Grahamstown, Cape, on 31 October 1986. The youths were all severely assaulted and tortured. One was shot and killed. One UDF supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0247).

JALI, Mashu Mathule (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by SAP members, while walking along the road in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 March 1990, during political conflict in the area.

JALI, Namajali Ivy (55), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1994. At least 19 people were killed and more than 14 injured in political violence at Bhambayi that month, and numerous shacks were burnt on both sides of the conflict.

JALI, Ntombenhle Elsina (44), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

JALI, Phangane (62), had her house burnt down and her goats stolen in an attack by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

JALI, Savumase (51), an ANC supporter, was arrested and detained for two years in 1960 and 1961 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

JALI, Sbongile Clarice, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 17 January 1988. It is alleged that the perpetrators had come to find her brother, who was thought to be a UDF supporter. Her two-year-old son was shot dead in the attack.

JALI, Swelekile, was assaulted by members of the SAP in March 1960 in Kanyayo, Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

JALI, Thengela Nicholas (48), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 14 May 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

JALUBANE, Grace Dodile (35), an ANC supporter, had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Mqolombeni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

JALVAN, Moses Pappos (43), an ANC member, was shot by a member of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 22 February 1994 due to his ANC activities.

JAM, Mzukisi Deffender (21), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by AZAPO members on 4 August 1986 in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth during political conflict between the two organisations. Mr Jam was fleeing from his attackers when passing members of the SAP allegedly shot him. He fell and was stabbed and stoned to death by AZAPO members.

JAMA, Dudu Mirriam (21), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 8 February 1993.

JAMA, Joyce Thoko (31), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 March 1993. At least 18 people were killed and 75 homes burnt down in political conflict in Bhambayi that month.

JAMA, Lucky Zamokuhle, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP and a vigilante group while singing at a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in August 1992.

JAMA, Manono Ntombize (55), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1992, in political conflict in the area.

JAMA, Mbongeni, an alleged ANC supporter, was abducted, severely beaten, interrogated, shot and killed by members of the SAP at Elandskop, Richmond, Natal, on 24 February 1991. Two members of the SAP Riot Unit and a SPECIAL CONSTABLE, all of whom were convicted for the killing, were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0048).

JAMA, Mina (63), an ANC supporter, had her house at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in 1990.

JAMA, Mkhonjwa, an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 27 May 1990 in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, shortly after discovering a vehicle full of bodies at a petrol station nearby. Mr Jama's body was set alight, along with those of two friends who also died in the attack.

JAMA, Nonhlanhla Viola (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and hacked to death by IFP supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 July 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

JAMA, Patric, was shot dead in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1992 by unidentified gunmen driving in a red minibus. Random DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS were aimed at sowing terror amongst residents of Transvaal townships.

JAMA, Zibonele Elias (58), an ANC supporter, had his house at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in 1990.

JAMAAR, Shadrack (28), was shot dead on 6 April 1994 by members of the ISU in KwaMashu, Durban, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

JAMAAR, Veronica (60), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, in political conflict in the area.

JAMES (other details not given), an MK operative, and three others were abducted by Eastern Transvaal Security Branch operatives from the Bhunya police station in Swaziland on 14 April 1984. All four were coerced into becoming askaris at *Vlakplaas*. Four Eastern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2000/105).

JAMES, Abel (18), a student activist, was shot dead on 9 November 1977 as he tried to escape after being beaten by a named member of the SAP at the BLA offices in Cradock, Cape.

JAMES, Hilton (16), a UDF supporter, was detained under emergency regulations for several months in 1986. He was also detained and charged with various political offences, including public violence in 1984, 1985 and 1987.

JAMES, Khayaletu Wellington (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Grahamstown, Cape, on 15 April 1993, in political conflict following the killing of ANC/SACP/MK leader, Chris Hani.

JAMES, Mninimzi (13), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE on 23 February 1986 while he was on his way to a shop in Zwide, Port Elizabeth.

JAMES, Sakhumzi (13), an ANCYL member, lost the sight of one eye when he was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 21 September 1985, while he was attending a community meeting about water supply.

JAMES, Samuel (24), a member of the SAP, was stoned and burnt to death by ANC supporters during a stayaway in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, on 5 June 1985.

JAMES, Stanford Mzwandile (36), a UDF supporter, was tortured in detention by members of the SAP on 17 November 1985 in Hofmeyr, Cape. He was found guilty of the murder of a community member and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

JAMES, Thembani Jacob (21), was detained on numerous occasions between 1985 and 1989 in Kimberley, Cape, and tortured by named members of the Security Branch. He was detained at Transvaal Road police station, Bougroup prison, Galeshewe police station, Belmont police station and Douglas prison.

JAMESON, Reginald (18), was arrested in 1976 in Bonteheuvel, Cape Town, after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to the Cape. He was convicted in 1977 of arson and sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment in 1976 in Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town, where he was held in degrading conditions.

JAMILE, Bekizizwe Samuel, a prominent member of Inkatha and of the KwaZulu Government, survived an attempt on his life but had his car damaged in a hand grenade attack in Clermont, near Durban, in 1988. A UDF supporter and Clermont Youth Congress member was granted amnesty (AC/2001/101).

JANGAISO, John Mbalekelwa (22), a local ANC leader, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Mpumelelo, Springs, Tvl, on 2 December 1990.

JANKIE, Limakatso Flora (43), had her house burnt down in an arson attack in Maboloka, Bophuthatswana, in 1975 during Maboloko resistance to the leadership of Phillemon Tshajwa.

JANNA, Thembinkosi Abednego (12), was shot and blinded in one eye by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, after the SOWETO UPRISING.

JANSE VAN RENSBURG, Catharina Elizabeth (24), was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

JANSE VAN RENSBURG, Tarina (7 months), was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy

restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

JANSE VAN VUUREN, A, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

JANSEN VAN VUUREN, Hendrick Christoffel, a Fidelity Guards employee, was shot and injured when MK operatives conducted an armed robbery of cash trunks being collected by a Fidelity Guards van in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 November 1988. Two of the four guards were injured in the robbery, which was intended to acquire funds for the MK unit. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/0013).

JANSEN, Frederick Casper 'Fritz' (46), a building contractor, was attacked by a crowd of protesters as he drove near Crossroads, Cape Town, on 11 August 1980. He was stoned and burnt and died in hospital the following day. Another motorist had been attacked and killed that afternoon, during protests related to a bus boycott. Six people were convicted of the two killings and sentenced to lengthy prison sentences. One of those convicted, an ANC supporter, was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1999/0298).

JANSEN, Thomas (39), an ANC chairperson, was harassed, assaulted and repeatedly detained during 1992 and 1993 in Villiersdorp, Cape.

JANSEN, Zirkie Bernadus (24), was hit by glass and shrapnel fragments and suffered severe burns when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

JANTJIE, Tozama Thelma (30), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by a named perpetrator in Mtingane Street, Uitenhage, Cape, in September 1985, allegedly while others were busy lighting a tyre in order to 'necklace' her. She was allegedly targeted because she had called the police during the killing of her brother who was labelled as an informer.

JANTJIES, (first name not given), was severely beaten when arrested by police in Ashton, Cape, on 20 November 1985. He was one of a large group of residents arrested that day for allegedly burning down houses in the area.

JANTJIES, Boy (41), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE during protests in Aberdeen, Cape, on 7 July 1987.

JANTJIES, Daniso (45), was stabbed to death by his nephew in Ashton, Cape, on 4 November 1985, when

a group of vigilantes, including Mr Jantjies, severely beat school students engaged in a SCHOOL BOYCOTT.

JANTJIES, Hennie (43), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and had her home damaged by SAP members during her arrest in Thembalesizwe, Aberdeen, Cape, in June 1986. She was then detained under emergency regulations for five months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

JANTJIES, Nkotliso Frans, was shot and arrested by members of the SAP in Bloemhof, Tvl, in December 1990 at the launch of an ANC branch while singing freedom songs in the streets. Mr Jantjies now suffers from epileptic fits and has a hearing problem.

JANTJIES, Sphiwo Stanley (20), was severely beaten with knobkerries by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and members of the SAP on his arrest in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 20 November 1985. He later served three years in prison for public violence.

JANTJIES, Themba, was severely beaten by AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and members of the SAP on his arrest in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 20 November 1985.

JANTJIES, Wilfred, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

JANTSHI, Sipho Elijah (29), a UDF supporter, was stabbed by IFP supporters in Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 11 December 1988 in violent conflict during forced removals of people from Moshenguville to Orange Farm.

JANUARIE, Ragel (18), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Kakamas, Cape, on 13 February 1988. The perpetrator opened fire on residents outside a house being raided by police. Two children were shot dead and 13 people injured.

JANUARY, Michael Jacob (27), a civilian, was shot and injured when APLA operatives attacked the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town, on 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026).

JANUARY, Mongameli Theophilus (22), a member of a student committee, was beaten with a bar by members of the SAP at Kirkwood police station, Cape, in June 1980 during the 1980 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS.

JANUARY, Nomfanelo (41), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Cradock, Cape, on 27 April 1985, while she was participating in a march protesting against a police shooting. Others in the march were shot by the same perpetrator.

JARA, Silverman Mzondeleli (38), a BCM supporter, was stoned to death while trying to stop students from stoning a school during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in Alice, Ciskei, on 15 September 1980.

JARA, Welcome Mtutuzeli (41), an ANC member, was shot at and his house was set alight in Flagstaff, Transkei, on 14 November 1992 during a party membership drive that was opposed by the local chief.

JARDIM, Joao Manuel, was shot and killed in an armed robbery by APLA members at his shop in Randfontein, Tvl, on 16 April 1994. In 1990, Mr Jardim had been shot and wounded, and his brother killed, in another APLA attack. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0119 and AC/1998/0104).

JARDINE, Anthony, was shot and injured by members of the SAP during a two-day stayaway in Bishop Lavis, Cape Town, on 17 June 1980. Mr Jardine was on his way to find his sister, who had been shot dead under similar circumstances.

JAS, Daniel Tahleho (24), an ANC supporter, was arrested at Bethulie, OFS, on 8 May 1991, on the pretext of his being in possession of unlicensed firearms. In custody he was severely beaten, subjected to electric shocks and deprived of food.

JASKA, Mziwebango Ebenezer (21), was shot with birdshot by members of the SAP in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 7 June 1986 during the state of emergency. He was paralysed as a result of the shooting and died a year later. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

JASS, Percival, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuhtatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

JASSAT, Abdulhay (29), an MK operative, was tortured by members of the SAP while in detention in Johannesburg in 1963. He was tortured with electric shocks and hung by his feet from a window.

JAVENS, Guy Cooper, was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

JAVENS, Marilyn Blanche, survived an armed attack by APLA operatives on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

JAWE, Lulamile Shepherd (10), was beaten with a rifle-butt by named members of the Ciskei Police during a protest in Lenge, Alice, Ciskei, on 20 September 1985.

JAWUKA, Gordon (40), a UDF supporter, was shot by a named member of the SAP on 16 November 1984 in Port Alfred, Cape. He had attended the funeral of an unrest victim.

JAXA, Herintan, was detained by named members of the SAP on 8 April 1989 at Welverdiend police station, Carletonville, Tvl, during a consumer boycott. Several youths were shot and others detained and tortured during the boycott.

JAXA, Mzukisi Candry (27), a UDF and street committee member, was arrested on 1 September 1989 in Hofmeyer, East London, and repeatedly doused with cold water while under interrogation. Mr Jaxa was charged with the 'necklace' murder of a police informer, convicted and received a 15-year prison sentence, of which he served three years.

JAXA, Xolile, an ANC member, was captured near the Botswana border by members of the Security Branch in March 1988. He was assaulted with batons, kicked, suffocated with plastic bags and kept for a week without food during his interrogation near Zeerust, Transvaal.

JAYI, Vuyani, a UDF supporter, was tortured by members of the SAP in 1986, and again in 1992, in Fort Beaufort, Cape.

JAYILE, Nokuphila Eunice (38), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters in Groutville, near Stanger, Natal, on 6 February 1994, during political conflict in the area.

JAZA, Michael Vusumzi (17), was severely burnt in a petrol bomb attack on the vehicle in which he was travelling in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 15 April 1993. One person burnt to death and another was injured in the attack, which took place during widespread unrest, following the assassination of the SACP leader, Chris Hani.

JEBE, Martin Xola (aka Anthony Xaba) (25), an MK operative, was shot dead with three other operatives in a confrontation with members of the SAP and SADF at Alldays, Tvl, on 3 November 1983. Mr Jebe's family had heard nothing from him since he went into exile in Lesotho in 1977.

JEENAH, Feizel Roshan (22), was shot and injured by named members of the Railway Police on 16 October 1985 during the TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN in Athlone. After the shooting, named police dragged Mr Jeenah into a Casspir where he was repeatedly kicked. He was later acquitted of all charges against him.

JEENAH, Mosheen (23), a PASO supporter, was shot dead in a Durban charge office in 1985. An inquest was held, but it merely established that SAP reports that the charge office had been attacked with AK47 rifles, with some of the shots being fired by Mr Jeenah, were not based on fact.

JEENAH, Sabera (21), a political activist, was detained for eight days in Cape Town in 1969. Ms Jeenah, who was eight months' pregnant, was denied food and water for the duration of her imprisonment.

JEFFERS, Jonathan Joseph (33), was severely injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

JEFFERY, John Harold, an ANC member, was shot at by named IFP supporters when the car in which he

and two other ANC officials were travelling was ambushed near Ixopo, Natal, on 27 October 1992. He was part of an ANC delegation attempting to broker peace with the IFP. He was not injured, but an ANC Midlands Exective Committee member was shot dead in the ambush.

JEFFRIES, S, was injured in what became known as the **MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING** in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

JEKEQA, Nkosizile Livingstone (24), an ANC supporter, was shot in the leg by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the **BISHO MASSACRE**. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

JEKEQA, Pindile Albert (25), a PAC supporter, was shot in the leg while marching on the King William's Town police station, Cape, to obtain the release of PAC detainees. He was arrested the following day, charged and imprisoned for 12 years on Robben Island, Cape Town, from 9 October 1963.

JELA, Nontshizana Mocica (35), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, in January 1991.

JELE, Bafana (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by members of the KZP at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 June 1993. The perpetrators claimed they had mistaken Mr Jele for someone who had killed a policeman. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

JELE, Cyprian Mlungisi (40), an ANC supporter, was attacked with iron bars and *knobkieries* by IFP supporters in a train near Boksburg, Tvl, on 7 July 1992. See **TRAIN VIOLENCE**.

JELEMSI, Government, was beaten to death on 26 December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels over the Christmas 1976 period.

JELU, Nomathemba, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Grahamstown, Cape, on 30 December 1990, when she was caught in crossfire during violent political conflict in the area.

JENGETA, Bongiwe Grace (18), lost her home in an arson attack during political conflict in Old Crossroads, Cape Town, in February 1993.

JENTE, Mfukuka (43), a SANCO member, was detained by members of the Ciskei Police in 1989 in King William's Town, Cape, allegedly because of SANCO's opposition to the reimposition of the headman system in Ciskei.

JERLING, Johannes Frederik, was shot and killed when APLA operatives, armed with automatic weapons and hand grenades, stormed the Yellowwoods Hotel, in Uitenhage, Cape, and opened fire on staff and patrons on 23 March 1993. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/225). See **APLA attacks**.

JEVU, Mawethu, was shot dead by two named **SPECIAL CONSTABLES** in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 16 May 1987. The perpetrators were found guilty of murder and sentenced to prison terms.

JEYI, Nomaliza Elizabeth, suffered damage to property when her house was burnt by COSAS members and UDF supporters in Jansenville, Cape, during 1985. She was suspected of being a collaborator. One COSAS member and UDF supporter was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1995/0240).

JEZA, Flomencia (23), an ANC supporter, had her home in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down on 11 February 1990 in political conflict in the area following the **UNBANNING** of political organisations.

JEZA, Richard (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 12 April 1994 while distributing IEC pamphlets in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu near Durban. With eight other employees, he was confronted by five IFP supporters, accused of being an ANC supporter and severely tortured. Eight of the nine people were killed. One survived and took three days to crawl back to safety. One IFP member was convicted for the attack.

JIANE, Lucas Alfred, was severely beaten by members of the **IMBOKODO** vigilante group in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986. The **IMBOKODO** were used by the state to attack and sow terror in communities opposed to **INCORPORATION** into KwaNdebele.

JIBA, Mthuthuzeli Alfred (27), a Cradock Youth Congress activist, was repeatedly detained and assaulted by members of the Security Branch in Cradock, Cape, during rent boycotts from November 1985. The repeated arrests led community members to suspect him of becoming an informer.

JIKA, Siphiwo Elliot (17), a SAYCO member, was severely beaten by members of the SAP guarding a **COUNCILLOR'S** house during a night vigil on 24 May 1985 in Grahamstown, Cape. He died three days later.

JIKILE, Moeketsi Johannes, was detained by members of the Bloemfontein Security Branch and tortured on four different occasions in 1992. The police suspected that Mr Jikile had been involved in **APLA** farm attacks. A former **APLA** member, turned *askari*, was granted amnesty for the torture (AC/2001/038).

JIKOLO, Thembekile (27), a SAYCO member, was detained under emergency regulations in April 1987 and kept in solitary confinement for a month in Alexandria, Cape. Mr Jikolo was then transferred to St Alban's prison, Port Elizabeth until his release in 1988.

JILA, Thembinkosi Moses, was attacked and killed by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See **MPUMALANGA ATTACKS**. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

JILI, Bangumuzi (37), was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Ixopo, Natal, on 16 August 1991 in intense political conflict in the area. His house was also burnt down that day. See **EKHUTHLENI ATTACKS**.

JILI, Dombi Sizeni (37), an ANC supporter, had her house in Richmond, Natal, burnt down by a named IFP supporter on 12 April 1992.

JILI, Jerome Thandokuhle (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Nkelabantwana, Bulwer, Natal, on 18 March 1992.

JILI, Joe Joseph (31), an ANC supporter, had his house in Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1991.

JILI, Lina, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 February 1991.

JILI, Ncamokwakhe, an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death during a confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters at Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 26 September 1992, in which at least nine people were killed. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/97/0063).

JILI, Ndeke Sylvacia (55), the mother of an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by named IFP supporters in Nkelabantwana, Bulwer, Natal, on 15 November 1992, in continuing political conflict in the area.

JILI, Nomoya (64), an ANC supporter, had her house near Richmond, Natal, burnt down in an arson attack in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area in 1992.

JILI, Petros Mzophilayo (19), an ANC supporter, had his family home burnt down and livestock stolen in an arson attack on his home near Richmond, Natal, in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in 1992.

JILI, Selina (66), an ANC supporter, had her house near Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1991.

JILI, Simon Manyakazisa (44), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, in August 1992.

JILI, Sitibitibi (55), an ANC supporter, had her house near Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters during intensifying violent conflict in the area in 1990.

JILI, Thembisile Zanele (18), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 February 1991.

JILI, Tholumuzi Erasmus (11), was tortured to death by named ANC supporters at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 12 September 1991, allegedly because his family supported the IFP.

JILI, Winnie Mavis (18), an ANC supporter, had her family home in Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1992.

JILI, Zwe (20), an ANC supporter, had her family home in Richmond, Natal, burnt down in April 1992 during continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

JILINGISI, Maboyi (33), lost the use of one eye when he was beaten with sjamboks by members of the Ciskei Police at a community meeting about a consumer boycott in King William's Town, Cape, on 21 September 1985. Several people were injured in the attack.

JILIZA, Sithembiso, was shot at her aunt's house in Senaoane, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 9 March 1991

during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Two others were killed and Ms Jiliza was reportedly paralysed as a result of her injuries.

JIM, Richard (34), a taxi driver, was paralysed in a shooting at the Nyanga terminus, Cape Town, on 10 August 1991, during conflict between opposing taxi associations, which acquired a political dimension due to perceptions of political affiliation. See TAXI VIOLENCE.

JIMLONGO, Myoyo Simon (37), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF in King William's Town, Cape, on 6 September 1992 during political conflict over the reimposition of the headman system.

JINGANA, Lizo Livingstone (44), was stabbed and injured by UDF supporters in Uitenhage, Cape, on 30 September 1985, for refusing their request not to sell liquor to AZAPO and AMAAFRIKA supporters.

JINGELA, Bekabakubo Paulos (44), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by the AMAVARAVARA in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in 1992.

JINIKWE, Hilton Vusumzi, an ANC supporter, disappeared in April 1985 in Kirkwood, Cape, together with his friend with whom he was planning to go into exile. He has not been seen since.

JININEKA, Mzonke Ben (64), an ANC supporter, was sentenced in 1960 to five years in prison in Kokstad, Natal, where he was beaten with rifle butts and sjamboks. He had participated in the NONQULWANA resistance, which challenged apartheid legislation in Transkei.

JININEKA, Ndaleko, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

JININEKA, Nelson (23), an ANC member, was assaulted with sticks by SADF and SAP members while in detention in Kokstad and Bizana prisons in June 1960. In the PONDOLAND REVOLT, Mr Jinineka had taken part in the protest against the allocation of land to whites in return for money.

JININEKA, Ziphate, an ANC member, was imprisoned for two years for his role in the PONDOLAND REVOLT in Transkei during 1960.

JIYANE, Isaiah (47), was killed by IFP supporters when he was thrown off a moving train near Denver station, Johannesburg, on 28 March 1994. Several people were killed on trains that day in reaction to the shootings that had taken place at the ANC headquarters at Shell House.

JIYANE, Jeminah, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Kwa-Guga, Witbank, Tvl, on 16 July 1985 during conflict caused by a school boycott in the township. Her unborn baby was also killed in the incident.

JIYANE, Mary Monyadiwe, was severely beaten by members of the IMBOKODO vigilante group in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986. IMBOKODO vigilantes

with state support targeted residents opposed to KwaNdebele independence.

JIYANE, Ms (first name not given), was publicly assaulted in Hambanathi, near Durban, on 5 May 1985, allegedly by Inkatha supporters who were possessing the homes of UDF supporters at a time of political conflict. Other women lost their homes in the same attack.

JIYANE, Ritta (54), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 7 December 1989 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

JIYANE, Tazi Maria, lost her property in an attack by a named perpetrator in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975.

JIZA, Thobeka Sylvia (14), was shot by members of the SAP during a protest in Aliwal North, Cape, in 1985. See ALI WAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

JIZANA, Pambili Mzwandile (24), an ANC supporter, was detained, stripped naked and assaulted by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, in 1988. A Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the torture (AC/2000/076).

JOAO, Toni, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

JOBE, Bonginkosi Hitler (50), died on 26 April 1994, two days after being shot by IFP supporters at Mtubatuba, near Empangeni, Natal, in political conflict in the area. The IFP were reportedly targeting families that did not allow their children to attend IFP self-defence training camps.

JOBE, Nkosinathi Velaphi (28), an ANC supporter, was severely injured when he was stabbed and shot by a named KWAZULU POLICE member and IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 April 1992.

JOBELA, Ntunaye 'Sholi' (38), a member of the Steynsburg Residents' Association, was shot dead by named members of the SAP on 5 July 1985 during a march in Steynsburg, Cape. Several others were injured.

JOBO, Daliwonga Justice (15), a UDF supporter, was assaulted, detained and tortured by named members of AMAAFRIKA in Uitenhage, Cape, on 17 November 1987, in an alleged revenge attack.

JOBO, Margaret Sibongile (17), was shot dead by a member of a self-defence unit in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 24 December 1992.

JOFILE, Lucas (24), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and tortured by members of the 'Zim-Zim' faction of the ANC-supporting KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS and the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in 1991.

JOHANNES, Ben (33), was arrested with others in April 1968 in Victoria West, and severely beaten while in detention by named members of the SAP, allegedly for his part in a Poqo conspiracy to poison the water in the town. He was acquitted after spending 18 months in Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town, while on trial.

JOHANNES, Mzolisi (26), an ANC supporter, broke his fingers when the door of a police van was slammed closed on his hand. He was detained at Soweto-by-the Sea, Port Elizabeth, on 16 June 1986, during a commemoration for the SOWETO UPRISING, and was beaten and kicked by members of the police.

JOHNSON, Gugulethu (16), a UYCO member, was shot to death by a named perpetrator during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, on 29 May 1986.

JOHNSON, Jennifer, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

JOHNSON, Mvula Simon Petros (23), was shot in the back when members of the SAP attacked theatre-goers in a church hall at Seyisi, near Port Elizabeth, on 3 August 1980. Mr Johnson was detained and sentenced to three years' imprisonment for arson.

JOHNSON, Mzimkhulu Stanley, was shot dead by members of the SAP during a community meeting in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 30 November 1991. Several others were killed in the same attack.

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

JOHNSON, Rafeek (35,) was shot dead by members of the SAP at his father's shop in Port Elizabeth on 9 August 1990 during protests in the area.

JOHNSON, Thamsanqa Major (20), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with rifle butts and an iron rod while in detention in 1990, by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force members demanding a confession that he was an MK operative.

JOHNSON, Vuyiswa Sheilla (36), was severely injured when she was shot by members of the SAP in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 18 August 1976 during protests in the area.

JOHNSON, Wana, an IKONGO leader, was shot dead by members of the SADF on 6 June 1960 in the NGQUZA HILL massacre in Flagstaff, Transkei. He was hoisting a white flag as a sign of peace when police opened fire on community members attending a meeting at Ngquza Hill during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

JOJI, Nothemba (3), was shot and blinded in one eye by named members of the SAP, in Gugulethu, Cape Town, on 28 August 1985, in widespread unrest on the day of the POLLSMOOR MARCH.

JOKA, Ngeba Andrew 'Mzala', was shot dead by a named Special Constable in Hanover, Cape, on 14 November 1987, while arguing with friends outside the constable's home.

JOKAZI, Viela Getrude (50), was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992, during a

labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. This caused violent conflict between July and December 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack.

JOKWANA, Walda (21), was beaten and arrested by members of the SAP on 18 March 1985 in Pearston, Cape, and detained without trial in Graaff-Reinet. While in detention he was tortured to force him to sign a statement. After being held for a month he was charged with public violence and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment.

JOKWENI, Tryphina 'Mboxela' (62), an ANC supporter, who ran a safehouse for MK cadres in Umlazi, Durban, was detained and tortured by named members of the SAP in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in April 1987. On 24 April 1987 Security Police members from *Vlakplaas* and Durban killed three MK operatives in a shoot-out at Ms Jokweni's home, damaging her house.

JOLOZA, Nkosiymzi Christopher (29), an NUM member, was detained, severely assaulted and tortured by named SAP members in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, in 1987. This occurred at a time of violent clashes in the area between union members and vigilantes allegedly hired by mine management to attack perceived UDF supporters.

JOMBILE, Mnikiswa (28), had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993, in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

JOMOSE, Xolani, a member of the UDF-supporting AMABUTHO, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Port Elizabeth on 24 May 1985 during political conflict.

JONAS, Frederick (19), a PAC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP on 14 April 1963 in King William's Town, Cape, and held for 12 months during which he was tortured. Mr Jonas was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for his involvement in a PAC attack on the King William's Town police station.

JONAS, Maqibo Ivan (36), was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP in Swartkopsdam, Port Elizabeth, on 3 February 1986, during clashes between UDF and AZAPO members in the area.

JONAS, Mbulelo Michael (23), a PAC supporter, was hacked to death by UDF supporters at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, in May 1990 during consumer boycotts and political conflict in the area.

JONAS, Zolile (23), was shot in the leg by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

JONATHAN, Sihombiso (49), an IFP supporter, was severely burnt when his house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, was petrol-bombed, allegedly by AMASINYORA vigilantes, on 11 December 1993.

JONES, Ali, was shot by AWB members in Tshing, Ventersdorp, Tvl, on 9 August 1991. The AWB was

opposed to the political changes taking place in the country.

JONES, Johannes (22), a SAYCO member, died two days after he was shot in the chest by a named SAP member in Robertson, Cape, on 2 July 1990, during political conflict. The shooting occurred during a campaign by residents of Boland townships to protest continuing apartheid practices.

JONES, Nancy Sanuse, had her house and belongings burnt in an arson attack at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the early 1990s.

JONES, Peter Cyril, a senior member of the Black Consciousness Movement, was detained, together with Steven Biko, on 18 August 1977, and subsequently interrogated and assaulted by members of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch. Mr Jones was held for 17 months and banned on his release. One member of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch was granted amnesty for assaulting Mr Jones (AC/1998/0114 and AC/1999/0020).

JONES, Richard William (38), was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

JONGA, Elliot Mbulelo, was shot dead by a named MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN in Paballelo, Upington, Cape, on 31 December 1985. The policeman opened fire on persons he believed to be responsible for stoning his house.

JONGILE, Landile Andrew (18), was arrested, beaten and tortured by members of the Ciskei Police in 1983 and 1984 in Mdantsane, Ciskei, Aliwal North and East London, Cape.

JONNIE, Sicelo Corie (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and seriously injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

JOOSTE, Davids (30), was injured when AWB members detonated a pipe bomb at a taxi rank on the corner of Third and Park Streets in Randfontein, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Six people were injured in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

JOOSTE, Ursula Amelda (17), was punched in the face in Worcester, Cape, in May 1985, after attending a mass meeting at her school. During interrogation at the police station, a policeman attempted to beat her. She retaliated by breaking his spectacles and was charged with public violence and assaulting a policeman. Ms Jooste was sentenced to four years' imprisonment, which was suspended for five years.

JORDAAN, JL, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

JORDAAN, Puseletso Hilda (13), an ANC supporter, lost her family home in an arson attack by members of the SAP, or persons associated with the SAP, in Rweleleyathunya, Rouxville, OFS, on 29 March 1990. On the day of the attack, Hilda's sister, who was an ANC secretary, was detained and tortured by the police, allegedly because she had information about ANC activities.

JORDAAN, Wayne Henry (19), was assaulted and arrested by police in Wynberg, Cape Town, on 15 October 1985, after attending a protest rally for school pupils. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for public violence along with six other youths known as the WYNBERG SEVEN.

JORDAN, Joe Thethinene (29), was assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP, who struck him with rifle-butts and applied electric shocks to his body in DUNCAN VILLAGE police station, East London, on 2 September 1985. One member of the SAP was granted amnesty for the torture and assault (AC/2000/074).

JORDAN, Pallo, an ANC member (45) and head of the ANC's Research Department, was seriously injured in Maputo, Mozambique on 17 August 1982 by a letter bomb sent by members of Security Branch headquarters. Fellow academic, Ruth First, who opened the letter while he was in her office, was killed in the explosion.

JOSEPH, Grace (41), an Inkatha supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990, during political conflict in the area on the day Nelson Mandela was released from prison.

JOSEPH, Helen, a member of the Congress of Democrats and longstanding supporter of the ANC, endured decades of bannings, house arrest and harassment by the Security Branch. Ms Joseph was the first person to be issued with a house arrest order in 1957. Her banning order was successively renewed for a total of 16 years. She was subjected to a campaign of harassment and intimidation by the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including threatening phone calls, shots fired at her home and rocks thrown through her windows. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for his role in the harassment (AC/2001/230).

JOSEPH, Leon Carmel, was killed by named members of MK and the UDF during protests at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 17 April 1990.

JOSEPH, Wesley (18), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Jansenville, Cape, on 23 June 1990 during consumer boycotts and political conflict in the area.

JOSHUA, Joseph Patrick James (30), was shot dead in Johannesburg, on 21 February 1990 during political conflict between workers.

JOSIAH, Mlondolozu Isaac (25), was shot in the back five times by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

JOSISA, Zenele Alsom (35), had his house burnt down in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during January 1993, in intensifying political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

JOTINA, Meisie (31), a UDF supporter, was detained on 13 June 1985 during the state of emergency in Klipplaat, Cape, and held for five months during which she was severely beaten by members of the SAP. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

JOYI, Anderson Dalagubhe (38), a committee member of the Bumbane Tribal Authority, was detained several times in 1963 in Umtata, Transkei, because of his involvement in ANC underground meetings.

JOYI, Mbeki Marhelane Bangilizwe (42), was detained and then banned in 1958 in Umtata, Transkei, for holding unlawful meetings and being a member of the Committee of Bumbane Tribal Authority. The banning order was lifted in December 1963.

JOYI, Mnjwenjwe (46), was detained for six months in Kokstad prison, Natal, and his home in Bizana, Transkei, was burnt down by members of the SAP in 1960 allegedly because of his participation in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

JOYI, Mpunzima (55), a TDP member, was banned and his house in Mputi Village, near Umtata, Transkei, destroyed on 14 June 1980, allegedly because of his opposition to the Transkei government. His family was banished to Mtshanyane Village, Cofimvaba, Transkei, for six years.

JOYI, Nolingene (59), and her family were banned from Mputi Village, near Umtata, Transkei, on 14 December 1980, and could only return six years later. Ms Joyi's husband had been a supporter of the Transkei Democratic Party, which opposed the Transkei government.

JOYI, Twalimfene (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the Transkei Police in March 1976 in Flagstaff, Transkei, allegedly because of his opposition to Transkei's independence and the Matanzima government.

JOYISA, Mavis (51), a UDF supporter, had her home destroyed in a hand grenade attack by members of the KWAZULU POLICE and SADF 32 Battalion in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 June 1990.

JOZI, Nomatshawe Amelia (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down on 30 April 1990 in Pholile, Matatiele, Natal, by a group of men carrying traditional weapons and looking for ANC supporters. Nine homes were burnt in the area that day. At the time, ANC supporters were being attacked, and some killed, in an attempt to prevent the ANC from setting up local branches in the area.

JUDA, Mongezi (17), was one of four youths shot dead by named members of the SAP who opened fire on protesters after unrest broke out in Bongweni, Colesberg, Cape, on 3 July 1985.

JUJWANA, Ntsikelelo X-mas (28), an ANC supporter, broke his arm and was injured in the ribs in June 1986 when he was detained by members of the Transkei Police at Tsolo, Transkei, allegedly because he was thought to be hiding ANC weapons. He was held for six months without trial.

JULA, Mchithwa (69), had his house destroyed in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993, during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

JULA, Wellington Solomon (44), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 March 1994, during political conflict in the area during the run-up to the first democratic election in April 1994.

JULIES, Abraham (22), was killed when he was shot in the back and chest with birdshot by a named SAP member in Saldanha, Cape, on 12 September 1987, during labour disputes and unrest in the town.

JULIES, Michael (13), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Kakamas, Cape, on 13 February 1988. The perpetrator opened fire on residents outside a house being raided by police. Two children were shot dead and 13 people injured.

JULY, Bonakele, a Poqo activist, was executed by hanging in 1963 following his conviction, together with 20 other Poqo members, for their attempt to rescue their 'comrades', who were charged with the death of a headman in Transkei. Two other Poqo members were sentenced to death and 17 were sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

JUQU, Fuzile Petros (15), was shot and killed by named members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 19 February 1985. Eighteen people were killed over three days during protests against the attempted forced removal of Crossroads residents to Khayelitsha.

JUZE, Ntunja, was repeatedly assaulted in 1960 at Bizana, Transkei, and Kokstad prisons after police arrested committee members who attended a NONQULWANA meeting at NGQUZA HILL. Mr Juze, an IKONGO member, also lost his home in Emdakamfele, Bizana, in an arson attack. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

JWAMBI, Lungisa, an MK operative recently returned from exile, was shot dead in an attack on his brother's home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993. Members of a BALACLAVA GROUP shot at the family home and set it alight. Mr Jwambi's brother's wife, and their two children, along with three other relatives and friends burnt to death.

JWAMBI, Magcaleka (39), survived an attack in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993. The perpetrators, members of a BALACLAVA GROUP, shot at the family home and set it alight. Mr Jwambi's wife, brother and two children as well as his sister-in-law and son were shot or burnt to death.

JWAMBI, Nokwakha, was burnt to death in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993 when members of a BALACLAVA GROUP shot at the family home and set it alight. Ms Jwambi died with her two children and three other family members, who were shot or trapped in the burning house.

JWAMBI, Sisipho (six months), was burnt to death in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993 when members of a BALACLAVA GROUP shot at the family home and set it alight. Sisipho died with her mother and five-year-old brother, and three other family members, who were shot or trapped in the burning house.

JWAMBI, Thanduxolo (6), was burnt to death in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993 when members of a BALACLAVA GROUP shot at the family home and set it alight. Thanduxolo died with his mother, six-month-old sister, and three other family members, who were all trapped in the burning house.

JWARA, Modise Matabane, a community councillor, sustained damage to his home in an armed attack by members of an MK unit in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, during 1986. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0317).

JWAXA, Victoria Nombulelo (52), lost her home in an arson attack by named ANC members in September 1992 in Alice, Ciskei. Ms Jwaxa had attended the funeral of an ADM member during the feud between the ANC and the ADM.

JWAYI, Thembaletu (22), a member of the Ciskei Police, was shot and burnt to death by a named perpetrator while he was driving a police vehicle to Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 16 August 1982.

JWILI, Nobantu, an ANCWL member, was shot and killed when an IFP funeral procession passed her house in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 27 February 1993. The IFP allegedly refused to allow her to be buried in the township because of her ANC affiliation.

KABAI, Seabata Salman (19), an ANC supporter, was shot in the chest and knee by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 28 March 1991 during a stayaway in the area. Both bullets are still lodged in his body.

KABANYANE, (first name not given), a member of the SAP, was severely beaten by KZP members on 9 July 1990 in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, during political conflict.

KABELE (GABELE), Sydney Mbongeni (29), an ANC supporter, had his house near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 3 December 1992.

KABI, Sekoala Elliot (24), was shot dead by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

KABINI, Dzube Lina (31), lost her home when it was burnt down by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, Tvl, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu stood to benefit from the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa, and his supporters launched widespread attacks on residents who resisted INCORPORATION.

KABINI, Jacob, was arrested by members of the KwaNdebele Police at Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 4 September 1987 and detained without trial for eight months under emergency regulations. When he was finally charged together with three other detainees, the charges were dropped.

KABINI, Sam Benzane (51), was evicted by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, Tvl, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu stood to benefit from

the State's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa, and his supporters launched widespread attacks on residents who resisted INCORPORATION.

KABINI, Walther Sipho, an ANC supporter, was shot dead when Bophuthatswana police fired on a crowd gathered to protest against POLICE BRUTALITY at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana on 26 March 1986. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

KADI, Bennet, was stabbed with a spade and then burnt to death by named perpetrators in Zeerust, Tvl, on 17 March 1994. Mr Kadi was accused of being a member of the Bophuthatswana Democratic Party and a supporter of the Mangope regime.

KADI, Matokelo Selina (57), lost her house in an arson attack in 1976 in Maboloka, Bophuthatswana, during a struggle over chieftaincy in the area.

KADIAKA, Letlapa Austin (19), was arrested during a protest march in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 1 December 1985 and assaulted by members of the SAP. Mr Kadiaka was detained again after being released on bail.

KADIAKA, Matswene Frans (49), lost his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, when it was burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Kadiaka resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KADILE, Tsholofetso Daniel (40), was stabbed and injured by named perpetrators in Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, on 5 January 1991 because he resisted the forced INCORPORATION of Lekubu into Bophuthatswana.

KADINI, Mthuthuzeli (25), UDF supporter, was detained and sjambokked by members of the SAP on 21 June 1986 during the State of Emergency in Paterson, Cape. He was held in detention for six months.

KADISA, Evellyn (41), was shot and injured by Bophuthatswana Police during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when police dispersed the crowd with tear gas and sjamboks.

KADISE, Dimakatso Kleinbooi (58), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when police dispersed the crowd with tear gas and sjamboks.

KAGOLA, Nomatilatila Gladys, was seriously injured when she was shot in the back of the head by members of the SAP in Emdeni South, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 6 April 1991 after an IFP rally was held in the vicinity. She and her son were visiting a relative when neighbours saw members of the SAP attack the house. Two others were injured in the attack.

KAHLA, Mlungisi Atwell (35), a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was killed during an ATTEMPTED COUPIN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF

Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

KAIBE, Ben (52), a COSAS member, died after being hit by a teargas canister allegedly fired by a named member of the SAP in Rocklands, Bloemfontein, on 9 March 1985. He was returning from the funeral of his nephew, also a COSAS member, who had been killed by the police.

KAIBE, Moses Mohapeloa (20), a COSAS member, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Mangaung, Bloemfontein, on 27 February 1985. The incident occurred on the first day of a schools boycott. A 52-year-old relative was shot dead by the police after attending his funeral.

KAIZER, Tobias Hendrik Frans (52), a school principal in Lamberts Bay, Cape, was the subject of a protracted campaign to discredit him in 1988 and 1989, because of his political and community activities. He received death threats, fake pamphlets were issued in his name, his vehicle was burnt, and false charges brought against him.

KAJANE, Cecil Jeffery Kalili (14), an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by alleged members of the SAP in Bloemfontein, in March 1989. He was one of an unknown number of youths who had been *toyi-toying* and were taken to the police station, where they were beaten.

KAKANA, Batayi, was beaten to death by UDF supporters in Cookhouse, Cape, in 1986. The Cookhouse community had accused members of the Kakana family of being police collaborators.

KAKANA, Mabhuti, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Cookhouse, Cape, in 1986, after the Kakana family were accused of being police collaborators.

KAKANA, Mpendulo (35), was shot dead by UDF supporters in New Town, Cookhouse, Cape, in 1986, after the Kakana family were accused of being police collaborators.

KAKANA, Nororo Lulama (31), lost her house in an arson attack by UDF supporters on 9 March 1986 in New Town, Cookhouse, Cape, after the Kakana family were accused of being police collaborators.

KAKANA, Wele Samuel (63), lost his home in an arson attack by UDF supporters on 9 March 1986 in Cookhouse, Cape, after the Kakana family were accused of being police collaborators.

KAKANA, Whewheyi (33), was shot dead by UDF supporters in a soccer field at Cookhouse, Cape, on 25 December 1986, after the Kakana family were accused of being police collaborators.

KAKAZA, Andile, disappeared while walking through Nancefield hostel in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 April 1992 during political violence between hostel-dwellers and residents.

KAKGALAKANE, Mothoane David (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 28 January 1986 when police opened fire with live ammunition to disperse a meeting held at Marapong

by local youths to discuss the government's plans for INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

KALA, Masuduka, an ANC supporter, was killed and mutilated in Flagstaff, Transkei, on 9 March 1994 during the Xopozo massacre of ANC supporters by the followers of Chief Mdutshane.

KALAKE, Everrit Tsholo, a provincial chairman of the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP), was tortured in detention in Johannesburg, in January 1967 and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on Robben Island for incitement to sabotage. Mr Kalake had been at a meeting called by the King of Lesotho. The BCP was not banned in South Africa or Lesotho at the time.

KALAKE, James Buti, a PAC supporter, was shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 June 1993. Another family member was killed in the same attack.

KALAKE, Samuel Rasemoko, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 June 1993. Another family member was killed in the same attack.

KALALA, Posho Rogers (51), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 2 March 1992.

KALAMBOA, Kaloyi, was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Gardiner Street, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076).

KALEBE, Koabafe Daniel (51), a Progressive People's Party member, was arrested, detained and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, on 11 February 1988 in the aftermath of an aborted coup.

KALENI, Velile Lennox (25), was shot by members of the SAP in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 2 May 1986 during consumer boycotts and political conflict in the area. He died the following day.

KALENI, Xolani (29), was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

KALI, Thobile (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

KALIPA, Luvuyo Calvin (23), a SAYCO member, was shot and injured by community COUNCILLORS in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 23 December 1989, during a youth march past the municipal offices. There were

numerous deaths and injuries in December 1989 when Jeffrey Nongwe, a subordinate of conservative Crossroads mayor Johnson Ngxobongwana, sought to break away with his supporters and join the ANC.

KALIPA, Patekile Albert (50), a PAC supporter, was severely beaten by 'comrades' in Peddie, Ciskei, on 15 June 1993, while on his way back from driving PAC members to a 16 June commemoration. His vehicle was set alight and he was interrogated about PAC activities.

KALLIPA, Wandile, an ANC member, was injured in an explosion on 5 July 1979 in Maseru, Lesotho, when a parcel containing an explosive device was opened. Five other persons were injured in the incident.

KALO, Moris (34), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 10 December 1992. Mr Kalo was arrested for resisting President Mangope's government.

KALOLO, Zwelixelile, was shot and wounded by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1991. The IFP was due to hold a rally that day.

KAMA, Lindani (20), was shot in the hand by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

KAMA, Lulamile Lindani (20), was shot in the hand by member of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

KAMA, Sonwabo (15), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

KAMA, Vusumzi Aaron (20), a UDF supporter and student activist, was detained on 11 June 1986 in Kayamnandi, Stellenbosch, Cape and interrogated by police at gunpoint. He was then detained for three months under emergency regulations in Victor Verster prison, Paarl. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

KAMA, Xolani (18), was shot in the back by members of the SAP in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 24 March 1992, for allegedly throwing a stone at a police vehicle during unrest.

KAMATI, Siphiwo Given (15), was shot and tortured by members of the SAP in Queenstown, Cape, in 1985, for attending a mass meeting.

KAMATI, Thamsanqa (19), was shot dead by members of the SAP while he was attending a community meeting in Queenstown, Cape, in July 1985.

KAMAVUSO-MBATHA, Khosi, was arrested, detained and tortured, along with her husband and their three-year-old son in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 22 October 1981.

KAMBULA, Begi Maria Magdelina (46), lost her house in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Ntuzuma, near Durban, in October 1989.

KAMBULE, Thamsanqa David Owen (12), was arrested and detained at Middelburg police station, Tvl, in June 1976 where he was tortured until he signed a confession. He was charged with burning down a school. Thamsanqa and his fellow detainees were found not guilty.

KAMTENI, Malakhiwe Joseph (22), a UDF supporter, was assaulted and stabbed by AMAAFRIKA members in October 1989 in Uitenhage, Cape. Mr Kamteni also lost his home in an arson attack during the UDF-AmaAfrika conflict in the area.

KAMTENI, Nontente (22), a PAC supporter, was shot in the hand while trying to stop police from arresting innocent people in Queenstown, Cape, on 15 December 1962. Mr Kamteni was himself arrested, and sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment on Robben Island for sabotage. Upon his release, at the age of 41, he was banned for five years.

KANA, Mnonoleli Samson (19), an ANC member from New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

KANANA, George Ouman (25), an ANC activist, was detained in June 1985 in Jansenville, Cape. In detention, he was tortured by named SAP members and SPECIAL CONSTABLES. He was charged with the 'necklace' killing of a police informer, convicted, and sentenced to three and a half years' imprisonment.

KANAPI, Molahlehi Andries, disappeared from Soweto, Johannesburg, in June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING. He has not been seen since.

KANGO, Amos Mazizi (45), an ANC leader, lost his home in an arson attack by followers of Chief Mdutshane in Flagstaff, Transkei, on 3 January 1993. At the time, the ANC's attempt to establish a branch at Xopozo were opposed by the Chief.

KANI, Cameron Dalintetho (58), a minister of religion, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP as he worked in his garage in New Crossroads, Cape Town, on 2 February 1988.

KANUNU, Petros Balekile (46), an ANC supporter, was stoned by named 'comrades' who accused him of being an informer in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in April 1985.

KANYE, Yvonne Shiwe (44), was shot and injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 9 July 1993.

KANYILE, Daphne Tandani (59), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in April 1990, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

KANYILE, Ntombikayise Lucy (41), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1990.

KAPA, Reggie, a political activist, was stabbed to death in Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa, on 28 March 1986.

KAPP, Cornelius Johannes (42), was stoned by protesters while driving past Crossroads, Cape Town, on 12 September 1985, during widespread unrest in the area in the aftermath of the POLLSMOOR MARCH two weeks earlier. He died of his head injuries the following day.

KAPU, Mbulelo, a member of the Municipal Police, was shot and injured by MK operatives in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 20 January 1989. Two of his colleagues and a civilian were killed in the ambush. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0246).

KARELSE, Johnny (15), was shot dead by SPECIAL CONSTABLES in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 16 January 1988. Two other persons were shot dead by Special Constables in Bongoletu that day. A fourth person died of his serious injuries two years later. The community subsequently won a court restraining order against the Special Constables.

KARELSE, Simon (21), was shot in the face and injured by members of the SAP in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 13 July 1993, during conflict between protesting residents and the town council. Two people were killed and several injured in the clash.

KARIAMBANE, Dorothy, suffered severe damage to house and property as a result of a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

KARIEM, Juan Nolan (17), an SRC member, was detained in 1980, 1983, twice in 1985, and again in 1986 in Worcester, Cape, under security legislation. He was tortured and assaulted during his 1980 and 1983 detention. Mr Kariem was also convicted on political charges in 1983 and 1987.

KARIEM, Ridwaan (14), a student activist, was severely beaten by named and other members of the SAP while in police custody or detention on several occasions in 1985 and 1986 in Worcester, Cape. On 26 June 1990 Mr Kariem was shot and injured by police during protests against ongoing racial discrimination in the area.

KARRIEM, Shu-Eib (19), an SRC member and student activist, was detained in Worcester, Cape, in October 1985 and held for four months under emergency regulations. He was tortured on one occasion by named Security Branch members.

KASA, Selebalo Sidwell, a PAC activist, was arrested in Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960 because he was regarded as one of the instigators of the Sharpeville mass demonstration against Pass Laws, and held in detention until 1963. The demonstration led to the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE. Upon his release, Mr Kasa was banned from the Vaal Triangle.

KASANA, Mafuza (29), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted while defending himself and his family against an attack on his home by members of the A-TEAM in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, in 1985. In the attack, he and other family members were sjambokked. One of his brothers was killed.

KASANA, Moffat Mafu, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten while defending his family against an attack by members of the A-TEAM in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, in 1985. In the attack, members of his family were sjambokked and one of his brothers was shot dead.

KASANA, Nomahlubi Veronica (23), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in an attack on her family by members of the A-TEAM in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, in 1985.

KASANA, Nomasonto Verelene Sonti (19), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in an attack on her family by members of the A-TEAM in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, in 1985.

KASANA, Suzan, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in an attack on her family by members of the A-TEAM in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, in 1985.

KATAMZI, Lindela (45), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, during the FOLWENI MASSACRE on 26 July 1992.

KATANA, Sipho Edwin (23), was shot and injured by members of the Ciskei Police in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 22 July 1983 during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT. He was tortured in detention in 1987 on suspicion of political involvement.

KATANE, Dederick Baleseng (37), was hacked to death by IFP supporters in Kagiso, Tvl, on 22 August 1990 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

KATI, Nomajipethe Doris (21), was tortured by members of the SAP while visiting her father who was being held in Butterworth prison, Transkei, in 1987. Ms Kati's father was an ANC activist who had undergone a series of banning orders and detentions since 1962.

KATI, Zamiwonga James (38), an ANC member active in Transkei opposition politics, was detained in 1962 in the Eastern Cape and was severely beaten by police. He then served eight years on Robben Island from 1964. After his release in 1972 he was banned. In 1977 he was detained and tortured in Cape Town. He was detained in 1980 in the Transkei for his opposition activities. In 1981 he was again detained in the Transkei and severely tortured there and in East London, after which he served an effective six-year prison sentence for terrorism.

KATYWA, Thobeka (21), lost the use of an eye when she was severely beaten with sjamboks and sticks by members of the Ciskei Police in Tshabo, Berlin, Cape, on 21 September 1985 during political conflict. Several other residents were injured.

KAU, Jan Debelatsane (24), an ANCYL member, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 4 December 1992 during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

KAULELA, Mzamo Louis, an AMAAFRIKA member, disappeared from Uitenhage, Cape, on 24 September 1990 during conflict between the UDF and Amafrika. Mr Kaulela had allegedly heard rumours that he would be 'necklaced' by 'comrades'.

KAUMA, Mcedisi Johannes, a UDF official, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in March 1988.

KAWA, Zayo Jackson (63), was detained on 13 March 1986 and held for a month in Stutterheim, Cape. Mr Kawa, who had been a leader in a consumer boycott, was released on bail and had to report at the police station for the next three years.

KAWULE, Bajaswa Lena, was severely beaten by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, Tvl, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu stood to benefit from the INCORPORATION of Goederede into Lebowa, and his supporters launched widespread attacks on residents who resisted INCORPORATION.

KAWUSE, Vumani (54), was shot and injured during political conflict in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993. At least 18 people were killed in political violence in Bhambayi this month. Seventy-five homes were burnt down.

KAYE, Hendrina Magdalena 'Babetjie' (39), was shot in the leg by members of the SAP in Wolseley, Cape, on 24 November 1990. Residents had staged a legal protest when police opened fire, killing one person and injuring others.

KAYOLA, Kgape (7), was seriously injured when he was shot in the head by members of the SAP in Emdeni South, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 6 April 1991 after an IFP rally was held in the vicinity. He and his mother were visiting a relative when neighbours saw members of the SAP attack the house. Two others were injured in the attack.

KAZI, Ivan, was arrested in Upington, Cape, on 3 December 1985, and spent long periods in custody while on trial for the crowd killing of a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN. One of the UPINGTON 26, Mr Kazi was given a suspended sentence, overturned on appeal.

KAZIUA, Willoughby, a member of the SAP, survived an armed attack on the Orlando police station in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 November 1979. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

KEANE, Susan-Anne (39), Secretary-General of the Johannesburg-North ANC, was killed when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

KEARNEY, Gerald Patrick (43), a UDF supporter and director of the religious organisation Diakonia, was arrested in Durban on 26 August 1985 for organising resistance against conscription. He was detained under the Internal Security Act and kept in solitary confinement for 17 days.

KEARNEY, Helen (42), was severely injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

KEARNS, John Eugene (24), a student activist, was detained in November 1985 while attempting to cross the border into Botswana. He was then transferred to his home town of Paarl, Cape. During his detention under SECTION 29, he was interrogated and threatened by named perpetrators. He and two friends were charged with terrorism. The charges against Mr Kearns were subsequently withdrawn, after he had spent over six months in custody.

KEEBINE, Ntwaetsile Bigshot, was detained by Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, in July 1989.

KEELE, Tshediso James (17), an ANC supporter and COSAS member, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP while he was participating in a protest march in Bohlokong, Bethlehem, OFS, on 29 January 1990. The protesters were marching outside the perpetrator's house when the shooting took place.

KEGOENG, Motlhaedi (23), chairperson of the ANCYL Tsineng branch, was arrested with several others while promoting a consumer boycott outside a bottle store in Tsineng, Bophuthatswana, on 15 October 1992. He was then severely tortured by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police.

KEIKELANE, Mpe Jonas, disappeared in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 January 1986. He was allegedly abducted in a police van and has never been seen since.

KEITSOP, Jonathan (57), a member of the SAP, lost his home in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Duncan Village, East London, on 18 November 1986.

KEKAE, Simon Madimetja (33), was shot and seriously injured by IFP supporters in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 November 1992 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

KEKANA, Jim Madimetja (15), was beaten and tortured by members of the SAP in Potgietersrus, Tvl, on 23 June 1986 during the state of emergency.

KEKANA, Kgalabe, was beaten with canes by members of the Lebowa Police in Mahwelereng, Lebowa, on 4 April 1985 under the partial state of emergency. Mr Kekana and five others were imprisoned and accused of participating in an illegal gathering.

KEKANA, Lesiba Jan (20), was detained in Nylstroom, Tvl, on 23 June 1986 during the state of emergency.

KEKANA, Malose Reuben (28), an ANC supporter, was tortured in detention in Zebediela, Tvl, in November 1992 during rent and consumer boycotts in the area.

KEKANA, Matlakala Josephine, was shot by members of the SAP as she left her home in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, in June 1986. In an out-of-court settlement, the Minister of Law and Order agreed to pay the family compensation of R6 000.

KEKANA, Ophilia (41), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 13 September 1990 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

KEKANA, Paulina Maselepe (51), was detained on 19 July 1985 in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, allegedly because of her political activities and her involvement in the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee.

KEKANA, Perry, was detained and tortured by members of the Lebowa Police in Mahwelereng, Lebowa, on 4 April 1985 for allegedly taking part in an illegal gathering.

KEKANA, Phatsa, a member of the SAP, was shot and injured by MK operatives in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 January 1988. The perpetrators ambushed and fired at the police vehicle, injuring four persons. Two MK operatives applied for amnesty. One withdrew his application and the other was granted amnesty (AC/2000/134).

KEKANA, Tlhabane Maxwell Silas (24), was kidnapped by a group allegedly hired by Chief Mangope in Majaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, in January 1993. He managed to escape, but Chief Mangope then destroyed his community and brickworks were built on their land.

KEKANE, Theodisha Thenjiwe (4), was run over by a police *Hippo* and killed in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 15 September 1986 during mounting student unrest in the area.

KEKE, B, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

KELE, George Molelle (17), was shot dead when members of the SAP clashed with protesters in Bothaville, OFS, in March 1990, during a protest march against POLICE BRUTALITY. Two others were killed and several injured in the shooting.

KELEMI, Lesley Sindephi 'Basi' (13), lost an eye after being shot with rubber bullets by members of the SAP in De Aar, Cape, on 1 July 1985. Mr Kelemi was reportedly arrested on charges of public violence and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

KELEWU, Buyile Robert (27), a member of the Ciskei Police, was shot dead on 14 August 1992 when his police vehicle was ambushed in Mdantsane, Ciskei. At the time, police were perceived as collaborators with the Gqozo regime in the Ciskei.

KELI, Emily Mkajela (41), was assaulted and detained by a named member of the SAP during protests in Port Elizabeth, in 1985.

KELLEM, Jongisiswe Witness (23), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Beaufort West, Cape, on 4 August 1992, during a three-day national strike called to break the deadlock in national political negotiations.

KEMP, Johannes Cornelius, a civilian, died from multiple stab wounds sustained in a random attack on whites by PAC supporters on the Durban beachfront on 9 October 1990. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/144).

KEMP, M, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KEMP, Stephanie Sachs (23), a member of the African Resistance Movement, was detained on 4 July 1964 and held for several months in solitary confinement in Cape Town. During her detention she was severely beaten by named Security Branch members at Caledon Square police station. She was convicted of sabotage and served two years of a five-year prison sentence. She sued the Minister of Justice and a member of the Security Branch for the assault and the case was settled out of court in her favour.

KEMPELE, Vuyisile (41), an ANC supporter, had his house damaged in a hand grenade attack by members of the Ciskei Defence Force in Dimbaza, Ciskei, on 21 September 1992, in the wake of the BISHO MASSACRE.

KEMPENAAR, Aletta Johanna, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

KENALEMANG, Kelebile Wagon (24), was stabbed and severely injured by a fellow worker at the Stilfontein hospital, Tvl, on 21 December 1972. Mr Kenalemang opposed Chief Mangope's regime and was labelled a 'terrorist' by the superintendent.

KENNING, C, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

KERAETSWE, Kebitsamang Serurubele Agnes (30), experienced ongoing abuse and harassment by police, including being sjambokked and kicked by named Bophuthatswana Police and members of the SAP on several occasions near Vryburg, Cape, from 1974. The police were searching for her husband, an ANC activist.

KERCHHOFF, Peter Campbell (52), was detained under emergency regulations in June 1986 and held for 97 days without trial. For 32 of those days he was kept in solitary confinement. A Supreme Court injunction eventually forced the police to grant Mr Kerchhoff access to a lawyer.

KERLEN, J, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

KESWA, Bongani (11), was shot dead in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 November 1986 when members of the police driving a bus fired on a group of children playing next to the road. A stayaway had been organised that day and the children had allegedly stoned the bus.

KESWA, Rodney Goba Eleazor (45), a commander in the Transkei Defence Force, was tortured in detention on 27 May 1981 in Engcobo, Transkei. He had travelled to foreign countries to seek military assistance. On his return he was accused of meeting with the ANC and was branded as a communist.

KETANI, Patricia Nontsikelelo (36), a SACCAWU member, was beaten and kicked by members of the Ciskei Police in Ciskei during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT in August 1983.

KETLHAPILE, Elizabeth Serufo, was severely beaten and teargassed by Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 19 May 1989 during conflict over the proposed INCORPORATION of the Bafurutshe people's land into Bophuthatswana.

KETLHAPILE, Lucas Poloko, was detained, handcuffed and severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 19 May 1989. Mr Ketlhapile resisted the INCORPORATION of Mokgola into Bophuthatswana.

KETLHAPILE, Nkele (23), was severely beaten and tear gassed by Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 19 May 1989 during conflict over the proposed INCORPORATION of the Bafurutshe people's land into Bophuthatswana.

KETSE, Sylvia Vuyelwa (29), was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

KETSHABILE, Mogagabi George (12), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 13 September 1990 while watching demonstrators from a tree during political conflict in the township.

KETSHENGANA, Sigaqa Mziwandile (27), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 15 June 1986, while participating in a march to commemorate the SOWETO UPRISING.

KETSISE, Moeketsi Moses (20), was shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned KHETHISI KHESWA GANG in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 May 1992 during the gang's reign of terror. A number of criminal gangs supported the IFP in their conflict with the ANC.

KEWUTE, Kululekile Simon (42), member of a civic association, was shot and seriously injured in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 7 July 1991, by named and other supporters of the local town COUNCILLORS under mayor Mali Hoza.

KEWUTI, Yoliswa Shiyiwe (31), a SANCO member, was assaulted with sjamboks and rifle-butts by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122). Ms Kewuti had been severely tortured in detention ten days prior to the Bisho shootings.

KEYE, Madoda Jeffrey, an underground ANC member, was convicted of high treason and imprisoned for eight years on Robben Island from April 1965. In June 1981 he was detained in Mdantsane, Ciskei, and was severely tortured by named members of the SAP at West Bank prison. Mr Keye became mentally ill as a result. He was sentenced to a further three years in prison for his political affiliation and was finally released in 1987.

KEYE, Misiwe Evelyn (43), was severely beaten by members of the SAP and bitten by police dogs in Wilsonia, East London, on 5 August 1983, allegedly because of her participation in the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

KGABILENG, Piet Basimane (46), was shot and severely assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, in 1988 for refusing to give them keys to the Taung tribal office. At the time, there was conflict over the chieftainship of the area.

KGADIMA, Mmatlou Ramaesela (55), a People's Congress member, had her home burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980 because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGAFELA, Annah Kwena (12), had her home burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980, because her family resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGAFELA, Joel, was beaten to death by supporters of Chief BK Matala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980, because Mr Kgafela resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGAFELA, Ngoepe Johanna (28), had her home burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980 because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGAFELA, Oupa, was beaten by members of the SAP at Vereeniging police station, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 at a time of community action against town councillors popularly known as the VAAL UPRISING. Mr Kgafela was walking with friends when police opened fire, killing one of them instantly. Mr Kgafela and two friends were then taken to Vereeniging police station and assaulted.

KGAFELA, Tshophe White (58), had his house burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matala at GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980 because Mr Kgafela resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGAHLE, Maggie, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on her way to attend an ANC rally in Rustenburg, Tvl, during 1992. Police stopped the bus several times along the journey to Phokeng and eventually people were ordered out and were assaulted with fists and rifle butts.

KGAKETSANE, Johannes Gogang (40), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Garankuwa, Bophuthatswana, during a riot in the area in 1977.

KGALEMA, Jabu Jacob (11), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in KwaGuga, Witbank, Tvl, on 6 April 1986 during a school boycott. Jabu is partially paralysed as a result.

KGANG, Simon Orapeleng, an ANC supporter, was fatally stabbed with a knife by a named perpetrator in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, in February 1992. At the time Mr Kgang was on bail for taking part in an illegal political gathering.

KGAPHOLA, Mmabje Harold (32), was shot and injured on his way to work in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in July 1986 when police confronted youths returning

from a night vigil of a 'comrade' allegedly shot and killed by the police.

KGAPHOLA, Petrus Kgarakgara (28), was severely assaulted with pick handles and sjamboks by members of the police and IMBOKODO vigilante group in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on January 1 1986. Mr Kgaphola was attending a meeting at the Royal Kraal about resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele when the perpetrators attacked him and killed and injured several others.

KGASI, Lesiba Jim (23), an ANCYL member, was shot and injured by members of the Security Police in Naboomspruit, Tvl, on 22 September 1990. He was taken to hospital in Potgietersrus and then to Naboomspruit. During the transfer, members of the Security Police tortured him throughout the night. Mr Kgasi was suspected of throwing a petrol bomb at the mayor's house.

KGATLHANE, Aubrey Matsamai (35), was severely beaten by alleged members of the IFP in Griekwastad, Cape, on 30 June 1991. It is believed that the assailants were bussed in from Johannesburg by the local mayor.

KGATLHANE, Tommy Kgosimang (32), an ANCYL member, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Griekwastad, Cape, on 2 July 1991, during conflict between the ANC and a vigilante group known as the INKATHA GANG.

KGAU, Karabo Jonas (54), an ANC supporter, died when he was hacked with a *panga* and thrown out of a moving train by IFP supporters in Johannesburg, on 29 October 1993. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

KGIBA, Samuel Lethola (22), was abducted by members of the SAP in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl, on 4 March 1986.

KGOADI, Dimakatso Martha (21), had her home in Sekampaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, demolished by members of the Bophuthatswana Police acting on an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana government on 8 February 1993.

KGOADI, Phuti Manoko (35), had his home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matala on 2 February 1980 because Mr Kgoadi resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOARE, Matsiliso Yvonne (35), suffered a period of considerable police harassment in Bloemfontein, after her brother was killed in an SADF raid on Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 14 Basotho citizens were killed in this raid. Ms Kgoare suffered a nervous breakdown as a result of this harassment.

KGOATHE, Nicodimas Kakadi, PAC supporter, was arrested in 1968 under the Terrorism Act and detained for 180 days without trial at Silverton police station, Pretoria. On 4 February 1969 he died as a result of torture by named members of the Security Police who claimed that Mr Kgoathe had slipped on a bar of soap.

KGOBADI, Andries Bangkgane (18), a Huhudi Youth Organisation member, was tortured by members of the SAP when he was arrested in Vryburg, Cape, on

18 June 1985 following a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING. He was arrested again in November 1985, and tortured to elicit a confession of murder. Mr Kgobadi was eventually sentenced to two years' imprisonment for public violence.

KGOBO, Maesela Thomas Sinky (21), an ANC supporter, was shot in Soshanguve, Pretoria, on 4 February 1986 during confrontations between youth and police after the youth set up barricades in the streets.

KGOFELA, Jerry Majeremane, an ANC supporter, was detained and beaten in Kagiso, Tvl, on 11 June 1987 during a bus boycott.

KGOGO, Daniel, an MK operative, died on the way to hospital after being shot in the head in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 December 1982 by a named *askari* who accused him of being a 'terrorist' in possession of an AK47. The perpetrator was acquitted on a murder charge.

KGOGOME, Doctor Nakale, was abducted by ANC supporters and set alight after a brief kangaroo court trial in Munsieville, Krugersdorp, Tvl, in April 1986 during a period of intense political conflict. He died of his injuries in hospital.

KGOMO, John, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by unidentified vigilantes in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 August 1986 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

KGOMO, Koena Jan (46), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 because Mr Kgomo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Kwena William (25), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Kgomo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Machoene Johannes (39), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Kgomo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Maifo Frans (66), a People's Congress supporter, was beaten and had his house in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Kgomo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Makgabo (74), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Makwena Mosima (63), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Maphuti Alfred (23), a People's Congress supporter, was harassed repeatedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, and went into hiding on 6 February 1980 because Mr Kgomo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Maphuti Elisa (60), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Kgomo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Mapula Dinah (40), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Matina Josias (53), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Kgomo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Mosima (59), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Mosima Nyatsina (42), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Nare Gideon (38), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 because Mr Kgomo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Phala Tyus (54), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Kgomo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Phelepina Nare Makwena (34), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Phuti Frans (30), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Kgomo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMO, Tshepishi Elias (38), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Kgomo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGOMONGOE, Linah Ouma (27), was injured when a hand grenade detonated by an MK operative exploded in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 27 November 1992. MK and APLA members who had returned from exile were training members of the community to defend themselves against alleged IFP and security forces attacks. The perpetrator allegedly threw the hand grenade after getting involved in an argument at a *stokvel*. Six people were killed and four injured in the explosion.

KGOPA, Hodi Ananias (35), was stabbed in the head with a sharp object, allegedly by members of the SADF, when he was stopped at a roadblock in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on 14 February 1986 while en route to a meeting to discuss the burial of schoolchildren killed by police.

KGOPA, Mabona Johannes (24), was severely injured when stabbed with knives and spears in Katlehong, Tvl, in 1990 by IFP supporters who blocked the railway station and attacked anyone not Zulu-speaking.

KGOPANE, Abram Rapule (28), a PAC member, was shot dead in Mailula Park near Vosloorus, Tvl, on 13 December 1992 during political conflict in the area.

KGOPODIMETSE, Thusoeamodimo Elias (23), was arrested and severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police members in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 13 March 1992. The victim was arrested because he was wearing a T-shirt with a picture of Chief Mankuroane, who was in exile as a result of political differences with Chief Mangope.

KGORO, Audrey, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

KGOROEBOGO, Mokalobe John (53), was severely beaten with a chain by a member of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, in 1988 because he refused to give the police access to Chief Mankuroane's office. The Bophuthatswana Police supported Chief Mangope.

KGOSIEMANG, Mothusi, suffered severe damage to house and property as a result of a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

KGOSIETSI, Mohlouwa Jonas (34), an ANC supporter and trade union leader, was beaten to death in police cells in Rustenburg, Tvl, on 19 January 1992, allegedly because he was seen to be an 'instigator' of political activity on the mines.

KGWAHLA, James Mashilo (25), an MK operative, was killed in Ellisras, Tvl, in August 1988 during a skirmish with members of the SAP soon after his unit had entered South Africa.

KGWAKGWA, Bosinki John (42), was severely beaten and tortured in Chief Moilwa's yard and in detention by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, on 8 July 1989 while residents of Lekubu were resisting INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana. Mr Kgwakgwa was accused of being involved in the killing of nine policemen for their weapons.

KGWAKGWA, Mmakgaje Sophy (29), an ANC supporter, was severely tortured and assaulted while in detention by alleged Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 5 August 1989 during conflict over the Mangope government.

KGWALE, Mare Simon (43), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KGWEDI, Raymond, was shot and injured by MK operatives in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 January 1988. The perpetrators ambushed and fired at the police vehicle, injuring four persons. Two

MK operatives applied for amnesty. One withdrew his application and the other was granted amnesty (AC/2000/134).

KGWETE, Makgabutlane Frans (29), an ANC supporter, was injured when thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters in Germiston, Tvl, on 17 May 1991. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

KGWETE, Moraka John (63), was abducted and tortured by members of the IMBOKODO vigilante group in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986. The IMBOKODO supported state plans for INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

KHABA, Ntombizodwa Christina (41), was stabbed to death by members of the BLACK CATS on 12 April 1992 in Wesselton, Tvl. She was allegedly killed because her son left the IFP for the ANC.

KHABANYANE, Mavuzo Atwell (40), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the ISU in Katilehong, Tvl, on 22 July 1993. A named SAP captain allegedly shot Mr Khabanyane in the head and kicked his body.

KHABINGCA, Aaron Saki (31), an ANC activist, was arrested in Engcobo, Transkei, in 1962, during the ANC's 'Mayibuye' sabotage campaign, and taken to Van Rensburg prison, Cape Town, where he was tortured. Mr Khabingca was later charged with attempted murder and served a six-year sentence on Robben Island.

KHADI, Mbuyiseli, an ANC member, was burnt to death by UDF-supporting AMABUTHO members in Xolani, Grahamstown, Cape, on 23 September 1984, allegedly because he was suspected of being a state collaborator.

KHAHLA, Veronica Nomvula (18), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 16 July 1985 in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, in political unrest and conflict following the killing of the CRADOCK FOUR.

KHAILE, Elizabeth Meme (20), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Other members of Ms Khaile's family were killed and injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

KHAILE, Mokete (21), was stabbed to death on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Other members of Mr Khaile's family were also killed and injured in the massacre. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

KHAILE, Ntaoleng Selinah (33), was stabbed and injured on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Other members of Ms Khaile's family were also killed and injured in the massacre. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

KHAKANA, Buti John (37), lost his home in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Cookhouse, Cape, in February 1986, after the Kakana family were accused of being police collaborators.

KHAKHANE, Samson Thabiso, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 3 November 1993 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHALA, Nophakamile (36), was shot and injured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 8 April 1992. Ms Nophakamile was one of more than 100 Phola Park residents including women and teenagers who were assaulted by members of the SADF 32 Battalion after a member of the SADF was shot and injured in Phola Park. Two women were shot dead and at least four raped during the attack. An investigation by Justice Goldstone concluded that the soldiers had acted in a manner 'completely inconsistent with the function of a peacekeeping force' and recommended their removal from South Africa's townships.

KHALIPHA, Senzangabom Vusumzi, an MK operative, was in a unit of five MK operatives active in the Eastern Cape when he was caught in a police roadblock near Elliot, in August 1981, and shot dead. Three others were killed in the ambush and a survivor was arrested. The bodies were secretly buried on a farm near Aliwal North, Cape, and exhumed by the Commission in 1997.

KHAMA, Khama Henderson (50), lost his home in Maboloko, Bophuthutswana, when it was burnt down during a power struggle over chieftaincy in 1976.

KHAMBABA, Njabulo (19), was shot dead on 5 February 1992 at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban when armed men in two minibuses opened fire on ANC supporters, killing three people at a home and three schoolchildren on their way to school.

KHAMBULA, Sitololo Gladys (40), had her house burnt down at Umzumbe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area. Her husband was severely injured in the same attack.

KHAMBULE, Bajabuhle Christinah (39), was stabbed and severely injured by a named Inkatha supporter in Bhekulwandle, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 14 May 1989. Her husband, a UDF supporter, was killed in the same attack.

KHAMBULE, Baza, an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and injured by UDF supporters at Inchanga, Natal, on 28 October 1989, during political conflict in the area.

KHAMBULE, Ben November (20), an ANCYL member, was burnt to death when he was 'necklaced' by 'comrades' who suspected him of being an informer and an IFP member, in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, in 1992.

KHAMBULE, Edward Mvuyo (41), was shot dead by a named perpetrator at Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 March 1994 when the car he was driving was ambushed during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His employer's daughter was also killed, and her brother and father were injured in the attack.

KHAMBULE, Khombisile, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured and her home was burnt down by a named Inkatha supporter at Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 1 June 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area. Two other family members were injured in the attack. The family was forced to flee the area.

KHAMBULE, Mbuso (Kubheka), a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), was assaulted and killed by fellow SDU members in Tokoza, Tvl, on 8 October 1993. Mr Khambule had allegedly killed another SDU member, for which the penalty was death. Three SDU members were granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1999/0243).

KHAMBULE, Nhlanhleni Pius (25), was abducted and shot dead by named members of the SAP at Highflats, Ixopo, Natal, during political conflict in the area.

KHAMBULE, Nonhlanhla (17), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and injured by UDF supporters at Inchanga, Natal, on 28 October 1989, during political conflict in the area.

KHAMBULE, Ntombikayise Precious (15), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured and her home was burnt down by a named Inkatha supporter at Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 1 June 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area. Two other family members were injured in the attack. The family was forced to flee the area.

KHAMBULE, Regina, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured when her family home was attacked and burnt down by a named Inkatha supporter on 1 June 1989 in Pietermaritzburg.

KHAMBULE, Reginald Nkosana (27), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by IFP supporters in Tsakane, Transvaal, on 5 May 1985, allegedly in an attack targeted at Xhosa-speaking males.

KHAMBULE, Sibongiseni Bethuel (18), was forced to flee his home in Pietermaritzburg on 1 January 1987 due to severe intimidation and harassment by named Inkatha supporters.

KHAMBULE, Thembi Gladys Siso (42), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by other IFP supporters at Mdlazi, Port Shepstone, Natal, in May 1992, because her children were ANC supporters.

KHAMBULE, Tshelinkosi Amos, was stabbed and severely injured while sick in bed, and had his house burnt down in an attack on his home in Umzumbe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1990 during intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

KHAMBULE, Vayo Wilbert (47), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by a named Inkatha supporter in Bhekulwandle, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 14 May 1989. His wife was also injured in the attack.

KHAMBULE, Vusumuzi Khethokwakhe, a UDF supporter, was harassed, intimidated and beaten at various times between 1974 and 1984 by members of the Special Branch and Inkatha. In 1978 he was detained in Pietermaritzburg for six months, and tortured and beaten by Security Police members.

KHAMBULE, Welkom, an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured at Fisher Street police station in Durban in January 1977.

KHAMPEPE, Mampho Rosinah (33), lost her home and possessions in an arson attack at Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in 1975 during political conflict in the Bataung community over the chieftancy.

KHAN, Dennis Stanley (40), was beaten by security officers of the Western Cape Regional Services Council, during a protest against evictions in Elsies River, Cape

Town, on 18 June 1992. One protester was shot dead and others injured by the security officers.

KHAN, Gulzar (43), was arrested, interrogated, harassed and threatened with deportation during his time as a Cape Town city COUNCILLOR in 1966. Mr Khan voiced his constituents' antipathy towards the National Party's policies.

KHANG, Mphafane Jacob (25), an MK operative, was abducted by Security Branch members and was interrogated and assaulted in Ladybrand, OFS, on 9 April 1985. He was forced to jump into the Caledon river. When he subsequently went into exile, he was detained in ANC CAMPS in Zimbabwe and Zambia.

KHANG, Tsietsi Benjamini (24), was detained in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, in May 1997. In custody he was tortured with electric shocks, physically assaulted and sexually tortured by members of the SAP. The community was involved in a rent boycott at the time.

KHANGE, Nyadzanga, was shot dead by named perpetrators in Davhana village, Vuwani, Venda, on 29 November 1985 during conflict between the Nengwekhulu and Davhana royal families.

KHANGO, Zandisile (35), had his home burnt down in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in November 1993 in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

KHANO, Malcolm, was shot dead when members of the SAP opened fire on residents demonstrating against high rents in Toekomsrus, Randfontein, Tvl, in October 1990.

KHANTSI, Neo Petros (17), was shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 21 April 1993 by people who accused him of being an informer. Sebokeng was tense following numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

KHANTSI, Sheila Tselane (33), was shot in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 5 April 1992.

KHANXILE, Vusi (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and his friend injured by a group of IFP supporters near Eshowe, Natal, on 4 January 1991.

KHANYA, Tshehla Joseph (48), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters after an IFP funeral in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 23 November 1991.

KHANYASE, Andreas Mboneni (24), was stabbed and permanently disabled by IFP supporters in Umkomaas, Natal, on 7 February 1992, allegedly because he was perceived to be an ANC supporter.

KHANYE, Martha Fransina, was shot dead on 12 October 1991 when masked gunmen entered the Ntombela family home in Vosloorus, Tvl, and opened fire. Three family members were killed and eight people wounded in the attack which took place during ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHANYENDE, Thororo Michael (27), vice-chairman of the Sbhongile Civic Association, Dundee, Natal, was detained and held in custody in Dundee during June 1985. He had helped organise a rent boycott to protest against the government's failure to improve the community's socio-economic conditions.

KHANYESI, Joyce Babazile, was killed on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the

taxi in which she was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

KHANYEZA, Lucky Michael (30), an ANC supporter, was badly burnt when his home was petrol-bombed by named IFP supporters near Estcourt, Natal, on 2 April 1992.

KHANYILE, Absolom Fano (44), was severely stabbed by named IFP members in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in March 1990, during intense political conflict in the area.

KHANYILE, Bangani Simon, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

KHANYILE, Benedict Bongani (18), was shot and severely injured during intense political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 September 1989.

KHANYILE, Bhekifa, had his car set alight and his house looted by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See MPUMALANGA ATTACKS. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KHANYILE, Bhekizenzo, a taxi driver, was abducted, interrogated, and shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, during December 1993. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for this incident (AC/1999/0186).

KHANYILE, Bongani (14), was shot dead by ANC supporters at a traffic light in Estcourt, Natal, on 16 December 1992. The perpetrators opened fire at the car he was travelling in together with prominent IFP members.

KHANYILE, Boyi (44), an IFP supporter, died of a head injury inflicted by ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 27 May 1992.

KHANYILE, Busisiwe Ellen (42), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

KHANYILE, David Mzwelihle (45), an ANC supporter, died after being shot by named IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 October 1990. The perpetrators attacked a party at Mr Khanyile's brother's house, killing six other people.

KHANYILE, Diezakhe Wilson (40), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Bruntville, KwaZulu, near Mooi River, Natal, on 20 March 1992, in intense political conflict in the area.

KHANYILE, Doris (46), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 2 December 1988 at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg. Members

of the SAP and the Riot Unit arrested known UDF supporters on 2 December 1988 and withdrew their presence from the area in preparation for the Trust Feeds massacre which took place on 3 December 1988. At the time of the attack, there was no policing presence in the area, leaving UDF-supporting families particularly vulnerable to attack.

KHANYILE, Ectina Babukeleni (48), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, in March 1992. She was allegedly targeted because her sons were ANC supporters.

KHANYILE, Fanyana, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in Estcourt, Natal, on 13 January 1994, allegedly in retaliation for the killing of an IFP leader.

KHANYILE, Gezani Margaret (45), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in an attack by alleged UDF supporters on 18 March 1990. See NJOBOKAZI ATTACK.

KHANYILE, Girley Constance (38), had her home burnt down in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict in the area in 1993. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

KHANYILE, Gongwane (51), was injured in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 March 1992 in violent conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHANYILE, Irish, was injured in a hand grenade explosion in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 31 July 1992. An ANC self-defence unit (SDU) member threw the grenade during a confrontation with police. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/090).

KHANYILE, Jabulani, was one of eight people shot dead by ANC supporters in ongoing political conflict at Mpusheni Reserve, Natal, on 18 August 1992. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0219).

KHANYILE, James (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 April 1990, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHANYILE, Japana Robert (49), an ANC supporter, had his home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992.

KHANYILE, Khumbulani Meshack, a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters and members of the SAP in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 November 1989.

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

KHANYILE, Mandla James (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were

killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KHANYILE, Mandla Prince (23), a former MK member, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 11 March 1993 in Ntuzuma, near Durban. Mr Khanyile and another person died when police opened fire on the vehicle in which they were travelling. The ANC allege that these were targeted killings by a 'police hit squad'. The SAP killed five men over a period of three days, including MK and former MK members and a returnee. One man was killed while still handcuffed. The police alleged that the men had killed one member of the KWAZULU POLICE and two of the SAP.

KHANYILE, Mbangoa Johannes (47), a COSATU member, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters at a bus terminus in Empangeni, Natal, on 28 March 1993 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHANYILE, Mduduzi Sandelaphi, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

KHANYILE, Mfanalo Zefried (49), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 30 November 1993.

KHANYILE, Mfanyana Elias (70), was shot and stabbed to death in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 October 1991, when he went to assist a neighbour whose home was being attacked by ANC supporters.

KHANYILE, Mhokozisi Welcome (29), an IFP supporter, died during an interrogation by members of the SAP near Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, on 7 August 1992. A limpet mine provided by *Vlakplaas* was then used to dispose of his body in order to divert suspicion from the police. The commander of *Vlakplaas* was granted amnesty for providing the limpet mine; one of his operatives was refused amnesty (AC/2001/004).

KHANYILE, Mnce, was shot and killed by an Inkatha member at the Wozanazo Higher Primary School, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1987, during political violence in the area. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KHANYILE, Mphikwana, was stoned and stabbed to death by members of a youth organisation in Lamontville, Durban, during political conflict in April 1983.

KHANYILE, Musawenkosi Vincent, a UDF supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 October 1987. The incident took place outside a store that was allegedly out of bounds to UDF supporters.

KHANYILE, Mutaziwe John, was shot and killed by APLA operatives near Port Alfred, Natal, on 29 September 1992. An amnesty applicant testified that a shot had been fired accidentally during the course of an attempt to rob Mr Khanyile of his vehicle which was intended for use in an attack by the operatives. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0116).

KHANYILE, Mziwakhe Jeremiah, was shot dead when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

KHANYILE, Nabane Theresa (38), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 15 July 1991 in the ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHANYILE, Nelson Mpilonhle (36), an MK operative who had returned from exile in 1993, was severely tortured by named SAP members after being arrested for possession of an illegal weapon in Vryheid, Natal, on 14 January 1994. The torture included being placed in a sack in a dam, beatings, suffocation and electric shocks.

KHANYILE, Sikhakhane (22), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by named ANC supporters at KwaHlaza, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 19 July 1991. Her boyfriend was injured in this incident.

KHANYILE, Silungile Alexina (64), had her home burnt down in an arson attack in Empangeni, Natal, on 13 March 1993, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHANYILE, Siphso, was killed when the house in which he rented a room was burnt down by IFP supporters near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 September 1990 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHANYILE, Sithembiso Wiseman (19), was shot and injured by SAP members in Lamontville, near Kwa-Mashu, Durban, on 30 August 1985, during political conflict following the killing of UDF leader, Victoria Mxenge.

KHANYILE, Sphaza, was beaten to death by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 April 1992, because he was thought to be an ANC supporter. His body was mutilated.

KHANYILE, Thembekile Esther (38), was shot with rubber bullets by members of the SAP in Lamontville, Durban, on 10 March 1986 in conflict between residents and Inkatha supporters over the incorporation of Lamontville into KwaZulu.

KHANYILE, Thulani Reynos (18), disappeared in February 1991 after attending an MK meeting in Durban. He was last seen in Tanzania.

KHANYILE, Wani Kinsele, was shot dead by ANC members at Dambuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during 1993, because he was alleged to be collaborating with police. Two members of the ANC security department were granted amnesty (AC/2001/055).

KHANYILE, William (45), a SACTU official from Swayimane, outside Pietermaritzburg, was killed on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed. Mr Khanyile previously served seven years on Robben Island for political offences.

KHANYILE, Xolani Kenneth (25), an ANC supporter, was beaten, stabbed and shot to death by IFP supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

KHANYILE, Xolile (2), was shot in the leg while in the arms of her grandmother, a well-known ANC supporter, on 2 August 1992, when armed men wearing balaclavas attacked several homes in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. See **ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS**.

KHANYILE, Zenzele Lenos (37), a prominent ANC supporter, was stoned to death by named IFP supporters near Estcourt, Natal, on 4 February 1992.

KHAOLI, Jacob, a UDF activist, was detained for 14 days by the SAP in 1985 and accused of involvement in an arson attack on the home of the Katilehong mayor. Khoali was also arrested and held at Modderbee prison after the declaration of a state of emergency in June 1985. He alleges he was taken to a private house called the *waarkamer*, where he was subjected to the **HELICOPTER TORTURE** method and given electric shocks. As a result of his torture, both of his legs were amputated above the knee.

KHAPHA, Lholho, was severely beaten by named vigilantes mobilised by the local community **COUNCILLORS** and police in Philipstown, Cape, in October 1985. She was one of several people assaulted that day by the vigilantes who attacked the property and persons suspected of involvement in arson attacks on the property of the community councillors.

KHAPHA, Lizo, a community activist in Worcester and member of the Western Cape Civic Association, was detained for over a year under the 1986 state of emergency at Victor Verster prison in Paarl, Cape. He was redetained in 1988, five months after his release.

KHASIBE, Bayephi Khasibe (51), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Mkhobeni, Bulwer, Natal, on 24 December 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHATHAZA, Elias Zamane (26), an ANC supporter, died after being forced to drink petrol and then being set alight by fellow ANC supporters in Theunissen, OFS, on 9 July 1990, allegedly because he was the driver for a businessman who had colluded with the police. A number of ANC supporters were arrested for this killing, but were acquitted.

KHATHI, Busisiwe Esther (30), an Inkatha supporter, was shot, stabbed and hacked to death, allegedly by her husband and another named ANC supporter, on 8 December 1988 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban. Ms Khathi was pregnant but separated from her husband, an ANC supporter.

KHATHI, KP, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

KHATHI, Mataku Ernestina (49), had her house near Ixopo, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack in February 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. She was forced to flee the area.

KHATHIDE, Mduduzi Sabelo, was shot and severely injured by KWAZULU POLICE members in Ncotshane, Tvl, on 27 November 1993 while attending a night vigil.

KHATHIDE, Thabi Francisca (26), an ANC supporter, had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 14 June 1991.

KHATHINI, Siphso Bethwell (24), was arrested in 1975 by members of the Special Branch and taken to Fischer Street, Durban, where he was tortured and beaten, allegedly for collaborating with exiles while he worked as a sailor in Mozambique.

KHATHULA, Mlitsshalwa (43), had her home burnt down in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in 1993.

KHATI, Bangeni Hermina (55), an ANC supporter, had her house at Nokweja, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 28 July 1993.

KHATSHWA, Makulana, an ANC supporter, was detained in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, and later sentenced to three years' imprisonment in East London during which he was tortured and forced to do hard labour. He had been part of the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Mr Khatshwa died a week after his release.

KHATSHWA, Simangele, was attacked and injured by Inkatha members during political conflict at Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 30 December 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KHAULA, Soliwe Scholastica (56), had her home near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 13 April 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHAVE, Mthundezi (27), was shot and severely injured in Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1991 when members of the SAP opened fire on residents who had gathered to defend themselves against a rumoured IFP march. Twelve people were killed and at least 33 injured in the attack. Mr Khave was detained a fortnight later by the same members of the SAP.

KHAVHUKHAVHU, Birima David, was burnt to death and his house set alight by a group of community residents in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094).

KHAWULA, Allen Thembitshe (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and burnt to death in KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 April 1989 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

KHAWULA, Annatoria Ncamisile (24), was shot dead when hooded gunmen attacked three homes at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 20 June 1993. See MURCHISON ATTACKS.

KHAWULA, Aubrey Mnguthu Khanla (40), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 13 August 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHAWULA, Crawford Sandile, ANC supporter, was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* askaris in Chesterville, near Durban, on 21 January 1986, as he was preparing to go into exile. Some of the perpetrators applied for amnesty.

KHAWULA, Felani Florence (54), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed by other ANC supporters in Mkhazeni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, during a serious internal feud in the organisation in 1992.

KHAWULA, Khonziwe Masinga (65), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by other Inkatha supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 July 1985, allegedly because she was thought to be a UDF supporter.

KHAWULA, Margate, an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down and her possessions stolen by IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 November 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHAWULA, Mbhekiseni (8), had his family home destroyed in an arson attack by named IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, during 1991. His family was allegedly targeted because they were ANC supporters.

KHAWULA, Nkampu Timothy (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, inside his home in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 June 1993. See MURCHISON ATTACKS.

KHAWULA, Nzo Victoria (41), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Spongo, Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 April 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHAWULA, Sebenza Maria (46), an IFP supporter, had her home destroyed in an attack by ANC supporters in Kwenkulu, Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 December 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHAWULA, Thembitshe Allen, a UDF supporter, was beaten, stoned and burnt to death by a crowd of Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 23 April 1989. Mr Khawula was released by the crowd after being severely beaten, but was then set upon again as he tried to leave, and was dragged away and killed.

KHAWULA, Zandile Phoyo (7), from an ANC-supporting family, had her family home near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 10 June 1990.

KHAWULA, Zazi Amos (37), was abducted and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 June 1991 in continuing political conflict in the area. In March that year, Mr Khawula had been beaten at an IFP induna's place because he was thought to be aligning himself with the *amaqabane*.

KHAWULA, Zibonele Wilson (38), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, in February 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHAWULA, Ziyaphi Jannet (33), an IFP supporter, was assaulted, shot and stabbed by ANC supporters in

an attack on a bus in Margate, Natal, on 20 April 1992. On 25 June 1993 Ms Khawula's home in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, was burnt down in continuing political conflict.

KHAYIYANA, Inah Delicia Mama (66), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Ermelo police station, Tvl, in 1985. Ms Khayiyana was interrogated for information on the whereabouts of her son.

KHAYIYANA, Victor Lunga, an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the SADF near Piet Retief, Tvl, on 28 November 1985 while trying to cross the border into Swaziland. Two other operatives were killed in the attack.

KHENA, Pius, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 8 September 1991 following an IFP rally at Jabulani stadium in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg.

KHENISA, Edward Mduduzi (21), an ANC supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1989.

KHESWA, Emma, lost her house in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Boipatong, Tvl, in December 1990.

KHESWA, Fana Simon (53), lost his home in an arson attack at Dindi, Pietermaritzburg, during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area in April 1986.

KHESWA, Felix Thulani (20), an IFP supporter, was shot and severely injured, allegedly by ANC supporters, in Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

KHESWA, Fikile Caroline, had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Eshowe, Natal, in June 1993, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHESWA, Johannes Jabulani, was shot dead by a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE, in Tembisa, Tvl, on 8 May 1991. Mr Kheswa's house was attacked because his father was a councillor.

KHESWA, Mduduzi Paulos (34), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by unidentified attackers in Pietermaritzburg on 28 January 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. The attackers allegedly knocked on his door at night and announced themselves as police.

KHESWA, Modiehi Annah (37), was severely beaten in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 April 1993 when three men wearing balaclavas burst into her home. Ms Kheswa believes her home was attacked because she was suspected of being an ANC supporter and had a portrait of Nelson Mandela on her wall. Ms Kheswa's two sons and three visitors were killed in the attack. The attack took place during a period of intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHESWA, Moses, an ANC supporter, was killed and scalped after attending a traditional party in a UDF stronghold near Pietermaritzburg in April 1986 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. His body was found two weeks later.

KHESWA, Mzwandile (22), was shot and paralysed by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 30 May 1992 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

KHESWA, P Xolani, was stoned to death by UDF supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 7 November 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

KHESWA, Samuel Molefi (23), was severely injured in the foot when a hand grenade detonated by an MK operative exploded in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 27 November 1992. MK and APLA members who had returned from exile were training members of the community to defend themselves against alleged IFP and security forces attacks. The perpetrator allegedly threw the hand grenade after getting involved in an argument at a *stokvel*. Six people were killed and four were injured in the explosion.

KHESWA, Sbusiso Blessing (18), an ANC supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters while waiting for a bus in Umzinto, Natal, in March 1990. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

KHESWA, Simangele Loveness (27), was severely injured by shrapnel when a bomb planted by the AWB exploded in Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994 in political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTION.

KHESWA, Victor Khethisi, was shot and injured by ANC supporters in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, in December 1990 at a street committee meeting called after he was acquitted of killing an ANCYL member in the area. Mr Kheswa, known as the 'Vaal monster', died in police custody on 10 July 1993. See also IFP-aligned KHETHISI KHESWA GANG.

KHETHWA, Simphiwe (13), was shot dead by members of the SAP who opened fire on fleeing youths during protests in Venterstad, Cape, on 27 March 1986.

KHETSHENGANE, Mzwandile Elmas (27), was shot dead by members of the SAP during boycotts and political conflict in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 16 June 1986.

KHOABANE, Johannes Tlhoriso, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during the VAAL UPRISING sparked by an increase in rent and the subsequent attack and burning of councillors' homes.

KHOADI, Kefilwe Frederica (16), was severely intimidated by AZAPO supporters in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, on 21 May 1986.

KHOALI, Elias Masilo, an ANC member, was tortured by a named member of the Security Branch in Koppies, OFS, for his participation in the 1960 anti-Pass Law campaign. Mr Khoali was regularly detained and subjected to ill-treatment.

KHOBENI, Wandile Alphonse Ganda (23), a COSAS member, was detained and severely tortured in Bethulie, OFS, in 1989, allegedly for his part in harassing students whose fathers were COUNCILLORS or policemen.

KHOBBO, Siyabulela (14) was abducted, severely assaulted and tortured by named and other supporters of a named Crossroads leader on 22 May 1993, in order to force him to falsely implicate their political opponents in violence. Crossroads leader, Jeffrey Nongwe, and

three others were later acquitted in court of the abduction and assault.

KHOBODO, Livhuwani Bertina (17), was arrested and severely beaten by Venda Police in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, in 1990. The police van which was transporting her to the police station overturned and Ms Khobodo was injured. On arrival at the police station, she was then assaulted with sjamboks and made to sleep there overnight.

KHOBOKOANE, Patrick Vuyisile (17), was arrested, severely beaten and tortured while in detention by members of the SAP in Johannesburg, in June 1977 during the first anniversary of the SOWETO UPRISING.

KHOELI, Anna, was one of four people shot dead during an ambush by named perpetrators in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 10 October 1992. The well-known Phola Park community leader, Prince Mhlambi, also died in this ambush. The Goldstone commission later implicated a police informer in a disinformation campaign against the Phola Park Residents' Committee headed by Mr Mhlambi.

KHOETSA, Dinowa Isak (16), was shot by members of the SADF in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 25 December 1991.

KHOHLAKALA, Funeka Caroline (23), was shot and injured and her house was petrol-bombed in Tokoza, Tvl, on 6 August 1992, allegedly because her husband was an ANC activist and chairperson in the area, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHOHLIWE, Pendros Ntemo, was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KHOHLOKOANE, Muso Johannes (30), an SADF member, was abducted from work in Kroonstad, OFS, and was killed a day later, on 4 April 1992.

KHOJANE, Sehloho John (26), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Frankie, Bethulie, OFS, on 25 April 1993. The attack occurred during a violent confrontation between IFP and ANC supporters, during which a police officer fired on the ANC group.

KHOKHO, Thembile David (20), was shot and paralysed by members of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, on 28 January 1986 during a consumer boycott.

KHOLOBENG, Kenneth Mpho (19), was shot and hacked to death by IFP supporters in Kliptown, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 18 August 1990 during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

KHOMFANA, Bulelwa, was shot dead by a named member of the Ciskei Police on 5 August 1989 in King William's Town, Cape.

KHOMO, Bakhephi (39), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 August 1991.

KHOMO, Bewula, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 3 October 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHOMO, Cashephi (59), an IFP supporter, had her home destroyed in an attack by ANC supporters in Njobokazi, 1, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

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

KHOMO, Ivy, a UDF supporter, had her house looted and destroyed when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KHOMO, Khonzeleni Fikelephi (36), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters during political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 21 August 1991.

KHOMO, Lawrence Sipiwe, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KHOMO, Lindiwe Staff (27), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in an attack by alleged UDF supporters on 18 March 1990. See NJOBOKAZI ATTACK.

KHOMO, Mmangaleuna, was injured when the car in which he was travelling was attacked by members of a self-defence unit (SDU) during ongoing political conflict in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 April 1991. Two occupants of the vehicle were killed and two others injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/066).

KHOMO, Mongezi, was shot dead by members of the SAP during political conflict in Port Elizabeth on 25 December 1977.

KHOMO, Nkosikhona Shadrack, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KHOMO, Nompumelelo Mildred (33), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 25 March 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHOMO, Ntombazi Adelaide Ntombikayise, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 24 October 1992.

KHOMO, Sibonelo Alpheus Khosi, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 June 1992, because he was believed to be an ANC supporter.

KHOMO, Thembekile Maria (54), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 June 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHOMO, Thuleboni, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KHOMO, Thulukuphela (39), a town councillor, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 25 April 1991, in political conflict in the area.

KHOMOEASERA, Lucas Mabitsela (54), a local ANC chairperson, had his house attacked by members of the SAP using stones and firearms in Vukazenzele, Ladybrand, OFS, on 12 December 1990. Mr Khomoeasera had been involved in mobilising the community to join a protest campaign against police intimidation.

KHOMOGWE, France, died when he was assaulted with sticks and stones by a large crowd of community residents in Venda on 11 February 1990. He was accused of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for the re-incorporation for the homeland into South Africa. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/094).

KHOMOTSWANE, Boyi Victor, was beaten and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at Sinating, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 16 February 1988, allegedly because he was mistaken for an ANC supporter.

KHONDLO, Siyabulela Xolani (20), an ANC supporter, is disabled as a result of being severely beaten by IFP supporters in the street in Johannesburg, in June 1992.

KHONELA, Thandiwe (27), an ANC supporter, was stabbed with a bush knife and severely beaten with sjamboks by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 15 March 1992.

KHONJWAYO, Mantondwano (56), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1993 during intense political conflict in the area. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

KHONKHUBE, Thembi Rachel (51), was shot with rubber bullets and severely injured by members of the SAP in Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1993. She was at Jabulani stadium listening to Nelson Mandela's speech the day before the funeral of CHRIS HANI. Police opened fire as the crowd marched to Protea police station in protest against Mr Hani's killing.

KHONOU, Simon (18), was abducted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in October 1988 in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, and has not been seen since.

KHONQO, Dolman (42), a Crossroads resident, was tortured by named members of the SAP while in police custody at the Bishop Lavis police station, Cape Town, on 18 September 1984.

KHONTWAYO, Bantwanase, was one of 13 people killed in an attack by UDF and ANC supporters on Inkatha supporters in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/041).

KHONZANA, Sipho Eric (26), an ANC supporter and a member of a local SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Masilo, Theunissen, OFS, on 25 May 1990. He was then detained and assaulted at a police station before being escorted to hospital. One person was killed and one other injured in this incident.

KHOSA, Musa, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KHOSANA, Molelekoa Petros (23), was shot dead by a well-known IFP supporter in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 30 April 1993.

KHOSI, Mantahli Anestacia (25), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during protests in Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, on 22 August 1985. See ALI WAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

KHOSI, Tselisa Pule Dodo (19), a COSAS chairperson, was severely beaten by members of a gang allegedly formed by the principal of a school in Mamafubedu, Petrus Steyn, OFS, on 12 August 1987. The incident took place after a COSAS Youth Congress meeting. Mr Khosi was later detained and beaten by members of the police at the Petrus Steyn police station.

KHOWA, Bongani (9), was shot and injured when his family home near Port Shepstone, Natal, was attacked in July 1991 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHOWA, David Fanilo, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 March 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

KHOWA, Myekeni Zakariya (55), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 June 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHOWA, Phumzile Busisiwe (47), was shot and injured in July 1991 near Port Shepstone, Natal, during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHOWA, Sithembela (8), was shot and injured by an IFP supporter in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 29 April 1994 in political conflict in the area during the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

KHOWA, Tholakele Margaret (48), an ANC supporter, had her house and possessions burnt by IFP supporters in Gubheza, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 December 1990.

KHOWA, Thulisile Theku (26), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by another IFP supporter in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 29 April 1994 in the course of an internal feud within the organisation.

KHOWA, Zenzele Wilfred (21), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Margate, Natal, on 21 March 1994, during intense political conflict in the area. Mr Khowa had refused to leave the area despite persistent intimidation by IFP supporters.

KHOWA, Zwelifile, an ANC supporter, was abducted by IFP supporters while on his way to a bus stop in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 December 1990 and has not been seen again. He is presumed dead.

KHOZA, Amos Delekile, an MK operative, was killed when he fell seven stories from a flat in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, in December 1988 while in police custody. The police report that Mr Khoza fell to his death while escorting members of the SAP to a place where he had made contact with an ANC operative.

KHOZA, Beyan (33), a BLATU member, lost his house in Kagiso, Tvl, when it was petrol-bombed on 19 January 1990 by SARHWU members during strike action. Mr Khoza's union was opposed to the strike. His wife was killed in the attack.

KHOZA, Bhokuyise (21), an IFP supporter, was shot and burnt to death near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 September 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHOZA, Bindiwe (63), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHOZA, Bongani Sylvester (37), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in an attack on residents in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 8 November 1990. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

KHOZA, C, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KHOZA, Christian Kungumuzi (48), an ANC supporter, had his house in KwaMashu, Durban, petrol-bombed in April 1994 in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. More than 15 people died in KwaMashu over a two-week period. About 3000 residents were forced to flee their homes.

KHOZA, Dami Lydia (47), had her home in Empangeni, Natal, burnt down on 21 August 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHOZA, Daniel, a member of the SAP, was shot dead by an APLA member at Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, on 11 January 1993, during the course of an attempt to spring another APLA member from hospital where he was being held under police guard. The perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0263).

KHOZA, David Bheka (7), was severely beaten by members of the SADF while travelling to his home in 1968 during the bus boycott in White River, Tvl.

KHOZA, Doctor Nelson, an ANC supporter, was shot by a member of the SADF in Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 25 December 1990. The perpetrator associated himself with the Sofasonke Civic Group who opposed the ANC in the area.

KHOZA, Dolly (26), was shot dead by SARHWU members in Kagiso, Tvl, on 21 January 1990 during conflict between unions over a railway strike. Ms Khoza's husband was a member of BLATU which opposed strike action.

KHOZA, Dudu Lynette (32), had her house looted at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in October 1991, during political conflict in the area. She was forced to leave the area.

KHOZA, E, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KHOZA, Elsie (42), a FAWU member, was injured after a hand grenade was thrown into the bus she was travelling on by a member of UWUSA, on 29 September 1992 in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl. Ratanda was tense due to a violent labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers.

KHOZA, Excellent Xoli, was hacked to death by taxi operators in Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 23 December 1985 while attending the night vigil of a youth activist. Night vigils and funerals of youth activists were often targeted by taxi drivers during the state of emergency because the youth hijacked taxis for transport to funerals or during enforced stayaways.

KHOZA, Fanani Hendrick, (46), a FAWU member, was injured in a hand grenade explosion in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992 during a violent labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. UWUSA members accepted responsibility for the explosion.

KHOZA, Gift, died after being abducted and tortured at Komatipoort, Tvl, during 1989 by SADF members who believed her to be recruiting for MK. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/277).

KHOZA, Gloria (33), was killed when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

KHOZA, Irene (64), an Inkatha supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 7 November 1990, during political conflict in the area.

KHOZA, Joseph Sirero (24), was severely beaten and his jaw was broken by members of the SAP at Protea police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING. Mr Khoza was identified as a stone thrower and was detained at the Fort Prison, Hillbrow, where he finally received medical treatment. He was released after intervention by an attorney.

KHOZA, Jutas, was burnt to death by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1986 because he was thought to be involved in witchcraft practices. Mr Khoza was a traditional healer. He was sjambokked and stoned, then forced to drink petrol and paraffin and set alight.

KHOZA, Kelzina Nokulunga (45), had her home burnt down by an Inkatha supporter in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1985 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. Ms Khoza had been harrassed regularly by Inkatha supporters.

KHOZA, Khethokwakhe, an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1990.

KHOZA, Madjidjani Johannes, was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

KHOZA, Mandlakayise Daniel (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by an IFP supporter in Empangeni, Natal, on 23 February 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Nine people were killed in the KwaMthethwa and Enseleni areas near Empangeni that month.

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

KHOZA, Mantombi Gladys (45), an ANC supporter, had her house and vehicles burnt by Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1990.

KHOZA, Mathithibala Aaron (47), a UDF supporter, was shot by Inkatha supporters in March 1989 in KwaMashu, Durban, and died on 3 April 1989.

KHOZA, Matimba Bheki (22), a police recruit infiltrated into MK, was detained by the ANC security department on suspicion of being a spy. After giving a full confession, he was transferred to the Quatro camp in Angola, and later to a camp in Uganda. At both camps he was subjected to physical and psychological torture. Mr Khoza was from the Mhala district in Gazankulu.

KHOZA, Mdau Zebo (43), was shot dead in Mandela Park, Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 4 November 1990, by unidentified persons, allegedly ANC supporters, who demanded that he help them fight the AMARUSSIANS.

KHOZA, Mhlabunzima Mfundiseni, an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

KHOZA, Mhlabunzima Patrick, was shot in the leg by a named member of the SAP in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, on 31 July 1987. Mr Khoza was charged with public violence but the charges were eventually withdrawn.

KHOZA, Mhlupheki (46), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

KHOZA, Michael Mbika, was shot and injured on 9 October 1990 when three AWB members opened fire on a bus travelling to Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban. In the attack seven passengers were killed and twenty-seven injured. Two AWB members were granted amnesty. One amnesty application was refused.

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

KHOZA, Mtungani (58), had his home destroyed in an arson attack in Empangeni, Natal, in March 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the first democratic election of April 1994.

KHOZA, Mveli (26), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by IFP supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, during July 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHOZA, Ngnane Aaron (35), a PAC supporter, died in police custody in Pietermaritzburg, on 26 March 1977. Police alleged that Mr Khoza had hung himself, but scars on his body suggested that he had been severely assaulted.

KHOZA, Noice Nwaphayini, was shot in the eye by members of the SADF in Hazyview, Tvl, on 13 May 1987.

KHOZA, Ntombifikile Jabu (38), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, on 11 June 1990.

KHOZA, Ossis Peter (29), was shot and wounded by members of the SAP in Sabie, Tvl, on 1 January 1991 during a consumer boycott. He instituted legal proceedings against the Minister of the Police and members of the SAP who allegedly shot him, but his action was dismissed with costs.

KHOZA, Robert Siphso (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at a stop street in Umbogintwini, near Durban, on 18 February 1991.

KHOZA, Siphwiwe Derrick (18), was shot and severely injured by unidentified attackers on 6 December 1987

in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

KHOZA, Siphso (18), was beaten with batons and rifles by members of the SAP near Pretoria, on 19 March 1986 because he was believed to be involved in the killing of a police officer.

KHOZA, Solomon Boy (27), was shot and injured by a named member of the local farming community in EMijindini, Barberton, Tvl, in April 1993 while singing freedom songs with others waiting for a bus to take them to the funeral of CHRIS HANI.

KHOZA, Tembani Ntombinkulu (65), was killed on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which he was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

KHOZA, Themba Joseph (40), died after he was stabbed and stoned, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 5 July 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHOZA, Thembekile Roselyn (47), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 January 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

KHOZA, Thembinkosi Raymond (30), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during 1989, in intense political conflict in the area.

KHOZA, Thomas (66), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and his house was burnt down by 'comrades' in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 10 January 1993.

KHOZA, TI, an IFP supporter, died in Ethethe, Stanger, Natal, on 27 July 1993 after being attacked by unidentified residents of the community in retaliation for stabbing a prominent ANC community representative to death.

KHOZA, Zenzele Alpheus (20), an ANC supporter, was abducted from his home and beaten by IFP supporters in Bergville, Natal, on 17 October 1993. He was released after the beating, but was attacked by a second group of IFP supporters on his way home, and shot in the leg.

KHOZA, Ziningi Eunice (35), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, during intense political conflict in the area in 1994. See SONKOMBO ATTACKS.

KHOZA, Zondani Gretta (49), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Okhalweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in July 1991.

KHOZWAYO, PE, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KHUBEKA, Isobel (45), was shot dead on January 1987 in the KWAMAKHUTHA MASSACRE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirteen people were killed, including eight children, in an attack carried out by Inkatha supporters. Two former Inkatha members were granted amnesty for their role in planning the attack (AC/1999/0332).

KHUBEKA, Jackson, was shot dead by IFP members during political conflict in Wesselson, Tvl, in 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KHUBEKA, Ntombikayise Priscilla (41), an MK co-ordinator in KwaMashu, Durban, was abducted by Port Natal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives in May 1987 and taken to a disused shooting range in Durban, Natal. Eight Security Branch operatives applied for amnesty, claiming that Ms Khubeka had subsequently died of a heart attack during interrogation and that they had dumped her body in Bhambayi. When the Commission exhumed her body, it was found to have a bullet wound in the head. Amnesty was refused to four operatives and granted to three; the eighth applicant died before the hearing (AC/2001/124 and AC/2001/181).

KHUBEKA, Paulina Maponto (35), was shot by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 while attending the night vigil for Christopher Nangelembe, an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

KHUBEKA, Phumelele Beula (36), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by UDF supporters in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, Tvl, in 1984.

KHUBEKA, Sibongile Gladys (21), was shot dead with a rubber bullet in her head by members of the SADF in her yard in Daveyton, Tvl, on 5 November 1984. Soldiers reportedly fired rubber bullets at random while patrolling the East Rand townships in army vehicles during political conflict.

KHUBEKA, Timothy Samuel (18), was abducted and severely beaten in KwaNdebele by IMBOKODO vigilantes in May 1986, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

KHUBISA, Bonifus, was shot and injured at Mandini, Natal, on 23 October 1993, during political conflict in the area.

KHUBISA, Bonisile Agnes (54), had her house and possessions burnt by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, during intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUBISA, Ntombithini Elizabeth (30), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUBISA, Siphwe (28), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Appelsbosch, near Stanger, Natal, on 18 September 1993.

KHUBISA, Thokozani, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, and had his house burnt down, in Gingindlovu, Natal, in intense political conflict in the area in 1990.

KHUBONE, Manana, an ANC supporter, had her house near Richmond, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1990.

KHUBONE, Nomathamsanqa Priscilla, an ANC supporter, was raped at gunpoint by a named IFP supporter in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1993 during an IFP recruitment campaign. Ms Khubone fell pregnant as a result of the rape.

KHUBONE, Tembekile Mildred (51), an ANC supporter, was harassed by members of the IFP during an IFP recruitment campaign at Bulwer, Natal, in 1993.

KHUBONI, Cornelius Bhkamabhele, an ANC supporter, disappeared from Ixopo, Natal, on 7 January 1994. He was taken from his house by ANC youth alleging that they were on their way to an ANC meeting. Mr Khuboni was never seen again.

KHUBONI, Sizeni Rithah (31), had her house at Ndalen, Richmond, Natal, burnt down on 30 September 1991 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Her companion was shot dead in this incident.

KHULEZWENI, Tswana, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death with a bush knife by IFP supporters in Carletonville, Tvl, in August 1992 following a meeting on the East Driefontein Mine.

KHULU, Ntombiyesichaka Minah (54), lost all her possessions when her house was looted in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993 during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHULU, Zazi Carol (28), an IFP supporter, died after he was shot and his throat was cut by ANC supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 16 December 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHULUSE, Fikile Jennifer (33), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down in an arson attack in Emakhuliseni, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 September 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHULUSE, Nikwephi Doris (35), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down in an arson attack in Emakhuliseni, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 September 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHULUSE, Sdumo (55), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 August 1990, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHULUSE-MKHIZE, Bongani Paris (18), was beaten by members of the SAP in Piet Retief, Tvl, on 12 February 1983. His father had been an outspoken opponent of forced removals of the Driefontein community.

KHUMALO, (first name not given) was shot and killed by IFP supporters in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1993 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

KHUMALO, (first name not given), a leader of the Khumalo gang, suffered damage to property when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) detonated a hand grenade at his home during political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl, during 1994. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0243).

KHUMALO, (first name not given), was severely beaten and later killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, in September 1993, allegedly because he was believed to be associated with the Khumalo gang and a member of the KZP. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the assault (AC/1999/186).

KHUMALO (first name not given), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 3 March 1994 during political conflict at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal. His wife was also killed and his mother-in-law's house was burnt down in the attack.

KHUMALO, Absalom Zwelubanzi (29), had his house and tuck shop petrol-bombed by IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in July 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Angeline Ntombikayise (37), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Anthony (26), was shot dead and his body was burnt in an arson attack on his home at Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in June 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Archie, was severely injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Armstrong Veli, an ANC-aligned self-defence unit member, was shot dead by members of the SAP on his way to a night vigil in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 14 September 1990.

KHUMALO, Babazile Busangani (43), an ANC supporter, had her home set on fire by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1993.

KHUMALO, Bafanyana, was shot dead in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 February 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters.

KHUMALO, Bangizwe, an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 June 1991.

KHUMALO, Bavelile Florence (32), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Thenjani, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in July 1988. Her brother and her nephew were UDF supporters.

KHUMALO, Beatrice (66), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 28 March 1990 in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

KHUMALO, Ben (48), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 11 September 1990 when he and other commuters were attacked on a train. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

KHUMALO, Bheki Simon (25), a PAC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 October 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters.

KHUMALO, Bheki, a SOYCO member, was killed with two others in an entrapment operation by Soweto Security Branch operatives at Klipspruit, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 July 1989. Members of the Soweto Security Branch infiltrated an alleged MK unit and provided the members with arms and training before killing them. Eight Soweto Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/007).

KHUMALO, Bheki, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Bhokuyise Themba Christian (23), survived an attempted killing in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 31 May 1991 when IFP supporters attacked his home. His brother was killed in the attack, and his friend was shot and injured. They were targeted because they were suspected of being ANC supporters.

KHUMALO, Bishop, a leader of the Khumalo gang, suffered damage to his home and motor vehicle when it was attacked by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), in Tokoza, Tvl, during November 1993. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0186).

KHUMALO, Bongani (15), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 October 1989.

KHUMALO, Bongiwe Lizzy (56), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in June 1987, and again by IFP supporters in December 1993 in Stanger, Natal.

KHUMALO, Boy Simon (48), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in 1991.

KHUMALO, Busisiwe Emilly (46), was severely injured when a bomb planted by ANC operatives exploded in a courtroom in Newcastle, Natal, in 1991.

KHUMALO, Cabangani Templeton (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 7 June 1993.

KHUMALO, Caleb, was detained and severely assaulted by members of the Security Branch in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 October 1981. The Security Branch had allegedly tried to recruit the victim as an informer.

KHUMALO, Chambusile (56), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Charlotte Siziwe (18), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Cynthia Busie (15), was shot by an Inkatha supporter in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 5 March 1989

in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. She was paralysed as a result of the attack.

KHUMALO, Cyprian Mkhombeni, a member of the SAP, survived an armed attack by MK operatives on the Orlando police station in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 November 1979. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

KHUMALO, Delani Selby (39), was shot and injured at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in May 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Delisile Cynthia, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in an attack on her home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 5 March 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Three other family members were killed in the attack, and two injured.

KHUMALO, Den David (35), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 3 September 1993.

KHUMALO, Derrick Bongani (25), died after being shot and burnt in a petrol bomb attack on his home near Empangeni, Natal, on 29 July 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

KHUMALO, Dombi Annitah (40), an ANC supporter, had her home in Matimatolo, Greytown, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1990.

KHUMALO, Duduzile (41), had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Duma Joshua (26), was arrested on 3 September 1984 and charged with the murder of town councillor Khuzwayo Jacob Dlamini in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, along with five others. Known as the 'Sharpeville Six', they were sentenced to death but had their sentences commuted after an international campaign. Mr Khumalo was subsequently paroled.

KHUMALO, Elizabeth Zondiwe, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP members at Maphumulo, KwaZulu, near Greytown, Natal, on 24 August 1991. She was allegedly targeted because she was believed to oppose the IFP. Two IFP members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0009).

KHUMALO, Elizabeth, suffered severe burns when a petrol bomb was thrown into her house near Howick, Natal, on 6 April 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Emmanuel Xolani (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 21 March 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the first democratic election of April 1994.

KHUMALO, Eric George, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 2 September 1989, allegedly because he refused to join Inkatha and pay a R2 daily levy to the organisation.

KHUMALO, Ewert Vusi (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed in Howick, Natal, on 7 April 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Fana, an IFP supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by ANC supporters in Umkomaas, Natal, on 1 August 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Fanyana Godfrey (41), a COSATU member, was hacked to death by IFP supporters while travelling on a train near Orlando Station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 10 September 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

KHUMALO, Fenter Lucas (27), an ANCYL leader, was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP in Belfast, Tvl, during November 1989 after his arrest on suspicion of possessing guns. He was detained for four months and spent one month in solitary confinement.

KHUMALO, Florence Zanyana (52), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, during 1991, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Fofu, was hacked to death by ANC supporters in Umkomaas, Natal, on 1 August 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Fundisiwe, had her house burnt down in an arson attack in Eshowe, Natal, in November 1993, during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Gcinizenzo Alpheus (37), an ANC supporter, was severely injured on 14 July 1991, when he was shot several times by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal.

KHUMALO, Gezepi Josephina (32), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Gladys (61), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1991, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Gloria Sisi (25), was raped and hacked to death by Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 2 September 1989, allegedly because she refused to join Inkatha and pay a R2 daily levy to the organisation.

KHUMALO, Godfrey (14), was shot and paralysed by alleged members of the SAP in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 26 August 1976 on his way to a students' meeting to discuss ways of defending the community against hostel-dwellers.

KHUMALO, Gombo Engelinah (44), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Gugu Erick (21), a UDF supporter, was abducted from his home by Inkatha supporters in Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in February 1987, during political conflict in the area. He has never been seen since and is presumed dead.

KHUMALO, Gugulani (63), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo,

Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Humphrey, was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 1 January 1993. Mr Khumalo was believed to be a member of the IFP Youth Brigade. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2001/140).

KHUMALO, Innocent Jabulani, was shot dead and his body was mutilated by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Innocent Thulani (24), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death by Inkatha supporters near Howick, Natal, on 29 August 1989, during political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Jabile Klara (52), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt by IFP supporters in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 7 June 1993.

KHUMALO, Jabulani (24), was shot dead by a member of the SAP at Lindela, Volksrust, Tvl, on 19 April 1993 during a protest march calling for a rent boycott.

KHUMALO, Jabulile Gladisie (46), had her house burnt down in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 18 February 1993, in intense political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Jabulisile Grace (32), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in September 1990, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, James Hulumeni (48), an IFP supporter, was severely injured when he was stabbed, allegedly by ANC supporters, in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 8 August 1992.

KHUMALO, Japie, an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, at his home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 23 November 1991. IFP supporters had reportedly made several attempts on Mr Khumalo's life.

KHUMALO, Johannes, was stabbed and shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 24 August 1993 during political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Joseph, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Clermont, near Pinetown, Natal, on 5 April 1987, in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Joseph, an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by named and other UDF supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 July 1985. His son was also shot dead in the attack, and his wife was raped. The family home was burnt down.

KHUMALO, Josia, an ANC activist, was burnt to death by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 11 October 1993. His brother had been killed by alleged IFP supporters in 1991.

KHUMALO, Joyce Ntombifikile (38), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 February 1990, in intense political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Judith Ntombizonke (54), had her house at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1994 in political conflict leading up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her son had been

stabbed to death by IFP supporters near KwaMashu on 2 November 1991.

KHUMALO, Kenneth Kayilo (29), was detained and charged, with 25 others, with the crowd killing of a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN on 13 November 1985 in Paballelo, Upington, Cape. One of the UPINGTON 26, Mr Khumalo and 13 others received the death penalty, spending two years on death row before the death sentence was overturned on appeal in 1991.

KHUMALO, Khonjisiwe (50), had her house burnt down in an arson attack in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Lameck (50), an ANC supporter, had his house and tuck shop destroyed in an arson attack in Stanger, Natal, on 19 December 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Leli Alfred (38), a NUMSA member, was shot dead in his home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 11 September 1990. The attackers were allegedly IFP supporters from the nearby Vosloorus hostel.

KHUMALO, Lota (52), was stabbed to death by a named perpetrator in Empangeni, Natal on 7 April 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Louis, suffered damage to property when a limpet mine planted by Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives destroyed his vehicle at his home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, in 1986. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/212).

KHUMALO, Madoda Elphas (58), an ANC supporter, lost all his belongings when his family was attacked and his home looted by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Makhosazani (18), lost her eyesight when she was shot by members of the SAP in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1986 during a rent boycott called by the Soweto Civic Association.

KHUMALO, Mamsie Thandie (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 3 March 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

KHUMALO, Mandla, an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 11 September 1990. Mr Khumalo was one of seven people who reportedly died on this day.

KHUMALO, Mantombi Millicent (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, in 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Matilda (55), had her home burnt down by a group of IFP supporters as they returned from a rally in Empangeni, Natal, on 3 December 1991. Ms Khumalo was allegedly targeted because of her sons' association with the ANC.

KHUMALO, Mavis (42), had her house burnt down in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Mbango Empire (50), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters while driving

through Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 25 June 1992. He was targeted allegedly because he was thought to be transporting IFP supporters.

KHUMALO, Mbhekiseni Allen Nhlanhla, a member of the KZP, was killed by IFP members at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 November 1992, allegedly because he was thought to be sympathetic to the ANC. Another person in his company at the time was also killed in the attack. See ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KHUMALO, Mbhekiseni Solomon (42), lost his house and shop in an arson attack in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1989.

KHUMALO, Mbongeleni Ndende, was stabbed to death by unidentified perpetrators at Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 July 1990. He was on his way to school when he was stopped and accused of being a 'comrade'.

KHUMALO, Mbuyiseni Aron, an ANC member, was stabbed to death by named perpetrators in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976. See SOWETO UPRISING.

KHUMALO, Mdelwa Elphas, an ANC supporter, was attacked and had shots fired into his house by named IFP supporters at Nkandla, KwaZulu, near Melmoth, Natal, on 5 May 1994. He fought back and killed his attacker, and was forced to leave the area.

KHUMALO, Mfanafuthi, was shot dead by a named member of the IFP in Umlazi, Durban, in 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Mfunyaniseni Sizuyise (39), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Mjabulelwa Vitus (40), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 July 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Mlando Amon (23), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, in 1992 during political conflict in the area. IFP supporters, attempting to drive ANC supporters out of the area, burnt down Mr Khumalo's home and also killed his father and brother in separate incidents.

KHUMALO, Mntukayise, was shot dead by named and unknown UDF supporters on 7 July 1985 at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, during clashes between the IFP and UDF in the area. His mother was raped and his father was also shot dead in this incident. His home was burnt down by the attackers.

KHUMALO, Mr (first name not given), was shot dead by unidentified gunmen near Pietermaritzburg on 18 August 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Musawenkosi (35), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at a bus stop in Umlazi, Durban, on 23 February 1994, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Mxolisi Caswell, an ANC supporter and activist in the Soweto Student Congress, disappeared

from Soweto, Johannesburg, in September 1986 and was never seen again.

KHUMALO, Mxolisi Innocent, an ANC supporter, was hacked to death and had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters, in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in January 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Mxolisi Penwell (18), an MK operative, was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Pietermaritzburg on 31 July 1988. Mr Khumalo had been arrested by two policemen and was allegedly killed while pointing out a firearms cache. TRC investigations subsequently located and exhumed his body, which had been buried in an unmarked grave. A bullet was found at the base of his skull.

KHUMALO, Ndindi Johana (44), had her home burnt down in an arson attack in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in November 1992 during continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Nduku, an IFP supporter and the son of a local chief, was stabbed to death at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 July 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Nel Jabulile (40), had her house and possession destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, in July 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Nelisiwe (15), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, and the family home was burnt down, by IFP supporters in Mabhuveni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 3 March 1994. Her mother and sister were also injured in the attack, which occurred in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

KHUMALO, Nelson Bhekezakhe (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 March 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Nhlanhla (40), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by named IFP supporters in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 25 December 1991.

KHUMALO, Nhlanhla, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 31 May 1991, allegedly because he was suspected of being an ANC supporter.

KHUMALO, Njabulo (7), was shot by IFP supporters at Mandini, Natal, on 2 February 1994, allegedly because his mother was an ANC supporter. Njabulo died in hospital.

KHUMALO, Nje Alpheus (54), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters near Greytown, Natal, on 17 October 1991. Mr Khumalo's two sons were both killed, in separate incidents, by IFP supporters trying to drive ANC supporters out of the area.

KHUMALO, Nokolonga Lillian (29), was shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 at a night vigil for Christopher Nangelembe, an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at mourners, killing a number of people and

injuring several others. See NANGALEMBE NIGHTVIGIL MASSACRE.

KHUMALO, Nokulunga Phyllis (31), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in September 1990, allegedly because her husband was a member of the ANC.

KHUMALO, Nomathemba Elsie (48), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and had her house burnt down by a named Inkatha supporter at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 13 March 1990. She had received a threatening call the day before the attack.

KHUMALO, Nompumelelo Jabu (34), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down in a petrol bomb attack by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, in July 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Norman (31), an ANC supporter, was killed in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, in May 1985 for mobilising the community during conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers.

KHUMALO, Norman Sidumo (29), was severely beaten by a named member of the SAP in Kliptown, Soweto, Johannesburg, during a three-day stayaway called by workers in August 1976. Mr Khumalo was subsequently arrested and charged with public violence and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

KHUMALO, Nosipho (12), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Clermont, near Pinetown, Natal, on 20 September 1988, after her family had received death threats. Police were reportedly searching for guns in the house. Nosipho's family opposed the incorporation of Clermont into KwaZulu.

KHUMALO, Ntobeko (7), was severely burnt when her family home was petrol-bombed near Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 6 April 1993. At least 12 people were killed in the area that month, in a rampage by six named IFP supporters.

KHUMALO, Ntokozo (7), sustained burn wounds when a petrol bomb was thrown into his home in Howick, Natal, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 6 April 1993.

KHUMALO, Ntombanyana (47), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Ntombi Gertrude (33), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in September 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Ntombi Mavis (48), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Ntombi Petronica (40), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters and members of the KwaZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, during 1992, in political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Ntulizwe Robert (37), was intimidated and threatened by ANC supporters at Luganda near

Klaarwater, Natal, during 1988. He was forced to leave the area.

KHUMALO, Olisi, was burnt to death in her car in Lulekani, Gazankulu, on 10 June 1985 during a dispute over the chieftaincy in the area.

KHUMALO, Petronella Nomagugu (37), was severely assaulted by named Inkatha supporters at her home in Mshayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 30 September 1988. The perpetrators accused her of being an ANC supporter.

KHUMALO, Phabantu (35), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in KwaDabeka, near Durban, on 2 February 1993, in political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Phiwayinkosi (51), an IFP supporter, lost his house in an arson attack and was shot in the head by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 10 June 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Phumzile (19), was shot dead in Empangeni, Natal, on 11 April 1992, during ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Phyllis Nomathemba (20), an ANC supporter, was detained in Pinetown, Natal, in September 1987 while attending the memorial service of a comrade. She was held in custody without charge for about two years, during which time she was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP.

KHUMALO, Pretty PN (25), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by named IFP supporters at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 15 August 1992.

KHUMALO, Prudence Nomusa (35), a UDF supporter, was repeatedly harassed by Inkatha supporters in 1987, and her house was burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 1 April 1990.

KHUMALO, Qhoshephi (49), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Rejoice Dudu (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Robert Gadla (34), an MK operative recently returned from Tanzania, was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP and other security force members in kaNyamazane, Nelspruit, TvI, on 28 August 1992 in an attempt to make him reveal the whereabouts of hidden arms and ammunition.

KHUMALO, Robert Ndabezitha (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KwaZULU POLICE as he left a wedding reception in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 June 1991.

KHUMALO, Robert Siphiwe (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Matimatolo, Greytown, Natal. IFP supporters, seeking to drive ANC supporters out of the area, also killed Mr Khumalo's father and brother, in separate attacks.

KHUMALO, Rodney Bizzah (23), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and left for dead by a crowd of about

200 IFP supporters returning from a rally in Woodford, Bergville, Natal on 16 December 1993. Two ANC members were killed and at least two others injured in the same attack. The same group of IFP supporters subsequently attacked mourners attending the funeral of two other ANC supporters. They set fire to a marquee, killed an elderly relative of one of the deceased, and burnt down five homes in the surrounding area.

KHUMALO, Sandile Braveman (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KwaZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, on 6 April 1990, during political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Sebenzile (47), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Sevi (42), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Estcourt, Natal, April 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Shomu Petrus (47), lost his house in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Umlazi, Durban, in November 1989, because he would not join the UDF.

KHUMALO, Sibongiseni (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by SPECIAL CONSTABLES in KwaMashu, Durban, in May 1987. Mr Khumalo was part of a group of UDF students who were *toyi-toying* at a memorial service for a classmate.

KHUMALO, Sibusiso Jeremiah (29), had his house at Inchanga, Natal, burnt down by UDF supporters in 1987. Mr Khumalo was accused of being an Inkatha supporter. His mother was burnt to death in this attack.

KHUMALO, Siduduzo Cedric, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by IFP members during political violence at Ireland Township, Mandini, Natal, on 31 October 1992. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KHUMALO, Sihle (21), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by a named IFP supporter near Ngwelezana Hospital, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 December 1993.

KHUMALO, Sindiswe (20), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Siphi Phillemon (44), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Siphiwe Alfred (22), was beaten and kicked by members of the SAP in Paulpietersburg, Natal, in 1990, allegedly because he was accused of being in possession of arms.

KHUMALO, Siphiwe, was shot dead by members of the SAP at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 September 1992 during violent conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Sipho Ezrom (39), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters and members of the

KWAZULU POLICE in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1992, while trying to get out of a house which had been set alight by the perpetrators.

KHUMALO, Sipho Simon (46), an ANC supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 6 April 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Sizakele Princess, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 16 October 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Sizeni (45), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Ngonyameni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 June 1990, in political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Temba Jerry (27), was arrested, detained, tortured and shot in the arm by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 23 September 1976 because of his involvement in the SOWETO UPRISING and the ANC underground.

KHUMALO, Templeton (42), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 5 March 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Thandazile, was shot dead and her body was burnt by ANC supporters during political conflict at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1993. In an earlier incident in 1985, her father and brother were shot dead by UDF supporters, and the family home was burnt down.

KHUMALO, Themba Emmanuel Liberty (31), an ANC member, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Pongola, Tvl, on 17 February 1994.

KHUMALO, Themba Simon (37), had his house burnt down by named perpetrators in Embalenhle, Secunda, Tvl, on 12 October 1990.

KHUMALO, Themba Walter, was assaulted and then shot dead by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE in Mandini, Natal, on 12 January 1993 during political conflict in the area. Mr Khumalo had been accused of killing a prominent IFP supporter.

KHUMALO, Themba, was abducted and assaulted by a member of the ANC's Security Department in Johannesburg, in April 1994. The applicant suspected that Mr Khumalo and others had broken into his minibus and stolen sensitive ANC security-related documents and other goods, which were then handed to an IFP supporter. The applicant was granted amnesty (AC/2001/066).

KHUMALO, Thembekile Christina (65), an ANC supporter, had her house in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 7 April 1992.

KHUMALO, Thembile (22), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Thembinkosi Freedom Victus (28), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down in a petrol bomb attack by a named Inkatha supporter in Kwa-Makhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 6 June 1989, in intense political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Thobile (3), was shot in the knee by IFP supporters in Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 3 March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her sister and mother were also injured in the attack, and the family home was burnt down.

KHUMALO, Thoko (28), was shot in the back by a named member of the SAP in Vukuzakhe, Tvl, on 21 June 1985 during a protest against high rents. Mr Khumalo was reportedly refused medical attention and was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for stone-throwing.

KHUMALO, Thokozile (46), had her home burnt down in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, in April 1994, in intense political conflict before the first democratic election on 27 April 1994.

KHUMALO, Thokozile Margaret (63), had her house burnt down in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993, during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

KHUMALO, Tholakele Florence (45), an Inkatha supporter, was raped by named and other UDF supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 July 1985. Her husband and son were shot dead during this attack, and the family home was burnt down.

KHUMALO, Tholakele Philisiwe (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Thubelihle Goodwill (16), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters and members of the Security Branch in Umlazi, Durban, on 27 June 1986, in political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Thulani (18), was stabbed to death in Ondondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 August 1993, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Thulasizwe Clement, was one of eight passengers shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Six other passengers were shot dead. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK.

KHUMALO, Thuthukani (33), an ANC supporter, was abducted by named IFP supporters and later found dead at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 April 1994, during political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Velaphi Stanley, was shot on 10 November 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

KHUMALO, Vukani Moses, was shot dead in Phumula, Ermelo, Tvl, on 20 October 1993 during conflict between the IFP-aligned BLACK CATS and ANC supporters.

KHUMALO, Vusi Wiseman Bonginkosi (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in U Section, Umlazi, Durban, on 25 April 1992. His family was forced to flee the area.

KHUMALO, Vusumuzi (49), had his houses petrol-bombed and burnt down by IFP supporters during

political conflict at Zungu Reserve, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1993.

KHUMALO, was shot dead by IFP supporters at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 3 March 1994, during political conflict. His wife was also killed and his mother-in-law's house was burnt down in the attack.

KHUMALO, Xolani (13), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 7 November 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Zakhele Simon (26), was hacked and stabbed to death at his home by IFP supporters in Mooi River, Natal, on 9 June 1991, allegedly because he was suspected of being an ANC supporter.

KHUMALO, Zakhele Simon, had his house burnt down by members of the SAP in GaMatlala, Lebowa, in 1973. Mr Khumalo was one of a number of residents who opposed a new chief appointed in the area.

KHUMALO, Zakhile (22), an ANC supporter, was abducted, stabbed, shot and burnt to death by members of the IFP Youth Brigade at Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 30 April 1994 in political conflict in the area following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

KHUMALO, Zantonto Johannes, was shot dead when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

KHUMALO, Zibuyisile Christina (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMALO, Zinhle, an IFP supporter, was burnt when a petrol bomb was thrown at her home by ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in February 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHUMALO, Zodwa Albertina (49), lost her home in an arson attack in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, during 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHUMALO, Zolile Columbus (16), was shot and killed by a member of the SAP in Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 June 1976, a day after the start of the SOWETO UPRISING.

KHUMALO, Zondwayo (50), was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 November 1992, allegedly because he supported the *amaqabane* in the area.

KHUMBULE, Thulebona, an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by named IFP supporters in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 6 February 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUMBUZA, Jeremiah (25), was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, on 24 October 1984 during a stayaway.

KHUMBUZA, Joyce Ntombintathu, lost her home in an arson attack in 1983 during conflict in Crossroads, Cape Town. In June 1986 her home in KTC was

destroyed by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

KHUMBUZA, Thandekile (29), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUMOENG, Chobedi Willem (65), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when police dispersed the crowd with tear gas and sjamboks.

KHUNDULU, Sipho (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

KHUNONG, Billy Boy (23), a member of the EAGLES CLUB, was severely beaten when ANC supporters attacked him and five other 'Eagles Club' members in Qhoweng, Reddersburg, OFS, in 1989, allegedly because of their involvement with the club.

KHUNOU, Abram Reuben (31), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Munsieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 6 January 1986 during a bus boycott.

KHUPANE, Paul Santu Chopper (31), had his leg amputated after he was shot by members of the IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 at a night vigil for Christopher Nangelembe, an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. See NANGELEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

KHUSELO, Martin Mthuthuzeli (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named SAP member in Robertson, Cape, in September 1991, while coming to the defence of his brother who was being assaulted by police. This took place after a police vehicle had been stoned.

KHUSI, Ntombi (66), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

KHUSI, Sithembiso (13), was shot dead by IFP supporters in an attack on his neighbour's house in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 March 1994. The neighbour was also killed and his home burnt down because the family was believed to support the ANC.

KHUSWAYO, Phumulani (3), was killed by UDF supporters who attacked mourners at a night vigil in Cottonlands, Verulam, Natal, on 12 January 1990. Thirteen people (including nine children) were killed in the attack. See VERULAM ATTACK.

KHUTLEDI, Letlhogonolo Lucky (19), was shot and paralysed by a named perpetrator, alleged to have been

a local constable, while walking in the street in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1993.

KHUTO, Edward Ngwanammakau (aka 'Pansu Smith'), a senior MK member from the far northern Transvaal, was shot dead by Security Branch operatives during a raid on a house in Mbabane, Swaziland, on 4 June 1986. Two other MK operatives were killed in the attack. The raid was planned and executed by Security Branches members of the Eastern Transvaal, Soweto and *Vlakplaas*. The head of the Security Branch and 12 other operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/087).

KHUTWANE, Yvonne (43), an ANC supporter, was arrested in Worcester, Cape, in June 1985, and was held for three months before facing public violence charges. She was beaten, threatened with rape, sexually assaulted, and suffocated with a towel by named and other members of the SAP.

KHUZE, (first names not given), the parents of Baba Khuze, had their home in Pelindaba, OFS, damaged by the Orange Free State Security Branch in an arson attack in the 1980s. A Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0026).

KHUZWAYO (HADEBE), Petronella Nelisiwe (19), a UDF supporter and COSAS member, was tortured and raped while in police custody in Durban in August 1985. She had been seized by police after the memorial service for the slain UDF leader, Victoria Mxenge.

KHUZWAYO, Beauty, had her house near Richmond, Natal, burnt down on 23 March 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Bethwell, was severely injured after sustaining multiple gunshot wounds in his store in Maphumulo, KwaZulu, near Greytown, Natal, in 1993, during political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Bhukumuzi Phillip (36), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 21 February 1994 in intense political conflict in the area. About 20 deaths, of both IFP and ANC supporters, were recorded that month, along with at least 28 incidents of house-burning. Hundreds of people had to flee the area, and schools and shops were forced to close.

KHUZWAYO, Bhudluza Peter (52), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 August 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Blessing Sibusiso (39), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 March 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Bongani (32), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Egonweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 17 August 1992 during political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Bongani (33), was severely burnt and injured in an attack on his home in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in October 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Cebisile Prisca (17), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down in an arson attack by

Inkatha supporters in Wartburg, Natal, on 29 October 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Chithekile (67), had his home destroyed in an arson attack in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 September 1992, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Cyprian Zibonele (33), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by ISU members in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 May 1993 on his return home from a night vigil. His companion was also killed in the shooting.

KHUZWAYO, Duduzile (35), was shot on 26 September 1992 and died later in hospital in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Ellen, an ANC activist, was arrested on 19 October 1977 and detained for five months by members of the SAP in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

KHUZWAYO, Elliot Mkhanyiselwa (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 24 October 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Emanuel Smakade (21), was stabbed and seriously injured by a named Inkatha supporter in Maphumulo, KwaZulu, near Greytown, Natal, on 21 May 1987. Mr Khuzwayo was allegedly targeted because he was believed to be an ANC supporter.

KHUZWAYO, Emmanuel Norman, was shot dead, allegedly by named Inkatha members, on 28 February 1988 at his home in Clermont, near Durban. Mr Khuzwayo was on the advisory board concerning Clermont's possible incorporation into KwaZulu.

KHUZWAYO, Enny Khonazinhle Ntombi (32), an IFP supporter, was severely assaulted by ANC supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in April 1991 when she went to visit friends in an ANC-dominated area.

KHUZWAYO, Fandoda Alpheus (73), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 February 1994, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Gcinimali Abraham (20), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead and his body was mutilated by named Inkatha supporters in Amanzimtoti, Natal, on 6 May 1990, allegedly because he would be seen visiting ANC areas.

KHUZWAYO, Hawukile Christinah (30), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in May 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Howard Siphso (23), was shot and injured by named IFP members in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 20 November 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Iris Busisiwe (57), an IFP supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Mandini, Natal, in February 1994. The house was allegedly targeted because her son did not attend an IFP meeting held in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Isabella Thandiwe (30), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 February 1994, in intense political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Jerome Thamsanqa, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 1 August 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area. The perpetrators accused Mr Khuzwayo of having made weapons for the ANC.

KHUZWAYO, Johnson (51), an ANC supporter, died after being severely assaulted by IFP supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 6 January 1991.

KHUZWAYO, Josephina, had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in January 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Khalangani (50), an Inkatha supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1990. Mr Khuzwayo's son was killed that same year.

KHUZWAYO, Khetha Muhlebona (21), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Kho (63), an ANC supporter, had his home looted and vandalised by named IFP supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in September 1992.

KHUZWAYO, Lindiwe Victoria Mambhele (50), was stabbed and severely injured by named Inkatha supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 25 March 1990 in political conflict in the area. Her husband and daughter were killed by the attackers, who were allegedly looking for her sons.

KHUZWAYO, Lobeleni Mavis (33), an Inkatha supporter, was one of 13 people burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

KHUZWAYO, Mandlenkosi Obed (34), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Mazondi (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 4 August 1992.

KHUZWAYO, Mbusi, was one of eight people shot dead by ANC supporters in ongoing political conflict at Mpusheni Reserve, Natal, on 18 August 1992. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0219).

KHUZWAYO, Mgwazenke Joseph (65), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Michael, was shot dead by a named perpetrator in Maphumulo, KwaZulu, near Greytown, Natal, in 1985, during political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Musa (35), ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot to death by named IFP supporters at Inanda,

near KwaMashu, Durban, on 4 August 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Mxolelwa James (45), fled his home in the Umbumbulu area, near Durban, during 1992, because of the political violence. In his absence, his home was vandalised and his possessions stolen.

KHUZWAYO, Mzwandile Christopher, was shot dead by IFP supporters in a drive-by shooting in Lamontville, Durban, in 1991. The attack occurred at a time of considerable local resistance to the proposed incorporation of the township into KwaZulu.

KHUZWAYO, Napoleon (66), a UDF supporter, had his house in Chesterville, Durban, burnt down by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM on 15 April 1986.

KHUZWAYO, Nelisiwe (36), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Ntuzuma, near Durban, in March 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

KHUZWAYO, Ngenzeni Rejoice (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Nhlanhla Victor (24), an ANC supporter, was abducted by members of the SAP in Umgeni, Durban, on 14 February 1993 and has not been seen since. He is presumed dead.

KHUZWAYO, Nkosenhle, was stabbed and injured by Inkatha supporters in Umzinto, Natal, on 26 March 1990, and abducted and assaulted by IFP supporters in June 1991 in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Nokulunga (8), was one of 13 people burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

KHUZWAYO, Nqobile (7), was one of 13 people burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

KHUZWAYO, Ntombi Phaqa Bekisepi (41), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Phendukile (65), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down, and her son abducted and killed, in an attack by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 April 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

KHUZWAYO, Phumulani, an alleged IFP supporter, was one of 13 people burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

KHUZWAYO, Pumapi (64), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March

1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Qondeni Tryphina (47), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Rosalia Judith (50), was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Ngcolosi location, Mariannhill, near Pinetown, Natal, on 24 October 1989.

KHUZWAYO, Rosemary K (32), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Salatiel (60), an IFP supporter, was shot and killed by named ANC supporters after an IFP meeting at Empangeni, Natal, on 16 February 1992. The perpetrators burnt his body.

KHUZWAYO, Senzo Eugene, disappeared after he was abducted by IFP supporters near Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 May 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

KHUZWAYO, Sibongile Aubry (29), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Sibongile Mavis (36), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by named Inkatha supporters in Wartburg, Natal, on 20 September 1989, during conflict in Swayimane between an IFP-aligned school and an ANC-aligned school which her son attended.

KHUZWAYO, Sigana (50), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in an attack on his home in Umlazi, Durban, on 25 March 1990. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for his son. His daughter was also killed in the attack, and his wife severely injured.

KHUZWAYO, Simana (60), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Sindisiwe Thuleleni (32), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS. Ms Khuzwayo, who was five months pregnant at the time, miscarried when she fled into the mountains in an attempt to escape the violence.

KHUZWAYO, Siphiwo James (44), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by alleged supporters of the IFP in February 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, during intense political conflict in the area which was seen as an ANC stronghold.

KHUZWAYO, Sphe (4), was one of 13 people burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

KHUZWAYO, Sthembiso (14), was one of 13 people burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

KHUZWAYO, Sthomba Lilian (43), had her store looted and burnt down by ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, in 1985, in political conflict following the slaying of UDF leader, Victoria Mxenge.

KHUZWAYO, Terressa Ntombifuthi (29), had her home destroyed by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 26 October 1989, allegedly because she refused to attend Inkatha meetings.

KHUZWAYO, Thembinkosi Enock (41), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Thembisile Agnes (34), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Thokozani (10), was one of 13 people burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

KHUZWAYO, Tholakele (13), was abducted, raped and killed when Inkatha supporters attacked her home in Umlazi, Durban on 25 March 1990, allegedly looking for her brother, who was an ANC supporter. Her father was killed and her mother severely injured in the attack.

KHUZWAYO, Tobi Anna (73), had her home and possessions burnt in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in April 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Vusumuzi, an ANC supporter, was abducted and killed, and his home was burnt, in an attack by a named IFP supporter in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 April 1994.

KHUZWAYO, Vusumzi Vincent (35), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in an arson attack in February 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Welcome Nhlanhla (23), ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 26 December 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Winnifred (60), an ANC supporter, was beaten, stoned and stabbed and her home was burnt

down by ANC supporters, some of whom are named, at Lamontville, near Durban, on 14 May 1990. Ms Khuzwayo was allegedly accused by the perpetrators of being an IFP spy and a witch.

KHUZWAYO, Xolani Eric, was found burnt to death after he had been abducted by ANC supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, in September 1992, in political conflict in the area.

KHUZWAYO, Zazie, a member of the Clermont Advisory Board, was shot dead in his shop by Inkatha members in Clermont, near Durban, during April 1987. Mr Khuzwayo was active in the campaign against the incorporation of Clermont into KwaZulu. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KHUZWAYO, Ziphi Bongekile (17), ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KHUZWAYO, Zwi, an Inkatha supporter, was abducted from his home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1989, during political conflict. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

KHWELA, Balekile (70), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 March 1990, in intense political conflict in the area.

KHWELA, Bhekithemba A (23), was stabbed to death by an Inkatha supporter at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 2 June 1987, during political conflict in the area.

KHWELA, Bonga Dominic Boysie (23), died on 1 November 1991 when the police van in which he was being detained exploded after being hit by an RPG rocket fired at a KWAZULU POLICE police station in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban. Three people died in the attack.

KHWELA, Jabulani Timothy (18), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 7 November 1987.

KHWELA, Makhosazana Ethel (45), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by named ANC supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 December 1992, allegedly because they believed her son-in-law was an IFP supporter.

KHWELA, Mandlakayise Barthemius (51), was killed on 10 November 1993 while defending his house in Emangabazini, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, against attackers, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

KHWELA, Mzwamanka Cyprian (22), was shot dead at a night vigil in Emangabazini, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 February 1994 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

KHWELA, Patricia Themba (37), an ANC supporter, had her shop and house in Port Shepstone, Natal, looted by IFP supporters on 5 April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

KHWELA, Richard Mpuvele (18), an ANC supporter, had his house and possessions burnt by IFP supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 11 August 1993.

KHWELA, Thamsanqa Pius (23), ANC supporter, was burnt to death by IFP supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 September 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KHWELA, Thandanani Sipiwe (10), was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 November 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

KHWETA, Mzukisi (22), was burnt by a group of unidentified youths at Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, in April 1986, allegedly because he failed to heed a consumer boycott call.

KHWEZI, Mabila Ju, an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP in Flagstaff, Transkei. He was tortured in detention while being questioned about people who had left for exile.

KIBI, Bhutiki John (45), an MK operative, was shot and seriously injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

KIDD ANDERSON, Leonard Brian (23), an ISU member, suffered injuries on 22 July 1992 when he and 12 other policemen were attacked by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. Six policemen were injured in the exchange of fire. Two SDU members applied for and were granted amnesty (AC/1997/0029).

KIKA, Mvuleni Christian (20), an ANC and COSAS member, was blinded in one eye after he was severely beaten in the face by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE and the SAP in Cathcart, Cape, in 1985.

KIKA, Theophullis (34), a UDF supporter, was detained in Klipplaat, Cape, in May 1985, after police raided the area for political activists.

KILANI, Mbuzeli Robbie Nontontose (32), was shot by members of the SAP during political conflict in Grahamstown, Cape, in November 1986.

KILANI, Nomonde Sylvia (27), a PAC supporter, had her house and possessions vandalised by ANC supporters during political conflict in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, in February 1994.

KILANI, Toto Lawrence (21), a UDF supporter, was detained for three months on 19 June 1985 by members of the SA Railway Police and the SAP during a stayaway in Port Elizabeth.

KILI, Jerry Simmango (50), an ANC supporter, was tear-gassed and assaulted by members of the CDF while he was attending a meeting in Dimbaza, Ciskei, on 6 September 1992.

KILIBANE, Mvuyelwa Nicholas, an ANC member, was shot dead by members of the PAC in October 1993 at Mount Fletcher, Transkei.

KILLEEN, Peggy Shona (23), an ECC activist, was subjected to constant harassment by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth during 1985. Her home was ransacked, she received death threats, her house was watched and the legs of her cats were deliberately broken.

KIMBERLEY, Thandisizwe Michael Small (19), a UDF supporter, was detained, handcuffed, given electric shocks, assaulted and kept in solitary confinement by named members of the SAP during consumer boycotts in Alexandria, Cape, on 12 April 1986.

KIMBILI, Stoto (55), was shot with birdshot and assaulted by SAP members after he intervened in an argument involving the police and his neighbours in 1985 in KwaMandlenkosi, Beaufort West, Cape, during a period of protest.

KING, Dorothy (59), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Entshawini, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, in January 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

KING, Gerard Quintin (23), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Stanger, Natal, in December 1993.

KING, Gwen, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

KING, Russel (25), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Entshawini, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, in June 1992.

KINIKINI, Luvuyo Stanley (12), was killed and his body was burnt by UDF supporters on 23 March 1985 in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape. Benjamin Kinikini, a town councillor who was accused of involvement in the abduction of some UDF youths, was also killed in the attack, together with three other family members.

KINIKINI, Mngamana Lulamile Patrick (19), a political activist, was arrested and tortured by named members of the SAP in Uitenhage, Cape, in November 1985, and sentenced on 30 March 1988 to three years' imprisonment in Port Elizabeth. Mr Kinikini, who was convicted of public violence, was held in solitary confinement at St Alban's prison, Port Elizabeth.

KINIKINI, Mzoxolo, was killed by 'necklacing' by UDF supporters on 23 March 1985 in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape. Benjamin Kinikini, a town councillor who was accused of involvement in the abduction of some UDF youths, was also killed in the attack, together with three other family members.

KINIKINI, Qondile (18), was killed by 'necklacing' by UDF supporters on 23 March 1985 in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape. Benjamin Kinikini, a town councillor who was accused of involvement in the abduction of some UDF youths, was also killed in the attack, together with three other family members.

KINIKINI, Silumko Welcome (20), was killed by 'necklacing' by UDF supporters on 23 March 1985 in

KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape. Benjamin Kinikini, a town councillor who was accused of involvement in the abduction of some UDF youths, was also killed in the attack, together with three other family members.

KINIKINI, Thamsanqa Benjamin (57), a town COUNCILLOR, was stoned, stabbed and killed by 'necklacing' by named UDF supporters on 23 March 1985 in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape. He was accused of involvement in the abduction of some UDF youths. Five of his sons and nephews were killed with him.

KINIKINI, Zamuxolo Eric (22), was killed by 'necklacing' by UDF supporters on 23 March 1985 in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape. Benjamin Kinikini, a town councillor who was accused of involvement in the abduction of some UDF youths, was also killed in the attack, together with three other family members.

KINNEAR, A, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

KIRSTEN, Rene, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

KIRSTEN, SJ, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KIRTLEY, Wayne Lawrence, a rifleman in the SADF, was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KIVA, Vumisile, a PAC member, was detained for 30 days in 1963 in Langa, Cape Town. He was later sentenced to three years' imprisonment on Robben Island, after which he was placed under house arrest for two years.

KIVITI, Mxolisi Desmond (17), a PAC supporter, was arrested and tortured by named members of the Security Branch during a protest against the banning of organisations in King William's Town, Cape, on 10 April 1963.

KLAAS, Buyisile Nicholas (14), a UDF supporter, was blinded with a knife and then stabbed to death by

named AMAAFRIKA members during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, on 23 July 1987.

KLAAS, Livingstone Pawulezi (42), was shot in the leg by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

KLAAS, Mbuyiseli Sidwell (22), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and injured by AMAAFRIKA members during political conflict in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 22 July 1987.

KLAAS, Phumelelo, was beaten on his arrest, together with many other residents in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 4 November 1985, by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and SAP. Mr Klaas was later sentenced to a prison sentence for public violence.

KLAAS, Sililo Joseph (18), was detained, beaten and tortured by named members of the SAP on numerous occasions between 1986 and 1989 in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein. Mr Klaas, a student activist, was involved in demonstrations to protest against the INCORPORATION of Botshabelo into QwaQwa.

KLAAS, Thembisile John (21), was assaulted and detained for four days on 21 March 1985 in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, at the time of the LANGA SHOOTINGS when members of the SAP police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting.

KLAAS, Vuyelwa (4), was shot in the leg by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE during political unrest in Grahamstown, Cape, in 1983.

KLAASEN, Boetman Matanzi (45), was detained by members of the SAP during political unrest in Aberdeen, Cape, in 1985.

KLAASEN, Johanna Aleta (17), was injured when a bomb placed by members of the ANC exploded in Johannesburg, on 30 July 1987.

KLAASEN, Nombulelo Mina (18), was shot in the eye by members of the SAP in 1960 in Port Elizabeth.

KLAASEN, Andile Amos (19), died after being shot by a named member of the SAP in Beaufort West, Cape, on 25 October 1985. He was shot during a weekend of protest by residents angered at a court inquest finding which cleared the SAP of criminal responsibility for killing a local UDF activist in January that year.

KLAASTE, Aubrey, was arrested with ten other friends on 16 June 1986 in Carnarvon, Cape, for wearing black ties commemorating those who died in the SOWETO UPRISING. He was repeatedly beaten by named members of the SAP at the police station and detained for 72 days under emergency regulations at Carnarvon and then at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

KLAASTE, Gerald (19), was severely beaten and detained for 72 days from 16 June 1986 in Carnarvon, Cape. He was one of eight people arrested under emergency legislation after a commemoration of the

SOWETO UPRISING. In detention, he was tortured by three named police officers and refused medical attention.

KLAASTE, Rubin (19), was severely beaten and detained for 72 days from 16 June 1986 in Carnarvon, Cape. He was one of eight people arrested under emergency legislation after a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING. In detention, he was tortured by three named police officers and refused medical attention.

KLACKERS, Anne Elizabeth, was assaulted and threatened with a knife by a group of UDF supporters during a robbery at her farmshop in Stutterheim, Cape, on 19 February 1990. Three UDF supporters applied for and were refused amnesty (AC/1999/0277).

KLEIN, Brenda Marjory, suffered injuries and damage to property when MK operatives threw a hand grenade through the bedroom window of her home in Durban on 1 May 1986, injuring her and her husband as they lay sleeping. Ms Klein's husband was associated with the Labour Party and was suspected of being a police reservist. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

KLEIN, C, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KLEIN, Yuill Peter, suffered injuries and damage to property when MK operatives threw a hand grenade through the bedroom window of his home in Durban on 1 May 1986, injuring him and his wife as they lay sleeping. Mr Klein was associated with the Labour Party and was suspected of being a police reservist. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

KLEINBOOI, David (40), was threatened over the phone by a named perpetrator in Randfontein, Tvl, on 1 January 1990 for transporting 'comrades' to a march in Krugersdorp, during rent boycotts in Toekomsrus. Mr Kleinbooi's bus was later damaged in a suspected limpet mine attack in Randfontein, which also damaged the houses of two neighbours.

KLEYN, SM, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KLEYNHANS, George Christian Frederick, was shot and killed by APLA members in an armed attack on the Sentra Hyperserve supermarket at Wesselsbron, OFS, on 3 July 1993. Five people were killed and four were wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Six APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/250).

KLOPPER, L, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church

Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KNAUS, CE, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KNEG, Alfred, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

KNOUWDS, Salomon Jacobus, was injured in the Silverton bank siege, Pretoria, when three MK operatives held him hostage during a raid on the bank on 25 January 1980. Two civilians and the three attackers were killed in a gunfight after police stormed the bank. Several others were injured.

KOAHLO, Lalula (31), a UDF supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 13 April 1986 when police opened fire on mourners at a night vigil.

KOAHLO, Moya Kleinbooi (25), was attacked and killed by IFP supporters in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 2 May 1993 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

KOALANE, Tau Felix, a member of the SAP, was shot and seriously wounded by APLA members at a roadblock in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, during July 1993. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/033).

KOALI, Allan Khorong Silbalo Bika Ntshebe (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by SAP members at a house in Empangeni, Natal, in 1985.

KOAPENG, Johannah Refilwe (27), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by alleged members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986. She was beaten with a baseball bat and stabbed in the face and arm during conflict between residents and security forces.

KOBE, Andile Anton (22), was severely assaulted by named Riot Policemen at the police station in George, Cape, on 19 March 1988. After he lost consciousness, the policemen dumped him at a nearby beach. He died the following day after being discovered and taken to hospital. Three policemen were sentenced to prison terms of between seven and 12 years for his killing.

KOBESE, Fikile (30), a UDF leader and MACWUSA organiser, had his home petrol-bombed by unidentified perpetrators in Uitenhage, Cape during 1984. In 1985 he was detained and tortured by named and other members

of the Security Branch in Port Elizabeth. He was detained again in 1986 under emergency regulations.

KOBESE, Sandi Grebhe (23), a UDF supporter, was assaulted by three named members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE at his home in Fort Beaufort, Cape, in July 1987, during a campaign of opposition to Black Local Authorities in the area.

KOBO, Dorothy Mosetsane, was severely injured on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

KOBOKA, Bubele Baden, a Poqo member, was imprisoned at Robben Island, Cape Town, in 1963 for his involvement in Poqo activities in Paarl, Cape, and later executed in Pretoria on 30 May 1967 along with eight other Poqo members for the alleged involvement in the killing of a white shopkeeper in Paarl.

KOBOLA, Phaladi Phineas (39), was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SADF in Seshego, Lebowa, in 1987 because he was suspected of being an MK operative.

KOBUS, Eric Ralph Gudmanz (74), a farmer, was shot and injured in the face when a group of UDF supporters attacked his home at Sunrise farm, Stutterheim, Cape, on 12 February 1990. Five UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0277).

KOCK, MM, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KOCK, Paul, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

KODISANG, Shadrack (26), was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, on 9 July 1985 following tension between students and the SAP in the area.

KODISANG, Sipho Adam (17), an ANC supporter was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 6 August 1993 when he mistook a toy gun Mr Kodisang was carrying for a real weapon and opened fire on him. An inquest was held but no-one was found responsible for Mr Kodisang's death.

KOEE, Aobakwe Gilbert (30), was hit on the head and threatened with death by Bophuthatswana Police at Taung, Bophuthatswana, in May 1988. Officials were searching for supporters of Chief Mankuroane who was in exile as a result of political differences with Chief Mangope.

KOELMAN, Bernard 'Besa' (20), a UDF supporter, was detained in Oudtshoorn, Cape, in May 1985, and charged with public violence for which he was later acquitted. During his interrogation, he was assaulted at the Oudtshoorn police station by named members of the SAP. He was detained under emergency regulations in 1986 and again in 1988. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

KOELMAN, Noma-Efese Nielmary (20), was detained under emergency regulations for a week in 1985 in Klipplaat, Cape, and thereafter transferred to Middelburg prison, Cape, for a further month. She was assaulted daily while in detention. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

KOEN, Christina Frederika (42), had her house petrol-bombed by APLA members in Ficksburg, OFS, on 29 September 1992. Ms Koen was wounded by shrapnel during the attack. See APLA ATTACKS.

KOEN, Gabriel Johannes (46), had his house petrol-bombed by APLA members in Ficksburg, OFS, on 29 September 1992. See APLA ATTACKS.

KOENA, Anna (33), was stabbed in the chest with a spear and hit with *knobkieries* by IFP supporters returning from a rally in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1991. Other residents in Ms Koena's street were killed in the attack.

KOENING, L, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

KOFANE, Thulani Walter (25), a UDF supporter, had his house burnt down and his minibus destroyed by Inkatha supporters at Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 14 April 1987, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

KOHL, Aliston Phillip (17), died after being shot in the head by members of the SAP on 12 May 1986 while she was participating in a funeral procession in Joza, Grahamstown, Cape.

KOHLA, Conrad Ncobela (23), was shot dead when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

KOHLAKALI, Nontle (12), was shot and injured on 6 October 1992, while asleep in his home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. Shortly before the attack, his mother's life had been threatened, because of her prominent role in the ANC Women's League.

KOHLI, Qalisile John (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by named members of the SAP in Elliot, Cape, in March 1992, while participating in a march to protest against conditions in the township.

KOITENG, Moses Mothuphi (31), an APLA member, was shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 29 March 1992 during a period of political repression in Bophuthatswana.

KOJANE, Itumeleng Ernest (15), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by an AWB member while participating in a march to the magistrate's court in Hertzogville, OFS, on 1 March 1994. The AWB had

blocked the road in an attempt to prevent ANC supporters from reaching the court.

KOKA, Maphutha Frans (22), was beaten to death after he was abducted by two named members of the Lebowa Police in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 8 May 1986.

KOKI, George, sustained facial burns when his home was petrol-bombed by IFP supporters at Ipelegeng, Schweizer-Reneke, Tvl, on 16 July 1993.

KOKI, Mamokgele Roslyn (42), lost five teeth and had her jaw broken when she was severely beaten with a rifle butt by a member of the SAP in Ipelegeng, Schweizer Reneke, Tvl, on 1 August 1990. Ms Koki was erecting shacks in a land occupation during a community rent and consumer boycott.

KOKOANA, Mosiuoa Agustinus (33), a member of an ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU), was severely beaten by SAP members in Maokeng, Kroonstad, OFS, on 19 February 1991, allegedly because he was thought to be in possession of firearms with which the SDU was protecting the community against attack by members of the THREE MILLION GANG.

KOKOME, Betty Onini (15), was run over and killed by a police vehicle in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, on 11 February 1991 during school boycotts to protest against the area's INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

KOLA, Elizabeth Mmanthadi (51), had her house and its contents destroyed by supporters of rival chief Sampson Mahlangu in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 18 May 1980 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

KOLA, Khobotla Lazarus, was severely injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

KOLA, Thomas, was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 18 May 1980 and died several days later in hospital during conflict over the recognition of Chief Mahlangu.

KOLE, Mputhi Philip Makirimane (60), a member of PPP, was detained and beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Rustenburg, Tvl, on 11 February 1988.

KOLE, Ntafi David (37), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, on 31 December 1990 during community resistance to Mangope's rule.

KOLISANG, Daniel Khopotso (23), was tortured and beaten several times by members of the SAP at Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, in October 1991 because he refused to kill ANC and SACP leaders in the Transvaal. At the time, police were allegedly bribing 'comrades' to work for them.

KOLISANG, Petrus Lepekola (53), was detained in Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 11 June 1986, allegedly because he was holding illegal meetings with the youth during a rent boycott in the area.

KOLISANG, Tsepiso Faith (16), a COSAS member, was detained for six months by members of the SAP

in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 29 November 1986 during a COSAS campaign for free and compulsory education and a boycott of Bantu education.

KOLISI, Makayephi (20), an ANCYL member, was shot dead by a named perpetrator at Blackpool farm in Cathcart, Cape, in February 1987, while he was visiting friends at the farm.

KOLISI, Mawethu (14), was shot dead by named members of the SAP on 1 January 1986 during unrest at Dongwe township, Whittlesea in Ciskei.

KOLISI, Sipho Victor (aka Luvuyo Kehla) (20), an MK operative, was shot dead in an ambush at Alldays, Tvl, near the Botswana border, on 10 July 1986 by a joint team comprising SADF Special Forces and Far Northern Transvaal Security Branch members.

Fourteen Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, applied for amnesty. Nine of these applications were refused (AC/1999/0176).

KOLISI, Tatana (30), was shot and severely injured by members of the security forces in August 1976 in Langa, Cape Town, after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to Cape Town.

KOLISILE, Gampimpi Doctor (38), was assaulted at his home in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 14 March 1992. At the time there were frequent attacks on the community by unidentified assailants. Two of his sons were also injured.

KOLITI, Nontle (14), was shot dead by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE on 12 September 1986 during the state of emergency in Grahamstown, Cape.

KOLO, Thomas (19), was shot dead by members of the SAP while *toyi-toying* with a crowd in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, on 1 October 1985.

KOLOBE, Henry Malapile (34), was shot and injured in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 13 March 1992 by Simphiwe hostel-dwellers during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. Two people died in the attack and another was injured.

KOLOI, Kenathatha Alice (13), a COSAS member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 27 September 1984 in Port Elizabeth.

KOLOI, Machaya Phineas (19), an ANC-aligned self-defence unit member, was shot and severely injured by named members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 22 December 1993.

KOLOI, Ohentse Richard (28), an ANCYL member, was arrested in August 1989 and severely beaten and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police, near Kuruman, Cape. He was charged with assaulting policemen but was found not guilty. He was again detained on 26 December 1991 and again severely beaten and tortured at the Tsineng police station. On 15 November 1992 he was arrested during a consumer boycott and beaten with several other ANC members.

KOLOLO, Sandile (16), was shot dead by a member of the SAP near a bus terminus in Veeplaas, near Port Elizabeth, on 14 October 1986 during the state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

KOLOTI, Elvis Radimakatso (17), an ANC supporter, was detained and severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 29 May 1979. The police were allegedly seeking information about his brother, who had gone into exile.

KOLOTLA, James Madebe (39), was shot and injured by IFP supporters from Vusimusi hostel in Tembisa, Tvl, on 9 June 1992 during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

KOLWANE, Eliyot Mosimanegape (20), was injured by a hand grenade thrown by IFP supporters in Makweteng, Tigane, Tvl, on 9 May 1991.

KOM, Gladys Nomgcobo (36), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed by named ADM members on 13 November 1993 in Zwelitsha, Ciskei.

KOMANE, Nombuselo (30), was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl, on 28 May 1986. From mid-1985 East Rand townships including Katlehong experienced intense political conflict.

KOMANI, Brian (27), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, in political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels over the Christmas 1976 period.

KOMANI, Nosensi Nocawe (47), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the Ciskei Police during a funeral in Whittlesea, Ciskei, on 9 September 1985.

KOMANI, Patricia, suffered severe trauma when APLA operatives, armed with automatic weapons and hand grenades, stormed the Yellowwoods hotel, in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 23 March 1993, and opened fire on staff and patrons. One person was shot dead in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/225).

KOMANI, Vumile, was shot dead by members of the SAP during a consumer boycott in Stutterheim, Cape, in 1986.

KOMAPE, Mosima Elisa (37), had her home burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KOMAPE, Ntombizodwa Matilda, was shot and injured by IFP supporters at a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 26 March 1991 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

KOMAPE, Phaka Maphuti (70), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KOMAPE, Phuti Elsie (25), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

KOMETSI, Isaac Modikeng (18), a COSAS member, was detained briefly by the police on 28 October 1990. Two days after his release, he was stabbed to death by named members of the SAP in Odendaalsrus, OFS. Police were allegedly 'hunting down' ANC supporters, and Mr Kometsi was mistaken for his brother, a known and active ANC supporter.

KOMO, Bashintshile (45), had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 March 1990 in intense political conflict in the area.

KOMO, Bonakabi (69), an IFP supporter, was forced by ANC supporters to flee her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 August 1991. In her absence, her property was stolen and her home vandalised by ANC supporters.

KOMSASI, Sikade Council, an ANC supporter, was beaten with batons by SAP members during the anti-Pass Law campaign in Langa, Cape Town, on 21 March 1960. Mr Komsasi was then detained for several months.

KONDILE, Gcinisizwe 'Sizwe' Kwesi (24), an MK operative, was possibly abducted from Lesotho and then detained at Jeffreys Bay, Cape. In August 1981, the Eastern Cape Security Branch handed Mr Kondile to members of *Vlakplaas* who took him to a spot near Komatipoort, where they shot him dead and burnt his body. Four Eastern Cape Security Branch members, including the divisional commander and the commander of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1999/0037).

KONDLO, Thembekile (47), an ANC member, was severely beaten by ADM members during political conflict in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 19 December 1991.

KONE, Mmbengeni (aka 'Bernard'), an MK operative, was one of four people killed in two ambushes by Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives on 14 August 1986. One ambush was near Nerston, Tvl, the other on the Swazi side of the border. Eleven Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives, including the commanders of Ermelo Security Branch and of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty of the killing of Mr Kone (AC/2001/148).

KONGO, Lawrence Thobile (24), was detained in Worcester, Cape, on 16 June 1986. During his detention he was interrogated and assaulted by named policemen. He was held under the emergency regulations for almost two months at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

KONILE, Zabonke John (28), was shot dead by members of the Security Police in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 3 March 1986, in the GUGULETU SEVEN incident. Two Security Branch members from *Vlakplaas* were granted amnesty (AC/2001/276).

KONING, AE, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KONTYO, Siphiwo Hendry (39), a political activist, was abducted and assaulted by named members of the Ciskei Police in Whittlesea, Ciskei, on 25 December 1990.

KONYA, Tom, was killed on 30 June 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg.

KONYANE, Ralepheto Jackson (57), was assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 1 July 1989 during resistance by Mokgola villagers to INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

KONYANE, Raphala Richard (46), an ANC supporter, was tear gassed and beaten by Bophuthatswana Police during a community meeting in Zeerust, Tvl, on 1 July 1989. Mr Konyane opposed INCORPORATION of the area into Bophuthatswana.

KOPA, Jacob Tontosana, was shot in the leg by members of the SAP at the funeral of a political activist in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 19 June 1993.

KOPELE, Philemon, an ANC supporter, was beaten to death and his body was thrown from a train by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 August 1990. Mr Kopole had reportedly been singing political songs on the train. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

KOPELEDI, Kebarileng Hagai (35), an ANC supporter, was sjambokked by a named member of the SAP in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 21 November 1993 during a dispute over chieftaincy in the area.

KOPI, Ntobeko, was shot and killed by a member of the SAP during protests at Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 24 September 1985.

KOPOLO, Albert Magayiva (18), was shot and severely injured by SAP members in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 24 October 1985, while participating in a protest march.

KOPUNG Paulos (21), was severely beaten by named MUNICIPAL POLICEMEN in Colesberg, Cape, in 1988, after he was taken from his home and interrogated.

KORDOM, Kerneels (21), was shot and injured by a named SAP member in Kakamas, Cape, on 13 February 1988. The perpetrator opened fire on residents outside a house being raided by police. Two children were shot dead and 13 people injured.

KOROTSOANE, Franscis Tahleho (29), disappeared from Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during a stayaway. He was later found dead. The perpetrator was allegedly a named member of the SAP.

KORTMAN, Mable Selloane, was severely injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

KOTA, Mabhuti Zamxolo (18), an ANCYL member, was severely tortured by members of the SAP at the Seymour charge office, Ciskei, on 11 January 1991. He was accused of an arson attack at the Seymour Primary School.

KOTA, Mzolisi Simon (34), an ANC supporter, was detained under emergency regulations on 21 October 1991 and interrogated for a month by named members of the Ciskei Police in Fort Beaufort, Cape.

KOTA, Vuyo (32), an ANC supporter, was detained on 21 October 1991 and interrogated for a month by named members of the Ciskei Police in Fort Beaufort, Cape.

KOTELO, Arnold, an attorney, was abducted from home and shot dead by members of an ANC self-

defence unit (SDU), who also stole his vehicle, in Daveyton, Tvl, in August 1993. Two SDU members were refused amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/227). **KOTELO, Mathabo Johannes** (49), was abducted by IMBOKODO vigilantes from his home in KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986. At Siyabuswa community hall, he and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery. They were then sjambokked and beaten where they fell. The assaults lasted for about 36 hours and were led by named KwaNdebele government officials in an attempt to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

KOTLOLO, Walesele Daniel (38), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 while attending a rally about INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

KOTO, Andries Odrie (20), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Vryburg, Cape, on 27 November 1985. After his release from hospital he was assaulted by a named policeman at the Vryburg police station. On 15 February 1986 he was taken to a rural area known as *Die Lang Boom* where he was severely tortured by policemen wearing balaclavas.

KOTO, Nathan, was abducted along with two friends, by Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldiers in East London, who wanted to know the whereabouts of a person suspected of involvement in a planned coup in Transkei. Mr Koto was shot dead near the Kei River Bridge on 21 May 1993. A TDF soldier was granted amnesty for the abduction, but refused amnesty for the killing (AC/2000/018).

KOTOPE, Motsamai Albert Zapu (16), was shot in the head and severely injured when members of the SAP opened fire on *toy-toying* protesters in Bohlokong, Bethlehem, OFS, in 1985. A SCHOOL BOYCOTT was underway at the time.

KOTOTSI, Mosipili Paulina (49), was assaulted by supporters of Chief Mapela in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 10 January 1981 during a confrontation over the chieftaincy between supporters of Chief Mapela and Chief Lerumo.

KOTSELE, Zwelandle Simon (44), an ANC supporter, was shot by PAC supporters in political conflict in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 21 February in 1993.

KOTSELI, Tselane Maria, was severely injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

KOTZEN, Henry, a prison warder, was killed when a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) detonated a hand grenade while trying to escape from Leeuwhof Prison, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 18 December 1993. Three people died and nine were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/145).

KOWA, Phangiwe Irene (31), an IFP supporter, had her house near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 9 April 1991.

KOZA, Baphindile Florinah, lost her home at Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in 1993.

KOZA, Kasban (54), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters near Ixopo, Natal, on 10 May 1990. The youth of the area were trying at the time to establish an ANC branch in the face of the opposition of the local chief.

KOZA, Mandla Aaron, was abducted by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994 during intense political conflict in the area. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KOZA, Prince Mohlopheki, was shot and killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natalspruit, Tvl, on the 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

KOZA, Tembani Ntombinkulu (65), was shot dead by IFP supporters in a revenge attack at Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 5 March 1993. See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

KRAHTZ, EC, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KRAHTZ, J, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KRATSHANE, Tswinana Alfred (48), was hacked with a *panga* and shot by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 September 1990 during a stayaway and ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

KRATSHI, Mandlenkosi (27), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP on 22 January 1985 in Beaufort West, Cape.

KRECKIE, Loot Peter, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by alleged members of the SAP in Katilehong, Tvl, on 13 July 1985, the day of a large funeral in the area. From mid-1985 East Rand townships including Katilehong experienced intense political conflict. See VAAL UPRISING.

KRECKIE, Rocky, was detained for two weeks by members of the SAP in Katilehong, Tvl, in July 1985, reportedly because he did not inform police of the date on which he intended to bury his father.

KRELE, Khubalo (33), was assaulted in detention by named members of the SAP at Burgersdorp, Cape, in February 1986.

KRIEK, DG, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KRIEL, Ashley James (21), an MK operative and former Bonteheuwel student activist, was shot dead by a Western Cape Security Branch operative at a house in Athlone, Cape Town, on 9 July 1987. A Security Branch member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1999/0027).

KROEGER, G, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KROLI, Phumzile Samuel (19), was hit on the head with a rifle and injured in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 16 June 1986, while being arrested by police. Mr Kroli was then detained under emergency regulations for several months.

KROMA, Siphso (19), a member of the Bongoletu Youth Organisation, was tortured by named members of the SAP on the way to and during his detention at Uitenhage, Cape, in November 1986. He was assaulted, placed in the boot of a car and given electric shocks.

KROMBERG, Anita Helen (30), an ECC member, suffered severe psychological stress when she was detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act on 9 September 1985 and kept in solitary confinement for 11 days at CR Swart Square in Durban.

KRUGER, CS, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

KRUGER, Franz Theodor, a University of Cape Town SRC member, was detained for two weeks and kept in solitary confinement in Cape Town, in June 1980, during a period of escalating political protest.

KRUGER, Johannes Jacobus, was severely injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

KRUGER, Ryan Christopher (18), was stabbed in the spine by PAC supporters at the Durban beachfront on 9 October 1990. The perpetrators attacked white people at random, killing one elderly person and injuring several others. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/144).

KRUGER, Susanna Maria Magdelina, suffered injuries when a limpet mine, placed in a pot plant, was detonated near the Juicy Lucy restaurant on the corner of Andries and Vermeulen Streets, Pretoria, on 26 May 1988. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

KRUSER, Gary John (25), an MK operative, was tortured during interrogation in Cape Town by members of the Western Cape Security Branch, in September 1987. He was held for six months under SECTION 26 and then for three years, while on trial for terrorism. Two members of the Western Cape Security Branch were granted amnesty for the torture of Mr Kruser (AC/1999/0027 and AC/1999/028).

KUAPE, Mantwa Lydia, a UDF activist, was shot dead by members of the SAP, allegedly in an ambush, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 25 July 1986. Prior to her death Ms Kuape was repeatedly visited by members of the security forces who accused her of hiding weapons and ammunition. Ms Kuape's brother was an MK member in exile at the time of her death.

KUBAYI, Solomon Muzamane (15), was shot with birdshot and injured by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 25 April 1986 during mass community action against vigilante groups and community councillors.

KUBEKA, Fakazile Joyce (36), a UDF supporter, was shot by members of the Security Branch at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 21 October 1989 in a raid on her home. She lost her sight as a result of the shooting.

KUBEKA, Lilian Matshomo (49), mother of a policeman, lost her home when it was petrol-bombed by alleged 'comrades', in Daveyton, Tvl, on 25 February 1994. Policemen were targeted because of their role in enforcing apartheid laws.

KUBEKA, Mpoto Philemon (67), had his store looted and burnt and his car burnt to ashes by named perpetrators at Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 1 March 1994, in political conflict in the area.

KUBEKA, Zamokwakhe (42), an ANC supporter and a councillor, was shot dead, and his shop was looted, by IFP supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 17 November 1990.

KUBEKA-MODISE, Abigail Sibongile (46), an ANC supporter, had her house in Orlando, Soweto, Johannesburg, burnt down in 1986 by named perpetrators because of her participation in a peace song that was organised by the apartheid government.

KUBHEKA, Albertina, died in hospital on 5 May 1986 from burn wounds sustained when her house in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, was set alight by Inkatha supporters on 27 April 1986. Her sons were shot and injured while extinguishing the fire. Another son, who was later killed, was a NACTU member. Inkatha and KwaZulu POLICE members reportedly harassed union members and their families because unions were considered a political threat.

KUBHEKA, Amos Bongani (17), was abducted and tortured by IMBOKODO vigilantes in KwaNdebele, in May 1986 following violence over the area's proposed independence.

KUBHEKA, Bongani, died in 1991 after being burnt, allegedly by hostel-dwellers, during political conflict.

KUBHEKA, Booi, was shot and injured when his house in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, was attacked and set alight by Inkatha supporters on 27 April 1986. He was extinguishing the flames when he and his brother were shot. His mother died in hospital as a result of her injuries. Another brother, who was later killed, was a NACTU member. Inkatha and KWAZULU POLICE members reportedly harassed union members and their families because unions were considered a political threat.

KUBHEKA, Clement Mabhala, an SAP officer, was detained in 1968 in Durban, and interrogated over 28 days, during which time he was held in solitary confinement. After his release, he was suspended from the police force because he was accused of collaborating with the ANC.

KUBHEKA, Dumisani Wilfred (29), a NACTU member, was shot dead by named members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 31 December 1986. Earlier in the year, his mother died of burns and his brother was shot and injured when their house was attacked by Inkatha supporters.

KUBHEKA, Elvis (12), was shot dead by members of the Riot Squad outside his home in Meadowlands, Soweto, 16 August 1990. The police reportedly came and took away the bullet that killed Elvis.

KUBHEKA, Fakazi Jerome (20), was beaten with batons on his head and face by members of the SADF in Zola, Soweto, on 19 September 1984 during a rent boycott in the area.

KUBHEKA, Gladys (55), had her house in Evaton, Tvl, attacked by ANC supporters in 1984 during the VAAL UPRISING in which councillors and their homes were targeted.

KUBHEKA, Jeffrey (20), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 31 December 1987.

KUBHEKA, Joshua (48), had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 27 April 1986 in intense political conflict in the area. His wife suffered fatal burn wounds in the attack, and his sons were shot and injured while extinguishing the fire. Another son, a NACTU member, was killed some months later by members of the KWAZULU POLICE.

KUBHEKA, Linda Bethuel (26), was arrested while attending the funeral of a fellow 'comrade', and severely tortured by members of the SAP while in detention at Protea police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, in September 1985.

KUBHEKA, Mondli Petros, a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 31 May 1986.

KUBHEKA, Mphikeleli Kenneth (18), a member of the ANCYL, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 15 April 1992.

KUBHEKA, Ndoda, was shot and injured in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on his home in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 27 April 1986. He

was extinguishing the flames when he and his brothers were shot. His mother died in hospital as a result of her injuries. Another brother, a NACTU member, was killed some months later by members of the KWAZULU POLICE.

KUBHEKA, Nkosinathi, was shot and injured in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on his home in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 27 April 1986. He was extinguishing the flames when he and his brothers were shot. His mother died in hospital as a result of her injuries. Another brother, a NACTU member, was killed some months later by members of the KWAZULU POLICE.

KUBHEKA, Perceival Mlamuli (17), an ANC supporter, was abducted from home by members of the Security Branch on 27 March 1989 in Durban, and was found dead a week later, with gunshot wounds in his chest. There was conflict between the ANC and the A-Team at the time.

KUBHEKA, Piet, was shot and injured and his house was petrol-bombed by 'comrades' in Daveyton, Tvl, on 25 February 1994. Mr Kubheka was the father of a police officer alleged to have taken part in the shooting of a self-defence unit commander.

KUBHEKA, Pijone John, was shot dead by a member of the SADF as he tried to board a bus to work in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, on 24 March 1986 during a stayaway.

KUBHEKA, Sabatha, was shot and injured in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on his home in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 27 April 1986. He was extinguishing the flames when he and his brothers were shot. His mother died in hospital as a result of her injuries. Another brother, a NACTU member, was killed some months later by members of the KWAZULU POLICE.

KUBHEKA, Siphwe Patrick (37), a member of the KWAZULU POLICE, was hacked and stabbed to death by a named perpetrator at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in May 1989. Mr Kubheka had received death threats from both ANC and Inkatha supporters.

KUBHEKA, Sipho Hamilton (33), a member of the ANCYL, suffered severe psychological stress when he was detained by the Security Police in November 1975 and held in solitary confinement in a Pietermaritzburg prison for a month.

KUBHEKA, Solomon Mandla (21), an ANC supporter, was knocked down by an army vehicle patrolling the streets of Alexandra, Johannesburg, in 1992. He died on the way to hospital.

KUBHEKA, Swenki Autry (29), was arrested in December 1975 and detained for nine months, during which period he was tortured by members of the Security Branch at Alexandra Road police station in Pietermaritzburg, allegedly because they wanted information about his uncle, a political activist.

KUBHEKA, Thandi Anna (41), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters while travelling in a train in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 April 1991. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

KUBHEKA, Themba Petros (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 May 1993. Four other ANC supporters were killed with him, including two returnees and a pregnant

woman. Their bodies were found at a local school, and a local IFP induna was implicated in their killing.

KUBHEKA, Thoko Tryphina (43), had her house in KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 12 February 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

KUBHEKA, Thusi Hezekiel (33), public relations officer of the Wesselson Action Committee, was severely beaten by members of the IFP-aligned BLACK CATS in Ermelo, Tvl, on 23 July 1990 during a rent boycott in the area.

KUBHEKA, Vusumuzi Joseph (44), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by a named IFP supporter in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 19 October 1992.

KUBHEKA, Zozo Jerry (46), a SARHWU member, disappeared after he was abducted in Germiston, Tvl, on 9 March 1987.

KUBONE, Bakwenzile Anna (42), lost his house in an arson attack near Ixopo, Natal, in June 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KUBONE, Thomas (25), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, on 17 April 1992.

KUBU, Dati David, was severely injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

KUBU, Litefo Nellie, was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

KUEBELO, Makupula (50), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 7 March 1993.

KUHLANE, Backson Mntunyane, a Port Alfred Youth Congress supporter, was shot dead by a named perpetrator in Port Alfred, Cape, on 9 May 1986 during protests over the Black Local Authority.

KUHLANE, Mzwandile (21), was tortured by named members of the Security Police in March 1987 at Bethelsdorp police station, Port Elizabeth.

KUILDER, Garth (26), was one of two people shot dead by SAP members in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 13 July 1993. Mr Kuilder, who was mentally disabled, was on his way to a shop when he was killed. There was conflict at the time between the Civic Association, the Town Council and the police, relating to housing and other local issues.

KULA, Fezile Terrance (17), was shot and injured in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 11 August 1976, as he returned home from his girlfriend's house. After the shooting, police trampled his injured leg. Eighteen people were shot dead in Guguletu that day.

KULA, Jimmy, an ADM member and a headman, was stabbed and stoned to death by named ANC supporters

in Alice, Ciskei, on 8 September 1992, in political conflict following the BISHO MASSACRE.

KULA, Lindile, was abducted along with two friends, by Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldiers in East London, who wanted to know the whereabouts of a person suspected of involvement in a planned coup in Transkei. Mr Kula was shot dead near the Kei River Bridge on 21 May 1993. A TDF soldier was granted amnesty for the abduction, but refused amnesty for the killing (AC/2000/018).

KULA, Madoda Shackleton (30), had his home burnt down by named ANC members in Alice, Ciskei, on 8 September 1992, in political conflict following the BISHO MASSACRE. Mr Kula's father was a headman and an ADM member.

KULA, Nombulelo Ida (30), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by the police in Colesberg, Cape, on 3 July 1985, while part of a demonstration against the presence of police in the community.

KULA, Nowinini Minah (66), was shot and injured by a member of the SAP who opened fire on mourners in Somerset East, Cape, on 17 March 1985.

KULANI, Ntsikelelo Eric (21), a UDF supporter, was tortured in various ways by named members of the SAP on 9 March 1985 in Uitenhage, Cape. He was later charged with public violence and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

KULATI, Nokuzola Agnes (29), a UDF supporter, was hacked to death by *amaqabane* members during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, on 26 December 1989.

KULELE, Lucky Manete, a member of the SAP, suffered damage to his property when his house was attacked with a hand grenade by MK operatives in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 10 May 1988. The explosion resulted in the death of his 14-month-old baby and severe injuries to his wife. Three MK operatives applied for amnesty for the incident. Two were granted and one was refused amnesty (AC/2000/199).

KULELE, Patience (14 months), was killed when her home was attacked with a hand grenade by MK operatives in Mamelodi, Tvl, on 10 May 1988. Her father was a member of the SAP. Her mother was severely injured in the attack. Three MK operatives applied for amnesty for the incident. Two were granted and one was refused amnesty (AC/2000/199).

KUMALO, Ayabulela (2), suffered serious burn wounds in an attack on her family home during political conflict in East London on 4 March 1986.

KUMALO, Bekuyise (60), was shot and stabbed to death at Empangeni, Natal, on 3 March 1993, during continuing political conflict in the area.

KUMALO, Bongani Jameson (24), was stabbed to death while on his way to work near Pietermaritzburg on 18 February 1989. Mr Kumalo was reportedly dragged out of the taxi he was travelling in and accused of being a UDF comrade.

KUMALO, Getrude (45), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in political conflict between the 'RED AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993.

KUMALO, Jabulisile Topsie (51), an ANC supporter, was forcibly removed from her house, assaulted and stoned by a named Special Constable in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in political conflict in the area in early 1990.

KUMALO, Johannes Dumisani, died after being stabbed with a knife and shot in Tokoza, Tvl, on 4 September 1993 during political conflict in the area.

KUMALO, Kulumilo Merinah (50), an Inkatha supporter, lost her house in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1990. Numerous people were killed that month, and others fled the area, in the ongoing clashes between Inkatha supporters and UDF supporters celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela.

KUMALO, Makhlopheli John (18), an ANC supporter, was detained and severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Bethlehem, OFS, in February 1984.

KUMALO, Mamota Rosy (55), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in April 1991 in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KUMALO, Nokwaliwa Leah (67), lost her house in an arson attack on 23 December 1991 at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KUMALO, Nomakhosazana (32), died as a result of severe burn wounds sustained in an attack by UDF supporters on her home in Duncan Village, East London, on 4 March 1986. The family was accused by the perpetrators of being AZAPO supporters.

KUMALO, Nomasonto Angela (26), was severely burnt in an attack by UDF supporters on her home in Duncan Village, East London, on 4 March 1986. The family was accused by the perpetrators of being AZAPO supporters.

KUMALO, Peseniya Caiphas (58), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1992. The perpetrators had apparently been looking for Mr Kumalo's sons, who had resisted IFP attempts to break their allegiance to the ANC.

KUMALO, Sheqe Albert (72), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KUMALO, Sholo Menesa (36), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KUMALO, Timothy Mandla, was shot and killed at iKwezi station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 August 1993 during TRAIN VIOLENCE.

KUMALO, Vuyelwa Edith (65), died as a result of severe burn wounds sustained in an attack by UDF supporters on her home in Duncan Village, East London, on 4 March 1986. The family was accused by the perpetrators of being AZAPO supporters.

KUNENE, (first name not given) (3), was shot dead on 2 August 1992 when men wearing balaclavas and armed with KWAZULU POLICE pump-action shotguns attacked several homes in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. At least 11 people, including this little girl's mother, were killed and three injured in the attack, which was thought to have been the work of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD. An amnesty application was received. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

KUNENE, (first name not given), was killed by IFP supporters in Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KUNENE, Alfred Bongani (25), was subjected to electric shock torture by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, in May 1992.

KUNENE, Alice Fikile (38), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 2 February 1992, in intense political conflict in the area. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

KUNENE, Alson Bhokamina (40), was shot dead, together with his brother, in a car ambush by Inkatha supporters at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg on 10 June 1990. The car belonged to Chief Maphumulo, president of CONTRALESA, who had organised and was expected to attend a peace meeting in the area at the time. He was himself shot dead in a targeted killing in February 1991. Earlier, IFP supporters had burnt down Mr Kunene's house and shop in the Maqongqo and Imbali areas near Pietermaritzburg in separate incidents in 1989 and early 1990.

KUNENE, Bafana Julius (42), was stabbed and beaten to death by a named Inkatha supporter in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 6 January 1990, allegedly for refusing to kill his brother, who was an ANC supporter.

KUNENE, Barry Mandla (47), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by a named SAP member in Chesterville, Durban, in April 1987 in intense political conflict in the area.

KUNENE, Bhokinduku, an ANC supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters from his home in Pietermaritzburg, on 12 March 1986, during intensifying political conflict. His body was found in Sweetwaters some days later.

KUNENE, Bhokuyise Godfrey (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when IFP members opened fire on ANC youth in Paulpietersburg, Natal, on 19 November 1993.

KUNENE, Bongani Eric, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in front of his wife in a targeted killing by members of a self-defence unit (SDU) in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 31 October 1993, on suspicion that he had become a police informer. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/027).

KUNENE, Daniel Musi (21), was shot on the left leg and injured by IFP supporters on a train in Johannesburg, on 20 January 1991. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

KUNENE, Douglas Nhlanhla (24), an ANCYL member, was shot then stabbed to death by a large group of balaclava-clad attackers, allegedly IFP supporters, in KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, on 28 March 1992.

KUNENE, Duduzile Monica (37), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down and her livestock stolen by ANC supporters at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, in April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

KUNENE, Dumisani Sifiso (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

KUNENE, Elizabeth, was assaulted by Witwatersrand Security Branch operatives at the Alexandra Security Branch offices, Johannesburg, on an unspecified date between 1989 and 1992 (AC/2001/249).

KUNENE, Francisca Khushu (40), had her home attacked and looted by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in September 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

KUNENE, Jabulani (about 21), was one of five young ANC supporters shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters during political conflict at KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, on 14 or 15 July 1991. Residents accused the security forces of involvement, and a top-level police investigation was launched. A prominent IFP chief from Phatheni was charged with these murders.

KUNENE, Jabulani Alexendra (16), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 June 1988.

KUNENE, Johannes Ngxongo (56), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack by IFP supporters on 23 June 1991 in Ndaleneni, Richmond, Natal. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

KUNENE, Lolo, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Klipspruit, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 18 August 1990 during a night vigil when the perpetrators attacked mourners, killed Mr Kunene and two others.

KUNENE, Mandla John (26), was shot dead by named members of the SAP and Security Branch in Ladysmith, Natal, on 5 April 1990, when police opened fire on a gathering of the ANC Youth Congress members in the Steadville community hall.

KUNENE, Maria Makhosazane (21), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, in 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

KUNENE, Mfana Julius (42), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by other named Inkatha supporters in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, after he was allegedly fetched to attend an IFP self-defence training camp on 5 January 1990.

KUNENE, Mildred (51), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by alleged IFP supporters in Ndaleneni, Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991, because of her political affiliation and the fact that she lived in an ANC stronghold.

KUNENE, Mjwayezeni (28), was shot and injured at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in November 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KUNENE, Mlungisi Mandlenkosi Petros (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead and then decapitated by a

named Inkatha supporter at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 7 November 1987. Mr Kunene's father was then allegedly harassed and beaten by a named Inkatha chairperson who wanted to prevent the funeral from taking place in KwaNdengezi.

KUNENE, Mndeni Simon, an Inkatha supporter, was beaten with gun-butts by Inkatha supporters at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in 1987, in conflict following the killing of his son, a UDF supporter, by IFP supporters.

KUNENE, Musa Moses (33), an ANC official, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 26 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

KUNENE, Nelson (47), was shot dead, together with his brother, in a car ambush by Inkatha supporters at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg on 10 June 1990. The car belonged to Chief Maphumulo, president of CONTRALESA, who had organised and was expected to attend a peace meeting in the area at the time. The chief was himself shot dead in a targeted killing in February 1991.

KUNENE, Ngigqalile Sizeni (36), had her home and belongings destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 18 September 1993. Her son, an ANC supporter, was killed in the attack.

KUNENE, Nhlangu (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 18 September 1993. His home was looted and vandalised in the attack.

KUNENE, Nombuso Mariam (72), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 June 1990, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

KUNENE, Nompumelelo Ethel (19), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 August 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

KUNENE, Nonhlanhla, an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 2 August 1992 when armed men wearing balaclavas attacked several homes in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

KUNENE, Ntombenhle Doris (41), had her house burnt down by named Inkatha supporters at Greytown, Natal, on 5 May 1990, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

KUNENE, Ntombisitni (47), had her home burnt down at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Ms Kunene had fled her home at the time of the attack.

KUNENE, Philanyenkosi Jouakim (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters near Vryheid, Natal, on 31 July 1993.

KUNENE, Phumzile Victoria (38), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 June 1990 in conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

KUNENE, Simon Ke, an Inkatha supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

KUNENE, Wiseman (23), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 June 1991. The perpetrators were reportedly returning from a meeting with a local induna when they met Mr Kunene in the street and stabbed him to death. One of the perpetrators was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

KUNENE, Zonzani (31), had her house damaged and livestock stolen by ANC supporters during political conflict at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in June 1993.

KUNGA, Lebu Benard (20), was shot in the back of the head by members of the SAP in Kabokweni, KaNgwane, in June 1986 during political violence in the township. Police were allegedly trying to disperse students who were attending pre-exam study sessions at the school.

KUNGOANE, Simon Makhudu (32), a traffic officer, was shot dead and robbed of his firearm by APLA members in Area 6, Pimville, Tvl, on 20 August 1991. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0053).

KUNGWAYO, Eric Mtutuzeli (37), died after being 'necklaced' by AZAPO members during political conflict between AZAPO and UDF supporters at Magaleni, near Port Elizabeth, on 13 December 1985.

KUNNEKE, PJ, a constable in the SAP, was severely injured when a limpet mine planted by an MK operative from the 'Dolphin Unit' exploded at the entrance of the Railway Police Radio headquarters, Johannesburg, on 24 August 1984. Four police officers and two civilians were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

KUNTAKANA, Mr (first name not given), survived an attack by SADF Special Forces and *Vlakplaas* operatives on homes at Ditlharapeng village, Ramathlabama, Botswana, 1000 metres from the South African border, on 11 December 1988. An MK operative and a 15-year-old boy were killed and three homes were destroyed. The *Vlakplaas* commander and eight of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/108).

KUPE, Ncedile Ephraim, a member of the SAP, died from gunshot wounds sustained during a shoot-out between the police and two MK operatives at Dweza, Transkei, on 22 January 1987. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/2000/240).

KUTOANE, Joseph, was shot dead by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960.

KUTOANE, Seabata Azael Gordon (28), was severely injured by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960. Sixty-nine people were killed, including Mr Kutoane's brother, and many others were injured.

KUTU, Abel Mzwentlanga 'Fisherman' (24), was beaten by members of the SAP in Paballelo, Upington, Cape, on 13 November 1985. With 25 others, he was charged for the crowd killing of a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN,

and was sentenced to six years in prison, overturned on appeal in 1991. See UPINGTON 26.

KUTU, Kgabuso David (50), was severely beaten and tortured by members of the Special Branch in Warmbad, Tvl, on 12 September 1989. Mr Kutu was the Bela-Bela branch chairperson of the Post and Telecommunications Workers Association at a time of rent boycotts, strikes and stayaways.

KUTUMELA, Lesiba David (21), was arrested and detained for four years after participating in the launching of COSAS in his community in November 1979 in Pietersburg, Tvl. During interrogation he was forced to give information concerning ANC activities, arms and where they were hidden.

KUTUMELA, Lucky Makombo, died on 5 April 1986 of a brain haemorrhage following a day's assault in detention by members of the Lebowa Police in Mookgophong, Lebowa. Mr Kutumela had been detained after a meeting to list police brutalities.

KUTWANA, William, was injured when a car bomb exploded outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's court on 20 May 1987. Four policemen were killed in the explosion, which took place after a decoy smaller bomb had lured them to the scene. Two other people were injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0067).

KUTWANE, Sophie, suffered severe damage to house and property as a result of a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

KUWANA, Nonkululeko Edith (31), was shot and injured in Vereeniging, Tvl, on 26 June 1990 when members of the SAP allegedly opened fire on youths who were throwing stones at them.

KUZWAYO, Emelina Doreen (38), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down and her possessions stolen in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 20 August 1990 in intensified conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

KUZWAYO, Matole Philemon (55), a NUM member, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters at Richards Bay, Natal, in 1986, during a dispute between NUM and Iscor.

KUZWAYO, Mfanomuhle Gideon (45), was shot and severely injured in a drive-by shooting by members of the ISU in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 February 1994. Mr Kuzwayo was in his yard at home when he was hit.

KUZWAYO, Ndoloza Maria (57), was severely assaulted and stabbed by IFP supporters in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 October 1992, because she was thought to be an ANC sympathiser.

KUZWAYO, Tumani (80), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

KWANAITE, Kgabo Philipina (59), lost her house in an arson attack in Ellissras, Tvl, on 6 March 1981 because she supported Chief S Shongoane during

conflict between the chief and Chief W Shongoane. The attack on Ms Kwanaite occurred after Chief W Shongoane was shot dead.

KWANE, Martha Nyenye (20), was assaulted, raped and then stabbed to death in Bethlehem, OFS, on 6 March 1985, allegedly by fellow pupils, in clashes between pupils observing a schools boycott and those who were not. Five other pupils were injured in these clashes.

KWAPE, Mohditso Moeketsi, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

KWAPE, William Molefe Hosiah, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

KWASI, Kenewang Esther (59), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, in 1988 because her community was resisting Mangope's appointment of Chief Molale in the place of Chief Makurungoane.

KWATI, Simanko Frans (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Bophuthatswana Police in Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, on 8 January 1991 at a prayer meeting at a house burnt down by a pro-Bophuthatswana group. Police surrounded the house, fired tear gas and opened fire on the occupants.

KWAYI, Amon, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in a station subway in Johannesburg, in September 1991.

KWAYIMANI, Christopher (38), was shot dead on 10 June 1986 in Nyanga, Cape Town, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

KWAYINTO, Stolutolo (35), had his house burnt down by members of the Peace Force and the ADM in Stutterheim, Cape, in September 1992, allegedly because he opposed the reimposition of the headman system.

KWAZA, Minah Baba (39), was the target of persistent police harassment from 1985 to 1987 in Paballelo, Upington, Cape. She and her children were regularly beaten, when police searched the house for her son, a political activist. Her son was shot dead in July 1987.

KWAZA, Nomkhanyelo Victoria (23), was shot dead when men in a car opened fire on a group watching a protest march in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 25 October 1990. Ms Kwaza was six months pregnant. At least eight people were killed that day by police and supporters of the Lingeletu West Town Council,

during and after a mass march to express community opposition to the council.

KWAZA, Shadrack, a youth activist, was shot dead in Paballelo, Upington, Cape, on 17 July 1987, allegedly by MUNICIPAL POLICEMEN who were patrolling the township. He had been constantly harassed and assaulted by Upington police from 1985 to 1987.

KWEHLA, Theron Matinise (22), was severely assaulted with sjamboks at his home by members of the Ciskei Defence Force in King William's Town, Cape, in 1992. He and three other youths suspected of involvement in the burning of a soldier's home were then taken away by the soldiers and beaten and tortured throughout the night before being sent home.

KWELA, Emerald Sandile, was assaulted and killed by named Inkatha supporters in an attack on his home at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in November 1987 during political conflict in the area. His mother and brother were injured in the attack.

KWELA, Jabulani Timothy, was stabbed and severely injured by named Inkatha supporters in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in November 1987 during political conflict in the area. His brother was killed in the attack, and his mother was injured. Their house had been burnt down earlier that year.

KWELA, Phumuzile Claudia (52), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, during March 1987 in political conflict in the area. She was severely beaten as she tried to escape. One of her sons was killed and another injured later that year.

KWENA, Matshedisho Gloria (18), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 9 October 1988. Ms Kwenas was among villagers who had gathered for a meeting to protest the rule of Lucas Mangope.

KWENAITE, Ngwako Johannes (53), was severely beaten and injured in detention by members of the Lebowa Police in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 16 February 1991 during a labour dispute about living wages. Mr Kwenas is now blind.

KWENDA, Sifiso Patrick (18), was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 22 June 1993 by named members of the SAP looking for criminal suspects. Mr Kwenda's sister witnessed the shooting and alleges that the members of the SAP at the scene apologised for her brother's death. The police, however, subsequently charged the deceased Mr Kwenda for resisting arrest and robbery of a firearm.

KWETEPANE, Masoga Philemon (43), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 1 May 1992.

KWEYAMA, Ambrose Bekizizwe (62), had his house burnt down in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area in 1993.

KWEYAMA, Austine, an ANC supporter, had his house and possessions burnt by a named Inkatha member in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in May 1987, allegedly because his family opposed the payment of fees to Inkatha. In a recruitment drive launched by Inkatha in

the Edendale and Vulindlela valleys that month, CAPRIVI TRAINEES were deployed to these two areas, and at least ten people died in political violence.

KWEYAMA, Bernard (43), lost his home in an arson attack in Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area in 1991.

KWEYAMA, Bhakintaba Bernard, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 November 1991 in ongoing conflict between supporters of the ANC and the IFP in the area.

KWEYAMA, Bhakizitha Johnson (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 4 June 1993.

KWEYAMA, Bhakoni (19), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by an Inkatha supporter in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1989.

KWEYAMA, Khethukuthula Wiseman, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and burnt to death in Umlazi, Durban, on 4 June 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KWEYAMA, Likhawu Armstrong (44), was forced to flee his home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in May 1989 for fear of an attack by Inkatha supporters because his family opposed the payment of fees to Inkatha. In a recruitment drive launched by Inkatha in the Edendale and Vulindlela valleys that month, CAPRIVI TRAINEES were deployed to these two areas, and at least ten people died in political violence.

KWEYAMA, Mabhozi Isaac (69), an ANC supporter, had his home looted by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 August 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

KWEYAMA, Mthethawuvumi (26), had his home at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 18 March 1990.

KWEYAMA, Nhlanhla Emanuel (22), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 31 July 1988.

KWEYAMA, Ntombihleziphi Grace (45), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 18 September 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KWEYAMA, Richman Zama, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 16 October 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

KWEYAMA, Skhumbuzo (22), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1990.

KWEYAMA, Thandeka Rejoice (29), had her home at Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

KWEYAMA, Thembeni Mavis, a UDF supporter, had her house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes

burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

KWEYAMA, Thembokwakhe James (32), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters while on his way home from a meeting at Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, on 19 June 1990. Three other UDF supporters were also killed in the attack.

KWEZI, Ntsikelelo Abdul (25), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in June 1985, while attending a funeral in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth.

KWINANA, Alfred, was stabbed to death when IFP supporters attacked the informal settlement of Swanieville, Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991 in retaliation for the earlier abduction of two hostel residents. Twenty-seven people were killed and 115 shacks and 25 vehicles were set alight. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

KWINANGA, C, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

KWINDA, Tshinane Daphney (16), was assaulted by members of the Venda Police in Thohoyandou, Venda, on 11 August 1988 during a protest march by pupils.

KWINDLA, Joseph Themba (52), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP while being arrested at his home in Kwezi, Hanover, Cape, on 12 June 1986, after which he was detained for three months in George prison under emergency regulations. He was again arrested and severely beaten and tortured in September 1986 after being accused of stealing a weapon. The charges against him were later withdrawn. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

KWIPI, Nonzima Patricia (21), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Cape Town, on 21 March 1960, while she was walking near an anti-Pass demonstration.

KWISOMBA, Henry (30), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 27 December 1976. The shooting took place during political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels over the Christmas 1976 period.

KWUZWAYO, Khumbulani, was shot dead by a named perpetrator in Mapumulo, KwaZulu, near Greytown, Natal, in 1985, during intensifying political conflict in the area.

KYDE, Brian (11), was shot by members of the SAP in Noordgesig, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1980 while walking home with his grandmother. Political tension in the area was high as many people were commemorating the SOWETO UPRISING of 1976.

LABUSCHAGNE, Casper Jeremiah, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven

people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

LABUSCHAGNE, Lynette Vicki, was severely injured when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

LADIERA, Johnny, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

LADIERA, Louis Gornes, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

LADLOKOVA, Mzolisi Pilton (43), a PAC supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at his *spaza* shop in Qumbu, Transkei, on 2 January 1992 during political conflict in the area.

LAHNER, Z, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their various roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

LAKABE, Thomas Pule, was stabbed to death on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

LAKEYI, Meanwell (23), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in George, Cape, on 15 February 1986, during protests by residents against the pending forced removal of the Lawaikamp settlement to Sandkraal.

LALA, Nelson, was injured when a pipe bomb planted by members of the AWB exploded on 25 April 1994 at a taxi rank on the corner of Blood Street and Seventh Avenue in Pretoria. Three people were killed and four injured in the blast. During the pre-election period the AWB targeted taxi ranks, bus stops and railway stations, predominantly used by black people, the majority of whom they believed to be ANC supporters, in order to derail the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Six perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342).

LALA, Thozamile Solomon (39), was shot by members of the SAP in Vereeniging, Tvl, in 1993. Mr Lala was walking with his sons at the time of the attack.

LALI, Zwelitsha (33), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

LALLA, Raymond, an ANC/SACP member, was tortured at Bethlehem, OFS, by Port Natal Security Branch members during interrogation on 13 July 1990 in connection with an ANC operation codenamed Vula. Four Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/120).

LAMANI, Edward Madonela (58), lost his home in an arson attack in June 1986 during the mass destruction of KTC informal settlement, Cape Town, by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

LAMANI, Kholisile Headman (21), a UDF supporter, was shot by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Grahamstown, Cape, on 8 December 1985. Police had implicated Mr Lamani in an attack on councillors' houses in the area.

LAMANI, Tango Dumile (24), was detained on 24 July 1986 during the state of emergency in Zwide, Port Elizabeth. While in detention, he was tortured by attempted suffocation. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

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

LAMBERT, Rob, suffered severe emotional trauma as a result of an arson attack on Khanya House, the headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, in Pretoria on 12 October 1988. The victims were trapped in the burning building for some time before being rescued. Twelve *Vlakplaas* operatives and seven other Security Branch Headquarters operatives, including senior personnel, were granted amnesty (AC/2000/215).

LAMOLA, Piet Molatlhegi (61), was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Zeerust, Tvl, on 5 January 1991. Mr Lamola was accused of burning down a house during a period of intense violence in the area.

LAMPRECHT, Craig, a scholar, was injured when APLA operatives opened fire on the vehicle in which he was travelling at Eikenhof, Tvl, on 19 March 1993. The perpetrators had allegedly targeted a schoolbus conveying white children, and attacked the Mitchley vehicle when this failed. Three people were killed and two were injured in the attack. One APLA operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/147).

LAMULA, Bongani Petros (27), was shot and severely injured by members of the SADF at his aunt's house at Mshayazafe, Mooi River, Natal, on 20 June 1991 in a period of intense political violence in the area.

LAMULA, Zibonele Jahannes (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP near Howick, Natal, on 15 November 1985 in political conflict between COSATU-aligned union members at the Sarmcol plant in Mpophomeni, and Inkatha supporters, allegedly supported by the SAP.

LANDE, Kolisile Christopher, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP during the anti-Pass Law campaign in Langa, Cape Town, on 30 March 1960.

LANDE, Nkosana (13), was repeatedly tortured by named members of the SAP at the Da Gamas Kop police station in Mossel Bay, Cape, in 1985. He was convicted of public violence and given lashes, even though the house he was accused of burning down belonged to his sister.

LANDINGWE, Danile Julius (27), a member of the BPC and SASO, was detained in 1974 in Cape Town, after which he was transferred to Pretoria where he was tortured and held for 361 days. In 1976 and 1977 he was again detained and subjected to severe torture, including the use of electric shocks. He was one of the accused in the 'Bethal trial' in which he was sentenced to an eight-year prison term. See BETHAL 18. He was released in 1986.

LANDINGWE, Lilly Wikha (46), had her house and possessions burnt by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in November 1993. Her son, an ANC supporter, was killed in the attack.

LANDINGWE, Mandla Patrick (26), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in an attack on his home in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 7 November 1993.

LANDMAN, Annamarie (36), was shot and severely injured in the Silverton bank siege, Pretoria, on 25 January 1980 when three MK operatives held her hostage during a raid on the bank in which she worked. Five people, including the three MK operatives, were killed during a gunfight after police stormed the bank. Several others were injured.

LANDU, Vusumzi Khotso Patrick (21), an ANC supporter, died in Livingstone Hospital, Port Elizabeth, on 23 May 1986 after he had been shot by members of the SAP and SADF during a period of consumer boycotts and political conflict.

LANGA, Amon (36), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 9 March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

LANGA, Audrey Thoko, a UDF supporter, had her house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes

burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

LANGA, Babini, was displaced after his house was demolished by members of the Transkei Police in August 1970 in Umtata, Transkei.

LANGA, Benjamin, an ANC activist, was shot dead by MK operatives at his home in Pietermaritzburg on 20 May 1984. The instruction for the killing had come from a senior operative in MK's Swaziland structures who believed Mr Langa to be a police informer. This turned out to be misinformation possibly planted by a state agent. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/157).

LANGA, Bester (42), an IFP supporter, was stabbed by ANC supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in November 1990.

LANGA, Bongani (25), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death and thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters at New Canada, Tvl, in October 1993. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

LANGA, Bongani Selby (28), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, in November 1990. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

LANGA, Bonginkosi Aubrey, an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

LANGA, Christine Shirley (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 December 1992. The attack was allegedly the work of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD.

LANGA, Diphapang Marcus Mareka (17), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured at a Parys police station, OFS, in June 1984, allegedly because of his involvement in an organised SCHOOL BOYCOTT.

LANGA, Emmanuel, was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

LANGA, Gilbert Mandlenkosi (57), was shot dead and his body later set alight in Katlehong, Tvl, on 4 July 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

LANGA, Jabulani Nkosenye, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

LANGA, John (40), an ANC supporter, died from multiple injuries inflicted by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991, in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

LANGA, Lerato (1), was shot and injured when unidentified gunmen opened fire on children playing at a party in Daveyton, Tvl, on 13 August 1991.

LANGA, Lindeni Ivy (52), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed by IFP supporters in an arson attack at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in April 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

LANGA, Lucky Thulani (30), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 26 June 1989, during political conflict.

LANGA, Magcekeni Herbert (48), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in November 1990. His wife was stabbed and severely injured in the attack.

LANGA, Mbongeni Robert (39), died from injuries sustained when his room in Katlehong, Tvl, was petrol-bombed on 13 May 1991 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

LANGA, Mfundisi Douglas (35), an ANC supporter, was shot at by members of the KWAZULU POLICE while he was in his home in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in June 1990 during intense political conflict in the area.

LANGA, Michael Ngamula (35), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Durban on 12 March 1993 during continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

LANGA, Michael, was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

LANGA, Ms (first name not given), was publicly assaulted in Hambanathi, near Durban, on 5 May 1985, allegedly by Inkatha supporters who were possessing the homes of UDF supporters at a time of political conflict. Other women lost their homes in the same attack.

LANGA, Mvakashi (47), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death, allegedly by ANC supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 14 August 1990.

LANGA, Mzu Caiphaz (47), an IFP supporter, was shot dead on 14 February 1994 in Durban, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

LANGA, Nkosinathi Emmanuel (34), had his home and possessions destroyed in an arson attack on 24 March 1992 in Empangeni, Natal, during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

LANGA, Nombulele, was shot dead by alleged members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 13 August 1991.

LANGA, Phaphamani (40), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at his home in Umlazi, Durban, on 24 August 1992, by men wearing camouflage uniforms,

who first threw teargas into the house. The attack occurred at a time of intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

LANGA, Phumzile Josephina (50), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during February 1990, following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February. Ms Langa's son was killed in the attack.

LANGA, Sibuku Petros, was shot dead when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

LANGA, Thembelani Reginald (21), was severely tortured while in detention in Welkom, OFS, in 1980. Mr Langa was involved in a SCHOOL BOYCOTT at the time.

LANGA, Vukani Melusi (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 26 February 1990, following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February.

LANGA, Wellington Phungulu (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 8 October 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

LANGA, Zoleka Rosemary (36), an ANC supporter, was tortured with electric shocks at the Bizana police station, Transkei, in 1989.

LANGBOOI, Bulelwa Cynthia Sbenge (19), was shot and injured in Kirkwood, Cape, on 12 April 1993, when members of the SAP opened fire on a demonstration to protest against the killing of ANC/SACP/MK leader, Chris Hani.

LANGENHOVEN, John Christoffel 'Ivan' (21), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Valhalla Park, Cape Town, on 18 September 1985. Numerous indiscriminate assaults and another shooting by police were reported by residents in the area that day.

LANGFORD, Bernadette Sharon (22), a civilian, was shot and killed when APLA operatives attacked the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town, on 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026).

LANGRIDGE, E, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

LAPSLEY, Michael Alan (41), lost both hands and an eye as well as suffering other serious injuries in a letter-bomb attack in April 1990 in Harare, Zimbabwe. Father Lapsley, an Anglican priest from New Zealand, had previously been expelled from South Africa and Lesotho for his active support of the South African liberation movements. The Commission found that the attempted killing of Father Lapsley was a South African Security Force operation.

LATA, Petros Kufakwezwe, an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death in Ndeleni, Richmond,

Natal, in July 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

LATHA, Bangizwe Eric (27), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by fellow ANC supporters in KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, on 11 March 1991 in an internal power struggle.

LATHA, Fakazani Albertina (43), an IFP supporter, had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack in Umkomaas, near Durban, during 1992 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

LATHA, Jemina, was shot dead on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

LATHA, Lindiwe Julia, was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

LATHA, Lindiwe, was shot dead on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

LATHA, Mana Esther (54), an ANC supporter, had her house looted and destroyed by IFP supporters, allegedly escorted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, at Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, in January 1993.

LATHA, Nomvula Jemina, was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

LATHA, Samuel, was injured in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

LATHA, Zamide Dymon, was injured and suffered damage to property in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

LAUFS, Bernett (39), was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

LAUFS, Carol (36), was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on

the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

LAW, Stanley (55), lost his house and minibus in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993 in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

LAWANA, Mzuvukile Maxwell (18), was severely beaten by members of the SAP during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in Alice, Ciskei, on 5 August 1985.

LAWRENCE, Edward (aka 'Fear', 'Ralph Mgcina' and 'Cyril Raymonds'), an MK operative, survived an attack on a house in Manzini, Swaziland by a joint *Vlakplaas* and Eastern Transvaal Security Branch team on 22 November 1983. Mr Lawrence was later held in ANC custody on suspicion of being an informer, and subsequently died. The Security Branch denied that he had been an informer. One member from Security Branch Headquarters, responsible for authorising the attack, and four Eastern Transvaal and three *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for the Manzini incident (AC/2000/086 and AC/1999/031).

LE BRUN, Louis James (46), a railway employee collecting garbage near a railway station, was severely beaten and stabbed by a group of PAC-supporting students in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 25 August 1993. An American student was killed later the same day in similar circumstances.

LE CLUE, Jenny, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

LE CLUE, Noel, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

LE ROUX, AJ, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

LE ROUX, Albert Marthinus, a corporal in the SADF, was killed in a landmine explosion at Diepgezet, Barberton, Tvl, on 2 November 1986. Corporal le Roux

was on horseback when he detonated a landmine, planted by MK operatives as part of 'Operation Ceshwayo', the MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/111). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

LE ROUX, Anna Elizabeth Gerendina (34), was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

LE ROUX, Jakomiema Fransiena, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

LEAF, Kevin, a school principal, suffered damage to property on 8 April 1986 when MK operatives threw a hand grenade at his house in Wentworth, Durban. He was targeted because he was a senior member of the Labour Party and was suspected of being a police reservist. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

LEAKOHILE, Moses Moshweunyane (41), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at an ANC meeting in Taung, Bophuthatswana, in April 1990.

LEBAKENG, Koena Steven (20), an AZAPO supporter, was detained under emergency legislation and assaulted by members of the SAP in Phuthaditjhaba, QwaQwa, in November 1986. Mr Lebakeng was detained together with three other AZAPO members, allegedly because they had been involved in an arson attack at their school.

LEBALLO, Tiisetso (27), an MK cadre, was killed in an explosion at Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 23 March 1992. A named *Vlakplaas* member was imprisoned for the attack.

LEBATLA, Sisi Emily (46), an ANC supporter, was injured in an arson attack on her home in Rweleleyathunya, Rouxville, OFS, on 9 September 1990. The attack was carried out by members of the INKATHA GANG.

LEBEBE, Ramokoni Queen (42), lost her house in an arson attack at GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980 during a dispute between supporters of rival chiefs. Ms Lebebe was attacked because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

LEBELO, Theophilus Sethe (17), was shot by members of the SAP during a rent boycott in Bela-Bela, Warmbaths, Tvl, in December 1985.

LEBELWANE, Victor Kabelo, an ANC supporter, was abducted and killed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, on 11 August 1992.

LEBEOANA, Stevenson Brown (15), was killed in an unspecified manner in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 September 1984, during the VAAL UPRISING. Stevenson was on his way home from school when he saw Casspirs and started to run. His body was later found with a blue mark on his left temple.

LEBEPE, Johannes (37), was stabbed and injured by Inkatha supporters in Tsakane, Tvl, on 8 May 1985 during conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers in the area.

LEBEREKO, Fish Ben, was stabbed and hacked to death by AZAPO supporters at his home in Bekkersdal, Tvl, on 3 February 1991 during conflict between AZAPO and ANC supporters.

LEBEREKO, Litshoane Elizabeth (52), was severely beaten by AZAPO supporters in Bekkersdal, Tvl, on 3 February 1991 during conflict between AZAPO and ANC supporters.

LEBESE, Mdungwadi (31), died after he was beaten and taken into custody by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Hammanskraal, Tvl, in February 1987.

LEBETE, Watkins (30), an ANC supporter, was killed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 11 March 1994. There was a march in progress at the time of the incident.

LEBETHE, Karel, a traffic officer, was shot at by MK operatives in Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 27 September 1991. The MK operatives were escaping arrest after being stopped at a roadblock by traffic officers. Several other traffic officers were also injured and a passing motorist was shot dead and robbed of his vehicle by the fleeing operatives. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1998/0091).

LEBETHE, Romanne Phillip (16), lost an eye when a hand grenade was thrown at him in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 17 November 1991.

LEBOGO, Ketetsi Elbon (56), lost his home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, in an arson attack by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 because Mr Ketetsi resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

LEBOGO, Ledile (64), had her house burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

LEBOGO, Mamolelelo (54), had her house burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

LEBOGO, Maphuti Maria (61), had her house burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

LEBOGO, Mosima Nelly (50), had her house burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

LEBOKO, Joseph Lesoana (20), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 March 1990 while taking part in an ANC-organised march to protest against high rents.

LEBOKO, Tsietzi, died on 11 May 1991 after he had been repeatedly stabbed by SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) members in Maokeng, Kroonstad, OFS, during a period of clashes between the SDU and the THREE MILLION GANG. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/96/0006 and AC/97/0050).

LEBOPO, Puleng Martha (66), was petrol-bombed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in her home in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 4 April 1986.

LEBURU, Naledi Esrael, was tear gassed and assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 15 September 1988 in Taung, Bophuthatswana, because he resisted the homeland government in Taung.

LEBURU, Tsietsi Ismael (21), an ANCYL supporter, was detained and severely assaulted by a member of the SAP in Kroonstad police station, OFS, on 11 August 1990, allegedly for failing to report daily to the police station while out on bail on a public violence charge.

LEBUSO, Sindiswa Winnifred (23), was dispossessed of her home and possessions and deported to Mount Fletcher, Transkei, in March 1964 during the banning of the ANC and PAC.

LECHEKO, Mamotebang Emily (19), an ANC supporter, was beaten and kicked by members of the Transkei Police at her home in Matatiele, Natal, on 7 February 1990 during an organised boycott.

LEDGERWOOD, Timothy John (20), was repeatedly tortured by members of the Security Branch in Zeerust, Tvl, in October 1981.

LEDULA, Shadrack (18), an ANCYL supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 10 December 1993.

LEDWABA, Alina Qeta (36), was injured when AWB members detonated a pipe bomb at a taxi rank on the corner of Third and Park Streets in Randfontein, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Six people were injured in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

LEDWABA, Elizabeth Ramatsubane (64), was severely injured when an explosive device was thrown into her home in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, by members of a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch on 18 September 1986. One family member was injured and her son killed, while another son, who was the target of the attack, escaped unharmed. The divisional commander of Northern Transvaal Security Branch and three of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/136).

LEDWABA, Jacob, was shot dead by an alleged member of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

LEDWABA, Johanna Rakgadi (12), was shot by members of the SAP on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING.

LEDWABA, Johannes, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986 while attending a rally to discuss mass detention and POLICE BRUTALITY in the area. His body disappeared immediately after the incident.

LEDWABA, Lawrence Mphodisa (20), a COSAS supporter, was shot dead by members of the JACKROLLERS GANG in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 August 1990.

LEDWABA, Lesiba Elias (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 19 April 1994 when

members of the ISU pursuing a group of youths opened fire on Mr Ledwaba and other family members at his home. Two other family members were injured and another friend died later that day. This incident took place in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTION.

LEDWABA, Lucy Nono (13), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 15 February 1986 during the mass funeral of a UDF supporter.

LEDWABA, Masabata Mirriam (26), was beaten by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in August 1986 at a night vigil for a 'comrade' shot by the police.

LEDWABA, May, survived an attempt on his life when an explosive device was thrown into his home in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, by a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch on 18 September 1986. His brother was killed, and his mother and another family member were injured. The divisional commander of Northern Transvaal Security Branch and three of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/136).

LEDWABA, Motswaledi Johannes (19), was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Motetema, Lebowa, on 26 February 1986.

LEDWABA, Stanley Moalusi (28), disappeared from his home in Tembisa, Tvl, on 7 June 1986, five days before the declaration of the state of emergency.

LEDWABA, Walter (17), was killed when an explosive device was thrown into his home in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, by a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch on 18 September 1986. Two other family member were also injured in the explosion, while his brother, who was the target of the attack, escaped unharmed. The divisional commander of Northern Transvaal Security Branch and three of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/136).

LEEMANS, Ivan (23), was severely beaten on his arrest with over 60 other youth for public violence in Robertson, Cape, on 20 November 1985. He was detained on 16 June 1986 and held for several months under emergency regulations at Victor Verster prison, Paarl.

LEEPILOE, Joseph (26), was detained in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 28 May 1984 and was kept in solitary confinement for six weeks. Mr Leepile was returning from exile at the time of his arrest.

LEEUEW, Libakiso Sinah (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Smithfield, OFS, on 19 April 1990, when police opened fire on protesters involved in a SCHOOL BOYCOTT. The vehicle was burnt and destroyed. Two months later, she was detained and tortured, allegedly for information about the names and activities of other ANC supporters.

LEEUEW, Tshidiso Isaiah (37), an ANC supporter and FAWU member, was severely beaten in his home by members of the Bophuthatswana police in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, on 1 May 1993.

LEEUEWS CHILD, Elsabe Charmaine, sustained damage to her property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in

Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

LEFAKANE, Tshehla Simon (62), an ANC supporter, was stabbed in the eye by IFP supporters on a train between Jeppe and Benrose stations, Tvl, on 13 September 1990. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

LEFHEIDI, Justinah (19), was raped and shot dead in her home by IFP supporters in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 19 April 1992. The perpetrators raped three women and then killed seven people. The house was attacked because the Lefheidi family were ANC supporters. Ms Lefhiedi's brother was an MK operative and had recently been killed by members of the SAP.

LEFHEIDI, Zacharia, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 19 April 1992 in his home in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl. The perpetrators raped three women before killing seven people. The home was attacked because the Lefheidi family were ANC supporters. Mr Lefhiedi's brother was an MK operative who had recently been killed by members of the SAP.

LEFHIEDE, Khabi Elias (22), an MK operative, was shot and killed in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 27 February 1994 during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

LEFHIEDI, Elias Rangoane (22), an MK operative, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 24 January 1992. Police were searching for arms and ammunition allegedly belonging to Mr Lefhiedi. Mr Lefhiedi was in a safe house with a fellow operative when they were killed.

LEFHIEDI, Lekhooa Elias (47), was shot dead, by IFP supporters in his home in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 19 April 1992. The perpetrators raped two women before killing seven people. Mr Lefheidi's home was targeted because his son was an MK operative.

LEFHIEDI, Matshediso Johanna, was shot dead by IFP supporters in her home in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 19 April 1992. The perpetrators raped three women before killing a total of seven people. The home was attacked because the Lefheidi family were ANC supporters. Ms Lefhiedi's brother was an MK operative and had recently been killed by members of the SAP.

LEFHIEDI, Wesi (6), was shot dead by IFP supporters in his home in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 19 April 1992 along with other family members. The perpetrators raped three women before killing a total of seven people. The home was attacked because the Lefheidi family were ANC supporters. Wesi's brother was an MK operative who had recently been killed by members of the SAP.

LEFOKA, Tshivhidzo Frank (18), was beaten and severely burnt by a named perpetrator in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, on 8 December 1989, apparently in retaliation for a series of attacks on farmers in the area.

LEGARE, Mkhokho Simon (51), an ANC supporter, was subjected to a number of house searches and beatings by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, in 1988.

LEGETHO, Adeline Puleng (40), was beaten with *knobkieries* by supporters of a local chief in her home in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in August 1976.

LEGOABE, Adam Mokokotedi, and other SAP members, survived an explosion when the armoured vehicle in which they were travelling detonated a landmine in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 16 February 1986. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his part in causing the explosion (AC/2000/195). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

LEGODI, Philip Mahwiti (23), was left a paraplegic after being shot by members of the Lebowa Police in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 1 May 1989 during a Workers' Day commemoration. He died from his injuries a few years later.

LEGWETE, Maki Francina, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, on 22 January 1986 while attending a student meeting at St Peter's Primary School.

LEHOBYE, Malose John (28), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 7 March 1990 during a protest march by residents against high rentals and poor services. Mr Lehobye was also detained several times in 1978.

LEHOKO, Samuel Winston (26), was arrested, stripped naked and tortured in John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, while participating in a strike in 1979. Mr Lehoko had recently returned from Lesotho.

LEHOMO, Doctor Mahlodi (10), was shot dead and then run over by a police vehicle in Katshele, Tvl, on 4 August 1993 during the funeral of a civic leader reportedly killed by the police. A named member of the SAP was found responsible for Doctor Lehomo's death in subsequent inquest proceedings.

LEHPADI, John Modisaotlile, was strangled by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, on 18 October 1989. Mr Lehphadi was the legal representative for people involved in an attempted coup against the former Bophuthatswana government.

LEKABE, Modise Jacob (18), was sjambokked and kicked by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 16 May 1989 while travelling to school.

LEKABE, Thomas Phule, was injured and suffered damage to property in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

LEKALAKALA, Mokaetsi Letta (81), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Naboomspruit, Tvl, in April 1990 during a rent boycott in the area.

LEKALAKALA, Monica Lina (36), was injured when she was shot in the back by a named member of the right-wing organisation *Wit Wolwe* in Pretoria, on 15 November 1988. The perpetrator was sentenced to death but later indemnified and released under a deal between the ANC and the National Party government.

LEKALAKALA, Rasenono Shadrack (23), was abducted by the occupants of a white minibus from a street in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 10 April 1991. Two months later his family received a call from a local

undertaker to come and identify his body which was full of bullet wounds.

LEKALAKALA, Seketla Phillip (25), was arrested in April 1993, during a march protesting the assassination of SACP leader CHRIS HANI, and detained for three months in the Naboomspruit police station, Tvl.

LEKATSA, Samuel Molefe (19), a member of COSAS, was seriously injured when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

LEKGEHLE, Tosi (18), a member of the EAGLES CLUB, was severely beaten when ANC supporters attacked him and five other 'Eagles Club' members in Qhoweng, Reddersburg, OFS, in 1989, allegedly because of their involvement with the club.

LEKGETHISO, Justice (32), was repeatedly beaten over a period of 21 days by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at the Motswedi police station in Rustenburg, Tvl, during community resistance in 1991 against the INCORPORATION of Braklaagte into Bophuthatswana.

LEKGOTHOANE, Bishop Victor (35), was abducted from Dube hostel, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 12 July 1990. His charred body was found the next day. This incident occurred during escalating conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

LEKGWATHE, George, was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by an MK operative from the 'Dolphin Unit', exploded at the entrance to the Department of Foreign Affairs building in Johannesburg on 15 December 1983. Seven people were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

LEKHEHLE, Samson Mabaki Sami (22), a member of the EAGLES CLUB, was severely beaten when ANC supporters attacked him and five other 'Eagles Club' members in Qhoweng, Reddersburg, OFS, in 1989, allegedly because of their involvement with the club.

LEKHESI, Petrus Thembeni (13), was shot in the face by a member of the SAP at Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 11 February 1990 during celebrations of the release of Nelson Mandela.

LEKHULENI, Paulos Mahola, was shot dead by members of the SAP while attending a protest march in Kabokweni, KaNgwane, on 7 February 1986.

LEKHULENI, Siphon Marcus (17), was shot in the stomach and both hands by a named member of the SAP in Machadodorp, Tvl, in April 1986, during a community protest march for better houses and the reconstruction of roads.

LEKOALETSO, Palesa Nthato Aletta (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP during a legal march organised by COSATU, UDF and COSAS in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 January 1990.

LEKOMA, Nicholas, was severely beaten on 29 March 1992 during his detention in Taung, Bophuthatswana. He was arrested during a march by residents calling for the resignation of President Mangope.

LEKONDENI, Joseph, a member of the SAP, survived an armed attack by MK operatives on the Orlando police station in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 November 1979. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

LEKONE, Cassuis (17), a UDF supporter, was attacked and beaten with batons by members of the SAP in Munsieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 26 April 1986 while attending the funeral of a fellow activist. He died later in hospital.

LEKWANA, Ezekiel Zakes (16), was shot with a tear gas cannister by a member of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 15 August 1984 during a school boycott. He lost an eye later as a result of his injury.

LEKWAPE, Kgosietsile Paul (44), was severely beaten over 24 hours by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 26 October 1993.

LELE, Charles (68), had his home burnt down on 20 May 1988 near Crossroads, Nyanga, Cape Town, after being given an ultimatum to move, by Crossroads town councillors. Arson attacks were a common form of forcing opponents to leave the Crossroads area.

LELEKI, Mxolisi Canwell (35), an MK operative, was stabbed by named ANC supporters in East London on 19 April 1993, after being accused of being a police collaborator.

LEMAOANE, Puseletso Phillip (44), disappeared in Germiston, Tvl, on 25 March 1992 and was found dead three weeks later in the Germiston mortuary.

LEMBEDE, Hezekial Mandla (23), a UDF supporter, died from multiple wounds inflicted by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 31 December 1988.

LEMBEDE, Saraphina, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

LEMBEDE, W, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE during political violence in Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992.

LEMBETHE, Nompucuko Bongiwe Bertina (39), was killed on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which she was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

LEMBETHE, Tobsie Cabangile (42), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Emathunzi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in October 1992.

LEMBETHE, Vusumzi, died in Umfolozi, Natal, on 30 January 1994 after being shot in the heart and the head. Mr Lembethe was suspected of being an IFP supporter involved in a number of deaths in the area. An ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/2001/043).

LEMPHANE, Michael Bekuzulu (59), lost his home in an arson attack in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, on 4 December 1976 during a dispute over the chieftaincy of the area.

LENGANTE, Puleng (44), was severely beaten by members of the SADF while returning from a mass burial in Evaton, Tvl, on 15 September 1984 during the VAAL UPRISING.

LENGENE, Moleke Peter (25), a SAYRC member from Soweto, Johannesburg, was abducted from Gaborone, Botswana, by members of the Soweto Security Branch in February 1982. He was brought to South Africa and severely tortured in captivity. He subsequently became an *askari*. Members of the Soweto Security Branch were granted amnesty for Mr Lengene's abduction (AC/2001/228). Mr Lengene died before that amnesty application was heard.

LENGISI, Sakkie Thobekile (19), an ANC supporter, was tortured by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Elliot, Cape, in November 1989, following a protest march against the Black Local Authority in the area. He had been involved in planning the protest.

LENGOSANE, Hosea Martin Matiwane (18), a member of COSAS, was seriously injured when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

LENGS, Nomathemba (20), was shot dead by members of the SAP during political unrest in Burgersdorp, Cape, on 15 June 1986. She was accused of stone-throwing in Burgersdorp.

LENGS, Tutu Phillip (47), was severely beaten in his home in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, in December 1985, by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes, together with police.

LENGWATI, Ruben (4), was shot by a member of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in February 1986.

LENGWATI, Thokozile Josephine (34), was shot by a member of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in February 1986.

LENISA, Pileng Maria (52), lost her home when it was stoned and petrol-bombed in December 1976 in Taung, Bophuthatswana, during conflict between supporters of rival chiefs.

LENKOE, James Thabiso, an ANC supporter, was detained in 1969 and kept in solitary confinement in Pretoria Central. Police claim he was found dead in his cell having allegedly committed suicide on 10 March 1969. An independent post mortem report showed however that he had been tortured and possibly murdered.

LENKOE, Nathaniel Titus, was stoned and stabbed to death by *Amabhaca* vigilantes in Mohlakeng, Tvl, on 3 November 1985.

LENONG, Mathew Dithiko (20), an ANC supporter and member of a SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU), was shot by members of the SAP in Masilo, Theunissen, OFS, on 25 May 1990. Two other SDU members were injured when police opened fire on the unit. Mr Lenong died in Pelonomi hospital, Bloemfontein, on 27 May 1990.

LENONG, Simon, disappeared after he was taken to the Jabulani police station by members of the SAP in Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING.

LENTO, Jacob (aka 'Motsheare'), was shot and wounded by a member of the SAP in Mmamahabane, Ventersburg, OFS, on 2 October 1993, allegedly while attacking the home of a policeman. An SAP member was refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/0001).

LENTSELA, Richard Bushi, an MK operative, disappeared from Ipelegeng, Schweizer-Reneke, Tvl, on 1 July 1984. At the time he was believed to have been with his uncle. However, it was later alleged that Mr Lentsela was one of four MK operatives killed in Warrington during a struggle with the police.

LENTSWE, William, a NUMSA member, was imprisoned and tortured by the Bophuthatswana Police in Bafokeng, Bophuthatswana, in August 1991. Mr Lentswe was a founder member of the union at his workplace.

LENTZ, Elwin, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

LENTZ, Gale, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

LENZI, Nzenzi, an ANC supporter, was killed in Buyafuthi, Katshele, Tvl, in August 1990, allegedly by IFP supporters.

LEOTLELA, Thapelo Favourate, was shot dead by members of the KHUMALO GANG in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1993. Reverend Mbhekisini Khumalo's IFP-aligned vigilante gang based in Tokoza was a significant participant in the conflict on the East Rand and was allegedly involved in the murder of key political leaders in Tokoza. The violence perpetrated by the gang reached its height in 1993 with 11 people reportedly killed in January.

LEPAKU, Molate Violet (60), was shot and severely injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986 during conflict over the area's INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

LEPEE, Merriam Leya (16), was shot in the leg by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

LEPHADI, Ishmael (1), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, on 12 March 1990 when police opened fire on a crowd who gathered after a consumer boycott in the area.

LEPHADI, Jacob (4), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, on 12 March 1990 during a consumer boycott in the area.

LEPHADI, Motshehwa Sinah (24), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, on 12 March 1990 during a consumer boycott in the area.

LEPHEANE, Seloane Louisa (52), lost her house at KwaMashu, Durban, in an arson attack on 12 February 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

LEPHOTHE, Sello Michael (24), was beaten by members of the SAP in Mamelodi, Pretoria, in July 1986, severely affecting his eyesight.

LEPHUTING, Kenneth (11), was stabbed by a member of the SAP and then his family's home was burnt down in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986.

LEPITA, Erasmus Lesasa (48), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1988 during conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

LEROBA, Thabiso Temple (28), was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katilehong, Tvl, in September 1993 during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand.

LEROBANE, Bertha (33), was assaulted and injured in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

LEROBANE, Mamosenyehi Bellina, was stabbed to death in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

LERUELE, Makgotle Samuel (19), an ANC supporter, was arrested on 16 August 1990 while attending a fellow 'comrade's' court case in Tsineng Village, Bophuthatswana, and severely tortured at the Tsineng police station by members of the Bophuthatswana Police (BP). He was again arrested, with several others, while promoting a consumer boycott, and severely assaulted and tortured by named members of the BP, on 15 October 1992.

LERUMO, Luvuyo Cameron (26), an MK operative, allegedly killed himself with a gunshot when he and another MK operative ran out of ammunition during a shoot-out with police on 10 July 1986 near Fort Jackson, East London.

LERUMO, Molatelo Ribone (53), was severely beaten in Ellisras, Tvl, on 19 January 1981 during a conflict between supporters of rival chiefs.

LERUMO, Nana Nelly (58), was beaten and stoned in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 19 January 1981 during a conflict between supporters of rival chiefs.

LERUMO, Nyakallo Godfrey (40), was stoned and whipped in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 19 January 1981 because he was suspected of being a supporter of Chief Lerumo during a conflict between supporters of rival chiefs.

LERUTLA, Mathews Prompane (15), went missing from his home in Mamelodi, Tvl, in mid 1986. Mr Lerutla is probably the same person as 'Mpho' who was abducted and killed together with his friend Jeffrey Sibiya by Northern Transvaal security branch operatives.

LESABANE, MJ, a member of the Bophuthatswana security forces, was shot dead by MK operatives who attempted to attack the Braklaagte military base, Bophuthatswana, on 31 July 1990. Three other members of the BSF were killed and two were injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/254).

LESABEA, Esau Lion Letsatsi (57), was beaten by members of the SAP in Johannesburg, in 1961 and then taken to Belville prison. During his detention Mr Lesaba was placed in solitary confinement and deprived of basic facilities such as food, reading material and access to medical care.

LESCH, Mark Colin (9), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Ravensmead, Cape Town, in 1976, during the student revolt that erupted in Cape Town from August that year.

LESEJANE Johanna (38), had her house burnt down by AZAPO supporters in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, on 3 February 1991 during intense political conflict between ANC and AZAPO supporters.

LESENYEHO, Godfrey Teko (11), lost his sight in a tear gas attack by members of the SADF in 1986 in Ikageng, Tvl.

LESENYEHO, Trevor Tsepo, a member of a self-defence unit, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 1 August 1993. Conflict on the East Rand between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers supported by the SAP and ANC-supporting residents spread to Daveyton by the end of July 1993. Approximately 32 people died and 25 were injured in conflict during the first week of August 1993.

LESETHO, Molefi Klaas, was hacked to death by members of the 'Gadaffi' faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 28 June 1990. The split of the KYC into rival factions led to at least 17 deaths between 1989 and 1991.

LESETJA, Makgala Maria (18), was shot in the back and stomach by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 10 May 1992 during intense conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. Ms Lesetja was four months pregnant and lost her baby as a result.

LESEUYEHO, Amelia, a Lesotho citizen, was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* operatives during a raid on two houses in Maseru, Lesotho, on 19 December 1985. Nine people were killed in the raid, three of them citizens of Lesotho. Seven operatives, including the deputy commander of Security Branch Headquarters, the commander of the section which oversaw the work of *Vlakplaas* and the commander of *Vlakplaas*, applied for amnesty for the operation. All except the commander of Security Branch Headquarters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/231 and AC/2001/279).

LESHABANE, Johannes Selekgeng (65), an ANC supporter, had his property damaged by a group of young men, reportedly on the orders of Chief Masha in Nebo, Lebowa, on 25 January 1986. The chief targeted Mr Leshabane because he had been elected chair of the school committee and the chief wanted someone else in the position.

LESHOBO, Rebecca, was sjambokked and assaulted with rifle butts when arrested by members of the Bophuthatswana Police during a protest march in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 13 March 1992.

LESHORO, Lydia Matsoku Marionette (25), lost her home in Evaton, Tvl, in an arson attack on 3 September 1984 during the VAAL UPRISING.

LESIA, Nkopane Johannes, a civilian, was robbed of his motor vehicle at gunpoint by APLA operatives at Ndofela Village, Mayaputhi, OFS, on 18 March 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/14). See ZASTRON ROAD AMBUSH.

LESIBA, Bertha Rachel (41), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 9 February 1992. Conflict between IFP and ANC supporters engulfed several Transvaal townships in the early 1990s and led to hundreds of people being killed and scores losing their homes.

LESIBO, Mangoele Isaac, a policeman, survived an attempt on his life when MK operatives attacked the Sharpeville police station, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 1 October 1989. The objective of the attack was to disarm the police and to obtain weapons for their organisation. Three policemen were apprehended and one of them was shot in the leg. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/007).

LESIGE, Reeves Kenosi, was killed by Bophuthatswana police during protests in Molopo, Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, on 11 March 1994. Violence engulfed the area when the Mangope regime, aided by right-wingers, opposed the re-INCORPORATION of Bophuthatswana into South Africa.

LESO, Johannes, a policeman, was killed by ANC supporters in Dennilton, KwaNdabele, on 23 March 1986 during conflict over the INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

LESOETSA, Tladi Charles (19), a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Bloemfontein on 16 June 1993. Police opened fire when clashes broke out between them and ANC supporters attending a rally to commemorate the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

LESOLA, Priscilla Mmadikobe (47), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police members on her way to attend an ANC rally in Rustenburg, Tvl, during 1992. Police stopped the bus several times along the journey to Phokeng and then ordered people out. They were then assaulted with fists and rifle butts.

LESOLE, Mmatheko Anna, survived an attack by SADF Special Forces and *Vlakplaas* operatives on homes at Ditlharapeng village, Ramathlabama, Botswana, 1000 metres from the South African border, on 11 December 1988. An MK operative and a 15-year-old boy were killed and three homes were destroyed. The *Vlakplaas* commander and eight of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/108).

LESOLE, Steven, survived an attack by SADF Special Forces and *Vlakplaas* operatives on homes at Ditlharapeng village, Ramathlabama, Botswana, 1000 metres from the South African border, on 11 December 1988. An MK operative and a 15-year-old boy were

killed and three homes were destroyed. The *Vlakplaas* commander and eight of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/108).

LESOTHO, Molefi Klaas, was hacked to death by members of the 'Gadaffi' faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC) in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 28 June 1990. Mr Lesotho was killed during conflict between the 'Zim-Zim' and 'Gadaffi' factions of the KYC.

LESOTHO, Spanki David (21), an AZAPO supporter, was arrested, detained and subjected to electric shock torture in Rustenburg, Tvl, during the state of emergency in 1986.

LETANTA, Elizabeth Matsiliso (62), was severely beaten by members of the Security Branch in Johannesburg, on 15 March 1984 to try and force her to become a state witness.

LETEBELA, (first name not given), a member of the Bophuthatswana security forces, was shot and injured by MK operatives who attempted to attack the Braklaagte military base, Bophuthatswana, on 31 July 1990. Four of his colleagues were killed and another was injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/254).

LETEBELE, Dipuo, suffered severe damage to house and property as a result of a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

LETEBELE, Mogomotsi (16), an ANC supporter, was arrested with several others promoting a consumer boycott outside a bottle store in Tsineng, Bophuthatswana, on 15 October 1992. He was then severely beaten and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at the Tsineng police station.

LETHELA, Patience (41), was shot and injured by members of the Ciskei Police on 4 August 1983 when she went to board a train during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT in Ciskei.

LETHENA, Mathapelo, a civilian travelling as a passenger in a taxi, was injured when APLA members and the police exchanged fire during APLA ATTACKS on white civilians and police members at Ficksburg, OFS, on 10 December 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0182).

LETHLAKE, Titi Saltiel (16), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in January 1989 while attending a night vigil for a youth activist. One person died and 15 others were injured in the attack.

LETIANE, Gaitsewe Selina (85), was beaten with gun butts by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, during a night vigil for her son in July 1986 during the state of emergency. She was struck several times on her back and knees when police broke up the meeting by kicking and breaking the coffin, scattering food and assaulting several people. Ms Letiane was reportedly chased away from the police station when she tried to lay a charge in connection with the attack.

LETLABIKA, Moni Joseph, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Kathlehong, Tvl, on 7 April 1991.

LETLAPE, Blumi Chritina (50), an ANC supporter, was tortured in detention by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mogwase, Bophuthatswana, on 3 May 1993. They accused her of being a political 'activist'.

LETSABA, Andries Kholokoane (21), a UDF supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, in May 1986, allegedly because of his role in organising student protest actions.

LETSEBE, Noah, (13), was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 20 March 1986 during conflict between community-supported civics and the SAP.

LETSELE, George Mampala, was shot by IFP supporters in Johannesburg, on 3 March 1992 during conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents. He died later in hospital.

LETSKETI, Ndaphulele (31), was shot dead, allegedly by SAP members, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 December 1990. The East Rand was a central site of political conflict from August 1990.

LETSOLO, Boetie Johannes (46), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 5 January 1987 during the state of emergency, after policemen had become the targets of community action. Mr Letsholo had taken part in stoning policemen's houses. Three policemen were later killed and many left the township to live in barracks adjacent to the police station.

LETSOLONYANA, Elizabeth (60), was detained by police in Krugersdorp, Tvl, around 16 June 1984 and died in Leratong hospital on 18 June. Police claimed Ms Letsholonyana was detained for her own safety because of violence in the area at the time but police contacted her daughter to pay R300 bail to secure Ms Letsholonyana's release from prison. Hospital authorities reportedly said that she died of subdural bleeding.

LETSOLONYANA, Jacob Nothi, was stabbed and shot dead by a named perpetrator and other UDF supporters who abducted him from his home in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, on 29 April 1986 during conflict between UDF and AZAPO supporters.

LETSOLONYANA, Jacob Ramosiko, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, on 22 November 1985 during intense political conflict between the *Amabhaca* and residents.

LETSOLONYANA, Maenia Dorothy (34), was shot in the eye with a rubber bullet by members of the SAP in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, on 16 June 1985 during intense political conflict between the *Amabhaca* and residents. Ms Letsholonyana's brother was shot dead by members of the SAP on 22 November 1985.

LETSHWENI, Charles Letsatsi (21), was severely assaulted with pick handles and sjamboks, by IMBOKODO members at his home in Moteti, Moutse, Tvl, on 1 January 1986 because he resisted the INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

LETSIE, Augustina Mmapaniki (64), had her house burnt down by alleged Inkatha supporters in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1990.

LETSIE, Daniel Morabi (14), was shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Shodintlthe school yard in Itsoseng, Zeerust, Bophuthatswana, on 10 August 1993 during conflict between police and scholars in the township.

LETSIE, David Tebello (23), a self-defence unit member, was stabbed to death, allegedly by IFP supporters, while patrolling Radebe section in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 August 1993. Conflict on the East Rand escalated after an ANC march past a Tokoza hostel on May 22 1993, precipitating clashes which led to more than 80 deaths.

LETSIE, Mampesa Betsi, was detained and interrogated about the disappearance of her husband, Steven Letsie, in 1979 in Lesotho. Ms Letsie had followed her husband who was in exile.

LETSIE, Sanna Puleng (11), was killed when a petrol bomb was thrown at her uncle's home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, by a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch in 1987. Four Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, and the deputy divisional commissioner of the SAP were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/061).

LETSIE, Steven Tselakhosi, was arrested in 1979 with other Lesotho Liberation Army members in Odendaalsrus, OFS, and taken to Pretoria prison, allegedly by SAP members. It is alleged that he was sent back to Lesotho in an SA-Lesotho prisoner exchange, and killed there.

LETSIRI, Callion Mokoena (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Phiri, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 August 1976, during a stayaway organised by the Soweto Students Representative Council in the wake of the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

LETSOALO, B, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

LETSOALO, Malenu Raesibe (49), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed INDEPENDENCE from South Africa.

LETSOALO, Moshai Joseph (21), was shot dead by members of the SADF during a stayaway in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 30 March 1980.

LETSOENYO, Tom Ratshabonyana (28), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP in Parys, OFS, on 1 February 1985, allegedly because he was a UDF organiser and secretary of the Tumahole Civic Association. He was detained on 12 June 1986 under emergency regulations and beaten again in detention. On 16 August 1985, his house was burnt down in an arson attack by members of the A-TEAM and the police.

LETSOHA-MATSHAE, Maqueen Joyce (24), an ANC supporter, was shot by named perpetrators in Tweespruit, OFS, on 15 July 1993. She was with an unnamed friend who was shot dead.

LETSOKO, Maleshwane Anna, was killed in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

LETSOKO, Phetho Andries, was killed in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

LETSWALO, Ernest (9), was stabbed in the chest by Inkatha supporters in his home in Pinetown, Natal, on 4 February 1985, apparently because his father supported a local football club. This was seen as an indication of his support for the UDF.

LETSWALO, Fano Marcus (45), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in Pinetown, Natal, on 4 February 1985, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

LETSWALO, Jane Phumzile, was stabbed and injured by Inkatha supporters at her home in Pinetown, Natal, on 4 February 1985, allegedly because Ms Letswalo's husband supported a local football club. This was seen as an indication of his support for the UDF.

LETSWALO, Princess (4), was stabbed and injured by Inkatha supporters at her home in Pinetown, Natal, on 4 February 1985, allegedly because her father supported a local football club. This was seen as an indication of his support for the UDF.

LETSWALO, Tshabane Samuel (18), a COSAS member, was arrested, severely tortured during interrogation and detained in Warmbaths, Tvl, on 24 December 1985. He was later sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

LEVE, Phikolomzi Bigboy (23), was left blind in one eye after being shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

LEVUNO, Velile Churchill (22), was detained, severely beaten and intimidated by members of the SAP in Krugersdorp, Tvl, in January 1977 for recruiting for the PAC.

LEVY, Ricardo Shane 'Ballie' (12), was shot dead by a named member of the Springbok security patrol in Kalksteefontein, Cape Town, on 6 September 1989, during protest action against the apartheid elections being held that day. The perpetrator received an 18-month sentence.

LEWIS, Edith (45), was shot dead by SAP members in Elsies River, Cape Town, on 17 June 1980. Riot Police shot her during a two-day stayaway commemorating

the SOWETO UPRISING. Her husband and son were shot and injured when they went to look for her.

LEWIS, Gavin, was shot in the leg by SAP members during protests in Elsies River, Cape Town, on 17 June 1980. He and his father were shot and injured when they went to look for his mother, who had been shot dead.

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

LIBADA, Tshirongana, was burnt to death and his house was set alight by a group of the community residents in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094).

LIBERTY, Erik Robert (33), a member of the South African National Civic Organization, was stabbed to death outside the home of a policeman in KwaGuga, Witbank, Tvl, on 23 December 1989. The perpetrator was alleged to be the policeman's son.

LIEBENBERG, Charles Phedore (40), a member of the SAP, was injured in a grenade attack in Sobantu Village, Pietermaritzburg, on 13 August 1986, when MK operatives attacked a mobile police station and the Sobantu School, which was used as military base. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0327).

LIEBENBERG, Karen (25), was severely injured when a limpet mine planted by MK operatives exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

LIEBENBERG, ME, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

LIEBENBERG, Riaan Hendrik, was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

LIETSISSO, Puseletso Nono (39), was shot dead when members of the SAP opened fire on protesters in Aliwal North, Cape, on 8 March 1986.

LIGHT, Mzwandile Eric (21), a SAYCO member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Stutterheim, Cape, on 25 November 1985.

LIHLITLE, Isaac Monyeke (34), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993 on the eve of the funeral for assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

LIKOTSI, Joang (66), a PAC supporter, was assaulted and had his belongings destroyed by the police when they used force to enter and search his home in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 25 May 1993.

LIKOTSI, Thomas (43), a PAC supporter, was assaulted by the police when they used force to enter and search his home and office in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 25 May 1993.

LILA, Douglas Thembi (41), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Vosloorus, Tvl, in November 1993.

LIMAKO, Qondeni Nomusa (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 August 1992.

LIMVUMU, Johannes was stoned and burnt to death by community residents in Venda on 2 February 1990. He was one of several people attacked for allegedly practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/094).

LINDA, (first name not given), the son of Dalimbi Simeon Ben Linda, an IFP Youth Brigade supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by ANC supporters, in Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

LINDA, Buzani N (35), had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Bulwer, Natal, in 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

LINDA, Cyprian Bhakisigeino, was killed by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 February 1990. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See Mpumalanga attacks. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

LINDA, Ernest Ndoda, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in an attack on his home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 December 1985, in the UMBUMBULU MASSACRE.

LINDA, Falakhe Alfred, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

LINDA, Frank (32), a KwaZULU POLICE member, was shot dead in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 8 May 1992 during continuing political conflict in the area.

LINDA, Kwanele Alfred (31), was stabbed to death by unidentified people in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 17 December 1961 during a stayaway to protest against

plans by the Verwoerd government for South Africa to become a republic.

LINDA, Margaret Nontombi, ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters near Murchison, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 December 1993, during political conflict in the area.

LINDA, Nhlanhla Thembinkosi (34), was shot dead in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters while driving in the Bhuhubhu area, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 10 December 1993. He was allegedly accused of transporting supporters of the rival political party.

LINDA, Nomashosha Agnes (36), a UDF supporter, lost her husband and had her house burnt down in an attack by Inkatha supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 December 1985, in the UMBUMBULU MASSACRE.

LINDA, Norman, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a member of the AWB in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 April 1993 during a protest march to the local police station.

LINDA, Sindisiwe Euginia (23), an IFP Youth Brigade supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by ANC supporters in Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

LINDA, Siphso, ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters near Murchison, Port Shepstone, Natal, during 1990, in political conflict in the area.

LINDA, Thoko Lephinah (31), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Ogunjini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 November 1991.

LINDI, Martin Sicelo (15), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Zwelethemba, Worcester, Cape, on 16 August 1985, during protests in the area. One person was killed and several others were injured that day.

LINDI, Nozuko (33), had her house burnt down along with her possessions in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993 during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

LINDWA, Mgangathi, a PAC supporter, was severely assaulted after being detained, and was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town, in 1964. Upon his release he was placed under house arrest for two years in Cofimvaba, Transkei.

LINGWATE, Noelana, survived a hand grenade attack by MK operatives on the home of an ANC member in KaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, during the night of 10/11 November 1992. Five other occupants of the house also survived. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attempted killings (AC/1997/0065; AC/1997/0066 and AC/1997/0067).

LINKS, Aletta Irene (35), was assaulted with batons by members of the SAP on her way back from the funeral of an unrest victim in Paballelo, Upington, Cape, on 23 November 1985. A local doctor refused to treat her open wound.

LINKS, Lewellyn Neil Cornelius (18), was shot and injured in Ravensmead, Cape Town, on 5 September 1989, during protests against the apartheid elections to be held the following day. Widespread clashes with

police took place across Cape Town resulting in over 20 deaths and many injuries.

LINKS, Themba Johnson, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 1 August 1985 while attending a political meeting at the Apostolic Church in Mzamomhle, Burgersdorp, Cape.

LION, Matshediso Neria (31), lost her home when it was burnt down in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in 1976 during community protests against a newly appointed chief.

LIPHOKO, David Maluta (23), was shot dead by members of the SAP on an armoured patrol of Constantia, Kroonstad, OFS in April 1986. Mr Liphoko's mother was shot and injured in the incident.

LIPHOKO, Sophia Matseliso (61), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP on an armoured patrol of Constantia, Kroonstad, OFS in April 1986. Her son was shot dead in the incident.

LIPHOKO, Puseletso Elsie (40), an ANC member, was assaulted and injured by named members of the INKATHA GANG in Rouxville, OFS, in 1990.

LISWOGA, Eleanore Matodzi (15), was beaten with sjamboks by members of the Venda Police in detention at Magau, near Louis Trichardt, Tvl, in 1990. Eleanore was returning from church when she was arrested with protesters participating in a march in the village.

LITLAME, Nthabiseng Germaine (13), was shot during a random shooting by members of the SAP on 11 April 1986 in Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape. As a result of the shooting, she is unable to walk or stand properly.

LITLHAKANYANE, Lietsiso Eckoo (49), a Basotoland Congress Party supporter, was intimidated by members of the SAP at his workplace and jailed at Moroka police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1978. He was tortured and interrogated about the whereabouts of LRA members who had undergone military training in South Africa.

LITTLE, Kathleen, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

LITTLE, William (42), was bruised, suffered trauma and bouts of depression after a bomb attack on the Department of Coloured Affairs in Durban, on 21 May 1982. He had been in the toilet when the bomb, placed by MK operatives, exploded and blew up his office, destroying furniture.

LIUTLILENG, Esau, a policeman, suffered an attempt on his life when Sharpeville police station, Johannesburg, was attacked by MK operatives, on 1 October 1989. The objective of the attack was to disarm the police and to obtain weapons for their organisation. Three policemen were apprehended and one was shot in the leg. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/007).

LIVINGSTONE, L, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

LIWANE, Georgina Ma-Umfundisi (43), an ANC supporter and women's activist, was arrested and detained in Robertson, Cape, on 11 June 1986. She was held for three months under emergency regulations at Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town.

LIWANE, Mzwandile 'Mechanic' (49), a member of the Lagunya Taxi Association, was shot dead in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 11 July 1993, by a hit squad wearing balaclavas. Mr Liwane was a witness and plaintiff in cases laid against WEBTA, an opposing taxi organisation. The attack took place during heightened taxi conflict that acquired a political dimension due to perceptions of political allegiances. See TAXI VIOLENCE.

LIZANI, Nomathemba Sheila (40), an ANCWL member, was injured in the head when police threw a teargas canister at her during a funeral in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, in 1986.

LIZO, Anderson Mpenelo 'Blackie' (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Paballelo, Upington, Cape, in August 1992, during an ANCYL demonstration against the municipality.

LLALE, Matlhodi Diane, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 August 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING.

LOAPE, Papiki (16), was shot dead when members of the SAP opened fire on protesters in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 17 August 1984. Mr Loape, an invalid with only one leg, was on his way home from a local hospital at the time of the shooting.

LOBELO, Derrick Boithlomo (aka 'Vusi Mayekiso') (34), a member of MK from Bophuthatswana, was detained by the ANC security department in Angola in 1982. He was subsequently executed by order of a military tribunal. A number of ANC members were detained, tortured and killed during a period of anxiety about infiltration by South African agents following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979.

LOBELO, Francis Ohaletse (19), a UDF supporter, was severely burnt in a petrol bomb attack by vigilantes in Vryburg, Cape, on 26 November 1985. He was allegedly targeted because he had been part of a group that attended a civic meeting to organise the funeral of a 'comrade' allegedly killed by the vigilantes.

LOBESE, Thobigunya (36), a SAYCO member, was severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police on 16 June 1986 in Mdantsane, Ciskei. He was forced to divulge information about the people who had killed two policemen. He was then charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

LOCHENBERG, Nomawisile Ivy (36), had her home burnt down during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

LOCHENBURG, Ernest, an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP while he

was in custody at Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960. Mr Lochenburg had been involved in the PONDOLAND REVOLT. **LODEWICK, Sydney Edward** (24), was shot and injured in the foot by traffic officers and members of the SAP in Toekomsrus, Randfontein, Tvl, on 18 October 1990 during a rent boycott called by the ANC and SANCO in the area.

LOEWE, Michael Ian (26), was detained in Port Elizabeth in June 1986 and held without trial for 83 days. He was interrogated, went on a hunger strike and was later admitted to hospital where he was treated for bronchial pneumonia.

LOKOLOLO, Makonza, an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Richmond, Natal, during 1991, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area

LOKWALOENG, Sehularo Eva (56), was detained under emergency regulations in Huhudi, Cape, on 12 June 1986, because the police alleged that she was conducting UDF meetings. Her nephew, also a detainee, was shot dead after escaping from detention. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

LOLIWE, Shwalakhe (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 12 August 1985 in Molteno, Cape when members of the SAP opened fire at demonstrators during a march.

LOLLAN, Arthur Carroll, a member of the Congress Alliance, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Johannesburg, in January 1960.

LOLLAN, Stanley Basil, a member of the Congress Alliance, was arrested, detained and assaulted in Johannesburg, on several occasions during 1960. Mr Lollan was one of the 1956 treason trialists. Before his exile in Swaziland in 1960, he was constantly harassed by the SAP, and was assaulted while in exile.

LOLO, Lucky Hendrick, a UDF supporter, was burnt to death when his home was set alight by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in June 1987 during conflict between police and 'comrades' in the township. The police allegedly locked Mr Lolo and another youth in their shack and set fire to it.

LOLWANA, Zenzile, a UDF supporter, was detained in 1985 in George, Cape. He was assaulted by police and dumped blindfolded from the boot of a vehicle outside the town. He was again detained in June 1986 in Richmond and held for two months under emergency regulations at Middelburg prison, Cape. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

LOLWANE, Nomhle Beauty (54), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in May 1990 by members of a street committee who accused her of hiring someone to kill two named members of the street committee. They then sold her shack for R400.

LOMBAARD, Casper, sustained minor injuries when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two spectators leaving the rugby match were killed and 37 others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's

Special Operations Unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/161).

LOMBARD, E, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

LOMBARD, Helena, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

LOMBARD, Iris, was injured on 17 August 1984 when MK operatives from the 'Dolphin Unit' detonated a limpet mine at the Security Branch offices in Roodepoort, Tvl. Five members of the Security Branch and several civilians were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/0003).

LOMBARD, Philipus L, a member of the SAP, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

LOMBARD, Tsabane, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Katlehong, Germiston, Tvl, on 5 July 1993 when they fired at a funeral procession.

LOMBO, Arnold Lolo (40), an IFP member, was shot dead by MK operatives and UDF supporters at his place of work in central Pietermaritzburg on 31 October 1990, on the orders of two senior MK operatives. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1997/040).

LOMBO, Ntombizonke Virginia (36), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Inati, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1987.

LONDON, Wessel 'Vira' (11), was shot and severely injured by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Ashton, Cape, on 23 May 1986, when police opened fire on mourners attending the restricted funeral of an activist.

LONGO, Elliot Gwele, was shot dead by men shooting from a vehicle outside the town council offices in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 22 March 1990. Another man also died and one was injured. The incident took place during conflict between two local Crossroads leaders.

LONGWE, Patrick Skobho (23), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in KaNyamazane, KaNgwane, during a consumer boycott in 1986.

LONGWE, Siphon Leonard, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Johannesburg, on 4 June 1992 during TRAIN VIOLENCE in the Transvaal.

LONZI, Thembisile Simon (21), was shot and blinded in one eye by members of the security forces in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 10 October 1985. At least one other person was shot dead by police in unrest near Crossroads that day.

LOOTS, Dawn Dudley, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Mobeni post office in Natal on 8 December 1985. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152 and AC/2001/139).

LOOTS, Pieter Johannes, a commandant in the SADF, was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

LOTHERING, Dennis David (26), a UDF supporter, was severely tortured by members of the SAP after being arrested in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, in 1985. He served four years in prison after being convicted of arson.

LOURENS, Johannes Arnoldus, was shot and killed by APLA members in an armed attack on the Sentra Hyperserve supermarket at Wesselsbron, OFS, on 3 July 1993. Five people were killed and four were wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Six APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/250).

LOURENS, Sunelle Elize, a civilian, was injured by PAC supporters at the Durban beachfront on 9 October 1990. The perpetrators attacked white people at random, killing one elderly person and injuring several others. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/144).

LOUVERDIS, Maria, a civilian, was injured by PAC supporters at the Durban beachfront on 9 October 1990. The perpetrators attacked white people at random, killing one elderly person and injuring several others. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/144).

LOUW, Billy Boy, an ANC supporter, was arrested and severely assaulted while in custody by members of the SAP in Worcester, Cape, in 1960, during the anti-Pass Law campaign. He had been involved in a march where passes were burnt.

LOUW, Daniel, was shot dead in his backyard in Vosloorus, Tvl, in September 1990, allegedly by Zulu-speaking men wearing red headbands, during political conflict in the area. Mr Louw's brother survived the attack.

LOUW, Harold Robert Moss (66), was stabbed and shot in his backyard in Vosloorus, Tvl, in September 1990, allegedly by Zulu-speaking men wearing red headbands, during political conflict in the area. Mr Louw's brother died in the attack.

LOUW, Lewis Hamilton Thabo (20), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 10 September 1976. Two people were shot dead by police and 21 were injured during a day of unrest after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to the South Cape.

LOUW, Michael, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the

attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

LOUW, Mieta, was a victim of an armed robbery by APLA operatives at the farm 'Panama', near Bloemfontein, during 1993. The victims were threatened and locked in a bathroom. One person was abducted and released later. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/239).

LOUW, Nosisa Celia (38), was severely beaten by members of the SAP during protests in Moses Mabida township, near Kirkwood, Cape, in March 1985.

LOUW, September Joseph (45), was detained on 19 June 1986 in Noupoort, Cape. He was held for three months under emergency regulations at Middelburg prison, where his medication for a chronic illness was thrown away. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

LOUW, Whiskey Lulu, was pursued and stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Standerton in August 1987, because he was believed to have collaborated with members of the MG Pirates soccer club and community councillors, to persecute UDF supporters. Four UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/071).

LOVA, Tendinjeni (62), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely assaulted by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, in March 1991.

LOVING, Steven Kaumba, was shot dead by members of the SAP while crossing a street near a protest march in Ventersdorp, Tvl, on 7 March 1990.

LOZA, Nkwenkwe Elijah (59), a trade unionist and ANC member, was detained in Cape Town for six months and severely tortured in 1963. He was then placed under banning orders for ten years, reimposed in November 1976. He was detained on 27 May 1977 and died in custody on 2 August that year. It is probable that he was again tortured in 1977 by the Security Police and that this contributed to his death, which was officially found to be natural causes, after a stroke.

LUBANE, Petros Boy, an ANC member, was abducted on 17 September 1987 by Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, who suspected him of being a courier for MK. He was taken to a farm near Rust de Winter, Tvl, where he was held for several days and possibly tortured. After refusing to become an informer, he was sedated and shot dead, and his body destroyed with explosives. Nine Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/251).

LUBANYANA, Agnes Phumzile (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Nkulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 13 April 1991. About 12 people were killed and 12 injured in attacks by IFP supporters in the area that month.

LUBANYANA, Mkhosi Isaac (56), an IFP supporter, died after he was shot and then stabbed by ANC supporters in Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone, on 27 June 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

LUBBE, S, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and

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

LUBELWANA, Nceba Robson (15), was shot and then detained by members of the SAP in Nemato, Port Alfred, Cape, while he was returning from the funeral of an unrest victim. He was then charged with public violence.

LUBILANG, Tshivuadi, was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Gardiner Street, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076).

LUBISI, Johnson Ncimbithi, an MK operative, was tortured by members of the SAP in Pretoria, in 1979 after his arrest for an attack on the Soekmekaar police station, Lebowa.

LUBISI, Lucky, was abducted from his home and tortured at Nelspruit, Tvl during 1989 by SADF members who believed him to be an ANC member. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/277).

LUBISI, Samuel Ovar (25), was subjected to electric shocks on his penis and lips, and other torture by members of the SADF, in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, on 7 June 1991 during conflict in the area between ANC, IFP and AZAPO supporters.

LUCAS, Brian (16), a UDF supporter, was one of two youths shot dead by named members of the SAP in Manenberg, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985, the day after the POLLSMOOR MARCH. Several others were injured including Brian's brother, William.

LUCAS, Cornelius (44), was shot dead in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 10 September 1976, when members of the Riot Police opened fire on protesting residents. One other person was shot dead and 21 were injured that day after the SOWETO UPRISING spread to the South Cape.

LUCAS, Jenny, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

LUCAS, Sydney (14), a UDF supporter, bled to death after being shot in the groin by members of the SAP while he was attending a meeting at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 7 August 1987.

LUCAS, William (26), a UDF supporter, was shot in the arm by members of the SAP in Manenberg, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985, the day after the POLLSMOOR MARCH. Two persons, including his brother, were shot dead that day. Twenty-one were injured in police shooting.

LUDEKE, Daniel (19) was injured when the SADF base was attacked by MK operatives at Letaba stadium,

Nkowa Nkowa, Gazankulu, on 12 April 1990. Five SADF members were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/98).

LUIDIDI, Abraham, was detained and interrogated at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, in June 1986 and held for several months under emergency regulations.

LUIDIDI, Goodman Dumisani, was killed when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

LUIDUBE, Mnyamana, an ANC supporter, was detained on 1 September 1985 in Kirkwood, Cape.

LUZDIYA Magangana (41), was shot and injured, allegedly by self-defence unit members in Katlehong, Tvl, on 3 October 1993 during political conflict in the area.

LUFUNDO, Catherine Thokozani, was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

LUKAS Michael (20), an ANC member, was executed in Pretoria, on 25 March 1988 for his alleged involvement in the killing of a named bus inspector during unrest in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape.

LUKAS, John Johannes (13), was shot and injured in George, Cape, on 21 March 1990. John was shot by a named farmer when he and other residents were returning from a march to commemorate the 1960 SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE.

LUKAS, Xolani, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 18 March 1985 in Port Elizabeth. The perpetrator accused the victim of throwing stones at a police Hippo.

LUKE, Mzamo Nelson (26), was stripped naked, tied up and shot dead by Zulu-speaking inmates of Merafe Hostel, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 9 April 1991 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

LUKHELE, Brian Sipho (26), was severely beaten by named members of the SAP in May 1987 in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. He had been accused of instigating a school strike.

LUKHELE, Clarence, a member of the Daveyton Youth Congress, was burnt to death at Springs, Tvl, on 12 December 1989.

LUKHELE, David Mabaleke, a politician involved in the controversial proposed incorporation of KaNgwane into Swaziland, was shot dead by MK operatives at his home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 6 June 1986. His sister was also killed and his wife was injured in the attack. Four MK operatives who belonged to an MK Elimination Unit were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0257).

LUKHELE, Elizabeth Mosawaila, was shot and wounded at her home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 6 June 1986 by MK operatives belonging to an MK Elimination Unit. The attack was targeted at her husband who was involved in the controversial proposed incorpo-

ration of KaNgwane into Swaziland. Both he and his sister were shot dead in the attack. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0257).

LUKHELE, Isaac Vusi (17), a COSAS member, was tortured and subjected to hard labour by named members of the SAP while detained at KwaThema police station, Springs, Tvl, in 1985.

LUKHELE, Moswaila Elizabeth, was shot and severely injured by MK operatives in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 6 June 1986 while visiting her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Dlodlu, and her husband, David Lukhele, a former minister of KaNgwane. Mr Lukhele was in conflict with the KaNgwane government and actively supported the unification of KaNgwane and Swaziland. Mr Lukhele and Ms Dlodlu were both killed in the attack. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

LUKHELE, Oupa (aka Dan Mabaso), an MK operative, was killed with four other operatives by a joint Venda and South African security force team on 25 March 1988 at Mutale River in Venda. Mr Lukhele had left South Africa for exile in September 1985.

LUKHELE, Samaria (58), was shot and injured, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Katlehong, Tvl, in 1993 while participating in a protest by parents against the arrest of their children.

LUKHELE, Siphiwe Daniel (21), was shot and killed in Katlehong, Tvl, on 4 July 1993 when IFP supporters allegedly opened fire on a funeral procession.

LUKHOSI, an IFP supporter, was burnt to death when her house was set alight by ANC supporters at Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991. Her son was a prominent IFP member.

LUKHULENI, Tokie Willie, was arrested on 21 June 1976 in Mamelodi, Pretoria, and held at Silverton police station. A fellow prisoner claims that they were transferred to New Lock prison where Mr Likhuleni was beaten so severely by police that he was unable to stand up, and he was then placed in solitary confinement. Mr Likhuleni has not been seen since.

LUKREGO, Nonejele, was detained and severely ill-treated by prison warders while in custody in East London in 1962. Mr Lukreko was attending Poqo meetings that were said to be unlawful in Mqanduli, Transkei.

LUKWE, Mfundo, a Municipal Policeman, was shot, injured and robbed of his firearm by MK operatives at an electrical substation in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 30 May 1987. Mr Lukwe and his colleague, who was also shot and injured, were guarding the substation after the electricity had been disconnected during a community boycott of electricity payments. The operatives reconnected the electricity. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0330).

LUKWE, Simon (50), a Baptist minister, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP at Tarkastad police station, Cape, on 12 June 1986, allegedly because he assisted students during Queenstown SCHOOL BOYCOTTS.

LUMBO, Mandlakayise Singleton (51), an ANC member, had his huts and other possessions burnt in an arson attack by a named perpetrator on 15 November 1992 in Flagstaff, Transkei.

LUMKO, Tasi John (24), a UDF supporter, was fatally shot by members of the SAP during political conflict in Hofmeyr, Cape, on 25 December 1988.

LUND, Ralph Thomas (42,) was shot in the head and stomach by members of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, on 17 October 1990 during a rent dispute.

LUNDA, Nombuyiselo Marie (29), had her house and other possessions destroyed in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993 during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

LUNGA, Bakhona Eric (33), an Inkatha supporter, had his house burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in July 1989. More than 22 people were killed in an upsurge of political violence in the area that month.

LUNGA, Mhlakazi Caswell (45), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 February 1989 in intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

LUNGU, Fanele Lefleur (43), an ANC supporter, was repeatedly tortured during several months of detention at prisons in Kokstad, Natal, and Umtata, Transkei, during 1961. Mr Lungu had taken part in the PONDOLAND REVOLT in 1960 and 1961.

LUNGU, Willis Emily (35), an ANC member, was severely ill-treated by members of the SAP and SADF while in detention in November 1961 in Mount Frere, Transkei.

LUNGWASE, Busisiwe, an ANC supporter, was assaulted by Inkatha supporters and members of the SAP in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 April 1990. They were looking for her son, an active ANC supporter.

LUPHOKO, Michael (24), was shot dead by members of the SAP while playing soccer in Katlehong, Tvl, on 17 March 1993. The police were trying to disperse a group of protesting students passing the field where Mr Lumphoko was playing.

LURULI, Ntshavheni Abram (18), an AZAPO member and community leader, was kept in solitary confinement and tortured by members of the SAP in Vleifontein, Tvl, in March 1986. Mr Luruli was mobilising the community to resist the INCORPORATION of Vleifontein into Venda. He was detained again in 1989 and constantly harassed by the police.

LUSHABA, Jamani Samson (54), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by ANC supporters at Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 April 1990.

LUSHABA, Mence (58), an IFP supporter, had her home set on fire by ANC supporters at Okhalweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in May 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

LUSHABA, Njezeni, an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Palm Beach, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 May 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

LUSHABA, Nonhlanhla, was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21

September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

LUSHABA, Patrick Mfana (22), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by fellow IFP supporters near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 December 1991 in an internal dispute at an IFP self-defence training camp.

LUSHABA, Rose Phumzile (23), ANC supporter, had her house set alight in Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 December 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

LUSHABA, S bongiseni Caiphas (24), an IFP supporter, was killed when unidentified people threw a grenade into a crowd at the launch of an IFP branch in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 August 1993. Seven people, including a policeman, died in the attack.

LUSHABA, Thamsanqa Madoda (19), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in KwaMashu, Durban, when police opened fire on mourners returning from the funeral of Clermont Advisory Board member Zazi Khuzwayo, on 15 May 1987. Several other youths were also injured in the incident.

LUSHABA, Thokozile Joshina (63), an IFP supporter, lost all her possessions when her house was looted in Ensimbini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 December 1993. She had fled the area because of the ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters; on her return she found that her house had been looted.

LUSIKI, Lindile (40), an ANC supporter, had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in December 1993. Nine people were killed in several violent incidents in that month in Bhambayi.

LUSIKI, Yoliswa Eurance (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1993.

LUTHANGO, Tholakele Doreen (40), an IFP supporter, had her house in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in 1992.

LUTHAYI, Jabulani Christian, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 April 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

LUTHILI, Phillip, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, during 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

LUTHULI, Andreas Madoda, ANC supporter, was shot dead outside his house by Inkatha supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 November 1989, during political conflict in the area.

LUTHULI, Azariah, was shot dead when IFP supporters opened fire on ANC supporters attending a cultural ceremony at Inive, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 November 1993. Eight people, including two children, were killed in the incident.

LUTHULI, Bekile (57), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo,

Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Bhekizitha N, an IFP-supporting chief, was injured in an attack by UDF and ANC supporters in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990. Thirteen people died in the attack. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/041).

LUTHULI, Bili Emmanuel (60), had his house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack near Eshowe, Natal, on 7 November 1993, when IFP supporters attacked several ANC supporters in the KwaKhoza and Nogobhoza areas, KwaZulu. One person was killed. More than 45 homes were burnt down, allegedly under the direction of the local IFP-supporting chief, in an effort to drive ANC supporters from the area.

LUTHULI, Boneni Christina (57), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Bongani Mage (22), an MK operative, was shot dead by SADF members in KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 February 1993, before a planned protest march at which he was to have been a marshal. According to the ANC, he was killed in an ISU ambush.

LUTHULI, Bongiwe Fortune (26), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Bongokwakhe Norman (28), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Cabangile (50), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Dlelaphi Ncengeni (46), a UDF supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Wartburg, Natal, in 1989.

LUTHULI, Dumisani Romanus (26), was stabbed to death in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 21 October 1985 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

LUTHULI, Eric Langa (26), had his home destroyed in an arson attack at Eshowe, Natal on 27 November 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

LUTHULI, Fela Robert (31), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Fikisewe (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Fortunate Nonhlanhla (22), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Gamalakhe Elphas (32), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Gertrude (65), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Gladys, was killed in Eshowe, Natal, in 1992 during political conflict in the area.

LUTHULI, Henry Vika (45), was shot dead in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 August 1990, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

LUTHULI, Innocent Manqaza, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 February 1988, because he was seen in the company of a UDF supporter at a wedding attended predominantly by Inkatha supporters. A colleague and fellow UDF supporter was also killed in the attack.

LUTHULI, Jabhisile (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Jabulani Pavis, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters while on his way to work in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 10 June 1990, during political conflict in the area.

LUTHULI, Jabulani Rogers (19), UDF supporter, was stabbed to death in KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 November 1988, during political conflict in the area.

LUTHULI, James (63), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 18 October 1992.

LUTHULI, Johannes Sibongumusa Gilikida, was shot and injured by Inkatha Youth Brigade members in 1987 at Clermont, near Durban. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

LUTHULI, Lindiwe Thandi (29), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Lovejoy Nomusa (19), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Madoda James (58), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Mandla Vincent, an ANC member returned from exile, was abducted and shot dead by named persons in Umlazi, Durban, on 23 September 1993, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

LUTHULI, Mathonto Joyce (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Mbekeni (72), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Mfihleni George (62), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters near Eshowe, Natal, in July 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

LUTHULI, Mthintwa Azaria, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 29 November 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His house was burnt down in the attack.

LUTHULI, Mtshelwa Pieter (38), an IFP supporter, lost his house in an arson attack on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Mudi Irene (44), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Mzikayise Elphord, was one of eight passengers shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Six other passengers were shot dead. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK.

LUTHULI, Ndombolozi Sylvia (59), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Ngethembi (64), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Nicholas Sihle, an MK operative, was shot dead during a police raid in Umlazi, Durban, on 24 November 1987.

LUTHULI, Nonhlanhla Sibongile (32), an ANC supporter, had her house petrol-bombed by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 June 1991. Ms Luthuli's sons were ANC supporters.

LUTHULI, Ntombi Annah (43), had her house burnt down at Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

LUTHULI, Olphina Duduzekile (38), had her house and possessions set alight in Eshowe, Natal, in 1992 during ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

LUTHULI, Penelope Gugulethu (13), an IFP supporter, had her house in KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 2 February 1991.

LUTHULI, Phayiphile Frans (64), an ANC supporter, was assaulted with a bush-knife and severely injured by IFP supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990.

LUTHULI, Phendukile Nomusa (43), ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Poza, was shot dead on 28 November 1993 when IFP supporters opened fire on ANC supporters attending a cultural ceremony at Iniwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Eight people, including two children, were killed in the incident.

LUTHULI, Pumepi (75), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Qondeni Mabongwe (57), had her house burnt down and her belongings stolen by IFP supporters, allegedly supported by members of the SAP, in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 6 May 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area. Her son had been killed two days earlier, allegedly by members of the SAP.

LUTHULI, Richard (22), an ANC supporter, died in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 6 May 1992, after allegedly being given a lethal injection by members of the SAP. According to the family, Mr Luthuli had been shot and injured by the police shortly beforehand in an ambush in which one other ANC supporter had died and another had been seriously injured. The family alleges that Mr Luthuli was alive when the police took him into custody and administered a lethal injection.

LUTHULI, Rita Gelasia (47), was shot at by members of the SADF while at a prayer meeting in Chesterville, Durban, on 16 May 1986.

LUTHULI, Rosemund (53), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down in Umlazi, Durban, in June 1990, in political conflict in the area.

LUTHULI, S'Busiso (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named Inkatha supporters at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 7 July 1990.

LUTHULI, Sagile Mhlakwempi, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a group of IFP supporters at Ndlovu's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, allegedly because the perpetrators suspected Mr Luthuli of plotting an attack on IFP supporters. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010).

LUTHULI, Sibusiso Blessing, was severely beaten in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 June 1993, at a 'people's court' under the command of an officer of a local ANC self-defence unit (SDU). Mr Luthuli was one of five people who survived the beating, while two others were beaten to death, allegedly for crimes committed in the community. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/033).

LUTHULI, Sifiso (21), an ANC supporter, was beaten and stabbed to death, together with another ANC supporter, by members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 13 February 1991.

LUTHULI, Sihle Hector, ANC supporter, died of multiple stab wounds when named IFP supporters attacked

him at a mass funeral in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 7 December 1990.

LUTHULI, Simo Simon Nkomemhlophe (45), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by named IFP supporters in Mangwaneni, Bulwer, Natal, in November 1992, in political conflict in the area.

LUTHULI, Sipho Sikhumbuzo, was severely beaten in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 June 1993, at a 'people's court' under the command of an officer of a local ANC self-defence unit (SDU). Mr Luthuli was one of five people who survived the beating, while two others were beaten to death, allegedly for crimes committed in the community. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/033).

LUTHULI, Siyabonga Wellington, ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Sizani Jester (50), an IFP supporter, had his home set alight by a named IFP supporter in Bulwer, Natal, on 1 December 1991. Mr Luthuli was staying in an ANC stronghold at the time of a mass attack on the area.

LUTHULI, Thandi Mayvis (41), was shot dead in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 August 1992, in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

LUTHULI, Themba Phenias (30), had his home burnt down in an arson attack in Empangeni, Natal, on 14 April 1994, in political conflict two weeks before the first democratic election on 27 April.

LUTHULI, Themba Theofrid (25), a UDF supporter from Lamontville, Durban, was arrested, assaulted and held in police custody without trial for six months by members of the SAP in 1983. He was accused of harbouring MK operatives.

LUTHULI, Thembekile, had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Eshowe, Natal, in intense political conflict in the area on 7 November 1993. See ESHOWE ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Thembikile (30), had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

LUTHULI, Thokozani (57), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Thokozile Elsie (45), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured when the bus in which she was travelling was ambushed by armed IFP supporters at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 8 March 1993. See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Tolakele Maria (58), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTHULI, Victor, was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

LUTHULI, Vika Henry (45), a medical doctor from Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, was shot dead in Empangeni in a targeted killing by a *Vlakplaas* 'hit squad' operative on 2 August 1990. KWAZULU POLICE members allegedly covered up the investigation into his death.

LUTHULI, Wiseman Nkosinathi (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 15 December 1992 for refusing to change his political affiliation.

LUTHULI, Ziphi Francisca (22), an ANC supporter, had her house near Verulam, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 28 February 1991.

LUTHULI, Zithulele (20), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and beaten to death by IFP supporters at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 13 February 1991.

LUTOLO, Fundisile (40), had her house burnt down on 16 February 1993 in a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters over access to resources.

LUTU, Olga Nomonde (34), chairperson of the Residents Association on Weiler's Farm, Tvl, was repeatedly harassed by members of the SAP between 1984 and 1989 because she assisted farmworkers who, despite having paid rent to the farmer, were assaulted and had their possessions confiscated for transgressing the Pass Laws. Upon being relocated to Orange Farm, Tvl, she established a farm clinic. Ms Lutu was detained in 1986 and was seriously injured by a named member of the SAP in 1992 because of her political activism.

LUTULI, Alzina Mhlope (20), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTULI, Jandazile Otilia, ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by named IFP supporters at her home in Amanzimtoti, Natal, on 20 August 1990, during political conflict.

LUTULI, Nomajaji (51), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTULI, Tili (50), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters on 20 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

LUTYA, Wiseman Madodomzi (22), was shot dead by SAP members in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 11 August 1976, after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to Cape Town. Mr Luya was one of at least 20 people shot dead that day.

LUVATSHA, Themba (16), was shot dead outside the municipal offices in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, when members of the SAP opened fire on a group of students on 17 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING.

LUVUNO, Dennis (41), a NUM member, was severely injured in an attack during a labour dispute between NUM and UWUSA members at Vryheid, Natal, on 6 June 1986. As a result of the attack, he had a leg amputated.

LUVUNO, Hlengiwe, ANC supporter, was killed when she was beaten and stabbed by named ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 24 April 1990. The perpetrators allegedly accused her of having a relationship with a member of the KZP.

LUVUNO, Nomvuyiseko Eudicate (22), was injured in an axe attack by migrant workers in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 25 December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels over the Christmas 1976 period.

LWANA, Mcpherson, lost his *spaza* shop in arson attacks by ANC members at Esikhumbeni, near Bizana, Transkei, in March 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

LWANA, Nimrod (32), was assaulted, detained and tortured by members of the SAP in May 1985 in Paterson, Cape.

LWANA, Thomas, was detained by named members of the SAP at Welverdiend police station, Carletonville, Tvl, on 8 April 1989 during a consumer boycott. Several youths were shot and others detained and tortured during this campaign.

LWANA, Xolile Nicholas 'Nyhobo' (17), a UDF supporter, was left physically and mentally disabled after being shot and injured by SAP members in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 17 June 1985, during the fatal shooting of the BONGOLETHU THREE. Three children were killed and several others injured in the shooting.

LWANE, Joshua (33), was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Rustenburg, Tvl, on 1 July 1993. It is alleged that police shot randomly at participants in a protest march.

LWAZINI, Nontetho, (17) was suffocated while trying to flee after the police fired teargas into a church during a political church service in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, during July 1987.

LYLE, Kerry Anne, was injured when an MK operative detonated a limpet mine at the SAP Single Quarters, CR Swart Square, Durban, on 7 April 1989. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

MAAKA, Makinta Elizabeth (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP at her home in Mookgophog, Naboomspruit, Tvl, in April 1993 because they believed she had attended the night vigil for assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

MAAKANA, Mapimele Bennett (37), an ANC supporter, was detained in solitary confinement under unsanitary conditions in Tzaneen, Transvaal, during March 1990. He was hospitalised for two weeks under police guard and then returned to his cell. The incident occurred soon after the unbanning of political parties and the release of political prisoners. Mr Maakana was allegedly detained because of his involvement in building ANC structures.

MAAKE, Jacob Jackson, was apprehended in Mamelodi, Pretoria, by Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives on 13 July 1987. He and two others were taken to the Portland Cement mine near Pienaarsrivier, where they were tortured during interrogation and then killed by electric shock. Their bodies were then taken to an abandoned road in Bophuthatswana and blown up in a landmine explosion. Three Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0030; AC/1999/0032 and AC/2000/107).

MAAKE, Jerome Joseph, was severely assaulted in Tzaneen, Tvl, on 13 September 1982 by *Vlakplaas* operatives who suspected him of being an MK operative. An *askari* was granted amnesty (AC/2000/163).

MAAKE, Matome David (23), a COSAS leader, was detained and tortured by the Lebowa Police at Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa, in March 1986. Mr Maake had returned from hiding in the mountains following the submission of an SRC memorandum to school inspectors.

MAAKO, Tumishi, a UDF supporter, was beaten with sjamboks and knobkerries by IMBOKODO members at the tribal authority in Leeuwfontein, KwaNdebele, in May 1986 during conflict over the independence of KwaNdebele.

MAAPE, David Tlhomelang (28), an MK operative, was arrested on 6 November 1987 in Taung, Bophuthatswana, and repeatedly tortured, first in Taung by members of the Bophuthatswana Police and later in Vryburg, Cape, by members of the SAP. The police were reportedly trying to extract information about his whereabouts between 1983 and 1986. He was sentenced to six years in prison.

MAARMAN, Sophie Nunusi (16), a scholar, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, on 16 February 1986 while she was participating in a demonstration.

MAARMAN, Thembisile Skune (19), was abducted, stoned to death and necklaced by a crowd of COSAS members and UDF supporters in Jansenville, Cape, on 6 April 1985. The crowd suspected Mr Maarman of being a police informer. One perpetrator applied for and was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0240).

MAARTENS, Johannes, a policeman, suffered an attempt on his life when the Lady Grey police station in the Eastern Cape was attacked by APLA operatives during January 1992. The perpetrators fired shots and threw a hand grenade at the station. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0057).

MAARTENS, Rieta, suffered an attempt on her life when the Lady Grey police station in the Eastern Cape was attacked by APLA operatives during January 1992. The perpetrators fired shots and threw a hand grenade at the station. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0057).

MABAKALALA, Jonas, was the victim of a teargas attack by members of the SAP in Dennilton, Kwa-

Ndebele, on 23 March 1986, apparently in retaliation for the killing earlier of a police officer.

MABALANE, Baba, was shot by IFP supporters in Tembisa, Kempton Park, Tvl. Tembisa was one of many Vaal townships engulfed in conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MABALANE, Frieda (15), a Huhudi Youth Organisation member and UDF supporter, was stabbed and injured by a named UDF supporter in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 27 November 1985, after being accused of being an informer. Later that day she was abducted from her home and forced to drink petrol before being hung from a tree and severely burnt by the same perpetrator and other members of the youth organisation. She died soon afterwards in hospital.

MABALEHA, Annah Disebo (19), was raped and killed in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 1 May 1993 during political conflict.

MABALEKA, Joseph Ndodomzi Master (31), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by named vigilantes on 17 March 1990 in Matatiele, Natal, when he went to the aid of an ANC member who was being attacked. He was taken to the local headman, where he was further assaulted and required to state that he would join in the campaign against the ANC in the area. When he returned home, his house had been vandalised.

MABANDLA, Gxakela (32), an IKONGO member, was detained and assaulted by members of the SAP at Bizana police station, Transkei, in 1960. When he moved to Durban after his release, Mr Mabandla was detained for three months and tortured in Sentela, Lamontville, Durban, in 1961.

MABANGA, Abraham Doctor, died after he was stabbed and burnt in Vosloorus, Tvl, in September 1990, allegedly by IFP supporters, during intense political conflict in the area.

MABANGA, Bhakinkosi Moses (37), an IFP supporter, had his house in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in February 1994. At least 28 incidents of house burning were recorded in Ndwedwe in this month.

MABANGA, Grinance Thembi, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 February 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MABANGA, Musa, was shot dead in Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MABANGA, Thengindawu (59), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in February 1994 in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. At least 28 incidents of house burning were recorded in the area that month.

MABARA, Christinah (25), an ANCWL member, was detained on a number of occasions between June 1987 and November 1988 in Shayandimi, and Thohoyandou, Venda, on suspicion of harbouring MK operatives.

MABASA, Aaron Njobeni (29), was beaten with sjamboks by members of the SADF while returning home on 29 June 1986 to Vosloorus, Tvl, during the state of emergency. He was hospitalised and his right eye was subsequently removed.

MABASA, Joyinile (21), an IFP supporter, lost her home in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MABASA, Matopi (61), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1992, when the perpetrators attacked her neighbour's home, allegedly because the neighbour had left the IFP and started attending ANC meetings. One person was killed in the attack.

MABASA, Msinyani Moses (34), was arrested at his house in Mhinga, Malamulele, Venda, on 4 March 1992 and severely beaten by named members of the Venda Police. He was charged with murder and arson. The charges were later withdrawn.

MABASA, Mthavini, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MABASA, Nomafuze (49), an ANC supporter, had her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MABASA, Sizani Lindeni (53), lost her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MABASA, Victor, a member of the Municipal Police, was one of six policemen injured when MK operatives opened fire on their patrol van in front of the Lindela hostel, Katilehong, Tvl, on 12 October 1988. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0294).

MABASO, Alfred Mhlupheki (55), an IFP supporter, was shot dead and set alight in Tokoza, Tvl, on 15 September 1990 during intense political conflict in the area. The East Rand was a central site of this conflict from August 1990.

MABASO, Bafana Leonard, an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 13 March 1992.

MABASO, Bhakizenzo Innocent (21), was left partially paralysed after being stabbed and stoned by Inkatha supporters on 20 March 1990 at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Mr Mabaso had confronted the perpetrators because they had reportedly assaulted his brother for wearing an ANC T-shirt the previous day.

MABASO, Bonginkosi Raphael Gabriel Mbuyaswe, a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Klaarwater, near Pinetown, Natal, during 1987, allegedly because of his political activities. Mr Mabaso was detained without trial for three months.

MABASO, Castro Mandla (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when the vehicle in which he and nine other young men were travelling was ambushed at Diepdale, near Ermelo, Tvl, on 30 September 1993. They were returning from a court appearance in connection with the killing of a local chief when they were attacked, allegedly by the chief's son and other IFP supporters. Four of the ten were killed and three others injured.

MABASO, Christopher Sipho (23), an ANC supporter, was beaten to death on 19 December 1993 in

Chesterville, Durban, by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM.

MABASO, Dinah (63), was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 16 August 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters because she refused to join the IFP. Ms Mabaso was one of three people killed and three injured in this incident. The East Rand was a central site of political conflict from August 1990.

MABASO, Dombi Catherine (38), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in February 1989 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intensifying violent conflict in the area. Her husband had been killed a year earlier by school students, allegedly in the course of conflicts between students and the school committee. Both her sons were shot dead by UDF and ANC supporters in November 1988 and 1992.

MABASO, Dwana Eslina (55), an Inkatha supporter, lost her home when it was burnt down by ANC supporters in 1988 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intensifying violent conflict between Inkatha supporters and supporters of the UDF and ANC.

MABASO, Elizabeth N, lost her house in an arson attack in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area during 1993.

MABASO, Ernest Themba (55), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katilehong, Tvl, on 3 August 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters. Mr Mabaso had been shot and injured previously in Katilehong, Tvl, in 1990.

MABASO, Fana Alpheus (40), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 30 May 1993 in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha supporters and supporters of the UDF and ANC.

MABASO, Francis Khanyisiwe (43), was stabbed and shot when IFP supporters attacked her home on 24 March 1993 in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, allegedly because she refused to join the IFP. Ms Mabaso survived the attack, along with her son, aged 18, who was shot and severely injured, and her daughter, aged 4, who was stabbed and severely injured. The family's home was also set alight in the attack.

MABASO, George Khazamula (45), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in the Winterveldt, Tvl, on 10 March 1993.

MABASO, Goodman Sibusiso Zwelibanzi, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Estcourt, Natal, on 1 September 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MABASO, Gugu Goodness (34), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 24 December 1993.

MABASO, Hlengiwe (4), was stabbed and severely injured when her parents' home in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, was attacked and set alight by IFP supporters on 24 March 1993. The attack was aimed mainly at her parents, who allegedly refused to join the IFP. In the attack, Hlengiwe mother sustained injuries from stabbing and shooting, and her brother was also shot and injured.

MABASO, Hluphekile Ntombizonke (34), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MABASO, Jabulisile Caroline (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ngonweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 31 December 1992. Ms Mabaso had to flee the area as a result of the attack.

MABASO, Jacob Hlomela, a member of the SAP, was killed by APLA supporters in an attack on a police vehicle at Diepkloof, Tvl, on 28 May 1993. Another police member was seriously injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0050).

MABASO, Jane Makhosazane (26), an ANC supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1989. She has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MABASO, Johannes, was shot and injured at by NUMSA members during a strike at the Haggie Rand factory at Penrose, Johannesburg, on 6 December 1989. Amnesty was granted to one NUMSA member (AC/1999/0296).

MABASO, Joseph Sibusiso (19), an ANC supporter, was abducted and stabbed to death, and his body was burnt, by Inkatha supporters on 24 August 1989 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban.

MABASO, Joyful (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by named IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1991. Mr Mabaso lost his sight in both eyes as a result of the shooting.

MABASO, Khangwayeni Beatrice (62), lost her leg when she was pushed from a train at Crown station, Johannesburg, on 23 September 1986. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MABASO, Lindiwe Sarah (36), was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992 during a violent labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers from July to December 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack.

MABASO, Maqinqi Idah (54), had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1989, during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MABASO, Mcoyi Clement (61), chairperson of the Carletonville Taxi Association, was arrested on 17 June 1986 and detained for more than six months under emergency regulations at Potchefstroom police station, Tvl. He was accused of assisting in a three-day stayaway called by the UDF to protest against the state of emergency. Mr Mabaso was released on 5 January 1987. In November 1990 he lost his home in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in a petrol bomb attack, by the 'ZimZim' faction of the local ANC.

MABASO Mgodleni, (33), an UWUSA member, was shot and injured by alleged ANC supporters in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, on 21 January 1993. Conflict between IFP-supporting UWUSA and ANC-supporting FAWU led to intense conflict on the factory floor which spread to the surrounding community.

MABASO, Michael (47), a UDF supporter and formerly chairperson of the Klaarwater Residents' Association, was constantly harassed and threatened by members of the Security Branch in Klaarwater, near Pinetown, Natal, from 1983 to 1987, allegedly because of his active participation in community structures. Security Branch members wearing balaclavas would visit his home at night and threaten members of his family.

MABASO, Michael Thulani (35), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters on 14 February 1994 in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, allegedly in conflict within the party and between the ANC and SACP in the area.

MABASO, Mngoma Johannes (82), was shot, allegedly by IFP supporters in Tokoza, Tvl, on 16 August 1993, reportedly because his family refused to join the IFP. He died three days later. Four people died and three were injured in the attack, including a five-year-old boy.

MABASO, Muzi David (33), an IFP supporter, was burnt to death by ANC supporters who attacked him and petrol-bombed his family home in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 10 June 1993.

MABASO, Muzikawufunwa (46), an Inkatha supporter and active member of the local school committee, was stabbed to death by unidentified school students, believed to be UDF supporters, on 22 February 1988 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in conflict between students and a local school committee. Both his sons were shot dead by ANC supporters in November 1988 and 1992. In February 1989 his wife's home was burnt down.

MABASO, Njabulo Joyful (21), was shot and injured when IFP supporters attacked his home in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 March 1993, allegedly because members of the family refused to join the IFP. Mr Mabaso lost his sight in one eye as a result of the shooting. His mother survived the attack with stabbing and gunshot injuries, while his sister, aged 4, was stabbed and severely injured.

MABASO, Nkosinathi Augustini, died after being stabbed by a named ANC supporter in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 9 March 1991, allegedly because he was seen wearing an IFP T-shirt.

MABASO, Noble, was shot dead by alleged members of the SAP in Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 August 1976 when police were patrolling the area in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MABASO, Nomhlaulo Mary-Magdeline Maria (45), had her house burnt down by members of the SAP in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 May 1986.

MABASO, Nomsa, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Piet Retief, Tvl, on 3 June 1993 during a commemoration ceremony for an ANC activist killed near the Swaziland border.

MABASO, Ntombikayise Victoria (34), had her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MABASO, Owen Sibuya, was shot and killed in Tokoza, Tvl, on 8 March 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MABASO, Robert, an alleged IFP supporter, was targeted for killing by an ANC/FAWU member in September 1991, during a period of conflict between ANC and IFP-supporting workers at the Langeberg Foods factory in Boksburg, Tvl. Mr Mabaso was not at home when the perpetrator arrived to shoot him. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0080).

MABASO, Sarah Ouma (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 16 August 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, reportedly because her family refused to join the IFP. Four people died and three were injured in the attack, including a five-year-old boy.

MABASO, Sibongile Constance (27), had her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MABASO, Sibusiso (24), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in May 1992 in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban. His father had been stabbed to death in 1988 and his brother shot and killed in November 1988, also in political conflict.

MABASO, Simon Zibani (33), an IFP supporter, was seriously injured when two petrol bombs were thrown into his home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 19 September 1990, allegedly by ANC supporters.

MABASO, Simphiwe Victor (86), a PAC supporter, was detained, beaten and tortured by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, in 1986.

MABASO, Siphamandla (15), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP, who removed a gun from his possession in 1993 in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal.

MABASO, Sipho Jeremiah, was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

MABASO, Sizwe, an ANC member, was interrogated and assaulted by ANC security members at the ANC offices in Maputo, Mozambique, in 1982. One ANC security member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/149).

MABASO, Thamsanqa (22), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead on a bus by unidentified persons on 1 November 1988 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intensifying violent conflict between Inkatha supporters and supporters of the UDF and ANC. His father was killed three months later, also in the course of political conflict in the area.

MABASO, Themba, an ANC supporter, was targeted for elimination by IFP members at Hlanganani Hall, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during 1992. One perpetrator in the conspiracy was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MABASO, Thembi Vinty (38), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MABASO, Thokozani Simon (25), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 7 November 1992.

MABASO, Tholinhlanhla Blessing, was one of four MK operatives shot dead by members of the Port Natal Security Branch during a high speed car chase on Quarry Road, Durban, on 7 September 1986. Three Port Natal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty. They further confessed to planting weapons on the deceased (AC/2000/135).

MABASO, Thulani Petros (41), was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

MABASO, Vincent Sibusiso (44), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Umlazi, Durban, in December 1989.

MABASO, Vusi David (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by a named perpetrator in Piet Retief, Tvl, on 20 August 1993.

MABASO, Vusi Jetro (40), was shot and injured by a member of the KWAZULU POLICE who opened fire while conducting a house search on 29 April 1990 in Umlazi, Durban.

MABASO, Vusumuzi (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 19 June 1992. Mr Mabaso and two others, who were with him at the time, were made to lie down on the ground and were then killed 'execution style'.

MABASO, Zolani, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, allegedly while on his way home from a Sharpeville Day commemoration on 21 March 1992.

MABATHOANA SEKALEDI, Maria Alix, was shot dead while hanging up washing in her backyard in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during the VAAL UPRISING.

MABATHWANA, Thabang (35), a witness in the 'DELMAS' TREASON TRIAL, was assaulted by members of the SAP in Evaton, Tvl, on 5 September 1984.

MABAXA, Vuyani (24), an ANC member and trade unionist, was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 13 October 1991 after police claimed he fired at them. A number of witnesses claimed Mr Mabaxa was shot when trying to surrender to the police.

MABE, Mmatlou Ramakone (33), had her home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABEBA, Nakedi Charles (35), an AZAPO supporter, was arrested at Louis Trichardt, Tvl, on 14 April 1986, and tortured and assaulted during his 12-month detention under emergency regulations.

MABEBE, E, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people

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

MABEKA, David Ryder (21), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten while in detention by named and other members of the SAP in Kimberley, Cape, in June 1986. He was then held under emergency regulations for three months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MABEKO, Kwenza Edward (61), had his home burnt down at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Mabeko resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABELANE, Matthews Marwale, died while in police custody in Johannesburg, on 15 February 1977. Police claim he jumped from the window of the tenth floor at John Vorster Square, where he was held for 25 days after his arrest for illegal entry into South Africa from Botswana.

MABELANE, Sekomane Samuel, an active member of NUM, was hacked to death and his body thrown into the Tubatse River by named SAP members in Driekop, OFS, on 2 May 1986. The police were attempting to obtain information about union activities from Mr Mabelane when they killed him.

MABELANE, Thokwana Petrus (39), an NUM member, was severely tortured in detention by two named members of the SAP in Driekop, OFS, in April 1987 while under questioning about his union activities.

MABELE, Boy Solomon (38), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP in Johannesburg, on 24 February 1993.

MABELE, Boysie Eugene (16), a UDF supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters on 16 March 1987 in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban.

MABELE, Sithembiso Oscar (18), was beaten and stabbed to death on 10 June 1991 when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, attacked the mainly ANC-supporting local residents. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MABELEBELE, Tumishi John (75), was severely beaten in Ga-Kibi Village, Lebowa, on 10 October 1986 at a community meeting to discuss grievances against the self-appointed Chief Lebogo. The chief reacted by using members of the SADF and SAP to disperse the meeting by sjambokking those in attendance.

MABELESIA, Vusi Samson, died when he was thrown from a moving train by alleged IFP supporters in Katlehong, Tvl. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MABENA (MATHEKGA), Phyllis Tabia (56), was tear-gassed and shot in the right foot by police during a night vigil for a 'comrade' in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, on 12 February 1986.

MABENA, Ben (23), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on 5 March 1986 during political conflict in the area.

MABENA, Daniel Mnindwa (23), a political activist, was beaten with brake cables and forced to chant political slogans while wearing car tyres around his neck by

members of the SAP near Eersterus, Tvl, in March 1986. Mr Mabena was arrested with about 200 other Eersterus residents opposed to bantustan policies.

MABENA, Ditshwantsho Rosina (31), was severely injured when MK operatives threw hand grenades through the windows of her boyfriend's home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 22 January 1986. Her boyfriend, a member of the SAP, was killed in the attack. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0260).

MABENA, Goodman, died after being shot by members of the SAP in Witbank, Tvl, on 15 March 1990 during political conflict.

MABENA, Irene Sylvia (39), was detained in solitary confinement and interrogated by members of the SAP in Johannesburg, on 29 May 1983, reportedly to find out what ANC activities Ms Mabena had been involved in on a recent trip to Swaziland.

MABENA, James (18), is presumed to have been burnt to death by *Vlakplaas* operatives at Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, during July 1986. Mr Mabena and eight other youth activists had been recruited by *Vlakplaas askaris* for supposed military training when they were killed. The house they were staying in was set alight and the nine bodies were burnt beyond recognition. See NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH.

MABENA, Maria (14), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 2 October 1984 during political unrest in the area.

MABENA, Mbulelo Esau, and five other scholars were interrogated, tortured and killed by AZAPO members in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 1 August 1986. The incident was sparked off by the burning of the house of an AZAPO leader for which the youths were believed to have been responsible. Three perpetrators were refused amnesty, and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/179 and AC/1999/230).

MABENA, Mxolisi Abey, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, in June 1993 while patrolling in the township with other residents. Six people were killed and at least 20 others injured in the attack.

MABENA, Nomzamo (48), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly supported by members of the ISU, in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1993. More than 300 people died violently in Bhambayi during the course of 1993. Hundreds of homes were burnt down in political conflict.

MABENA, Oupa Geelbooi, was shot and injured by a named member of extremist right-wing group, the *Wit Wolwe*, at Strydom Square in Pretoria, on 15 November 1998. Armed with a 9mm parabellum and 300 rounds of ammunition, the perpetrator fired randomly at black people, killing seven and injuring 15, two of whom are permanently paralysed. The perpetrator applied for amnesty for this attack.

MABENA, Ronny Makhosonke (16) a UDF supporter, was arrested in KwaThema, Tvl, on 16 June 1985 on suspicion of involvement in an arson attack on a beer hall. Police took him and several other youths to a place called Boom 7 at Dangerous where they were beaten with sjamboks. Ronny was charged with public violence and sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

MABENA, Salome Mamokete, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 21 November 1985 during a rent protest march.

MABENA, Simlindile (23), a UDF activist, was shot by named members of the Transkei Police during a consumer boycott at Lusikisiki, Transkei, on 20 December 1989.

MABENA, Sipho Aaron (24), was shot by members of the SAP in Lynville near Witbank, Tvl, on 17 July 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING.

MABENA, Timothy Tono, general secretary of the Tembisa Residents Association and secretary of the Black People's Convention, was arrested in Tembisa, Tvl, in June 1986 under emergency regulations and held until 1988. During this time he was tortured and served with a restriction order on release.

MABENA, Vusumuzi Paulos (19), was shot and severely injured when members of the SAP allegedly opened fire at the funeral of a youth activist in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 15 August 1992. As a result of his injuries, Mr Mabena is now confined to a wheelchair.

MABENE, Sarah, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MABEO, Seonyana (20), a citizen of Botswana, sustained injuries as a result of a car bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. Three other family members were killed. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation. (AC/2000/214)

MABEO, Tshegofatso (nine months), a citizen of Botswana, was killed by a car bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. Her aunt and seven-year-old cousin were also killed. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/214).

MABHALA, Madoda (24), was shot dead by INKATHA members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 2 December 1989.

MABHANGA, Lucky (29), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, in August 1985, during unrest.

MABHENA, Makaye (28), had his house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

MABHIDA, Benedict Benjamin (21), a UDF supporter, was beaten and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters on 1 January 1987 in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg. Mr Mabhida was allegedly mistaken for his exiled cousin. In the same incident, another cousin was stabbed and severely injured. The Mabhida family was constantly harassed by the Special Branch after Mr Mabhida's cousin went into exile in 1985.

MABHIDA, Bonga Michael (17), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters while on his way to college in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 8 February 1987, allegedly because members of his family supported the ANC. He spent several weeks in hospital in a coma after the attack. A few weeks earlier, Inkatha supporters had attacked and killed his cousin, whom they had allegedly mistaken for Mr Mabhida's exiled brother. The family was constantly harassed by the Special Branch after Mr Mabhida's brother went into exile in 1985.

MABHIDA, Doda Joseph (42), an IFP supporter, was shot and burnt to death when the car in which he was travelling was ambushed and petrol-bombed by ANC supporters, some of whom are named, on 30 April 1991 in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban. The perpetrators claimed the attack was in reprisal for the killing of six ANC supporters in the area. Another IFP supporter, who was in the car with Mr Mabhida, also died in the attack.

MABHIDA, Gabisile (45), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down and her livestock stolen by ANC supporters on 31 December 1991 in Zwelimbomvu, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban.

MABHIDA, Kumakwabo Gubevu, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters on 24 December 1985 at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in what became known as the UMBUMBULU MASSACRE.

MABHIDA, Linda (19), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1985, allegedly because he was accused of instigating public violence.

MABHIDA, Mandla Jeffrey (41), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter on 19 January 1991 in Estcourt, Natal.

MABHIDA, Mduduzi, (21), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 1 January 1987. His cousin, who was with him at the time, was mistaken for Mr Mabhida's exiled brother and was killed in the attack. The family was constantly harassed by the Special Branch after Mr Mabhida's brother went into exile in 1985.

MABHIDA, Shiela Sara (43), a UDF supporter, was continuously harassed by members of the Security Branch in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, after her son went into exile in October 1985. Another son was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters in January 1987, allegedly because members of the family supported the ANC. In January 1987 a third son and a nephew were also attacked by Inkatha supporters who allegedly mistook her nephew for her exiled son. The nephew was killed in the attack.

MABHOKHWE, Mzunjani Shadrack (22), president of the Bethulie Youth Congress, was detained during 1986 by named members of the SAP at the Bethulie police station, OFS. In detention he was severely beaten and tortured, and put under pressure to become an informer for the police.

MABHUDE, Zenzele, an ANC member, was assaulted by members of the SADF in Bizana, Transkei, on 1 March 1960 for participating in a NONQULWANA meeting. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MABIDA, Florentina (49) who was not politically aligned, had her home and belongings destroyed by fire by IFP supporters in 1991 in Etholeni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, when violence broke out apparently in revenge for the killing of a local induna's son.

MABIDA, Joseph Doda (42), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 30 April 1991.

MABIDA, Thulani (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 18 January 1988 when a group of Inkatha supporters, including some CAPRIVI TRAINEES, opened fire on a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 injured. The group went on to destroy about eight houses. Amnesty applications were received for this incident.

MABIJA, Phakamile Harry (27), an Anglican church warden and youth activist, was detained on 27 June 1977 in Kimberley, Cape. On 7 July he fell to his death from the sixth floor of the Kimberley police station. The Commission found that his death was a direct or indirect result of probable torture by Security Police in Kimberley.

MABIKA, John Sipho (41), was shot dead by members of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD on 28 November 1992 in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. The attack was targeted at Mr Mabika's companion, a KZP officer thought to be sympathetic to the ANC. This officer was also shot dead. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MABIKA, Lungile Nomasonto, was shot and killed by IFP members during political violence at Hlanganani Hall, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 February 1992. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MABILA, James Nhliziyo, was killed when he was necklaced by 'comrades' in Malelane, Tvl, on 1 June 1986, allegedly on accusations of being a witch.

MABILA, Kufa Jamesfish (57), had his home in Bosfontein, Nelspruit, Tvl, burnt down by ANC supporters in January 1993. He was suspected of being an informer for the local chief and was subsequently instructed to leave the area.

MABILO, Daniel, was arrested in Burgersfort, Tvl, on 17 March 1986 while attending a meeting to discuss the water crisis in the area.

MABILO, Mary, was beaten by members of the SAP in Kimberley, Cape, in September 1987, shortly after the funeral of her son, an MK operative, who had been shot dead by the police. They were demanding the ANC flag on her son's coffin.

MABILO, Peter Lathi (aka 'Morakile More') (23), an MK operative, was shot dead by named members of the SAP at his home in Kimberley, Cape, on 21 August 1987.

MABILU, Marcus Mohlamme (18), was assaulted in detention in Soshanguve, Pretoria, on 4 March 1986 during the state of emergency.

MABINA, Raeseta Lydia (45), had her home burnt down in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980 by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABINCA, Khedamile (47), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 6 January 1986 in continuing violence following the UMBUMBULU MASSACRE.

MABINDISA, Caiphus, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Alberton, Tvl, on 4 November 1987.

MABITLE, Motlogeloa George (18), was shot dead in Constantia township, Kroonstad, OFS, on 26 February 1990, when MUNICIPAL POLICE opened fire to disperse a crowd of demonstrators, during a period of conflict over local government structures.

MABIZELA, Jacob, a chairperson of the UDF-aligned South African Students Congress, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in June 1986 while attending a meeting in a church.

MABOA, Happy Nkuneng, was severely assaulted in Sekhukuneland, Lebowa, on 1 April 1986 during political conflict.

MABOANE, Karabo Jacob (21), was shot and injured by members of the AWB in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, on 9 March 1994 while participating in an ANC-organised march. The AWB, along with the Mangope government, engaged in a last-minute effort to derail the APRIL 1994 ELECTION.

MABOE, Solomon (33), was shot and injured by a named COUNCILLOR in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on Easter Sunday in April 1985. The councillor was part of the A-TEAM.

MABOEA, Rufus Amon, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 7 March 1990. A protest march meant to culminate in the handing over a memorandum to the local magistrate was dispersed by police and Mr Maboea was shot as he exited a taxi.

MABOGO, Phillemon Aifheli (43), a SARHWU member, was assaulted and stabbed by members of the Railway Police in 1989 at Boksburg station in Boksburg, Tvl, during a strike at the South African Railways.

MABOHELA, T, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MABOKANO, Nare Francis (19), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down on 2 February 1980, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mabokano resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABOKELA, Emma Ramasela (45), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABOKELA, Frans Matsubane (76), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down on 2 February 1980 by

supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mabokela resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABOKELA, Makwena Ramakoni (63), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABOKELA, Mmamloko Philipus (48), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Mabokela resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABOKELA, Tlou Isaac (52), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Mabokela resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABOKELA, Tlou Maphuti (59), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABOKOANE, Teboho Abram, was shot dead by members of the SAP while watching a protest march in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during a rent boycott in which schools and the houses of ex-councillors were burnt and shops were looted. See VAAL UPRISING.

MABOLA, Sekoele Aubrey, was injured when UDF supporters launched a petrol bomb attack on a bus along the N3 freeway, near Standerton, Tvl, in March 1987. The bus was transporting Pirates soccer club players and fans to Tokoza. The Pirates were believed to be a vigilante group collaborating with community councillors and police in attacking the UDF. Three UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/071).

MABOMBO, David (31), was arrested in Worcester, Cape, on 18 June 1986 and severely assaulted by members of the SAP at the police station. He was then detained in prison under emergency regulations for over three months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MABOMBO, Mxolisi, was detained, beaten and charged with public violence in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, in November 1985. He was later convicted.

MABONA, (first name not given), was one of six persons abducted and interrogated by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members near Port St Johns, Transkei, on 20 April 1994, shortly before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four were shot dead, while Mr Mabona and another survived the shooting with injuries. The SDU members believed that they were APLA members who were on their way to disrupt an ANC mass rally. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/045).

MABONA, Boekie April (57), was stabbed to death by members of the IMBOKODO group in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986.

MABONA, Wilhemina, a member of the SAP, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch

offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

MABOPHE, Expeditious Mzolisi Monwabisi (37), was stabbed and severely injured by a named perpetrator when he tried to extinguish the flames of his burning house on 30 April 1990 in Matatiele, Natal. Following Nelson Mandela's release from prison, local villagers, including leading members of the community, resisted attempts of the ANC to establish branches in the Pholile and KwaMango areas of Matatiele in March and April 1990. Named men carrying traditional weapons attacked ANC supporters, killing them and burning their homes. Attempts to report the incidents revealed that the police were co-operating with the perpetrators.

MABOTE, Mahlomola Israel (24), an ANC member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in September 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during political conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents.

MABOTE, Moeketsi Ben, an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 23 August 1990 during conflict between IFP-supporting Nguni hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. Approximately 14 bodies were allegedly found around the hostel on that day.

MABOTE, Petunia, suffered burn wounds at Evaton, Tvl, in 1984, allegedly because of her mother's affiliation to Inkatha.

MABOTHA, Johannes, a former *askari* who had escaped, was arrested and tortured by Soweto Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives at Marble Hall, near Pretoria, during 1989. On 4 October 1989, he was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* operatives, allegedly at the request of the Soweto Security Branch, at Penge Mine near Burgersfort, Tvl. His body was then blown up with explosives. Seven *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/084).

MABOTJA, Alpheous, was beaten to death at GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 6 February 1980 by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mabotja resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABOTJA, Kgoro William, a member of the SRC and the Street Committee of Soweto, was killed by a parcel bomb in Johannesburg, in September 1988.

MABOTJA, Malesela George, was severely injured and had his right ear reconstructed after he was tortured, allegedly by a named member of the SAP in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 8 August 1988.

MABOTJA, Manoko (59), had her home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABOTJA, Phuti Salome, had her home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABOTSA, Leswika Samuel (23), had her home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABOTSA, Seemole Mosel (46), had her home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABOWA, Mathebe Willem, a SANCO member, was detained without trial for seven months in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in 1987 during political conflict over KwaNdebele independence.

MABOWELA, Makgabo Seemola (71), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABOYA, Abel Tsakani (25), was tortured in detention by members of the SAP in Duiwelskloof, Lebowa, in May 1978 on suspicion of harbouring an MK operative. Mr Maboya was allegedly forced into a wrongful confession after torture including standing for 108 hours and hearing his girlfriend being tortured.

MABOZO, Sheila, was detained and tortured by police in Kimberley, Cape, on 25 August 1987, while being interrogated about her nephew, an MK operative shot dead at her house by police a few days earlier.

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

MABUDE, Nomthandazo (20), a COSAS member, was detained by members of the SAP in Mnandi, Somerset East, Cape, in March 1988. While in detention, she was held in solitary confinement. She and two friends were charged with stoning the house of a policeman during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT in the township. All three were acquitted.

MABUKANE, Ndumiso Samuel (16), was detained and severely beaten by police in Knysna, Cape, on 16 March 1986. Ndumiso was arrested while erecting barricades near a school during unrest in the area. He later received a suspended sentence for public violence.

MABUKELA, Josias, was assaulted in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Mabukela resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MABUKELA, Thomas, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MABULA, Agnes Ouma, an ANCWL member, was killed on a train between Khwezi and Nhlanzani stations, Soweto, Johannesburg, by a group of men armed with pangas, knives and an AK47. Her body

was found at Baragwanath Hospital on 23 April 1991. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MABULA, Zachariah Monyana, lost the sight in one eye after being shot by members of the SAP in Koppies, OFS, in June 1992. Mr Mabula, who was mentally retarded, was shot when police opened fire on protesters in the area.

MABULANA, Violet Makole (36), was shot by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Tvl, in January 1994 during ongoing political conflict in the township.

MABUNDA, Bekhaphi, was allegedly abducted by 'comrades' from his home in Malelane, Tvl, on 31 May 1986 and then necklaced. Mr Mabunda was accused of practising witchcraft. His partially decomposed body was found later.

MABUNDA, Jonas, was killed in an explosion, allegedly caused by members of the SADF, in Lulekani, Gazankulu, on 28 March 1986. See GAZANKULU HAND GRENADE ATTACK.

MABUNDA, Ken (17), was killed in a hand grenade attack by foreign soldiers working under the auspices of the SADF in a packed *shebeen* in Lulekani, Gazankulu, on 28 March 1986. Many died in the attack, and several people were injured. See GAZANKULU HAND GRENADE ATTACK.

MABUNDA, Kobi Owen (19), was injured when a hand grenade thrown by foreign soldiers working under the auspices of the SADF exploded in a packed *shebeen* in Lulekani, Gazankulu, on 28 March 1986. Many died in the attack, including Mr Mabunda's brother, and several people were injured. See GAZANKULU HAND GRENADE ATTACK.

MABUNDA, Stefanus (40), an ANC supporter, was arrested in Newclare, Johannesburg, on 18 March 1960 and detained under emergency regulations in Pretoria.

MABUNGA, Muziwakhe (54), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters on 5 September 1986 in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Mr Mabunga had allegedly antagonised the UDF youth.

MABUSA, Aubrey, was severely tortured by members of the SAP while in detention in Burgersfort, Tvl, on 17 March 1986. Mr Mabusa had attended a meeting to discuss the water crisis in the area.

MABUSA, Peter (13), was severely assaulted by members of the SADF in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1980.

MABUSE, Koos, was shot and injured by Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 7 March 1990 during a march by Mabopane residents to the magistrate's offices to hand over a memorandum of community grievances about high rent and poor services.

MABUSELA, Matsobane Katibe (30), a UDF supporter, was tortured in detention in 1983 and in June 1986 by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl. In June 1986, Mr Mabusela was arrested under emergency regulations while attempting to lay a charge against soldiers who allegedly accosted him for wearing a UDF badge.

MABUTHA, Eunice Kedibone (11), a scholar, was shot and injured by a named off-duty SAP member in March 1985 in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, when the perpetrator's house was set alight by 'comrades'. Eunice was charged with arson and public violence, and acquitted.

MABUTHO, Mhlaba Joseph (17), an ANCYL member, was severely beaten by named members of the SAP after his arrest in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, in March 1986 on suspicion of an arson attack on a councillor's house during a rent boycott in support of a demand for better schools. Police and councillors' houses were burnt down by Jouberton Youth Congress members during the conflict.

MABUTHO, Walter Charles, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 1 May 1986 during a stayaway in the township.

MABUYA, Bheki, a civilian travelling in a bread delivery truck, was shot at by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 February 1993. Mr Mabuya and his three colleagues disrupted an SDU attack on the police. The perpetrators fired at the vehicle intending to scare them off. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/119).

MABUYANE, Qhathani Staford, an Inkatha supporter, was hacked to death by UDF supporters on 2 April 1989 in Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban.

MABUZA, Bongekile (51), an ANC supporter, had her house in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters during November 1993.

MABUZA, Henry Dumisani, was shot by alleged members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 November 1980 during a search for MK operatives who the police claimed were hiding in Mr Mabuza's home.

MABUZA, Jacob (38), was arrested in Soweto, Johannesburg, and detained for more than three months in 1980, after police searched his house for MK operatives apparently hidden by his family. One man suspected of being an MK operative was shot dead, and Mr Mabuza's son was injured in the incident.

MABUZA, Kenneth Armadu, died after being necklaced in kaNyamazane, Nelspruit, on June 26 1986 during a period of widespread unrest in the country resulting in the declaration of a state of emergency.

MABUZA, Mellows Sibangani, an Inyandza National Movement supporter, had his house and shops burnt by 'comrades' in July 1990 because he allegedly disobeyed a local chief.

MABUZA, Moses Majaheni, and a friend were shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING outside Mr Mabuza's home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 17 June 1993.

MABUZA, Muntukanti Timothy (18), was shot in the hands and both legs and despite his injuries was thrown into a police vehicle and assaulted by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Benoni, Tvl, in June 1986. He was at a night vigil of a COSAS member when police ordered mourners to disperse and then fired at them. Mr Mabuza had his fingers and both legs amputated as a result of his injuries.

MABUZA, Nomsa Nobuhle (18), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP at Komatipoort, Tvl,

on 16 May 1986 during the state of emergency. She is confined to a wheelchair as a result of the attack.

MABUZA, Obert Sidala (32), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in Germiston, Tvl, on 5 July 1993.

MABUZA, Queen Gladys, was stabbed to death, by members of the IFP-supporting BLACK CATS in Wesselson, Ermelo, Tvl, on 9 November 1990 during clashes between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MABUZA, Sibangile, was attacked and injured by Inkatha members during political conflict at Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 30 December 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MABUZA, Sidney (46), was stabbed and left for dead by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 11 March 1991 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MABUZA, Sifiso Selby (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter on 24 December 1987 in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg.

MABUZA, Thulani Solly (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, on 15 January 1992 during intense conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers.

MABUZA, Thuli Joyce (33), was detained for three months in Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1980 because police were allegedly looking for MK operatives they claimed were hiding in Ms Mabuza's house.

MACAMBA, Pascal, was beaten by members of the Security Police in King William's Town, Cape, during 1976 in a police clampdown on political unrest.

MACATIES, Justice (16), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Galeshewe, Kimberley, Cape, on 20 February 1985, during unrest triggered by SCHOOL BOYCOTTS. His left eye was permanently damaged in the beating.

MACENGWANA, John (58), was burnt to death by UDF supporters in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 6 January 1986, allegedly because of his association with conservative community COUNCILLORS. The attack took place during a two-week period of clashes between supporters of the community councillors and the UDF.

MACESHANE, Teleni Sarah (45), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and injured by named members of the SAP who accused her of harbouring 'comrades' at Burgersfort, Tvl, in 1986. She was arrested after attending a community meeting on water supplies.

MACFADDEN, Keith, an MK operative, and one other were shot dead by a joint *Vlakplaas* and Eastern Transvaal Security Branch team in Manzini, Swaziland, on 22 November 1983. One member from Security Branch Headquarters, responsible for authorising the attack, and four Eastern Transvaal and three *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/086 and AC/1999/031).

MACHABA, Peter Thabo (26), was intimidated in detention in Tembisa, Tvl, on 20 February 1993.

MACHABE, Masilo Clement, an IFP supporter, was shot in the hand on a train in Tokoza, Tvl, during May 1993. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MACHANE, Kholeka Maggie (50), was shot in the left breast by members of the SAP in Postmasburg, Cape, on 18 June 1993.

MACHEDI, Mpho Jacob, was stabbed to death by ANCYL supporters in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 10 June 1992 because he was suspected of being a police informer.

MACHETE, Marupini Alpheus (25), a COSATU member, was severely beaten and tortured in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, in 1984 by members of the SAP for belonging to a union. Trade unions were perceived as a threat to the state and some employers allegedly cooperated with the police in harassing union members.

MACHETE, Simon (46), was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MACHIMANA, Adolf (27), an ANCYL member, was shot dead by named perpetrators in Khujwana, Tzaneen, Tvl, on 13 June 1992. He was protesting with community members and a fellow teacher against the appointment of a new principal. The bodies of both Mr Machimana and the teacher were found on the Tzaneen-Lydenburg road.

MACHIMANE, Ludick (22), was shot dead by members of the Gazankulu Police in Nkowankowa, Gazankulu, on 20 February 1990 during a rally and workers' stayaway to protest against the educational policies of the Chief Minister of Gazankulu.

MACHITJE, Jonas Mpati, was one of four people shot dead by named perpetrators in an ambush in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 10 October 1992. Among the dead was well-known Phola Park community leader, Prince Mhlambi. The Goldstone commission later implicated a police informer in a disinformation campaign against the Phola Park Residents Committee which Mr Mhlambi headed.

MACHOBA, Debra, an executive SASO member, was repeatedly detained and tortured by Security Police from July 1976 to December 1978. She was kept in solitary confinement in May 1976 because of SASO's role in the SOWETO UPRISING and was banned for five years in December 1978.

MACHOBANE (MORARE), Themba Duke (31), a South African teaching in Botswana, was shot dead on 14 June 1985 in a cross-border attack launched by the SADF Special Forces, together with the Security Branch, on ANC offices and houses in Gaborone, Botswana. His six-year-old nephew, a citizen of Lesotho, who was staying with him at the time, was also killed. In all, 12 people were killed and six were wounded in the operation. See GABORONE RAID.

MACHOBANE, Frank, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during community action against town councillors in the VAAL UPRISING. He was allegedly walking with his brother and two friends when police opened fire, killing him and wounding his brother in the cheek.

MACHOBANE, Joseph Modise, was attacked and killed in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 18 April 1993 during random shootings following the assassination of SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

MACHOBANE, Likeleli Stephina (38), was severely beaten by 'comrades' in Evaton, Tvl, on 16 June 1990 on her way from work during a stayaway.

MACHOBANE, Monkeng Lebohlang Claudia, was killed in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993 during random shootings following the assassination of SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

MACHOBANE, Mutle, was shot dead by members of the SAP at Sharpeville, Tvl, in September 1984 during the VAAL UPRISING.

MACHOBANE, Sekgonyane John (16), was shot in the cheek by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during community action against town councillors in the VAAL UPRISING. He was allegedly walking with his brother and two friends when police opened fire killing his brother. Sekgonyane and his friends were allegedly taken to Vereeniging police station where they were kicked and beaten with sjamboks before being taken to hospital.

MACHONA, Tahleho Hendrik (41), an ANC supporter, had his house, van and other property burnt and his driver was attacked in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 2 February 1990 because ANC supporters suspected him of collaborating with the police.

MACIKI, Krakra (17), was one of four youths shot dead by named members of the SAP who opened fire on protesters after unrest broke out in Kuyasa township, Colesberg, Cape, on 3 July 1985.

MACINGWANE, Gilbert (43), an IKONGO supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in June 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MACINGWANE, Ntuli Reginah (38), had her house destroyed by members of the SADF in November 1961 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MACUPHE, Thembinkosi (14), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead on 5 July 1988 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MACWASHE, Sakhile (14), a scholar, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP during political conflict in Duncan Village, East London, in March 1985.

MADADZHE, Mr (first name not given), died when he was assaulted and burnt to death in his home by a large crowd of the residents on 2 February 1990 in the Tshino Village, Venda. A meeting held by local youth resolved to kill people suspected of engaging in witchcraft and collaborating with the Venda government. Two ANC supporters applied for amnesty which was granted. (AC/2000/094)

MADAKA, Mbuyiselo (27), an ANC member from KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, was injured in an explosion in Lesotho, on 5 July 1979, when a parcel containing an explosive device was opened. Five other persons were injured in the incident. His brother, Tobekile, was later killed by the Security Branch.

MADAKA, Tobekile ‘Topsy’ (28), was one of two ANC members abducted by the Port Elizabeth Security Branch in Port Elizabeth on 14 April 1982. They were given a drink containing a sedative and shot in the head. Their bodies were placed on a pile of branches, doused with diesel and then set alight. Their remains were allegedly thrown into the Fish River. Four members of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/034).

MADAKANA, Thozamile Swartbooi, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Zwide, near Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 18 February 1985, while he was attending a funeral.

MADALAMBANE, Reginald Tshisibodo, (21) a PAC supporter, participated in a Poqo march to the police station and prison in Paarl, Cape, on 21 November 1962. Five marchers were shot dead and two Paarl residents were killed by Poqo supporters. Mr Madalambane was then arrested, convicted of sabotage and sentenced to 12 years’ imprisonment on Robben Island.

MADALANA, Bongani (12), was shot dead by members of the SADF who then bashed his body against a rock in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 February 1986 during escalating violence between security forces and residents. About 27 people were killed and hundreds were injured in what is known as the SIX-DAY WAR which ended after a partial security force withdrawal on 22 February 1986.

MADALANE, Makhwenkwe (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 15 March 1978 by members of the SAP during a period of political unrest in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. He was suspected of involvement in an arson attack.

MADANDA, Bafana Jele, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the KwaZulu POLICE linked to the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 June 1993. Three other ANC supporters were shot dead in the attack.

MADAYI, Nomalanga Elda, was injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MADELA, Gcinumuzi Josiah (26), secretary of FAWU, had his room burnt down in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 24 July 1992 following a violent labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and IFP-aligned UWUSA workers.

MADELA, Mabhoji Thomas (39), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 28 February 1992 in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal. The attackers set fire to his house and his car.

MADELA, Mandlakayise Victor (37), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and severely injured on 26 December 1986 in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, by Inkatha supporters allegedly acting on the instructions of a named Inkatha leader. The perpetrators had abducted him and questioned him about UDF supporters who frequently visited his house. While recovering in hospital,

he was again stabbed by the same perpetrators. Mr Madela lost the sight in his right eye as a result of the assault.

MADELA, Michael Yeka (34), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by SADF members at KwaMashu, Durban, during the state of emergency in 1987.

MADELA, Obed Ndoda, (34) an Inkatha supporter, was beaten and stabbed by UDF supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in July 1987. In 1990 Mr Madela had his house in Matshana burnt down by named perpetrators who wanted to know where his sons were.

MADELA, Vusumuzi Samuel (22), an IFP supporter, was burnt to death by ANC supporters on 22 July 1990 in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal. Mr Madela’s father was a local IFP chairperson. His parents’ house was petrol-bombed by ANC supporters a week later.

MADHAV, Deepak, a UDF supporter, was assaulted by Witwatersrand Security Branch operatives both at his home and later at the Branch’s John Vorster Square offices. A Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the assault of Mr Madhav at his home, but denied participating in the later assault (AC/2001/230).

MADHIBA, Kinathi, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed when a group of Inkatha supporters and Caprivi trainees attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MADHIBA, Thulani Henry, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MADHLALA, Sabeline Judith (45), a UDF supporter, was severely injured when her house was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in September 1987.

MADI, Dikgope Andrew, an MK member, was kidnapped and killed by members of the Security Branch in Venda, on 11 August 1983 while in exile.

MADI, Zakhele Marcus (22), was arrested, allegedly on suspicion of stone throwing at Vukuzakhe, Tvl, in June 1985. He was arrested a day after police and residents clashed at a community march protesting against high rentals. He was charged with public violence and sentenced to a year in prison.

MADIA, Meisie Gloria (13), lost her home in an arson attack in 1976 during conflict over the chieftaincy of Maboloko, Bophuthatswana.

MADIBA, Alpheus, an ANC leader during the Rivonia trial, was abducted from his home in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, in 1964, allegedly by members of the SAP. He was found later dead with multiple head injuries in the Johannesburg mortuary.

MADIBA, Cojana Idah, had her house attacked with gunfire and hand grenades by members of the SAP in March 1989 in Soweto, Johannesburg, during a raid on their house in which her uncle and an MK operative were killed. Police opened fire and threw hand grenades into the house, shattering windowpanes, breaking doors and causing a fire to break out. Several spent cartridges were left at the scene.

MADIBA, Doda Joseph, was killed when the car in which he was travelling was attacked by members of a self-defence unit (SDU) during ongoing political conflict in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 April 1991. Two occupants of the vehicle were killed and two injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/066).

MADIBA, Gervasia (63), was shot and injured by unidentified persons at her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 30 March 1990 in political conflict that followed the UNBANNING of political organisations. Her house was petrol-bombed in the attack. She was allegedly targeted because she had left Inkatha to join the ANC.

MADIBA, Nokuthula (24), had her house burnt down and her possessions stolen in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in intense political conflict in 1993 between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MADIBA, Ntsikelelo (34), had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down and his possessions stolen in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in the area.

MADIBA, Patrick Phangilifa (35), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 April 1990. Mr Madiba was staying at a relative's house when, in the middle of the night, Inkatha supporters were heard shouting that they were going to kill 'comrades'. He went to the window and was fatally shot. The incident occurred two days after the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MADIBA, Thibi Thobela (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 27 March 1994 following an IFP rally in the area. Residents were assaulted and homes were looted by IFP supporters who had attended a rally in the Sundumbili stadium.

MADIBA, Zolani (30), had his home burnt down during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

MADIBANA, Maropeng (64), was severely assaulted by supporters of Chief Mapela in Abbotspoort, Pietersburg, Tvl, on 19 January 1981 because she was a supporter of his opponent, Chief Lerumo. Conflict over chieftaincy in the region resulted in several villagers being beaten, lashed, fined, or having their children expelled from school in an attempt to force their allegiance to Chief Mapela.

MADIBANE, Johannes Raseponapona (36), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP on 20 May 1985 in Mamelodi, Pretoria.

MADIBO, Stephen, a policeman, was shot and injured in an attack by MK operatives on the Sharpeville police

station, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 1 October 1989. The aim of the attack was to seize weapons. Two other policemen suffered an attempt on their lives. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/007).

MADIDA, Elizabeth (65), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 5 April 1994, three weeks before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Ms Madida's house was burnt down in the attack. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for her sons, who were active ANC supporters.

MADIDA, Timothy (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, 9 November 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MADIHLABA, Mokgatla, was shot dead by SADF members in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 22 March 1986 while returning from the funeral of someone killed by Lebowa Police.

MADIKANE, Carrington Mcoseleli (65), an ADM member and Ciskei headman, was shot dead in his home by ANC supporters in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 22 August 1992 during conflict over the reimposition of the headman system in the Ciskei.

MADIKANE, Dickson Matholengwe (74), an ANC supporter and chairperson of the local residents' association, was detained at Tamara police station, King William's Town, Cape, in 1991 during conflict over the reimposition of the headman system in the homeland.

MADIKANE, Lennox Mngcambi (29), a Poqo member, was hanged on 1 November 1963 at Pretoria along with two others, after being convicted of sabotage relating to their involvement in the mass Poqo attack in November 1962 on the police station and white residents in Paarl, Cape, which left two white residents and five Poqo members dead.

MADIKANE, Louisa Thenjiwe (50), was detained, and her cell tear-gassed in Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 29 April 1985, after parents had tried to intervene to stop clashes between protesting students and police.

MADIKANE, Nontsikelelo Cynthia (35), had her house petrol-bombed and stoned by 'comrades' in September 1985 during political conflict in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London. Her brother had been labelled an informer.

MADIKANE, Patrick (14), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 17 June 1985. See BONGOLETHU THREE. Three children were killed and several others injured in the shooting.

MADIKANE, Philisile Nomgcobo (12), daughter of an ANC-supporting community leader, lost her family home in an arson attack by alleged members of the SAP in Alexandra, Tvl, in April 1986. Alexandra was under siege from security forces at the time following a series of community protests.

MADIKELA, Bimbo Eustice, a COSAS member, was killed by an explosive device detonated by named *Vlakplaas* operatives in a mine shaft in Kagiso, Tvl, on 15 February 1982. He and three other COSAS members were led to believe they were to undergo training in

the use of hand grenades, a ploy which was later used increasingly by security forces. One person survived the explosion. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

MADIKIZELA, Andile Jiver (29), an ANC supporter, was tortured by members of the SAP in Lamontville, Durban, on 28 May 1992.

MADIKIZELA, Datani, was assaulted by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MADIKIZELA, Gladys Yaleka (34), was assaulted by members of the SAP in November 1961 at Entsimbini, near Bizana, Transkei. The police were looking for her husband, a teacher, who was presumed to be influential in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MADIKIZELA, Gwebityala, an ANC supporter and a chief in the Bizana area, was assaulted after his arrest in Bizana, Transkei, in 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MADIKIZELA, Mbambani Solomon, an ANC supporter, was harassed by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. He was also issued with a banning order.

MADIKIZELA, Micheal Sipekepe, an ANC supporter, was detained and beaten by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MADIKIZELA, Milner, an ANC member, was detained from November 1961 at different prisons in the Transkei, where he was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP. As a teacher, he was accused of influencing people who participated in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MADIKIZELA, Msingwa (60), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by named members of the SAP in Goedemoed prison, Aliwal North, Cape, in 1960, allegedly because he opposed the Bantu Authorities Act. Mr Madikizela was detained for five years.

MADIKIZELA, Mthethunzima Paulos, was detained for five years in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MADIKIZELA, Sylvia Noyolo, an ANC member, had her house burnt down in Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MADIKIZELA, Wiseman Potiyana (32), an ANC supporter, was detained at Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MADIKIZELA-MANDELA, Winnie Nomzamo, suffered harassment, trespassing and surveillance of her home by members of the Security Branch in Soweto, Johannesburg, from May 1991 to September 1992. Three policemen were granted amnesty (AC/2001/051 and AC/1999/0026).

MADILAYI, Gwelani (58), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in June 1993.

MADINDA, Mkuseli Maxwell (17), a COSAS member, was arrested and tortured by suffocation by members of the Security Police on 14 May 1980 in the Sanlam Building, Strand Street, Port Elizabeth. Security Police wanted him to admit to the killing of the head of the PEACEMAKERS in Grahamstown during the student boycotts of 1980.

MADINDA, Ndumiso, a COSAS member, was detained on 19 September 1985 in Kenton-on-Sea, Cape.

MADINDA, Thenjiwe Queenette (40), lost her home in an arson attack during political conflict in Grahamstown, Cape, on 4 June 1986.

MADINDI, George, was shot and beaten by members of the SAP in Beaufort West, Cape, during 1985.

MADINGA, Luvuyo Johannes (34), was shot and wounded by members of the ISU in 1993 during political conflict at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban. His home was looted while he was recovering in hospital. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MADIPERE, (first name not given), a community councillor, suffered extensive damage to her home in a hand grenade attack by MK operatives in Meadowlands, Johannesburg, during 1986. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0317).

MADISA, Frans Malemeli (44), was severely beaten by members of the IMBOKODO vigilante group in KwaNdebele, in 1985 during conflict over KwaNdebele independence.

MADISA, John Mponana (20), an ANC supporter, was arrested and detained by members of the SADF in Dennilton, Tvl, on 28 February 1986 following conflict over the government's plan for INCORPORATION of the area into KwaNdebele.

MADISA, Klaas Boesman (58), was severely assaulted by members of the SADF in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in December 1985 at a community meeting held to mobilise residents to resist their forced INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MADISA, Kleinbooi Makwe (51), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Lesehleng Village, Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 15 February 1986. Mr Madisa allegedly refused to heed a command to stop running when police were dispersing stone-throwing youths during conflict over INCORPORATION into the newly self-governing KwaNdebele homeland.

MADISA, Martha Bonolo (19), a citizen of Botswana, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on a house in Phiring, near Gaborone, Botswana on 28 March 1988. A senior MK commander and two other Batswana women died in the raid. After being shot, the victims were doused with petrol and set alight. The head of C-Section at Security Branch headquarters and other Security Branch members were refused amnesty for arranging a bogus arms cache to be 'discovered' as a pretext for the raid.

MADISA, William Kimbi (40), was arrested at Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in 1986 and detained for a month in several prisons. His detention occurred during conflict between IMBOKODO, allegedly aided by members of the SAP, and people opposed to KwaNdebele independence.

MADISHA, Elias, was abducted on 7 July 1977 in Moutse, KwaNdebele. There was conflict in the area because the people in Maganagobushwa were against the INCORPORATION of the area into KwaNdebele.

MADISHA, Fana Phineas (52), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police, in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, on 7 March 1990 during a protest march from Ga-Rankuwa to the local police station. Several others were injured in the attack.

MADISHA, Mashima Jan (25), was injured by members of the SAP in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 8 March 1986 when police stopped a bus of mourners returning from a mass funeral and assaulted them during violent conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MADISHA, Ntombenjani Sophie (42), was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

MADISHA, Thapelo Donald Dudu, died in police custody in Potgietersrus, Tvl, on 1 June 1990. He was detained on 17 January 1990 and allegedly resisted intimidation to turn state witness. Notes smuggled out by fellow inmates allege that by May 1990 Mr Madisha was screaming and hallucinating without receiving medical attention. He was not allowed any visits. Post mortem results revealed that despite allegedly having hanged himself, death was not immediate and that Mr Madisha was allegedly left to die by police.

MADITSI, Solomon Tsekere, was shot dead by members of the SAP near Pietersburg, Tvl, on 25 January 1986 during political conflict in the homelands.

MADITSI, William Nkoane, an MK member, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Motetema, Groblersdal, Tvl, on 13 January 1990, four weeks after his return from exile.

MADIYA, Strydom Laga (30), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 May 1991.

MADLABETSHA, Bhekisisa (24), had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in June 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MADLALA, Aaron (54), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP on 6 November 1992 while in detention at the Mountain Rise police station, Pietermaritzburg.

MADLALA, Albert Felendlini, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by an IFP supporter at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1992.

MADLALA, Alfred (38), was shot and stabbed to death by named ANC supporters on 7 February 1992 at Mjondolo in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg. The perpetrators approached Mr Madlala in his home and accused him of being an IFP supporter.

MADLALA, Alpheus (43), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by named perpetrators in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 August 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MADLALA, Bakazi Minah Mamtshilotshi (54), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 14 April 1991 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MADLALA, Besinia Leanar (55), an ANC supporter, had her house in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. Ms Madlala resided in an area known to be an IFP stronghold.

MADLALA, Bheki (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and fatally wounded by members of the AMAVARAVARA in Clermont, near Durban, in 1992 in internal conflict within the ANC.

MADLALA, Bhekisisa Trueman (32), a COSATU member, was shot and severely injured by SPECIAL CONSTABLES in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1991.

MADLALA, Bilingi Nhlayenza (42), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters while on his way home from work on 17 April 1991 in Marburg, near Port Shepstone, Natal. On the day of his funeral, his widow had her house burnt down by ANC supporters.

MADLALA, Bongani Gracious (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by an IFP supporter in Appelsbosch, near Stanger, Natal, on 23 November 1991.

MADLALA, Bongani Michael (19), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters at Nkwezela, Bulwer, Natal, on 9 January 1993.

MADLALA, Celani Aleya, an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Estcourt, Natal, on 19 February 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MADLALA, Dumisani Duke (25), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters on 31 August 1986 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban.

MADLALA, Eligius Mbuyiselwa, 22, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1992.

MADLALA, France (30), was shot dead by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 May 1991 in ongoing political conflict. In April and May 1991, political violence in the area claimed the lives of at least 31 people and rendered about 200 people homeless.

MADLALA, Ggambi Cecilia (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 26 June 1993 in Port Shepstone, Natal, in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Ms Madlala was visiting a family known to be sympathetic to the ANC when the house was attacked by unidentified persons.

MADLALA, Gugu Joslinah (39), had her house near Umhlanga, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 June 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MADLALA, Jabulile (51), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down in May 1992 in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MADLALA, Jabulile Lucy (44), an ANC supporter, had her two rondavels at Enkumba, Bulwer, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in December 1987. The perpetrators attacked the community of Enkumba shortly after a rally addressed by a local chief in the area.

MADLALA, John Nelson (22), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 May 1991.

MADLALA, Kati Masitolo (59), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 May 1991. In April and May 1991 political violence in the area claimed the lives of at least 31 people and rendered about 200 people homeless.

MADLALA, Khohliwe Sholipi (20), had her room destroyed in an arson attack by unidentified persons at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1992, during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MADLALA, Khona Christina (26), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters on 4 May 1991 at Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal. In April and May 1991 political violence in the area claimed the lives of at least 31 people and rendered about 200 people homeless.

MADLALA, Khonjwayo, an IFP supporter, was abducted and burnt to death by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, during April 1991.

MADLALA, Khumbuzile Mildred (39), lost her mother and daughter, and suffered severe material loss, when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 3 December 1991. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MADLALA, Lahliwe Mahluza (58), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters on 4 May 1991 at Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal. In April and May 1991 political violence in the area claimed the lives of at least 31 people and rendered about 200 people homeless.

MADLALA, Lamani Donatus (36), an ANC supporter, was stabbed, hacked and burnt to death in his car by fellow ANC supporters in Inchanga, Natal, on 1 December 1989, allegedly because he had refused to help an ANC victim who had been shot by IFP supporters next to his home.

MADLALA, Lephina (64), had her home burnt down and her property destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in September 1993 at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during continuing political conflict in the area.

MADLALA, Mabandla Andreas (58), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 29 August 1991, allegedly because he was thought to be assisting ANC youths in the area.

MADLALA, Manjilo Manana (69), was burnt to death by ANC supporters in Ngxenyeni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 April 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area. Ms Madlala had allegedly been accused of being a witchdoctor.

MADLALA, Matilda (51), an Inkatha supporter, had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters on 30 April 1989 in intensifying violent conflict in the area.

MADLALA, Mbuyelwa (53), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by IFP supporters returning from a rally at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 November 1992.

MADLALA, Mduduzi Eric (23), a UDF supporter, was arrested in Hammarsdale, Natal, during January 1988. He was allegedly forced by named members of the SAP to make a false confession and was held in Durban-Westville prison for six months. Prior to the incident his home had been burnt several times and he had been in hiding.

MADLALA, Mdutshwa, an alleged IFP supporter, was shot dead during a confrontation between ANC and

IFP supporters at Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 26 September 1992, in which at least nine people were killed. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/97/0063).

MADLALA, Mgowanaza (56), was shot and severely injured by an IFP supporter in Ndaleneni, Richmond, Natal, in March 1991. Ms Madlala had visited the chief to report that IFP supporters had assaulted her daughters for cooking food for 'comrades' who had fled to nearby forests and mountains to avoid IFP attacks. On her return, she was shot by her children's assailants.

MADLALA, Michael Khanyakwezwe (28), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 4 August 1992. He was sitting in a friend's yard at the time.

MADLALA, Mikwami Tryphina (36), had her house in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during 1990.

MADLALA, Mildred Khumbuzile (39), had her house destroyed on 3 December 1991 when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal. Ms Madlala's mother and her daughter were killed in the attack. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MADLALA, Mzayifani Jacob (37), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters at Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 May 1991.

MADLALA, Ngenzeni Nkaza (48), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters on 4 May 1991 at Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal. In April and May 1991 political violence in the area claimed the lives of at least 31 people and rendered about 200 people homeless.

MADLALA, Nhlanhla Christian (17), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by ANC supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 May 1991.

MADLALA, Nicholas Sipiwe (45), an IFP supporter, had his house destroyed by ANC supporters in April 1994 at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MADLALA, Nkosi Gladys Masikheshe (40), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters on 4 May 1991 in Marburg, near Port Shepstone, Natal, allegedly because her husband was an IFP supporter. Her husband had been killed by ANC supporters two weeks earlier. The arson attack took place on the day of his funeral.

MADLALA, Nomithi, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters on 19 March 1992 in ongoing political conflict in Port Shepstone, Natal.

MADLALA, Nomusa Goodness (18), an ANC supporter, had her home in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1992.

MADLALA, Nonhlanhla Daphney (21), was shot at and had her house burnt down at Eshowe, Natal, in June 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MADLALA, Ntuthuko Reginald (20), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death in May 1990 in Dambuza,

KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in continuing conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MADLALA, Nyusiwe Mamlisani (60), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed by ANC supporters on 4 May 1991 at Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal. Political violence in the area claimed the lives of at least 31 people and rendered about 200 people homeless in April and May 1991.

MADLALA, Phineas Thulebona, an IFP supporter, was on his way to attend an IFP self-defence camp at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, in June 1993, when he was shot dead by ANC supporters from neighbouring Esimozomeni. Earlier in the day there had been fighting at Esimozomeni between local ANC supporters and IFP members from Phatheni.

MADLALA, Raymond Fikani (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, at Maliwanqa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 April 1990.

MADLALA, Sangozile Gennet (50), was stoned and stabbed to death, along with her 18-year-old granddaughter, when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 3 December 1991. After killing Ms Madlala, the attackers tried to burn her body. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MADLALA, Sbhongile, an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters at Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MADLALA, Sicelo Michael (33), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters assisted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 December 1991.

MADLALA, Sifundo, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by IFP supporters at KwaMadlala, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 29 June 1992. His mother's house was also burnt down during this period.

MADLALA, Siphwe (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in April 1994 in Bulwer, Natal, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MADLALA, Sylvia, an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, during 1991.

MADLALA, Thando (18), was stabbed to death, together with her grandmother, when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 3 December 1991. The Madlala's home was burnt down. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MADLALA, Thobile Gladness (49), an IFP supporter, had her home at Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in April 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MADLALA, Thokoza Norah (50), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in the Inkatha stronghold of Mshayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in January 1990, allegedly because she was thought to have sympathies with the UDF and ANC.

MADLALA, Tolani (51), had his house at Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters during political conflict on 4 May 1991.

MADLALA, Tom Mjabulelwa, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, at Maliwanqa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 April 1990.

MADLALA, Tuthuma Samson (42), an Inkatha supporter, had his house petrol-bombed by UDF supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 15 August 1986.

MADLALA, Veliveli Alfred (37), a UDF supporter, was beaten and stabbed and had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1989.

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

MADLALA, Vuyane Andreas (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in the IFP stronghold of Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 January 1992. After an IFP meeting, IFP supporters allegedly rounded up youths to join an IFP self-defence training camp. Mr Madlala was shot and killed when he tried to escape on the way to the camp.

MADLALA, Yvonne, was one of five people seriously injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Administration Board offices in Tembisa, Tvl, on 6 October 1988. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/132).

MADLALA, Zibuyisile (39), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters in her home in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 April 1994 (a few days before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS), allegedly because the attackers believed her husband to be in possession of an AK47. The house was ransacked and burnt down.

MADLAVU, Aaron Sibhabhabha, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Mvumelwano, near Qumbu, Transkei, in 1990, for allegedly collaborating with stock thieves. He was against the alleged ANC policy of assaulting stock thieves once caught, and refused to attend ANC meetings in this regard.

MADLAVU, Alfred Tinisile, a UDF supporter, survived a shooting attack by vigilantes on his home in New Crossroads, Cape Town, on 31 December 1985. Mr Madlavu was arrested in April 1986 and severely beaten by members of the SAP at the Guguletu police station. He was charged with the murder of two vigilantes but was later discharged.

MADLAVU, Ngangelizwe Moses, a UDF activist, was hacked to death with spades, axes and pick-handles by members of AMAAFRIKA during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, in 1987.

MADLE, Richard Sithembiso (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 7 July 1993, allegedly by AMASINYORA vigilantes.

MADLITYANE, Valencia Ntombiyakhe (20), a SAAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the Ciskei Defence Force on 4 August 1983 near

Mount Ruth railway station, Mdantsane, Ciskei, during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

MADLIWA, Nomgidi Martha (41), lost her home in Katlehong, Tvl, in an arson attack on 25 May 1993. She was later stabbed and injured while seeking shelter elsewhere in Katlehong. Ms Madliwa's home was reportedly attacked by IFP supporters because she is Xhosa-speaking and was assumed to be an ANC supporter. At least six houses in the vicinity were burnt that day, days after an ANC march past a Tokoza hostel precipitated a dramatic escalation of conflict on the East Rand resulting in at least 80 deaths over the following weeks.

MADLOLO, Nkohliso Johnson 'JK' (37), was shot and injured by AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and SAP members in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, during 1985.

MADLONGOLWANA, Gideon (57), was arrested and charged, with 25 others, with the crowd killing of a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN in Paballelo, Upington, Cape, on 13 November 1985. One of the UPINGTON 26, he was convicted and, with 13 others including his wife, received the death penalty, spending two years on death row before the conviction was overturned on appeal in 1991.

MADLOPHA, Bonginkosi Elphasi (29), a COSATU supporter, was tortured by Security Branch members at a police station in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during 1987. In 1990, Mr Madlophe's Esikhawini home was vandalised during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MADLOPHA, Celiwe Qhamkile Queen (22), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with a sjambok by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in May 1989.

MADODA, Lesley (15), was arrested and assaulted with rifle butts in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in July 1986 when a night vigil for a UDF supporter was broken up by members of the SAP and SADF. Lesley was then detained for five weeks under emergency regulations.

MADODA, Velaphi Daniel (14), was hacked to death in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters on 29 November 1993 during a protest march.

MADOLO, Augustin, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, in May 1993 during violence after the assassination of SACP general secretary, CHRIS HANI.

MADOLO, Ndoyisile Patrick (30), a Dimbaza Youth Congress member, was severely assaulted and tortured by members of the Ciskei Police in Dimbaza, Ciskei, first during the state of emergency in 1985, and then during a consumer boycott in 1988.

MADOLO, Nontana, (30), a PAC supporter, was convicted of sabotage in 1963 and served a three-year sentence on Robben Island, Cape Town. Upon his release, he was banished for two years to Cofimvaba, Transkei.

MADOLO, Pasikak, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 28 September 1989 at Mavuya, near Indwe, Cape, where he had attended a students' meeting.

MADONA, Evelyn (10), was injured when a bomb detonated by Security Police exploded in Mamelodi, Pretoria, in 1987 during political conflict in the area.

MADONDA, Crescentia Zamisile (17), an ANC supporter, was forced to flee when her parents' home in Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, was burnt down in June 1993 during continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MADONDA, Maxwell, an ANC supporter, was found dead with gunshot wounds in Johannesburg in December 1988, after he had fled Richmond, Natal, in 1986. The Special Branch told his family that he had been a member of the MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB.

MADONDA, Mthandeni, an ANC supporter, was abducted, together with a friend, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, in December 1991. Both were later found dead, their bodies mutilated.

MADONDA, Nomthandazo Mirriam (37), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 27 March 1990 in Ezibomvini, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MADONDA, Thombile Gretha (45), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in January 1990 at KwaZayeka, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg.

MADONDO, Antony Ndabingehlele (41), an ANC supporter, and his wife were abducted by three members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 5 April 1989. The police allegedly believed them to be in possession of arms. Mr Madondo has not been seen since and is presumed dead. His wife's body was found some time later in Nyoni, KwaZulu, near Gingindlovu, Natal.

MADONDO, Dlangamandla Dumisani (22), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 3 June 1993. An IFP mass meeting had been held that day. Mr Madondo and other ANC supporters had been campaigning for the ANC in the upcoming APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS when they were attacked by IFP supporters.

MADONDO, Gibson Petros (40), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Ndalen, Richmond, Natal, on 29 March 1991.

MADONDO, Gobo William (28), was shot and killed by unidentified attackers in Pietermaritzburg on 16 November 1990 during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MADONDO, Johannes (46), was stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters on 3 December 1988 at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg. The perpetrators accused him of supplying guns to UDF supporters.

MADONDO, Lindela Phillip (22), an ANC supporter, died after being abducted and shot by named IFP supporters outside Pietermaritzburg on 1 January 1993.

MADONDO, Mandla Wellington (16), a COSAS member, was shot in the back and killed by members of the SADF at a shopping centre in Emdeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 10 July 1986 during conflict in Soweto after the declaration of a state of emergency on June 12 1986.

MADONDO, Maqhuphuza, an ANC supporter, and her husband were abducted by three members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg on 5 April 1989. The police allegedly believed them to be in possession of arms. She was killed, and her burnt body was found sometime later in Nyoni, KwaZulu, near Gingindlovu, Natal. Mr Madondo has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MADONDO, Nontombi (59), an IFP supporter, had her house and belongings destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Nkwezela, Bulwer, Natal, in May 1992.

MADONDO, Oupa Ronald (aka 'Scorpio'), was abducted and killed by members of the Security Branch on the farm 'Leeuspoor', near Josini Dam, northern Natal during 1980. His body was destroyed by means of explosives. Five perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/151).

MADONDO, Phumelele Linet (28), was pulled from a taxi and stabbed by IFP supporters at Wasbank, near Glencoe, Natal, on 9 July 1993, allegedly because she had failed to give them information about ANC-supporting 'comrades'.

MADONDO, Sibusiso, a MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB (MUFC) member, died after being shot, stoned and stabbed with a sharp object in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, in February 1989. Mr Madondo died when he was sent to kill five youths who had allegedly refused to join the MUFC.

MADONDO, Sihle Johan (21), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters at KwaPata, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1990. IFP supporters were allegedly trying to evict ANC supporters from the area at the time.

MADONDO, Siyabonga Wilson (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 28 December 1990. Police came to his home looking for him, and fired shots into the ceiling where he was hiding.

MADONDO, Thamsanqa Wellington (17), a COSAS member, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP under emergency regulations in Protea, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 February 1987. Mr Madondo was detained because of his political activities.

MADONDO, Thandi G (34), had her house in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in September 1989 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MADONDO, Thandi Zakhona (12), was severely injured in a grenade blast during conflict between rival trade unions in Tongaat, Natal, in 1985. Thandi lost her left arm as a result of the explosion.

MADONSELA, Anthony (22), was shot in the stomach and leg by members of the SAP in Naas, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 18 May 1986 when singing freedom songs with friends in the street.

MADONSELA, Jabulani Samson (19), an Impumelo Youth Congress member, was severely beaten and stabbed with a sharp object by members of the SAP and PIRATES FOOTBALL CLUB vigilantes in Leandra, Tvl, during 1985. Police, in collusion with the vigilantes, constantly harassed Impumelelo Youth Congress

members. Mr Madonsela was released but a friend who was attacked with him was detained for a few days.

MADONSELA, Lena Nongsado (53), had her house burnt down by named Inkatha supporters in Mpumaza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in January 1987, allegedly because her sons were UDF supporters.

MADONSELA, Molefe, was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by an MK operative from the 'Dolphin Unit', exploded at the entrance to the Department of Foreign Affairs building in Johannesburg, on 15 December 1983. Seven people were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

MADONSELA, Philip Toto (21), a UDF supporter, was stabbed with a knife in Sakhile, Standerton, Tvl, on 24 December 1985 by members of the SAP. A group comprising members of the SAP and Sakhile councillors was established to try and destabilise political activity in the area by attacking UDF activists. In 1991 Mr Madonsela was again assaulted by named members of the SAP.

MADONSELA, Piet Petrus, was stoned to death by a vigilante group in Leandra, Leslie, Tvl, on 25 February 1986, reportedly because he was close to Chief Ampie Mayisa who was killed by the vigilantes. The Leandra community was attacked by vigilantes aligned to the State when they protested against being forcibly removed from their homes.

MADONSELA, Samuel (34), a returned ANC exile, died of poisoning on 12 August 1991 in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal. Members of the local Security Branch allegedly administered the poison because of Mr Madonsela's political affiliation and his refusal to work for the police.

MADONSELA, Sbusiso Haine (17), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Paulpietersburg, Natal, on 23 March 1994 while distributing voter education pamphlets in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MADRAAE, Phillip Lesetja (32), was shot and injured in the knee by members of the SADF at Nothapo, Pietersburg, on 1 May 1991 during clashes between rival supporters of the local tribal authority.

MADUBEDUBE, Lungelwa, died when she was 'necklaced' by named perpetrators on 9 January 1986 in Queenstown, Cape. Ms Madubedube's father was a BLA COUNCILLOR and his family were accused of being collaborators.

MADUBELA, Stormont (40), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by a group of UDF-supporting youth in KTC, Cape Town, on 28 January 1988, during internal conflict amongst UDF supporters at KTC regarding different approaches to the issues of housing and political organisation.

MADUBULA, Baba, an AZAPO supporter, lost her house in an arson attack at Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, on 26 December 1985, during a period of conflict between members of AZAPO and the UDF.

MADUENYANE, Robert Lepodisi (21), was detained and tortured by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Rustenburg, Tvl, in 1989 during resistance to the INCORPORATION of Rustenburg into Bophuthatswana.

MADULUBE, Nomamfengu Maureen (23), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 18 May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

MADUMA, Moleki Joseph (40), was severely beaten by named members of the SAP in Burgersfort, Tvl, in March 1986. Mr Maduma attended a mass community meeting to discuss the water crisis in the area the previous day.

MADUNA, Doctor John, was abducted, along with a friend, from his home at the Motsoaledi informal settlement by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) and ANC supporters, on 29 March 1994. They were taken to a nearby school in Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, where he was shot dead and his friend shot and injured. They were suspected of participating in an IFP march that day. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0320).

MADUNA, Fanyana Reuben, was shot dead by members of Inkatha in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 22 March 1990 after an Inkatha march in the area. Sebokeng was tense after clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

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

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

MADUNA, Masole Petros (18), a member of the local COSAS executive, was tortured in detention by named members of the Security Branch in Vereeniging, Tvl, after being arrested on 11 June 1985.

MADUNA, Mokoening Isaac (22), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in the Parys police station, OFS, on October 1987, for his participation in a protest march by members of the South African Chemicals Workers Union (SACWU).

MADUNA, Mqinisweni Albert, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MADUNA, Vusi, was assaulted and stabbed to death in March 1987 by a group of UDF supporters and members of the Hammarsdale Youth Congress in Clermont, near Durban, who suspected him of being a police informer and causing divisions in the organi-

sations. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/106).

MADUTWANE, Percia Nompi, was stabbed by UDF supporters when her parents' home was petrol-bombed in Kagiso, Tvl, on 1 March 1986. Her father was a policeman and the community saw the family as legitimate targets during the rent and consumer boycotts of the time.

MADUWA, Nomgidi Martha (41), a SADTU member, lost her home and was later stabbed by IFP supporters in Katlehong, Tvl, on 25 May 1993. An ANC march past an IFP-supporting Tokoza hostel on 22 May 1993 sparked violent conflict that led to over 1000 women and children fleeing their homes. About 35 people were killed and 14 injured in Katlehong during May 1993.

MADUWA, Nyamaxholisa, died when she was assaulted and set alight by youths in Venda on 21 March 1990. She held a leadership position in the Venda government and was accused of using witchcraft to hinder the work of political activists in the area. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/094).

MADWANYA, Themba Melville (48), was arrested on 3 February 1977 and detained for 115 days without trial at Dimbaza police station, Ciskei. He was persecuted by named members of the Ciskei Police because he did not participate in CNIP activities.

MADWE, Thembekile Joyce (41), an ANC supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

MAEMA, Pitso Simon (28), lost both his legs after he was shot by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Rustenberg, Tvl, on 16 December 1991 during an industrial strike at the Impala Platinum Mine.

MAENETJA, Senyaheno Thomas, was the target of an attempted robbery in Thabamooop, Tvl, when two MK operatives tried to rob him of his vehicle on 7 January 1990. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/81).

MAENETJE, Tshepo Brown Anthony, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with sjamboks and rifle butts by members of the Lebowa Police in Tzaneen, Tvl, on 8 May 1986 during a state of emergency.

MAEPA, Ntebele Margaret, was injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MAFA, Bantubonke (40), an ANC member, was attacked in his home with spears, shot in the leg and his house burnt by an Inkatha supporter in Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1984.

MAFA, Ntembeko Oswald (22), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MAFABATHO, Piet (49), a FAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while participating in a labour strike action in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 4 December 1992. Two police vans entered the work premises and police members opened fire on striking miners, injuring six.

MAFAFO, Moloko Jarios, (48), was attacked with a hand grenade and shot by AZANLA members in Mahwelereng, Lebowa, on 5 March 1993 when investigating a shooting.

MAFALALA, Sibongile Lennox (19), was shot and injured in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993, when the house he was in was attacked by members of a BALACLAVA GROUP who shot at the occupants and set the house alight. Seven family members and friends died in the attack.

MAFANYA, Ntambenkosi Davidson (25), was severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police and the CDF on 29 August 1983 at Mdantsane, Ciskei, during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

MAFATA, Habofanoe Daniel (19), was arrested in Bloemfontein on 16 June 1987 and detained without trial for three months, during which he was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP.

MAFATLE, Simon Thabo, a FAWUSA member, disappeared in Germiston, Tvl, on 18 September 1993 during a strike. Mr Mafatle had accompanied a friend to buy a fridge. The fridge was delivered that day but the men never returned home. It is alleged that they were both shot by a named perpetrator and that their bodies were not identifiable.

MAFATSHE, Johannes, was shot dead by Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, on 21 March 1991 while taking part in a march led by pastors to the Governor's office in protest against the deportation of the wife of the Bafokeng Chief.

MAFENGU, Mabonjwa Nelson (30), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP and the SADF in November 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAFEREKA, Selleane Paulina (15), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 March 1986 when she joined a protest march against high rents organised by the Vaal Civic Association. As a result of the shooting, Selleane is disabled and suffers from a psychological disorder.

MAFFA, Mosima Elizabeth (54), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAFFODI, Jemina Maphuti (26), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAFHALA, Phineas, was killed by members of the SADF at Messina, Tvl, in 1981 during a workers' march.

MAFIKA, Daniel Moreno (40), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 December 1987. It is believed that Mr Mafika's Sotho identity made him the target of a Zulu ethnic attack.

MAFIKA, Lindiwe Sara Makazibuyile (43), an ANC supporter, fled her home in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban on 5 July 1992 because of political violence in the area. A week later, she returned to find her home had been destroyed, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MAFIKE, Mmanini Martha (69), was injured when her house was bombed by AWB members in Hoopstad, OFS, in December 1993. The incident took place at a time when the AWB were carrying out random attacks in the province in retaliation for the PAC's 'one settler, one bullet' campaign and their attacks on white farmers.

MAFILIKA, Mkanyeli Edward (19), was severely beaten by police on 20 November 1985 and again later in custody in Robertson, Cape, after being arrested with over 70 other youth. He then spent three months in prison awaiting trial on public violence charges, which were then withdrawn. He was again detained in June 1986 and held under emergency regulations for three months.

MAFILIKA, Violet (33), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with batons and sjamboks by members of the SAP in Robertson, Cape, during 1986. Police were forcing residents to clean Nkqubela township and many were beaten that day.

MAFIRIKA, Telebo Johannes, was injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MAFOBOKWANE, Letsatsi Elias (66), an ANC supporter, had his house damaged in a petrol bomb attack by alleged members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in August 1985 because he was involved in the burial of people who died during political conflict in the area.

MAFODI, Chuene Maria (46), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAFODI, Mmaphuti Maria (43), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAFODI, Phuti Matlou (32), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAFOLO, Khabonina Naomi (19), was severely beaten by named perpetrators for resisting Chief Daniel Mahlangu in Nylstroom, Tvl, on 18 May 1980.

MAFONGOSI, Gqili Compton (21), was shot in the head by members of the SAP and the SADF on 21 September 1976 in Port Elizabeth in the wake of the 16 June SOWETO UPRISING. Mr Mafongosi spent two months under police guard at Livingstone Hospital and was charged with public violence for which he served three years.

MAFORA, Abel (17), was arrested with his cousin in November 1980 and tortured at Protea police station, Soweto, Johannesburg. He was later taken to John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, where he was beaten, suffocated and subjected to electric shocks because police suspected them of illegally crossing the border and concealing information of a political nature.

MAFORA, Mabotse Selepinah (54) had her house burnt down by supporters of Chief William Shongoane at Ga-Shongoane, Ellisras, Tvl, on 6 March 1981 because she supported Chief Simon Shongoane during a dispute over the chieftainship of this tribal community.

MAFOYI (MNGADI), Victor (aka 'Daniel Neto'), an MK operative, was shot dead by security forces on 14 November 1982 shortly after crossing the border from Swaziland. Two other MK operatives died in the incident and a fourth member of the unit was arrested and imprisoned. Mr Mafoyi's remains were exhumed from a cemetery in Piet Retief and reburied by his family.

MAFREKA, Ramphuthing Elias (17), was shot and injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993 during a memorial service for assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI. Several others were killed or injured in random shootings that day. The perpetrators were allegedly IFP supporters and members of the security forces.

MAFU, Musa (18), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by ANC members, at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

MAFU, Nyamleko Chemiston (61), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MAFU, Previous Mlungisi (24), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 January 1990.

MAFU, Sidawa (25), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 12 February 1993 while riding on a truck on her way to work. The perpetrators allegedly targeted the truck because Ms Mafu and other passengers lived in Phatheni, an IFP stronghold. Three people were shot dead.

MAFULANE, Frans, was assaulted and his home set alight by a large crowd of youths at Ha-Mphego, Thohoyandou, Venda, on 4 February 1990, in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for the re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Mr Mafulane managed to escape the group after the assaults. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/094).

MAFUMANA, Tolika (42), disappeared during extensive unrest in Langa, Cape Town, in August 1976. The Commission determined that he may have been burnt to death in Langa Bazaar during extensive arson attacks on 12 August 1976 on shops in Langa.

MAFUNA, Pat, was shot dead by a *Vlakplaas askari* at a taxi rank at the Baragwanath Hospital, Johannesburg, on an unspecified date between 1982 and 1986. Mr Mafuna was allegedly a former *askari* who had defected and was thus targeted for killing. The perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/231).

MAFUNDA, Wellington (16), was shot and killed by a named member of the SAP in Prieska, Cape, on 19 September 1990, when a group of youths raided a beerhall in protest against the sale of liquor.

MAFUNDITYALA, Lawrence Mxolisi (41), a member of the WITDOEKE vigilantes, was shot and injured in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 9 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the *Witdoeke*, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

MAFUTHA, Ncedani (20), was beaten by members of the SADF and a group of vigilantes in Ashton, Cape, on 4 November 1985.

MAFUYA, Godfrey, was shot by members of the SAP in Saulsville, Tvl, on 7 December 1985 and consequently died in 1987.

MAFUYA, Knowlen Luluma (33), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 17 February 1992.

MAGADLA, Mziwandile Michael (17), a SASCO member, was tear-gassed, shot and beaten by members of the SADF in Daveyton, Tvl, during the state of emergency in July 1986.

MAGADULELA, Makostada, died after being kicked, beaten and hacked by members of the SAP in 1960 at Bizana, Transkei. The police were allegedly looking for her husband, an ANC activist, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAGAGA, Zolile, a SAYCO member, was arrested and died while in police custody in 1985 in Hofmeyr, Cape. Police disrupted the night vigil and imposed restrictions on his funeral.

MAGAGULA, Gibson Linda (9), was shot by members of the SAP at Etandweni primary school in Zondi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 July 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING.

MAGAGULA, Jeremiah 'Ndentsa' (16), a COSAS member, was recruited for military training by a Security Branch agent purporting to be an MK operative, and was killed in the NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH near the Botswana border on 26 June 1986. Eight operatives from SADF Special Forces, Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/0190; AC/1999/0192; AC/1999/0194; AC/1999/0031; AC/1999/0188; AC/1999/0030 and AC/1999/0197).

MAGAGULA, Robert Absalom (23), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SADF in Nkomazi, near Nelspruit, Tvl, during June 1986 on his way to a political gathering calling for the release of local leaders in detention. He was picked up by an SADF vehicle, taken to a field and allegedly assaulted with others already in the vehicle, including small boys.

MAGAGULA, Selina Zolane, sustained damage to her property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop

near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

MAGAGULA, Wandile Joseph, was shot by members of the SAP in Matsulu, KaNgwane, on 17 May 1991 during a stayaway.

MAGAGWA, David, was severely beaten on 10 September 1976 while in detention at Breyten, Tvl. He had been arrested on suspicion of burning down three factories.

MAGALE, Mahlare Kenneth (41) was detained and tortured by members of the SADF in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, during December 1988. Mr Magale was involved in resisting the forced removal of community members from Jane Furse to Tsantsabela.

MAGAM, Aron 'Makhwekhwe' (33), was tear-gassed and shot dead at his shack by named members of the SAP in Noupoot, Cape, on 26 August 1985, on a day of widespread unrest in Zamuxolo township.

MAGAMA, John (35), was arrested and detained for allegedly conspiring to poison the town's water supply in Victoria West, Cape, during April 1968. He was convicted but after seven months he was released following an appeal. This was part of a set of arrests and trials in the Karoo region in which Poqo networks were alleged to have conspired to rise up against the white population.

MAGAMLE, Ganda William (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named COUNCILLOR in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 28 March 1985, during a UDF campaign to force councillors to resign. It is alleged that the victim was just walking past the councillor's house at the time of the shooting.

MAGANA, Martin Phello, was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MAGANA, Swane, was imprisoned by alleged members of the SAP in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in January 1986.

MAGANADISA, Jacob (22), was severely beaten and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 28 March 1992 because of his opposition to the Bophuthatswana government.

MAGANGXA, Moffat Marhanana, an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG in Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 July 1993. Tembisa was one of many Transvaal townships embroiled in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the early 1990s.

MAGANO, Seponono Johanna (23), was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 16 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING and is now permanently disabled.

MAGANYENI, Angel Nondo, was shot dead while taking part in a protest march in Kagiso, Tvl, on 22 December 1985, allegedly by a town councillor attempting to disperse the marchers. Kagiso residents were involved in a rent boycott which led to violent

clashes between residents and members of the local authority and the SAP.

MAGAQA, Mongameli Walter, was shot by IFP supporters in KwaGuga, Witbank, Tvl, on 10 October 1991 after violence between IFP and ANC supporters erupted at a hostel.

MAGAQA, Mzama Goodwell (53), a member of the local community council, lost his home in an arson attack in Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 May 1991. At the time, residents burnt down councillors' houses after they aligned themselves publicly with the IFP.

MAGASELA, Mzimkhulu Patrick, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in 1992 and 1994 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by SAP members who accused him of being a member of a self-defence unit.

MAGASELA, Nomshando Lilliam (40), a NEHAWU member, suffered severe burns to the face and body when a petrol bomb was thrown into her house through a window, on 26 June 1990 at Umlazi, Durban. Ms Magasela later heard that the petrol bomb had been intended for a KwaZulu policeman and that she had been attacked in error.

MAGASELA, Siyabonga Aaron (20), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 February 1991.

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

MAGATSELA, Sekgoetsi Jim, was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MAGAWANA, Barnabas Mahlathi (45), an ANC supporter, was executed at Pretoria Central prison, Pretoria, on 6 July 1962. He had been tried in Kokstad and sentenced to death for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAGAWANA, Douglas Khewula (49), an *iKongo* member, was executed at Pretoria Central prison, Pretoria, on 6 July 1962 for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAGAWANA, Joseph Bora (59), an ANC supporter, was tortured to death while in detention in January 1961 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAGAWANA, Yaliwe Martha (28), lost her home in an arson attack by members of the SAP in 1963 at Mzizi, Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAGAWU, Vuyelwa Sophie (40), was stabbed to death by ANC members in Rweleleyathunya, Rouxville, OFS, on 23 September 1990, allegedly because she

was perceived to be supporting the local school principal during a student boycott. The family home was burnt down in the attack.

MAGAZI, Michael (44), a member of the South African Chemical Workers Union, had his house destroyed in an attack by WITDOEKE in Sasolburg, OFS, on 3 October 1987. The incident took place during a strike. Mr Magazi was detained the following day and held for four months, allegedly because of the active role he had played in organising the strike.

MAGCABA, Elias Bonginkosi (23), was shot dead in KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, on 5 April 1991. Mr Magcaba, a Zionist lay preacher, was on his way home from church when he was killed in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Thirty people died in political violence in the area from January to 5 April 1991.

MAGCABA, Lawrence Sphiwe (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in August 1992 during conflict between the ANC youth and members of the AMAVARAVARA, who were allegedly aided by the KZP.

MAGCABA, Ntombinkulu Lilian (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1992.

MAGCABA, Zisolile Buyelaphi (23), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in August 1991 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban.

MAGENGELELE, Nhunhu Mzandile Atwell, a political activist, was reported dead by members of the SAP after he was detained at Guguletu police station, Cape Town, on 20 January 1979. Police claimed that he committed suicide by hanging himself with his shoestrings.

MAGEVEZA, Tamsanqa Steven (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE during protests in Grahamstown, Cape, on 28 April 1985.

MAGEZA, Basil Earnest (42), was shot and injured on 11 July 1992 when IFP supporters attacked his home in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, with stones, teargas and live ammunition. The attack took place shortly after police had searched Mr Mageza's house. A named member of the SAP had allegedly labelled him as an ANC supporter.

MAGIBANE, Fana, had his home burnt down by during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, during 1988.

MAGINGXA, Nomute Veronica (60), an ANCWL member, was severely beaten by members of the CDF during conflict between the ADM and the ANC supporters in KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 26 December 1991.

MAGINXA, Baso Win (58), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the CDF during conflict between the ADM and the ANC supporters in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 26 December 1991.

MAGMOED, Shaun (16), was shot dead by members of the Railway Police in Athlone, Cape Town, on 15 October 1985, in the TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN.

MAGO, Mthenjwa (55), an ANC supporter, had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in May 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MAGODA, Nonkoliswa Dolly (24), was shot dead outside her home in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993, the day of assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI's night vigil. Ms Magoda and her boyfriend were shot by the occupants of a white Jetta car, allegedly IFP supporters and members of the security forces.

MAGODIELA, Tsietsi, an ANC supporter, died in hospital after being arrested and severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 30 April 1990 during conflict between two factions within the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS. The SAP took advantage of the conflict and scores of activists on both sides were detained, tortured and killed.

MAGODLA, Vatala, a PAC and Poqo supporter, was severely beaten with sjamboks by supporters of Chief KD Matanzima in Cofimvaba, Transkei, in 1961, during a crackdown on Poqo members in the area.

MAGOLEGO, Martha Kedibone (44), was abducted and severely assaulted by alleged members of the IMBOKODO group in Mbibana, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986.

MAGOLEGO, William Mboikana, was abducted and severely assaulted by members of the IMBOKODO vigilante group in Mbibana, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 during conflict over the homeland's independence.

MAGOLOZA, Thobeka (20), was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MAGOMOLA, Petrus Shimane (27), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Naboomspruit, Tvl, on 20 April 1993 in the wake of the assassination of SACP leader CHRIS HANI. The assassination brought South Africa to the brink of chaos and several people lost their lives in the days that followed.

MAGONGOA, William Madimetja, died when he was shot and thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters at Elsburg Railway station, Germiston, Tvl, on 9 October 1991. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MAGOPANE, Loadwick, an ANC activist, was shot and injured by a named member of the SADF at Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 25 December 1990 during conflict between the ANC and the Sofasonke civic group.

MAGOQOZA, Gertrude (39), was one of many people arrested and severely beaten by AMASOLOMZI vigilantes, working together with the SAP, in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 20 November 1985, after some of the homes of the Amasolomzi were burnt. A teargas canister was thrown into the back of the van Ms Magoqoza was in. She was later sentenced to eight years' imprisonment for public violence.

MAGOQWANA, Mziwonke Cedric (18), was arrested and imprisoned for six months for public violence in Mossel Bay, Cape, during 1985.

MAGORO, Jeffrey Sikhali (18), was injured when the car he was travelling in exploded near Sabie, Tvl, on June 21 1976. Mr Magoro and three friends were leaving the country in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING and unintentionally stumbled onto an alleged SADF base. Mr Magoro was shot in the right knee and beaten by soldiers. He was then taken to Ga-Rankuwa hospital.

MAGOSHA, Lilian, was killed in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 7 July 1992 when ISU members allegedly threw a hand grenade into her house during the night. Members of the SAP also broke down doors and smashed windows in search of hidden arms and explosives. Another family member was also killed in the attack.

MAGOSO, Dunga Protas (63), an ANC supporter, had his house at Polela, Bulwer, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 30 November 1991, allegedly because he and his family refused to attend IFP meetings.

MAGOSO, Hluphekile Annie (56), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters on 17 September 1989 at Masameni, near Greytown, Natal. Her husband was shot and stabbed to death in the attack, and her son was killed by ANC supporters on 4 December 1991.

MAGOSO, Khipha Protas (23), an IFP supporter, was found dead on 5 December 1991 in Masameni, near Greytown, Natal, shortly after he had disappeared. He is believed to have been abducted and killed by ANC supporters in intense political conflict in the area.

MAGOSO, Makhehla (41), an ANC supporter, was abducted and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 26 April 1991. Mr Magoso apparently came from an area considered to be an ANC stronghold.

MAGOSO, Mtshelekwana (66), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters who attacked and destroyed his home in Masameni, near Greytown, Natal, on 17 September 1989. His son was killed by ANC supporters on 4 December 1991.

MAGOSO, Swelekile Annadetta (60), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured when IFP supporters attacked her home in Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, in March 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAGQAZA, Mabhuthi Lawrence (38), was detained, assaulted and tortured by named members of the Transkei Police in Queenstown, Cape, in November 1986. He was charged in connection with an arson attack on the home of a COUNCILLOR, and was later acquitted.

MAGQI, Danisile (28), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in May 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MAGQO, Mteteleli Anderson (38), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 July 1990. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MAGQUNTULU, Lulamile (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Port Alfred, Cape, on 26 December 1986.

MAGUBANE, Amos (44), was killed in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 9 August 1976 on his way to work during a stayaway. The stayaway had been called for that day to protest the continued detention of a number of student activists and the continued police harassment of students in Soweto and other townships.

MAGUBANE, Bhukumuzi Lawrence (30), an ANC member from Sobantu, Pietermaritzburg, on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed.

MAGUBANE, Bhono (30), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead when members of the SAP allegedly opened fire on a protest march at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 21 March 1990.

MAGUBANE, Bongane Stephen (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters in Ktlehong, Tvl, on 14 April 1994 during political conflict in the area in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTION.

MAGUBANE, Bongani Emmanuel, a UDF and ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 February 1990, when members of the SAP opened fire on UDF and Inkatha supporters engaged in violent conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February 1990.

MAGUBANE, Duke Mz, was attacked and killed by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 February 1990. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See MPUMALANGA ATTACKS. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MAGUBANE, Esther Nokulunga (51), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when IFP supporters attacked the car she was driving in Ixopo, Natal, during 1992.

MAGUBANE, Fana, had his home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1988 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MAGUBANE, Gemu Bonginkosi (43), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured when unidentified persons attacked his family home at Assagay, near Hammarsdale, Natal, in June 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Mr Magubane's wife was shot dead as she was trying to open the window for the family to escape.

MAGUBANE, Khehla Thamsanqa (21), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 5 August 1989. Mr Magubane is disabled and permanently confined to a wheelchair as a result of the attack. His mother was shot dead by IFP supporters on 19 October 1990.

MAGUBANE, Margaret Emma (28), was present when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives

were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MAGUBANE, Mdelwa (28), was fatally shot by an ANC supporter at his home at Mashayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 December 1987, in intensifying political conflict in the area. His home was set alight in the attack.

MAGUBANE, Mhlanganyelwa Andries (46), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters near Estcourt, Natal, on 10 May 1994, shortly after the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAGUBANE, Ncishekile Kosi (55), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 19 October 1990 at her home in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, allegedly because her son was an ANC supporter. Her son was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters on 5 August 1989 and is permanently disabled.

MAGUBANE, Ntando Emmanuel (52), an ANC supporter, survived an attempt on his life when he was shot at by named and other IFP supporters while driving in the region of Ixopo, Natal, in July 1993.

MAGUBANE, Ntokozo Purity, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, during September 1988. Ms Magubane was allegedly attacked because she was thought to be associating with UDF supporters.

MAGUBANE, Ntombiza Sellina (63), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1985 in intensifying violent conflict in the area.

MAGUBANE, Ntuthane (40), had his house in the Mpumalanga area, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in political conflict on 18 March 1990.

MAGUBANE, Peter (37), was detained in 1969 and held in solitary confinement for 586 days in Johannesburg. Mr Magubane failed in his application for a court interdict to stop torture and interrogation by a named member of the Security Police in 1970. On release Mr Magubane was banned for five years which resulted in him losing his job as a photojournalist. He was continually harassed by police during his coverage of the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING and in 1985 he was injured when police opened fire with birdshot.

MAGUBANE, Sipho (18), was shot dead by an Inkatha supporter in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, during August 1987, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MAGUBANE, Thembinkosi Christopher (20), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 January 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MAGUBANE, Wellington Msawenkosi (17), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in July 1992.

MAGUBANE, Zibonele Mshikiza (29), was stabbed and severely injured by UDF supporters in 1987 while on his way to work in Pietermaritzburg, allegedly because he was perceived to be an Inkatha supporter.

MAGUBANE, Zwelandile Leonard, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg,

on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MAGUDELELA, Mandla Alfred, an ANC leader, was shot and killed by IFP members during political conflict at Ethandakukhanya, Piet Retief, Tvl, on 9 June 1993. One person was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0023).

MAGUDELELA, Stephen (14), was shot and severely injured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 24 October 1984 by members of the SADF on patrol who allegedly acknowledged that they had mistakenly shot him. Stephen was permanently paralysed as a result of his injuries.

MAGUGA, Mncedi (46), an ANC and SANCO member, lost his house, two minibuses and a car in arson attacks by ADM supporters at Ndakana, near King William's Town, Cape, on 10 September 1990.

MAGUGU, Ntombizonke Ethel (31), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down on 24 September 1988 in intensifying violent conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MAGUGU, Solomon Zamekile (16), a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 18 March 1985. Police opened fire to disperse mourners attending a prayer service for a COSAS member who had allegedly been run down by a police vehicle.

MAGUMBINI, Ngombole (35), had his home burnt down on 16 February 1993 in a dawn arson attack by IFP supporters on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, allegedly in the course of conflict over access to resources. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down.

MAGUTSHWA, Thandiwe (22), lost her home at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack in 1990 in intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MAGWA, Thando Sergeant, an ANC supporter, lost his home in an arson attack by persons opposed to the ANC during the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990. He was also shot and injured by members of the SAP on 6 June 1993 in Crossroads, Cape Town, during conflict after a Crossroads leader attempted to remove certain residents by force.

MAGWA, Zwelethemba Eric (aka 'Mzwandile Jongile' and 'Mbumbumbulo'), an ANC member from Adelaide, Cape, was executed in Angola in 1984 following mutinies in the ANC CAMPS of Viana and Pango, in Angola. Two groups of mutineers were tried by military tribunals and seven were executed.

MAGWACA, Amanda Eunice Nokwakha (46), was assaulted by members of the SAP in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 19 June 1990, during the state of emergency. The police were allegedly looking for her husband who disappeared while in custody at Bethelsdorp police station, Port Elizabeth. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MAGWACA, Popi Michael Vukile, a UDF supporter, disappeared from custody in Bethelsdorp police station, Port Elizabeth, on 24 June 1986.

MAGWANYANA, Nikho Annah (45), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters on 12 March 1987 in Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban.

MAGWAYI, Nzimeni Kidwell (33), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 13 September 1990. Two of his colleagues were killed and another injured in the shooting. Mr Magwayi was a taxi operator but the police shot at the vehicle alleging that they were terrorists.

MAGWAZA, Albert Thanda (39), an ANC supporter, had his house at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAGWAZA, Behlitshe (59), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

MAGWAZA, Bekinkosi Peter (60), an IFP supporter, had his home damaged by fire on 10 April 1992 and a month later he was shot and injured in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MAGWAZA, Bongani (34), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in a drive-by shooting in KwaMashu, Durban, on 18 February 1990, allegedly by members of the KWAZULU POLICE or SAP in alliance with Inkatha supporters.

MAGWAZA, Bongekile Anna (32), an ANC supporter, had her house vandalised by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAGWAZA, Bongelepi (50), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAGWAZA, Caleb Bongumusa (18), an IFP branch secretary, was shot and injured by ANC supporters at Sabeka, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, on 28 July 1993, allegedly because of his prominent position in the local branch of the organisation.

MAGWAZA, Cijimpi (45), had his house in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, damaged by stoning on 16 February 1992 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

MAGWAZA, Dudu (18), was shot and killed by IFP supporters returning from a Shaka Day rally in KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 September 1992. About ten other people were injured.

MAGWAZA, Dumisani, an ANC supporter, was shot dead at Bhomela, Port Shepstone, Natal on 4 July 1992 when the minibus in which he was travelling was ambushed by Inkatha supporters as it left the home of a local ANC regional organiser. Seven ANC members were killed. Five IFP members were convicted for the attack.

MAGWAZA, Dunford Mandlenkosi (30), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by other Inkatha supporters at Glebelands hostel in Umlazi, Durban, on 17 April 1990, allegedly because he would not take part in operations involving attacks on ANC supporters in the area.

MAGWAZA, Edward Bongani (20), a UDF supporter, was shot and stabbed to death in Chesterville, Durban, on 30 December 1986 by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM.

MAGWAZA, Elizabeth (67), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAGWAZA, Ellington Sigudla (44), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by IFP supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in late 1990, allegedly because he was in possession of Mandela T-shirts and firearms. Earlier, in September 1990, his wife had been shot dead by IFP supporters in the course of political conflict in the area.

MAGWAZA, Fanyana Mike (61), had his home in Wombane, KwaZulu, near Gingindlovu, Natal, set alight by IFP supporters twice in December 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MAGWAZA, Humphrey Phakade, an MK operative, was tortured by members of the Security Police while in detention at Lamontville, Durban, in January 1984. His arrest, on suspicion of murder, followed the deaths of a number of Lamontville residents who were allegedly perceived as spies after the killing of a political activist.

MAGWAZA, Isaac Mandlezulu (25), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and stabbed by a named Inkatha supporter in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1988. The perpetrators allegedly believed Mr Magwaza to be an MK member.

MAGWAZA, Israel Sipiwe (24), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 10 June 1990.

MAGWAZA, Lillian (68), had her house in Ntsingweni, near Gingindlovu, Natal, burnt down on 28 December 1991 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAGWAZA, Loneni Thambolini (33), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 February 1992, when IFP supporters returning from a chief's gathering attacked ANC hostels and homes in the area. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

MAGWAZA, Magqubu Mbongeni (59), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by unidentified assailants at Emathunzi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 21 March 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MAGWAZA, Manqumu Isaac (23), lost his home and possessions in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 10 October 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MAGWAZA, Mildred Sibongile (60), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MAGWAZA, Mondli Fano (20), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1992. Mr Magwaza, expecting an attack on his life, was staying elsewhere

at the time. Members of his family who were at home escaped unharmed.

MAGWAZA, Ngenalutho (49), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAGWAZA, Nicholas Mbhekiseni (30), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, in Ntuzuma, near Durban, in 1989.

MAGWAZA, Nozipho Lillian (20), lost her home when her parents' house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, was burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAGWAZA, Ntombi Ellen (44), had her house burnt down at Sabeka, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, in March 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAGWAZA, Ntombizodwa Augustina (46), an ANC supporter, had her house in KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 August 1993. She was forced to flee the area as a result of the attack.

MAGWAZA, Princess Benzie (22), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAGWAZA, Sebenzile Ziqhelile (18), was shot and injured when her home was attacked by a named IFP supporter in the EkwaZini area, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 July 1990, allegedly because the family did not support the IFP. The bullet hit and killed her daughter, whom she was carrying.

MAGWAZA, Shonangaphi (38), an IFP supporter, had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in October 1993 in intense conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MAGWAZA, Sikhumbuzo, a member of MAWU, lost his house in Empangeni, Natal, in an arson attack by ANC supporters in December 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MAGWAZA, Tembani (53), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAGWAZA, Thembisile Thandekile (36), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAGWAZA, Thokozani Patience (23), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAGWAZA, Velephi (52), an IFP supporter, had her house in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down on 22 December 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MAGWAZA, Vusumuzi Joseph (30), had his home in Wartburg, Natal, burnt down by UDF supporters on 29 October 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MAGWAZA, Zabantu Joyce (26), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in

Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAGWAZA, Zanele Angeline (42), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAGWEBU, Mzwandile Joseph (27), was shot in the stomach in April 1986 by members of the SAP who were on patrol in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, after the burning of a local bottle store.

MAGWENTSHU, Temba Todd Toto (26), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, following an MK attack on the Madeira Street police station, Umtata, on 29 July 1986. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/076).

MAGXAKI, Monwabisi Eric (27), was shot dead by named members of the SAP during political protest in Cookhouse, Cape, on 12 March 1985.

MAHAMOTSA, Petros Papadi, was stabbed, hacked and stoned to death by 'comrades' in Leandra, Tvl, on 25 January 1986. He belonged to a group of pupils opposing class boycotts and disruptions during violent conflict in the area due to government attempts to forcibly remove the community. These attempts included attacks by state-sponsored vigilantes.

MAHANA, Kundwani Lawrence (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by alleged members of the Venda Police in Makhado, Venda, on 18 March 1990.

MAHANJANA, Bhungwayo, an IKONGO member, died a month after he was assaulted by members of the SAP at the Bizana police station, Transkei, during 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAHANJANA, Dan Gideon (41), a Democratic Unity Movement (DUM) activist, was arrested on 12 December 1970 at Bizana, Transkei, allegedly because of his involvement in the 1970 campaign against Bantu Education. While in detention, he was tortured in various ways by members of the SAP at MKAMBATI FOREST police station, near Bizana.

MAHAPO, Godfrey (13), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, while on an errand for his mother on 18 June 1976. The SOWETO UPRISING spread to Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 June 1976. Twenty people were killed and 25 wounded by the police.

MAHAPO, Herman, was stoned, beaten and burnt to death in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 9 September 1985 by 'comrades' accusing him of stabbing a UDF supporter living in the same area.

MAHARAJ, Rajeshwar Raseh (27), an ANC supporter, was beaten by named members of the Security Branch when he was arrested on 3 May 1985. He was detained at a police station in Durban for 400 days, allegedly because of his political activities.

MAHASA, Matsidiso Jane (21), an ANC supporter, was killed when she was run over, allegedly deliberately, by a police vehicle in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 11 February 1990. The group was celebrating Nelson Mandela's release from prison. Four other ANC supporters were killed by the vehicle, which ploughed into the crowd. Thirty-one were injured.

MAHAU, Lereng Martin, died when he was necklaced by a named perpetrator, allegedly a UDF supporter in Tladi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 May 1986 after a funeral.

MAHAULE, Mayeza Peter (42), a member of the SAP, suffered damage to property when MK operatives threw a hand grenade at his house at Bosfontein, Nelspruit, Tvl, in on 27 April 1980. There were no injuries. An MK operative was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/049).

MAHAYE, Kholwangifile, lost her home in Mtilombo, near Eshowe, Natal, in an arson attack on 23 November 1993 in continuing ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAHAYE, Ntolwana Busisiwe (19), had her house burnt down by a named Inkatha supporter at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 August 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MAHEBELEDZHA, Tshamaano Robert (41), lost his leg after a severe beating by two alleged AWB supporters at Potgietersrus, Tvl, on 28 September 1993.

MAHIJANA, Lundi Shadrack (27), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF in Quzini, King William's Town, Cape, on 26 August 1993 during interrogation about his community activities and opposition to the reimposition of the headman system.

MAHITI, Khayaletu (15), was shot dead by members of the SAP during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in Cradock, Cape, on 19 March 1985.

MAHLABA, Albertina Thokozile, had her house set alight at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAHLABA, Bafana, an IFP supporter, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MAHLABA, Bellina Dolly (61), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters who attacked her home in Smero, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 20 September 1990. Five other family members, including three children, were shot and injured, and two were shot dead in the attack.

MAHLABA, Bongani Ernest (53), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 7 December 1989.

MAHLABA, Enoch Siphso, an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by alleged members of the ISU in Tembisa, Tvl, on 14 August 1992.

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

MAHLABA, Likhohlwa Samuel (60), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters during the FOLWENI MASSACRE on 26 July 1992.

MAHLABA, Linda Welcome (13), was shot dead by IFP supporters who attacked his grandmother's home in Smero, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 20 September 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. Six other family members, including two children, were shot and injured, and one other was shot dead in the attack.

MAHLABA, Lungi (10), was shot and injured by IFP supporters who attacked his grandmother's home in Smero, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 20 September 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. Five other family members, including two other children, were shot and injured, and two were shot dead in the attack.

MAHLABA, Mahlupha (68), had his house outside Pietermaritzburg ransacked and looted by named Inkatha supporters on 27 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MAHLABA, Mbuyiselwa Patrick (56), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in May 1993. The attackers allegedly asked him what political organisation he belonged to, and started assaulting him when he responded that he belonged to ANC.

MAHLABA, Mmakgabo Elias (63), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Mahlaba resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAHLABA, Nare Piet, had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Mahlaba resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAHLABA, Nonhlanhla (16), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters who attacked her grandmother's home in Smero, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 30 September 1990. Five other family members, including three children, were shot and injured, and two were shot dead in the attack.

MAHLABA, Patricia Dolly (27), an Inkatha supporter, had her house damaged and property stolen by UDF supporters at Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in September 1988.

MAHLABA, Sabelo Sibusiso Mcwell (23), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 14 November 1987.

MAHLABA, Simangele Gloria (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters who attacked her family home in Smero, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 30 September 1990. Six other family members were shot and injured in the attack; one member was shot dead.

MAHLABA, Themba David (20), a UDF supporter and student leader, was arrested, placed in solitary confinement and tortured at Utrecht, Natal, during the 1986 state of emergency, allegedly because the police wanted to extract information from him.

MAHLABA, Xolisile (1), was shot and injured by IFP supporters who attacked her grandmother's home in

Smero, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 30 September 1990 in ongoing political conflict in the area. Five other family members, including two other children, were shot and injured, and two members were shot dead in the attack.

MAHLABE, Jacob (23), an AZAPO member, was subjected to electric shocks and other torture by members of the SAP in Carletonville, Tvl, on 1 June 1986. He was at the funeral of a political activist when he was spotted by police who shot him as he tried to escape. Mr Mahlabe was tortured to elicit a confession about his involvement in student politics.

MAHLAELA, Moses, a political activist, was stabbed and severely injured in Oukasie, Tvl, in May 1989, reportedly to prevent him testifying in a murder case during the Oukasie forced removals.

MAHLAGU, Boy Simon (25), was beaten by members of the IMBOKODO vigilante group in KwaNdebele, on 5 December 1985 during conflict over the independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLAHLA, Thembinkosi Shadrack (19), a UDF supporter and COSAS member, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Uitenhage, Cape, on 7 August 1987.

MAHLAKU, Isaac Tholoana (20), was shot on the right elbow by a named SAP member in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING of June 1976.

MAHLAKULA, Philemon, an ANC member, died during a cross border raid by South African security forces into Mozambique. The precise date of his death is unknown.

MAHLALA, Nqatyana, was stabbed to death at Dobsonville Hostel, Soweto, in 1990 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Mr Mahlala was suspected of being an ANC supporter.

MAHLALELA, Annah Lobi, a UDF supporter, was shot by members of the SAP in Malelane, Tvl, in June 1986 when in a crowd protesting against the arrest of students.

MAHLAMBI, Dumisani George, was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING at a taxi rank in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 9 September 1993. Twenty-three commuters were killed and several others injured in the attack.

MAHLAMBI, Petros, was shot dead by IFP supporters on a train between New Canada and Longdale Stations, Johannesburg, on 11 March 1992. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MAHLAMONYANE, Sobashile, was tear-gassed, assaulted and arrested by members of the SAP in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1987 during forced INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAHLAMVU, Douglas (42), an ANC supporter, was detained for seven months at Lusikisiki, Transkei, in 1960, for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAHLANG, Rampie Ngene, was beaten to death by members of the IMBOKODO vigilante group in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1986 after he was accused of insulting ministers from KwaNdebele. The Moutse area was tense following proposals for INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, (first name not given), was killed by ANC supporters in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 3 June

1986 because he supported the INCORPORATION OF MOUTSE into KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Abram Eris (19), was shot in the head in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, on 12 August 1986 because he refused to come when called by a policeman during political conflict. He spent six months in HF Verwoerd hospital and was later charged with public violence, found guilty and caned.

MAHLANGU, Abram, was arrested in Tweefontein, KwaNdebele, on 26 April 1987 and detained for almost two months under emergency regulations. Mr Mahlangu was detained during conflict between the IMBOKODO vigilante group and those opposing the INCORPORATION of Tweefontein into KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Amos, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MAHLANGU, Andrew Siphso (19), a UDF supporter, was severely tortured by members of the SAP while in detention under emergency regulations in Witbank, Tvl, in June 1986. The police wanted information on the activities of Mhluzi Youth Congress.

MAHLANGU, Anna Hlamazani, an IMBOKODO supporter, had her house burnt down by 'comrades' in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during opposition to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Anna Nomgqibelo (46), lost her home in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede village into Lebowa but many residents resisted INCORPORATION which resulted in violent conflict.

MAHLANGU, Aubrey, was abducted and taken to a camp near Vaalbank, Mbibana, KwaNdebele, in May 1986 and severely beaten by members of the IMBOKODO vigilante group during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Baphelile Lenah (56), lost her home in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede village into Lebowa but many residents resisted INCORPORATION which resulted in violent conflict.

MAHLANGU, Bengwabo Daniel (58), was arrested and detained by members of the KwaNdebele Police at Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, during conflict over the INCORPORATION of the area into KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Bettie (10), was shot with buckshot by members of the SADF in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 31 August 1984 during political conflict over high rentals and the imposition of illegitimate town councillors.

MAHLANGU, Betty (8), was burnt to death in an arson attack on her house in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, by members of the IMBOKODO vigilante group on 12 June 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Betty Soso (17), was shot in the face with a rubber bullet by members of the SAP at Dwarsloop, Gazankulu, in 1986. She was shot by men in a minibus while waiting at a bus stop during a consumer boycott in the area.

MAHLANGU, Bhizana Joseph (21), a UDF supporter, was killed in an explosion near Tembisa, Tvl, on 25 May 1985 when the minibus he was travelling in was bombed.

MAHLANGU, Bikwaphi Martha (17), was attacked by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede village into Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in violent conflict.

MAHLANGU, Christinah Mafiri (60), lost her home in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede village into Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in violent conflict.

MAHLANGU, Chwili, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP and IFP supporters in Daveyton, Tvl, on 21 July 1993.

MAHLANGU, Collin (16), was beaten and stabbed to death and his body subsequently mutilated, allegedly by named IFP supporters in Zonkezizwe, Vosloorus, Tvl, on 19 April 1993 on his way to see his father. The attackers were harassing people they thought were returning from the funeral of assassinated SACP secretary general, CHRIS HANI.

MAHLANGU, David (25), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and tortured in detention by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Soshanguve, Pretoria, in August 1992 during tension between Chief Mangope and the ANC.

MAHLANGU, David Mabhongo, an ANC supporter and former *Ingwenyama* (king) of the *Ndzundza* Ndebele, had his home petrol-bombed by members of the KwaNdebele Police in KwaNdebele, Tvl, on 19 June 1987 because he opposed the proposed independence of KwaNdebele. Mr Mahlangu was the recognised traditional leader of the area during the conflict in the mid-1980s.

MAHLANGU, David, was stabbed to death by perpetrators employed by the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, in March 1989. Mr Mahlangu was politically active in the area and was repeatedly harassed by police to try and make him an informer. His refusal reportedly resulted in a death trap.

MAHLANGU, Eleanor Ndhlelendhle (37), had her house damaged in an arson attack by 'comrades' in Tweefontein, KwaNdebele, in June 1986, allegedly because her husband was suspected of being an informer for the IMBOKODO vigilante group.

MAHLANGU, Elias, was beaten by four named members of the SADF at the Waterval Camp, Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele on 10 June 1986. He died later in hospital. The inquest found the soldiers criminally liable for his death, but they were only found guilty of assault and fined between R300 and R600.

MAHLANGU, Elijah (37), was stabbed to death by members of the IMBOKODO vigilante group in Kwarrielaagte, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 during conflict over the independence of the homeland.

MAHLANGU, Erick Nkosinathi (13), was shot in the eye by members of the SAP in the streets of Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, on 12 October 1990 during a boycott over the high cost of and access to electricity.

MAHLANGU, Fanie Joseph (25), was beaten to death by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Kwarrielaagte, Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 31 December 1986 in an attack designed to coerce him into participating in a raid on Moutse because of resistance to INCORPORATION.

MAHLANGU, Felani Buffel (57), lost his home in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede village into Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in violent conflict.

MAHLANGU, Fikile Patrick, a UDF supporter, was shot and burnt to death by IMBOKODO vigilantes and alleged *Vlakplaas* operatives during July 1986. Mr Mahlangu had left for Mamelodi when members of the Security Police came looking for him. Two weeks later his mother was told to fetch his remains from Dennilton, KwaNdebele. Two fellow activists were also killed.

MAHLANGU, George (30), an IMBOKODO vigilante member, had his home damaged in an arson attack by a named perpetrator in Kwaggafontein, Tvl, in June 1986 during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, George Bernard (37), was shot in the right eye by members of the SAP in kaNyamazane, Nelspruit, on 13 May 1985 during a bus boycott. Mr Mahlangu was accused of stone throwing, was later charged with public violence and received a four-year suspended sentence. He is blind in one eye as a result of the shooting.

MAHLANGU, George Sompeka (29), was shot and injured by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 1 July 1986, during violent conflict over KwaNdebele independence.

MAHLANGU, Isaac 'Ma-Broek', was stabbed to death by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Kwarrielaagte, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 during conflict over the independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Jabulani, a member of COSAS, was killed when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

MAHLANGU, Jacob, a local tribal authority chairperson, had his house set alight and was burnt to death by 'comrades' in KwaNdebele, KwaNdebele, on 28 May 1986 during conflict over the INCORPORATION of the village into KwaNdebele. The attack took place soon after about 20 000 people gathered at the Ndzundza Royal Kraal for a report back from the KwaNdebele

cabinet on earlier demands to abandon independence and disband the IMBOKODO.

MAHLANGU, Jacob, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 17 April 1994 in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTION. A young woman was also killed in this incident.

MAHLANGU, Jan (45), was stabbed to death by IMBOKODO members in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 during political conflict over the independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Jan Tata, was stoned and burnt to death by named perpetrators in KwaNdebele, on 14 July 1986 because he was seen as being party to government plans for INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. KwaNdebele independence was cancelled in August 1986 after violent conflict and resistance in Moutse.

MAHLANGU, Jantjie, was abducted and beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 January 1986 during violent conflict over the INCORPORATION of Moutse into KwaNdebele. KwaNdebele independence was cancelled in August 1986 due to fierce resistance in Moutse.

MAHLANGU, Jim Msebenji, a UDF supporter, was arrested by KwaNdebele police in Tweefontein, KwaNdebele, on 11 February 1987 and was never seen again. Mr Mahlangu had been assisting the SAP investigative unit collecting statements about IMBOKODO vigilante activity. Vigilantes and homeland officials were forced to flee the area in July 1986 because of fierce resistance against INCORPORATION. However, when KwaNdebele police regrouped vigilantes as *kitskonstabels*, their actions were legitimised in a second drive for KwaNdebele independence.

MAHLANGU, Jimmy Mabuti 'Damara', was abducted and tortured by named IMBOKODO members for two days in the veld near Vaalbank, KwaNdebele, in May 1986, during local resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Mr Mahlangu's brothers and several others were abducted and tortured with him. Some of the perpetrators were charged, but acquitted in a court of law.

MAHLANGU, Johanna Sesi (38), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, in August 1986 for refusing to obey a police order not to let 'comrades' attend her son's funeral. Police shot at mourners to disperse them, and injured many people.

MAHLANGU, Johannes (53), was detained in KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict over the independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Johannes, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named members of the IMBOKODO in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 21 May 1986 during conflict over KwaNdebele independence. Mr Mahlangu was accused of instigating arson attacks on the homes of IMBOKODO members.

MAHLANGU, Kedu Simon, a member of the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly and IMBOKODO, was burnt when 'comrades' poured petrol over him and set him alight in KwaNdebele during conflict over proposed independence in 1986.

MAHLANGU, Koos Mamekwa, was burnt to death by named 'comrades' in Bronkhorstspuit, Tvl, on 1 September 1986 during conflict between the UDF and the IMBOKODO over KwaNdebele independence. His wife was killed in the same attack.

MAHLANGU, Koos, was arrested by members of the KwaNdebele Police at Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 4 September 1987 and detained without trial for eight months under emergency regulations. When he was finally charged along with three other detainees, the charges were dropped.

MAHLANGU, Kortman Shorty (46), a UDF supporter and businessman, was detained for seven months in 1986 in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, during conflict over KwaNdebele independence.

MAHLANGU, Lahle Rosy (56), had her home in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, damaged in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mphezulu Mahlangu in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede village into Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in violent conflict.

MAHLANGU, Letty (19), was severely beaten by IMBOKODO members in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in 1986. The IMBOKODO victimised the youth of Vlaklaagte because of their resistance to KwaNdebele's independence.

MAHLANGU, Litha Andries (25), was abducted and beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Kwarrielaagte, KwaNdebele, on 31 December 1985 during conflict over KwaNdebele's independence.

MAHLANGU, Lizzy (38), was harassed and sexually assaulted by members of the KwaNdebele Police in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in January 1986 because she was married to a known opponent of KwaNdebele's independence.

MAHLANGU, Lucas Silala (20), a BC supporter, was arrested by members of the KwaNdebele Police at KwaNdebele, in 1986 for intervening when they were assaulting his cousin. He was found dead a few days later.

MAHLANGU, Magdelina (30), an ANC supporter, was severely injured after being shot twice in the hip by unidentified perpetrators outside her home opposite Mazibuko hostel in Katlehong, Tvl, on 9 April 1994 during escalating political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTION.

MAHLANGU, Martha, was burnt to death by 'comrades' in Bronkhorstspuit, Tvl, on 1 September 1986 during conflict between the UDF and the IMBOKODO group over KwaNdebele independence. Her husband was killed in the same attack.

MAHLANGU, Martin Patrick, a member of the Mamelodi Civic Association, disappeared after his abduction from his home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 18 March 1986. An SAP official informed the family in 1995 that Mr Mahlangu could have been killed and his body blown up in a *Vlakplaas* operation. *Vlakplaas* commander Eugene De Kock was convicted for the incident. He has applied for amnesty.

MAHLANGU, Mbhutini (30), an ANC supporter, was abducted, tortured, severely beaten, tear-gassed and imprisoned after members of the SAP opened fire on his house in Mzinoni, Bethal, Tvl, in June 1989 while searching for weapons.

MAHLANGU, Mbingweni Maria, was injured in an explosion near Tembisa, Tvl, on 25 May 1985 when the minibus she was travelling in was bombed.

MAHLANGU, Mbuyelwa Martha (49), lost her home in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele during resistance to the INCORPORATION of the area into Lebowa.

MAHLANGU, Menti Piet (39), was abducted and severely beaten by IMBOKODO members in KwaNdebele, on 26 December 1985 during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Mhlupheki Paulos (25), was abducted in May 1986 and tortured for two days in the veld near Vaalbank, KwaNdebele, by named IMBOKODO members, during local resistance to INCORPORATION into an independent KwaNdebele. Mr Mahlangu's brothers were among several others abducted and tortured with him. Some of the perpetrators were charged, but acquitted in a court of law.

MAHLANGU, Mitah (32), was severely assaulted when she was kicked and beaten with a *knobkierie* by a named member of the IMBOKODO group in Katsibane, KwaNdebele, in May 1981 during conflict between the community and the tribal authority over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Mlotho Johannes (50), a UDF supporter, was assaulted with fists and pick handles by the KwaNdebele Police and IMBOKODO members in Mbokola, Moutse, KwaNdebele, in January 1986. He was accused of assisting political 'activists'.

MAHLANGU, Mondlina Lina (57), had her home in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, burnt down, allegedly by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede village into Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in violent conflict.

MAHLANGU, Moses Moti, lost his home in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Sterkfontein, Kwa-Dlaulale, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede village into Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in violent conflict. Mr Mahlangu's dog was killed and left on his bed.

MAHLANGU, Motswaledi Johannes (36), was severely beaten and had his property destroyed by members of the SAP at Katjibane, KwaNdebele, on 18 May 1980 during conflict over the proposed independence of the homeland.

MAHLANGU, Msili Pinkie (19), lost her house when it was burnt down by supporters of Chief Jack Mphhezulu Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, Tvl, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede village into Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in violent conflict.

MAHLANGU, Ndingizana Daniel (41), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, in

August 1986 for refusing to obey police orders not to let 'comrades' attend his son's funeral. Many people were injured when police shot at mourners to disperse them.

MAHLANGU, Nkosinathi Godfrey, was shot and killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natalspruit, Tvl, on the 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

MAHLANGU, Nofanezile (46), lost her home in an arson attack by perpetrators opposed to the Kwa-Ndebele government and IMBOKODO vigilantes in KwaMhlanga, KwaNdebele, on 5 May 1986. Ms Mahlangu's husband served in the KwaNdebele Chiefs' Council when residents opposed INCORPORATION into the newly independent KwaNdebele, resulting in violent conflict during which hundreds of people died or were injured. KwaNdebele independence was cancelled in August 1986 because of Moutse resistance.

MAHLANGU, Nomajana Sarah (43), was attacked by supporters of Chief Jack Mphhezulu Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, Tvl, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede village into Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in violent conflict.

MAHLANGU, Nomqibelo (10), was burnt to death in an arson attack by IMBOKODO vigilantes on her house in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 12 June 1986, during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Notina William (78), had his house burnt down by 'comrades' in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into the homeland.

MAHLANGU, Ntshaye Geelbooi (42), lost his house, two *bakkies* and other property in an attack by 'comrades' in Mathyzensloop, KwaNdebele, in 1985 during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Nyumbambo Cornelius (40), a royal family member, was detained in KwaNdebele, Kwa-Ndebele, in February 1987 because of his opposition to independence for KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Pepe Rhoney, was detained by KwaNdebele Police at Weltevreden, KwaNdebele, under emergency regulations in 1986 and was held for several months due to his resistance to the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Peter Gwayela (24), was assaulted by a member of the Special Branch when he was detained in Ramatlabama, Bophuthatswana, near the Botswana border on 30 November 1975 while trying to leave the country. He was transferred to John Vorster Square where he was beaten during interrogation. He was finally released in April 1976.

MAHLANGU, Peter Mathibela (30), was assaulted and had his home destroyed during a chieftaincy dispute in Kalkfontein, KwaNdebele, in 1980.

MAHLANGU, Peter, was intimidated, kicked and beaten with knobkerries at home in Katsibane, Kwa-Ndebele, in May 1981 by a named member of IMBOKODO during conflict over KwaNdebele independence.

MAHLANGU, Petrus (17), was arrested by members of the KwaNdebele Police at Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 4 September 1987 and detained without trial for eight months under emergency regulations. When he was finally charged along with three others, the charges were dropped.

MAHLANGU, Phephelaphi Ncema (25), lost her home in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mphhezulu Mahlangu in Mathula stands, Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede village into Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in violent conflict.

MAHLANGU, Philis (49), lost her house and shop in Wolwekraal, Tvl, when they were burnt down on 13 May 1986 during conflict over KwaNdebele independence. Ms Mahlangu actively opposed the IMBOKODO vigilante group.

MAHLANGU, Phillip, was abducted, beaten and tortured by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Vaalbank, Kwa-Ndebele, in May 1986 during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Plehle Johnna (50), lost her home in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Dindela, Kwa-Dlaulale, KwaNdebele, during July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede village into Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in violent conflict.

MAHLANGU, Pondo Jerry (37), had his house and shop burnt down in Kwaggafontein, KwaNdebele, on 1 June 1986 by IMBOKODO vigilantes during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Popi Lena (61), lost livestock and had her house damaged in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede village into Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in violent conflict.

MAHLANGU, Rickie, was severely beaten by an alleged member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Leandra, Leslie, Tvl, on 5 January 1987 during conflict over the government's intention to declare the area a 'black spot'. The Leandra community was earmarked for forced removal by the government.

MAHLANGU, Selaki Langa (55), lost his home in an attack in Dindela Village, KwaNdebele, by supporters of Chief JM Mahlangu in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported plans for the INCORPORATION of the village into the tribal authority of Lebowa, but many residents resisted resulting in attacks on people and property.

MAHLANGU, Senzangakhona James (33), a UDF supporter, was continually harassed, detained, tortured and had his property destroyed by the Kwa-Ndebele Police in KwaNdebele, between 1986 and 1987. On 8 December 1987 Mr Mahlangu was shot by members of the KwaNdebele Police during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Sesana Emma (61), was severely beaten by named perpetrators for resisting Daniel Mahlangu as a chief in Nylstroom, Tvl, on 18 May 1980.

MAHLANGU, Sibongile Maria (46), was shot and injured in February 1994 by IFP supporters who came to her house near Ethethe, Stanger, Natal, to look for her sons, who were ANC supporters. The perpetrators demanded her belongings, and shot her when she tried to escape.

MAHLANGU, Sikhukhuni (24), was severely tortured by members of the KwaNdebele Police in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 12 May 1987 while seeking information about his brother's whereabouts after his detention for resisting the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Sikman Johannes, was shot and killed in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Daveyton, Tvl, on 3 August 1993.

MAHLANGU, Simon Bangani (49), was arrested and detained without trial for a year under emergency regulations by members of the SAP in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 27 July 1987 while resisting Moutse's INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Simon, a UDF supporter, had his house in Tweefontein, KwaMhlanga, KwaNdebele, burnt down by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 September 1986 during conflict over the independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Solly Mntungwa (57), was detained under emergency regulations by members of the KwaNdebele Police in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in 1986 because he opposed the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Solomon (23), an MK operative, was executed in Pretoria Central Prison on 6 April 1979. He had been convicted for his role in the killing of two people in a warehouse in Goch Street, Johannesburg and sentenced to death. Mr Mahlangu had been severely assaulted by members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch during the police investigation. One member of the Security Branch was granted amnesty for the assault (AC/2001/242).

MAHLANGU, Solomon Funani (21), was abducted, beaten and stabbed by IMBOKODO members in Vaalbank, KwaNdebele, on 14 April 1986 during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Solomon Morake (57), was kicked and beaten at his house in Katsibane, KwaNdebele, in May 1981 during conflict over KwaNdebele's independence.

MAHLANGU, Soni David (43), was hit on the head and pushed from a moving train by IFP supporters between Croesus and Longdale stations in Johannesburg, on 10 June 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MAHLANGU, Sophie, was beaten with sticks and sjamboks in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 by IMBOKODO members. Ms Mahlangu was put in a room with others where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and they were then sjambokked and beaten where they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted for about 36 hours. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Sophy Mncane (49), was beaten and stabbed in an attack on her home by supporters of Chief Jack Mphenzulu Mahlangu in Sterkfontein, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of the village into the tribal authority of Lebowa, but many residents resisted, which resulted in attacks on people and property.

MAHLANGU, Sphila (31), a member of the Swazi royal family, was severely beaten by members of the SAP who searched her house for her husband at Weltevrede, KwaNdebele, on 27 May 1987 during conflict over the homeland's proposed independence.

MAHLANGU, Sprinkie John (36), was beaten by IMBOKODO members after being abducted from his home in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in July 1986, during conflict over KwaNdebele independence.

MAHLANGU, Thembi Sophie, had her property destroyed by supporters of Chief JM Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede into the tribal authority of Lebowa, but many residents resisted, which led to attacks on people and property.

MAHLANGU, Tozi Martha (41), was severely injured when she was beaten, kicked and threatened with detention and death by members of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, in June 1986 when they came to her house to look for her activist son.

MAHLANGU, Venile Simon (31), was abducted and beaten by IMBOKODO members in KwaNdebele, on 15 December 1986 during conflict over the independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLANGU, Vusi, was shot dead in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 13 December 1992 when IFP supporters allegedly opened fire on Vosloorus residents marching to the local administration offices to demand rate cuts.

MAHLANGU, Vusimuzi Jeremiah (21), was stabbed and assaulted by members of the Gadaffi faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS who attacked his car in Khutsong, Carletonville. Tvl, in November 1990.

MAHLANYANA, Andile (18), was shot dead by named perpetrators in Old Crossroads, Cape Town, on 20 September 1991, during a conflict fuelled by territory and local leadership issues.

MAHLANYANA, Thando Paul (17), a PEYCO-UDF activist, died after he was run over by a police Hippo on 4 August 1986 in Port Elizabeth. His body was found lying next to the communal tap with 15 others, also allegedly killed by SAP members. At the time of the incident, PEYCO members were guarding the homes of UDF activists from AZAPO and police attacks.

MAHLANZA, Mkhululi (21), died after he was severely beaten by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 14 August 1985.

MAHLANZA, Nomfunzo Alberta (50), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 January 1988 during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MAHLANZA, Siphio Lington (53), had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by

IFP supporters in June 1993, allegedly because he refused to participate in IFP activities. The year was marked intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in the area.

MAHLASE, Dorah, was beaten by IMBOKODO members at Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 to try and prevent Ms Mahlase and her family speaking North Sotho during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MAHLASE, Iphafrus (26), a policeman, was shot in the stomach by a named perpetrator in Kamelrivier, KwaNdebele, on 19 February 1994. As a result, Mr Mahlase is confined to a wheelchair. The incident occurred when relations between the Kamelrivier community and the police were strained as the police were seen as agents of the apartheid state.

MAHLASE, Teme Phineas (50), was abducted from his home in KwaNdebele by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 January 1986. At Siyabuswa community hall he and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and were sjambokked and beaten when they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted in this way. The attacks were led by named KwaNdebele government officials and were aimed at suppressing Moutse resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAHLASELA, Msebenzi Wellington (61), an ANC supporter, was killed after he was thrown from a moving train, allegedly by IFP supporters between Katilehong and Wattville train stations, on 14 October 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MAHLATSANE, Ennuel, was killed by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

MAHLATSE, Vela Russel (37), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bhuboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 June 1993.

MAHLATSI, Edward Mohaka, an ANC member, was shot in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 March 1990 by members of the SAP who fired at a crowd of about 50 000 people who had been refused permission to hold a protest march against councillors and increased rentals. Eight people were killed and more than 350 people were injured.

MAHLATSI, Esau Pule, a Sebokeng mayor, was shot and his body burnt in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 27 May 1992 by ANC-aligned self-defence unit members. He had been seen as a collaborator since he was a member of the community council in 1984.

MAHLATSI, Lesege Patrice (25), a SANCO member, was abducted from his home by named members of the SAP and repeatedly beaten and tortured in Kagiso, Tvl, on 17 October 1985 because he was a civic and union leader. Police reportedly disrupted civic meetings constantly while refusing to grant the local residents' organisation permission to hold them.

MAHLATSI, Martha Tsatsane, was shot dead in a car in Evaton, Tvl, on 27 July 1991 with her boyfriend after receiving death threats from a rival grouping within the ANC-aligned civic organisation.

MAHLATSI, Paul, suffered damage to property when his business premises were set on fire by ANC members during political conflict between AZAPO and ANC supporters in Zamdela, Sasolburg, OFS, during 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/239).

MAHLATSI, William Phera (28), was stabbed to death by members of the THREE MILLION GANG in Brentpark, Kroonstad, OFS, on 28 August 1993, allegedly because he played an activist role in the local community.

MAHLBOA, Michael, an ANC supporter, was tortured by members of the Security Branch on a farm near Bloemfontein in October 1989, allegedly because of his political activities.

MAHLENTLE, Nelson Mandla (62), was burnt to death with his grandson in his home in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 10 February 1990, in an attack allegedly instigated by a named Crossroads leader opposed to the ANC.

MAHLENTLE, Sonwabile (6), was burnt to death with his grandfather in his home in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 10 February 1990, in an arson attack allegedly instigated by a named Crossroads leader opposed to the ANC.

MAHLILEVILA, Nomawithi (32), had her house set alight by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 February 1993 in continuing political conflict.

MAHLO, Sipho Cyprian (18), a member of the ANCYL and the Lorraine civic association, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Tzaneen, Tvl, in May 1992 because of his political activities.

MAHLO, Victor, was shot and injured in the ear by a named traditional leader who fired at a group gathered for a civic meeting at Burgersfort, Tvl, on 3 April 1993 during resistance against traditional authority in the area.

MAHLOBISA, Mbulelo (37), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the Ciskei Police, some of whom are named, on 15 September 1992 in Alice, Ciskei, in political conflict following the BISHO MASSACRE.

MAHLOBO, Makhafula Cyril, an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the security forces at Dumbe, Paulpietersburg, Natal, in March 1983. Mr Mahlobo was killed shortly after crossing into South Africa from Swaziland as part of a group of MK operatives on a mission.

MAHLOBO, Nelson, an MK operative, was detained by the Security Branch by the Security Branch in Vryheid, Natal, in 1985, and was severely assaulted and tortured. He had gone into exile in the 1960s and returned in 1983 on an MK mission.

MAHLOKO, Thabang Samuel (22), an ANC supporter, died in police custody in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 14 December 1991.

MAHLOMONYANE (23), James Basekgama, was abducted from his home in Ntwane, KwaNdebele, by IMBOKODO vigilantes led by named KwaNdebele government ministers on 1 January 1986 and assaulted at the Siyabuswa community hall in an attempt to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAHLOMUZA, Jan, was shot dead by KwaNdebele police in KwaNdebele, on 31 May 1987 during a meeting held at Ndalasi Bar Lounge by anti-independence supporters. Three people died and several were injured when police opened fire to disperse the crowd.

MAHLOPE, Thembi Brilliant (15), died after being gang-raped, stabbed, shot and thrown out of a hostel window, allegedly by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in Tokoza, Tvl, on 29 July 1993. Ms Mahlope was abducted with three other girls, two of whom were killed during the incident.

MAHLULO, Mzwakhe Mayford (33), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by suffocation by members of the Ciskei Police in the Dimbaza police station, Ciskei, on 30 December 1991. Mr Mahlulo was accused of supplying arms to the ANC during the period of conflict between ANC and ADM in Ciskei.

MAHLULO, Tandisile Collen, a UDF activist, was tortured while in detention at New Brighton police station, Port Elizabeth, in July 1976.

MAHOAI, Tsebishi John (48), was severely beaten at GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 1 February 1989 by supporters of a newly appointed chief during community resistance to the new chief.

MAHOBE, Jonas, a FAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while participating in a labour strike action in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 4 December 1992. Two police vans entered the work premises and police members opened fire on striking miners, injuring six.

MAHOGO, Hermit (39), was assaulted and tortured by named perpetrators at Nongqongqo prison in East London, Cape, in 1962. He was held for a year, part of which was spent in solitary confinement. He was then placed under a five-year house arrest.

MAHOKO, Alfred Motlalentoa (28), was tortured by named members of the SAP while in detention at Actonville police station, Benoni. He was arrested after a 1986 May Day rally in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, when a police informer pointed him out. He was charged with murder and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. He survived on a disability grant until 1995.

MAHOKO, David, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, during a confrontation between residents and the SADF.

MAHOKO, Keikanetswe Selina (37), was severely beaten with a sjambok by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 8 January 1994 when she left a sportsfield where an ANC rally had been held.

MAHOMED, Ashraf Allie (17), was detained on 13 June 1986 during the state of emergency at Uitenhage, Cape. He was held for a year during which he went on an 11-day hunger strike in protest against conditions at the prison. He was allowed to study for his final school examinations only if he went into solitary confinement. Mr Mahomed had been tortured in detention for several days in 1983, when he was 15, and also in 1985. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MAHOMED, Garrat Tony (46), was shot by alleged IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 28 March 1991.

MAHONGA, Jeanette, a World Vision NGO member, died when her house was petrol-bombed by Ciskei Police on 21 October 1992 in Seymour, Ciskei.

MAHUDU, Jim (43), was shot and killed by Ermelo members of the SAP in Ga-Maphopha Village, Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, on 15 October 1987 during the state of emergency because the police were searching for his older brother.

MAHUDU, Mathee Committee (26), a SAYCO member, was arrested, tortured and subjected to electric shocks by named members of the SAP in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, on 27 May 1987.

MAHUMAPELO, Solomon, was assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP in Klerksdorp, Tvl, in 1977 during a period of heightened political activity through civic struggles and consumer boycotts.

MAHUMAPELO, Thebe Clifford, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Kgakala, near Wolmaransstad, Tvl, in February 1993 while fetching water from town after water in Tswelelang township was turned off as a result of a rent strike.

MAHUNA, Kenneth Thobekile (22), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

MAHUNGELA, Lucas Mabhoiyisana (29), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, on 21 November 1990 while participating in a march to Middelburg police station organised by the ANCWL in protest against the harassment of their children by Mhluzi and Middelburg police. Police opened fire on the marchers, killing five people and injuring eight others.

MAHURA, Matlhomare Jerry (63), a chief and ANC supporter, was harassed and detained by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990 for opposing the Mangope government.

MAHURA, Tuelo Payment (32), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police at a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990. Dryharts villagers had summoned Chief Mahura to hear their grievances when police dispersed the crowd with teargas and sjamboks.

MAHWA, Jongile (44), a SAMWU member, was severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police on 21 September 1985 at a community meeting during a consumer boycott in Berlin, Cape.

MAIBIRI, Boikanyo Jackson (29), was assaulted and tortured in detention by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Kuruman, Cape, on 15 October 1992 during a consumer boycott in the area.

MAIFADI, Benjamin, is assumed to have been burnt to death by *Vlakplaas* operatives, in Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, in July 1986. Mr Maifadi and eight other youths were recruited by *Vlakplaas askaris* for supposed military training. The house they were

staying in was set alight and their bodies were burnt beyond recognition. See NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH.

MAIFO, Jan Tito (22), an SRC member, had a leg amputated after he was shot in Nancefield, Messina, Tvl, in November 1980 by a member of the SAP whose police vehicle registration number was noted. Thobela High School pupils were holding a protest meeting when police fired on them to disperse the gathering.

MAIKETSO, Thabo Shadrack (21), was tortured in detention by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 15 April 1994 shortly before the APRIL 1994 ELECTION. Mr Maiketso was accused of burning down a school.

MAILA, Shadrack Atkins (32), was detained and severely beaten by members of the police in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in November 1985 when hundreds of residents were assaulted or killed for resisting INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAILANE, Alfred Madoda, was strangled to death with his tie, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 25 July 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MAILULA, Solomon Ramavhulani, a Venda Independent People's Party supporter, was attacked with stones in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, in 1970 when his party wanted to oust the ruling Venda National Party.

MAILULA, Stone Maribe (16), was severely assaulted in Motetema, Lebowa, on 4 June 1986, allegedly by Lebowa Police who abducted and assaulted several youths in a police vehicle. One of the youths died.

MAIMANE, Albertina Regina, had her home damaged in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Kagiso, Krugersdorp, Tvl, in May 1990. Kagiso, like many Transvaal townships, was embroiled in conflict between ANC and Inkatha/IFP supporters in the early 1990s.

MAIMANE, Sekwati David, was shot dead by IFP supporters in his home in Boksburg, Tvl, on 12 September 1990 during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

MAIMELA, Kwadishi Frans (76), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Maimela resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAIMELA, Lengoi Moses, was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MAIMELA, Mogale Judas, was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MAIMELA, Shiko David, was severely injured was killed when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MAINE, Selinah Nthabiseng (37), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by ANC members in Tikwana, Hoopstad, OFS, on 3 September 1992, allegedly for going to work during a stayaway.

MAISA, Sabata Daniel, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Tokoza, Tvl, on 3 December 1990 after he reportedly refused to point out Xhosa-speaking people's houses. Mr Maisa was one of 19 people who died during conflict in Tokoza on that day, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MAITSE, Julia Maki (34), was shot dead by members of the ANC-aligned self-defence unit in Moleleki, Katlehong, Germiston, on 7 December 1993. The perpetrators applied for amnesty for the abduction and killing of her husband and son in the same attack. Amnesty was denied.

MAITSE, Petrus Mahlomola, an AZAPO supporter, was shot dead by a named SAP member in Sasolburg, OFS, on 18 May 1986. The incident took place during a joint AZAPO/UDF protest against restrictions on political activity. Five other protesters were seriously injured in the attack.

MAITSHOTLO, Pogisho Thomas (21), an ANC supporter, was partially paralysed after he was seriously injured in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 9 May 1991 when an IFP supporter threw a hand grenade at ANC supporters on a peace march. Peace marches had been organised by both parties on that day.

MAJA, Paul Teboho (40), died when ANC supporters petrol-bombed the bus in which he was travelling in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 6 February 1990. The incident took place during a strike by the employees of a bus company. The ANC, in solidarity with the strikers, had called on people not to use buses.

MAJAFE, Victor Oupa (21), was tortured in detention in Krugersdorp, Tvl, in 1976 after being arrested trying to flee the country to Swaziland.

MAJAJA, Mxolisi Alfred (25), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP and SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, in August 1985.

MAJALAMBA, Mthuthuzeli (28), an ANC member, was severely beaten while in police custody in March 1993 at Peddie, Ciskei. He was tortured and made to confess to the beating of a member of the ADM.

MAJALI, Elizabeth Nokhaya Lindiwe (47), was detained for three months on 18 June 1986 in Middelburg, Cape. The police wanted information about her two sons who had participated in a march to demand housing.

MAJALI, Sindile, was detained for two weeks under emergency regulations in Murraysburg, Cape, in June

1986, after he had participated in a protest march demanding housing.

MAJALI, Zakuthwa, was detained for two weeks under emergency regulations in Murraysburg, Cape, in 1986, after he had participated in a protest march demanding housing.

MAJALISA, Nomhle (22), was shot and injured when rubber bullets fired by members of the SAP struck her on the head during a commemoration of the 1960 SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE at Mfuleni, Cape Town, on 21 March 1991.

MAJAMANI, Themba Welcome (35), an ANC member, was tortured by members of the Ciskei Police while in detention in March 1993 at Qamyana police station, Ciskei.

MAJANAGA, Michael Molefi (15), was severely beaten by members of the SAP while in detention in Kroonstad, OFS, in February 1985, allegedly because he was thought to have been involved in an arson attack on a policeman's home. He was detained for four months before being released without being charged.

MAJAPELO, Francina was severely injured when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MAJARA, Mapuleng Anna (29), a SACCAWU shopsteward, was harassed and intimidated by members of the SAP, one of whom is named, at Ladybrand, OFS, in 1987. Ms Majara was mobilising and recruiting workers for the ANC and SACCAWU, and was therefore considered 'troublesome'.

MAJENGE, Daludumo (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by an IFP supporter during political conflict at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, at on 29 March 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MAJENGE, Dumisani (24), an ANC supporter, died after being stabbed by IFP supporters in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 17 May 1992. Mr Majenge's brother was killed by IFP supporters in March 1993, also in political conflict.

MAJETJA, Tshibishi Daniel (43), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Majetja resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAJIET, Stefanus Andrew (19), was shot and injured by a named SAP member at Kakamas, Cape, on 13 February 1988, when the perpetrator opened fire on residents outside a house being raided by police. Two children were shot dead and 13 people injured.

MAJIJA, Ashington Sizathu (64), had his house attacked by members of the Transkei Police in Umtata, Transkei, on 13 July 1987. In the attack, his daughter and other family members were severely injured and his home and furniture damaged. His son was an ANC supporter who had gone into exile in May 1985.

MAJIJA, Landile Clement (20), was shot and injured by members of the Transkei Police in Umtata, Transkei, on 13 July 1987. In the attack, several other family members were severely injured and their home and furniture damaged. His brother was an ANC supporter who had gone into exile in May 1985.

MAJIJA, Linda (26), was shot and injured by members of the Transkei Police who attacked his home at Ngangelizwe, near Umtata, Transkei, on 13 July 1987.

MAJIKAZANA, Zanele (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

MAJIYA, Delisile (45), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Engudwini, near Bulwer, Natal, in early 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAJIYA, Sbusiso (20), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by unidentified ANC supporters at Bulwer, Natal, on 19 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAJIZA, Dumazile Grace (57), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAJOBELA, Fezile, was injured on 29 July 1986 when an MK unit attacked the Madeira police station in Umtata, Transkei. At least eight people were killed in the attack, including members of the SAP, civilians and one of the MK operatives. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

MAJOKA, Magic Msizi (28), an ANC supporter, had his house in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 January 1992. After the attack, he was detained and tortured by a named KWAZULU POLICE member, allegedly because of his support for the ANC.

MAJOLA, Abednego (62), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death on 8 November 1990 when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked residents at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, following the killing of an IFP supporter. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MAJOLA, Andile Simon (13), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 17 June 1985. Three children were killed and several others injured in the shooting. See BONGOLETHU THREE.

MAJOLA, Bekisisa Lionel (53), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by a named perpetrator at Gcilima, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 May 1993. Mr Majola was targeted for attack allegedly because he was a local ANC organiser with responsibility for recruiting members to the party.

MAJOLA, Bhokinkosi (30), was abducted by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 12 November 1992, and has not been seen since. It is alleged that perpetrators returned later on the same day and burnt down his house. He is presumed dead.

MAJOLA, Bhokumuzi (37), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 30 August 1991 in political conflict in the area.

MAJOLA, Bonakele Octavia, was one of 13 people killed in an attack by UDF and ANC supporters on Inkatha supporters in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/041).

MAJOLA, Bongani Brian, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MAJOLA, Bongiwe (24), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by Inkatha supporters who attacked her home in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, on 9 June 1990. Ms Majola's mother and sister were also injured in the attack. The family fled the area, returning the following day to find their home burnt down.

MAJOLA, Busi (aka 'Mzala'), an MK operative, was shot dead by Security Branch operatives during a raid on a house in Mbabane, Swaziland, on 4 June 1986. Two other MK operatives were killed in the attack. The raid was planned and executed by Security Branches members of the Eastern Transvaal, Soweto and *Vlakplaas*. The head of the Security Branch and 12 other operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/087).

MAJOLA, Busiswe Nomusa (61), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Nkanyezini, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by ANC supporters on 4 July 1990. Ms Majola was allegedly attacked because her son, who was killed in the attack, was aligned with Inkatha.

MAJOLA, Cyril Muzikayifani (18), an ANC supporter, had his home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in December 1989.

MAJOLA, Derrick Sunnyboy (35), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 25 April 1991 in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, allegedly because of his prominent roles in the ANC and the Bruntville Civic Organisation. Mr Majola's wife was also killed in the attack; their four-year-old child was shot and injured.

MAJOLA, Elizabeth Lindiwe (35), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 10 February 1990 in political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February.

MAJOLA, Eustace (21), a UDF/ANC supporter, was shot dead when members of the SAP opened fire on a violent confrontation between UDF and Inkatha supporters in Snathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 8 October 1987. Later his father's house was burnt down.

MAJOLA, Joana Anna (73), an ANC supporter, was the victim of an arson attack on her home when she and her family were attacked, allegedly by IFP supporters in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 9 April 1991. Ms Majola's husband was abducted and killed during this incident.

MAJOLA, Konzapi Eunice (48), an IFP supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1993

in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MAJOLA, Lovey, suffered damage to property when his house was burnt down by ANC members in Heidelberg, Tvl, during 1992 or 1993. Mr. Majola and two other suspected IFP supporters were on an ANC hit list. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/064).

MAJOLA, Mayvis, (34), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 25 April 1991, allegedly because of her husband's prominent roles in the ANC and the Bruntville Civic Organisation. Ms Majola's husband was also killed in the attack; their four-year-old child was shot and injured.

MAJOLA, Meshack Boyi (50), an ANC supporter, had his house in Snathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1987.

MAJOLA, Michael, was severely assaulted by IFP members during political conflict at Amahlongwa Reserve, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 18 October 1990. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0015).

MAJOLA, Muntuntuziwa (39), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead Nkanyezini, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, by ANC supporters, some of whom are named, on 4 July 1990. His family, whose home was burnt down in the attack, was allegedly targeted because of Mr Majola's support for Inkatha.

MAJOLA, Muziwentombi Getrude (45), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely beaten by Inkatha supporters who attacked her home in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, on 9 June 1990. Her two daughters were also injured in the attack. The family fled the area, returning the following day to find their home burnt down.

MAJOLA, Mzwandile Guy (19), was tortured in detention by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 5 November 1977 in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MAJOLA, Nelisiwe (16), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and beaten by Inkatha supporters who attacked her home in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, on 9 June 1990. Her mother and sister were also injured in the attack. The family fled the area, returning the following day to find their home burnt down.

MAJOLA, Nga Simon (51), was one of 13 people killed in an attack by UDF and ANC supporters on Inkatha supporters in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/041).

MAJOLA, Nomusa Margaret (36), an ANC-supporting civic leader and policewoman in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, was forced to resign from her post and flee to Pietermaritzburg for safety when she was intimidated by her colleagues and superiors during political conflict in 1991.

MAJOLA, Nonkululeko (4), was shot and injured in an attack on her home by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 25 April 1991. Both her parents were killed in the attack. Her father played a prominent role in the ANC and Bruntville Civic Organisation.

MAJOLA, Ntombikabani (53), an ANC supporter, had her house petrol-bombed by IFP supporters at Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 3 March 1994, allegedly because she refused to join an IFP march in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAJOLA, Ntozakhe (57), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Ezimbokodweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 June 1990 during widespread political conflict in the area.

MAJOLA, Pius (60), an ANC supporter, had his house in Haza, Howick, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1990. Mr Majola was forced to flee the area, which was considered an IFP stronghold.

MAJOLA, Pius Bonginkosi (35), was shot dead in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 May 1994 in political violence in the area following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAJOLA, Primrose Thandiwe (27), an ANC supporter, had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 April 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MAJOLA, Robert Fourie (17), was shot and injured by AMASOLOMZI vigilantes on 24 May 1986 in Ashton, Cape, during an opposition campaign to Black Local Authority.

MAJOLA, Samsan Bhekifa (37), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 28 June 1992.

MAJOLA, Samuel, an ANC supporter, was abducted on 9 April 1991, allegedly by IFP supporters, after his room was set on fire and was later found stabbed to death in the street in Vosloorus, Tvl.

MAJOLA, Thelma Nombulelo, was abducted by alleged members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 1 January 1984.

MAJOLA, Themba Howard (20), was shot and injured by a named policeman during student protests in Worcester, Cape, in August 1980. Several days later he was arrested and severely tortured by named policemen at the Security Branch offices in Worcester. He was subsequently sentenced to six months' imprisonment for public violence.

MAJOLA, Thembeni Gloria (16), a UDF supporter, was shot dead when members of the SADF opened fire on youths *toyi-toying* in Umlazi, Durban in August 1986.

MAJOLA, Thulani Cyril (15), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha members in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 November 1988 in intensifying violent conflict in the area.

MAJOLA, Thulasizwe Fatho (20), an ANC supporter, was abducted and shot by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, at Cabhane, Hibberdene, Natal, on 18 April 1990.

MAJOLA, Vusumuzi Johannes (27), had his home burnt down by IFP members in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 July 1990, allegedly because he had been branded as a COMRADE for refusing to side with IFP supporters in conflict with UDF supporters.

MAJOLA, Weh, was shot and injured during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 5 August 1992.

MAJOLA, Yoshuwa Amson Vuyani (23), was shot in the hip by a member of the SAP in Kirkwood, Cape, on 26 March 1985, when police opened fire and sprayed teargas to disperse a group of protesters.

MAJOLA, Zibindaba Faloyi (41), was shot dead by ANC supporters in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 31 March 1990, allegedly because he came from an Inkatha area and yet was running a shop in an ANC area. His shop, house and cars were set alight in the attack.

MAJOLA, Zinsizwa Frederick Mlungisi, a UDF supporter, when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MAJOLA, Zithulele Nicholas (36), an ANC supporter, had his home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in July 1992.

MAJOLA, Zuki Butomkhulu 'Toto' (24), a UDF supporter and youth activist, was severely tortured by named members of the SAP after his arrest on 12 June 1986 in Ashton, Cape.

MAJOLA, Zwanani Terrence (18), an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE who came to his home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 August 1992 during a stayaway called by COSATU. He died in hospital the following day.

MAJOVA, Mzwandile Watson, an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Tlhabane, Bophuthatswana, on 25 November 1985. Another MK operative and two civilians including a child living in the house were also killed.

MAJOVA, Sambathi, was beaten by members of the SAP while in detention in June 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAJOZI, Brian (4), was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 3 January 1991 during violent political conflict in the area.

MAJOZI, Christopher Vumazi (17), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and shot by a group of named Inkatha supporters at Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 25 May 1989, allegedly because he had left Inkatha to join the UDF. Mr Majozi was blinded as a result of the attack.

MAJOZI, Clegyman Mthunzi (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack by IFP supporters on 23 June 1991 at Ndalen, Richmond, Natal. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

MAJOZI, David Mzomuhle (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters at Entembeni, Stanger, Natal, on 10 August 1993. Two other ANC supporters were killed in the attack.

MAJOZI, Duma (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by another named ANC supporter at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 4 June 1993, allegedly in a serious internal feud.

MAJOZI, Dumisani (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a named SAP member, who allegedly supported the IFP, opened fire on a group of

people at the Majozi home in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 15 September 1990. Two people were killed and two injured.

MAJOZI, Edmond (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 7 September 1988.

MAJOZI, Elizabeth Ntombi (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by a named IFP supporter at Ntuzuma, near Durban, in October 1991.

MAJOZI, Funani Beauty (42), was fatally wounded when a named SAP member, who allegedly supported the IFP, opened fire on a group of people at the Majozi home in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 15 September 1990. One other person was killed and two were injured in the attack.

MAJOZI, Maria Mankhulu (27), was shot and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 3 January 1991 during violent political conflict in the area.

MAJOZI, Mbizo (53), an ANC supporter, had his house at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1992.

MAJOZI, Mfanizakhe, an IFP supporter, was shot dead when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MAJOZI, Mngciki (47), an IFP supporter, lost her house at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in arson attack on 16 August 1990 in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAJOZI, Ntokozo (20), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a named SAP member, who allegedly supported the IFP, opened fire on a group of people at the Majozi home in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 15 September 1990. Two people were killed and one other was injured.

MAJOZI, Paulos Lucky (26), an ANCYL supporter, was shot dead in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAJOZI, Promise (31), had her house at NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in January 1991 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MAJOZI, Sbusiso Ewart (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when a named SAP member, who allegedly supported the IFP, opened fire on a group of people at the Majozi home in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 15 September 1990. One other person was killed and two were injured in the attack.

MAJOZI, Simphiwe Patrick (11), was killed by Inkatha supporters during an attack on a UDF-stronghold at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 16 January 1989. One perpetrator was refused amnesty for the killing (AC/1999/0334).

MAJUBA, Themba Joseph (21), a UDF supporter, died when he was shot and a Casspir was driven over his head by members of the SADF and SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 14 August 1985.

MAJWEDE, Phillip Libalele (20), was arrested and severely beaten by SAP members on 30 June 1985 in Hanover, Cape.

MAKA, Johannes, an ANC supporter, died after he had been severely beaten by members of the SAP while in detention at Bizana, Transkei, in 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAKA, Lydia (28), was killed by armed men who boarded a Soweto-bound train at Jeppe station and began their attack as the train passed through George Goch station on 13 September 1990. The attackers moved through three carriages, killing around 26 people. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MAKA, Nopikisa Angelina (58), an Inkatha member, sustained burn wounds when her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, was petrol-bombed by UDF supporters on 9 July 1989.

MAKAE, Maferong Jacob (61), a DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP) supporter, had his house set alight in an arson attack by ANC supporters in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 29 August 1989, allegedly because of his support for the DNP.

MAKAFE, Ntombomzi (10), was shot by a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE on 12 September 1986 while she was playing in the backyard of a house in Grahamstown, Cape. The incident took place on a day of tension between the community and the police. Unknown persons began shooting at the police who retaliated.

MAKAI, Lungile Edward (47), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Javuka Street, Port Elizabeth, on 26 May 1985 during conflict between UDF and AZAPO supporters in the area.

MAKAI, Maluse Adam (55), was stoned and lashed in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 19 January 1981 during a period of rivalry between two chiefs. The victim supported Chief Lerumo and was assaulted by Chief Mapela's supporters.

MAKALELA, Robert Matshediso (25), was injured when a limpet mine planted by MK operatives exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MAKALUZA, Ellen (35), a Nyanga resident, was beaten and stabbed to death by migrant workers from the hostels in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 27 December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and hostel-dwellers during the Christmas 1976 period.

MAKAMA, Nambono Annie (47), had her home damaged in an arson attack by 'comrades' in Nelspruit, Tvl, in 1986 because her husband was suspected of spying for the chief. The Inyandza National Movement attempted to impose a new chief in the KaNgwane homeland. Those opposed to the homeland assaulted Inyandza members and the magistrate set to preside over proceedings to institute the new chief.

MAKANDA, Ntombentsha Jeanette (23), was severely assaulted by ANC supporters in Lusaka, Zambia, on 5 May 1985. She was accused of being an informer for the South African government.

MAKAPELA, Zwelandile (28), was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MAKAPHELA, Nomagubu Daphney (20), was stabbed by members of the 'Gadaffi' faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC) in Khutsong, Careletonville, Tvl, in November 1990 as she returned from the funeral of a member of the 'Zim-Zim' faction of the KYC.

MAKASI, Manfred Zolile (28), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 28 August 1985, during the police crackdown on the POLLSMOOR MARCH. Twenty-eight people were shot dead by police in the aftermath of the march and in the days that followed.

MAKASI, Miliya Miriam (15), had her head covered with plastic and was severely beaten by named members of the SAP at a hostel in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, in June 1986. The perpetrators wanted to know where her boyfriend was.

MAKASI, Siphiwo (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP, one of whom is named, during intense political conflict in Burgersdorp, Cape, on 20 June 1986.

MAKASO, Thulani, an MK operative, was detained and tortured at Protea police station, Bophuthatswana, in September 1987 after his arrest while entering the country via Botswana after military training in Angola.

MAKATESI, Pumelele Action (28), a PAC supporter, was shot by police while participating in a Poqo march to the police station in Paarl, Cape, on 21 November 1962. Two Paarl residents were killed by the marchers and five marchers were shot dead. Mr Makatesi was then convicted of sabotage and sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town.

MAKATHINI, Wintombi Bongekile (21), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAKATSHANE, Sampson Sandile Mshoniswa (58), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death in his car by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 March 1990.

MAKAU, Lebohang Lucas (26), a NACTU member, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP, one of whom is named, in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 30 August 1987, during a period of unrest following the community's demand that the Special Branch leave Botshabelo. Mr Makau was permanently disabled by this shooting.

MAKAULA, Monwabisi Gladwell (41), was detained and tortured by named members of the Security Branch at Mortimer police station in Cradock, Cape, in March 1984, during an opposition campaign to Black Local Authorities.

MAKAULA, Sindekile (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed in a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 February

1993, allegedly in internal conflict over access to resources and 'muti'. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down.

MAKAWULO, Anna (65), an ANC supporter, lost two houses in an arson attack at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in the conflict between ANC and the IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAKAYI, Gideon, was hacked with *pangas* by hostel-dwellers in Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 August 1976 during conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers. Two of his brothers died with him when violence erupted after hostel-dwellers supported the state in their brutal suppression of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MAKAZA, Michael Mthetheleli, died four days after he was shot by members of the SAP while he was attending a night vigil in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 14 January 1985.

MAKAZA, Samuel James (18), was severely tortured while in detention by named members of the SAP in May 1986 in Pearston, Cape. The police wanted him to admit to the killing of the mayor's son and to submit names others who took part in the killing.

MAKAZENI, Shuluthu, an ANC supporter, was killed in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 5 October 1991, allegedly by members of the KWAZULU POLICE.

MAKEBE, Ramakhomane Adam Dipepe (21), an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP at the Reddersburg police station, OFS, in March 1988, after *toyi-toying* with others during a political demonstration.

MAKEKE, Michael (23), was shot in the leg by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 16 August 1985.

MAKENA, Mapoti Stephen, was arrested by members of the SADF in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 and shot while in police custody. Many villages in the area were raided that day, allegedly to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAKENA, Steven Rakosho, a COSAS member, was recruited for military training by a Security Branch agent purporting to be an MK operative, and was killed in the NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH near the Botswana border on 26 June 1986. Eight operatives from SADF Special Forces, Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/0190; AC/1999/0192; AC/1999/0194; AC/1999/0031; AC/1999/0188; AC/1999/0030 and AC/1999/0197).

MAKER, E, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

MAKETHA, Elizabeth Mantoa (50), lost her home in KwaMashu, Durban, in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on 17 November 1989 in intensifying political conflict.

MAKEWU, Ntlukwane, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten while detained at Bizana prison in Emqeni, Transkei, in 1960, allegedly because of his

opposition to the Trust Land Act. It is believed that he later died due to the injuries he sustained while in prison.

MAKGAE, Moshe Moses (31), was shot dead by a named member of the Lebowa Police in the street in Mahwelereng, Lebowa, on 7 March 1986. Police claimed that youths were stoning public transport when the policeman opened fire, killing Mr Makgae and wounding another. The perpetrator was found not guilty on charges of murder because of contradictory evidence by state witnesses.

MAKGAJANE, Maria Dimakatso (36), was forced from her home by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 16 March 1992 after conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC supporters.

MAKGALA, Philip Willie (23), a PAC member, was tortured in detention by members of the SAP in Springs, Tvl, on 21 April 1963. He was charged under the Terrorism Act and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

MAKGALAMELE, Potoka Franzar, a taxi driver, was fatally stabbed and shot by a member of the *Orde van die Dood* on 29 August 1989. The Amnesty Committee heard that the perpetrator carried out the killing in order to satisfy himself that he was capable of carrying out his duties as an assassin and to fulfil the requirements for initiation into the *Orde*. The applicant was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0025).

MAKGALE, Christopher Ntshimane (48), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in custody by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, in 1991. He was accused of killing a Mangope tribal appointee.

MAKGALE, Robert Bashana (49), was detained for three weeks by the Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, in October 1988 during conflict between President Mangope and another chief over control of platinum mines.

MAKGALE, Thulani Malinga, was injured when a limpet mine, placed under a police van by members of the 'Basil February' MK unit, exploded at the Duduza stadium, Tvl, on 11 June 1989. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the attempted murder (AC/2000/158).

MAKGALEMELE, Agnes, (13) was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 December 1992 during conflict over the incorporation of the Mandela Park informal settlement into the township.

MAKGALEMELE, Anna, (33) was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 December 1992 during conflict over the incorporation of the Mandela Park informal settlement into the township.

MAKGALEMELE, Isaac, was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 December 1992 during conflict over the incorporation of the Mandela Park informal settlement into the township.

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

MAKGALEMELE, Rebecca (4) was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 December 1992 during conflict over the incorporation of the Mandela Park informal settlement into the township.

MAKGALEMELE, William, (6) was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 December 1992 during conflict over the incorporation of the Mandela Park informal settlement into the township.

MAKGAMATA, Elijah, was severely injured when the vehicle he was driving detonated a landmine in Messina, Tvl, on 26 November 1985. One person died and Mr Makgamata was injured in what was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border areas. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/093).

MAKGANO, Gala, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuhtatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

MAKGANYA, S, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MAKGANYE, Morongwana Snowball (30), was severely beaten by named members of the police in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, in April 1993 after a community meeting in Braklaagte. Mr Makganye raised a clenched fist and was accused of being an ANC member.

MAKGATA, Nixon Nkwane (31), was shot dead by members of the Lebowa Police in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 23 December 1989 during a protest march against the local chief.

MAKGATHO, Edward Tsaitsai (25), a PAC member, was severely assaulted and tortured in detention, and later killed in an alleged staged accident by members of the Venda police on 13 June 1986 in Vleifontein, Tvl. Mr Makgatho was chosen by the community to lead resistance to Vleifontein's INCORPORATION into Venda.

MAKGATHO, Rufus Ramaboya, was killed in Ivory Park, Tembisa, Tvl, on 23 October 1993 while looking for a hijacked vehicle with colleagues. They met two parties during a violent taxi dispute who mistook Mr Makgatho's group for the police, and fired at them.

MAKGATHOLELA, Mpijana, was severely beaten by members of the SAP at Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 8 March 1986 after attending a mass funeral of three 'comrades' killed during resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAKGATI, Mathibe Philemon (26) a UDF supporter, was arrested and tortured by named members of the SAP in Nebo, near Pietersburg, Tvl, during 1986. Mr Makgati was in the forefront of a UDF campaign to isolate policemen in the community and was implicated in a politically motivated arson attack.

MAKGETE, LD, and other SAP members, survived an explosion when the armoured vehicle in which they were travelling detonated a landmine in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 16 February 1986. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his part in causing the explosion (AC/2000/195). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

MAKGOBA, Ramakone Tlou (33), had her home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAKGOBA, Solomon Maphuti (17), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down at GaMatlala, Lebowa, in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Makgoba resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAKGOBOTLOU, Johannes (62), an ANC activist, was handcuffed, assaulted and threatened with death by members of the SAP in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, in March 1992.

MAKGOLO, Victor Manase (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Meadowlands, Soweto, on 16 June 1986 during a three-day stayaway to protest against the apartheid government. Police were also present when Victor was buried.

MAKGOMOLA, Frans Masidi (27), was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Naboomspruit, Tvl, on 20 April 1993 during unrest after the killing of SACP leader CHRIS HANI. He was detained for two months and denied medical treatment. The bullets were never removed.

MAKGOTHI, Henry Gordon (33), an ANC member from Orlando, Soweto, Johannesburg, was arrested in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) by the British colonial authorities in 1962 and handed back to the South African authorities. Mr Makgothi was detained and subjected to torture. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for leaving South Africa illegally, and later to a further six years for offences under the Suppression of Communism Act.

MAKGOTLHO, Dikene Joshua (39), chairperson of the UDF-affiliated Krugersdorp Residents' Organisation, was detained in 1981 in Krugersdorp, Tvl, and tortured by members of the SAP wanting information about bus boycott organisers. Mr Makgotlho was eventually charged with sedition, but charges were later dropped.

MAKHABANE, Petrus, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 16 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING.

MAKHALE, Ratselane Joshua Moholo (43), an ANC and SAMFU member, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Ladybrand, OFS, in March 1992, when police opened fire on striking workers protesting outside the municipal offices in Ladybrand.

MAKHALEMELE, Goodman, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 23 May 1985 during unrest in the area.

MAKHALEMELE, PT, a member of the SAP, was shot dead in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, in October 1987 by an MK operative escaping from his custody. The MK operative was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/2000/150).

MAKHANYA, Badiniwe (49), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAKHANYA, Beauty (48), was harassed in July 1993 in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, by three civilians and three members of the KWAZULU POLICE who were looking for her son, who was an active ANC member.

MAKHANYA, Bernard Mlungisi (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when members of the SADF, one of whom is named, opened fire on a group of protesters at a Sharpeville Day rally at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 March 1990.

MAKHANYA, Bhakinkosi Malcom (36), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 November 1991 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAKHANYA, Busisiwe Mavis (41), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MAKHANYA, Busisiwe Michal (39), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAKHANYA, Cornish Mmeko (18), was arrested in Boikhutso, Lichtenburg, Tvl, in June 1986 and transferred between prisons where he was repeatedly subjected to electric shocks and other torture by members of the SAP.

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

MAKHANYA, Doris (54), had her house in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in May 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAKHANYA, Dumisani Michael, was shot dead in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 3 April 1992 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Five other youths died in the shooting.

MAKHANYA, Fakazile Khonzepi (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAKHANYA, Fikile Angel (28), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAKHANYA, Goodnight (40), an ANC supporter, died after being shot, hacked and burnt in KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 June 1986 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and ANC/UDF supporters in the area.

MAKHANYA, Ida (41), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1989, when political violence broke out between IFP-supporting Richmond Farm residents and UDF-supporting residents of K Section, KwaMashu. The violence claimed many lives, destroyed homes and forced residents to flee from the area.

MAKHANYA, Madela (44), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 June 1992. Mr Makhanya had been shot and injured four days earlier. After his release from hospital, members of the KWAZULU POLICE, one of whom is named, took him to the veld to point out an arms cache. They told him to run, then shot him in the back.

MAKHANYA, Mahluleli, was shot and killed and his body mutilated by an IFP member in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 22 April 1990, allegedly in a revenge attack following an attack on the perpetrator's house by unidentified UDF supporters. The perpetrator was refused amnesty (AC/1997/0059).

MAKHANYA, Mandla Percy (18), was shot and severely injured by a member of the SAP in KaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 11 March 1986 when students demonstrated outside the local Magistrate's Court against the detention of fellow students.

MAKHANYA, Margaret (69), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAKHANYA, Maxwell Jabulani (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, by a named perpetrator, allegedly an ANC supporter, on 10 June 1992, reportedly because Mr Makhanya was accompanied by an IFP youth at the time of the incident.

MAKHANYA, Mdu, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 5 August 1989, during the state of emergency.

MAKHANYA, Menzi Michael (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 1 September 1992.

MAKHANYA, Mfanufikile, an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAKHANYA, Mlungisi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban on 4 July 1990. One other ANC supporter was killed in the incident.

MAKHANYA, Nakeni Mitta (41), had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 1 February 1993 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters over political control of the area. Ms Makhanya's son had been shot and severely injured the previous year in the course of political conflict.

MAKHANYA, Nkosinathi Christomas (22), an ANC supporter, was abducted and stabbed and beaten to death by other named ANC supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 27 July 1991, allegedly in the course of a serious internal feud. His body was mutilated.

MAKHANYA, Nomhawu Ida (73), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

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

MAKHANYA, Norah Ngenzeleni (25), an ANC supporter, had her house in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 13 June 1990.

MAKHANYA, Ntombi Alzina (63), was attacked by Inkatha supporters at Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban on 9 June 1990. She managed to escape and hide in the bush. The following morning, she returned to find that her house had been burnt down and her property stolen.

MAKHANYA, Ntombi Pauline (56), had her house at Ntiyane, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in October 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MAKHANYA, Petros (19), was shot dead by named perpetrators in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 5 July 1985 in escalating conflict after the killing of local activists in an operation carried out by members of *Vlakplaas* involving booby-trapped hand grenades.

MAKHANYA, Sifiso Treasure, an ANC supporter, was shot in the eye at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1992 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAKHANYA, Sipho Sipiwe (47), died when attackers shot him and cut his throat at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 18 October 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MAKHANYA, Siyabonga (9), was stabbed and injured by IFP supporters while fleeing his burning home in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 7 November 1992. The perpetrators allegedly attacked Siyabonga because of his mother's support for the ANC.

MAKHANYA, Thamsanqa Mandla (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters on 9 September 1988 at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban.

MAKHANYA, Thandiwe Rose (34), an ANC supporter, lost her house in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack on 13 December 1991. Ms Makhanya's husband had been shot dead in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area two weeks earlier.

MAKHANYA, Themba Christopher (32), was shot dead by named ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on

31 December 1993. His wife was also killed and their house burnt down in the attack. A neighbour was allegedly suspected of being a police informer, and the attackers are believed to have targeted the wrong house.

MAKHANYA, Thembani Annastasia (62), an ANC supporter, had her house at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 7 November 1992. Ms Makhanya's son, aged nine, was stabbed and injured in the attack.

MAKHANYA, Virginia Nombuthano, was shot and killed by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1990. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MAKHANYA, Vusumzi Gijimani Stanley (19), was severely beaten by named members of the SAP in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 9 July 1993, allegedly during a weapons search.

MAKHANYA, Zamokwakhe Abednego (24), an ANC supporter, was continually harassed, and eventually abducted and killed by unidentified persons, allegedly members of the KWAZULU POLICE, at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 16 June 1993.

MAKHANYE, Bhukumuzi Alfred (45), an ANC supporter, was detained and beaten by members of the SAP in Witbank, Tvl, on 18 November 1993.

MAKHAPELA, Cawe Thomas (44), had his shop looted and burnt in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in April 1990 during violent conflict between two rival groups in the ANC. See KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS.

MAKHATE, Paulina Moroosi (33), a UDF supporter, suffered injuries when she had her house burnt down by members of the SAP in Kroonstad, OFS, on 5 May 1985. Her husband was hospitalised as a result of injuries sustained in this attack.

MAKHATE, Wilfred Sehuldro, a UDF supporter, suffered injuries when he had his house burnt down by members of the SAP in Kroonstad, OFS, on 5 May 1985.

MAKHATHINE, Ntozi Jane (53), an ANC supporter, had her home in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 4 December 1991. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MAKHATHINI (HLEKWAYO), Elizabeth (39), an ANC supporter, was attacked in her home in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, by IFP supporters on 23 July 1992. Shots were fired at her and members of her family, and their two huts were burnt down. The family was forced to flee the area.

MAKHATHINI, Abion, an Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO) activist, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 1 May 1986. Police were killing selected targets on the night of the incident.

MAKHATHINI, Agnes, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with a baton by Bophuthatswana Police at the Pudimoe Police station, on 8 April 1990 after attending a community meeting criticising the Mangope government.

MAKHATHINI, CBS, a prominent member of Inkatha, was shot dead his office in Clermont, near Durban, in

1988 by members of the Clermont Youth Congress, a UDF affiliate. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/101).

MAKHATHINI, Clarice Mhlengi (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when IFP supporters attacked homes in the ANC stronghold of Magcino in the Shlazen Reserve, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 October 1992. Nine ANC supporters were killed and 18 others wounded. More than 36 houses and huts were burnt down.

MAKHATHINI, Eric, an Inkatha supporter, was killed by ANC supporters in Hillcrest, Natal, on 30 November 1989. Mr Makhathini had fled to Hillcrest from New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, following the TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE of December 1988.

MAKHATHINI, Fana Shadrack (42), had his house burnt down and was stabbed and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 6 April 1989 during political conflict in the area.

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

MAKHATHINI, Innocent Sibusiso (15), a UDF supporter, was beaten by members of the security forces on 1 January 1988 while in detention in Pinetown, Natal, allegedly because of his political activities.

MAKHATHINI, Joe Zephred (41), had his house at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 29 October 1989, allegedly in politicised factional conflict between the Makhatini and Mabheleni tribal groups. Eight Inkatha supporters were killed, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

MAKHATHINI, Johan, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP at Siyathemba, KwaNdebele, on 23 May 1986. Despite his injuries, he was arrested and accused of arson.

MAKHATHINI, John Mthokozisi (22), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters while walking in a 'no-go area' in Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 25 December 1987.

MAKHATHINI, Joseph Bongani (61), was shot dead in Obanjeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 February 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MAKHATHINI, Mbhekeni, was shot dead and had his house burnt down by ANC supporters at Gingindlovu, Natal, on 23 November 1993. The perpetrators allegedly mistook his traditional Nazareth Church attire for IFP dress.

MAKHATHINI, Njeleshe, an IFP supporter, was shot dead at Cottonlands, Verulam, Natal, on 8 January 1990. He was one of three Inkatha supporters killed, including the son of a local IFP chairman. Four days later, UDF supporters petrol-bombed the vigil held for the three deceased, killing another 13 people (including nine

children). Amnesty applications were received for the killings of 8 January.

MAKHATHINI, Nompumelelo Patricia (14), was raped by IFP supporters who attacked her home in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1991. Three months later, IFP supporters shot and severely injured her father when they attacked and burnt down the family home.

MAKHATHINI, Otto (58), an ANC supporter, had his house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, vandalised by Inkatha supporters from Lindelani on 7 December 1989.

MAKHATHINI, Simon Ubukhosibakhe, an ANC supporter, was shot dead when members of an SADF patrol opened fire on him and two friends talking in the street in KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 December 1989. His friends were injured in the shooting.

MAKHATHINI, Sphiwe Prince (18), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM in Chesterville, Durban, in June 1982.

MAKHATHINI, Siza (20), a leader in the ANCYL, was shot dead in KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 March 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

MAKHATHINI, Skhumbuzo (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at his home in Esigisini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 August 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His cousin was also killed in the attack.

MAKHATHINI, Thoko Lizzy (54), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Umlazi, Durban by IFP supporters on 22 June 1992.

MAKHATHINI, Valekile Letla (38), was injured when two MK operatives detonated a bomb in a shopping centre in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 23 December 1985 in retaliation for a South African security forces attack two weeks earlier on ANC members in Lesotho, in which nine people had been killed. The explosion in Amanzimtoti killed five people and injured 61. One of the operatives was sentenced to death and later hanged.

MAKHATHINI, Victor Thulani (30), an ANC supporter, had his house in Ogunjini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 25 May 1993.

MAKHATHINI, Xolile, was injured in an attack by IFP supporters on her home in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 July 1992. Shots were fired at her and members of her family, and their two huts were burnt down. The family was forced to flee the area.

MAKHATHINI, Zanele (13), was shot and killed when Inkatha supporters opened fire on a group of people near a bus stop in Emagadini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal on 3 March 1990. The victims had been attending an ANC rally.

MAKHATHINI, Josephina (63), an IFP supporter, had her house in Durban destroyed in an arson attack in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area in 1990.

MAKHATHINI, Sihle, an ANC co-ordinator and former MK member, was targeted for elimination by IFP members at Hlanganani Hall, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during 1992. One perpetrator in the conspiracy was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MAKHATINI, Sipho, was abducted by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) and taken to a place called 'Danger zone' in Unit F, Tokoza, Tvl, during October 1993. Mr Makhatini was shot and killed there. He was targeted because he was believed to be an IFP supporter. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/139).

MAKHATINI, Vincent Sipho (31), an ANC supporter, was abducted, allegedly by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 29 October 1993. Police found his burnt body on 3 November 1993.

MAKHATLE, Joseph (29), an ANC supporter and member of a local SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Masilo, Theunissen, OFS, on 25 May 1990. One person was killed and one other injured in this incident.

MAKHATU, Maladzi Annah, was severely beaten by members of the Venda Defence Force in Venda, on 16 April 1986 while participating in a protest march against the INCORPORATION of Tshikota into Vleifontein.

MAKHAYA, Dan (50), a local ANC executive member, was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in a hostel in Tokoza, Tvl, on 25 May 1993.

MAKHAYE, Amos (18), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters in Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 10 September 1988.

MAKHAYE, Bhengkosi C, had his house looted and set alight by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See MPUMALANGA ATTACKS. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MAKHAYE, Bonginkosi Dennis, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and beaten, and his house was set on fire by named and other IFP supporters in 1990 at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MAKHAYE, Boy Pius, an ANC supporter, died a few days after his home in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, was petrol-bombed in August 1989 by Inkatha supporters led by a named perpetrator. Mr Makhaye's wife died from burn wounds sustained in the same attack.

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

MAKHAYE, Florence Nelisiwe (28), had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Pietermaritzburg, in March 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

MAKHAYE, Fonika Cerfonia, a UDF supporter, had her house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters

and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MAKHAYE, Khulekile Christina (36), an ANC supporter, had her home in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in January 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAKHAYE, Leonard Fanifani (18), an ANC supporter, had his home in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters in August 1989. His parents died from burn wounds soon after the attack.

MAKHAYE, Lindiwe Minnie, had her house looted and set alight by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See MPUMALANGA ATTACKS. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MAKHAYE, Matombi Sophie (57), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MAKHAYE, Nhlanhla, was shot dead in Mashayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 September 1988 during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MAKHAYE, Nomasotsha Christina (46), had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in October 1989, allegedly because of her son's support for Inkatha.

MAKHAYE, Patrick Prince (15), was severely beaten while walking in the street with friends in Magwababeni, Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 25 February 1986. It is alleged that an SAP van stopped alongside them and a member of the SAP began beating Patrick.

MAKHAYE, Sipamo Hezekia (41), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and burnt to death by another named ANC supporter in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 20 April 1992, allegedly because he was thought to be a 'spy' for the IFP.

MAKHAYE, Thabo (20), an ANC supporter, was pursued and shot dead by a group of masked men in Tokoza, Tvl, on 20 September 1993 during escalating conflict in the area following an ANC march past a Tokoza hostel on May 22 1993 which led to more than 80 deaths.

MAKHAYE, Victoria, an ANC supporter, died from burn wounds a day after her home in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters in August 1989. Her husband also died as a result of the attack.

MAKHAYELE, Cresetia Cabangile, a UDF supporter, had her house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu,

near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MAKHAZA, Nomusa Maria (39), lost her house and its contents in an arson attack allegedly carried out by ANC supporters in Katlehong, Tvl, on 13 August 1990 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MAKHAZI, Nhlanhla Joseph (21), was killed by IFP supporters at Woodford, Bergville, Natal, on 27 February 1994, in intense political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAKHENE, Solomon Motsumi Andrew, was allegedly shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG at Club Lamancha in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 22 May 1993 during a terror campaign waged in the area. Witnesses claim Mr Makhene was shot by the occupants of a white Cortina that gang members had been seen driving earlier.

MAKHETHA, Gabriella Mamello (23), a UDF supporter, was stoned by Inkatha supporters in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, on 13 July 1984 during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu.

MAKHETHA, Ntombi Beatrice (54), a UDF supporter, had her house in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 26 August 1984 during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu.

MAKHETHA, Tsolo, a Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) operative, was beaten by named SAP members while in detention in Bloemfontein in November 1981. He was arrested in Clarens, OFS, together with other LLA operatives, after planting a bomb at a bus stop in Buthe Buthe, Lesotho, as part of the LLA efforts to overthrow the Lesotho government. Police initially believed the group to be MK operatives.

MAKHOBHA Noziga Selina (35), was shot in the head and detained by members of the SAP in Naboomspruit, Tvl, in 1993 on the night of CHRIS HANI'S vigil for her alleged involvement in a confrontation between ANC supporters and members of the SAP at the vigil.

MAKHOBHA, Albert Mthandeni, had his home in Machibini, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, burnt down in August 1993 in conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAKHOBHA, Bafunani Khalelani (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAKHOBHA, Bhekisisa Robert (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 22 August 1992 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAKHOBHA, Bongani Albert (24), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in 1985 at a time of intensifying political conflict in the area.

MAKHOBHA, Dina (55), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP-supporting AMABUTHO members, allegedly assisted by members of the Security Branch,

at Enkanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 26 December 1990. Her husband, who was an ANCYL chairperson, had quarreled with the *induna*, who then instructed the perpetrators to burn all houses belonging to the ANC supporters and force them out of the area.

MAKHOBHA, Dingumbuzi (52), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when his home in Esigisini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, was attacked in March 1991 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Mr Makhoba's wife and son were also shot and injured at home. Later that year, another son was axed to death at work in Empangeni.

MAKHOBHA, Dolly (45), an ANC supporter, had her house stoned and vandalised and her possessions destroyed by IFP supporters in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, in February 1992. Her daughter was injured in the attack. Another daughter was shot and injured by a named IFP supporter in seven months later.

MAKHOBHA, Faziza Raymond (30), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death at his workplace in Empangeni, Natal, on 8 December 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His parents and brother had been shot and injured in an attack on their home earlier that year.

MAKHOBHA, Getrude (55), an IFP supporter, had her homestead burnt down by IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 December 1993. Although Ms Makhoba was an IFP supporter, she was accused of keeping an ANC supporter in her home.

MAKHOBHA, Gudusa, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in political conflict at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 March 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/054).

MAKHOBHA, Nelisiwe, an ANC supporter, was injured when IFP supporters stoned and vandalised her home in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, in February 1992.

MAKHOBHA, Nothando (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named IFP supporter in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, in September 1992. IFP supporters had stoned and vandalised the Makhoba home in Sundumbili earlier that year.

MAKHOBHA, Samson, was assaulted by named Inkatha supporters in Eshowe, Natal, in 1990 during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MAKHOBHA, Sikuta Leonard, had his house in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 15 February 1990 in political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations two weeks earlier. Around 13 houses were burnt down on that day.

MAKHOBHA, Sipho Erick (23), an IFP supporter, was shot in Esigisini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 March 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MAKHOBHA, Thembisile (29), an ANC supporter, had her house and shop burnt down in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

MAKHOBELA, Eric, an ANC supporter, was hacked to death with *pangas* and decapitated by named IFP supporters in Tembisa, Kempton Park, Tvl, on 1 August 1993.

MAKHOBELA, Mphahlele Eric (59), an MK operative, was intimidated and tortured by named members of the Security Branch on 31 December 1991 in Benoni, Tvl, when he returned from exile.

MAKHOLWA, Wilton Mzonzima, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, on 17 June 1993. Several other ANC supporters were killed in the attack by hostel-dwellers linked to the IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG.

MAKHONZA, Phikeleni Florence (31), had her rented cottage and all her possessions destroyed by IFP supporters in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MAKHONZA, Zibuyile Dumeleni (22), an ANC supporter, had his house at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters during 1991.

MAKHOSI, Elizabeth Nomakula (50), was tortured by members of the SAP while she was in detention in July 1986 in Port Elizabeth. Police allegedly put onto the bedding inside her cell a chemical that made her body itch, and gave her food mixed with crushed worms.

MAKHOTHI, Jingles Kito (27), an AZAPO member, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in 1986 during political conflict in Alexandria, Cape.

MAKHUBA, Herbert Bonginkosi (22), was shot and severely injured when unidentified gunmen travelling in a minibus opened fire on mourners returning from the funeral of assassinated civic leader Sam Ntuli. Twenty people were killed and 26 injured during violence following Mr Ntuli's funeral. Mr Makhuba was partially paralysed as a result of the injuries he sustained. See NTULI FUNERAL.

MAKHUBALO, Lumka (31), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in August 1986. The assault occurred when police raided the night vigil for a 'comrade' killed in political conflict.

MAKHUBALO, Max, had his home in Bloemfontein damaged in an arson attack, allegedly by members of the Orange Free State Security Branch, in 1986. A police trainee, formerly an informer for the Security Branch, was refused amnesty owing to conflicting evidence by a co-perpetrator (AC/1999/0026).

MAKHUBALO, Oupa, was shot at by an Orange Free State Security Branch operative during an arrest in Bloemfontein in late 1986 or early 1987. One Security Branch operative alleged that he had received instructions to shoot Mr Makhubalo, but was refused amnesty owing to conflicting evidence (AC/1999/025).

MAKHUBEDU, David Malaisha (33), from Meadowlands, Johannesburg was detained by the ANC security department in Angola in 1984 and held in custody until November 1988. During his incarceration he was severely tortured. See ANC CAMPS.

MAKHUBELA, Arthur (11), was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in

June 1986. He was shot in the back while walking away from policemen who had interrogated him in the veld at night.

MAKHUBELA, Edward Bongani, an ANCYL member, was allegedly beaten to death by a member of the SAP in Vosloorus, Tvl, in July 1992.

MAKHUBELA, Joseph, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers in Swanieville, Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt in retaliation for the expulsion of IFP supporters from Swanieville informal settlement. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

MAKHUBELA, Joyce, was injured when UDF supporters launched a petrol bomb attack on a bus along the N3 freeway, near Standerton, Tvl, in March 1987. The bus was transporting Pirates soccer club players and fans to Tokoza. The Pirates were believed to be a vigilante group collaborating with community councillors and police in attacking the UDF. Three UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/071).

MAKHUBELA, Sellinah Mapontsho (34), had her house damaged in an arson attack by supporters of Chief Tshajwa in Maboloka, Bophuthatswana, on 7 May 1977 during conflict between the supporters of Chiefs Tshajwa and Lion.

MAKHUBELA, Sipho Albert (18), was shot by members of the SAP in Dube, Tvl, on 26 August 1976 in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MAKHUBELA, Winnie (15), was severely injured when she was gang-raped, stabbed and shot, then thrown out of a window and left for dead, allegedly by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in Tokoza, Tvl, on 29 July 1993. Ms Makhubela was abducted with three other girls, two of whom were killed.

MAKHUBO, Beatrice Lindiwe (22), was shot by members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in April 1984 during a student protest.

MAKHUBO, Gagaza Morris, (21), a UDF supporter, was arrested and beaten while in custody by members of the SAP in Siyathemba, Balfour, Tvl, on 2 May 1986 for his political involvement and alleged participation in burning down a local store. Mr Makhubo was charged with public violence and granted R200 bail but the charges were eventually dismissed.

MAKHUBO, Stanley Mzwandile (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP in a street in Zola, Tarkastad, Cape, on 11 September 1990, after allegedly throwing a petrol bomb at them.

MAKHUBO, Thabo, an MK operative deployed in the Transkei, was shot dead at a police roadblock near Elliot on 11 August 1981. Two others were also killed in the shoot-out. Two escaped but were cornered and died fighting at Barkly Pass two days later. The bodies were secretly buried on a farm, Lushof, in the magisterial district of Rouxville, near Aliwal North, Cape, and exhumed by the Commission on 9 April 1997.

MAKHUBU, Makomorane Aletta, an ANC supporter, was shot in Vrede, OFS, on 28 April 1993, when police

opened fire on a protest march calling for the release of children from custody. Ms Makhubu died later from her wounds.

MAKHUBU, Nombulelo Elizabeth (43), was harassed by members of the SAP in Orlando West, Soweto, in June 1976 because of her involvement in the SOWETO UPRISING.

MAKHUBU, Selby Dumisani, a PAC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the ISU, in Tokoza, Tvl, in August 1993.

MAKHUBU, Vusi (25), was shot dead at Inhlazane railway station, Soweto, on 8 September 1990. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAINVIOLENCE allegedly initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

MAKHUDU, Ishmael Dingaan, died of burn wounds sustained in an attack by alleged members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 15 May 1986.

MAKHUDU, Zenzile William, a member of the SAP, was killed when MK operatives threw hand grenades into his home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 22 January 1986. His girlfriend was injured in the attack. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0260).

MAKHUMBANE, Thivhulawi Norman (27), an ANC member, was detained and tortured by members of the Security Branch in Thohoyandou, Venda, on 20 July 1987 for accommodating MK operatives.

MAKHUNGA, James Mntuwendaba, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MAKHUNGA, Sifo Titus (53), had his house at Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in February 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MAKHUZA, Alfred Fanyan (57), was harassed by members of the SAP, some of whom are named, in Meadowlands, Soweto, on 18 December 1993, the day of his son's funeral. Mr Makhuzo's son had allegedly been killed by named AWB supporters.

MAKHUZA, Teboho, was shot and killed by members of the AWB on 12 December 1993 at an illegal roadblock set up outside Ventersdorp, Tvl. Four people, including two children, were killed in the attack. Eight AWB members were refused amnesty and one was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0045). See RODORA ROADBLOCK KILLINGS.

MAKHWASA, Milton Muzikayise, was shot and injured by IFP members during political conflict at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 24 September 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MAKHWENKWE, Mkhokheli, a headman in the Kwelerha Tribal Authority, had his house set on fire by UDF supporters on 27 March 1987 at Kwelerha, near East London, during violent conflict between UDF supporters and the Tribal Authority over forced removals.

MAKI, Thandeka Yvonne (30), was shot by named members of the SAP in Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, on 26 June 1986, when police randomly opened fire at people protesting for the release of Mandela and the restoration of human rights.

MAKI, Thembeke Nocawe (17), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE on 21 September 1989 in New Dorrington, Fort Beaufort, Cape.

MAKIBINYANE, Sello Andries (22), a COSAS member, was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 15 April 1993. Between January and October 1993, 193 people were killed in such shootings.

MAKINANA, Fukuta, was stabbed to death during politicised tribal conflict in Cofimvaba, Transkei, during 1993. Conflict erupted after Chief KD Matanzima ordered the forcible removal of communities in Keilands, Transkei, to Boomplaas.

MAKINANA, Pesika Vrey (34), an ANC supporter, was stabbed by IFP supporters in Hlobane, near Vryheid, Natal, in August 1990.

MAKINANA, William (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP, some of whom are named, during political conflict in Middelburg, Cape, on 2 July 1993.

MAKITLA, Chelane Wilson (26), was arrested by KwaNdebele Police in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in September 1986 during resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAKITLA, David (34), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured at Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1985 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAKITLA, Morare Christopher (12), was severely beaten by members of the KwaNdebele Police at Ntoane village, KwaNdebele, in June 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Security forces were allegedly searching for his relatives and assaulted family members and villagers when they failed to find them.

MAKITLA, Ntshengwane Morgan (36), a UDF supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in January 1987. Mr Makitla was taken to the Philadelphia police station and ordered to write down the names of his 'comrades'. He refused and was beaten more. After eight days he woke up in the Philadelphia hospital. He was later charged and freed on R800 bail. When inquiring he was told that the court case was over but his bail was never returned.

MAKITLA, Philemon Nkhulang, was arrested by two members of the KwaNdebele Police on 6 September 1987 and detained for 221 days in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during conflict between the KwaNdebele Police and residents over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAKITLA, Philimon (21), was shot dead by members of the SADF and IMBOKODO group in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 while attending a meeting at the Royal Kraal to discuss the abduction of some villagers by the Defence Force. Soon after the

meeting started, the soldiers tear-gassed and sjambokked those attending.

MAKIWANE, Nolwandle Esther (31), an ANC supporter, had her houses demolished and livestock impounded by named members of the SAP in Cala, Transkei, on 22 December 1962, during forced removals ordered by the government of Chief KD Matanzima.

MAKIWANE, Xola Tennyson, a former ANC member, was shot dead by an unidentified perpetrator at his house in Umtata, Transkei, in 1976. He had returned from exile after his expulsion from the ANC in the 1970s.

MAKKINK, JWF, and other SAP members, survived an explosion when the armoured vehicle in which they were travelling detonated a landmine in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 16 February 1986. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his part in causing the explosion (AC/2000/195). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

MAKOA, Tselane Joseph, was shot and injured in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, at the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE of 21 March 1960.

MAKOBA, Vuyani Daniel (20), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985. He was one of 28 people shot dead by police in the aftermath of the POLLSMOOR MARCH.

MAKOGON, Dimitri Evganyevich (23), a visiting Russian sailor, was shot and injured in an armed attack by APLA operatives on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. He lost his legs as a result of his injuries. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

MAKOKGA, Robert Marothi (26), a UDF supporter, was severely assaulted by named members of the Lebowa Police in Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa, after a protest march on 17 October 1985. He and another student were left for dead in the veld.

MAKOKOBA, Ndengezi (37), an ANC member, was detained by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAKOLA, Betty Meisie (25), was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

MAKOLA, Boy Johannes (40), an ANC supporter, was abducted by police in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on June 16 1978, the anniversary of the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING. Mr Makola was blindfolded, taken to an unknown destination and severely beaten and stabbed in the stomach. He is blind as a result.

MAKOLA, George, was severely beaten with knobkerries in Kagiso, Krugersdorp, Tvl, in August 1990 by IFP supporters.

MAKOLA, Lazarus (21), was severely beaten by IMBOKODO members in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAKOLA, Richard Tshepo (17), a political activist, was tortured in various ways by named members of the Security Branch after his arrest on 27 June 1990 in KwaMhlanga, KwaNdebele, because of his involvement in an attack on a community member suspected of being a police informer.

MAKOLA, Thabo Melvern, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 21 November 1985 during a protest march against high rentals in the township.

MAKOLANE, Abraham, 'Canon', a COSAS member, was recruited for military training by a Security Branch agent purporting to be an MK operative, and was killed in the NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH near the Botswana border on 26 June 1986. Eight operatives from SADF Special Forces, Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/0190; AC/1999/0192; AC/1999/0194; AC/1999/0031; AC/1999/0188; AC/1999/0030 and AC/1999/0197).

MAKOLOI, (first names not given), a member of the SAP, was severely injured in an APLA ATTACK on the Batho police station in Bloemfontein on 14 December 1991. As a result of the attack, Mr Makoloi lost his right arm. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1997/0064).

MAKOLOI, Phokoyantwa Jack (20), a member of the SAP, was severely beaten by SAP members in August 1990 in Barkly West, Cape, after the stoning of a MUNICIPAL POLICE member's house. The policeman fired shots at a group of youths stoning his house, injuring about 14 people. Mr Makoloi also lost his right arm in a hand grenade attack by APLA operatives in Bloemfontein on 14 December 1991. The attack is alleged to have been part of an APLA campaign to instil fear in members of the police force. Two APLA members were granted amnesty for this attack (AC/1997/0064).

MAKOLOLO, Elias Machoene, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

MAKOMA, Joseph (25), was shot dead, together with a friend, by named members of the SAP in Bishop Lavis, Cape Town, on 6 September 1989, near a burning barricade erected in protest against the apartheid elections being held that day.

MAKONGO, Ntombi Evelyn (64), an ANC supporter, had her home and shop at Woodford, Bergville, Natal, looted on 16 December 1993 by a crowd of about 200 IFP supporters returning from a rally. Two ANC members were killed and at least two were injured in clashes. On 20 and 27 February 1993, IFP supporters in Ladysmith destroyed Ms Makongo's home and remaining property by fire.

MAKOPE, Andrew Maponye, an ANC member, was abducted from Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 15 July 1987 by

a Northern Transvaal Security Branch *askari* purporting to be an MK operative. He and two others were taken to the Portland Cement mine near Pienaarsrivier, where they were tortured during interrogation and then killed by electric shock. Their bodies were taken to an abandoned road in Bophuthatswana and blown up in a landmine explosion. Three Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0030; AC/1999/0032 and AC/2000/107).

MAKOSO, Mamoleti Ariscillia (54), had her home damaged in an arson attack at Maboloka, Bophuthatswana, in 1976 when several homes were set alight during conflict between supporters of Chief Tshajwa and Chief Lion.

MAKOTI, Kgomotso Alfred (21), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 15 December 1990 at a night vigil for someone killed by members of the SAP during conflict between the community and the SAP.

MAKOTOKO, Daniel Thabo (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Bloemfontein, on 21 May 1980, while participating in a student march. Mourners at his funeral were reportedly attacked by the police.

MAKOWANI, Linos (35), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and his body set alight, along with those of two friends, in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 May 1990. It is alleged that the victims, shortly before they were killed, had discovered a minibus full of charred bodies at a garage frequented by ANC supporters.

MAKUA, Abram, was shot dead by members of the KwaNdebele Police in Weltevrede, KwaNdebele, on 31 May 1987 when police allegedly attacked a group of young men at a tavern called Ndala's lodge during conflict over KwaNdebele independence. When the victims retaliated, police fired into the tavern, killing three and injuring two.

MAKUA, Moses, suffered traumatic losses when his wife was burnt to death and his property destroyed by ANC members and residents of Ga Mantlhanyane village, Nebo, Lebowa, on 11 April 1994. Three people were killed that day. Local residents believed that a *sangoma* had identified her as one of the people responsible for the deaths of six youths through witchcraft. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/077).

MAKUA, Mphalele Monica, was abducted and killed by ANC supporters and residents, when petrol was poured on her and she was set alight in Ga Mantlhanyane village, Nebo, Lebowa, on 11 April 1994. The perpetrators accused her of using witchcraft to cause the deaths of six youths. Her own daughter was made to set her alight. Her home was also destroyed and two other people were killed. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty for the incidents (AC/2000/077).

MAKUA, Tabane (68), an ANC supporter, was stoned and then burnt to death by named youths at GaMolepane Village, Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, on 9 March 1994 after she was accused of practising witchcraft. The perpetrators were allegedly trying to purge the community of witches.

MAKUBALO, Nkosoyise Gideon (22), was severely beaten by members of the Riot Police and bitten by a

police dog in Langa, Cape Town, on 2 September 1976. He was part of a student group that assembled at Langa station to join protest marches to Cape Town as part of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MAKUBALO, Nyembezi Richard (47), an ANC supporter, was severely tortured by members of the SAP in March and May 1960 in Worcester, Cape, for his participation in protest campaigns.

MAKUBALO, Taruni Tapepe (19), was beaten and shot by members of the SAP in Langa, Cape, on 15 August 1976, during the SOWETO UPRISING. In 1977 he was tortured while in detention for nine months in Cape Town and Bloemfontein.

MAKULANA, Munzhedzi Emily, was severely assaulted and burnt to death by a group of youths at Mfunzi village, Venda, on 21 March 1990. She was accused of using witchcraft to hinder the work of the Youth Congress in the area. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/094).

MAKULANI, William Rhorhwana (36), a PAC supporter, was tortured by members of the SAP in Victoria West, Cape, in April 1968, allegedly because of his involvement in Poqo. He was part of a group of 26 men ultimately acquitted of charges of sabotage after long periods in custody on trial. This was part of a set of arrests and trials in the Karoo region in which Poqo networks were alleged to have conspired to rise up against the white population.

MAKULUVE, Andrias (25), an IFP supporter, was killed by ANC supporters in Esigisini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 4 November 1991.

MAKUME, Godfrey Ntai, was shot dead at his home in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 21 April 1993. His brother and three guests died in the same attack.

MAKUME, Mokutu Given, was shot dead at his home in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 21 April 1993. His brother and three guests died in the same attack.

MAKUME, Oupa Everest (40), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 September 1990, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MAKUME, Thomas Kabelo (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while on a march to demand the release of political prisoners at Sebokeng, Tvl.

MAKUNGA, Duduzile (43), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters, some of whom are named, in Empangeni, Natal, on 30 October 1993.

MAKUNGA, Phumzile, an IFP supporter, was raped and then stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 18 February 1992.

MAKUNYANE, David, a COSAS member, was arrested under emergency regulations in September 1986 and detained for three weeks in Middelburg, Tvl. Mr Makunyane was accused of public violence.

MAKUPULA, Nosilingi Patracia, an ADM supporter, lost her house in an attack by ANC supporters in Alice, Ciskei, on 8 September 1992.

MAKUTWANA, Tapela Meshack (17), was left permanently disabled after he was shot by police and then stabbed and severely burnt by migrant workers in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, during

political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels over the Christmas 1976 period.

MAKUYA, Nyatshisevhesingo, was abducted and shot dead by named perpetrators at Thohoyandou, Venda, on 1 April 1974 to remove her claim to the Makuya chieftaincy. The perpetrators were supporters of Chief Ngingideni who had taken the chieftaincy by force.

MAKWAE, Atella Sebolelo (44), had her home damaged in an arson attack in Maboloka, Bophuthatswana, in 1976 during conflict over the chieftaincy.

MAKWALA, Christopher Sello, and four SADF members, were attacked in their patrol vehicle by armed MK operatives in Rita township, Lebowa, on 16 June 1990. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/98).

MAKWANA, Elizabeth, sustained extensive damage to her house in Tshehlewane village, Tvl, during 1986, when it was petrol-bombed by two youth activists acting on the orders of COSAS. The intended target had been the house of the local headmaster who was believed to be an informer, but the wrong house was attacked. No one was injured. A COSAS member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0326).

MAKWATA, Simon Basayi (55), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in 1962 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAKWAYIBA, Goliath (30), a PAC activist, was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment during political unrest in Queenstown in 1963. He served his prison term on Robben Island and was released in 1984.

MAKWE, Aaron Benson (27), an ANC member, was shot dead by alleged members of the SAP in Rustenberg, Tvl, in 1986.

MAKWELA, Lucas Mabule (41), was severely beaten by alleged members of the SAP in Pietersburg, Tvl, in 1971.

MAKWENA, Seema, had his house burnt down in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Makwena resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAKWETHU, Mabandla Clemence (14), had his home demolished and his family forcibly removed on 22 December 1962 by members of the Transkei Tribal Authority in Cofimvaba, Transkei.

MAKWETHU, Vakele was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for his political activities in July 1962, in Cala, Transkei. While he was in prison his home was demolished and his family forcibly removed from the area.

MAKWETU, Mandla Joseph (17), a member of the UDF-supporting AMABUTHO, was shot by members of the SAP while he was mobilising support for the UDF in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 23 March 1985.

MALACHI, Matches Edward (25), was shot by members of the SAP in Phalaborwa, Gazankulu, on 15 February 1986 at a union meeting for mineworkers.

MALAKA, Johannah Mabolawo, was shot and severely beaten by members of the SAP and SADF at Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 17 December 1985 when a

youth meeting at the Ntoane royal kraal was disrupted. The incident occurred during conflict in the area over proposed INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MALAKA, Motimedi Gabriel (28), an ANC supporter, was placed in solitary confinement in Sibasa, Venda, in January 1978.

MALAKOANE, Amos Bafana (27), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and tortured by members of the Security Branch in Mapetla, Soweto, on 6 August 1984.

MALAKOANE, Maria (36), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986. She and her activist boyfriend were helping organise a mass funeral of 19 people killed in clashes between township residents and hostel-dwellers. Ms Malakoane's boyfriend was shot and ran into a house which was subsequently set alight.

MALAMBILE, Mzukisi Magenisi (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SADF in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 28 May 1986, while on his way home from a soccer match during a period of protests in the area. Three people were shot dead and several injured in the shooting.

MALAN, Jeanne, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

MALANDA, Elliotina Siziwe, lost his house in an arson attack in Ndaleneni, Richmond, Natal, in 1990, in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

MALANGA, David Mfana (31), an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nelspruit, Tvl, in April 1990.

MALANGA, Malusi Ernest (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by men in balaclavas while attending a disco in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 10 September 1993. Three people were killed and five injured. The alleged perpetrators, some of whom are named, were members of an ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) that attacked other ANC supporters during conflict between ANC groups. See BALACLAVA GROUPS.

MALANGA, Thulani Albert (41), was assaulted and stabbed to death at a bus stop in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, by named IFP supporters on 6 April 1993. Mr Malanga was allegedly thought to be an ANC supporter.

MALANGABI, Edwin Mvuleni (23), a UDF supporter, was arrested at the night vigil for a comrade in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, and disappeared while in police custody in May 1986.

MALANGABI, Jane Nomathamsaqa (41), had her house vandalised and her furniture burnt by AZAPO members in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, during April 1986. They were searching for her son, a UDF supporter, during political conflict.

MALANGENI, Vuyisile Victor, an ANC supporter, was detained in 1986 to 1989 and severely tortured by Security Branch members in Queenstown, Cape,

allegedly because of his involvement in political activities. On his release in 1989 he was placed under strict restrictions and police visits.

MALATANA, Bukelwa Christino (27), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MALATJI, Mavis (17), was shot dead by Lebowa Police in Namakgale, Lebowa, on 23 March 1986 during a political meeting at the Lutheran Church.

MALATJI, Paris Molefi (27), an AZAPO activist, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Soweto, on 6 June 1983. From 1981, police had detained, harassed and intimidated Mr Malatji to try and extract information on student political activities. He had been detained four times when he was killed at Protea police station. The perpetrator was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

MALATJIE, Jerry (8), was shot dead in Thozama section, Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 8 January 1986 while students were planning a boycott and march to demand the release of several people arrested earlier. A truck driver caught up in the protests fired a shot at the crowd hitting Jerry in the head and killing him.

MALATLHELA, Frans (28); was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MALATSI, Jeffrey Moshishi, was shot in the chest and killed in Soweto, on 17 April 1992 while participating in a march to protest against violence in the township. The march passed the IFP-aligned Dobsonville hostel.

MALATSI, Tsidiso Selby, was shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG and IFP supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, on 31 July 1993 during a raid on township residents. The conflict increased when the body of a gang leader was exhumed and allegedly burnt by township residents. Despite a peace pact signed between the IFP and ANC to ensure a second funeral, IFP supporters attacked Tembisa and killed 30 people and injured 21 others on the day of the funeral.

MALAZA, Elsie Popana (16), was severely beaten by IMBOKODO members in KwaNdebele in 1986 during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MALAZA, Hessie, was severely beaten by IMBOKODO members in KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MALAZA, Jabu (38), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Tweefontein, KwaNdebele, in April 1986 when IMBOKODO members tried to force him to become a vigilante during violent conflict over INCORPORATION.

MALAZA, Joseph (28), from Soweto, Johannesburg, was killed on 14 June 1985 in a cross-border attack launched by the SADF Special Forces, together with the Security Branch, on ANC offices and houses in Gaborone, Botswana. Twelve people, including Mr Malaza's cousin, were killed and six were wounded in the operation. See GABORONE RAID.

MALAZA, Kheni Thomas (20), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mofolo, Soweto, Tvl, in August 1976 during conflict between hostel-dwellers and township residents. Violence erupted after the State attempted to undermine the SOWETO UPRISING by encouraging hostel-dwellers to attack the community.

MALAZA, Thoko, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 21 November 1985 during a protest march against high rentals.

MALAZA, Vele, was severely beaten in detention on 10 September 1976 at Breyten, Tvl. He was arrested on suspicion of having burnt down three factories.

MALAZA, Winnie, was severely beaten by IMBOKODO members in KwaNdebele, in 1986 during protests over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MALEBANE, Achapfane, was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

MALEBE, Jimmy Johannes (19), a member of the SAP, was severely injured when MK operatives attacked the Wonderboompoort police station, Pretoria, on 26 December 1981 as part of the ANC military campaign. Three of the perpetrators were executed for the attack. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

MALEBESE, Sabata Samson, a SANCO member, suffered damage to his home in Ficksburg, OFS, on 3 August 1993, when it was stoned by ANC supporters. There was conflict between local branches of the ANC and SANCO at the time.

MALEBO, Louisa Manku (44), a Bophuthatswana PPP secretary, was arrested in May 1988 and June 1989 by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police and placed in solitary confinement at Tlhabane, Bophuthatswana. The Bophuthatswana Police frequently detained political activists during June 16 commemorations.

MALEBO, Sekgopi, suffered damage to property when his home in Mangaung, Bloemfontein, was petrol-bombed by members of the Orange Free State Security Branch, in the 1980s. They allegedly believed him to be a UDF supporter. A Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0026).

MALEDZA, Zaba, an ANC member, died while in prison in an ANC CAMP in Angola in 1984. Although suicide could not be ruled out, negligence due to poor detention facilities also contributed to his death. One ANC camp commander was granted amnesty for negligence in the death (AC/2000/149).

MALEETE, Maruping Mishack (34), a FAWU member, was injured in a hand grenade attack on a bus he was travelling on by named members of the rival UWUSA union at Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Johannesburg, on 28 September 1992. One passenger died and many others were injured in this incident.

MALEFAHLE, Alfr ed, lost his shop when it was demolished by members of the SAP in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in January 1986 during violent conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MALEFAHLO, Makwape (64), was hacked and burnt to death by 'comrades' in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 7 September 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MALEFAHLO, Moseme Solomon (84), was severely beaten by Ndebele-speaking men in Siyabuswa community hall, KwaNdebele, on 20 December 1985 because he resisted the scheduled INCORPORATION of Moutse into KwaNdebele later that month.

MALEFAHLO, Selele Peter (21), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force while attending a community meeting in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, in March 1986.

MALEFAHLO, Simon, was arrested in 1969 by Rosebank police under Pass Laws at Killarney, Johannesburg, and transferred to Modderbee prison, Benoni. He has not been seen since.

MALEFANE, Adam (37), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

MALEFANE, Captain Petrus (27), was shot dead by a local supporter of the Lingeletu West Town Council on 25 October 1990. At least eight people were killed that day by police and supporters of the town council, during and after a mass march to express community opposition to the council. A named perpetrator serving a prison sentence for the killing was refused amnesty.

MALEHO, Puseletso Zephora, was shot by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

MALEKA, Alfr ed, was shot and stabbed to death in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 12 April 1992 when IFP supporters attacked the ANC-supporting Fred Clarke informal settlement.

MALEKA, Anna Thoko (40), was shot and stabbed by armed men who boarded a Soweto-bound train at Jeppe station and began attacking as the train passed George Goch station, on 13 September 1990. The attackers killed about 26 people and wounded 45 others. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MALEKA, Monge Joubert, a police informer, was abducted outside the Johannesburg COSATU offices by COSATU members who suspected him of spying. He was held against his will, assaulted, and paraded at a press conference as a police spy. Three COSATU officials were granted amnesty for the abduction (AC/2000/116).

MALEKA, Solomon (16), died after being shot by members of the SAP at Kliptown, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1987 when police reportedly passed his high school in a Hippo during school boycotts.

MALEKA, Tickey, a patron at a tavern, was injured when MK operatives opened fire on policemen sitting drinking at the tavern in Mariana Street, Atteridgeville, Tvl, on 18 March 1988. Three policemen were killed in the attack. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

MALEKA, William Madime (60), was abducted from his home in Moteti, KwaNdebele, by IMBOKODO members on 1 January 1986 and assaulted at SIYABUSWA community hall. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MALEKE, Khani Jacob, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in March 1990. At the time Khutsong was occupied by the SAP leading to numerous clashes between police and the community.

MALEKO, Dieketsang Andr onica, was injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MALELE, Almond, died in detention on 20 January 1977, 11 days after being arrested as a suspected underground ANC activist. Mr Malele is officially recorded as having died of natural causes after hitting his head on a desk during interrogation by members of the SAP.

MALELE, Edward Boy (45), was beaten to death by alleged members of the Gazankulu Police at the Giyani police station, Louis Trichardt, Tvl, on 25 December 1991 after his arrest for questioning about the death of a chief.

MALEMA, Paulos Vincent (14), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Heilbron, OFS, on 24 July 1992. In an armoured patrol of the area, police opened fire, hitting Paulos as he ran to hide in a yard. A political march was scheduled to take place in the area on that day.

MALEMBE, Nonhlanhla Eunice (33), lost her house in an arson attack in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 21 February 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. One person was stabbed and burnt to death in the attack.

MALEPE, Motsabi Lucas, was shot dead by Bophuthatswana Police in Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 19 February 1986 during political violence between 'comrades' and the homeland government.

MALESA, Emmanuel Phaladi (17), an ANCYL member, was detained, severely beaten and held in solitary confinement by members of the SAP in Namakgale, Lebowa, on 16 June 1993. The ANCYL clashed with police en route to a stadium to mark the seventeenth anniversary of the SOWETO UPRISING. Eleven other people were detained with Emmanuel and they were all charged with public violence. The charges were later dropped.

MALETE, Mmakgobo (66), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of chief BK Matlala in February 1980, during conflict between Chief Matlala and residents who supported the ANC-aligned People's Congress.

MALETE, Wilson Latela (51), a People's Congress supporter, had his house in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February

1980, because Mr Maleté resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MALETJANE, Modjadji Florah (51), an ANC member, sustained head and back injuries when thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters in Germiston, Tvl, on 9 September 1991. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MALETSANE, Ezekiel, a traffic officer, was shot and injured by MK operatives in Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 27 September 1991. The MK operatives were escaping arrest after being stopped at a roadblock by traffic officers. Several other traffic officers were also injured and a passing motorist was shot dead and robbed of his vehicle by the fleeing operatives. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1998/0091).

MALEVU, Lettie Mamiki, was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992 during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers from July to December 1992. One person was killed and 13 others injured in the attack.

MALEVU, Ntombi Angelinah, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MALEWA, Elizabeth Paulinah (20), was detained by the SAP at Soshanguve, Pretoria, in 1986 and accused of burning down the house of a police officer at a time of increasing attacks on police. Police were seen as legitimate targets in the struggle against apartheid.

MALGAS, Basi Kimberley (68), was severely beaten on his arrest by members of the SAP in Robertson, Cape, on 12 June 1986. He was then detained under emergency regulations for three months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MALGAS, Bethwell (21), a SAYCO member, was shot and injured by community COUNCILLORS in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 23 December 1989, during a youth march past the municipal offices. There were numerous deaths and injuries in December 1989 when Crossroads residents, under Jeffrey Nongwe, sought to break away from the pro-government Johnson Ngxobongwana and join the ANC.

MALGAS, Columbus, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Robertson, Cape, on 16 June 1986. He was then detained for several months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MALGAS, Nombolelo Evelyn, was severely beaten by police at the police station after being arrested in Robertson, Cape, in 1985. Ms Malgas was again arrested in November 1985 and charged with public violence, spending three months in custody. She was then detained on 18 June 1986 for three months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MALGAS, Noncethakalo Catherine (34), was shot dead by members of the SAP in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 15 February 1990, while participating

in a protest march against the INCORPORATION of Botshabelo into QwaQwa. Police set up roadblocks and fired teargas in an attempt to stop marchers reaching the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein. Three other protesters were killed and many were injured when police opened fire on marchers.

MALGAS, Nonkululeko Regina Nkulu (28), was arrested and beaten by a named member of the AMASOLOMZI vigilantes in Ashton, Cape, on 20 November 1985, during a mass swoop with police. She was later convicted with public violence and served two years in prison.

MALGAS, Sinqokwana Ernest, an ANC member, was imprisoned on Robben Island from 1963 to 1977, and was subsequently detained and tortured on several occasions between 1977 and 1989 in Port Elizabeth and Cradock, Cape.

MALGAS, Siphiwo, was burnt and later died when his home was petrol-bombed by unidentified persons in Cradock, Cape, on 18 June 1985. His home was allegedly attacked because of his father's involvement in the UDF.

MALGAS, Vuyani Mbuyiselo (24), an MK member from Soweto, Johannesburg, was detained in 1979 by ANC security. He was held at Quatro camp, Angola, until 1983, during which time he was subjected to torture. A number of ANC members were detained, tortured and killed during a period of anxiety about infiltration by South African agents following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979.

MALGAS, Zola Golden (41), was shot by members of the CDF in front of his house in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in 1983, allegedly while he was helping people shot by the police during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

MALHERBE-BRODY, Michelle Anne (25), was injured in a limpet mine attack by APLA members at the Buffalo Springs Spur restaurant in Queenstown, Cape, on 3 December 1992. See APLA ATTACKS.

MALHERBE, P. was present when the SADF base was attacked by MK operatives at Letaba stadium, Nkowa Nkowa, Gazankulu, on 12 April 1990. Five SADF members were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/98).

MALI, Enoch (43), an ANC supporter and NEHAWU affiliate, was shot in both legs by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE on 7 February 1987 at Fort Beaufort, Cape.

MALI, Goodwin Mengxani (20), was one of two youths shot dead by members of the SAP near Crossroads, Cape Town, on 16 October 1985, in a repeat of the TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN, in Athlone the previous day.

MALI, Latiswa Telmina (15), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, in 1985.

MALI, Matthews Mayezana, was one of five Poqo supporters shot dead by members of the SAP and white residents, when a crowd of Poqo supporters marched into Paarl, Cape, on 21 November 1962 and launched an attack on the police station and private residences, killing two white residents.

MALIBE, Reuben Mandla (17), was repeatedly assaulted, intimidated and tortured by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 November 1976 because he was regarded as an instigator of student boycotts against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools.

MALIE, Samuel Mokhele , an ANC supporter, died after he was allegedly forced to drink poison by a member of the SAP in Harrismith, OFS, on 17 October 1981.

MALIE, Tseko Ajustinus (18), an ANCYL member, was shot dead by alleged members of the SADF in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 18 August 1992.

MALIEHE, Ben, a civilian, was traumatised when APLA operatives opened fire on a vehicle travelling from Zastron to Sterkspruit in the OFS on 18 March 1992. In the attack, one person was shot dead while he lay injured next to the car. Another was severely injured. Two managed to escape unhurt. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/148). See ZASTRON ROAD AMBUSH.

MALIEHE, Joseph Mahlomola , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during a rent boycott during the VAAL UPRISING.

MALINDI, Agnes , was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MALINDI, Fanyana Ishmael (19), an MK operative and Sharpeville self-defence unit leader, was tortured and shot dead by members of the SAP in Orange Farm, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 30 March 1993. Conflicting reasons for his arrest were given including robbery, the killing of white civilians at Eikenhof, and his connection to MK operatives killed by police in Sharpeville. Two others arrested with Mr Malindi provided sworn affidavits about extreme torture inflicted on him by the police before his death. Police also disrupted Mr Malindi's funeral.

MALINDI, Francinah , was severely injured on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MALINDI, Gloria Jongiwe (43), was beaten, raped and robbed by a white Railway Policeman on 14 May 1986 in Cape Town while in the 'whites only' section of a train.

MALINDI, Lydia Mananki , was severely injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MALINDI, Mkhonto Samson , was shot dead by a named perpetrator allegedly collaborating with the SAP at Avalon cemetery in Soweto, on 21 September 1985 while attending a funeral for a 'comrade'.

MALINDI, Zolile 'Zollie' (36), an ANC supporter in Cape Town, was detained for six months, first in 1960 and then in 1963, and was severely tortured after being taken to Pretoria. In 1966 he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for political offences after again being tortured. After his 1960 detention, he was banned for a period of 12 years. Between 1985 and 1989, while serving as a national UDF official, he endured four further periods of detention under emergency regulations. One of these lasted for 13 months, after which restriction orders were imposed on him. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MALINDISA, Jabulile Lina , was shot and injured in Ermelo, Tvl, on 14 September 1992 when he was caught in conflict between the IFP-aligned BLACK CATS and ANC supporters.

MALINGA, Belesia (53), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters in Kwadela, Davel, Tvl, on 27 July 1991 during tension in the area after a number of houses belonging to councillors were burnt after they joined the IFP.

MALINGA, Bhe , a member of the SAP, was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) during conflict between the BLACK CATS and the ANC in Wesselson, Ermelo, Tvl, in October 1993. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/98/0121).

MALINGA, Bigboy Godfrey (23), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when named members of the KwaZULU POLICE and the SADF opened fire on a violent confrontation between UDF and Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg area on 26 March 1989.

MALINGA, Bongani , an ANC supporter, was hit by a train while fleeing from named IFP supporters who had attacked and burnt down his house at Umkomaas, Natal, on 24 December 1990. He lost a leg as a result of the incident.

MALINGA, Bongani , was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) during conflict between the BLACK CATS and the ANC in Wesselson, Ermelo, Tvl, on 22 October 1993. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/98/0120).

MALINGA, Brian Themba , was injured when a limpet mine, placed under a police van by members of the 'Basil February' MK unit, exploded at the Duduza stadium, Tvl, on 11 June 1989. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the attempted murder (AC/2000/158).

MALINGA, Busisiwe Beauty (42), had her house petrol-bombed by 'comrades' in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 15 August 1987 because she was living with a policeman.

MALINGA, Busisiwe Maureen (32), had her house burnt down by named Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 November 1989, allegedly because her brothers were UDF supporters. One brother, aged 17, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Inanda on the same day.

MALINGA, Dolly Doris (12), was beaten with batons and hit with guns and rifles by named SAP members at a night vigil for a political activist in Khutsong,

Carletonville, Tvl, on 5 July 1986 during the state of emergency. Police surrounded the tent before entering and severely beating people. Dolly and a friend regained consciousness at Leratong hospital.

MALINGA, Eunice Zandile (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters at the taxi rank at Ixopo, Natal, on 20 January 1994 in fighting between ANC and IFP supporters. Six bystanders were wounded. Ms Malinga lost her sight in one eye as a result of the shooting.

MALINGA, Jabu James (37), was severely beaten by members of the SADF in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in 1986 due to his political involvement. He lost nine teeth in the attack and has ear problems as a result of his injuries.

MALINGA, Leonard Mshiyeni (57), was stabbed to death by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in September 1991 in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, while walking past a hostel towards the taxi rank. Hostilities between hostel-dwellers and township residents frequently resulted in violent conflict in Bruntville. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MALINGA, Mami Nontsikelo (18), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 19 September 1990 (the day after an IFP rally). Ms Malinga was thought to be harbouring a person who had deserted the IFP.

MALINGA, Mbuyiselwa (27), was shot dead in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 8 April 1993 during continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

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

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

MALINGA, Mphikeleli Joseph (36), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by IFP members during political conflict at Ethandakukhanya, Piet Retief, Tvl, on 9 June 1993. One perpetrator was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0023).

MALINGA, Msende Michael (56), had his house looted and set alight by IFP supporters at Mandini, Natal, on 29 November 1993. Mr Malinga was allegedly targeted because his son was an ANC supporter.

MALINGA, Nkanyiso, a member of the SAP, was injured by a hand grenade thrown through the window of a house at Umlazi, Durban, on 11 June 1990. Two of his colleagues were also injured in the explosion, which was aimed at Mr Malinga. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/159).

MALINGA, Nkosi Amos (62), had his house at Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters, one of whom is named, on 24 December 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area. The family fled the area during the attack. Mr Malinga's son was severely injured when he was hit by a train while fleeing. **MALINGA, Nkosinathi Zwelonke Imaan** (15), was shot and injured by members of the SAP who opened fire on protesting students in Steadville, Ladysmith, Natal on 5 March 1990.

MALINGA, Ntombizodwa Eugina, was injured when a limpet mine, placed under a police van by members of the 'Basil February' MK unit, exploded at the Duduza stadium, Tvl, on 11 June 1989. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the attempted murder (AC/2000/158).

MALINGA, Philemon Jabulane (30), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Kwadela, Davel, Tvl, on 5 February 1991.

MALINGA, Queen Dorothy (15), an ANCYL member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Thandukukhanya, Piet Retief, Tvl, on 3 June 1993 during a commemoration ceremony for an ANC activist killed near the Swaziland border. Police opened fire on mourners unprovoked and two people were killed and four injured.

MALINGA, Samuel Julie (44), died in detention in Pietermaritzburg on 31 January 1977. He had been a founder member of PAC in the region, and had been arrested because of his political activities. He is one of four PAC members who died in detention while awaiting the 'Bethal trial'. See BETHAL 18.

MALINGA, Sibusiso, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Kwadela, Davel, Tvl, on 27 July 1991 during conflict between IFP supporters and ANC supporters.

MALINGA, Theodora, was injured when a limpet mine placed, under a police van by members of the 'Basil February' MK unit, exploded at the Duduza stadium, Tvl, on 11 June 1989. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the attempted murder (AC/2000/158).

MALINGA, Thomas (24), an ANC supporter, was arrested, severely beaten and detained for a month by the police in Worcester, Cape, in September 1985. He later served a five-year prison sentence for public violence.

MALINGA, Zacharia (15), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Kwadela, Davel Tvl, on 27 July 1991.

MALINGA, Zola (18), was shot and injured by members of KWAZULU POLICE who opened fire on mourners returning from a funeral at Ilfracombe, near Durban in November 1990.

MALINGA, Zondelani Ellenour (52), a member of the local Crisis Committee, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 December 1988. Ms Malinga's son was a UDF supporter. The attack took place a day before the TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE as the SAP withdrew from the area, leaving UDF-supporting families vulnerable to attack.

MALINKI, (first name not given), an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Protea, Soweto, on 21 November 1980.

MALISHE, Linah Ntombi (57), an Inkatha supporter, was beaten and stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 January 1990.

MALISHE, Themba Collin, an ANC supporter, sustained burn injuries in a petrol-bomb attack by Inkatha supporters in Alfred, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 February 1990 in intense political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations three days earlier.

MALITI, Lee Man (41), a member of the Security Branch, was shot and injured by named ANC supporters in Middelburg, Cape, on 8 August 1993.

MALITI, Robert Nana (22), an MK operative, was arrested on 22 October 1988 near Crossroads, Cape Town. He was beaten and tortured so severely by named and other members of the SAP and Security Branch that he required brain surgery. The torture left him with permanent mental and physical disabilities. Mr Maliti was then held for six months under SECTION 29 before being sentenced to a five-year prison term, of which he served two years.

MALIWA, Oupa Joseph, was killed by alleged members of the SAP in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 13 March 1978 shortly after visiting his daughter in exile in Botswana. Lichtenburg police told his wife he died of a heart attack but the death certificate states he died of injuries sustained in a car crash.

MALIYANA, Tsotetsi Mapule (47), had her house burnt down in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MALLESON, Harry Rodbard, sustained damage to his property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

MALOBA, Elias (19), a South African Youth Congress member, was arrested by members of the SAP and charged with arson on 8 July 1985 in Daveyton, Tvl. He was found guilty after the charge was changed to public violence and was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

MALOBELA, Kamtajanga Justice (26), died in police custody in Pretoria on 22 September 1993. His parents were told he hanged himself. The victim was found with documents showing his involvement in underground political operations.

MALOBOLA, Balise Ernest (25), a UDF supporter, was abducted by IMBOKODO members in 1986, and taken to Almansdrift Hall in KwaNdebele where he was beaten with sjamboks, allegedly in an attempt to force him to join IMBOKODO.

MALOBOLA, Mabuza, a COSAS member, is assumed to have been burnt to death by *Vlakplaas* operatives at Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, in June 1986. Malobola was recruited with eight other youth activists by *Vlakplaas*

askaris for supposed military training. The house they were staying in was set alight and their bodies were burnt beyond recognition. See NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH.

MALOKA, Matlaka Julia, was severely injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MALOKA, Molefe Abel (45), an ANC supporter, was detained for 31 days during 1990 by the Bophuthatswana Police in Hammanskraal, Tvl, under emergency regulations, still in force in this area. In 1961 Mr Maloka was deprived of his chieftainship and had his land confiscated. In 1984 when his cattle strayed onto land formerly owned by him, his hand was broken during severe beating by a named perpetrator.

MALOKA, Motlhozi Paulus (41), was arrested and detained by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Maboloko near Brits, Tvl, in September 1976 for suspected involvement in acts of violence in the community during conflict over the chieftancy.

MALOKE, Charles T okelo, was shot dead by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Kliptown, Soweto, on 26 August 1986 while they were trying to evict residents during a rent boycott.

MALOMA, Sibonsile Phumzile (15) was shot by members of the SAP in kaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 13 February 1986 during a student protest.

MALONEY, Christian C, was severely injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on patrons at the Crazy Beat Disco in Newcastle, Natal, on 14 February 1994. One person was shot dead and several others were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three APLA operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0016).

MALOPE, Andr ew, a Brigadier in the Bophuthatswana Police was shot and killed by MK operatives at Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, during August 1986. Amnesty applicants testified that Mr Malope was allegedly targeted because he was implicated in numerous cases of assault and torture of political detainees. Four MK members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0048).

MALOPE, Beauty (21), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MALOPE, Edward (16), was reported to the Commission as having disappeared from his home in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in 1976. The Commission established that Mr Malope joined MK and operated under the name of 'Joseph "Makero" Masimini'. In 1984, he was executed by firing squad in Angola in 1984 on the orders of an ANC military tribunal, following a mutiny in the Pango camp. See ANC CAMPS.

MALOPE, Johannes Lekgoa, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993 in the

aftermath of the assassination of CHRIS HANI. IFP supporters in a VW Jetta fired indiscriminately, killing at least 19 people on that day. The car was eventually hijacked and the occupants shot dead.

MALOPE, Millios T oto, a member of the SAP, was shot and injured by MK operatives in an armed robbery at the Emthonjeni police station, Machadodorp, Tvl, on 25 July 1990. The aim of the robbery was to seize weapons. A police colleague and one of the MK operatives were shot dead. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/109).

MALOPE, Richard, a member of the SAP, was shot at by APLA operatives in Katilehong, Tvl, on 21 January 1993. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0051).

MALOPI, (first name not given), a constable in the SAP, was threatened at gunpoint when MK operatives robbed the Ormonde police station, Johannesburg, on 27 February 1993. No one was injured in the robbery, which was aimed at acquiring weapons for local self-defence units (SDUs). Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0325).

MALOTO, James, was one of three people injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Tembisa police station barracks, Tvl, on 10 October 1988. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/132).

MALU, Vusi Brian (34), was shot and injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in KwaMashu, Durban on 23 December 1989.

MALUANE, Felisberto Catine, was sjambokked by a named ANC supporter at Shongwe mission, Nelspruit, Tvl, in May 1987. Mr Maluane was rescued before being burnt alive.

MALUKA, Andries Fana, an MK operative, returned to South Africa in March 1992 and was stabbed to death by named members of the SAP in Komatipoort, Tvl, on 10 April 1993. The day before, police demanded his presence at Tonga police station where he was taken to court and released on his own recognisance.

MALUKA, Paulus, was shot in both legs by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

MALULEKA, Charles, an IMBOKODO member, lost his house in an arson attack at Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict over proposed INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MALULEKA, Charlie Ntshimane (37), was arrested in December 1992 and detained for 18 months by Bophuthatswana Police in Hammanskraal prison, Tvl, during forced removals.

MALULEKA, Elphas, a UDF supporter, had his house looted and set alight when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MALULEKA, Nonhlahla, aged four months, died when hit on the head by a teargas cannister fired by

members of the SAP at the Akanani shopping centre in Lulekani, Gazankulu, on 28 May 1990. Police were allegedly firing at a crowd involved in a UDF-organised boycott of the centre.

MALULEKA, Spando Evelyn (30), was slapped twice across the face by named policemen in balaclavas in Bela-Bela police station, Warmbaths, Tvl, in April 1993. She fell on a rock and damaged her spine. Ms Maluleka was beaten on suspicion of being involved in burning an informer's shack with other people, in violence after the assassination of SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

MALULEKE, Jim Mughakaza (39), was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MALULEKE, Patrick Nyiko, a PAC operative, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Edenville, OFS, on 14 October 1992, allegedly while attempting to leave the country after carrying out a non-combatant PAC mission.

MALULEKE, Peter (32), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the SAP in Soshanguve, Pretoria, in 1985.

MALULEKE, Thomas, disappeared in Boksburg, Tvl, on 3 February 1982. He was never seen again.

MALUNDA, Sikowukowu William (46), a UDF supporter, was arrested by police in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, on 24 June 1986, after which he was severely beaten and tortured by named and other members of the police. He was charged with the attempted murder of an alleged police informer, but was acquitted and successfully sued the police.

MALUNGA, Dianyana (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, in November 1991.

MALUNGA, Mnderi (15), an ANC supporter, was killed on 18 February 1994, when four gunmen attacked a house in the rural Mahahle village, near Creighton, Ixopo, Natal, in which he and other ANC youths were sleeping. Fifteen ANC youths were killed in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre.

MALUNGA, Ntombifuthi Purity (18), an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 March 1990, following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

MALUNGA, Sibusiso (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE on 22 December 1991.

MALUNGA, Victoria Zanele (54), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Qinabou, Port Shepstone, Natal, in May 1991. Ms Malunga was thought to be an ANC supporter.

MALUNGU, Yengive Esther (50), was attacked and beaten by IFP members in her home at Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, in October 1990. The

perpetrators allegedly suspected the family of being sympathetic to the ANC.

MALUSI, David (28), an ANC member, was stabbed and injured during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Camperdown, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1993. Several family members were shot dead and others injured in the clashes. The family's home was burnt down in political conflict on 14 February 1994.

MALUSI, Dominic (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by other named ANC supporters in Inchanga, Natal, on 14 February 1994 in the course of a serious internal feud within the local party branch. His father and brother had been injured in political clashes in 1993, and his sister had been fatally shot in 1992, also in the course of internal party conflict.

MALUSI, Lillian Elinah (17), was shot dead by named ANC supporters in Inchanga, Natal, on 25 December 1992 during a serious internal feud in the organisation.

MALUSI, Mfenana Jackson (27), lost his home in an arson attack in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. More than 60 people were killed and over 20 000 homes were burnt during the attacks.

MALUSI, Ntloko Serial (58), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by named ANC supporters at Inchanga, Natal, on 14 February 1994 in the course of a serious internal feud within the local party branch. His son was killed in the attack. Another son had been injured in political clashes in 1993, and a daughter had been fatally shot in 1992, also in the course of internal party conflict.

MALUSI, Thembile Alfred (22), an ANC and UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 20 May 1986 during clashes between UDF and AZAPO supporters in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape.

MAMA, Louis Bonisile, was shot dead on 29 July 1986 when an MK unit attacked the Madeira police station, in Umtata, Transkei. At least eight people were killed in the attack, including members of the SAP, civilians and one of the MK operatives. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

MAMA, Nomntu V irginia (46), lost her home in an arson attack in KTC, Cape Town, on 9 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. More than 60 people were killed and over 20 000 homes were destroyed in the attacks.

MAMA, Shadric Sindile Lhelhe (18), a SAYCO member, was detained and severely assaulted by members of the SAP on 4 July 1985 in Port Elizabeth.

MAMANI, Lungisile Matthews (20), a COSAS member, was shot and injured by named members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE and SAP in Joza, Grahamstown, Cape, on 11 June 1986 during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS and a protest against local COUNCILLORS. Mr Mamani had attended a show at the Noluthando Hall and was on his way home when pellets were fired at a crowd.

MAMARO, Lethole Steve (26), a UDF supporter, was assaulted and beaten with sjamboks, a wooden beam and a length of iron cable by members of the SAP in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, on 18 April 1986. Mr Mamaro was suspected of being a leader of 'comrades' and of instigating necklacings.

MAMATELA, Ronney (6), was shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Tlhabane, Bophuthatswana, on 25 November 1985. Ronney's uncle and two MK operatives living in the house were also killed.

MAMATELA, Sekeke Maria, was severely ill treated and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MAMATHO, Molekeng Claudia (64), chair of the DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 27 July 1989, allegedly because of her involvement in the DNP.

MAMBA, Alan Ndomdzi 'Chicks', an MK operative, was arrested in July 1988 and severely tortured by named members of the SAP and the Western Cape Security Branch in Cape Town. He was held under SECTION 29 for six months, after which he was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment for terrorism and murder. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for his torture (AC/1999/0027).

MAMBA, James, was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the SADF on his way home in Vosloorus, Boksburg, Tvl, on 29 June 1986 during the state of emergency. There was a curfew in place and special permission was required to be out after dark.

MAMBONA, Mbulaheni Petr us, sustained damage to his property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

MAMELA, Mkhethwa Christopher (17), was assaulted, shot and tortured by police in KwaThema, Tvl, on 3 February 1986 when he refused to identify activists on a police videotape. He was also shown pictures of his friend's body that had been burnt and was threatened with the same fate. He was subsequently sentenced to five years' imprisonment for murder and malicious damage to property. He served three years of his sentence and was granted amnesty on 30 April 1991.

MAMESA, Geor ge, was severely injured when a limpet mine planted by an MK operative exploded at the Silverton bus terminus in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 4 July 1986. The perpetrator applied for amnesty.

MAMKELI, Charles Vuyisile (17), was shot and injured by members of the SAP near Crossroads, Cape Town, in 1986, while *toy-toying* during protests. A week later he was severely assaulted by members of the SAP.

MAMKELI, Nombuyiselo Maria (58), lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Inanda, near

KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993. Ms Mamkeli lived in an ANC stronghold.

MAMOGALE, Maralena January (44), was severely beaten with a sjambok by members of the SAP in Burgersfort, Tvl, on 17 March 1986 at a meeting to discuss the water crisis in the area.

MAMOGALE, William, was arrested by members of the SAP in Burgersfort, Tvl, on 17 March 1986 at a meeting to discuss the water crisis in the area.

MAMOROBELA, Lazarus (19), an ANC supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by named members of the Lebowa Police in Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa, on 17 October 1985 during a protest march. He was forced to walk to the police station with his hands in the air and was sjambokked there because he was regarded as an instigator of political activity.

MAMOSADI, Sengange John, was shot dead by a member of the SADF in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, in April 1986 during protest action against farmers in the area.

MAMPANE, (first name not given), was shot dead by members of the SAP at Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, on 21 November 1991 during a protest march against the harassment and intimidation of scholars by local police.

MAMPANE, Beatrice, was assaulted and verbally abused in detention by members of the SAP at Bramley police station, Tvl, on 18 March 1987. Ms Mampane was pregnant at the time and lost her baby as a result of the beating.

MAMPANE, Elias Mbopo (40), was severely assaulted with a sjambok by members of the SAP in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAMPANE, Prince Seakgosing (25), a citizen of Botswana, was shot and severely injured, and his car destroyed, in Gaborone, Botswana, on 14 June 1985 in a cross-border attack launched by the SADF Special Forces, together with the Security Branch, on ANC offices and houses in Gaborone, Botswana. Twelve people were killed and six were wounded in the operation. See GABORONE RAID.

MAMPE, Bellington (30), a Poqo activist, was severely ill-treated while in detention in Worcester, Cape, during 1963. He died in hospital while in custody.

MAMPHAGA, Mpho W innet, a UDF supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Venda Police at Secunda, Venda, in January 1986. Mr Maphaga was involved in the formation of the Northern Transvaal Co-ordinating Committee, a UDF affiliate at a time when people were not allowed to participate in political organisations.

MAMPOFU, Thobeka Elizabeth (27), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by men clad in balaclavas on 10 September 1993 while attending a disco in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. Three people were killed and five injured. The alleged perpetrators, some of whom are named, were members of an ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) that attacked other ANC supporters during conflict between ANC groups. See BALACLAVA GROUPS.

MAMPURU, Jacob, a Civi member, was shot in the stomach by unidentified men wearing balaclavas in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 11 November 1986 after attending a political funeral. Mr Mampuru was hospitalised for 18 months.

MAMPURU, Lillian Buyisive (16), was severely beaten during June 1992 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SAP trying to find her brother, a COSAS member suspected of being an MK member. Lillian was seven months pregnant at the time and alleges the attack resulted in the premature birth of her baby. **MAMPURU, Lucky Sibusiso**, a COSAS member, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP on 20 January 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly under suspicion of being an MK operative.

MAMUSA, Amos Madala (14), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, on 17 June 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MAMZI, Julia Khumbuzile (24), an IFP supporter, had her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAN, Thozama Phoebe, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 10 February 1987 in Port Elizabeth, allegedly because her boyfriend was a prominent UDF activist.

MANA, Kholekile (17), an ANC supporter, died when he was 'necklaced' by 'comrades' on 4 November 1985 in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, allegedly because he was thought to be a collaborator.

MANA, Mthetheleli Richard (40), an ANC/SACP supporter, was shot in the arm by a named PAC supporter in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 21 February 1993 during political conflict.

MANAKA, George Solly (14), a PAC member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, in June 1986 during a night vigil for a UDF supporter.

MANAKA, S, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MANAKA, Spokes, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 28 April 1991. Three family members died in the attack after the funeral of the slain IFP mayor of Soweto.

MANAKAZA, Levinson Mandisi, an ANC member from Soweto, was killed on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed.

MANAKE, Alfred (21), was burnt to death in Jansenville, Cape, on 7 April 1985, allegedly because he was thought to be a police collaborator.

MANALI, Laurence Nceba , a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, on 4 April 1986. Mr Manali was searching a *shebeen* for weapons with other UDF supporters when an off-duty policeman shot him.

MANAMELA, Benjamin (26), was detained in Quatro camp, Angola, in 1981 and was severely beaten and tortured by ANC security department members. A number of ANC members were detained, tortured and killed during a period of anxiety about infiltration by South African agents following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979.

MANAMELA, Kgabo Daniel (34), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Manamela resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MANAMELA, Maphuti Ephraim (31), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Manamela resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MANAMELA, Meisie Raisibe (18), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MANAMELA, Piet (17), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 1 June 1986 during violent conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MANAMELA, Pitso Piet (20), an ANC supporter, was arrested by members of the Venda Police in May 1986 and beaten and tortured because he opposed the INCORPORATION of Vleifontein into Venda.

MANAMELA, Raisbe (69), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MANAMELA, Ramokone (46), had her home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MANAMELA, Sebtsi Phineas (52), had his home in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Manamela resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MANAMELA, Tlou Isaac (29), a union shop steward, was detained at his workplace by members of the Security Police and subjected to electric shock torture in Benoni and Heidelberg, Tvl, in 1983. Mr Manamela was charged with furthering the aims of a banned organisation and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. He was released in 1987.

MANANA, Abel Butana , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG in Tembisa, Tvl, in February 1992.

MANANA, Godfrey (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by unidentified perpetrators in Katlehong, Tvl, on

23 October 1993 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on the East Rand. Mr Manana's father was shot dead a month before by unidentified perpetrators.

MANANA, John V elaphi , an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters in Katlehong, Tvl, on 17 September 1993.

MANANA, Kholisekile Lyza (63), had her house burnt down on 28 March 1990 in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MANANA, Mfanayedwa Ernest (23), an SAP member, was stabbed and beaten to death by members of the ANC-aligned Sivukile Action Committee (SACO) and patrons of a tavern in Morgenzon, Tvl, on 4 May 1990. Mr Manana had allegedly refused to heed a consumer boycott of white-owned shops. Two SACO members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0284).

MANANA, Mpikwa , was assaulted by the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in March 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MANANA, Muzikayise Goodwill (17), was shot dead in an attack on a tavern in Daveyton, Tvl, on 8 August 1993 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. Seven people were shot dead and five injured in the attack.

MANANA, Nodipha , was stabbed to death in November 1960 at Esikhumbeni, near Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MANANA, Siculo Sidney (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 10 April 1993, during a series of arson attacks initiated by a named community leader aimed at removing Section 2 residents by force.

MANANA, Susan Ntozokudla (20), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MANANA, Theophilus (24), an AZAPO supporter, was stabbed by named UDF supporters in Dlamini, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 26 October 1985.

MANANGANA, Christopher Mlindeli , an ANC member, had his home burnt down by ADM and PAC supporters in February 1992 at Upper Mngqesha, near King William's Town, Cape.

MANANKONG, Eagile Joseph (42), was assaulted and tear-gassed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 9 October 1988 on his way home from a mass meeting.

MANASE, Fani (26), was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP and the IFP in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 December 1990 during political conflict in thea area.

MANCAM, Mthobeli , was shot dead by named members of the SAP on 23 July 1985 at Phakamisa High School in Zwide, Port Elizabeth. Scholars were involved in a student protest when police randomly shot at students, killing two and injuring six others, including teachers. The perpetrators were found guilty of murder and attempted murder and were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment but did not serve their sentence.

MANCANCENI, Nomgweni , an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in May 1993 at Mthinde, Lusikisiki,

Transkei, during conflict between supporters of traditional leaders and ANC supporters.

MANCANYW A, Indi David (53), an ANC supporter, disappeared from Kubedi Street, Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 September 1990 during political conflict.

MANCE, Zinukile Annatoria (57), an ANC supporter, had her house in Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 12 October 1993.

MANCENJANE, John (58), was burnt to death in New Crossroads, Cape Town, on 6 January 1986, during conflict between vigilantes from Crossroads and UDF supporters from New Crossroads.

MANCHESA, Tefo T imothy , was shot dead by members of the SAP during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS at Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 17 November 1980.

MANCI, Dimanda (62), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by named perpetrators in Flagstaff, Transkei, on 13 December 1992 during conflict between ANC supporters and other residents in the area.

MANCI, Gcinephi Saraphina (35), an IFP supporter, had her house in Polela, Bulwer, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters in June 1993.

MANCI, Majorie Nopiwa (50), an ANC supporter, was shot as she fled from her burning house in Kwa-Makhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 25 November 1990, in an attack by members of the KWAZULU POLICE.

MANCI, Ms (first name not given) (60), was shot dead when the house she was visiting was attacked by IFP supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 October 1993, during continuing political conflict in the area.

MANDABANA, Moses Sipiwo (18), a COSAS member, was shot and severely beaten by a named member of the SAP at St Stephen's Church in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 5 November 1985 during the state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MANDEKA, Lulamile (19), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Veeplaas, near Port Elizabeth, on 16 August 1986 during a state of emergency.

MANDITA, Nomangwana , was stoned and necklaced to death in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 21 February 1993, after she and another woman suspected of links to the PAC were abducted and interrogated by a large crowd of ANC Youth League members. One perpetrator applied for and was granted amnesty for his role in the kidnapping (AC/1997/0022).

MANDLA, Solomon Amos Ndlanga , was injured in a limpet mine explosion in a bus in Durban on 30 November 1993. The mine had been planted by APLA operatives. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076).

MANDLAKAPHELI, Nor man , was shot dead by IFP supporters at a traffic light near Nancefield hostel in Soweto, Johannesburg, during an IFP march to Shell House, the ANC headquarters on 28 March 1993.

MANDLAKAZI, Lolo Beauty , had her home at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, set alight by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MANDLAZI, David (22), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigél, Tvl, on 18 May 1985 during conflict between residents and security forces when police tried to disperse mourners at a funeral.

MANDLAZI, Solomon (43), an SAP member, was hacked and buried alive by UDF supporters at the Pretoria memorial cemetery, on 30 May 1986. Police officers were perceived at the time as legitimate targets in the political struggle.

MANDLENI, Zimoshile (34), a UDF supporter, was detained by named members of the SAP during a consumer boycott in Stutterheim, Cape, on 29 September 1985.

MANELI, Bubele Jef frey (20), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP while he was monitoring a consumer boycott in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 6 September 1985.

MANELI, Eric Thembinkosi Steri (31), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Ciskei Police in August 1991 in Seymour, Ciskei.

MANELI, Nonzwakazi Iris (24), a UDF supporter, was tear-gassed by named members of the SAP in the police station at Klipplaat, Cape, in 1985. It is believed that the police wanted information from her about the launch of a new branch of the UDF.

MANELI, Nosipho Mavis (44), a Cookhouse Women's Organisation chairperson, was kept in solitary confinement for two months from 29 August 1986 at Somerset police station, Cookhouse, Cape.

MANELI, Simphiwe Sidwell Mpaydo (14), was arrested on 13 May 1986 at his home in Port Alfred, Cape, for being involved in the stoning of a vehicle during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS. He was convicted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, half of which was suspended.

MANELI, Thandeka Lillian Ntshakaza (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Port Alfred, Cape, on 16 November 1984, when police opened fire on mourners returning from a burial.

MANENTSA, Moffat Nkosana (50), a SAYCO member, was assaulted and repeatedly detained, from 1981 until his release in 1991, by alleged Ciskei Police and Security Branch members in Alice, Ciskei.

MANENTSA, Sibongile (18), was shot and injured by members of the Ciskei Police in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 11 February 1990, after a rally celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela.

MANENTSA, Sipiwo Harry , (27), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 13 September 1991, during a period of conflict between rival taxi associations that had a political dimension. Numerous allegations were made regarding SAP support for one of the associations. See TAXI VIOLENCE.

MANGA, Sipiwo , was shot dead by named members of the SAP on 23 July 1985 at Phakamisa High School in Zwíde, Port Elizabeth. Scholars were involved in a student protest when police randomly shot at students, killing two and injuring six others, including teachers. The perpetrators were found guilty of murder and

attempted murder and were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment but did not serve their sentence.

MANGALE, Talitha Kebawetse (26), was burnt to death by members of the 'Gadaffi' faction in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in 1991 after the ANC in the area split into two rival groups, the 'Gadaffis' and the 'Zim-zims'. Conflict between them left at least 20 people dead in the area. See also KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS.

MANGALI, Elliot Petse (31), was shot and injured during the attacks by WITDOEKE vigilantes and members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, during 1986. He was again shot and injured in 1993 during conflict in Crossroads.

MANGALI, Nicholas Xolani (19), a COSAS member, was severely beaten in detention by members of the SAP in Adelaide, Cape, on 12 April 1985 during political conflict in which a policeman's house was burnt down.

MANGANE, Thomas (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by an MK operative at his home in Mbuzini, Komatipoort, Tvl, on 10 January 1990, because he was believed to be an informer. The MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0255).

MANGANYE, Robson, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MANGANYI, Joshua Ntsako Mandela (21), an ANCYL member, was assaulted and severely tortured by members of the SAP in Tzaneen, Tvl, on 20 June 1990.

MANGANYI, Lucky, was shot in Tembisa, Tvl, on 14 August 1992.

MANGAYI, STEPHEN (20), a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 when police opened fire on a student-led rent protest.

MANGAYI, Steven, was shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 September 1984 by members of the SAP avenging an injured colleague during the VAAL UPRISING. At the inquest, the family were told their son was killed by 'mistake'.

MANGAZI, Bonakalisive Maggie (43), had her homestead in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down on 2 September 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MANGAZI, Mandlakhe, a member of the ANCYL, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Ebuhleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 April 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MANGCANGAZA, Lungile (44), a member of the Alexandria Residents' Association, was arrested under emergency regulations on 14 June 1986 at Alexandria, Cape. Mr Mangcangaza was detained on various occasions between June 1986 and November 1988, and at different locations in and around Port Elizabeth.

MANGCATSHA, Melton, was severely beaten, by members of the SADF, on 27 July 1991 in Alexandra,

Johannesburg, during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MANGCOLA, Vuyisile John (24), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten on his arrest in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 20 November 1985, by named vigilantes and SAP members. Mr Mangcola was one of more than 100 Zolani residents arrested and accused of burning the homes of AMASOLOMZI vigilantes. Thirty-two were finally sentenced to prison terms. He was detained awaiting trial for ten months and served a prison sentence until 1991.

MANGCWAGULE, Svelinkomo (39), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

MANGE, Barbara Priscilla (33), was shot in the neck by members of the SADF in a random shooting while visiting Soweto, Johannesburg, on 10 November 1985 during intense conflict in the area.

MANGE, Siboniwe Cyprian, an ANC supporter, was abducted and killed by named members of the IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG in Tembisa, Tvl, on 14 February 1993. Mr Mange was abducted with his girlfriend who was forced to witness his killing before being raped.

MANGELE, Musa Oswald (37), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by a member of the KWAZULU POLICE at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 8 May 1992, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MANGELE, Sibuyiselo Sidney, an employee of Rand Water, was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 February 1992. Four people died and eight were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225).

MANGEMPUKU, Tabankulu (42), had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MANGENA, Phillip Comfort (aka 'Drake Chiloane') (32), an MK member, was reported to the Commission as missing by his family. The Commission established that Mr Mangena had gone into exile to join the ANC and had been executed on the order of an ANC military tribunal in 1982 in Angola. A number of ANC members were detained, tortured and killed during a period of anxiety about infiltration by South African agents following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979.

MANGERA, Mohamed Ahmed (57), had his home petrol-bombed by a named perpetrator in Forest Hill, Johannesburg, on 6 April 1989 reportedly because he was living in a white area.

MANGOAKE, Tshekishi Phineas (59), had his house at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Mangoake resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MANGOANE, Fanie Stephen , a member of the SAP, was shot and injured by MK operatives in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 January 1988. The perpetrators ambushed and fired at the police vehicle, injuring four persons. Two MK operatives applied for amnesty. One withdrew his application and the other was granted amnesty (AC/2000/134).

MANGONA, Mbulelo (23), was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MANGQANGW ANA, Mpolose Paulos (27), a Poqo member, was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment on Robben Island on 15 December 1966 in Bellville, Cape Town. He had been arrested repeatedly since 1962 in connection with his political activities.

MANGQIKANA, Right , a Poqo member, was executed with fourteen others in Pretoria Central prison, on 3 March 1964 after they were convicted for the killing of five whites in February 1963 near Mbashe River in the Transkei.

MANGQOBA, Assistant Malungelo (31), was severely beaten by members of the SADF in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 27 July 1991 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MANGWANY ANA, Bongekile (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 December 1992.

MANGWEJANE, Morwagaabusi George (23), was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP after his arrest in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 21 March 1986 during political conflict in the area.

MANGWELE, Nkete Welhelmina (63), was seriously assaulted by AWB supporters in Tshing, Ventersdorp, Tvl, on 11 May 1991. The perpetrators destroyed property and assaulted various residents in this informal settlement, accusing them of squatting illegally in the area.

MANGWENI, Tsalikhuba Thomas (46), lost his home, shop and all his possessions in an arson attack in Nyanga, Cape Town, in May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting informal settlements by WITDOEKE vigilantes acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

MANI, Andile (8 months), died from a heart attack when members of the SAP, on patrol in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, fired teargas into the yard of the family home in February 1985.

MANI, Mhlo Phegi Daniel (37), was forced to drink petrol and was then stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, on 27 April 1986 because of his friendship with a policeman. Mr Mani's body was burnt when the owner of the house where the service was to be held refused to accept his body.

MANI, Motlagomane Johanna (30), was harassed and intimidated by ANC supporters in April 1986.

MANINJW A, Fikile Eric (22), was shot by members of the SAP in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 6 August 1976 in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING. His leg was amputated as a result.

MANISI, February, a member of the ANCYL, was arrested on arson charges in Colesberg, Cape, on 12 September 1992, and was tortured by named members of the SAP. He was acquitted of the arson charges.

MANJATHI, Boyi (18 months), was shot dead in a vehicle by a naval guard at a roadblock in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 1 April 1960. Boyi's family was trying to take him to hospital during the curfew imposed after the Pass Law protests.

MANJATI, Mcebisi , a COSAS member, was assaulted with batons by members of the SAP at the police station in Alicedale, Cape, on 15 September 1986 during a state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MANJO, Thamsanqa Gorden (21), a COSAS member, was detained and assaulted by named members of the Security Branch in Parys, OFS, on several occasions from 18 April 1986, allegedly because he was organising SCHOOL BOYCOTTS.

MANKAHLANE, Parks , survived an attempt on his life by SADF members at his home in Nelspruit, Tvl, on an unspecified date between 1987 and 1989. Mr Mankahlane, whom they believed to be an ANC supporter, managed to escape. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/277).

MANKAYI, Arthur , was hacked with axes and *pangas* by hostel-dwellers in Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 August 1976. Two of his brothers were killed with him when violence erupted after the State used hostel-dwellers in their brutal suppression of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MANKAYI, Benjamin (22), was hacked with *pangas* by hostel-dwellers in Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 August 1976. Two of his brothers were killed with him when violence erupted after the State used hostel-dwellers in their brutal suppression of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MANKAYI, Lesley Gcinikhaya (23), an SAYCO member, was detained by members of the SAP in Steynsburg, Cape, on 5 October 1985, allegedly because he was suspected of arson.

MANKUMBA, Mason Mlindeli , a security guard, died when he was shot by APLA operatives during an armed robbery at the University of the Transkei in Umtata, Transkei, on 18 February 1993. The perpetrators robbed the university of R500 000, shot Mr Mankumba and injured two other people. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/106).

MANKUNGU, Daniel Manoko (26), was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Cape Town, on 21 March 1960. Police opened fire on a large crowd who had gathered to protest against the Pass Laws, killing three people and injuring many more.

MANKUNGU, Gxiva (50), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the SAP in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 6 January 1986. Mr Mankungu was allegedly defending himself against

attackers armed with spears and assegais, when police arrived and assaulted him, burnt down his house and detained him for three days.

MANKUROANE, Beauty Monnye (28), was severely beaten by named Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 19 September 1988 because she supported deposed Chief Mankuroane.

MANKUROANE, Elizabeth Mamatchaba (17), was tear-gassed and severely assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 14 September 1988 during conflict over the Taung chieftaincy.

MANKUROANE, Emelda (51), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Taung, Bophuthatswana, in September 1988 during conflict over the Taung chieftaincy.

MANKUROANE, John (18), died a week after being severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Taung police station, Bophuthatswana, in 1988. He was allegedly arrested because of his opposition to Chief Molale.

MANKUROANE, Matshidiso Monica (19), was severely beaten with batons by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 14 September 1988 when police invaded Taung looking for Chief Mankuroane who was involved in political conflict with Bophuthatswana President Mangope.

MANKUROANE, Samuel Morwagaabusi (33), was tortured in detention in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, in April 1988 for supporting UDF during conflict between President Mangope and deposed Chief Mankuroane.

MANKURUANE, Ruth (39), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 13 March 1992 when police tried to disperse a protest march in the village.

MANNS, Ruben, an ANC member, was assaulted, hacked and burnt to death on 1 August 1993 by members of KHUMALO GANG, an IFP-aligned vigilante group after being directed with five other ANC supporters to Khumalo Street, Tokoza, Tvl, where the gang was based.

MANONG, Emily (68), was seriously burnt in an arson attack by UDF supporters at her home in Victoria West, Cape, on 3 December 1985. She died of her injuries on 7 December. Several family members were also injured in the arson attack. It was the third attack on their home that year, allegedly because her son was a local COUNCILLOR.

MANONG, Ger trude (28), was injured in an arson attack on her family home by a group of UDF supporters in Victoria West, Cape, on 3 December 1985, allegedly because her brother was a local COUNCILLOR. Ms Manong's mother was fatally injured in the attack that was the third on their home that year.

MANONG, Mbulelo (9), was injured in an arson attack on his family home by UDF supporters on 3 December 1985 in Victoria West, Cape.

MANONG, Mzolisi Wiseman (12), was injured in an arson attack on his family home by UDF supporters on 3 December 1985 in Victoria West, Cape.

MANONG, Nozuko Denise (6), was injured in an arson attack on her family home by UDF supporters on 3 December 1985 in Victoria West, Cape.

MANONG, Owen Siyabulela (9), was injured in an arson attack on his family home by UDF supporters on 3 December 1985 in Victoria West, Cape.

MANONG, Vernon Moyisizi (11), was injured in an arson attack on his family home by UDF supporters on 3 December 1985 in Victoria West, Cape.

MANOTO, Beverley, suffered severe injuries at her home in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 April 1993, when she was assaulted by a crowd of residents, ANC and ANCYL members. The attack had been directed against her father, who was accused of giving information to the police. Her father and brother were killed and set alight and two other family members were assaulted. Six ANCYL members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/127).

MANOTO, Jacob, was killed and set alight at his home in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 April 1993, by a crowd of residents, ANC and ANCYL members. The attack had been directed against his father who was accused of giving information to the police. His father was also killed and set alight and three other family members were assaulted. Six ANCYL members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/127).

MANOTO, Mar vin, suffered severe injuries at his home in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, when assaulted by a crowd of residents, ANC and ANCYL members. The attack had been directed against his father who was accused of giving information to the police. His father and brother were killed and set alight and two other family members were assaulted. Six ANCYL members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/127).

MANOTO, Mary, suffered severe injuries at her home in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 April 1993, when assaulted by a crowd of residents, ANC and ANCYL members. The attack had been directed against her father who was accused of giving information to the police. Her father and brother were killed and set alight and two other family members were assaulted. Six ANCYL members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/127).

MANOTSI, Oheni Hendrick (3), was shot in crossfire by named members of the SAP in Kutloanong, Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 15 November 1986. He died a short time later. The boy was playing in his yard at home when he was hit.

MANQA, David T shikelo, was shot and his house was destroyed by a known chief and members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MANQA, Ntsoaki Rebecca (24), was seriously injured when ANC supporters threw a hand grenade into her relative's house in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 28 April 1992 because a family member was an IFP supporter. One person was killed, another subsequently died, and two others injured in the explosion.

MANQELE, Bongani (15), had his home at Nhlanguyoka, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, set on fire on 23 April 1994 during political conflict between

ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The family were asleep when their home was attacked. They managed to escape but the rondavels were completely destroyed.

MANQELE, Cebisile (13), had her home at Nhlangenyoka, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, set on fire on 23 April 1994 during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The family were asleep when their home was attacked. They managed to escape, but the rondavels were completely destroyed.

MANQELE, Khetive (11), had her home at Nhlangenyoka, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, set on fire on 23 April 1994 during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The family were asleep when their home was attacked. They managed to escape, but the rondavels were completely destroyed.

MANQELE, Mandlakapheli Hendry (25), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 February 1994. About 20 deaths of victims from both the IFP and the ANC and at least 28 incidents of house burning were recorded that month. Hundreds of people were forced to flee the area, and schools and shops were forced to close.

MANQELE, Mpliseni (17), had his home at Nhlangenyoka, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, set on fire on 23 April 1994 during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The family were asleep when their home was attacked. They managed to escape, but the rondavels were completely destroyed.

MANQELE, Myekeni George (64), a local IFP chairman, was shot dead by unidentified persons in Ngutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 22 December 1992, allegedly in a targeted killing.

MANQELE, Mzandile, was shot dead in Mandini, Natal, on 9 August 1993, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MANQELE, Siphso (21), had his home at Nhlangenyoka, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, set on fire on 23 April 1994 during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The family were asleep when their home was attacked. They managed to escape, but the rondavels were completely destroyed.

MANQELE, Tandekile (50), had her homestead burnt down in Nhlangenyoka, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, on 23 April 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MANQELE, Velile, was shot and severely injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) in Eshowe, Natal, on 4 May 1991, when the car in which she was travelling was ambushed as she was returning from visiting relatives whose house had been burnt down by IFP supporters and members of the KZP. Another passenger was also injured in the attack, and the driver of the car was killed.

MANQINA, Shumi (50), was assaulted on 18 October 1985 at Aloevale, near Queenstown, Cape, during conflict between communities in the area.

MANQINDI, Sikhumbuzo (26), died after he was 'necklaced' by UDF supporters and Hofmeyr Youth Congress members in November 1985 at Hofmeyr, Cape. The perpetrators accused Mr Manqindi of being a collaborator.

MANS, Michael Nicholas, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

MANTENGU, Bheki, was abducted from KwaSithebe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 9 April 1990, allegedly by members of the KWAZULU POLICE who forced him into a police van because he was participating in a stayaway organised by COSATU. He has not been seen since.

MANTEWU, No-once Maggie (52), lost her home in an arson attack during protests in Cookhouse, Cape, in August 1986.

MANTILE, Jane Msuthukazi (33), was shot dead by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE during political conflict in Grahamstown, Cape, on 2 February 1987. Four other people died in the incident.

MANTILE, Johnson Phikile (40), was shot dead by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE on 2 February 1987 in Grahamstown, Cape.

MANTLANE, Sisa James (56), was detained and severely beaten by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and members of the SAP, in Ashton, Cape, on 24 May 1986, following a funeral and house-to-house search by police. About 108 people were arrested and 22 injured, eight of them seriously. Mr Mantlane was released after three months' detention under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MANTUTLE, Imameleng Lor raine (21), was shot by members of the SADF at Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, on 21 August 1985. See ALI WAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

MANTYI, Albert Zithulele Style (27), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Venterstad, Cape, on 4 July 1993. Mr Mantyi was on his way home from a church service at Nozizwe location when he was fired at from a police vehicle.

MANTYI, Alfr ed, was shot and killed by ANC/FAWU members during a period of conflict between ANC and IFP-supporting workers at the Langeberg Food factory, in Boksburg, Tvl, in September 1991. One ANC member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1998/0080).

MANTYI, Booi, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 16 June 1985 in De Aar, Cape, for allegedly throwing stones at the police. About 71 people, mostly youth, were arrested by the police after a demonstration in front of the local shopping centre.

MANTYI, Pawulosi (23), was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MANTYI, Sikhulu (33), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten during interrogation by members of the SAP in detention in Witbank, TvI, in April 1969. He was later transferred to Pretoria prison and kept in solitary confinement.

MANUEL, Moses, a private security guard, was shot and killed during a cash-in-transit robbery by APLA operatives at Cleveland, Johannesburg, on 20 September 1991. See APLA ATTACKS. Three APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0244).

MANUEL, Shaun Norman (14), was shot and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Manenberg, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985, in the aftermath of the POLLSMOOR MARCH to demand the release of Nelson Mandela.

MANYAKA, Jan Makgale, was abducted from his home in Kgobokwane, KwaNdebele, by IMBOKODO vigilantes and assaulted on 1 January 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MANYAKA, Monnana Abram (43), was severely beaten with knobkerries and sjamboks, allegedly by KwaNdebele Police, soldiers and IMBOKODO members, in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986. He was arrested for allegedly abducting residents supporting INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. The case was dropped and he received an out-of-court settlement.

MANYAKA, Mosimpila Lucas (42), was abducted from his home in Moutse, KwaNdebele, and assaulted by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 January 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MANYAKANY AKA, Nobuzwe (22), an ANC member, was assaulted by members of the CDF at Dikidikana, near King William's Town, Cape, on 6 September 1992 during political conflict.

MANYAKI, Passman Stukuna (22), a PAC supporter, was assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP while he was in detention in Burgersdorp, Cape, in June 1963. Police allegedly wanted information from him on PAC activities.

MANYAMALALA, Elbin Thandabantu, an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters coming back from an IFP rally in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1991. Several others were killed by IFP supporters that day.

MANYAMALALA, Simon, a warrant officer in the SAP, was killed when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, TvI, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

MANYAMALALA, Thandabantu Elbin (50), was killed by IFP supporters coming back from a rally in

Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1991. He was in a car with his wife when people in the crowd pursued them, firing into the car before beating and hacking him to death with knobkerries and assegais.

MANYANGA, Bhelokwakhe (45), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by fellow ANC supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 7 April 1993 in the course of a serious internal feud within the local party branch.

MANYANY A, Simon (44), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF during a bus boycott in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on August 1990.

MANYASHE, Zilindile (14), a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Uitenhage, Cape, on 10 April 1993 during protests following the killing of ANC/SACP/MK leader, Chris Hani.

MANYATHI, Fakazile (43), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Blood River, near Dundee, Natal, in April 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MANYATHI, Thabo Benedict (20), an ANC supporter, was detained under emergency regulations in Sibongile, Dundee, Natal, in August 1988 and held in custody for three months, allegedly because of his political activities.

MANYEFANA, Thembelani Stanley (20), a UDF supporter, was beaten to death by AZAPO members in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, on 19 May 1986, during clashes between AZAPO and UDF supporters.

MANYELO, Alfred Moloko, was stabbed and injured when his family was attacked in Katlehong, TvI, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 10 September 1990 during political conflict in the area. Mr Manyelo's wife, his son, his daughter, and grand-daughter were also injured and two other daughters died in the attack.

MANYELO, Asnath Noko (55), was stabbed and injured when her family was attacked in Katlehong, TvI, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 10 September 1990 during political conflict in the area. Ms Manyelo's husband, her son, her daughter, and her grand-daughter were also injured and two daughters died in the attack.

MANYELO, Benjamin Mmatlou (26), was shot and injured when his family was attacked in Katlehong, TvI, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 10 September 1990 during political conflict in the area. Mr Manyelo's mother, his father, his sister, and his niece were also injured, and two other sisters died in the same attack.

MANYELO, Christinah Makwena (22), was stabbed and injured when her family was attacked in Katlehong, TvI, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 10 September 1990, during political conflict in the area. Ms Manyelo's father, her mother, her brother, and her daughter were also injured and two other sisters died in the same attack.

MANYELO, Eunice Matshidiso Mmakwena, was shot and killed when her family was attacked in Katlehong, TvI, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 10 September 1990 during political conflict in the area. Ms Manyelo's father, her mother, her brother and her

niece were also injured and another sister died in the same attack.

MANYELO, Katleho Cavin , was stabbed and injured when her family was attacked in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 10 September 1990 during political conflict in the area. Katleho's mother, her grandfather, her grandmother, and her uncle were also injured and two aunts died in the same attack.

MANYELO, Winnie Phuti , was stabbed to death when her family was attacked in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 10 September 1990 during political conflict in the area. Her father, her mother, her brother, her sister and her niece were injured and another sisters died in the same attack.

MANYESE, Agnes , was shot and injured when gunmen opened fire on residents in Ivory Park, Tembisa, Tvl, on 14 August 1992 in violent conflict during a taxi boycott. The taxi industry in the area at the time was controlled by IFP-aligned groups. Several others were killed and injured in the attack.

MANYI, Sile Siphso (27), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death in Mevamlhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 December 1992 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MANYIKA, Andries , was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MANYIKA, Dinah , was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MANYIKA, Maphati Linah , was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MANYIKA, Megete Andries , was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MANYIKA, Sibongile Dinah , had her house destroyed by arson on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MANYISA, Loveness , was shot and injured in Ivory Park, Tembisa, Tvl, on 14 August 1992 during conflict over a taxi boycott. The taxi industry in the area at the time was controlled by IFP-aligned groups. Several others were killed or injured in the attack.

MANYISI, Agnes , an ANC member, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Sabie, Tvl, on 16

November 1990 during an ANC-organised consumer boycott and march.

MANYOBE, Dor een , had her home destroyed and was severely beaten by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in Swanieville, Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt in retaliation for the expulsion of IFP supporters from the informal settlement. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

MANYOKOLE, Rantsoli Joseph (16), was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the Transkei Police who accused him of burning down a shop in Matatiele, Natal, in February 1990.

MANYONI, Agnes Zanele (91), an ANC supporter, fled her home after she was intimidated by IFP supporters in Mkhambathini, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in November 1991. Her house was then burnt down.

MANYONI, Fanakhe (53), an IFP supporter, was hacked and stabbed to death by other IFP supporters at an IFP rally at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 29 December 1991. The perpetrators allegedly suspected him of transporting *amaqabane* in the area.

MANYONI, Maria Nomgqibelo (46), was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person died and 13 were injured in the attack. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992.

MANYONI, Nomathemba Mavis (35), had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 March 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MANYONI, Ntombikayise Victoria (36), an Inkatha supporter, had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in March 1987 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MANYONI, Nurse Maria (41), an ANC supporter, had her house at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by named IFP supporters in intensifying political conflict in the area in 1987.

MANYONI, Sibongile (50), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, during an Inkatha march on 1 January 1986. The perpetrators were allegedly angered by the fact that Ms Manyoni was watching the marchers and not taking part.

MANYONT A, Nompumelelo Freda (36), an ANC supporter, was arrested in March 1976 in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, and charged with arson. She was convicted and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

MANZANA, Mandla James (14), was shot on the ankle and shoulder by a named member of the SAP while walking with a KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS member wanted by the police in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 8 June 1988.

MANZANA, Mncedi , was assaulted and sustained injuries when he was attacked by unidentified persons at Cala, Transkei, on 18 August 1960, during resistance to the installation of KD Matanzima as Chief of the Thembus. A relative died in the attack.

MANZANA, Mongezi , a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

MANZANA, W illiam , an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named perpetrators outside his house in Cala, Transkei, on 18 August 1960, allegedly because he opposed the installation of KD Matanzima as Chief of the Thembus.

MANZI, Catherine , had her house burnt down in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994 in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MANZI, Esther (56), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MANZI, Gladys Hope (46), an ANC supporter, lost her hearing and some of her teeth when was severely beaten by members of the Security Branch while in solitary confinement in Durban in 1977. She was served with two five-year banning orders.

MANZI, Martin (15), was severely assaulted by alleged members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in January 1986.

MANZI, Mfuneni Richard (35), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MANZI, Mkoti Nomusa (44), an ANC member, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MANZI, Sabekile Maureen (25), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MANZI, Thembeni Ncamisile (24), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MANZI, Thembimkosi Zephania (47), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MANZI, Tholakele Doris (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 16 March 1994 in an attack by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the

KWAZULU POLICE, on residents of the isolated ANC stronghold in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MANZI, Vusumuzi (36), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in 1989.

MANZI, Wellington Zithembele (29), was arrested on 7 November 1990 and detained without trial for three days at Mdantsane, Ciskei, allegedly because of his political activities. While in detention, he was severely beaten by members of the CDF and Ciskei Police.

MANZINI, David Mevane , was assaulted and killed in his yard by an unidentified perpetrator at Boiphatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1991 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MANZINI, Edward , was killed in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 February 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MANZINI, Mthombi Flora (38), was beaten and tear-gassed at Shongwe Mission, Nelspruit, Tvl, in May 1986 by members of the SADF. Ms Manzini had attended a meeting called by the ANCYL.

MANZINI, Solly Stephen (18), an ANCYL member, was tortured in detention by named perpetrators in Motetema, Lebowa, on 12 March 1986.

MANZIYA, Mthuthuzeli (36), was stabbed to death by AMAAFRIKA supporters during conflict between AmaAfrika and UDF supporters in Uitenhage, Cape, on 28 December 1989.

MAOBA, Elijah (48), an ANC member, was severely assaulted by ANC-aligned self-defence unit (SDU) members in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 26 September 1993 because he opposed SDU activity. His shack was looted and sold. Mr Maoba laid a charge against the perpetrators but they were found not guilty.

MAOKAWE, Mariah Mamoeng , was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when police dispersed the crowd with teargas and sjamboks.

MAOKENG, Abram (22), was shot and injured when members of the Bophuthatswana police fired on a crowd at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986 during a protest against police brutality. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

MAPALALA, Sifiso (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at his home at Esigisini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 August 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His cousin was also killed in the attack.

MAPAPU, Siphiwo Michael (26), a SAYCO member, was severely tortured by named members of the SAP on 13 May 1986 in Port Alfred, Cape. Police alleged he was involved in organising stayaways and consumer boycotts in the area.

MAPASA, Sonabiso Elias (52), a member of the SAP, was shot and injured by a named UDF supporter

during a protest near the Lindokuhle Railway Station, Umlazi, Durban, on 28 November 1988.

MAPAYA, Moleboge Phineas (29), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Seleka village, Ellisras, Tvl, during October 1990 because he attended an ANC meeting declared illegal. Police dispersed the crowd violently and attacked Mr Mapaya on his way home.

MAPEKULA, Nyameko , was one of six persons abducted and interrogated by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members near Port St Johns, Transkei, on 20 April 1994, shortly before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Mapekula and three others were then shot dead. The SDU members believed that they were APLA members who were on their way to disrupt an ANC mass rally. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/045).

MAPELA, Mnedisi Holford (31), an ANC supporter, was beaten and tortured by named members of the Security Branch on 13 May 1964 at Fleet Street police station, East London.

MAPELA, Mzukisi Petros (25), an ANC supporter, was beaten by named members of the Security Branch in Uitenhage, Cape, on 6 October 1977.

MAPELA, Zimasile Michael (16), a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the SAP during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT in Port Elizabeth, on 3 August 1985.

MAPELO, Mapheto Maria (16), a COSAS member, was subjected to electric shock torture by named members of the SAP in detention in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in May 1990 because of her involvement in enforcing a consumer boycott.

MAPETU, Mzoli David (23), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Security Branch on 18 August 1985 in Port Elizabeth, allegedly because he broke a curfew.

MAPHAHA, (first name not given), was beaten to death by community residents in the Tshino village of Venda on 2 February 1990, in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to hinder the work of political activists in the area. Mr Maphaha was one of two people killed that day. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/094).

MAPHALALA, Alphina Shuko (59), an ANC supporter, had her house and shop destroyed in an arson attack by a named IFP supporter at Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in February 1992.

MAPHALALA, Elphas Siphso (26), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MAPHALALA, Mantwa V irginia Virsy (15), a COSAS member, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Bloemfontein, in February 1990, while participating in a SCHOOL BOYCOTT. She was also kicked in the face and arrested for being at the scene of a boycott.

MAPHALALA, Sydney , was shot dead by police in Mapetla, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 August 1976 in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MAPHALALA, Thokozile Lesiah (35), was forced to leave her home in Bergville, Natal, in February 1994 after persistent intimidation by IFP supporters because her daughter had witnessed an IFP attack in the area.

MAPHALANE, Lennox Thabang (16), was one of two youths shot dead in a 'Trojan Horse' type shooting by named members of the SAP and Railway Police concealed on a railway truck on 25 March 1986 in Nyanga, Cape Town. See TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN.

MAPHANGA, Alfred Qanda , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MAPHANGA, Bhokizwe Russell (21), was severely beaten and kicked by members of the Security Branch in Durban during 1963, after being arrested while attempting to cross the border. He was subsequently sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on politically-related charges.

MAPHANGA, Dudu , and her mother were killed by ANC supporters and residents of Ga Mantlhanyane village, Nebo, Lebowa, on 11 April 1994. The victims were abducted and taken to a mountainous area where petrol was poured over them and they were set alight. Ms Maphanga's own brother was forced to set them alight. They were accused of using witchcraft to cause the deaths of six youths. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/077).

MAPHANGA, James , was abducted from home and burnt to death by named ANC supporters in Kwa-Lugethane, KwaNdebele, during September 1986. Mr Maphanga worked for the KwaNdebele chief and was considered a 'sell-out' during violent conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MAPHANGA, Leonard Geor ge, was shot dead and his body was burnt by IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG members in Tembisa, Tvl, on 31 July 1992 during violent conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MAPHANGA, Mabhalane , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MAPHANGA, Malope , and her daughter were killed by ANC supporters and residents of Ga Mantlhanyane village, Nebo, Lebowa, on 11 April 1994. The victims were abducted and taken to a mountainous area where petrol was poured over them and they were set alight. Ms Maphanga's own son was forced to set them alight. They were accused of using witchcraft to cause the deaths of six youths. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/077).

MAPHANGA, Mondli (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, and his body set alight, along with those of

two friends, in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 May 1990. It is alleged that the victims, shortly before they were killed, had discovered a minibus full of charred bodies at a garage frequented by ANC supporters.

MAPHANGA, Ngazi Albert (56), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1991. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MAPHANGA, Okie, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MAPHANGA, Sibusiso (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP while attending a night vigil in KwaMashu, Durban on 16 February 1991.

MAPHANGA, Silwayiphi Alfred (27), was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MAPHANGA, Sukumani Vitans (20), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by a named IFP supporter in Ncelebantwana, near Bulwer, Natal, on 10 August 1991. Mr Maphanga had allegedly refused to join the IFP.

MAPHANGA, Themba Albert (38), was shot dead by a named Inkatha leader in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 12 November 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area. He was allegedly targeted because his family was sympathetic to the ANC.

MAPHANGA, T iny, was shot dead by IFP supporters at a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 26 March 1991.

MAPHANGA-MKHW ANAZI, Kate Martha (32), was shot by named perpetrators in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 26 March 1991.

MAPHAPHU, Nongezile Nomathemba (33), lost her shack in an arson attack in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, in January 1992, after it caught fire from the burning house of a neighbour who was a SANCO member.

MAPHIKE, Daniel Dibete, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960.

MAPHIKE, Stephen Puleramaileng, the Chancellor of Vista University, had his garage and motor vehicles damaged in a hand grenade attack at his home in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 6 June 1986, by members of the Soweto Security Branch purporting to be MK operatives. The operation was intended to give an informer credibility. Four Soweto Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/036).

MAPHINI, Zakhele Amos (40), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

MAPHIPA, Mzukisi, was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 19 November 1993, allegedly by named members of the ISU who killed three people and wounded one, during political conflict in the area.

MAPHISA, Daemane David (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the AWB in Bethlehem, OFS, on 6 April 1994, in the run-up to the country's first democratic elections. See APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS and RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MAPHOLOGELA, Sene Johannes (37), an ANC supporter, was tortured in detention by members of the SAP in Naboomspruit, Tvl, in 1993.

MAPHOLOGELA, Solomon Madimetja Chompo (23), an ANCYL member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Naboomspruit, Tvl, on 14 April 1993.

MAPHOSA, Beauty Sesana (41), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Wesselson, Ermelo, Tvl, on 13 December 1989 when police opened fire on a crowd marching towards the court during a rent boycott.

MAPHOSA, Mathews (32), was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Mapetla, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 June 1976, the day after the SOWETO UPRISING began.

MAPHOSA, Simon Petrus (45), was arrested by members of the SAP at Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in 1987 and kept in solitary confinement at Middelburg, Tvl, because he refused to join the pro-independence IMBOKODO vigilante group.

MAPHOSA, Vincent, an ANC supporter, was abducted and assaulted by members of the 'Zim-Zim' faction at Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 20 November 1990 during violent conflict between the 'Zim-Zim' and 'Gadaffi' faction when the local ANC branch in the area split into two rival groups. Mr Maphosa was a 'Gadaffi' supporter. See also KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS.

MAPHUDA, Alex, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

MAPHUMANE, Hali Petr us, was killed when a hand grenade detonated by a named MK operative exploded in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 27 November 1992. MK and APLA members returning from exile were training community members to defend themselves against attacks by the IFP and security forces. The perpetrator threw the hand grenade after getting involved in an argument at a *stokvel*. Six people died and four were injured in the explosion.

MAPHUMULO, Africa Mthokozisi (28), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Qinaabout, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 28 July 1991. His family was continually harassed by IFP youths.

MAPHUMULO, Agrippa (33), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and his body was mutilated by IFP supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 24 September 1993.

MAPHUMULO, Bahambephi (65), lost her house in Mandini, Natal, in an arson attack on 28 December 1991 during political violence between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAPHUMULO, Bhekithemba Eugene (28), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 July 1990, allegedly because his father, in whose house the attack took place, was an ANC supporter. Mr Maphumulo's wife was also shot dead and his son, aged 4, was shot and injured in the attack.

MAPHUMULO, Bongani (55), had his house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANCYL members on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAPHUMULO, Bongiwwe (26), an ANC supporter, was abducted from her home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 1 November 1987, in intensifying conflict between ANC/UDF and Inkatha supporters. Her throat was slit, and her body was found the following day next to the Igobhogobho river, between Ntuzuma and Lindelani.

MAPHUMULO, Doto John (68), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAPHUMULO, Edward Bonginkosi (37), an ANC supporter, had his house petrol-bombed by IFP supporters in Bhukulwandle, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 29 October 1992. Shots were fired in the attack, injuring Mr Maphumulo's mother. His sister, an invalid, died from smoke inhalation.

MAPHUMULO, Eric Mhlabunzima (31), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at the Geneva settlement, near Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993 in intense political conflict in the area. At least 18 people were killed in political violence in Bhambayi in March 1993. Seventy-five homes were burnt down.

MAPHUMULO, Fanlo William (51), was shot dead by an IFP supporter in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 31 December 1990 in intense political conflict in the area.

MAPHUMULO, Fanyana Amos (69), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1991, allegedly because he was associated with CONTRALESA Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo. Chief Maphumulo had died in a targeted killing on 25 February 1991.

MAPHUMULO, Flora (65), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 3 July 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MAPHUMULO, Gcina Geofrey (41), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 July 1991 by unidentified persons who had urged him to accompany them to an IFP self-defence training camp.

MAPHUMULO, Gladness Thoko (22), was repeatedly harassed by members of the Special Branch from 1964 onwards, and was refused permission to own or

rent a house in Durban. Her husband, an MK operative, Mr Msizeni Maphumulo, had been imprisoned on Robben Island.

MAPHUMULO, Isabel, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, during March 1993. Her daughter and granddaughter were killed in the same attack, which occurred when they returned to check on the home they had fled for safety.

MAPHUMULO, Joy Maryjane (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters on 27 July 1992 in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban. A day earlier, eight people had been killed by armed IFP supporters in the FOLWENI MASSACRE.

MAPHUMULO, Joyce Sibongile (36), an ANC supporter, had her house at Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, in August 1985.

MAPHUMULO, Justice Nkosingphile (25), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death by IFP supporters at Emachobeni, Richmond, Natal, on 5 July 1991. He had allegedly failed to respond to an IFP youth recruitment campaign.

MAPHUMULO, Kenneth Nkositathi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban on 5 August 1992. His cousin, also an ANC supporter, was also killed in the attack. A COSATU stayaway had been organised for that day, and IFP supporters had allegedly attacked those who had not gone to work.

MAPHUMULO, Khathi Nomusa (37), an IFP supporter, lost her house in an arson attack at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MAPHUMULO, Linda Michael (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by an Inkatha supporter in Umlazi, Durban, on 21 March 1990. More than nine people died in political conflict in the area on this day, following the killing of two people by the police.

MAPHUMULO, Liso, was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Gardiner Street, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076).

MAPHUMULO, Lulu Dinah (50), had her house at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, vandalised by Inkatha supporters on 7 December 1989. At the time, Lindelani residents were being forced to make monthly contributions to Inkatha and pay community levies. Those who did not pay were either forced to leave the area or had their houses set alight.

MAPHUMULO, Mandla Erik (28), lost his house in an arson attack in the Mkhukhuze area, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAPHUMULO, Mandla Ophius (44), was returning home from a funeral when he was shot dead in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on

2 September 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MAPHUMULO, Mandlenkosi (47), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAPHUMULO, Maqhikiza Fanisile (46), was shot and injured when IFP supporters attacked a bus in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 February 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAPHUMULO, Mhlabunzima Joseph (42), was shot dead at his home in central Pietermaritzburg on 25 February 1991. One of the alleged perpetrators is named. Chief Maphumulo of Maqongqo was the president of CONTRALESA, an organisation of traditional leaders, which was aligned with the UDF and ANC. He was also instrumental in the local peace process. He had survived several assassination attempts for his political views.

MAPHUMULO, Mncedisi, was shot dead by IFP supporters at her family home in Amanzimtoti, near Durban in March 1993. Her mother and grandmother died in the same attack, which occurred when the family returned to check on the home they had fled for safety.

MAPHUMULO, Mr (first name not given), a prominent Inkatha member, was shot dead at his shop in Clermont, near Durban, in 1988 by a group of UDF supporters. Two UDF supporters and members of the Clermont Youth Congress were granted amnesty (AC/2001/101).

MAPHUMULO, Msawenkosi, an IFP supporter, was burnt to death in August 1993 when ANC supporters attacked and set fire to his mother's home in Nsuze, Tongaat, Natal. His brother, also an IFP supporter, was also burnt to death in the attack.

MAPHUMULO, Msizeni Shadrack (48), a senior member of MK's Natal military machinery in Swaziland, was shot by SADF Special Forces operatives while he was resisting abduction from his home in Manzini, Swaziland, on 12 December 1986. Mr Maphumulo died en route to South Africa. A 13-year-old Swazi national was killed and four other foreign nationals (two Swiss, one Swazi and one South African) were abducted from their homes in Mbabane, Swaziland, in the same operation. Mr Maphumulo, from KwaMashu, Durban, had previously been imprisoned on Robben Island for ten years.

MAPHUMULO, Mthandeni, an SAP member, was arrested and tortured by fellow members of the SAP in Springs, Tvl, on 12 August 1986 after he dug the body of an MK operative out of a government grave so it could be sent to Sabie for a decent family burial. He was later discharged from the police.

MAPHUMULO, Mzwamandla, an IFP supporter, was burnt to death in August 1993 when ANC supporters attacked and set fire to his mother's home in Nsuze, Tongaat, Natal. His brother, an IFP supporter, was also burnt to death in the attack.

MAPHUMULO, Nakoti (51), an ANC supporter, had her homestead destroyed in an arson attack by unidentified persons, at Magabheni, Umgababa,

KwaZulu, near Durban, Natal, in 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Both her sons were injured in the attack.

MAPHUMULO, Nhlanhla Gerald (34), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by a named IFP supporter at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1991. At the time of the attack, Mr Maphumulo was allegedly with a person who was being targeted by local youths and IFP chiefs.

MAPHUMULO, Nokuphiwa (67), lost her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAPHUMULO, Nonkantolo Ganephi (73), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Nsuze, Tongaat, Natal, in August 1993. Both her sons, who were IFP supporters, were burnt to death in the attack.

MAPHUMULO, Nosibhedela (62), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1991. Since 1984, Ms Maphumulo and her family had experienced sustained periods of victimization and harassment by Inkatha supporters, allegedly because her son, Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, refused to align himself with Inkatha.

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

MAPHUMULO, Penelope Nombuso (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 July 1990, allegedly because her father-in-law, in whose house the attack took place, was an ANC supporter. Ms Maphumulo's husband was also shot dead, and her son, aged 4, was shot and injured in the attack.

MAPHUMULO, Pikirini Ephraim (57), an ANC supporter, was arrested in 1985 while crossing the border to Swaziland. In custody in Durban, he was severely assaulted by members of the SAP. Mr Maphumulo was charged and convicted for leaving the country illegally. He was released from Robben Island early on account of injuries sustained while he was held in custody.

MAPHUMULO, Primrose Khwezi (37), an ANC supporter and an invalid, died of suffocation when her brother's house was petrol-bombed by IFP supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 29 October 1992.

MAPHUMULO, Prisca, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in March 1993. Her daughter and mother were killed in the same attack, which occurred when they returned to check on the home they had fled for safety.

MAPHUMULO, S'mangile Mavis (24), lost her home in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAPHUMULO, Samukelo (4), was shot and injured by IFP supporters at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 July 1990, allegedly because his grandfather, in whose house the attack took place, was an ANC supporter. Samukelo's parents were both shot dead in the attack.

MAPHUMULO, Shadrack, an informer, was shot and killed by Security Branch members and Vlakplaas operatives on the 14 August 1986 at the Nerston/Amsterdam Road, Nerston. Mr Maphumulo was tasked by the perpetrators to infiltrate an MK unit and transport them across the border. In an ambush, four members of the unit were killed and one was wounded. Mr Maphumulo was also killed. Three perpetrators were refused amnesty and eight granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/148).

MAPHUMULO, Sibongile Patricia (37), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Isigodi Bekwandla, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 19 March 1990 in intensifying conflict in the area following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February 1990. Ms Maphumulo lived in an Inkatha stronghold, which was attacked that day by ANC supporters.

MAPHUMULO, Sibusiso (13), an ANC supporter, was killed on 18 February 1994, when four gunmen attacked a house in the rural Mahahle village, near Creighton, Ixopo, Natal, in which he and other ANC youths were sleeping. Fifteen ANC youths were killed in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre.

MAPHUMULO, Sihle Cyprian (14), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at K Section, Umlazi, Durban, on 24 September 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAPHUMULO, Sikhumbuzo Richard (14), was shot dead in an attack on his family home at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 25 March 1992, during continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAPHUMULO, Simon Qhimilili (36), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAPHUMULO, Simphiwe Hamilton (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE at a shebeen in Adams, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 October 1993.

MAPHUMULO, Thembinkosi (12), was shot dead by in an attack by IFP supporters at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 31 December 1990. His father was also killed in the attack.

MAPHUMULO, Thomi Thomas (39), was shot dead while returning home from work in Isipingo, Natal, on 9 April 1992, during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Mr Maphumulo had previously fled Umbumbulu to escape the violence.

MAPHUMULO, Twayisa Godfrey, had his house destroyed in an arson attack at Inanda, near KwaMashu,

Durban, on 27 November 1986, in intensifying conflict between ANC/UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for his children, who were ANC supporters.

MAPHUMULO, Venaneia (49), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by members of the SAP in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1986. Members of the family members were targeted for harassment and attack because of their active support for the ANC.

MAPHUMULO, Vusi Wilson (33), an ANC supporter, was injured when his car overturned after it had been stoned by IFP supporters at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1991.

MAPHUMULO, Vusi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, on 7 February 1990, in intense conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations a few days earlier.

MAPHUMULO, Zanele (21), was shot dead at Tongaat, Natal, on 8 August 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MAPHUMULO, Zibuyile Joyce (24), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1992.

MAPHUMULO, Zithulele Gilbert (45), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by the police, at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 September 1992. A peace initiative to end political violence in the area was underway at the time.

MAPHUTHUMA, Namwele, had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MAPIPA, Desmond Daliwonga, was one of four Eastern Cape Security Branch operatives killed in the MOTHERWELL CAR BOMB explosion, Port Elizabeth, on 14 December 1989, in a joint operation by the Eastern Cape Security Branch and Security Branch headquarters. Two operatives from the Eastern Cape Security Branch and seven from Security Branch headquarters, including the *Vlakplaas* commander and his commanding officer, were refused amnesty for the operation. Applicants presented different versions as to why the four had been killed (AC/1999/0345).

MAPIPA, Mvumelwano Nicholas, a PAC supporter, was shot dead by named and other ANC supporters on 23 March 1994 in Port St Johns, Transkei, because he and other PAC supporters were seen carrying firearms while allegedly on their way to attack ANC members.

MAPISA, Buyisile R yan, was tortured while in detention by members of the SA Railway Police in 1977 at Cambridge police station, East London. He was detained and tortured again on 23 December 1988 in Mdantsane, Ciskei.

MAPOLISA, Msetshwa (39), had his home and possessions burnt by IFP supporters in March 1993 in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS. At least 18 people died in political violence in Bhambayi that month, and 75 homes were burnt down.

MAPOMA, Phuti Lina (52), had her home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAPONGWANA, Mhleli Michael (44), chairperson of the Western Cape Civic Association and an ANC supporter, was pulled from a vehicle and shot dead by named and other members of the Western Cape Black Taxi Association in Philippi, Cape Town, on 8 July 1991. His driver was also shot dead. Mr Mapongwana had played a mediating role in ongoing taxi conflicts, which had acquired a political dimension. He had survived two previous assassination attempts in 1990, one of which had killed his wife. See TAXI VIOLENCE.

MAPONGWANA, Nomsa (36), was shot dead during a petrol bomb and gunfire attack on her home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 18 October 1990. The perpetrators, believed to be linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council, were aiming to kill her husband who was chairperson of the Western Cape Civic Association and a leader in the campaign to oppose the town council.

MAPONYA, Andries Itumeleng (27), was placed in solitary confinement for about nine months in Johannesburg, in 1988. Police wanted to know where his MK member brother was. Mr Maponya was shown a newspaper cutting stating that his brother had been killed by security forces.

MAPONYA, Japie Kereng (aka 'Geeletjie'), was abducted from Krugersdorp, Tvl, during September 1985 by *Vlakplaas* operatives on the instructions of the West Rand Security Branch. He was taken to *Vlakplaas* and interrogated and assaulted in an effort to extract information about the activities of his brother, MK operative Odirile Maponya, aka 'Mainstay'. Following his refusal to co-operate, he was killed and buried on the Swazi side of the border. Nine Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander of West Rand and the commander of *Vlakplaas*, applied for amnesty. Three applications were refused and six granted (AC/2001/272 and AM/2001/279).

MAPONYA, Peter, was shot at by NUMSA members during a strike at the Haggie Rand factory in Tembisa, Johannesburg, on 22 February 1990. Amnesty was granted one NUMSA member (AC/1999/0296).

MAPOTELE, Piet, suffered injuries when the armoured vehicle in which he was travelling drove over and detonated a landmine in Messina, Tvl, on 27 November 1985. The ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN was aimed at military patrols in the rural areas. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

MAPOULA, Noko Albert (57), had his home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Mapoula resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAPOULO, Monyane Joseph (42), had his home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Mapoulo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAPOULO, Ramkoni Martina (53), had her home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAPUA, Oupa Josiah (21), a UDF activist, was shot dead by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 13 August 1985.

MAPUMULO, Bongokwakhe Hebron (67), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhukulwandle, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, during 1991.

MAPUMULO, Cushiwe, died after being shot dead by unidentified perpetrators at Ktlehong, Tvl, on 12 September 1992, allegedly because her father was rumoured to be an IFP supporter. Her two sisters died as a result of the same attack.

MAPUMULO, Danisiel Amy (43), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAPUMULO, Dumalile, was shot dead by unidentified perpetrators at Ktlehong, Tvl, on 12 September 1992, allegedly because her father was believed to be an IFP supporter. Her two sisters died as a result of the same attack.

MAPUMULO, Gifford Katshana (51), had his house in Qinabout, Port Shepstone, Natal, petrol-bombed in April 1991 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Mr Mapumulo and his family were forced to flee the area.

MAPUMULO, Nomlomo, was severely injured after being stabbed and shot in Ktlehong, Tvl, allegedly by ANC supporters, on 12 September 1992 because her husband was suspected of being an IFP supporter. Ms Mapumulo's three daughters were also allegedly killed in this incident and her son was reportedly confined to a wheelchair as a result of his injuries. Ms Mapumulo herself lost an eye.

MAPUMULO, Siwoti (54), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAPUMULO, Siyangoshova, was shot dead in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 July 1987, in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MAPUMULO, Sizeni, was shot dead by unidentified perpetrators at Ktlehong, Tvl, on 12 September 1992, allegedly because her father was rumoured to be an IFP supporter. Her two sisters died as a result of the same attack.

MAPUOA, Ronald Mosebetsi (aka 'Sidwell Mbele') (27), an MK member, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces and *Vlakplaas* operatives on homes at Ditlharapeng village, Ramathlabama, Botswana, 1000 metres from the South African border, on 11 December 1988. A 15-year-old boy was also killed, and three homes were destroyed. The *Vlakplaas* commander and eight of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/108).

MAPUTE, Simphiwe Zakariah , was shot dead by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 2 February 1993. The perpetrator thought Mr Mapute was trying to attack him as he walked along the road at night. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2001/140).

MAPUTLA, Phadishi Abram (49), was severely beaten in Ga-Kibi Village, Lebowa, on 10 October 1986 at a community meeting called to discuss grievances against the self-appointed Chief Lebogo. The chief used police and SADF members to disperse the meeting by sjambokking those in attendance.

MAPUTLA, Simon Selema (34), was severely assaulted in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 10 April 1987 by two named perpetrators claiming to be sent by a local chief. They searched Mr Maputla's home, took him to the *veld* where they broke his jaw, tied his hands with wire to the back of a van, and dragged him behind it.

MAQANDA, Themba Abeshai (47), was paralysed after he was shot and severely injured by a named town councillor in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 13 December 1992. Mr Maqanda was returning from a mass meeting about a rent boycott when people taking part in a protest march tried to set the councillor's house alight.

MAQEKEZA, Dugard Zweledinga (27), an ANC supporter with links to MK, was severely tortured in detention in 1987 by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei. One member of the Transkei Security Branch was granted amnesty (AC/2000/076).

MAQEKEZA, Jama Hamilton (24), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 11 August 1976, after the SOWETO UPRISING erupted in Cape Town. Mr Maqekeza was returning from his job as a chef when he was shot. Over 20 people were killed that day during extensive unrest.

MAQEKEZA, Mazizi Attwell Ngubekhaya (aka 'Mpilo') (22), an MK operative from Gatyane, Willowvale, Transkei, was shot dead in his bed in Queen Elizabeth hospital, Lesotho, on 15 March 1988. Mr Maqekeza had been hospitalised in February 1988 after surviving a roadside ambush by armed men wearing Lesotho security force uniforms. A fellow MK operative was killed in the ambush, but a third MK operative, Mr Mbulelo Ngoni, escaped. He, however, was abducted four days later by members of the Ladybrand Security Branch and has not been seen since.

MAQENUKANA, Shakespear , a resident of Crossroads, Cape Town, was severely beaten by local squatter leaders in Crossroads in 1985. He was abducted in 1986 and severely beaten, tortured and hit with a panga on the head while being held for a week at a local informal 'jail' run by WITDOEKE vigilantes in Crossroads, with the approval of the security forces. The second assault left him mentally disabled.

MAQETHUKA, Thamsanqa (16), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Barkly East, Cape, on 10 February 1990 during celebrations of the release of Nelson Mandela.

MAQETHUKA, Thembi Joyce (27), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed by IFP supporters in Chimora,

Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

MAQETUKA, Vuyo (30), a PEYCO member, was shot by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth, on 27 March 1985 while he was attending a funeral of an unrest victim.

MAQEWU, Manhanha , was hacked to death by named perpetrators on 18 December 1960 in Zizityaneni, Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAQGAQGA, Enoch Buti , was shot dead while taking part in a march protesting about sanitation services in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl.

MAQHABA, Freeman James (57), a UDF supporter, lost his shops, vehicles and furniture when they were burnt by members of the SAP on 1 October 1985 in Kirkwood, Cape.

MAQHASHA, Veronica Phumla , (12), was shot and injured in Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 17 June 1985, by members of the SAP who were concealed in a policeman's home. Three children, known as the BONGOLETHU THREE were shot dead and several others injured when police opened fire on those entering or near the house.

MAQHASHALALA, Mantuntu Jackson , an ANC supporter, was shot in Flagstaff, Transkei, in June 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAQHULA, Mvulo Peter (19), a COSAS member, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 10 May 1985.

MAQOGI, Monwabisi (20), a UDF supporter and youth activist from Worcester, Cape, was arrested at a Botswana border post while trying to leave the country with four others in June 1987. He was severely tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in that area and then taken to the Cape where he was again tortured by named members of the Security Branch from Worcester. After being held under SECTION 29 in solitary confinement for six months, Mr Maqogi was sentenced to six years' imprisonment. He was released as a political prisoner in December 1990.

MAQOKO, Ndolotswana (32), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 28 August 1985, during the POLLSMOOR MARCH to demand the release of Nelson Mandela.

MAQOLO, Bongani Leanard , a member of the Cradock Youth Association, was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in January 1987 at Cradock, Cape, on a charge of killing a policeman during the political conflict of 1985.

MAQOLO, Mbuyiselo Maxin (35), was beaten and tortured by members of the SAP during political unrest in Port Elizabeth in 1986.

MAQOMA, Nomagabiso Greta (46), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, on 15 March 1991.

MAQOMA, Nomalungelo , was detained during OPERATION KATZEN and tortured during interrogation by members of the Ciskei Elite Unit in Alice, Ciskei, in 1986. Two members of the Ciskei Police, and seven members of the SADF, Border Security Branch and Department of Prisons for Operation Katzen were granted amnesty for the torture (AC/1997/0023;

AC/1997/0024; AC/1997/0025; AC/1998/043; AC/1999/003; AC/1999/245; AC/2000/037; AC/2000/192; AC/2001/159 and AC/2001/224).

MAQUBELA, Wonke Withiel (16), a SAYCO member, was detained and severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Stutterheim, Cape, during the 1985 SCHOOL BOYCOTTS.

MAQUNGO, Andile (13), was burnt to death in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993, in an attack by members of a BALACLAVA GROUP who shot at the house and set it alight. Seven people, including several members of the Jwambi family, were killed in the attack.

MAQUNGO, Babalwa, was burnt to death in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993, in an attack by members of a BALACLAVA GROUP who shot at the house and set it alight. Seven people, including several members of the Jwambi family, were killed in the attack.

MAQWANE, Andrew Mbuiselo, was shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned KHETISI KESWA GANG in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 during the night vigil of an ANC activist killed by the gang. Gang members fired shots and threw hand grenades at mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

MAQWAZIMA, Vukile Simon (39), was shot and injured by members of the SADF in Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1991 while the IFP held a rally in a nearby stadium. Mr Maqwazima had gathered with a group of residents in anticipation of an IFP attack.

MARA, Bafedile Jane (20), an ANC supporter, was severely tortured by members of the SAP while in detention in Kroonstad, OFS, in March 1990. Together with others, she was detained while taking part in a rent and electricity boycott against the Council of Moakeng, and charged with public violence. She was held in custody for six weeks. Charges were withdrawn after four months.

MARABA, Daniel, an ANC supporter (21), was tortured in detention on 3 December 1985 at Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, by named members of the SAP trying to elicit information about the newly formed Khutsong Youth League.

MARABA, Thibeli, died of injuries after being beaten with a sjambok by members of the SAP on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MARABE, Maria Lipolelo (35), had her house burnt down during a tribal dispute in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in May 1977.

MARAI, Lipota, an ANC member, was shot dead on 9 December 1982 in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats on Maseru, Lesotho. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. After Mr Lipota had gone into exile in 1977, his mother and sister were detained.

MARAIS, Ezekiel Domongo Matshidiso (20), an ANC member, was detained by members of the Fountain Security Branch in Bloemfontein on three separate occasions between January 1978 and June 1980. He

was tortured in detention, allegedly for leading a rent boycott and for 'furthering the aims of the ANC'.

MARAIS, Philmarin Annelize, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

MARAKALALA, Dikeledi Johannes (36), was beaten in Brits, Tvl, in 1989 by a named perpetrator, allegedly a VARK SQUAD member.

MARAKALALA, Josephine Mokgadi (23), was tortured in detention by members of the SAP at Tembisa police station and Sun City prison, Tvl, during the state of emergency in July 1986. Ms Marakalala was active in various community organisations.

MARAKALALA, Makgaba Jeanette (35), an ANC supporter, was beaten by VARK SQUAD vigilantes at Oukasie, near Brits, Tvl, on 30 October 1989.

MARAKE, Paki George (50), a DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP) supporter and member of the QwaQwa parliament, had his house burnt down in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 19 August 1987. His home was again petrol-bombed in June 1990.

MARAMBA, Zukiswa (19), an ANCYL member, was severely beaten and injured by members of the Ciskei Police on 24 October 1985 in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, while he was attending a funeral.

MARANANA, Mr (first name not given), was shot dead by members of the SAP in East London in March 1986.

MARANXA, Pumla (38), a PAC supporter, was severely injured in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 20 June 1990 when the SAP opened fire at a group of PAC supporters gathered where members of the SAP had shot a boy. Ms Maranxa was there to check if it was her son who had been shot when police opened fire. Ten pellets are still lodged in her back.

MARAWU, Howard, a church minister and trade unionist, lost his home in a petrol bomb attack in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 17 October 1979. Reverend Marawu had endured ongoing police harassment because of his political activity and had received telephonic death threats shortly before the attack.

MARAWU, Mziwabantu Jafta, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in 1976, after which his house was petrol-bombed, allegedly by the SAP, in Guguletu, Cape Town, during 1979. Mr Marawu's father was a prominent political activist who had received death threats before the attack.

MARAYI, Florence Ntombizonke (24), a UDF supporter, was shot and stabbed, and had her house petrol-bombed, by Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in October 1989.

MARCH, David, was abducted by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in November 1993 during violence in the township. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MARCH, Joseph, was shot dead in his own front yard in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in June 1993 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MARCH, Philip , was shot dead by members of the SADF and SAP inside school grounds in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in June 1976 after the SOWETO UPRISING had spilt over into neighbouring areas.

MARCUS, Lulamile Mandla (21), was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MARE, Linus (34), was killed when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a remote control device outside the Ellis Park rugby stadium, Johannesburg, on 2 July 1988. Two spectators leaving the rugby match were killed and 37 others sustained minor and major injuries. Four operatives from MK's Special Operations Unit, including its commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/161).

MAREBODI, Thomas Mmereki (15), a UDF supporter and student leader, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Kimberley, Cape, on 11 April 1985, when police opened fire on student protesters. His funeral was tear-gassed and disrupted by police.

MAREDI, Jacob Khomotso (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 May 1993 because of his political activities.

MAREDI, Kgagudi Hesekia (58), an ANC supporter, was arrested and banished from his home in Sekhukhune, Tvl, in 1956, and placed under house arrest at Grahamstown, Cape, until 1966. His arrest followed Sekhukhuneland resistance to self-government.

MAREKANE, Ber nard, was shot and killed by NUMSA members in Katlehong, near Johannesburg, on 28 March 1990. Amnesty was granted to one NUMSA member (AC/1999/0296).

MAREMA, Mofolo Aron (36), lost his property in an arson attack during conflict over the chieftaincy in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, on 7 May 1977. Many other residents lost their homes in the attack.

MAREMAMA, Kwena Alber (52), had his home burnt down in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Maremama resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAREMAME, Makwena Rosina , had her home burnt down at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAREMANE, Celia Kgabo (35), had her home burnt down at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MAREMANE, Makoena (42), had her house in GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by Chief BK Matlala's supporters on 2 February 1980 because she resisted falling under his jurisdiction.

MAREMANE, Makoena Joseph , had his home at GaMatlala, Lebowa, burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980, because Mr Maremane

resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MARENENE, Patrick , a community COUNCILLOR, was stabbed, stoned and burnt to death by a large group of named and other UDF supporters in Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 22 November 1985. Six people were convicted of the killing, three of which were sentenced to death, later commuted to prison terms.

MARETLOANE, Thabang (22), an ANC supporter, was tortured by attempted suffocation while he was in detention in West Bank prison, East London, in June 1986.

MARETLWA, Joseph Mozwethemba (41), a civic activist, was arrested and subjected to electric shock torture by members of the SAP at Urandjville police station, Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, during December 1991. Mr Maretlwa was leading a residents' campaign to dismiss the local council and cancel all arrears on communal services.

MARETLWA, Kgutli , was severely beaten with a hosepipe at the taxi rank in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, by a named member of the SAP during May 1990. He and two friends who were also attacked were then taken to the police garage and beaten further.

MARI, Ndoiyisile W illiam , an ANC supporter, was arrested in Port Elizabeth in 1964, and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town. After his release, he was placed under restrictions in the King William's Town area, Cape.

MARI, Vuyisile (4), was assaulted by members of the SAP at KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, in 1964, during a government crackdown on the ANC. His father served time on Robben Island for his involvement in ANC activities.

MARIE, Bobby , was detained by members of the Security Branch in 1976 and held without trial for five months. Mr Marie was reportedly targeted because his mother-in-law was president of the Black Women's Federation.

MARIPA, Susan (34), was shot dead by two named perpetrators associated with the MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB in Tladi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 October 1987 after it was alleged that Ms Maripa knew too much about a neighbour's death.

MARIPANE, Ngoakoane L ydia , was tortured by members of the SAP at Seshego police station, Pietersburg, in 1984 because his brother was an ANC member.

MARITE, Tokelo John (22), was attacked in his home by named members of the THREE MILLION GANG in Gelukwaarts, Kroonstad, OFS, on 28 March 1992. When he tried to escape, he was caught and killed.

MARITZ, HSM , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MARITZ, JH , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MARKLOE, Martin (6), was shot and injured when police opened fire with rubber bullets after a community meeting at Prieska, Cape, in January 1986.

MARKS, Elizabeth , was shot in Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1990 during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MAROBELA, Hellen (36), had her home in Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa, damaged in an arson attack by members of the SAP on 15 October 1986.

MAROE, Mampatana Salamina , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MAROEKOANE, Anna Ndoti , was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960.

MAROGA, Lazar us, an SAP member, was stabbed to death in Namakgale, Lebowa, on 19 February 1986 during conflict over the proposed removal of a chief.

MAROLA, Andrew Thozamile (23), was arrested in Robertson, Cape, on 20 November 1985, and beaten by members of the SAP. After spending three months in custody, public violence charges against him were withdrawn due to lack of evidence. He was again detained on 19 June 1986 and held under emergency regulations for three months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MAROEPE, Evans (19), an ANC supporter, was beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 8 January 1991 during conflict over the forced INCORPORATION of Braklaagte into Bophuthatswana.

MAROTI, Kholekile Charles (24), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 28 August 1985, on the day of the POLLSMOOR MARCH. He was one of nine people shot dead by police that day.

MARRAND, Wellington Thembinkosi (24), was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Durban, in March 1984. He was convicted with five others and sentenced to five years' imprisonment on Robben Island in December 1984 for recruiting people to undergo military training with the ANC.

MARTHINUS, Brenda, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

MARTIN, Belinda Venice (23), was arrested in August 1975 and held in solitary confinement for six weeks in Johannesburg, for opposing ethnically based elections.

MARTIN, Florence (36), a People's Congress supporter, lost her house and livestock in an arson attack by supporters of Chief BK Matlala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980 because Mr Martin resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. Two people died and about 80 were wounded in the attack.

MARTIN, Kevin Peter Robert (19), was tortured in detention at John Vorster Square in Johannesburg, on 4 August 1975. Mr Martin was involved in mobilising his community to oppose the imminent ethnically based elections.

MARTIN, Muzi Mongezi (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters, some of whom are named, in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 September 1992 because he was believed to be an IFP supporter.

MARTIN, Vuyelwa Joyce (49), an ANC supporter, lost her shop and tavern in an arson attack by named ANC supporters in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 September 1992. The family was targeted because they were believed to be IFP supporters.

MARTINS, Bongani (21), was shot dead and his body was burnt in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, during conflict between ANC, AZAPO and IFP supporters on 22 December 1991.

MARTINS, Bryn Lowis Kabelu (19), a UDF supporter, was assaulted and deprived of food while in detention in Virginia, OFS, in April 1985. He was arrested with three others, allegedly while trying to leave the country.

MARTINS, Deon , a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives opened fire on a vehicle travelling from Zastron to Sterkspruit in the OFS on 18 March 1992. In the attack, one person was shot dead while he lay injured next to the car. Mr Martins was severely injured. Two managed to escape unhurt. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/148). See ZASTRON ROAD AMBUSH.

MARTINS, Joel Geor ge, an MK operative, was assaulted and tortured by members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, during 1988. A Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the torture (AC/2001/275).

MARUBINI, Fonzani Joyce (32), a Namakgale Youth Congress (NYC) member, was detained during a meeting of the NYC. Ms Marubini was ordered to undress and was sjambokked by members of the SAP in Namakgale, Lebowa, on 21 March 1986 because the homeland government saw UDF-aligned youth as a political threat.

MARUFANE, Mildred (51), was shot in the leg in Alexandra, Johannesburg, while attending the night vigil of a friend on March 27 1991. The night vigil was attacked, 13 people were killed and 17 injured. Five IFP supporters were arrested for the attack but were found not guilty and discharged.

MARULA, Patrick Pheteswayo (27), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 28 February 1990 when they attacked a crowd celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela. Mr Marula was also detained and tortured in 1993 for attending a community meeting.

MARUME, Ndiko, a NACTU member, was severely injured when named police officers and WITDOEKE attacked striking mineworkers at Zamdela, Sasolburg, OFS, on 2 October 1987. He died in police custody shortly after the attack.

MARUMO, Alfred T oko, was shot dead by 'comrades' in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, in May 1992. Sharpeville, like many other Transvaal townships, was embroiled in conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the early 1990s.

MARUMO, Baslius Matlogelwa, was detained without trial for two weeks in April 1986 in Siyabuswa, Kwa-Ndebele, because he held illegal meetings and encouraged resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. While in detention he was deprived of medical attention.

MARUMO, Elizabeth Lesholobe (70), was stabbed and hacked to death while sick in bed in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1991 by IFP supporters returning from a rally at the Jabulani stadium. Members of the SAP allegedly shot open the door for the perpetrators.

MARUMO, James December (23), was one of four youths shot dead by members of the SAP in Colesberg, Cape, on 3 July 1985, after extensive unrest broke out in the township.

MARUMO, Maki Martha (15), was shot and injured in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 20 September 1992 when IFP supporters tried to pull her into a car and then shot her several times. DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS occurred often during conflict in the Vaal Triangle in the early 1990s.

MARUMO, Maletsatsi, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) near Small Farms, Tvl, on 14 June 1993. Ms Marumo was believed to be an IFP supporter. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0343).

MARUMO, Wessels Skurta Mahoko, an SAP member, was killed by 'comrades' on May 30, 1992 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during intense political conflict. Mr Marumo was accused of killing an ANC supporter in the area. Mr Marumo's body was chopped up and his severed head was paraded around the township and placed on a signpost on the main road.

MARUNGWANA, Lucas 'Billy-Boy' (26), was arrested and severely assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, on 27 March 1989 because he resisted Leeuwfontein's INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana and attended Chief Sebogodi's victory celebrations in his legal battle against his rival Chief Moiloa. Mr Marungwana was arrested and taken to Motswedi Police station where he was interrogated, caned and detained for a month.

MARUPING, Jacksonia Rakoena (28), was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 11 November 1991.

MARUTLA, Maphuti (45), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MARWANE, Wilfred Sebonege, was shot dead by members of the SAP outside his home in Emdeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 19 January 1987. It is believed he was targeted after a sentence for 'terrorist activities' had been set aside by the Appeal Court in 1979.

MARWANQANA, Alfred Fikile (50), an ANC member from Port Elizabeth, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans, including Mr Marwanqana's son and daughter, and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. Mr Marwanqana had previously been imprisoned for six and a half years on Robben Island for political offences, and thereafter banished to Illege, near Queenstown. After 12 years of banishment, he and his family fled to Lesotho four days prior to the raid.

MARWANQANA, Monde (3), survived an attempted killing, when SADF Special Forces operatives attacked several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. Monde's mother, grandfather and an uncle were among those killed. Her grandmother, brother, aunt and uncle survived the attack. The family was from Port Elizabeth.

MARWANQANA, Mutiwe Nellie (47), survived an attempted killing when SADF Special Forces operatives attacked several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. Ms Marwanqana's husband, a son and a daughter were among those killed. Two of her other children and two grandchildren survived the attack. The family was from Port Elizabeth.

MARWANQANA, Mzukisi (17), was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans, including Mr Marwanqana's father and sister, and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. The family was from Port Elizabeth.

MARWANQANA, Phumelane (12), survived an attempted killing when SADF Special Forces operatives attacked several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. Phumelane's father, a brother and sister were among those killed. His mother, sister, niece and nephew survived the attack. The family was from Port Elizabeth.

MARWANQANA, Pumeza (22), survived an attempted killing when SADF Special Forces operatives attacked several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were

killed in the midnight attack. Ms Marwanqana's father, her brother and sister were among those killed. Her mother, sister, niece and nephew survived the attack. The family was from Port Elizabeth.

MARWANQANA, Thandiswa (32), was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. Ms Marwanqana's father and brother were amongst those killed. Her six-month-old daughter survived. The family was from Port Elizabeth.

MARWANQANA, Yolanda (10 months), survived an attempted killing when SADF Special Forces operatives attacked several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. Yolanda's mother, grandfather and an uncle were among those killed. Her grandmother, brother, aunt and uncle survived the attack. The family was from Port Elizabeth.

MARWEBU, Talente Mirriam (62), an IFP supporter, had her home at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 3 July 1990.

MARWESHE, Mahlaola Jeanet (13), was shot and severely injured in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 23 March 1992 when members of the SADF were called in by the local chief to quell political protests in the area.

MARWEXU, Nosipho Blossom (20), a COSAS member, was beaten by members of the Security Police while in detention at Cambridge police station, East London, on 18 June 1986. She was accused of burning the homes of two police members during the 1986 state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MARX, Getr uida, sustained damage to her property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

MASA, Elizabeth, survived when shots were fired into the home of the Ntsime family at Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, during an attempted *coup d'état* on 10 February 1988. Two Bophuthatswana Defence Force members were granted amnesty for their role in the attempted coup (AC/2000/044).

MASABALALA, Sandra (20), died after she was tear-gassed by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth on 21 April 1986 during the state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MASAKALA, Jamina (27), was burnt to death in an arson attack on her home in Tokoza, Tvl, on 12 September 1990 during political conflict. Ms Masakhala's husband was also killed in the attack.

MASAKALA, Joshua (27), was burnt to death in an arson attack on his home in Tokoza, Tvl, on 12 September 1990 during political conflict. His wife was also killed in the attack.

MASALA, Edith, had her shop looted and subsequently burnt down by 'comrades' during a consumer boycott in September 1990 at Evaton, Tvl.

MASALA, Nicholas (46), a CAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP during protests in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 8 August 1987.

MASALESA, Raisibe Albertina (32), had her home demolished by members of the Bophuthatswana Police acting on an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana government in Sekampaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 8 February 1993.

MASAMANZI, Mlungisi Samuel (24), a BCM member, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 11 August 1976. His left arm was amputated as a result of the shooting.

MASANABO, Folobi Jacob (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP who opened fire on a crowd of people marching to the town council offices in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 21 November 1985. The marchers were protesting against rent increases.

MASANABO, Petrus Paulus (30), was severely beaten and shot in the head by members of the SAP in Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, in April 1984 because he refused to join the IMBOKODO vigilante group during conflict over INCORPORATION.

MASANABO, Simon Babili, was abducted and burnt to death by 'comrades' in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 1 June 1986 during conflict over proposed independence which engulfed KwaNdebele between May and September 1986.

MASANG, Ntombifikile Nesta (41), had her home at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in June 1993 during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MASANGANE, Mozi Benjamin (48), had his house burnt down by 'comrades' in Klau-Klau, White River, Tvl, on 19 May 1986 because he was a friend of the local chief believed to be a puppet of the apartheid government.

MASANGO, Aar on, a UDF supporter, was abducted by IMBOKODO vigilantes in 1986, and taken to Almansdrift Hall in KwaNdebele where he was beaten with sjamboks, in an attempt to force him to join IMBOKODO.

MASANGO, Andile Geof frey (23), was detained for four months at Oudtshoorn, Cape, in 1985, after being implicated in the killing of a local COUNCILLOR.

MASANGO, Aubrey Benjamin Mzukisi (25), was arrested during political conflict at Oudtshoorn, Cape, during 1985, and detained for six months.

MASANGO, Bettie Bacedeni (43), was abducted by IMBOKODO vigilantes in 1986, and taken to Almansdrift Hall in KwaNdebele where she was beaten with sjamboks, in an attempt to force her to join IMBOKODO.

MASANGO, Bheki Moses, an ANC activist, was shot dead by alleged members of the SAP in Belfast, Tvl, during a mass meeting about rent problems on 4 January 1986.

MASANGO, David, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives

were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MASANGO, Dina Jeli (69), a UDF supporter, had three rondawels in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1989.

MASANGO, Geor ge, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in July 1986 during clashes over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MASANGO, Herbert Mnindwa (20), was shot and severely injured by IMBOKODO vigilantes in KwaNdebele in 1986 on a bus taking protesters back from a rally against the employment of *kitskonstabels*. Resistance to INCORPORATION forced vigilantes and KwaNdebele officials to flee the area in July 1986. KwaNdebele police then regrouped vigilantes as *kitskonstabels*, legitimising their activity in a second drive for independence.

MASANGO, Johannes (45), was beaten to death by members of the SADF near the Moloto military base at Walmansthal, Tvl, on 3 February 1981 for allegedly being in a place reserved for 'whites'.

MASANGO, Lindiwe Susana , was shot dead, by members of the SAP, in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, on 22 July 1985, the day of a COSAS member's funeral in Tsakane. Police claim they opened fire because mourners began destroying property.

MASANGO, Mandla Mbhekiseni , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MASANGO, Michael Phakama (24), was shot in the left hip in Mamelodi, Pretoria, when members of the SADF opened fire on participants in a march protesting against high rents on 21 November 1985.

MASANGO, Mirriam Nomzi (51), a UDF supporter, was beaten by named members of the SAP after she and other parents had attempted to intervene in a clash between police and school children at Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 29 April 1985. She was then arrested and tear-gassed in her cell at the police station.

MASANGO, Ronnie Buyaphi (aka 'Singer Ranhloba') (18), an MK member, was incarcerated by ANC security on several occasions between 1983 and 1990 in both Angola and Tanzania, and was severely tortured.

MASANGO, Samuel Dingaan (36), was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

MASANGO, Shevula (46), was stabbed and severely injured in the right hand by alleged members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 26 July 1985 while attending a night vigil of a student killed by police. Mr Masango's hand was paralysed as a result.

MASANGO, Wele Archibald (58), a clergyman and a UDF supporter, was beaten by named members of the SAP after he and other parents had attempted to

intervene in a clash between police and school children at Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 29 April 1985. He was then arrested and tear-gassed in his cell at the police station. Mr Masango experienced ongoing harassment and arrests by police thereafter.

MASANGO, William V elaphe , an ANC member, was detained and beaten by members of the SAP in Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 1 January 1960 because he burnt his Pass book. He was sentenced to three years in prison which was suspended.

MASANGU, Paul (78), was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 27 July 1993 during political conflict in the area.

MASE, Ncedani (20), was severely beaten by a group of named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes in Ashton, Cape, on 4 November 1985. During the attack he fatally stabbed one of his attackers. He was taken to the police station and beaten unconscious by the same perpetrators. He then served a nine-year sentence for public violence and culpable homicide.

MASE, Sindile Simon Bhawi (18), was shot in the stomach by named members of the SAP during protests in Hofmeyr, Cape, on 12 August 1988.

MASEBENI, Victor Mlandeli (35), a PAC member, was arrested in November 1962 and severely beaten by police in Paarl, Cape. He was detained for six months in Paarl police station, found guilty of membership of a banned organisation, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town. Whilst in prison he was severely beaten by prison warders.

MASEBISE, Zozo Isaac Mzwandile (24), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Avalon cemetery, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 October 1990. Two others died in the attack.

MASEBOA, Daniel , was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

MASEHLA, Philemon , was abducted, interrogated and burnt to death by ANC members at Mooihok, Nebo, Lebowa, on 15 August 1990, allegedly because he had been identified by a *sangoma* as being associated with the killing of an ANC member in taxi-related violence. Four ANC members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/202).

MASEKO, Aaron Mazithulele (22), a COSAS member, was arrested and beaten by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, during a student protest march in August 1993.

MASEKO, Alfred (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, on 16 June 1986, allegedly because he was part of a group of youths who stoned four policemen. Mr Maseko was killed when one of the policemen fired a shotgun.

MASEKO, Ben (19), a COSAS supporter, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP during political conflict in Soshanguve, Pretoria, on 13 December

1985. Mr Maseko was accused of throwing stones at the house of a policeman.

MASEKO, Bheki Ernest (35), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and had his throat cut on 14 April 1993 in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal. Earlier, he and two friends had assisted a youth in reporting a shooting incident. IFP supporters allegedly burst into the house and attacked them. One of his friends was shot dead and the other shot and injured in the attack.

MASEKO, Carlton, was killed by members of the BLACK CATS in Wesseltown, Ermelo, Tvl, in 1991. One perpetrator, who was then a Black Cats member but later defected to the ANC, was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/98/0121).

MASEKO, Camie Alice (19), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 15 March 1992 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MASEKO, David, was shot and injured by an ANCYL member in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 24 December 1990. One ANCYL member was granted amnesty, while another, who denied any involvement in the attack, was refused amnesty (AC/97/0001 and AC/97/0004).

MASEKO, Edward (12), was shot dead in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 18 April 1993 during random violence before assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI's funeral.

MASEKO, Elizabeth Jabile, was severely beaten with sjamboks and had her property stolen by vigilantes in Leandra, Tvl, during January 1986. They were looking for her student activist daughter during conflict between scholars and the police at Impumelelo Combined School.

MASEKO, Elliot Ngcolongcolo, was tortured by members of the SAP at Komatipoort, Tvl, on 28 April 1980. Other family members were arrested, beaten and tortured by the police.

MASEKO, Ezra Emmanuel Msimelolo (15), was shot dead by named members of the SAP near his home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 October 1985. Witnesses asserted that Ezra had only his house keys in his hands and denied that he had been throwing stones. The inquest however accepted the police version and cleared the perpetrators of any wrongdoing.

MASEKO, George (38), was shot and killed by hostel-dwellers in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, on 7 May 1985. Mr Maseko was called to join residents defending the area against attacks from hostel-dwellers.

MASEKO, Israel (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Emathunzi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 July 1993.

MASEKO, Jabu (20), a member of the ANCYL, was shot in Belfast, Tvl, during a meeting about rent increases on 4 January 1986.

MASEKO, Jabu Dennis (32), an ANC supporter, died of injuries after being shot and stabbed in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 23 August 1990 during political conflict in the area.

MASEKO, Jeffrey Paulus, was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaGuga, Witbank, Tvl, on 12 March 1990.

MASEKO, Jerome Mlungisi (15), was killed by members of the SADF in Mpophomeni, near Howick, Natal, on 2 August 1991. The boy had left his home to visit his uncle when he was shot dead by members of 32 Battalion who were patrolling the area.

MASEKO, Johannes Spho (37), was shot in the stomach and legs by members of the SAP in Jabavu, Soweto, Johannesburg, during a confrontation between police and residents on 25 September 1985. Mr Maseko and a friend were returning from work at the time. His friend was killed.

MASEKO, Johannes, was shot dead by members of the SADF while leaving the Vusumuzi hostel, Tembisa, Tvl, on 5 August 1991. Tembisa was one of many Transvaal townships embroiled in conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the early 1990s.

MASEKO, John (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 5 September 1993, allegedly by ANC supporters who suspected him of organising an attack on 'comrades'.

MASEKO, Joshua Nsizwa (16), was shot dead by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, at a meeting to discuss a defence strategy for the community against KABASA GANG vigilantes on 10 May 1986. Police disrupted the meeting, killing Joshua and two others.

MASEKO, Khosi (16), an ANC marshal, was stabbed, stoned and set alight by members of the 'Gadaffi' faction of the KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC) in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 15 April 1990 during conflict after the ANC-aligned KYC split into two factions. The 'Gadaffis' were younger 'comrades' and the 'Zim-zims' were older activists.

MASEKO, Leonard, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, on a march to Middelburg police station on 21 November 1990. His body was found a day later. The march was organised by the ANCWL to protest against the harassment of their children by Mhluzi and Middelburg police when police allegedly opened fire, killing five and injuring eight others.

MASEKO, Lucky Ben (20), was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 22 June 1992 during political conflict in the area.

MASEKO, Maphuti David (62), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Maseko resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASEKO, Mathews (41), was tortured and three family members were killed when members of the SAP burnt his home and vehicles during political conflict in Piet Retief, Tvl, in May 1991.

MASEKO, Mbuti Petr us, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP and SADF in Daveyton, Tvl, on 23 November 1993 during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MASEKO, Msonehwa Amos (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and blinded in his right eye when police opened fire on people at a mass funeral in Likazi, KaNgwane on 23 March 1986.

MASEKO, Nelson Zuzile (45), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named ANC supporters in Knysna, Cape, on 24 March 1990, after he had allegedly opposed certain practices by local ANC youth. His home and vehicle were also burnt in the attack.

MASEKO, Ngcolongcolo Elliot (46), was severely beaten after his arrest by members of the SAP in Komatipoort, Tvl, in February 1980. Mr Maseko refused to reveal the whereabouts of guns allegedly left by MK operatives who lived at his house. He was then detained for about 11 months.

MASEKO, Nobuhle, was abducted by AMABUTHO members and other Inkatha supporters on her way to school in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 March 1987, and has not been seen again. Ms Maseko is presumed to be one of seven youths whose bodies were found at a named pro-Inkatha vigilante's home.

MASEKO, Ntamelu Lucas (22), was severely beaten when arrested at his home in Driekoppies, Komatipoort, Tvl, in March 1980. He was detained for a year and then transferred to Barberton prison. Police were searching for weapons allegedly brought in from Angola by his cousin, an MK operative.

MASEKO, Ntombizodwa Maria (41), had her home burnt down by named ANC supporters at Diepdale, near Nelspruit, Tvl, on 2 July 1993 during political conflict in the area.

MASEKO, Patrick Dumisani (26), was stabbed to death in Ermelo, Tvl, on 24 December 1991 during conflict between residents and IFP-aligned BLACK CATS.

MASEKO, Philemon, was severely injured when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MASEKO, Phillip Nkosinathi (25), an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mamelodi East, Pretoria, on 1 January 1984 shortly after returning from exile in Swaziland.

MASEKO, Rabie, was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by KHUMALOGANG members on 1 January 1993. Three others were also allegedly killed by gang members on that day.

MASEKO, Siculo Christopher Lefty, an MK cadre, died on 6 October 1988 in Luanda, Angola, reportedly during a UNITA ambush. MK soldiers based in Angola assisted the FAPLA forces of the ruling MPLA government in its war against UNITA, which was assisted by the South African government. 1987-8 saw particularly fierce fighting, in which a number of MK soldiers were killed in combat, often in ambushes laid by UNITA.

MASEKO, Sipho Josia (20), an ANC supporter, was abducted and severely tortured in Dennilton, Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1986 by IMBOKODO vigilantes and

members of the SAP during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MASEKO, Thandi Miriam (15), a COSAS leader, was shot by members of the SAP in Leandra, Tvl, in July 1985 during student protest action in the area.

MASEKO, Veli Badnock (47), an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death, allegedly by named colleagues who were IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 14 August 1993. Mr Maseko was reportedly killed in retaliation for the alleged necklacking by ANC supporters of one of the perpetrator's cousins.

MASEKO, Vincent Jabu (18), was shot by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in May 1986 and died in hospital a few days later. The area was tense due to government proposals for INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MASEKO, Vusumuzi Noah, was seriously injured when stabbed with knives and *pangas* by Zulu-speaking hostel-dwellers on 13 September 1990 during conflict between Vosloorus residents and hostel-dwellers. Mr Maseko was on his way to work by taxi when the driver abducted the passengers and drove them to the hostel.

MASEKO, Wilson Zwelibanzi, one of ten youths on trial for the murder of a local chief, was shot dead by named IFP supporters on 30 September 1993 at Diepdale, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, when the vehicle in which he and nine others were travelling was ambushed. The ten were returning from a court appearance when they were attacked, allegedly by the chief's son and other IFP supporters. Four of the accused were killed and three others injured in this attack.

MASEKWANA, Nosipho (16), was burnt to death in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 21 January 1993, in an attack by members of a BALACLAVA GROUP who shot at the family home and set it alight. Seven people including several members of the Jwambi family were killed in the attack.

MASELELA, Aby (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MASELELA, Morris (28), was shot, beaten and arrested by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Soshanguve, Pretoria, on 28 July 1990 at the funeral of an activist killed in political conflict.

MASELELA, Samuel, an ANC supporter, was one of ten youths from Mamelodi, Pretoria, recruited during the state of emergency by a named *askari*, supposedly for ANC military training in Botswana. Near Nietverdiend the ten youths were forcibly injected with sedatives or another chemical substance and were burnt to death when the vehicle was deliberately crashed and blown up during June 1986. The members of the Security Police involved were congratulated for good service and rewarded. They applied for amnesty. See NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH.

MASELOA, Makgasane Aaron (33), a COSAS member, was severely beaten by named members of

the Bophuthatswana security forces in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, in 1980. Mr Maseloa was in detention because of his political affiliation and under suspicion of assisting South African exiles.

MASEMOLA, Busi (13), was burnt in an arson attack on her home by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 12 June 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MASEMOLA, Kedibone Patricia (20), was shot with birdshot and blinded by members of the SAP in Boitumelong, Bloemhof, Tvl, on 21 May 1993. She and other pupils had permission to be on school premises to study for their matric exam when shots were fired.

MASEMOLA, Nkululeko (26), from Soweto, Johannesburg, was shot dead by Basotho paramilitary force members in March 1985 at Qacha's Nek, Lesotho, close to the Lesotho-Transkei border. Five other APLA members died in this incident which occurred at a time of increased LLA activity in the area aimed at destabilising the pro-ANC government of Chief Leabua Jonathan. The Basotho security forces claimed they had mistaken the APLA unit for LLA members. APLA and the LLA were closely connected at the time.

MASEMOLA, Phillip, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

MASEMOLA, Samuel, was killed when a pipe bomb planted by members of the AWB exploded on 25 April 1994 at a taxi rank on the corner of Blood Street and Seventh Avenue in Pretoria. Three people were killed and four injured in the blast. During the pre-election period the AWB targeted taxi ranks, bus stops and railway stations, predominantly used by black people, the majority of whom they believed to be ANC supporters, in order to derail the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Six perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342).

MASEMOLA, Thelma Jeannie Molebatsi (40), was arrested in Daveyton, Tvl, on 18 September 1967 and detained for 12 days in Pretoria. During her detention she was assaulted and tortured by named members of the Security Branch for information on the activities of her husband and his colleagues, Oliver Tambo and Duma Nokwe. She was subsequently deported to Zambia where her husband was based, leaving her three young children behind.

MASEMOLA, Violet, was burnt to death by residents of the Matempule village in KwaNdebele. Ms Masemola was suspected of practising witchcraft. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/2000/210).

MASEMULA, John (31), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MASENG, Joshua Monnapule Moloi (16), was shot and injured by members of the SAP while walking near a protesting crowd in Kimberley, Cape, on 24 April 1989. His right leg was amputated as a result.

MASENYA, Grace, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 18 June 1976 when conflict spread to other areas during the SOWETO UPRISING.

MASEMOLA, Alfred Mpho (26), a UDF supporter was severely tortured by named members of the SAP in detention in Witbank, Tvl, in 1991. He was also detained and tortured in 1985.

MASERUMULE, Mammeshoana Barbara (29), was arrested and tortured by suffocation by members of the SAP in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 21 October 1983.

Police were trying to establish the whereabouts of her boyfriend, an MK operative.

MASETELA, Lucas, was shot and injured by police in Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 October 1986, during conflict between local councillors and residents.

MASETI, Agnes (39), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 16 December 1991 by members of a BALACLAVA GROUP, allegedly linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council, in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. The attack was aimed at a local ANC Women's League activist and left three people dead, three wounded and 40 houses burnt.

MASETI, Matthews Poppie (15), a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the SAP during a student protest in Addo, Cape, in June 1986.

MASETI, Monwabisi Siegfred (21), a Noupport Youth Congress activist, was detained, interrogated and tortured by members of the Security Branch, on 26 September 1985 and again in June 1986, in Middelburg, Cape, when he was held under emergency regulations for several months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MASETI, Mzwandile Tofi (36), lost his home and possessions in an arson attack in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. More than 60 people were killed and over 20 000 homes burnt down in the attacks.

MASETI, Ntodiphela Caswell (54), a headman associated with the ADM, was killed by members of the ANC Youth League who stoned, assaulted and necklaced him near Gqumashe, Alice, Ciskei, on 28 September 1992. His home had been destroyed the previous day. Two ANCYL members applied for and were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1998/0028).

MASETI, Thandiswa Beatrice (49), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Alice, Ciskei, on 27 September 1992. Her husband was accused of being a Ciskei government collaborator and was killed by 'necklacing'.

MASETI, Wisky, a member of a Crossroads committee led by Mr Memani, was one of seven men killed in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 11 April 1983, by supporters of an opposing committee led by Mr Ngxobongwana, during conflict arising from the struggle for housing.

MASETI, Xolani Michael Boket , a SAYCO member, was detained by named members of the SAP in Steynsburg, Cape, on 5 July 1985 during protests against the Black Local Authorities.

MASETI, Zixolisile Mathews (18), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See Langa SHOOTINGS.

MASHA, Mahuhu Dor cas, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MASHA, Patrick Luneng (18), a UDF supporter, was detained without trial at Burgersfort police station, Tvl, in 1985 because he was a key organiser of school protests. Mr Masha was subjected to various forms of torture during this and subsequent detentions.

MASHABA, Alec (20), was abducted from his home in Tembisa, Tvl, on 13 July 1986, and burnt to death by a group of around 40 members of the UDF-supporting Tembisa Youth Congress. One perpetrator was granted amnesty for his role in the incident (AC/2000/211).

MASHABA, Esme (9), was shot and killed by members of the SAP at a taxi rank in Komatipoort, Tvl, on 1 May 1986.

MASHABA, Njabulo Cyril (16), an IFP supporter, was shot and severely injured by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 3 March 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MASHABA, Nonhlanhla Pinkie (35), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in February 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MASHABA, Skhumbuzo Elvis (16), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Matsulu, KaNgwane, on 2 June 1986 during political conflict in the area.

MASHABA, Solani Princess (21), a UDF supporter, was killed when a hand grenade was thrown by members of the SADF Recce 5 Battalion in Lulekani, Gazankulu, on 28 March 1986 during conflict between the Lulekani Youth Congress and SADF members. The hand grenade was thrown into a *shebeen* where the youth were strategising about the removal of mercenaries from the township. See GAZANKULU HAND GRENADE ATTACK.

MASHABA, Sweet Johannes , an ANC supporter, disappeared after his abduction by members of the SAP on 5 July 1991 in Komatipoort, Tvl. He was accused of possessing illegal firearms.

MASHABA, Wilson Fanyane (23), an MK operative, was subjected to electric shock torture by members of the SAP and the Bophuthatswana Police in 1980 in Bophuthatswana, after his arrest in Botswana.

MASHABANE, Jarman Gem , an ANCYL leader, was shot dead in the dining room of his house in Hazyview,

Tvl, on 30 November 1991 during political conflict in the area.

MASHABANE, Solomon Ngungunyane , a member of COSAS, was killed when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

MASHABA TAGA, Thomas , was detained by members of the Venda Police at Vleifontein, Tvl, on 16 May 1986 during conflict about the INCORPORATION of Vleifontein into Venda.

MASHABELA, Annah Mokgadi (19), was beaten by named members of the Lebowa Police at Pietersburg, Tvl, on 2 January 1987 after she was accused with others of killing their *indunas*.

MASHABELA, Hendrick Ramphele (20), was tortured in Driekop, OFS, in 1961, during a clampdown on opposition to State-imposed tribal authorities in Sekhukhuneland. Mr Mashabela was released when he promised to turn his father in to the police. He immediately fled the area, returning only months later when he was informed that his father had been detained. His father was never seen again.

MASHABELA, Lenga Alpheus , a member of the SAP, was shot and injured when his SAP tracking unit ambushed an MK unit of seven members, in Ellisras, Tvl, on 8 August 1988. One SAP member was killed and three others were injured in the confrontation. An MK operative was also killed. One MK operative was granted amnesty for this incident (AC/2000/081).

MASHABELA, Marule Klaas (62), had her home damaged in an arson attack by named perpetrators in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, on 25 January 1986 during a land dispute between two chiefs in the area.

MASHABELA, Mogorosi (47), was severely beaten by a named perpetrator at Rustenburg, Tvl, on 10 December 1978. Mr Mashabela was called to a chief's house where he was assaulted by a security guard under orders of the chief.

MASHABELA, Petros Patrick (22), a member of the Vaal Triangle Student Movement (VTSM), was harassed by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 1 August 1977. The VTSM visited schools to teach students about politics. Due to harassment Mr Mashabela was forced to flee his home.

MASHABELA, Sethaba Johannes (38), was abducted from his home in Moteti, KwaNdebele, by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 January 1986. He was assaulted at Siyabuswa community hall with hundreds of others in attacks led by named KwaNdebele government officials, designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MASHAKANE, Pietji Wellington (44), had his house burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashakane resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHALA, David Mokou (57), had his home burnt down and livestock stolen in February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashala resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHALA, Johanna Chuene (28), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHALA, Manare Seemole (56), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHALA, Maphuti Kwena , had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashala resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHALA, Ngoako Frans (79), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashala resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHALA, Ngwako Vincent (43), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashala resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHALA, Powishi Moses (45), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashala resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHALANE, David , an ANC supporter, was beaten to death in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 4 February 1980 by followers of Chief BK Matlala in an attack on residents opposing his rule.

MASHALANE, Maphuti Phineas (52), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashalane resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHALANE, Mokgadi Johannes (60), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashalane resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHALANE, Obed Tlou (61), had his house burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, during a dispute over the chieftaincy in the area. He was also assaulted with knobkerries and sjamboks.

MASHAMAITE, Bushman , was arrested and detained in Winterveld, Tvl, in 1990.

MASHAMAITE, Freddy Makwena (46), a member of the SAP, was shot and killed, and robbed of his firearm by APLA members in Katlehong, Tvl, on 21 January 1993. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0051).

MASHAMAITE, Maphuti Stephen (43), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa,

by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashamaite resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHAMAITE, Nare Elliot (18), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashamaite resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHAMAITE, Phuti Andries (37), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashamaite resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHAMAITE, Phuti Martinos (46), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by alleged supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashamaite resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHAMAITE, Pitsi David (17), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashamaite resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHAPA, ME, a constable in the SAP, was injured when MK operatives attacked the Soekmekaar police station, Lebowa, on 4 January 1980. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0276).

MASHAVA, Amos , a member of the SAP, survived an armed attack by MK operatives on the Orlando police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 February 1979. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

MASHAYA, Ghandi Goodwill , a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Paulpietersburg, Natal, on 12 February 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MASHAYA, Goodwill Makhosonke (18), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and injured by members of the Security Branch in Paulpietersburg, Natal, in September 1988, allegedly because he had been helped distribute political pamphlets in the area.

MASHAYA, Samson Bafana , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, on 13 May 1986 during unrest which prompted a strong police presence in the township.

MASHAYA, Thembekile Virginia (37), an ANC supporter, was beaten by IFP supporters on her way to a polling station at Paulpietersburg, Natal on 27 April 1994, the first day of the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Ms Mashaya's house had been burnt down by IFP supporters the previous month.

MASHAZI, Jan Mkhombiseni (67), was shot dead in Vosloorus, Tvl, in 1993 during political conflict.

MASHEGO, Andries (8), was abducted and killed by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986. The IMBOKODO, led by named KwaNdebele officials, invaded Moutse immediately after it was officially incorporated into KwaNdebele. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and

assaulted on the day Andries was killed to try to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION.

MASHEGO, Aubrey Mias , survived an attempt on his life when his brother's house at Kwaguga, Witbank, Tvl, was bombed by members of the Security Branch in March 1986 because of his brother's political activities.

MASHEGO, Dan , was abducted from his home in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 January 1986 and assaulted at Siyabuswa community hall in attacks led by named KwaNdebele officials. The attacks were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MASHEGO, Early Elside , survived an attempt on his life when his brother's house at Kwaguga, near Witbank, Tvl, was bombed by members of the Security Branch in March 1986 because of his brother's political activities.

MASHEGO, Joseph , was shot dead by IFP supporters in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers were retaliating against a previous attack by ANC-supporting squatters and approximately 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

MASHEGO, Martha , survived an attempt on her life when her sister's house was bombed by members of the Security Branch at KwaGuga, near Witbank, Tvl, in March 1986 because of her son's political activities.

MASHEGO, Nancy , was exposed to dangerous chemicals fumes when her house was bombed in KwaGuga, near Witbank, Tvl, in March 1986. Ms Mashego's home was attacked because her son was wanted by the police for political activities.

MASHEGO, Sekwayi Barney (34), was severely beaten by members of the SAP after his arrest in KwaGuga, near Witbank, Tvl, in August 1985. During March 1986, his house was destroyed in an explosion. In 1986 Mr Mashego was detained twice, the second time he was held in solitary confinement for six months. On October 29, 1998 Mr Mashego was again arrested and assaulted by members of the Security Police based in Witbank.

MASHEGO, Sello Livers , survived an attempt on his life when his brother's house was bombed by members of the Security Branch at KwaGuga, near Witbank, Tvl, in March 1986 because of his brother's political activities.

MASHEGO, Sibangani Shadrack , an ANCYL member, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 29 November 1993 at kaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, for allegedly resisting arrest during political conflict in the township.

MASHEGO, Steven Subie Boy , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Munsieville, Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 9 December 1985 during a consumer boycott. Mashego was shot during a confrontation between residents and the police.

MASHEGOANE, Selby (16) was shot by members of the SAP in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 16 June 1976 during unrest associated with the SOWETO UPRISING.

MASHEKANE, Machoene Joas , had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by

supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashekane resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHELA, Don Sipho (aka Ben Maseko) , an ANC member, was interrogated and assaulted by a camp administrator in Angola during September 1981. One ANC CAMP administrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/149).

MASHELE, Agnes Mimi (19), was injured when she fled and cut herself on broken glass when unidentified gunmen opened fire with AK47s from a vehicle in Daveyton, Tvl, on 8 August 1993. Seven people were killed in this attack. See DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS.

MASHELE, Calvin Khazamula (19), an ANC supporter, was severely injured after being shot twice in the right hand by members of the SADF at a roadblock in Komatipoort, Tvl, on 11 January 1991. His right hand is now permanently disabled.

MASHELE, George (29), was killed instantly when members of the ISU allegedly threw a hand grenade into his house during the night in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 7 July 1992. Police also broke down doors and smashed windows in a search for hidden arms. Another family member also died in the attack.

MASHELE, Johannes , had his home damaged when a hand grenade, thrown by MK operatives at the home of a policeman, hit his home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 15 April 1988. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

MASHELE, Lafas Ronald , was present when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MASHELE, Mosabelo Anna , was shot and injured when Bophuthatswana Police opened fired on a crowd gathered to protest against police brutality at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana on 26 March 1986. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

MASHELE, Murray Elleck (29), had his house in Matsulu, KaNgwane, destroyed in an arson attack by two named perpetrators on 6 July 1990, in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters.

MASHELE, Ndanduleni Agnes (33), had her property damaged and stolen in a raid on her home on 10 July 1992 by members of the SAP and SADF during a memorial service for her brother and her aunt. Her brother was an MK member who had recently returned and he and his aunt were killed in a hand grenade attack on his home on 7 July 1992, allegedly by members of the SADF. Ms Mashele's neighbours were also raided by the security forces and had property damaged on 10 July 1992. About 60 youths at the memorial service were assaulted and arrested.

MASHETENG, Mamare Ramokone (59), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHIA, Mfana Jacob , was burnt to death by 'comrades' in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict over the independence of KwaNdebele.

MASHIANE, Bafunani Sophy , (23), lost her house in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Dindela, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975 during violent conflict over the INCORPORATION of the village into the tribal authority of Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION.

MASHIANE, Francis (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP who opened fire on a crowd gathered in the street in Meadowlands, Soweto, on 22 July 1985 on 26 August 1976. During a stayaway the day before, Mzimhlope hostel-dwellers attacked township residents.

MASHIANE, Joseph Thabo (22), was shot in the face with birdshot by members of the ISU in Katlehong, Tvl, on 10 April 1990 while on patrol during conflict between rival taxi associations. Mr Mashane was permanently blinded as a result of his injuries.

MASHIANE, Mbowa Mor hoa (20), a member of COSAS, was killed when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

MASHIANE, Mvuqu Jim (44), lost his house in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975 during violent conflict over the INCORPORATION of the village into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION.

MASHIANE, Rose Sponong (31), lost her house and possessions in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975 during violent conflict over the INCORPORATION of the village into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported INCORPORATION.

MASHIANE, Zackaria , was arrested in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 28 February 1985. Duduza residents were demanding a modern sewerage system rather than the continued bucket system. Youths targeted policemen's houses as part of the protest and many were severely beaten when taken to Dunnottar police station.

MASHIATSHIDI, Matlou Raesetsa , had her home burnt down in February 1980 in Gamatlala, Lebowa, during conflict between Chief BK Matlala and residents supporting the People's Congress.

MASHIATSHIDI, Mosima Melita (61), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHIEA, Boysie Isaac , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE of 21 March 1960.

MASHIEA, Modise Mathews (33), was shot by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE of 21 March 1960.

MASHIEA, Selepe Petrus (25), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE of 21 March 1960.

MASHIFANE, Daniel , was shot and injured by gunmen driving a red minibus in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1992 during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MASHIGO, Daisey (36), was shot five times by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 February 1986 during the SIX-DAY WAR.

MASHIGO, Tamati Elias (56), had his house burnt down by ANC supporters in Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 3 March 1986. Mr Mashigo was allegedly targeted because he was accused of killing people and selling their body parts.

MASHIGOANE, Elias Tlou (18), a UDF supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Lebowa Police in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 9 March 1986 during protests over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Several people were detained with him and assaulted. Others were shot at by the police and at least one person died.

MASHIGOANE, Simon Senyeki , a MK commander, was shot dead by members of the SAP and SADF in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, where he was hiding on 8 August 1992. The security forces were rounding up activists in the area.

MASHILE, Aledulege Benson (39), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SOFASONKE PARTY while patrolling Greenvale village, near Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 29 December 1989. The SOFASONKE PARTY was backed by Lebowa President Nelson Ramodike.

MASHILE, Joe , was seriously injured in a hand grenade attack on a friend's home in Daveyton, Tvl, on 17 September 1991 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MASHILE, Segopela Winias (26), was deported to Alice, Ciskei, from Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, in 1963 because he opposed tribalism. He did not see his family again until 1974 when his old home was demolished and the family forcibly removed.

MASHILE, Thaopi Ethel , had her home and belongings destroyed by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 1 January 1992 during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MASHILO, Abraham Chwene , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MASHILO, Lesiba Frans , was assaulted by supporters of Chief Mapela at Abbotspoort, Pietersburg, Tvl, on 19 January 1981 during conflict between Chief Mapela and Chief Lerumo.

MASHILO, Speed Katishi , was beaten with sjamboks and knobkerries by IMBOKODO vigilantes at the tribal authority in Leeuwfontein, KwaNdebele, in May 1986 during conflict over KwaNdebele independence.

MASHILOANE, Tsietsi Anthony (26), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 17 November 1991. Mr

Mashiloane was one of seven killed and seven seriously injured when gunmen opened fire with AK47s on a party in Vosloorus.

MASHIMA, Lucia Tlou (28), an ANC supporter, was killed in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 17 April 1994 in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTION. Another person was also killed in this shooting.

MASHIMBYI, Mkhatchana Dixon , was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on a train from Johannesburg to Braamfontein, on 28 March 1994. Mashimbyi was stabbed by IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Library Gardens in Johannesburg. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MASHININI, Humphrey, an ANC supporter, was burnt to death when his house was petrol-bombed by IFP-aligned BLACK CATS and members of the SAP in Ermelo, Tvl, on 7 July 1991. More than 20 people died in violent conflict in the area between 1990 and 1992.

MASHININI, Julia (29), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death when her home was petrol-bombed by IFP-aligned BLACK CATS and members of the SAP in Wesseltown, Ermelo, Tvl, on 7 July 1991. More than 20 people died in violent conflict in the area between 1990 and 1992.

MASHININI, Lehlohonolo (19), was tortured and beaten in detention in Soweto, on 1 July 1977 by members of the SAP because his brothers and sister were prominent activists involved in the SOWETO UPRISING. His mother, brother and sister were detained on the same day.

MASHININI, Mphikeleli Godfrey, was arrested and beaten in detention by members of the SAP in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, on 1 May 1985. Violence erupted when police tried to disperse a crowd at the Balfour Stadium for May Day celebrations. Mr Mashinini was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for public violence.

MASHININI, Mpho , a student leader in the SOWETO UPRISING, was detained in Soweto, on 1 July 1977 shortly before she went into exile. Her mother and two young brothers were detained on the same day.

MASHININI, Nomkhatha Virginia (42), was held in solitary confinement for seven months from 1 July 1977 by members of the SAP in Standerton, Tvl, because her older sons and daughter were prominent activists involved in the SOWETO UPRISING. Two of her younger sons and her daughter were detained on the same day.

MASHININI, Piet , was killed when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MASHININI, Sydney (14), was tortured and beaten in detention by members of the SAP in Soweto, on 1 July 1977 because his brothers and sister were prominently involved in the SOWETO UPRISING. His mother, sister and brother were detained on the same day.

MASHININI, Thandi (22), an ANC supporter, was raped in August 1990 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MASHISHI, Fulubi Esau , was shot dead by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Tweefontein, KwaNdebele, on 12 June 1986 during several attacks on this day on Tweefontein residents who resisted KwaNdebele independence.

MASHISHI, Stephen Fani (25), was shot and hacked to death in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in April 1993 during conflict between IFP supporters and township residents.

MASHITA, Chou Johannes , had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mashita resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHITA, Nkoko Moses (40), a People's Congress supporter, was detained on 17 February 1980 and locked up for 18 months in GaMatlala, Lebowa, because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. Many people lost their property and loved ones and others were arrested because Chief BK Matlala accused them of having burnt down his house.

MASHITENG, Chuene Johanna (40), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHITENG, Kwena Silas (25), had his home burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHITENG, Phuti Jermina (37), had her home was burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASHIYA, Oupa George (24), an *askari*, was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 21 August 1991, allegedly in a targeted killing.

MASHIYA, Sylvia Monica (34), was stabbed in the face by IFP supporters in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers were retaliating against a previous attack by ANC-supporting squatters and approximately 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

MASHIYA, Tsietsi Dungan (17), was shot and severely injured, allegedly by members of the SADP and SAP while visiting a friend in Katlehong, Tvl, on 18 November 1984 during a rent boycott.

MASHIYANE, Aaron (32), was severely burnt in an arson attack on his home by ANC supporters on 5 September 1986 during conflict over KwaNdebele independence. Traditional healers like Mr Mashiyane's father were allegedly seen as targets by those resisting independence.

MASHIYANE, Dize Aaron (41), lost his house in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Mathula Stands, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of the village into the tribal authority of Lebowa but many residents resisted incorporation which resulted in the attacks on people and property.

MASHIYANE, Mndawe Elijah (19), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, on 14 November 1992 during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting township residents.

MASHOENG, Mpho Desmond (aka 'Der rick Mashobane') (25), a SANSCO member from Bloemfontein, was killed with two others in an ambush near Bhunya, Swaziland, on 12 February 1989. The three were lured into the ambush by an *askari* purporting to be an MK operative. The Security Branch then spread a rumour that they had been killed by the ANC on suspicion of being police informers. The operation was conducted by *Vlakplaas* and Section D of Security Branch headquarters. Nineteen operatives from *Vlakplaas* and Security Branch headquarters, were granted amnesty by majority decision (AC/2001/227a).

MASHOGOANE, Mamareloana Berenis (34), had her house burnt down in an arson attack in Maboloka, Bophuthatswana, on 7 May 1977 during conflict over the chieftaincy of the area.

MASHOKWE, Molefi Godfrey (33), a UDF activist and ANC supporter, was arrested and severely tortured by policemen in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, in 1985, after which he was detained for three months. He was again detained and tortured by a named member of the Bophuthatswana Police in 1989, after which he fled South Africa, causing him to lose his house and his job.

MASHONGOANE, David, was shot dead in his taxi in Katlehong, Tvl, on 9 February 1991 during political conflict in the area. The taxi industry was a key area of conflict in the early 1990s. In October 1993 the SAP identified taxi wars as one of the major causes of violence in South Africa.

MASHONGOANE, Ezekiel (46), lost his house and furniture in an arson attack in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, on 7 May 1976 during conflict between two chiefs in the area.

MASHONGOANE, Joas Letsepa (43), lost his house and possessions in an arson attack in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, on 7 May 1976 during conflict between two chiefs in the area.

MASHONGOANE, Matlasele Jacob (42), had his home damaged in an arson attack at Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in 1976 during conflict between two chiefs in the area.

MASHONGOANE, Phehello Samson (15), lost his home in an arson attack in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in 1976 during conflict over the chieftaincy of the area.

MASHOPE, Lubenyu Flora, was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MASHUMI, Melvin Mluleki (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 25 October 1990, leaving him paralysed. At least eight people were killed that day by police and supporters of the town council,

during and after a mass march to express community opposition to the council.

MASHUMPA, Lucas, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers were retaliating against a previous attack by ANC-supporting squatters and approximately 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

MASHWABANA, W iseman, was shot dead while travelling in a taxi which was ambushed by IFP supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, on 31 July 1993. The attackers set fire to the taxi, burning their victims' bodies.

MASHYIANE, January, a traditional healer, was necklaced by ANC supporters on 5 September 1986 during resistance to KwaNdebele independence. ANC supporters targeted traditional healers in their campaign against INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MASHYIANE, Lololo, was abducted and forced to watch his father, a traditional healer, being necklaced by ANC supporters in KwaNdebele, on 5 September 1986. ANC supporters targeted traditional healers in their campaign against INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MASIA, Joseph (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 7 March 1990 during protests in the township. His body was found two weeks later at Ga-Rankuwa police station.

MASIA, Tebello Gloria (52), was shot in the eye and partially blinded by members of the SAP in Koffiefontein, OFS, in 1993. Police were allegedly shooting randomly at people on the street during a student protest in the township, when Ms Masia was hit.

MASIBA, John Zozman (31), a UDF supporter, was charged with public violence and sentenced to two years' imprisonment in July 1986 at Port Elizabeth, allegedly because of his involvement in the political conflict in the Eastern Cape.

MASIBA, Mlungiswa Justice (41), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Dannhauser, near Vryheid, Natal on 12 February 1991. The perpetrators, allegedly acting with the support of the Dana Mine management during a wage dispute at this mine, were attempting to expel Xhosa-speaking employees from the mine. Those who did not leave were killed.

MASIBEKELO, Vincent Templeton Reginald (33), lost his house in Nyanga Bush, Cape Town, in May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MASIBI, Charles Tjale (29), an ANC secretary, was severely assaulted by two SAP members in KwaKWATSI, KOPPIES, OFS, in August 1992. The assault took place at a time of heightened political tension and boycotts in the area. Mr Masibi has developed epilepsy due to injuries sustained.

MASIGO, Reginald Kenny (24), an ANCYL member, was arrested and severely beaten by members of the SAP on 6 December 1992 and tortured at Bethanie police station in Johannesburg, because of his role in organising the funeral of two people allegedly killed by the police.

MASIJELA, Masilo Petrus (61), had his house burnt down and all his possessions destroyed by ANC supporters in Bekkersdal, Tvl, in December 1990 during political conflict in the area between IFP, ANC and AZAPO supporters.

MASIKANE, Batshatle Mqanti , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MASIKANE, Mhlonganisa William (76), an ANC supporter, was stabbed in a mob attack in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1990. He was blinded as a result of the attack.

MASIKANE, Mlandeni Anton 'Jaguar' (43), a UDF supporter, had his home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1988.

MASIKANE, Ntombana (59), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 March 1990, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MASIKANE, Patrick V usi, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 5 August 1989.

MASIKANE, Philisive (71), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MASIKANE, Phiphu (28), had his house in Chesterville, Durban, burnt down in September 1986 in an attack allegedly carried out by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM.

MASIKANE, Vusumuzi Clif ford (19), was shot and injured during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters near Hammarsdale, Natal, 4 October 1990. He had also been beaten and intimidated by a named member of the SAP in 1988.

MASIKE, Isaac Serame (19), a Basotholand Congress Party (BCP) member, was severely beaten and tortured by named SAP members in Viljoenskroon, OFS, in December 1960, allegedly because of his support for the BCP. At the time, the South African government was vigorously opposing the BCP's campaign for Lesotho's independence.

MASIKE, Mapula Rahab , was severely beaten by a member of the SAP in Viljoenskroon, OFS, in December 1960, allegedly because of her father's political activities.

MASIKE, Pitso Andries (16), a UDF supporter, was detained and tortured in Vereeniging, Tvl, in January 1986.

MASIKO, Sarah Nomajamani , was burnt to death when her home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, was attacked on 4 August 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MASILELA, (first name not given), was severely beaten by members of IMBOKODO in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 18 May 1980 during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Moutse into KwaNdebele. Ms Masilela was pregnant at the time and lost her baby as a result of the beating.

MASILELA, Ben Andrew (57), was attacked and his house was damaged by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Mathula Stands, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of the village into the tribal authority of Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in attacks on people and property.

MASILELA, Booi , was shot dead by named IMBOKODO members in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 14 May 1986. Mr Masilela was marching in support of the Ndundza royal family when IMBOKODO, a vigilante group opposed to the monarchy, broke up the march violently.

MASILELA, Boyana Jan , an ANC activist, was abducted, tortured and assaulted by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 18 May 1986. The abducted youths were rescued by members of the police. Three of the accused paid R50 admission of guilt fines.

MASILELA, Jim (39), was shot and burnt to death in Tweefontein, KwaNdebele, on 29 May 1986 during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MASILELA, Jonas , an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Diepkloof, Soweto, in July 1984.

MASILELA, Joseph , was abducted by members of the SADF in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 17 August 1986 during conflict over KwaNdebele independence.

MASILELA, Khabonina Leah (49), an ANC supporter, was shot with a rubber bullet by members of the SADF in Nkomazi, Tvl, in June 1986 at a gathering by the community of Boschfontein to launch a campaign to release political prisoners.

MASILELA, Lomatshe Lizzie (57), lost her house and belongings when it was set alight by ANC supporters at Kabokweni, KaNgwane, in 1986. Ms Masilela was targeted by the 'comrades', allegedly under suspicion of being a witch responsible for the death of 15 people. After two attempts to burn her, the 'comrades' apparently accepted that she was not a witch.

MASILELA, Mafele Joana (41), lost her house and possessions in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975 in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of the village into the tribal authority of Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in attacks on people and property.

MASILELA, Manikie , was stabbed and seriously injured in Oukasie, near Brits, Tvl, by named VARK SQUAD members collaborating with the Bophuthatswana government. The Oukasie community had won a court case against being forcibly removed in 1985.

MASILELA, Mdasie Johanna (52), lost her house and possessions in Goederede, near Dennilton, Kwa-Ndebele, in July 1975 in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of the village into the tribal authority of Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in attacks on people and property.

MASILELA, Samuel, a COSAS member, was recruited for military training by a Security Branch agent purporting to be an MK operative, and was killed in the NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH near the Botswana border on 26 June 1986. Eight operatives from SADF Special Forces, Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/0190; AC/1999/0192; AC/1999/0194; AC/1999/0031; AC/1999/0188; AC/1999/0030 and AC/1999/0197).

MASILELA, Skons Petrus (27), lost his house and possessions in Goederede, near Dennilton, Kwa-Ndebele, in July 1975 in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of the village into the tribal authority of Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in the attacks on people and property.

MASILELA, Soni Petros (66), disappeared after being abducted in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 17 August 1986.

MASILELA, Sophy, was killed on a farm road near Nelspruit, Tvl, when the car she was travelling in detonated a landmine on 17 August 1986. Planting of landmines aimed at military patrols in rural areas was part of the ANC's campaign but was called off due to the high civilian casualty rate.

MASILELA, Thulani (15), a Soweto Student Congress member, was shot and injured by members of the government-aligned RASTA GANG in 1989 in Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg.

MASILELA, Thulare Booi (70), lost his house and possessions in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975 in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of the village into the tribal authority of Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in attacks on people and property.

MASILELA, Velaphi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead and his body was burnt on 3 August 1992 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by ANC supporters.

MASILO, Innocentia Tebogo (38), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, reportedly to force her to become an informer. Ms Masilo was detained and tortured for two weeks.

MASILO, Jones Tony (23), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten with a sjambok by members of the SAP at a friend's funeral in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 22 September 1984. Mr Masilo was also shot and injured with a rubber bullet.

MASILO, Mafete Chilboy (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP and the 'ZimZim' group in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 15 December

1990. The ANC branch split into two groups – the 'Zim-zims' and the 'Gadaffis' which led to conflict in the community. Mr Masilo was attending the night vigil of a 'Gadaffi' member when he was killed. See also KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS.

MASILO, Solomon Mohauli (25), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960.

MASILWANE, Eliza (17), was shot and severely injured in the arm and stomach by members of the SAP in Meadowlands, Soweto, on 14 September 1977 during conflict between students and police. Ms Masilwane was nine months pregnant when she was caught in the crossfire. She was placed under police guard in hospital. Her baby, born by caesarean section, had been injured on his shoulder during the attack.

MASIMINI, Nogwebile (35), had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MASIMOLA, Mthunjela Eva, lost her house and possessions in Nebo, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975 in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of the village into the tribal authority of Lebowa but many residents resisted, resulting in attacks on people and property.

MASIMULA, Jan Masondo (21), an ANC member, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in 1986 while attending a youth meeting. KwaNdebele was tense due to the State's attempt to impose independence on the area.

MASIMULA, Noyende Paulina (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 while attending the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired and threw hand grenades at the mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. When police arrived at the scene they provided no protection and ignored both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

MASIMULA, Sithengani Helen, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP, during an attack on residents by IFP supporters in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 8 September 1990 during political conflict in the area.

MASINA, Elias, was one of three civilians killed when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

MASINA, Hloniphile (18), was shot and partially paralysed by members of the SAP in Senaoane, Soweto, while protesting against the teaching of Afrikaans at the school on 17 September 1976. See SOWETO UPRISING.

MASINA, Johannes , an ANC supporter, was assaulted with sjamboks and hit on his left eye by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, on 17 March 1990. Mr Masina lost his eye as a result of his injuries.

MASINA, Musa Thomas (28), was shot dead by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHEWSA GANG members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 while attending the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired and threw hand grenades at mourners, killing a number and injuring several others. Police arrived but provided no protection and ignored both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

MASINA, Stanley Sandile (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Cape Town in 1976, during a march by students of Langa High School to protest against the shooting of the students in the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

MASINA, Zodwa , had her house at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 23 September 1993, during ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MASINDA, Christopher , a security guard, was held up at gunpoint and tied up by ANC Self-Defence (SDU) members at the Givi Breyton Construction compound in Evander, Tvl, on 6 July 1992. One security guard was shot dead and another shot and injured. The SDU members, who sought to seize guns at the site, were engaged in clashes with the BLACK CATS in Ermelo, Tvl. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/19998/0121).

MASINGA, (first name not given), an ANC supporter, was targeted for elimination by IFP members at Hlanganani Hall, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during 1992. One perpetrator in the conspiracy was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MASINGA, Benjamin , a member of the SAP, was killed by a group of COSAS members and UDF supporters in Atteridgeville, Tvl, on 19 April 1986. Mr Masinga was assaulted at his home with sticks and axes, then dragged to a nearby school where he was stoned, doused with petrol and set alight. Four COSAS members and UDF supporters applied for amnesty; three were granted and one was refused (AC/2001/147).

MASINGA, Bongiwwe , an IFP supporter, was shot dead by fellow IFP supporters in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 April 1994, allegedly because the perpetrators were looking for her brother who had joined the ANC.

MASINGA, Elphas Ndobazabantu , a member of the KZP, was targeted for elimination by IFP members at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, in August 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MASINGA, Lemonade Mkase , was burnt to death after being doused with petrol and set alight by alleged 'comrades' in Malelane, Tvl, on 1 June 1986.

MASINGA, Mirriam Nomathimithi (78), was shot in the leg at her home in Kwa-Thema, Tvl, by a named SAP member in October 1993. The police reportedly

apologised to Ms Masinga once they realised they had the wrong address.

MASINGA, Ntombi Hilda (54), an ANC supporter, had her house petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, on 26 May 1990.

MASINGA, Thozwana (52), was shot and severely burnt when her home was attacked by IFP supporters in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 April 1994 in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MASIPHA, Ananias Boksa (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Naboomspruit, Tvl, on 14 April 1993.

MASITHA, Mekia Thele (34), lost his house in an arson attack in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, on 29 September 1976 during a dispute over the chieftaincy of the area.

MASITHA, Sobane Paulos (37), lost his house in an arson attack in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in 1976 during a conflict between chiefs in the area.

MASITHI, Nyamukamadi , was burnt to death in Thohoyandou, Venda, on 4 February 1990 by named ANC supporters who accused her of being a government leader responsible for ritual murders and reinforcing her position by the use of witchcraft. One of the perpetrators applied for amnesty.

MASITHI, Thari William (49), lost his home in an arson attack by named perpetrators in Thohoyando, Venda, 11 February 1990 because he was suspected of practising witchcraft. Mr Masithi's mother was killed in the attack.

MASIYA, Ms (first name not given), was publicly assaulted in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, on 5 May 1985, by Inkatha supporters who were allegedly taking possession of the homes of UDF supporters.

MASOEU, Samuel (44), was permanently injured when he was pushed from a moving train and shot five times in the back by IFP supporters in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, on 14 April 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MASOGA, Tihong Justice (50), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Masoga resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MASOKANYE, Liziwe , was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Kayamnandi, Stellenbosch, Cape, on 6 September 1989, while she was walking in the street with friends. There were widespread protests, shootings and fatalities in and around Cape Town arising from the apartheid elections being held that day.

MASOKOAMENG, Norah , was repeatedly kicked in the stomach by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in 1983 and subsequently died of her injuries. Police continually harassed the family after her sister went into exile. Police arrived at Ms Masokoameng's house to inform her of their role in the death of someone known to the family and then attacked her. Police were allegedly trying to stem rising resistance to the Black Local Authorities Act in Alexandra.

MASOLA, Jabulane James (43), was severely beaten by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM in 1986, because he was thought to be a UDF supporter.

MASOLA, Mothomone Ephraim (38), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 25 August 1993.

MASOLENG, Pinkie Sidney (28), a UDF supporter, was detained and severely assaulted by named members of the Security Branch on 28 August 1985 in Aliwal North, Cape.

MASOLOKE, Tsatsawane Anna (38), was tear-gassed and beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Maboloko, near Brits, Tvl, after a protest march by the Maboloko community on 15 March 1993.

MASOMBUKA (nee Nkabinda) Ester (48), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986 during a mass protest against police brutality. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

MASOMBUKA, Bapalela Johanna, fled her home after 'comrades' decided to 'necklace' her and her husband in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MASOMBUKA, Elizabeth (21), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986, while taking part in a mass protest against police brutality. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

MASOMBUKA, John, was detained, beaten with batons and kicked on the head by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 18 June 1976 when the SOWETO UPRISING spread to neighbouring areas.

MASOMBUKA, Zanele (2), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986. She was with her mother and sister taking part in a mass protest against police brutality. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

MASON, Cedric, former member of the banned Christian Institute, suffered intimidation and harassment by members of the Security Branch during March and April 1983. A Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/005).

MASON, Penelope, former member of the banned Christian Institute, suffered intimidation and harassment by members of the Security Branch during March and April 1983. A Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/005).

MASONDO (CHILIZA), Ramakale Lungile (1), survived an attempted killing when a booby-trapped television set exploded at her home on 11 May 1987 in Harare, Zimbabwe. The explosion killed her mother, a Zimbabwean citizen married to an exiled ANC official. The explosion was set up by a named person, allegedly recruited for this operation by members of the then SADF's Special Forces/Military Intelligence. Her father, Mr Vusumuzi Masondo (aka 'Mhlophe Chiliza'), was not at home at the time.

MASONDO, Basil (7), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime

at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MASONDO, Caroline (2), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MASONDO, Joseph Velly (36), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MASONDO, Mduduzi (48), a UDF supporter, was detained by named members of the Security Branch in Newcastle, Natal, on 17 June 1986, allegedly because of his involvement in the rates boycott at Sibongile township.

MASONDO, Mpho (3), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MASONDO, Ntombi Betina (65), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 4 November 1992. Her husband, aged 74, was stabbed to death in the attack.

MASONDO, Octavia (20), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MASONDO, Robert Muntuyedwa (74), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters when they attacked and burnt down his home in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 4 November 1992.

MASONDO, Sphiwe Eric (17), an ANC supporter, was severely burnt in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 22 June 1985 when struck by a teargas cannister thrown by members of the SAP during a night vigil for one of the victims killed by booby-trapped hand grenades handed out by *Vlakplaas* operatives. He spent nine months in hospital and his left arm is now disabled.

MASONDO, Zacharia Mhlabungzima (33), an IFP supporter, was beaten and stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 4 October 1992.

MASONDO, Zesizwe (8), was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters at her grandmother's home in

KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 May 1993. Zesizwe's grandmother, aged 61, was also killed in the attack, which was allegedly related to a statement the grandmother made to the police about the petrol-bombing of a relative's house.

MASOPA, Manta Christina , died after being attacked and burnt by a group of youths at Daveyton, Tvl, on 2 July 1987. The youths targeted another person who was not present at the time of the attack. Four persons died and four suffered injuries as a result of the attack. One perpetrator, who claimed to be an ANC supporter and chairperson of a 'people's court', was refused amnesty for the attack (AC/2001/282).

MASOPA, Moses Godfrey , suffered injuries when he was attacked and burnt by a group of youths at Daveyton, Tvl, on 2 July 1987. The youths targeted another person who was not present at the time of the attack. Four persons died and four suffered injuries as a result of the attack. One perpetrator, who claimed to be an ANC supporter and chairperson of a 'people's court', was refused amnesty for the attack (AC/2001/282).

MASOPA, Motsmai Charles (18), an ANC member, was shot and injured in the right leg and back by named members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, at a night vigil of a fellow 'comrade' on 15 June 1990.

MASOPA, Nompoti Elinah , suffered injuries and damage to property when she was attacked and burnt by a group of youths at Daveyton, Tvl, on 2 July 1987. The youths were targeting someone else, who was not present at the time of the attack. Four people died and four suffered injuries as a result of the attack. One perpetrator, who claimed to be an ANC supporter and chairperson of a 'people's court', was refused amnesty for the attack (AC/2001/282).

MASOTE, Sheila Segametsi (31), was detained in Pietermaritzburg for four months from December 1976 and tortured by security policemen, allegedly for information about the political activities of her father, PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng. Ms Masote, who was pregnant at the time, lost her baby and has suffered psychological trauma as a result of continuous police harassment of herself and her family.

MASUDUBELE, Hilda Matshidiso , was shot in the right foot by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960.

MASUKA, Handsome (23), an ANC supporter, was severely tortured and then arrested by members of the police in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, during 1992. He was convicted on political charges. In 1995 he was released from prison, allegedly because he had been poisoned.

MASUKU, Alpheus Zakhele , an ANC executive member, disappeared from Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, in March 1994 and has not been seen since. During the early 1990s, the area was embroiled in conflict between the IFP-aligned BLACK CATS and the ANC.

MASUKU, Cliff (17), was killed when a hand grenade was thrown into a shebeen by SADF members in

Lulekani, near Phalaborwa, Tvl, on 28 March 1986 during conflict between Lulekani Youth Congress members and SADF members from Angola and Mozambique deployed in the area. Several people died in the attack. See GAZANKULU HAND GRENADE ATTACK.

MASUKU, Cliff ford , was injured when his home was bombed by a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on 5 June 1986. His mother died in the explosion and other family members were injured. Two Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives and a member of a SAP Special Investigation Unit were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/027).

MASUKU, Dumazile (28), was injured when the bus she was travelling in was shot at and set alight in Tokoza, Tvl, on 23 September 1991 during political conflict in the area.

MASUKU, Edward , an ANC member, died in an ANC CAMP prison in Angola in 1985. Negligence due to poor detention facilities contributed to his ill health and death. One ANC camp commander was granted amnesty for negligence in the death (AC/2000/149).

MASUKU, Ezekiel Oupa (28), a SAYCO member and youth worker for the SACC, survived the bombing of his home by a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch on 5 June 1986 in Atteridgeville, Pretoria. His mother died in the explosion and at least three family members were injured. Two Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives and a member of a SAP Special Investigation Unit were granted amnesty (AC/2001/027).

MASUKU, Jacob Samuel (47), was one of three civilians killed when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

MASUKU, Madiposo Esther , died when her home Atteridgeville, Pretoria, was bombed by a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch on 5 June 1986. The attack was aimed at Ms Masuku's son, a youth activist. Two Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives and a member of a SAP Special Investigation Unit were granted amnesty (AC/2001/027).

MASUKU, Ndumani , survived the bombing of his home by a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on 5 June 1986. His mother died in the explosion and other family members were injured. Two Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives and a member of a SAP Special Investigation Unit were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/027).

MASUKU, Phiwayinkosi , was stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Somopho, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 July 1992 in continuing political violence in the area. Mr Masuku was allegedly perceived to be an IFP supporter.

MASUKU, Samson Khophi (42), was severely beaten in Entshawini, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, in February 1989, in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. While he was in hospital, his house was burnt to the ground.

MASUKU, Samuel Veli (21), an ANC supporter, was shot in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 27 April 1994 during an attack on a tavern where he was celebrating the APRIL 1994 ELECTION. Mr Masuku died in hospital on 1 May 1994.

MASUKU, Thabo, was injured when his home was bombed by a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on 5 June 1986. His mother died in the explosion and other family members were injured. Two Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives and a member of a SAP Special Investigation Unit were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/027).

MASUKU, Thembi Emily (46), had her house burnt in an arson attack in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. She was allegedly targeted because her sons were ANC supporters.

MASUKU, Thokozile Pam Rejoice (22), was shot dead in Pietermaritzburg, allegedly by members of the SAP, on 14 February 1989 during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. Ms Masuku was missing for two weeks before her family found that she had been buried without their being notified of the death. The body was exhumed for identification on 21 March 1989 and reburied two days later.

MASUKU, Thulani Hansford (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 23 April 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MASUKU, Thulani, an ANC executive committee member, was shot and stabbed to death on 30 August 1992 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Wesselson, Ermelo, Tvl.

MASUNY ANE, Mathabo Adelina (65), a DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP) supporter, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 16 July 1989, allegedly because of her support for the DNP.

MASWANGANYI, Alina (48), was kicked in her stomach by named members of the SAP in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, on 16 May 1985 during the partial state of emergency.

MASWANGANYI, Joel, was shot dead when Bophuthatswana Police fired on a crowd gathered to protest against police brutality at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana on 26 March 1986. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

MASWANGANYI, Tinyiko Believe John (15), was severely tortured when he was detained for 18 months in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, on 16 May 1985. Members of the SAP put wet socks over his head, sjambokked him, left him naked and pulled his genitals. He was leading a youth mass meeting when arrested and the Security Branch believed that he had undergone clandestine military training in a neighbouring country.

MATA, Bungane Jackson (62), a leader of the civic organisation opposed to the headman system, was shot dead by a named perpetrator on 12 August 1992 in Bikizana, Sterkspruit, Transkei.

MATA, Thembisile (18), an AZAPO activist, was burnt to death by UDF supporters on 26 June 1985 in Port Alfred, Cape. One of the perpetrators was sentenced to 12 years in prison for the killing.

MATABANE, Peter Itumeleng, a COSAS member, was killed by an explosive device detonated by named *Vlakplaas* operatives in a mine shaft in Kagiso, Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 15 February 1982. He and three other COSAS members believed they were to be trained to use hand grenades, a ploy used later increasingly by security forces. Only one person survived the explosion. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

MATABOGE, Josia Legodi, was beaten to death by named perpetrators who were members of a local civic structure in March 1993 at Evaton, Tvl. His sister was also assaulted and injured.

MATABOGE, Moitheki Isaac (39), was tortured and beaten by local civic members in Evaton, Tvl, in March 1993 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MATAFENI, Mziuvukile, was shot dead by members of the AMARUSSIANS in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, in 1990 during conflict between Xhosas and Zulus in the area.

MATAKANA, Mtutuzeli (43), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 18 February 1985. Eighteen people were shot dead and hundreds were wounded in a three-day clash when Crossroads residents resisted a forced removal to Khayelitsha.

MATAKANE, Laka David (29), an ANC supporter, was beaten and tortured by named members of the SAP in Reddersburg, OFS, in March 1988.

MATAKU, Sinko Mtshanyane, an ANC supporter, was tortured by a named perpetrator in November 1961 at Cofimvaba, Transkei.

MATALA, Phadishi Erasmus (34), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATANDELA, Dumisani Macbeth (22), an MK operative from Maluti, Transkei, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

MATANIGOANE, Matsheiso Annie (17), was assaulted with batons and sjamboks when members of the SAP dispersed mourners at a funeral in Bloemfontein on 30 April 1980. She was beaten unconscious and suffered severe injury to her eyes, necessitating the removal of her right eye.

MATASA, Gertrude, was killed by ANCYL members in Khuma, Stilfontein, Tvl, on 28 February 1986 during rent and bus boycotts in the area.

MATAU, Sefako Frans (20), was beaten by members of the SAP during the state of emergency on 4 June 1986 in Tembisa, Tvl.

MATAUNG, Maria Thabisile (36), had her home and possessions vandalised in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during June 1989, in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MATCHES, Joseph Mateti (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by SAP members in Kroonstad, OFS, on 12 February 1985, on suspicion of being involved in an arson attack at a school.

MATCHES, William (15), an ANC supporter, was arrested and tortured by named members of the SAP in Kroonstad, OFS, on 12 February 1985, on suspicion of being involved in an arson attack at a school. His cousin, Lawrance Zamile Molale, was detained and tortured with him.

MATCHISI, Mxolisi Gladman (20), was shot and injured by members of the SADF during protests in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, in September 1977.

MATEBESI, Kedibone Rebecca (27), had her house damaged on 4 February 1994 in Letsopa, Ottosdal, Tvl, when ANC offices nearby were bombed by AWB supporters wanting to sabotage the APRIL 1994 ELECTION. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

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

MATEGANE, Frans, a constable in the SAP, survived a hand grenade attack by MK operatives on the Daveyton police station, Tvl, on 24 February 1978. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

MATEKANE, Hendrick Paladi (19), was shot and paralysed in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Vosloorus, Tvl, in October 1990.

MATELA, Monkane Joseph (35), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Aliwal North, Cape, in March 1985, while *toy-toying* with a crowd of protesters during intense political conflict and unrest.

MATELA, Samuel Serame, an ANCYL and COSAS member, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 May 1992.

MATELA, Stephen Sefilara, was beaten with sjamboks in Bochum, Lebowa, on 1 January 1986 during violent conflict between supporters of rival chiefs.

MATENDE, Dingindawo David (53), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in July 1993 in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MATENJW A, Kekeletso Samuel (20), was found dead at eMbalenhle, near Secunda, Tvl, on 22 August 1992 after being abducted by named SAP members.

MATENJW A, Maqhikizana Roster (49), had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack near Empangeni, Natal, in February 1994, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MATENJW A, Ziphozonke Patrick (19), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 January 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MATERA, Monwabisi Zvelicingile (31), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP and IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, in May 1991 during violent conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-aligned residents in the area.

MATETA, Matome Simon (37), had his house destroyed by members of the SAP in Lenyenye, Lebowa, on 4 August 1981 during an attempt by the Gazankulu government to force his community to move and be placed under a new chieftainship. Those resisting the removal were arrested and fined for residing unlawfully in the area.

MATETA, Patrick Mphathi (35), lost his home in an arson attack by perpetrators who accused him of being a collaborator during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, in August 1985.

MATETA, Phineas, had his house destroyed by members of the SAP in Lenyenye, Lebowa, on 4 August 1981 during an attempt by the Gazankulu government to force his community to move and be placed under a new chieftainship. Those who resisted the removal were arrested and fined for residing unlawfully in the area.

MATETE, Dorothy was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Leeudoringstad, Tvl, on 21 June 1990 because she was seen as an instigator at her school. There was a stayaway at the time to protest against the detention of a number of 'comrades' from Kgakala township.

MATETE, Moseklemang Meriam (61), was severely beaten by *Vlakplaas* operatives in Leeudoringstad, Tvl, on 1 November 1990.

MATETE, Phoka Patriot, a civic leader in Kgakala, was severely beaten by named members of the SAP in Kgakala, near Wolmaransstad, Tvl, on 1 November 1990.

MATHABA, Elinah (74), had her home burnt down at Bhekizitha, Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MATHABA, Gorden Thembinkosi Gcina (18), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by Special Constables while attending a memorial service for a slain UDF leader at a high school in KwaMashu, Durban, on 15 May 1987.

MATHABA, Livingstone (29), an MK member, was shot dead in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 May 1992.

MATHABA, Masondo Zesizwe (8), was killed by IFP supporters at her grandmother's home in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 May 1993. Zesizwe's grandmother, aged 61, was also killed in the attack, which is alleged to be linked to a statement the grandmother made to the police about the petrol-bombing of a relative's house.

MATHABA, Nicholina (61), was shot dead by named IFP supporters on 1 May 1993 at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 May 1993. Ms

Mathaba had witnessed a petrol-bomb attack on her daughter's house in April and was killed after she had made a statement to the police about the incident. Her granddaughter, aged 8, was also killed in the May attack. **MATHABA, Sani Leonard** (48), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by named IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 30 November 1992.

MATHABA, Xolani, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when unidentified persons attacked and burnt down his mother's house at Machibini, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, in November 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MATHABATHA, Paul Maboyi (46), an ANC supporter, was crippled after a severe beating by IFP supporters in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, on 25 November 1993.

MATHABATHE, Modiegi Constance, was assaulted in Moutse in 1987 by members of the SAP looking for her husband during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Ms Mathabathe was five months pregnant at the time.

MATHABATHE, Moleshewe (54), had her house burnt down by members of the SAP in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in January 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHABE, Ramasedi David (25), a UDF supporter, was beaten and tortured by named KwaNdebele policemen in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, on 29 December 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Mr Mathabe was beaten to try and force him to confess to murder.

MATHABELA, Bhelikizwe Daniel (43), had his home in KwaMancinza, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in October 1991 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MATHABELA, Boy, a farm employee, was severely beaten by members SAP at the Pondoriver police station, Blood River, near Dundee, Natal, in 1986, after he and a friend reported having found a limpet mine.

MATHABELA, Evelyn Kemoneilwe, was shot by members of the SAP in Khuma, Stilfontein, Tvl, on 28 February 1986 for taking part in a protest march by the Khuma Youth Congress.

MATHANG, Josia Booi, an ANCYL supporter, was arrested, detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Kliprivier, Natal, in 1960.

MATHE, Anthony, was shot dead by Bophuthatswana Police who opened fire on people protesting against the INCORPORATION of Leeuwfontein into Bophuthatswana, on 1 July 1989.

MATHE, Augustine (13), a church altar boy, was one of two youths shot dead by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 25 October 1980, after his mother sent him to the shop. Police opened fire on unruly crowds celebrating the defeat of Gerrie Coetzee, a white South African boxer, by Mike Weaver, an African-American boxer.

MATHE, Bhelikizitha, an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by a named ANC supporter in Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 4 June 1993.

MATHE, Eunice Shisekile (44), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured and had her home burnt down by

IFP supporters in Somopho, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 9 May 1994 in ongoing political violence following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MATHE, Joseph Albino (36), a COSATU member, was shot by members of the SADF in Kagiso, Tvl, on 8 January 1987. At the time, there was a curfew under emergency regulations.

MATHE, Mishake (10), was shot and injured when IFP supporters attacked his home in Somopho, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 9 May 1994 in ongoing political violence following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MATHE, Musa Mathews, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by an IFP supporter in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 1 November 1992, while on his way to attend a peace meeting called by the local induna.

MATHE, Petros (23), was thrown from the first floor of Ngoye University by members of the SAP in Empangeni, Natal, on 18 June 1976 when the SOWETO UPRISING spread throughout the country. The police allegedly evacuated the campus by force and Mr Mathe fell and injured his head. He still receives medication for mental illness as a result of his injuries.

MATHE, Reuben Fisokwakhe (25), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in February 1990 following the UNBANNING of political organisations earlier that month.

MATHE, Sibongiseni (20), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in December 1992 in continuing political violence between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MATHE, Sipho Bethuel (35), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death, allegedly by IFP supporters in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 13 October 1990.

MATHE, Tolakele Judith (65), an Inkatha supporter, had her house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MATHEAKWENA, Pule (60), a citizen of Botswana, was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* operatives in Sikwane, Botswana, on 23 April 1990. Mr Matheakwena was a security guard for the Chand family, five of whom were killed in the attack. Eight *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/089).

MATHEBA, Elizabeth Matu (42), had her property destroyed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Marokolong, Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 12 January 1993 during conflict with the chief of Marokolong. The chief was suspended and the whole community was forcibly removed.

MATHEBE, (first name not given – granddaughter 2), was incarcerated by members of the SADF in 1987 in Moutse, KwaNdebele during conflict over the proposed INCORPORATION of the area into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, (first name not given – granddaughter 3) was incarcerated by members of the SADF in 1987 in Moutse, KwaNdebele during conflict over the proposed INCORPORATION of the area into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, (first name not given) was incarcerated by members of the SADF in 1987 in Moutse, KwaNdebele during conflict over the proposed INCORPORATION of the area into KwaNdebele

MATHEBE, Charles Baledi Doctor (29), an ANC supporter, was arrested and tortured by the KwaNdebele police in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1987 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Collert Mohlamme Piet (25), was killed in Ntoane Village, Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 6 May 1986 when knocked down by a named perpetrator driving a police vehicle during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Daniel Mankuroane (16), a PEYCO member, was assaulted by named members of the SAP and detained for a year from August 1986, in Port Elizabeth.

MATHEBE, Godfrey Matekane (44), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by a named member of the SAP in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during opposition to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Lekwelalore Lydia (57), had her house damaged when members of the KwaNdebele Police searched the house for her husband at Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Magaruba (36), was severely assaulted by alleged members of the SAP in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 November 1986 to make her reveal the whereabouts of MK operatives accused of killing a policeman. Vigilantes and homeland officials were forced to flee the area in July 1986 because of fierce resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Magomothabi (40), had his possessions destroyed in a raid by members of the SADF in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1987 following clashes over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Majadihlogo Jim, was detained for two weeks by members of the SAP in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Mamotshabo Evelina (26), was beaten with rifle butts and sjamboks by members of the SAP in Ntoane, Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Police wanted information on the whereabouts of her husband and her father-in-law, a chief opposed to incorporation.

MATHEBE, Matholo, was severely assaulted in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1986 by members of the SAP and SADF looking for guns during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Maxwell Molefe, was severely beaten by members of the KwaNdebele Police in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 6 May 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Police bundled Mr Mathebe into a car boot and drove him to KwaMhlanga where he was held for two days and assaulted. His brother was killed in a hit-and-run by a named perpetrator who had links with the police.

MATHEBE, Mmakgosi (71), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in October 1987 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Mmamothalo (41), was severely beaten by alleged members of the SAP in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in October 1987 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Mmapule Elizabeth (60), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in October 1987 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Mmule (49), had her home burnt down by IMBOKODO members in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Mmusi Moses (67), was severely beaten by named and other Ndebele-speaking men in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 20 December 1985 because he resisted INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele later that month.

MATHEBE, Mogwape (71), was severely beaten by members of the SADF in Moutse, KwaNdebele, allegedly because her sons went into exile during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Morako, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP and SADF in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1986 when they were allegedly looking for guns during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Nnina (45), lost her house when it was set alight by a teargas canister thrown by members of the SAP in Ntoane, Moutse, KwaNdebele, during January 1986 because she resisted INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Norman Chipane (31), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Elandskraal, Moutse, KwaNdebele, in January 1989 to try and establish the whereabouts of his cousin who had links to a dissident chief. He was forced to leave Moutse because of police harassment.

MATHEBE, Paledi, was severely beaten by Ndebele-speaking men in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 20 December 1985 because he resisted INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Philemon, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 16 December 1985 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Piet (18), was assaulted by members of the SAP and SADF in Kwarielaagte, Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 24 December 1985 during a police raid. The area was tense following state plans for INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Queensly (26), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 February 1987. Police were looking for her husband during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Sarah Matlakalana, was shot by alleged members of the KwaNdebele Police in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 June 1985 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Selape Walter (28), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the KwaNdebele Police in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 15 December 1988 following plans for INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Shipane Ephraim , was arrested and had teargas fired at him and others in a police vehicle on their way to a police station in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, on 10 December 1985. He was detained for three weeks because he was part of the general resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Tlokwe Gibson , was arrested by members of the KwaNdebele Police at Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBE, Wellington Chipane (32), survived being tortured and thrown off a bridge by named and other SAP members at Moutse, KwaNdebele, in January 1987 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHEBULA, (first name not given), died when he was shot and his body burnt by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, during 1993. The victim was thought to be an IFP supporter. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0243).

MATHEBULA, Christopher , a member of the SAP, was injured in a hand grenade explosion at a Municipal Police training centre in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 April 1987. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

MATHEBULA, Dumalile Agnes (39), had her home burnt down by IFP-supporting Vusumuzi hostel-dwellers in Tembisa, Tvl, on 23 June 1993 because her husband was an MK operative in charge of training the local ANC-aligned self-defence unit.

MATHEBULA, George (24), a member of the SAP, was severely injured when MK operatives threw hand grenades into his house in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 13 October 1985. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0260).

MATHEBULA, Gladys Thandi (33), a UDF supporter, was shot by members of the SAP in Barberton, Tvl, as she was returning from the funeral of a political activist on 1 March 1986.

MATHEBULA, Isaac (13), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Ackerville, near Witbank, Tvl, in 1986 during political conflict and a stayaway in the area. He was hospitalised for two weeks and upon his discharge was detained for four months on charges of public violence. He was found guilty, and sentenced to a five-year suspended sentence and eight strokes which were reduced to five by a doctor.

MATHEBULA, Kenneth Chimane (22), was shot by Inkatha supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in March 1990 during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-aligned residents.

MATHEBULA, Lenah Makhoakane (38), was assaulted and detained in solitary confinement in Pretoria, in 1977 after she unwittingly agreed to house four boys on their way into exile.

MATHEBULA, Lizzy Nkiyasi , was beaten to death by ANC supporters at her house in Xhelani village,

Malamulele, Venda, in May 1991. Ms Nkiyasi was suspected of witchcraft.

MATHEBULA, Michael Funfun (15), an ANCYL member, was tortured in detention in KaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, in 1984.

MATHEBULA, Nhlanhla Sanele (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 4 February 1993. Two other ANC supporters were also killed.

MATHEBULA, Nomadlozi Lettie (20), the wife of an SAP member, was severely injured when MK operatives threw hand grenades into their house in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 13 October 1985. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0260).

MATHEBULA, Patrick , was injured in a hand grenade explosion in a shebeen in Lulekani, Gazankulu, on 28 March 1986. Fifteen people died and scores of others were injured in the explosion which was allegedly caused by members of the SADF. See GAZANKULU HAND GRENADE ATTACK.

MATHEBULA, Robert Themba (49), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death and his body set alight on 14 May 1990 in Hibberdene, Natal, in intense political conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

MATHEBULA, Samuel (30), was shot in the arm in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 May 1994 while travelling through 'no-man's land' – a buffer zone between hostels and Katlehong. He was caught in crossfire at the burial of an ANC supporter.

MATHEBULA, Themba Zobha , an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters in April 1990 in Mahwaqa, near Port Shepstone, Natal.

MATHEBULA, Vincent (24), was killed in a hand grenade explosion in Lulekani, near Phalaborwa, Tvl, on 28 March 1986. The grenade was thrown into a shebeen by members of the SADF Recce 5 Battalion, deployed to act against youth activists in this area. See GAZANKULU HAND GRENADE ATTACK.

MATHEBULA, Zephania , an MK operative was shot dead by IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG members and IFP supporters in Isando, Tvl, on 25 June 1993. The perpetrators burnt down his house on 23 June 1993 before shooting him in the head and heart at the entrance to his workplace. After returning from exile, Mr Mathebula led the local ANC-aligned self-defence unit which aimed to counter attacks on township residents organised from the IFP-supporting Vusumuzi hostel.

MATHENGELA, Donald Sifiso (26), an MK operative, was detained, assaulted and held in solitary confinement by members of the SAP in Germiston, Tvl, in 1969, after entering the country on a mission to recruit ANC members. He was then imprisoned on Robben Island, Cape Town, for a period of seven years, where he was severely ill-treated. After his release he was again detained in 1979 and tortured in Durban, after which he experienced severe psychiatric problems.

MATHENJWA, Busisiwe (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Amaoti,

Inanda, near Durban, on 2 October 1988 in intensifying violent conflict in the area. Her grandson, aged 16, was killed in political conflict the following day.

MATHENJW A, Dumingo Sigwili (16), an ANC supporter, was dragged out of a taxi, beaten and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Verulam, Natal, on 3 October 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MATHENJW A, Julia Sizani (37), an ANC supporter, had her home in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 27 July 1992.

MATHENJW A, Nhlakanipho, was injured in a hand grenade explosion at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 August 1992. Members of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD entered the home of a COSATU official, who threw a grenade at them. Four people were injured in the incident. The COSATU official was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0061).

MATHENJW A, Phyllis (55), was shot and injured and had her house burnt down at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, by ANC supporters on 14 January 1992. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for Ms Mathenjwa's son, an IFP supporter.

MATHENJW A, Sifiso (3), was shot dead by named IFP supporters in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 September 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area. His mother and grandmother were also killed in the attack on the family home.

MATHENJW A, Thandukwazi Phillip (37), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack in Iniwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 December 1992 in continuing violent conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MATHEWS, Matlakala Ir ene, an Azanian Students' Congress member, was arrested and kept in solitary confinement at Stilfontein, Tvl, in 1986. She was involved in organising a mass funeral for three activists killed by the police.

MATHEZA, Martha Josephine (18), was shot and killed by IFP supporters in the Entshawini area, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, on 3 January 1993 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MATHI, Sergeant Joseph, was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MATHIBA, Isaac, a COSAS member, was detained in Mamelodi, Pretoria, in 1984 during student protests in the area.

MATHIBE, Millicent, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom

denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

MATHIBE, Thembisile Samson (22), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by a named COUNCILLOR and member of the SAP in Fort Beaufort, Cape, in 1984 during resistance to the Black Local Authority.

MATHIBELA, Bongani Patrick (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Ntuzuma, near Durban, in August 1985, and again by Inkatha supporters in December 1989. Both incidents occurred in the context of intensifying political conflict in the area.

MATHIBELA, David Butana (53), was abducted from his home and severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in December 1985 during resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele in an attempt to force him to participate in assaults on residents. Mr Mathibela refused.

MATHIBELA, Fantsi Piet (23), had his house destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Dindela village, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate the village into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in violent conflict.

MATHIBELA, Johannes, chairperson of the local ANCYL, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Groblersdal, Tvl, on 5 May 1990, allegedly because of his political activities.

MATHIBELA, Kleinbooi (21), had his home destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported INCORPORATION into Lebowa but many residents resisted, which resulted in violent conflict.

MATHIBELA, Magidi Feitjee (66), had her home destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in July 1975 at Kwadlalele, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele. Chief Mahlangu supported INCORPORATION into Lebowa but many residents resisted, which led to violent conflict.

MATHIBELA, Mali Lena (48), had her home destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported INCORPORATION into Lebowa but many residents resisted, resulting in violent conflict.

MATHIBELA, Mfanyana Stefans (66), lost his house and possessions in an attack by supporters of Chief Mahlangu at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. The community opposed INCORPORATION into Lebowa.

MATHIBELA, Phillip Buti (36), was abducted from his home by IMBOKODO vigilantes in December 1985 and was later found dead in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele. Mr Mathibela was abducted at a time when residents resisted INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MATHIBELA, Phomolo Samson (19), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured in Empangeni, Natal, in January 1991 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MATHIBELA, Selina (57), an ANC supporter, had her house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, looted and set alight by Inkatha supporters on 7 December 1989. She fled with her children. Her son, aged 23, was shot and severely injured in the attack.

MATHIBELA, William (44), an ANC activist, was severely beaten by IFP supporters in one of many random attacks on residents in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 28 March 1992. Alexandra was one of several Transvaal townships embroiled in conflict between the ANC and IFP in the early 1990s.

MATHIBELI, Lekhoa Robert (31), was tortured and mutilated by named perpetrators on 17 July 1971 in Modderbee prison, Johannesburg, on a Pass offence.

MATHIKGE, Jacob Molefe (27), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 3 March 1990 during political conflict in the area which began in late 1989 when residents burnt a police informer's car.

MATHIKWE, Lentikile Ephraim Mohapi, was one of six persons abducted and interrogated by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members near Port St Johns, Transkei, on 20 April 1994, shortly before the April 1994 elections. Mr Mathikwe and three others were then shot dead. The remaining two survived the shooting. The SDU members believed that they were APLA members who were on their way to disrupt an ANC mass rally. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/045).

MATHISO, Joseph Sana (19), was shot with birdshot by members of the security forces during protests in Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, on 22 August 1985. See ALIWAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

MATHISO, Mbuyiselo James (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the security forces on 23 August 1985 during political conflict in Aliwal North, Cape. See ALIWAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

MATHIZA, Aaron (20), a COSAS member, was disabled after being shot in the spine by members of the SAP in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, while organising a May Day rally on 1 May 1986.

MATHLOMBE, Victoria Ninah (19), an ANC supporter, was detained and assaulted by members of the SAP in Dannhauser, near Vryheid, Natal, in January 1982, allegedly because she had information about her brother, an MK operative.

MATHOBELA, James Bongani (24), was shot by members of the SAP at Ackerville, Tvl, on 25 March 1990 and then driven around by police until he collapsed.

MATHOBELA, Refiloe Grace (33), a Young Christian Workers member, was tortured and kept in solitary confinement by members of the SAP in detention in Benoni, Tvl, in May 1978 because of her political activities in the organisation.

MATHOMBANE, A, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives

were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MATHONSI, Isaac Mkombe (77), had his home burnt down in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MATHONSI, Mgozolwela Siph (41), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Mandini, Natal, on 29 November 1993.

MATHONSI, Mufumane Ber nard, a member of the SAP, was robbed and killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Diepkloof, Johannesburg, on 11 August 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0036).

MATHONSI, Qondeni Cecilina (55), an ANC supporter, was stabbed several times by a named IFP supporter at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 14 September 1991.

MATHONSI, Thembelihle Felix, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 26 June 1984 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MATHONSI, Winnie Nobuhle (26), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in March 1989 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MATHOPE, Aaron (9 months), was shot and killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MATHOPE, Rebecca Ramajwe, was shot and killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MATHOPENG, Mabuti, was shot and injured on 23 May 1993, allegedly by members of the SAP, during a march of Phola Park residents through Katlehong, Tvl.

MATHUDI, Thys, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 7 March 1990 when he visited a neighbour's home in Tshing, Ventersdorp, Tvl, during a protest demonstration.

MATHULE, Pinki Bettie (23), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the A-TEAM in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, in 1985.

MATHUSE, Geor ge, suffered damage to his motor vehicle when it was set alight by a crowd of ANC supporters at Phatsima, Rustenburg, Tvl, on 8 August 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty for his involvement in the incident (AC/1998/056).

MATHWASA, Mlilred Mar hash, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Germiston, Tvl, in 1990.

MATHWASA, Petr os, was stabbed and shot to death by IFP supporters in Germiston, Tvl, in 1990.

MATIA, Don Molteno (55), an ANC supporter, lost his home in an arson attack in July 1985 in East London.

MATIBIDI, Phineas Nkgafeng, was stabbed to death and his body burnt in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during a rent boycott, because he was suspected of being a councillor. During the VAAL UPRISING councillors were targeted as puppets of the apartheid state.

MATIDZA, Matoria William (81), a Venda Independence People's Party member, was arrested and severely beaten by named policemen in Maelula village, Sibasa, Venda, on 18 July 1984 during conflict between the Venda Independence Party and the Venda National Party.

MATIKINCA, Buzelwa Eunice (42), an ANC supporter, was trampled on by a crowd running away from shots fired by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MATIKINCA, Nomalungelo Lucy (39), was continually harassed and detained by members of the Ciskei Police and SAP in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in 1980. She was questioned about her husband, an ANC/MK operative, who went into exile, but was later killed in a shoot-out with the police on 31 July 1985.

MATIKINCA, Patrick Dumile (16), a COUNCILLOR'S son, was stabbed and burnt to death by 'necklacing' by named perpetrators in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 24 December 1986 during conflict between UDF supporters and residents who supported the councillors.

MATIKINCA, Siputsu Camer on, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MATIMA, Ntshiuoa Agnes (25), was held at gunpoint while SAP members assaulted her husband in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 24 October 1992. Her husband, a member of the Thabong Civic Association, died of his injuries. The assault took place at a time of heightened political tension and boycotts in the area.

MATIMA, Solomon Mabusane (32), a member of the Thabong Civic Association, was severely beaten by named and other SAP members at Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 24 October 1992, at a time of heightened political tension and boycotts in the area. He died of his injuries.

MATIMA, Tefo Johannes (15), was shot dead by a named SAP member in Masilo, Theunissen, OFS, on 19 May 1990. At the time, 'comrades' were allegedly burning houses belonging to 'anti-comrades' and police members. Tefo was found at his home and shot dead while hiding under a bed.

MATISO, Mbuyiseli Michael (27), was shot by members of the SAP in Uitenhage, Cape during the 1986 consumer boycott.

MATISO, Melvin, a policeman, was shot and injured when MK operatives robbed the Frankfurt police station, Ciskei, of its firearms, in August 1992. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/354).

MATISO, Pisi, an ANCYL supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP during political conflict in Hofmeyr, Cape, on 28 July 1985.

MATISO, Sithembele (20), a student activist, was killed when a rubber bullet fired by a named member of the SAP hit his head in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 29 July 1985, during street protests following the discovery of the bodies of the CRADOCK FOUR in the Eastern Cape.

MATITI, Zandisile (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the Ciskei Police in Sada, Ciskei, on 11 September 1985, while on his way to visit his sister during the unrest in Whittlesea.

MATIWANA, Hombakazi (17), was shot dead by a named SAP member who opened fire on mourners in Joza, Grahamstown, Cape, on 12 May 1985.

MATIWANA, Nontombi Beauty Siphokazi (21), was detained on 18 March 1985 in Pearston, Cape. She was convicted of public violence and other charges and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment (three suspended) at Vereeniging prison, where she was repeatedly assaulted by named members of the SAP.

MATIWANA, Sphiwe Headman (20), was shot dead on 14 April 1988 when a named SAP member opened fire on a mass funeral for unrest victims in Zwide cemetery, Port Elizabeth.

MATIWANE, (first names not given), was severely beaten with rifle-butts, sjamboks and knobkerries in Crossroads, Cape Town, in 1986, by supporters of a local community leader, Mr Ngxobongwana. The assault was due to his opposition to a rent system imposed on the Crossroads community by Mr Ngxobongwana.

MATIWANE, David Ndumiso (21), left Sobantu, near Pietermaritzburg, in April 1968 to join MK, and was never seen or heard of again. He is believed to have died in exile in 1988.

MATIWANE, Lungisa Welcome (17), was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MATIWANE, Mafu (75), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF on 19 September 1992 at Majwarheni, near Alice, Ciskei, after being interrogated about the burning of the headman's house.

MATJEE, Lawrence (16), was arrested and assaulted by members of the Lebowa Police during student riots in Motetema, Lebowa, in 1986.

MATJILA, Motshentshe Jan (28), an ANCYL member and a marshal, was severely kicked and beaten by named members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg,

after being arrested at a night vigil in December 1986. He lost his front teeth, dislocated a shoulder blade and spent a week in hospital recovering from his injuries.

MATJILA, Phillistus Botsietsa Lerutla (24), was shot by members of the SAP in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 21 November 1985 during a march to municipal offices.

MATJOKANA, Mantshana Herbert, and his family survived a hand grenade attack on 25 March 1985 on his home in Tembisa, Tvl. Mr Matjokana was a deputy mayor in the local community council. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/165).

MATLADISA, Sello Vincent (16), was severely assaulted with rifle butts by named members of the Venda Police at his home in Vleifontein, Louis Trichardt, Tvl, on 16 June 1986. The police came looking for Sello and his brothers because they resisted the INCORPORATION of Vleifontein into Venda.

MATLADISA, T ebogo, an ANC supporter, was severely sjambokked, beaten with rifle butts and then detained for three months by alleged members of the Venda Police in Vleifontein, Louis Trichardt, Tvl, on 16 June 1986. The police came looking for Mr Matladisa and his brothers because they were involved in opposing the INCORPORATION of Vleifontein into Venda.

MATLAKALA, Seboge Frans (47), was shot by IFP supporters on their way to a rally on 17 January 1994 in Soweto, Johannesburg. Mr Matlakala died on 23 January 1994.

MATLALA, China Jacob (39), an ANC member, was tortured in detention by named members of the SAP in Tembisa and Benoni, Tvl, in 1982.

MATLALA, Choene Solomon (39), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlala resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLALA, Chuene Salphy (37), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLALA, Comfort (50), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlala resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLALA, Godfrey Daniel (16), was shot in the face with pellets in Tembisa, Tvl, on 4 August 1993 by members of the SAP after an incident where a white Cressida without number plates opened fire on residents. Youths gathered to protect the community and Godfrey was shot in a subsequent clash between youths and police. He has lost the sight in his right eye as a result of the shooting.

MATLALA, Jacob Madisha (33), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlala resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLALA, Kgadi Petrus (31), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlala

resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLALA, Lebogang Sunday (21), was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in June 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING and held for 18 months in Pretoria.

MATLALA, Makeku Flora (47), was shot dead and her house set alight by supporters of the Sofasonke Party in Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 4 June 1991 because of her son's political activities.

MATLALA, Makgabo George (44), was severely beaten on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlala resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLALA, Makopo George (38), had his home burnt down in Moganyaka, Lebowa, in November 1990 by named supporters of the chief because Mr Matlala questioned the use of community funds. Mr Matlala and a fellow community activist were reportedly sentenced to death by the chief and were to be burnt alive in their homes.

MATLALA, Mathebe Geofrey (18), was shot and injured by members of the Lebowa Police in Marble Hall, Tvl, in April 1986 after a meeting to discuss police brutality in the area.

MATLALA, Matlou Alfr ed, had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlala resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLALA, Molotshi Richard (29), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SADF in Motetema, Lebowa, during the funeral of a 'comrade' on 13 March 1986.

MATLALA, Morwata Joseph (41), lost his home when it was burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlala resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLALA, Mothokoa T error (26), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlala resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLALA, Noko Solomon (43), lost his home when it was burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlala resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLALA, Phillip Seabe (24), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and tortured by members of the Lebowa Police in Motetema, Lebowa, on 9 March 1986 after he was suspected of hatching a plan to topple the Lebowa government. Mr Matlala was arrested at the funeral of an activist. At least six people were shot dead and five wounded when police tried to stop youths entering Motetema for the funeral.

MATLALA, Plantina Seemole (61), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLALA, Seemole Modjadji (49), had her house burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLALENG, Junior , was killed in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, by members of the SAP and the 'Zim-zims' faction within the ANC branch when a night vigil for an ANC activist was attacked on 16 December 1990. See KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS.

MATLASULELE, Madimetja , an ANC member, was arrested while attending a night vigil for assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI in Mookgophog, Naboomspruit, Tvl, in April 1993. He was detained for three days and beaten daily, suffocated with a rubber tube and denied food and water.

MATLAWE, Seleciso Howard , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 3 March 1990. Khutsong was occupied by the SAP at the time which led to numerous clashes between police and members of the community.

MATLHABE, Daniel (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 1 May 1992. Mr Matlhabe was allegedly shot while running away from IFP supporters during conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents which claimed many lives between 1990 and 1993.

MATLHAELA, Elizabeth Puleng , was injured and suffered damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MATLHAKO, Christopher Tshepo (18), a COSAS member and UDF supporter, was detained for ten days under Section 50 in Kimberley, Cape, on 10 April 1985. He was severely tortured by named members of the SAP at the police station and was hospitalised after his detention.

MATLHAKOANE, Daniel Thebe (17), was shot several times by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers at Klipspruit, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1991 during conflict between IFP-aligned Nancefield hostel-dwellers and Pimville residents.

MATLHARE, Isaac Rocks (20), an ANC member from Chiawelo, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 9 December 1982 in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats on Maseru, Lesotho. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

MATLHOKO, Senatlana Thomas (21), an ANC activist, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 14 May 1993 on his way to make arrangements for a mass funeral the next day. While passing through an IFP-controlled zone with fellow activists, shots were fired from a house and Mr Matlhoko was hit in the head and killed.

MATLHOKO, Thomas Oupa , was shot dead by IFP supporters in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 14 May 1993 during a confrontation between IFP and ANC youths. Mr Matlhoko was reportedly trying to assist a friend targeted by the IFP supporters when he was killed.

MATLOGA, Raselina Ntombizodwa (57), was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992 during a violent labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers from July to December 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack.

MATLOHA, Alfr ed, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 28 April 1991. The attack followed the funeral of Moses Khumalo, the slain IFP mayor of Soweto. Three family members died in the attack.

MATLOHA, Stephen , was hacked to death with *pangas* by IFP supporters at his home in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 28 April 1991. The attack followed the funeral of Moses Khumalo, slain IFP mayor of Soweto. Three family members died in the attack.

MATLOMBE, Christina Mantombi (22), an ANC supporter, was arrested in January 1981, detained for a week and severely assaulted by named members of the SAP in Vryheid, Natal, who wanted information about her brothers, who were in exile. Ms Matlombe was three months pregnant at the time, and lost her baby as a result of the beating.

MATLOTLO, Paulos (20), a UDF activist, was arrested, bitten by police dogs, and detained for 14 days in Aliwal North, Cape, on 21 August 1985 during the state of emergency. He was denied access to medical treatment. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MATLOU, Aletta Mamogabi (14), was shot with birdshot by members of the SAP in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, on 13 March 1990. Aletta was hiding in a shack, watching the looting and burning of a bottlestore when police allegedly began shooting at the crowd.

MATLOU, Ezekiel Matsiela (35), was injured when he was knocked down by a vehicle driven by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 7 February 1990. Mr Matlou was deliberately run over when police attacked community members on a protest march about rents imposed by the Bophuthatswana government

MATLOU, Lebiba Joseph (42), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlou resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLOU, Magadu David (56), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlou resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLOU, Makgalane Solomon , an ANC supporter, was detained several times without trial and regularly sjambokked by members of the SAP in Nebo, Lebowa, between 1966 and 1969 during conflict over chieftainship in the area.

MATLOU, Mashala Elisa (27), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by

supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATLOU, Mediyamere Sana (51), was whipped and stoned in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 19 January 1981 when Chief Lerumo's supporters were forced by Chief Mapela's supporters forced to accept his leadership.

MATLOU, Ngdakoana Maggie (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters on a train to Germiston, Tvl, on 27 January 1991. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MATLOU, Thahedi Mack (60), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Matlou resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATODLANA, Monde Ronnie (24), was assaulted by members of the SAP and SADF in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, in April 1986. Mr Matodlana had allegedly been provoked by a soldier and threw a stone at him, upon which SADF backup was called in and he was assaulted.

MATODLANA, Mxhasi Matthew (20), a UDF supporter, was detained for 14 days under emergency regulations, in Kareedouw, Cape, during April 1986. During his detention, he was assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP.

MATODZI, (first name not given), lost her home in an arson attack by a group of community residents in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094).

MATOLENGWE, Fezeka (28), had her home burnt down in Nyanga Bush, Cape Town, in May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MATOLENGWE, Mongazi Florence (38), had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Nyanga, Cape Town, in May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes were burnt in the attacks.

MATOME, Blantina (40), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATOME, Maphuti (58), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATOMELA, Mkhangelili (24), an ANC supporter, was detained for two weeks by members of the Transkei Police on 8 August 1981 in Butterworth, Transkei. During his detention, he was assaulted and tortured while under interrogation about his political activities.

MATOMELA, Qinisekile Jef frey (34), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and assaulted with pick handles on 1 April 1987 during conflict between AMAAFRIKA and UDF supporters in Uitenhage, Cape.

MATONG, Gilbert Kgomotso (23), an ANCYL member, was arrested and tortured in August 1993 by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Itoseng, Bophuthatswana, when he insisted on accompanying his colleague who had been arrested.

MATONSI, Pumzile Esther (73), had her house burnt down at Machibini, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, in November 1993 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. The attack was targeted at her son, who was an ANC supporter. He was was shot and injured.

MATOTI, Agnes Baubui (25), was arrested by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Leeuwfontein, Tvl, on 1 July 1989 and detained for a week during community resistance to the INCORPORATION of Leeuwfontein into Bophuthatswana.

MATOTI, Felicity Nomonde (34), was detained in Umtata, Transkei, on 17 February 1987, in connection with the activities of her brother, an MK operative. Ms Matoti was severely tortured and sexually assaulted by members of the Transkei Security Branch. Two days after her detention, she was admitted to hospital, where she spent seven months. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for torture (AC/2000/076).

MATOTI, Kutazwa Constance (17), was detained and severely beaten by named members of the SAP in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, in May 1986. She was then detained for three months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MATOTO, Mpoye Elias (22), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP after his arrest in Tembisa, Tvl, on 31 July 1985 because of his involvement in organising community meetings.

MATOTO, Richard Ntsikelelo (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Middelburg, Cape, on 15 February 1986.

MATROOS, Aleta, the wife of an AMASOLOMZI vigilante, was stabbed and injured by a named UDF supporter in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 8 April 1986, during conflict between residents and the Amasolomzi. Ms Matroos had been a state witness in a court case against several UDF supporters.

MATROOS, Mziwamadoda Paulos (17), was beaten on his arrest in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 20 November 1985. He was one of over 100 Zolani residents arrested and accused of burning the homes of AMASOLOMZI vigilante members. Thirty-two residents were finally sentenced to prison terms. Mr Matroos was held in custody awaiting trial for ten months and served a prison sentence until his release in 1991 as a political prisoner.

MATROOS, Nikiwe Victoria (34), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, in 1988. Ms Matroos was attending a protest meeting to discuss the fate of exiled Chief Mankuroane.

MATROSS, Zolile Christopher (35), a UDF supporter and Civic activist, was arrested on charges of public violence and beaten by police in Worcester, Cape, in August 1985. He fled the country, returning in 1986 when he was again arrested on 29 September 1986 in Worcester and held under SECTION 29. He then served five years of a 14-year prison sentence.

MATSABA, Lephallo Abel, was tortured by members of the SAP while in police custody in Kroonstad, OFS, in 1991. He had been arrested on suspicion of the murder of a member of the THREE MILLION GANG.

MATSABO, Abel, was shot at by NUMSA members during a strike at the Haggie Rand factory in Cleveland, Johannesburg, on 24 November 1989. Amnesty was granted to the one NUMSA member (AC/1999/0296).

MATSAMGU, Wilson (40), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP near Endlovini, Soweto, on 19 July 1986. Mr Matsamgu had attended a night vigil the previous night.

MATSANE, Miemie suffered an attempt on her life when she was attacked by IFP supporters during political conflict at Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 13 June 1993. One person was killed. Ms Matsane and another were injured. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0343).

MATSANE, Thabo Godfrey, an ANC activist, was arrested and tortured by named members of the SAP in Hoedspruit, Tvl, on 7 April 1992.

MATSAP A, an AZAPO supporter, was arrested at a shebeen by named members of the Lebowa Police at Mahwelereng, Lebowa, during an illegal gathering on 4 April 1985.

MATSAPOLA, Elizabeth (18), was shot on the forehead and in the back by members of the SAP in Naledi, Soweto, on 17 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING.

MATSEMBE, David, was seriously injured when he was stabbed by ANC supporters at a squatter camp on a chicken farm in Kliptown, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 7 July 1991. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty for the attempted killing (AC/1999/0212).

MATSEMELA, Elizabeth (61), an ANC supporter, was arrested in June 1986 and held at Wilbeken prison in Benoni, Tvl, following student boycotts and other political protests in the area.

MATSEMELA, Matsobane Morris (32), an MK operative, was detained and tortured for nearly a year from 1 April 1964 in Pretoria by named members of the SAP. He was accused of sabotaging the Ministry of Agriculture.

MATSEMELA, Ramolobi Robert (48), had his home burnt down by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Rustenburg, Tvl, on 17 January 1993.

MATSEMELA, Solomon (24), an ANCYL member, was assaulted by members of the SAP in Soshanguve, Pretoria, in March 1986 following a student boycott in the area.

MATSENA, Michael Silas (17), a community activist, was tortured in detention in 1985 and 1986 and his family home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, was bombed by members of the SAP in 1986.

MATSEPA NE, Makomene, was killed when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MATSETELA, Lucas (24), was shot and severely injured when members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE opened fire on protesters in Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 October 1986.

MATSHABA, Nunu Andrew Freddy (29), a Jabavu Soweto street committee member, was severely tortured in detention by members of the SAP at Protea, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1987. Mr Matshaba was beaten, subjected to electric shocks and had teargas sprayed into his eyes to try and force him to reveal the names of street committee members involved in monitoring and enforcing the rent boycott in Soweto.

MATSHAKA, Lukhanyiso Arthur (26), an AZAPO member, was hacked and stabbed to death by UDF supporters on 27 June 1987 during political conflict in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape.

MATSHAKA, Mantantisa Priscilla (52), was stabbed, stoned and assaulted by UDF supporters on 28 May 1986 during political conflict between UDF and AZAPO supporters in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape.

MATSHALUKA, Mzimkhulu Desmond (34), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and seriously injured by a named AZAPO supporter during political conflict in Walmer township, Port Elizabeth, on 27 August 1985.

MATSHANA, Lazarus Ndebele (65), an ANC supporter, was sjambokked by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, while participating in an ANC march through the township on 21 March 1991.

MATSHATSHA, Lina Dieketseng (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Kliprivier, Tvl, on 21 September 1993 when gunmen travelling in two minibuses opened fire on the taxi in which she was travelling. Attacks on taxis were a characteristic of political conflict on the East Rand from 1991.

MATSHAYA, Magdaline Nombulelo (45), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down on 30 April 1990 in Pholile, Matatiele, Natal, by a group of men carrying traditional weapons and allegedly looking for ANC supporters. Nine homes were burnt in the area that day. At the time ANC supporters were also killed in an attempt to prevent the setting up of local ANC branches in the area.

MATSHAYA, Quido Mvikel (22), an ANC supporter, was beaten by named perpetrators in Matatiele, Transkei, on 16 March 1990. A group of men associated with the traditional authorities and opposed to the launch of an ANC branch attacked numerous homes and persons associated with the ANC.

MATSHAYA, Thabo Bethuel (52), an ANC supporter, lost his home when it was burnt down by named perpetrators in Matatiele, Transkei, on 30 April 1990. A group of men associated with the traditional authorities and opposed to the launch of an ANC

branch attacked numerous homes and persons associated with the ANC.

MATSHAYANA, Mxolisi MacDonald , a PAC activist, was arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment in 1960 in Transkei, for his political activities. On release from prison, he was placed under house arrest for a further four years.

MATSHAYI, Temba , a UDF supporter, was abducted and burnt to death by named perpetrators in Uitenhage, Cape, on 30 November 1986, during violent political conflict between the UDF and AMAAFRIKA members in the area.

MATSHEHLE, Lucas (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF while preparing for a fellow 'comrade's' funeral in Gamagolego village, Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, on 20 June 1986.

MATSHEKA, Ketlogetswe Joseph (24), was shot by AWB members in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, when the AWB attempted to invade Bophuthatswana on 12 March 1994.

MATSEKE, Gugulethu , an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the KwaZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, on 23 November 1992.

MATSEKETETE, Mphangeli (30), a civic organisation member, was shot dead by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 14 August 1985.

MATSHELE, Andile (28), an ANC underground member, was arrested, assaulted and tortured by being suffocated on 15 April 1986 in the Cambridge police station, East London. Police wanted information from him about MK operatives who were allegedly in hiding at Mooiplaas, near East London, where Mr Matsele lived.

MATSHELE, Dan (26), an ANC underground member, was arrested in February 1982 in Aliwal North, Cape, and tortured by suffocation and electric shocks over seven days by named members of the Security Police who wanted information on MK operatives outside the country. Mr Matsele was transferred to Dimbaza police station, Ciskei, where he was detained for seven months.

MATSHIANE, Seopele John (49), an ANC supporter, was the victim of a teargas attack by members of the SAP in KwaNdebele, on 14 May 1986. Earlier in the day there had been a meeting in the area because ANC supporters opposed KwaNdebele independence.

MATSHIBI, Siphivvo Macdonald Kaizer (22), a UDF supporter, was detained without trial in Alexandra, Cape, during the state of emergency in August 1986.

MATSHIKA, Nobayeni Lettie (43), had her home destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Thaba Lebota, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the State's proposal to incorporate the village into Lebowa but many residents resisted INCORPORATION which resulted in violent conflict.

MATSHIKI, Milton Chumani Nozulu , was killed and decapitated by Poqo members in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, on 27 October 1962, allegedly for his opposition to Poqo activities.

MATSHIKIZA, James Mzwandile , a UDF supporter, was burnt to death after his friend's home where he was sleeping was set alight at Philippi, Cape Town, on 27 October 1989. His mother had been warned a week before his death that his life was in danger.

MATSHINGA, Abner V usi , was shot and injured by members of SAP at Sebokeng, Tvl. on 3 September 1984. Mr Matshinga was allegedly mistakenly thought to be one of a crowd burning down shops at the time of the shooting.

MATSHIP A, Maringisile (39), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MATSHIYANE, Babereki Piccanin (52), had his home destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Vriesgewacht, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the State's proposal to incorporate the village into Lebowa but many residents resisted INCORPORATION which resulted in violent conflict.

MATSHOBA, Andile (18), a COSATU branch secretary, was shot dead by members of the Ciskei Police at Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 7 September 1985, when he tried to flee from them.

MATSHOBA, Diliiza Benedict (34), a UDF supporter and SACC employee, disappeared from his home on 23 May 1986 and his body was found three days later at the government mortuary, in Zondi, Soweto, covered with sjambok weals. He is believed to have been beaten and tortured to death by members of the SAP who then staged a car accident to cover up his death.

MATSHOBA, Fezile , was gunned down, by a named SAP hitman at Protea, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 4 January 1986 for his political activities in the area and his involvement with the SACC, a church organisation opposed to police brutality.

MATSHOBA, Nomathemba Amoree (40), an ANC supporter, lost her home and all its contents in an attack by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992 in intense political conflict in the area. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

MATSHOBA, Sicero Sherperd (44), a UDF supporter and Civic activist, was detained in Worcester, Cape, on 10 October 1985, under emergency regulations. He was again detained for over ten months from 12 June 1986 at Victor Verster prison in Paarl, Cape.

MATSHOBANE, Mandla (22), was shot and tortured by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 1 May 1986.

MATSHOGO, Allen , was shot dead by members of the SAP on his way to a night vigil in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, on 2 March 1986 because he was out after curfew during the state of emergency.

MATSHOGO, Stephen (22), was beaten to death with knobkerries by members of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, on 24 February 1984.

MATSHONISA, Noxolo (24), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MATSHUSA, Maggie , was burnt to death and her house was set alight by a group of community residents in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094).

MATSHWINY ANE, Margaret (79), was burnt to death by named perpetrators in Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 14 April 1992 during conflict between youths and elders about the value of traditional practices. Ms Matshwinyane was labelled a witch by the youth and accused of 'delaying' the struggle.

MATSI, Mosima Julia (45), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATSIE, Adelaide , was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Matwabeng, Senekal, OFS, on 11 February 1990, when student protesters, who had been marching to celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela from prison, ran through the Matsie home, pursued by members of the SAP. Ms Matsie's 12-year-old granddaughter was also shot and injured. The following day, her husband was shot dead by the police.

MATSIE, Mosele Sinah (12), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Matwabeng, Senekal, OFS, on 11 February 1990, when student protesters, who had been marching to celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela from prison, ran through the Matsie home, pursued by members of the SAP. Her grandmother was also shot and injured. Her grandfather was shot dead by the police the next day.

MATSIE, Schalk (75), was shot dead in front of his house by members of the SAP in Matwabeng, Senekal, OFS, on 12 February 1990. Police opened fire on protesters celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela from prison.

MATSIPE, (first name not given), a councillor, suffered damage to his property as a result of a hand grenade attack at his home in Jabulani, Soweto, Johannesburg, on an unspecified date between 1985 and 1987 by members of the Soweto Security Branch purporting to be MK operatives. The operation was intended to give an informer credibility. Four Soweto Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/036).

MATSOBANE, Ninki Maria (15), was arrested, detained for three days, and assaulted while in police custody in Parys, OFS, in July 1990. Ninki was caught up in a clash between the police and people returning from a mass meeting.

MATSOBANE, Piet , died after being beaten by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 March 1980 because Mr Matsobane resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa

MATSOBANE, Thomas (13), was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, in June 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MATSOBE, Lethogonolo Lazarus (15), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with rifle butts by

members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, in September 1990. Lethogonolo was a student activist and opposed the INCORPORATION of the Makgola community into Bophuthatswana.

MATSOBE, Mpedi Richard (41), was beaten, suffocated by a plastic bag and subjected to electric shocks by members of the Bophuthatswana Police and the SAP in Zeerust, Tvl, in August 1989. He was arrested on charges of killing a policeman during a protest by Braklaagte community against INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MATSOBOSHE, Mr (first names not given), was assaulted by APLA members at a PAC camp in Tanzania during 1992 or 1993. He was allegedly assaulted because he disobeyed the code of conduct. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/247).

MATSOELE, Grace Mantshe (41), was shot and injured by members of the SAP's Riot Squad in Kimberley, Cape, on 22 August 1985. The shooting occurred during student protests and a SCHOOL BOYCOTT.

MATSOGE, Philip Filipo , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Soweto, on 29 May 1992 during conflict between mainly IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. Mr Matsoge and others were guarding the township against expected night attacks by hostel-dwellers when he was shot ten times in the chest, arms, stomach and feet.

MATSOLO, Luthando Duncan (19), a member of SASM, was detained for six months in March 1977 in Graaff-Reinet, Cape. During his detention, he spent four months in solitary confinement.

MATSOLO, Masetheo Jemimah (38), was struck on the head and injured while travelling home in a taxi during a stayaway in Kroonstad, OFS, on 17 March 1986.

MATSOLO, Sabelo (16), a member of SASM, was detained for six months in March 1977, and was shot and injured by members of the SAP during the 1980 unrest in Graaff-Reinet, Cape.

MATSOLO, Willie Kolisile (49), a teacher, was beaten to death by members of the SAP for allegedly resisting arrest during a period of political unrest in Masizakhe, Graaff-Reinet, Cape, on 28 January 1977.

MATSOMANE, Solomon , was shot dead by members of the Lebowa Police in Groblersdal, Tvl, in 1986.

MATSONO, Nomathamsanqa , died after being shot by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 21 March 1990 after an Inkatha rally that day and unrest in the township.

MATSUNY ANE, Mogale Hekman (31), a BCM activist and NAWUSA member, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in December 1977. Mr Matsunyane was reportedly tortured in detention in 1988.

MATSWALEDI, Leah , was severely injured on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MATTEWS, John Edward (51), a SACP member and MK operative, was detained on 25 June 1964 and

made to stand in one spot for 36 hours by members of the SAP before being held in solitary confinement in Johannesburg. He was eventually sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment and was banned after his release.

MATTHEE, Vivian Stanley (aka 'Trevor') (28), an MK operative from Paarl, Cape, was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* operatives in a raid on two houses in Maseru, Lesotho, on 19 December 1985. Nine people were killed in the raid, three of which were citizens of Lesotho. Seven operatives, including the deputy commander of Security Branch headquarters, the commander of the section that oversaw the work of *Vlakplaas*, and the commander of *Vlakplaas*, applied for amnesty for the operation. All except the commander of Security Branch headquarters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/231 and AC/2001/279).

MATTHEWS, Doris Thokozani (36), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Elufafa, Ixopo, Natal, on 18 July 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. She was allegedly perceived to be an ANC supporter and was living in an IFP area at the time.

MATTHEWS, Reuben 'Monnapule' (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP after an arson attack in Mataleng, Barkly West, Cape, on 25 August 1990.

MATTHYS, Johnny Martin 'Fiefie Mirens' (20), was shot and injured by a named SAP member in Kakamas, Cape, on 13 February 1988. The perpetrator opened fire on residents outside a house being raided by police. Two children were shot dead and 13 people injured.

MATUBA, Makwena Christina, had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MATUKWANA, Mzwandile Thomas (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the security forces during political conflict at Endlovini, Port Elizabeth, on 16 October 1985.

MATUKWANA, Ntobeko Arthur (17), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in March 1983 in Zwide, Port Elizabeth.

MATUTOANE, Mpule Johanna (29), an ANC supporter, was shot in the left shoulder in Gobizitwana beer hall in Zone 14, Sebokeng, Tvl, by residents of the Kwa-Madala hostel on 23 May 1991 during conflict between mainly IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. Five people died and 18 were seriously injured in the attack shortly after the attack on a night vigil for ANCYL member. The death toll later rose to 14.

MATYA, Siphiwo Lawrence (20), an MK cadre, died in UNITA ambush in Viana, Angola, on 5 November 1987. MK soldiers based in Angola assisted the FAPLA forces of the ruling MPLA government in its war against UNITA, which was assisted by the South African government. 1987-8 saw particularly fierce fighting, in which a number of MK soldiers were killed in combat, often in ambushes laid by UNITA.

MATYALENI, Nomveliso, lost her home in an arson attack at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in intense

conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area during 1993.

MATYENI, Makhwenkwe (35), a PAC member, was detained in January 1962 by members of the SAP in East London. He was held for a year without being charged.

MATYENI, Mzwandile (39), was assaulted by members of the Ciskei Police at Phathikhala police station, near Seymour, Ciskei, on 6 January 1992, after being arrested at the meeting of the Kolomane Residents' Association.

MATYENI, Nelson, an IKONGO member, was shot by the members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MATYENI, Pinky (17), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in January 1992 at Kolomane police station in Seymour, Ciskei, after a community meeting. Mr Matyeni was accused of alerting people about police presence in the area.

MATYENI, Siphwe, an ANC member, was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP at Kolomane, Seymour, Ciskei, in November 1992, for organising a public meeting in the area to inform people about the ANC.

MATYHOLO, Zalisile Ernest (33), a UDF supporter, was severely assaulted and then decapitated by named members of a group supporting the Ciskei government in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 14 November 1985. He was wanted by police for his role in assisting youths to skip the country into exile.

MATYOBENI, Mfundo, was assaulted by named ANC members in 1994 during conflict between ANC and ADM members at Mngqesha, near King William's Town, Cape.

MATYOBENI, Nothabeli Agnes, an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by other ANC supporters at Mngqesha, near King William's Town, Cape, in April 1994, after the perpetrators accused her of being an ADM member.

MATYOLO, Nokulunga, was shot on 11 December 1990 in Katilehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, during political conflict on the East Rand which exploded in August 1990.

MATYWATYWA, Daweti (29), a PAC supporter, was severely beaten by police on his arrest during a Poqo march to the police station in Paarl, Cape, on 21 November 1962. Two Paarl residents were killed by the marchers and five marchers were shot dead. Mr Matywatywa was then convicted of sabotage and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town. After his release he was banned for six years.

MAUMELA, Tshifhiwa Anthony (18), an ANC supporter, was detained, tortured and constantly intimidated by police in Sibasa, Venda, from 1977 because he addressed a march against Bantu education and openly criticised apartheid policies.

MAUNYE, Simon Peter, a member of the SAP, survived an attempted armed robbery by MK operatives at the Emthonjeni police station in Machadodorp, Tvl, on 25 July 1990. The aim of the operations was to

seize weapons. A police colleague was killed and another wounded. One of the attackers also died. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/109).

MAVATHA, Sdumo (50), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by PAC supporters in Zwelitsha, Ciskei in 1993, during conflict over the reimposition of the headman system in Ciskei.

MAVHAUDU, Frans, a member of the headman's council, was assaulted and burnt to death by youths in Tshiozwi district, Venda, on 6 March 1990, allegedly because he was accused of using witchcraft to hinder the work of youth activists in the area. The perpetrators requested Mr Mavhaudu to leave the area. When he refused, he was stoned and set alight and his hut was burnt. Five ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/094).

MAVHUNGA, Dovhani Grace (23), was forcibly removed from her home at Morokolong near Hammanskraal, Tvl, by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 25 December 1992. She was detained and her house was destroyed because she supported Chief Kekane against Chief Mangope.

MAVHUNGA, Edward Nndwakhulu, was burnt to death and his house set alight by members of the Mavhunga Youth Congress at Mavhunga, Venda, on 6 April 1990. Mr Mavhunga was accused of using witchcraft to hinder the work of youth activists in the area, and was allegedly killed because he refused to leave the area. Eleven ANC supporters were granted amnesty and one was refused (AC/2000/094).

MAVHUNGA, Ntendeleni Frans, was arrested and tortured in detention in Mutale, Venda, in 1987 because he gave assistance to someone accused of 'terrorism'.

MAVHUNGA, Phineas T apani, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Mutale, Venda, in 1987.

MAVIKELA, Andile Cheerful Ace (13), a UDF supporter, had his arm twisted until his elbow broke by a named member of the SAP in Port Alfred, Cape, in October 1985, after the perpetrator allegedly asked in Afrikaans where Mr Mavikela was going and he answered in Xhosa.

MAVIMBELA, Nomphumelelo, was shot and severely injured by members of the KwaZulu Police in Ncotshane, Tvl, on 27 November 1993 while attending a night vigil.

MAVUME, Xolile Ashington (22), an ANC supporter, was abducted on 16 September 1986 and later shot dead by a named SADF soldier during protests in KwaZakele-Magaleni, Port Elizabeth.

MAVUNDLA, Alson Mandlenkosi (33), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by a named IFP supporter in Utrecht, Natal, on 26 December 1993.

MAVUNDLA, Bangubukhosi George (64), had his house in Port Shepstone, Natal, destroyed by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, in July 1992, allegedly because he was thought to be harbouring an ANC leader.

MAVUNDLA, Claud Lindela, a constable in the SAP, was injured when his police patrol vehicle detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives, on the road

between Barberton and Josefsdal, Tvl, on 14 December 1986. The attack formed part of 'Operation Cetschwayo', an MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/111). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

MAVUNDLA, Elvis Mphilelwa Prizer (25), lost his possessions when his home in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, was vandalised and his property destroyed by IFP supporters on 4 April 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAVUNDLA, Elwin Thamsanqa (31), was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Mlozane, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 18 April 1990 in political conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February 1990.

MAVUNDLA, Emma Bonani (65), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by named IFP supporters in Ngonweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 January 1993.

MAVUNDLA, Gwaziwe (72), an IFP supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1991.

MAVUNDLA, Kenneth (14), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 31 August 1984 while running away during political unrest in schools. Students were demanding recognition for SRCs and the abolition of age limits in schools.

MAVUNDLA, Khothamile Thokozile (24), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAVUNDLA, Lucky W ilfred (20), an ANC supporter, was killed on 4 July 1992 when the minibus in which he was travelling was ambushed by IFP supporters as it left the home of an ANC regional organiser at Bhomela, Port Shepstone, Natal. Seven ANC members were killed. Five IFP members were convicted for the attack.

MAVUNDLA, Nikeziwe (61), had his house burnt down during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAVUNDLA, Ningi Happiness (32), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by AMABUTHO and SAP members on 10 December 1989 in Ohlange, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban.

MAVUNDLA, Nonhlanhla Goodness (25), had her home at Nkulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1991 in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MAVUNDLA, Ntombini Sylvester (46), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed on 4 July 1992 when the minibus in which she was travelling was ambushed by Inkatha supporters as it left the home of an ANC regional organiser at Bhomela, Port Shepstone, Natal. Seven ANC supporters were killed. Five IFP supporters were convicted for the attack.

MAVUNDLA, Priscilla Khanyisile (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named IFP supporter in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 27 October 1992.

MAVUNDLA, Siyabonga Alson (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 28 June 1991.

MAVUNDLA, Siyabonga, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when ANC supporters attacked the Nkulu area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 August 1993. Three people died in this attack and four were seriously injured.

MAVUNDLA, Thembeni Bazothile (51), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MAVUNDLA, Thulisile Purity (26), an IFP supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by ANC members, at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

MAVUNDLA, Zodwa, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters in Vulindlela, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 19 October 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MAVUSO, Derick (17), an ANC supporter, was killed by a named IFP supporter in Umzinto, Natal, in March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAVUSO, Ditaba, an ANC supporter, died after being stabbed with a spear and shot by named local self-defence unit (SDU) members in Moleleki section, Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Mr Mavuso was one of nine ANC supporters killed execution-style by SDU members during conflict between local ANCYL and SDU members. The SDU members applied for amnesty but were denied amnesty.

MAVUSO, Dumisani Christopher, died after being shot by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, while marching with a group to attend a memorial service for assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI at the Jabulani amphitheatre on 14 April 1993.

MAVUSO, Henry Mandla (32), an ANC supporter, was shot and seriously injured in Katlehong, Tvl, on 22 April 1991, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MAVUSO, Jacob Jankie (16), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured in his right leg by a named community councillor in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during a rent boycott. This period is known as the VAALUPRISING.

MAVUSO, Johannes Vusumuzi (26), an ANC supporter was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Tokoza, Tvl, on 5 August 1990.

MAVUSO, Lokufa, was beaten and necklaced by named ANC supporters in Nelspruit, Tvl, in July 1986 because she was identified as a witch. She died two days later in Shongwe Mission hospital.

MAVUSO, Mhlupheki Cornelius (39), was beaten to death with a golf club in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 7 November 1988 because he was suspected of being an Inkatha supporter.

MAVUSO, Nomathemba (24), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 23 January 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MAVUSO, Nombuzo, was abducted and gang-raped by members of the IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG in

Vusumuzi hostel, Tembisa, Tvl, on 14 February 1993.

Ms Nombuzo was abducted with her boyfriend, an ANC supporter, and forced to witness his killing.

MAVUSO, Saraphina Thandi (52), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed and was shot and injured in an attack by KHUMALO GANG members in Tokoza, Tvl, on 15 January 1993. The gang was allegedly involved in the murder of key political leaders in Tokoza.

MAVUSO, Selby (aka 'Bab') (24), an MK operative, was abducted from Matola, Mozambique, by SADF Special Forces on 30 January 1981. He was handed over to members of the Security Branch, who tried unsuccessfully to recruit him as an *askari*. When all attempts failed, *Vlakplaas* operatives took him to a spot near Komatipoort, Tvl, where he was shot dead and his body burnt. The commander of *Vlakplaas* was granted amnesty for the killing, while a *Vlakplaas askari* was granted amnesty for his role in the attempt to recruit Mr Mavuso (AC/2000/163 and AC/2001/279).

MAVUSO, Velle Jeremiah, was shot dead at a funeral by IFP members assisted by the SAP in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 4 August 1991. Boipatong was one of the Vaal townships embroiled in conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MAVUSO, Zakhe Moses, lost his house in an arson attack on 1 September 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly carried out by community leaders because Mr Mavuso refused to give money to the local self-defence unit.

MAWELA, Erasmus, an MK operative, was stabbed to death by members of the SAP in Mandela informal settlement, Daveyton, Tvl, on 18 March 1993. The perpetrator was sentenced to 66 years' imprisonment for the murder and applied for amnesty.

MAWELA, Keke, a PAC supporter, was severely beaten after being arrested in 1962. From 5 March 1963, he served 15 years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town.

MAWELA, Mhlamukile Simon (50), had his houses in KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, burnt down in November 1993. More than 40 houses were burnt down in the ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area that month.

MAWELA, Peter Bigboy (31), an ANC supporter, had his house and possessions burnt in an arson attack by IFP supporters in KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in March 1993.

MAWENI, Hendrick Shima (27), was severely beaten, shot and injured at Munsieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SAP during the 1986 consumer boycott of white businesses in Krugersdorp.

MAXAM, Robert, a constable in the SAP, survived a hand grenade attack by MK operatives on the Daveyton police station, Tvl, on 24 February 1978. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

MAXAMA, Stewart (48), a UDF supporter, was shot and stabbed to death in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 10 June 1986, by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps.

Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MAXELA, Nontobeko Fancy (27), an ANCWL member, was tear-gassed by members of the SAP in December 1986 while on his way to the funeral of an unrest victim in Zwide, Port Elizabeth.

MAXENGANA, Mbuyiseli (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, on 11 April 1985, in a confrontation between community residents and the police. He had been sent to the shop but did not return, and his mother found his body in a pool of blood with a bullet wound in the head.

MAXHEGWANA, Eric Sindile (37), was detained on 22 October 1987 by members of the Ciskei Police in East London. While in detention, he was severely beaten and tortured by suffocation.

MAXITI, Lumkile (49), was shot dead by members of a BALACLAVA GROUP, allegedly linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council, in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 16 December 1991. The attack was aimed at a local ANC Women's League activist and left three people dead, three wounded and 40 houses burnt.

MAXITI, Nonikile (38), was shot and injured by members of a BALACLAVA GROUP, allegedly linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council, in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 16 December 1991. The attack was aimed at a local ANC Women's League activist and left three people dead, three wounded and 40 houses burnt.

MAXONGO, Amos Vabantu (26), an MK operative from New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, was detained at Nova Stella Sao prison in Luanda, in 1983, where he was assaulted. In 1984, he was again detained and held at Quatro for five years, during which time he was repeatedly tortured. See ANC CAMPS.

MAXONGO, Cecilia Nozipho, a UDF branch treasurer, was detained under emergency regulations on 16 June 1986 in Willowmore, Cape. While in detention, she was tortured.

MAXWELE, Bubele (28), a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was killed during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

MAXWELL, Gavin (24), was severely injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

MAY, Alicia Thembakazi (14), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by named members of the SAP on her arrest in Robertson, Cape, on 24 December 1985. She was also tear-gassed in the police van and in her cell while being held in custody for a week.

MAY, Audrey Catherine, a civilian, was assaulted and severely ill-treated during an attack on a farmer at

Stormberg, Verkeerdeklei, OFS, on 12 February 1992. The farmer was killed in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0297).

MAY, Danile Wilberforce (25), a Civic Organization member, was the victim of an attempted 'necklacing' by ANC supporters in July 1980 in Port Elizabeth. He was allegedly accused of being a collaborator.

MAY, Mlandeli Mickey (27), a PAC supporter, was shot in the left leg and in the stomach by a named perpetrator during conflict between AMAAFRIKA and UDF supporters in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 30 June 1987.

MAY, Simphive Hantjie, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP while he was returning home from a protest march on 26 July 1989 at Lingeletu, Adelaide, Cape.

MAY, Stanford, was stabbed to death on 25 October 1991 in Vosloorus, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters during political conflict in the area.

MAY, Zenzele (30), a PAC member, was executed in Pretoria, on 9 May 1963 after being found guilty of killing a headman in Cofimvaba during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAY, Zenzile Eric, a COSAS member (20), was detained in solitary confinement for nine months from June 1980 in Queenstown, Cape.

MAYA, John Gert (14), was beaten to death by AMAAFRIKA supporters during conflict between AmaAfrika and UDF supporters in Uitenhage, Cape, on 4 January 1987.

MAYA, Nhlanhla Johannes (22), was shot by named ANC-aligned self-defence unit (SDU) members in Katlehong, Tvl, on 5 December 1993 when the SDU members opened fire on him, allegedly because he disagreed with some of their policies.

MAYABA, (first name not given), suffered damage to property when his house was burnt down by ANC members in political conflict in Heidelberg, Tvl, during 1992 or 1993. Mr Mayaba and two other suspected IFP supporters were on an ANC hit list and were therefore targeted. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/064).

MAYABA, Bhekisisa Stanley (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP at the Brakpan taxi rank, Tvl, on 10 September 1991. Mr Mayaba fled Mooi River in Natal after he was accused of being involved in the killing of an IFP supporter in Mooi River.

MAYABA, Henry Mduduzi (24), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when ANC supporters attacked a taxi on 21 January 1993 during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers which caused violent conflict in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl.

MAYABA, Mongameli, a member of Wembezi Crisis Committee, was shot dead by named IFP supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in 1990.

MAYABA, Ntombeningi Albertina (68), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 24 September 1992.

MAYAMA, Patrick Mnyamana (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 28 October 1977 during political conflict in Queenstown, Cape.

MAYANA, Ndileka No-Unit (33), an ANC supporter, was shot in the leg while attending a funeral on 9 September 1985 in Whittlesea, Ciskei. Members of the Ciskei Police opened fire at a group of mourners *toyi-toying* at the funeral.

MAYAPI, Pumzile (31), an MK operative, was detained, assaulted and tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch at their offices in Umtata, Transkei, in 1987. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for these incidents (AC/2000/076).

MAYAPI, Zonwabele, an MK operative, was shot dead by named and other members of the SAP and Transkei Police in February 1988 at Ncembiedlana, near Umtata, Transkei. Two other MK operatives were killed and a third injured in this incident.

MAYATI, Delingubo (30), an ANC member, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAYEKISO, Amos Mthandeki, a PAC supporter, was severely beaten by named supporters of KD Matanzima in November 1961 in Qamata, Transkei, during protests against tribal authority in the area.

MAYEKISO, Archie, was detained and tortured in Umtata, Transkei, by members of the Transkei Security Branch who believed him to be an ANC supporter. His detention followed an MK attack on the Madeira Street police station, Umtata, on 29 July 1986. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the torture (AC/2000/076).

MAYEKISO, Caleb (50), an ANC supporter, was arrested on 16 January 1964 in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment under the Terrorism Act. He was rearrested on 1 June 1969 and died while in police custody.

MAYEKISO, Mzwandile Shadrack (41), a prison warder, lost his house and property in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 31 August 1985 during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London.

MAYEKO, David, was shot dead by an ANCYL member in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 24 December 1990. One ANCYL member was granted amnesty while another, who denied any involvement in the killing, was refused (AC/1997/0001 and AC/2997/0004).

MAYELA, Dickson Dlavukile (34), an iKONGO member, lost his six-roomed home in an arson attack by members of the SAP in Mqeni Location, near Lusikisiki, Transkei, in February 1962. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAYET, Zubeida (40), a journalist, was arrested in Lenasia, Johannesburg, on 29 May 1978, and detained at the Fort prison for five months. Her detention followed the banning of several newspapers and journalists in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MAYEZA, Joseph Banzi, a member of the SAP, was attacked and stabbed several times by named perpetrators during political conflict in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 28 March 1992.

MAYEZA, Ntombithini Theresa (35), was shot and severely injured when her home in Dokodweni, KwaZulu,

near Gingindlovu, Natal, was attacked by unidentified persons on 2 June 1993 during continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAYEZA, Temba, a SANCO and ELYCO member, was shot five times and severely injured by members of the SAP during a consumer boycott in East London, in November 1985.

MAYIDUME, Thakatshana, an ANC supporter, died in 1965 as a result of being beaten while in detention at the West Bank prison, East London. He had been arrested in March 1960 for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MAYISA, Ampie, an ANC supporter, a chief and member of the Leandra Action Committee, was beaten to death and his body and his house were burnt by named vigilantes in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 11 January 1986. Chief Mayisa supported a group of young 'comrades' who sought refuge in his house on the day of his murder.

MAYISA, Deliwe Esther (36), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Ondondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. A male relative was killed during the attack on her house.

MAYISA, Diloni Moses, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 28 February 1992.

MAYISA, Jabulani Wiseman (15), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by named IFP supporters in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1992.

MAYISA, Josiah Mshayina (26), was severely beaten in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 11 January 1986 when trying to assist his father who was killed by named vigilante members. They were both UDF supporters. Conflict erupted in the township after the State attempted to forcibly remove the community after it was declared a 'black spot'.

MAYISA, Mamatshi Lina (47), wife of Chief Ampie Mayisa, had her home burnt down by vigilantes in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 11 January 1986. Her husband was also beaten to death by named vigilantes. The perpetrators confessed killing the chief to the press, but were sheltered by the police. Conflict erupted in the area when the state attempted to forcibly remove the community after it was declared a 'black spot'.

MAYISA, Mnantsheni Daniel (43), an ANC supporter, had his home destroyed by IFP supporters at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAYISA, Ndebayakhe, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 March 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAYISELA, Ashley Lungile, an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 13 December 1992 at a shebeen in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by KHUMALO GANG members. Another person was killed and one severely injured in this attack, reportedly carried out in retaliation for the shooting at the shebeen earlier in the day of a gang member, allegedly involved in rape and murder.

MAYISELA, Madoda Zephania (17), a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1986 during conflict between the police and COSAS members.

MAYISELA, Mxolisi Ishmael (45), an ANC supporter, was shot in the leg on 27 November 1990 in Mandela informal settlement, Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by an IFP supporter.

MAYISELA, Victor Siphso (39), a South African teacher resident in Swaziland, was abducted along with two Swazi citizens by a group of men, some white, in a car with a SA registration plate, at Big Bend, Swaziland, on 11 January 1978. Mr Mayisela has never been seen again and is presumed dead. The abduction occurred at a time of PAC activity among a group of refugees in Swaziland from the Mngomezulu clan of the northern KwaZulu homeland.

MAYISELA, Zangaza Albert (21), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF at Estcourt, Natal, on 1 October 1992.

MAYOLI, Caroline Nontinti (30), was detained on 28 June 1985 and severely beaten by members of the Security Police. She was held under SECTION 29 at the Milnerton police station in Cape Town. Ms Mayoli's family had been under constant police surveillance because her brother was an MK operative. He was later killed in a *Vlakplaas* raid into Lesotho in December 1985.

MAYOLI, Joseph Monwabisi (aka 'Themba'), head of MK's Western Cape military machinery in Lesotho, was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* operatives in a raid on two houses in Maseru, Lesotho, on 19 December 1985. Nine people were killed in the raid, three of which were citizens of Lesotho. Mr Mayoli was from Guguletu, Cape Town. Five members of the Security Branch were granted amnesty for this killing but two, including the then Deputy Chief of the Security Branch, were refused (AC/2001/231).

MAYOLI, Monwabisi Thembekile, a senior MK operative in the MK's Western Cape machinery, was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* operatives during a raid on two houses in Maseru, Lesotho, on 19 December 1985. Nine people were killed in the raid, three of them citizens of Lesotho. Seven operatives, including the deputy commander of Security Branch headquarters, the commander of the section that oversaw the work of *Vlakplaas*, and the commander of *Vlakplaas*, applied for amnesty for the operation. All except the commander of Security Branch headquarters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/231 and AC/2001/279).

MAYOYO, Itumeleng Isaac (30), was beaten with a baton and subjected to electric shocks on his genitals by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Bafokeng, Bophuthatswana, in August 1991 because he was politically active and the founder of the NUM at his workplace.

MAZAKA, Mike (30) was shot dead by members of the SADF on 2 September 1985 during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London.

MAZALENI, Luyanda (29), was shot and injured in the arm as he passed by the home of a named female community COUNCILLOR in Mfuleni, Cape Town, in

October 1992. The community councillor shot into a crowd when her house was attacked during an ANC-organised march.

MAZEKA, Bhekizenzo Joseph (32), was shot and injured, and had his house burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the ISU, in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 October 1993 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAZEKA, Menzi Michael Mdimise (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Umlazi, Durban, on 15 December 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAZIBA, Alex, was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MAZIBANE, Mfanuswano, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by AMABUTHO members in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 April 1992. One other person was killed in the attack, and a child aged seven was shot and injured.

MAZIBUKO, (first name not given), suffered damage to property when his house was burnt down by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, during 1993 or 1994. The victim was believed to be an IFP supporter. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/139).

MAZIBUKO, Abram Mgodo (25), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960.

MAZIBUKO, Alfred Mabalane (62), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Estcourt, Natal, on 31 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAZIBUKO, Anna, was shot and killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at her home in Tokoza, Tvl, during 1993. Two others were killed in the same attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0243).

MAZIBUKO, Antie Sophia, was injured when a hand grenade, thrown by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), exploded in her home in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 October 1992. One person was killed and several others were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/090).

MAZIBUKO, Beggy, a Phoyco member, was detained and tortured by named members of the SAP in Bethlehem, OFS, on 20 June 1986, during a protest to demand the release of political detainees. The police fired shots at the demonstrators, and arrested Mr Mazibuko with other Phoyco members.

MAZIBUKO, Betty, an ANC supporter, was burnt to death in an arson attack on her home on 3 July 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly carried out by IFP supporters. Ms Mazibuko's father also died in the attack.

MAZIBUKO, Bonginkosi (17), was arrested, together with his family, in Hibberdene, Natal, on 1 November 1987 and detained for four days. Members of the SAP

allegedly accused his father of being involved in political activity. They surrounded the house and forced the family out using teargas. His father was shot dead in the incident.

MAZIBUKO, Bongiwwe (21), was arrested, together with her family, in Hibberdene, Natal, on 1 November 1987 and detained for four days. Members of the SAP allegedly accused her father of being involved in political activity. They surrounded the house and forced the family out using teargas. Ms Mazibuko was mauled by a police dog when she was put into the police van. Her father was shot dead in the incident.

MAZIBUKO, Brian Mbulelo, was hacked to death by a group of unidentified people at Tembisa, Tvl, on 2 October 1983 because he was actively involved in the launch of the UDF.

MAZIBUKO, Cleopas Fana (50), was stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 21 July 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Mr Mazibuko had allegedly refused to join Inkatha.

MAZIBUKO, Elias Sesing (53), an ANC supporter, was abducted from Mandela Park squatter camp, during political conflict near Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 4 November 1990. Mr Mazibuko, together with other victims, was later found shot dead in Welkom, OFS. An ID document of a CID member of the Odendaalsrus SAP was found under the body of one of the deceased.

MAZIBUKO, Elizabeth (63), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the KwaZULU POLICE and other IFP supporters in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 8 May 1993. Ms Mazibuko's son was also killed in the attack. The family had received death threats after complaining to the police about IFP youths firing random shots at night.

MAZIBUKO, Elizabeth T iti, was injured when a hand grenade, thrown by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), exploded in her home in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 October 1992. One person was killed and several others were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/090).

MAZIBUKO, Ellie Ntombana (55), an ANC supporter, had her home in Katlehong, Tvl, burnt down on 3 July 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters. Ms Mazibuko's husband and daughter both died in the attack.

MAZIBUKO, Funani (43), was arrested, together with her family, in Hibberdene, Natal, on 1 November 1987 and detained for four days. Members of the SAP allegedly accused her husband of being involved in political activity. They surrounded the house and forced the family out using teargas. His husband was shot dead in the incident.

MAZIBUKO, Gugwana (30), had his house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha members in October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MAZIBUKO, Hlakaniphani Wiseman (17), a member of the ANC-supporting 'Amaqola' youth group, was found dead in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 13 March 1993. He was believed to have

been killed by a named ANC supporter in serious conflict between two factions.

MAZIBUKO, Infern, was shot and killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at his brother's home in Tokoza, Tvl, during 1993. Two others were killed in the same attack. One SDU was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0243).

MAZIBUKO, Isak (41), an ANC supporter, was killed when thrown from a moving train between Katlehong and Wadeville stations in Katlehong, Tvl, on 20 August 1993. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MAZIBUKO, Johannes Veli (20), a member of COSAS, was injured when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

MAZIBUKO, John Maphakula (15), was shot twice in the head and four times in the back by members of the SAP while walking away from them in Tembisa, Tvl, on 11 June 1985 because he was actively involved in student politics. A murder charge was laid but the policeman could not be found.

MAZIBUKO, Joseph Mfanakadiwa (52), a member of the SAP, was shot dead by ANC supporters while waiting at a bus stop at Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, on 21 April 1988.

MAZIBUKO, Joseph Titus (aka 'Boja Boja') (18), a member of COSAS, was severely injured when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

MAZIBUKO, Joseph, was killed when a hand grenade, thrown by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), exploded in his home in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 October 1992. One person was killed and several others were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/090).

MAZIBUKO, Levis, was burnt to death in an arson attack on his home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 3 July 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters. His daughter also died in the attack. The attack took place during political conflict in the area.

MAZIBUKO, Linah Masesi (51), was severely beaten by three CP supporters in Brakpan, Tvl, on 14 December 1988. One of the perpetrators is named.

MAZIBUKO, Lindinkosi Clive (23), was shot dead by a named member of the KwaZULU POLICE and other IFP supporters in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 8 May 1993. His mother was also killed in the attack. The family had received death threats after complaining to the police about IFP youths firing random shots at night.

MAZIBUKO, Lita Nombango (aka 'Mumsy Khuzwayo') (47), an MK member, was detained on 23 July 1988 in Manzini, Swaziland, by ANC security after the killing of a number of MK operatives for whose

transport into South Africa she was responsible. She was initially held in Mozambique and then in Zambia for over a year. During her incarceration, she was subjected to repeated severe ill-treatment and torture, including a staged execution. She was later transferred to a prison in Tanzania where she was held until December 1992 when she returned to South Africa.

MAZIBUKO, Lucia Mampi (38), was forced from her home and displaced by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in 1992. Hundreds of people had their homes forcibly occupied by IFP supporters in the area following clashes between hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MAZIBUKO, Lukas (59), was stabbed in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 11 April 1993 by unidentified people who boarded his taxi and accused him of being an IFP supporter during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Mr Mazibuko died of his injuries eight months later.

MAZIBUKO, Mandla, was one of three suspected vigilantes pursued and hacked to death by UDF supporters in Standerton, Tvl, in June 1987, because he was believed to have collaborated with members of the MG Pirates soccer club and community councillors to persecute UDF supporters. Conflict between UDF supporters and the Pirates had led to a number of deaths and injuries. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/071).

MAZIBUKO, Mashinkane Johannes (51), was shot and injured in Soweto, Johannesburg, in September 1991 when IFP supporters returning from a rally at the Jabulani stadium attacked residents.

MAZIBUKO, Maureen Lango, was killed when members of the Security Branch shot at her and threw a petrol bomb into her home in Inanda New Town, Durban, on 17 March 1987. The attack was directed at a family member who was labelled a 'terrorist'.

MAZIBUKO, Maureen Thandi (23), was beaten in detention by members of the SAP at Bishop Lavis, Cape Town, in 1976, during protests related to the SOWETO UPRISING. She lost her home in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986 when it was burnt down by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the support and sanction of the security forces. Several days later she was severely beaten by police while protesting with other women against the attack.

MAZIBUKO, McRobert Boy (22), had his home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 17 November 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MAZIBUKO, Mduduzi Syoney (19), was shot and injured by alleged members of the KwaZulu Police in Ncotshane, Tvl, while attending a night vigil on 27 November 1993.

MAZIBUKO, Mndwanakazi (58), an ANC supporter, had his property destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, in April 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAZIBUKO, Mpiyewe, was shot dead when his house in Emajeni, Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith,

Natal, was attacked on 24 April 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area, days before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Another person was killed in the attack.

MAZIBUKO, Mr (first name not given), was shot dead by members of the SAP at a time of political conflict in Welkom, OFS, on 4 November 1990.

MAZIBUKO, Ndukuzakhe Joseph (59), was stabbed to death in Woodford, Bergville, Natal, on 26 December 1993. The IFP had reportedly called on all men to attend a camp. Those who refused were killed.

MAZIBUKO, Nkosana (18 months), was shot and killed, along with two others, by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at his parents' home in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1993. One SDU was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0243).

MAZIBUKO, Nkosinathi (22), was arrested, tortured and detained in CR Swart Square, Durban, on 13 March 1989. He was kept in solitary confinement for three months and later charged under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, convicted, and imprisoned for seven years. He spent three months in Westville prison before being transferred to Robben Island.

MAZIBUKO, Nomalanga (40), had her house at Hopewell, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 27 August 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MAZIBUKO, Nomusa Anna (15), had her family home at Hopewell, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 27 August 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MAZIBUKO, Ntombikayise (15), was arrested, together with her family, in Hibberdene, Natal, on 1 November 1987 and detained for four days. Members of the SAP allegedly accused her father of being involved in political activity. They surrounded the house and forced the family out using teargas. Her father was shot dead in the incident.

MAZIBUKO, Patricia Jabulile (29), lost her house in Mandini, Natal, in an arson attack during 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MAZIBUKO, Petrus Ngobile, a UDF supporter, was abducted by named UDF supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 28 April 1990, allegedly because he was suspected of having joined Inkatha. He was never seen again and is presumed dead.

MAZIBUKO, Phumlani (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 20 November 1993, while attending the night vigil of a named fellow ANC supporter.

MAZIBUKO, Richard, was shot and seriously wounded when his home was attacked by a group of ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members in Tokoza, Tvl, during 1993. Three family members were killed in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0243).

MAZIBUKO, Robert (48), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Hibberdene, Natal, on 1 November 1987, allegedly because of his involvement

in political activity. Police members surrounded the house and forced the family out using teargas. His wife, son and two daughters were then detained for four days.

MAZIBUKO, Rose Thandi , an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SADF at Diepdale, near Nelspruit, Tvl, on 1 July 1993. Ms Masibuko and another person were allegedly in possession of firearms.

MAZIBUKO, Sabayi Lina , had her house petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 October 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MAZIBUKO, Sibusiso Abednego (20), an ANC supporter, was tortured in detention by named members of the SAP in Bergville, Natal, on 18 October 1993. After his release, he was stabbed and severely injured by two known IFP supporters in the area.

MAZIBUKO, Siphila John (42), an ANC supporter, was detained for two years in Nelspruit, Tvl, in March 1986. He had been involved in planning a stayaway in the area.

MAZIBUKO, Susan Elizabeth , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, during a stayaway on 5 November 1984.

MAZIBUKO, Thabeleni (58), had her house petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 January 1989.

MAZIBUKO, Thandiwe Gladness (59), was severely beaten when named Inkatha supporters attacked her family home in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 21 July 1988, during intensifying political conflict in the area. Her husband was stabbed to death in the attack.

MAZIBUKO, Themba Isaiah , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MAZIBUKO, Thembi Beauty (50), lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 9 December 1992.

MAZIBUKO, Thokozile Samaria (20), was shot by members of the SAP in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, in 1985 during conflict which erupted when the State attempted to forcibly remove the community after it was declared a 'black spot'.

MAZIBUKO, Thulisile (15), was injured in an attack on her family home by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1989. The family was allegedly targeted because her uncle was thought to be an ANC supporter.

MAZIBUKO, Vinkinduku Steven (47), an ANC supporter, had his house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters on 4 January 1989, allegedly in revenge for the burning down of an Inkatha official's house a few days earlier.

MAZIBUKO, Vusi Anderson (13), an ANC supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters and found dead in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 January 1989. He had previously fled the area because of harassment by Inkatha supporters and members of the KwaZulu POLICE.

MAZIBUKO, Vusumzi Mapheshi (31), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters in Bhhekuzulu, Vryheid, Natal, on 8 September 1993.

MAZIBUKO, Zinhle Yvonne (15), an ANC supporter, was severely injured during a student demonstration at Lamontville, Durban, in 1986. Zinhle jumped from the first floor of a building while trying to escape from the police.

MAZIKO, Princess Mandisa (17), an ANC supporter, was detained while attending a funeral of an ex-Robben Island political prisoner in Ciskei on 10 September 1985. She was severely tortured by members of the Ciskei Police at different police stations in Dimbaza, Ciskei.

MAZIYA, Lindiwe (27), a South African National Civics Association (SANCO) member, was shot dead in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 1 June 1990 when a hand grenade was thrown into her house and unidentified gunmen opened fire on the occupants. Ms Maziya's infant son and her mother-in-law were also killed in the attack. Her husband, a SANCO executive member and well-known ANC member, was injured during the attack.

MAZIYA, Mokabhe Alpheus (40), an executive member of the South African National Civics Association and ANC member, was shot and injured in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 1 June 1990 when a hand grenade was thrown into his house and unidentified gunmen opened fire on its occupants. Mr Maziya's wife, his infant son, and his mother, were killed in the attack.

MAZIYA, Thandi Elizabeth (62), was shot in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 1 June 1990 during an attack on her home in which a hand grenade was thrown into the house and unidentified gunmen opened fire on the occupants. Ms Maziya died of her injuries five days later. Ms Maziya's son, a member of the ANC and the SANCO executive, was also injured in the attack. Ms Maziya's daughter-in-law and her infant grandson were also killed in the attack.

MAZIYA, Zwelakhe (1), was shot dead in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 1 June 1990 during an attack on his home in which a hand grenade was thrown into the house and unidentified gunmen opened fire on the occupants. Zwelakhe's mother died in the attack, and his grandmother died later of injuries sustained in the attack. His father, a SANCO executive member, was also injured in the attack.

MAZIYANE, Nozukile (26), had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MAZOKWANA, China Gray (35), was stabbed and injured by Inkatha supporters in Vryheid, Natal, in June 1986, allegedly because he was a COSATU member.

MAZOMBA, Boy Charles (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in White City,

Soweto, Johannesburg, on 14 September 1976 in the wake of the **SOWETO UPRISING**.

MAZOMBA, Sindiswa Flora (45), was threatened with a gun and her home was petrol-bombed in Katlehong, Tvl, on 25 May 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters from Buyafuthi hostel, during political conflict in the area.

MAZUBANE, Lamekhi Mbongiseni (26), an ANC supporter, was attacked by named IFP supporters in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on three occasions between February and April 1991.

MAZUBANE, Magubeni (73), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 October 1993. Mr Mazubane was an *induna* for the chief, but was labelled an ANC supporter and sacked from his position. His wife, a nephew and a friend were killed in the attack on their home.

MAZUBANE, Ngwala , an ANC supporter, was abducted by four named IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 February 1991, allegedly because he refused to join the IFP. He managed to escape, but his friend was shot dead.

MAZUBANE, Thokozile Alice (64), an ANC supporter, was hacked and shot dead by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 October 1993. Her husband, an *induna* to the chief, was sacked on suspicion of being an ANC supporter, and their home was attacked. Her son and a friend were also killed in the attack.

MAZUBANE, Thomas Sakhiwe (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by fellow ANC supporters who attacked taxi passengers in Port Shepstone, Natal, in November 1993. The attackers allegedly believed the taxi to be occupied by IFP supporters.

MAZUBANE, Thulani Goodboy (14), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 October 1993. The family home was attacked because they were thought to be sympathetic to the ANC. His mother and a friend were also killed in the attack.

MAZUBANI, Dumephi (66), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down and his furniture stolen by AMASINYORA vigilantes in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MAZULA, Kenneth Mbulelo (20), was shot dead when members of the SAP opened fire on mourners at the funeral of unrest victim Nation Nkosana Bahume in Worcester, Cape, on 31 August 1985. The funeral had been placed under restriction orders.

MAZUNGULA, Sizwe Douglas (20), a student activist, was detained and assaulted by members of the SAP in Kirkwood, Cape, in March 1985. After his release in April 1985, he disappeared and has not been seen since.

MAZUZA, Lukhele Phillip (19), was severely injured when a booby-trapped grenade exploded in his hand in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 25 June 1985. Mr Mazuza was one of seven activists in the area recruited for supposed military training by a *Vlakplaas askari* and then killed or injured in this incident. The perpetrators have applied for amnesty.

MAZWAI, Siphiwo Hamlet (30), an MK operative, was shot dead in a shoot-out with members of the Transkei Police at Mount Fletcher, Transkei, in 1987.

MAZWEMBE, Luke Storie (32), an ANC supporter and trade union organiser, was found hanged in his cell at Caledon Square police station, Cape Town, a few hours after he had been arrested on 4 September 1976. His body had several other injuries. The Commission found that his death was the direct or indirect result of torture.

MAZWI, Abednigo Nzimeni , a member of SAYCO and the Khutsong Youth Congress, was dragged from his home and stabbed to death at a taxi rank in Khuma, Stiffontein, Tvl, on 31 October 1990. One ANCYL/ SAYCO member was granted amnesty. Although convicted, two others denied involvement in the killing and were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0002; AC/1997/0003 and AC/97/0005).

MBABELA, Gladman Mankenke (18), a PEYCO member, was arrested and tortured in Port Elizabeth, on 15 August 1985. He was accused of being in possession of illegal firearms that police said were stolen from a policeman who had been killed earlier.

MBADI, Moses Themba (27), had his house petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters, some of whom are named, in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBALA, Mthetho (26), a UDF supporter, was tortured in detention by named members of the SAP in November 1985 at Burgersdorp police station, Cape. Mr Mbala was again tortured by being repeatedly admitted to a mental hospital in Queenstown in 1986.

MBALANE, Mathwethu Sheshi (21), disappeared while schooling in 1983 in Butterworth, Transkei. He was thought to have gone to Lesotho but has never been seen again.

MBALATI, Stranger Jabulani (27), an ANCYL member, was tortured in police custody at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, and Duiwelskloof police station, Lebowa, in 1990.

MBALI, Abegail Nomvuselelo (33), had her home destroyed by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 March 1993, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MBALI, Buziwe (61), an IFP supporter, died on 6 May 1991 in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, after being necklaced by named ANC supporters who accused her of witchcraft. There was political conflict in the area at the time.

MBALI, Herbert Fanele , an ANC member, was abducted from Lesotho and detained by the Orange Free State Security Branch during November 1972. The Lesotho Government rendered a formal protest and Mr Mbali was returned to Lesotho. The divisional commander of OFS Security Branch and an operative from Security Branch Headquarters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/236).

MBALI, Nozuko Monica (33), had her home and possessions burnt in an arson attack by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the ISU,

in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MBALI, Thembeke Eunice (20), a member of an ANC-supporting youth organisation, was beaten and injured by members of the Ciskei Police in Berlin, Cape, on 21 September 1985, when police used sjamboks to disperse a crowd holding a meeting in the area.

MBALIGONTSI, V ulindlela, an ANC supporter, was attacked and killed by supporters of Chief Mdtshane in Flagstaff, Transkei, on 1 March 1994. Prior to his death he had attended a meeting called by Chief Samuel Mdtshane, where ANC supporters were either killed or stabbed. He escaped unharmed and thereafter refused to attend any meetings convened by the chief. Later, while attending to his business, he was shot dead by supporters of the chief.

MBALI-POTO, Thamsanqa (22), a COSAS member, was killed in the Battle of Motale in Noordvaal, Tvl, in 1989. He had fled the country after harassment by members of the SAP.

MBALISO, Banoyi, a iKongo member, was severely beaten while in police custody in 1960. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MBALO, Michael Mfundisi (20), a COSAS member, was detained in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, in August 1985.

MBALO, Mini Agnes (73), was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the SAP in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, in 1986, because her grandsons were political activists. One of them, Sammy Zandisile Mjobo, was shot dead in the GUGULETU SEVEN incident.

MBALULA, Nobekile (39), an ANC member, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 4 July 1993 during a protest in Venterstad, Cape.

MBALWA, Coster, a local chief, lost his house in arson attack by ANC supporters in May 1960 at Nikiwe, near Bizana, Transkei. Chiefs in the area were allegedly targeted as they were accused of favouring Trust land.

MBAMBANI, Thobeka Sylvia (32), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP during a stayaway in Elliot, Cape, in March 1990.

MBAMBAZA, Nomvulazana Ellen (38), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth in 1986, while she was attending a mass funeral for 12 people killed in political unrest.

MBAMBO, Andrias Mduduzi, a UDF supporter, was shot and burnt to death in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 21 October 1988, in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MBAMBO, Anna Nomusa (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Empangeni, Natal, on 6 May 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBAMBO, Bangeni Lingani (38), lost her house in an arson attack in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MBAMBO, Bantwanyana John (58), an ANC supporter, had his house in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 31 January 1990 during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBAMBO, Bonginkosi Lawrence (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by a named IFP supporter in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 November 1992.

MBAMBO, Charles Michael (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 26 January 1991. He had allegedly received death threats shortly before he was killed.

MBAMBO, Christian Sifiso (23), an ANC supporter, was stabbed, shot and then hacked to death by IFP supporters in Ndabayakhe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 July 1992. Nine other people were injured when the perpetrators attacked passengers in a bus.

MBAMBO, Chwepeshe Khanyile, an underground ANC supporter preparing to go into exile, was killed at Chesterville, Durban, on 21 June 1986, together with other ANC supporters. The group had been infiltrated by *Vlakplaas askaris*, and were killed in a planned attack carried out by a *Vlakplaas* unit.

MBAMBO, Fana Lucky (28), was shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict at Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 May 1993. He was allegedly targeted because he was walking through an ANC-dominated area.

MBAMBO, Florence (49), had her house destroyed by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, in Nkobongo, Shakaskraal, Natal, on 7 January 1991 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBAMBO, Joel Dumisani (32), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 June 1993, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MBAMBO, Kolindi David (39), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Mahwaqa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1990 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

MBAMBO, Lindiwe Siyathemba Joyce (31), an ANC member, was shot dead in an attack on her house in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 24 November 1991 by IFP supporters looking for her husband, an ANC leader in the area.

MBAMBO, Manti Doris (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down and looted by IFP supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 23 November 1989 and again on 26 March 1994. On both occasions she was forced to leave the area.

MBAMBO, Mashifu, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death by IFP supporters in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 May 1992.

MBAMBO, Mathi Mayvis Gunathi (31), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area during 1992.

MBAMBO, Mboniseni Alson (40), an IFP supporter and headman of Chief Mkhwanazi, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 13 June 1992 during political conflict in the area.

MBAMBO, Mhlangeni , an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot to death by ANC supporters in Durban, in the course of an internal dispute in the organisation. Mr Mbambo was accused of spying for the IFP.

MBAMBO, Mqetshulwa Themba (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mkhazeni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 September 1992.

MBAMBO, Musa Matthew , an ANC supporter, was beaten and severely injured by members of the SAP while in detention in Durban, on 25 December 1993.

MBAMBO, Mzwethu (35), a member of an MK unit, was shot dead by unidentified perpetrators in the Lusaka informal settlement, Cape Town, on 26 December 1988.

MBAMBO, Nani Gertie Magumede (54), an ANC supporter, had her two huts in Mahwaqa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in early 1990. In the same year, her son was shot dead in political conflict.

MBAMBO, Nhlanhla Rafael (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at Umlazi, Durban, on 25 December 1993.

MBAMBO, Nomafa Rose (57), had her house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 7 December 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBAMBO, Ntombifuthi Mavis Furthi (36), had her house in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, burnt down in July 1987 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MBAMBO, Patrick Bhelukuyise (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a named IFP supporter at Shakaskraal, near Stanger, Natal, on 4 August 1990.

MBAMBO, Phumzile Patricia (27), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 15 April 1991.

MBAMBO, Queen Elizabeth , a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 August 1988. Five other UDF supporters were killed in the same attack.

MBAMBO, Sakhile Alpheus (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in Umnini, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 January 1993 during political conflict in the area.

MBAMBO, Simon Sibusiso , was shot dead in Kwa-Ndengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 25 October 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. He was in a shop when it was attacked by a group of unidentified persons, allegedly because the shop owner was an ANC supporter.

MBAMBO, Stanley , an ANC supporter, was severely tortured by SAP members in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 26 April 1987, while under interrogation about his political activities.

MBAMBO, Thamsanga (24), was stabbed, hacked and shot in the head with pellets by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 7 December 1989, during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBAMBO, Thoko Alice (56), had her house in Umnini, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, set alight by IFP

supporters on 7 January 1993 during political conflict in the area. Her son, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in the attack.

MBAMBO, Zakhele Patrick (23), was stabbed and then shot dead by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 July 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MBANA, Christabella Nomzilankatha (51), had her home destroyed in an arson attack in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Her home was again destroyed in 1987.

MBANA, Nolesini Victoria (56), an ANC supporter, had her house vandalised by named perpetrators in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, in June 1990, following the overthrow of the Sebe government.

MBANA, Noncedo (34), was detained in 1964 because of her role in Poqo activities and later died in custody in Mqanduli, Transkei.

MBANA, Ntsikelelo (15), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, in September 1985, during unrest in the aftermath of the POLLSMOOR MARCH. His brother was also injured.

MBANA, Silas Lhlohonolo (23), was arrested, severely beaten and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force in Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 6 March 1986. Mr Mbana was suspected of instigating protests against the Bophuthatswana government.

MBANA, Sipokazi Thelma (2), was shot dead in her aunt's arms by members of a BALACLAVA GROUP, allegedly linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council, in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 16 December 1991. The attack was aimed at a local ANC Women's League activist and left three people dead, three wounded and 40 houses burnt.

MBANA, Solomon Mbulelo (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, in September 1985, during unrest in the aftermath of the POLLSMOOR MARCH. His brother was also injured.

MBANDA, Thokozile Doris (47), an Inkatha supporter, was severely beaten by ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 March 1989.

MBANDLWA, Bhekisisa Professor (17), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by other IFP supporters at his home in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 27 July 1991, when he was mistaken for an ANC supporter. His leg was later amputated as a result of the shooting.

MBANDLWA, Themba Christopher (29), was tortured and kept in solitary confinement for three months after his detention in April 1986 at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg. He was then deported and constantly harassed because of his political involvement. In January 1989, he was assaulted at a meeting of the National Education Crisis Committee meeting by Inkatha members.

MBANE, Kayalethu Thankslord (29), an active ANC member, was detained for two years under the Terrorism Act, and was tortured in detention in July and August 1981 in Umtata and Butterworth, Transkei,

and East London. Mr Mbane was allegedly involved in harbouring MK operatives.

MBANGA, Oliver Mongezi (45), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and his body subsequently burnt in an attack on his home in Tokoza, Tvl, on 2 December 1990, allegedly carried out by Zulu-speaking IFP supporters. Mr Mbanga's wife and two tenants were also shot and seriously injured during this incident.

MBANGENI, Khisana Mackenzie (71), an ANC supporter, was assaulted, tear-gassed and had his house burnt down in June 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MBANGI, Nkosana Jefrey, was shot dead by a named employee of the Administration Board during political unrest in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 10 February 1986. Mr Mbangi was trying to assist an injured child when he was shot.

MBANGO, Nhlanhla Jerome (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the Security Branch in his home at Inanda New Town, Durban, on 17 March 1987, allegedly in a targeted attack.

MBANGO, Richard (24), was shot by named members of the SAP during a protest in Old Location, Molteno, Cape, on 12 August 1985.

MBANGO, Victoria, was severely injured on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MBANI, Mpazamo Bethwell (29), was shot dead and his body was set alight by named and other UDF supporters in Worcester, Cape, on 13 October 1985, allegedly because he was believed to be an informer.

MBANJANA, Mziwoxolo, was shot and wounded by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1994. IFP supporters had agreed to travel to a rally at Sinaba stadium by bus rather than march through the streets. When this agreement was broken, police arrived and ordered the gathering to disperse. Shots were fired and several people were injured.

MBANJWA, Alex Madodawonke (58), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by an ANC supporter at Ixopo, Natal, on 17 September 1989.

MBANJWA, Babazile Sylvia (36), was detained by members of the SAP in March 1993. While she was in detention, her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, was burnt down in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MBANJWA, Bangumuzi (65), an IFP supporter, was shot dead when unidentified persons attacked his family at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 14 January 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MBANJWA, Bazokwakhe Jerome (31), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters in central Pietermaritzburg on 17 December 1988.

MBANJWA, Bheki (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 4 June 1992 when the bus in which he was travelling to work was ambushed and attacked by IFP

supporters near Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal. The driver of the bus was shot and injured in the attack.

MBANJWA, Bhekithemba (19), was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 19 September 1987, in intensifying political conflict.

MBANJWA, Bhulushe, an Inkatha supporter, was beaten to death by UDF supporters in Ixopo, Natal, in August 1989.

MBANJWA, Bongane Maqhawe (25), was shot and fatally wounded in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 10 April 1993. Several other people died in the ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area that day.

MBANJWA, Bongani Innocent (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in an arson attack on his home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, by Inkatha supporters on 30 March 1990.

MBANJWA, Boselapi Annie (50), had her home at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, looted by Inkatha supporters on 27 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MBANJWA, Dida Malchion (58), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters on 16 September 1988 in Isipingo, Natal.

MBANJWA, Dombi Veronica (47), had her property destroyed by Inkatha supporters during political conflict in Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1988. She was allegedly targeted because her sons refused to join Inkatha.

MBANJWA, Foli (55), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in November 1992 in Polela, Bulwer, Natal.

MBANJWA, Griffiths Sthembiso, died soon after being knocked down by a car driven by a white hit-and-run driver near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 14 April 1993. Mr Mbanjwa was returning from an ANC rally when he was run down.

MBANJWA, Hawulengwe Mandla, an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 4 December 1992.

MBANJWA, Israel, an Inkatha supporter, was severely beaten by UDF supporters in Ixopo, Natal, on 17 September 1989.

MBANJWA, Khanyisile (29), an Inkatha supporter, lost her home in an arson attack in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intensifying conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area during 1990.

MBANJWA, Khulumile Clarah (49), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by named Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 30 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MBANJWA, Lengiswa Roselina (48), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during 1992. Ms Mbanjwa was allegedly targeted because her sons were ANC supporters.

MBANJWA, Makhawu Johannes (37), had his home burnt down by named ANC supporters in Ixopo, Natal, in April 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBANJWA, Mchithwa , an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters in Ixopo, Natal, on 9 September 1989.

MBANJWA, Mduduzi Emmanuel (20), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters and thrown into a river in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 November 1987.

MBANJWA, Mduduzi , an ANC supporter, had his house in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, set alight by Inkatha supporters on 30 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MBANJWA, Mgedane (70), an Inkatha supporter, died after being shot and stabbed by UDF supporters in Creighton, Natal, on 9 July 1989.

MBANJWA, Mhlanganyelwa Gideon (42), an ANC supporter, had his home at Highflats, Ixopo, Natal, severely damaged in an attack by IFP supporters in June 1993.

MBANJWA, Mkhulunyelwa , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Ndalení, Richmond, Natal, on 8 April 1991.

MBANJWA, Mkhuzeni (46), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by UDF supporters on 29 June 1989 at K Section, Umlazi, Durban.

MBANJWA, Mntungani Richard (43), an ANC supporter, had his home in Pietermaritzburg burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 19 September 1987 during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBANJWA, Mpiyewe Isaac , an ANC supporter, suffered injuries when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

MBANJWA, Mpoloza (72), was stabbed to death during an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 4 April 1990. Mr Mbanjwa was shot and had managed to escape, but was then caught and killed.

MBANJWA, Mqanjelwa Petr os, a UDF supporter, had his house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MBANJWA, Mthokozisi Raphael (24), an Inkatha supporter, died after being assaulted, stabbed and mutilated by ANC supporters near Creighton, Natal, on 17 September 1989.

MBANJWA, Nelson Jimbephi (41), an IFP supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 July 1990.

MBANJWA, Netiwe , an ANC supporter, had her home in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 16 January 1992. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

MBANJWA, Nicholas Sbusiso , an ANC supporter, was shot dead and stabbed with spears by IFP supporters at EQumeni, Bulwer, Natal, on 28

November 1992. Several other people were also injured when IFP members stormed and attacked people at an ANC meeting.

MBANJWA, Nokwazi Emily (41), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured in an attack on her home at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 14 January 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MBANJWA, Nomzanyana (64), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 4 April 1990.

MBANJWA, Ntombifikile Rosemary (20), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MBANJWA, Ntombo Sylvia (49), had her house in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 6 June 1990 during intense political conflict in the area.

MBANJWA, Phezile Sephronia (56), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and injured by UDF supporters in Centrecow, Ixopo, Natal, on 17 September 1989 during political conflict in the area. Her husband was killed in the attack, and her son and daughter were beaten and injured.

MBANJWA, Sclindi Hilaria (41), an IFP supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Bulwer, Natal, on 2 February 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MBANJWA, Senene (52), an Inkatha supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Polela, Bulwer, Natal, on 7 July 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Her husband was killed by UDF supporters on the same day.

MBANJWA, Sidlabheleli (49), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters near Creighton, Natal, on 17 September 1989.

MBANJWA, Sipho Erastus , was shot dead by ISU members at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 September 1990, during political conflict in the area.

MBANJWA, Sizakele Doris (52), had her home set alight and destroyed by Inkatha supporters at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 31 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MBANJWA, Sizani Kate (49), an Inkatha supporter, had her home and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Ixopo, Natal, in August 1989.

MBANJWA, Sikhumbuzo (10), was shot and injured by unidentified persons in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 14 January 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. One family member was killed and two others were shot and injured in the attack.

MBANJWA, Sokalezwe Sixtus (16), an ANC supporter, was killed on 18 February 1994, when four gunmen attacked a house in the rural Mahahle village, near Creighton, Ixopo, Natal, in which he and other ANC youths were sleeping. Fifteen ANC youths were killed in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre.

MBANJWA, Stembiso (5), was shot and injured by unidentified persons in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 14 January 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. One family member was killed and two others were shot and injured in the attack.

MBANJWA, Thandani Africa (21), a UDF supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 28 May 1989. He has not been seen again and is presumed dead.

MBANJWA, Thandi (30), an ANC supporter, had her house set alight by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 30 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MBANJWA, Theku (50), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and hacked to death by UDF supporters in Polela, Bulwer, Natal, on 9 July 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area. His home was burnt down by UDF supporters on the same day.

MBANJWA, Themba Vincent (35), was stabbed and shot by Inkatha supporters in Vulisaka, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 November 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBANJWA, Theodonsia , an Inkatha supporter, was severely beaten by UDF supporters in Centrecov, Ixopo, Natal, on 17 September 1989 during political conflict in the area. Her father was killed in the attack, her brother beaten and injured, and her mother severely injured by stabbing.

MBANJWA, Thobile Matutu , was stabbed and hacked to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990 in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MBANJWA, Thoko Rosemary (30), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 27 March 1990 in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

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

MBANJWA, Vovo Dingephi , an Inkatha supporter, was shot and injured in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in 1990, in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters.

MBANJWA, Zakhi Milton (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a fellow ANC supporter in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 September 1992, during an internal dispute within the organisation.

MBAQA, Siphso Moses (25), an ANC supporter, was detained under SECTION 29 in Kimberley, Cape, after an incident in which MK operatives threw a hand grenade, and was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley.

MBASAKHANA, Nomonde , a civilian, and one other person, was shot and injured in an attempted robbery

of their vehicle by APLA operatives during January 1992. The perpetrators required their vehicle in order to use it in an attack on the Lady Grey police station, OFS. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0057).

MBATA, Busisive Elizabeth (64), an Inkatha supporter, had her house set alight by ANC supporters in Thafamasi, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 March 1990.

MBATA, Dumisani , was shot dead by a member of the SADF in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 June 1986 after the tenth anniversary of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MBATA, Ester (68), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MBATA, Hanyane Anna (65), an ANC supporter, was severely injured when a bomb planted by AWWB supporters exploded at a supermarket in Germiston, Tvl, on 25 April 1994. The explosion was part of an attempt by right-wingers to derail South Africa's first democratic elections on 27 April 1994.

MBATA, John Fakazi , an ANC supporter, went missing from his home in Tokoza, Tvl on 7 August 1993, and was later found dead near Mshayazafe Hostel. The perpetrators were allegedly IFP supporters.

MBATA, Mzameni Jacksonia (48), had her property destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, in March 1993 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MBATA, Obedia (72), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MBATA, Thenjiwe Ennet , was shot and killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natalspruit, Tvl, on the 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

MBATA, Vusi Samson , was shot dead on 22 November 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters, during political conflict which led to the deaths of at least 16 000 people before the first democratic election of 1994.

MBATHA (KAMA VUSO-MBA THA), Khosi , was arrested, detained and tortured, along with her husband and their three-year-old son in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 22 October 1981.

MBATHA, (first name not given), was shot dead in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1993 when a named IFP leader ordered an attack on the shop where Mr Mbatha worked because his employer was an ANC supporter.

MBATHA, (full names not given), an ANC supporter, suffered damage to property in political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, in the late 1980s. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/054).

MBATHA, Abel Mgedi , was killed with his father-in-law in Zonkiziswe, Katlehong, Tvl, on 23 May 1993.

Their charred bodies were found in the boot of their car the next day. The incident occurred after an ANC march past a Tokoza hostel on May 22 1993 led to a dramatic escalation of political violence on the East Rand, leaving at least 80 people dead. Mr Mbatha and his father-in-law were allegedly killed because they were Zulu-speaking and their attackers therefore assumed that they were IFP supporters.

MBATHA, Adelina Nobelungu (58), was beaten by members of the SAP in Prieska, near Upington, Cape, in 1986.

MBATHA, Africa Dumisani (37), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by unidentified Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1989 during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBATHA, Alex, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 October 1981 and released on 13 April 1982. He and his family were continually harassed by Security Police who showed them weapons allegedly found in their house.

MBATHA, Alexander Eli, was detained and tortured by named policemen at Protea police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, and at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, in 1977. During his detention he was kept naked and in solitary confinement for six months. In 1981, Mr Mbatha, his wife and their three-year-old daughter were arrested. He was tortured in various police stations in the Transvaal, and deprived of food and medical attention.

MBATHA, Alois Sibeko (68), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters, some of whom are named, in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 January 1992.

MBATHA, Anna Ncanyana, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MBATHA, Archie, was arrested in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 28 February 1985. Duduza residents had demanded a modern sewerage system instead of the bucket system. Youths targeted policemen's houses as part of the protest and many were beaten when taken to Dunnottar police station.

MBATHA, Bacinile Bessie, had her home burnt down in March 1990 in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MBATHA, Bernard (23), was stabbed, stoned and hacked to death by named Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 24 May 1988, in intense political conflict in the area.

MBATHA, Bhelikosi (32), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 August 1992.

MBATHA, Bhelikosi (42), was severely beaten by IFP supporters at Dumbe, Paulpietersburg, Natal, in April 1994 in political conflict preceding the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBATHA, Bongani Jeremiah (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in Umlazi, Durban, on 2 April 1991.

MBATHA, Bongani, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

MBATHA, Bongini Besta (43), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 October 1991. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for her nephew, an active IFP supporter.

MBATHA, Busisiwe Merica (45), a UDF supporter, was continuously harassed and had her house in KwaMashu, Durban, petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters in September 1985.

MBATHA, Currie Andries (21), was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP while taking part in a march in Nelspruit, Tvl, in December 1986 during boycotts in the area.

MBATHA, Cyril Sibusiso (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by unidentified persons on 26 December 1991 in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal. One other ANC supporter was shot dead and one injured in the attack, which allegedly occurred in the course of serious internal party conflict.

MBATHA, Cyril Zakhele (21), was severely beaten and subjected to electric shocks while his legs and hands were tied together by members of the SAP at Lenasia, Tvl, on 19 February 1989. He was sentenced to death for the murder of Dr Abu Asvat but his sentence was changed to 30 years' imprisonment in August 1992. He applied for amnesty and it was denied.

MBATHA, Dinjana Abraham (45), an IFP supporter, was shot dead when ANC supporters attacked a meeting of IFP supporters in Appelsbosch, near Stanger, Natal, on 24 December 1992. One other person was shot and injured in the attack.

MBATHA, Dudu (42), was arrested, detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 22 August 1981.

MBATHA, Elizabeth Nombuso (36), an IFP supporter, had her home at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters, some of whom are named, in January 1992 during ongoing political violence in the area.

MBATHA, Emma, was shot dead and her house was destroyed in 1989 in an arson attack in Tokoza, Tvl, reportedly because members of the community accused Ms Mbatha's son of being an IFP supporter.

MBATHA, Gawetha, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MBATHA, Gibson , was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, while attending a night vigil on 26 March 1991 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MBATHA, Isaac Bhekumusa (29), was beaten to death and thrown from a moving train between Toronga and Cleveland stations in Johannesburg, on 28 July 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MBATHA, Jabu , was shot dead by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 10 May 1986 at a youth meeting to discuss community defence against the vigilante KABASA GANG, allegedly linked to the SAP. The perpetrators disrupted the meeting and killed three people.

MBATHA, Joshua (55), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by fellow ANC supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 31 January 1990, allegedly because he was thought to be an Inkatha supporter.

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

MBATHA, Kohli Lira , was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MBATHA, Maria Zodwa (55), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and had her house in Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 14 May 1989.

MBATHA, Martin , an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, on 5 May 1989.

MBATHA, Mattheus , an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

MBATHA, Mbuheni (Bongeni) , an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

MBATHA, Mduduzi William (41), was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

MBATHA, Melzinah Zibuyizile , died having been attacked and burnt by a group of youths at Daveyton, Tvl, on 2 July 1987. The youths targeted another person who was not present at the time of the attack. Four persons died and four suffered injuries as a result of the attack. One perpetrator, who claimed to be an ANC supporter and chairperson of a 'people's court', was refused amnesty for the attack (AC/2001/282).

MBATHA, Mfanuthini Alton (43), had his house in Eshowe, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 8 August 1993 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MBATHA, Mhlopheki Jonas , was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MBATHA, Michael Thulani (18), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by an Inkatha supporter during political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 February 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MBATHA, Mhloki Jonas , was shot and stabbed in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992 and died the next day. His wife and four-year-old daughter were also killed in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE. The attack was carried out by IFP-supporting residents of the KwaMadala hostel, allegedly aided by the police.

MBATHA, Nani Lucy (45), an ANC supporter, had her home in Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in March 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBATHA, Ndayizana Richard , suffered injuries after he was attacked and burnt by a group of youths at Daveyton, Tvl, on 2 July 1987. The youths targeted another person who was not present at the time of the attack. Four persons died and four suffered injuries as a result of the attack. One perpetrator, who claimed to be an ANC supporter and chairperson of a 'people's court', was refused amnesty for the attack (AC/2001/282).

MBATHA, Nonhlanhla (21), an IFP supporter, was abducted by ANC supporters during political conflict in Appelsbosch, near Stanger, Natal, on 24 May 1993 and found stabbed to death the following day. Her father, an IFP supporter, had been killed in the course of political conflict five months earlier.

MBATHA, Nonhlanhla Beatrice (35), an ANC supporter, had her house in KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack on 21 March 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBATHA, Nontombi Muriel (58), an Inkatha supporter, was attacked by UDF supporters on numerous occasions in 1988 and 1989 at KwaMashu, Durban. Ms Mbatha was accused of being a police informer because she worked at the local police station as a cleaner.

MBATHA, Ntuthumbe Elsaphina (49), was injured when her home was set alight in Daveyton, Tvl, during a stayaway on 2 July 1987.

MBATHA, Paulina , was stabbed repeatedly by IFP supporters in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992 during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE. Ms Mbatha spent nine months in hospital and is still paralysed. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MBATHA, Pearl Lucky (35), was severely beaten at Crown Plaza station in Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 September 1993 during TRAIN VIOLENCE on the Rand.

MBATHA, Petros Muzikayise , was shot and injured in the head, leg and buttocks during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Madundube, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 September 1992. He had earlier refused to attend an IFP meeting, after which he was visited by unidentified men who asked to use his car. When he refused he was shot.

MBATHA, Petrus Fana , was killed on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MBATHA, Phillip (65), was stabbed and severely injured and had his house burnt down by ANC members in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994 in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBATHA, Popi Nokuthula (18), was shot and seriously injured by a group of IFP supporters who opened fire on people standing outside a tavern in Dumbé, Paulpietersburg, Natal, on 18 November 1993 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MBATHA, Poppie (4), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Her mother and father were also killed in the attack. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MBATHA, Samson Bhékuyise , was shot dead by named Inkatha supporters during political conflict at KwaMashu, Durban, on 28 October 1987.

MBATHA, Samuel Ngwane (63), was hacked to death on 9 December 1990 during political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MBATHA, Samuel Thamsanoa (30), a SAAWU worker, was detained in Dundee, Natal, on 16 June 1986 and held in Waterval prison for two years under emergency regulations. He was tortured by a named member of the Security Police who wanted the names of other activists responsible for a stayaway organised for the commemoration of the Soweto student uprising.

MBATHA, Sibongile Jenet (42), an ANC supporter, had her home in Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 15 February 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBATHA, Siphó Sabelo (26), an ANC supporter, was beaten and stabbed to death with spears during intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Finland, Durban, on 19 January 1990.

MBATHA, Solomon Siphó , a member of the SAP, was shot dead in an attempted armed robbery by MK

operatives at the Emthonjeni police station, Machadodorp, Tvl, on 25 July 1990. The aim of the robbery was to seize weapons. A police colleague was wounded and one of the attackers was shot dead. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/109).

MBATHA, Sylvia (29), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 22 March 1993 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MBATHA, Tabbello , a UDF supporter, who was preparing to go into exile, was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP in Chesterville, Durban, on 20 May 1986. While he was waiting at a safe house, the police arrived and opened fire, killing three UDF supporters and injuring one other.

MBATHA, Thamsanqa , was shot dead by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi Durban, on 24 October 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MBATHA, Thandi , an activist and member of the Soweto Area Committee, was arrested and detained in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 18 May 1987.

MBATHA, Themba (20), a COSAS member, was abducted and imprisoned by IFP supporters during school boycotts in KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 June 1980. He was taken to Ulundi to appear before the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, and was ordered to give up his leadership role in the school boycotts.

MBATHA, Thembane Dinah (50), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, on 31 January 1990. The perpetrators accused her of being an Inkatha spy and informer.

MBATHA, Thembi Mabel (50), had her house at Ekuphumuleni, Mtunzini, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 18 November 1993. She was allegedly targeted because her sons were ANC supporters.

MBATHA, Thembisile Maria (65), an ANC member, was shot and injured by ANC supporters at Klipspruit, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 March 1994 during a commemoration of the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE.

MBATHA, Tholakele (17), a COSAS member, was abducted and imprisoned by IFP supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 June 1980. She and her siblings were taken before the KwaZulu Legislature in Ulundi to swear that they would stop mobilising school students for boycotts.

MBATHA, Thulebona (18), a COSAS activist, was abducted and detained during school boycotts on 16 June 1980, and had his home burnt down on 10 September 1985, by Inkatha members, allegedly assisted by the police, in KwaMashu, Durban. He was also reportedly tortured in detention by named members of the SAP in Durban in 1980.

MBATHA, Timothy (35), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Kliptown, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 1 May 1991.

MBATHA, Tokozile Rosemary (48), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MBATHA, Vernet, an ANC member, suffered shock and light injuries in a bomb explosion at the ANC offices in London on 14 March 1982, an operation authorised by the Minister of Law and Order. Nine Security Branch operatives, including the head of Security Branch Headquarters, were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0292).

MBATHA, Victor Thulane, a member of the SAP, survived an armed attack by MK operatives on the Orlando police station in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 November 1979. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

MBATHA, Virginia Ntozethu (45), a UDF supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Durban on 1 October 1986 and held in solitary confinement for six months. She had attended the funeral of Samora Machel was detained on her return.

MBATHA, Vusi Stanley, was killed when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

MBATHA, Vusi, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MBATHA, Vusumuzi Norman (26), was shot and severely injured by ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 January 1992. He is a quadriplegic as a result of the shooting. His house in KwaMashu was burnt down by named ANC supporters on 18 January 1992. There was conflict within the ANC in the area at the time, and, although Mr Mbatha was non-aligned, his family were ANC supporters.

MBATHA, Vusumuzi, an MK operative, was killed in a shoot-out at the home of ANC member Tryphina Jokweni in Umlazi, Durban, on 24 April 1987 by members of the Security Police from *Vlakplaas* and Durban who had infiltrated their unit. Three MK operatives were killed and one security policeman was injured.

MBATHA, Vuyani Pelvis (25), a COSAS member, was shot and killed by named members of the SAP in KwaGuga, near Witbank, Tvl, on 25 April 1986. Police thought Mr Mbatha was part of a group of youths stoning his father's house. His father was the mayor of KwaGuga and became a target for community protests.

MBATHU, Mthetheleli Shadrack (37), was shot in the face in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING during political conflict in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 December 1990, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MBATHU, Wandile Major (40), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992, during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event, which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members

of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MBATYOTHI, Songezo Papana (23), an MK operative from the Border area, Cape, was shot and severely injured in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

MBAYI, Nandipa, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 January 1993. Ms Mbayi was two months pregnant at the time of her death.

MBAYI, Phila Per cy, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named IFP supporter in KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 January 1993.

MBAYI, Semuseni Ducard (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 April 1990.

MBAYO, Suzen Nozenzo (21), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the A-TEAM in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 26 March 1985.

MBEBE, Lucas Mduyiswa, an ANC supporter, was shot by alleged members of a taxi association in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 28 February 1992, and died a week later. The perpetrators opened fire on a group of ANC and Civic activists leaving a meeting, injuring several. See TAXI VIOLENCE.

MBEDLILA, Mbulelo Aaron (48), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by fellow ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 January 1990. He was allegedly attacked because he had sold his firearm to a resident of the Inkatha stronghold of Lindelani.

MBEDU, Thetephi (74), had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack at Nsingweni, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, on 26 March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBEJE, Betta (75), disappeared during April 1994, when she left her home in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, to attend her sister's funeral vigil at the Springfield Mission. There was intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area at the time. Ms Mbeje has not been seen again and is presumed dead.

MBEJE, Bhukuyise, an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 4 August 1991.

MBEJE, Bongani Nicholas (19), a UDF supporter, was shot and killed in Howick, Natal, on 6 February 1988 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MBEJE, Bongiwwe, was attacked and injured by Inkatha members during political conflict at Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, Natal, on 30 December 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MBEJE, Busisiwe Paulina, was killed by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 30 December 1987. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MBEJE, Elinorah Nokulunga (43), an Inkatha supporter, had her house destroyed and her possessions stolen in an attack by UDF supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1989.

MBEJE, Eunice Thembisile (22), was severely beaten by police in her home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 April 1992. The police had started harassing and arresting people who were thought to be political activists.

MBEJE, Nomusa Constance (37), an IFP supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 September 1993.

MBEJE, Ntombenhle Beatrice (28), had her house destroyed and her belongings stolen in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area in March 1990.

MBEJE, Ntombeningi Ancial (39), had her house in Wartburg, Natal, burnt down by UDF supporters on 29 October 1989 during violent political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MBEJE, Vincent Bhokani Mpumelelo (22), an active UDF supporter, was detained in Richmond, Natal, several times during the 1980s. In detention, he was severely assaulted by members of the Special Branch, allegedly because of his political activities. He was shot and killed in June 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBEJE, Xolani (20), was shot dead by members of the ISU at Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1993. Mr Mbeje had been a marshal in a protest march earlier that day.

MBEKA, Nondumiso (13), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 20 May 1993, during conflict sparked by a local Crossroads leader's attempts to remove Section 2 residents by force.

MBEKELA, Mxoliswa Christian (24), the Grahamstown Youth Congress chairman, was seriously injured in a firebomb attack on his house by members of the SAP on 22 May 1985 in Grahamstown, Cape. His girlfriend died of burns sustained in this incident. He was subsequently detained by the SAP.

MBEKELA, Sonwabo Sydwell (28), an MK operative, was tortured during interrogation in Umtata, Transkei, in September 1985 and again in December 1987. Mr Mbekela was charged with political offences and held in custody until 1989. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the 1987 torture (AC/2000/076).

MBEKI, Joseph Molefi (17), lost the sight in one eye after being shot and injured by members of the SAP in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on 14 April 1993 while singing freedom songs with others after the assassination of CHRIS HANI. Police arrived and opened fire. Mr Mbeki was hit several times in the left eye and on the body, then loaded into a police Hippo and assaulted. He was later charged with public violence but found not guilty.

MBEKI, Monwabisi Kwanda (21), an ANC supporter, was abducted by unidentified persons in 1981 in Cradock, Cape. He has never been seen again and is presumed dead.

MBEKI, Mteteleli (33), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, in 1986, while watching a protest march to the Administration Board.

MBEKILE, Maholwane (50), was stabbed to death with a *panga* on 16 August 1990 in Soweto, Johannesburg, by IFP supporters who suspected he was an ANC member.

MBEKO, Hlakaniphani John, was abducted, beaten and stabbed to death by ANC members in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 January 1991. Mr Mbeko was suspected of changing his allegiance to the IFP. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0335).

MBEKO, Mfanufikile (21), an ANC member, was stabbed several times and then shot dead by IFP supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, in 6 January 1991.

MBEKO, Muzokuhle (36), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 April 1992. His son was killed some nine months earlier, also in the course of political conflict.

MBEKO, Xolani (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 September 1991, while on his way to the night vigil of a fellow activist. His father was killed nine months later, also in the course of political conflict in the area.

MBEKUSHE, Sizakele (20), an SRC member and political activist, was shot dead by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE who fired at demonstrators in De Aar, Cape, on 14 December 1989.

MBEKWA, Sibunu, an ANC member, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MBELE, Aaron (22), a member of the KwaKwatsi Youth Congress, was shot and severely injured when police opened fire on a crowd of ANC supporters marching to the Koppies court, in KwaKwatsi, KOPPIES, OFS, on 30 March 1990. Mr Mbele had 180 pellets removed from his body.

MBELE, Andrew V usi, who had been arrested previously for trying to leave the country, disappeared from Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, in September 1982 and has not been seen since. Members of the Security Police allegedly visited his family after his disappearance and took his reference book.

MBELE, Ben, and a friend were shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING while standing outside the friend's home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 17 June 1993.

MBELE, Bettie Tomfikile (49), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down on 10 March 1992 in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her son was shot dead in the attack.

MBELE, David (35), an ANC supporter, was abducted by named and other members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in 1991. He was subjected to electric shock torture and beaten to try and force him to become a police informer.

MBELE, David , was shot dead by ANC supporters during an arson attack on his home in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 13 June 1992. Mr Mbele was suspected of being an IFP supporter.

MBELE, Dumisane Cyril (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umkomaas, near Durban, in July 1990, during political conflict in the area.

MBELE, Emily Busi Zini (19), was raped and had her possessions stolen in April 1993 in Mathelanjani, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MBELE, Eugene Mlungisi (28), a member of the SAP, was shot dead in Kokstad, Natal, on 18 October 1993 while on night duty at a local police station. There was evidence to suggest the involvement of APLA in this attack, but the APLA leadership denied responsibility for the killing.

MBELE, Fikile Bulisile (39), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 October 1989 during intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MBELE, France (55), had his house and furniture destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 4 May 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MBELE, George Mduduzi (63), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters (allegedly aided by members of the AWWB and the SAP) in his office at Inala School, Uvongo, Natal, on 16 February 1994. It is alleged that the perpetrators targeted Mr Mbele because of his leadership role in the ANC.

MBELE, Happy Frank (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 18 December 1992, allegedly by members of the IFP-aligned KHUMALO GANG.

MBELE, Jabulisiwe (12), lost her home when her parents' house in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, was set alight by Inkatha supporters on 29 October 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBELE, Joseph (40), was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 28 November 1993 during political conflict in the area.

MBELE, Lilian , was threatened with sexual assault and stabbed in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 16 December 1992. Ms Mbele was pregnant at the time of the attack. Her husband was rumoured to be a police informer.

MBELE, Lucia (51), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MBELE, Mazwi Lynos (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 24 April 1994, three days before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBELE, Mfolwane , was imprisoned in 1970 for eight years under the Terrorism Act in Flagstaff, Transkei, for his involvement in a popular movement in Pondoland against the introduction of the tribal authorities system.

After his release he got sick because of the injuries sustained during his imprisonment and later died.

MBELE, Mhleli , a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in KwaMashu, Durban, on 25 December 1989, during political conflict in the area.

MBELE, Michael (40), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by named members of the Security Branch while in detention in Protea police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1986.

MBELE, Millicent Zandile (18), a member of the IFP Youth Brigade, was shot dead, allegedly by ANC members, at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

MBELE, Mina Nyane , was shot in the spine by IFP supporters at the Johannesburg station on her way to work on 28 February 1989. Ms Mbele was paralysed and hospitalised for three years before dying as a result of her injuries.

MBELE, Mkhohlisi Wellington (22), an IFP supporter, was shot and killed by ANC supporters at KwaDabeka, near Pinetown, Natal, on 4 August 1993.

MBELE, Mlungisi , an ANC supporter and member of the SAP, was shot dead by unidentified persons in Kokstad, Natal, on 17 October 1993.

MBELE, Msongelwa Jeremiah (46), was stabbed to death with knives and *pangas* by Zulu-speaking hostel-dwellers during conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers in the area on 13 September 1990. Mr Mbele was on his way to work by taxi when the driver abducted the passengers and drove them to the hostel.

MBELE, Musa (24), was shot and severely injured in an attack by ANC supporters on the Nkulu area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 August 1993. Three people died in this attack and four were seriously injured.

MBELE, Mzawu Solani (58), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Wartburg, Natal, during 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBELE, Mzondwase Ivy (61), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MBELE, Nguzimangabemtu , an IFP supporter, was shot dead at a hostel in Johannesburg, on 19 March 1993 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MBELE, Nokuthula Sibibongile , was shot and killed by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1993. It was believed that Ms Mbele was an IFP supporter who provided information to the IFP. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0348).

MBELE, Ntombemhlophe Ritta Ntombekhaladi (41), an ANC supporter, had her home in Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in July 1991.

MBELE, Ntombifikile Elizabeth (44), an ANC supporter, had her home in Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down on 22 July 1990 in intensifying political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MBELE, Ntombifuthi Eunice (27), an ANC supporter, had her home at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 30 October 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBELE, Ronnie Michael (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 March 1992 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MBELE, Sfiso Mzonjani, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at his home in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 3 January 1991.

MBELE, Siphio (31), a UDF supporter, was detained under emergency regulations on 9 June 1986 in Alexandria, Cape, because of his political activities. He was held in custody for 17 months.

MBELE, Sitoni Clementina (73), had her house destroyed in an arson attack at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in 1991 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBELE, Thandeka Cinder ella, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when ANC supporters attacked her home at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993. Seven occupants, including family members and neighbours who had taken shelter at the house because it was fenced, were killed, and three were injured.

MBELE, Vukani, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured while travelling with a prominent IFP supporter who was the target of an ANC attack in Estcourt, Natal, on 16 December 1992. Three people died in the attack and several others were injured.

MBELE, Vusumzi Eric (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 31 December 1989 during political conflict in the area.

MBELE, Zithulele Solomon (65), an ANC supporter, had his house, car and livestock destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Ixopo, Natal, on 16 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBELE, Zwelifile, an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by an ANC supporter in Wartburg, Natal, on 21 December 1985, during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBELEKANA, Mbulelo Archie (29), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by other ANC supporters on 20 September 1993 in Komga, Cape during a serious internal feud.

MBELU, Bhokuyise Israel (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Durban on 28 February 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations earlier that month.

MBELU, Lovey Gideon (20), was shot dead, by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHEWSA GANG members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 while attending the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired and threw hand grenades at mourners, killing several people and injuring others. Police arrived but provided no protection, ignoring the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

MBELU, Percy Mpho (20), was shot dead, by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHEWSA GANG members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 while attending the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired and threw hand grenades at mourners, killing several and injuring others. Police arrived but provided no protection, ignoring the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

MBEMBE, Nokufuna Vinna (54), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 January 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBENENGE, Simon Simangele, an MK operative, was shot dead in Johannesburg, in September 1988. His mother claims that police came to her home in Paarl, Cape, and asked her to identify a photograph of her son who she was then informed was dead. The ANC confirmed that Mr Mbenenge was an MK operative but do not know the circumstances of his death.

MBENENGE, Thembekile Eric (30), was shot dead by a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE on 27 July 1986 in Newtown, near Adelaide, Cape. One of the policemen was then stabbed and stoned to death by angry residents.

MBENENTO, Matse Wellington (28), an ANC supporter, was shot by named SAP members in Qumrha, near Komga, Cape, on 11 October 1991, while campaigning for the boycott of white-owned shops in the area.

MBENGA, Adam (26), a COSAS member, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Orlando, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 15 June 1993 during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MBENGE, Phindile Lhelhe (24), was shot dead by members of the SADF at during protests at Fingo Village, Grahamstown, Cape, on 2 February 1987.

MBENGO, Vusumzi Mzuwukile (22), a UDF supporter, was tortured in various ways by named members of the Security Branch on 26 August 1985 during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London.

MBENGWA, Elias (43), was shot and injured by IFP supporters during conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 May 1991.

MBENSE, Eugene Siyabonga (28), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by unidentified persons in Clermont, near Durban, during a bus boycott in 1986.

MBENSE, Mduduzi Sydney (22), was intimidated and threatened in his home in Greytown, Natal, in March 1994. Mr Mbense had been the bodyguard of Solomon Mzolo, who was shot and killed, allegedly by ANC members, in February 1994.

MBESE, Nosisana Negina (36), an MK operative, was detained, tortured by suffocation and severely beaten by named members of the Ciskei Police on 8 January 1986 in Mdantsane, Ciskei. She was interrogated about identities of people who were harbouring and liaising with MK cadres.

MBESI, Esther Nokolosani (67), a UDF supporter, lost her home in an arson attack in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes,

acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MBETE, Mwandile (25), an ANC member, was repeatedly detained, interrogated and assaulted with sjamboks by members of the Transkei Police and SAP, at his home and at the Norwood police station in Umtata, Transkei, during the 1980s. He was interrogated about ANC pamphlets in his possession for which he was charged, convicted and sentenced. He was released in 1988.

MBEWANA, Mxolisi T ototo, was shot by members of the SADF during political conflict in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 13 October 1985.

MBEWE, Isaac (17), a UDF supporter, was beaten with sjamboks and knobkerries by IMBOKODO vigilantes at the tribal authority in Leeuvfontein, KwaNdebele, in May 1986 during conflict over the independence of KwaNdebele.

MBEWE, Mongezi, was arrested and tortured by Bophuthatswana Police at Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, in July 1986. He was accused of killing Brigadier Molope, the head of the Bophuthatswana Police.

MBEWE, Monsi Lolland (18), was arrested and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Brits, near Bophuthatswana, on 4 July 1986. He was accused of killing Brigadier Molope of the Bophuthatswana Police.

MBEWE, Thos Bethuel (31), was killed when thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters in Tembisa, Tvl. His body was found next to a railway line in Kaalfontein and taken to a mortuary where his family found him on 24 September 1993. Both his feet were crushed and his arm was cut off. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MBEWU, Nolungile (40), an ANC member, was tear-gassed and shot in the left leg by members of the Ciskei Police during political conflict between the ADM and the ANC supporters in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 27 October 1991.

MBEWU, Vuyani Edward (14), was shot and blinded in one eye by members of the Railway Police in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 1 September 1985. Edward was watching his friends playing soccer when police shot at stone-throwers in the vicinity.

MBEWU, Winnie Vuyiswa (70), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in July 1990 in Uitenhage, Cape, by members of the SAP who were interrogating her about her son's whereabouts. Police claimed that her son was a suspect in a murder case.

MBHALI, Aaron Mandokoza, an IKONGO member, was detained at Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960, for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MBHAMALI, Sigodi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mandini, Natal, on 30 May 1993.

MBHELE, (first name not given), a member of the SAP, was abducted, together with another police member, from the Bhongweni police station in Kokstad, Transkei, on 18 October 1993, in an attack by members of an ANC SDU. Both were shot dead. Four SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0033).

MBHELE, Albert Lungisani, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MBHELE, Balungile Donata (25), an Inkatha supporter, had his house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 11 February 1990 in violent conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MBHELE, Bazisola Augustine (47) had her house in KwaMashu, Durban, vandalised and looted by UDF supporters in 1989 during intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MBHELE, Ben Chunkie (38), an ANC supporter, was thrown out of a train by IFP supporters in Clermont, near Durban, in 1990.

MBHELE, Bhekabantu Clement (38), an ANC supporter, had his home vandalised and destroyed in an attack by IFP supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, in March 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBHELE, Bhekabantu, an ANC supporter, died of smoke inhalation when the house he was in was set alight at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 22 July 1990 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MBHELE, Boy (34), a COSATU member, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at Umlazi, Durban, on 25 July 1991 during continuing political conflict in the area.

MBHELE, David, was injured and suffered damage to property in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MBHELE, Dingane (37), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter at Ncekubane Village in Ixopo, Natal, on 1 May 1994, days after the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBHELE, Dumisani Cyril (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named Inkatha supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 19 July 1990.

MBHELE, Dumisani Henry (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by an IFP supporter in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in December 1992.

MBHELE, Eugene Mlungisi, a member of the SAP, was abducted, together with another police officer, by MK operatives during a raid on the Bhongolethu police station at Kokstad, Natal, in October 1993. The two police officers were subsequently killed by the perpetrators. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0033).

MBHELE, Eunah (50), an ANC supporter, was hacked by a named Inkatha supporter in 1979, and in 1981 was beaten and stabbed and had her house damaged by named Inkatha supporters in Umlazi, Durban, allegedly in conflict due to ethnic rivalry.

MBHELE, Florence (59), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death in an attack by IFP supporters on her home in Nsangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 December 1991. The perpetrators were allegedly conducting house searches for ANC supporters and believed Ms Mbhele to have sympathies with the ANC.

MBHELE, Fokozi, an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by named IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 December 1993.

MBHELE, Gretta Thandi (27), a UDF supporter, had her house at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 29 October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Eight people were killed in the fighting, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

MBHELE, Khayelihle Madlokovu, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Wartburg, Natal, on 3 January 1991, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MBHELE, Lindiwe Ignatia (16), an ANC supporter, had her family home at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 29 October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Eight people were killed in the fighting, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

MBHELE, Liphi David (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by Inkatha supporters at his home in Okhalweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 July 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBHELE, Livingston Gabriel, was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

MBHELE, Lynette Lindekile (17), a UDF supporter, had her family home at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 29 October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Eight people were killed in the fighting, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

MBHELE, Magdaline Sessie, was hacked on 24 June 1992 while sleeping at her home in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, by IFP supporters who claimed they were sent by management of the factory where her husband was on strike. The area was tense due to a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers which caused violent conflict in the area.

MBHELE, Mandla Joseph (54), was shot and stabbed to death in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 25 March 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBHELE, Mandlenkosi Alois (26), an ANC supporter, was killed on 18 February 1994, when four gunmen attacked a house in the rural Mahahle village, near Creighton, Ixopo, Natal, in which he and other ANC youths were sleeping. Fifteen ANC youths were killed

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

MBHELE, Meluli, an ANC supporter, was beaten to death by members of the A-TEAM in Parys, OFS, in November 1985.

MBHELE, Mfiseni Sibusiso (30), had his house at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 29 October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Eight people were killed in the fighting, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

MBHELE, Mhlabunzima, was one of three men stabbed to death by ANC supporters and residents of the Bottlebrush informal settlement, Chatsworth, Durban, in ongoing political conflict on 26 December 1993. Three ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0059).

MBHELE, Mkhombeni James, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by IFP supporters in Wartburg, Natal, on 25 December 1992.

MBHELE, Msizeni Mazwendoda, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MBHELE, Mxolisi Petros (18), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP members in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, in 1991.

MBHELE, Mzondile Aaron Papanyame (18), an ANC supporter, was tortured and beaten by named members of the Security Branch in Vredefort, OFS, on 11 June 1986. A boycott was underway at the time. Mr Mbhele was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in KwaKWATSI, KOPPIES, OFS, on 30 March 1990

MBHELE, Nomakhwezi V eronica (39), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, on 27 July 1993.

MBHELE, Nomphumelelo (13), was shot dead in an attack on her home at Bhuboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, by known IFP supporters on 16 January 1994 in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBHELE, Ntombikayise Getrude (35), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MBHELE, Oupa Johannes (30), was shot by members of the SAP who opened fire on a group of *toyitoying* youths in Bloemfontein in May 1986. On 21 January 1992, Mr Mbhele was arrested and assaulted by members of the SAP in Bloemfontein when he attempted to speak on behalf of a group of hawkers.

MBHELE, Phumephi (42), an ANC supporter, had her house at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down in October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters

in the area. Eight people were killed in the fighting, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

MBHELE, Purity Thuleleni (25), an ANC supporter, had her family home at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 29 October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Eight people were killed in the fighting, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

MBHELE, Qondeni Evelinah (42), an IFP supporter, was shot and severely injured by ANC at Polela, Bulwer, Natal, supporters in April 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBHELE, Qude Anthony (53), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Mtengwane, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 June 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MBHELE, Rose Philisive (22), an ANC supporter, had her home in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by IFP supporters on 3 March 1991.

MBHELE, Shuqwana Jessie (45), an ANC supporter, had her house in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 January 1992, in intense political conflict in the area. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

MBHELE, Sibongile Luckett (32), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 July 1993.

MBHELE, Sibusiso Justice, a constable in the SAP, was threatened at gunpoint by MK operatives, when they robbed the Ormonde police station, Johannesburg, on 27 February 1993. No one was injured in the robbery, which was aimed at acquiring weapons for local self-defence units (SDUs). Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0325).

MBHELE, Simon, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MBHELE, Siphiwe Lesley (22), an IFP supporter, was shot and severely injured at Woodford, Bergville, Natal, on 27 February 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His friend was shot dead in the attack.

MBHELE, Sizeni (38), an IFP supporter, was shot dead when ANC supporters attacked her neighbour's home in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993. Seven occupants, including family members and neighbours who had taken shelter at the house because it was fenced, were killed, and three were injured.

MBHELE, Synod Simon, an IFP supporter, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MBHELE, Thamsanqa Jerome, was hit on the head with a glass bottle and robbed of his firearm by MK operatives in F Section, Kwamashu, Durban, on 2 July

1992. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/062).

MBHELE, Thezaphi Doris, an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 5 October 1991 during political conflict in the area. Ms Mbhele was allegedly shot after going to help a man who had been shot dead by the perpetrators outside her home. After her discharge from hospital, unidentified attackers destroyed her house.

MBHELE, Thulebona Justice (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in a pre-dawn attack on a home in KwaSithole, Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 April 1993, allegedly in attempt to disrupt the peace process in the area. Ten ANC supporters were killed and two injured.

MBHELE, Velepi Elizabeth (50), had her home at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 29 October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Eight people were killed in the fighting, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

MBHELE, Vimba Wiseman (34), a union member, was shot and paralysed in Maraisburg, Johannesburg, on 6 April 1992. He had received death threats from management shortly before this incident because of his union activities.

MBHELE, Xolani (32), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death on 26 July 1992 when armed IFP supporters attacked several homes in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban. See FOLWENI MASSACRE.

MBHELE, Xolani, was shot dead in KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 September 1992, during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBHELE, Zakhele Elijah (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 August 1992.

MBHELE, Zodwa (18), was shot dead by IFP supporters returning from a Shaka Day rally in Kwa-Mashu, Durban on 27 September 1992. About ten people were injured in fighting that broke out between ANC and IFP supporters following the rally.

MBHELE, Zonduyise (47), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Eight people were killed in the fighting, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

MBHETE, R, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MBHUDU, Qaphela Anselem (39), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 March 1992.

MBIBI, Margaret Ntombicacile (36), an ANC supporter, was beaten by members of the SAP who

forced their way into her home at Sigidleni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 October 1993, allegedly in a house-to-house search for weapons.

MBIDIDI, Patrick, was killed during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1985.

MBIKO, Ntombizanele Annatolia, had her home burnt down in a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS on 16 February 1993.

MBILI, Aaron, escaped physical injury on 30 April 1991 when the car in which he and five other people were travelling was attacked by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban. Two of the vehicle occupants were killed and two injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/066).

MBILI, Bhekani (17), an ANC supporter, was axed and shot to death by IFP supporters in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 August 1990 in intense political conflict in the area.

MBILI, Bonisile Mavis (28), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 May 1991. In April and May 1991, political violence in the area claimed the lives of at least 31 people and rendered about 200 people homeless.

MBILI, Charles Meshack (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters at Nomakhanzane, Mtwalume, Natal, on 30 January 1992. His mother was shot dead, and their home was destroyed in the attack.

MBILI, Esther Mamdlonkolo, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Nomakhanzane, Mtwalume, Natal, on 30 January 1992. Her son was also injured, and their home was destroyed in the attack.

MBILI, Hlezphi Mirriam (45), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Inkanyezi, Port Shepstone, Natal, in continuing political conflict in the area on 2 June 1992. The perpetrators had come to her home and taken her son, whom they shot and killed outside. They returned later to shoot Ms Mbili.

MBILI, Isaac Khalesakhe (38), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in an attack by IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during continuing political conflict in May 1993. Both his parents were killed in the attack.

MBILI, Jabula Hemington (34), was shot dead when hooded gunmen attacked three homes at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 20 June 1993. See MURCHISON ATTACKS.

MBILI, Kelele (55), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in May 1993 during continuing political conflict in the area. The perpetrators arrived at her house and caught her trying to run away. Her body was found near a stream two days later. Her husband was also killed, and their house was burnt down. Her son survived the attack.

MBILI, Kufokwakhe (70), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 July 1991. The family had fled the area because of the political violence and because of pressure on Mr Mbili's son to join the IFP. When he and his wife returned to their home, they were both killed.

MBILI, Lindani (19), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 2 June 1992 at Inkanyezi, Port Shepstone, Natal, in continuing political conflict in the area. The attackers took him out of his home and shot him outside. A short while later they returned for his mother, whom they also shot and killed.

MBILI, Lindeni Eunaistance (36), an ANC supporter, lost her house at Nomakhanzane, Mtwalume, Natal, when it was set alight by IFP supporters on 30 January 1992. Her mother was shot dead and her brother injured in the attack.

MBILI, Mabhovu (56), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in May 1993. The attackers arrived at his house and killed him when he opened the door. His wife tried to run away, but was caught, and her body was found near a stream two days later. Their house was also burnt down. His son survived the attack.

MBILI, Mabhovu Eggie (64), was stabbed and shot dead by named IFP supporters at Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 July 1991, allegedly because her son was an ANC supporter.

MBILI, Mampapanana Lillian (60), had her three houses at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 20 March 1990, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBILI, Mavis, an ANC supporter, lost her house and many of her possessions in an attack by alleged IFP supporters at Mangamazini, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1993 during political conflict in the area.

MBILI, Mduduzi Aubrey (17), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death after being abducted from a taxi by IFP supporters in Mtengwane, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 October 1991. Six IFP supporters and a child were killed in attacks by ANC supporters in the area that day. See MTENGWANE ATTACK.

MBILI, Nino Elias Ntontoza, was abducted and shot dead at Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, by one named and other IFP supporters on 22 April 1991 during ongoing political conflict in the area. Mr Mbili was allegedly targeted because he was thought to be an ANC sympathiser.

MBILI, Nkosiyezwe Zibo (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and his body mutilated by ANC supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 August 1992. Mr Mbili was allegedly killed because his brother was affiliated to the IFP.

MBILI, Phathowubani Phyllis (59), had her house at Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack on 18 October 1991 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBILI, Rabukani Agnes (43), lost her house in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'Red' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

MBILI, Richard (23), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death and his body was mutilated by ANC supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 August 1992.

MBILI, Richman Zibokwakhe (23), an IFP supporter, was abducted and stabbed to death, and his body mutilated, by ANC supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 August 1992.

MBILI, Sihle Maxwell (22), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters in 1989. Two years later, in April 1991, his house in Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, was burnt down, also by IFP supporters. Mr Mbili had allegedly refused to join the IFP, and he and his parents were forced to flee the area. His parents returned to their home in July 1991 and were both killed.

MBILI, Simon Vela (38), was stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters at Bhuku, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 November 1991 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBILI, Thandekile (39), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in the forest at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 April 1992.

MBILI, Thembekile (41), had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 2 February 1992 during intense political conflict in the area. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

MBILI, Thokisane, escaped physical injury on 30 April 1991 when the car in which he and five other people were travelling was attacked by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban. Two of the vehicle occupants were killed and two injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/066).

MBILI, Tobhi Beatrice (23), an ANC supporter, was severely injured in a panga attack by IFP supporters in Danganya, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 4 October 1992.

MBILI, Wellington Bheki (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 October 1993, after he had been arrested on suspicion of involvement in MK activities. Mr Mbili was taken, handcuffed, to a forest for a pointing-out, and was fatally wounded in a hand grenade explosion and the shooting by the police.

MBINDA, Mpumelelo Ashweli (43), had his house burnt down and was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1991. Soweto and many other Transvaal townships were embroiled in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MBINDA, Philton Mntuyedwa (37), an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP for attending a meeting to protest against the Trust Land Act in 1960 at Endlovu, Bizana, Transkei. While in detention, he was severely tortured.

MBINGO, Christopher, a member of the SAP, was stabbed and stoned to death by a group of ANC supporters at Elukwatini, KaNgwane, on 14 September 1990. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/2001/137).

MBINQO, Mpumelelo, was one of several young men abducted, assaulted and necklaced on 2 February 1987, by a large crowd of residents of Mdantsane township, Ciskei, who accused them of being part of a criminal gang called the 'Killer Boys'. Mr Mbinqo and three others were burnt to death while one survived with serious injuries. Twelve perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0049).

MBITYO, Vuyiswa Gladys (35), was shot and severely injured in a random shooting by members of the SAP during political conflict in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 4 March 1985.

MBIWA, Mankwekwe Ben (57), was hacked to death by IFP supporters in Kagiso, Tvl, on 22 August 1990 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MBIXANE, Mzwandile (3), was shot by members of the 'Amatshaka' MUNICIPAL POLICE in February 1987 at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

MBIXANE, Nceba Mpimpi (14), was 'necklaced' to death by named police collaborators in Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, in August 1986 during a state of emergency.

MBIZA, Witnes Gezani (29), an ANC supporter, was tear gassed and shot in the left eye when members of the Bophuthatswana Police fired on a crowd gathered to protest against police brutality at City Rocks stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana on 26 March 1986. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

MBIZANA, Justice Mfulathelwa (aka 'Mandla'), an MK operative, was abducted by members of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch in September 1986 and taken to a farm in the Hammanskraal area, Tvl. He was severely tortured and, after several days, taken to a spot near Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, where he was killed. His body was blown up using a landmine, to make it appear that he had blown himself up while laying the mine. Ten Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, applied for amnesty. Seven applications were granted and three refused (AC/2001/248).

MBIZANA, Sibongiseni Simon (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at KwaMnyandu railway station, Umlazi, Durban, on 14 April 1993. Mr Mbizana was allegedly returning from a prayer meeting after the assassination of Chris Hani when he was shot, allegedly by IFP supporters who opposed the memorial service.

MBIZANE, Bhanoyi (54), an ANC supporter, had his home in Polela, Bulwer, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in November 1991. Mr Mbizane was allegedly thought to be harbouring ANC supporters.

MBIZO, Modi (30), a PAC member, was executed in Pretoria Central prison, on 9 May 1963. He was sentenced to death for killing a headman in the Cofimvaba district, Transkei during protests against forced removals and the Trust Land Act.

MBOBHOZI, Dumisani Erick (18), an ANC supporter, was severely injured when he was stabbed, shot and beaten by unidentified perpetrators in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 30 January 1994 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBOBO, Lunga Patrick, was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 August 1993.

MBOCHANA, Freddy Zanempi (44), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by a named member of the SAP on 1 January 1985 in Murraysburg, Cape.

MBODAMO, Mkhusei (21), a member of SAYCO, was shot dead by members of the CDF at Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 31 July 1987, while he tried to protect his younger brother during an assault by the same perpetrators.

MBODAMO, Phakamile Welcome (15), was assaulted, kicked and beaten with a piece of wood by members of the Ciskei Police during political unrest in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 31 July 1987.

MBODLA, Nkosana, an ANC member, was detained by the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MBOKANE, Madoda Lionel (24), was injured in a hand grenade attack on his home by members of the IFP-aligned BLACK CATS in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, on 30 July 1991. He was allegedly killed in retaliation for the killing of a gang member during conflict in the area.

MBOKAZI, Alzinia (50), had her property destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1989 in intense political conflict in the area.

MBOKAZI, Esias Dingile (60), had her home in Umlazi, Durban, petrol-bombed and shot at by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, in February 1990 in intense political conflict in the area following the UNBANNING of political organisations earlier that month.

MBOKAZI, Mfanafuthi (21), an alleged IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by an ANC member while walking to the market at Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, with his girlfriend on 1 January 1992. One ANC member was refused amnesty (AC/2000/022).

MBOKAZI, Mlungisi Wellington (22), was severely beaten by IFP supporters on 25 April 1992 near Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban. Mr Mbokazi and his three companions were confronted and accused of supporting the ANC. His three companions were all beaten to death in the attack.

MBOKAZI, Muzikayifani Nicholas (30), a UDF member, was shot dead by a known member of the Chesterville A-TEAM on 28 March 1986. The attack occurred in the course of conflict over the incorporation of Chesterville into KwaZulu.

MBOKAZI, Phivase (61), lost her house in Empangeni, Natal, in an arson attack on 21 May 1993, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. She was allegedly targeted because her son was an ANC supporter.

MBOKAZI, Zolani Cyprian, an ANC supporter, was shot dead during ongoing conflict between ANC and

IFP supporters at at KwaCele Village, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 July 1993.

MBOKOTHA, Mbiza Penstone (29), an ANCYL leader, was tortured in detention by members of the Gazankulu Police at Zaselamani police station in Giyani, Gazankulu, on 3 March 1992 because he was suspected of being involved in burning down a policeman's house.

MBOKWE, Nonkenyana, an ANC supporter, died after being severely beaten by members of the SAP in 1960 at Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MBOLA, Nonkosi Muriel (42), whose husband and son were collaborators, was assaulted and had her home burnt down during political conflict at Mooiplaas, near East London, on 13 March 1986.

MBOLEKWA, Betswana, an ANC supporter, was assaulted by the SAP in February 1960 in Embhobheni, near Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MBOLEKWA, Mntukanti (69), was shot and injured on 18 April 1985 when police members, concealed in a MUNICIPAL POLICE vehicle in Despatch, Cape, opened fire on youths playing football. Mr Mbolekwa was sitting outside when he was hit by the gunfire. Four people were killed and two injured in the shooting. See TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, DESPATCH.

MBOLEKWA, Zinyanya Raymond (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a member of the SAP at a communal tap in the street in Port Elizabeth on 1 April 1985. The police claimed that the victim had been throwing stones at a police Casspir.

MBOLEKWA, Zita, was injured when a pipe bomb planted by members of the AWB exploded on 25 April 1994 at a taxi rank on the corner of Blood Street and Seventh Avenue in Pretoria. Three people were killed and four injured in the blast. During the pre-election period the AWB targeted taxi ranks, bus stops and railway stations, predominantly used by black people, the majority of whom they believed to be ANC supporters, in order to derail the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Six perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342).

MBOMA, Masixole (13), was injured when a hand grenade was thrown into his home on 9 August 1992 during political conflict between ADM and ANC supporters in Quzini, King William's Town, Cape. His grandfather was a member of the ANC.

MBOMA, Nosipho (5), was killed with an axe in an attack by hostel-dwellers in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, in political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels over the Christmas 1976 period.

MBOMBO, Silulami Khabotsi Richard (36), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP and Transkei Police on 21 September 1993 in Qumbu, Transkei.

MBONA, Vusumzi Michael (20), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters, one of whom is named, while travelling in a vehicle in Estcourt, Natal, on 16 December 1992. The perpetrators were allegedly targeting one of Mr Mbona's companions to avenge an earlier attack on ANC supporters.

MBONAMBI, Babhekile (7), was shot dead at a political rally at the King Zwelethini Stadium in Umlazi, Durban, in February 1992 during intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBONAMBI, Beauty (53), had her home in Esindisweni, Verulam, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 25 June 1993, allegedly because her sons supported the ANC.

MBONAMBI, Bhakabakubo (43), an ANC supporter, died 18 days after being shot by Inkatha supporters on 12 April 1989 in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban.

MBONAMBI, Bhekani Sibusiso, aka 'MK Hugo', an MK operative, was killed in a shoot-out at the home of ANC member Tryphina Jokweni in Umlazi, Durban, on 24 April 1987 by Security Police members from *Vlakplaas* and Durban who had infiltrated their unit. Three MK operatives were killed and one security policeman was injured.

MBONAMBI, Bongani Ephraim (32), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death in the Vezunyawo area, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, on 29 June 1991 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. His brother was killed in February 1994, also in political conflict.

MBONAMBI, Bonginkosi Vincent (24), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Stanger, Natal, on 25 March 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Clashes broke out between ANC and IFP supporters following an ANC march in the area.

MBONAMBI, Bungu Simon (48), had his home at Umlazi, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack in February 1992, in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MBONAMBI, Busisiwe Prudence (22), was detained and severely tortured by members of the SAP at Chesterville, Durban, in May 1987, allegedly because of her political activities. Her brother, an ANC supporter, had been killed by the police at Umlazi, Durban on 21 April 1987.

MBONAMBI, Emmanuel, had his property burnt and his bottle store looted and destroyed by a named perpetrator at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 1 January 1991, allegedly because he and his family were branded ANC members. They received death threats and had to close other shops at KwaMbonambi.

MBONAMBI, Glenrose (31), had his home at Empangeni, Natal, petrol-bombed by IFP supporters on 12 July 1991 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MBONAMBI, Mbongeni (42), lost his house at KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in an arson attack on 7 November 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBONAMBI, Mbuzeni Mabhalane (36), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 October 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBONAMBI, Muziwenhlanhla Gilbert (34), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 14 July 1989 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MBONAMBI, Mzo, was severely beaten in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 June 1993, at a 'people's court' under the command of an officer of a local ANC self-defence unit (SDU). Mr Mbonambi was one of five people who survived the beating, while two others were beaten to death, allegedly for crimes committed in the community. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/033).

MBONAMBI, Ngila Balungile (42), had her home at Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters during January 1990 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MBONAMBI, Nokulunga (13), was shot dead in Lower Illovo, Natal, in 1992 during a violent political confrontation between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBONAMBI, Sibusiso Patrick (27), an ANC supporter, was killed near Stanger, Natal, on 22 February 1994 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His brother had been killed in June 1991, also in political conflict in the area.

MBONAMBI, Sizwe, was severely beaten in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 June 1993, at a 'people's court' under the command of an officer of a local ANC self-defence unit (SDU). Mr Mbonambi was one of five people who survived the beating, while two others were beaten to death, allegedly for crimes committed in the community. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/033).

MBONAMBI, Vimba Enock (41), an Inkatha supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 February 1990.

MBONAMBI, Vincent Bonginkosi (24), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Stanger, Natal, on 25 March 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBONAMBI, Zandile Anna (44), an ANC supporter, had her house in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, burnt down by IFP supporters on 25 May 1993.

MBONAMBI, Zwelempi (44), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 September 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBONANE, John, was beaten to death in Mathyzensloop, KwaNdebele, in 1986 by 'comrades' during conflict over the INCORPORATION of the village into KwaNdebele. Mr Mbonane's house was torched and his stock and property were destroyed and stolen prior to this attack.

MBONANE, Lucas Lucky (23), was severely beaten by named perpetrators in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, in January 1985. Mr Mbonane had reportedly participated in killing Chief Mayisa but was attacked by his vigilante group when he told the Mayisa family how the chief had died. Conflict erupted in the township after the State attempted to remove the community forcibly after it was declared a 'black spot'.

MBONANE, Mgazi Phillip, was shot dead in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 September 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MBONANE, Pali Sarah (41), had her house set alight by 'comrades' in Mathyzensloop, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict over the INCORPORATION of the village into KwaNdebele. Her husband was killed after the attack.

MBONANI, Adam Mgidi, was shot in the abdomen and injured by IMBOKODO vigilantes who set up a roadblock in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, during 1986. The area was tense due to attempts by the State to impose independence on KwaNdebele.

MBONANI, Mlotshwa David, was severely beaten and shot by vigilantes in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, in 1982 during conflict which erupted in the area when it was declared a 'black spot'. State-sponsored vigilantes terrorised the community to try and forcibly remove them.

MBONANI, Oupa Josiah (23), was tortured in detention by members of the SAP in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, on 17 March 1986. He had been arrested on suspicion of killing of a policeman at a night vigil.

MBONANI, Swartbooi Skhangeni (47), was severely beaten by members of the SADF in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MBONANI, Themba Tsepo (14), was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Daveyton, Tvl, on 25 August 1993. The perpetrators in many such attacks were IFP supporters and members of the security forces terrorising communities.

MBONDE, Sipiwo Headman (23), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SADF and the SAP on 20 May 1986 at KwaNomzamo, Humansdorp, Cape, while he was attending a meeting to demand the removal of Black Local Authority COUNCILLORS. The next day, he was arrested and detained for 14 days.

MBONDLI, Mr (first name not given), was shot in the arm by members of the SADF during the NGQUZA HILL massacre on 6 June 1960 in Lusikisiki, Transkei. He was captured and imprisoned for several years for taking part in the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Mr Mbondli died of ill health soon after his release.

MBONGENI, Mati (23), had his home burnt down when IFP supporters attacked the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1993, allegedly in the course of conflict over access to resources. Ten people were killed and 35 houses burnt down.

MBONGO, Jane Nozililo, was repeatedly stabbed and hacked in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MBONGO, Mbuyiswa Ezf rose, died on 10 April 1994 after he was shot by IFP supporters during their ill-fated march in Johannesburg, on 28 March 1994. Mr Mbongo was not politically aligned and was attacked on his way to work for not attending the IFP rally held in Johannesburg, on that day.

MBONGO, Mbuyiswa, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC

headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MBONGO, Victoria (1), was stabbed in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MBONGWA, Bongive, survived an attempt on his life when members of a self-defence unit (SDU) shot at and threw petrol bombs into his house at Bhekezulu, Estcourt, Natal, on 23 January 1994. One family member was killed and five others survived, and the house was damaged. One SDU member was refused amnesty (AC/2000/223).

MBONGWA, Emmanuel Mfanufikile (33), an ANC supporter, lost his shop and its contents in an arson attack at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 6 December 1988 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MBONGWA, Khumbulani, survived an attempt on his life when members of a self-defence unit (SDU) shot at and threw petrol bombs into a house at Bhekezulu, Estcourt, Natal, on 23 January 1994. One family member was killed and five others survived. One SDU member was refused amnesty (AC/2000/223).

MBONGWA, Lillian Z (41), an ANC supporter, was shot and had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 23 October 1992.

MBONGWA, Maxwell Bhapa (16), was shot and injured by an Inkatha member during political conflict in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 21 December 1988. An amnesty applicant testified that he believed that Mr Mbongwa was a UDF supporter involved in attacks on Inkatha supporters. He was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0334).

MBONGWA, Melusi, survived an attempt on his life when members of a self-defence unit (SDU) shot at and threw petrol bombs into a house at Bhekezulu, Estcourt, Natal, on 23 January 1994. One family member was killed and five others survived. One SDU member was refused amnesty (AC/2000/223).

MBONGWA, Ntokozo Joyce (25), lost her house in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Matikwe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 22 August 1990. The attack was allegedly motivated by the belief that Ms Mbongwa was a collaborator.

MBONGWA, Phumzile, was shot dead when members of a self-defence unit (SDU) shot at and threw petrol bombs into a house at Bhekezulu, Estcourt, Natal, on 23 January 1994. Five of her family members who were in the house survived the attack. One SDU member was refused amnesty (AC/2000/223).

MBONGWA, Sifiso, survived an attempt on his life when members of a self-defence unit (SDU) shot at and threw petrol bombs into a house at Bhekezulu,

Estcourt, Natal, on 23 January 1994. One family member was killed and five others survived. One SDU member was refused amnesty (AC/2000/223).

MBONGWA, Sihla , an MK operative, was beaten unconscious by members of the SAP in April 1977 after his arrest at Paulpietersburg, Natal. Mr Mbongwa and three other MK operatives were allegedly on their way from Swaziland to Durban when their car was stopped at a roadblock. One of the four men was never seen again.

MBONGWA, Sindiswa (33), had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

MBONGWA, Thamsanqa (33), an ANC supporter, disappeared from his home at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 4 October 1989, and was found dead five weeks later. Mr Mbongwa, who lived in an Inkatha stronghold, is believed to have been killed by Inkatha supporters in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBONGWE, Bongani Fasties , had his home at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by SPECIAL CONSTABLES during the TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE on 3 December 1988. The station commander at New Hanover police station was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

MBONGWE, Bonisiwe Constance (48), an IFP supporter, had her house in Ntabamhlophe, near Estcourt, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 20 April 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBONGWE, Emmanuel Bongani 'Faustus' , a UDF activist and member of the Trust Feeds Crisis Committee, was repeatedly harassed by named Inkatha supporters and members of the SAP in November 1988. He was detained on 23 November 1988 and held for 65 days under emergency regulations, during which time the TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE took place. His house had been burnt in an arson attack about a year earlier, in October 1988. On 8 July 1990 he was shot and injured in a flat on the Durban beachfront while in the company of ANC-supporting Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

MBONGWE, Musa Eustace (19), an ANC supporter, was detained under emergency regulations in October 1988 and tortured by members of the Security Police while in detention in Richmond, Natal.

MBONGWE, Mzwandile , an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a named ANC supporter and unidentified members of a self-defence unit in Richmond, Natal, in the course of internal conflict in the area during 1994.

MBONGWE, Thembekile Jemina (53), an IFP supporter, had her house at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters in December 1992 during continuing political conflict in the area.

MBONISWA, Ntomboxolo (14), was shot dead by members of the CDF in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 5 September 1985, while she was attending a political meeting.

MBONISWA, William Ntonton (29), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Athlone, Cape Town, on 28 August 1985, while participating in the POLLSMOOR MARCH to demand the release of Nelson Mandela. Twenty-eight people were shot dead by police during the march and the days that followed.

MBOTHO, Bhkazakhe Amos (16), an ANC supporter, lost his home at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack by alleged ANC supporters on 15 July 1990. His parents and two siblings were stabbed to death in the attack, allegedly because his father was suspected of being an IFP informer.

MBOTHO, Daphney , was shot dead by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 December 1990 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBOTHO, Dudu Princess (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by named IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 17 November 1993.

MBOTHO, Mr (first name not given), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1993 in continuing political conflict in area. His house was also burnt down in the attack.

MBOTHO, Nyembani Mafoloz , lost her house in an arson attack in April 1961 at Esikhumbeni, near Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MBOTHO, Rose Nombuluko (52), had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

MBOTHO, Thobekile Florence Makanomsa (61), an ANC supporter, had her house in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, destroyed by IFP supporters in February 1991. Her husband was severely beaten in the attack.

MBOTHO, Vunina Tryphinah (52), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters on 30 September 1993 in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in continuing political conflict in the area.

MBOTHWE, Nomajaji Gladys (49), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992 in intense political conflict in the area. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

MBOTO, Themba (42), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death with three members of the Falakhe family when their home was set alight in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 18 February 1992. The attack took place during conflict between ANC supporters and the Lingeletu West town COUNCILLORS who were allegedly aided by police.

MBOTWE, Sibusiso Jerome (18), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 28 January 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBOTYA, Thembekile Edwin (17), a UDF supporter, died after being stabbed by a named perpetrator during political conflict at Masizakhe, Graaff-Reinet, Cape, on 14 September 1984.

MBOVANA, Nomathamsanqa Sylvia (18), an ANC supporter, was arrested in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 4 November 1985, and held in custody for many months. She was later convicted of public violence.

MBOVANA, Xolile Anthony (21), an ANC supporter, was arrested in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 4 November 1985, and held in custody for many months. He was later convicted of public violence.

MBOVANE, Jackson (61), an ANC supporter, had his home petrol-bombed by unidentified perpetrators during political conflict between the ANC and ADM supporters at Ndakana, near King William's Town, Cape, on 10 September 1992.

MBOVANE, Mandisa Nongenisile (30), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by members of the Peace Force security company at her home in Ndakana, near King William's Town, Cape, on 29 September 1992.

MBOVANE, Ntozelizwe Stulo (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Grabouw, Cape, in August 1992, when SAP members opened fire on demonstrators protesting against the BISHO MASSACRE.

MBOYA, Mthobeli Herold (21), a COSAS member, was shot by members of the SAP in Somerset East, Cape, on 13 May 1993 during a march intended to disrupt classes at a school.

MBOYA, Vuyisile John (32), was shot dead by members of the SAP while he was held in custody in Lingelihle police station, Cradock, Cape, on 20 October 1992.

MBOYANA, Mncedisi Bar rington, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 15 August 1990, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MBOYANI, M P, was severely injured and suffered damage to property in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MBOYI, Collen Bhelikizwe (21), was shot and injured in Vosloorus, Tvl, when members of the ISU dispersed a joint COSAS/SADTU march protesting the detention of two teachers on 19 July 1991.

MBOYI, Zukisa Howard (22), a COSATU member, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MBOZA, Nomsa Cecilia (29), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992 in intense political conflict in the area. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

MBOZA, Sasiwe (29), an ANC supporter, had her house in Umlazi, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in 1992.

MBUBE, Ntanzi (52), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 or 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MBUKWANE, Fortune Dudu, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, when police disrupted a march for the Duduza hand grenade victims on 7 July 1985.

MBULA, Vukani Goodman, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MBULANA, Kanisile (37), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by named members of the CNIP during political conflict at Mooiplaas, near East London, in April 1986.

MBULAWA, Eugene (15), was subjected to electric shock torture, collapsed and lost consciousness in police custody in Welverdiend, Carletonville, Tvl, in July 1990. Eugene died later that day in the Leratong hospital without regaining consciousness.

MBULAWA, Ncikazi Emily, was severely injured and suffered damage to property in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MBULAWA, Nofayini Elsie (87), died after she was severely beaten by members of the SAP in October 1984 in Cradock, Cape. Ms Mbulawa, who was blind and bedridden, was assaulted by police who had chased a suspect in the political unrest into her house.

MBULENI, Zitulele Reginald (38), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 October 1991. Mr Mbuleni was one of 20 people killed and 26 injured during violence following the funeral of Sam Ntuli, general secretary of the Civic Association of the Southern Tvl who was assassinated in Tokoza, Tvl, on 29 September 1991. See NTULI FUNERAL.

MBULI, Boysie Innocent (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed on 12 December 1993, when members of the KWAZULU POLICE opened fire on a student protest at Ohlange Primary School at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban.

MBULI, Dumisani Makukula, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Matsulu, KaNgwane, on 13 March 1986 during student demonstrations in the township.

MBULI, Khanyisile (21), an IFP supporter, was raped and then stabbed to death by ANC supporters on 17 April 1994 at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in violent political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBULI, Mayenzeke Michael (28), a member of the SAP, was assaulted with sjamboks, dragged out of his home, doused with petrol and burnt to death by a group of youths during political conflict in Sterkspruit, Cape, on 10 July 1990. Four of the youths were consequently convicted of murder.

MBULI, Mzwakhe , a well-known poet and UDF supporter, was falsely arrested in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, by the Witwatersrand Security Branch on 17 March 1989, together with his wife. The Mbulis were later prosecuted for the illegal possession of firearms and explosives found at their home. A Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for planting the arms in their home (AC/2000/164).

MBULI, Nomsa , was falsely arrested in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, by the Witwatersrand Security Branch on 17 March 1989, together with her husband. The Mbulis were later prosecuted for the illegal possession of firearms and explosives found at their home. A Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for planting the arms in their home (AC/2000/164).

MBULI, Petros Mafika (55), an ANC supporter, was beaten and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 March 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBULI, Simon Mbusomoni (34), died under mysterious circumstances in Tokoza, Tvl, in January 1990 after being taken into custody by members of the SAP who alleged that he was a self-defence unit member in possession of illegal weapons.

MBUNDU, Nceba Mxolisi , was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 6 November 1986 during evictions following a rent boycott in the area.

MBUNGE, Thami Stanford , was shot and killed by members of the SAP in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 25 June 1977 during a student march in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MBUNGE, Zola Joseph (17), was injured in the eye and on his body when members of the SAP opened fire with birdshot in Dlamini, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1977 during the SOWETO UPRISING.

MBUNGELA, Thomas , was shot and killed by a member of the SAP in Komatipoort, Tvl, during the state of emergency in May 1986.

MBUNGWA, Manthiywa Jeanet , was beaten by members of the SAP at Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MBUQE, Xolile Humphrey (17), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP during political conflict at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 5 October 1987.

MBUQE, Zwelitsha (41), was shot dead in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in March 1991 during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MBUSI, Nomakhaya Patricia (39), lost her home in an arson attack in Nyanga Bush, near Crossroads, Cape Town, in May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MBUSO, Malobola , was shot and burnt to death by IMBOKODO vigilantes near Pretoria, during July 1986. Mr Mbuso and four 'comrades' fled from KwaNdebele to avoid being arrested. Two weeks later his parents were notified of his death. Prior to his killing, members

of the security forces visited his home and confiscated ANC T-shirts. They allegedly threatened his family, warning them that the pending funeral of their son would be disrupted.

MBUTHO, Cecelia Nompumelelo (43), an ANC supporter, had her house in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, in March 1992.

MBUTHO, Constance (39), an IFP supporter, had her house at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 20 April 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Ms Mbutho's husband had been killed five days earlier, also in the course of political conflict.

MBUTHO, Khulile Rejoice (38), an IFP supporter, had her house in Ehlanzeni, Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down in 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBUTHO, Siyabonga Lawrence (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 April 1993. The perpetrators allegedly opened fire on a crowd of demonstrators when the vehicle in which they were travelling was attacked.

MBUTHO, Titiza Ivy (29), had her home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, set alight in January 1990 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MBUTHU, Florence T (45), had her home severely damaged in an arson attack at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 February 1992, when IFP supporters returning from a chief's gathering attacked ANC hostels and homes in the area. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

MBUTHU, Goodness Nonhlanhla Fikile (29), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 24 July 1992.

MBUTHU, Wellington Bafana , an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by a named ANC supporter at Mphelandaba Store, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 15 April 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBUTHUMA, Delive Paulinus (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, by named Inkatha supporters on 17 November 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area. The family home was burnt down in the attack. **MBUTHUMA, Emerencia** (62), had her house burnt down by named Inkatha supporters at KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 17 November 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area. One of her sons died in the attack. The attack was allegedly motivated by the belief that the family supported the ANC.

MBUTHUMA, Msongelwa Nicholas , was stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 September 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Mr Mbuthuma was perceived to be an ANC supporter.

MBUTHUMA, Ruth Zitshu (25), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and sexually assaulted by a named IFP

supporter at Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 March 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her son, aged nine, was also severely beaten in the attack.

MBUTHUMA, Simo (9), was severely beaten by a named IFP supporter at Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 March 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His mother, an ANC supporter, was also severely assaulted in the attack.

MBUTHUMA, Thami, was shot by members of the IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG in Tembisa, Tvl, in April 1992 during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers aided by gang members and ANC-supporting residents.

MBUTO, Nongephi Elizabeth, lost her home in an arson attack in KTC, Nyanga, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MBUTO, Skhumbuzo Moses (54), an ANC supporter, survived an attempted killing when the home of his parents-in-law in Isipingo, Natal, was petrol-bombed in 1989 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

MBUTWA, Bandiwe Annie Mandaba (65), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1992.

MBUYAZI, Gladness (43), was shot and injured by members of the Esikhwini hit squad at Esikhwini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 July 1992. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MBUYAZI, Johannes Michael (40), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Durban, on 16 March 1992.

MBUYAZI, Joseph (60), an IFP supporter, was abducted and shot dead by ANC supporters at Mhlangeni, KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 6 April 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBUYAZI, Lucky, was injured in a hand grenade explosion at Esikhwini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 August 1992. Members of the ESIKHWINI HIT SQUAD entered the home of a COSATU official, who threw a grenade at them. Four people were injured in the incident. The COSATU official was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0061).

MBUYAZI, Luntu (53), had his house destroyed in an arson attack at KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 January 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Mr Mbuyazi was forced to flee the area.

MBUYAZI, Madabuli (50), was shot dead on 21 January 1992 at Nhlabane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MBUYAZI, Mzondeni Absolom (45), was stabbed to death in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Enkonjeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 November 1992.

MBUYAZI, Nelisiwe (46), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack in Empangeni, Natal, on 24 February 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBUYAZI, Paulos (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 March 1990, following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February 1990.

MBUYAZI, Sibongile Mar garet (41), an IFP supporter, lost her house in Empangeni, Natal, in an arson attack on 28 March 1994 in political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBUYAZI, Thamsanqa, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 14 October 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Mr Mbuyazi had fled his home at KwaSokhulu, but was killed while staying at KwaMthethwa.

MBUYAZI, Thembinkosini Lexhur (50), an IFP supporter, had his home in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBUYAZI, Victor Ntando (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 12 March 1994 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MBUYISA, Mapi, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE at Umlazi, Durban, on 2 October 1990. Two other UDF supporters were killed in the attack.

MBUYISA, Ndodeni Joseph (37), lost his house in Eshowe, Natal, in an arson attack during July 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MBUYISA, Niniza Bernadet (53), an ANC supporter, had her home at Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by named Inkatha supporters on 19 June 1990.

MBUYISA, Nozipho Mavis (41), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in January 1993 in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MBUYISA, Sfiso Nicholas (15), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE at Umlazi, Durban, on 2 October 1990. Two other UDF supporters were killed in the attack.

MBUYISA, Sibusiso (16), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 27 December 1992. His friends, who were taking him to hospital, were stopped at a police road block and forced to turn the injured Mr Mbuyisa over to them. Mr Mbuyisa was later found dead in the mortuary.

MBUYISA, Siyabonga Elliot, an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 August 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MBUYISA, Welcome Mdayi Dumisani (36), had his house in Steadville, Ladysmith, Natal, petrol-bombed

by ANC supporters on 22 January 1994 in intensifying political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MCAKOLO, Msongelwa, an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten in June 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MCAMA, Zombeyana Benard (69), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990, when hundreds of armed men, allegedly Inkatha supporters, invaded the area. Thirteen people were killed in the attack.

MCAMBI, Alson Thulebona, an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990 in intense political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations in the area.

MCAMBI, Gibson Sbhongiseni (28), an ANC supporter, was killed when he was beaten, stabbed and thrown from a moving train in Umlazi, Durban, on 26 November 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MCAMBI, Hlaba Anna (63), an ANC supporter, had her house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

MCAMBI, Thulebona Andrias (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at the Mhlungwa River, Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, on 24 March 1990 in intense political conflict in the area following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February 1990.

MCAMGISA, Simon Mzwandile (22), an ANC supporter, was arrested at Vereeniging, Tvl, on 12 August 1992 and tortured in various ways by members of the SAP.

MCANDA, Daniwe Maggie (58), was severely beaten and kicked by members of the SAP in Somerset East, Cape, in 1986 during the state of emergency. Her children were UDF supporters. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MCANDA, Ntombizodwa Mirriam (28), was detained and severely beaten by named members of the SAP on 22 August 1986 at Somerset East police station, Cape.

MCANYANA, Ntombenhle Christina (31), an ANC supporter, had her home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 13 March 1991.

MCATA, Lawrence Mzwanda, an MK operative, was killed in a shoot-out with members of the SAP and Ciskei Police on 31 July 1985 at Mt Ruth railway station, Mdantsane, Ciskei.

McBRIDE, Derrick (54), an MK operative, was arrested and tortured during July 1986 in Nigel, Tvl, and then taken to Durban where SAP and named Security Branch members tortured him. He was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on Robben Island for his involvement in the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING.

McBRIDE, Derrick Robert (six months), was forcibly taken from his mother and denied food when his mother was detained because her family was involved in the political struggle. The police allegedly refused to take his milk formula with them when they removed him

from CR Swart Square, Durban, and took him to his great-aunt without his mother's permission.

McBRIDE, Dorris Yvonne (around 47), an ANC supporter, was continually harassed and was detained on several occasions by members of the Security Police in Durban in the 1980s, allegedly because of the involvement of members of her family in political activities.

McCLUNE, Robert, was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in Wolseley, Cape, on 24 November 1990, while participating in a legal protest at the opening ceremony of Wolseley's community hall. Residents objected to the participation of a Tricameral Parliament Minister in the proceedings.

MCDONALD, Ian, was killed when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

McDONALD, Nonceba Mary, an ANC supporter, was tortured and had a hand grenade thrown at her home by members of the Ciskei Police on 19 January 1987 in Mdantsane, Ciskei, allegedly because her son was an MK operative.

McDONALD, Patrick Vusumzi (30), an MK operative, was shot dead by named members of the Ciskei Police on 18 January 1987 in Mdantsane, Ciskei.

MCDONALD, Rhoda, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

MCEDI, Vincent Mpho, was shot dead by members of the 'Zim-Zim' faction of the KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC) in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 27 November 1990. The ANC-aligned KYC had split into two rival factions, the 'Zim-zims' and the 'Gaddaffis'. At least 17 people were killed in Khutsong between 1989 and 1991 before a peace pact took effect in May 1991. Mr Mcedi was a supporter of the 'Gadaffi' faction.

MCELU, Morris Mzimkhulu (20), a COSAS member, was shot and injured by named members of the SAP at Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape, on 19 November 1985. Two days earlier, police and residents had clashed at a meeting at the Nonzwakazi Methodist Church.

MCERWA, Ndimiso (15), an AZASM member, was shot and injured by a UDF-aligned SASCO member in Soweto, Johannesburg, in March 1986. UDF and AZASM supporters clashed violently in a number of Transvaal townships in the mid to late 1980s.

MCETYWA, Harriet Jabulile (34), had her home damaged in an arson attack by IFP supporters and other named perpetrators in Pongola, Tvl, in 1993.

MCGLUWA, Patric W illiam, a BCM member, was arrested on 14 February 1975 and held at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, where he was beaten and intimidated by named members of the Security Branch to try and force him to testify against Trevor Bloem, charged under the Terrorism and Suppression of

Communism Acts. Mr Mcgluwa and another were suspected of being co-conspirators in attempting to discourage participation in the CRC and were sentenced to a year's imprisonment for refusing to testify.

McGOSH, Samuel Navarro (22), a founder member of AZAPO, was tortured in detention in Johannesburg, in 1976. He was arrested for being a member of AFRO, an anti-collaborationist front.

MCHIZWA, Phungula (55), an ANC member, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MCHOLWA, Mthingwevu Lizethile (29), an ANC member in Engcobo, Transkei, was killed in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

MCHUNU, Andrinah Malithi (26), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg, on 26 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MCHUNU, Baphindile (47), an ANC supporter, had her house at Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in December 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MCHUNU, Batembile (49), an ANC supporter, had her house in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 January 1992 in intense political conflict in the area. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

MCHUNU, Bheki Joseph, was severely assaulted by members of KwaZULU POLICE at Inchanga, Natal, in 1989. The police claimed that he was in possession of illegal firearms.

MCHUNU, Bhukumuzi Moses (36), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 27 September 1991.

MCHUNU, Bhekuyise Phillip, a UDF supporter, was killed by a named member of the SAP in Pietermaritzburg on 7 January 1990, allegedly because of his active political involvement.

MCHUNU, Deli, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 17 January 1988. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for another occupant of the house, whom they suspected of being a UDF supporter.

MCHUNU, Dumisani (36), was severely stabbed and beaten by named IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 12 March 1991. She was suspected of being an ANC supporter.

MCHUNU, Elizabeth Ntombifuthi (24), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 4 September 1993, when ANC supporters ambushed the taxi in which she was travelling.

MCHUNU, Elsie, an ANC supporter, disappeared when IFP supporters attacked her home in Pietermaritzburg in March 1990. She has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MCHUNU, Flemina (44) was shot and injured by named members of the SAP at Bruntville, near Mooi

River, Natal, on 16 June 1990, when the police opened fire on mourners after the funeral of a youth who died of natural causes.

MCHUNU, Funani Maria, an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, in 1990.

MCHUNU, Goodwill Bheki, was shot dead in Umlazi, Durban, on 5 September 1992 in ongoing conflict between the ANC and IFP.

MCHUNU, Hezekia, was severely injured when members of COSATU bombed a bus carrying workers in Empangeni, Natal, on 6 June 1988. The attack occurred during a two-day national stayaway.

MCHUNU, Jonathan Mlungiseri (21), was severely assaulted by Inkatha supporters in March 1986 at Ntuzuma, near Durban, in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MCHUNU, Joseph Mbona (65), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by fellow IFP supporters in Estcourt, Natal, on 27 September 1993. He was allegedly killed because he had witnessed the perpetrators' role in the killing of two other people in the continuing political conflict in the area.

MCHUNU, Joseph, an ANC supporter, was injured when his wife's shack was burnt down by named perpetrators in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in November 1993 during conflict between the SHENGE vigilante group and the ANC.

MCHUNU, Khetheni Beauty (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 17 November 1993.

MCHUNU, Lindiwe Lilian (48), an IFP supporter, had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 18 June 1993 in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MCHUNU, Lucky Robert (24), was shot on 29 August 1991 by IFP supporters who attacked the church in which ANC supporters had taken refuge in Mooi River, Natal.

MCHUNU, Lungi Elizabeth (50), an ANC supporter, had her house at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 27 April 1993 in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MCHUNU, Magaqa Michael (38), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by Inkatha supporters near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 18 June 1989.

MCHUNU, Mandlakayise Elias, an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, in April 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MCHUNU, Mar garet (42), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 29 August 1991 in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, in ongoing political conflict in the area. His friend, a COSATU member, was shot dead in the same incident.

MCHUNU, Matika Mabel (54), an ANC supporter, had her home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1991.

MCHUNU, Mgenzeni D (22), an ANC supporter, had his home in Richmond, Natal, burnt down in an attack

by IFP supporters in 1990, allegedly in the course of an IFP membership recruitment campaign.

MCHUNU, Mhlaliseni Ber nard (38), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in the Cingi area, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 November 1992.

MCHUNU, Michael Sipho (26), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by a named Special Constable in Chesterville, Durban, on 19 November 1988 during political conflict over the incorporation of Chesterville into KwaZulu.

MCHUNU, Mildred (49), had her house burnt down during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

MCHUNU, Miriam Bayabulile (45), lost her home in an arson attack in Eshowe, Natal, in early 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MCHUNU, Mndeni Christian (19), was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters during political conflict near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 8 December 1987. Two of the perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MCHUNU, Moses (12), was shot dead by members of the SAP in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976 while watching an office burning after an arson attack on the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MCHUNU, Moses (17), was severely assaulted by members of KwaZULU POLICE at Inchanga, Natal, in 1989. The police claimed that he was in possession of illegal firearms.

MCHUNU, Musawenkosi, a UDF supporter, drowned in Pietermaritzburg on 25 December 1987 when armed Inkatha supporters chased him into the Umsunduzi River and stoned him while he was trying to swim to safety.

MCHUNU, Mzikayise Zeblon (60), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death on 16 April 1990 at Thulini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in intense political conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February 1990.

MCHUNU, N, was severely beaten by members of the KwaZULU POLICE in KwaMashu, Durban, on 26 December 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MCHUNU, Nathan, an ANC supporter, was burnt to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 March 1990.

MCHUNU, Ndayakhe (42), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 16 March 1994 when IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KwaZULU POLICE, attacked residents in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MCHUNU, Ndleleni, a UDF supporter, was fatally stabbed by fellow UDF supporters at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 21 October 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. The attack was allegedly motivated by the belief that he supported Inkatha, because he lived in an Inkatha-dominated area.

MCHUNU, Ndodo (20), a UDF supporter, was abducted and shot dead by named Inkatha supporters at KwaMpande, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 18 October 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MCHUNU, Nhlanhla Isiah Brian (45), was shot five times and severely injured in a taxi in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 June 1996 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and residents of the area.

MCHUNU, Nkosinathi Joel (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 20 July 1991.

MCHUNU, Nonhlwati 'Elta' (69), an IFP supporter, was shot and killed by ANC supporters in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993, allegedly in a revenge attack. Her granddaughter and several other family members and neighbours were killed or injured in the attack.

MCHUNU, Nontobeko, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993.

MCHUNU, Nozi (59), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 11 August 1991.

MCHUNU, Ntinti Amos (58), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 31 December 1992.

MCHUNU, Oscar Thamduxolo (31), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 April 1990 in ongoing political conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

MCHUNU, Paulos Lucky (34), an ANC supporter, had his house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down on 14 December 1989 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MCHUNU, Peter Jabulani, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Mofolo North, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 February 1988 during the state of emergency. The soldiers chased him in a Casspir, broke down a door in his home and shot him.

MCHUNU, Phendukile Beauty (49), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 July 1990.

MCHUNU, Phumelele, was shot dead during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 September 1993. Her home was also set alight and all belongings were destroyed.

MCHUNU, Richard (25), an Inkatha supporter, had his house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in November 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MCHUNU, Samson Mfaniseni (36), a SANCO supporter, was shot and injured during political conflict in Pietermaritzburg on 8 June 1992.

MCHUNU, Shadrack Mechack (32), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 September 1990. Mr Mchunu, whose tenant was burnt to death

in the attack, was allegedly targeted because he was believed to be an ANC supporter.

MCHUNU, Silindile Genekose Janet (34), had her house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 7 December 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MCHUNU, Simphiwe, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993.

MCHUNU, Siphwe (45), had her home damaged in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Mabhuveni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1992, and was shot and injured by IFP supporters in 1994, allegedly because she was perceived to have sympathies with the ANC.

MCHUNU, Sithombo Saraphina (62), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 13 January 1994.

MCHUNU, Sizakele (15), was shot and injured at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 October 1993, when she and two other family members were abducted by ANC supporters and taken to a neighbour's house. The neighbour was killed and Sizakele's cousin and aunt were stabbed and severely injured. The perpetrators accused them of hiding IFP weapons, because their home was in an IFP stronghold.

MCHUNU, Thandazo Jumama (45), lost her house in an arson attack at Gingindlovu, Natal, on 31 January 1994 during intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MCHUNU, Thandeka Cynthia (13), an ANC supporter, died on 25 June 1991, two days after being stabbed by IFP supporters at Thawulendeni, Richmond, Natal. Between 21 and 23 June, IFP supporters, allegedly transported by the police, attacked ANC supporters in the Richmond area, killing at least 16 people from ANC-supporting families.

MCHUNU, Thandiwe Regina, an ANC supporter, was killed at her home in KwaMashu, Durban, by Inkatha supporters on 3 March 1990.

MCHUNU, Thandiwe, had her house at Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 26 November 1992. Ms Mchunu was accused of helping ANC supporters in the area.

MCHUNU, Themba Alpheus (23), was severely tortured by members of the Security Branch at the Loop Street police station, Pietermaritzburg, on 11 November 1976.

MCHUNU, Themba, suffered injuries when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

MCHUNU, Thembekile (33), had her house at Inghanga, Natal, burnt down by UDF supporters during political conflict in 1988.

MCHUNU, Thembi Irene (30), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, on 18 June 1989 at Ntshangweni, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, at a time of intensifying

political conflict in the area. The perpetrators had accused her of being a spy.

MCHUNU, Thembisile Gloria Christi (33), was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 January 1993, while travelling in a taxi headed for a known ANC area. The perpetrators boarded the taxi and opened fire, killing two people and injuring Ms Mchunu.

MCHUNU, Thenjiwe Maria (52), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in 1993 during political violence in the area. The motive for the attack is unknown.

MCHUNU, Tuku Thembi (32), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in October 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MCHUNU, Victor Julius (38), a UDF supporter, was injured when his house was burnt down by named members of the Chesterville A-TEAM during political conflict in Chesterville, Durban, on 30 December 1986.

MCHUNU, Victor, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

MCHUNU, Vincent Mazwi (17), a UDF supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 17 July 1986 during intensifying political conflict in the area. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MCHUNU, Vincent, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in August 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MCHUNU, Wiseman Simomo (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, at Ntiyane, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 March 1991.

MCHUNU, Wiseman Siphso (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 8 March 1992, when IFP supporters attacked a home in Zamani informal settlement, Umlazi, Durban. Mr Mchunu was staying overnight with friends at the house.

MCHUNU, Zamani, an IFP supporter, was killed by ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 28 March 1993.

MCHUNU, Zodwa Mar garet (42), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, in April 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MCHUNU-NTINGA, Mandla, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a group of IFP supporters at Ndlovu's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010).

MCILONGO, David, was stabbed and burnt to death on 13 April 1986 at Mzwini, Mooiplaas, near East

London, when named perpetrators attacked the Mcilongo family during conflict between two rival residents' associations. Mr Mcilongo was accused of being an informer before he was doused with petrol and set alight. His son and other members of the family were killed with him, and their houses burnt down.

MCILONGO, Fumbathile Gladman , was detained and tortured on 14 April 1986 after fighting between two rival residents' associations in East London. Mr Mcilongo died in June 1989 as a result of injuries sustained in detention.

MCILONGO, Lulama , was stabbed and burnt to death on 13 April 1986 at Mzwini, Mooiplaas, near East London, when named perpetrators attacked the Mcilongo family during conflict between two rival residents' associations. Mr Mcilongo was accused of being an informer before he was doused with petrol and set alight.

MCILONGO, Mzonke , was stabbed and burnt to death on 13 April 1986 at Mzwini, Mooiplaas, near East London, when named perpetrators attacked the Mcilongo family during conflict between two rival residents' associations. Mr Mcilongo was accused of being an informer before he was doused with petrol and set alight. His father and other members of the family were killed with him, and their houses burnt down.

MCILONGO, Nomathokazi Deborah (64), lost her house in an arson attack on 13 April 1986 at Mzwini, Mooiplaas, near East London, when named perpetrators attacked the Mcilongo family during conflict between two rival residents' associations and accused them of being informers. Her husband and son were burnt to death in the attack.

MCILONGO, Nomavela Ethelina (39), lost her house in an arson attack on 13 April 1986 at Mzwini, Mooiplaas, near East London, when named perpetrators attacked the Mcilongo family during conflict between two rival residents' associations and accused them of being informers. Several family members were killed in the attack.

MCILONGO, Nomight Ella (66) lost her house in an arson attack on 13 April 1986 at Mzwini, Mooiplaas, near East London, when the perpetrators attacked the Mcilongo family during conflict between two rival residents' associations and accused them of being informers. Several family members were killed in the attack.

MCILONGO, Vuyisile Victor (41), lost his house and livestock in an arson attack by named perpetrators on 13 April 1986 at Mzwini, Mooiplaas, near East London during conflict between two rival residents' associations. The Mcilongo family were accused of being informers. Several family members were killed in the attack.

MCILONGO, Xolile Louis (20), an ANCYL member, was subjected to electric shock torture by members of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, in July 1988 because they wanted information on his political activities.

MCINEKA, Lawrence Linda (46), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 30 October 1993 at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban.

MCIZWA, Pungula , an ANC supporter, spent five years in prison following his arrest in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Mr Mcizwa died shortly after his release, allegedly as a result of injuries sustained while in detention.

McKAY, Anne Frances (23), an END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN member, was harassed and her home was petrol-bombed by named members of the Security Branch in Berea, Johannesburg, on 11 July 1986. Ms McKay was also a UDF and JODAC activist.

McKENNA, John , was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

McKENZIE, Keith Charles (35), from Eersterus, Tvl, was detained in Botswana by ANC security members in April 1987 and held for several years in Zambia and Angola during which he suffered severe ill-treatment. At the time, Mr McKenzie was involved in a joint Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches and Special Forces operation which resulted in the deaths of three Batswana citizens, including two children, and injury to three others. This occurred when, a few days after his detention, South African security agents found the bus he had been driving and detonated the bomb it was carrying. According to amnesty applicants, Mr McKenzie was unaware he was driving a booby-trapped vehicle. Five members of the Security Branch were granted amnesty for the explosion (AC/2000/0214).

McLEAN, Thamsanqa Godfrey (34), a PAC supporter, was stabbed, hacked and left seriously injured by WITDOEKE vigilantes in KTC, Cape Town, on 9 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MCOSANA, Mampho Betty (53), was beaten by SAP members at her home in Parys, OFS, on 28 September 1990, allegedly because the police overheard her commenting about them. Her 16-year-old daughter was also severely beaten by the SAP members when she tried to help her mother.

MCOSANA, Sweetness Tanetjie (16), who was pregnant at the time, was beaten by named members of the SAP in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 28 September 1990, when she tried help her mother, who was being beaten by the police. Sweetness Mcosana's child is now blind and mentally retarded.

MCOSINI, Nombali Philby (28) was stabbed and severely injured in December 1985 at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in what became known as the UMBUMBULU MASSACRE.

MCOYANA, Moses , a UDF supporter, was shot with birdshot and injured by named members of the SAP when a student demonstration passed his home in Colesberg, Cape, on 22 July 1985. Reverend Mcoyana was detained under Article 50 of the Internal Security Act on 24 July 1985. He was acquitted of all charges by the Supreme Court, Eastern Cape.

MCOYI, Goodman Sipho (25), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 17 December 1990.

MCOYI, Innocent (23), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters and members of the KwaZulu POLICE in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 2 November 1990.

MCUBE, Buyanaye Miriam (73), an ANC supporter, had her home in Hopewell, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1992.

MCUBE, Thembani Ester (31), an ANC supporter, had her home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in July 1985.

MCULWANE, Elizabeth (45), was stabbed and injured when IFP supporters attacked her home on 5 December 1991 in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. One family member was killed in the attack and one other was stabbed and injured. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MCULWANE, Hluthu (56), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 20 June 1992.

MCULWANE, Ntobeko (10), was stabbed and injured when IFP supporters attacked her family home on 5 December 1991 in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal. One family member was killed in the attack and one other stabbed and injured. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MCULWANE, Ntokozo Petros (10), was stabbed to death when IFP supporters attacked his family home on 5 December 1991 in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal. Two other family members were stabbed and injured in the attack. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MCUNU, Doli Stephen (50), had his home in Madakane, Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 26 April 1991 in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MCUNU, Johannes Bigboy (48), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 November 1992. Mr Mcunu, who lived in an ANC stronghold, was allegedly thought to have ANC sympathies.

MCUNU, Msolwa (51), an ANC supporter, had his house in Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack in 1991 during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MCUNU, Vimbekhaya (47), an IFP supporter, was assaulted by other IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, during September 1992, in the course of an internal dispute.

MCUNUKEL WA, Makhubalo, was detained for two months and severely tortured by members of the SAP in 1961 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MCWABE, Mbukelwa Jerome (38), an Inkatha leader, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 16 March 1990 following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

MDA, Anele (15), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 18 March 1985. Eighteen people were shot dead by police and over 250 injured in three days of conflict, when Crossroads residents resisted forced removals to Khayelitsha.

MDABE, Makazi (58), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in February 1993.

MDABE, Ndukuzempi, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Enkunzini, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 19 August 1991.

MDADANE, Esta, a UDF supporter, had her house damaged when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MDADANE, Fortune Mthokozisi (18), was shot and injured at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 30 March 1992, during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MDAKANA, Jafter Mphangeleni, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, on 20 August 1990 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MDAKANA, Maleti Alice (25), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 15 July 1990 in ongoing political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MDAKANE, (first name not given), suffered an attempt on his life when he was shot at by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at Cartwright in Everest, Tvl. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0243).

MDAKANE, Eugene, was shot and injured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 19 November 1993, allegedly by named members of the ISU.

MDAKANE, Muzikayise Roderick, a member of the SAP, was shot and killed by IFP supporters during political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, Natal, in 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty for (AC/1999/0332).

MDAKANE, Sifiso (17), was shot dead by SAP Special Constables in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 December 1988 in intense political conflict in the area.

MDAKANE, Zephania, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Tvl, on 1 May 1986.

MDAMBA, Muzokhana Mntukayise, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 3 July 1993.

MDANDA, Alzinah (21), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MDANDA, Lilly (60), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MDAU, Virginia, was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it

was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

MDAYI, Eugenia Tamara (19), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Port Elizabeth, on 18 June 1976 in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING. Ms Mdayi was subsequently detained and tortured.

MDAYIMANI, Nkanyezi, was executed in Pretoria on 6 July 1962 for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MDEBUKA, Sandile Patrick (18), was shot by a named policewoman in Paarl, Cape, on 29 December 1985, as he passed near children fleeing from the police. Mr Mdebuka was arrested, but later acquitted.

MDEKAZI, Mzukisi Goodman (32), a member of the SADF and AN ANC supporter, was shot by a named member of the SAP during a dispute in a bar in Indwe, Cape, on 2 February 1990. He died two days later of his wounds.

MDEKAZI, Sonwabo, an MK operative, was killed in a shoot-out with members of the SAP in Ntshekisa Road, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth on 5 August 1987.

MDHLULI, Sizanje Elizabeth, was shot and injured by members of the SAP outside the magistrate's court in Kabokweni, KaNgwane, during court proceedings against a number of student leaders in 1986.

MDHLULI-PIKELELA, Moses Wellington Khehla (16), a COSAS member, was arrested and tortured by members of the SAP in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1986 during student unrest in the township.

MDIBI, Thembinkosi Lenford (35), was shot in the stomach by members of the ISU during political conflict at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 4 January 1993.

MDIDIMBA, Mzukisi Cathnick (16), was severely beaten by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 24 May 1986. Mr Mdidimba and 115 others were arrested on charges of public violence. Mr Mdidimba was acquitted after spending months in custody.

MDIKENI, Nowanda, an ANC member, was assaulted in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MDIMA, Gibe (64), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MDIMA, Khokhiwe (50) an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MDIMA, Lulu (62), had her house burnt down in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 February 1994. Around 20 deaths and at least 28 incidents of house burning were recorded that month in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Hundreds of people were forced to flee from the area, and schools and shops were forced to close.

MDIMA, Mandlakayise, an ANC supporter, died in detention after being detained and severely assaulted by members of the SAP at his home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 December 1990. Mr Mdima's two brothers were killed in political conflict in the Durban area in 1989 and 1990.

MDIMA, Mfeleni (46), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MDIMA, Mthozisi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Chesterville, Durban, on 11 November 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Mr Mdima's two brothers were both killed in 1990, one in detention and one in political conflict in the Durban area.

MDIMA, Nontshezi Eliza, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 26 March 1992, allegedly because she was thought to be harbouring ANC supporters.

MDIMA, Nqoba, an ANC supporter, was stoned to death on 12 November 1990 near his home in Kwa-Mashu, Durban, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Mr Mdima's brothers were both killed, one in detention, and one in political conflict in the Durban area.

MDIMA, Salelem Dorcas (38), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MDIMA, Sizani (47), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MDIMA, Solekhaya Jack, was shot dead in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 February 1994. Around 20 deaths and at least 28 incidents of house burning were recorded that month in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Hundreds of people were forced to flee from the area, and schools and shops were forced to close.

MDINGANE, Bandile, an ANC supporter, was killed in 1986 in Umtata, Transkei.

MDINGI, Leonard Maqhatshu (49), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Durban during 1975, allegedly because he had been involved in harbouring ANC operatives in the area.

MDINGI, Lucky, a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 August 1989.

MDINGI, Ntombizodwa Gertrude (46), an ADM supporter, was killed when a hand grenade was thrown into her bedroom during conflict between ANC and ADM supporters in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 28 February 1993.

MDINGI, Yongama (23), an ADM supporter, lost his home in an arson attack by ANC members during political conflict in Kidd's Beach, Cape, on 12 December 1993.

MDINISO, Duduzile Paulina (40), was hacked and injured by armed men who boarded a Soweto-bound train at Jeppe station and began attacking passengers as the train passed George Goch station, on 13

September 1990. The attackers moved through three carriages, killing about 26 people. See TRAIN VIOLENCE. **MDINISO, Mafika David** (17), an ANCYL supporter, was detained in Bethal, Tvl, on 14 January 1991 and tortured by named members of the SAP at Bethal, Ermelo and Davel police stations and at a shooting range. He was reportedly one of a group of young people detained and assaulted after police raided the homes of political activists looking for AK47s.

MDISHWA, Zimisele, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers were retaliating against the expulsion of IFP supporters from the area by ANC-supporting squatters. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were destroyed. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

MDITSHWA, Florence Nomabala (34), the wife of a local chief, was assaulted by members of iKONGO in Bizana, Transkei, on 2 December 1960. Persons associated with chiefs were targeted in the belief that they were collaborating with the government. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MDITSHWA, Starford, was killed by members of iKONGO on 2 December 1960 in Bizana, Transkei. Chief Mditshwa was allegedly accused of being an informer and a sell-out to the apartheid government. Chiefs who supported the self-governance of Transkei were targeted by activists because they were believed to be involved in the re-demarcation of land. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MDIYA, Lungisani, was severely beaten by members of the Security Branch in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 30 November 1975. Mr Mdiya and two other 'comrades' were arrested at the Botswana border while fleeing the country.

MDLADA, Hlaleleni Isabel (50), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death when named IFP supporters attacked ANC supporters in Osindisweni, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in February 1991. Her grandson, aged four, was shot and severely injured in the attack.

MDLADLA, Bhékani Gilbert (56), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 January 1991.

MDLADLA, Felani Elizabeth (51), an IFP supporter, had her home in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 27 January 1991. Her husband was killed in the attack.

MDLADLA, Mondli Kulana (15), an ANC supporter, was killed on 18 February 1994, when four gunmen attacked a house in the rural Mahahle village, near Creighton, Ixopo, Natal, in which he and other ANC youths were sleeping. Fifteen ANC youths were killed in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre.

MDLADLA, Ntombizonke Dora (46), an ANC supporter, had her home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 19 June 1991.

MDLADLA, Sibonelo (4), was shot and injured when named IFP supporters attacked ANC supporters in Osindisweni, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in February 1991. His grandmother was killed in the attack. **MDLADLA, Sokesimbane** (44), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 March 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MDLADLA, Stobi Constance (64), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban in March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MDLADLA, Timothy Roy, an ANC supporter, had his two houses in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in February 1991.

MDLADLA, Vincent Senti (21), was beaten by SADF soldiers and died from his injuries two weeks later, on 6 December 1990, in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. Mr Mdladla's father often gave sanctuary to ANC refugees.

MDLADLA, Zibuyile Kinini (21), an ANC supporter, was abducted by unidentified persons from Dambuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 14 March 1990, and was found dead in Plessislaer, near Pietermaritzburg, during intense political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February 1990.

MDLALA, Linda, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by unidentified persons in Chesterville, Durban on 1 January 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MDLALO, Makhosi, was axed and burnt to death by WITDOEKE vigilantes in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 12 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks. **MDLALOSE**, (first name not given), was shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA gang in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 at a night vigil for an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired and threw hand grenades at mourners, killing a number and injuring several others. Police arrived on the scene but provided no protection, ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

MDLALOSE, Africa, was beaten to death by IFP supporters in Madundube, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 April 1992 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MDLALOSE, Amos Mbongiseni (27), a UDF supporter, had his home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in June 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MDLALOSE, Anna, was shot and killed when a large group of ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members stormed her home and opened fire on its occupants in Tokoza, Tvl, during 1993. The family was believed to be supportive of the IFP. Another person was killed in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0243).

MDLALOSE, Bheki (32), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MDLALOSE, Butana Wilmoth (54), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, while waiting for a bus to take him to work in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 20 September 1992.

MDLALOSE, Caro (23), an ANC member, was shot dead in a revenge attack by a former councillor and member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Daveyton, Tvl, on 11 June 1991.

MDLALOSE, Elliot Bhudiza (28), was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, in April 1991. The perpetrators allegedly accused Mr Mdlalose of being an ANC supporter.

MDLALOSE, Ephrem Maswelindoda (21), was severely beaten and stabbed by IFP supporters in Mandini, Natal, on 27 April 1994, the first day of the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Mdlalose was wearing an ANC cap when he was assaulted.

MDLALOSE, Fangithini Petr os, was killed in Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 9 October 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MDLALOSE, Fikile Irene (57), an IFP supporter, was severely beaten and had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 22 March 1994 after she had joined an IFP march. ANC supporters, trying to disrupt the march, shot dead a marcher from Ms Mdlalose's house. Believing her to be an ANC supporter, IFP marchers then burnt her home down and attacked her. Police standing nearby allegedly did nothing to assist her.

MDLALOSE, Frans, a member of the SAP, was killed when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

MDLALOSE, Jabulani (47), the son of a former chief, had his home in Vryheid, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters and the KwaZULU POLICE on 28 November 1990. Mr Mdlalose was involved in a land dispute with the new, government-appointed chief, who was supported by the IFP.

MDLALOSE, Jabulisile Julia (38), had her home in Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by ANC supporters on 7 September 1987, allegedly because the family was perceived to be associated with an Inkatha supporter. Ms Mdlalose's husband was killed in the attack.

MDLALOSE, Knowledge, disappeared from Durban in 1992. He had been a member of the SRC at the University of Natal. He has not been seen since.

MDLALOSE, Madoda Simon (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP at his home in Vryheid, Natal, on 19 April 1990. Police were allegedly looking for his nephew when they shot Mr Mdlalose, allegedly in self-defence.

MDLALOSE, Makehlana Simon (27), a local councillor in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, was hacked to death by unidentified persons in October 1993 in political conflict arising from resistance to the local council.

MDLALOSE, Mandlenkosi James (41), an Inkatha supporter, had his home burnt down by UDF supporters in Molweni, KwaZulu, near Inchanga, Natal, on 26 December 1986.

MDLALOSE, Mashudu Sidumo, was shot and hacked to death, allegedly by ANC supporters, in an attack on Madala, Mshayazafe and Kutuza hostels in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 December 1990 during conflict in the area between ANC and IFP supporters.

MDLALOSE, Mphasobheni, was shot and burnt to death in Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 25 April 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MDLALOSE, Mfana Patric (28), an ANC supporter, was abducted, beaten and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 22 March 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MDLALOSE, Mngqobeni, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1991, allegedly because his nephew, a chief in the area, refused to side with either party in local political conflicts.

MDLALOSE, Mzoleni Johnson (50), was stabbed and burnt to death by ANC supporters in Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 7 September 1987, allegedly because the family was perceived to be associated with an Inkatha supporter. The family home was burnt down in the attack.

MDLALOSE, Nana Constance (42), had her house burnt down in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in October 1993. The attack was allegedly targeted at her son, a local councillor.

MDLALOSE, Ngenzeni Lillian (40), had her house in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, attacked by Inkatha supporters in October 1985 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters. She was forced to leave the area.

MDLALOSE, Nikeziwe Joyce (36), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 March 1994. She had attended an IFP rally in the area shortly beforehand.

MDLALOSE, Robert (67), was abducted and severely assaulted by IFP supporters in Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 24 April 1994, allegedly because his late son had been an ANC supporter. He escaped, to find his home had been burnt down.

MDLALOSE, Sibongile (41), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Ntambanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 January 1994. One family member was killed in the attack. At least 14 homes were burnt down when IFP supporters attacked ANC homes in the area.

MDLALOSE, Sikhumbuzo Michael, a bodyguard, was shot and injured in Maqongqo, Table Mountain,

near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 September 1992, when ANC members tried to assassinate a local IFP leader whom he was guarding. The IFP leader and another bodyguard were also injured. One ANC member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/99/0329).

MDLALOSE, Siphon Mzonjani , was killed when IFP supporters attacked his home at Ntambanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 January 1994. The family home was one of at least 14 burnt down when IFP supporters attacked ANC homes in the area.

MDLALOSE, Thamsanqa Blessing (17), an ANC supporter, disappeared from KwaMashu, Durban, on 28 April 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area. He has never been seen again and is presumed dead.

MDLALOSE, Themba Doen (20), a COSAS member, was tortured by named members of the SAP in Daveyton and Benoni, Tvl, in June 1985.

MDLALOSE, Tuku , was shot and killed when a large group of ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members stormed his home and opened fire on its occupants in Tokoza, Tvl, during 1993. The family was believed to be supportive of the IFP. Another person was killed in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0243).

MDLAMBUZI, Thakatsihana , was detained for two years in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MDLAMLA, Bambaliphi , an iKONGO member, was imprisoned in June 1960 in Lusikisiki, Transkei, for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MDLANGATHI, Mbalekelwa Thomas (61), was shot dead in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban on 20 December 1991 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MDLANGATHI, Thomas Mbalekelwa (61), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 December 1991.

MDLANGU, Nomfaneleko Nobomvu Julian (27), was injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MDLANKOMO, Ligwa Graham (aka 'Zakes') (26), an ANC member from KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

MDLELENI, Kekeni Barnabas (42), an ANC supporter, lost his home and shop in an arson attack by members of the ANCYL in Matatiele, Natal, on 30 April 1990. The perpetrators had earlier called for a boycott of his shop.

MDLETSHE, Balindle (56), had her house near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by a named perpetrator in 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MDLETSHE, Bibiyana Isaac , was shot dead in Ntuzi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 8 January 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His daughter was also killed in the attack.

MDLETSHE, Bonginkosi Ewart (24), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ntshidi, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 1 August 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MDLETSHE, Bonginkosi Siphwe (30), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Stanger, Natal, on 5 February 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MDLETSHE, Daniel (53), had his home burnt down in Sowanjane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 23 April 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MDLETSHE, Dennis Zenzele (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 March 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MDLETSHE, Derrick Bhelinkosi (23), was shot dead by unidentified persons in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 19 March 1993 in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MDLETSHE, Dumisani , was abducted from his house at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, and taken to a river in Empangeni, where he was stabbed to death. His mud-covered body was found in the river on 10 May 1992.

MDLETSHE, Khayelihle (14), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named perpetrator in the Empangeni area, Natal, on 4 August 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MDLETSHE, Lindiwe Khunjuliwe (28), had her house at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down on 17 June 1990 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

MDLETSHE, Lucy Nokusa (56), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, in Empangeni, Natal, on 15 April 1990. Her husband, who was killed in the incident, had been an Inkatha member but had rejoined the ANC after its UNBANNING.

MDLETSHE, Makatamane Gideon (60), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, in Empangeni, Natal, on 15 April 1990. His home was also burnt down. He had previously been an ANC member and had been imprisoned on Robben Island. On his release he had joined the IFP, but rejoined the ANC after its UNBANNING.

MDLETSHE, Martin Mdoda , was shot and stabbed to death during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Sowanjane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 23 March 1994. His home was burnt down in the same incident.

MDLETSHE, Mashiywa Mandlenkosi (43), lost his house in an arson attack at Odondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 July 1992 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MDLETSHE, Mbuyiseni , an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters and Security Branch members in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 8 February 1992, allegedly because of his political activities.

MDLETSHE, Mbuyiseni , an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by other IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 20 February 1994, allegedly because he was believed to have sympathies with the ANC.

MDLETSHE, Mduduzi Prince (18), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1980 during school boycotts in the area.

MDLETSHE, Mirriam Edna (37), had her home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1993, allegedly because she was perceived to be an ANC supporter.

MDLETSHE, Nombuyiselo Mabel (57), an ANC supporter, had her house, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters early in 1992, allegedly because her sons were ANC supporters.

MDLETSHE, Ntombikayise Doris (46), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Verulam, Natal, on 26 May 1993.

MDLETSHE, Ntondo (51), an IFP supporter, lost his home in an arson attack in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, in April 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MDLETSHE, Thembekile (51), lost her home in an arson attack in KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in November 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MDLETSHE, Thuleleni Nomvula (7), was shot dead in Eshowe, Natal, on 8 January 1993 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her father was also killed in the attack.

MDLETSHE, Vukuthu Florence (40), was shot and injured in Umlazi, Durban, when members of the SAP opened fire from a police van on 19 October 1990 during a period of mass action in the area.

MDLETSHE, Zifo (70), was hacked to death by alleged IFP supporters in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 March 1992 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MDLINZE, Roseline Bongive (44), had her home in Emqolombeni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down in 1991, allegedly because her children were ANC supporters. She was forced to flee the area.

MDLIVA, Tobias Mkhosi , was shot and beaten with gun butts by members of the SAP in the streets of Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1991 during March 21 commemorations. A civil action was brought against the Minister of Law and Order for this attack and a criminal case was heard.

MDLOLO, Alvina (48), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 27 October 1992 as she fled her home in Wembezi,

KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, during continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MDLOLO, Mshiyeni , an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Estcourt, Natal, on 1 July 1992.

MDLOPHANE, Bheka Brian (25), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Elufafa, Ixopo, Natal, on 6 June 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MDLU DLUWATHA, Kululekile (46), an ANC activist, was shot in the legs by members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 8 July 1993, during conflict sparked by a local leader's attempt to remove Crossroads residents from Section 2 by force.

MDLULI, Alfred Mkize (50), was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in his home in Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MDLULI, Aubrey Mzwakhe , an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at his home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 18 February 1990 in ongoing political conflict following the release of Nelson Mandela from prison a week earlier.

MDLULI, Aubrey , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in KaNyamazane, KaNgwane, on 15 June 1986. He was with others at a local sports-ground, rehearsing freedom songs in preparation for the tenth anniversary of the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING, when the Riot Squad arrived to disperse the crowd, and killed him. Police claimed that they had opened fire because 500 youths were advancing with petrol bombs.

MDLULI, Barry Qethu (aka 'Mark Mashaba') (20), an MK member from Ladysmith, Natal, was detained and tortured by members of ANC security in 1979 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. A number of ANC members were detained, tortured and killed during a period of anxiety about infiltration by South African agents following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979.

MDLULI, Bekingosi W ellington , a policeman, was burnt to death by 'comrades' in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, on 22 November 1990. Policemen were often targeted by political activists because they were seen as agents of apartheid.

MDLULI, Bong'i (5), was burnt to death in an arson attack on her home in Chesterville, Durban, by named members of the Chesterville A-TEAM on 9 January 1987. Her mother and baby sister were killed in the same attack.

MDLULI, Brenda (1), was burnt to death in an arson attack on her home in Chesterville, Durban, by named members of the Chesterville A-TEAM on 9 January 1987. Her mother and sister were killed in the same attack.

MDLULI, Busisiwe Blessed (28), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MDLULI, Elizabeth Sizane , was shot and injured by members of the SAP outside the magistrate's court in Kabokweni, KaNgwane, in 1986, during the hearing of a case involving student leaders.

MDLULI, Elsie (46), had her home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 18

February 1990, allegedly because her son was an ANC supporter.

MDLULI, Elsie Fikile (40), was stabbed and injured by six Inkatha supporters in Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area in 1989. Her husband was killed in the attack.

MDLULI, Ephraim Tsepo (32), was shot by a named member of the SAP in Sakhile, near Standerton, Tvl, on 17 November 1990, allegedly for violating curfew laws.

MDLULI, Gabazile (22), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured in the hip by ANC supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 in the aftermath of an attack on a night vigil for an ANCYL member. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

MDLULI, Hambani Question (41), lost his house in Katlehong, Tvl, in an arson attack, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 7 June 1993 during political conflict in the area.

MDLULI, Joseph, an MK operative, died on 19 March 1976 from injuries sustained during torture in detention at the Security Branch head office in Fischer Street, Durban. Mr Mdluli had been detained for interrogation on suspicion of recruiting youths for military training outside South Africa. Members of the Security Branch were charged with culpable homicide.

MDLULI, Kisslow (24), lost her house in an arson attack at GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, in April 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MDLULI, Margaret (45), an IFP supporter, was burnt to death by ANC supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1992.

MDLULI, Marvis Tete (21), had her home damaged in an arson attack by 'comrades' in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, on 22 November 1990. Ms Mdluli's husband, a policeman, was killed in the attack. Police officers were often targeted by political activists as they were seen as agents of an oppressive State.

MDLULI, Mazwi Ian, had his house in Durban destroyed in an arson attack by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM during January 1986.

MDLULI, Mhlabunzima Michael (19), was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Nkanyezini, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 August 1992, allegedly because he refused to attend an IFP self-defence training camp.

MDLULI, Mnuken, an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

MDLULI, Mziwakhe Henry (42), was shot and killed in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 19 April 1993 while driving people to the funeral of assassinated SACP leader, CHRIS HANI. Mr Mdluli's blood-soaked body was found later outside a hostel with bullet wounds under his arm.

MDLULI, Nokwazi (26), was burnt to death in an arson attack on her home in Chesterville, Durban, by named members of the Chesterville A-TEAM on 9 January 1987. Her two little daughters were killed in the same attack.

MDLULI, Nompumelelo, was severely burnt when her home in Durban was set alight by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM during January 1986.

MDLULI, Nonhlanhla Thandi (24), an IFP supporter, had her home set alight by ANC supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1992.

MDLULI, Peter, was injured in a hand grenade explosion at Lulekani, Gazankulu, on 28 March 1986. Fifteen people died and scores were injured when members of the SADF threw a hand grenade into a packed shebeen on Good Friday 1986. See GAZANKULU HAND GRENADE ATTACK.

MDLULI, Samson, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MDLULI, Sboniso, an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at his home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 18 February 1990 following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February.

MDLULI, Sebongile (6), suffered severe burns to her face during an arson attack on her house on 7 June 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly carried out by IFP supporters. The attack took place during political conflict in the area.

MDLULI, Sibonelo (5), was burnt to death when his family home in Durban was set alight by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM during January 1986.

MDLULI, Sibusiso Banda, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 June 1993. Three other ANC supporters were shot dead in the attack. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MDLULI, Sibusiso Frank, was killed by Inkatha supporters during an attack on a UDF-stronghold at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 16 January 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty for the murder (AC/1999/0334).

MDLULI, Sikhumbuzo Msethenzwa Milton (26), was shot dead on a street in Pietermaritzburg on 21 August 1992 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MDLULI, Sikhumbuzo, was shot dead in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 21 August 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MDLULI, Sthabile (2), was burnt to death when her family home in Durban was set alight by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM during January 1986.

MDLULI, Sthembiso (26), an IFP supporter, disappeared from his home at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near

Empangeni, Natal, following an attack on his family by ANC supporters in April 1992. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MDLULI, Themba Phineas (32), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters on 16 January 1988, while he was driving a bus in an IFP stronghold in Mafakathini, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MDLULI, Thulani Elias (21), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in 1986.

MDODA, Mbuyiselo, was shot in the back by members of the SAP in Sonwabile, Maclear, Cape, on 6 February 1990. Police fired teargas into the Presbyterian Church hall to disperse a COSATU meeting, and then opened fire on the home of a COSATU member, severely injuring several people.

MDODANA, David Mthuthuzeli (49), a UDF supporter, was injured in an arson attack by named AZAPO members during political conflict in Port Elizabeth on 17 October 1986.

MDOKO, Songezo Elvis Sogie (24), a COSAS activist, was detained under emergency regulations on 25 August 1985 in Port Elizabeth. He was held for three months during which he was tortured. Mr Mdoko had been previously been detained in 1980.

MDOLO, Joel (46), was assaulted in detention in Dududu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in January 1961. When he was released, in May 1961, he was mentally disabled.

MDOLO, Phillip Mfanalezi (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 December 1987 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Two other UDF supporters were killed in the same incident.

MDOLOMBA, Ntombizandile, an ANC supporter, was detained on 15 June 1985 in Port Elizabeth, and held for three weeks during which she was tortured and interrogated about the activities of other ANC activists. She was later charged with public violence.

MDUBA, Sithembiso Sydney, was shot dead in KTC, Cape Town, on 11 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MDUBO, Bazini Ivy Magambushe (60), had her home in Bethany Mission, near Port Shepstone, Natal, destroyed by IFP supporters on 28 May 1991, allegedly because her son refused to join the IFP.

MDUBULE, Frank, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

MDUDUMA, Amos (37), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in April 1992.

MDUDUZA, Mr (first name not given), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during the late 1980s. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/054).

MDULI, Regina Mawina (21), an ANC supporter, had her home in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 April 1992.

MDUMO, Thabile Millicent, had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during March 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MDUNA, Nomahlubi Prisca (34), an ANC supporter, had her home in Mandini, Natal, destroyed by named Inkatha supporters in March 1990.

MDUNA, Thulani Dumisani, was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

MDUNAWA, Gutsi William (40), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by members of the SAP in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 July 1990, during a protest against the demolition of an informal settlement by the SAP.

MDUNFANA, Sizwe Sylvia (42), had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

MDUNGE, Fe Patrick (45), a UDF supporter, was injured when his family home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters on 9 September 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Three members of the family, who were UDF and ANC supporters, died in the attack.

MDUNGE, Malungelo (27), had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed by IFP supporters in February 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MDUNGE, Mantombi Pauline (58), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by named IFP supporters in Ngonweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 January 1993.

MDUNGE, Mar gar et (57), lost her home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack on 9 June 1990 in political conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

MDUNGE, Mthandeni Misheck (14), was killed when his family home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters on 9 September 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Two other members of the family, who were ANC and UDF supporters, died in the attack.

MDUNGE, Musawenkosi Welcome (10), was severely injured when his family home in Imbali, Pietermaritz-

burg, was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters on 9 September 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Three members of the family, who were UDF and ANC supporters, died in the attack.

MDUNGE, Sandile Richard (15), died when his family home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters on 9 September 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Two other members of the family, who were ANC and UDF supporters, died in the attack.

MDUNGE, Thandiwe Verah (43), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when her house in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters on 9 September 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Two other members of the family died in the attack.

MDUNGE, Theminkosi Ernest (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, on 29 January 1991.

MDUNGE, Zitusele Thandazile (27), an ANC supporter, had her house in Empangeni, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in May 1992.

MDUNGWA, Ntombenhlohe Precious (22), had her home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, set alight in 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MDUNGWANE, Tefa Joseph (54), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over independence in 1986.

MDUNYELWA, Bukubukwana, a PAC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Queenstown, Cape, on 12 December 1962 during a shoot-out between the police and train passengers, mostly PAC supporters.

MDUNYELWE, Mhlonuphile (29), lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1993 in intense political conflict over the launch of an IFP branch in the area.

MDUTSHANE, Nkebe Soswiti (50), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by named perpetrators on 8 March 1994 in Flagstaff, Transkei. At the time, many ANC supporters were apparently harassed by Chief Mdutshane and his followers.

MDWAYI, Melikhaya (19), was detained and tortured members of the SAP and ISU in February 1986 in Port Elizabeth. In detention, he was questioned about UDF activities.

MDYESHA, Thozama Jennifer (38), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

MDYESHA, Thozamile Edward (27), an ANC supporter and SAYCO member, was detained under emergency regulations on 17 July 1986 in Somerset East, Cape, and held in custody until August 1988. While in detention, he was tortured.

MDYOGOLO, Mthandazeli Patrick (17), an AZASM supporter, was shot dead by a named perpetrator on 30 October 1984 during student protests in Grahams-town, Cape.

MDYUBA, Boties (42), was severely tortured on 1 July 1963 at the police station in Burgersdorp, Cape, after he had been accused of being a member of Poqo.

MDZEKE, Mthimkhulu (77), lost his house in arson attack by UDF supporters during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, in August 1985. He was targeted allegedly because he was a COUNCILLOR. **MEDUPE, Itumeleng James Nango** (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by unidentified attackers in Welkom, OFS, on 9 May 1992. The killing took place at a time of heightened political tension and boycotts in the area.

MEER, Fatima (47), president of the Black Women's Federation, was detained without trial in Durban for five months in 1976. Other members of her family were detained at the same time.

MEER, IC, was banned in 1976, allegedly because of his family's opposition to apartheid. His wife, son and son-in-law were detained without trial for five months in the same year, following the SOWETO UPRISING.

MEER, Rashad, was detained without trial in Durban for five months in 1976, allegedly because of his mother's affiliation to the Black Women's Federation.

MEGALE, Mpho Ellen, a political activist, was arrested and tortured by named members of the SAP in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 9 June 1988.

MEGKWE, Pelo Gabriel, was beaten and injured by members of the MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB (MUFC) in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, during 1988. MUFC members accused Mr Megkwe of having sexual relations with a priest at the place where he had sought refuge from the police.

MEHALE, Manke Kwena (47), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MEHLALA, James Mncedisi, was hacked to death in New Crossroads, Cape Town, on 19 March 1986, during clashes between vigilantes known variously as the 'Fathers' or the WITDOEKE, and UDF supporters. Seven people died in the two-day clash.

MEHLOMAKHULU, Harriet (46), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Swanieville, Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers were retaliating against the explosion of IFP supporters from the area. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

MEINTJIES, David Kaiser (12), was shot by a member of the SAP in June 1985 in Thembaesizwe, Aberdeen, Cape. David believes he was targeted because he may have been spotted in a protest march earlier that day.

MEIRING, A, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives

were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MEIRING, AR, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MEIRING, PW, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MEJANA, Thembile (29), an ANC member, was shot dead on 10 June 1988 allegedly by UNITA forces when he was transporting food between ANC CAMPS in Angola. MK soldiers based in Angola assisted the FAPLA forces of the ruling MPLA government in its war against UNITA, which was assisted by the South African government. 1987-8 saw particularly fierce fighting, in which a number of MK soldiers were killed in combat, often in ambushes laid by UNITA.

MEJANE, Thozama Samson (69), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MEJE, Dikeni Tshangisa (63), an ANC supporter, was banished from his home by members of the Transkei Police and the Transkei Tribal Authorities on 14 November 1983 in Mqanduli, Transkei, for furthering the aims of the ANC.

MEJE, Michael Zalimpi (46), a PAC organiser, had his home set alight by named ANC members during political conflict in Steynsburg, Cape, on 13 June 1993.

MELLS, Andre Geor ge (46), a member of the SAP, suffered injuries on 22 July 1992 when he and 12 other policemen were attacked by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members whilst on foot patrol in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. Six policemen were injured in the exchange of fire. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1997/0029).

MEKHOE, Ratsebe Jeremiah (25), an ANC supporter, was detained for three days during May 1971 in Welkom, OFS. He was tortured under police interrogation, and confessed to being a communist. Based on this confession, he was sentenced on 1 December 1971 to four years on Robben Island.

MEKO, Diki, was shot dead in 1986 in Cookhouse, Cape during political conflict between members of the Cookhouse community and the Kakana family. Five Kanana family members were killed after claims were made that they were collaborating with the state.

MEKO, Kgomotso (35), was severely beaten, by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 10 December 1992. Ms Meko and another resident were arrested for resisting Chief Mangope's rule.

MEKO, Zolani, was shot dead by ANC supporters in 1986 in New Town, Cookhouse, Cape during political conflict between the Cookhouse community and the Kakana family. Five Kanana family members were killed after claims were made that they were collaborating with the state.

MEKUNU, MP Willie (40), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 March 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MELANE, Nkopodi Joyce (14), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted in an attack by A-TEAM members on mourners at a night vigil in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 9 May 1985.

MELANE, Oliver, an iKONGO member, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 in Flagstaff, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MELANI, Nongxaki Nora (35), lost her home in a petrol bomb attack in 1986 in New Crossroads, Cape Town, allegedly because she supported a local rent boycott.

MELAPE, Robert (37), was injured when he was stabbed and thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters while travelling from Nancefield to Orlando, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 10 November 1993. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

MELATO, Alice Dikeledi (38), an ANCWL supporter, was detained in Bethlehem, OFS on 15 June 1986 and held at various police stations in the province, allegedly because she was accused of being a communist. She was beaten by members of the SAP and kept in solitary confinement.

MELATO, David Moeti (24), was killed when a hand grenade was detonated by a named MK operative in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 27 November 1992. MK and APLA members had returned from exile and were training members of the community to defend themselves against attacks by IFP supporters and the security forces. The perpetrator threw the hand grenade after an argument at a *stokvel*. Six people died and four others were injured in the explosion.

MELATO, Mahlomola Percy (18), a member of SAYCO, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP at his home in Mamafubedu, Petrus Steyn, OFS, on 14 June 1986. He was detained the next day and taken to Petrus Steyn police station, where he was beaten. Later he was taken to the Heilbron police station, where he was again severely assaulted.

MELATO, Percy, was detained and beaten unconscious by members of the SAP during the state of emergency, in Bethlehem, OFS, on 1 June 1986. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MELATO, Raymond (22), was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Heilbron, OFS, on 15 June 1986. Police had sjambokked him and his friends at home the day before he was detained. His mother and

brother were also detained, in different parts of the province, on 15 June 1986.

MELATO, Tonny, was shot dead by named perpetrators in Evaton, Tvl, on 27 July 1991 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters, and within the ANC in the area. Mr Melato received threats from a rival faction within the ANC-aligned civic organisation before his death.

MELESI, Victor Boitumelo, an ANCYL member, was detained, along with his cousin, by members of the SAP at Dealesville, OFS, on 25 August 1990, on suspicion of involvement in an attack on a COUNCILLOR's home. The cousins were made to lie on the ground and were shot at by the police members. His cousin was wounded in the shooting.

MELLO, MS, was injured when a car bomb exploded outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's court on 20 May 1987. Four policemen were killed in the explosion, which took place after a decoy smaller bomb had lured them to the scene. Two other people were injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0067).

MELLO, Ntombi Merriam (65), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on a protest march against high rentals on 21 November 1985.

MELUBA, Edward, was killed when the vehicle in which he was travelling detonated a landmine in Messina, Tvl, on 26 November 1985. The driver of the vehicle was also injured in what was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border areas. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

MELWANE, Borolo Godfrey (27), the chairperson of a local PAC branch, was detained in Cape Town in March 1963. He was charged with furthering the aims of a banned organisation and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment on Robben Island, where he was frequently beaten by prison warders.

MEMA, Alfred Wilson Jabu, was shot and killed in Tembisa, Tvl, on 4 September 1992 during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting Vusumuzi hostel-dwellers.

MEMA, Mzamo (47), an ANC member, was severely assaulted by members of the CDF during conflict between ANC and ADM supporters at KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 27 December 1991.

MEMANI, Caroline Nanziwe Mambathane, an ANC supporter, experienced severe harassment by police after her son was shot dead in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 10 September 1980, during school and bus boycotts. Her home was raided and children arrested, the funeral was placed under restriction orders that she defied, and their home was tear-gassed after the funeral on 20 September 1980.

MEMANI, Lennox Themba Kokinana (18), was shot dead when Riot Police, hidden in a bus, fired birdshot at a group of youths during a bus boycott in Guguletu, Cape, on 10 September 1980.

MEMANI, Mzenzi Griffiths (39), was shot and injured by a SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Plettenberg Bay, Cape, during 1989.

MEMANI, Peggy Nontuthuzelo Suzie (16), an AZAPO supporter, was assaulted with batons by members of the SAP in Queenstown, Cape, in 1985, when police disrupted an AZAPO gathering. In June 1985 she was also assaulted with a blunt instrument by UDF supporters in Port Alfred, Cape.

MEMANI, Sebenzile Oliver (42), had his house destroyed in an arson attack in Crossroads, Cape Town, in April 1983. His house was again destroyed by WITDOEKE vigilantes in KTC, Cape Town, in 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps.

MEMANI, Toti James (67), was injured in a shooting by members of the Ciskei Police in August 1983 in Mdantsane, Ciskei, while on his way to catch a train during the MDANTSANEBUS BOYCOTT.

MEMANI, Zenzile William (34), was severely beaten by members of the SAP who arrested him in September 1978 for resisting forced removal from Crossroads, Cape Town. In 1983 he lost his home in an arson attack in Crossroads.

MEMELA, Bernard Jabulani (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in August 1993.

MEMELA, Bhékani Nelson (21), an ANC supporter, was killed by a named IFP supporter in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 December 1991.

MEMELA, Caselinah Situkulu (50), had her house at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 27 March 1990 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

MEMELA, Christophora (68), a UDF supporter, lost her house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on 29 November 1988 in intense political conflict in the area.

MEMELA, Daniel Mthungathi, was severely beaten by members of the SAP while in detention in 1965 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MEMELA, Helen Lindiwe (25), was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK.

Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

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

MEMELA, Madoti (65), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by IFP supporters in KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, on 28 January 1991.

MEMELA, Mkwé, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP at Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 May 1992 during political conflict in the area. Police allegedly sided with IFP supporters in the conflict.

MEMELA, Nomathemba Maria (36), had her house at Madakane, Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 5 February 1994 in political violence during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MEMELA, Ntombikayise Sylvia (18), an ANC supporter, had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in fighting between ANC supporters and IFP supporters, allegedly supported by members of the ISU, in June 1993. More than 300 people died violently in Bhambayi during 1993. Hundreds of homes were burnt down.

MEMELA, Simo, was shot dead by Special Constables in Durban on 30 April 1987 during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters.

MEMELA, Thabani Patrick (22), was shot dead in Umlazi, Durban, on 19 June 1992, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MEMELA, Thabani, was one of four MK operatives shot dead by members of the Port Natal Security Branch during a high-speed car chase on Quarry Road, Durban, on 7 September 1986. Three Port Natal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty. They further confessed to planting weapons on the deceased (AC/2000/135).

MEMELA, Thandi (42), was harassed by Security Police in Chesterville, Durban, from 1981 onwards because her son was a COSAS member. He left for exile in 1983, but harassment continued, culminating in her house being set on fire in 1985, allegedly by the police. When her son and other members of his unit were shot dead by police in September 1986, Ms Memela was not allowed to see his body.

MEMELA, Thandi Ernestina (51), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down in violent conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MEMELA, Thembisile Goodness (29), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down allegedly by members of the KwaZULU POLICE and IFP supporters at Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, in March 1991. An IFP supporter was shot dead by an ANC member during this incident.

MEMELA, Vusumuzi Lawrence (39), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters and members of the KwaZULU POLICE at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 November 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MEMELA, Wilson Bambezakhe (45), was shot dead by ANC supporters in Bhuboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Memela was allegedly mistaken for an IFP supporter.

MEMELA, Zodwa Constance (29), an ANC supporter, had her home in KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 15 January 1991.

MEMELA, Zowakhe Mdunyiswa (34), was shot dead by ANC supporters in Polela, Bulwer, Natal, on 17 May 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area. Two of his friends were killed in the same incident.

MEMEZA, George Sphiwe (22), was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silvertown, Tvl,

on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

MEMEZA, Zwelidani Jackson, was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Unathi, Crossroads, Cape Town, on 16 June 1993, during protests in the area. Residents of Crossroads had gathered so that they could attend a march in KTC when police fired shots at them. About ten others were shot by police in this incident.

MENATSI, Richard, suffered severe emotional trauma as a result of an arson attack on Khanya House, the headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, in Pretoria on 12 October 1988. The victims were trapped in the burning building for some time before being rescued. Twelve *Vlakplaas* operatives and seven other Security Branch Headquarters operatives, including senior personnel, were granted amnesty (AC/2000/215).

MENDELE, Nowanathi Patricia (32), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by IFP supporters and members of the SAP in Power Park, Soweto, on 27 July 1993. Her shack was also set alight and five members of the household were killed.

MENDU, Alson Fikile (36), a COSAS member, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP members in KwaXaba, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MENDU, Mbayiyana (60), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by other ANC supporters in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 28 April 1990, allegedly because she was thought to be a witchdoctor, at a time of intense political conflict in the area.

MENDU, Ntombile Margaret (60), an ANC supporter, had her home in Mqolombeni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in September 1993.

MENDU, Xolani Christian (25), an ANC supporter, had his home in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by other ANC supporters during May 1990. His mother had been killed the previous week.

MENE, Jongile (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MENE, Julian Lansa, was shot, injured and beaten by members of the SAP in Knysna, Cape, on 16 March 1986. One person was shot dead and several others injured in this incident that took place during political unrest in the town.

MENE, Thembile Reginald (16), a COSAS member, was shot, severely injured, and then beaten in a 'Trojan Horse' type shooting by named members of the SAP and Railway Police concealed on a railway truck in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 25 March 1986. Two youths were shot dead in the incident. See TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN.

MENGQANE, Lindile (43), an ANC supporter, was suffocated with a tyre tube by members of the Ciskei Police on 26 December 1991 in Mdantsane, Ciskei.

MENGOANE, Mzunani , an ANC member, was severely beaten by members of the CDF on 26 December 1991 at KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, during political conflict over the reimposition of the headman system in the homeland.

MENTILE, Christopher Luvuyo (18), an ANCYL supporter, was tortured in detention by named members of the Ciskei Police at Dimbaza police station, Ciskei, in June 1985.

MENTILE, Daniel Wandile Lennox (15), was shot and lost his sight when he was caught in crossfire between rival taxi groups in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 14 June 1991. The taxi conflicts in Cape Town acquired a political dimension due to perceptions of political affiliation and allegations of police involvement. See TAXI VIOLENCE.

MENTOOR, Edward Ntsikelelo (31), a SAYCO member, was tortured in detention by named members of the Security Branch in Port Elizabeth, on 18 August 1985 during the state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MENTOOR, Sylvester , an ANC member, was assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP while he was in detention at Ugie, Cape, in 1990.

MENTYISI, Tamsanqa Alfr ed, an ANC member, lost his home in an arson attack in Site C, Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 18 February 1992, allegedly by supporters of the Lingeletu West Town Council, believed to be aided by the SAP. Several persons died in the attack and many were left homeless.

MENYATSO, Bullboy Johannes (21), was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Parys, OFS, on 21 June 1985, as he was returning from a mass funeral of people allegedly killed by the police.

MENYATSO, Kenneth , was one of a group of boys abducted by MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB members from the Methodist manse in Orlando, Soweto, on 29 December 1988 and taken to Ms Madikizela-Mandela's house in Diepkloof, Soweto, during a period of intense political conflict. The youths were accused of being sexually involved with the Methodist priest and of being police informers. They were severely beaten and assaulted by named perpetrators, allegedly in the presence of Ms Madikizela-Mandela.

MENZE, Kenose Andrew (24), an ANCYL member, had his home burnt down by members of the THREE MILLION GANG in Troubou, Kroonstad, OFS, on 2 January 1990, allegedly because he had refused to join the gang. On 6 July 1991, Mr Menze was stripped, assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP and the Security Branch in Kroonstad, OFS. He had refused to act as an informer for the police.

MENZE, Makhezwane , was detained by members of the SAP for allegedly killing a white person in Addo, Cape, and was sentenced to death at the New Law courts, Port Elizabeth, on 8 January 1987. He was hanged in Pretoria on 20 April 1989.

MENZE, Mkhululi Headman (17), was detained under emergency regulations on 15 September 1986 in Alicedale, Cape. On arrest he was assaulted by a named member of the SAP. He was held for a week

and then transferred to Grahamstown police station where he was detained for nine months before being released on 21 May 1987.

MENZE, Zukile Mopedi (23), was detained and tortured by named members of the SAP on 2 September 1986 at Louis le Grange Square police station in Port Elizabeth, reportedly because his brother was a political activist.

MENZI, Edward Gugwana (52), a UDF activist, was stabbed in his shop by named AZAPO supporters during political conflict in Cookhouse, Cape, on 26 February 1986. His wife was killed in the attack.

MENZI, Nokhaya Mina (50), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death in her shop by named AZAPO supporters during political conflict in Cookhouse, Cape, on 26 February 1986.

MENZI, Osmen (32), was detained in Pearston, Cape, in April 1986 during a stayaway. He was held for three years during which he was interrogated and tortured. He had also been detained and tortured in 1985.

MENZIWA, Gwebinkundla , was shot dead by members of the SAP and CDF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 3 September 1985.

MEQABUDI, M , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MERAE, Baile Piet Bizza (20), vice-president of the local youth congress, was severely assaulted by a local COUNCILLOR and his family in Dealesville, OFS, on 19 August 1990. Mr Merae played a prominent role in the organisation of a consumer boycott targeting businesses owned by local councillors.

MESHEKI, Nono (43), was shot and injured by members of the SAP and IFP supporters in KwaThema, Tvl, on 19 August 1990 during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. The police were often perceived as supporting the IFP.

MESO, Ngoako Joseph (31), a NUMSA member, was arrested by members of the security forces at his home in Sebokeng, Tvl, during November 1987. He was blindfolded, put in a sack and taken to the Vaal River where he was severely beaten with rifle butts. He underwent an ear operation as a result of his injuries.

METELE, Alfred Toto (56), an ANC supporter, sustained injuries when his house was bombed by members of the Ciskei Police in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 2 February 1990, during conflict coinciding with the UNBANNING of political organisations. His wife was also injured during the attack.

METELE, Florida Thembeke (47), an ANC supporter, sustained severe burn injuries when her house was petrol-bombed by members of the Ciskei Police in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 2 February 1990.

METHULA, Jan (19), was arrested and charged for burning a post office vehicle in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, during September 1986. He was severely beaten

by members of the SAP and forced to sign a self-incriminating confession. In February 1987 he was sentenced to two years and six months in prison.

METHULE, Mfanasibili Jack, an MK operative, was shot dead by two named members of the SAP in Komatipoort, Tvl, on 19 January 1994. Mr Methule was severely sjambokked by police in 1993 after returning from exile because he was suspected of owning an illegal weapon. They returned to his house to warn his grandmother that they were going to kill Mr Methule and then proceeded to a taxi rank where he was found and shot twice. He died in hospital a few hours later.

METLAE, Moses (52), had his house petrol-bombed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, in October 1986 during political conflict in the area.

METROVICH, Ivon, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

METROWICH, June Janetta (32), a trade union activist, was detained in Observatory, Cape Town under emergency regulations, on 25 October 1985. On 17 November she was taken to Caledon Square police station and tortured for 12 hours by named Security Branch members, after which she was hospitalised. She thereafter successfully applied for a court interdict against the perpetrators. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

METSHE, Patrick Motsamai (14), was shot and injured with a rubber bullet by members of the SAP in Ipelegeng, Schweizer-Reneke, Tvl, in March 1990. Police thought Patrick was part of a group of stone-throwing youths during political conflict. He was bundled into a police vehicle where police kicked him on the head and burnt his ears with cigarettes. He was later convicted of malicious damage to property and sentenced to three strokes with a cane.

METSING, Thabo Abraham (21), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Beaufort West, Cape, on 3 December 1988. The constable was killed later that day.

METSWEMERE, Sello Jacob (46), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in July 1986 at a night vigil. Political gatherings were prohibited during the state of emergency imposed in June 1986. Members of the SAP and SADF surrounded the tent, then entered and beat people severely.

MEYER, Adriana Johanna Christina (40), was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MEYER, Clement, was one of ten students arrested after a political rally in Athlone, Cape Town, on 17

September 1985. He was then severely beaten by named and other members of the SAP at the Brackenfell police station.

MEYER, JAC, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MEYER, Johannes, a member of the SAP, was shot and injured when the vehicle he was driving was attacked by two APLA members in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 12 January 1993. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

MEYER, Leon Lionel (aka 'Joe' or 'Juluka') (25), an MK operative from East London, was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* operatives during a raid on two houses in Maseru, Lesotho, on 19 December 1985. His wife was one of eight other people killed in the raid, but their infant daughter Phoenix survived. Seven operatives, including the deputy commander of Security Branch Headquarters, the commander of the section which oversaw the work of *Vlakplaas* and the commander of *Vlakplaas*, applied for amnesty for the operation. All except the commander of Security Branch Headquarters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/231 and AC/2001/279).

MEYER, Susarah Isabella, was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Gardiner Street, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076).

MEYERS, Donne, was shot dead by named APLA members on 27 August 1993 near Umtata, Transkei. Her father was also killed in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS.

MEYERS, Michael (49), was shot dead by named APLA members on 27 August 1993 while delivering milk near Umtata, Transkei. Mr Meyers' daughter was also killed in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. On 9 May 1989, Mr Meyers, then a SARHWU member, had been stabbed and sjambokked in a confrontation between SARHWU strikers and non-striking workers at Boksburg station.

MEYI, Johannes Mpiyakhe (23), was shot dead in August 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters during political conflict in the area.

MEYIWA, Bahlakaniphile (56), had her home in Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 18 March 1990, in continuing political conflict in the area.

MEYIWA, Bezile (64), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1992.

MEYIWA, Bhakisizwe Million (38), a founder member of the local ANC branch, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1994 during political conflict in the area.

MEYIWA, Constance Zethu (60), had her home petrol-bombed by IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers in KwaMashu, Durban, on 21 June 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MEYIWA, Dumangeze, was shot dead at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an attack by alleged UDF supporters on 18 March 1990. See **NJOBOKAZI ATTACK**.

MEYIWA, Fortune Frank Siphso Sandile, was stabbed, shot and killed by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See **MPUMALANGA ATTACKS**. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MEYIWA, Khombiseni Ntombikayise (30), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See **SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS**.

MEYIWA, Limephi Ntombini (30), an Inkatha supporter, had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 18 March 1990.

MEYIWA, Mphiwa (62), an Inkatha supporter, had his home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, set alight by UDF supporters in February 1990 during intense political conflict in the area following the **UNBANNING** of political organisations on 2 February.

MEYIWA, Mzokhethwayo Mcindezelwa (37), an Inkatha supporter, was killed at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an attack by alleged UDF supporters on 18 March 1990. See **NJOBOKAZI ATTACK**.

MEYIWA, Soleni (29), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See **SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS**.

MEYIWA, Zakhona S (26), lost her home when she was forced to flee from Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 March 1990, after her husband had been killed in a petrol bomb attack on an Inkatha *induna's* house. See **NJOBOKAZI ATTACK**.

MEYJES, Hettie, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See **CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA**.

MEYJES, Mar tin, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See **CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA**.

MFABANA, Nozipho Mabel (35), an ANC activist, was injured in a shooting by members of the SAP in

1977 during a confrontation between residents and police in Cradock, Cape. Ms Mfabana and several others were then detained and assaulted.

MFACO, Nondumiso Dorothy (53), a UDF supporter and women's activist, was detained at Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town, in October 1985. She was again detained in January 1987 under emergency regulations and was held for six months, three months of which were in solitary confinement at the Ravensmead police station. See **POLICE BRUTALITY**.

MFANEKISO, Ashwell Siluva (33), an ANC supporter, was detained for a month in 1960 at Endlovini in Bizana, Transkei, for his involvement in the **PONDOLAND REVOLT**.

MFAXA, Mputaza, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in April 1985 in Stutterheim, Cape.

MFAYELA, Thembinkosi Christopher, was one of six passengers shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Eight other passengers were injured. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See **UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK**.

MFAZWE, Diliza Mayford (57), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in detention in Uitenhage, Cape, on 1 July 1985 during the state of emergency. See **POLICE BRUTALITY**.

MFAZWE, Mkhonto Kingsworth (18), a UDF supporter, was detained and severely tortured while under interrogation by named Security Policemen in Noupoot, Cape, in August 1985. On 19 June 1986 he was detained under emergency regulations and held in solitary confinement for three months in Richmond, Cape. See **POLICE BRUTALITY**.

MFAZWE, Thamsanqa Meshack (30), a union shopsteward, was severely assaulted, then detained and tortured in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 29 September 1986, on suspicion of belonging to the ANC. The incident occurred during a five-day strike. Mr Mfazwe was detained and assaulted on four other occasions between 1987 and 1990, allegedly because of his political activities.

MFAZWE, Toto Alex, a UDF supporter, died in police custody on 6 July 1986 in Queenstown, Cape, allegedly by hanging himself in his cell. Mr Mfazwe had been arrested on the street on 5 July 1986 and appeared to have been severely beaten in detention.

MFECANE, Fumanekile W ycliff (18), an ANC supporter, was shot with pellets by members of the SAP on 11 June 1986 in Grahamstown, Cape, then detained without trial for 11 months.

MFECANE, Seberzile (32), was shot dead by members of the SADF in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, on 22 June 1985. The shooting took place when soldiers opened fire during fighting between UDF and AZAPO supporters in the area.

MFEKA, Bonisile Dorothy (32), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by a named IFP supporter in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 11 February 1991.

MFEKA, Busisiwe Constance (56), an IFP supporter, was severely hacked and beaten by named IFP supporters at her home in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal,

on 8 March 1991. Her attackers were allegedly looking for her son because he refused to join an IFP-aligned union. Her grandson was killed; she lost five fingers, and other family members were also injured. The perpetrators were sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. **MFEKA, Dasi Ger trude** (53), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MFEKA, Gladys Kathazile , was shot dead in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 July 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MFEKA, Gugwelihe Cynthia 'Gugu' (22), had her family home burnt down during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, at in 1992. Her brother had disappeared during political conflict in 1988.

MFEKA, Hlalawazi Alois (39), had his house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down on 16 March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the isolated ANC stronghold. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MFEKA, Khombisili Annah (37), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MFEKA, Londiwe Audrey (27), had her house in Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in May 1988, on the day of her husband's funeral. Her husband had been killed in the course of political conflict in the area.

MFEKA, Mxolisi Jethro , was stabbed to death in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, by ANC supporters on 9 May 1990. His attackers assumed him to be an IFP supporter, because he went to school in an Inkatha-dominated area of Ndwedwe.

MFEKA, Nonhlanhla Goodness (26), was severely injured when a named perpetrator attacked her and her daughter, aged four, in their home in Mandini, Natal, on 16 April 1994 in intense political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Ms Mfeka's husband was reportedly believed to be an ANC supporter.

MFEKA, Ntombi Yemali (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MFEKA, Simphiwe Aubrey (21), an ANC supporter, was arrested at his place of work, the Pietermaritzburg New Prison, in 1981, and assaulted by five Security Branch policemen for possessing banned ANC pamphlets.

MFEKA, Siyabonga Innocent (21), an ANC supporter, was hacked and shot dead by a crowd of about 200 IFP members returning from a rally in Woodford, Bergville, Natal, on 16 December 1993. Two ANC members were killed and at least two others injured.

MFEKA, Tembikile Kobozi (58), an IFP supporter, had her home in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down on 16 March 1994 in political

conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the isolated ANC stronghold. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MFEKA, Tembeni (67), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MFEKA, Thandekile (28), had her home burnt down in Ndabayakhe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in February 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MFEKA, Thikabonwa (80), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MFEKA, Thobekile Mar gar et (45), had her home in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1988, allegedly because she was perceived to have sympathies with the UDF.

MFEKA, Zandile Precious (16), an ANC supporter, was abducted, raped and shot dead by named IFP supporters in Gamkulu, Stanger, Natal, on 13 March 1993.

MFEKA, Zintombi Phumzile (64), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 10 March 1993 in intense political conflict in the area. At least 18 people were killed in political violence in Bhambayi in March 1993. Seventy-five homes were burnt down.

MFEKE, Nomzi Ngxasheka (46), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF in September 1992 at King William's Town, Cape. The perpetrators assaulted members of the Mfeke family when they could not find Ms Mfeke's son, an ANC activist.

MFEKE, Nowandile , an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF in September 1992 at King William's Town, Cape. The perpetrators assaulted members of the Mfeke family when they could not find her brother, an ANC activist.

MFEKE, Vuyiswa (25), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF in September 1992 at King William's Town, Cape. The perpetrators assaulted members of the Mfeke family when they could not find her brother, an ANC activist.

MFEKETHO, Isaac Dumile (17), was severely beaten by members of the SAP after he was detained in March and in June 1986 in Khuma, Stilfontein, Tvl, under different States of emergency. He was suspected of being an instigator of a local school boycott and held in a police cell.

MFEKETHO, Molliat Mziwoxolo , an MK operative, was severely assaulted and tortured in Zeerust by members of the Security Police and Bophuthatswana Police, after being arrested on 26 February 1988 between Botswana and Bophuthatswana. He was held for several months under SECTION 29 before being charged, convicted and sentenced to a prison term.

MFENE, Thulisile Cynthia (35), an ANC supporter, had her home in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in October 1992.

MFENE, Zakhele Mlungisi Edward (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 12 June 1990, when members of the SADF opened fire on protesters in

Umlazi, Durban. Eight people died in political conflict in the area that day.

MFENGU, Titimani Frank (33), was arrested and in 1962 was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in Cape Town for his involvement in PAC activities. He served his sentence at various prisons, including Robben Island. After his release, he was banished to Cofimvaba, Transkei, until 1974.

MFENOE, Monde Ben (24), was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MFENYANA, Ntombi Johanna (30), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 24 October 1976 by members of the SAP in Soweto, Tvl, in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING. She was later detained in solitary confinement in Jabulani, Soweto, Johannesburg, from 13 October 1978.

MFENYANE, Zacharia Zwelakhe, was stabbed to death in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 11 September 1990 during intense political conflict in the area.

MFETE, Mametja Selina (54), was severely injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MFETI, Phindile (31), a union activist, was detained in Johannesburg, on 17 May 1976 and transferred from prison to prison until his release on 17 May 1977. Mr Mfeti disappeared on 25 April 1987 and has not been seen since.

MFETWA, Mtukuzeni (65), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in in Mabuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 March 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MFIGWANA, Bambaliphi (39), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MFINGWANA, Maju Elias (33), had his home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack in February 1993, and was stabbed and injured by IFP supporters in March 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

MFO, Mcebisi (33), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Transkei Police in February 1987 in Butterworth, Transkei, during the state of emergency. In January 1989, Mr Mfo was arrested on charges of supporting a banned organisation.

MFOBO, Makhwenkwe Goduka (21), an MK operative from Langa, Cape Town, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

MFOLOZI, Zoleka (30), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MFONO, Masibonge Kenneth (17), a scholar, was shot by a named member of the SAP on 21 January 1987 in Komga, Cape, when police opened fire on a *toy-toying* crowd. Mr Mfono was confined to a wheelchair until his death three years later at Frere hospital, East London.

MFUDI, Jeremiah, a COSAS member, was one of 10 youths from Mamelodi, Pretoria, recruited in June 1986 by a named askari, ostensibly for military training in Botswana. All 10 youths were killed when their vehicle was deliberately crashed and exploded near Nietverdiend by members of the Security Branch and SADF Special Forces. See NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH.

MFUKENI, Tokozani Elfrieda (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MFUKO, Msoso Daniel (25), was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MFUKU, Clarence (15), was detained for several weeks and teargas was thrown into his cell in Oudtshoorn, Cape, during 1985.

MFULENI, Vuyisile Bethwell Boy (21), was injured in a shooting by members of the SAP in Cradock, Cape, on 27 May 1993. There had been a protest march of teachers and scholars earlier that day.

MFUNDISI, Bafana Mar tin, was shot and killed by ANC supporters in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, in December 1990 during conflict between ANC, AZAPO and IFP supporters on the West Rand. The IFP buried Mr Mfundisi despite the fact that after his death all three organizations claimed him as a member.

MFUNDISI, Mpumelelo Spekire (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP on 11 October 1985 in Mzamomhle, Burgersdorp, Cape.

MFUNTANE, Mhlazwa, an IKONGO member, was shot by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 at NGOUZA HILL, near Flagstaff, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MFUNZANA, Mpumelelo Goodman (26), a UDF supporter, had his home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in August 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MFUTWANA, Wilberfor ce Vuyo (31), a UDF supporter, was hacked to death by AZAPO members during political conflict in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 2 July 1985.

MFUYWA, Mtholeni Msolobhana (32), an ANC supporter, was arrested and tortured at Mount Frere police station during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Mr Mfuywa was later sentenced to death along with five others for his alleged involvement in a killing during

the revolt. The six were executed at Pretoria Central prison on 18 September 1962.

MFUYWA, Sigwebo , was shot dead by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 in Flagstaff, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MGABI, Monwabisi Atwell Joseph (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 10 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MGABI, Sandile Henry (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 September 1992.

MGADI, Donald (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 17 May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps near Crossroads by WITDOEKE vigilantes acting with the support and sanction of the security forces.

MGADI, Dubelani Agnes (65), had her home in Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MGADI, Isaac (16), was shot dead by named members of the local self-defence unit (SDU) in Moleleki Section, Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993 during conflict between members of the local ANCYL and SDU. The SDU members involved in this incident applied for but were denied amnesty.

MGADI, Makhelwane , died when an MK operative detonated a car bomb at Jacobs, Durban, on 12 July 1984. The explosion killed five people and injured 27 others. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the MK command structures in Swaziland that facilitated the attack (AC/2001/175).

MGADI, Ms (first name not given), the wife of a senior MK commander known as 'Thami Zulu', suffered intimidation by Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives at their home in Mbabane, Swaziland, during 1988. Ms Mgadi, her ten-month-old baby and the housekeeper were tied and placed in the bathroom whilst the house was illegally searched. Ms Mgadi managed to escape and no one was injured. A *Vlakplaas* operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/070).

MGADI, Musawenkosi , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KwaZulu POLICE at KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 December 1989.

MGADI, Thembisile (28), lost her room in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MGAGA (JOKAZI), Vuyelwa Debra (29), a FAWU member, was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992, during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. This caused violent conflict between July and December 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack.

MGAGA, Abel Siphso , was shot dead by members of the SAP and SADF soldiers on 22 July 1985 in Tsakane, near Brakpan, Tvl, after the funeral of a 'comrade'.

MGAGA, Thamsanqa (15), a UDF supporter, died after being shot by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 September 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MGALI, Matenza (23), was seriously injured after being abducted at gunpoint with his neighbour by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and taken to Kwesine hostel in Tokoza, Tvl, on 29 March 1991. Mr Matenza and his neighbour were questioned about the activities of civic activist Sam Ntuli, who was subsequently assassinated in September 1991. They were then burnt, stabbed and repeatedly shot by hostel-dwellers before being left for dead. Mr Matenza's neighbour did not survive the incident. See also NTULI FUNERAL.

MGANDELA, Golden , was shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 23 May 1991 when IFP-supporting KwaMadala hostel-dwellers attacked a beerhall with AK47s during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Mr Mgandela and eight others were killed.

MGANDELA, Thulani Christopher (25), had his home destroyed in an arson attack by a named perpetrator in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 March 1993. At least 18 people were killed in political violence in Bhambayi in March 1993, and 75 homes were burnt down.

MGATSHI, Bulelani Sivuyile , was detained and beaten in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei. Mr Mgatshi was involved in the NONQULWANA group who met to discuss problems regarding the tribal authorities. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MGCEKWA, Motsamai Samuel , an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MGCINA, (first names not given), was attacked and later burnt to death in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 11 April 1983, during conflict between supporters of two opposing squatter leaders in the area, Mr Ngxobongwana and Mr Memani. Seven people died in the attack.

MGCINA, Benjamin Zilwa (15), a church youth member, lost an eye after an attack by named members of the SAP in Evaton, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. When the church minister inquired why Benjamin was assaulted he was charged with malicious damage to property but the case was dropped. Policemen allegedly mistook Benjamin's church badge for that of a political organisation.

MGCINA, J , was severely injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MGCINA, John Hluphekile (43), a councillor, lost his house and vehicle in an arson attack by members of the Vaal Civic Association in Bophelong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 29 August 1984. Councillors were seen as legitimate targets because they were not representative of residents and acted as agents of the state.

MGCINA, Lukhile Joseph, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MGCINA, Mpho Julie, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MGCINEKA, Ndabezihle Cyril, was shot dead by IFP supporters in a house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in September 1992 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Three people died in the attack.

MGCUWE, Mzimkhulu (31), a PAC supporter, was shot and injured by unidentified perpetrators while on his way to a PAC rally at Nyanga Stadium, Cape Town, on 20 June 1993, when he was caught in crossfire during inter-group conflict in Crossroads.

MGEDBANE, Vuyane Vincent (25), had his possessions destroyed in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' and 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

MGEDEZI, Ephraim Mbongeni (17), was shot dead in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 9 February 1986, when members of the SAP accosted him and his friends in the street. The youths were allegedly ordered to run and the police opened fire. Three named policemen were convicted of the killing.

MGEDEZI, Mandla, was beaten and shot dead in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 9 February 1986, when members of the SAP accosted him and his friends in the street. The youths were allegedly ordered to run and the police opened fire. Three named policemen were convicted of the killing.

MGENGE, Fayedwa (43), an IFP chairperson, was shot and injured and lost his home in an arson attack by named ANC supporters on 20 August 1990 in intensifying political conflict in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban.

MGENGE, Grace Tholani (46), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters during 1989.

MGENGE, Lindiwe Dorah (16), had her home at Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, burnt down on 12 November 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MGENGE, Mama Nellie (58), had her house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down in September

1989 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MGENGO, Ntombentsha Tiny (30), a UDF supporter, died when members of the SAP fired an excessive quantity of teargas into her house on 28 April 1985 in Fort Beaufort, Cape. There was conflict at the time between UDF supporters and residents who supported the COUNCILLORS in Fort Beaufort, leading to a strong police presence in the area.

MGEQANE, Vutane Patrick (17), a COSAS member, was shot and injured by a named perpetrator in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 4 December 1988.

MGEXO, Gcinintetho (32), lost his house in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 February 1992 during continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MGIBANT AKA, Patrick, (52), was shot and injured by members of the security forces in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, in July 1991 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MGIDI, Abie Soyobi, was stoned and burnt with a petrol bomb in KwaNdebele, on 3 July 1986 by UDF supporters who suspected him of being an informer for the IMBOKODO vigilante group. At the time, local resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele was forcing homeland supporters and vigilantes out of the area.

MGIDI, Adam Boy, was shot in the abdomen and injured by IMBOKODO vigilantes who set up a roadblock in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, during 1986. The majority of residents in the area were opposed to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MGIDI, Given, (3) was burnt to death in an arson attack on her house by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 12 June 1986 during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MGIDI, Jabulani Petr os, was shot by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 30 July 1986 during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MGIDI, Jeffrey Lucas (20), an MK operative, was killed by members of the SAP during an MK mission in Vereeniging, Tvl, on 12 March 1984. Mr Mgidi left Mamelodi, Pretoria, in 1980 to join MK and infiltrated the country two years later. Vereeniging police asked his parents to identify his body, which had three bullet wounds in the stomach and back.

MGIDI, Patrick, was beaten and tortured by named IMBOKODO vigilantes in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 18 May 1986 during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MGIDINGO, Leonard, an ANC activist, was arrested and tortured in 1960 in East London, allegedly because of his involvement in NONQULWANA. Mr Mgidingo died after his release as a result of injuries he sustained in detention. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MGIDLANA, Melusi, had his home burnt down in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MGINYWA, Bigboy Mgcini (17), died in hospital after he was shot by members of the Security Police at the funeral of a victim of the political unrest on 13 April 1986 in Grahamstown, Cape.

MGOBHOZI, Busisiwe (33), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by an IFP supporter at her home in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 27 July 1992, the day after the FOLWENI MASSACRE

MGOBHOZI, Lesa (57), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1989.

MGOBHOZI, Magedlase Ngoneni Mamdema (43), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MGOBHOZI, Nomakhosi M (29), an ANC supporter, had his houses at Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack during 1990 in intensifying conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MGOBHOZI, Tobias, a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in 1986, in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MGOBOZA, Mxolisi Sithole Victor (12), was shot in the stomach by members of the SAP during a student protest in Venterstad, Cape, on 7 July 1993.

MGOBOZA, Sifanelo, an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by named perpetrators in Matatiele, Transkei, on 27 April 1990. A group of men associated with the traditional authorities and opposed to the launch of an ANC branch attacked numerous homes and persons associated with the ANC.

MGOBOZI, Busisiwe Lethiwe (45), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MGOBOZI, Khizana (48), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MGOBOZI, Luvuyo Angelus Per cival, was one of four MK operatives shot dead by members of the Port Natal Security Branch during a high speed car chase on Quarry Road, Durban, on 7 September 1986. Three Port Natal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty. They further confessed to planting weapons on the deceased (AC/2000/135).

MGOBOZI, Qweqweni (62), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MGOBOZI, Thabani Robert (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP members during political conflict at Amahlongwa Reserve, Umkomaas, Natal, on 18 October 1990. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0015).

MGODELI, Mngqabisi Tallman (22), was shot and injured by members of the SAP near Crossroads, Cape Town, on 19 February 1985. Eighteen people were shot dead and hundreds were wounded in a three-day

clash when Crossroads residents resisted a forced removal to Khayelitsha.

MGODUKA, Harry (58), a PAC supporter, died while in police custody in March 1964 in East London.

MGODUKA, Mbambalala Glen, was one of four Eastern Cape Security Branch operatives killed in the MOTHERWELL CAR BOMB explosion, Port Elizabeth, on 14 December 1989, in a joint operation by the Eastern Cape Security Branch and Security Branch headquarters.

Two operatives from the Eastern Cape Security Branch and seven from Security Branch headquarters, including the *Vlakplaas* commander and his commanding officer, were refused amnesty for the operation. Applicants presented different versions as to why the four had been killed (AC/1999/0345).

MGODUSA, Dinimivula (70), an IFP branch chairman, was shot dead by fellow IFP supporters in Applesbosch, near Stanger, Natal, on 22 January 1991. His wife was also killed in the attack, which allegedly occurred in the course of an internal dispute in the IFP.

MGODUSO, Vivian Nomhle (67), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Durban on 22 January 1991. Her husband, an IFP supporter, was also killed in the attack, which allegedly occurred in the course of an internal dispute in the IFP.

MGOGODLO, Vulive Willie (52), a PAC member, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for being a member of a banned organisation in Paarl, Cape, during 1963. There were many arrests and trials of PAC members in the wake of the Poqo attack in November 1962.

MGOGODLO, Vumile Amos (21), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nemato, Port Alfred, Cape, on 16 November 1984, while attending the funeral of a victim of violent political conflict. He was then detained, charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

MGOJO, Nonceba, a civilian, and one other person, were shot and injured in an attempted robbery of their vehicle by APLA operatives during January 1992. The perpetrators required their vehicle in order to use it in an attack on the Lady Grey police station, OFS. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0057).

MGOLOMBANA, Msondezi Isaac, an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the CDF on 21 August 1992 in King William's Town, Cape.

MGOMEZULU, Siphso (22), a Metal and Allied Workers' Union member, was abducted from his home, stabbed several times, shot and killed in Emdeni, Soweto, on 15 May 1986.

MGONA, David Velele Rues (23), an ANCYL member, was arrested and detained at St Alban's prison, Port Elizabeth, on 1 March 1985 during the state of emergency. A cell protest about poor prison conditions resulted in him being beaten with batons. His eye was severely injured and he was hospitalised for three months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MGOQI, Ncedo Paul (27), was shot and injured by named IFP supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, in August 1990,

during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

MGIZA, Albert (60), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death by IFP supporters at a bus stop in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 25 August 1993.

MGQABUZANA, Sonwabo (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 31 May 1985 in Cradock, Cape during a state of emergency. The police were allegedly looking for his friend, a fellow activist, and shot Mr Mgqabuzana as he was returning to his house. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MGQIBISA, Mantoni Mathews, was shot in the leg by Inkatha supporters in Pimville, Soweto, in July 1983 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC supporting residents.

MGQOLOZANA, Simphiwe (19), was shot and injured and lost his home and shop in an attack by WITDOEKE vigilantes in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MGQOSINI, Fani David (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 5 December 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MGQUBA, Zola (29), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police on 1 May 1986 during a consumer boycott at Dimbaza, Ciskei.

MGQWANGI, Christopher (27), an ANC chairperson, was detained and severely tortured by members of the SAP at Newcastle, Natal, in March 1990 during intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MGUBANE, Peter, a local ANC leader, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters when the car in which he and two other ANC officials were travelling was ambushed near Ixopo, Natal, on 27 October 1992. He was part of an ANC delegation attempting to broker peace with the IFP. An ANC Midlands Exective Committee member was shot dead in the ambush.

MGUBASI, Lulamile Andrew Mziwanele (38), was beaten and burnt to death by UDF supporters on 11 April 1985 in Kirkwood, Cape.

MGULWA, Marelana Horance (51), an *iKongo* member and leader in Nonqulwana, was executed in Pretoria Central prison on 6 July 1962 for his role in resisting the introduction of the Bantu Education and Bantu Authorities Acts, and forced removals.

MGUNGU, Papani John, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in a raid on Ethafeni Hostel, Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 September 1990. Mr Mngungu heard shots being fired at the hostel. He went outside to investigate and was subsequently shot. Tembisa was one of several Transvaal townships embroiled in conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MGUNI, Abram (18), was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, on 1 May 1986 during clashes between youth and police that day.

MGUNI, Mgcata, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pieter-

maritzburg, in 1992, allegedly because of his association with Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, a UDF-aligned traditional leader in the area.

MGUZE, Mdudza Raphael (33), had his house burnt down at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 24 February 1993 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. About 35 houses were burnt down in Bhambayi in February 1993.

MGWABA, Bernard (22), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and killed by a named ANC supporter at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 February 1989 in intense political conflict in the area. His two brothers were found shot dead in a nearby house on the same day.

MGWABA, Bheki (18), was one of seven KwaMashu Youth League members abducted and killed by IFP supporters at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 17 March 1987. Their bodies were discovered in a trench. In 1989, several Inkatha supporters were convicted on charges of abduction, while two bodyguards of a local IFP leader were convicted on charges of murder and sentenced to death.

MGWABA, Daniel (20), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 February 1989 in intense political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. One of his brothers was shot dead with him. Another was found stabbed to death nearby on the same day.

MGWABA, Ndoda Mthembiseni (34), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Odondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 December 1992.

MGWABA, Richard (23), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 February 1989 in intense political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. One of his brothers was shot dead with him. Another was found stabbed to death nearby on the same day.

MGWABA, Vusumzi Howard (59), was shot dead on 3 March 1994 at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. He had allegedly failed to attend IFP meetings.

MGWABA, Zefred Xolani (21), an ANC/MK member returned from exile, was shot dead by members of the SAP during political conflict at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 July 1993.

MGWADLENI, Ethel Gebisile (31), was shot and severely injured when members of the KHUMALO GANG attacked a *stokvel* she was attending in Tokoza, Tvl, on 12 December 1992. The IFP-aligned gang was a key participant in the conflict on the East Rand. Ms Mgwadleni was disabled as a result of her injuries and died soon after testifying to the TRC.

MGWANGOA, Lloyd Phuphu, a SAYCO member, was detained for nine months in 1985 at Stutterheim, Cape, after being instrumental in the launch of SAYCO in the area and suspected of being involved in a 'necklace' killing. He was again detained for a month in 1989 during the state of emergency during which he was interrogated

but not charged. In 1990 he was again arrested for being an accomplice in murder and was acquitted.

MGWAXELA, Petrus Boy (60), a street committee member, was detained by members of the SAP under emergency regulations in 1986 in Port Elizabeth. During his detention, police members assaulted and tortured him by handcuffing him and putting a bag over his face. His injuries resulted in the removal of an eye. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MGWEBA, Thembekile Moses (24), a Fort Hare student activist, was shot dead by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Noupoot, Cape, on 14 December 1986.

MGWEBA, Vieve, a PAC supporter, was imprisoned from 1961 on Robben Island, Cape Town, where he served a 12-year prison sentence. He was severely beaten, partially buried and urinated on by prison warders.

MGWEJE, Goodman Nceba (27), an ANC member, had her home demolished by named ADM members on 12 November 1993 during political conflict at Mlalalala in Zwelitsha, Ciskei.

MGWENGWE, David Mbongeni (24), was killed by named perpetrators during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 October 1988.

MGWENYA, Siphon Lucky (21), was shot dead by named members of the KaNgwane Police in Witriver, Tvl, on 31 July 1990. Mr Mgwanya was part of a group of youths enforcing a consumer boycott at the time of the attack.

MHALANGU, Maria, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MHAYA, Daliwonga Notote, was shot dead on 29 July 1986 when an MK unit attacked the Madeira police station, in Umtata, Transkei. At least eight people were killed in the attack, including members of the SAP, civilians and one of the MK operatives. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

MHKIZE, Alson Bhakisigcino (29), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death with spears and knives by IFP supporters near Gagisa Lower Primary School, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in March 1991.

MHKIZE, Siphon Douglas, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at his home in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 9 February 1991.

MHLABA, Andries (38), was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Ethwatha section, Daveyton, Tvl, on 2 November 1992.

MHLABA, Emmanuel Dentegnali (23), was shot dead by named Inkatha supporters in Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 12 September 1987 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MHLABA, Mahwidi Lazarus (34), an SAP member, was stabbed, shot dead and his car was petrol-

bombed by named members of the SAP at Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 July 1993.

MHLABA, Mlungiseleli (18), an ANC Youth League member, was shot to death by members of the SAP in Khayalitsha, Cape Town, on 13 April 1994.

MHLABA, Siquqo William (60), a community COUNCILLOR, was beaten by named UDF supporters in Kwezi, Hanover, Cape, on 17 April 1985. Mr Mhlaba and his family were driven out of their home in November 1985.

MHLABA, Thozama Millicent (49), an ANC supporter, was shot at and had a petrol bomb thrown into her house in Entshawini, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, by IFP supporters on 6 May 1994 in political conflict that accompanied the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MHLABANE, Thoko Lindiwe (24), was shot by a named member of the SAP in eMijindini, Barberton, Tvl, on 10 June 1985 during a rent boycott.

MHLABUTHI, Pretty, was severely injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MHLAHELELA, Simphiwo (18), a SAYCO member, was kicked and severely beaten with rifle-butts by members of the SAP on 11 November 1987 in Port Elizabeth allegedly because he was suspected of harbouring arms and ammunition.

MHLAKAZA, Fuzile (26), an ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) member, was abducted and severely beaten by members of a BALACLAVA GROUP in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, in 1993, allegedly because they wanted information from him.

MHLAMBI, Muziwabantu Prince (29), an ANC supporter and civic leader, was shot dead by named perpetrators in an ambush in Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 10 October 1992. Four other people were also shot dead in the attack. The Goldstone Commission later implicated a police informer in a disinformation campaign against the Phola Park Residents Committee which Mr Mhlambi headed.

MHLAMBI, Samson Lucky (32), an ANC member and chairperson of the Tokoza civic association, was injured when he was shot in the leg in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1993. The perpetrators were members of the ISU allegedly accompanied by the leader of the KHUMALO GANG. Mr Mhlambi was also detained under emergency regulations in 1985 and subsequently spent three years in detention at Modderbee prison in Benoni, Tvl, where he was assaulted by members of the SAP. Mr Mhlambi was finally released after he and other detainees went on a hunger strike for 28 days.

MHLAMBISO, Charles, a member of SAYCO and the Khutsong Youth Congress, was severely assaulted in Khuma, Stilfontein, Tvl, on 31 October 1990. One ANCYL/SAYCO member was granted amnesty. Although convicted, two others denied involvement in the killing and were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0002; AC/1997/0003 and AC/97/0005).

MHLANA, Msikeleli Cornelius (23), an ANCYL supporter, was shot and injured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 7 June 1991, allegedly by ISU members, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MHLANGA, Amos Happy (21), was shot in the left knee by IFP-aligned BLACK CATS outside shops in Wesselson, Ermelo, Tvl, on 28 August 1991, in retaliation for the earlier killing of the gang's leader.

MHLANGA, Andries Velaphi (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when the vehicle in which he and nine other young men were travelling was ambushed at Diepdale, near Ermelo, Tvl, on 30 September 1993. The youths were returning from a court appearance in connection with the killing of a local chief when they were attacked, allegedly by the chief's son and other IFP supporters. Four of the ten were killed and three others injured.

MHLANGA, Bafana Johannes 'Jwi' (41), the leader of the BLACK CATS, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Ermelo, Tvl, in July 1991, during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. Five SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0121).

MHLANGA, Bradly Siphso (13), was kicked and beaten by a named member of the SAP in Mookgophog, Naboomspruit, Tvl, during clashes on 10 April 1993, the day SACP leader CHRIS HANI was assassinated.

MHLANGA, Comilius (17), was shot dead by members of the SADF in Ivory Park, near Tembisa, Tvl, on 3 August 1993. The SADF was called in to monitor violence between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents during a stayaway. When the army arrived they allegedly opened fire on residents.

MHLANGA, Der rick, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in Estcourt, Natal, in August 1992, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MHLANGA, Elizabeth Mduduzi, was beaten to death by IFP supporters, one of whom is named, at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in June 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MHLANGA, Elmon Mphamba, was shot by members of the SADF on 17 August 1992 in Mangweni, near Komatipoort, Tvl, during a consumer boycott.

MHLANGA, Johannes Mfanethu (43), an ANC supporter, was shot in TRAIN VIOLENCE at the station in Daveyton, Tvl, on 15 June 1992. Mr Mhlanga was shot in the head and pelvis, resulting in paralysis of his right leg.

MHLANGA, Jongilizwe Thanduxolo (33), had his house burnt down in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. More than 300 people died violently in Bhambayi during 1993. Hundreds of homes were burnt down.

MHLANGA, Makamberi Levit (67), was tortured and his house was burnt down by local youths at kaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 7 November 1989.

MHLANGA, Malefane Samuel, died after his head was smashed with a heavy object by members of the SAP at Diepkloof, Soweto, on 17 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING.

MHLANGA, Marie Thembisile (37), an ANC supporter, was severely injured when IFP supporters

shot and stabbed her in her home at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 9 March 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her house was burnt down in the incident and she was forced to flee the area.

MHLANGA, Mbulelo Anderson (17), a member of the UDF-supporting AMABUTHO, was handcuffed, suffocated and beaten by members of the SAP while in detention in Sanlam Building, Strand Street, Port Elizabeth in April 1980. Mr Mhlanga was arrested for throwing petrol bombs at the police, and charged with Intimidation Act 56. He was imprisoned for two years of a four-year sentence, in St Alban's prison, Port Elizabeth.

MHLANGA, Moses (24), a COSAS member, was shot dead by a named member of the Pan-African Students Organisation (PASO) in KwaThema, Tvl, on 30 March 1994 during conflict between COSAS and PASO. The PASO member accused Mr Mhlanga of being a police spy.

MHLANGA, Njabulo, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, during May 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MHLANGA, Ntombifike Eunice (28), a UDF supporter, had her house in KwaHaza, near Howick, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 26 April 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MHLANGA, Tsunana Jonnas (50), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Entshawini, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, on 7 December 1981. Mr Mhlanga, who had recently returned from abroad, was allegedly being watched by the SAP, on suspicion of being a 'communist'.

MHLANGA, Zingisile Kidwell (36), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the Ciskei Police near Egerton railway station, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 4 August 1983 while trying to board a train during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

MHLANGENI, Oscar Amos, and five other scholars were interrogated, tortured and killed by AZAPO members in Soweto, Johannesburg on 1 August 1986. The incident was sparked off by the burning of the house of an AZAPO leader and the youths were believed to have been responsible for the arson. Three perpetrators were refused amnesty, and one was granted amnesty. (AC/2000/179 and AC/99/0230)

MHLANGENY AMA, Thembaletu (57), had his house burnt down in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. More than 300 people died violently in Bhambayi in 1993. Hundreds of homes were burnt down.

MHLANGU, Tunywandi (61), an ANC supporter, had her house in Nokweja, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 28 July 1993. More than 110 people fled the area after their homes were burnt down.

MHLANTI, Bhekisisa (21), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters at the railway station in Daveyton, Tvl, on 22 July 1993. The attack took place because the train was transporting mostly Xhosa-speaking commuters presumed to be ANC supporters. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

MHLAULI, Sicelo , a UDF activist, was one of the CRADOCK FOUR abducted by the Eastern Cape Security Branch while travelling to Cradock, on 27 June 1985. He was shot and stabbed near Port Elizabeth, after which his body was burnt. Six Eastern Cape Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were refused amnesty for the killings. The commander of *Vlakplaas* was granted amnesty for knowledge of the incident (AC/1999/0350).

MHLAWULI, Mncedisi Edward (31), an ANC supporter, was detained, beaten, tortured and held in solitary confinement for three months in July 1983 and during 1984 in Mdantsane, Ciskei. In February 1987, members of the Ciskei Police drove him and his family to open veld beyond the Kei River and left them there because they claimed that he was a Transkeian. When he returned to his home, he was arrested and tortured by suffocation by members before being released on the following day.

MHLAWULI, Nocawe Rosey (37), was shot by members of the SAP at the Despatch police station, Cape, on 8 June 1986.

MHLETSWA, Ziyeye , an ANC supporter, lost his home of seven huts in an arson attack in March 1960 in Entsimbini, near Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MHLOKHULU, Sheleni , an ANC member, was executed in Pretoria on 21 March 1962 after he was accused of being an accomplice to murder during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MHLOLA, Thembelani Stanford (18), was burnt to death in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 20 June 1989, after his home was set alight during inter-group conflict in Crossroads.

MHLOLULA, (first name not given), a member of the SAP, was shot and killed by APLA operatives at the police quarters in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, during August 1993. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/067).

MHLONGO, Adelete (48), was severely burnt then her house was petrol-bombed on 13 November 1993 in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, because boys living at her home were suspected of being police informers during conflict between police and township residents. Ms Mhlongo spent five months in hospital.

MHLONGO, Albertina Totana (75), was shot dead on 20 August 1992 in Ekuphumleni, Ciskei, when IFP youth swept through the area killing and robbing people during political conflict. Her daughter and four other people were killed in the attack.

MHLONGO, Alfred Dabulizwe (37), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when Inkatha supporters attacked a group of about 20 people at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 3 January 1991. Eight people were killed and one was seriously injured. Mr Mhlongo was allegedly shot while fleeing from the attackers.

MHLONGO, Anthony Bhoyi (29), an ANC supporter, was abducted, along with his father and three brothers, by named IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban,

on 23 December 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. They were shot and injured before they managed to escape. The family home was burnt down the next day.

MHLONGO, Ben (20), was slapped in the face, beaten with batons and kicked in the groin by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 18 June 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING which spread rapidly around the country.

MHLONGO, Bheki Richard (24), a UDF supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 April 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Inkatha supporters allegedly marched through Mpumalanga Unit 3 after a meeting, shooting people at random.

MHLONGO, Bhelikosi Armstrong (50), was stabbed to death in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MHLONGO, Bhekisisa (18), a UDF supporter, was hacked to death by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, on 15 December 1987 in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, after a peace meeting in the area. Inkatha supporters seeking to derail the peace process allegedly attacked UDF supporters who came out of hiding for a peace meeting.

MHLONGO, Bhokokwakhe (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in Matimatolo, near Greytown, Natal, in May 1991.

MHLONGO, Bitsene Amos (69), an ANC supporter, had his house in Nelspruit, Tvl, burnt down on 11 January 1993 by named perpetrators because they suspected him of practising witchcraft.

MHLONGO, Bongani Zwelethu (27), an IFP supporter, had his house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MHLONGO, Bongekile Patience , was shot dead when IFP supporters attacked a house in Inanda, near Kwa-Mashu, Durban, during September 1992 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Three people were killed in the attack.

MHLONGO, Boyi Abednigo (74), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MHLONGO, Brenda (2), was burnt to death in an arson attack on her parents' home in Chesterville, Durban, on 9 January 1987, by named members of the Chesterville A-TEAM. Her mother and sister were killed in the same attack.

MHLONGO, Busisiwe Ernestine (22), was severely beaten by members of the Security Branch at her home in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, during political violence between ANC and IFP supporters in 1988. The security forces were allegedly brought in to bring calm to the situation, but exacerbated the violence through random assaults on people.

MHLONGO, Buyaphi Regina (31), was severely injured when Inkatha supporters abducted, stabbed and

beat her in KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 August 1985, allegedly because she was perceived to be a UDF supporter. Following the death of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in Umlazi on 1 August, political conflict quickly spread to areas north of Durban.

MHLONGO, Buyelaphi Prudence (26), an ANC supporter, had her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, severely damaged in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MHLONGO, Christina (59), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in March 1990.

MHLONGO, Collen Sfiso (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Wangu Reserve, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 March 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Mhlongo was travelling in a car with two others at the time of the attack. His companions were both killed.

MHLONGO, Cynthia Nkosingiphile (28), an ANC supporter, was shot and hacked to death in an attack on her home at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 3 October 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her brother was injured in the attack, and the house was burnt down.

MHLONGO, David Ntewu (34), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in his home at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in September 1991, when the police arrived to search for weapons. Mr Mhlongo's mother was shot and injured when she tried to stop the police assaulting him.

MHLONGO, Derrick Mduduzi (36), a UDF supporter, was hacked to death by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM in Chesterville, Durban, on 25 May 1986.

MHLONGO, Dokotela Dokter (20), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP during a political meeting held in Vlakbult, near Nelspruit, TvI, on 21 May 1986. Mr Mhlongo was shot six times by police when they dispersed the crowd. Mr Mhlongo sued the Minister of Police but two weeks later he was arrested and charged with arson and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

MHLONGO, Dombi Josephina (70), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in her home at Mpophomeni, near Howick, Natal, by members of the SAP in September 1991. The police came to search for weapons, and shot Ms Mhlongo in the shoulder when she tried to stop them assaulting her son.

MHLONGO, Dominic (21), an ANC supporter, was abducted along with his three brothers and father by named IFP supporters and members of the KwaZULU POLICE on 23 December 1990 in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. They were shot and injured before they managed to escape. The family home was burnt down the next day.

MHLONGO, Effie (58), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MHLONGO, Elizabeth (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 19 July 1993, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MHLONGO, Elsie (58), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Entoweni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1992 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. **MHLONGO, Emma Mcane** (52), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at the Ngcamu store, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Two other family members were severely injured in the attack.

MHLONGO, Enock Mandlenkosi (29), was shot dead on 29 December 1989, when his car was ambushed in New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MHLONGO, Fikile Mirriam (35), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when IFP supporters attacked a house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in September 1992 during continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Three people were killed in the attack.

MHLONGO, Filda Mankanaza (42), lost her home in an arson attack in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 April 1992 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MHLONGO, Gabisile (47), an ANC supporter, had her houses burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 October 1989. Eight Inkatha supporters were killed and many houses were destroyed by fire in the intensifying political conflict in the area.

MHLONGO, Gazo Amon (55), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 September 1990 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His son was also killed in the attack.

MHLONGO, Gettie Mthomoloz (48), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, in 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MHLONGO, Godfrey Vusi (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Entshawini, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, on 19 March 1990. Police opened fire on a gathering of youths, allegedly in an attempt to prevent them from attending a stayaway rally due to be held the following day.

MHLONGO, Grace Makhosazana Mandlela (45), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MHLONGO, Gugu Saraphina Mirriam (29), lost her home in an arson attack in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 December 1989 during intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters

in the area. Her husband had been killed earlier, and her house was looted and burnt on the day of his funeral. **MHLONGO, Happy**, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, in July 1991. In the attack, the leader of the BLACK CATS was assassinated. Five SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/98/0121).

MHLONGO, Isaac Nalati (40), had his room severely damaged in an arson attack on his landlord's home by men reportedly wearing balaclavas in Katlehong, Tvl, in April 1994. The incident took place during political conflict in the area in the run-up to the first democratic election on April 27 1994.

MHLONGO, Johannes, an ANC supporter, was abducted, along with his four sons, by named IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 December 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. They were shot and injured before they managed to escape. The family home was burnt down the next day.

MHLONGO, Johnie (30), was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 9 December 1990 during political conflict which spread from Natal to the Transvaal in July 1990, and engulfed the East Rand from August 1990.

MHLONGO, Joseph Mlethwa (37), an Inkatha supporter, suffered severe injuries when a named UDF supporter beat him, poured petrol over him and set him alight on 22 March 1988 in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MHLONGO, Kege Mandlenkosi (15), an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death on 8 December 1993, when the house he was in was set alight by IFP supporters in Enteneshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal.

MHLONGO, Khulekani Derrick (18), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Pietermaritzburg on 5 April 1988, while he was in a community meeting awaiting a report-back on peace talks held between the conflict-torn Pata and Dambuza communities. The bullet is still lodged in his hip, and he received an out-of-court settlement from the Minister of Law and Order.

MHLONGO, Khumbulani Sydney (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) members at Umlazi, Durban, on 9 April 1990 while leading a protest march against KZP violence. COSATU had called for a stayaway that day. Community leaders had gathered near the Executive Hotel for a report-back on peace talks between police and residents, when policemen opened fire on the crowd, killing Mr Mhlongo instantly.

MHLONGO, Mahelane Msawenkosi (72), an IFP supporter, was shot and severely injured by other IFP supporters in Sihuzu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during February 1994. Mr Mhlongo's son allegedly attended a school dominated by ANC supporters.

MHLONGO, Mahlasela Paul (38), an ANC supporter, was arrested and tortured by members of the SAP in Komatipoort, Tvl, on 17 December 1976. Police allegedly tore up Mr Mhlongo's reference book,

subjected him to electric shock torture and beat him because he refused to admit he was a Frelimo soldier sent by Samora Machel. When he finally made a false confession, he was charged and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in Barberton.

MHLONGO, Mamiti Fakazile (54), lost her houses in an arson attack in Ntuzi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1993 during continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MHLONGO, Mandla (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Lloyd, Stanger, Natal, in September 1993. He was forced to flee into the forest, and remained in hiding for three months.

MHLONGO, Mandlenkosi (61), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MHLONGO, Martin, an ANC supporter, was abducted, together with four family members, from NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, by IFP supporters on 23 December 1990. He survived unharmed, but two family members were shot and injured. The family home was burnt down the following day.

MHLONGO, Masinga Emmanuel (24), an MK member, was abducted and shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 May 1993, after he had returned from exile. Three other people, including a 17-year-old pregnant woman, were killed that day.

MHLONGO, Mbusi (16), was abducted from her home by Inkatha supporters in Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, in 1987. At the time of her disappearance, her aunt, an ANC supporter, had been forced to flee the area because of the political violence. Mbusi Mhlongo has not been seen again and is presumed dead.

MHLONGO, Mbuso, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Lion's River, near Pietermaritzburg, on 6 February 1993. The perpetrator was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, suspended for five years.

MHLONGO, Mdali (45), was accosted by members of the SAP and tortured to death near Cato Ridge, Natal, on 9 May 1985, allegedly while he was being questioned in connection with illegal weapons.

MHLONGO, Mduduzi (25), an ANC supporter, was abducted from his home by a named IFP supporter on 5 February 1993 and taken to a tribal court in Esiqumageni, Maphumulo, Natal, where he was shot and killed. His father was shot and injured in the same incident.

MHLONGO, Mduduzi Concert (34), was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, on 27 March 1991. He and others had allegedly been fetched from their homes by IFP supporters the previous day to go to a camp. They were found dead the next morning.

MHLONGO, Mdumiseni (42), lost his house in an arson attack in Bhukhanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 January 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MHLONGO, Mdumiseni , an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Matimatolo, near Greytown, Natal, in May 1991.

MHLONGO, Mduzana (52), lost her house in an arson attack in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her son was killed in the attack.

MHLONGO, Meshack , was shot dead on 28 November 1993 when IFP supporters from Ndabayakhe opened fire on ANC supporters attending a cultural ceremony at Inive, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Eight people, all believed to be ANC supporters, were killed in the attack.

MHLONGO, Mkakwa Richard (64), was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in Greytown, Natal, in May 1991 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MHLONGO, Mkhalseni (49), was shot and injured in Empangeni, Natal, on 2 August 1992 and had his house burnt down on 3 March 1994, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MHLONGO, Mla , an ANC supporter and member of a self-defence unit (SDU), was shot dead in Esigcakeni, Richmond, Natal, on 9 October 1993, soon after he and a friend had been fetched from their homes on the instructions of local ANC leader, Mr Sifiso Nkabinde. The friend was also shot dead. On the previous day, Mr Mhlongo had borrowed a firearm from a friend, who had got it from Mr Nkabinde for SDU purposes. Mr Mhlongo had allegedly used the gun to kill an unidentified person.

MHLONGO, Moses Blokakhe , was stabbed and shot dead during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

MHLONGO, Motion , an ANC member, was severely beaten by alleged members of the SADF at Nkomazi, Komatipoort, Tvl, in June 1986.

MHLONGO, Mshayeni (44), lost his house in an arson attack in Ohlange, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 June 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MHLONGO, Mtente (41), lost his house in an arson attack at Nqutshini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 August 1984 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MHLONGO, Mthinteni (29), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by members of the KwaZulu POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992.

MHLONGO, Munteyhlupha Mphumuze (34), had his home at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by ANC supporters on 29 October 1989, allegedly in politicised factional conflict between the Makhatini and Mabheleni tribal groups. Eight Inkatha supporters were killed, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

MHLONGO, Nathi (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters at Vulisaka, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990 in political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February 1990.

MHLONGO, Ngenzeni (62), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MHLONGO, Nicholas (22), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Sbululwane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 February 1992 during political conflict in the area.

MHLONGO, Nkelezi (55), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Nhlankakazi, near Stanger, Natal, on 30 April 1994 in the political conflict accompanying the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MHLONGO, Nohwaqela Thokozile (50), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MHLONGO, Nokukhanya Brightness (26), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack at Ngcamu store, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 November 1993. On 7 March 1994 she was shot and injured in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. One other family member was severely injured and another was killed in this attack.

MHLONGO, Nokuthula Gladness (29), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MHLONGO, Nokwethemba Grace (30), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1992.

MHLONGO, Nomnyango Mahwanqa (60), an IFP supporter, had her house in Bhuboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 26 April 1993.

MHLONGO, Nompumelelo (15), a UDF supporter, was abducted, raped and killed by IFP supporters in August 1991 at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, at a time of intense political conflict in the area.

MHLONGO, Nomvula (20), was burnt to death on 2 September 1990, when IFP supporters attacked her neighbours' home in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, in intensifying political conflict in the area. She was visiting her neighbours with her sister when the house was set alight, burning Ms Mhlongo, her sister and Ms Mhlongo's two children. A total of seven people were killed in the attack.

MHLONGO, Nonhlanhla Irene (15), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MHLONGO, Nonhle (16), was burnt to death on 2 September 1990 when IFP supporters attacked her neighbours' home in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, in intensifying political conflict in the area. She was visiting her neighbours with her sister when the house was set alight, burning a total of seven people to death.

MHLONGO, Ngashiya (60), had her house at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 24 April 1994 in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters, days before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MHLONGO, Nqenamuzi Muntu (54), an IFP supporter, had his house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down on 16 March 1994 in intensified political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MHLONGO, Ntombi (46), had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, vandalised by a named Special Constable in April 1988. The incident took place on the day she was burying her son, a UDF supporter, who had been killed by Inkatha supporters on 17 April 1988 in political conflict.

MHLONGO, Ntombinani (64), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MHLONGO, Ntombini Eslina (71), had her houses in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 29 March 1990 during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MHLONGO, Ntomula, was killed by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 February 1992 in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MHLONGO, Patrick, an ANC supporter, was abducted, along with his father and three brothers, by named IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 December 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. They were shot and injured before they managed to escape. The family home was burnt down the next day.

MHLONGO, Phillip (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, during 1991.

MHLONGO, Phindile Lephinah (19), was severely injured when she was stabbed and shot by IFP supporters who attacked a home in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 March 1991 in continuing political conflict in the area. A child aged eight was killed in the attack.

MHLONGO, Precious Themba (25), was shot by IFP supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in March 1991 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MHLONGO, Prince Ncuncu (21), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 October 1992.

MHLONGO, Richard, a Daveyton Youth Congress member, disappeared from Springs, Tvl, in December 1989. He and a friend were finally found in hospital, badly burnt. According to police, they found Mr Mhlongo at New Era Station on a burning train. He died of burn wounds on 18 December 1989.

MHLONGO, Robert (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, in July 1991 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MHLONGO, Samuel, was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives from the 'Dolphin Unit', exploded at the Ciskei Consulate in Johannesburg,

on 26 August 1983. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

MHLONGO, Sbusiso (17), was killed when he was stabbed in the head by Inkatha supporters on 8 August 1985 at his house in KwaMashu, Durban. Following the death of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in Umlazi on 1 August, political conflict quickly spread to areas north of Durban.

MHLONGO, Seralo Rebecca (29), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Boichoko, near Postmasburg, Cape, on 20 June 1990. She had participated in a march to the town council offices along with ANC leaders.

MHLONGO, Sibongile Fikisiwe (29), an ANC supporter, lost her house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, in an arson attack on 3 October 1991 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MHLONGO, Sibongile Ngenisile (26), had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 21 June 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MHLONGO, Sibusiso Sicelile (33), an IFP supporter, had his house in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 9 March 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MHLONGO, Sicelo (13), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Mehlomyana, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 September 1990.

MHLONGO, Siphso (33), an IFP supporter, was severely injured when he was beaten by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, in 1991. Mr Mhlongo was allegedly attacked because he had refused to side with the ANC in the conflict.

MHLONGO, Sithembiso (2), was burnt to death on 2 September 1990 when IFP supporters attacked his neighbours' home in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, in intensifying political conflict in the area. He was with his mother, who was visiting her neighbour when the house was set alight. A total of seven people, including his mother and sister, were killed in the attack.

MHLONGO, Siza Cyril, was attacked with an axe and had his house in Chesterville, Durban, burnt down by named members of the Chesterville A-TEAM on 9 January 1987. Three people, including two children, were burnt to death in the incident.

MHLONGO, Sizani Catherine (51), had her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MHLONGO, Soli Solomon (39), an ANC supporter, had his house in KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 25 August 1989 during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MHLONGO, Soto Gladys (54), an ANC supporter, had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down during 1993 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. More than 300 people died violently in Bhambayi during the course of 1993. Hundreds of homes were burnt down.

MHLONGO, Thandekhaya Eric (30), was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, on 27 March 1991. He and others had allegedly been fetched from their homes by IFP supporters the previous day to go to a camp. They were found dead the next morning.

MHLONGO, Themba (41), an ANC supporter, had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 4 November 1993 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MHLONGO, Themba Godfrey (46), had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area during 1993. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MHLONGO, Thembekile (60), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Enteneshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 8 December 1993. In the attack, her son, an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death. Another son had been killed a year earlier, also in political conflict.

MHLONGO, Thembekile Ntombizo (44), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in April 1990 in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, during political conflict following the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MHLONGO, Thembinkosi Christopher (46), a UDF supporter, had his house, business premises and vehicles burnt in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 27 November 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MHLONGO, Thembisile Joy , (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 27 July 1992, the day after the FOLWENI MASSACRE.

MHLONGO, Thembitshe Khohlwayisu , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MHLONGO, Thokoza (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 7 March 1994 at the Ngcamu store, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. One family member was killed in the attack; another was severely injured.

MHLONGO, Thokozani Richard (30), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 September 1990 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. His father was also killed in the attack. On that day, most people in the area had left their houses and fled into the nearby forest.

MHLONGO, Tholakele Dorah (37), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 September 1992.

MHLONGO, Titi, was shot dead on 28 November 1993 when IFP supporters from Ndabayakhe opened

fire on ANC supporters attending a cultural ceremony at Inawe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Eight people, all believed to be ANC supporters, were killed.

MHLONGO, Tobias Bhekithemba (24), a UDF supporter from Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, disappeared without trace in September 1983 after allegedly going into exile to undergo military training in ANC CAMPS. He is presumed dead.

MHLONGO, Vincent Mhlophe (23), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 July 1992. Mr Mhlongo was perceived to be an ANC supporter.

MHLONGO, Vusumuzi (25), an ANC supporter, was abducted by unidentified persons in Empangeni, Natal, on 18 January 1993 during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MHLONGO, Zakhe (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Enteneshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 November 1992.

MHLONGO, Zandile , was injured when she was attacked at her home in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 November 1992 during intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MHLONGO, Zenzeni Doris (25), lost her house in an arson attack in Ntuzi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in July 1993 in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her husband was shot and killed in the attack.

MHLONGO, Zibuse Eric (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 December 1993.

MHLLOTJANE, Martha Nomalanga (14), was severely beaten and tear-gassed by SAP members in Bultfontein, OFS, on 28 February 1990. She was participating in a student protest during a week-long boycott by approximately 20 000 school children in several towns in the province.

MHLUNGU, Alton Siphiwe (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at the Glebelands hostel, Durban, when fighting broke out between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the hostel on 19 February 1989.

MHLUNGU, Bekinhlanhla Jer ome, an ANC supporter, had his house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 7 December 1989.

MHLUNGU, Jabulisile , was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Newcastle, Natal, on 17 June 1986, during the state of emergency.

MHLUNGU, Khayelihle Muzi (11), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in an attack on his home by Inkatha supporters at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 7 December 1989.

MHLUNGU, Sabela Smorden (23), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, during a battle between Inkatha and ANC supporters on 7 October 1989. The police allegedly opened fire in an attempt to disperse the crowd, and shot Mr Mhlungu as he was leaving the scene.

MHLUNGU, Sibusiso Ntokozo (22), an ANC supporter, was detained, beaten and tortured in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 27 April 1988. He had been involved in underground work for MK and in organising student movements in schools in the area.

MHLUNGU, Tr yphina , a UDF supporter, was detained by a named member of the SAP in Newcastle, Natal, in June 1986, during the state of emergency.

MHLUNGWANA, Johannes Omecor (56), had his house burnt down by ANC supporters in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, in February 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MHLWAZI, Bonisiwe Beauty (24), lost her house in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

MOHOLO, David , suffered severe damage to house and property as a result of a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

MHONGO, Happy , was attacked and injured by ANC supporters in July 1991 in Wesselson, Ermelo, Tvl, during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MIAS, Konu Liza , was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MICALLEF, Stanley Charles , was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

MICHAEL, Mzolisi Johannes (15), a SAYCO member, was accused of throwing petrol bombs, beaten by Amagudwana MUNICIPAL POLICE members and detained for six months in Port Alfred, Cape, in June 1986 during the state of emergency. On 12 November 1986 he was sentenced to three years in prison (two suspended) for being in possession of explosives material.

MIDDLETON, Edmund Charles , suffered damage to his property at Fouriesburg, OFS, on 14 August 1993, when it was attacked with petrol bombs and burnt down by APLA operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/2001/102).

MIDDLETON, Jean , was kept in solitary confinement during her imprisonment at Barberton, Tvl. Ms Middleton was on trial with political activist Bram Fischer and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment on 2 April 1965 for being a member of the SACP.

MIGELS, Bonisile Stephanus , was assaulted by members of the SAP while in custody at Steytlerville,

Cape, in July 1985. He was detained during protests against the deaths of the CRADOCK FOUR.

MIGELS, Mzwandile V erenus (20), a SAYCO supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Steytlerville, Cape, on 3 July 1985, when police opened fire on marchers protesting against the death of the CRADOCK FOUR. In mid-1984, he had been expelled from school in Graaff-Reinet because of his political activities, and he was under constant police surveillance.

MIHURA, Michael , was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

MILANZI, Newton Neverdie (27), a PAC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the Gazankulu Police in Tzaneen, Tvl, on 13 June 1992 because he was active in the local civic association which was agitating against the appointment of a new principal at the local school.

MILE, Keneiloe Mirriam (51), was repeatedly harassed by members of the Special Branch in Bloemfontein in 1983 and 1984, allegedly for information about her children who had fled into exile. Her remaining children were taken by police for questioning and would at times return home badly beaten.

MILE, Motladi Phillip (32), was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Bloemfontein, in 1984, allegedly for information about his brother and sister who had fled into exile.

MILES, Donald Walter (55), was harassed, intimidated and assaulted by named perpetrators on 30 October 1991 in Port Elizabeth.

MILES, EN , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MILLER, Magdalena (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mossel Bay, Cape, in September 1976, during a period of unrest in the town. She lost her right eye in the shooting.

MILLER, Nomawabo Freda (13), was severely injured after attending a rally at the Hlengisa Primary School, near Nyanga, Cape Town, on 29 November 1976. The children were returning home when police confronted them, firing teargas and birdshot.

MIMI, Mankankela Nelson (25), a PAC supporter, participated in a Poqo march to storm the police station and prison in Paarl, Cape, on 21 November 1962. Two Paarl residents were killed by Poqo supporters, and five marchers were shot dead in the incident. Mr Mimi was convicted of sabotage and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

MINDLULA, Raisibe Francina (51), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MINERS, Eddie (34), a CRADORA and UDF activist, was detained twice during the state of emergency in 1985 in Cradock, Cape. In detention, he was interrogated and severely beaten by named members of the Security Police, allegedly because they wanted him to become an informer. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MINI, Noluthado Doreen (17), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Cape Town, on 11 August 1976, after the SOWETO UPRISING erupted in Cape Town. Over 20 people were shot dead that day.

MINI, Nombiyiselo Jane (20), a PAC activist, was severely ill-treated when she was imprisoned for a year in December 1962 in Mqanduli, Transkei. Poqo attacked representatives of traditional authority in the homelands because chiefs were perceived as collaborating with the apartheid state. During that month, an attempt was made on Chief Kaiser Matanzima's life and residents of Jixini Location, arrested either in Cape Town or Mqanduli, were transferred to East London to stand trial for Poqo activities.

MINI, Nomkhosi (aka 'Mar y') (26), an MK operative from Port Elizabeth, was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* operatives during a raid on two houses in Maseru, Lesotho, on 19 December 1985. Nine people were killed in the raid, three of them citizens of Lesotho. Six years earlier, in March 1979, Ms Mini had survived an SADF attack on Novo Catengue camp in Angola. Her father, Vuyisile Mini, had been sentenced to death in 1964 and executed for alleged political offences. Seven members of the Security Branch, including the then deputy chief, were refused amnesty for her killing (AC/2001/231).

MINI, Vuyisile (44), a founder member of SACTU and an ANC supporter, was executed in Pretoria, on 6 November 1964 after being sentenced to death in the 1960 treason trial. Mr Mini was allegedly betrayed by 'comrades' who turned state witness in the case.

MINIYANE, Nomasonto Mirriam (48), had her house burnt down at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, by IFP supporters and members of the KwaZulu POLICE on 5 February 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MINNE, Mathews Otto, lost his shack in KTC squatter camp, Cape Town, in June 1986, during an arson attack by members of the WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the support and sanction of the security forces.

MINTZ, S, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

MIRAGE, Emily, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

MIRANDA, Michael (11), was shot dead by members of the Railway Police in Athlone, Cape Town, on 15 October 1985, in the TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN. **MIRION, Mark Craig** was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MISHOMBO, Ben (47), was beaten and tear gassed by members of the SAP in Moletsane, Soweto, on 29 August 1976 after he went looking for his grandchildren who had not returned from school. He was found in the street and died in Baragwanath hospital on 4 September 1976.

MITCHELL, L, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

MITCHLEY, Nor man, a scholar, was injured when APLA operatives opened fire on the vehicle in which he was travelling at Eikenhof, Tvl, on 19 March 1993. The perpetrators had allegedly targeted a schoolbus conveying white children, and attacked the Mitchley vehicle when this failed. Three people were killed and two were injured in the attack. One APLA operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/147).

MITCHLEY, Sandra, an unarmed civilian, died when APLA operatives opened fire on the vehicle in which she was travelling at Eikenhof, Tvl, on 19 March 1993. The perpetrators had allegedly targeted a schoolbus conveying white children, and attacked the Mitchley vehicle when this failed. Three people were killed and two were injured in the attack. One APLA operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/147).

MITCHLEY, Shaun, a scholar, died when APLA operatives opened fire on the vehicle in which he was travelling at Eikenhof, Tvl, on 19 March 1993. The perpetrators had allegedly targeted a schoolbus conveying white children, and attacked the Mitchley vehicle when this failed. Three people were killed and two were injured in the attack. One APLA operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/147).

MITSHALI, Heriet Sisi (49), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by an IFP supporter at Jeppe station, Johannesburg, on 28 October 1993. Ms Mitshali was targeted by co-workers who were members of the IFP-aligned UWUSA, because of political conflict in the workplace.

MIYA, Bongamusa (17), was shot and killed by IFP supporters in Carisbrook, Ixopo, Natal, on 2 April 1992, allegedly for refusing to join the IFP. His father was also killed in the attack.

MIYA, Dibhiliza Gesta (54), an IFP supporter, had her house in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 5 February 1991. Her son was killed in the attack, and she was forced to flee the area.

MIYA, Jabulani Godfrey (21), was shot dead by members of the Security Police in Guguletu, Cape

Town, on 3 March 1986, in the GUGULETU SEVEN incident. Two Security Branch members from *Vlakplaas* were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/276).

MIYA, Mamthembu Pumzile (38), was detained by members of the SAP on several occasions in 1962 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Her husband was shot dead by the police during the revolt.

MIYA, Mbhekiswana Ephraim (59), was shot and killed by IFP supporters in Carisbrook, Ixopo, Natal, on 2 April 1992, allegedly for refusing to join the IFP. His son was also killed in the attack.

MIYA, Mbusiso, an ANC supporter, was detained in January 1977 along with four other ANC supporters, and taken to Fisher Street police station in Durban, where he was severely beaten by members of the SAP while under interrogation about his political activities.

MIYA, Mduduzi Aubrey (28), an ANC supporter, was killed on 18 February 1994, when four gunmen attacked a house in the rural Mahahle village, near Creighton, Ixopo, Natal, in which he and other ANC youths were sleeping. Fifteen ANC youths were killed in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre.

MIYA, Mlungisi, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP members during political conflict at Amahlongwa Reserve, Umkomaas, Natal, on 18 October 1990. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0015).

MIYA, Mpotane Albert (31), was severely beaten by a named and other members of the SAP on 1 April 1985 in Makeneng, Cape.

MIYA, Msolwa, was imprisoned for two years in 1962 in Bizana, Transkei, for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT, and was killed by members of the SAP who shot him when they visited his home after his release.

MIYA, Mthokozisi Johan, an IFP supporter, was shot dead on 28 March 1994 when the bus in which he was travelling was ambushed in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Three people were killed and 18 injured during the attack.

MIYA, Phillip (43), was hacked to death with a *panga* and thrown from a train near Denver station, Johannesburg, on 16 December 1990. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

MIYA, Qatisa Alfred (52), an IFP supporter, was injured in a hand grenade attack by ANC supporters on a shop on 23 March 1993, and shot by ANC supporters on 17 April 1994 in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MIYA, Simiso Edmund, was beaten to death in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 June 1993, at a 'people's court' under the command of an officer

of a local ANC self-defence unit (SDU). Mr Hlatshwayo was one of two people killed that day, and five others were severely beaten, allegedly for crimes committed in the community. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/033).

MIYA, Sithembiso Robert (28), an IFP supporter, was attacked by ANC supporters at Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 5 February 1991. He died of his injuries some days later. His mother's house was burnt down in the attack.

MIYA, Sokela (43), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters after he was allegedly intimidated into attending an IFP meeting in Bulwer, Natal, on 20 April 1992.

MIYA, Themba Selby (50), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely wounded by IFP supporters at his home in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in October 1992. He died from his injuries a few months later.

MIYA, Thulani (16), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters at Umkomaas, near Durban, in October 1990.

MIYA, Thulani Patric (16), was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Mabhuveni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 March 1994 in political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Three perpetrators were found guilty of the killings.

MIYEN, Cyprian Majamu (38), was beaten by members of the SAP, one of whom is named, in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, on 28 September 1990 because he participated in a strike.

MIZA, Mthetheleli Devilliers (33), was shot and wounded by named members of the SAP on 23 July 1985 at Phakamisa High School in Zwide, Port Elizabeth. Scholars were involved in a student protest when police randomly shot at students, killing two and injuring six others, including teachers. The perpetrators were found guilty of murder and attempted murder and were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment but did not serve their sentence.

MIZAH, Nicholas Mziwonga (22), was stabbed and injured by a group of UDF supporters in New Crossroads, Cape Town, on 22 February 1986, allegedly because he was suspected of being an informer.

MIZAH, Nkosiyo Christopher (19), a UDF supporter, was abducted and shot dead by supporters of the KTC Masinedane Committee in KTC, Cape Town, on 5 February 1988, during internal conflict among UDF supporters in KTC and Tambo Square.

MJACU, Jackson (74), was severely hacked with a *panga* by a named perpetrator during an ANC-organised cultural event on 22 September 1990 in Jwanxa, King William's Town, Cape. Mr Mjacu had managed to resolve political differences within the community but was attacked on his way home from the meeting. He died in hospital.

MJACU, Sandile Joseph, was shot by a named town COUNCILLOR, after leaving home to attend a meeting in Centerton, near Hankey, Cape. He died in hospital a few days later on 30 April 1986. The perpetrator had

slept away from home for fear of being attacked by community members. He shot at two people approaching his hiding place, injuring Mr Mjacu. No one was found legally responsible for his death.

MJADA, Noti (55), was shot and severely injured in Noupoot, Cape, on 25 April 1985, at a meeting of schoolchildren and parents to demand the building of a new school. Police dispersed the meeting by firing teargas and live ammunition and beating people with sjamboks. Several people were injured in this incident.

MJADA, Yibanathi Michael (14), was severely beaten on his arrest at his home in Noupoot, Cape, on 25 April 1986. He was held in custody for six weeks, during which time he was severely beaten, suffocated, and had his penis slammed in a drawer by members of the SAP. Yibanathi became mentally disturbed.

MJADU, Lindinkosi Happy (38), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters while on his way to work in Empangeni, Natal, on 15 July 1992 during continuing political conflict in the area.

MJADU, Nhlanhla Kenneth (25), was stabbed with a spear and had his home burnt down in Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1993 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MJADU, Nokwethemba Ntombizakhona (36), was shot and injured and had her house in Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MJAJA, Venene Mayvis (37), was stabbed and injured in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993 during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MJAJI, Mlungisi Shadrack (24), was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 January 1994 in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MJALI, Oupa Gert (17), was tortured in detention by named members of the SAP at Welverdiend police station, Carletonville, Tvl, on 18 October 1990 during intense political conflict in the area. Police allegedly beat and stabbed Mr Mjali to try and make him sign a statement implicating him in political violence in Khutsong township.

MJANDANA, Mamntu, lost her homestead in an arson attack in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MJANYEL WA, Minconco, an *iKongo* member, was executed on 29 March 1962 in Pretoria Central prison, for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MJAYIYA, Jackson, a private security guard, was injured by four APLA operatives during an attack on police members at the Khayelitsha train station, Cape Town, in 1992. Four other private security guards were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

MJETHU, Harold Vuyo (27), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Pabellelo, Upington, Cape, on 13 November 1985, during a political rally.

MJIJWA, Nimrod Monde (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 23 May 1986 in Hankey, Cape, for allegedly trying to attack a COUNCILLOR'S house.

MJIKELO, July Xwele (52), an ADM supporter, lost his homestead in arson attacks by named ANC members during political conflict at Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei, in September 1992.

MJILA, Noxolo Lindelwa (27), was shot and injured by named and unnamed ANC supporters during political conflict in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 28 January 1993. She was allegedly targeted because she was the wife of an ADM member.

MJILO, Jumouma (68), an Inkatha supporter, had her house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in violent conflict with Inkatha supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MJIWU, Sizwe Witness (36), was blindfolded and severely beaten by members of the SAP and the CDF on 16 May 1987 in Mdantsane, Ciskei. The police claimed that Mr Mjiwu was harbouring weapons at his house and detained him at the Cambridge police station, East London. He was released and then redetained before he fled from the Ciskei. Mr Mjiwu has suffered from partial deafness since then.

MJOBBO, Zandisile Zenieth (23), was shot dead by members of the Security Police in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 3 March 1986, in the GUGULETU SEVEN incident. Two Security Branch members from *Vlakplaas* were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/276).

MJODO, Enoch (58), was beaten and forced to flee Crossroads, Cape Town, after several of his colleagues were killed in 1983 by members of an opposing committee. He lost his home in an arson attack in KTC in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

MJOKA, Madoda Louis (22), was hacked and shot dead by named Inkatha supporters on 25 August 1989 in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MJOKA, Nontobeko (12), was shot and her left arm was broken when IFP supporters attacked several homes in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, at the end of July 1992. Nontobeko's father was killed in the attack.

MJOKA, Sylvia Baphindile (39), was repeatedly harassed by Inkatha supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in December 1989, after her son had allegedly been killed by the same perpetrators during political conflict.

MJOLA, Nonhlanhla (3), was shot dead when IFP supporters attacked the home of her grandmother, an ANC supporter, in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 October 1993. Three other people were killed in the attack.

MJOLI, Bhoko July (25), an AZAPO supporter, was subjected to electric shock torture by members of the SAP after his arrest on 15 March 1986 in Jouberton,

Klerksdorp, Tvl. He was arrested on suspicion of having set somebody's house on fire.

MJOLI, Nkosinathi Musa (20), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by a named Inkatha supporter in Umlazi, Durban, on 10 June 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Mr Mjoli was allegedly confronted by IFP supporters because he was wearing an ANC T-shirt.

MJOLI, Nomabisinya Esther (68), an IFP supporter, had her house in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, looted and burnt down by ANC supporters in July 1992.

MJOLI, Nombuyiselo Alzina (54), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990 in KwaMashu, Durban, in violent conflict between ANC/UDF supporters and AMASINYORA vigilantes. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MJOLI, Ntsikelelo Eric (25), a UDF supporter, was tortured in a various ways by members of the SAP, some of who are named, during political conflict between AMAAFRIKA and UDF supporters in Kwa-Nobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 24 May 1987.

MJOMO, (first name not given), was shot in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 23 May 1991.

MJUZA, Xolile (21), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Nemato, Port Alfred, Cape, on 16 November 1984, while he was attending the funeral of a victim of political conflict. Mr Mjuza was then detained, charged with public violence and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

MJWAHA, Nicholas Xolani Gwandu , was shot and killed by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Mophela, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 September 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MJWARA, Bazen Agnecia (58), an ANC supporter, had her home at GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down in April 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MJWARA, Getrude (70), an ANC supporter, had her home in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 1 May 1994 in political conflict that accompanied the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MJWARA, Linda Vivian (20), an ANC supporter, disappeared for 31 days and was found dead at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 November 1993. He had allegedly been stabbed and killed by an IFP supporter.

MJWARA, Thobile Beauty (33), lost her house in an arson attack in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, in April 1992 during ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MJWARA, Vincent Thulani , was shot dead by members of the SAP while attending a night vigil in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 10 March 1990 during political conflict.

MK 'Brown', thought to be Kenneth NUNGU , an MK Special Operations commander, was one of two MK operatives shot dead in an ambush by members of the SAP Special Task Force and Eastern Transvaal Security Branch on the border between South Africa

and Swaziland on 8 December 1981. The car caught alight, severely burning the two bodies. The divisional commanders of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal Security Branches, the officer commanding the SAP's Special Task Force, as well as several Security Branch and Special Task Force members, were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2001/186).

MK 'Scorpio', or 'Scorpion' (whose real name may have been Oupa Ronald MADONDO) , was shot dead on the farm Leeuspoor near Jozini Dam, northern Natal, by members of the Natal and Northern Natal Security Branch in 1980. His body was destroyed by means of explosives. Five Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander of Soweto Security Branch who authorised the operation, were granted amnesty for the killing (AC/2000/151).

MKABALASA, Silumko Leonard , was hacked and stabbed to death by AZAPO members in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, in 1984 after he refused to join AZAPO.

MKABELA, Hendrik Fani , was shot dead by members of the SAP at KwaGuga, near Witbank, Tvl, on 20 July 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MKABELA, Moss , was injured in a hand grenade explosion at Lulekani, Gazankulu, on 28 March 1986. Fifteen people died and scores were injured when the grenade, thrown by SADF members, exploded in a packed sheeben on Good Friday 1986. See GAZANKULU HAND GRENADE ATTACK.

MKABINDE, Nathi , was shot and injured in crossfire between the police and named ANC operatives at Edendale Hospital, near Pietermaritzburg, on 4 May 1986, when the operatives tried to free a political prisoner held at the hospital.

MKAFU, Msuthu (25), a Poqo member, was detained without trial for 30 days in 1963 at Somerset West, Cape. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for his political activities.

MKALIPI, Pretty Ntombomzi (15), an AZAPO supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by UDF supporters during political conflict in Port Alfred, Cape, in June 1985. The perpetrators, armed with hatchets and axes, arrived at her home and attacked her in the yard after she escaped through a window. As a result of the attack, she is disabled.

MKAMBA, Bobby (54), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in December 1990 during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MKAMBA, Thandiwe Primrose (53), an ANC supporter, had her house and business premises in Umlazi, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 6 May 1992.

MKAMBULA, Dinokile Lillian (46), an Inkatha supporter, had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters on 10 February 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Ms Mkambula's new home in Inchanga, Natal, was reportedly burnt down in 1989.

MKAMBULE, Thomas Shor tie , was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, on 8 July 1985 during a march to protest against the killing of

several Duduza youths by *Vlakplaas* operatives who supplied the youth with doctored hand grenades.

MKANYISW A, Nomathemba (65), lost her home in an arson attack by members of the SAP in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during violence following a rent boycott.

MKATALI, Bukwana (68), an ANC member, was severely assaulted by ADM members during political conflict in Peddie, Ciskei, in 1993.

MKATSHW A, Bennet Madala (35), an ANC supporter, lost his right eye after he was severely beaten and kicked by members of the SADF 21 Battalion and the SAP in his home in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 24 May 1992. Many people were assaulted by soldiers patrolling the township that day.

MKAZA, Fikile Kenneth (22), a Nyanga resident, was shot and injured in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels over the Christmas 1976 period.

MKEFE, Luthaba (49), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF in September 1992 at King William's Town, Cape. The perpetrators assaulted the Mfeke family when they could not find Mr Mfeke's son, an ANC supporter.

MKELENI, Phesheya Johnson Gongwane, an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in 1962 at Lusikisiki police station, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MKETI, Irvin Vuyisile (33), was arrested and charged with harbouring terrorists in December 1978 and detained in a prison in Umtata, Transkei, by members of the Security Branch. Members of Mr Mketi's family were APLA activists.

MKETI, Ntsikelelo Michael (25), an MK cadre, was shot dead by a named Security Force member and others on 9 December 1987 in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth. After he left school in 1982, he joined the ANC in exile and was not heard of again until an anonymous telephone caller informed the family that he had been killed during a confrontation with security forces.

MKETI, Rex Meyisi (30), an APLA member from Umtata, Transkei, was shot dead by Basotho paramilitary force members at Qacha's Nek, Lesotho, close to the Lesotho-Transkei border, in March 1985. Five other APLA members died in this incident, which occurred at a time of increased LLA activity in the area aimed at destabilising the pro-ANC government of Chief Leabua Jonathan. The Basotho security forces claimed they had mistaken the APLA unit for LLA members. APLA and the LLA were closely connected at the time.

MKETI, Sophia Nomahlubi (60), was detained in December 1978 for three months by members of the Security Branch and held in various prisons in Umtata, Transkei, allegedly because she visited her son, an APLA member, in hospital.

MKETI, Trevor Xola Raymond Mvelase (23), an APLA member, was detained in December 1978 by members of the Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei. He was reportedly kept naked in a cell for a month.

MKETI, Valencia T embisa, an APLA supporter, was detained by members of the Security Branch in December 1978 and held at a prison in Umtata, Transkei. Ms Mketi was accused of harbouring trained terrorists.

MKHABELA, Bongani William (20), an ANCYL member, was stabbed to death in Pietermaritzburg, on 3 February 1990 in political conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations the day before.

MKHABELA, Joseph, a taxi driver, was shot dead in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 March 1994. One ANC self-defence unit (SDU) member, who claimed to believe that Mr Mkhabela was an IFP supporter, was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0017).

MKHABELA, Mandla Metro (24), an ANCYL member, was shot in the leg and chest by members of the SAP at Boschfontein community ground in Nelspruit, Tvl, in June 1986 during a community meeting.

MKHABELA, Mpaniseni Godfrey (19), was shot dead by IFP supporters in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Daveyton, Tvl, on 25 July 1993. Between January and October 1993, 139 people were killed in DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS.

MKHABELA, Sizwe (15), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by a named Inkatha supporter in the streets of Clermont, near Durban, in 1986 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MKHABELA, Thembelihle Constance (43), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 December 1992.

MKHABELA, Wallace, survived an attempt on his life in 1987 when an explosive device was thrown into his home at Matsulu, KaNgwane, by SADF members who believed him to be an ANC member. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/277).

MKHABILE, Mzikhaya Dekstad (25), was arrested and beaten by police in 1960 in Paarl, Cape, in connection with the anti-Pass Law campaign. He was again arrested, severely beaten and tortured after participating in the Poqo march to storm the police station in Paarl, on 21 November 1962. He was then sentenced in 1963 to 12 years' imprisonment for sabotage. While serving his sentence on Robben Island, he was subjected to beatings and humiliating treatment.

MKHALANI, Nontetho Meslinah (34), an ANC supporter, had her house at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in February 1992 in intense political conflict in the area.

MKHALIPHI, Stella Zelfa (65), had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MKHALIPHI, Theophilus, an ANC and SACP member, disappeared from Johannesburg, after the banning of the liberation movements in 1960 and was presumed to have joined the ANC in exile. His wife was left to fend for herself and their children, and they were constantly harassed by members of the Security Branch during his absence. It was later found that Mr

Mkhaliphi was killed in the Wankie campaign in Zimbabwe during 1967.

MKHALIPI, Sizani Agnes (50), was injured when her house was petrol-bombed by members of the KWAZULU POLICE during political conflict at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 6 March 1989.

MKHANAZI, Thandazile (26), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the ISU, during 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MKHASIBE, Mzungezwa, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in April 1990. It is alleged that the police opened fire on a group of people watching the retreat of Inkatha supporters who had earlier attacked the community.

MKHASIBE, Petros Sibonelo (30), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death on 14 February 1993 in Ntuzuma, near Durban, in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MKHASIBE, Thomas Muzi (30), was shot dead by a named ANC supporter on 23 February 1993 in Sebokeng, Tvl. The perpetrator was allegedly involved in car hijackings and armed robberies.

MKHATHSW A, Linah (59), was shot with rubber bullets by members of the SAP during political conflict in Nelspruit, Tvl.

MKHATJW A, Adam (23), an ANC supporter, was severely tortured and beaten while in police custody on suspicion that he participated in an arson attack on a house at Nelspruit, Tvl, in May 1986.

MKHATSHA, Veleleni Enoch (69), an ANC supporter, lost two huts in an arson attack in Pholile, Matatiele, Natal, on 30 April 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Following the UNBANNING of political organisations, local villagers, including leading members of the community, resisted attempts by the ANC to establish branches in the Pholile and KwaMango areas of Matatiele in March and April 1990. From 27 to 30 April 1990 about 12 homes belonging to ANC supporters were burnt down by known perpetrators carrying traditional weapons.

MKHATSHW A, Angelina (28), was sprayed with a chemical that made her choke and was severely beaten by alleged members of the SAP in Nkomazi, Komatipoort, Tvl, on 13 April 1990 looking for information about the whereabouts of an arms cache. Police suspected her late husband who had returned from exile and was allegedly shot by police, would have told her the whereabouts of the arms cache.

MKHATSHW A, Moses (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 27 July 1990 in Matsulu, KaNgwane, because he was suspected of being an ANC supporter.

MKHATSHW A, Smangalislo, a clergyman, official in the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and patron of the UDF, was targeted for killing by members of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch. An unsuccessful attempt on his life was made at the

Durban airport during 1987. Two of the conspirators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0030 and AC/1999/0032).

MKHATSHW A, Tryphinah, was shot in April 1994 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by NPKF members, during political conflict in the area in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTION.

MKHATSW A, Bokweni Bethuel, was tortured, mutilated and burnt by members of the community and named ANC supporters in Nkomazi-West district, Komatipoort, Tvl, on 6 June 1986 in retaliation for his brother having killed a chief. His two brothers were killed with him in the same manner in full view of the community. Five perpetrators were charged, convicted of murder and sentenced.

MKHATSW A, December, was tortured, mutilated and burnt by named ANC supporters and members of the community in Nkomazi-West district, Komatipoort, Tvl, on 6 June 1986 because he was accused of killing a chief. Despite Mr Mkhatswa's alleged confession, his two brothers were killed with him in the same manner in full view of the community because they were suspected of opposing the new chief. Five perpetrators were charged, convicted of murder and sentenced.

MKHATSW A, Jonathan, was tortured, mutilated and burnt by named ANC supporters and community members in Nkomazi-West district, Komatipoort, Tvl, on 6 June 1986 in revenge for his brother having killed the chief. His two brothers were killed with him in the same manner in full view of the community. Five perpetrators were charged, convicted of murder and sentenced.

MKHATSW A, Vtiah Nakile (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nelspruit, Tvl, during a protest march to the Tonga police station to demand the release of arrested local leaders on 12 May 1986.

MKHELE, Jabulane, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 18 February 1986 during the SIX-DAY WAR when security forces moved into the area to counteract the relative success of community structures after town councillors were expelled.

MKHESENG, Willbeloved Xakekile (19), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP in Burgersdorp, Cape, on 26 January 1986. Police opened fire during clashes with protesters during a consumer boycott. Mr Mkheseeng died three days later, on the way to Pelenomi hospital in Bloemfontein.

MKHETHWA, Mar hoborhobo, an ANC member, was detained in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MKHETSHANE, Funani, was shot dead in 1992 during political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MKHETSHANE, Nopasile (43), was severely beaten in 1992 during political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MKHIMISHE, (first name not given), suffered severe emotional trauma as a result of an arson attack on Khanya House, the headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, in Pretoria on 12 October 1988. The victims were trapped in the burning building for some time before being rescued.

Twelve *Vlakplaas* operatives and seven other Security Branch Headquarters operatives, including senior personnel, were granted amnesty (AC/2000/215).

MKHIWANE, Michael (57), a town council member, lost his house and all his belongings in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 1 September 1984. Councillors were forced to resign by the UDF movement in the township as they were seen as apartheid puppets.

MKHIZE, (first name not given), an IFP supporter, lost his home in an arson attack in Kliptown, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 May 1991 because he lived in a predominantly ANC area. That day the ANC held a rally at the Orlando stadium and the IFP held one at the George Goch stadium. Supporters of both parties attacked each other after the rallies, resulting in a number of deaths, injuries and damage to property.

MKHIZE, (the family), ANC supporters, were constantly harassed by other ANC supporters in the Durban area during 1991, allegedly because the family was thought to be supportive of the IFP.

MKHIZE, Abednigo (31), a UDF supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters on 29 March 1990 in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MKHIZE, Abednigo Mbhekiseni (27), an IFP supporter, was killed in a limpet-mine attack on the home of a well-known IFP leader in the Umbumbulu area, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 October 1991. The attack, which took place during a wedding ceremony, is thought to have been carried out by an ANC supporter. Six people were killed.

MKHIZE, Agnes Ntombizonke (20), was severely beaten and then abducted by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg during December 1988, in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters.

MKHIZE, Alfred Bheki (21), a COSAS supporter, had his home in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down while he was in detention in August 1985. Mr Mkhize, who had been detained at the time of the death of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge, was attacked and detained on several occasions because of his political activities.

MKHIZE, Alfred Zolile (18), was subjected to electric shock torture and beaten by members of the Kwa-Ndebele Police in 1986 and 1987 in Moutse, KwaNdebele. He was interrogated about the deaths of two policemen and the whereabouts of an activist during conflict over INCORPORATION in which hundreds of people died or were injured.

MKHIZE, Alzina Thembari (40), a UDF supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990 at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MKHIZE, Ambros B, had his house burnt down at KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 June 1992 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Amos Bhekisizwe, was stabbed to death on a train between Germiston and Katilehong, Tvl, on 22 September 1992. The East Rand was a key site of

TRAIN VIOLENCE with the track between Katilehong and Kwesine stations becoming the line with the highest risk in South Africa.

MKHIZE, Andile Siduduzo Sikhumbuzo (8), was hacked to death when IFP supporters attacked his parents' home at Thafamasi, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 3 March 1991 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Angelina Khuluza, an ANC branch secretary, was raped, severely beaten and stabbed to death by named IFP supporters at her home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 January 1991.

MKHIZE, Angeline Ntombeliza, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during 1991.

MKHIZE, Badelise Pretty Theodora (35), had her home burnt down, allegedly by members of the security forces, in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 March 1990, during political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Bafikile Alter (26), an ANC supporter, had his house at Richmond, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in April 1990 during intense political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Bafunani (32), an IFP supporter, had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 25 August 1991. The perpetrators allegedly chased Ms Mkhize and her family from their home before setting fire to it.

MKHIZE, Bavumile (33), an Inkatha supporter, was forced by ANC supporters to leave her home in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 18 March 1990. They then removed the roof of her house.

MKHIZE, Beauty Ntombizodwa (45), was abducted, hacked and then burnt to death by ANC supporters in Mooi River, Natal, on 4 October 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Bernard Ben (45), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, on 15 August 1992. He and his family had fled from their home in Emagadini, Umbumbulu, a few months before his death, allegedly because of harassment by IFP supporters.

MKHIZE, Bhakamakhize Linos (20), an IFP supporter, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at the Duduza hostel in Tvl, on 19 March 1994. At least ten people were killed in the attack, which took place after IFP hostel-dwellers had attacked and evicted ANC hostel-dwellers. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for this killing (AC/2000/054).

MKHIZE, Bheki (18), had his home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters on 18 August 1988 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Bheki Petros (29), an ANC supporter, was detained and beaten by KwaZulu POLICE members in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in October 1993. He was later informed that his detention had been a case of mistaken identity as police were looking for someone else with the same surname who was allegedly involved in political activity.

MKHIZE, Bhekithemba Bridgeman (74), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Madundubala, near Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 5 May 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters accompanying the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Mkhize was allegedly targeted because his son was an ANC supporter.

MKHIZE, Bhekizenzo Bongani (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Vezunyawo, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, during a violent confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters in the area on 16 October 1993.

MKHIZE, Bhekizenzo Thulani (29), was shot and injured by IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 27 April 1994, the first day of the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MKHIZE, Bhekizitha, a UDF and ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 September 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Bhelukufa (46), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndvedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHIZE, Bhoi Patrick (36), an ANC supporter, was abducted from his home in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 1 January 1993, and taken to a deserted place where he was shot several times in the back and left for dead. He is now paralysed.

MKHIZE, Bhunu Siphos (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters on 30 October 1987 at Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal. He is paralysed from the waist down as a result of the shooting.

MKHIZE, Bonakele Christina (53), an ANC supporter, had her house in Bulwer, Natal, burnt down by a named IFP supporter in March 1994 during political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Bongani (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE opened fire in a home in Umlazi, Durban, on 12 June 1990. Five other people died in the same attack.

MKHIZE, Bongani (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 October 1991. His brother and cousin were killed in the same attack, and one other person was severely injured.

MKHIZE, Bongani (46), an Inkatha supporter, died after being shot by ANC supporters in the Durban area on 15 May 1989 during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Bongani Hermiton (24), had his house burnt down in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1993 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters surrounding the launch of an IFP branch in the area.

MKHIZE, Bongani V incent, an Inkatha supporter, was shot and killed in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 10 September 1986 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Bongani, died when he was stoned, stabbed and burnt with acid by members of the Masibonisane Lamontville Youth Organisation (MALAYO) in Lamontville,

Durban, on 21 May 1983. His attackers believed that he was linked to the Mashoalin gang, which supported local community councillors. One MALAYO member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0250).

MKHIZE, Bonginkosi (40), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters on 29 March 1990 in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MKHIZE, Bongiwe Princess, was shot and killed in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in September 1989 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. Ms Mkhize's husband was an Inkatha supporter. During 1989, about 1 000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in political violence in Mpumalanga, leaving many dead and thousands homeless.

MKHIZE, Bridgeman Musa (29), an ANC activist, was killed when unidentified perpetrators, allegedly members of the SAP, intercepted and opened fire on the vehicle in which he was travelling in Verulam, Natal, on 6 January 1992. Mr Mkhize and other members of his family were known ANC activists in the area.

MKHIZE, Busi Milfred (30), a UDF supporter, was raped and stabbed by an members of an Inkatha-supporting gang known as 'Othelweni', who attacked her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1987, allegedly because her brothers were UDF supporters. Her sister was raped and her mother raped and killed in the attack.

MKHIZE, Busisiwe Gugu Daphne (24), an ANC and UDF supporter, lost her house in an arson attack in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1989 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters. She escaped injured by hiding in the bushes.

MKHIZE, Busisiwe, was killed at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 31 December 1992, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Caslina, an Inkatha supporter, had her house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters on 27 December 1987.

MKHIZE, Catherine Hlamkile (36), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 February 1990 following the UNBANNING of political organisations two days earlier.

MKHIZE, Collin Cecil Bhukumuzi (34), an ANC supporter, died when he was run over by a car in Umlazi, Durban, on 2 September 1989. The car was allegedly driven by Inkatha supporters, who targeted him because he had refused to join in a revenge attack against ANC supporters.

MKHIZE, Conrad, was killed in a limpet-mine attack on the home of a well-known IFP leader in the Umbumbulu area, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 October 1991. The attack, which took place during a wedding ceremony, is thought to have been carried out by an ANC member. Six people were killed.

MKHIZE, Dominic Mandlenkosi (52), an ANC supporter, had his house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 26 April 1994, the day before start of the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MKHIZE, Duduzile Winnie (41), a UDF supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the KwaZulu POLICE, in an attack on her home in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 9 March 1990. Her husband was also shot dead and her son injured in the attack. The family had been harassed and threatened by IFP supporters, and had their home burnt down in early 1986, allegedly because they did not vote for an Inkatha candidate during local council elections.

MKHIZE, Dumazile Florah (49), an ANC supporter, had her house in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 11 August 1991.

MKHIZE, Dumezweni Jef frey (26), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 6 November 1991. Demonstrators marching in protest against VAT charges were attacked by IFP supporters and fled into Mr Mkhize's yard. Mr Mkhize was shot in the head and died later in hospital.

MKHIZE, Dwa Olive (21), was shot dead by ANC supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 May 1990, allegedly because she lived in an Inkatha stronghold, at a time of intense political conflict.

MKHIZE, Dwana Michaelina (56), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in politicised factional conflict at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in October 1989.

MKHIZE, Edgar Sandile (29), was killed by a named Inkatha supporter in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 July 1988 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. The perpetrator was convicted of the killing.

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

MKHIZE, Emmah , a UDF supporter, had her house damaged when it was attacked by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 November 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0331).

MKHIZE, Emmanuel Bonga (30), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 17 July 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Emmanuel Zwelithini (19), was assaulted and detained by named members of the SAP during political unrest at New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 20 August 1988.

MKHIZE, Ephraim (21), an Inkatha supporter, was beaten and stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 December 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Ernest Mandlenkosi (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 19 November 1991 in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Euclide Muzi , an ANC supporter, had his house at Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

MKHIZE, Fanana Sixtus (40), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) on at Zuba Location, Umkomaas, near Durban, 7 November 1990. The family's home was burnt down in the attack. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0102).

MKHIZE, Fano , was stabbed to death by a named perpetrator near Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Natal, on 22 July 1988 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Fihliwe Viera (55), a UDF supporter, was raped, stabbed and killed by an members of an Inkatha-supporting gang known as 'Otheleweni', who attacked her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1987, allegedly because her sons were UDF supporters. Her two daughters were also raped in the attack, and one was also stabbed and severely injured.

MKHIZE, Fikelephi (52), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in violent conflict with Inkatha supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHIZE, Fikile Crezencia (38), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area during 1987.

MKHIZE, Flora Bazabile (49), an ANC supporter, had her house in Nkoneni, Harding, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 11 July 1990.

MKHIZE, Florence Fisani (27), had her house in Richmond, Natal, burnt down on 2 July 1993 during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Peace talks about the return of political refugees had collapsed two weeks previously.

MKHIZE, Gladness Ganile (13), an ANC supporter, had her home at KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 27 January 1991. Two family members were killed in the attack.

MKHIZE, Gqizo Ntombeziningi (38), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHIZE, Gqokeleni Mpompo (37), an IFP supporter, had her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHIZE, Grace , was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Durban on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076).

MKHIZE, Gugu Ritta (20), died after being raped and hanged by IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu,

near Durban, on 22 January 1991, in ongoing conflict in the area. The perpetrators abducted her and her four-year-old child when they could not find another member of the family. They were taken to an abandoned house where she was raped and killed and her child suffocated.

MKHIZE, Happy-Girl Thandazile V ernon (40), an ANC supporter, had her home in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, burnt down by named Inkatha supporters on 4 February 1990 in political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations two days earlier.

MKHIZE, Henry Nkenke , an ANC supporter, was repeatedly stabbed and then fatally struck on the head with a tomahawk by named IFP supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 January 1991.

MKHIZE, Hlekisile Paulina (39), an ANC supporter, had her house in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 13 February 1992, allegedly because her son was a local ANC leader.

MKHIZE, Ian Siphio Winston (43), a UDF supporter, had his house and car burnt by Inkatha supporters in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, on 21 August 1984 in political conflict over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu.

MKHIZE, Innocent Nhlanhla , was shot dead and had his body mutilated by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 18 March 1990 during intense political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Irene Nokusuka (67), was shot dead by named IFP supporters during political conflict at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 June 1993. Ms Mkhize was allegedly targeted because she did not attend weekly IFP meetings and was therefore believed to support the ANC.

MKHIZE, Jabu Rose (41), an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters at Umkomaas, near Durban, in August 1992.

MKHIZE, Jabulani Edwin , a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MKHIZE, Jabulani , was fatally stabbed, allegedly by IFP-aligned youths, during political conflict in Vulindlela, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 19 October 1993.

MKHIZE, Japhet (55), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 February 1990 in political conflict following Nelson Mandela's release from prison the previous day.

MKHIZE, Johannes Makhosemba , an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people

were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

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

MKHIZE, Joyce Nomthandazo (24), an ANC supporter, broke her leg while running away from attackers in Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, on 7 February 1990, in political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February.

MKHIZE, Juanna (71), was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in an attack on her home in Clermont, near Durban, on 7 November 1993. Ms Mkhize's two-year-old grandchild was also shot dead in the attack. Her daughter was shot and injured.

MKHIZE, Julius , was killed by ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, in October 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Justice Siphio Mxhegu (28), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 13 November 1989 during intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. His badly injured arm had to be amputated.

MKHIZE, Kenilworth Solomuzi Ronald (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by two unidentified men in Nkandla, KwaZulu, near Melmoth, Natal, on 23 April 1994, while canvassing for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS in an IFP stronghold. Mr Mkhize is now blind as a result of his injuries.

MKHIZE, Kenneth Mthokozisi 'Makhehla' , was shot dead by members of an ANC breakaway gang known as the 'Cleaners' in his home in J Section, KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 October 1993. One other person was killed and one injured in the attack.

MKHIZE, Khanyisile (21), was shot dead in a random shooting while waiting at a bus stop in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 14 March 1990. The incident took place in heightened political tension during a stayaway in the area.

MKHIZE, Khanyisile Brightness (28), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 23 February 1993 in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. About 35 houses were burnt down in Bhambayi that month.

MKHIZE, Khanyisile Mavis (27), was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990 in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MKHIZE, Khehla Desh , was shot and injured when IFP supporters attacked ANC supporters at Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

MKHIZE, Khehla Lucas , an ANC supporter, disappeared from Umlazi, Durban, during intensifying political conflict in the area in 1987. He has not been seen again and is presumed dead.

MKHIZE, Khehlo Mashikashika , was shot and killed by an IFP member during political conflict at Izingolweni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 June 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0339).

MKHIZE, Khengane Edmund , an ANC supporter, was beaten to death by Inkatha supporters at a supermarket in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Khethekile Vinah (34), lost her house in an arson attack at GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, during April 1992 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Khiphabanye Jerome (39), an Inkatha supporter, had his house burnt down by UDF supporters at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 October 1989, allegedly in politicised factional conflict between the Makhathini and Mabheleni tribal groups. Eight Inkatha supporters were killed, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

MKHIZE, Khosi Dora (35), a UDF supporter, was raped by members of an Inkatha-supporting gang known as 'Othelweni', who attacked her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1987, allegedly because her brothers were UDF supporters. Her mother was raped and killed, and her sister raped and stabbed in the attack.

MKHIZE, Kulumile T eresa (61), had four houses destroyed on 16 March 1994 in an arson attack by IFP supporters on residents of the isolated ANC stronghold in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHIZE, Kwazikwakhe Maqujela , a UDF supporter, had his car set alight and his house looted on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MKHIZE, Lekelele Ronald (33), had his home destroyed by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in April 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MKHIZE, Lindeni Dorah (68), an ANC supporter, had her home in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 13 March 1990. There was intense political conflict in the area following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

MKHIZE, Linus (65), was shot in the chest by IFP supporters in KwaBhidla, near Bulwer, Natal, on 13 January 1993, allegedly because he was thought to be an ANC supporter. Several ANC supporters were attacked in the area that day. Mr Mkhize died in hospital the following day.

MKHIZE, Lucky Nhlanhla (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters near his home in Isithebe, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 4 July 1993.

MKHIZE, Lungisani (2), was shot dead by a named IFP supporter who attacked his grandmother's home in Clermont, near Durban, on 7 November 1993. Lungisani's mother was shot and injured, and his grandmother shot dead in the attack.

MKHIZE, Madoda , was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 July 1991 while in the company of a friend who had returned from exile. The SAP claims that Mr Mkhize and two friends had shot at them from a stolen vehicle, and an AK47 rifle and other weapons were allegedly found in their possession. Mr Mkhize was admitted to hospital and was later shot dead by members of the SAP while attempting to escape.

MKHIZE, Magwegwe Wilson (34), an Inkatha supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters at Skhokho, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 April 1989.

MKHIZE, Makhosonke Solomon , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MKHIZE, Mandla (19), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by a named Inkatha supporter in Isipingo, Natal, on 7 August 1989. His two brothers were also killed, at different times, in the course of political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Mandla (34), was stabbed, shot and stoned to death by Inkatha members on 20 March 1990 at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in political conflict leading to the outbreak of the SEVEN-DAY WAR in the area. The perpetrators were allegedly acting under the orders of a local chief to attack perceived UDF supporters in the community.

MKHIZE, Mandla Nicholas , a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named Inkatha supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Clermont, near Durban, on 15 July 1988. He was killed outside his home and in front of his 11-year-old son. Mr Mkhize was a prominent leader in Clermont, and there is evidence of a hit list in which his name appeared. His family continued to be intimidated and threatened after his death.

MKHIZE, Mandlakayise Samson (40), lost his home in Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990 during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MKHIZE, Mandlondoda Albert (51), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and injured when ANC supporters opened fire on a vehicle in which he was travelling in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the day of Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

MKHIZE, Mandlenkosi (52), an ANC supporter, was shot by named IFP supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu,

near Estcourt, Natal, on 5 May 1991. His infant daughter was killed in the same attack.

MKHIZE, Margaret (38), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in July 1985.

MKHIZE, Mashingane (60), was stoned and stabbed to death by supporters of the ANCYL in the Uganda informal settlement at Umlazi, Durban, in January 1987, allegedly because he was thought to be an Inkatha supporter.

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

MKHIZE, Maxwell Jabulani (27), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters, two of whom are named, on 13 May 1993 in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban.

MKHIZE, Mbali (3 months), was killed by IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 January 1991 in ongoing political conflict in the area. The perpetrators abducted Mbali and her mother when they could not find another member of the family. They were taken to an abandoned house where her mother was raped and hanged, and Mbali was suffocated to death.

MKHIZE, Mbangomuni Raphael (32), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters on 25 May 1991 in Bhomela, Port Shepstone, Natal.

MKHIZE, Mbhekeni (15), was one of five young ANC supporters shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict at Magoda, Richmond, Natal, on 14 July 1991. Residents accused the security forces of involvement, and a top-level police investigation was launched. The chief of Phatheni was arrested in connection with the massacre.

MKHIZE, Mbhekeni (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 13 June 1991. Four other ANC supporters were killed in the attack.

MKHIZE, Mboniseni Petr os, an Inkatha supporter, was hacked to death in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 September 1988 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Mdikivane, was stabbed and wounded by IFP members at Maphumulo, KwaZulu, near Greytown, Natal, on 24 August 1991. He was allegedly targeted because he was believed to oppose the IFP. Two IFP members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0009).

MKHIZE, Mduduzi Cecil (15), had his family home destroyed in a petrol bomb attack at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 August 1986, allegedly because his mother, a UDF supporter, did not vote for Inkatha in the local elections.

MKHIZE, Mduduzi Madoda (33), an Inkatha supporter, had his house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in December 1989.

MKHIZE, Mdumazeni (37), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 December 1991. Two of his brothers were also killed, at different times, in the course of political conflict.

MKHIZE, Mhlomi (41), a COSATU member, died the day after he was shot and injured on 27 June 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by ANC supporters.

MKHIZE, Michael Mandla (16), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by other named UDF supporters in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 20 January 1989. He is believed to have been targeted because he had relatives in the police force, and the police were perceived to be aligned with Inkatha in the area.

MKHIZE, Michael Mboniseni, a UDF supporter, was struck with an axe and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MKHIZE, Michael Mfungeleni (42), was stabbed and burnt to death at Mavamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 21 February 1993 during continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Mlungisi, an AZAPO member, disappeared in Sobantu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 14 November 1987, allegedly having been abducted by UDF supporters. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MKHIZE, Moses Bhelokwakhe Khohlozi, an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters during a mass attack at KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg on 12 February 1990, in political conflict following the release of Nelson Mandela from prison the day before.

MKHIZE, Moses Bonginkosi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Isipingo, Natal, on 24 December 1991.

MKHIZE, Mqoqi Maxwell (19), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 January 1989 in intense political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Msawenkosi (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by unidentified persons at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 18 May 1993 during continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Mtebekhuze Pearl (47), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in February 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MKHIZE, Muntu, an alleged IFP supporter, was shot dead during a confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters at Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 26 September 1992, in which at least nine people were killed. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/97/0063).

MKHIZE, Muntukayise (48), a local ANC chairperson, was shot and stabbed by IFP supporters at Ohlange, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 19 July 1993 during intense political conflict. He died in hospital a week later.

MKHIZE, Musa Mfanukhona, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters and members of the KwaZulu POLICE, in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 September 1992.

MKHIZE, Muzikawungenwa, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Pietermaritzburg on 26 October 1991, in ongoing political conflict.

MKHIZE, Muzikayifani Michael (39), an ANC supporter, was abducted and shot dead by IFP supporters at Mophela, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 18 March 1992.

MKHIZE, Muzomusha (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KwaZulu POLICE in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in December 1988.

MKHIZE, Mzo, an ANC supporter, was killed at Richmond, Natal, on 20 March 1994 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MKHIZE, Ndelezi Mavis, an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down in political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 March 1990.

MKHIZE, Ndodakubo (50), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Ndukuzempi, an IFP supporter, was killed by ANC supporters who stoned him, poured petrol over him and then set him alight at Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1990. Mr Mkhize was suspected of being a police informer and of causing the deaths of other ANC supporters. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/052).

MKHIZE, Ngakhali, an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1980.

MKHIZE, Nhlamvu Sereete, was shot dead in his bedroom by members of a self-defence unit (SDU) at Hlanzeni, Camperdown, Natal, on 12 March 1994. The attackers claimed he was an informer. Another person in the room was also killed. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/016).

MKHIZE, Nhlanhla, an ANC supporter, was sentenced in 1987 to seven years' imprisonment on Robben Island, allegedly for being in possession of arms and furthering the aims of the ANC.

MKHIZE, Nicolas (15), was tear gassed and assaulted by members of the SAP at Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, during a commemoration service on 16 June 1977 for those who died the previous year in the SOWETO UPRISING.

MKHIZE, Nkosinathi Lenos, was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 5 March 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Nkosingiphile (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the Municipal Police

in Greytown, Natal, who opened fire during a violent confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters on 10 November 1990.

MKHIZE, Nobuhle Dorothy (50), lost her house in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Richmond, Natal, on 20 January 1991.

MKHIZE, Nokusuka Irene (57), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by an IFP supporter at Bhamshela, near Maphumulo, Natal, in continuing political conflict in June 1993.

MKHIZE, Nokuthula Lungile (5), was severely injured when she was shot in the jaw by IFP supporters who attacked her family home in Pietermaritzburg, on 26 October 1991. The family had allegedly been targeted because they supported the ANC.

MKHIZE, Nomnikelo Thembisile (37), had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack in July 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Nompumelelo (18), had her home set alight and was shot and injured by named IFP supporters during political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 January 1988.

MKHIZE, Nomsa, was shot dead at Umkomaas, near Durban, in October 1987 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Nomzinto Esther (50), an ANC supporter, was forced to leave her home in Pietermaritzburg and flee with her family after being threatened by IFP supporters at her husband's funeral in 1991.

MKHIZE, Nonhlanhla Florence (33), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990 at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MKHIZE, Nontombi Daisy (44), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in violent conflict with Inkatha supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHIZE, Norah (66), had her house at KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during 1991, allegedly because her sons were ANC supporters.

MKHIZE, Ntantuza Sithelele, was shot and injured by ANC supporters in ongoing political conflict at Mpusheni Reserve, Natal, on 18 August 1992. Eight people died in the attack. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0219).

MKHIZE, Ntokozo Make-Peace, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Greytown, Natal, on 15 September 1990.

MKHIZE, Ntombenhle Nomthandazo (26), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHIZE, Ntombifikele Finest (24), was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters and a named member of the SAP who attacked her home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 30 September 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Her mother and stepfather were injured in the attack. The family was accused of supporting the ANC.

MKHIZE, Ntombikayise Elizabeth (43), had her house at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down on 2 August 1990 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Ms Mkhize had gone to stay with her brother because of the violence in the area.

MKHIZE, Ntombinjeni Tryphina (44), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death by ANC supporters at Wartburg, Natal, on 26 October 1989. Eight Inkatha supporters were killed in political conflict at this time, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

MKHIZE, Ntuzana Mirriam (59), had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, vandalised during 1989 in political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. She fled her home when she heard sounds of attacks in the area, and returned the following day to find her property stolen or destroyed.

MKHIZE, Nukiwe Marriet (78), an IFP supporter, had her home in Bomvini, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters in October 1993.

MKHIZE, Nyasa, was one of eight people shot dead by ANC supporters in ongoing political conflict at Mpusheni Reserve, Natal, on 18 August 1992. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0219).

MKHIZE, Obed Sibongiseni (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 7 March 1992.

MKHIZE, Oleria Duduzile (39), was severely assaulted by SADF members in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in August 1992. The beating brought on a premature labour and she went into hospital. In her absence, her house was destroyed.

MKHIZE, Papa Steven (40), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 1 May 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Patricia Sibongile, was shot and injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

MKHIZE, Patrick, was shot dead by IFP supporters during political violence in Umlazi, Durban, in June 1992.

MKHIZE, Paulos Ngweyonge (23), had his home burnt down by ANCYL supporters in the Uganda informal settlement at Umlazi, Durban, in January 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area. His father, aged 70, was stoned and stabbed to death in the incident, allegedly because he was thought to be an Inkatha supporter.

MKHIZE, Phikisiwe Nyezile (39), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHIZE, Phumuzile Irene (34), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1989.

MKHIZE, Phumzile Jane (39), a UDF supporter, was intimidated by members of the KwaZULU POLICE in Clermont, near Durban, in July 1988.

MKHIZE, Protecia Buyisile (22), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHIZE, Raymond Ntokozo, survived an attack by a group of IFP supporters, allegedly transported by the police, on 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

MKHIZE, Richard Mduduzi (17), was one of seven KwaMashu Youth League members abducted and killed by IFP supporters at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 17 March 1987. Their bodies were discovered in a trench. In 1989 several Inkatha supporters were convicted on charges of abduction, while two bodyguards of a local IFP leader were convicted on charges of murder and sentenced to death.

MKHIZE, Rose, an ANC supporter, was attacked by IFP supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, during 1991.

MKHIZE, Samson Mzikayise (44), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by a named ANC supporter at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 20 May 1993.

MKHIZE, Sandile, an ANC supporter, was run over by IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 May 1994, during celebrations of President Mandela's inauguration.

MKHIZE, Sarah Nelisive (25), an ANC supporter, had her house at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by IFP supporters on 1 December 1991.

MKHIZE, Saraphine (51), had her home burnt down by a named Inkatha supporter in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 January 1989 in intense political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. Her son, a UDF supporter, had earlier been shot dead by a named IFP supporter.

MKHIZE, Sebenzile Catherine (42), an ANC supporter, was tortured in several ways by members of the Security Police at Pietermaritzburg after her arrest on 8 December 1975, allegedly in an attempt to extract information from her about ANC operatives in Natal and Swaziland.

MKHIZE, Selby Khehla (16), was shot dead on 1 February 1991 at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, by members of the KwaZULU POLICE, one of whom is named, who were allegedly patrolling the area.

MKHIZE, Sellina Regina (42), an ANC supporter, was stabbed by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg, on 14 August 1989.

MKHIZE, Sibusiso (20), an Inkatha supporter, was shot, stoned and burnt to death by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 December 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Sibusiso Dwana (21), was shot dead by ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 May 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. The perpetrators attacked residents of a so-called Inkatha stronghold. Two other people were killed.

MKHIZE, Sibusiso Qhubeka (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Isipingo, Natal, on 22 July 1992. Police were allegedly harassing ANC supporters in the area at the time.

MKHIZE, Sidumo Vincent (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and hacked to death by IFP supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 24 December 1990. Both his brothers were also killed, at different times, in the course of political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Sifiso Baba Conwell (21), was stabbed to death by members of the KwaZULU POLICE who had taken him from his home in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 13 June 1988.

MKHIZE, Simphiwe Dennis (20), a UDF supporter, was assaulted and tortured by members of the Security Branch in October 1989 while in custody at Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana.

MKHIZE, Siphso Bheki (24), a member of an ANC self-defence unit, was shot and severely injured by a named IFP supporter and others at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 October 1991 during ongoing political conflict in the area. His brother and cousin were killed in the same attack.

MKHIZE, Siphso George (32), was tortured in detention on 28 January 1992 in Soweto, Johannesburg, by named members of the SAP because he had been visiting a home in which an AK47 was found.

MKHIZE, Siphso Joel (40), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the KwaZULU POLICE in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 June 1991.

MKHIZE, Siphso Nicholas (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when SADF members opened fire on mourners attending a funeral vigil at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 24 September 1989.

MKHIZE, Siphso W ildrod , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 10 November 1991.

MKHIZE, Siqhezema Nicholas , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, on 5 February 1990, following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February.

MKHIZE, Sixtus Fanana , an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by a named ANC supporter at Maghabeni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 November 1990.

MKHIZE, Siyabonga Shadrack (29), was stabbed to death by named ANC supporters during political conflict at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 24 January 1993.

MKHIZE, Snenhlanhla (2), the daughter of the local ANC chairperson, was shot dead when named IFP supporters attacked her father at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 5 May 1991. Her father and another person were injured in the attack.

MKHIZE, Stanley (21), an AZAPO supporter, was shot in the left arm and stomach in 1985 in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, during a rent boycott.

MKHIZE, Steven , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Mevamlhophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 21 February 1994 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Sthembiso Mavice (52), an Inkatha supporter, lost her house in an arson attack during conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in Woodyglan, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1990.

MKHIZE, Sylvia Ntombenjani (24), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, in May 1990.

MKHIZE, Teaspoon (52), a member of the Wembezi Crisis Committee, was injured when named IFP supporters ambushed the vehicle in which he was travelling in Estcourt, Natal, during 1991. The Crisis Committee was perceived as a political threat to IFP supporters in the area at the time. Mr Mkhize's son was killed in the ambush.

MKHIZE, Thamsanqa , an ANC supporter, died after being shot and stabbed by Inkatha supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area on 4 February 1990, two days after the UNBANNING of political organisations.

MKHIZE, Thandi Cynthia (28), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990 at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MKHIZE, Thembinkosi Conrad (16), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when members of the SAP randomly opened fire at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal in 1990.

MKHIZE, Thembinkosi Raphael , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 March 1990.

MKHIZE, Thenjiwe Ger trude , an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Richmond, Natal, on 26 May 1990, in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Thiloma Tryphina (35), an ANC supporter, had her house at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 26 May 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MKHIZE, Thobekile Gladys , an ANC supporter, was harassed and threatened by a named IFP supporter at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1991.

MKHIZE, Thoko , an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 June 1988.

MKHIZE, Thokozani , was stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters at Mevamlhophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 March 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Tholakele Mar garet (21), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 June 1988.

MKHIZE, Thulani (43), an IFP supporter, was injured and lost his belongings when his room in a hostel was set alight by ANC supporters in KwaThema, Tvl, on 19 September 1990. The IFP began a recruitment drive in East Rand townships, allegedly forcibly removing all non-IFP members from hostels which resulted in conflict between hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MKHIZE, Thulani Der rick , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, on 24 March 1990.

MKHIZE, Thulani Michael , an ANC activist, was shot dead by a named member of the KwaZULU POLICE at

Umlazi, Durban, on 2 October 1990. Two other activists were killed in the same incident.

MKHIZE, Thulani Simon (37), a local IFP leader, was shot and injured by ANC members who were trying to assassinate him at his home in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 September 1992. His two bodyguards were also injured in the attack. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/99/0329).

MKHIZE, Thuledu Freda (6), a UDF supporter, had her house petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 August 1986.

MKHIZE, Timothy Thulubheke, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Durban on 3 December 1990.

MKHIZE, Tiniza Petros (31), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by a named IFP supporter at Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 September 1993.

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

MKHIZE, Vivian Zwelihle, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MKHIZE, Vuye Elliot (43), had his home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

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

MKHIZE, William Siphso (26), was stabbed and shot dead on 9 July 1993 when a group of IFP supporters carried out an early-morning retaliatory attack on people waiting for transport to work at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal. Eight men were shot dead; two were stabbed to death and 11 injured. Many homes were burnt down and hundreds of people fled the area.

MKHIZE, Wiseman Sizwe (17), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 February 1990, in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February.

MKHIZE, Zakhele (21), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by named Inkatha members on 28

March 1990 at Henley, near Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MKHIZE, Zakhele, an ANC supporter, was severely burnt when the house he was in was petrol-bombed by IFP supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, in 1991.

MKHIZE, Zam Petr us, a councillor, lost his house in Vosloorus, Tvl, in an arson attack in 1989, allegedly carried out by SANCO supporters after SANCO called for all councillors to resign.

MKHIZE, Zamisile Boniwe (24), an IFP supporter, lost her home in an arson attack in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHIZE, Zandile (16), a UDF supporter, was injured when Inkatha supporters petrol-bombed her home at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 August 1986. Her parents were both killed and her brother was injured in the attack.

MKHIZE, Zanele Gladys (34), was shot and severely injured by a named IFP supporter in an attack on her mother's home in Clermont, near Durban, on 7 November 1993. Ms Mkhize's two-year-old child and her mother were shot dead in the attack.

MKHIZE, Zanele Maria, an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters at KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 June 1988.

MKHIZE, Zantombi Francisca (69), lost her house in an arson attack in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MKHIZE, Zaseambo (15), was shot dead in an attack on her family home in Pietermaritzburg on 2 January 1990 during intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Zazi Joseph (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Isipingo, Natal, on 14 November 1991 during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MKHIZE, Zazini (57), an Inkatha supporter, had her home destroyed by ANC supporters at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1990. Ms Mkhize had fled the area because of political violence.

MKHIZE, Zenzile Maphithiza (48), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Esigunjeni, near Hibberdene, Natal, burnt down by named ANC supporters on 22 March 1990 following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February. From January to June 1990, over 3000 people fled the area because of political violence.

MKHIZE, Zibezwile (38), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHIZE, Zifikile Solomon (62), an IFP supporter, had his house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in October 1990.

MKHIZE, Zintombi (53), had his home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

MKHIZE, Zitobi (40), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 12 April 1990.

MKHIZE, Zwe Runneth (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 5 August 1992.

MKHIZE-MPANZA, Gcinaphi Elizabeth (49), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by named Inkatha supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 15 March 1990 in intense political conflict in the area following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February 1990.

MKHIZE-PHOSW A, Vumelani Alvina (39), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters who attacked homes at Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 26 September 1992. In the fighting that ensued, nine IFP supporters and one ANC attacker were killed. Sixteen homes were set alight. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1997/0063).

MKHOLO, France , was shot dead by named perpetrators at Ngqamzane, Empangeni, Natal, on 30 March 1994 during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His home had been burnt down earlier that day.

MKHOLO, Sifiso R (22), lost his home at Ngqamzane, Empangeni, Natal, in an arson attack by named perpetrators on 30 March 1994 during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MKHOMBI, Malemuni , was abducted from his home in Moutse, KwaNdebele, and assaulted on 1 January 1986 by IMBOKODO vigilantes. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MKHONDE, Jabulani Benjamin (34), an ANC supporter, had his home at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

MKHONDWANE, Wilson Mpumelelo (14), a COSAS supporter, was severely tortured and beaten by members of the SAP, some of whom are named, in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 25 August 1985. He was arrested on his way to school, and accused of throwing stones during a community stayaway.

MKHONDWENI, Mzinzi , a member of the Transkei Police, was shot and injured during a joint AVWB/ IFP attack on the Flagstaff police station, Transkei, on 6 March 1994. The perpetrators testified that their intention was to steal arms and ammunition to arm the IFP against ANC attacks. Five applicants were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0015).

MKHONTA, Phillip (70), was burnt to death by ANC supporters who forced him to drink petrol before setting him alight in Shongwe mission, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 18 May 1986.

MKHONTO, Mukhehli Edward (57), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by members of an ANC-aligned self-defence unit at Kagiso, Tvl, on 26 October 1993 because he instituted disciplinary measures against people implicated in criminal activities.

MKHONTO, Sparr ow , a UDF activist, was one of the 'Cradock Four' abducted by the Eastern Cape Security Branch on 27 June 1985 while travelling to Cradock. He was shot and stabbed near Port Elizabeth, after which his body was burnt. Six Eastern Cape Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were refused amnesty for the killings. The commander of *Vlakplaas* was granted amnesty for knowledge of the incident (AC/1999/0350).

MKHONZA, Amon , was severely beaten in detention at Breyten, Tvl, on 10 September 1976. He had been arrested on suspicion of having burnt down three factories.

MKHONZA, Bafana Andrew (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 28 June 1993 in Katilehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MKHONZA, Bomvana Tryphina (52), an IFP supporter, had her home at KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in February 1991.

MKHONZA, Christopher Mpanukhona (14), an ANC supporter, was detained for six months at Salie police station between Secunda, and Standerton, Tvl, and assaulted by named members of the SAP wanting information about an MK operative. Christopher was beaten on the head and lost a tooth. In 1989, Christopher participated in a march and was arrested for a further 15 days before he appeared in court and was later released.

MKHONZA, Joshua David (39), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 13 March 1993 in Katilehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MKHONZA, Lungisani Justice (17), died after being stoned, stabbed and burnt by ANC supporters in Mfume, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 23 August 1990. The perpetrators allegedly perceived him to be an IFP supporter, because he lived in a so-called IFP stronghold.

MKHONZA, Patience Manize (25), had her home in Mfume, Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in December 1990. The perpetrators allegedly perceived her to be an ANC supporter.

MKHONZA, Sibusiso (26), was shot and burnt to death at Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 25 April 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters two days before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MKHOZA, Fakazi Bir thwell , was shot and killed when members of the SADF fired at a crowd returning from a funeral in Groblersdal, Tvl, on 22 March 1986.

MKHULISE, Eugenia Fisani (32), had her house in Bulwer, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 21 November 1991 in ongoing political conflict. Her two children were burnt to death in the attack.

MKHULISE, Kebi Amos (47), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 1 October 1991.

MKHULISE, Mkhhelezi Mthobisi (7), was burnt to death in an arson attack by ANC supporters on his family's home in Bulwer, Natal, on 21 November 1991 in ongoing political conflict. His sister was also burnt to death in the attack.

MKHULISE, Phindile , was burnt to death in an arson attack by ANC supporters on her family's home in Bulwer, Natal, on 21 November 1991 in ongoing political conflict. Her brother was also burnt to death in the attack.

MKHULISI, Sbongile Ritta (24), an ANC supporter, had her house at Impendle, near Bulwer, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack in October 1993, allegedly because she refused to join the IFP.

MKHUNGO, Aggripa Themba (27), an ANC supporter, was abducted and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in April 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Three of his brothers were abducted with him. Only one survived the attack, though with severe injuries.

MKHUNGO, Bantu W ellington , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Margate, Natal, on 28 January 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MKHUNGO, Ishmail Fafaza (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and beaten by SPECIAL CONSTABLES in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 January 1990, as he was returning from work with friends.

MKHUNGO, Mandilakhe Beaul (20), an ANC supporter, was beaten, stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters at Thafamasi School, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 April 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His brother was also killed in the attack.

MKHUNGO, Mantombi Agnes (40), an ANC supporter, had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in December 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MKHUNGO, Mfana Moses (33), an ANC supporter, had his home at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by named IFP supporters on 19 April 1991. He then sought refuge at the home of an IFP-supporting relative. On his return home on 23 May 1991, he and his two brothers were attacked and stabbed by ANC supporters who considered their staying with an IFP supporter to be a betrayal of the ANC. Mr Mkhungo was severely injured, and his brothers were killed.

MKHUNGO, Mthakathiswa , an ANC supporter, was severely injured when IFP supporters attacked his home in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 September 1993. Two family members were killed in the attack.

MKHUNGO, Muziwendoda (24), an ANC supporter, was beaten, stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters at Thafamasi School, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 April 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His brother was also killed in the attack.

MKHUNGO, Nozimodo Viola (54), an ANC supporter, had her house and shop destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, in May 1990.

MKHUNGO, Sikheleni Aamon (56), had his house at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in February 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MKHUNGO, Soliwe Catherine Madlamini (62), an ANC supporter, had her house at Port Shepstone, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in April 1991.

MKHUNGO, Thembe Agrippa , an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by other ANC supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 23 May 1991. When IFP supporters burnt down his family home at Murchison on 19 April 1991, he and his two brothers had sought refuge at the home of an IFP-supporting relative. On their return home on 23 May, they were attacked by ANC supporters who considered their staying with an IFP supporter to be a betrayal of the ANC. One of his brothers was also killed in the attack; the other was severely injured.

MKHUNGO, Vincent V ela, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 May 1991.

MKHUNGO, Vumani Maxwell (20), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 July 1992.

MKHUNGO, Zitha Harry (28), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by other ANC supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 23 May 1991. When IFP supporters burnt down his family home at Murchison on 19 April 1991, he and his two brothers had sought refuge at the home of an IFP-supporting relative. On their return home on 23 May, they were attacked by ANC supporters who considered their staying with an IFP supporter to be a betrayal of the ANC. One of his brothers was also killed in the attack; the other was severely injured.

MKHUNQWANA, Nyameko , was assaulted by members of the SAP in April 1976 at King William's Town police station, Cape.

MKHUNYA, Balungile Fortunato (15), was shot by Inkatha supporters at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 9 June 1990, allegedly because he was staying in an ANC stronghold.

MKHWANAZI, Aaron (aka 'Take Five') , an MK operative, survived an attempt on his life when SADF Special Forces attacked a house near the Ramotswa River in Botswana on 31 December 1986/1 January 1987. One woman was killed and other unidentified persons were injured in the attack. Five Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for their role in providing information (AC/2001/191).

MKHWANAZI, Amon Bheki (34), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 8 April 1993.

MKHWANAZI, Audrey Zamekile (25), had her home destroyed in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1992.

MKHWANAZI, Bancamile Mirriam (37), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHWANAZI, Bekisive (33), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Kwa-Dlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 3

August 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MKHWANAZI, Bh McKayena Raymond (aka 'T ekere'), an MK operative, was abducted and killed at Elandskop, near Pietermaritzburg, by Port Natal Security Branch operatives during 1988. Mr Mkhwanazi was allegedly killed after he refused to become an *askari*. His body, buried in an unmarked grave, was exhumed by the Commission and reburied by his family. Four Port Natal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/232).

MKHWANAZI, Bonginkosi Lucky (19), an employee of a private company, was beaten and shot by IFP supporters while delivering IEC pamphlets in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 April 1994. His eight colleagues were killed; Mr Mkhwanazi was the only one to survive. It took him three days to crawl back to safety. One IFP member was convicted for the attack. See NDWEDWE ELECTION ATTACK.

MKHWANAZI, David Mziwakhe (33), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 February 1993. The perpetrators thought him to be an ANC supporter.

MKHWANAZI, David Thamsanqa (32), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed, shot and burnt to death by UDF supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 21 August 1989.

MKHWANAZI, Elizabeth (35), was stabbed and shot, and her house in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, was destroyed in 1992 during a period of political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her husband was killed some months later.

MKHWANAZI, Elizabeth Vumile (32), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1988.

MKHWANAZI, Emily Nomvula (22), was at a school sports match singing political songs when she was assaulted and shot by members of the SAP in Zola, Soweto, on 6 August 1990. Ms Mkhwanazi was two months pregnant at the time and reportedly lost the baby as a result of the attack.

MKHWANAZI, Emmanuel, was stabbed to death at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 April 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MKHWANAZI, Enock, an IFP supporter, was burnt to death when the house in which he was sleeping was set alight at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 December 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MKHWANAZI, Fikile Promise (29), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MKHWANAZI, Grace, an IFP supporter, was burnt to death by ANC supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 23 December 1992.

MKHWANAZI, Janet Ndala (54), had her house destroyed in an arson attack at Empangeni, Natal, on

24 August 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MKHWANAZI, John Muzikayise (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 December 1990.

MKHWANAZI, Joseph Mcabango (38), was killed near Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area in 1992.

MKHWANAZI, Joseph Ngemane, an ANC supporter, was shot dead at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 November 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MKHWANAZI, Kateleni Irene (46), an ANC member, was arrested in 1963 for mobilising people against the Pass Laws and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. In February 1986, Ms Mkhwanazi was detained by named police members in Piet Retief, Tvl. She was burnt with a cigarette, assaulted, suffocated and beaten on her knee with a rifle butt. Ms Mkhwanazi also claims she was shot in the knee.

MKHWANAZI, Linah Nonatjie (43) an ANCWL member, was severely beaten by members of the SAP at the police station in Matsulu, KaNgwane, on 17 May 1991. Ms Mkhwanazi was on a march organised by the ANCWL to protest about the police shooting of a young man when the station commander ordered that the marchers be beaten.

MKHWANAZI, Mazu Nicholas, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 21 April 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MKHWANAZI, Mfaleli Elliam (75), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 21 August 1989.

MKHWANAZI, Mfana Simeon (55), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHWANAZI, Michael Jabulani (27), an ANC supporter, was detained for eight days by members of the SAP in Pietermaritzburg, in 1982.

MKHWANAZI, Mlungisi Malchus (26), was shot and injured by members of the KwaZULU POLICE in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 January 1993 during political conflict in the area.

MKHWANAZI, Msoleni Enoch (42), had his house burnt down in an attack on an informal settlement at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 August 1992. Eight people were killed in attacks that day, two of which were directed against the homes of ANC members. Shotgun shells matching those used by the KwaZULU POLICE were found at the scene of the attacks. The attack was thought to be the work of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD.

MKHWANAZI, Mtunzi Jef frey, was shot and injured at Eshowe, Natal, on 8 January 1993 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His father and seven-year-old sister were shot dead in the same attack.

MKHWANAZI, Mziwefa Bethwell (49), had his houses in KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, burnt down during November 1993, when IFP supporters carried out several attacks on ANC supporters in the KwaKhoza and Nogobhoza areas. One person was killed and more than 45 homes burnt down, allegedly under the direction of the local IFP-supporting chief, who wished to purge the area of ANC supporters.

MKHWANAZI, Ncebo , was shot and injured at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 February 1993 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Two people were shot dead in the attack.

MKHWANAZI, Ndani (54), had her house at Empangeni, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack on 24 August 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MKHWANAZI, Nokuthula Khululiwe (24), lost her home in an arson attack at Ntuzze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in January 1991 in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in January 1991. Ms Mkhwanazi escaped injury by hiding nearby.

MKHWANAZI, Nolwazi (16), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 2 August 1992 when men wearing balaclavas and armed with KZP pump-action shotguns carried out several attacks on homes in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. At least 11 people were killed and three were injured in the incident, which was thought to have been the work of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD.

MKHWANAZI, Nombulelo Freida (38), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by other ANC supporters at her home in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 April 1994, allegedly because her husband attended their IFP-aligned neighbour's funeral.

MKHWANAZI, Phetsetso Jef frey (29), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP on 3 September 1984 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during a rent and transport boycott. Several others were killed or injured that day during the VAAL UPRISING.

MKHWANAZI, Philangani Mar garet (17), was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 23 August 1976 in Meadowlands, Soweto, while on her way to a rally which was addressed by Henry Kissinger.

MKHWANAZI, Princess Lindiwe (30), had her house burnt down at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 December 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her parents-in-law were both burnt to death in the attack.

MKHWANAZI, Qhikiza Joyce (33), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 March 1992.

MKHWANAZI, Sam Simon (33), lost his right eye and sustained serious injuries to his head and leg when he drove a tractor over a landmine on Vlakfontein farm, Breyten, Tvl, on 21 April 1986. The ANC had launched a landmine campaign aimed at military patrols in rural areas but it was subsequently called off in the light of the high civilian casualty rate.

MKHWANAZI, Sbonelo , was shot at Empangeni, Natal, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. He was paralysed as a result of the attack.

MKHWANAZI, Sindisiwe Reginah (22), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MKHWANAZI, Siphso Bhokinkosi (35), an ANC supporter, had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 10 March 1993 in intense political conflict in the area. At least 18 people were killed in political violence in Bhambayi that month. Seventy-five homes were burnt down.

MKHWANAZI, Sizwe , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 February 1993 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MKHWANAZI, Thamsanqa Knowledge (18), was shot dead at Emhlatuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 November 1992 during intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MKHWANAZI, Thokozile Priscilla (65), had her house at Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1994 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MKHWANAZI, Tholi Francisca (43), had her house at Eshowe, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack in 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MKHWANAZI, Thulani Boy , was abducted and killed by named Inkatha supporters during political conflict at KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 March 1987. Several other people were killed in this attack.

MKHWANAZI, Tshepang Haward , was shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA gang on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at a night vigil for an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired and threw hand grenades at mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived at the scene but provided no protection, ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

MKHWANAZI, Velenkosini (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when eight armed IFP men stormed his home at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 February 1994.

MKHWANAZI, V incent , an ANC supporter, was targeted for elimination by IFP members at Hlanganani Hall, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during 1992. One perpetrator in the conspiracy was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MKHWANAZI, Zakhele Zacharia (35), died in police custody at Protea police station, Soweto, on 10 March 1993. Mr Mkhwanazi was handcuffed and his legs were tied together during questioning. Police claim they had questioned him for five minutes when he suddenly collapsed. Mr Mkhwanazi was a suspect in a number of murder and armed robbery cases under

investigation by the Soweto Murder and Robbery Unit. The unit allegedly used illegal methods to extract information from suspects. The inquest said the cause of death was 'uncertain'.

MKHWANAZI, Zanele, was severely injured in an arson attack by IFP supporters on houses at Umlazi, Durban, on 9 November 1993, during political conflict in the area. She lost the sight in one eye as a result of the attack.

MKHWANE, Bajabulisile Beatrice (46), had her house destroyed in an arson attack at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 December 1990, in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MKHWANI, Mhlabushitshile Joseph (22), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Ixopo, Natal, on 8 March 1992.

MKHWANI, Zicelele (39), had his house destroyed in an arson attack at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

MKHWENKWE, Pelepele (33), an iKONGO member, was shot by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 at Elusikweni, near Flagstaff, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MKIZE, Bongani, an IFP supporter, was severely assaulted by named fellow IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 15 April 1991. They believed him to be sympathetic to the ANC.

MKIZE, Eugene Boy (30), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by SADF members at KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 December 1989, during political conflict in the area.

MKIZE, Fikile Mary-Jane (46), an IFP supporter, had her house in Estcourt, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in September 1993.

MKIZE, Georgina (64), an ANC supporter, had her house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 15 March 1990 during political conflict in the area following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

MKIZE, John, an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted and then shot dead by IFP supporters at Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, in December 1991.

MKIZE, Khehla, was shot by IFP supporters at Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, on 21 June 1991 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MKIZE, Khumbulani Cyprian (25), was shot dead in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 8 November 1991 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MKIZE, Muzikayise, an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Chibini, Richmond, Natal, on 22 January 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Two of his brothers were also killed in the course of political conflict.

MKIZE, Nokuhlupeka (71), had her house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack on 6 April 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MKIZE, Nyosi, an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Chibini, Richmond,

Natal, on 29 November 1991 during ongoing political conflict in the area. Two of his brothers were also killed in the course of political conflict.

MKIZE, Piet, was shot dead at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 April 1992, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MKIZE, Primrose Duduzile (44), had her house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

MKIZE, Thulani Pani (24), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 5 April 1991.

MKIZE, Thulasizwe Cyprian (36), an IFP supporter, was shot and severely injured by named ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 3 May 1992.

MKIZE, Thulebona (16), an IFP supporter, was injured when ANC supporters threw explosives and fired shots into his house at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 August 1992. Three people were killed and four seriously injured in the attack.

MKIZE, Welcome Thembinkosi (33), was severely injured on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which he was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

MKIZE, William M, an IFP supporter, was shot dead at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 14 April 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MKIZE, Zningi Lorraine (19), was severely injured and left paralysed on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which she was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

MKIZE, Zipate (66), had his house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in September 1991 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MKIZWANA, Wilberfor ce Sandla, a security guard, was injured by APLA operatives during an armed robbery at UNITRA in Umtata, Transkei, on 18 February 1993. The perpetrators robbed the university of R500 000 and shot three security guards, one of whom was killed. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/106).

MKOBOSHE, Mteteleli Kingwell (49), a PAC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 5 April 1994 at King William's Town, Cape.

MKOMANE, Geor ge, was abducted and killed by an AWB member on 13 February 1991 in Belfast, Tvl, during a period when the AWB enforced a 'white by night' curfew policy in certain white residential areas. The perpetrator was granted amnesty for the abduction but refused amnesty for the killing (AC/1997/0069).

MKOMAZI, Senyegile Monica (38), was shot and severely wounded by members of the SAP at the funeral of a 'comrade' in Soshanguve, Pretoria, in 1986. **MKONDE, Gamali Janet Mavezi** (60), had her house at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in political conflict in the area in 1991.

MKONDE, Goodman Magenqe (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by AMASINYORA vigilantes at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 April 1993. **MKONKO, Ntombekhaya Brenda Nomthunzi** (20), a COSAS member, was shot by members of the SAP in March 1985 at Port Elizabeth.

MKONYENI, Ntofana Elger (43), had her home in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down on 16 March 1994 in intensified violent conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MKROLA, Nontsikelele Mavis (41), lost her home in Katlehong, Tvl, in a petrol bomb attack on 12 August 1993, allegedly carried out by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in the area. Ms Mkrola's eight-year-old daughter was shot and injured by the attackers when she tried to flee the burning house. Members of the ISU were allegedly present during the attack but did not intervene.

MKROLA, Patience, had her home in Katlehong, Tvl, petrol-bombed on 12 August 1993, allegedly by IFP members during ongoing political conflict in the area. An eight-year-old relative was also injured in the incident when she was shot while trying to flee the burning house. Members of the ISU were allegedly present during the attack but did not intervene.

MKUMATELA, Nako Likhanyile (35), was injured when he was stabbed with a sharp object by unidentified attackers on a train between Kwesine and Katlehong stations, in Katlehong, Tvl, in March 1992. Passengers in the adjacent coach were singing freedom songs when the shooting began. The attackers then entered Mr Mkumatele's coach. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MKUSANE, Thembekile John (39), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten, suffocated and trampled on by members of the SAP at his home in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 5 April 1994. The police wanted Mr Mkusane to point out a certain person who was not known to him. Mr Mkusane was then beaten because he could not reveal the man's whereabouts. On release Mr Mkusane reported the matter to SANCO.

MKUUSI, Nomsibi Elizabeth (69), an ANC supporter, had her home in Daveyton, Tvl, petrol-bombed in 1991 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MKWANAZI, (first names not given), a member of the SAP, was shot and killed when the vehicle he was driving was attacked by two APLA members in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 12 January 1993. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

MKWANAZI, Alinah Matshiliso (18), a PAC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in

Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960.

MKWANAZI, Aslina, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 February 1994. Her son, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in the attack.

MKWANAZI, Bonginkosi Lucky (19), an ANC supporter, was beaten, stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters at Thafamasi School, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 April 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His brother was also killed in the attack.

MKWANAZI, Colin (13), was shot dead on 19 February 1985 by members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, because he was suspected of being part of a group of stone-throwing youths. Colin was with his grandmother and had crossed the street to buy plastic covers for his books when he encountered a group of schoolchildren being chased by police. Police allegedly opened fire and Colin was shot and killed.

MKWANAZI, George (41), was shot and killed in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 April 1991, allegedly by members of the ISU during political conflict in the area.

MKWANAZI, Henrick Moleleki (22), was killed, by two named members of the SAP in Khuma, Stilfontein, Tvl, during a commemoration rally for the SOWETO UPRISING on 16 June 1990.

MKWANAZI, Paulos Serame (19), was shot by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960.

MKWANAZI, Tenjiwe Evelyn (67), an ANC supporter, was injured when shots were fired at her as she was trying to escape an attack on her home at Mpumuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1987. Her home was subsequently destroyed in an arson attack on 27 March 1990 during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MKWANAZI, Vincent, was shot and killed by IFP members during political violence at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1992. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MKWENA, Elijah Mbalekwa, was burnt to death by 'comrades' on 9 June 1986 in Vlaklaagte, Moutse, KwaNdebele, because he was suspected of being a sell-out during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. By the end of July, homeland officials and IMBOKODO vigilantes had fled to resettle near Verena after businesses were destroyed and hundreds of people were killed or injured.

MLABA, Albert, suffered damage to his home when it was set alight by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, during October 1993. Mr Mlaba was suspected of being an IFP member. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0186 and AC/2001/060).

MLABA, Buti George (21), was shot and wounded by security guards while playing soccer at the Somhlolo grounds in Katlehong, Tvl, on 17 March 1993. Two others were injured in the same incident, which occurred during heightened tension in the area between IFP and ANC supporters.

MLABA, Dingizwe Absalom (40), had his home at Mtunzini, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 1 January 1993, allegedly because his son was an ANC supporter.

MLABA, Eric Fanavele (22), an ANC supporter, was detained on 24 January 1978 and held without trial for six months in Durban, allegedly because he was thought to be planning to leave the country for MK training. In detention he was tortured by members of the Special Branch.

MLABA, Kwenzakwakhe Elijah (28), a member of the UDF executive, was tortured in detention by members of the Security Branch in Durban on 9 January 1978, and held in solitary confinement for seven months. Mr Mlaba, a lawyer representing ANC supporters, was reportedly detained and assaulted on several other occasions.

MLABA, Mathombi Flor ence, suffered burns in an arson attack on her home at Emvundleni, Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during 1990. Four members of her family were burnt to death in the attack.

MLABA, Mbosha Haim, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a group of IFP supporters at Ndlovu's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010).

MLABA, Moya, was burnt to death in an arson attack on his family home at Emvundleni, Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1990. Three other family members were burnt to death in the attack.

MLABA, Msinga Petr os, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters and members of the KwaZULU POLICE in KwaXimba, Cato Ridge, Natal, on 2 March 1988.

MLABA, Muziwabantu Edward (53), was shot dead by unidentified persons in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 29 March 1990 during intense political violence in the area. Mr Mlaba was perceived to be an ANC supporter.

MLABA, Nhlanhla David, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Mooi River, Natal, on 29 August 1991. Members of his family had sought refuge at a local college because of political conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers in Bruntville, near Mooi River. They were attacked at the college. Two family members were killed in the attack and two others were shot and injured. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MLABA, Nicholas Mphiwa (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 9 June 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MLABA, Ntombi, was burnt to death in an arson attack on her family home at Emvundleni, Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1990. Three other family members were burnt to death in the attack.

MLABA, Sindi, was burnt to death in an arson attack on her family home at Emvundleni, Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1990. Three other family members were burnt to death in the attack.

MLABA, Sipho Lindelinjani (30), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhukhanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 13 January 1994 in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Mr Mlaba was allegedly targeted because his mother was an ANC supporter.

MLABA, Thulani, was burnt to death during an arson attack at his family home in Emvundleni, Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in intense political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters during 1990. Three other people were burnt to death in the attack.

MLABE, Bavelile Eunice (51), had her house at KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack in February 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MLAHLEKI, Nokuzola (29), was shot and injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MLAKALAKA, Nomvuyiso (32), had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack in March 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MLALA, Fickson, was killed when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MLAMBO (THABETHE), Charles (aka 'Sipho Dlamini') (34), an MK member from Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, was shot dead by Security Branch operatives during a raid on a house in Mbabane, Swaziland, on 4 June 1986. Two other MK operatives were killed in the attack. The raid was planned and executed by members of *Vlakplaas*, the Eastern Transvaal and Soweto Security Branches, 12 of whom were granted amnesty, along with the then head of the Security Branch (AC/2000/087).

MLAMBO Jabulani Sibusiso, was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

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

MLAMBO, Bernard Sikhumbuzo, was injured in a hand grenade explosion at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 August 1992. Members of

the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD entered the home of a COSATU official, who threw a grenade at them. Four people were injured in the incident. The COSATU official was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0061).

MLAMBO, Bheki Emmanuel , a Soweto Student Congress member, was abducted by members of AZASM known as 'Zim-zims' in Emdeni, Soweto, on 7 November 1986 during conflict between the two student organisations.

MLAMBO, Cyril (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by other ANC supporters in Shakaville, Natal, on 30 January 1994, allegedly because he did not attend an ANC self-defence training night camp.

MLAMBO, Doda Laymon , was stabbed to death in Tokoza, Tvl, on 8 December 1990 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MLAMBO, Gabali (69), had his house burnt down in Ntambanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 21 April 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MLAMBO, Gcinokuhle , an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Boshi, near Estcourt, Natal, on 27 September 1993.

MLAMBO, Johnson Phillip (27), a PAC activist, was convicted of sabotage in 1963 and imprisoned on Robben Island for 20 years. He was subjected to hard labour and was severely beaten during the early period of his imprisonment. In August 1967 he was buried up to his neck by prison warders. He also lost an eye during a confrontation with a fellow prisoner over a food boycott. After his release in 1983 he went into exile and became the chairperson of the PAC.

MLAMBO, Luke Govan , an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP members when they attacked his house at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 January 1993. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MLAMBO, Mabedla Christopher (18), an ANCYL supporter, was tortured by Security Branch members while being detained without trial for five and a half months at Westville prison, near Durban, in 1986.

MLAMBO, Mandla , an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 December 1989.

MLAMBO, Maxson , was severely beaten by 'comrades' in 1986 in Kabokweni, KaNgwane, because his mother was accused of witchcraft. His mother also received death threats.

MLAMBO, Mgigiyeni (41), was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MLAMBO, Mlulekeleni (67), an IFP supporter, had his eight huts at Empangeni, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by named ANC supporters on 4 August 1992.

MLAMBO, Muziwakhe Derrick (34), an ANC supporter, had his home in Ntuzuma, near Durban,

burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 7 December 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MLAMBO, Mzondeni Willie (56), an Inkatha supporter, had his house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in violent conflict with Inkatha supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MLAMBO, Phivayinkosi , an IFP supporter, was killed by ANC supporters at KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 4 August 1992.

MLAMBO, Pukupe (16), an IFP supporter, survived being repeatedly stabbed by a named perpetrator at her home in Emangwaneni, Bulwer, Natal, during intense political conflict in the area in the early 1990s.

MLAMBO, Tezane Norah (37), had her home damaged in an arson attack in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in June 1976. Ms Mlambo believes that her house was mistakenly attacked because the house next door was occupied by a Chinese family who were the real targets. The attack took place in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING when the businesses and homes of people thought to be 'collaborators' were burnt.

MLAMBO, Themba (5), was shot and severely injured on 16 August 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters because his family refused to join the IFP. Four people died and three were injured in the attack. Themba was permanently confined to a wheelchair as a result of his injuries.

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

MLAMBO, Zibeke (52), an IFP supporter, was shot and killed during political conflict in Inkanyezi, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 September 1993.

MLAMLA, Mteteleli (27), was shot by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 13 August 1985.

MLAMLI, Petukile John (45), a PAC supporter, was arrested and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town, in 1963. On his release in 1978 he was banished to the Cofimvaba district, Transkei, where he died three years later.

MLANDELI, Moses Matsotso (23), a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was killed during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

MLANDELWA, Sijumba , an iKONGO member, was abducted by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 in Flagstaff, Transkei, following his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT. He has never been seen again.

MLANGA, Thozamile , was shot dead by named members of the SAP on 23 July 1985 at Phakamisa High School in Zwile, Port Elizabeth. Scholars were involved in a student protest when police randomly shot at students, killing two and injuring six others, including teachers. The perpetrators were found guilty of murder and attempted murder and were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment but did not serve their sentence.

MLANGENI, Agatha (57), survived an attempted killing when the house in which she and her family were sleeping was burnt down at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 September 1989 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. The family was suspected of harbouring Inkatha supporters.

MLANGENI, Bhokizwe Godfrey (39), an ANC member and human rights lawyer, was killed by a bomb at his home in Jabulani, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 15 February 1991. The bomb, concealed in headphones, was detonated when he activated a tape recorder. The intended target was Mr Dirk Coetzee, a former *Vlakplaas* commander, who had exposed the activities of *Vlakplaas* and was a client of Mr Mlangeni. Nine Security Branch operatives from *Vlakplaas* and Security Branch Headquarters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/167).

MLANGENI, Catherine Mamosali (54), an ANC supporter, was intimidated, harassed, beaten and tortured by members of the SAP in Jabulani, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1986 after detention of her student leader son during the state of emergency. Mr Mlangeni was later killed by a parcel bomb manufactured by a *Vlakplaas* member in 1991. The bomb was meant to kill former *Vlakplaas* commander Dirk Coetzee. The perpetrators of this act have applied for amnesty.

MLANGENI, Elias , a self-defence unit (SDU) member, was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Evaton, Tvl, on 15 June 1992, the eve of the anniversary of the SOWETO UPRISING. Three SDU members were killed in the same attack which was the forerunner of a spate of similar shootings in the Transvaal.

MLANGENI, John (20), a member of COSAS, was severely injured when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

MLANGENI, John Pipana (39), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Greytown, Natal, on 6 November 1990.

MLANGENI, Khobonina Maria , was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MLANGENI, Madlenkosi Simon (29), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by fellow IFP supporters at Estcourt, Natal, on 17 October 1993, when he failed to attend an IFP rally because of work commitments.

MLANGENI, Mbopha , was shot dead by members of the Riot Squad in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 14 September 1976 in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MLANGENI, Mphikeleli Sidney (36), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 3 November 1991, allegedly by residents of Buyafuthi hostel in Katlehong, Tvl, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MLANGENI, Qondephi (58), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by fellow IFP supporters at Estcourt, Natal, on 17 October 1993, because her son was believed to be disloyal to the organisation.

MLANGENI, Sipho Solomon (18), was abducted, shot and hacked to death in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 20 November 1990 by members of the 'Zimzims' and the SAP. The ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS had split into two rival factions, the 'Zimzims' and the 'Gaddaffis'. At least 17 people were killed in Khutsong between 1989 and 1991 before a peace pact took effect in May 1991.

MLANGENI, Themba Gamet (32), was arrested in 1977, kept in solitary confinement and tortured in various ways during his detention in the Transvaal following the SOWETO UPRISING of 1976.

MLANGENI, Themba , was shot dead by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) during political conflict between the BLACK CATS and ANC supporters in Ethandakukhanya, Piet Retief, Tvl, in 1992. The SDU member was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/98/0121).

MLANGENI-MALAKOANE, Maria , was killed and then disembowelled by IFP supporters in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992 during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE. The attack was allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police.

MLANJENI, Kele (30), was shot dead by named members of the SAP after police surrounded the informal settlement of Crossroads, Cape Town, on 29 November 1985, and conducted a door-to-door search for weapons. This security crackdown took place after extensive unrest in the area, including hand grenade attacks on the police.

MLATA, Misheke (19), was shot in the leg by a member of the SAP during unrest in Robertson, Cape, in June 1992.

MLATSHENI, Vuyelwa Vivian (16), was severely injured when a hand grenade, thrown by MK operatives at a perceived collaborators' home, exploded near her on 18 August 1985 in Guguletu, Cape Town.

MLAZI, Patrick, was apprehended and tortured by SADF members at Nelspruit, Tvl, during 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/277).

MLENZANA, Mxolisi , an ANC supporter, was arrested on 1 September 1985 at Kirkwood, Cape. He was convicted of a 'necklacing' killing during political conflict in Burgersdorp and sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment.

MLILO, Mathukuthela Alfr ed, was shot dead on 20 June 1993 during ongoing political conflict in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MLILWANA, Lungile (25), was shot by members of the CDF during protests in King William's Town, Cape, in January 1986.

MLILWANA, Pumzile Philip (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP during political conflict in Johnson Road, Port Elizabeth, on 24 July 1985.

MLILWANA, Velile Wellington (22), a UDF supporter, was shot by members of the SADF during protests in Uitenhage, Cape, on 9 January 1985.

MLILWANA, Wawi Getrude (53), had her house burnt down by members of the SAP on 14 July 1985 at Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape. Police threw a burning teargas canister into the house, allegedly, because her son was an active UDF member and he had resisted arrest.

MLIMI, Phineas Meken (18), was severely beaten and kicked on two separate occasions, in Hazyview and White River, Tvl, in July 1986 during the state of emergency.

MLINDI, Madonya Amos (48), was assaulted by members of the SAP in March 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MLISANA, Sindisiwa Elmina (47), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and shot at by members of the CDF at East London, on 1 August 1992, while he was returning from a commemoration for the victims of the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

MLITWA, Themba Reginald (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Nkwezela, Bulwer, Natal, on 10 January 1993.

MLOKOTHI, Jokweni Barret (51), a policeman, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 1 January 1992 during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand.

MLOKOTI, Ellen (19), an ANC supporter, was subjected to electric shock torture, sexually assaulted and beaten by members of the SAP in Klerksdorp, Tvl, during the state of emergency in 1986.

MLOKOTI, Sthembiso Christopher, a PAC supporter, was detained in Cape Town, in 1960, for his part in the anti-Pass Law campaign. He was again detained in 1963 for his political activities and served a prison sentence on Robben Island.

MLOLOMBA, Janet (52) was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 17 June 1985, during the BONGOLETHU THREE incident in which three children were shot dead by police concealed in a policeman's house.

MLOMO, Bernard Sizathu, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death on 3 December 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MLOMO, Sandi William Anthony (37), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SADF in Lamontville, near Durban, in 1984, during a bus boycott and following the death of UDF leader, Msizi Harrison Dube.

MLOMZALE, Fezile Wilson (38), an ANC member, was assaulted by members of the CDF in Quzini, King William's Town, Cape, on 26 August 1993. He was accused of politicising people in his area. His home was also extensively damaged in a hand grenade attack.

MLONDO, (first name not given), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 28 November 1993, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MLONDO, Bhekinkosi (48), was shot dead on 27 August 1992 at Ndabayakhe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MLONDO, Bokwe (67), lost his house in an arson attack at Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 June 1993 in continuing political violence between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MLONDO, Handsome Lindani (19), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by fellow IFP supporters at Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 February 1994, for failing to attend a meeting.

MLONDO, Khethokwakhe (22), was shot and injured at Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 7 July 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MLONDO, Mbekeni Benson, an IFP supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death at Empangeni, Natal, on 2 February 1993, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MLONDO, Mkhumbuzeni Moses (23), had his house destroyed in an arson attack at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1984, in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters.

MLONDO, Njengabantu Christian (67), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 January 1993.

MLONDO, Ntando W ilfred (56), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 April 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His son, an ANC supporter, was abducted and stabbed to death by IFP supporters on the same day.

MLONDO, Sibonginkosi Khulekani (22), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters at Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, 17 April 1992 in continuing political violence in the area. His father's house was burnt down by IFP supporters on the same day.

MLONDO, Thembelihle, was injured in an attack by IFP supporters in Eshowe, Natal, during ongoing political conflict in the area in 1993.

MLONDO, Zihlathi (46), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in December 1993.

MLONGO, Mali, an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 April 1993.

MLONYENI, Timoti Mbuyiselo (36), a UDF supporter, lost his house in arson attack on 4 June 1986 at Grahamstown, Cape.

MLONYENI, Tshoniswa Elsie (55), died after being hit by an armoured vehicle in Fingo Village, Grahamstown, Cape, on 25 October 1986. On this day there was a mass funeral in the area and a heavy police presence monitored proceedings.

MLONZI, Solomon, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the Security Branch on 4 May

1983 in Thabazimbi, Tvl, for allegedly being in possession of weapons. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

MLOTSHWA, Billy Rammington , an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 29 March 1993.

MLOTSHWA, Daisy (17), was assaulted by members of the SADF in Impendle, near Bulwer, Natal, in 1990, while they were searching her home for weapons.

MLOTSHWA, Frank Mfanakatiwa , was abducted by one named and other perpetrators from Daantjie Trust, near Nelspruit, Tvl, on 30 September 1986. He was taken to a community meeting where he was beaten, petrol was poured over him and he was set alight because he was suspected of being an informer. He died in hospital.

MLOTSHWA, Funokwakhe Collin (35), had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area during 1990.

MLOTSHWA, Johannes D , lost his home in Lebohang, Leandra, OFS, during August 1984, when UDF supporters and local residents razed it to the ground. Mr Mlotshwa was the mayor of Lebohang township, an informal settlement, whose residents lived under the constant threat of being removed and incorporated into the Homelands. One UDF supporter applied for and was granted amnesty for the arson attack (AC/2001/071).

MLOTSHWA, Khethani Thembinkosi (36), an IFP supporter, was shot dead on 13 December 1990 during ongoing political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SADF.

MLOTSHWA, Khonzaphi Queenrose (36), an ANC supporter, had her house in Ngubeni, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in April 1990.

MLOTSHWA, Peter Tsietsi Dennis , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, on 19 March 1990. He was killed when the SAP and SADF entered the area during conflict between shop owners and residents.

MLOTSHWA, Prince Zamukuthula (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter at Lamontville, Durban, on 27 February 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MLOTSHWA, Qondeni Julia (53), an ANC supporter, had her house at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in intensifying political conflict in the area during the course of 1988.

MLOTSHWA, Rose Tshidi (14), an ANCYL member, was shot dead on 17 November 1991 in Mkgako Street, Vosloorus, Tvl. Rose and a friend were standing in the street when gunmen opened fire with AK47s on people attending a party in the street. Seven people died in the attack, including Ms Mlotshwa and her friend, and seven were seriously injured.

MLOTSHWA, Sapoyana (41), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed and

looted in March 1993 in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS. At least 18 people died in political conflict in Bhambayi that month, and 75 houses were destroyed.

MLOTSHWA, Sibongile Ethel (46), lost her house in an arson attack at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 5 January 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MLOTSHWA, Thandiwe Mar garet (47), had her house destroyed in an arson attack at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 25 December 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Her husband was shot dead on the same day.

MLOTSHWA, Thokozi , a member of the Wembezi Crisis Committee, was killed by IFP supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in 1991, during political conflict in the area.

MLOTSHWA, Tisha Abion , was shot dead at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 25 December 1991, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MLOTSHWA, Vusumzi David (39), was shot in the eye by members of the SADF in 1990 at Impendle, near Bulwer, Natal. The soldiers were searching for weapons after the murder of the local chief earlier that morning.

MLOTSHWA, Wilson (57), was injured while fleeing from Inkatha supporters, allegedly supported by members of the SAP, during political conflict in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 31 March 1990.

MLOTSHWA, Zamokuhle (20), an MK operative, was shot dead in Lamontville, Durban, by another named MK member on 27 February 1994. Mr Mlotshwa had attended a self-protection camp with other MK members, one of whom was suspected of being an informer. When accused of being an informer, the man opened fire on his comrades, killing three of them.

MLOTSWA, Jabu , was abducted and assaulted by a member of the ANC's Security Department in Johannesburg in April 1994. The applicant suspected that Mr Mlotswa and others had broken into his minibus and stolen sensitive ANC security-related documents and other goods, which were then handed to an IFP supporter. The applicant was granted amnesty (AC/2001/066).

MLOTSWA, Simon Bhengkosi , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named relative of Chief Minister Ntuli in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 30 July 1986 when youth celebrating the assassination of the Chief Minister marched on Ntuli's Bar Lounge to set it alight.

MLOTYWA, Mzivukile Anderson , an ANC supporter, was 'necklaced' to death by 'comrades' in 1985 at Port Elizabeth, allegedly because he was suspected of being a collaborator.

MLUMBI, Thulani Patrick , was one of six passengers shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Eight other passengers were injured. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK.

MLUNGU, Khayelihle Muzi (11), was shot in the leg when Inkatha supporters attacked and burnt down his family home at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 7 December 1989 during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MLUNGU, Ledia, was injured when IFP supporters aided by members of the SAP opened fire on residents in Ivory Park, Tembisa, Tvl, on 14 August 1992 during a boycott of IFP-run local taxis. Five people were killed and eight injured in the attack.

MMAKO, Mareka Simon, a 'comrade', was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 January 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during tension over proposed INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MMAKO, Peter Moleko, was shot dead in February 1990 by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, when the NUM called a march to celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela.

MMAKOLA, Swazile Elizabeth (52), was assaulted by members of the SAP at her home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 6 July 1992, immediately after returning home from an operation. The police, accompanied by a named local councillor, were looking for Ms Mmakola's son. Ms Mmakola's home and property were allegedly damaged and looted in the incident. There was intense political conflict in the area at the time including at the funeral of a local MK operative at which a number of residents were arrested and reportedly assaulted.

MMAKOLO, Magoshi Doctor (10), was shot dead by members of the SADF in Pietersburg, Tvl, in 1986.

MMAKOU, Monageng Patrick Xoliso, an MK operative from Temba, Bophuthatswana, was killed on 4 June 1980 when the house in which he was staying in Manzini, Swaziland, was bombed. The operation was undertaken by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch in retaliation for the MK attack on the Sasol refinery a few days earlier. A seven-year-old boy, Patrick Nkosi, son of another MK operative, was also killed in this operation. One member of the SAP was granted amnesty for his role in the operation (AC/2001/087).

MMALEDIMO, Thomas T umishi, an MK operative, was abducted by members of the SAP in Ga-Phasha village, Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, in 1978. He has not been seen since.

MMATLADI, Patrick, was shot dead on 31 July 1993 during ongoing political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MMELA, Abram Modige (17), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Lebowa Police in 1986 in Motetema, Lebowa, in an attempt to extract information about political activists in the area. Mr Mmela is confined to a wheelchair as a result of the beating.

MMELESİ, Elizabeth Sojakgomo (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Kimberley, Cape, on 27 January 1990, while participating in a protest march against a visiting overseas cricket team who were breaking the international sports boycott against South Africa. She was then arrested for public violence and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

MMESI, Israel, was shot dead by members of the SAP in March 1986 in Kagiso, Tvl, while on his way to the funeral of a fellow student also killed in unrest in the area.

MMETHI, TI, a sergeant in the Soweto East Security Branch, was injured when MK operatives from the 'Dolphin Unit' detonated a limpet mine at the Security Branch offices in Roodepoort, Tvl, on 17 August 1984. Four other members of the Security Branch and several civilians were also injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/0003).

MMITSHANE, Norman (36), an ANC member, was tortured in detention and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in Pretoria, in April 1964. At the time, he was an ANC squad commander recruiting youth for military training in Tanzania.

MMOGOBO, Johannes (22), a SAYCO member, was tortured in detention by named members of the SAP in Motetema, Lebowa, in 1986 after being arrested at an activist's funeral.

MMOKWA, Violet Dir eko, was arrested and beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 8 April 1990. Ms Mmokwa was on her way home from a community mass meeting to discuss a chieftaincy dispute in the area.

MMOLAWA, Ezekiel Itumeleng, an ANC supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Orkney, Tvl, on 1 June 1993.

MMOLEDI, Sonnyboy Jochonia (56), was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, during a protest march in the village on 7 March 1990.

MMOTHA, Rikana Teliza (42), was arrested on 19 May 1987 in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, and beaten during his two-year detention. He was coerced into accepting responsibility for burning shops in his community during resistance to the INCORPORATION of Siyabuswa into KwaNdebele.

MMUSI, Elias (aka 'Elvis Mishī'), was shot and injured by MK operatives outside his home in Saniesloot, KwaNdebele, during 1987. The MK operatives suspected Mr Mmusi of being a police informer. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/102).

MMUSI, Mosadiwamarope Annie (40), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when police dispersed the crowd with tear gas and sjamboks.

MNAMATHA, Vukile (23), an AMAAFRIKA member, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters on 15 October 1989 at Uitenhage, Cape.

MNAMATHELI, Steven (24) was assaulted with pick axe handles by IMBOKOBO vigilantes in Ekangala, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during violent conflict over the State's attempt to impose self-rule on KwaNdebele. Mr Mnamatheli is partially paralysed as a result of the assault.

MNAWABE, Velile Phelelaphi (27), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an attack by ANC

supporters at Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, in March 1991 during ongoing political conflict in the area. She was forced to flee the area.

MNCABE, Thofu Chashisiwe (29), an Inkatha supporter, had his house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during intense political conflict in the area in 1988.

MNCEDI, David Khotso (26), was shot dead by members of the 'Zim-zims' in Khutsong, Tvl, on 2 February 1991, allegedly because of his association with the 'Gadaffis'. The ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS had split into two rival factions, the 'Zim-zims' and the 'Gadaffis'. At least 17 people were killed in Khutsong between 1989 and 1991 before a peace pact took effect in May 1991.

MNCEDISI, Kaludi (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by members of the SAP during political conflict at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 7 August 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MNCIBI, Bheki Ephraim (22), was shot and injured by a named members of the SAP in Pietermaritzburg, in January 1982, allegedly during a police search for weapons in the area.

MNCIBI, Charles (20), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death, and his body was burnt, by a named perpetrator at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 August 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MNCIBI, Manyathela (65), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 November 1992.

MNCIBI, Roy Bongani (21), was shot and stabbed, and his body dumped in the river, by Inkatha supporters at Pietermaritzburg, on 3 October 1987 during intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MNCIVE, Nopam, an ANC member, was detained and tortured by the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MNCUBE, Abednego (49), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in an attack on his home at Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, on 23 December 1991.

MNCUBE, Khangela Herbert (17), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 September 1989 in political conflict in the area.

MNCUBE, Mpheni Emmanuel (32), an ANC supporter, had his house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack in May 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MNCUBE, Muzikayise Nicholas, an IFP supporter, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MNCUBE, Mzonjani (43), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly supported by members of the SAP, at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu,

Durban, on 31 March 1993, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MNCUBE, Ntelezi, was killed when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

MNCUBE, Regina (48), had her house in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 20 September 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MNCUBE, Sibongile Nomavangeli (29), had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, during February 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MNCUBE, Thulani Abner (30), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and stabbed to death, by a named ANC supporter on 24 October 1989 in KwaMashu, Durban, during intensifying political conflict in the area. His body was mutilated and then burnt.

MNCULWANE, Matata Gremma (60), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in June 1992 in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal.

MNCWABE, Albert (50), a member of MAWU and a UDF supporter, was injured when members of the SAP fired teargas into the bus in which he was travelling to a union meeting at Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in July 1985. Police stopped the bus, sprayed teargas and assaulted the passengers as they were trying to disembark. The incident occurred at the time of the SARMCOL STRIKE.

MNCWABE, Bakulumile (56), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg, on 30 March 1990 during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MNCWABE, Bekiziwe (55), was severely injured on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which he was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

MNCWABE, Betty Bhakisile (52), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Iniwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 November 1992 during ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her daughter was shot dead in the attack; one granddaughter, aged 6, was burnt, and another shot and severely injured.

MNCWABE, Bhekani (43), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by ANC supporters in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 28 March 1991. Mr Mncwabe was allegedly targeted because his sons were ANC supporters. His brother was killed in the same attack.

MNCWABE, Celestina, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 30 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MNCWABE, Clementina Badidle (47), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP

supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 April 1991.

MNCWABE, Delisile W itness , was killed during attacks by IFP supporters on ANC-supporting families at Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

MNCWABE, Emmer encia , was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 30 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MNCWABE, Fana (51), was stabbed and shot dead by ANC supporters in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 28 March 1991. Mr Mncwabe was allegedly targeted because his nephews were ANC supporters. His brother was killed in the same attack.

MNCWABE, Kwenza Ephraim (30), an IFP supporter, had his house destroyed in a petrol bomb attack by ANC supporters at Polela, Bulwer, Natal, on 19 March 1992.

MNCWABE, Moses Mzobanzi , a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MNCWABE, Muzikhona Anton , a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MNCWABE, Mxolisi (24), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 June 1988.

MNCWABE, Patricia (9), was shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict at Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991.

MNCWABE, Patrick Phangubudi , a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MNCWABE, Pheteni Clemencia (61), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 29 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MNCWABE, Rich Happy Girl (38), a UDF supporter, had her house at Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in January 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MNCWABE, Sibusiso Donatus , a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near

Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MNCWABE, Sifiso (23), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 21 July 1990.

MNCWABE, Sifiso Thomas (19), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MNCWABE, Sizakele Florence (39), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 5 October 1989.

MNCWABE, Vusumuzi Der rick , was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at Pietermaritzburg on 10 March 1987, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MNCWANGO, Bambaliphi , an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

MNCWANGO, Hlengiwe , was shot dead when IFP supporters from Ndayayakhe opened fire on ANC supporters attending a cultural ceremony at Iniwé, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 November 1993. Eight people believed to be ANC supporters were killed. Two were children.

MNCWANGO, Ntombi , was shot dead on 28 November 1993 when IFP supporters from Ndayayakhe opened fire on ANC supporters attending a cultural ceremony at Iniwé, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Eight people believed to be ANC supporters were killed. Two were children.

MNCWANGO, Tholake Vothu (44), was raped and her home was burnt down by unidentified persons on 22 August 1993 in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MNDAWE, Jabulani Michael (32) a UDF supporter, lost all his possessions when his house was burnt down by members of the SAP and SADF in kaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, in May 1986 during the state of emergency.

MNDAWE, Thembuyise Simon , an ANC supporter, was arrested and later found hanged while in the custody of named members of the Special Branch in Nelspruit, Tvl, in March 1983.

MNDAWENI, Babhekile Rejoice (33), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNDAWENI, Fikile Rejoice (27), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNDAWENI, Zebon Mzikaifani (39), an IFP supporter, died on 9 September 1993 after being shot by ANC supporters in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal.

MNDEBELE, Lucas, was necklaced and burnt to death by UDF supporters on 3 June 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during conflict between 'comrades' and IMBOKODO vigilantes over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MNDEBELE, Sifuno Comfort, an ANCYL member, was shot dead by named SAP members on 3 June 1993 in Thandukukhanya, Piet Retief, TvI, during a commemoration ceremony for an ANC activist killed near the Swaziland border. Police opened fire on mourners, allegedly without any provocation, killing Mr Mndebele and another person, and injuring four others.

MNDITHI, Walter Mali (37), an ANC supporter, survived a shooting in Johannesburg, in September 1991 by named IFP supporters. At the time, Mr Mndithi worked at Egoli Breweries along with the perpetrators. He was on his way home when armed men stopped the taxi they were in and opened fire. Three people were killed in the incident.

MNDUNGE, Nosenodi (26), had his house petrol-bombed, allegedly by members of the ISU, during 1993 at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MNEMBE, Nonhlanhla Thandani, an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGADI, Alie Mapeta (59), an IFP supporter, had her house in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 31 August 1990. Ms Mngadi's husband and her son, a member of the KWAZULU POLICE, were both killed in political conflict in the area.

MNGADI, Anton Mfaulo, was shot dead in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGADI, Bonginkosi Shiyokwakhe, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and Caprivi trainees attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MNGADI, Busisiwe Mavis, (51), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGADI, Busisiwe Thembisile (42), an IFP supporter, was assaulted by ANC supporters in Engotsheni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 December 1990.

MNGADI, Cikathi Johnson, a UDF supporter, had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990 in Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MNGADI, Daniel, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 7 September 1989.

MNGADI, Duduzile Princess (36), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGADI, Eric Siphio (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP, at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 August 1993 at a time of intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MNGADI, Fisani Hendretta (38), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Pietermaritzburg in November 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MNGADI, Happy, died in hospital on 7 November 1983 after being shot, allegedly by members of the SAP, on 16 October 1983 in Durban, at a time of growing political conflict in the area. She had reportedly been standing in the street with her cousin when passing police started shooting at people.

MNGADI, Hector Ntshowe (19), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by members of the SAP at Chesterville, Durban, on 5 May 1988. He was accused of being a spy for the Chesterville A-TEAM.

MNGADI, Herman (71), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by an ANC supporter at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 31 August 1990.

MNGADI, Khanyisile Eunice (54), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGADI, Kosana Prince, (21), was shot by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 February 1986 during a state of emergency.

MNGADI, Lindiwe Sdi (31), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGADI, Makazi Ngenzeni, an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGADI, Makhosi Annacletta (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGADI, Mbuyiseni (45) had his house petrol-bombed during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1988.

MNGADI, Mduduzi Wiseman (21), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by SADF members in Umlazi, Durban, on 25 August 1992 at a time of intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MNGADI, Mfundi Phumlani Leonard (21) an ANC supporter, was abducted, assaulted and then shot dead by KWAZULU POLICE members at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 March 1993.

MNGADI, Mkhanyiseni Eden Bra (32), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, and his house was burnt down, allegedly by members of the KwaZulu POLICE at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban on 13 March 1990.

MNGADI, Mkhuzelwa Knowledge (24), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten, stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 30 April 1992. He was in a group of people on their way to an ANC self-defence training night camp when they were ambushed and attacked by IFP supporters.

MNGADI, Mlindelwa Francis (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ixopo, Natal, on 28 July 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MNGADI, Mzwakhe Petros (54), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 April 1991.

MNGADI, Nhlanhla Innocent (19), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Umlazi, Durban, on 25 August 1992 at a time of intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MNGADI, Nikeziwe (64), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGADI, Nosifiso Alois (36), had his house burnt down at Enkonjeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 April 1992 during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. The house was set alight when a group of people chasing another man thought he had fled into Mr Mngadi's house.

MNGADI, Percy Siza (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KwaZulu POLICE in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 November 1993 during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MNGADI, Peter Bernard (62), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGADI, Phyllis Phamamile (Maka-Ayo) (24), had her home vandalised, looted and destroyed by a named IFP supporter at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1992, allegedly because her husband was an ANC supporter.

MNGADI, Prudence Sibongile (11), was shot dead by members of the SAP during violent school protests on 8 April 1986 in Lamontville, Durban.

MNGADI, Regina Nontsikelelo, an executive member of PEWO, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in 1986 in Port Elizabeth. She had also been detained and tortured in 1978.

MNGADI, Sibusiso Christopher (31), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGADI, Sihlangu Johnson (22), was stabbed and injured by Inkatha supporters in Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1986, allegedly because he

was thought to be planning an attack on the house of an Inkatha supporter.

MNGADI, Sipho William, a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 31 December 1987 in growing political conflict in the area.

MNGADI, Sthembiso Derrick (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 February 1987.

MNGADI, Thamsanqa Ephraim (56), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGADI, Thembari (70), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGADI, Trueman Angelicus (36), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by a named ANC supporter in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 July 1990 in intense political conflict in the area.

MNGADI, Velaphi Dilephi (50), an ANC supporter, had his house in Umlazi, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in January 1994.

MNGADI, Vusumuzi Michael (27), was shot by named members of the SAP travelling in a blue Sierra on 20 January 1986 in Sakhile, near Standerton, Tvl, during student unrest in the area. Mr Mngadi was injured when a bullet passed through his left shoulder blade and exited through the left hand side of his chest. He was also wounded in his left elbow.

MNGADI, Zakhele Jabulani (26), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by a named Inkatha supporter at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 18 July 1987.

MNGAMA, Hluphekile (38), had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Natal, in ongoing political conflict in the area in June 1993.

MNGAMA, Mhlanguleni G, an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed by IFP supporters in Durban on 13 April 1991.

MNGANGA, Zandile Grace (35), had her house destroyed in an arson attack at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area in 1993.

MNGAZA, Vuyani (31), a PAC supporter, was detained several times by members of the SAP from 1963 until 1967. While in detention, he was tortured. He was accused of furthering the aims of a banned organisation during the countrywide police crackdown on Poqo activities.

MNGCISANE Sinale, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 March 1994. On 22 February 1993 his house at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, had been destroyed in political conflict.

MNGCISWE, Nosebenzile (31), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 22 February 1993 in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MNGENELA, Charity Nokuthula (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP

supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 29 October 1990 during intensifying political conflict in the area. Ms Mngenela is permanently paralysed as a result of the shooting.

MNGENELA, Jabulani Reginald (23), an ANC supporter, was abducted and killed by IFP supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 22 September 1991 during continuing political conflict in the area.

MNGESE, Mzimasi (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured near Crossroads, Cape Town, in May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, with the aid and approval of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MNGOMA, Amos (26), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in Mfume, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 19 July 1992 during a violent political confrontation between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MNGOMA, Bonangani (44), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGOMA, Bongekile Joyce (29), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGOMA, Cindezile Jabhisile (34), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGOMA, Faith Thembisile (38), an IFP supporter, fled her house in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in early 1994, after being intimidated by IFP supporters because her son was an ANC supporter.

MNGOMA, Fikile (40), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGOMA, Jabulane , was shot and injured when he was caught in the line of fire between MK operatives and the police in Meadowlands, Johannesburg, on 20 January 1989. One operative was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0246).

MNGOMA, Khokhani (37), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGOMA, Majongosi (51), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGOMA, Mzingelwa Alfeus (40), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGOMA, Nkosinathi Maxwell (16), was injured in Johannesburg, on 18 April 1993 when he was hit by a brick as he and his friends were sitting on top of a bus

on their way to the funeral of assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI. Nkosinathi died on 24 April 1993 as a result of his injuries.

MNGOMA, Nomawethu , was shot and injured by members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, on 16 May 1992.

MNGOMA, Nombango (67), lost her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGOMA, Ntombizana (66), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGOMA, Thabo Robert (19), was instructed to report to the police station in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, during June 1992 where he was arrested for burning a car during a consumer boycott. In order to extract a confession, a named policeman beat him and placed a bag saturated with tear gas over his head.

MNGOMA, Thembeni (46), an ANC supporter, suffered burn wounds when Inkatha supporters petrol-bombed her house was at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in 1990.

MNGOMA, Thokozile Florance (59), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Durban on 13 April 1991.

MNGOMA, Thulisile Gladness (28), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGOMA, Zibuyisile , (28), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGOMENI, Tobile Ezekiel (37), an ANC supporter, had her house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, destroyed by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

MNGOMEZULE, Peter Dingaan (20), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in April 1985.

MNGOMEZULU, Bhokuyise , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mabuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MNGOMEZULU, Busisiwe Alice (73), lost her house in an arson attack in Greytown, Natal, in May 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MNGOMEZULU, Gerald (30), was shot and injured by SADF members at Merebank hostel in Durban in 1960. The SADF had been called in to suppress a planned strike against the Pass Laws and for higher wages.

MNGOMEZULU, Jameson Mbaji (35), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters in Ntambanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MNGOMEZULU, Jameson Ngoloyi , an MK commander, was abducted from his home in Swaziland on 1 June 1985 and taken to a farm near Jozini, Natal,

where he was severely tortured for several days. He was later killed and his body destroyed in an explosion at Sodwana Bay, Natal. Ten Security Branch operatives, including the commanding officer of *Vlakplaas* and the commander of Piet Retief Security Branch applied for amnesty. Seven applications were granted and three refused (AC/2001/241).

MNGOMEZULU, Jostinah (67), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 12 December 1993.

MNGOMEZULU, Juli Mackson (50), an ANC supporter, had his home and workshop at Empangeni, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MNGOMEZULU, Khayelihle (32), was shot dead at Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 March 1994 during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. He and several other people were waiting for a bus when they were killed.

MNGOMEZULU, Khulekani Wallace Nkanyiso (3), was shot and severely injured by members of the KwaZulu POLICE in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 December 1993, during continuing political conflict in the area.

MNGOMEZULU, Khululiwe (18), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGOMEZULU, Lokutu, a member of the Mngomezulu refugee community from Ingwavuma in KwaZulu, was, along with her brother, abducted by *Vlakplaas* and other Security Branch operatives on 1 June 1985 from Swaziland. Held in Ndumo, Vryheid and Pietermaritzburg, they were eventually released and allowed to return to Swaziland. Their father, who had been abducted from Swaziland in a separate operation, died in police custody and his body was destroyed by explosives.

MNGOMEZULU, Mary (35), an ANCWL member, was shot four times in Natalspruit, Vosloorus, Tvl, while attending the funeral of civic activist Sam Ntuli on 9 October 1991. Twenty people were killed and 26 injured when unidentified gunmen, allegedly IFP supporters, opened fire on mourners from a minibus. See NTULI FUNERAL.

MNGOMEZULU, Mavis Thoko (54), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Sikhupheni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 12 July 1993.

MNGOMEZULU, Mfanafuthi (21), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Chesterville, Durban, on 28 June 1992. His sister, aged 15, was shot dead in the attack.

MNGOMEZULU, Mkethwa, a member of the Mngomezulu refugee community from Ingwavuma in KwaZulu, was, along with his sister, abducted by *Vlakplaas* and other Security Branch operatives on 1 June 1985 from Swaziland. Held in Ndumo, Vryheid and Pietermaritzburg, they were eventually released and allowed to return Swaziland. Their father, who had been abducted from Swaziland in a separate

operation, died in police custody and his body was destroyed by explosives.

MNGOMEZULU, Moffat Siphwe (33), an MK member, was injured when the car he was about to enter exploded in Matsapha, near Manzini, Swaziland, on 4 June 1982. The explosion was caused by bombs placed on the car by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and killed two ANC officials to whom he acted as a bodyguard. Two members of the *Vlakplaas* unit were granted amnesty for the reconnaissance phase of this operation. (AC/2001/279)

MNGOMEZULU, Musa Aubrey (12), was shot dead on 16 August 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters because his family refused to join the IFP. Four people died and three were injured in the attack.

MNGOMEZULU, Nicky (17), was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Estcourt, Natal, on 2 April 1994, allegedly because he refused to join the IFP. He and his mother had fled their home when it was petrol-bombed earlier that day, but the perpetrators pursued them into the church where they had sought refuge, and killed both.

MNGOMEZULU, Ntokozo Lungile (17), was shot dead by members of the KwaZulu POLICE at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 December 1993, in continuing political conflict in the area.

MNGOMEZULU, Ntombizakithi (16), was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Chesterville, Durban, on 28 June 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area. The family home was also burnt down in the attack.

MNGOMEZULU, Patuence S'dudla (27), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by members of the KwaZulu POLICE at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 December 1993.

MNGOMEZULU, Russel (25), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Chesterville, Durban, on 20 May 1986.

MNGOMEZULU, Sibusiso Thethelela Edmund (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Ncotshane, Tvl, on 27 November 1993, when members of the KwaZulu Police opened fire on a group of people attending a night vigil.

MNGOMEZULU, Sipho Raynold (18), an AZAPO and AZASM activist, died after being assaulted, stabbed, and necklaced by UDF supporters in Emdeni, Soweto, on 25 May 1986 during conflict between students in the area.

MNGOMEZULU, Susana Maureen (44), an ANC supporter, had her house at Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in July 1992.

MNGOMEZULU, Teboho Reginald (28), an AZAPO supporter, was severely beaten by UDF supporters in Emdeni, Soweto, on 25 May 1986 during conflict between the two organisations.

MNGOMEZULU, Thandi Maria (35), was shot dead on 16 August 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, because her family refused to join the IFP. Four people died and three were injured in the attack.

MNGOMEZULU, Tholakele Sylvia (24), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNGOMEZULUI, Thoko (36), was burnt to death in an arson attack on her home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 16 August 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MNGONGO, Welekazi (21), lost her home in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

MNGQIBISA, Olefile Samuel (aka 'Elti Mhlekezi') (26), an MK operative, was detained by the ANC security department in Lusaka, Zambia, in December 1978. He was later transferred to a ZAPU detention camp where he was injured in a cross-border attack by Rhodesian security forces in February 1979. He was released from detention in early 1980. He was again detained by ANC security in Dakawa, Tanzania, in January 1991, but escaped two weeks later and eventually returned to South Africa.

MNGQUSHO, Mthombi Jovuka (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 December 1992.

MNGQUSHO, Wantuke Khaya (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 December 1992.

MNGUNI, Ambrose Khohlangifile, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters at Kwa-Dlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 21 December 1992. His house had been petrol-bombed by the same perpetrators a month earlier.

MNGUNI, Bafana Esaiah (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 March 1990. He was participating in a march to Vereeniging but protesters did not get past the local police station as members of the SAP opened fire on the march.

MNGUNI, Begene Amos (48), had her home was damaged in an arson attack in May 1989 in Bronkhorst-spruit, Tvl, because he refused to support a move to depose a chief during a power struggle between KwaNdebele chiefs.

MNGUNI, Cynthia Thembeke (22), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by fellow IFP supporters at Mkhomo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 3 July 1991. There had been rumours before the incident that the IFP was going to inspect all homes in the area that evening and require each person to produce his or her membership card. Members of the Mnguni family did not have membership cards and were accused of being ANC supporters. They fled the area, and their house was torched.

MNGUNI, Dorris Cingephi (37), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at KwaSomopho, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 November 1992, allegedly because Ms Mnguni's nephew was an ANC supporter. Her husband was shot and burnt to death in the attack.

MNGUNI, Gqabalazi (40), an IFP supporter, was shot and burnt to death by IFP supporters at KwaSomopho, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 November 1992, allegedly because his nephew was an ANC supporter. The family's home was burnt down in the attack.

MNGUNI, Happy, was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime

at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MNGUNI, Henry Kopori (33), was assaulted and thrown from a moving train by a named perpetrator in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 July 1982.

MNGUNI, Jabulani Mbulaleni (27), an ANC supporter, was stoned and injured by IFP supporters in Dumbé, Paulpietersburg, Natal, on 22 March 1994 during an IFP protest march in the area.

MNGUNI, Jeanette Hluphekile (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in the right leg in Daveyton, Tvl, while serving food at a night vigil for an ANC supporter on 30 September 1990. Hostel-dwellers targeted the night vigil as the person being buried was an ANC member.

MNGUNI, Johanna Lettie (43), was in her house at Bronkhorstspuit, Tvl, in 1989 when it was attacked by opponents of the KwaNdebele government because her husband was a member of the KwaNdebele legislature. Ms Mnguni's legs were burnt in the attack.

MNGUNI, Johannes Bangumuzi (62), was harassed and threatened by ANC-supporting youths at Estcourt, Natal, in August 1992. Mr Mnguni was the chairman of Wembezi High School and defied the youths, who allegedly wanted him to exclude IFP pupils from the school. He was forced to flee his home.

MNGUNI, John Thulasizwe (44), an IFP supporter, had his home petrol-bombed by ANC supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 January 1991.

MNGUNI, Joseph (52), had his houses destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 October 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MNGUNI, Khaya (15), suffered burn wounds on 14 January 1992, when a hand grenade thrown by an IFP supporter exploded in an Eshowe, Natal, tearoom where he was sitting.

MNGUNI, Maria Nomgqibelo, was shot and killed by IFP supporters in March 1993 at Alexandra, Johannesburg during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MNGUNI, Mbongeni Eric (19), was shot by members of the KwaZULU POLICE at the taxi rank in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 1 May 1991 during political conflict in the area. Mr Mnguni is now paralysed as a result of the shooting.

MNGUNI, Mduduzi (18), an IFP supporter, was shot and severely injured in Mtunzini, Natal, in December 1993 during continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Mr Mnguni was paralysed as a result of the attack.

MNGUNI, Meshack (52), was shot dead by unidentified attackers at Ikhwézi station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 4 November 1992. According to the SAP, the attackers exited the train and walked to the nearby taxi rank where they opened fire, killing three people and injuring three others. Mr Mnguni was a hawker at the

taxi rank and was killed when trying to flee from the attackers. TRAIN VIOLENCE was a common occurrence in the early 1990s in an attempt to destabilise the negotiation process.

MNGUNI, Mhlupheki Philemon (26), a FAWU member, was injured members when a bus he was travelling in was attacked with a hand grenade by two UWUSA members in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One passenger died and many were injured in the attack.

MNGUNI, Mpathiseni Skugu (19), was killed and his body burnt by a named perpetrator at his house in Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MNGUNI, Nkotho (18), was shot and killed by members of the SADF in Siyathemba, Balfour, Tvl, while participating in a May Day commemoration on 1 May 1986.

MNGUNI, Nkumbula Mayvis (46), an IFP supporter, had her home in Mtunzini, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack in December 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MNGUNI, Nthabiseng Patricia , was shot dead by members of the SAP on 11 August 1985 in Mamelodi, Pretoria, during a boycott in the community.

MNGUNI, Ntombizodwa Enid (39), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992 in intense political conflict in the area. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

MNGUNI, Otjiwe Simon (62), was tortured in detention by members of the SAP in 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, because he opposed INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Mr Mnguni was detained for several months under emergency regulations.

MNGUNI, Sabusile Trace (62), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack in KwaNdelu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 May 1991 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MNGUNI, Sibongile (52), had her home at Groutville, Stanger, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in October 1991 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MNGUNI, Sibongile Lilian (44), was shot by a member of the SAP on 14 November 1986 in Meadowlands, Soweto, during a rent boycott.

MNGUNI, Sibongile Sylvia (39), was hacked and shot in the stomach by armed men who boarded a Soweto-bound train at Jeppe station and began attacking passengers as the train passed through George Goch station, on 13 September 1990. Ms Mnguni died later in hospital. The attackers moved through three carriages, killing about 26 people. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MNGUNI, Sibusiso (3), sustained a head injury when his family was attacked by IFP supporters on 24 June 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MNGUNI, Siphio , an ANC supporter, sustained head injuries while trying to escape from unidentified attackers during ongoing conflict between ANC and

IFP supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 May 1991. Between February and May 1991, 65 people were killed and 2000 families displaced from their homes in political violence in the area.

MNGUNI, Sizakele Gladys (23), was shot by IFP supporters on 4 July 1992, when the minibus in which she was travelling was ambushed by Inkatha supporters as it left the home of an ANC regional organiser at Bhomela, Port Shepstone, Natal. Seven ANC members were killed. Five IFP members were convicted for the attack.

MNGUNI, Sizwe (20), was stabbed to death at Gezinsila, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 28 November 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MNGUNI, Skhumbuzo (14), was detained and assaulted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Mandini, Natal, on 12 January 1993.

MNGUNI, Tandatu Seon (49), a SANCO member and Duncan Village Residents' Association treasurer, was detained on 25 September 1986 by members of the SAP and held at West Bank prison, East London, for six months.

MNGUNI, Te , was shot and injured in Empangeni, Natal, in January 1991 during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MNGUNI, Thembeni (40), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Ndabayakhe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 13 April 1994 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MNGUNI, Thembi Qhamukile (24), was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 8 September 1992, in an attack on her aunt's home. One person died and three were injured in the attack. Her aunt was an ANC supporter.

MNGUNI, Tholakele Melta (35), had her house burnt down in Mathelanjeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1993 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MNGUNI, V ukaphi , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at KwaSomopho, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 November 1992 in intense political conflict in the area.

MNGUNI, V usi , was shot by a named perpetrator in Dlamini, Soweto, Johannesburg, in November 1986.

MNGUNI, Zakhe Abram (25), was injured when he was hacked and stabbed by IFP supporters in his home in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 24 June 1992. His wife and young son were also injured in the attack. The attack took place following clashes between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MNGUNI-MOLEFE, Rachel Nomthandazo (45), was severely injured when a hand grenade was thrown into a bus by IFP supporters on 1 April 1992 in Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MNGUNU, Sihle Jaby (45), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Ndabayakhe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in November 1990.

MNGWENGWE, Brightman (20), was stabbed to death by named ANC supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 January 1992. He was allegedly targeted because he was perceived to be an IFP supporter.

MNGWENGWE, Deli Zokwenzani (34), an IFP supporter, had her house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in January 1991.

MNGWENGWE, Dennis Fanabonke , a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and Caprivi trainees attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MNGWENGWE, Diniwe Mpepe (29), had her house at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in growing political conflict in the area during of 1981.

MNGWENGWE, Mhlakiseni (32), was shot dead at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 September 1981 in growing political conflict in the area.

MNGWENGWE, Mpandlana (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, in March 1991.

MNGWENGWE, Nkosenye (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 23 February 1991.

MNGWENGWE, Silvester (64), an IFP supporter, had his house at Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 25 December 1990.

MNGWENGWE, Zwelebi Felokwakhe (58), an Inkatha supporter, was killed at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an attack by alleged UDF supporters on 18 March 1990. See NJOBOKAZI ATTACK.

MNGWEVU, Goden Ayanda (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named member of the SAP during a stayaway at Jansenville, Cape, on 23 June 1990.

MNGWEVU, Sizwe Alfred (19), a UDF supporter, was tortured by members of the SAP at Klipplaat police station, Cape, in 1983, after his arrest on suspicion of arson. He was released without being charged.

MNGXUMA, Nobendiba (46), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in October 1976 in Port Elizabeth. Police were allegedly looking for her son.

MNGXUNYENI, Sandile (16), a COSAS member, was detained and beaten in Worcester, Cape, in 1985, during student boycotts.

MNIKA, Sandile Geofrey (23), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by SADF members in Lamontville, Durban, on 25 August 1985 at a time of intense political conflict following the killing of Umlazi human rights lawyer Victoria Mxenge on 1 August.

MNIKATHI, Alfred Bangilizwe (52), a UDF supporter, was severely tortured by members of the SAP at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 26 April 1989. Mr Mnikathi was being interrogated about a gun alleged to be in his possession.

MNIKATHI, Allios Mkhethelwa (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters and members of the SAP on 31 March 1990 while walking with friends in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, during political conflict. The occupants of a police vehicle opened fire at them, killing him and seriously injuring his friend.

MNIKATHI, Antony Fana , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by unidentified persons in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 26 December 1991. One other ANC supporter was shot dead and one injured in the attack, which occurred in the course of serious internal party conflict.

MNIKATHI, Dumazile Gladys (41), had her house at Impendle, near Bulwer, Natal, burnt down on 15 May 1993, allegedly because her son refused to join the IFP.

MNIKATHI, Flomena Nomusa , a member of MAWU, was abducted and shot dead by Inkatha members at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 5 December 1986. See MAWU ABDUCTION.

MNIKATHI, Jabulani Henry (34), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 14 April 1993. Two friends who were with him at the time were both shot dead in the attack, which allegedly arose from serious internal party conflict.

MNIKATHI, Jeffrey (15), was shot and stabbed to death by a named perpetrator at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 24 January 1988, in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MNIKATHI, Mbalekelwa Champion , was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 February 1990, in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MNIKATHI, Ntombifuthi Priscilla (19), lost her house in an arson attack at Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 May 1990, in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area. She and her brother had been sent to a relative's home for safety. When her parents collected them the following day, the family was attacked by unidentified perpetrators when they returned to their house. She and her brother survived the attack, but both her parents were killed.

MNIKATHI, Ntombizethu Emily (55), was shot dead in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in the early hours of 13 May 1990 as she drove home with her children, who had fled after an arson attack earlier that night. Ms Mnikathi's husband was also shot dead, while their children escaped.

MNIKATHI, Sifiso , an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in 1992 during serious internal party conflict.

MNIKATHI, Simon , (45), was shot dead by unidentified persons in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in the early hours of 13 May 1990 as he drove home with his children, who had fled after an arson attack

earlier that night. Mr Mknikathi's wife was also shot dead. Their children escaped.

MNIKATHI, Smanga Felix (35), an ANC supporter, was shot, stabbed and severely injured in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 26 December 1991. Two other ANC supporters were shot dead in the attack, which allegedly arose from serious internal party conflict.

MNIKATHI, Vika Jeffrey (37), an ANC supporter, was beaten and teargassed by members of the SAP in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 27 July 1984, allegedly because he gave refuge to student protesters hiding from the police.

MNIKATI, Elizabeth (62), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Mshayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 December 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MNIKELI, Mbangi (19), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by named and other members of the Ciskei Police at Zwelitsha, Ciskei, in June 1986, while being questioned about the identities people who had burnt down the house of a policeman.

MNIKELO, Nompucuko Vinoria (29), had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 18 March 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MNIKINA, Monwabisi Michael (32), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SADF in East London in December 1987.

MNISI, Bongiwwe Princess (17), an Inkatha supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1988, in intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MNISI, Clement Buti (15), an ANCYL member, was shot in the face by members of the SAP on 3 June 1993 in Thandukukhanya, Piet Retief, Tvl, during a commemoration ceremony for an ANC activist killed near the Swaziland border. Police opened fire on mourners without any provocation. Two people were killed and four were injured.

MNISI, Derick (14), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, while he and his friends were attending a funeral in June 1986.

MNISI, Isaac, was shot, by members of the ISU in Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 11 March 1994.

MNISI, Johannes (aka 'Victor Molefe'), a senior MK Special Operations operative, survived at least two attempts on his life. In August 1985, SADF Special Forces planted a car bomb in a vehicle intended for him. The ensuing explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, injured and possibly killed an unknown number, but left Mr Mnisi unharmed. Mr Mnisi was one of several targets in a similar unsuccessful operation on 9 April 1987, which left three Batswanan citizens dead and at least three injured. Four Western Transvaal operatives, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty for their role in the first attempt. Six Security Branch operatives, including the head of Security

Branch Headquarters and the divisional commanders of Western and Northern Transvaal, were granted amnesty for their role in the latter attempt. No members of Special Forces applied for amnesty for either operation (AC/2001/228 and AC/2000/214).

MNISI, Joseph Besham (24), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the KwaNdebele Police in May 1989 in KwaNdebele, because he was suspected of killing police officers and IMBOKODO vigilantes during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MNISI, Labi (69), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 June 1993 during a local water boycott. Mr Mnisi was known to be a political activist.

MNISI, Lucky Clifford (19), an ANC supporter, was stabbed by members of the IFP-supporting BLACK CATS in July 1990 in Wesselson, Ermelo, Tvl.

MNISI, Lucky Lawrence, was killed by 'comrades' in kaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 15 June 1986. The 'comrades' suspected him of being a police informer.

MNISI, Mantsholo Victor, was shot in the wrist and chest by a named member of the SAP on 11 October 1978 in Siyathemba, Balfour, Tvl, because he could not produce his Pass. On 7 July 1990, Mr Mnisi was shot and injured by a named councillor during a protest about sanitation when township residents emptied buckets used as toilets into the yards of local councillors.

MNISI, Patrick (18), an Alexandra Youth Congress member, was detained on 25 September 1988 and held for four months in solitary confinement in Krugersdorp prison, Tvl. Mr Mnisi was tortured and interrogated by security forces from the declaration of the state of emergency in 1986 until he fled the country in 1990.

MNISI, Peer, survived a hand grenade attack by MK operatives on the home of an ANC member in kaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, during the night of 10/11 November 1992. Five other occupants of the house also survived. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attempted killings (AC/1997/0065; AC/1997/0066 and AC/1997/0067).

MNISI, Wiseman Mofer efere (9), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 3 September 1984 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during conflict following a rent boycott during the VAAL UPRISING.

MNISI, Zacharia (42), an ANC activist, was arrested and sexually assaulted in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 23 December 1993. He was accused of being in possession of firearms.

MNKONYENI, Qondeni Prizer (28), an IFP supporter, had her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNOMIYA, Velile, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 2 February 1991 in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MNOXW A, Nyathelwa (40), an ANC supporter, was tortured by members of the SAP in the Bizana police station, Transkei, in January 1971 after his father had gone into exile.

MNQAYI, Wiseman, was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See **PUTCO BUS ATTACK**. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

MNQAYI, Lindelani (21), an ANC supporter, was abducted and shot by IFP supporters in Kwa-Mthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 December 1993 during political conflict. His body, with hands tied, was found on a hill nearby. After the funeral, the perpetrators burnt down his father's house.

MNQAYI, Mary-Jane (50), an IFP supporter, was shot and severely injured by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, in October 1992.

MNQAYI, Nkolo (44), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, after the funeral of his son who had been killed by IFP supporters on 23 December 1993.

MNQAYI, Patrick Joshua (28), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in October 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MNQAYI, Thomas Mpiisi (60), an IFP supporter, had his house in Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 12 May 1992 during continuing political conflict violence in the area. The attackers allegedly met at a local school prior to the incident.

MNQGUSHWANA, Mbulelo (19), an ANC supporter, was shot in his right arm by members of the SAP during a school protest in Lingelihle, Cradock, Cape, in July 1976. In 1987 he was detained without trial for a year in North End prison, Port Elizabeth. He was charged with harbouring an ANC operative and acquitted.

MNQOSINI, Nati, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters on 23 February 1994 in Nondweni, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, in intense political conflict in the area.

MNQWAZI, Vakele (35), was arrested, interrogated and tortured by members of the SAP on 3 January 1985 at Dordrecht police station, Cape, on suspicion of involvement in an arson attack at the Bantu Affairs offices.

MNTAKA, Bongani Patriot (41), was shot dead by named ANC supporters at Ixopo, Natal, on 16 September 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MNTAKA, Nontombi Elizabeth (35), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by named ANC supporters in Ixopo, Natal, on 15 June 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area. Ms Mntaka's husband was killed in the attack.

MNTAMBO, Bhekeni Job (49), was stabbed to death, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, when the police raided his home for firearms on 22 September 1991. Two other people were also killed in the attack.

MNTAMBO, Celokuhle, was shot and severely injured when her home was attacked by IFP supporters in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 6 February 1993 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MNTAMBO, Duncan Thabo (17), was one of seven KwaMashu Youth League members abducted and killed by IFP supporters at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 17 March 1987. Their bodies were discovered in a trench. In 1989, several Inkatha supporters were convicted on charges of abduction, while two bodyguards of a local IFP leader were convicted on charges of murder and sentenced to death.

MNTAMBO, Gabangaye Felokhwakhe (43), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Stanger, Natal, on 2 September 1992.

MNTAMBO, Harriet Beatrice (47), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by named IFP supporters in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 10 August 1992.

MNTAMBO, Jabu Nomusa (41), an ANC supporter, had her house in Bergville, Natal, burnt down on 26 December 1993 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. Her son had been killed by the SAP ten days earlier, following an IFP-organised rally in the area.

MNTAMBO, Jacob Mazinyo (37), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 20 June 1992 in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, by members of the SAP after a rally at Boipatong stadium and a stayaway to protest against the **BOIPATONG MASSACRE** of 17 June 1992.

MNTAMBO, Jerome Mashalaze (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Isipingo, Natal, on 13 July 1992 during political conflict in the area.

MNTAMBO, Lina (57), a UDF supporter, was burnt to death in an arson attack on her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 10 December 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. She had been involved in the Release Mandela Campaign.

MNTAMBO, Makosi Mzikayise (22), an ANC member, had his car set alight by unidentified persons at Nonzwakazi, De Aar, Cape, on 2 August 1990, allegedly because it was believed the car had been used during the petrol-bombing of the mayor's parents' home.

MNTAMBO, Nomzamo Lillian (51), an ANC supporter, had her home in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, set alight by Inkatha supporters during 1988 in growing political conflict in the area.

MNTAMBO, Wiseman Siyabonga (20), an ANC supporter, was hacked and stabbed to death by other ANC supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 October 1992 in a serious internal dispute and leadership struggle.

MNTAMBO, Nomasonto Harriette (43), was attacked and severely assaulted in her home by named members of the SAP in Davel, Tvl, during 1992. She was suspected of harbouring a known activist wanted by the police.

MNTANZI, Phikelakhe Madlinyoka (31), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Makhempini, KwaZulu, near Mandini,

Natal, on 9 April 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MNTU, Richard Thobile (21), was arrested in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 6 May 1986, and was severely tortured by named members of the SAP who accused him of burning a bus during unrest. After five weeks he was released on bail. In June 1986 he was detained under emergency regulations and held for nearly four months. See **POLICE BRUTALITY**.

MNTUNGW A, Edward, an ANC branch chairperson, was shot dead in Zola, Soweto, Tvl, on 17 May 1992. Mr Mntungwa had also experienced periods of detention under emergency regulations during the 1980s. See **POLICE BRUTALITY**.

MNTUNGW A, Fikile (37), an Inkatha supporter, had his shack destroyed by ANC supporters in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, in May 1990.

MNTUNGW A, Mlandeni (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, on 16 August 1991.

MNTUNGW A, Mlungu Bhkamantungwa (49), an ANC supporter, had his house at KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in January 1991.

MNTUZE, Phinda Vincent (10), was shot by the mayor of Maokeng in Phomolong, Henneman, OFS, in February 1986. He was reportedly playing outside with friends at the time of the shooting, and died on his way to hospital. On that day there had been a school protest involving clashes between students and police backed by members of the local council.

MNTWANA, Winiswa Esther Winana (29), an ANC supporter, lost her house when it was destroyed by ADM supporters during political conflict at Mlakalala in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 13 November 1993.

MINWEBE, Wally Ntemi (49), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in KwaZamuxolo township, Noupoot, Cape, on 25 April 1985. He was addressing a meeting of schoolchildren and parents to demand the building of a new school when police opened fire on the crowd. Several people were injured.

MNYAKA, Mazaba Mirriet (65), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in August 1992.

MNYAKENI, Absolom, was one of four people abducted from home and severely assaulted with sjamboks and iron bars by a large crowd of ANC supporters at a sports stadium in Daveyton, Tvl, on 21 March 1992. Mr Mnyakeni and another victim were then burnt to death as they were suspected of collaborating with police. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/048).

MNYAKENI, David Basani (31), was shot dead in his own yard on 13 December 1992 in Vosloorus, Tvl, during a rent boycott. A local councillor had been shot and his house burnt after a protest rally at the local stadium. A group of people fired randomly shot at residents in retaliation and Mr Mnyakeni was one of those shot during this retaliatory violence.

MNYAKENI, Thomas, was abducted by members of the SAP and IMBOKODO vigilantes on 12 June 1986 from Tweefontein, Tvl, during conflict over the State's attempt to impose self-rule on KwaNdebele.

MNYAMANA Molefe (72), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MNYAMANA, Judge Themba (40), a UDF supporter, was detained by members of the SAP during political unrest in Burgersdorp, Cape, on 3 April 1986.

MNYAMANA, Nonceba Glory (47), a UDF supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP on 12 June 1985 in Burgersdorp, Cape, allegedly because she provided accommodation for ANC and UDF 'comrades'.

MNYAMANE, Best Mfundisi (38), a SANCO member and an active community member, survived an attempted killing when he was shot at several times by a named member of the SAP in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 15 September 1993, allegedly because he was involved in organising a campaign for the non-payment of service fees.

MNYAMEZELI, Nkosana Nowinile, was shot from a police helicopter on 9 May 1991 in Tembisa, Tvl, during a period of intense conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MNYANDA, Lindelwa Dunu (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP at New Brighton, near Somerset East, on 17 March 1985, while taking part in a boycott during the state of emergency. See **POLICE BRUTALITY**.

MNYANDEKI, Pelose James (64), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP while attending a meeting at the Nonzwakazi Methodist Church in Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape, on 17 November 1985. See **QUEENSTOWN SHOOTINGS**.

MNYANDU (the family), had their home burnt down at Umlazi, Durban, on 14 September 1991, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MNYANDU Siphwe (12), was stabbed and injured by ANC supporters during political conflict at Empangeni, Natal, on 17 May 1992.

MNYANDU, Bajingile (44), an IFP supporter, had her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 20 March 1994. See **SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS**.

MNYANDU, Bheki Ber nard (28), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1993.

MNYANDU, Cijimpi (67), an ANC supporter, was banished from his home in Umbumbulu, Natal, to a game reserve in the Sibasa area, Tvl, in 1959 because he was accused of being a political activist. He died there in 1964.

MNYANDU, David, was one of eight people shot dead by ANC supporters in ongoing political conflict at Mpusheni Reserve, Natal, on 18 August 1992. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0219).

MNYANDU, Dumisani Felton (32), was shot and injured on 14 August 1985 by members of the SADF in Umlazi, Durban. Soldiers allegedly opened fire when people took to the streets to protest the killing of Victoria Mxenge, a human rights lawyer.

MNYANDU, Elizabeth Sizakele (43), lost her house in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

MNYANDU, Fanile Lennox (21), an ANC supporter and an employee of a private company, was killed by IFP supporters while distributing IEC pamphlets in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 April 1994. Seven colleagues were killed with him. One IFP member was convicted for the attack. See NDWEDWE ELECTION ATTACK.

MNYANDU, Fikakubuswa (5), was run over and killed by a vehicle on Umlazi Road, Durban, on 19 September 1991 during a period of intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. The perpetrators had allegedly burnt down the family home two days earlier.

MNYANDU, Fikile D (34), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNYANDU, Gloria Zondeleni (42), was severely beaten by named perpetrators who also attacked and burnt down her home in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 December 1990 in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her husband and son were shot in the attack.

MNYANDU, Herbert Lanagaletu , was one of eight people shot dead by ANC supporters in ongoing political conflict at Mpusheni Reserve, Natal, on 18 August 1992. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0219).

MNYANDU, Her man , was shot by named perpetrators who also attacked and burnt down his house in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 December 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MNYANDU, Johannes (64), was stabbed to death by unidentified perpetrators at the Nancefield station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 May 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MNYANDU, Lungi (11), was sexually assaulted by named ANC supporters in Esigisini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 May 1992. The perpetrators accused her family of belonging to the IFP.

MNYANDU, Madoda (26), was shot dead in Umlazi, Durban, on 3 September 1991 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. He was allegedly killed because his family lived between IFP and ANC zones, and both sides demanded their affiliation.

MNYANDU, Mphikiswa John (51), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 April 1993.

MNYANDU, Mpumelele (21), was severely beaten by named perpetrators who also attacked and burnt

down his house in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 December 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MNYANDU, Myekeni Simon , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 July 1993.

MNYANDU, Ntombi Rose (37), an IFP supporter, had her house at NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack on 30 September 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MNYANDU, Ntonto Ntozini (47), an ANC supporter, narrowly survived when IFP supporters threw a petrol bomb into her hut in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 April 1992.

MNYANDU, Sabeni Zondeni (54), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MNYANDU, Sibusiso (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban on 12 April 1993.

MNYANDU, Sibusiso (22), was hacked to death in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 8 October 1988 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. The perpetrators allegedly believed him to be a UDF supporter.

MNYANDU, Siphos (24), was stabbed to death by named perpetrators in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 8 October 1988 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. The perpetrators allegedly believed him to be a UDF supporter.

MNYANDU, Siphos Jambros (34), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in an internal dispute by fellow supporters in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 4 July 1992.

MNYANDU, Thandi Nomthandazo (47), had her house burnt down by named ANC supporters in Esigisini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 May 1992. The family was allegedly accused of supporting the IFP. Her daughter, aged 11, was raped and her son, aged 12, stabbed and injured in the attack.

MNYANDU, Thembinkosi (15), was shot and injured in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Mtunzini, Natal, on 3 April 1994, three weeks before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MNYANDU, Thokozami W iseman , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by SADF members at Umlazi, Durban, on 9 April 1990, during political conflict in the area.

MNYANDU, Thulani , was shot dead in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Mtunzini, Natal, on 3 April 1994, three weeks before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MNYANDU, Victor Mandlakhe , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 August 1993.

MNYANDU, Zamanyandu (15), was shot dead when the house she was visiting was attacked by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 October 1993 in political conflict in the area.

MNYANE, Colenso Ninase (64), died in police custody in Tabankulu, Transkei, on 5 November 1967.

MNYANGO, Dade Mar garet (38), an ANC supporter, had her house in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 4 February 1992.

MNYANGO, Sibongile (44), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack at Empangeni, Natal, on 27 October 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MNYANI, Hubert V uyisile, a PAC supporter, was detained, severely assaulted, and imprisoned on Robben Island, Cape Town, from 1962 to 1970. He was again detained and assaulted in 1988 by members of the Transkei Security Police in Butterworth, Transkei.

MNYAPE, Macala, an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the Ciskei Police during conflict between ANC and ADM supporters in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 6 December 1991.

MNYAPE, Nonkosi No-tennis, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF in KwaMasele, King William's Town, Cape, in December 1991, during a campaign of resistance to the reimposition of the headman system (traditional authority). Mr Mnyape died as a result of injuries sustained.

MNYAPE, Nopepencu Mar garet (44), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the CDF at King William's Town, Cape, on 26 December 1991 during political conflict over the reimposition of the headman system in the homeland.

MNYAPE, Ntsikelelo (23), an ANCYL member, died after being run over by a Casspir driven by members of the CDF in KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 9 January 1992.

MNYATHELA, MS, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MNYATHELI, Mbeko Banda Sisasomzi, was detained and tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, who believed him to be an ANC supporter. Mr Mnyatheli's detention followed an MK attack on the Madeira Street police station, Umtata, on 29 July 1986. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the torture (AC/2000/076).

MNYATHELI, Zandisile Dickson (22), a PAC supporter, was arrested in 1962 in Paarl, Cape, after the Poqo attack and police shootings in which seven people were killed. He was charged with sabotage and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town. Three of his co-accused were sentenced to death and executed.

MNYAZANA, Thembinkosi Sindiswa (16), was abducted from his home in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in December 1976, and has not been seen since. Thembinkosi was a member of the

student movement at Ohlange High School during the student uprisings of 1976. He is presumed dead.

MNYELE, Mamanyena Sarah (62) was assaulted by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, in 1982. Ms Mnyele claims she was targeted because her son was an ANC member who died in exile.

MNYELE, Mpumelelo Isiah, was shot dead in a shebeen in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 June 1992, the anniversary of the SOWETO UPRISING, allegedly by IFP supporters. Seven people were killed in the attack and the shebeen owner lost an eye.

MNYELE, Thamasanqa Harry (36), an ANC member and artist from Johannesburg, was shot dead on 14 June 1985 in a cross-border attack launched by the SADF Special Forces together with the Security Branch on ANC offices and houses in Gaborone, Botswana. Twelve people were killed and six were wounded in the raid and several of Mr Mnyele's paintings were stolen. See GABORONE RAID.

MNYELE, Thami, an ANC activist, was shot dead by members of the SADF in the GABORONE RAID, Botswana, on 15 July 1985. Twelve people, including eight South Africans, were killed and six wounded in the raid.

MNYEMBANE, Peter Nelson (30), a UDF supporter, was shot in the arm and severely assaulted with a sjambok by members of the A-TEAM in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 26 March 1985.

MNYILA Ntulu, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MNYIWAMBE, Amos Mandla (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in a shebeen in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 June 1992, the anniversary of the SOWETO UPRISING, allegedly by IFP supporters. Seven people died in the attack and the shebeen-owner lost an eye.

MNYONI, Sibongile Tryphina (44), was burnt on her leg when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 were injured in the incident. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent political conflict from July to December 1992.

MNYUTE, Ndiko John (55), an ANC underground member, was injured and had five vehicles destroyed when other ANC members threw a hand grenade at his home in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 29 March 1990, allegedly because he was suspected of being a sell-out during a dispute between rival ANC-aligned youth organisations.

MNYWABE, George (19), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 5 July 1985 in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, after the collapse of the Duduza town council and the closure of schools in the area. Mr Mnywabe was one of four people shot dead that day. It was at his funeral, attended by over 5000 people, that Maki Skhosana was accused by mourners of being an informer and was beaten and

burnt to death. By mid-July the homes of 36 police officers had also been attacked.

MOABELE, Grace Kwema (49), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOABELO, Mamoloko Frans Sebata (20), was tear-gassed and severely beaten with rifle butts by members of the SAP on 9 October 1989 in Pretoria, during a march to the Union Buildings to call for the release of all political prisoners. His middle finger was amputated as a result of his injuries.

MOABELO, Manoko Mokgaetsi (45), had her home burnt down and livestock stolen in February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOABELO, Mosima (37), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOABELO, Mosima Johanna (38), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOABELO, Naku William (62), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Moabelo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOABI, Elizabeth Keetsemang (47), was severely sjambokked on the body and legs, by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Tlhabane, Bophuthatswana, on 21 March 1991.

MOABI, Maria Thandi (18), was shot in the foot by members of the SAP and detained for 20 days in Naboomspruit and Nylstroom, Tvl, in 1992. She was shot during a student protest march against the mayor of the town and afterwards police came to her house, assaulted family members and detained her.

MOABI, Sabata Daniel (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by SAP members during the state of emergency in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 8 October 1988, allegedly in a random shooting. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MOADIRA, Kenneth Pule (41), an MK operative, was shot dead by Bophuthatswana Police on 26 October 1990 on the outskirts of Zeerust, Tvl, while returning from Botswana after having been granted indemnity.

MOAG, Annelin, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

MOAGI, Latios Mananyana, and four SADF members, were attacked in their patrol vehicle by armed MK

operatives in Rita township, Lebowa, on 16 June 1990. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/98).

MOAGI, Sello W insor, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and stoned to death by an Inkatha supporter in Orange Farm, Tvl, on 14 September 1982.

MOALAH, Segoe Petrus (52), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE at Kutloanong, Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 4 November 1990, during a period of conflict over local government structures.

MOALO, Chapman, was shot dead by members of the SAP during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT in Postmasburg, Cape, on 1 February 1991.

MOALUSI, David Mathare (25), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP, in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 21 June 1985, while returning from the funeral of a political activist.

MOALUSI, Levy Mokhale (48), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by named members of the SAP in 1993 in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, while taking part in a protest march against the withdrawal of municipal services.

MOATLHODI, Kgosietsile Ezekiel (21), was shot and seriously injured by AWB supporters in Mogwase, Bophuthatswana, on 9 March 1994. There was a general stayaway by public servants on the day of the shooting. The AWB's venture into Bophuthatswana was an attempt by the right-wing to derail South Africa's first democratic elections of April 1994.

MOATSHE, Andries, a police informant, and two MK operatives were shot dead in an ambush near the Derdepoort border post, Tvl, on 4 May 1983. Nine Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0274 and AC/1999/0029).

MOATSHE, Jacob Peter (25), a UDF supporter, was injured and lost his home and belongings in a petrol bomb attack by members of the Security Branch while he and his family were asleep in Oukasie, Brits, Tvl, on 28 May 1986. Mr Moatshe reports that his wife was killed in the attack. Mr Moatshe was involved in mobilising the community to resist the INCORPORATION of Oukasie into Bophuthatswana.

MOATSHE, Jeremiah Ntsitsi (39), was assaulted with a brick by a member of the MAKABASA GANG on 17 April 1986 in Alexandra, Johannesburg. The gang was allegedly working with the police to attack ANC-supporting families in the area.

MOATSHE, Leslie Jairus (21), an MK operative, was killed in an ambush at Louis Trichardt, Tvl, in April 1989. His family was informed by the ANC that their son had died in exile. Mr Moatshe is however believed to have been buried in Louis Trichardt.

MOATSHE, Madimetsa Abraham, and other SAP members, survived an explosion when the armoured vehicle in which they were travelling detonated a landmine in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 16 February 1986. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his part in causing the explosion (AC/2000/195). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

MOBELE, George Bambo , a UDF activist, was shot and necklaced by named AZAPO supporters in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, on 21 May 1986. Mr Mobebe was accused of bringing people from Dobsonville, Soweto, to support the UDF in Mohlakeng. A group of about 30 AZAPO supporters came to his house that evening and killed him.

MOBELE, Mariana Sombhe (16), was beaten by named and other perpetrators, all AZAPO supporters, at Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, on 21 May 1986. A group of about 30 people had allegedly come to search for her boyfriend, a UDF activist.

MOCHALIBANE, Tselapeli Elias (27), was shot dead in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 15 March 1993.

Sharpeville was tense due to ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters and the perception that the SAP were siding with the IFP. Several ANCYL members were shot by known IFP supporters and it is alleged that Mr Mochalibane met a similar fate.

MOCHANGA, Butinyana Samuel (20), was shot and injured in the head and leg by members of the SAP at Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, during a student demonstration on 31 August 1984. Mr Mochanga did not take part in the march but was injured when police dispersed the students.

MOCHAWWE, Shadrack Mochawe (30), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 19 October 1990.

MOCHE, Kabelo Jan W ilfred (38), an ANC supporter, died in an apparent suicide while in police custody at Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, in January 1991. Mr Moche had allegedly been arrested because of his political activities.

MOCHEKO, Alpheus (66), an ANC supporter, was beaten with a gun by an alleged member of the NP and SAP in Ellisras, Tvl, in March 1993. Mr Mocheko was on his way to an ANC meeting in the township when he was assaulted.

MOCOENYANE, Moses Gobosamang (18), was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP after his arrest on 23 March 1990 in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl. Mr Mocoenyane was active in the civic movement at the time and played a major part in a campaign to reduce rents in the area.

MOCUMI, Thabiso (16), a COSAS member, was shot and injured by members of the THREE MILLION GANG in Thulo, Kroonstad, OFS, in 1990, while attending a community meeting.

MODANDA, Skhumbuzo Selby (19), an ANC supporter, died from burns sustained in a petrol bomb attack on his home by Inkatha supporters at Pietermaritzburg on 29 January 1990.

MODI, Nkosinathi (18), an AZAPO supporter, was abducted and stabbed to death by named 'comrades' during clashes between UDF and AZAPO supporters in Port Elizabeth on 8 November 1989.

MODIAKGOTLA, David (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP in 1992. In November 1980 he was arrested with his cousin and taken to Protea police station, Soweto, where they were tortured

because police suspected them of illegally crossing the border and concealing political information.

MODIAKGOTLA, Yvonne Maki (15), was shot in the buttocks and back by members of the SAP in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, on 13 March 1990. Police opened fire on people looting the local bottlestore and Yvonne was hit by birdshot as she took cover in a shack opposite the bottlestore.

MODIKOANE, Lawr ence, was arrested in May 1963 and detained for 90 days at Gezina police station in Pretoria, by members of the SAP for being in possession of banned literature. He was later sentenced to five years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

MODIKOANE, Matome Phillip (35), an ANC supporter, was beaten by members of the SAP in Protea, Soweto, in 1983. Mr Modikoane was asked to report to the police station on two occasions. On the second occasion he was beaten and his eye was seriously injured which resulted in hospitalisation for three months. Mr Modikoane testified that at the time many people were arrested for attending meetings in the township.

MODIKOE, Enoch , was injured when AWB members detonated a pipe bomb at a taxi rank on the corner of Third and Park Streets in Randfontein, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Six people were injured in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MODIKWA, Benedict , was shot dead by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at his home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 8 March 1993. Mr Modikwa was believed to be an informer. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/2001/140).

MODIMOENG, David Mpontshi (32), a COSATU member and member of the Brits Action Committee, was injured when members of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch petrol-bombed his home in Oukasie, Brits, Tvl, on 28 May 1986. His wife was killed in the attack, two children were injured, and his home was destroyed. Six Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/240).

MODIMOENG, Gladys , was injured when her home was petrol- bombed in Oukasie, Brits, Tvl, on 28 May 1986. Her mother was killed and her father, a trade unionist, was injured during the attack. Oukasie was tense following government attempts to forcibly remove the residents.

MODIMOENG, Josiah Ramakgole (22), a UDF supporter, was abducted on 3 September 1984 from his home in Sebokeng, Tvl, during the VAAL UPRISING and has not been seen since.

MODIMOENG, Meriam , was injured when her home was petrol-bombed in Oukasie, Brits, Tvl, on 28 May 1986. Her mother was killed and her father, a trade unionist, was injured during the attack. Oukasie was tense following government attempts to forcibly remove the residents.

MODIMOENG, Nkele Joyce , was killed when members of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch petrol-bombed her home in Oukasie, Brits, Tvl, on 28 May 1986. Her husband, a trade unionist and member of the Brits Action Committee, was the intended target of the attack. Six Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/240).

MODIMOLA, Makelepe Ephraim , was severely beaten on 19 January 1981 in Abbots Poort, near Pietersburg, Tvl, in an attack on supporters of Chief Lerumo by supporters of Chief Mapela. Mr Modimola died in 1984, reportedly as a result of his injuries.

MODIMOLA, Malose Alpheus (52), was severely beaten on 19 January 1981 in Abbots Poort, near Pietersburg, Tvl, in an attack on supporters of Chief Lerumo by supporters of Chief Mapela.

MODIMOLA, Nthwae Elisa (46), was beaten, stoned and fined two cows on 19 January 1981 in Pietersburg, Tvl, during a struggle over the chieftainship of the area.

MODIPA, Petros Maketlela (42), was severely beaten by IFP supporters on a train between Croesus and Langlaagte stations in Johannesburg, on 25 February 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MODIPANE, (full names not given), a member of the SAP, was shot and killed by APLA operatives at the police quarters in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, during August 1993. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/067).

MODIPANE, Sekoate , was detained by members of the SAP at Potchefstroom prison, Tvl, in 1986 during protests in the area. Several other taxi owners and taxi drivers were arrested and accused of instigating violence during a stayaway at the time.

MODIPANE, Solomon Difako (20), was shot in the foot by members of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, on 17 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING. He was walking home with friends when police allegedly tossed teargas at them from a moving car. When they ran away, a policeman allegedly got out of the car to follow Mr Modipane and shot him.

MODISAKENG, Israel (49), an ANC supporter, was beaten, shot at and detained by members of the SAP in Phokeng, Rustenburg, Tvl, on 15 September 1991 at the funeral of a 'comrade'. Mr Modisakeng was arrested because he was wearing a T-shirt with a picture of a rival of the Bophuthatswana government.

MODISANE, Abram (21), was shot in the back by members of the SAP in Tshing, Ventersdorp, Tvl, while taking part in a protest march organised after a white farmer in the area allegedly buried a body in a plastic bag.

MODISANE, Steven , a member of COSAS, was killed when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

MODISANGANE, Andries Legkowe , was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Swanieville, Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. IFP-supporting hostel inmates

were retaliating against a previous attack by ANC-supporting squatters and approximately 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt.

MODISAOTSILE, Jeselina Nnyana (39), an ANC supporter, was arrested and severely assaulted by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Welbedacht, Bophuthatswana, on 9 February 1992.

MODISAPUDI, Modise Isaac (44), a shopsteward and a member of the Tumahole Civic Association, was severely beaten by SPECIAL CONSTABLES in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, in December 1987, allegedly because of his political activities.

MODISE, Adel Motlhanka Augustus (36), was arrested by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Leeuwfontein, Tvl, on 1 July 1989. Mr Modise was at a meeting to protest against forced removals from South Africa to Bophuthatswana. Mr Modise was severely beaten while in detention.

MODISE, Daniel , was arrested, severely tortured and assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in March 1988 at Ikageleng, Zeerust, Tvl, during resistance by Braklaagte residents to the area's INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MODISE, Goitsemodimo , was arrested, severely tortured and assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in March 1988 at Ikageleng, Zeerust, Tvl, during resistance by Braklaagte residents to the area's INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MODISE, Leinatsela Lucas (35), an ANC supporter, was abducted and assaulted, by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in 1993 in Makobistad, Taung, Bophuthatswana during a dispute over the chieftanship of the Taung.

MODISE, Lucky Joseph (22), a COSAS and ANCYL member, was detained, beaten and tortured by members of the SAP at Vereeniging, Tvl, on 10 August 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MODISE, Martha Mampono , was killed when she was run over by a Bophuthatswana police vehicle in March 1990 in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana.

MODISE, Mogogwane Dinah (32), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Maboloko, near Brits, Bophuthatswana, during 1975 because of her support for Chief Solomon.

MODISE, Molathegi Lucas (35), was severely assaulted by named Bophuthatswana Police on 24 September 1993 at Rustenburg, Tvl, because he was suspected of being the ANC chairperson in the area.

MODISE, Motlaseo Dorah (53), had her home damaged when it was set alight by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in June 1991 at Ikageleng, Zeerust, Tvl, during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Braklaagte into Bophuthatswana.

MODISE, Motlohegi Miriam (27), an ANCYL committee member, was severely beaten by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Motswedi police station in Zeerust, Tvl, on 8 September 1992.

MODISE, Phillip (26), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in August 1990 in Esikolweni,

Kagiso, Krugersdorp, Tvl, during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. **MODISE, Rejoice**, an ANC supporter, was stabbed with a *panga* in April 1988 in Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, when named members of the Bophuthatswana Democratic Party attacked the funeral of a community leader. Residents were targeted by supporters of President Mangope and the apartheid regime because they resisted the area's proposed INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MODISE, Seele, an ANC supporter, was beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Kuruman, Cape, on 15 October 1992.

MODISE, Simon (28), an MK operative, was shot and left for dead by *askaris* in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1987. He was arrested at Johannesburg Hospital after an operation and removed to an unidentified place where he was interrogated and tortured by being pulled around by the frame supporting his injured arm, and by being drugged by named members of the Security Forces. He was detained for about five months at Johannesburg prison, then tried and found guilty of possessing arms.

MODISE, TA, a member of the Bophuthatswana security forces, was shot dead by MK operatives in an attack on the Braklaagte military base, Bophuthatswana, on 31 July 1990. Three others were killed and two were injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/254).

MODISE, Thabo Benjamin (35), an ANCYL member, was beaten and subjected to electric shock torture by members of the SAP at the Powerville ISU offices during his detention in June 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl. He was then detained for 29 days and only received medical attention after his lawyer intervened. Police wanted information on arms and ammunition because ANC supporters were attempting to stop the harassment of the community by members of the IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG aided by members of the ISU.

MODISELLE, Oupa Meshack, was shot dead in a random shooting by members of the SAP on patrol in Pimville, Soweto, in 1989.

MODISHWA, Mavusi (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by identified members of the local self-defence unit (SDU) in Moleleki Section, Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Mr Modishwa was one of nine ANC supporters killed execution-style by SDU members during a conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU. The SDU members involved applied for but were denied amnesty.

MODISHWA, Peter Mavuso (15), was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Eleven people were killed, nine execution-style, during conflict between the local ANCYL and members of an ANC SDU. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

MODUKANELE, Thuso Kenneth (29), a SANSCO member, was axed, shot and burnt to death on 24 October 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MODUKANENE, Phorogotho Peter (23), an ANC supporter, was tortured and shot with rubber bullets by members of the Bophuthatswana Police while in detention in Tsineng police station, Kuruman, Cape, in 1992. The ANC had just declared a consumer boycott in the town.

MODUTWANE, Sophia Baratang, was severely burnt on her left leg when her home was petrol-bombed by ANC supporters in Kagiso, Tvl, on 13 March 1986. Her home was targeted because her husband was a policeman.

MODUTWANE, Zebedia Badirwang (53), an SAP member, had his home damaged when it was petrol-bombed by a group of alleged 'comrades' in Kagiso, Tvl, on 13 March 1986.

MOEDERA, William, was injured in an attack on a house in Gaborone, Botswana, by SADF Special Forces operatives on 13 February 1985. Mr Moedera was not the intended target of the attack. The divisional commander of Western Transvaal Security Branch and four of his operatives, as well as the commander of Security Branch Headquarters, were granted amnesty for providing target intelligence to Special Forces (AC/2001/228).

MOEKETSI, Dolly Dimakatso (17), an ANC supporter, was arrested, tortured and beaten by members of the SAP in July 1986 in Kagiso, Tvl, because he was accused of taking part in a consumer boycott.

MOEKETSI, Kwape Mohdtiso, suffered injuries when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

MOEKETSI, Tukunana John, an ANC supporter, was shot in 1985 in Khayamnandi, Steynsburg, Cape during political conflict over the Black Local Authority.

MOEKWA, Moses Thami (35), was hit on his heel trying to evade IFP supporters attacking commuters at Braamfontein station, Tvl, on 13 October 1992.

Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE allegedly initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

MOELAJEE, Mansoor, was one of ten students arrested after a rally in Athlone, Cape Town, on 17 September 1985, and was then severely beaten by named and other members of the SAP at the Brackenfell police station.

MOELE, Dina Elizabeth, was one of three civilians killed when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

MOELI, Johannes (64), an Inkatha supporter, had his home in KwaMashu, Durban, petrol-bombed on 28

April 1986 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MOELOA, Mankuku (69), was beaten with a sjambok and detained by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 1 July 1989 in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOEMA, Isaac (23), an MK operative, was killed by *Vlakplaas* operatives in Komatipoort, Tvl, on 15 March 1982.

MOENA, Whitney, was shot by members of the SAP when they opened fire on a group of people marching and singing freedom songs in December 1985 in Bela-Bela, Warmbaths, Tvl, during a rent boycott.

MOENG, Gideon, a town councillor, died when he was beaten and set alight after being chased from his house by a group of youths in Tembisa, Tvl, on 7 May 1986. One UDF supporter was refused amnesty on the basis that he did not make a full disclosure of all relevant facts (AC/2001/270).

MOEPI, Sengadi Lucas (40), an ANC supporter, was killed when he was stabbed and shot and his car was burnt by IFP supporters in Zonkizizwe, an IFP-aligned informal settlement near Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 July 1993. Zonkizizwe was one of many informal settlements that became politically aligned in the early 1990s, resulting in violent political conflict between rival political parties.

MOEPIE, Pheho Alpheus (43), had his home burnt down in a petrol bomb attack by a named member of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, on 21 June 1985 because of his active involvement in the formation of SRCs.

MOERANE, Eliazara Jakane (53), an SAP member, was shot dead in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, while he was attending a party on 24 May 1991.

MOERANE, Lenare (17), was shot in the forehead when SAP members opened fire on protesters during a student boycott in Queenstown, Cape, on 30 September 1977. He died at Frontier hospital, Port Elizabeth on 4 October 1977.

MOERANE, Modingwoa Edward (16), a UDF supporter, was severely tortured and suffocated by named members of the SAP in Thabazimbi, Tvl, on 25 January 1986. The police wanted information from him about other political activists.

MOETI, Aletta, was stabbed in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992. Forty-five people died and 27 were seriously injured when IFP-supporting residents of the KwaMadala hostel descended on the Boipatong community in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE, allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police.

MOETI, Dickson Butiyana, a COSAS member, was detained for 21 days without trial by members of the SAP in March 1984 during student unrest in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl.

MOETI, Mika Bennet (25), an ANC supporter, was arrested and assaulted during interrogations at various police stations in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, between 1990 and 1992.

MOETI, Mmatebesi Aletta, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left

45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOETI, Prudence Aleta Mabaru, was severely injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOETLO, Singleboy (49), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police during a protest march in Chokonyane, Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 14 February 1993. At least two others were killed in the incident.

MOETSANE, S, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MOETSE, Anderson Olefre, was severely beaten and detained by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 1 July 1989 in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOETSE, Lesego Lawrence (15), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police at Makgola village and Motswedi police station in Zeerust, Tvl, on 20 May 1989. Most Makgola villagers opposed INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOETSE, Mosimanegape Lucas (41), was beaten several times with a sjambok by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, in May 1989. He was arrested during conflict over the forced INCORPORATION of villages into Bophuthatswana.

MOFEKENG, Vusumuzi Albert (35), was stabbed by Inkatha supporters in Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 November 1987, in intensifying political conflict in the area. Mr Mofekeng lost the sight in one eye as a result of the attack.

MOFEKETA, Moliat, an ANC supporter, was arrested and assaulted in police custody between Bophuthatswana and Botswana, on 26 February 1988. He was also detained several times in Groot Marico police station, Zeerust, where police interrogated and tortured him.

MOFOKENG, Aaron (21), an ANC supporter, was stoned and burnt to death by named perpetrators on 22 November 1990 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during intense political conflict in the area.

MOFOKENG, Aaron Tseko (24), an ANCYL member, was shot dead when the bus in which he was travelling was raked with gunfire by IFP supporters in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 14 November 1992. The bus was carrying workers back to Ratanda from a sports event organised by the ANCYL during a violent labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. Eight others were injured in the attack.

MOFOKENG, Abram (20), a COSAS member, was detained, tear-gassed and subjected to electric shock torture by members of the SAP on 26 September 1986 in Sebokeng, Tvl, for allegedly setting fire to the house of a police officer.

MOFOKENG, Alina Malefu, an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP for a short period in Welkom, OFS, on 6 June 1986, allegedly because the police were looking for her son.

MOFOKENG, Daniel Mashone (15), a COSAS supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in September 1985 in Sebokeng, Tvl, when he and fellow pupils from his school were detained for 180 days without trial after their school was burnt down. In 1988 he was again arrested and held under SECTION 29 of the Internal Security Act.

MOFOKENG, David (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 1 January 1992 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, by a named IFP supporter.

MOFOKENG, David, was abducted by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, in November 1987. All attempts to trace him through family lawyers have proved fruitless.

MOFOKENG, Edwin Sonny (40), a town council member, had his home damaged in an arson attack on 3 September 1984 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during a rent boycott in the VAAL UPRISING.

MOFOKENG, Elizabeth Kesugileng (34), lost her house in an arson attack on 26 July 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly carried out by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MOFOKENG, Elizabeth, was severely injured during an organised attack by several hundred IFP supporting residents of the KwaMadala Hostel, on the Boipatong community, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, during a period of escalating violence between the ANC/IFP in the area. This attack became known as the Boipatong massacre, which left 45 persons dead and 27 seriously injured. Sixteen perpetrators applied for amnesty for these atrocities of which 13 were granted and three were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOFOKENG, Esther, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, in 1992 because police wanted information about her son, a returned exile.

MOFOKENG, Freddie (23), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by named right-wingers in Ermelo, Tvl, in October 1990.

MOFOKENG, Jack Thioriso, was shot dead by named perpetrators in Tokoza, Tvl, on 10 October 1992. Four other people died in the shooting during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MOFOKENG, Jacob Monyatheli (40), was shot in the back and thigh by a named member of the Municipal Police in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 June 1988. Mr Mofokeng is paralysed as a result of his injuries.

MOFOKENG, Jacob Sello (15), a COSAS member and UDF supporter, was imprisoned and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 September 1986. Jacob played a prominent role in organising political meetings and boycotts during a time when youth and student organisations took a leading role in opposing apartheid.

MOFOKENG, Jomo Jack 'Seun' (13), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Zamdela, Sasolburg, OFS, on 18 May 1986. The incident took place during a joint AZAPO/UDF protest against restrictions on political activity. Police attacked protesters, sjambokking some and opening fire on others. Five other protesters were seriously injured in the attack.

MOFOKENG, Kebareng Maria (28), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Borolele, Swartruggens, Tvl, on 14 December 1991.

MOFOKENG, Kothope Johannes Matala (26) was imprisoned on Robben Island for six years from 1963, allegedly because of his political activities. In prison, he was severely beaten by a named member of the Security Branch.

MOFOKENG, Makaya John (54), was shot and injured by members of the SADF in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 September 1984, the day after a rent boycott began during the VAAL UPRISING. Marches and boycotts by the community in protest at high rents and poor facilities led to a strong police presence in the area. A number of people were killed and injured in alleged random shootings by police in an attempt to end the protest.

MOFOKENG, Makaya, was severely injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOFOKENG, Mamothetsi Flora Peggy (44), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in her flat in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 June 1992, the anniversary of the SOWETO UPRISING. Armed attackers, allegedly IFP supporters, broke into the flat and opened fire. At least six people died in this attack.

MOFOKENG, Manhloesa Maria, was hacked to death in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992. Forty-five people died and 27 were seriously injured when IFP-supporting residents of the KwaMadala hostel descended on the Boipatong community in what is known as the BOIPATONG MASSACRE, allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police.

MOFOKENG, Mantseben Elizabeth Nomzimkhulu (20), was assaulted by members of the SAP and then detained for four days at the Reitz police station, OFS, during 1993. In detention, she was tortured. The police were allegedly looking for her husband.

MOFOKENG, Maria, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOFOKENG, Mashashadu Goodman (16), was shot dead by ANC supporters during political conflict at Mtunzini, Natal, on 3 September 1993.

MOFOKENG, Maur een, a COSAS member, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the Municipal Police, in Katlehong, Tvl, while taking part in a march in support of a rent boycott on 17 February 1985.

MOFOKENG, Mbongeni (22), an ANCYL member, was detained and tortured in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, in June 1986. Mr Mofokeng was involved in organising protests and consumer boycotts. He was allegedly detained and tortured again at Brakpan police station, in 1987.

MOFOKENG, Michael Dikotsi (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Gelukwaarts, Kroonstad, OFS, on 17 February 1991, while trying to escape from members of the THREE MILLION GANG.

MOFOKENG, Mmathabang Alinah (48), was with his family when their home, in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, was destroyed by a petrol bomb on 13 November 1993 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MOFOKENG, Moeketsi Sylvester (42), an NUM member and shopsteward, was detained by the SAP and assaulted in Welkom, OFS, on 30 April 1984, for his role in organising a strike in the Vaal Reef mines. Mr Mofokeng went into exile on 28 January 1986 and, according to the ANC, died in a UNITA ambush in Angola on 13 October 1988.

MOFOKENG, Moloi (52), was shot dead by AWB supporters during an industrial action by workers in Heilbron, OFS, on 12 November 1992. White farmers and members of white right-wing organisations became involved in policing the strike action and opened fire, killing Mr Mofokeng.

MOFOKENG, Nkele , was shot and killed by a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 June 1988.

MOFOKENG, Ntondo (61), an IFP supporter, had his houses set alight by ANC supporters at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in February 1993.

MOFOKENG, Oupa Daniel (35), was stabbed to death on 13 August 1990 in Katlehong, Tvl, during intense conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents.

MOFOKENG, Petrus (38), an AZAPO supporter, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Zamdela, Sasolburg, OFS, on 18 May 1986. The incident took place during a joint AZAPO/UDF protest against restrictions on political activity. Police attacked protesters, sjambokking some and opening fire on others. Four other protesters were seriously injured in the attack.

MOFOKENG, Piet (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 16 September 1990 in violence between two rival factions of the ANC-aligned Khutsong Youth Congress.

MOFOKENG, Piet , was shot dead and his house was burnt down on 26 July 1993, in an arson attack allegedly carried out by IFP supporters during political conflict.

MOFOKENG, Pule James (19), an ANC supporter, was arrested in Welkom, OFS, on 6 June 1986 and tortured with electric shocks while in detention. He was detained for four days, allegedly because he was thought to be harbouring an arms cache. Mr Mofokeng was detained again on 15 June 1986 and

was held for five days. He was then hospitalised for a year, and remains mentally disabled as a result of torture suffered in detention.

MOFOKENG, Sebati Mirriam (30), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Ikgomotseng, Bloemfontein, on 19 June 1993, allegedly because her husband was a policeman.

MOFOKENG, Sekolotsa Abram , a PAC member, was shot by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960.

MOFOKENG, Sello Ephraim , a UDF supporter, was killed by members of the A-TEAM in Welkom, OFS, in May 1985.

MOFOKENG, Thabo William (11), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 1 April 1992. Thabo was on his way home from school when he was shot in the head by police allegedly pursuing a stolen car.

MOFOKENG, Thabo , was arrested and beaten in detention during the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING and went into exile in August that year. His family knew of his whereabouts in Botswana and Nigeria and later heard he was sick and living on the street in Canada. He has since disappeared and no one has heard from nor seen him since 1994.

MOFOKENG, Tjhetane Makwanyane Harold (17), a UDF supporter, was detained by the SAP several times between 1986 and 1989 under emergency regulations in Bethlehem, OFS. On one occasion, he was held in solitary confinement for six months. In April 1993, he was severely beaten by SAP members after his arrest during protests over the death of Chris Hani.

MOFOKENG, Tsietzi Ben , was shot and wounded by members of the SAP on 3 September 1984 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during a rent boycott and campaign against local councillors during the VAAL UPRISING.

MOFOKENG, Zacharia , was shot dead by a member of the SAP at Beltrim, Sasolburg, Tvl on 2 January 1991. The SAP member allegedly suspected Mr Mofokeng of being an APLA operative responsible for the death of a white farmer, and killed him on the pretext that he was escaping. The SAP member, who had been convicted of the killing, was refused amnesty (AC/1999/0299).

MOFOLO, Naomi Khabonina (19), was beaten on 18 May 1980 in KwaNdebele, as a result of violent conflict between supporters of rival chiefs.

MOGAADILE, Gaokaiwa Tiny (35), an ANC member, was tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 25 October 1992. Mr Mogaadile was chairperson of the ANC in Motswedding at a time of growing resistance to President Mangope's regime.

MOGADI, Isaac , an ANC member, was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Eleven people were killed, nine execution-style, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

MOGADI, Peter, was shot dead by members of the Municipal Police on 5 October 1986 in Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between local councillors and residents.

MOGADILE, Tiny, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

MOGADIMA, Simon, was shot dead by members of the SAP in 1986 in Tweeskraal, Moutse, KwaNdebele, during violent resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele in which hundreds of people died or were injured. KwaNdebele independence was cancelled in August 1986 because of Moutse resistance.

MOGAGABE, Aviva Johannes (18), a COSAS supporter, was severely assaulted by named members of the 'Zim-Zim' faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 24 June 1990. Mr Mogagabe had allegedly been accused of rape.

MOGAGABE, Job Oupa Magale Baby (21), was knocked down by a car and shot and injured by alleged members of the Riot Squad in Moletsane, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 25 February 1977.

MOGALE, Ephraim Phumuga, an ANC supporter, was detained, beaten and had his house destroyed by members of the Security Branch in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during the commemoration of the historic battle of Isandlwana in November 1979.

MOGALE, Jeffrey, was tortured in detention by Lebowa Police at Mahwelereng, Lebowa, on 4 April 1985.

MOGALE, Linda, a student activist, was detained for four months on 5 May 1978 in Ermdeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, where he was assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP until he confessed to being involved in 'terrorism'. He was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on Robben Island. Three years later his conviction was set aside.

MOGALE, Mantsia Paulina (27), was shot and injured by IFP supporters while travelling in a taxi on 31 July 1993 in Tembisa, Tvl, during intense conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents.

MOGALE, Meshack Whiskey (19), was killed by members of the SAP at the funeral of a 'comrade' when police attacked mourners. He was taken to Silverton police station, Pretoria, during November 1985 and his body was discovered later at a mortuary with evidence of a severe beating.

MOGALE, Simon (21), a South African Student Organisation member, was arrested on 16 March 1978 while preparing to commemorate the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE and detained for nine months in Mamelodi, Pretoria. He was forced to sign a confession and was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment for public violence.

MOGAMATHA, Elijah, was injured when he drove over a landmine at Messina, Tvl, on 25 November 1985. The incident was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural areas.

MOGAMI, Goodman, was targeted for killing by the Wivatersrand Security Branch during 1988. A Security Branch operative, purporting to be an MK operative, made contact with Mr Mogami, who expressed an interest in receiving training. The operative gave him a weapon that had been tampered with so as to cause probable injury to the person firing it. Mr Mogami's fate is unknown. A Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2001/230).

MOGANEDI, Nkonko Petrus (43), a SADF member, was severely beaten, kicked and tortured for four days from 29 June 1989 in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, by members of the SADF. He was accused of being in possession of illegal firearms during conflict between the community and Security Forces.

MOGANEDI, Stephen Ntoampe (26), was detained at a roadblock and accused of 'poisoning people's minds with politics' in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, during 1986. He was severely tortured, beaten and sjambokked by named members of the SADF. Mr Moganedi appeared in court on a charge of public violence which was dropped and the magistrate ordered that he see a doctor. He was admitted to hospital with fractured fingers and lacerations all over his body.

MOGANO, Mapelana Orbetini (14), was arrested and subjected to electric shock torture by members of the SAP in 1986 in Roodepoort, Tvl, for damaging groceries belonging to people who defied the consumer boycott imposed by political organisations in the area.

MOGANO, Mmashipi Aldo (23), an ANCYL leader, was shot and killed by members of the SAP on 7 April 1990 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MOGANO, Samuel Munsho, and other SAP members, survived an explosion when the armoured vehicle in which they were travelling detonated a landmine in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 16 February 1986. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his part in causing the explosion (AC/2000/195). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

MOGANO, Silas (27), left his home in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 7 March 1985 during intense conflict between the police and the community. He was reported missing but police did not investigate the matter. He has not been seen since.

MOGAPE, A, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MOGAPI, Ben Tiego (20), a KHUSO leader, was arrested with 700 others at a night vigil in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in July 1986. He was assaulted and

tortured by members of the SADF and taken to West Rand police station where he was detained for 11 months under emergency regulations.

MOGAPI, Jonas , an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 29 March 1993. He was returning from a court hearing in which he was a witness in a case involving conflict between ANC and IFP supporters when he was attacked.

MOGAPI, Keikantsemang Annie (46), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and her house was set alight by named ANC supporters in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 26 July 1992. Her father was stabbed to death and her mother was beaten in the attack.

MOGAPI, Molapisi Petrus (19), was the victim of a teargas attack by members of the SAP in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, on 18 August 1984.

MOGAPI, Motsamai Patrick (15), was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 3 March 1990 following widespread unrest after the death in custody of a 16-year-old youth. Police occupied the township in early March and at least 25 other people were believed to have been killed in the area during this period.

MOGAPI, Timothy (18), was subjected to electric shock torture and intense interrogation by named policemen at the Welverdiend police station in Carletonville, Tvl, for a period of about six months in 1986. He was subsequently detained at Potchefstroom prison for five months. Police were looking for his activist brother during the state of emergency.

MOGASHOA, Kgwaboi Hendrick (25), a UDF supporter, was arrested and tortured by members of the SADF at Steelpoort police station in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, on 7 June 1986. Mr Mogashoa was a youth leader and was reportedly arrested for addressing a mass meeting in protest against Chief Mogashoa's practice of cheap labour. He eventually appeared in court at Schoonoord and was acquitted.

MOGASHOA, Malika Titus (25), was imprisoned by members of the SAP on 8 April 1986 in Vosloorus, Tvl, during protests over the death of an MK operative killed by police in the area.

MOGASHOA, Nicholas Lazarus Kamele Morati (32), a UDF supporter, was kicked and assaulted with pick axe handles and rubber truncheons by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 14 January 1986 in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, during a school boycott and general protest in the area.

MOGASHOA, Thabane Rantho Mphai , an MK operative known as Thomas Masuku, was shot dead in an ambush at Alldays, Tvl, near the Botswana border, on 10 July 1986 by a joint team comprising SADF Special Forces and Far Northern Transvaal Security Branch members. Fourteen Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, applied for amnesty. Nine of these applications were refused (AC/1999/0176).

MOGASWANE, Khala Andreas (37), a UDF supporter, was tortured in detention by members of the police on 12 June 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, because he

played a leading role in Kirkvorsfontein resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. The warnings of the tribal authority against incorporation went unheeded, which resulted in political conflict in which hundreds of people died or were injured.

MOGATA, Kabai , an ANC supporter, was abducted and tortured by named perpetrators in October 1986 in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MOGATHE, Frans (30), an ANC supporter, was repeatedly tortured with electric shocks and by suffocation by named members of the Security Police on a farm near Bloemfontein, in October 1989, allegedly because he had information about ANC activities.

Police allegedly made use of various farm locations in the province to interrogate and torture activists.

MOGATSHANI, Takadimane Stephen (20), was abducted by four youths in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, and forced into a taxi heading for Boipatong. His body was found later on a rubbish dump on 18 May 1992. He had been stabbed and had a serious head injury. At the time of the incident the area was tense due to ongoing conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MOGERI, Knox (24), was abducted by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, because he was mistaken for an ANC activist. His body was found with multiple gunshot wounds on 11 March 1992.

MOGETHI, Vusi Alfred (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in front of his wife and children, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katilehong, Tvl, on 11 September 1990.

MOGOAI, Mamotuku Pauline , an ANC supporter, had her home damaged when it was torched by 'comrades' in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, in 1986.

MOGOANENG, Lokishi Lazarus (47), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Lebowa Police in Nebo, Lebowa, on 23 June 1988. The beating resulted in a spinal cord injury. Mr Mogoaneng claims he was arrested because of his support for the UDF.

MOGOBU, Ledile Moloko (38), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOGODI, Lincoln Lucky , a member of COSAS, was killed when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

MOGOERANE, Thelle Simon (23), an MK operative, was executed in Pretoria Central prison, on 9 June 1983. Mr Mogoerane was arrested on 28 December 1981 and assaulted and severely tortured by named members of the SAP. He eventually signed a statement confessing to MK activities and was executed for high treason.

MOGOHLWANE, Thembeka Ethel (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and her body was partially

burnt on 23 October 1993 during ongoing political conflict in Katlehong, Tvl.

MOGOMOTSI, Bettie Mapula (42), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP at her home in Borolele, Swartuggens, Tvl, on 14 December 1991. Police fired teargas at people gathered at her home for a birthday celebration, accusing her of hosting a party for the ANC.

MOGOPODI, Abram Motshikiri, from Soweto, Johannesburg, left for exile in 1976. On 19 April 1990 his family was informed by the ANC that he had died in Angola. His name appears on an ANC list of those who died in an ambush in Angola on 26 December 1983.

MOGOROSI, Denson Malebogo (28), a UDF supporter, was arrested the day after a UDF meeting in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, during August 1985. He was seriously injured after being thrown in the air, banged on the floor and severely assaulted by named members of the SAP.

MOGOROSI, Malokia, a councillor and UDF supporter, was shot dead at his shop in Katlehong, Tvl, during a rent boycott in 1985.

MOGOROSI, Mohlomi Daddy (13), an ANCYL member, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, in 1991. Police allegedly colluded with the IFP and Mohlomi was arrested and beaten on two occasions following conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MOGOROSI, Otumiseng Victor (39), was beaten with rifle butts by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, during a mass meeting on 9 October 1988 called to inform the community that Chief Mankuroane was going into exile.

MOGOROSI, Phuthang Arthur (16), was shot and injured on 13 August 1985 in Diepkloof, Soweto, by members of the SAP during a period of student unrest in the township.

MOGOROSI, Sanyboy Alpheus (44), had his home burnt down and was shot at by IFP supporters on 12 May 1991 in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, because he was suspected of harbouring ANC supporters. IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers were retaliating against a previous attack by ANC-supporting squatters.

Approximately 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

MOGOROSI, Tennyson T ebogo, was detained without trial and assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, in 1988. He was suspected of taking part in the failed 1988 coup attempt in Bophuthatswana organised by the Peoples' Progressive Party.

MOGOSETSI, Sipo Simon (34), was detained in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 25 December 1992 after resisting eviction from Marakolong village during forced removals in the area.

MOGOSHE, Peter, when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25

April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MOGOTLANE, Isaac (54), an ANC member, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police after his arrest at Temba, Bophuthatswana, on 22 May 1993. He and seven other ANC members were arrested at an ANC meeting and accused of instigating violence in the community.

MOGOTSI, Abel Lekhutile (37), was allegedly tortured to death in detention in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 5 March 1986. He was deprived of medical treatment for septicaemia and meningitis following a head injury.

MOGOTSI, Herman Mothibedi (27), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by a named Inkatha supporter in Tigane, near Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 19 March 1990. His girlfriend died as a result of injuries sustained in the attack. Clashes between IFP and ANC supporters in this area claimed several lives in the early 1990s.

MOGOTSI, Isaka Thomas, an ANCYL supporter, was shot by the occupants of a passing police vehicle in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 23 December 1991. He was in intensive care for two weeks and then detained without charge at Klerksdorp police station.

MOGOTSI, Lucas (17), was shot by alleged members of the SAP in June 1986 in Daveyton, Benoni, Tvl, while attending the night vigil of a UDF supporter.

MOGOTSI, Nchimane Philemon (57), was beaten to death by hostel-dwellers and members of the SAP outside his home in Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 August 1976 in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING. The State used hostel-dwellers to intimidate and attack Soweto residents who had called for a stayaway in the wake of the uprising and subsequent police action.

MOGWENG, Kediiteretse (31), was severely beaten by supporters of a named chief in April 1988 in Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, during community resistance to the INCORPORATION of Lekubu into Bophuthatswana. The chief organised police and other supporters to assault and arrest all people opposing incorporation.

MOGWENG, Mosweu Lawrence (24), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in March 1989 in Zeerust, Tvl, during the forced INCORPORATION of Braklaagte into Bophuthatswana.

MOGWENG, Oatweng David (30), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 28 March 1989 in Zeerust, Tvl, for allegedly killing a policeman. The case against Mr Mogweng was dropped. The incident occurred during attempts by the government to force the INCORPORATION of Braklaagte into Bophuthatswana.

MOHAJANE, Ramorakane Simon (18), was shot in the face by members of the SADF on 8 September 1984 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during the VAAL UPRISING. He spent a year in hospital and is blind as a result of his injuries.

MOHALANYANE, Sello Isaac (30), a PAC supporter, died two days after being hit on the back of his head with a stone on 5 December 1990 in Katilehong, Tvl, allegedly thrown by IFP supporters.

MOHALE, Asael Mopeli (30), had his home damaged in an arson attack in 1976 in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, during a conflict over chieftainship.

MOHALE, Babazi Thulani (35), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and injured by Inkatha supporters at Hammarsdale, Natal, in August 1988.

MOHALE, Boikie Lazarus Madi, an MK operative, was shot dead during armed conflict with members of the SADF in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, on 1 January 1986.

MOHALE, Christopher Letsezo (24), was tortured by members of the Security Branch in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, on 1 January 1986. He was arrested to extract information about his brother, an MK operative. His brother was shot dead that day.

MOHALE, Magdeline, a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the SADF on her way home from a party in Khambazo, Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 2 February 1986. Two men were injured in the attack.

MOHALE, Mamagotla Pauline (27), was arrested and tortured by members of the SAP in detention at Amsterdam, Tvl, in November 1976. She and 15 others were trying to leave the country after the clampdown following the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

MOHALE, Moses Sabbie (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Temba, Bophuthatswana, on 21 December 1980. The perpetrators shot at people indiscriminately during political conflict in the area.

MOHALE, Nkgathatseng Angelina (46), had her house burnt down during conflict over the chieftaincy in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in 1975.

MOHALE, Oupa Jan (27), disappeared on 17 August 1987 in Mamelodi, Pretoria, during political protests. He has not been seen since.

MOHALE, Phetola David, a Soweto Student Congress member, was detained in March 1979 at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, and held for two months for being in possession of Release Mandela Campaign calendars.

MOHALE, Reuben Phetole (55), lost his three shops, cars and bar lounge in Duiwelskloof, Lebowa, when they were burnt down by ANC supporters on 12 August 1990.

MOHALE, Thabo Louis (29), a SANSKO member from Duiwelskloof, far northern Transvaal, was killed with two others in an ambush near Bhunya, Swaziland, on 12 February 1989. The three were lured into the ambush by an *askari* purporting to be an MK operative. The Security Branch then spread a rumour that they had been killed by the ANC on suspicion of being police informers. The operation was conducted by *Vlakplaas* and Section D of Security Branch Headquarters. Nineteen operatives from *Vlakplaas* and Security Branch Headquarters were granted amnesty by majority decision (AC/2001/227a).

MOHAMED, Abduragmaan (18), a school pupil, was arrested, beaten and tortured by members of the SAP at Guguletu police station, Cape Town, in October 1976, allegedly because he was accused of involvement in arson attacks during the SOWETO UPRISING.

MOHANDE, Letshaba Thomas Abiel (18), was shot and partially paralysed when members of the SAP opened fire during a rent boycott in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 23 July 1986.

MOHAPI, MONYANE, Kenneth (19), an MK operative, was detained, assaulted and tortured by the SAP at the Thabong police station in Welkom, OFS, during the state of emergency in 1986. He died in exile in Tanzania three years later. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MOHAPI, Abram Moilola, suffered injuries and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOHAPI, Annah, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOHAPI, Botha Paul (23), an ANCYL member, was shot dead by a named police officer in Bedworth Park, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 4 August 1991. A newspaper article at the time claimed Mr Mohapi was shot trying to break into a house. The mother of the deceased claims her son was killed while visiting a girlfriend who was a domestic worker in the area.

MOHAPI, Edgar Nkane (19), a PAC activist, was shot and killed by a police unit dubbed the 'Yankee Squad' in Sebokeng, Tvl, while being interrogated about PAC activities on 30 May 1993. The perpetrator was later charged.

MOHAPI, Eliah, suffered damage to property when members of the Orange Free State Security Branch burnt his minibus in Bloemfontein on an unspecified date in 1986 or 1987. A police trainee, formerly an informer for the Security Branch, was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0026).

MOHAPI, Jani, suffered damage to property when her motor vehicle was set alight near Bloemfontein on an unspecified date in 1986 or 1987. Two Orange Free State Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0025 and AC/1999/0026).

MOHAPI, Mapetla Frank (26), regional organiser for SASO and a member of the BCM and the BPC, allegedly hanged himself in King William's Town, Cape in 1976. In 1974, after constant police harassment, Mr Mohapi was detained under section 6 of the Terrorism Act at Pretoria Central prison. In detention he was tortured and assaulted in different ways. On his release in 1975 he was banished to King William's Town for five years during which he was constantly

harassed by the police. He was again detained in July 1976 when he died in police custody.

MOHAPI, Mokhoseng (22), an ANC supporter, was taken into custody and beaten to death by members of the Ciskei Police on 27 September 1981 in King William's Town, Cape.

MOHAPI, Nobuhle Hilary (27), was detained in August 1977 and subjected to severe psychological torture while in solitary confinement at Mount Road police station, Port Elizabeth. Her arrest followed that of Steve Biko, for whom she worked as secretary, and the death in detention of her husband, BCM leader Mapetla Mohapi, in 1976. In February 1978, she was transferred to Grahamstown, and upon her release, banned for five years. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MOHAPI, Peter Mokhobo (20), a COSAS member, was detained and tortured by the SAP in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 4 July 1984. A student boycott was in place at the time. Following violent confrontations between police and students, police raided students' homes and detained several COSAS members.

MOHAPI, Tebogo, was shot and died on 5 May 1991 in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, by members of the SAP patrolling the area during conflict between ANC, IFP and AZAPO supporters.

MOHAPI, Tshokolo Patrick (14), an ANCYL supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Reddersburg, OFS, in May 1990. He was one of an unknown number of youths who had been *toy-toying* and were taken to the police station, where they were beaten.

MOHAPI, White Mosoeunyane (20), a COSAS executive member, was shot and injured by SAP members while attending a student crisis meeting in Bloemfontein, on 27 April 1984. In April 1986, Mr Mohapi was severely beaten and tortured by named members of the Security Branch at the Fountain police station in Bloemfontein. Mr Mohapi was one of around 20 UDF activists arrested while trying to cross the border into Lesotho in April 1986, with the intention of joining the ANC in exile. In detention they were interrogated, tortured, beaten, subjected to degrading treatment and denied food. One member of the SAP was granted amnesty for the 1986 torture of Mr Mohapi (AC/1999/0026).

MOHATLE, Mankahelang, a citizen of Lesotho, was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* operatives during a raid on two houses in Maseru, Lesotho, on 19 December 1985. Nine people were killed in the raid, three of them Lesotho citizens. Seven operatives, including the deputy commander of Security Branch Headquarters, the commander of the section which oversaw the work of *Vlakplaas* and the commander of *Vlakplaas*, applied for amnesty for the operation. All except the commander of Security Branch Headquarters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/231 and AC/2001/279).

MOHELEPI, Jacob Lehloho (20), a UDF supporter, was beaten by named members of the SAP at Aliwal North police station, Cape, in November 1985.

MOHLABAI, Noko Joyce, was shot dead during an attack on a friend's house in Sebokeng, Tvl, in April

1993. Four others were killed in the attack.

MOHLABI, Gladys Tsepiso (22), was shot and injured on 19 February 1992 during ongoing political conflict in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SAP.

MOHLABI, Thomas Themba (19), was shot and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Tokoza, Tvl, while travelling on a bus to a funeral in April 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MOHLAHLI, Motloang Vitalis (29), was injured in a bomb explosion in a bar in Roodepoort, Tvl, on 14 July 1990. Mr Mohlahli suffered injuries to both legs which resulted in his leg being amputated above the knee. The bomb is believed to be the work of the right-wing.

MOHLAHLO, Thomas Jonas, was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MOHLAKOANA, Majoro Nephthally (24), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Security Branch in Ladybrand, OFS, on 11 January 1991, allegedly because he was thought to be involved in the bombing of COUNCILLORS' houses.

MOHLAKOHLA, Petros Lekheke (38), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, on 9 November 1985, after the imposition of a curfew in the township. He successfully sued the police for the assault that permanently damaged his knee.

MOHLAKOLA, Simakaleng Mkhonose (15), was part of a group arrested at the funeral of a political activist in Worcester, Cape, on 31 August 1985. She was tortured at the Worcester police station by suffocation with a tyre tube.

MOHLALA, Clement (18), an ANC supporter, was taken to the Komatipoort police station, Tvl, on 21 June 1986. He was severely beaten by named SAP members because he was suspected of being an ANC member.

MOHLALA, Clement Vusi (22), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SADF and named members of the Security Police in Komatipoort, Tvl, on 23 March 1990. Police wanted the names of previously-exiled ANC members. Mr Mohlala left the area twice and each time he returned he was tortured at different SADF camps. The torture included electric shocks to his fingers, breaking his arm and being put in a sack and repeatedly dunked into the Komati River.

MOHLALA, Evelinah Maria (32), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by named members of the SAP in Kamaqhekeza, near Naas, Tvl, on 21 June 1986. The police were looking for her son who was an ANCYL member.

MOHLALA, Moses Nnete, was abducted and severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in January 1986 in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, for resisting the area's INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MOHLALA, Nogo , was severely beaten, including with stones, and later burnt to death by 'comrades' at Burgersfort, Tvl, in October 1986. She was accused of practising witchcraft and killing a man who died when struck by lightning.

MOHLAMME, Frans (16), an ANC supporter, was abducted from a tavern, together with another ANC supporter, by members of the THREE MILLION GANG in Kroonstad, OFS, on 27 October 1990. The Three Million gang took Mr Mohlamme and his companion to Troubou, where they assaulted and stabbed them. Mr Mohlamme escaped, but his companion was killed.

MOHLAMONYANE, Jeffrey (31), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP, KwaNdebele Police and IMBOKODO on 12 December 1986 in Marapong, Moutse, KwaNdebele, during conflict about INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MOHLANGU, Amos , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MOHLANGU, Maria , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MOHLANGU, Msingweni Maria , was injured when the vehicle in which she was travelling detonated an explosion, on an unspecified date between 1986 and 1988. The incident occurred on the Vereeniging road near Graspan, in the Eastern Transvaal.

MOHLANYANE, Osborn , was shot and killed on 9 June 1986 in Vosloorus, Tvl, when members of the SAP fired rubber bullets at close range during a school boycott. A magistrate found no-one could be held responsible for his death.

MOHLOBOLI, Lebohang Emanuel (33), an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters in April 1993 in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl.

MOHLOKOANE, Smangele Nomsa (21), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at the Jeppe Street taxi rank, Johannesburg, on 6 September 1990. At the time IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked residents assuming that they all supported the ANC. Four other people died in this attack.

MOHLOKWANO, Nompumelelo (17), lost her home in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1993, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MOHLOMI, Siyabonga Goodwill , was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 September 1991 during a raid on his grandmother's house for firearms. Two other people were also killed in the attack.

MOHLOMI, Thamsanga Samuel (30), a UDF supporter, had shots fired at him, and had his house at KwaMashu, Durban, petrol-bombed several times before it was burnt down completely by Inkatha supporters and members of the KwaZulu POLICE in September 1987.

MOHOHLO, Mottalepule Martha Gomyame (55), an ANC supporter, was detained from her home at night during the state of emergency, in Sasolburg, OFS, on 22 December 1988. She was tortured in detention. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MOHOKOANE, Jacob Gasejysiwe , was killed in Angola during December 1990.

MOHOLING, Dokotela James (29), an IFP supporter, was shot dead at Bergville, Natal, on 27 February 1994 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MOHOLOENG, Masalela Esbie (48), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mothibistad, Kuruman, Cape, on 5 December 1991, allegedly because he attended an illegal gathering.

MOHOLOENG, Sello Justice (16), was severely assaulted in detention by members of the SAP at Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, in April 1986. He was accused of having set alight the homes of police officers.

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

MOHONTI, Malaki , was assaulted during his arrest, by members of the Bophuthatswana Police and then detained for two weeks at Taung police station in Bophuthatswana, in 1989. Mr Mohonti was arrested because of his support for Chief Mankuroane.

MOIDI, Elina Nomadlozi , was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992.

MOILA, Manku Rachel (78), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 1 July 1989 at Braklaagte police station in Leeuwkop, Bophuthatswana, during resistance to the INCORPORATION of the area into Bophuthatswana.

MOILOA, Godwyn Moitasilwe , was shot at on 12 June 1991 at a bus stop in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOILOA, Kgotalitsile (13), was stabbed in the right side of the neck on 11 June 1991 in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, during resistance to the INCORPORATION of Lehurutshe into Bophuthatswana.

MOILOA, Patrick , lost his house in an arson attack during political conflict in Theunissen, OFS, on 5 May 1991.

MOILOA, Petrus Masala (23), was severely beaten by supporters of the DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP) in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, in 1989. Mr Moilola was at his sister's house when it was surrounded by a group of people who accused him of being a 'comrade'. He died later in hospital.

MOILWA, David Moswana (19), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, during a confrontation between local residents and police on 28 March 1989.

MOILWANYANA, Mmankuku , was detained for five days without food at the Mmabatho police station in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during July 1989. There was fierce resistance at the time to the forceful INCORPORATION of Leeuwfontein and Braklaagte into Bophuthatswana and a meeting held by the two communities was violently dispersed. Two policeman and two civilians died in the resulting conflict.

MOIMA, George (19), was shot dead by members of the SAP at the funeral of a political activist in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on 8 February 1986.

MOITOI, Johanna Meidtjie (32), was arrested at Lekubu, near Zeerust, Tvl, in April 1989 and accused of being involved in arson. While in detention, she was tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police.

MOITSHEKI, Serame Andries (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 15 December 1990 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, during intense conflict between two rival factions in the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS.

MOITSHELA, Seemole Tshaisha (61), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOJA, Ledile (42), had her house burnt down by supporters of Chief BK Matlala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOJAFI, Gasebonwe Daniel (36), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Motswedi police station in Zeerust, Tvl, on 3 July 1989. Mr Mojafi was arrested for attending an ANC meeting.

MOJAKE, Gerson Jacob , suffered injuries and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOJALEFA, Pontsho Samuel (19), a member of the South African National Civic Association (SANCO), was shot and injured by a named perpetrator, a chief, at Botha's Hoek, near Burgersfort, Tvl, on 3 April 1993. Mr Mojalefa was shot after an argument broke out between the SANCO executive and the chief.

MOJAPELO, Stanley (19), an ANCYL member, was shot and then drowned by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at the Tshwane river in Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 26 February 1990.

MOJE, Priscilla Nancy , secretary of the Serotobe branch of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), was arrested on 31 May 1988 at Tlabane, Bophuthatswana, detained for 14 days, and deprived of sleep and water by named members of the SAP. The PPP was an opposition party in Bophuthatswana.

MOJELA, Bethuel Tlou (36), an ANC supporter, was beaten with AK47s and seriously injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 9 March 1991. The perpetrators accused him of hiding weapons for the ANC in his house. Some of the perpetrators were allegedly dressed in police uniforms.

MOJELA, PM , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MOKABA, Daniel Madimetja , was abducted by a named perpetrator in Soshanguve, Pretoria, on 31 December 1992.

MOKABA, Florina Tselane (38), suffered injuries during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKABA, Maria , was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKABA, Paulina Mantsali (65), was stabbed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKABA, Tjiane Ernest (20), was severely assaulted by alleged members of the SAP in Mankweng, Lebowa, in June 1976 during nationwide unrest that followed the SOWETO UPRISING. He was allegedly targeted because his brother was a well-known ANC activist.

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

MOKAKALE, Tironyane Benjamin (51), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at a community meeting in Dryharts, Taung, Bophuthatswana, in April 1990. Community gatherings were often seen as a threat to Mangope's government.

MOKAKE, Momoliehi Evelyn (36), was attacked and severely beaten by vigilantes under Chief Tshejwa at

Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, on 29 September 1976. The vigilantes were intimidating people who opposed the chief to force them to join him.

MOKALE, Sipho Sydney Eugene (22), was dragged from his house and necklaced on 27 November 1985 in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, by youths who accused him of being a police informer.

MOKALENG, Jacob, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter on 23 June 1993 in Evaton, Tvl, during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MOKANYANE, Mimi Har ekoanelemakgowa, was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MOKANYANE, Phehello Gregory (42), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MOKATAKA, Abram Boetie, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 29 November 1986 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, during the state of emergency.

MOKATAKA, Buti, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named SAP member in August 1986 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, during the state of emergency. His night vigil was disrupted when mourners were attacked by members of the SAP.

MOKATE, Randolph Malefetsane (26), a policeman, was shot dead by an ANC supporter while on duty in Soweto, on 17 December 1992. The attack took place when increasing numbers of policemen were being killed.

MOKATI, Shakeshane Jack Petrus (35), was stabbed and assaulted by unidentified persons in Kroonstad, OFS. He died from his injuries in hospital on 4 November 1991. His mother believes that members of her family were targeted because she was a witness for the defence in the Delmas Treason Trial.

MOKATI, Tsehis Edvard, was arrested and interrogated by Witwatersrand Security Branch at Sandton police station, Johannesburg, during 1988. Mr Mokati was one of the suspects in the Vanderbijlpark Square bomb blast on 21 October 1988. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/242).

MOKATSANYANE, Jacob, was shot by named members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Kroonstad, OFS, on 26 February 1990, when they opened fire on a group of marching protesters. He died later in hospital.

MOKENA, David Melefetsane, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKENA, Ngaka (72), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Klipspruit, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 18

August 1990. Mr Mokena was at a night vigil when the perpetrators attacked mourners, killing him and two other people.

MOKERI, Edward Dhlai (21), was manhandled and handcuffed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police during his arrest on 7 April 1986 in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana. Mr Mokeri was arrested because he was patrolling the streets with a group of people.

MOKESENG, M, was injured and suffered damage to property during an organised attack by several hundred IFP supporting residents of the KwaMadala Hostel, on the Boipatong community, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, during a period of escalating violence between the ANC/IFP in the area. This attack became known as the Boipatong massacre, which left 45 persons dead and 27 seriously injured. Sixteen perpetrators applied for amnesty for these atrocities of which 13 were granted and three were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKETSEPANE, Khabi Virginia (36), an ANC supporter, was stabbed several times by named Inkatha supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 21 January 1987.

MOKETSEPANE, Sophie, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 21 January 1987.

MOKGABI, Motsamai Jacob (18), an ANC activist, was arrested on 17 June 1986 and taken to Lebeleng municipal office in Makwassie, Tvl, where he was severely beaten by a named perpetrator for *toy-toying* with friends in commemoration of the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING. He was charged with public violence and received a five-year suspended sentence.

MOKGABUDI, Motso Aubrey (aka 'Obadi'), a commander in MK's Special Operations Unit, was killed on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed. Mr Mokgabudi was from Orlando, Soweto, Johannesburg.

MOKGABUDI, Thato Hlafuru, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Motetema, Lebowa, on 24 February 1986.

MOKGAMATHE, Steven, had his home damaged in an arson attack by ANC supporters in November 1990 in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, during conflict between ANC and AZAPO supporters.

MOKGAMPANE, Isaia Rampolokeng (14), was shot dead in Constantia township, Kroonstad, OFS, on 1 May 1986, when members of the SAP allegedly opened fire on a crowd of people returning from a funeral.

MOKGANYE, Evelyn Mampo (59), had her home damaged in an arson attack by supporters of Chief Tshajoa in 1976 in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over succession to the chieftaincy between Chief Tshejoa, appointed by President Mangope, and Chief Lion.

MOKGATHLE, Glad, chairman of the Bafokeng Tribal Council, was severely assaulted and stabbed to death

by members of the ANC-supporting Action Committee of the Bafokeng people, in Bafokeng, Bophuthatswana, on 29 September 1990. Two Action Committee members were granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1996/0001).

MOKGATLANY ANE, John Ntloko (18), was shot by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Lekubu, near Zeerust, Tvl, on 8 January 1991. Residents opposed to the INCORPORATION of their township into Bophuthatswana had gathered to console a family whose house had been burnt down.

MOKGATLE, Zongezile Ziwewe (28), was arrested, beaten and charged, with 25 others, with the crowd killing of a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN in Paballelo, Upington, Cape, on 13 November 1985. One of the UPINGTON 26, he was convicted and sentenced to death, along with 13 others. He spent two years on death row before the death sentence was overturned on appeal in 1991.

MOKGATLENY ANA, Ntoko , was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Braklaagte near Zeerust, Tvl, on 8 January 1991 during resistance by the community to INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOKGATLHA, HP , had his vehicle hijacked by MK operatives in an attack on the Braklaagte military base, Bophuthatswana, on 31 July 1990. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2001/254).

MOKGAUTSI, Thebeitsile Frans (57), a COSATU member, was tortured in detention on 1 July 1989 in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force who attacked a peaceful community meeting.

MOKGELE, Boikanyo Donald (22), was shot in the eye by members of the SAP Riot Unit during protest action in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, in 1990. Mr Mokgele was tortured in detention in Wolmaransstad police station, Tvl, in March 1986.

MOKGETHLA, Simon (aka 'Old T imer') , an ANC member, was abducted from Lesotho by Orange Free State Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives between March and August 1986. The fate of Mr Mokgethla is unknown. A member of SADF Military Intelligence, who had accompanied the abduction team, was granted amnesty (AC/2001/257).

MOKGOBU, Ramokone Elizabeth (32), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOKGOHLOA, Mahona Joseph (42), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mokgohloa resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOKGOHLWA, Kgadi Philemon (34), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mokgohlwa resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOKGOKOLO, Nooi (26), was shot in the abdomen and spinal cord at a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 6 August 1992. The victim alleges that she and other mourners were standing in the street when an army Hippo stopped nearby and members of the SAP approached and opened fire. Two people were killed and 16 injured.

MOKGOME, Boy Samuel (38), survived being stabbed, severely assaulted and thrown from a moving train in Nancefield, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 10 October 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MOKGONYANE, Mmanoko Martina (26), a member of the Federation of Transvaal Women, was arrested and subjected to electric shock torture in Pretoria in 1982. As a result, she suffered a miscarriage. Due to their political involvement, the Mokgonyane family home was seen by police as a haven for 'terrorists'. Ms Mokgonyane was detained again in February and September 1988.

MOKGONYANE, Mokgalo John (66), had his home damaged in an arson attack by members of the SAP in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 4 April 1986. The Mokgonyane family home was seen by police as a haven for 'terrorists'.

MOKGONYANE, Phuti Bennet , a COSAS member, was arrested in August 1988 and imprisoned for a year in Pretoria, for furthering the aims of a banned organisation.

MOKGONYE, Evelyn Mampo (59), had her home burnt down in November 1976 in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over the chieftaincy of the area.

MOKGOPHA, Ledile Manare (54), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOKGOSI, Lorraine Kiekie (23), a SAYCO member, was detained for seven months from 26 April 1988 in Johannesburg, and interrogated on the whereabouts of her student activist boyfriend who had gone into hiding. She was pregnant at the time, and was released under house arrest for the birth of her baby. She later left home due to continued police harassment.

MOKGOSI, Setenengeng Doreen (17), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police at Leeuwfontein, Tvl, on 12 May 1989 during political conflict arising from the community's resistance to INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOKGOSINYANE, Florence Maditshipi (34), had her home damaged and her possessions destroyed in an arson attack by AZAPO supporters on 5 November 1990 in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, during conflict between AZAPO and ANC supporters.

MOKGOTHO, Jan Thwakga (27), was shot and injured by a named member of the *Wit Wolwe*, an extremist right-wing group, at Strydom Square in Pretoria, on 15 November 1988. The perpetrator fired randomly at black people, killing seven and injuring 15. The perpetrator applied for amnesty for the attack.

MOKGOTHU, Tebogo Patrick , was shot dead on 28 November 1985 in Phiri, Soweto, by members of the SAP guarding a delivery truck. He was standing at the gate of his home when police opened fire on youth who were approaching. Mr Mokgothu was struck by a stray bullet.

MOKGOTSI, Lucas , a COSAS member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, while attending the night vigil of a UDF supporter in June 1986.

MOKGWENG, Kanetani Elizabeth (48), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOKHACHANE, Mokoena Samuel , was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKHANYANE, Molly (38), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MOKHASHANE, Samuel Nkopane (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Allanridge, OFS, on 20 February 1992, during political conflict in the area.

MOKHATHI, Andries Ramapai , an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 5 July 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. Ten other people were also killed in the attack.

MOKHELE, Isaac Matshidiso (32), was shot and injured, by a named ANC-aligned self-defence unit member in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 8 December 1993. The Mokhele home was targeted because a police vehicle was standing outside at a time when many police officers in the area had been killed by 'comrades'. Mr Mokhele's brother and his police officer friend were killed in the attack.

MOKHELE, Mokete Francis (39), was shot dead by ANC-aligned self-defence unit members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 8 December 1993. The Mokhele home was targeted because a police vehicle was outside at a time when many police officers were targeted by 'comrades'. Mr Mokhele's police officer friend was also killed in the attack.

MOKHEMISA, Edgar Tsietsi (14), was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 1 December 1986 at a night vigil of a 'comrade' killed by police during the state of emergency.

MOKHESENG, Dutsen Lungisa (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Katlehong, Tvl, on 27 November 1993.

MOKHESENG, Simon Tsietsi (20), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 9 September 1984 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during a stayaway in the township.

MOKHETI, Jerry Paseka (29), an ANC supporter and mineworker, was shot dead by alleged SAP members in Jagersfontein, OFS, on 9 March 1990, during a mineworker's protest march against racial discrimination on the OFS gold mines.

MOKHETLE, Daniel , was shot dead by named members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE at Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 5 March 1991.

MOKHOABANE, Moahloni (23), a member of COSAS, was arrested and charged with public violence on 29 August 1985 in Aliwal North, Cape. While in prison, members of the SAP subjected him to severe torture and beatings.

MOKHOBHO, Samson Moiketsi (19), was severely assaulted, sjambokked, kicked and punched by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 13 February 1992 at Taung, Bophuthatswana. The assault occurred when police arrived at a meeting where the issue of an exiled chief was being discussed.

MOKHOELWA, Paul (43), was killed by IFP supporters in Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 18 August 1990 during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

MOKHOMO, Klaas (23), an ANC supporter, was detained under emergency regulations in Bothaville, OFS, on 29 June 1986. In detention, he was assaulted by members of the SAP and placed in solitary confinement, allegedly for participating in a rent boycott.

MOKHONOANA, Soja Phillip (21), was shot dead by KwaNdebele soldiers on 14 May 1986 during a meeting at the Ndzundza Royal Kraal in KwaNdebele, to hear a report-back from the KwaNdebele cabinet on demands to abandon independence and disband the IMBOKODO vigilante movement. Several people were killed or injured when the crowd of 20 000 to 40 000 was forcibly dispersed.

MOKHONWANA, Obed , is assumed to have been burnt to death by *Vlakplaas* operatives during July 1986 at Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele. He and eight other youth activists were recruited by *Vlakplaas askaris*, supposedly for military training. They were all killed and the bodies were burnt beyond recognition when the house they were staying in was set alight. The perpetrators applied for amnesty. See NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH.

MOKHOTHU, Moleboheng Alice (37), an Inkatha supporter, had her house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in June 1989.

MOKHOTOSA, Edwin , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKHOTSOA, Maphontso Maria , suffered injury and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and

27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKHUFU, Nelson Mpolaeleng (17), an ANC supporter, was arrested by Bophuthatswana Police and severely punched and beaten with batons during conflict at Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, in August 1990.

MOKHUWANE, Motlachi Christopher (19), was hit on his head by members of the SAP after police fired rubber bullets and beat protesting students at Thabane Senior School in Kimberley, Cape, on 17 July 1990. He died in hospital on 21 July.

MOKITI, Tsepo, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, in political conflict over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu, during the period 1993 to 1995.

MOKO, Themba Joel (19), a SAYCO member, was made to strip naked, kicked and beaten with sjamboks by members of the SAP in Vereeniging, Tvl, on 7 September 1984. He was arrested at a night vigil for a 'comrade' killed by the police during political conflict.

MOKOANA, Lucky Nkhedi (18), was imprisoned by members of the SAP at Vosloorus, Tvl, on 8 April 1986 during protests over the death of an MK operative killed by police in the area.

MOKOANA, Philemon (17), was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, while playing soccer on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MOKOATLE, Eduard T siloso, was killed by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 21 August 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MOKOATLE, Lillian Puseletso (30), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, 1993.

MOKOBAKE, George Lulu (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the Lebowa Police in GaMaepa in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, on 26 June 1992. Mr Mokobake returned from exile in 1990 and was shot because he was suspected of being in possession of illegal firearms.

MOKOBANE, Tshedisha, was severely beaten by a named perpetrator in February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, during a dispute over the chieftaincy in the area.

MOKOBORI, Itumeleng Simon (14), an ANCYL member, was detained, along with his cousin, by members of the SAP in Dealesville, OFS, on 25 August 1990, on suspicion of involvement in an attack on a COUNCILLOR'S home. The cousins were made to lie on the ground and were shot at by the police members. Itumeleng was wounded in the shooting.

MOKOENANA, Tladi Alfred (30), was detained in September 1984 and held without trial for seven months, tortured, and eventually charged with arson and murder, by named members of the SAP in Vereeniging, Tvl, during a rent boycott in the Vaal Triangle.

MOKOENA, (first name not given), an ANC supporter, suffered damage to property in political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, in the late 1980s. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/054).

MOKOENA, (first name not given), was killed by ANC supporters on 3 June 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele during violence over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MOKOENA, A, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKOENA, Aar on, an ANC representative, was killed on 29 March 1994 at a hostel in KwaMashu, Durban, where a peace meeting had been scheduled to resolve differences between KwaMashu residents and hostel-dwellers. Seven ANC delegates, including Mr Mokoena, were abducted from the hostel by IFP supporters. Five were killed; two survived. Four IFP supporters, including the chairperson of the IFP hostel branch in KwaMashu, were convicted for the killings.

MOKOENA, Abel Buti (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 5 October 1984 in Soweto, during a state of emergency.

MOKOENA, Abraham, a UDF supporter, was beaten and stabbed to death by AZAPO supporters in Paarl, Cape, on 25 November 1985, during clashes between AZAPO and UDF supporters.

MOKOENA, Alfr ed, was shot by named IFP supporters in an attack on his family home near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 August 1993. The family was allegedly attacked because one member was a well-known NEHAWU member.

MOKOENA, Amos Dendeng, an ANC member, died in police custody on 16 August 1985. He was allegedly found hanged in his cell. He had left home to go into hiding and was detained by police for possession of dagga in Pilgrims Rest, Tvl.

MOKOENA, Anna, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

MOKOENA, Aubr ey, was shot dead by members of the SAP who opened fire on a group of *toyi-toying* people in 1986 in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, during the state of emergency.

MOKOENA, Basetsana (28), was shot and injured by unidentified gunmen in Tokoza, Tvl, on 7 October 1991 after the funeral of civic leader Sam Ntuli. Twenty people were killed and 26 injured when gunmen opened fire on mourners from a minibus. At least four of the dead were shot by members of the SAP. See NTULI FUNERAL.

MOKOENA, Busisiwe (10), from Leslie in the Transvaal, was shot and injured on 14 June 1985 in a cross-border attack launched by the SADF Special Forces, together with the Security Branch, on ANC offices and houses in Gaborone, Botswana. Twelve people, including her grandfather, were killed, and six, including her grandmother, were wounded in the operation. See GABORONE RAID.

MOKOENA, Clinton, was beaten to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1985, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MOKOENA, Dan Elias (5), was severely injured when his home was set alight by members of the SAP in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, in July 1986. Police allegedly came to the house looking for a political activist. When they could not find him, they set the house alight.

MOKOENA, Daniel (21), disappeared on 19 August 1990 after being abducted by IFP supporters from the Mapetla hostel, Soweto, Johannesburg. On that day, hostel-dwellers were on the way to attack residents in Mapetla township when police arrived and fired at residents confronting the hostel-dwellers. Mr Mokoena is thought to have disappeared in the confusion that followed.

MOKOENA, David Monaheng (59), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP on 4 September 1990 in Sebokeng, Tvl, when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC-aligned township residents who had trapped the hostel-dwellers in Hostel No 3. The SAP and SADF were summoned and shots were fired at the residents from IFP supporters inside and security forces outside the hostel. Forty-two people were killed, four of them by security forces.

MOKOENA, David, was killed when a hand grenade detonated by a named MK operative exploded in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 27 November 1992. MK and APLA members had returned from exile and were training members of the community to defend themselves against attacks by the IFP and Security Forces. The perpetrator allegedly threw the hand grenade after getting involved in an argument at a *stokvel*. Six people were killed and four were injured in the explosion.

MOKOENA, Elias, was arrested in 1987 in Waterval-Boven, Tvl, after the funeral of a person killed during clashes between IMBOKODO vigilantes and people opposed to KwaNdebele independence.

MOKOENA, Elizabeth, was stabbed to death after being raped by named perpetrators in Bethlehem, OFS, on 11 January 1986. The perpetrators reportedly stated that they had attacked Ms Mokoena because she was not carrying her Pass.

MOKOENA, Elliot, was severely assaulted with rifle butts and kicked by Bophuthatswana Police in April 1989 at Zeerust, Tvl, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana. He was arrested and detained for a week. After his release, he was stabbed with a spear in the left leg and disappeared from home. He has not been seen since.

MOKOENA, Ephraim Phakiso (19), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 4 September

1990 in Sebokeng, Tvl, when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC-aligned residents who had trapped the hostel-dwellers in Hostel No 3. The SAP and SADF were summoned and shots were fired at the residents from IFP supporters inside and security forces outside the hostel. Forty-two people were killed, four of them by security forces.

MOKOENA, Erick, was shot dead by members of the SADF in KwaNdebele, KwaNdebele, on 1 June 1986.

MOKOENA, Evelina, was shot by a member of the SAP at Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg, in June 1993 during a march protesting the assassination of CHRIS HANI.

MOKOENA, Fanyane Sophonia (40), was hacked and stabbed to death on 9 November 1992 in Katlehong, Tvl, during conflict between hostel-dwellers and township residents.

MOKOENA, Grace (49), had her home damaged in an arson attack by a named perpetrator on 1 November 1989 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, because her son had organised a worker's rally on the same day that the UDF had organised a rally for Walter Sisulu.

MOKOENA, Isaack Raditsela (37), was severely beaten with rifles and sjamboks by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 16 June 1986.

MOKOENA, Jack, was shot dead on 1 March 1990 at his grandparents' home in Crossroads informal settlement, Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, by members of the SAP following conflict between rival factions of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS. On 15 July 1988, Mr Mokoena was shot, arrested and detained in the same area.

MOKOENA, Jan Mojalefa (34), was injured when a hand grenade was thrown at his shack in Daveyton, Tvl, on 17 September 1991 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MOKOENA, Jeremiah, was injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKOENA, John, was necklaced by 'comrades' in Tweefontein, KwaNdebele. He was accused of being an informer.

MOKOENA, Joseph (30), was shot and injured when named IFP supporters opened fire on the minibus in which he was travelling on 15 June 1992 in Evaton, Tvl, during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MOKOENA, Joseph (58), was detained under emergency regulations in 1986 and placed in solitary confinement for a lengthy period at Gezina police station, Pretoria. While in detention, he was tortured by members of the SAP who questioned him about the whereabouts of his son who had gone into exile in 1976.

MOKOENA, Joseph Motsamai (24), a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE, was stoned and burnt to death outside his home in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 29 May 1986. At least 13 of the perpetrators were charged and convicted. Three were sentenced to death and three others were sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment.

MOKOENA, Julia Mamasole (52), had her home damaged in a petrol bomb attack on 14 June 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl, by ANC supporters who believed her son was an IFP supporter.

MOKOENA, Kokoli Emily, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKOENA, Laolo Samuel, a priest, suffered damage to property when his parish house in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, was petrol-bombed on 18 August 1986 by members of the Orange Free State Security Branch, who believed him to be providing support to political activists. Amnesty was granted to a member of the Security Branch (AC/1999/0026).

MOKOENA, Lawr ence, was abducted and tortured by SADF members at Nkomazi, Tvl, during 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/277).

MOKOENA, Lefu (54), had his leg seriously injured when an explosive device was thrown into the bus on which he was travelling on 1 October 1992 at Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992.

MOKOENA, Lettie, was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 20 December 1985 in KwaNdebele, during conflict over the proposed independence of the homeland.

MOKOENA, Life, was abducted, tortured and left for dead at Nkomazi, Tvl, by SADF members during 1989. Mr Mokoena, however, survived. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/277).

MOKOENA, Loli Selina, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKOENA, Lucia Thabitha, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

MOKOENA, Maleshane Rosina, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKOENA, Masilo Johannes (39), was severely beaten at a community meeting in Ga-Kibi Village,

Lebowa, on 10 October 1986. The meeting was called to discuss grievances against self-appointed Chief Lebogo. The chief responded by using the police and members of the SADF to disperse the meeting by sjambokking those attending.

MOKOENA, Mathate David, an ANC supporter, disappeared on 29 August 1993 in Sebokeng, Tvl, while driving to work. His truck was found but police failed to act on information that his body may have been thrown into a specific dam. The dam was drained and a body found but Mr Mokoena's wife was never contacted by police. Mr Mokoena was wearing an ANC T-shirt during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the Vaal Triangle.

MOKOENA, Matsebang Charles, was shot dead by named ANC supporters in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Mr Mokoena was one of 11 ANC supporters killed by self-defence unit (SDU) members in Moleleki Section, Katlehong, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Nine of the victims were killed execution-style. The SDU members involved in this incident applied for but were denied amnesty.

MOKOENA, Matthews (40), an ANC supporter, was doused with petrol and set alight by a named AWB supporter in Petrus Steyn, OFS, in December 1988, allegedly because of his political sympathies. He died in hospital shortly thereafter.

MOKOENA, Michael (26), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 20 May 1990, when police fired rubber bullets at protesting students.

MOKOENA, Molahleli Joseph (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named IFP supporter in Evaton, Tvl, on 23 June 1993.

MOKOENA, Morake Petros (46), was detained and held as an accused in the 'Delmas Treason Trial' by members of the SAP in Pretoria, in December 1984.

MOKOENA, Ndlela Joseph (32), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted on 22 June 1992 in Tokoza, Tvl, before being detained by members of the SAP who accused him of being in possession of illegal firearms.

MOKOENA, Nkosinathi Christopher, an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death by UDF supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 July 1989.

MOKOENA, Norman Makhosini (15), a Phoyco member, was detained by named members of the SAP in Bethlehem, OFS, on 20 June 1986, during a protest to demand the release of political detainees. The police fired shots at the demonstrators, and arrested some Phoyco members. In detention, they were tortured.

MOKOENA, Patrick Stoffel (22), was seriously injured when a hand grenade detonated by a named MK operative exploded in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 27 November 1992. MK and APLA members had returned from exile and were training members of the community to defend themselves against attacks by the IFP and security forces. The perpetrator allegedly threw the

hand grenade after getting involved in an argument at a *stokvel*. Six people were killed and four were injured in the explosion.

MOKOENA, Philemon (22), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960.

MOKOENA, Piccanin Modiane, was shot dead during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents in Sebokeng, Tvl. His body was found near the Sebokeng police station on 17 April 1992.

MOKOENA, Pitso, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 20 June 1992.

MOKOENA, Rebecca Nokuthula (15), was shot and injured by SADF members at Lekazi Central High School in KaNyamazane, KaNgwane, during a school boycott on 7 May 1991. Pupils were protesting against the lack of science facilities at the school, when the SADF arrived and opened fire, injuring three pupils.

MOKOENA, Regina (43), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in 1987.

MOKOENA, Robert (27), an ANC member, returned from exile and was shot dead by members of the SAP in the Transvaal on 5 October 1981, while recruiting for the ANC.

MOKOENA, Samuel, was killed when a hand grenade detonated by a named MK operative exploded in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 27 November 1992. MK and APLA members had returned from exile and were training members of the community to defend themselves against attacks by the IFP and security forces. The perpetrator allegedly threw the hand grenade after getting involved in an argument at a *stokvel*. Six people were killed and four were injured in the explosion.

MOKOENA, Silas (33), was shot and injured by members of the SADF in Siyathemba, Balfour, Tvl, while taking part in a May Day commemoration on 1 May 1986.

MOKOENA, Simms Griffiths (67), a councillor, had his house burnt down and looted on 8 January 1990 in Evaton, Tvl, by township residents protesting against unrepresentative black town councillors.

MOKOENA, Sonnyboy, was attacked at his home in Tweefontein, KwaNdebele, on 7 June 1986. 'Comrades' attacked the family, killing Mr Mokoena's father and destroying their home after accusing the victim's father of informing on the ANC.

MOKOENA, Tahleho Ishmael (54), was shot and hacked to death by IFP supporters and members of the SAP on 18 August 1990 in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MOKOENA, Thabile Patricia (25), was shot in the head by members of the Railway Police in Daveyton, Tvl, while singing freedom songs with other ANC supporters on 26 June 1985. Ms Mokoena developed epilepsy as a result of her injury.

MOKOENA, Thabiso Victor (20), a UDF supporter, died after being severely beaten and stabbed in

Umlazi, Durban, on 3 September 1985, in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters.

MOKOENA, Thabo Andries (aka 'Samuel Ngaka')

(25), an ANC supporter, was abducted and killed by members of the EAGLES CLUB in Mamafubedu, Petrus Steyn, OFS, in 1991, allegedly because he discouraged youths from joining the club.

MOKOENA, Thabo Isaac (62), an Inkatha supporter, had his house burnt down by UDF supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1989.

MOKOENA, Thabo Robert, a UDF supporter, was beaten and stabbed to death by unidentified perpetrators during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 3 September 1985. His body was then mutilated.

MOKOENA, Thamsanqa, an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death by UDF supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 July 1989.

MOKOENA, Thandi, survived a hand grenade attack by MK operatives on the home of an ANC member in KaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, during the night of 10/11 November 1992. Five other occupants of the house also survived. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attempted killings (AC/1997/0065; AC/1997/0066 and AC/1997/0067).

MOKOENA, Thomas, a COSAS member, was detained in Middelburg, Tvl, for three weeks in September 1986 under emergency regulations and later charged with public violence at a time of widespread student unrest.

MOKOENA, Tshotleho Michael, was shot dead, by IFP-aligned KHETISI KESWA GANG members on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired and threw hand grenades at mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived but provided no protection and ignored both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

MOKOENA, Tsietsi Jan (21), a FAWU member, was stabbed to death by a member of the THREE MILLION GANG during conflict in Gelukwaarts, Kroonstad, OFS, on 17 April 1991.

MOKOENA, Wali (16), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 18 June 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING. 575 people were killed and 2 380 people were injured in clashes between protesters and members of the SAP and the Riot Unit.

MOKOENA, Zanele Attr etta, an Inkatha supporter, died when her house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, was petrol-bombed by UDF supporters on 9 July 1989.

MOKOFANE, Sello, a COSAS member, was arrested and detained in September 1986 by members of the SAP in Middelburg, Tvl, during intense conflict between students and police. He was held under emergency regulations for three weeks.

MOKOISA, Dikgathatso Dorcas (22), was severely beaten and teargas was sprayed into her face by named members of the SAP on 16 June 1986 in

Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape. She was arrested after attending a commemoration service of the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING at a local church.

MOKOKA, Eva Molebogeng (17), an ANC supporter, was severely injured when members of the SAP opened fire on protesters marching to demand better services in the township of Phahameng, Bultfontein, OFS, in June 1990.

MOKOMA, Edward (21), a COSAS member, was severely tortured in detention by members of the SAP in Ficksburg, OFS, in February 1990, allegedly while under interrogation about an arson attack on the school principal's house. Students and staff members at his school were in conflict at the time.

MOKONE, Daniel Pappie (16), disappeared from his home in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 15 November 1986. He was found in hospital eight months later with serious injuries.

MOKONE, Ella Mar garet (16), was shot and injured in the left leg by members of the SAP on 23 August 1976 in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on her way home from school. The area was tense in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MOKONE, Izakiel, an ANC member, was killed in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing Mr Mokone and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

MOKONE, Johannes Rabogadi (19), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in September 1986 in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, during the state of emergency.

MOKONE, Mahlako, was incarcerated in Dennyton, KwaNdebele, on 21 April 1991.

MOKONE, Nhlanhla Jer emia, a UDF supporter, was detained and kept under police guard in 1985 in Wesselson, Ermelo, Tvl, during unrest in the area.

MOKONE, Tabello Clement, was stabbed to death by members of the THREE MILLION GANG in Maokeng, Kroonstad, OFS, on 1 December 1991. The Three Million gang allegedly attacked Mr Mokone because he refused to join them.

MOKONE, Teboho Vivian (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SADF in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 September 1990. He went to identify the body of his uncle after violent attacks by IFP supporters from a nearby hostel. The attackers were shielded from angry residents by members of the SADF who fired teargas and live ammunition in an attempt to disperse the crowd.

MOKONYANA, Nomvula Paula (27), an ANC supporter, had her home damaged in a petrol bomb attack in Kagiso, Tvl, in July 1990.

MOKOPANE, Julia, a shop steward and SACP member, was shot dead on 24 June 1992 in Olifantsfontein,

Kempton Park, Tvl, by IFP-aligned union members during conflict at her workplace. The union sought to define membership of the union according to whether workers lived in the township or the hostel.

MOKOPANE, Teboho Patrick (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the A-TEAM in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 24 February 1985.

MOKOTEDI, (first name not given), was assaulted and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 1 July 1989 in Mogola Village, Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during a dispute over the INCORPORATION of the area into Bophuthatswana.

MOKOTEDI, Anna (38), had her home damaged in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. Hostel-dwellers were retaliating against a previous attack by ANC-supporting squatters and about 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

MOKOTEDI, Gabriel Pununu (18), a Huhudi Youth Organisation activist, was arrested in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 17 June 1990, on suspicion of being involved in the killing of a 32 Battalion soldier. He was severely tortured by members of the SAP at the police station and at an isolated area known as 'Die Lang Boom'. He was later sentenced to five years for attempted murder. Mr Mokotedi became mentally disturbed as a result of these experiences.

MOKOTEDI, Hendrik Motsami (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and his body was mutilated on 11 September 1990 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MOKOTEDI, Lerome Petr us, was stabbed, hacked on the head and legs, and set alight in Kroonstad, OFS, on 7 May 1986, allegedly by ANCYL members who accused him of being a sell-out. He died in hospital three weeks later.

MOKOTEDI, Maria Mabatho (26), was shot dead on 11 September 1990 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters during political conflict in the area.

MOKOTEDI, Thabiso Johannes (17), an ANC member, was shot and killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at his home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 25 August 1993. The SDU members suspected him of being a police informer, although Mr Mokotedi's father denied this. One SDU member was granted amnesty for this killing (AC/1999/0348).

MOKOTO, Sam Goitsemodimo (23), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when police dispersed the crowd with teargas and sjamboks.

MOKOTONG, Jeremiah Matome, an African Christian Democratic Party supporter, had his home in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, destroyed in a petrol-bomb attack by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in 1986 because of his political activism.

MOKOTUTLU, Ntiale Richard , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 4 May 1993. Police were allegedly present during the shooting.

MOKUDUBETE, Thabo Naphtali (aka 'Rufus') , an MK operative, was shot and killed by a fellow MK operative at the Viana ANC training camp in Angola in January 1984. One MK operative was granted amnesty for this killing. See (AC/2000/096).

MOKUWE, Sarah Mapule (33), was shot and injured by members of the Lebowa Police in Motetema, Lebowa, during 1986 at the funeral of an ANC supporter been killed by police.

MOKWALAKW ALA, Mokgapa Ephraim (27), a COSAS member and COSATU activist, was imprisoned and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Brits, Tvl, in April 1983. Mr Mokwalakwala was arrested for not having his ID on him.

MOKWAYI, Mzwandile Edward (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 17 May 1992 by members of the SAP during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. At the time it was believed that police were assisting the IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG in their harassment of the Sebokeng community.

MOKWELE, Maphuti Philipos , an SAP member, was shot and injured by white colleagues while on duty in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 18 January 1991 during political conflict in the area. Two other policemen were injured and two died.

MOKWELE, Reuben Modipana (25), was arrested, detained and severely tortured by members of the SAP in June 1989 at Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on his way to an ANC meeting to discuss the role of traditional chiefs.

MOKWENA, Beulah Mshiwa (14), was burnt in an arson attack on her home by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 12 June 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MOKWENA, Bella , died after she was abducted from home and set alight by a crowd of people in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, on 11 August 1986. Ms Mokwena was targeted because of her relationship with a policeman.

MOKWENA, Dineo Alina , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOKWENA, Israel William , died after being shot by members of the Gazankulu Police at a taxi rank in Nkowankowa, Gazankulu, in May 1990. Police disrupted a mass meeting at a nearby stadium and pursued the participants to the village.

MOKWENA, Ngwako Edward (31), an ANC supporter, was tear-gassed by members of the Gazankulu Police after they interrupted a meeting at a local stadium in Nkowankowa, Gazankulu, in May 1990.

MOKWENA, Wilson Kgashane , an ANC supporter, was sjambokked and beaten with a stick by members

of the SAP after his arrest in 1991 at Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa. Mr Mokwena was involved in initiatives at the time to build a school in Jamela. The Security Police regarded the project as politically motivated.

MOKWENI, Sarah Nongabom (34), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Robertson, Cape, in 1985.

MOKWENYANA, Tsokolo Jonas (22), an ANC member, was shot dead by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA gang members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 June 1993.

MOKWETSE, Kehilwenyane Lydia (18), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten and teargas was sprayed into her face by named members of the SAP in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 16 June 1986. She was arrested after attending a commemoration service of the SOWETO UPRISING at a local church.

MOLAKENG, Johannes Sephara (28), was severely assaulted by named SAP members who arrested him at his home during a student boycott in Mamafubedu, Petrus Steyn, OFS, in April 1993. Police conducted house-to-house raids during the boycott, arresting and assaulting people at random. Three other family members were severely beaten and arrested on the same occasion.

MOLAKENG, Justinah Vangile , was severely assaulted by a named and other SAP members who arrested her at her home in Mamafubedu, Petrus Steyn, OFS, in April 1993, during a student boycott in the township. Police conducted house-to-house raids during the boycott, arresting and assaulting people at random. Three other family members were severely beaten and arrested on the same occasion.

MOLAKENG, Martha Meisie , was severely assaulted by SAP members who arrested her at her home in Mamafubedu, Petrus Steyn, OFS, in April 1993, during a student boycott in the township. Police conducted house-to-house raids during the boycott, arresting and assaulting people at random. Three other family members were severely beaten and arrested on the same occasion.

MOLAKENG, Zacharia Samuel (53), was severely assaulted by SAP members who arrested him at his home in Mamafubedu, Petrus Steyn, OFS, in April 1993, during a student boycott in the township. Police conducted house-to-house raids during the boycott, arresting and assaulting people at random. Three other family members were severely beaten and arrested on the same occasion.

MOLALE, Lawrance Zamile (15), an ANC supporter and COSAS member, was repeatedly tortured by members of the SAP in the Seisoiville police station, Kroonstad, OFS. He had been detained on 12 February 1985, on suspicion of involvement in an arson attack at a school.

MOLALE, Mokhasi Michael , was arrested, kept in solitary confinement for 13 days and subjected to electric shock torture in John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, in July 1978. He was accused of harbouring and training freedom fighters.

MOLALE, Thabiso Stanley (15), was shot and injured in Vryburg, Cape, on 2 July 1985, near a COUNCILLOR'S house that was being stoned by youth. He was arrested, severely beaten and tear-gassed by police at the police

station in order to obtain a written confession. He was later acquitted.

MOLAMU, Mantsioa Emma, a PAC supporter, was injured by a crowd of people running away from police during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

MOLAOA, Makholela Johannes (56), a local COUNCILLOR and member of the DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP), had his house burnt down by unidentified persons in Winburg, OFS, on 30 March 1990, allegedly because of his support for the DNP.

MOLAOLWA, Edwin Boitumelo (20), a UDF supporter, was detained between 1983 and 1985 by members of the SAP in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape. While in detention, he was assaulted and subjected to torture with electric shocks and attempted suffocation. After his release Mr Molaolwa was treated for mental illness.

MOLAOLWE, Gift, was shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Kuruman, Cape, on 11 March 1994, during a school protest. He was drinking water at a tap when he was shot.

MOLAPI, Meshack Papi (11), was shot and injured in Bloemfontein on 9 May 1986, when members of the SAP Riot Unit fired several shots to disperse mourners at the funeral of a 'comrade'.

MOLAPISANE, Boiki Michael (21), was seriously injured when a hand grenade detonated by a named MK operative exploded in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 27 November 1992. MK and APLA members had returned from exile and were training members of the community to defend themselves against IFP and security force attacks. The perpetrator threw the hand grenade after getting involved in an argument at a *stokvel*. Six people were killed and four were injured in the explosion.

MOLAPISANE, Ngubeni Moses (40), was severely burnt as a result of an attack at a military base in Katlehong, Tvl, where Mr Molapisane worked as a security guard on 22 December 1992. The attackers were allegedly his co-workers. Mr Molapisane died of his injuries on 31 December 1992. The incident occurred during intense political conflict in the area.

MOLAPISI, Chrisphos Myra (19), a Seposengwe National Party supporter, was shot dead at her home in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, on 6 February 1988 by a friend who was a member of the Bophuthatswana Police. The party had launched a campaign to isolate police members who had allegedly been terrorising the community. Ms Molapisi became increasingly concerned about her safety and was contemplating leaving the country to join MK in Zambia when she was shot eight times in the head, chest and abdomen.

MOLAPO, David Motlalentoa (19), a COSAS supporter, was stabbed to death on 7 March 1990 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by Inkatha supporters.

MOLAPO, Dube, was stabbed and injured on 21 November 1993 in Motsweding, Taung, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over the chieftaincy of the area.

MOLAPO, Euphemia Dudu, was shot and stabbed to death by members of the IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG in Tembisa, Tvl, on 7 June 1992 during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MOLAPO, Komape Davidson (29), a COSATU member, was shot in the shoulder and hand by members of the SAP in Namakgale, Lebowa, on 27 February 1986. The Namakgale Youth Congress held a meeting at the Lutheran Church where a woman was killed by police. The students regrouped at the Marula Hotel. Mr Molapo was injured when police dispersed the group at the hotel.

MOLAPO, Matsie Amelia (11), was shot and severely injured by members of the SADF in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING. Matsie was placed under police guard in hospital and made to sign certain papers. As a result of her injuries, Matsie is now wheelchair bound. In 1988, she had spinal rods inserted to stabilise her vertebral column.

MOLAPO, Nokuthula Patricia (14), was and injured by alleged SADF members at Lekazi Central High School in KaNyamazane, KaNgwane, during a school boycott on 7 May 1991. Pupils were protesting against the lack of science facilities at the school, when the SADF arrived and opened fire, injuring three pupils.

MOLAPO, Rollen Zondi, an MK operative, was shot and killed by unidentified members of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl, on 26 July 1996.

MOLAPO, S, a member of the Lesotho National Security Service and a Basotho citizen, was abducted from Lesotho by members of the Security Branch in Ladybrand, OFS, on 22 March 1989. He was then taken to a farm outside Ladybrand where he was detained for nine days, interrogated and beaten by named and other Security Branch members, allegedly because he was thought to have ANC sympathies.

MOLAPO, Silas Molapo, an ANC supporter, was injured when he was stabbed and shot by members of the IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG at his home in Tembisa, Tvl, on 7 June 1992. Tembisa, like many East Rand townships, was embroiled in conflict between the ANC and IFP in the early 1990s.

MOLAPO, Tshebang W itness, an SAP member, was arrested and severely tortured by members of the SAP on 12 August 1986 in Springs, Tvl, following the death of his brother, an MK operative. Mr Molapo was summarily dismissed from the police force.

MOLATSELI, Elias Enoch (63), was shot by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, in 1978.

MOLATULI, Joyce (24), an ANCYL member, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP on 15 December 1990 in Makwassie near Wolmaransstad, Tvl, for trying to attend the rally for ANC leader Oliver Tambo at the FNB stadium in Johannesburg.

MOLAUTSI, Mashala Sugar (70), was severely beaten in Ga-Kibi, Lebowa, at a community meeting called to discuss grievances against self-appointed Chief Lebogo on 10 October 1986. The chief responded by using members of the police and SADF to disperse the meeting by sjambokking those attending.

MOLEBALWA, Sootho Macdonald, (24), was severely beaten by named members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, on 12 November 1990. There were stayaways and boycotts

in the area at the time as the ANC called for the re-incorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa, and protested against oppression in the homeland.

MOLEBATSI, Daniel , a SACTU member from Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg, was killed on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed.

MOLEBATSI, Fannie Solomon , was arrested by members of the SAP on 28 January 1986 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, while attending a mass funeral in defiance of a police ban. He has not been seen since.

MOLEBATSI, Norah Goitsimang Meisie (25), was severely beaten by named members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 6 July 1986 while attending the night vigil of a 'comrade' killed during the state of emergency. Police broke up the vigil by beating mourners with rifle butts. Ms Molebatsi was then detained for 16 days.

MOLEBATSI, Sannah (10), was severely beaten with sjamboks, batons, guns and rifles on 5 July 1986 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, by alleged members of the SAP, many of whom abused their powers during the state of emergency.

MOLEBATSI, Tshotlego (33), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in detention at Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, in 1989. His arrest took place during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Lekubu and Leeuwfontein into Bophuthatswana in 1989.

MOLEDI, Solomon Ramotsoni (48), was detained in 1988 and held for six months by the Bophuthatswana Police in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, during conflict in the area under President Mangope's government.

MOLEFABANGWE, Baratang Mar garet (36), suffered a miscarriage shortly after being interrogated by Bophuthatswana Police in Lukubu, Bophuthatswana, on 3 July 1989. The police raided the village in search of residents opposed to its INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOLEFABANGWE, Botikie Nicholas (20), an ANC supporter, was hacked with a *panga* on the hand by named perpetrators in January 1991 at Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, because he resisted the forced INCORPORATION of the village into Bophuthatswana.

MOLEFAHLE, Solomon , was severely beaten by named IMBOKODO vigilantes in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in December 1985. Mr Molefahle was mobilising support for Chief Mathebe who opposed INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele and had been forced into hiding. The Bantoane people were furious when KwaNdebele officials closed some schools and changed the names of others in the area. Moutse resistance led to the cancellation of KwaNdebele independence in August 1986.

MOLEFE, Alpha (35), an ANC supporter, lost her houses in an arson attack in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994, in intense political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, Andrina , an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when IFP supporters attacked her home in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 8 November 1992. Her father and brother were shot dead in the attack.

MOLEFE, Anna Makgawulo (65), an ANC supporter, lost two houses in an arson attack at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, Bokang (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

MOLEFE, Dennis Musa (27), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death when IFP supporters attacked ANC supporters at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 13 June 1991. The SADF opened fire, injuring Mr Molefe, who was then caught and stabbed by IFP supporters. Four days earlier, the Molefe home had been burnt down by IFP supporters. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MOLEFE, Dihuputso , an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 7 November 1993 in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

MOLEFE, Elizabeth (59), was burnt when her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters on 12 December 1989 during intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MOLEFE, Elphas (50), a Sotho chief and ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

MOLEFE, Fanono (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by alleged IFP supporters in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 3 May 1994 in political conflict around the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, Gerald Mnyamana (58), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Emkhonjeni, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 8 November 1992. On the night of Mr Molefe's killing, five huts were set alight, stock was stolen and property damaged.

MOLEFE, Henry Tseko (22), was attacked by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 October 1990 during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting township residents.

MOLEFE, Herbert , was shot dead in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 13 March 1992 by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers from the Simphiwe hostel during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Two people died and two others were injured in the attack.

MOLEFE, Hhawuta Joshua (26), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 February 1988 during political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MOLEFE, Ikgopoleng Gladys (33), was detained by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 28 May 1989 in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during a conflict over chieftaincy in the area.

MOLEFE, Irish Dineo Malehloa (31), was arrested and raped by three members of the SAP in Molapo, Tvl, in December 1966.

MOLEFE, Jeffrey Tshelo (21), was arrested, detained for four months and tortured by members of the SAP in Benoni, Tvl, in 1977. At the time of his arrest, he was taking part in a protest march against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools.

MOLEFE, Jele Jerry (74), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by an IFP supporter in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 8 November 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MOLEFE, Johannes (17), a South African Youth Congress member, was detained without trial in Potchefstroom, Tvl, in June 1986.

MOLEFE, Johannes (67), was stabbed and beaten to death by IFP supporters in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, John Thabe (21), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with a rifle butt by members of the SAP on 21 April 1983 at Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, while queuing for a public telephone at Khutsong municipal offices. Police accused Mr Molefe of being an ANC supporter at a time when it was still a banned organisation.

MOLEFE, Kerileng Flora (41), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by alleged IFP supporters in Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, on 5 January 1991.

MOLEFE, Limakatso V irginia (54), an ANC supporter, had her homestead burnt down by IFP supporters on 8 November 1992 in Emkhonjane, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal.

MOLEFE, Lolo (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

MOLEFE, Lucas, an ANCYL member, was shot by MUNICIPAL POLICE in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 October 1986 during conflict between local councillors and residents.

MOLEFE, Lutoape Alfred (53), was shot and injured by unidentified perpetrators at Newcastle, Natal, on 10 December 1992 during intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MOLEFE, Luwesa Johannes (72), was stoned and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Nqutu, KwaZulu, on 22 April 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, Mahlomola Lucas, a member of the SAP, was shot and seriously wounded by APLA members at a roadblock in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, during July 1993. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/033).

MOLEFE, Makabelo, an ANC supporter, died of shock when ANC supporters attacked her family home in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, Makemiso Napie (60), an ANC supporter, had her home in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 22 April 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, Mandla Innocent (27), an Inkatha supporter, disappeared from his home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, Natal, on 15 September 1989 during intense political conflict in the area. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MOLEFE, Marks, an ANC member, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 October 1990.

MOLEFE, Matsibo (44), had her property destroyed in an attack by IFP supporters in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 8 November 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her husband was killed in the attack.

MOLEFE, Michael (26), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 October 1990 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MOLEFE, Mmabatho, was shot and injured on 13 March 1992 during ongoing political conflict in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, allegedly by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers from Simphiwe hostel. Two people died and one other was injured in the attack.

MOLEFE, Molifi Paulus Paul (27), an ANC supporter, was tortured with electric shocks by named members of the SAP at the Tseki police station in Bloemfontein, on 3 December 1990, allegedly because of his political activities.

MOLEFE, Morse Moses (16), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, in March 1988 when he went to buy cigarettes in contravention of the night curfew during the state of emergency.

MOLEFE, Mpho (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

MOLEFE, Mpho Patrick, was shot and burnt alive in his house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, by UDF supporters on 15 April 1989, in intense political conflict in the area.

MOLEFE, Ndabuka David Gordon (31), was shot dead by an IFP supporter in KwaMashu, Durban, on 30 April 1994, as the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS were drawing to a close. Although non-partisan, Mr Molefe was allegedly killed because he was thought to support the ANC.

MOLEFE, Neuwe Eunice (30), had her house burnt down in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, Nomusa Joyce (39), had her house in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, burnt down on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, Nonoti Ar mstrong (30), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by other UDF supporters in Chesterville, Durban, on 25 October 1986, allegedly because he was thought to be an informer as he became gradually less active in community politics.

MOLEFE, Ntombifikile Pretty (22), had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 19 February 1993 in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MOLEFE, Ntsieng Getrude (75), had her home in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, burnt down in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, Ntswareleng (4), was shot and injured in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

MOLEFE, Paul Freddy, was shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Tlhabane, Rustenburg, Tvl, on 25 February 1990. Mr Molefe was part of a crowd burning down government buildings during intense political conflict in the area.

MOLEFE, Peiso (46), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by IFP supporters who attacked his home in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, Phakiso (24), was shot and injured in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

MOLEFE, Phala Nelson (80), an ANC supporter, was beaten and had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994, in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, Philda (56), the wife of an induna, was killed when a bomb was thrown into her house in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 13 March 1994. The attack was allegedly aimed at her husband, because of his perceived support for the ANC. IFP and the ANC supporters blamed each other for the bombing.

MOLEFE, Philemon Mjanyelwa (59), was shot dead on 26 September 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters during political conflict in the area.

MOLEFE, Pulelo Jani (37), an ANC supporter, had his house in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 8 November 1992 in intense political conflict in the area.

MOLEFE, Richard Oupa (20), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, Salatiela (72), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 13 March 1992 at Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, during clashes between IFP and ANC

supporters in the area. Several other people died and others were injured in the attack.

MOLEFE, Shadrack (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

MOLEFE, Simaki V ictory (43), lost her home in an arson attack in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOLEFE, Siphwe Ephraim (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at Khozini Hostel in Johannesburg, on 8 June 1993.

MOLEFE, Siphogor don, a UDF supporter, was detained under emergency regulations by Security Branch members in Durban on three occasions between 1986 and 1989, allegedly because of his political activities.

MOLEFE, Sontie Simon (38), was shot and injured at the entrance to his home in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 26 August 1986 during the state of emergency. Police patrolling the area opened fire on residents indiscriminately.

MOLEFE, Thabang, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KwaZulu POLICE in Vryheid, Natal, on 1 October 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MOLEFE, Thabo Jephrey (32), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 9 June 1991. Four days later, his brother, aged 27, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MOLEFE, Tholakele Buhle (20), a UDF supporter, was stabbed by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in April 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MOLEFE, Thomas (19), was shot in both legs in August 1984 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SAP during a protest march.

MOLEFE, Tsepo (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

MOLEFE, Tsitsana, Elma (65), an ANC supporter, had her house and property destroyed in an attack by IFP supporters in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her daughter-in-law died of shock during the attack.

MOLEFI, A, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOLEFI, Boikanyo Gerson, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand

grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

MOLEFI, Dimakatso Mary (33), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 8 January 1986 while on a march to protest against the detention of 15 political activists.

MOLEFI, Jan, a FAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while participating in a labour strike action in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 4 December 1992. Two police vans entered the work premises and SAP members opened fire on striking miners, injuring six.

MOLEFI, Osekile Daniel (31), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police and detained on 28 December 1990 in Zeerust, Tvl, while participating in a protest march against Braaklaagte's INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOLEFI, Sekgarnetso Suzan, (18), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 20 April 1989 in Zeerust, Tvl, while participating in a protest march against the INCORPORATION of the area into Bophuthatswana.

MOLEFI, Serame Shadrack (21), a PAC activist, was arrested by members of the SAP anti-insurgency squad on 11 April 1978. He was charged with terrorism and spent five months in solitary confinement at John Voster Square in Johannesburg. While in solitary confinement, Mr Molefi was beaten by a named member of the SAP and was shown photographs of other activists who had been shot. He was subsequently sentenced to ten years on Robben Island. On appeal, the sentence was reduced to five years.

MOLEHE, Mankanke Jonas (23), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 6 August 1990. He was forced into a police vehicle, where he was beaten, punched and kicked.

MOLEKE, Leepo Lawrence (44), an ANCYL supporter, was detained and repeatedly tortured by members of the Security Branch in Kroonstad, OFS, in 1972, allegedly because he openly declared his political convictions. He was blindfolded, had his hands and feet cuffed together and was repeatedly shocked by means of an electric cord connected to the running engine of a car. Mr Moleke is now partially paralysed and his hearing and sight are impaired as a result of his injuries.

MOLEKO, BJ Thabo (37), a union member, was the victim of a teargas attack by a member of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 April 1987.

MOLEKO, Dineo Elizabeth (9), was severely sjambokked by members of the SAP, Municipal Police and SADF at Tswelopele Higher Primary during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl. Police opened fire on an unarmed crowd holding a peaceful protest against the pass laws, killing 69 people and injuring several others.

MOLEKO, Jacob Cyril (21), was shot and paralysed by members of the SADF on 27 August 1976 in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MOLEKO, Sannah Senkwele Ntela (40), was gang-raped by ten men in Evaton, Tvl, on 4 September 1984. The men accused her husband of being a councillor and a collaborator. They also burnt down their home and their cars.

MOLEKO, Sompi Flip (44), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP patrolling in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. The area was tense following an attack on the informal settlement by IFP supporters which led to the deaths of 27 people.

MOLEKO, Tebuho, an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Bloemfontein, in March 1989. He was one of an unknown number of youths who had been *toy-i-toying* and were taken to the police station, where they were beaten.

MOLEKO, Victor, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named and other members of the SAP in Kroonstad, OFS, on 16 February 1991. Mr Moleko had allegedly been harassed earlier by the police and by members of the THREE MILLION GANG.

MOLEKOA, Charlie Petrus (59), was severely beaten by supporters of Chief Mapela on 19 January 1981 near Pietersburg, Tvl, during a confrontation between supporters of Chief Mapela and Chief Lerumo.

MOLELE, Chuene Frans (14), had his home was burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because his family resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOLELE, Seemole Kgosisi Betha (49), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOLELEKENG, Bathusi Flavios (24), a member of the Progressive People's Party, was allegedly tortured to death by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 11 February 1988 in Mogwase, Bophuthatswana, following an attempted coup.

MOLELEKI, Jappie Jacob, was shot and killed by a named police officer in Sebokeng, Tvl, in September 1984 during the VAAL UPRISING. Community protest marches against high rents and poor facilities led to the necklacing of town councillors and a strong police presence in the township. A number of people were killed and injured when police attempted to put an end to the protests.

MOLELEKI, Tumelo, was assaulted and detained by members of the SAP in Worcester, Cape, in 1985, during protests in the area.

MOLELEKI, Vuzwa Sylvia (46), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Dittlouw, near Olifantshoek, Cape, on 16 June 1993, after a group of *toy-i-toying* residents were dispersed by police.

MOLELEKI, Vuyiswa Miriam (33), a political activist and later UDF activist, was detained and beaten in

Worcester, Cape, in 1977. She was again detained in 1985 under SECTION 29 for three months, and in 1987 and 1988 for periods ranging from three to six months under emergency regulations.

MOLELI, Vuyo Gladman (23), a returned ANC exile, was shot dead on 4 April 1989 in Zondi, Soweto, Johannesburg, during a shoot-out after members of the Security Forces discovered his hiding place. One other person was also killed.

MOLEMA, Louisa Mamphahlela (46), an ANCWL member, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Rustenburg, Tvl, while on her way to a rally in 1992.

MOLEMA, Meshack Moleko, was killed on 24 February 1994 in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, while taking part in an attack on the house of an IFP supporter in the township. Bekkersdal was embroiled in conflict between ANC, IFP and AZAPO supporters during the early 1990s.

MOLEMA, Michael, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

MOLEMA, Thomas, survived an attack by SADF Special Forces and *Vlakplaas* operatives on homes at Ditlharapeng village, Ramathlabama, Botswana, 1000 metres from the South African border, on 11 December 1988. An MK operative and a 15-year-old boy were killed and three homes were destroyed. The *Vlakplaas* commander and eight of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/108).

MOLEMA, Walter Mpho, was shot and killed, by a well-known member of the SAP on 23 December 1985 in Soshanguve, Pretoria, during a boycott of canned products in solidarity with striking metal workers. The perpetrator shot Mr Molema in the head after he had asked two women carrying canned beer to adhere to the boycott.

MOLETE, Florence Makgvedi (46), was injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOLETE, Innocencia Mifa, was severely injured in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE. Forty-five people died and 27 others were seriously injured when IFP-supporting residents of the KwaMadala hostel descended on the community. The attack was allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police.

MOLETE, Isiah (46), lost his house in an arson attack in 1976 in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana during conflict over the chieftaincy of the area.

MOLETE, Jackson, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Tigane, Hartebeesfontein, Tvl, on 23 August 1992.

MOLETE, Lebo (16), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by alleged Inkatha supporters and members of the SADF in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 15 March 1987.

MOLETE, Mapaseka Adelisa (42), had her home burnt down in 1977 in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, during political conflict over the chieftainship of this part of Bophuthatswana.

MOLETE, Mirriam, was severely injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOLETE, Mitah, was severely injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOLETE, Mmatseleleng Mirriam (39), was severely injured in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE. Forty-five people died and 27 others were seriously injured when IFP-supporting residents of the KwaMadala hostel descended on the community. The attack was allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police.

MOLETE, Tsoeu Fabian, an SADF member, was shot dead at Club Lamanha in Sebokeng, Tvl, on the night of 22 May 1993 by members of the IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG. The gang allegedly also had links with the police. A friend of Mr Molete was killed in the same attack.

MOLETSANA, Ponki Patricia (34), was seriously injured when beaten, stabbed and hacked by hostel-dwellers in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels over the Christmas 1976 period.

MOLETSANE, Johannes Nteke (17), was shot dead when police opened fire on a student protest march in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 19 April 1990. Four other protesters were killed and seven injured in the shooting.

MOLETSANE, Keboneng, was teargassed in a closed room and sjambokked by members of the Bophuthatswana Police who interrupted a community meeting about building a new school in Zeerust, Tvl, in July 1989.

MOLETSANE, Peter Pitso, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in March 1986 in Stilfontein, Tvl, during the state of emergency.

MOLETSANE, Pitso Jef frey (23), a COSAS supporter, was severely beaten on 12 April 1993 in Soweto, Johannesburg, by members of the SAP while attending a night vigil for assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI. Police interrupted the vigil and insulted Chris Hani before beating up mourners and firing birdshot at them.

MOLETSANE, Pule (26), was detained in Quatro camp, Angola, in 1981 and was severely beaten and tortured by ANC security department members. A number of ANC members were detained, tortured and killed during a period of anxiety about infiltration by South African agents following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979.

MOLEWA, Patricia Malebo (15), was sjambokked and tear-gassed by members of the SAP on 19 September 1985 in Nkowankowa, Tzaneen, Tvl, during a school protest march. Patricia was watching the march when police attacked her. She sought refuge in a nearby house. Police threw teargas into the house and while trying to get away she fell into a pit and broke her thigh. She was treated for four months in Letaba hospital.

MOLEWA, Victor Thabo (42), an ANC peace worker, was shot dead while on his way to officiate at a civic meeting in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters. On 11 December 1993, his body was found near a hostel in Mngadi Section, Katlehong, Tvl.

MOLIBOLA, Tsietsi Lazarus (14), was shot dead by members of the SAP when conflict broke out between the police and mourners who had attended a memorial service for Chris Hani in Bloemfontein on 14 April 1993.

MOLIFI, Themba, was shot dead by members of the Security Police in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 3 March 1986, in the GUGULETU SEVEN incident. Two Security Branch members from *Vlakplaas* were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/276).

MOLIFE, Thomas, was arrested, severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP near the Limpopo River, Tvl, in 1986. Mr Molife was a farm worker and he was arrested after informing his employer about limpet mines he and a friend found in the area.

MOLISE, Abia Tshidiso Dyna (30), was severely beaten by AWB supporters during a student protest march in Bloemfontein in September 1990. Members of right-wing organisations, white farmers and police in the province carried out several attacks during this period. They accosted and assaulted ordinary members of the public as well as perceived political activists.

MOLISE, Blou Johannes, was severely beaten and kicked by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

MOLISE, Lucas Modise (43), was assaulted by Inkatha supporters on his way to work in Sebokeng, Tvl, in July 1988.

MOLISIWA, Seun Jerry, was shot dead on 3 September 1990 in Vosloorus, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, during political conflict in the area.

MOLLO, Moses Rapetsoa (33), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1991. The perpetrators were returning to Nancefield hostel from a rally at Jabulani stadium. Between 1990 and 1992, the conflict in Soweto between hostel-dwellers and residents led to the death of 517 people and the injury of 1322.

MOLOATSI, Bafana Clement, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Molapo, Tvl, on 1 June 1987.

MOLOENA, Voeltjie (45) was stoned to death on 3 September 1985 while travelling home from work by bus in Orange Farm, Tvl, during political conflict in the Vaal Triangle.

MOLOI, Aaron Kgosisile (32), was kicked and severely tortured by members of the mine security and the SAP, during a strike at Giegma mine in Sasolburg, OFS, on 26 August 1990, allegedly because he refused to turn state witness in the investigation into violent conflict on the mine.

MOLOI, Andries, was shot dead in August 1992, in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers which caused violent conflict from July to December 1992.

MOLOI, Christopher Dube Matsamai, was abducted and assaulted by a member of the ANC's Security Department in Johannesburg in April 1994. The applicant suspected that Mr Khumalo and others had broken into his minibus and stolen sensitive ANC security-related documents and other goods, which were then handed to an IFP supporter. The applicant was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/066).

MOLOI, Dimakatso Grace (29), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, during a mass funeral of a 'comrade' on 13 July 1985. Several others were shot and injured when police opened fire on mourners.

MOLOI, Eddie Mpho (11), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MOLOI, Elphus Jacob Motsamai (35), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with rifle butts in July 1992 in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by members of the ISU.

MOLOI, Jacob, an ANC member, was abducted and shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Eleven people were killed, nine execution-style, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

MOLOI, Jacob, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 20 May 1985.

MOLOI, Johanna (27), was injured in an explosion in Roodepoort, Tvl, on 14 July 1990.

MOLOI, Joseph (28), was shot and severely injured on 13 November 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by members of the ISU during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MOLOI, Kebane Phineas (35), a Black Local Authority member, was detained in Nigel, Tvl, in 1986 during the state of emergency. Mr Moloi was mayor of Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in 1983.

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

Western Transvaal Security Branch and five Soweto Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0308).

MOLOI, Lenepha Montgomery (28), an MK operative, was shot dead in an ambush at Alldays, Tvl, near the Botswana border, on 10 July 1986 by a joint team comprising SADF Special Forces and Far Northern Transvaal Security Branch members. Fourteen Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, applied for amnesty. Nine of these applications were refused (AC/1999/0176).

MOLOI, Linda, was shot and killed by Inkatha supporters during an attack on UDF supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 13 January 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0334).

MOLOI, Malekea Abram (17), an ANCYL member, was detained on four occasions between January 1986 and December 1987 in Harrismith, OFS. He was severely tortured in detention because of his political activities.

MOLOI, Maria Dimakatso (39), was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992.

MOLOI, Maria Makhala, was injured when a limpet mine, placed under a police van by members of the 'Basil February' MK unit, exploded at the Duduza stadium, Tvl, on 11 June 1989. One MK operative was granted amnesty for attempted murder (AC/2000/158).

MOLOI, Maria Meisie (23), was taking part in a protest march when she was shot in the leg on 15 May 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters and members of the SAP who opened fire when the crowd passed Mshayazafe hostel.

MOLOI, Meshack Sizwe (15), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 6 May 1993 during political conflict. The policeman allegedly shot Meshack four times and then placed a brick on his stomach and jumped on it.

MOLOI, Modehi Elizabeth, as killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOLOI, Mothohalahwe Esaiah (19), was shot and injured in the legs while returning from a student meeting on 18 June 1976 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SADF patrolling the streets in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MOLOI, Oupa Samuel (16), a COSAS member, was arrested on suspicion of having burnt a policeman's house on 25 October 1986 and detained for a lengthy period in Sebokeng and Vanderbijlpark police stations, Tvl, where police subjected him to severe beatings and other forms of torture.

MOLOI, Paulos Lenloa Paulos (38), a local COUNCILLOR, lost his house in an arson attack by unidentified perpetrators in Phuthaditjhaba, QwaQwa, on 6 February

1992. During this period, councillors who refused to resign risked attacks on their homes, families and business premises.

MOLOI, Peter Thabo (30), was assaulted with fists and broomsticks at Protea police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, in November 1982. The police were allegedly trying to locate ANC audio cassette tapes.

MOLOI, Queen, was shot and killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natsalspruit, Tvl, on the 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

MOLOI, Samuel Danny (46), was shot and injured by a named AWB member near Kestell, OFS, on 23 April 1994, in the run-up to the country's first DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS. See APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS and RIGHT-WING ATTACKS. A member of the AWB was convicted for this killing and given a prison sentence.

MOLOI, Sefako Johannes, was shot and injured on 14 August 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl when members of the ISU opened fire on mourners at the funeral of a Katlehong resident reportedly killed by the ISU. This incident occurred during a period of heightened political conflict on the East Rand following an ANC march past a Tokoza hostel on May 22 which resulted in conflict leading to at least 81 deaths the following month.

MOLOI, Selina Mamakhe, was injured when a hand grenade, thrown by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), exploded in her home in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 October 1992. One person was killed and several others were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/090).

MOLOI, Solomon, was injured when a hand grenade, thrown by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), exploded in her home in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 October 1992. One person was killed and several others were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/090).

MOLOI, Thokozile Glenda Yvonne (3), was shot and injured on 19 January 1993 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, during conflict in the area between IFP and ANC supporters.

MOLOI, Vusimuzi Samuel (50), was shot and killed by a member of the SADF on 4 July 1986 in Mapetla, Soweto, Johannesburg, during the state of emergency.

MOLOISANE, Lehlohonolo Morena (25), an ANC member from Bloemfontein, was killed by SADF Special Forces operatives in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

MOLOKO, Esthras Tlou Confidence (23), an Azanian Students' Congress member, was beaten by members of the SAP on 12 May 1982 in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, after he was taken from the Medunsa hostel for interrogation.

MOLOKO, Vermaas Josiah (20), was detained and tortured in Coligny, Tvl, on 1 March 1992.

MOLOKOANE, Abel Moses , was killed by a vigilante group on 10 June 1990 in Oukasie, Brits, Tvl, during resistance to forced removals and the INCORPORATION of Oukasie into Bophuthatswana. Members of the vigilante group were due to appear in court on a murder charge and Mr Molokoane was a key witness. All but one of the suspects were subsequently acquitted.

MOLOKOANE, Bar nard Kgasitsiwe , an MK operative, was shot dead near Secunda, Tvl, in November 1985. He and two other MK operatives were killed in skirmishes with Security Forces while attempting to sabotage the Sasol petroleum plant at Secunda.

MOLOKOANE, Bar ney , an ANC operative, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Piet Retief, Tvl, on 30 November 1985. Mr Molokoane had just completed a bombing mission at the SASOL refinery and was shot trying to cross the border into Swaziland.

MOLOKOANE, Maria Puleng , an ANC supporter, was tear-gassed inside her house in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 15 July 1984. Police allegedly broke open the door of her house in search of her son, an ANC supporter.

MOLOKWANE, Kelebogile Andronica (20), was shot by members of the Security Police in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1988.

MOLOLO (MOFOKENG), Christina Nthabiseng , was assaulted and abducted, together with one other person, by a group of COSAS students in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 October 1988. The two were allegedly state witnesses in trials against 'comrades'. They escaped serious injury when the perpetrators were accosted by a police patrol. One COSAS member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/208).

MOLOMO, Keresemose Johannes (24), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Molomo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOLOMO, Lesiba William , was arrested and beaten by members of the SAP in 1976 in Pretoria, because he campaigned against the homelands policy.

MOLOMONYANA, Moses Laki (36), a community leader, was beaten and subjected to electric shock torture by named members of the SAP in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, in December 1991. Residents were campaigning for the dismissal of the local council and the cancellation of all arrears on communal services. Mr Molomonyana was a block leader during this campaign.

MOLONGA, George (19), was detained between March 1985 and September 1985 at Pearson police station, Cape, allegedly because of his involvement in public violence during political conflict in the area, following the funeral of the CRADOCK FOUR. While in detention, he was tortured by members of the SAP.

MOLONYANA, Rahube Daniel , was tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, in February 1987. Mr Molonyana was arrested after attending a meeting organised by the Garankuwa Youth League.

MOLOPO, Geelbooi (52), was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in January 1986 in Siyabuswa,

KwaNdebele, during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MOLOPO, Lucas (17), a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the Lebowa Police in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, in March 1986 while returning from a political meeting.

MOLOSIO, Jimmy , was severely beaten by members of the 'Zim-Zim' faction in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 24 June 1990 due to his association with the 'Gadaffi' faction. The ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS had split into these two factions and were in violent conflict with each other. At least 17 people were killed in Khutsong between 1989 and 1991 before a peace pact took effect in May 1991.

MOLOSE, Mzwabantu (22), an ANC supporter, was arrested on 18 March 1985 in Pearston, Cape, during a consumer boycott. He was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment for public violence and was severely tortured during his detention. Mr Molose died soon after of alleged respiratory distress, in East London prison.

MOLOSIOA, Bella Joyce (53), lost her home when members of the THREE MILLION GANG forced her to surrender her house to them in Maokeng, Kroonstad, OFS, on 3 December 1991. The gang retained possession of the house for several years. Ms Molosioa's nephew had been killed three days before this incident.

MOLOSIOA, Taelo Nicodemus , had his home petrol-bombed by Orange Free State Security Branch operatives in Mangaung, Bloemfontein, in June 1986. The operatives suspected him of acting as an ANC courier. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0025).

MOLOSIOA, Tumelo Neville Nicholas (9), had his family home petrol-bombed by members of the SAP and named members of the Security Branch in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, in June 1986, allegedly because his father was involved with the SACC and assisted underground political activists.

MOLOTEDI, (first name not given), was assaulted and tortured, allegedly by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mokgola, Leeuwfontein, Tvl, on 1 July 1989.

MOLOTO, David , was injured in June 1986 when a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch used rocket launchers, an explosive device and machine-guns to attack a petrol station at Tweefontein, Kwandabele. The owner of the garage allegedly gave assistance to MK operatives. Two members of an SAP Special Investigation Unit and three Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/105 and AC/2001/27).

MOLOTO, Kitimi Johannes (54), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Moloto resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOLOTO, Nganyago Elias , had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Moloto resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOLOTO, Peter Reginald (17), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by MUNICIPAL POLICE in 1986 in Bela-Bela, Warmbaths, Tvl, during political unrest in the area.

MOLOTO, Raisetja (42), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOLOTO, Ramokone Mokgadi (49), lost her home when it was burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOLOTSANE, Jostinas Oupa , was severely injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MOLOTSI, Esther (11), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 13 September 1985 in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, when they opened fire on a group of youths stoning a delivery vehicle.

MOLOTSI, Frederick Sefike (41), was severely beaten by IFP supporters in July 1991 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, for his involvement in civic structures. Alexandra was tense following clashes between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting township residents.

MOLOTSI, Irish Pule (37), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 20 June 1993. Police thought Mr Pule was linked to APLA.

MOLOTSI, Limakatso Anna (37), was shot by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960. Police opened fire on an unarmed crowd people holding a peaceful protest against the Pass Laws, killing 69 people and injuring several others.

MOLOTSI, Lira Joseph , was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOLOTSI, Ramasoeu Saul (28), an ANC supporter, had his home and car damaged in a petrol bomb attack on 24 April 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during intense conflict in the Vaal Triangle between IFP and ANC supporters. Mr Molotsi was targeted because his wife was suspected of being an IFP supporter.

MOLOTSI, Tiny Christinah (17), was shot by a member of the IFP in Taung, Bophuthatswana, in September 1991. Ms Molotsi was one of the residents patrolling the streets to protect their community against expected attacks by IFP supporters.

MOLOWITZ, Jan (39), was shot and left permanently disabled by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE at Kwa-Mandlenkosi, Beaufort West, Cape, on 11 July 1987.

MOLULI, Marekeni, was assaulted and dowsed with petrol on 30 September 1986 at a community meeting in the veld at Daantjie Trust, near Nelspruit, Tvl, because he was suspected of being an informer. One of the perpetrators was named by another victim who died later of injuries after being attacked and set alight.

MOLUNGWANA, (first names not given), a civilian, was traumatised when the vehicle in which she was a passenger was hijacked at gunpoint by APLA operatives in Herschel, near Lady Grey, OFS, on 19 November 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/134).

MOLUSI, Kagisho , was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

MOLUTSI, Selolo Suzan (49), a member of the ANCWL, was detained and tortured in Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 12 February 1991.

MOMOZA, Michael Steem , a member of Poqo, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in 1962 in Mqanduli, Transkei, for his Poqo activities.

MONA, Erick Sihudu (24), an ANC supporter, was tortured by members of the SADF over five days at a military base in Hazyview, Tvl, during July 1986. He was subjected to electric shock torture to his genitals, suffocated, chained to a tree and deprived of food and water. A nationwide state of emergency had been declared on 12 June 1986 which gave carte blanche to the security forces to detain anyone they suspected of undermining state security.

MONA, Nolungile Belly (46), an ANC member, was severely beaten by a named member of the Transkei Police in 1990 at her home in Bebeza Village, near Sterkspruit, Transkei, during a campaign against chiefs.

MONAHENG, Bellina Mantoa (15), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by a named perpetrator during a protest march in Pontseng, Matatiele, Natal, on 7 February 1990. She was arrested and taken to Maluti police station where she was assaulted by members of the SAP.

MONAHENG, Christina Makresmesi (35), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Transkei Defence Force in Pontseng, Matatiele, Natal, on 7 February 1990. Security Forces were allegedly assaulting and arresting anyone they suspected of having taken part in a protest march earlier that day.

MONAISA, Josiah Rakwana (50), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 14 March 1992 in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-aligned residents. Two attackers stopped the taxi in which Mr Monaisa was travelling, boarded it and shot the driver dead. They then drove to Mzimhlophe hostel where they shot Mr Monaisa. The taxi was later recovered by the police.

MONAKALE, Stephen Lesala (54), a SANCO supporter, was detained without a charge on 12 June 1986 during protests in East London. He was released in April 1987.

MONAKALI, Mxolisi Anthony (15), was shot by named members of the Ciskei Police during protests in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 1 January 1981.

MONAKALI, Ntsikelelo (28), a UDF supporter, was sjambokked and kicked by members of the Ciskei Police in 1983 at Mdantsane, Ciskei. He was taken to NU1 police station in Mdantsane where he was beaten on the forehead with a pistol. The assault occurred after the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

MONAKEDI, Frans Makgale (53), a NUMSA leader, was shot dead in a storeroom at KwaMasiza hostel, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 5 June 1992.

MONAMA, Samuel Semana (29), was detained at the local police station and severely sjambokked in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 by members of the SAP and IMBOKODO vigilantes during resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MONAMBILI, Obed, was killed in Empangeni, Natal, on 11 April 1992 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MONAMETSI, Fasco, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 28 March 1989.

MONAMODI, Buki France (aka 'Simon Mabunu'), an MK member from Johannesburg, was executed on the order of an ANC military tribunal on an unknown date in Angola. Mr Monamodi was 36 years old when he left South Africa in 1976.

MONAMODI, Lina (29), was shot and seriously injured in Soweto, Johannesburg, during the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING. Ms Monamodi is blind as a result of her injuries.

MONAMODI, Sakkie, suffered damage to his property when MK operatives threw a hand grenade into the dining room of his house in Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1988. The perpetrators believed Mr Monamodi was a state collaborator. No one was injured in the blast. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/0013).

MONANI, Zacharia, was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MONARENG, Alfred Oupa (21), was thrown from a moving van, detained and tortured by members of the SAP and SADF in Katlehong, Tvl, in June 1986. From mid-1985 East Rand townships including Katlehong experienced some of the most violent conflict in the PWV.

MONARENG, Mantshepiseng Sefora (46), a DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP) supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Witsieshoek, QwaQwa, on 3 June 1994. DNP members were frequently attacked in this period, allegedly because of the party's support for the QwaQwa homeland administration.

MONARENG, Mar tha, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MONARENG, Mpho Mokoni, was shot dead by members of the SAP in December 1986 in Kwarrielaagte, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Vigilantes and homeland officials fled the area in July 1986 because of fierce resistance and South African security forces moved into KwaNdebele.

MONARENG, Paul (20), a COSAS activist, was detained for a month from 13 May 1985 in Mamelodi, Pretoria.

MONARENG, Thabo Joseph, is presumed dead as a result of TRAINVIOLENCE on 15 September 1992 in Soweto.

MONASE, Petrus Matsikidi (13), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 22 April 1993, in violent conflict that broke out following the killing of Chris Hani.

MONAYANA, Mputle, was sjambokked by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 1 July 1989 in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MONCHO, Phineas, was stabbed to death by an ANC member in Postmasburg, Cape, on 30 May 1992. Mr Moncho was allegedly targeted because he was believed to be a member of the EAGLES CLUB. The ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0311).

MONCHO, Shadrack (33), an ANC member, was assaulted on 25 April 1992 by Bophuthatswana Police who accused him of being in possession of weapons and inciting violence at Taung, Bophuthatswana, during clashes over the chieftaincy of the area.

MONCHO, Steven Bareki (33), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in July 1988 at Taung, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over the chieftaincy of Steven Molale.

MONDI, Nozatu Eleanor (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992 in intense political conflict in the area. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

MONDILE, Zamuxolo Louis (14), a UDF supporter, was beaten to death by other UDF supporters on 17 December 1984 at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape. Earlier that day he fought with the perpetrator and defeated him and in retaliation a group attacked him.

MONDLANE (NCUBE), Gibson, an ANC member, died when he was poisoned by CCB operatives in Maputo, Mozambique on 5 April 1987. A member of SADF Military Intelligence was granted amnesty for supplying a CCB operative with target intelligence (AC/2001/257).

MONDO, Dumisani, an ANC supporter was shot dead by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 26 May 1992.

MONEGI, Molefe Abel (39), an ANC supporter, was knocked down and deliberately driven over by a police vehicle in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 7 February 1990. Mr Molefe was participating in a protest march in the former Bophuthatswana homeland.

MONEI, Isaac Diseko (15), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP while participating in a student protest march at Bultfontein, OFS, on 28 February 1990. He died of his injuries on 19 March 1990.

MONENE, Ramasela Stephina (51), was severely beaten by supporters of a named chief on 19 January 1981 at her house in Abbots Poort near Pietersburg, Tvl, during conflict over the chieftaincy of the village.

MONGALAKI, Jacob Nxoli, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl, on 5 April 1986.

MONGALE, Johannes, was beaten with a cane and severely injured when he was arrested by Bophuthatswana Police with his twin brother on 1 March 1991 in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, because his brother was wearing an ANC T-shirt.

MONGALE, Keketso Edward (25), suffered kidney damage after being severely beaten when he was arrested by Bophuthatswana Police with his twin brother on 1 March 1991 in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, for wearing an ANC T-shirt.

MONGALE, Thomas Zero (17), a Huhudi Youth Congress executive member and UDF supporter, was arrested, detained and tortured on several occasions by named and other SAP members in Vryburg, Cape, between 1984 and 1991. He experienced severe beatings and electric shocks and was placed in a suspended sack with a cat and doused with water. He was also buried up to his neck and shots were fired at him, and policemen drove a car right up to where he was buried.

MONGO, Thozamile Leslie (28), was shot and injured by a named member of the security forces in KTC, Cape Town, on 5 November 1985.

MONKGE, Tebogo Simon (52), was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 22 May 1992. Two other people died in the attack. The attack was the forerunner for a wave of such shootings in the early 1990s.

MONKOE, Thaluki Piet (43), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Monkoe resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MONNAESI, Khumo Hilda (20), a COSAS supporter, was beaten and kicked by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 1 January 1989 at the Mashwele Primary School, Zeerust, Tvl, during a meeting to discuss the INCORPORATION of Leeuwfontein into Bophuthatswana.

MONNAKGOTLA, Itumeleng T iro (12), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in May 1966 during forced removals at Rustenburg, Tvl.

MONNAKGOTLA, Mark Modise, was detained in 1966 and held for three years at Rustenburg, Tvl, for resisting forced removals.

MONNANA, Ipeleng (23), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Leeuwfontein near Zeerust, Tvl, on 1 July 1989. Mr Monnana had been arrested during violent conflict over the forced INCORPORATION of villages into Bophuthatswana.

MONNANA, Mmniemang Gladys (31), was detained in July 1989 and held for seven weeks by the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl. The police were harassing the residents of Mogola village during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Leeuwfontein and Braklaagte into Bophuthatswana.

MONNANA, Moitlobo Ruth, was severely beaten in detention by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 1 July 1989.

MONNANA, Onkemetse Collen (17), was arrested and repeatedly raped by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, on 4 July 1989. He and two others were allegedly arrested under suspicion of killing a policeman.

MONNANA, Rabusang Blacknumbi, was killed by Bophuthatswana prison authorities at Rooigrond prison in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 15 February 1991. Mr Monnana was accused of killing nine members of the Bophuthatswana Police.

MONNANE, Ramotemedi Lazer us, was sjambokked by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 1 July 1989 in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during resistance to the INCORPORATION of the area into Bophuthatswana.

MONNAPULA, Michael, an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by named members of the SAP in Johannesburg, in 1970. He died three weeks after his release.

MONNYE, Mohlolioa Jacob (30), a PAC supporter, was assaulted and abducted from his home by named members of the SAP in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 5 July 1993. Police were allegedly seeking information from him about another PAC supporter.

MONO, Gabriel Barend Thabiso, was one of a group of boys abducted by Mandela United Football Club members from the Methodist manse in Orlando, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 December 1988 and taken to Ms Madikizela-Mandela's house in Diepkloof, Soweto. The youths were accused of sexual involvement with a Methodist priest and of being police informers. They were severely beaten and assaulted by named perpetrators in the presence of Ms Madikizela-Mandela. See MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB.

MONO, Johannes Nkedi (21), a UDF supporter, was arrested and severely tortured by members of the SAP at Fochville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 30 May 1986.

MONO, Kudumane Daniel (48), was shot dead by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

MONOKOA, Albert, an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP at the Reddersburg police station, OFS, in March 1988, after he and others had been *toyi-toying* during political conflict.

MONOKOANE, Disebo Alicia, was severely injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MONOKOANE, Josias Moagi (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Masilo, Theunissen, OFS, on 20 May 1990. Mr Monokoane was part of a community SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) that had come together for protection against an expected attack by a vigilante group. One person was killed and one other was injured when police opened fire on the group.

MONOKOPANE, Tseko Geor ge, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MONOKWA, Lomile Lydia (29), had her home damaged in an arson attack by a named perpetrator in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, on 4 December 1976. The attack occurred during conflict between rival chiefs.

MONONE, Philimon Nkosana (13), was assaulted on 14 March 1992 at his home in Sebokeng, Tvl, when the community was attacked by unidentified assailants. Other members of his family were also injured.

MONONE, Thabiso, was assaulted on 14 March 1992 at his home in Sebokeng, Tvl, when the community was attacked by unidentified assailants. Other members of his family were also injured.

MONONYE, Moses Motsumi (20), was shot and injured by a known member of the Mangaung local council in Mangaung, Bloemfontein, on 8 August 1990. The shooting took place when the named COUNCILLOR and members of the police opened fire to disperse protesters from a local civic organisation.

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

MONTHSIMA, Sithunya Michael, an AZAPO supporter, was stabbed to death in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, in October 1990 during intense conflict between ANC and AZAPO supporters in the area.

MONTJA, Alpheus, was severely beaten by members of the SAP during a march at Bela-Bela, Warmbaths, Tvl, on 23 December 1985. Police opened fire on marchers to disperse the march.

MONTJA, Makgabo Christina (49), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MONTJA, Matlou (47), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MONTJA, Thabo Petrus (16), an ANC supporter, was shot and beaten by members of the SAP during a march

on 23 December 1985 at Belabela, near Warmbaths, Tvl, when police opened fire to disperse the march.

MONTLE, (first name not given), was robbed of his motor vehicle by MK operatives in Matolis, Ramagopo, Tvl, on 4 January 1980. The vehicle was then used to launch an armed attack on the Soekmekaar police station in Lebowa. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0276).

MONTLELENG, Zanzile Simon (45), was tear-gassed, beaten and arrested by Bophuthatswana Police on 21 August 1993 at Thatsima, Itsoseng, Bophuthatswana, when people who had attended a political funeral fled into the house he was visiting.

MONTOEDI, Tebogo Christopher (33), an ANCYL member, was shot and assaulted by members of Bophuthatswana police in Pampierstad, Bophuthatswana, during a school function on 21 August 1991.

MONTOELI, Abel Tobiase (19), an active ANC supporter, died in police custody in Vredefort, OFS, on 5 August 1992, following his arrest on the day of a community protest march in the area. Family members believe he was severely tortured.

MONTSHIMA, Mbuyiselo Norman (23), was stabbed on 26 March 1990 in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, when named ANC supporters attacked a shebeen during conflict between ANC and AZAPO supporters. Mr Montshima died in hospital eight days later.

MONTSHO, (first name not given), was arrested, tortured and assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mogola Village, Leeuwfontein, Tvl, on 1 July 1989. He was attending a community meeting to discuss the building of a new school when he was arrested.

MONTSHO, Gibert Moleko (42), an SAP member, was severely injured when his home was petrol-bombed during conflict between police and residents in Tigane, Hartebeesfontein, Tvl, on 27 March 1993.

MONTSHO, Keikantsemang Vivian (17), an ANC supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Kuruman, Cape, in 1991 while attending a meeting to launch the ANC branch in the area.

MONTWEDI, Elizabeth, was killed when her house was petrol-bombed by a named member of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, in June 1986. Ms Montwedi's father, who lived in the same house, was an ANC supporter and chairperson of the committee on discipline and good conduct of the Kagiso Residents Organisation.

MONTWEDI, Ephraim Morwa (53), an ANC supporter, was injured in a petrol bomb attack on his house by a named member of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, in June 1986. Mr Montwedi was chairman of the Kagiso Residents Organisation committee on discipline and good conduct.

MONTWEDI, Lucky, was killed when his house was petrol-bombed by a named member of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, in June 1986. His father who lived in the same house was an ANC supporter and chairperson committee on discipline and good conduct of the Kagiso Residents Organisation.

MONTWEDI, Martha (49), was killed when her house was petrol-bombed by a named member of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, in June 1986. At the time of the attack, Ms Montwedi's husband was an ANC supporter and chairperson of the Kagiso Residents Organisation committee on discipline and good conduct.

MONTWEDI, Motsei, was killed when her house was petrol-bombed by a named member of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, in June 1986. Ms Montwedi's father lived in the same house and was an ANC supporter and chairperson of the Kagiso Residents Organisation committee on discipline and good conduct.

MONTWEDI, Thabo, was killed when his house was petrol-bombed by a named SAP member in June 1986 in Kagiso Krugersdorp, Tvl. Mr Montwedi's father lived in the same house and was an ANC supporter and chairperson of the Kagiso Residents Organisation committee on discipline and good conduct.

MONYAI, Dingaan Peter (38), was crippled after being shot by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHEWSA GANG members on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired and threw hand grenades at the mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived but provided no protection, ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

MONYAI, Mathopa Alfred (51), a People's Congress supporter, lost his house and had his livestock stolen in an arson attack by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, because Mr Monyai resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MONYAI, Tatedi Dalsen (46), lost his home and other property in an arson attack by supporters of Chief BK Matlala in February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, because Mr Monyai resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MONYAKALLE, Papo John (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and thrown into a toilet in April 1985 in Johannesburg, by alleged *askaris* because of information he possessed.

MONYAMANE, Bester, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, in 1993, allegedly because he had been involved in an arson attack on the perpetrators' house.

MONYANE, Amos (21), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, in July 1986. Mr Monyane and others were accused of killing the head of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Brigadier Molohe. While in detention, they were also subjected to electric shock torture.

MONYANE, Letsatsi Samuel, was assaulted with sjamboks by members of the SAP while returning from a mass funeral for victims of police violence in Evaton, Tvl, on 15 September 1984. He was then detained for three days at the Houtkop charge office.

MONYANE, Mathabe Lydia (35), an ANC supporter, was assaulted with sjamboks by members of the SAP while returning from a mass funeral for victims of police violence in Evaton, Tvl, on 15 September 1984.

She was then detained for three days at Houtkop charge office.

MONYE, Lenah, was severely assaulted on 9 October 1988 at Taung, Bophuthatswana, by Bophuthatswana Police who dispersed a tribal meeting called to discuss the chieftaincy.

MONYE, Loosboy, was assaulted on 9 October 1988 at Taung, Bophuthatswana, by Bophuthatswana Police who dispersed a tribal meeting called to discuss the chieftaincy.

MONYE, Nananyane Susan (22), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 9 October 1988 in Taung, Bophuthatswana, during conflict between the Bophuthatswana government and an opposing chief.

MONYEBODI, Kwena Johannes (35), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Monyebodi resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MONYEKI, Caiphas, an ANC member, was shot dead at Maropong, Moutse, KwaNdebele, by named perpetrators. Mr Monyeke was killed in a dispute over land allocation by the local chief.

MONYEMORATHO, Moditsha Andries (30), was beaten, suffocated and tear-gassed in January 1986 in Pietersburg, Tvl, by alleged CCB members who reportedly wanted him to confess to receiving orders from Oliver Tambo to make the country 'ungovernable'. Afterwards CCB members harassed him constantly in the presence of pupils at the school where he was a teacher.

MONYEPAO, Daniel Lucas (32), was severely beaten with rifle butts by members of the SADF 32 Battalion in his shack in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 8 April 1992. Mr Monyepao was one of more than 100 Phola Park residents, including women and teenagers, who were assaulted by members of the Battalion after a member of the SADF was shot and injured in the area. Two women were also shot dead and at least four raped during the raid. An investigation by Justice Goldstone concluded that the soldiers had acted in a manner 'completely inconsistent with the function of a peacekeeping force' and recommended they be removed from South Africa's townships.

MOOBI, Ishmael Maisa (78), an ANC supporter, was beaten and stoned by supporters of Chief Mapela in Ellisras, Tvl, on 19 January during a confrontation between this group and supporters of Chief Lerumo.

MOOI, Dalindyabo (6), was burnt to death when his aunt's shack was petrol-bombed in Zwelethemba, Worcester, Cape, on 16 June 1991. The perpetrators, allegedly UDF supporters, accused his aunt of being an informer during rent boycotts and other political actions in the area.

MOOI, Gladstone Mlungiseleli, was shot dead on 29 July 1986 when an MK unit attacked the Madeira police station, in Umtata, Transkei. At least eight people were killed in the attack, including policemen, civilians and one of the MK operatives. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

MOOI, Martha Nomathamsanqa (32), a tavern owner, had her home petrol-bombed and stoned by UDF supporters in Zwelethemba, Worcester, Cape, on 13 October 1985. She was suspected of being an informer. Her brother-in-law was then killed by the crowd. Ms Mooi was also stabbed, and her shack burnt down for the second time, on 16 June 1991. Her two nephews died in the blaze.

MOOI, Mziwamadoda (11), was burnt to death when his aunt's shack was petrol-bombed in Zwelethemba, Worcester, Cape, on 16 June 1991. The perpetrators, allegedly UDF supporters, accused his aunt of being an informer during rent boycotts and other political actions in the area.

MOOKO, Isaac (47), lost two houses when they were set alight, by supporters of a named chief in 1975 in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, when violence erupted over the independence of Lebowa.

MOOKO, Tshidiso David (18), a PASO organiser, was stabbed to death in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 3 February 1990, allegedly because of his political activities. His assailant was allegedly instructed in the killing by a known SAP member.

MOORE, EW, and other SAP members, survived an explosion when the armoured vehicle in which they were travelling detonated a landmine in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 16 February 1986. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his part in causing the explosion (AC/2000/195). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

MOOROSI, Thabo Lucas (30), an MK operative, was detained in July 1986 while infiltrating South Africa via Botswana. He was severely tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at the Mafeking police station, Bophuthatswana. He has permanent brain damage as a result.

MOOS, Turnell, an ANC supporter, was assaulted, hacked and burnt to death by KHUMALO GANG members on 1 August 1993. The gang had close links to the IFP and was a significant participant in the violent conflict on the East Rand, including the murder of key political leadership in Tokoza.

MOOSA, Samuel Albert (64), an ANC supporter, had his house stoned and petrol-bombed by a named perpetrator at Nelspruit, Tvl, on 6 May 1986. Mr Moosa was suspected of being a police informer during political conflict in the area.

MOOTSI, Itumeleng, an ANC member, was abducted and died after being shot, hacked and decapitated by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Eleven people were killed, nine execution-style, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

MOPANE, Motamo, was arrested by members of the SAP on 17 March 1986 in Burgersfort, Tvl, while attending a meeting to discuss the water crisis in the area.

MOPE, Barney, a member of the SAP, was one of three policemen shot dead when MK operatives opened fire on policemen sitting drinking at the tavern in Mariana Street, Atteridgeville, Tvl, on 18 March 1988. Two

civilians were injured in the attack. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

MOPEDI, Charles (33), a NEHAWU member, was shot and injured in Phuthaditjhaba, QwaQwa, on 7 June 1990, when members of the SAP opened fire on protesters outside the QwaQwa homeland government buildings. The protesters, employed by the homeland government, were engaged in strike action for improved working conditions and salaries.

MOPELOA, Thabeng Reginald (17), was one of a group of youths detained under emergency regulations at the Stilfontein police station, 42nd Hill, Harris Smith, OFS, on 17 June 1986. The youths were singing freedom songs in the street soon after the reimposition of the state of emergency. Mr Mopeloa was severely tortured in detention. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MOPHUTHING, Mosoeu Daniel (41), an ANC affiliate, was severely assaulted with a *knobkierie* on 15 March 1993 by members of the Security Branch who accused him of being responsible for unrest in Oukasie, Brits, Tvl.

MOQHAE, Idah (19), was beaten and lost her home in an arson attack on 17 April 1986 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, allegedly carried out by members of the SAP.

MOQHAE, Mabusane Boy (45), was severely beaten and had his house burnt down by alleged members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986.

MOQHOLOSANE, Tohlang Ismael (67), principal of a primary school, had his home burnt down by unidentified persons in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, in June 1991. This occurred at a time of a widespread and lengthy SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in areas of the OFS.

MORABA, Baldwin, was arrested, detained and severely tortured by named members of the SAP at Messina, Tvl, in September 1991. He was accused of burning a house after a protest calling for the resignation of local authorities. He and his brother were charged with arson and released on their own recognisance after two weeks in detention.

MORABA, Tshalo Joseph (16), an ANC supporter, was arrested and detained by named members of the SAP at Messina, Tvl, in September 1991. He was accused of burning a house after a protest calling for the resignation of local authorities. He and his brother were charged with arson and released on their own recognisance after two weeks in detention.

MORABE, Sello Brian (14), was shot and injured by members of the SAP while walking home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 25 May 1993. Sello joined a group of people he saw running away from a police vehicle from which police allegedly opened fire. The incident took place a few days after at least nine people were killed and 69 injured during an ANC march past a Tokoza hostel which resulted in the sharp escalation of political conflict on the East Rand.

MORAI, Motsokane (22), an MK member from Mount Fletcher, Transkei, was shot dead allegedly by a fellow MK member while in exile in Angola in 1984.

MORAJANE, Albert, a town councillor, lost his home and two cars in an attack by UDF supporters in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 19 November 1985. At the time councillors in most townships were targeted by

political activists because they were seen as government functionaries. The community at the time was under threat of forced removal.

MORAJANE, Japile Anny , had her family home and business in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, destroyed on 19 November 1985 by named UDF supporters because her husband was a councillor. At the time councillors in most townships were targeted by political activists because they were seen as government functionaries.

MORAKA, Kgahludi Bethuel (48), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Moraka resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MORAKA, Letoba Caroline (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Leeuwfontein, near Zeerust, Tvl, on 20 April 1989. The shooting happened during conflict over INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana. Ms Moraka was then taken to Motswedi police station.

MORAKA, Mosai Bar nard (14), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force in Leeuwfontein, near Zeerust, Tvl, on 1 July 1989. There was unrest in the area after residents set a Casspir on fire and nine Bophuthatswana Police force members died.

MORAKE, David , was beaten and subjected to electric shock torture by members of the Security Branch while in detention in Soweto, Johannesburg, in February 1978. Arms and explosives were found in his possession and he was sentenced to seven and a half years in prison.

MORAKE, Kedibone Cynthia (17), was tortured by members of the SAP at Makwassie, Tvl, during protests in the area in 1986. Ms Morake was arrested on suspicion that she was participating in local protests.

MORAKE, Patric Lemphane (20), a PAC supporter, was shot and injured when the car he was travelling in from Theunissen to Bloemfontein was ambushed, allegedly by *Wit Wolwe*, in 1993.

MORAKE, Sello Aziel (65), home was burnt down by supporters of a chief in 1976 in Maboloko village, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over the chieftainship of the area.

MORAKE, Senzani Mateu (36), was beaten with sjamboks , knobkerries and spiked handles on 20 December 1985 in Emagezini, near KwaNdebele, by IMBOKODO vigilantes in an attempt to force him to join the group. The Imbokodo were punishing those suspected of supporting an MP in the legislative assembly who was a known opponent of the vigilantes and of independence. The warnings of the tribal authority against INCORPORATION went unheeded, which resulted in violent political conflict during which hundreds of people died or were injured.

MORAKE, Zacharia , a UDF supporter, suffered serious and permanent head injury at the hands of members of the A-TEAM, who attacked mourners at a night vigil in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 9 May 1985. A member of the A-Team was killed in the ensuing conflict.

MORAPEDI, Drummond Peter 'Phanga' (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Jouberton,

Klerksdorp, Tvl, during a march on 23 September 1990. Police opened fire on marchers without warning. They also took Mr Morapedi from a minibus which was taking him to hospital, and threw him on the ground. His body was found the next day in the Klerksdorp police station.

MORAPEDI, Mantswe Morgan (46), an ANC supporter, was arrested, beaten and tortured by Bophuthatswana Police in January 1994 in Kuruman, Cape. He was accused of anti-Mangope activities.

MORARA, Phuti Solomon (48), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Morara resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MORARE, Isaac Sakkie (33), was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 7 March 1990 at Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over the INCORPORATION of the homeland into South Africa.

MORARE, Onkemetse Elinah (20), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 13 March 1994. Bophuthatswana was very tense in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTION and hundreds of ANC supporters were targeted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police.

MORARE, Stoki Nathaniel (43), a headman, lost his house in an arson attack by named perpetrators at Brits, Tvl, in 1991. His wife had gone to work during a stayaway to protest against the Bophuthatswana government.

MORATHI, Regina Tsakae (25), was beaten and injured by members of the SAP on 12 November 1984 at Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, because her husband was suspected of having murdered a town councillor. Ms Morathi was eight months pregnant at the time.

MORE, Abraham (aka Happy Batho) , an MK operative, was killed with four other operatives by a joint Venda and South African security force team on 25 March 1988 at Mutale River in Venda.

MORE, Kau Theophilus (24), was shot and killed by members of the AWPB on 12 December 1993 at an illegal roadblock set up outside Ventersdorp, Tvl. Four people, including two children, were killed in the attack. Eight AWPB members were refused amnesty and one was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0045). See RODORA ROADBLOCK KILLINGS.

MOREBUDI, Kenewang Ester , was shot and killed by named IFP supporters in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 3 May 1993 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MOREBUDI, Tumelo Alec (20), was shot in the chest and injured by IFP supporters in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 3 May 1993 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MOREKI, Simon (17), an ANC supporter, was detained together with another ANC supporter in Bethulie, OFS, in October 1990, and charged with intimidation for allegedly forcing the children of police and government employees to leave school. In detention Mr Moreki and his colleague were tortured

by members of the SAP. They were eventually acquitted of the charges.

MOREKISI, Motsamai David (17), an ANC supporter, was arrested, beaten and tortured by Bophuthatswana Police in Kuruman, Cape, in September 1989.

MOREMEDI, Frank, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

MOREMEDI, Ramodile Changer (18), was detained, beaten and tear-gassed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 7 July 1989. Mr Moremedi had resisted the forceful INCORPORATION of Mokgola village into Bophuthatswana. About 25 000 residents were transferred from South Africa into Bophuthatswana during 1989 which caused intense political conflict. Nine soldiers were killed and several residents assaulted during this attack.

MOREMI, David Semakaleng (31), was shot and injured when named perpetrators opened fire on patrons at a tavern in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 21 June 1992.

MOREMI, Hlabana Jeminah (22), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOREMI, Makwena Edward (43), an SAP member, was shot and injured in an attack on the Moroka police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1979.

MOREMI, Mathladi Christinah (16), was stabbed and seriously injured in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE. Forty-five people died and 27 others were seriously injured when IFP-supporting residents of the KwaMadala hostel descended on the community. The attack was allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police.

MOREMI, Raisibe Freddie (37), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOREMI, Seemole (60), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOREMI, Tsetsi Aar on, was hacked to death by IFP supporters on 7 February 1993 in Mapetla, Soweto, Johannesburg, during ongoing violence between Merafe hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MORENI, Edward Makwena, a member of the SAP, was seriously injured in an armed attack by MK operatives on the Moroka police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1979. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

MORESEKAO, David Thupaetsile (26), was tortured in detention by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Ra-kgamo police station in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 10 December 1992.

MORETI, Daniel Nteseng (38), was shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Tlhabane, Bophuthatswana, on 25 November 1985. His six year old nephew and two MK operatives living in the house were also killed.

MOREWANE, Kgoputjo Ronald (17), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Lebowa Police at Pietersburg, Tvl, in March 1986. He was involved in various UDF-affiliated organisations and was accused of being a ringleader of 'comrades' in the area.

MORGETS, (first name not given), a sergeant in the SAP, sustained damage to his home in Orlando, Soweto, Johannesburg, in an armed attack by MK operatives during October 1989. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/078).

MORIA, Gert Ditabe (37), was severely beaten and seriously injured by members of the SAP in Kuruman, Cape, on 13 December 1991, during a consumer boycott in the area.

MORIANE, (first name not given), was shot by alleged ANC supporters in 1992 in Mzimhlope, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MOROANE, Rammereki John, a UDF supporter, died while in police custody in Theunissen, OFS, in 1986. It is alleged that he hanged himself in his cell at the Theunissen police station.

MOROBANE, Thlou Dalson (61), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Morobane resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MORODU, Scheepers (18), deputy chairperson of the Mamelodi Student Congress in Mamelodi, Pretoria, was detained, and tortured during interrogation, by Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives in 1987. Three Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for the incident. Shortly before his detention, his 11-year-old niece was killed in a petrol-bomb attack. Four Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, as well as the Deputy Commissioner of the Northern Transvaal SAP were granted amnesty (AC/1999/30; AC/1999/32; AC/2001/259; AC/2001/61).

MOROKE, Isaac, a constable, was injured when MK operatives from the 'Dolphin Unit' detonated a limpet mine at the Security Branch offices in Roodepoort, Tvl, on 17 August 1984. Four other members of the Security Branch and several civilians were also injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/0003).

MOROKE, Johannes Molathegi (36), was stabbed to death on 16 February 1994 in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, by IFP supporters who attacked residents who did not join the IFP. Two weeks before, his uncle was shot dead by the same perpetrators who vandalised the house and stole household goods in the presence of police colluding openly with those terrorising ANC-supporting residents.

MOROMODI, Bonjani Annikie (49), lost her house on 6 March 1981 in Ellisras, Tvl, in an arson attack by a named perpetrator in the aftermath of a struggle between local chiefs.

MOROPODI, Joseph Sidney, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 3 July 1992, in Sebokeng, Tvl, during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MOROTSI, Ditshego, was assaulted by IMBOKODO vigilantes at his home in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 during resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MORRIS, Simon, and five other scholars were interrogated, tortured and killed by AZAPO members in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 1 August 1986. The incident was sparked off by the burning of the house of an AZAPO leader for which the youths were believed to have been responsible. Three perpetrators were refused amnesty, and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/179 and AC/1999/230).

MORTEN, Jacobus Johannes, sustained damage to his property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

MORUDI, Lydia (4), was injured in a petrol bomb attack on her family home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, in 1987. The attack was an attempt to intimidate her uncle who was a political activist.

MORUDI, Mittah, lost her house in a petrol bomb attack by members of the Security Branch at Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 17 May 1987.

MORUDI, Monica, was injured when her house was petrol-bombed by alleged members of the Security Branch at Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 17 May 1987.

MORUDU, David, was assaulted, shot dead and then his body was burnt on 1 January 1986 in Kloppe Village, Moutse, KwaNdebele, by residents who mistook him for a vigilante. The IMBOKODO, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, invaded Moutse immediately after the former government officially incorporated it into KwaNdebele. Between 200 and 360 individuals were assaulted or killed during this period.

MORUDU, Moses, was abducted on 14 October 1986 by Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives purporting to be MK operatives. He was held at a farm in Hammanskraal, Tvl, for approximately a week. The three Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives who applied for amnesty for abducting Mr Morudu testified that they did not know his eventual fate, but suspected he had been killed by their colleagues. The applicants were granted amnesty for the abduction (AC/200/010).

MORUFE, Mmakola, was beaten on the head by IMBOKODO vigilantes in her home in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986. Residents were attacked by vigilantes because they resisted forced INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MORULANE, Abisia, was stoned in February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by unidentified perpetrators during a dispute over the Matlala chieftancy, relating to

the Lebowa government's proposed independence from South Africa.

MORULANE, Petrus (78), a People's Congress supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, because Mr Morulane resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MORURI, Jacob (6), had his life threatened when his family home in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, was destroyed by a petrol bomb on 13 November 1993.

MORURI, Lerato (5), had his life threatened when his family home in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, was destroyed by a petrol bomb on 13 November 1993.

MORURI, Manana (21), died a few days after her family home in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, was destroyed by a petrol bomb on 13 November 1993.

MORURI, Selina Masoabi (8), had her life threatened when her family home, in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, was destroyed by a petrol bomb on 13 November 1993.

MOSA, Moshe Moses (42), an ANC supporter, lost his residence, shebeen, spaza shop and motor vehicles in an arson attack on 3 February 1990 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, by ANC supporters who suspected him of collaborating with the police. ANC youth claimed that police used his vehicles in attacks on them. Mr Mosa was forced to stay at Khutsong police station for two months for his own protection and eventually had to leave the area.

MOSAE, Phatsoa Andrias (23), a PAC supporter, was detained by the SAP in Ficksburg, OFS, in 1992, where he was severely assaulted and tortured, allegedly because he was actively mobilising youth in the area.

MOSAKA, Rueben, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 15 February 1986. Security forces moved into Alexandra in February 1986 after town councillors were expelled and community structures were established. Mr Mosaka was killed at the first mass funeral for 17 people in the area. Approximately 27 people were killed and hundreds injured in the SIX-DAY WAR which ended after a partial security force withdrawal on 22 February 1986.

MOSAKO, Tekoetsile David, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in 1988 in Taung, Bophuthatswana, and reportedly died two months later as a result of his injuries. Mr Mosako was attending a protest meeting to discuss the fate of exiled Chief Mankuroane.

MOSALA, Masibinyane Joseph (70), was detained in 1988 at Rooigrond prison in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, during the attempted coup against the Mangope government in 1988. He was accused of being an accomplice in the coup.

MOSALA, Michael Samane (15), was shot and injured in Sebokeng, Tvl, at a memorial service for CHRIS HANI at the FNB stadium on 18 April 1993.

MOSALA, Sello Joel (22), was severely beaten by members of the SAP on 20 April 1986 at Jouberton police station, Klerksdorp, Tvl, after he was arrested at an activist's funeral. He now suffers from permanent deafness as a result of his injuries.

MOSALO, Mankitseng (5 months old), had her home in Soshanguve, Pretoria, damaged when two hand grenades thrown by members of the SADF exploded on 30 May 1986. Mankitseng's father was an executive member of the Soshanguve Residents Association and was active in the UDF. At the time the UDF had increased its influence with mass campaigns in and around Pretoria. Prior to this incident there had been four unsuccessful arson attacks on the Mosalo home.

MOSALO, Mathodi Caroline (39), had her home in Soshanguve, Pretoria, damaged when two hand grenades thrown by members of the SADF exploded on 30 May 1986. Ms Mosalo's husband was an executive member of the Soshanguve Residents Association and was active in the UDF. At the time the UDF had increased its influence with mass campaigns in and around Pretoria. Prior to this incident there had been four unsuccessful arson attacks on the Mosalo home.

MOSALO, Moagi Peter (38), a UDF supporter and executive member of the Soshanguve Residents Association, had his home in Soshanguve, Pretoria, damaged when two hand grenades thrown by members of the SADF exploded on 30 May 1986. At the time the UDF had increased its influence with mass campaigns in and around Pretoria. Prior to this incident there had been four unsuccessful arson attacks on the Mosalo home. Mr Masalo was detained under emergency regulations on 12 June 1986 for alleged involvement in 'terrorist' activities and released on 29 August 1986.

MOSAMBUKA, Josephine Thandi (18), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986. She was taking part in a mass protest against police brutality when police opened fire, killing 11 people and injuring 200. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

MOSAMO, Lehomo Ben (37), a UDF supporter, was injured when police fired teargas at mourners attending his brother's funeral in Welkom, OFS, on 26 November 1985.

MOSANE, Joe Buti, a taxi driver, left home to take passengers to Tokoza, Tvl, in August 1993. His body was found on 21 August 1993 behind Tokoza hostel with burn marks and bullet wounds. His minibus and some clothing were missing. This incident occurred during escalating violent conflict on the East Rand in the wake of an ANC march past a Tokoza hostel in May 1993.

MOSE, Luyanda Eric (31), a COSAS member, went into exile in Lusaka, Zambia, on 30 September 1983. He was never seen again.

MOSEBI, Solomon (14), was tear-gassed and shot dead on 4 November 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl, together with five other family members.

MOSEBI, Thabo, an MK operative, was shot dead on 24 January 1992 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, by a named member of the SAP searching for arms and ammunition. One other person was killed in the raid.

MOSEGEDI, Mosetsanyane Evelyn (33), was threatened and intimidated by named SAP-backed vigilantes comprising local COUNCILLORS in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, in November 1985. The target of the

Huhudi vigilantes was the Huhudi Civic Association, the body that took the lead in the community.

MOSEHLA, Betty (43), was severely injured when struck with rifle butts and sjamboks by police who fired on a crowd gathered to protest against police brutality at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana on 26 March 1986. Eleven people were killed and 200 injured. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

MOSEKARE, Oupa, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 23 August 1976 in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING. One other person was shot dead in the same incident.

MOSEKI, Michael Siphso, was beaten to death by members of the ISU on 24 February 1994 in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, during conflict between ANC, IFP and AZAPO supporters.

MOSELAKGOMO, Mokgaetji Malesiba (50), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOSELANE, Ngako Jacob Shuffle (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Kroonstad, OFS, on 6 May 1988, while singing freedom songs in a house with his friends.

MOSENSA, David, was killed in Boipatong, Vanderbiljpark, Tvl, on 5 July 1992.

MOSENSA, Ponko James, was killed in Boipatong, Vanderbiljpark, Tvl, on 5 July 1992.

MOSES, Johanna (18), was shot dead by members of the security forces in Elsies River, Cape Town, on 16 June 1980, during protests relating to the SCHOOL BOYCOTT and commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MOSES, Neil, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Paarl, Cape, on 23 October 1985.

MOSES, Thandi L ydia, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their various roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

MOSETLHENG, Evelyn Letlhogonolo (17), was shot in the leg and injured by a named member of the SAP on 30 August 1991 in Reagile, Koster, Tvl, during political conflict between members of the community and local councillors.

MOSHANE, Moses Phakwe Moleme (11), was shot dead by members of the SAP at Kutloanong, Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 12 March 1990, during a march celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela from prison.

MOSHANE, Zoyisile Given (37), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in the leg in 1992 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MOSHANI, Nontobeko (28), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police in Peddie, Ciskei, in 1990, during police suppression of political activity. Several people were injured when

police started assaulting ANC supporters who had gathered for a meeting in the area.

MOSHANI, Sabatha (10), was shot in the head and his home was burnt down in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 6 March 1993, by named perpetrators including a SPECIAL CONSTABLE linked to a named Crossroads leader. Sabatha was left mentally disabled by the attack.

MOSHANI, Vuyisile William (47), lost his home in an attack by named perpetrators, including a SPECIAL CONSTABLE linked to a named Crossroads leader, in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 6 March 1993. His son was shot and severely injured in the attack.

MOSHAPA, Teto, suffered severe damage to house and property as a result of a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

MOSHE, Claudia, a UDF supporter, had her house damaged when it was attacked by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 November 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MOSHEUNYANE, Gasekgatle Sarah (37), was assaulted with sjamboks and batons by Bophuthatswana Police during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when police dispersed the crowd with teargas and sjamboks.

MOSHI, Seemole (70), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOSHISHI, Elias, was one of five people seriously injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Administration Board offices in Tembisa, Tvl, on 6 October 1988. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/132).

MOSHOAI, John, was severely beaten by police engaging in a door-to-door raid on 16 June 1986, during a stayaway in Zwelethemba, Worcester, Cape. He was then held under emergency regulations for three months at Victor Verster prison in Paarl, Cape. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MOSHOABANE, Josephine Sekgana, a Turfloop university student, was detained on 31 July 1985 under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act after visiting a friend's father in exile in Botswana. She was held and tortured without access to lawyers or family for three months, allegedly at Hanensberg Police Station, and then admitted to Baragwanath hospital where she died five months later on 3 April 1986, of serious brain damage allegedly sustained as a result of electric shock and severe beatings.

MOSHODI, Maria (75), was killed when unidentified attackers opened fire on a night vigil for assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993. Several people were killed in the incident.

MOSHODI, Maria Maki (42), was killed when unidentified attackers opened fire on a night vigil for assassinated

SACP leader CHRIS HANI in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993. Several people were killed in the incident.

MOSHODI, Paul, was killed when unidentified attackers opened fire on a night vigil for assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993. Several people were killed in the incident.

MOSHOESHOE, Pebetse (45), an ANC member, was injured in her left hip and knee after ANC-aligned self-defence unit members in Katshehong, Tvl, attacked her on 28 April 1992 during internal political conflict. The attackers then proceeded to her home which they ransacked.

MOSHOESHOE, Tsela Gregor y (57), was severely beaten by members of the Transkei Police after his arrest in Matatiele, Natal, in February 1990. He was detained after a shop was burnt down during a consumer boycott in that area.

MOSHOEU, Gabriel Paki (aka 'Rogers Mayalo'), an MK operative from Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, was incarcerated from May 1981 until April 1983 in Quatro camp, Angola. In April 1983, he was executed by an MK firing squad for allegedly being an enemy agent. See ANC CAMPS. Mr Moshoeu's brother was also incarcerated for four years at Quatro. Earlier, in 1965, his father, Mr Penrose Moshoeu, had died in police custody in Vryburg.

MOSHOEU, Goitseone Gordon (aka 'Godfrey "Grenade" Pule') (21), an MK operative from Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, was detained by members of the ANC security department in Quatro, Angola, for four years, from 1981 to 1984. He suffered torture and severe ill-treatment. During this period in detention, his brother was executed on the order of an ANC military tribunal, in April 1983. See ANC CAMPS. Earlier, in 1965, his father, Mr Penrose Moshoeu, had died in police custody in Vryburg.

MOSHOEU, Johanna, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

MOSHOEUNYANE, Elijah, was beaten to death by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Pudumoe police station in Taung, Bophuthatswana, in April 1990. At the time, community meetings were perceived as a political threat to Mangope's regime.

MOSHOKE, Benedict Ngoaketsi (20), an ANC supporter, was allegedly beaten to death by members of the Security Branch on 23 March 1987 in Vereeniging, Tvl, while being held in prison under emergency regulations.

MOSHOLI, Ernest (19), a COSAS member, was shot and injured as well as severely assaulted by members of the Riot Police in Bothaville, OFS, on 29 January 1985. This occurred at a time of widespread student protests and boycotts in the province.

MOSHOPE, Flora Luvhengo (63), was shot dead in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE. Forty-five people died and 27 others were seriously injured when IFP-supporting residents of the KwaMadala hostel descended on the community. The attack was allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police.

MOSHWETSI, Mosalakae Percival (44) was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MOSHWEU, Ellen Mochudimang (41), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Barkly West, Cape, on 28 November 1990, while she was walking home from church.

MOSHWEU, Mothusiemang Elias, was shot dead by members of the SAP at Barkly West, Cape, on 5 February 1994.

MOSHWEUANYANE, Maje Joseph, was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when police dispersed the crowd with teargas and sjamboks.

MOSI, Norman Sandile (19), was assaulted by members of the SAP on 1 September 1984 at Uitenhage, Cape, allegedly because of his active role in civic structures in the area.

MOSIA, George Tsele (45), was severely assaulted and injured by a named municipal council member and his followers in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 9 October 1990, at a time of protests against the Black Local Authority in the area.

MOSIA, Mirriam Tshidi (32), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named perpetrator on 23 March 1992 at Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. Ms Mosia is paralysed as a result of her injuries.

MOSIA, Mokete, an ANCYL supporter, was shot and injured in 1976 in Germiston, Tvl, when he was allegedly caught in crossfire between students and police in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MOSIA, Nthateng Olga (16), was shot and wounded in the head by a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Kroonstad, OFS, in September 1986. Ms Mosia was attempting to leave a football stadium after a riot broke out as a result of certain provocative actions by members of the EAGLES CLUB who wished to break up the game.

MOSIA, Ouboy Joseph, was shot dead at a friend's house in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 21 April 1993, the night of assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI's funeral. Four others were killed in the attack.

MOSIAMANE, Tsholoane Agnes, was tear-gassed in a confined space and beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, following a community meeting in July 1989.

MOSIANE, Gabouthwelwe Christopher, an MK operative, and three others were abducted from Bhunya police station in Swaziland by Eastern Transvaal Security Branch operatives on 14 April 1984. All four were coerced into becoming *askaris* at *Vlakplaas*. Four Eastern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2000/105).

MOSIAPOA, Beebop, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP during political conflict in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, in July 1986.

MOSIEA, Tumalo Jonas (50), was beaten to death by named DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP) members in Bolata, Witsieshoek, QwaQwa, on 7 May 1988, after they had allegedly failed to recruit him into their party.

MOSIMA, Abel Dipatla, was assaulted on 19 January 1981 in Abbots Poort, Pietersburg, Tvl, by supporters of Chief Mapela because he supported Chief Lerumo.

MOSIMA, Anna Mmuwaja (53), was severely assaulted by supporters of Chief Mapela in Abbots Poort, Pietersburg, Tvl, on 19 January 1981 because she supported his opponent, Chief Lerumo. Conflict over the chieftaincy of the region resulted in several villagers being beaten, lashed, fined, or having their children expelled from the schools in an effort to force their allegiance to Chief Mapela.

MOSIMA, Moshita Jan (78), was severely beaten at his home in Abbots Poort, Pietersburg, Tvl, on 19 January 1981. Mr Moshima opposed the leadership of Chief Mapela who had been appointed rather than elected. Several others opposed to the chief's leadership were attacked at that time, allegedly by the chief's supporters.

MOSIMA, Sebattalo Nelson (47), was assaulted on 19 January 1981 in Abbots Poort, Pietersburg, Tvl, by supporters of Chief Mapela because he supported Chief Lerumo.

MOSIMANE, Phaki Ezekiel, a NUMSA member, was shot dead on 1 July 1989 in the grounds of Mashwene Primary School in Zeerust, Tvl, when Bophuthatswana soldiers attacked a Makakane community meeting. The meeting was being held to plan effective opposition to the INCORPORATION of Makakane into Bophuthatswana.

MOSIMANE, Piet, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in detention in Zeerust, Tvl, in July 1989. Nine police officers were killed during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Leeuwfontein into Bophuthatswana, after which police allegedly arrested and assaulted people indiscriminately.

MOSIMANE, Sabata Francis (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 29 May 1990, while returning from an ANC meeting.

MOSIMANYANA, (first name not given) (child), was detained with her mother for five days without food at the Mmabatho police station in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during July 1989. There was fierce resistance at the time to the forceful INCORPORATION of Leeuwfontein and Braklaagte

into Bophuthatswana and a meeting held by the two communities was violently dispersed. Two policeman and two civilians died in the resulting conflict.

MOSIMANYANA, Abueng Joyce (16), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at her home in Leeuwfontein, Bophuthatswana, on 12 May 1989. The community was resisting INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOSIMANYANA, Binkie Anna (30), was arrested by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 12 May 1989 in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, and detained for three days during conflict over INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOSIMANYANA, Dipuo, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 12 May 1989 at Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOSIMANYANA, Mmadolo, was arrested by Bophuthatswana Police members on 12 May 1989 in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, and detained for three days during conflict over INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOSIMANYANA, Ntebo Florah (39), an ANC supporter, was kicked in the genitals while climbing into a Hippo when she was arrested on 2 July 1989 in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, by members of the Bophuthatswana Police. She was detained at Mmabatho police station where police allegedly sjambokked her and denied her food.

MOSIROE, Thabang Augustinus (20), was shot during a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING and died before reaching the hospital. Fourteen people died in the attack.

MOSITO, Isaac Ike (28), disappeared on 14 January 1992 on his way to work during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents in Klipspruit, Soweto, Johannesburg. Mr Mosito has not been seen since.

MOSIYA, Meshack Christian (20), was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters in Northdale, Pietermaritzburg, on 16 June 1990 in political conflict during the months following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February 1990.

MOSOETSA, Benjamin, was stabbed to death in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992 in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE. Forty-five people died and 27 others were seriously injured when IFP-supporting residents of the KwaMadala hostel descended on the community. The attack was allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police.

MOSOETSA, Kerileng Benjamin, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOSOETSA, Samuel, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOSOEU, Janabari Johannes, was arrested by Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, in July 1997. He was deprived of food at Braaglagte police camp before

being transferred to Rooigrond prison to await trial for the murder of a policeman. The Bophuthatswana Police were targeting Lehurutse Braaglagte residents who opposed the area's INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOSOEU, Lazarus John (53), had his house burnt down in 1976 in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over the chieftaincy of the village.

MOSOEU, Mokgele David (46), was severely injured when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MOSOEUNYANE, Diseko Isaac (17), an ANCYL member, was stabbed and severely beaten in Maokeng, Kroonstand, OFS, on 12 April 1991, by members of the THREE MILLION GANG.

MOSOLO, Pule Meshack, an MK operative, was shot dead by SAP members in Ficksburg, OFS, in April 1986, shortly after crossing into South Africa from Lesotho.

MOSOLOLI, Jerry Joseph Semano (26), an MK operative, was executed in Pretoria Central prison on 9 June 1983 along with two fellow operatives after being convicted of treason, murder and sabotage. The three were involved in attacks on police stations in the Transvaal.

MOSOME, Adolphus Motsemme, was shot dead on 8 August 1990 by members of the ISU, apparently assisting IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in Mapetla, Soweto, Johannesburg, during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MOSTERT, PJ, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MOSUE, Solomon, was shot dead by members of the SAP while travelling on the back of a *bakkie* in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 February 1986. Police entered the township to restore order during a consumer boycott.

MOSWANE, Samuel Motlhabaneni, a union organiser, was shot by members of the SAP on 26 December 1986 at the Indwe Hotel, Sunnyside, Pretoria. Mr Moswane's trade union recruitment activities resulted in management accompanying three policemen to his room where a policeman shot him in the shoulder. He spent four days in hospital. The bullet cannot be removed as it is lodged near his spine.

MOSWEU, Jacobus (30), was detained and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 15 February 1993 in Taung, Bophuthatswana, after he had held an ANC meeting at his house to discuss conflict over the chieftainship of Taung.

MOTALE, Sibongile Anna (21), a Kagiso Youth Congress (KAYCO) member, was repeatedly punched,

kicked and sjambokked by members of the SAP and a named member of the Security Branch at Krugersdorp police station, Tvl, on 15 October 1986. Her injuries caused profuse bleeding through her ears and vagina. Ms Motale was detained with other women under emergency regulations and was released in July 1987. Police wanted information about KAYCO's involvement in organising bus and consumer boycotts.

MOTANG, Alexandra (20), was shot dead by gunmen who fired at him from a passing car on 12 July 1993 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. See DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS.

MOTASI, Busi Irene, was shot dead by Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives at Temba, Bophuthatswana, on 1 December 1987. Her husband, also killed, was an SAP member who had laid charges of assault against a white SAP officer. Four Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the second in command, were granted amnesty for the killings (AC/2001/010; AC/1999/030 and AC/1999/32).

MOTASI, Richard, an SAP member, was shot dead by Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives at Temba, Bophuthatswana, on 1 December 1987. Sergeant Motasi had been suspended after laying charges of assault against a white SAP officer. Four Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the second in command, were granted amnesty for the killings. They testified that they had conducted the operation on the instructions of the divisional commissioner of police, who had told them that Sergeant Motasi was a double agent (AC/2001/010; AC/1999/030 and AC/1999/32).

MOTASI, Rita, an ANC supporter, was arrested on 4 November 1985 in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, and held in custody for many months. She was later convicted of public violence.

MOTASI, Sedito Charles (3) suffered severe ill-treatment when he was left throughout the night with the bodies of his parents who had been shot dead by Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives at Temba, Bophuthatswana, on 1 December 1987. The boy and his mother had been locked in a bedroom until his father returned home. Four Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the second in command, were granted amnesty for the killings (AC/2001/010; AC/1999/030 and AC/1999/32).

MOTAU, Abednigo Botiki Leu (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in 1986 in Bela-Bela, Warmbaths, Tvl. Mr Motau was involved in organising a rent boycott at the time of the shooting.

MOTAU, Josephine, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MOTAU, Peter Sello (aka 'Paul Dikaledi') (32), an MK commander from Soweto, Johannesburg, was shot dead in an ambush by named members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch on 9 July 1987 at Lobamba, Swaziland. An ANC NEC member and senior MK commander, Mr Job Tabana ('Cassius Make'), and a Mozambican woman, Ms Eliza Tsinini, were killed in the same operation.

MOTAU, Refilwe Gift (13), was sjambokked and assaulted by members of the Lebowa Police in 1985 in Duiwelskloof, Lebowa, because of his involvement in forming an SRC. The launch of the UDF in 1983 led to an underground core of activists in the area organising pupils to replace the prefect system with more democratic SRCs. This met with strong government disapproval and resulted in the detention and assault of many pupils by the Lebowa Police.

MOTAU, Tagishe Willkie (28), an SAP member, lost his house in an arson attack in July 1990 in Siyathuthuka, Belfast, Tvl, because people thought he was a police informer.

MOTAU, Thomas T ommy, an ANC supporter, died mysteriously after he was arrested and sentenced to six years for public violence in Bela-Bela, Warmbaths, Tvl, in 1986. He was active in the local organisation which campaigned for a rent boycott.

MOTAUNG, Adeline, a UDF supporter, had her house damaged when it was attacked by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 November 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MOTAUNG, Diratsagae Winston (32), was severely beaten and subjected to electric shock torture by members of the SAP, two of whom are named, after his arrest on 7 May 1991 in Vanderbijlpark, Tvl. Mr Motaung was arrested because of his participation in a rent boycott.

MOTAUNG, Ephraim (40), disappeared in Natalspruit, Vosloorus, Tvl, in June 1993 during conflict between the ANC and the IFP supporters in the area. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MOTAUNG, George Samuel (26), died after being stabbed, hacked and thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters at Ikwezi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 14 October 1993. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

MOTAUNG, Hendrick Oupa, died three days after he was abducted from his home and set alight, allegedly by ANC supporters, on 27 November 1986 in Katlehong, Tvl, during political conflict in the area.

MOTAUNG, Henry Moloantoa (41), was shot and injured by a member of the SAP on 8 September 1980 in Odi, Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, during political conflict in the area.

MOTAUNG, Jacob Moganeliwa Didae (25), a member of the EAGLES CLUB, was severely beaten when ANC supporters attacked him and five other 'Eagles Club' members at Qhoweng, Reddersburg, OFS, in 1989, allegedly because of their involvement with the club.

MOTAUNG, Joseph Makhwakhwa (24), was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 3 September 1984. A police officer's house had been burnt down by youth in the township that day.

MOTAUNG, Josphina Mamokete (53), lost her three houses in an arson attack in 1976 at Maboloko, Bophuthatswana during conflict over the chieftaincy of the area.

MOTAUNG, Judith Fikile (28), an ANC member, was detained in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, by members of the SAP from 16 June 1976 because of her participation in the SOWETO UPRISING.

MOTAUNG, Kgomotso Alfred (16), was shot and paralysed in 1990 in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, when members of the SAP opened fire on demonstrators protesting against the selling of land by the Bophuthatswana government.

MOTAUNG, Khotso Joshua (48), lost his house in an arson attack in 1976 at Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over the chieftaincy of the area.

MOTAUNG, Lekgotla Ezekiel (17), a COSAS member, was detained and tortured under the partial state of emergency in 1985 and again under the nationwide state of emergency in 1986 by named members of the SAP at the Houtkop police station in Sebokeng, Tvl.

MOTAUNG, Malefetsane Johannes (20), a COSAS member, was severely beaten with sjamboks and tortured by named SAP members in Petrus Steyn, OFS, on 12 August 1987, allegedly because he had been participating in a protest during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT. He has experienced a partial loss of sight and severe back problems, due to a spinal cord injury, since the beating.

MOTAUNG, Maria , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOTAUNG, Mikia (50), had his home in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, burnt down during conflict over the chieftaincy in the area on 8 May 1977.

MOTAUNG, Modiem Elizabeth (14), was shot dead by alleged IFP supporters in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, in the BOIPATONG MASSACRE on 17 June 1992. The attack was allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police.

MOTAUNG, Morena Samuel , was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 June 1993 during the 'Vaal monster' reign of terror in the area. See KHETISI KHESWA GANG.

MOTAUNG, Ntamakhala Dyke (33), was severely beaten on 24 July 1987 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MOTAUNG, Paseka Geor ge, was assaulted and abducted, together with one other person, by a group of COSAS students in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 October 1988. The two were allegedly state witnesses in trials against 'comrades'. They escaped serious injury when

the perpetrators were accosted by a police patrol. One COSAS member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/208).

MOTAUNG, Petr os, was severely injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOTAUNG, Philemon , suffered injuries when the armoured vehicle in which he was travelling drove over and detonated a landmine in Messina, Tvl, on 27 November 1985. The ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN was aimed at military patrols in the rural areas. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

MOTAUNG, Rebecca , was severely injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOTAUNG, Ruth (14), was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Bela-Bela, Warmbaths, Tvl, while playing in the street with her friend in 1986.

MOTAUNG, Sekonyela Gerald (33), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Wadeville, Germiston, Tvl, on 8 September 1993. Twenty-five people were shot and killed while waiting at a taxi rank.

MOTAUNG, Sello Paul (58), was stabbed and shot by IFP supporters on 7 March 1993 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during intense conflict in the area between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MOTAUNG, Teboho Esaia , a member of the SAP, was shot dead by unidentified perpetrators in November 1990 while off-duty at Kagiso, Tvl, after he complained about the conduct of fellow policemen.

MOTAUNG, Thabo Isaac (28), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

MOTAUNG, Thandiwe Elizabeth , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOTAUNG, Tieho David (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 November 1990.

MOTAUNG, Tlali Abel (53), was severely beaten by a named perpetrator in 1976 at Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, during conflict between rival chiefs and their supporters.

MOTAUNG, Tseliso Joseph (45), an ANC supporter, was detained on 3 April 1986 in Kattlehong, Tvl, and held for three days during which time he was severely beaten by members of the SAP. Mr Motaung was arrested after returning from the funeral of an MK operative. Police accused him of burning down a local councillor's home.

MOTAUNG, Victor Sipho (25), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Petsana, near Reitz, OFS, on 21 July 1990. Members of the SAP reportedly harassed Mr Motaung's family during and after his funeral.

MOTEANE, Hellen Galebaitse (44), a Bophuthatswana People's Progressive Party (BPPP) member, was arrested and detained in solitary confinement by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in April 1990 at Tlhabane, Rustenburg, Bophuthatswana, for being an aide to the leader of the BPPP.

MOTEBELE, Rosina Dikeledi (21), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Ellisras, Tvl, when police dispersed an ANC mass meeting during October 1990.

MOTELE, Bethuel, was stabbed by named members of a vigilante group during political conflict at Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, in 1986.

MOTELE, Pinkie (31), was stabbed by named perpetrators during political conflict at Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, in 1986.

MOTELE, Rosina Puleng Stormy (30), was severely beaten by named members of a vigilante group during political conflict at Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, in 1986.

MOTETE, Mohlahluoa Phineas (39), a member of the Moakeng Crisis Committee, had his shop burnt down by a breakaway group of dissident ANC members in Maokeng, Kroonstad, OFS, in 1990. Later his store was again attacked and shots were fired at him by members of the THREE MILLION GANG.

MOTHA, Dinah Hadebe (34), had her home destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the State's proposal to incorporate the village into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in attacks on property and people.

MOTHA, Jan Usityata (69), was abducted from his home in KwaThema, Tvl, by IFP supporters on 21 July 1991. His body was found the next day at the mortuary. KwaThema was one of many East Rand townships embroiled in conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the early 1990s.

MOTHA, Janawarie (57), was arrested in 1986 in KwaMhlanga, KwaNdebele, and detained for ten months at police stations in KwaMhlanga and Middelburg during the state of emergency because he opposed INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MOTHA, Margaret Beji (24), lost her home when it was petrol-bombed by named ANC supporters on 21 August 1990 in KwaThema, Tvl, during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MOTHA, Meshack, was shot dead when the vehicle in which he and nine other young men were travelling was ambushed at Diepdale, near Ermelo, Tvl, on 30 September 1993. The youths were returning from a court appearance in connection with the killing of a local chief when they were attacked, allegedly by the chief's son and other IFP supporters. Four of the ten were killed and three others injured.

MOTHA, Mthokozisi, was killed when a petrol bomb was thrown into his home by ANC supporters on 21 August 1990 in KwaThema, Tvl, during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MOTHA, Sindisiwe V eronica, was shot dead by members of the SADF on 2 May 1991 in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MOTHA, Veli Joseph (34), was tortured in detention in June 1986 by members of the SAP and SADF in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MOTHABE, Molathegi Floers (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when members of the SAP opened fire on demonstrators participating in a SCHOOL BOYCOTT in Bloemfontein in 1990.

MOTHABI, Emma, had her home demolished by members of the Bophuthatswana Police acting on an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana government in Sekampaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 8 February 1993.

MOTHAGO, Esr om, was one of five people seriously injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Administration Board offices in Tembisa, Tvl, on 6 October 1988. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/132).

MOTHANDOBULO, Nomadule (51), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MOTHAPO, P, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

MOTHAPO, Piet Makgobathe an ANC supporter, was assaulted and stoned by named members of the Big Five vigilante group near Pietersburg, Tvl, on 11 October 1992.

MOTHAPO, Rebecca Fahlaza (34) was shot in the jaw and stabbed with an assegai on 8 September 1991 in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, by IFP supporters returning to Nancefield hostel from a rally at Jabulani stadium.

MOTHAPO, Refiloe Madipoane (26), a chieftainess, lost her house in Ga-Mothapo, Pietersburg, Tvl, when it was burnt down by supporters of rival chief TJ Mothapo on 16 June 1990. A week earlier, the perpetrators had insulted and threatened Ms Mothapo in her home.

MOTHAPO, Selepe Amos, was assaulted at the home of Chieftainess Mothapo at Ga-Mothapo, Pietersburg, Tvl, by Chief TJ Mothapo and his supporters on 16 June 1990.

MOTHIBA, Frans Maboko (30), was arrested, assaulted in detention and kept in solitary confinement for three weeks at Temba, Bophuthatswana, in 1991. Mr Mothiba was part of a group who resisted the appointment of chiefs by President Mangope.

MOTHIBA, Lesiba Maxwell , had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mothiba resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOTHIBE, Frans , was detained and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in March 1989 in Zeerust, Tvl, during conflict over the forced INCORPORATION of Braklaagte into Bophuthatswana.

MOTHIBEDI, Vincent George (17), was arrested by named members of the SAP on his way to a meeting on 12 June 1986 in KwaThema, Tvl. Mr Mothibedi was arrested because of his involvement in student political activities.

MOTHIBELI, Kok Daniel (35), was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

MOTHIBELI, Nkopane Meshack (16), a COSAS member, was shot in the ribs and both legs by members of the SAP on 26 March 1990 in Sebokeng, Tvl, while participating in a protest march against high rentals. He brought a civil case and was compensated for his injuries.

MOTHIBELI, Sechake Samuel (45), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 July 1992. He tried to intervene when police were shooting at youths on the street.

MOTHIBI, Badiri Ephraim (60), an ANC supporter, was arrested by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force in September 1989 and again on 12 August 1990 and detained in Mafikeng, Bophutha-tswana. Mr Mothibi was arrested under emergency regulations for removing the Bophuthatswana flag.

MOTHIBI, Ezekiel Pendo (20), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in KWAKWATSI, KOPPIES, OFS, on 30 March 1990.

MOTHIBI, Frans Member (33), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 28 May 1989 in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during resistance to INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOTHIBI, Kgositsele Hendrick (17), an ANC supporter, was killed when he was shot in the stomach by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Lekubus, near Zeerust, Tvl, on 8 January 1991. Residents opposing INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana had gathered to console a family whose house had been burnt down. Police arrived and shot at the crowd, killing two people and seriously injuring another.

MOTHIBI, Lucas Mareko (17), a youth activist, was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 16 December 1985, in an attempt to force a confession of his participation in a 'necklacing'. He was later acquitted of the charges.

MOTHIBI, Samuel , was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in KWAKWATSI, KOPPIES, OFS, on 30 March 1990.

MOTHIBI, Sylvia Potata (21), was severely beaten and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 28 March 1989.

MOTHIBI, TM , a constable in the SAP, was injured when MK operatives attacked the Soekmekear police station, Lebowa, on 4 January 1980. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0276).

MOTHIBINYANE, Bothobile Dorah (66), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when police dispersed the crowd with teargas and sjamboks .

MOTHIOA, Samuel Tsediso (23), a UDF supporter, was detained several times between 1981 and 1986 in Kroonstad, OFS. He was repeatedly assaulted and tortured in detention, allegedly because he had been identified as a leader in the political conflict in Kroonstad.

MOTHIOA, Frans Monawa , was killed in a bomb blast in Roodepoort, Tvl, on 3 June 1988. In a submission to the TRC, the ANC claimed responsibility for the blast explaining that the original target was a nearby police station and not civilians. Five people were killed in the blast.

MOTHIOA, Kleinboy Masenten Yang (60), was abducted from his home in Kgobokwane, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 by IMBOKODO vigilantes. At Siyabuswa community hall he and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and were sjambokked and beaten where they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted for about 36 hours. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MOTHIOA, Paulos Papa (26), was severely beaten with sjamboks and batons by members of the SAP on 8 March 1986 on the Dennilton road towards Kgobokwane, KwaNdebele, after attending a funeral during conflict around INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Mr Mothioa had become an active UDF supporter after resigning from the police. KwaNdebele independence was cancelled in August 1986 because of Moutse resistance.

MOTHIOA, Rachel Mamothusi (15), was shot with pellets by members of the SAP while standing in her yard in Phahameng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993. Police reportedly opened fire on a gathering of people on the eve of the funeral for assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

MOTHIOBI, Keletu Emma (32), had her home demolished by members of the Bophuthatswana Police acting on an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana government in Sekampaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 8 February 1993.

MOTHIOBI, Molatelo Mary (54), was detained, kept in solitary confinement and interrogated by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in November 1988 in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, because of the involvement of her son-in-law in a coup against the Mangope government.

MOTHOGANE, Michael Ramohlalane (24), was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in

Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

MOTHOKOAMA, Selloane Maria (66), an ANC supporter, was shot in the leg by members of the SADF in September 1984 during rent boycotts in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the VAAL UPRISING. **MOTHOKOANE, Rebecca**, had her home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, petrol-bombed on an unspecified date between December 1986 and July 1988. One member of the Riot Police was refused amnesty (AC/1999/0026). **MOTHOPENG, Bibi Urbanah** (57), was detained and held in solitary confinement at the Pietermaritzburg prison in 1976, allegedly because of her husband's political activities. Her husband, Mr Zephania Lekoane Mothopeng, a PAC leader, was severely tortured for his part in the Sharpeville protest as well as the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

MOTHOPENG, Zephaniah (48), a founder member and later President of the PAC, was detained, tortured and jailed for two years in 1961, followed by a further three years in 1964, for PAC activities. From 1967 to 1971 he was placed under banning orders. He was again detained in August 1976 and severely tortured, spending three years in prison prior to his conviction in 1979 on terrorism charges in the 'Bethal Trial'. See BETHAL 18. He then served nine years of a 15-year prison term, being released in November 1988 due to serious illness. He died in October 1990.

MOTHOPI, Paulos, was beaten with sjamboks and knobkerries on 8 March 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, by members of the SAP who attacked a bus transporting mourners to a funeral at a time of intense conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MOTHOWAGAE, Lerumo Ishmael (55), an ANC supporter, was beaten, subjected to electric shock torture and suffocated by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 4 March 1986.

MOTHOWAGAE, Ramootshootswana Bob (36), was arrested and severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police on 1 July 1989 in Leeuwfontein near Zeerust, Tvl, during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Mokgola village into Bophuthatswana. Nine soldiers were killed and several residents were assaulted during this attack.

MOTHSWENE, Patricia, an alleged IFP supporter, was assaulted and shot dead by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 April 1994. Her friend was shot and wounded in the same attack. The SDU member was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1998/0079).

MOTHUNSI, Nkhushi Moses (50), was forcefully evicted and his property was destroyed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Hammanskraal, Tvl, in December 1993 during forced removals in the area.

MOTHUPI, Abel Makhampha (18), was detained by named members of the SAP on 8 April 1989 at Welverdiend Police Station, Carletonville, Tvl, during a consumer boycott. Several youths were shot while others were detained and tortured by police during this campaign.

MOTHUPI, Abraham Magiseng (21), was shot in the face by members of the AWB on 12 December 1993 at an illegal roadblock set up outside Ventersdorp, Tvl.

Four people, including two children, were killed in the attack. See RODORA ROADBLOCK KILLINGS. One AWB member was granted amnesty; eight further applications were refused (AC/1999/0045).

MOTHUPI, Daniel (13), was shot dead on his way home from school by members of the SAP on 10 February 1986 in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, during student protests in the area.

MOTHUPI, George Jordan (36), was shot and injured by members of the Riot Squad in Heilbron, OFS, on 19 March 1990, during a stayaway in the area. Two SAP members were charged and convicted for this offence.

MOTHUPI, Petrus Buti (27), was shot and killed by members of the AWB on 12 December 1993 at an illegal roadblock set up outside Ventersdorp, Tvl. Four people, including two children, were killed in the attack. Eight AWB members were refused amnesty and one was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0045). See RODORA ROADBLOCK KILLINGS.

MOTHUSI, Sello Paulos, was shot and injured by members of the security forces in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl, on 1 May 1986 during a boycott in the area.

MOTIANE, (first name not given), was shot and injured in the leg by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Mzimhlope, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1992, after being accused by residents of disruptive behaviour. One SDU member was refused amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0317).

MOTIKI, Deborah, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, during conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu.

MOTINGOE, Joseph (29), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Vierfontein, OFS, on 2 August 1993. He was allegedly returning from work when police stopped and assaulted him for wearing a Saddam Hussein T-shirt.

MOTJEANE, Ceaser (44), a local councillor, was killed by members of the UDF-aligned Vaal Civic Association in September 1984 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during a rent boycott. Councillors were seen as legitimate targets in the struggle against apartheid institutions.

MOTJEANE, Maud Fikile Lucy (40), was stoned and injured by 'comrades' in September 1984 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during a rent boycott. Ms Motjeane's husband was a community councillor and the community was calling for councillors to resign.

MOTJHEKWANE, Philip (55), was detained in Bloemfontein in September 1990, while participating in a protest march calling for the release of a detained student. In custody, he was severely beaten by members of the SAP.

MOTJOPE, Thato Eunice (2), was severely injured when members of the SAP fired teargas into a crowd of marching COSAS supporters in Ladybrand, OFS, on 5 March 1990. The child, who was with her mother at the time, later lost her sight in one eye as a result of her injuries.

MOTJOTJI, Makalo Charles (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF during protests at Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, on 22 August 1985.

MOTJUOADI, Mpho Samuel (22), an MK member, was detained in October 1986 for allegedly being an enemy agent and held for five years at Quatro camp, Angola, as well as in Uganda. During this time, he was repeatedly tortured and subjected to severe ill-treatment.

MOTLAFI, Isaac, was abducted by IMBOKODO vigilantes in April 1986 in KwaNdebele, during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MOTLAFI, Manaki Violet (44), was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in April 1986 in KwaNdebele, during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MOTLAFI, Steve Kgotso (18), was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in April 1986 in KwaNdebele, during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

MOTLALE, Charles Motlogelwa (19), was injured when police opened fire on a student protest march in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 19 April 1990. Five people were killed and six others injured in the shooting.

MOTLALEKGOSI, Martha Doreen (16), was shot by members of the SAP on 27 September 1991 in Reagile, Koster, Tvl, while *toy-toying* with other youths.

MOTLALENTOA, Pharasi Berman (aka 'Elick Mabuza'), an MK member, died in 1981 in the Fazenda camp in Angola after being severely assaulted by members of the ANC security department, allegedly for a breach of discipline.

MOTLANA, Nthato, a prominent anti-apartheid activist, was harassed by the Witwatersrand Security Branch between 1982 and 1986. One Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/0184).

MOTLATSI, Tahleho Canaseus (48), was stabbed on 14 August 1990 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, during violent political conflict in the area.

MOTLATSI, Taylor Malupe (38), an ANC supporter, was detained, severely beaten and tortured by members of the security forces while in custody in Paarl, Cape, during 1960. He later fled the country to Lesotho.

MOTLELENG, Richard Tankiso (22), an ANCYL member, survived an attempted killing when police fired on his vehicle at a roadblock near Welkom, OFS, in 1985. Motleleng had allegedly been transporting an ANC supporter, who was attempting to flee to Lesotho.

MOTLENG, Mamaseli M (44), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOTLHABANE, Nokuhlupheka Daisy (39), was killed on 13 September 1990 by armed men who boarded a Soweto-bound train at Jeppe station and began their attack as the train passed through George Goch station. The attackers moved through three carriages, killing about 26 people and wounding 45 others. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MOTLHABANE, PJ, a member of the Bophuthatswana security forces, was shot dead by MK operatives in an attack on the Braklaagte military base, Bophuthatswana, on 31 July 1990. Three others security force members were killed and two were injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/254).

MOTLHABI, Gobuamang Evah (56), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when Police dispersed the crowd with teargas and sjamboks.

MOTLHAJWA, Johannes (15), was shot by members of the SAP in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, on 17 November 1990.

MOTLODISI, Alfred (17), was shot dead by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG members on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired and threw hand grenades at mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived on the scene but provided no protection, ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

MOTLOHI, Moses Matumpule (21), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Lephoi, Bethulie, OFS, on 28 March 1991, during a student campaign to expel teachers and children of SAP members from the school.

MOTLOHI, Solomon Ramasale (35), a rent collector, died after being severely beaten by ANC supporters in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 1 August 1988. The incident took place during a rent boycott. Mr Motlohi was allegedly targeted because he encouraged people to pay rent at street committee meetings.

MOTLOKOA, Abednico (22), a Pan-African Students Organisation supporter, was shot in the leg in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING by alleged members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 July 1992.

MOTLOKOA, Patrick, was detained by named members of the SAP at Jan Hofmeyer police station in Welkom, OFS, on 6 June 1986. His mother was also detained. The police were allegedly searching for his brother, an ANC supporter. The family had been subjected to continuous police harassment because of the brother's alleged political activities.

MOTLOKWA, Kathodi Alpheus (64), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Motlokwa resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOTLOKWA, Madumetja Simon (36), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Motlokwa resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOTLOUNG, (first name not given), was shot in the legs at the Dennilton Police station, KwaNdebele, on 27 September 1987. Members of the KwaNdebele Police were assisting IMBOKODO vigilantes in targeting residents opposed to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MOTLOUNG, Ernest Solomon (17), an ANCYL member, was assaulted in detention by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 16 October 1992 at Tsineng, Kuruman, during a boycott of a bottle store in the area.

MOTLOUNG, Gerald Meshack (64), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 10 December 1992.

MOTLOUNG, Isaac Mbuyisana 'V ips', an ANC member, was assaulted, strangled, stabbed and drowned by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. He was one of 11 ANC members killed, nine execution style, by SDU members in Moleleki section, Katlehong, during a conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

MOTLOUNG, Jerry, a member of the SAP, was wounded in an armed attack by MK operatives on the Dennilton police station in KwaNdebele on 26 September 1987. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/102).

MOTLOUNG, Lydia Mmatieho (21), was burnt to death in 1992 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, by 'comrades' because of her relationship with an IFP supporter. Sharpeville was one of many townships embroiled in conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MOTLOUNG, Makereke (33), had her home and business burnt down by ANC supporters in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOTLOUNG, Mamafudi Sauslina (55), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOTLOUNG, Matsikiso (31), had her home burnt down in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOTLOUNG, Molantwa Joseph Mayoyo (26), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by ANCYL members in Mamafubedu, Petrus Steyn, OFS, on 20 November 1993. The attackers thought Mr Motloun was spying for the IFP.

MOTLOUNG, Nkhyelema Elizabeth (60), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MOTLOUNG, Phillimon (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

MOTLOUNG, Victoria Penelope, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 20 May 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MOTMANI, Nkosemntu, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MOTOAI, Daniel Motsamai (38), was shot dead on 24 May 1991 in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MOTOAI, Maur een, was stabbed in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1991. Ms Motoai suspects it was because the previous owner of her house was a policeman.

MOTOME, Solomon, was teargassed and sjambokked on 23 March 1986 when a named member of the SAP threw teargas into a tavern in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MOTONA, Matlou Lulu (48), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOTONA, Mosima Gladys (44), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOTONA, Tshweni Johannes (67), lost his home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Motona resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MOTSA, James Bhangu, a civilian, was severely injured when the vehicle in which he was travelling detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives on the Diepgezet/Barberton road, Tvl, on 28 March 1987. Four of his relatives died in the blast. The attack formed part of 'Operation Cetshwayo', an MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/111). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

MOTSA, Sixoxo Robert, a civilian, was killed when the vehicle in which he was travelling detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives on the Diepgezet/Barberton road, Tvl, on 28 March 1987. Three of his relatives also died in the blast and one survived with injuries. The attack formed part of 'Operation Cetshwayo', an MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/111). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

MOTSAMAI, Gadifele (28), was assaulted and forced to perform sexual acts by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 12 May 1989 in Zeerust, Tvl, while being interrogated about the killing of a soldier. Ms Motsamai was three months pregnant at the time and miscarried as a result of the beating.

MOTSAMAI, Jan T umelo, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 4 March 1986 in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl, when he was mistaken for another youth who had thrown stones at police.

MOTSAMAI, Kgashoane Daniel (16), was detained, beaten and tortured in 1985 in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, because he was suspected of having committed arson.

MOTSANANA, Malope Petrus (25), was stabbed and shot by IFP supporters accompanied by members of the SADF in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 25 July 1992. Tigane was engulfed in conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MOTSAPI, Michael Motale (26), was abducted in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 26 June 1992, and has not been seen since.

MOTSAU, Jacob , was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 5 April 1986 in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl, during a bus boycott in the area. Mr Motsau is paralysed as a result of his injuries.

MOTSE, David , an ANC member, was shot dead on 7 August 1992 in Vosloorus, Tvl, allegedly by a named local councillor reputedly linked to the IFP. In 1991, Mr Motse's mother's home was petrol-bombed, allegedly by the same perpetrator.

MOTSE, Merry Dikeledi , (43), lost her house in 1991 in Vosloorus, Tvl, when it was petrol-bombed, allegedly by a named local councillor linked to the IFP. Ms Motse's son, David Motse, was shot dead in August 1992, allegedly by the same councillor.

MOTSEI, Moses (22), a COSAS supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP and SADF on 21 November 1985 in Mamelodi, Pretoria, when security forces opened fire on people on a protest march against high rent.

MOTSEOILE, Phillemon Moeketsi (30), an MK operative, was stabbed to death by a named member of the SAP in Theunissen, OFS, on 22 November 1992, a few months after his return from exile. He had been frequently harassed and threatened by the police since his return.

MOTSEPE, Godfrey Josiah Moditseng (46), the ANC chief representative in the BENELUX countries, survived an attempt on his life by an alleged South African security force operative who fired two shots at him through the windows of the ANC office in Brussels, Belgium, in February 1988. On 27 March 1988, a 17kg bomb was discovered and defused outside his Brussels office. Two days later, the ANC chief representative in Paris was killed in a South African security force operation.

MOTSEPE, Goodwill Linda , was shot dead by IFP supporters on 4 August 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, at a funeral of ANC supporters killed during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers. A local IFP leader, brandishing a sjambok , emerged from the hostel followed by 300 armed hostel-dwellers to attack mourners. Three people were killed and several others were injured.

MOTSEPE, Joseph Philemon (37), was detained several times between 1960 and 1964 in Soweto. He was an ANC member during a time of severe repression by the Security Police. Mr Motsepe later died in exile.

MOTSEPE, Ngoata Mannie (28), was beaten with rifle butts on 5 May 1987 in KwaMhlanga, KwaNdebele, by members of the SAP who accused him of being involved in resistance to INCOPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MOTSEPO, Tseko Joshua (53), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by a named SAP member in Kutloanong, Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 4 November 1990, during a SANCO demonstration.

MOTSETSI, Tankiso Simon (25), a PAC member, was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Sebokeng,

Tvl, on 7 January 1994. He was recruiting new members for the local branch of the PAC Youth League.

MOTSHAOLE, David Oupa , was shot and injured by members of an APLA 'repossession unit' who were fleeing from the scene of an armed robbery in Randfontein, Tvl, on 16 April 1994. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA operatives were granted amnesty for this shooting (AC/2001/102 and AC/1998/119).

MOTSHEPE, Salmon Monalane (33), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by members of the THREE MILLION GANG at Koe-Koe Village, Kroonstad, OFS, on 10 October 1993.

MOTSHEPE, Tampor o James (27), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with rifle butts and sjambokked by members of the SADF 32 Battalion in his shack in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 8 April 1992. Mr Motshepe was one of more than 100 Phola Park residents, including women and teenagers, who were assaulted by members of 32 Battalion after a member of the SADF was shot and injured in the area. Two women were shot dead and at least four raped during the raid. An investigation by Justice Goldstone concluded that the soldiers acted in a manner 'completely inconsistent with the function of a peacekeeping force' and recommended they be removed from the townships.

MOTSHEPI, Mutsu Sonnyboy (79), was arrested, tear-gassed and detained by named police members at Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986 during a mass meeting at the City Rocks stadium, where the police opened fire, killing people and wounding others. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

MOTSHOGO, Stephen (22), was beaten to death with knobkerries by members of the SAP on 24 February 1984 in Kagiso, Tvl, during a rent boycott in the area.

MOTSHWA, Johannes , a former mayor of Lebohang, near Leandra, Tvl, lost his home when it was burnt down in August 1984. One UDF supporter and the Leandra Action Committee member were granted amnesty for the arson attack (AC/1999/0169).

MOTSHWANEDI, Moses Serunye (35), was severely beaten by members of the SAP on 24 April 1986 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during conflict between police and residents.

MOTSHWANELA, Jacob , suffered severe damage to house and property as a result of a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONECAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

MOTSIRI, Mapule Anna , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MOTSIRI, Sam , was shot and killed, by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG members on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of an ANCYL member

killed by the gang. Gang members fired and threw hand grenades at mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived on the scene but provided no protection, ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

MOTSISI, Nthoesang Stephen (20), was severely injured on 18 April 1993 in Sebokeng, Tvl, when IFP supporters shot at people at a night vigil for assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI. Nineteen people were killed.

MOTSISI, Patrick, was shot dead by members of the SAP in June 1976 in Mhlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MOTSITSE, Teboho Jacob (45), was beaten, stabbed and thrown from a train by IFP supporters in Wadeville, Tvl, on 1 December 1992. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

MOTSITSI, Daniel, was shot and injured on 15 April 1993 in Sebokeng, Tvl, in one of many DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS which followed the assassination of SACP leader CHRIS HANI. Residents barricaded roads to protect themselves from attack. Mr Motsitsi and others were fired at when they came to the assistance of a victim of such a shooting. The attackers doubled back and fired at them, killing several people.

MOTSITSI, Doctor Elliot, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a named member of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 10 September 1992 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MOTSITSI, Joseph, was shot dead at his home by members of the SAP during a stayaway in Tembisa, Tvl, in 1984.

MOTSOALEDI, Elias Mathope (39), an ANC member, was arrested and detained in June 1964 in Johannesburg, for actively resisting the apartheid state during a clampdown on all black political organisations. He was one of the Rivonia trialists and, after being charged with treason, was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island. He served 27 years and was released after the unbanning of the liberation movements and the release of political prisoners.

MOTSOANE, John Lehlhoholo (38), was shot in the arm and foot by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

MOTSOENENG, Bikinyana David (17), was shot and injured by IFP supporters on 15 May 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MOTSOENENG, Emma (40), had her home destroyed by IFP supporters on 8 September 1991 in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. The IFP supporters were on their way back from a rally at Jabulani stadium when the attack took place. Four women in the household were killed.

MOTSOENENG, Esther (13), was stabbed and injured on 8 September 1991 in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. The IFP supporters were on their way back from a rally at

Jabulani stadium when the attack took place. Three members of Esther's family were killed in this attack.

MOTSOENENG, Jeanette Maletsatsi, was shot and stabbed to death on 8 September 1991 in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. The IFP supporters were on their way back from a rally at Jabulani stadium when the attack took place. Three members of Ms Motsoening's family were killed in this attack.

MOTSOENENG, Joyce (26), was shot and stabbed to death on 8 September 1991 in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. The IFP supporters were on their way back from a rally at Jabulani stadium when the attack took place. Three members of Ms Motsoening's family were killed in this attack.

MOTSOENENG, Mokhifa Petrus (20), a student leader, was detained by a named member of the SAP in Bethlehem, OFS, on 16 June 1986 during the state of emergency.

MOTSOENENG, Polediso Hubert Dihlele (18), an ANC supporter and student activist, was detained in Bethlehem, OFS, on 16 June 1986 and held without trial for six months. He was detained for a further five months in 1987. During both periods of detention, Mr Motsoeneng was severely beaten by members of the SAP.

MOTSOENENG, Sello (40), was shot by ANC-aligned self-defence unit (SDU) members and died as a result of his injuries on 30 May 1991 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl. The alleged perpetrator did not abide by the SDU code of conduct.

MOTSOENENG, V irginia (35), was shot and stabbed to death on 8 September 1991 in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. The IFP supporters were on their way back from a rally at Jabulani stadium when the attack took place. Three members of Ms Motsoening's family were killed in this attack.

MOTSOENYANE, Petrus T shiemane, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 1 May 1986 in Tsweleng, Wolmaranstadt, Tvl, during a May Day celebration. He was shot trying to escape from the stadium which was sealed off by members of the SAP and SADF.

MOTSOTI, Johannes Soke, was shot dead in 1993 by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, during political conflict.

MOTSOKI, John (53), was severely beaten by supporters of a named chief on 19 January 1981 in Abbots Poort, near Pietersburg, Tvl, because he did not support the said chief.

MOTSOMANE, Solomon (21), an ANC activist, was shot dead, by members of the SAP on 26 February 1986 in Motetema, Lebowa. Several 'comrades' attended a disciplinary meeting when a member of the SAP attached to the local police station arrived and started shooting at them.

MOTSOPI, Bella (70), a member of the Vosloorus Crisis Committee, was shot dead on 1 June 1990 in Vosloorus, Tvl, during political conflict.

MOTSOSI, Magdeline Gabathlaole (32), was abducted from her home and sjambokked by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, on 24 March 1989. She was detained at Motswedi police station and assaulted for five days during resistance to INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOTSUENYANE, Jocelyn Nomgqibelo, lost her house in a petrol bomb attack by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, in March 1986. Ms Motsuenyane was part of a group of people who tried to organise a meeting between members of the community and the Winterveld Community Council to address grievances relating to police harassment.

MOTSUKE, Poopedi William (54), was severely beaten by supporters of a named chief on 19 January 1981 at Abbots Poort, near Pietersburg, Tvl, because he did not support the said chief.

MOTSUMI, Ephraim Jonas Israel, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP on 28 February 1986 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, because he was suspected of burning down the house of a school principal during student protests.

MOTSUMI, Thapelo Martiens (39), was injured in a shooting by AVB members in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 11 March 1994. The attack occurred when right-wing organisations invaded Mafikeng in response to the popular uprising against President Mangope's refusal to allow free political activity and reincorporation into South Africa.

MOTSWADIRENG, Molefi William (34), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in April 1990 at Taung, Bophuthatswana, when police disrupted a meeting at a chief's kraal.

MOTSWAKHUMO, Mmannyana, suffered severe damage to house and property as a result of a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

MOTSWANA, Eunice, was killed by IFP supporters on 8 September 1990 in Soweto, Johannesburg, during a raid on the ANC-aligned Tladi squatter camp. Three other members of her family died in the attack.

MOTSWANA, Mar gar et Mapule, was killed by IFP supporters on 8 September 1990 in Soweto, Johannesburg, during a raid on the ANC-aligned Tladi squatter camp. Three other members of her family died in attack.

MOTSWANA, Phillis (16), was killed by IFP supporters on 8 September 1990 in Soweto, Johannesburg, during a raid on the ANC-aligned Tladi squatter camp. Three other members of her family died in attack.

MOTSWANA, Queen (21), was killed by IFP supporters on 8 September 1990 in Soweto, Johannesburg, during a raid on the ANC-aligned Tladi squatter camp. Three other members of her family died in attack.

MOTSWENI, Bitana Emma (40), had her house destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in attacks on property and people.

MOTUMI, Israel Lepekola (21), an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters in Clermont, near Durban, on 19 January 1990 in political conflict over the incorporation of the township into KwaZulu.

MOUKANGOE, Sarah Mantwa (39), was detained and tortured by a named member of the SAP in February 1986 in Nebo, Lebowa, for burning down the house of a member of the SAP.

MOUMAKWA, Elizabeth (33), was beaten, hacked and severely injured on 5 January 1991 in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over the INCORPORATION of the area into Bophuthatswana.

MOUMAKWA, Ntebo (13), was burnt to death when his sister's house was set alight on 5 January 1991 in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

MOUMAKWE, Moses Mataiwa, an ANC supporter, was detained and assaulted on 15 December 1989 in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, by a named member of the Bophuthatswana Police during political conflict in the area.

MOVHE, Violet, died when she was assaulted with sticks and stones by a large crowd of community residents at Manavhela, Venda, on 8 February 1990. She was accused of using witchcraft to hinder the work of political activists in the area. At a meeting, residents resolved to force her to leave the area, but killed Ms Movhe while confronting her. Three ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/094).

MOXHAM, John Arthur (51), a member of the SADF, was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

MOYAKE, Daisy Nolessen (67), an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG members in Tembisa, Tvl, on 9 March 1992. Tembisa was embroiled in political conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MOYANA, Sanangele Getrude (32), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 July 1993 in a spate of DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS that killed 14 people.

MOYANE, Bernadette Disebo (34), was beaten by members of the SAP while returning from a mass funeral in Evaton, Tvl, on 15 September 1984 during the VAAL UPRISING.

MOYENI, Thembani (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by ADM supporters during political conflict in Peddie, Ciskei, on 9 January 1994.

MOYES, Gavin David, a policeman, suffered an attempt on his life when he and his colleagues attempted to stop a vehicle occupied by an MK unit on 7 July 1990 in Nyanga, Cape Town. An MK operative

in the vehicle opened fire, killing one policeman. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0331).

MOYI, Sizakele Ephr on, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP and SADF on 1 May 1991 in Katlehong, Tvl, while returning by taxi from an ANC rally.

MOYISE, Diyan, an ANC member, was arrested, interrogated and assaulted by fellow ANC members near Lusaka, Zambia, during 1979 to 1982. One ANC member, who later became an *askari*, was granted amnesty (AC/2000/228).

MOYISWA, Sikinkili (75), was detained and tortured in June 1960 and in 1970 in Flagstaff, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MOYO, Norman Baye (22), was detained and beaten after police opened fire on a crowd gathered to protest against police brutality at City Rocks Stadium, Winter-veld, Bophuthatswana on 26 March 1986. Eleven people were killed and 200 injured when a member of the Bophuthatswana police gave a command to open fire. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

MOZELEPA, a Phoyco member, was detained by named members of the SAP in Bethlehem, OFS, on 20 June 1986, during a protest to demand the release of political detainees. The police fired shots at the demonstrators, and arrested some Phoyco members. In detention, they were tortured.

MPAHLA, Jomo (aka 'Jilly Khumalo') (25), an MK operative and formerly a professional boxer, was killed by mutineers in Pango camp, Angola, in May 1985. Dissatisfaction in MK training camps in Angola led to mutinies at the Viana and Pango camps in 1984. Both mutinies were put down with loss of lives on both sides. Mr Mphala was from Mdantsane, Ciskei.

MPAHLA, Mcinjana, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 1 January 1990.

MPAKATHI, Noluthando Sweetness (23), was stabbed and injured in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 15 April 1993, during the forced removal of Section 2 residents by persons associated with a local Crossroads leader.

MPALALA, Ncedani Samson, was seriously injured when he was 'necklaced' by UDF supporters in Petrusville, Cape, in early 1986. Mr Mpalala then committed suicide on 10 June 1986, allegedly as a result of his injuries.

MPALWENI, Wellington Mzwakhe (18), an ANC supporter, was arrested and beaten by members of the SAP at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, in July 1977 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING. On 14 February 1981, Mr Mpalweni was arrested and held at Protea police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, subjected to electric shock torture and suffocation by members of the Security Branch who wanted information on the ANC underground.

MPAMBANE, Khanyiswa (34), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992 in intense political conflict in the area. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

MPAMBANI, Luvuyo (17), a Uitenhage Youth Congress member, was shot dead by a named member of the

SAP on 25 August 1987 in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape. Reportedly, Mr Mpambani was on his way home from school when he was called over by SAP members in a car. He decided to run away and the perpetrators shot him in the back. While lying on the ground, he was kicked, beaten, and finally shot again.

MPHAMBANI, Nohambile (51), an ADM member, died on 27 April 1993 after she had been severely assaulted with stones, knives and sticks, by a group of about 300 youth as she was fleeing from her home in Gobozani, Mdantsane, Ciskei. Seven members of the ANC Youth League were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/97/0020).

MPANGASE, Mlandeli Andrias (45), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in Pieter-maritzburg on 31 January 1988.

MPANGE, Maphelo (27), an ANC activist, was shot dead by unidentified perpetrators in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 25 September 1993.

MPANGELA, Mahlangulisile Sellina (65), lost her house in an arson attack in Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1992, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MPANGISO, Nomsa (24), was abducted and interrogated, together with another woman, by members of the ANC Youth League in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 21 February 1993. The second woman was necklaced to death but Ms Mpangiso escaped. The attack took place during a period of conflict between the PAC and ANC in the town. One ANCYL member applied for and was granted amnesty for his role in the kidnapping (AC/1997/0022).

MPANI, Licence, was severely suffocated when his home was set alight by WITDOEKE vigilantes in KTC, Cape Town, on 9 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

MPANI, Nobuntu Maud (45), lost her home in an arson attack in KTC, Cape Town, on 9 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MPANTSHW A, Mcingelwa, an iKONGO member, was shot by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 at NGOUZA HILL in Lusikisiki, Transkei, where he had attended a meeting during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MPANZA, (first name not given), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 May 1994. He was allegedly attacked by a crowd after he had run over people on the street during the celebration of Nelson Mandela's inauguration as President.

MPANZA, Bekapi Netha (45), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack in Ensimbini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in February 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MPANZA, Bonginkosi Ephraim, was shot and killed during political conflict at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near

Empangeni, Natal, on 2 August 1992. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MPANZA, Bongiwwe Lucia (25), a UDF supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in February 1989.

MPANZA, Busisiwe (55), was shot dead on 11 September 1992, when unidentified gunmen accompanied by members of the KwaZulu POLICE attacked the ANC-supporting Mpanza family at Kwa-Dlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Five people were killed in the attack, and the house was set on fire.

MPANZA, Busisiwe Beatrice (49), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack at Mandini, Natal, in August 1988, in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MPANZA, Dingamandla Aloes (51), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 January 1994, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MPANZA, Joseph , an ANC supporter, was shot dead in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 February 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MPANZA, Kwenzokwabo Hezekial (46), an ANC supporter, had his house at Jozini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area in 1992.

MPANZA, Madoda (44), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by unidentified persons who attacked his home in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 19 August 1992, allegedly because one of his sons was an ANC supporter. His wife and son were shot and injured in the attack. The Mpanzas' home and crops were also destroyed by fire.

MPANZA, Mar garet Dudu (31), had her house at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack on 2 August 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters.

MPANZA, Mathwele Jaconias (41), lost his house and possessions in an arson attack in Empangeni, Natal, on 26 December 1989 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MPANZA, Mhlongeleni Doctor (aka 'Mr Jali') , was killed in a targeted attack by IFP members at Nyoni, KwaZulu, near Gingindlovu, Natal, on 27 July 1993. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MPANZA, Mpumelelo , an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when his home was attacked by other IFP supporters in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 19 August 1992, allegedly because a member of his family supported the ANC.

MPANZA, Musa (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 June 1993, when he and other members of his family returned to the area because his grandfather's grave had been desecrated. The Mpanza family had fled from the area after they were attacked and threatened in December 1990. Mr Mpanza's cousin was also shot dead in the 1993 attack.

MPANZA, Nsukwana W ilberfor ce (44), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, on 22 February 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His house was burnt down by IFP supporters on the same day.

MPANZA, Octavia Duduzile (34), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 22 February 1994. She was allegedly targeted because her husband was an ANC supporter.

MPANZA, Petros Zakhele (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 24 October 1992.

MPANZA, Pius Bhaye , an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 16 April 1987, in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MPANZA, Prince Sihle (12), was shot dead on 29 November 1989 while standing on a wall at his school in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban. An SAP van stopped and fired shots, hitting Sihle Mpanza. Levels of political conflict and tension in the area were high at the time.

MPANZA, Richard , an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

MPANZA, Sibongile (53), had her house petrol-bombed and burnt down in political violence at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 July 1992. Four people died and ten houses were burnt down in the fighting between ANC and IFP supporters.

MPANZA, Sibongile Qhamukile (26), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MPANZA, Sibosiso (17), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Nyoni, KwaZulu, near Gingindlovu, Natal, in May 1992.

MPANZA, Sihle Makhapheni (18), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by an ANC security aide in Empangeni, Natal, who opened fire on people taking down ANC posters near the ANC offices on 22 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The former ANC security aide was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0111).

MPANZA, Sizani Christinah (33), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured and had her house burnt down by unidentified attackers in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, on 19 August 1992, in ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her husband was shot dead, and her son was shot and injured in the attack.

MPANZA, Sizani Marry (40), had her house destroyed in an arson attack at Ntuzze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 12 March 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MPANZA, Sthemiso , was shot dead by IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during ongoing political conflict in 1992.

MPANZA, Thethelela (37), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and injured and had his house in Empangeni, Natal, burnt down in September 1993 during intense political conflict in the area.

MPANZA, Thobile (31), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly accompanied by a named SAP member, in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 8 July 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MPANZA, Thulani , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 June 1993.

MPANZA, Vikangani Evelina (60), had her two houses and her possessions destroyed in an arson attack in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in August 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MPANZA, Vumile Gladys (49), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in KwaSithebe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 December 1993.

MPANZA, William (68), had his house burnt down on 11 September 1992 when unidentified gunmen, accompanied by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, attacked the ANC-supporting Mpanza family at Kwa-Dlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Five people were killed in the attack and the house was set on fire.

MPANZA, Zakhe Gregory (37), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MPAPA, Ernest Thabo (20), was arrested, and severely beaten and tortured by a named Security Policeman in Worcester, Cape, in August 1985. After two months in custody he was charged with public violence, but was acquitted.

MPAPANE, Mbango Samuel Amos , was chased, captured and necklaced to death by a group of ANC supporters in Mbuzini trust, Tvl, on 17 June 1986. One ANC supporter, who had received some military training from the ANC, was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0338).

MPATENI, Monde , was abducted and interrogated by ANC security personnel near Lobatse, Botswana, on 18 July 1981, because he and his colleague were suspected of having become police informers. Mr Mpateni allegedly produced a firearm, and was shot and killed while travelling in a vehicle with his captors. His body was set alight. Two ANC security members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/236).

MPEDI, Isaac , was shot dead by members of the SAP on 20 July 1985 in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, as he returned from the shops on a day of intense political violence in the area.

MPEDI, Jacob Malaka , was shot dead by members of the SAP on 2 February 1986 in Moutse, Kwa-Ndebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MPEDI, Roselia Dikeledi (15), was shot and injured by members of the SAP while attending her uncle's funeral on 20 July 1985 in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl during political conflict in the area.

MPEHLO, Mick Fikile Rufus , was shot dead by 'comrades' on 27 July 1986 in Joza, Grahamstown, Cape, allegedly because he was accused by members of the community of having betrayed Steve Biko.

MPEKANE, Nomvula Anna Sarah (24), was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 19 May 1991 in Vosloorus, Tvl, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MPELE, Vusumuzi (16), an IFP supporter, died from injuries sustained in an attack by ANC supporters in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 17 July 1993.

MPEMBA, Jacob , an ANC member, was detained and tortured in Paarl and Worcester, Cape, in 1961. He was later forced to go into exile.

MPEMBA, Phumulile (34), had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters on 13 June 1989, in intense political conflict in the area.

MPEPETO, Embr ose , an ANC supporter and political activist, was shot dead by a named perpetrator associated with the community council in De Aar, Cape, on 1 August 1990. There was ongoing conflict between ANC members and those associated with the community council, many of whom had recently joined the PAC.

MPETA, Ernest Sikhumbuzo , had his house burnt down by CAYCO members in Guguletu, Cape Town, in March 1986, during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in the area. He was opposed to school boycotts.

MPETA, Michael (43), a SAMWU member, was shot and injured by a named perpetrator on 24 May 1990 in Umtata, Transkei.

MPETA, Vivienne , had her house burnt down by CAYCO members in Guguletu, Cape Town, in March 1986, during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in the area. He was opposed to school boycotts.

MPETE, Dineo Cathrine (23), was arrested by Bophuthatswana Police on 25 December 1992 in Hammanskraal, Tvl, during forced removals in the area.

MPETE, Rankwe Kleinbooi (35), was forcibly removed from his home on 25 December 1992 at Morokolong, near Hammanskraal, Tvl, by alleged members of the Bophuthatswana Police. He was detained and his house destroyed because he supported Chief Kekane against homeland leader, Chief Mangope.

MPETSHENI, Boyce (33), died after being tortured with electric shocks by a named member of the CDF in January 1984 in Whittlesea, Ciskei. Mr Mpetsheni had been accused of stealing a generator. The perpetrator was charged and fined.

MPEVANA, Mandla (19), a UDF supporter, was burnt to death during political unrest in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, on 4 April 1986.

MPFUNI, Tshinakaho Sophie (46), had her home damaged in an arson attack by named ANC supporters who accused her of witchcraft in Thohoyandou, Venda, on 25 April 1973.

MPHAGA, Mogupudi Buurman (20), was arrested and detained without trial by named members of the SAP on 27 June 1990 in Ekangala, KwaNdebele, and held at the Kwaggafontein Police station.

MPHAGO, Patrick Thumetjie (24), was arrested in July 1988, tortured and detained for six months in Johannesburg, after he was caught with an MK constitution when police raided the hostel where he lived. He had previously been tortured in detention in March and August 1986. The perpetrators included named members of the SAP, Riot Squad and Security Branch.

MPHAHLELE, (first name not given), a member of the SAP, suffered an attempt on his life when MK operatives threw a hand grenade at his house in Tsakane section, Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 15 April 1988. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

MPHAHLELE, Andrew, a member of the SAP, was one of three policemen shot dead when MK operatives opened fire on policemen sitting drinking at the tavern in Mariana Street, Atteridgeville, Tvl, on 18 March 1988. Two civilians were injured in the attack. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

MPHAHLELE, Mkhululi Brian (22), a student activist, was detained in Langa, Cape Town, on 27 January 1977 and was beaten and tortured by named members of the SAP at Caledon Square police station. He was held in solitary confinement at Pollsmoor prison until May when he was charged, found guilty of arson and sentenced to a three-year jail term.

MPHAHLELE, Nkeko, was shot dead by members of the Lebowa Police on 9 March 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MPHAHLELE, Pururu Louis Rhee (25), was severely assaulted after he was wrongly arrested on 2 December 1986 by the Lebowa Police in connection with the burning of witches in the homeland.

MPHAHLELE, Steven Strike (16), a COSAS member, was detained for three months, tortured and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, during 1982. He was rearrested in 1983 and 1984 without any charges being laid against him.

MPHAHLELE, Vincent Marothi Mosehlane (19), a Mphahlele Youth Congress member, was arrested and tortured in 1986 at Kgomo Police station, Lebowa, and then transferred to Pietersburg police station, Tvl. The youth had been implicated in the burning down of a shop belonging to an alleged NP member.

MPHAKI, Leonard (12), an ANC member, was severely injured in August 1976 in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MPHALALA, Kholisile France (54), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, in February 1985. Eighteen people were shot dead and hundreds were wounded between 18 and 21 February when Crossroads residents resisted a forced removal to Khayelitsha.

MPHALE, Maria, was injured when AWB members detonated a pipe bomb at a taxi rank on the corner of

Third and Park Streets in Randfontein, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Six people were injured in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

MPHAMBANE, Bukiswa (18), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992 in intense political conflict in the area. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

MPHAMBO, Cosy Irene (45), had her home burnt down by 'comrades' in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 11 June 1992. Ms Mphambo's son, who was burnt to death in the attack, was suspected of being an IFP supporter.

MPHAMBO, Fanyana Mathews (29), an ANCYL supporter, was burnt to death in an arson attack on his home on 18 June 1992 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during conflict in the Vaal between IFP and ANC supporters. Mr Mphambo was suspected of being an IFP supporter.

MPHANGOMA, Tildah, was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by an MK operative from the 'Dolphin Unit', exploded at the entrance to the Department of Foreign Affairs building in Johannesburg on 15 December 1983. Seven people were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

MPHAPHULI, Mphaya Edward (46), an ANC supporter, was detained by the SAP on 25 August 1978 in Sibasa, Venda, on suspicion that he was an ANC informer.

MPHATHI, Ngidi (49), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MPHEHLA, Thapelo Fanuel, was shot and killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natalspruit, Tvl, on the 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

MPHELA, Lucky Isaac (16), was severely beaten by members of the SADF on 12 June 1986 in Pietersburg, Tvl, in the belief that he had information about the whereabouts of a political activist on the run from police. He was also subjected to death threats and eventually had to leave home to seek refuge in Pretoria.

MPHELE, Lydia (23), a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, during a protest march in the township on 26 March 1990.

MPHIKWA, Mbongeni Moses (40), was shot and severely injured in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 15 May 1992 by a named member of a BALACLAVA GROUP involved in taxi conflict and hit squad activity. See TAXI VIOLENCE.

MPHIRIME, Aaron Mokhele (48), was shot dead on 22 May 1992 in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, Tvl, in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING, the forerunner of a series of such shootings in the early 1990s.

MPHITI, Mandlakayise Matu (18), was severely beaten by members of the SAP on 27 July 1985 at the police station in Bedford, Cape, after he was arrested for his

role in a consumer boycott that followed death of the CRADOCK FOUR.

MPHO, Joel Parara (31), was shot by members of the SAP in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, on 22 July 1985. Mr Mpho was attending the funeral of a 'comrade' in the township at the time of the incident.

MPHOHLE, Paul (39), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993. Many random shootings took place that day, hours before the night vigil for assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

MPHOLO, Ephraim Mosolodi (20), was detained and tortured at Vereeniging police station, Tvl, in November 1988.

MPHOLO, Ishmael, was shot dead while returning home from a funeral on 25 April 1992 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MPHOMANE, Mtuzi Hackington (17), died of multiple injuries after being attacked by WITDOEKE vigilantes near KTC, Cape Town, on 10 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MPHOSHA, Tssetsani Daniel (54), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Mphosha resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

MPHOTHULO, Joseph, was shot dead at a friend's house in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 21 April 1993. Four others died in the attack.

MPHUPHU, Timoti Crosby (21), a UDF supporter, was beaten and severely tortured by named members of the SAP on two occasions in July 1985, in Zwelethamba, Worcester, Cape. He was arrested after student protests had erupted after the killings of the CRADOCK FOUR, and was held in custody for nine weeks.

MPHUTHI, France Tseko (21), an ANC supporter, was subjected to electric shock torture and was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Vereeniging police station, Tvl, on 10 August 1992. Mr Mphuthi and two others were arrested and reportedly tortured because of their political activities in Sebokeng.

MPHUTHI, Samuel Bafana (40) an ANC supporter, was shot and killed on 4 October 1992 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MPHUTHI, Samuel, was killed when a hand grenade detonated by a named MK operative exploded on 27 November 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl. MK and APLA members had returned from exile and were training members of the community to defend themselves against attacks by the IFP and Security Forces. The perpetrator threw the grenade after getting involved in an argument at a *stokvel*. Six people were killed and four were injured in the explosion.

MPHUTING, Ntsemeleli (19), a student activist, was held by the Security Branch in Bloemfontein and Kroonstad, OFS, between April 1963 and January 1964, under the 90-day detention provision. Convicted in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act for

attending two Poqo meetings, he was given a five-year sentence, all but three months of which was suspended. After his release, he was continually harassed by the Security Branch, which resulted in his losing several jobs.

MPIKO, Mokhethi (49), an ANC supporter, was shot on 28 February 1986 at a taxi rank in Khuma, Stilfontein, Tvl, by a named perpetrator who opened fire on mourners on their way to a funeral of youths shot by police.

MPILA, Chris Liphinda, was injured when UDF supporters launched a petrol bomb attack on a bus along the N3 freeway, near Standerton, Tvl, in March 1987. The bus was transporting Pirates soccer club players and fans to Tokoza. The Pirates were believed to be a vigilante group collaborating with community councillors and police in attacking the UDF. Three UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/071).

MPILA, Sipundla, was shot and injured by a UDF supporter at Simendeni section, Standerton, Tvl, during March 1987, because he was believed to be a member of the MG Pirates soccer club, a vigilante group collaborating with community councillors and police, in attacking the UDF. One UDF supporter was granted amnesty (AC/2001/071).

MPILA, Tobi Tryphinah (46), an ANC supporter, was shot and wounded by members of the SADF in Malelane, Tvl, in May 1986. Members of the security forces opened fire on a crowd gathered at a stadium for a community meeting organised by the ANC.

MPIND, Samkela (24), was shot and severely injured in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 November 1993 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MPINDI, Mzwamadoda 'Pinkie', an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the security forces in a shack in Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, in January 1986, two weeks after he had returned from exile. The shack was destroyed by an armoured vehicle.

MPISANE, Nzimini John, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

MPISANE, Siyabonga Ndoda (20), a UDF supporter, was shot on 9 November 1989 when members of the KwaZulu POLICE opened fire on a session of the local 'people's court' at KwaMashu, Durban. Mr Mpisane died in hospital from his injuries on 23 November 1989.

MPISANE, Ten V incent, an IFP supporter, was beaten, stabbed and strangled to death by named ANC supporters in Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 December 1993.

MPISANE, Thembisile Princess (36), an IFP supporter, was killed by named ANC supporters in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, on 28 January 1994 in intense political conflict in the area. She was found naked with

her skull crushed and stabwounds all over her body. Her husband had been killed in political violence a fortnight earlier.

MPISI, Lincon Sihle (16), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot, sustaining severe injuries, by members of an ANC self-defence unit at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 April 1993, allegedly during an internal feud.

MPISI, Siphon Cyprian (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 February 1992.

MPITI, Simiselo (20), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in February 1990 in Bedford, Cape, during celebrations for the release of Nelson Mandela.

MPLULE, Amelia (45), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police during a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapi tribal office in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990. Dryharts villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances when Police dispersed the crowd using teargas and sjamboks.

MPOFANA, Mazwi Shadrack, a UDF supporter, had his house damaged when it was attacked by Inkatha supporters during political violence in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 December 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/033).

MPOFANE, Robert, sustained damage to his house when it was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 December 1987. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MPOFU, Elizabeth Sonto, fled her home as a result of repeated harassment by members of the SAP at Dlamini, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1965. The family was allegedly targeted because of their father's involvement with the ANC, then a banned organisation.

MPOFU, Joseph (48), an ANC member, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town, in 1965, for his political activities. After his release from prison, he was deported to Zimbabwe, where he died.

MPOFU, Rebecca Ndzwandi, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

MPOFU, Taramuka Samson (40), a citizen of Botswana, was injured in a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

MPOHOHLE, Majalefa Aaron 'Mighty' (20), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by members of the THREE MILLION GANG in Seeisoville, Kroonstad, OFS, on 25 December 1984, allegedly while trying to rescue his cousin from being raped.

MPOKELI (MSINGIZANA), Edwin Monde (24), died on 18 October 1993 after he had been admitted to

hospital from Fort Glamorgan prison, East London, after an alleged attempted suicide by hanging. A fellow prisoner alleged that Mr Mpokeli did not hang himself. **MPOLOKENG, Lebogang Sheila** (23), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Boitumelong, Bloemhof, Tvl, while attending a community meeting, on 25 May 1993.

MPOMPI, Mvukwa, had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS IN 1993.

MPONDIWA, Andrews (78), was burnt to death by a group of named boys claiming to be ANC supporters in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 15 May 1986. Mr Mpondiwa was accused of witchcraft.

MPONDO, Godfrey (7), was shot dead, by a named member of the SAP during political conflict in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 26 November 1984. Godfrey was killed while watching a clean-up campaign organised by youth activists.

MPONDO, Mlungisi Michael (26), a PASO member, was shot dead, allegedly by members of APLA, in 1984 in Tanzania in conflict arising out of political divisions within the PAC.

MPONDO, Mziwakhe John (23), was shot and injured in crossfire when members of the SAP pursued a group of youths in July 1985 in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, during intense political conflict on the East Rand.

MPONDO, Sidwell Mzwandile, an ANCYL supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP during ANC rolling mass action in Jansenville, Cape, on 2 August 1992.

MPONGO, Mantahle Junia (19), was shot by members of the 'Zim-zims' on 15 December 1990 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, while attending a night vigil for a 'comrade'. The ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS had split into two rival factions, the 'Zim-zims' and the 'Gaddaffis'. At least 17 people were killed in violence between the factions in Khutsong from 1989 to 1991 before a peace pact took effect in May 1991.

MPONGOSE, M, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MPONGOSHE, Joseph Pakamile (aka 'Sidney Pinkie Mavimbela') (51), an ANC member from KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. Before going into exile, Mr Mpongoshe had been a political prisoner on Robben Island.

MPONGOSHE, Pascalina (23), was shot and injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING on 16 April 1994 in Vosloorus, Tvl, while waiting to board a taxi with her sister and her aunt.

MPONGOSHE, Thozama (18), was shot and injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING on 16 April 1994 in Vosloorus, Tvl, while waiting to board a taxi with her sister and her aunt.

MPONZA, Nhlanhla Knowledge , was injured in an attack by IFP supporters on a home in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 February 1992. Several members of the Mzimela family were killed in the attack.

MPONZE, Sipiwe , an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named perpetrators on 13 July 1991 in Berlin, Cape.

MPOPOSHE-NKOSIY ANE, Nelson Zwelidumile (71), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 4 April 1989. An MK operative also in the house was shot dead. Police opened fire and threw hand grenades into the house, shattering window panes, breaking doors and causing a fire to break out. Several spent cartridges were left at the scene.

MPOSA, Tyuka Johnson (23), a PAC supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by members of the SAP on 13 April 1963 in Burgersdorp, Cape.

MPOSELWA, Gwebelentlanzi , a PAC member, was shot dead by named members of the Transkei Police and Transkei Defence Force at a roadblock in Port St Johns, Transkei, on 29 March 1994.

MPOSULA, Mohanoe Johannes (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Bloemfontein on 12 March 1990, when police clashed with protesters during a march in the area. As a result of the shooting, he lost the sight in one eye.

MPOSULA, Sifiso , was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 7 June 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. A friend he was visiting at the time was also shot and injured. The house was destroyed with a petrol bomb.

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

MPOTSA, Jama Isaac , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Lichtenburg, Tvl, on 20 October 1977.

MPOTULO, Nozipho Edith , lost her home in an arson attack in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MPOZA, Lulama Jer emiah , an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP at Worcester, Cape, in April 1960, for his participation in the burning of Pass books during the countrywide anti-Pass Law campaign.

MPUKUNYONI, Ngxolo , was tortured and beaten by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, while participating in a protest march against the implementation of the Tribal Authorities Act.

MPULO, Armstrong Muntowenkosi (23), was shot dead when UDF supporters attacked his home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban during political conflict in 1988.

MPULO, Happy (6), was shot and burnt to death by a group of ANC supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 27 August 1991. The perpetrators, who had allegedly been looking for her brother, raped one of the girls in the house before they shot her and set the house alight while she, her three sisters and a cousin were all inside it. They all died in the fire.

MPULO, James George (34), an IFP supporter, had his house in Ezibomvini, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by other IFP supporters on 28 September 1990. Mr Mpulo was allegedly perceived to be an ANC supporter because he had failed to attend an IFP rally that day.

MPULO, Mkipheni Petrus (33), was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 6 January 1988, in intensifying political conflict.

MPULO, Sifiso Emmanuel (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 1 February 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MPULO, Zandile (16), was shot and burnt to death by a group of ANC supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 27 August 1991. The perpetrators, who had allegedly been looking for her brother, raped one of the girls in the house before they shot her and set the house alight while she, her three sisters and a cousin were inside it. They all died in the fire.

MPULO, Zanele (16), was raped, shot and burnt to death by a group of ANC supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 27 August 1991. The perpetrators, who had allegedly been looking for her brother, set the house alight with her, her three sisters and a cousin inside it. They all died in the fire.

MPULO, Zaneni (16), was shot and burnt to death by a group of ANC supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 27 August 1991. The perpetrators, who had allegedly been looking for her brother, raped one of the girls in the house before they shot her and set the house alight with her, her three sisters and a cousin inside it. They all died in the fire.

MPUMLO, Thobekile Sidwell , was arrested on 1 February 1985 during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape. He was charged with murder, and while awaiting trial, was subjected to severe beatings.

MPUMLWANA, Nokuzola Priscilla (15), an ANCYL marshall, was shot with rubber bullets by members of the SAP at her home in Khuma, Stilfontein, Tvl, and assaulted with sjamboks in Stilfontein police station on 28 February 1986, reportedly because of her political activities.

MPUMLWANA, Vincent (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, while attending a funeral on 16 March 1986.

MPUNGA, Desmond Manzolwandle (49), was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to

demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MPUNGUSE, Bhekinlanhla Goodluck (41), a traditional healer who had assisted in MK operations in Natal, was lured to Lusaka, Zambia, under false pretences in 1987. ANC security members detained, interrogated, assaulted and severely ill-treated him during May and July 1987 because they suspected him of being a police informer. Two ANC security members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/149).

MPUNGUSE, Edgar Dumisani, a UDF supporter, was killed by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Kwa-Makhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 5 December 1989 during intensifying political conflict in the area.

MPUNGUSE, Themba Richard (27), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 5 April 1988, allegedly by members of the SAP, as he returned from a local meeting called by UDF to report back on peace talks.

MPUNGUSE, V elisile, had his home burnt down during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 17 May 1993.

MPUNTSHE, Vuyani (27), was shot and injured by a named perpetrator while he was singing freedom songs in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 10 September 1983 during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

MPUNZANA, Moletshe, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MPUSHE, Lele (31), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 19 February 1985. Eighteen people were shot dead and hundreds were wounded between 18 and 21 February when Crossroads residents resisted a forced removal to Khayelitsha.

MPUSHE, Sidumo Archibold (19), a PAC supporter, was shot and injured by UDF supporters during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, on 30 July 1987.

MPUTANA, Matusé, disappeared from his home in Alberton, Tvl, in 1990 during political conflict in the area. He has not been seen since.

MPYA, Sello George (21), an AZAPO activist, was tortured in detention in 1986 and again in 1987 in Potgietersrus, Tvl, by named members of the SAP, SADF and Security Branch.

MPYANE, Martin Stephen (64), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 22 September 1993 in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, during resistance by the Bophuthatswana government to the reincorporation of the homeland into South Africa.

MQADI, Duduzile Elsie (32), a UDF supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in August 1987.

MQADI, Ivy Zanele (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo,

Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994.

See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MQADI, Lunga (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE at Umlazi, Durban, on 18 August 1990.

MQADI, Sifiso Goodman (24), an ANC supporter, died when he was shot, stoned and stabbed by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 March 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MQADI, Tolani Eunice (52), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MQADI, Vindikuku (57), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter at the Emahlongwa bus stop in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 4 August 1992. Mr Mqadi was perceived to have sympathies with the ANC.

MQAKAZA, Sixebelele, a PAC supporter, was fatally shot by members of the SAP in Queenstown, Cape, in December 1962. Police opened fire on passengers as they alighted from a train, killing at least three people. The incident became known as the 'Queenstown station massacre'. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MQALANGA, Tukie Joseph, was shot and killed when a hand grenade detonated by a named MK operative exploded in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 27 November 1992. MK and APLA members had returned from exile and were training self-defence units to defend themselves against attacks by the IFP and Security Forces. The perpetrator threw the grenade after getting involved in an argument at a *stokvel*. Six people were killed and four were injured in the explosion.

MQAMELO, Mongameli Aubrey Matoto (27), was shot dead by members of the Transkei Police in Lusikisiki, Transkei, on 23 December 1980.

MQATHI, Loza Geratina (74), an ANC supporter, had her house in Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down on 28 July 1993 in intense fighting between IFP and ANC supporters, which allegedly started some two weeks previously when a woman in the IFP-dominated area of Maweni was shot dead by four youths, and several IFP homes were burnt down. More than 110 people fled the area after their homes were burnt down in the fighting.

MQAYANA, David Zolisele (41), a PAC supporter, was killed by ANC supporters in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 15 July 1992, at a time of political tension and conflict between the ANC and the PAC. Mr Mqayana was trying to prevent the perpetrators from burning down the family home. His mother died as a result of burns sustained in the fire. His brother was killed by ANC supporters at his mother's funeral on 1 August 1992.

MQAYANA, Isaac Madodana (22), a PAC supporter, was killed by ANC supporters while attending his mother's funeral in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 1 August 1992, at a time of political tension and conflict between the ANC and the PAC. His mother and brother had died when ANC supporters burnt down the family home on 15 July 1992.

MQAYANA, Martha Mannini (56), a PAC supporter, was burnt to death by ANC supporters who set her

house alight in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 15 July 1992, at a time of political tension and conflict between the ANC and the PAC. Her son, aged 41, was also killed in this attack. Another son, aged 22, was killed by ANC supporters while attending her funeral on 1 August 1992.

MQAYANA, Mpitizeli Peter (72), a PAC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by ANC supporters in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 15 July 1992, at a time of political tension and conflict between the ANC and the PAC. His wife and 41-year-old son were killed in this attack. At his wife's funeral on 1 August 1992, ANC supporters killed a younger son, aged 22.

MQHANA, Msokoli (51), a UDF supporter, was arrested while attending the funeral of an ANC cadre in Bethelsdorp, Port Elizabeth on 23 April 1986. He was held without trial, and released three months later.

MQIKELA, Mlandeli Walter (19), was severely beaten by named members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, on 2 October 1985, while walking from school.

MQIKELA, Mzandile, an ANC supporter, was shot dead and burnt on 15 August 1990 when his home in the informal settlement, Crossroads, in Katlehong, Tvl, was attacked and set alight, allegedly by IFP supporters. Mr Mqikela was one of 24 people who died in a pre-dawn attack by hostel-dwellers on the Crossroads informal settlement on this day.

MQIKELA, Zoleka Constance (35), an ANC supporter, was shot at and her home was burnt down during an attack on 15 August 1990 in the informal settlement, Crossroads, in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly carried out by IFP supporters. Ms Mqikela's brother was shot dead during the attack. He was one of 24 people who died in a pre-dawn attack by local hostel-dwellers on the Crossroads informal settlement on this day.

MQOBONGO, Nontlupeko Maria (46), was in the bedroom of her home in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 4 August 1991 when named members of the SAP, searching for her son who was an ANC supporter, fired a shot which broke her bedroom window.

MQOKOLO, Sindiswa V irginia (26), was stabbed and seriously injured on 11 December 1990 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MQOMA, Abel Mpazamo, was stabbed by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 3 December 1992 during a violent labour dispute between striking COSATU-affiliated FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers.

MQOMA, Masesi Josephine (36), was hacked and shot by IFP supporters in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, on 3 December 1992 during tension between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MQOMEZULO, Petrus Mohau (24), an ANC supporter, was arrested and tortured by members of the SAP in Bethlehem, OFS, in 1984, allegedly because he had information about ANC activities.

MQOMI, Bongani, an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in July 1990. His house caught fire when IFP

supporters petrol-bombed a neighbour's house during the period of continued political conflict in the area.

MQONI, Menziwa V oltaire, was stabbed to death by a group of 'comrades' in Kagiso, Tvl, on 13 March 1986.

MQUBULI, Mzukisi Thomas (21), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured after being assaulted and tortured by a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 6 May 1986. The perpetrator had allegedly tried to extract information from him about a police officer that had been burnt to death.

MQUDLWA, Pietman, a member of a Crossroads committee led by Mr Memani, was one of seven men killed in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 11 April 1983, by supporters of an opposing committee led by Mr Ngxobongwana, during conflict arising from the struggle for housing.

MQUNSENI, Khuzwayo, an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in May 1983.

MQULWANA, Mzuwuliwe (24), was shot and injured in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 March 1993 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. At least 18 people were killed in political violence in Bhambayi that month. Seventy-five homes were burnt down.

MQUMAKO, Monase Letta, was severely beaten by supporters of a named Inkatha-aligned *induna* at Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1988, when the perpetrators allegedly entered her home looking for firearms. Her son was abducted, beaten and nearly drowned, allegedly because he had angered the *induna*.

MQWEBE, Nomachule Glenrose (36), was shot on 17 November 1991 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MRALASI, Alwinus Ndodiphela (43), was part of a group of 26 men arrested in Victoria West, Cape, on 24 April 1968, and charged with sabotage. After over a year in custody, the group was acquitted. This was part of a set of arrests and trials in the Karoo region in which Poqo networks were alleged to have conspired to rise up against the white population. The Commission found the charges to be groundless.

MRASHULA, Jongintalo, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Johannesburg, on 1 July 1986 during political conflict.

MROLA, Simanga Sidwell (17), a UDF supporter and student activist, was detained repeatedly between 1985 and 1986 in Bloemfontein, and severely tortured by members of the SAP while in detention. After his release in 1986 he suffered a mental breakdown and was hospitalised.

MROLOTA, Eunice Boniswa (56), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MROXISA, Neliswa (49), an ANC supporter and women's activist, was detained in Worcester, Cape, on 12 June 1986, and held for three months under emergency regulations.

MRUBATA, Petrus (34), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and SAP members on his arrest, with over 100 other residents in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 24 May 1986. His right eye was permanently damaged in the assault. He was held in custody for five months while charged with public violence, but was acquitted.

MRUBATA, Pringle Oscar Ntando (17), was shot and severely injured by a named AMASOLOMZI vigilante in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 24 May 1986, while he was on his way home from the funeral of an activist. Mr Mrubata was paralysed by his injury and was confined to a wheelchair until his death from related causes in February 1999.

MRULEKANA, Julius (25), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 16 December 1985, after removing burning tyres from the middle of a road in the area. He lost his sight as a result of the shooting.

MRWEBI, Nkosinathi (19), a UDF supporter, was tortured by members of the SAP on 30 July 1986 in Hofmeyr, Cape.

MSABALA, Allen Darius , an ANC supporter, was shot dead near Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 15 November 1990, in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MSABALA, Sibusisiwe Lucia (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in July 1992.

MSAHILE, Treyer Freda Nidda (46), had her home demolished by members of the Bophuthatswana Police acting on an eviction order from the Bophuthatswana government in Sekampaneng, Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 8 February 1993.

MSANE Babazile (64), an ANC supporter, lost her house on 16 March 1994 in an arson attack by IFP supporters on residents of Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSANE, Esau Bhekuyise (40), had his home burnt down at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 February 1992, when IFP supporters returning from a chief's gathering attacked ANC hostels and homes in the area. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

MSANE, Nkosi Christopher (21), was found dead after he had been abducted by IFP supporters in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, in October 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Mr Msane was perceived by the perpetrators to be an ANC supporter.

MSANE, Nkosinathi (42), had his home and shop burnt down by IFP supporters at Embabe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MSANE, Nondumiso Clementine (28), lost her house in an arson attack in the Ngwelezana area, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in August 1992 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MSANE, Phwayinkosi , was shot dead in Empangeni, Natal, on 2 February 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MSANE, Phyllis , an ANC supporter, had her home attacked by IFP supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1992. The family was displaced as a result of this attack.

MSANE, Victoria Khanyile (18), was shot by alleged members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 June 1976, the day after the start of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MSANE, Zandile , an ANC supporter, had her home attacked by IFP supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1992. The family was displaced as a result of this attack.

MSANI, (name not given), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters who attacked her family home in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1992. One member of the family was raped in the attack, and one other was killed.

MSANI, Bongumusa (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 2 September 1990, allegedly because of his family's refusal to join the IFP while living in an IFP stronghold. The three Msani brothers were allegedly all threatened by IFP supporters. Two were killed and the other was tortured in the course of political conflict in the area.

MSANI, Fisani Busisiwe (44), an ANC supporter, had some of her possessions destroyed in Lamontville, Durban, on 1 July 1985, after UDF supporters attacked her house with stones when she refused to donate money to them. She was labelled an Inkatha supporter. Two of her sons were killed in political conflict in the area. One was tortured by Inkatha supporters.

MSANI, Gladys (20), an ANC supporter, was raped by IFP supporters when they attacked her family home in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1992. Two members of the family were killed in the attack.

MSANI, Khohlwe (55), lost her house on 16 March 1994 in an arson attack by IFP supporters on residents of the isolated ANC stronghold in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSANI, Khulumile (46), who was non-partisan, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992 in intense political conflict in the area. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

MSANI, Maduthi Thandi (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSANI, Muzomuhle Shadrack Robert (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 December 1989 in intense political conflict in the area. Mr Msane was forced to join an Inkatha attack on UDF supporters. His two brothers were also victims of political violence in the area.

MSANI, Mxolisi For tune, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1992.

MSANI, Petros Kwanzakufani (20), an ANC supporter, was taken to the home of a prominent Inkatha supporter at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1989, where he was tortured and held overnight, allegedly because he was suspected of being an ANC or UDF supporter. Mr Msaní's two brothers were both killed in the course of political conflict in the area.

MSANI, Thokozile Evelyn (50), an ANCYL leader, had her house attacked, vandalised and looted by IFP supporters at Madakane, Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1991.

MSAULI, Vusumzi Attwell (40), an ANC supporter, died after he was shot in the neck, chest and abdomen by an MK operative during an internal feud in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 29 March 1990.

MSAWULI, Olifant (58), was tortured and then burnt to death by named ANC supporters in Koppies, OFS, in November 1992, allegedly because his son was believed to be a policeman. Burning liquid plastic was poured onto his head and his fingernails were removed with a pair of pliers. Four people were sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment for this offence.

MSEBENI, Gladys Khombisile (27), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSEBENI, Ntombikabani (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSELEKU, Ar mstrong (21), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters at Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 February 1992, allegedly because he had assisted ANC youth during political conflict in the area. His father was also shot dead in the attack, which took place at the family-owned store.

MSELEKU, Bongani, a UDF supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 28 November 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Two other UDF supporters were killed in the same attack.

MSELEKU, Nhlanhla Petro (21), was shot dead by members of the SADF in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 August 1992.

MSELEKU, Ntombikayise (57), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 October 1993. IFP supporters had allegedly embarked on a campaign to rid the area of ANC supporters.

MSELEKU, Ntonto Florina 'T oto', an ANC supporter, had her house in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 4 February 1992.

MSELEKU, Olive Bajabulile (44), an IFP supporter, had her home in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in February 1990 following the UNBANNING of political organisations earlier that month.

MSELEKU, Qondeni Albertina (35), had her house in Port Shepstone, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack, allegedly by members of the SADF, on 16 August 1992, after a night of violence in the area.

MSELEKU, Robert Gagu, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters at Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 February 1992, allegedly for assisting ANC youth during political conflict in the area. His son, aged 21, was also shot dead in the attack, which took place at the family-owned store.

MSELEKU, Sandile Richman (16), an ANC supporter, was injured in an explosion detonated by IFP supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in September 1992.

MSELEKU, Sydney (56), had his house in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban burnt down by IFP supporters on 30 September 1990. The attack allegedly occurred because the Mselukus were living in an IFP stronghold, and two of the daughters were associated with UDF supporters.

MSELEKU, Themba Alfred (29), an ANC supporter, had his house in Fakazi, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1991 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Mr Mseleku was forced to flee from the area as a result of the attack.

MSELEKU, Zamaduma (30), was severely beaten while walking home with her sister from Murchison Hospital, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 January 1993 during intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her sister was killed in the attack.

MSHAYISA, Jingxi, an ANC supporter, was assaulted in 1960 in Mount Ayliff and Lusikisiki police stations in Transkei, while he was serving a three-year detention for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MSHENGU, Bonginkosi Matshilo, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Mavamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 December 1992.

MSHENGU, Fanyana Job (55), was killed on 25 May 1986, when Inkatha supporters attacked his home in KwaMashu, Durban, in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Two other family members, including a child, were killed in the attack.

MSHENGU, Johannes Madevu (54), a UDF and ANC supporter, was attacked with teargas by named Inkatha supporters at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in October 1986 in intensifying violent conflict in the area. He fell and broke his leg while fleeing, and was hospitalised for six months.

MSHENGU, Patrick (21), was killed on 25 May 1986 when Inkatha supporters attacked his home in KwaMashu, Durban, in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Two other family members, including a child, were killed in the attack.

MSHENGU, Thembinkosi, was killed on 25 May 1986 when Inkatha supporters attacked his home in KwaMashu, Durban, in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Two other family members were killed in the attack.

MSHOLE, Edward, was hacked with knives and pangas by IFP supporters in Katlehong, Tvl, in March 1992. He is unable to speak as a result.

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

MSHUDULU, Ntsikelelo Justice (38), a PAC supporter, was detained under SECTION 29 in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 25 June 1985, and taken to Caledon Square police station where he was severely tortured by named members of the SAP. He was held for three months and was later acquitted of various charges against him.

MSIA, Nkosana Kingsley (20), was detained and tortured by named members of the SAP in Prieska, Cape, in March 1986, after incidents of unrest in the town.

MSIBE, Jabulani Richard, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a group of IFP supporters at Ndlovu's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010).

MSIBI, (first name not given), a Phoyco member, was detained by named members of the SAP in Bethlehem, OFS, on 20 June 1986, during a protest to demand the release of political detainees. The police fired shots at the demonstrators, and arrested some Phoyco members. In detention, they were tortured.

MSIBI, Alpheus, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), in Ethandakukhanya, Piet Retief, Tvl, in 1992, during a period of conflict between the BLACK CATS and the ANC. Mr Msibi, the mayor of Ethandakukhanya, was suspected of being an IFP member. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/98/0121).

MSIBI, Fanlo Goldem (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, in March 1994.

MSIBI, Jabulani Joseph (31), was stabbed to death and thrown from a train between Croesus and Langlaagte stations, Tvl, on 24 April 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

MSIBI, Jabulani Sidney, a senior member of MK intelligence, was abducted from Swaziland in June 1986 by *Vlakplaas* operatives on the instructions of Security Branch Headquarters. He was assaulted near the Oshoek border post with Swaziland and again at Daisy farm, near Pretoria. A senior Security Branch Headquarters operative, the commander of *Vlakplaas*, the divisional commander of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and six other operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/152). Mr Msibi was later released and shot dead in uncertain circumstances on 5 July 1988 in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg.

MSIBI, Jubilia Jabulile (31), an ANC supporter, had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 January 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MSIBI, Kidibone Johana (33), was injured when the bus she was travelling in was petrol-bombed by an UWUSA on 28 September 1992 in Ratanda, near

Heidelberg, Tvl, during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA which caused violent conflict from July to December 1992.

MSIBI, Mbolawa Michael, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MSIBI, Michael, a member of the SAP, survived an armed attack by MK operatives on the Orlando police station in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 November 1979. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

MSIBI, Moffat Siphiwe (26), was detained and tortured under emergency regulations in Newcastle, Natal, on 1 August 1988, allegedly because he had information about political activities in the area.

MSIBI, Msesi Tr yphina, a civilian, was killed when the vehicle in which he was travelling detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives on the Diepgezet/Barberton road, Tvl, on 28 March 1987. Three of her relatives also died in the blast and one survived with injuries. The attack formed part of 'Operation Cetshwayo', an MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/111). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

MSIBI, Oubaas Fran, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MSIBI, Petros Peta (24), an IFP supporter, was abducted, stabbed and stoned to death by ANC supporters in Ladysmith, Natal, on 16 December 1992.

MSIBI, Richard Jabulani, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MSIBI, Sibobo Christina, a civilian, was killed when the vehicle in which he was travelling detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives on the Diepgezet/Barberton road, Tvl, on 28 March 1987. Three of her relatives also died in the blast and one survived with injuries. The attack formed part of 'Operation Cetshwayo', an MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/111). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

MSIBI, Sibusiso, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MSIBI, Sikhalo , an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 19 April 1993 in Zonkesizwe informal settlement near Vosloorus, Tvl, when IFP supporters allegedly attacked a group of people returning from the funeral of assassinated SACP secretary general CHRIS HANI. Two people, including Mr Msibi, were shot dead and three were injured in this attack.

MSIBI, Siphamandla Stanley , was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in 1993, while on his way to an ANC youth camp.

MSIBI, Sipho Selby , was intimidated during 1985, and shot on 31 March 1985, by members of the Security Branch in Sibongile, Dundee, Natal.

MSIBI, Vusi Hymie (15), an ANC supporter, was arrested, beaten with sjamboks, and held in the boot of a car at the Standerton police station, Tvl, in 1987. He and his friends were accused by the police of killing and burning a person.

MSIKINYA, Mtutuzeli Charles Mbuyi (41), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, on 18 April 1993, in political conflict following the killing of ANC/SACP/MK leader, Chris Hani.

MSIMANG, Filile Isabel (47), had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during 1989 in intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. She was constantly harassed by Inkatha supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE, allegedly because of her son's support for the UDF.

MSIMANG, Noma Barbara (51), an ANC supporter, had her house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on two occasions, first on 7 December 1989 and again on 20 April 1994, in continuing political conflict between in the area.

MSIMANG, Thulani Goodenough (12), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sthembile, Glencoe, Natal, on 21 March 1990. Thulani encountered a crowd of men stoning the hostel, in political conflict which had broken out during Sharpeville Day commemorations in the area. He was killed when police fired on the crowd.

MSIMANGA, Dadi Saul (44), had his home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 30 June 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MSIMANGA, Jebello Anna (53), had her home damaged in an arson attack in 1976 in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, during conflict over the chieftainship of the village.

MSIMANGA, Maditaba Sylvia , was shot and injured on 19 April 1993 in Zonkesizwe informal settlement near Vosloorus, Tvl, when IFP supporters allegedly attacked a group of people returning from the funeral of assassinated SACP secretary general, CHRIS HANI. Two people were shot dead and three people, including Ms Msimanga, were injured in the attack.

MSIMANGA, Mamokete Maria (25), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

MSIMANGA, Shezi , an MK member, was shot and injured by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch in a night-time ambush on 22 May 1987 of the car in which he was travelling in Mbabane, Swaziland. Three persons were killed in this attack, including a senior MK operative, Mr Theophilus Dlodlo (MK name 'Viva') who was the primary target of the operation, and two students at the University of Swaziland. One other passenger, A Swazi woman was injured.

MSIMANGA, Thomas (84), was shot in the back by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 March 1960.

MSIMANGO, Baloni Richard (60), was hacked to death by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 31 October 1992. Mr Msimango was thought to be sympathetic to the ANC.

MSIMANGO, Bolawane Loraine (36), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead when her house was attacked on 10 September 1990 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

MSIMANGO, Dress Jack , an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994 in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MSIMANGO, Elvis Sibusiso (22), a UDF supporter and leader of KwaMashu Youth League, was detained in Scottburgh, Natal, on 25 January 1985. While in detention, he was severely tortured, repeatedly beaten, and teargassed in his cell, allegedly because of his political activities. He was charged with attempting to leave the country. He fled into exile while out on bail.

MSIMANGO, Emmanuel 'Po' Mhlakaniphi (26), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by fellow UDF supporters in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 27 March 1990 in the course of a serious internal feud. He was allegedly shot while trying to mediate between opposing UDF factions.

MSIMANGO, Eric Fana , disappeared with his brother on 20 November 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, while travelling from Tokoza to Pretoria. An IFP march from Johannesburg to Pretoria was in progress at the same time. He has never been seen since and is presumed dead.

MSIMANGO, Evelinah Ouma , was injured when a hand grenade thrown by UWUSA members exploded in a bus transporting workers on 28 September 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl. One person was killed and 13 others were injured. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP aligned UWUSA workers resulted in violent conflict from July to December 1992.

MSIMANGO, Herbert Zibuse (22), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 30 April 1988 in intensifying violent conflict in the area.

MSIMANGO, Jabulani (34), was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 1 October 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MSIMANGO, Jabulani Abraham (18), an ANC supporter, was shot by a named Inkatha leader while

returning from school in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 April 1988.

MSIMANGO, Joseph Msebe (59), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters who attacked his home in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 24 February 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MSIMANGO, Joseph Skhele (40), was shot at during an attack on his house, allegedly carried out by IFP supporters, on 10 September 1990 in Katlehong, Tvl. Mr Msimango escaped unhurt, but his wife was stabbed and shot dead in front of her two children during the same incident. By September 1990 more than 500 people had already died in the violent political conflict which erupted in August 1990 on the East Rand.

MSIMANGO, Joyce (49), a UDF supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 14 April 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Her husband had been shot dead by Inkatha supporters two months earlier.

MSIMANGO, Mfanufikile Thomas (28), an ANCYL chairperson, was shot and struck in the head with an axe by IFP supporters at KwaDabeka, near Pinetown, Natal, in March 1992.

MSIMANGO, Mzondase Elizabeth (20), was shot in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 March 1993.

MSIMANGO, Pauline , was assaulted with knobkerries by supporters of Chief Tsajoa in August 1976 in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, during a disagreement she had with the local chief.

MSIMANGO, Philemon Mjanyelwa , an IFP supporter, was shot and killed at his home by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 September 1993. The SDU members believed that Mr Msimango was an IFP supporter. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0316).

MSIMANGO, Sakia , was beaten with knobkerries by supporters of Chief Tsajoa in August 1976 in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, during a disagreement he had with the local chief.

MSIMANGO, Thabani T errence (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named IFP supporter in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 23 December 1993.

MSIMANGO, Zenzele Sixtus (22), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 27 March 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. Mr Msimango was allegedly shot when he tried to assist someone who was being attacked by Inkatha supporters.

MSIMANGO-SIBIY A, Lina , was injured in a limpet mine explosion at Tshabalala's dry cleaners, in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 7 August 1984. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

MSIYA, Guguletu Innocent , was severely beaten in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 June 1993, at a 'people's court' under the command of an officer of a local ANC self-defence unit (SDU). Mr Msiya was one of five people who survived the beating, while two others were beaten to death, allegedly for crimes

committed in the community. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/033).

MSIZA, Amos , was arrested and beaten by a member of the SAP in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, in 1986.

MSIZA, Anna , sustained severe injuries when petrol was poured over her and she was set alight by named perpetrators on 22 May 1991 at Tweefontein, KwaNdebele. Ms Msiza was attacked after she was accused of being a witch.

MSIZA, Babasani Sophia (46), had her house destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the State's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in violent conflict.

MSIZA, Bella Fiki , was shot by IMBOKODO vigilantes in July 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MSIZA, Daniel Mamphe (21), an ANC supporter, was abducted in Johannesburg, in February 1988 and tortured for several weeks by members of the Security Branch.

MSIZA, Elizabeth Baphelile , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mamelodi, Pretoria, during a protest march on 21 November 1985.

MSIZA, Gerald , was shot dead on 13 April 1986 in Daveyton, Tvl, by a named member of the SAP because he refused to allow police to search him. The killing occurred during fierce resistance by Daveyton residents to police action which escalated under the 1985 state of emergency. In a confrontation with police over the shooting, a youth was shot dead.

MSIZA, Gladys (61), was harassed and intimidated by a member of the SAP when her house was raided several times in May 1986 in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl.

MSIZA, Goodwill , a COSAS member, was severely beaten and insulted in 1986 in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, by youths allegedly provoked by a notorious policeman in the area.

MSIZA, Johannes Legare , (19), was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 15 January 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MSIZA, Joseph Mshiwa (25), died seven days after he was shot on 4 June 1993 at Katlehong, Tvl, during political conflict in the area.

MSIZA, Julia (29), was severely beaten when her home was attacked by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, in 1986. Three other people were injured. Ms Msiza died five months later as a result of injuries sustained in the attack.

MSIZA, Mamoropa (79), was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in 1986 at Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MSIZA, Moses (18), an ANC supporter, was abducted and beaten with sjamboks and knobkerries by IMBOKODO vigilantes in May 1986 at the tribal authority in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during conflict over KwaNdebele independence.

MSIZA, Pauline Elsie (14), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 June 1976, the day after the SOWETO UPRISING began. Pauline was shot while watching people looting a nearby beerhall.

MSIZA, Piet (17), was severely beaten when his home was attacked by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, in 1986. Three other people were injured in the attack and one died five months later as a result of her injuries.

MSIZA, Solomon (39), was stoned, injured and had his house burnt down in May 1986 in KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MSIZA, Thoko, was abducted and threatened with necklacing by ANC supporters in June 1986 in Kwaggafontein, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. The perpetrators wanted to know the whereabouts of Mr Msiza's brother, suspected of working for the KwaNdebele government.

MSIZAZWE, Joyce Nomvuyo, (39), a UDF supporter, had her house in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and UDF supporters in the area. One of her sons had been killed in the course of political violence in August 1990.

MSIZAZWE, Musawenkosi (13), was beaten by named members of the SADF near his home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, in 1987. He was then taken to an Inkatha stronghold, where he survived an attempt on his life.

MSIZI, (first name not given), a councillor, survived an attempt on his life when his home was petrol-bombed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1990. The perpetrators believed that he was also an IFP supporter. Mr Msizi managed to escape from the house. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/139).

MSIZI, Mncedisi, was shot and injured by members of the SAP, in Zwelethemba, Worcester, Cape, during October 1985. He was later arrested and taken to a dam where he was severely tortured by named policemen.

MSIZI, Mongezi Hartington (12), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Cape Town, on 21 March 1960, when police opened fire on a crowd of anti-Pass Law protesters. Three people were killed and many injured in the incident.

MSIZI, Timothy Vusumzi Tics (28), was arrested in May 1986 and held in custody for three weeks on charges relating to a rent boycott in Zolani, Ashton, Cape. He was again detained on 16 June 1986 at the police station in Ashton, Cape, where he was severely beaten by members of the SAP.

MSIZWANE, Mzwandile, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MSOBOMVU, Thompson (41), a PAC supporter, was arrested on 3 January 1963 and detained in Paarl and Worcester prisons, Cape, where he was tortured. This

took place three months after the Poqo revolt in Paarl. He then served a term of imprisonment on Robben Island.

MSOKI, Mzwandile (32), a member of the BPC, was detained in May 1976. He was kept in solitary confinement in different Transkei prisons, and was interrogated and tortured by members of the Transkei Police for refusing to confess to furthering the aims of a banned political organisation in conflict over the 1976 Transkei independence.

MSOKI, Nqweniso Charles (45), was shot and severely injured by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 25 December 1986. The shooting left Mr Msoki with permanent physical disabilities.

MSOMI, Alphina Zamekile (38), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Ndodwane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MSOMI, Annatoria Mantombi (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when men identifying themselves as members of the SAP attacked her home in an IFP stronghold at Esperanza, Umzinto, near Port Shepstone, on 17 June 1992. Her mother was killed in the attack. An IFP supporter was eventually charged and acquitted.

MSOMI, Bachumile Eunice (40), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Bangelakhe Chilika (39), an ANCYL chairman, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Thafamasi, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 May 1991.

MSOMI, Bhacephi (64), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Bhakabantu Elliot, an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Bhekezamandla (50), an IFP supporter, died in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 October 1991, four days after being shot by a named ANC supporter.

MSOMI, Bheki, an Inkatha supporter, was shot and severely injured at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an attack by alleged UDF supporters on 18 March 1990. See NJOBOKAZI ATTACK.

MSOMI, Bheki, was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 9 October 1985, in intense political conflict following the killing of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in August 1985.

MSOMI, Bhikilda Johannes, was attacked during political conflict in Clermont, near Durban. The perpetrator applied for amnesty.

MSOMI, Bongani Johnson (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named Inkatha supporter at

Empangeni, Natal, on 1 May 1990. Mr Msomi then allegedly killed his assailant in self-defence. His home was burnt down two months later, on 7 July 1990, by named Inkatha supporters, allegedly accompanied by the SAP.

MSOMI, Bongani , an ANC supporter, was targeted for elimination by IFP members at Hlanganani Hall, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during 1992. One perpetrator in the conspiracy was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MSOMI, Bongile Ntombi (28), lost her house in an arson attack in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area in 1993.

MSOMI, Busisiwe Zibuyile , was severely injured on 2 February 1992 when her mother's house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, was burnt down by IFP supporters in February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Buyilephi Khumbuzile (29), an ANC supporter, had her house and shop burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, in March 1991 at the Chimora informal settlement at Umlazi, Durban, in continuing political conflict.

MSOMI, Clementine (46), an ANC supporter, had her house in Gezibuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1992.

MSOMI, Cornelius Thulisani (18), an Inkatha supporter, had his house petrol-bombed by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1990.

MSOMI, Delisile Jermina (43), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Sakhotshe, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 20 March 1990 in intense political conflict in the area following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

MSOMI, Dingeni (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Duke Welcome , was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

MSOMI, Enock Muntu , an IFP supporter, was shot dead in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 13 September 1993, when members of the SADF opened fire on IFP and ANC supporters engaged in violent conflict.

MSOMI, Erik Zamokwakhe (12), was stabbed and severely injured by a group of people including a named member of the KwaZULU POLICE at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 10 January 1983.

MSOMI, Fephi Thophi (39), had her home in Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 21 August 1991 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MSOMI, Fikelephi Zintombi (41), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in

Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Fikile , was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 24 March 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MSOMI, Finkie Maria (13), was shot dead in a revenge attack on a home in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, by alleged members of the MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB on 28 February 1989. Several others were killed in the attack, including Finkie's sister and cousin, and others were injured.

MSOMI, Gamalakhe Amos (50), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death at Pietermaritzburg on 2 December 1988, in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MSOMI, Geslina Ngoane (54), an ANC supporter, had her home in Adams Mission, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 25 September 1993. Her sons were stabbed in the attack, and one of them died from his injuries.

MSOMI, Gibson Thulani (36), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 21 November 1985 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MSOMI, Hawukile (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Israel Khomba (21), an ANC supporter, was bitten by a police dog and stabbed while in detention by members of the SAP in Durban in November 1993.

MSOMI, Joana Makhosazane (52), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, damaged substantially by UDF supporters on 10 October 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MSOMI, Joseph , a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters on 19 August 1988 at Luganda, near Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal.

MSOMI, Judith Mthandeni (12), was severely burnt after MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB members allegedly threw a petrol bomb into her house in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 22 February 1989.

MSOMI, Juke Twana , was shot dead when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

MSOMI, Khangelani , an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 in an attack on residents of the isolated ANC stronghold in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Khanyisile Glotidia Nokuthokoza (29), lost her house in an arson attack in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 April 1990 in political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

MSOMI, Khanyisile Mar garet (52), had her house in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, looted on 27 July 1992, the day after the FOLWENI MASSACRE. Having fled the area because of the political violence, Ms Msomi returned to find her home looted and damaged.

MSOMI, Khumbulani , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the AMAVARAVARA at KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in February 1990, allegedly because he refused to join them. One other person, also an ANC supporter, was killed in the attack.

MSOMI, Kulumelaphi (48), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Njobakazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in March 1990 following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

MSOMI, Linda Edmund (30), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 25 September 1993 in Adams Mission, near Durban.

MSOMI, Luke Richard (43), an ANC supporter, had his house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Lungisani David (18), died of multiple injuries when ANC supporters attacked IFP supporters at an IFP self-defence camp meeting at Nkulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 August 1992. The attackers threw a hand grenade and fired several shots into the hut where the meeting was being held.

MSOMI, Makanca Darkie (51), an IFP supporter, had his home shot at and set alight by ANC supporters in Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 May 1991. In April and May 1991, political violence in the Port Shepstone area claimed the lives of at least 31 people and rendered about 200 people homeless.

MSOMI, Mandlakayise Raphael (30), was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 12 March 1986 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MSOMI, Mandlenkosi V italis , a UDF supporter, had his house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MSOMI, Mandlokayise (34), was shot and injured in June 1993 by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MSOMI, Mangisa Rose (39), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, in 1989.

MSOMI, Mathilda Nokukhanya , a UDF supporter, had her house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least

120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MSOMI, Matsedisio Flora , was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MSOMI, Mbuso Holiness , an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 27 June 1992. His house was set on fire in the attack. The Msomi family was allegedly attacked because they were well-known ANC supporters living in an IFP stronghold.

MSOMI, Mbuyiselwa (32), was killed at Njobakazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an attack by alleged UDF supporters on 18 March 1990. See NJOBOKAZI ATTACK.

MSOMI, Mcushwa Nivard , an ANC supporter, suffered injuries when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

MSOMI, Melta Magumbi (64), an ANC supporter, had her house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Mfanafuthi Sydney (35), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters at Adams Mission, near Durban, on 25 September 1993. His brother was killed and the family home burnt down in the attack.

MSOMI, Mfungelwa (43), had his home, vehicle and business in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, set alight in May 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MSOMI, Mgqambi (58), an ANC supporter, lost her home and sugar cane crop at NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, in September 1991.

MSOMI, Mgwazeni , was shot dead on 26 February 1994 when unidentified persons attacked his home at Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His son and daughter were also shot dead in the attack, and his house was burnt down.

MSOMI, Mkanyiseleni Elphas (51), an IFP supporter, lost his house and spaza shop in a petrol bomb attack by a named perpetrator in Tokoza, Tvl, on 13 March 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MSOMI, Mkhanyiselwa , an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994 in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Moses Mandla (37), had his house in Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 October 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MSOMI, Ms (name not given), had her house in Stanger, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. She was allegedly targeted because her grandchildren were ANC supporters.

MSOMI, Mtiyephi Evelina (44), had her house burnt down in Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 26 February 1994 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her husband, son and daughter were all shot dead in the attack.

MSOMI, Ndaba Kujwayela (40), had his house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack on 24 September 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MSOMI, Ndukuzeze (36), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by unidentified persons in Umlazi, Durban, on 10 March 1992 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MSOMI, Ngangesandla (62), had her house shot at and her possessions destroyed and stolen in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in March 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MSOMI, Nhlanhla (15), was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 9 October 1985, and is reportedly partially paralysed as a result of his injuries. The shooting took place in political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters following the memorial service for UDF leader Victoria Mxenge, which had taken place the day before.

MSOMI, Nivard, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Nkosyangithanda, had her house in Eshowe, Natal, burnt down on 17 May 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MSOMI, Nomathekisi (42), had her home in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Nomsa Mildred (21), a student at the University of Swaziland, was shot dead by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch in a night-time ambush on 22 May 1987 of the car in which she was travelling in Mbabane, Swaziland. Two other persons were killed in the operation, including a senior MK operative, Mr Theophilus Dlodlo (MK name 'Viva'), while two persons were injured.

MSOMI, Nomusa (28), had her home in Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in February 1990 in political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February 1990.

MSOMI, Ntombe Anastasia (59), had her home burnt down in Ezimbokodweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 March 1989 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MSOMI, Ntombifikile (41), an ANC supporter, had her house in Ensimbini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in November 1993.

MSOMI, Patience Nokuthula (25), was abducted, raped and stabbed several times by Inkatha supporters at Georgedale, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 April 1984. Her attackers were allegedly trying to gain information on UDF supporters in the area.

MSOMI, Patrick, was one of eight passengers shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Six other passengers were shot dead. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK.

MSOMI, Paul Sibusiso, an MK operative, disappeared after leaving Pinetown, Natal, for exile in June 1990. Mr Msomi and the other members of his cell were last seen by friends in Swaziland just after leaving South Africa, but were also reported to have been seen returning to the country. The police informed a friend that they had been released from the border post near Piet Retief, but nothing has been heard of them since.

MSOMI, Petros Bonginkosi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at his home in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 14 April 1993. Seven people were killed in fighting in the area that day.

MSOMI, Rosebina (75), had her house burnt down in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 17 May 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MSOMI, Sicelo Gestophus (26), an MK operative, returned from exile in Tanzania in June 1990 and disappeared five days later in Umlazi, Durban. Witnesses saw him getting into a blue Citi Golf driven by an unidentified man. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MSOMI, Simiso Cyril (24), was shot and wounded by an IFP member in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 22 April 1990, allegedly in a revenge attack following an attack on the perpetrator's house by unidentified UDF supporters. The perpetrator was refused amnesty (AC/1997/0059).

MSOMI, Sipho Herbert (25), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 24 September 1992.

MSOMI, Sipho Themba Frederick (22), an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP at CR Swart Square, Durban, in March 1984. He was allegedly arrested for undergoing military training in Lesotho.

MSOMI, Sita Alson (45), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by fellow ANC supporters in Ohlange, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 May 1990, allegedly because he was suspected of being an Inkatha supporter.

MSOMI, Solani (64), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Stella Patience, a UDF supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters on 18 April 1988 near Georgedale, KwaZulu/Natal. The perpetrators allegedly intended to kill her and use her body parts as 'muti'.

She was raped and managed to escape. One perpetrator was refused amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MSOMI, Steven (40), an Inkatha supporter, died from multiple injuries after being attacked by UDF supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 November 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area. The attack was allegedly in revenge for an attack by Inkatha supporters on UDF supporters the previous day.

MSOMI, Sweleni (52), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Thandekile (68), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the KwaZulu POLICE (KZP) after attending a Worker's Day rally in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 1 May 1986. Members of the KZP stopped the bus in which she and others were travelling, then assaulted and fired teargas at passengers, all allegedly ANC supporters returning from the rally.

MSOMI, Thandiwe Mayvis (44), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down in March 1994 in intensified violent conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Thandwayinkosi was shot dead on 26 February 1994 when unidentified persons attacked his home in Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His father and sister were also shot dead in the attack, and their house was burnt down.

MSOMI, Themane, an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 April 1994.

MSOMI, Thembekile Florah (59), lost her house in Umlazi, Durban, in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on 9 October 1985 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MSOMI, Thembeni, was shot dead on 26 February 1994 when unidentified persons attacked her home in Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her brother and father were also shot dead in the attack, and their house was burnt down.

MSOMI, Thembi (33), an ANC supporter, had her house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Thembisile Mirriam (47), an ANC supporter, had her house in Mahwaqa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down on 1 March 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Ms Msomi's husband was killed and her son was shot and injured in an attack by IFP supporters on 19 March 1992.

MSOMI, Thokozani Goodenough, an ANC supporter, was abducted and killed by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 7 December 1991.

MSOMI, Thokozile (52), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo,

Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Thulani Patrick (33), an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP in Slangspruit, Pietermaritzburg on 29 May 1989. The following day his body was found nearby with injuries relating indicating beating.

MSOMI, Thuthuka Philemon Joe (21), an ANC supporter, was attacked by IFP supporters, in Mamery, Stanger, Natal, in April 1993. They threatened him and pursued him into a nearby forest.

MSOMI, Timothy (50), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 14 November 1991 in KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, after peace talks in the area had induced him to return home.

MSOMI, Tryphina (61), was stabbed and shot dead in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban on 6 April 1990 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

MSOMI, Velephi (61), had her home in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSOMI, Winnie (60), an ANC supporter, had her house in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 27 June 1992. One of her sons, a well-known ANC activist in the area, was stabbed to death in the attack.

MSOMI, Zanele Abigail (38), had her house in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, petrol-bombed during 1988. Ms Msomi's husband was a member of the KwaZulu POLICE, and had received threats from both UDF and Inkatha supporters.

MSOMI, Zothini (49), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSONGELWA, Madondo, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MSUBO, Edward (31), an ANC supporter, had his home in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 17 January 1992 in continuing political violence in the area. The family was allegedly attacked because of its association with a local ANC leader. Five members of the Msubo family and the ANC leader were killed.

MSUBO, Elliot Sandile (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death by IFP supporters in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, on 17 January 1992 in continuing political violence in the area. The family was allegedly attacked because of its association with a local with an ANC leader. Four other family members and the ANC leader were also killed, and the house was burnt down in the attack.

MSUBO, Emmanuel Tandazani (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death by IFP supporters in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, on 17 January 1992 in continuing political violence in the area. The family was allegedly attacked because of its association with a local with an ANC leader. Four other family members and the ANC leader were also killed, and the house was burnt down in the attack.

MSUBO, Ernest Saziso (15), an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death by IFP supporters in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, on 17 January 1992 in continuing political violence in the area. The family was allegedly attacked because of its association with a local with an ANC leader. Four other family members and the ANC leader were also killed, and the house was burnt down in the attack.

MSUBO, Evangeline Nomasonto (26), an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death by IFP supporters in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, on 17 January 1992 in continuing political violence in the area. The family was allegedly attacked because of its association with a local with an ANC leader. Four other family members and the ANC leader were also killed, and the house was burnt down in the attack.

MSUBO, Yvonne Nomphumelelo (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death by IFP supporters in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, on 17 January 1992 in continuing political violence in the area. The family was allegedly attacked because of its association with a local with an ANC leader. Four other family members and the ANC leader were also killed, and the house was burnt down in the attack.

MSUKENI, Mamaliken, lost her house and livestock in an arson attack in May 1960 at Empetsheni, near Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MSUKENI, Nkosayipheleli, was beaten to death by members of the members of the SAP in May 1960 at Empetsheni, near Bizana, Transkei during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MSUTHU, Litha (30), a PAC supporter, was detained and tortured in Willowvale, Transkei, in April 1963.

MSUTHU, Mbulelo, was killed in an attack on Crossroads informal settlement in Katlehong, Tvl, on 15 August 1990, allegedly by IFP supporters. Twenty-four people died in this pre-dawn attack by local hostel-dwellers on Crossroads informal settlement.

MSUTHWANA, Xoliswa, a UDF supporter, was killed by 'necklacing' by unidentified perpetrators in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, on 4 February 1986.

MSUTU, Mbulelo, was stabbed and shot to death by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers on 15 August 1990 in Katlehong, Tvl. Hostel-dwellers were allegedly coerced into IFP membership when it launched itself as a political party in 1990. As a result, conflict between township residents and hostel-dwellers increasingly overlapped political affiliation with ethnic identity.

MSUTU, Mthunzi Pendlly (21), a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Grahamstown, Cape, on 18 July 1986 during the state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MSUTWANA, Nomthunzi Valencia (30), was detained during OPERATION KATZEN and tortured during interrogation by members of the Ciskei Elite Unit in Alice, Ciskei, in 1986. Two members of the Ciskei Police were granted amnesty for the torture, as well as seven members of the SADF, Border Security Branch and Department of Prisons for Operation Katzen (AC/1997/0023; AC/1997/0024; AC/1997/0025; AC/1998/043; AC/1999/003; AC/1999/245; AC/2000/037; AC/2000/192; AC/2001/159 and AC/2001/224).

MSWANE, Derrick Vusumuzi (29), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in June 1992 in political conflict around the launch of IFP branches in the area. Another family member was shot dead in the attack on his home.

MSWANE, Isaac (49), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters who attacked his home in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 25 June 1992 during political conflict around the launch of IFP branches in the area. His home was burnt down in the attack.

MSWAZI, Alexia (60), an ANC supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 27 November 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MSWELI, Buti Ronald (22), was severely injured when running away from police in Daveyton, Tvl, on 15 June 1986. He and others were allegedly preparing for June 16 commemorations when they were chased by police vehicles.

MSWELI, Duduzile Patricia (34), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Chesterville, Durban, on 9 June 1986, when police opened fire while arresting youths involved in political action in the area. Ms Msweli lost her sight in one eye as a result of the shooting.

MSWELI, Faisendlini (39), lost his home in an arson attack by named perpetrators in Mangwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 April 1994 in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Another family member was stabbed to death in the attack.

MSWELI, Goodness Makhosazane (21), an IFP supporter, had her home petrol-bombed in Wombane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 29 November 1992 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her father was shot dead by an ANC supporter three weeks later, in political conflict at Gingindlovu, Natal.

MSWELI, Hamilton Bukhosibani (48), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 25 February 1993 in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. About 35 houses were reportedly burnt down in Bhambayi in February 1993.

MSWELI, Irene Thandiwe (40), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in August 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MSWELI, Josephina (56), an ANC supporter, was harassed by the local *induna* at Empangeni, Natal, in March 1989 for her involvement in the ANC. She was also severely ill-treated by named members of the SAP and KwaZulu POLICE following her son's death in 1992.

MSWELI, Katshani, lost her house in an arson attack in Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area during 1992.

MSWELI, Khangekile Thembekile (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MSWELI, Lucas Pickup (55), an IFP supporter and local headman, was shot dead by ANC supporters, one of whom is named, at Gingindlovu, Natal, on 19 December 1992.

MSWELI, Musawenkosi Thembinkosi (23), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Empangeni, Natal, during 1993.

MSWELI, Princess Gugu (12), an ANC supporter, was raped and stabbed by IFP supporters who attacked her family home at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in February 1993 during continuing political conflict in the area.

MSWELI, Sbusiso, was stabbed to death when his family home in Mangwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, was attacked and burnt down by named perpetrators on 23 April 1994, four days before the start of the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS, in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MSWELI, Simon Bongani, an alleged ANC member, was injured during a shoot-out with members of the SAP at Empangeni, Natal, on 14 August 1992. Afterwards, a member of the Empangeni Murder and Robbery Squad stopped the vehicle taking him to hospital and shot him dead. The policeman, who was subsequently sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment, was granted amnesty (AC/1997/0033).

MSWESWE, Ganda, was severely beaten by AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and members of the SAP in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 20 November 1985. He was one of more than 100 Zolani residents arrested and accused of burning the homes of Amasolomzi vigilantes.

MTALANE, Amadeus (58), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 28 July 1992.

MTALANE, Gladness Nomusa (15), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 April 1992.

MTALANE, Makhosazane Annatoria (19), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 April 1992.

MTALANE, Nobuhle Gloria (16), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 April 1992.

MTALANE, Nonhlanhla (13), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 April 1992.

MTALANE, Thoko Saraphina (49), an ANC supporter, was beaten by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal,

on 3 April 1992. Her husband was shot dead in the same incident.

MTAMBO, Bongani Joseph (26), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely wounded in August 1988 when Inkatha supporters attacked his home in Mshayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban.

MTAMBO, BoyBoy (37), was shot and killed on 23 July 1993 in Daveyton, Benoni, Tvl, when gunmen opened fire on people sitting in a shebeen. Witnesses alleged the killers were accompanied by members of the SAP.

MTAMBO, Ernest Themba (30), an ANC supporter, had his house and business premises at Stanger, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in December 1993.

MTAMBO, Lindiwe Theodorah (35), had her home destroyed by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992 in intense political conflict in the area. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

MTAMBO, Zondumuntu Ephraim (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 16 December 1993 by IFP supporters returning from a rally in Woodford, Bergville, Natal. Two ANC members were killed and at least two others injured. Around 15 IFP supporters then attacked mourners at the funeral of the two ANC members, setting fire to the marquee and beating two funeral assistants. That night an elderly relative of one of the deceased was killed and five homes set alight.

MTAMO, Khululekile Shadrack (25), a SPECIAL CONSTABLE, was seriously injured when he was stoned and burnt by a group of UDF supporters in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, on 1 August 1989. There were several attacks on policemen and police property that day.

MTAMZELI, Sihlanu, a private security guard, was shot and injured by four APLA operatives in an attack on police at the Khayelitsha train station, Cape Town, towards the end of 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

MTAMZELI, Toto Lulamile Albert, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE on 27 July 1985 at the beginning of the state of emergency in Port Elizabeth. Two other people were killed by the police in this incident.

MTEBEKWANA, Loli (49), a supporter of the Transkei Democratic Party, lost his house when it was burnt down on 14 December 1980 in Baziya, near Umtata, Transkei. He was also deported from the area, allegedly because of his opposition to the Transkei government and the homeland system.

MTEBESE, Mlungisi (42), was shot dead on 23 May 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, when KwaMadala hostel-dwellers attacked a beerhall with AK47s during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Mr Mtebese and eight others were killed in the attack.

MTEBULE, Ignatius 'Gab', an MK operative, was last seen in Johannesburg, on 28 January 1987. Mr Mtebule was working in the Transvaal and is believed to have been meeting a named woman subsequently revealed to be a police informer.

MTEMBU, Constance Sizakele (51), an IFP supporter, was raped by IFP supporters in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 July 1992. She was allegedly accused of being sympathetic to the ANC and attacked.

MTEMBU, Dalive (46), had her home burnt down at Ntlize, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 December 1993 during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTEMBU, Frank (38), an ANC member, was stabbed to death by supporters and family members of a named local COUNCILLOR on 7 July 1990 in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, allegedly because he was believed to have been involved in an arson attack on the councillor's home.

MTEMBU, Qalokwakhe (43), had her house in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, destroyed during September 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. No one was home at the time of the attack.

MTEMBU, Thoko Grace (41), an ANC supporter, had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in February 1992 in intensifying political conflict in the area. At least seven homes were burnt down in fighting in the area that month.

MTESHI, Ellen, was shot by a named member of the SAP in Diepkloof, Soweto, on 17 August 1993.

MTEHTWA, Josiah (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Emdeni South, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 7 April 1991, the day of an IFP rally in the area. The family obtained the registration number of the Hippo in which the alleged perpetrators were travelling but they were not found.

MTEHTWA, Mandla Joseph (44), was arrested and beaten by members of the SAP on 25 June 1985 in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl. He had gone to collect the bodies of the youths killed by booby-trapped grenades given to them by *Vlakplaas* operatives. (See OPERATION ZERO ZERO.) The police refused to hand over the bodies, and tear-gassed and arrested people who protested.

MTEHTWA, Mandlakayise, burnt to death when he was forced to drink petrol and was then set alight by ANC supporters on 12 September 1990 in Sebokeng, Tvl, because he was an IFP supporter.

MTEHTWA, Manoni Nelisiwe (35), had her house burnt down in Mbhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 December 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTEHTWA, Maria (51), an ANC supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1987, allegedly because she refused to join Inkatha. She had fled the area with her children, and was away when her home was attacked.

MTEHTWA, Ndodayi Vincent (42), had his house destroyed in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters at Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, in December 1989.

MTEHTWA, Zikhokhile Grace Celiwe (19), had her home burnt down in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1991 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTEHTWA, Zwelini John (68), had his house burnt down in Entoweni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHABELA, Bheki (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 17 May 1993 during continuing political conflict in the area.

MTHABELA, Enoch Bongikwazi, an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

MTHABELA, Manqoba, a self-defence unit member, was severely beaten by members of the SAP, allegedly in the company of the leader of the IFP-linked KHUMALO GANG. Mr Mthabela and his brother were subsequently shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in two separate incidents during July and June 1994 respectively.

MTHABELA, Philane Innocent, was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING, allegedly by hostel-dwellers in Germiston, Tvl, on 8 September 1993. The perpetrators opened fire at a taxi rank killing 23 people. The taxi ranks were in ANC-controlled areas.

MTHALANE, Bhekise Wallace (38), an Inkatha supporter, had his home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in September 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MTHALANE, Bhelukuyise Percy (24), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by another named ANC supporter on 12 June 1990 in Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, in a serious internal dispute. Mr Mthalande was accused of involvement in the murder of a prominent ANC member. His mother's home was burnt down in the same attack.

MTHALANE, Bonagele, was stabbed to death by a named UDF supporter in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in December 1985 in intense political conflict in the area.

MTHALANE, Bonakele, an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 December 1987.

MTHALANE, Bongani, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Machibisa, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 17 November 1991.

MTHALANE, Bonginkosi Cyril (31), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP at Greytown, Natal, on 6 September 1987, during political conflict in the area.

MTHALANE, Charles Mthokozizi, was one of three men stabbed to death by ANC supporters and residents of the Bottlebrush informal settlement, Chatsworth, Durban, in ongoing political conflict on 26 December 1993. Three ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0059).

MTHALANE, David Themba (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in KwaMpevu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 4 March 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHALANE, Ephina (48), an ANC member, had her house in Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by other

named ANC supporters on 12 June 1990. Her son was killed in the same attack, allegedly on suspicion of having murdered a prominent ANC member.

MTHALANE, Fikelephi Ellena (49), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 1 April 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MTHALANE, Kufakwezwe Enoch (54), an Inkatha supporter, had his house and possessions burnt by UDF supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 31 May 1988.

MTHALANE, Melta (33), an Inkatha member, had her home burnt down by UDF supporters in Molweni, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 24 December 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MTHALANE, Mlungisi Thokozani (aka 'Magebhula') (31), an MK member, was seriously injured when the car he was about to enter exploded in Matsapha, near Manzini, Swaziland on 4 June 1982. The explosion was caused by bombs placed on the car by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and killed two ANC officials to whom he acted as a bodyguard. One of the officials, Ms Jabulile Nyawose, was his sister.

MTHALANE, Musawenkosi Elias (40), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 31 July 1993 in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg.

MTHALANE, Muziwenhlanhla Petr os, a UDF supporter, had his house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MTHALANE, Nkosinathi (15), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 September 1989 during intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF and ANC supporters in the area. His brother was shot dead three months later, on 2 December 1989, also in political conflict.

MTHALANE, Ntuthuko (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 2 December 1989, while out with friends in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, during intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. His brother, aged 15, was killed three months earlier, on 10 September 1989, also in the course of political conflict.

MTHALANE, Richard Ambrose (27), had his home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in April 1985 and again in November 1986, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MTHALANE, Thembanani Dulana (43), lost her home in an arson attack in Ndlovuyangena, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 September 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. The attack reportedly followed the launch of an IFP branch in the area.

MTHALANE, Wiseman Njabulo, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 22 December 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MTHAMZELI, Gama (16), was detained and severely tortured on 17 June 1985 by a named member of the SAP in Mossel Bay, Cape, in connection with an arson attack on the rent office, for which he was later sentenced to eight lashes. In June 1986 he was again detained and held under emergency regulations for three months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MTHANA, Martha Nompumelelo, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Beaufort West, Cape, on 16 June 1986, after attending a rally to commemorate the SOWETO UPRISING.

MTHEKU, Godswill Charles (19), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death in Chesterville, Durban, by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM in December 1985, during conflict over rent increases and the incorporation of the township into KwaZulu.

MTHEMBA, Maud Constance Themba (58), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by Inkatha supporters in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1987.

MTHEMBA, Sibusiso Leonard (16), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters who attacked his home in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1993.

MTHEMBI, Zobi Doris (54), an ANC supporter, had her home and business premises in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in October 1993 in violent conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in the area.

MTHEMBU, Abel Patrick (59), a former acting Deputy President of the Transvaal ANC and a member of MK, was shot dead in the Transvaal on 14 August 1978 by an ANC unit acting on instructions. It was believed in ANC leadership circles that Mr Mthembu had agreed to give evidence for the State in a forthcoming political trial.

MTHEMBU, Agnes Elsie (36), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 4 February 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHEMBU, Agnes Sibongile (34), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in 1992. She and her husband were severely harassed by IFP supporters, after her husband, a community councillor, distanced himself from the IFP.

MTHEMBU, Balungile Khonzani (39), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MTHEMBU, Bayisaphi (53), lost her home in an arson attack in Empangeni, Natal, on 29 October 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MTHEMBU, Beatrice Badingile (36), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters early in 1994 in the Somopho area, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHEMBU, Beauty, an IFP member, was shot and injured in both legs by named ANC supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 16 June 1991.

MTHEMBU, Belina (45), was shot by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Mpumalanga,

KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MTHEMBU, Ben (66), was shot dead by ANC supporters, one of whom is named, in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 11 September 1993, allegedly because he was suspected of being a 'spy', during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MTHEMBU, Bheki (30), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead at his home in Mashayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 September 1988 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. The attackers entered the house while the family was asleep. His three brothers all sustained gunshot injuries in the attack, and one other person was shot dead.

MTHEMBU, Bheki Shadrack (35), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly in collusion with members of the SAP, in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 7 August 1990 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. At least three other homes, all belonging to ANC supporters, were burnt down in the area that day.

MTHEMBU, Bhekisisa (25), was shot dead by unidentified persons at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 29 October 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHEMBU, Bhekisisa Francis (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP at an ANC self-defence training camp in Umnini, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 December 1990. Two people were shot and injured in the attack.

MTHEMBU, Bhekizizwe Petros (25), an ANC member, was shot dead by members of the SADF during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Umbogintwini, near Durban, on 20 October 1992.

MTHEMBU, Bonakele Ntombivele (48), had her house burnt down when ANC supporters attacked an IFP stronghold at Mshayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban.

MTHEMBU, Bonginkosi Amon (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters, some of whom are named, in Greytown, Natal, on 5 May 1987.

MTHEMBU, Bonginkosi Fulathela (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP at an ANC self-defence training camp in Umnini, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 December 1990. One person was shot dead in the attack, and another shot and injured.

MTHEMBU, Boxer Joseph, was one of four MK operatives killed in an ambush by Security Branch operatives near Piet Retief, Tvl, on 12 June 1988. See PIET RETIEF AMBUSHES. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander of Eastern Transvaal and of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/273).

MTHEMBU, Boyiboyi, an ANC supporter, was fatally shot in Umnini, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 October 1992, when members of the SADF opened fire during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in

the area. Several other people were injured in the shooting.

MTHEMBU, Charity, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in a police ambush in Piet Retief, Tvl, on 12 June 1988. The perpetrators were allegedly named members of the Security Branch and the SAP. Eight others died in the attack. See PIET RETIEF AMBUSHES.

MTHEMBU, Christobel Thuleleni (30), an ANC supporter, had her house in Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 30 November 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MTHEMBU, Derrick Br eeze, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named Inkatha supporter in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 22 April 1990, allegedly in a revenge attack after Mr Mthembu and others had tried to burn a house belonging to an Inkatha supporter. The perpetrator applied for amnesty.

MTHEMBU, Diiza Abednego (28), a member of MK, was briefly detained in 1980 for indiscipline and severely ill-treated. In 1984, he was detained following the Viana mutiny and held for four years during which he was severely tortured. (See ANC CAMPS) Mr Mthembu's difficulties in the ANC began after his father, acting Deputy-President of the Transvaal ANC in 1958, was shot dead in an ANC operation in April 1978 to prevent him from giving evidence in a political trial.

MTHEMBU, Dina (57), lost her house when it was burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Piesang, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1985. Ms Mthembu and her family had been subjected to ongoing harassment and had been forced to flee the area.

MTHEMBU, Ditaba Joseph, an ANC member, was killed by named members of a local ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katilehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Mr Mthembu was one of nine ANC supporters killed execution-style by SDU members in Moleleki Section, Katilehong, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

MTHEMBU, Dlomoyi Simon (66), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ogunjini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 August 1990 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MTHEMBU, Dumazile Esther (75), had her house in Mpumuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 5 May 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area. The attack was allegedly directed at her son, who was a UDF supporter.

MTHEMBU, Dumisani (18), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead on 29 October 1989, when police opened fire on a violent confrontation between UDF and Inkatha supporters following an aborted peace meeting in Mashayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban. In September 1988, Mr Mthembu had been shot and injured in an attack on his home, in which his brother and one other person were shot dead.

MTHEMBU, Dumisani Mbongiseni, an MK operative, was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 2 September 1992.

MTHEMBU, Dumisani , an alleged IFP supporter, was shot dead during a confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters at Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 26 September 1992, in which at least nine people were killed. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/97/0063).

MTHEMBU, Dumsani Joseph (25), was shot and injured by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE on 9 March 1990, while attending a night vigil in Kwa-Mashu, Durban. Several ANC supporters were injured in the shooting.

MTHEMBU, Eliakim Makhosi (42), was shot dead by an MK operative and an ANC member in Mankwanyaneni Reserve, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 3 May 1994. One other person was injured in the attack. The attackers had allegedly been given a hit list by a local ANC leader during political conflict between the IFP and the ANC. One MK operative and one ANC member were granted amnesty (AC/2000/004).

MTHEMBU, Elphas , was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 16 January 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. During the same year, he was assaulted while in detention in Pietermaritzburg.

MTHEMBU, Ernest Mandlakayise (34), was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters on 24 January 1988, and shot dead by unidentified gunmen on 4 July 1988 in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. In the same year he was also detained and assaulted by members of the SAP.

MTHEMBU, Fani Caleb (34), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 February 1992.

MTHEMBU, Francisca (60), had her rondavels burnt down at Entenjane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 27 November 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHEMBU, Freddie Musa (16), had his home in KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 22 May 1986 in violent conflict between pupils and AMABUTHO members over school boycotts. Six AmaButho members were killed in the conflict. Five youths were killed in a counter-attack carried out by about 2000 Amabutho members.

MTHEMBU, Gimbane Johannes (39), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in 1985 at Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, during intense political conflict on the East Rand.

MTHEMBU, Gini Mitta (50), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Estcourt, Natal, on 2 April 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Ms Mthembu had fled her house when it was petrol-bombed, but the perpetrators pursued her and her son into a church where they had sought refuge, and killed them both.

MTHEMBU, Goodness Qondeni , was shot dead by a named perpetrator at KwaMashu, Durban, in 1991, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHEMBU, Grace Bambekile (41), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in

Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 February 1993.

MTHEMBU, Grace Zion (59), had her house in Kwa-Dweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by UDF supporters on 2 August 1989 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters. The perpetrators first demanded to see her son, an Inkatha supporter, who was not at home. They then set fire to the house.

MTHEMBU, Inkosi Ngozsi Elphas , suffered damage to property in 1988 when his homestead in Natal was attacked by Port Natal and Natal Security Branch policemen purporting to be MK operatives. The operation was aimed at giving credibility to an informer. Two Natal and two Port Natal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/030).

MTHEMBU, Isabel Nobuyiselo , had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS IN 1993.

MTHEMBU, Israel Linduyise , an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 3 September 1988.

MTHEMBU, Jabu Zikhokhile (32), was shot dead by IFP supporters in an attack on her family home at Iniwé, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 November 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Two children in the family were also severely injured in the attack, and the family home was burnt down.

MTHEMBU, Jabulani , an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1993.

MTHEMBU, Jackson , was stabbed and hacked to death by IFP supporters on 21 August 1990 in Kagiso, Tvl, during conflict between Zulu hostel-dwellers and the local community.

MTHEMBU, James (29), was found in hospital after he failed to return from work in Katilehong, Tvl, on 11 August 1990. Mr Mthembu had severe head wounds from which he died later that day. He was unable to explain how he was injured but his death took place soon after the outbreak of violent political conflict on the East Rand in August 1990. Twenty people died in the two days following Mr Mthembu's death.

MTHEMBU, Jeffrey Dututu , an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 4 December 1991.

MTHEMBU, Jerry , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 April 1986. Thirty people were killed in what is known as the SIX-DAY WAR, sparked off by police firing teargas at a peaceful funeral in the area.

MTHEMBU, Jimmy Msizeni (52), an ANC supporter, had his house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SADF, on 15 December 1989. On 27 February 1991, he was assaulted by IFP supporters in Inanda.

MTHEMBU, Johannes Mbayimbayi (58), had his house in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, attacked by Inkatha supporters in December 1987 during intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MTHEMBU, John , was killed when the car in which he was travelling was attacked by members of a self-defence unit (SDU) during ongoing political conflict in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 April 1991. Two occupants of the vehicle were killed and two others injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/066).

MTHEMBU, Joseph Russel (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP, assisted by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM, in Chesterville, Durban, on 20 June 1986. He and other youths were allegedly in hiding while preparing to go into exile, when their location was revealed to the SAP.

MTHEMBU, Keli Wiseman Mkhuphukeli (33), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 December 1991.

MTHEMBU, Khaya John (39), an IFP supporter, was shot and burnt to death when the car in which he was travelling was ambushed and petrol-bombed by ANC supporters, some of whom are named, at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 April 1991. The perpetrators claimed the attack was in reprisal for the killing of six ANC supporters in the area. Another IFP supporter, who was in the car with Mr Mthembu, also died in the attack.

MTHEMBU, Khokhi , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Iniwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1991. She had allegedly left the IFP to join the ANC.

MTHEMBU, Khulisile (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 21 February 1991 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, during clashes between two factions of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS. Mr Mthembu had been harassed regularly by police before his death.

MTHEMBU, Kwazikwakhe Mfana (39), had his house petrol-bombed by IFP supporters in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 6 July 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MTHEMBU, Lindiwe Mavis (31), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MTHEMBU, Lindiwe Nyembezi Charity , was one of four ANC members killed in an ambush by Security Branch operatives near Piet Retief, Tvl, on 8 June 1988. See PIET RETIEF AMBUSHES. Nine Security Branch operatives, including the commander of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/273).

MTHEMBU, Lingsay Bhelukwenza , had his house, at Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, burnt down in April 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHEMBU, Lizzy (43), had her home at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1990, in intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MTHEMBU, Lolo Bafanyana , was shot dead by members of the ISU in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993. See the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MTHEMBU, Lucky Moffet (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named perpetrator, allegedly a member of the SAP, in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 13 March 1990 in political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February 1990. Three other ANC supporters were killed in the incident.

MTHEMBU, Mabhoyi Elphas (32), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by ANC supporters in Entoweni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 December 1990.

MTHEMBU, Makhanyani (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, in Qhibukhowe, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 18 March 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. She was allegedly killed for failing to attend IFP meetings.

MTHEMBU, Makhosi Elakini (42), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by unnamed IFP supporters at Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 3 May 1994 in political conflict following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHEMBU, Mandla Lenford (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, while on his way home from a peace meeting on 27 August 1989. One other UDF supporter was killed in the attack, and one was shot and injured.

MTHEMBU, Mano Caleb (63), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters, at KwaDabeka, near Pinetown, Natal, on 5 May 1992.

MTHEMBU, Manyongotwana (50), an Inkatha supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990 at the Chimora informal settlement, Umlazi, Durban, in intense political conflict in the area following the UNBANNING of political organisations.

MTHEMBU, Maria , was severely intimidated and detained by the SAP on 1 February 1986 in Alexandra, Johannesburg. She was held for four to five months.

MTHEMBU, Mayvis Philpinah (36), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Ozwathini, near Stanger, on 1 March 1992 in ongoing political conflict.

MTHEMBU, Mbhekeni Isaac (37), had his home burnt down at Obanjeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge (23), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 24 January 1988.

MTHEMBU, Mellina Thembe (69), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Kwa-Dlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 April 1993. Ms Mthembu was allegedly targeted because her sons had refused to join the IFP.

MTHEMBU, Menzi Mathews , a member of the SAP, was stabbed to death in Howick, Natal, on 6 December 1993, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MTHEMBU, Mfanufikile Jericho (21), was shot and injured in Umlazi, Durban, on 7 August 1985, when members of the SADF opened fire on marchers protesting against the killing of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge. A stayaway was organised in protest against her killing. Many people were killed and injured by the

police, members of the SADF and Inkatha supporters before the memorial service on 8 August 1985.

MTHEMBU, Mfundo Siyanda (17), was severely injured when a bomb planted by AWB supporters exploded in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994. The explosion was part of attempts by right-wing parties to derail the APRIL 1994 ELECTION.

MTHEMBU, Mhlushwa Samuel (57), an IFP supporter, had his home at Malagazi, Umlazi, Durban, petrol-bombed by ANC supporters on 16 June 1991.

MTHEMBU, Moses (50), had his house in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in continuing political conflict in December 1993.

MTHEMBU, Msawenkosi John, a UDF supporter, was shot and killed when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MTHEMBU, Msebenzi John (61), died after being stabbed in Pietermaritzburg, on 5 May 1989 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. He was allegedly targeted because his son was a UDF supporter.

MTHEMBU, Musawenkosi Amos (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in, Inkanyezi, Port Shepstone, Natal, when IFP supporters attacked the house in which he was staying on 6 May 1991. Two ANC supporters were killed in the attack; three others were injured. The victims were in hiding, as they had heard of an impending attack.

MTHEMBU, Mziwabantu (53), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters, allegedly in collusion with members of the SAP, in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 4 April 1990.

MTHEMBU, Mzule Victor (16), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named perpetrator, allegedly a member of the SAP, in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 13 March 1990 during political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February. Three other UDF supporters were also killed in the incident.

MTHEMBU, Ndabane Emmanuel, an IFP supporter, was shot and severely injured by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 August 1992.

MTHEMBU, Nkosinathi Alpheus Raymond, an ANC member, was beaten to death in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Eshowe, Natal, on 15 December 1992.

MTHEMBU, Nkosinathi Sonnyboy (24), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 April 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHEMBU, Nobambo Alicia (44), had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 18 June 1991 in ongoing political conflict.

MTHEMBU, Nobayeni (48), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban,

burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990.

See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MTHEMBU, Nomsa, was shot dead by ANC supporters in ongoing political conflict at KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 4 August 1992.

MTHEMBU, Nomthandazo Confidence (29), an ANC supporter, had her home set alight by named IFP supporters at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1993. Ms Mthembu's mother witnessed the attack and gave a statement to the police. The perpetrators returned on 1 May 1993, shot her mother dead and stabbed her niece to death.

MTHEMBU, Nomusa Mar garet (41), had her house and her business destroyed in an arson attack at Ncekwane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHEMBU, Nqobile, was shot and injured when IFP supporters attacked the family home at Inwiwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 November 1992 during ongoing political conflict. One family member was shot dead and another injured in the attack.

MTHEMBU, Ntombi Gladys (36), was shot dead by IFP supporters in an ANC stronghold at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban on 19 April 1992. She was allegedly targeted because she was perceived to have sympathies with the ANC.

MTHEMBU, Obed Sibonelo (52), was shot and left for dead in Clermont, near Durban, in February 1988, allegedly because he could identify the killers of a community member who died during political conflict.

MTHEMBU, Petros Thulani (22), an ANC supporter, was injured in an attack by a group of named people, both IFP and ANC supporters, in Empangeni, Natal, on 17 June 1993. On 22 July 1993, he was shot and severely injured by the same perpetrators, who allegedly accused him of recruiting IFP supporters.

MTHEMBU, Phethekabi (68), an ANC supporter, had her houses burnt down by IFP supporters in Nhlangenyoka, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, on 24 April 1994, three days before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHEMBU, Phillip V elaphi, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Soweto, on 25 May 1992. Soweto was one of many Transvaal townships embroiled in conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MTHEMBU, Phwayinkosi Michael (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Groutville, Stanger, Natal, on 14 January 1994, allegedly in retaliation for a verbal clash between ANC and IFP supporters earlier that day.

MTHEMBU, Phumzile Nelisiwe (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MTHEMBU, Prince Grif fiths, was shot dead on 11 November 1990 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, during intense political conflict in the area.

MTHEMBU, Qhamukile (6), was burnt to death when IFP supporters attacked her grandmother's home at Inwiwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24

November 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. One other family member was shot dead, and her sister shot and injured in the attack.

MTHEMBU, Rose Sibongile , was arrested by members of the SAP on 11 June 1985 at Komatipoort, Tvl, because police believed she had information about ANC activities in Maputo. She was detained without trial for three months.

MTHEMBU, Roseline (53), an ANC supporter, was assaulted, ill-treated and had her house destroyed by members of the SAP at Stanger, Natal, in January 1991. The police were allegedly looking for her sons.

MTHEMBU, Russel Nkosinathi , a UDF supporter, was detained and tortured in October 1989 in Rustenburg, Tvl, while attempting to leave the country.

MTHEMBU, Samuel Smodell (28), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 27 February 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP. Mr Mthembu's home had been burnt down about three weeks earlier.

MTHEMBU, Sandile (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by other ANC supporters on 29 April 1990 in Sobantu, near Pietermaritzburg, in political conflict between two ANC breakaway factions, the AMAVARAVARA and the Amazimuzimu.

MTHEMBU, Sarah , lost her home in a petrol bomb attack by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 1 February 1986.

MTHEMBU, Sgidi , an IFP supporter, died after he was shot and axed by ANC supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg on 17 March 1991.

MTHEMBU, Sibongile Virginia (41), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area during 1992.

MTHEMBU, Sibusiso Joseph (25), an ANC supporter, was shot, stabbed and hacked to death by IFP supporters at Danganya, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 13 June 1992.

MTHEMBU, Sibusiso Steven (28), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named perpetrators in Pinetown, Natal, on 4 November 1988. He was allegedly attacked after recommending that the perpetrators be tried in the kangaroo court that had been introduced in the area to punish comrades who involved themselves in criminal activities.

MTHEMBU, Sicelo Ezrom (30), an IFP supporter, had his house in Richmond, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters in June 1992. ANC supporters in the area were allegedly trying to force IFP supporters out of the area.

MTHEMBU, Simon (29), was shot and stoned by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 24 January 1988 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. He died on 21 February 1988.

MTHEMBU, Sipiwe Justice , was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was

granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

MTHEMBU, Siphso Roldald (19), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by named IFP supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 30 September 1992.

MTHEMBU, Siphso Tudu (37), an ANC supporter, was shot and then beaten by members of the SADF in Inanda New Town, Durban, on 8 May 1990. The perpetrators allegedly accused him of belonging to MK.

MTHEMBU, Siphso , was shot dead by members of the SADF during political unrest in Chesterville, Durban, on 26 May 1986.

MTHEMBU, Stand , was shot dead in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Mabhuveni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 March 1994. Several other people were killed in this attack, which took place at a bus stop in the area.

MTHEMBU, Thandazile Margaret (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 July 1993.

MTHEMBU, Thandeka , an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 30 November 1992. Her family home was set alight in the attack.

MTHEMBU, Thathokwakhe Vusumuzi (24), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and injured at his home in Mashayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 September 1988 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters. Unidentified assailants entered the house while the family was asleep. Two people, including his brother, were shot dead. His other two brothers sustained gunshot injuries in the attack.

MTHEMBU, Thembu Victoria (20), an ANC supporter, was interrogated and then stabbed to death by fellow ANC supporters at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 28 September 1991. Ms Mthembu came under suspicion after being seen in an IFP-aligned hostel. Three ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/017).

MTHEMBU, Thembinkosi Bernard (21), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by named Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1989.

MTHEMBU, Thembinkosi , an IFP supporter, was shot dead by an ANC supporter in Empangeni, Natal, on 20 May 1993.

MTHEMBU, Thenjwaphi , (45), an IFP supporter, had her house in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, set alight in January 1991 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. One person was shot dead and two were severely injured in the attack.

MTHEMBU, Thoko Elizabeth (33), an ANC supporter, had her house in Nkulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, damaged in an attack by IFP supporters in May 1993. The family was forced to flee the area after the attack.

MTHEMBU, Thokozane Ronald (21), a UDF supporter, was assaulted by members of the SAP, on 22 June 1986 while in detention in Newcastle, Natal. He had been actively involved in the rent boycott in Newcastle and was detained for 22 months.

MTHEMBU, Thokozani Sydney , an SAP constable, was shot dead in his car by a member of an ANC self-

defence unit (SDU) in KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 February 1993, in front of his two-year-old child. The SDU member, who also stole his briefcase, was refused amnesty (AC/99/0252).

MTHEMBU, Tholakele , was shot dead in 1991 at KwaMashu, Durban, in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MTHEMBU, Thompolo (56), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at Danganya, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 19 September 1989.

MTHEMBU, Thulani Mzikayifani , an alleged IFP member, died after being shot and stabbed by ANC members at Cottonlands, Verulam, Natal, on 26 December 1991. Six ANC members were granted amnesty (AC/99/0023).

MTHEMBU, Thulani , an Inkatha supporter, was shot and injured at Verulam, Natal, on 5 September 1988 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MTHEMBU, Tsheleni Isabel (38), had her home destroyed by ANC supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

MTHEMBU, Vusi Innocent (22), an ANC supporter, was attacked and severely injured by IFP supporters while getting out of a taxi outside Port Shepstone, Natal, on 29 July 1992.

MTHEMBU, Vuyiswa Charity (13), was abducted in Port Shepstone, Natal, in December 1993 and threatened with death, allegedly because some of her family members were ANC supporters. Vuyiswa's family home was reportedly burnt down.

MTHEMBU, Wilson , was shot, tortured in detention, and then later shot dead on 2 November 1989 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, by named members of the SAP.

MTHEMBU, Wiseman Mkhuphukeli , an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 December 1991.

MTHEMBU, Xolani (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named perpetrators, both ANC and IFP supporters, in Empangeni, Natal, on 21 July 1993, during intense local political conflict.

MTHEMBU, Xolani Eric (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 November 1989 by Inkatha supporters returning from a rally. The attack was allegedly initiated by KWAZULU POLICE members, accompanied by SAP Riot Unit members.

MTHEMBU, Zandile Maureen (24), was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 7 December 1989. She was accused of being sympathetic to the UDF.

MTHEMBU, Zanyiwé Agness (59), was subjected to electric shock torture by named members of the SAP at Welverdiend police station in Oberholzer, Tvl, in November 1989.

MTHEMBU, Zibuyile Jeannet (23), was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 21 September 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHEMBU, Zihle Norris (15), was injured in an attack on her home in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, by ANC supporters on 2 August 1989. The perpetrators demanded to see her brother, an IFP supporter. When told he was out, they set fire to the home.

MTHEMBU, Zuziwe , was shot and severely injured when a named Inkatha Youth Brigade member attacked her home in Clermont, near Durban, on 22 February 1988 during political conflict in the area.

MTHENJANE, Clement Manala (28), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 24 May 1991 in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, during ongoing clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MTHETHO, Mavalini , an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the security forces in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MTHETHO, Monaza Norah (45), had her house burnt down in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 13 July 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Earlier that day, ANC supporters had allegedly come to fetch her husband for a self-defence training nightcamp. He was later found burnt to death.

MTHETHO, Nomadlangathi , an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the security forces in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MTHETHO, Wibby , was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at a squatter camp in Germiston, Tvl, on 14 December 1990. Hostel-dwellers were allegedly coerced into IFP membership when it launched itself as a political party in 1990. As a result, conflict between township residents and hostel-dwellers increasingly overlapped political affiliation with ethnic identity.

MTHETHWA, Aaron Mxosheni (42), an IFP chairman, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 August 1992. IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had addressed an IFP rally in the area that day.

MTHETHWA, Adeline Sibong (51), an IFP supporter, had her 12 rondawels burnt down by other IFP supporters in KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 17 November 1993. The perpetrators were allegedly targeting her sons, whom they believed to be ANC supporters.

MTHETHWA, Agnes Nene (62), an ANC supporter, had her house petrol-bombed and burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 14 August 1986. The attack was allegedly targeted at her son-in-law, a human rights lawyer and ANC supporter, who was shot and severely injured in the attack.

MTHETHWA, Amos (49), was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Mashana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 18 July 1992. His sons were ANC supporters.

MTHETHWA, Babane Derrick (37), had his house in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by a named Inkatha supporter on 10 June 1990 in political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters.

MTHETHWA, Beshwara (50), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in Mabhuveni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni,

Natal, on 14 February 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHETHWA, Bethuwee (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KABASA GANG and SADF in kaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 16 June 1986. Bethuwee was among a group of people returning from a meeting singing freedom songs.

MTHETHWA, Betty (40), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 February 1992, when IFP supporters returning from a chief's gathering attacked ANC hostels and homes in the area. See **ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS**.

MTHETHWA, Bhakilifa (48), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in the Mahagwa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 January 1991. The perpetrators were allegedly trying to purge the area of ANC supporters.

MTHETHWA, Bhekizenzo Moses , was shot dead on 22 July 1992 when unidentified IFP supporters attacked a bus transporting employees to the Alusaf smelter at Richards Bay, Natal. Ten men were killed, nine of whom were allegedly COSATU members.

MTHETHWA, Bheko Phillip (19), disappeared in August 1991, and his decomposed body was found in a forest in Ntamtengayo, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1991. He was reportedly killed by ANC supporters who accused him of being an IFP supporter.

MTHETHWA, Bhekuyise (45), was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 16 March 1992. Mr Mthethwa was attacked after leaving home to look for his children, who were ANC supporters and who had been pursued by unidentified people.

MTHETHWA, Bonga , an IFP supporter, was shot dead by unidentified perpetrators in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 January 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHETHWA, Bongani Sindrie (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters at Emagadini, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, on 3 March 1990. Mr Mthethwa and other young people were *toy-toying* and singing freedom songs when they were attacked.

MTHETHWA, Bongani , had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 24 March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His two sisters and brother were shot and stabbed to death in the attack.

MTHETHWA, Bonginkosi Phanga (53) was shot dead by unidentified perpetrators at Mangezi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHETHWA, Bonisiwe , was shot and killed by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, during political conflict in the area in 1990.

MTHETHWA, Brenda Mbalenhle (23), lost her home in an arson attack in ongoing conflict between ANC and

IFP supporters at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 June 1993.

MTHETHWA, Casheleni (43), an IFP supporter, had her house at Mtamtengane, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 25 August 1991.

MTHETHWA, Chizelubani , an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down in an arson attack by unidentified perpetrators in Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area in 1989.

MTHETHWA, Dumisani (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 18 July 1992. His father and brother were killed in the same incident.

MTHETHWA, Elizabeth (25), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

MTHETHWA, Emmanuel (24), an ANC supporter, disappeared from Entshawini, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, in December 1992, during ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MTHETHWA, Emmanuel Bongani (19), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Mpevu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 December 1993.

MTHETHWA, Ephraim Thami (22), a UDF supporter, allegedly hanged himself while in solitary confinement in Sentela police station, Lamontville, Durban, on 25 August 1984. He was accused of using his church choral activities as a cover to assist would-be ANC operatives across the Lesotho border. His two brothers were detained with him and testified to his severe beatings and torture. The brothers were released two months before the family was informed of Mr Mthethwa's alleged suicide. No death certificate was issued.

MTHETHWA, Ettie (60), had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in October 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MTHETHWA, Felokwakhe (29), an IFP supporter, was killed in a limpet-mine attack on the home of a well-known IFP leader in the Umbumbulu area, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 October 1991. The attack, which took place during a wedding ceremony, is thought to have been carried out by an ANC member. Six people were killed.

MTHETHWA, Fikile , was shot and stabbed to death when IFP supporters attacked her home at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 24 March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her sister and brother were also shot and stabbed to death in the attack.

MTHETHWA, Fundaphi (64), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Ndayakhe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in September 1993.

MTHETHWA, Gugu, was allegedly beaten to death by members of the SADF on 15 June 1986 in Nelspruit, Tvl, during a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MTHETHWA, Hlakaniphile Beatrice (20), an IFP supporter, had her family home in Mtamtengane, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 25 August 1991.

MTHETHWA, Jabulani, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in November 1991 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. Two of his friends were shot dead with him.

MTHETHWA, Joseph Dumisane, an IFP supporter, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MTHETHWA, Joseph, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

MTHETHWA, Joyce Thulisile (25), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by a named ANC supporter in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 8 July 1991.

MTHETHWA, Kaya (62), a councillor to a local chief, was shot dead on 4 April 1990 when a named perpetrator attacked his home at Obanjani, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, allegedly because he was suspected of joining the ANC and planning to overthrow the chief. Mr Mthethwa's two grandsons, aged eight and seven, were also shot dead in the attack.

MTHETHWA, Kekana Canan (7), was shot dead on 4 April 1990 when a named perpetrator attacked his grandfather's home at Obanjani, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. The attack was allegedly targeted at Kekana's grandfather, a councillor to a local chief, because he was suspected of joining the ANC and planning to overthrow the chief. Kekana's grandfather and five-year-old brother were also shot dead in the attack.

MTHETHWA, Khalelani (58), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban in August 1991.

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

MTHETHWA, Lucky Johannes (22), a former member of the Moleleki Section self-defence unit (SDU), survived an attempt on his life by former SDU colleagues in Katlehong, Tvl, on 5 December 1993. Two days later,

11 ANC supporters were killed, nine execution-style, by SDU members in Moleleki Section, Katlehong during a conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. The SDU members involved in this incident applied for but were denied amnesty.

MTHETHWA, Magejane Jameson (48), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten when named Inkatha supporters attacked him in his home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 May 1986. His house was burnt down in the attack.

MTHETHWA, Makhosezwe Elliot (63), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 June 1992.

MTHETHWA, Mandlenkosi (23), was shot dead in Ntuzi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MTHETHWA, Mandlenkosi Sydwell (18), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by other ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 March 1990 during a serious internal dispute.

MTHETHWA, Mavis, was shot dead in Vosloorus, Tvl, in June 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MTHETHWA, Mawu (69), lost her house in an arson attack in Mtunzini, Natal, on 24 April 1994 during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters shortly before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHETHWA, Mfanafuthi Victor (26), an ANC supporter, was beaten and stabbed to death by IFP supporters on in Mfume, Umkomaas, near Durban, 1 February 1993.

MTHETHWA, Mfanobomvu, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter at Mandini, Natal, on 31 December 1993 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MTHETHWA, Michael (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters, allegedly accompanied by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, at Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 14 August 1992.

MTHETHWA, Michael Nqwele (66), lost his house in an arson attack in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Sowanjane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in 1993.

MTHETHWA, Michael Zolana (37), an alleged ANC member, was injured during a shoot-out with members of the SAP at Empangeni, Natal, on 14 August 1992. Afterwards, a member of the Empangeni Murder and Robbery Squad stopped the vehicle taking him to hospital and shot him dead. The policeman, who was subsequently sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment, was granted amnesty (AC/1997/0033).

MTHETHWA, Mphumuzeni Andreas (33), an ANC supporter, had his business and four houses at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

MTHETHWA, Mthiyeni Joseph (45), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured on 8 September 1991 in Tokoza, Tvl, just days before the signing of the National Peace Accord. Mr Mthethwa was shot when about 300

members of the Hostel-dwellers' Association on their way to a peace meeting in Tokoza, Tvl, were sprayed with AK47 gunfire by three gunmen. At least 23 people died in the attack. The Goldstone Commission later discovered the attack was planned and carried out by a police informer operating in a self-defence unit in Phola Park. One of the perpetrators who is currently serving a life sentence for the attack has applied for amnesty. See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

MTHETHWA, Muntungikhona Leonard (39), had his house burnt down at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 February 1992, when IFP supporters returning from a chief's gathering attacked ANC hostels and homes in the area. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

MTHETHWA, Nkosinathi Godfrey (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 3 December 1991 when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC supporters in the area. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MTHETHWA, Nomakhimbili, was shot and stabbed to death when IFP supporters attacked her home at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 24 March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her sister and brother were shot and stabbed to death in the attack.

MTHETHWA, Nomashinga Bazaar (37), an IFP supporter, had her house, cars and business destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 August 1991.

MTHETHWA, Nomsombuluko Selina (46), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 26 July 1992 in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban. See FOLWENI MASSACRE.

MTHETHWA, Nothi Elijah (31), was tortured and beaten by members of the SAP in April 1983 in Piet Retief, Tvl, for being in possession of an ANC underground operation document.

MTHETHWA, Nozipho Rejoice, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and sexually assaulted by a named IFP supporter, in Empangeni, Natal, in November 1993.

MTHETHWA, Ntombizethu Tilili (42), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MTHETHWA, Nyambose, was severely beaten at KwaMashu, Durban, on 26 December 1989, by members of the KWAZULU POLICE (KZP), who allegedly suspected him of being involved in the killing another KZP member.

MTHETHWA, Nyenyezile (57), an IFP supporter, had her house in Mtamtengane, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 25 August 1991.

MTHETHWA, Petros Muntu, was shot dead at Empangeni, Natal, on 9 December 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHETHWA, Phila, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 28 March 1990. Mr Mthethwa worked in a shop owned by an Inkatha supporter.

MTHETHWA, Phineas, was shot dead by members of the ISU and an IFP supporter in Eshowe, Natal, during political conflict in the area in 1991.

MTHETHWA, Rachel Thulisile (57), an IFP supporter, had her home in Clermont, near Durban, petrol-bombed by ANC supporters on 1 December 1991.

MTHETHWA, Richard Mfanini, a member of the SADF, was severely beaten by AWB supporters at Vryheid, Natal, on 24 September 1993.

MTHETHWA, Rose Makhosi (26), had her house burnt down by named IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHETHWA, Sabatha Irene (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down and her shop looted by IFP supporters in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHETHWA, Sabelo (5), was shot dead when a named perpetrator attacked his grandfather's home at Obanjeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 4 April 1990. The attack was aimed at Sabelo's grandfather, a councillor to a local chief, because he was suspected of joining the ANC and planning to overthrow the chief. His grandfather and his brother, aged 7, were also shot dead in the attack.

MTHETHWA, Seradike Herbet (19), was shot dead on 21 October 1993 in Katilehong, Tvl, allegedly by SAP members, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MTHETHWA, Shadrack Ntokozo (21), was stabbed and burnt to death with his brother on 16 December 1989 in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. A crowd of unidentified people attacked and killed the brothers after their vehicle broke down.

MTHETHWA, Shayilanga John, was burnt to death when he had petrol poured over him and was set alight by named 'comrades' in Boschfontein, Malelane, Tvl, on 1 June 1986 because he was suspected of being a witch.

MTHETHWA, Shonaphi Sindisiwe (49), had her three houses in Ncekwane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down on 23 October 1991 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHETHWA, Sibeko, had his home burnt down in Empangeni, Natal, in 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHETHWA, Sibongile (37), had her house burnt down in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHETHWA, Sikelela, was stabbed and injured during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Mabhuveni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 March 1994.

MTHETHWA, Simangele Dor een, an ANCYL member, was killed by ANC supporters at Clermont, near Durban, on 25 April 1992, allegedly because she was suspected of being sympathetic to the IFP.

MTHETHWA, Sipelele Siphesihle (16), was shot and injured on 2 August 1992 when armed men carried out several attacks on homes in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. See **ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS**. An amnesty application was received.

MTHETHWA, Sipho Percy (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a security guard outside the IFP-dominated railway hostel at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 19 August 1991.

MTHETHWA, Sizakele Gretta (45), a former member of the KwaZulu Legislature, had her house and business premises in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, attacked by Inkatha supporters on several occasions during 1989, allegedly because her husband was a member of the UDF-aligned CONTRALESA. The family was forced to flee the area.

MTHETHWA, Sizaka Busisiwe (14), was shot and injured when unidentified persons attacked her aunt's home at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 13 July 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MTHETHWA, Thamsanqa, was shot dead by KWAZULU POLICE members in Umlazi, Durban, on 17 June 1993. He had been arrested on suspicion of killing a police officer, and was shot dead for allegedly trying to escape from prison.

MTHETHWA, Thokozile (34), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Kwa-Mbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 5 November 1993.

MTHETHWA, Thulani Alfred (23), was shot and injured at Empangeni, Natal, on 21 February 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHETHWA, Thuleleni (59), an IFP supporter, had her house at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 25 August 1991.

MTHETHWA, Victor V elaphi, was abducted, interrogated and stabbed to death by UDF and ANC supporters at Mpumalanga, Natal, in July 1989. He was believed to be an Inkatha member. One UDF and ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/200/011).

MTHETHWA, Vivian Mphiwe (28), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 16 April 1994 in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHETHWA, Vusumzi Vincent (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 December 1993, when a group of IFP supporters from a hostel in Duffs Road allegedly boarded a commuter train and started attacking people.

MTHETHWA, Welcome Themba (27), was stabbed and burnt to death with his brother on 16 December 1989 in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. A crowd of unidentified people attacked and killed the brothers after their vehicle broke down.

MTHETHWA, Xolani (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 18

July 1992. His father and brother were killed in the same incident.

MTHETHWA, Xolani (20), was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Clermont, near Durban, on 17 August 1990. Mr Mthethwa was believed to be an IFP supporter.

MTHETHWA, Yithuma (42), had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in August 1991, allegedly because she stayed in an IFP stronghold.

MTHETHWA, Zinhle (23), had her home at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed by ANC supporters on 21 August 1991 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MTHETHWA, Zizwe Abednigo, a member of the Municipal Police, suffered an attempt on his life when he was shot at by MK operatives whilst travelling in a police vehicle at Meadowlands hostel, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 May 1988. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/157).

MTHETHWA, Ngenzeni Mar garet (50), had her house in Eshowe, Natal, burnt down in 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHETWA, Mduduzi (18), was stabbed and axed to death by a group of Inkatha supporters at Mshayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 28 November 1988. Mr Mthetwa was attending a school known to be pro-UDF.

MTHETWA, Sipho (18), was shot and injured on 5 May 1993 in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, when members of the Riot Squad opened fire on a student protest against high school fees. Mr Mthetwa lost his eyesight as a result of the shooting.

MTHIMKHULU, Ambr ose, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 22 February 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHIMKHULU, Billy Caswell, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Evaton, Tvl, on 26 June 1993.

MTHIMKHULU, John Phekeleli (21), disappeared in 1977 in Johannesburg, after his arrest for not having a Pass. Mr Mthimbkhulu has not been seen since.

MTHIMKHULU, Lefa (19), was shot dead by IFP supporters while attending a wedding at Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 30 May 1992. The IFP often attacked ANC supporters at social gatherings to spread fear that the ANC was unable to protect its members.

MTHIMKHULU, Mbuiselo Petrus (23), was shot by a member of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 June 1992, the day after the BOIPATONG MASSACRE.

MTHIMKHULU, Merriet Velephi (64), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 22 February 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHIMKHULU, Nicodemus Mahleu (26), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with sjamboks, allegedly by members of the SADF, in Basothong, Vosloorus, Tvl, in 1986. His eyes were permanently damaged as a result.

MTHIMKHULU, Paul Nkosi (20), was abducted, shot and burnt to death by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1992. The IFP often used gangs in their conflict with the ANC.

MTHIMKHULU, Phineas , was burnt to death by named perpetrators in the Mangweni Trust area, KaNgwane, on 1 June 1986. He had been accused of being a state collaborator.

MTHIMKHULU, Raymond (31), lost all his possessions when his home and car were set alight by IFP supporters on 11 May 1991 in Tembisa, Tvl, during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MTHIMKHULU, Sibanda Phineas, was burnt to death by named perpetrators on 1 June 1986 in the Mangweni Trust Area, near Nelspruit, Tvl, after he was accused of being a government spy.

MTHIMKHULU, Simon (19), an ANCYL member, was beaten to death in detention by two members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 14 June 1992. His body was found in an open field 12 hours after he was taken in for questioning. Sebokeng was tense following numerous clashes between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting township residents.

MTHIMKHULU, Thembeni Gladys (35), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Masomonco, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 December 1993.

MTHIMKHULU, Thokozile Maria (42), a UDF supporter, had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in December 1989.

MTHIMKHULU, Welcome (40), a member of the Violence Monitoring Group affiliated to the ANC, escaped unscathed when his car was shot at by a named member of the KZP, acting in collaboration with IFP supporters, at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 July 1992. Two of his passengers were injured in the shooting. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332). See ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD.

MTHIMKHULU, Xolisile Thikane (20), an ANC and UDF supporter, was seriously injured by named members of the SAP on 23 July 1985 at Phakamisa High School in Zwide, Port Elizabeth. Scholars were involved in a student protest when police randomly shot at students, killing two and injuring six others, including teachers. The perpetrators were found guilty of murder and attempted murder and were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment but did not serve their sentence. Mr Mthimkhulu's left leg and arm are now semi-paralysed.

MTHIMKHULU, Siphiso (19), was one of two ANC members abducted by the Eastern Cape Security Branch in Port Elizabeth on 14 April 1982. They were given a drink containing a sedative and shot in the head. Their bodies were placed on a pile of branches, doused with diesel and then set alight. Their remains were allegedly thrown into the Fish River. Four members of the Eastern Cape Security Branch, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/034).

MTHIMUNYE, Aaron Khohliswa (58), was severely beaten and tortured by named members of the SAP at

the Kwaggafontein police station in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1988 because he assisted 'comrades' with transport. The South African government cancelled KwaNdebele independence in August 1986 because of resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MTHIMUNYE, Anna Ncema (21), lost her house in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported the incorporation because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted.

MTHIMUNYE, Bikwaphi Martha (66), lost her home in an arson attack by alleged ANC supporters in KwaNdebele, in 1986.

MTHIMUNYE, Cashile Pauline (58), had her house and property destroyed by supporters of the Lebowa government in June 1975 at Dennilton, near Moutse, KwaNdebele, when Ms Mthimunye and others were resisting INCORPORATION into Lebowa.

MTHIMUNYE, Fr eddy, was shot dead on 14 May 1986 in KwaNdebele, allegedly by members of the security forces when they attacked a meeting held at a royal kraal to discuss demands by residents to abandon independence and to disband the IMBOKODO.

MTHIMUNYE, Jabulane Johannes (25), lost her home in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported incorporation because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted.

MTHIMUNYE, Jer emiah, was arrested by members of the SAP in 1987 in KwaNdebele, during conflict between IMBOKODO vigilantes and people opposed to KwaNdebele independence.

MTHIMUNYE, Lahline Emily (44), was detained by members of the SADF on 17 January 1987 in KwaNdebele, following clashes over the area's proposed independence.

MTHIMUNYE, Mgutshwe John , was tortured and beaten to death by named members of the SAP at the Kwaggafontein police station in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1988. The South African government cancelled KwaNdebele independence in August 1986 because of resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MTHIMUNYE, Nana Eva , was severely beaten on 6 December 1986 by members of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, when attending a night vigil for a boy allegedly killed by police.

MTHIMUNYE, Thoko Sarah , was killed by members of the SADF in Moutse, KwaNdebele, while attending a funeral on 13 May 1986. The area was tense after government proposed its INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MTHIMUNYE, Zondani Moses (44), lost his house in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported incorporation because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted.

MTHINI, Mabuthinyana Johannes (47), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannes-

burg, on 14 April 1993 while ANC supporters were gathered at the Jabulani police station the day after SACP leader CHRIS HANI was assassinated.

MTHINI, Mbali (16), an ANC supporter, was abducted and severely beaten by ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 14 December 1993. They questioned him about the location of his friends, who had allegedly stolen a handbag. Such internal conflict within the ANC comrades often led to the harassment of people suspected of being spies. Mbali escaped his attackers, but has not been seen since.

MTHINI, Nombulelo Beauty (44), had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in December 1993, allegedly by ANC supporters looking for her son. He had escaped after they had abducted and severely beaten him, but has not been seen since.

MTHINYANE, Thembinkosi (28), an IFP supporter, was shot by ANC supporters in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 25 September 1992. He died in hospital five days later. Mr Mthinyane had been harassed and threatened before the attack.

MTHIYA, Ambr ose, an ANC supporter, was abducted by IFP supporters during a petrol bomb attack on his home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 22 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

MTHIYA, Bangiwe Promise (34), lost her house in an arson attack at Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MTHIYA, Komo George (23), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, in 1987.

MTHIYA, Nelisiwe (30), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MTHIYA, Nqenwase Gugulabasha (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MTHIYA, Pumangiteni Otria (48), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, in 1989. On 22 March 1994, Ms Mthiya's home was destroyed by a petrol bomb in an arson attack by IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHIYA, Vimbephi Mavis (41), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MTHIYANE, Alson (41), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 March 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHIYANE, Bheki (26), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death by ANC supporters in Kwa-Mbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 20 January 1992. His house was burnt down the next day.

The perpetrators, two of whom are named, allegedly attacked him because he refused to join the ANC.

MTHIYANE, Bhekizizwe Bethuel (31), an Inkatha supporter, had his house and shop in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in April 1989.

MTHIYANE, Edmund (34), had his house in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, destroyed in continuing political conflict between local IFP and ANC supporters in April 1993.

MTHIYANE, Emmanuel Mazwi (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter, allegedly accompanied by a member of the SAP, in KwaMashu, Durban, on 30 July 1991.

MTHIYANE, Enock Mbuso (31), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ngolothi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 July 1990 in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Mr Mthiyane had allegedly refused to join the IFP.

MTHIYANE, George Mzwake (75), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and had his house burnt down in an attack by IFP supporters in Ngonweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 January 1993.

MTHIYANE, Gugu Evidence (14), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the KwaZulu POLICE in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 August 1992.

MTHIYANE, Hlanganisile Florence (46), an ANC supporter, had her house in Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 13 June 1991. Ms Mthinyane's husband was shot and injured in the attack.

MTHIYANE, Hopewell Mthembeni (27), had his house burnt down in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in April 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHIYANE, Justice Bhuti (20), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by suffocation by members of the SAP, at Eshowe, Natal, in 1990, allegedly because he was accused of being involved in political violence and arms dealing.

MTHIYANE, Lindumusa Norman (22), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 29 September 1992. The perpetrators, two of whom are named, allegedly attacked him because he refused to join the ANC.

MTHIYANE, Mavis Delive (42), was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Ms Mthiyane was allegedly attacked because her husband was an ANC supporter.

MTHIYANE, Mbabazeni Enoch (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 November 1991. Mr Mthiyane had allegedly refused to join the IFP.

MTHIYANE, Mor dern, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni,

Natal, in November 1991 in continuing political violence in the area. One of his friends was also shot dead and another was shot and injured in the attack.

MTHIYANE, Musa Howard (19), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP and KwaZulu POLICE in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 November 1989. The police were allegedly attacked when they entered the area, and retaliated by opening fire.

MTHIYANE, Myekeni Enos, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 17 July 1992.

MTHIYANE, Nomadabi Patricia (42), an ANC supporter, was living in her grandmother's home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, when it was petrol-bombed in June 1991, in continuing political violence between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHIYANE, Nomdakazana Janet (45), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Siyanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1989.

MTHIYANE, Pam Louis (34), a PAC supporter, was shot dead by named perpetrators, allegedly ANC supporters, in KwaMashu, Durban, while participating in a voter education exercise on 3 February 1994. He was allegedly suspected of being a member of the KwaZulu POLICE.

MTHIYANE, Sibusiso Augustine (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Gezinsila, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 1 May 1992. He was taking part in a Workers' Day march when IFP supporters fired at the crowd, killing his brother and injuring two others.

MTHIYANE, Thembi Gladness (32), an ANC supporter, was abducted, shot and injured by IFP supporters on 8 May 1994 in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on her way back from a rally at the FNB stadium. The perpetrator accused her and a friend of being ANC supporters.

MTHIYANE, Timothy, suffered severe burns when a bus carrying workers was bombed by members of COSATU in Empangeni, Natal, on 6 June 1988. The attack occurred during a two-day national stayaway.

MTHIYANE, Toho (56), had her rondavels in Eshowe, Natal, burnt down on 7 May 1994, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTHIYANI, Sikumbuso, a UDF supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 28 November 1987. Two other UDF supporters were killed in the attack.

MTHLANE, Thembinkosi, was shot at by IFP members during political conflict at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 17 December 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MTHOBI, Thomas, a former MK operative, was killed by MK members in Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1987 or 1988. Mr Mthobi, a former bodyguard to ANC President, OR Tambo, was believed to have defected from the ANC and become an *askari*. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the incident (AC/1999/0336).

MTHOLE, Rosetta, was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg,

Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others injured in this incident. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers resulted in violent conflict from July to December 1992.

MTHOMBENI, (first name not given), was shot and injured by members of the KwaNdebele Police on 31 May 1987 in Weltevrede, KwaNdebele, during conflict over independence. The police attacked a group of young men at a tavern. When they retaliated, police allegedly fired into the tavern, killing three people and injuring two.

MTHOMBENI, Aar on, was shot and injured on 21 November 1990 when members of the SAP opened fire on community members marching from Mhluzi to Middelburg police station, Tvl, to protest against the harassment of scholars by the SAP. Five people were killed and more than eight injured.

MTHOMBENI, Abel, was shot and injured on 21 November 1990 when members of the SAP opened fire on protesters marching from Mhluzi to Middelburg police station, Tvl, to protest against the harassment of scholars by the SAP. Five people were killed and more than eight injured.

MTHOMBENI, Christina, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

MTHOMBENI, Elias Ndolwane (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG members on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at the mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived on the scene but provided no protection, ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

MTHOMBENI, Eugene Sifiso (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by a named KwaNdengezi councillor in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 11 March 1988 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MTHOMBENI, Ezekiel Toyisa (28), an ANC supporter, was stabbed by IFP supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, on 28 October 1993. Tembisa was one of many East Rand townships embroiled in conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MTHOMBENI, Frans Mkhukhula (73), lost his home in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported incorporation because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted.

MTHOMBENI, James Jabulani (57), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Mafihleni, Ngutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1992.

MTHOMBENI, James Mpeyane , an MK member, was shot dead by police in Sebokeng, Tvl, in 1992.

MTHOMBENI, Rybe Betty (35), lost her home in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported incorporation it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted.

MTHOMBENI, Samuel Tani (50), was shot dead by IFP supporters looking for his son on 29 April 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MTHOMBENI, Sifiso Eugene (17), a UDF activist, was shot and injured by a named councillor during intensifying political conflict at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 11 March 1988.

MTHOMBENI, Sipho W ilmoth , was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl when unidentified gunmen boarded a train at Germiston West station and started shooting at passengers in January 1992. The East Rand was a key site of TRAIN VIOLENCE with the track from Katlehong to Kwesine station rated the line with the highest risk in South Africa.

MTHOMBENI, Willem Ncengwane (36), was arrested in May 1987 in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, and detained for seven months during conflict between IMBOKODO vigilantes and people resisting INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MTHONTI, Jabu , was beaten and stabbed by Inkatha supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 August 1985, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MTHULI, Vusi Bongani (22), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death in Odondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 April 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTHULU, Mongameli (22), a UDF supporter, died after he was shot in the head by members of the SAP during political conflict in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 29 April 1985. Mr Mthulu had allegedly carried a toy gun, and police claimed they were shooting in self-defence.

MTHUNYWA, Mnyaka (17), an ANC member, was assaulted and his property destroyed by members of the SAP in 1960 at Entsimbini, near Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MTHUNZI, Joseph , was assaulted and stabbed to death by ANC supporters at a squatter camp on a chicken farm in Kliptown, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 7 July 1991. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty for this incident (AC/1999/0212).

MTHWA, Pololo Ezekiel , was shot dead by IFP supporters on 29 December 1991 in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MTIKITIKI, Zakhele (23), an ANC supporter was sjambokked and assaulted with a knobkerrie by members of the CDF during political unrest in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 28 February 1991.

MTILA, Mlungisi Victor (21), a UDF supporter and President of the Middelburg Youth Congress, was detained, interrogated and tortured on several occasions

from 1984 to 1986 by members of the Security Branch in Middelburg, Cape. On 18 April 1986 he sustained severe burn wounds when his house was petrol-bombed.

MTILANA, Fezekile , (40), an ANC SDU member, was shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict in Port St Johns, Transkei, on 21 May 1993.

MTIMKA, Noxolo (22), a UDF supporter, was injured when members of the SAP and SADF fired teargas canisters into a group of mourners during a funeral procession at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 20 May 1986.

MTIMKHULU, Lifa Alwin , was shot dead by IFP members who claimed to have recognised him as an ANC member and pursued him to a wedding in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 30 May 1992. A second person at the wedding was also shot dead and five were injured in the attack. One IFP member was granted amnesty for the killing of Mr Mtimkhulu, but was refused amnesty for the other offences (AC/1999/0254).

MTIMKHULU, Petr us, was a victim of an armed robbery by APLA operatives at the farm 'Panama' near Bloemfontein, during 1993. The victims were threatened and locked in a bathroom. One person was abducted and released later. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/239).

MTIMKULU, Alinah Ntombazana , was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

MTIMKULU, Daluxolo Dugmore (aka 'Mor ris Fakude') (44), an MK member, was seriously injured in 1982 in an explosion at an ANC CAMP at Kashito, Angola. Mr Mtimkulu lost his eyesight, his hearing and both his arms in the explosion. The Commission was unable to determine the cause of the explosion.

MTIMKULU, Mvula Malizole (24), an MK operative, was detained and severely tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei. Mr Mtimkulu's detention followed an MK attack on the Madeira Street police station in Umtata, on 29 July 1986. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the torture (AC/2000/076).

MTIMKULU, Tladi , was shot dead by members of the SAP in December 1984 in Bophelong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, during a rent boycott. This period of political conflict is known as the VAAL UPRISING.

MTIMKULU, Wandile Richman (aka 'Zakithi Mkhonza') (34), from Port Elizabeth, died in a car bomb explosion, together with the head of an ANC security unit in Lusaka, Zambia, on 3 December 1988. A passenger in the car was severely injured in the explosion.

MTINTSO, Thenjiwe Ethel (27), a member of SASO, was detained in 1977 in Ginsberg, Cape. In detention, she was assaulted, and physically and mentally tortured

in order to coerce her to be a state witness against Steve Biko. At the time, widespread boycotts organised by SASO sparked a series of detentions of student activists.

MTIRARA, Lubalo , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 6 September 1989, during widespread protests against the apartheid elections being held that day, resulting in numerous police shootings, deaths and injuries.

MTIRARA, Nomsa Olive (33), lost her home in an arson attack at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

MTIYA, Bushuli Effie (62), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MTIYANE, Thembinkosi (50), lost his home in an arson attack in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 October 1992, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MTJALI, Biza , was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Orlando West, Tvl, in 1992, allegedly because he was suspected of providing information to the IFP. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0317).

MTMEMBU, Catherine Thembisile (34), had her house in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down on 20 September 1989 in intense political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MTOLO, (first name not given), was hunted down and shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katshehong, Tvl, in 1993. The SDU members believed that Mr Mtolo, who had fled to Katshehong, was the cause of fights amongst SDU members in Phola Park, Tvl. One SDU member was granted amnesty for this incident (AC/1999/0348).

MTOLO, Bhukumuzi Promise (23), an ANC supporter, had his home in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1990.

MTOLO, Bongekile Olga (22), was shot dead by ANC supporters in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 29 April 1992. Her grandmother was also killed in the attack, and her home, which was in an IFP stronghold in Ndoleni, was burnt down.

MTOLO, Buyephi (45), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 2 July 1993. The attackers, who suspected the family of giving refuge to ANC supporters, barricaded the homestead to prevent any escapes, then hacked and shot family members. Eight people, including two children, died in the massacre.

MTOLO, Dumisani , an ANC supporter, suffered injuries when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

MTOLO, Elias (20), was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

MTOLO, Ellen (69), an ANC supporter, had her house in Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1990.

MTOLO, Funizwe (67), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in July 1992. See FOLWENI MASSACRE.

MTOLO, Getrude Ntombifikile (19), an IFP Youth Brigade supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by ANC members, at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

MTOLO, Hlazi (59), an ANC supporter, had his house in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down in 1990 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area following an IFP membership recruitment drive.

MTOLO, Hlengiwe , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 2 July 1993. The attackers suspected the family of giving refuge to ANC supporters. They barricaded the homestead to prevent any escapes, then hacked and shot family members. Eight people, including two children, died in the massacre.

MTOLO, Kholwaphi (34), had her home in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 26 May 1990 in political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

MTOLO, Mafunze (54), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack in Richmond, Natal, on 26 May 1990, in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTOLO, Maphumulo Ethel (71), had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in violent conflict with ANC supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MTOLO, Mmiseni (20), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Creighton, Natal, on 17 September 1989.

MTOLO, Nombulelo Annah (31), was arrested and beaten by members of the ISU in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. She was pregnant at the time. Ms Mtolo succeeded in a civil suit against the police for the assault.

MTOLO, Ntombini , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, 2 July 1993. The attackers, who suspected the family of giving refuge to ANC supporters, barricaded the homestead to prevent any escapes, then hacked and shot family members. Eight people, including two children, died in the massacre.

MTOLO, Ntozini (77), was shot dead by ANC supporters in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 29 April 1992. Her granddaughter was also killed in the attack, and her home, which was in an IFP stronghold in Ndoleni, was burnt down.

MTOLO, Philemon , a member of the KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC), was abducted, assaulted and hacked with pangas by named members of the 'Zim-zims' in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 20 November 1990 because he was a member of the rival 'Gadaffi' faction.

MTOLO, Siponyoza Sayitsheni , an Inkatha supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by a UDF supporter in Creighton, Natal, on 17 September 1989.

MTOLO, Solekile , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 2 July 1993 in Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal. The attackers, who suspected the family of giving refuge to ANC supporters, barricaded the homestead to prevent any escapes, then hacked and shot family members. Eight people, including two children, died in the massacre.

MTOLO, Thembelihle Lezinah (31), an ANC supporter, had her house in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

MTOLO, Thembisile (33), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, on 29 April 1992. The home was in an IFP stronghold. Her grandmother and another close relative were shot dead in the attack.

MTOLO, Vitus Funeyakhe (33), was shot dead by ANC supporters on 7 February 1992, in an attack on a shop in Umlazi, Durban, belonging to Mr Winnington Sabelo, an IFP leader. In the attack, both Mr Mtolo (who was a customer) and Mr Sabelo were shot dead.

MTOLO, Vukaphi (49), an ANC supporter, lost his home in an arson attack in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, in April 1992 in political conflict following an IFP membership recruitment drive.

MTOLO, Zilandile (25), had her house at Ncanalo, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down on 28 June 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTOMBENI, Sindiswa Orienda (24), was detained on 14 April 1986 during political conflict in East London. She was taken to the Cambridge police station, East London, where she was assaulted by members of the SAP.

MTONGANA, Selwyn Mveleli Ndlovu (24), was detained by members of the SAP in Umtata, Transkei, on 16 August 1966. In detention, he was severely assaulted and tortured, and accused of circulating a letter insulting the then Chief Minister of Transkei.

MTONGANOV A, Vuyani (17), a PEYCO member, was shot in the left leg when members of the SAP opened fire from a police Hippo in Soweto Square, Port Elizabeth, on 20 July 1985. Mr Mtonganova had allegedly taken part in the burning of electric poles. In 1986, he was assaulted by police for attending a funeral.

MTOTO, Boyce (29), lost his home in an arson attack by WITDOEKE vigilantes in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

MTSABE, Lizo Lesley , a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative who applied for amnesty for his role in

supporting the coup later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

MTSEKI, Elisa Modiehi (22), was shot dead by members of the SAP during political conflict in Bothaville, OFS, on 12 March 1990.

MTSEU, Sifungo (20), was hit with a *panga* and stabbed with a sharp object in June 1986 in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, by hostel-dwellers, some of whom are named. The hostel-dwellers asked Mr Mtseu to show them where other 'comrades' lived.

MTSEWU, Oita Wilson (38), a member of a street committee, was detained on 14 June 1986 during protests in Cradock, Cape. While in detention, he was severely assaulted and tortured while under interrogation by a named member of the SAP.

MTSEWU, Tanduxolo (16), an ANC supporter, was detained in November 1990 during protests in Cradock, Cape. While in detention, he was severely beaten by members of the SAP, led by a named sergeant, at the Cradock police station.

MTSHA, Ntombizakhe Cynthia (35), an ANC member, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MTSHALI, Benson (47), left for work in Tokoza, Tvl, on 1 September 1993 and was never seen alive again. His body was found at the mortuary on 6 September 1993, with bullet and burn wounds. This incident occurred during intense political conflict in the area.

MTSHALI, Bhikamatshali (22), an IFP supporter, was shot dead on 1 November 1991 while on his way home from a funeral in Ntiyane, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Three IFP supporters and two of the perpetrators were killed in the attack.

MTSHALI, Cupheni Phambansile (41), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MTSHALI, David Celani , was shot and injured at Siyabuswa in Tweefontein, KwaNdebele, on 23 June 1986 when *Vlakplaas* police raided a supermarket in search of youths from Mamelodi, Pretoria.

MTSHALI, David Mandla (37), had his house destroyed in an arson attack in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area during 1993.

MTSHALI, Elias Gift V usumuzi , an MK operative, and two others were abducted in Phoenix, Durban, on 18 November 1988 by Port Natal Security Branch operatives. The three were taken to a railway line in Phoenix, told to kneel down and shot dead. Their hands were placed on a limpet mine, which was then detonated to create the impression that they had blown themselves up. Five Port Natal Security Branch

operatives, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/112).

MTSHALI, Elphas Ntarnfela (40), had his home at Mtshivo, Eshowe, Natal, burnt down in June 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTSHALI, Eugene Zakhele (16), was shot dead by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 10 May 1986. The youth were discussing a strategy for defending the community against the vigilante KABASA GANG, allegedly linked to the SAP, when the perpetrators disrupted the meeting and killed three people.

MTSHALI, Isaac Fundayake, was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

MTSHALI, Jim France, an IFP supporter, was evicted from his home and lost his possessions during a subsequent arson attack in Tokoza, Tvl, in November 1993, allegedly carried out by ANC supporters.

MTSHALI, Johannes Brian, was burnt to death in an arson attack on 12 September 1990 in Vosloorus, Tvl, allegedly carried out by IFP supporters. The attack occurred a day after his father and brother were killed during intense political conflict in the area.

MTSHALI, Khanyile Emma (65), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Ngutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 8 November 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MTSHALI, Khululive Nosipho (19), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Nsingweni, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, in January 1993. Her brother, who was killed soon after this attack, was an IFP supporter, and his family was targeted because he did not attend IFP meetings.

MTSHALI, Linda (23), was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Avalon Cemetery in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 October 1990. The police had found a firearm in Mr Mtshali's friend's car. His friends were reportedly killed in the attack.

MTSHALI, Lucky, an ANC supporter, was detained by a member of the KwaZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, in August 1990 and accused of being in possession of a firearm. Later, on 26 August 1990, he was found dead with bullet wounds in his chest.

MTSHALI, Makhosazana Muriel (49), an IFP supporter, had her house in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by an ANC supporter on 8 September 1991.

MTSHALI, Mandlakayise Augustine (40), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 February 1992 in Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, during continuing political conflict in the area.

MTSHALI, Mandlenkosi, an SAP member, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 8 October 1990, during political conflict in the area.

MTSHALI, Mary-Jane (45), had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack in Stanger, Natal, on 30 October 1993, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTSHALI, Mbuzokawukho Bhelukwenza (33), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and then shot dead by an Inkatha supporter, allegedly assisted by members of the KwaZULU POLICE, in Umlazi, Durban, on 12 June 1990.

MTSHALI, Mntukayise Jonathan, was severely beaten, shot and then burnt to death on 18 October 1993 in Katilehong, Tvl, allegedly by named IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MTSHALI, Mpiisi Zakhele, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by fellow IFP supporters in Nsingweni, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, on 21 January 1993. He was allegedly targeted for failing to attend IFP meetings.

MTSHALI, Mthokozisi (28), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Mazabekweni, Ixopo, Natal, on 11 June 1993.

MTSHALI, Nde, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 11 September 1985, when police opened fire on a UDF-organised march in the area. Her sister was also shot and injured.

MTSHALI, Ndiya Simon, was killed at Mtunzini, Natal, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 10 May 1994, the day of Nelson Mandela's inauguration as President.

MTSHALI, Nester, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Masomonco, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 December 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTSHALI, Nge Mzonjani (25), was killed in a limpet-mine attack on the home of a well-known IFP leader in the Umbumbulu area, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 October 1991. The attack, which took place during a wedding ceremony, is thought to have been carried out by an ANC member. Six people were killed.

MTSHALI, Nkosana Joseph (22), was shot by members of the SAP during a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 16 June 1985.

MTSHALI, Nkululeko, was shot dead by a named perpetrator, allegedly an ANC supporter, in KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 May 1993 during continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTSHALI, Pretty Lindiwe (16), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 11 September 1985, when police opened fire on a UDF-organised march in the area. Her sister was also shot and injured.

MTSHALI, Sethu, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 December 1992.

MTSHALI, Simon Mandla (26), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 2 October 1992.

MTSHALI, Simzoni Elphas (34), was shot dead in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 February 1989, in

intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

MTSHALI, Siphamandla Dennis (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 4 July 1992 when the minibus in which he was travelling was ambushed by Inkatha supporters as it left the home of an ANC regional organiser at Bhomela, Port Shepstone, Natal. Seven ANC members were killed. Five IFP members were convicted for the attack.

MTSHALI, Sipho Aar on, was shot and stabbed to death in Gingindlovu, Natal, on 21 March 1994, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MTSHALI, Sydney Simangaliso (48), was shot dead in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

MTSHALI, Thokozile Lesiah (60), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 28 August 1992. The attack was allegedly aimed at her son, an ANC supporter, who was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 2 October 1992.

MTSHALI, Vincent Vikabonke (28), was shot dead by named SADF members in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 14 April 1993, during political conflict following the assassination of Chris Hani.

MTSHALI, Vusumuzi, an MK operative, was shot and blown up with explosives by named perpetrators in Phoenix, Durban, on 18 November 1988, after the MK unit he belonged to had been infiltrated by *askaris*. When he and his friends refused to co-operate during an interrogation on the evening of 17 November 1988, they were taken to the railway line in Phoenix, where they were shot and blown up with explosives.

MTSHALI, Walter Buhlebuyeza (60), an ANC activist, disappeared from Pietermaritzburg in 1982 after completing a prison term for terrorism and then spending time in a mental institution for depression allegedly caused by his detention. It is believed that he was abducted by members of the SAP.

MTSHALINTSHALI, Mehlo (58), was shot and injured by a named Inkatha supporter and others on 18 September 1988 outside a shop in Clermont, near Durban, where he worked as a security guard. A group of ten men approached three guards at 03h00, and opened fire, allegedly because the guards were sympathetic to the UDF and ANC. All three were injured in the shooting.

MTSHAMBA, Mxoleli (33), a member of the CDF, died in a hand grenade attack on a bus in King William's Town, Cape, on 28 October 1992. The attack took place during political conflict following the BISHO MASSACRE.

MTSHEKETSHE, Nomonde (20), was shot dead by members of the SAP while participating in a demonstration at Aliwal North, Cape, on 22 August 1985. See ALI WAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

MTSHEKETSHE, Pumla (15), was shot dead by members of the SAP while participating in a demonstration at Aliwal North, Cape, on 22 August 1985. See ALI WAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

MTSHEWI, Gijimane Jacob, an IMBOKODO vigilante, lost his house in an arson attack by 'comrades' in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 18 June 1986. The area was tense due to the proposed INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MTSHILITA, Lindela Orsmond (27), an ANC supporter, was detained on 19 September 1986, and assaulted and subjected to electric shocks and other forms of torture at Louis le Grange police station and later St Alban's prison in Port Elizabeth. The perpetrators included a named member of the Special Branch. He was later arrested and tortured while trying to leave the country.

MTSHINTSHI, Ntini (47), was shot dead in his vehicle by named WEBTA members in Philippi, Cape Town, on 8 July 1991. Mr Mtshintshi was the driver for prominent political activist and taxi conflict negotiator, Michael Mapongwana. Mr Mapongwana, the target of the attack, was also shot dead. See TAXI VIOLENCE.

MTSHISELWA, Xolile (23), a UDF activist, was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape, on 6 July 1985.

MTSHONTSHI, Ezra Zeera, a PAC supporter, was arrested in 1963 in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), when he was 26, and handed over to the South African security authorities. He served a two-year sentence for leaving the country illegally. On 6 June 1976, he was detained in the Transkei and tortured. In 1980, he was forced to flee his home in the Transkei to avoid being served with a banishment order from the Transkei.

MTSHOTWANA, Nonzwakazi, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, when police opened fire on a crowd during political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels over the Christmas 1976 period.

MTSHUGWANA, Mzoxolo, an APLA operative, was killed in a shoot-out with the police at Dimbaza police station, Ciskei, on 9 October 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0333).

MTSHWENE, Bateng Sarah (40), lost her home and possessions in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported incorporation because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted.

MTSHWENI, Congr ess, a member of COSAS, was killed when a booby-trapped limpet mine exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985, in Duduza, Tvl. The limpet mine had been provided by a *Vlakplaas* operative purporting to be an MK operative, who had also provided other COSAS members with booby-trapped hand-grenades. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO.

Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

MTSHWENI, Elias, was killed by IMBOKODO members on 1 January 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

MTSHWENI, Hendrick Petros (56), an IMBOKODO vigilante, was necklaced in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in 1986 by 'comrades' who accused him of trying to save the home of a leading supporter of KwaNdebele independence and Moutse incorporation after they had set it alight. Mr Mtshweni died of burn wounds a week after the attack.

MTSHWENI, Jacob, had his home damaged in an arson attack by 'comrades' in KwaNdebele, in 1986. KwaNdebele was tense following government proposals to grant the area independence.

MTSHWENI, Mbatha Casselius (30), was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 18 September 1993 during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand.

MTSHWENI, Piet, was burnt to death by 'comrades' who were opposed to the IMBOKODO in 1986 at Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele. He was attacked after trying to extinguish a fire in the shop of an IMBOKODO member.

MTSHWENI, Siponono Anna, had her home damaged in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported incorporation because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted.

MTSWENI, Buti Mathews (24), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by a named IFP supporter in Kwadela, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 January 1991.

MTSWENI, Dick Mkukwana (70), an ANC member from Leslie, Tvl, was shot dead on 14 June 1985 in a cross-border attack launched by the SADF Special Forces together with the Security Branch on ANC offices and houses in Gaborone, Botswana. Twelve people were killed in the operation and six were wounded, including his wife and grand-daughter. See GABORONE RAID.

MTSWENI, Emmah, was interrogated and then burnt to death by ANC supporters and local residents on top of a mountain at Pietskraal, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1991. Ms Mtsweni was believed to be using witchcraft to harm two persons. Five ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/131).

MTSWENI, Kenneth Mlwayedwa (18), was shot and burnt to death by *Vlakplaas* operatives during July 1986. He was lured to KwaNdebele by an *askari* with promises of joining the ANC in exile but instead he and two other activists were killed.

MTSWENI, Mbovane France, lost her home in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported incorporation because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted.

MTSWENI, Patr on, had his home damaged in an arson attack in June 1986 at Kwaggafontein, KwaNdebele, during conflict over the independence of KwaNdebele.

MTSWENI, Petrus Jabulani (22), lost his home in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief

Mahlangu supported incorporation because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted.

MTSWENI, Piet Matshilo (29), had his home and car damaged in an arson attack by 'comrades' in 1986 in KwaNdebele during conflict over independence.

MTSWENI, Salvation Bakhumbuzile (20), a COSAS member and executive member of the ANCYL, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 July 1993.

MTSWENI, Sikhumbuzo Isaac (28), an ANC supporter, was sexually assaulted by members of the SAP after his arrest on 27 July 1978 in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, due to his political involvement.

MTULI, Baboyi Joseph, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 2 June 1990.

MTULI, Baphikile Generose (52), an ANC supporter, had her home in Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 29 June 1989.

MTULI, Doris Mano (52), an ANC supporter, had her house in Umkomaas, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area in February 1992.

MTULI, Evelyn (59), was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Danganya, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 12 March 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MTULI, Hlangabeza Nicholas (24), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by unidentified persons during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 July 1990.

MTULI, Mfiswa (54), an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters in KwaZuba, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 9 November 1990. He died from his injuries four days later.

MTUNDEZI, Joseph, an ANC supporter, was arrested in Worcester, Cape, in April 1960, after a night of intensive demonstrations against the Pass Laws. He was severely beaten while in detention for three months.

MTUNGW A, Abegaile, had her house in Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack during intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area in 1990.

MTUNGW A, Frances Fana (40), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 27 April 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MTUNGW A, Hlengiwe Prudence (32), had her home destroyed on 3 June 1993 in the Forest Inn area, near Mtubatuba, near Empangeni, Natal, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MTUNGW A, Khongani (62), an IFP supporter, had her house at Richmond, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters in April 1991.

MTUNGW A, Magezana (56), had his vehicles vandalised and set alight, and was forced to leave his home, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Richmond, Natal, in 1991.

MTUNGW A, Mduduzi Kenneth (16), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Imbali,

Pietermaritzburg, in August 1989, in intensifying conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. **MTUNGW A, Mlindelwa** (23), was one of five young ANC supporters shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict at Magoda, Richmond, Natal, on 14 July 1991. Residents accused the security forces of involvement, and a top-level police investigation was launched. The chief of Phatheni was arrested in connection with the massacre.

MTUNZI, Moses Tholie (ANC), an ANC member, was shot dead on 15 April 1989 on an ANC farm near Lusaka, Zambia. Two members of the *Vlakplaas* unit applied for amnesty for setting up the operation but the applications were refused on grounds of lack of full disclosure. A second ANC member was killed in the same attack.

MTUSI, Dumisani Vincent (32), an ANC supporter, was killed in Tokoza, Tvl, in January 1994 during intense conflict in the area between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MTUSI, Mzikayise Sixtus (22), an ANC supporter, was killed in Tokoza, Tvl, in January 1994 during intense conflict in the area between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MTUTA, Manani, was killed by members of the SAP in Cofimvaba, Transkei, during the NTLONZE MASSACRE in December 1962.

MTUYEDWA, Nkenke Eric (22), was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP while he was walking home from work in Lawaaiikamp, George, Cape, in April 1986, during clashes between police and Lawaaiikamp residents who were opposing forced removals.

MTUZE, Mbuyiseli Botamani (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 28 August 1985, on the day of the POLLSMOOR MARCH. He was one of nine people shot dead by police that day, after attempts by police to prevent the march sparked wider unrest.

MTUZELA, Dumisani (16), an ANC supporter, was killed on 18 February 1994, when four gunmen attacked a house in the rural Mahahle village, near Creighton, Ixopo, Natal, in which he and other ANC youths were sleeping. Fifteen ANC youths were killed in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre.

MTWA, Siyabulela Theo (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MTWISHA, Kumbula Remember (18), was shot and severely injured by a named member of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 18 August 1985, during student protests that erupted after the killing of the CRADOCK FOUR.

MTYALI, Jabulani Lucas (24), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 27 June 1993 during ongoing conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

MTYALI, Zodwa Alleta, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the ISU, during intense political conflict at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 September 1993. About 22 deaths and 19 injuries in 14 incidents of political violence were recorded in the area for September 1993.

MTYAPHI, Mzwabantu, was shot by alleged SAP members during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, in August 1985.

MTYEBI, Stanford Vusumzi (24), was severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police at Dimbaza, Ciskei, in September 1980, during the state of emergency. As a result of the beating, he subsequently lost the sight in his one eye.

MTYHOBILE, Andrew Magcina (20), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 26 November 1986 while trying to leave the country.

MTYLIBE, Simanga William (24), was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Zonkesizwe informal settlement near Vosloorus, Tvl, on 19 April 1993 when the vehicle he was travelling in was attacked while returning from the funeral of SACP leader CHRIS HANI. Two people died in the attack and three were injured.

MTYINGWANA, Thembela (21), an ANC member, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MTYOBILE, Boyce (27), a member of the Ciskei Police, was shot by other members of the Ciskei Police on 10 January 1990 at a temporary police camp in Peelton, Ciskei, allegedly to cast suspicion on the ANC.

MTYOBILE, Mary Juliet (49), an ANC supporter, was detained in Kimberley, Cape, on 12 June 1986, and was held for three months under emergency regulations.

MTYOBILE, Rodney Ntu, a UDF activist, was detained and tortured in Kimberley, Cape, in 1986.

MUALUSI, Johannes, was burnt to death and his house set alight by a group of community residents in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two ANC supporters were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094).

MUDAU, Bethuel, was arrested and severely beaten by members of the Venda Police in 1986 at Vleifontein, near Louis Trichardt, Tvl, when local residents resisted attempts to forcefully incorporate the area into Venda.

MUDAU, Johannes, was abducted to Chief Ngingideni's cells in Thohoyandou, Venda, and then shot dead in the veld on 1 April 1974. He was allegedly killed because he told the family of former Chief Makuya

how she had been murdered by supporters of Chief Ngingideni.

MUDAU, Samuel , was injured in a landmine explosion on a road near the Zimbabwe border, Messina, Tvl, on 5 May 1987. Another passenger in the truck was also injured. The ANC claimed responsibility for this MK operation.

MUDAU, Tuwam Frans (45), a Venda Independence People's Party supporter, was injured when he and his friends were attacked with stones by a group of boys in 1970 in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Venda.

MUENDA, Athikholi Samson (59), lost his vegetable stall in an arson attack by a named perpetrator in Maelulu village, Venda, in 1984. Mr Muenda was a supporter of the Venda Independent People's Party which opposed the Venda National Party.

MUFHADI, David , was bitten by a police dog in Messina, Tvl, during a protest march in the area in 1993.

MUGADI, Mamaila Annah (37), was shot and injured by members of the Lebowa Police in Tzaneen, Tvl, during a mass funeral on 2 March 1986.

MUGIVHELA, Asivhanga Reuben , was shot dead, allegedly by members of the Venda Police, during political conflict in Thohoyandou, Venda, on 25 March 1990.

MUGIVHELA, Samuel T shikhudo , died in detention on 20 January 1984 at Vuwani police station in Sibasa, Venda, after being arrested on 3 November 1983 on suspicion of harbouring MK operatives.

MUGWENA, Paul , was detained and severely tortured by members of the Venda Security Police in November 1986 at Sibasa, Venda, because of his brother's political activities.

MUHLAMUNYANA, Mildred Nomntu (68), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 3 September 1990 during intense political conflict on the East Rand.

MUKASI, Mudjadji (55) was assaulted and injured by a named member of the SAP on 1 August 1985 at Phalaborwa, Gazankulu, after she was arrested on charges of abduction related to witchcraft. Unknown members of the community who accused her of witchcraft destroyed her house and furniture.

MULAMAVU, Tshifhiwa Jef frey (17), was shot and severely injured by members of the Venda Police in Venda, while villagers were celebrating Venda Cultural Day on 10 October 1992.

MULATEDZI, Ronald , a member of the SAP, suffered an attempt on his life when MK operatives attacked his home with hand grenades in Mamelodi East, Tvl, on 15 April 1988. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

MULAUDZI, Humbelani Elwin T shifhiwa , was shot dead on 30 August 1983 at Sibasa, Venda, allegedly by members of the Venda Security Police, soon after his return to South Africa. He had gone into exile in 1980.

MULAUDZI, Mudzunga , died when she was assaulted with stones and forced to remain in her burning hut by a group of youths in Hampofu, Venda,

on 20 March 1990. She was accused of practising witchcraft to hinder the anti-homeland political activities of youths in the area. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/2000/094).

MULAUDZI, Muumisi Samson , a COSATU member, was stabbed and injured at Johannesburg, on 9 December 1989 while on his way to work during a strike by railway employees.

MULAUDZI, Phanuel , was hacked to death at work by Inkatha supporters in Germiston, Tvl, in September 1989 during conflict between the Inkatha-aligned UWUSA and COSATU-affiliated NUMSA.

MULAUDZI, Tshililo Jackson (66), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by alleged 'comrades' in Thohoyandou, Venda, in 1990.

MULEYA, Betty (71), was lying in her bedroom in Messina, Tvl, during March 1994 when police threw teargas cannisters into her house, causing her permanent injury. Residents were protesting against attempts by FW de Klerk to canvass in the township for the APRIL 1994 ELECTION when police fired teargas.

MULHOLLAND, P , was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

MULLER, Frederick MacLagan (57), a UDF activist, was detained under emergency regulations by members of the SAP in Middelburg, Cape, on 16 June 1986. He was held for five months. During this time, several false charges were brought against him. He was found guilty on all those charges and subsequently ordered to pay the State a large amount of money. He got financial assistance through the Western Province Council of Churches for his release.

MULLER, Hi , a traffic officer, was shot at and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Alberton, Tvl, on 27 March 1992. One colleague was killed and another injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0225).

MULLER, Patrick (13), was shot and killed by a named member of the SAP in Bellville, Cape Town, on 6 September 1989, during widespread protests against the apartheid election being held that day, accompanied by police shootings, injuries and deaths.

MULOBELA, David (32), a Zambian citizen, was killed by alleged members of the SADF on 25 April 1987 in a cross-border attack on the family home in Livingstone, Zambia. Some months prior to the raid the house had been rented to ANC members. His brother was also killed and his wife seriously injured in the raid. Elsewhere in the city two other Zambian citizens were killed in separate attacks on this day.

MULOBELA, Hilda , a Zambian citizen, was shot and severely injured by alleged members of the SADF in a cross-border raid in Livingstone, Zambia on 25 April 1987. Her husband and brother-in-law were killed in the attack on her residence which had previously been rented to ANC members. Elsewhere in the city two other Zambians were killed in separate attacks in this operation.

MULOBEA, Jeanete Nyoni , a Zambian citizen, lost her two sons during a cross-border attack on the family home in Livingstone, Zambia, by alleged SADF members in April 1987. Her daughter-in-law was seriously injured in the attack. The house which was destroyed in the attack had been rented to ANC members some months prior to the raid.

MULOBEA, Sydney (34), a Zambian citizen, was killed by alleged members of the SADF on 25 April 1987 in a cross-border attack on the family home in Livingstone, Zambia. His brother was also killed and his sister-in-law seriously injured in the raid. The house had been rented by ANC members some months prior to the raid.

MULOBISO, Mantishe Richard (48), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP on 26 June 1965 in Port Elizabeth, for taking part in a demonstration. He was taken to a mortuary as police thought he was dead but later transferred to New Brighton police station, Port Elizabeth, where he was denied medical treatment.

MUNDAU, Antoneita (36), was injured when about ten men opened fire in Ivory Park, Tembisa, Tvl, on 14 August 1992. Five people died and eight others were injured in the attack. The attack was an attempt to end a community boycott of taxis. Taxi operators were IFP supporters and members of the SAP reportedly colluded with the IFP in escorting the gunmen to Ivory Park.

MUNGWE, Abel Mandla 'Fo' (23), an ANC supporter, was attacked by a group of people and stabbed to death by a named Inkatha supporter at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 4 October 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MUNGWE, Anthony (33), was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MUNGWE, Mvimbele , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MUNUALO, Muvhulawa Thomas (36), a union member, was sjambokked, kicked, and burnt when detained for two months in early January 1987 in Thohoyandou, Venda, when his union went on strike.

MUNYAI, Moses , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Potgietersrus, Tvl, on 3 August 1984.

MUNYAI, Thilaiwi Benjamin (24), a teacher, was tortured in detention by members of the Venda Defence Force in Thohoyandou, Venda, on 1 February 1990. Teachers were accused of instigating protest action amongst the youth.

MUNYANDU, Paulos Mahliwa , died after breaking his neck while fleeing from a group of Inkatha-supporting hostel-dwellers in 1990 in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

MUNZANA-MASINGA, Dorah (67), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by named IFP supporters at Ngonweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 January 1993.

MUOFHE, Isaac Tshifhiwa , an ANC supporter, died in the custody of Venda Police at Sibasa, Venda, on 12 November 1981. He was arrested two days earlier on suspicion of involvement in an explosion at Sibasa police station. Mr Muofhe sustained serious injuries when police alleged that he jumped off a moving police vehicle. Two policemen were charged with his murder, but were found not guilty.

MURRAY, Mervyn , a member of the SAP, was assaulted by ANC Youth League members when they occupied the police station at Dysselsdorp, Cape, on 22 June 1991. One ANCYL member applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0301).

MUSA, Mzindle , was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters who attacked the home of friends he was visiting at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 31 May 1991, allegedly because his friends were thought to be ANC supporters.

MUSAKU, Michael , was severely beaten by militant ANC youths in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 2 February 1990. Mr Musaku's employer was suspected of collaborating with the police by allowing them to drive his vehicles during attacks on the community. Those perceived as police collaborators were severely punished.

MUSANDIWA, Ndwakhulu Elias (21), was severely assaulted by hostel-dwellers on 24 August 1976 at the Mzimhlope train station, Soweto, Johannesburg, in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING. The State encouraged hostel-dwellers to attack members of the community who adhered to a stayaway called to protest the continued violence against protesting students. Mr Musandiwa lost his hand as a result of his injuries.

MUSI, Zandisile John , a COSAS member, was the sole survivor of an explosion detonated by named *Vlakplaas* operatives in a mine shaft in Kagiso, Tvl, on 15 February 1982. He and three others believed they were to undergo training in the use of hand grenades, a ploy used later with increasing frequency by Security Forces. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

MUSINDANE, (first name not given), a constable in the SAP, was killed when MK operatives opened fire on and threw hand grenades at the Orlando police station in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 November 1979. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

MUTHELESI, (first name not given), a member of the Bophuthatswana security forces, was shot and injured in an armed attack by MK operatives on the Braklaagte military base, Bophuthatswana, on 31 July 1990. Four of his colleagues were killed and another was injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/254).

MUTHWA, Bamu Janet (67), had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 9 December 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

MUTHWA, Dinga Joshua , an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 November 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MUTHWA, Mildred Duduzile (48), had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

MUTIMBA, Naftal Manuel (38), was severely injured when he was stabbed and thrown off a train in Katlehong, Tvl, on 19 November 1991. The East Rand was a key site of TRAIN VIOLENCE with the track from Katlehong to Kwesine station becoming the line with the highest risk in South Africa.

MUTIZWA, Andr ew, a Zimbabwean citizen, was injured when a letter bomb addressed to Father Michael Lapsley exploded in Harare, Zimbabwe in April 1990. Mr Mutizwa was visiting Fr Lapsley at the time of the explosion. Fr Lapsley suffered severe injuries in this attempted killing which the Commission determined was a South African security force operation.

MUTSI, Siph o Phillip (18), a regional organiser for COSAS, was arrested at a bus stop in Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 4 May 1985. He died in detention the following day, having been severely beaten by named members of the SAP.

MUTWA, Elias Siph o (28), an ANC supporter, had his house in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1991.

MUTWA, Francisca (44), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 December 1988 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MUTWA, Mirriam Thandekile (42), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during political conflict in the area in 1987. Inkatha was conducting a recruitment drive at the time.

MUTWA, Samson Siph o (50), was stabbed by Inkatha supporters at Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during political conflict in the area in 1987. Inkatha was conducting a recruitment drive at the time.

MUTWA, Sibonelo (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 December 1988, when police opened fire on violent conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. Twelve houses were burnt down in the conflict, and two people died when police opened fire.

MUWANZA, Caroline (20), was severely beaten by IFP supporters in August 1990 in Mzimhlope, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MUZOLA, Tendani , suffered severe damage to house and property as a result of a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

MUZWAYINE, Rose-Mary , was severely injured as a result of injuries sustained in a hand grenade attack launched by MK operatives at her home in Mamelodi Gardens, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 10 May 1988. Her infant daughter was killed as a result of the attack. The attack was intended to kill her husband, who was a policeman and who was not at home at the time. One applicant was granted amnesty and one was refused (AC/2000/199).

MVALA, Mary Mantwa , was shot and killed by a member of the SAP on 23 September 1984 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during a rent boycott and a campaign for the resignation of illegitimate councillors. This period of violent conflict is popularly known as the VAAL UPRISING.

MVAMBI, Mankutswana Alfred (35), had his house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 28 June 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MVANI, Tetomana (52), was assaulted and burnt to death by 'comrades' during political conflict in Cathcart, Cape, on 23 March 1986.

MVEKA, Zamani , was shot dead on 29 July 1986 when an MK unit attacked the Madeira police station, in Umtata, Transkei. At least eight people were killed in the attack, including policemen, civilians and one of the MK operatives. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

MVELASE, Agnes Nolwandle (61), had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by named Inkatha supporters in intense political conflict in 1985.

MVELASE, B , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MVELASE, Elizabeth Ketty Nomkhosi (31), lost her home in an arson attack in Ntenjana, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, during 1993, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MVELASE, Florence (59), had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Durban during 1991, allegedly because the family supported the ANC.

MVELASE, Joenah Jabulisile (45), an ANC supporter, was severely harassed by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in February 1992. Her house was attacked and looted, and she was forced to leave the area.

MVELASE, John V orster , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MVELASE, Mandla Vincert (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 10 December 1990,

during a time of conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MVELASE, Mtembeni Mfanile (50), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 1 January 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MVELASE, Nkosikhona, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MVELASE, Nthabiseng Gladness, an alleged IFP supporter, was assaulted and shot by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 April 1994. She survived, but her female friend was shot dead in the same attack. The SDU member was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1998/0079).

MVELASE, Petros Fana (46), a UDF supporter, was beaten by Inkatha supporters who attacked his home in KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1989. His furniture was stolen and he was chased from his home, never to return.

MVELASE, Priscilla, owner of the tavern, suffered damage to property as a result of a targeted attack by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natalspruit, Tvl, on 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

MVELASE, Sbhongile Ntombemhlophe (30), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 19 June 1992.

MVELASE, Sidney Tumisani 'Papa' (27), an NUM official and ANC supporter from Dithlake, Koffiefontein, OFS, died in Kimberley hospital, Cape, on 5 September 1988. Mr Mvelase had left home the previous day wearing a political T-shirt. The family members who identified the body attested to the fact that it bore severe head wounds, bruises and signs of torture to the genitals. There was a strong police presence at his funeral.

MVELASE, Sipho Aubrey, (37), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters at Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 November 1989.

MVELASE, Thulani Siphamandla, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named perpetrators near Estcourt, Natal, on 14 December 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MVELELI, Mamfengu 'Bra Veza' (36), was shot and injured by a member of the CDF on 27 September 1992 in Mdantsane, Ciskei, allegedly because he was suspected of involvement in an arson attack in political conflict following the BISHO MASSACRE.

MVELO, Ethel Nomvuzo (44), an ANC supporter, had her face covered, her hands handcuffed behind her back, and was subjected to electric shock torture to her private parts by named members of the SAP at the Stilfontein police station, Tvl, during June 1990

because she allegedly assaulted a white policeman. She bled heavily but was refused medical attention and doctors later found out that she might have been pregnant at the time.

MVELO, Nkosinathi (35), had his house set alight in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1993, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MVEMVE, Nkosinathi Milton (29), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 September 1993. He was allegedly labelled a 'comrade' for refusing to clap his hands when singing.

MVEZWA, Nomawetsha (36), had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

MVIMBELA, Nathi (50), was arrested on 13 June 1986 and detained without trial for 14 days in Patensie, Cape, allegedly because of his political activities. While in detention, his cell was sprayed with teargas.

MVIMBI, David Mokheti, was one of six persons who were abducted and interrogated by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members near Port St Johns, Transkei, on 20 April 1994, shortly before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Mvimbi and three others were then shot dead. The remaining two survived the shooting. The SDU members believed that they were APLA members who were on their way to disrupt an ANC mass rally. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/045).

MVIMBI, Moses Mvuyo, was shot and severely injured by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 16 January 1988. Three youths were shot dead that day by SPECIAL CONSTABLES. Mr Mvimbi died in February 1990 from complications arising from his injuries.

MVOKO, Khaya Stanley (22), a UDF supporter, was detained by members of the SAP during a consumer boycott in Somerset East, Cape, on 25 June 1986.

MVOKWE, Aphafaras Hlomela, was shot and killed by IFP supporters in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers were retaliating for a previous attack by ANC-supporting squatters and about 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt during this retaliation. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

MVOTO, Alven Mtembu (40), a PAC supporter, was arrested in Queenstown, Cape, charged with sabotage and, in April 1962, sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town. He died in 1984.

MVUBU, Beauty Sizani (51), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Enwabi in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1988 in intensifying political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters.

MVUBU, Mandla Vincent (21), an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP in Pietermaritzburg on 11 September 1976, allegedly while making plans to go into exile. He was held in various prisons and police stations in the area for 14 months, during which time he was tortured by named Special Branch members.

MVUBU, Mduduzi (18), a UDF supporter, was abducted and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters, some of whom are named, in KwaMpande, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 18 October 1987.

MVUBU, Mziwakhe Justice (26), was shot in the back and seriously injured by members of the SADF on patrol in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, during intense public unrest on 14 August 1985.

MVUBU, Thembeni Esther (56), an IFP supporter, had her home petrol-bombed by ANC supporters in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in March 1992.

MVUKA, Philemon Mxolisi, was shot dead in Cathcart, Cape, on 30 July 1985, when police opened fire to disperse a crowd of protesters.

MVUKWA, Mpopi (29), lost his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in an arson attack in February 1993 at a time of intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in the area.

MVULA, Duduzile Gertie Junior (25), was shot and severely injured at KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1985, when armed people allegedly opened fire randomly in the area. Political conflict had spread to townships north of Durban following the killing of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in Umlazi on 1 August 1985.

MVULA, Mabatho Lydia (53), an ANC supporter, was shot in Sebokeng, Tvl, by members of the SADF on 3 September 1984 during the Sebokeng rent boycott. The doctor she was taken to refused to treat her and she still has pellets lodged in various parts of her body.

MVULANA, Stembele, was injured on 29 July 1986 when an MK unit attacked the Madeira police station, in Umtata, Transkei. At least eight people were killed in the attack, including policemen, civilians and one of the MK operatives. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

MVUMBENI, July Vumile (61), had his home burnt down during political conflict in Bolotwa, Lady Frere, Transkei, on 24 May 1982. He had been banished from his home in Bolotwa by alleged members of the Transkei Police at the time of the attack.

MVUNDALE, Geor gina, was assaulted and had a knife held at her throat by members of the 'Gadaffi' faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC) in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in June 1990. Ms Mvundale's sons were members of the rival 'Zim-Zim' faction of the KYC. Ms Mvundale was reportedly so frightened during the attack that she subsequently died of a heart attack.

MVUNDLA, Amon Bhikelakhe, an IFP supporter, was shot dead at Nkulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 8 August 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His son was shot dead a week later, also in the course of political violence.

MVUNDLA, David Sengeni, was shot dead in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 August 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His father had been shot dead in similar circumstances a week earlier.

MVUNDLA, Gwaziwe (72), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1991.

MVUNDLA, Katshana, was shot dead in Mbayimbayi, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 June 1993, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MVUNDLA, Lungisile (15), was shot dead in Mbayimbayi, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 June 1993, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MVUNDLA, Mantombi Eslina (28), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in the Goshi area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in September 1992.

MVUNDLA, Msitho (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters at Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 September 1992.

MVUNDLA, Patrick Sandile (aka 'Naledi Sehume' or 'Charles Mokoena') (30), MK regional commander in Botswana, was shot dead on 28 March 1988 in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on a house in Phiring, near Gaborone, Botswana. The house was then set alight. One senior MK member survived the attack but two Botswana women were killed. The head of C-section at Security Branch headquarters and other Security Branch members were refused amnesty for arranging a bogus arms cache to be 'discovered' as a pretext for the raid. Mr Mvundla was from Soweto, Johannesburg. (AC/2000/228).

MVUNDLA, Robert Msithwa, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP members at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 September 1992.

MVUNDLA, Sithonga Jacob (16), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 26 March 1990. There were a number of marches in the area during March 1990 which mostly ended in clashes between the police and marchers.

MVUNDLA, Sylvia Ntuthu (43), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed by IFP supporters at Mjika, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 14 June 1992.

MVUNDLA, Thulisile Purity (26), a member of the IFP Youth Brigade, was shot dead, allegedly by ANC members, at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

MVUNDLE, Thamsanqa, was detained and burnt by members of the SAP in Rustenburg, Tvl, in April 1986.

MVUNE, Mthiyonke (65), an IFP chairperson, had his house in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, petrol-bombed by ANC supporters on 13 October 1992. Mr Mvune's wife was burnt to death in the attack.

MVUNE, Nzanana Linah (51), an IFP supporter, was burnt to death when ANC supporters petrol-bombed her home in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 13 October 1992. Her husband was an IFP chairperson.

MVUNI, Flora Ntombiyakhe (33), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in Bhukulwandle, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 13 October 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Three other family members, including two children, were shot and killed in the attack.

MVUNI, Lungile Pretty (6), was shot dead in Bhukulwandle, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 13 October

1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Three other family members were shot and killed in the attack. The family supported the IFP.

MVUNI, Thamsanqa Norman (12), was shot dead in Bhukulwandle, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 13 October 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Three other family members were shot and killed in the attack. The family supported the IFP.

MVUNYANA, Thembani Jennet (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MVUNYISW A, Ndlanganyana, an ANC supporter, disappeared during the PONDOLAND REVOLT in 1960 from Bizana, Transkei, and has never been seen again.

MVUYANA, Buselaphi Busisiwe (34), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MVUYANA, Busowakhe Nicholas (30), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MVUYANA, James (64), was shot, burnt and severely injured by IFP supporters in an arson attack at his home in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MVUYANA, Katwa James (64), was injured when he was shot and burnt by IFP supporters during an arson attack on his home in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MVUYANA, Khethubani Isaac (31), an ANC supporter, had his home in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 21 March 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MVUYANA, Mbuzeni Charlie (62), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MVUYANA, Mnqiseni Charlie (75), lost his house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MVUYANA, Nkosinamandla (47), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MVUYANA, Ntombizakhe (55), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MVUYANA, Orhamo (68), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MVUYANA, Qhamukile Velelphi (37), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MVUYANA, Thakathile (64), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MVUYANA, Thembani Jennet (31), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

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

MVUYANE, Sibongile Evidence (30), an ANC supporter, had her house in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 13 June 1990.

MVUYANE, Thakathile (48), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MWALE, Richard Gosebo, a SASM member, was arrested and detained by members of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, in October 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

MWALI, Goodman Jabulani (18), an ANC supporter, was strangled, shot and severely beaten by IFP supporters in Nondweni, Ngutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, in February 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. He survived the attack.

MWANDABA, Nontuthuzelo Totyiswa (29), was shot by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 15 August 1985. Ms Mwandaba was taking washing off the line at the time of the incident.

MWANDLA, Nkosingiphile Headwick (40), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the Security Branch, at Masomonco, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 May 1992. The attack was allegedly aimed at his son, an ANC supporter.

MWANDLA, Zamisu (20), was severely injured when he was pushed off a moving train by ANC supporters in Johannesburg, on 12 August 1993 because he was assumed to be an IFP supporter.

MWELASE, Dennis Mzikayifani, an ANC supporter, was collected from his home in KwaMashu, Durban, by unidentified persons in June 1978 and has not been seen since. He was a member of the underground movement.

MWELASE, Dumisani Nicholas (28), was severely beaten by members of the KwaZULU POLICE on 20 June 1990 in Umlazi, Durban, during political violence in the area.

MWELASE, Mgcini Emmanuel Dumisani (22), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by Security Branch members in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg in 1994.

MWELASE, Nkosiyezwe Bernadine (30), MK operative, was captured by members of the SAP in Vryheid, Natal, on 8 January 1988 while trying to enter the country. He was severely tortured, forced to become an *askari* and taken to *Vlakplaas*.

MWELASE, Nthabiseng Gladnes, an IFP supporter, was shot by an ANC supporter in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 April 1994 during political conflict in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTION. Another person was also killed in the same attack. The perpetrator applied for amnesty.

MWELASE, Ntombikayise Doris (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Gezibuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 26 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

MWELI, Lucky (16), was shot dead in Greytown, Natal, on 10 February 1987, after being secured as a State witness to a crime of which he had been acquitted. The perpetrators were released on bail and never brought to trial.

MWELI, Mandla (25), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 1 September 1991.

MWELI, Phineus Mthenjwa, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Estcourt, Natal, on 8 July 1991.

MWELI, Ronnie, was shot dead by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 10 September 1987, in intense political conflict in the area.

MWENDLO, Mildred (67), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense conflict between the 'RED' and 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

MXABANGELI, Sidwell Fumbatha (41), an ANC supporter, was abducted, detained and tortured in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, in 1987, by named perpetrators linked to the local mayor and former WITDOEK VIGILANTES who would not allow any ANC or UDF activity in the area.

MXAKATO, Kate, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in detention at Soweto, in 1965. Ms Mxakato was secretary to ANC activist Lilian Ngoyi in the 1960s, and was repeatedly detained, harassed and subjected to banning orders.

MXAKATO, Mbangete James (57), an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters in Johannesburg, on 19 August 1990.

MXAKU, Kemele Kenneth (45), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGASHOOTINGS.

MXATHULE, Nozibele Maria, was kicked and sjambokked by alleged members of the SAP in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, in March 1986 during intense political conflict in the area.

MXENGE, Griffiths Mlungisi, an attorney who acted in several political trials, was abducted near his home on 19 November 1981 by *Vlakplaas* operatives and taken to Umlazi Stadium, Durban. There he was repeatedly stabbed until he was dead, and his body was mutilated. The operation was allegedly conducted on the orders

of Port Natal Security Branch. The then commander of *Vlakplaas* and two of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1997/0041). Mr Mxenge's wife was killed in 1985, allegedly by a Security Branch operative.

MXINWA, Simon Mandla, was shot dead by members of the Security Police in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 3 March 1986, in the GUGULETU SEVEN incident. Two Security Branch members from *Vlakplaas* were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/276).

MXOLI, Banele William (33), an ANC activist, lost his house and car in an arson attack by named ADM supporters during political conflict in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 16 September 1992. Four perpetrators were refused amnesty, having denied guilt.

MXOLI, Ntsikelelo (30), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MXOLI, Vuyane Nojayiti (20), a COSAS member, was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests near Maqanada squatter camp in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 3 August 1985.

MXOSANA, German Sibusiso (20), an ANC supporter, was shot on his right thigh and waist by members of the Ciskei Police in Whittlesea, Ciskei, on 19 December 1986, allegedly for refusing to enter a police van after the burning of rent office.

MXOVULA, Sibonile (26), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 17 February 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

MXWENGXE, Jamane, an ANC supporter, was detained in Pietermaritzburg in March 1960 and held without trial for four years.

MYAKA, Arr on, was shot dead, together with two friends, while waiting at a Pietermaritzburg bus stop on 20 August 1991, during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MYALI, Kazi Evelyn (45), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP in Nemato, Port Alfred, Cape, on 16 November 1984 while she was attending the funeral of a victim of violent political conflict. She was then detained, charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

MYBURGH, JZMS, suffered damage to his property in Wilgespruit, Lady Grey, OFS, when it was attacked with petrol bombs and burnt down by APLA operatives, on 26 March 1992. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2001/057 and AC/2000/249).

MYEHA, Mnyamezeli Nathiel, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

MYEKA, (first name not given), sustained burn wounds when armed IFP supporters attacked several homes in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 26 July 1992. See FOLWENI MASSACRE.

MYEKE, Simon, a member of the SAP, suffered damage to his property when armed MK operatives launched a hand grenade attack on his home in Mamelodi East, Tvl, on 4 June 1988. The victim and his family were at home when the incident occurred. The four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

MYEKENI, Mthiyane Enos, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 17 July 1992.

MYELISO, Mlawey William (48), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten, allegedly by SAP members, on 10 September 1988 in Tokoza, Tvl.

MYENDE, Ambrose Jabulani (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 4 June 1993 in Umlazi, Durban.

MYENDE, Thandamayende, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MYENI, Bonginkosi (25), an ANC supporter, was abducted from his home at Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, by IFP supporters on 6 February 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. He has not been seen since.

MYENI, Caiphas, was shot dead by IFP supporters while on duty as a security guard at a shop at Kwa-Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 July 1992 during continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MYENI, Cornelius Simphive (29), an ANC supporter, was abducted and killed by named IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, in January 1992.

MYENI, Dingase (55), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by fellow IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, during 1994, allegedly because she refused to allow her sons to join an IFP youth group.

MYENI, Eunice (45), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 February 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her husband and daughter were also killed in the attack.

MYENI, Hazel Jabulile (27), had her house in Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 5 January 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her husband was allegedly abducted and forced attend an IFP self-defence training camp, where he was killed.

MYENI, King Nunu, a UDF supporter, was shot and killed when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on

to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MYENI, Maria Ncengani (44), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in April 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MYENI, Nehemia (50), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 February 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His wife and daughter were also killed in the attack.

MYENI, Philani, an ANC supporter, was injured when his home was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 March 1990.

MYENI, Remicard, a security guard, was held up at gunpoint and tied up by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at the Giwi Breyton Construction compound in Evander, Tvl, on 6 July 1992. One security guard was shot dead and another shot and injured. The SDU members, who sought to seize guns at the site, were engaged in clashes with the BLACK CATS in Ermelo, Tvl. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0121).

MYENI, Sbhongile Jabu (25), an IFP supporter, was stabbed, raped and had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Esigisini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in September 1993.

MYENI, Skhumbuzo (9), was injured when his family home was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 March 1990, in intense political conflict.

MYENI, Thandazile, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 February 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her parents were also killed in the attack.

MYENI, Thilili Beatrice (44), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters and members of the KwaZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, on 2 February 1991 in ongoing political conflict.

MYENI, Xolani (16), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 4 August 1987.

MYENI, Zithshani, was injured when his home was petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 March 1990 in intense political conflict in the area.

MYEZA (family), ANC supporters, had their home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, during 1992.

MYEZA, Bhekisisa Moonlight (18), was shot dead on 26 August 1991 in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in intense political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MYEZA, Christopher Nhlanhla, a PAC member, was killed by APLA members in a sugarcane plantation at Verulam, outside Durban, on 1 October 1992. Mr Myeza was allegedly targeted because he had been observed in the company of policemen and was therefore

perceived to be an informer. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0116).

MYEZA, FM, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

MYEZA, Maria Joyce (33), lost her home on 26 July 1992 when armed IFP supporters attacked several homes in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban. See FOLWENI MASSACRE.

MYEZA, Mbabazeni Mpipi (33), had his home destroyed in an arson attack in Eshowe, Natal, during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area in 1993.

MYEZA, Moonlight Bhekisisa, an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death on 26 July 1992 when IFP supporters attacked several homes in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban. See FOLWENI MASSACRE.

MYEZA, Mr (first name not given), sustained burn wounds when his house in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, was burnt down by a group of IFP supporters on 26 July 1992. See FOLWENI MASSACRE.

MYEZA, Mtholeni (48), lost her house at KwaMashu, Durban, in an arson attack in July 1991, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MYEZA, Ngoneni Irene (41), was shot and injured in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters on 23 January 1986.

MYEZA, Nicholas Mfanukhona (29), an ANC supporter, was found dead with a bullet wound in the head in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 April 1994, during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters two weeks before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MYEZA, Sibongile Elizabeth (44), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 September 1992.

MYEZA, Simakahle (17), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 August 1990.

MYEZA, Victor Vuyako (50), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 January 1986, in the aftermath of the UMBUMBULU MASSACRE.

MYEZO, Mthayini, an ANC supporter, was detained in Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT. He died under mysterious circumstances while in custody in 1967 in Umtata, Transkei.

MYIKO, Zilayile Abegale (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in July 1992.

MZALIYA Winniefreda (23), was abducted, sexually assaulted and then stabbed to death by ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 2 March 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. After killing her, the perpetrators set fire to her body.

MZAMO, Bubele Benjamin (15), was shot dead by members of the SAP during political unrest in East London on 5 March 1986.

MZAMO, Nono Margaret (33), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Special Branch at Cambridge police station, East London, in 1960. Police allegedly wanted her to identify exiled activists.

MZAMO, Wandase Wanders, a member of the SAP, was burnt to death by members of the Cradock Youth Association in March 1985 in Cradock, Cape, allegedly in retaliation for a police ban on the launch of CRADORA. Youths also burnt down the houses of policemen on the same day.

MZATHI, Patrick (14), was detained and severely tortured by named SAP members in the George prison, Cape, on 15 June 1986. He was then detained for two months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

MZATI, Xolile Gadien Qhega (14), a COSAS activist, was arrested during political unrest in Aberdeen, Cape, in June 1985. While waiting inside a police vehicle, he was severely beaten by members of the SAP.

MZATU, Mandlonke Stanford (20), lost his house in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS, during 1993.

MZAZA, Mncedisi Matthews (19), detained at Middledrift prison, Ciskei, on 7 September 1986. During his detention, he was severely beaten and tortured by members of the Ciskei Police, allegedly because he encouraged people to join a consumer boycott. Mr Mzaza has suffered from epilepsy ever since.

MZELEMA, Lena Mashaya (59), an IFP supporter, had her house in Mahwaqa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down in 1990 in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MZELEMU, Ambulos Mathayi, an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, in April 1990.

MZELEMU, Bhokuyise, was one of 13 people killed in an attack by UDF and ANC supporters on Inkatha supporters in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/041).

MZELEMU, Cekise Manogwase (84), was stabbed, shot and stoned to death by named IFP supporters in an attack at her home at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 April 1994. See MZELEMU KILLINGS.

MZELEMU, Doris Lizi (47), was stabbed, shot and stoned to death by named IFP supporters in an attack at her home at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 April 1994. See MZELEMU KILLINGS.

MZELEMU, Eunice Badumile (36), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Mdlazi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 July 1992. She had fled the area the day before the attack.

MZELEMU, Gladys Zibuyile, was one of 13 people killed in an attack by UDF and ANC supporters on

Inkatha supporters in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/041).

MZELEMU, Gugu Sindi (6 months), was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in an attack at her home at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 April 1994. See MZELEMU KILLINGS.

MZELEMU, Hlanganani Stanley (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 3 July 1991, and had his house in Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1992.

MZELEMU, Hlengiwe (13), was stabbed, shot and stoned to death by named IFP supporters in an attack at her home at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 April 1994. See MZELEMUKILLINGS.

MZELEMU, Johannes (39), an IFP supporter, was shot and burnt to death at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 September 1992 during continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MZELEMU, Joyce Phumelele (18), was stabbed, shot and stoned to death by named IFP supporters in an attack at her home at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 April 1994. See MZELEMU KILLINGS.

MZELEMU, Khululekile Prudence (13), was stabbed, shot and stoned to death by named IFP supporters in an attack at her home at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 April 1994. See MZELEMU KILLINGS.

MZELEMU, Lindiwe Abegail (16), was stabbed, shot and stoned to death by named IFP supporters in an attack at her home at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 April 1994. See MZELEMU KILLINGS.

MZELEMU, Mathayi (28), an Inkatha supporter, was abducted from Hibberdene, Natal, by Inkatha supporters in 1988 and has not been seen again. Inkatha youth were allegedly identifying and targeting people with perceived UDF sympathies at the time.

MZELEMU, Mhlabunzima Johannes (38), was forced to flee his home at Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1992 because of ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MZELEMU, Mtshengiswa Cebenga (57), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by named ANC supporters in Mtvalume, near Umzinto, Natal, in political conflict in the area on 4 February 1990 following the UNBANNING of political organisations two days earlier. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/041).

MZELEMU, Ndkuzempi Emmanuel Blackstone (26), an ANC supporter, was stabbed, shot and injured by IFP supporters in Isigedleni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 July 1991.

MZELEMU, Ndukuzempi William (46), an ANC supporter, was shot at and his house was destroyed by named IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 April 1994. Nine members of his family were killed after he had addressed mourners at the funeral of an ANC supporter. See MZELEMU KILLINGS.

MZELEMU, Nkanaza, an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 March 1990.

MZELEMU, Ntombifuthi Mildred (36), was severely injured by named IFP supporters in an attack at her home at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 April 1994. See MZELEMU KILLINGS.

MZELEMU, Patricia Zithobile (21), an IFP supporter, was severely beaten by ANC supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1992. The perpetrators were allegedly trying to force young people to join the ANC to fight against the IFP. Ms Mzelemu's sister was also severely beaten in the attack.

MZELEMU, Phelelisile Pretty (4), was stabbed, shot and stoned to death by named IFP supporters in an attack at her home at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 April 1994. See MZELEMUKILLINGS.

MZELEMU, Phindile Jenent (10), was stabbed, shot and stoned to death by named IFP supporters in an attack at her home at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 April 1994. See MZELEMU KILLINGS.

MZELEMU, Princess Thandiwe, an IFP supporter, was severely beaten by ANC supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1992. The perpetrators were allegedly trying to force young people to join the ANC to fight against the IFP. Ms Mzelemu's sister was also severely beaten in the attack.

MZELEMU, Qhubugwegwe, an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990, allegedly in a hit squad operation.

MZELEMU, Simon Bhekinkosi (47), an IFP supporter, was killed by ANC supporters, two of whom are named, in Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1993.

MZELEMU, Siphwe Simon (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 September 1993.

MZELEMU, Zithulile (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His house was burnt down a week later.

MZI, Bethuel Zwelinjani (21), was severely sjambokked by members of the SAP after his arrest on 13 April 1986 in Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, during the bus boycott by the Maboloko community.

MZIBUKO, Bethuel Thulani (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Park Station, Johannesburg, in October 1993. After increasing TRAIN VIOLENCE, unions established train sectors to inform commuters on social and political issues, as attackers allegedly announced that they were looking for 'Mandela's children'. The IFP took responsibility for some of the attacks, allegedly in retaliation against ANC supporters who refused to allow them to board trains.

MZILA, Bheki Martin (19), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in Bhukulwandle, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 13 October 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Three other family members, including two children, were shot and killed in the attack.

MZILA, Busisiwe Zanyana (55), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 May 1992.

MZILA, Makhosazane Eunice (39), had her house in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MZILA, Mfavela Alpheus (37), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters during political conflict in Greytown, Natal, on 5 December 1994.

MZILA, Thandiwe Sylvia (41), an ANC supporter, had her house at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 9 October 1985.

MZILENI, Mandla Boy (23), a UDF member, died by hanging in his cell at Kestell police station, near Bethlehem, OFS, on 16 October 1982, during his third detention period in the same police station.

MZIMBA, Elizabeth, was shot dead in June 1993 at her home in Vosloorus, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand.

MZIMBA, Mirriam (38), was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Vosloorus, Tvl, in June 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

MZIMELA, Bhukumuzi, sustained burns when IFP supporters threw a hand grenade into a tearoom in Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, where he was sitting with his brother and friend on 14 January 1992.

MZIMELA, Babhekile, was hacked to death by named IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 November 1992. Ms Mzimela was allegedly targeted because her children were ANC supporters.

MZIMELA, Bafana Philip (33), had his house burnt down in political conflict between the 'Red' AND GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

MZIMELA, Bheki Kenneth, an *induna* and ANC supporter, was shot and killed by IFP members during political violence at Nyoni, KwaZulu, near Gingindlovu, Natal, on 23 March 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MZIMELA, Bhekithemba, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 May 1992. Mr Mzimela was crossing the road to talk to his neighbour when he was hit.

MZIMELA, Bhukumuzi Maxwell (19), sustained burns when IFP supporters threw a hand grenade into a tearoom in Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, where he was sitting with his brother and a friend on 14 January 1992. His brother and friend were also injured in the attack.

MZIMELA, Bongani Julius (32), a UDF supporter, was beaten to death by named members of the SAP at KwaMashu police station, Durban, after being detained on 16 February 1985.

MZIMELA, Boy, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Empangeni, Natal, on 20 June 1993.

MZIMELA, Chester Busisiwe (48), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MZIMELA, Cyprian (39), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 3 January 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His body was found two days later.

MZIMELA, Elsie (54), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1993, allegedly because she was believed to be an ANC supporter.

MZIMELA, France Makhende, was injured in an attack by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 February 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MZIMELA, Gerald Nana, was killed in an attack by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 February 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MZIMELA, Mbhekeni Phumehlela (33), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in his home in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 February 1992.

MZIMELA, Mbovane Emmanuel (aka 'Dion Cele') (27), an MK operative, was abducted from Manzini, Swaziland, by members of the Natal Security Branch in July 1989 and taken to the Elandskop farm, near Pietermaritzburg. He was interrogated and shot dead when he refused to become a police informer. His body, buried in an unmarked grave, was exhumed by the Commission and reburied by his family. Five Natal Security Branch operatives and two from the Eastern Transvaal were granted amnesty (AC/2000/039).

MZIMELA, Mildred (47), had her home in Mandini, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack on 5 December 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MZIMELA, Mngunikacandulwa (72), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in June 1992 in continuing political violence between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MZIMELA, Ms (first name not given), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters in Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MZIMELA, Mzobanzi Isaac, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack in Mandini, Natal, on 5 December 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MZIMELA, Mzuzile (22), had his home at Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 16 April 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MZIMELA, Nkosingiphile Mhlongo (7), was hacked to death on 22 November 1992, when IFP supporters attacked her family's home in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

MZIMELA, Nkuva Mbongeni (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 27 December 1993.

MZIMELA, Sandile (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and permanently disabled by IFP supporters near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 April 1994, the day of Nelson Mandela's inauguration as President.

MZIMELA, Sibani Mbekeni, an ANC supporter, was killed when IFP supporters attacked the bus on which he was travelling in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 February 1994.

MZIMELA, Sikulute (63), had her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down on 20 March 1994 in violent conflict between supporters of the ANC and IFP. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MZIMELA, Sphiwe Ntombenzima (30), an ANC supporter, had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by a named IFP supporter on 12 February 1992.

MZIMELA, Siphso, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 15 May 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MZIMELA, Thandekile Mantombi (36), had her house burnt down in Ndabayakhe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area in 1993. Ms Mzimela and her family had received death threats before the attack.

MZIMELA, Thembi Miriam (39), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by other ANC supporters at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 25 September 1990, in a serious internal power struggle within the organisation.

MZIMELA, Thozo Mkhize (33), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 February 1992 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

MZIMELA, Tokozani, an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in Macekane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 October 1993. Mr Mzimela was paralysed as a result of the shooting.

MZIMELA, Velenkosini Siphso, a member of COSAS, was shot dead by members of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 June 1993. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

MZIMELA, Xolani Ceaser (22), was injured in a hand grenade attack by IFP supporters in Eshowe, Natal, on 14 January 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

MZIMKULU, Isaac, a member of a Crossroads committee led by Mr Memani, was one of seven men killed in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 11 April 1983, by supporters of an opposing committee led by Mr Ngxobongwana, during conflict arising from the struggle for housing.

MZINDLE, Brian Sandile (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 March 1990. The SADF members opened fire on crowds gathered for a Sharpeville Day memorial rally that was deemed illegal.

MZINDLE, Daduza (42), an ANC supporter, was forced to flee her home when it was attacked by Inkatha

supporters at Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 April 1990. Her belongings and nine cattle were stolen in the attack.

MZINDLE, Elias Siqaqa, an IFP supporter, was stoned to death by ANC supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 18 May 1991. He was on his way to work when he was attacked.

MZINDLE, Fanile Carphas, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 18 February 1992. The perpetrators were allegedly forcing boys to attend an *imbizo*.

MZINDLE, Gimbi Lungi, a member of the IFP Youth Brigade, was shot dead, allegedly by ANC members, at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

MZINDLE, Jackson Mbekezelwa (18), an ANC supporter, was shot in the hip by a named member of the SAP in Fredville, near Inchanga, Natal, on 25 March 1994 during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTION.

MZINDLE, Mantombi (40), an ANC supporter, had her home in Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 17 June 1993. Ms Mzimdle was allegedly targeted because her sons were ANC supporters.

MZINDLE, Maqhawe Michael Gugulakhe (23), an IFP supporter, was stabbed by ANC supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 18 April 1991.

MZINDLE, Meslina Duduzile (36), an ANC supporter, had her house in KwaXolo, near Ramsgate, Natal, destroyed by IFP supporters in April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. She was forced to leave the area.

MZINDLE, Ntombi Ella, an ANC supporter, had to relocate after her home in KwaXaba, near Port Shepstone, Natal, was burnt down by alleged IFP supporters in July 1991.

MZINDLE, Ntombinkulu Charity (22), a member of the IFP Youth Brigade, was shot dead, allegedly by ANC members, at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

MZINDLE, Sandile (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 March 1990. The SADF members had opened fire on crowds gathered for a Sharpeville Day memorial rally, which had been deemed illegal.

MZINDLE, Sarah Nukiwe (46), an IFP supporter, had her house in Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 18 May 1991.

MZINDLE, Zenzele Alfr ed, the brother of an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 March 1991.

MZINHLE, (first name not given), was shot and severely injured in an attack by IFP supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 31 May 1991. At the time of the attack Mr Mzinhle was visiting a family believed to be ANC supporters.

MZINYANE, Zwelakhe (21), was shot dead by members of the SAP at the Avalon cemetery in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 October 1990. The police

allegedly accused the victim and his three friends of being 'communists' and harbouring arms and ammunition. Three of them were shot dead.

MZINZI, Nancy Verah (69), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF in KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 27 December 1991.

MZINZI, Xolani Maxin (16), was shot by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

MZIZI, Bayempini, an ANC supporter, was detained and died in police custody in Durban during 1977. Police alleged that he committed suicide.

MZIZI, Bizani Clementia (63), lost her home in Umlazi, Durban, in an arson attack on 22 June 1992 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

MZIZI, Cosmos Mbonwa (54), an ANC supporter, was shot dead during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 February 1994.

MZIZI, Gertrude, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

MZIZI, Mbongeni (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Polela, Bulwer, Natal, on 4 March 1993. One other ANC supporter was killed in the attack.

MZIZI, Mjanyelwa (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 15 November 1992.

MZIZI, Msishi, was killed by UDF supporters who spotted him in the street, pursued him into a *shebeen*, then captured and dragged him outside, and stoned and stabbed him, in Standerton, Tvl. Mr Mzizi was believed to be a member of the Eastern MG Pirates soccer club, whose members acted as vigilantes in collaboration with community councillors and police to attack UDF supporters. One UDF supporter applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2001/071).

MZIZI, Nkosinathi Bhonobhono (20), an IFP supporter, was stabbed, shot and injured by ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, in October 1993.

MZIZI, Nokuthula (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Bulwer, Natal, on 20 February 1993.

MZIZI, Phillip Dilikile (51), a school principal, lost his home in an arson attack by ANC supporters during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 12 August 1985. Mr Mzizi was targeted because he was perceived to be a collaborator.

MZIZI, Sandile (25), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and killed by IFP supporters at KwaMadlala, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 May 1994, shortly after the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MZIZI, Siphwe Given (25), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP on 5 October 1990 while attempting to escape arrest by boarding a train at Northmead Station in Benoni, Tvl. Mr Mzizi was suspected of breaking into a shop. After being shot, his body was allegedly thrown into a dam.

MZOBE, Albert Bekinkosi (19), was shot and injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Katlehong, Tvl, in February 1992.

MZOBE, Alfred Sybruck (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bhuboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 November 1992.

MZOBE, Anne (46), a UDF supporter, had her house in Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 17 December 1989. Her father died in the attack.

MZOBE, Bafana (45), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MZOBE, Balungile Claudia (27), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 17 April 1990.

MZOBE, Bonakele (54), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MZOBE, Bonginkosi Aaron (40), an ANC supporter, was attacked and his home was destroyed by an ANC self-defence unit in KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1991, allegedly in a serious internal dispute.

MZOBE, Bonginkosi Petros (33), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters, some of whom are named, in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 5 May 1990.

MZOBE, Bongiwe (26), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 16 June 1989.

MZOBE, Busisiwe (36), an IFP supporter, lost her house in an arson attack in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MZOBE, Dumisani (25), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 21 December 1989.

MZOBE, Gretta Jabulisile (43), an ANC supporter, had her home in Umlazi, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in March 1992.

MZOBE, Gudumkhonto Derrick (39), an IFP supporter, was axed and shot dead by ANC supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 March 1991.

MZOBE, Hlanganisile Christobel (34), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MZOBE, Hlengiwe Christinah (30), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MZOBE, Joseph (30), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured in an attack by IFP supporters in

Umkomaas, near Durban, on 17 October 1992. His house was burnt down in the attack.

MZOBE, Khethiwe (39), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MZOBE, Kohlwangifile Elias (56), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MZOBE, Lungile (21), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MZOBE, Maxwell (29), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in Gezibuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 16 June 1989.

MZOBE, Mbongeni (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 March 1994, days after the SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MZOBE, Mfana Elias (42), was shot and injured by a named perpetrator when the car in which he was travelling was ambushed in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 March 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His son was also injured, and his daughter and the driver of the car were killed.

MZOBE, Mphendukelwa , an IFP supporter, was killed by ANC supporters, who left his body at Izotsha, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 30 September 1991.

MZOBE, Mthobisi Walter (9), was shot and injured by a named perpetrator when the car in which he was travelling was ambushed in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 March 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His father was also injured, and his sister and the driver of the car were killed in the attack.

MZOBE, Neni (52), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters who attacked her home in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 September 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. One other person was killed and one stabbed and severely injured in the attack.

MZOBE, Nomthadazo Elsie (30), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MZOBE, Nosipho (8), was stabbed and injured in October 1992 when IFP supporters attacked homes in the ANC stronghold of Magcino in the Shlazeni Reserve, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban. Nine ANC supporters were killed and 18 others wounded. More than 36 houses and huts were burnt down. Nosipho's brother and father were also injured in the attack.

MZOBE, Phumelaphi Dorah (45), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

MZOBE, Sibonelo (6), died when he was stabbed and thrown into a burning house in Umkomaas, Natal, on

17 October 1992. His father was an ANC supporter, and the family was attacked by IFP supporters.

MZOBE, Sibongiseni Shadrack , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 February 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

MZOBE, Stanley Zamokwakhe (26), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and burnt to death by another named UDF supporter at Camperdown, near Pietermaritzburg, on 19 January 1991, in the course of a serious internal dispute. Mr Mzobe had allegedly opposed the killing of elderly IFP supporters.

MZOBE, Thandi Gladness (46), an ANC supporter, had her house at Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1983.

MZOBE, Thulani Wilson (27), died of multiple injuries sustained in an attack on his home on 17 October 1991 in Mtengwane, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. See MTENGWANE ATTACK.

MZOBE, Vusumuzi Douglas , an ANC supporter, was beaten by members of the SADF while being interrogated in Chesterville, Durban, during 1981. Mr Mzobe had been accused of infiltrating the country from Angola. In 1984 his house at Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, was burnt down, and in February 1987 he was tortured in a police cell in Swaziland after being detained for attempting to go into exile in Mozambique.

MZOBE, Zebulon Zibuse (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in KwaXaba, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 8 July 1991.

MZOBE, Zola Purity (7), was shot dead by a named perpetrator when the car in which she was travelling was ambushed in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 March 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The driver of the car was also killed, and her father and brother seriously injured in the attack.

MZOBOSHE, Stephen Douglas (43), an ANC member, was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP in March 1964 at his house in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

MZOLA, Sizakele (10), was shot and severely injured by a named Administration Board employee in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 10 February 1986. The shooting left Sizakele physically and mentally disabled.

MZOLISA, Andile Cecil (10), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in June 1985 while he was participating in a youth parade in Graaff-Reinet, Cape. Andile was charged with public violence but the charges were later withdrawn.

MZOLISA, Geor ge, a Poqo member, died in police custody at Fort Glamorgan prison, East London, on 17 July 1963. He had been arrested for his political activities, and while in prison, subjected to severe beatings and torture.

MZOLISA, Mamfengu Leonard (44), a PAC supporter, was arrested by members of the Security Branch in East London on 27 November 1962, for being involved in the anti-Pass Law campaign. He spent two years in

prison in East London, and in 1964 was arrested again in Cape Town and sentenced to five years' imprisonment on Robben Island for allegedly attempting to overthrow white domination.

MZOLISA, Nokoleji Agrinett (41), a Poqo member, was arrested in East London in December 1962, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment because of her involvement in PAC activities.

MZOLISA, Nozamile Telia (41), a PAC supporter, was arrested during a crackdown on PAC/Poqo supporters in March 1963 and sentenced to one year's imprisonment at East London for her political activities. While in prison, she was subjected to severe beatings and torture.

MZOLO, Andile, an ANC supporter, disappeared from his house in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, when it was attacked by alleged Inkatha members on 17 November 1987. The family was threatened because of the members' political affiliation.

MZOLO, Bengazi Toto (31), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, on 4 July 1989. Mr Mzolo, a herbalist, was accused of supplying *muti* to a youth suspected of killing nine soldiers in the area.

MZOLO, Bhékani Simon, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in June 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MZOLO, Daniel (40), a UDF supporter, was abducted and killed in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 August 1986 during conflict in the area between UDF and AZAPO supporters.

MZOLO, Hawukile Eugenia (27), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by a named Inkatha supporter in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 17 November 1987.

MZOLO, Mabel (37), lost her house in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, in a petrol bomb attack on 5 August 1986 because of her husband's union activities.

MZOLO, Mbuso (17), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by an Inkatha supporter in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 28 January 1989. His brother and his father, a prominent ANC leader, were also killed in the course of political violence in the area.

MZOLO, Mthandeni Caiphus (26), an ANC supporter, died in hospital after being ambushed and shot in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 15 January 1994. His brother and his father, a prominent ANC leader, were also killed in the course of political violence in the area.

MZOLO, Ndoda (49), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by a named IFP supporter in New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 November 1991.

MZOLO, Ngenzeni Annie (51), had her home in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1989 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Ms Mzolo's husband, a local UDF chairperson, and their two sons were all killed in the course of political violence in the area.

MZOLO, Nomonde (24), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by a named Inkatha supporter in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 17 November 1987.

MZOLO, Saleleni Mirriam (53), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 12 February 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

MZOLO, Simon, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in August 1987 in intensifying political conflict. Mr Mzolo had allegedly refused to attend Inkatha meetings during an Inkatha recruitment drive in the area.

MZOLO, Solomon Nganencane (58), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named ANC supporters at a peace meeting in Nhlalakahle township hall, Greytown, Natal, on 26 February 1994, in internal party conflict. Mr Mzolo was believed to have been associated with the killing of a prominent ANC leader.

MZOMBA, Fildin Elvis (24), an ANCYL activist, was detained by members of the Security Branch in August 1992 and kept in solitary confinement at Louis le Grange prison, Port Elizabeth, allegedly because of his involvement in various political activities. He was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, of which he served three and a half years before being granted amnesty.

MZOMBA, Somnandi, an ANC supporter, was fatally shot and stabbed by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

MZONDI, Fikiswa Pascalina (12), was raped repeatedly by two members of the SAP, one of whom is named, in Rocklands, Bloemfontein, on 25 February 1990, after failing to supply the perpetrators with information concerning the whereabouts of a political activist.

MZONELI, Siyabonga Lionel (28), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Groutville, Stanger, Natal, on 14 January 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

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

MZUKWA, Mzingisi (29), an APLA member, was left a paraplegic after being shot in Cape Town, on 4 July 1993. After he was hospitalised, Mr Mzukwa was arrested and interrogated at the Bellville police station by members of the SAP.

MZULWINI, Augustine Bajabulile (59), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1992. She was allegedly targeted because her two sons were believed to be ANC supporters.

MZULWINI, Bhékamakhosi (40), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu,

near Durban, on 5 December 1992 in ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His brother was also killed in the attack.

MZULWINI, Fakekaya Joseph (44), an IFP supporter, was burnt to death on 14 September 1992 while on his way to work at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, when the vehicle in which he was travelling was ambushed by uniformed men armed with AK47 rifles and 9 mm pistols. The attackers shot the occupants and then set the vehicle alight. Eight IFP supporters were killed and four were seriously injured in the attack.

MZULWINI, Hlekisiwe Liye (35), had his home in Empangeni, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area in 1993.

MZULWINI, Mandla Victor (16), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 25 August 1988.

MZULWINI, Mano Doris (36), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 December 1988 during intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

MZULWINI, Mfanazane Robert (47), lost his home in an arson attack in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, in January 1991 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

MZULWINI, Mfano Phillip (47), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, while he was returning from work on 9 February 1990, a week after the UNBANNING of political organisations.

MZULWINI, Msawenkosi (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when members of the SADF opened fire during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Umnini, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 October 1992. At least one person was shot dead; several were shot and injured.

MZULWINI, Mzomeli, an IFP supporter, was shot dead in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 December 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His brother was also killed in the attack.

MZULWINI, Thandekile (26), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the KwaZULU POLICE while attending a night vigil in KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 March 1990. Several other ANC supporters were injured in the shooting.

MZULWINI, Zodwa Gloria (29), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in March 1990. She was allegedly attacked because her husband, who was killed a few weeks earlier, had been an Inkatha supporter.

MZUZWANA, City, had his home in Bloemfontein damaged in an arson attack by the Orange Free State Security Branch in 1986. A Security Branch operative was refused amnesty owing to conflicting evidence by a co-perpetrator (AC/1999/0025).

MZUZWANA, Zwelinjani Mathews (23), a COSAS member and UDF supporter, was shot and injured by

members of the Security Branch in Bloemfontein, on 18 April 1985, while participating in a march to commemorate the Uitenhage and SHARPEVILLE MASSACRES. An Orange Free State Security Branch operative was refused amnesty, owing to conflicting evidence (AC/1999/0025).

MZWAKALI, Stafnurse (37), was shot in the hand by members of the SAP on her way to work in KwaGuga, near Witbank, Tvl, on 25 June 1985 during political unrest in the area.

MZWALI, Zololo Freeman (27), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SADF in East London, on 18 August 1985 while he was attending a memorial service for the victims of police shooting in DUNCAN VILLAGE.

MZWI, Elliot (18), was severely injured when he was assaulted with an axe by an unidentified perpetrator during political conflict in Port Elizabeth in 1970. Mr Mzwi had been active in the campaign for the abolition of General Sales Tax.

N'WA-MUKANSI, (first names not given), was beaten and had her house burnt down by angry residents in Lulekani, Phalaborwa, Tvl, in June 1985. She was suspected of involvement in witchcraft and the disappearance of several local youths.

NADITSE, Constance Bengbahlogo (42), was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 26 August 1986. Police were going from house to house in the township, trying to force people to pay rent.

NAGADI, Annah, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NAGE, Maxwell Thamsanqa (17), was shot in the eye when police opened fire on a student protest march in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 19 April 1990. He was blinded in one eye as a result of his injuries. Five people were killed and six others injured in the shooting.

NAGI, Poyinda Masokisi (48), an ANC member, was detained at MKAMBATI FOREST police station, Flagstaff, Transkei, in 1970. In detention he was severely assaulted and tortured by being suspended from an iron bar by named members of the SAP.

NAIDOO, Dinan (27), was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

NAIDOO, Gregory, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Mobeni post office in Durban on 8 December 1985. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152 and AC/2001/139).

NAIDOO, Indris Elatchininathan (26), an MK operative, was arrested, tortured and later sentenced to ten years for sabotage in Johannesburg, in 1963. Mr Naidoo served his sentence on Robben Island.

NAIDOO, Kamsilla (2), was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

NAIDOO, Murthie (26), was detained on his way to visit his brother on Robben Island, Cape, in 1965. He was taken to Pretoria Central prison, stripped naked, searched and held in solitary confinement for two weeks. Mr Naidoo was kept awake for two nights, interrogated, assaulted and was kept in solitary confinement for four months under the 180-day law. In 1980 he was detained under the General Law Amendment Act, assaulted and held in solitary confinement for two weeks.

NAIDOO, Phyllis Vasendha Ruth (51), an ANC member from Durban, was injured in a letter bomb explosion on 5 July 1979 in Maseru, Lesotho. Five other persons were injured in the explosion. Her son, an ANC member, was later killed in Zambia in 1989. Ms Naidoo had previously been detained and house arrested in South Africa in the 1960s.

NAIDOO, Prema, an ANC supporter and trade union activist, was detained at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, in 1982 where he was kept in solitary confinement, tortured, severely assaulted and kept awake for six days and nights, allegedly by named members of the security forces. He was later sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for harbouring and assisting a prisoner who escaped from Pretoria Central prison, Pretoria, to leave the country.

NAIDOO, Ramnie, was forced to go into exile after being continually harassed and persecuted by alleged members of the Security Forces because of her political activities.

NAIDOO, Saantha (23), was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

NAIDOO, Sahdhan (28), an ANC member, was shot dead on 15 April 1989 on an ANC farm near Lusaka, Zambia. Two members of the *Vlakplaas* unit applied for amnesty for setting up the operation but the applications failed on grounds of lack of full disclosure. A second ANC member was killed in the same attack (AC/2001/228).

NAIDOO, Shanthavothie 'Shanti' (33), a member of the Natal Indian Congress, was detained on 13 June 1968 and tortured in Johannesburg and Pretoria. Ms Naidoo was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for refusing to become a state witness. She spent her entire sentence in solitary confinement. During the 1970s and early 1980s she was subjected to a campaign of intimidation and harassment by the Witwatersrand Security Branch. A Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the harassment (AC/2001/005).

NAIDU, Surendra 'Lenny' (22), was one of four ANC members killed in an ambush by Security Branch operatives near Piet Retief, Tvl, on 8 June 1988. See PIET RETIEF AMBUSHES. Nine Security Branch operatives, including the commander of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/273).

NAIK, Kantilal Chhangalal, was arrested, tortured and severely beaten by members of the Security Branch in Johannesburg, on 23 October 1971. He was detained for more than five months.

NAIR, Audr ey, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Mobeni post office in Durban on 8 December 1985. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152 and AC/2001/139).

NAIR, Narain, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Mobeni post office in Durban on 8 December 1985. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152 and AC/2001/139).

NAIR, Rajendran, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Mobeni post office in Durban on 8 December 1985. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152 and AC/2001/139).

NAKA, Bafo Archibald (20), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in November 1977.

NAKEDI, Tebogo (9) was shot dead on 8 August 1993 in Izwelethu, Bophuthatswana. The area was tense following the refusal of the chief to hand over power to a new community leader. The chief mobilised his supporters and several people in the area including Tebogo were killed in the ensuing violence.

NAKELE, Bongani (14), was shot by members of the SAP on 12 February 1990 at Nkululeko, near Barkly East, Cape, during celebrations of the release of Nelson Mandela.

NAKELI, Johannes Lefu (23), an ANCYL member, was shot and killed by a member of the SAP in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 24 September 1988, during a rent boycott.

NAKERDIEN, Zahrah (aka 'Greta Apelgr en') (30), an MK member, was severely tortured from the time of her arrest in July 1986 until her release in January 1989. She was detained in Nigel, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Klerksdorp, following her conviction on a terrorism charge. Ms Nakerdien had been involved in the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in June 1986.

NAKO, Mbulelo Boy (17), an ANC supporter, was on his way home when he was abducted by members of the THREE MILLION GANG in Kroonstad, OFS, on 3 June 1991. A week later he was found burnt to death.

NAKO, Toto Samuel (38), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by members of the SAP and the THREE MILLION GANG in Kroonstad, OFS, on 24 March 1992. Mr Nako was abducted and taken home to be killed in the presence of his mother.

NAKWA, Golide, was detained by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NAKWA, Kholisile, was detained by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NAKWA, Mzayifani Alfr ed, was detained for a month by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NAKWA, Vuyisile (31), an iKONGO member, was assaulted by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in April 1960, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NALA, Andries Xolani, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NALA, Lillian (69), lost her house in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 June 1989 in political conflict between Inkatha supporters and UDF/ANC supporters. About 1000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in political violence in Mpumalanga during 1989, leaving many dead and thousands homeless.

NALA, Zodwa Rachel (34), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 June 1989, in intense political conflict in the area. About 1000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in political violence in Mpumalanga during 1989, leaving many dead and thousands homeless.

NALELI, Adam Mochela (23), was abducted and stabbed to death by members of the ANC-aligned Lanada Gang in Kroonstad, OFS, on 16 March 1991. Mr Naleli was thought to be a member of the THREE MILLION GANG.

NAMA, Nosisana Colleen (17), was shot in the head and blinded in one eye by members of the security forces in August 1976, in Nyanga, Cape Town, during the SOWETO UPRISING.

NAMANE, Josiah T seleng, a minister, died in a targeted killing by MK operatives outside his home in Tembisa, Tvl, on 25 June 1992. The MK operative had allegedly been instructed by a more senior MK member to assassinate Mr Namane, as it was believed he was co-operating with the old community council structures. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/135).

NAMANE, Klaas Ontshitse, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the Bophuthatswana Police in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 14 February 1993.

NAMANE, Ramolipa (63), was stabbed to death with a spear by an IFP supporter during an IFP march in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 7 March 1992. Soweto was one of several Transvaal townships embroiled in conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the early 1990s.

NAMANE, Stephen Kobue, had his property destroyed and looted in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in 1984. Animosity between Mr Namane and a named former mayor led to violent conflict which engulfed the entire community. The mayor allegedly incited youths with fabricated stories about Namane as a result of which his property was destroyed.

NAMANY ANE, Pakiso David (36), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot to death by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 14 February 1994, the day of a stayaway organised by the IFP in support of the Zulu king's demand for the constitutional independence of the Zulu nation.

NAMANYUHA, Tshimangazo Samuel (31), was detained and tortured by members of the Venda Police in Thohoyandou, Venda, on 23 February 1990 during political conflict.

NAMBA, Mlamli (aka 'James Mkambi'), an MK operative, was reported by his family as missing. The Commission established that he had gone into exile from Port Elizabeth after being wounded in the SOWETO UPRISING. Some time later he was detained by ANC security in Angola. Following mutinies in the Viana and Pango camps in 1984, two ANC military tribunals ordered the execution of seven MK operatives. Mr Namba was one of those executed in 1984. See ANC CAMPS.

NAMBA, Mlibo, was shot dead on 29 July 1986 when an MK unit attacked the Madeira police station, in Umtata, Transkei. At least eight people were killed in the attack, including policemen, civilians and one of the MK operatives. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

NAMBA, Toto (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP while attending a COSAS meeting in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, on 25 June 1986 during the state of emergency and at a time of SCHOOL BOYCOTTS and police patrols in the townships. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NANA, Desmond (26), an ANC member, was shot dead by a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape, in 1991, allegedly because he failed to produce his identity document.

NANA, Gladness (24), an ANC activist, was shot dead during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 November 1993.

NANABHAI, Sharish, an MK operative, was detained and tortured and later sentenced to ten years for sabotage in Johannesburg, in 1963. Mr Nanabhai served his sentence on Robben Island.

NANCI, Nondumiso Leticia (25), was shot by members of the security forces in Guguletu, Cape Town, in August 1976. Her left arm was permanently disabled by the injury.

NANGALEMBE, Christopher Mphikeleli (29), an ANCYL member, was abducted and killed in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 5 January 1991 by members of the IFP-aligned 'KHETISI KHESWA' GANG. Gang members attacked the night vigil held for Mr Nangalembé on 12 January 1992 with AK47s and hand grenades killing 38 people and injuring others. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

NANGALEMBE, Mbalekelwa Albert (34), was shot at by members of the IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil for his brother, Christopher Nangalembé, an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at mourners, killing 38 people and injuring several others. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE

NAPE, Molefi Joel (26), was beaten with sjamboks when members of the SAP disrupted a funeral on 23 August 1984 in Bophelong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, during the VAAL UPRISING. Mr Nape was shot by another group of policemen as he ran away. Mr Nape spent a month in hospital recovering from his injuries.

NAPHAKADE, Ronnie Sipho (23), was shot, arrested and severely beaten by named members of the SAP in Uppington, Cape, on 11 November 1985. He was later convicted of public violence and sentenced to eight months' imprisonment.

NAPHI, Hilton Nkosivumile (36), an ANC supporter, was abducted and shot dead by IFP supporters near New Canada station, Johannesburg, on 10 September 1991. He and four other men were travelling in a taxi when they were allegedly taken to a place where the perpetrators shot them.

NAPO, Tholi David (32), was severely beaten by members of the SAP at a roadblock in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 18 June 1991.

NAUDE, Beyers, a clergyman, former head of the banned Christian Institute and a long-standing opponent of apartheid, suffered continuous harassment and intimidation by members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch from April 1977 through to December 1989. Two Witwatersrand Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/005 and AC/2001/184).

NAUDE, C. was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

NAWA, Enos (56), was deposed from his chieftainship by the Bophuthatswana Government at Temba, Bophuthatswana, in 1976 because he did not support the Mangope regime.

NAYLOR, Anna Cecilia (27), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

NAYLOR, Samantha (2), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

NAZIMA, Sipho Eugene (17), was detained by named members of the SAP in 1986 after a school was burnt down in Willowmore, Cape. In detention, he was tortured and questioned about other political activists.

NAZO, Dingaan David (56), an ANC underground member, was detained in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 13 June 1978. He was held for six months and interrogated by named members of the Ciskei Security Police.

NAZO, Mphiwisi David Sigcawu, was detained and severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Kenton-on-Sea, Cape, on 1 January 1976.

NAZO, Shotie Joseph (38), was shot in the hand by members of the SAP while sitting in a house in Colesberg, Cape, in July 1985, after unrest had erupted in the township. He was arrested in hospital by police who then beat him severely at the police station. Mr Nazo was then charged and held in custody for two weeks before being acquitted.

NCACA, Mawethu Selby (16), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Cradock, Cape, on 24 May 1980.

NCACA, Xolani Reginald (18), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Cradock, Cape, on 13 April 1986 while he was participating in a funeral procession.

NCALA, Cynthia (18), was severely injured after she was shot, assaulted and forced to drink petrol when she was abducted with her mother and cousin into Kwesine hostel after they boarded a taxi in Katshehong, Tvl, on 23 December 1993. They were forced to strip and then taken to a house where they were assaulted. They were then forced to drink petrol before being doused with it and shot. Cynthia was the only survivor of this incident.

NCALA, Gladness (41), was abducted, assaulted and killed after boarding a taxi in Katshehong, Tvl, on 23 December 1993. Ms Ncala was abducted to the Kwesine hostel with her daughter and niece. At the hostel, they were forced to strip and were then taken to a house and assaulted. They were forced to drink petrol before being doused with it and shot. Ms Ncala's daughter was the only survivor of the attack.

NCALA, Isaac 'Jojo', was shot dead and burnt by a group of youths who intercepted him and a friend on their way home in Katshehong, Tvl, on 25 October 1993. Mr Ncala and his friend were shot and then 'necklaced'. Mr Ncala died as a result of his injuries but his friend survived. A month later Mr Ncala's mother, sister and another relative were abducted into Kwesine hostel and assaulted. His mother and the relative died during the incident, and his sister was injured.

NCALA, Lucy Nompoti (17) was assaulted and forced to drink petrol before being shot dead when she, her cousin and her aunt were abducted into Kwesine hostel after they boarded a taxi on 23 December 1993 in Katshehong, Tvl. They were forced to strip and then taken to a house and assaulted. They were then forced to drink petrol before being doused with it and shot. Lucy's cousin was the only survivor of this incident.

NCALA, Malehlohonolo Annah (18), an ANC supporter and student activist, was shot dead by a named SAP member in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 24 May 1990, while returning home from a political meeting. Township residents were boycotting white businesses in Welkom at the time.

NCALA, Sihle, a UDF supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters on 18 April 1988 near Georgedale, KwaZulu/Natal. She was raped, interrogated and then killed, and her blood used for 'muti'. One perpetrator was refused amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NCALO, Nokuzola Faith (24), was shot dead in Phiri, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 19 May 1991 by members of the SAP who claimed her boyfriend, an MK operative, had tried to throw a hand grenade at them.

NCALU, Lungile Johnson (24), was detained and tortured by members of the Security Branch on 1 May 1988 in Uitenhage, Cape.

NCAMA, Gilbert John (32), an IFP supporter, was severely injured in a petrol bomb attack by ANC supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 July 1992.

NCAMA, Lotshiwe Maggie Mamchithwa, an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Alfred, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 May 1990.

NCAMA, Tshabethu (66), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Alfred, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 May 1990.

NCAMANE, Lehlohonolo James (22), a COSAS chairperson, was stabbed by unidentified employees of the Provincial Authority in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 12 February 1993, allegedly after stoning a Provincial Authority vehicle. COSAS members were supporting retrenched workers of NEHAWU at the time.

NCAMILA, Velile (30), a SACTAWU member, was shot and severely injured by members of the Transkei Police during a consumer boycott in Lusikisiki, Transkei, on 20 December 1989.

NCANANA, Bhekie (30), an ANC supporter, had her house and possessions destroyed in an attack by IFP supporters in Sigisi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 April 1991.

NCANDA, Jef frey, was injured in an arson attack by members of the SAP in Mamelodi stadium, Pretoria, on 8 July 1990.

NCANDA, Simancamanca (23), a Poqo activist, was convicted in 1963, together with 20 other Poqo members, for their attempt to rescue their 'comrades' who were charged with the death of a headman in Transkei. Three Poqo members were sentenced to death and 16 others, including Mr Ncanda, were sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

NCANE, Jef frey Sandile, was shot and injured during political conflict at Izingolweni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 March 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0339).

NCANE, Khishiwe (77), had his three huts burnt down by ANC supporters in Ngwemabalala, KwaXolo, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 January 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NCANE, Mandlakayise Amos Skhova (37), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by ANC supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 July 1991.

NCANE, Meslinah Maje (34), lost her house in an arson attack at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 April 1994, during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NCANE, Msakeni Isaiah (61), an ANC supporter, had his house in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 11 April 1994 in the

run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Ncane's son, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death on the same day. The Ncane family was forced to flee the area.

NCANE, Nomusa Beauty (44), was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 March 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NCANE, Ngunu Rose (58), lost her house in an arson attack at Margate, Natal, on 7 March 1994, during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NCANE, Palweni (73), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Ngwemabalala, KwaXolo, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 April 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. On the same day, ANC supporters attacked a homestead in neighbouring Izingolweni, killing five IFP supporters and injuring four.

NCANE, Sipho Petros (25), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NCANI, Busisiwe Rose (37), had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 March 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NCANI, Thuleleni Berthina (59), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 8 January 1994.

NCAPAI, Sisa Mabuya Matshaya (28), a PAC member, was arrested and severely tortured in Cape Town, in November and December 1964, for his participation in PAC activities. He was later acquitted of all charges.

NCAPAYI, Kenneth, was shot dead in the informal settlement Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 23 August 1993, allegedly by members of the SAP on patrol who opened fire, killing and injuring several people.

NCAPAYI, Tatise W iliam, an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NCAPHAYI, Thozamile Samson (52), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 September 1990.

NCAWENI, Mahleka W ilson, was shot and injured by members of the IFP-aligned KHUMALO GANG during a series of attacks on residents in Tokoza, Tvl, on 24 October 1991.

NCAYIYANA, Mawani Elizabeth (60), an IFP supporter, lost her home and possessions in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1991.

NCAZELA, Solomon, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas*

operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NCEBA, Casswell Richard, an MK operative, was shot dead by Security Police at Klipspruit, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 July 1989. The bodies of Mr Nceba and two others were then set alight. Members of the Soweto Security Branch had infiltrated an alleged MK unit and provided the members with arms and training before killing them. Eight Soweto Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/007).

NCEBETSHE, King Vuyisile (52), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in his home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 11 November 1990.

NCEDE, Vuyisile Lawrence (20), a UDF supporter, was beaten and tortured by suffocation by members of the SAP after he was arrested while on the way to a funeral in Cradock, Cape, in July 1986.

NCENGWA, Hawukile Betty (72), had her house destroyed in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 13 November 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NCETEZO, Vuyelwa (43), an ANCWL supporter, was detained by members of the SAP on 10 June 1986 in Queenstown, Cape. In detention, she was kept in solitary confinement.

NCETHE, Nolwazi Mavis (29), had her home destroyed by IFP supporters in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in December 1993.

NCHABELENG, Peter Mampogoane, a UDF supporter, was arrested and beaten to death by members of the Lebowa Police at Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, on 9 April 1986 due to his political activities.

NCHABELENG, Thompson Lejane, died after being hacked with an axe and thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters in Germiston, Tvl, in September 1992. During September there were 17 attacks on trains in the area, with 13 related deaths and 30 injuries. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

NCHE, Manthibi Rosy (43), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by named IFP supporters in Rweleleyathunya, Rouxville, OFS, on 23 September 1990. The attack was carried out by known members of the INKATHA GANG. Her six-year-old grandson suffered burns in the attack.

NCHE, Sabata Abram (6), was suffered burns when his grandmother's house was set alight in Rweleleyathunya, Rouxville, OFS, in September 1990. The attack was carried out by members of the INKATHA GANG. His grandmother was an ANC supporter.

NCIKE, Faslina Ntombiyezwe, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by unidentified ANC supporters who attacked her home in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 14 December 1993. Another family member was also killed, and the family home burnt down in the attack.

NCINDI, Busisiwe (59), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NCOBELA, Nkosinathi Kenneth (20), was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NCOBELA, Patrick Mziwakhe, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NCOKAZI, Buyile Lawrence (28), a PAC supporter, was burnt to death by UDF supporters during conflict between UDF and AMAAFRIKA supporters in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 23 May 1986.

NCOKAZI, Mthetheleli (28), a PAC supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters during conflict between UDF and AMAAFRIKA supporters in Uitenhage, Cape, on 5 May 1989.

NCOKO, Mtobi Sydney, an assistant policeman, was beaten and stoned to death by named ANC supporters during political unrest in Indwe, Cape, on 16 April 1990.

NCOKOTO, Toli Samuel, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NCONCO, Zilibele Ben (43), an ANC member, was detained in 1961 in Port Elizabeth. In 1963 he and his wife were detained at Debe Nek, Middelbidge, Ciskei. They were severely assaulted and threatened with death by named members of the Security Branch.

NCUBE, Bongani Ntelezi (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

NCUBE, David (24), an ANC supporter, was shot in the hand by IFP supporters in an attack on his home in Tembisa, Tvl, in November 1990.

NCUBE, David Mbangwa, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP-aligned 'KHETISI KHESWA' GANG members on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived on the scene but provided no protection, allegedly ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

NCUBE, Dumezweni (18), was shot and injured by members of the SADF in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 July 1985 during a peaceful protest by students in support of students detained at John Vorster Square.

NCUBE, Fano (55), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in April 1993.

NCUBE, Gideon (46), was abducted by alleged members of the SAP in Johannesburg, in 1977.

NCUBE, Glabi Philemon, was killed when the tractor he was driving drove over and detonated a landmine in Messina, Tvl, on 27 November 1985. The ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN was aimed at military patrols in the rural areas. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

NCUBE, Godo Joseph, an ANC supporter, was fatally shot and stabbed by members of the SAP during political conflict at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 2 March 1991.

NCUBE, James, was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

NCUBE, Johannes (35), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 22 March 1994 in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intense political conflict in the area. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NCUBE, Johnson Dario (67), an ANC supporter, was injured in a petrol bomb attack by IFP supporters on his home in Tembisa, Tvl, during November 1990. His wife and son were injured in the attack. Mr Ncube was also detained that month and tortured by members of the SAP and IFP.

NCUBE, Kati Nhlanhla, was shot and severely injured in Umlazi, Durban, when members of the KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) opened fire on crowds of protesters on 3 April 1990. A stayaway and march had been organised to protest against the presence and behaviour of the KZP in Umlazi. Clashes between police and protesters led to widespread violence, including two deaths and an unknown number of injuries.

NCUBE, Mannetjie (Maniki) (18), was shot dead, by members of the SAP and members of the 'Zim-Zim' faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC), in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 22 June 1990. Khutsong was embroiled in conflict between the two rival factions of the KYC.

NCUBE, Manukelana George (67), an IFP supporter, lost his house in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1993.

NCUBE, Mary Mamolefe, an ANCWL member, was badly burnt in a petrol bomb attack on her home in Tembisa, Tvl, by IFP supporters during November 1990. Her activist husband and other family members were injured in the same attack.

NCUBE, Masesi, sustained head injuries when IFP supporters petrol-bombed her parents' home in Tembisa, Tvl, in November 1990. Her parents were ANC activists.

NCUBE, Mdu Afrika (29), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP during political conflict at Lamontville, Durban, on March 1989.

NCUBE, Mvumeni (22), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by ANC supporters at Nqutshini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 April 1994, during the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NCUBE, Nelson Ntelezi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

NCUBE, Nokuyola Rosemary (24), had her home destroyed in an arson attack during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NCUBE, Nomusa (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and burnt to death on 11 September 1992, when armed gunmen attacked a number of houses believed to belong to ANC supporters at Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Six people were killed, all members of her family, and several homes were burnt down.

NCUBE, Norah (57), an IFP supporter, lost her home in an arson attack at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 March 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NCUBE, Ntelezi (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 21 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

NCUBE, Ntozane (58), an IFP supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NCUBE, Patrick Oupa (26), an ANC supporter, died three days after being shot by members of the Bophuthatswana Police during a community march in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 7 March 1990.

NCUBE, Philip Sefiri (21), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 11 February 1986. He was assaulted on his way to the night vigil of a 'comrade' allegedly killed by the police.

NCUBE, Pinkie Kenneth (34), an ANC supporter, was beaten to death and mutilated by members of the KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) at Nkandla, KwaZulu, near Melmoth, Natal, on 9 December 1982. His body was taken to the mortuary the next day, but the KZP reportedly told the victim's family on 11 December that his body was too decomposed for a post-mortem to be conducted.

NCUBE, Sifiso Ernest (46), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead during political conflict at Amatikwe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 May 1988. Inkatha had reportedly embarked on a forced recruitment drive, requiring all Amatikwe residents to participate in its gatherings. Those who refused to follow such instructions were intimidated, assaulted and sometimes killed.

NCUBE, Tholithemba Bongani (22), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down when armed gunmen attacked a number of homes believed to belong to ANC supporters in Gobandlovu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 September 1992. Six people were killed and several houses burnt down.

NCUBE, Thulani Cyril (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 March 1993.

NCUBE, Vusi Mar tin, an ANC supporter, was fatally shot and stabbed with assegais by KWAZULU POLICE

members at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1989.

NCUBE, Zinhle Georgina (39), lost her home in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters during political conflict near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 14 May 1989.

NCWANA, Mvelase Victor, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NCWANE, Ambrose Zibindoda (53), an ANC supporter, had his home and crops burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaZuba, Umkomaas, near Durban, in 1992.

NCWANE, Evidence Thulisile (28), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in August 1985, following the killing of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in neighbouring Umlazi on 1 August 1985.

NCWANE, Mbongeni Henry, a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by an Inkatha supporters after being abducted from a party in Dambuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 23 August 1987.

NCWANE, Menziwa Ezra (27), was severely beaten and left partially paralysed by named perpetrators on 7 September 1992 in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His father was an IFP member.

NCWANE, Nete Plastus (37), an ANC supporter, was shot dead outside his home in Tshelimnyama, KwaZulu, near Mariannhill, Natal, on 19 June 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area. Three other ANC supporters were shot dead in the same incident.

NCWANE, Ntombilezi Jostina (61), an ANC supporter, had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 2 February 1990, the day of the UNBANNING of political organisations.

NCWANE, Phyllis Nokuthula (40), an ANC supporter, lost her house and property in an attack by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in 1992.

NCWANGO, Esau, had his house and possessions burnt in an arson attack in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Eshowe, Natal, in March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NCIYANE, Bhakani Petros (23), was shot and injured and his property was destroyed in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993. Mr Nciyane lost the use of one eye as a result of the shooting.

NDABA MAVUSO, Selina, was shot and injured at Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993 and died a month later. The attack took place during conflict following the assassination of SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

NDABA, Abigail Ndabayithwa, was shot dead by IFP supporters in an attack on his home in KwaMashu,

Durban, in December 1990, during ongoing political conflict in the area. His wife was shot and injured and his home burnt down in the attack.

NDABA, Amos, an IFP supporter, was stoned by ANC supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 10 August 1992.

NDABA, Babolile Tryphina Madlamini (55), had her house burnt down and her belongings stolen by UDF supporters during political conflict at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 14 December 1989. She was allegedly targeted because her son supported Inkatha.

NDABA, Bheki (24), was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, on 28 June 1989.

NDABA, Caiphus, and a friend were shot dead and their shack burnt down by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) and ANC-supporting residents in the Power Park squatter camp, in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 9 April 1994. The residents suspected them of being IFP supporters. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0319).

NDABA, Celani Johannes, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 December 1987.

NDABA, Christopher (47), was affected by teargas thrown into his home by members of the SAP during political unrest in Newcastle, Natal, on 1 May 1994.

NDABA, Dingswayo (29), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by UDF supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 14 December 1989.

NDABA, Elizabeth, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NDABA, Emily (71), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1991.

NDABA, Ethel Zodwa (40), was sjambokked and severely injured by named perpetrators who were all members of a street committee in Tembisa, Tvl, on 29 September 1986 after she was accused of being a police spy.

NDABA, Eunice Nozizwe, (62), had her house burnt down on 30 April 1990 in Pholile, Matatiele, Natal, by a group of men carrying traditional weapons and allegedly looking for ANC supporters. Nine homes were burnt in the area that day. At the time ANC supporters were also killed in an attempt to prevent the setting up of local ANC branches in the area.

NDABA, Fikile Beslina (54), had her property destroyed in an arson attack by KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) members on 31 May 1989, in intensifying political conflict in the Natal. Her two sons had both been shot dead by KZP members, on separate occasions, earlier in the year. Ms Ndaba was forced to flee the area.

NDABA, Jomo, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured on his way home from a peace meeting in Imbali,

Pietermaritzburg, on 27 August 1989 by a named Inkatha supporter. Mr Ndaba's two companions were shot dead.

NDABA, Khona David (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 July 1992. Eight people were killed and at least ten seriously injured in IFP attacks in the area.

NDABA, Khulumile Thembeni (50), an ANC supporter, lost her house in Umkomaas, near Durban, in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in 1990.

NDABA, Libele (57), a SAAWU member, was sjambokked by members of the Ciskei Police and CDF in 1983 at Egerton railway station, Mdantsane, Ciskei, during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT. He was taken to NU1 police station in Mdantsane where the assault continued.

NDABA, Makhambule Eunice, an ANC supporter, had her home burnt by named perpetrators in Matatiele, Transkei, on 30 April 1990. A group of men associated with the traditional authorities and opposed to the launch of an ANC branch attacked numerous homes and persons associated with the ANC.

NDABA, Maureen Mozimanga (60), was shot and injured when IFP supporters attacked her home in KwaMashu, Durban, in December 1990, during ongoing political conflict in the area. Her husband was killed and her house burnt down in the attack.

NDABA, Mbalekelwa Jamblead (61), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in eThandakukhanya, Piet Retief, Tvl, on 20 August 1993.

NDABA, Mntungwa (2), was affected by teargas thrown into his home by members of the SAP during political unrest at Newcastle, Natal, on 1 May 1994.

NDABA, Mthandeni (27), had his home and possessions destroyed in an arson attack during political conflict between the 'RED' AND GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during July 1993.

NDABA, Muzi (28), was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, on 23 August 1989.

NDABA, Ndondo Solomon (40), an ANC supporter, lost his house in arson attack in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 January 1986.

NDABA, Nkanyiso Patrick (29), was shot by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 7 July 1991 during conflict in the area between IFP and ANC supporters.

NDABA, Nomahlubi Diagracia (22), an ANC supporter, had her hut burnt down by members of the Transkei Police during political conflict in Maluti, Transkei, on 28 April 1990.

NDABA, Nombuyiselo Selina (41), an ANCWL supporter, was shot and wounded in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 April 1993 in one of many DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS after the assassination of CHRIS HANI. Residents barricaded roads to protect themselves from attack. When neighbours rushed out to help Ms Ndaba, the attackers doubled back and shot several of them. Ms Ndaba died seven months later.

NDABA, Ntombentsundu Gladys (34), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down on 30 April 1990 in Pholile, Matatiele, Natal, by a group of men carrying traditional weapons and allegedly looking for ANC supporters. Nine homes were burnt in the area that day. At the time ANC supporters were also killed in an attempt to prevent the setting up of local ANC branches in the area.

NDABA, Ntombizodwa Maur een (45), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by named IFP supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in July 1991.

NDABA, Owen Thula (21), was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE in Lamontville, Durban, in 1990.

NDABA, Phetheni Ellen, had her house petrol-bombed by ANC supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 10 August 1992 during conflict in the area between IFP and ANC supporters.

NDABA, Samukelisiwe Innocent, an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death near Nancefield hostel in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 25 April 1994 in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the first democratic election on 27 April 1994.

NDABA, Sibahle Cyprian (36), an ANC supporter and member of the Wembezi Crisis Committee at Wembezi, Kwazulu, near Estcourt, Natal, was threatened and intimidated by named IFP supporters during the course of 1991. Members of the committee were often ill-treated and threatened by IFP supporters, allegedly because the committee was seen as posing a threat to the party.

NDABA, Sphiwe Obed (45), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 14 June 1990.

NDABA, Swelababa Idah (54), was shot and injured in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 11 March 1994 by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF) randomly shooting residents during the last days of the Bophuthatswana government. When the old Bophuthatswana government fell, civil servants went on strike after Mangope refused their demand for immediate pension payouts, and the BDF was reportedly called in to restore order.

NDABA, Thabiso (6), was affected by teargas thrown into his home by members of the SAP during public unrest in Newcastle, Natal, on 1 May 1994.

NDABA, Veli Ephraim (30), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, on 31 July 1993 during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers from Vusumuzi hostel, allegedly with the support of the SAP.

NDABA, Vusumuzi Petr os (25), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP at Steadville, Ladysmith, Natal, on 5 April 1990 during a protest against the detention of ten executive members of the Steadville Youth Committee.

NDABA, Vuyisile Wesley (42), a PAC supporter, was shot and severely injured in Boksburg, Tvl, on 10 December 1993. At the time, many people were attacked in random shootings.

NDABA, Zakhele Charles , an MK operative, was apprehended in KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 July 1990 by members of the Port Natal Security Branch during the investigation of an ANC operation codenamed Vula. On 12 July 1990, Mr Ndaba and one other were shot and their bodies thrown into the Tugela river. Five Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/099).

NDABAGITHETW A, Joy (20), an ANC supporter, was injured when she was beaten by members of the SAP in Mhlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, in October 1985. At the time, the Mhlakeng Civic Association had launched a consumer boycott of the white town of Randfontein.

NDABAMBI Busisiwe (59), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down in Pholile, Matatiele, Natal, on 30 April 1990, by a group of men carrying traditional weapons and allegedly looking for ANC supporters. Nine homes were burnt in the area that day. At the time ANC supporters were also killed in an attempt to prevent the setting up of local ANC branches in the area.

NDABAMBI, Bandile (13), was shot by members of the SAP while attending a meeting at the Nonzwakazi Methodist Church in Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape, on 17 November 1985. See QUEENSTOWN SHOOTINGS.

NDABAMBI, Zandisile , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP while attending a meeting at the Nonzwakazi Methodist Church in Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape, on 17 November 1985. See QUEENSTOWN SHOOTINGS.

NDABANDABA, Emelina (59), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, in 1993.

NDABANINZI, Duncan (46), a member of a Crossroads committee led by Mr Memani, was one of seven men killed in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 11 April 1983, by supporters of an opposing committee led by Mr Ngxobongwana, during conflict arising from the struggle for housing.

NDABANKULU, Lucas Mongoajo Peke (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 5 March 1990.

NDABAYIPHELI, Vuyiswa Nobongile (32), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during conflict between the 'RED' AND GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during June 1993.

NDABENI, Athenkosi 'Att' Makosonke Eric , was killed by ANC supporters in Plettenberg Bay, Cape, on 10 May 1993. He was killed shortly after his release from prison, allegedly because he was suspected by his fellow 'comrades' of being a police informer.

NDABENI, CD , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NDABENI, Joseph Vondo (31), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in ongoing conflict between

ANC and IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1993.

NDABENI, Monwabisi Christopher K , was shot dead on 29 July 1986 when an MK unit attacked the Madeira police station, in Umtata, Transkei. At least eight people were killed in the attack, including policemen, civilians and one of the MK operatives. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

NDABENI, Nguqulo (30), an iKONGO member, was detained by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NDABEZINBI, Nomvelo (30), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by members of the ISU during political conflict in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

NDABEZITHA, Joseph (27), an ANC member from Guguletu, Cape Town, was detained in 1960 and again in 1963. After his 1963 detention he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment on Robben Island but was released in 1965 on appeal. He was placed under house arrest for five years. He was again detained in 1977 and tortured by members of the Security Branch.

NDABUKA, Nongqutelo (55), had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict at Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992.

NDADANA, Zweledinga , an ANC member, was assaulted while in detention in May 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NDALA, Bangiwe Charles , suffered damage to property and an attempt on his life when a hand grenade was thrown at his house in Mamelodi East, Tvl, on 15 May 1988. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

NDALA, Boesman , was shot dead by an alleged SAP member in a bar lounge in Weltevrede, KwaNdebele, on 30 May 1987. There was extensive unrest in KwaNdebele at the time, against the proposed independence for the homeland.

NDALA, Kleinbooi Job (38), was beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in KwaNdebele, in April 1986 during conflict over the proposed independence of the homeland.

NDALA, Maibudi George (32), lost his shop in an arson attack by named IMBOKODO vigilantes in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 21 June 1986 during conflict over the INCORPORATION OF MOUTSE into KwaNdebele.

NDALA, Obed Mnyaza (53), an ANC supporter, was arrested and held in solitary confinement after an attack in 1982 by supporters of Chief Mahlangu on KwaNdebele villagers who opposed his appointment.

NDALA, Phumzile Beauty (34), an Inkatha supporter, had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack during political conflict in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 9 April 1983.

NDALA, Robert Joel (17), was shot by police in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 June 1977 during a student march to John Vorster Square to demand the release of detained colleagues.

NDALA, Sonny Milton (55), lost his home in an arson attack by 'comrades' in KwaGuga, near Witbank, Tvl, in 1990.

NDALISO, Julia, was shot dead by members of the CDF near Egerton railway station, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 4 August 1983 during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

NDALISO, Mzimasi (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NDAM, Steven Mbuyiselo (13), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 2 May 1985, after unrest erupted in the township. He was in hospital for four days under police guard and then held at the police station for a week after being charged with public violence. He was hit by a policeman while in custody.

NDAMANE, Elizabeth Francinah (74), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, during the Boipatong massacre on 17 June 1992. Forty-five people died and 27 others were seriously injured when IFP-supporting residents of the KwaMadala hostel descended on the Boipatong community. The attack was allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police.

NDAMANE, Zakheleni, was shot and killed by UDF supporters in KwaShembe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1988 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

NDAMASE, Louisa Nonzwakazi Bias (46), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Transkei Police at a roadblock in Tabankulu, Transkei, on 22 January 1991, allegedly on the instruction of a magistrate in Tabankulu, who referred to her as an 'ANC dog'.

NDAMASE, Nondipentoni (37), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NDAMASE, Sisa, an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, in 1986 or 1987. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/076).

NDAMASE, Siziwe Des (27), had his home destroyed in an arson attack during political conflict between the 'RED' AND GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

NDAMASE, Zamuxolo Peacemaker, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative who applied

for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NDAMBALE, Wilson Molati, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Messina, Tvl, on 10 March 1990 during political conflict in the area.

NDANDANI, Luvuyo Lennox (22), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in East London in July 1986 when police were looking for a firearm stolen from a policeman who had been burnt in Duncan Village.

NDANDANI, Xola Gradner (21), was severely injured when he was shot by members of the SAP in August 1976, in Guguletu, Cape Town, during the SOWETO UPRISING.

NDANDE, Mamokete, was tear-gassed and assaulted by members of the SAP in 1986 in Vryburg, Cape, allegedly to force him to confess that he had taken part in an arson attack on a COUNCILLOR'S house.

NDARANA, Zola Wellington (25), was shot by a member of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 22 August 1985. He was allegedly accused of inciting youths to destroy government property.

NDATYANA, Kewu, was detained and tortured in June 1960 allegedly because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NDAWENI, Thembinkosi Amos (16), was detained by members of the SAP in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 8 April 1986 during protest following the death of an MK operative in the area.

NDAWO, Boyi Zephania (53), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 12 March 1993.

NDAWO, Johannes (73), had his house burnt down by ANC supporters during ongoing political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 March 1992.

NDAWO, Mduduzi Ronald (33), was stabbed and severely injured by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM in Chesterville, Durban, on 9 October 1989. Mr Ndawo was returning home from a tavern with friends when they were attacked. Two people were killed in this incident; another was severely injured.

NDAWONDE, Anton Stende (48), had his house in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by unidentified persons in 1990. The attack took place while Mr Ndawonde was attending a meeting addressed by Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, president of CONTRALESA.

NDAWONDE, Bkekumuzi Amos (23), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 10 October 1988. His body was found four days after he had disappeared.

NDAWONDE, Falaza Alfred, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least

nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NDAWONDE, Nonyaka Gasta (68), an Inkatha supporter, had his house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 19 January 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

NDAWONDE, Ntombi Clementina (52), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 15 January 1991 and again on 19 January 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NDAWONDE, Sibongiseni (15), an Inkatha supporter, was killed in a car, which was then set alight, by ANC supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the day of Nelson Mandela's release from prison. Sibongiseni's father and brother, who were with him, were also killed in this incident.

NDAWONDE, Simon Thembinkosi, a member of the SAP, was injured in a hand grenade explosion at a Municipal Police training centre in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 April 1987. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

NDAWONDE, Victoria (42), lost her home in an arson attack in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 2 January 1988 in intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters. Nine months later, her son, an Inkatha supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by UDF supporters.

NDEBELA, Dumisani Bernard, was killed when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

NDEBELE, Constance (36), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1990.

NDEBELE, Ernest Mshiyeni (37), was killed in a petrol bomb attack on the house where he was sleeping in Katlehong, Tvl, on 13 May 1991 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NDEBELE, Goodwin, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

NDEBELE, Jabulani Phillip (24), was arrested on 22 April 1991 in Vosloorus, Tvl, detained for three days and repeatedly beaten and tortured by members of the SAP. On 30 April, a day after he had identified his assailants in a line-up, a group of masked men came to his home and shot and severely injured both Mr

Ndebele and his girlfriend. The men threw a hand grenade into the room, permanently blinding Mr Ndebele in one eye.

NDEBELE, Khathazile Alter (60), was shot and her home was destroyed in a petrol bomb attack by a named perpetrator in Dlamini, Soweto, Johannesburg, in November 1986.

NDEBELE, Lindiwe Bernadette (29), an ANC supporter, had her home in Pietermaritzburg destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990. See SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NDEBELE, Lymon (65), was shot and his home was destroyed in a petrol bomb attack by a named perpetrator in Dlamini, Soweto, Johannesburg, in November 1986.

NDEBELE, Pretty (20), was shot and her home was destroyed in a petrol bomb attack by a named perpetrator in Dlamini, Soweto, Johannesburg, in November 1986.

NDEBELE, Sibusiso (16), an ANC supporter, was shot by Inkatha supporters at his home in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in 1990. He died the next day. Two other youths were killed and one was seriously injured in the attack.

NDEBELE, Thokozani Brian (14), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Dumbe, Paulpietersburg, Natal, on 18 November 1993.

NDEBELE, Thomas, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Kagiso, Tvl, on 22 August 1990 during conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents.

NDELU, Khanyisile (31), an ANC supporter, had her home and possessions burnt in an arson attack in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 August 1993.

NDELU, Mbandla (65), disappeared during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 6 January 1991. He has never been seen again.

NDELU, Mhlushekelwa (49), an ANC supporter, was shot dead during political conflict near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 2 January 1993, allegedly because he was wearing an IFP T-shirt.

NDELU, Musawenkosi William, an Inkatha supporter, was killed and his house burnt down by ANC supporters at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 5 June 1990.

NDELU, Nellie Nakekile (52), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Umkomaas, near Durban, in August 1991.

NDELU, Robert Bhoiyi, was killed during political conflict in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban. No date is given.

NDEMBU, Andile (21), was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NDESI, Connie Khunjuzwa (30), an MK member, was beaten, tortured and sexually abused, allegedly by ANC security force members, while in detention in Lusaka, Zambia, during 1987. Ms Ndesi was detained

in an Angolan jail for eight months between 1987 and 11 November 1989 for allegedly informing on ANC members who died while being detained in South African prisons.

NDESI, Pilla , a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NDESI, Sithembele Rodwell (23), was severely beaten by a group of delivery men in Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg, in May 1993. Mr Ndesi died two days later as a result of his injuries. Mr Ndesi had been taking part in a protest march when he was chased by police. He fled to a nearby shop and was attacked by the delivery men outside the shop.

NDESI, Sithembiso , an IKONGO member, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in June 1960 in Flagstaff, Transkei, allegedly because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NDEVU, Daniel (31), was shot dead in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 21 November 1993, by named perpetrators associated with a local leader in Crossroads during a period of conflict sparked by attempts to remove Section 2 residents by force.

NDEVU, Fundile Milton (30), was shot by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, in 1985.

NDEVU, Kaya Sheppard (60), an ANC member, was shot and severely injured at his home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 14 November 1990, by named perpetrators associated with the Lingeletu West Town Council, in a period of heightened conflict between the ANC and the town council. Mr Ndevu's colleague died in the shooting.

NDEVU, Themba (30), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP who were dispersing 'comrades' monitoring a consumer boycott in 1985 in Port Elizabeth.

NDHELA, Cynthia (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP members at Lower Illovo, near Durban, on 14 November 1993.

NDHLAZI, Nomadlozi (38), lost her home in an arson attack by ANC supporters during political conflict at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 January 1990.

NDHLOVU, Albert Meshack (39), was detained in Newcastle, Natal, in November 1986, and was tortured with beatings and burning handcuffs by SADF members and a named member of the Special Branch. Police were detaining any Newcastle residents who might possibly be harbouring MK activists, as the area was considered the activists' entry point into the country.

NDHLOVU, Annah Mampe (44), lost her home in an arson attack by 'comrades' in Sebokeng, Tvl, in April 1992 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NDHLOVU, Gezani David (31), was shot in the ankle in Daveyton, Tvl, on 15 June 1992. Mr Ndhlovu was one of many activists preparing to commemorate the SOWETO UPRISING when IFP supporters opened fire on them.

NDHLOVU, Lillian Nthabiseng (19), was severely assaulted in Tokoza, Tvl, in August 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand.

NDHLOVU, Michael Sphiwe (18), was shot dead by an IFP supporter in Alexandra, Johannesburg, while attending a night vigil on 26 March 1991. The incident occurred during heightened conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NDHLOVU, Phumuwakhe Jan (43), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 9 July 1991.

NDHLOVU, Sibusiswe Mabel (71), an Inkatha supporter, lost most of her belongings when her house and store were attacked and damaged during intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, in 1990.

NDHLOVU, Sphiwe Solomon , an ANCYL member, was shot by a member of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in January 1986 during intense political conflict in the area.

NDIBAZA, Toto Zithulele (36), was shot dead by named perpetrators in KTC, Cape Town, on 28 January 1986, during clashes between vigilantes known variously as the 'Fathers' or the WITDOEKE, and UDF supporters.

NDIBI, Elvis Slotyi (16), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Molteno, Cape, in December 1990 when he went to investigate gunshots he heard being fired in the neighbourhood.

NDIKI, Mfundo , was shot dead by members of the SAP on 5 March 1986 in East London while he was playing on the street with his friends.

NDIKI, Mzwandile Du Preeze (40), a member of the Duncan Village Residents' Association, was detained under SECTION 29 in December 1986, severely beaten by named members of the Security Branch and held for 18 months in solitary confinement at the Cambridge police station and Fort Glamorgan prison, East London.

NDIKO, Zola Kingsley , a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 8 June 1985 in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

NDIMA, Busiswe (37), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 4 November 1993, allegedly by ANC supporters.

NDIMA, Mandlenkosi (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

NDIMA, Mfanafuthi Henry (19), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP during political conflict at Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 4 May 1984.

NDIMA, Mzimkhulu (16), detained on 16 June 1985 during political conflict in Paterson, Cape. In detention she was severely beaten by members of the SAP.

NDIMA, Zolisile (26), a UDF supporter, was arrested and beaten by members of the SAP in Paterson, Cape,

on 21 June 1986 during a state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NDIMANDE, Bakhethile Thokozile (51), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by named IFP supporters at Mandini, Natal, on 13 January 1994.

NDIMANDE, Bhelikazi, was severely beaten and then burnt to death by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 June 1990.

NDIMANDE, Busangani Busisiwe (22), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndvedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NDIMANDE, Duduzile Eunice (45), was shot dead in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, on 12 July 1993 in continuing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Two of her three children sustained serious gunshot injuries in the attack.

NDIMANDE, Enoch (48), lost his house and all his belongings in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 October 1993.

NDIMANDE, Gilbert Msongelwa (48), was stabbed to death by ANC members during political conflict at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 15 January 1991.

NDIMANDE, Holideni Christinah (49), lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict at Ndombeni, Natal, on 1 November 1992.

NDIMANDE, Jer miah (30), was shot and killed in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 August 1992.

NDIMANDE, Linda Hawulempi (39), was shot dead by named members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Mpandweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 July 1988.

NDIMANDE, Mbhekeni Lucas (23), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Durban in January 1977.

NDIMANDE, Ntombifuthi Precious, was burnt to death in an arson attack on her home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, by alleged IFP supporters on 29 October 1993, because she lived in an ANC stronghold.

NDIMANDE, Sibonelo, an ANC supporter, was shot and seriously injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) in KwaMashu, Durban, in September 1992. The KZP had opened fire on ANC supporters dispersing from a Shaka's Day celebration in the local stadium.

NDIMANDE, Sifiso, an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 August 1988.

NDIMANDE, Smiso Handsome, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NDIMANDE, Thulile (12), was shot and injured in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, on 12 July

1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. His mother was shot dead in the attack, and his sister was shot and injured.

NDIMANDE, Thulisile, was shot and injured in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, on 12 July 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her mother was shot dead in the attack, and her brother was shot and injured.

NDIMANE, Elizabeth Francinah, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, TvI, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NDIMENE, Felix Isaías (24), was abducted from his home in Mozambique after two raids on his home by named members of the SADF, and tortured in Phalaborwa, Gazankulu, in 1982. Under threat of death, Mr Ndimene eventually acceded to SADF demands to become a member of their special forces. He served in Operation Askari in Mozambique and in SADF 5 Recce battalion. Mr Ndimene and a friend tried unsuccessfully to escape from the 5 Recce base at Elephant River, in 1984.

NDINGA, Siphio, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NDINGANE, Selby Zanemali (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Tinis, Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 8 March 1985 while he was attending the night vigil of an unrest victim.

NDINGI, Felokwakhe (57), an Inkatha supporter, was severely injured when the taxi he was travelling in was petrol-bombed by ANC supporters at Pietermaritzburg during March 1990. The taxi was allegedly attacked because it had come from a section considered to be an Inkatha stronghold.

NDINISA, Andile Hubert (15), was shot and injured by a named policeman in Paarl, Cape, on 29 December 1985, during a clash between UDF and AZAPO supporters. He was charged with public violence and held in custody for three weeks before being acquitted.

NDINISA, Ayanda (16), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by masked gunmen who burst into his home and opened fire on the family in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 19 March 1993. Three family members were shot dead and two injured in the attack. One perpetrator, allegedly associated with a local Crossroads leader, was later convicted and jailed for the attack. He was refused amnesty.

NDINISA, Crosby (36), a UDF activist from Paarl, Cape, was severely assaulted by prison warders while serving a sentence for political offences at Pollsmoor and Victor Verster prisons, Cape.

NDINISA, David (44), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 October 1991. Mr Ndinisa was one of 20 people killed and 26 injured in violence following the funeral of civic leader Sam Ntuli. Unidentified gunmen opened fire on mourners from a minibus. At least four of the mourners were killed by members of the SAP. See NTULI FUNERAL.

NDINISA, Nomathemba Ivy (36), was detained by SAP members in Paarl, Cape, on 22 July 1986. She was interrogated and held for several months under emergency regulations at Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town.

NDINISA, Themba Mabridge (23), a UDF supporter, was hacked and beaten to death by AZAPO supporters in Paarl, Cape, on 26 December 1985, during conflict between the UDF and AZAPO that resulted in at least three deaths and several injuries in the town.

NDINWA, Ntomisa, an *iKongo* supporter, was executed at Pretoria Central prison in 1961 for his involvement in the 1960 PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NDISHE, Jerry Msindisi (14), was shot dead by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Beaufort West, Cape, on 1 January 1988.

NDISILE, Yiva, an *iKongo* supporter, was executed at Pretoria Central prison on 29 March 1961 for murdering an alleged police informer during the 1960 PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NDIYASE, Ambrose (65), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 11 March 1994. He had been accused of providing IFP supporters with traditional medicine to protect them from bullets.

NDIZA, Dumisane Gerald Sabbata Dumaro (27), a UDF supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Brandfort, OFS, in 1988, allegedly because of his involvement in a student boycott against unequal treatment by teachers.

NDLAKU, Thobile Maxon (33), an ANC supporter, was tortured and assaulted by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, in 1987. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/076).

NDLAKUSE, Dumisani (20), an ANC supporter, was arrested, tortured and beaten by members of the SAP in October 1985 in East London.

NDLALA, Kuku W ilhemina (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING. 575 people were killed and 2 380 people were injured in clashes between the protesters and members of the SAP during the uprising.

NDLALA, Pat, an IFP member, suffered damage to property when his house was burnt down by ANC members during political conflict in Heidelberg, Tvl, in 1992 or 1993. Mr Ndlala and two other suspected IFP members were on an ANC hit list and were therefore targeted. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/064).

NDLALA, William Mziwakhe (21), an ANCYL member from Richmond, Cape, was severely beaten, together with three other youths, by members of the

SAP in Murraysburg, Cape, after attending a youth rally there in 1993.

NDLALA, Zenze, an ANC supporter, was shot dead during an attack by IFP supporters from Nancefield hostel on Power Park, Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, in February 1991 during ongoing conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers.

NDLAMLENZE, Vusumuzi Alfred (41), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and tortured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 30 March 1993, allegedly by members of the SAP.

NDLANGISA, Lindiwe Lucratia (21), an ANC supporter, lost her home and possessions in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 10 November 1993.

NDLANGISA, Ruth Thadzile (25), an IFP supporter, lost her home at Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 16 April 1991.

NDLANZI, Michael, an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Ntambanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NDLANZI, Sydney, was shot dead by members of the SADF at a night vigil on 15 June 1986 at Likazi section in Nelspruit, Tvl, on the eve of a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING.

NDLAZI, Michael (38), was hacked and burnt to death by IFP supporters at Nancefield hostel in Soweto, Johannesburg, in September 1991 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

NDLAZI, Stanley V uyisile, was stabbed and burnt to death in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 February 1992 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and Soweto residents.

NDLAZI, Sydney, an ANCYL member, was shot dead by members of the KABASA gang and the SADF on 16 June 1986 in KaNyamazane, KaNgwane. He was among a group of people singing freedom songs while returning from an ANC meeting.

NDLEBE, Gabantu (33), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Verulam, Natal, on 23 July 1990.

NDLEBE, Jeanett Nomachule (48), an ANC supporter, had her flat and possessions destroyed in an arson attack on 30 April 1990 in Pholile, Matatiele, Natal, by a group of men carrying traditional weapons and allegedly looking for ANC supporters. Nine homes were burnt in the area that day. At the time ANC supporters were also killed in an attempt to prevent the setting up of local ANC branches in the area.

NDLEBE, Lefu Samuel (24), an ANC supporter, died after being shot by a named member of the SAP in Mashaeng, Fouriesburg, OFS, on 15 March 1992, allegedly because he was thought to have been involved in an arson attack on the house of a policeman.

NDLEBE, Mahlokoma (33), was assaulted by members of the SAP in March 1960 at Isikelo, near Bizana, Transkei, allegedly because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NDLEBE, Michael Mzwandile (27), was shot dead by IFP-aligned 'KHETISI KHEWSA' GANG members on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of an

ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived on the scene but provided no protection, allegedly ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

NDLEBE, Sibongile, was shot and injured by IFP-aligned 'KHETISI KHESWA' GANG members on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived on the scene but provided no protection, allegedly ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

NDLEBENDE, Thiyiwe Magdelina (39), a PAC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by ANC supporters in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, in November 1993, allegedly because she and her family would not participate in a stayaway. There was political tension and conflict between the PAC and the ANC at the time.

NDLEKO, Liziwe Victoria (51), an ANC supporter, had her house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

NDLEKO, Mansizwana Solomon (47), an ANC supporter, had his house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

NDLELA, Alfred Ncobela (34), was shot and burnt to death by Inkatha supporters during political conflict in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 1 April 1990. See SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NDLELA, Bheki, an alleged IFP supporter, was killed and pushed off a train by ANC members between Germiston and Kempton Park stations, Tvl, on 11 November 1993. The perpetrators shot at Mr Ndela and one other person, killing both. See TRAIN VIOLENCE. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/086).

NDLELA, David (27), was thrown from a moving train after he was severely beaten and stabbed between Croesus and Langlaagte stations, Johannesburg, on 28 April 1992. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

NDLELA, Dumisani Ber nard (37), died in police custody at Inchanga, Natal, on 24 December 1992. He had been arrested earlier that day, allegedly because of his affiliation to the ANC. Police alleged that he had hanged himself in his cell.

NDLELA, Elda Gabisile (34), had her home at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 29 October 1989, allegedly in politicised factional conflict between the Makhatini and Mabheleni tribal groups. Eight Inkatha supporters were killed, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

NDLELA, Emmanuel Siph (27), was stabbed to death by named ANC supporters during political

conflict in Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 23 October 1993.

NDLELA, Evelyn (49), was shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict at Embonisweni near Pietermaritzburg, on 8 March 1993.

NDLELA, Jabulani Richard, was abducted and killed by 'necklacing' by alleged IFP members on 30 March 1991 in Wartburg, Natal, during territorial conflict between ANC and IFP to establish a stronghold area.

NDLELA, Jabulani, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Utrecht, Natal, on 3 January 1992.

NDLELA, Lizo (19), a COSAS member, was severely tortured, beaten and suffocated by members of the SAP in 1985 in Cradock, Cape.

NDLELA, Magnificent Mbongiseni (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters and members of the SAP, in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 23 November 1991. He was allegedly involved in defending his neighbourhood from an impending attack by IFP supporters.

NDLELA, Mandla Joseph (17), a UDF supporter, was pursued and stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 20 July 1986.

NDLELA, Mondli Elias 'Sqopho' (27), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by named members of the Security Police in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in March 1990.

NDLELA, Moses (41), a member of MAWU, was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters, allegedly assisted by the police, during political conflict in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in 1990.

NDLELA, Nokuthula Milicent (37), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE at Zamani, Umlazi, Durban, in December 1991.

NDLELA, Nokuzola (27), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NDLELA, Nomalizo Rose (34), was detained for three weeks and tortured by members of the SAP in Verulam, Natal, in August 1990.

NDLELA, Qedi, an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by other named ANC supporters at Pietermaritzburg on 29 June 1990 during a serious internal dispute.

NDLELA, Sindile (33), was shot dead by members of the SAP during a police raid in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 14 September 1978.

NDLELA, Siph (27), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 12 April 1991 when the bus in which he was travelling was ambushed by unidentified gunmen at KwaDindi, Pietermaritzburg. Two people died and five were injured, including the driver, who still managed to drive the victims to hospital. All the victims were believed by the attackers to be Inkatha supporters.

NDLELA, Thengisile Ethel (28), an ANC supporter, had her house in Pietermaritzburg burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990. See SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NDLELA, Zandile Rejoice (27), had her home destroyed and looted by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1991, allegedly because her brother was suspected of being an ANC supporter.

NDLELA, Zithulele, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death in the Pietermaritzburg city centre on 26 May 1988 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

NDLELA, Zwelakhe (51), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 10 November 1991.

NDLELENI, Luleka Rinnet (30), an ANC supporter, had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed by IFP supporters in April 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NDLELENI, Nelson (43), an ANC activist, was severely beaten by members of the Transkei Police on 6 November 1990 in Sterkspruit, Transkei, during a campaign against chiefs. A local chief had allegedly called for police assistance to look for armed ANC members in the village.

NDLELENI, Nomataru (31), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

NDLELENI, Nonela Faith (8), was severely beaten by members of the Transkei Police on 6 November 1990 in Sterkspruit, Transkei, during a campaign against chiefs. A local chief had allegedly called for police assistance to look for armed ANC members in the village.

NDLENI, Vuyo Gladman, was shot dead by members of the SAP and SADF while participating in a *toyi-toyi* at Centerton, near Hankey, Cape, on 25 May 1986.

NDLETYANA, Tanduxolo (21), was shot by members of the SAP on 12 August 1985 in the streets of New Location, near Molteno, Cape. He was accused of throwing stones at the police during a consumer boycott in the area.

NDLOMO, Nyangayakhe, an ANC supporter, was shot dead during political conflict between ANC or UDF and Inkatha supporters in Isipingo, Natal, on 8 March 1986.

NDLONDLO, Lincoln Lunga (8), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Langa, Cape Town, during 1985, because he was thought to be involved in the unrest in the township.

NDLONGA, Lungisile Selvis (26), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Elliot, Cape, on 12 March 1990 while he was participating in an ANC protest against the municipality.

NDLOU, Zolo (41), an IFP supporter, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NDLOVU (NTULI), Vivian Mbusi (14), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in December 1986.

NDLOVU (ZUMA), Mandla, was shot, burnt and severely injured by named Inkatha supporters at his family home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 8 September 1988. The family was attacked because some members were thought to support the UDF. Mr Ndlovu's sister and one other person were also injured. He has been mentally ill since the attack.

NDLOVU (ZUMA), Thandi Mabel, was shot and permanently injured by named Inkatha supporters at his family home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 8 September 1988. The family was attacked because some members were thought to support the UDF. Ms Ndlovu's brother and one other person were also injured in the attack.

NDLOVU Henry (24), was shot dead by alleged members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 August 1986, during conflict sparked by the rent boycott in the area.

NDLOVU Siphwe (26), was stabbed and injured by alleged IFP members on 29 October 1990 in Soweto. An IFP member had been killed in clashes with the local residents at an Inkatha rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre the previous day. In retaliation to the killing the IFP members attacked the local residents randomly, resulting in several deaths and injuries.

NDLOVU, (first name not given), and other SADF members were the target of an MK hand grenade attack at the SADF base at Nkowankowa stadium, near Tzaneen, Tvl, on 12 April 1990. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/098).

NDLOVU, Absalom Rapelang, an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

NDLOVU, Absolom Thokozani, an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 13 June 1991.

NDLOVU, Albert Hlukananami, an ANC supporter and COSATU shopsteward involved in local peace processes, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Bebhusi, KwaNyavu, Pietermaritzburg, on 29 May 1991. As part of the peace effort, a list of killers had formally been handed to a local police station that day. All the names on the list were reportedly IFP supporters.

NDLOVU, Albertina (49), was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 17 December 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand. Ms Ndlovu's burnt body was discovered in an open field with the bodies of her sister, her son and another woman.

NDLOVU, Alice (23), was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 17 December 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand. Ms Ndlovu's burnt body was discovered in an open field with the bodies of her sister, her nephew and another woman.

NDLOVU, Alice Mamshiqwa (69), an ANC supporter, was harassed, threatened and had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1993. The perpetrators were allegedly searching for ANC youth members.

NDLOVU, Alphod (42), was killed in the 'Battle of the Forest', an unprecedented violent clash between ANC and IFP supporters in timber plantations at Richmond, Natal, on 29 March 1991. Twenty-three IFP supporters were reported killed.

NDLOVU, Andrias Hata-Bohle (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 7 November 1993 in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal. See MOLEFE HOMESTEAD ATTACK.

NDLOVU, Babanyile (64), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack during intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, in 1990.

NDLOVU, Babekile (65), was shot and severely injured by named ANC supporters in Stanger, Natal, on 3 March 1993, allegedly for refusing to join the ANC.

NDLOVU, Basayinile Eunice (41), an ANC supporter, had her home at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1991.

NDLOVU, Bazothini (40), was shot dead while asleep in Pietermaritzburg on 21 November 1991, during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

NDLOVU, Beauty Ntombinkulu (44), an Inkatha supporter, had her family home burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 July 1987.

NDLOVU, Bekamafu (56), an ANC supporter, was shot in the stomach by a named Inkatha supporter in Clermont, near Durban, on 18 September 1988. He was attacked while on duty as a security guard.

NDLOVU, Bheki Christopher (13), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and injured and his home in Mpumaza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, set alight by Inkatha supporters on 16 May 1987.

NDLOVU, Bheki Naftan (13), was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, in June 1985 during a mass funeral for victims killed by hand grenades at KwaThema stadium.

NDLOVU, Bheki Nicholas , was stabbed by Inkatha supporters, allegedly assisted by a named SAP member, during political conflict at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 30 September 1988. The family were accused of being ANC members. Mr Ndlovu's partner was injured and her daughter was killed in the attack.

NDLOVU, Bheki Raphael (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 April 1994 while campaigning for the ANC in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NDLOVU, Bhakisisa (20), an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1991.

NDLOVU, Bhakisisa , was one of eight passengers shot and injured when members of an ANC self-

defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Six other passengers were shot dead. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK.

NDLOVU, Bhekukwenza Raymond (24), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death during political conflict at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 June 1983.

NDLOVU, Bheni , was killed by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Umzinto, Natal, on 26 March 1990.

NDLOVU, Bongamusa (4), was shot and injured by IFP supporters during political conflict at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 26 November 1990. His mother was an ANC supporter.

NDLOVU, Bongani (19), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and injured by alleged ANC supporters on 18 March 1988 in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, Natal, allegedly because of his political affiliation. The victim and his brother were shot while fleeing their mother's house which had been set alight.

NDLOVU, Bongani (25), an MK member, was shot dead in KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 August 1993. Mr Ndlovu, who had recently returned from exile, was collected from his home in KwaMancinza, near KwaMashu, by fellow MK operatives, and his mother was told they were going to a meeting of returned exiles. She never saw him again. She found his body two weeks later, in the Phoenix mortuary. Mr Ndlovu had been selected as an ANC representative to a forthcoming meeting.

NDLOVU, Bongani Michael (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when members of the SADF opened fire on mourners at a night vigil for a slain activist at a house in Molweni, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 14 August 1988. Two people were killed in the shooting.

NDLOVU, Bongani Vusumzi (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by an IFP supporter in Umlazi, Durban, on 6 February 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NDLOVU, Bongani Zephania (27), was killed on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which he was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

NDLOVU, Bongekile V ictoria (34), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down and possessions stolen when a group of IFP supporters armed with AK 47 rifles attacked several homes in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 26 July 1992. Eight people were killed and at least ten seriously injured. The attackers torched eight homes, burning three people to death.

NDLOVU, Bonginkosi Innocent (15), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 4 February 1992. The perpetrators allegedly suspected his family of being ANC supporters.

NDLOVU, Bonginkosi Pios (34), an ANC supporter, was shot in the eye and in the shoulder by members of the KwaZulu POLICE in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 16 January 1990. The police allegedly thought he was going to attend an ANC meeting.

NDLOVU, Bongizwe Petros Bong (20), an ANC supporter, lost his home in Pietermaritzburg in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 28 February 1991.

NDLOVU, Boniwe Mirriam (36), had her house in KwaZaba, Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by named IFP members in March 1991, due to her husband's political affiliation to the ANC.

NDLOVU, Busisiwe (61), lost the contents of her home and tearoom in an attack by ANC supporters during political conflict in Empangeni, Natal, on 7 June 1992.

NDLOVU, Busisiwe Elca (30), an IFP supporter, had her house in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in July 1989. About 1 000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in political violence in Mpumalanga that year, leaving many dead and thousands homeless.

NDLOVU, Christopher Mandlakayisa (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a group of IFP supporters at Ndlovu's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010).

NDLOVU, Daniel, was shot and killed by IFP members during political conflict at Hlanganani Hall, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 February 1992. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NDLOVU, David, was shot and killed by IMBOKOBO vigilantes in Tweefontein, Tvl, on 26 May 1986 during an attack on his mother's house. At the time of the incident there was resistance in the area to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

NDLOVU, December Ephraim, an ANC member, was shot by IFP members during political conflict between the BLACK CATS and ANC supporters at Thembisa, Ermelo, Eastern Tvl, on 7 October 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NDLOVU, Delisile Linah (31), was severely beaten and had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, during May 1990. Ms Ndlovu was nine months pregnant, and allegedly miscarried as a result of the attack.

NDLOVU, Dorcas Ntombizodwa (27), an ANC supporter, had her house in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 30 August 1989.

NDLOVU, Doris (15), was shot and severely injured in a petrol bomb attack on her home by Inkatha supporters on 10 December 1989, in intensifying conflict between IFP and UDF supporters in Ohlange, Inanda, near Kwa-Mashu, Durban. Her father was killed in the attack.

NDLOVU, Dumisani Nicholas (18), was severely injured on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which he was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near

Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

NDLOVU, Dumisani V ictor, a former local ANC leader in Umlazi CC Section, died in May 1992 in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, when he was shot and injured, and then run over by a vehicle. His attackers were a group of ANC supporters, including the individual who had replaced him as leader of the branch.

NDLOVU, Dumisani, was shot and severely injured by a named IFP supporter during political conflict in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 July 1992.

NDLOVU, Duncan Mosheshi, was shot dead when named IFP supporters attacked his home in Umlazi, Durban, on 3 March 1994 in political violence in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The house was burnt down in the attack.

NDLOVU, Ellen Myalo (64), was shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaShozi, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 October 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NDLOVU, Elliot Mphilisi (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 21 August 1989.

NDLOVU, Emmanuel, was shot and severely injured by ANC supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1993, allegedly because his family were suspected of being IFP supporters.

NDLOVU, Eric Bheki (28), was shot dead by a member of the SAP during political conflict in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 March 1994.

NDLOVU, Esi Hildegard (65), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Chibini, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters in 1990.

NDLOVU, Esther Mabatho (20), was badly beaten and injured by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in August 1986 at a night vigil during the state of emergency. While the night vigil was underway, police surrounded the tent, entered and began beating the mourners.

NDLOVU, Eulogius Trusty (aka 'George Matlala'), an MK member, was shot dead by South African security forces in Swaziland in 1984. The Commission was unable to establish the exact circumstances of the incident in which he was killed.

NDLOVU, Eunice (46), an Inkatha supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 March 1988. Her sons were shot and injured in the attack.

NDLOVU, Evelyn (53), was shot and injured, and had her house burnt down, in Sowanjane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 26 September 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NDLOVU, Fransina Magadebe (40), had her house burnt down in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in December 1976 during a conflict over chieftainship between the supporters of rival chiefs.

NDLOVU, Fredrica, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 June 1992. Ms Ndlovu was an IFP organiser and her daughter was a member of the KWAZULU POLICE.

NDLOVU, George Themba (aka 'Michael T ete') (29), an MK operative from Orlando, Soweto, Johannesburg, was shot dead on 8 December 1981 in an ambush by members of the SAP Special Task Force and Eastern Transvaal Security Branch, on the border between South Africa and Swaziland. A fellow MK operative was also killed in the ambush. The car with the two bodies in it was then set alight. The divisional commanders of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal Security Branches, the Officer Commanding the SAP's Special Task Force, as well as several Security Branch and Special Task Force members, were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2001/186).

NDLOVU, Givey Cosmos (12), was killed on 19 February 1994, when four gunmen attacked a house in the rural Mahahle village, near Creighton, Ixopo, Natal, in which he and other ANC youths were sleeping. Fifteen ANC youths were killed in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre.

NDLOVU, Gladwell Thamsanqa (32), had his house burnt down on 27 March 1990 in Ezibomvini, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NDLOVU, Gom Thinabantu Eunice (33), lost her house and all her possessions in an attack by ANC supporters during political conflict in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1993.

NDLOVU, Hamilton Jabulani, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a group of IFP supporters at Ndlovu's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010).

NDLOVU, Hamilton Vuma (45), an IFP member, lost his home and all his possessions when they were burnt down in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 21 November 1991.

NDLOVU, Henry (24), was shot dead by members of the SAP during political conflict following a rent boycott in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 August 1986.

NDLOVU, Hezekiah (63), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, in Manzimnyama, KwaMbonambi, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 15 August 1992.

NDLOVU, Hlabeyakhe Gcinezakhe, an IFP supporter, was shot and killed in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Madakane, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 August 1992.

NDLOVU, Hlaleleni Regina (59), an ANC supporter, had her house in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, petrol-bombed by IFP supporters on 26 November 1990. Her four-year-old grandson was shot and severely injured in the attack.

NDLOVU, Hlengiwe, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaMafunza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in June 1990 in intensifying political conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

NDLOVU, Ida (62), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, in continuing political conflict in the area in April 1991. Ms Ndlovu's son, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters that same month.

NDLOVU, Itumeleng Benjamin (28), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 28 March 1990. Two other people were killed in the attack.

NDLOVU, Ivy Mathofo (52), had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in July 1987 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

NDLOVU, Jabu (17), was shot dead on January 1987 in the KWAMAKHUTHA MASSACRE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirteen people were killed, including eight children, in an attack carried out by Inkatha supporters. Two former Inkatha members were granted amnesty for their role in planning the attack (AC/1999/0332).

NDLOVU, Jabu Florence (42), a NUMSA shopsteward and UDF supporter, was critically injured when named Inkatha supporters and SPECIAL CONSTABLES of the KwaZulu Police attacked her home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 21 May 1989. Ms Ndlovu was shot and forced back into her burning home as she tried to escape. She died a few days later. Her husband and two daughters were also killed in the attack.

NDLOVU, Jabulani Clement (40), was shot dead when named Inkatha supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE attacked his home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 21 May 1989. Mr Ndlovu was shot 15 times before his house was set alight and his body thrown inside. His wife, a UDF and trade union activist who defied Inkatha, and one daughter also died as a result of the attack. The other daughter was badly burnt, but survived.

NDLOVU, Jabulani, an ANC supporter, was abducted, stabbed and shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 5 April 1990. Parents had sent their children to a place of safety outside the area because of political violence. Seven young people were returning home for a visit when they were attacked by Inkatha supporters. One youth survived; the other six were killed in the attack. Police allegedly did not investigate the case.

NDLOVU, Jabulani, was one of five young ANC supporters shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict at Magoda, Richmond, Natal, on 14 July 1991. Residents accused the security forces of involvement, and a top-level police investigation was launched. The chief of Phatheni was arrested in connection with the massacre.

NDLOVU, Jabulile Alice (56), an IFP supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by 'comrades' in Small Farms area, Evaton, Tvl, on 17 August 1990.

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

NDLOVU, Jabulisile Khombisile (36), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NDLOVU, James Mshiyeni (46), was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters during political conflict in Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 14 October 1988.

NDLOVU, James Nkosinathi , a UDF supporter, died after being stabbed 33 times by a named IFP supporter at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 14 August 1992.

NDLOVU, Jameson Felokwakhe (43), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 4 March 1991.

NDLOVU, Japhet V elaphi , a UDF supporter, had his house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NDLOVU, Jerome Dingizwe , a local chief and member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, was shot dead by unidentified gunmen in Ixopo, Natal, on 16 August 1991 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. His daughter was killed in the same attack.

NDLOVU, Jethro Fanlakhe (48), a FAWU member, had his house in Inadi, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by named Inkatha supporters in June 1987, allegedly because he had joined a strike. Several striking workers who were perceived to be UDF or COSATU supporters were targeted for attack.

NDLOVU, Johan , an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

NDLOVU, Johannes (4), was assaulted by IFP supporters who attacked his family home in Woodford, Bergville, Natal, in continuing political conflict on 27 February 1994. The home was burnt down in the attack.

NDLOVU, Johannes Tani Magebhula (41), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Ramsgate, Natal, on 10 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NDLOVU, Joseph Mduduzi (14), was stabbed to death in Katilehong, Tvl, on 6 March 1990 during political conflict on the East Rand.

NDLOVU, Joshua Hlabashana , a UDF supporter, had his house and car damaged by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 October 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NDLOVU, Jotham Mbongeni (40), an IFP supporter, was killed by fellow IFP supporters, one of whom is named, in Gingindlovu, Natal, on 29 February 1992. He was reportedly killed because he worked for Alusaf at Richards Bay, and workers there were believed to be ANC supporters.

NDLOVU, Jotham Zakhele (31), an ANC supporter, was beaten to death by IFP supporters at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 31 August 1990.

NDLOVU, Justice , was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING. During the uprising 575 people were killed and 2 380 others were injured in clashes between protesters and members of the SAP and the riot unit. Most of the protesters were schoolchildren.

NDLOVU, Kgotsaetsile Joel (47), was arrested on 2 November 1990 in Utlwanang, Christiana, Tvl, during a consumer boycott. Mr Ndlovu was actively involved in organising protests against the Christiana town council.

NDLOVU, Khanyisani Ian (8), was severely injured when his family home was petrol-bombed by IFP supporters during political conflict in Port Shepstone, Natal, in March 1991.

NDLOVU, Khili Alpheus (43), an ANC supporter, was shot at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in December 1992.

NDLOVU, Khombaphi Beatrice (66), was shot by members of the SAP during political protests in Lamontville, Durban, on 3 October 1986. Ms Ndlovu was not an active participant in the protests that were occurring at the time.

NDLOVU, Khumbuzile , was shot dead by named Inkatha supporters as she tried to escape from her burning home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 21 May 1989. The attackers had shot her father dead and set fire to the house. Her mother, a UDF and trade union activist, also died as a result of the attack, and her sister was badly burnt.

NDLOVU, Koboza (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by members of the SAP during political conflict in Richmond, Natal, on 10 November 1991.

NDLOVU, Koshosho Amon (52), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by a named IFP member in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1993.

NDLOVU, Kwazi W iseman , a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 16 December 1988.

NDLOVU, Lephina (62), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 at a time of intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NDLOVU, Linda Benedict (22), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 10 February 1990, allegedly while taking part in an attack to avenge the killing of his parents and the burning of his home.

NDLOVU, Lourencia Nhlanhla (16), was shot dead when members of the SAP and IFP supporters attacked the house where she was visiting in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 5 August 1992. Ms Ndlovu was a member of the Emmanuel choir and had gone to the house to comfort the family who had lost their two sons. Several other members of the choir were injured.

NDLOVU, Lucas Themba (20), was shot by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Marble Hall, Tvl, on 31 July 1986 during conflict over the killing of Chief Minister Piet Ntuli.

NDLOVU, Lucas , an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 18 February 1989.

NDLOVU, Lungile Fikelephi (33), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NDLOVU, Makhendlana , was abducted and killed by named Inkatha supporters during political conflict at KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 March 1987. Several other people were killed in this attack.

NDLOVU, Mako Mbuyiselo , an ANC operative, was killed in an ambush on 15 May 1988 while in exile in Angola.

NDLOVU, Makoti Primrose (40), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in June 1993 at a time of intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NDLOVU, Malusi (31), was shot and injured in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 16 February 1992.

NDLOVU, Mandla , an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by named IFP supporters in KwaDandala, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 September 1990. Three other ANC supporters were also killed in the incident.

NDLOVU, Mandlenkosi (26), an ANC supporter, was abducted, stabbed and shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 5 April 1990. Parents had sent their children to a place of safety outside the area because of political violence. Seven young people were returning home for a visit when they were attacked by Inkatha supporters. One youth survived; the other six were killed in the attack. Police allegedly did not investigate the case.

NDLOVU, Maphola Collin (32), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death in a bus by IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 July 1991.

NDLOVU, Mar garet Sizakele , was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at her home in Imbali, Pietermaritz-

burg on 30 July 1989, allegedly because her sons were UDF supporters.

NDLOVU, Masilitso Malilita (25), was severely beaten in Leslie, Tvl, in 1985. Ms Ndlovu was travelling to Delmas with her husband and brother-in-law when members of the SAP assaulted them. They were harassed by members of the SAP as well as Inkatha because Ms Ndlovu's brother-in-law was a UDF supporter. At the time of the incident, Ms Ndlovu was 32 weeks pregnant.

NDLOVU, Masolokohlo Mzonjani (26), was shot dead by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NDLOVU, Matata (75), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters at Pietermaritzburg on 28 February 1991.

NDLOVU, Mathombi Gladys (39), was stabbed to death during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 3 June 1989.

NDLOVU, Mavis Bagcinile (21), was injured when members of the SAP opened fire to disperse a crowd who had arrested and assaulted a woman accused of witchcraft in Simile, Sabie, Tvl, in 1993.

NDLOVU, Maxwell Malusi , was assaulted with stones and sticks and then shot dead by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 December 1989.

NDLOVU, Mbekeni Augustine (50), was shot and killed in Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 22 November 1989 in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING during political conflict in the area. This was the forerunner of the wave of DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS that took place on the Rand in the early 1990s.

NDLOVU, Mbongeni J , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NDLOVU, Mbongiseni , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by other named ANC supporters during an internal feud in Pietermaritzburg, on 29 June 1990.

NDLOVU, Mdunyiswa (30), an ANC supporter, was shot in the leg by IFP supporters at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in 1992.

NDLOVU, Mfanelo Landford (15), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 September 1990.

NDLOVU, Mfanyana Adrius (49), had his home in Elufafa, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters in May 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NDLOVU, Michael (60), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Ngqeza, near Pinetown, Natal, on 8 August 1988. He was an Inkatha supporter living in a UDF stronghold.

NDLOVU, Mkhishwa David (62), had his house burnt down by AMASINYORA and IFP members during political conflict in KwaMashu, Durban, in 1991.

NDLOVU, Mncane Simeon (49), lost his house in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict

at Mgulugulu Ward in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 November 1992.

NDLOVU, Mnimimuzi Phillip (59), was shot dead by members of the IFP Youth Brigade during political conflict in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 9 September 1990.

NDLOVU, Mnyamezeni Upington (60), an ANC street committee member, was beaten and subjected to electric shock torture by members of the SAP in February 1990 while in detention for three months in Johannesburg. Police wanted information about street committee meetings and they were allegedly aiding the RASTA VIGILANTE GANG who were harassing the community at the time.

NDLOVU, Molwana (50), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by named IFP supporters in KwaDandala, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 September 1990. Three other ANC supporters were also killed in the incident.

NDLOVU, Mpikayiphele (54), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and burnt to death by ANC supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 5 October 1992.

NDLOVU, Mr (first name not given), was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 1 April 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR. One person was killed, three injured, and the house destroyed by fire in the attack.

NDLOVU, Ms (first name not given), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 1 April 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR. One person was killed and three injured in the attack.

NDLOVU, Muzikayise Charles (16), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely beaten by members of the AMASINYORA gang in KwaMashu, Durban, in 1991. He was presumed to be an ANC supporter because he was in KwaMashu.

NDLOVU, Muziwendoda, an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by a named Inkatha supporters and others at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 7 October 1989.

NDLOVU, Mxolisi Bheki (21), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP during political conflict in Pietermaritzburg, on 5 April 1988.

NDLOVU, Mzingelwa Elija (37), was shot dead by ANC supporters during political conflict at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 21 March 1993.

NDLOVU, Ndlanhla, was shot dead in Umlazi, Durban, on 17 January 1990, when members of the KWAZULU POLICE opened fire a student protest march in the area.

NDLOVU, Nester (64), an ANC supporter, had her home in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by named IFP supporters on 3 March 1994. The attack was allegedly directed against her sons, who were ANC supporters. One son was shot dead in the attack.

NDLOVU, Nhlanhla John, an MK operative, died in Luanda, Angola, in October 1987, allegedly after an army truck fell on him.

NDLOVU, Ningi Bella (68), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters in KwaNdebele, on 17 December 1991.

NDLOVU, Nkanyiso Reginald (46), was shot dead by ANC supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 23 March 1994, in political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NDLOVU, Nkosenye Ephraim (40), was shot and severely injured by a named Inkatha supporter during political conflict in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, on 27 November 1988.

NDLOVU, Nobuhle Pride, was badly burnt as she tried to escape from her burning home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 21 May 1989. The attackers, named Inkatha supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE, had shot her father dead and set fire to the house. Her mother, a UDF and trade union activist, and sister also died as a result of the attack.

NDLOVU, Nomagesi Ivy (42), was shot and injured on 8 March 1993 when the bus in which she was travelling was ambushed by armed IFP supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg. The bus was taking 80 ANC supporters to Pietermaritzburg to attend the court appearance of three men implicated in the ambush of a vehicle carrying IFP supporters on 5 March 1993. Three men and a woman were killed and at least 16 people were injured.

NDLOVU, Nomakhaya Mabel (37), had her home petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 December 1989. Her husband was killed in the attack. Ms Ndlovu was pregnant at the time and accused by the perpetrators of carrying "a UDF".

NDLOVU, Nomakhosi Nohlanhla (39), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NDLOVU, Nombukiso Resina (56), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in 1992.

NDLOVU, Nombulelo Florence (26), had her house burnt down on 16 February 1993 in a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, allegedly in the course of conflict over access to resources. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down in the attack.

NDLOVU, Nompumelelo Pellegrine (27), lost her house in an arson attack by named members of the KWAZULU POLICE on 25 November 1989 in Umlazi, Durban.

NDLOVU, Nomsa Grace (36), had her house near Hillcrest, Natal, burnt down by UDF supporters in political conflict on 12 June 1988.

NDLOVU, Norman Hlababwa (23), was injured in a petrol bomb attack by ANC supporters while attending a wedding at the home of a well-known IFP leader in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1991. A limpet mine was detonated at the wedding ceremony, killing six people.

NDLOVU, Nor man, was killed during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 3 June 1992.

NDLOVU, Nozimukuthu Nokuthula (35), an ANC supporter, was almost killed when members of the

SAP fired shots at her house in Richmond, Natal, on 10 November 1991.

NDLOVU, Noziphiwo Catherine (26), was stabbed and injured by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 October 1990. An IFP supporter had been killed in a clash with local residents during an IFP rally at Jabulani stadium the previous day. In retaliation, IFP supporters randomly attacked local residents, killing and injuring them.

NDLOVU, Nqobile Mildred (19), a member of the IFP Youth Brigade, was shot dead at the home of a prominent IFP leader at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992, allegedly by ANC members. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

NDLOVU, Ntokozo Aubrey (20), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 25 April 1986.

NDLOVU, Ntombikayise (57), an Inkatha supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 21 September 1988.

NDLOVU, Nyawozabantu , was stabbed to death and his body burnt by ANC supporters in Ixopo, Natal, in intense political conflict in the area on 1 May 1990.

NDLOVU, Pambuyise (56), had his house and possessions burnt in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters during political conflict in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in June 1990. His two sons were prominent ANC members.

NDLOVU, Patrick (24), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 August 1986 during conflict sparked by a rent boycott in the area.

NDLOVU, Paul (39), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 February 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. About 35 houses were reportedly burnt down in Bhambayi that month.

NDLOVU, Pelele Sibengile , an ANC supporter, had her home at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in 1989.

NDLOVU, Petros Mbongeni , was shot, stabbed, beaten and burnt to death in ongoing political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 February 1990.

NDLOVU, Phikinkani Bongani , an ANC supporter, was shot dead and his body mutilated by a group of IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban.

NDLOVU, Philisiwe Alzina (41), an ANC supporter, had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by members of the AMASINYORA gang in KwaMashu, Durban, in 1991.

NDLOVU, Phumelele (22), was shot dead on January 1987 in the KWAMAKHUTHA MASSACRE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirteen people were killed, including eight children, in an attack carried out by Inkatha supporters. Two former Inkatha members were granted amnesty for their role in planning the attack (AC/1999/0332).

NDLOVU, Phuthunywa (34), had her home burnt down in Ezimbokodweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near

Durban, on 5 November 1985 in continuing conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters following the killing of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in neighbouring Umlazi in August 1985.

NDLOVU, Pita Julius (73), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down and his cattle stolen by IFP supporters at Nkwezela, Bulwer, Natal, on 13 June 1992.

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

NDLOVU, Raphael , was stabbed and severely injured by named perpetrators during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters at Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 19 September 1987.

NDLOVU, Rash Annaclete (39), had her house in Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict in September 1990.

NDLOVU, Richard Fana (36), a NUM member, died on 7 April 1992 in detention at Ogies, Tvl. Police claim he hanged himself but the family believes that police were involved in his death.

NDLOVU, Richard Mzomuhle (42), an Inkatha supporter, had his business premises in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters on 9 August 1985 in political conflict following the killing of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge. In March 1992, Mr Ndlovu lost his home when it was occupied by a named ANC supporter.

NDLOVU, Robert Dinkebo (35), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by named ANC members at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 10 September 1990.

NDLOVU, S'thembele (6), was shot dead on January 1987 in the KWAMAKHUTHA MASSACRE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirteen people were killed, including eight children, in an attack carried out by Inkatha supporters. Two former Inkatha members were granted amnesty for their role in planning the attack (AC/1999/0332).

NDLOVU, Sabelo Meshack (22), was shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict in Estcourt, Natal, on 6 June 1993. Mr Ndlovu was allegedly suspected of being an ANC member.

NDLOVU, Sarah Obeline (37), an ANC supporter, had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 23 February 1993. About 35 houses were reportedly burnt down in Bhambayi that month.

NDLOVU, Selby (24), was shot and seriously injured by a named Inkatha supporter during political conflict near Hammarsdale, Natal, in July 1986. It is alleged that Mr Ndlovu was shot because did not take part in Inkatha activities and was therefore perceived to be a UDF supporter.

NDLOVU, Setha Simon , an Inkatha supporter, was stoned and fatally injured when ANC supporters attacked a local chief's house in Elufafa, Ixopo, Natal, on

1 May 1990. Mr Ndlovu, who was visiting the chief at the time, was taken to hospital, but died on 9 May 1990.

NDLOVU, Sibongile (30), was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 1 April 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NDLOVU, Sibusiso (17), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 4 December 1991. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

NDLOVU, Sibusiso (21), an ANC supporter, was abducted, stabbed and shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 5 April 1990. Parents had sent their children to a place of safety outside the area because of political violence. Seven young people were returning home for a visit when they were attacked by Inkatha supporters. One youth survived; the other six were killed in the attack. Police allegedly did not investigate the case.

NDLOVU, Sibusiso Joseph, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Ezizhazeni, Nqutu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 3 March 1993. Mr Ndlovu was at the home of ANC-aligned Chief Molefe when he was shot by unidentified IFP supporters returning from a funeral.

NDLOVU, Sibusiso Pius, an MK operative, and two others were abducted in Phoenix, Durban, on 18 November 1988 by Port Natal Security Branch operatives. The three were taken to a railway line in Phoenix, told to kneel down and shot dead. Their hands were placed on a limpet mine, which was then detonated to create the impression that they had blown themselves up. Five Port Natal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/112).

NDLOVU, Sifiso Ephraim, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a group of IFP supporters at Ndlovu's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010).

NDLOVU, Sifiso, an ANC supporter, was attacked and injured by IFP supporters in Ekwandeni, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 March 1992.

NDLOVU, Sihlangu Mbula, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NDLOVU, Sindisiwe Hlengiwe (15), was killed on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which she was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

NDLOVU, Siphwe (26), was stabbed and injured by IFP members in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 October

1990. The day before, an IFP member had been killed in clashes with local residents following an Inkatha rally. In retaliation, IFP members allegedly randomly attacked local residents, causing deaths and injuries.

NDLOVU, Siphonginkosi (42), an ANC supporter, had his belongings stolen by named IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in September 1990.

NDLOVU, Siphon Elijah (50), an SAYCO member, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Steadville, Ladysmith, Natal, in August 1992.

NDLOVU, Siphon Elias (56), an IFP supporter, was stoned to death by named ANC supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 February 1994.

NDLOVU, Siphon Samuel (26), was on his way home from work on 18 June 1983 when he was shot and injured by SADF members patrolling the township of Lamontville, Durban.

NDLOVU, Siyabonga Sabelo (15), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by a named Inkatha supporter and others at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 7 October 1989.

NDLOVU, Siyabonga Zamokwakhe (19), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 October 1987.

NDLOVU, Sizeni (32), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a group of IFP supporters at Ndlovu's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010).

NDLOVU, Skhumbuzo Erol (27), a SACCABU organiser, was arrested and detained by a named member of the SAP in Durban in 1989. Police allegedly wanted him to act as an informer for them.

NDLOVU, Sphiwe (6), was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 17 December 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters, during intense political conflict in the area. Sphiwe's burnt body was discovered with those of his mother, his aunt and another woman in an open field.

NDLOVU, Suprise (49), had his house burnt down by UDF supporters during political conflict near Hammarsdale, Natal, in 1986.

NDLOVU, Suzan Sisinyane (63), lost her house and all her possessions in an arson attack by a named ANC member in Bloemfontein on 31 August 1990. Ms Ndlovu was suspected of being a 'spy' for a COUNCILLOR. Councillors and their associates were frequent targets for attack during this period.

NDLOVU, Tenjiwe Mirriam (58), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, burnt down by fellow Inkatha supporters on 11 February 1989, after they had accused her grandson of sympathising with the UDF and ANC.

NDLOVU, Thandazile, was shot dead by named ANC supporters in Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 4 August 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Three other persons, believed to be IFP supporters, also died in the attack.

NDLOVU, Thandiwe Minah (34), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, in April 1991.

NDLOVU, Thathe Letty (56), had her house burnt down by members of the 'Amakati' vigilante group in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in October 1985. Her husband was working at Sarmcol at the time, and was not participating in the strike. See SARMCOL STRIKE.

NDLOVU, Themba Andrews (48), an ANC member, was shot dead by members of a conflicting ANC faction in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 6 July 1991.

NDLOVU, Thembekile Flora (62), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NDLOVU, Thembi Cathreen (40), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990 in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NDLOVU, Thembinkosi Charles, was killed in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 3 June 1992.

NDLOVU, Thembinkosi Patrick (22), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten, stoned and left for dead by named IFP members at Mpolweni, near Wartburg, Pietermaritzburg, on 5 November 1992.

NDLOVU, Thenguni M (63), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Mvutshini, near Hluhluwe, Natal, on 21 March 1994, in political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NDLOVU, Thoko (25), was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 1 April 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NDLOVU, Thoko Norah (39), an ANC supporter, lost her house when it was attacked by a large group of unidentified men during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Entshawini, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, in 1992. The Ndlovu family had been warned of the attack, and fled the house before the attackers arrived. They did not return to the area.

NDLOVU, Thokozani Goodman (23), was shot dead during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, in 1991.

NDLOVU, Thomas, was shot dead in Katilehong, Tvl, in May 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NDLOVU, Thulani Fano (43), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NDLOVU, Tobias Joseph (43), an IFP supporter, had his house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down on 13 July 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NDLOVU, Tshengisile Eunice (37), an IFP supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in March 1991.

NDLOVU, Vamhle Lina (52), lost her house in an arson attack by a named IMBOKODO vigilante in Tweefontein, KwaNdebele, on 26 May 1986 during conflict over the INCORPORATION OF MOUTSE into KwaNdebele.

NDLOVU, Velaphi Elman (43), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters in Mgwagwa, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 13 September 1990.

NDLOVU, Velaphi Ntombazane (41), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 September 1993.

NDLOVU, Velaphi William, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

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

NDLOVU, Vincent, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 8 February 1992.

NDLOVU, Vusumuzi (45), lost his house in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 May 1993.

NDLOVU, Vusumuzi Eugene (19), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and stabbed by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 10 July 1993. About 11 people were killed in political conflict in the area that day.

NDLOVU, Vusumuzi William, a SARHWU member, was severely beaten and tortured with electric shocks by members of the SAP after he was arrested in Ermelo, Tvl, in 1985 during school boycotts.

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

NDLOVU, Zakithi Mbongeni Michael, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 25 December 1992.

NDLOVU, Zamandlovu (38), was shot and severely injured by a named member of the SAP in Ohlange, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 22 September 1985 at a time of political tension and conflict in the area. Ms Ndlovu was hit by a bullet that entered her house through a window. She is permanently paralysed as a result of her injuries.

NDLOVU, Zandle, an ANC supporter, was attacked and injured by IFP supporters in Ekwandeni, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 March 1992.

NDLOVU, Zanele Mayvis (36), had her house destroyed in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Adams Mission, near Durban, during 1992.

NDLOVU, Zapo Michael (49), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death by IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 July 1991.

NDLOVU, Zenzele (21), an ANC supporter, was abducted, stabbed and shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 5 April 1990. Parents had sent their children to a place of safety outside the area because of political violence. Seven young people were returning home for a visit when they were attacked by Inkatha supporters. One youth survived; the other six were killed in the attack. Police allegedly did not investigate the case.

NDLOVU, Zinhle Cecilia (36), lost her houses in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in December 1992.

NDLOVU, Zinhle Eugenia , an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named Inkatha supporter in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 25 December 1983. In September 1988, the family home was burnt down by Inkatha supporters, seriously injuring Ms Ndlovu's sister and one other person.

NDLOVU, Zinhle Nomusa (20), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NDLOVU, Zwelakhe Mazwe (19), a South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) member, was severely beaten by IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG members in Tembisa, Tvl, in July 1990 while discussing crime prevention at a SAYCO meeting.

NDLOZI, Samuel , an employee of Rand Water, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 February 1992. Four people died and eight were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225).

NDO, Abraham Walter Magama , survived a shooting incident in which a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on Mr Ndo and his friend in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 2 February 1993. Mr Ndo's friend was shot dead by the SDU member, who believed he was under attack when he opened fire. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2001/140).

NDOBE, Lucas Johannes (31), was shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Soshanguve, Pretoria, in 1986 when police opened fire on a meeting at the stadium.

NDOBE, Mukhacani Samson , was injured in a hand grenade explosion in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 31 July 1992. An ANC self-defence unit (SDU) member threw the grenade while in a confrontation with police. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/090).

NDOBE, Northandazo Magdaline (65), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 February 1990 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

NDOKWENI, Anthony Sakhelipe (60), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 24 April 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

NDOKWENI, Ms (first name not given), was forced by Inkatha supporters to leave her home at Mapumulo Stairs, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 24 April 1990, allegedly because her father was an ANC supporter.

NDOMILE, Siphiso David (12), was injured when a device given to him by SADF soldiers exploded in his hands in Colesberg, Cape, on 15 June 1979.

NDONDO, Batandwa (22), a former student activist, was abducted, shot and killed by a member of the Transkei Security Branch and a group of *Vlakplaas askaris* at Cala, Transkei, on 24 September 1985. The commander of *Vlakplaas* and an *askari* were granted amnesty for the incident, while the Transkei Security Branch member was refused amnesty (AC/2000/057).

NDONDO, Mbulelo (7), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Stutterheim, Cape, on 11 November 1985 when police fired shots at random to disperse a group of demonstrators. Mbulelo was walking with a friend nearby when he was shot.

NDONGENI, Paulina Nolungile (45), a UDF supporter and women's activist, was detained and severely beaten by named vigilantes, together with police, in Robertson, Cape, on 15 June 1986. She was held under emergency regulations for several months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NDONGENI, Siphwe , was injured on 29 July 1986 when an MK unit attacked the Madeira police station, in Umtata, Transkei. At least eight people were killed in the attack, including policemen, civilians and one of the MK operatives. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

NDONGENI, Siphso Bowden (60), had his house burnt down on 26 July 1992 when armed IFP supporters attacked several homes in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban. See FOLWENI MASSACRE.

NDONGENI, Vukile 'Pikoko' (61), an ANC supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by named vigilantes, together with police, in Robertson, Cape, on 15 June 1986. He was then detained under emergency regulations for three months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NDONI, Buyisile (15), was charged with public violence after being accused of setting alight a school in Cradock, Cape, on 24 April 1985. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. On 16 October 1985, he was stabbed to death by named fellow prisoners.

NDONI, Nontobeko Edith (50), an ANC supporter, was detained by named members of the SAP in May 1986 in Jansenville, Cape, allegedly because they wanted information about her daughter, an activist, and about people who burnt houses in the area.

NDOTSHAYISA, Melvin Nkwenkwe , was shot dead in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, on 24 September 1985 by Municipal Police looking for 'the boys'.

NDOTSHAYISA, Norita Regina (24), was severely beaten by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE during protests in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, on 24 September 1985.

NDOU, Fanyisani , was burnt to death and her house set alight by a group of community residents in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two ANC supporters were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094).

NDOU, Makuvhile Andries Budeli , was burnt to death and his house set alight by a group of community residents in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two ANC supporters were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094).

NDOU, Ratshivhanda Samson (30), an ANC supporter, was arrested and severely tortured in detention by named members of the Security Branch in Pretoria, in May 1969 and from December 1981 to January 1982 for his involvement in ANC underground activities during this period.

NDOVELA, Gladness Bongzi (40), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at KwaXolo, near Ramsgate, Natal, on 6 March 1994 during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NDOVELA, Nkosinathi Emmanuel (16), was shot and severely injured at KwaXolo, near Ramsgate, Natal, on 6 April 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NDOVELA, Owen Zanini (28), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 15 August 1992.

NDOVELA, Samuel Njabulo (20), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 April 1993.

NDOVELA, Sibodade (40), lost her home and all her possessions in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 April 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NDOVELA, Simphiwe Cent (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by named IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 September 1992, allegedly because he refused to take part in an IFP self-defence training camp.

NDUDULA, Jeremiah Kolekile (21), a COSAS member, was severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police in 1984 in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, because of his involvement in student activities. At the time, students were protesting against the tri-nation Parliament in Ciskei, and demanding the establishment an SRC to replace the prefect system.

NDUDULA, Mongezi Martin (28), an ANC supporter, was shot by ADM supporters during political conflict in Dimbaza, Ciskei, on 23 December 1993.

NDUKU, Jonginkomo (51), a PAC member, was arrested in 1963 after the Poqo attacks and police shootings in Paarl, Cape, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town, for membership of a banned organisation. While serving his sentence, he was assaulted by prison warders.

NDUKWANE, Terry, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by gunmen in a red minibus in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1992 during political conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

NDULI, Nomusa (56), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NDULI, Nsimangwana Khipheni (39), was shot dead and her house was burnt down by ANC supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NDULI, Ntani , was assaulted by Witwatersrand Security Branch operatives on an unspecified date between 1989 and 1992 at the Alexandra Security Branch offices, Johannesburg (AC/2001/249).

NDULI, Ntombiyesizwe (58), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NDULINI, Thembakuphi (30), was shot and killed in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 September 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NDULULA, Vuyo Disco (24), a UDF activist, was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP while detained at Signorama police station, Aliwal North, Cape, in May 1986.

NDUMBA, Hester Nongaith , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, on 5 May 1991. Bekkersdal was embroiled in intense conflict between ANC, IFP and Azapo supporters at the time.

NDUMO, Dingindawo (71), was shot dead during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 12 May 1989. He was singled out and killed while travelling on a bus from work.

NDUMO, Doris , an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 3 December 1993.

NDUMO, Evelyn , was shot dead by members of the IFP-aligned 'KHETISI KHESWA' GANG on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at the mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived on the scene but provided no protection, allegedly ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

NDUMO, Martha Hapile (20), was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) near Small Farms, Tvl, on 15 August 1993. Another woman was killed in the same incident. The two were believed to have been IFP collaborators. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0346).

NDUMO, Sipho Wellington (36), an IFP supporter, was stoned by ANC supporters on 15 January 1992

during a violent labour dispute in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, between members of COSATU-aligned FAVU and IFP-aligned UWUSA.

NDUMO, Tobi Mar tha (63), an IFP supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Nkwezela, Bulwer, Natal, in April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NDUNA, Bongani Wilson (16), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, in 1990 after he returned from a meeting at the Boipatong football ground.

NDUNA, Sifanele Kenneth (38), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 11 August 1976 in Langa, Cape Town, during the SOWETO UPRISING. Over 20 people were shot dead that day.

NDUNAKAZI, Khaladi Elsie (63), an IFP supporter, had her house in Shakaville, Natal, looted and destroyed by fellow IFP supporters in 1993, because she was thought to have sympathies with the ANC.

NDUNAMVULA, Nelson , an ANC member, was killed on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed.

NDUNGA, Jabu Roda (38), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NDUNGANE, Joe Lungile , a UDF supporter, was hacked to death and his mutilated body was found in the mortuary on 9 July 1986 in Port Elizabeth. Police harassed mourners present at his night vigil.

NDUTI, David , was seriously burnt near Crossroads, Cape Town, on 28 April 1986, and died a week later. He and a colleague, both employees of an electrical firm, were driving back to their office when their vehicle was stoned and petrol-bombed by protesting youths. His colleague also died in the attack.

NDWALANA, Sishosanke Gilbert (70), an Inkatha supporter, was killed by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 31 March 1990. His son was also killed in the attack, and his home was bunt down.

NDWALANE, Christopher Fanile (21), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, in December 1990.

NDWALANE, Irene Love , had her house in Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 25 December 1990 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

NDWALANE, Ivy Goko , was shot dead by named IFP supporters during political conflict in Mbayimbayi, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 14 January 1991. She was reportedly killed because she was not attending IFP meetings and because her sons were ANC supporters.

NDWALANE, Linda Edward (36), was shot dead on January 1987 in the KWAMAKHUTHA MASSACRE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirteen

people were killed, including eight children, in an attack carried out by Inkatha supporters. Two former Inkatha members were granted amnesty for their role in planning the attack (AC/1999/0332).

NDWALANE, Liwa Sivyon (48), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 July 1991. Mr Ndwalane, known to be an IFP member, was travelling in an ANC no-go area.

NDWALANE, Momo W ilton , an IFP supporter and *induna*, was shot dead by unidentified ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 December 1991, allegedly because of his political affiliation and position.

NDWALANE, Moto , an IFP supporter, was shot dead by named ANC supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 July 1992.

NDWALANE, Namusa (34), was shot dead on January 1987 in the KWAMAKHUTHA MASSACRE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirteen people were killed, including eight children, in an attack carried out by Inkatha supporters. Two former Inkatha members were granted amnesty for their role in planning the attack (AC/1999/0332).

NDWALANE, Newone (58), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters in the Mbotsha area near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 December 1990.

NDWALANE, Nkomazana (64), lost her husband, son and home in an attack by ANC supporters during political conflict in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 31 March 1990. The perpetrators burnt her home after killing her husband, an Inkatha supporter, and her son.

NDWALANE, Patrick Wasazi (25), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by fellow ANC supporters during internal political conflict in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 November 1990.

NDWALANE, Richard (52), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in the Mgaga area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 8 November 1992.

NDWALANE, Salukazi Patricia (43), an IFP supporter, had her house at Bethany Mission, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down on 11 March 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NDWALANE, Thandazile Gretta (34), an IFP supporter, had her house in Marina Beach, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 30 August 1992.

NDWANDWE, Beatrice , lost her house and possessions in an arson attack in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in early 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NDWANDWE, Elphas , was killed during an attack by armed ANC members on the house of a school principal in Phola township, Ogies, Tvl, on 13 October 1991. The principal was regarded as an IFP sympathiser because IFP supporters often visited him at home. One ANC member was granted amnesty for his role in the attack (AC/2000/091).

NDWANDWE, Fikile Betty (34), lost her home in an arson attack by named and other ANC supporters

during political conflict in Umlazi, Durban, in November 1989. She was allegedly attacked because her son and grandson refused to join the ANC.

NDWANDWE, Fundakwezakhe , an employee of Rand Water, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 February 1992. Four people died and eight were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225).

NDWANDWE, Mkhonzeni Anthony (30), a trade unionist, was shot and seriously injured when members of the KWAZULU POLICE ambushed his car in Eshowe, Natal, on 4 May 1991. The bullet is still lodged in his back. Mr Ndwandwe had been visiting relatives in hospital following an IFP arson attack on the family home. The car driver was killed and another passenger was seriously injured.

NDWANDWE, Mzikayifani , an employee of Rand Water, was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 February 1992. Four people died and eight were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225).

NDWANDWE, Mzuthini Obed , was killed when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

NDWANDWE, Phila Portia (aka 'Zandile' or 'Zandī') (23), acting head of MK's Natal military machinery in Swaziland, was abducted from Manzini, Swaziland, in October 1988 by members of the Port Natal and Natal Security Branches. She was taken first to Onverwacht, Tvl, then to the Elandskop farm, near Pietermaritzburg, and interrogated at both places. After refusing to become an *askari*, Ms Ndwandwe was shot in the head and buried in an unmarked grave on the farm. Her fate remained unknown until amnesty applications were filed by Port Natal Security Branch operatives. Her body was exhumed by the Commission and reburied by her family. Five Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for the abduction and killing (AC/2001/112).

NDWANDWE, Sibusiso Khonzise , had his home destroyed in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Mandini, Natal, on 24 April 1991. His mother and grandfather were killed in the attack. Ten days later Mr Ndwandwe was shot and seriously injured when members of the KWAZULU POLICE ambushed his car in Eshowe as he was returning from visiting family members in hospital following the arson attack. The car driver was killed and another passenger was seriously injured in the attack.

NDWANDWE, Simon Thamsanqa (31), a member of the SAP, was shot and wounded when MK operatives attacked the police station at Osizweni, KwaZulu, near

Newcastle, Natal, on 10 October 1986. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/068).

NDWANDWE, Stanley Sandile , was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

NDWANYA, Lungile Sydwel (19), was shot and injured by named members of the Ciskei Police in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 16 December 1986, when police attacked him and three other people on their way to church. One person was killed. The perpetrators were charged and one was convicted and sentenced to 28 years' imprisonment. The other turned state witness.

NDWAWONDE, Ghini Khanyisile Daphney (27), was raped and stabbed to death during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 July 1987.

NDYAL VAN, Mandiso Macdonald (22), a UDF supporter, was arrested, taken to a church with several other youths and severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Hofmeyr, Cape, on 14 February 1989. He was accused of being involved in the killing of Sam Sani, who was burnt to death. He was charged with murder and held without bail for five months, after which the charges were withdrawn.

NDYAMARA, Themba , a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP during political conflict in Cookhouse, Cape, on 16 July 1987. Before the attack, he had been detained at Cookhouse police station and Rooihell prison, Somerset East, because of his political activism.

NDYEBI, Andile Witbooi (20), was assaulted with rifle-butts by members of the security forces who arrested him on 3 August 1985 in Ndubane, Adelaide, Cape. He died on his way to hospital.

NDZABA, Thandi (19), an ANC supporter, was shot in the thigh in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, in April 1993 when members of the SAP opened fire on *toyitoying* youths protesting against the killing of SACP leader, Chris Hani.

NDZAKAYI, James Mzimkulu , was shot and injured in June 1986 in Nyanga, Cape Town, during the attacks on UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed in the attacks and 20 000 homes destroyed.

NDZAMA, Joyce (9), was shot dead outside her home in Daveyton, Tvl, by members of the SADF who were passing the house.

NDZAMELA, Ian Ndibulele (24), an MK operative, was detained and tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, in 1987. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/076).

NDZANDZE, Loyiso (21), a COSAS activist, was detained following a demonstration during a student

boycott at King William's Town, Cape, in August 1985. While in detention, he was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP. He was taken to hospital with severe head injuries. He fell into a coma and died three days later.

NDZEKU, Freddy (14), was shot dead when police fired on a student protest march in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 19 April 1990. Four other protesters were killed and seven were injured in the shooting.

NDZILANE, Ndodana Mlungisi Har old (27), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NDZIMA, Douglas Mawethu (24), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, on 13 October 1985, several hours after a man was stoned to death by a crowd. There was extensive unrest in the township at the time, including SCHOOL BOYCOTTS, attacks on perceived collaborators and police shootings.

NDZIMELA, Naniwe Zofonia , an ANC activist, was detained for three years in Bizana, Transkei, and tortured for his involvement in the NONQULWANA incident. Mr Ndzimela suffered severe ill-health for the rest of his life. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NDZIMELA, Saul Ngxamile , an ANC supporter, was arrested and beaten while in detention in Bizana, Transkei, in June 1960, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NDZIMELA, Sithembiso Robert , was assaulted and had his property destroyed in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over the area's INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported the incorporation of Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted incorporation.

NDZISHE, Rennick , was shot dead on 19 May 1986 near Crossroads, Cape Town, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

NDZIWENI, Mthuthuzeli (37), a sergeant in the MUNICIPAL POLICE, was stabbed and stoned to death by a named perpetrator during political conflict in Adelaide, Cape, on 27 July 1986.

NDZOBELLE, Colbert Thamsanqa , was severely injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Botha Sigcau Building, Umtata, Transkei, on 17 April 1986. He later died of his injuries. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

NDZONGW ANE, Kolase David , (21), an ANC supporter, was beaten to death by members of the SAP on 10 November 1986 in Aliwal North, Cape.

NDZOYIYANA, Madodana , disappeared in 1961 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. He has never been seen again.

NDZUBE, Jackson (34), was detained with four others under emergency regulations in Somerset West, Cape Town, in April 1960, during the anti-Pass Law campaign. He then served six months of a one-year sentence before winning an appeal.

NDZUBE, Ntombi Monica (17), was shot and injured by members of the SADF while on her way home from school in Port Elizabeth on 21 July 1986 during the state of emergency.

NDZULE, Wellington Mxolisi (23), a PAC supporter and Rastafarian, was severely tortured by SAP members while in detention in Goodwood and Bishop Lavis police stations, Cape Town, on 3 March 1986. The police thought he had information about the GUGULETU SEVEN. He was charged, but the case was later dismissed.

NDZUMO, Kolisile Saul , a former Transkei cabinet minister, died of excessive bleeding after he was detained by the Transkei Police in 1980 in Idutywa, Transkei.

NDZUNGA, Tembisa (2), was stabbed and injured by migrant workers from the hostels in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, in political conflict between Nyanga residents and hostel-dwellers during the Christmas 1976 period. Twenty-nine people died in the clashes and many more were injured.

NDZUNGU, Elvis Ngajuse (29), disappeared from Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, in March 1988, during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters.

NDZUZO, Lulamile Dani (17), was abducted and shot dead by a member of the SAP in Stutterheim, Cape, on 28 August 1988 during the state of emergency. Police claimed that Mr Ndzuze had been trying to escape from the charge office when he was shot. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NEBE, Wandile (20), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NEDE, Phillemon Nqaba (75), was severely beaten by a named farmer in March 1990 in Elliot, Cape, allegedly because he attended an ANC march to register grievances and demands at the magistrate's office. He later died of the injuries sustained during the beating.

NEELS, Hendrik (19) was arrested with ten other friends in Carnarvon, Cape, on 16 June 1986, for wearing black ties commemorating those who died in the SOWETO UPRISING. He was repeatedly beaten by named members of the SAP at the police station and detained for 72 days under emergency regulations at Carnarvon and then at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NEELS, Phillip Peter (17), was arrested with ten other friends in Carnarvon, Cape, on 16 June 1986, for wearing black ties commemorating those who died in the SOWETO UPRISING. He was repeatedly beaten by named members of the SAP at the police station and

detained under the emergency regulations for 72 days at Carnarvon and then at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NEER, Dennis Sehloho, an ANC supporter and trade union leader, was detained and severely tortured by the helicopter method, beating and attempted suffocation by named members of the Security Police at Louis le Grange Square police station, Port Elizabeth, in August 1985 during the partial state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NEFOLOVHODWE, Wildred, lost his home in an arson attack by a group of community residents in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two ANC supporters were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094).

NEL, Anton, a corporal in the South African Air Force (SAAF), was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the SAAF headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

NEL, GJ, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

NEL, Jan Johannes, suffered severe trauma on 23 March 1993 when APLA operatives, armed with automatic weapons and hand grenades, stormed the Yellowwoods Hotel, in Fort Beaufort, Cape, and opened fire on staff and patrons. One person was shot dead in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/225).

NEL, Jeanne Y olette, an employee of the National Peace Secretariat, suffered extensive shrapnel and brain injuries in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

NEL, Joachim Mar tinus, a member of the SAP, was shot dead by a captured MK operative being transported in the back of a police vehicle in Messina, Tvl, on 26 December 1986. A colleague was shot dead in the incident. The MK operative escaped, was recaptured and sentenced to death, but was later released as a political prisoner. The MK operative was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/093).

NEL, Mhlabeni Jacob (44), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and

members of the SAP as they searched for his daughter on 4 April 1986 in Zolani, Ashton, Cape.

NEL, N, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

NEL, Nomvula Mar garet (36), was severely beaten by AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and members of the SAP as they searched for her daughter on 4 April 1986 in Zolani, Ashton, Cape.

NEL, VA, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

NEL, WA, and other SAP members, survived an explosion when the armoured vehicle in which they were travelling detonated a landmine in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 16 February 1986. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his part in causing the explosion (AC/2000/195). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

NEL, WP, a civilian, was shot at when armed MK operatives attacked the Wonderboompoort police station, Pretoria, on 26 December 1981. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

NELANI, Mzwanele Melton (21), was shot in the head in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 9 June 1986 by a named member of the SAP who fired pellets at people attending a mass funeral. In a court case afterwards, police accused Mr Nelani of burning the house of the perpetrator. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, with two years suspended.

NELANI, Simon (23), an ANC supporter, was detained under emergency regulations in February 1987 at Kirkwood, Cape, and held for six months during which he was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP who allegedly wanted to know the whereabouts of his brother, also an activist. He was detained twice during this period.

NELANI, Zoyisile William (21), an ANC member, was detained and tortured in 1960 and 1963 in the Transkei area, Cape. In 1971 he was again detained and tortured in John Vorster Square police station, Johannesburg by named Security Policemen. In 1976 and 1977 he was detained in the Transkei, each time for six months, during anti-independence protests. After being detained in 1979 in Umtata, Cape, he was severely tortured in an East London police station. He was charged with treason, convicted, and served five years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

NELUSHI, Matodzi Alphonso (27), was detained by members of the Venda police in Vuwani, Venda, on 7 August 1989, allegedly because they believed him to be in possession of ANC literature. He was held in detention for 90 days, during which he was tortured.

NELUSI, Mulala Edward (25), a member of the SAP, was severely injured by APLA supporters in an attack on a police vehicle at Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 28 May 1993. Another police member was killed in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0050).

NEMAVHOLA, Aifheli Mecro (36), was present when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

NEMBIDZANI, Khantshi Willie (30), was detained and tortured in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in April 1993 during conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

NEMBULA, Eugene Senzo (20), an ANC supporter, was shot in the heart by an IFP supporter in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 12 November 1992. The incident followed the killing of a police officer.

NEMBULA, Thiyabantu (57), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by an IFP supporter in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 9 December 1992.

NENE, Andries (29), an ANC supporter, had his home set set alight by IFP supporters in Matshaheni, near Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 14 December 1990. Mr Nene escaped with burn wounds, but his twin brother was burnt to death inside the house.

NENE, Bekinkosi Selby Norman (20), a COSAS member, was severely beaten, tied to a chair and burnt with cigarettes while in detention in Newcastle, Natal, in August 1986. Mr Nene played a prominent role in the organisation of political meetings and boycotts during the state of emergency.

NENE, Bongani Ewert , was shot dead by named members of the Chesterville A-TEAM during political conflict in Chesterville, Durban, on 30 December 1986.

NENE, Clemencia B (63), was abducted and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Elufafa, Ixopo, Natal, on 18 June 1990, allegedly during an attack targeting her daughter, who was an ANC supporter. Her house was burnt down in the same incident.

NENE, Cliff Siboniso (22), was stabbed, beaten and stoned to death by Inkatha supporters during political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 June 1987.

NENE, December Anthony , an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Bhekezulu, Estcourt, Natal, on 11 January 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NENE, Elizabeth Nobuhle (42), an ANC supporter, had her home at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. Eight people were killed and more than 120 homes were burnt down. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

NENE, Florence Fisani (34), an ANC supporter, had her house in Elufafa, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by named Inkatha supporters on 18 June 1990. Her mother was abducted and stabbed to death in the attack.

NENE, Henry Wilson Mduduzi (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and hacked to death by Inkatha supporters near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 20 October 1989.

NENE, Jabulile Mildred (42), had her house burnt down in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 November 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

NENE, Johan Ntandoyenkosi (30), an ANC supporter, was stoned, stabbed and beaten to death by a named AZAPO supporter during conflict between the two organisations in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 6 April 1990.

NENE, Mandla Abednigo (42), was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

NENE, Mathombi Norah (27), had her house in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in 1991.

NENE, Michael Siphos (33), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a UDF breakaway group known as the 'Msimango Boys' and members of the AMAVARAVARA during political conflict in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, 3 March 1990. Seven other people were killed in the attack.

NENE, Mqanjelwa Mathews (38) an ANC supporter, had his house in Pietermaritzburg set alight on 1 March 1990 during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

NENE, Musawenkosi Frank , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NENE, Nelisiwe (43), had her furniture stolen and her house petrol-bombed by IFP supporters during political conflict in Eshowe, Natal, in 1993.

NENE, Ngenbeni Minah Makhanyile (63), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict at Matshaheni, near Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 14 December 1990. One of her sons, an ANC supporter, was burnt to death inside the house while the other managed to escape with burn injuries.

NENE, Nomusa Rebecca (23), was stabbed to death by Special Constables during political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 December 1989. She was allegedly targeted because she had a relationship with an ANC supporter.

NENE, Pius (29), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death when his home was set alight by IFP supporters in Matshaheni, near Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 14 December 1990. His twin brother managed to escape with burn injuries.

NENE, Sibusiso Kenneth (21), a UDF activist, was shot dead by named member of the KWAZULU POLICE during

political conflict in Umlazi, Durban, on 2 October 1990. Two other UDF supporters were also shot and killed in the same incident.

NENE, Siph (34), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Mpopophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 14 April 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Seven people were killed in the fighting.

NENE, Siphumelele (9), was shot in the leg by Inkatha supporters at Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990 during the SEVEN-DAY WAR. Her grandfather was fatally injured in the attack.

NENE, Steven (72), sustained severe head injuries when he was beaten by members of the Ciskei Police at Tamara police station, King William's Town, Cape, during November 1990. The attack took place shortly after Brigadier Oupa Gqozo had deposed Lennox Sebe as ruler of the Ciskei. Police wanted Mr Nene to disclose the whereabouts of Lennox Sebe, who had gone into hiding, as they believed that Mr Nene was in telephone contact with him. As a result of the assault, Mr Nene was mentally impaired.

NENE, Thandiwe Augustinah (43), had her home in Eshowe, Natal, burnt down in an arson attack in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in 1993.

NENE, Thembisile Annie (44), an ANC supporter, had her house in Ogunjini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 25 May 1993.

NENE, Theresa Lindi (33), was severely beaten by members of the SAP and the SADF in Tembisa, Tvl, on 4 August 1990 during a protest by inmates of the Thafeni hostel demanding permanent residence.

NENE, Vusumuzi Jacob Hezekia, a member of the SAP, was shot and wounded when MK operatives attacked the police station at Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 10 October 1986. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/068). On 23 November 1986, he lost both his legs in a limpet mine explosion at the Newcastle magistrate's court, Natal. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/139).

NENE, Wilson Mduduzi (29), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 October 1989.

NENE, Zephania Mnuakwa, was shot at his home in Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, by named members of Inkatha on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR. He died a week later. His granddaughter was injured in the same attack.

NENGOVHELA, Shonisani Maria (31), was severely beaten in conflict over support for the Venda Independence People's Party, in Nzhelele, Venda, in July 1984.

NENGWEKHULU, Mandela W ilson (46), was severely beaten by named perpetrators during a clash between two royal families in Davhana, Vuwani, Venda, in November 1985.

NENTSA, Jacobus Fikile (39), was detained in Robertson, Cape, in late 1985, and charged with public violence. He was released after three months in

custody. Mr Nentsa was hit on the head with an axe and injured by a named vigilante in June 1986. He was then arrested on 19 June 1986, severely tortured by named Security Policemen, and detained for several months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NENTSA, Nomawonga Debrah (18), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten on 18 June 1986 by vigilantes, together with police, and forced to clean the township in Robertson, Cape. She was then detained for three months under emergency regulations at Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NENZHELELE, Rebecca, was burnt to death and her house set alight by a group of community residents in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two ANC supporters were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094).

NETSHAKHUMA, Aida T akalani, was one of the bus commuters stopped by Venda Police at a roadblock at Vleifontein near Louis Trichardt, Tvl, on 16 April 1986. They were sjambokked on the way to the police station because their identity books were not stamped 'Venda'. They were later charged with resisting INCORPORATION into Venda.

NETTLETON, Gavin Edward (46), a member of the SADF, was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

NEVILLE, Barry Ar thur, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

NEWBY-FRASER, B, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

NEWENGA, Kate Sibongile, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NGABINDE, Anna Mmapule, was severely injured when a hand grenade thrown by MK operatives exploded at her son's house at Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 13 October 1985. Her son, a member of the SAP, and his wife were injured in the explosion. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/260).

NGABOM, Mandlakapheli (37), was shot dead in Mandela informal settlement, Katlehong, Tvl, on 22 May

1993, allegedly by members of the ISU. Mr Ngabom was caught in crossfire when clashes broke out between ANC and IFP supporters and police after a group of unidentified gunmen fired at Tokoza hostel during a march organised by the ANC to present a petition at the Alberton police station. Nine people were killed and 69 were injured during this incident.

NGAKANE, Aaron (80), was stabbed to death in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 9 November 1992 during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

NGAKANE, Japhtha Mabuti, was stabbed to death by a named perpetrator on 7 July 1990 in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, during a protest against the bucket toilet system.

NGAKANE, Mar tha, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NGAKANE, Shaude Saul, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NGAKI, Galelekile A very (43), an ANC supporter and deputy station commander at Zwelitsha, was banished from the Ciskei in 1977 after witnessing atrocities committed by the GREEN BERETS. He returned in 1983 as Ciskei Police Community Relations Officer and in October 1986 was held in solitary confinement, stripped naked, tortured and sexually assaulted by named Ciskei Security Branch members in Zwelitsha, Ciskei. He had allegedly defied orders by releasing undisclosed information to the press.

NGAKI, Mboneli Shepherd (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the Ciskei Police in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 9 August 1983, while on his way to work during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

NGALA VU, Sithembele, an iKONGO supporter, was detained and tortured in June 1960 in Lusikisiki police station, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NGALO, Makaya Eugene, an ANC supporter, was killed in a shoot-out with members of the SAP on 11 July 1986 in Fort Jackson, Ciskei. Three others were also shot dead in the incident.

NGALO, Nkosinam (30), a Poqo member, was executed in Pretoria Central prison, Pretoria, on 9 May 1963 for killing a headman in Cofimvaba. Poqo attacked representatives of traditional authority in the homelands because chiefs were seen as collaborating with the apartheid state. During October 1962 an attempt was made on Chief Kaiser Matanzima's life and residents of Jixini Location who had been arrested in Cape Town

or Mqanduli, were transferred to East London, to stand trial for Poqo activities during the 1960s.

NGALO, Ntombina (33), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF during conflict between ADM and ANC supporters at KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 26 December 1991.

NGALO, William (38), a FAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while participating in labour strike action in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 4 December 1992. Two police vans entered the work premises and police members opened fire on the striking miners, injuring six.

NGALO, Willy, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters while attending a funeral vigil in Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. Police were cracking down on UDF and ANC supporters in the area, apparently in preparation for the TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE later that day.

NGAMLANA, Sicelo Alfred (19), was severely injured when he was beaten and shot by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, in 1985 during a curfew permitted by the emergency regulations. Mr Ngamlana suffered permanent injuries.

NGAMLANA, Xolani Luyanda (25), an MK operative, was severely assaulted and tortured by 'tubing' and stabbing while he was detained at Cambridge police station, East London, on 16 April 1986. Mr Ngamlana had refused to identify his MK commander in a photograph.

NGAMLANE, Mawethu Chesters (25), a NUMSA member, was repeatedly assaulted by named members of the Ciskei Police in Mdantsane police station, Ciskei, in August 1985. He was detained and released after seven days. He was also charged with public violence and detained at Zone 12 police station for 16 weeks, during which he was tortured and denied medical attention.

NGAMNTWINI, Twelve (56), an ANC supporter, was killed when he was shot in the head by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NGAMONE, E, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

NGANGE, Funeka Nobantu, was 'necklaced' to death by named ANC supporters on 4 June 1990 in Komga, Cape. Her mother was accused of practising witchcraft following the death of a community member who had bought liquor from her shebeen. Her mother was also burnt to death in the attack.

NGANGE, Nombande Nomriti, was 'necklaced' to death by named ANC supporters on 4 June 1990 in Komga, Cape. She was accused of practising witchcraft

following the death of a community member who had bought liquor from her shebeen. Her daughter was also burnt to death in the attack.

NGATI, Sefako Ishmael , was injured in a shooting by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960. Police opened fire on a crowd of unarmed people holding a peaceful protest against the Pass Laws, killing 69 people and injuring several others. Mr Ngati was reportedly then detained for a month.

NGAWENI, Mahleka Wilson , was shot and injured by members of the KHUMALO GANG on 24 October 1991. Mr Ncaweni reportedly became a target after he allegedly witnessed the shooting of a young woman by the leader of the gang. The Khumalo gang, based in Tokoza, had close links with the IFP and was reportedly involved in the murder of key political leaders in the area.

NGAWU, Dlavini (45), was shot by IFP supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, on 9 June 1992 during a violent confrontation between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

NGCAKA, Ayanda Perez (25), was detained by members of the SAP in August 1985 in the West Bank prison, East London, allegedly for information about people who were petrol-bombing police Casspirs.

NGCAKA, Thembekile (8), was shot by members of the SADF during political conflict in Duncan Village, East London, in March 1986. He died as result of complications arising from the injury.

NGCAKO, Jerry Johannes (20), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Mhlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, in September 1990. On the day of his arrest there was a march by West Rand Mine employees and Mr Ngcako was accused of instigating violence against AZAPO supporters.

NGCAMU, Abel (61), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NGCAMU, Bhelikizitha Victor (26), was severely beaten when IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, attacked the home of his cousin, an ANC supporter, in Ntuzuma, near Durban on 5 August 1992.

NGCAMU, Elizabeth Babhekile (38), had her house burnt down by UDF supporters during political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in September 1988.

NGCAMU, Mathanzima , an ANC supporter, was abducted, stabbed and shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 5 April 1990. Parents had sent their children to a place of safety outside the area because of political violence. Seven young people were returning home for a visit when they were attacked by Inkatha supporters. One youth survived; the others six were killed in the attack. Police allegedly did not investigate the case.

NGCAMU, Muziwamandla Moses (23), was shot dead by UDF supporters in political violence at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 17 January 1990.

NGCAMU, Princess Nomusa (20), lost her house in an arson attack by UDF supporters at Swayimane,

Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 October 1989, allegedly in politicised factional conflict between the Makhathini and Mabheleni tribal groups. Eight Inkatha supporters were killed, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

NGCAMU, Sibusiso Josias (30), an ANC supporter, was killed by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 18 March 1991.

NGCAMU, Simon Fono , a UDF and ANC supporter, was shot dead and had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 19 February 1988.

NGCAMU, Sipho Hlulukwenza (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 May 1994 in political conflict following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NGCAMU, Sipho Meshack (58), had his house damaged and looted in Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NGCAMU, Solomon , an ANC supporter, was injured when he was abducted, stabbed and shot by Inkatha supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 5 April 1990. Parents had sent their children to a place of safety outside the area because of political violence. Seven young people were returning home for a visit when they were attacked by Inkatha supporters. One youth survived; the other six were killed in the attack. Police allegedly did not investigate the case.

NGCAMU, Theodora (59), lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 March 1994.

NGCAMU, Tshotsho Alice (45), a UDF and ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 19 February 1988.

NGCANA, Lizo , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 17 November 1985 while attending a meeting at the Nonzwakazi Methodist Church in Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape. See QUEENSTOWN SHOOTINGS.

NGCANA, Ntombizodwa Victoria (29), an ANC supporter, was abducted from a house in Brandfort, OFS, on 12 July 1990 by masked men identified by a witness as 'comrades'. She was later found burnt to death in a house in Brandfort. It was alleged that she had evidence pertaining to the killing of her boyfriend by the same perpetrators.

NGCANA, Xolile Edward (17), an ANC supporter, was abducted from his grandmother's home, which was set alight by named ANC youth members, in Brandfort, OFS, on 16 July 1990. He was threatened with death and taken to a local stadium but was saved by the police. Some of the perpetrators involved in this abduction were also involved in the abduction and killing of Ntombizodwa Ngcana in Brandfort four days earlier.

NGCANGELA, Abel Ngame (17), was beaten to death by members of SACP-aligned *Shenxas* vigilante group on 23 May 1993 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, during conflict between residents and the *Shenxas*.

NGCANU, Solomon Nkonzo (30), was shot and injured in an arson attack on his home at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994, during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NGCECE, Makosazana Flor ence (44), had her house in Umlazi, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict in March 1992. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for her son, an ANC supporter.

NGCECE, Moses Nhlanhla (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an arson attack on his home at KwaMashu, Durban, by Inkatha supporters on 20 January 1990.

NGCECE, Simon Hlopimi (71), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in his house during political conflict at Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 June 1993.

NGCECE, Stanley Thulani (20), an ANC supporter, was beaten, shot and killed by other named ANC supporters in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 7 November 1991, during internal political conflict between ANC supporters and the AMAVARAVARA. Six people were killed and 15 seriously injured in the fighting.

NGCEMU, Bernard Mahawule (69), an IFP supporter, had his home in Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 26 June 1993.

NGCEMU, Bhokizizwe (46), had his house destroyed in an arson attack during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1993.

NGCEMU, Fikile Mavis (27), lost her house in arson attack by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Siwela in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 June 1990.

NGCEMU, Low Gladys (58), lost her home and her shop in an attack by ANC supporters during political conflict in Ixopo, Natal, in 1992.

NGCEMU, Wiseman Zola, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters during political conflict in Ixopo, Natal, in 1992.

NGCIPHE, Norman Bantwini (27), an ANC member and a medical intern, was shot dead by SADF Special Forces operatives on 9 December 1982 in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats on Maseru, Lesotho. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. Mr Ngciphe was from Somerset East, Eastern Cape.

NGCIPHE, Vuyani Andries (25), a SAYCO leader, was arrested and interrogated after assisting in organising the Dimbaza Youth Congress in 1985. He was arrested again in Cradock shortly afterwards and detained in St Alban's prison, Port Elizabeth. He was severely tortured by electric shocks, attempted suffocation and other methods, by named and other members of the Security Police at Berry's Corner police station, Port Elizabeth.

NGCOBO (SHANDU), Agnes Jabisile (51), lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters during ongoing conflict in the Gingindlovu area, Natal, in

September 1991. She was allegedly attacked because her sons had refused to participate in an IFP campaign.

NGCOBO, Aaron Goli (47), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 7 December 1987. He was allegedly targeted because he was a councillor for the local IFP *induna*.

NGCOBO, Abigail (24), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in January 1991. She and her family fled and hid in nearby bushes. They saw the perpetrators empty their house of all valuables and then set it alight.

NGCOBO, Adelaide Duduzile (57), an ANC supporter, had her house in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by named members of the KWAZULU POLICE on 22 September 1991 in an attack allegedly directed against her son. Three family members were severely injured in the attack. One died a few days later from smoke inhalation. The family was forced to flee the area.

NGCOBO, Alice (81), was burnt to death in an arson attack on her home during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, on 16 January 1993. Her husband and son, both ANC supporters, and her granddaughter were also burnt to death, while her daughter managed to escape with a stab wound.

NGCOBO, Alpheus Bafanyana (56), an ANC supporter, was killed in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 September 1990.

NGCOBO, Andile (2), was shot and killed by ANC supporters at Nomhele Reserve, Mapumolo, Natal, on 15 March 1992. Three people were killed and two were severely injured. One ANC member was refused amnesty (AC/1997/0045).

NGCOBO, Andrew Sono (aka 'Solly') (27), an ANC member from Soweto, Johannesburg, was shot dead in an ANC safe house on 16 December 1984 in Manzini, Swaziland. The incident occurred soon after the ANC had been banned in Swaziland and at a time when there were several shooting incidents involving Swazi and South African Security Branch operatives.

NGCOBO, Anna (70), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Bahle Florence (39), was severely beaten with rifle-butts by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, in March 1990. Ms Ngcobo had purchased land on the edge of an ANC area in Umlazi, and had been harassed by Inkatha supporters who branded her an ANC supporter. This attack occurred when members of the KWAZULU POLICE responded to a call for help. Ms Ngcobo was unable to occupy her property due to the intimidation.

NGCOBO, Bajabulile Doris (45), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Baliwe Bertina (60), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Okhalweni, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 May 1991. Political violence claimed the lives of at least 31 people during April and May 1991, and rendered about 200 people in the area homeless.

NGCOBO, Balungile (3), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death in an arson attack on her home during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Ndalen, Richmond, Natal, on 16 January 1993. Balungile's grandparents and her uncle, an ANC supporter, were also burnt to death, while her mother managed to escape with a stab wound.

NGCOBO, Bambekile Qondeni (68), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Bathini (47), lost her house and possessions in an arson attack during intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in June 1990.

NGCOBO, Baveni Philemon (59), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 17 May 1990.

NGCOBO, Bawinile Gladys (13), was severely injured when members of the SAP threw teargas canisters at her and shot her in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 11 September 1985. She had allegedly contravened the emergency regulations by *toy-toying* in the street.

NGCOBO, Beauty Balekile (54), an ANC supporter, had her house vandalised and looted by IFP supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NGCOBO, Bekisisa Elias Petrus (59), lost his home in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 January 1993.

NGCOBO, Bele Patrick (37), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 November 1989. He had been shot and injured earlier at an Inkatha meeting. He was admitted to Mpumalanga Clinic, where he was shot again and killed.

NGCOBO, Benjamin Bhelikazi (49), was shot and seriously injured by Inkatha supporters at his home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 4 August 1987. The perpetrators claimed to be bringing news of his two sons, UDF supporters, who had refused to renounce their organisation and had fled the area. In February that year a named Inkatha supporter and others had demanded that Mr Ngcobo beat up his sons because of their UDF affiliation.

NGCOBO, Benjamin, an employee of Rand Water, was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 February 1992. Four people died and eight were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0225).

NGCOBO, Benjamin, was severely injured when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi

rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Bhkamafunze Paul (42), had his house and other property destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters during political conflict at Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 13 September 1987. Though non-partisan, he was suspected of being an Inkatha supporter.

NGCOBO, Bhokani (20), was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE during political conflict in KwaMashu, Durban, on 29 March 1990. He had been abducted three days previously.

NGCOBO, Bheki Zephania (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 13 November 1991. His family home in Murchison was later burnt down.

NGCOBO, Bhelithemba (38), had his two rondavels in the Vekeza Reserve, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 3 February 1994, allegedly because his sister's children, who lived with his family, were ANC supporters.

NGCOBO, Bhelkizwe Philemon (42), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Bhelkwenza W alter, had his car set alight by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Mophela, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NGCOBO, Bhizeni Idah (36), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Bhutiso Alson, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 October 1989. Several people were killed and houses burnt down in political clashes on that day.

NGCOBO, Bonakele Mavis (Mamsomi) (46), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Bonani Idah (50), had her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 16 February 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Bongani Sipiwe (30), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in May 1992 in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in continuing conflict between supporters of the ANC and the IFP.

NGCOBO, Bongani, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIM TRAIINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people

were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NGCOBO, Bongebani (54), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Bongekile Benedicta (33), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Bonginkosi Cyrial Ngcoeni (18), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named perpetrators in Dambuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 May 1991, allegedly because he was thought to have sympathies with the IFP. His two brothers were also killed in the same incident. The perpetrators were convicted, sentenced and imprisoned for the killings.

NGCOBO, Bongive (23), an Inkatha supporter, was severely beaten, stabbed, shot and set alight by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 July 1989. Her brother had been injured and her home burnt down in June 1989.

NGCOBO, Bongive Daisy (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down in violent conflict between UDF supporters and AMASINYORA vigilantes at Siyanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. Between 200 and 300 homes were burnt down in conflict, which erupted shortly after Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

NGCOBO, Bonisiwe Anatoria (19), was killed on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which she was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Boy Isaac (56), was stabbed to death by a named IFP supporter in Mazambane, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg on 14 November 1990, during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NGCOBO, Boyi Petrus (48), had his house destroyed and property damaged in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 November 1991.

NGCOBO, Bulalumuzi Joan (70), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Busisiwe Vimbephi (24), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Busisiwe Zibuyile (28), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Bususiwe Tengisile (59), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Buyaphi (35), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Buyaphi Eddie (55), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Catherine (49), had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict in Ogunjini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1991.

NGCOBO, Charles Zenzele , was shot in the back during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in May 1991.

NGCOBO, Christina (42), lost her house in an arson attack by UDF supporters during intense political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1989.

NGCOBO, Clementine Nomakholid (58), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Constance Ntombenye , had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Ladysmith, Natal, in April 1994 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her grandson was shot and killed before the perpetrators set fire to the house.

NGCOBO, Cosmos Bona (60), was burnt to death when his family home was set alight during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, on 16 January 1993. Three other family members were also burnt to death, while Mr Ngcobo's sister managed to escape with a stab wound.

NGCOBO, Delani (1), sustained burn wounds on his stomach when UDF supporters burnt down his family home during intense political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1989.

NGCOBO, Diokwakhe Arson (43), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Diulephi (45), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Doda Moses , an IFP supporter, was beaten and stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 December 1993.

NGCOBO, Dombi Catherine (45), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Donald Siphwe (18), an ANC supporter, was detained in Umlazi, Durban by members of the SAP during political conflict following the assassination of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in August 1985. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

NGCOBO, Doreen (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Doris Mathombi, an ANC supporter, had her house in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, set alight by IFP supporters in January 1991.

NGCOBO, Duba John (53), was stabbed to death on 13 September 1990 by armed men who boarded a Soweto-bound train at Jeppe station and began their attack as the train passed through George Goch station. The attackers moved through three carriages, killing approximately 26 people and wounding 45 others. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAINVIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

NGCOBO, Dudu Evangeline (69), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Umlazi, Durban, petrol-bombed by ANC supporters on 4 September 1986.

NGCOBO, Dumazile (45), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 January 1988.

NGCOBO, Dumazile Alescia (33), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 8 March 1993, when the bus in which she was travelling was ambushed by armed IFP supporters at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg. The bus was taking 80 ANC supporters to attend the court appearance in Pietermaritzburg of three men implicated in the ambush of a vehicle carrying IFP supporters on 5 March 1993. Three men and a woman were killed, and at least 16 people were injured.

NGCOBO, Dumazile Busisiwe (42) an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Dumephi Bertina (48), an IFP supporter, had her house in Madakane, Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 9 July 1992.

NGCOBO, Elias Siphwe (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in 1989, when members of the SAP opened fire on a group of ANC supporters allegedly guarding the area against an expected attack. Four people were killed in the incident.

NGCOBO, Elinah Behlikile, was shot and severely injured in her home by named ANC supporters during political conflict at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in 1991. One of her sons had already been killed and her grandson severely injured in the ongoing political violence in the area.

NGCOBO, Elizabeth (57), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Elizabeth (61), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo,

Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Elizabeth Jima (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters who attacked her home near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 February 1992. Her husband was also shot dead in the attack.

NGCOBO, Ellen Nonacala (31), an ANC supporter, had her five rondavels in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Elsie Elizabeth (46), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by named IFP supporters at Emangwaneni, Bulwer, Natal, in November 1991.

NGCOBO, Ephraim Mqapheleni (28), an NUM member, was stabbed and injured when Inkatha supporters attacked striking NUM members attending a meeting in the company hall at the Hlobane Colliery, near Vryheid, Natal, on 6 June 1986. Eleven miners were killed and 115 injured.

NGCOBO, Ernest Mfana (54), was shot dead by members of the SADF during political unrest in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 June 1991.

NGCOBO, Ethel (52), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by named IFP supporters in Ngonweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 15 November 1992.

NGCOBO, Fanzi Douglas (56), an ANC supporter, had his house in Nkwezela, Bulwer, Natal, and his vehicles destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in 1992.

NGCOBO, Felokwakhe (46), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Felumuzi (57), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Florah Joyce (37), lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 7 December 1991. The perpetrators had allegedly come from neighbouring Lindelani to attack the area.

NGCOBO, Frank, was shot and killed and his son wounded by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at his home in Katilehong, Tvl, in 1993. Mr Ngcobo was believed to be an IFP supporter. The applicant testified that he was instructed, at a meeting of the SDUs and the community, to bring Mr Ngcobo to the meeting, where all IFP members would be ordered to leave the township. If Mr Ngcobo refused, the applicant was instructed to kill him. One SDU member was granted amnesty for this killing (AC/1999/0348).

NGCOBO, Funani Ida (54), was severely beaten and had her house in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/ Natal burnt down by IFP supporters on 6 January 1992. Ms Ngcobo was attacked while returning from a funeral vigil for her nephew, an active ANC member who had been killed. She was allegedly targeted because of her relationship to the slain activist.

NGCOBO, Gabazile Velephi (63), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near

Durban on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Galanti Anna (47), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Inkanyezi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 November 1991.

NGCOBO, Galota Getrude (57), lost her house in an arson attack by UDF supporters during political conflict near Wartburg, Natal, on 29 October 1989.

NGCOBO, Gcinefikile (55), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured and had her house burnt down by a named fellow IFP supporter at Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 20 April 1991. The family was allegedly attacked because some members refused to attend IFP self-defence training camps. Her husband was killed in the attack. Afterwards, Ms Ngcobo changed her political affiliation.

NGCOBO, Godfrey Thamsanqa (41), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, in Umlazi, Durban, on 18 May 1991.

NGCOBO, Goodman Sithombe, was shot and injured when ANC supporters attacked alleged IFP supporters in Mguqile, Ezingqolweni, Natal, on 22 May 1993. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/99/0236).

NGCOBO, Graginah (28), was shot and killed during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 16 November 1990.

NGCOBO, Green Maseline (45), had her house in Ensimbini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 5 May 1993, allegedly because she lived in an IFP stronghold while her son was an active ANC supporter.

NGCOBO, Henry Mthanzi (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 July 1992.

NGCOBO, Herbert (50), an IFP supporter, was severely injured when he was assaulted by a group of ANC supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 June 1991. He was accused of going to work in defiance of a stayaway call to commemorate the Soweto uprising.

NGCOBO, Hloniphile Josephine (38), an ANC supporter, had her house in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, set alight by Inkatha supporters on 26 January 1988.

NGCOBO, Hloniphile Sibongile (28), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Imanuel Gayisani (47), an ANC supporter, had his house in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 4 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Innocent Sanele (18), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 March 1994, a week before the SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Irvin Mlungisi (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead at Lamontville, Durban, on 18 November

1988, while attending a night vigil for a 'comrade' who had been killed.

NGCOBO, Isaac (50), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead during intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 April 1990.

NGCOBO, Ivy Thembekile (60), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Jabulile Felicity (33), a UDF supporter and member of JORAC, fell and lost her unborn baby when she was attacked by a named Inkatha supporter in Lamontville, Durban, in 1983.

NGCOBO, Johannes Khethokuhle (20), was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 February 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NGCOBO, John V elaphi, had his house burnt down by IFP members during political conflict in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1991.

NGCOBO, Joseph Maqhing (15), was shot and injured on 11 April 1992, when unidentified attackers opened fire on his home at KwaHaza, near Howick, Natal, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. One person was shot dead and one other injured in the attack.

NGCOBO, Khombomunye Phineas (31), was shot and injured when his home was attacked by ANC supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Khonani Bongwe (39), was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NGCOBO, Khonzaphi Nomatoli, a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by named Inkatha supporters, allegedly in collusion with members of the KWAZULU POLICE and SAP, in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 6 January 1990. The attack was allegedly directed at her son-in-law and his colleague, who were both shot and left to die in a corn field.

NGCOBO, Khonzile (67), an IFP supporter, had her house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, set alight by ANC supporters on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Lillian (62), an ANC supporter, lost her house and possessions when a group of armed IFP supporters attacked several homes in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 26 July 1992.

NGCOBO, Linda Edward, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

NGCOBO, Lindeni Gladys (59), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Lindiwe Ignatia (36), an ANC supporter, had her house at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, vandalised and petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters on 18 November 1987.

NGCOBO, Lindiwe Mitta (17), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters at Esigandeni, Inchanga, near Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 October 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha supporters, often in collusion with the security forces, and supporters of the UDF and ANC.

NGCOBO, Lindiwe Regina (54), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Lindiwe, an IFP supporter, was severely burnt when her home in Esikadaneni, Inchanga, Natal, was set alight by ANC supporters in March 1991.

NGCOBO, Lobi (49), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down, allegedly by named ANC supporters, in Ntiyane, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 November 1977. Her husband was killed in the attack.

NGCOBO, Louis Bongani (32), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Lungi Lucy (18), an ANC supporter, had her home in Ogunjini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in January 1991.

NGCOBO, Lynette Badumazile (23), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Magayise Phillip (53), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 July 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NGCOBO, Mamo Doris (57), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Mandla (33), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 21 May 1990 during intense conflict between IFP aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

NGCOBO, Mandla Gobi, was shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1991.

NGCOBO, Mandla Michael (29), an IFP supporter, had his home in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Mandla, an IFP supporter, was abducted by ANC supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 January 1991. He was rescued from his abductors by fellow IFP supporters.

NGCOBO, Mandlenkosi Hebron (34), an ANC supporter, was killed and his body mutilated by a named supporter of the IFP in Umgababa, KwaZulu,

near Durban, on 6 January 1991. The attack occurred days after a local chief called on IFP supporters to drive the ANC out of the area.

NGCOBO, Mantombi Witness (43), had her house and business burnt down on 16 March 1994 in an arson attack by IFP supporters on the isolated ANC stronghold in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Margaret (47), an Inkatha supporter, lost her house and all its contents in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban in June 1989.

NGCOBO, Mathovana Sistonja (45), an ANC supporter, had her house in Pietermaritzburg damaged by Inkatha supporters on 20 March 1990, in intense conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February 1990.

NGCOBO, Mavis, was shot and killed by ANC supporters at Nomhele Reserve, Mapumolo, Natal, on 15 March 1992. Three people were killed and two were severely injured. One ANC member was refused amnesty (AC/1997/0045).

NGCOBO, Mazisi Moses (59), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters near Ramsgate, Natal, on 10 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NGCOBO, Mboneli Justine (20), an ANC supporter, had his house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, badly damaged in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Mbongeni (31), was stabbed in the stomach by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in December 1989.

NGCOBO, Mboniseni Nqobizwe Patrick (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP during a confrontation with protesting students on 5 October 1989 in KwaMashu, Durban.

NGCOBO, Mboniseni Timothy (34), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down in February 1994 at Kwa-Mthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NGCOBO, Mbulaleni Tom (75), had his house in Emabomvini, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down and his livestock stolen by IFP supporters in July 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NGCOBO, Mbuyiseni Clement (31), an ANC supporter, had his home in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 10 August 1992.

NGCOBO, Mduduzi Samuel (23), was shot dead by IFP supporters and named members of the KWAZULU POLICE during political conflict in Mkhazeni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 May 1993.

NGCOBO, Melisile Barbara (30), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 15 November 1990, in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Ms Ngcobo was visiting her son's home at Mahlongwa Mission, near Scottburgh, Natal at the time.

NGCOBO, Menzi, an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the SAP and Security Branch in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1994.

NGCOBO, Mfihleni (50), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Michael, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 October 1992. His brother was also shot dead in the attack.

NGCOBO, Mkhuliseni Pheneas, was shot and beaten to death by ANC members during political conflict in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 7 January 1993. Four ANC members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/096).

NGCOBO, Moses, an ANC supporter, lost his house in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Mpande Moses (55), an IFP supporter, was shot dead and his body was burnt by named fellow IFP supporters in Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 20 April 1991. Mr Ngcobo was allegedly targeted because his nieces were ANC supporters and he was thought to be weakening in his loyalty to the IFP.

NGCOBO, Mpiyakhe (50), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 September 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NGCOBO, Mpiyonke (57), an IFP supporter, was burnt to death in Katlehong, Tvl, on 9 October 1991 during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand.

NGCOBO, Mteryiwe Zwelini (38), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and shot dead, allegedly by named ANC supporters, at Ntiyane, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 November 1977. The house was burnt down in the attack.

NGCOBO, Mthunzi Sydney (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 13 August 1993.

NGCOBO, Munty Nozibani (50), had his house set alight by Inkatha supporters in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 January 1988 in intensifying violent conflict between Inkatha supporters, frequently in collusion with the security forces, and supporters of the UDF and ANC.

NGCOBO, Musa Christian, was stabbed to death by named ANC supporters during political conflict in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 12 March 1992. Other members of his family had already been killed or severely injured in separate incidents of political violence in the area.

NGCOBO, Muziwakhe (23), was shot dead by members of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 June 1993. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NGCOBO, Muzwempi Cyprian, an ANC supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters at Umbogintwini, near Durban, on 25 December 1985. He has not been seen again and is presumed dead.

NGCOBO, Mzikayifani (16), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed by IFP supporters who attacked his home in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 26 June 1991. He died later in hospital. One other person was shot dead and one shot and injured in the attack.

NGCOBO, Mzoneli (88), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Nakeni Beatrice (25), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Ndabenhle Wilson (48), had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Ndelelo (61), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Ndukuyakhe (30), an IFP supporter, was killed by UDF supporters in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 November 1990.

NGCOBO, Nelisiwe Gloria (27), an ANC supporter, had her home in the Zamani informal settlement, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in September 1991.

NGCOBO, Ngasho Agnes (30), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Ngifuzebani Ziningi (21), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Ngitheni Wilhemina (45), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Ngweyake (47), had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Nhlanhla Godfrey, was injured in a hand grenade explosion in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 31 July 1992. An ANC self-defence unit (SDU) member threw the grenade while in a confrontation with police. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/090).

NGCOBO, Nhlanhla Lucky (32), was shot dead in KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 June 1990, when members of the KwaZULU POLICE disrupted a party in his home and opened fire. Several people were shot and severely injured, including his sister.

NGCOBO, Nhlanhla Mthokozi (20), an ANC supporter, disappeared on 19 August 1993 and was found shot dead a week later in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NGCOBO, Nhlanhla Patrick (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaMadlala, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 May 1994, in ongoing conflict following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Ngcobo's cousin was shot dead in the same incident.

NGCOBO, Nico Mbongeni, a UDF supporter and member of the Taylors Halt Youth Congress, was detained under emergency regulations on 8 May 1988 in Pietermaritzburg and tortured by named Security Branch members while in police custody. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NGCOBO, Ningi Lawr ence, an ANC supporter, suffered injuries when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

NGCOBO, Njiga Goodman (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 March 1993.

NGCOBO, Nkonqo Delisile (36), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Nkosazana Agnes (41), an ANC supporter, had her house in KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, burnt down on 31 January 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NGCOBO, Nobuhle Beauty (17), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by alleged ANC supporters during political conflict at Inchanga, Natal, in March 1991. Members of her family were IFP supporters.

NGCOBO, Nobuhle Winnie (17), had her home burnt down during 1985 in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. Malukazi was the scene of one of the earliest outbreaks of political conflict in the province, peaking in August with the killing of UDF leader, Victoria Mxenge, and again in December with the killing of over 60 people in the UMBUMBULU MASSACRE.

NGCOBO, Nokuthula Jannet (41), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Nokuthula Ntombenzincane (33), an IFP supporter, had her home in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 23 January 1991. As a result of the attack the family had to flee the area, which was an ANC stronghold.

NGCOBO, Nomadresi Thenjiwe (41), had her home in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1991 in continuing political conflict in the area.

NGCOBO, Nomathemba (39), an ANC supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt

down on 13 April 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NGCOBO, Nomkahes, was shot and killed by ANC supporters at Nomhele Reserve, Mapumolo, Natal, on 15 March 1992. Three people were killed and two were severely injured. One ANC member was refused amnesty (AC/1997/0045).

NGCOBO, Nomtandazo (64), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Nomthandazo Iris (31), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Nomthandazo Sylvia (45), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Nomusa Nokuthula (30), an ANC supporter, had her home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, looted and vandalised by IFP supporters on 4 December 1993.

NGCOBO, Nomusa Teressa (30), an IFP supporter, had her house at Mahashini near Estcourt, Natal, burnt down by unidentified persons in November 1993 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NGCOBO, Nontuthuzelo Ignancia (40), an ANC supporter, had her house in Ixopo, Natal, set alight by IFP supporters on 4 July 1993.

NGCOBO, Norah (54), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Ntombazana Alzinah (44), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NGCOBO, Ntombencane Flomenah, (45) had her house petrol-bombed during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1988

NGCOBO, Ntombenya Rhoda (50), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in continuing political conflict in January 1991.

NGCOBO, Ntombezingi Angelina (42), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Ntombifikile Lussia (20), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in the IFP stronghold of Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 4 December 1990 in intense political conflict in the area.

NGCOBO, Ntombifuthi Aanah (45), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 February 1994.

NGCOBO, Ntombifuthi Mavis , an ANC supporter, was stabbed in the face during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, on 16 January 1993. Her brother, an ANC supporter, her daughter and her parents were burnt to death when the house was set alight. Ms Ngcobo was stabbed while escaping through a window.

NGCOBO, Ntombigiti Josephine (73), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Ntombikayise Elizabeth (39), had her home destroyed in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Eshowe, Natal, in 1993.

NGCOBO, Ntombinathi Joyce (39), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Ntombinkulu Sylvia (32), lost her home during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in Durban in 1989.

NGCOBO, Ntombizodwa Alvina (64), had her house in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 29 March 1990 during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NGCOBO, Ntombizodwa Victoria (39), had her home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an attack by unidentified persons in October 1993 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Having fled the area because of the political violence, the family found their house destroyed when they returned.

NGCOBO, Ntulu (52), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Olive (55), an ANC supporter, had her house set alight and badly damaged by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers from KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1993.

NGCOBO, Patrick Bonginkosi (36), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Shallcross, Durban, on 14 August 1993.

NGCOBO, Patrick Nkosinathi (18), was shot by ANC supporters during political conflict at Umlazi, Durban, on 24 July 1993.

NGCOBO, Peggy Fikisiwe (15), was shot and severely injured in KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 June 1990, when members of the KWAZULU POLICE disrupted a party in her home and opened fire. Several people were shot and severely injured, and her brother was shot dead.

NGCOBO, Peter , was shot and injured by ANC supporters at Nomhele Reserve, Mapumolo, Natal, on 15 March 1992. Three people were killed and two were severely injured. One ANC member was refused amnesty (AC/1997/0045).

NGCOBO, Petros Dumisani (47), an ANC supporter, was killed by unidentified taxi operators during politicised

conflict in the taxi industry in Umtata, Transkei, on 25 July 1990. See TAXI VIOLENCE.

NGCOBO, Phasha , was assaulted by IFP supporters during political conflict in the Gingindlovu area, Natal, on 24 July 1993, allegedly because he would not join them on campaigns against ANC supporters.

NGCOBO, Phineas Thulasizwe (36), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters who attacked his home in the Port Shepstone area, Natal, on 3 February 1992. His wife was also shot dead in the attack.

NGCOBO, Phumelele Janet (27), had the contents of her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt and destroyed during intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area in 1985.

NGCOBO, Phumzile , was stabbed and burnt to death by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during intense political conflict in the area in October 1988.

NGCOBO, Prince Jabulani Mdashazi (20), a UDF supporter and COSAS member, was stabbed and severely injured by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM on 14 December 1985.

NGCOBO, Princess (32), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 April 1991 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NGCOBO, Qhatimpi (59), an ANC supporter, had his house in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, looted and burnt down by IFP supporters in January 1991.

NGCOBO, Qili Alfr ed, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988.

Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NGCOBO, Qinisela Hezekia , an ANC supporter, was shot by named IFP members in Taylors Halt, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 31 January 1993. He died in hospital two weeks later.

NGCOBO, Qondephi (25), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Robert Joseph (32), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP during political conflict in Mpumuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 31 December 1988.

NGCOBO, Rose (51), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Russell Bongani (32), an ANC supporter, was beaten and shot dead in Ekwazini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, by members of the KWAZULU POLICE on 29 August 1990. They had accused him of involvement in an attack on IFP supporters the previous night.

NGCOBO, Sabukwazi (34), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo,

Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Sakhiseni Johnson (14), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Samuel Maviyo (44), was arrested in Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 19 November 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING. He was detained without trial and tortured in detention by named members of the SAP.

NGCOBO, Samuel Mduduzi, was shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 15 May 1993, allegedly because he was thought to be an ANC supporter.

NGCOBO, Sarah Bongive (23), had her house burnt down during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters near Hammarsdale, Natal, in February 1989.

NGCOBO, Sbondile Jannet (24), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 26 November 1989.

NGCOBO, Sebengiphile Robert (21), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NGCOBO, Sebenzile Sylvia (23), had her house burnt down in an arson attack by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Sekesheni T embekile, an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Ekuphakameni, near Inanda, Durban, in 1993. The family was permanently displaced.

NGCOBO, Selby Mashu, was shot in the knee and ankle by members of the SAP during political unrest at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 8 April 1990.

NGCOBO, Shadrack Sipho, was shot and killed by an IFP member during violent political conflict at Alfred, near Port Shepstone, Natal on 16 October 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0339).

NGCOBO, Sibongile Beauty (32), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Sibongile Euginia (35), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Ixopo, Natal, on 28 July 1993.

NGCOBO, Sibongile Gladness (56), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 17 May 1990, when she went to identify the body of her husband, who had been killed by IFP supporters. She was beaten at the scene of the killing.

NGCOBO, Sibongile Octavia (35), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe,

KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Sibongiseni Isaac Shezi (21), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named perpetrators in Dambuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 May 1991, allegedly because he was thought to have sympathies with the IFP. His two brothers were also killed in the same incident. The perpetrators were convicted and imprisoned for the killings.

NGCOBO, Sibongiseni Sandile (19), an ANC supporter, was abducted and shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 24 March 1990. His family were forced to move from their home in an IFP-dominated area to a safer place.

NGCOBO, Sifiso (22), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters on 5 April 1993 in the Lusaka informal settlement, Umlazi, Durban. Shortly before his death, he and his brother, who was killed on the same day, had allegedly fled the Port Shepstone area to escape IFP attempts on their lives.

NGCOBO, Sihlangu (51), an Inkatha supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Siliya Bangive (53), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 13 November 1991. Her son had been killed in political conflict shortly before the attack.

NGCOBO, Simaku Nesta (68), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Simon Bekisani, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 October 1992. His brother was also shot dead in the attack.

NGCOBO, Simon, an ANC supporter, was hacked to death with bush knives by Inkatha supporters in Ganyaza, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in June 1990. Mr Ngcobo's family fled their house and slept in the bush in an attempt to escape from the violence.

NGCOBO, Singangenkani Alfr ed, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1989. He was perceived to have sympathies with the ANC.

NGCOBO, Sithembiso Nnode (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 December 1986.

NGCOBO, Sithembiso Owen (23), an ANC supporter, had acid poured on his body and was subsequently shot and crippled in an attempt to escape from members of the KWAZULU POLICE during political conflict in Umlazi, Durban, on 22 September 1991.

NGCOBO, Siyabonga Alpheus, a bodyguard and member of the KWAZULU POLICE, was shot and injured in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 September 1992, when ANC members tried to assassinate the local IFP leader, whom he was guarding.

The IFP leader and another bodyguard were also injured. One ANC member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/99/0329).

NGCOBO, Siyabonga Ar mstrong (15), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 14 April 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NGCOBO, Siziwe Alber tina (62), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 July 1992.

NGCOBO, Solomon Bhekabantu (83), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death in an arson attack on his home during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, on 16 January 1993. Mr Ncobo's wife, son and granddaughter were also burnt to death, while his daughter managed to escape with a stab wound.

NGCOBO, Solomon, was injured when he was stabbed with a bayonet by an ANC/FAWU member at his workplace at Langeberg Foods in Boksburg, Tvl, on 12 June 1992, during a period of conflict between IFP and ANC-supporting workers at the factory. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0080).

NGCOBO, Stephen, an ANC member from Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, was killed on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed.

NGCOBO, Sydney (44), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters while walking in the street during political conflict in Umlazi, Durban, on 19 December 1991.

NGCOBO, Teni Theodosia (55), an IFP supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by fellow IFP supporters in Nkwezela, Bulwer, Natal, in 1993. She was allegedly attacked because her children were members of the ANC.

NGCOBO, Thami Theophilus (46), an ANC member, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in an arson attack on his home at Port Shepstone, Natal, in April 1991. He had refused to join the IFP.

NGCOBO, Thamsanqa (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in March 1991. His friend was shot dead in the incident.

NGCOBO, Thandanani Israel (24), was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at Esimozomeni Primary School, Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, on 26 May 1990. The perpetrators had allegedly launched the attack from the neighboring Phatheni area.

NGCOBO, Thandazi, was shot and injured by ANC members and supporters at Nomhele Reserve, Mapumolo, Natal, on 15 March 1992. Three people were killed and two were severely injured. One ANC member was refused amnesty (AC/1997/0045).

NGCOBO, Thandekile Kathleen Lovel (37), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured at Umlazi U Section, Durban, by unidentified assailants from an IFP

stronghold on 12 November 1992. The family was targeted for allegedly harbouring ANC refugees.

NGCOBO, Thandephi Mduduzi (30), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 September 1993. Six people were killed, more than 100 homes were burnt down and hundreds of cattle were stolen in Ndwedwe that month.

NGCOBO, Thandiwe Isabel (39), lost her house in an arson attack by UDF supporters during political conflict in Wartburg, Natal, on 20 March 1989.

NGCOBO, Thandiwe Marial (41), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters and members of the KwaZulu POLICE at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in September 1991.

NGCOBO, Thandiwe Thembisile (36), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Emangwaneni, Bulwer, Natal, on 25 January 1992.

NGCOBO, Thatheri (61), lost her house, furniture and livestock in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict at Ogunjini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1991.

NGCOBO, Themba (28), was shot dead during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters near Hammarsdale, Natal, in March 1989.

NGCOBO, Themba Mishack (36), lost his house in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 October 1990.

NGCOBO, Themba V itus (46), was shot dead in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 29 March 1992.

NGCOBO, Thembeni Andrina (36), an ANC supporter, had her house in Pietermaritzburg burnt down by IFP supporters on 19 April 1991.

NGCOBO, Thembeni Hildah (40), had her house in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in intense political conflict with UDF/ANC supporters in February 1990, around the time of the UNBANNING of political organisations.

NGCOBO, Thembeni Lilian (45), an ANC supporter, lost her house and livestock in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NGCOBO, Thembi Beatrice (48), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Thembi Janet (32), an ANC supporter, lost her house and her livestock in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Thembinkosi Obed Mgyuo (30), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named perpetrators in Dambuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 May 1991, allegedly because he was thought to have sympathies with the IFP. His two brothers were also killed in the same incident. The perpetrators were convicted and imprisoned for the killings.

NGCOBO, Thembinkosi Wellington Mauthi , was shot and killed by an IFP member at Mtateni, Port Alfred, Natal, on 24 March 1991. An amnesty applicant testified that he killed Mr Ngcobo because he believed him to be an ANC supporter. He was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0339).

NGCOBO, Thembisile Mar garet (44), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Bester, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1990.

NGCOBO, Thodlana James (60), was shot dead by IFP supporters in the backyard of his home in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. He was trying to run away when he was shot. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Thoko Sibongile (38), an ANC supporter, had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1991.

NGCOBO, Thokozani Iris (39), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Thokozile Annie (51), lost her home in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters during political conflict in Pietermaritzburg in March 1990. See SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NGCOBO, Thokozile Elizabeth (49), an IFP supporter, suffered ongoing harassment and intimidation and eventually had her house burnt by ANC supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1991. Ms Ngcobo and her family were forced to flee this ANC-dominated area.

NGCOBO, Thokozile Eunice (33), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NGCOBO, Tholakele (46), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Thombalane Evelyn (57), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Thulani Andreas (20), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and severely injured in an arson attack on his home at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, by UDF supporters on 18 August 1988.

NGCOBO, Tozi Mgcinsini (37), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Tshelizwe Moses (31), an ANC supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Tshenisiwe Norah (50), had her home in Pietermaritzburg burnt down by unidentified persons during the course of 1987, allegedly because her

husband had been a councillor to a local *induna*. She was therefore perceived to be an Inkatha supporter.

NGCOBO, Velephi Lephinah (46), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Vunisile Dombiza (40), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Verulam, Natal, on 30 May 1990. She was visiting her brother at the time of the attack.

NGCOBO, Vusi, a UDF activist, was shot and left to die in a cornfield at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 6 January 1990. His four attackers, including a SPECIAL CONSTABLE, a member of the SAP and an employee of the KwaZulu government, were seen leaving the home of a local Inkatha leader before the attack.

NGCOBO, Vusumuzi (28), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Vusumuzi Jotham , an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a group of IFP supporters at Ndlovu's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010).

NGCOBO, Winnie Ntombi (50), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters during intense political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 2 October 1989

NGCOBO, Wiseman Mdimiseni (20), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 11 September 1989. Mr Ngcobo was caught while trying to run away from his cousin's house, which was burnt down that day. The rest of the family managed to escape injury.

NGCOBO, Xolisile Mthili (28), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Yintezi (69), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Zakhele (13), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in an IFP attack on his friend's house in the Gingindlovu area, Natal, on 20 March 1994. He was allegedly targeted because he was part of a group of dissenting IFP supporters who objected to the use of violence in an IFP recruitment campaign.

NGCOBO, Zakhona Cynthia (39), suffered severe material loss when her house was attacked by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994 during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Zama Senzi Jonathan , an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by a named ANC supporter in Tropika location, Umlazi, Durban, on 1 August 1992.

NGCOBO, Zanele , an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Umlazi, Durban, petrol-bombed by UDF supporters while she was asleep on the night of 4 September 1986.

NGCOBO, Zenzele Wellington (27), an ANC supporter, was stoned to death by named IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KwaZULU POLICE, in Umlazi, Durban, on 18 April 1993. He had previously fled the area because of conflict with the perpetrators, and was attacked soon after his return. He died of his injuries in hospital two days later.

NGCOBO, Zenzile (52), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Zibuyile Priscilla (44), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Ziningi (28), an ANC supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 13 April 1991.

NGCOBO, Zinyezile Busisiwe (25), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Zipunepi (59), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Zithulele Selby (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP and KwaZULU POLICE on 12 February 1990 while he was playing ball in front of his house in KwaMashu, Durban, during political conflict following Nelson Mandela's release from prison the previous day.

NGCOBO, ZJ (27), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Zodwa Docas (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP while participating in a march in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 21 March 1991. The police also shot dead three others in their attempt to disperse the protesters.

NGCOBO, Zuzeni Gloria (49), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGCOBO, Zweliliya (30), was shot and injured when the house he was visiting was attacked during political conflict in Durban in December 1976.

NGCOBO-SHEZI, Nosizi Anastasia (48), an IFP supporter, lost her house in an arson attack in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Ixopo, Natal, on 9 September 1992. A petrol bomb was thrown into the house while the family was asleep. Some ANC supporters were arrested in connection with this incident, but were released.

NGCOKOTH, Samuel , was shot dead in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992 in the Boipatong

massacre. Forty-five people died and 27 others were seriously injured when IFP-supporting residents of the KwaMadala hostel descended on the Boipatong community. The attack was allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police.

NGCOMU, Thembeni Mavis (37), lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, during ongoing political conflict in 1991.

NGCONGO, Balibele (47), an ANC supporter, had her house at Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters during the CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS on 16 January 1992.

NGCONGO, Bruce Sazi (20), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named Inkatha supporters at Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 14 February 1988. He was travelling in a car with friends, one of whom was also killed in the attack.

NGCONGO, Christina (31), a UDF supporter, was attacked and burnt by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 January 1988.

NGCONGO, Khangezile Agnes (19), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by UDF supporters at Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal in March 1984.

NGCONGO, Kumakwakhe Joseph (52), was shot by Inkatha supporters during political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 January 1988. He died the following day. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for his son, an ANC supporter.

NGCONGO, Lazarus Mzono , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 20 March 1988. His father had been shot dead and his brother and sister seriously injured in an attack on their home three months earlier.

NGCONGO, Lungani Magnificent (1), was severely burnt when Inkatha supporters petrol-bombed his parents' home in Port Shepstone, Natal, in intensifying political conflict in the area during November 1987. Two months later, the family home was destroyed in an arson attack.

NGCONGO, Mfungelwa , an IFP member, was fatally shot in a confrontation between IFP and ANC supporters while on his way home from a funeral in Ntiyane, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 November 1991. Three IFP supporters and two of the perpetrators, allegedly ANC supporters, were killed during the attack.

NGCONGO, Ntombini Velencia (33), an IFP supporter, lost her houses in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Emachobeni, Richmond, Natal, on 7 March 1991.

NGCONGO, Richard Rhee (19), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in a confrontation between IFP and ANC supporters while on his way home from a funeral in Ntiyane, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 November 1991. Three IFP supporters and two of the perpetrators, allegedly ANC supporters, were killed during the attack.

NGCONGO, Richard Rhee (9), was shot and sustained burn wounds when the house he was in was set alight by Inkatha supporters during political conflict near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 20 January 1988.

NGCONGO, Sithembiso Patrick , was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during 1993. Police were allegedly looking for his uncle, an ANC youth leader.

NGCONGO, Sphiwe Moffat (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in November 1990, when members of the KwaZulu POLICE opened fire on ANC supporters returning from a funeral in Ilfracombe, near Durban. The perpetrators were allegedly guarding the home of a KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member. Mr Ngcongo's leg had to be amputated.

NGCONGO, Thamsanqa Brian (17), was shot and injured by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, in political conflict at Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 14 March 1992.

NGCONGO, Witness Themba , was abducted and killed on 1 June 1991 in Clermont, near Durban, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NGCONGOLO, Hopi Leyland 'Mashumini' (54), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and arrested by vigilantes, together with the SAP, in Robertson, Cape, on 15 June 1986. He was then detained under emergency regulations for two months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NGCONGWANE, Siphso Cyprian (28), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and axed by IFP supporters while on his way to Woodford, Bergville, Natal, to attend an ANC meeting on 1 August 1993. Mr Ngcongwane was treated for severe head injuries, but his mental capacities remain impaired.

NGCOYA, Khethiwe (31), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, in 1991.

NGCOZELA, Thembile Livingstone (69), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police and CDF while in a police van in December 1991, and in a *bakkie* at the headman's rondavel on 8 September 1992, at Middledrift, Ciskei, during political conflict over the reimposition of the headman system in the homeland.

NGCUKA, Kwenzekile (29), was shot in his right leg while celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 10 February 1990. On 8 September 1992, he was arrested and tortured in Middledrift, Ciskei, by members of the Ciskei Police who wanted information about the Bisho march.

NGCUKA, Mbuyiseli Bethuel , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1991 at a meeting of residents who feared an attack by IFP supporters. He was shot when police tried to break up the meeting.

NGCUKANA, Boniswa (35), an APLA member from the Eastern Cape, was shot dead by Basotho paramilitary members in March 1985 at Qacha's Nek, Lesotho, close to the Lesotho-Transkei border. Five other APLA members died in this incident, which occurred at a time of increased LLA activity in the area, aimed at destabilising the pro-ANC government of Chief Leabua Jonathan. The Basotho security forces claimed they

had mistaken the APLA unit for LLA members. APLA and the LLA were closely connected at the time.

NGCUKUT A, Kanana Emily , was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NGCUME, Thembani Samuel (39), Soweto Area Committee chairperson and Port Elizabeth Youth Congress member, was repeatedly detained, threatened, interrogated, beaten and tortured between 1985 and 1987 at various locations in Port Elizabeth, by members of the SAP and named members of the Security Branch wanting information about the activities of UDF street committees during the state of emergency. He still suffers from memory loss, nervousness and panic attacks.

NGCUNGCA, Nomthandazo , was shot and injured by named perpetrators in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 4 July 1991, allegedly because her family refused to align themselves with a local Crossroads leader. Her husband was also injured in the attack.

NGCUW A, Siphso (19), an ANC supporter, was tear-gassed and assaulted with sjamboks by members of the CDF while he was attending a community meeting at Mngqesha Primary School in Dikidikana, near King William's Town, Cape, on 6 September 1992. At the time there was intense political conflict between ANC and ADM supporters in the area.

NGCWANA, Galela , was shot dead by a named member of the SAP at the Waterworks squatter camp in Grabouw, Cape, on 26 December 1992, during a confrontation with a crowd of residents.

NGCWENGA, Mncedisi V irgin (40), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, on 18 April 1993 during political conflict following the killing of ANC/SACP/MK leader, Chris Hani.

NGECE, Nokuzola Yvonne (23), was shot and injured on 15 October 1992 when named members of the CDF, searching for an activist, threw a hand grenade and opened fire on her family home in Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei. Her father was shot dead and other family members were injured. In the aftermath of the BISHO MASSACRE, a group of CDF soldiers carried out several similar attacks with R4 rifles. The perpetrators were charged.

NGECE, Noluvuyo , was shot and injured on 15 October 1992 when named members of the CDF, searching for an activist, threw a hand grenade and opened fire on her family home in Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei. Her father was shot dead and other family members were injured. In the aftermath of the BISHO MASSACRE, a group of CDF soldiers carried out several similar attacks with R4 rifles. The perpetrators were charged.

NGECE, Nombuyiselo Leonorah Ntsiba (32), was shot by named members of the CDF on 15 October 1992 in Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei.

NGECE, Nosipho Beauty (26), an ANC supporter, was severely injured on 15 October 1992 when named members of the CDF, searching for an activist, threw a hand grenade and opened fire on her family home in Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei. Her father was shot dead and other family members were injured. In the aftermath of the BISHO MASSACRE, a group of CDF soldiers carried out several similar attacks with R4 rifles. The perpetrators were charged.

NGECE, Selby Ngayithini (42), was shot dead on 15 October 1992 when named members of the CDF, searching for an activist, threw a hand grenade and opened fire on his family home in Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei. Other family members were injured. In the aftermath of the BISHO MASSACRE, a group of CDF soldiers carried out several similar attacks with R4 rifles. The perpetrators were charged.

NGEDLE, Maureen (28), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the ISU, during political conflict in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

NGELE, Luvuno (32), an ANC supporter, disappeared from a Durban hostel in which he was staying in the course of 1990, at a time of intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. He has not been seen since.

NGEMA, Alpheus , an IFP supporter, was abducted at gunpoint by four men in a white minibus, allegedly ANC supporters, while working on a construction site in Tokoza, Tvl, on 30 August 1993. The men allegedly took Mr Ngema to Phola Park informal settlement. He has never been seen since.

NGEMA, Babongile W innfrieda (35), had her houses burnt down during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in 1993.

NGEMA, Blessing (25), was attacked and severely beaten by IFP supporters in Ogunjini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His father was also severely injured in the attack.

NGEMA, Dumoluhle (1), was stabbed and injured by IFP supporters in an attack on his family in Empangeni, Natal, on 27 February 1993. Three other members of his family were injured and one person was killed in the attack. The family was believed to support the ANC.

NGEMA, Eric , was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

NGEMA, Fikile Remember (38), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1990.

NGEMA, Funani , had her house burnt down in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Nogobhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 14 November 1993.

NGEMA, Funokwakhe Jef frey, had his car set alight and house looted by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See MPUMALANGA ATTACKS. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NGEMA, Gladys , had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in ongoing political conflict at KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 14 November 1993. Twenty-one houses belonging to ANC supporters were burnt down in the attack.

NGEMA, Jabulile Sizani (23), an ANC supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1993.

NGEMA, Johannes Mjogo , was shot dead on 2 August 1992 when men armed men attacked several homes in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

NGEMA, Kwaziwakhe Nicholas , was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK.

Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

NGEMA, Mkhulumeleni (55), had her house at KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in continuing political conflict on 14 November 1993. Twenty-one houses belonging to ANC supporters were burnt down in the attack.

NGEMA, Muzikawubonwa (81), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 2 July 1992.

NGEMA, Nesta Julie (26), an ANC supporter and NUMSA worker, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 27 February 1993, allegedly because she worked for a trade union affiliated to COSATU. Her sister and three children were all seriously injured in the attack.

NGEMA, Netelina (61), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in continuing political conflict on 14 November 1993. Twenty-one houses belonging to ANC supporters were burnt down in the attack.

NGEMA, Nkosini (64), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in continuing political conflict on 14 November 1993. Twenty-one houses belonging to ANC supporters were burnt down in the attack.

NGEMA, Nokukhanya (3), was injured when her home was attacked by IFP supporters during political conflict at Makhehla, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 February 1993.

NGEMA, Nokwethemba Philile (28), an ANC supporter, was seriously injured when she was shot and stabbed by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 27 February 1993. Her sister was killed and three children were seriously injured in the attack.

NGEMA, Nomaweza Elsie (47), an ANC supporter, had her house and belongings burnt in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1991.

NGEMA, Ntombizonke Ntombinkulu (32), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed by IFP supporters in the KwaKhoza area, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 10 November 1993.

NGEMA, Philip Mzikayifani (21), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, who attacked his home at Newtown, Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 December 1987.

NGEMA, Samson (49), was severely beaten and stabbed by IFP supporters in Ogunjini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His son was also severely injured in the attack.

NGEMA, Sibani (9), was shot in the head by IFP supporters in an attack on his family in Empangeni, Natal, on 27 February 1993. Three other members of his family were injured and one person was killed in the attack. His family was believed to support the ANC.

NGEMA, Sinda Mzikau Khulewa, an IFP supporter, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at the Duduza hostel in Tvl on 19 March 1994. At least ten people were killed in the attack, which took place after IFP hostel-dwellers had attacked and evicted ANC hostel-dwellers. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for this killing (AC/2000/054).

NGEMA, Sipho Bongani (21), was detained by named members of the Security Branch at CR Swart Square, Durban, in September 1988, and tortured and blackmailed into spying on the ANC in exile. After arriving in Tanzania in 1989 he confessed to being a spy, and was interrogated at Greenhouse ANC base before being taken to Ti Ronova security base in Angola, then to Nonkal, Uganda and Kenya before returning with other exiles in 1991.

NGEMA, Sipho, an ANC member, was shot dead in a restaurant in Manzini, Swaziland, on 6 January 1988 by MK operatives who suspected him of being an informer. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/230).

NGEMA, Sisi Joana, 54, had her house burnt down during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Eshowe, Natal, in 1994.

NGEMA, Thandazile (50), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters during intensifying political conflict at Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, in July 1988.

NGEMA, Thembekile (64), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters during intensifying political conflict at Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, in July 1988. Her son was shot and injured in the same incident.

NGEMA, Thembekile Doris (53), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed by IFP supporters in Ogunjini, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1993, allegedly because her family had defected from the IFP to join the ANC.

NGEMA, Thembisile (52), lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in June 1993.

NGEMA, Thomas, was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

NGEMNTU, Mary Zinyelwa (44), a member of the United Women's Congress, was detained without trial in 1985 and September 1986 in Cape Town. She was detained under SECTION 29 in October 1987 and severely beaten during interrogation by named and other Security Branch members. Ms Ngemntu was charged with furthering the aims of the ANC and sentenced to an effective one year's imprisonment.

NGEMNTU, Ndoda (15), a COSAS member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, in May 1991, during a COSAS campaign highlighting their dissatisfaction with the Department of Education and Training.

NGENALISILE, Ndabayakhe, an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1993.

NGENDANE, Selby Themba (62), a PAC supporter, was shot dead by other PAC supporters on 4 October 1990 in Umtata, Transkei, in a serious internal dispute in the organisation.

NGENDANE, Zanoxolo Gladman (52), a member of the South African Prison Services, lost his house in an arson attack by members of the SAP on 15 May 1993 in Burgersdorp, Cape, allegedly because his son was a member of COSAS.

NGEPE, Nontsikelelo, a civilian, was traumatised when the vehicle in which she was a passenger was hijacked at gunpoint by APLA operatives at Herschel, near Lady Grey, OFS, on 19 November 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/134).

NGESEKI, Mthuthuzeli Use (32), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, in 1992.

NGESI, Makurutu Peter (43), was shot and injured in September 1990 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SAP and IFP supporters, during intense political conflict on the East Rand.

NGESI, Msawenkosi Ellery (21), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 April 1991.

NGESMAN, Khwaza Reuben (34), was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHO MASSACRE. Two

members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NGESMAN, Nontsapho Phillis 'Manyawuza' (37), was tied to the bed in her home in Waterkloof settlement, Somerset West, Cape Town, on 26 April 1992, while her husband was shot dead and robbed by men in balaclavas and police uniforms. The perpetrators were allegedly linked to the Western Cape United Squatters Association, who had been threatening local ANC members. See BALACLAVA GROUPS.

NGESMAN, Sigezenga Desmond (42), an ANC member, was shot at his home in Waterkloof settlement, Somerset West, Cape Town, on 26 April 1992, and died two days later. He was shot by men clad in balaclavas and wearing police uniforms, allegedly linked to the Western Cape United Squatters Association, who had been threatening local ANC members. See BALACLAVA GROUPS.

NGETU, Vumile Gladman (27), FOYCO president and a SAYCO member, was beaten and suffered electric shock torture in Zeerust, Tvl, and Dordrecht, Cape, by members of the SAP. Mr Ngetu was apprehended at the Bophuthatswana border, on his way to join MK in exile in November 1987. He was detained for six months in isolation in an East London prison and later transferred to St Albans, Port Elizabeth, in June 1988. He was released after a 1989 hunger strike.

NGEVAYO, Mthetheleli Albert (43), an ANC supporter, was shot in the shoulder by members of the CDF at Tolofiyeni, Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 10 September 1992, three days after the BISHO MASSACRE. Mr Ngevayo was accused of inciting youths to burn down government properties in retaliation for the shooting of people at Bisho.

NGEVAYO, Simphiwe Desmond (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the Riot Police in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 4 November 1990. He and other residents were protesting against the destruction of squatter homes, allegedly by persons linked to the local mayor.

NGHONYAMA, Risimata Joseph, an SAP constable, was shot and injured when armed MK operatives attacked the Wonderboompoort police station, Pretoria, on 26 December 1981, as part of the ANC campaign to destabilise the government. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

NGIBA, Dumisani, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP members during political violence at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 24 September 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NGIBA, Florence Sizakele (60), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIBA, Jane (60), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by named IFP supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 September 1991.

NGIBA, John (55), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near

Durban, during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIBA, Khayelihle Phumaphi (30), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIBA, Khehla Leonard V usumuzi, an ANC supporter, was fatally shot during an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIBA, Maria (16), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. Her parents were reportedly killed in the attack. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIBA, Mfaniseni Muntukabani (41), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIBA, Sibongile Joyce (48), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Mbozama, Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 January 1994.

NGIBA, Sibongile Purity (25), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 March 1994. This was the forerunner to the mass SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS which occurred two days later.

NGIBE, Mfana Dugmore (28), an ANC supporter, was shot at by members of the SAP and a named member of the KwaZULU POLICE in K Section, Umlazi, Durban, on 15 October 1991, while he was attempting to launch an ANC branch. His abductors took him into nearby bushes and threatened to kill him, but he managed to escape.

NGIDI Iris (52), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha members during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NGIDI, Abednigo Bhekisisa (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, on 29 October 1993.

NGIDI, Bacoshile (47), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Bawelile Gwiji (44), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Beauty Thembi (37), was seriously injured when she was stoned by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 25 March 1990. See SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NGIDI, Bekizizwe Phillip (20), a UDF supporter, was sexually assaulted and beaten by members of the SAP in 1987 in Jabulani, Soweto, Johannesburg, while awaiting trial for the killing of a policeman. He was sentenced to death but his sentence was commuted later to ten years' imprisonment and he was released as a political prisoner in 1991.

NGIDI, Benzelani Emmerencia (26), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Bertina Mcube, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Bhelikosi (61), was shot dead by ANC youths during intense political conflict in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990, allegedly because he lived in an Inkatha stronghold. Two other people were killed in the same attack.

NGIDI, Bhekisile (54), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Bhukumuzi (48), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Bonakele Emily (29), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Bonakele Khohlive (37), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Boneleni Babazile (40), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Bongani Francis, an Inkatha supporter, was shot and hacked to death in his house during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1989.

NGIDI, Bongekile Abegail (15), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Bongephive Happiness (25), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Bonisiwe Monica (35), lost her house in a petrol bomb attack by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 7 October 1989.

NGIDI, Bukabani (61), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Bukelaphi Ntombe (44), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Busisiwe (38), was shot and injured in her home by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in KwaZulu, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 29 March 1992. Her sister and her niece were killed in the attack, and their house was burnt down.

NGIDI, Busisiwe Gabazile (31), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Busisiwe Thobekile Mazondi (45), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Catherine (63), suffered severe material loss when her house was looted during political conflict at U Section, Umlazi, Durban, on 12 November 1992. The perpetrators allegedly came from an IFP stronghold at Unit 17. The family believe they were targeted for housing ANC refugees during political conflict in the area. Her daughter was severely injured in the attack.

NGIDI, Cebile Promise (19), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 February 1994.

NGIDI, Cimezile (58), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Dangwana (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Davidi (66), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Delisile (46), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Disi Nokuthoba (63), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Dombi Zondekile (48), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Duduzile (43), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Duduzile Maureen (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NGIDI, Duduzile Zamokwakhe (30), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Dukuza Albert (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 December 1993.

NGIDI, Emgard Emily (64), lost her house in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Wartburg, Natal, on 9 April 1992.

NGIDI, Emmanuel Mondli (24), an ANC supporter, suffered severe material loss when his house and furniture were destroyed by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in February 1992. Six people were killed in Folweni that month by attackers firing at people indiscriminately.

NGIDI, Favourite Tholani (25), lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 April 1994, in political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NGIDI, Fikelephi Mahadebe (23), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Gladys (64), an ANC supporter, lost her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 25 January 1993.

NGIDI, Gomengani Cynthia (22), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Grace, an ANC supporter, suffered damage to property in political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, in the late 1980s. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/054).

NGIDI, Gundu (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Hambeleni Tuleleni (43), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Hilda (65), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 2 August 1992.

NGIDI, Hlanganisile (36), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Jabulani (51), an ANC member, was killed in KwaMashu, Durban, on 29 March 1994. A peace meeting had been scheduled at a hostel in KwaMashu to resolve differences between KwaMashu residents and hostel-dwellers. Mr Ngidi was one of seven ANC delegates abducted from the hostel by IFP supporters. Two survived. Four IFP supporters, including the chairperson of the IFP hostel branch in KwaMashu, were convicted for the killings.

NGIDI, Jabulile Petronela (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Jabulisile (69), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, John Phakathi (71), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 December 1993.

NGIDI, Kathleen Thendekile (42), was shot and severely wounded at Umlazi U Section, Durban, on 12 November 1992. Her unidentified attackers are believed to have come from Unit 17 of Umlazi, an IFP stronghold. The family was allegedly targeted for housing ANC refugees during the conflict between the IFP and ANC. Ms Ngidi is now partially paralysed.

NGIDI, Khanyisile Ngenzeni (40), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Khethiwe Joyce (34), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Khonzeni (32), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Khulumani John (72), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Kwekalikho (51), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 March 1994.

NGIDI, Lalelani Aqueenas (20), was stabbed and injured by a named IFP supporter during ongoing political conflict at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 6 April 1992.

NGIDI, Linda John (40), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, in July 1992. Gunmen attacked several houses that day, injuring three people. Fifteen houses were burnt down during the attack.

NGIDI, Lindiwe Nomusa (28), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Lishi Bonakele (44), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Lungeleni Agnes (19), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Lungiseni Nozipho (16), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters on 16 March 1994 in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Makosazane (65), lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1993.

NGIDI, Maninginingi (26), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Manozi (47), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Mantombi (69), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Mantozi Evelinah, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in at Ngonweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 January 1993.

NGIDI, Margaret (30), was shot and burnt to death in her home by IFP supporters during political conflict in KwaZulu, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 29 March 1992. Ms Ngidi's niece was also killed, her sister was shot and injured, and their house was burnt down.

NGIDI, Maria Tozi (68), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, on 2 August 1992. The perpetrators burnt ANC flags and houses belonging to ANC supporters, resulting in several deaths and injuries.

NGIDI, Mary (19), was shot and stabbed to death in her home in an attack by IFP supporters during political conflict in KwaZulu, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 29 March 1992. Two of her aunts were also shot, one fatally, and their house was burnt down in the attack.

NGIDI, Masende Jerome (34), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Mbhekiseni, was severely beaten during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in 1993.

NGIDI, Mloloji Mavis (42), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Muntu Frederick (53), lost his house in an arson attack by named Inkatha supporters during intense political conflict in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1990.

NGIDI, Mzamose Busisiwe, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Mzikayifani (46), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Mziwenpi (63), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Ndobazezwe (60), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Ngenzeni (70), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down during violent conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban in January 1994. Ms Ngidi broke her leg while running away from her attackers.

NGIDI, Ngicuphile (40), an ANC supporter, lost his house and some of his livestock in an arson attack by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Ngiteni Busisile (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Ngitheni Deke (43), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Ngyekeni Chithiwe (56), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Nkomezikale Siswini (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Nkosinathi (55), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Nobuqili Thandi (37), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Nomadiphi (71), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Nomajacimani (80), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Nomatoshi (55), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Nombono Gezepi (51), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Nombuso Constance (27), lost her house in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters during intensifying political conflict at Inanda New Town, Durban, on 17 March 1989.

NGIDI, Nomhlangano (45), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Nomusa Elizabeth (49), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Nonisile Busisiwe (32), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Ntombelize Annacleta (46), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Amatikwe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1992.

NGIDI, Ntombengaka (56), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Ntombilizwe Annacleta (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Ntombizani Elizabeth (50), an IFP supporter, lost her house and three rondavels in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Mfume, Umkomaas, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 July 1992.

NGIDI, Ntombizimbili Nomuza (38), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Ntombizini (48), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters on in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Ntombizonke (43), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in KwaZulu, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 29 March 1992. Her niece and her sister were killed and another sister was shot and injured during the attack.

NGIDI, Phansi (50), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 10 May 1994, the day of Nelson Mandela's inauguration as President.

NGIDI, Phumaphi Martha (77), had her house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Princess Phawulina (23), was beaten to death while walking home from Murchison Hospital, Port Shepstone, Natal, during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters on 17 January 1993. Her sister was also seriously injured in the attack.

NGIDI, Puputekile (62), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo,

Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Qhamukile Yaluzile (43), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban on 16 March 1994 in violent conflict between supporters of the ANC and IFP. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Sanele Sibusiso (19), was shot and injured in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in April 1992.

NGIDI, Sebenzani Elizabeth (40), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Sebenzile Kumbuzile (40), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Sibongile (52), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Sithembiso (25), was shot and injured by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. His sister's house was burnt down as they were accused of being *amaqabane*. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Tebisile Evelyn (71), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Thandekile Irene (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Thembelihle Nester Sidudla (32), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Thobile Eunice (29), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Thunywephi (46), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Tokozile Mar garet (56), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Tusile (67), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Vusumuzi (48), was shot dead by ANC supporters on 16 October 1992 in the Nkanyezini area,

Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

NGIDI, Vusumuzi Patrick (28), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and injured at his home in Inanda, KwaMashu, Durban, on 22 December 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters. While he was in hospital, his house and business premises were burnt down. Mr Ngidi was allegedly targeted because of his refusal to attend UDF meetings.

NGIDI, Zamekile Thulisile (28), an ANC supporter, had her house vandalised by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Zenele Josiphina (42), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Zinekakhe Martha (53), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Zitusele Vezeni (37), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Zo (68), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Zondani (52), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGIDI, Zondeleni Lethiwe, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 April 1990.

NGIDLA, Nkosiyo David (27), was stabbed by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE on 11 March 1985 in Fort Beaufort, Cape.

NGININGINI, Buyisile Nelson (21), was severely beaten while in detention by members of the SAP in September 1977 in Port Elizabeth. He had been arrested at a gathering in St Stephen's Hall, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, following the funeral of Steve Biko. Police threw teargas through the windows, and arrested and beat people present at the meeting.

NGIXI, Nomthandazo Florence (20), was arrested by police on 16 June 1986 after attending a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape. She was taken with others to a site outside the town where they were sprayed with teargas by named and other members of the SAP. She was then detained under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NGKOENG, Ramokone (31), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NGKWENG, Raesibe (54), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NGOAKO, William (43), died after being shot in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 10 September 1991 while waiting for a taxi during intense conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

NGOATO, Frank Jabulani, a member of the SAP, was injured in a hand grenade explosion at a Municipal Police training centre in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 April 1987. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

NGOBE, Madoda Elfas (56), had his house and business premises in Ngqutshini, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in intensifying political conflict in the area in late 1989.

NGOBE, Phindile Mavis (15), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 15 June 1986, the eve of the commemoration of the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

NGOBENI, Anna (26), was shot in the right thigh when police opened fire on a crowd gathered to protest against police brutality at City Rocks Stadium, Winterfeld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986. Eleven people were killed and 200 injured in the CITY ROCKS SHOOTING. Police then assaulted fleeing people, dragging them out of houses and beating them severely both at the scene and at Ga-Rankuwa police station.

NGOBENI, Franse (10), was shot in the neck with pellets by members of the SAP at his home in Mookgophog, Naboomspruit, Tvl, in April 1993. The police were allegedly looking for family members in connection with protests following the arrest of a local leader and the assassination of SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

NGOBENI, Isaac (26), one of four occupants in a police vehicle, was attacked by MK operatives in Nkowa Kowa, Gazankulu, on 15 June 1990. One person was killed and another injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/98).

NGOBENI, Machuene Meryn (25), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NGOBENI, Mageni Selina (58), was severely sjambokked in Nelspruit, Tvl, by 'comrades' who accused her of not participating in *toy-totyping*. They kept her under guard for five days before allowing her access to medical attention.

NGOBENI, Makhanani Elsa (57), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the SAP at her home in Mookgophog, Naboomspruit, Tvl, in April 1993. The police were looking for her sons in connection with protests which followed the arrest of a local leader and the assassination of SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

NGOBENI, Mittah (3), was killed when she was hit on the head by a rubber bullet fired at random by a named member of the SAP travelling past her house in a police van in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on 10 September 1985. Police placed restrictions on the funeral and later teargassed mourners.

NGOBENI, Mvula Petr us (37), a SANCO member, was arrested in 1986 and kept in solitary confinement for two years at Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, because he gave sanctuary to youths wanted by the police.

NGOBENI, Thomas , was shot dead in Kagiso, Tvl, on 6 May 1990 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

NGOBENI, Veka Peter , a member of the SAP, was injured in a hand grenade explosion at a Municipal Police training centre in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 21 April 1987. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

NGOBESE, Alice , was shot dead on 20 August 1992 in Ekuphumleni, Ciskei, when IFP youths swept through the area killing and robbing people. Her mother and four other people were killed in the attack.

NGOBESE, Ambrose Elliot (30), an IFP member, was shot and injured by named ANC supporters at KwaHlaza, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 19 July 1991. His girlfriend was killed in this incident.

NGOBESE, Amos Sibusiso , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NGOBESE, Busisiwe (59), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGOBESE, Constance (48), lost her house when it was burnt down by Inkatha supporters and AMABUTHO members during political conflict in KwaMashu, Durban, on 24 September 1985.

NGOBESE, Duduzile (21), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGOBESE, Eric Sithembiso (25), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and killed by named Inkatha supporters in Mgendwa, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 3 February 1990, the day after the UNBANNING of political organisations.

NGOBESE, Gelile Thembisile (28), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NGOBESE, Gideon Bafana (66), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack in Mgendwa, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in May 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters. His son had been killed in political conflict in the area four months earlier.

NGOBESE, Jeanet (52), an ANC supporter, had her house in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in February 1991. The family hid in the cane fields during the attack.

NGOBESE, Kalelani (59), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGOBESE, Khethezakhe Fundi (28), an IFP supporter, was beaten, stabbed, and shot by ANC supporters at KwaThema hostel in Springs, Tvl, on 19 August 1990. He died from his injuries.

NGOBESE, Malusi Herbert (22), was shot by members of the SAP during political conflict at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 5 August in 1989.

NGOBESE, Mamita (68), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGOBESE, Matilda T emba , was shot and killed by members of the KZP during political violence at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 January 1993. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NGOBESE, Mbongwa Aaron Sabelo (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead while visiting a friend in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in March 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NGOBESE, Mfanekiso (42), an IFP supporter and member of the local street committee, was stoned to death in Johannesburg, on 25 July 1993 during intense political conflict on the East Rand.

NGOBESE, Namnam , was shot dead by members of the SADF who opened fire on mourners at a night vigil for a slain activist in Amanzimtoti, near Durban.

NGOBESE, Nkosinathi Lucas (30), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGOBESE, Ntombifuthi (17), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter on 11 May 1993 in KwaMashu, Durban.

NGOBESE, Phthemuphi Mar garet (56), an ANC supporter, had her house looted and vandalised by IFP supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 2 August 1992.

NGOBESE, Sakhi (26), a UDF supporter, was detained without charge by named members of the Security Branch in Sibongile, Dundee, Natal, on 17 June 1986. He and fellow detainees were allegedly involved in organising a community rates boycott.

NGOBESE, Samson Bekifa , a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by a named Inkatha supporter in KwaMashu, Durban, on 24 September 1985, allegedly because he worked closely with the UDF leadership.

NGOBESE, Sibongile Philpinah (35), an IFP supporter, had her home in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

NGOBESE, Sicelimpilo Celokwakhe , an active UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the KwaZULU POLICE while attending a memorial service in Durban on 22 November 1978. About two months earlier he had been stabbed and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Durban.

NGOBESE, Sithembiso Ernest (25), an ANC member, was detained in Durban on 7 December 1977 and held in solitary confinement for six months in terms of the Terrorism Act. He was severely tortured, and hospitalised as a result. The Supreme Court issued a restraining order prohibiting the Security Branch from continuing to assault him. In December 1979, he was

convicted of political offences and sentenced to five years, which he served on Robben Island. In January 1987, he was again detained under the Internal Security Act, and charged but acquitted.

NGOBESE, Skhosiphi (18), was shot and burnt to death when the house he was in was set alight on 17 March 1994 at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. Numerous houses had been burnt down the previous day by IFP supporters in a sweep through this ANC-dominated part of Ndwedwe. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGOBESE, Thenjiwe Doreen (46), an ANC supporter, was injured when unidentified perpetrators bombed her home during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Shakaville, Natal, in August 1992.

NGOBESE, Thoko Jeanette, was severely injured at New Canada Station, Soweto, Johannesburg, in July 1992 when she was pushed from a moving train by unidentified assailants. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

NGOBESE, Thokozile (35), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGOBESE, Velephi Florence (47), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NGOBESE, Zakhele Samuel (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in the streets of Umlazi, Durban, on 12 June 1990, allegedly by members of the KWAZULU POLICE who were seeking revenge for attacks on an Inkatha councillor's property by shooting youths and ANC supporters. The policemen allegedly placed a hand grenade in the dead man's hand.

NGOBESI, Faith Thuli (43), an Inkatha supporter, had her house petrol-bombed by ANC supporters at Estcourt, Natal, on 30 July 1990.

NGOBI, Ngcobo, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umkomaas, near Durban, in September 1991, allegedly because he refused to participate in IFP self-defence camps.

NGOBO, Zenzele Wellington, an ANC supporter, was stoned to death by alleged KWAZULU POLICE members and IFP supporters on 18 April 1993 at Umlazi, Durban. He had previously fled the area because of conflict with the perpetrators, and was attacked soon after his return.

NGODWANA, Nomantombazana Regina, lost her cattle and her vegetable garden in an attack by members of the SADF at Ezityabeni Location, near Bizana, Transkei, in December 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NGOEPE, Kgobe Agnes (50), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NGOEPE, Ledile (38), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NGOEPE, Rabateng David (48), had his house burnt down by a named perpetrator in February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NGOEPE, Tlou Nelson (26), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in Ellisras, Tvl, by members of the SAP at an ANC meeting in Ga-Seleka in October 1990. Police declared the meeting illegal and dispersed the crowd.

NGOETJANA, Tlou Elizabeth (25), was shot by a named perpetrator in Pietersburg, Tvl, in 1990.

NGOMANA, Xaniseka Robert, was severely injured when hit with rifle butts by members of the SADF in Namakgale, Lebowa, on 31 July 1990.

NGOMANE, Geor ge, was severely beaten with rifle butts, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 21 August 1991 during political conflict on the East Rand.

NGOMANE, Johannes, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters at a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 26 March 1991. Fifteen people died in this attack, which followed clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

NGOMANE, Matletla (63), was severely beaten with sjamboks in Komatipoort, Tvl, on 7 June 1986, allegedly by named 'comrades' who continued to harass him until he left the area with his family.

NGOMANE, Muziwakhe Macmillan (23), an MK cadre, was shot dead in an ambush by UNITA soldiers in Angola in 1988. MK soldiers based in Angola assisted the FAPLA forces of the ruling MPLA government in its war against UNITA, which was assisted by the South African government. 1987-8 saw particularly fierce fighting, in which a number of MK soldiers were killed in combat, often in ambushes laid by UNITA.

NGOMANE, Samson, was severely beaten by members of the Security Branch in eMijindini, Barberton, Tvl, on 18 June 1986 during the state of emergency.

NGOMANE, Sophie Ntombikayise (32), was shot and injured by SADF members during political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 July 1986. Ms Ngomane had attended a UDF meeting that day.

NGOMBANE, Mncedisi, was shot and injured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 December 1990 during violent political conflict on the East Rand.

NGONDO, Engelina Nomvuyo (34), was detained under emergency regulations by named SAP members in Murraysburg, Cape, in June 1986, and held for three months in several prisons. She was suspected of being a UDF and/or ANC supporter as she was allegedly photographed by the police holding an ANC board.

NGONJOLO, Nomvuyo Selinah (35), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 16 March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NGONO, Mbulelo Alfred (aka 'Khaya Kasibe' or 'KK'), an MK operative from Port Elizabeth, survived an ambush by armed men wearing Lesotho security force uniforms near Roma, Lesotho, on 15 March 1988. A fellow MK operative was killed and another

injured in the attack. The latter was subsequently shot dead in his hospital bed in Maseru. Shortly thereafter, Mr Ngono was abducted in Maseru, Lesotho, by Ladybrand Security Branch operatives. Mr Ngono has not been seen since and is presumed dead. Two Security Branch operatives applied for amnesty for the abduction but claimed that Mr Ngono had accompanied them willingly and returned to Lesotho as their agent. Amnesty was refused (AC/2001/238).

NGONO, Miseka Nancy (47), an ANC supporter, was making inquiries about the disappearance of her son in Lesotho when she was detained in Port Elizabeth on 25 May 1988 and held until 1990. She was subsequently charged with terrorism and acquitted.

NGONYAMA, Mfano Vitalis (19), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by a named IFP supporter in Ixopo, Natal, on 7 December 1993. His five-year-old brother was also stabbed to death in the attack.

NGONYAMA, Siboniso (5), was stabbed to death by a named IFP supporter in Ixopo, Natal, on 7 December 1993. His brother, an ANC supporter, was also stabbed to death in the attack.

NGONYAMA, Sipho Funokwakhe (33), had his home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters on 20 September 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

NGOQO, Derrick, was shot dead allegedly by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 11 November 1987. He had been repeatedly harassed by police who sought information about the GUGULETU SEVEN, one of who was his friend.

NGOQO, Nceba (29), was killed by a member of the SAP during political conflict in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 9 February 1991. He died of his injuries in hospital.

NGOTSHA, Andile Arthur (16), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in the Port Elizabeth police station in 1986, after being accused of taking part in the murder of AZAPO members.

NGOTSHA, Ntsikelelo (30), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Port Alfred, Cape, on 9 August 1986 during the state of emergency. See POLICEBRUTALITY.

NGOYI, Edgar Dumile (37), an ANC member, was detained in 1960 and again in 1963, when he was severely tortured. He was imprisoned for 17 years on Robben Island, from 16 January 1964. On 7 June 1985, Mr Ngoyi, who was then Eastern Cape UDF President, lost his home in an arson attack during political conflict in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth. Mr Ngoyi faced other charges and periods of detention in the 1985 to 1987 period.

NGOZO, Morris Auri 'Kraai', an alleged IFP supporter, was shot dead by a group of ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members during political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl, on 20 November 1993. One SDU member was granted amnesty for his involvement in the incident (AC/1999/0186).

NGQABAYE, Nowawi Linah (40), an ANCWL member, was struck unconscious with a baton by a member of the SAP at Johannesburg Supreme Court,

when she tried to hand clean clothes to prisoners accused of treason in the Rivonia trial of 1963.

NGQAMFANA, Zongezile Patrick (24), a member of the Alicedale Youth Congress, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alicedale, Cape, on 26 April 1985.

NGQANDU, Ronald (32), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Komga, Cape, on 14 March 1990 during a random shooting. He was held under police guard in hospital and on discharge was charged with public violence.

NGQAVU, Andile (13), was shot and injured by members of the SAP at De Aar, Cape, in November 1986.

NGQAZO, Ringile, was killed by 'necklacing' by HOYCO and UDF supporters in November 1985 in Hofmeyr, Cape. He had been accused of being a collaborator as he was the friend of a policeman.

NGQEBE, Rodgers (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 15 August 1985.

NGQENDESHA, Godfrey Mlamleli (37), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Ciskei Police on 15 June 1987 in Whittlesea, Ciskei.

NGQINJANA, Lindeka Sylvia (32), an ANC supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 26 February 1992.

NGQOKOMA, Mlamli Moses (20), SAYCO member, was detained by members of the SAP in Dordrecht, Cape, on numerous occasions between 1983 and 1986.

NGQOKOTYA, Rita Mambhele (59), was detained by members of the SAP on 15 June 1986 at the Algoa Park police station, Port Elizabeth.

NGQOLA, Loyiso Thibang (23), was detained in Nyanga, Cape Town, and severely tortured at the Guguletu police station on 26 July 1986, for his alleged involvement in 'people's courts'. He was held for 14 days at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape. During his detention he was taken by police to a beach and tortured again.

NGQULUNGA, Brian Boy Elliot, an *askari*, was shot dead on 20 July 1990 near Brits, Pretoria, by fellow *Vlakplaas* operatives. The applicants testified that they feared Mr Ngqulunga would expose the activities of *Vlakplaas*. Seven *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/062).

NGQULUNGA, M, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NGQULUNGA, Mthetho, was shot dead by members of the SAP in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1991. Police shot three people during an IFP march to Nancefield hostel.

NGQULUNGA, Siphamandla, was shot and stabbed to death when IFP supporters attacked his home at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on

24 March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. His two sisters and brother were also shot and stabbed to death in the attack, and the family home was burnt down.

NGQUMBO, Ben Nzelane (75), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 15 October 1992 by members of the CDF, at his home in Msobomvu, Alice, Ciskei. Three members of his family were killed in the attack.

NGQUTYW A, Livingstone Ngenaphi (75), chairman of SANCO, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP for one month without trial, from 19 September 1992, in Middledrift police station, Middledrift, Ciskei, before a mass funeral for victims of the BISHO MASSACRE.

NGQWALA, Zamikhaya Shadrack, was stabbed and killed by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in March 1991 after the Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) launched a campaign urging town councillors to resign. Many councillors joined the IFP and then informed hostel-dwellers that the ACO intended to demolish hostels sparking conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. During March 1991, 70 people were killed and many others were injured.

NGQWEMLA, Mncedisi Lawrence (26), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga Bush, near Crossroads, Cape Town, in February 1985. Eighteen people were shot dead and hundreds were wounded in a three-day clash from 18 to 21 February when Crossroads residents resisted a forced removal to Khayelitsha.

NGUBANAE, Bizani (59), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Kwa-Nxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1990.

NGUBANE, (first name not given), was shot dead by IFP supporters at the shop where he worked in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1993. Mr Ngubane was shot during an attack on his employer who had refused to join the IFP.

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

NGUBANE, Anna, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Emdeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 April 1991 during intense conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. Four other people were killed in the incident.

NGUBANE, Anton (45), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in April 1990, when members of the SAP opened fire on a group of ANC supporters allegedly guarding the community against further attack from IFP supporters.

NGUBANE, Arnold Barney Mthokozisi (19), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by named

UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 February 1987.

NGUBANE, Bani Gr etta (61), had her house near Hammarsdale, Natal, petrol-bombed during political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters on 4 March 1990. Her son was shot dead while he was trying to escape.

NGUBANE, Beauty (61), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 July 1993.

NGUBANE, Bekuyise Amishaba (41), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 December 1988.

NGUBANE, Bhekameva Afr ed, an IFP supporter, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NGUBANE, Bhekinduna (34), was severely injured when she was stabbed and shot by named Inkatha supporters at KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 4 July 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha supporters and supporters of the UDF and ANC.

NGUBANE, Bhululu Samuel (60), was shot at and had his house in Umzumbe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down in 1990, in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. He was allegedly targeted because his sons were ANC supporters.

NGUBANE, Bizani (59), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1990.

NGUBANE, Bongani Sabelo, was shot at by IFP members during political violence at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 7 August 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NGUBANE, Bongi Sylvia (36), had her house in Pietermaritzburg burnt down during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in 1987.

NGUBANE, Busili, was abducted and assaulted by a member of the ANC's Security Department in Johannesburg, in April 1994. The applicant suspected that Mr Ngubane and others had broken into his minibus and stolen sensitive ANC security-related documents and other goods, which were then handed to an IFP supporter. The applicant was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/066).

NGUBANE, Busisiwe Francina (34), had her home burnt down during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 21 June 1991.

NGUBANE, Concert Zazi (39), an Inkatha supporter, had his house burnt down by ANC supporters in Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 March 1990.

NGUBANE, Daniel Mduduzi (18), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 19 August 1993.

NGUBANE, Dingizwe Isaac (37), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Mandini, Natal, in October 1993, allegedly because he refused to attend an IFP meeting.

NGUBANE, Doris (50), was severely assaulted, raped and stabbed by members of the AMASINYORA vigilantes and a named member of the KwaZULU POLICE at her home in KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1992, allegedly because one of her sons was an ANC supporter. Ms Ngubane's husband was forced to watch the assault on his wife.

NGUBANE, Eric (24), was shot and injured in Emdeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 7 April 1991 in a revenge attack by IFP supporters on their way back from a rally. Mr Ngubane's sister was mutilated in the attack.

NGUBANE, Ernest Mduduzi (21), was shot, stabbed, and burnt and burnt to death by ANC supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 27 August 1991 in ongoing political conflict in the area. His four young cousins were also burnt to death in the attack, when the perpetrators set fire to their home.

NGUBANE, Flora Khosi (37), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by UDF supporters on 29 December 1986.

NGUBANE, Frieda (57), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in September 1989.

NGUBANE, Gilbert, was stabbed and shot dead by ANC supporters who attacked his house in Mevamlhophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 October 1993. The perpetrators accused him of storing weapons for the IFP. His wife, their housekeeper and a neighbour were all severely injured in the attack.

NGUBANE, Hawukile, had her house and tuck shop burnt down by unidentified perpetrators in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Ekuphakameni, near Inanda, Durban, on 21 June 1991.

NGUBANE, Jabulile Ntombifuthi (36), had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 15 April 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

NGUBANE, Jabulisile Francesca (32), had her house and possessions burnt down during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 1 December 1988. The following day, police withdrew their presence from the area in preparation for the TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE, which took place on 3 December.

NGUBANE, John Mbuzana (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NGUBANE, Joseph Nkankabula (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NGUBANE, Maggie (67), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGUBANE, Makhosazana Rita (37), lost her house and all her belongings in an arson attack during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. The previous day, police had withdrawn their presence from the area in preparation for the TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE, which took place on 3 December. At the time of the attack, there was no policing presence in the area, leaving UDF-supporting families particularly vulnerable to attack.

NGUBANE, Maur een (60), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and severely injured in KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1987, while attempting to rescue her son, who had been dragged out of their home and severely assaulted by unidentified perpetrators, at a time of intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters.

NGUBANE, Mavis Mkhosazana (50), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NGUBANE, Mavis Thokozile (20), was shot and wounded by members of the SAP on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING. 575 people were killed and 2 380 people injured during the uprising in clashes between protesters and members of the SAP and the Riot Unit.

NGUBANE, Maxhegu T imothy, an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death by UDF supporters in Clermont, near Durban, on 28 June 1989.

NGUBANE, Mcitwa (67), an IFP supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Mshayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 July 1991.

NGUBANE, Mgwazeni Daniel (33), was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the SADF in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in August 1985. He was then taken to a nearby stream and left for dead. At the time, there was intense conflict between the community and the police, supported by the SADF.

NGUBANE, Mildred Ntombi (32), was severely stabbed and mutilated in Emdeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 7 April 1991 in a revenge attack by IFP supporters accompanied by members of the SAP.

NGUBANE, Msonguthu, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NGUBANE, Musa Clement (30), was stoned and shot dead by ANC supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 12 January 1992, allegedly because he failed to pay ANC protection fees at a time of ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NGUBANE, Musa W iseman (12), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by

supporters of Chief BK Matlala because his family resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NGUBANE, Muzi Musa (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 1 May 1992.

NGUBANE, Nonhlanhla Lucy (38), had her house in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, destroyed in June 1993. Having fled the area earlier because of the conflict between the IFP and ANC, the family returned to find their home looted and destroyed.

NGUBANE, Ntombenkulu (24), an ANC activist, was detained under emergency regulations in 1960, and tortured. In 1963, she was served with a five-year banning order confining her to Umlazi. She defied it and went into hiding in Clermont, near Durban. Arrested in 1964, she was tortured in detention and forced to sign a confession. Sentenced to nine years' imprisonment, she lost her baby, which was delivered in prison.

NGUBANE, Ntombifikile Elina (41), lost her house in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters during intense political conflict in Pietermaritzburg, on 23 March 1990. See SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NGUBANE, Ntombimina Lephina , a UDF supporter, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1990.

NGUBANE, Ntombinkulu Regina (60), an ANC supporter, had her house in Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 19 September 1987 by Inkatha supporters returning from a rally.

NGUBANE, Ntombizanele Eleanor (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGUBANE, Philliphina Beatrice (60), had her house in Richmond, Natal, burnt down by named IFP supporters in May 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NGUBANE, Qhikiza Ntombifikile (38), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 21 May 1990, in conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

NGUBANE, Sandile Bethuel , a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NGUBANE, Sandile Victor (16), was shot from a passing police car in Malelane, Tvl, in June 1986. He was on his way to a public meeting to discuss state informers when police opened fire on the crowd to disrupt the meeting.

NGUBANE, Saraphina (48), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1988.

NGUBANE, Sayco , was shot dead in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, on 10 August 1991 by IFP supporters on a bus returning from a funeral during intense conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

NGUBANE, Sidumo Paulinus , a UDF supporter, was shot in the head and burnt to death by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM in Chesterville, Durban, on 25 May 1986.

NGUBANE, Simon Mzungezwa , a MAWU member, was abducted and shot dead by Inkatha members at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 6 December 1986. Three MAWU members were killed and their bodies were burnt. One survived the attack. At the time, there was intense local conflict between Inkatha and KwaZULU POLICE and MAWU members following the 1985 SARMCOL STRIKE. An inquest found nine known Inkatha members responsible, but no one was charged.

NGUBANE, Sipho Sakhile (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Nnodwane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 April 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The attack took place on the same day as a peace meeting in the area.

NGUBANE, Sizakele Doreen (21), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGUBANE, Stish P , a UDF supporter and member of the Taylors Halt Youth Congress, was detained under emergency regulations on 8 May 1988 in Pietermaritzburg, and tortured by named Security Branch members while in police custody. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NGUBANE, Swabe Marry (38), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters at Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1988.

NGUBANE, Thandiwe Florence (37), was shot and severely injured and had her house in Enhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, destroyed by named ANC supporters in November 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NGUBANE, Themba , an ANC supporter, lost his home in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in arson attack by IFP supporters on 2 August 1992.

NGUBANE, Thembekile Lillios (60), was stabbed and severely injured by ANC supporters who attacked her home in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 October 1993. The perpetrators accused her husband of storing weapons for the IFP, and shot him dead in the attack. Four others were injured, including two children.

NGUBANE, Thembelihle Wilson (22), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death and his body set alight by IFP supporters at Santa in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 July 1993.

NGUBANE, Thokozile Nelisiwe (37), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in continuing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NGUBANE, Tholakele Patricia (30), had her house in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, destroyed and looted by Inkatha supporters on 27 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NGUBANE, Thulani (19), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named Inkatha supporters at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 7 May 1987.

NGUBANE, Virginia Kholekile (40), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg on 29 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NGUBANE, Vivian Happy (24), an Inkatha supporter, lost her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1988, when a gas cylinder thrown by a UDF supporter exploded inside it.

NGUBANE, Vusumuzi Joseph (19), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by named Inkatha supporters in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in May 1990.

NGUBANE, Xolani , an ANC supporter, was stabbed, axed and shot dead by unidentified perpetrators at a taxi rank in Pietermaritzburg during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area on 3 February 1993. Two others were also killed, and one injured.

NGUBANE, Zwelindoda Scion (66), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 7 December 1989. Mr Ngubane's leg was later amputated.

NGUBANI, Bukani Beatrice 'Maluthuli' (58), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by named IFP supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 April 1991.

NGUBANI, Nofi Bhelokwakhe , an IFP supporter, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NGUBELANGA, Nonsikelelo (28), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

NGUBELANGA, Velile Victor (29), was detained in Durban on 11 February 1979 and tortured over a period of three months by named members of the Security Police, allegedly because he was an ANC supporter.

NGUBENI, Amos M , a member of the Municipal Police, was one of six policemen injured when MK operatives opened fire on their patrol van in front of the Lindela hostel, Katlehong, Tvl, on 12 October 1988. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0294).

NGUBENI, Bafana (17), an ANC supporter, was stoned, burnt to death and his body was then mutilated in Katlehong, Tvl, on 23 July 1993, allegedly by ANC supporters because he was friendly with a Zulu-speaking person assumed to be an IFP supporter.

NGUBENI, Evelyn Nomangesi (51), lost her house in a petrol bomb attack by named IFP supporters during political conflict at Empangeni, Natal, on 31 August

1993. Her son and her cousin were killed in the attack. Two weeks earlier, IFP supporters had killed her husband, a well known NEHAWU member, and another son.

NGUBENI, Gift (21), was shot and burnt in a petrol bomb attack by named IFP supporters during political conflict at Empangeni, Natal, on 31 August 1993. A relative was killed in the attack, and the house was burnt down. Mr Ngubeni died of his injuries on 14 October 1993. Two weeks earlier, IFP supporters had killed his brother and his father, a well known NEHAWU member.

NGUBENI, Howick (62), a NEHAWU member, was shot dead on 17 August 1993 when IFP supporters, some of whom are named, attacked him in his home at Nkonyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, allegedly because of his union activities. One of his sons was also killed in the same attack.

NGUBENI, Mahotea (63), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by fellow IFP supporters at Emangweni, near Estcourt, Natal, on 20 October 1993, allegedly because she was suspected of disloyalty to the party.

NGUBENI, Malefetsane Frank (21), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during rent boycotts and protests against town councillors in the area. This period is known as the VAAL UPRISING.

NGUBENI, Mbuyiswa Isaac (38), a SANCO member, was severely assaulted by Inkatha supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 17 December 1989. Violent conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters began in the Transvaal during the latter part of 1989.

NGUBENI, Mlambo Michael , was shot dead by an ANC supporter in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 25 January 1987. The perpetrator applied for amnesty.

NGUBENI, Modecai Lucky , was shot on 17 August 1993 when IFP supporters, some of whom are named, attacked his home at Nkonyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, allegedly targeting his father, who was a Nehawu member. Mr Ngubeni died in hospital of his injuries. His father was killed in the attack.

NGUBENI, Paul Molahleki , was shot and killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natalspruit, Tvl, on the 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

NGUBENI, Siphon Kenneth (34), was severely injured in a shooting at Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 June 1992 during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand.

NGUBENI, Thandiwe Kelly , was shot and killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natalspruit, Tvl, on the 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

NGUBO, (first name not given), a sergeant in the SAP, was abducted, together with another police officer, by MK operatives during a raid on the Bhongolethu police station at Kokstad, Natal, in October 1993. The two police officers were subsequently killed by the

perpetrators. Four MK members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0033).

NGUBO, Eliot Msongelwa , had his house vandalised and looted by IFP supporters in KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, in continuing political conflict in February 1991.

NGUBO, Flomentia (63), an ANC supporter, had to abandon her home in Ixopo, Natal, when her family was severely harassed by IFP supporters in 1993. Ms Ngubo's son had been shot dead by IFP supporters in 1992.

NGUBO, Judith Nosisa , an ANC supporter, was shot in the right thigh and severely injured in Katlehong, Tvl, while travelling on a train towards Wadeville, on 9 August 1991. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE. The East Rand was a key site of train violence with the track from Katlehong to Kwesine station becoming the line with the highest risk in South Africa.

NGUBO, Kennest Ndodo (16), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, in January 1991.

NGUBO, Mandlakayise Caiphas (50), an Inkatha supporter, was killed in a car and then set alight by ANC supporters in an ANC stronghold at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990. His two sons were also killed in this incident.

NGUBO, Mbongeni Paulos (23), an Inkatha supporter, was killed in a car and then set alight by ANC supporters in an ANC stronghold at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990. His father and brother were also killed in this incident.

NGUBO, Michael Bayo (52), had his house in Mahaqwa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in April 1990, soon after the UNBANNING of political organisations. His children were allegedly ANC supporters.

NGUBO, Nhlanhla Ber nard, a member of the SAP, was shot dead in Kokstad, Natal, while on night duty at a local police station on 18 October 1993. Despite evidence to suggest the involvement of APLA in this attack, the APLA leadership denied responsibility for the killings.

NGUBO, Nkosinathi (aka 'Diliza Dumakude), an MK member, was shot dead in 1984 by MK members in an MK camp in exile allegedly after he had criticised the MK security unit for its harsh treatment of soldiers. See ANC CAMPS.

NGUBO, Nombuso Maggie (44), had her house burnt down in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

NGUBO, Ntombizonke Rita (47), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in late 1989.

NGUBO, Ser geant, a member of the SAP, was abducted, together with another police member, from the Bhongweni police station in Kokstad, Transkei, on 18 October 1993, in an attack by SDU members. Both were shot dead. Four SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0033).

NGUBO, Sibusiso Bethuel (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP during political unrest at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 February 1989.

NGUBO, Sindile Vincent Sira (16), had his house petrol-bombed by a group of youths in October 1977 in Cradock, Cape, allegedly because his brother was accused of being a collaborator in the area.

NGUBO, Thembisile L ynnnet (27), an Inkatha supporter, lost her houses in an arson attack by a named UDF supporter in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 June 1989.

NGUBO, Victor (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Sinathing, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 20 September 1987.

NGUBO, Xolani , was one of three men stabbed to death by ANC supporters and residents of the Bottlebrush informal settlement, Chatsworth, Durban, in ongoing political conflict on 26 December 1993. Three ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0059).

NGUBO, Ziyalile Baqiphile (50), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by fellow ANC supporters during serious internal conflict at Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 January 1987.

NGUDLE, Looksmart Khulile , an ANC member, allegedly hanged himself while in detention in Pretoria, on 5 September 1963. He was the first detainee to die under the 1963 Detention Law. Mr Ngudle was allegedly responsible for recruiting MK members for military training outside South Africa, was directly linked with the MK High Command in Johannesburg and was cited as a fellow conspirator in the Rivonia Trial.

NGUNA, Andile Nobleman (27), a UDF supporter, was shot in the leg by a named member of the SAP on 14 July 1985 in Queenstown, Cape, allegedly while he was throwing stones at the perpetrator's house with others. He was arrested and sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

NGUSE, Roslina Nozihlabo (44), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Mshayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 June 1989 in intensifying political conflict.

NGUTSHANE, Madoda (23), was shot dead by IFP supporters at Selby hostel in Johannesburg, on 21 July 1992. Hostel-dwellers were allegedly coerced into joining the IFP when Inkatha launched itself as a political party in 1990. Cordial relations between hostel-dwellers were replaced with increasing conflict based on ethnicity, residential area and political affiliation.

NGUZO, Kadefunwa (27), an ANC supporter, was beaten by police on his arrest in Robertson, Cape, in November 1985. On 18 June 1986 he was again beaten by police and detained for three months.

NGWABE, Nonhlanzeko Maggie Hlomuka (65), had her house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

NGWAMBA, Musa (15), was shot by a named perpetrator in the eMijindini Community Hall, Barberton, Tvl, during a celebration of the Freedom Charter on 26 June 1990.

NGWANANG, Mof fat, was severely beaten in Lebaleng, Makwassie, Tvl, in November 1991.

NGWANDI, Lucky Brian, was shot dead in Tembisa, Tvl, on 31 July 1993.

NGWANE, Andile Isaac (16), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, in 1985. He was unconscious for seven days and was hospitalised for three months as a result of his injuries.

NGWANE, Babo Michael (36), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGWANE, Bathobile (44), an ANC supporter, had her house at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters, who also stole her livestock and furniture, in December 1991.

NGWANE, Bongani Michael (39), an ANC supporter, was assaulted without provocation at KwaMashu, Durban, by members of the SADF 32 Battalion on 5 January 1990, allegedly because he was found in an area where a killing had taken place.

NGWANE, Boyi, an ANC supporter, was killed in unknown circumstances, allegedly by an Inkatha hit squad, in Port Shepstone, Natal, in April 1990.

NGWANE, Busisiwe Reginah (32), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NGWANE, Dolly Tholakele, an ANC supporter, was killed in unknown circumstances, allegedly by an Inkatha hit squad in Mahwaqa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990.

NGWANE, Gipheth Khulekani (31), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in April 1993.

NGWANE, Joseph (51), was stabbed to death by a named Inkatha supporter in Umzumbe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during intensifying political conflict in the area on 12 February 1983.

NGWANE, Mathuli (11), was stabbed and severely injured when Inkatha supporters attacked his parents' home in Umzumbe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 January 1984 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters. Three other family members were severely injured in the attack, and one was killed.

NGWANE, Mhlengi, was stabbed and severely injured when Inkatha supporters attacked her parents' home in Umzumbe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in intensifying political conflict on 1 January 1984. Three other family members were severely injured in the attack, and one was killed.

NGWANE, Muntu (28), was shot dead by unidentified gunmen wearing balaclavas, allegedly members of the KWAZULU POLICE, who opened fire on people drinking at a tavern in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 August 1992.

NGWANE, Ngibonisele Nethwell (30), a member of the SAP, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Hibberdene, Natal, on 27 December 1991.

NGWANE, Nonhlanhla (16), was stabbed and severely injured when Inkatha supporters attacked her parents' home in Umzumbe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 January 1984 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Three other family members were severely injured in the attack, and one was killed.

NGWANE, Sibusiso Abraham (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by KwaZULU POLICE and IFP supporters outside the family store at Groutville, Stanger, Natal, on 14 January 1994, following a dispute between ANC and IFP supporters.

NGWANE, Sizakele Gertrude (47), was stabbed and severely injured when Inkatha supporters attacked her home in Umzumbe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 January 1984 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Three other family members were severely injured in the attack, and one was killed.

NGWANE, Sqomu, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Umzumbe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in intensifying political conflict in the area in 1984.

NGWANE, Thembalipheli Goodman (37), had his car and home destroyed by unidentified persons, allegedly members of the SAP co-operating with Inkatha supporters in Ezimbokodweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intensifying political conflict in January 1986.

NGWANE, Themninkosi Killer (25), was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NGWANE, Vimbekile Matilda (44), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in April 1993 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

NGWANE, Zibukele (3), was stabbed to death when Inkatha supporters attacked his parents' home in Umzumbe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 January 1984 in intensifying political conflict in the area. Four other family members were severely injured in the attack.

NGWANE/KHANYILE, Dennis Bonginkosi (21), a UDF supporter, had his house burnt down during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Inchanga, Natal, on 11 December 1988.

NGWANQA, Xola (16), a PAC supporter, was killed by UDF supporters on 16 November 1987 during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape.

NGWANYA, Constance (38), had her house in Kwa-Mashu, Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters on 15 August 1989, in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters. The attackers were allegedly looking for her brother, who had gone into hiding.

NGWAPE, Gideon Legothi (76), an ANC supporter, was threatened with his life, his cattle were stolen and his house was burnt down in Kgomo, near Pietersburg, Tvl, in April 1990 during political conflict in the area.

NGWAQA, Mxolisi, was shot dead on 29 July 1986 when an MK unit attacked the Madeira police station,

in Umtata, Transkei. At least eight people were killed in the attack, including policemen, civilians and one of the MK operatives. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

NGWAZI, Balungile , an IFP supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by ANC members, at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

NGWAZI, Florah Khushi (32), an ANC supporter, lost her house at Nkulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in April 1990, allegedly because of her political affiliation.

NGWAZI, Florence (45), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Durban in February 1993.

NGWAZI, Gila Thompson (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when IFP supporters attacked his mother-in-law's home in Oshabeni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 October 1992. His wife was also shot dead in the attack, and his daughter was severely injured.

NGWAZI, Gugu Beta (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when IFP supporters attacked her mother's home in Oshabeni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 October 1992. Her husband was also shot dead in the attack, and her daughter was severely injured.

NGWAZI, Magqulusela Fisa (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by unidentified IFP supporters at KwaMnyandu railway station in Umlazi, Durban, on 1 October 1993.

NGWAZI, Makhosi (2), the daughter of ANC supporters, was shot and severely injured when IFP supporters attacked her grandmother's home in Oshabeni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 October 1992. Her parents were both shot dead in the attack.

NGWAZI, Mbekelwa (38), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Madakane, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 October 1991.

NGWAZI, Toto Alson (30), an ANC leader, was shot and killed by a named IFP supporter at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 April 1992, allegedly because of his role in the ANC.

NGWEKAZI, Ndabayakhe (30), was shot dead at KwaMadlala, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 30 May 1992, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. The minibus in which he was travelling was stopped by unidentified gunmen, who opened fire on the passengers.

NGWENDU, Ziphilele , a SANCO chairperson, was severely assaulted by members of the Ciskei Police and the CDF on 9 September 1992 at Gobozana, King William's Town, Cape.

NGWENYA, Alex Mohlopheni (26), was stabbed and beaten by 'comrades' on 21 May 1986 in Zola, Steynsburg, Cape. The perpetrators were reportedly searching for Mr Ngwenya's brother who was an AZAPO supporter.

NGWENYA, Alphius , was attacked by IFP members during political conflict between the BLACK CATS and the ANC at Wesselton, Eastern Tvl, in 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NGWENYA, Beauty (55), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990.

NGWENYA, Bheki Richard , a SOYCO member, a SOYCO member, was killed with two others in an entrapment operation by Soweto Security Branch operatives at Klipspruit, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 July 1989. Members of the Soweto Security Branch infiltrated an alleged MK unit and provided the members with arms and training before killing them. Eight Soweto Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/007).

NGWENYA, Chris , a leader of the BLACK CATS, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) during a period of conflict in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, in March 1992. Mr Ngwenya's wife was killed and his sister-in-law injured in the attack. Five SDU members were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/98/0121).

NGWENYA, Delile Dora (48), was shot and injured in Katilehong, Tvl, on 6 July 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand.

NGWENYA, Edwin Thamsanqa , a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NGWENYA, Elizabeth (7), was shot dead when about ten men opened fire in Ivory Park, Tembisa, Tvl, on 14 August 1992. Five people died and eight others were injured in the attack, allegedly intended to break a community taxi boycott. Taxi operators were IFP-aligned, and members of the SAP allegedly colluded with the IFP in escorting the gunmen to Ivory Park.

NGWENYA, Hilda Topo (40), had her house petrol-bombed, allegedly by members of the SAP and IFP supporters, in Sebokeng, Tvl, during 1992.

NGWENYA, Jeanet , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Vrede, OFS, on 29 April 1993. She was participating in a protest march against the detention of minor children in police custody when the police fired on the crowd and killed her.

NGWENYA, Jobe (35), an MK member, was detained by members of the SAP at road block in Paulpietersburg, Natal, while travelling from Swaziland to Durban in April 1977. He has never been seen since and is presumed dead.

NGWENYA, Johannes Rankie , was burnt to death by IMBOKODO vigilantes in KwaNdebele, on 8 June 1986. Mr Ngwenya was reportedly on his way for military training from the ANC in Lusaka.

NGWENYA, Joyce Sbogile (40), was burnt to death and her house was destroyed in an arson attack, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 11 September 1990. The East Rand was a central site of violent political conflict from August 1990.

NGWENYA, Julius , was severely beaten by IMBOKODO members in 1986 because he had an argument with a

CID policeman. He was taken to Kwaggafontein police station, Tvl, where he was allegedly assaulted again.

NGWENYA, Lahlwe Ger trude (65), lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters, allegedly in co-operation with members of the KWAZULU POLICE, in Mabhyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 February 1994. The perpetrators were returning from a rally to launch an IFP branch in the area. One man was killed and five homes belonging to ANC supporters were burnt down.

NGWENYA, Lerato Alpheus, an AZAPO member, was shot and killed in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 December 1993 during conflict between IFP, ANC and AZAPO supporters in the area.

NGWENYA, Lindiswa (23), was shot on 4 August 1983 when members of the Ciskei Police randomly opened fire on people in her home at Mdantsane, Ciskei, during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

NGWENYA, Lolo, an ANC supporter, was attacked and injured in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 24 March 1990, when IFP supporters attacked the house he was visiting. One person was killed in the attack.

NGWENYA, Madiambi Julia (35), was shot and injured at a community meeting in Malelane, Tvl, in 1988 when occupants of a low-flying helicopter opened fire on the crowd.

NGWENYA, Mafika, was injured when UDF supporters launched a petrol bomb attack on a bus along the N3 freeway, near Standerton, Tvl, in March 1987. The bus was transporting Pirates soccer club players and fans to Tokoza. The Pirates were believed to be a vigilante group collaborating with community councillors and police in attacking the UDF. Three UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/071).

NGWENYA, Mandla Michael (22), an ANC supporter, was beaten to death by unidentified perpetrators in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 17 June 1991.

NGWENYA, Mary Poneng (47), lost her house in an arson attack in Emdeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 22 May 1986 during a rent and consumer boycott.

NGWENYA, Mohlopheli Alex (26), was stabbed by a group of students, some of whom are named, in Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1986. Mr Ngwenya was accused of being an AZAPO supporter during conflict between UDF- and AZAPO-supporting students.

NGWENYA, Moses Miliushekela (40), a KWAZULU POLICE member, was shot dead by Riot Squad members in Mpumzu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 31 December 1988, while allegedly attempting to calm a march that was in progress.

NGWENYA, Mqotywa Japan, (60), was shot and injured by members of the SADF in Germiston, Tvl, on 15 June 1992.

NGWENYA, Muzi, was detained in Moroka, Soweto, Johannesburg, during January 1986 on suspicion of arson and murder. After his brother was killed, a revenge attack led to the death of an old woman suspected of instigating the killing of his brother. Mr

Ngwenya and his sisters were all detained, and tortured into making a false confession about the woman's death. He was eventually sentenced to three and a half years' imprisonment which was suspended.

NGWENYA, Muziwakhe Boniface (aka 'Thami Zulu'), an MK commander in charge of MK's Natal military machinery, was recalled from Swaziland to Lusaka, Zambia, in 1987, on suspicion of being a South African agent. He was held in custody for two years and then released. Shortly thereafter, he was admitted to hospital in Lusaka, but died two days later. Various explanations have been advanced as to the cause of death, including illness and poisoning. The Commission was unable to make a finding on Mr Ngwenya's death. While he was in custody, *Vlakplaas* operatives had illegally searched his house in Mbabane, Swaziland, in 1988, and threatened the occupants. A *Vlakplaas* operative was granted amnesty for the illegal search (AC/2001/070).

NGWENYA, Nelsiwe (20), was shot on 21 March 1993 in Whitecity, Kliprivier, Natal, when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers opened fire on local residents. Ms Ngwenya died two days later in hospital.

NGWENYA, Nhlanhla Ber nard, was shot dead during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 8 August 1992.

NGWENYA, Nkosinathi Emmanuel (13), was arrested, severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP at Sakhile near Standerton, Tvl, in 1987 during intense conflict in the area among the youth who were divided into two groups.

NGWENYA, Peter, was shot dead by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in Orlando, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 May 1991. Hostel-dwellers were coerced into IFP membership after Inkatha launched itself as a political party in 1990. As a result, relations between residents and hostel-dwellers became increasingly strained.

NGWENYA, Samuel (34), was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in 1986 because he had an argument with a member of the CID. Mr Ngwenya was taken to the Kwaggafontein police station where he was assaulted again.

NGWENYA, Seline (31), lost her home in an arson attack in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, in December 1993 during intense conflict in the area between IFP, ANC and AZAPO supporters.

NGWENYA, Sifiso Freeda (29), sustained severe injuries when AWP members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

NGWENYA, Sipho John, was killed, by a group of youths in Soweto, Johannesburg, in January 1987. Mr Ngwenya's sister was a political activist.

NGWENYA, Sipho, an ANCYL supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP at Standerton police station, Tvl, in 1988 during protests in the area. They questioned him about the whereabouts of his 'comrades'.

NGWENYA, Skhumbuzo , an ANC supporter and vice-president of the Imbali Youth Organisation, was shot and killed on 8 February 1992 while leaving a restaurant in central Pietermaritzburg. He had allegedly been harassed and assaulted by KwaZulu POLICE members and IFP supporters over a number of years, and his house had been burnt down in 1986, allegedly by IFP supporters.

NGWENYA, Smangalis Moses , was shot and injured by members of the SAP and IFP supporters in Daveyton, Tvl, on 21 October 1993 after conflict on the East Rand between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and residents spread to Daveyton.

NGWENYA, Sombu Monica (25), was arrested when police raided her home. Ms Ngwenya was detained in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, from 27 July to 29 October 1985. She was beaten and suffocated when rubber tubing was placed over her face on 1 August 1985 while being continually interrogated about the Tsakane Crisis Committee.

NGWENYA, Themban Doris (36), had her house at Umlazi, Durban, burnt down during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters on 8 August 1992.

NGWENYA, Thembeni Rosemary (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Emabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 December 1992.

NGWENYA, Thembinkosi Alfred (20), an ANC supporter, escaped injury when he was shot at by hooded gunmen who attacked three homes at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 20 June 1993. See MURCHISON ATTACKS.

NGWENYA, Thethi Emily (45), was detained and tortured in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 1 September 1992 because her husband provided accommodation to fleeing 'comrades'.

NGWENYA, Tshodi Julius , was severely beaten by IMbokodo vigilantes in 1986 because he had an argument with a member of the CID. Mr Ngwenya was taken to the Kwaggafontein police station where he was assaulted again.

NGWENYA, Veli Moses (52), was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 6 July 1993, during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand.

NGWENYA, Vincent , was shot several times when about ten men opened fire in Ivory Park, Tembisa, Tvl, on 14 August 1992. Five people died and eight others were injured in the attack, intended to break a community taxi boycott. Taxi operators were IFP-aligned and members of the SAP allegedly colluded with the IFP in escorting the gunmen to Ivory Park.

NGWENYA, Vusumuzi (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 20 November 1993 in Ladysmith, Natal, by SADF members who fired random shots at people attending the night vigil of an ANC member who had been killed.

NGWENYA, Wilson Diani (24), was shot and seriously injured when police fired on a crowd gathered to protest against police brutality at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986. Eleven people were killed and 200 injured in the CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

NGWENYANA, Lithare Alina (51), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Bophelong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on her way home from a May Day rally held at a local church on 1 May 1985.

NGWEPE, Ledile (46), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NGWEPE, Maphuma Piet (51), had his house burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NGWEPE, Phuti Aphina (37), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NGWEPE, Tlou Caroline (62), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NGWEVENTSHA, Sipho Makhwenkwe (27), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992, during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NGWEVUSHE, Nonzuzo (36), was strangled and 'necklaced' to death in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 28 October 1985. Ms Ngwevushe was the girlfriend of a local leader in favour of the state-sponsored move to Khayelitsha, which was opposed by many residents. She was pregnant at the time of her death.

NGXABANE, Mandla Aubrey (22), was shot in the back by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Makupula Street, Zwide, Port Elizabeth, at midnight on 30 September 1985 during the state of emergency and curfew. He is partially paralysed and confined to a wheelchair as a result of the shooting.

NGXABANI, Mzwanda , a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NGXABAZI, Monti Lolo (60), a COUNCILLOR, was burnt to death on in Guguletu, Cape Town, 26 December 1985, during clashes between UDF supporters and vigilantes known variously as the Witdoeke or the 'Fathers' who were associated with the councillors.

NGXATA, Sidumo 'Ebenezer' (59), was stabbed, hit by an axe and injured in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 10 April 1983. Seven people were killed and 26 injured when supporters of Mr Memani were attacked by supporters of Mr Ngxobongwana during conflict over the struggle for housing.

NGXITHO, Sixabaxiya , a NACTU member, was shot and injured when named police officers and the

WITDOEKE attacked striking mineworkers in Zamdela, Sasolburg, OFS, on 2 October 1987.

NGXOKELA, Mzwabantu (29), an ANC supporter, was kicked and assaulted with sjamboks by members of the SAP at a policeman's house in Khayelitsha, Stutterheim, Cape, in June 1987, allegedly because he had attended a night vigil of a 'comrade' who had been shot dead by the SAP.

NGXOKO, Zwelihle Zacharia (20), an ANC member, was assaulted by members of the SAP in March 1960 at Isikelo, near Bizana, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NGXONGO, Masewu (49), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Estcourt, Natal, on 4 August 1993.

NGXUKUMA, Fever Sydney (19), was severely beaten by migrant workers from the hostels in Nyanga, Cape Town, in December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and hostel-dwellers over the Christmas 1976 period. Twenty-nine people died in the clashes and many more were injured.

NGXUKUMA, Sininmi Kenedy (19), was severely beaten by migrant workers from the hostels in Nyanga, Cape Town, in December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and hostel-dwellers over the Christmas 1976 period. Twenty-nine people died in the clashes and many more were injured.

NGXUMZA, Khwelintonga (49), was seriously injured when he was hacked with an axe and shot in the chest in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers, on 14 August 1990 after violence erupted on the East Rand during August 1990.

NHLABATHE, Mandla, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP at Zenzeni, Warden, OFS, on 20 October 1993, allegedly because of his political affiliation.

NHLABATHI, Lindiwe Geogina (16), is paralysed in one hand after being shot and injured by members of the SAP in Thandukukhanya, Piet Retief, Tvl, on 3 June 1993 while participating in a march to commemorate the death of an ANC operative.

NHLABATHI, Obed Friday (17), was shot and stabbed to death by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in his hospital bed in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, in August 1992. Mr Nhlabathi was allegedly involved with the BLACK CATS. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/98/0121).

NHLABATHI, Thula Alson (40), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters on 31 October 1992 while attending a funeral of a fellow ANC supporter in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal.

NHLANGULELA, T resesa Dudu (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 October 1993. Three of her friends and one family member died in the attack.

NHLANHLA, Petr os, was shot dead by members of the SADF on 16 August 1992 at Bobhoyi, near Port Shepstone, Natal, because they suspected him of being an MK cadre.

NHLANHLA, Vusi Meshack (Mabondlolo) (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP-aligned 'KHETISI KHESWA' GANG members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 at the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at mourners killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived on the scene but allegedly provided no protection, ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

NHLANZI, Solomon Zakhele (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named members of the Municipal Police in KwaGuga, near Witbank, Tvl, on 12 December 1986. At the time, students were fighting for the abolition of corporal punishment and the introduction of Student Representative Councils.

NHLAPHO, Ben Mboshwa, was shot dead at Kwesine train station in Katlehong, Tvl, on 1 July 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE. The East Rand was a key site of train violence with the track from Katlehong to Kwesine station becoming the line with the highest risk in South Africa.

NHLAPHO, Khehla Meshack, had his home damaged in a petrol bomb attack in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, in May 1986. Mr Nhlapho had just resigned as a councillor.

NHLAPHO, Linda, was killed, allegedly by IFP supporters, as he drove with some friends along Khumalo Street in Tokoza, Tvl, on 24 October 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NHLAPHO, Macaleni Shedrack (32), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, in July 1990.

NHLAPHO, Nhlanhla Obed (15), was severely beaten by a named member of the SAP at the police station in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 9 June 1985 after he was accused of being involved in an attempted arson attack on the house of a policeman.

NHLAPHO, Nobelungu Sannah (23), an ANC supporter, was raped and shot in Evaton, Tvl, on 26 June 1993 by named IFP supporters who had earlier shot and killed her boyfriend.

NHLAPHO, Siphso (24), a UDF supporter and student activist, was detained, harassed and tortured by members of the Security Police from 1976 onwards. He moved to Balfour, Tvl, and was kept in solitary confinement before being detained for about three months on suspicion of burning down a councillor's house. He was later charged with resisting arrest, and sentenced to seven months in prison.

NHLAPHO, Zodwa Ellen, was detained by members of the SAP for nine months and kept in solitary confinement in Katlehong, Tvl, during 1986.

NHLAPO, Bafana Swar thooi, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 12 May 1991 during conflict in the township between IFP and ANC supporters.

NHLAPO, Buti Samson (48), an IFP supporter, was abducted and shot dead, allegedly by ANC supporters, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 17 August 1993.

NHLAPO, David Sello (16), an ANC supporter, was beaten and stabbed by members of the A-TEAM, who then attempted to 'necklace' him, in Parys, OFS, in November 1985. At the time there were ongoing clashes between members of the A-Team and township residents protesting over rent increases. In the same year, Mr Nhlapo was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Sasolburg, Tvl, and in Heilbron, OFS.

NHLAPO, Fanyana, a COSAS member, was killed in an entrapment operation in Kagiso, Tvl, on 15 February 1982. An *askari* purporting to be an MK operative offered to train him and three other COSAS members in the use of hand grenades. Once inside the venue (the pumphouse of an abandoned mine), explosives were detonated, killing three. Five Security Branch operatives from *Vlakplaas*, Security Branch Headquarters, the Eastern Transvaal and Soweto Security Branches, including the commander of *Vlakplaas* and his commanding officer, were refused amnesty by majority decision (AC/2001/198).

NHLAPO, Lucas Mbalekelwa (13), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Lynville, near Witbank, Tvl, on 15 March 1990 during political conflict in the township.

NHLAPO, Mpopo James, was injured by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, in 1992 during intense conflict between IFP -supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents.

NHLAPO, Mzwakhe Moses (22), an MK operative, was shot and killed by named members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 April 1992 after an argument in which 'KHETHISI KHESWA' GANG members demanded he remove his ANC T-shirt. The police were allegedly summoned by the gang and arrived at Mr Nhlapo's house where he was then shot and killed in a gun battle with police.

NHLAPO, Mzwakhe Samson, was one of three vigilantes pursued and hacked to death by UDF supporters in Standerton, Tvl, in June 1987, because he was believed to have collaborated with members of the Pirates soccer club and community councillors to persecute UDF supporters. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/071).

NHLAPO, Nelisile, an IFP supporter, was assaulted, allegedly by ANC supporters, in her home in Tokoza, Tvl, on 17 August 1993 when the perpetrators came to look for her father.

NHLAPO, Sematla Ezekiel (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 24 September 1990 after violent political conflict erupted on the East Rand in August 1990.

NHLAPO, Velaphi Moses (33), a UDF supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP, while returning from a meeting about a rates boycott in Katlehong, Tvl, on 24 October 1988.

NHLEBELA, Marosa Rose (41), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NHLEBEYA, Trilo Aaron (26), was arrested and assaulted with sjamboks by alleged members of the SAP and SADF in Malelane, Tvl, in June 1986. He was later tried and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. Mr Nhlebeya had participated in a community initiative to get rid of individuals acting as 'comrades' who allegedly robbed members of the community.

NHLEBO, Hazekia Ngoyoli (14), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 24 October 1992 after he and his brother were abducted by unidentified persons from their home in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His brother was also killed.

NHLEBO, Themba (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 24 October 1992 after he and his brother were abducted by unidentified persons from their home in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His brother was also killed.

NHLEKO, Simanga Clever (21), was shot dead by IFP supporters and named members of the KwaZulu POLICE while he was studying at his home in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 19 August 1992.

NHLENGETHWA, Collen Mandla, a COSAS member, was shot and killed in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, on 14 July 1985 by members of the SAP who claimed he was caught committing arson. Mr Nhlengethwa's friend however, alleges that police shot at them after they were told to run.

NHLENGETHWA, Enos, an MK member, was detained by members of the Security Branch in Vryheid, Natal, in 1984. Mr Nhlengethwa had recently returned to South Africa after a long period in exile. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

NHLENGETHWA, Mkhuhliseni Isaac, an ANC supporter, was shot at by IFP members during political violence at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 22 January 1992. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NHLUMAYO, Hamvundla Hester (62), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 March 1994.

NHLUMAYO, Hlino Ir ene (49), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 March 1994.

NHLUMAYO, Khiye Robert (35), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 April 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NHLUMAYO, Kota (65), was shot and injured when IFP supporters attacked homes in an ANC stronghold in the Umbumbulu area, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 October 1992. Eight people were killed; six women and eight children were injured in the shooting. Many homes were attacked and destroyed.

NHLUMAYO, Musi Raymond (22), an ANCYL member, had his car and house set alight in an arson attack by IFP supporters and KwaZulu POLICE members at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 6 December 1990.

While trying to escape from the fire, Mr Nhlumayo was shot and injured.

NHLUMAYO, Nomvuyo Sweetness (32), had her house in KwaXolo, near Ramsgate, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 5 April 1994 in the conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NHLUMAYO, Richard Nomaquiza (29), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by named IFP supporters in KwaDandala, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 September 1990. Three other ANC supporters were also killed in the incident.

NHLUMAYO, Siggoko Philip (45), an IFP supporter, was shot by ANC supporters in Ensimbini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992, and died later of an internal haemorrhage. He was ambushed while raising an alarm to signal an ANC attack.

NIEMAND, AM, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

NIUWALDT, Sarah Susanna (9), was injured when two MK operatives detonated a bomb in a shopping centre in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 23 December 1985, in retaliation for a South African security forces attack two weeks earlier on ANC members in Lesotho, in which nine people had been killed. The explosion in Amanzimtoti killed five people and injured 61. One of the operatives was sentenced to death and later hanged.

NIUWOUDT, H, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

NIKANI, Nkosana, was shot dead by a named perpetrator in Sterkstroom, Cape, on 1 October 1986, allegedly because of his involvement in political activities in the area.

NIKELO, Christopher Tello (17), an ANC supporter, left with other comrades to attend a funeral in Orkney, Tvl, in 1986 and was never seen again. Four days after he disappeared, his mother received a call from from an unidentified 'comrade' who told her that her son had been arrested and transferred to Stilfontein. At Stilfontein police station the police denied having seen him.

NIKWE, Fana Steven (28), was abducted by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict at Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 January 1992. The perpetrators allegedly forced him and two friends to accompany them in an attack on suspected ANC supporters. He subsequently fled the area.

NIKWE, Mboniseni (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named IFP supporter at a shopping centre in Marburg, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in March 1994. He had witnessed the shooting of his

father and brother, and the perpetrators feared that he would identify them.

NIKWE, Xolani Lawr ence, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by named IFP supporters in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 March 1994.

NINELA, Mabaso Blessing (28), was abducted on 13 June 1988 by Port Natal Security Branch operatives, who believed him to be an MK operative. He was shot dead on a railway line in Bulwer, Natal, and his body was then destroyed with a limpet mine to create the impression that he had blown himself up while laying the mine. Three Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for their involvement in the incident. A fourth applicant died before the hearing (AC/2001/084).

NINELA, Margaret Evelina (52), an IFP supporter, had her house in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters in February 1991.

NINI, Buyiswa L ydia (47), an ANC supporter, was shot in an ambush on the road between Ilitha and Berlin, Cape, in April 1993, while travelling in a car with her husband, Mr Lulama Nini.

NINI, Lulama, an ANC supporter, was shot dead while opening his business in Ilitha, near Berlin, Cape, on 1 June 1993.

NINI, Xoliswa V irginia (37), an ANC underground member, was assaulted, trampled and suffocated during torture in detention by named Ciskei Security Police at NU1 police station in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 16 July 1987. She was interrogated about MK operatives who were being harboured at her boyfriend's house.

NJAKAZI, Mthunzi Velemseni (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at a taxi rank in Durban, allegedly by a named *askari* and Security Police members, on 28 January 1991, after his return from exile.

NJALO, Boy Goodman Mzimkulu (25), a UDF supporter, was seriously injured when he was run over by a Hippo driven by a named SAP member on 5 June 1985 in Port Elizabeth. On 2 September 1985, he was arrested and detained for two weeks at St Alban's prison, Port Elizabeth.

NJAMELA, Felinyanisa Abner (29), an ANC member, was detained in Guguletu, Cape Town, in 1960. He was again detained in 1963 and severely tortured by named members of the police and Security Branch in Robertson, Cape. In 1967 he was detained, charged but acquitted.

NJAMELA, Jabulani George (23), an ANC member from Cape Town, was arrested at the Botswana border on 26 February 1988, while leaving the country with four others. He was repeatedly and severely tortured, including suffocation, beatings, and the crushing of his genitals, by members of the Security Police at the Groot Marico police station in Zeerust, Tvl. Named Security Branch personnel from Cape Town arrived and tortured him as well. Thereafter he was held in solitary confinement in Cape Town for 13 months.

NJAMELA, Langa Likhanya (34), an ANC activist, was banished from Port Elizabeth in 1966 and kept under house arrest in Tsomo, Transkei. In March 1963, he had been detained for 180 days at Cala prison,

Transkei, where he was beaten, kept in solitary confinement for 90 days, deprived of food, water and blankets for three days, and interrogated by members of the Special Branch about Poqo activities.

NJAPA, Sibongile Mildred (49), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 6 April 1992. She and her children were forced to flee the area.

NJAPA, Thana Gr etta (62), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, on 13 June 1990.

NJAPHA, Baphindile Lucy (65), had her home burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NJAPHA, David Vamasi (47), was shot dead by IFP supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 7 August 1992, allegedly because he was an ANC councillor.

NJAPHA, Hlohlimpi John (68), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NJAPHA, Joana Mano (49), was forced to leave her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in December 1988, because of conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. When she returned, her house was occupied by Inkatha supporters.

NJAPHA, Patrick Magabhana (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 April 1991.

NJATO, Gilbert Moeketsi (12), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, in 1984, during political conflict in the area. The boy was walking home when he was hit by police fire. Three other people were killed in the incident.

NJATU, Nopola , an ANC supporter, was killed by members of the SAP in a police garage in Sterkstroom, Cape, on 7 November 1986. The police and the doctor alleged that Mr Njatu died as a result of epileptic fits, but his wife claims that there was an open wound on his forehead.

NJEJE, Nokwendisa Priscilla (38), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by a named perpetrator in Flagstaff, Transkei, on 13 December 1992. At the time, there was a meeting in the Xhophozo tribal authority between ANC supporters and followers of the local chief. In a fight that ensued, several people were assaulted and several houses were burnt down.

NJENINI, Mzwandile Jef frey (19), a UDF activist, was arrested and tortured by members of the SAP, and detained for several months under emergency regulations in Richmond, Cape, in 1986. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NJEYA, Ltetl (47), had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 at a time of intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NJIKELANA, Rebecca Nomsa (36), an Area Committee member, was arrested in Soweto, Johannesburg, on

18 May 1987 and detained at the Lenasia police station. Ms Njikelana was interrogated, beaten, denied access to a toilet and then forced to relieve herself in the presence of her male interrogators.

NJIKELANA, Tetiswa Mercy (30), was run down by a military vehicle at Esipetweni section, Tembisa, Tvl, on 31 July 1993 during political conflict in the township. Ms Njikelana's one leg is now shorter than the other. The soldier driving the vehicle failed to stop after the collision. The SADF denied the charges and the Attorney-General withdrew charges.

NJILI, Xola Patrick , (24), was detained on 28 May 1986 in East London. While in detention he was tortured by members of the Security Branch, as a result of which he was admitted to Frere hospital, East London. After he was discharged, he was again detained and interrogated.

NJILO, Busaphi , was one of 13 people killed in an attack by UDF and ANC supporters on Inkatha supporters in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/041).

NJILO, Edista (48), an ANC supporter, had her house at Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by the SADF, in July 1993. She and her family, along with several others, had to flee the area.

NJILO, Ernest Muntu (46), an ANC supporter, had his house at Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP members on 11 February 1993.

NJILO, Funokwakhe , was burnt to death when her house was set alight by Inkatha supporters during intensifying political conflict at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in January 1986. She and her husband, who was also burnt to death in the attack, were associated with 'AmaMpondo', who were identified with the ANC.

NJILO, Ntombintombi Getrude (41), lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict at Ixopo, Natal, in July 1993.

NJISANE, Matshesi V irginia (41), had her house burnt down during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in Isipingo, Natal, in 1986.

NJODO, Constance Thandeka , a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SADF while she was visiting her father in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, during intense public unrest in August 1985.

NJOKO, Busani Alex (23), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters at Estcourt, Natal, on 28 March 1994.

NJOKO, Khaya Simon (53), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters at Estcourt, Natal, on 28 March 1994.

NJOKO, Lucas Thembinkosi (37), was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NJOKO, Musawenkosi Phillip (18), was stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters in political conflict at KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 25 September 1990.

NJOKO, Thobile Olga, was assaulted and severely injured by IFP supporters during political conflict at Estcourt, Natal, on 30 October 1993. Three people were killed and three homes set alight in separate incidents of violence between the ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NJOKWENI, Mandla, an ANC member, was shot and injured by a group of men in balaclavas, including one in a SPECIAL CONSTABLE uniform, in Site B, Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 2 August 1992. He was patrolling with a community defence unit, established to ward off BALACLAVA GROUP attacks on the community and ANC members. Two people were injured and another was killed in the attack.

NJOKWENI, Meyers (31), an MK operative, was shot dead in a shoot-out with members of the Ciskei Police near Fort Jackson, Ciskei, in 1986. Three others were also shot dead in the incident.

NJOLI, Francis (37), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF at Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 4 August 1983 during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

NJOLI, Princess Nontuthuzelo Norhi (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 25 December 1988 at NU10, Mdantsane, Ciskei.

NJOVANE, Nkosayithethi Precious (22), was shot and injured by members of the SAP who were on patrol during unrest in Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape, on 18 November 1985. In September 1986, he was arrested, charged with public violence and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

NJU, Khayalabo Aubrey, was injured when AWB members detonated a pipe bomb at a taxi rank on the corner of Third and Park Streets in Randfontein, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Six people were injured in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

NJUZA, Nzimene Jefrey (26), an ANC supporter and NUM unionist, was shot dead by a white co-worker at the Rustenburg Refineries, Tvl, because he drank from a cup reserved for white workers. Mr Njuza had been campaigning against separate facilities. Afterwards, the perpetrator shot and killed himself.

NJWABULE, Ntsikelelo Patrick (25), was arrested, severely assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP in the Dimbaza police station, King William's Town, Cape, in 1985. There was extensive unrest in Dimbaza at the time. He was later forced from the area by police and told never to return.

NKABALAZA, Nonkululeko Margaret (33), a UDF supporter, was assaulted with sjamboks by members of the SAP in Zamuxolo township in Noupoot, Cape Province, on 25 April 1986, while attending a mass meeting of residents.

NKABI, Sinna (50), was intimidated, harassed and forced to flee from her house in Bekkersdal, near

Westonaria, Tvl, in 1990. Ms Nkabi had all her belongings stolen later by a named perpetrator during conflict between AZAPO and ANC supporters.

NKABINDE, Albert (27), was shot dead when police fired on a crowd gathered to protest against police brutality at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986. Eleven people were killed and 200 injured in the CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

NKABINDE, Alpheus Muziwakhe (21), a UDF and MAWU supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in political conflict during the SARMCOL STRIKE at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 6 December 1986.

NKABINDE, Annie (72), was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Ndahleni, Richmond, Natal, in October 1989. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for her husband, and shot Ms Nkabinde when they could not find him.

NKABINDE, Constance Veliwe (57), lost her house in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Ntambanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 January 1994.

NKABINDE, Daniel (aka Vusi Mthembu), an MK operative, was killed with four other operatives by a joint Venda and South African security force team on 25 March 1988 at Mutale River in Venda.

NKABINDE, Dedisim (76), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NKABINDE, Eric Sephiwe (19), was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Moeka near Mabopane, Bophuthatswana, during a protest march to the Ga-Rankuwa Superintendent's office on 7 March 1990.

NKABINDE, Fanasi Frans (41), was harassed, arrested and his mother's house in Sakhile, Standerton, Tvl, was bombed in 1989 by members of the Special Branch. Police were apparently looking for Mr Nkabinde's son who was an ANC member.

NKABINDE, Hezekiah Sibusiso (20), a UDF supporter, was severely assaulted and sentenced to death by an informal court headed by a senior IFP member in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1989.

NKABINDE, Hluphekile Letia (34), was injured when two MK operatives detonated a bomb in a shopping centre in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 23 December 1985, in retaliation for a South African security forces attack on ANC members in Lesotho two weeks earlier, in which nine people had been killed. The Amanzimtoti explosion killed five people and injured 61. One of the operatives was sentenced to death and later hanged. Ms Nkabinde lost an eye as a result of her injuries.

NKABINDE, James Mbuyiseni (40), was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NKABINDE, Jan Zeblon (16), an ANCYL member, was severely beaten by state-aligned vigilantes in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 15 January 1986 after the government declared the area a 'black spot'.

NKABINDE, Khulumani Lena (59), had her property destroyed in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over the area's INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported the incorporation of Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted incorporation.

NKABINDE, Lalitho Martha (48), had her house destroyed in an attack by supporters of Chief Jack Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over the area's INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported the incorporation of Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted incorporation.

NKABINDE, Maruping Job (48), was tortured, intimidated and detained several times, by members of the SAP and SADF, in 1976 in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl. Mr Nkabinde was the principal of a primary school and he was accused of inciting students to fight the government and assisting 'terrorists'.

NKABINDE, Moris, a COSAS member, was recruited for military training by a Security Branch agent purporting to be an MK operative, and died in the NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH near the Botswana border on 26 June 1986. Eight operatives from SADF Special Forces, Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/0190; AC/1999/0192; AC/1999/0194; AC/1999/0031; AC/1999/0188; AC/1999/0030 and AC/1999/0197).

NKABINDE, Peter Ngungunyane (77), lost his house and car in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Ndalen, Richmond, Natal, in 1989. The perpetrators had shot his wife earlier that day, when they could not find him. While he was in hospital attending to his wife, they set fire to his car and home.

NKABINDE, Sara Margaret (43), was kicked, punched and beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986. Ms Nkabinde was taking part in a mass protest against police brutality. 11 people were killed and 200 injured in the CITY ROCKS SHOOTING when police opened fire on the protesters.

NKABINDE, Themba Ephraim (20), a COSAS member, was detained and subjected to electric shocks by named and other members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 18 January 1986. He was released later that day and told to 'be careful'. Many youths were arrested at the time as Khutsong erupted in violent conflict after the alleged shooting of a youth leader by police in early January 1986.

NKABINDE, Thembisile Rita (42), an IFP supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in July 1992.

NKABINDE, Thoko, was burnt when her home was petrol-bombed in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC

supporters at Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in July 1992.

NKABINDE, Thomas London (14), was severely beaten with batons and sjamboks by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, in April 1986. Mr Nkabinde was on his way to the funeral of an activist killed by police.

NKABINDE, Thulani Samuel (42), an ANC supporter, lost his house and possessions in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Ntuzuma, near Durban, in December 1989.

NKABINDE, Thuliswe Seddy Ntu (34), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 21 June 1992. The perpetrators were allegedly returning from an IFP rally at Princess Magogo stadium in KwaMashu.

NKABINE, Michael (39), was arrested and beaten to death in Pretoria, in October 1990.

NKABINI, Cliff Ford, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 4 September 1992 in political conflict at Vulindlela, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg. His body was discarded near a railway line.

NKABINI, Dikekile Ignancia (62), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in the Bulwer area, Natal, in November 1992.

NKABINI, Gertrude Thokozile (49), an ANC supporter, had her home set alight by a named IFP supporter in Gwagwa, Vulindlela, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 3 May 1991.

NKABINI, Isaiah Mfana, a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at Vulindlela, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 25 December 1988.

NKABINI, Nkosinathi Almon, a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters in Vulindlela, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 January 1989.

NKABINI, Nkosinathi, was shot and injured by MK operatives at Edendale Hospital, near Pietermaritzburg, on 4 May 1986. One person was killed and Mr Nkabinde and three others were injured in crossfire between the operatives and police when the operatives raided the hospital to free a member of their MK unit who was being held there. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

NKABINI, Snothi Norman, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 5 March 1992.

NKABINI, Thokozile Beauty (52), lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict in Pietermaritzburg on 10 February 1992.

NKABINI, Zwelihe Derik, an ANC supporter, was beaten and hacked to death during political conflict at Dindi, Pietermaritzburg, in 1989.

NKADIMENG, Joel, was abducted and beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986. At Siyabuswa community hall Mr Nkadimeng and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and sjambokked and beaten as they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted for about

36 hours. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress during violent resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

NKADIMENG, Lekgebe Her mans, was severely tortured and mutilated by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 during conflict over the INCORPORATION OF MOUTSE into KwaNdebele.

NKADIMENG, Mefolo Abram (22), an SRC president, was tortured after his arrest on 7 July 1986 at Ramphelane High School in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, by members of the SADF, one of whom is named.

NKADIMENG, V ernon (aka 'Rogers Mevi ') (27), an MK operative, was killed in a car-bomb explosion on 14 May 1985 in Gaborone, Botswana. The operation was planned and executed by members of the Western Transvaal Security Branch. (AC/2001/228).

NKALA, Flora Tsyidi (57), was shot dead in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, in the BOIPATONGMASSACRE of 17 June 1992. Forty-five people died and 27 others were seriously injured when IFP-supporting residents of the KwaMadala hostel descended on the Boipatong community. The attack was allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police.

NKALA, Mtholeni Hezekia (50), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Eshowe, Natal, on 30 April 1994, in political conflict following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NKALA, Sebenzile Garentina (29), had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in 1990.

NKALA, Velaphi Angeline (15), lost her home in an arson attack during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in Inchanga, Natal, in September 1987.

NKALANGA, John Bongani (18), was shot and killed by two white men while playing outside his school in Driekoppies Village, KaNgwane, on 19 May 1986.

NKALI, George Tlali, a citizen of Lesotho, was abducted in Ladybrand, OFS, by three Security Branch members based at *Vlakplaas*, in February 1981. His body was later found on the Swaziland border.

NKAMBULE, David, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Dlamini, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 June 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING. Mr Nkambule was shot when members of the SAP patrolling the township in a Casspir opened fire.

NKAMBULE, Gubane Samuel, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Ermelo, Tvl, on 5 August 1990. Police were accused of assisting the IFP-aligned BLACK CATS gang, which was terrorising the neighbourhood and killing ANC supporters.

NKAMBULE, Michael (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP in kaNyamazane near Nelspruit, Tvl, on 21 May 1993 during protests by pupils at Lekazi Central High School against the appointment of white teachers at their school.

NKAMBULE, Thembisile Eldah, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), during a period of conflict between the BLACK CATS and ANC members in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, in March

1992. Five SDU members were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/98/0121).

NKANI, Samuel Jomo (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991 by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers retaliating against an attack by ANC-supporting residents.

Approximately 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence. See SWANIEVILLE ATTACKS.

NKANI, Simon Zolile (58), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and burnt in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991 by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers retaliating against an attack by ANC supporting residents. Approximately 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence. See SWANIEVILLE ATTACKS.

NKANINI, Sezwesihle Agrippa (24), an ANC supporter, was beaten, shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 29 November 1991.

NKANYANA, Josias, left home in his employer's minibus during June 1990 and never returned. Mr Nkanyana's body was later found by police lying next to the vehicle with bullet and stab wounds in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 July 1990. Although Mr Nkanyana's family reported him missing, police were unable to trace them and as a result they were only informed of his death a year later, by which time he had already been buried.

NKANYEZI, Dalindyebo (5), died three months after he was brutally assaulted in 1961 in Nkolorha Village, near Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NKANYEZI, Falithenjwa Rasta, was one of six persons who were abducted and interrogated by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members near Port St Johns, Transkei, on 20 April 1994, shortly before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Nkanyezi and three others were then shot dead. The remaining two survived the shooting. The SDU members believed that they were APLA members who were on their way to disrupt an ANC mass rally. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/045).

NKANYEZI, Mafoxini, an ANC supporter, died four months after she was assaulted by SADF soldiers in 1961 in Nkolorha Village, near Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NKASA WE, Gideon Lungile (35), an ANC member, was severely beaten by named SAP members, and detained for a month in April 1960 in Hermanus, Cape. Hermanus residents marched to the police station to hand over their Pass books and were beaten with sjamboks by police.

NKATANE, Maxwell Moiloa (20), an ANC supporter, was detained on 11 November 1986 during political unrest in Aliwal North, Cape. In detention, he was tortured by prison warders.

NKATE, Isiah Pule (47), a SANCO member, was hacked with a panga and severely beaten by a named

member of the Diboka Gang in Masilo, Theunissen, OFS, on 9 July 1990, during conflict over a consumer boycott in the area. The Diboka Gang was a vigilante group supported by the police and opposed to the UDF and ANC.

NKATLO, Pitso, an ANC branch chairman, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Atamelang, Bophuthatswana, in 1991 for wearing a T-shirt bearing a picture of Nelson Mandela.

NKATSHANE, Eslina (57), had her home set alight by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 March 1990. Her husband had been killed earlier, allegedly because he had defected from the Inkatha to the ANC.

NKAWENG, Nthlodi Onicah (33), lost her home when it was burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKAWULE, Nkosini (38), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and tortured, allegedly by members of the ISU, in Katlehong, Tvl, in August 1991.

NKAYI, Nomalinge (20), a COSAS member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Mnandi, Somerset East, Cape, in March 1988. She and two friends were charged with stoning the house of the perpetrator during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT in the township. They were acquitted.

NKAYI, Phila, a student activist, was detained several times in Grahamstown, Cape, prior to 1978, when he was again detained and beaten by police. Mr Nkayi charged the police for assault and received an out of court settlement. He was charged and sentenced to two and a half years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town.

NKEHLI, Evelyn, 57, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters during intense political conflict in August 1988.

NKEHLI, Thandeka (25), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters on 19 December 1988 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban.

NKEHLI, Zakhele Qoqabakubo (31), an Inkatha supporter, was shot by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 December 1988. He was admitted to Edendale hospital and died two weeks later.

NKENKANA, Billy Ben (64), an NUM member, was severely injured during political conflict in Dannhauser, near Vryheid, Natal, on 16 September 1990. Tension between NUM's largely Xhosa-speaking members and UWUSA's predominantly Zulu-speaking affiliates had escalated into violent conflict.

NKENKE, Bongani (19), was shot dead by a named member of the Ciskei Police on 3 August 1992 at NU 9, Mdantsane, Ciskei, allegedly because he was attempting to burn a policeman's house.

NKEU, Benjamin Mati, was continuously beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police for two days from 11 May 1991 at Atameleng police station in Delareyville, Tvl, because his brother was suspected of being an ANC member. His other brothers and sisters were also assaulted for the same reason.

NKEU, Johannes, was continuously beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police for two days from 11 May 1991 at Atameleng Police station in Delareyville, Tvl, because his son was suspected of being an ANC member. His other children were also assaulted for the same reason.

NKEU, Martha Daza, was continuously beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police for two days from 11 May 1991 at Atameleng police station in Delareyville, Tvl, because her brother was suspected of being an ANC member. Her other brothers and sisters were also assaulted for the same reason.

NKEU, Miriam Nombulelo, was continuously beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police for two days from 11 May 1991 at Atameleng police station in Delareyville, Tvl, because her brother was suspected of being an ANC member. Her other brothers and sisters were also assaulted for the same reason.

NKEU, Paul Buti, was continuously beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police for two days from 11 May 1991 at Atameleng police station in Delareyville, Tvl, because his brother was suspected of being an ANC member. His other brothers and sisters were also assaulted for the same reason.

NKEU, Zwelinzima George (41), an ANC supporter, had his beard cut off and was continuously beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police for two days from 11 May 1991 at Atameleng Police station in Delareyville, Tvl, because his son was suspected of being an ANC member. His father, his brothers and sisters were also assaulted for the same reason.

NKGADIMA, David Sekgokgo, an ANC supporter, was forced to leave his home and possessions at Lebowakgomo, Lebowa, when the local chief ordered his family out of the village on 7 July 1985 during conflict between the family and the chief because of Mr Nkgadima's open support for the ANC.

NKGADIMA, Maphare, an ANC supporter, was forced to leave his home and possessions at Lebowakgomo, Lebowa, when the local chief ordered his family out of the village on 7 July 1985, during conflict between the family and the chief because of the open support Mr Nkgadima's brother showed for the ANC.

NKGADIMA, Wilson (36), was ordered by a named perpetrator to leave the Ga-Moloi village in Thabamooop, Lebowa, on 7 July 1985 because the perpetrator accused him of being a 'terrorist'.

NKGEONG, Matlou Frans (25), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGMENG, Seemola Mamoloko (49), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGOENG, Albert Piletjie (30), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlane, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGOENG, Kgopishi Phillip (54), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by

supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGOENG, Ledile Machuene (37), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGOENG, Mamoyagabo Time (33), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGOENG, Mosima Samuel (49), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGOENG, Mottalepula Alpheus (28), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGOENG, Nkwata Samuel (59), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGOENG, Selali Andries (58), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWENG, Gebediela Joas (44), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWENG, Kemishi Goodright (50), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWENG, Kgajudi Caipas (49), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWENG, Ledile Mamoyahabo (48), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWENG, Mamolatelolo Lidile (50), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWENG, Mamoyahabo (55), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWENG, Maselelo (49), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWENG, Mosima (39), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWENG, Mosima Melatelo (37), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa,

by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWENG, Nkone (44), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWENG, Ntshipi Wilson (36), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWENG, Raesibe (31), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWENG, Sarah Joseph (49), had his home when it was burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, during the dispute over the Matlala chieftaincy. Chief BK Matlala, was backed by the Lebowa and South African governments, and Chieftainess Matlou Matlala, had the backing of the ANC-aligned People's Congress.

NKGWENG, Seroto Elliot (60), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKGWONG, Moshokane (45), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKOANE, Ananias, a patron at a tavern, was injured when MK operatives opened fire on policemen sitting drinking at the tavern in Mariana Street, Atteridgeville, Tvl, on 18 March 1988. Three policemen were killed in the attack. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

NKOANE, Gilbert T eboho, was beaten by members of the SAP at Finch Mine near Kimberley, Cape, in 1979. On 1 January 1980, he was assaulted by AZAPO members in Lesotho.

NKOANE, Kefiloe Mirriam (64), was severely assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in a police tent in Lebuku, Bophuthatswana, in March 1989 during conflict over INCORPORATION of the area into Bophuthatswana. Ms Nkoane was also interrogated about her brother's whereabouts.

NKOBIZEKW A, Jerry, a private security guard, was injured by four APLA operatives, during an attack on police members at the Khayelitsha railway station, Cape Town, in 1992. Four other private security guards were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

NKOBINDI, Stemmer John (42), lost his house in an arson attack by 'comrades' in Vezukuhle, Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 1 July 1986 during conflict over the proposed independence of KwaNdebele.

NKOFUNGA, Mkululi (30), a UDF supporter, was shot dead during political unrest at Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 27 November 1980. He had allegedly been involved in providing returning exiles with accommodation.

NKOHLA, Darlington Nkosinathi, an ANC member, was wrongfully convicted and sentenced to 12 years'

imprisonment for allegedly being part of a hand grenade attack on the Bophuthatswana consulate building during an ANC protest march in Kimberley, Cape, on 25 May 1993. The grenade bounced back into the crowd, and the explosion killed an ANC member and injured several others. Three ANC members were refused amnesty for the incident.

NKOHLA, Fungile Livingstone (28), was shot dead by members of the SAP during student protests in Old Location, near Sterkstroom, Cape, on 21 May 1993.

NKOHLA, Lulama Vivian (26), a UDF and women's organisation activist, was severely beaten by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes on her arrest, and again at the municipal offices in Ashton, Cape, on 15 June 1986. She was then detained under emergency regulations at Worcester and Pollsmoor prisons.

NKOHLA, Nomziwakhe Francina (36), lost her house and car in an arson attack by PAC supporters on 20 October 1993, during political conflict in Hlankomo Village, Mount Fletcher, Transkei.

NKOHLA, Zolisa Elsies (41), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by PAC supporters on 20 October 1993, during political conflict in Hlankomo Village, Mount Fletcher, Transkei.

NKOKO, Julien (21), was detained on 11 November 1985 in Worcester, Cape, after a student had implicated him in a SCHOOL BOYCOTT. He was held in solitary confinement at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, for two months.

NKOKO, Ramokoeni (54), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKOMANA, Nibidyara Francis (25), was shot by a named member of the SAP when he resisted arrest in Aliwal North, Cape, on 26 July 1980. At the time, there was a SCHOOL BOYCOTT at Malcomess Secondary School.

NKOMBI, Kholeka (5), was injured when her home was petrol-bombed during intensifying conflict between UDF/ANC and Inkatha supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 26 October 1985. Kholeka was with her grandmother, who had allegedly been targeted because she provided ANC supporters with shelter.

NKOMBI, Nokuzola 'Mahlanga' (40), had her home burnt down during political conflict in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 4 January 1992.

NKOMBI, Winifred Zodwa (59), a UDF supporter, was injured when her house was petrol-bombed during intensifying conflict between UDF/ANC and Inkatha supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 26 October 1985. Ms Nkombi had allegedly been targeted because she provided ANC supporters with shelter, and because she was suspected of being related to an ANC activist who had just returned from exile.

NKOMBISA, Monde Matthews (31), an ANC supporter, had his flat set alight by ADM supporters during political conflict in Dikidikana, near King William's Town, Cape, in 1993.

NKOMBONI, Simon, was shot dead by named AWB supporters at a roadblock in Randfontein, Tvl, on 12

December 1993. The perpetrators stopped cars with black occupants, searching vehicles for weapons. Four people were killed in this incident and the perpetrators were sentenced to death for the killings. They have applied for amnesty.

NKOME, Gladys Martha (43), was severely injured when her house was petrol-bombed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 24 March 1986. Her two-year-old daughter died from injuries sustained in the attack.

NKOME, Ruth (2), was killed when her home was petrol-bombed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 24 March 1986. Her mother was severely injured in the attack.

NKOMO, (first name not given; husband of Berlina Nkomo), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when police opened fire on marchers protesting against the banning of the ANC and the declaration of a state of emergency on 1 April 1960 in Durban.

NKOMO, Delisile Immaculate (28), had her house destroyed during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

NKOMO, Edwin V uyani, and five other scholars were interrogated, tortured and killed by AZAPO members in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 1 August 1986. The incident was sparked off by the burning of the house of an AZAPO leader for which the youths were believed to have been responsible. Three perpetrators were refused amnesty, and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/179 and AC/1999/230).

NKOMO, Fikile (24), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in November 1990.

NKOMO, Gina Patricia (47), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt by IFP supporters in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993.

NKOMO, Hloniphile Winniefrieda (21), was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in political conflict at Emashabeni, Ixopo, Natal, on 8 January 1993, allegedly because she was suspected of being an ANC supporter.

NKOMO, Mjixwa, died when an MK operative detonated a car bomb at Jacobs, Durban, on 12 July 1984. The explosion killed five people and injured 27 others. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the MK command structures in Swaziland that facilitated the attack (AC/2001/175).

NKOMO, Ncamsile (36), an IFP supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 18 July 1990.

NKOMO, Ngangezinye Medrina (39), an IFP supporter, had her home set alight by named ANC supporters in Nkelabantwana, Bulwer, Natal, on 18 April 1992.

NKOMO, Nkosenye Jeremiah (56), had his home in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, burnt down in July 1990 during intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters. Mr Nkomo's home was attacked again in November 1990 and January 1991.

NKOMO, Rebecca Duduzile (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 November 1992 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

NKOMO, Reginald Wonder (18), an ANCYL supporter, sustained injuries to his back, stomach and hand when he was shot in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 19 November 1991 during serious internal conflict within the ANC.

NKOMO, Sandile, was severely lashed at a 'people's court' under the command of an officer of the self-defence unit (SDU) in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 July 1993. Another young man was beaten to death that day in the same incident. One ANC SDU member was granted amnesty for the assault, but not for the killing (AC/2000/033).

NKOMO, Thembi Eldah (26), had her home burnt down by UDF supporters during political conflict at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 December 1989.

NKOMPONE, Sipho Jackson, was assaulted and struck in the face with a firearm by members of the AWB on 12 December 1993 at an illegal roadblock set up outside Ventersdorp, Tvl. Four people, including two children, were killed in the attack. Eight AWB members were refused amnesty and one was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0045). See RODORA ROADBLOCK KILLINGS.

NKOMPONE, Tembani Simon, was shot and killed by members of the AWB on 12 December 1993 at an illegal roadblock set up outside Ventersdorp, Tvl. Four people, including two children, were killed in the attack. Eight AWB members were refused amnesty and one was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0045). See RODORA ROADBLOCK KILLINGS.

NKONDE, Ambag Paulos (36), was hacked with *pangas* and thrown from a moving train, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 1 July 1991. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE. The East Rand was a key site of train violence with the track from Katlehong to Kwesine station becoming the line with the highest risk in South Africa.

NKONDE, Solomon Khethomthandayo, was shot dead by members of the Municipal Police in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 5 January 1987 during conflict over forced removals in the area.

NKONTWANA, Boza (56), suffered substantial loss when her livestock was stolen and her property destroyed by ANC supporters during political conflict in Ixopo, Natal, in 1992.

NKONYANA, Bafa Benjamin, was shot and killed in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 25 May 1993 during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand.

NKONYANA, Samson Themba (47), an ANC supporter, disappeared from his home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 24 October 1993 and has never been seen since.

NKONYANE, Boynyane Freddy (42), the vice-secretary of the Gamaobane ANC branch, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Bophuthatswana, on 13 December 1993.

NKONYANE, Noel (23), an ANC supporter, was detained and assaulted by named members of the

SAP in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 26 February 1985.

NKONYANE, Sifiso John (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters in Newcastle, Natal, on 6 February 1993.

NKONYENI, Bheki Patric, an ANC supporter, was killed by named IFP supporters at Tongaat, Natal, in October 1991. His body was found in a pool of water several weeks after his death.

NKONYENI, Jabu Beauty (40), an ANC supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 12 July 1991.

NKONYENI, Shomo Nokwendisa (41), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Tongaat, Natal, in 1990. Ms Nkonyeni was accused of being an ANC member because her children were attending school at KwaMashu. One of her daughters died of heart attack while they were fleeing.

NKONYENI, Wilson Ndindana (46), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 13 September 1991.

NKOSI Absalom (24), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by State-aligned vigilantes in Leslie, Tvl, in January 1986. At the funeral of Chief Mayisa, an ANC member killed by a vigilante group, mourners attacked a member of the vigilantes. As a result, ANC supporters were then targeted in retaliation.

NKOSI, (first name not given), suffered damage to his home in Khubeka Street, Tokoza, Tvl, when it was burnt by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) during November or December 1993. Mr Nkosi had been forced to flee the area due to IFP attacks, and his home was occupied by IFP supporters, which led to the arson attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/190).

NKOSI, Abram (57), was killed by IFP-supporting gang members in Zonkiszizwe informal settlement, Katlehong, Tvl, on 23 May 1993. Mr Mbatha disappeared with his son-in-law and their charred bodies were found in the boot of their car the next day. The incident occurred a day after an ANC march past IFP-supporting hostels in Tokoza, Tvl.

NKOSI, Alfred Sipho (aka Peter Molotsi), an MK operative, was killed with four other operatives by a joint Venda and South African security force team on 25 March 1988 at Mutale River in Venda.

NKOSI, Amos Baleni, was imprisoned by members of the SAP in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 8 April 1986 during protests following the death of an MK operative in the area.

NKOSI, Amos Fani (31), a SANCO member, was stabbed to death by a named perpetrator in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, on 18 October 1987. Mr Fani was organising a rent boycott at the time.

NKOSI, Bantu Emelina (62), an ANC supporter, was abducted from her home in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 25 June 1987 and taken to tribal offices where she was severely beaten by named perpetrators, during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Siyabuswa into KwaNdebele.

NKOSI, Bartholomew Diaz Bongani (16), a COSAS member, was detained, beaten and deprived of medical attention in KwaThema, Tvl, in 1986.

NKOSI, Bheki (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in the left arm, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 14 June 1992.

NKOSI, Bheki Steven (17), was hacked to death by IFP supporters, one of whom is named, during political conflict at Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 30 May 1993. Mr Nkosi was allegedly killed in retaliation for the death of an IFP supporter on the previous day.

NKOSI, Bhukumusa (21), was tortured at a deserted railway line outside Bergville, Natal, in June 1985, allegedly by named 'anti-Communist' members of the SAP. Mr Nkosi was forced to watch several other people being tortured there.

NKOSI, Bongane Christopher (40), had his home damaged in a petrol bomb attack, allegedly carried out by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 12 August 1993. Mr Nkosi's eight-year-old daughter was shot and injured during the attack. It is alleged that police were present during the attack but did not intervene.

NKOSI, Boyi Abram (51), was found shot and burnt to death at Katlehong, Tvl, on 24 May 1993. He had disappeared two weeks earlier, and it is alleged that he was last seen being beaten by members of the SAP and then taken away in a police vehicle.

NKOSI, Boyi Fanyana (69), had his home damaged when it was petrol-bombed, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 12 August 1993. Another family member was shot and injured in the attack.

NKOSI, Carlton (18), was abducted in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by ANC supporters, on 12 September 1993, during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand. He not been seen since.

NKOSI, Catherine Deliwe, died after being attacked and burnt by a group of youths at Daveyton, Tvl, on 2 July 1987. The youths targeted another person who was not present at the time of the attack. Four persons died and four suffered injuries as a result of the attack. One perpetrator, who claimed to be an ANC supporter and chairperson of a 'people's court' was refused amnesty for the attack (AC/2001/282).

NKOSI, Charles, an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl, on 15 September 1992.

NKOSI, Cleopas Mandla (20), an ANC supporter, had his home in Stanger, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 14 February 1992.

NKOSI, Daniel Makhosonke, a member of the SAP, was shot dead when MK operatives attacked the Wonderboom police station, Pretoria, on 26 December 1981. This was one of several MK attacks on police stations that year. Three of the perpetrators were hanged for the attack.

NKOSI, David Mbahaba (20), a UDF supporter, was shot by members of the SAP in eMijindini, Barberton, Tvl, as he was returning from the funeral of a political activist in May 1986.

NKOSI, David Nicholas (41), was seriously injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992.

NKOSI, David, was beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 21 April 1986 following violence over the INCORPORATION OF MOUTSE into KwaNdebele.

NKOSI, Dickson, an ANC supporter, was abducted from his home and shot dead on 5 September 1991 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

NKOSI, Dingaan Jordaan (67), was shot dead on 14 June 1992 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NKOSI, DM, a constable in the SAP, was fatally wounded when armed MK operatives attacked the Wonderboompoort police station, Pretoria, on 26 December 1981. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

NKOSI, Dumisani, was shot in the head and killed by a member of the SAP in Matsulu, KaNgwane, on 13 March 1986 during political conflict in the area.

NKOSI, Ephraim (41), was subjected to severe mental torture when a crowd, some of whom are named, threatened to set him alight with petrol in his home in Nelspruit, Tvl, in 1993. The perpetrators also burnt down his house.

NKOSI, Eric Richard (13), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP while in his bedroom in Siyathuthuka, Belfast, Tvl, on 21 January 1990. Police reportedly began shooting randomly during a community march against the Municipal Police.

NKOSI, Eric, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in an attack on the leader of the BLACK CATS in Wesselson, Ermelo, Tvl, in July 1991. Five SDU members were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/98/0121).

NKOSI, Ernest, a member of the SAP, was injured in an armed attack by MK operatives on the Moroka police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1979. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

NKOSI, Ethel Nomusa (31), an ANC supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1985. She has not been seen since.

NKOSI, Florence (24), was severely beaten by named vigilantes in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 24 November 1985, while she was leaving a UDF meeting. She was arrested and charged with public violence but the charges were later withdrawn. In June 1986 she was detained under emergency regulations for three months and severely beaten by members of the SAP. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NKOSI, Getrude Velaphi Thoko (27), lost her house in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Lebongang,

Leandra, Tvl, in September 1985. Ms Nkosi's husband was a policeman at a time when police officers were seen as legitimate targets in the political struggle.

NKOSI, Godfrey Jabulane (15), was tortured by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 19 September 1985 during student protests in the area.

NKOSI, Graham (18), an IFP supporter, lost his home and property when it was set alight by ANC supporters in KwaThema, Tvl, on 2 October 1992. The attack followed a strike at a factory involving COSATU-aligned FAWU members and IFP-aligned UWUSA members.

NKOSI, Howard , was stoned and shot to death opposite Dube men's hostel, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 May 1991 by a named IFP supporter during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. The perpetrator was acquitted because he only admitted to the shooting and not to the stoning of Mr Nkosi. The magistrate ruled that stoning was the cause of death.

NKOSI, Isaac Vusumuzi (37), was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, in July 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters who demanded that he drive his car into a hostel. When he refused to do so, the perpetrators killed him and stole the vehicle. This incident occurred during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NKOSI, Jacob Sibongo , an ANCYL member, was shot by members of the SAP in Siyathuthuka, Belfast, Tvl, while attending a meeting protesting at rent increases on 4 January 1986.

NKOSI, James , was seriously injured when the road grader he was driving detonated a landmine at Soshanguve, Tvl, on 21 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the landmine attack (AC/1999/0257). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

NKOSI, Joseph (73), was hacked on the head with an axe by Inkatha Youth Brigade supporters during political conflict at Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in July 1985. The perpetrators had allegedly searched anyone suspected of being an ANC supporter, and Mr Nkosi was mistaken for a man who had refused to be searched.

NKOSI, Jozi Ephriam (39), an ANC supporter, was arrested, detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in 1986 in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, during the state of emergency. At the time, there were school boycotts in the townships and campaigns for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

NKOSI, Lazarus (21), was disabled after he was shot and injured by members of the SADF in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 23 September 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING. Mr Nkosi was shot during a march by students from Soweto to town to protest against the detention of student leaders.

NKOSI, Lessiah (55), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in the chest on 14 June 1992 in Katilehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

NKOSI, Lindiwe , a member of the IFP Women's League and the wife of a leader of the BLACK CATS, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, in March 1992. Her

husband was also killed and her sister injured in the attack. Five SDU members were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/98/0121).

NKOSI, Lucky France , was shot dead by members of the Inkatha-supporting BLACK CATS while standing on the pavement at Phumula Section, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 24 July 1990, during a rent boycott in the township.

NKOSI, Lucky Sipho (19), an SRC member, was severely assaulted, together with two of his friends, by members of the SAP in Pretoria, on 19 March 1986, when they were accused of being involved in the killing of policemen in Soshanguve. Mr Nkosi was left unconscious and was hospitalised for two weeks.

NKOSI, Lungile Lawr ence, was stabbed to death and thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters between New Canada and Faraday stations in Johannesburg, on 28 November 1991. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

NKOSI, Mabendla Azariah (30), a PAC member, was severely tortured while in detention in 1964 in Johannesburg, for mobilising people for the PAC. He was charged with sabotage and found guilty.

NKOSI, Madala (46), was arrested by a member of the SAP at Nelspruit, Tvl, on 11 January 1984 and imprisoned for a year. He was arrested because he was involved in trying to stop the Inyandza National Movement from electing a chief in Jeppe's Reef.

NKOSI, Mandlane Eric (50), was shot and wounded when Inkatha-aligned Black Cats attacked his home in Ermelo, Tvl, in 1987, during a clash between members of the gang and UDF supporters in the area. His son, aged 14, was also wounded.

NKOSI, Maphindi Por tia (8), was shot and injured as she tried to flee her home in Katilehong, Tvl, after it had been petrol-bombed on 12 August 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters. The incident occurred during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NKOSI, Maria Matshidiso , was shot and severely injured by alleged members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING. Ms Nkosi was seven months pregnant at the time and later gave birth to a partially blind and mentally retarded baby.

NKOSI, Martha (49), was shot in KwaGuga, near Witbank, Tvl, while attending a parents' meeting at the municipal park on 25 June 1985. Police allegedly shot randomly into the group because they considered community meetings to be political gatherings.

NKOSI, Masentsho Popie (33), an ANC supporter, was repeatedly beaten and kicked by named members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, in 1979. Police were looking for her ANC activist son.

NKOSI, Mbhekwa Solomon , was shot by a named perpetrator in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING on 19 February 1992.

NKOSI, Mbonji (40), an Insika Party supporter, was beaten, forced to drink petrol and then burnt to death by Insika Party supporters in Sakhile, Standerton, Tvl,

in 1986 because he was suspected of murder during conflict between the Insika Party and the Inyandza National Movement.

NKOSI, Mbuyiseni , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NKOSI, Mfanafuthi Abel (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Katlehong, Tvl, on 23 July 1993 during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand.

NKOSI, Moses Enoch (12), was shot and injured in the leg, allegedly by IFP supporters, while returning from a funeral in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 April 1994. Police were reportedly present but did not intervene.

NKOSI, Mpojo Friedie , an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 11 February 1992.

NKOSI, Msesethi Witkop (62), had his hands and feet tied with wire and was then 'necklaced' in the street near Shongwe Mission, Komatipoort, Tvl, during 1986. Young ANC supporters allegedly held a meeting and then 'necklaced' Mr Nkosi after accusing him of witchcraft.

NKOSI, Muzikababa Alpheos (9), was shot in the eye with buckshot in Zola, Eastern Cape, on 23 September 1976. The incident occurred in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING. Muzikababa was blinded as a result of the shooting.

NKOSI, Nana Florence (44), was abducted, raped and killed by alleged Inkatha supporters during political conflict at KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 February 1990. Ms Nkosi had gone to visit her friend at Siyanda, a place considered an IFP stronghold, and did return home. Her decomposed body was found under a tree six days later.

NKOSI, Nlekelu Jerry (72), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Thekwane North, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 29 June 1993.

NKOSI, Nomakuma Sophia (72), was severely beaten in October 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SAP patrolling the area during ongoing political conflict.

NKOSI, Nomsa Virginia , was shot and injured by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natalspruit, Tvl, on the 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

NKOSI, Nondumiso (8), was shot by named IFP supporters during political conflict near Maqedandaba, Estcourt, Natal, on 3 June 1993.

NKOSI, Nonzuza Setty (66), was injured when members of the SAP opened fire on ANC supporters who refused to disperse at Lynville Park in Witbank, Tvl, in 1985.

NKOSI, Nyanyekile Norah (45), was severely beaten with a gun by members of the SAP in Matsulu, KaNgwane, on 28 November 1990. Ms Nkosi was suspected of selling guns to ANC supporters.

NKOSI, Patricia Bonisiwe (10), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, in 1984.

Police were patrolling the township during the funeral of a victim of political violence when they reportedly began firing randomly.

NKOSI, Peter Bonginkosi (23), a COSAS supporter, was severely tortured by named members of the SAP at Protea Police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 August 1989, allegedly while trying to force him to become a police informer.

NKOSI, Petr us, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death on 28 July 1991 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporting hostel-dwellers.

NKOSI, Phillip Nelaphi , was killed when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342).

NKOSI, Phineas , was stabbed to death and thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters between New Canada and Faraday stations in Johannesburg, on 28 November 1991. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

NKOSI, Prycina Mambundu (38), a member of the Inyandza Movement, lost her house in an arson attack by a named 'comrade' in KaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 1 May 1986.

NKOSI, Richard Yapie (46), was stabbed to death near Merafe hostel in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 13 October 1991 during conflict between IFP-supporting aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

NKOSI, S'Bulelo (6), was severely burnt in an arson attack by ANC supporters during political conflict in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 5 May 1993.

NKOSI, Sakhile (41), was shot and severely injured in a rural area close to Nelspruit, Tvl, on 10 October 1993 during political conflict in the area.

NKOSI, Samuel , died on 2 May 1986 in the HF Verwoerd hospital, Pretoria, after being shot in the head by members of the SAP in Machadodorp, Tvl, on 25 April 1986. At the time, people were protesting and demanding the building of houses in Machadodorp.

NKOSI, Samuel , was injured when a pipe bomb planted by members of the AWB exploded on 25 April 1994 at a taxi rank on the corner of Blood Street and Seventh Avenue in Pretoria. Three people were killed and four injured in the blast. During the pre-election period the AWB targeted taxi ranks, bus stops and railway stations, predominantly used by black people, the majority of whom they believed to be ANC supporters, in order to derail the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Six perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS

NKOSI, Shobeni Elizabeth , was abducted and burnt to death by 'comrades' in Buffelspruit, Tvl, on 25 May 1986 during a campaign by political activists against witchcraft in the area.

NKOSI, Sibusiso Tito (14), was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in an attack on the leader of the BLACK CATS in Wesseltown, Ermelo, Tvl, in July 1991. Five SDU members were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/98/0121).

NKOSI, Simon Duga, was detained in Kwazanele, Breyten, Tvl, on 23 September 1976 for committing arson against a timber company. He was charged and sentenced to 16 years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

NKOSI, Simon, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

NKOSI, Sipho (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters at Maqedandaba area, Estcourt, Natal.

NKOSI, Sipho Simeon (37), an IFP supporter, was stabbed, assaulted and shot dead by named fellow IFP supporters at the Ngoje community hall in Louwsburg, Natal, on 24 April 1992, allegedly because he had sympathies with the ANC.

NKOSI, Sizakele Emelela (23), an ANCYL member, was severely beaten by members of the SAP after her arrest at a mass funeral in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 18 June 1986.

NKOSI, Solomon Daniel Abel, was shot dead in Senaokane, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 9 March 1991 when he was in a house attacked by assailants wearing balaclavas during political conflict in the area.

NKOSI, Teaspoon, an ANC member, was abducted and tortured at Matsulu, KaNgwane, during 1987 by SADF members who believed him to be an ANC member. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/277).

NKOSI, Thabang Lucas (13), a COSAS member, was shot and severely injured by members of the SADF in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, during student protests in 1990.

NKOSI, Thabile (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Maqedandaba, Estcourt, Natal, on 3 June 1993.

NKOSI, Thamsanqa Shadrack (20), died after being shot by SADF members during a stayaway in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 9 April 1990.

NKOSI, Themba David, was shot and killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natalspruit, Tvl, on the 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

NKOSI, Thembanani (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by named IFP supporters, in Maqedandaba, Estcourt, Natal, on 3 June 1993.

NKOSI, Thembelihle Dumazile, an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 August

1993, during ongoing conflict following the launch of an IFP branch in the settlement earlier that month.

NKOSI, Thembonkosi Patrick (23), was shot dead by a named IFP councillor in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 14 December 1991 during political conflict between community members and local councillors.

NKOSI, Thomas (42), was stabbed to death between Jeppe and Stroud stations, Johannesburg, on his way home from work and his body was found in a train compartment at Braamfontein station, Johannesburg, on 23 February 1990. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

NKOSI, Thomas, an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP in Lebogang, Leandra, Tvl, on 19 November 1985 when the community was protesting against the eviction of shack-dwellers.

NKOSI, Tilly, a prominent member ANCWL member, was shot and injured by IFP members during political conflict near Wesseltown, Tvl, in 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NKOSI, Titi Betina (62), had her home in Katlehong, Tvl, damaged in a petrol bomb attack, allegedly by IFP supporters and members of the ISU, on 12 August 1993.

NKOSI, Tito (14), was shot and wounded when Inkatha-aligned BLACK CATS attacked his family's home in Ermelo, Tvl, in 1987, during a clash between members of the gang and UDF supporters in the area. His father was also wounded.

NKOSI, Virginia Cabangani (25), was shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict at Dumbé, Paulpietersburg, Natal, on 18 November 1993. At the time of the shooting, Ms Nkosi was standing outside a tavern that was considered to be ANC stronghold.

NKOSI, Vukani Gilbert (37), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and thrown from a moving train in Katlehong, Tvl, on 27 July 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE. The East Rand was a key site of train violence with the track from Katlehong to Kwesine station becoming the line with the highest risk in South Africa.

NKOSI, Winnifred Notini (48), a UDF supporter and political activist, was one of three women abducted in January 1986 in New Crossroads, Cape Town, by WITDOEKE vigilantes. She was held captive in a container in Crossroads for nearly a week without food, and her life was threatened.

NKOSI, Zephania (36), was stabbed and hacked to death by Inkatha Youth Brigade supporters during political conflict at Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, in July 1985. The perpetrators had allegedly searched anyone suspected of being an ANC supporter, and mistook Mr Nkosi for a man who had refused to be searched.

NKOSIYANA, Nomanesi (18), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

NKOSIYANE, Dumasi Douglas (55), was shot and stabbed to death in Zondi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 1 May 1991 by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers returning from a rally.

NKOSIYANE, Siculo Thembleton (46), was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Zondi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 1 May 1991 during conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents in the area.

NKOSIYANE-MPOPOSHE, Jackson Balisile (79), a UDF supporter, was killed when members of the SADF and the SAP attacked his home in Soweto, Johannesburg, with rifles and hand grenades in April 1989. Charges against the perpetrators were dismissed on the grounds that Mr Nkosiyan-Mpoposhe was housing an MK operative. His family deny that he knew the identity of the guest who had been sent by Ms Madikizela-Mandela. A named member of the Mandela United Football Club allegedly informed police of the whereabouts of the MK operative.

NKOTA, Amon, was shot dead by Bophuthatswana Police in Brits, Tvl, on 10 November 1992.

NKOWENG, Mamoloko Grace (29), had her home destroyed in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKUKHU, Sibusiso Innocent, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP and an IFP supporter during political violence at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 7 August 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NKUKHU, Themba Rudolf (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a member of the SAP and an IFP supporter during political violence at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 7 August 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NKUMANDA, Tshukumani Jefrey, the mayor of Pearston, was assaulted with a stone on 16 January 1986 in Cradock, Cape. The youth of the area were demanding that Mr Nkumanda resign as mayor.

NKUMBI, Albert Thozamile (25), was stabbed and stoned to death by UDF supporters in Hanover, Cape, on 24 December 1985, because he was branded as an informer. He had gone to his home under police guard to remove his property to safety and was attacked after the police had departed with his belongings. His home was set alight.

NKUMBI, Charlotte (35), was stabbed and injured in Hanover, Cape, on 24 December 1985, while trying to rescue her brother who was being stabbed and stoned to death by UDF supporters. Her brother had been branded an informer and was busy removing his property under police guard when attacked.

NKUMBI, Mziwoxolo Christopher Boy (35), a UDF supporter, was arrested on 21 October 1988 and detained for six months in Fort Glamorgan prison, East London. He had called for a boycott of the municipal elections in Ginsberg.

NKUMBI, William Thamsan, was stabbed and injured in Hanover, Cape, on 24 December 1985, while trying

to rescue his brother who was being stabbed and stoned to death by UDF supporters. His brother had been branded an informer and was busy removing his property under police guard when attacked.

NKUME, Thozamile (27), an ANC supporter, was shot by named members of the Transkei Police and the SAP on 5 February 1988 in Umtata, Transkei. Three of his colleagues were killed in the shooting incident.

NKUMNDA, Masango Nimrod, a member of the Municipal Police, was shot dead by MK operatives in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 20 January 1989. One other policeman and a civilian were also shot dead, and another policeman was injured in the attack. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0246).

NKUNA, Albert Ngwavela, was tortured on 13 January 1994 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by members of the ISU in connection with his involvement in self-defence units.

NKUNA, Johanna Tsatsawane (45), was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Pretoria, on 11 March 1994 during conflict over the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa.

NKUNA, Joseph Harold (21), an ANC organiser, was detained without trial in November 1986 at Nelspruit, Tvl, and severely tortured while in police custody. He was also assaulted and severely injured by named perpetrators at Kabokweni, KaNgwane, on 3 October 1991.

NKUNA, Richard Mbhazima, a member of the SAP, was robbed of his firearm by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Diepkloof, Johannesburg, on 11 August 1993. His colleague was shot dead. One perpetrator was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0036).

NKUNA, Robert (27), an ANCYL chairperson, was arrested, detained and assaulted with a rifle butt by members of the SAP in Giyani, Gazankulu, in April 1988 during political conflict in the area.

NKUNA, Ronny (22), an ANCYL member, was injured after being chased for three kilometres by members of the SADF who fired at him during a protest march in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 12 June 1986. Mr Nkuna hid in a toilet ditch and was rescued by people who found him unconscious.

NKUNA, Selina, was shot and killed by a named member of the *Wit Wolwe*, an extremist right-wing group, at Strydom Square in Pretoria, on 15 November 1988. Armed with a 9mm parabellum and 300 rounds of ammunition, the perpetrator fired randomly at black people until he ran out of ammunition, killing seven people and injuring 15, two of whom are permanently paralysed. The perpetrator applied for amnesty for this attack.

NKUNA, Tshikani (22), was assaulted by members of the SAP at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, in 1983. Mr Nkuna was interrogated and forced to admit to being a SWAPO member.

NKUNDLANDE, Fachma Nompumelelo (21), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP

in Messina, Tvl, on 10 March 1990 after the formation of the Messina Action Committee. The committee embarked on a consumer boycott and several marches took place during which many youths were shot dead and others injured by the police.

NKUNKUMA, Bethuel Thobelani (21), a COSATU activist, was shot by members of the Transkei Police in Maclear, Cape, on 6 February 1990 when police opened fire to disperse those present at a COSATU meeting at the Maclear hall.

NKUPANE, Josias Mkopane (76), was stabbed to death during ongoing political conflict in Katlehong, Tvl, on 17 May 1991, allegedly by IFP supporters who attacked residents returning from work.

NKUSHUBANA, Edith Nobafo (32), had her house burnt down in Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 3 December 1990 in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Ms Nkushubana's brother was an IFP supporter.

NKUT A, Albert Khehla (aka 'William Monangwe') (33), an MK operative from Alexandria, Johannesburg, was ambushed in a joint operation by members of the Pietermaritzburg and Eastern Transvaal Security Branches on 11 February 1978 in the Namaacha area in Swaziland. He and an elderly passenger in the car were both injured. The passenger managed to escape but Mr Nkuta was captured, taken across the border where he either died from his injuries or was killed.

NKUT A, Obed Ramahlape (63), had his house in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, burnt down in 1976 during violent clashes between two brothers fighting over the chieftainship of Maboloko. Violence erupted after President Mangope appointed a chief who was not accepted by the community.

NKUT A, Thalitha Rachel (28), was assaulted, harassed and tortured by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 1 June 1978. She was questioned about the whereabouts of her husband who was an ANC member.

NKUT ANE, Albert , was severely beaten with fists and rifle butts by members of the SADF in his house in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, on 7 July 1991. The perpetrators arrived at midnight and beat him and two friends, claiming that one friend had an AK47 in his possession and that they were responsible for violence in the township.

NKUTHA, Dumisani Stanley (18), was killed in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 3 October 1981.

NKUTHA, Harrison Mandindwa , was driving in his car in Alexandra, Johannesburg, when he was shot dead by members of the SAP on 18 June 1976. The car overturned and he and his passenger were both killed. This was one of many attacks that took place in Alexandra on this day, just after the SOWETO UPRISING began.

NKUTHA, Josiah Thami (24), was shot and burnt to death by youths aligned to the IFP and *Amapondo* in Katlehong, Tvl, on 23 February 1994 during political conflict in the area.

NKUTHA, Martha Malefu , was stabbed and beaten by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on

3 December 1992 during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-affiliated FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers.

NKUTU, Fukutha Jackson (48), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, in 1960, during clashes between police and residents opposing the Pass Laws.

NKUWENG, Sebolashi (49), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKWALASE, Luvuyo Lot (18), was shot dead by named PAC supporters during political conflict between ANC and PAC supporters in Dorrington, near Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 23 February 1993.

NKWAMBA, Matias Mathews (55), lost his house and business premises in an arson attack by named supporters of the Gazankulu Chief Minister in Lulekani, Gazankulu, on 10 June 1985 during a chieftaincy dispute in the area.

NKWAMBA, Victor , was shot by members of the SAP in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING.

NKWANA, Bafana Fanyana , died after he was severely assaulted by ANCYL members with knives and axes, and then pushed into a river at Kokosi township, Fochville, Tvl, on 25 January 1991. He was suspected of joining a vigilante group. Two ANCYL members were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0321).

NKWANA, Dor een , was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

NKWANA, Mashine Joseph , disappeared on 18 September 1993 in Germiston, Tvl, during political conflict in the area and is presumed dead.

NKWANA, Mohlopi Amos (46), was abducted from his home in Kgobokwane, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 by IMBOKODO vigilantes. At Siyabuswa community hall he and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and were then sjambokked and beaten where they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted in this way. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to the INCORPORATION OF MOUTSE into KwaNdebele. See SIYABUSWA ASSAULTS.

NKWANA, Nakedi Maria (51), was shot dead by members of the Lebowa Police in Nkowankowa, Tzaneen, Tvl, on 21 February 1990.

NKWANE, Michael (25), was beaten and stabbed several times by IFP supporters on a train near New Canada Station, Johannesburg, on 22 July 1992. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

NKWANY ANA, Bahlawulile (38), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Manzimnyama, Kwa-Mbonambi, near Richards Bay, Natal, in the conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NKWANY ANA, Bongekile (65), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1993.

NKWANY ANA, Dlokwakhe (53), an ANC member, was shot dead by IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Empangeni, Natal, on 5 September 1993. Several other family members, who were also supporters of the ANC, were shot and killed in this attack.

NKWANY ANA, Dudu Gqoza (26), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NKWANY ANA, Duduzile Doris (49), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NKWANY ANA, Elizabeth , an IFP supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Empangeni, Natal, in 1990.

NKWANY ANA, Elliot Muziwendoda (35), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during continuing political conflict in 1993.

NKWANY ANA, Emanuel , was shot dead in Mandini, Natal, on 24 April 1991, allegedly by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE colluding with the IFP. His daughter was also killed and his house burnt down in the same attack.

NKWANY ANA, Enock Mfuneni , was shot dead on 5 September 1993, when IFP supporters attacked the family home in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Another family member was shot dead in the attack, and the house was burnt down. The family was forced to flee the area.

NKWANY ANA, Jabulisile (53), an ANC supporter, lost her houses in Empangeni, Natal, in an arson attack by IFP supporters in September 1992.

NKWANY ANA, Khethiwe Fortunate (29), lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 September 1993.

NKWANY ANA, Magenge Richard (44), an ANC supporter, lost his house and tuck shop in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 March 1994.

NKWANY ANA, Mgingo Dlokwakhe , was shot dead on 5 September 1993, when IFP supporters attacked the family home in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Another family member was shot dead in the attack, and the house was burnt down. The family was forced to flee the area.

NKWANY ANA, Musawenkosi , an ANC supporter, was harassed by IFP supporters at Mtubatuba, near

Empangeni, Natal, in April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NKWANY ANA, Nkosingiphile Fano (49), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in 1992.

NKWANY ANA, Nokwazi Josephina (64), had her house and possessions destroyed in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NKWANY ANA, Ntombi Wusisi (59), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NKWANY ANA, Phineas (18), an ANCYL member, was shot dead by members of the SAP who opened fire on mourners participating in the funeral of a civic leader.

NKWANY ANA, Qholobana Bhekinkosi (42), an ANC supporter, had his house at Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 27 February 1991.

NKWANY ANA, Sebezile Ngantombi (39), lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE during political conflict in the Ongoye area, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 3 September 1993. Her husband was killed in the attack, and further attacks forced her to flee with her family.

NKWANY ANA, Tandukwenzelwa (55), was shot and severely injured by ANC supporters in political conflict at Eshowe, Natal, on 23 December 1990. Mr Nkwanyana was allegedly attacked because he was taken for an IFP supporter.

NKWANY ANA, Teresia (54), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in September 1992.

NKWANY ANA, Thulani Vincent (23), a final-year law student at the University of Swaziland, was shot dead by named members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch, in a night-time ambush on 22 May 1987 of the car in which he was travelling in Mbabane, Swaziland. Two other persons were killed in the operation, including a senior MK operative, Mr Theophilus Dlodlo (MK name 'Viva'), and two persons were injured.

NKWANY ANA, Thulisile Lindeni Goodness (16), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 19 February 1992.

NKWANY ANA, Zephania (68), an ANC supporter, suffered damage to his property in an attack by IFP supporters at Ntuzuma, near Durban, in 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NKWANY ANA, Zibusela Bhaku , was shot dead by IFP supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE while he was having breakfast at his home in the Ongoye area, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 3 September 1993. Two of his cousins were killed in a follow-up attack two days later, and his family had to flee the area.

NKWANY ANE, Dumisane Gracious (34), a member of the SAP, lost his home in an arson attack by a named ANC supporter and others during political conflict at Empangeni, Natal, on 8 August 1993.

NKWANYANE, Jamba (50), an IFP supporter, was severely beaten by ANC supporters at Empangeni, Natal, in 1993.

NKWENG, Florina Tabudi (23), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKWENG, Mosima Jessy (49), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKWENG, Nkabane Julia (23), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NKWENKWE, Nkanyiso (14), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 March 1988.

NKWENYANE, Donald, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 11 March 1991 during conflict between the IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

NKWINIKA, Theron Mdunwazi (21), an MK operative, was severely beaten by members of the Gazankulu Police after his arrest on 20 June 1990 in Gravelotte, Gazankulu. He was detained after a meeting of the Tzaneen Education Crisis Committee at the local stadium.

NNETE, Thebeli Jonas, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NNINA, Lipuo Sophia (45), had his house burnt down in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in 1976 during violent clashes between two brothers fighting over the chieftainship of Maboloko. Violence erupted after President Mangope appointed a chief who was not accepted by the community.

NOBADULA, Mzukisi Melvin, died in police custody on 11 December 1977 in Port Elizabeth. He was being held in custody as a potential state witness in the trial of PEBCO leader, Thozamile Botha. Scars and burn marks were found on his body.

NOBANGELA, Fuzile Elvis (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP during a student boycott at Mzamomhle, Burgersdorp, Cape, on 19 May 1993. Police allegedly mistook Mr Nobangela for one of the boycotters.

NOBATANA, Vuyo Aubrey (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

NOBAVU, Nontanganyani (63), a PAC activist, was beaten, stoned and stabbed by named ANC supporters in February 1994 in King William's Town, Cape. Ms Nobavu was travelling in a car when she was dragged

out and assaulted, reportedly because she was believed to be a member of the ADM.

NOBEBE, Danisile Chris (17), was shot in both legs by members of the SAP in 1987 during consumer boycotts and conflict between police and members of the community in Grahamstown, Cape.

Nobekile Mbalula (39), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP during a protest in Venterstad, Cape, on 4 July 1993.

NOBHALISA, Nondubela Nabo (50), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 24 February 1993 on ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. About 35 houses were reportedly burnt down in Bhambayi that month.

NOBHOZA, Themba, an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP who were demolishing shacks in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 July 1990.

NOBIVA, Boy, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Vosloorus, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SAP, while on his way to a night vigil on 26 April 1986.

NOBOZA, Thembekile, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP who were demolishing shacks in Phola Park informal settlement, Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 July 1990.

NODADA, Brian (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 April 1994. Mr Nodada and his comrades were canvassing for their organisation in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS when they were attacked and killed.

NODIKIDA, Mcebisi (20), was detained and severely beaten by named members of the SAP in the Mossel Bay police station, Cape, on 16 June 1986. He was then held under emergency regulations for nearly four months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NODIPHA, Mikayeli, an ANC member, was arrested in Esikhumbuleni, Bizana, Transkei, in 1961, and charged with membership of the ANC. He was convicted and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

NODLUNG, Alvinah (51), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in July 1993 during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NODOSHA, Maqhilane Solamase, an ANC supporter, disappeared after being abducted by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in March 1960. Mr Nodosha had attended meetings at NONQULWANA during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NOEMDOE, Doreen Josephine (57), a member of a family of UDF activists, experienced ongoing and severe harassment by members of the Security Branch in Oudtshoorn, Cape, from 1984 to 1989. Three of her sons were detained and faced various charges during this period.

NOFEMELE, Vuyisile, was shot dead by PAC supporters in June 1993 during political conflict in Ngwaneni, Mount Fletcher, Transkei.

NOGAGA, Leopold (66), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town,

in December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels over the Christmas 1976 period. Twenty-nine people died in the clashes and many more were injured.

NOGAYO, Nowings Engelinah (73), was suffocated by teargas when a teargas canister was thrown into her house at Elliot, Cape, in 1990 by members of the SAP who were trying to disperse a crowd of people *toyi-toying* in the township.

NOGKILE, Dinah Vuyiswa (17), was arrested on 10 August 1983 and kept in solitary confinement for a lengthy period in Krugersdorp, Tvl.

NOGOBA, Leticia Nomhle (46), lost her house in an arson attack in Crossroads, Cape Town, in April 1991, during a conflict in the community.

NOGODUKA, Lungisile, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NOGORHA, Patrick Nkosinathi, (17), was detained and severely beaten by SAP members at Robertson, Cape, on 18 June 1986. He was held under emergency regulations for three months and was later sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for public violence. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NOGQALA, Sidwell Mandithini, was arrested and beaten by members of the SAP in De Aar, Cape, on 13 April 1985, after unrest broke out in the Malay Camp township. He was later convicted of public violence and sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

NOGQUM, Zingewathile (42), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 20 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NOHENNE, Noncine Gladys (73), an ANC supporter, was beaten by members of the CDF during conflict between ANC and ADM supporters at KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 26 December 1991.

NOIR, LC, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

NOJAHOLO, Evelyn Kulie (40), a UDF supporter and ANCWL member, was arrested on 20 June 1986 and detained for three months in Burgersdorp prison, Cape, where she was ill-treated by named members of the SAP. Ms Nojaholo had addressed a rally during a state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NOJEYEZA, Hilda, a UDF supporter, had her house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of

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

NOJIYISELA, Vusimuzi Moses (20), a UDF supporter, was shot dead along with three other men by a named member of the SAP during political unrest at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 March 1990.

NOJOKO, Zamuxolo Nxotho (19), an ANC supporter, was detained for three months in 1976 in Addo, Cape. In 1977 he was convicted of public violence and served a three-year prison term. He went into exile in 1982 and joined MK, returning in 1987 to operate underground in the Eastern Cape. He was arrested, convicted of terrorism and served three years of a seven-year prison term on Robben Island, Cape Town, until his release as a political prisoner in 1990. He became ill and died in June 1991.

NOKEMANE, Mzoxolo (16), was severely injured when hacked with axes by WITDOEKE vigilantes in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 12 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. More than 60 people were killed and over 20 000 homes were destroyed in the attacks.

NOKERE, Paulus Shaba (37), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NOKHONOA, Nomveliso Frances (28), was severely beaten by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and arrested by members of the SAP in Robertson, Cape, on 16 June 1986. She was then detained under emergency regulations for three months.

NOKHONYA, Gladstone, was detained by the SAP in Robertson, Cape, on 16 June 1986, and held for three months under emergency regulations.

NOKIE, Tina Bashe (40), was shot by members of the SAP on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on a funeral procession in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape.

NOKO, Robert, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Jabavu, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 25 September 1985 during a confrontation between police and residents.

NOKONYA, Mzwakhe Livingstone (16), was severely beaten on his arrest by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes, together with members of the SAP, in Robertson, Cape, on 18 June 1986. He was again severely beaten at the police station after which he was held for three months under emergency regulations at Worcester and Victor Verster prisons, Cape. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NOKRAYO, Mbi, a Poqo member, was arrested in November 1963 and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town, for his involvement in PAC activities in Transkei. After his release he was served with a two-year banning order.

NOKWANDA, Mcholwa (42), had her home at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

NOKWAZI, Rose (36), had her house at KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in continuing conflict during November 1993. Twenty-one houses belonging to ANC supporters were burnt down in the attack.

NOKWINDLA, Khelekile Vincent (19), a member of COSAS, was killed when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

NOKWINDLA, Veronica (43), lost her house in a petrol bomb attack by members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 25 June 1985.

NOLTE, MCS, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

NOLUBABALO, Nolubabalo (24), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in March 1993 during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NOMAJAVA, Yoliswa (31), lost her house in an arson attack during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993.

NOMANDLA, Agnes (49), an ANCWL member, had her home damaged in an arson attack by named perpetrators in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 19 March 1991. Her husband was killed in the attack and petrol was poured on her grandchild in an attempt to set him alight.

NOMANDLA, Mbuyiselo John (45), was shot dead by named perpetrators in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 19 March 1991. During the same incident the house was set alight and damaged. This occurred during intense conflict between two factions of the ANCYL. The perpetrators have applied for amnesty.

NOMANDLA, Thembile David (37), was beaten with sjamboks and rifle-butts and tear-gassed by members of the SADF and SAP in Aberdeen, Cape, on 15 June 1985 when community members demanded that the resignation of the Black Local Authority.

NOMAQHIZA, Noxolo Cynthia (28), lost her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in an arson attack in March 1993 during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NOMATHWETSHO, Maqethuka Dlamini, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in a subway near New Canada station, Johannesburg, in September 1991. Several others died in the attack.

NOMAVUKA, Xola Owen (19), was shot dead by named members of the SAP during a funeral procession in Sikhulu Street, Cradock, Cape, on 26 April 1985.

NOMAXHAI, Wandisile Godfrey, an ANC member, was shot dead in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 25 October 1990. At least eight people were killed that day by police and supporters of the Lingeletu West Town Council, during and after a mass march to express community opposition to the council.

NOMBE, Lungisa (25), an MK operative, was detained and tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, in 1987. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/076).

NOMBIBA, Boyboy (20), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Grahamstown, Cape, on 19 July 1980 when police opened fire on mourners returning from a funeral.

NOMBIDA, Zola, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NOMBYANA, Jorge Nesele (64), had his house burnt down in Bhukhanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 January 1994 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Mr Nombyana's son was an ANC supporter.

NOMDA, Loyiso Leonard, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NOMDLEMBU, Mvuselelo, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NOMEVA, Philipina Thenjiwe (24), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 19 June 1986, while returning home from work during a period of unrest in KwaNonqaba township.

NOMFETSELA, Tyileka (61), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and tear gas was thrown into his house

when members of the SAP raided his house in Katlehong, Tvl, during a meeting on 22 April 1992. Mr Mfetshele was taken into custody and held for six months. During his detention Mr Mfetshele was severely assaulted again by members of the SAP. He died shortly after his release from prison.

NOMGOGWANA, Gilindoda (42), was tortured in Umtata, Transkei, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town, in 1963, for her involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NOMGOJO, Julius Spitipiti (51), an ANC supporter, had his house demolished by municipal employees in October 1993 in Maclear, Cape. It is alleged that the local council wanted to remove him from Maclear because he did not belong there.

NOMGQOKWANA, Brian 'Malawu' Miselo (26), disappeared after he was arrested by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth, on 9 June 1978. The police alleged that they arrested him at New Brighton railway station as he was preparing to leave Port Elizabeth, but released him shortly afterwards. He has not been seen since.

NOMKONKO, Spho Given (24), was shot and injured by named members of a squatter organisation allegedly linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, in February 1991.

NOMNGANGA, Nkosinathi Alpheaus, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NOMONGO, Tod Nkwenkwana (60), was burnt to death by UDF supporters in KTC, Cape Town, on 31 December 1985, during conflict between vigilantes known variously as the 'Fathers' or the Witdoeke, and UDF supporters.

NOMOYI, Nontuthuzelo, was detained during OPERATION KATZEN and tortured during interrogation by members of the Ciskei Elite Unit in Alice, Ciskei, in 1986. Two members of the Ciskei Police were granted amnesty for the torture, as were seven members of the SADF, Border Security Branch and Department of Prisons for Operation Katzen (AC/1997/0023; AC/1997/0024; AC/1997/0025; AC/1998/043; AC/1999/003; AC/1999/245; AC/2000/037; AC/2000/192; AC/2001/159 and AC/2001/224).

NOMPANDO, Vuyisina Lilian (55), an ANC supporter, was detained in June 1986 for six weeks at a time of stayaways and consumer boycotts in Middelburg, Cape. She was released without being charged.

NOMPONDO, Jongile Joseph (22), was shot dead by members of the SAP as he returned from school in Nompondo, near Stutterheim, Cape, on 30 September 1985. He and others were accused of throwing stones at the police during unrest in the area.

NOMPONDO, Nombuyiselo, a COSAS member, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP at North End prison, Port Elizabeth, on 23 January 1985. She was accused of being involved in the burning down of a school during the student protests in the area.

NOMPONDO, Ntombomzi Priscilla (19), a COSAS member, was arrested and assaulted by members of the SAP on 23 January 1985 before being detained in North End prison, Port Elizabeth. She was convicted of burning down a school in the area.

NOMPULA, Zwelethu Isaac (34), lost his property during political conflict between the 'RED AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993.

NOMPUMA, Thobile (40), a SANCO supporter, lost his *spaza* shop in Paterson, Cape, when it was set on fire by ANCYL supporters during a consumer boycott in February 1993.

NOMPUMELELO, Olifant (3), was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SAP, on 23 August 1990 during intense political conflict in the area.

NOMTHULI, Philemon Mzwandile (21), an ANCYL member, was detained and severely beaten by named members of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, on 17 June 1986 during the 1986 state of emergency. Mr Nomthuli was admitted to a mental institution as a result of the head injuries he sustained during the beating.

NOMTswana, Bhayisekile, an ANC member, was beaten in detention in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, by members of the SAP. He was arrested for his involvement in NONQULWANA meetings during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Upon his release, Mr Nomtswana was severely mentally affected.

NOMVETE, Randiwe Mary (60), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 24 December 1985. See UMBUMBULU MASSACRE.

NOMVULA, Priscilla, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

NONCUNGO, Sajini Welcome, had his home, his possessions and his shop destroyed by members of the SAP in Unibell squatter camp, near Bellville, Cape Town, in 1977, during a forced removal.

NONDABA (NGCUNGAMA), Ernest Dingindawo, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Matsheketsheni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 8 February 1994.

NONDABULA, Clement (47), an iKONGO supporter, was detained for six months and assaulted by prison warders in a Cape Town prison for his part in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NONDABULA, Nonyameko (24), a South African Youth Congress member, lost the sight of one eye when she was kicked, sjambokked and tear-gassed in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 16 June 1986 during a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING when members of the Ciskei Police threw teargas canisters into the church hall.

NONDALA, Boyisi (31), an ANC activist, disappeared while in police custody in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, in June 1987. He has not been seen since.

NONDALA, Joseph Mzwamandla, an ANC supporter, was assaulted and shot dead by two named members of the SAP at his home at Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, on 28 June 1986.

NONDLALA, Lennox, was killed by IFP supporters at the Vusumuzi hostel in Tembisa, Tvl, in 1991 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at the hostel. Although the dead were taken to two specific mortuaries, Mr Nondlala's body was never found.

NONDULA, Bongani (18), was tortured in various ways by named members of the SAP at different police stations around East London in October 1977. He had been detained during political unrest in the region following the death of Steve Biko.

NONDULA, Nomusa Leticia (36), had her house at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 5 November 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Four people were burnt to death in their homes in Bhambayi that day.

NONDUMO, Monde, an ANC supporter, was abducted, interrogated, and then necklaced to death by a group of ANC supporters at Mangwani, Cape, during 1990. Mr Nondumo was suspected of associating with a askari and engaging in other anti-ANC activities. The Chairperson of the local Youth Congress was granted amnesty for his role in the kidnapping (AC/2001/098).

NONDZUBE, Misile Devillers (42), a member of the SAP, had his house petrol-bombed in Grahamstown, Cape, on 9 April 1987. At the time, members of the police, as well as their property, were often regarded as legitimate targets in the anti-apartheid struggle.

NONG, Meshack (19), was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Oukasie, Brits, Tvl, in 1986. The Oukasie community was resisting INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana at the time. Mr Nong was reportedly also tortured in detention in May 1988.

NONG, Raesibe Johana (42), an ANC supporter, had her house and livestock burnt on 2 February 1980 in Gamatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NONGAUZA, Velekaya Hofmeyr, a PAC member, was severely assaulted with truncheons by a prison warder while in detention at Roeland Street prison in Cape Town, on 4 June 1960. He was imprisoned for furthering the aims of a banned organisation.

NONGENA, Daniel Paulos (37), a PAC supporter, was arrested in 1963 at Queenstown, Cape, for his Poqo activities. He was tortured while in detention, and charged with sabotage. On 10 October 1963, he was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town.

NONGENA, Mvulo Johnson (41), was shot and tortured by various methods while in detention in King William's Town, Cape, in April 1963. He and other PAC members were marching to the King William's Town police station to free their 'comrades' when named members

of the SAP and Ciskei Police arrested and assaulted him. Mr Nongena was imprisoned on Robben Island from 8 October 1963 and released on 8 October 1975.

NONGQAYI, Nkombikanina Nothembele (25), lost her property in an arson attack in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 28 February 1990.

NONGQO, Ndondela Eric (33), died on 18 July 1987 after he was beaten by members of the SAP during political unrest in Steynsburg, Cape. Mr Nongqo was beaten because he had allegedly assaulted a policeman with whom he had argued earlier.

NONGUBO, Nyusiwe (40), an Inkatha supporter, lost her home in an arson attack during political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 November 1985.

NONJOLI, Martha Memi, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NONJOLI, Ntombifikile, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NONKETHA, Welile Albert (28), lost his house in an arson attack by IFP supporters and members of the SAP during political conflict in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in April 1993.

NONKONELA, Nomabhele Angelina (34), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Zondi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 22 February 1992. Her seven-month-old baby was killed in the attack.

NONKONELA, Phumeza (7 months), was shot and killed by IFP supporters in her home in Zondi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 22 February 1992. Her mother was an ANC supporter and was injured during the same attack.

NONKUMBANA, Fakati Simon (69), a PAC supporter, was stoned by named ANC supporters in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, during March 1994. He lost his home in an arson attack two months later.

NONKUMBANA, Nontsapho (63), a PAC supporter, lost her house when it was destroyed by named ANC members during conflict between ANC and PAC supporters at Upper Mngqesha, Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 23 February 1994.

NONKUMBANA, Thembisa Ethelina (58), a PAC supporter, had her house destroyed and looted by ANC supporters during political conflict between ANC and PAC supporters in Upper Mngqesha, Zwelitsha, Ciskei. A charge was laid but the case was withdrawn.

NONKUMBANA, Veliswa Patricia (33), a PAC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by ANC members in King William's Town, Cape, in political conflict on the day of the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela on 10 May 1994. She had reportedly been stabbed by named ANC supporters two months earlier.

NONO, (first name not given), had her home petrol-bombed in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on an unspecified date between December 1986 and July 1988. One member of the Riot Police was refused amnesty (AC/1999/0026).

NONOYI, Mzukisi Samuel (23), a PAC supporter, was shot in the eye by a named UDF supporter in political conflict at Uitenhage, Cape, on 24 March 1987.

NONOYI, Thobeka Joyce (38), lost her house in an arson attack by UDF supporters during political conflict between UDF supporters and the AMAAFRIKA at Uitenhage, Cape, on 24 December 1986. Although a UDF supporter, she was allegedly attacked because she was related to PAC supporters.

NONQANDELA, Robert, an ANC supporter, was assaulted in March 1960 at Isikelo, near Bizana, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NONTAMO, Nondumiso Alice (60), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 December 1990.

NONTENJA, Jongudumo Emmanuel, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NONTSHINGA, Headman (28), was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NONTYI, Makhaya Showers (20), was shot by members of the SAP in Lingelihle, Cradock, Cape, while returning home from school on 15 May 1986.

NONTYI, Patrick Sympathy Phakamile (18), a UDF supporter, was shot in the head by named members of the SAP on 26 July 1986 in Cradock, Cape. He was kept under police guard in hospital and tortured in detention two days later.

NONYAMA, Noncebe Irene (29), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1993 during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NONYANE, Johannes Mogomotsi, (32), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in March 1985 during intense conflict in the area between police and students.

NONYANE, Michael Nhlanhla (17), was severely beaten with a hosepipe by named members of the SAP at a taxi rank in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, during May 1990. He and two friends were attacked and then taken to the police garage where they were beaten again.

NONYANE, Sello Alfred (27), was attacked and killed by members of the SADF and AWWB in Temba, Bophuthatswana, on 11 March 1994 during an arson attack on a supermarket complex in the area. Mr Nonyane and a friend were coming back from selling vegetables in Babelegi, Bophuthatswana.

NONYANE, Thabo Christopher (24), was sexually abused by a named member of the Bophuthatswana Police at the governor's office in Taung, Bophuthatswana, in May 1994. The incident occurred after he had taken part in a protest march.

NONYUSA, Ndleleni Januarie Mqwathi (40), was detained on 9 March 1993 for six months at Venterstad police station, Cape, after being accused of burning the house of a policeman. He was denied access to his lawyer until he was released.

NOOI, Julius Khotsang, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the Security Forces firing from a helicopter in Katlehong, Tvl, during a confrontation with mourners at a funeral in August 1993. Three people reportedly died during the incident.

NOQAYI, Zolile (46), an ANC member, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHOMASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NOQHOLI, Nkululeko John (34), an ANC supporter, was tortured by members of the SAP in 1991 while in detention in Komga police station, Cape. He had been implicated in the death of a PAC activist during political conflict.

NORDIEN, Eshaam (18), was one of ten students arrested after a rally in Athlone, Cape Town, on 17 September 1985, and severely beaten by named and other members of the SAP at the Brackenfell police station.

NORDIEN, Esmart, was one of ten students arrested after a rally in Athlone, Cape Town, on 17 September 1985, and severely beaten by named and other members of the SAP at the Brackenfell police station.

NOREXE, Joseph (15), was beaten and shot by members of the SAP in Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 13 August 1976 in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING.

NORMAN, George Yizanemvula (41), was stabbed to death on 11 August 1991 by IFP supporters returning from a march in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during ongoing conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

NORODIEN, Allie Mulla (40), lost his home and business store on 8 September 1976 in Elsies River, Cape Town, in an arson attack by a crowd of protesters during the SOWETO UPRISING. A number of other businesses in the area were destroyed on this day and one person was killed by the SAP.

NORTJE, Henry Sidney Chris, a policeman, was shot and injured by ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) members during April 1992 in Ficksburg, OFS. Three of the SDU

members applied for amnesty for the incident that was granted (AC/1999/0229).

NORUSHE, Bonisile Philemon (33), was severely beaten in 1980 by named members of the SAP at Cambridge police station, East London, after his arrest at a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING in Buffalo Flats.

NORUSHE, Ntombizodwa Elizabeth (27), an ANC supporter, was detained during protests in East London, in June 1980. While in detention, she was tortured.

NOSIPHIWE, (first name not given), was assaulted by named members of the A-TEAM during political conflict in Themba Section, Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 26 March 1985.

NOTHOLE, Thelma, was shot dead on 11 April 1992 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NOTHWALA, Michael (18), an ANC supporter, was tortured in various ways by named members of the SAP in 1977 at Fleet Street police station, East London. Mr Nothwala had been arrested after the funeral of Steve Biko, and was charged with public violence. He was convicted and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

NOTUNUNU, James (53), an iKONGO member, was detained for a year in Robben Island prison, in 1961, for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Mr Notununu died in 1961, a month after his release, having allegedly been forced to drink poison while in detention.

NOTYHAGI, Gcotshi (54), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1993. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NOTYHAWE, Gadavu Johannes, a Poqo member, was hanged together with another Poqo member in Pretoria central prison, on 14 October 1963 after being convicted of the killing of two people suspected of being informers in Paarl, Cape in January and April 1962.

NOVEMBER, Johnson (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, when he arrived at the scene of a fight between residents and supporters of a local businessman on 19 March 1990.

NOVOLO, Gabriel (30), a UDF supporter, was arrested on 29 January 1990 at Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, and accused of attempting to overthrow the Bophuthatswana government.

NOVOLO, Petr us, was assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Makouspan village in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, on 17 March 1990. Mr Novolo was trying to protect his pregnant wife from the police when they assaulted him.

NOVOLO, Reginah Difiedile (28), was assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Makouspan village in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, on 17 March 1990. Ms Novolo was pregnant at the time of the assault. Her husband was also assaulted while trying to protect her.

NOWAK, Wieslaw Stefan, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Wild Coast Casino in Bizana, Transkei, on 18 April 1986. Two people were killed and

several others injured in the explosion. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/99/0181 and AC/2000/240).

NOZAKUZAKU, Zilindile (32), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Kishini, Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 December 1993.

NOZAZA, Agrippa, an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NOZAZA, Nontsikelelo, was stabbed to death in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NOZEMBA, Mlindeli (59), an ANC member, was severely beaten by members of the CDF on 28 December 1991 at KwaMasele, near King Willam's Town, Cape.

NOZEWU, Zola, was stabbed to death by vigilantes aided by members of the CDF on 24 July 1987 in Mdantsane, Ciskei, because of his role in the Potsdam community's opposition to Ciskei rule.

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

NQABEBI, Xoliswa Elizabeth Maxoli (23), a SASO member, was arrested on 1 August 1977 at the Black Community Programme's offices in Port Elizabeth, and detained without trial for four months. While in detention, she was subjected to various forms of torture, including a week in solitary confinement. Ms Nqabeni was allegedly detained for her political association with Steve Biko.

NQABISA, Vusumzi Sydney, a CDF member, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NQAMRA, William, was severely injured when he was shot, stabbed and assaulted by a named SAP member in Kimberley, Cape, on 1 August 1988. Members of the SAP attacked demonstrators as Mr Nqamra and friends were returning from work. Five of Mr Nqamra's friends were fatally injured in the attack.

NQANA (BAART), Nokuzola Gloria (23), an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP in Seymour, Cape, on 18 August 1991. She was subjected to severe torture including being placed a sack and held underwater, and being beaten with rifles.

NQANDU, Johnson (26), a SAYCO member, was shot in the arm by members of the SAP while he was participating in a *toyitoyi* during political unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, during August 1985.

NQANDU, Xolisile , was shot in the head on 18 April 1985 when police members, concealed in a MUNICIPAL POLICE vehicle in Despatch, Cape, opened fire on youths playing football. Mr Nqandu died the following day. Four people were killed and two injured in the shooting. See TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, DESPATCH.

NQANGISA, Carius , an ANC supporter, was shot dead at Tokoza, Tvl, in March 1991, allegedly by IFP supporters.

NQAYI, Calvin Sibusiso (19), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death, allegedly by members of the SAP, at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in May 1990. His body was found nine days after he had disappeared from home.

NQEME, Bongani , was shot and injured by members of the SAP in KTC squatter camp, Cape Town, in 1985, during a period of unrest.

NQENTSW ANA, Bhekimpi Sabiso (47), had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1993 during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NQENTSW ANA, Nozuko Ronica (26), was shot by members of the SAP during political conflict in Duncan Village, East London, in April 1990. The police were allegedly firing at people hiding in her flat.

NQEZA, Thandi William (48), was arrested on 1 July during the state of emergency at Pearson, Cape, allegedly because of his political activities. While in detention, he was assaulted with sjamboks and batons by named members of the SAP. Teargas was also sprayed into his cell. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NQEZO, Mzuvukile Seaton (59), sustained severe burns when his house was petrol-bombed on 11 September 1992 in King William's Town, Cape.

NQGULUNGA, Nkanikayipheli (41), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Gomopho, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in May 1993.

NQIDI, Thembisile Nobuhle (38), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NQIKASHE, Lungisile William (29), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

NQINQHI, Monwabisi Edgar , died after he was attacked and 'necklaced' by a named perpetrator on 29 September 1985 during violent conflict between UDF supporters and the AMAAFRIKA in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape. Mr Nqinqhi was on his way home from work when he was attacked.

NQODI, Albert Pr etty , an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP at the Reddersburg police station, OFS, in March 1988, after *toyi-toying* with others during a political demonstration.

NQOI, Moses Makhettha (19), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the A-TEAM in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 1 April 1990. Mr Nqoi was

returning home from an ANC meeting when he was attacked. As a result, he is mentally disturbed and suffers from epilepsy.

NQOKO, Dingiwe , lost her house in an arson attack by ANC supporters near Ngwemabalala, KwaXolo, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NQOKO, Hlekani , had his house and possessions burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in Margate, Natal, on 10 April 1990.

NQOKO, Mkhethelwa (47), an ANC supporter, had his house at Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 21 March 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NQOKO, Remigia Ntombizini , an IFP supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 2 February 1991.

NQOKO, Seshani Eunice (76), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 April 1994, during political violence in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NQOKOTO, Mbuyiselo (23), was shot and injured by members of the security forces during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 13 August 1985.

NQONO, Boyce (25), was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NQONO, Vuyani Manjuwi (16), was shot and injured in the chest by members of the SAP on 15 December 1986 at Fort Beaufort, Cape, during resistance to the Black Local Authority. He was then taken to hospital where he was kept under police guard until his discharge three months later.

NQONTSI, Gladys Zanyiwe (24), had her house burnt down in an arson attack by unidentified perpetrators at Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, in December 1993. This happened after her husband, a street committee member, was abducted from their house by a group believed to be criminal elements in the community. He was never seen again.

NQULO, Mninikaya (29), the local ANC chairman, was assaulted and shot dead by named members of the SAP on 17 November 1990 in Barkly East, Cape.

NQUMAKHO, Phikesazi Mechell , an ANC supporter, was abducted and severely beaten by supporters of a named Inkatha-aligned *induna* at Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1988, allegedly because he had angered the *induna*. The perpetrators allegedly entered his home in search of firearms. When they could not find any, they beat his mother and his son before abducting him.

NQUMAKO, Dlangamandla Thilomu (52), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by a named ANC supporter and others at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 28 April 1990. At least 31 people were killed in the area during April 1990.

NQUMAKO, Dora Hlobozani , was shot dead in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 July 1992. The return of busloads of IFP supporters from a mass funeral in Durban had sparked intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NQUMAKO, Thethani , lost her house and her belongings at Ngwemabalala, KwaXolo, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in an arson attack by unidentified IFP supporters on 15 March 1994, during a period of political conflict.

NQUMSE, Afrika Lor ence, was killed by 'necklacing' by UDF supporters in George, Cape, on 12 March 1986. He was accused of being a collaborator since he was working for the council that was forcibly removing people from Lawaai kamp to Tembaletu.

NQUMSE, Zibonele Edward (38), a self-defence unit (SDU) member, was shot and injured by members of the Security Forces while participating in an SDU patrol in Phola Park informal settlement in Tokoza, Tvl, on 6 April 1992. Two days later two women were shot dead, four were raped and more than 100 Phola Park residents were assaulted by members of the SADF 32 Battalion which was deployed in the area as a peacekeeping force.

NQWALA, Zamide T errence (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NOWAZI, Khululekile , a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NQWELE, Mncedisi Rooi (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 13 August 1985.

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

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

NSELE, Funizwe , was shot dead by UDF supporters during political conflict in KwaMashu, Durban, on 18 June 1989. He was on his way to an Inkatha meeting when he was attacked.

NSELE, MC , was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in November 1991 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Two other ANC supporters were also shot dead in the attack.

NSELE, Msophile (46), an Inkatha supporter, lost her house in an arson attack in the KwaMashu area, Durban, in violent conflict between UDF supporters and AMASINYORA vigilantes on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

NSELE, Thamsanqa W elcome , a UDF supporter, had his house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NSIBANDE, Albert Mhambi (33), an ANC supporter, was shot and seriously injured in Ncotshane, Tvl, on 27 November 1993 by well-known IFP supporters who fired at mourners at the funeral vigil of the local ANC chairperson who had been killed by an IFP supporter. The three perpetrators fired from a car, injuring seven other people. Mr Nsibande was hospitalised for a year and is now partially paralysed.

NSIBANDE, Jacob Musawenkosi (27), was tortured by members of the Security Branch, some of whom are named, at CR Swart Square, Durban, in November 1986. Mr Nsibande was arrested along with his brother, an ANC underground member, who had attended the funeral of Samora Machel and returned with banned literature.

NSIBANDE, Joseph Dumisani (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 4 September 1993 at KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NSIBANDE, Robert Mbongeleni (29), an ANC member, was arrested on 20 November 1986 and detained for six months at CR Swart Square, Durban. While in detention, he was interrogated by members of the Security Branch, some of whom are named, about the whereabouts of weapons. Mr Nsibande had attended the funeral of Samora Machel and returned with banned literature.

NSIMBI, Doti Phillip (50), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named IFP supporter in an attack on his home at Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 December 1993. His sister was injured in the attack, and two people were shot dead.

NSIMBI, Lakobi Phyllis (77), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named IFP supporter in an attack on his home at Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 December 1993. Her brother was injured in the attack, and two people were shot dead.

NSUNDU, Y obayo (31), an ANC supporter, was stabbed with a spear, sjambokked, given petrol to drink and then forced to smoke by IFP supporters in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, during May 1991. He had warned his neighbour he was about to be attacked by the perpetrators.

NSUNTSHA, Manani Matrina (50), an IFP supporter, had her house at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 7 November 1992.

NTABENI, Nomonde (16), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP on 16 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING. During the uprising 575 people were killed and 2380 people injured in clashes between protesters and members of the SAP and the Riot Unit. Most of the protesters were youths or schoolchildren.

NTABENI, Zwelakhe Alfred (22), a UDF supporter, was detained on 14 June 1986 in Ugie, Cape. While in detention, he was severely assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP.

NTABI, Flory Mahlomola (20), was detained in Bloemfontein, on 16 June 1987, during a stayaway called to commemorate the SOWETO UPRISING of 1976. In detention, he was severely beaten by members of the SAP.

NTAKA, Bhelikzwe Ewart (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when IFP supporters attacked his home in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 November 1993, allegedly because the family was known to support the ANC. His brother and two sisters were shot and injured in the attack.

NTAKA, Bongani Cyprian (17), was severely beaten by named IFP supporters in Gingindlovu, Natal, on 21 October 1992, allegedly for refusing to join the IFP. A local IFP youth group was victimising young men who would not become IFP members.

NTAKA, Dumisani Mthunzi Shadrack , an ANC supporter, was killed in KwaMashu, Durban, on 29 March 1994. A peace meeting had been scheduled at a hostel in KwaMashu to resolve differences between KwaMashu residents and hostel-dwellers. Mr Mokoena was one of seven ANC delegates abducted from the hostel by IFP supporters. Two survived. Four IFP supporters, including the chairperson of the IFP hostel branch in KwaMashu, were convicted for the killings.

NTAKA, Hloniphile Princess (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured when IFP supporters attacked her home in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 November 1993, allegedly because the family was known to support the ANC. Ms Ntaka was blinded as a result of the shooting. One brother was shot dead, and a brother and sister shot and injured in the attack.

NTAKA, Mfanukile Simon (43), was shot and injured in Isipingo, Natal, on 10 March 1991 during a violent confrontation involving a shoot-out between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NTAKA, Ntombifuthi Gladness , an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when IFP supporters attacked her home in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 November 1993, allegedly because the family was

known to support the ANC. One brother was shot dead in the attack, and another brother and a sister were also injured.

NTAKA, Vusumuzi (16), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when IFP supporters attacked his home in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 November 1993, allegedly because the family was known to support the ANC. His brother was shot dead in the attack, and his two sisters were also injured.

NTAKANA, Bhelikzwe (12), was killed in a limpet mine explosion at the Wild Coast Casino in Bizana, Transkei, on 18 April 1986. Two people were killed and several others injured in the explosion. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/99/0181 and AC/2000/240).

NTAMANE, Mandla Solomon (21), a PAC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the ISU in Kagiso, Tvl, on 17 June 1985, the day after a commemoration in the township of the SOWETO UPRISING.

NTAME, Simphiwe Jefrey (19), a UDF supporter, was shot by a member of the Railway Police in Noupoort, Cape, on 18 July 1985, and died of his injuries two weeks later. Mr Ntame was engaged in an attack on a teacher's home during the SCHOOL BOYCOTTS when he was killed.

NTANDO, Merika Wellington (59), was shot by alleged members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 5 June 1984 during political conflict in the area.

NTANJANA, Nelsie 'Nomzi' (32), was severely suffocated when a named member of the SAP fired teargas into a crowded hall in Plettenberg Bay, Cape, on 17 July 1990, during a community protest meeting against poor housing conditions.

NTANJANA, Vuyisile Victor (14), was severely beaten by named members of the SAP in 1980, during a period of boycott action in Ceres, Cape.

NTANTISO, Dumile (58), was killed by 'necklacing' by UDF supporters in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 20 May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

NTANTISO, Mdubeki Johannes , an APLA operative, was suffocated and subjected to electric shock torture by members of the SAP, some of whom are named, in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, in October 1993. Mr Ntantiso had been arrested on suspicion of being an accomplice to murder.

NTANTISO, Sicelo , disappeared after leaving his home in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 25 December 1988 to join the ANC in Lusaka. Mr Ntantiso did not return with fellow ANC exiles.

NTANZI Bonginkosi Shadrack (48), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Verulam, Natal, on 20 July 1993.

NTANZI, Alvina Ntombenkulu (48), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Boneni (61), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Bukani (54), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Bukisile Dubeleni (33), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Busisiwe (65), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Cashephi (65), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Cunumuzi Saladine, an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Dokazi (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Dumazile (51), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Emmerentia (19), was shot dead by alleged ANC supporters on 22 December 1990 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during political conflict in the area.

NTANZI, Fakazile (72), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Gcinekile (65), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Gideon (33), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Gugu Khonzeni (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Hengani (59), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Jabu Sibongile (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Jordan Sifiso (24), was shot dead on 25 March 1994 at Eshowe, Natal, during ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NTANZI, Khephansi Charlie (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Khonelani (52), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Mkhetheni Sakhephi (40), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Mkholiseni Alpheus (40), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Mlungisi T erence, lost his house in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Mkhukhuze, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 1 February 1994.

NTANZI, Moses (28), an IFP supporter, was shot in the leg by ANC supporters at Matimatolo, near Greytown, Natal, in April 1991. His house was burnt down in the same attack.

NTANZI, Mphathiseni Thulani, an ANC supporter, was killed by two IFP members during political conflict at Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 25 September 1993. Two perpetrators (one being the brother of Mr. Ntanzzi) were granted amnesty (AC/2000/087).

NTANZI, Mtete (39), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Mthembeni Joseph (45), a local IFP chairperson, was axed to death by a named IFP member on 5 April 1991 in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in the course of a serious internal feud within the local party branch.

NTANZI, Muzikhona (17), was beaten and shot at in 1994, when a group of men attacked his home in Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NTANZI, Mxolisi Cornelious (16), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Nqobheni in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 December 1993. He disappeared from his home during intense political conflict in the area, and his body was found four days later, with multiple stab wounds.

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

NTANZI, Mzogwele Isaac , had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1993 during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NTANZI, Ndukwembi (55), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Nkosinathi Emmanuel (22), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Nokubheka Jabulile (28), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Nokuthula (65), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Nomakosi (64), lost her house in an arson attack at Verulam, Natal, on 16 March 1994, during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NTANZI, Nomzimba Thembani (68), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Ntombethini Elizabeth (41), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Ntombiyani (63), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Ntshinakaho Martha (60), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Petr os, was shot and injured by UDF supporters on 4 July 1989 at Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

NTANZI, Qondeni Esther (66), had her house burnt down during intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Roy Themba , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at his home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 September 1992.

NTANZI, Sebenzeni Thandazile (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Sheki Pheneas (45), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Shongishile Gabazengani (32), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Sibangaliphi Japhet (25), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Sibongile Sebenzile (39), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Siboniseni Lawrence (31), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Sithembile Mantombi (34), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Tickey Florence (67), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTANZI, Zakhe Maziseni (21), had his home in Eshowe, Natal, burnt down in April 1994, during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NTANZI, Zodwa Andrina (42), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in Pinetown, Natal, when conflict erupted at a local taxi rank on 30 March 1990.

NTANZI, Zothini Hlalisile (25), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTAOLENG, (first name not given), suffered damage to property in an attack by COSAS students in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 October 1988. He was not present at the time of the attack. One COSAS member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/208).

NTAOPANE, Mabaeti Selina , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NTEBALENG, Catherine (45) an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down at Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994, during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NETKELE, Natlo Macxon , was shot and hacked to death in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 September 1990 during intense political conflict in the area.

NETKISO, Ndiphiwe (26), a member of the Riot Police, was shot by named perpetrators during a patrol in Nyanga East, Cape Town, on 14 October 1991.

NETELELE, Anthony Mpho (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the SADF in

Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 25 December 1990 during conflict between ANC supporters and the Sofasonke Civic Group, aligned to the Lebowa government.

NTEMA, Mokoni (20), was shot and injured by a named AWB supporter in the Kestell area, OFS, on 23 April 1994, in political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

NTEMA, Seabata Albert, an alleged leader of the THREE MILLION GANG, was killed on 11 February 1991 in Maokeng, Kroonstad, OFS. Two ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) members applied for and were granted amnesty for this incident (AC/96/0006 and AC/96/0179).

NTEMANE, Caleb Mojalefa (25), a local ANC chairperson, was shot and injured when police fired on a crowd of protesting students at Dithake, Koffiefontein, OFS, in March 1990.

NTENGA, Fikile Tryphina (34), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTENGA, Jabulile Leslinah (48), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP at Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1992. The police were allegedly looking for weapons belonging to the IFP.

NTENGENTO, David Samdywida Lamani (30), a SANCO member, was stabbed to death by named perpetrators on 1 February 1987 in Mooiplaas, near East London. He had spearheaded the removal of the headman system in the Ciskei area. His body was found under a tree with several stab wounds.

NTENGENTO, Thembinkosi McDonald (37) was shot in the face by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NTENGESHE, Mabhunga W ellington, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Johannesburg, on 22 July 1993 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

NTENYANA, Nosipho (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NTEPE, Samuel, an ANC supporter, was detained and threatened with death by members of the SAP when he refused bribes to cooperate with police in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, in 1991 during widespread police harassment of ANC supporters in the area. Mr Ntepe was also harassed by alleged members of the Municipal Police in 1984 for his role in the Sharpeville rent boycotts.

NTETHA, Ar mstrong Thembinkosi, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured at Sowanjane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, when members of the SAP opened fire on people returning from an ANC rally in January 1994.

NTETHA, George Nkosana (29), was severely beaten by SAP members in Hermanus, Cape, in June 1960

while leading an anti-Pass march to the police station. He was arrested and severely beaten while awaiting trial. In October 1960, he was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment, after which he was banned from Hermanus.

NTETHA, Mtsheku Ampherval Liter (32), a member of the local council, had his house burnt down by named ANC supporters in Tshwaraganang, Dealesville, OFS, on 25 August 1990, during a period of conflict between COUNCILLORS and activists. Councillors who refused to resign risked attacks on their homes, families and business premises.

NTETHA, Simphiwe Rosemary, had her house burnt down during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Eshowe, Natal, on 8 September 1993. Ms Ntetha was allegedly targeted because her son was an ANC member.

NTEU, Nwaniki Maria (46), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SADF in Alexandra, Johannesburg, while attending a night vigil on 28 March 1991. Alexandra was tense following clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

NTHAKO, Jeanett T sehiso (58), had her house burnt down in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in 1976 during violent clashes between two brothers fighting over the chieftainship of Maboloko. Violence erupted after President Mangope appointed a chief who was not accepted by the community.

NTHAKO, Sebolelo Mirriam (47), had her house burnt down in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in 1976 during violent clashes between two brothers fighting over the chieftainship of Maboloko. Violence erupted after President Mangope appointed a chief who was not accepted by the community.

NTHANGENI, Elisa Tshifulufhelwi (45), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with a sjambok on a bus and at the police station by a named member of the Venda Police in Vuwani, Venda, during 1986. The bus was stopped at a roadblock in Vleifontein by Venda Police and she was beaten because she could not produce documentation that she had paid the Venda tax.

NTHELANG, Moses, an *askari*, died while being severely assaulted and suffocated with a rubber tube at *Vlakplaas* during 1989, after he had allegedly been absent without leave and had lost his firearm. His body was buried in an unmarked grave at on the farm. Ten *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for the assault and killing (AC/2000/085).

NTHEMBULASENI, Robert M, a security guard, was shot and injured on the night of 31 May/1 June 1980 during a limpet mine attack on the Sasol 1/Natref Oil Refineries in Sasolburg, OFS. The attack was conducted by the Solomon Mahlangu unit, as part of Special Operations missions to target strategic economic and military targets. Four applicants were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/103).

NTHETE, Meshack Letshabo, was shot dead when police opened fire on a protest march outside the municipal offices in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 30 January

1986. The marchers were protesting against the shortage of school equipment.

NTHLABATHI, Obed Friday , an IFP supporter, was shot and injured, by named ANC supporters in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, during August 1992.

NTHO, Thabiso Samuel (22), an MK operative, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 24 January 1992. Mr Ntho was reportedly detained and tortured later that year.

NTHOROANE, Caiphus Pule , was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Leeuwardingstad, Tvl, on 19 November 1986 because of his political activism. He suffered serious head injuries and spent two weeks in hospital. In November 1989, he was arrested for alleged drunkenness, and died in police custody.

NTHOTSO, Moeketsi Isaac (54), a SANCO member, suffered damage to his house when it was stoned and vandalised by members (one of whom is named) of the ANC-supporting Meqheleng Civic Association in Ficksburg, OFS, on 3 August 1993. There was tension and conflict between SANCO and the Maqheleng Civic Association at the time.

NTHSANGASE, Siyabonga , an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by a named IFP supporter at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 20 August 1993. He was killed while visiting a family of ANC supporters who were regularly harassed and attacked by IFP supporters.

NTHUNY A, Mohau Samuel Sam (50), a DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP) supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by ANC supporters in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 29 August 1989, allegedly because of his support for the DNP.

NTIKILI, Sam , was shot and severely injured by members of the Riot Police in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 10 September 1980. Sam and a number of friends were shot, one fatally, when police, allegedly hiding on an approaching bus, opened fire on them.

NTIKINCA, Rufus Mandlekosi (46), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 12 December 1990 during intense political conflict in the area.

NTILASHE, Alfred Mzwandi , was stabbed and thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters between Germiston and Boksburg, Tvl, on 27 August 1992. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

NTIMANA, Lucky (16), was shot in the back in Nkowankowa, Gazankulu, on 21 February 1990 when members of the SAP allegedly attacked an ANC protest meeting.

NTIMBANE, Vusi (35), a member of the South African Civics Association and an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the Security Branch in Tembisa, Tvl, in January 1979.

NTINEZA, Luka Hlomendlini (42), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in February 1992.

NTINEZA, Qondeni Ber tina (48), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict

at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTINEZA, Sphiwo Mbongeni (34), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTINGA, Boyi Sandile Ernest, was abducted by unidentified persons in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 31 August 1988 in intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

NTINGA, Maginqa , an ANC supporter, was shot in the thigh by IFP supporters at Umkomaas, near Durban, in 1992. He was allegedly targeted because he was residing in an IFP-dominated area.

NTINTILI, Nosipho Victoria (47), an ANC supporter, has been suffering from asthma ever since teargas was thrown into her house by members of the SAP, in Old Location, near Elliot, Cape, in 1990. Police members allegedly threw teargas at protesters who were passing her house during a stayaway.

NTITSHANE, Thembekile Thomas , an ANC member, was one of three people shot dead in Lower Crossroads, Cape Town, on 14 May 1993, when a group of men in a vehicle opened fire on them during a period of conflict between residents and a local Crossroads leader.

NTLABA, Taelo Joseph 'Oupa' (20), an AZAPO member, was shot dead by UDF supporters in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, in December 1985, during clashes between AZAPO and UDF supporters.

NTLABATHI, Mzikayise (29), a NUMSA member, was tortured in detention by named members of the Ciskei Police and Security Branch on 20 July 1987 in Mdantsane, Ciskei.

NTLANGENI, Dumisani David (23), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 16 June 1985. Mr Ntlangeni was shot while sleeping in a shack when police opened fire on suspects who had thrown a hand grenade at the home of a community COUNCILLOR.

NTLANTSANA, Xolile V usumzi , an ANC member from Cape Town, was arrested at the Botswana border on 26 February 1988, while leaving the country with four others. He was repeatedly and severely tortured by members of the Security Police at the Groot Marico police station in Zeerust, Tvl. Named Security Branch personnel from Cape Town arrived and tortured him as well. Thereafter he was held in solitary confinement in Cape Town for many months.

NTLAPO, Motlaetsona Petr os, an ANC member, was severely beaten, arrested and detained by named SAP members in Hermanus, Cape, in April 1960, when residents held an anti-Pass protest march to the police station. He was later sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

NTLEBI, Zolisa Sydney , was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 28 August 1985, during the POLLSMOOR MARCH to demand the release of Nelson Mandela. His left eye was permanently damaged in the shooting.

NTLEKI, Diliza Gladman (38), a PAC supporter, was severely beaten with rubber batons by prison warders at Victor Verster prison in Paarl, Cape, in 1967, while serving a prison term for furthering the aims of a banned organisation.

NTLEKO, Zuzile (26), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1993 during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NTLHAENG, Thabo Kevin (19), a COSAS executive member, was beaten with a wooden table leg by members of the Boputhatswana Police at Gomotso Police station in Pampierstad, Bophuthatswana, on 28 January 1994.

NTLHE, Kefilwe Agnes, was shot by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the Sharpeville massacre on 21 March 1960. Police opened fire on a crowd of unarmed people holding a peaceful protest against the Pass Laws, killing 69 and injuring several others.

NTLIZIYOMBI, Mzwabantu Wellington (40), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by ADM supporters during political conflict in Berlin, Cape, on 15 October 1993.

NTLIZIYWANA, Sithembile Richard (38), was shot dead by ANC supporters during political conflict at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 February 1991. At the time of his death, Mr Ntliziywana, who was an IFP commander, was allegedly leading an attack on ANC supporters at Gamalakhe.

NTLOKWANA, Vuyisile (25), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured in politicised ethnic conflict between Zulus and Xhosas in Durban on 17 October 1990.

NTLOKWANE, Nikiwe Mar garet (30), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1993 during intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NTLONZE, Ngcazela Solomon, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NTLUMAYO, Nkosiphi (43), had his home destroyed in a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 February 1993 in intensifying conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down.

NTOBELA, John, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters during political conflict at KwaMashu, Durban, on 24 May 1991, after he had been abducted from his home by a large group of men in the middle of the night.

NTOBELA, Mandleko Agnes (54), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1991.

NTOERENG, Stefane Meshack (51), a member of the Sebokeng Administration, had his home damaged in an arson attack in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 6 September 1984 during the VAAL UPRISING. A number of councillors' houses were burnt during a rent boycott in the area.

NTOMBANA, David Phathisiwe (26), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and tortured by named supporters of a local Crossroads leader in Crossroads, Cape Town, in September 1986, because of his opposition to the rent system imposed on Crossroads residents.

NTOMBELA, (first name not given), an IFP supporter, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at the Duduza hostel in Tvl, on 19 March 1994. At least ten people were killed in the attack, which took place after IFP hostel-dwellers had attacked and evicted ANC hostel-dwellers. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for the killing (AC/2000/054).

NTOMBELA, Abednigo Bongani (28), was shot and injured in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Cebekhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 April 1994.

NTOMBELA, Amon Sicelo (27), an ANC supporter, was abducted and stabbed to death by IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 2 August 1991.

NTOMBELA, Babane Joseph (57), an Inkatha supporter, died when he was stabbed and set alight by named ANCYL supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 23 December 1989.

NTOMBELA, Bafo Justice, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by fellow ANC supporters in Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 23 July 1987. He had allegedly been mistaken for a leader of the IFP youth.

NTOMBELA, Beauty Funani (55), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by a named Inkatha supporter during political conflict in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 2 February 1990.

NTOMBELA, Bekithemba Mandlenkosi (43), an IFP supporter, lost his home in an attack by ANC supporters at Empangeni, Natal, in June 1993.

NTOMBELA, Beselina Nozidumo (59), lost her house when it was forcefully occupied by UDF supporters at Umlazi, Durban, in 1992. Ms Ntombela had fled from her house after the perpetrators had killed members of her family. When she came back, her house was occupied by the perpetrators, and she went to live in a shack.

NTOMBELA, Bongani, was killed during a confrontation with IFP members at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 17 December 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NTOMBELA, Busisiwe Pr udence (3), was shot and injured by IFP supporters during political conflict at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 3 August 1991. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for her father, who was an ANC supporter.

NTOMBELA, Buti, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also

housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

NTOMBELA, Casephi Alphina (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NTOMBELA, Celumusa Siyabonga (18), a UDF activist, was abducted by Inkatha supporters on 2 September 1989 and found dead in Mpumuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, the following day.

NTOMBELA, Christopher (15), was arrested and beaten with a sjambok and rifle-butts by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at the Magaba police station in Hammarsdale, Natal, in April 1989.

NTOMBELA, Debhu Gerald, a UDF supporter, was assaulted and sprayed with teargas by members of the SAP when they stopped a bus carrying MAWU members to a meeting at Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1985.

NTOMBELA, Dini Alfr ed, a UDF supporter, was shot and killed by named perpetrators during intense political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 2 February 1990, the day of the UNBANNING of political organisations.

NTOMBELA, Duduzile Busisiwe (47), had her home at Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in September 1992. Ms Ntombela had been accused of being an ANC supporter.

NTOMBELA, Dumangezo Elias, was killed when UDF supporters shot him in the head and also bombed the house he was in, during intense political conflict at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 March 1990.

NTOMBELA, Emgard (55), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Uvondlo, Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in October 1990.

NTOMBELA, Gabriel (49), was severely beaten and teargassed by members of the SAP and the SADF in Howick, Natal, on 1 May 1986, when they attempted to disperse crowds attending a COSATU rally in support of a strike action.

NTOMBELA, Innocent Bekithemba (19), was shot in the stomach by Inkatha supporters during ongoing political conflict in KwaMashu, Durban, on 30 August 1985.

NTOMBELA, Johannes (63), was repeatedly threatened and assaulted by Inkatha supporters during renewed political conflict at KwaMashu, Durban, in 1985.

NTOMBELA, Joseph Mhlaliseni, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NTOMBELA, Kipalipi Johannes (47), an IFP supporter, was interrogated and severely beaten, allegedly by members of the SADF, after being taken to a scrapyard in Vosloorus, Tvl, in 1992.

NTOMBELA, Kwenya Johannes, was shot by masked gunmen in his family home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 October 1991. Mr Ntombela died a year after the attack, reportedly as a result of his injuries. Three family members were killed and eight people were wounded in the attack which took place during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NTOMBELA, Madlenkosi Eric (25), was shot dead by ANC supporters, one of whom is named, during political conflict at Umlazi, Durban, on 16 December 1993. Mr Ntombela was allegedly killed because he had earlier tried to protect teachers from the threat of a student attack, and because he had refused to join the ANC.

NTOMBELA, Mbekezela (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl, on 10 January 1994 in political conflict in the area during the run-up to the first democratic election of April 1994. One of Mr Ntombela's brothers was killed and another injured in this incident.

NTOMBELA, Mbimbi Lettie, was shot dead by masked gunmen in the family home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 October 1991. Mbimbi was one of three family members killed in the attack and eight people were also wounded. The incident took place during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NTOMBELA, Minah Phoko (59), was shot and injured by masked gunmen in the family home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 October 1991. Three family members were killed and eight people wounded in the attack which took place during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NTOMBELA, Mlindeli Creswell (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, at Estcourt, Natal, on 2 October 1993, allegedly for refusing to join the IFP.

NTOMBELA, Mlungisi Pikson (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, at Estcourt, Natal, on 27 September 1993, allegedly for refusing to join the IFP.

NTOMBELA, Moses Ngede (60), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Mooi River, Natal, on 4 December 1991.

NTOMBELA, Mphiwe Audrey (25), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Wartburg, Natal, on 29 October 1989. Eight Inkatha supporters were killed in politicised factional conflict in the area that day, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

NTOMBELA, Muzi, a UDF supporter, was shot dead during a protest march against forced removals at Slangspruit, Pietermaritzburg, on 24 August 1984.

NTOMBELA, Muzikayise, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NTOMBELA, Nkosikhona (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP who opened fire on him and his two brothers in Katlehong, Tvl, on

10 January 1994. Two of Mr Ntombela's brothers were seriously injured in this incident.

NTOMBELA, Petrus Bafana (21), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1992, allegedly by IFP supporters.

NTOMBELA, Queen (18), was shot and injured when masked gunmen entered the family home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 October 1991 and opened fire. Three family members were killed and eight people wounded in the attack, which took place during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NTOMBELA, Sesi , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NTOMBELA, Shadrack Mhlanganisi (39), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters during intense political conflict at Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990. See SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NTOMBELA, Sikhumbuzo Lesley (27), was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 19 April 1993 when mourners returning from the funeral of assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI randomly opened fire on bystanders.

NTOMBELA, Simeon Thandukwazi (26), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 20 November 1992.

NTOMBELA, Sindisiwe Beatrice (40), was shot dead by ANC supporters, one of whom is named, during political conflict at Umlazi, Durban, on 16 December 1993. Ms Ntombela was asleep in her house when she was shot.

NTOMBELA, Siphso (26), an IFP supporter, was shot dead and his body was set alight, allegedly by ANC supporters, in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1993.

NTOMBELA, Siphso , died after being stabbed in his chest by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Howick, Natal, on 9 April 1989.

NTOMBELA, Thabo Michael , was shot dead when masked gunmen entered the family home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 October 1991 and opened fire. Three family members were killed and eight people were wounded in the attack, which took place during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NTOMBELA, Themba Ntombincana (63), an ANC supporter, lost her house in Boshi near Estcourt, Natal, in an arson attack by alleged IFP supporters, for refusing to join the IFP.

NTOMBELA, Themba , was shot when masked gunmen entered the family home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 October 1991 and opened fire. Three family members were killed and eight people were wounded in the attack, which occurred during a period of conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents.

NTOMBELA, Thembikile (5), was burnt to death in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters during political conflict in Pietermaritzburg on 19 April 1991.

NTOMBELA, Thokozile , was burnt to death in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters during political conflict in Pietermaritzburg on 19 April 1991.

NTOMBELA, Thulani Petros (32), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Gezibuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990. See SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NTOMBELA, Tokozani , was shot dead when masked gunmen entered the family home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 October 1991 and opened fire. Three family members were killed and eight people were wounded in the attack, which took place during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NTOMBELA, Veli Raphael , was shot dead when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NTOMBELA, Vivian Jabulani , was one of eight passengers shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Six other passengers were shot dead. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK.

NTOMBELA, Welcome Mseshi (20), was shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict at Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 20 February 1994.

NTOMBELA, Zanele (12), was shot and injured when masked gunmen entered the family home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 October 1991 and opened fire. Three family members were killed and eight people were wounded in the attack, which took place during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NTONGANA, Noluthando Tsimi (28), was shot in the right arm on 24 December 1988 during political conflict at NU10, Mdantsane, Ciskei. At the time of the shooting, Mr Ntongana was travelling in a car with other people, two of whom died.

NTONGANA, Penwell Saphulelo (24), an ANC supporter, was shot by a named SAP member at Mzamomhle, Burgersdorp, Cape, on 23 October 1985 while he was on his way to a political meeting at the Apostolic Church Hall.

NTONGOLO, Samuel Mzwandile (26), was burnt to death at the hostels in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 18 October 1985, allegedly by hostel-dwellers. Students and youth had taken up an anti-liquor campaign that involved smashing liquor stocks, which led to vigilante attacks in response.

NTONI, Anthony Thozamile (18), an MK operative from Cape Town, was detained in Caculama training camp in Angola, in May 1982. He was tortured and then incarcerated in the Quatro camp until 1984, where he was interrogated and beaten by ANC security department members.

NTONI, Fezani Phillip (32), was shot by alleged members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, in 1986, during resistance to forced removals. He was left partially paralysed and died four years later.

NTONI, Nomvula Elizabeth Nomfazi (34), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NTOYAKHE, Nontobeko Meggie (40), lost her home in an arson attack in Crossroads, Cape Town, in February 1991, during internal conflict in the area.

NTOYANTO, Nomalungelo Mar garet (36), was shot dead by members of the SADF in Uitenhage, Cape, on 15 August 1985 while on her way to a student meeting at a time when buses, schools and shops were being burnt.

NTOZAKHE, Amos Sibhakela , disappeared on 14 July 1992 in Nancefield, Soweto, Johannesburg. His ID document and bank book were found in a dustbin at his employer's premises. At the time there was political conflict at Egoli Breweries.

NTOZAKHE, Beauty Tholakele (25), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTOZAKHE, Girdie Viera Mafanoyi (45), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by fellow Inkatha supporters on 5 February 1990. The attackers were allegedly looking for her son, an ANC supporter. Her husband was killed in the attack.

NTOZAKHE, Leonard Ngobayini (49), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead and his home was burnt down by fellow Inkatha supporters in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 February 1990. The attackers were allegedly looking for her son, an ANC supporter.

NTOZAKHE, Mgbiselwa , an ANC supporter, was burnt in a petrol-bomb attack by Inkatha supporters in Alfred, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 February 1990, following the unbanning of political organisations on 2 February.

NTOZAKHE, Michael Mteto (30), was set alight and severely injured by youths on 2 April 1986 after he and his friends broke a consumer boycott in Port Elizabeth.

NTOZAKHE, Muziwakona Timothy (71), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and burnt to death during an attack on his son's home in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, by named fellow Inkatha supporters on 5 February 1990. The attack is believed to have been motivated by the fact that some of Mr Ntozakhe's family members were ANC supporters.

NTOZAKHE, Nhlanhla Emmanuel (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 March 1992.

NTOZAKHE, Primrose Bawinile Mamtolo , was shot and killed by Inkatha supporters during political violence at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in January 1987. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NTOZELA, Sibusiso (54), an ANC supporter, was found dead at Lamontville, Durban, on 27 October 1992,

after his family had received an anonymous call to inform them about his death. Shortly before his death, Mr Ntozela had fled his home because of the political violence between ANC and IFP supporters.

NTOZELA, Thembisile , was burnt to death during a series of politically-motivated arson attacks by IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 9 November 1993.

NTOZINI, Xolile Daniel Mabhanya (19), a UDF supporter, was tortured in detention by members of the SAP in Middelburg, Cape, in January 1984. Mr Ntozini was involved in attempts to set up UDF structures in the area and charged with public violence.

NTSALA, Maleshoane L ydia , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NTSALA, Mapitso Lizzie (8), was shot by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the Sharpeville massacre on 21 March 1960. Police opened fire on a crowd of unarmed people holding a peaceful protest against the Pass Laws, killing 69 people and injuring several others.

NTSALI, Bhokuyise , was shot dead by members of the KwaZulu Police at Umlazi, Durban, on 17 June 1993. Mr Ntsali and another person, both suspected of having killed a police officer and stolen his gun, were allegedly shot dead while trying to escape from police custody.

NTSANA, Hlengana Johannes (55), had his house destroyed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 14 January 1993 during forced removals in Morokolong.

NTSANE, Elizabeth Mookgo , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the Sharpeville massacre on 21 March 1960. Police opened fire on a crowd of unarmed people holding a peaceful protest against the Pass Laws, killing 69 people and injuring several others.

NTSANE, Lejelang (58), was shot and injured in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 23 March 1992 by members of the SADF who were camped in the area to protect Chief Kgoloko who was not on good terms with the community.

NTSATHA, Nomakhephu Jane (23), an ANC underground activist, was tortured in detention between November 1981 and January 1989, at various police stations and prisons in the Cape and Ciskei. She was arrested by members of the Security Branch on her way into exile in Lesotho and charged under the Terrorism Act allegedly because she refused to give information on 'comrades' in return for money.

NTSEDE, Wani Mhliniva , an ANC supporter, was detained for five years without trial from March 1960 for his part in the PONDOLAND REVOLT. He was held in detention at Idutywa prison, Transkei, and severely tortured. As a result of his detention and torture, he was severely mentally affected.

NTSEKE, Mlungisi Lawrence (40), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, in February 1985. His right eye was permanently damaged in the shooting. Eighteen people were shot dead and hundreds were wounded in a three-day clash from 18 to 21 February when Crossroads residents resisted a forced removal to Khayelitsha.

NTSEKE, Velelo Alphius (37), an ANC member, was shot and injured by a group of men in balaclavas, including one in a SPECIAL CONSTABLE uniform, in Site B, Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 2 August 1992. He was patrolling with a community defence unit, established to ward off attacks by BALACLAVA GROUP on the community and ANC members. Two others were injured and one was killed in the attack.

NTSEKI, Elisa Modiehi (22), was shot dead when members of the SAP clashed with protesters in Bothaville, OFS, in March 1990, during a protest march against police brutality. Ms Ntseki was pregnant at the time. Two other people were killed and several injured in the incident.

NTSELE, Bongani (34), was shot and severely injured in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 April 1993.

NTSELE, Bongani Emmanuel (23), an ANC supporter, was arrested at KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 May 1977 and kept in solitary confinement until he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on Robben Island. Mr Ntsele was arrested for allegedly training the youth to overthrow the government. He was forced to make a statement implicating himself.

NTSELE, Fraser Thamusanqa, was shot and killed by members of the SAP at Ikwezi station in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING in which 575 people were killed and 2 380 people were injured in clashes with members of the SAP and the Riot Unit. Most of the protesters were youths or schoolchildren.

NTSELE, Jabulani Eric (27), was arrested and then shot and injured by members of the SAP during political unrest at Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 28 March 1993. Mr Ntsele was on his way home from his friend's funeral vigil when he was shot.

NTSELE, Ndodakeni, an ANC supporter, was shot and hacked to death by IFP supporters at Mtunzini, Natal, on 22 December 1992.

NTSELE, Noel (47), an ANC supporter, lost his home in an arson attack, allegedly carried out by members of the SAP, during political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 24 April 1990.

NTSELE, Siza Enock, killed by IFP members at Maphumulo, KwaZulu, near Greytown, Natal, on 24 August 1991. He was allegedly targeted because he was believed to oppose the IFP. Two IFP members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0009).

NTSELE, Zikoko (44), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an attack by IFP supporters at Mtunzini, Natal, on 22 December 1992.

NTSELE-DLADLA, Zanele Ellen (37), lost her house in an arson attack in ongoing conflict between IFP and

ANC supporters in KwaDlamu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 February 1994. Her husband was killed in the attack.

NTSENDWANA, Mqelele (34), a PAC supporter, was shot and injured in a confrontation between PAC supporters and members of the SAP at Queenstown, Cape, in 1962.

NTSEPO, Velile (21), an ANC operative, was kept in solitary confinement for eight months from August 1988 at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg. Mr Ntsepo was arrested with another ANC operative while trying to cross the border from Swaziland with hand grenades in their possession.

NTSESO, Michael Motseki, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, in August 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING in which 575 people were killed and 2 380 people were injured in clashes with police. Most of the protesters were youths or schoolchildren.

NTSETHE, Boysie Malusi Collen (21), was shot and injured in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 20 June 1991, during inter-group conflict.

NTSETHE, Mpumelelo Moses, was shot and injured by a SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Crossroads, Cape Town, in 1993, resulting in an arm amputation.

NTSETHE, Nokholekile Joslina (52), lost her home in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 20 June 1991, during inter-group conflict. Her son was shot and injured in the incident.

NTSETHE, Zacharia Dumile (48), was beaten and 'necklaced' to death in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 20 May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

NTSEWA, Makgabo Agnes (14), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because her family resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NTSHABA, Mthakashana Elias (43), fled his home after he was shot at by a named group of men carrying bottles of petrol. Mr Ntshaba escaped unhurt from this attack but his home was burnt down in an arson attack a few days later. Mr Ntshaba alleges that he was attacked because he is Zulu-speaking and was assumed to be an IFP supporter. He was one of thousands of people forced to flee their homes on the East Rand during the ongoing political conflict which erupted in August 1990.

NTSHAKO, Johannes Fusi (62), a DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP) supporter, was severely assaulted by ANC supporters in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, in February 1990. Mr Ntshako had attended a rally and was accosted by 'comrades' who accused him of being a collaborator.

NTSHALINTSHALI, Lawrence, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named Inkatha Youth Brigade members in Clermont, near Durban, in August 1989.

NTSHALONG, Lucas Moratuwa (16), an ANCYL supporter, was detained and assaulted by members of the SAP at the Grootvlei police station, Reddersburg, OFS, in May 1990. A boycott was underway at the time, and several youth activists were assaulted and tortured by the police.

NTSHANASE, Alfred Mzikayise, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NTSHANGASE, Amos, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named perpetrators in Pongola, Tvl, on 1 January 1991 because of his political affiliation.

NTSHANGASE, Bhakinkosi, was shot dead by a named assailant in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 December 1992. Mr Ntshangase was driving a truck to work when he was stopped by armed men, and both he and his cousin were killed.

NTSHANGASE, Busisiwe Fikanenala (27), an ANC supporter, was crushed by other people when the bus they were travelling in was attacked by Inkatha supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 8 March 1983. See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

NTSHANGASE, Cyril Siphomandla, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 September 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NTSHANGASE, Daniel (26), was shot and severely injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at Ncotshane, Tvl, on 27 September 1993. Mr Ntshangase was attending a night vigil for a victim of an IFP killing when the police opened fire on mourners. Eight people were injured in the shooting.

NTSHANGASE, Durnisane (13), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in the New Hanover area, near Pietermaritzburg, on 31 December 1989.

NTSHANGASE, Fikelephi Philemena, an ANC member, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katilehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. He was one of 11 ANC members killed, nine execution-style, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

NTSHANGASE, Juliet Tu (38), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 8 March 1993, when the bus in which she was travelling was ambushed by armed men at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg. The bus was taken 80 ANC supporters to attend the court appearance in Pietermaritzburg of three men implicated in the ambush of a vehicle carrying IFP supporters on 5 March 1993. Three men and a woman were killed and at least 16 people were injured.

NTSHANGASE, Lillian Khethiwe (39), had her house in the Ntuzuma area, near Durban, burnt down in

ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 11 December 1991.

NTSHANGASE, Makhosi Frida (50), an ANC supporter, was injured when the bus she was travelling in was ambushed by IFP supporters on the way to Pietermaritzburg on 8 March 1993. Ms Ntshangase broke her leg when the bus overturned during the attack. Three men and a woman were killed and at least 16 were injured in the attack. See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

NTSHANGASE, Mnakwe (30), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 8 May 1993 in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NTSHANGASE, Monica Thembisile (28), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict in Empangeni, Natal, on 11 November 1992.

NTSHANGASE, Moxosheni Pheneas (51), an IFP supporter and a local *induna*, was killed by ANC supporters at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 25 February 1993.

NTSHANGASE, Muntukathandwa, was shot dead in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 August 1992.

NTSHANGASE, Ndendesi Minah (39), an IFP supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by ANC supporters at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, in March 1993.

NTSHANGASE, Njabulo Innocent (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP during political unrest and conflict at Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, in March 1994.

NTSHANGASE, Patricia Thembisile (14), was injured during an attack by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Mophela, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 September 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NTSHANGASE, Richard Elfas, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters during an attack on Chief Mhlabunzima's homestead in Pietermaritzburg on 1 December 1990.

NTSHANGASE, Sibusiso Christopher (29), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Pietermaritzburg on 24 December 1991. Mr Ntshangase was caught by the perpetrators while trying to flee his home in Caluza.

NTSHANGASE, Simon (61), fled his home after it was set alight by Inkatha supporters during political conflict in Flatview, Inchanga, Natal, on 1 October 1989. He later relocated to Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban.

NTSHANGASE, Sindisiwe Cynthia (25), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 4 October 1992.

NTSHANGASE, Josephine (53), was injured during an attack by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Mophela, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 September 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NTSHANGULA, Xolani , was shot and severely injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at Ncotshane, Tvl, on 27 September 1993. Mr Ntshangula was attending a night vigil for a victim of an IFP killing when the police opened fire on mourners. Eight people were injured in the shooting.

NTSHANTSHA, Thokogoni , an ANC supporter, was shot and fatally wounded by members of the ISU during intense political conflict in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 15 May 1993.

NTSHANYANA, Nomhlobo Valencia (22), a member of SAYCO, was shot and injured on 22 January 1985 while entering her house in Uitenhage, Cape. Ms Ntshanyana was arrested after reporting the incident to the Black Sash.

NTSHAP A, Doris Mary (37), an ANC supporter, had her home at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. Eight people were killed and more than 120 homes were burnt down. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

NTSHAP A, Selina (71), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTSHEKEVANA, Masipalati , an ANC supporter, was executed in Pretoria, on 21 March 1962 after his arrest for attending *iKongo* meetings at Ngqindilili during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NTSHENGE, Kwanele Collen (18), was shot in the knee by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

NTSHENGE, Mbulelo Cohlen (21), was tortured and shot in the back by members of the SAP in March 1987 in Uitenhage, Cape. He was constantly harassed by police and members of AMAAFRIKA.

NTSHICA, Sandile , a private security guard, was injured by four APLA operatives during an attack on police members at the Khayelitsha train station, Cape Town, in 1992. Four other private security guards were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

NTSHIKILANA, Xolani Martin (34), was detained and tortured in Umtata, Transkei, in 1986 or 1987, by members of the Transkei Security Branch who believed him to be an ANC supporter. A Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/076).

NTSHILIBA, Mawane Alphios (37), lost his home in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in May 1993.

NTSHINGA, Mhlupheki Elias (56), an ANC underground member, was interrogated and tortured by members of the Transkei Police in October 1988 in Umtata, Transkei. He was subjected to beatings, death threats and other means of torture.

NTSHINGILA, Danie William (20), a UDF supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by members of the SAP on 5 July 1985 in Steynsburg, Cape. He was

accused of beating a policeman, and on 8 September 1985 was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on charges of public violence.

NTSHINGILA, Duduzile (10), was shot dead by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, during political conflict at Ntombini, Mandini, Natal, on 5 February 1994, allegedly because his mother was an ANC member.

NTSHINGILA, Mohambi Jeremiah (62), was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at his home in Ktlehong, Tvl, on 24 March 1994. Mr Ntshingila was called to a community/SDU meeting for questioning about his suspected activities as an informer and IFP supporter. He was then driven to his home and killed. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1999/0348).

NTSHINGILA, Ntombikayise Murriel (52), an ANC supporter, was injured when members of the SAP sprayed teargas into her house at Sibongile, Dundee, Natal, on 1 May 1994. The police were chasing people who went to hide in her house.

NTSHINGILA, Simangele Julia , was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NTSHINGILA, Themba (33), an ANC supporter, was stoned to death, allegedly by named SAYCO members, on the street in Jabavu Section, Steadville, Ladysmith, Natal, during February 1993. It had been resolved to disband SAYCO after the UNBANNING of the ANC, but some members rejected this decision. The Security Police exploited this division, and some SAYCO members allegedly formed a gang that terrorised and killed many people in the township.

NTSHINKA, Monwabisi (26), an MK operative from Engcobo, Transkei, was killed in 1984 while on an MK mission. The Commission was unable to establish the exact circumstances and place of his death.

NTSHINSILA, Simon Glenn Bongani (22), was detained at Alexandra Road police station and Halfway House prison in Pietermaritzburg in 1980. Mr Ntshinsila was chairperson of the Worker's Committee and was therefore considered a threat by Security Police and their allies for his political beliefs.

NTSHINTSHI, Thembekile (15), was shot by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

NTSHIZA, Herbert Mzondeni Ntshiza (32), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death by IFP supporters at Eplenini, Ixopo, Natal, on 8 April 1993.

NTSHOBANE, (first names not given), two brothers, were detained and tortured in Umtata, Transkei, in 1986 or 1987, by members of the Transkei Security Branch who believed them to be ANC supporters. A Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/076).

NTSHONGW ANA, Alfred Lungisile (37), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 14 September 1990 while on his way to work. At the time, there was unrest in the area with community members opposing the Coloured Management Committee headed by the Labour party.

NTSHONGW ANA, Mpingeni Alfred (33), a self-defence (SDU) unit member, was severely assaulted by members of the Political and Violent Crime Unit of the SAP after his arrest in Katlehong, Tvl, on 23 April 1992 with 11 other SDU members. Mr Ntshongwana spent 16 months in prison awaiting trial during which time he alleges he was assaulted again. One of the SDU members arrested with him died six months after his release from prison, allegedly as a result of injuries sustained during his detention.

NTSHOTA, Mxolisi (25), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 23 March 1992 when he and other activists were instructed by *Vlakplaas* *askaris* to hijack a particular car. They were then ambushed by *Vlakplaas* operatives. Two of the perpetrators applied for amnesty.

NTSHUDE, Maki Jonas (14), was beaten by members of the SAP during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, in August 1985. Police allegedly wanted information from him about the sittings of the 'people's court' in the area.

NTSHUDU, Andile Joseph (21), a COSAS supporter, was beaten by named members of the SAP at Somerset East police station, Cape, in March 1985 at a time of protests in the township.

NTSHUNTSHA, Naboth Mandaluhlwile, a PAC branch chairman, is alleged to have committed suicide while in police custody at Protea, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 9 January 1977. He had been detained for 26 days, and is one of four who died in detention while awaiting the 'Bethal trial'. See BETHAL 18.

NTSIBANDE, Daniel, was shot and killed by a named member of the SAP in Zondi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 August 1990 during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

NTSIBANDE, David, was shot and injured by gunmen in a red minibus in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1992 during a period of political conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

NTSIKENI, Mabembe (29), an ANC supporter, was sprayed with teargas by members of the SAP and SADF in a helicopter flying over NGQUZA HILL, Transkei, in March 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NTSIMANE, Rosetta Tlhabi (29), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

NTSIMBINI, Zakhele (23), had the home he was renting in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1993 in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NTSIME, Phanny Mathlodi, survived when shots were fired into the home of the Ntsime family at Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, during an attempted *coup d'état* on 10 February 1988. Two Bophuthatswana Defence Force members were granted amnesty for their role in the attempted coup (AC/2000/044).

NTSIZAKALO, Sipiwo Alfred (18), a Noupoot Youth Congress and UDF activist, was severely tortured by members of the SAP in Noupoot, Cape, in 1985. He is now mentally ill.

NTSIZI, Noqhubile (38), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

NTSOBI, Toto Mzwandile (17), was sentenced to two years' imprisonment on 24 May 1977 for allegedly publishing pamphlets encouraging students to boycott schools in Port Elizabeth. Between the date of his arrest in February 1977 and the date he was sentenced, he was detained in various prisons, and tortured by members of the SAP.

NTSOELENGOE, Reginald (16), a UDF supporter, was shot, arrested and tortured in detention by members of the SAP in Mhlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, on 16 June 1984.

NTSOEU, Mosela Emily Mamokoena (36), lost her house in an arson attack by unidentified persons in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, in 1989, because she was perceived to be a member of the DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP).

NTSOKO, Shiko Johannes (21), an ANC supporter, was arrested and tortured by named members of the SAP in Pretoria, in March 1963.

NTSOMI, Zandisile (21), an ANC supporter, was shot, severely injured and beaten by members of the SAP in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, on 12 October 1985. Police took him to hospital where his right leg was amputated. The following day he was discharged into police custody and charged with public violence, of which he was later acquitted.

NTSUBA, Zabulon Mofokeng (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960. Police opened fire on a crowd of unarmed people holding a peaceful protest against the Pass Laws, killing 69 people and injuring several others.

NTSUKULA, Er nest, was severely beaten with fists and rifle butts by members of the SADF in his house in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, on 7 July 1991 during conflict between AZAPO and ANC supporters. SADF members arrived at midnight and beat him and two friends, claiming that his friend had an AK47 in his possession and that they were responsible for violence in the township.

NTSUKUME, Zizamele (41), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 August 1993, in political conflict over the launch of an IFP branch in the settlement. On the day of the launch, nine people were killed, 11 injured and 18 houses burnt down.

NTSUNDU, Meli , a PAC supporter, was hacked to death by ANC supporters in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 24 June 1990. He was one of three people killed during clashes between ANC supporters and supporters of a conservative squatter leader who had joined the PAC.

NTSUSA, Zolile Kenneth (22), was detained on 16 June 1986 in Somerset East, Cape, and severely tortured and beaten by named Security Branch members while in detention. He was released in September 1987.

NTSW AYI, Sandile Latone (23), a GRAYCO member, was shot dead by a local mayor at Masizakhe, Graaff-Reinet, Cape, on 15 November 1984 while he was demonstrating with a group of youths against the Graaff-Reinet community council.

NTULI (N EE PHENYANE), Virginia Joyce

Ntombikayise (39), a member of the ANCWL, had her house burnt down, allegedly by named Security Branch members, in Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, in 1990. She was physically assaulted by the police several times.

NTULI, Aaron Mbuyiselo (18), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by SPECIAL CONSTABLES during political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 October 1988. He was blinded in one eye as a result of the assault.

NTULI, Abel Zwane , a UDF supporter, was abducted after he was shot by members of the Security Forces in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict between IMBOKODO vigilantes and residents resisting the INCORPORATION of MOUTSE into KwaNdebele. Mr Ntuli has never been seen since.

NTULI, Advocate Mteteleli , a Poqo member, was executed in Pretoria Central Prison, Pretoria, on 30 May 1968 along with another Poqo member, after being convicted of the killing of a suspected Poqo traitor in Paarl, Cape. He was one of around 70 Poqo activists hanged in the 1960s for involvement in acts of political conflict.

NTULI, Bafana (23), an ANC supporter, was fatally shot by named IFP supporters in Bhomela, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 July 1992.

NTULI, Bhabhalazi Elton (51), an IFP member, lost his furniture and two cars, which were set alight by unidentified ANC supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1990.

NTULI, Bhekabantu Mzowomna (38), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on the road near Malagazi, Umlazi, Durban, on 28 February 1991.

NTULI, Bheki , an ANC supporter, survived an attempt on his life by members of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD at Empangeni, Natal, on 26 August 1992. Mr Ntuli, a NUMSA official, had his house riddled by bullets, and his windows smashed during the attack. He survived by returning fire, seriously wounding two of the assailants. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NTULI, Bonginkosi Musa (26), was severely assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP, some of whom are named, at Empangeni, Natal, on 12 May 1978,

during student protests at the University of Zululand. He had allegedly been arrested because police wanted information concerning a student activist.

NTULI, Chaka Piccanin , had his house destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975 during conflict over the INCORPORATION of the area into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported incorporation but many residents resisted which led to violent conflict.

NTULI, Christina (60), had her home petrol-bombed in June 1992, in Esigisini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NTULI, David Makhelwa (18), was forced to walk on hot coals by IMBOKODO members in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict over the independence of KwaNdebele.

NTULI, Davidson Velenkosini (27), the ANC chairman in the North Coast region, was attacked by IFP supporters and armed members of the KwaZULU POLICE at Mtubatuba, near Empangeni, Natal, on 21 December 1994. He reportedly shot back and was later arrested for attempted murder.

NTULI, Der rick , was shot and injured by an IFP supporter who attacked his uncle's home in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in June 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His uncle was stabbed in the attack.

NTULI, Dinga Bonginkosi (23), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in 1992.

NTULI, Duduzile Doris (47), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 1 May 1994, during political violence following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NTULI, Dumisa Paulus , was arrested and repeatedly tortured in police custody in Benoni, Tvl, in July 1986, allegedly for being involved in burning local councillors' houses. At the time, Mr Ntuli was a member of the Tokoza Youth Congress and secretary of the SRC at Thoko Thaba High School. He spent three years in detention in Modderbee prison and was released with restrictions.

NTULI, Dumisani , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha youths at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 April 1989.

NTULI, E , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

NTULI, Edward Hlengive , was shot dead in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 July 1992.

NTULI, Ellen , had her house burnt down in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Sowanjane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in September 1993.

NTULI, Elliot Celani (43), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter at his place of employment in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 18 November 1992. One of his co-workers was injured when he chased the attackers. Mr Ntuli and his family had previously fled their home because of IFP harassment.

NTULI, Ernestinah V uyisiwe, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters during political conflict at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1990, allegedly because she was perceived to be an IFP supporter.

NTULI, Fikelephi Nelisiwe, had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1986, allegedly because she was perceived to be a UDF supporter.

NTULI, Fikisiwe Dorah (58), had her house burnt down during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Eshowe, Natal, in 1993.

NTULI, Filda, was one of 11 people killed by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

NTULI, Gloria, was shot dead in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 August 1992, when members of the KWAZULU POLICE opened fire on a group of women, allegedly in order to implicate the ANC. Two others, including a three-year-old child, were killed in the attack, and two people were injured.

NTULI, Helen Basizile, lost her home in an arson attack in Sowanjane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 4 September 1993 in conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her son, an ANC supporter, was killed in the attack.

NTULI, Hleziphi (66), an IFP supporter, lost her house in an arson attack carried out by fellow IFP supporters at Bhukhanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 January 1993, allegedly because her children were thought to be ANC supporters.

NTULI, Ivy Joy Gabisile (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters at Ntuzi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 May 1990. She was returning from an ANC meeting with others when she was shot. Ms Ntuli was treated at Ngwelezane hospital, but the bullet could not be removed from her broken arm. She has since lost the use of the arm.

NTULI, Jackson, an ANC member, was beaten and detained by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NTULI, Jacob Nkopane (29), was severely beaten and shot by *kitskonstabels* in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 30 June 1987 during conflict over the independence of KwaNdebele.

NTULI, James Phamakusho (20), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters after attending a COSATU rally in Durban on 1 May 1987.

NTULI, Jer emiah, a COSAS member, was recruited for military training by a Security Branch agent

purporting to be an MK operative, and was killed in the NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH near the Botswana border on 26 June 1986. Eight operatives from SADF Special Forces, Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/0190; AC/1999/0192; AC/1999/0194; AC/1999/0031; AC/1999/0188; AC/1999/0030 and AC/1999/0197).

NTULI, Keqe Zakhasa, was killed and had his home burnt down in Dokodweni, KwaZulu, near Gingindlovu, Natal, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in 1993. His wife and sister-in-law managed to escape from the burning house, but he was pursued and killed. His decomposed body was found two weeks later.

NTULI, Kufakomuzi Joseph (26), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 December 1992.

NTULI, Leah (58), had his house destroyed by IFP supporters during political conflict at Nhlabane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in May 1992. The incident occurred when the IFP members were returning from a rally in Ulundi.

NTULI, Leonard Jerry (17), was shot and injured by members of the SADF in Masinong, Tembisa, Tvl, on 5 November 1984 during the partial state of emergency. Mr Ntuli's leg was amputated as a result of his injuries.

NTULI, Lesiba Joseph (21) a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the KwaNdebele Police during his arrest on 4 September 1987 in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele. He was detained without trial for eight months on a murder charge, but was released when the charge was withdrawn.

NTULI, Lucky, drowned after being beaten and then thrown into a dam by a group of named members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, in April 1986.

NTULI, Makhosi (44), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, after an IFP rally on 2 August 1992. A toddler being carried by Ms Ntuli was one of at least nine other people killed in the incident. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

NTULI, Mandla Samuel (45), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 9 June 1991. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

NTULI, Mankehl (28), lost her home on 16 February 1993 in a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down in this attack.

NTULI, Mbali Innocetia, was seriously injured in a petrol bomb attack on her uncle's house in Tokoza, Tvl, in February 1991, allegedly by IFP supporters. Ms Ntuli's sister was also seriously injured in this attack. Her uncle, Sam Ntuli, was general secretary of the Civic Association of Southern Africa (CAST) and was subsequently assassinated in Tokoza, Tvl, on 29 September 1991. See NTULI FUNERAL.

NTULI, Mbongeni (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead during an arson attack on the family home in Sowanjane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 4

September 1993, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. The home was destroyed in the attack.

NTULI, Mbukeni , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 2 May 1990.

NTULI, Mbusi , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in December 1986.

NTULI, Michael Mark (20), an ANC supporter, was abducted and shot dead at Umlazi, Durban, by IFP members returning from a rally on 8 December 1991.

NTULI, Moses Mkhuzelwa , an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

NTULI, Mseleni , was one of 11 people killed by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

NTULI, Mthandeni (2), was shot and injured by IFP supporters at his family home in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 July 1992. The family was allegedly attacked because Mthandeni's father had not attended an IFP rally.

NTULI, Muntuwempi (46), had his home burnt down in Dokodweni, KwaZulu, near Gingindlovu, Natal, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area in 1993. Mr Ntuli's wife and sister-in-law managed to escape from the burning house, but his brother was pursued and killed. His decomposed body was found two weeks later.

NTULI, Muzikayise Isaac (37), had his home in Mashayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed on 17 November 1990 in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NTULI, Muzingeli James (38), was hacked, shot and severely beaten by IFP supporters, one of whom is named, during political conflict at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 18 November 1991. Mr Ntuli was fleeing from the attackers when he was caught and assaulted.

NTULI, Mzilawonke Jacob (45), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Greytown, Natal, in September 1990.

NTULI, Ncamisile (32), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, vandalised and destroyed by IFP supporters on 8 August 1993, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. The attackers were returning from a rally at which a local branch of the party was launched.

NTULI, Nelisiwe , had her house burnt down in an arson attack in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, in 1993.

NTULI, Ngcebo Shadrack (46), had his house burnt down in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Iniwé, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in December 1991. Mr Ntuli was allegedly targeted because his son was an ANC supporter.

NTULI, Nkosana Ndukuzakhe (28), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by named IFP supporters at Mooi River, Natal, on 25 September 1991.

NTULI, Nokuthula (13), was shot dead by IFP supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, during celebrations of Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

NTULI, Nozipho , an ANC supporter, was shot dead at Nyoni, KwaZulu, near Gingindlovu, Natal, on 23 August 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NTULI, Nunu S'thembele (7), was shot dead on January 1987 in the KWAMAKHUTHA MASSACRE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirteen people were killed, including eight children, in an attack carried out by Inkatha supporters. Two former Inkatha members were granted amnesty for their role in planning the attack (AC/1999/0332).

NTULI, Paulos (43), had his house burnt down in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 July 1992. Mr Ntuli was allegedly targeted for not attending an IFP rally.

NTULI, Petros (42), was abducted from his shack in Katlehong, Tvl, by four unidentified men during ongoing political conflict on 5 October 1993. His body was found at the Germiston mortuary, on 14 October 1993.

NTULI, Phillip , was shot and 'necklaced' by named 'comrades' in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 23 May 1986 during conflict over the INCORPORATION of the village into KwaNdebele.

NTULI, Phyllis Busisiwe , a UDF supporter, was assaulted and forced to flee her home in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, on 5 May 1985, when Inkatha supporters attacked members of the Hambanathi Residents' Association and others opposed to the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu. Several houses were forcefully abandoned that day. A leading member of the Inkatha Women's Brigade was arrested and convicted for her role in this operation.

NTULI, Piet Maqhawe Mbalekwa , a KwaNdebele government minister and IMBOKODO leader, was killed in a car bomb explosion in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 29 July 1986. Members of the Special Forces of the SADF and the Security Branch of the SAP applied for amnesty for this attack.

NTULI, Pumelela , was shot dead in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in January 1987.

NTULI, Richard Makhawane (22), was detained and tortured by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Tweefontein, KwaNdebele, on 12 June 1986 during conflict over the INCORPORATION of MOUTSE into KwaNdebele.

NTULI, Rosa Khanyisile Mango (31), an ANC supporter, was forced to flee her home in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 8 April 1990,

because of violent conflict between ANC and IFP supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

NTULI, Sakhephi , an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 3 January 1991, when Inkatha supporters attacked a group of about 20 people at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg. Eight people were killed and one was seriously injured.

NTULI, Sam , a civic leader in Tokoza, was killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' during political conflict Tokoza, Tvl, on the 29 September 1991. He was allegedly targeted because he organised strikes and 'go-slows' in the community. His actions therefore negatively affected some businessmen in the area, particularly those in the taxi business. Two perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/2000/198).

NTULI, Samson Numzeni , the general secretary of the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal and chairperson of the Tokoza Civic Association, was shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict in Empangeni, Natal, on 25 October 1992.

NTULI, Samuel Hambolwakhe , general secretary of the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal, was shot dead by members of the KHUMALO GANG in Tokoza, Tvl, on 29 September 1991. The perpetrators were allegedly operating under orders of local IFP leadership. Two of the perpetrators have applied for amnesty. See NTULI FUNERAL.

NTULI, Sazi Johan (20), an SACP supporter, was shot and severely injured by ANC supporters at Mpopophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 29 November 1990. Mr Ntuli sustained severe head injuries in the attack and now suffers from epilepsy and memory loss.

NTULI, Sazi Victor (46), an ANC supporter, was assaulted with a *knobkierie* by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, at KwaMashu, Durban, in 1984.

NTULI, Sibongile (32), lost her home when it was burnt down by IFP supporters in Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in August 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NTULI, Sindile Springkaan (44), was assaulted and his property was destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede village, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during July 1975 because Mr Ntuli resisted the INCORPORATION of the village into Lebowa.

NTULI, Siphio (40), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 3 March 1993. His son had been killed, also in the course of political conflict, three months earlier.

NTULI, Siphio Isaac (23), was stabbed by IFP supporters in Gobandlovu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 November 1991, allegedly for not attending an IFP rally held two days earlier.

NTULI, Siziwe Cabangile (36), had his home in Esigisini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, petrol-bombed in June 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

NTULI, Steven Ntofo (15), an ANC supporter, died in hospital after being stabbed in the chest by IFP supporters in Iniwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 7 December 1991.

NTULI, Sydney Bafana (28), was shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 July 1992.

NTULI, Thandekile , had her house burnt down in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in 1993.

NTULI, Theodora Maswazi (47), was shot by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 March 1990, when police allegedly targeted ANC activists during violence between the ANC and IFP.

NTULI, Tholakele Goodness (31), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed by named IFP supporters in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990.

NTULI, Tholithemba (34), was stabbed with a bush knife by an IFP supporter who attacked his home in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during continuing political conflict in June 1993. His nephew was shot and injured in the attack.

NTULI, Thomas Isaac , was severely injured in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, on 7 July 1986 when he was sjambokked by IMBOKODO vigilantes looking for his brother, an ANC supporter instrumental in mobilising residents against the INCORPORATION OF MOUTSE into KwaNdebele.

NTULI, Thulisizwe Grace (50), lost her house at Ntuzuma, near Durban, in an arson attack on 23 September 1989 during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. She was forced to flee the area.

NTULI, Tsotsi Rothi , (39), lost her house, coal yard and vehicles when they were burnt down by alleged 'comrades' in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during conflict over the INCORPORATION OF MOUTSE into KwaNdebele.

NTULI, Velaphi Ntombiyokwenziwa (45), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Isigisi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 March 1992. At the time of the attack, Ms Ntuli was in hiding for fear of her life.

NTULI, Victor , an ANC activist and leader of the KwaMakhutha Youth League, was shot dead by unidentified Inkatha supporters at a meeting in Kwa-Makhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in January 1990.

NTULI, Vusumuzi Innocent (28), an ANCYL leader, was stabbed in the head and shot by IFP supporters in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 8 November 1993. He survived the attack.

NTULI, William (58), was shot dead on January 1987 in the KWAMAKHUTHA MASSACRE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirteen people were killed, including eight children, in an attack carried out by Inkatha supporters. Two former Inkatha members were granted amnesty for their role in planning the attack (AC/1999/0332).

NTULI, Xolani (16), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near

Richards Bay, Natal, on 31 December 1992. His body was recovered near the Msunduzi River.

NTULI, Zinhle , was injured in Tokoza, Tvl, in February 1991 when her uncle's house was petrol-bombed, allegedly by IFP supporters. Four people were injured in the attack, including Zinhle's sister. Her uncle was Sam Ntuli, the general secretary of the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal, who was later assassinated on 29 September 1991, allegedly also by IFP supporters. See NTULI FUNERAL.

NTULI, Zwelibanzi Alford , an IFP supporter, was shot and killed in Tokoza, Tvl, on 13 December 1990 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

NTULINTULI, Endul Jabulani (51), an ANC supporter, was severely intimidated when Inkatha supporters opened fire on the family home at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 10 January 1989. He was forced to leave the area with his family and go into hiding in Umlazi.

NTUMBA, Mandlenkosi Emmanuel (24), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters near Nancefield, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 25 April 1994. Mr Ntumba was also intimidated and accused of being a sell-out by accepting a job as a voting officer.

NTUMBA, Welcome , a night watchman, was injured on 31 August 1988 in an explosion detonated by *Vlakplaas* and Security Branch at Khotso House in Johannesburg. Severe damage was caused to the building and Mr Ntumba was the only person injured. Nineteen perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0242). See KHOTSO HOUSE BOMBING.

NTUNJA, Mtwana (69), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Mbayimbayi, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1992. It is alleged that IFP supporters were patrolling the area at night, killing ANC supporters and burning their homes.

NTUNJW A, Ernest Bonga (45), was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters, one of whom is named, during political conflict at Bhuboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 July 1992.

NTUNJW A, Nhlanhla Stanford (28), was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters, one of whom is named, during political conflict at Bhuboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 20 July 1992.

NTUSI, Arthur Themba (76), was beaten by members of the CDF in King William's Town, Cape, on 6 September 1992 while he was attending a community meeting.

NTUSI, Thilani (44), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NTUTHUZELO, Lennox Matrosse , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Munsieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 6 January 1986 during consumer boycotts and political conflict in the area.

NTUZELA, Nokulungisa Gugu Goodness (25), an ANC supporter, was harassed and threatened with death by other ANC supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban in April 1990. Ms Ntuzela was

allegedly suspected of being more aligned to the IFP. She eventually fled her area.

NTWAGAE, Madira , suffered severe injury and trauma when she was stabbed in the hands and neck by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers at her home in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 25 April 1992 during political conflict in the area. She was the sole survivor of the attack in which her sister and brother-in-law were killed.

NTWAGAE, Rebecca , was killed by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers when her home in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 25 April 1992 was attacked during political conflict. She was hiding in a cupboard but was found and taken to an open field near the Meadowlands hostel where she was allegedly raped and killed. Her husband was also killed in the attack and her sister was seriously injured.

NTWANA, Abel Mavandla (41), an ANC member, fled to Lesotho in 1960. Even though he was in exile, Tembuland Chief Kaiser Matanzima ordered Mr Ntwana and his family to be banished from Calanga district to St Mark's district, Transkei, in January 1961. The order also authorised the demolition of his home, which was done.

NTWANA, Eugenia , was detained and released on bail by members of the SAP in Cala, Transkei, in 1960, allegedly because of her husband's ANC political activities. After she had been released she left the country with her children to join her husband in exile in Lesotho.

NTWANAMBI, Vincent Mzwandile , was injured in the eye when hit by fragments from a petrol bomb in Tembisa, Tvl, on 13 June 1993 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

NTYABA, Nopinki Cathrine (31), was shot by a member of the SAP in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, in November 1990 during political unrest in the area.

NTYEFE, Nico , a UDF supporter, was arrested and severely beaten while under interrogation by a named member of the Security Branch in Worcester, Cape. He was then detained for three months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NUKENI, Michael Kalusi (17), a UDF supporter, was arrested, beaten and tortured by members of the SAP in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 4 September 1987.

NUKERI, Tsastawani Josephina (43), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

NUNES, Mzwandile Roddy , suffered severe emotional trauma as a result of an arson attack on Khanya House, the headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, in Pretoria on 12 October 1988. The victims were trapped in the burning building for some time before being rescued. Twelve *Vlakplaas* operatives and seven other Security Branch Headquarters operatives, including senior personnel, were granted amnesty (AC/2000/215).

NUZA, Jabulani , had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters Nogobhoza, KwaZulu, near

Eshowe, Natal, in continuing political conflict in the area during November 1993.

NWA-MUKANSI, (first name not given) had her house in Lulekani, Gazankulu, burnt down during political conflict. She was suspected of having practised witchcraft at a time when people were trying to account for the disappearance of youths in the area.

NWATLA, Jerry (20), was shot dead by members of the SADF in Mamelodi, Pretoria, during a march held to protest against high rent rates in the township on 21 November 1985.

NXAGUNI, Nomalizo Magret (12), was shot and injured by members of the SAP while at primary school in Bultfontein, OFS, on 28 February 1990. A protest march was underway in the area, and marchers allegedly fled into the yard of the primary school when police opened fire, hitting both marchers and pupils.

NXAKO, W ete, was severely injured when the truck he was driving was set alight by the UDF-supporting AMABUTHO in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, on 13 October 1985, during protests in the area. He died four days later in hospital.

NXANXA, W illiam, was tortured, by members of the AWB in Ottosdal near Lichtenburg, Tvl, on 1 September 1990.

NXASANA, Ndovela, (43), was severely beaten at Lusikisiki, Transkei, in June 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NXASANA, Tr ueman (17), an ANC supporter, was killed on 18 February 1994, when four gunmen attacked a house in the rural Mahahle village, near Creighton, Ixopo, Natal, in which he and other ANC youths were sleeping. Fifteen ANC youths were killed in the attack. They had been seen putting up posters announcing a voter education workshop in preparation for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four prominent IFP leaders were acquitted on charges relating to the massacre.

NXASANE, Tamsanqa Vivian (33), was abducted by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 1 July 1991 and was severely beaten and sprayed with teargas before being left by the roadside.

NXAZONKE, Victoria Badikazi (33), suffered constant police harassment in the form of nightly raids and was detained several times during 1976 because her children were political activists and her eldest son was suspected of being a leader in the SOWETO UPRISING.

NXELE Ms (first name not given), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down in arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Iniwwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 9 December 1991. Her husband was killed in the attack.

NXELE, Batakile Doreen (43), an IFP supporter, had her house at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in 1991.

NXELE, Bekilizwe (52), had his home in Ndaleneni, Richmond, Natal, destroyed by IFP supporters during political conflict on 2 July 1993. Eight people were killed in this attack on the NXELE HOMESTEAD.

NXELE, Boniwe (32), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, in December 1993.

NXELE, Cebisile Hlengiwe Maria (20), an ANC supporter, was shot in the arm in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Nhlangenyoka, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, on 13 April 1993.

NXELE, David (42), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Esivivaneni, near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 1 February 1989.

NXELE, David Zekhaya (28), had his home in Ndaleneni, Richmond, Natal, destroyed by IFP supporters during political conflict on 2 July 1993. Eight people were killed in this attack on the NXELE HOMESTEAD.

NXELE, Dedisile Lucia (30), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Ndaleneni, Richmond, Natal, by IFP supporters on 2 July 1993. Eight people were killed in this attack on the NXELE HOMESTEAD.

NXELE, Duduzile Elsie (46), lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, in July 1993.

NXELE, Dumazile (45), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Ndaleneni, Richmond, Natal, by IFP supporters on 2 July 1993. Eight people were killed in this attack on the NXELE HOMESTEAD.

NXELE, Dumisani Israel (20), an MK operative, was tortured with electric shocks by members of the SAP in Durban in September 1990. He had been arrested on suspicion of having entered the country on a guerilla mission.

NXELE, Elijah, was killed in an attack on his home by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in Iniwwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 9 December 1991.

NXELE, Getrude Thornbi (30), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters, one of whom is named, during political conflict in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 December 1991.

NXELE, Gugu (81), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death in an arson attack on her house by IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 November 1991.

NXELE, Jabu Annie Laura (58), non-partisan, had her house burnt down and her cattle stolen by ANC supporters during political conflict in Ixopo, Natal, in May 1993.

NXELE, Jaff Phyllis (56), an IFP supporter, was shot and hacked to death by ANC supporters in Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 20 September 1992.

NXELE, Josiah (56), was shot and injured at Nhlangenyoka, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, on 13 April 1993. Mr Nxele and his family were allegedly attacked because his son was an ANC supporter and they stayed in an IFP stronghold.

NXELE, Khulumelani (31), an ANC supporter, had her home in Ndaleneni, Richmond, Natal, destroyed by IFP supporters on 2 July 1993. Eight people were killed in this attack on the NXELE HOMESTEAD.

NXELE, Lillian (53), an ANC supporter, had her home in Ndaleneni, Richmond, Natal, destroyed by IFP supporters on 2 July 1993. Eight people were killed in this attack on the NXELE HOMESTEAD.

NXELE, Mafoko Hendrieta (40), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP during conflict at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in March 1990. Ms Nxele was allegedly accused of harbouring ANC youths whom the police had been pursuing.

NXELE, Mbongeni (31), an ANCYL supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Security Branch at Mtubatuba, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 June 1986, allegedly because of his role in mobilising support for the South African Youth Congress.

NXELE, Mbovane Nkosibomvu (59), an alleged IFP supporter, was shot dead during a confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters at Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 26 September 1992, in which at least nine people were killed. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/97/0063).

NXELE, Mpetu Dennis (60), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Xhosheyakhe, Bulwer, Natal, on 16 October 1993.

NXELE, Ms (first name not given), had her home in Iniwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down on 9 December 1991 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her husband was killed in the attack.

NXELE, Mzwakhephi Johannes (38), a COSATU member, had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1988. Mr Nxele was allegedly targeted because he refused to join a march at Sarmcol organised by the IFP.

NXELE, Nora Thembi (39), an ANC supporter, had her house in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, set alight by IFP supporters in 1991.

NXELE, Phata-Phata, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, by IFP supporters on 2 July 1993. Eight people were killed in this attack on the NXELE HOMESTEAD.

NXELE, Phetheni (40), an IFP supporter, was shot dead when ANC supporters attacked her home in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993. Seven occupants, including family members and neighbours who had taken shelter at the house because it was fenced, were killed, and three were injured.

NXELE, Phumlani (13), was shot dead in Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, by IFP supporters during political conflict on 2 July 1993. Eight people were killed in this attack on the NXELE HOMESTEAD.

NXELE, Phumlile (13), was shot dead in Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, by IFP supporters during political conflict on 2 July 1993. Eight people were killed in this attack on the NXELE HOMESTEAD.

NXELE, Pretty Nompumelelelo (18), was injured in Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, by IFP supporters during political conflict on 2 July 1993. Eight people were killed in this attack on the NXELE HOMESTEAD..

NXELE, Sithembiso Phathezakhe Davidson (26), an ANC supporter, was severely injured in Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, by IFP supporters during political

conflict on 2 July 1993. Eight people were killed in this attack on the NXELE HOMESTEAD.

NXELE, Sizwe Wilson (5), was injured on 2 July 1993 when masked men armed with AK47 rifles opened fire on a home in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal. Seven refugee women and a baby were shot dead and six children were injured in the attack. Peace talks on the return of refugees had collapsed two weeks previously.

NXELE, Ziyekile (58), an ANC supporter, had her house in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, set alight by IFP supporters in 1991.

NXELELWA, Ntsikelelo Glory (46), was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 June 1993 during the 'Vaal monster' reign of terror in the area. See KHETISI KESWA GANG.

NXIBA, Thomas (59), an Inkatha supporter, had his home burnt down by UDF supporters at Sweetwaters, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in June 1987.

NXITYW A, Zwelidumile Abel, was injured on 29 July 1986 when an MK unit attacked the Madeira police station, in Umtata, Transkei. At least eight people were killed in the attack, including policemen, civilians and one of the MK operatives. One MK operative applied for and was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

NXIWENI, Pumezo George James, an MK commander operating in Natal, was abducted by the Port Natal Security Branch on 4 November 1988, shortly after being acquitted in a trial relating to MK activities. He was taken to a house at Verulam, where he was interrogated and killed the next day. His body, which was buried in a sugar-cane field, was exhumed by the Commission and reburied by his family. Six Port Natal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/112).

NXOPO, Zwelinzima Albert (25), was shot in the leg and back by members of the SAP at the funeral of PAC leader, Robert Sobukwe, in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, in 1978. After his release from hospital, he was detained for three months and tortured.

NXUMALO, (first name not given) (8), was shot in the knee by members of the SAP in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on 15 November 1976 as he ran towards a helicopter approaching the police station and allegedly bringing the Minister of Police to the township. The boy spent six months in hospital.

NXUMALO, Aaron (18), a UDF supporter, had his home in KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by a named Inkatha supporter in January 1986.

NXUMALO, Amon Thabiso, survived an attempted killing by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Ktlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Eleven ANC members were killed in conflict with an SDU in Moleleki section that day. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

NXUMALO, Anthony, was shot dead in an arson attack on his home at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in 1990.

NXUMALO, Bachazile (49), lost her home at Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, when it was set

alight on 9 June 1990 in intensifying conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February 1990.

NXUMALO, Bafana Mckenzie , an ANC supporter, died after being severely assaulted by IFP supporters at Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 15 February 1993. The attack was allegedly in retaliation for the killing of an IFP supporter by ANC supporters.

NXUMALO, Beatrice Thembari (45), was shot and seriously injured by IFP supporters during political conflict at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 March 1992. The perpetrators suspected her cousin of being an ANC member.

NXUMALO, Ber nard (35), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by Inkatha supporters at Maidstone, Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, on 15 February 1983, in political conflict over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu.

NXUMALO, Bhekisisa Elliot , had his home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Masomonco, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 March 1994. Mr Nxumalo's family reportedly died in the attack.

NXUMALO, Bob Hosiah , (24), a PAC activist, was arrested in Witbank, Tvl, in February 1963. He was accused of treason and trying to overthrow the government.

NXUMALO, Bongani Zamani (40), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Vryheid, Natal, on 1 August 1993.

NXUMALO, Busisive Mantombi (62), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in November 1992, allegedly because she refused to join the IFP.

NXUMALO, Cebolamandvandwe Goodenough , was shot dead by SPECIAL CONSTABLES in political conflict near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 11 November 1988. Mr Nxumalo was allegedly walking in the street when the four perpetrators emerged from a vehicle and shot him 14 times in the chest.

NXUMALO, Cynthia Duduzile (11), fled her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1984, following prolonged harassment by Inkatha supporters. When they returned, their house was reportedly occupied by an Inkatha-aligned family.

NXUMALO, Da Edwin (57), an ANC supporter, lost his house and possessions in an arson attack in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 March 1994.

NXUMALO, Doda, (aka 'Doda Nyawose') , an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by an IFP member during political conflict at Izingolweni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 July 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0339).

NXUMALO, Dora Hlobozani (74), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 July 1992.

NXUMALO, Douglas Sipho (23), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during political unrest in Howick, Natal, in November 1985. On his discharge

from hospital, he was arrested and charged with assaulting a police officer, and acquitted.

NXUMALO, Dudu Gladys (26), lost her house in an arson attack during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters at Inchanga, Natal, on 15 November 1986.

NXUMALO, Dumisani Mbozombozo (20), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by named members of the AMASINYORA vigilantes on 2 March 1989 while driving his taxi in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban. Shortly before his killing, Mr Nxumalo had resigned as secretary of the Inanda branch of Inkatha. One member of the gang was convicted and imprisoned for this killing.

NXUMALO, Elizabeth (54), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 February 1993. Ms Nxumalo had fled the area shortly before the attack to escape the violence.

NXUMALO, Fani (41), lost his home in an arson attack at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 May 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NXUMALO, Fano Petros (35), an ANC member, was shot in the jaw by a named fellow ANC member at his home in Azalea, Plessislaer, Pietermaritzburg, in 1993, allegedly for exposing corruption in the ANC leadership. His close friends in the community were also attacked, and one of them killed.

NXUMALO, Fanyana Thomas (40), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death on 8 November 1990 when Inkatha-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked residents at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, following the killing of an Inkatha supporter. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

NXUMALO, For tunate , an ANC supporter, was burnt to death in an arson attack by IFP supporters at her boyfriend's house in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 22 February 1992.

NXUMALO, Ger trude Maxulu (55), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Ngidi farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 2 March 1989 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area. Her son was killed by AMASINYORA vigilantes one year later.

NXUMALO, Girlie Lindiwe (25), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 March 1993.

NXUMALO, Hendrik Madoda (18), was shot when named members of the SADF visited his school in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 4 July 1986. After being pointed out as a 'trouble-maker' and ANC member, the perpetrators shot him in the stomach. He died in hospital on 8 August 1986.

NXUMALO, Irene Bathobile (22), had her house burnt down by a named Inkatha leader and his supporters during political conflict at Umlazi, Durban, during political conflict in May 1990. Her father and brother were killed in the same attack.

NXUMALO, Jabulani Elias (40) an ANC supporter, lost his house and possessions in an arson attack in

Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 March 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NXUMALO, Jabulani , left for work from KwaMashu, Durban, during January 1992 and was never seen again. His brother, Arron, whose house had allegedly been burnt down twice by a named IFP perpetrator in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters, suspects the same perpetrator of being responsible for Mr Nxumalo's disappearance.

NXUMALO, Jabulani , was shot and injured on 8 September 1992 during an attack by IFP supporters on the home of their ANC-supporting aunt at Emakwanyaneni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal.

NXUMALO, Janet (31), a UDF supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Maidstone, Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, during 1984, in political conflict over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu.

NXUMALO, Mahlathini Jackson (21), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by fellow IFP supporters in KwaXolo, near Ramsgate, Natal, in March 1994, because he was suspected of having ANC sympathies.

NXUMALO, Mangabo Ephraim (28), was shot dead in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 December 1993. His sister was also shot dead and his home burnt down in the attack.

NXUMALO, Mathani , was shot dead by IFP supporters in Iniwé, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during intense political conflict on 28 November 1993. The perpetrators gatecrashed a party, killing eight people and injuring two others.

NXUMALO, Mawewe Memezi , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a known IFP supporter at Utrecht, Natal, in March 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NXUMALO, Mboneni Douglas (29), had his house burnt down in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 December 1993. His sister and brother were shot dead in the attack.

NXUMALO, Mbongeni Mathew (29), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Dumbe, Paulpietersburg, Natal, on 18 November 1993.

NXUMALO, Mpampu (51), an ANC supporter, lost his house and possessions in an arson attack in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 March 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. He and his family were forced to flee the area and were unable to return.

NXUMALO, Musa (15), an ANC supporter, disappeared from his home in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, in March 1992, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. He has not been seen since, and is presumed dead.

NXUMALO, Muziwombuso (39), an IFP supporter, lost all his household possessions when his home was petrol-bombed by ANC supporters at Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, on 11 June 1991.

NXUMALO, Naphtal Muziwenkosi (41), an ANC member and mayoral candidate for Esikhawini, was shot and killed by members of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD on 10 June 1992 at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NXUMALO, Nelson , non-aligned, was shot and burnt to death by a named Inkatha leader and his supporters during political conflict at Zikhali, near Umlazi, Durban, in May 1990. Mr Nxumalo and his son were allegedly killed because he could not produce an Inkatha membership card.

NXUMALO, Nkosinathi Emmanuel , an IFP supporter, was shot and hacked to death by ANC supporters in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 December 1991.

NXUMALO, Nomathemba Adelaide (42), an ANC supporter, had her livestock stolen and her house stripped of its roof and windows by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 June 1993.

NXUMALO, Nombango Evelina (72), had her home burnt down by an *induna* and his supporters during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Ophindweni, Eshowe, Natal, in 1990, when she told them she had no male children at home.

NXUMALO, Nomusa (56), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Mtunzini, Natal, on 12 August 1992.

NXUMALO, Nondumiso (1), was severely burnt in an arson attack by ANC supporters on his family home at Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, during political conflict on 5 May 1993.

NXUMALO, Ntombazana Eggie (41), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Inchanga, Natal, in March 1988.

NXUMALO, Patrick Mandla , was shot dead by IFP supporters during political conflict at Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 February 1994. The IFP had a rally at King's Park that day, and Mr Nxumalo was shot on his way to work.

NXUMALO, Patrick , was one of four people abducted from his home and severely assaulted with sjamboks and iron bars by a large crowd of ANC supporters at a sports stadium in Daveyton, Tvl, on 21 March 1992. Mr Nxumalo and another victim were then burnt to death. They were suspected of collaborating with the police. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/048).

NXUMALO, Philisiwe (37), lost her home in an arson attack at Eshowe, Natal, in March 1994, during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NXUMALO, Phindile , a UDF supporter, who was pregnant at the time, was severely beaten by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM in Chesterville, Durban, in 1985, allegedly because her son was suspected of burying arms in the yard.

NXUMALO, Rejoice (23), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Dumbe, Paulpietersburg, Natal, in March 1983, when the police searched the

house for weapons. Her husband, an MK member, had recently return from exile; her brother-in-law, also an MK member, had been shot and killed by police while crossing the border into South Africa earlier that month. Ms Nxumalo was again severely beaten by the SAP in Vryheid in 1985, after which she successfully filed a civil claim for compensation against the police.

NXUMALO, Ronnie Sihle (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

NXUMALO, Rostan (65), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 March 1992. Her daughter was shot and injured in the same attack.

NXUMALO, Samuel Neocleous (35), a nurse at Eshowe Hospital, was targeted for elimination by members of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD at Eshowe, Natal, on 27 May 1993. Mr Nxumalo, who had forewarning of the attack, alerted the police when he saw the operatives. The intended attack was then called off. Four of the perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

NXUMALO, Sbongile, disappeared from Inchanga, Natal, during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in 1989. It is not known whether she was abducted. She has never been seen again.

NXUMALO, Sebenzile (3), was severely beaten by supporters of a named Inkatha-aligned *induna* at Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1988, when the perpetrators entered his family home in search of firearms. His father was abducted, beaten and nearly drowned, allegedly because he had angered the *induna*.

NXUMALO, Sifiso Howard Winston (aka 'Manyanyatha'), was one of four MK operatives killed in an ambush by Security Branch operatives near Piet Retief, Tvl, on 12 June 1988. See PIET RETIEF AMBUSHES. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander of Eastern Transvaal and of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/273).

NXUMALO, Simon (50) an IFP leader, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 19 May 1992 for allegedly encouraging peace talks with the ANC during intense political conflict.

NXUMALO, Simon Kufakwezwe, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 December 1990.

NXUMALO, Sipelele Mxolisi (18), a UDF activist, was shot dead by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM during political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in Chesterville, Durban, on 2 February 1989. The A-Team had also attacked him in 1985 because he was suspected of burying arms in the yard.

NXUMALO, Siphwe (40) disappeared from his home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during ongoing conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in 1984. Mr Nxumalo had allegedly refused to evacuate his home when his family were being harassed by Inkatha supporters. The rest of the family left the house and, when they returned, found it occupied by an Inkatha-aligned family. Mr Nxumalo has not been seen since.

NXUMALO, Siphso, was shot by a member of the KwaZULU POLICE at Maghabeni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, during November 1990 while returning from the funeral of a friend who had allegedly been killed by the KwaZulu Police. Mr Nxumalo had to have a leg amputated as a result of the shooting.

NXUMALO, Son-Boy Pius (25), was shot in the face by members of the SAP during political unrest at Lamontville, Durban, on 13 September 1985. He was blinded by the shooting and has been unable to find work as a result.

NXUMALO, Songelwa Josephina (75), an ANC supporter, had her house at Mvutshini, Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 21 March 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NXUMALO, Tebiya Lucky (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 November 1991.

NXUMALO, Thangithini Phillipine (22), was shot dead in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Ntuzi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 December 1993. Her brother was also shot dead and her home burnt down in the attack.

NXUMALO, Thembi, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters during intense political conflict at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990. See SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NXUMALO, Victor (43), an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP in Carletonville, Tvl, in 1986.

NXUMALO, Vukani Her man, an IFP supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by fellow IFP supporters at Ozwathini, near Stanger, Natal, on 17 November 1993. He was allegedly attacked by his comrades when he tried to leave an IFP training camp because he had eye problems.

NXUMALO, Vusumuzi Elton (46), an ANC supporter, had his house in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters during the CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS on 16 January 1992.

NXUMALO, Welcome Bongani, a member of the SAP, was severely injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked the police station at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 28 October 1991. Mr Nxumalo's colleague was also injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/014).

NXUMALO, W ellington, was shot dead by named members of the KwaZULU POLICE, under the leadership of a named IFP leader, in an attack on his home at Zikhali, near Umlazi, Durban, in May 1990. The perpetrators allegedly shot and burnt his father when the family could not produce IFP membership cards.

NXUMALO, Zakhele (48), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, during 1994.

NXUMALO, Zanele Rejoice (31), had her home near Kranskop, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 26 January 1986, allegedly because she was employed by an ANC supporter. Ms Nxumalo was forced to flee from the area.

NXUMALO, Zanele, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1990.

NXUSANI, Elizabeth (18), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in De Aar, Cape, on 14 April 1985, when unrest broke out in Nonzwakazi township. She was then charged with public violence and held for two weeks.

NYAKA SIBIYA, Banyatdile Maria (54), an ANC supporter, was abducted and tortured by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Moutse, KwaNdebele, in April 1986 during clashes over the independence of KwaNdebele.

NYAKA, Isaac Thoko, died when he was repeatedly stabbed and set alight in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 3 February 1990. Mr Nyaka was accused of being a police spy by the 'Gaddaffi' faction of the ANCYL.

NYAKENI, Mtombi (15), an ANC supporter, was raped by IFP supporters in February 1993 in an attack on her family home in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal.

NYAKENI, Ntombithula (15), an ANC supporter, was raped by an IFP supporter in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in February 1993. Other family members were also raped in the attack.

NYAKENI, Sikha Phile (34), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured by IFP supporters in an attack on her home at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in February 1993. Her daughters were raped in the attack.

NYAKENI, Thembinkosi (19), an ANC supporter, was beaten with sticks and sjamboks by IFP supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in February 1993. Her younger sisters were raped in the attack.

NYALELA, Jackson (25), a Poqo member, was severely beaten with sjamboks for a whole night by named perpetrators in KwaMatanzima in Qamata, Transkei, in November 1961, during the suppression of Poqo and PAC activities by supporters of Chief KD Matanzima.

NYALELA, Nonyentse (32), a PAC member, was severely assaulted by the supporters of Chief KD Matanzima in November 1961 in Tshanyana Village, near Cofimvaba, Transkei.

NYALENDE, Lawrence Jacey (29), a PAC supporter, was one of four political activists ambushed and burnt to death in a minibus by *Vlakplaas* operatives in Nelspruit, Tvl, in March 1992. Three of the perpetrators applied for amnesty for the killings.

NYALUNGA, Frank, died after he was attacked by known ANC supporters at a community meeting in Kabokwane, KaNgwane, on the 24 March 1991. Mr Nyalunga was invited to the meeting but was killed

because of his support for a chief to whom ANC supporters were opposed. One of the perpetrators applied for amnesty.

NYALUNGA, J, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

NYAMAKAZI, Khayaletu, was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP in Alicedale, Cape, in October 1986 during the state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NYAMAKAZI, Mziwamadoda (27), an ANC supporter, was assaulted outside his home by members of the Ciskei Police during a consumer boycott in Dimbaza, Ciskei, in August 1985.

NYAMAMBI, Mvunyelwa (29), an IKONGO member, was detained and beaten in January 1961 in Lusikisiki, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NYAMANKULU, Jongisizwe (20), was shot and injured in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 14 March 1993, during an attempt by a named Crossroads leader to remove residents in Section 2 by force.

NYAMANKULU, Songile (25), a PAC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by police in Paarl, Cape, on 22 November 1962, after the Poqo clash with police and Paarl residents in which seven people died. After seven months in custody he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment on Robben Island. He was then banished to the Transkei for two years. He lost his home in an attack in 1976 in Crossroads, Cape Town.

NYAMEKA, Sandile Lear nard (42), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, on 16 May 1992.

NYAMENDE, Mxolisi Abedinigo (20), was shot by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 12 August 1985. He was detained and beaten on 24 September 1985 in East London.

NYAMFU, Lulama Christian (38), was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

NYANDA, Zwelibanzi, the commander of MK's Natal military machinery, and one other were shot dead by a joint *Vlakplaas* and Eastern Transvaal Security Branch team in Manzini, Swaziland, on 22 November 1983. One member from Security Branch Headquarters, responsible for authorising the attack, and four Eastern Transvaal and three *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/086 and AC/1999/031).

NYANDENI, Thandi Dorcus (32), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN'

FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 April 1993.

NYANE, Tina Matsilo , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NYANGA, George Mojanaka (23), a PAC member, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, in June 1990.

NYANGANA, Wele Edmund , a member of the Transkei Police, was shot and killed during a joint AWB/ IFP attack on the Flagstaff police station, Transkei, on 6 March 1994. Five of the perpetrators, who applied for amnesty, testified that their intention was to steal arms and ammunition to arm the IFP against ANC attacks. They were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0015).

NYANGENI, Mzwabantu Eric (29), a UDF supporter, was shot dead on 19 July 1986 by a named member of the SAP during conflict between AZAPO and UDF supporters at Feldtry in Veelplaas, Port Elizabeth.

NYANI, Khongozela Elliot (55), an ADM supporter, lost his house when it was burnt down by ANC supporters on 12 September 1992 at Tendergate, Queenstown. He was among those accused of killing ANC supporters in the area during conflict between the two organisations.

NYASULU, Vincent Timmy (21), an MK operative, was arrested in 1981, kept in solitary confinement and subjected to electric shock torture at John Voster Square, Johannesburg. As a result of his torture he has been hospitalised for psychiatric problems.

NYATHELA, Phindile (18), a COSAS supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Port Alfred, Cape, on 1 June 1986.

NYATHELA, Siyoyo Alfr ed, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NYATHI, Andile Kenneth (27), was shot dead by a named off-duty Riot Police constable outside a tavern in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, Cape, on 7 May 1989.

NYATHI, Bonga (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP during political unrest in Steadville, Natal, on 12 April 1994. ANC supporters were allegedly trying to prevent IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers from attacking the Steadville community when violence broke out.

NYATHI, Constance (16), a COSAS member, was arrested and assaulted by members of the SAP in Motetema, Lebowa, in 1986 on suspicion that she

was responsible for attacking the house of a police officer during political unrest in the area.

NYATHI, David Mandla , a self-defence unit member, was shot in Tokoza, Tvl, on 27 August 1993, allegedly by members of the ISU. He died two days later.

NYATHI, Doris Ntombi (34), an IFP supporter, was hit with the butt of a gun by ANC supporters at KwaMavesha, Murchison, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 March 1991. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for her husband.

NYATHI, Jabulani Owen , was shot dead by members of the SADF in Tembisa, Tvl, in November 1984 during student protest in the area.

NYATHI, Johanna Masana (17), died three days after he was shot by members of the SAP on 16 June 1976 in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, during the SOWETO UPRISING. 575 people were killed and 2 380 people injured during the uprising in clashes between protesters and police.

NYATHI, Meshack (aka Frans Sechaba Molefe) , an MK operative, was shot dead with four others by members of the security forces at Alldays, Tvl, on 3 August 1988.

NYATHI, Mfanlozi Er nest, was stabbed to death by unidentified Inkatha supporters at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 17 August 1986, when he walked through the school grounds where an Inkatha rally was being held.

NYATHI, Peter Siphwe , was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 19 November 1993, allegedly by named members of the ISU during ongoing political conflict in the area. Two other people were killed and two wounded in this incident.

NYATHI, Sesinyana Lettie , was displaced from her home by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 February 1992. The area was tense due after clashes between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

NYATHI, Themba Enock (54), an ANC supporter and member of the Wembezi Crisis committee, was beaten, stabbed and shot dead at his home in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, by IFP supporters on 7 November 1990. Members of the committee were often attacked by IFP supporters, as they were seen as posing a threat to the party.

NYATHI, Vusumuzi Johnson , a PAC member, was arrested in Kagiso, Tvl, in April 1963 following a mass demonstration in Lucium to mark the third anniversary of the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE.

NYATHIKAZI, Bekuyise W ilfred (51), a school principal, sustained damage to his house in Phola township, Ogies, Tvl, when armed ANC members attacked it with bombs and guns, on 13 October 1991. Mr Nyathikazi was regarded as an IFP sympathiser because IFP supporters often visited his home. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/091).

NYATHIKAZI, Erick Jojo (17), an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters at Entshawini, KwaZulu, near Stanger, Natal, on 10 August 1993. He was hospitalised for nine months as a result of his injuries.

NYATI, Petela (59), a PAC and Poqo member, was arrested for his political activities in East London in July 1963. He was charged and convicted and died serving a term of imprisonment.

NYAUZA, Mpayiphele Norman (45), was shot by IFP supporters near a hostel in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 18 January 1993 during violent conflict arising from a labour dispute between striking COSATU-affiliated FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-affiliated UWUSA workers.

NYAWANE, (first name not given), an alleged IFP member, was shot dead by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) at Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1993. IFP supporters, on their way home from a funeral, allegedly killed an elderly resident, and Mr Nyawane was shot dead in retaliation, during a fierce battle that erupted between ANC and IFP supporters. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0317).

NYAWO, Badingile (58), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban in February 1991.

NYAWO, Boni Maxwell (20), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death and had his throat slit by a named ANC supporter at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 February 1993.

NYAWO, Boy Erick, died as a result of gunshot and stab wounds inflicted by IFP supporters during political conflict in Groutville, Stanger, Natal, on 7 October 1991.

NYAWO, Constance Siphindile (28), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Kwesikwamthetwa, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 12 September 1993.

NYAWO, Dumezweni, was shot dead on the way to work by a named assailant in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 December 1992. His cousin was also killed in the attack.

NYAWO, Falini Jeremiah (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP members in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 1 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NYAWO, Hleziphi Jeslina (53), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1992, allegedly because her daughter and son-in-law were ANC supporters. Her son-in-law was murdered in the same month.

NYAWO, Muziwakhe Alfred (39), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 14 October 1993.

NYAWO, Samson Diya Mfanafuthi (24), a UDF supporter, was arrested in Newcastle on 14 November 1986, and severely tortured by *kitskonstabels* while in detention. The police were allegedly looking for his brother, who was an MK operative. When the police could not find him, they arrested Mr Nyawo instead.

NYAWO, Samson Musawenkosi (22), an ANC supporter, was injured in a random shooting by members of the KWAZULU POLICE on 9 April 1991 during a stayaway in Mandini, Natal.

NYAWO, Themba Clement Nhlanhla (34), was shot and had his house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict in Empangeni, Natal, on 28 August 1991.

NYAWO, Thembekile, an ANC supporter, was stabbed by named IFP supporters at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 1 April 1994.

NYAWOSE, Alsina (57), an IFP supporter, lost her home in an arson attack at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 February 1990 in violent conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

NYAWOSE, Baba Ernest (24), an employee of a private company, was killed by IFP supporters while distributing IEC pamphlets in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 April 1994. Seven colleagues were killed with him. One IFP member was convicted for the attack. See NDWEDWE ELECTION ATTACK.

NYAWOSE, Fana Joshua (42), had his house completely destroyed by ANC supporters during ongoing political conflict at Madakane, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 March 1991.

NYAWOSE, Jabulile (33), a SACTU representative, originally from Durban, who operated under the surname of 'NZIMA', was killed outside her flat in Matsapa near Manzini, Swaziland, when a car bomb planted by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch exploded on 4 June 1982. Her husband was killed and two bodyguards injured in the explosion, which was witnessed by the couple's young children. Two members of the *Vlakplaas* unit were granted amnesty for the reconnaissance phase of this operation. (AC/2001/279) **NYAWOSE, Mbukelwa Petr os**, an employee of a private company, was killed by IFP supporters while distributing IEC pamphlets in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 April 1994. Seven colleagues were killed with him. One IFP member was convicted for the attack. See NDWEDWE ELECTION ATTACK.

NYAWOSE, Ntombenhle Rebecca, an Inkatha supporter, had her house at Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters on 10 October 1987. She was forced to flee the area.

NYAWOSE, Petros (37), ANC deputy chief representative in Swaziland who operated under the surname of 'NZIMA', was killed outside his flat in Matsapa near Manzini, Swaziland when a car bomb planted by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch exploded on 4 June 1982. His wife was killed and two bodyguards injured in the explosion, which was witnessed by the couple's young children. Mr Nyawose was from Nottingham Road, near Pietermaritzburg. Two members of the *Vlakplaas* unit were granted amnesty for the reconnaissance phase of this operation. (AC/2001/279)

NYAWOSE, Philane (3), survived an attempted killing when the car he was about to enter exploded in Matsapha, near Manzini, Swaziland on 4 June 1982. The explosion was caused by bombs placed on the car by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and killed her mother and father, both ANC officials. His three older sisters and two bodyguards, one a relative,

survived the attack. Two members of the *Vlakplaas* unit were granted amnesty for the reconnaissance phase of this operation. (AC/2001/279)

NYAWOSE, Robert Mbuyiseni (22), an ANC supporter and an employee of a private company, was killed by IFP supporters while distributing IEC pamphlets in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 April 1994. Seven colleagues were killed with him. One IFP member was convicted for the attack. See NDWEDWE ELECTION ATTACK..

NYAWOSE, Sikameko (81), an ANC leader, died after being shot and stabbed by IFP supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 23 March 1991.

NYAWUZA, Eric Thulani (20), a member of the IFP Youth Brigade, was shot dead at the home of a prominent IFP leader at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992, allegedly by ANC members. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

NYEKA, John , a Poqo supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP while digging a grave at West Bank prison, East London, in 1960, allegedly because he opposed the hard labour for inmates.

NYELELE, Michael , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 20 June 1976 in the aftermath of the SOWETOUPRISING. Police reportedly suspected him of being a student leader.

NYEMBE, Kanaza (56), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in Richmond, Natal, in 1990.

NYEMBE, Mantomi (57), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, in 1991. She was attacked because she was living in an ANC stronghold.

NYEMBE, Vumani (17), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 28 March 1993.

NYEMBEZI, Constance Nokwanela (46), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at KwaSithole, Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1991.

NYEMBEZI, Lindiwe , an MK operative, was shot dead when led into an ambush by *Vlakplaas* operatives near the Swaziland border in Piet Retief, TvI, on 8 June 1988. Three other MK operatives were killed in the attack. A firearm and hand grenades were allegedly planted on the bodies when police realised that the four were unarmed. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

NYEMBEZI, Mlise Hallock (50), a PAC member and former political prisoner from Gwadu, Willowvale, Transkei, went into exile in September 1984. He has never been seen again.

NYENGANE, Ndimphive , a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later

withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

NYIDE, Balungile (64), an ANC supporter, had her home in Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 4 July 1993. More than 110 people fled the area after a series of arson attacks in June and July 1993.

NYIDE, Ernestinah Nyide (21), an ANC supporter, lost her house and possessions in an arson attack during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in 1990.

NYIMBANA, Dennis , was stabbed to death during politicised tribal conflict in Cofimvaba, Transkei, during 1993. Conflict erupted after Chief KD Matanzima ordered the forcible removal of communities in Keillands, Transkei, to Boomplaas.

NYINGANI, Modo (83), an ANC supporter, was arrested on 16 October 1986 in King William's Town, Cape, because he resisted the Ciskei government's attempts to forcibly remove him from his home at Mgwali Village. He was detained without charge at King William's Town prison and Fort Glamorgan prison, East London, for a year.

NYIRENDA, Jabulani Goodwill (13), was shot by members of the Municipal Police in Tembisa, TvI, on 5 September 1984 during student protests in the area.

NYOBO, Kolekile Colbert (37), a PAC member, was assaulted by members of the SAP outside the King William's Town police station, Cape, on 9 April 1963, when PAC members presented demands for the release of other PAC members held at the police station.

NYOKA, Alegria Kutsaka (31), was injured when a teargas canister thrown by members of the SAP exploded in her house in Daveyton, TvI, on 17 May 1986. Police were searching for her activist brother because township councillors had recently been attacked by the community. Police raided their home daily and eventually killed her brother.

NYOKA, Caiphus (24), a prominent student activist, was shot dead by members of the SAP in his bedroom in Daveyton, TvI, on 24 August 1987 after frequent police raids on his family home. Mr Nyoka was shot 12 times. Police had colluded with the town mayor to end Mr Nyoka's influence in the community.

NYOKA, Dumisani Kenneth (36), an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, for two months from 2 December 1988. He was allegedly accused of weakening the local IFP-aligned *induna's* hold over the area.

NYOKA, Makhosana Makhosi , was one of four ANC members killed in an ambush by Security Branch operatives near Piet Retief, TvI, on 8 June 1988. See PIET RETIEF AMBUSHES. Nine Security Branch operatives, including the commander of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/273).

NYOKA, Mandlenkosi Bethuel (51), lost his home and possessions in an attack by Inkatha supporters during political conflict in Pietermaritzburg, on 3 April 1988.

NYOKA, Manelisi Lunga (24), an ANC supporter, was detained, tortured, stripped naked and assaulted by

members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, in 1987. A Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the torture (AC/2000/076).

NYOKA, Sarah , was one of 11 people killed by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

NYOKA, Sibongile Innah (34), had her house destroyed in the TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE, carried out by Inkatha supporters and members of the SAP at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 December 1988. The Commission granted amnesty to a former SAP captain for his part in planning and executing the attack.

NYOKONG, Nerina Moipane , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NYONGWANE, Jabulani (aka 'Jabulani Dube') , an alleged IFP member, was interrogated, shot and killed by a group of ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members during political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl, during September 1993. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0186).

NYONI, Frank , was severely injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

NYUMBEKA, Nongetheni Ger ty, was shot dead by men clad in balaclavas in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 22 March 1992, while a passenger in a vehicle. She was being driven home after working night duty. See BALACLAVA GROUPS.

NYUNDU, Fana Morris (38), was assaulted and his shop was ransacked by named ANC supporters at Moutse, KwaNdebele, in 1986 during boycotts in the area.

NYUSWA, Christopher , was assaulted on a train and forced to jump into a dam by named perpetrators in Johannesburg, on 7 August 1993. Some passengers were killed. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

NYUSWA, Mavis Hlekani (60), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 July 1993. Ms Nyuswa's house was torched when her brother, an ANC supporter, refused to attend an IFP self-defence training camp.

NYWAULA, Nkosikhona (17), was shot and injured in the eye by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 13 September 1989, while attending a night vigil for a friend shot dead in election violence the previous week.

NZALA, Jabulani , was shot and fatally wounded by named IFP supporters at his home in Mgulea, an ANC

stronghold near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 January 1994.

NZALA, Mgwabule , was arrested in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, and detained for a number of years because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

NZAMA, Allison (43), an ANC supporter, was arrested in 1975 and detained at the Alexandra Road police station in Pietermaritzburg for 13 months. Mr Nzama was charged with helping youths to leave the country for MK military training. He was acquitted on those charges.

NZAMA, Baba (53), was shot and severely injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, on 22 September 1991.

NZAMA, Badingile (53), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 February 1994. Conflict had broken out after the funeral of an IFP official that day, and many IFP supporters suspected of being pro-ANC lost their homes.

NZAMA, Bajabulile Gloria (16), an IFP supporter, was abducted in Durban on 1 February 1991 and repeatedly gang-raped by ANC supporters, some of whom are named. It is alleged that she was targeted because of her family's political affiliation, and because they lived in an IFP stronghold.

NZAMA, Bengazi George (64), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Wosiyana, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 2 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Some weeks earlier, his house had been burnt down in political conflict following the funeral of a prominent IFP official.

NZAMA, Cwepesha , was shot dead by ANC youths at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990, allegedly because he lived in an Inkatha stronghold. Two other people were killed in the same attack.

NZAMA, Dumezulu (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 November 1991.

NZAMA, Dumisani Elvis Presley (26), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Wosiyana, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 14 February 1990.

NZAMA, Elliot , was shot dead by unidentified ANC supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 January 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

NZAMA, Gezekile Pr udence (37), an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NZAMA, Girlie Malitha , 55, had her house in Greytown, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 25 June 1991, allegedly because she lived in a predominantly ANC area.

NZAMA, Gogo , was held in a smoke-filled house by members of the KWAZULU POLICE during political conflict in Umlazi, Durban, on 22 September 1991.

NZAMA, Grace Kwenzakele (18), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at Umkomaas, near Durban, in 1986.

NZAMA, Innocent Thandazani (20), was shot dead by members of the KwaZulu POLICE at Umlazi, Durban, on 23 November 1992. The attack was allegedly aimed at one of Mr Nzama's friends, who was with him at the time.

NZAMA, Jabulani Andreas (39), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead on 20 December 1987 when police opened fire on Inkatha and UDF supporters engaged in violent conflict at Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban.

NZAMA, Jabulile Ntombizembi (44), an IFP supporter, had her home at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by fellow IFP supporters on 12 February 1994. Conflict had broken out after the funeral of an IFP official that day, and many IFP supporters suspected of being pro-ANC lost their homes.

NZAMA, Jericho , was severely assaulted by SADF members in his home at Umlazi, Durban, on 12 June 1990, allegedly because they suspected him of hiding guns. His son was assaulted and abducted by the SADF members in the incident.

NZAMA, Khulani (13) was shot in the arm during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 January 1991.

NZAMA, Leonard Ndobazini (71), was shot dead at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 June 1993, allegedly by members of the SAP who had come to his house searching for guns.

NZAMA, Lewis Zibonele (27), was shot dead on 9 February 1990 at Sunduzwayo, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations a week earlier.

NZAMA, Madoda Derrick (23), an ANC supporter, was abducted by named and other IFP supporters at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 March 1991. He was released a day later, allegedly because the perpetrators knew his father, who was an IFP supporter.

NZAMA, Maphopho Bhelukuyise (42), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by a named IFP supporter in Hosiya, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in February 1994, allegedly because he refused to become an IFP member.

NZAMA, Maqhingha John (56), an IFP supporter, fled his home at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, when it was riddled with bullets in an attack by IFP supporters on 12 February 1994. Conflict had broken out after the funeral of an IFP official that day, and many IFP supporters suspected of being pro-ANC lost their homes.

NZAMA, Mary Jane (56), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and shot dead on 27 July 1992 in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, by IFP supporters and members of the KwaZulu POLICE. They were allegedly searching for Ms Nzama's sons, who were ANC supporters and had fled the area. Ms Nzama's daughter and two-year-old grandson were shot and injured in the attack.

NZAMA, Mfaniseni (18), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by named IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 March 1993.

NZAMA, Mfanyana Robin (55), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict in Durban on 25 June 1991.

NZAMA, Mhlethswa (56), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by other IFP supporters at Emahedi, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in February 1994. Conflict had broken out after the funeral of an IFP official that day, and many IFP supporters suspected of being pro-ANC lost their homes.

NZAMA, Micheal Zwelisha (22), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down during an IFP attack on the ANC stronghold of Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 November 1993.

NZAMA, Mlinganiswa Richard (48), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 August 1992, allegedly while running away from ANC attackers.

NZAMA, Mntonjani Evion (38), was shot in the right leg by UDF supporters during political conflict at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 January 1990.

NZAMA, Mthokozisi Vusumuzi (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KwaZulu POLICE in KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 May 1993.

NZAMA, Ngakephi Judith (69), an ANC supporter, had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 27 January 1993.

NZAMA, Ngenzeni Florence (44), an IFP supporter, had her home destroyed and livestock stolen by IFP supporters at Hosiya, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 February 1994. Conflict had broken out after the funeral of an IFP official that day, and many IFP supporters suspected of being pro-ANC lost their homes.

NZAMA, Nondo Petr os, was hacked with bush-knives and shot dead during an IFP attack on the ANC stronghold of Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 November 1993.

NZAMA, Ntombifuthi (52), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters at Hosiya, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 2 April 1994. Her husband was killed in the attack. Conflict had broken out after the funeral of an IFP official that day, and many IFP supporters suspected of being pro-ANC lost their homes.

NZAMA, Percivan Tebogo (2), was being carried by his mother when he was shot in the shoulder by IFP supporters and KwaZulu POLICE members in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 27 July 1992. The attackers were allegedly searching for his uncles, who were ANC supporters and had fled the area. Percivan's grandmother was killed in the attack. His mother was also shot and injured.

NZAMA, Phillip Lali (25), a UDF supporter, was fleeing from armed Inkatha supporters when he was shot and injured by an SAP member in Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 25 December 1988.

NZAMA, Pius Vusumuzi (19), left his home in Tshelimnyama, KwaZulu, near Marianhill, Natal, on 9 June 1990, and was never seen again. The incident occurred during a period of intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area, when youths disappeared on a regular basis.

NZAMA, Prince Norbert Nhlanhla (22), an ANCYL member, was abducted from the street next to his home in Tshelimnyama, KwaZulu, near Marianhill, Natal, on 11 June 1990. Mr Nzama was on his way back from searching for his brother, who had disappeared on 9 June 1990, during a period of intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

NZAMA, Sabelo Elliot (35), was shot and hacked to death by UDF supporters in intense political conflict at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 January 1990.

NZAMA, Shongani (38), lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Hosiya, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 February 1994. Conflict had broken out after the funeral of an IFP official that day, and many IFP supporters suspected of being pro-ANC lost their homes.

NZAMA, Sibongile Rose (52), an IFP supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by fellow IFP supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 February 1994. Conflict had broken out after the funeral of an IFP official that day, and many IFP supporters suspected of being pro-ANC lost their homes.

NZAMA, Sibongiseni Goodlord Linda, was severely assaulted and abducted by SADF members who entered his home at Umlazi, Durban, on 12 June 1990, allegedly because they suspected him of hiding guns. His father was also assaulted in the incident.

NZAMA, Sicelo (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 December 1991, allegedly because he refused to join the IFP. His badly mutilated body was discovered a few days later.

NZAMA, Sifiso (3), was shot dead by ANC supporters during political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1993.

NZAMA, Simangele (15), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NZAMA, Simon, had his house burnt down at Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, during June 1989, after he had refused to execute orders to attack the homes of ANC supporters.

NZAMA, Sithembiso Sonny (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 November 1991. Mr Nzama was constantly harassed by both IFP supporters and police members because of his political activities.

NZAMA, Thuleleni (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when her home was attacked by IFP supporters and members of the KwaZulu POLICE in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 27 July 1992. Her two-year-old child, whom she was carrying at the time, was also shot and injured.

NZAMA, Thuleleni Floreni (50), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by fellow IFP supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 February 1994. Conflict had broken out after the funeral of an IFP official that day, and many IFP supporters suspected of being pro-ANC lost their homes.

NZAMA, Vusumuzi (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by members of the KwaZulu POLICE during political conflict at KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 May 1993.

NZAMA, Yona Pilisive (29), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters during political conflict at Emabhabathini, near Richmond Farm, KwaMashu, Durban, in January 1990.

NZAMA, Za Jacolin Nakeni (36), lost his home and livestock in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 February 1994. Conflict had broken out after the funeral of an IFP official that day, and many IFP supporters suspected of being pro-ANC lost their homes.

NZAMA, Zandile Nelie (39), an IFP supporter, lost her house in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack during a mass funeral on 12 February 1994.

NZAMA, Zanele Nelly (34), had her home destroyed by Inkatha supporters during political conflict in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1989.

NZAMA, Zimphi Gladys (24), an IFP supporter, had her house at Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 21 May 1991, three days after her boyfriend had been brutally killed. She was pregnant at the time.

NZAME, Thami, was injured by MK operatives at Edendale Hospital, near Pietermaritzburg, on 4 May 1986. One person was killed and Mr Nzame and three others were injured in crossfire between the operatives and police when the operatives raided the hospital to free a member of their MK unit who was being held there. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

NZENDIVA, Toto Samuel, an ANC supporter, was beaten by members of the SAP on his arrest in Robertson, Cape, in November 1985. Mr Nzendiva was again beaten by police and detained on 18 June 1986 for three months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

NZIMA, Cabangani (55), had her house at Richmond, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters during political conflict in September 1992. One of her sons was shot dead and another injured in an attack following this incident. Both were IFP members.

NZIMAKHE, Constance Themebekile, had her home burnt down in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1991.

NZIMAKWE, Obrey Mcungisi, an ANCYL supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 April 1994. Mr Nzimakwe lived in Nyandezulu, which was predominantly an IFP stronghold.

NZIMANDE (first names not given), a four-day-old baby, was abducted by alleged members of the KwaZulu POLICE in the bushes at KwaMafunza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1993 and was never seen again. The baby's mother was killed after her husband was accused of being an ANC member.

NZIMANDE, Alice Langisa (38), was harassed and tortured by members of the SAP in 1985 in Alexandra, Johannesburg. Police came to Ms Nzimande's home

to look for her son who left the country to join the ANC in exile.

NZIMANDE, Angeline , was strangled to death at KwaMafunza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1993, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. She was allegedly targeted because of her husband's political affiliation.

NZIMANDE, Anthony , had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NZIMANDE, Anton Sibongiseni (21), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by a named fellow IFP supporter at Ixopo, Natal, on 2 August 1993. He had allegedly been accused of being an ANC supporter.

NZIMANDE, Bagcinile Victoria (44), an ANC supporter, had her home at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. Eight people were killed and more than 120 homes were burnt down. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

NZIMANDE, Banakile (71), had her house burnt down and livestock stolen by IFP supporters during political conflict in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991.

NZIMANDE, Beauty Thulile (24), an ANC supporter, disappeared in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, while on her way to Chris Hani's funeral in April 1993. She has not been seen since.

NZIMANDE, Bhekani Protus (20), was shot and injured by members of the KwaZulu POLICE during political conflict at Umlazi, Durban, in March 1994. He was allegedly thought to be an ANC member.

NZIMANDE, Bhezu Annanias (41), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 December 1993.

NZIMANDE, Catherine Them bani (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters while attending a prayer meeting in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 8 July 1992.

NZIMANDE, Chukwe Flor ence (38), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Madakane, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 November 1993.

NZIMANDE, Dennet , was hospitalised after being severely beaten by members of the SAP in Nkanyisweni, near Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 April 1992. The police were allegedly searching for an AK47 rifle thought to be hidden in his house.

NZIMANDE, Dudu Gladys (29), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1993.

NZIMANDE, Duduzile , an ANC supporter, was severely burnt in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 22 March 1988.

NZIMANDE, Fikile Catherine (35), was severely injured when she was stabbed and hacked by members of an IFP patrol group at her house in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 8 March 1991. Other family members were also severely injured or killed by the perpetrators, who were looking for her brother, an ANC supporter. Ms Nzimande is now partially disabled.

The perpetrators were sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

NZIMANDE, Fisani (41), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, in March 1991.

NZIMANDE, Florence (56), was assaulted by members of the Security Branch at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 April 1992. Her husband and three children were also assaulted and injured during the police raid on her house. The police claimed to have been looking for an AK47, which they believed was hidden in the house.

NZIMANDE, Gobile , was shot and injured in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters at Inkanyezi, Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1992.

NZIMANDE, Ivy (62), lost her home in an attack by IFP supporters during political conflict in Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1991.

NZIMANDE, John Ndakhu (54), had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 August 1993, during political conflict over the launch of an IFP branch in the settlement. On the day of the launch, nine people were killed, 11 injured and 18 houses burnt down.

NZIMANDE, Khehla Anton (32), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 1 August 1992.

NZIMANDE, Lawrence Mlungu (61), was assaulted by members of the Security Branch at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 April 1992. It is alleged that police were looking for AK-47 believed to be hidden in his house.

NZIMANDE, Lina (62), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NZIMANDE, Lindela Raphael (31), an IFP supporter, was shot dead along with his brother in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 May 1993.

NZIMANDE, Makhosonke Eligius (16), an ANCYL member, was shot in the foot by members of the SAP during political unrest at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in February 1990.

NZIMANDE, Maray Maggie (53), was killed travelling on a train to Soweto, Johannesburg, on 25 June 1991. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

NZIMANDE, Michael Zokwakhe (24), was stabbed to death by named ANC supporters during political conflict at Richmond, Natal, on 10 September 1992. He was living in an area known to be an IFP stronghold.

NZIMANDE, Mirriam (21), was assaulted by members of the Security Branch at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 28 April 1992. Other family members, including both parents, were also assaulted and injured in the police raid on her home. The police claimed to have been looking for an AK47, which they believed was hidden in the house.

NZIMANDE, Mkhombiseni , was shot dead by members of the SAP during political unrest in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 1 June 1993

NZIMANDE, Mlekeleli (20), an IFP member, was shot and injured by ANC supporters at Richmond, Natal, in September 1992. His brother was shot dead in the incident.

NZIMANDE, Moses (55), was shot dead during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 July 1992.

NZIMANDE, Ms (first name not given), was shot and injured at Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NZIMANDE, Mshishi Siphiso Johnson (37), an ANC member, was shot dead by IFP supporters and members of the Security Branch in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 24 October 1992.

NZIMANDE, Mzofile (40), an IFP supporter, was killed in the 'battle of the forest', an unprecedented armed clash between UDF and Inkatha supporters in timber plantations at Richmond, Natal, on 29 March 1991. Twenty-three IFP supporters were reported killed.

NZIMANDE, Mzwakhe Stompie , a PAC supporter, was beaten with sjamboks and canes by police at Hermanus, Cape, in June 1960, allegedly because of his role in leading a march after the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE. On 25 April 1992 Mr Nzimande was caught up in the violence in Natal where he was beaten to death by IFP supporters who accused him and three other men of being ANC supporters.

NZIMANDE, Ndabenzima Nyangambi (30), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by ANC supporters at Ixopo, Natal, in December 1993. He had gone to assess the damage to his house, which had been burnt. His body was found by police.

NZIMANDE, Nokuphiwe (3), was attacked with pangas and knives by named IFP supporters at her home in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 8 March 1991. The perpetrators were looking for her uncle, an ANC supporter. Other family members were also severely injured and killed. Political conflict led to the introduction of defence patrol groups by both parties, but ultimately these groups were themselves implicated in attacks. The perpetrators were sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

NZIMANDE, Raphael , an NUM shopsteward, was harassed in 1986 by IFP supporters at Howick, Natal, for his participation in the SARMCOL STRIKE, which began in April 1985.

NZIMANDE, Regina Siziwe (39), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters during ongoing political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1990.

NZIMANDE, Sibomu (52), was hacked to death with an axe at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 October 1989, during intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters.

NZIMANDE, Sifiso (7), died after being stabbed, laid on a bag of cement and having his neck chopped with a bushknife at his home in Nyandezulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, by named IFP supporters on 8 March 1991. The perpetrators, who were looking for

his uncle, an ANC supporter, also killed and injured other family members. The perpetrators were sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

NZIMANDE, Siphiso Eric (29), was shot dead in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, while driving home on 19 July 1992.

NZIMANDE, Tabolo Samuel (61), an ANC supporter, had his home at Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by alleged IFP supporters on 2 February 1992.

NZIMANDE, Thamsanqa Ernest (14), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by alleged IFP supporters on 6 September 1991 in Umlazi, Durban, for holding an ANC flag.

NZIMANDE, Thembinkosi (20), was shot dead by IFP supporters in an attack on his home in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991. The Nzimande family was suspected of sympathising with the ANC, because some family members refused to attend IFP meetings. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

NZIMANDE, Thikazile Ida , was shot and hacked to death with an axe at her home in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in intensifying conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 24 April 1994.

NZIMANDE, Xolani , was shot dead by named IFP supporters during an attack on his home in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991. The Nzimande family was suspected of sympathising with the ANC, because some family members refused to attend IFP meetings. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

NZIMANDE, Xosheyake Jer ome (45), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, at Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, on 21 March 1994. The perpetrators allegedly burnt down the house when they could not find Mr Nzimande's son, an ANC leader.

NZIMANDE, Yekeleni (41), an Inkatha supporter, lost her home in an attack by alleged UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in May 1988.

NZIMANDE, Zonzani Christina (23), had her home at Esigcakeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by alleged ANC supporters during political conflict in March 1991.

NZIMANDE, Zwe (46), an IFP supporter, was shot dead along with his brother at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 May 1993, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NZIMELA, Hombile Stephen (22), a UDF activist, was detained for 11 days in April 1986 at Kareedouw, Cape, during which he was tortured by members of the SAP and interrogated about his political activities. Mr Nzimela had spearheaded a campaign against local authorities in Kareedouw.

NZIMENI, Richard Jim , was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

NZIMENI, Thandeka Regina (50), had her house and possessions burnt in an arson attack during political conflict between ANC and PAC supporters at Seymour, Ciskei, on 14 August 1992.

NZIMKULU, Isaac , a member of a Crossroads committee led by Mr Memani, was one of seven men killed in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 11 April 1983, by supporters of an opposing committee led by Mr Ngxobongwana, during conflict arising from the struggle for housing.

NZUKE, Vusumzi Abednego (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by alleged IFP supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, in March 1991 and again on 16 March 1993.

NZULA, Barbra Julia (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when a known COUNCILLOR opened fire on a group of ANC supporters protesting against the local council in Rouxville, OFS, on 9 September 1990. One other person was shot dead in the incident.

NZUMALO, Nkosinathi Emmanuel , an IFP supporter, died when he was shot and hacked by alleged ANC supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 December 1991.

NZUNGA, Lerole Paul (59), lost his house and cars when they were burnt in Sebokeng, Tvl, in 1984 in violent conflict between local residents and councillors in the area during the VAAL UPRISING.

NZUNZA, Nokhuthula (19), was stabbed to death by named ANC supporters during political conflict at Empangeni, Natal, on 13 March 1994, because she did not want to date an ANC member.

NZUZA, Bhekisiwe (58), had his house in Eshowe, Natal, burnt down during ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in 1994.

NZUZA, Bhozi (30), an ANC supporter, was severely injured in an attack on his home by fellow ANC supporters in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in December 1992, in factional conflict arising from a split in the local ANC branch.

NZUZA, Buhle , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NZUZA, Doris Ntombikayise (51), lost her house in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Gezibuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

NZUZA, Dorothy Ivy (48), had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, petrol-bombed by alleged Inkatha supporters while she and her children were inside on 21 June 1989, because she was believed to be an ANC supporter.

NZUZA, Elinah (46), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and her house in Ntuthuka, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, was set alight by alleged IFP supporters in April 1994.

NZUZA, Florah Zezi (41), an Inkatha supporter, lost her house and possessions in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Embokodweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1985. Ms Nzuza's son had been shot dead in an attack on her home the previous day.

NZUZA, Girlie (55), an IFP supporter, lost her home and her possessions in an arson attack on 13

September 1989 in KwaMashu, Durban.

NZUZA, Godfrey Mthokozeleni (19), was hacked to death in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 November 1991, because he was in a house known to be occupied by an ANC youths.

NZUZA, Hlengiwe (19), lost her house in arson attacks by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NZUZA, Isaac (49), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and stabbed to death during ongoing conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 September 1989.

NZUZA, Jabulani (35), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Nogobhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, during continuing political conflict in November 1993.

NZUZA, Khonzaphi Rejoice (33), an IFP supporter, lost her home in an arson attack at Esigisini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, in 1993, allegedly after her husband had pointed out a house in which ANC supporters lived, leading to the burning down of that house. Mr Nzuza was later killed in an apparent revenge attack.

NZUZA, Khulekani V usi, was shot dead on 2 August 1992 when armed men wearing balaclavas attacked several homes in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

NZUZA, Lennox Thlebone (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named SAP member at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 13 March 1990, allegedly because of his political activities. Three other ANC supporters were shot dead in the same incident.

NZUZA, Lilian Ntombikayise (36), had her house at Empangeni, Natal, burnt down during clashes between local ANC and IFP members in October 1992.

NZUZA, Lucky Mfanu , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

NZUZA, Mildred Phive (38), had her house burnt down by alleged IFP supporters in Obanjeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 December 1993.

NZUZA, Moses (64), was killed in Eshowe, Natal, on 26 February 1994, during intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NZUZA, Mr (first name not given) (36), had his house at Eshowe, Natal, burnt down in an arson attack on 14 November 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

NZUZA, MUNTUKA TSHINGWA (36), had his house petrol-bombed during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 January 1994.

NZUZA, Ndoda Robert , an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters in an attack on his home in Embokodweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1985. The day after the attack, his home was burnt down by the same perpetrators.

NZUZA, Nessie (49), an ANC supporter, lost her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on 26 July 1989.

NZUZA, Nothando Florah (18), had her rondavels in Eshowe, Natal, burnt down during intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in 1994.

NZUZA, Ntombikayise Happiness (24), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during intense political conflict in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

NZUZA, Ntombikayise Patricia (23), fled her home in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, when it was raided and vandalised by ANC supporters in factional conflict in December 1992 arising from a split in the local ANC branch. Her brother, an ANC supporter, was severely injured in the attack.

NZUZA, Ntombili Esther (65), had her home burnt down during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Eshowe, Natal, in 1994.

NZUZA, Patricia Babhekile (38), had her house burnt down during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 27 April 1992.

NZUZA, Petros Mzwakhe (18), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by unidentified perpetrators at Nsingweni, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 27 March 1992.

NZUZA, Schuman Raymond (27), was shot dead in an attack on his mother's home in Empangeni, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 27 June 1993.

NZUZA, Simo , a UDF supporter, was chased and beaten to death by a large group of fellow UDF supporters in Clermont, near Durban, in January 1987. Mr Nzuza had come under suspicion from his comrades. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/106).

NZUZA, Siphso (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead after being abducted into Buyafuthi hostel in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 9 July 1993.

NZUZA, Themba , lost his house in an arson attack in November 1993 in intensified violence between ANC and IFP supporters in KwaKhoza and Nogobhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal. One person was killed and 21 houses burnt down that day.

NZUZA, Thenjiwe (55), had her house burnt down and was forced to leave the Sabokwe area in Ntambanana, Empangeni, Natal, on 21 April 1994 because of political violence between the IFP and ANC in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

NZUZA, Thlelebone (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named SAP member at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 13 March 1990. Three other ANC supporters were shot in the same incident.

NZUZA, Thulani Bhekingcino (23), had his houses burnt down at Bhukhanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 17 January 1994.

NZUZA, V elephi, lost her house in an arson attack in November 1993 in intensified violence between ANC and IFP supporters in KwaKhoza and Nogobhoza,

KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal. One person was killed and 21 houses burnt down that day.

NZUZA, Vusi (30), was shot dead in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 August 1992.

NZUZA, Zelpha , an ANC supporter, was injured while fleeing from an arson attack by IFP supporters at her home in Stanger, Natal, during December 1992.

NZUZA, Zwelabantu Philemon (67) lost his house in an arson attack on 4 November 1993 in intensified violence between ANC and IFP supporters in KwaKhoza and Nogobhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal. One person was killed and 21 houses burnt down that day.

NZUZO, Nomsinya Grace (49), a UDF supporter, was detained by members of the SAP for 14 days in 1985 in Grahamstown, Cape, after political meetings were held in her house in Tantjie location.

O'KILL, Richard Olivier Pier ce, was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

O'LAUGHLIN, Bridget , an Irish citizen and researcher at the Eduardo Mondlane University, was injured in Maputo, Mozambique, on 17 August 1982 by a letter bomb sent by members of the South African Security Branch. Fellow academic Ruth First, who opened the letter while she was in her office, was killed in the explosion.

O'REILLY, Susanna Maria Louise , was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

O'REILLY, WO (19), a constable in the SAP, was shot and injured when armed MK operatives attacked the Wonderboompoort police station, Pretoria, on 26 December 1981. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

OCTOBER Ronald (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 16 September 1976 in Heideveld, Cape Town, during the SOWETO UPRISING.

ODENDAAL-MAGW AZA, Marie Fredrika (35) was detained by the SAP in Westville, near Durban, on 1 July 1986 and held in solitary confinement for ten days.

ODENDAL, (first name not given), was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

ODISITSE, Kewasepe , suffered severe damage to house and property as a result of a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See

GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

ODLER, Sydney, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

OLAYI, Sidumo Petrus (28), a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was killed during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

OLDJOHN, Victor (50), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KwaZULU POLICE at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 6 February 1989. The perpetrators allegedly came to his home saying they were looking for his sons, who were UDF supporters.

OLDS, C, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

OLEG, Karamzin, was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

OLIEN, Willie Ronny (33), was shot by members of the SAP in Toekomsrus, Randfontein, Tvl, on 18 October 1990 during protests over electricity cut-offs.

OLIFANT, Joel, was shot dead in Makwassie, Tvl, during a student demonstration at Lerunsi Secondary School on 25 April 1993.

OLIFANT, Magdalena Elizabeth (37), had her home damaged in an arson attack at Atlantis, Cape, on 29 November 1993. Shortly before the attack, the family had received letters threatening Ms Olifant's former husband, an ANC and union activist.

OLIFANT, Shadrack Teko (25), was severely beaten and tortured by named members of the Security Branch at the Fountain police station, Bloemfontein, in April 1986. Mr Olifant was one of around 20 UDF supporters arrested while trying to cross the border into Lesotho in April 1986, with the intention of joining the ANC in exile. In detention they were interrogated, tortured, beaten, subjected to degrading treatment

and denied food. Two members of the SAP were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0025 and AC/1999/0026).

OLIFANT, Tshidiso Paulos, was shot and severely injured in Evaton, Tvl, on 23 February 1993 by members of a local gang who were also part of an ANC-aligned self-defence unit.

OLIFANT, Violent Ntombifikile 'Khono' (24), an ANC member, was beaten and injured by members of the SADF at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during protests in the area on 14 January 1993.

OLIPHANT, Alfred Welile (56), an ANC member, was shot dead while running from his burning home in Whittlesea, Ciskei, on 27 August 1992, during political conflict between ADM and ANC supporters. An ADM member was refused amnesty (AC/1999/0265).

OLIPHANT, Benjamin T omelotso, a UDF supporter, died in police custody in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 16 September 1987. Mr Oliphant had been detained without trial under emergency regulations since December 1986.

OLIPHANT, George David, (32), was detained without trial on 16 September 1987 in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, to prevent his presence at the inquest into his brother's death while in police custody.

OLIPHANT, Ivan, an ANC supporter, got lost in Tokoza, Tvl, on 1 August 1993 along with friends. The five found themselves in Khumalo Street where they were attacked by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. Mr Oliphant and his friends were hacked and burnt to death. Khumalo Street had been declared a 'no-go' area following numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

OLIPHANT, Lean Olefame (41), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police on 6 December 1990 in Taung, Bophuthatswana. At the time there was a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office where villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahure to present their grievances. Police dispersed the crowd by tar-gassing and sjambokking those in attendance.

OLIPHANT, Malebogo W iffred (15), a student activist, was severely beaten and tortured by named members of the SAP after he was arrested in Vryburg, Cape, on 11 May 1990. This followed a student protest march to the court to demand the release of fellow students who were charged with public violence.

OLIPHANT, Norman Mpumelelo (26), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during unrest in Beaufort West, Cape, in October 1985. Residents were angered at a court inquest finding which cleared the SAP of criminal responsibility for killing a local UDF activist in January that year.

OLIPHANT, Patricia (13), a COSAS member, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Venterstad, Cape, on 4 July 1993. Patricia was walking to a relative's home when she was shot.

OLIPHANT, Rufus (34), was arrested and severely assaulted by members of the SAP at Worcester, Cape, in March 1960, during protests in the township. He was sentenced to eight lashes after which he was redetained for four months.

OLIVER, L, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

OLIVER, John David 'Soppie' (20), a youth activist, was detained in Atlantis, Cape, on 14 June 1986 and held for six weeks under emergency regulations at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape.

OLIVER, L, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

OLIVER, Mervin Govan (18), a UDF activist, was suffocated with a plastic bag by members of the SAP after his arrest at George, Cape, in 1989. He was later injured in a vigilante attack.

OLIVER, Peter, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Eastern Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

OLIVER, Val, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

ONIWE, Aubrey (11), was shot and severely injured by members of the SA Railway Police in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 28 December 1976. He was playing near the railway line when police opened fire on protesters. Vuyo suffered permanent injury from the shooting.

ONTONG, Paul Eienne (19), was killed when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

ONVERWACHT, Abraham Carel (29), was hit by a brick while driving past stone-throwing youths near Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, on 7 September 1989, in the aftermath of the apartheid election held on 6 September 1989. Mr Onverwacht lost an eye in the attack.

OOSTENHUIZEN, J, a member of the SAP, was injured in a shoot-out with an MK operative in Johannesburg on 25 May 1991. Mr Oosthuizen and his colleague were both injured in the shoot-out, when they attempted to stop a vehicle. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/1997/0035).

OOSTHUIZEN, GJ, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South

African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

OOSTHUIZEN, Lourens Cor nelius, a policeman, was shot and injured by ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) members during April 1992 in Ficksburg, OFS. Three of the SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0229).

OOSTHUIZEN, Patrick Edgar V ermon, an ANC supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by police in George, Cape, on 13 September 1976, during a period of unrest after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to the South Cape. He was charged with public violence and later acquitted.

OOSTHUIZEN, Wessel Johannes, was shot and injured by APLA members at a petrol depot in East London on 19 August 1983. See APLA ATTACKS.

OPPERMAN, JP, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

OPPERMAN, Karel (27), was shot in the eye near his home by members of the SAP, some of whom are named, in Ashton, Cape, on 30 June 1990. There had been a protest march that day. Mr Opperman, who was not politically involved, lost an eye in the shooting.

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

ORLYN, Kgotsile Cecil (34), a church minister, youth activist and UDF supporter, was arrested in June 1987 and detained for 3 months at Humansdorp, Cape. While in detention, he was beaten and given electric shock torture by members of the SAP, some of who are named.

ORWIN, Gary David, a member of the SADF, was shot and wounded when APLA members ambushed a military vehicle, firing on it with automatic weapons, in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 16 December 1986. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/0133).

OSEPENG, Boikie Patrick .31, was detained between 1990 and 1992 in Dryharts, Taung, Bophuthatswana, during a chieftaincy feud between chief Mahure and Chief Mankuroane.

OSMERS, John (43), an Anglican priest from New Zealand and an ANC supporter, was severely injured in

an explosion in Maseru, Lesotho, on 5 July 1979, when he opened a parcel containing an explosive device. Five other persons were injured in the incident.

OSS, Andr ew, was stabbed and burnt to death by members of the 'Gaddafi' faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC) in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in June 1990 while selling ANC T-shirts at the local taxi rank. Violence between two rival factions of the KYC, the 'Zim-zims' and the 'Gaddaffis', resulted in at least 17 deaths between 1989 and 1991 before a peace pact took effect in May 1991.

OTTO, AP, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

OTTO, Ewette Jauneen (16), was shot dead together with a friend by named members of the SAP in Bishop Lavis, Cape Town, on 6 September 1989, near a burning barricade erected in protest against the apartheid elections being held that day. Widespread clashes with police took place across Cape Town resulting in over 20 deaths and many injuries.

OZYNSKI, Saul (21), a member of the Congress of Democrats (COD), was detained in 1961 in Johannesburg, under emergency regulations. Mr Ozynski was accused of being a communist. The COD was banned in 1962.

PADI, Isaac Butinyana (56), was tortured by members of the SAP at the Protea police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 7 February 1991. Mr Padi was detained as police were looking for his son, an MK operative. Mr Padi's son and girlfriend were later shot dead by police.

PADI, Itumeleng Samuel (22), an MK operative, was shot dead by named members of the SAP during a shoot-out at his home in Phiri, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 19 May 1991. Mr Padi had escaped from police custody and was shot dead with his girlfriend during a raid. Police arrested his father prior to his death and tortured him to reveal his son's whereabouts.

PADI, Refiloe (15), was shot and wounded by members of the SAP at Matshidiso High School in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1987 during student protests in the area.

PADIACHY, Krishna (21), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

PADLEY, Karen, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA

ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

PAGE, Pedro Amandrio, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Parkwood Estate, Cape Town, on 6 September 1989. He had allegedly joined a crowd of onlookers who were watching as roadblocks were set up.

PAGE, Stephen John, was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

PAHLA, Ben (48), was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes at Siyabuswa community hall, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986. He and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and were sjambokked and beaten where they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted for about 36 hours. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

PAILANE, Phillip Kedibone, a local council employee, lost his house when it was burnt down by SANCO and ANC supporters in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in 1991.

Members of the community opposed local councils and saw councillors and council employees as legitimate targets in the political struggle of the time.

PAILE, Francina Busi, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

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

PAKA, Johnson, a PAC member, was detained by the SAP in the Transkei, Cape, in 1960. He was imprisoned for five years on Robben Island for his PAC activities. After his release he was placed under house arrest for two years.

PAKA, Tonny Khabuqheya (19), was incarcerated and tortured by the SAP in Engcobo, Transkei, Cape, in November 1963, because of his PAC activities. He was charged with sabotage and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, after which he was banished for two years.

PAKADE, George Sidney, a UDF supporter, had his house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a

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

PAKISI, Raphael , was shot and burnt to death at the Chris Hani informal settlement, Daveyton, Tvl, on 25 July 1993 when a group of IFP supporters, allegedly aided by members of the SAP and SADF, attacked area which was perceived to be an ANC stronghold.

PALEO, David Sebolai (49), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Tokoza, Tvl, on 21 August 1993 during clashes between hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents. Mr Paleo's body was found in one of the hotels and was reportedly mutilated.

PALI, Qolwana Reginald (70), a local headman, was abducted on 26 December 1993 at Kidd's Beach, Cape, during conflict over leadership in the area. His skeletal remains were found seven months later near the Chalumna River.

PALM, (first name not given), was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

PALM, Rolande Lucielle (22), a civilian, was shot and killed when APLA operatives attacked the Heidelberg Tavern in Observatory, Cape Town, on 30 December 1993. Four people were killed and seven were injured during the course of the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0026).

PAMA, Elliot Michael , a policeman, was injured by APLA operatives during an armed robbery at the University of Transkei in Umtata, Transkei, on 18 February 1993. The perpetrators robbed the university of R500 000 and shot three security guards, one of whom was killed. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/106).

PAMA, Priscilla (14), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985, during widespread unrest on the day after the POLLSMOOR MARCH to demand the release of Nelson Mandela. At least 28 people were shot dead by police in the aftermath of the march.

PANAGOS-CITTON, Roseta Maria , sustained damage to her property when a limpet mine, planted by an MK unit near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, exploded on 4 July 1986. Eighteen people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0257).

PANDA, William Wali (34), a UDF supporter, was shot above the eye in a clash between protesters and police at KwaNomzamo, Humansdorp, Cape, on 20 May 1986. Mr Panda was participating in a march to demand the resignation of the Black Local Authority in Humansdorp when shooting broke out.

PANDLE, Nomfusi , a school student, was detained in Willowmore, Cape, on 13 June 1986, and held for three

months under emergency regulations. She was beaten by police during her detention. After her release she was arrested, charged with public violence and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

PANGOMSO, Siphso Jackson (70), an ANC supporter, lost his huts when they were burnt down by named members of the Transkei Police in May 1993 at Mthimde, Lusikisiki, Transkei.

PANKER, A , was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

PANTSIS, Thembani , a SASM member, was tortured while in detention in Fort Glamorgan prison, East London, in 1976.

PANYANE, Nkululeko Michael (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 29 July 1990, allegedly by IFP supporters.

PANZISO, Virginia , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the Ciskei Police and CDF during protests at Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 25 December 1988.

PAPA, Reverend Vuyani (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 2 September 1985, during widespread unrest that followed the POLLSMOOR MARCH, held a few days earlier to demand the release of Nelson Mandela. At least 28 people were shot dead by police in the aftermath of the march.

PAPALA, Samuel Chobane (23), an ANC supporter, was abducted by AWB supporters in Hoopstad, OFS, in 1993. Mr Papala was walking in the street wearing an ANC T-shirt during a boycott. He was severely assaulted and then locked in a garage, from which he managed to escape. The incident took place at a time when members of the AWB were carrying out random attacks in retaliation for the 'one settler, one bullet' campaign by APLA members.

PAPATHANSPOULES, George, was injured in a limpet mine explosion in Johannesburg on 4 March 1986. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/003).

PAPIE, JJ, a member of the Riot Police, was assaulted and shot dead, allegedly by members of the Orange Free State Security Branch, near Bloemfontein in 1986. A former Security Branch informer was refused amnesty owing to conflicting evidence (AC/1999/0026).

PAPIYANA, Godfrey Madoda , was shot and injured when members of the AWB opened fire at a minibus taxi travelling between Westonaria and Randfontein, Tvl, on 27 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Polling in the first democratic elections had started on the same day. The driver of the taxi was shot and killed in the attack. Two AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342).

PAPIYANA, Vuyani Kenneth , was shot and killed when members of the AWB opened fire at a minibus taxi travelling between Westonaria and Randfontein,

Tvl, on 27 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Polling in the first democratic elections had started on the same day. A passenger was shot and injured in the attack. Two AWWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342).

PAPO, Piet Lehameze, was severely assaulted by alleged IFP supporters in Saulsville, Tvl, in 1991.

PAPU, Benjamin, (30), an ANC activist, was stabbed to death by ADM supporters in Alice, Ciskei, on 3 April 1994, after he was accused of being an Inkatha supporter, in political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

PAPU, Velile Wellington (18), was attacked with knobkerries by named members of the Peacemakers vigilante group during political conflict in Joza, Grahamstown, Cape, during November 1979. He was admitted to Settlers' hospital in Grahamstown, where he subsequently died from his injuries.

PARAFINI, Abram, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, during a memorial service on 16 March 1986 in honour of youths killed in riots in Bethlehem.

PARKIES, Nomthandazo Virginia (51), an ANC supporter, lost her home when the Crossroads settlement in Katilehong, Tvl, was attacked by IFP supporters on 12 September 1990.

PARKIES, Tieho Ben (49), lost his home when it was burnt down by IFP supporters during an attack on the Chris Hani informal settlement, Daveyton, Tvl, on 25 July 1993 because the area was mainly ANC-supporting.

PARTHEN, Hammey Jessica (16), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

PASIYA, Masoka, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

PATEL, Alec Armien (40), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in early September 1976 at the Grand Parade, Cape Town, during the SOWETO UPRISING.

PATEL, Zahid Ebrahim, was shot, injured and robbed of his vehicle by MK operatives in Laudium, Pretoria, on 12 August 1981. The perpetrators were seeking a getaway vehicle after launching a rocket attack on the SADF's base at Voortrekkerhoogte, Pretoria. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for this incident (AC/2001/003).

PATHENI, Velephi (26), an ANC supporter, had her house at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in February 1992.

PATLAKI, W illy, an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Bloemfontein, in March 1989. He was one of an unknown number of youths who had been *toyi-toying* and were taken to the police station, where they were beaten.

PATRICK, Veron, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

PATSA, V uyani (16), a SASCO member, was killed by members of the Ciskei Police on 21 August 1985 in Zwelitsha, Ciskei.

PATTENDEN, Angelique (23), was killed in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

PAULI, Siculo, an ANC member, was shot dead by masked gunmen who burst into the house and opened fire in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 19 March 1993. Three family members and friends were shot dead and two injured in the attack. One of the perpetrators was later convicted and jailed for the attack. He was refused amnesty.

PAULSEN, Lionel (12), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985. A 13-year-old boy also died in the incident. They were among the 28 people shot dead by police in the aftermath of the POLLSMOOR MARCH.

PAVEL, V uluev, was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

PAVER, James Geor ge, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

PAVILLON, D, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

PAYI, Bukelwa Notargane (15), was shot dead when members of the SAP assaulted and opened fire on mourners gathered at a night vigil on 8 March 1985 in Fort Beaufort, Cape.

PAYI, Clarence Lucky, an MK operative, was executed in Pretoria Central prison, Pretoria, on 9 September 1986. Mr Payi and another MK operative

were sentenced to death for the killing of ANC supporter Ben Langa in 1984. The two were instructed to assassinate Mr Langa by an MK commander who was later believed to be a state agent.

PAYI, Nomathamsanqa Ethel Thami (45), had her home destroyed in a petrol bomb attack by members of the UDF-supporting AMABUTHO in Port Elizabeth in 1986.

PAYI, Nosipho (25), was burnt to death by members of the UDF-supporting AMABUTHO during protests in Port Elizabeth, on 30 April 1986.

PEARCE - MARCON, Adine Leighanne, was stabbed and injured by PAC supporters at the Durban beachfront on 9 October 1990. The perpetrators attacked white people at random, killing one elderly person and injuring several others. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/144).

PEBANE, Motlatsi Abram (22), an ANCYL supporter, was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in Edenburg, OFS, on 27 September 1990, allegedly because he was involved in organising an electricity boycott. He was hospitalised in Bloemfontein and the following day detained for three weeks at Edenburg police station.

PEDRO, Niclo (20), an MK operative, was detained in Cape Town in August 1987 and held under SECTION 29 for six months, during which he was severely tortured by named members of the Western Cape Security Branch. Mr Pedro was later convicted of terrorism and sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for his torture (AC/1999/0027).

PEHLUKWAYO, Mirriam Kalelani, had her four huts burnt down by alleged ANC supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 April 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

PEKEUR, Lawrence (15), was shot dead on 3 September 1984 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during the VAAL UPRISING. Community marches in protest against high rents and poor facilities led to a strong police presence and a number of people were killed or injured in the area.

PELLEM, Mthuthuzeli Simon, a passenger in a motor vehicle, was injured in an attack by APLA operatives near the Nahoon Dam, East London, on 25 March 1994. Two perpetrators were refused amnesty on the basis that they had no orders to carry out the attack (AC/2001/271).

PEMBA, Vuyisile Reginald (36), a member of the SAP, had his house destroyed in a petrol bomb attack during political unrest in Bongoletu, Lady Frere, Transkei, in November 1985.

PENYA, James Mongadi (22), disappeared on 17 June 1976 from Johannesburg, the day after the start of the SOWETO UPRISING.

PENZANA, Mzimkhulu Nimrod (21), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

PEO, Maphuti Joseph (54), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by

supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Peo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

PEPU, Earnest Gwede, an iKONGO member, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 22 May 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, because of his political affiliation. Several other Pondo people died in the attack. See PONDOLAND REVOLT.

PERO, Theodore, a civilian, was injured in crossfire in a shoot-out between APLA operatives and members of the SAP during a robbery of a branch of Nedbank in Johannesburg on 28 March 1990. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0310).

PERREIRA, Manuel Amoro, was severely injured when members of the AWB detonated an explosive at Sannieshof, Bultfontein, OFS, on 28 February 1994. See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS. Two AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0113).

PETA, Eric Skumbuzo, was shot dead by members of the SADF while he was going to a shop in Despatch, Cape, on 6 April 1985.

PETA, Tom Bombes (15), was shot dead by a named member of the Security Branch in Somerset East, Cape, during the looting and burning down of beerhalls on 17 March 1985.

PETA, Vakele Joseph (61), a community COUNCILLOR, lost his house in a petrol bomb attack in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, in March 1985, during political conflict over Black Local Authorities in the area.

PETA, Wonga Horatius (22), a PAC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SADF on 17 June 1977 at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, during violent political unrest following a march the previous day to commemorate the SOWETO UPRISING.

PETE, Thuli Abram, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Klipspruit, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 12 April 1992. Soweto was tense at the time after numerous clashes between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents.

PETEGA, Mr (first name not given), a member of Parliament in the Ciskei Government, suffered damage to property when his house was petrol-bombed by members of the SADA Youth Congress and UDF supporters at Sada, Hewu, Ciskei, during 1986t. One UDF supporter was granted amnesty (AC/2001/076).

PETENI, Zolisile Harret (25), an ANC member, lost his house and all its contents in an attack by named ADM supporters on 13 November 1993 in Zwelitsha, Ciskei.

PETER, Elijah (35), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, on 4 December 1985, while he was returning home from work. He successfully sued the Minister of Law and Order for damages.

PETER, Lulamile Basie (15), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 18 April 1985 when police members, concealed in a MUNICIPAL POLICE vehicle in Despatch, Cape, opened fire on youths playing football. Basie was arrested at hospital, convicted of public violence and given a suspended sentence. Four people were killed and two injured in the shooting. See TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, DESPATCH.

PETER, Mbulelo Lawrence Toyo (22), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the SAP on 24 May 1986 during protests in Alexandria, Cape.

PETER, Nombiniso Lillian, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by ADM supporters and members of the CDF at a headman's homestead near King William's Town, Cape, on 6 September 1992. The assault occurred during political conflict over the reimposition of the headman system in Ciskei.

PETER, Nomvakutu Topsy (51), was shot dead by members of the SAP during a consumer boycott at Fingo Village, Grahamstown, Cape, on 2 February 1987.

PETER, Sebenzile Richard Butter (26), a UDF supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Port Elizabeth, after being accused of stoning a police van during political protests in April 1986.

PETER, Sipho Cyprian (27), a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was killed during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

PETER, Sobantu Per cival, a PAC supporter, died in 1963 while serving a prison sentence on Robben Island, Cape Town.

PETER, Walter Mar tin, was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

PETER, Wayilese (19), a SAYCO supporter, was detained on 20 February 1986 under emergency regulations in Stutterheim, Cape, and was severely beaten by named members of the SAP during his detention at King William's Town prison. Mr Peter was accused of arson and the murder of a policeman during a consumer boycott and resistance to the Black Local Authority. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, was found not guilty of murder in 1988 and released in 1989.

PETER, Zola (30), was shot and severely injured by a named perpetrator in Pretoria, on 29 May 1993.

PETERS, Dorothy Ethelr ede, 44, a UDF activist, had her home petrol-bombed in Kimberley, Cape, on 21 March 1985. She was detained under emergency regulations on 12 June 1986 and held for one year. During her detention she was interrogated and held in solitary confinement for long periods. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

PETERS, Sandile Christopher (30), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) at KwaMashu, Durban, on 9 March 1990, while attending the funeral vigil of

another person who had allegedly been killed by the same KZP member. The perpetrator was sentenced to 27 years' imprisonment.

PETERSEN, Daniel Johannes (38), was shot and blinded in one eye by members of the SAP on 10 September 1976 in Mossel Bay, Cape, after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to the South Cape.

PETERSEN, Mogamat Shahim (14), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in September 1976 in Manenberg, Cape Town, during the SOWETO UPRISING.

PETERSEN, Norman (aka 'Billy Holiday') (22), an MK operative, was shot dead by named members of the SAP on 11 March 1987 in a house in New Crossroads, Cape Town.

PETERSON, Gerard, suffered severe emotional trauma as a result of an arson attack on Khanya House, the headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, in Pretoria on 12 October 1988. The victims were trapped in the burning building for some time before being rescued. Twelve *Vlakplaas* operatives and seven other Security Branch Headquarters operatives, including senior personnel, were granted amnesty (AC/2000/215).

PETERSON, Glynn John (20), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 8 September 1976 in Steenberg, Cape Town, during the SOWETO UPRISING.

PETERSON, Hector Zolile (13), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 16 June 1976, during the SOWETO UPRISING. During the protest 575 people were killed and 2 380 people injured in clashes between protesters and members of the SAP and the Riot Unit. Most of the protesters were youths or schoolchildren.

PETHERIDGE, MEG, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

PETLELE, Abram Mogapi, (53), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, on 26 December 1990 for refusing to recognise a chief imposed on the Bafokeng by Mangope.

PETLEY, Jared (two weeks old), was seriously injured in a limpet mine set by MK operatives in Johannesburg, on 1 July 1986. Jared was paralysed and is now mentally disabled.

PETO, Ronnie, was assaulted by Witwatersrand Security Branch operatives at the Alexandra Security Branch offices, Johannesburg, on an unspecified date between 1989 and 1992. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/249).

PETRUS, Andrew Isaac (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the THREE MILLION GANG in Kroonstad, OFS, on 28 May 1992.

PETRUS, Roland Roy Roux (23), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP in Kroonstad, OFS, on 28 February 1992,

allegedly because he was thought to be involved in the killing of a leader of the THREE MILLION GANG. At the time, the community was mobilising to defend itself against the gang's attacks.

PETVELLA, LM, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

PETWANE, Moseki John (61), was injured in a shooting in Swartruggens, Tvl, on 14 December 1991. Police allegedly raided a birthday party they believed to be an ANC meeting, and shot and injured many of the guests.

PETZER, M, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

PEU, Chuene Daniel (39), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 25 December 1972 by a named perpetrator and other alleged supporters of Chief Benjamin because he tried to resettle on stands allocated by the chief. They were forcibly removed and their livestock was stolen, allegedly on the chief's instructions.

PEU, Mamaloko Lina (22), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, during the dispute over the Matlala chieftaincy between Chief BK Matlala, backed by the Lebowa and South African governments, and Chieftainess Matlou Matlala, backed by the ANC-aligned People's Congress.

PEU, Mankopi Heather (39), was killed when a bus crashed into a house in Katlehong, Tvl, on 12 April 1993. She died a week later. Youths had stoned the bus to enforce a stayaway two days after the death of CHRIS HANI. The driver lost control and crashed into the house.

PEU, Raisibe Maphuti (51), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

PEWA, Nhanhla Adrian (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by named Inkatha supporters and a Special Constable at Hammarisdale, Natal, on 10 December 1988, allegedly in a revenge attack. A friend who was with him at the time was killed in the attack.

PHADI, (first name not given), a sergeant in the SAP, was shot and injured, and robbed of his firearm by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Daveyton, Tvl, during 1993. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/227).

PHADI, Jacop Japi (21), was abducted on 1 June 1982 in Kagiso, Tvl. He was a PAC member and was planning to leave the country.

PHADU, Lesetja William (39), lost his home when it was burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Phadu resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

PHADU, Mosima Rosina (39), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

PHAGO, Chidi Elias, lost his home when it was burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Phago resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

PHAGO, Maputi Johanna (53), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

PHAGO, Phuti Joel, lost his home when it was burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Phago resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

PHAHLA, Ben (48), was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes at Siyabuswa community hall, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986. He and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and were then sjambokked and beaten where they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted in this way. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

PHAHLADIRA, Makwena Petr us (56), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Phahladira resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

PHAHLADIRA, Mosima (39), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

PHAHLAMOHLAKA, Richard Mamplekgo, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

PHAHLAMOHLAKA, Simon, was one of five people seriously injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Administration Board offices in Tembisa, Tvl, on 6 October 1988. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/132).

PHAHLAMOHLAKA, Tseke John (36), was placed under house arrest for five years by the SAP in Nebo, Tvl, in 1966 because he was an ANC member. He had been detained in 1963 under the 90-day detention law.

PHAHLE, George Cecil (47), an ANC member from Soweto, Johannesburg, was shot dead on 14 June 1985 in a cross-border attack launched by the SADF Special Forces, together with the Security Branch, on ANC offices and houses in Gaborone, Botswana. Twelve people were killed, including Mr Phahle's wife, and six were wounded in the operation. See GABORONE RAID.

PHAHLE, Lindiwe Maude (37), an ANC member from Soweto, Johannesburg, was shot dead on 14 June 1985 in a cross-border attack launched by the SADF Special Forces, together with the Security Branch, on ANC offices and houses in Gaborone, Botswana. Twelve people were killed, including Ms Phahle's husband, and six were wounded in the operation. See GABORONE RAID.

PHAHLE, Livingstone, from Soweto, Johannesburg, suffered a nervous breakdown after surviving an attack on the house in which he was staying during a cross-border attack launched by the SADF Special Forces, together with the Security Branch, on ANC offices and houses in Gaborone, Botswana, on 14 June 1985. Twelve people were killed, including Mr Phahle's brother and sister-in-law, and six were wounded in the operation. See GABORONE RAID.

PHAJANE, Gilbert Mosehlane (18), a COSAS member, was detained in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, for three months in 1984 and again, under emergency regulations, for four months in 1985. Mr Phajane was severely tortured during both periods of detention.

PHAKA, Kgabo Phineas, lost his house in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Phaka resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

PHAKA, Nare Johannes (28), lost his home when it was burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

PHAKA, Vuyisile Andrew (41), a member of the Ciskei National Independence Party, was burnt to death by members of the UDF-supporting SADA Youth Congress on 24 April 1986 at Sada, Hewu, Ciskei. Before being killed, his family was ordered out of the house after which the house was set alight with him inside. One UDF supporter was granted amnesty (AC/2001/076).

PHAKADE, Linda Ntombizodidi (47), was stabbed and 'necklaced' to death in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, on 22 May 1986, during conflict between UDF and AZAPO supporters in the town, allegedly because her son was an AZAPO member.

PHAKALITHA, Tshediso, was arrested and detained by the SAP in 1968 in Victoria West, Cape. He was part of a group of 26 men ultimately acquitted of charges of sabotage after long periods in custody on trial. This was one of a set of arrests and trials in which Poqo networks were alleged to have conspired to rise up against the white population. After his release he was allegedly deported to Lesotho by police and has never been seen since.

PHAKANI, Beki Jeremia (24), was severely injured when thrown from a moving train on 21 June 1993 in

Johannesburg, allegedly by IFP supporters. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

PHAKATHI, Bhékani (14), was shot and injured at Ladysmith, Natal, on 9 October 1993, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

PHAKATHI, Bukisisa Magadasi (32) an IFP supporter, was assaulted by a named ANC supporter at a funeral in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 October 1992.

PHAKATHI, Charles, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 June 1976 in the SOWETO UPRISING.

PHAKATHI, Gabangani (38), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Richmond, Natal, on 28 January 1991, allegedly because he was believed to have been involved in an earlier attack on IFP supporters in the area.

PHAKATHI, Gabisile Doris (48), died after being shot, stabbed and set alight by a named ANC supporter at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 12 May 1990, during political conflict in the region.

PHAKATHI, Gqiba, (56), was shot dead in Clermont, near Durban, by a named Inkatha supporter and others in September 1988, allegedly because he was perceived to be sympathetic to the UDF. He and two colleagues had been injured a week earlier when the same perpetrators opened fire on them outside their place of work in Clermont.

PHAKATHI, Majaji, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by an IFP member in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, on 23 January 1992. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0285).

PHAKATHI, Makhasonke Patrick (39), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters on 28 March 1990 in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

PHAKATHI, Norah Hluleleni (48), an IFP supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 February 1993.

PHAKATHI, Rebecca, was shot and injured in an attack on her home at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 11 April 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

PHAKATHI, Sipho Thokozani (37), a UDF supporter, had his house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on 7 November 1989.

PHAKATHI, Thule, was shot dead in an attack on her home at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 11 April 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

PHAKATHU, Gqiba, a non-partisan, was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter in Sakhotshe, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, in July 1986, allegedly because he did not take part in Inkatha activities and was therefore assumed to be an ANC supporter. His friend was shot and injured in the same incident.

PHAKATHI, Philemon, was shot dead by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Tweefontein, KwaNdebele, on 12 June 1986. IMBOKODO members attacked Tweefontein in retaliation for an earlier attack on shops owned by

Chief Minister Piet Ntuli, killing six youths and wounding many.

PHAKATI, Makhosazane Patience (18), lost her home in an arson attack in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

PHAKATI, Prince, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl, on 4 August 1993. At least three people were killed and 10 injured when police opened fire on mourners during a funeral procession in the township. The funeral was for six people killed in violence between IFP and ANC supporters the previous week.

PHAKISI, David, (52), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Boiketlong, Aliwal North, Cape, while on his way to a political meeting on 22 August 1985. See ALIWAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

PHAKOAGO, Sam Maoto (20), an ANCYL supporter, was severely beaten in 1986 at the Motetema police station, Lebowa, by named Bophuthatswana Police.

PHAKOE, Abel Teboho Leeuk (23), an ANC supporter, was detained for four days, assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP in Bloemfontein in April 1994, allegedly because he was involved in arson attacks on policemen's houses.

PHALA, Aubrey, was severely beaten by alleged members of the SAP at his workplace in Johannesburg, in 1975 and afterwards lost his job because his brother had gone into exile to join the liberation movement.

PHALA, Mahwidi John (53), was detained, beaten and tortured in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 9 January 1977 because of his involvement in ANC underground structures.

PHALA, Patrick Paule (18), was shot dead by members of the SADF in Daveyton, Tvl, on 3 August 1984 during student riots against the introduction of age restriction in schools.

PHALALI, Ndwamato Edward (47), was beaten by a named perpetrator in Venda in 1985 for refusing to join the Venda National Party.

PHALANE, Elijah Michael (21), a UDF office-bearer, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Bophelong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during a rent boycott. This period of political conflict is known as the VAAL UPRISING.

PHALANE, Ronald Themba (9), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, during a funeral for an IFP member in 1993. Tembisa was tense after clashes between IFP and ANC supporters.

PHALANE, Sehloho Daniel (66), was tortured in detention by members of the SAP in 1985 in Bophelong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, during a rent boycott. Mr Phalane can no longer speak as a result of his detention and torture.

PHALANE, Thembinkosi Jibili, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, during a funeral for an IFP supporter on 9 June 1993.

PHALATSE, Irene Esther Mantsadi (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 20 August 1976 at a school in Atteridgeville, Tvl, in the wake of the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING which spread to other areas.

PHALE, Maria (16), was stabbed with a sharp object by 'Gadaffis' in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 17 February 1991. The ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS split into two factions, the 'Zim-zims' and the 'Gaddaffis'. Ms Phale was attacked because her brother was suspected to be a 'Zim-Zim'.

PHALE, Ronica, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

PHALENG, Madimatja Johannes (44), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police in 1993 in Temba police station near Hammanskraal, Tvl.

PHALI, Zabulon Mouso (44), was shot dead when a car approached and shot at the taxi he was travelling in on 11 November 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl. A number of DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS were blamed on the security forces who used these attacks to sow terror in the community.

PHAMBAHISO, Samane, an *iKongo* member, was executed in Pretoria, on 21 March 1962 after his arrest during the PONDOLAND REVOLT of 1960. Mr Phambahiso's home was burnt down at the time of his arrest.

PHANDA, Mxolisi Christian Stokwe (30), a SAYCO member, was arrested, tortured and detained by members of the SAP for a lengthy period while awaiting trial in September 1986 in Jeffreys Bay, Cape.

PHANGANE, Florance, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters at a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 26 March 1991. Fifteen people died in the attack which took place during ongoing political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

PHANGWANA, Vuyisile Rogers, a SASCO member, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 21 May 1986 in Soweto, Johannesburg, on his way to a SASCO meeting.

PHANTSI, Pulane Adelina (42), was tortured and severely beaten in detention by named members of the SAP in April 1991 in Kagiso, Krugersdorp, Tvl, because she was an activist. She is disabled as a result.

PHANYANE, Hadiyo Adeline (29), was killed when the bus she was travelling in was attacked on 11 September 1991 in Mapetla, Soweto, Johannesburg. The perpetrators threw hand grenades into the bus and shot at passengers during violent conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

PHANYASE, Nelson, a member of the SAP, was one of three policemen shot dead when MK operatives opened fire on policemen sitting drinking at the tavern in Mariana Street, Atteridgeville, Tvl, on 18 March 1988. Two civilians were injured in the attack. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

PHARASI, Herman Motlalentoa, an ANC cadre, died after being severely beaten at an ANC camp in Angola in 1981. Mr Motlalentoa was allegedly punished for smoking dagga in the camp, which constituted a 'breach of discipline'.

PHARATSI, Eric, an ANC member, died in August 1981 while he was detained in an underground cell in

an ANC CAMP in Angola. One senior camp officer was granted amnesty for his contribution to Mr Pharatsi's death (AC/2000/149).

PHAROE, Morapedi (23), was shot and injured by security guards while playing soccer at the Somhlolo grounds in Katlehong, Tvl, on 17 March 1993. Two others were shot and injured in the same incident which occurred during heightened tension between IFP- supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents in the area.

PHASHA, Abram Madibeng , was stoned to death by members of the ANCYL and residents of Driekop, Lebowa, on 14 February 1993. Mr Phasha was believed to have caused the disappearance of a young man through witchcraft. Two ANCYL members were granted amnesty for the attack. The third applicant is now deceased (AC/2000/077).

PHASHA, Thomas (40), a COSATU member, died nine months after he was shot by SAP and SADF members in Tembisa, Tvl, on 30 April 1986 at a mass gathering preparing for May Day.

PHASHE, Steven (29), an ANC supporter, was continually harassed by the Security Branch in the Port Shepstone area in the mid-1980s. He eventually went into exile in 1985. On his return in 1987, he was detained in Port Shepstone, Natal, where he was severely ill-treated. He was eventually charged, convicted and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment, reduced on appeal to four years. He died from an unspecified illness in 1989 while in prison.

PHASWANA, Khorombi Josius (23), was arrested and detained by members of the Venda Police and SADF in Thohoyandou, Venda, on 28 July 1989 and accused of attempting to kill the acting headman.

PHASWANA, Ndanganeni Petrus (32), was tortured in detention by named members of the Venda Police at Sibasa police station, Venda, on 6 January 1982. Reverend Phaswana was reportedly a monitor of human rights abuses for the IRC and Amnesty International.

PHATANG, W ilfred Kotope Chivos (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a known SAP member in Bloemfontein on 14 April 1990. A police vehicle approached Mr Phatang, who had been participating in a protest, and one of the occupants of the vehicle opened fire, hitting him in the leg.

PHATHI, Tseko Jacob (50), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING on 22 May 1992. Mr Phathi was killed with two others.

PHATLANE, Lucky Joseph (19), a COSAS and SAYCO member, was shot dead on 10 November 1990 by members of the SAP in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, when police disrupted a march to protest against electricity cut-offs in the area. Mr Phatlane was ordered to open his mouth and was shot through it.

PHATO, Magamonke Stanford (35), a PAC member, was detained by the members of the SAP near Qamata, Cofimvaba, Transkei, in 1963. He was suspected of having shot dead an unnamed tribal secretary but was later exonerated. He was later fined R80.00 for furthering the aims of a banned organisation.

PHATO, Makulana , an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted in 1960 in the Bizana police station, Transkei, after participating in meetings held to discuss the introduction of the Trust Land Act.

PHAWE, Lephoi Nape , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ipelegeng, Schweizer-Reneke, Tvl, during clashes between IFP and ANC supporters in 1993.

PHEFO, Solomon Chippa , was stabbed to death on 29 October 1985 in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, during clashes between AZAPO and UDF supporters.

PHEHLANE, Edward T shudi , was severely injured when he was assaulted and stabbed during an attack on his family by SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) members in Brandfort, OFS, on 14 July 1991. His mother was killed in the attack and his younger brother Patrick was injured. The family store was set alight. Mr Phehlane's father, Morgan, previously an ANC supporter, and his family were accused of being collaborators due to their participation in the local council. One SDU member applied for amnesty, which was granted for most aspects of the attack, but refused in respect of the stabbing of Patrick Phehlane (AC/1997/0043).

PHEHLANE, Morgan Sebata (67), was the target of an attempt on his life when SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) members attacked his home and family in Brandfort, OFS, on 14 July 1991. His wife was killed, his two sons severely injured, and his home and store were burnt down in the attack. Mr Phehlane, previously an ANC supporter, and his family were accused of being collaborators due to their participation in the local council. One SDU member applied for amnesty, which was granted for most aspects of the attack, but refused in respect of the stabbing of his son, Patrick Phehlane (AC/1997/0043).

PHEHLANE, Patrick (14), was severely injured when he was repeatedly stabbed during an attack on his family by SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) members in Brandfort, OFS, on 14 July 1991. His mother was killed in the attack and his older brother Edward was injured. The family store was set alight. Mr Phehlane's father, Morgan, previously an ANC supporter, and his family were accused of being collaborators due to their participation in the local council. One SDU member applied for amnesty, which was granted for most aspects of the attack, but refused in respect of the stabbing of Patrick (AC/1997/0043).

PHEHLANE, Susan Mosela , was brutally murdered and her body burnt, when the family store was set alight by SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) members in Brandfort, OFS, on 14 July 1991. Her two sons were also severely injured in the attack. It was alleged that Ms Phehlane, her husband, Morgan, a once respected ANC leader, and their family, were suspected of collaborating with the NP government, as they were members of the local council, and were therefore regarded as traitors and opposed to the UDF/ANC alliance. One SDU member applied for amnesty, which was granted for most aspects of the attack, but refused in respect of the stabbing of Ms Phelane's son, Patrick (AC/1997/0043).

PHEKO, Joseph , was injured during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

PHEKO, Mokete Lemuel Kidman (22), a UDF supporter, was assaulted and injured by members of the A-TEAM in Bloemfontein in 1985, during a period of conflict over local government structures.

PHEKONYANE, Modise (19), was detained and tortured by named SAP members in Bloemfontein, on 23 September 1977. He was allegedly accused of being a 'terrorist'. Between 1977 and 1985, he was detained and ill-treated on several occasions.

PHEKU, Moteletsa Paulus Nico (17), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP during a march through Rocklands, Bloemfontein, on 31 January 1990. The marchers were protesting against a rebel tour by sanctions-breaking cricketers from England. Police fired teargas, pellets and, allegedly, live ammunition into the crowd.

PHELANE, Khuduga Hendrick , an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and mentally tortured by members of the SAP after his arrest on 5 December 1991 in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl.

PHELE, Frans (18), a PAC member, was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 31 December 1992. Mr Phele had been detained and tortured earlier that year.

PHELE, Maphuti (40), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

PHENYEKA, Jacob , was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

PHEPHETHA, Nomangali Besta (37), had her house burnt down during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in May 1993.

PHESI, Vusumuzi (15), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 24 February 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. About 35 houses were reportedly burnt down in Bhambayi that month.

PHETANE, Lelaka Athanasias 'Mafotha' (23), died after being stabbed and shot by ANCYL supporters in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 17 May 1992 because he was suspected of being an informer. Rumours about the victim were allegedly deliberately started and spread by police to destabilise the community.

PHETJAULEMA, Prudence (24), was arrested and tortured by members of the SAP in Soweto,

Johannesburg, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING.

PHETJAULEMA, Vuyiswa Violet (57), a Soweto town councillor, had her home damaged when an explosive device was detonated by a named MK operative in Phefeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 18 February 1987. Councillors were regarded as legitimate targets by the ANC because of their collaboration with the Apartheid State.

PHETLA, Essau Mogolongwane (22), was shot by members of the Municipal Police in March 1986 in Emalahleni, near Witbank, Tvl, shortly after he took part in a protest march about services in the area.

PHETO, Anele Moses (16), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten, by members of the 'Zim-Zim' faction of the KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC) in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 26 November 1990. The assault took place following a split in the KYC. At least 17 people were killed in Khutsong between 1989 and 1991 before a peace pact took effect in May 1991.

PHETO, Shorty Christopher (22), died when he was shot and then set alight by members of the 'Zim-Zim' faction of the KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC) assisted by the police in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 26 February 1991. The incident took place following a split in the KYC. At least 17 people were killed in Khutsong between 1989 and 1991 before a peace pact took effect in May 1991.

PHETO, Sitembiso Masenyane , a local councillor, had his house, cars and business destroyed in an attack by 'comrades' in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, in May 1990 during protests against unrepresentative councils.

PHETOANE, Boitumelo Mantumi , lost her house when it was forcibly occupied by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 12 March 1992. Alexandra was tense after numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents.

PHETOE, Isaac Kenosi (18), an ANCYL member, was tortured in detention by members of the Bophuthatswana Police and later charged for taking part in an illegal gathering in April 1991 in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana. In 1993 he was again detained and tortured.

PHETOLO, Kgomotso (7), a citizen of Botswana, was killed by a car bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/214).

PHETOLO, Mmaditsebe Phelela (33), a Botswana citizen, was killed by a car bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. Her seven-year-old daughter and an infant niece were also killed, though the Phetolo family were not the intended targets. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/214).

PHETOLO, Phillip (12), a citizen of Botswana, sustained injuries as a result of a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. Three of his

family members were killed. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/214).

PHEWA, Alfred Nhlanhla (29), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by named ANC supporters at Ezimbokodweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 24 January 1993. His sister was also injured in the incident.

PHEWA, Amon V usi, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 7 October 1989 in intensifying political conflict.

PHEWA, Ganishwe (62), died in Verulam, Natal, on 11 October 1990, a day after being shot by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, during intense political conflict.

PHEWA, Lindelani Happy (34), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 24 February 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. About 35 houses were reportedly burnt down in Bhambayi that month.

PHEWA, Mpumelelo Christopher, a member of the SACP, was shot and fatally wounded by two ANC members at the taxi rank at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 25 March 1994, during violent conflict between the ANC and SACP in the area. Two ANC members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/104).

PHEWA, Musa Sbh, a political activist, was abducted from his home in Lamontville, Durban, by members of the Security Branch on 19 March 1987, and subsequently killed. His body has not been recovered. One of the perpetrators applied for amnesty.

PHEWA, Nomusa Bhabhekile (31), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

PHEWA, Rosemary Khanyisile (24), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

PHEWA, Sibongile (35), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters at NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in political conflict in the area in June 1990. Her husband had been stabbed to death a few days earlier.

PHEWA, Sobho Musa (20), an ANCYL supporter, was abducted by *askaris* in Lamontville, Durban, on 19 May 1987. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

PHEWA, Thembekile Phewa (29), was shot and injured by named ANC members at Ezimbokodweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, during political violence on 24 January 1993. Her brother was also injured in the same incident, and her boyfriend stabbed to death.

PHEWA, Thokozile Mininja, was shot at by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, at her home in Durban, on 10 October 1990. She survived the shooting when she ran to hide in the neighbourhood. The

perpetrators were allegedly accompanied by members of the KwaZULU POLICE.

PHEWA, Wilson Mthembeni (47), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Durban in June 1990.

PHIKE, Lizzy (47), a UDF activist and trade unionist, was detained in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, on 27 October 1985, and held for two months under emergency regulations at Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town. While she was in detention her son was killed during clashes between the UDF and AZAPO in Paarl. In late 1986 she was detained under SECTION 29 and was held for six months.

PHIKE, Ntemi Abel (20), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and beaten to death by AZAPO supporters in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, on 26 December 1985. Simmering conflict between UDF and AZAPO had erupted into violence and at least three UDF supporters were killed and several others were injured.

PHIKISE, Phakamisa (23), an ANC member, was beaten to death by members of the CDF on 9 September 1992 in Dikidikana, near King William's Town, Cape, in political conflict following the BISHO MASSACRE.

PHILI, Faith Thabile (42), was harassed and threatened by members of the SAP in Clermont, near Durban, in 1988. Police allegedly stormed into her house saying they were looking for weapons. One child was shot dead in the incident, and another injured.

PHILI, Nhanhleni (11), was shot and wounded by members of the SAP in Clermont, near Durban, in 1988. Police allegedly stormed into his family home saying they were looking for weapons. One child was shot dead in the incident.

PHILI, Woyi Richard (53), an ANC supporter and member of the Clermont Advisory Board, was detained by the police in Clermont, near Durban, on 2 August 1988, on suspicion of possessing an illegal firearm. In custody he was severely ill-treated. Mr Phili was also threatened with death by a leading Inkatha supporter who opposed the Advisory Board's resistance to the incorporation of Clermont into KwaZulu.

PHILLIP, Fikile (16), an ANC supporter, died after he was run over by a police vehicle near Lingani Store in Lusikisiki, Transkei, on 20 December 1989. Mr Phillip was on his way to an ANC march in the area when he was killed.

PHILLIP, Lenard (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and beaten by members of the SAP in Knysna, Cape, on 3 December 1985. A friend was shot dead in the incident. After a lengthy hospitalisation Mr Phillip was convicted of public violence and sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

PHILLIPS, Faizel (22), was severely beaten, and later shot and injured by SAP members on 16 September 1976 in Athlone, Cape Town, during the SOWETO UPRISING. He was sentenced to 18 months' in prison for public violence.

PHILLIPS, Lance Henry (18), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Manenberg, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985. He was one of 28 people shot dead by police in the aftermath of the POLLSMOOR MARCH held the previous day.

PHILLIPS, Lindiwe (34), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Bongeletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 19 September 1987, during a celebration for two released political prisoners. Two others were wounded in the shooting.

PHILLIPS, Ntsokolo Moses (26), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by two members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE, one of whom was his cousin, in Lephoi, Bethulie, OFS, on 17 April 1993. Mr Phillips' uncle was a COUNCILLOR whose house had been stoned that day by protesters demanding his resignation. The police intervened and forcibly drove away the protesters.

PHINDA, Samuel Makwa (aka 'Gibson Ncube' and 'Gibson Mondlane') (29), an ANC member, died in 1987 in Mozambique as a result of drinking poisoned beer given to him by an informer. While the assassination was a Special Forces operation, a member of Military Intelligence was granted amnesty for supplying target information to Special Forces. (AC/2001/257)

PHIRI, Atazaxes Adam 'Atie' (20), was severely tortured by alleged members of the SAP after his arrest in August 1986 in Mhlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl. He was allegedly arrested on suspicion of 'necklacing' two people. Phiri was kept in solitary confinement for six months and subjected to electric shocks, beatings and other forms of torture.

PHIRI, Clifford (19), was killed by IFP supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, during an IFP march on 8 September 1991. Soweto was tense after clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

PHIRI, Cresencia (45), an Inkatha supporter, suffered severe burns when UDF supporters poured paraffin over her and set her alight on 20 June 1985. Her house in Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, was burnt down by UDF supporters on the same day.

PHIRI, Enna (38), an ANC supporter, had her home petrol-bombed by Inkatha supporters at KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in July 1990.

PHIRI, Jackie Sandile (24), was severely assaulted by members of the SAP while in detention in Humansdorp, Cape, on 22 May 1986. He was forced to admit to involvement in incidents of public violence, was charged, convicted and sentenced to three years and six months' imprisonment.

PHIRI, Jacob, died when the car he was travelling in overturned in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 18 June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING. It is alleged that the accident happened because the driver was shot dead by police.

PHIRI, Maart Matlakala, was beaten and had her possessions stolen and her house and car vandalised by AWB members in Tshing, Ventersdorp, Tvl, on 11 May 1991. Ms Phiri and others were accused of settling illegally in the area and the local town clerk pointed out shacks whose owners were in arrears. Police refused to intervene and the local hospital denied the injured medical attention. A number of AWB members were arrested but the case was withdrawn.

PHIRI, Mbuyisela Nixon (16) a member of the 'Gadaffi' faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS, died in police custody in Carletonville, Tvl, on 16 January 1990. Police claim that he died after suffering an epileptic fit but his family denied he suffered from this condition. Witnesses detained with Mbuyisela claim he died after being severely beaten by named members of the SAP.

PHIRI, Paulus OUPA (36), disappeared in 1993 from Sebokeng, Tvl, and has not been seen since. Sebokeng was tense at the time due to ongoing clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

PHIRI, Ramatsekane Elias (19), a COSAS and SAYCO member, was stabbed and beaten by a named member of the SAP in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 4 June 1990, allegedly because of his role in organising a bus boycott.

PHIRI, Samson, was shot dead on 25 June 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

PHIRI, Sephiri Mosoeunyana Petrus (21), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and detained by SAP members in Parys, OFS, in a general round up of UDF and ANC supporters in the area, during the 1986 state of emergency.

PHIRI, Thomas, a COSAS member, was recruited for military training by a Security Branch agent purporting to be an MK operative, and was killed in the NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH near the Botswana border on 26 June 1986. Eight operatives from SADF Special Forces, Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/0190; AC/1999/0192; AC/1999/0194; AC/1999/0031; AC/1999/0188; AC/1999/0030 and AC/1999/0197).

PHIRI, William (52), was severely injured at Orlando station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1993. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

PHIRI, Wilson Mbuselo (14), an ANC supporter, died while in police custody in Khutsong, Tvl, on 17 February 1990. He had been arrested on suspicion of arson, and tortured with electric shocks. The official cause of death was stated to be an epileptic fit. It is alleged that police coerced his mother into signing a statement saying that he suffered from epilepsy.

PHOFU, Florence (46), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in 1990.

PHOKO, Makgabo Julia (56), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

PHOKOJE, Motsamai Andrew (36), was detained at Batho police station in Bloemfontein in May 1980, after he had allegedly assisted police in moving a stone barricade while on his way home from the funeral of a political activist. He was charged and convicted with throwing stones at the police and was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in Bloemfontein prison.

PHOLOTHO, Samuel Solomon (38), was arrested on 4 May 1969 in Pretoria, kept in solitary confinement and tortured by named members of the SAP. He was charged under The Suppression of Communism Act and later under the Terrorism Act for conspiracy with the ANC, a banned organisation.

PHONGWAKO, Elish Mmutla (42), was shot and injured by Bophuthatswana Police on 7 March 1990 in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, during a march by the Mabopane community to submit a memorandum about high rents to the Ga-Rankuwa magistrate's office.

PHONOSHE, Gushe (16), was shot and killed by members of the SAP while returning from a funeral in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 21 July 1985.

PHOOKO, Moferefere (Boiki) (17), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Rocklands, Bloemfontein, on 25 February 1990. The police officers ordered Boiki Phooko and his 18-year-old cousin into the veld, where she was raped and he was assaulted. His cousin's mother was an active ANC supporter and member of the local civic organisation.

PHORA, Mothepa Joyce (16), was sjambokked all over her body by members of the SAP in May 1985 in Dennilton, Tvl during conflict about the INCORPORATION of Dennilton into KwaNdebele. The warnings of the tribal authority against INCORPORATION went unheeded, resulting in violent conflict during which hundreds of people died or were injured.

PHOSA, Meshack Bandlelihle (42), had his house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed by Inkatha supporters on 11 February 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

PHOSA, Ms (first name not given), and UNKNOWN, Nomsa, one of whom is possibly also known as Shirley MASONDO, were assaulted during interrogation by Witwatersrand Security Branch operatives at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg. Ms Masondo was detained in connection with a bomb blast at the Cafe Zurich on 4 October 1987 and was later sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/242).

PHOSHOANE, Tilsho Walter (25), was detained by members of the SAP on 8 April 1986 in Volsloorus, Tvl, during protests over the death of an MK operative killed by police in the area.

PHOSISI, Papakwe Daniel (19), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl.

PHOSIWA, Mbulaheni Phineas (33), an AZAPO supporter, was tortured in detention by named members of the Venda Police in October 1981 in Sibasa, Venda. Mr Phosiwa was a pastor who helped local youth fight against human rights' abuses. He was detained and tortured again in 1982 and 1989.

PHOSWA, Anna Bakhethile (43), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, in April 1992.

PHOSWA, Bheka (42), an alleged IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death during a confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters at Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 26 September 1992, in which at least nine people were killed. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/97/0063).

PHOSWA, Bhekelahe Obert (29), an ANC supporter, had his house in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, set alight and his cattle slaughtered by IFP supporters on 23 April 1992.

PHOSWA, Bongani (35), an ANC supporter, had his home in Richmond, Natal, burnt down and his livestock stolen by a named IFP supporter on 12 April 1992. His nephew, an ANC supporter, was shot dead on the same day.

PHOSWA, Busisiwe (42), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 12 March 1992.

PHOSWA, David Ziphathale (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter at a taxi rank in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, on 12 April 1992. His uncle, an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters that same day.

PHOSWA, Dinoni (37), an ANC supporter, had his house in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, set alight by IFP supporters on 23 April 1992.

PHOSWA, Jabulani Shadrack (25), an ANC supporter, had his home in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 12 April 1992.

PHOSWA, Jerome (44), was burnt to death while returning from work at Etsheni, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

PHOSWA, Khilela (38), an ANC supporter, had his house in Richmond, Natal, burnt down by named IFP supporters in March 1992.

PHOSWA, Makhosazana (38), an ANC supporter, had her house in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

PHOSWA, Mamgokwana (65), an ANC supporter, had his house in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, set alight by IFP supporters in April 1992.

PHOSWA, Mhlawulelwa (24), an ANC supporter, had his house in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

PHOSWA, Moses (34), an ANC supporter, had his house in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

PHOSWA, Mpsi Moses (40), an ANC supporter, had his house in Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, set alight by IFP supporters on 12 February 1992.

PHOSWA, Mzwenkosi (39), an ANC supporter, had his house in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

PHOSWA, Ninza Rose (30), an ANC supporter, had her house in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

PHOSWA, Nohlungane (69), an ANC supporter, had her house in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in late 1991.

PHOSWA, Paul Sakhumuzi (15), was shot in the legs by named members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 24 September 1991 and is partially paralysed as a result. Police were shooting at members of the community at random.

PHOSWA, Phumlile Ncamsile (37), had her house in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

PHOSWA, Pickup John, an ANC supporter, was killed when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

PHOSWA, Qhofoza Mzwenkani (38), an ANC supporter, had his house at Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 12 April 1992.

PHOSWA, Simon Mantuntu (35), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death by IFP supporters at KwaDabeka, near Pinetown, Natal, on 21 July 1992.

PHOSWA, Soka Amon (27), had her house in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

PHOSWA, Thembekile Busisiwe (56) had her home in Richmond, Natal, burnt down by a named IFP member on 12 April 1992 in political conflict in the area. Her nephew, an ANC supporter, was shot dead on the same day.

PHOSWA, Thengi Sylvia (31), an ANC supporter, had her house and rondavels in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

PHOSWA, Tholakele Mkhize (49), an alleged IFP supporter, had her home burnt down during a confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters at Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 26 September 1992, in which at least nine people were killed. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/97/0063).

PHOSWA, Tholeni Florence (48), an ANC supporter, had her home in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

PHOSWA, Thulebona (17), an alleged IFP supporter, was injured during a confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters at Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 26 September 1992, in which at least nine people were killed. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/97/0063).

PHOSWA, Tutu Johan (36), an ANC supporter, had his home in GENGESHE, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

PHOSWA, Zakithi (62), an ANC supporter, had her home in Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

PHOSWA, Zibonele (54), an ANC supporter, had her home at Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 24 May 1992.

PHOSWA, Zondile (45), an ANC supporter, had her home at Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 15 May 1992.

PHOTOLO, Boikie (16), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 22 June 1976 in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING.

PHULWANA, Muzila Livingstone, was arrested on 15 June 1986 at Louis Trichardt, Tvl, and tortured by members of the Venda Police during resistance by the Vleifontein community to INCORPORATION into Venda.

PHUMELO, Siphso Gift (19), a COSAS member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, on 21 June 1985. Mr Phumelo was accused of violating the emergency regulations. He was later sentenced to four years' imprisonment for possessing explosives.

PHUMLOMO, Nonhlanhla Monica (36), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1993.

PHUMO, Theodorha (12), was shot and injured near the mayor's home in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 2 July 1985, when police opened fire on protesters. After two weeks in hospital she was taken to the police station where she was severely beaten, tortured with electric shocks and tear-gassed by a named policeman. She was later charged with public violence but was acquitted.

PHUNGOLA, Zakoshiwo (33), an IFP supporter, was stabbed in KwaThema, Tvl, in 1993 during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

PHUNGULA, Bakiphile (70), had her home in Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in political conflict on 1 July 1993. Twenty homes were burnt down. More than 110 people who fled the area after arson attacks refused to return, claiming that the SADF had assisted the attackers.

PHUNGULA, Bhokuzumi Petr os, an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by named Inkatha supporters during a forced recruitment campaign at Phayipheni, Vulindlela, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 14 April 1987. His mother and brother were killed in the attack on the family.

PHUNGULA, Bongani Raphael, was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 6 December 1990 during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents of Phola Park.

PHUNGULA, Catherine Sthobi, was shot at by IFP supporters in Ndalen, Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

PHUNGULA, Cromwell Sizwe (21), was continually harassed by ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, in the early 1990s, allegedly because he and his family were thought to be IFP supporters.

PHUNGULA, Dumisani Phillip (26), survived an attack on his home in Verulam, Natal, by alleged Inkatha supporters in May 1986. Mr Phungula's father and brother were stabbed to death in the attack.

PHUNGULA, Dumisani Samuel (20), was intimidated and his house was burnt down by named Inkatha supporters during a forced recruitment campaign at Phayipheni, Vulindlela, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 14 April 1987. His mother and brother were killed in the attack on the family.

PHUNGULA, Flora (42), had her home in Ncakubane, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 12

April 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

PHUNGULA, Gasta (63), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1992.

PHUNGULA, Helia (40), was detained twice – once in March 1976 and again in July 1977 – by named members of the Security Branch in Durban. In detention, he was tortured, held in solitary confinement for eight months and interrogated about his alleged involvement in political activities in the Durban area.

PHUNGULA, Lawrence Felokwakhe (21), an ANC supporter, was fatally stabbed by IFP supporters in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 18 July 1990. His brother, a UDF supporter, had been shot dead three years earlier, in August 1987.

PHUNGULA, Leonard, a UDF supporter, was shot and stabbed to death when Inkatha supporters and AMABUTHO members attacked his family on 24 May 1986 in KwaMashu, Durban, in intensifying conflict in the area. Mr Phungula's son was severely beaten in the attack.

PHUNGULA, Mandlenkosi Eugene (27), was shot dead at Ixopo, Natal, on 5 June 1990 during intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area.

PHUNGULA, Manti Dorah (45), had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack in November 1989 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

PHUNGULA, Mary-Jane Janet, a UDF and ANC supporter, was shot dead when Inkatha supporters attacked the Phungula home in the Vulindlela district, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 14 April 1987. One of her sons, a UDF supporter, was also shot dead in the attack, and another was severely beaten. The house was burnt down.

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

PHUNGULA, Mbongeni (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 1 December 1991.

PHUNGULA, Mcedise Isaac, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

PHUNGULA, Muziwandile (22), an ANC supporter, was severely mauled when members of the SAP set their dogs on him in Pinetown, Natal, on 21 March 1991. He had been encouraging people not to board taxis during a stayaway organised to commemorate Sharpeville Day

when members of the SAP handcuffed him, took him into the veld and set their dogs on him. He was hospitalised for two days and later charged with contravening a traffic by-law. The charges were withdrawn.

PHUNGULA, Nkosingiphile Emmanuel (20), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 2 August 1987. His brother, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death in similar circumstances in July 1990.

PHUNGULA, Paulos Frans, an ANC supporter, died of injuries sustained when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

PHUNGULA, Pius (26), an ANC supporter, was abducted and killed by other ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 February 1992, in a serious internal feud within the organisation.

PHUNGULA, Sebezile Elsie (65), had her house in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1988, allegedly because her sons were UDF supporters. Two of her sons were killed by Inkatha supporters, one in August 1987, and the other in July 1990.

PHUNGULA, Sindiswa Mavis (29), was severely injured when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

PHUNGULA, Sthembiso, a UDF supporter, was severely beaten when Inkatha supporters and AMABUTHO members attacked his family in KwaMashu, Durban, on 24 May 1986. His father was killed in the attack.

PHUNGULA, Thami Emmanuel (26), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, in December 1991.

PHUNGULA, Thembinkosi T imothy, a UDF and ANC supporter, was shot dead when Inkatha supporters attacked his family home in the Vulindlela district, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 14 April 1987. His mother was also shot dead and his brother severely beaten. The house was burnt down.

PHUNGULA, William (60), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 2 February 1991, while on his way home from the funeral of another victim of political violence.

PHUNGULA, Zakhe Rose (33), an ANC supporter, had her house in Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down in the SEVEN-DAY WAR in March 1990.

PHUNGULA, Zamokhule Sibongiseni, aka 'Mafani' (21), an ANC supporter and member of a self-defence unit (SDU), was shot dead by fellow SDU members at Esigcakeni, Richmond, Natal, on 9 October 1993, shortly after he and a friend had been fetched from their homes on the instructions of the local ANC leader, Mr Sifiso Nkabinde. On the previous day, Mr

Phungula had lent his friend a firearm given to him by Mr Nkabinde for SDU purposes, and the friend had used the gun to kill an unidentified person. His friend was also shot dead.

PHUNGUL WA, Mzamo Philget (20), was arrested with over 60 others on 20 November 1985 in Robertson, Cape, on charges of public violence. He was severely beaten while under interrogation and was held in custody for three months until the charges were withdrawn.

PHUNGUL WA, Sipho, a former MK operative, was shot dead by MK operatives in Umtata, Transkei, on 13 June 1990. His colleague escaped uninjured. The two were believed to have become askaris. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0034).

PHUNGWAI, David Mutheki, was injured in a bomb blast by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992.

PHUPHANI, Mthuthuzeli (39), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

PIENAAR, Clif ford Lawrence (26), a UDF supporter, was detained in 1987 and again in 1989 in Marianridge, near Pinetown, Natal, allegedly for being a community activist. In detention he was assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP, and received medical attention for his injuries only after he and other detainees had embarked on a hunger strike.

PIENAAR, Cornelia Ger truida, (39) a civilian, was injured and her house damaged, during an APLA attack on white civilians and police members in Ficksburg, OFS, on 10 December 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0182).

PIENAAR, David (14), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by members of the SADF, at Ntuzuma, near Durban, when security forces opened fire on a crowd of people returning from the funeral of an ANC supporter on 22 October 1988. David had accidentally got caught up in the crowd.

PIENAAR, Kathleen (61), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 October 1988.

PIENAAR, TD, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

PIERCE, Adrian, a member of the SADF, was shot and wounded when APLA members ambushed a military vehicle, firing on it with automatic weapons, in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 16 December 1986. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/0133).

PIET, Christopher (23), was shot dead by members of the Security Police in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 3 March 1986, in the GUGULETU SEVEN incident. Two Security Branch members from *Vlakplaas* were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/276).

PIETER, Yoliswa (1), died of suffocation on 16 April 1985 after a teargas canister was thrown into her family home by members of the SADF during protests in Khayamnandi, Despatch, Cape.

PIETERSE, Hendrick Lambert, was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

PIETERSE, Irvin Zavier (24), media officer for the UDF, was detained under emergency regulations on 22 August 1987 in Port Elizabeth, and held for two years.

PIETERSE, Karel (53), was shot and injured by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 28 January 1989. Mr Pieterse lost the use of his arm.

PIETERSEN, Alfred Raymond (25), a member of the activist church group, the Young Christian Workers, was detained in June 1978 during rent boycotts in Maokeng, Kroonstad, OFS. In detention, he was interrogated and tortured by members of the Special Branch. In December 1978 he was taken to Vredefort police station where he was further tortured.

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

PIETERSEN, James (37), disappeared from his home in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 9 April 1986, when he went to visit his cousin, living elsewhere in the township. There was extensive violent conflict in the area on the day he disappeared. He has not been seen since.

PIETERSON, Vincent, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

PIKA, April Nose, an ANC member, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in February 1961 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

PIKANI, Alfred (31), an ANC and UDF supporter, was beaten by SAP members who also set their dogs on him at a roadblock in Pearston, Cape, in April 1985. He was suspected of throwing a petrol bomb into someone's house. He was detained for a month in Pearston police station before being sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

PIKASHE, Mphumzi Shadrack (23) a UDF supporter, was shot and killed during a confrontation between residents and members of the SAP in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, on 25 September 1985.

PIKOLI, Mkhusele (17), was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 16 November 1984 at Nemato, Port Alfred, Cape, while attending the funeral of an unrest victim. He was then detained, charged with public violence and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

PIKOLI, Zamzolo Lordwyck (18), an ANC supporter, was shot in the leg and injured by members of the SAP in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1977 during conflict in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING. In 1988 he was again harassed, detained and beaten by the same policemen who claimed he was involved in making petrol bombs and the bombing of his neighbour's house.

PILANE, Kgosietjha Johannes (35), was injured in a shooting by alleged IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 23 May 1991 during a campaign of violence by the IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG.

PILAPHI, Katsekile, a Poqo member, was one of six Poqo members executed in Pretoria Central, Pretoria, on 9 May 1963 for taking in the killing of Tembu chief Gwebindala Gqoboza during conflict over self-governance and forced removals in Cofimvaba, Transkei. The group of six were sent from Cape Town to kill the chief.

PILISO, Sibulelo Gladstone (23), was shot dead at the home of a colleague in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 14 November 1990, by named perpetrators associated with the Lingeletu West Town Council, in a period of heightened conflict between the ANC and the council. Mr Piliso's colleague was wounded in the shooting.

PILLAY, Isha, was severely injured when AWWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

PILLAY, Joshua, died when an MK operative detonated a car bomb at Jacobs, Durban, on 12 July 1984. The explosion killed five people and injured 27 others. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the MK command structures in Swaziland that facilitated the attack (AC/2001/175).

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

PILUSA, Stephens Punko (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 17 June 1986 in Soshanguve, Pretoria, for taking part in a stayaway that started the previous day.

PINDISO, Zimambani (48), a Unity Movement supporter, was arrested and beaten by named members of the SAP on 5 December 1970 in Flagstaff, Transkei. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for recruiting people to join a banned organisation and undergoing military training abroad.

PININI-RANULE, Thathisizwe Collin (20), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS. In the same year, Mr Pinini-Ranule was reportedly detained for three months and assaulted.

PINZI, Buka Simon (31), was severely injured in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers were retaliating against a previous attack by ANC-supporting squatters and about 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people killed and 25 vehicles burnt. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

PISTOL, Ncinani Edward (70), a supporter of the DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP), was assaulted and severely injured in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, in February 1990. He was returning from a rally addressed by DNP leader, Charles Mopedi, when he met youths who accused him of collaborating with the homeland system.

PISTOLI, Meledini (29), a PAC supporter, was detained for 30 days and severely assaulted in Beaufort West, Cape, and Cofimvaba, Transkei, in 1962, and later served a 15-year sentence on Robben Island, Cape Town.

PITA, Zingisa Florence (19), was beaten and injured with sticks and sjamboks by members of the CDF in Dikidikana, near King William's Town, Cape, on 6 September 1992, during a campaign of resistance to tribal authority in the area.

PITANA, Buyile Patrick, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985, when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. Mr Pitana was reportedly at the front of the march. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

PITANA, Ntombekhaya Cinthia Pixie (15), an ANC supporter, was detained and beaten with a pick-handle on 1 February 1985 in Uitenhage, Cape. Ms Pitana had attended a prayer service for a victim who had been shot by police.

PITKOE, Mark Anthony Mosala (18), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by alleged members of the 'Drum Tens'in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, on 20 November 1985 during a conflict between members of the community and 'Drum Tens' who were municipal workers.

PITSE, Christopher Linda, an MK operative, was abducted and assaulted during 1989 by members of

the Security Branch from Headquarters in Pretoria, as part of an attempt to recruit him as an informer. A member of Security Branch Headquarters was granted amnesty (AC/2001/274).

PITSE, Prince, was abducted and assaulted by a member of the ANC's Security Department in Johannesburg, in April 1994. The applicant suspected that Mr Pitse and others had broken into his minibus and stolen sensitive ANC security-related documents and other goods, which were then handed to an IFP supporter. The applicant was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/066).

PITSI, Richard (32) was shot and injured on 9 September 1991 in Mapetla, Soweto, Johannesburg, by alleged members of the ISU. There was a rent boycott at the time and the situation in the area was tense.

PITSO, Arthur Setaba (76), an SACP supporter, was stabbed to death by unidentified persons at his home in Ladybrand, OFS, on 28 October 1972. Mr Pitso had organised stayaways, boycotts and other political activities, and was labelled a troublemaker by police in the area.

PITSO, Daniel (21), was killed when he was shot dead in the back of his head by members of the SAP at Phuma-Ma-Sebethane football grounds in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 10 July 1992 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. SAP members were patrolling the area, but added to the conflict by randomly shooting and arresting youth.

PITSO, Johannes (36), was shot dead on 25 June 1993 in Katilehong, Tvl, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

PITSO, Manana, was shot and injured, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil for Christopher Nangalembe, an ANCYL member, on 12 January 1990. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

PITSO, Mengu Elizabeth (59), was shot in the hand and leg and severely injured while taking down her washing at home in Bophelong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 21 March 1992. Conflict between ANC and IFP supporters resulted in random attacks on homes and people. Ms Pitso's husband was also injured when he tried to help her. Ms Pitso had her leg amputated as a result of her injuries.

PITSO, Rosta Malehloa (30), was injured in a shooting by alleged members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, while attending a night vigil for Christopher Nangalembe, an ANCYL member, on 12 January 1990. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

PITSO, Simon T ukkies, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Orlando East, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 22 March 1974.

PITSO, Tebello, was shot and injured, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil for Christopher Nangalembe, an ANCYL member, on 12 January 1990. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

PITSO, Victor Goalathwe (21), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana police in Taung,

Bophuthatswana, on 12 April 1990. Police accused him of inciting villagers against Chief Molale.

PITTAWAY, Andrew James, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

PITYANA, Mxoleli Dalton, was hacked to death by AMAAFRIKA members at Khayelitsha, Uitenhage, Cape, on 13 February 1990, during intense political conflict between UDF and AmaAfrika supporters. The perpetrators had allegedly been looking for his brother, a UDF supporter.

PITZER, Karin Antoinette, was injured when a car bomb planted by MK operatives exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

PLAAITJIE, (first names not given), an alleged member of 'Noksi's gang', was stoned and shot to death in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 1 May 1992, by two SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) members and a third person. Two ANC SDU members and a third person were granted amnesty (AC/1997/0044).

PLAAKIE, Moeketsi George (38), was severely beaten, allegedly by members of the SAP, in June 1985 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, because he was a SANCO member. He was detained in both 1985 and 1986.

PLAATJIE, Andile Alfr ed, a CRADORA member, was stabbed to death by members of the SAP during protests in Lingelihle, Cradock, Cape, on 16 July 1986.

PLAATJIE, Ezekiel Lebuso (50), was beaten and had his nose broken by Bophuthatswana Police in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, on 15 July 1992 when police disrupted a funeral and attacked mourners.

PLAATJIE, Luthando Patrick (19), was shot dead by two members of the SAP during political unrest in Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape, on 21 April 1986.

PLAATJIE, Napho Boy (18), an AZASM member, was tortured by a named member of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in January 1986. His brother was shot during his arrest by members of the SAP.

PLAATJIE, Nozipho Ruth (43), a UDF activist, was detained under emergency regulations on 12 June 1986 at New Street police station in Grahamstown. She was held for eight days before being transferred to North End prison, Port Elizabeth where she became ill and was hospitalised under police guard. Upon discharge, she was again detained for three months in North End and access to family and friends was denied. In 1988, she was detained for a year.

PLAATJIE, Rammusi Patrick, was shot by members of the SAP in March 1988 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl. The incident occurred while police were arresting his brother, an AZASM member.

PLAATJIE, Sidney Themba (21), was severely beaten by AMASOLOMZI vigilantes, together with members of the SAP, on his arrest at his home in Zolani, Ashton,

Cape, on 20 November 1985. There were mass arrests and assaults by the Amasolomzi that day after several of their homes had been burnt down.

PLAATJIE, Thomas Mokoena (16), a political activist, was shot dead by named perpetrators on 6 January 1988 in Khutsong, Tvl, during the state of emergency.

PLAATJIE, Wendy, sustained severe burn wounds when her friend's home where she was visiting was petrol-bombed by unidentified persons in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, on 29 July 1986, during a consumer boycott in the area. Her friend died of her burns.

PLAATJIES, (first name not given), a Fidelity Guards employee, was shot at, but uninjured, when MK operatives conducted an armed robbery of cash trunks being collected by a Fidelity Guards van in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 November 1988. Two of the four guards were injured in the robbery, which was intended to acquire funds for the MK unit. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/0013).

PLAATJIES, Albert Jacques (31), was shot dead in the ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, Transkei on 22 November 1990.

PLAATJIES, Andries Pierce (27), was severely beaten with pick-handles by named AWB supporters in Patensie, Cape, on 19 October 1992. At the time, township residents were involved in a consumer boycott and right-wingers had organised vigilante groups to force an end to the boycotts.

PLAATJIES, M, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

PLAATJIES, Methel Nonzwakazi Zwide (20), was shot by named members of the SAP during protests in Lingelihle, Cradock, Cape, on 9 September 1976.

PLAATJIES, Phillip, was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

PLAATJIES, Phumzile Gladwell (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

PLAATJIES, Pieter (29), was shot by members of the SAP in Port Alfred, Cape, on 16 June 1993 while he was passing a *toy-toying* group marching to a rally to commemorate the SOWETO UPRISING.

PLAATJIES, Thembekile Horatius (16), an AMAAFRIKA member, was stabbed to death by a named perpetrator on 4 September 1993 during political conflict between UDF supporters and the AmaAfrika in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape.

PODILE, Letshata Wilson (38), was severely assaulted in detention in 1987 in KwaNdebele by alleged members

of the KwaNdebele Police because he resisted INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

POKOLO, Nomabhulu (22), was shot and injured in the head by members of the SAP at the Grand Parade, Cape Town, on 11 February 1990. Ms Pokolo was part of a huge crowd waiting to see Nelson Mandela after his release that day.

POKWANA, Temba Alfr ed, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

POLE, Malefu Meriam (15), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 15 February 1990, while participating in a protest march against the INCORPORATION of Botshabelo into QwaQwa. Police set up roadblocks and fired teargas in an attempt to stop marchers reaching the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein. Four people were killed and many injured when police opened fire. Ms Pole lost her sight in one eye as a result of the shooting.

POLOKO, Lazerus Keletetse, was severely beaten with knobkerries by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Kuruman, Northern Cape, in October 1992 after he was detained in connection with a consumer boycott in the area.

PONNEN, Gangen Geor ge, an ANC member from Durban, was detained under the 90-day detention clause and held in solitary confinement by the Security Branch in September 1964. He was then sentenced to 12 months' hard labour for refusing to give evidence in the trial of a fellow ANC member. After his release in 1965, he left South Africa and lived in exile for 25 years before returning to South Africa.

PONNEN, Murugas 'Mari', was detained in 1965 and continually harassed by members of the Special Branch in Chatsworth, Durban, with regard to her brother, Mr George Gangen Ponnen, an underground SACP/ANC activist and a leader of the trade union movement in South Africa. Ms Ponnen and her husband were interrogated as to the whereabouts of Gangen Ponnen and questioned about any communication they might have had with him.

PONNEN, Soogawathe, was dismissed from her job as a teacher in Falcon Park Primary School, Durban, allegedly because her husband opposed the party politics of a named member of their community.

PONNEN, Subramoney Mari, lost his job in the Department of Labour, Durban, allegedly because he opposed the party politics of a named member of his community.

PONNEN, Tholasi, was detained in 1965 and continually harassed by members of the Special Branch in Chatsworth, Durban, in regard to his brother-in-law,

Mr George Gangen Ponnen, an underground SACP/ANC activist and a leader of the trade union movement in South Africa. Mr Ponnen and his wife were interrogated as to the whereabouts of Gangen Ponnen and questioned about any communication they might have had with him.

POOE, Nthau Jacob , was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

POONYANE, Patrick Pule (40), was interrogated and then shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Tshwaraganang, Dealesville, OFS, on 25 August 1990, following violent protests against local COUNCILLORS. Mr Poonyane was allegedly a passer-by.

POPOTSHE, Ndindwa , was shot dead by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 in Lusikisiki, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

POSWA, Bizokwakhe (50), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, in July 1993. His house was burnt down the same day.

POSWA, Tshengisile Grace (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 1 June 1992 in Richmond, Natal, when IFP supporters ambushed a taxi allegedly carrying ANC supporters. One other person was killed and five shot and injured in the attack.

POSWA, Valumoya Amos (55), an ANC supporter, had his property stolen and his homestead burnt down by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, in 1992.

POSWA, Vincent Dali (43), an ANC supporter, had his house in Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 15 May 1992.

POSWA, Vuyane Tiza (17), a COSAS member, was shot dead by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE who opened fire on youths singing freedom songs in Hofmeyr, Cape, on 14 August 1989.

POTELO, Paulos Sehlole (30), suffered severe damage to his property during an attack by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt in retaliation for the expulsion of IFP supporters from Swanieville. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

POTGIETER, Andre , a member of the SAP, was shot at from inside the home of a COSATU official in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 2 September 1992. His colleague was shot and severely injured. The COSATU official's bodyguard, a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), had opened fire because he believed the house was under attack. The SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0065).

POTGIETER, CG , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church

Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

POTGIETER, PSJ , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

POTLAKI, Willy , an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Reddersburg, OFS, in March 1989. He was one of an unknown number of youths who had been *toyi-toying* and were taken to the police station, where they were beaten.

POTYE, Ndabayiphele Tatamawele (28), a PAC supporter, was severely tortured and assaulted by police in Ladybrand, OFS, while on his way from Lesotho to South Africa on 28 March 1963. Mr Potye was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on Robben Island. After his release he was banished for two years to Cofimvaba, Transkei.

POTYO, Mpitizeli Ntulele (38), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

POYO, Nyaniso (16), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in September 1986 during political unrest in New Rest location, Burgersdorp, Cape. Some pellets are still embedded in his body.

POYO, Sicelo Commando (19), a UDF supporter, was shot in the head with pellets by members of the SAP in Burgersdorp, Cape, in August 1985. Mr Poyo was reportedly tortured in detention in March 1986.

PRAM, Bongwiwe Cynthia (13), was shot in the leg by members of the SAP in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape in 1986. In April 1990 she was reportedly tortured in detention in Port Elizabeth while waiting for her family to raise bail.

PRAM, Fezekile Melton (23), was tortured in detention by members of the SAP on 20 May 1985 in Despatch, Cape.

PRETORIUS, (first name not given), was robbed of his vehicle by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Nigel, Tvl, on 23 December 1991. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/231).

PRETORIUS, HF , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

PRETORIUS, JEA, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

PRETORIUS, JH, a brigadier in the SADF, was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

PRETORIUS, Johannes Didrick, a farmer, was shot and injured on 15 February 1990, when a group of UDF supporters attacked his farm, Spes Bona, in Stutterheim, Cape. Five UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0277).

PRETORIUS, Leonie, a civilian, was killed in an attack by APLA operatives on her family's farm, 'Danside', in Ficksburg, OFS, on 19 December 1992. See APLA ATTACKS. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0182).

PRETORIUS, Louis Jacobus (21), was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

PRETORIUS, Machiel Andries Stephanus, a member of the SAP, was shot and injured when his SAP tracking unit ambushed an MK unit of seven members, in Ellisras, Tvl, on 8 August 1988. One SAP member was killed and three others were injured in the confrontation. An MK operative was also killed. One MK operative was granted amnesty for this incident (AC/2000/081).

PRETORIUS, Susanna (44), was stabbed in the eye at Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, in May 1993. Ms Pretorius and her husband were attacked by a group of youths who smashed the car windows during political conflict in the area.

PRINGANE, Gladys, an ANC supporter, lost her house, household possessions and a car, in an arson attack by migrant workers from the hostels in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and hostel-dwellers over the Christmas 1976 period.

PRINGANE, Mthozamo Theophilus (23), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, in May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

PRINS, Andre Peter (17), was arrested on 16 June 1986 in Vredenburg, Cape, and accused of a petrol bomb attack at a primary school. In detention he was assaulted by members of the SAP and charged with being in possession of dangerous explosives.

PRINSLOO, (first name not given), was injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

PRINSLOO, Anna Christina Frederika (42), was injured when two MK operatives detonated a bomb in a shopping centre in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 23 December 1982 in retaliation for a South African Special Forces attack on ANC members in Lesotho two weeks earlier, in which 42 people had been killed. The explosion killed five people and injured 61, including Ms Prinsloo's eight-year-old daughter. One of the operatives was sentenced to death and later hanged.

PRINSLOO, Anna Marina, suffered injuries when a limpet mine, placed in a pot plant, was detonated near the Juicy Lucy restaurant on the corner of Andries and Vermeulen Streets, Pretoria, on 26 May 1988. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/199).

PRINSLOO, Ansie (8), was injured when two MK operatives detonated a bomb in a shopping centre in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 23 December 1982 in retaliation for a South African Special Forces attack on ANC members in Lesotho two weeks earlier, in which 42 people had been killed. The explosion killed five people and injured 61, including Ansie's mother. One of the operatives was sentenced to death and later hanged.

PRINSLOO, L, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

PRISMON, Nkosi Bekizwe (26), an ANC supporter, was found dead on 3 August 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, after he had been missing for two days. His death occurred during intense political conflict on the East Rand.

PUKWANA, Philis Ntombekhaya (32), an ANC member, had her shack demolished by named ADM members during political conflict at Mlakalala, Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 13 November 1993.

PULE, Anna Mary Rebuwe (46), had her house burnt down by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in 1991 in Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, during conflict between the Bophuthatswana government and ANC supporters.

PULE, Daniel Monageng (37), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Policemen on 1 July 1989 in Leeuwfontein near Zeerust, Tvl because he resisted the forceful INCORPORATION of Mokgola village into Bophuthatswana. About 25 000 residents were transferred from South Africa into Bophuthatswana during 1989, which resulted in a state of siege and harassment by Bophuthatswana Police and civilians who supported the homeland government.

PULE, Dimakatso Mar garet (22), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police after her arrest in Leeuwfontein, Bophuthatswana, on

1 July 1989 during intense conflict over the INCORPORATION of Leeuwfontein into Bophuthatswana.

PULE, Ezekiel (26), was shot in the stomach and in the back of the right hand on 3 September 1984 in Sebokeng, Tvl, while participating in a march during the VAAL UPRISING. He died three days later.

PULE, Margaret, was detained for a week by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during 1989. There was strong resistance against the forceful INCORPORATION of Leeuwfontein and Braklaagte into Bophuthatswana and a meeting held by the two communities was violently dispersed. In the conflict that followed some members of the security forces were killed.

PULE, Monnye Joyce (30), was beaten with knobkerries and rifle butts by Bophuthatswana Policemen on 1 July 1989 in Leeuwfontein near Zeerust, Tvl, because she resisted the forceful INCORPORATION of Mokgola into Bophuthatswana. About 25 000 residents were transferred from South Africa into Bophuthatswana during 1989 and Bophuthatswana Police and vigilantes harassed residents who resisted the homeland government in a virtual state of siege.

PULE, Motlhaga Ishmael (68), was arrested and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 10 June 1989 at a farm near Zeerust, Tvl, during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein into Bophuthatswana.

PULE, Nyanako Andrónico (22), was arrested on 1 July 1989 and severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Leeuwfontein, Tvl, when the Leeuwfontein community was resisting INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

PULE, Pontso Anna (51), a member of a UDF-supporting family, had her house burnt down in a petrol bomb attack in Rocklands, Bloemfontein, in late 1983.

PULE, Sadi, an MK operative, survived an attempt on her life when SADF Special Forces attacked a house near the Ramotswa River in Botswana on 31 December 1986/1 January 1987. One woman was killed and other unidentified persons were injured in the attack. Five Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for their role in providing information (AC/2001/191).

PULE, Simon (33), a UDF supporter, was detained in Bloemfontein in June 1986, under emergency regulations. He was held in custody for two months, during which he was severely assaulted by members of the SAP. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

PUNGANE, Magageni, was assaulted in Bizana, Transkei, in 1971 while serving a two-year sentence for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

PUNGULWA, Mncedisi Eddie (19), was severely beaten by members of the SAP while travelling on a bus with other ANC supporters in Robertson, Cape, in 1986. He was then held for three months in Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape.

PURAVHATHY, Milandu Samuel (69), lost his home in an arson attack by named 'comrades' in February 1990 in Dzanani, Venda. Mr Puravhathy's wife had been labelled a witch at a meeting and stoned.

PUTINI, Gordon Aggrey (21), was injured when shots were fired at his home by IFP supporters on 24 November 1991 in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl. His home was attacked because his father was an ANC leader in the area.

PUTINI, Winifred Segametsi (59), was injured when shots were fired at her house by a named IFP supporter on 24 November 1991 in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, because her husband was an ANC leader.

PUTINI, Yergan, the chairperson of the Benoni ANC, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 24 November 1991. The IFP were allegedly targeting ANC leaders in Wattville at the time.

PUTTOCK, W, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

QABAKA, Mandlonke Sobantu (26), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured in July 1985 in East London. See DUNCAN VILLAGE.

QALAKU, Spendu Elias (64), an ANC supporter, survived an ambush in which he was shot several times by IFP supporters at the Zinc Corporation of South Africa hostel, Tvl, in 1988, during conflict between ANC-IFP supporting hostel-dwellers.

QALANYOBE, Nomnyaka (26), an ANC member, was severely beaten by members of the SADF in March 1960 at KwaMzizi, near Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

QALI, Lennox Sebenzile (60), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters on 30 March 1990 in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

QAMATA, N, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

QAMBATA, Vaughn Thamsanqa (25), was tortured in detention by named members of the Security Branch from August to October 1976 in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, and King William's Town, Cape.

QANGWE, Zandile (24), was raped during a robbery by IFP-aligned 'TOASTER' GANG members in April 1993 in Tembisa, Tvl, during conflict in the area between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

QANKASI, Philemon Siphon, was shot in the back of the head and killed. He was shot in the back of the head by members of the SAP driving a Casspir in Khuma, Stiffontein, Tvl, on 28 February 1986 during clashes between residents and police.

QANYA, Steven, disappeared on 19 April 1991 near Nancefield hostel, Soweto, Johannesburg, and has not been seen since.

QATA, Phumasivale Morrison (27), was severely beaten by named prison warders on Robben Island, Cape Town, on 10 March 1963, while serving a prison sentence for PAC activities.

QATHANA, Bakhulule Siphithiphithi Welcome (22), a UDF activist, was shot dead by named members of

the SAP at a time of mass political activity in Middelburg, Cape, on 29 November 1986.

QATHANA, Henry Thembekile (29), a UDF supporter, was shot by members of the SAP on 29 November 1986 in Middelburg, Cape. After he was discharged from hospital, he was reportedly arrested and charged with public violence.

QAVATA, Thamsanqa Gilbert (19), was shot dead by a SPECIAL CONSTABLE during protests in Masizakhe, Graaff-Reinet, Cape, on 25 August 1987.

QAWULA, Palele Windvoel (33), an ANC activist, was arrested by police, tied to a tree and severely beaten by named members of the SAP in Worcester, Cape, on 19 April 1960, for his involvement in the anti-Pass Law campaign. He then spent four months in custody at Paarl and Worcester prisons where he was beaten, ill-treated and deprived of food. He was finally given a suspended sentence.

QAYI, Nonight Annie (52), an ANC supporter, was arrested and beaten by SAP members in Beaufort West, Cape, in 1986. She was held for three months under emergency regulations.

QAYI, Sicelo (21), an ANC member, was shot dead by a SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 16 June 1990.

QAYI, Zongezile, was severely beaten and detained by members of the SAP in Middelburg, Cape, in 1985.

QAYISO, Pier ce, was tortured in detention in Bizana, Transkei, in March 1960, for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

QAZA, Zolile (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and partially paralysed by a named perpetrator on 13 August 1985 while he was trying to escape the SADF during intense public unrest at DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London.

QEBEYI, Mxolisi Bethwell (27), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SADF on 11 August 1985 at Douglas Smith Highway in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, during intense public unrest in the area.

QEJA, Wilson Dalihlanga, a PAC member, was arrested in 1962 in Bellville, Cape Town, and spent two years in prison for attending unlawful meetings. Mr Qeja was severely beaten while in prison.

QHAMA KOANE, Tabela Peter, was shot dead on 21 February 1992 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, when alleged IFP members opened fire on people in a shebeen.

QHANA, Nomalungisa Miranda (17), an ANCYL member, was tortured in detention by named members of the Ciskei Police in October 1992 at Tamara police station, King William's Town, Cape. Ms Qhana was accused of burning down houses belonging to ADM members.

QHANOISO, Bylla Miemie (19), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Robertson, Cape, on 18 June 1986, while being forced to clean the township. She was then detained under emergency regulations for three months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

QHAYI, Godfrey Zoyisile (13), was shot on 12 June 1986 in Richmond, Cape, when patrolling members of

the SAP opened fire on a group of students returning to school during widespread protests against the state of emergency declared that day.

QHENA, Lipuo Primrose (8), was shot by members of the SAP on 22 August 1985 in Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, while she was playing with her friends in the street. See ALI WAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

QHESI, Mandibense, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the AWB in Bethlehem, OFS, on 6 April 1994, in the run-up to the country's first democratic elections. A friend who was with him at the time was shot dead. See APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS and RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

QHEZU, Headman, was shot and injured on 5 May 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, when shots were fired at a funeral procession during ongoing clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

QHINEBE, Phillip Layunina (33), an IFP supporter, was assaulted and stabbed by ANC supporters who attacked his house in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 5 August 1993. He was left for dead when his house was set alight, but managed to crawl to safety.

QHIWEBE, Emmah Evelinah (45), was severely injured on 28 September 1992 when IFP supporters attacked a bus in Heidelberg, Tvl with handgrenades. One person was killed and 13 injured. Ms Qhiwebe lost her leg as a result of her injuries.

QHOBOSHEANE, Teboho Augustine (27), an MK operative, was tortured in detention by a named SAP member on 11 June 1987 at Protea police station, Soweto, and John Vorster Square, Johannesburg. He was then convicted of terrorism and served five years of a nine-year prison term on Robben Island, Cape Town.

QHOVANA, Ndodakayise, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

QIHELE, Mbuzeli Joseph (31), an ANC member, was severely beaten by members of the CDF at Masele Lower Primary School in King William's Town, Cape, while attending an ANCYL meeting on 26 December 1991 to discuss strategies for opposing the reimposition of the headman system in Ciskei.

QINA, Phindile Michael (45) was assaulted and stabbed by members of the members of the SAP while on his way back from a night vigil in Cradock, Cape, on 25 July 1986.

QINISELANI, Baqondile (66), an ANC supporter, had her house in Durban destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 13 April 1991.

QINISILE, Siphon Patrick (25), a SAYCO member, was stabbed by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, in October 1985.

QITSANA, Joseph Bhazalele, was executed on 11 December 1963 in Pretoria, for his involvement in Poqo activities.

QOBEKA, Nelson Makhenkeleza (42), was severely assaulted and pushed off a moving train in Orlando, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 28 November 1991. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

QOBONGOSHE, Nkululeko Eric (29), was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992, during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

QOBOTWANA, Gengelele (52), a member of the Transkei Democratic Party, was detained on 14 December 1980 in Mputi Village, near Umtata, Transkei, for opposing Matanzima's government. Mr Qobotwana's home was destroyed in an arson attack the same day, and he was served with a banning order.

QODASHE, Zukile Sidion (19), was tortured in detention in Zolani, Cape, on 22 November 1985. Mr Qodashe was accused of burning down the houses of suspected informers. He was charged with public violence, but eventually acquitted.

QOGOTA, Zwelfile Bothman (34), a NACTU member, was severely assaulted by a mine security employee in Sasolburg, OFS, on 2 November 1987, while participating in a march by striking workers.

QONGWANA, Selina (17), an ANC supporter, was arrested in Ndakana, near King William's Town, Cape, in May 1990 while she was at a meeting to plan protest against the reimposition of the headman system in Ciskei. She was taken to Stutterheim, Cape, where she was tortured in detention.

QONI, Mandla (16), was shot dead when members of an SAP patrol opened fire on *toyi-toying* youths in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape on 28 May 1986.

QOTOYI, Banzi George (32), a PAC supporter, was arrested and detained on several occasions in Somerset West, Cape Town, along with other PAC supporters. Mr Qotoyi was also beaten in custody. He was charged, but found not guilty. Mr Qotoyi was later placed under house arrest in 1990 in Engcobo, Transkei.

QOTYWA, Nomazizi Elsie (50), an ANC supporter, had her house in Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, set alight by IFP supporters in February 1991. Twenty houses are reported to have been burnt down by IFP-supporting vigilantes returning from a rally.

QOZA, Siyabulela (13), sustained serious burns on his body on 12 March 1990 after an explosive device was thrown into his bedroom by members of the CDF in Zwelitsha, Ciskei.

QOZA, Siziwe Joyce (45), suffered severe damage to her property on 12 March 1990 when an explosive device was thrown into her bedroom by members of the CDF in Zwelitsha, Ciskei.

QUARTERS, Jeff, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

QUBEKA, Elliot Zithembile (39), an ANC leader, was shot in the stomach by named PAC supporters during political conflict in Cofimvaba, Transkei, on 27 July

1993. Mr Qubeka's house had been burnt down by PAC supporters two months earlier.

QUIN, Jacqueline Anne (30), a South African teacher resident in Lesotho, was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* operatives during a raid on two houses in Maseru, Lesotho, on 19 December 1985. Her husband was one of eight other people killed, but their infant daughter Phoenix survived. Seven operatives, including the deputy commander of Security Branch Headquarters, the commander of the section which oversaw the work of *Vlakplaas* and the commander of *Vlakplaas*, applied for amnesty for the operation. All except the commander of Security Branch Headquarters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/231 and AC/2001/279).

QUIN, Phoenix (1), survived an attack on 19 December 1985 in Maseru, Lesotho by *Vlakplaas* operatives in which both her parents were shot dead. Nine people were killed in the raid, three of whom were citizens of Lesotho. After the attack, the infant Phoenix was abandoned in the house with her dead parents for several hours. Five members of the Security Branch were granted amnesty for the killing of her parents while two, including the then Deputy Chief of the Security Police, were refused amnesty (AC/2001/231 and AC/2001/279).

QUKU, (first names not given), was attacked and burnt to death, in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 11 April 1983, during a conflict between the supporters of local leaders Ngxobongwana and Memani. Seven people died in the attack.

QULO, Nontokozo Ellen (30), had her house in Iniwwe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down on 30 April 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

QULU, Glen Lungile (35), was burnt to death leaving Jabulani hostel, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 18 August 1990 because he was seen as an IFP supporter during conflict between mainly IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. When the IFP launched itself as a political party, hostel-dwellers were allegedly coerced into IFP membership resulting in the conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers based on ethnicity, residential area and political affiliation.

QUMA, Rex Moneli (22), a UDF activist, was severely tortured by named members of the SAP in Port Alfred, Cape, in 1985, while awaiting trial with ten others for the 'necklacing' of an AZAPO member. All the accused were acquitted. Mr Quma was granted an interdict against the police by the Grahamstown Supreme Court in August 1987.

QUMBELO, Mountain (33), a member of the ANC underground in Cape Town, was detained for many months and severely tortured by being electrocuted and suffocated by named members of the Security Police in October 1963 in Pretoria. He was given a six-year prison sentence that he won on appeal. He was then placed under a five-year banning order. In 1977 he was again detained and served a prison term on Robben Island from 1978 to 1983. Thereafter, as a UDF activist, he was repeatedly detained under emergency regulations from 1985 to 1989. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

QUMZA, Patric (30), a UDF activist, was seriously injured when attacked with pangas and knobkerries by named members of AZAPO, allegedly with police complicity, in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, on 26 December 1986, during political conflict between AZAPO and UDF supporters.

QUNGQU, Nombulelo Thelma (34), lost her home in an arson attack in KTC, Cape Town, on 11 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

QUNGQUTHO, Telford, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was killed during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

QUNTU, Sandile Eric (27), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by AZAPO supporters during political conflict in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 4 August 1986.

OUTSU, Khululekile, a PAC member, was shot in the head by members of the SAP in Paarl, Cape, in 1960, while on his way to a PAC gathering. Mr Otsu survived, but suffered permanent disablement.

QWABA, Msetyenzelwa (41), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in March 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. At least 18 people were killed in political violence in Bhambayi that month, and 75 homes were burnt down.

QWABAZA, Gloria Noxolo (14), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP during protests in Aliwal North, Cape, on 22 August 1985. See ALI WAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

QWABE, Annastacia Lindani (14), was shot and injured by members of the SADF during a school boycott at Lekazi Central High School in KaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 7 May 1991.

QWABE, Babani Aaron (20), disappeared in April 1986 while on his way to KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. He was never seen again and is presumed dead. Mr Qwabe's disappearance is believed to be related to the intense fighting at the time between Inkatha supporters and Pondos resident in the area, who were seen to be supportive of the UDF.

QWABE, Bhelokwakhe Mluka (42), had his house in Vukuyibambe, KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1990 in the course of intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

QWABE, Jabulani Jefrey (36), was shot dead by a named IFP supporter at Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 July 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

QWABE, Leonard Dumisane (35), had his home burnt down in Sowanjane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe,

Natal, in March 1994 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

QWABE, Mzonjani Michael, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Mshayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1992.

QWABE, Ndabezinhle Freeman (18), a non-partisan, sustained severe head injuries during violent conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 24 August 1985.

QWABE, Nimrod (28), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 March 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

QWABE, Zondeni (21), an ANC supporter, had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 30 June 1993. Her father's adjacent shop was looted and burnt down in the same incident.

QWALELA, Boniswa Rosemary (34), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 at a time of intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

QWALELA, Rose Bongive (36), had her home burnt down on 16 February 1993 in a dawn attack on the ANC stronghold of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. Ten people were killed and 35 houses were burnt down.

QWAMBE, Godfrey, suffered damage to property when an explosive device was thrown into his home at Tembisa, Tvl, in 1986 by a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch who suspected him of supporting the ANC. One person was injured in the attack. Three Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, and a member of an SAP Special Investigation Unit were granted amnesty (AC/2001/0062).

QWATEKANA, Ndabaziphele Myekwa (35), an ANC member, was beaten by members of the SAP in December 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

QWELE, Alfred Zakhele, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

QWENYA, Didekile Richard, was arrested and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on Robben Island for his PAC activities in November 1963 in Cape Town.

QWESHA, Sithonga Horatius (38), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 13 September 1990. Two of his colleagues were killed and another injured in the shooting. Mr Qweshu was a taxi operator but the police shot at the vehicle alleging that they were terrorists.

RAADT, Edward (39), a UDF supporter, was shot by members of the MAKABASA GANG in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986 during intense conflict

between police and residents which resulted in a series of boycotts of schools and local businesses.

RAAL, Peter, a candidate officer in the South African Air Force (SAAF), was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the SAAF headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

RAATH, PHC, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

RABANNYE, Mpe Lepoko Paul (11), was shot dead by members of the Maokeng MUNICIPAL POLICE in Kroonstad, OFS, on 26 February 1990. Mpe was on his way to school when police fired on marching municipal workers who had been dismissed.

RABILAL, Krishna (aka 'Comrade Goodwin' and 'Ashok') (27), an MK Special Operations Unit member from Merewent, Durban, was killed on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed.

RABOROKO, Mapokane Ester (45), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP and SADF as she was coming out of the ZCC church in Katlehong, Tvl, on 9 January 1994. The incident followed an attack on ANC leaders visiting the area by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

RABOTAPI, Dinah Sarah, was shot in the mouth in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993. This was one of a number of DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS in the area in the wake of the assassination of SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

RABOTAPI, Lineo Patricia (46), lost her shop in an arson attack in September 1993, allegedly carried out by IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict in Katlehong, Tvl.

RABOTAPI, Thabeng Samuel (49), was beaten and seriously injured with rifle butts by members of the SAP in March 1992 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, because he refused to be taken to the police station in a hearse. Mr Rabotapi and others were accused of trespassing when clearing a piece of land for occupation. He could not afford to pay the fine and was denied medical attention during his detention. After his release, he was hospitalised and is now disabled as a result of the injuries he sustained in the beating.

RABOTAPI, Thokoane John (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING on 25 May 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl.

RABULA, Michael (33), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

RACHEL, Edith Marillier, was shot and injured, and robbed of firearms during an attack by UDF supporters on her home at Bush View Farm, Stutterheim, Cape, on 7 March 1990. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0277).

RADAMBA, Mubvathi Samuel (37), was detained for an unspecified period of time by named members of the Venda Police in November 1983 at Thohoyandou, Venda. Mr Radamba was accused of providing food and accommodation to MK operatives.

RADEBE, Albert, was shot and injured by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natalspruit, Tvl, on 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

RADEBE, Alfred Molefi (19), was shot dead, allegedly by a named member of the SAP, in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 19 September 1989. Mr Radebe, a 'Gadaffi' supporter, was singing freedom songs with other supporters at the time. The perpetrator was reportedly suspended after an investigation into police violence in the area. See KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS.

RADEBE, Alison, was shot dead by alleged IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers during an attack on Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 11 December 1992. Hostel-dwellers were allegedly coerced into IFP membership, which resulted in polarisation between residents from townships, hostels and squatter camps. Hundreds of people died in the intense violent conflict which followed between 1990 and 1993.

RADEBE, Alpha Bonga (36), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhukhanana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 January 1994 in continuing political conflict in the area. Two people were killed in political fighting and at least 14 homesteads were burnt down.

RADEBE, Anna, was shot dead in Phiritona, Heilbron, OFS, on 12 March 1990, when SAP members opened fire on crowds celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela from prison.

RADEBE, Annah, was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in this incident. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers resulted in violent conflict from July to December 1992.

RADEBE, Anthony Mdeni (28), a COSATU member, was stabbed to death by the leader of the local Inkatha Youth Brigade in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 22 March 1986. Union leaders were allegedly targeted for attack because they were perceived to share the ideological views of the UDF and ANC.

RADEBE, Bathobile Princess (9), lost her home when her parents' house at Port Shepstone, Natal, was burnt down by IFP supporters in 1991. Her parents were ANC supporters.

RADEBE, Bongani Solomon , a UDF supporter, was hacked to death by named perpetrators, one allegedly a member of the SAP, in Standerton, Tvl, on 25 December 1986. UDF supporters were targeted because they were held responsible for a consumer boycott in the area.

RADEBE, Buti William (24), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 4 August 1992 in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, during clashes between COSATU-aligned FAWU members and IFP-aligned UWUSA members. Conflict on the factory floor spread into the surrounding community leading to scores of deaths and injuries.

RADEBE, Cithekile Eunice , a Standard Nine schoolgirl, was shot and severely injured when members of the SAP fired on students on a protest march in Bohlakong, Bethlehem, OFS, on 29 January 1990. Ms Radebe lost the sight in her one eye as a result of the shooting.

RADEBE, Doctor , was stabbed to death by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG members on 12 January 1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during a night vigil for an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

RADEBE, Dudu , was assaulted by members of the SAP at KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 21 February 1990. The police allegedly assaulted Ms Radebe when they could not find her brother.

RADEBE, Elias Khulu (26), an SAP member, was shot by APLA operatives on 20 April 1994 in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl while escorting a delivery vehicle into the area.

RADEBE, Ephraim Mzwandile (20), a returned ANC exile, was shot dead in Piet Retief, Tvl, in September 1986, allegedly by members of the SAP.

RADEBE, Graham Sibusiso Boniface (17), was shot dead by a member of the Riot Police in Sobantu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 August 1982. In a march to protest against rent increases, protesters clashed with the Riot Police, who opened fire, killing Mr Radebe and injuring several others.

RADEBE, Gretta (51), had her home damaged and property set alight by Inkatha supporters at Adams Mission, near Durban, on 10 September 1988. The perpetrators, one of whom is named, were allegedly looking for Ms Radebe's sons, whom they believed to be UDF supporters. One of her sons was killed in political conflict nine months later.

RADEBE, Ida (44), was shot and injured by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

RADEBE, Innocentia , was shot by IFP supporters on 22 March 1990 in Kagiso, Tvl, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

RADEBE, Isaac Nkululeko (46) was stabbed, dragged from his house and shot by IFP supporters in

Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, on 30 January 1994. IFP supporters were attacking residents who did not join the IFP in the run-up to the 1994 elections.

RADEBE, Jabulani Elvis (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 4 January 1992, during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

RADEBE, Jabulani Primon (21), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death in Denver hostel, Johannesburg, on 1 April 1994, allegedly by IFP supporters in retaliation for the Shell House massacre.

RADEBE, James (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when police fired on a student protest march in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 19 April 1990. Five people were killed and many others injured in the shooting.

RADEBE, James , was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

RADEBE, Jerry , was abducted and shot by members of the SAP in June 1976 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

RADEBE, Jim , a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

RADEBE, Josephine Nana (46), had her home vandalised and ransacked by IFP supporters in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, on 30 January 1994. IFP supporters were attacking residents who did not join the IFP in the run-up to the 1994 elections.

RADEBE, Kherina Maria (51), an Inkatha supporter, lost her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during an arson attack by UDF supporters in 1989.

RADEBE, Khesaya , was severely beaten by members of the SAP supported by IFP supporters in June 1992 in Tokoza, Tvl, because her grandson was believed to be an MK operative.

RADEBE, Lawrence (19), a self-defence unit member (SDU), was tortured and shot dead on 19 November 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by members of the ISU. The attack occurred while Mr Radebe was guarding a house for the local SDU.

RADEBE, Linda Aar on , a member of an ANC-aligned self-defence unit, was shot dead by members of the SAP and SADF in Tokoza, Tvl, on 7 November 1993.

RADEBE, Lydia Malefo (50), was assaulted by members of the SAP in Bloemfontein, during 1993. She was wrongly suspected of being in possession of an illegal firearm.

RADEBE, Manana Janet (50), had her home at Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by unidentified perpetrators during political conflict between ANC and

IFP supporters in August 1991. Her husband and son had been killed two months earlier, allegedly because they were ANC supporters.

RADEBE, Mandlenkosi Steven (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and fatally wounded by Inkatha supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1990.

RADEBE, Manelo, was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 19 November 1993 by members of the 'Joshua Squad', a police unit deployed in the area because of conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. The 'Joshua Squad' operated on a shoot-to-kill policy because it could not secure convictions against self-defence units. Three people died and one person was wounded in the incident.

RADEBE, Martha, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

RADEBE, Michael Mvula Jekeje (18), was injured in a shooting by members of the SAP in Jabulani, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 14 September 1990.

RADEBE, Michael Mzwandile (18), was injured and partially paralysed in November 1985 after being shot by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Winterveld, Tvl during a mass meeting to protest against the homeland government.

RADEBE, Mongezi (32), a member of the Sharpeville Civic Association, was arrested during a protest march against high rents in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 3 October 1984. He was charged with public incitement and fined R500.

RADEBE, Mosele Andronica (45), had her property damaged by members of the SAP on 24 January 1992 at Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

RADEBE, Mzwandile (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 25 August 1993 in Nancefield, Soweto, Johannesburg, during political conflict on the Rand.

RADEBE, Mzwandile, an MK operative, was one of four people killed in two ambushes by Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives on 14 August 1986. One ambush was near Nerston, Tvl, the other on the Swazi side of the border. Eleven Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives, including the commanders of Ermelo Security Branch and of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty for the killing of the MK operatives (AC/2001/148).

RADEBE, Namtungwa Jane (48), an IFP supporter, was repeatedly harassed, intimidated and threatened during 1992 at Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, because she refused to pay protection fees to IFP supporters. Her house was later vandalised and destroyed, and she was forced to leave the area.

RADEBE, Nelisiwe (30), had to flee her home on 23 March 1990 in Vulisaka, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, because of political violence. Two days later, Inkatha supporters launched a series of attacks on ANC

supporters in this area, in what became known as the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

RADEBE, Nhlanhla (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, in March 1994 in political violence between hostel-dwellers and township residents.

RADEBE, Nhlanhla Ernest (19), was shot dead on 25 April 1992 in Vosloorus, Tvl, by the occupants of a white car driving through the township. Seven people were killed that night. This was the forerunner of DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS that became a characteristic of conflict on the East Rand in later years. The perpetrators, who allegedly included members of security forces, aimed at sowing terror in East Rand communities.

RADEBE, Nkonzo Vitalice (24), died on 18 June 1989 when he was shot, stabbed, and had his throat cut by Inkatha supporters at Adams Mission, near Durban. He was perceived by the perpetrators to be a UDF supporter.

RADEBE, Nkosinathi (12), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 11 July 1985 at his home in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, during the state of emergency.

RADEBE, Nomgwago Martha (24), was tear-gassed in her home in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 24 July 1992 by members of the SAP who raided her home in search of four youths, two of whom were ANC returnees. One of the youths was shot and injured.

RADEBE, Nomthandazo Maureen Nozibi (29), had her house burnt down on 24 July 1992 when IFP supporters carried out attacks on residents in the ANC stronghold of Ondondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal.

RADEBE, Nomusa Constance (38), an ANC supporter, had her house vandalised by Inkatha supporters, allegedly accompanied by named members of the KwaZULU POLICE, in February 1990, at KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, in political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations.

RADEBE, Nonhlanhla, was assaulted by members of the SAP at KwaSokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 21 February 1990. Police allegedly assaulted Ms Radebe when they could not find her brother.

RADEBE, Nontsokolo Lilly (48), was severely beaten by members of the SAP and local farmers in Klipplaat, Cape, in June 1985. Ms Radebe was seven months' pregnant at the time and had a miscarriage as a result.

RADEBE, Ntombi Ella, 38, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

RADEBE, Obusitsoe Isaac, was severely tortured by members of the SAP at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, in 1980 after he returned from Lesotho, where he sought refuge in 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

RADEBE, Patricia, was shot dead by IFP supporters travelling by bus to a funeral in Evaton, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 20 June 1993.

RADEBE, Patrick Pakiso (16), a COSAS supporter, was shot dead on 15 October 1985 in Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg, allegedly by members of the SADF, one of whom is named. He was walking with a friend

discussing soccer when the perpetrators emerged from a patrolling Casspir and shot at them.

RADEBE, Petrus, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 26 June 1993 during the 'Vaal monster' reign of terror in the area. See KHETISI KHESWA GANG.

RADEBE, Philemon Fiki (32), was shot and stabbed by IFP supporters at his home in Mapetla, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 July 1991 during tension after clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents.

RADEBE, Sibongiseni (20), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by a member of the SAP in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 16 July 1993. Mr Radebe was detained while singing freedom songs on his way to a memorial service, and was taken to the police station where he was beaten.

RADEBE, Sibongiseni Richard, an ANC supporter, was abducted by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, in 1991, during a night vigil for a fellow student who had allegedly been killed by IFP supporters. Mr Radebe was never seen again and is presumed dead.

RADEBE, Sigobongo (38), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 in intense political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

RADEBE, Sophy, was shot by IFP supporters on 22 August 1990 in Kagiso, Tvl, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

RADEBE, Stefaan, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Katilehong, Tvl, while passing a house in Zuma section where a night vigil for an IFP supporter was taking place on 12 June 1993.

RADEBE, Steven, an alleged IFP member, was kidnapped, interrogated, shot and killed by a group of ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members during political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl, in December 1993. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1999/0186).

RADEBE, Sydwell Phehello (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters from Mshayasafe hostel, Tokoza on 24 October 1992 in Katilehong, Tvl.

RADEBE, Tamsanqa W ordswoth (26), a UDF supporter, was severely assaulted by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, in 1985. Inkatha supporters from neighbouring Lindelani allegedly arrived in buses and conducted random attacks on residents.

RADEBE, Thembani Athanasia (52), had her home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha members on 7 December 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

RADEBE, Thulani Simon, an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by a named perpetrator on 7 February 1993 in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. Ratanda was tense after conflict between COSATU-aligned FAWU and IFP-aligned UWUSA members in a local factory spilled over into the surrounding community.

RADEBE, Tobizile Fekie (43), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Vrede, OFS, on 28 April 1993, when members of the SAP opened fire on crowds taking part in a march calling for the release of children held in custody.

RADEBE, Veli, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

RADEBE, Victor Thulani (26), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in TRAIN VIOLENCE in Germiston, Tvl, on 13 November 1991. Five armed IFP supporters boarded the train and opened fire on the commuters.

RADEBE, Violet Nozinja, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

RADEBE, Winnie Tholo (31), was attacked and savaged by a police dog in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 23 August 1977. At the time, Soweto was in a state of civil unrest and police were given sweeping powers to arrest and detain.

RADEBE, Zwelinjani Herold (44), an IFP supporter, was shot, stoned and burnt to death by ANC supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 April 1991.

RADEBE, Paulus, was detained and died in his cell after being tortured at Odendaalsrus police station, OFS, on 31 October 1987. Mr Radede had not been politically active.

RADEMEYER, WE, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

RADILE, Sebako Johannes (73), had his home burnt down by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in 1991 in Rustenburg, Tvl, during violent conflict between people opposing the Mangope government and the Police.

RADINGOANE, Joseph Sebako, was abducted and beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 January 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele. At Siyabuswa community hall Mr Radingoane and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and were then SJAMBOKKED and beaten where they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted for about 36 hours. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

RADITLHARE, Dennis Tefo (22), a commander of MK, was shot dead by member of the SAP in Phuthaditjhaba, QwaQwa, in June 1991.

RADITSELA, Andries , a union member, died after being beaten by members of the SAP in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 6 May 1985.

RADU, Bonisile Edward (34), was shot in the leg when members of the Ciskei Police opened fire on a mourners gathered at a night vigil in September 1985 in East London.

RADUE, Pam , a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

RADUE, Ray , a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

RADZILANI, Ndiambane William (68), lost his home in Mauluma, Makhado, Tvl, when it was set on fire in July 1987 by named 'comrades'. Mr Radzilani was allegedly accused of witchcraft and hiding fugitives. His wife was stoned and injured in the attack.

RADZILANI, V ele, was stoned by named ANC supporters in July 1987 when her house in Mauluma, Makhado, Tvl, was attacked and burnt down because her husband had been accused of witchcraft.

RADZUMA, Magekha Samuel (34), was beaten on a farm near Vuwani, Venda, by members of the SADF who suspected him of being in possession of firearms.

RAFUBE, Mosito Daniel , a policeman, was stabbed and injured at his home by a named perpetrator in Upington, Cape, on 27 July 1991, as a result of political hostility towards policemen in the community.

RAGAVEN, Chengiah Rogers (27), an ANC supporter, was repeatedly detained under the Suppression of Communism Act, harassed, and placed under restriction orders in Durban between 1960 and 1967.

RAGOO, Ramola Devi Meena (35), was severely beaten with batons and SJAMBOKS by members of the SAP in August 1984 in Lenasia, Johannesburg, during a protest against the tricameral parliamentary system.

RAGOPHALA, Motloga Andries (25), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 4 May 1985 in KwaThema, Tvl, following widespread unrest throughout the East Rand.

RAIKANA, George (24), was severely kicked and punched at Tlhabane police station, Bophuthatswana, by named members of the SAP in 1976 during political conflict. In 1992 he was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police as a result of which he lost his teeth, developed speech problems and experiences loss of memory.

RAISA, Nontembiso Lucy , was shot and injured by members of the SAP during a period of widespread protest in Colesberg, Cape, on 23 July 1985. She was then held for over five months facing charges that were eventually dropped.

RAJBANSI, Amichand , then a Minister in the House of Delegates in the Tricameral Parliament, had his house in Durban damaged in a limpet mine explosion on 4 August 1985. Six MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152).

RAJOO, Sonny Jaf fernath (53), a member of the Transvaal Indian Congress, was beaten, tear-gassed and sjambokked by members of the SAP in September 1984 in Lenasia near Johannesburg during protests against the tricameral parliament.

RAKATE, Israel Kabelo (30), was severely beaten and left for dead in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, on 8 February 1993. Mr Rakate, a school principal, was accused of being a member of the Bophuthatswana Democratic Party by a mob of students.

RAKHETSI, John Khawanyana (10), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in 1984 in Bophelong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, because he attended a student meeting about political violence in the area.

RAKHETSI, Mamathakase Motswepi Belina , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

RAKITLA, Mtheriza Aaron (44), had his home burnt down on 20 November 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in this area from July to December 1992.

RAKOBO, Thabiso Isaac , was in a unit of five MK operatives active in the Eastern Cape when he was caught in a police roadblock near Elliot, in August 1981, and shot dead. Three others were killed in the ambush and a survivor was arrested. The bodies were secretly buried on a farm near Aliwal North, Cape, and exhumed by the Commission in 1997.

RAKOMANE, Daniel Mosete (28), a UDF supporter, was tortured by named members of the SAP on 8 June 1986 at Dwaalboom, Tvl. Police were reportedly trying to persuade him to become an informer.

RAKOSA, Solomon Kgopi , a COSAS member, was killed in a parcel bomb explosion on 1 November 1989 in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl. Solomon was given a parcel that exploded in his hands. The perpetrator is named.

RAKUDA, David , was beaten to death by his employer in Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 13 September 1990 after Mr Rakuda objected to his employer making racist remarks.

RAKWENA, Masilo Ephraim (39), was assaulted and detained by members of the SAP in Letlhabile, near Brits, Tvl, in September 1992 at a protest march against the presence of *askaris* in the area who were killing activists and raping women.

RALANA, Merryman Anele (20), a student activist and East London Youth Organisation member, was tortured while in detention by named members of the SAP at Cambridge police station, East London, in June 1986, during the state of emergency. He was

transferred to Fort Glamorgan prison, but was regularly taken to Cambridge police station for interrogation. After 180 days, Mr Ralana and others were redetained and held until June 1987. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

RALANE, Nomphele Getrude (16), was shot in the stomach with pellets by a named member of the SAP during political conflict in Steynsburg, Cape, on 22 July 1990.

RALEBESE, Mpuse (22), a member of the EAGLES CLUB, was severely beaten when ANC supporters attacked him and five other 'Eagles Club' members in Qhoweng, Reddersburg, OFS, in 1989, allegedly because of their involvement with the club.

RALEBITSO, Anthony Samuel (60), a Lesotho government minister, survived a bomb attack on his home in Borogooaneng, Lesotho, in 1980. Well known as an ANC sympathiser, Mr Ralebitso is believed to have been attacked either by the South African security forces or by LLA members acting at their behest. His daughter was killed by South African Special Forces in a cross-border raid on Maseru in December 1982.

RALEBITSO, Mampota, the wife of a Lesotho government minister, and ANC sympathiser, survived a bomb attack on her home in Borogooaneng, Lesotho, in 1980. It is believed that the attack was carried out either by the South African security forces or by LLA members acting at their behest. Ms Ralebitso's daughter was killed by South African Special Forces in a cross-border raid on Maseru in December 1982.

RALEBITSO, Rosemary Mmatumo (27), a librarian at the National University of Lesotho and daughter of a Lesotho government minister, was shot dead on 9 December 1982 in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats on Maseru, Lesotho. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

RALIVHESA, Muthuphei Jeremia (43), was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the SAP in Sibasa, Venda, in 1986. Mr Ralivhesa was walking past a school where a student boycott was in progress when he was attacked.

RAMABULANA, Mehloti Emily, was severely beaten with sjamboks on 13 June 1986 when their bus was stopped at a roadblock by named members of the SAP in Vleifontein, Tvl, during resistance in the area to INCORPORATION into Venda.

RAMADI, Mavhungu (19), was shot and injured by members of the Venda Police in Venda, during a Venda cultural day on 10 October 1992.

RAMAGALELA, Frans Ratshilumela (29), was severely injured when the truck in which he was travelling detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives in Messina, Tvl. Mr Ramagalela lost his sight permanently. The truck driver was killed and ten others were injured.

RAMAHESA, Kapano Pin-Pin, an alleged IFP supporter, was shot and killed by a group of ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members during political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl, in July 1993. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0186).

RAMAHUTA, Henry, Billyboy (22), was tortured by named perpetrators after being detained on 1 May 1986 while trying to leave the country to join the ANC in exile. Mr Ramahuta was detained indefinitely, reportedly spending some time on Robben Island.

RAMAINE, Raphael Refiloe (23), was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, on 13 September 1990 in Tokoza, Tvl, during conflict on the East Rand.

RAMAITE, Moloantwa Stranger (14), was shot and injured in Heilbron, OFS, in 1992, when members of the Riot Police fired on marchers protesting against rent increases.

RAMAJWE, Mamatshidiso Rebecca (43), was shot and killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

RAMAKABA, Mildred Mandu Mhe (30), an ANC member active in women's and civic organisations in Cape Town, was detained for five months in 1963 and convicted of sabotage. The conviction was overturned on appeal. She was then placed under a banning order for five years. In 1985 and again in 1986 she was detained for several months while serving as an official in the UDF and in women's organisations.

RAMAKABA, Mosioa Nephtally, an ANC supporter, was killed by 'comrades' in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 7 March 1994 following in-fighting in the ANC aligned self-defence unit.

RAMAKARANE, Caroline, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

RAMAKAU, Job Molefi (30), was stabbed to death in Welkom, OFS, on 4 November 1990. This occurred at a time of widespread and lengthy SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in areas of the OFS.

RAMAKAU, Matsoso Paulus (37), a SANCO member and community leader, was arrested on 3 October 1984 in Vereeniging, Tvl, and tortured in detention at Krugersdorp. He was accused of promoting a stayaway.

RAMAKGOLO, Ramasela Maria (46), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RAMAKOBYE, Sello, a trade unionist and member of the Brits Action Committee, was injured when members of a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch petrol-bombed his home on 27 May 1986. Five Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander and the branch commander of Brits, and one member of an SAP Special Investigation Unit were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2001/027 and AC/2001/240).

RAMALEPE, France Ngoako , a student activist, died after being sjambokked by named members of the Lebowa Police in Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa, after a protest march in the area on 17 October 1985. He was certified dead the following morning after being found in the veld.

RAMALEPE, Ngoako Chris (29), a SANSCO member, was severely beaten by members of the Lebowa Police after his arrest in Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa, on 23 March 1986. He was arrested after attending a student meeting demanding a free and democratic education system.

RAMALEPE, Reuben Matome , a COSAS member, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa, on 23 March 1985.

RAMAN, Boyce (32), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP-supporting passengers who hijacked his taxi between Estcourt and Mooi River, Natal, on 27 September 1991. The perpetrators accused Mr Raman of transporting 'comrades'.

RAMANGO, Er nest , was killed by Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives in Mamelodi, Pretoria, in 1987. Mr Ramango was sedated and placed on a landmine, which was then detonated. Four Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/110).

RAMAOKA, Raisibe Meriam (44), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RAMARA, Kolobe Maria (51), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RAMARA, Mosima Francina (43), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RAMARA, Ramaesela Agent , lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RAMARUMO, Jack May , was burnt to death and his house set alight by a group of community residents in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two ANC supporters were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094).

RAMASEGA, Patrick Alpheus (16), was arrested on 8 January 1991 at Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, and held for eight months. During his detention he was severely beaten with sjamboks, canes and wire by members of the Bophuthatswana Police. Mr Ramasega was accused of conspiring against the Bophuthatswana government and participating in resistance to the INCORPORATION of the area into Bophuthatswana.

RAMASELI, Sehloho , a Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) operative, was beaten by named SAP members while in detention in Bloemfontein in November 1981. He was arrested in Clarens, OFS, together with other LLA operatives, after planting a bomb at a bus stop in Buthe Buthe, Lesotho, as part of the LLA efforts to overthrow the Lesotho government. Police initially believed the group to be MK operatives.

RAMASHALA, Paul , was shot by members of the SAP in December 1985 in Bela-Bela, Warmbaths, Tvl, during a rent boycott. He was later detained.

RAMASHALA, Scholar Lethetsa (20), was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, on 22 August 1985. See ALI WAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

RAMASHAMOLA, Machabane Theresa (24), was tortured and assaulted in detention in Vereeniging, Tvl, in September 1984. Ms Ramashamola was one of the 'SHARPEVILLE SIX' sentenced to death for the murder of a township councillor. The six were sentenced to death, but their sentences were commuted after an international campaign for clemency.

RAMASHU, S , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

RAMASIMONG, George Ramodikne 'Diwithi' (28), was shot dead by a named ANCYL member and others, in Kroonstad, OFS, on 25 February 1992. Mr Ramasimong had been a leader of the THREE MILLION GANG. When ANC supporters heard rumours that Mr Ramasimong was still associated with the gang, they killed him. An ANCYL member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1996/0006).

RAMASIMONG, Shadrack Matsile (26), a leading member of the THREE MILLION GANG, was stabbed to death by a named member of the ANC at a police station in Kroonstad, OFS, on 3 August 1992. He was reportedly under arrest at the time, and a prison warden allegedly supplied the knife to the perpetrator.

RAMASOBANE, Jim (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 31 July 1993 in Thafeni, Tembisa, Tvl, during a raid on residents by alleged TOASTER GANG vigilantes and IFP supporters. Conflict increased when the body of the TOASTER GANG leader was exhumed and allegedly burnt by residents. Despite a peace pact signed between the IFP and ANC, IFP supporters allegedly attacked Tembisa and killed a total of 30 and injured 21 people that day.

RAMATELETSE, Thuso Stephen (16), was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, while participating in a SANCO protest march against high rents on 26 March 1990. He instituted a civil claim against police and won the case.

RAMATHE, Sizeka Wendy (32), sustained serious burn wounds in a petrol bomb attack by ANC supporters in Port Elizabeth on 29 July 1986.

RAMATHIBELA, David Basie (41), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 15 June 1993, allegedly by a named IFP supporter.

RAMATLO, Jenifer (45), was forcibly removed from her home by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 13 March 1992 after numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents.

RAMATLOTLO, Benjamin Sekoboto (45), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Tladi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1990 at an ANC meeting which was attacked by residents from a nearby hostel.

RAMATSA, Thabo Augustine (25), a UDF supporter, was beaten by members of the A-TEAM at Thabong, Welkom, OFS, in March 1985.

RAMATSITSI, Phineas Nuvhulawa (37), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

RAMAUBE, Amos Bokgobelo (15), was trampled by members of the SADF in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 July 1992 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. The soldiers reportedly made youths lie down and then trampled them.

RAMAUBE, Johannes Mashego (32), a PAC supporter, was assaulted by members of the SADF at an MK operative's funeral in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 July 1992.

RAMAUBE, Solomzi Nkopeleng (18), was trampled by members of the SADF in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 July 1992 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. The soldiers allegedly made youths lie down and then trampled them.

RAMEGOE, Martins David (27), was stabbed and assaulted by IFP supporters in Tokoza, Tvl, in June 1989. He was attacked because he was suspected of being an ANC supporter. Several others were similarly attacked in the area.

RAMELE, Marcus, was one of three people injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Tembisa police station barracks, Tvl, on 10 October 1988. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/132).

RAMESEGA, Kenneth Kgori (15), was shot by a named member of the SAP in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 August 1976 in the wake of the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING. Mr Ramesega is disabled as a result.

RAMESEGA, Kgosithebe James (40), was tortured by Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 23 April 1989.

RAMETSE, Moroka Edward, a member of the SAP, was shot and injured by MK operatives in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 January 1988. The perpetrators ambushed and fired at the police vehicle, injuring four persons. Two MK operatives applied for amnesty. One withdrew his application and the other was granted amnesty (AC/2000/134).

RAMETSI, Mohale Titus (26), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in 1977 when he tried to intervene when police were chasing youths during a school boycott. Police turned on him, put him in the back of a police vehicle and beat him.

RAMGOBIN, Kush, a political activist, was shot dead in Verulam, Natal, on 16 December 1993 during political conflict in the area. Mr Ramgobin had been seriously injured in a parcel bomb explosion in March 1973.

RAMJEE, L, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

RAMMULE, Tshane Frans (35), a UDF supporter, was arrested by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 29 April 1990 in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana. He was charged under section 3.1 of the emergency regulations, but the case was later withdrawn.

RAMMUTLA, Mac, was assaulted by a named perpetrator in GaMatlala, Lebowa, in February 1980 because Mr Rammutla resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RAMMUTLA, Makwana (50), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, in an attack on his village, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because the village resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. Mr Rammutla was also assaulted with knobkerries.

RAMMUTLA, Ramadimetja Sanah (51), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RAMMUTLA, Solomon Maphuti (35), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Rammutla resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RAMMUTLA, Tumishi Johannes (56), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Rammutla resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RAMMUTLE, Papa, was severely beaten with a hosepipe at the taxi rank in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, by a named member of the SAP during May 1990. He was beaten with two friends and the three were subsequently taken to the police garage and beaten again.

RAMNCWA, Ngqungqa Jimcrow (46), was shot and injured by IFP supporters and members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, on 19 August 1990 after conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

RAMNCWANA, Edith Myrtle Thulisiwe (47), was arrested in Noupoot, Cape, and held in solitary confinement in Middelburg prison, Cape, for 14 days in September 1985. Her husband and two sons had also previously been detained.

RAMNCWANA, Elias Masebenza, was arrested and severely beaten by members of the SAP at the police station in Noupoot, Cape, on 25 April 1985, after attending a meeting organised by schoolchildren to discuss why their school had not been built.

RAMNCWANA, Luzoko (19), was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992, during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. See BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

RAMNCWANA, Velile Willie (39), a PAC supporter, was arrested with 55 others in Steynsburg, Cape, on 16 October 1965, for alleged Poqo activities. He was severely tortured while under interrogation in Colesberg, Cape, and was later sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

RAMNCWANA, Zanamawonga (16), was arrested and severely beaten by members of the SAP and white farmers serving as police reservists at the Noupoot police station, Cape, on 25 April 1985, after attending a meeting organised by schoolchildren to discuss why their school had not been built.

RAMOELETSI, Maria, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

RAMOELETSI, Simon Ntshimong, was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

RAMOGOGANE, George Gaborone (16), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, during a protest against the introduction of Bophuthatswana Transport Holding buses on 14 July 1985. He was subsequently arrested and subjected to electric shock torture by a named member of the SAP.

RAMOGOLA, Aar on, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters at a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 26 March 1991. Fifteen people died in this incident. Alexandra was tense due to clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

RAMOGOLA, Betty, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters at a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 26 March 1991. Fifteen people died in this incident. Alexandra was tense due to conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

RAMOGOLA, Timothy, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, at a night vigil

on 26 March 1991 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. The perpetrators were arrested and charged but later released following police irregularities in the investigation.

RAMOGOLO, Paul, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, at a night vigil on 26 March 1991 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. The perpetrators were arrested and charged but released following police irregularities in the investigation.

RAMOHADI, Minah (27), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

RAMOHLALE, Johannes Piet, was abducted and tortured by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in May 1986. Mr Ramohlale was opposed to the INCORPORATION of Siyabuswa into KwaNdebele.

RAMOKGADI, Beauty (17), was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 17 November 1991 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

RAMOKGOBA, Schoeman (aka Karl Marx), an MK operative, and two others, including a police informer, were shot dead in an ambush near the Derdepoort border post, Tvl, on 4 May 1983. Nine Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0274 and AC/1999/0029).

RAMOKGOLA, Jane Fogs, died after being shot by named perpetrators who attacked a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 2 March 1991. Five people died in the attack, and 14 others were injured. Alexandra was tense due to clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

RAMOKGOLA, Matome Nelson (29), was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the SAP in Lenyenye, Tzaneen, Tvl, during a SADTU protest march against salary deductions on 19 September 1991. He is blind in one eye as a result.

RAMOKGOLA, Solomon, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, at a night vigil on 26 March 1991. Alexandra was tense following numerous clashes between IFP-supporting aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

RAMOKGOPA, Schoeman Ramokgoba, was shot dead in an ambush by named members of the Security Branch at the intersection of Maricodraai and Dwaalboom Roads in Silent Valley, near Derdepoort border post, Tvl, on 4 May 1983. Information from an unidentified ANC informer made the attack possible. Mr Ramokgopa and another MK operative were killed in the ambush. Several Security Branch members applied for amnesty for the attack.

RAMOKGOTHOANE, Lejone John (47), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by members of the THREE MILLION GANG in Kroonstad, OFS, on 9 November 1990, allegedly because he was an ANC member.

RAMOKHABI, Belina 'Motseng' , was tear-gassed and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Zweletemba, Cape, on April 1960, while participating in an anti-Pass march.

RAMOKHOASA, Molefi Johannes , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Bophuthatswana Police in Brits, Tvl, on 15 March 1993.

RAMOKHOASE, Lebitsa Solomon , was shot and injured by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl.

RAMOKHOASE, Ntele David (28), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl.

RAMOKHOASE, Oupa Samuel (33), was severely beaten, allegedly by members of the SADF, at Vereeniging, Tvl, in February 1986 shortly after his release from 14 days detention under emergency regulations. His jaw was broken during the assault.

RAMOKHOASE, Setime William (16), a COSAS member, was shot and wounded, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1993 during violence that erupted on the Rand on the day of the memorial service for CHRIS HANI.

RAMOKOBYE, Sello , a UDF supporter, lost his home in a petrol bomb attack by members of the Security Branch on 28 May 1986 in Oukasie, Brits, Tvl, due to his resistance against attempts to forcibly remove the community from the area.

Ramokoena, Khehla Jacob , was shot dead by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl.

RAMOKONOI, Jacob Mzimkhulu (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and wounded in his home in Katlehong, Tvl, on 4 October 1992, allegedly by IFP supporters.

RAMOKOPONI, Ndunana , was shot and permanently crippled by IFP supporters in Katlehong, Tvl, on 4 October 1992 during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC- supporting residents.

RAMOKULA, Sheki (48), was detained by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, on 31 May 1988 because she supported the attempted coup in Bophuthatswana in 1988.

RAMOKWATEDI, James Butiki (17), a member of the 'Gadaffi' faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC), was severely beaten by members of the 'Zim-Zim' faction of the KYC, in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in June 1990. The KYC split when older 'comrades' dubbed 'Zim-zims' protested against the 'Gadaffi' faction's lack of discipline and involvement in criminal activities.

RAMOLLA, Mottolane Kleinbooi (57), was killed when he accidentally cycled over the cord of an explosive device planted by AWB members at a taxi rank in Bultfontein, OFS, on 28 February 1994. Two AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

RAMOLLO, Setiabocha Paulus , was killed when a hand grenade thrown by ANC supporters exploded in

Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 31 October 1993. Sharpeville was embroiled in conflict between ANC and IFP supporters as well as within the ANC-aligned self-defence unit.

RAMOLOBENG, Kwenja Jaard (46), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RAMOLOBENG, Makgabo Magdalene (9), had her grandmother's property destroyed by a gang of men sent by the tribal authority in GaMatlala, Pietersburg, in 1981 during a conflict between the community and the tribal authority.

RAMOLORENG, Makwena Ramokone (70), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RAMOLOSO, Majosi John (63), an ANC supporter, was arrested on 1 July 1989 in Leeuwfontein, Bophuthatswana, and assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police while in detention. Mr Ramoloso was arrested at a community meeting to protest against the INCORPORATION of Leeuwfontein into Bophuthatswana.

RAMONCHA, Daisy Mamokatibane (30), an ANC supporter, was arrested by members of the SAP on 11 December 1990 and sentenced to four years' imprisonment with two years suspended in Pretoria, Tvl. She was suspected of having taken part in the bombing of a named policeman.

RAMONGANE, Monyadiwa Suzan (50), an ANC supporter, had her house shot at and damaged by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, during 1992 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters when trenches were dug to prevent police vehicles from travelling through certain areas. Ms Ramongane's house was attacked because a trench was dug next to her house. She suffered a heart attack and a stroke as a result of the incident.

RAMONTSA, Tsimini Jacob (29), was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 2 February 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

RAMOPO, M, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

RAMORAKANE, MP , was severely injured when members of the AVF detonated an explosive at Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 8 December 1993, during a right-wing campaign to force the government to acknowledge their struggle for the creation of a *volkstaat*. Four people were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0001).

RAMORWAGADI, Edward Gaobusiwe (24), a Huhudi Youth Organisation activist and union organiser, was

detained on five occasions in 1985, 1986, 1987 and 1988 in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape. During each detention he was repeatedly severely tortured and beaten by named policemen at the police station, Security Branch offices, a farmhouse and in an isolated rural site known as *Die Lang Boom*.

RAMOSEPELE, Samuel Molemane , an ANC activist, was beaten by alleged Bophuthatswana Police in Rustenburg, Tvl, in 1992.

RAMOTHATA, Goodstuff Moyata (40), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 3 May 1992 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during ongoing clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

RAMOTHIBA, Masai Machuene (61), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RAMOTHIBE, Boikie Jacob (43), was stabbed to death on 9 September 1992 in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, by a known perpetrator who was looking for his son. His daughter was killed in the same attack. Ratanda was tense after conflict between COSATU-affiliated FAWU and IFP-aligned UWUSA. Violence on the factory floor between the unions spilt over into the community leaving scores of people dead and injured.

RAMOTHIBE, Dumazile Patricia (22), was stabbed with spears by a named perpetrator on 9 September 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, while he was looking for her brother. Her father was killed in the same attack. Ratanda was tense after conflict between COSATU-affiliated FAWU and IFP-aligned UWUSA. Violence on the factory floor between the unions spilt over into the community leaving scores of people dead and injured.

RAMOTHIBE, Mapule Sylvia (3), was stabbed with spears by a named perpetrator on 9 September 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl. Her grandfather was killed in the attack.

RAMOTHIBE, Mavis Ntombizodwa (40), had her home damaged in an attack by named perpetrators on 9 September 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl. Her husband was killed and other family members were injured in the attack. Ratanda was tense after conflict between COSATU-affiliated FAWU and IFP-aligned UWUSA. Violence on the factory floor between the unions spilt over into the community leaving scores of people dead and injured.

RAMOTO, Matswene Jacob (38), had his home was burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, during the dispute over the Matlala chieftaincy between Chief BK Matlala, backed by the Lebowa and South African governments, and Chieftainess Matlou Matlala, backed by the ANC-aligned People's Congress.

RAMOTSOMA, Pascal Phindi (17), was injured when members of the SAP opened fire on students attending a rally in Soshanguve, Pretoria, on 13 November 1985.

RAMPA, Betta Mapaseka (18), a COSAS member, was detained under emergency regulations and tortured in detention by named SAP members in Heilbron,

OFS, on 13 June 1986. She suffered a miscarriage in the weeks following her detention. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

RAMPELE, Thomas , was beaten by members of the SAP in Tzaneen, Tvl, during a SADTU protest march against salary deductions on 19 September 1991.

RAMPHALILE, Jonas Raboshoanana , was shot dead by a member of the SAP during investigations into the activities of the THREE MILLION GANG in Kroonstad, OFS, on 15 June 1990. Mr Ramphalile, a suspect in a farm killing during the PAC's Operation Great Storm, was in custody at the time of the shooting. The SAP member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1999/0299).

RAMPHORE, Johannes Morapedi , was shot by a named member of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl, on 9 September 1984. Police allegedly believed that Mr Ramphore was responsible for a politically motivated arson attack.

RAMPONE, Mahase Pieter (21), an ANCYL supporter, was shot and severely beaten by alleged members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Brits, Tvl, on 6 March 1986 at a student meeting which was broken up by police. His leg was amputated as a result of the shooting.

RAMPOTLA, J , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

RAMROCK, Johny , was detained and tortured by members of the Security Branch in 1975 in Johannesburg, because they wanted to know about a new organisation, 'Brotherhood', which had been formed under the BCM.

RANANJEE, Maigan , was detained by members of the Security Branch during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, on 28 February 1985. Charges of assault, public violence and malicious damage to property were laid against him, but withdrawn two months later.

RANDZILANI, Mberegeni Patric (44), lost his home in an arson attack by named perpetrators in Thohoyandou, Venda, on 7 December 1991 because he was accused of engaging in witchcraft.

RANGASAMI, Mr (first name not given), died when an MK operative detonated a car bomb at the Victoria Embankment, Durban, on 3 April 1984. The explosion killed three people, including Mr Rangasami and his wife, and injured 20 others. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the MK command structures in Swaziland that facilitated the attack (AC/2001/175).

RANGASAMI, Ms (first name not given), died when an MK operative detonated a car bomb at the Victoria Embankment, Durban, on 3 April 1984. The explosion killed three people, including Ms Rangasami and her husband, and injured 20 others. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the MK command structures in Swaziland that facilitated the attack (AC/2001/175).

RANGAZA, Ntsokolo Paul (14), an ANCWL supporter, died after being shot by named members of the SAP in Lephoi, Bethulie, OFS, on 29 March 1991, when police clashed with ANC youth supporters during a protest march in the area.

RANGONGO, Moraka Johannes (48), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 15 March during TAXI VIOLENCE linked to intense political conflict.

RANGULA, Toto Daniel (32), was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Fort Beaufort, Cape, during protests and resistance to Black Local Authorities in 1985.

RANGULE, Sphiwo Simon (20), was severely beaten with sjamboks, batons, and rifles by members of the SAP in Fort Beaufort, Cape, during the state of emergency in July 1985. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

RANI, Isaac Ndandenzela 'Madiba' (36), an ANC member and MK operative, was arrested in Rhodesia in 1962 and handed over to the South African police. He was then severely tortured for three days by named members of the SAP in Pretoria. He then served a two-year prison term, and was placed under house arrest in Cape Town after his release.

RANKGABO, German, was shot dead by members of the SAP at the FNB stadium in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 19 April 1993 while running for transport to attend the burial of assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

RANTAO, Elvis Mmolo (42), was assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police following his detention in July 1989 in Zeerust, Tvl. Mr Rantao was accused of killing a Bophuthatswana policeman during community resistance to the forced INCORPORATION of Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein into Bophuthatswana.

RANTAO, Lydia Mmasethunya (36), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police after her arrest on 2 December 1989 in Bafokeng, Bophuthatswana, during a clash between ANC supporters and the Bophuthatswana government.

RANTAO, Mogatlakgomo (62), was shot dead at a bus stop in Zeerust, Bophuthatswana, in July 1991. Mr Rantao's home had been burnt down two weeks before. The attacks occurred during intense conflict between members of the community and the Bophuthatswana government. Mr Rantao was targeted because he supported President Mangope.

RANTAO, Mpho Abram (13), was burnt to death in Zeerust, Bophuthatswana, on 12 June 1991 during political conflict over the chieftainship in the area. Mpho's grandfather was in favour of the Mangope chieftainship, while many other members of the community were not.

RANTAO, Ntseta (69), was injured when her house was petrol-bombed in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, on 12 June 1991 during political conflict over the chieftainship in the area. Ms Rantao's husband was in favour of Mangope's regime, while many other residents were not.

RANTAO, Poloko (4), was killed when his home was burnt down on 12 June 1991 in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, during political conflict over chieftainship in

the area. Poloko's uncle supported Mangope's regime but many other residents did not.

RANTEE, Lefu George (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Smithfield, OFS, on 19 April 1990, when clashes broke out between ANC supporters and the police during a boycott in the town.

RANTIE, Mahomola Solomon (17), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and hacked to death outside his home by named members of the THREE MILLION GANG in Seeisoville, Kroonstad, OFS, on 11 October 1990.

RANTIE, Tsietsi, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by members of the THREE MILLION GANG in Troubou, Kroonstad, OFS, on 27 October 1990. Gang members abducted him and another ANC supporter from a tavern, took them to Troubou and killed them both there.

RANTSAILA, Peter, a prison warder, was killed when a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) detonated a hand grenade while trying to escape from Leeuwhof prison, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 18 December 1993. Three people died and nine were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/145).

RANTSING, Ishmael Molifi (18), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP, in KWA KWATSI, KOPPIES, OFS, during a protest march led by members of the ANC on 30 March 1990. Mr Rantsing lost a kidney as a result of the attack.

RANTSING, Soloman (16), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in KWA KWATSI, KOPPIES, OFS, on 30 March 1990.

RANUNGA, Msutukazi Nancy (36), had her shack burnt and her possessions stolen by IFP supporters in Swanieville, Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 12 May 1991. IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers were retaliating against a previous attack by ANC-supporting squatters and approximately 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people killed and 25 vehicles burnt. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

RANYAOA, Kunyamane Arios (aka Thulani Sibeko), an MK operative, was shot dead with two other operatives by members of the SADF on 25 March 1988 near Derdepoort, Tvl, as they were infiltrating South Africa. A fourth operative was captured.

RAPETSOA, Mabitleng William 'Los' (29), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted in 1988 at Ga-Dikgale, near Pietersburg, Tvl. Mr Rapetsoa died the next year. He was allegedly singled out by named soldiers because he was suspected of involvement in a Johannesburg bomb blast.

RAPHADU, Christina (50), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RAPHELA, Freda Maria (20), an ANC supporter, was constantly harassed, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in February 1986 after her brother was killed, allegedly by members of the Security Police. She surrendered herself to the police

because of continual harassment of her mother. Ms Raphela was tortured and beaten while pregnant, and gave birth to her baby in prison. Her baby bled through the ears, possibly because of Ms Raphela's beating while in detention.

RAPHIPHE, Abram (27), was seriously injured when alleged members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, shot him with birdshot in the eye on 30 May 1992. Police were patrolling the area during political conflict. Ten people were killed in Sharpeville and Sebokeng that day, allegedly as a result of such police patrols.

RAPOO, Nthuru Zipporah (69), an ANC supporter, was tear-gassed, sjambokked and shot by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 21 March 1991 in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, during a meeting to discuss ongoing violence over certain chieftainships in Bophuthatswana.

RAPOO, Samson Ramor wa, was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police in 1993 in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, following protests against the Bophuthatswana government.

RAPUDI, Pieter, an ANCYL supporter, was shot dead by a named perpetrator on 1 January 1986 in Jansenville, Cape. Mr Rapudi was one of many youths who were celebrating the new year by singing freedom songs when the police opened fire to disperse the crowd.

RAPULENG, Ratsie Joseph (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP in Heilbron, OFS, on 9 September 1990. The incident occurred when police opened fire on students who were engaged in a protest demonstration. Though injured, Mr Rapuleng was detained and held for two weeks. He later successfully sued the state for wrongful arrest.

RAPULENG, Tumelo Lehlohonolo (6), was severely injured when shot trying to escape from his grandmother's burning house during an arson attack, allegedly carried out by members of the KHUMALO GANG.

RAPULENG, Zacharia (38), was stabbed to death, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Mshenguville squatter camp, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 1 September 1991. Violent political conflict in the area caused polarisation between residents of townships, hostels and squatter camps which increasingly overlapped political affiliation and ethnic identity.

RAS, Jacob Johannes (37), a sergeant-major in the South African Air Force (SAAF), was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the SAAF headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

RASARHA, (first name not given), a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted

amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

RASEALA, Lucas Thupetsi (34), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, during the dispute over the Matlala chieftaincy between Chief BK Matlala, backed by the Lebowa and South African governments, and Chieftainess Matlou Matlala, backed by the ANC-aligned People's Congress.

RASEBOTSE, MA, a member of the security forces, suffered an attempt on his life when MK operatives attacked a patrol vehicle in Rita township, Lebowa, on 16 June 1990. No one suffered physical injuries. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/98).

RASEGO, Ezekiel Lefu, a UDF supporter, was killed by members of the A-TEAM in Parys, OFS, in November 1985. Three perpetrators were tried and convicted for this killing.

RASELETE, Michael, was shot and injured by gunmen in a red minibus on 3 May 1992 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, Tvl, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. See DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS.

RASENTOERE, William Thabeng (24), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by members of the THREE MILLION GANG at a tavern in Maokeng, Kroonstad, OFS, on 1 June 1990. At the inquest, two perpetrators were reportedly found responsible for the murder, but no charges were laid.

RASETHABA, Lydia Matshidi, was intimidated by members of the Lebowa Police on 1 January 1976 in Pietersburg, Tvl, because her sons were AZAPO members.

RASETHABA, Phokela Yasser (36), was sjambokked, beaten with the butt of a rifle and kicked by members of the SAP on 1 March 1985 in Seshego, Lebowa, because of his trade union activities.

RASHILO, Nor man, was beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 January 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele. At Siyabuswa community hall Mr Rashilo and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and were then sjambokked and beaten where they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted for about 36 hours. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

RASMAN, McArthur Mphitizeli (27), was shot and injured when members of the SADF opened fire on community members campaigning for improved infrastructure in Humansdorp, Cape, in July 1986.

RASMANTE, Mimi Themba Sonamzi (20), was shot by a rubber bullet by members of the SAP in Colesberg, Cape, on 5 July 1985, during widespread protests after four youths had been shot dead. He was later arrested and severely tortured by named members of the SAP, after which he was charged with

public violence and sentenced to an effective two years' imprisonment.

RASMENI, Lena (65), was raped by members of the SADF on 3 August 1985 in Port Elizabeth.

RASMENI, Michael Ntupheko , was one of six persons who were abducted and interrogated by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members near Port St Johns, Transkei, on 20 April 1994, shortly before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Four were shot dead, while Mr Rasmeni and another survived the shooting with injuries. The SDU members believed that they were APLA members who were on their way to disrupt an ANC mass rally. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/045).

RASMENI, Sandile Hur witz , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 24 October 1976 in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING.

RASMENI, Solomon Mandlenkosi (37), an ANC executive member, had his home bombed in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 15 February 1991.

RASONA, Nkosini Jonathan (36), a former ANC community representative, was stabbed to death by an IFP supporter in Stanger, Natal, on 27 July 1993.

RASS, Leonard (13), was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Kleinvllei, Cape Town, on 6 September 1989, while participating in protests against the apartheid election being held that day, which led to numerous injuries and fatalities in and around Cape Town.

RATAU, John , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

RATEFANE, Remaketse Jim (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Rweleleyathunya, Rouxville, OFS, on 9 September 1990 by named members of the INKATHA GANG.

RATHABA, Fusi Shadrack (21), was detained and severely assaulted in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, in June 1990, by members of the SAP. Mr Rathaba was returning from school when he was detained by the police, who were allegedly looking for 'comrades'.

RATHBONE, M , was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

RATHEBE, Betty Johanna (18), was shot dead in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 23 June 1977 by alleged members of the SAP. Ms Rathebe was shot after she heard gunshots and ran out of the house to look for her brother. Students had organised a protest march to John Vorster Square on that day and there was a strong police presence in the area. In 1984 her father was killed under similar circumstances.

RATHEBE, Isaac Moeletsi (53), died after being shot with rubber bullets by members of the SAP outside

his home in Soweto, Johannesburg, during political conflict on 21 September 1984. Police were patrolling the township and shot him in the head while he was on his own property. In 1976 his daughter had been killed under similar circumstances.

RATHETHE, Peter , a trade unionist and ANC supporter, was taken to an IFP-controlled hostel by members of the SAP and severely assaulted in 1991 at Tembisa, Tvl, during violence between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

RATHOKOLO, Frans (64), a People's Congress supporter, was severely beaten, allegedly by supporters of Chief Matlala, in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980 because Mr Rathokolo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. He died the next day as a result of his injuries.

RATHOKOLO, Kwama Solomon (34), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because he Mr Rathokolo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

RATHOKOLO, Makwena Lydia (64), had her house destroyed by named perpetrators at GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 3 February 1980 during conflict between Chief Matlala's supporters and the ANC. Her husband was abducted, assaulted, and fatally injured.

RATLADI, Sthembiso James (17), was sjambokked, hit with batons and rifle butts all over his body by named SAP members in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 5 July 1986 during a night vigil of a political activist. The state of emergency prohibited political gatherings and members of the SAP and SADF surrounded the tent before entering and severely beating people. Mr Ratladi suffered permanent damage to his eye as a result of the attack.

RATLOU, Aubrey Mothusi , was shot and injured by members of the SAP in June 1986 in Kagiso, Tvl, during the state of emergency.

RATLOU, Simon Sello (28), a UDF supporter, was arrested at a rally and assaulted and tortured during his detention, allegedly by named members of the CID, in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, on 21 April 1991.

RATSOMA, Ralekoe Oriah (64), an ANC member, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, in 1978 because of his political affiliation.

RAUBACH, DM , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

RAUTENBACH, Y , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

RAVEL, James, was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

RAVELE, Jonah Mbengeni, was detained and tortured in December 1983 in Thohoyandou, Venda, for helping MK operatives with food, shelter and supplies.

RAWANA, Mongameli Austin (36), an ANC member, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 23 March 1985 after the 'necklacing' to death of a local COUNCILLOR at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape.

RAWULA, Zukile (19), was stabbed to death on 16 November 1987 during conflict between UDF supporters and the AMAAFRIKA in Tyoksville, near Uitenhage, Cape.

RAYI, Mzukisi W ilberfor ce Azisa (15), was detained and tortured in July 1985 by named perpetrators in Port Alfred, Cape. He was found guilty of public violence in August 1986.

RAYI, Thandile (17), was shot dead on 4 April 1985 when members of the SAP opened fire on youths stoning a policeman's house in Port Alfred, Cape.

RAZAM, Rivaz, a member of the Baha'i faith community, died when he and two others were shot and killed by APLA operatives at the Baha'i Faith Centre, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 13 March 1994. The victims, though of Iranian extraction, were allegedly regarded by the perpetrators as 'whites'. A vehicle was also stolen during the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2001/271).

REASSUME, Joanie, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

REBE, Erick Mxolisi, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Knysna, Cape, on 16 March 1986, during a day of unrest in which one youth was shot dead and five others wounded.

RENGASAMI, Annamalai, was killed on 3 April 1984 when an MK operative detonated a car bomb on the Esplanade, Durban, killing three people and injuring 20. Mr Regasami's wife was also killed in the explosion. A related amnesty application was received, pointing to police involvement.

RENGASAMI, Leelavathie, was killed on 3 April 1984 when an MK operative detonated a car bomb on the Esplanade, Durban, killing three people and injuring 20. Ms Regasami's husband was also killed in the explosion. A related amnesty application was received, pointing to police involvement.

RENYA, Mantyi (29), a PAC supporter, was shot and injured while participating in a Poqo march to the police station and prison in Paarl, Cape, on 21 November 1962. Five marchers were shot dead and two Paarl residents were killed by Poqo supporters. Mr Renya was arrested, convicted of sabotage and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

RESANT, Mervin, was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

REUBEN MURRAY, Anand, was stabbed and burnt to death by UDF supporters in Phoenix, Durban, on 13 August 1985 in intensifying political conflict.

RHADEBE, Zandile (18), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in September 1993 in intense conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS. About 22 deaths and 19 injuries in 14 incidents were recorded in Bhambayi that month.

RHANYI, Lukas Obert Thokozani (13), was injured in an explosion while working as a guard at the Bosschoek military camp in Wasbank, near Glencoe, Natal, in April 1987. He had picked up an object from the ground and was carrying it when he slipped and dropped the object, which exploded. His hand was amputated at Ladysmith Hospital.

RHAPHASA, Alpheus, was injured in a landmine explosion on a road near the Zimbabwe border, Messina, Tvl, on 5 May 1987. Another passenger in the truck was also injured. The ANC claimed responsibility for this MK operation.

RHERETYANE, Abram V uyisile, died on 10 February 1991 after he had been shot by members of the ISU on 26 January 1991 in Jouberton, Klersdorp, Tvl, during a consumer boycott in the area.

RHOMO, Gudleni (44), had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters on 18 April 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters. About 1 000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in political violence in Mpumalanga, that year, leaving many dead and thousands homeless.

RHULA, Ben, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 11 August 1976.

RIBEIRO, Fabian Defu, a doctor and a supporter of the liberation movement, was shot dead, along with his wife, outside their home at Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 1 December 1986. The operation was planned jointly by SADF Special Forces and the Northern Transvaal Security Branch. Eight Special Forces and Security Branch operatives, including the commanding officers of both, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/0188; AC/1999/0190; AC/1999/0196; AC/1999/0193; AC/1999/0194; AC/1999/0030; AC/1999/0031 and AC/1999/0032).

RIBEIRO, Florence, a supporter of the liberation movement, was shot dead, along with her husband, outside their home at Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 1 December 1986. The operation was planned jointly by SADF Special Forces and the Northern Transvaal Security Branch. Eight Special Forces and Security Branch operatives, including the commanding officers of both, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/0188; AC/1999/0190; AC/1999/0196; AC/1999/0193; AC/1999/0194; AC/1999/0030; AC/1999/0031 and AC/1999/0032).

RICHARDS, Caroline, had her home destroyed in an arson attack in KwaMondli, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 30 November 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Three family members were killed in the attack.

RICHARDS, Mymoena (43), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and tear-gassed by members of the SAP during the POLLSMOOR MARCH on 28 August 1985 in Athlone, Cape Town.

RICHARDSON, Dorothy (51), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

RICHARDSON, JM, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

RIET, Monapula Ishmael (20), an ANC supporter, died after being shot by a member of the SAP in Dithlake, Koffiefontein, OFS, on 16 May 1991, after a community residents' meeting calling for the building of a new high school. Seventeen other people were injured in the shooting.

RIKABE, Sharon Raymond Lethusang (23), former secretary of the Moleleki Civic Association, survived an assassination attempt by a group of self-defence unit (SDU) members in Katlehong, Tvl, on 6 December 1993 when their guns jammed. Following the incident, 11 other ANC supporters were killed, nine execution-style, by SDU members in Moleleki Section, Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993 during conflict between the local ANCYL, the local civic association and SDU members. The SDU members involved applied for but were denied amnesty.

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

ROBERT, K, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

ROBERTS, Ben Pakiso (27), a FAWU member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while participating in a labour strike in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 4 December 1992. Two police vans entered the work premises and police opened fire on striking miners, injuring six.

ROBERTS, Izak, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

ROBERTS, Molathegi Samuel (18), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by AWB members on 9 March 1994 in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana. He was returning from an ANC rally at a local stadium when the attack took place.

ROBERTSON, JD, a clergyman and a critic of apartheid, was harassed by members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch between 1982 and 1994. One Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/005 and AC/2001/184).

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

ROBITS, F, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

ROBSINI, Maria Nomthandazo (22), was beaten and suffocated with a tube by a named member of the SAP while under interrogation at Cambridge police station, East London, on 15 April 1986.

RODE, Limini Petros (38), an ANC supporter and active in the local residents' committee, was tortured by members of the Ciskei Police on 8 August 1987 in Mdantsane, Ciskei.

RODGERS, Adrienne Dawn (19), was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Gardiner Street, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076).

ROE, M, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The

explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

ROEBECK, RAC, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their various roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

ROETS, Magrieta, suffered an attempt on her life when the Lady Grey police station, OFS, was attacked by APLA operatives in January 1992. The perpetrators fired shots and threw a hand grenade at the station. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0057).

ROETS, Nicolaas, suffered an attempt on his life when the Lady Grey police station, OFS, was attacked by APLA operatives during January 1992. The perpetrators fired shots and threw a hand grenade at the station. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0057).

ROETS, Stephanus, suffered an attempt on his life when the Lady Grey police station, OFS, was attacked by APLA operatives during January 1992. The perpetrators fired shots and threw a hand grenade at the station. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0057).

ROETS, Susana Catharina, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

ROGERS, Richard (48), was beaten with an iron rod by members of the SADF 32 Battalion on 8 April 1992 in his shack in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl. Members of 32 Battalion raided Phola Park after claiming they were fired on by residents of the area. The SADF were in the area to act as 'peacekeepers' between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

ROJI, Fusante Stanley (68), survived an attempted murder when attackers opened fire on his home in King William's Town, Cape, in 1992.

ROLIHLAHLA, Nyanisile (32), was shot by members of the security forces in Whittlesea, Ciskei, in July 1991, while participating in a march organised by ANC-affiliated organisations.

RONOTI, Mqawelana Henry (40), was tortured by members of the SAP on 1 January 1963 in Kronstad prison, Burgersdorp, Cape, allegedly because he was suspected of being a member of the PAC.

RONOTI, Nogcinumzi, an ANC supporter, lost his home in an arson attack by members of the PAC in Mount Fletcher, Transkei, during 1993.

ROODT, Martin, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Elsies River, Cape Town, on 17 June 1980, during a two-day stayaway commemorating the start of the SOWETO UPRISING. His wife, Edith Lewis, was shot dead that day and his son also injured.

ROOI, Guybon Jomo (26), an ANC member, was shot and axed with a panga by men wearing balaclavas in Site B, Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 19 July 1991. After his discharge from hospital he lost all his belongings when his residence in Site C was burnt down during an arson and shooting attack that left a friend dead. See BALACLAVA GROUPS.

ROOPLALL, Sanjay (15), was stabbed during political riots in Phoenix, Durban, on 13 August 1985. With two other family members, he was then taken to nearby Amatikwe, where all three were burnt to death. IFP supporters were carrying out a series of sustained attacks on Indian families and traders in Phoenix at the time, following the killing of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in Umlazi on 1 August. Forty-seven shops were looted and razed by fire. Five hundred Indian families fled from the area.

ROOS, Cornelia, was killed when the car in which she and her family were travelling detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives on a road in Karino, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 17 August 1986. One of her sons was also killed and two others were seriously injured. The attack formed part of 'Operation Cetshwayo', an MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/111). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

ROOS, Corrie (18 months), was seriously injured when the car in which he and his family were travelling detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives on a road in Karino, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 17 August 1986. His mother and brother were killed and another brother was seriously injured. The attack formed part of 'Operation Cetshwayo', an MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/111). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

ROOS, Johan, was seriously injured when the car in which he and his family were travelling detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives on a road in Karino, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 17 August 1986. His mother and brother were killed, and another brother was seriously injured. The attack formed part of 'Operation Cetshwayo', an MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/111). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

ROOS, Johannes Jacobus (8), was fatally wounded in August 1986 in Nelspruit, Tvl, when the car he was travelling in detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives. The landmines were planted as part of an ANC campaign aimed at the SADF and commandos in rural areas. The campaign was abandoned due to the high number of civilian casualties.

ROSE, William, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Ravensmead, Cape, on 17 June 1980. Mr Rose was one of several people shot dead and injured during a period of unrest.

ROSENBERG, SA, a lance corporal in the SADF, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured.

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

ROSENOKO, Malehana (50), had her house burnt down by an IFP supporter during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

ROSSOUW, Alber tus, a sergeant in the SAP, was injured when his police patrol vehicle detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives, on the road between Barberton and Josefsdal, Tvl, on 14 December 1986. The attack formed part of 'Operation Cetshwayo', an MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/111). See ANC **LANDMINE CAMPAIGN**.

ROSSOUW, Michael Antonie, a member of the SAP, was shot and wounded on 13 July 1993 when the vehicle in which he was travelling was fired on at Heilbron, Tvl. See **APLA ATTACKS**. Three APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0002).

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

ROTWANA, Tembeka Amanda (31), lost her home near Crossroads, Cape Town, on 18 May 1986, in an arson attack during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

ROUSSEAU, Doreen (57), was injured when members of APLA carried out an attack on the Highgate Hotel, East London, on 1 May 1993. Five people were killed and several others injured. See **APLA ATTACKS**.

ROXISO, Deliswa Sweetiness (19), a member of SAAWU, was shot dead by members of the Ciskei Police in Mdantsane, Ciskei, while she was returning from a funeral on 8 November 1981.

ROXO, Makalima Napoleon Varkie (15), a UDF activist, was tortured by named members of the SAP in April 1986 in Pearson, Cape. Makalima was one of several other youths accused of involvement in the killing of an alleged police collaborator.

RUBUSHE, Betty Nokuthemba, was shot and injured by members of the SAP who opened fire on PAC members and bystanders outside a PAC meeting in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 6 January 1994. A young boy was shot dead and several others injured in the shooting.

RUBUSHE, Lulama, was assaulted by members of the SADF during protests in Ndakana, near King William's Town, Cape, in 1992.

RUBUSHE, Vusumzi (25), was hacked and burnt to death by 'necklacing' by UDF supporters during conflict between two residents' associations at

Mooiplaas, near East London, on 13 April 1986. Mr Rubushe had opposed the killing of headmen.

RUBUSHE, Wele (47), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 12 August 1985.

RUITER, Ntsonyane Boy (23), was shot and severely injured by a member of the SAP in Steynsburg, Cape, in 1985 during the state of emergency. He was reportedly arrested at Livingstone Hospital and charged with public violence. The case against him was dismissed. See **POLICE BRUTALITY**.

RUITERS, Pieter (32), an ANC supporter, was severely injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See **RIGHT-WING ATTACKS**.

RUITERS, Sandra Nomvuyo (20), was kicked and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Aberdeen, Cape, on 15 June 1985 during the state of emergency. There was a rent boycott in the area and police were patrolling the streets. See **POLICE BRUTALITY**.

RULA, Benjamin Desmond (34), was shot by members of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 11 August 1976, and died the following day, after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to Cape Town. Over 20 people were shot dead by police that day.

RULASHE, Dumile Drimond (46), was abducted and beaten by alleged members of the Bophuthatswana Police in August 1989 in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, at the Bophuthatswana independence day festivities.

RUSTOFF, Hendriek Tully (30), was shot and injured by traffic officers in Randfontein, Tvl, in October 1990.

RWANQANA, Khoyi Mountain, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Steynsburg, Cape, on 19 February 1986.

RWARWA, Mpumelelo Vincent (24), an ANC supporter and youth activist, was severely beaten on 8 April 1986 and shot dead by named members of the Riot Unit on 26 October 1986 in KTC, Cape Town.

RWAYI, Vulindlela, a political activist, was beaten and tortured in Willowvale, Transkei, in April 1963 during a state of emergency.

RWEQANA, Andile Andrew (36), was shot dead by members of the Ciskei Police at his home during protests in King William's Town, Cape, on 17 July 1987.

RWEXU, Mava Xolela (42), lost his home in an arson attack on 1 July 1986 in Grahamstown, Cape, allegedly because his sister was a member of the SAP.

RYAN, William Henry (52), was injured in a bomb blast in Vanderbijlpark, Johannesburg, on 23 September 1989. The explosion was allegedly the work of MK operatives as part of their campaign to destabilise the apartheid government.

RYKLIEF, Ghalieb (17), was shot and injured by members of the Railway Police in Athlone, Cape Town, on 15 October 1985, in the **TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT**, CAPE TOWN. Several weeks later Ghalieb was arrested at school, severely beaten at the Manenberg police station, and detained for several months.

RYKLIEF, Ismaiel (13), was shot and injured by members of the Railway Police in Athlone, Cape Town, on 15 October 1985, in the TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN.

RYKLIEF, Mogamat Shafwaan (16), was shot and injured by members of the Railway Police in Athlone, Cape Town, on 15 October 1985, in the TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN.

RYKLIEF, Zainab (36), was shot and injured by members of the Railway Police in Athlone, Cape Town, on 15 October 1985, in the TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN.

RYLAND, Peter Lester Malcolm, was killed when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

SAAIRES, Rojen (20), a UDF activist, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Knysna, Cape, on 3 December 1985. At least one other person was injured in the shooting.

SABANI, Dumezweni Patrick (23), was shot and killed by named members of the SAP at Reyini, near Adelaide, Cape, on 27 July 1988 while attending a soccer match. There was a confrontation that day between police and community members.

SABATANA, Mncedisi W elcome, a prominent APLA member from East London, was killed by APLA members in 1984 in Tanzania as a result of political division in the organisation. Mr Sabatana had gone into exile in 1975.

SABELA, Debra Baphi (22), had her home burnt down in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 27 March 1994 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her brother was severely burnt while trying to save items from the burning house.

SABELA, Lucky Muzikayise (15), was severely burnt on 27 March 1994 while trying to save items from a burning house in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SABELA, Skhumbuzo (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters who attacked his mother's home at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1993. Mr Sabela lost his sight in one eye as a result of the attack.

SABELA, Thoko Regina (48), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1993. Her son was shot and severely injured in the attack.

SABELA, Thokozile Duduzile (59), had her home and possessions destroyed by unidentified persons in KwaShozi, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in May 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SABELO, Cyril Musa, was stabbed and injured by members of the ANCYL in Chatsworth, Durban, on 26 December 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

SABELO, Evelyn (53), an Inkatha leader, was killed in a hand grenade explosion at her home in Umlazi, Durban on 22 August 1986. The explosion, caused by a named perpetrator, allegedly a UDF supporter, occurred in the aftermath of the killing of human rights lawyer Victoria Mxenge. Ms Sabelo's son was severely injured in the explosion.

SABELO, Florence (34), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by unidentified persons on 16 February 1992 in violent conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. One person was killed and seven homes burnt down in Bhambayi in February 1992.

SABELO, Ian Bongani Smith (21), an Inkatha supporter, was severely injured in a hand grenade explosion at his home in Umlazi, Durban, on 22 August 1986. His mother, who also died in the attack, was a well-known Inkatha leader. The explosion, caused by a named perpetrator, allegedly a UDF supporter, occurred in the aftermath of the killing of human rights lawyer Victoria Mxenge.

SABELO, Jabulani (34), an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during 1992. He died of his injuries at Ngwelezana Hospital on 9 May 1993.

SABELO, Jabulani, an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters at Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 May 1993.

SABELO, Johannes (50), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters on 25 December 1985 in Ezimbokodweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in what became known as the UMBUMBULU MASSACRE.

SABELO, Thuleleni Irene (49), an ANC supporter, had her house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

SABELO, Winnington, a member of the IFP Central Committee and the Umlazi Dispute Resolution Committee, was shot dead in his shop by ANC supporters on 7 February 1992 in Umlazi, Durban.

SABI, Eddie Simphiwe (18), Tokoza COSAS general secretary, was severely beaten by members of the Special Branch in 1986 in Tokoza, Tvl. The police were reportedly seeking information on student activists in the area, many of whom had gone into exile.

SABOSHEGO, Potlako Mokgwadi (17), a PAC member, was arrested on 8 August 1986 in Daveyton, Tvl. During his detention he was tortured and beaten by members of the SAP.

SACCO, Robert, an ANC supporter, lost his home in an arson attack by named members of the Security Police on 19 December 1981 in Rhodes, Cape. Right-wing residents and farmers reportedly tried to discourage the influx of predominantly left-wing young people to the area.

SACHS, Albert 'Albie' Louis, an ANC member, was severely injured and lost his arm in a car bomb explosion in Maputo, Mozambique, on 7 April 1986. The bomb was planted by CCB operatives. One member of SADF Military Intelligence was granted

amnesty for providing target information on an MK operative whom he alleged to have been the target of the attack (AC/2001/257).

SADIKI, Mavhangu Samuel , an ANC activist, was arrested and detained by members of the SADF and Venda Police in Thohoyandou, Venda.

SADIKI, Rossert (33), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Venda Police on 13 June 1986 in Vleifontein, Tvl, during forced removals in the area.

SAFERS, Deon Walter (24), a UDF and ANC supporter, was arrested on public violence charges and severely beaten by named policemen in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 21 April 1986. All charges were later dropped. He was detained on 16 June 1986 and held under emergency regulations for four months in George prison, Cape. He was again arrested and beaten by police on 15 July 1987. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

SAHAWULI, Pumelele (25), a Poqo member, was tortured in detention and convicted of sabotage in 1962 in Paarl, Cape, and sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town.

SAICH, J , was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

SAJINI, Nomthandazo Sylvia , was tear-gassed by members of the SAP in Plettenberg Bay, Cape, in 1990, when police fired teargas into a crowded hall where residents were meeting.

SAKANLA, Pumelele , a PAC supporter, was a participant in a Poqo march to storm the police station and prison in Paarl, Cape, on 21 November 1962. Five marchers were shot dead and two Paarl residents were killed by Poqo supporters. Mr Sakanla was convicted of sabotage and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

SAKATI, Xolile Shepard (aka 'Charles Jack') , an *askari*, and three Eastern Cape Security Branch operatives were killed in the MOTHERWELL CAR BOMB explosion, Port Elizabeth, on 14 December 1989, in a joint operation by the Eastern Cape Security Branch and Security Branch headquarters. Two operatives from the Eastern Cape Security Branch and seven from Security Branch headquarters, including the *Vlakplaas* commander and his commanding officer, were refused amnesty for the operation. Applicants presented different versions as to why the four had been killed (AC/1999/0345).

SAKHA, Mazola (25), a UDF supporter, had her house in Umbogintwini, near Durban, burnt down in January 1986 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters. Inkatha supporters were allegedly using arson attacks to drive UDF supporters out of the area.

SAKIA, Jef frey Tumisang , (21), was severely beaten by SAP members in Upington, Cape, on 3 December 1985, after which he was charged, with 25 others, for the crowd killing of a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN. One of the UPINGTON 26, Mr Sakia was sentenced to six years' imprisonment, overturned on appeal.

SAKMAN, Kedanile , a primary school pupil, was detained for three months from 9 September 1993 in Venterstad, Cape. He was accused of burning down a policeman's house and tortured. He later sued the Minister of Safety and Security for wrongful arrest.

SAKOANE, Keketso Moalosi , secretary of the BCP local branch, was severely beaten in January 1967 in Johannesburg. He was charged with sabotage and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on Robben Island. Mr Sakoane and all who attended a meeting called by Chief Jonathan and the King of Lesotho were targeted by security forces, as the apartheid regime supported the new Lesotho government.

SAKU, Xolile Eric (20), a member of the ANCYL and the Uitenhage Youth Congress, was arrested on 7 March 1987 in Port Elizabeth and tortured in detention by members of the SAP.

SAKULAKAZANA, Jonguvuyo Thabane (23), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter at KwaMashu, Durban, on 10 September 1988.

SALAGAE, Isaac Mothooselle (30), was severely assaulted by Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, during September 1988. He was attending a community meeting that demanded the return of Chief Mankuroane when it was violently dispersed by Bophuthatswana security forces.

SALI, George Mncedisi (17), an ANC supporter, was left a paraplegic after being shot by members of the SAP in Katilehong, Tvl, on 2 January 1994.

SALI, John Delekile (56), was left a paraplegic after being assaulted by members of the SAP during conflict between the community residents and the police in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, in June 1986.

SALIE, Shamiel (29), an employee at Nedbank in Caledon Street, Uitenhage, Cape, suffered severe trauma when he was taken hostage and used as a human shield by APLA operatives during a foiled bank robbery on 4 January 1994. See APLA ATTACKS. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty for the armed robbery and kidnapping (AC/2000/125).

SALIWA, Mveleli Thanduxolo (22), an ANC supporter, was tortured in detention by members of the Security Branch in East London in 1981.

SALIWA, Mzolisi Wellington (23), was detained and tortured on 17 November 1987 in Zeerust Police station, Tvl, after being arrested at the Bophuthatswana border on his way to Botswana.

SALIWA, Ndawoyakhe Mnywabe (55) lost his house when it was burnt down by named persons in Keilands, Cofimvaba, Transkei, in 1977. He and others were forcefully removed from their land by the authority of Kaizer Matanzima.

SALIWA, Zihlalele Ntanese , a traditional headman, was stabbed to death by a named person during political conflict in Boomplaas, Cofimvaba, Transkei, in 1983. His supporters had been forcibly removed from their land in Keilands by the Transkei authorities, and moved to Boomplaas.

SALMAN, Welile (30), an ANC member, was shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on

26 October 1990 at a roadblock in Zeerust, Tvl, while returning from exile in Zambia after he and others had been granted indemnity.

SALMAN, WG, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SALMANI, Mzoxolo Leonard (33), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by ADM members during political conflict in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 2 April 1993.

SALOOJEE, Rokaya (28), was psychologically and mentally ill-treated by a named member of the SAP on 9 September 1964 in Johannesburg, Tvl when she was told that her husband, who was in police custody, had jumped out of Grey's building and was in hospital. Her family subsequently found his body at the mortuary.

SALOOJEE, Suliman, an ANC member, died in police custody on 9 September 1964 after he allegedly jumped out of a window on the seventh floor of Security Branch headquarters while being interrogated by the members of the Security Branch.

SALUKAZANA, Benjamin (40), an ANC supporter, died after being severely assaulted, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, in June 1993. Residents had reportedly been informed by the local IFP leader that all Xhosa-speaking residents would be attacked because they were ANC supporters.

SALUKAZANA, Nomathemba (25), an ANC supporter, was beaten to death, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, in June 1993. Residents had reportedly been informed by the local IFP leader that all Xhosa-speaking people would be attacked because they were ANC supporters.

SALUMANI, Thamsanqa Edmand (69), an ANC member and executive member of SANCO, lost his house in an arson attack by ADM supporters during political conflict in King William's Town, Cape, on 2 April 1993.

SAM, Benjamin, was shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 June 1992.

SAM, David Macala (39), was shot by a member of the SAP on 24 March 1991 in Daveyton, Tvl, in an event known as the 'Daveyton massacre', when police opened fire on a group of about 200 residents at a meeting to protest against an IFP gathering in the area. Thirteen people were killed and 29 injured.

SAM, Dumisani Edwin (29), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the Security Branch on 9 June 1987 in East London while he was being questioned about ANC activities.

SAM, Mlindeli Bethwell (27), a member of ANCYL, was severely beaten by named members of the CDF and ADM in King William's Town, Cape, in October 1992. The perpetrators allegedly wanted to know why the CDF and ADM were discussed at ANCYL meetings.

SAM, Mthetho Alpheus (22), an ANC member, was tortured by members of the SAP in June 1963 in East London allegedly because of his political activities.

SAM, Simphiwo Merven (14), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 6 January 1994. Simphiwo was with other children watching police helicopters approaching a PAC meeting when police opened fire. Several others were injured in the shooting.

SAMBO 'Sweet', an ANC supporter, was interrogated and tortured by members of the SAP and Security Branch in Komatipoort, Tvl, on 4 July 1991.

SAMBO, (first name not given), was robbed of his vehicle by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 10 February 1992. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/231).

SAMBO, Franscisa, was killed when she and her sister were abducted from home, raped and shot by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1993. Her sister was wounded in the attack. One month earlier, their home was attacked and burnt. The SDU members believed the two sisters were IFP supporters. Three SDU members were granted amnesty for the arson attack. Four SDU members, who had not participated in the rape, were granted amnesty for the killing and attempted killing (AC/2000/139).

SAMBO, Johannes 'Sweet', died at Sqamaans, Tvl, on 4 July 1991 while being tortured during interrogation by members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch, who suspected him of being an ANC supporter. His body was later completely destroyed by *Vlakplaas* operatives using explosives at the Verdacht weapons range. Four *Vlakplaas* operatives, including the commander, were granted amnesty for the killing (AC/2001/141).

SAMBO, Joseph Keane, was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SAMBO, Sam, was abducted and tortured by SADF members at Matsulu, KaNgwane, during 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/277).

SAMBO, Sasco Sozabile (18), an ANC supporter, was in a group of 'comrades' walking near a policeman's house singing political songs when a named policeman and members of the SADF shot at them on 19 May 1986 in Komatipoort, Tvl. Some of his 'comrades' were injured and others died in the shooting.

SAMBO, Sibongile (aka 'Doris') (32), was severely injured when she and her sister were abducted from home, raped and shot by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1993. Her sister was killed in the attack. One month earlier, their home was attacked and burnt. The SDU members believed the two sisters were IFP supporters. Three SDU members were granted amnesty for the arson attack. Four SDU members, who had not participated in the rape, were granted amnesty for the killing and attempted killing (AC/2000/139).

SAMBO, Sizombi Mir riam, was severely burnt in an attempted killing in KaNyamazane, KaNgwane, on 16 August 1990, during a boycott of Matsebula Transport. People using the buses during the boycott were allegedly victimised.

SAMBO, Trea Gulaphi, was detained at Komatipoort Police station, Tvl, on 28 April 1980 and tortured by members of the SAP because her cousins were MK operatives. Her father, brother and cousins were detained at the same time. Ms Sambo was then detained at the Barberton prison for several months, during which time she had to undergo surgery as a result of her injuries.

SAME, Dick (29), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten and tortured through electric shocks and suffocation by members of the SAP in December 1986 in Port Alfred, Cape, because he refused to admit that a rifle found in a car was his own. At the time the police and soldiers were deployed in the township and roadblocks set up on roads leading into the township.

SAMELO, Andries Pakiso (35), was severely injured when members of the AVF detonated an explosive at Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 8 December 1993, during a right-wing campaign to force the government to acknowledge their struggle for the creation of a *volkstaat*. Four people were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0001).

SAMSON, Xolile (aka 'Valdez Thabang'), an MK operative, was shot and injured during an arrest by *Vlakplaas* operatives and members of the SAP's Special Task Force at Vosloorus, Tvl, on 7 November 1988. Despite his injuries he was immediately interrogated and severely assaulted, dying shortly thereafter. Five *Vlakplaas* operatives, including the commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/146).

SAMUEL, Lee (30), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in George, Cape, on 13 September 1976, during protests related to the SOWETO UPRISING. Mr Samuel was later charged with public violence but was acquitted.

SAMUELS, Billy (56), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during ongoing conflict between the ANC and the IFP in April 1993. He was also shot and wounded on 20 April 1993.

SANA, Wiseman Zitembile (45), had his business premises destroyed in a bombing attack by members of the AWB on 13 August 1993 in Queenstown, Cape. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0029).

SANDI, Nontyantyambo Medeline (17), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death by 'comrades' on 27 August 1986 in Grahamstown, Cape. She was accused of being a collaborator.

SANDILE, Nelson Mtutu, an ANC supporter, was repeatedly arrested and tortured during 1961 in Transkei.

SANDILE, Nozukile Nonampondo Nanyawuza (33), an ANC supporter, was beaten by members of the Transkei Police, in Transkei, during 1976.

SANGO, Makhosandile David (53), had his house and possessions burnt in an arson attack at Inanda,

near KwaMashu, Durban, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area in 1993.

SANGONI, Zolile (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 5 February 1988 by members of the Transkei Police on the road to Umtata, Transkei.

SANGOTSHA, Buyisile Samuel (71), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by ADM supporters during political conflict in King William's Town, Cape, on 2 April 1993.

SANGOTSHA, Mxolisi (35), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by ADM members during political conflict at Bhele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 2 April 1993.

SANGWENI, Doctor Mbengeni (21) an ANC supporter, was shot dead at his home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 March 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SANGWENI, Enock Scoreman (26), was wounded in a random shooting by a member of the KWAZULU POLICE on 1 January 1990 in Umlazi, Durban, and died a few weeks later.

SANGWENI, Eveline (40), an ANC supporter, had her house in KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack on 20 March 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Her son was killed in the attack.

SANGWENI, Fanazana George (36), was shot dead during political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl, on 6 September 1993.

SANGWENI, Gladys Basta (40), was injured when she was stabbed with a sharp object by Inkatha supporters who attacked her neighbour's home at Nhlazatshe, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg on 30 August 1987. Ms Sangweni was visiting at the time of the attack. The incident took place during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

SANGWENI, Khosi Irine (39), had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 July 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

SANGWENI, Killeyn Ntuluyise (58), was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 30 August 1987, while at a neighbour's house. His wife and daughter were injured when the attackers petrol-bombed the house.

SANGWENI, Mandla Simon (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by SAP members in Kutloanong, Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 12 August 1990. This occurred at a time of widespread and lengthy boycotts in areas of the OFS.

SANGWENI, Mhlengeni, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 March 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

SANGWENI, Moffet Lucky (21), a UDF supporter, was arrested, handcuffed, tied to a car, dragged around and assaulted by members of the SAP in Pietermaritzburg on 1 June 1987, allegedly because he refused to join Inkatha. Later in the same year he was detained for 90 days.

SANGWENI, Moses , a civilian, was assaulted by MK operatives in an armed attack by the operatives on the Moroka police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1979. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

SANGWENI, Nonjabulo (8 months), was severely injured at Nhlazatshe, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 30 August 1987, when IFP supporters hacked her with a panga while she was being carried on her mother's back. Her parents were visiting a neighbour, whose house was petrol-bombed by the attackers. Nonjabulo's father was killed in the attack and her mother injured.

SANGWENI, Phakamane (14), sustained severe burn wounds and had his family home burnt down in a petrol bomb attack by Inkatha supporters in Nhlazatshe, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg in August 1987 during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

SANGWENI, Philemon , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

SANGWENI, Sam , a civilian, was injured in an armed attack by MK operatives on the Moroka police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1979. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

SANGWENI, Sibongiseni , an ANC supporter, was shot dead at his home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 March 1992, during ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

SANGWENI, Zandile Christopholar (15), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters on her way home from school in Pietermaritzburg, on 27 August 1987.

SANQGU, Sipwe (30), was shot and blinded in one eye by members of the SAP during unrest near KTC, Cape Town, on 9 October 1985, while coming home from work on a taxi.

SANQWANE, Dumisani (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and paralysed by named members of the Chesterville A-TEAM in Chesterville, Durban, in June 1986.

SANTOS, Bongani , a member of a self-defence unit (SDU), was shot and injured by a member of the 'Joshua Squad' police unit on 27 August 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. The 'Joshua Squad' operated on a shoot-to-kill policy because it could not secure convictions against SDUs. Mr. Santos was shot along with two other SDU members.

SANUSE, Lulamile , died when he was shot and robbed of his firearm by MK operatives in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 4 August 1993. The perpetrator alleged that they were given orders by their commanders to eliminate members of the Ciskei police and military in retaliation of the killings of ANC supporters. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0241).

SAPO, Livingstone Siphelo (39), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the Transkei Police during a consumer boycott in Lusikisiki, Transkei, on 20 December 1989.

SARAGE, Muntu Elizabeth (46), had her house burnt down by named IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 March 1991 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SARDHINA, Dianne W inifred , sustained damage to her property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

SASA, John Lesiba (75), lost his house in arson attack by supporters of Chief BK Matlala on 1 March 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa because Mr Sasa resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SASA, Piet , was beaten by members of the SAP in February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, and died a year later as a result of his injuries. GaMatlala was tense at the time due to resistance to the proposed independence of Lebowa.

SATEGE, Abel Latang (26), was shot in the back by IFP supporters on 3 May 1991 in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict in the area following numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SATEKGE, Matjebe Samuel , an SAP member, was ambushed and then shot and killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) near his home in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 February 1993. Three SDU members were granted amnesty for this killing (AC/2000/119).

SATHEKGE, Elliot , a COSAS member, was recruited for military training by a Security Branch agent purporting to be an MK operative, and was killed in the NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH near the Botswana border on 26 June 1986. Eight operatives from SADF Special Forces, Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/0190; AC/1999/0192; AC/1999/0194; AC/1999/0031; AC/1999/0188; AC/1999/0030 and AC/1999/0197).

SATHEKGE, Emma Mathodi (15), was knocked down and killed by members of the SAP driving a Hippo on 13 February 1984 in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, during a demonstration at the Dr Peta Senior Secondary School.

SATHEKGE, Naredi Louis (20), was detained by police in Soshanguve, Pretoria, in 1986. He was suspected of burning down a police officer's house at a time when attacks on police had intensified.

SAUGASI, Aletta (45), was shot and injured in Vrede, OFS, on 28 April 1993, when police opened fire on a protest march calling for the release of children from custody.

SAUL, Thando Amos (17), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured when members of the SAP opened fire on a group of youths destroying a food delivery truck in Cookhouse, Cape, on 12 March 1985. On discharge from hospital he was arrested and charged with theft.

SAUL, Thembani (22), a member of SAYCO, was shot dead by members of the CDF in Skolweni, Alice, Ciskei, on 3 March 1990. Mr Saul was allegedly engaged in political activities at Skolweni when he was ordered out of the location, and killed when he refused to leave.

SAUNDERS, AGW, a colonel in the SADF, was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

SAUNDERS, MCM, a member of the SADF, was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

SAVAGE, Beth (44), was seriously injured in a grenade attack by APLA supporters in King William's Town, Cape, on 28 November 1992. See APLA ATTACKS.

SAVAGE, Beth, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

SAWONI, Mhanjiswa (68), had his home at Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 27 December 1989 during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

SAYED, T, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

SCHAKAZA, Hleziphi Dorah (51), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 8 September 1990, in intense political conflict in the area.

SCHEEPERS, Glenda (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Elsie's River, Cape Town, on 17 June 1980. She was one of several protesters shot dead that day.

SCHEEPERS, JC, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SCHEEPERS, JN, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SCHERMBRUCKER, Gillian, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

SCHMIDT, Ronel, was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

SCHOEMAN, Peter Ivan (16), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Elsie's River, Cape Town, on 16 June 1980, for his involvement in student protests during commemorations of the SOWETO UPRISING. He was arrested and tortured at the Bishop Lavis police station.

SCHOEMAN, Pieter, was shot and injured in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 29 October 1976, during the SOWETO UPRISING.

Scholar Lethetsa Ramashala (20), was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape, on 22 August 1985. See ALI WAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

SCHOLTZ, Frances (66), was injured in a bomb explosion at a hotel in Port Edward, Natal, on 30 November 1993. One person was killed and six others, including Ms Scholtz and her husband, were injured in the explosion.

SCHOLTZ, Hofmeyer (65), was injured in a bomb explosion at a hotel in Port Edward, Natal, on 30 November 1993. One person was killed and six others, including Mr Scholtz and his wife, were injured in the explosion.

SCHOON (CURTIS), Jeanette (35), an ANC member, was killed by a letter bomb at her home in Lubango, Angola, on 28 June 1984. Her six-year-old daughter also died in the attack. Her husband, also an ANC member, had survived earlier attempts on his life. Two operatives from Security Branch Headquarters were granted amnesty for the killing (AC/2000/082).

SCHOON, Katryn (6), was killed by a letter bomb at her home in Lubango, Angola, on 28 June 1984. Her mother also died in the attack. Two operatives from Security Branch Headquarters were granted amnesty for the killing (AC/2000/082).

SCHOON, Marius, an ANC member living in Botswana, was targeted for killing by members of the Security Branch during 1980. On 28 June 1984, Mr Schoon's wife and six-year-old daughter were killed by a letter bomb. The commander of *Vlakplaas* and his commanding officer were granted amnesty for the 1980 attempt on Mr Schoon's life (AC/2000/083).

SCHROEDER, Peter, a civilian, was shot execution-style by APLA operatives who opened fire with automatic weapons on the vehicle in which he was travelling between Herschel and Lady Grey, OFS, on 19 November 1992. Three people were killed and five

injured in the ambush. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/134).

SCHUITEMA, Berend Willem Franciscus (39), was detained by the SAP in East London, in May 1978, allegedly because of his political activities. Mr Schuitema had returned to the country from exile.

SCHULZ, Steven, was injured when a limpet mine, planted by an MK operative from the 'Dolphin Unit', exploded at the offices of the Department of Internal Affairs in Harrison Street, Johannesburg, on 3 September 1984. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

SCHUMANN, T oni, in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

SCHWARTZ, Clyde, suffered severe trauma on 23 March 1993 when APLA operatives, armed with automatic weapons and hand grenades, stormed the Yellowwoods hotel, in Fort Beaufort, Cape, and opened fire on staff and patrons. One person was shot dead in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/225).

SEABO, Kenneth Tebogo (26), a UDF supporter was subjected to electric shock torture by named policemen in December 1987 in Vryburg, Cape. He was also detained and tortured in 1985 and 1986.

SEAKAMELA, Betty Maria, was severely beaten by members of the Venda Police on 13 June 1986 in Vleifontein, Tvl, when the community resisted INCORPORATION into Venda

SEAKAMELA, Podu Philemon (57), had his home was burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Seakamela resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEAKAMELA, Ramokoni Maria (46), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEAKGOA, Madibo Shadrack (20) was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP after his arrest on 1 May 1990 in Hartbeesfontein, Tvl. Mr Seakgoa was arrested because he was a student leader who openly criticised the government in a leading black opposition newspaper.

SEAKGW A, Tsotetsi Hendrik, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 28 February 1986 in Khuma, Stilfontein, Tvl, during the state of emergency.

SEALA, Ramokoni Matlou (58), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEALOGO, (first name not given), a member of the SAP, suffered damage to his property when an MK operative threw a hand grenade into a room of his house at White City, KwaThema, Tvl, during 1987. The MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/166).

SEANE, Mark (42), was detained and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in December 1992 in Taung, Bophuthatswana, during violence over the chieftainship of the village.

SEATTLE, Stocky, was assaulted and arrested by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 13 March 1992 following clashes over the chieftaincy in the area.

SEATLHOLO, Jacob Gaonakala, a veteran ANC member, was arrested in April 1976 in Johannesburg and detained for 90 days at John Vorster Square. While in detention he was repeatedly beaten and subjected to electric shock torture. He was later charged under the Terrorism Act and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

SEATLHOLO, Setibane Sisky Annah (16), an ANC activist, was severely tortured and strangled with an electric wire by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, in 1977 because of her involvement in underground activities in the aftermath of the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

SEBAE, John Moeketsi (24), was shot and killed on 15 May 1992 at a playground in Zone 12 Sebokeng, Tvl, during clashes between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

SEBAKA, Justice Kleinkie (24), a NUMSA member, was stripped naked and tortured during his detention at Naboomspruit police station, Tvl, on 14 November 1992 following a night vigil held for assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI in the area.

SEBAKA, Stephen, was shot and injured by gunmen in a red minibus on 3 May 1992 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. See DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS.

SEBAKE, Gosalamang V ironica, was arrested and sjambokked by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in 1991 in Kuruman, Cape, while attending the launch of an ANC branch in the Maipei village. Sebake was kept in detention and repeatedly assaulted for three days.

SEBAKELA, Maseditsi L ydia, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

SEBATHE, Boitumelo Pamela (32), was shot by members of the SAP on 30 January 1976 in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, during the period of tension leading up to the SOWETO UPRISING.

SEBATI, L, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SEBATJANE, Matshwene (39), lost his home when it was burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Sebatjane resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEBE, Charles , a former commander in the CDF, was shot dead on 28 January 1991, the day after he had escaped from a CDF roadblock between Stutterheim and King William's Town, Cape. Together with former CDF general, Colonel Onward Guzana, Major General Sebe, who had been living in Transkei for some years, left Transkei and drove to Ciskei with the intention of taking over Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's government, unaware that they were being lured into a trap. An inquest court found that Major General Sebe was illegally shot dead while surrendering.

SEBEI, Moshobottale Lucas , an ANC supporter, lost his homestead in an arson attack by supporters of a local chief in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, in February 1986 during a dispute between Chiefs Nchabeleng and Masha.

SEBEKEDI, Mosa Anthony (21), a UDF supporter, was detained, beaten and tortured by the SAP in 1986 in Kanana, near Orkney, Tvl, during the state of emergency.

SEBELA, Kgositsile , was stabbed, allegedly by members of the Bophuthatswana Police, on 21 November 1993. He was part of a delegation that met with Chief Mangope to find out about how community funds were being spent.

SEBELA, Mothoka David , and four SADF members, were attacked in their patrol vehicle by armed MK operatives in Rita township, Lebowa, on 16 June 1990. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/98).

SEBETHE, Sylvester (22), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Tokoza, Tvl, on 10 October 1992 when the vehicle he was travelling in was attacked near Phola Park. The incident is referred to as the 'picnic' incident as it took place when the victims were returning from a picnic.

SEBHODI, Abel , was severely beaten by members of the AWWB on 12 December 1993 at an illegal roadblock set up outside Ventersdorp, Tvl. Four people, including two children, were killed in the attack. Eight AWWB members were refused amnesty and one was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0045). See RODORA ROADBLOCK KILLINGS.

SEBIHO, Gordon Mooketsi (25), was tortured when he was arrested by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in 1992 in Taung, Bophuthatswana. Police allegedly mistook him for an ANC member.

SEBINA, Dimakatso Daniel (36), an ANC supporter, was arrested on 14 October 1992 at Naboomspruit, Tvl, under suspicion of arson. He was detained without trial until December 1992 and while in detention he was severely tortured by members of the SAP.

SEBOA, Nicolas Rabotadi , was shot with rubber bullets by members of the SAP in 1984 in Evaton, Tvl. Mr Seboa was attending a mass funeral when violence erupted between mourners and police.

SEBOKA, Solomon Trueman (41), was severely beaten by a named COUNCILLOR and leader of the A-

TEAM in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 27 March 1992. Mr Seboka died two months later.

SEBOLA, Billy Butiki , a COSATU member and founder member of CAWU, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 16 August 1990 in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, outside a church where a residents' meeting was taking place.

SEBOLAI, Anna , was stabbed to death during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

SEBOLAI, Mathetha Paul (16), was attacked during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

SEBOLAI, Percival , was shot and killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

SEBONE, Johnny , was abducted and killed by UDF supporters in August 1989 in Johannesburg.

SEBONI, Mosima Phuti (50), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEBOPA, Thero Lina , was killed when her house was bombed by SADF members in Botswana on 1 January 1987. Her house was close to the border between South Africa and Botswana, and the attack was allegedly aimed at an ANC member who was known to be with her in the house.

SEBOTHOMA, Andries Matsobane , was attacked by members of the SAP with sjamboks and knobkerries on his way back from a funeral with 'comrades' in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 8 March 1986.

SEBOTHOMA, P , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SEBOTSA, Bernard Tefo (18), an MK operative, was shot and burnt to death on 9 October 1991 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during a shoot-out with members of the SAP.

SEBOTSA, Patrick Bobby , had his home in Botshabelo, Bloemfontein, petrol-bombed in 1989 by Orange Free State Security Branch operatives. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0025).

SEBUSI, Maditaba Maggie (22), was shot dead, by the IFP-aligned 'KHETISI KHESWA' GANG on 12 January

1991 in Sebokeng, Tvl, at the night vigil of Christopher Nangalembe, an ANCYL member killed by the gang.

See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

SEDIBE, Glorius 'Glory' Lefoshie (aka 'September' or 'Lucas Seme') , a senior MK commander, was abducted by *Vlakplaas* and Eastern Transvaal Security Branch operatives whilst in custody at the Mankanyane Police Station, Swaziland, on 13 August 1986. Following his abduction, Mr Sedibe was recruited to work for *Vlakplaas* and later for SADF Military Intelligence. Nine Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commanders of the Eastern Transvaal and of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty for the abduction (AC/2001/094).

SEDIBE, Sareta Sarah (50), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted and thrown out of her home, in Alexandra, Johannesburg, by IFP supporters on 1 March 1991. Alexandra was tense after numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents.

SEDINYANE, Nthabiseng (41), lost her home in an arson attack by alleged followers of Chief Tshajwa on 11 December 1976 in Maboloka, Bophuthatswana. There was conflict in the area between Chief Tshajwa and Chief Lion at the time.

SEDUMEDI, Olga (14), was shot by members of the SAP on 19 June 1976 in Molapo, Soweto, Johannesburg, during the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

SEDUMEDI-ZINGENI, Boshalala Mar tha , fell and broke her ribs trying to escape an attack by IFP supporters in 1990 at the Merafe hostel, Soweto, Johannesburg, following the announcement by the IFP that it was to become a political party. This decision resulted in an extensive recruitment campaign in hostels. Hostel-dwellers who refused to join the IFP were targeted.

SEDUTLA, Lambert Mangopo (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in 1990 in Winterveld, Bophuthatswana. At the time residents were handing a memorandum to the Chief Magistrate on issues including unfair treatment by police, unfair education practices, discrimination at schools and the findings of the Smith Commission into the Winterveld massacre.

SEEISO, John Gaopalehwa (38), was shot in the leg and arm by members of the South African Police on 12 September 1990 in Katilehong, Tvl. Mr. Seeiso is paralysed as a result of the shooting which occurred during growing tension between IFP and ANC supporters. Police were accused of being partial and failing to protect the community against indiscriminate attacks.

SEEMA, Charlie Charles Steven (30), a member of the Dobsonville Civic Association, was beaten, tortured and detained for 14 days by a named and other members of the Municipal Police in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, in July 1990 for erecting a shack on a councillor's land without permission.

SEEMA, Edward , had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Seema resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEEMA, Hilda Kwinaite (52), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEEMA, Machuene Ntina (66), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEEMA, Malose Kenneth (32), lost his home when it was burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlana, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Seema resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEEMA, Manare Ramasela (71), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, during conflict over the Matlala chieftaincy between Chief BK Matlala, backed by the Lebowa and South African governments, and Chieftainess Matlou Matlala, with the backing of the ANC-aligned People's Congress.

SEEMA, Maphuti (51), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEEMA, Maripa Obed (37), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Seema resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEEMA, Matlou Evens (24), had his home was burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Seema resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEEMA, Rosina , lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEEMA, Tlou Obed (54), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Seema resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEEMA, Vusimuzi Josiah (29), a member of the SAP, lost his house and car in an arson attack on 4 March 1990 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, during ongoing violence in the area between rival factions of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS. Policemen in the area took sides in the conflict and as a result were targeted.

SEEMANE, Randolph Mor eetseng , died in mysterious circumstances in February 1991 from multiple gunshot wounds on the eve of a stayaway organised by the Jouberton Civic Association (JCA), in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl. Seemane was a prominent member of the JCA and had previously been detained.

SEEMELA, Elias Kasper , was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command

headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

SEEMOLA, Seemola (47), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEFAKO, Andr ew, was detained under emergency regulations at Smithfield police station, OFS, on 30 June 1985/6. In custody he was severely beaten and tortured by named members of the SAP.

SEFAKO, Vincent, was hit by a car and killed in Soweto, Johannesburg, in November 1987, allegedly on the orders of a prominent ANC leader.

SEFALA, Dileka Reuben, was sjambokked by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 23 March 1986 in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

SEFALI, Bassie (18), was detained under emergency regulations at the Bethulie police station, OFS, on 30 June 1986. In custody he was severely beaten and tortured by members of the Security Branch.

SEFATSA, David (19), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death in Moakeng, Kroonstad, OFS, on 23 May 1992, by unidentified SAP members and members of the THREE MILLION GANG.

SEFATSA, Neo Reginald, was shot dead on 15 July 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl, in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING.

SEFATSA, Phehello Sam (28), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960. Police opened fire on a crowd of unarmed people holding a peaceful protest against the Pass Laws, killing 69 people and injuring several others.

SEFATSA, Rebecca, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

SEFATSA, Reginald Jaja (30), one of the 'SHARPEVILLE Six', was severely beaten during his arrest on 9 November 1989 at Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl. While awaiting trial for the murder of a town councillor, he was tortured in various ways. The 'SHARPEVILLE Six' were found guilty in the first judgment based on common purpose with the actual perpetrators, and sentenced to death. Their sentences were commuted after an international campaign for clemency.

SEFATSE, Geor ge, a member of the Municipal Police, was one of six policemen injured when MK operatives opened fire on their patrol van in front of the Lindela hostel, Katlehong, Tvl, on 12 October 1988. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0294).

SEFOKISI, Johannes (58), lost his house in an arson attack in 1976 at Maboloka, Bophuthatswana, during conflict between two chiefs in the area.

SEFOLO, Harold Sello, was abducted from Witbank, Tvl, on 16 July 1987 by a Northern Transvaal Security Branch *askari* purporting to be an MK operative. He and two others were taken to the Portland Cement mine near Pienaarsrivier, where they were tortured during interrogation and then killed by electric shock. Their bodies were taken to an abandoned road in Bophuthatswana and blown up in a landmine explosion. Three Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0030; AC/1999/0032 and AC/2000/107).

SEFULARO, Ntebang Nelly (39), was beaten and stabbed on 5 January 1991 at her home in Lehurutshe, Bophuthatswana, by ANC supporters because her son was a member of the Bophuthatswana Police and was regarded as a supporter of Chief Mangope. Ms Sefularo's daughter was killed in the attack.

SEFULARO, Surprise (18), was killed in Zeerust, Tvl, in January 1991 during conflict over the government of Bophuthatswana.

SEFULI, Mpho Stella (35), seriously injured when a bus crashed into a house in Katlehong, Tvl, on 12 April 1993. She died a week later. Youths had stoned the bus to enforce a stayaway two days after the death of CHRIS HANI. The driver lost control and crashed into the house.

SEFUME, Dorothy Dorcas Mankadimeng (26), an ANCWL member, was severely beaten and her furniture was broken, by a named SAP member, on 4 April 1992 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl. Police were allegedly looking for Mr Sefume when the attack took place.

SEFUME, Oupa Daniel (37), died when he was 'necklaced' by 'comrades' on 17 December 1993 at Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, because the perpetrators believed he was an informer.

SEGAGE, (first name not given), (eight months old), was killed on 17 August 1986 when the car she was travelling in with her mother detonated a landmine set by MK operatives between Nelspruit and Karina in Tvl. Her mother, four other adults and one child died in this incident. The ANC's rural landmine campaign was aimed at the SADF and commandos but was called off as a result of the high rate of civilian casualties.

SEGAGE, Lindiwe, was killed on 17 August 1986 when the car she was travelling in detonated a landmine set by MK operatives between Nelspruit and Karina in Tvl. Ms Segage, who was on her way to start working on a farm, died along with her daughter, four adults and one child. The ANC's rural landmine campaign was aimed at the SADF and commandos but was called off as a result of the high rate of civilian casualties.

SEGALO, Wesi Eleazer (49), an SAP member, had his home burnt down by 'comrade' on 18 September 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl. Mr Segalo had complied with the demand by 'comrades' that he move out of the area as police were regarded as fuelling political conflict in the area, through assisting the IFP or condoning IFP attacks.

SEGAMI, Ivan 'Squeens', an ANC activist, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Galeshewe, Kimberley, Cape, on 22 July 1990. At the time of the shooting the

victim was part of a group marching to the municipal offices to protest against the cutting off of electricity and water. Police used teargas, baton charges and birdshot to disperse the group.

SEGANEENO, Ezekiel , was shot dead in 1991 in Bafokeng, Bophuthatswana.

SEGANO, Kgakgamatso David (31), was sjambokked, kicked and hit with a rifle butt by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force on 8 January 1994 at Mogarong village in Taung, Bophuthatswana, when security forces allegedly disrupted an ANC mass meeting.

SEGOBELA, Sammy Mpho , a UDF supporter, was arrested and severely injured when beaten with batons in May 1986 at the Namakgale Police station, Lebowa. Segobela and others were involved in campaigns demanding the unbanning of all political organisations opposed to apartheid, and the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

SEGOBODI, Ikageng (24), was beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 5 January in 1991 in Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, during a conflict between Chief Sebogodi and Edwin Moila. Chief Moila had imposed himself as the new Lekubu chief with the support of President Mangope. Moila also supported Lekubu's INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

SEGOBODI, Lekolobo Norah , (45), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police on 5 January 1991 in Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, during a conflict between Chief Sebogodi and Edwin Moila. Chief Moila had imposed himself as the new Lekubu chief with the support of President Mangope. Moila also supported Lekubu's INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

SEGOBODI, Thabang (20), was beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 5 January 1991 in Lekubu, Bophuthatswana, during conflict between Chief Sebogodi and Edwin Moila. Chief Moila had imposed himself as the new Lekubu chief with the support of President Mangope. Moila also supported Lekubu's INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

SEGOLA, Elisa Dikeledi (38), an ANC supporter, was beaten by a group of fellow ANC supporters in Tikwana, Hoopstad, OFS, on 3 September 1992, allegedly for defying a stayaway.

SEGOLE, Ezekiel Mamae , was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 12 September 1990 in Vosloorus, Tvl. His one son was killed that day and another son was burnt to death the following day during ongoing clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC- supporting residents.

SEGOLE, Kelo Ignatious , was shot dead by IFP supporters on 12 September 1990 in Vosloorus, Tvl. His father was also killed that day and his brother was burnt to death the following day during ongoing clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC- supporting residents.

SEGOLE, Samuel , an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the SAP in March 1986 in Katlehong, Tvl. Mr Segole was part of an MK unit which had infiltrated the country to carry out a number of internal operations.

SEGOLODI, Anthony 'Hutshe' (19), a student activist, was shot dead by a named MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN in Galeshewe, Kimberley, Cape, on 30 April 1986, when police shot at a group of youths gathered near a COUNCILLOR'S house. Mr Segolodi's funeral was disrupted by police.

SEGOPA, Thero , a citizen of Botswana, was killed when SADF Special Forces attacked a house near the Ramotswa River in Botswana on 31 December 1986/1 January 1987. Ms Segopa was not the intended target of the attack. Five Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for their role in providing information (AC/2001/191).

SEGOTLONG, George (29), was shot in the abdomen and died two days later on 2 June 1992 in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, allegedly by IFP supporters during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. His wife was also injured in the attack.

SEGOTLONG, Regina (44), was shot in the head on 2 June 1992 in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, allegedly by IFP supporters, during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. The bullet is still lodged in her head and she is blind as a result of her injuries. Her husband was killed in the attack.

SEGOTSANE William , was shot and injured by members of the AWB on 12 December 1993 at an illegal roadblock set up outside Ventersdorp, Tvl. Four people, including two children, were killed in the attack. Eight AWB members were refused amnesty and one was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0045). See RODORA ROADBLOCK KILLINGS.

SEGRYS, Maria Regina (24), was shot and injured when police opened fire on a legal community march in Wolseley, Cape, on 24 November 1990. One person was shot dead and several others were injured.

SEGUTY A, Virginia Nanthandazo , was severely burnt in a petrol bomb attack on the home of her boyfriend by supporters of the UDF and ANC in Robertson, Cape, on 12 October 1985. Her boyfriend, a serving policeman, was also injured in the attack.

SEGWENYANE, John Tladi , was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in August 1990 in Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

SEHERI, (first name not given), was detained by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 20 May 1987 at Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, after a shooting at her place involving three MK operatives who were accommodated by her husband.

SEHERI, Mophethe Joshua (63), was arrested in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 22 May 1987. Mr Seheri went to the police station to enquire about his wife, who had been detained two days earlier, for allegedly having contact with MK cadres. During his detention, he was repeatedly interrogated by members of the Bophuthatswana Police about his links with the ANC.

SEHERI, Puleng Daphney , was arrested on 20 May 1987 and held for four months without charge by

members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana.

SEHERI, Sechaba (23), a member of the Soweto Youth Congress and a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SADF at Soweto, Tvl, on 20 June 1987, because he was found with the minutes of a meeting of the Soweto Youth Congress. He was then handed over to police and detained for 14 days. In 1988 he was again detained for 14 days.

SEHLABO, Thandiwe Innocentia (33), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, looted in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

SEHLAKO, Keneiwe Sylvia (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Daggakraal, Newcastle, Natal, on 25 July 1990, when members of the SAP opened fire on a crowd of people *toy-toying* to celebrate the release of a colleague from detention.

SEHLELELO, Mpopi Johannes (24), an ANC supporter, was detained, beaten and tortured by named members of the SAP in January 1991 in Naboomspruit, Tvl, because police believed that he was in possession of guns.

SEHLANE, Lerato Hopewell (29), was severely beaten by KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) members in KwaMashu, Durban, on 26 December 1989, on suspicion of being involved in the murder of a KZP member. Along with other male relatives, he was assaulted and held without charge for 38 days.

SEHLWANE, Rashibjana Samuel (31), a member of the Motupa Youth Congress, was tortured in December 1990 at Kgapané police station, Tzaneen, Tvl, by alleged members of the Lebowa Police. He was arrested on suspicion of having set a police vehicle alight.

SEHOMANE, Elizabeth , was one of five people seriously injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Administration Board offices in Tembisa, Tvl, on 6 October 1988. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/132).

SEHUNELO, Simanyana Moses (28), was shot and injured by named SAP members at his home in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, in October 1990. There was a march organised by the Lesedi Civic Association that day. He was later convicted of public violence and served three years of a five-year prison sentence.

SEIPEI, Moekeisi James 'Stompie' (14), a political activist and COSAS member, was abducted with three other youths from the Methodist manse by alleged MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB (MUFC) members and taken to Ms Madikizela-Mandela's home in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 29 December 1989. He was accused of being a police informer and was beaten for three days before a named member of the MUFC was allegedly ordered to remove him from the premises. His decomposing body was later found in a riverbed riddled with injuries and his throat slit with three stab wounds in the neck. The perpetrator has applied for amnesty.

SEISA, Seisa , a Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) operative, was beaten by named SAP members while

in detention in Bloemfontein in November 1981. He was arrested in Clarens, OFS, together with other LLA operatives, after planting a bomb at a bus stop in Buthe Buthe, Lesotho, as part of the LLA efforts to overthrow the Lesotho government. Police initially believed the group to be MK operatives.

SEITISHO, Matshidiso John Tshidi (52), was accused of defacing portraits of homeland leaders and helping inmates escape from prison at Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, on 28 February 1989. Mr Seitisho was also accused of being an ANC member, was put in solitary confinement for 13 days and deprived of legal counsel.

SEITSANG, Thomas Kealebetse , was shot and killed by alleged SAP members in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 26 November 1985, during a period of intense community protest and repression by police and vigilantes.

SEITSHIRO, Ishmael Mosala , was shot dead in Evaton, Tvl, on 19 July 1992 during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

SEITSHIRO, Seuntjie Sonnyboy (31), was severely assaulted on 1 July 1989 in Zeerust, Tvl, by Bophuthatswana Police attempting to force the Braklaagte community to move to Lekaisane. Mr Seishiro is brain-damaged as a result.

SEJAKE, Godfr ey, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by SAP members in Bloemfontein in 1980, at a time of widespread student boycotts in several areas of the OFS.

SEJAKE, Thulo Jer emiah (22), was shot by SAP members in Phahameng, Bultfontein, OFS, on 16 June 1980, when police opened fire on a crowd after a Soweto Day commemoration service. Though seriously wounded, Mr Sejake was then assaulted by police and sustained severe stomach and leg injuries. He died in hospital three days later. An inquest was held but the family was never informed of the outcome.

SEJAMOHOLE, James Mosha (20), was shot and wounded by members of the SADF in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 19 September 1984 during the state of emergency following the VAAL UPRISING. Protest marches against high rents and poor facilities led to a strong police presence in the area and a number of people were killed or injured during conflict. Mr Sejamohole sustained shotgun wounds in the lower back and is now partially disabled.

SEJAMOHOLE, Modise Simon (28), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 14 February 1993 in Taung, Bophuthatswana, during political conflict over the chieftanship of the area.

SEJANE, Mosala Abel , suffered severe ill treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

SEJENG, Andreas Morake (28), was detained in solitary confinement in Bloemfontein from 25 June

1984. In detention, he was interrogated about sabotage explosions around Bloemfontein in 1983 and forced to write a statement. Charges of murder and attempted murder were brought against him, but were withdrawn because of evidence of his severe torture by members of the Security Branch. Mr Sejeng was released after almost a year in custody.

SEJOSENGOE, Annie , was shot by named perpetrators on 16 June 1992 in Phola, near Ogies, Tvl, while she was observing a march from her home.

SEJWE, Kgomotso Richard (19), was arrested and tortured by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police in October 1992 in Kuruman, Cape, and accused of being an MK operative. Mr Sejwe was beaten, subjected to electric shock torture and kept in solitary confinement.

SEKALEDI, Letshaba Johannes , an SAP member, was injured in Bloemfontein when an MK operative threw a hand grenade at a police minibus in 1990. The MK operative was attempting to evade arrest. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/096).

SEKALEDI, Nuku , was shot dead, allegedly by SAP members, in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, in 1984 during the VAAL UPRISING.

SEKAMOENG, Gloria Kebareleng (20), was shot by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, during a student march at the University of Bophuthatswana in June 1993.

SEKANA, Elsie , was injured when MK operatives launched a rocket attack on the SADF base at Voortrekkerhoogte, Pretoria, on 12 August 1981. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

SEKATE, Sello Joseph , was shot dead by members of the SAP on 31 August 1993 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during conflict between the SAP and 'comrades' during increased violence between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SEKATI, Elizabeth Kedibone (40), an ANC supporter, was sexually assaulted on 8 November 1992 in the Civic Centre cells at Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, by members of the Bophuthatswana Police, one of whom is named. The incident occurred during protests by the Bafokeng people against the Bophuthatswana government.

SEKATI, Gabriel Mphahlele , was shot dead on 16 June 1992 in Moletsane, Soweto, Johannesburg, while attending a Memorial Service for the SOWETO UPRISING.

SEKATI, Mirriam (65), had her house burnt down by unidentified persons in Enkonjeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SEKETE, Toroki Geor ge , was shot dead by members of the SAP during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl.

SEKETE, Vincent , an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the SADF on 30 November 1985 in Piet Retief, Tvl, near the Swaziland border. Mr Sekete was attempting to cross into Swaziland from South Africa.

SEKGABI, Sejale Emily (50), was severely beaten, tear-gassed, detained and subjected to electric shocks by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force on 1 July 1989 at her home in Zeerust, Tvl. Ms Sekgabi resisted the forced INCORPORATION of Mokgola into Bophuthatswana following a government decree which transferred 25 000 residents from South Africa into Bophuthatswana during 1989.

SEKGABI, Tshiamo Daniel (15), was severely beaten, suffocated and imprisoned in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, in July 1989, allegedly by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police. He had attended a meeting about the INCORPORATION of the village into Bophuthatswana. Police allegedly fired teargas into the crowd who responded by burning a Hippo and the soldiers inside it.

SEKGALAKANA, Makwena Salome (34), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEKGALAKANE, Maphuti Ramakoni (47), a People's Congress supporter, lost her house in an arson attack, allegedly by supporters of Chief Matlala on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, because Mr Sekgalakane resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. Two people died and about 80 were wounded in the attack.

SEKHAULELO, Matome Cornelius (19), COSAS member, was beaten to death by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at a bus stop in Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 10 February 1986 during a class boycott. Police would not allow anyone to see Mr Sekhauelo's body.

SEKHELE, Ramasele Fr eddy , an ANC supporter, was shot dead when members of the SAP fired on a group of mourners returning from the reburial of an ANC supporter in Phahameng, Bultfontein, OFS, on 16 June 1993.

SEKHENJANA, Sariel V usimuzi , an ANC supporter, was burnt to death by SHENGE VIGILANTES in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 16 December 1991 during conflict between the SACP and youth in the area.

SEKHOBANA, Mafsikana Esrom (54), was beaten and stoned by supporters of Chief Mapela at Abbots Poort, Pietersburg, Tvl, on 19 January 1981 because he supported Chief Lerumo.

SEKHOPA, Mathabiso Marie (44), lost her house and possessions in an arson attack in Rweleleyathunya, Rouxville, OFS, on 7 September 1990, allegedly because her sons were ANC members. The attack was carried out by known members of the INKATHA GANG, AND FOLLOWED The funeral of three ANC members who had allegedly been killed by 'Inkatha gang' members. Many houses in the area were burnt down that day.

SEKHUKHUNE, Jan , was beaten with sjamboks by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 January 1986 in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, allegedly because he was Sotho.

SEKHUKHUNE, Kgolane (60), an ANC supporter, was strangled and killed, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Tjate, Sekhukhuneland, Tvl, in 1960 because he opposed the bantustan authorities.

SEKHUKHUNE, Khetsepe Philemon (52), was detained without trial for ploughing his fields in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 23 December 1989 during protest in the area against the chief's order that people should not plough.

SEKHUKHUNE, Mogaramedi Godfrey, an ANC activist, was banished from Sekhukhuneland, to Zululand, and was also imprisoned on Robben Island.

SEKHUKHUNE, Mogase Piet (37) an ANC supporter, had his house and all his possessions destroyed, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Pietersburg, Tvl, in 1964. Mr Sekhukhune was severely beaten because he was a member of the Sebatakgomo movement, an ANC-aligned organisation in the 1960s.

SEKHUKHUNE, Nwatsomane Jim (57), was detained and tortured by a named member of the Security Branch in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, on 7 February 1977.

SEKHUKHUNE, Sello Bennet (61), an ANC supporter, was shot in the right leg and hit on the forehead with a stone by named perpetrators in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, in 1990. There was fighting in the royal family of Sekhukhuneland and the victim was guarding the royal residence in the king's absence when the attack occurred.

SEKHUKHUNI, Jan Mashume, was stabbed and hacked by IMBOKODO vigilantes at Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 during conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

SEKHULA, Seemole Ntsatsa (49), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEKHUTHE, Rosemary, was given electric shock torture, allegedly by members of the SAP, while in detention at Rustenburg, Tvl, in December 1977. She was allegedly arrested because of her political activities.

SEKHWANA, Sarah, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP on 4 August 1990 in Messina, Tvl, during a protest march against the introduction of the 'Value Added Tax' system.

SEKOKOTOANA, Eisa (41), had her home burnt down on 14 August 1976 in Maboloka, Bophuthatswana during conflict between two chiefs in the area.

SEKONYANA, Cecilia Mmatsepo (16), lost her home in an arson attack on 7 May 1977 in Maboloka, Bophuthatswana. The attack occurred during violent conflict between two brothers over the chieftainship of Maboloka. The perpetrators were allegedly named members of a gang known as the 'Sixfeet Group', supporters of one chief.

SEKONYANA, Francina Mapule (40), lost her home in an arson attack at Maboloka, Bophuthatswana, in 1976, during conflict between two chiefs in the area.

SEKONYANA, Uria, was burnt to death in an arson attack at Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, on 7 May 1977 during violent conflict between two brothers over the chieftainship of the area. The perpetrators were allegedly named members of a gang known as the 'Sixfeet Group', said to be supporters of one chief.

SEKONYANE, Gladys Keitumetse 'Bushy' (30), an ANC supporter, was detained on 12 June 1986, and held for nine months under emergency regulations at Jan Kempdorp and Kimberley, Cape. During her detention she was severely beaten and tortured by named policemen. She was later convicted of public violence and sentenced to an effective three years' imprisonment. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

SEKWANE, Mathotho Elizabeth, was shot by named police members on 26 March 1986 in Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, while attending a mass meeting at the City Rocks playing field. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

SEKWHELE, Masilo Abraham, died when he picked up a hand grenade which then exploded in Rita township, Lebowa, on 16 June 1990. One MK operative was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/98).

SELAI, Molahlehi Johannes (28), was severely assaulted, stabbed and set alight by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Boipatong, Tvl, on 26 July 1992. He was suspected of participating in IFP attacks on Boipatong residents. Mr Selai was rescued by police and survived the attack. Four SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0324).

SELAI, Nelson Molefe (38), a UDF supporter, was beaten by members of the SAP in Bongweni, Colesberg, Cape, in September 1985.

SELALA, Dimakatso Petr us, a BC supporter, was assaulted by members of the KwaNdebele Police on 19 May 1986 because he was suspected of having killed a KwaNdebele government official and three other people. His uncle tried to intervene in the assault and was killed as a result.

SELALA, Thomas (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING by two named perpetrators in September 1990 in Daveyton, Tvl.

SELANE, Andile (12), was shot dead by named members of the Riot Unit in New Crossroads, Cape Town, on 16 December 1985. Andile was with a protesting crowd singing freedom songs.

SELANI, Maria, an ANC member, was beaten in detention by named Ciskei Police members in Seymour, Ciskei, in November 1992, after organising an ANC meeting.

SELANI, Mbuyiselo Ernest (18), was beaten by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes and members of the SAP on his arrest, together with many other residents, in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 4 November 1985. Mr Selani was held in custody until February 1986 when he was sentenced to an effective three and a half year prison sentence for public violence.

SELANI, Mzwandile (34), was shot dead by members of the SAP after a car chase in Cala, Transkei, in April 1977 at a time of intense political conflict following the SOWETO UPRISING. Police alleged that he had been involved in drug trafficking.

SELANI, Sandile 'Meli Magic' (27), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Grabouw, Cape, on 26 December 1992, during a confrontation between residents of the Waterworks squatter camp

and police. One person was fatally wounded in the shooting and two were injured.

SELANI, Thomas Dumalisile (56), lost his home on 31 May 1986 when it caught fire after members of the SAP fired teargas through the front door and it was ignited by a paraffin lamp. The incident occurred when police attempted to disperse a political demonstration in Port Elizabeth.

SELANI, Zola Alfr ed, was shot dead by members of the Security Police in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 3 March 1986, in the GUGULETU SEVEN incident. Two Security Branch members from *Vlakplaas* were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/276).

SELATOLE, Mageru Daniel (63), was shot and injured, allegedly by members of the Lebowa Police, in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 23 December 1989. He was taking part in a protest march against a chief who imposed himself as chief and demanded money before allowing people to plough their fields.

SELEBALO, Johannes Sontaha (23), was shot in the thigh and injured in Sebokeng, Tvl, by members of the SAP on 3 September 1984 during the VAAL UPRISING.

SELEBE, Isaac Butiki, was shot dead in September 1990 in Vosloorus, Tvl, during violence between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SELEBOGO, Ephraim, was injured when a bomb planted by the AWB detonated on 4 February 1994 in Letsopa, Tvl. The AWB embarked on a bombing campaign in an attempt to derail the democratic process in the country.

SELEI, Seraetseng Makidifentse Mar garet (30), had her home burnt down by members of the 'Gadaffi' faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC) in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 4 March 1990. The ANC-aligned KYC split into two rival factions, the 'Zim-zims' and the 'Gaddaffis'. Her family was targeted by the 'Gadaffis' because her husband was a policeman and the SAP were seen to be taking sides in the conflict.

SELEKE, Mar tha, was killed by alleged members of the SAP on 23 August 1976 in Mapetla, Soweto, Johannesburg, in the aftermath of the June 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

SELEKE, Phutego, a general in the Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF), was held at gunpoint by BDF members during an attempted *coup d'état* in Bophuthatswana on 10 February 1988. The coup was brought to an end when the SADF came to the assistance of the Bophuthatswana government. Two BDF members were granted amnesty for their role in the attempted coup (AC/2000/044).

SELEKE, Thatayaone (20), a student leader, was interrogated and tortured while in police custody on 1 October 1986 in Rustenburg, Tvl.

SELEKE, Vincent (16), was severely injured when he was shot in the head by members of the SAP in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 19 October 1990, during a protest against the police assault of a political activist the previous day. One person was shot dead and several others injured by police.

SELELO, Marcus Tlhako (42), left home for work on 9 March 1990 in Katlehong, Tvl, and never returned. His body was found later in Germiston mortuary with gunshot wounds.

SELELO, Moses, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

SELEMBE, Bhukumuzi Roman (52), an ANC supporter, was injured when named IFP supporters attacked ANC supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 March 1992. The perpetrators allegedly believed that ANC supporters were about to attack IFP supporters. Eight people died and five others were injured in this attack.

SELEMBE, Roman, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a group of IFP supporters at Ndlovu's Kraal, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 March 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area. Eight people died and five were injured in the attack. One perpetrator serving a prison sentence was refused amnesty (AC/1998/0010).

SELEPE, Cecilia (33), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters from the nearby hostel in Kagiso, Tvl, in August 1990. Kagiso was tense following numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SELEPE, Douglas (38), was stabbed by IFP hostel-dwellers in August 1990 in Kagiso, Tvl. Hostel-dwellers in the area were allegedly coerced into IFP membership when it launched itself as a political party in 1990. Cordial relations between township residents and hostel-dwellers were replaced by increasing conflict based on ethnicity, residential area and political affiliation which resulted in countless deaths and injuries.

SELEPE, Fillipos Mattheri, a member of the SAP, was killed by MK operatives in a targeted killing at his home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 7 November 1982. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/215).

SELEPE, Julian (23), was severely injured when members of a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch threw an explosive device into his aunt's home in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on 18 September 1986. His grandmother was injured and another family member killed. The divisional commander of Northern Transvaal Security Branch and three of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/136).

SELEPE, Kagiso W ilson (11), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP while on his way to the shop in September 1984 in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl. Increasing political activity in the townships led to a heavy police presence, ostensibly sent to maintain law and order, but who often contributed to violent conflict.

SELEPE, Malihloa Pascalina (55), had her home burnt down in Nkandla, KwaZulu, near Melmoth, Natal, on

24 April 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SELEPE, Metseli Ishmael (26), an ANC supporter, was abducted by IFP supporters at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 20 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Selepe has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

SELEPE, Moleko Jacob (23), an SAP Security Branch member, had his home burnt down by members of the ANC-aligned GADAFFIS vigilante group in Khutsong, Tvl, on 4 March 1990.

SELEPE, Orah Lydia (31), an ANC supporter, had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SELEPE, Petrus Moeketsi (23), an ANC supporter, was arrested and shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 17 July 1993 in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, because of his political activities.

SELEPE, Petrus, had his home burnt down by members of the ANC-aligned 'Gadaffi' faction of the KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS (KYC) on 4 March 1990 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl. The KYC split into rival two factions, the 'Zim-zims' and the 'Gaddaffis'. Mr Selepe's son was a policeman and was targeted as police were seen to be taking sides in the conflict within the KYC.

SELEPE, Tello Ezekiel, a UDF supporter, was detained and tortured on 23 August 1985 in Johannesburg.

SELEPE, Vusi (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. The attack was allegedly motivated by Molefe's refusal to call up men in his area to defend the IFP. An IFP leader was implicated in the attack. Eleven ANC youths were killed and seven injured.

SELLEY, Douglas John, a civilian, was injured when he was shot at while driving near the scene of an armed vehicle ambush by APLA operatives, between Herschel and Lady Grey, Cape, on 19 November 1992. Three people were killed and five injured in the ambush. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/134).

SELLO, Joseph Skate (51), was shot and killed in police crossfire in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 31 August 1993.

SELLO, Ms, was beaten by SAP members during a raid on her house in Mamafubedu, Petrus Steyn, OFS, in 1987. Police allegedly searched the house because her son was actively involved in student politics.

SELLO, Richard Retshiditswe (21), a SRC member, was detained and tortured by named members of the SAP at Petrus Steyn police station, OFS, on 12 August 1987, during school boycotts in the area.

SELOLO, Kwena Florina (31), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SELOLO, Ledile Christina, lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa,

allegedly by supporters of chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SELOLO, Makwena (44), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Selolo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SELOLO, Mampedi Welhemina (53), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SELOLO, Mashapa Simon (54), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Selolo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SELOLO, Matlou Alpheus (65), had his home was burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Selolo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SELOLO, Mmakoenza Tshedisa (60), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SELOLO, Mongau Phindas, lost his house in an arson attack in January 1979 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Selolo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SELOLO, Paledi, was tortured and arrested by members of the Lebowa Police on 4 April 1985 in Mahwelereng, Lebowa, for attending an illegal political gathering.

SELOLO, Ramakone Lisbeth (56), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SELOLO, Sempho Moses (51), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Selolo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SELOLO, Thaketji Theophilus (37), had his home was burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Selolo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SELOLO, Tshikar e Ezekiel (42), had his home was burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Selolo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SELOLO, Tshwene David (54), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Selolo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SELOMO, Michael (31), was threatened with death and his house was burnt down by 'comrades' in 1986 in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana. Michael was a school teacher and was victimised for not allowing 'comrades' to disrupt classes.

SELORO, Levy Molefe, an active ANC member, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in January 1965. He was held at Modderbee Prison, Benoni and Central prison in Johannesburg. Upon his release he left the country and died in exile.

SEMANE, Manzolwandle (23), a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN, burnt to death when his shack was petrol-bombed in Port Elizabeth, on 14 December 1987. His father, also a policeman, was shot and killed in 1993 in Cape Town.

SEMANE, Sexton Sizakele (56), a member of the SAP, was shot dead while standing at a bus shelter on his way to work in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 7 September 1993.

SEME, Siyabonga (14), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters, in Molokohlo, near Verulam, Natal, on 6 March 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. A week later, his mother's house was destroyed in an arson attack.

SEME, Thandazile Agnes (34), an ANC supporter, lost her home, in Molokohlo, near Verulam, Natal, in an arson attack in March 1994 in violent conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her son had been shot dead by IFP supporters a week earlier.

SEMEKAZI, Ntsikelelo (25), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

SEMELO, Teko Stephen (18), was severely injured when members of the AVF detonated an explosive in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 8 December 1993, during a right-wing campaign to force the government to acknowledge their struggle for the creation of a *volkstaat*. Four people were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0001).

SEMENO, Joseph Modigaotsile, was killed on 27 April 1990 while on a train from Kagiso to Johannesburg. His body was later found on the railway line. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

SEMETHE, Francis Mdlafetsane (40), disappeared on his way home from work in Katilehong, Tvl, on 10 September 1990 and has not been seen since. It is presumed that he was the victim of an IFP attack launched in retaliation for the death of a number of IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers the previous day.

SEMPE, Thabang David (23), an ANC member, was tortured with electric shocks by SAP members in Bloemfontein on 19 July 1979, because he refused to produce his *dompas*. He was detained on several occasions and consequently lost his job.

SENABE, Oupa Fr eddy, was stabbed and shot to death on 25 April 1992 when his home in Orlando

West, Soweto, was attacked by IFP-supporters during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. His wife was also killed in the attack and his sister-in-law was seriously injured.

SENAGENG, Er nest, was arrested on suspicion of murder and detained by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in July 1989 in Zeerust, Tvl. While in detention he was deprived of food. He was released after being held for a year and acquitted of all charges.

SENAMELA, Lazarus Matsebe, an ANC supporter, was arrested and beaten by members of the Lebowa Police on 13 March 1986 in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa.

SENATLA, Samson (aka 'Clif ford Mphefu') (23), an MK operative from the Border area, Cape, died in May 1984 in Pango, Angola, during a clash with mutineers. Dissatisfaction in MK training camps in Angola led to mutinies at the Viana and Pango camps in 1984. Both were put down with loss of lives on both sides.

SENATLE, Sam Jenny (18), was assaulted by members of the SAP while in detention from September 1985 to June 1986 in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl. Mr Senatle was detained for organising a rent boycott in the area. He was later charged with public violence.

SENEKAL, Joseph Matthew (34), a PAC member, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Ficksburg, OFS, on 22 July 1993 while being questioned about his PAC membership.

SENNELO, Thipe, suffocated and died when he was locked into the back of a truck by named perpetrators in Rustenburg, Tvl.

SENOKOANE, Gadio Elias, was shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 June 1992 during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

SENOKOANE, Kebogiloe Joyce Mapule (32), a member of the SAP, had her house at Tumahole, Parys, OFS, set alight three times in attacks by members of the ANCYL, on 28 July 1990, 10 January 1991 and 24 April 1993, allegedly because she was regarded as an enemy of the 'comrades'. The house was destroyed in the third attack.

SENOKOANE, Kharametsa Jacob, a COSAS member, was detained several times in 1985 at Tumahole, Parys, OFS. While in detention he was severely beaten by members of the SAP. One of a group of students involved in protests, he was charged under Section 29 of the Security Act.

SENOKOANE, Mpho Tsietsi Jacob (38), was shot dead in Evaton, Tvl, on 15 June 1992 when IFP supporters, some of whom are named, opened fire on a taxi he was travelling in between Sasolburg and Evaton. Evaton was tense after clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SENOKOANE, Sefularo Walter (8), lost his family home in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, when it was burnt down by alleged ANC supporters on 24 April 1993. The family was targeted because his parents were members of the SAP.

SENOTSI, Daniel (25), was shot in the buttocks by members of the SADF on 9 September 1986 in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, during the state of emergency.

SENTENTE, Francis (19), a prominent COSAS member, was tortured by a named SAP member and a councillor after he was arrested in KwaThema, Tvl, on 20 June 1985. Mr Setente received a prison sentence after being found guilty of arson.

SENTOEDI, Elias Oupa , was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP in June 1986 at Maboloka, Bophuthatswana. Mr Sentoedi was a member of the SACC and was arrested because of a crackdown on activists during school boycotts.

SENYANE, Lydia (47), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 11 September 1990 in Katlehong, Tvl, following numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents in the area.

SEOKAMO, Thankie , a citizen of Botswana, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on a house in Phiring, near Gaborone, Botswana on 28 March 1988. A senior MK commander and two other Batswana women died in the raid. After being shot, the victims were doused with petrol and set alight. The head of C-Section at Security Branch headquarters and other Security Branch members were refused amnesty for arranging a bogus arms cache to be 'discovered' as a pretext for the raid. (AC/2000/228)

SEOKOLO, Serai Israel , was shot dead on 4 March 1986 at his home in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl.

SEOKOLO, Thabang (3), died as a result of a teargas canister thrown by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Kuruman, Cape, in February 1992 during a funeral service for a 'comrade'.

SEOKOLO, Thatayane (2), died as a result of a teargas canister thrown by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Kuruman, Cape, in February 1992 during a funeral service for a 'comrade'.

SEOLWANE, Rosina Mokgadi (36), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Kagiso, Tvl, in August 1990 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting Kagiso residents.

SEOPA, Elizabeth Chuene (26), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEOPA, Mamoloko Jacob (54), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by named members of the Lebowa Police in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 26 December 1979 because he resisted Chief Matlala's rule and an independent Lebowa. Mr Seopa's home was reportedly burnt down the following year and he was assaulted again.

SEOPA, Maphuti Abner , lost his home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because Mr Seopa resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEOPA, Ramakone Machuene (45), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by alleged supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SEOPELE, Daniel Sebile (48), was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 January 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele. At Siyabuswa community hall Mr Nkadimeng and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and were then sjambokked and beaten where they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted for about 36 hours. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

SEOTHAENG, Kagiso Joseph (55), was subjected to electric shock torture by members of the Bophuthatswana Police while in detention on 25 September 1991 in Taung, Bophuthatswana. His arrest occurred during political conflict between the Bophuthatswana government and Chief Mankuroane.

SEOTHAENG, Kealeboga Lizza (25), an ANC supporter, was tortured in detention at the Rakgawulo Special Branch offices in Taung, Bophuthatswana, by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 10 October 1988. Ms Seothaeng was reportedly wrongfully accused of inciting public violence in the area.

SEPATAKE, Ngoako Samuel and four SADF members , were attacked in their patrol vehicle by armed MK operatives in Rita township, Lebowa, on 16 June 1990. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/98).

SEPENG, Thomas Cecil Daniel , an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 17 November 1991 in Vosloorus, Tvl, during violent conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

SEPHAKA, Khotso Joseph (19), an ANC supporter, was shot in June 1976 when members of the SAP opened fire on a *toyi-toyi* demonstration in Dukathole, Aliwal North, Cape. Mr Sephaka was not part of the demonstration.

SEPHAPO, Michael Majara , was shot dead by members of the SAP on 4 March 1986 in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl, during the state of emergency.

SEPHAYI, Piet Phelue Ntate (9), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in April 1982 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl. At the time of the incident, a number of houses and cars had been set alight in the area. Mr Sephayi was arrested in connection with these acts and was forced to reveal the names of 'other accomplices'.

SEPHELANE, Letta Nkgopolog (19), lost her house in an arson attack at Maboloka, Bophuthatswana, in 1976, during conflict between two chiefs in the area.

SEPHESY, Malose Samuel (28), an ANC supporter, was beaten, kicked and burnt with cigarettes during detention in police stations in Naboomspruit and Warmbaths, Tvl, in 1992. Mr Sephesy was also denied food for three days. He was arrested because he had been trying to reconnect electricity and water supplies with other community members.

SEPIP, Amos Sampo , an ANC supporter, was beaten to death by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at a police station in Maboloka, Bophuthatswana, on 9 July 1989 because he was suspected of having attended an ANC underground meeting in the area.

SEPOGWANE, Makalabana Freddy (21), a member of the SAP, was one of two policemen wounded when MK operatives attacked the Dennilton police station in KwaNdebele on 26 September 1987. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/102).

SEPOTOKELE, Motuki Richard, a government supporter, lost his businesses and house in an attack by ANC supporters in 1986 in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, during a consumer boycott aimed at his business.

SEPTEMBER, Dulcie Evon (52), ANC chief representative in France, died instantly after shot at point blank range in front of the ANC offices on 29 March 1988 in Paris, France. Her killing was preceded by two attempts on the life of the ANC chief representative to the BENELUX countries. Although the perpetrators have not been identified, available evidence suggests that the killing was a South African security force operation.

SEPTEMBER, Nontsikelelo Ethel (37), a street committee member, was detained on 22 August 1986 during protests in Somerset East, Cape. In detention she was tortured by members of the SAP.

SEPULA, Zanele Collin (15), a UDF supporter was shot and injured by members of the SAP at Zwelethemba, Worcester, Cape, on 16 August 1985, during protests in the area. One person was killed and several others were injured that day.

SEQUERA, Randal Peter (20), was shot dead by members of the SAP while watching a protest at a taxi rank on 3 February 1993 in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg.

SERACHE, Nathaniel 'Nat' Mooketsa (41), an MK operative, survived an attack on his house in Gaborone, Botswana, by SADF Special Forces operatives on 13 February 1985. On 19 April 1993, Mr Serache was shot and injured while attending the funeral of assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI in Johannesburg. The commander of Security Branch Headquarters, the divisional commander of Western Transvaal Security Branch and four of his operatives were granted amnesty for providing target intelligence to Special Forces for the 1985 attack (AC/2001/228).

SERAME, Sonny, was detained for two weeks and assaulted by members of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl, in July 1985.

SERAPIMIDES, Vangel, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SEREMANE, Timothy Tebogo 'Chief' (aka 'Kenneth Mahamba') (29), a MK member from Bekkersdal, Westonaria, Tvl, was detained by ANC security in 1981 and executed by order of an ANC military tribunal in 1981 in Quatro camp, Angola. Following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979, there was an atmosphere of paranoia about infiltration by

South African agents. In this context, a number of ANC members were detained and tortured; some died as a result of assaults and some were executed.

SEREO, Matheo, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophutatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

SEREPO, Jan Christmas, was abducted, beaten and stabbed by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 January 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele. At Siyabuswa community hall Mr Nkadimeng and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and were then sjambokked and beaten where they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted for about 36 hours. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

SERETLO, Tlou Julia (47), lost her home in an arson attack on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala, because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SERIBE, Amanda Flaga (54), an ANC supporter, was tear-gassed, hit on the legs with a heavy object, and arrested by members of the SAP in Sophiatown, Johannesburg, in 1960, during a march organised by the women of Sophiatown against the Pass Laws.

SEROBE, Lawrence Molati (18), an ANC activist, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in August 1976 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during a stayaway in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING.

SEROBE, Peter Thulo, an ANC supporter, was knocked down by a police vehicle in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in 1976. The family claim they were repeatedly harassed by members of the SAP following Mr Serobe's death.

SEROKOLO, Motshidisi Kate (26), was tortured, intimidated and sexually humiliated by members of the SAP while in detention in Pretoria Central prison in 1978 and 1979. Ms Seokolo had been arrested under the Terrorism Act in 1978 on suspicion that she harboured MK operatives

SEROUE, Letta Nokidimusi, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

SERRANO, Mary-Anne (21), was killed when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. At least 66 other people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

SERUWE, Simon Bushy (29), an ANC supporter, was shot and died few days later on 27 November 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

SESELE, Melodi (7), was shot and killed by a named perpetrator while playing outside her home in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 January 1987. The perpetrator was employed by the security forces and prior to this incident, had killed another person. On the day of that funeral, his house was petrol-bombed. The perpetrator responded by firing randomly at the crowd and killing Melodi.

SESHAI, Christopher Moeketse (18), had his house in Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by named UDF supporters in December 1985 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

SESINYI, Dolly Mary (49), was shot by IFP supporters in August 1991 in Kagiso, Tvl, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents.

SESMAN, David Vena (35), a PAC supporter, was severely beaten by named perpetrators in Cofimvaba, Transkei, in 1960, allegedly because of his political affiliation.

SETABELA, Samuel Molefi, a PAC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl.

SETEBE, Timu Lawrence (52), was injured when members of the KWAZULU POLICE sprayed teargas on him at Assagay, near Hammarsdale, Natal, on 25 December 1988, during political conflict in the area. Mr Setebe allegedly lived in an ANC stronghold.

SETEL, Jacob, a constable in the SAP, survived a hand grenade attack by MK operatives on the Daveyton police station, Tvl, on 24 February 1978. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

SETENE, Mpho Rosalina (73), was seriously injured by ANC supporters who attacked her home in Ficksburg, OFS, in August 1993, during local conflict between the ANC and SANCO. Ms Setene's son was a member of SANCO.

SETENI, Johnson Dumile (40), had his business premises destroyed in a bombing attack by members of the AWWB in Hofmeyr, Cradock, Cape, on 14 August 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0029).

SETHAMBU, JM, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SETHEBE, Lewis Ndolo, an ANC supporter, was detained in 1964 in Johannesburg, and has not been seen since.

SETHLODI, Amos (30), died after he was shot by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Vryburg, Northern Cape, on 8 December 1988. Mr Sethlodi and three others were killed when police opened fire on a protest march to the tribal office.

SETHLODI, Majeng, an ANC supporter, was fatally shot in August 1990 in Taung, Bophuthatswana, by a named member of the Bophuthatswana Police during the chieftaincy feud between Chief Mahure and Chief Mankuroane.

SETHOGA, Mokgaetji Florah (30), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, allegedly by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

SETHOKGA, Miriam (23), was severely beaten at a community meeting on 10 October 1986 in Ga-Kibi Village, Lebowa, called to discuss grievances against the self-appointed Chief Lebogo. The chief responded by using the police and SADF members to disperse the meeting by sjambokking those in attendance.

SETHOKGA, Thilifi Philemon (61), was severely beaten at a community meeting on 10 October 1986 in Ga-Kibi Village, Lebowa, called to discuss grievances against the self-appointed Chief Lebogo. The chief responded by using the police and SADF members to disperse the meeting by sjambokking those in attendance. Mr Sethokga lost his eye as a result of the beating.

SETHOLE, Amos Monafa, was shot by members of the SAP on 25 May 1986 in Stilfontein, Tvl.

SETHWALE, Lucas Tsenolo 'Jetta' (24), a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE, was killed by a crowd in Paballelo, Upington, Cape, on 13 November 1985. After police dispersed a meeting, angry residents stoned his home. He fired shots at the crowd and tried to run away but was caught and beaten with his gun before being set alight. Twenty-six residents, known as the UPINGTON 26, were later arrested and 25 convicted of murder on the basis of common purpose. Fourteen of the accused were sentenced to death, overturned on appeal. One UDF and ANC supporter was granted amnesty for the killing.

SETI, Gladstone Xolisile, an MK member, is believed to have died on 4 April 1984 in a UNITA ambush. Mr Seti had gone into exile and did not return after the unbanning of the ANC. His parents were informed by ANC officials that their son had died in exile.

SETI, Melekile Allan (25), a PAYCO member, was detained under emergency regulations on 2 July 1986 in Port Alfred, Cape. He was held at various prisons for about a year and was questioned about activities in the township.

SETJANE, Mpho David (20), an ANCYL member, was severely assaulted and tortured by named SAP members in the veld near Kroonstad, OFS, on 17 June 1986, allegedly because he was a known political activist.

SETLAI, Thabo Walter (19), an ANCYL member, was detained and beaten by named members of the SAP at the Grootvlei police station, Reddersburg, OFS, in May 1990. A boycott was underway at the time, and several youth activists were assaulted and tortured by the police.

SETLALE, Asaph, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters on 12 September 1990 in Vosloorus, Tvl.

SETLE, Martin, was shot and injured, allegedly by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHEWSA GANG members, in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 at the night vigil of Christopher Nangalembe, an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired at and threw hand grenades at mourners, killing a number and injuring several others. Police arrived at the scene but provided no protection, allegedly ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

SETLE, Paul Jabulane (20), was shot dead, allegedly by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHEWSA GANG members, in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 at the night vigil of Christopher Nangalembe, an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired at and threw hand grenades at mourners, killing a number and injuring several others. Police arrived at the scene but provided no protection, allegedly ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

SETLHAHUNO, Lazarus (20), was killed, by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 5 February 1994 in Taung, Bophuthatswana during clashes over the chieftainship of the area. His body was found on the bank of a nearby river.

SETLHODI, Arms (30), died after he was shot by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Vryburg, Cape, on 8 December 1988, when police opened fire on participants in a protest march at the tribal office, killing about three people.

SETLHOKE, Gabriel Phemelo (33), from Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, was repeatedly tortured in October 1985 and January 1986 in Zambia, and at Nova Stella Sao prison and Quatro camp in Angola, by named ANC security members who falsely accused him of being an enemy agent. See ANC CAMPS.

SETSHEDI, Modise Daniel (64), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when armed men opened fire on a taxi he was travelling in on 15 November 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl. The shooting occurred during a period of TAXI VIOLENCE when conflict between ANC and IFP supporters became linked to competition in the taxi industry.

SETSHEDI, Phillemon Matetenene (60), was arrested and severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police on 31 December 1990 in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana. At the time of the incident the community of Phokeng was resisting its INCORPORATION into Bophuthatswana.

SEXWALE, Lesetsha Joseph, an MK operative deployed in the Transkei, was caught with four other operatives at a police roadblock near Elliot, Cape, on 11 August 1981. Three of the operatives were killed in a shoot-out while Mr Sexwale and one other escaped. They were cornered and died fighting at Barkly Pass two days later. The four bodies were secretly buried on the farm, Lushof, in the magisterial district of Rouxville, near Aliwal North, Cape, and were exhumed by the Commission on 9 April 1997.

SEXWALE, Mosima Gabriel 'T' okyo', an MK operative, was detained, interrogated and tortured at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, by members of

the Witwatersrand Security Branch on 30/31 December 1976. Mr Sexwale was later sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment. One Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/275). **SEYAYI, Ngangelizwe Joseph** (33), was severely beaten by a named member of the SAP after his arrest on 1 April 1986 in Bela-Bela, Warmbaths, Tvl. He was charged for taking part in protest action against the Warmbaths council, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

SGOTLO, (first name not given), was shot and injured by an ANCYL member in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 24 December 1990. One ANCYL member was granted amnesty, while another, who denied any involvement in the attack, was refused amnesty (AC/97/0001 and AC/97/0004).

SGOXO, Mazwi Edward, was injured after being shot by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 24 December 1990.

One ANCYL member was granted amnesty, while another, who denied any involvement in the attack, was refused amnesty (AC/97/0001 and AC/97/0004).

SGWAZA, Anna Gugile (37), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SHAAN, Danger, an ANC supporter was shot in the leg by members of the South African Police in 1980 outside the Grand Piano nightclub in Johannesburg, during a period of political tension when there were school boycotts, stayaways and protests.

SHABALALA (DUMA), Zanele Florina (28), an ANC supporter, had her house in Mahaqwa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 22 November 1991.

SHABALALA, Alosia (54), had her house at Ofafa, Chibini, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by named IFP supporters on 4 May 1990 because her son, who was also shot in this incident, was a member of the ANC.

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

SHABALALA, Bhukumusa Donald (47), died after being shot in the chest by members of the SAP in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 December 1988, when police opened fire during a violent confrontation with a group of youths.

SHABALALA, Bongani David (24), an ANC supporter, was beaten and then shot dead by named members of the SAP at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 3 February 1993, allegedly because he refused to disclose the location of a weapons cache.

SHABALALA, David Bhenguse, an employee of Rand Water, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a

taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 February 1992. Four people died and eight were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225).

SHABALALA, David Vimba (47), an ANC supporter, died after being shot by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 26 August 1993.

SHABALALA, Elijah (57), was shot and injured at his church at Bhekezulu, Estcourt, Natal, on 2 April 1994, when IFP supporters opened fire on the congregation, allegedly because they suspected that members were considering joining the ANC. Six people, including Mr Shabalala's daughter, were shot and killed in the attack.

SHABALALA, Emmanuel Abraham Sibusiso, an ANC supporter, died after being shot during continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 2 August 1993.

SHABALALA, Ethel Busisiwe (47), an ANC supporter, was continually harassed by members of the Special Branch in Ladysmith, Natal, in 1960, allegedly because of her husband's involvement with the ANC.

SHABALALA, Ethel Sizile (39), a member of the South African Communist Party, was detained and tortured by Special Branch members on a number of occasions in the 1960s and early 1970s in Durban.

SHABALALA, Goodness (49), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely wounded on 5 August 1993, when IFP supporters attacked her home in Ohlange, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban. Her husband was killed in the attack.

SHABALALA, Jabulani Innocentia (16), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death when IFP supporters attacked ANC supporters in Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, on 16 July 1991. Four other ANC supporters were killed in the attack.

SHABALALA, Jabulile V ictoria (19), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in her father's church in Bhekezulu, Estcourt, Natal, on 2 April 1994, when IFP supporters opened fire on the congregation, allegedly because they suspected that members were considering joining the ANC. Five other people were shot and killed in the attack.

SHABALALA, Jackson Nkosinathi (24), an ANC member, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Bulwer, Natal, on 30 January 1993.

SHABALALA, Jef frey Sipho (21), an Inkatha supporter, was abducted by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 May 1989. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

SHABALALA, Joey Ntombenimsi, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters on 20 April 1985 at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, reportedly because of her political affiliation and her position as councillor in the township.

SHABALALA, Lwazi Skhumbuzo (18), an ANC supporter, was beaten by ISU members who were conducting searches for weapons in houses in the Steadville area, near Ladysmith, Natal, in 1993.

SHABALALA, Makhosonke Solomon (30), was seriously injured when the husband of a councillor

opened fire on residents protesting against councillors on 16 January 1990 in Vukuzakhe, Volksrust, Tvl.

SHABALALA, Makhosonke, was arrested by named SAP members on 28 January 1992 because they found an AK47 rifle in his house. He was kept in the Dube police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, for two days where he was punched and severely beaten.

SHABALALA, Maswazini Petros (36), was shot in the leg in Estcourt, Natal, on 2 April 1994, when IFP supporters opened fire on a church service in Estcourt, Natal, in political conflict three weeks before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHABALALA, Mbuso Edmund, an MK operative, was abducted in KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 July 1990 by members of the Port Natal Security Branch during the investigation of an ANC operation codenamed Vula. On 12 July 1990, Mr Shabalala and one other were shot and their bodies thrown into the Tugela river. Five Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/099).

SHABALALA, Michael Phaseka, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 13 October 1991.

SHABALALA, Mitchell Nomgalajelwa (30), was shot and injured when members of the Riot Police opened fire on boycotting students in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 13 September 1982. Mr Shabalala became a paraplegic as a result of the shooting.

SHABALALA, Nicholas Thulani (28), an ANC supporter, had his house in Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 4 May 1990 following attempts to hold a peace rally in the area on 1 May 1990.

SHABALALA, Nomhlengano Mavis (58), an IFP supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by ANCYL supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 September 1990.

SHABALALA, Ntombifikile Happy (29), an ANC supporter, had her house burgled and vandalised by IFP supporters in Bulwer, Natal, in March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHABALALA, Phephezela Johannes (41), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 7 November 1992 in KwaThema, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters.

SHABALALA, Sebastian Jabulani (37), was shot dead on 12 September 1993 when his uncle's home at Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, was attacked by IFP supporters, allegedly because the family was perceived to be sympathetic to the ANC. His uncle was burnt to death in the attack.

SHABALALA, Sibongile Cynthia (19), an IFP supporter, was severely burnt when ANC supporters attacked and burnt her home in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 5 May 1993. Three other family members, including two children, were severely burnt in the fire.

SHABALALA, Sibongiseni France Makhehla, an ANC supporter, died after being assaulted by IFP supporters at Xosheyahle, Bulwer, Natal, on 22 February 1992.

SHABALALA, Siboniso, was abducted and killed by members of the MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB on 14

November 1988 in Soweto, Johannesburg. Mr Shabalala was accused of being an informer. He was last seen alive in the presence of Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. According to his father, his son's face was swollen and he appeared to have been beaten.

SHABALALA, Sindisiwe Rejoice (9), was shot dead on 2 April 1994, when IFP supporters opened fire on a church service in Estcourt, Natal, in political conflict three weeks before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHABALALA, Sipantuzo Timothy (52), an ANC supporter, was harassed, detained and stabbed by members of the SAP in Ladysmith, Natal, during the 1960s, in an attempt to force him to end his political activities.

SHABALALA, Smanga Simon (21), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The perpetrators called Mr Shabalala out of his grandmother's home and shot him dead, then burnt down the house.

SHABALALA, Sonto Emily (43), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 25 May 1991, allegedly because she refused to pay the money demanded by one of the councillors, an IFP supporter.

SHABALALA, Thesi , an ANC supporter, was killed on 5 August 1993 when IFP supporters attacked his home in Ohlange, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban. His wife, also an ANC supporter and allegedly the target of the attack, was stabbed and severely injured in the incident.

SHABALALA, Thobile Venetia (16), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SHABALALA, Thokozani , was shot and injured on 2 April 1994 in a church at Bhekezulu, Estcourt, Natal, when IFP supporters opened fire on the congregation, allegedly because they suspected that members were considering joining the ANC. Six people were shot and killed in the attack.

SHABALALA, Veli Samson , a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 6 May 1985.

SHABALALA, Vusi , an ANC civic leader, was killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Tokoza Tvl, on 27 October 1992. One perpetrator was refused amnesty (AC/2000/198).

SHABALALA, Wendelene Mvoshu (69), was burnt to death on 12 September 1993 when his home at Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, was set alight by IFP supporters, allegedly because the family was perceived to be sympathetic to the ANC. His nephew was shot and killed in the attack.

SHABALALA, Xolani Eddie (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and fatally wounded by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 9 July 1993.

SHABALALA, Yvonne (23), an IFP supporter, was severely burnt when ANC supporters attacked and

burnt her home in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 5 May 1993. Three other family members, including two children, were severely burnt in the fire.

SHABALALA, Zanele Florina (28), an ANC supporter, lost her house in Umkomaas, near Durban, in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 22 November 1991.

SHABANE, Busisiwe Jalta (52), an ANC supporter, survived a shooting by members of the KwaZULU POLICE at Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 18 December 1993, during ongoing harassment of her family. On 22 January 1994, Ms Shabane had her home burnt down in an arson attack, allegedly by members of the KwaZULU POLICE.

SHABANE, Gano (47), had her home at Port Shepstone, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 9 July 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

SHABANE, Maria , was shot dead by a member of the SADF on 7 March 1992 in Tembisa, Tvl, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents.

SHABANE, Nkosikhona Ruben (28), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 17 December 1993. The Shabane family was the target of systematic harassment from July to December of 1993, allegedly because of their support for the ANC.

SHABANE, Nonkanyiso Clemencia (30), died in political conflict in Durban on 8 February 1994 after being shot by ANC supporters who were allegedly looking for her boyfriend.

SHABANE, Oswald Mthethunzima , was assaulted and then shot dead by a crowd of ANC-supporting residents in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 7 April 1991. He and his wife, who was necklaced to death in the same incident, were suspected of being IFP supporters. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/217).

SHABANE, Te Amon , an IFP supporter, died after being shot and stabbed by ANC supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 May 1992.

SHABANGU, (first name not given), was shot and injured on 21 November 1990 when members of the SAP opened fire on protesters marching from Mhluzi to Middelburg police station, Tvl, to protest against the harassment of scholars by the police. Five people were killed and more than eight injured.

SHABANGU, Beauty Mbambo (43), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by named and other ANC supporters in Mtunzini, Natal, in February 1992.

SHABANGU, Ben Luke (45), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured and had his home burnt down IFP supporters in Bilanyoni, Paulpietersburg, Natal, on 20 April 1993.

SHABANGU, David Lucas (18), disappeared on 16 May 1986 after leaving home to attend a meeting of residents opposed to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Mr Shabangu was allegedly arrested and held in prison in South Africa, but his family has never seen or heard from him since.

SHABANGU, Doctor Paulos , an employee of Rand Water, was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 February 1992. Four people died and eight were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225).

SHABANGU, Edward , died after he was stabbed by a named perpetrator in KaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, on 23 June 1984. He had attended the funeral service of a government official when he was attacked. The incident occurred during conflict between the Inyandza and Inyatsi groups in KaNgwane.

SHABANGU, Eunice , was killed by a group of youths who attacked and burnt her at Daveyton, Tvl, on 2 July 1987. The youths targeted another person who was not present at the time of the attack. Four persons died and four suffered injuries as a result of the attack. One perpetrator, who claimed to be an ANC supporter and chairperson of a 'people's court', was refused amnesty for the attack (AC/2001/282).

SHABANGU, Eunice , was shot and killed in her kitchen in Sebokeng, Tvl, by a member of the Municipal Police on 4 June 1988, reportedly to create fear in the township.

SHABANGU, Gabriel , was shot and injured by members of the AWB on 12 December 1993 at an illegal roadblock set up outside Ventersdorp, Tvl. Four people, including two children, were killed in the attack. Eight AWB members were refused amnesty and one was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0045). See RODORA ROADBLOCK KILLINGS.

SHABANGU, George (31), was arrested by named KwaNdebele policemen in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 6 February 1987, and questioned about a gun found in his room. He was tortured at the police station, after which he disappeared. Police claimed that Mr Shabangu had escaped while pointing out an arms cache.

SHABANGU, Johannes Mandla (33), a member of the regional ANC leadership, survived a hand grenade attack by MK operatives on the home of an ANC member in KaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, during the night of 10/11 November 1992. Five other occupants of the house also survived. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attempted killings (AC/1997/0065; AC/1997/0066 and AC/1997/0067).

SHABANGU, Khulumile Portia (25), a SANSCO member from White River, Tvl, was killed, along with two others, in an ambush mounted by operatives from *Vlakplaas* and section D of Security Branch headquarters near Bhunya, Swaziland on 12 February 1989. The three were lured into the ambush by a Security Branch agent purporting to be an MK operative. The Security Branch then spread a rumour that they had been killed by the ANC because they were suspected of being police informers (AC/2001/227).

SHABANGU, Lilimane Simon (46), an IFP supporter, had his home petrol-bombed by ANC supporters in Mtunzini, Natal, in February 1992.

SHABANGU, Lucas David (18) disappeared on 16 May 1986 after leaving home to attend a meeting of

residents opposed to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. Mr Shabangu was allegedly arrested and held in prison in South Africa, but his family has not seen or heard from him since.

SHABANGU, Mamphatole Lazar us (25), was stabbed, shot and thrown off a train in Daveyton, Tvl, on 13 November 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

SHABANGU, Mandla Lar ribbee , was shot dead, allegedly by members of the SAP, outside the magistrate's court in Kabokweni, KaNgwane, on 11 March 1986, during a trial of students charged with public violence.

SHABANGU, Mkhulu Exodus (25), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the ISU on 19 April 1994 in Tokoza, Tvl, during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SHABANGU, Mr (first name not given), had his petrol station at Tweefontein, Kwandabele, damaged during June 1986, when a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch attacked it using rocket launchers, an explosive device and machine-gun fire. Mr Shabangu allegedly provided assistance to MK operatives. Two members of a SAP Special Investigation Unit and three Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/105; AC/2001/27).

SHABANGU, Neville (32), a UDF member, was severely burnt by named members of the Security Branch in Nelspruit, Tvl, in April 1986.

SHABANGU, Per cy, an IFP-aligned KHUMALO GANG member, was shot dead by ANC supporters on 13 December 1992 at a shebeen frequented by ANC supporters in Tokoza, Tvl, because of his alleged involvement in the murder and rape of three teenagers the previous day. The KHUMALO GANG was responsible for killing two ANC supporters and injuring several others in a revenge attack on the tavern later that day.

SHABANGU, Peter , was shot and killed by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, on 6 October 1993. One SDU member was granted amnesty for this killing (AC/1999/0186).

SHABANGU, Por tia , a SANSCO member, and two others were killed in an ambush near Bhunya, Swaziland on 12 February 1989. The three were lured into the ambush by a Security Branch agent, purporting to be an MK operative. The Security Branch then spread a rumour that they had been killed by the ANC because they were suspected of being police informers. The operation was conducted by *Vlakplaas* and Section D of Security Branch Headquarters. Nineteen operatives from *Vlakplaas* and Security Branch Headquarters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/227).

SHABANGU, Sibongile Nelisive (37), had her house in Inchanga, Natal, burnt down in 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

SHABANGU, Simanga Elias (23), was seriously injured when a landmine planted by an MK operative exploded in June 1988 in Volkrust, Tvl. The landmines were aimed at the SADF and commandos in rural area but the campaign was abandoned due to the high number of civilian casualties.

SHABANGU, Vincent Muziwenhlanhla , was shot dead in Mandini, Natal, on 23 October 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

SHABANGU, Vusumuzi Emmanuel (16), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by named and other ANC members in Mtunzini, Natal, on 4 March 1992.

SHADA, Mohau Nicholas (23), a COSAS member, was detained for 18 months from 25 June 1985 and forced to make a statement against his 'comrades' in Benoni, Tvl. He was hunted by police after his 'comrades' were blown up by booby-trapped hand grenades provided by a named *Vlakplaas askari*.

SHAGE, Simpiwe , was shot and injured by MK operatives at Edendale Hospital, near Pietermaritzburg, on 4 May 1986. One person was killed and Mr Shage and three others were injured in crossfire between the operatives and police when the operatives raided the hospital to free a member of their MK unit who was being held there. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

SHAI, Kleinboy Oupa (24), was shot by members of the SAP on 24 September 1991 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl. Khutsong was tense after clashes between two rival factions of the ANC aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS.

SHAIK, Yunus , was detained in connection with ANC activities and tortured at CR Swart Square, Durban, by members of the Port Natal Security Branch during July 1985. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/60).

SHALANG, Solomon , was tear-gassed and beaten with a sjambok by members of the South African Police on 23 March 1986 in Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during tension after government attempts to force INCORPORATION of the area into KwaNdebele.

SHALANGU, Phindiwe , survived a hand grenade attack by MK operatives on the home of an ANC member in KaNyamazane, Nelspruit, Tvl, during the night of 10/11 November 1992. Five other occupants of the house also survived. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attempted killings (AC/1997/0065; AC/1997/0066 and AC/1997/0067).

SHALE, Gofrey (41), was shot dead on 12 September 1990 in Vosloorus, Tvl, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents.

SHALE, Moeketsi Fahian (50), was shot dead when police opened fire on a NEHAWU meeting in Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, on 15 October 1992. At the time, nationwide NEHAWU strikes formed part of the ANC mass action campaign.

SHALE, Monica Makoeke (45), received death threats from alleged members of the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) in QwaQwa, in 1982, shortly after her son had allegedly been killed by his 'comrades' in the LLA. Ms Shale and her husband eventually had to flee QwaQwa.

SHALE, Refiloe , was killed, allegedly by fellow Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) members, in QwaQwa, in 1982, because he objected to some of the LLA's activities. The exiled LLA had abducted Mr Shale from Westonaria, Tvl, to join their forces.

SHAMASE, Shokwakhe (39), an ANC supporter, was injured and had his home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1993.

SHAMDU, Betty (55), had her home in Empangeni, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 4 December 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

SHANDU, (first name not given), went missing when the family home at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, was burnt down by IFP supporters on 13 January 1994 in the conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

SHANDU, Bethuel (27), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters on 20 July 1990, at the Ngqoleni bus stop in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban. Seven members of the Shandu family died in three separate incidents of political violence during 1990.

SHANDU, Bhefika (47) an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SHANDU, Busangani , was killed by an ANC/FAWU member at his workplace at Langeberg Foods in Boksburg, Tvl, on 12 June 1992, during a period of conflict between IFP and ANC-supporting workers at the factory. One ANC member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/1998/0080).

SHANDU, Caanaan Mbegcu , a COSATU official, was shot and killed by an IFP member during political conflict at Mandini, Natal, in December 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

SHANDU, Celani (44), an IFP supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 April 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters three days before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHANDU, Fikile , was shot and injured on 28 November 1993 by alleged IFP supporters at Mandini, Natal, during an attack on the home of the ANC-supporting family he was staying with. The house was also burnt down.

SHANDU, Hlaselaphi Agnes (52), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Ngonweni, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 November 1992.

SHANDU, Jabulani Emmanuel (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in June 1992, allegedly because of his political activities among the youth.

SHANDU, Jabulisiwe Emely (37), had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 13 January 1994 in the conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Her husband disappeared in the same attack, and has not been seen since.

SHANDU, Johannes (56), an ANC supporter, had his home at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

SHANDU, Johannes (57), had his home vandalised by IFP supporters in Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, during

1993, allegedly because he was living in an ANC stronghold.

SHANDU, Khumbulani (25), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and killed by ANC supporters in Isipingo, Natal, on 14 March 1990. Seven members of the Shandu family died in three separate incidents of political violence during 1990.

SHANDU, Linda W ifred, was shot and fatally burnt when ANC supporters attacked a home in Umnini, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 July 1990. Ms Nomusa Shandu, an IFP supporter, had moved her children and grandchildren to safety when she heard of a possible attack. The attackers then fetched the family from their hiding place and took them back to their home, which they set alight. Five of the Shandu family members died of burns. Thirteen ANC supporters were charged and 11 convicted for the attack.

SHANDU, Mafiki Zandele, was shot and fatally burnt when ANC supporters attacked a home in Umnini, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 July 1990. Ms Nomusa Shandu, an IFP supporter, had moved her children and grandchildren to safety when she heard of a possible attack. The attackers then fetched the family from their hiding place and took them back to their home, which they set alight. Five of the Shandu family members died of burns. Thirteen ANC supporters were charged and 11 convicted for the attack.

SHANDU, Mbhekeleni (44), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 March 1994 in the conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHANDU, Nicholas Nkosinathi, was shot dead, allegedly by members of the ISU, at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 December 1993. Eight other people died in attacks by ISU members in the area that day. The perpetrator applied for amnesty.

SHANDU, Nokwazi Josephine (43), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in 1993.

SHANDU, Nozipho (20), was shot and fatally burnt when ANC supporters attacked a home in Umnini, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 July 1990. Ms Nomusa Shandu, an IFP supporter, had moved her children and grandchildren to safety when she heard of a possible attack. The attackers then fetched the family from their hiding place and took them back to their home, which they set alight. Five of the Shandu family members died of burns. Thirteen ANC supporters were charged and 11 convicted for the attack.

SHANDU, Phumaphi Emelea (54), an ANC supporter, was severely intimidated by members of the SAP in KwaMashu, Durban, during 1980. She and her family were forced to leave the area.

SHANDU, Primrose Ntombifuthi, was shot and fatally burnt when ANC supporters attacked a home in Umnini, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 July 1990. Ms Nomusa Shandu, an IFP supporter, had moved her children and grandchildren to safety when she heard

of a possible attack. The attackers then fetched the family from their hiding place and took them back to their home, which they set alight. Five of the Shandu family members died of burns. Thirteen ANC supporters were charged and 11 convicted for the attack.

SHANDU, Sibongile Gladness (41), had her home set alight in an arson attack at Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 8 October 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SHANDU, Sitifani Stephen (39), had his home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in May 1989, allegedly because he was thought to be a UDF supporter. Mr Shandu lived on the border between UDF and Inkatha areas.

SHANDU, Sizakele (62), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SHANDU, Thembeni Agnes (38), had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 June 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

SHANDU, Tholile, was shot and fatally burnt when ANC supporters attacked a home in Umnini, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 July 1990. Ms Nomusa Shandu, an IFP supporter, had moved her children and grandchildren to safety when she heard of a possible attack. The attackers then fetched the family from their hiding place and took them to their home, which they set alight. Five of the Shandu family members died of burns. Thirteen ANC supporters were charged and 11 convicted for the attack.

SHANDU, Thulani Joseph (25), was shot and stabbed to death on 24 February 1994 in Nkekwane Reserve, Mtunzini, Natal, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHANDU, Walter Mansi, an MK operative, died mysteriously while in detention in November 1978 in Zeerust, Tvl. Police claimed that he committed suicide but his neck was broken and severely bruised.

SHANDU, Zibuyile (24), was shot dead by ANC supporters in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 January 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF/ANC supporters.

SHANGASE, Alson Dingizizwe (45), an ANC supporter and union member, was assaulted by members of the SADF in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in September 1986, during the SARMCOL STRIKE.

SHANGASE, Aubrey Mandlakoyise, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHANGASE, Bhelokwakhe (33), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SHANGASE, Bhelukwazi (20), an ANC supporter, had to have his leg amputated after being shot by a

named member of the SADF in Lamontville, Durban, on 25 June 1983.

SHANGASE, Busisiwe Gadeni (22), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SHANGASE, Daphney Zehlile (20), was severely injured when she was sexually assaulted and stabbed by UDF supporters who attacked her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 September 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

SHANGASE, Dudu , was one of 11 people killed by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

SHANGASE, Fikile (53), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in an attack by IFP supporters on residents of the isolated ANC stronghold in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SHANGASE, Garazile Gertrude (39), an Inkatha supporter, had her home in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters on 19 January 1990.

SHANGASE, Hansford Thabo (17), a COSAS member, was assaulted by named Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 17 July 1986. On 29 November 1987, Mr Shangase was paralysed when the same perpetrators shot him in the mouth and neck.

SHANGASE, Hawukile (54), had her home at NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, set alight in an arson attack on 12 February 1994 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

SHANGASE, Jabulane , was severely stabbed by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 September 1988 in intense political conflict in the area.

SHANGASE, Khalangani (53), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters at Mangangeni in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in May 1994, in conflict accompanying the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHANGASE, Khethiwe (21), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death when Inkatha supporters petrol-bombed her home in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 11 June 1990. She was six months pregnant at the time. Ms Shangase's three brothers, all ANC supporters, were killed in political conflict in the area at different times between 1987 and 1993.

SHANGASE, Mabule Isaac , an ANC supporter, suffered damage to property in political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, in the late 1980s. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/054).

SHANGASE, Mar garet (56), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in September 1987.

SHANGASE, Mbhekeni Mbhulehwa (50), an IFP supporter, was shot dead when other named IFP supporters ambushed him at Thafamasi, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 December 1990. His sons were ANC supporters and had also been killed in the course of political conflict. His wife was injured, and two sisters-in-law were shot dead in the attack.

SHANGASE, Mkhipheni Ben , was shot dead in an attack by IFP supporters on residents of the isolated ANC stronghold in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS. **SHANGASE, Moses** (31), a UDF supporter, was shot dead in an ambush by IFP supporters in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 26 April 1991. Mr Shangase's two brothers and sister, all UDF or ANC supporters, were killed in separate incidents of political conflict in the area between 1987 and 1993.

SHANGASE, Mthandeni Vincent (16), an ANC supporter, was shot and hacked to death by IFP supporters at Ndundumeni, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 December 1990. His brother was also killed in the attack. Three days later, three members of his family were killed by IFP supporters who attempted to prevent them from procuring *muti* for his grave.

SHANGASE, Muzi , was one of 11 people killed by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

SHANGASE, Ndabayomlungu Vo , an IFP supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters who ambushed and attacked her family on the road in Thafamasi, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 December 1990. Her father-in-law and sister-in-law were also shot dead in the incident. The perpetrators allegedly tried to prevent the family from getting *muti* for the graves of her husband and brother-in-law, who had both been killed in the course of political conflict.

SHANGASE, Ngazini Buzani , was shot dead by named IFP supporters who ambushed and attacked her family on the road in Thafamasi, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 December 1990. Her father-in-law and sister-in-law were also shot dead in the incident. The perpetrators allegedly tried to prevent the family from getting *muti* for the graves of her husband and brother-in-law, who had both been killed in the course of political conflict.

SHANGASE, Nkonyeni , was one of 11 people killed by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

SHANGASE, Nkosikhona , was shot and severely injured in an attack by IFP supporters on residents of the isolated ANC stronghold in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SHANGASE, Nomvula Goodness (17), had her home burnt down and was abducted by UDF supporters, who attempted to rape her, at Camperdown, near Pietermaritzburg, in December 1989, during intensifying political conflict in the area. About 1000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in political violence in Mpumalanga in 1989.

SHANGASE, Ntombenjani Bonangani (42), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured on 26 December 1990, in Thafamasi, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. She and other family members were ambushed on the road by other named IFP supporters who wanted to prevent her from procuring *muti* for the graves of her sons, who sons were ANC supporters and had been killed in political conflict. Her husband and two daughters-in-law were shot dead in the attack.

SHANGASE, Ntombikula (6), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SHANGASE, Philisiwe Mpompo (38), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in August 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters over the launch of an IFP branch in the area.

SHANGASE, Phindile Josephine (37), an ANC supporter, had her house at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in September 1991.

SHANGASE, Phumelaphi Eunice (29), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SHANGASE, Phumelephi Sylvia (38), an IFP supporter, had her house in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 8 February 1994.

SHANGASE, Sibusiso (30), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and killed by IFP supporters at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 27 March 1993. Mr Shangase's two brothers and a sister, all UDF and ANC supporters, were killed in separate incidents of political conflict in the area between 1987 and 1993.

SHANGASE, Siphosenkosi W ilson, was shot and stabbed to death in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on his home in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 January 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF/ANC supporters in the area.

SHANGASE, Yvonne Thembekile, an IFP supporter, was shot dead in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 2 March 1992 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

SHANGASE, Zamokuhle Sbongiseni (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and hacked to death by IFP supporters in Ndundumeni, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 23 December 1990. His brother was also killed in the attack. Three days later, three members of his family were killed by IFP supporters who attempted to prevent them from procuring *muti* for his grave.

SHANGASE, Zetha, was one of 11 people killed by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg,

on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

SHANGASE, Zibekile Minah (68), an ANC supporter, had her house in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, destroyed and looted by Inkatha supporters on 2 January 1989. Her son was killed in the attack.

SHANGE, Alpheus Magwegwe (44), an ANC supporter, disappeared from Lamontville, Durban, in December 1986. It is alleged that he went into exile and, while in Lusaka, was summoned before a disciplinary hearing by his comrades and accused of being an informer. He then allegedly committed suicide.

SHANGE, Antony (61), was shot and injured when unidentified persons attacked his home at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 August 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His wife was shot dead in the attack.

SHANGE, Balungile (43), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SHANGE, Banelile S'bongile (16), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during political conflict in the area in June 1980.

SHANGE, Basitile (52), an ANC supporter, had her house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

SHANGE, Bhekinduna Isaac, was one of six passengers shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked a bus at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. Eight other passengers were injured. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/088). See UMKOMAAS BUS ATTACK.

SHANGE, Bhekizwe, an Inkatha supporter, was shot and killed by a named ANC supporter in Osuthu, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 March 1990, in conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

SHANGE, Bongani Jef frey (22), an ANC supporter, was severely injured when he was mauled by a police dog in Umlazi, Durban, on 13 February 1992. Police came to his home, allegedly looking for weapons, after he had enquired about water facilities for squatters. He was detained for nine months, during which he was beaten and subjected to electric shock torture. His right arm is now partially paralysed.

SHANGE, Bongani Petros (31), a UDF supporter, was attacked and fired at by named Inkatha supporters in Mafunza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in May 1987.

SHANGE, Buysile Precious (20), had the room in which she was staying petrol-bombed in March 1993 in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. At least 18 people were killed in political violence in Bhambayi in March 1993. Seventy-five homes were burnt down.

SHANGE, Constance Badelile (54), had her house in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, looted and burnt

down by Inkatha supporters on 9 June 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

SHANGE, Dinci (41), was seriously injured when he was beaten and stabbed by Inkatha supporters in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

SHANGE, Eunice Nkosikhona (16), a UDF supporter, was stabbed, stoned and axed to death by named Inkatha supporters in Camperdown, near Pietermaritzburg, on 24 May 1988. UDF activists allegedly became the targets of attack when they refused to become Inkatha members during that time.

SHANGE, Fihliwe Emma Mamtolo (65), an ANC supporter, had her house in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in May 1993.

SHANGE, Florence Tonnet (39), a UDF supporter, had her house in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1984 in political conflict over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi and Lamontville into KwaZulu.

SHANGE, Henry Sphiwe (23), was shot and injured on 4 May 1986 when named ANC supporters disguised as doctors mounted a rescue of Gordon Webster, who was being held under police guard in Edendale Hospital, near Pietermaritzburg. One person was killed and two were injured in the operation.

SHANGE, Isaac Bhekisono (28), an ANCYL leader, was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP on 2 November 1992 while in detention in Amanzimtoti, near Durban.

SHANGE, Khumbuzile , was shot dead by unidentified perpetrators at Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 5 January 1992. Her family's home was burnt down during this attack.

SHANGE, Langelakhe (35), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters who attacked his home in Mpandweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 August 1988. Three other members of his family were also killed in the attack.

SHANGE, Lindiwe Evelin (23), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in May 1989. About 1000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in political violence in Mpumalanga in 1989, leaving many dead and thousands homeless.

SHANGE, Mabhula Richard (34), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 3 March 1990, following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

SHANGE, Mantolwane (40), an ANC supporter, had his livestock stolen and his house in Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in April 1992.

SHANGE, Mazo , an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters who attacked his home in Mpandweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 August 1988. Three other members of his family were also killed in the attack.

SHANGE, Mbuyiselwa (51), had his house in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 1 January 1991, when the chief in his area reportedly launched a campaign to expel all ANC members from the area.

SHANGE, Mkhe Khethiwe (29), an IFP supporter, had her house in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, petrol-bombed by ANC supporters in June 1993.

SHANGE, Ms (first name not given), was shot and injured in an attack on her home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1993, during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SHANGE, Msolwa (63), was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 26 May 1990, allegedly because he was perceived to be an ANC sympathiser. Thirteen people were killed in clashes between Inkatha and UDF/ANC supporters in the area at this time.

SHANGE, Mthokozi Alfred (19), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by fellow UDF supporters in KwaPata, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 20 May 1989 during a serious internal conflict within the organisation.

SHANGE, Musa Raymond , an ANC supporter, was shot dead and his body was severely mutilated by named IFP supporters in Vulindlela, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 13 February 1991.

SHANGE, Mxolini Nicholas (45), was shot dead by members of the IFP at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during political conflict on 12 March 1987.

SHANGE, Mzwandile Wonderboy (20), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death and his body mutilated by a named fellow IFP supporter and others, in the Emashembeni forest near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 February 1992. The local chief had called an IFP meeting, and Mr Shange went to the shop before attending the meeting. The shop-owner allegedly called some IFP youths who were passing by and falsely informed them that the victim was a UDF supporter.

SHANGE, Nelie T eresa (49), was shot dead when unidentified persons attacked her home in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 August 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her husband was shot and injured in the attack.

SHANGE, Nelisiwe Maggie (43), an ANC supporter, had her house in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992.

SHANGE, Nokhebevu Samson (63), an ANC supporter, had his house at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area in 1992.

SHANGE, Ntombikayise Elizabeth (60), an ANC supporter, had her house in the Engonyameni area, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 13 June 1990.

SHANGE, Phumelaphi (43), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters at Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 December 1991.

SHANGE, Phumzile Elizabeth (38), an ANC supporter, had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in February 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHANGE, Pretty (19), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters who attacked her home in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, during conflict in 1984 over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi and Lamontville into KwaZulu.

SHANGE, Prudence Nompumelelo (11), lost her family home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, when it was demolished by Inkatha supporters in December 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. Her father was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in the same month.

SHANGE, Robert V usumuzi (27) aka 'Callaghan Chama', an MK member from Soweto, Johannesburg, was detained by ANC members in Angola in 1984. Accused of mutiny, Mr Shange was held for four years in Quadro camp where he was subjected to severe beatings. See ANC CAMPS.

SHANGE, Roselina Kulhatile (64), had her house in Camperdown, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by ANC supporters on 11 October 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

SHANGE, Sarah-Jane, an ANC supporter, had her house in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, burnt down by a named IFP supporter on 1 January 1991, allegedly because her sons were ANC supporters. The local chief had reportedly launched a campaign to remove ANC supporters from the area.

SHANGE, Sibonelo Pr ofessor, was shot and injured by ANC supporters in ongoing political conflict at Mpusheni Reserve, Natal, on 18 August 1992. Eight people died in the attack. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0219).

SHANGE, Sidudla Benzangani (31), an Inkatha supporter, had her house set alight and damaged by ANCYL members in Mophela, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, in June 1989.

SHANGE, Simangele, was severely burnt when her house was set alight by ANC supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, on 5 January 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area.

SHANGE, Sithandive, was one of eight people shot dead by ANC supporters in ongoing political conflict at Mpusheni Reserve, Natal, on 18 August 1992. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0219).

SHANGE, Sithembiso, was shot and injured by ANC supporters in ongoing political conflict at Mpusheni Reserve, Natal, on 18 August 1992. Eight people died in the attack. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0219).

SHANGE, Sizani Mama (41), an ANC supporter, had her house at Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, burnt down by a named IFP supporter on 1 January 1991, when the chief in his area reportedly launched a campaign to expel all ANC members from the area.

SHANGE, Thulani Ntu (28), was shot dead in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 8 June 1993

in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SHANGE, Vivian Thulasizwe (48), was stabbed and hacked to death by Inkatha supporters in Camperdown, near Pietermaritzburg, on 25 December 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

SHANGE, Vusumuzi Emmanuel (18), was stabbed and stoned to death by named ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 17 July 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

SHANGE, W iseman, a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by IFP members at Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, in 1983, during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu.

SHANGE, Zandile Victoria (45), had her house burnt down by members of the IFP at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in political conflict on 20 January 1987.

SHANGE, Zanele (24), had her home and furniture burnt in an arson attack at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area in 1993.

SHAPO, David Molefe (17), was shot in the stomach and seriously injured by alleged members of the SAP in Pietersburg, Tvl, in April 1993 during political conflict that preceded the burial of CHRIS HANI.

SHAZA, Alfred Hlokomani (33), an iKONGO member, lost his house in an arson attack by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in 1963 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SHAZA, Madimane, was beaten to death by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in 1963 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SHAZA, Sipho, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1980, following a dispute between Inkatha supporters and his father, who was an ANC supporter. The family home was burnt down in the same incident.

SHAZI, Nompumelelo Eunice (38), a UDF organiser, was harassed, detained and severely beaten by members of the Transkei Police in 1989 in Umzimkulu, Transkei.

SHAZI, Thokozani, was shot and injured by an IFP member during political conflict at Izingolweni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 March 1991. An amnesty applicant testified that he killed Mr Shazi because he believed him to be an ANC supporter. He was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0339).

SHAZI, Wilson (25), was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in KwaZulu, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 24 February 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

SHEARD, Val, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

SHEARER, Anna Petronella (41), was killed when two MK operatives detonated a bomb in a shopping centre

in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 23 December 1985 in retaliation for a South African security forces attack two weeks earlier on ANC members in Lesotho, in which nine people had been killed. The explosion in Amanzimtoti killed five people and injured 61. One of the operatives was sentenced to death and later hanged.

SHEBI, Bonginkosi Berry (30), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and stabbed by named IFP supporters in Hibberdene, Natal, on 11 December 1992.

SHELEMBE, Albert Sakhephi (40), a taxi driver and an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 22 December 1989. Mr Shelembe was targeted by both the UDF and Inkatha supporters, allegedly because each group wanted him to transport only their supporters.

SHELEMBE, Bongani (24), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death when named IFP supporters attacked a group of ANC supporters in Umkomazi, Richmond, Natal, on 2 May 1992. Three other ANC supporters were killed in the attack.

SHELEMBE, Doris Dumazile (30), had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down in March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHELEMBE, Khanyisile Jeslina (54), had her house in Mandini, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in 1993. She was allegedly targeted because her sons were ANC supporters.

SHELEMBE, Majalimane (71), an Inkatha supporter, was beaten and stabbed to death by named fellow Inkatha supporters in Obanjeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 25 September 1986, allegedly because he was believed to be sympathetic to the ANC.

SHELEMBE, Mdubanisi Prince (35), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down and property stolen by Inkatha supporters in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, on 21 April 1990, in conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations.

SHELEMBE, Nelisiwe Irene (23), an ANC supporter, had her house in Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in March 1991. The family had fled this IFP stronghold because they were ANC supporters, but had returned to attend the funeral of a family member. The house was attacked during the funeral vigil, and two family members were killed. Three days later the house was burnt down.

SHELEMBE, Nhlanhla (19), a UDF supporter, lost his property when his mother's house in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, was petrol-bombed in 1989, allegedly because he refused to become an Inkatha member.

SHELEMBE, Nonkanyiso Lessia, a UDF supporter, had her house burnt and property destroyed when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

SHELEMBE, Phikisizoni Alpha (50), was stabbed to death by a named Inkatha supporter in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 23 December 1990, in intense conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area.

SHELEMBE, Rosaline (58), a UDF supporter, had her house destroyed in a petrol bomb attack in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1989, allegedly because her son refused to join Inkatha.

SHELEMBE, Roselina (67), an ANC supporter, had her house in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down in 1991 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SHELEMBE, Sebenzile Dora (40), had her home in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 13 March 1990, in political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

SHELEMBE, Sibekaphi Bangizwe Albert (47), was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters and members of the SAP who opened fire on him and a friend from a police vehicle in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 31 March 1990. His friend was killed in the attack.

SHELEMBE, Sophilinah (52), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict in February 1991.

SHELEMBE, Sydney Michael (20), was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 19 October 1987 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters.

SHELEMBE, Thalithi (55), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 21 March 1991. The family had fled this IFP stronghold because they were ANC supporters, but had returned to attend the funeral of a family member. The house was attacked during the funeral vigil. Ms Shelembe's son was also killed, and the house was burnt down three days later.

SHELEMBE, Victor Sicelo (47), was shot and injured by IFP supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, during political conflict on 27 July 1993.

SHELEMBE, Vusumuzi Ezekia (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 21 March 1991. The family had fled this IFP stronghold because they were ANC supporters, but had returned to attend the funeral of a family member. The house was attacked during the funeral vigil. Mr Shelembe's mother was also killed, and the house was burnt down three days later.

SHELVER, K, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SHEMANE, Joseph , was killed when a hand grenade was thrown by members of the SADF's 113 Batalion into a shebeen in Lulekani, Phalaborwa, Gazankulu on 2 March 1986. The incident occurred during conflict between the Lulekani Youth Congress and soldiers based at Skiettocht Military Base. The soldiers were charged and appeared in court but nothing came of the case. See GAZANKULU HAND GRENADE ATTACK.

SHEMBE, Londa Nsika (45), a priest, was shot dead in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in a targeted killing on 7 April 1989. Reverend Shembe allegedly refused to align himself politically, and conducted burial services for both Inkatha and UDF victims. This caused tension as he each party accused him of siding with the other.

SHEMBE, Sikhumbuzo Elphas (30), an ANC supporter, was severely injured when he was beaten and shot by IFP supporters in Estcourt, Natal, on 14 September 1992. He died later in hospital. Political conflict had caused him to flee the area, but he was spotted visiting his uncle, and was attacked.

SHEYI, Nomfundiso Priscilla (32), had her house burnt down in fighting between ANC and IFP supporters, the latter allegedly supported by members of the ISU, in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1993.

SHEZI, (first name not given), had his house burnt down at Nkandla, KwaZulu, near Melmoth, Natal, during conflict in the area between the IPF and ANC.

SHEZI, Anton Mahawu , an alleged IFP supporter, was shot dead during a confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters at Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 26 September 1992, in which at least nine people were killed. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/97/0063).

SHEZI, Babazane , was shot and injured by an IFP member during political conflict at Izingolweni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 16 March 1991. An amnesty applicant testified that he killed Mr Shezi because he believed him to be an ANC supporter. He was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0339).

SHEZI, Bheki Bonokwakhe (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Ethembeni, near Stanger, Natal, on 10 August 1993.

SHEZI, Bhelukhise Ambrose (65), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 March 1990 in conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February. Mr Shezi and his family were trying to flee from an Inkatha attack, but their car broke down and both he and his son were killed.

SHEZI, Bongani , an ANC supporter, was abducted, stabbed to death and mutilated by IFP supporters in political conflict at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, following an IFP rally on 10 February 1991.

SHEZI, Bongekile Albertina (39), was injured on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which she was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed

and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

SHEZI, Bongiwwe (61), an IFP supporter, lost her property in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 August 1991.

SHEZI, Cosmas Sanele , survived a petrol bomb attack on his home in Ixopo, Natal, on 9 September 1992. Mr Shezi's father, an Inkatha supporter, was killed in the attack, allegedly by ANC supporters.

SHEZI, Delisile (39), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down on 8 July 1990 in intensifying conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters during the 1990s.

SHEZI, Denis Nicholas (55), a UDF supporter, was stabbed by Inkatha supporters in Mphelandaba, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 19 June 1987.

SHEZI, Dodo Elphas (20), an ANC supporter, was abducted and shot dead by IFP supporters when he left school in Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 15 April 1991. He was in the company of several other ANC youth who were also abducted and shot.

SHEZI, Felumuzi (42), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead in Durban on 8 July 1990 in ongoing conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

SHEZI, Gilbert Vusumuzi (50), an ANC supporter, was injured when he was attacked by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg, in July 1990, allegedly in revenge for the killing of a well-known Inkatha leader in the area.

SHEZI, Goodness Bongekile (24), an ANC supporter, had her house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

SHEZI, Hawukile Ennie (70), had her house looted and vandalised by named Inkatha supporters in Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in April 1990. The incident was part of the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

SHEZI, Isau Siphso (35), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death, at the Pinetown taxi rank, near Durban, by Inkatha supporters from the Richmond area on 7 July 1990. Political violence in the Richmond area had caused many people to flee and settle in Pinetown and Clermont, near Durban, where they were hunted down and attacked.

SHEZI, Kayikayi Thembinkosi (15), a UDF and ANC supporter, was shot dead when members of the KWAZULU POLICE opened fire on people returning from a memorial service in KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 September 1986.

SHEZI, Khusu (28), an ANC supporter, had her house in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by a named IFP supporter in 1991.

SHEZI, Langalishona (47) was shot dead by IFP members at Mycomb, Richmond, Natal, during political violence on 1 October 1992. He had been harassed earlier that day and had fled to a nearby forest to hide. He was shot on his return.

SHEZI, Lolo Cornelius (44), an IFP supporter, was shot and burnt to death when the house in which he was sleeping was petrol-bombed by ANC supporters on 9 September 1992 in Ixopo, Natal.

SHEZI, Lucky Jerome (29), a COSATU member, was harassed and beaten by members of the SAP at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during political conflict in 1988.

SHEZI, Makhosazane Rosa (26), an ANC supporter, had her house set alight by Inkatha supporters on 27 March 1990 in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

SHEZI, Maria (53), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by other IFP supporters at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during 1991. She had been accused of being an ANC supporter because her son was an ANC supporter.

SHEZI, Maria (59), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 4 July 1992 when IFP supporters attacked a minibus leaving her home in Bhomela, Port Shepstone, Natal. Ms Shezi was standing in the yard when she was shot. Seven ANC members were killed in the incident. Five IFP members were convicted for the attack.

SHEZI, Maria, an ANC supporter, had her house at Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack in 1991 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

SHEZI, Maryrose Hlengiwe, survived a petrol bomb attack on her home in Ixopo, Natal, on 9 September 1992. Ms Shezi's father, an Inkatha supporter, was killed in the attack, allegedly by ANC supporters.

SHEZI, Mbongeni Eric (28), an ANC supporter, was detained for a month and tortured by KwaZULU POLICE members in Umlazi, Durban, in April 1993, following a search of his house for illegal weapons.

SHEZI, Mfanufikile Petros (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Oshabeni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 18 January 1992.

SHEZI, Mike Makhini (31), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by named Inkatha supporters in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 5 January 1990.

SHEZI, Mpumelelo Solomon (27), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mphelandaba, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 24 February 1989. Mr Shezi's father and his sister-in-law were both killed in 1987 in the course of political conflict.

SHEZI, Mthuli Nicodemus, vice-president of the Black People's Convention, died after being pushed under an oncoming train by a named employee of South African Railways in Germiston, Tvl, on 1 December 1972.

SHEZI, Muziwavuka Hubert (18), a UDF supporter, was abducted by Inkatha supporters in Machibisa, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 23 August 1987. He was later found stabbed and burnt to death.

SHEZI, Muziwempi (33), an Inkatha supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 November 1989. Mr Shezi was thought to be a UDF supporter and was arrested. In July 1991, he had his house

burnt down in ongoing conflict between IFP and UDF supporters in the area.

SHEZI, Ncamisile Thokozile (36), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bhuboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 December 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SHEZI, Nhlanhla (23), a UDF supporter, was severely assaulted by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, in September 1985, allegedly because he refused to join Inkatha.

SHEZI, Nkosingiphile Ronald (21), an ANC supporter, was detained for a month and tortured by KwaZULU POLICE members in Umlazi, Durban, in April 1993, on suspicion of involvement in an attack on a policeman's house.

SHEZI, Nojuta Lephima (35), an ANC supporter, had his house at Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area in 1990.

SHEZI, Nomthuswana (48), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in 1991.

SHEZI, Octavia Sibongile (27), had her home in Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

SHEZI, Pauline Sebenzile (19), was raped by a group of Inkatha supporters known as 'Otheleweni' in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1987, allegedly because her brothers were UDF supporters. The other women in the Shezi household were also tortured in the incident, and Ms Shezi's mother was killed.

SHEZI, Paulos (48), a member of the SAP, had his house destroyed in a hand grenade explosion in Umlazi, Durban, on 17 August 1986. Policemen were perceived to be agents of the apartheid state and were therefore considered legitimate targets.

SHEZI, Petros Sifiso (23), was shot at by IFP supporters near Germiston, Tvl, on 30 March 1994 when the taxi in which he was travelling was forced off the road. The perpetrators opened fire on the passengers, killing eight and wounding several others.

SHEZI, Samuel Musa, survived a petrol bomb attack on his home in Ixopo, Natal, on 9 September 1992. Mr Shezi's father, an Inkatha supporter, was killed in the attack, allegedly by ANC supporters.

SHEZI, Sibongiseni Goodwill, was one of eight people shot dead by ANC supporters in ongoing political conflict at Mpusheni Reserve, Natal, on 18 August 1992. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0219).

SHEZI, Sibusiso Gerald, a UDF/ANC supporter, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 October 1987, allegedly because he was seen in an area that had been declared a 'no-go area' for UDF supporters.

SHEZI, Sibusiso Wiseman (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 1 January 1993, allegedly because he was seen in an area that had been declared a 'no-go area' for ANC supporters.

SHEZI, Sifiso Rudolph (21), an MK cadre, was shot dead by alleged members of the SAP in Umlazi, Durban, on 24 April 1987.

SHEZI, Sifiso T utu, an MK operative, was killed in a shoot-out at the home of ANC member Tryphina Jokweni in Umlazi, Durban, on 24 April 1987 by Security Police members from *Vlakplaas* and Durban who had infiltrated their unit. Three MK operatives were killed and one security policeman was injured.

SHEZI, Silwayiphi Daniel (25), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Ntuthuka, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 22 April 1994, a week before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. He had been seen in an area declared a 'no-go area' for ANC supporters.

SHEZI, Sipiwe (61), lost his house in an arson attack in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SHEZI, Spho (46), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in KwaMashu, Durban, in December 1988.

SHEZI, Stanley Mduduzi (25), was shot and killed by an Inkatha supporter during ongoing political conflict at Imbali Pietermaritzburg, on 12 January 1989. An amnesty applicant testified that he had been instructed to kill another person, but because of the dark, he mistakenly killed Mr Shezi. He was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0334).

SHEZI, Thabile, was injured during an assassination attempt on a prominent ANC member by IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 July 1992. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

SHEZI, Thandiwe Gladys (27), was detained, interrogated, assaulted, tortured and raped by Witwatersrand Security Branch operatives at Sandton police station, Johannesburg, during 1988. Ms Shezi was detained because she was the girlfriend of one of the suspects in an MK bomb blast at Vanderbijlpark Square on 21 October 1988. A member of the Witwatersrand Security Branch was granted amnesty for the assault, but denied any knowledge of the rape (AC/2001/242).

SHEZI, Thembinkosi Kayikayi, was shot dead by unidentified assailants at KwaMashu, Durban, during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in September 1986.

SHEZI, Thembisile (28), had her room in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in ongoing political conflict in the area between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

SHEZI, Thembisile Pricilla (48), lost her house in an arson attack in Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, on 23 October 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

SHEZI, Thembuyise Innocent (39), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 March 1990. He and his family were fleeing from an IFP attack when their car broke down and the family was attacked. His father was also killed in the incident.

SHEZI, Thoko Lephinah (30), an ANC supporter, had her home in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

SHEZI, Thokozile, an ANC supporter, was shot dead when IFP supporters attacked her house in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 December 1993.

SHEZI, Thomas Mzingisi Beachamp (45), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and beaten to death by Inkatha supporters in the Uganda informal settlement, Umlazi, Durban, during 1989.

SHEZI, Thombo Zibeni (28), lost her house in an arson attack in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, in May 1990, allegedly because her husband was an ANC supporter. The family fled to Pinetown, where Ms Shezi's husband was stabbed to death at a taxi rank on 7 July 1990. Political violence in the Richmond area had caused many people to flee the area and settle in the Pinetown and Clermont areas, where some were hunted down and attacked.

SHEZI, Thulani Eric, a UDF supporter, disappeared in the Gezubuso area, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in March 1990, around the time of the SEVEN-DAY WAR. On 21 June 1990, his body was found in the Landville area, near Pietermaritzburg, with a bullet wound.

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

SHEZI, Zakhele, an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters at Mahwaqa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in April 1990, following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

SHEZI, Zama David (21), a UDF supporter who was active in the local civic association, was detained by members of the SAP in Glencoe, near Dundee, Natal, in 1984, allegedly for his involvement in organising community boycotts. On 15 June 1986, he was placed in solitary confinement at Waterval prison, Dundee. He was beaten and tortured in solitary confinement.

SHEZI, Zethulele (27), an ANC and UDF supporter, was stabbed and killed by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by KWAZULU POLICE members, in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in June 1989.

SHEZI, Ziningi Sylvia, had her home at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal burnt down by unidentified perpetrators in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in 1992.

SHEZI, Ziphelele V ivian, an ANC supporter, was killed in Mahwaqa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, by alleged IFP supporters in April 1990, following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

SHIBANDA, Mhlaba Solomon (68), a People's Congress supporter, lost property and livestock when his house was petrol-bombed in August 1980 in Pietersburg, Tvl. The attack was linked to conflict that

erupted in February 1980 at Ga-Matlala village about Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. Residents who opposed independence were forcefully removed, their houses were burnt and their livestock taken to government farms.

SHIBE, Jabu Adelaide (39), had her house set alight by ANC supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHIBE, Linda Elphas (28), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by KWAZULU POLICE members at KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 December 1989. He had been operating underground for some years when he was attacked. He is now paralysed and confined to a wheelchair.

SHIBE, Nomzindo Ida (46), had her house, which was located in an ANC-dominated area of Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict in March 1993. At least 18 people were killed in political violence in Bhambayi in March 1993, and 75 homes were burnt down. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

SHIBE, Vakushiwe Milton (45), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

SHIBE, Vusi Gunnet (25), an ANC supporter, was arrested in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 April 1990 and held for over a month, allegedly because of his political activities.

SHIBURI, Elias (25), disappeared while in police custody in 1978 and has not been seen since. He is presumed dead. He had been arrested after visiting an uncle in Mozambique, and appeared in the Protea Magistrate's Court in early 1978, the last time he was seen by his family. The police claimed that Mr Shiburi was released on 8 February 1978.

SHIKITA, Fuzile, an ANC member, was tortured while in detention in Bizana, Transkei, in March 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SHIKOANE, Mokgoma (28), was severely beaten with sjamboks and tortured by members of the Lebowa Police on 1 January 1986 in Pietersburg, Tvl, because of his political activities and refusal to accept Chief Sekoane as chief of the area.

SHIKWANE, Habakuk Magabutlane, an ANC activist, was assaulted and detained for six weeks by members of the SAP in 1959 in Pretoria. He was subsequently banned for five years.

SHILLOW, Craig, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

SHILLOW, Roger, in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

SHINGA, Bheki Bethlehem (42), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by IFP supporters at the Glebelands hostel in Umlazi, Durban, on 3 August 1992, allegedly because he did not heed an IFP-organised stayaway. Another person was also killed in the hostel that day.

SHINGA, Gilbert (38), was shot dead by a named Inkatha supporter in the Tophet Reserve at Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, on 13 April 1990, allegedly because he refused to attend an Inkatha self-defence camp.

SHINGA, Meshack (49), lost his house in an arson attack in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, in April 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHINGA, Nana Michael (44), was one of 13 people killed in an attack by UDF and ANC supporters on Inkatha supporters in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/041).

SHINGA, Nkosinathi Dennis, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 10 October 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters.

SHINGA, Themba (21), was detained and tortured by named KWAZULU POLICE members in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 August 1987. Police arrived at his home and found handguns and ammunition allegedly belonging to his friend, who was a UDF supporter. Both were taken into custody where they were tortured.

SHINGA, Viya Typhina (38), was shot and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Mtwalume, near Umzinto, Natal, on 13 April 1990, allegedly because her husband refused to attend an IFP self-defence training camp. Ms Shinga's husband was killed in the same attack.

SHINGANGE, Lily Mthembu (32) was shot in her left leg and another was killed when MK operatives attacked the state vehicle in which they were travelling in Nkowa Kowa, Gazankulu, on 15 June 1990. The person killed was identified as a member of the Security Branch. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/98).

SHINGANGE, Nwamongoni Samuel (40), had his home burnt and his furniture axed on 27 February 1985 in Tzaneen, Tvl, allegedly by a group of named youths. There was a conflict between Sothos and Shangaans in the former Gazankulu homeland.

SHINGANGE, Thomas (33), a member of the SAP, was shot and killed, and one person injured, when MK operatives attacked his vehicle in Nkowa Kowa, Gazankulu, on 15 June 1990. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/98).

SHIPALANA, John (56), was shot and killed on 11 March 1985 by members of the Lebowa Police at Tzaneen, Tvl, during a battle between Sothos and Tsongas in the area.

SHIRINDA, David Mikhuzo (29), was shot and injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING on 16 April 1994 in Vosloorus, Boksburg, Tvl.

SHIYANI, Billy, an ANC supporter, was shot during protests in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 25 December 1988.

SHKITA, Zanyokwe , was beaten by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SHKOSANA, Mhlaulani Jacob (26), had his property destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in 1975 at Dennilton, KwaNdebele, allegedly because he resisted the INCORPORATION of Dennilton into Lebowa.

SHOBA, Bafana Michael (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Richmond, Natal, in January 1991 in the ongoing struggle between supporters of the ANC and IFP for political supremacy in the area. He was missing for a week before his bullet-ridden body was found at the Richmond mortuary.

SHOBA, Mlandelwa Michael , an IFP supporter, was shot and killed by ANC supporters in Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, in April 1991.

SHOBEDE, Mduduzi Vincent (21), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in Mkhukhuze, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 22 March 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Between January and March 1994, political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters resulted in 47 cases of arson-related violence in Eshowe.

SHOBEDE, Ntombizethu Clarah (47), lost her house and livestock in an arson attack in Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Between January and March 1994, political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters resulted in 47 cases of arson-related violence in Eshowe.

SHOBEDE, Sonosini (61), lost her house in an arson attack in Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in the political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHOBEDI, Samson (27), lost two houses in an arson attack in Zindophe, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SHOKE, Solly Zacharia (aka 'Jabu') , an MK commander, was injured in an attack by *Vlakplaas* operatives at his home in Mbabane, Swaziland, during 1986. The operation, allegedly authorised by Security Branch Headquarters, was conducted at the request of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch. The commander of *Vlakplaas* was granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/008).

SHOKWE, Sephora Sanah , (48) an ANC supporter and executive member of the Tokoza Civic Association, was severely assaulted in her home by IFP supporters on 9 March 1991. They were looking for guns allegedly hidden in her house and beat her with AK rifles and fired shots at the ceiling and walls. A few days later they returned and destroyed her furniture. Her husband and son were also injured in the attack.

SHOMANE, (first name not given), a member of the SAP, was the target of an attempted killing when MK operatives threw a stone at his home in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1988, in an effort to lure him outside where they could shoot him. A window was broken by the stone. Mr Shomane did not emerge from the house and the attempt was abandoned. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/0013).

SHOMANG, Labuang Amas (47), was arrested on 18 March 1977 in Moletsane, Soweto, Johannesburg. During his four-month detention in John Vorster Square, he was left naked in a cell and denied medical treatment.

SHOMOLEKAE, Theboho Phillip (31), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Theunissen, OFS, on 23 November 1990. The water supply in the area had been cut off due to rate boycotts, and the shooting occurred when police fired at the residents who had gone to fetch water from a nearby farm.

SHONAPHI, Xolo (63), had her house burnt down on 7 April 1994, when gunmen attacked a homestead in Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Five people were killed and four injured in the attack. Between 1990 and 1994, about 2000 people in the Port Shepstone area fled their homes to escape the violence.

SHONGOANE, Mamotsha Anna (67), had her house burnt down by a group of residents on 6 March 1981 at Ellisras, Tvl, during violent conflict over chieftainship in the village.

SHONGOANE, W illiam , was shot dead by a named perpetrator on 6 March 1981 in Ellisras, Tvl, during violent conflict between two brothers over the chieftainship in which one brother petrol-bombed the other's house, and was then shot dead by his brother. The villagers then split into two groups and attacked each other by burning houses.

SHONGWANE, Paikie Meshack (32), lost his home in an arson attack on 6 March 1981 in Shongoane village, Ellisras, Tvl, during violent conflict by two brothers over chieftainship in the area. Mr Shongaone supported Chief Simon Shongoane.

SHONGWANE, Samuel Masetla (44), died after he was assaulted with an axe by supporters of Chief William Shongoane, at Ga-Shongoane, Ellisras, Tvl, during clashes between supporters of rival chiefs William and Simon Shongoane.

SHONGWE, Anna (32), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mofolo, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 June 1986 during the state of emergency.

SHONGWE, Arron Mdtushwa (33) was shot dead on 31 December 1992 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by SAP members and IFP supporters, during intense conflict on the East Rand. Police allegedly often exacerbated the conflict between ANC and IFP supporters by siding with the IFP.

SHONGWE, David Bogelo , was shot dead in Brits, Tvl, in July 1990. His body was found in the veld and his taxi was discovered in a parking lot close to SAP headquarters, filled with explosives. An MK operative was indicted and later applied for indemnity for Mr Shongwe's murder and for the bomb he planted in the taxi.

SHONGWE, Mabalane Fontwane (41), was beaten by members of the SAP and detained for two years on 11 January 1984 in Nelspruit, Tvl, because he opposed

the Inyandza National Movement's attempts to impose a new chief in the KaNgwane homeland. Those opposed to the homeland system assaulted a number of Inyandza members and beat up the magistrate who had come to preside over the proceedings of instituting the new chief.

SHONGWE, Madabula (40), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by named ANC supporters when they opened fire on his home in KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 May 1993. Three other people were shot dead in the incident.

SHONGWE, Mary Nongazi (51), was subjected to psychological torture and harassment by members of the SAP in 1990 in Brits, Tvl, after her son was shot dead and his taxi was found filled with explosives at a parking garage attached to police headquarters in Pretoria. It later emerged that Mr Shongwe's son was killed by an MK operative and his taxi was then used to make a car bomb. The bomb was discovered before it exploded.

SHONGWE, Michael (32), was stabbed and seriously injured by named gang members in Brits, Tvl, in 1989.

SHONGWE, Mlamuli (37), an ANC supporter, was shot dead at his home in Tokoza, Alberton, Tvl, on 12 August 1992, during conflict between the ANC and IFP which spilled over into the taxi industry.

SHONGWE, Ms (first name not given), had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, petrol-bombed by ANC supporters in November 1990. The attack was allegedly intended to instil fear in her sons, who were part of a team investigating political violence in the area.

SHONGWE, Mtuwelizwe Abram, an ANC supporter, was arrested, detained and tortured in 1986 in Komatipoort, Tvl, because he allegedly participated in the murder of member of the KABASA GANG.

SHONGWE, Mxosheni (52), had his house petrol-bombed by ANC supporters in Skhokho, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in November 1990, allegedly because his son was part of a team investigating the death of a political activist.

SHONGWE, Thandi Josephine (33), an ANC operative, was detained on 7 November 1988 and kept in solitary confinement in Vosloorus, Tvl. Ms Shongwe was accused of harbouring terrorists and hiding illegal ammunition in her house.

SHONGWE, Theminkosi (46), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 3 July 1993. He was actively involved in recruiting members for the IFP and therefore targeted by ANC supporters in the area.

SHONGWE, Zini, was shot and killed by members of the BLACK CATS at her home in Wesselson, Ermelo, Tvl, in 1991. The attackers sought to kill Ms Shongwe's son, but could not find him. One perpetrator, then a member of the Black Cats, who later defected to the ANC, was granted amnesty (AC/98/0121).

SHOPE, Mark, a SACTU official, and three others were twice targeted for killing, first at the Lion Park Motel and later at the Oasis Motel, Gaborone, during August and September 1987. Both operations, jointly conducted by SADF Special Forces and the Security

Branch, failed. The divisional commander of the Western Transvaal Security Branch and five Soweto Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0308).

SHOZI (GUMEDE), Thulani, was one of 13 people killed in an attack by UDF and ANC supporters on Inkatha supporters in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/041).

SHOZI, Absolom Boy, was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katshehong, Tvl, in July 1993. The SDU members believed he was an IFP leader involved in attacks on residents. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0348).

SHOZI, Alfred (72), an ANC supporter, had his house in Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 7 February 1992. His nephew was shot dead in the attack.

SHOZI, Bacabangeni (58), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1989. During 1989, about 1000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in political violence in Mpumalanga, leaving many dead and thousands homeless.

SHOZI, Bhakabakubo Samson (24), was shot by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, and died from his wounds on 12 December 1990. The shooting occurred during a serious internal feud within the local party branch.

SHOZI, Busiziwe (74), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Ehlanzeni, Umkomaas, near Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 16 June 1990.

SHOZI, Clementine (57), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the SAP, in Umlazi, Durban, on 25 April 1990.

SHOZI, Doris Nompumelelo (33), an ANC supporter, had her house in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 29 August 1992.

SHOZI, Grace Bongive (27), had her house at Ezimeleni, Umlazi, Durban, set alight by unidentified persons in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in 1992.

SHOZI, Happleon (32), an ANC supporter, had her house in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 11 June 1990, following an Inkatha rally. Inkatha supporters allegedly went from house to house, killing people and burning houses.

SHOZI, Hlupheni Beauty Dade (35), an ANC supporter, had her house in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 30 March 1990, in political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

SHOZI, Kwenzekile (42), an IFP supporter, had her house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 9 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

SHOZI, Mandlenkosi David, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 28 October 1993.

SHOZI, Mathosi Busisiwe (27), a member of the IFP Youth Brigade, was shot and injured, allegedly by ANC members, at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See **NYANGWINI ATTACK**.

SHOZI, Mbuzeni (55), an IFP supporter, had his house destroyed in a limpet-mine attack on the home of a well-known IFP leader in the Umbumbulu area, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 October 1991. The attack, which took place during a wedding ceremony, is thought to have been carried out by an ANC member. Six people were killed.

SHOZI, Mhlophekazi Mirriam (55), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1988.

SHOZI, Mphiliseni (25), an Inkatha supporter, died after being shot and stabbed by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 3 September 1988.

SHOZI, Msizi Patrick (27), was shot and killed by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 20 July 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area. His brother was also killed in the attack.

SHOZI, Ntombinkulu Rosemary (44), had her house in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 11 October 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

SHOZI, Nzuzo Raymond (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KwaZulu POLICE (KZP) on 26 June 1990 in Umlazi, Durban, when members of the KZP opened fire to disperse mourners returning from a funeral. Four other ANC supporters were killed in the incident.

SHOZI, Qabukwayo (76), an ANC supporter, was shot and fatally wounded at a bus stop in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 September 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SHOZI, Raymond (19), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by members of the AMAVARAVARA at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 4 June 1993.

SHOZI, Sandile (23), was stabbed and hacked to death by a named ANC supporter and others in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 September 1992, allegedly because he had distanced himself from ANC activities. His brother was severely injured in the attack.

SHOZI, Siboniso, was severely stabbed and left for dead by a named ANC supporter and others in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 September 1992, allegedly because he had distanced himself from ANC activities. His brother was killed in the attack.

SHOZI, Sincenge Joseph (51), an Inkatha supporter, was dragged out of a taxi and stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 April 1990.

SHOZI, Sizani Claudia (62), an IFP supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in May 1992.

SHOZI, Thandi Happiness (30), an ANC supporter, was shot, beaten and stabbed by IFP supporters in

Magabheni, Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 1 January 1991.

SHOZI, Thandi Princess (13), an Inkatha supporter, lost her family home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in an arson attack during intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in 1989.

SHOZI, Thembinkosi Oswald (25), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 20 July 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area. His brother also died in the attack.

SHOZI, Tholwapi Mamcunu (53), an ANC supporter, had her house in Umlazi, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by an IFP supporter on 10 November 1993.

SHOZI, Victoria Duduzile (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, in June 1991.

SHOZI, Viliza (46), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by AMAVARAVARA vigilantes during political conflict in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 17 June 1991.

SHOZI, Vimbepi (60), an IFP supporter, had her house in the Chimora informal settlement at Umlazi, Durban, burnt down in 1992. Several homes were burnt down in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Chimora during the year.

SHOZI, Vincent (47), was stabbed by named Inkatha supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 31 March 1990, allegedly because he did not side with the AMABUTHO. Mr Shozi was attacked and injured again by IFP supporters on 22 July 1990.

SHOZI, Vusi Innocent (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at his home in Nkanyeni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 May 1991.

SHOZI, Vusumuzi Wiseman (55), was shot dead on 7 February 1992 by IFP supporters who attacked his uncle's home in Umkomaas, near Durban, in continuing political conflict.

SHUBANE, Heneck, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the SADF in Phelendaba, Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 25 December 1990. Three other people were also injured in the attack.

SHUDE, Busisiwe Mar garet (37), an ANC supporter, had her house in Alfred, near Port Shepstone, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 8 March 1993.

SHUDE, Mbizwa (51), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Alfred, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 March 1993.

SHUDE, Siyabonga (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Alfred, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 8 March 1993.

SHUMA, Bella Thembekile, was shot dead on 3 November 1993 in Tembisa, Tvl, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting hostel-dwellers.

SHUPING, Abel Goitsimodimo (33), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named ANC supporter in Bloemfontein, on 28 March 1992, in the course of a serious internal dispute in the organisation. His father was also shot dead in the attack; his brother was shot and severely injured.

SHUPING, Abram Botaeletse (60), a prominent ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named ANC supporter in Bloemfontein, on 28 March 1992, in the course of a serious internal dispute in the organisation. One of his sons was also killed in the attack. Another was shot and severely injured.

SHUPING, Arabia Puoeng (36), a member of the Bophuthatswana People's Progressive Party, was detained and tortured by a named member of the Bophuthatswana police at the Mmabatho police station in 1989, allegedly because he supported the reinstatement of a chief who had been ousted by the homeland government.

SHUPING, Dibanka Johannes (16), an ANC supporter, was shot in the eye by members of the SAP on 19 June 1993 in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, while attending a 'comrade's' funeral.

SHUPING, Leaoa Paul 'Daddy' (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by a named ANC supporter in Bloemfontein, on 28 March 1992, in the course of a serious internal dispute in the organisation. His father and brother were both killed in the same incident. 'Daddy' Shuping was paralysed as a result of the shooting.

SHUPING, Moses, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 26 August 1986 in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, during a rent boycott in the area.

SHUPING, Silence, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by alleged ANC supporters in Bloemfontein, in 1992, allegedly for not approving of ANC/SANCO presence in the area.

SHUSHA, Bongive Asselina Maduze (57), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Nzimakwe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 February 1990, allegedly because her husband supported Inkatha. She was forced to watch her husband being set alight and burnt to death.

SHUSHA, Majola (42), an ANC member, was executed in Pretoria, on 6 July 1962. Mr Shusha was active in the campaign against forced removals and other apartheid structures.

SHUSHA, Mantwetwe Eric, an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by named IFP supporters in KwaDandala, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 September 1990. Three other ANC supporters were also killed in the incident.

SHUSHA, Meshack Thandabantu (63), an Inkatha supporter, was set alight by ANC supporters at Nzimakwe, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 February 1990, following the UNBANNING of political organisations. His wife was forced to watch as he burnt to death. Their house was also burnt down.

SHUSHA, Thembsile (27), an ANC supporter, had her house in Tongaat, Natal, destroyed in an attack by IFP supporters in 1990.

SHUSHA, Tutu Mesta (40), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by AMASINYORA vigilantes in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 June 1993.

SHUSHWANA, Vuyisile (51), an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police in Stutterheim, Cape, in May 1990 during

a campaign against the reimposition of the headman system in Ciskei.

SIAGA, Pule Solomon (25), was kicked and beaten with sjamboks by members of the Lebowa Police on 31 October 1983 at Seshego, Lebowa, in retaliation for an arson attack by students earlier that day. In hospital he was kept blindfolded and under police guard.

SIBACA, Kenneth, sustained first-degree burns when his house was attacked and burnt, allegedly by members of the SAP and Security Branch in Katlehong, Tvl, on 28 May 1986. Security forces were attacking the homes of UDF supporters at the time.

SIBAM, Ntsikelelo (16), was shot by a named member of the SAP in Whittlesea, Ciskei, on 10 February 1990 while celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela.

SIBANDA, Bolisile, a Brigadier, was detained, interrogated and severely tortured by named members of the Ciskei Police in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 21 October 1986. As the head of the prison, Mr Sibanda, was suspected of facilitating the escape of Charles Sebe. Mr Sibanda was punched, kicked, burnt with cigarettes and at intervals a rubber tube was applied to his face causing suffocation. Two former Ciskei Police members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/025 and AC/1999/024).

SIBANDA, John (35), an ANC-MK member, died of injuries sustained from an exploding landmine on 29 March 1989 in Livingstone, Zambia. The circumstances surrounding this incident are not clear.

SIBANDA, Ntombi Sibongile (39), was beaten by ANC supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in May 1991, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Her attackers thought she knew something about the killing of one of their 'comrades'.

SIBANDE, Busiswe (15), was severely beaten on the head with a sjambok by members of the SAP on 8 October 1985 in KwaThema, Tvl. KwaThema was tense following clashes between students and police.

SIBANDE, Mathews (18), was shot dead on 24 November 1986 outside his house in Daveyton, Tvl, by a policeman who admitted that it was a mistake and that he had meant to shoot Mr Sibande's friend.

SIBANDILE, Aaron Stephen, was shot dead on his way home from work on 16 July 1987 by members of the SADF in Machadodorp, Tvl. He was shot when he started running away from police who were firing at protesting students.

SIBANKULU, Hlalanathi Professor, a prominent ANC leader, was found dead in the back of his car at Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 11 November 1992. His body had been dismembered and badly burnt. He had allegedly been followed by members of the KwaZULU POLICE, who fired shots at him, forcing the car to stop, and then set it alight. Earlier, in June 1986, Mr Sibankulu had been detained in Newcastle along with other members of the Sibongile Civic Association, which was leading a rates boycott at the time. He had spent three months in solitary confinement at Waterval prison.

SIBANKULU, Pr ofessor, a UDF supporter, was arrested and detained, along with fellow members of the Sibongile Civic Association, by named members of the SAP in Newcastle, Natal, in June 1986. He was held in solitary confinement at Waterval prison for three months.

SIBANYONI, David, was shot dead on 5 August 1990, in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, by a named member of the SAP during a rent boycott.

SIBANYONI, Fuduka Sarah (54), had her property destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SIBANYONI, Jabulani, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, during the funeral of an ANC supporter on 11 August 1990.

SIBANYONI, Jonas Ben, an ANC and civic association member, was assaulted during interrogation by members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch at Sandton, Johannesburg, during 1990. A member of the Security Branch was granted amnesty (AC/2001/275).

SIBANYONI, Martha Sphenye (50), had her property destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SIBANYONI, Masibanyoni Ennie (50), had her house destroyed by alleged supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SIBANYONI, Michael Mack (18), a UDF supporter, was arrested on 4 September 1987 by members of the KwaNdebele Police at Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, and detained without trial for eight months under emergency regulations. When he was finally charged together with three other detainees, the charges were dropped.

SIBANYONI, Miti Baadjie (67), had her property destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SIBANYONI, Novavesile Johannah (26), had her house destroyed by alleged supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because

it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SIBANYONI, Paulos (41), lost his home when it was destroyed by alleged supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SIBANYONI, Philip, a COSAS member, was recruited for military training by a Security Branch agent purporting to be an MK operative, and was killed in the NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH near the Botswana border on 26 June 1986. Eight operatives from SADF Special Forces, Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/0190; AC/1999/0192; AC/1999/0194; AC/1999/0031; AC/1999/0188; AC/1999/0030 and AC/1999/0197).

SIBANYONI, Popi Lettie (48), lost her house when it was destroyed by alleged supporters of Chief Jack Mphazulu Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SIBANYONI, Roselina, had her home and property destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in 1975, in Goederede, Dennilton, Mpumalanga. Many residents objected to INCORPORATION into Lebowa as they opposed Mahlangu's chieftainship.

SIBANYONI, Titi Johannes (17), lost his home when it was destroyed by alleged supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SIBAXABAXA, Ngxito, a member of the South African Chemical Workers Union, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Zamdela, Sasolburg, OFS, on 3 November 1987, during a strike at Sasol Industries.

SIBAYA, Jabulile Glowie, was shot and killed by members of the IFP-related 'Khumalo Gang' at Ngema Tavern, Natalspruit, Tvl, on the 22 January 1993. Many persons were killed and injured in the attack. Three perpetrators applied for amnesty. Two perpetrators were refused and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/198).

SIBEKO, Bubu, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Daveyton, Tvl, in July 1993 during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SIBEKO, Daniel, a student, was shot and killed by a named policeman, in Daveyton, Tvl, in 1986 during a school boycott.

SIBEKO, David Maphumzana (41), a senior PAC official, died on 12 June 1979 after being shot at his

home in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. At the time, Mr Sibeko was one of three members of the PAC's Presidential Council, which had assumed leadership of the party following the resignation of Potlako Leballo. Six PAC members were found guilty of killing Mr Sibeko and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

SIBEKO, Euphodia (11), was shot while playing in the yard by members of the SADF on 31 August 1984 in Watville, Benoni, Tvl. Her brother was killed and another person was injured in this attack.

SIBEKO, Joseph V icks, was shot dead by a member of the SAP while watching a group of youths stoning cars in Vukusakhe, near Volksrust, Tvl, in 1990.

SIBEKO, Joseph, an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

SIBEKO, Kevin Thabo (6), was shot and killed by members of the SAP while he was playing outside his home in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 31 August 1984. Wattville was tense following clashes between students and police in the area.

SIBEKO, Khayelihle (1), was killed in a teargas attack by members of the SADF in Lamontville, Durban, on 16 June 1983. The attack took place at a meeting in the Methodist Church.

SIBEKO, Linah Khali (21) was shot dead, allegedly by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG members, in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 at the night vigil of Christopher Nangalembe, an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members fired at and threw hand grenades at mourners, killing a number and injuring several others. Police arrived at the scene but provided no protection, allegedly ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

SIBEKO, Mark Glen (27), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING on 22 June 1993 in Daveyton, Tvl.

SIBEKO, Monde Bheki (30), was thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters on 28 January 1992 in Soweto, Johannesburg. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

SIBEKO, Mpini Amos (18), was shot in the leg and injured by a named member of the IFP-aligned BLACK CATS in June 1990 in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, during political conflict.

SIBEKO, Nkele Ephodia (12), was shot and severely injured while playing outside her home in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 31 August 1984, allegedly by members of the SAP.

SIBEKO, Nomakhosi Thembisile (39), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SIBEKO, Paulos Mgaga (34), was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in

the attack. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992.

SIBEKO, Thabo Reginald (24), a member of the ANC-aligned self-defence unit (SDU), was shot dead by members of the SADF in Tokoza, Tvl, on 14 February 1994. SDU members were often targeted by the Security Forces during this period of conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

SIBEKO, Thembanani Norah (58), was injured in an explosion set by supporters of the IFP in September 1992 in Ratanda, Heidelberg, Tvl, during a labour dispute between striking COSATU-affiliated FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-affiliated UWUSA workers which resulted in violent conflict in the area between June and December 1992.

SIBEKO, Thoko Maria (27), an AZASM member, was shot and tear-gassed by the police in Soweto, Johannesburg, in June 1976 during the SOWETO UPRISING.

SIBEKU, Gladstone Kathazile (26), a UDF supporter, was hacked to death by AMAAFRIKA members during political conflict at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 6 February 1990.

SIBEKU, Nomakula Mirriam (33), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP during student protests in Klipplaat, Cape, on 3 August 1992.

SIBENGILE, Msondezi Eric (26), was shot dead with three others by named members of the SADF's Citizen Force at Centerton Location, Hankey, Cape, on 23 May 1986. The Citizen Force members were stationed inside the home of a community COUNCILLOR when they opened fire on protesters outside the house.

SIBEWU, Mtutuzeli Norman (29), an ANC supporter, was imprisoned, severely beaten and forced to drink chemicals by members of the Ciskei Police in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in September 1978.

SIBI, Tebogo Julias (16), was shot by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, while attending a night vigil of an ANC supporter on 15 December 1990.

SIBIDLA, Twanisi Fr eena, was one of 11 people killed by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

SIBILWANE, Penduka Enos (56), was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 5 July 1993 during conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents.

SIBISE, Mandlakayisa Elmond, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

SIBISI, Agnes (78), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg, on 29 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

SIBISI, Beauty Thandekile (25), had her house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 29 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

SIBISI, Bhekinkosi , was abducted together with an ANC supporter in Umlazi, Durban, on 5 September 1992. They were taken to Engonyameni, an IFP stronghold, where they were both shot dead.

SIBISI, Bhukumuzi Simon (68), had his home in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 20 March 1993 during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

SIBISI, Carter Mngoni (27), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the IFP-aligned KHUMALO GANG on 1 January 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl. He and four others were attacked in the 'no-go' area of Khumalo Street.

SIBISI, Dumisani David (23), was shot dead by alleged IFP supporters at NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. His family home, located in an ANC-dominated area, was burnt down in the same attack.

SIBISI, Jabulani , was one of four MK operatives killed in an ambush by Security Branch operatives near Piet Retief, Tvl, on 12 June 1988. See PIET RETIEF AMBUSHES. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander of Eastern Transvaal and of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/273).

SIBISI, Jeremia (43), had her house in Empangeni, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in continuing political conflict in February 1993.

SIBISI, Jerome Sdongiseni (30), an ANC supporter, was seriously injured in an attack by named IFP supporters at Umlazi, Durban, on 10 April 1988. He died of his injuries on 4 October 1988.

SIBISI, Kehla Joseph (41), was shot and stabbed to death in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 25 March 1989, in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

SIBISI, Khathazile Matrina (50), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 18 December 1988.

SIBISI, Louisa Bongiwe (32), was killed in Eshowe, Natal, on 23 March 1994, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SIBISI, Mandlenkosi (55), had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

SIBISI, Mhlushwa John (69), a UDF supporter, had his house at G Section in KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down Inkatha supporters in 1988.

SIBISI, Michael Bafana (35), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a member of the SAP on 13 October 1990 in Tembisa, Tvl, during ongoing clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SIBISI, Nelson Bheki (30), an ANC supporter, was shot in the back and paralysed in the street at Mavimbela

section, Katlehong, Tvl, on 12 March 1992 during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

SIBISI, Nomthetho Christian (48), was killed in a hand grenade explosion in Umlazi, Durban, in June 1987, during a consumer boycott organised by the unions.

SIBISI, Nyeleti Montgomery , was shot at by a named member of the IFP-aligned KHUMALO GANG on 1 January 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl. He and four others were attacked in the 'no-go' area of Khumalo Street.

SIBISI, Phonduka , was killed during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

SIBISI, Phumelele Priscilla (19), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at Ladysmith, Natal, in February 1994, while on her way home from a student protest march.

SIBISI, Qimba Mphikeleli (37), an IFP supporter, was burnt to death by ANC supporters at Estcourt, Natal, on 11 July 1992.

SIBISI, Richard Zibonele , an ANC activist, was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 19 December 1993.

SIBISI, Sibusiso Alfred (24), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death by IFP supporters at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 9 April 1994, three weeks before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SIBISI, Sibusiso Johnson (27), was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters during political conflict in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 27 October 1988. An amnesty applicant testified that he believed that Mr Sibisi to be a UDF supporter. He was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0334).

SIBISI, Sibusiso , a UDF supporter, was beaten, stabbed and severely injured by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1988.

SIBISI, Sibusiso , was beaten and shot dead by members of the SADF on 10 December 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SIBISI, Sizani Remikia (70), an Inkatha supporter, had her houses burnt down by fellow Inkatha supporters in Ixopo, Natal, in June 1990. The attack was allegedly aimed at her sons, who were ANC supporters.

SIBISI, Themba (18), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by Security Branch members in Vryheid, Natal, on 16 June 1986, during the state of emergency.

SIBISI, Thembinkosi Humphrey (40), a PAC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured on 28 February 1991 in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, allegedly by IFP supporters. The perpetrators were returning from a rally at Jabulani stadium, Soweto.

SIBISI, Timothy Siphso (28), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Inchanga, Natal, on 25 February 1992.

SIBISI, Victor Langalakhe (21), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 September 1989.

SIBISI, Viera (37), had her house in Pietermaritzburg destroyed in an arson attack in February 1989 during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

SIBISI, Vusumuzi Ronnie (13), was severely beaten by members of the KwaZULU POLICE in KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1983. They were allegedly looking for his brother, who was politically active.

SIBISI, Xolani (12), an IFP supporter, was abducted and stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 19 February 1990, during political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February.

SIBIYA, (first name not given), was shot dead on 21 November 1990 when members of the SAP opened fire on community members marching from Mhluzi to Middelburg police station, Tvl, to protest against the harassment of scholars by the SAP. Five people were killed and more than eight injured.

SIBIYA, Amos, was shot and injured by an MK operative and an ANC member in Mankwanyaneni Reserve, Empangeni, Natal, on 3 May 1994. One other person was killed in the attack. The attackers had allegedly been given a hit list by a local ANC leader during political conflict between the IFP and the ANC. One MK operative and one ANC member were granted amnesty (AC/2000/004).

SIBIYA, Auzius Samuel (22), was severely burnt on 6 June 1988 when a petrol-bomb exploded on the bus in which he was travelling in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. COSATU members were allegedly responsible for the explosion, which occurred during a national stayaway. One person was killed and five others injured in the explosion.

SIBIYA, Bafana Makhenji, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters at his home in Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 6 February 1993.

SIBIYA, Bazini Mecia (32), had all her belongings stolen by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, in ongoing political conflict in the area in March 1992.

SIBIYA, Beaula Bongiwwe (34), had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 January 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters. About 1000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in political violence in Mpumalanga, during 1989, leaving many dead and thousands homeless.

SIBIYA, Bezile (76) an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 18 March 1990.

SIBIYA, Bhozo Philisiwe (40), an ANC supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in May 1993.

SIBIYA, Bongani (18), a UDF supporter, was shot dead on 12 May 1987 when Inkatha supporters attacked his home in Mpumuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg. His brother was shot and injured in the attack.

SIBIYA, Bongani Michael, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KwaZULU POLICE in KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 November 1990 during political conflict.

SIBIYA, Busisiwe Virginia (33), was severely beaten by members of the SAP on 17 February 1991 in Nelspruit, Tvl, under suspicion that she was storing weapons at her home.

SIBIYA, Buyisiwe (70), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Eshowe, Natal, in March 1993.

SIBIYA, Dumisani Themba (25), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death in Empangeni, Natal, on 5 December 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. There had been a previous attempt on his life, and his mother was also harassed.

SIBIYA, Ernest Michael (29), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SIBIYA, Esaw (40), an IFP supporter, was hacked and beaten to death at the Duva power station, Middelburg, Tvl, on 5 December 1993, during conflict between Xhosa and Zulu hostel-dwellers.

SIBIYA, Getrude Boneni (46), an IFP supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, petrol-bombed on 10 December 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

SIBIYA, Jabulisiwe Clerance (43), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and injured and had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 30 September 1988. The family was accused of supporting the UDF. Ms Sibiya's husband was also stabbed and injured, and her daughter was stabbed to death in the attack.

SIBIYA, Jack Siphathshana (17), a UDF supporter, was imprisoned and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Lydenburg, Tvl, in 1981 during student and community protests.

SIBIYA, Jeffrey, a member of the Kathorus Peace Secretariat and an IFP supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 8 April 1994 when members of the SADF opened fire on the Buyafuthi hostel.

SIBIYA, Johannes Mokhine (26), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 18 March 1986 in Mamelodi, Pretoria, allegedly by members of the SAP, during a state of emergency that sparked numerous riots and strikes in the area.

SIBIYA, Jonga Jacob (29), an ANC activist, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 8 September 1992 in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, during a conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SIBIYA, Judith (41), an ANC supporter, had her house in KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 16 August 1993.

SIBIYA, Kulana Christopher (34), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten, allegedly by members of the SADF, in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 22 November 1985. There had been a stayaway the previous day and the

community was staging a protest march against high rates.

SIBIYA, Mable Sebenzile (33), had her house destroyed in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in May 1989.

SIBIYA, Mahlalela Louis (24) aka 'Karl Brown', was detained from 11 August 1980 to 30 January 1986 in the Machava political prison, Mozambique, allegedly by the ANC. Mr Sibiya was tortured while in detention.

SIBIYA, Mamsy, was shot and injured, allegedly by members of the SAP, at Matsulu, KaNgwane, during local riots on 2 June 1986.

SIBIYA, Mandla Shadrack, was one of the ten activists from Mamelodi, Pretoria, recruited during the state of emergency by a named *askari* for ANC military training in Botswana. Near Nietverdiend, the youths were forcibly injected with sedatives or some other chemical substance and were burnt to death when the vehicle was deliberately crashed and exploded during June 1986. The members of the Security Police involved were congratulated for good service and rewarded. They have applied for amnesty. See NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH.

SIBIYA, Marriet (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down and her livestock stolen by IFP supporters in Entoweni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SIBIYA, Masawenkosi (41), was shot and had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during political conflict in the area in 1990.

SIBIYA, Micca Mnikwa (36), a member of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU), was abducted and shot by Inkatha supporters at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 5 December 1986. He was the only survivor of the attack. See MAWU ABDUCTION.

SIBIYA, Michael Dumisani (19), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when Inkatha supporters attacked his home in Mpumzu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 12 May 1987. His brother was shot dead in the attack.

SIBIYA, Mike Killer Siphosakhe (20), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 1 April 1985. Mr Sibiya's father was a prominent political activist in Imbali.

SIBIYA, Moyeni (20), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, in political conflict in the area in August 1990.

SIBIYA, Mqondiseni Elias (27), an IFP supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by ANC supporters at Msunduzi river in Empangeni, Natal, on 12 September 1993.

SIBIYA, Mr (first name not given), was shot dead on 21 November 1990 when members of the SAP opened fire on protesters marching from Mhluzi to Middelburg police station, Tvl, to protest against the harassment of scholars by the SAP. Five people were killed and more than eight injured.

SIBIYA, Mr (first name not given), was tortured with electric shocks by named members of the SAP in

Bergville, Natal, in June 1985. Mr Sibiya was reportedly arrested because he had been mentioned in the statement of another torture victim.

SIBIYA, Mr (first name not given), was tortured with electric shocks by named members of the SAP in Bergville, Natal, in June 1985. The police had detained him because he had been mentioned in the statement of another torture victim.

SIBIYA, Mr (first name not given), was tortured with electric shocks by named members of the SAP in Bergville, Natal, during June 1985. He had allegedly been arrested because he had been named in the statement of another torture victim.

SIBIYA, Msizi Edward (20), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 27 March 1991.

SIBIYA, Mthembeni (25), an ANC supporter, was shot in the eye by IFP supporters at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in 1992.

SIBIYA, Musa Bafa, a UDF supporter, was shot by members of the ISU in May 1986 in eMijindini, Barberton, Tvl, while returning from the funeral of a political activist.

SIBIYA, Musa Welcome (27), had his house burnt down in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in May 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SIBIYA, Ndlela Abel (34), an MK operative, was shot dead in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in June 1986. It is alleged that he was killed during an MK mission after being betrayed to the Special Branch by his brother.

SIBIYA, Ndwendwe Azaria, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 23 January 1993 in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl. On the day of the shooting, there was a burial of an IFP supporter killed by ANC supporters. Relatives believe Mr Sibiya was shot in retaliation.

SIBIYA, Nesi Grace (24), a street vendor, was severely injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

SIBIYA, Nkosinathi (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 April 1992.

SIBIYA, Nokwenziwa (46), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SIBIYA, Nomakhosazana Patricia (37), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, petrol-bombed by UDF supporters on 18 March 1988.

SIBIYA, Nomusa Rosebud Eulander (11), was shot and severely injured by UDF supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 December 1988. Nomusa was travelling in the car of a well-known IFP leader when the perpetrators opened fire. The IFP leader was killed in the attack.

SIBIYA, Ntombiyomthakathi Ennie (64), an IFP supporter, had her house in KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in January 1991.

SIBIYA, Ntombizodwa (23), an ANC supporter, had her house at Umlazi, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in January 1992.

SIBIYA, Petros Ngqotho, was shot by IFP supporters in Sokhulu, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in November 1991 in continuing violence between ANC and IFP supporters. Mr Sibiya died the following day. Two ANC supporters were shot dead in the fighting.

SIBIYA, Philisiwe, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in November 1993. Twenty-one houses belonging to ANC supporters were burnt down in the attack.

SIBIYA, Phineas Sodi Bhhekuyise, a member of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU), was abducted and shot dead by Inkatha members at Mpopomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 5 December 1986. See MAWU ABDUCTION.

SIBIYA, Phumokwakhe Alfred (41), an Inkatha supporter, fled from his home on the border of Embo and Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, on 18 March 1990, when several houses in the area were attacked and destroyed. See NJOBOKAZI ATTACK. Mr Sibiya's house was subsequently looted and he has never returned to it.

SIBIYA, Sibongile Catherine (29), an ANC supporter, had her home in KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 22 May 1987. Her brother, aged 27, was stabbed to death, and her son assaulted in the attack.

SIBIYA, Sibongile Melta (31), an Inkatha supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 March 1988.

SIBIYA, Sigqanya Sibusiso (27), an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 November 1991.

SIBIYA, Simion John (73), was shot and hacked to death by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 11 April 1993.

SIBIYA, Sithandwa Prince (63), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Chesterville, Durban, on 11 August 1988. Political tensions between UDF supporters and members of the Chesterville A-TEAM, supported by the police, frequently resulted in attacks against UDF and ANC supporters.

SIBIYA, Siwehle, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mtsheketsheeni, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 31 December 1993, allegedly because he was perceived to be an ANC supporter.

SIBIYA, Skhumbuzo Xolile (12), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by Inkatha supporters in an arson attack on his mother's home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 22 May 1987. His uncle was stabbed to death and the house was burnt down in the attack.

SIBIYA, Sweleni (1), was burnt when her home was set alight by unidentified ANC supporters in Kwa-Mashu, Durban, in January 1991. Sweleni's mother was accused of being an IFP supporter.

SIBIYA, Thabitha (62), had her house burnt down in Ondondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 July 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SIBIYA, Themba Simon (51), an Inkatha supporter, had his house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack during intense conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in September 1989.

SIBIYA, Themba Vitus (27), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 November 1987. The perpetrators assaulted his nephew and burnt down his sister's home in the attack.

SIBIYA, Thembisile Elentraute (46), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, in 1991.

SIBIYA, Thokozani, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Newcastle, Natal, in 1984, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

SIBIYA, Thokozani Elmond (27), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 September 1991.

SIBIYA, Velani Victor (22), an ANC supporter, was forced to leave his home in Stanger, Natal, on 21 February 1992 after receiving death threats from IFP supporters.

SIBIYA, William Bheki (19), a COSAS member, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP on 3 February 1993 in Soweto, Johannesburg.

SIBONDE, Buyisile (31), a SAP member, lost his house in an arson attack on 6 August 1992 in Burgersdorp, Tvl.

SIBOTO, Nozici (64), a community COUNCILLOR, was shot dead by a named MK operative at her home in Langa, Cape Town, on 3 July 1988.

SIBOTO, Papane Raymond Lewyllen (25), an ANC supporter, was held in custody for more than four months, during which he was tortured by members of the SAP in Ladybrand, OFS, in January 1986, allegedly because of his support for the ANC.

SIBOTO, Sipho Abiathar (36), was detained for two weeks in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, in 1988 because the Bophuthatswana Special Branch believed he was an activist with information about the planning of the Bophuthatswana coup. In April 1990, Mr Siboto was detained at Mmabatho police station, held in solitary confinement and tortured.

SIBOZO, Magojoman David, vice chairperson of the local Civic organisation, had his house petrol-bombed while he and his family were asleep at Colesberg, Cape, on 21 July 1993, during conflict between the ANC and the Civic organisation, because of their different approaches to a rent campaign.

SIBUMBE, Jotham Mzayas (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in June 1986 in Naas, Tvl, by SADF members and a named policeman after he attended a political meeting.

SICANULO, Ntshomela (50), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named perpetrator in Flagstaff, Cape, on 13 December 1992. Before the shooting, an

Imbizo had been organised by Chief Gcinilifu Mdtshane. It was subsequently called off by Regent-Chief Samuel Mdtshane and his supporters, who were against the ANC in Xopozo Location, Flagstaff.

SICEKA, Siculo , an ANC supporter, was shot on the leg by an alleged RASTA GANG member in 1990 in Soweto, Johannesburg. Mr Siceka was a member of the local civic association who were discussing methods of dealing with crime in the area. SAP members were allegedly aiding the RASTA GANG who were harassing the community at the time, wanting information about the content of street committee meetings

SICETSHE, Felishile Freddy (47), lost his home in an arson attack in Crossroads, Cape Town, in April 1993, during a period of political clashes between Section 2 and Section 4 residents.

SICHA, Tabampe Daniel (48), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death in Tigane, Hartbeesfontein, Tvl, on 2 May 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters.

SICHOLO, Walter Mbulawa (21), was detained and tortured on 8 April 1989 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, during student protests in the area.

SICKLE, Deidre Michelle (23), was severely injured when she was hit in the face by a brick while driving past Crossroads, Cape Town, on 31 May 1993. She lost an eye in the attack, which was one of several similar attacks on motorists in the wake of the assassination of SACP leader, Chris Hani.

SIDANDALA, Nomathemba Euphene (46), a SAAWU member, was imprisoned and severely beaten by members of the SAP and the Security Branch on 12 June 1986 in Queenstown, Cape.

SIDLAYIYA, Christopher Liyanda 'Khuli' (21), an ANC supporter, was tortured while in detention in August 1980 at Bishop Lavis police station, Cape Town, by named members of the SAP who wanted him to confess to his alleged part in the killing of two white people in Crossroads. He was later sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on Robben Island for the two deaths.

SIDU, Nomazulu Enid (42), an ANC supporter, was arrested and assaulted while in detention on 15 February 1986 at Jouberton police station in the Transvaal. His arrest occurred during consumer and school boycotts and rent protests in the area.

SIDZUMO, Ashley , was beaten in the street in March 1992 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during protests by students against the political violence in the area and the failure of police and the SADF to protect the community.

SIDZUMO, Ntombizodwa (46), was threatened, intimidated and beaten by members of the SADF in March 1992 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during student protests in the area against the growing violence perpetrated by the IFP and police.

SIFUKU, Mjoko Jackson (51), was arrested in 1978 in Crossroads, Cape Town, and severely beaten at a police station, at a time of protest against forced removals.

SIFUMBA, Harold Mvuyo (49), was shot dead by an IFP supporter on 12 September 1991 at Vosloorus, Tvl, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SIFUNDA, T shabi , was shot by an unidentified member of the SADF at Schuzendal, Tvl, on 9 July 1990 because he was going to be a witness in a rape case.

SIGABI, Ephraim Mxolisi (33), a member of the South African Prison Services, had his house burnt down in East London in September 1985, during intense political conflict following the funeral in King William's Town of well known lawyer and activist, Griffiths Mxenge.

SIGAGAYI, December (36), was shot dead by ANC supporters on 17 June 1993 during conflict between PAC and ANC supporters in Mount Fletcher, Transkei.

SIGAGA YI, Michael Mangaliso (32), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

SIGAGA YI, Nothobani Agnes (37), lost her house when it was set alight by PAC supporters during conflict between ANC and PAC supporters in Mount Fletcher, Transkei, on 17 June 1993. Her husband, December Sigagayi, was shot dead by ANC supporters on the same day.

SIGAM, Kenneth Mncedisi (25) aka 'Thembele Mthetwa', an MK member, was detained by ANC members in Angola in 1984. He was held for six years without trial in Quatro camp, and was subjected to torture and severe ill-treatment. He was then transferred and detained for a further eight months in Tanzania. See ANC CAMPS.

SIGANGA, Mpheni (41), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by alleged IFP supporters in Orlando East, Soweto, Tvl, in April 1992, while coming from an ANC party.

SIGASA, Amos Sam , was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, while attending the funeral of a 'comrade' on 4 August 1992. Ratanda was one of several East Rand townships engulfed in political conflict between IFP supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents in the early 1990s.

SIGCAWANA, Molose (43), had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in 1993 at a time of intense political conflict between the 'Red' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in the area.

SIGEBENGA, Wilson Kwama (64), an ANC supporter, lost his home and possessions in an arson attack by WITDOEKE vigilantes in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

SIGIDI, Bennet , a representative of the Dalasile tribal authority, lost his home in an arson attack in May 1960 in Sithebe, Engcobo, Transkei. At the time, there was a rise in political opposition against the introduction of the homeland system and tribal chiefs were seen by the people to be collaborating with the authorities.

SIGIDI, Dugard , a tribal chief, was shot and killed in 1993 in Engcobo, Transkei, during political conflict over the reimposition of the headman system.

SIGUBA, Henry Jackson (22), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth on 20 August 1976, during political conflict following the SOWETO UPRISING. After he was shot, Mr Siguba was hospitalised under police guard for three months and then charged with public violence. Charges were eventually withdrawn and he was released in September 1977.

SIGUDU, Bulehwa Sylvia , was shot dead on 31 July 1993 in Tembisa, Tvl, by IFP supporters who attacked the taxi she was travelling in and then set it alight. Her husband died in the attack, but her five-year-old son survived because Ms Sigudu threw him out of the window.

SIGWEBELA, Zodwa Mirriam (45), had her house in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, burnt down in February 1987 and again in September 1987, in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters. She and her family fled the area.

SIGWEBO, Nginisile , a Poqo supporter, was shot dead by police in Paarl, Cape, on 21 November 1962, while participating in a Poqo march to storm the police station and prison. Five marchers were shot dead and two Paarl residents were killed by Poqo supporters.

SIGWELA, Ezra , an ANC member, was detained and assaulted by members of the Transkei Police in Umtata prison, Transkei, on 26 March 1968 after being arrested on suspicion of being a terrorist.

SIGWELA, Lennox Mbuyiselo (22), a UDF supporter, was shot and then severely hacked and beaten by WITDOEKE vigilantes in KTC, Cape Town, on 9 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. The attack left Mr Sigwela paralysed from the waist down.

SIGWELA, Monica Nomonde , was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 18 February 1985. Eighteen people were shot dead in a three-day clash when Crossroads residents resisted a forced removal to Khayelitsha. Ms Sigwela also lost her home in an arson attack in June 1986 in KTC when WITDOEKE vigilantes destroyed UDF-supporting squatter camps, with the approval and aid of the security forces.

SIGWINTA, Motshwa (23), an ANC supporter, was tortured while in detention in April 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SIGWINTA, Zongezile Rinkie (19), a UDF supporter, was abducted and tortured to death by AZAPO supporters at Kleinskool, Uitenhage, Cape, on 23 July 1985 during intense political conflict after the funeral of Matthew Goniwe. See CRADOCK FOUR. The perpetrators buried Mr Sigwinta in an unmarked grave.

SIHLABANI, Nomzamo (34), an ANC supporter, had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters on 20 June 1989.

SIHLE, Mafika , was abducted and severely beaten by vigilantes in Leandra, Tvl, in January 1986 during

conflict between police and scholars at Impumelelo Combined School.

SIHLALI, Fortunate Jabulile , was stoned by ANC supporters on 25 December 1991 in Vosloorus, Tvl, during ongoing violence between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SIHLANGU, Managale Sarah (50), an Insika Party supporter, lost her house and business when they were burnt down by alleged members of the SAP in Elukwatini, KaNgwane, in October 1986. Her livestock was stolen in the same attack, which was allegedly motivated by her refusal to vote for the Inyandza party.

SIKAMA, Jongikhaya (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Cape Town, on 12 September 1985, during unrest in the township.

SIKEMANE, Hendrick Vuyani (20), a self-defence unit (SDU) member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 27 April 1992 because he was a member of the ANC-aligned SDU.

SIKENJANA, Morris (39), was shot dead on 6 August 1993 in Vosloorus, Tvl, during heightened tension between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SIKHAKANE, Bhokuyise Christopher (36), an ANC youth leader, was shot dead by fellow ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 14 February 1994 in the course of a serious internal feud within the local party branch.

SIKHAKANE, Celumuzi Moses (61), an IFP supporter, had his home in Clermont, near Durban, demolished by ANC supporters in March 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SIKHAKHANE, Andrinah Thokozile (40), had her home in Eshowe, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack on 23 November 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

SIKHAKHANE, Basil Kelly (42), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 January 1992. Mr Sikhakhane was a stranger in the area. Conflict between the IFP and ANC in the area gave rise to suspicion of those not immediately identifiable either by language or political affiliation.

SIKHAKHANE, Ben , had his home fired on by two armed ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members in Tokoza, Tvl, during 1993. The SDU members believed that he was an IFP member. No one was injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0243).

SIKHAKHANE, Bheki Richard (29), was attacked by IFP supporters in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 April 1992. At least 11 people were killed the same day in various incidents of conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

SIKHAKHANE, Cornelius Delani , was injured in an attack by a named IFP supporter at Clermont, near Durban, on an unspecified date.

SIKHAKHANE, Elizabeth Ntombi (51), an Inkatha supporter, had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, set alight by UDF supporters in March 1988.

SIKHAKHANE, Geb Gerbard (59), an IFP supporter, had his house at Ndonyela, near Bulwer, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by named ANC supporters in May 1992.

SIKHAKHANE, Goodwill Colin 'Neville', an *askari*, was abducted, severely assaulted and shot dead by *Vlakplaas* and Port Natal Security Branch operatives at Greytown, Natal, on 29 January 1991. The operatives alleged that he had become a security risk. Three Port Natal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, and four *Vlakplaas* operatives, including the commander of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty for this killing (AC/2000/090).

SIKHAKHANE, Gugu Mandy (12), a UDF supporter, had her home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters during 1984.

SIKHAKHANE, Henry Mfana, an Inkatha supporter, was killed by a named ANC supporter at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 8 November 1990 in conflict between township residents and hostel-dwellers. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

SIKHAKHANE, James Bhekizenzo (32), was shot by named members of the KwaZULU POLICE near Mandini, Natal, in May 1991. Later he was detained and falsely charged, and when he was acquitted in the magistrate's court, one of the perpetrators ordered him to leave the area.

SIKHAKHANE, Lawrence Themba (28), was stabbed to death by a named perpetrator in Qinabout, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 9 May 1994 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SIKHAKHANE, Mandla Caswell (24), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 11 August 1990.

SIKHAKHANE, Mbongeni Mtuseni (36), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and tortured by named members of the SAP in KwaMashu, Durban, on 19 April 1989.

SIKHAKHANE, Mntomuhle Ndukushayizazi, was shot and stabbed to death in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal in November 1992.

SIKHAKHANE, Mthiyakhe Daniel (8), was injured when he picked up a bomb in a field at Boshof, OFS, in October 1979, and it exploded. The field had allegedly been used for shooting practice by the nearby Boshhoek military training camp. His brother Thulani was also injured in the explosion.

SIKHAKHANE, Mzikayise Phillip (37), a UDF and ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by named Inkatha supporters in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during May 1989.

SIKHAKHANE, Nomkhosi Lima (52), an Inkatha supporter, had her home petrol-bombed by fellow Inkatha supporters in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in August 1989, allegedly because her children were ANC supporters.

SIKHAKHANE, Ntombikayise Regina (41), had her house in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by ANC supporters on 29

October 1989, allegedly in politicised factional conflict between the Makhatini and Mabheleni tribal groups. Eight Inkatha supporters were killed, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

SIKHAKHANE, Oscar Khulekani (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. The attack was allegedly motivated by Molefe's refusal to call up men in his area to defend the IFP. An IFP leader was implicated in the attack. Eleven ANC youths were killed and seven injured.

SIKHAKHANE, Skafu Busisive (47), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 11 August 1990.

SIKHAKHANE, Theodorah Nomcebo, a UDF supporter, was shot at by Inkatha supporters during intense political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 August 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/99/0332).

SIKHAKHANE, Thulani (15), was injured when a bomb that his brother picked up in a field exploded at Boshof, OFS, in October 1979. The field had allegedly been used for shooting practice by the nearby Boshhoek military training camp. His brother Mthiyakhe was also injured in the explosion.

SIKHAKHANE, Zithulele Richard (43), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by a named IFP supporter and unidentified members of the SADF at Ensimbini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in 1993. He was forced to relocate, because everything was destroyed.

SIKHAKHANE-RANKIN, Joyce Nomafa, an ANC member, was arrested and placed in solitary confinement in May 1969 in Soweto, Johannesburg.

SIKHEPHE, Msetyenzelwa (37), was shot by IFP supporters on 3 December 1993 in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, during numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SIKHOSANA, Elliot (81), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in May 1993 at Mthimde, Lusikisiki, Transkei, after he allowed his ANC 'comrades' to hold a meeting in his home.

SIKHOSANA, Monono Mavis (46), an IFP supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Mawoti, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 14 October 1993.

SIKHOSANA, Sipho, was abducted and taken to a camp in Vaalbank, KwaNdebele, where he was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in May 1986, during considerable community conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele. He was also arrested in March 1988 and detained for three months in Milnerton, Cape Town.

SIKHOSANA, Themba Daniel (23), an ANCYL supporter, was shot and injured, by a named local councillor, on 7 July 1990 in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, during a protest demonstration outside the councillor's house. Mr Sikhosana died five months later in hospital.

SIKHOSANA, Thengani (63), had her property destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SIKHWENI, Justice, a member of the Municipal Police, was shot, injured and robbed of his firearm by MK operatives at an electrical substation in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 30 May 1987. Mr Sikhweni and his colleague, who was also shot and injured, were guarding the substation after the electricity had been disconnected during a community boycott of electricity payments. The operatives reconnected the electricity. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0330).

SIKITI, Shoti (44), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF during political conflict in KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 26 December 1991.

SIKITI, Siphio, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 26 May 1993 in Katilehong, Tvl, during ongoing conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers.

SIKITI, Zuzeka Regina (22), an ANC and SANCO member, was severely assaulted by members of the CDF during political conflict in KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 28 December 1992.

SIKO, Emily (34), was severely assaulted, stabbed and her home was demolished by AWB supporters on 11 May 1991 in Tshing, Ventersdorp, Tvl.

SIKO, Nomakwezi Georgina (18), an ANC supporter, was burnt and permanently injured as a result of an attempted 'necklacing' in June 1985 at Joza, Grahamstown, Cape. She had been accused of being a collaborator when she tried to bring lunch to her sister, who worked as a cleaner at the police station.

SIKO, Thamsanqa (29), was stabbed to death by members of the 'Gadaffi' group in November 1990 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl. See KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS.

SIKO, Zuko Belmont Mech (18), a COSAS member, was interrogated and tortured by beating and having pins stuck into his penis by named members of the SAP in Bedford and Cradock police stations. He was arrested in Lesotho while attempting to join MK in exile on 15 June 1985. He was charged with leaving the country without a valid passport but the charges were withdrawn on 21 December 1985.

SIKOANE, Frans (16), was shot dead by a named perpetrator in Tembisa, Tvl, on 4 November 1984 during student unrest in the area.

SIKOBI, Boyi Joseph (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead after members of the KWAZULU POLICE, one of whom is named, pursued and attacked him and four other ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 14 March 1993.

SIKOBI, Mavis Mklazi (39), had her home in Nkothaneni, Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down on 7

April 1994. ANC supporters attacked several IFP supporters' homes in the area that day, killing five people and injuring four, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SIKOBI, Mazabiwe (29), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by unidentified persons, allegedly wearing SADF uniforms, in Ngodini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 February 1994. His father's home was burnt down in the attack.

SIKOBI, Ngqakaza (67), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down in an attack by unidentified persons, allegedly wearing SADF uniforms, in Ngodini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 3 February 1994. His son was killed in the attack.

SIKOBI, Qondeni Irenei (40), an ANC supporter, had her home set alight by named and other IFP supporters in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in February 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SIKOBI, Vusi Patrick (32), an ANC supporter, was hacked to death by named IFP supporters in Ngwemabalala, KwaXolo, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 May 1993.

SIKONDE, David Siphio (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 7 November 1991, when IFP supporters attacked protesters participating in an anti-VAT march.

SIKUMKANI, Wenzwiwe Florence (33), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in February 1993. About 35 houses were reportedly burnt down in Bhambayi that month.

SIKUNANA, Tozama Mary (62), a Nyanga resident, was shot and permanently disabled by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels over the Christmas 1976 period. Twenty-nine people died in the clashes and many more were injured.

SIKUTSHW A, Mamanci Tena (45), an ANC member, detained and assaulted by members of the SAP in the Bizana police station, Transkei, in 1968 for her involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SIKUTSHW A, Merriman Siphio (17), an ANC member, was imprisoned in February 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SIKWEPERE, Lucas Baba (30), a UDF activist, was shot and blinded by named members of the SAP in KTC, Cape Town, on 31 December 1985, during conflict between UDF supporters and vigilantes. Mr Sikwepere was arrested and tortured by police in 1986.

SIKWEYIYA, Simanga August (51), was tortured by members of the SAP while in detention on 1 January 1963 at Burgersdorp, Cape, during a crackdown on the PAC.

SIKWEYIYA, Sizinzo (45), an ANC member, was killed when SACTU residences in Matola near Maputo, Mozambique, was attacked with mortars and rocket launchers by alleged SADF and SA Air Force members on 30 December 1981. The liberation movements were

based in neighbouring countries and the SADF conducted numerous cross-border raids into these front-line states that supported the ANC in exile and other liberation movements. Eleven other ANC members were killed during the attack.

SILANGO, Ntombifikile Anna (39), an IFP supporter, had her home in Hopewell, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters in February 1992. Political violence in Hopewell at this time claimed about ten lives and forced over 300 people to flee from the area. Most of the victims were IFP supporters.

SILANGWE, Babongile Florence (50), an IFP supporter, lost her home in Hopewell, Ixopo, Natal, when it was burnt down by ANC supporters in February 1992, allegedly because her husband was an *induna* and an IFP member. Political violence in Hopewell at this time claimed about ten lives and forced over 300 people to flee from the area. Most of the victims were IFP supporters.

SILANGWE, Bhulekwana, was severely beaten by members of the SADF during March 1960 in Izilangwe, Bizana, Transkei, because he was a member of a banned organisation. His body still has sjambok scars.

SILANGWE, Mbethwa, an ANC member, was severely beaten by members of the SAP on 1 March 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SILANGWE, Mhletywa, an IKONGO member, disappeared after he was abducted from his home by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. He has never been seen again.

SILANGWE, Skhova, an IKONGO member, was arrested in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. He was detained for two years, and allegedly died as a result of injuries sustained while in detention.

SILBERBAUER, Claire, a civilian, was killed when APLA operatives opened fire on the vehicle in which he was travelling at Eikenhof, Tvl, on 19 March 1993. The perpetrators had allegedly targeted a schoolbus conveying white children, and attacked the Mitchley vehicle when this failed. Three people were killed and two were injured in the attack. One APLA operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/147).

SILEKU, Themba Simon, was shot and injured by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Beaufort West, Cape, on 1 January 1988.

SILEMA-MALATSI, Johannes Soidaha, was assaulted and set alight by youths at Ha-Maila, Venda, on 19 March 1990. Mr Silema-Malatsi, who was thought to be practising witchcraft to hinder political activism in the area, was pelted with stones, stabbed with a sword, interrogated and necklaced to death. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty; a third application was refused (AC/2000/094).

SILINDA, Anthony Linda (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by SADF members on 15 August 1985 in Katlehong, Tvl, during a funeral for a victim of violence.

SILINDZA, Wilson, was severely beaten, allegedly by ANC supporters, because he was visiting the home of

someone accused of witchcraft in Mdlankomo, Kabokweni, KaNgwane, in 1986.

SILINGA, Wantu (27), an ANC supporter, was sentenced to death with other activists on 24 June 1987 for the 'necklace' murder of a girl suspected of having an affair with a policeman in Queenstown during the state of emergency. Mr Silinga died under mysterious circumstances in Pretoria Central prison, on 10 December 1987. Police informed the family that he had contracted asthma.

SILLANDS, Colleen, died on 26 April 1994, a day after she was shot travelling in a minibus in Alberton, Tvl, during tension in the area after numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SILLANDS, Mar gar et (34), was shot and injured on 25 April 1994 in Alberton, Tvl, while travelling in a minibus in Alberton, Tvl, during tension in the area after numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SILLO, Dorothy Lulama Kunuse (20), was shot and severely injured by a SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 16 January 1988. Three people were shot dead by Special Constables that day and another died later of his wounds. Ms Silo is unable to bear children as a result of the shooting.

SILO, Ms (62), a UDF supporter, was beaten by named members of the SAP after she and other parents had attempted to intervene during a clash between police and school children in Bongoletu, Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 29 April 1985. She was then arrested and tear-gassed in her cell at the police station.

SILO, Novintwembi Violet (35), an ANC member, faced several arrests and was bitten when SAP members set their dogs on her in Hermanus, Cape, during 1960, because of her refusal to carry a Pass.

SILOLO, Kwini Elizabeth (46), lost her home when it was burnt down by WITDOEKE vigilantes in KTC, Cape Town, on 10 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by *Witdoeke* vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people died and 20 000 homes were destroyed in the attacks.

SILOMO, Pikiwe Ennie (80), was shot with birdshot, then detained and beaten, stripped naked and humiliated by named and other members of the SAP in Khayamandi, Steynsburg, Cape, in August 1986. She had participated in a protest demonstration organised by the Steynsburg Youth Congress against police presence in Khayamandi.

SILOTILE, Edy, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, in 1992, by a group of men associated with the local town COUNCILLORS, in an arson and gunfire attack on D section which was perceived to be ANC-aligned.

SILULWANE, Zukiswa Patricia (27), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in June 1986 in KTC, Cape Town, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security

forces. Over 60 people died and 20 000 homes were destroyed in the attacks.

SILUMA, Vusi (20), a COSAS and SAYCO member, was one of three activists shot dead by two named perpetrators in Emdeni, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 25 May 1986. The funerals were placed under severe restrictions by police. Police also opened fire on mourners with birdshot and teargas.

SILWANYANA, Nomkhumbuzo Morina, lost her home when it was destroyed in 1983 in Crossroads, Cape Town, by supporters of Mr Ngxobongwana's committee who were opposed to Mr Memani's committee, to which her husband belonged. Conflict developed within Crossroads as a result of the struggle for housing.

SIMA, Fikile Mar garet (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by a named IFP supporter at her home in Ensimbini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 December 1991.

SIMA, Gcineni (56), was beaten, stabbed and had her home in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 22 March 1994, allegedly because her sons were perceived to be ANC supporters. Ms Sima's son and her neighbour, who was visiting, were shot dead in the attack.

SIMA, Gladis Khetiwe Masima (58), had her home at KwaXolo, near Ramsgate, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 10 April 1994, two weeks before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The attack was allegedly motivated by the fact that her sons refused to go to IFP self-defence camps.

SIMA, Mzuvukile Wiseman (26), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 22 March 1994, because he was perceived to be an ANC supporter. His house was burnt down in the attack, and his neighbour, who was visiting, was also killed.

SIMA, Phindiwe Dinah (45), an ANC supporter, had her house at KwaXolo, near Ramsgate, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 10 April 1994, two weeks before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS, allegedly because the family was sympathetic to the ANC.

SIMA, Vusumuzi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Nkothaneni, Port Shepstone, Natal, during March 1994, allegedly because he refused to attend IFP self-defence camps.

SIMAMANE, Bongwa, died when an MK operative detonated a car bomb at Jacobs, Durban, on 12 July 1984. The explosion killed five people and injured 27 others. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the MK command structures in Swaziland that facilitated the attack (AC/2001/175).

SIMAMANE, Nomajongosi Mavis (28), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Hosiya, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 February 1994, during political conflict following the funeral of a prominent IFP official in the area. The perpetrators attacked mourners returning from the funeral, and several homes were set alight.

SIMAMANE, Nomakhosi Dilili (42), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo,

Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SIMAMANE, Phatokwakhe, when an MK operative detonated a car bomb at Jacobs, Durban, on 12 July 1984. The explosion killed five people and injured 27 others. One MK operative was granted amnesty for his role in the MK command structures in Swaziland that facilitated the attack (AC/2001/175).

SIMAMANE, Qondeni Sylvester (34), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SIMAMANE, Velaphi (69), was stabbed and shot by IFP supporters in the Mathulini area, near Maphumulo, KwaZulu, near Greytown, Natal, on 16 August 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. She later died of her injuries.

SIMAMANE, Vusumuzi Moses (66), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SIMAMANE, W ildred Poni (62), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SIMANDLA, Bonisile David, head of the Middledrift Prison, was detained during OPERATION KATZEN and tortured during interrogation by members of the Ciskei Elite Unit in Alice, Ciskei, in 1986. Two members of the Ciskei Police were granted amnesty for the torture, and seven members of the SADF, Border Security Branch and Department of Prisons for Operation Katzen (AC/1997/0023; AC/1997/0024; AC/1997/0025; AC/1998/043; AC/1999/003; AC/1999/245; AC/2000/037; AC/2000/192; AC/2001/159 and AC/2001/224).

SIMANGA, Enoch Kadimo (19), was killed after being shot in the back of the head by named members of the SAP on 26 June 1986 in Worcester, Cape. Two witnesses to the shooting were then detained for several months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

SIMANGO, Cynthia (33), a UDF supporter, was detained for three months on 16 June 1986 in Burgersdorp, Cape, and was severely beaten by named members of the SAP. She was five months' pregnant at the time and had been detained because of her involvement in a Sharpeville Day commemoration in Down location, Willowmore. Ms Simango died on 24 March 1989 from head injuries sustained during her detention.

SIMANGO, Khangela Thomas (32), was tortured by named members of the SAP in 1993 in Louis Trichardt, Tvl. Mr Simango was detained and tortured by police because they believed he orchestrated community resistance against their forced removal from Chikota to Vleifontein.

SIMANI, Goodman (aka 'Khaya') (33), an MK operative who had returned from exile, died after being shot by named members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 9 April 1993. Mr Simani was walking in the street at night when he was shot.

SIMAYILE, Code (46), was detained in Sasolburg, OFS, on 11 July 1986 and held for six months under emergency regulations. In detention, he was severely assaulted and tortured by members of the SAP. Mr Simayile had been involved in a protracted strike at Karbochem in Sasolburg, and police accused him of politicising a labour dispute.

SIMAYILE, David Nkosivumile (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and fatally wounded in the chest by KwaZulu POLICE members and Inkatha supporters in Durban North on 9 February 1986, allegedly in a targeted killing.

SIMBINE, Jeronimo V icente (22), a Mozambican citizen, was abducted from his home in Namaacha, Mozambique, by SADF Special Forces members on 23 August 1982. He was taken to Phalaborwa army base where, after severe interrogation and torture, he agreed to become a member of the SADF. Prior to this abduction, the SADF had raided and bombed Namaacha because they suspected the village of housing ANC members in transit. During this raid, two Mozambican and one Portuguese citizen were killed. Mr Simbine escaped after three years and, upon his return home, was detained by the Mozambican authorities for six months.

SIMELA, Namkoni Selinah (47), had her home burnt down on 16 June 1986 in Mathyzensloop, KwaNdebele, during a night vigil for 'comrades' killed by IMBOKODO vigilantes and KwaNdebele Defence Force members. Mathyzensloop residents reportedly fled to the hills to escape the violence.

SIMELANE Sbusiso Carol (19), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and axed to death by unidentified people at a taxi rank in Pietermaritzburg during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 3 February 1993. Three others were killed; he was the only survivor.

SIMELANE, Allison Msuvukela (42), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in an attack on his home in Ondondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 July 1992, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. The attackers reportedly wanted guns, which they believed the family had received from Ulundi. His wife was severely beaten during the attack.

SIMELANE, Bheki (19), was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 2 February 1992 during conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents. Hostel-dwellers were allegedly coerced into IFP membership, and relations between residents and hostel-dwellers became increasingly strained.

SIMELANE, Bhékuyise Simon (29), an ANC supporter, was stoned and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 13 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SIMELANE, Buti Peter, was stabbed and shot to death by IFP supporters in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1991. The perpetrators were returning from a funeral at the Jabulani stadium in Soweto.

SIMELANE, Eunice (53), an IFP supporter, was severely beaten in an attack on her home in Ondondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 July 1992, in ongoing conflict between the ANC and IFP. The attackers reportedly wanted guns, which they believed

the family had received from Ulundi. Her husband was killed in the attack.

SIMELANE, Gcinwayinkosi Petrus (27), an ANC supporter, was tortured, stabbed and shot dead by members of an ANC-aligned self-defence unit on 30 August 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, because he refused to patrol with them.

SIMELANE, Gwete Enock (52), was shot and severely injured while travelling in a taxi in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 June 1992 during conflict between IFP-aligned Mzimhlophe hostel-dwellers and residents.

SIMELANE, Jabulani Kom (42), lost his house in an arson attack in Ondondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 August 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SIMELANE, Joe Johannes (23), was shot and arrested by members of the SAP in May 1985 in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, after he attended the funeral of someone killed by hostel-dwellers. A group of mourners attempted to storm the hostel and police intervened.

SIMELANE, Johannes Meleni (23), an ANC supporter, died after he was stabbed and shot by members of the IFP-aligned KHUMALO GANG on 4 August 1993 in Tokoza, Alberton, Tvl.

SIMELANE, Johannes Zwelibanzi (24), a member of the SAP, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Newcastle magistrate's court, Natal, on 23 November 1986. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/139).

SIMELANE, Linah Silukazi (24), had her home damaged in an arson attack by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Mathyzensloop, KwaNdebele, on 27 June 1986 during violent conflict over KwaNdebele independence.

SIMELANE, Miles Simon, an IFP supporter, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Eleven people were killed, nine execution-style, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

SIMELANE, Mpembe Amos (45), an IFP supporter, had his home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 19 June 1991.

SIMELANE, Nokuthula Aurelia (aka 'Sibongile') (23), a courier for MK from Bethal, Tvl, was abducted from the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg by members of the Soweto Security Branch on 8 September 1983 and held initially at the Norwood Police flats. She was later taken to a farm near Thabazimbi, Tvl, and held for several weeks, during which time she was severely tortured. She subsequently disappeared and is presumed dead. Eight Soweto Security Branch operatives applied for amnesty for the detention and torture only. Three applications were refused and five were granted (AC/2001/185).

SIMELANE, Nonozana Anna (53), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SIMELANE, Simon , was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING outside his house in Katlehong, Tvl, in February 1992.

SIMELANE, Solomon (48), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 28 June 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, during conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents.

SIMELANE, Sothini Themelihle (32), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SIMELANE, Sydney , was imprisoned by members of the SAP on 8 April 1986 in Volsloorus, Tvl, during protests over the death of an MK operative killed by police in the area.

SIMELANE, Thallina Phumzile (58), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SIMELANE, Thembinkosi (aka 'Ephraim Moyo') (25), an ANC member, disappeared after attending a Namibian independence celebration at the Viana camp near Luanda in April 1990. He has never been seen since and is presumed dead. Mr Simelane was at the time the communications officer for the ANC in Luanda, Angola.

SIMELANE, Zandi Moses (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured on 23 April 1994 in Vosloorus, Tvl, by a named SAP member during political conflict in the run-up to the first democratic elections of 27 April 1994.

SIMINYA, Mberegeni Marcus (41), was killed when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

SIMMONS, Bronwin , was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

SIMMONS, Vivian (26), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

SIMONS, Bronwen Bonny , was continually harassed, arrested and detained by Security Police members several times during the 1980s because her family was involved in the political struggle. During one detention, she was not allowed to feed her six-month-old baby. She was also once forced to stand for hours at CR Swart Square, Durban, because police wanted information about ANC members.

SIMPSON, James Marr en, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the

South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SIMPSON, WM , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SINAM, Sandile Wellington (38), a member of the Ciskei Police, was detained and tortured by named members of the Ciskei Police at the Seymour police station, Ciskei, on 12 August 1992. While on duty he was held up by three armed men who stole rifles from the police station. He reported this, but was suspected of having been involved with the robbers and was therefore detained.

SINAMA, Bhekisisa (19), was shot in the leg by members of the ISU during political conflict in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 17 November 1993.

SINAMA, Ntshwenca (37), an ANC supporter, was executed in Pretoria, on 6 July 1962. He was arrested two years earlier during conflict over the implementation of the Bantu Education and Bantu Authorities Acts in the area. Mr Sinama was held at Bizana, until found guilty and sentenced to death at Kokstad Supreme Court.

SINAYIDA, Mziwabantu Thompson (25), was killed by members of the SAP during political conflict in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 15 April 1985.

SINCUBA, Zion Jer emiah , was injured in a bomb explosion caused by ANC supporters near the Pass office in Durban in 1981. Although he was reportedly a bystander when the blast occurred, Mr Sincuba was accused of planting the bomb, and was tried in Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court.

SINDANE, Bangiswane Emily (53), was injured in a shooting by SAP members on 25 June 1985 in Lynneville, Witbank, Tvl. Ms Sindane was at a parents' meeting to address the detention of a number of schoolchildren when police allegedly opened fire because the parents refused to move to another venue.

SINDANE, Bhekizitha Jones (49), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 24 December 1991.

SINDANE, Bonga , was shot dead by IFP supporters at Richmond, Natal, during political conflict in the area on 2 December 1991.

SINDANE, Busisiwe Khanyisile (31), an ANC supporter, had her home in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters during May 1990.

SINDANE, Manel Mtshiselwa (78), was killed in a landmine explosion in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 25 March 1986. The mine was allegedly planted by named MK members, and was detonated by the minibus Mr Sindane was travelling in.

SINDANE, Nomathemba (51), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters at Richmond, Natal, during political conflict in the area in 1990.

SINDANE, Nomgqibelo Sarah (48), was injured in an explosion in May 1988 near Graspan, Tvl.

SINDANE, Piet, was shot dead on 1 January 1986 in Kgobokwane, KwaNdebele, by IMBOKODO vigilantes who raided villages that day to assert their control over the newly incorporated Moutse.

SINDANE, Sidumo Jef frey (58), an IFP supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in 1991.

SINDANE, Thomi Joseph (37), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 30 November 1990.

SINDANE, Vusimusi Lawr ence, an MK operative, was injured in an ambush by Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives on 14 August 1986. Four people were killed that day in two ambushes, one of which was near Nerston, Tvl, the other on the Swazi side of the border. Eleven Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives, including the commanders of Ermelo Security Branch and of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/148).

SINDANI, Maneel Mashiselwa, a UDF supporter, was injured in an explosion on 25 May 1985 near Tembisa, Tvl, when the minibus he was travelling in was bombed.

SINDANI, Steven, was stoned to death after being made to drink petrol by members of the Astro youth group who suspected he was a police spy at Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on 19 February 1986.

SINDU, Banzi Elphas (19), an SRC member, was beaten with a sjambok, allegedly by members of the SAP, shortly after the launch of COSAS in Dennilton, Tvl, on 10 September 1985. He was also arrested and charged with intimidation by named members of the SAP the same day.

SINGONZO, Koki Simon (61), a National Party supporter and local COUNCILLOR, had his home in Mangaung, Bloemfontein, destroyed in a hand grenade attack by ANC supporters in 1991.

SINGQOTO, Alport (44), was shot and severely injured on 22 March 1990 while standing outside the Town Council offices in Crossroads, Cape Town, by men shooting from a vehicle. Two men died in the shooting and Mr Singqoto was left paralysed. The shooting took place during conflict between two local Crossroads leaders.

SINGW ANE, Thomas V elaphi, an ANC supporter, was shot by a named perpetrator on 19 February 1992 in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING.

SINOANE, Singalela Jeremiah (46), had his home destroyed, allegedly by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SINXOSHE, Nelson (36), a UDF supporter, was arrested and severely beaten by members of the SAP on 22 December 1985 in Philipstown, Cape. Earlier that day his sister had been shot dead by a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN. Residents then hacked and burnt the policeman's father to death. Mr Sinxoshe was then arrested for this killing and later sentenced to 35 years imprisonment for murder. He was released as a political prisoner in 1991.

SINYEMFU, Luxolile Ben (21), a UDF supporter and secretary of the Rosmead Youth Congress, was detained for four months on June 1986 in Rosmead, Cape.

SIOBO, Tshibili Elisa, suffered psychological and mental distress in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, in October 1993 when a white farmer repeatedly subjected her to racist verbal abuse. Previously the same perpetrator had allegedly dragged her behind a tractor, injuring her chest, waist and left leg.

SIPHIKA, Gladys Mbagem, had her home destroyed in an attack by IFP supporters in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990. She was allegedly targeted because she was believed to be an ANC supporter.

SIPHIKA, Mziwandile Ruben (18), was severely beaten by named IFP supporters at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1990. He was allegedly attacked because he was believed to be an ANC supporter.

SIPHO, (other details unknown), an MK operative, and three others were twice targeted for killing, firstly at the Lion Park Motel, and later at the Oasis Motel, Gaborone, during August and September 1987. Both operations, jointly conducted by SADF Special Forces and the Security Branch, were unsuccessful. The divisional commander of the Western Transvaal Security Branch and five Soweto Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for their role in the operations (AC/1999/0308).

SIPIKA, Ntamehlo, an iKONGO member, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SIPIKA, Silo, an iKONGO member, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 6 June 1960 in Flagstaff, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SIPOLO, Ngwazi (42), an iKONGO supporter, was severely beaten while in detention on 6 June 1960 at MkAMBATI FOREST police station, Lusikisiki, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SIPOYA, Busang, was forcefully abducted and severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 23 February 1986 during political conflict.

SIPOYA, Jarius Mokotedi, was abducted and severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 23 February 1986 during political conflict.

SIPOYA, Samuel (57), had his home petrol-bombed in April 1986 in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, allegedly by members of the Bophuthatswana Police, because his sons were political activists.

SIPUTA, Lanki, was beaten with sjamboks and batons by members of the SAP in 1985 during political

conflict in Bhongweni, Cookhouse, Cape.

SIQA, Zetule (38), lost his home in an arson attack by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SIQAKAZA, Mathopisi (40), was harassed, arrested and severely assaulted in June 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, because of his involvement in the Pondoland revolt.

SIQAKAZA, Nombuso (40), was harassed, arrested and severely assaulted in June 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, because of his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SIQAZA, Archibald (46), a community COUNCILLOR, was beaten and burnt to death on 24 December 1985 in Guguletu, Cape Town, by a crowd of UDF supporters attending a funeral of a young unrest victim. Mr Siqaza was attacked as he drove by the angry crowd. His home was later set alight.

SIQAZA, Jessie, had her house set alight by UDF supporters on 25 December 1985 in KTC, Cape Town, after her husband had been burnt to death by an angry crowd at the funeral of an unrest victim.

SIQUBETU, Mzuzile Honey (26), an ANC supporter, was 'necklaced' to death on 2 September 1985 at Ziphunzana stadium, East London. Ms Siqubetu was working as a housekeeper at Cambridge police station, East London, and was therefore perceived to be a collaborator.

SIRA, David Siyapi, died after being shot by a named security guard at a bus company on 28 February 1986 in Nelspruit, Tvl. Mr Sira was taking part in a community protest against the company when he was shot.

SISHANGE, Msilane Ronel, and five other scholars were interrogated, tortured and killed by AZAPO members in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 1 August 1986. The incident was sparked off by the burning of the house of an AZAPO leader for which the youths were believed to have been responsible. Three perpetrators were refused amnesty, and one was granted amnesty (AC/2000/179 and AC/1999/230).

SISHANGE, Paul Senyatso (19), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the Municipal Police at Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg, in August 1986 during the state of emergency.

SISHI, (first names not given), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP members during political violence at Nyoni, KwaZulu, near Gingindlovu, Natal, during 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

SISHI, Bongani John (72), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHI, Buselaphi Xolisile (28), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHI, Feni Eveline (35), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHI, Fundisiwe (27), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo,

Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHI, Gabisile Mar gar et (59), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHI, Hlakaniphario Agrippah (27), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHI, Jabulani Patrick (28), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHI, John Mkakeni (58), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHI, Lawrence Nqobizwe (19), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHI, Mangasa, an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHI, Mkakeni (57), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHI, Ntombitheni Mamsishi (41), an ANC supporter, had her home in Umlazi, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in 1992.

SISHI, Sebenzile Esther (30), had her home stripped and damaged in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 29 November 1989 in intense conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

SISHI, Sfiso Neil Magwaba (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by members of the KwaZULU POLICE at KwaMashu, Durban, on 23 December 1989.

SISHI, Skhumbuzo Michael (25), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHI, Thokozani Otrinah (22), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHI, Zafika Annacetha (30), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 17 March 1994. See also SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SISHIMANE, Nomathemba Patience (25), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by an ANC supporter at Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 2 February 1993. The incident occurred soon after the perpetrator had left a local ANC meeting.

SISULU, Mpumelelo (30), was shot by members of the SADF in September 1985 in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, following the funeral of victims of police shooting.

SITALI, Msokoli , was shot dead by IFP supporters in October 1990 at Tokoza, Tvl, because he was Xhosa-speaking. Hostel-dwellers were allegedly coerced into IFP membership when it launched itself as a political party in 1990. As a result, conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers increasingly overlapped political affiliation with ethnic identity.

SITETO, Mabhuti , a member of the SAP, had his house in Mazosizwe Street, Cradock, Cape, burnt down by members of the Cradock Youth Association, in March 1985, allegedly in retaliation for the banning of the launch of CRADORA. One of his colleagues was burnt to death in the conflict. Others were also victims of arson attacks.

SITHEBE, Christian Bhokuyise , an ANC supporter, was abducted from Nongoma, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, in October 1978. He was allegedly killed during a shoot-out with a shop owner in Paulpietersburg, Natal.

SITHEBE, Esther Jabhisa (50), was shot by IFP supporters on 13 December 1992 in Vosloorus, Tvl, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents.

SITHEBE, Mzwakhe Ezard (24), was assaulted and teargassed after being detained during the state of emergency on 11 June 1986 during rent boycotts at Msinga, Natal.

SITHEBE, Peter (21), disappeared on a Workers' Day march in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 1 May 1986. A member of the SAP from Orlando police station later reported him dead and buried.

SITHEBE, Thamsanqa Tununu (29), an ANC supporter, had his house and car destroyed in an arson attack at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, by Inkatha supporters on 10 August 1987.

SITHEBE, Zakhe (48), a UDF supporter, was detained by named members of the Security Branch in Newcastle, Natal, on 17 June 1986, allegedly because of his involvement in the rates boycott at Sibongile, Dundee.

SITHETHO, Galelekile (61), lost his home in an arson attack by WITDOEKE vigilantes in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

SITHOLE (ZUNGU), Msizi (5), was severely injured when IFP supporters attacked his home in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 26 March 1992, and threw boiling water over him. This occurred during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

SITHOLE, (first name not given), suffered damage to her property when MK operatives threw a grenade at her home in Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1988, in a series of attacks on perceived collaborators by an MK unit. The grenade exploded in her yard and there were no injuries. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/0013).

SITHOLE, (first name not given), suffered damage to his house and shacks when they were burnt by members of an ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) in Gamede Street, Tokoza, Tvl. He was believed to be an

IFP member. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0243).

SITHOLE, Albert Nsizwa , was beaten and then thrown into a dam by a group of named members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, in April 1986.

SITHOLE, Alfred Gundu (50), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, in August 1984, during conflict over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi and Lamontville into KwaZulu.

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

SITHOLE, Alinah Poppy (30), was shot dead travelling in a taxi in Ncala Section in Katilehong, Tvl, on 27 February 1992 during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. Attacks on taxis became an ongoing characteristic of conflict on the East Rand since 1991.

SITHOLE, Amos Behtemba , was injured during an attack by armed ANC members on the house of a school principal in Phola township, Ogies, Tvl, on 13 October 1991. The principal was regarded as an IFP sympathiser because IFP supporters often visited him at home. One ANC member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/091).

SITHOLE, Arthur (27), an MK member, was shot dead by security forces in 1979 in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) where he was stationed after having left South Africa for military training in 1977.

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

SITHOLE, Bafana Petros (21), a political activist, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP on 18 February 1988 in KwaThema, Tvl.

SITHOLE, Bakhuzi (51), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, in March 1991.

SITHOLE, Banda Wellington , an IFP supporter, was shot dead when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

SITHOLE, Benjamin Velaphi (19), was hacked and burnt to death, allegedly by members of the SAP, in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 30 August 1992 in the aftermath of the BOIPATONG MASSACRE.

SITHOLE, Boas , was arrested in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 28 February 1985. Duduza residents were demanding

a modern sewerage system rather than the continued use of buckets. Youths targeted policemen's houses as part of their protest and many were severely beaten when taken to Dunnottar Police station.

SITHOLE, Bonginkosi (28), was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

SITHOLE, Bongiwé Olga (37), an IFP supporter, was slapped and shot by unidentified people outside her home in Durban during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area on 11 February 1990, the day of Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

SITHOLE, Boyi (55), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 6 February 1991. He was returning to his home, which he had fled the previous day because of political conflict.

SITHOLE, Chashaza Andries (50), was killed when a bomb exploded in a school in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 16 March 1992. The bomb was planted by supporters of the rightwing AWB.

SITHOLE, Cusa Johanna (41), was injured in a bomb attack by members of the SAP on 21 April 1986 in Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg.

SITHOLE, David, was tortured by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 18 May 1986 in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, for burning the property of IMBOKODO members.

SITHOLE, Delani Mandlenkosi Shadrack, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP on 9 February 1986 in Pinetown, Natal.

SITHOLE, Duduzile Oscar (47), an ANC supporter, had his house at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SITHOLE, Eunice Nonhlanhla (38), was shot by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in June 1989. She was allegedly targeted because her son was a UDF supporter.

SITHOLE, Fikephi, was shot when the vehicle she was travelling in was ambushed by ANC supporters at Richmond, Natal, during political conflict in the area in September 1991.

SITHOLE, Francis (42), an ANC supporter, was shot in his ribs by named perpetrators in his store in Qunu, Umtata, Transkei, on 14 July 1978. On 5 August 1979 he was arrested and detained for three months and while he was in prison his shop was burnt down, allegedly because he opposed the homeland system and Transkei independence.

SITHOLE, Frank, a civilian travelling in a bread delivery truck, was shot at by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 February 1993. Mr Mabuya and his three colleagues had disrupted an SDU attack on the police. The perpetrators fired at the vehicle, intending to scare them off. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/119).

SITHOLE, Fredah, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 16 June 1986 in KaNgwane, Nelspruit, Tvl during a meeting to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

SITHOLE, Girly Ngenzeni (41), an ANC supporter, was shot by Inkatha supporters at Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

SITHOLE, Gladys (22), was shot by members of the SAP on 21 November 1985 in Mamelodi, Pretoria.

SITHOLE, Gloria (31), an ANC supporter, had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, petrol-bombed by IFP supporters on 15 May 1993. Monitors estimated that as many as 200 Bhambayi residents had died violently between May and July 1993.

SITHOLE, Gratian Futhi (21), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 6 October 1991, in political conflict in the area.

SITHOLE, Helena Mankehl, was burnt to death by unidentified perpetrators at KwaMashu, Durban, on 29 September 1987, allegedly because of the political activities of her son, who was in detention at the time. Ms Sithole's partner also died in the attack.

SITHOLE, Innocent, an ANC supporter, disappeared in KwaZayeka, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 7 October 1987. He and his family had been harassed and threatened over a period of time by Inkatha supporters. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

SITHOLE, Isaac Isaka (18), was shot during May 1986 by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Rustenburg, Tvl, during a stayaway.

SITHOLE, Jabulani, an alleged IFP supporter, was injured during a confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters at Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 26 September 1992, in which at least nine people were killed. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/97/0063).

SITHOLE, Japhet Ndeyi (47) was severely assaulted and his house was set alight by named Inkatha supporters in KwaZayeka, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 20 October 1987. He and his family had been harassed over a period of time by Inkatha supporters. They fled the area after the attack.

SITHOLE, Jeremiah Victor (18), was detained and tortured by members of the Security Branch on 12 June 1986 in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on the first day of the state of emergency.

SITHOLE, Joel Jiga, a civilian, was killed when the vehicle in which he was travelling detonated a landmine planted by MK operatives on the Diepgezet/Barberton road, Tvl, on 28 March 1987. Three of his relatives were also killed and one passenger survived. The attack formed part of 'Operation Cetshwayo', an MK landmine campaign in the Eastern Tvl. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/111). See ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN.

SITHOLE, Johannes Mpiyonke (53), an IFP supporter, was severely injured when he was stabbed and burnt by ANC supporters in KwaMawula, Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 March 1991.

SITHOLE, Joseph (18), was shot dead, by members of the SAP on 26 August 1976 in Soweto, Johannesburg, during the aftermath of the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING.

SITHOLE, Joseph Boy (44), an ANC supporter, was assaulted with knobkerries and sticks by IFP supporters in Katlehong, Tvl, in August 1993. Clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mostly ANC-supporting residents left thousands of people dead.

SITHOLE, Joseph , a COSAS supporter, was beaten to death by SAP members on 8 September 1984 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during protests against rent increases and local councillors which led to widespread destruction of property. This period is popularly known as the VAAL UPRISING.

SITHOLE, Judas (58) was beaten and his windows and furniture were broken by AWB supporters on 11 May 1991 in Tshing, Ventersdorp, Tvl. A group of individuals dressed in AWB uniforms entered the squatter camp at Tshing and destroyed property and assaulted the occupants of shacks.

SITHOLE, Klaas Mzaman (18), was detained, assaulted and tortured with electric shocks by SAP members in March 1986 at Pretoria North police station, Tvl, in connection with his political activities in Alexandra, Johannesburg.

SITHOLE, Lessia (Eliza Maqo), a UDF supporter, had her house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence. Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

SITHOLE, Lewis (31), a self-defence unit member, was injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Katlehong, Tvl, in September 1992 while patrolling the area. Conflict between ANC and IFP supporters was high with residents being attacked by alleged IFP and ISU members.

SITHOLE, Mamo Alexina (19), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death on 4 December 1991 when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

SITHOLE, Mandla (27), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Estcourt, Natal, on 26 October 1993, allegedly because he and a friend had refused to join a group of IFP supporters in burning down the homes of ANC supporters. Mr Sithole's friend was also killed.

SITHOLE, Mandlenkosi Shadrack , was beaten and shot by named members of the SAP at KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 9 February 1986.

SITHOLE, Martha (38), lost her house when it was destroyed by alleged supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SITHOLE, Meshack Mngonelwa , was burnt to death by 'comrades' on 18 June 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during violent resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

SITHOLE, Mfaniseni Orbert , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

SITHOLE, Mhlaba Ernest (21), an ANC supporter, was stabbed by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg in June 1990.

SITHOLE, Mhlawile Piet , was shot dead by named IMBOKODO members on 4 January 1986 in Moutse, KwaNdebele, during resistance to INCORPORATION.

SITHOLE, Moses Ngalo , was shot and killed by members of the SAP on 18 November 1985 in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl, when youth in the area campaigned for the removal from the township of the Amabhacha, municipal workers who fought against the community.

SITHOLE, Mphani Andreas (66), an IFP supporter, had his home destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 22 April 1994, in political conflict five days before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SITHOLE, Mpostolo Petros (58), was shot dead while travelling in his car to Eshowe, Natal, on 8 March 1992, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SITHOLE, Mpumelelo , a UDF supporter, was ambushed and shot at by Inkatha members during political conflict at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 14 January 1989. An amnesty applicant testified that Mr Sithole was targeted because he was believed to be supplying weapons to UDF supporters (AC/1999/0334).

SITHOLE, Mthunzi Thabani Basil , aka 'Bishop' (28), an ANC supporter, was stoned to death by a named perpetrator at Osizweni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, on 15 September 1991 in ongoing political violence between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Five years earlier, in 1986, Mr Sithole was detained in Newcastle and Pietermaritzburg and severely assaulted. He was charged and convicted of involvement in the placing of bombs in businesses in the Newcastle area, and was imprisoned on Robben Island from November 1986 to 1991. He was killed four months after his release.

SITHOLE, Muntuza , an ANC member, was shot at during an assassination attempt on a prominent ANC member by IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 July 1992. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

SITHOLE, Muriel , an ANC supporter, was killed in Richmond, Natal, during 1991, allegedly because she was suspected of colluding in the death of her neighbour, a fellow ANC supporter.

SITHOLE, Mvelase (51), an IFP supporter, was killed by ANC supporters in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 5 January 1994 during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SITHOLE, Nataniel , was shot, by IFP supporters in 1990 in Tembisa, Tvl, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-aligned residents.

SITHOLE, Ncena Sarah , had her house destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SITHOLE, Ndoda Mfaniseni (23), an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in KwaHlaza, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 1 April 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

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

SITHOLE, Nelson (41), a Macassar Civic Association chairperson, was assaulted and killed by men wearing SAP uniforms and balaclavas at Macassar, Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 22 July 1992. The perpetrators are believed to have been linked to the SAP and the Lingeletu West Town Council. Mr Sithole had been part of a campaign against the rentals imposed on squatter residents. See BALACLAVA GROUPS.

SITHOLE, Njengabantu (29), a SACTWU member and ANC supporter, was detained by the SAP in Westville, near Durban, in March 1987. On 20 January 1990, he drowned under suspicious circumstances at a party in Durban.

SITHOLE, Njengabantu , an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Durban in January 1977.

SITHOLE, Nombuso Happiness (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 24 October 1992.

SITHOLE, Nonhlanhla (24), was shot dead by members of the security forces when they broke up a night vigil in Thandokhaya, Piet Retief, Tvl, in 1993. The night vigil was for pupils from the Ndlela High School in Thandokhaya killed by police, and was held the day before a mass funeral for these victims.

SITHOLE, Ntombi Maur een, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Elandskop, near Pietermaritzburg, on 7 April 1990, allegedly because she was believed to be a UDF supporter.

SITHOLE, Ntombiliza Ger trude (45), an ANC supporter, had her property stolen and her house in Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, vandalised

during intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in 1990.

SITHOLE, Ntumanne Nathan (50), an IFP supporter, was abducted from his home and severely assaulted by SADF and members of the SAP at Umlazi, Durban, in May 1992. The security forces were looking for arms caches in the area. Two days later, the family home was destroyed in an arson attack.

SITHOLE, Omega Nhlanhla (23), a UDF leader, was stabbed and shot to death by named Inkatha supporters in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in October 1988.

SITHOLE, Pauline (37) was beaten and her house was broken into and damaged by AWB supporters on 11 May 1991 in Tshing location, Ventersdorp, Tvl. A group of individuals dressed in AWB uniforms entered the squatter camp at Tshing, destroyed property and assaulted occupants of shacks.

SITHOLE, Paulos Mtusi (51), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 13 September 1993.

SITHOLE, Peter (49), was hacked to death by IFP supporters on 13 September 1990 in Johannesburg.

SITHOLE, Philisiwe Ellen (28), an IFP supporter, lost her house in an arson attack on 6 August 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, during political conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SITHOLE, Phindavele (57), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at his home in Amaoti, Inanda, near Durban, on 6 January 1989.

SITHOLE, Phumlani Welcome (7), was shot and severely injured by a named IFP supporter in Elandskop, near Pietermaritzburg, on 7 April 1990, during political conflict. His mother was killed in the attack.

SITHOLE, Romeo (26), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by named members of the SAP while in custody in 1989 in Alexandra, Johannesburg. Mr Sithole suffers from memory loss as a result of the assault.

SITHOLE, Ruth Sibongile , an ANC member, was shot at during an assassination attempt on a prominent ANC member by IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 July 1992. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

SITHOLE, Sbongile (45), an ANC supporter, had her house at Richmond, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area in 1991.

SITHOLE, Sbusiso (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 November 1993.

SITHOLE, Sengiphelile Petros (25), an alleged IFP supporter, was injured during a confrontation between ANC and IFP supporters at Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal, on 26 September 1992, in which at least nine people were killed. Two ANC supporters were granted amnesty (AC/97/0063).

SITHOLE, Sentanda (46), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

SITHOLE, Shadrack Msolwa , an informer, and three MK operatives were killed in two ambushes by Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives on 14 August 1986. One ambush was at Nerston, Tvl, the other on the Swazi side of the border. Eleven Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives, including the commanders of Ermelo Security Branch and of *Vlakplaas*, were refused amnesty for killing Mr Sithole (AC/2001/148).

SITHOLE, Shelu (74), an ANC supporter, had his home in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 11 June 1990.

SITHOLE, Sibongile Eslina (35), an ANC supporter, had her house in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 9 June 1990.

SITHOLE, Sibusiso Vusumuzi (19), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 14 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SITHOLE, Sicelo (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by IFP supporters at Mandini, Natal, on 6 October 1991.

SITHOLE, Simon , was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

SITHOLE, Simphiwe Patrick (10), was shot and severely injured by a named IFP supporter in Elandskop, near Pietermaritzburg, on 7 April 1990. His mother was killed in the attack.

SITHOLE, Siphwe , an ANC supporter, was injured in an explosion in Maseru, Lesotho, on 5 July 1979, when a parcel bomb was detonated. Five other persons were injured in the incident.

SITHOLE, Siphwe (33), was shot dead on 7 March 1988 in Tladi, Soweto, Johannesburg.

SITHOLE, Siphso , and a friend were shot dead and their shack was burnt down by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) and ANC-supporting residents in the Power Park squatter camp, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 9 April 1994. The residents suspected them of being IFP supporters. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0319).

SITHOLE, Sisdedwu , was one of 11 people killed by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

SITHOLE, Sobhuza Lachias (22), was abducted from the Merebank railway station, Durban, by members of the SAP on 15 October 1989, and taken to an isolated place where he was interrogated about UDF activities, and tortured by being beaten and burnt with a chemical substance.

SITHOLE, Sokhela , was shot dead by IFP supporters in Katlehong, Tvl, on 30 March 1994 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and mainly ANC-supporting residents.

SITHOLE, Steven Sonnyboy , was shot dead by members of the SAP on 16 February 1986 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during the SIX-DAY WAR in which 27 residents were killed and several others injured by SAP and SADF members between 15 and 21 February 1986.

SITHOLE, Sylvasia Bacabangile (38), an Inkatha supporter, had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters on 20 June 1987.

SITHOLE, Tepana Anna (32), lost her house when it was destroyed by alleged supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SITHOLE, Thabo Emmanuel , a Zulu-speaking SAP member, was found shot dead on 30 July 1993 in the veld near Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl. His Xhosa-speaking colleagues allegedly left him in the Xhosa-dominated area of Phola Park which was an ANC stronghold at the epicentre of clashes between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SITHOLE, Thandi C , a UDF supporter, was stoned and injured by Inkatha supporters in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, on 13 July 1984, in intense conflict over the INCORPORATION of Hambanathi into KwaZulu.

SITHOLE, Themba Eric , was shot dead by named members of the KwaZULU POLICE in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 7 April 1990.

SITHOLE, Thembisile Merina (37), an ANC supporter, had her home in Stanger, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area during October 1993.

SITHOLE, Thembisile Muriel , was shot dead by ANC supporters, who also stole her belongings, at Ndalen, Richmond, Natal, on 3 March 1991 in ongoing political conflict.

SITHOLE, Thobelani (5), was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 15 May 1993, allegedly because his mother was an ANC supporter.

SITHOLE, Thoko Rose , was killed when a bomb, planted by AWPB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

SITHOLE, Thokozile Esther (38), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during ongoing political conflict in the area in December 1993.

SITHOLE, Vinah (37), and UDF supporter, had her home in Mshayazafe, Inanda, near KwaMashu,

Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1987, while she was attending her son's funeral.

SITHOLE, Vinjelweyini , was shot dead in the bush near at Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, on 29 March 1991 by ANC members who suspected him of being an IFP member.

SITHOLE, Vusumuzi Clobas (40), an IFP supporter, lost his house and sustained serious injuries when ANC supporters launched a grenade attack on his home at Loskop, near Estcourt, Natal, on 25 October 1993.

SITHOLE, Zazi , was shot and killed by members of the South African Police on 17 February 1986 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during political conflict in the area due to a boycott of local businesses and schools. This period is known as the SIX-DAY WAR.

SITHOLE, Zenze John (20), an ANC supporter, was hacked and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Mooi River, Natal, on 10 August 1991.

SITHOLE, Zilungisele Muntukabonwa (21), suffered severe injuries after being assaulted with bricks and an axe and set alight, allegedly by hostel-dwellers, in Katlehong, Tvl, in July 1993.

SITHOLE, Zine Sizephi (53), an IFP supporter, had her home in Umlazi, Durban, burnt down in May 1992, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

SITHOLE, Zithulele (16), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death and his body mutilated by named IFP supporters at Caluza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 30 November 1990. The perpetrators were arrested, but the case against them was withdrawn.

SITHOMO, Mzonzo Sipho , an ANC supporter, was severely injured when he was hacked with an axe by IFP supporters on 26 November 1992 in Katlehong, Tvl. The incident left him paralysed.

SITIKI, Hambeleni (36), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

SITOLE, Sphiwe , died in hospital from head injuries on 20 February 1988 after he had been assaulted by members of the SAP in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 12 February 1988, during the state of emergency.

SITSHONGA YE, Maxwell (34), was shot dead by members of the SAP during widespread unrest in Langa on 11 August 1976, after the SOWETO UPRISING erupted in Cape Town. His family's shop was also burnt down by protesting youths that day.

SITU, Ncedani William (65), had his home in Matatiele, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in April 1993, allegedly because he was suspected of siding with the local chief.

SITYATA, Similo Sizwe Matolweni , an ANC supporter, disappeared from the Transkei in 1983 when he went into exile. He has never been seen again.

SIVELA, Nomfazwe Nowinile (28), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1992.

SIWA, Mangaliso Frank (43), an ANC supporter, was detained in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, on 22 January 1969, and

was severely beaten and tortured by named members of the SAP while in custody at Calitzdorp, Cape. He was charged with furthering the aims of a banned organisation and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

SIWALI, Thembisa , was shot by ANC supporters during conflict between ADM and ANC supporters at NU 3, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 28 January 1993.

SIWAYI, Meyile Malcomeso (76), lost his home in an arson attack by ANC youths on 6 October 1991 in Peelton, Ciskei. The attack occurred during the mass occupation of land that took place in the 1991 and 1992 land campaign in the area. The victim was targeted because he supported the local headmen and chiefs' position regarding the size of sites allocated.

SIWISA, Nkohlhla , an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP in Kirkwood, Cape, in October 1985. He and others were later sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment for murder. Mr Siwisa was released in November 1989.

SIXHASO, Shadrack , (17), was severely beaten with pangas by WITDOEKE vigilantes in Nyanga, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Mr Sixhaso later became mentally disturbed.

SIXIBA, Sipho Boy Edward , was shot dead by members of the SAP at Hankey, Cape, on 23 May 1986, at a time of conflict between UDF supporters and COUNCILLORS over the Black Local Authority Act and the Tricameral Parliament.

SIXISHE, Lungile Selywen (27), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth on 13 April 1985 during political conflict following the LANGA SHOOTINGS in Uitenhage on 21 March.

SIXISHI, Sipho Joseph 'Bra Skeshi' (35), lost an eye after being severely beaten by named AMASOLOMZI vigilantes, together with members of the SAP, in Ashton, Cape, on 24 May 1986.

SIYA, Howard , an ANC supporter, died after being severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP while imprisoned in Kokstad, Natal, in 1961. He had been charged with theft and political activism during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SIYALI, Thamsanqa Eric (19), an ANCYL supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP at the Grootvlei police station, Reddersburg, OFS, in May 1990. This occurred during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT, when several youth activists were assaulted and tortured by the police.

SIYAWELA, Mabhudi Ngamlana (15), was shot dead on 28 February 1992 in Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SAP.

SIYO, Nombulelo Lizzie (35), an ANC supporter, was beaten to death by members of the CDF during conflict between ANC and ADM supporters in King William's Town, Cape, on 6 September 1992.

SIYO, Zoliswa , an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the CDF during conflict between ADM and ANC supporters in Dikidikana, near King William's Town, Cape, on 6 September 1992.

SIYOKO, Elliot Sindezama (18), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP on his arrest in Hanover, Cape, on 31 December 1985. He was later sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment for his alleged role in killing a perceived collaborator, and was released as a political prisoner in 1991.

SIYOLO, Cliff ford Mendisi (33), an NUM member, was attacked by UWUSA members in Vryheid, Natal, on 7 June 1986. The previous day, two busloads of Inkatha supporters had attacked striking NUM members attending a meeting in the company hall at the Hlobane Colliery, near Vryheid, Natal. Eleven miners were killed and 115 injured.

SIYONA, Phindile (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by SAP members at Tinis Location, Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 24 March 1992, during a day of unrest in the area.

SIYONZANA, Funeka (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP who opened fire on demonstrators in Colesberg, Cape, on 3 July 1985. Three others were also killed in the incident, after extensive unrest broke out in the township.

SIYONZANA, Liza (40), a UDF supporter, was detained three times between 1985 and 1986 in Colesberg, Cape. The third detention, under emergency regulations, lasted for four months. She had actively campaigned against the detention of children in the area.

SIYOTYWA, Soboyise (54), had his possessions stolen during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

SIZANI, Lucas (19), an ANC supporter and national organiser of SASM, was detained under the Terrorism Act in July 1976 in John Voster Square, Johannesburg. He was beaten and tortured because he was involved in the SOWETO UPRISING. After his release from prison, he suffered a nervous breakdown as a direct result of his ordeal.

SIZANI, Mkhululi Mvuzo Wages (22), an ANC supporter, was shot in the leg and severely assaulted by members of the CDF on 19 September 1992 in Alice, Ciskei. Mr Sizani was accused of burning down the house of the headman of the area on the day of the BISHO MASSACRE.

SIZIBA, Sibongile Lydia (16), an ANC supporter, was injured by State-aligned vigilantes in a stone-throwing incident in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, in January 1986. The area had been declared a 'black spot' by the government and was earmarked for forced removal.

SIZILA, Mzwandile Aaron (29), an ANC branch secretary, was arrested by members of the SAP on 1 December 1963 at Cradock, Cape, as part of the clampdown on banned political organisations. He was tortured while in prison on Robben Island, and was released in 1966.

SIZILA, Nozithandiso Olga Nofezile (29), an ANCWL member, was given restriction orders on 1 February 1966 in Queenstown, Cape, shortly after the release of her husband from Robben Island. On 1 July 1987 she was assaulted in the Sanlam Building, Queenstown, by named members of the SAP who were trying to locate her brother, an MK cadre.

SKEPE, Siphiwo Gideon (18), was shot by named members of the SAP on 23 July 1985 at Phakamisa High School in Zwide, Port Elizabeth. Scholars were involved in a student protest when police randomly shot at students, killing two and injuring six others, including teachers. The perpetrators were found guilty of murder and attempted murder and were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment but did not serve their sentence.

SKEPE, Vusumzi September, a FAWU member, was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Queenstown, Cape, in August 1983, allegedly because he refused to comply with an order to vacate his house during the rent boycott.

SKEPU, Mongezi (21), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP during conflict between community residents and the police in Paterson, Cape, on 21 March 1985.

SKEPU, Zanethemba Benjamin (29), was shot dead by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

SKEWU, Mphathiseni, was killed and his body burnt at his house in Empangeni, Natal, by a known perpetrator in 1993, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

SKEYI, Tshonisile, PAC member, was killed in December 1962 during the NTLONZE MASSACRE at Cofimvaba, Transkei.

SKHAKHANE, Mpilo, an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during May 1994, in political conflict following the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

SKHAKHANE, Sibongile Daphney (27), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1992.

SKHOSANA, Besaphi Hendrick, was shot and injured by MK operatives in Ekangala, KwaNdebele, in June 1990. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/235).

SKHOSANA, Betty (31), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and verbally abused by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 11 March 1992. They wanted to know the whereabouts of her boyfriend who they subsequently shot dead.

SKHOSANA, Christina (36), was sjambokked and wounded in the eye, allegedly by Bophuthatswana Police, in Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, while taking part in a mass protest against police brutality on 26 March 1986. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

SKHOSANA, Ezekiel 'Zakias', is assumed to have been burnt to death by *Vlakplaas* operatives at Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, during July 1986. He and eight other youth activists were recruited by *Vlakplaas askaris* for supposed military training when they were killed and the house they were staying in was set

alight. The nine bodies were burnt beyond recognition. See NIETVERDIEND AMBUSH.

SKHOSANA, Isiah Cetswayo (15), was detained, assaulted with sjamboks and batons by members of the SAP in February 1985 in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl after having being accused of burning down the houses of policemen.

SKHOSANA, Jappie (31), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named members of the SAP in April 1990 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, during a march by the community protesting about the deaths of two youths in police custody.

SKHOSANA, Johanna Velie (41), had her home in Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, burnt down by members of the Special Branch during an attack on a group of young ANC supporters, on 14 June 1986.

SKHOSANA, Kleinboo , had his house destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SKHOSANA, Lucas , was abducted and taken to a camp in Vaalbank, KwaNdebele, where he was severely beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in May 1986. At the time, there was considerable community conflict over INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

SKHOSANA, Machi Maria (28), had her home destroyed, allegedly by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SKHOSANA, Mafuna , was beaten by police in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 28 February 1985. Duduza residents were demanding a modern sewerage system rather than the continued use of buckets. Youths targeted policemen's houses as part of their protest and many were beaten when taken to the Dunnottar police station.

SKHOSANA, Mafutha David , was shot and injured by members of the KwaNdebele Police on 31 May 1987 in Weltevreden, KwaNdebele. The police attacked a group of young men at a tavern called Ndala's lodge. When the youth retaliated, police fired into the tavern, killing three and injuring two. The attack occurred during resistance to KwaNdebele independence.

SKHOSANA, Maki Roselyn , was 'necklaced' and her body mutilated by named perpetrators on 20 July 1985 in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, after the funeral of four youth activists. She was accused of being a police informer.

SKHOSANA, Mandla (27), an ANC supporter, was abducted on 10 January 1990 from Izingolweni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, by Inkatha supporters who allegedly wanted to force him to join them in attacking ANC supporters in the area. He was later released.

SKHOSANA, Nomaphogo Maria (11), had her property and home destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in 1975, in Goederede, Dennilton, Mpumalanga. There was a dispute in the area over INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Many residents objected as they did not want to be under the chieftainship of Mahlangu.

SKHOSANA, Sahlelami Elias (31), a member of the SADF 115 Battallion, was beaten, sjambokked and subjected to electric shock torture, by named members of the SADF in 1987 in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, during conflict over the INCORPORATION of certain villages into KwaNdebele. When he reported the loss of his gun, he was accused of selling it to ANC supporters. He was assaulted inside a container used as a torture room in Witnik SADF camp and is now impotent as a result of electric shocks to his penis.

SKHOSANA, Senzani Samuel (22), lost his home when it was destroyed by alleged supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SKHOSANA, Sipho Solomon (21), an ANC supporter, died on 4 August 1988 after he was severely beaten by members of the SAP at KwaMhlanga Police station in KwaNdebele. Mr Skhosana had been detained and charged with burning down the Mandlethu Secondary School in 1986.

SKHOSANA, Skhumbuzo W ilson , an ANC supporter, was beaten and then shot dead, allegedly by a named member of the Municipal Police, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 24 January 1987. One other person was also shot and injured during this incident.

SKHOSANA, Sophie Badanile (66), was beaten and her property was damaged, allegedly by IMBOKODO members, in July 1985 in Mathula Stands, Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict between the IMBOKODO and the Ndebele people.

SKHOSANA, Surgeant Frans (66), lost his house and property when it destroyed on 12 February 1975 at Talane village, KwaDlaulale, KwaNdebele. The alleged perpetrators were supporters of the Lebowa government while Mr Skhosana and others were resisting INCORPORATION into Lebowa.

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

SKHOYANA, Monna Philemon (3), was killed by an IFP supporter during political conflict in thokoza, Tvl, on 23 January 1993. One perpetrator was refused amnesty (AC/1999/0038).

SKHWAMBANE, Sipho Joseph (18), an ANCYL member, was arrested by named policeman and

others in 1991 during protests at his school near Waterval Boven, Nelspruit, Tvl.

SKIET, Masixole (13), was injured when a hand grenade was thrown into his home during intense conflict between ADM and ANC supporters in Quzini, King William's Town, Cape, on 9 August 1992. His grandfather was an ANC member.

SKISAZANA, Hope Themsile, was killed after she was thrown out of a moving train on 15 October 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

SKITI, Jackson Mamana (77), an ANC member, was assaulted by members of the SADF in Quzini, King William's Town, Cape, on 26 August 1993. He was accused of politicising people in his area. His home was also extensively damaged in a hand grenade attack.

SKOLI, Zama (30), was severely beaten by members of the Ciskei Police in Berlin, Cape, while he was attending a residents' meeting in the local school hall on 21 September 1985.

SKOLO, Ntsikelelo Attwell (46), an ANC activist, lost his home when it was petrol-bombed in Tembisa, Tvl, on 27 January 1991.

SKOSANA, Aar on, was shot by members of the IMBOKODO vigilantes on 30 July 1986 in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, because of his opposition to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

SKOSANA, Abram Malinganiso (42), an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the SAP and KwaNdebele Police in November 1986 in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, because of his opposition to the independence of KwaNdebele.

SKOSANA, Bandazi Johanna (40), had her house destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SKOSANA, Bandile Sophie, had her house destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SKOSANA, Betty (38), along with her husband and daughter were abducted from their home in Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 27 and 28 April 1986. Ms Skosana and her 20-month old daughter were assaulted. Her husband's mutilated body was found the next day.

SKOSANA, Christinah (28), lost her house when it was destroyed in May 1986 in Tweefontein, KwaNdebele following clashes over the INCORPORATION of the area into the KwaNdebele homeland.

SKOSANA, Diana Velaphi (6), had her home destroyed, allegedly by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July

1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, resulting in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SKOSANA, Dini Samson (29), was severely beaten in Kwaggafontein, near Nelspruit, Tvl, on 11 February 1990, allegedly by a named SAP member. He was publicly celebrating the release of President Mandela when the attack took place.

SKOSANA, Jabulani Velaphi (18), an ANC supporter, was shot in the leg by members of the SAP, and then stoned and kicked to death by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in 1989.

SKOSANA, Jacob (42), was beaten to death after he and his family had been abducted from their home in Vlaklaagte by IMBOKODO vigilantes in April 1986 in Emagezini, KwaNdebele. His wife and daughter were later released and Mr Skhosana's mutilated body was found the next day.

SKOSANA, Jeffrey V ery (20), a UDF supporter, was detained by members of the SAP during political tension in Aberdeen, Cape, on 31 December 1985. Mr Skosana had been assaulted by SAP members earlier that year.

SKOSANA, Johanna (47), wife of the chairman of the local tribal authority, had her home burnt down by 'comrades' on 28 May 1986 in KwaNdebele. Her husband was burnt to death in the attack which occurred during resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

SKOSANA, Johanna Nomthadazo (20 months), was abducted with her parents and assaulted by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, on 27 April 1986. She and her mother were later released, but her father's mutilated body was found the next day.

SKOSANA, Joyce Nonhlanhla (14), died after being shot by members of the SAP on 11 September 1985, while on her way to visit her grandmother in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal.

SKOSANA, Kali Ernest (30), was severely beaten by a member of the SAP in New Rest Location, Aliwal North, Cape, in 1976. Mr Skosana was allegedly assaulted for his political sympathies.

SKOSANA, Makhazaza Paulina (38), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during rent boycotts in the area during the VAAL UPRISING.

SKOSANA, Mbulawa Jonathan (40), was killed when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

SKOSANA, Mbulelo Benjamin (17), was shot in the face with pellets by members of the SAP on 17 June 1977 during a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING. He was detained for three days in Uitenhage, Cape and forced to admit to a charge of public violence. As a result of the shooting, Mr Skosana is now blind.

SKOSANA, Mbulwana Amos (31), lost his house when it was destroyed by alleged supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SKOSANA, Noah Lucas (17), a UDF supporter, was abducted, tortured and beaten by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 18 May 1986. Police rescued the abducted youths and the perpetrators were acquitted in a controversial court case. Three of the original accused paid R50 admission of guilt fines.

SKOSANA, Nomasonto Angeline (57), was repeatedly harassed in 1976 in Daveyton, Tvl, allegedly by members of the security forces because of her daughter's political activities. Her daughter had gone into exile in 1976.

SKOSANA, Petrus (38) was sjambokked at City Rocks stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, allegedly by members of the Bophuthatswana Police, while taking part in a community march protesting against police on 26 March 1986. He was arrested and detained for two days. See CITY ROCKS SHOOTING.

SKOSANA, Phillip David (19), was abducted from his home in Moutse, KwaNdebele by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 June 1986, and later found burnt to death. He was targeted because his grandfather had insulted local ministers whom the vigilante group supported.

SKOSANA, Richard, an IMBOKODO supporter, was 'necklaced' by 'comrades' in 1986 near Moteti, KwaNdebele, during violent conflict following government's attempts to incorporate Moutse into KwaNdebele. See INCORPORATION.

SKOSANA, Sefako Job (43), was shot by members of the SADF in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during a march on 19 September 1990 organised by COSATU.

SKOSANA, Sello Samuel (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Alberton, Tvl, in June 1993.

SKOSANA, Sphiwe Richard (15), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 18 October 1990 in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, during political conflict in the township.

SKOSANA, Tlali Anna, had her property destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the state's proposal to incorporate Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION, which resulted in the destruction of property and physical attacks.

SKOSANA, Virginia Mpontso (50), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 27 April 1994, the first day of polling in the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Forty-eight houses were burnt down in political conflict accompanying the elections.

SKOSANE, J, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South

African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SKOULARIKIS, Dimitrios (33) was sentenced to ten years in prison in 1986, in Benoni, Tvl, after having been framed for murder. Before he was imprisoned, he was subjected to electric shock torture, suffocated and had his body held out of a moving car with his head touching the road to force him to confess to the murder. It later emerged that the murder was carried out by members of the CCB and Mr Skoularikis was framed because he was involved in covert support for the ANC.

SKRITSHI, Loyiso (25), an ANC supporter, was evicted from his house by ADM supporters, some of whom are named, during political conflict in Ncera, near East London, in 1989. Mr Skritshi had allegedly refused to join the ADM.

SKRITSHI, Ngqondo, lost his home in an arson attack on 26 May 1993 at Ncera, near East London. Mr Skritshi, a headman who had been relocated to the Ncera area by a chief, allegedly became unpopular with the leader of SANCO shortly before the attack.

SKRITSHI, Sipho Joseph (20), was hacked with pickaxes and hatchets by AMAAFRIKA supporters during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, on 31 January 1986. Mr Skritshi's hand was badly injured and his throat was slit open. He was hospitalised for three months as a result of the injuries sustained in the attack.

SKUKUKAZI, Lebohang Godfrey 'Lebo' (15), was shot and injured in Guguletu, Cape Town, in April 1987, by SAP members during a demonstration at ID Mkhize High School.

SKWATSHA, Million Zwelinjani (44), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Holomisa, near Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 October 1991 during political conflict between IFP-aligned hostel residents and ANC-aligned township residents.

SKWEYIYA, Mangaliso Wesley (31), an ANC supporter, was detained in Bloemfontein for 108 days from 6 April 1963, and was tortured in detention.

SKWEYIYA, Sizinzo W ilberfor ce (44), an ANC member from Middledrift, Ciskei, was killed on 30 January 1981 in a raid by SADF Special Forces operatives on three houses in the Matola suburb of Maputo, Mozambique. Fifteen other South Africans, including several senior MK operatives, were killed in the attack. Three of the attackers (all ex-Rhodesian security force members) and a Portuguese citizen were also killed.

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

SLADE, Cynthia , was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

SLANGWE, Skhova , an IKONGO member, was arrested in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. He was detained for two years, and allegedly died as a result of injuries sustained while in detention.

SLANVELDT, Michael , was burnt and severely injured by UDF supporters during a consumer boycott in Port Elizabeth, on 2 April 1986.

SLATSHA, Mkhululi , an ANC supporter, was detained in 1986, and was shot by members of the SAP in 1989 during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT in Bedford, Cape.

SLATSHA, Zola (21), a UDF supporter, was tortured by suffocation by members of the SAP during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT in Bedford, Cape, in 1989.

SLAVERS, Gavin Godfrey (16), was shot dead with several others by members of the SAP on 18 June 1980 in Elsies River, Cape Town, during commemorative protests for the SOWETO UPRISING.

SLOVO, Joe , chief of staff of MK and a member of the ANC National Executive Committee and the SACP Central Committee, was targeted for killing by members of Security Branch Headquarters during June 1985. An informer was given a briefcase bomb intended for Mr Slovo. The informer, however, placed the briefcase at the entrance gate of the ANC's offices in Lusaka, Zambia, where it exploded, causing no injuries or loss of life. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/083).

SMAKATHANA, Koos Mntuvelizwe (45), was beaten with iron bars in October 1985 by named and other vigilantes bussed into Philipstown, Cape, under police escort. The vigilantes targeted families of those believed to be opposed to COUNCILLORS.

SMALBERGER, Johan Philippus (44), a member of the SADF, was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

SMANGA, Sthembile , disappeared on 11 October 1990 from Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, after his shack was attacked by IFP supporters during violent clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SMART, Brian Cliff ford (57), was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

SMAYILE, Tenjiwe Gladys 'Mtshatshu' (42), an ANC supporter, lost her home twice in arson attacks, once in 1983 in Crossroads, and again in 1986 in KTC, Cape Town. The second attack took place during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

SMILES, Benny (28), an ANC supporter, was strangled to death and then hanged in his cell by members of the SAP at Dordrecht police station, Cape, on 18 November 1988.

SMILES, Molebatsi Jerry , was shot dead by members of the SADF in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 April 1986 in the aftermath of the SIX-DAY WAR.

SMININI, Mandla Nhonho (24), was shot dead on 1 January 1985 by named member of the SAP who fired randomly at students at a New Year celebration organised by SEYCO in Seymour, Ciskei. He was killed and several others were injured in the incident.

SMIT, AJ , a sergeant in the SADF, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SMIT, Anna , was injured when two MK operatives detonated a bomb in a shopping centre at Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 23 December 1985, in retaliation for a South African security forces attack two weeks earlier on ANC members in Lesotho, in which nine people had been killed. The explosion in Amanzimtoti killed five people and injured 61. One of the operatives was sentenced to death and later hanged.

SMIT, CJ , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SMIT, Cornelius (8), was killed when two MK operatives detonated a bomb in a shopping centre in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 23 December 1985 in retaliation for a South African security forces attack two weeks earlier on ANC members in Lesotho in which nine people had been killed. The Amanzimtoti explosion killed five people and injured 61. One of the operatives was sentenced to death and later hanged.

SMITH, David , was shot by members of the SAP on 18 October 1990 in Toekomsrus, Randfontein, Tvl, during protests against the council for cutting off electricity to 124 consumers.

SMITH, Dennis , a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives opened fire in the Steaks restaurant in Claremont, Cape Town, on 26 December 1992. Five people were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS.

One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

SMITH, Elizabeth Mmaletsatsi (14), was severely beaten on 20 January 1986 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, by named SAP members searching for her partner, a member of the Khutsong Students Congress.

SMITH, EPM, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

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

SMITH, JM, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SMITH, John Ber nard, was robbed and stabbed to death by APLA operatives on his farm in Wesselsdal, Vanstadensrus, OFS, on 25 July 1993. Mr Smith's wife was injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0020).

SMITH, Jor dan, (31), was shot dead by ANC supporters in May 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl. Several other family members, including his mother, were killed or injured in attacks at different times by ANC supporters because one of the family members was an IFP supporter.

SMITH, Myrtle, was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

SMITH, Nanki Emily (19), was seriously injured when a hand grenade was thrown into her home in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 28 April 1992 by ANC supporters because one of the family members was an IFP supporter. Her mother was killed in the explosion and her aunt was seriously injured and subsequently died.

SMITH, Ndeleleni Thompson (29), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by fellow ANC supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 15 January 1992, allegedly because he refused to attend an ANC

night camp. His three-month-old son was burnt to death in the attack.

SMITH, Norman Ned, sustained damage to his property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

SMITH, Ntomboxole Phyllis (33), had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in December 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

SMITH, Oupa Abram (20), an IFP supporter, was burnt to death by ANC supporters in July 1992 in Sharpeville, Vereeniging. Tvl. Several other family members including his mother were killed or injured in attacks at different times by ANC supporters because of his political affiliation.

SMITH, Rene, was injured in an attack by APLA operatives on her farm in Wesselsdal, Vanstadensrus, OFS, on 25 July 1993. Ms Smith's husband was killed in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0020).

SMITH, Sandile (3 months), was burnt to death in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 15 January 1992. The attack was allegedly directed against his father, an ANC supporter, who had refused to attend an ANC night camp.

SMITH, Sanni Alina (52), was killed when a hand grenade was thrown into her house in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 28 April 1992 by ANC supporters because a family member was an IFP supporter. Her daughter was killed in the explosion and her sister was seriously injured and subsequently died.

SMITH, Stephanus Johannes (Fanie), a civilian, was shot and killed when APLA operatives opened fire on a vehicle travelling from Zastron to Sterkspruit in the OFS on 18 March 1992. Mr Smith was shot dead while he lay injured next to the car. Another person was severely injured. Two managed to escape unhurt. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/148). See ZASTRON ROAD AMBUSH.

SMITH, Zibuko (29), a member of the SAP, lost his house when it was burnt down by ANC supporters during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, in 1985. One ANC supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0314).

SNOW, Gillian, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SNOWY, Mr (first name not given), was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 22 September 1991, during political conflict in the area.

SNYAMIN, WNP, was present when MK operatives attacked the SADF base at Letaba stadium, Nkowa Nkowa, Gazankulu, on 12 April 1990. Five SADF

members were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/098).

SNYMAN, ABG , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SNYMAN, Gilbert Lungile Ncinci (39), chairperson of a local street committee, was detained under emergency regulations in Port Elizabeth, on 30 July 1986, and held for three weeks.

SNYMAN, Pieter Daniel , a member of the SAP, was shot and wounded on 13 July 1993 when the vehicle in which he was travelling was fired on at Heilbron, Tvl. See APLA ATTACKS. Three APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0002).

SOBETHWA, Sipho Elford , was shot dead by members of the SAP in April 1993 in Tembisa, Tvl, while on his way to an ANC rally to commemorate assassinated SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

SOBISO, Vikani Jacobs (20), was killed by an Inkatha supporter during political conflict at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 January 1989. The perpetrator observed Mr Sobiso walking into an alley leading to his house and shot him. He was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0334).

SOBOYISE, Nkosinathi , was detained on 14 August 1985 by members of SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London. He was held for ten months at West Bank prison in East London.

SOBOYISE, Zulisa (23), was shot by a member of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 14 August 1985.

SOBUKWE, Robert Mangaliso (54), president of the PAC, was imprisoned and tortured on Robben Island on 3 May 1960. He was detained again on 4 May 1969 in Kimberley, Cape, during protests against the Pass laws. He died on 26 February 1978 in a Kimberley hospital while he was under banning order.

SODELA, Mpenyana Bennett (71), was severely beaten by members of the Transkei Defence Force in Pontseng, Matatiele, Natal, in February 1990. Police appeared at the scene of a community meeting and started assaulting and shooting at people, allegedly in order to disperse the meeting.

SODIDI, Sipho (34), had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 12 February 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. One person was killed and seven homes were burnt down in the area in February 1992.

SODISA, Maxeleku Williams (54), lost his home in an arson attack by members of the WITDOEKE vigilantes in Nyanga Bush, near Crossroads, Cape Town, in May 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

SOGA, Timothy , an ANC activist, was shot dead by masked gunmen who burst into the house and

opened fire in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 19 March 1993. Three family members and friends were shot dead and two injured in the attack. One perpetrator was later convicted and jailed for the attack. He was refused amnesty.

SOGA, William , was stoned and hacked to death on 28 August 1991 in Katlehong, Tvl, during political conflict between hostel-dwellers.

SOGA, Xola (23), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Old Kati-kati Location, Cathcart, Cape, while he was participating in a protest march on 27 September 1985.

SOGCWAYI, David Mlondoloz (44), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and tortured in King William's Town, Cape, on 21 and 22 August 1992, by members of the CDF and ADM. Mr Sogcwayi had allegedly refused to join the ADM.

SOGIBA, Mzoxolo (11), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 12 October 1976, while watching a burning garage during the SOWETO UPRISING.

SOGO, Ntesang Robert (36), a COSATU member and political activist, was detained for three weeks and beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, in July 1989.

SOGQIBA, Bidekile (38), an ANC supporter, was killed during political conflict in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 28 October 1991.

SOJEZI, Mbulelo James (20), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten with a rifle and sjamboks by members of the SAP at De Aar, Cape, in April 1986. He was later convicted of public violence and served a three-year prison term.

SOJI, Doris Thandiwe (41), an Inkatha supporter, had her house at KwaMashu, Durban, petrol-bombed by UDF supporters on 19 April 1989.

SOJI, Zimoshile , had his house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

SOKHABASE, Henry Nduna (51), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP members in Greytown, Natal, on 7 February 1992.

SOKHABASE, Nokuthula Angelina (23), an ANC supporter, was burnt when her home was set alight by named Inkatha supporters in Greytown, Natal, on 5 May 1990.

SOKHELA, Bongani (24), was shot dead on a train between Kwesine and Wadeville stations, Germiston, Tvl in July 1993. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

SOKHELA, Daniel (24), an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 28 December 1989, allegedly because he refused to join the UDF.

SOKHELA, France Dennis (33), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters at Empangeni, Natal, on 28 October 1990 in political conflict in the area.

SOKHELA, George (42), was attacked and severely beaten by IFP supporters in May 1991 in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

SOKHELA, James , was killed and his body was set alight by a named IFP supporter in Empangeni, Natal, on 28 October 1990 in intense political conflict.

SOKHELA, Mduduzi Madoda Amos (18), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named Special Branch member when armed men opened fire at a private wedding party at Greytown, Natal, on 5 September 1987.

SOKHELA, Muzi (32), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed to death by ANC supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 21 July 1990.

SOKHELA, Nelson Thulani (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 15 August 1992 in political conflict between township residents and hostel-dwellers.

SOKHELA, Nomusa Faith (19), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 4 December 1991, when the perpetrators attacked White City residents. Ms Sokhela was killed while attempting to run away. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

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

SOKHELA, Nor man , an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by a named ANC supporter in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 16 December 1992, while travelling in the same car as a prominent IFP member, who was the target of the attack. Three people died and several were injured.

SOKHELA, Nothile Alice (24), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by a named Inkatha supporter in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 10 February 1990.

SOKHELA, Rosemary Nonhlanhla (39), an Inkatha member, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 9 March 1989.

SOKHELA, Sizakele Anna (60), an ANC supporter, lost her house when it was burnt down by IFP supporters in the Nkumba area of Bulwer, Natal, on 8 December 1991. Her son was shot dead in the attack.

SOKHELA, Tholani Ger trude (51), an ANC supporter, lost her home when it was burnt down by alleged Inkatha supporters in April 1990 in Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in continuing violence following the SEVEN-DAY WAR

SOKHELA, Vincent Philani (18), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 19 March 1987, after they accused him of planning violence.

SOKHELA, Zani Selina , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine

marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

SOKHELA, Zenzele (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in the Nkumba area of Bulwer, Natal, on 24 October 1992. His body was then burnt and thrown over a cliff.

SOKHELE, Bethuel Monali (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the KwaZULU POLICE (KZP) in Ezimbokodweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 February 1990. The KZP were allegedly collaborating with Inkatha supporters to attack ANC supporters. Mr Sokhele's brother was shot dead in the incident.

SOKHELE, Clement Nkosinathi (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KwaZULU POLICE (KZP) in Ezimbokodweni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 13 February 1990. The KZP were allegedly collaborating with Inkatha supporters to attack ANC supporters. Mr Sokhele's brother was shot and injured in the incident.

SOKHELE, David Dumisani , a UDF supporter, was shot and injured when a group of Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES attacked a UDF meeting in a house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. Nine people were killed and an estimated 200 people were injured in the attack. The group went on to destroy around eight houses. One former Inkatha member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

SOKHELE, Mtenjwa Simon (42), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death on 8 November 1990 when Inkatha-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked residents in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, following the killing of an Inkatha supporter. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

SOKHELE, Mtonyoni Royal (31), was shot dead on 17 May 1986 in Tokoza, Tvl, while working as a security guard at the house of the mayor. At the time, local councillors and people associated with them were seen as legitimate targets in the political struggle.

SOKHELE, Nhloko , an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by a named ANC supporter in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 16 December 1992, while travelling in the same car as a prominent IFP member, who was the target of the attack. Three people died and several were injured.

SOKHELE, Petros Fannyman (42), was tortured and killed by unidentified perpetrators in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in March 1993.

SOKHELE, Simon , was beaten to death by members of the SAP in Mooi River police station, Natal. He had allegedly been detained because of his political activities.

SOKHETYE, Maphelo (46), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by alleged PAC supporters in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 4 January 1994. Mr Sokhetye was attempting to restore peace among the Hlankomo people after a conflict had erupted between the ANC and PAC.

SOKHULU, Bongumusa Archiles (23), an IFP supporter, was shot and severely injured by ANC

supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 10 May 1994, in political conflict on the day of Nelson Mandela's inauguration as President.

SOKHULU, Ntombiyenkosi Elsie (48), had her house at Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack on 19 December 1993 in continuing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

SOKOYI, Gilbert, was shot dead in Randfontein, Tvl, on 6 May 1990.

SOKOYI, Mshiceleli Samuel (50), a shop owner, was shot in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 29 October 1976, while witnessing an attack on a white man during the SOWETO UPRISING. The following day he was seriously injured when attacked, stabbed and stoned by a crowd who suspected him of giving information to the police. His possessions and vehicles were burnt.

SOKOYI, Sandile Petr os, a PAC supporter, was shot and seriously injured when members of the SAP opened fire on an anti-Pass Law protest meeting in Langa, Cape Town, on 21 March 1960. Police gunfire killed at least three people and wounded 47.

SOKUPA, Maggie Danjiswa (45), a UDF activist, was beaten and survived an arson attack on her home in KTC, Cape Town, on 25 December 1985, after her husband was taken away and killed. The perpetrators were supporters of a local community COUNCILLOR who had been killed the previous day by UDF supporters.

SOKUPA, Silumko Solomon 'Soks' (32), an ANC member from King William's Town, Cape, was injured in an explosion on 5 July 1979 in Maseru, Lesotho, when a parcel containing an explosive device was opened. Five other persons were injured in the incident.

SOKUPA, Vuyani Victor (24), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and detained by named members of the Ciskei Police during a period of unrest in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in 1985.

SOKUTU, Innes Mpumelelo (50), was shot and severely injured by IFP supporters at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 17 December 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area. He is now paralysed as a result of the shooting.

SOKUTU, Lindile Manowa (38), a member of the Port Elizabeth Civic Association, was detained under SECTION 29 in Port Elizabeth, on 28 October 1987, allegedly for being in possession of firearms and his involvement in the death of a number of people. Mr Sokutu was kept in solitary confinement and severely assaulted and tortured during his detention by named members of the SAP, resulting in a damaged eye, a broken collarbone and fractured ribs. He was eventually sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

SOLAINI, Ntsikelelo Wellington (43), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the CDF during protests at KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 26 December 1991.

SOLANI, Nombuyiselo Gladys, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Uitenhage, Cape, on 23 March 1985. She was on her way to the shop when the perpetrators opened fire on people in the street. She was buried with the victims of the Langa Shootings.

SOLANI, Vusumzi Patrick, an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by members of AMAAFRIKA on 28 December 1989 in Uitenhage, Cape. Mr Solani had attended a meeting to promote understanding between the two organisations.

SOLLY, Mano Olifile, lost his home in a bomb explosion in Letsopa, Ottosdal, Tvl, on 4 February 1994. The bomb, planted by AWB members and aimed at the local ANC office, was part of an attempt by right-wing parties to derail the first democratic election of 27 April 1994.

SOLOMON, Alfred Thembisile (27), was detained on 24 April 1985 in Molteno, Cape, during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS in the area. In detention he was tortured. He was later sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on a charge of public violence.

SOLOMON, Arnold, was detained by members of the Security Branch during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, on 28 February 1985. Charges of assault, public violence and malicious damage to property were laid against him, but withdrawn two months later.

SOLOMON, Meshack Tekoetsile (20), an ANC supporter, was detained, tortured and beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on 16 October 1992 in Kuruman, Cape.

SOLOMON, Phakamile Nicholas (51), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See Langa Shootings.

SOLOMON, Theo Simon (21), a UDF supporter, was shot in the hand and arrested on 16 June 1984 when police attacked a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING in Graaff-Reinet, Cape. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for public violence.

SOLOMONS, Desmond Robert (31), a sergeant in the ISU, suffered injuries when he and twelve other policemen were attacked by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members whilst on foot patrol in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 22 July 1992. Six policemen were injured in the exchange of fire. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1997/0029).

SOLONTSI, Henry Linda (23), was detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act on 2 January 1977 after being beaten unconscious by members of the SADF in Port Elizabeth. Mr Solontsi was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for public violence and incitement, and was tortured and assaulted by prison warders and common law prisoners at St Alban's prison, Port Elizabeth.

SOLWANDLE, December (30), a UDF supporter, burnt to death when he was 'necklaced' in Port Alfred, Cape, on 16 June 1986. He was allegedly believed to be an informer because of his friendship with a local policeman.

SOLWANDLE, Mongameli Godfrey (15), a COSAS member, was severely injured when he was shot with pellets by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth, in October 1985. Mongameli was on his way to the shops when he was shot.

SOMANA, William Zotusile (63), an ANC supporter, lost his home and belongings in an arson attack during political conflict in Crossroads, Cape Town, in March 1992.

SOMANA, Wiwi (41), was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Vryheid, Natal, on 18 October 1990, during conflict between UWUSA and COSATU at the Hlobane mine. Mr Somana was Xhosa-speaking and was therefore assumed to be a COSATU member.

SOMDIZELA, Mandlenkosi (39), had his home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 16 February 1993 in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

SOMFULA, Moses Ndade, was shot and injured when police opened fire on a student protest march at Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 19 April 1990. Five protesters were killed and six others injured in the shooting.

SOMTSEWU, Monde, a UDF supporter, was killed during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, on 23 March 1985. His body was found by police two months later.

SOMXO, Tutu (48), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by members of the ISU, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 18 August 1990. On 23 May 1993, he was again shot and injured, allegedly by members of the SADF.

SONAMZI, Goli (33), a PAC member, was executed in Pretoria Central prison, Pretoria, in 1963 for his involvement in the assassination of a headman in Cofimvaba, Transkei, during conflict in the area over Pass Laws and self-governance.

SONAMZI, Ncamisili Stanley (27), a UDF supporter, was arrested in Hanover, Cape, in August 1985, and severely tortured by named members of the Security Branch. He was then detained for two months at Middelburg and Richmond prisons, Cape. During 1986 he survived an attack by UDF 'comrades' who stabbed him and attempted to 'necklace' him after he was accused of being an informer.

SONDARA, Moses, was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Old Location, near Dordrecht, Cape, on 13 August 1985.

SONDEZI, Busisiwe Gladness (25), had her home destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters during political conflict in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 25 April 1990. She was allegedly believed to be an informer because her friend was involved with a KWAZULU POLICE officer.

SONDEZI, Maliteke Catherine (47), an ANC supporter, was injured in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 30 November 1993, when the vehicle in which she was travelling to a funeral veered out of control after being chased by armed IFP supporters. Many ANC supporters in the area were killed after this funeral.

SONDEZI, Thulani Michael (28), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 27 April 1990.

SONDYAZI, Samson (30), an ANC supporter, was beaten by IFP supporters on 17 September 1990 in Vosloorus, Tvl.

SONGELWA, Lionel Mbuyiselo (59), a UDF supporter, died of an asthma attack while in detention at East London on 5 October 1986. He had been held on charges of terrorism since December 1985.

SONGO, Dipuo Jacob, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 21 November 1985 in Mamelodi, Pretoria, during a protest march against high rent rates.

SONGO, Sammuel Mandla, survived an attempt on his life when he was shot and seriously wounded by an MK operative in Tembisa, Tvl, on 26 August 1992, apparently on the instructions of local ANC and SANCO structures. Mr Songo was a schoolteacher who was suspected of working with old community council structures. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/135).

SONI, Dumisani Vincent (27), an ANC supporter, was shot several times and severely injured by named Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 11 August 1987.

SONI, Malolo Cyprian (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 October 1989.

SONI, Sibonisane Lazu (14), was shot in the hand when SADF members broke up a march in Umlazi, Durban, in June 1985.

SONJICA, Sikhumbuzo Macnick (28), a UDF supporter, was tortured and assaulted by members of the SAP during a rally in Uitenhage, Cape, on 20 April 1988. He was later charged with attempted murder and acquitted.

SONKWALA, Nkosinathi Eric (24), was shot when a member of the Ciskei Police opened fire on a crowd celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela in Whittlesea, Ciskei, on 10 February 1990.

SONO, David (17), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and arrested in Temba, Bophuthatswana, on 9 March 1991, allegedly for selling political T-shirts.

SONO, Lolo (22), was abducted, tortured and allegedly killed by named members of the ANC and the MANDELA UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB in Soweto, Johannesburg, in October 1988. He was accused of being a police informer. One of the perpetrators applied for amnesty.

SONO, Petrus (26), was arrested and beaten with pick handles in July 1986 in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, by alleged Bophuthatswana policemen. He was taken to the police station where, among other atrocities, he was allegedly made to kiss corpses, clean blood from the wall and sleep naked on the floor. Political unrest in Ga-Rankuwa escalated in 1986 and a state of emergency was declared with soldiers being deployed in the townships. This led to violent confrontations between political activists and the state.

SONO, Piet (48) an ANC supporter, was severely tortured by named members of the SAP after his detention in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 3 May 1990. Police allegedly tried to extract a confession from him. He eventually confessed to one of the charges against him, was convicted and sentenced to ten years' in prison.

SONO, Richard , was abducted from Sidlamafa, Tvl, and tortured at Tonga, Tvl, during 1987 by SADF members who believed him to be an ANC member. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2001/277).
SONO, Solomon (35), was assaulted by a named member of the Bophuthatswana Police in Bedwana police station, Temba, Bophuthatswana, on 9 March 1991 as he was selling political T-shirts.

SONTSHAKA, Samfumfu , a PAC member, was convicted on sabotage charges relating to the Poqo attacks in Paarl, Cape, and was imprisoned on Robben Island, Cape Town, in 1962, where he remained for 15 years. He died of various illnesses a month after his release in 1978.

SONTUNDU, Nena (36), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and severely injured in her chest and fingers on 13 May 1993 while travelling on a train from Johannesburg to Benrose station, Tvl. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

SOPHISEKA, Nomhlophe Catherine (22), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana prison, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SOPHISEKA, Philemon , was shot dead in Randfontein, Tvl, on 6 May 1990 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Kagiso, Tvl.

SOPHISEKA, Sityasinye Leanard , an iKONGO supporter, was repeatedly beaten by a named perpetrator while in detention in Bizana, Transkei, in 1960, during the government crackdown on the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

SOPOTELA, Andile Tennison (25), a shopsteward, was burnt to death when his house was petrol-bombed in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 19 July 1989 following a dispute between employees and employers at Goodyear Tyres where his brother worked. At the time, there was tension between police and the shopstewards' council, because the council had demanded the UNBANNING of the ANC and SACP.

SOPOTELA, Lincoln Jongilizwe (35), a union shopsteward, had his home destroyed in a petrol bomb attack at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 19 July 1989, following a dispute between employees and employers at Goodyear Tyres where he worked. His brother Andile was burnt to death in the attack.

SOSIBO, Albert , an ANC supporter, was shot and beaten to death by IFP supporters in an arson attack on his home near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 November 1991.

SOSIBO, Maxwell Mbhekeni (22), an MK operative, disappeared during 1987 and has not been heard of since. Mr Sosibo was operating inside South Africa in the Natal area at the time of his disappearance. He is presumed dead.

SOSIBO, Nhlanhla Ernest (25), an ANC supporter, was abducted by IFP supporters from Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, in October 1992. Mr Sosibo was last seen being pursued into the Kapopeletsheni Forest in Richmond. He is presumed dead.

SOSIBO, Nkosinathi Emmanuel (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Nhlazatshe, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritz-

burg, on 10 October 1990. His mother's house was looted in the attack.

SOSIBO, Sifiso Enoch (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed on 20 July 1992 while returning from a vigil in L Section, KwaMashu, Durban. Mr Sosibo and his friends, who had recently returned from exile in Lusaka, were singing freedom songs when members of a private security organisation, Combat Force, confronted them and shot and killed Mr Sosibo.

SOSIBO, Sihli Ronnie (20), a UDF supporter, was attacked by unidentified persons, allegedly accompanied by the SAP, on 13 November 1989. He suffered multiple injuries, which led to his death on 13 November 1989 in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg. His friend, also a UDF supporter, was killed in the same attack.

SOSIBO, Sizakele Eropa (27), an ANC supporter, had her house in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 26 January 1988.

SOSIBO, Tanana Johannes (23), was shot and injured by IFP supporters from KwaMadala hostel in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 6 September 1993. Between January and October 1993, 139 people died in DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS.

SOSIBO, Vukani Joseph (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 4 January 1989 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

SOTETSI, V irginia , was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

SOTHENI, Mlungisi (23), was shot in the leg by SAP members at Komga, Cape, in September 1985, because he was suspected of burning schools and state property. He was hospitalised for a month.

SOTHOANE, Rantsho Nathaniel , was shot dead by members of the SAP on 31 March 1960 in Bophelong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, during a PAC campaign against the Pass Law system.

SOTIYA, Kaponsie Alfred , a UDF supporter, disappeared in the Inkatha stronghold of Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 18 December 1989. It is believed that he was killed by Inkatha supporters, as he was visiting his nephews who had been labelled *amaqabane*.

SOTONDOSHE, Thiyekile Christian (45), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 17 August 1990 in Tokoza, Tvl. Tokoza was tense following clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

SOTSHONGANE, Mamlawu Rhoda (58), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed by IFP supporters in Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

SOTSU, Constance (40), was shot dead, allegedly by an IFP supporter on 3 July 1991 in Boiphatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl.

SOTSU, Ernest Ngxokolo (63), and his wife and two other family members were killed on 3 July 1991 in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark Tvl, in an attack on his home by named IFP supporters. Mr Sotsu's two grandchildren were also injured in the attack. Mr Sostu was in Durban at the time attending the ANC's national congress.

SOTSU, Mar garet Lindiwe (30), was shot dead on 3 July 1991 in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, allegedly by a named IFP supporter. Her young brothers died and two other family members were seriously injured in the attack.

SOTSU, Sabata (2), was shot dead on 3 July 1991 in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, allegedly in an attack led by a named IFP supporter. Two other family members died in the attack and two were seriously injured.

SOTSU, Vusi (10), was shot and severely injured on 3 July 1991 in Boipatong, Tvl, allegedly in an attack led by a named IFP supporter. Vusi's two-year-old brother and his sister were killed in the attack.

SOTSU, Vuyani (12), was shot and critically injured when a group of named IFP supporters attacked his home in Boiphatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 3 July 1991. At the time of this attack there was conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Tvl. Properties were destroyed and many people were killed and injured.

SOUCHON, Dominique (28), an ECC member and UDF activist, was detained during the state of emergency in June 1986 and held for five months in Port Elizabeth, periods of which was spent in solitary confinement. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

SOUL, Setjolo Andries (39) was kicked and tortured, allegedly by members of the Bophuthatswana Police, when he refused to take down posters of Nelson Mandela in Lefetlhong, Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, in February 1994. The incident occurred during widespread protest and strikes in the area in response to President Mangope's boycott of South Africa's first democratic elections and his resistance to the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into South Africa.

SOULS, Peter Madoda Alfred (20), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a member of the security forces inside his house in Whittlesea, Ciskei, on 18 December 1989.

SOUT, Xolisile Abram , was severely injured when he was shot on 26 January 1991 in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, by members of the ISU during a consumer boycott in the area.

SOWAZI, Constance Sikelwa (41), a street committee leader, was severely beaten by members of the SAP, one of whom is named, in Port Elizabeth during the state of emergency in August 1986. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

SOYA, Mthantiso Alfred (47), a member of PEACEMAKERS vigilante group, was stabbed and stoned to death by youths during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT in Grahamstown, Cape, on 14 May 1980. The perpetrators were charged and convicted.

SOYA, Seuntjie Msokoli (17), was shot and killed by members of the SADF in Despatch, Cape, on 25 July 1985, soon after he had arrived in the area, attempting to escape violence at his previous school.

SOYAMA, Charbet Mpumelelo (21), a PAC supporter, lost his home in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Uitenhage, Cape, on 11 February 1990 during political conflict following the release of Nelson Mandela.

SOYISO, Thembeni (18), an ANC supporter, was detained on 25 October 1987 in Burgersdorp, Cape, and tortured in detention by members of the SAP. He was sentenced to death for a 'necklace' murder, but was released on appeal on 30 November 1989.

SPARG, Mark Richard (37), an ANC supporter, was intimidated and harassed by PAC supporters, and his shop was looted on 1 November 1993 in Cofimvaba, Transkei. He was eventually forced to leave the area.

SPARGS, Jonathan , suffered severe trauma on 23 March 1993 when APLA operatives, armed with automatic weapons and hand grenades, stormed the Yellowwoods hotel, in Fort Beaufort, Cape, and opened fire on staff and patrons. One person was shot dead in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/225).

SPARKHAMS, Michael Andries , was shot and killed by APLA members in an armed attack on the Sentra Hyperserve supermarket in Wesselsbron, OFS, on 3 July 1993. Five people were killed and four were wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Six APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/250).

SPECIWE, Nthabiseng , an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the A-TEAM, who attacked mourners at a night vigil in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 9 May 1985. A member of the A-Team was killed in the ensuing conflict.

SPEELMAN, Andiswa (5), was shot in the leg by a named member of the SAP in Hofmeyr, Cape, on 13 November 1985 as she walked past the house of a policeman which 'comrades' were attempting to burn down.

SPIES, Anna Alida Magdalena (46), was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

SPILI, Mkhonzeni (32), a member of the Mabhongo Residents' Association, was arrested, tortured and assaulted by CDF members on 23 October 1992 in King William's Town, Cape. He was accused of being involved in burning down houses belonging to CDF and Ciskei Police members.

SPOGTER, Meizo July (17), was detained and severely beaten by named members of the SAP in Bethulie, OFS, in 1987, allegedly because he helped organise a march to the council to demand better housing.

SPOPO, Zuzile Nelson (32), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and his house was burnt down by WITDOEKE vigilantes in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter

camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

SPUYT, Weilla Beradette, sustained damage to her property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

STAMPER, Mziwakhe Godfrey (20), a COSAS member, was detained by members of the Ciskei Police on 5 August 1980 and held until November in Dimbaza, Ciskei. While in detention he was assaulted and charged with inciting pupils to participate in a SCHOOL BOYCOTT.

STANDER, (first name not given), a magistrate, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Newcastle magistrate's court, Natal, on 23 November 1986. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/139).

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

STANFORD, Robert David Nor man, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

STANLEY, Rose, had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed by IFP supporters in March 1993 in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

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

STEELE, IJ, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

STEELE, Richard (29), lost his home in Durban when it was set alight on 9 August 1985 by alleged Inkatha members. The killing of a prominent UDF activist had sparked violent unrest a week earlier. In 1980 Mr Steele had been held in solitary confinement in the army detention barracks at Voortrekkerhoogte, Pretoria, for his membership of the End Conscription Campaign.

STEENKAMP, A, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

STEENKAMP, William, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

STEIN, Isaiah (36), a former CPC member and political activist, was detained for six months in 1965 and was beaten while in detention in Caledon Square police station and Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town. After his release he was placed under banning orders. He eventually went into exile.

STELLENBERG, Percy Christian, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Toekomsrus, Randfontein, Tvl, on 18 October 1990 during conflict over high rents and police brutality in the area.

STEPHANUS, Paul (33), an ANC and SANCO member, was beaten by members of the SAP in Eersterivier, Cape Town, on 6 July 1993, during a sit-in by residents to protest the lack of water provision and services to a local squatter camp.

STEPHENS-HLATSW AYO, Maureen (48), an ANC supporter, sustained serious burns when her house was bombed by members of the SAP in July 1993 in Kagiso, Tvl.

STEVEN, Thembinkosi Edward (25), an ANCYL member, was arrested by members of the Ciskei Police on 19 September 1992 for burning down the magistrate's office in Seymour, Ciskei. On 14 October 1992, he was arrested again and was severely assaulted by named members of the Ciskei Police.

STEVENS, Louis, was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

STEVENS, Robert (27), was injured when AWB members detonated a pipe bomb at a taxi rank on the corner of Third and Park Streets in Randfontein, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Six people were injured in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

STEWART, Clare Veronica (34), an ANC member, was abducted while driving to a meeting in KwaNgwanase, near Manguzi, Natal, on 10 November

1993. Her body was found on 24 November 1993 in the Ingwavuma area, KwaZulu, with bullet wounds to the head. Ms Stewart was working on a farming project in the area, and both she and her project were allegedly unpopular with the IFP and the KWAZULU POLICE.

STEWART, Sandra Mar garet , a Black Sash activist and UDF supporter, was detained by named members of the SAP in June 1986 in Port Elizabeth. She was released in October 1986 and restricted to Port Elizabeth district.

STEYN, Annie (45), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Paarl, Cape, on 9 September 1976, after the SOWETO UPRISING spread to the rural Cape towns. Three women were shot dead in Paarl that day.

STEYN, Avril Rachewell (18), an ANC supporter, was arrested and tortured by named policemen in Worcester, Cape, on 13 June 1979. He was charged with terrorism and damage to property and held in Worcester prison for nine months. He received a suspended sentence. He was again detained and tortured by the same policemen in 1982.

STEYN, PJ , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

STIENEN, Cornelia (17), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

STIGLINGH, Roeline , a member of the SAP, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

STINA, Lungile (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nkululeko, near Barkly East, Cape, on 10 February 1990 during a *toyitoyi* demonstration celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela.

STOFIE, Mncebisi Cecil (13), was abducted, along with six other youths, by UDF supporters in Grahamstown, Cape, on 31 October 1986. The youths were all severely assaulted and tortured. One was shot and killed. One UDF supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0247).

STOK, Ndoma Ndumisa (20), an ANC supporter, was arrested in November 1986 in Jansenville, Cape. He was on trial for nine months during which time he was interrogated and had teargas sprayed into his face by

members of the SAP. Mr Stok was imprisoned for a further three years.

STOKES, S , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

STOLLS, Ronnie (40), was shot in the chest by members of the SAP in White City, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 25 August 1986 during the 1986 state of emergency.

STOLS, Matthys (40), was stabbed to death and then burnt by 'necklacing' on 4 July 1987 in Soweto, Johannesburg.

STONA, Moeketsi Willington (20), was shot by members of the SAP during protests in Aliwal North, Cape, on 22 August 1985. See ALI WAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

STONE, Emmah Masumo (24), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

STONE, Khutsahalo Violet (35), was shot and injured when police opened fire on demonstrators in Mataleng, Barkly West, Cape, on 24 August 1990.

STOOTMAN, Dumile , a PAC supporter, was killed when a booby-trapped arms cache exploded near the police barracks in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 11 January 1991.

STRACHAN, Robert Harold Lundie (36), was sentenced in 1962 to six years' imprisonment for contravening the Explosives Act. During his detention at Pretoria Central prison, he was kept in solitary confinement. In 1979 he survived two attempts made on his life and it is alleged that his name was on a hitlist of political activists.

STREET, Mable , was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

STRYDOM, A , was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

STRYDOM, Monica Elizabeth (24), was fatally wounded in a limpet mine explosion at the Old Mutual Centre in Durban on 1 September 1986. She took the full force of the limpet mine blast in her face and neck and died 24 days later. No political party has claimed responsibility for the bomb.

STRYDOM, WJ, was injured when a limpet mine, planted by an MK operative from the 'Dolphin Unit', exploded at the entrance of the Railway Police Radio headquarters, Johannesburg, on 24 August 1984. Four police officers and two civilians were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

STUART, Joy Elaine Nomvuyo (37), a UDF supporter, was detained and kept in solitary confinement during protests in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, in 1985.

STUBBS, Julian (17), a UDF supporter, was detained and beaten by SAP members in Wynberg, Cape Town, on 15 October 1985. He was later sentenced to a two-year prison sentence for public violence with six other teenagers, known as the WYNBERG SEVEN.

STUURMAN, Jacob Goli (29), was injured in a bomb blast on 28 November 1992 when a hand grenade exploded in Sebokeng, Tvl. MK and APLA members had returned from exile and were training members of the community to defend themselves against alleged attacks by the IFP and security forces. The perpetrator, allegedly an MK operative, threw the hand grenade after becoming involved in an argument at a *stokvel*. Six people were killed and four others injured in the explosion. Mr Stuurman lost his eyesight as a result of the incident.

STUURMAN, John (19), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in 1976 during unrest in Ravensmead, Cape Town, after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to the Cape.

STUURMAN, Mlungisi W ilnar d (27), a UDF supporter, was strangled and shot to death by members of the SAP at KwaTeyisi farm in Cradock, Cape, on 26 August 1986 while on his way to the funeral of a political activist in Lingelihle township, Cradock, Cape.

STUURMAN, Nokwanda, was shot and injured by members of the SAP while participating in a march to an IFP rally at the Siynaba stadium, Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1991.

STUURMAN, Sipiwu Ivin (19), chairperson of COSAS, was shot and severely injured by SPECIAL CONSTABLES in Mandlekosi, near Bloemfontein in January 1988. Forced into hiding as a result of police harassment, Mr Stuurman instituted a civil claim for damages against the Minister of Law and Order and was awarded compensation.

STUURMAN, Xolani Kannetjie (13), was shot and killed by members of the SAP, one of whom is named, during political conflict in Cradock, Cape, in November 1978.

STWAYI, Venvol Cofayishiye (38), was hacked and burnt to death in New Crossroads, Cape Town, on 19 March 1986, during conflict between vigilantes known variously as the 'Fathers' or the WITDOEKE, and UDF supporters. Seven people died in the two-day clash.

SUKANI, Mbuthuma, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in March 1960 in Ezizityaneni, Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Mr Sukani allegedly died as a result of his injuries.

SUKAZI, Alvinah Elizabeth (46), a councillor in Emjindini, Barberton, Tvl, lost her home when it was

set alight by named perpetrators on 9 June 1985, after a community meeting to announce rent hikes.

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

SUKULA, Fundiswa Patricia (37), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by 'comrades' in Joza, Grahamstown, Cape, on 30 August 1986 when she was accused of being a collaborator.

SUKWANA, Mzwamadoda Devilliers (16), was detained on 15 August 1985 during intense public unrest at DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London. He was tortured at the police station by members of the SAP and a named member of the South African Prison Services. He was taken to Fort Glamorgan prison, East London, where he was further tortured. He was implicated in the burning of houses in the area.

SULKAS, (first name not given), an alleged IFP supporter, suffered damage to her home when it was attacked by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, during 1993. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0186).

SULUBA, Xolela Richard (22), a member of the SAP was shot in the back in Port Elizabeth on 28 March 1992. As a result of the shooting, Mr Suluba was partially paralysed.

SUME, Mzuvukile Richard (19), an SDU member, was shot with pellets by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, on 22 May 1987. He was then detained and tortured at Church Street police station.

SUMMERS, Freddie (31), was tear-gassed, shot and injured by named members of the SAP in Roodewal, Worcester, Cape, on 18 April 1992.

SUNDUZA, Sifiso Stanford (20), a SANCO member, was severely beaten by followers of the local headman in Sterkspruit, Transkei, on 14 December 1992 at a meeting between community members and the headman during conflict over the tribal authorities in Sterkspruit.

SUNDUZA, Sithembiso Christopher (27), was shot and injured in June 1986 in Nyanga, Cape Town, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

SUNDUZA, Solomon Mandlenkosi Mazibuko (39), a SANCO member, was severely beaten by followers of the local headman in Sterkspruit, Transkei, on 14 December 1992 at a meeting between community members and the headman during conflict over the tribal authorities in Sterkspruit.

SUTHANE, Mildred Bontienyane (16), an ANC supporter, was raped on 2 July 1987 in Mzimhlophe hostel, Tvl, allegedly by Inkatha supporters. Ms Suthane was also stabbed and beaten before being

thrown into a river. She was reportedly raped and beaten for a second time in 1991 in Diepkloof hostel.

SUTHARD, Sheila V eronica (51), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

SUTHU, Nothozayo (30), a Duncan Village Residents' Association member, was shot dead by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 13 August 1985.

SWANEPOEL, A, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SWANEPOEL, D, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

SWANEPOEL, Jacobus, a prison warder, was killed when a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) detonated a hand grenade while trying to escape from Leeuwhof prison, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 18 December 1993. Three people died and nine were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/145).

SWANEPOEL, JW, a sergeant in the SAP, was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by an MK operative from the 'Dolphin Unit', exploded at the entrance of the Railway Police Radio headquarters, Johannesburg, on 24 August 1984. Four police officers and two civilians were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

SWANEPOEL, Willem, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

SWART, Basil (40), the deputy principal of Alexander Sinton High School, was arrested and beaten by police during school protests in Athlone, Cape Town, in September 1976. In September 1985 he was severely beaten by police and detained for two weeks. He was again detained in June 1986 under emergency regulations and held for nearly a year at Victor Verster prison where he experienced severe ill-treatment and periods of solitary confinement. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

SWART, Emmie, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an

explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

SWART, GMB, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

SWART, JJ, a Fidelity Guards employee, was shot and injured when MK operatives conducted an armed robbery of cash trunks being collected by a Fidelity Guards van in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 November 1988. Two of the four guards were injured in the robbery, which was intended to acquire funds for the MK unit. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/0013).

SWART, MD, a corporal in the SADF, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

SWART, P, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

SWART, Zanita A, was severely injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on patrons at the Crazy Beat Disco in Newcastle, Natal, on 14 February 1994. One person was shot dead and several others were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three APLA operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0016).

SWARTBOOI, Abraham 'Blackie', a member of the SAP, lost his house when it was burnt down by ANC supporters in 1985, during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape. One ANC supporter applied for and was granted amnesty for the attack. See AC/99/0314
SWARTBOOI, Bushy V oltaire (aka 'Kr uschev'), an MK operative, and two others, including a police informer, were shot dead in an ambush near the Derdepoort border post, Tvl, on 4 May 1983. Nine Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0274 and AC/1999/0029).

SWARTBOOI, Buyelwa Gladys (31), a UDF supporter, was detained for 14 days from 16 June 1986 in Patensie, Cape. She was accused of inciting the Patensie community to violence.

SWARTBOOI, Eric Buyisile (28), a UDF supporter, was shot by members of the SAP and SADF at Centerton, near Hankey, Cape, on 27 May 1985 while he was attending a meeting with his 'comrades'.

SWARTBOOI, Melvin Khayaletu Khaya (18), a COSAS member, was shot dead on 2 May 1985 by

members of the SAP concealed under cardboard boxes loaded on a municipal truck in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape. Witnesses saw police place stones in the hands of the deceased after the killing. See **TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, Uitenhage**.

SWARTBOOI, Roy Bomwana (19), was arrested by members of the SAP in Upington, Cape, on 3 December 1985, and held for more than three years awaiting trial for the crowd killing of a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN. One of the UPINGTON 26, Mr Swartbooi was sentenced to community service, and was acquitted on appeal.

SWARTBOOI, Tembile Alfred (29), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the SADF during political unrest in Fort Beaufort, Cape, in July 1985.

SWARTBOOI, Themba Simon (17), an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP at the Reddersburg police station, OFS, in March 1988, after *toy-toying* with others during a political demonstration.

SWARTBOOI, Zola Headman Allman (26), was stabbed and injured by AZAPO members during political conflict at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, in 1985.

SWARTBOOI, Zwelenkomo Alfred (41), an ANC member, was stabbed and hacked to death by named PAC supporters during political conflict at Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 21 February 1993.

SWARTLAND, Archie Booi, was one of several young men abducted, assaulted and necklaced on 2 February 1987, by a large crowd of residents of Mdantsane township, Ciskei, who accused them of being part of a criminal gang called the 'Killer Boys'. Mr Swartland and three others were burnt to death while one survived with serious injuries. Twelve perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0049).

SWARTS, F, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

SWARTZ, Jonathan (17), a UDF activist and SRC member, was arrested and tortured by being burnt, electrocuted, beaten and hung upside down from a tree for several hours on 29 August 1985 in Worcester, Cape, while being interrogated about a stone-throwing incident by named members of the SAP and Security Branch. He was redetained in March 1986 during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT and held under SECTION 29 for many months.

SWARTZ, Magdalene, was shot and injured by members of the SAP on 10 September 1976 in Mossel Bay, Cape, after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to the South Cape. She lost the sight of one eye in the shooting.

SWARTZ, Nicholas, and other SADF members, were the target of an MK hand grenade attack at the SADF base at Nkowankowa stadium, near Tzaneen, Gazankulu, on 12 April 1990. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/098).

SWATI, Zolelwa, was hacked to death, during violence between Pondo mineworkers and the RUSSIAN GANG at the Leslie gold mine on 11 May 1987 in Leslie, Tvl.

SWELANKOMO, David Mphikelelo (28), was beaten and shot in the leg by named Riot Squad members in Bloemfontein on 18 June 1987. He was hospitalised for three months, during which the police interrogated him on three occasions about his political affiliation and activities.

SWELI, Thembekile Godfrey (25), a political activist, was detained in Uitenhage, Cape, in June 1986 and held for three years during which he was kept in solitary confinement and deprived of food.

SWELINDAWO, Nomvuyo Elmina (41), lost her home in an arson attack by UDF supporters during conflict over local government in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 27 March 1986.

TAAI, Klaas (33), was shot in his thigh and beaten on his head with a rifle-butt by a named member of the SAP at his uncle's house at Pearston, Cape, on 10 February 1991.

TABA, Dilli Elizabeth, suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

TABALAZA, Lungile (19), was detained on 10 July 1978 in connection with arson attacks and the robbery and burning of a delivery van. He died the same day in custody at the Sanlam Building, Strand Street, Port Elizabeth. Police claimed he had committed suicide by jumping from the fifth floor of the Sanlam Building. At the inquest in October 1978, the government pathologist acknowledged that several bruises and lacerations could have been sustained before he fell. The inquest held found no one responsible for his death.

TABALAZA, Nombuyiselo (42), an ANC supporter, had her house and shop in Matatiele, Natal, burnt down on 30 April 1990 by a group of men carrying traditional weapons and allegedly looking for ANC supporters. Nine homes were burnt in the area that day, in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February. ANC supporters were being killed in an attempt to prevent the setting up of local ANC branches in the area.

TABANA, Job (aka 'Cassius Make') (44), a senior MK commander and member of the ANC NEC, was shot dead in an ambush by named members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch on 9 July 1987 at Lobamba, Swaziland. Another MK commander, Mr Peter Sello Motau (aka 'Paul Dikaledi'), and a Mozambican woman, Ms Eliza Tsinini, were also killed in the same incident. Mr Tabana was from the Western Transvaal.

TABANE, Mr (first name not given), survived an attack by SADF Special Forces and *Vlakplaas* operatives on homes at Ditlharapeng village, Ramathlabama, Botswana, 1000 metres from the South African

border, on 11 December 1988. An MK operative and a 15-year-old boy were killed and three homes were destroyed. The *Vlakplaas* commander and eight of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/108).

TABETE, Thembisile Miriam (89), an Inkatha supporter, had her home at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 12 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

TABETE, Vusumuzi Zamani (18), was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, in 1986 in violent conflict between pupils and AMABUTHO members over school boycotts. IFP members were allegedly patrolling the township in open trucks and attacking school pupils, when Mr Tabete was shot.

TABU, Lucky, a policeman, was one of two policemen shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in a tavern in Daveyton, Tvl, on 1 August 1993. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/227).

TABU, Myerzeke (25), was shot dead by members of the SAP in New Tinis, near Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 16 June 1986 during a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING.

TABULENG, Jacob (58), was detained for two weeks and severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Pampierstad, Bophuthatswana, on 1 January 1994. He was part of a spontaneous community march in support of the first democratic elections to be held in April 1994. Some of the marchers were assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police. A court case was later held and all the marchers were acquitted.

TAFANE, Ritz Jeremia (23), an SAP member and ANC supporter, was shot dead by named colleagues in the SAP in Kroonstad, OFS, on 21 August 1993, allegedly because of his ANC sympathies.

TAFENI, Menzi, an ANC supporter, was arrested on 1 September 1985 in Kirkwood, Cape, and tortured by members of the SAP in Burgersdorp prison. Mr Tafeni was sentenced to death for a politically motivated murder, but was released on appeal after two years' imprisonment at JC Steyn prison.

TAIOE, Matsie Anna (38), general secretary of the ANCWL at Meqheleng, Ficksburg, OFS, was detained for five days from 30 March 1960 in Bloemfontein by a named SAP member and a named Security Branch member. She was released and then rearrested, and remained in detention for 90 days without trial.

TAJE, Florence Minor (35), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by named SAP Security Branch members in Kroonstad, OFS, in August 1991, allegedly because she had information about the activities of the THREE MILLION GANG, of which her brother was a leader.

TAKALI, Siyabonga Maxwell, a UDF supporter, was shot and killed by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a

week. See MPUMALANGA ATTACKS. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

TAKALO, Baby Elizabeth (46), an ANC supporter, was injured in an attack on Tladi, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 September 1990 by IFP supporters, allegedly in collusion with members of the SAP. Soweto was tense following clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

TAKAYI, Nkundla Elliot, suffered damage to property when his house was burnt by COSAS members and UDF supporters during political conflict in Jansenville, Cape, in 1985. He was suspected of being a collaborator. One COSAS member and UDF supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0240).

TALANE, Montgomery Lekgetho, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Bothaville, OFS, on 12 March 1990. People had gathered for a mass meeting called by a local civic association. The shooting occurred as they were dispersing on orders of the police.

TALANE, Piet Nkgere, lost his house in an arson attack by named perpetrators in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, in February 1986 during a land dispute between two chiefs in the area.

TALIWE, April Makhwenkwe, a UDF supporter, was shot and killed by members of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD at KwaDlangezwa, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 19 April 1992. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

TALJAARD, Louis Johannes Albertus (64), was severely injured when a bomb, planted by AWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten persons were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

TAMAKO, Banyana Ellen (26), was shot in the knees in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 10 March 1994 during resistance to President Mangope's rule.

TAMBODALA, Mandlenkosi Zanemfundo Junior (26), a UDF supporter, was stabbed and injured by members of the Transkei Police at the Lusikisiki police station, Transkei, on 21 December 1989. Mr Tambodala and others had been arrested for organising a consumer boycott.

TAMBULENG, Jacob (58), was severely beaten in detention by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Pampierstad, Bophuthatswana, on 1 January 1994. Mr Tambuleng was accused of being involved in planning a protest march.

TAME, Nkululo Isaac (17), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during the SOWETO UPRISING in Langa, Cape Town. Mr Tame subsequently developed a mental disorder.

TAMLE, Frans Lehlohonolo (15), an ANC supporter, was arrested and given six lashes with a sjambok by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 17 October 1990. Frans was arrested on suspicion of arson during a period of violent conflict between the youth and police in the area.

TANALA, (first name not given), was sexually assaulted and abused by unidentified members of the SADF at Schuzendal, Tvl, on 9 July 1990.

TANANA, Khanyelekile, was shot dead by named and other ADM supporters on 9 January 1994 during political conflict in King William's Town, Cape. Mr Tanana was on his way to an ANC meeting when the shooting occurred.

TANANA, Xolile Matthews (23), disappeared in July 1981 when he left Mdantsane, Ciskei, for exile, after constant police harassment. He has not been seen since.

TANTIJ, Titus (48), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by hostel residents, while taking part in a consumer boycott march in Tokoza, Tvl, on 21 May 1993.

TANTSI, Beauty Nomakhosazana 'Maousi' (30), lost an eye after being shot by a named SAP member while she was watching protesting youths outside her home at De Aar, Cape, on 9 July 1985. Two other family members were also injured. All three were then arrested by police.

TANTSI, Ida Koko (71), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP at De Aar, Cape, on 9 July 1985, while she was watching protesting youths outside her home. Two family members were also injured. All three were then arrested by police.

TANTSI, Olga Zoliswa (14), was injured after being shot by a named member of the SAP in De Aar, Cape, on 9 July 1985, while she was watching protesting youths outside her home. Two other family members were injured. All three were then arrested by police.

TANZI, Genla Maria (57), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

TARENTAAL, Heinrich Mar thin, a member of the SAP, was assaulted and held hostage by ANC Youth League members when they occupied the police station at Dysselsdorp, Cape, on 22 June 1991. One ANCYL member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0301).

TASANA, Fumanekile George Winana (21), a UDF supporter, was detained at Hofmeyr, Cape, in June 1985. He was held for several months at the police station and in Burgersdorp, during which he was assaulted and kept in solitary confinement. In 1986 he was again detained for a year at Middelburg, Cape, and tortured. Mr Tasana was admitted to hospital with psychiatric problems after his release.

TASI/KOY ANA, Gamalandile Herbert 'Nyawuza' (49), had her home burnt down in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

TATI, Zola (aka Bob Msomali), an MK operative, was shot dead with three other operatives in a skirmish with security forces on 14 and 15 July 1988 in the Kruger National Park, Tvl.

TATIYA, Vuyani (24), was shot dead by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Noupoot, Cape, on 13 December

1986. Another young man was fatally wounded by a Special Constable that day.

TATUBANA, Mongezi David (23), an ANC underground member, was detained repeatedly for lengthy periods in 1981, 1983 and 1985 in Whittlesea, Ciskei, by named members of the Ciskei Police. During his 1985 detention he was beaten and tortured by the helicopter method.

TAU, Matiso Olympia (48), lost her home when it was stoned and petrol-bombed in Taung, Bophuthatswana, in December 1976 during conflict over the chieftaincy.

TAU, Moemo, a citizen of Lesotho, was shot dead by *Vlakplaas* operatives during a raid on two houses in Maseru, Lesotho, on 19 December 1985. Nine people were killed in the raid, three of them Lesotho citizens. Seven operatives, including the deputy commander of Security Branch Headquarters, the commander of the section which oversaw the work of *Vlakplaas* and the commander of *Vlakplaas*, applied for amnesty for the operation. All except the commander of Security Branch Headquarters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/231 and AC/2001/279).

TAU, Moroesi Dorah (66), lost her home in an arson attack by named SAP members and others in Theunissen, OFS, in May 1990. Her grandson was a known ANC supporter and political activist.

TAU, Ntsie Isaai (18), was shot dead by an unidentified SAP member in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Maokeng, Kroonstad, OFS, on 15 May 1990. There had been unrest at a local school on the morning of the incident.

TAUKUBONG, Nnanabo Elizabeth (42), was severely beaten by Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, in 1989 in the aftermath of the failed coup against Mangope.

TAULA, Protas Jabulani (27), a UDF supporter, was tortured by members of the Security Branch and the SAP after being detained in Lamontville, Durban, on 12 June 1986. Mr Taula was released on bail and later acquitted of being in possession of a hand grenade.

TAUYATSWALA, Jan Lesiba, was shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, in March 1994 during conflict over re-incorporation into South Africa.

TAWE, Patrick Oupa (23), was detained in Quatro camp, Angola, in 1981 and was severely beaten and tortured by ANC security department members. A number of ANC members were detained, tortured and killed during a period of anxiety about infiltration by South African agents following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979.

TAYI, Wiseman Rotso (16), was tortured while in detention for six months in 1962 in Queenstown, Cape, allegedly because he refused to give information to the police about boycotts in the area.

TAYILE, Ncediswa, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

TAYLOR, George Benjamin (33), lost his newborn baby son when he was abducted in Carletonville, Tvl,

on 9 February 1993 by unidentified perpetrators who allegedly drove off saying 'kill the boer, kill the farmer'.

TAYLOR, Lucia (51), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and her home was destroyed when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, in December 1991. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

TAYO, Mncedi Ambrose (44), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by ADM supporters and CDF members at Bulembu Airport, near King William's Town, Cape, on 21 October 1992 during violent political conflict.

TCHULU, James Mzwandile (57), an ANC supporter, was injured in a bomb explosion in the Mangaung Provincial Administration Building in Bloemfontein on 1 February 1983. The bomb had been planted by an ANC sabotage group.

TEBANE, Michael Tsimokwane (22), was shot and injured by a member of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, on 31 August 1985 as he returned from a mass funeral. He was arrested while being treated in hospital.

TEBEILE, Mokgathi Frans (61), lost his home in an arson attack by named perpetrators in Pietersburg, Tvl, in January 1986.

TEBEKANA, Thamsanqa Thompson (18), a UDF supporter, was detained at Jeffreys Bay police station, Cape, in September 1987 and severely beaten for three days by named members of the SAP who allegedly attempted to force him to confess to the burning of a house.

TEBOGO, Mr (first names not given), was assaulted by APLA members at a PAC camp in Tanzania during 1992 or 1993. He was allegedly assaulted because he disobeyed the code of conduct. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/247).

TEFFO, Joel Malose (27), was shot and severely injured by members of the Venda Police in Mahwelereng, Lebowa, on 7 March 1986. At the time youths were demonstrating in the street and stoning government vehicles.

TEFFO, Philemon Madimetja (27), had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Teffo resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

TEFU, Jabulani Michael (36), was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 8 May 1992, during political conflict in the area.

TEFU, Sarah, died when she was hit by a teargas cannister fired by members of the SADF in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 21 November 1985 while she was taking part in a protest march against high rents.

TEKANA, Phanuel, a civilian travelling in a bread delivery truck, was shot at by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 February 1993. Mr Mabuya and his three colleagues disrupted an SDU attack on the police. The perpetrators fired at the vehicle, intending to scare them off. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/119).

TEKANA, Thembinkosi, was shot dead by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 13 September 1989, while attending the funeral vigil for a school friend. The shooting took place during a week of widespread police shootings and protest against the apartheid elections held on 6 September.

TEKANO, Ramotsohae William Moshe (18), was detained under emergency regulations at Smithfield police station, OFS, on 30 June 1985. In custody he was severely assaulted by named members of the Security Branch. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

TEKETSI, Koadi Emmanuel (24), a PAC supporter, was arrested in March 1960, a few days after the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE, and severely beaten by members of the SAP while in detention. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and subsequently banned.

TELE, Harry Diphapang (39), was shot dead by unidentified persons in his shop in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 22 November 1980. Two months earlier, on 27 September 1980, unidentified people had attacked his shop shortly after a meeting addressed by QwaQwa Chief Minister TK Mopedi, at which Mr Tele had been named and victimised for being opposed to the QwaQwa administration.

TELE, Ramakeledi Johannes (27), had his house and shop in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, damaged in an arson attack by unidentified persons in 1977, allegedly because he did not support the DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP).

TEMBANI, Temba, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named AMAAFRIKA supporters on 30 August 1987 during political conflict at KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape.

TEMBE, Mafene Ndlazi (47), had his house at Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by unidentified perpetrators on 26 July 1993 during clashes between the IFP and ANC members in the area.

TEMBE, Thandazile, was shot dead by ANC supporters, some of whom are named, in Empangeni, Natal, on 4 August 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

TEME, Elsie (62), was sjambokked in her house by a named perpetrator in Makapaanstad, Hammanskraal, Tvl, in 1976.

TEME, Mantoa Louisa (32), was sjambokked in her house by a named perpetrator in Makapaanstad, Hammanskraal, Tvl, in 1976.

TEME, Matthews Mathloko (18), a student activist, was detained and severely beaten by named and other policemen in Kimberley, Cape, during November 1979, in a period of heightened school protest and organisation in the area.

TEMO, Manare Josephina (20), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

TENGANI, Johannes Denis (30), an MK operative, was killed during a military operation in Zimbabwe, on 11 November 1987. He left Orlando, Soweto, Johannesburg, during 1977 to join the ANC in exile.

TENTENI, Sinawunawu Johnson (65), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the

CDF in King William's Town, Cape, on 26 December 1991 during protests against headmen in the area.

TENZA, Eugene Xolisani (29), a KWAZULU POLICE member, was stoned and stabbed to death by ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 June 1993.

TENZA, Merriman Vuyani (18), an ANC supporter, was arrested on 26 June 1986 while trying to cross the South African border and go into exile. While in police custody in Port Shepstone, Natal, he was repeatedly assaulted by members of the SAP, as well as being deprived of food and adequate medical attention.

TENZA, Thulebona For tune, an ANC supporter, was stabbed, axed and shot dead by unidentified people at a taxi rank in Pietermaritzburg on 3 February 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Three other people were also killed and one was injured.

TERBLANCHE, Steven Frederick (22), a sergeant in the SAP, was shot and killed on 23 April 1994 when members of the BWB and AWB attacked and robbed the Devon Air Force Base at Nigel, Tvl, in order to arm themselves in preparation for attacks on whites on election day. Two AWB members and one BWB member were refused amnesty for the killing (AC/1999/0014).

TETE, Monwabisi (20), was severely beaten by SPECIAL CONSTABLES in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 1 August 1988. He is mentally disturbed as a result of the head injuries he sustained.

THABANA, Hlaku Theodora, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, on 23 August 1985 during conflict between residents and police.

THABANCHU, Terresia Masabatha (47), a local ANC leader, was shot dead by SAP members in Bloemfontein on 17 November 1990, allegedly in a targeted killing.

THABANE, Zacharias Taka (72), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters who attacked mourners at a night vigil in Klipspruit, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 18 August 1990 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Two others were killed in the same attack.

THABATA, Sisa Mangaliso, a teacher, suffered damage to property when his vehicle was petrol-bombed by Orange Free State Security Branch operatives on an unknown date in or near Bloemfontein. One Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0025).

THABEDE, Badeni Josiah (51), an ANC supporter, was shot in the arm by an IFP supporter in Piet Retief, Tvl, in 1993. Since 1992, Mr Thabede had been detained, shot and assaulted by members of the SAP and IFP supporters on several occasions.

THABELA, Lufuno Philemon (38), was arrested on 13 August 1987 and tortured in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, because he was believed to be in touch with his cousin, a suspected MK operative.

THABETHA, (family), suffered damage to their homestead when it was set alight by members of the SDU during political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1993. Family

members were perceived to be IFP supporters. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0186).

THABETHE, Agnes, was shot dead by IFP supporters at her home in Taylors Halt, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 24 January 1991 in ongoing political conflict.

THABETHE, Beauty, was shot and injured by IFP supporters at her home in Taylors Halt, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 24 January 1991 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

THABETHE, Bhekie Sibusiso, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Taylors Halt, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 24 January 1991 in political conflict in the area. Two family members were killed in the attack.

THABETHE, Bongani Petros (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 9 September 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

THABETHE, Bongekile Qondeni (43), an IFP supporter, was shot and severely injured by fellow IFP supporters who attacked her home in Esigodlweni, Estcourt, Natal, on 28 October 1990. The attackers were allegedly looking for her sons, whom they believed to be ANC supporters. Ms Thabethe's daughter was also shot and injured in the attack.

THABETHE, Ciko Joseph (55), an ANC supporter, had his home in Ntuzuma, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in April 1989.

THABETHE, Gladys Matobhi (37), was shot and paralysed by IFP supporters in Taylors Halt, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in political conflict in the area on 24 January 1991. Two family members were killed in the attack.

THABETHE, Lena Zihlazole, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Taylors Halt, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in political conflict in the area on 24 January 1991. One other family member was killed in the attack.

THABETHE, Mabutho Caiphas, the brother of an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed, shot and burnt to death by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 August 1988.

THABETHE, Maxwell (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. The attack was allegedly motivated by Molefe's refusal to call up men in his area to defend the IFP. An IFP leader was implicated in the attack. Eleven ANC youths were killed and seven injured.

THABETHE, Mduduzi Dennis (41), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by named and other IFP supporters at his home in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 18 October 1992.

THABETHE, Mzimela Absolom, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by unidentified people in a bus in Pietermaritzburg on 7 May 1992, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

THABETHE, Mzwandile, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Taylors Halt, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritz-

burg, on 24 January 1991 in political conflict in the area. Two family members were killed in the attack.

THABETHE, Ncane Eunice (17), was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Taylors Halt, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 24 January 1991 in political conflict in the area. Two family members were killed in the attack.

THABETHE, Nothami , was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Taylors Halt, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 24 January 1991 in political conflict in the area. Two family members were killed in the attack.

THABETHE, Sthembile (21), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by fellow IFP supporters who attacked her home in Esigodlweni, Estcourt, Natal, on 28 October 1990. The attackers were allegedly looking for her brothers, whom they believed to be ANC supporters. Ms Thabethe's mother was also shot and injured in the attack.

THABETHE, Thabisile , was stabbed and severely injured on 30 October 1993, when her employer's house, in an IFP stronghold in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, was attacked by ANC supporters who accused them of storing IFP weapons. Her employer was killed in the attack, and two other people were stabbed and severely injured.

THABETHE, Vivian Mjabuliswa (23), was one of 13 people killed in an attack by UDF and ANC supporters on Inkatha supporters in the Mahwaqa area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1990. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2000/041).

THABETHE, Vusi Dick (44), an ANC supporter, had his home in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, destroyed by IFP supporters on 26 July 1992. See FOLWENI MASSACRE.

THABETHE, Zikhono , was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 24 January 1991 in ongoing political conflict.

THABO, Mack, was shot and injured by a member of NUMSA during a strike at the Haggie Rand factory in Tembisa, Johannesburg, on 22 February 1990. Amnesty was granted to one NUMSA member (AC/1999/0296).

THABO, Veto (23), an ANC supporter, was shot in the back and severely injured by members of the SAP when he and his friends were returning from a party in Walmer, Port Elizabeth, in May 1986, during a state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

THABULEKA, Peter , was abducted, interrogated and tortured by Security Branch operatives in Pretoria during June 1988. His abductors, who suspected him of being an MK operative, used the 'tubing' method of torture (suffocation using a rubber tube). An *askari* was granted amnesty (AC/2000/229).

THAFENI, March (35), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Railway Police in Noupoot, Cape, in July 1985. He was accused of instigating people to join UDF and keeping petrol and tyres used in 'necklacing' people in his garage.

THAFENI, Zwelinzima Joseph , was shot by IFP supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 September 1990 when IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers attacked ANC-

aligned residents who had trapped the hostel-dwellers in Hostel No 3. The SAP and SADF were summoned and shots were fired at the residents by IFP supporters inside the hostel and security forces outside. A total of 42 people were killed, four by security forces.

THAGE, Joseph Masale , was abducted from his home in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, and tortured by IMBOKODO vigilantes on 1 January 1986. At Siyabuswa community hall, he and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery. Mr Thage and others were then sjambokked and beaten where they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted for about 36 hours. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

THAHETSI, Moeketsi Walter (17), an ANC supporter, died hours after being first stabbed by members of the Diboka Gang and then shot by SAP members in Masilo, Theunissen, OFS, on 21 May 1990. The Diboka Gang was a vigilante group supported by the police and opposed to the UDF and ANC.

THAISI, Matamo William (19), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, in 1990. He was accused of being a student activist.

THAISI, Moramang David (57), a COUNCILLOR and a member of the DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP), was seriously injured when he was stabbed, beaten and burnt by ANC supporters in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 29 January 1990. DNP members were frequently attacked at this time, allegedly because of the party's support for the QwaQwa homeland government.

THAISI, Tello Maria (51), a supporter of the DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP), lost her home in an arson attack and was burnt when petrol was thrown at her and she was set alight by ANC supporters in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 29 January 1990. DNP members were frequently attacked at this time, allegedly because of the party's support for the QwaQwa homeland government.

THAKAGANE, Daniel (36), was arrested on 16 October 1992 in Taung, Bophuthatswana, and beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police while in detention. At the time, there was political conflict over the imposition of a new chief in the village.

THAKANY ANE, Monti Sabath (39), lost his house, bus and car when they were burnt by named ANC supporters in Schweizer-Reneke, Tvl, in February 1990.

THAKULU, Selinah Mafotho (25), an ANC supporter, was raped and then shot dead in an attack on the house of an MK operative by IFP supporters in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 19 April 1992. Five people died in the attack, and three women were raped.

THALE, Keitumetse Elizabeth (48), was tear-gassed and severely beaten by a member of the Bophuthatswana Police at Lekubu, near Zeerust, Tvl, in May 1989. The incident occurred at the kraal of one of the chiefs involved in a dispute over the chieftainship of Lekubu village.

THALEDI, Jappie , an ANC civic leader, was shot and injured by IFP members during political conflict at Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, Northern Tvl, in April 1993. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

THAMAE, Lesole David (32), a SANCO member, lost his home in Megheleng, Ficksburg, OFS, on 3 August 1993, in an arson attack by ANC supporters. There was tension and conflict between the ANC and SANCO in the Ficksburg area at the time.

THAMAE, Motsamai Charles (61), an ANC supporter, had to flee his home in Germiston, Tvl, on 4 December 1990 because his life was threatened. His home was then looted by IFP supporters who had allegedly been armed and instructed by members of the SAP. Mr Thamae was a street committee leader involved in a rent boycott in the area.

THAMAGA, Elizabeth Setlaleweng (46), was shot by members of the SAP in Boichoko near Postmasburg, Cape, on 18 June 1993.

THAMAGA, Mosima Maphuthi (55), had her house burnt down on 2 February 1980 in GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. Her husband was also attacked and died two weeks later as a result of his injuries.

THAMAGA, Nana Martha (41), had her house petrol-bombed by ANC supporters in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in March 1990 Ms Thamaga's sister was married to a policeman at a time when the SAP were seen as enemies of the community.

THAMAGA, Steward , was detained and beaten to death by members of the Lebowa Police in GaMatlala, Lebowa, in February 1980 because he resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa as advocated by Chief BK Matlala.

THAMAGA, Tshwantshi Jacob , a People's Congress supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by supporters of Chief BK Matlala in GaMatlala, Lebowa, on 2 February 1980 because Mr Thamaga resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa. The village was cordoned off and Chief Matlala and his supporters attacked members of the People's Congress, burnt their houses and stole their livestock. Two people died and about 80 were wounded in the attack.

THAMI, Isaac , was killed by members of the SAP during political conflict in Guguletu, Cape Town, in 1978.

THANGANA, Siviwe George (31), a Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' Association member, was detained in February 1991 at Tamara police station, King William's Town, Cape, during the civil servants' strike in Zwelitsha, Ciskei.

THANGA VHULELELO, Tshikhakhisa Samuel (23), was detained at Tshitale police station, on 12 June 1986 and severely assaulted by named members of the Venda Police looking for information about resistance to the INCORPORATION of Vleifontein into Venda. A subsequent charge of public violence against Mr Thangavhuelelo was withdrawn but he spent several months in detention.

THANGA VHULELELO, Moshoni Piet (56), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by named perpetrators in Louis Trichardt, Tvl, on 5 February 1990.

THANGO, Duduzile Flora (42), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Malukazi, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, during ongoing political conflict in the area in 1990.

THANGO, Dumisani Vivienne (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Ladysmith, Natal, on 13 November 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

THANJEKW AYO, Barnabas Ntsikelelo (34), left work on 12 March 1992 to travel home by train to Katlehong, Tvl. He was never seen again. It is believed he died during an incident of TRAIN VIOLENCE. The East Rand was a key site of train violence with the track from Katlehong to Kwesine station becoming the line with the highest risk in South Africa.

THANJEKW AYO, Bonginkosi (44), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 18 December 1988.

THANJEKW AYO, Nkosikhona (23), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 18 December 1988.

THANJEKW AYO, Raymond , an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 18 December 1988.

THANJEKW AYO, Thabile Beatrice (39), an ANC supporter, had her home at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters, one of whom is named, on 18 December 1988.

THANTSHA, Frans (28), was severely beaten and later arrested for public violence, by named members of the Lebowa Police in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 2 July 1990. ANCYL members had called parents to discuss their constitution with them on the same day that a local businessman called his own meeting.

THANTSI, Bonakele , was detained with his brother and severely beaten in Knysna, Cape, in June 1986. Mr Thantsi spent three and a half months in detention at George prison, and became mentally ill while in custody. He was accused of an arson attack but was later acquitted of all charges.

THANTSI, John , was detained with his brother in Knysna, Cape, in June 1986, and was held for three and a half months under emergency regulations in George prison, Cape, where he was severely ill-treated. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

THARAGA, Leah , was burnt to death and her house set alight by a group of community residents in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two ANC supporters were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094).

THATO, Lebohlang Henry , was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, in 1993, allegedly by IFP supporters during conflict between the IFP and Basotho people living in the Moshoeshoe section in Katlehong.

THEBE, Agnes , survived when shots were fired into the home of the Ntsime family at Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, during an attempted *coup d'état* on 10 February 1988. Two Bophuthatswana Defence Force members were granted amnesty for their role in the attempted coup (AC/2000/044).

THEBE, Alfred December (34), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Doornkop, near Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 20 November 1980 when he assisted someone who was injured during a confrontation between students and police. Mr Thebe is paralysed as a result of his injuries.

THEBE, Gerald Babitsane (20), an AZASM member, was tortured by members of the SAP in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, after being detained with two others near the Botswana border, while attempting to leave the country on 27 July 1977.

THEBE, Joseph , was tortured by members of the SAP in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, after being detained with two others near the Botswana border, while attempting to leave the country on 27 July 1977.

THEBE, Moreng Walter Davids (28), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by an SAP member while waiting for a taxi in Kagisanong, Bloemfontein, on 31 May 1986. Mr Thebe had been repeatedly detained and harassed by the police.

THEBE, Phokwana Johanna (18), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police who prevented people from attending a rally on the day of Nelson Mandela's release in Hammanskraal, Tvl, in February 1990. Ms Thebe was five months pregnant and on her way to the clinic for a check-up. She lost her baby at seven months.

THEBE, Piet , was tortured by members of the SAP in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, after being detained with two others near the Botswana border, while attempting to leave the country on 27 July 1977.

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

THEKISHO, Gaarekwe Surprise (21), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 10 October 1990, while protesting against police shootings and beatings. Mr Thekisho was blinded in one eye.

THEKISHO, Jakoba Frans (40), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police who attacked a community meeting at the chief's kraal in Dryharts, Taung, Bophuthatswana, in April 1990.

THEKISHO, Neo Mirriam (63), was severely assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police

in Taung, Bophuthatswana, in 1990 during conflict in the area between President Mangope and exiled Chief Sam Mankoroane.

THEKISO, Abram Mothabane , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, on 1 March 1986 during protests against police brutality.

THEKISO, Eddie Simon (16), was shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, while attending a night vigil of a 'comrade' on 14 January 1990.

THEKISO, Job (24), an AZAPO supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, in January 1989.

THEKISO, Michael Tsietsi (40), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 17 August 1990 following clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

THELA, John Peter Jabulane (19), was severely injured when he was shot by his school principal in Waterval-Boven, Tvl, in 1986. Mr Thela was with a group of students protesting against the school principal at the time.

THELEDI, Jappie , was shot and killed by IFP supporters during political conflict at Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 13 June 1993. Mr Theledi was killed and two persons were injured in the attack. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0343).

THELEDI, Phuti Evelyn (18), a Cosas member, was arrested in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 8 April 1986 and subsequently sentenced to two years' imprisonment. She was released on 18 October 1988. While at Klerksdorp prison, Ms Theledi was held in solitary confinement for a month and was allegedly deprived of food. Ms Theledi was arrested with nine other people including her mother after political conflict erupted in Vosloorus following the funeral of an MK operative.

THELEDI, Tshupo (16), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and kicked, allegedly by members of the SADF, in Vosloorus, Tvl, in May 1986 after the burial of an MK operative who had allegedly been killed by police.

THELEDI, Wilhemina Mmakutu (39), was severely assaulted on 8 April 1986 and then detained briefly by members of the SAP who were looking for her children whom they alleged were involved in burning a neighbour's house. Ms Theledi's daughter was detained on the same day and later sentenced to two years' imprisonment. This incident occurred during escalating conflict in Vosloorus after the funeral of an MK operative. Ms Theledi had an operation on her eye as a result of the assault and continues to suffer from her injuries.

THEMA, Paulous Teboho (20), was shot by IFP supporters while he was standing with other people by the side of a road in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 May 1992. There were numerous attacks by unidentified gunmen who opened fire randomly at groups of people in Sebokeng at this time.

THEMANE, Samuel Isaac (19), was stabbed with knives and severely beaten on a train bound for

Germiston, Tvl, on 27 November 1992. A group of unidentified men boarded the train and attacked Mr Themane when he could not produce his identity document. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

THEMBA, Eunice, the housekeeper of a senior MK commander in Mbabane, Swaziland, suffered intimidation by Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives at their home during 1988. Ms Themba was tied up and kept in the bathroom whilst the house was illegally searched. A *Vlakplaas* operative was granted amnesty (AC/2001/070).

THEMBA, Msisimanya Joseph (79), was shot and killed, allegedly by an IFP supporter, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 24 June 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

THEMBA, Simon Kgosiemang (20), was injured in a shooting by named members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 9 March 1994. On the previous day pupils had protested against teachers at a school in Madibogo village.

THEMBANI, Nderzile W ilson, was shot dead by members of the SAP during unrest in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 17 April 1985.

THEMBE, Brian, a member of the SAP, was shot dead in an armed attack by MK operatives on the Moroka police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1979. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

THEMBELA, Zibokokwakhe Jef frey (22), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 November 1989, in intense political conflict.

THEMELI, Mushavho Victor (20), a student activist, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Makwarela, Venda, in August 1977 while he was mobilising against the use of Afrikaans in schools at a student gathering in the local stadium.

THENJEKW AYO, Nkosinathi B, was one of four MK operatives killed in an ambush by Security Branch operatives near Piet Retief, Tvl, on 12 June 1988. See PIET RETIEF AMBUSHES. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander of Eastern Transvaal and of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/273).

THENJW AYO, Innocent Nkosinathi, an MK operative, was shot dead when he was led into an ambush by *Vlakplaas* operatives near the Swaziland border in Piet Retief, Tvl, on 12 June 1988. Three other MK operatives were killed in the attack and a fourth was killed on the other side of the border. Their family members were notified and flown to Piet Retief to identify the bodies. The perpetrators applied for amnesty. See PIET RETIEF AMBUSHES.

THEODOPOLOS, A, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg, on 4 March 1986. The head of MK's Special Operations was granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

THETHWAYO, Mthokozisi James (27), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured when IFP supporters opened fire on people at a taxi rank in

Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 8 December 1991, allegedly in an attempt to drive ANC supporters from the area. Mr Thethwayo lost the sight in one eye as a result of the shooting.

THEUNISSEN, ACE, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

THEUNISSEN, HA, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

THEUNISSEN, Lizette, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives opened fire in the Steaks restaurant in Claremont, Cape Town, on 26 December 1992. Five people were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

THEUNISSEN, SD, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

THEYS, Christopher Thami, an activist, was arrested during the state of emergency in Johannesburg, on 12 June 1986 and detained at John Vorster Square, where he was tortured and kept in solitary confinement.

THEYS, Mildred (38), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by members of the SAP in June 1986 in Alexandra, Johannesburg, during the state of emergency.

THIBEDI, Dimakatso Mahae (18), had her home bombed by members of the Security Branch at Hammanskraal, Tvl, in 1987. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

THIBEDI, Ipeleng Mahae (6), had her home bombed by members of the Security Branch in 1987 at Hammanskraal, Tvl. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

THIBEDI, Jerry, a COSATU official, survived the bombing of his home at Makopane, Bophuthatswana, by a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch on 22 October 1987. Immediately after the explosion, Mr Thibedi and members of his family were detained by the Bophuthatswana Security Branch.

Three Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/1999/030; AC/1999/031 and AC/1999/0272).

THIBEDI, Tshidi Sinah (25), had her home bombed by members of the Security Branch in 1987 at Hammanskraal, Tvl. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

THIBELA, Thipanang Mathews , a UDF supporter, was shot and killed, by supporters of the Sofasonke Party in Mapaleng, Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, on 29 December 1989.

THIBELI, Elsie Mantai (aka 'Elsie Mokoena') (19), was one of two women killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 August 1993. The two women were believed to have been IFP collaborators. Two SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0346).

THIBILE, Litaba Jimmy (21), was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 24 April 1992.

THIKA, Rapula (15), a Botswana citizen, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces and *Vlakplaas* operatives on homes at Ditharapeng village, Ramathlabama, Botswana, 1000 metres from the South African border, on 11 December 1988. An MK operative was also killed, and three homes were destroyed. The *Vlakplaas* commander and eight of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/108).

THIMULA, Assen Jeremia (aka 'Tallman Bam') , an MK operative, was one of four people killed in two ambushes by Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives on 14 August 1986. One ambush was near Nerston, Tvl, the other on the Swazi side of the border. Eleven Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives, including the commanders of Ermelo Security Branch and of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty for the killing of the MK operatives (AC/2001/148).

THINANE, Elias Mvulane (26), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 21 July 1993 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

THINDA, Mongisi Sonny Tys (24), an ANC supporter, was detained, tortured with electric shocks and severely beaten by members of the SAP at the Reddersburg police station, OFS, in March 1988. He was one of an unknown number of youths who had been *toy-toying* and were taken to the police station, where they were beaten.

THINDA, Toko Koos Mvala (40), was assaulted by named SAP members in Reddersburg, OFS, on 2 September 1981 during the state of emergency. Mr Thinda was also assaulted by AWB members in Bloemfontein in September 1990. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

THINDA, Tuys, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by alleged SAP members in Bloemfontein in 1989.

THIPE, Mogorosi Jacob , was stabbed to death by members of the THREE MILLION GANG in Kroonstad, OFS, on 2 March 1985, during political conflict.

THIPE, Petrus, was shot and killed by members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, on 11 May 1985 during unrest in the area when a post office and the Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet were burnt down.

THIPE, Tolamo Paul (21), an MK cadre, was arrested on 14 June 1988 while crossing the border into Swaziland. He was detained for three months.

THIPE, Vincent Johannes Gaolalwe (10), was shot and injured by members of the SAP outside his home

in Dithlake, Koffiefontein, OFS, in 1990. He was eating outside the house when police opened fire in his direction, injuring him.

THIPE, Zacharia Oshupile (32), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by ANC members for breaking a stayaway call in Tikwana, Hoopstad, OFS, on 4 July 1992.

THITHIZA, Muntuza Sgadlane , was shot and killed by an IFP member during political conflict at Izingolweni, Port Shepsone, Natal, on 19 May 1991. An amnesty applicant testified that he killed Mr Thithiza because he believed him to be an ANC supporter. He was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0339).

THLAPI, Ramatua Nicholas , was abducted by members of the SAP in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, on 21 March 1986.

THOABALA, Dikeledi Mar tha, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

THOANE, Nthisane Paulina (13), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and migrant workers from the hostels in the Christmas 1976 period.

THOBA, Mzuvukile , was shot and injured at a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 26 March 1991, allegedly by named IFP supporters. Fifteen people died in the attack which took place during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

THOBEDI, Nicholas , was killed when police fired randomly at schoolchildren taking part in a stayaway in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 25 March 1986. At the time, there was tension over the presence of police in the township.

THOBEJANE, N, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

THOBEJANE, Tsoaledi Daniel (22), an AZAPO activist, lost an eye after being detained and tortured by named Lebowa Police members in Mahwelereng, Lebowa, on 4 April 1985.

THOBELA, Eva Zanele (19), a COSAS official, died on 17 June 1985 after a hand grenade was thrown into her home by named members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 9 May 1985.

THOBELA, Joseph Fanikie , was shot dead, allegedly by named members of the SAP, at a taxi rank in Komatipoort, Tvl, on 1 May 1986.

THOBELA, Joseph , was arrested on 27 June 1985 at Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, shortly after his two student activist daughters died following a hand grenade explosion at their home. He was detained for 12 months and eventually charged with treason.

THOBELA, Patricia Sonto , a COSAS secretary, died when a hand grenade was thrown at her home by named members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 9 May 1985.

THOBELA, Vusi Richard (37), an ANC member, was beaten and kept in solitary confinement by police for more than three months from 28 March 1993 at the Hazyview police station in Tvl. Mr Thobela was arrested while bringing in weapons and ammunition from Mozambique to distribute to East Rand SELF-DEFENCE UNITS (SDU), and he was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

THOBELA, Zodwa Lephina , lost her house in a hand grenade attack by named members of the SAP at Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, on 9 May 1985. Ms Thobela lost two daughters as a result of the attack. They were both COSAS members.

THOBI, Douglas (24), an ANCYL supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 December 1992 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

THOKO, Minah , was injured when her home, which belonged to an ANC supporter, was petrol-bombed by named perpetrators in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 June 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

THOKOANA, Lerotholi Ben (20), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 21 February 1992 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

THOLE, Zandisile Dudana (22), was shot by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 13 August 1985.

THOLO, Noto William (25), was shot and injured by a named member of the Municipal Police in Tembisa, Tvl, on 15 March 1986. Youths had targeted a nightclub owned by a local councillor when the policemen guarding the club gave chase, injuring Mr Tholo. At the time, local councillors and their property were often seen as legitimate targets in the struggle against apartheid.

THOMAS, Charmaine Daisy (23), was assaulted in her home in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, by members of the KWAZULU POLICE in 1990. The police wanted information on the whereabouts of her husband, a COSATU member.

THOMAS, Francis Thati (25), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Ga-Kgapane, Lebowa, in 1986.

THOMI, Mzimkhulu Simon (17), died after being knocked down by a delivery van in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 16 June 1976, the first day of the SOWETO UPRISING. The delivery truck was attacked by students and Mr Thomi was killed when the driver lost control of the vehicle.

THOMPSON, Glen , was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) who were fleeing from a roadblock in Dawn Park, Germiston, Tvl, on 29 October 1992. Another civilian was injured in the incident. Two SDU members were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/197 and AC/2000/0139).

THOMPSON, Leon , an ANC supporter, was shot and killed when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

THOMPSON, Marsheen Thandi (37), was shot and injured by members of the SAP when her husband was arrested in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg, on 7 December 1983. Her husband and brother-in-law were suspected of being MK members. Ms Thompson's arm had to be amputated as a result of her injuries.

THOMPSON, Robert Patric (37), was arrested at his home in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg, on 7 December 1983 and detained without trial for two months, on suspicion of being an MK member. His wife was shot and injured during his arrest.

THOOE, Maria Mathooe (26), was shot and injured by members of the SAP and IFP supporters while watching an IFP funeral procession in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 3 August 1991.

THOPI, Nomvula Clara (42), had her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack on 12 June 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

THORPE, Nawaaldien (18), a student activist and member of the BMW, was detained in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, in July 1987, and was severely beaten by named and other members of a special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT.

THOSE, Fanie Bafana , was shot by members of the SAP in Springs, Tvl, in July 1982 when management at Grootvlei mine called in police during a labour dispute.

THOSHOLO, Ndimiso Timoti (16), was shot in the head and permanently disabled while watching television in a house in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 10 December 1989. There were numerous deaths and injuries that month after members of the pro-government Crossroads committee broke away to support the ANC.

THUBANA, Yenu Johannes (32), had his house destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the INCORPORATION of Goederede into Lebowa because it would grant him chief rule, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION which resulted in violent conflict.

THUBANE, Geelbooi Bangani (19), was shot dead by members of the KwaNdebele Police in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 June 1986 because he allegedly looked like a 'comrade'. The area was tense after the government attempted its INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

THUBE, Limakatso Maria (49), was severely burnt by ANC supporters in Koppies, OFS, on 6 November 1992, during political conflict in the area. Ms Thube and others were taken before a 'people's court' and were tried and sentenced to death by burning. She managed to escape after being set alight, but died three days later. Two of the alleged perpetrators were charged, convicted and sentenced to death. Their sentences were later commuted to life imprisonment.

THUHLO, Eric Moejalifa (15), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by a named community COUNCILLOR in De Aar, Cape, on 27 October 1991.

THUKUZA YO, Soyiso Shadrack, a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was injured during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative, who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup, later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

THULARE, Gregory, suffered an attempt on his life in 1986 when shots were fired at his home at Tembisa, Tvl, by a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch who suspected him of supporting the ANC. Three Northern Transvaal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, and a member of an SAP Special Investigation Unit were granted amnesty (AC/2001/0062).

THULE, Thuleleni (48), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Emabhecani, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 August 1991, allegedly in an attempt to force the family to leave the area.

THULELA, Sonwabile (25), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP on 23 July 1985 at Phakamisa High School in Zwile, Port Elizabeth. Scholars were involved in a student protest when police randomly shot at students, killing two and injuring six others, including teachers. The perpetrators were found guilty of murder and attempted murder and were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment but did not serve their sentence.

THULO, Emily (35), was severely injured when she was repeatedly beaten by opponents of Chief Lion in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, on 4 December 1976. At the time, there was a dispute between contesting groups over the chieftainship of the Bataung.

THULO, Martha Mampoke (23), was shot and injured by members of the SAP while she was collecting rent cards during a rent boycott in Khuma, Stilfontein, Tvl, on 28 February 1986. Police reportedly came to the hospital to arrest Ms Thulo, but nurses denied she was there and warned her to escape.

THULO, Norah Mpho, was shot in the hand and thigh in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 10 May 1992 during conflict between ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

THUNGO, Babazi Bhekuyise, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Johannesburg, on 6 April 1992 due to his trade union activities.

THUNTUL WANA, Nkululeko Simon (15), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Bongweni, Kokstad, Natal, on 2 May 1990, during extended Workers' Day protests. An inquest reportedly found that the perpetrators were acting in self-defence, though Nkululeko was shot in the back of the head.

THUNYISW A, Evelyn Masego (22), a SASCO member, was arrested by members of the SAP on 17 September 1977. She was tortured with electric shocks and kept in a dark room filled with teargas for three hours at the Warrenton police station in Vryburg, Cape. She had been on her way to Steve Biko's funeral in King William's Town, Cape.

THUPAEMANG, Gonnangang Jack (19), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Kuruman, Cape, on 11 February 1994, while *toy-toying* at his school. The students were protesting the poor condition of their school.

THUSANA, Mhoyi Amon (44), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by a representative of the Lebowa government in Casteel, Tzaneen, Tvl, in June 1986. Mr Thusana's name was on a list of people accused of witchcraft.

THUSI, Abednigo Maviyo, was killed in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, allegedly by members of the KWAZULU POLICE (KZP), on 5 October 1991. KZP members were alleged to be colluding with the IFP and attacking ANC supporters.

THUSI, Dudzile Josephine, was shot dead by named IFP members at Ntuzi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 28 June 1993 for not attending the weekly IFP general meetings. All all who failed to attend were labelled *amaqabane*.

THUSI, Ernest Beki (38), a member of the Sibongile Civic Association, was detained under emergency regulations in Newcastle, Natal, on 16 June 1986. In detention, he was severely beaten and tortured by members of the Security Branch, allegedly because he was thought to be involved in organising a rates boycott in Sibongile township.

THUSI, Kehla, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by fellow ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 15 July 1993 in the course of a serious internal feud.

THUSI, Maxwell, a member of the UDF-supporting Umlazi Youth League, was assaulted and then died from smoke inhalation when his house in Durban was attacked and burnt down on 23 October 1985. This incident occurred during ongoing conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters following the killing of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in August 1985.

THUSI, Mbeki Ziphred (22), a hostel-dweller, was abducted after leaving the hostel in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, in August 1976 during conflict between residents, hostel-dwellers and police. He has never been seen since. A newspaper reported that six people were killed that day, two allegedly shot by police. **THUSI, Mkeyi Alpheus**, disappeared while travelling from Greytown to visit family in KwaMashu, Durban, during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in November 1990. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

THUSI, Sandile, was assaulted by Inkatha supporters in Durban on 23 October 1985 during political conflict following the killing of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in August.

THUSI, Siphon Witness (24), was left paralysed after being assaulted with iron pipes and axes by IFP supporters on a recruitment drive in Isipingo, Natal, on 12 February 1993.

THUSI, Soni , was shot dead by an IFP supporter in Estcourt, Natal, on 26 October 1993. Mr Thusi had been invited to help the IFP supporters burn houses belonging to ANC supporters.

THUSI, Thembinkosi Wiseman (27), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in Inanda New Town, Durban, in November 1989. The following day his house was set alight and destroyed.

THUSI, Thembuyise , an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 15 July 1993.

THUSI, Thithi , a member of the Umlazi Youth League and a political activist, had her home destroyed in an arson attack at Durban on 23 October 1985 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters following the killing of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in August.

THUSINI, John Simphiwe , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

THUSINI, Nomfundo (10), was shot dead on January 1987 in the KWAMAKHUTHA MASSACRE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirteen people were killed, including eight children, in an attack carried out by Inkatha supporters. Two former Inkatha members were granted amnesty for their role in planning the attack (AC/1999/0332).

THUSINI, Phumzile (8), was shot dead on January 1987 in the KWAMAKHUTHA MASSACRE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirteen people were killed, including eight children, in an attack carried out by Inkatha supporters. Two former Inkatha members were granted amnesty for their role in planning the attack (AC/1999/0332).

THUSINI, Sanele (4), was shot dead on January 1987 in the KWAMAKHUTHA MASSACRE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirteen people were killed, including eight children, in an attack carried out by Inkatha supporters. Two former Inkatha members were granted amnesty for their role in planning the attack (AC/1999/0332).

THUSINI, Vikiile (7), was shot dead on January 1987 in the KWAMAKHUTHA MASSACRE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirteen people were killed, including eight children, in an attack carried out by Inkatha supporters. Two former Inkatha members were granted amnesty for their role in planning the attack (AC/1999/0332).

THUSIS, Mbuso (6), was shot dead on January 1987 in the KWAMAKHUTHA MASSACRE at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Thirteen people were killed, including eight children, in an attack carried out by Inkatha supporters. Two former Inkatha members were granted amnesty for their role in planning the attack (AC/1999/0332).

THUTSE, Mamonakane Steven , died after he was stabbed and stoned by followers of the local chief in Moganyaka, Lebowa, in November 1990. Mr Thutse was with a well-known opponent of the chief of the village, who had queried the use of community funds, when the incident occurred.

THUTSHANA, Ndihambile , was shot dead on 11 December 1990, allegedly by IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict in Tokoza, Tvl.

THUTSHANA, Wilson (46), was stabbed and injured on 11 December 1990 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

THUTSHINI, Phumile Pinky (5), had her family home destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, during ongoing political conflict in the area in 1993.

THUTSHINI, Thokozile Jessie (60), an ANC supporter, survived an armed attack on her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 1 January 1993, during ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

THWABU, Siyabulela (22), an APLA member from Bizana, Transkei, was shot dead by Basotho paramilitary force members in March 1985 at Qacha's Nek, Lesotho, close to the Lesotho-Transkei border. Five other APLA members died in this incident, which occurred at a time of increased LLA activity in the area aimed at destabilising the pro-ANC government of Chief Leabua Jonathan. The Basotho security forces claimed they had mistaken the APLA unit for LLA members. APLA and the LLA were closely connected at the time.

THWALA, Anna Lesia (61), lost her house in a petrol bomb attack by ANC supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 24 July 1992 during conflict between rival unions. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in this township from July to December 1992.

THWALA, Cornelius (28), was shot in the arm by members of the SAP in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, in July 1992 during conflict between rival unions. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in this township from July to December 1992.

THWALA, Daphney Nozipho (32), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

THWALA, Martha Olga , was shot and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, in a shebeen in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 16 June 1992, the anniversary of the 1976 SOWETO UPRISING. Seven people died in the attack and the shebeen-owner lost an eye.

THWALA, Mhlupheki (45), was beaten, hacked with axes, shot and his body was set alight by alleged ANC supporters in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 2 March 1985 because he was accused of stealing cattle during political conflict.

THWALA, Mntothini Jacob (43), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1992.

THWALA, Mxolisi , a suspected IFP member, was shot and killed by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1993. Mr Thwala was allegedly given the option of joining the SDU or killing his own father, an IFP member. He refused the latter and was then shot dead. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0348).

THWALA, Simon Mosotho (64), was shot in the chest and eye by members of the SAP in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, in July 1992 during conflict between rival unions. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in this township from July to December 1992.

THWALA, Tamsanqa William (23), was shot in the face by members of the ISU in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 19 June 1993, after marching with other residents to the police station to deliver a memorandum protesting against the violent forced removals of certain residents by a named Crossroads leader. Mr Thwala lost partial vision in an eye.

THWALA, Thulani Napoleon (40), was shot dead by IFP supporters from Steadville men's hostel at Ladysmith, Natal, on 20 September 1993 in continuing political conflict in the area.

THWALA, Zintle , an ANC supporter, was beaten by named perpetrators in Matatiele, Transkei, on 30 March 1990. A group of men associated with the traditional authorities and opposed to the launch of an ANC branch attacked numerous homes and persons associated with the ANC.

THWANE, Samuel Galeboe , was detained, beaten and subjected to electric shock treatment by members of the Special Branch in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 12 February 1988 after an attempted coup in the homeland.

THWANI, Mamoruti Johanna (51), a Sotho speaker, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters in the Hlobane mine compound, near Vryheid, Natal, in February 1986. Zulus accused Xhosas and Sothos on the mines of being ANC supporters.

THYSE, Jan (49), a minister of religion and a UDF supporter, was arrested with 27 other clergy during the POLLSMOOR MARCH on 28 August 1985, and held in humiliating conditions for five days at Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town. The day after their arrest they were severely suffocated when a teargas canister was thrown into the closed police vehicle that was taking them to court.

TIBANE, Rinanga Simon (44), was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the SAP at Matsulu, Kwangwane, during protests in the area on 16 May 1991.

TIBANE, Wilson (15), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nkowankowa, Tzaneen, Tvl, as he participated in a march launching the UDF on 21 February 1986.

TIFI, Thembisa (11), was shot and injured by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 11 August 1985.

TIHABUDUGWANE, Mofana Stephen (26), a member of the Bophuthatswana Police, was burnt to

death when the Casspir he was driving in was set alight in Braklaagte, Bophuthatswana, on 1 July 1989. The incident occurred during violent opposition to the presence of security forces in Braklaagte and conflict over the INCORPORATION of Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein into Bophuthatswana.

TIKA, Tandeka Euglet (40), had her house petrol-bombed by UDF supporters in New Crossroads, Cape Town, on 19 March 1986.

TILE, Sicelo Raymond (15), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP while he was returning from a funeral in Grahamstown, Cape, in August 1977.

TILL, Brenda , was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

TIMANE, Themba , was shot and killed by members of the SAP in Matsulu, KaNgwane, in June 1986 during political conflict in the area.

TIMBA, Ethel Nomalungelo (40), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP while she was attending the funeral of a victim of violent political conflict in Nemato, Port Alfred, Cape, on 16 November 1984. She was then detained, charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

TIMBANE, Mkhotsane (52), had his house burnt down in Maboloko, Bophuthatswana, in 1975 during political conflict over the creation of Lebowa.

TIMOL, Ahmed Essop (30), a member of the ANC and SACP, died in a staged suicide after he had been detained and tortured by members of the Special Branch at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, during October 1971.

TINA, Polisa (33), a PAC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in December 1962 during a campaign against self-government in Cofimvaba, Transkei.

TINGANA, Nonkolelo , an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the CDF on 26 December 1991 in King William's Town, Cape.

TINGANA, Sipo Douglas (59), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the CDF and Ciskei Police at KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 26 December 1991 during political conflict over the reimposition of the headman system.

TINI, Siyabonga Gideon (26), an IFP supporter, was declared dead on arrival at Baragwanath hospital, Soweto, Johannesburg, after he was shot by ANC supporters at Westgate in Johannesburg, on 21 November 1991.

TINTO, Christmas Fihla (35), an ANC member and later UDF official in Cape Town, was detained for long periods and severely tortured by named members of the SAP in 1960, 1963, 1968 and 1976. In this period he was banned for five years. He was also convicted

of ANC-related offences in 1963 and 1977 but was released from Robben Island after winning the appeals. He was detained in 1985 for several months and again in 1986 for 14 months. On his release in February 1988 he was placed under restriction orders.

TIRE, Carol Nosi , was assaulted by members of the Security Branch after she was detained under emergency regulations in Kimberley, Cape, in June 1986. She was released without charge after several months.

TIRO, Abram Onkgopotse (29), a founding member of SASO and the BPC representative in Botswana, was killed by a parcel-bomb explosion on 1 February 1974 at St Joseph's Catholic Mission in Khale, near Gaborone, Botswana. While the identity of the perpetrators has not been established, available evidence indicates that the assassination was the result of a South African security force operation. Mr Tiro was from Dinokana, near Zeerust, Tvl.

TIRO, Majalefa Andrew Sthando (13), was shot and injured by members of the SAP and the Riot Squad in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, in 1989, when police opened fire on students who were stoning their school during a protest. Majalefa was allegedly shot while running away from the protest.

TITOTI, Thamsanqa Bartholomeu (44), lost his home in Rweleleyathunya, Rouxville, OFS, on 23 September 1990, in an arson attack by ANC supporters, allegedly because he supported the school principal during a student boycott. Mr Titoti's wife, Ms Vuyelwa Magawu, was killed in the same attack.

TITUS, Floors Albertus (21), an ANC supporter and prominent political activist, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Welkom, OFS, in August 1991, allegedly in a targeted killing.

TITUS, Johannes Petrus Hendry (16), was shot and left with permanent serious injuries by members of the SAP in Athlone, Cape Town, on 3 September 1976, during the SOWETO UPRISING. He was detained for two weeks in 1986 under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

TITUS, Raymond (22), an ANC supporter, was beaten by SAP members in Elsies River, Cape Town, during 1989. In 1992 he was arrested, taken to a bushy area, and severely beaten by police after a student protest march in Elsies River. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

TIYA, Aga Khan , an MK operative, was arrested in October 1988 in Umtata, Transkei. An arms cache was reportedly found at the same time. Two weeks after the arrest Mr Tiya appeared in the intensive care ward of the Umtata hospital, his throat having been cut while in custody. He was released and subsequently died under unexplained circumstances.

TIYA, Linah Nomvula (72), was shot by members of the SAP on 19 November 1985 in Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape. The police were allegedly shooting at a person who had sought refuge in Mr Tiya's house.

TIYO, Fezile (48), an ANC supporter, was detained at his home in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, on 12 June 1986 and held for at least 18 months under emergency regulations in Victor Verster prison, Paarl. During his

detention he was tortured and held for periods in solitary confinement. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

TIYO, Moses Banzi (21), a UDF supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP in Aberdeen, Cape, on 31 December 1985. He was charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to three years' imprisonment with 18 months suspended for five years conditionally.

TIYO, Zoliswa Florence (11), was shot dead on 19 August 1976 in White Location, near Port Elizabeth, in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING that had spread to townships around the country.

TJIANE, Jimmy , was beaten to death by IMBOKODO vigilantes in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 following government attempts to force INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

TJIANE, Philemon , was abducted from his home and severely assaulted by IMBOKODO vigilantes at Siyabuswa community hall on 1 January 1986. She and others were put in a room where the floor had been deliberately soaped to make it slippery and were then sjambokked and beaten where they fell. Between 200 and 360 individuals were abducted and assaulted for about 36 hours. The attacks, led by named KwaNdebele government officials, were designed to suppress resistance to INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

TJOTJO, Petr us , disappeared from the taxi rank in Vereeniging, Tvl, on 1 March 1993. A gangster known as the 'Vaal Monster', allegedly aligned to the IFP, is suspected of being involved because he was seen driving Mr Tjotjo's minibus after he disappeared. The KHETISI KHESWA GANG harassed the community and a key witness to the disappearance was allegedly raped by members of his gang.

TLADI, Basi , a civilian, was shot at by APLA operatives in Katlehong, Tvl, on 21 January 1993, allegedly because of the assistance he had given to the SAP in an investigation. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0051).

TLADI, Lethula Jacob (65), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana, on 4 July 1975 during conflict over forced removals and the INCORPORATION of the area into Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa.

TLAKA, Johannes , was severely beaten in Moutse, KwaNdebele, on 1 January 1986 after government tried to force INCORPORATION into KwaNdebele.

TLAKA, William Letlakane (38), a SACCABU member, was shot dead by members of the Lebowa Police in Motetema, Tvl, on 8 March 1986.

TLAKE, Josias Mahau (14), was shot and killed by SAP members in Petrus Steyn, OFS, on 26 November 1987. The police sprayed teargas, destroying property, when they attempted to arrest him at his house in Petrus Steyn.

TLALE, Kereng Patrick (26), was shot and injured by named members of the SAP while trying to run away during intense political conflict in Lichtenburg, Tvl, on 13 August 1987.

TLEALE, Mahlomola Isaac , an ANC supporter, was detained and beaten in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in September 1963.

TLALI, Sechele Benjamin (37), was severely beaten by members of the A-TEAM in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 13 November 1987.

TLAMAMA, Matsobane April , was arrested at Katjibane, KwaNdebele, in 1978 and detained for three years for resisting the INCORPORATION of the area into KwaNdebele.

TLEANE, Thabang Ephraim , a ANCYL member, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 30 October 1993 during violence between IFP and ANC supporters.

TLHABATLHABA, Molehe Zacharia , an ANC supporter, was tortured at home in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 21 March 1989 by members of the SAP, some of whom are named. He was interrogated about his political activities in the area.

TLHANYANE, Maitlomola David (21), was shot dead on 13 April 1991 in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, by two people allegedly linked to the SAP. Mr Tlhanyane was involved in trying to forge a peace deal between rival factions of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS at the time.

TLHAPANE, Phillip Mosire , a founder member of the Mohlakeng Civic Association, was detained and tortured during the state of emergency in Randfontein and Krugersdorp, Tvl, in 1985.

TLISANE, Lebohlang Samuel , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Khuma, Stilfontein, Tvl, on 28 February 1986.

TLOANE, Philemon Lesiba (17), a Soweto SRC member, was beaten to death by members of the SAP at Diepkloof, Soweto, Tvl, on 15 June 1977. A crowd of students had allegedly just fled when police vans arrived near a supermarket. Although he appeared from a different direction, Mr Tloane was attacked and beaten.

TLOU, Andries Thapi , was shot, stabbed and stoned to death by a named perpetrator in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 13 August 1973.

TLOU, Charles Ngoti (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. The attack was allegedly motivated by Molefe's refusal to call up men in his area to defend the IFP. An IFP leader was implicated in the attack. Eleven ANC youths were killed and seven injured.

TLOU, Daniel Sekwakwa , had his home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because Mr Tlou resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

TLOU, Fani , was shot dead by IFP supporters at a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 26 March 1991. Alexandra was tense following clashes between IFP and ANC supporters.

TLOU, Hilda , was shot and injured by named IFP supporters at a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 26 March 1991. Fifteen people died in the attack after clashes between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

TLOU, Jabulani Simon (27), was shot in the knee and left foot and beaten with a rifle butt, reportedly for refusing to supply named members of the KwaNdebele Police with liquor in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, on 29 June 1988.

TLOU, Khonjiwe Peikie (34), had her house destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported incorporation because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted, causing violent conflict.

TLOU, Mdlophe Johanna (25), had her house destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported incorporation because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted, which caused violent conflict.

TLOU, Nyonkana Poppie (55), had her property destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in July 1975 at Goederede, near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, during conflict over INCORPORATION into Lebowa. Chief Mahlangu supported incorporation because it would grant him chief rule but many residents resisted, which caused violent conflict.

TLOU, Piet , was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by an MK operative from the 'Dolphin Unit', exploded at the entrance to the Department of Foreign Affairs building in Johannesburg on 15 December 1983. Seven people were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

TLOU, Rose , was shot dead by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, at a night vigil on 26 March 1991 following conflict between IFP-aligned hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

TOBELA, Annah (46), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by ANC supporters on 6 December 1989.

TOBEZWENI, Mandla (30), an ANC supporter, was detained on 20 July 1987 in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in a clampdown on ANC and MK operatives. In detention, he was tortured by members of the Ciskei Police on 20 and 22 July 1987.

TOBIAS, Molefi Richard (43), was hacked and injured in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 22 July 1990 during an attack by IFP supporters after an IFP rally at the Sebokeng stadium. Nineteen people were killed in this incident.

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

TOBIN, Derek (45), was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA

ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

TOD, Michael Gor don, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

TOFILE, Golden Sidaphi (21), was severely beaten on his arrest in Paarl, Cape, on 18 June 1986. He was then detained under emergency regulations for three months at Victor Verster prison. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

TOFILE, Victoria (40), was shot and injured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 22 May 1993 by a group of armed attackers, allegedly IFP supporters, who came to her shop and randomly opened fire, killing her brother and seriously injuring her young cousin. Earlier that day nine people were killed and 69 injured in clashes between ANC and IFP supporters and police. Violence erupted after a group of unidentified gunmen fired at Tokoza hostel during an ANC march to present a petition at the Alberton police station.

TOFU, Wilfred (73), a community COUNCILLOR and PAC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack in Mfuleni, Cape Town, in 1992, during the ANC's campaign to force councillors to resign.

TOHLANG, Blandina, suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

TOISE, Mtshutshisisi Christopher (50), a local squatter leader and MK operative, was detained and tortured by named policemen in Guguletu, Cape Town, in April 1986. He was charged with murder but was acquitted. He lost his home near Crossroads, Cape Town, in May 1986 during the attacks by WITDOEKE vigilantes. He was severely beaten and detained by police under SECTION 29 in February 1989 and was sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

TOKO, Goodman (24), was shot dead by members of the CDF near Egerton railway station, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 4 August 1983 during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

TOKO, Monwabisi (21), a UDF supporter and COSATU member, lost his home in an arson attack by WITDOEKE vigilantes near Crossroads, Cape Town, in May 1986 during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. During these events he was also shot and injured by the SAP.

TOKO, Raymond (24), was severely beaten by members of the SAP at his home in Zweletemba, Worcester, Cape, on 16 June 1986. He was then detained for three months under emergency regulations. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

TOKOTA, Mzwandile Wellington (49), an ANC supporter, was assaulted by members of the CDF in Dikidikana, near King William's Town, Cape, on 6

September 1992 while attending a meeting at Mngqesha Primary School.

TOKWE, Nomvana Yvonne (14), was shot by members of the SAP while returning from a funeral service in Port Alfred, Cape, on 16 November 1984.

TOKWE, Richard (54), a UDF supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Transkei Police during political conflict in Butterworth, Transkei, in August 1985.

TOLI, Mlungisi Joseph (18), was abducted and beaten by ANC supporters in Kroonstad, OFS, in February 1991, following his acquittal on a charge of killing an ANC 'comrade'. He then joined the THREE MILLION GANG. In June 1991, Mr Toli was detained, beaten and tortured by members of the SAP, allegedly because he had information about the activities of the gang.

TOLO, Joseph Manne (48), was constantly harassed by Chief Ledwaba and his supporters in Mahwelereng, Lebowa, in 1977 and eventually his home was destroyed.

TOLO, Olibile Samuel Shakes (20), was arrested in Rustenburg, Tvl, in September 1977 and taken to John Vorster Square where he was detained and tortured by members of the SAP. Police mistook him for his brother who was in exile in Lusaka and detained him for seven months without trial.

TOLWANA, Nomvuyo Rebecca (23), was badly burnt in a petrol bomb attack by a named UDF supporter during political conflict between UDF and AZAPO supporters at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 19 November 1986. Ms Tolwana's boyfriend died in the attack.

TOM, Andile Goodman (16), was arrested, beaten and tortured by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, in 1984.

TOM, Bhabha W iler es (45), was shot dead by named perpetrators during conflict between the ANC and PAC supporters in Nqwaneni, Mount Fletcher, Transkei, on 22 December 1993.

TOM, Jabulane Lucas (28), was shot dead during ongoing political conflict in Vosloorus, Tvl, while on his way to the shops on 14 November 1993.

TOM, Mkongozeli Tharborn (18), a UDF supporter, was tear-gassed in his cell after being arrested on charges of public violence in Richmond, Cape, on 29 November 1985. After two months in custody he was convicted and sentenced to seven cuts. Mr Tom was detained on 16 June 1986 and held under emergency regulations for three months at Middelburg prison, Cape. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

TOM, Nofungile Letticia (39), lost her home in an arson attack during conflict between ANC and PAC supporters in Mount Fletcher, Transkei, on 22 December 1993.

TOM, Thembekile Matthews (26), was left paralysed after being sjambokked and shot by named SPECIAL CONSTABLES in Grahamstown, Cape, on 29 April 1986.

TOM, Thembinkosi (33), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP on 22 December 1993 in Mount Fletcher, Transkei, during political conflict.

TOM, Velelo Gardner (28), an MK operative, spent lengthy periods in detention in Butterworth,

Willowvale and Umtata, Transkei, between 1981 and 1988. While in detention, he was tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the torture of Mr Tom at Norwood police station, Umtata, in July and August 1987 (AC/2000/076).

TOM, Vintwambi, an SANCO member, was shot and killed by members of the SAP during political conflict in Mount Fletcher, Transkei, on 22 December 1993.

TOM, Vuyani (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

TOMMY, Zervi Gabriel (45), was shot and severely injured by members of the IFP-aligned KHUMALO GANG in Tokoza, Tvl, on 1 August 1993.

TOMOTOMO, Cornelius, was shot by IFP supporters in Pimville, Soweto, Tvl, on 17 August 1990. Mr Tomotomo was killed after clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

TOMSANA, Johnson Dalixolo (18), was shot in both legs by members of the SAP while taking part in a *toyitoyi* demonstration in Khayamnandi, Steynsburg, Cape, on 4 July 1985. At the time, there was a campaign against Black Local Authorities and SPECIAL CONSTABLES.

TOMTALA, Vuyani Isaac (21), an ANC underground member, was severely tortured by members of the Security Branch in Mafeking after returning from Botswana in 1974. He eventually returned to Transkei, where he was periodically detained, tortured and placed under house arrest.

TONETTI, G, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

TONGA, Bafana (42), lost his house in an arson attack in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1993, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

TONGA, Dlayizeka, an ANC member, was stabbed to death on 8 March 1994 in Flagstaff, Transkei, by men who had come from the Great Place of Xopozo. At the time, there was conflict between the chief's supporters and ANC supporters.

TONGA, Pikane William (35), a PAC supporter, was arrested in Queenstown, Cape, on 9 December 1962, and was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town.

TONISI, Masibulele Maxwell (aka 'Hobo W alter') (23), an MK operative from Mdantsane, Ciskei, was executed in 1984 in the Pango camp in Angola, for his part in a mutiny. Following mutinies in the Viana and Pango camps in 1984, two military tribunals ordered the execution of seven MK operatives. Mr Tonisi was one of those executed. See ANC CAMPS.

TONJENI, Africa Zwelethu (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by SAP members in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 23 September 1993, during a march to the municipal offices to hand over a list of grievances about services.

TONKY, Tina, a passenger on a Translux bus, was injured when APLA operatives fired at a Translux bus at the Gamka River Bridge, Beaufort West, Cape, on the 27 August 1993. Eight people were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/2000/167).

TONTSI, Lulamile James (18), was sjambokked and kicked until he bled by a named policeman at his home in Khayamnandi, Despatch, Cape, in June 1981, allegedly because he took part in a *toyitoyi* demonstration during a bus boycott. He was later sentenced to six lashes.

TONYELA, Miseka (23), a SAYCO member, was burnt to death in an explosion caused by members of the SAP in Grahamstown, Cape, on 22 May 1985.

TORA, Mthuthuzeli Wellington (29), was shot and injured and then detained by members of the SAP in June 1977. The incident occurred while Mr Tora was on his way to fetch some school children. Police apparently mistook him for a demonstrator during the nationwide protest against the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

TOTA, Tusi David, died after he was shot by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 3 September 1984. There was a stayaway in the township at the time, and Mr Tota was allegedly shot while participating in a march.

TOTO, Fexie Sphiwo (15), an ANC supporter, disappeared from Grahamstown, Cape, in March 1989. At the time he was awaiting trial on charges of having burnt a body in Steynsburg, Cape. He has not been seen since.

TOTOLO, Agnes Ouma (17), was shot and severely injured by members of one faction of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS and the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in December 1990 when a night vigil for an ANC supporter was attacked.

TOTOLO, Ngaba Samuel (18), a COSAS member, was detained and tortured several times in 1984 and 1986 in Bothaville, OFS, allegedly because of his role in the campaign to overthrow local government structures.

TOTOTO, Clif ford (36), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by IFP supporters, at his home in Zuma Section, Katlehong, Tvl, on 13 June 1993. His neighbour, an IFP supporter, had been shot earlier and police were removing property from her house when Mr Tototo was shot.

TOTOTO, Elliot Mcebisi (48), was shot dead during intense political conflict in Zonkesizwe, Katlehong, Tvl, on 19 November 1990, allegedly by IFP supporters.

TOTWANA, Nompumelelo (39), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in fighting between ANC and IFP supporters, the latter allegedly supported by members of the ISU, in June 1993. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

TOWEEL, HJ, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

TOYANA, Andile (22), was detained under the Terrorism Act and beaten while in police custody at King William's Town, Cape, in 1976.

TOYANA, Nombeko Amelia (40), a SANCO member, was tied to her bed and beaten in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, in 1992, by men wearing balaclavas. See BALACLAVA GROUPS.

TOYANA, Zukiswa, was severely beaten by men wearing balaclavas in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, in 1992, allegedly because her mother was a SANCO member. See BALACLAVA GROUPS.

TOYI, Velisile Lopy, was shot by members of the SAP while he was attending the funeral procession of an unrest victim at Dlepu stadium in Grahamstown, Cape, on 4 April 1985.

TOYISI, Mzwelifa, a youth activist, was tortured by named members of the Ciskei Police at the Dimbaza police station, Ciskei, on 16 June 1985, along with three of his comrades. They were then detained for three months.

TROJAK, Geor ge, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

TROLLIP, Catharina Elizabetha Magrieta, was in the vicinity of a car bomb which exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988, causing her to faint. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

TROLLIP, John R, was severely injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on patrons at the Crazy Beat Disco in Newcastle, Natal, on 14 February 1994. One person was shot dead and several others were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three APLA operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0016).

TROLLIP, T (18), was one of 18 people injured in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

TROM, Balisani Jackson (50), an ANC member from Lady Frere, Transkei, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9

December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack. Mr Trom's wife and four children survived the attack.

TROMP, Jan, was assaulted, hacked and burnt to death by members of the IFP-aligned KHUMALO GANG in Tokoza, Tvl, on 1 August 1993.

TRUEBODY, Philip, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

TRUSSELL, Julian Angelo (21), was shot in the foot by members of the SAP in Bosmont, Johannesburg, in 1980 during a stand-off between residents and police during student protests in the area.

TRUTER, Christopher (15), was shot by members of the SAP in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, on 25 August 1976, and died six days later, during the SOWETO UPRISING.

TSATSANE, Paulina Matsie (68), was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Phokeng, Bophuthatswana, on 21 March 1991 on her way to a community meeting to discuss conflict between the Bafokeng tribe and the Bophuthatswana government.

TSATSI, Maboe (aka Matshidiso Charles and Gary Nene) (32), an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the SAP and the Bophuthatswana police on 5 January 1985.

TSATSI, Paseka Emmanuel, was injured when police opened fire on a student protest march in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 19 April 1990. Five protesters were killed and six others injured in the shooting.

TSATSI, Richard, a member of SADF 21 Battalion, died under mysterious circumstances in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1994, two years after a friend and colleague in SADF 21 Battalion also died in mysterious circumstances. Mr Tsatsi had allegedly told his colleague's wife he thought his friend had been kidnapped and that officers in their unit wanted to kill him. Mr Tsatsi was a key witness in the case into his friend's death. It is alleged that members of the SADF were involved in Mr Tsatsi's death.

TSEBE, Johannes Matsobane (24), was shot and seriously injured by members of the ISU in Hammanskraal, Tvl, on 11 March 1994 shortly after the collapse of the Bophuthatswana government. Angry residents attacked and burnt down government buildings resulting in violent clashes between residents and security forces sent into the area ostensibly to restore order.

TSEHLOANE, Lentsoe Raymond (24), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted and injured by members of the Transkei Defence Force in Pontseng, Matatiele, Natal, on 8 February 1990. They suspected him of involvement in an arson attack in the Transkei.

TSEKA, Kodi Lawr ence, was beaten to death, by members of the SADF in Masemola Village, Nebo, Lebowa, in June 1986. Mr Tseka reportedly left home to bath in the river and returned seriously injured. He was taken to hospital where he died. A witness

reports that he saw Mr Tseka being beaten by members of the SADF.

TSEKELA, Morero (35), was attacked and killed by IFP supporters in Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Tvl, on 27 April 1991 during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers.

TSEKI, Lekhotla Michael (18), was shot and severely injured by SAP members during a student boycott in Bultfontein, OFS, on 28 February 1990. Police opened fire during violent protest action on the school premises.

TSELANA, Thabitha Ramatsobane (44), an ANC supporter, was beaten with knobkerries by a named perpetrator in Ga-Chipana village near Pietersburg, Tvl, in February 1980.

TSELANE, Baniti David (52), was arrested and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 6 July 1989 when he resisted the forced INCORPORATION of Mokgola village into Bophuthatswana. During 1989, about 25 000 residents were relocated from South Africa into Bophuthatswana which resulted in harassment by Bophuthatswana Police and those civilians who supported the homeland government.

TSELE, (first name not given) (child), was detained with her mother for five days without food at the Mmabatho police station in Leeuwfontein, Tvl, during July 1989. There was fierce resistance at the time to the forceful INCORPORATION of Leeuwfontein and Braklaagte into Bophuthatswana and a meeting held by the two communities was violently dispersed. Two policeman and two civilians died in the resulting conflict.

TSELE, Bhekokwale Elijah, an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

TSELE, Butane Joe, a UDF supporter, was shot dead at his home in Bophuthatswana by a covert unit of the Northern Transvaal Security Branch during 1986. The divisional commander of Northern Transvaal Security Branch and one of his operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0030).

TSELE, Joseph Seun, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Jouberton, Klerksdorp, Tvl, on 31 January 1986 during political conflict in the area. Police placed severe restrictions on his funeral and threatened the family with arrest if there was any political activity at the funeral.

TSELE, Lele Dorah (35), an ANC supporter, was detained for five days without food and severely beaten daily during July 1989 at the Mmabatho police station, Leeuwfontein, Tvl, allegedly by members of the Bophuthatswana Police. There was fierce resistance at the time to the forceful INCORPORATION of Leeuwfontein and Braklaagte into Bophuthatswana and a meeting held by the two communities was violently dispersed. Two policeman and two civilians died in the resulting conflict.

TSEMANE, James, a civilian, was shot execution-style by APLA operatives when he attempted to rescue two other civilians, during an armed vehicle ambush by the operatives, between Herschel and Lady Grey, OFS, on 19 November 1992. Three people were killed and five injured in the ambush. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/134).

TSEMBEI, Hawu Philda (40), was assaulted, injured and had her house burnt down by members of the SAP during a raid on her house in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT in 1960. She had a miscarriage as a result of her injuries. Her husband, a member of IKONGO, was arrested at gunpoint by SAP members.

TSEMBEYI, Ncamile, an ANC supporter, was imprisoned and severely beaten by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Mr Tsembezi was mentally disturbed upon his release and died five days later.

TSENASE, Clement Tsietzi (32), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Brits, Tvl, on 8 August 1984. He was reportedly waiting to board a bus during a strike by bus drivers.

TSENOLI, Mosala Andrew Potlaki (15), a COSAS activist, was severely tortured by members of the Security Branch in Ladybrand, OFS, in 1984, allegedly because he played a part in organising a SCHOOL BOYCOTT. Mosala Tsenoli suffered permanent mental damage as a result of his injuries, and could not complete his schooling.

TSENOLI, Pule Firkins Pumiks (20), an ANC supporter, was hit with a gun, put into a coffin and tear-gassed by a named member of the Security Branch in Ladybrand, OFS, in 1986, allegedly because he was mobilising students during the SCHOOL BOYCOTTS.

TSENZE, Nowowo Emily 'Nowakes' (35), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Nkqubela township, Robertson, Cape, on 16 June 1986. The police were forcing township residents to clean up the area where a boycott of service fees was in place.

TSETSEI, Kiepie Themba, was shot by named members of the SAP in Phiritona, Heilbron, OFS, on 22 July 1992. Police opened fire to disperse a crowd of protesters gathered in the street. Mr Tsetsei had not been part of the gathering and was shot in his own yard. He died from his injuries.

TSEUNE, Catherine Reabetswe (56), a member of the Schools' Crisis Committee, was severely injured when her house was petrol-bombed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 5 April 1986 during a period of conflict between the community and the Bophuthatswana government.

TSEWU, Kwalukwala Barry, a Poqo activist, was imprisoned for a year in 1962 during political conflict in Transkei, and placed under house arrest for five years in East London. On his release from prison, Mr Tsewu was vomiting blood and suffering from chest pains.

TSHABA, Lucas, was injured in a bomb explosion in Volksrust, Tvl, in June 1988, allegedly planted by a member of one of the liberation movements.

TSHABALALA, Aaron Phikabu (48), was hacked to death by armed men who boarded a Soweto-bound train at Jeppe station, and began their attack as the train passed through George Goch station, on 13 September 1990. The attackers moved through three carriages, killing approximately 26 people. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

TSHABALALA, Alfred (49), an IFP supporter, was strangled to death, allegedly by ANC-aligned self-defence unit members in Katlehong, Tvl, on 23 July 1992.

TSHABALALA, Amos Buti, was abducted into a Tokoza hostel with a group of friends, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 1 August 1993. Although his friends escaped, Mr Tshabalala has not been seen since.

TSHABALALA, Anna Lisebo (38), was shot in the back, allegedly by members of the SADF, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 13 November 1993.

TSHABALALA, Ben Mnyamana, was stabbed, hacked and set alight by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 26 March 1989 in intense political conflict in the area.

TSHABALALA, Boy (36), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and beaten when his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, was burnt down by IFP supporters on 10 June 1993 in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

TSHABALALA, Christina Nomvula (41), an ANC supporter, had her house in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by members of the ESIKHAWINI HIT SQUAD on 22 April 1994. The family home had also been burnt down by unidentified perpetrators a month earlier.

TSHABALALA, David Mtshengezeni (26), was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 October 1991, allegedly by members of the SAP. Mr Tshabalala was one of 20 people killed and 26 injured during violence following the funeral of Sam Ntuli, the assassinated general secretary of the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal when unidentified gunmen opened fire on mourners. Police were allegedly responsible for at least four of the deaths. See NTULI FUNERAL.

TSHABALALA, Enoch Doctor (16), was detained and tortured by named members of the SAP in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, on 16 September 1986. Enoch was accused of burning down a school and instigating student protests during the partial state of emergency.

TSHABALALA, Faith Funeka (26), an ANC supporter, had her home badly damaged in two petrol bomb attacks, allegedly carried out by IFP supporters, in Tokoza, Tvl, in June 1993 and on 3 July 1993. Ms Tshabalala alleges she was attacked because she refused to contribute money demanded by hostel-dwellers.

TSHABALALA, Frank (33), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death when his house was petrol-bombed, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 24 May 1993. Three other members of Mr Tshabalala's family were killed in this attack.

TSHABALALA, Gabisili W ilhemina, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF

Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

TSHABALALA, Getr ude, was severely injured when a limpet mine, planted by an MK operative from the 'Dolphin Unit', exploded at the entrance to the Department of Foreign Affairs building in Johannesburg on 15 December 1983. Seven people were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

TSHABALALA, Gibi Johannes, was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 25 April 1992.

TSHABALALA, Godfr ey, a civilian, was injured in an armed attack by MK operatives on the Moroka police station, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 May 1979. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

TSHABALALA, Hahonang Jonas (27), was killed in an arson attack on his home in Durban during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in 1989.

TSHABALALA, Isaac (45), was stabbed and injured in Katlehong, Tvl, on 8 March 1990. On the way to hospital, Mr Tshabalala was shot in the head and chest and died as a result of his wounds. This incident occurred during violent conflict between rival taxi associations in Katlehong.

TSHABALALA, Jabulani W iliam, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 3 May 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

TSHABALALA, James (37), was injured in an explosion in Daveyton, Tvl, on 17 September 1991 when the shack he was in was attacked with a hand grenade during ongoing violence in the township between IFP and ANC supporters.

TSHABALALA, Johannes (45), was stabbed to death in Mofolo, Soweto, Tvl, on 8 September 1991 by IFP supporters on their way back from a rally at Jabulani stadium. His mother was also beaten and her furniture was stolen during the attack.

TSHABALALA, Jonas Khehla (54), an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 27 June 1992.

TSHABALALA, Joseph (36), was severely injured when he was stabbed and thrown from a moving train by IFP supporters between Croesus and Langlaagte stations, Johannesburg, on 16 September 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

TSHABALALA, Joyce Ntombifikile (44), was shot and killed by a member of the SAP in her home in Umkomaas, near Durban, on 7 August 1992. A stayaway and a community march was taking place that day.

TSHABALALA, Khehla Moses, a member of the SAP, was shot at by APLA members in Katlehong, Tvl, on 21 January 1993. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0051).

TSHABALALA, Kulunyana David (18), an ANC supporter, was tortured and held in solitary confinement

for three weeks in Villiers police station, OFS, in March 1988.

TSHABALALA, Lehlohonolo Humphrey (19), a member of COSAS, was severely injured when a booby-trapped hand-grenade exploded in his hands on 25/26 June 1985. See OPERATION ZERO ZERO. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/058).

TSHABALALA, Martin (16), was shot dead by members of the SADF in Emdeni, Soweto, Tvl, on 26 August 1976 in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING.

TSHABALALA, Mcedisi , was shot in the chest and killed by IFP supporters in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1991 during ongoing clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

TSHABALALA, Mer cy, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in February 1986 during the SIX-DAY WAR.

TSHABALALA, Meshack Mkhulu (40), died when he was stabbed and thrown from a moving train in Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Tvl, on 20 November 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

TSHABALALA, Mkatshwa Michael (23), an SAP member, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 8 March 1990 while trying to take his badly injured father to hospital. His father had been attacked earlier the same day during violent conflict between rival taxi associations in Katlehong.

TSHABALALA, Mpumi (18), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death when her home was petrol-bombed, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 24 May 1993. Three other members of Ms Tshabalala's family were killed in this attack.

TSHABALALA, Nhlanhla Maria (36), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death when her home was petrol-bombed, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 24 May 1993. Three other members of Ms Tshabalala's family were killed in this attack.

TSHABALALA, Nicholas Masango , a member of the Municipal Police, was shot dead by MK operatives in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 20 January 1989. One other policeman and a civilian were also shot dead, and another policeman injured in the attack. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0246).

TSHABALALA, Nomacala Sophie (69), was beaten and her furniture was stolen and broken in Mofolo, Soweto, Tvl, on 8 September 1991 by IFP supporters on their way back from a rally at Jabulani stadium. Her son was stabbed to death during the attack.

TSHABALALA, Nomsa Constance (56), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in 1993.

TSHABALALA, Ntomzodwa Lessiah (40), an Inkatha supporter, was severely beaten with an axe and a hammer, and left for dead with a gaping wound to her forehead, by ANC youths in Hammarsdale, Natal, on 18 May 1989. The perpetrators attacked her because she had allegedly spread rumours that they had abducted and killed her son. She never returned to her home.

TSHABALALA, Peace Mziwakhe , was given harmful chemical substances while in detention at Benoni, Tvl, in September 1976. He was detained while demonstrating for the release of people arrested during the SOWETO UPRISING in June 1976.

TSHABALALA, Pearl Lindiwe , a UDF supporter active in the campaign against the incorporation of Clermont into KwaZulu, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters and CAPRIVI TRAINEES in front of her five-year-old child while she was leaving her business premises at Clermont, near Durban, on 10 February 1988. Ms Tshabalala had survived an assassination attempt on 15 October 1987. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

TSHABALALA, Per cy, an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 27 October 1992.

TSHABALALA, Petr os, was arrested in Ramatlabama, while trying to flee the country into Botswana from Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 30 November 1975. He was beaten and interrogated by members of the Security Branch and detained for a year.

TSHABALALA, Rachel Moreosi (49), had her house burnt down in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 25 June 1992 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters after the BOIPATONG MASSACRE.

TSHABALALA, Rejoice Nompumelelo (19), had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters on 26 March 1989 in intense political conflict in the area.

TSHABALALA, Rosetta Dumazile (40), had her home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in intense political conflict in the area in March 1989.

TSHABALALA, Samkele , had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1991. His uncle was killed during the same attack. Violence engulfed the area following numerous clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

TSHABALALA, Samuel , was shot and injured by unidentified perpetrators on 19 January 1993 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, during clashes between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Ratanda was tense following clashes at a local factory between IFP-aligned UWUSA members and COSATU-affiliated FAWU members over strike action.

TSHABALALA, Sarah (65), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death when her home was petrol-bombed, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 24 May 1993. Three other members of Ms Tshabalala's family were killed in this attack.

TSHABALALA, Sizakele Maria , lost her house after it was set alight by FAWU members in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 October 1992. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in the area from July to December 1992.

TSHABALALA, Stanley Mbuso , is assumed to have been burnt to death by *Vlakplaas* operatives in Vlaklaagte, KwaNdebele, during July 1986. He and eight other youths were recruited by *askaris* for

supposed military training. The activists were killed and the house they were staying in was set alight. Their bodies were burnt beyond recognition.

TSHABALALA, Thamsanqa Cliff (21), an ANC supporter, was beaten to death by members of the SAP in Vereeniging, Tvl, on 30 December 1991.

TSHABALALA, Thandumuzi Samuel, a FAWU member, was shot by IFP supporters in Balfour, Tvl, on 19 January 1993. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in the area.

TSHABALALA, Thomas (17), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in March 1990 while attending a night vigil.

TSHABALALA, Thulani Lioyd (29), was shot dead by Azanian Student Movement (AZASM) supporters in Emdeni, Soweto, Tvl, on 25 May 1986 during conflict between the UDF-aligned SAYCO and the AZAPO-aligned AZASM.

TSHABALALA, Vusumuzi Joseph (20), a COSAS member, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mzimhlophe, Soweto, Tvl, on 27 June 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

TSHABALALA, Vuyani, an ANC member, was abducted and seriously injured when he was shot and hacked by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. Eleven people were killed, nine execution-style, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

TSHABANGU, Isiah Doctor, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 23 November 1992. At the time there was a labour dispute between striking COSATU-affiliated FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-affiliated UWUSA workers. The conflict in the area between June and December 1992 included attacks on homes and the petrol bombing of buses taking workers to and from work.

TSHABANGU, Jama Johannes, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 20 August 1990, in Kagiso, Tvl, during conflict between hostel-dwellers and residents.

TSHABANGU, Madzela Jack (55), was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in KwaNdebele, KwaNdebele, in June 1986 because he opposed the independence of KwaNdebele.

TSHABANGU, Matilda Nomthandazo, an Inkatha supporter, was shot dead by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 3 October 1989.

TSHABE, Thembinkosi (15), was shot by members of the SAP while he was taking part in protest action in Venterstad, Cape, in June 1993.

TSHAKA, Miena Boniswa (47), was tear-gassed in her home on her arrest in Kimberley, Cape, on 20 November 1990. She was held in custody for two weeks with her 18-month-old grandchild after being charged with the attempted murder of a policeman. She was later acquitted.

TSHAKALA, Solomon (56), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by named perpetrators in Pongola, Tvl, on 1 January 1991.

TSHAKAZA, Macdonald Mdojijana, was tortured by members of the SAP in March 1961 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

TSHALI, Phumzile Robert (23), a UDF supporter, was assaulted with sjamboks by members of the Ciskei Police while he was waiting for public transport in Alice, Ciskei, in 1985.

TSHANDA, Mdodi, was assaulted by members of the SADF and SAP at his home at Isikelo, near Bizana, Transkei, in March 1960. He was then detained for six months.

TSHANGA, Simon Mkulu, a UDF supporter, was strangled to death by members of the SAP during the conflict between UDF and AZAPO in Walmer township, Port Elizabeth, in October 1987.

TSHANGANA, Cifi, was shot and injured by members of the CDF near Egerton railway station at Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 4 August 1983 during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

TSHANGELA, Jackie (17), was shot and severely injured in the head by a named member of the SAP in Upington, Cape, on 15 June 1986, while youth were singing and *toy-toying* on the eve of the commemoration of SOWETO UPRISING. He lost an eye in the shooting.

TSHANGELA, Mama Fennie (49), was assaulted and lost her home in Bizana, Transkei, when it was set alight in 1961 by named COUNCILLORS in the presence of members of the SAP. Ms Tshangela's husband was an IKONGO member involved in the PONDOLAND REVOLT and the police were constantly looking for him.

TSHANGELA, Theophilus, an ANC supporter, died after giving himself up to the police at Mafikeng, Tvl, in 1960. He had been on the run since his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

TSHANGWENI, Alpheus Samuel, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

TSHARANE, Alie Samuel (57), was severely beaten at a community meeting in Ga-Kibi village, Lebowa, on 10 October 1986. The meeting was called to discuss grievances against self-appointed Chief Lebogo. The chief allegedly reacted by using members of the SAP and SADF to disperse the meeting by sjambokking those attending.

TSHAUKE, Timothy Mandla, was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP in Duduza, Nigel, Tvl, in September 1984 during the partial state of emergency.

TSHAWWE, Nokufa Sophie, was injured and suffered damage to property during the BOIPATONG MASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

TSHAZI, Makutuza Shalestica (47), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Chimora,

Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

TSHAZIBANA, Wellington Mlungisi , was assaulted and died in an alleged suicide while in police custody in Alberton, Tvl, in December 1976 after being arrested for the bombing of the Carlton Centre.

TSHEGARE, Andr ew, a Jouberton Youth Congress member, was severely tortured by members of the SAP in Stilfontein, Tvl, on 8 June 1986 after an arson attack on the houses of local COUNCILLORS and police officers.

TSHEGARE, Philemon (21), a Jouberton Youth Congress member, was severely tortured by members of the SAP in Stilfontein, Tvl, on 8 June 1986 after an arson attack on the houses of local COUNCILLORS and police officers.

TSHEGARE, Pula Barry Hercules David , was arrested at Bloemfontein in 1990 while on his way to a mass rally. He was sentenced to a six-year prison term on a charge of robbery. He believes he was victimised because of his political activities.

TSHEHLA, Nkgekgethi John (42), was shot and injured by named perpetrators in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, on 23 December 1989 during conflict between Chief Rhyne Sekhukhune and Chief KK Sekhukhune.

TSHEKOESELE, Kagiso James (20), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 10 December 1992. The Bophuthatswana government was allegedly making a concerted effort at the time to discourage any support for the ANC in the area.

TSHELANE, David Baruti (60), was subjected to electric shock torture by members of the Bophuthatswana Police while in detention in Zeerust, Tvl, in June 1989. He was detained for nine months during the Wilwedagt boycott about a border dispute between the government and residents.

TSHEMESE, Fanisile (20), an ANC supporter, was kicked and assaulted by members of the SAP until he lost consciousness, during a consumer boycott in Komga, Cape, in 1990.

TSHEMESE, Geelboy V akele, died after being hacked with an axe and then 'necklaced' by UDF supporters in Philipstown, Cape, on 22 December 1985. The killing happened shortly after Mr Tshemese's son, a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN, had shot a woman dead.

TSHEMESE, Kenneth Mhleli , was shot and injured by a member of the Ciskei Police near Berlin, Cape, during August 1987. He and a friend were returning from work when police allegedly told them to run and then fired shots at them.

TSHEMESE, Lena , survived the stoning and bombing of her home in Philipstown, Cape, on 22 December 1985, in which a relative was hacked and burnt to death. The attack took place after another relative, a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN, had shot a woman dead.

TSHEMESE, Silingo Simon , a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN, was hacked with an axe on his neck and stabbed at his family home in Philipstown, Cape, on 22 December 1985, by residents angered by his fatal shooting of a

female resident earlier that day. Mr Tshemese's father was hacked and burnt to death in the attack.

TSHEMESE, Witness (62), a businessman, was shot and injured by alleged ANC members during the burning of his shop at Khayelitsha, Cape Town, in February 1991, during political conflict.

TSHENUWANI, Simon , was detained by members of the Venda Police in 1980 and kept in cells in Sibasa, Masisi, and Louis Trichardt, Tvl. Mr Tshenuwani was politically active and was allegedly detained for refusing to become an informer.

TSHEONI, S , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

TSHEPO, Ramokoni (61), had her home burnt down on 2 February 1980 at GaMatlala, Lebowa, by supporters of Chief BK Matlala because she resisted Lebowa's proposed independence from South Africa.

TSHETU, Nceba Wellington (31), a PAC member, was detained in Paarl, Cape, in 1964, and was tortured by named members of the SAP. He was then imprisoned on Robben Island where he was beaten while doing hard labour.

TSHEZI, Bhungweni , was severely beaten with a rifle-butt by members of the SAP in Bizana, Transkei, in March 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. He died from his injuries.

TSHEZI, Siyabulela , was shot dead, allegedly by a named IFP supporter, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 3 December 1990 because the family was Xhosa-speaking. This incident occurred during intense conflict when political affiliation was often associated with ethnic identity.

TSHEZI, Thombeka (22), was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in her home in Tokoza, Tvl, on 3 December 1990. Her brother was also killed and her father injured in the attack. The family was allegedly attacked because they were Xhosa-speaking. Political conflict on the East Rand led to the polarisation of the community into IFP- and ANC-supporting areas. After Inkatha's launch as a political party, ethnic identity overlapped increasingly with political affiliation.

TSHEZI, Tondo (76), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down and livestock stolen by IFP supporters in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, in 1990 in intense political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February that year.

TSHEZI, Tozama (57), was shot and injured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 3 December 1990 by a group of IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers, one of whom is named. Mr Tshezi's son and daughter were killed in the attack. Nineteen people died in Tokoza during intense political conflict that day.

TSHIBALO, Johannes T shivhidzo , lost his home in an arson attack by a group of the community residents in Venda on 10 March 1990. Nine people were killed and 11 houses burnt down in attacks on people accused

of practising witchcraft to impede the community's campaign for re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa. Two ANC supporters were refused amnesty (AC/2000/094).

TSHIBAVHALEMBA, Nkhetzeni Reginald (31), an ANC and SADTU member, was tortured by members of the Venda Police in Sibasa, Venda, on 29 December 1983 for allegedly assisting MK operatives.

TSHIBE, Bangilizwe (46), an ANC supporter, died after being stabbed by named IFP supporters at the Zamani informal settlement, Umlazi, Durban, in February 1992. Zamani, an ANC stronghold, was under frequent attack by IFP supporters in this period.

TSHIEAME, Daniel Ramankwane (85), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Katlehong, Tvl, on 10 September 1990.

TSHIKALANGE, Rangoezi Gilbert, lost his home when he was banished from Tshiffi, Thohoyandou, Venda, during a tribal conflict in June 1969. Mr Tshikalange was served with further banning orders, placed under house arrest, detained and harassed because he opposed the Black Administration Act and forced removals.

TSHIKANE, Manyele Lucas (46), was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, while taking part in a community march to express dissatisfaction with the Bophuthatswana Police on 7 March 1990.

TSHIKHAKHISA, Elsie, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the Venda Police in Thohoyandou, Venda, while taking part in a political march in March 1990.

TSHIKHUDO, Elmon (27), a UDF supporter, was tortured and subjected to electric shocks by members of the Venda Police while in detention in Thohoyandou, Venda, in December 1987. He was detained on suspicion of having information about hidden arms that belonged to captured MK operatives.

TSHIKILA, Lungelo A yilif (59), an ANC supporter, was shot dead during pre-election violence in Mount Frere, Transkei, on 20 April 1994.

TSHIKILA, Msokoli Apollo (17), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Aliwal North, Cape, on 23 August 1985. See ALI WAL NORTH SHOOTINGS.

TSHIKILA, Walter Zifozonke (50), a PAC member, was arrested in 1975 at Grahamstown, Cape, on charges of furthering the aims of the PAC. In 1977, he was sentenced to 15 years' in prison, 13 years of which he served on Robben Island until his release in 1990.

TSHIKILA, Welile Archie (25), a Uitenhage Youth Congress member, was beaten, suffocated and suffered electric shock torture by members of the SAP during intense political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, in January 1985. He was interrogated about the location of political activists and charged with arson and public violence. He was found guilty on all charges and was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

TSHIKORORO, Ramaano Selwyn, was tortured by members of the Venda Police in Dzanani, near

Thohoyandou, Venda, in 1981. He was accused of assisting the ANC underground.

TSHILUMBA, Kanjinga, was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Gardiner Street, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076).

TSHIPANE, A, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

TSHIPI, Motseole Ben (26), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Paballelo, Upington, Cape, on 16 November 1985, during unrest in the township.

TSHISHONGA, Robert Mmbofheni (27), was detained and tortured by the SAP in Thohoyandou, Venda, in 1986.

TSHIT AHE, Ntsumbedzeni, was arrested in 1977, detained for a long period, and imprisoned for ten years on Robben Island, for his involvement in student politics.

TSHITANGANO, Mmbangiseni (31), was detained and held in solitary confinement in Tshalu police station in August 1987 and at the Venda Central prison in Thohoyandou, Venda, in August 1988. Mr Tshitangano was detained for allegedly recruiting people for training under the auspices of the ANC.

TSHIVHASE, Samuel Mugivhela, was beaten to death in Sibasa, Venda, on 20 January 1984 after being accused of harbouring terrorists.

TSHO, Mkhize, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Emdeni, Soweto, Tvl, on 5 April 1991 during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. Four other people were killed in the attack.

TSHO, Zondi, was shot dead by named IFP perpetrators in Emdeni, Soweto, Tvl, on 5 April 1991 during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. Four other people were killed in the attack.

TSHOBA, Abel Piliki (16), was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 8 April 1991 at the time of a peace initiative by the Independent Board of Enquiry and the local ANC branch to try and stop violence between two rival factions in the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS, the 'Gaddaffis' and the 'Zim-zims'.

TSHOBA, Benjamin Zanephi (38), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 24 January 1990 on a march to protest the killing of a 'comrade' by police.

TSHOBA, Jan, was shot dead by members of the Security Police in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on 29 May 1992 because of his alleged position as a PAC commander.

TSHOKELA, Gladman Mzwandile (15), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 13 April 1985 in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, during political conflict following the Langa Shootings of 21 March.

TSHOKO, James (26), an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters while standing by the side of a road in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 15 May 1992. At the time, there were repeated attacks by unidentified gunmen firing randomly at people in Sebokeng.

TSHOKO, Meriam Nomase (26), an ANC supporter, was abducted by members of the IFP-aligned 'KHETISA KHESWA' GANG in Sebokeng, Tvl, in March 1993. Ms Tshoko has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

TSHOLEKA, Mncedisi Coulbert (44), was detained on 8 January 1981 for three months in Butterworth, Transkei, on suspicion of being an ANC member. Mr Tsholeka was replaced in his job immediately upon his detention, and was never reinstated.

TSHOLO, Molebang, was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

TSHONA, Matthews Matiyasi (44), a member of the WITDOEKE vigilantes, was hacked, stabbed and severely injured by 'comrades' on 20 May 1986 in Nyanga, Cape Town, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

TSHONA, Vuyisile, a member of the Ciskei Police, was stabbed and burnt to death by ANC supporters on 22 September 1985 in Mdantsane, Ciskei. Mr Tshona had been accused of acting as an informer during political unrest in the area.

TSHONA, Zonwabele Johnson Luwi (22), a COSAS member, was detained, tortured and assaulted by members of the Security Police in 1984 at Cradock, Cape. Police allegedly tried to force him to confess to a stone-throwing and petrol bomb incident in Cradock.

TSHONISWA, Pakamile Petrus (6), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Kanana, Orkney, Tvl, on 4 March 1986 during the mass funeral of three youths shot by police.

TSHUKANE, ZB, a member of the Bophuthatswana security forces, was shot dead by MK operatives who attempted to attack the Braklaagte military base in Bophuthatswana on 31 July 1990. Three others were killed and two were injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/254).

TSHUKU, Abigail Mbimbi (17), was shot dead with her mother and three siblings during a midnight arson and gunfire attack by unidentified men on their home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 15 August 1991. Her father was the chairperson of the local ANC branch.

TSHUKU, Lundi (18), was shot dead with five other family members during a midnight arson and gunfire

attack by unidentified men on their home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 15 August 1991.

TSHUKU, Mncedisi (20), was burnt to death with his mother and three siblings during a midnight arson and gunfire attack by unidentified men on their home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 15 August 1991. His father was the chairperson of the local ANC branch.

TSHUKU, Nomanqulo (4), was burnt to death with her mother and three siblings during a midnight arson and gunfire attack by unidentified men on their home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 15 August 1991. Her father was the chairperson of the local ANC branch.

TSHUKU, Nophumzile (50), an ANC member, was burnt to death with her four children during a midnight arson and gunfire attack by unidentified men on their home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 15 August 1991. Her husband was the chairperson of the local ANC branch.

TSHUKU, Solomon, chairperson of a local ANC branch, lost his wife and four children in a midnight arson and gunfire attack by unidentified men on their home in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 15 August 1991. His home was destroyed in the attack.

TSHUKUDU, Khumotjule Gladys (31), was abducted and tortured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Zeerust, Tvl, on 4 September 1989 following the murder of a policeman.

TSHUKUTSWANE, Gloria Kgalalelo (18), was assaulted by members of the Bophuthatswana Police after her arrest on 6 December 1990 in Pudimoe, Bophuthatswana. At the time, the Bophuthatswana government was reportedly making a concerted effort to discourage any support for the ANC in the homeland.

TSHUTA, Knowledge Dakile (16), was imprisoned by members of the SAP on 8 April 1986 in Vosloorus, Tvl, during protests over the death of an MK operative killed by police in the area.

TSHUTSHA, Majola, an ANC member, was executed in Pretoria Central prison, Pretoria, on 6 July 1962 for his part in the murder of alleged informer Chief Stanford Mzizi during the 1960 PONDOLAND REVOLT.

TSHWAGONG, Mottagomang Jacob (18), a UDF supporter, was severely assaulted when members of the SAP and SADF attacked a night vigil in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 5 July 1986 during the state of emergency.

TSHWENI, Nontasi Albert (39), a Poqo member, was executed at Pretoria Central prison, on 31 October 1967. Mr Tshweni had already served two of a 20-year jail sentence for sabotage, when he was condemned to death for the March 1962 killing of a policeman in Langa, Cape Town.

TSHWILI, Jongumzi Anderson (35), was shot dead by a group of men in balaclavas, including one in a SPECIAL CONSTABLE uniform, in Site B, Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 2 August 1992. He was patrolling with a community defence unit, established to deter attacks by BALACLAVA GROUPS on the community and ANC members. Three others were injured in the attack.

TSIBANE, Michael Lahlekile (27), a UDF supporter, was arrested on 5 October 1985, and assaulted and

tortured by members of the SAP while in police custody at Fleet Street police station, East London.

TSIBANI, Johnson (38), an ANC member, was assaulted by members of the CDF while he was attending a meeting at Mngqesha Primary School in Dikidikana, near King William's Town, Cape, on 6 September 1992.

TSIBANI, Ntombizodwa Beauty (39), an ANC member, was assaulted with sjamboks while she was attending a meeting at Mngqesha Primary School in Dikidikana, near King William's Town, Cape, on 6 September 1992.

TSIE, Manko Joseph (35), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE in Welkom, OFS, in January 1986. Mr Tsie was accosted in the street and accused of stone-throwing, after which he was shot at close range.

TSIE, Matselane Dikeledi Florina (15), was severely beaten and tear-gassed by SAP members in Bultfontein, OFS, on 28 February 1990. She was participating in a student protest during a week-long boycott by approximately 20 000 schoolchildren in several towns in the province.

TSIETSO, Socks, was assaulted and tear-gassed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police at Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 21 November 1993 because of conflict between the community and the chief.

TSILI, Blacky Fr eddie, was shot dead when members of the SAP fired on youths demonstrating after a mass funeral in Grahamstown, Cape, on 26 July 1980.

TSILI, Violet (54), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP while she was passing by a *toyitoyi* procession of school children near Nyaluza School in Grahamstown, Cape, on 10 July 1980.

TSIMILE, Makalo Naphtaly (61), a citizen of Lesotho, was killed on 9 December 1982 in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats on Maseru, Lesotho. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

TSIMO, Elias (60), an ANC member, was beaten and subjected to electric shock torture by members of the SAP when he was detained at Pretoria North prison, Tvl, in June 1963. He was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment on Robben Island for his involvement in the ANC which was banned at the time.

TSIPA, Matlou Ernest (22), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, on 15 August 1981.

TSIPA, Sobantu, a member of the Transkei Police, was shot dead by APLA members on 28 March 1994 while he was on duty at the Willowvale police station, Transkei. See APLA ATTACKS.

TSLULUMBA, Kanyinga, was injured when a limpet mine exploded on a municipal bus in Gardiner Street, Durban, on 30 November 1993. The explosive was being conveyed by APLA operatives to an intended target. When it accidentally exploded, 12 people were killed, including one of the operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member and two PASO members were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0076).

TSOABISI, Stephen Molefe (66), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Heilbron, OFS, on 3

March 1990. There was a strike in the township at the time. Police opened fire in the street, killing Mr Tsoabisi in his home.

TSOAELEMI, David Rantsoake (42), an AZAPO supporter, was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 25 July 1993 while on his way to work when unidentified gunmen in a minibus opened fire on pedestrians. At least five other people were allegedly killed in this incident which took place during conflict between rival taxi associations in Katlehong. See DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS.

TSOAELE, Moses Oupa, an ANC supporter, died after being shot in the head in Evaton, Tvl, on 27 June 1993 by the Terror Gang vigilante group.

TSOALEI, Tankiso Lenah (52), was shot dead when members of the SAP opened fire on protesters during a student boycott in Monyakeng, Wesselsbron, OFS, on 2 July 1990.

TSOARI, Thomas, a FAWU member, died in a hand grenade attack by named UWUSA members in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in the area from July to December 1992.

TSOBANE, Zacharia, was shot dead by IFP-supporting Simphiwe hostel-dwellers in Dobsonville, Soweto, Tvl, on 13 March 1992 during conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers. Two people died and two others were injured in the attack.

TSOBILEYO, Nomatise Evelyn (26), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 18 February 1985. Eighteen people were killed and many more injured over three days during protests against the pending forced removal of Crossroads residents to Khayelitsha.

TSOKA, Magukubjane Mumcy (18), was arrested by members of the Lebowa Police in Sekhukhuneland, Lebowa, in March 1986 while on her way to the funeral of a 'comrade'. Ms Tsoka was then taken to a garage with other mourners who had been arrested and assaulted with a sjambok.

TSOKE, Ar mstrong Thathi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Vosloorus, Tvl, in 1990 at a roadblock organised by local youth during political conflict in the area.

TSOKELA, Isaac Laine (21), was shot dead by members of the SADF in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, in 1993 during fighting in the street between ANC-aligned 'comrades' and members of the SADF and IMBOKODO vigilantes.

TSOKOLIBANE, Malijewe Miriam (46), an ANC supporter, was beaten and severely injured when her shop was looted by Inkatha-supporting hostel-dwellers in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, on 5 May 1986. The attack took place on the day of a funeral for ANC supporters shot by police. Ms Tsokolibane's husband was also attacked and died of his injuries ten months later.

TSOKOLIBANE, Thomas Mahlomola (47), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten and injured by IFP supporters in Tsakane, Brakpan, Tvl, on 5 May 1986 during the funeral of ANC supporters.

TSOKU, Ingrid Mmaditau (34), lost her house in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 17 January 1993 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

TSOLO, Motang Jonas (27), a SAYCO member, was detained by members of the SAP who broke up a SAYCO meeting in Kgotsong, Bothaville, OFS, in May 1990. Mr Tsole was tortured while in custody.

TSOLO, Patrick, an ANC supporter, was beaten to death by hostel-dwellers in Soweto, on 2 November 1976 in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING. The state used hostel-dwellers to break up a stayaway called to protest against continued police violence against students.

TSOSANE, Mpho (50), an ANC supporter, was arrested on 1 June 1985 and detained without trial for six months at Theunissen police station, OFS, allegedly because she 'politicised' children. In custody, Ms Tsosane was severely tortured by members of the SAP.

TSOTETSI, Abel, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Katlehong, Tvl, on 12 June 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

TSOTETSI, Anna Mamokete (51), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in Katlehong, Tvl, on 30 December 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

TSOTETSI, Joyce Dibane (42), was detained in solitary confinement for six weeks from 29 May 1984 in Soweto, Tvl.

TSOTETSI, Malente Emmerantia (28), was shot and severely injured by a named IFP supporter in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 13 November 1993, as she was returning from the funeral of an ANC-aligned chief's children. She had to flee from Nqutu hospital to Dundee hospital to escape a second attack by the perpetrators.

TSOTETSI, Maphike Abel (19), was shot dead by IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 January 1991 at the night vigil of an ANCYL member killed by the gang. Gang members threw hand grenades and fired at mourners, killing a number of people and injuring several others. Police arrived on the scene but provided no protection, allegedly ignoring both the attackers and the injured. See NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE.

TSOTETSI, Mmasole Christinah (50), was injured in an explosion caused by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in the area from July to December 1992.

TSOTETSI, Mphonyana Meshack (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 23 April 1992 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

TSOTETSI, Musoe Jonas (53), was injured in an explosion on a bus in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 16 November 1992. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict in the area from July to December 1992.

TSOTETSI, Nelson (63), was severely beaten, allegedly by members of the SADF unit 32 Battalion, in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 5 June 1990. After about 100 people were assaulted, four women were raped and two others were shot dead by the unit in Phola Park on 8 April 1992, the Goldstone Commission recommended the unit be removed from peacekeeping duties in all townships.

TSOTETSI, Oupa Ishmael (39), was detained, tortured and beaten in Evaton, Tvl, on 8 November 1984 during rent boycotts in the area during the VAAL UPRISING.

TSOTETSI, Peter, a UDF supporter, was tortured by a named member of the Security Police on 23 July 1986. He had allegedly been implicated in the murder of a policeman.

TSOTETSI, Piet Monky, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 1 April 1990, while on a march by released detainees. The Goldstone Commission found that the police acted illegally when they allegedly fired into the crowd with live ammunition.

TSOTETSI, Saul Andrew, an ANC member, was killed when a hand grenade allegedly in his possession detonated in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 22 March 1992. Another person was killed in the incident.

TSOTETSI, Tumelo Johannes, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 2 July 1990 when police enforced a court eviction on Mandela squatter camp residents.

TSOTETSI, Vusi Steven, an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Nelspruit, Tvl, in 1986.

TSOTSI, Ernest, was detained and tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, who believed him to be an ANC supporter. Mr Tsotsi's detention followed an MK attack on the Madeira Street police station, Umtata, on 29 July 1986. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/076).

TSOTSO, Nkosemntu Louis (63), was shot and killed, allegedly by IFP supporters, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 15 August 1990 during violent political conflict which erupted on the East Rand from August 1990.

TSOTSOTSO, Abel (16), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when police opened fire on a student protest march in Rammolotsi, Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 19 April 1990. Four other ANC supporters were killed and seven injured in the shooting.

TSOTSOTSO, Fako Elias, a local councillor, lost his home in Viljoenskroon, OFS, in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 20 April 1990. Mr Tsotsotso was then forced to resign as councillor.

TSOTSOTSO, Moorosi Samuel (19), was shot and injured when police opened fire on a student protest march in Viljoenskroon, OFS, on 19 April 1990. Five ANC supporters were killed and six others injured in the shooting.

TSUBALALA (first name not given), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when a known COUNCILLOR opened fire on a group of ANC supporters protesting against the local council in Rouxville, OFS, on 9 September 1990. One other person was shot dead in the incident.

TSUENE, Igrid Magdeline (40), was shot by members of the Bophuthatswana Police during a protest march in Ga-Rankuwa, Bophuthatswana, on 7 February 1990.

TSUME, Eugene Howard Mvuyo (13), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Ethembeni, Prieska, Cape, in December 1986.

TSWABOLE, Elias (35), a member of the SAP, lost his house when it was burnt down by community members at Thabong, Welkom, OFS, in 1990. The attack followed the killing by Mr Tswabole of his girlfriend, Ms Selina Ncala, a political activist. Mr Tswabole was never charged for the killing.

TUBATSI, Daniel, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 25 July 1993 during conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers which prompted a strong police presence in the area.

TUGWANA, Gabudhla Jan (22), a journalist, was arrested in Johannesburg, in August 1976 and held in solitary confinement for 13 months for his role in covering unrest in the area and for exposing collaboration between police and hostel-dwellers in attacks on residents during the SOWETO UPRISING.

TUILELO, Vuyiswa, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

TUKANI, John, an ANC supporter, was shot with pellets in both legs in a random shooting by members of the SAP in Venterstad, Cape, on 4 July 1993.

TUKANI, Thamsanqa Boy (22), was detained in Zwelethemba, Worcester, Cape, in March 1960, during the anti-Pass Law campaign, and detained and tortured in May 1963 in Paarl, Cape.

TUKELA, Shannon Mzimkhulu (28), an ANC underground member, was severely assaulted by members of the Transkei Police at his home in Libode, Transkei, on 22 September 1985. He was interrogated about the whereabouts of his cousin, an MK operative. He was then detained in Umtata, Transkei, until 12 January 1986 and again from January 1988 to October 1989.

TUKO, Thembisile T eddy (33), an MK cadre, was shot dead in a staged suicide at his home in Botswana on 11 November 1986.

TUKU, Nkosinathi, was abducted along with two friends, by Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldiers in East London, who wanted to know the whereabouts of a person suspected of involvement in a planned coup in Transkei. Mr Tuku was shot dead near the Kei River Bridge on 21 May 1993. A TDF soldier was granted amnesty for the abduction, but refused amnesty for the killing (AC/2000/018).

TULE, Ngenisile Michael (25), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on

21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

TULLUES, H, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

TUMENG, Moronko Azael (33), a member of SANCO, lost his house and vehicle in an arson attack by ANC supporters and members of the SAP in Meqheleng, Ficksburg, OFS, on 3 August 1993. There was tension and conflict between SANCO and the ANC in the area at the time.

TUMISI, Tebello Jacobs (46), a UDF supporter, was detained and severely tortured by named members of the Security Branch in Kroonstad, OFS, between 18 and 21 December 1990, because of his political activities.

TUNGATA, Lindikaya Nelson, was shot and injured by members of the SAP who opened fire on PAC members and bystanders outside a PAC meeting in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 6 January 1994. A young boy was shot dead and several others injured in the shooting.

TURNER, Catherine Anne, an ECC supporter, was harassed by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth, in 1988 during the state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

TURNER, Hendrick Stephanus, was injured in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana during an attempted *coup d'état* on 10 February 1988. The coup was brought to an end when the SADF came to the assistance of the Bophuthatswana government. Two Bophuthatswana Defence Force members were granted amnesty for their role in the attempted coup (AC/2000/044).

TURNER, Nicole Jean (19), an ECC supporter, was arrested in February 1989 in Port Elizabeth, during the state of emergency. She was charged with the possession of drugs in an attempt by named members of the SAP to discredit her.

TURNER, Richard Albert David (36), a political scientist at the University of Natal, was shot dead at his home in Durban on 8 January 1978. He had been banned since 1973 for his opposition to apartheid, and had been repeatedly harassed by the Security Branch during the 1970s. His two young daughters were in the house with him at the time. The identity of the killer, widely suspected to have been a member of the Security Branch, has never been established.

TUROK, Ben (35), an MK operative, was convicted of arson and sentenced to three years' imprisonment in 1962 in Johannesburg, a prison term spent largely in solitary confinement. On his release he was banned for five years and eventually went into exile from 1969 to 1990.

TUROK, Mary, an SACP member in Johannesburg, served a six-month prison sentence in 1963 for putting up banned ANC posters. She was then served with a banning order for five years. Her husband also served

a jail term. They experienced ongoing police harassment and intimidation and were forced to leave the country.

TUSHINI, Mbeshe Ephriam (23), an ANC supporter, was abducted by named IFP supporters and later killed in Port Shepstone, Natal, in August 1991.

TUSI, Dumisani, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed while fleeing Clermont, near Durban, allegedly because of internal divisions within the ANC in 1992.

TUTANI, Freddie Qwantsu (47), was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

TUTANI, Nombulelo (14), became partially blind after being severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the Ciskei Police at a community meeting in Berlin, Cape, on 21 September 1985.

TUTSHINI, Bekisisa Robert (49), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Mvutshini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 21 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

TUTU, Desmond Mpilo, a church leader and prominent anti-apartheid activist, was a target of intimidation and harassment by the Witwatersrand Security Branch between 1982 and 1986. In 1989, CCB operatives placed a monkey foetus on his property. One Witwatersrand Security Branch operative and four CCB members were granted amnesty for these incidents (AC/2001/0184 and AC/2001/232).

TUTU, Jerry Thozamile, a local squatter leader, lost his home and vehicle in an arson attack by UDF supporters near Crossroads, Cape Town, in October 1985, during conflict over the issue of state-sponsored removals to Khayelitsha. His girlfriend was abducted and 'necklaced' in the attack. In 1989 he was shot and injured in an attack on his home in Khayelitsha by his former allies linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council.

TUTU, Mhlanbunzima (21), an iKONGO member, lost the use of a leg after being shot and injured on 6 June 1960 in Flagstaff, Transkei, during the NGQUZA HILL raid in which police members ambushed community members attending a NONQULWANA meeting during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

TUTU, Patrick, a member of the SAP, was shot and killed in an attack by three APLA members near the Crossroads police station, Cape Town, on 8 September 1992. A Spoornet employee was also killed in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

TUTU, Zukile Faithful (18), was beaten with batons and knobkerries by a named member of the AMASOLOMZI vigilantes, together with SAP members, in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, and arrested on a charge of arson on 20 November 1985. After being held in custody for many months while awaiting trial, Mr Tutu was sentenced to an effective three years in prison.

TUTUBALA, Limakatso Elizabeth (47), was shot and injured in Thabong, Welkom, OFS, on 16 June 1985,

when she was caught in crossfire during a clash between ANC members and the A-TEAM at a commemoration of 16 June.

TWABIYO, Ntsila (34), a PAC supporter, was detained without trial for 30 days at Engcobo, Transkei, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment on Robben Island, Cape Town, in 1963.

TWABU, Siyabulela (22), an APLA member, was shot dead with five other APLA members in March 1985 at Qacha's Nek on the Transkei-Lesotho border. Their bodies were found decomposing in a forest.

TWALA, Clement Linda (41), a UDF supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by members of the MAKABASA GANG and the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986. Police often used gang members to attack political activists in the township.

TWALA, Dimakatso Sophie (52), was severely injured in an explosion when a named perpetrator threw a hand grenade into a bus she was travelling in on 1 December 1992 in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992.

TWALA, Elizabeth Genekelo, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 29 September 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

TWALA, Elsie, died a fortnight after being burnt in an attack by UDF supporters at Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, on 28 September 1989, during political conflict in the area.

TWALA, Esau, was one of three vigilantes pursued and hacked to death by UDF supporters in Standerton, Tvl, in June 1987, because he was believed to have collaborated with members of the Pirates soccer club and community councillors to persecute UDF supporters. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/2001/071).

TWALA, Frans (21), was shot dead by hostel-dwellers in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 27 January 1993 because he was suspected of being a spy for the community.

TWALA, Gladys Ntasana (21), an ANC member, had her house bombed and destroyed by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in April 1986 during intense conflict between civic organisations, local council structures and police.

TWALA, Jabu Petr us, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 16 January 1982. Police refused to hand over his body to the family for two weeks. Lebohang had been labelled a 'black spot' destined for forced removal by the state.

TWALA, Johnson Sibongiseni (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) accompanied by AMASINYORA vigilantes in KwaMashu, Durban, on 7 January 1990. Mr Twala was standing in the street with friends when the perpetrator tried to run him over. The perpetrator then got out of his car and shot Mr Twala dead. Mr Twala's elder brother had been shot and killed by a KZP member nine months earlier.

TWALA, Lucky Abram , a COSAS member, was shot dead in KwaThema, Tvl, in July 1985 at a night vigil for someone killed during political conflict. At the time KwaThema experienced much violent conflict and right-wing vigilante activity.

TWALA, Lucky Mandla , an ANCYL member, was shot dead in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 14 October 1990 during intense political conflict in the area.

TWALA, Lucky , was shot dead when masked gunmen entered the Ntombela family home in Vosloorus, Tvl, and opened fire on 12 October 1991. Three family members were killed and eight people were wounded in the attack, which took place during ongoing political conflict in the area.

TWALA, Mduduzi Christopher (33), an Inkatha supporter, was returning from a funeral when he was attacked and stabbed to death by named ANC supporters in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 13 January 1990.

TWALA, Milton Bhekuyise (29), was shot dead at his home in KwaMashu, Durban, on 25 March 1989 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area. His younger brother was shot dead by a KWAZULU POLICE member nine months later.

TWALA, Mthimkulu , a civilian travelling in a bread delivery truck, was shot at by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Rockville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 February 1993. Mr Mabuya and his three colleagues disrupted an SDU attack on the police. The perpetrators fired at the vehicle intending to scare them off. Three SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/119).

TWALA, Mwezi Rodney (39), an MK member, was detained in 1984 in Angola by ANC security department members, and subsequently incarcerated in Quatro camp. Dissatisfaction in MK training camps in Angola led to mutinies at the Viana and Pango camps in 1984. Both were put down with loss of lives on both sides. Many MK members were detained, and some tortured.

TWALA, Petros (44), was stabbed to death by named perpetrators, believed to be UDF supporters, in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 5 March 1988, allegedly because he was thought to be a collaborator.

TWALA, Phumzile (13), was severely injured when her home was petrol-bombed by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in April 1986. Mr Twala and his family were targeted because he was a community worker and labelled a 'comrade'.

TWALA, Sebeletso Anna , was injured in an explosion in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, in November 1992. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992.

TWALA, Solomon Bongani (18), was shot and injured by four men who passed him in the street in Katlehong, Tvl, on 30 May 1993 during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand.

TWALA, Thabo Reuben , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Bophelong, Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 2

September 1984 during a rent boycott in the VAAL UPRISING.

TWALO, Gwaza Duckworth , an MK operative, went into exile in 1972 and disappeared in 1980 after returning to South Africa. Mr Twala is thought to have been captured after a shoot-out with police in Aliwal North, Cape. His family heard that he had been arrested and 'thrown down a cliff' near the Umtata Central Prison.

TWANA, Xhankasholo (42), was shot dead on 22 March 1990 outside the town council offices in Crossroads, Cape Town, by men shooting from a vehicle. Another man also died in the shooting and one was injured. The shooting took place during conflict between two local Crossroads leaders.

TWETHA, Mr (first name not given), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991. Two IFP supporters were granted amnesty. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

TWETHA, Mtobise Lilian , lost her home in an arson attack in Ndeleni, Richmond, Natal, in March 1991, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. Her son was killed by IFP supporters three months later.

TYAKUME, Dumalisile Sydney (21), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Dimbaza, Ciskei, on 27 September 1977 during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS following the death in detention of the Steve Biko.

TYANTI, Zoliswa Phyllis (28), an ANC supporter, was knocked over by a Landrover driven by members of the Ciskei Police during celebrations for the overthrow of Lennox Sebe by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 5 March 1990.

TYANTY ALA, Julia Nomvula (24), was severely injured when members of the UDF attacked her home in Tumahole, Parys, OFS, on 29 May 1986. Her husband, who was a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE, was killed in the attack. There was considerable student unrest in the area at the time. At least 13 of the perpetrators were charged and convicted. Three were sentenced to death, and three others to 20 years' imprisonment.

TYAWA, Penelope Baby (17), a founder member of COSAS, was detained, assaulted and tortured by suffocation in Johannesburg, in 1976. Ms Tyawa was detained at various times by the Security Police at John Vorster Square and Protea police station because of her political involvement. Ms Tyawa was held in solitary confinement for 19 months.

TYAWANA, Xoliswa Cynthia (15), was arrested, detained and tortured by named and other SAP members in Worcester, Cape, on 27 July 1985, during SCHOOL BOYCOTTS following the deaths of the CRADOCK FOUR.

TYBOSCH, Monwabisi Wright (18), was detained, beaten and tortured during a consumer boycott in Stutterheim, Cape, on 28 November 1985.

TYEBELA, Vuyisile (17), was repeatedly tortured by named members of the SAP at Pretoria Maximum Prison where he spent two years in solitary confinement from April 1986. He was convicted of murder and illegal possession of arms and ammunition and sentenced to death. His sentence was later set aside on appeal. On his release from Pretoria Maximum

prison he appeared to be mentally disturbed because of the torture he endured in prison.

TYEKU, Mlandeni W akefor d (35), was hacked to death on a train in Dube, Soweto, Tvl, on 2 March 1992. Between 1990 and 1993, 572 people died in TRAIN VIOLENCE initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition.

TYHILA, Mbulelo Livingstone (23), was kicked and assaulted by members of the SAP during political conflict in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 22 June 1985.

TYHOKOLO, Headman (30), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 14 November 1987.

TYHULU, Christina Nosisi (39), an ANC member, lost her home in KTC, Cape Town, on 9 June 1986, during the attacks by WITDOEKE vigilantes. Ms Tyhulu was detained under SECTION 29 on 6 February 1989 and severely beaten and tortured during interrogation by named police officers at Wynberg police station, Cape Town, after she had assisted an MK operative to escape from custody. She was later sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

TYIKI, Robert (15), was shot dead by members of the SADF on 17 June 1976 in Soweto, Johannesburg, in the aftermath of the 16 June student uprising. The uprising was sparked by the state's attempt to impose Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools.

TYIWA, Kivi William (49), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured in 1985 in an attack by unidentified men opposed to the UDF and ANC in Fort Beaufort, Cape.

TYIWANE, Alfred Mcimbi (49), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF in Dobsonville, Soweto, on 1 May 1992. A political rally was held in the area that day.

TYOBA, Vuyiswa Ellen (54), was shot and injured in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Vosloorus, Tvl, while waiting to board a taxi with her two nieces on 16 April 1994.

TYOBEKA, Maggie (48), was shot by members of the SAP during consumer boycotts in Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape, on 17 November 1985.

TYOBEKA-NYEMBE, Esther Ntombehle (37), was shot and injured while travelling in a taxi at Merafe station, Soweto, Tvl, on 13 October 1991 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

TYOKINA, Mr , a member of the Kwelerha Tribal Authority, lost his house in an arson attack by UDF supporters on 27 March 1986, during conflict between UDF supporters and members of the Tribal Authority over forced removals.

TYOKINA, Zodwa (26), died after she was stoned and thrown into a burning house by UDF supporters at Kwelerha Location, Cape, on 27 March 1986. Ms Sojola was accused of being an informer because she was related to a Kwelerha Tribal Authority member. There was conflict between UDF supporters and members of the tribal authority over forced removals.

TYUKA, Madodane Zalisile , (20) was shot dead by members of the SAP during protests in Port Alfred, Cape, on 6 November 1984.

TYULU, Fotho Albert (30), was detained for a fortnight, dismissed from his job and banished to Lady Frere in 1977 because of his non-racial sports activities in the area near Zwelitsha, Ciskei.

TYULU, Tamsanqa Abraham Saku (50), disappeared after he was arrested by members of the SAP in Uitenhage, Cape, on 25 May 1985. He has never been seen again.

TYUMRE, Bonisile (34), was detained for 90 days in Phiri, Soweto, Tvl, in 1963 because he was accused of recruiting for MK.

TYUMRE, Violet , was tortured in detention in Johannesburg, in 1963. She was arrested because her husband was recruiting MK operatives. She died of ill-health soon after her release.

TYUTHUZA, Mxolisi Takana Patrick , was shot dead by members of the SAP while taking part in a march in Zola, Steynsburg, Cape, on 27 December 1985. At the time, residents were protesting against the Black Local Authorities.

TYWABI, Sicelo (23), was shot dead by named members of the CDF and Ciskei Police during protests at Madakeni, Whittlesea, Ciskei, on 31 August 1985.

TYWABI, Tutwana Safdan (59), was assaulted by named members of the CDF during protests at Madakeni, Whittlesea, Ciskei, on 28 July 1985.

ULASSI, Rooplall (46), was stabbed and burnt to death by UDF supporters in Phoenix, Durban, on 13 August 1985 in political conflict between the Indian and the black communities in this area.

USE, Iva (44), was shot and seriously injured by IFP supporters at an Easter service in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1994, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

UYS, Jacobus Stephanus , an AWB member, was killed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 11 March 1994. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0239). See BOPHUTHATSWANA INVASION.

VAALTYN, Bulwana (50), was shot by members of the SAP during protests in Grahamstown, Cape, in July 1980.

VAKELE, Totswana (41), was assaulted and dumped on a waste disposal site by members of the SADF in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, in October 1985, allegedly because he broke a curfew imposed on the area.

VALA, Edward Mandla-Kaise (20), was imprisoned in June 1986 and held for nine months and tortured during the state of emergency in Tembisa, Tvl. Mr Vala was accused of instigating a stayaway.

VALA, Jeremia Siph (19), was arrested in Tembisa, Tvl, in June 1986 during the state of emergency. During his detention he was shot in the head by members of the SAP and had to spend two months in hospital.

VALE, Peter , an academic, had his motor vehicle stolen by the Port Elizabeth Security Branch. It was then given to an informer as part of his remuneration. Two *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for their role in the theft (AC/2001/228).

VALELA, Thenjiwe Patricia (32), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in

Chimora, Umlazi, Durban, on 16 January 1992. See CHIMORA SETTLEMENT ATTACKS.

VALENTIN, V araska , was shot and killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

VALENTINE, L , was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

VALTEIN, Bhiya Sidwell (12), was abducted, along with six other youths, by UDF supporters in Grahamstown, Cape, on 31 October 1986. The youths were all severely assaulted and tortured. One was shot and killed. One UDF supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0247).

VALTEIN, Pheli Collen (14), was shot and killed after he was abducted, along with six other youths, by UDF supporters in Grahamstown, Cape, on 31 October 1986. The youths were all severely assaulted and tortured. The five others survived. One UDF supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0247).

VAN ANTWERPEN, JV , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VAN ASWEGEN, Darryl Donovan (15), a UDF supporter, was shot and severely injured by a named member of the SAP in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 5 June 1986. He was shot near a *toy-toying* crowd who had apparently stoned a policeman's house. Mr Van Aswegen was then charged with public violence but was acquitted.

VAN DEN BERG, Mr (first name not given), a member of the SAP, suffered injuries when he and 12 other policemen were attacked by ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members whilst on foot patrol in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 22 July 1992. Six policemen were injured in the exchange of fire. Two SDU members applied were granted amnesty (AC/1997/0029).

VAN DER BANK (HORN), Ilze Cornelia, was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

VAN DER BANK, S , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church

Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VAN DER BERG, Ben , was injured when MK operatives from the 'Dolphin Unit' detonated a limpet mine at the Security Branch offices in Roodepoort, Tvl, on 17 August 1984. Five members of the Security Branch and several civilians were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/0003).

VAN DER LINDE, Julie , was killed in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

VAN DER LINGEN, Beverley Jean , was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. Her husband, an SADF colonel, was also injured in the explosion. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

VAN DER LINGEN, Jacobus , an SADF colonel, was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. His wife was also injured in the explosion. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

VAN DER LITH, JP , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VAN DER MERWE, A , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VAN DER MERWE, Cheryl-Anne Charmaine (19), was injured in a limpet mine detonated by MK operatives in Johannesburg, on 1 July 1986. Her two-week-old baby was also injured in the attack. The perpetrators applied for amnesty.

VAN DER MERWE, Deon Dewald (18), was injured when an SADF base was attacked by MK operatives at Letaba stadium, Nkowa Nkowa, Gazankulu, on 12 April 1990. Five SADF members were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/98).

VAN DER MERWE, Donald (21), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, in 1976, while walking home from church during the SOWETO UPRISING.

VAN DER MERWE, Jacob Gabriel , was shot dead by MK operatives in Thabazimbi, Tvl, near the Botswana border, on 1 November 1978.

VAN DER MERWE, Jakobus Lukas , a traffic officer, was shot dead by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Alberton, Tvl, on 27 March 1992. Two of his colleagues were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0225).

VAN DER MERWE, JM , was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

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

VAN DER MERWE, PT , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VAN DER MERWE, R , was one of five people injured when a limpet mine placed by MK operatives exploded at an electricity sub-station in Chamberlain, Jacobs, Durban, on 9 January 1986. One SAP member was fatally wounded. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/108).

VAN DER MERWE, Roelof Petrus Ger hardus , was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

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

VAN DER SCHYFF, Mogamat Nadeem , was killed when the car in which he was travelling was petrol-bombed in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 15 April 1993, during widespread protest and unrest following the assassination of SACP leader, Chris Hani. Two other passengers were injured in the attack.

VAN DER WALT, Char maine , sustained minor injuries when MK operatives detonated a car bomb using a

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

VAN DER WALT, Estelle (10), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

VAN DER WALT, Gert Abram , was robbed of the money-box containing salary payments by armed MK operatives and members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), at the Transvaal Galvanising company in Nigel, Tvl on 9 July 1993. The robbery was aimed at acquiring money to purchase weapons for the SDUs. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0325).

VAN DER WALT, Hermanus Schalk (29), was injured when a limpet mine planted, by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

VAN DER WALT, Mathys Johannes , was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

VAN DER WALT, Paula Malinda (27), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

VAN DER WALT, Petrus Jacobus (7), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

VAN DER WATT, PJL , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VAN DEVENTER, Bettie , a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives attacked members and guests at the King William's Town Golf Club, Cape, on 28 November 1992. Four people were killed and 17 injured in the

attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Four APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/182).

VAN DYK, Amina Elizabeth (24), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985, during extensive unrest that broke out following the POLLSMOOR MARCH held the previous day. Ms Van Dyk lost an eye in the shooting, in which two young boys were shot dead.

VAN DYK, HC, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VAN DYK, Otto Bousema, an employee of the South African Railway Services, was shot and injured by two MK operatives who were attempting to rob him of his vehicle at Cordelfos railway station, in Pretoria, on 9 January 1990. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/081).

VAN ECK, Jacoba, was killed when the vehicle in which she and her family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

VAN ECK, Johannes Frederick (36), was severely injured when the vehicle in which he and his family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

VAN ECK, Johannes Frederick (Junior), was severely injured when the vehicle in which he and his family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

VAN ECK, Michael Ignatius (2), was killed when the vehicle in which he and his family were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

VAN ECK, Nelmar (8), was killed when the vehicle in which she and her family and friends were travelling detonated a landmine on a game farm near Messina, Tvl, on 15 December 1985. Four children and two women were killed and five people injured in what

was part of an ANC LANDMINE CAMPAIGN aimed at military patrols in the rural border regions. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/093).

VAN GREUREN, Lester (19), was injured when MK operatives attacked an SADF base at Letaba stadium, Nkowa Nkowa, Gazankulu, on 12 April 1990. Five SADF members were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/98).

VAN HEERDEN, Anthony Dexter, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the Mobeni post office in Durban on 8 December 1985. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/152 and AC/2001/139).

VAN HEERDEN, Cherie (20), was severely injured when AWB members detonated a car bomb in Bree Street, Johannesburg, on 24 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Seven people were killed and 13 injured in the blast. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

VAN HEERDEN, Ferdinand Pr etorius, a member of the SAP, was injured in a shoot-out with an MK operative in Johannesburg on 25 May 1991. Mr van Heerden and his colleague were both injured in the shoot-out when they attempted to stop a vehicle. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/1997/0035).

VAN HEERDEN, Leon, a traffic officer, was shot at by MK operatives in Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 27 September 1991. The MK operatives were escaping arrest after being stopped at a roadblock by traffic officers.

Several traffic officers were also injured and a passing motorist was shot dead and robbed of his vehicle by the fleeing operatives. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/1998/0091).

VAN HEERDEN, P, a member of the SAP, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg on 4 March 1986. The head of MK's Special Operations Unit was granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

VAN JAARSVELD, Abraham Lourens Daniel, a prison warden, was seriously injured when a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) detonated a hand grenade while trying to escape from Leeuwhof prison, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 18 December 1993. Three people died and nine were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/145).

VAN JAARSVELD, CJ, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VAN JAARSVELD, Louis Mar tinus, was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VAN JAARVELD, Reiner , was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

VAN KERKE, Naomi (9), was shot dead by a named civilian in Ravensmead, Cape Town, on 9 September 1976. A factory owner, fearing an attack by rioters, opened fire and shot Naomi who was playing with other children nearby.

VAN MINNEN, Linda (35), suffered damage to her property, Riverside Lodge, in Ladybrand, OFS, on 16 September 1993, when it was attacked with petrol bombs by APLA operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/2001/102).

VAN NIEKERK, Elsie Sophia (29), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

VAN NIEKERK, GD , was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

VAN NIEKERK, George Richard (20), was severely beaten and detained in Pacaltsdorp, George, Cape, on 13 September 1976, during student protests. He was held at the George police station for a week and was again severely beaten and forced to give a statement. He was convicted of public violence but this was overturned on appeal.

VAN NIEKERK, Gerald (4), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

VAN NIEKERK, Henry Gideon (34), an SADF colonel, was injured when an MK operative detonated an explosive device at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban on 10 March 1989. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

VAN NIEKERK, Herbert Jacobus , was shot and killed by APLA members in an armed attack on the Sentra Hyperserve supermarket at Wesselsbron, OFS, on 3 July 1993. Five people were killed and four were wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Six APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/250).

VAN NIEKERK, Johannes Jacob , died when he was shot by APLA operatives in Korsten, Port Elizabeth, on 4 October 1991. Mr Van Niekerk was delivering the

payroll to a company when he was robbed of the money and killed. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/114).

VAN NIEKERK, Johannes Petr us, was stabbed and burnt to death by named ANC supporters in Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 29 September 1990. See KUTLOANONG MOB ATTACK. Four ANC supporters were refused amnesty for the attack (AC/97/0007, AC/97/0027).

VAN NIEKERK, Sandra Beryl (31), a member of the SADF was injured on 10 March 1989 when an MK operative detonated an explosive device planted at the SADF's Natal Command headquarters in Durban. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/153).

VAN PLETZEN, JS , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VAN RENSBURG, (first name not given), a brigadier in the Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF), was held at gunpoint by BDF members during an attempted *coup d'état* in Bophuthatswana on 10 February 1988. The coup was brought to an end when the SADF came to the assistance of the Bophuthatswana government. Two BDF members were granted amnesty for their role in the attempted coup (AC/2000/044).

VAN RENSBURG, Jan Louis , had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Witrivier, Tvl, on 14 March 1986.

VAN ROOYEN, Christina Francina (41), was shot by named members of the SAP in Wolseley, Cape, on 24 November 1990, on her way to a legal protest at the local community hall.

VAN ROOYEN, Coenraad (38), was shot, severely beaten and arrested by a named member of the SAP in Saldanha, Cape, on 13 September 1987, when police mistakenly identified him as a protesting factory striker.

VAN ROOYEN, Evelyn Ann , was severely injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on patrons at the Crazy Beat Disco in Newcastle, Natal, on 14 February 1994. One person was shot dead and several others were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three APLA operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0016).

VAN ROOYEN, Festina (41), was tortured in detention by members of the SAP at Welverdiend police station, Oberholzer, Tvl. Ms van Rooyen was detained in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 19 July 1986 because police were looking for her political activist son.

VAN ROOYEN, Willem Johannes Jacobus , a member of the SAP, was shot and injured when his SAP tracking unit ambushed an MK unit of seven members, in Ellisras, Tvl, on 8 August 1988. One SAP member was killed and three others injured in the confrontation. An MK operative was also killed. One MK operative was granted amnesty for this incident (AC/2000/081).

VAN SCHALKWYK, JH , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the

South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VAN SCHALKWYK, Willem Johannes , a member of the SAP, was injured by a shot fired from the home of a COSATU official in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 2 September 1992. His colleague also came under fire. The COSATU official's bodyguard, a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU), had opened fire because he believed the house was under attack. The SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0065).

VAN STADEN, Cecil Roos Tamsanqa (22), was shot by a named member of the SAP in Worcester, Cape, on 2 November 1985, and died two days later. His funeral was disrupted by police when they beat the mourners and arrested over 30 youth, during the 1985 state of emergency.

VAN TONDER, Andries Johannes Jacobus , a farmer, was attacked and seriously injured by two APLA members on his farm near Masselspoort, OFS, on 10 February 1991. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/140).

VAN TONDER, Catharina Jacoba , a civilian, was attacked and seriously injured by two APLA members on her farm near Masselspoort, OFS, on 10 February 1991. See APLA ATTACKS. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2001/140).

VAN VUUREN, Magdeline Mmapholo (87), lost her house in an arson attack in Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, in the wake of the CITY ROCKS SHOOTING. Eleven people were killed and 200 injured when police opened fire on a crowd gathered to protest against police brutality at City Rocks Stadium, Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, on 26 March 1986.

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

VAN WYK, (first name not given), was beaten at Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 10 December by members of the AWB looking for her son who had promised to supply them with AK47s.

VAN WYK, A , was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

VAN WYK, Andrew Peter (34), survived the bombing by APLA members of his Spur steak house in Queenstown, Cape, on 3 December 1992. One person died and 21 people were injured in the explosion. See APLA ATTACKS.

VAN WYK, Barend Konstant , a civilian, was shot and killed and then robbed of his vehicle and possessions when he was ambushed by two PAC members in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 12 October 1993. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/222).

VAN WYK, Edgar (47), an ANC supporter, was tortured in Krugersdorp, Tvl, on 10 December 1993 by members of the AWB looking for his son who had promised to supply them with AK47s.

VAN WYK, Gerbrecht Solomia , was killed when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on patrons at the Crazy Beat Disco in Newcastle, Natal, on 14 February 1994. Several other persons were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three APLA operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0016).

VAN WYK, Hendrik Jacobus (29), a church minister active in the SACC and the UDF, was detained under emergency regulations at Riversdale police station, Cape, on 13 June 1986, because of his political activities. He was interrogated and held in solitary confinement until his release on 27 July 1986. He and his family then experienced ongoing harassment. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

VAN WYK, Isabella Mar gar etha (5), was seriously injured when two MK operatives detonated a bomb in a shopping centre in Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 23 December 1985 in retaliation for a South African security forces attack two weeks earlier on ANC members in Lesotho in which nine people had been killed. The Amanzimtoti explosion killed five people and injured 61. One of the operatives was sentenced to death and later hanged.

VAN WYK, J , a prison warder, was seriously injured when a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) detonated a hand grenade while trying to escape from Leeuwhof prison, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 18 December 1993. Three people died and nine were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/145).

VAN WYK, Janetta Adriana (Nettie) (31), a bank employee, was severely injured in the Silverton bank siege, Pretoria, when three MK operatives held her hostage during a raid on the bank in which she worked on 25 January 1980. Two civilians and the three MK operatives were killed in a gunfight after police stormed the bank. Several others were injured.

VAN WYK, JD , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VAN WYK, Jeremiah Shadrack (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by an unidentified person in BOTSHABELO, near Bloemfontein, on 2 March 1990, while he was going from house to house collecting DIKWANKWETLA NATIONAL PARTY (DNP) members' identity documents for burning.

VAN WYK, Johannes Bongizembe (30), was arrested in Zambia by ANC security in 1988 shortly after going into exile, and was severely beaten and tortured. After eight months, he was transferred to a camp in Angola. During his incarceration, he was allegedly shot and injured. He subsequently appeared before a tribunal in Tanzania where he was cleared of charges that he was a spy.

VAN WYK, Lehodi Mishack , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Huhudi, near Vryburg, Cape, on 28 October 1990.

VAN WYK, Leon , was arrested with ten other friends in Carnarvon, Cape, on 16 June 1986, for wearing black ties commemorating those who died in the SOWETO UPRISING. He was repeatedly beaten by named members of the SAP at the police station and detained for 72 days under emergency regulations at Carnarvon and then at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

VAN WYK, Pedro (18), a UDF activist, was tortured and severely beaten while in detention by a named member of the SAP in Beaufort West, Cape, in 1983, during political protests against the Tricameral Parliament elections. Mr Van Wyk was detained in Williston, Cape, for three months in 1989 and was assaulted by members of the SAP at various Karoo police stations. In July 1990 he was again assaulted by policemen and detained for a month.

VAN WYK, Reinee , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VAN WYK, Rintjie Ousie (26), was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, during an attempted invasion of the homeland by right-wing extremists on 12 March 1994.

VAN WYK, Sarah (21), was shot and killed by named members of the Riot Squad in Bellville, Cape Town, on 29 August 1985. The policemen hid in a garden and then leapt out, opening fire on protesters and bystanders alike. Several women were also seriously injured in the shooting that took place in the aftermath of the POLLSMOOR MARCH.

VAN WYK, T , was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

VAN WYK, Thelma (27), was shot and severely injured by a named member of the SAP in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 10 September 1976. Two people were shot dead and many others injured that day when police opened fire on student protesters after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to the South Cape.

VAN WYK, Willem Arie (2), was killed when two MK operatives detonated a bomb in a shopping centre at Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 23 December 1985, in

retaliation for a South African security forces attack two weeks earlier on ANC members in Lesotho, in which nine people had been killed. The explosion in Amanzimtoti killed five people and injured 61. One of the operatives was sentenced to death and later hanged.

VAN ZYL JONKER, G , was injured when MK operatives from the 'Dolphin Unit' detonated a limpet mine at the Security Branch offices in Roodepoort, Tvl, on 17 August 1984. Five members of the Security Branch and several civilians were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/0003).

VAN ZYL, JP , was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VANDA, Ngwenduna (35), an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the Transkei Police near the Telle Bridge, Transkei, on 21 December 1986.

VANDA, Pampton Pumelele Cecil (34), was issued with a banning order in May 1982 in Butterworth, Transkei, restricting him to the Nqamakwe area for three years. In November 1977, Mr Vanda had been kept in solitary confinement in Idutywa, Transkei, and in December 1986 he was assaulted in detention by members of the Transkei Police and SAP in the Transkei.

VANDEYAR, Rajeegopal Pakiry (30), was tortured in detention in Johannesburg, in 1963. Mr Vandeyar had been politically active since 1945 and was involved in the formation of MK. He was convicted of sabotage and spent ten years on Robben Island. On his release he was served with a banning order.

VANDOYI, Wilson (34), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during protests in Duncan Village, East London, on 28 November 1986.

VANI, Mzwamadoda Eric (20), a UDF supporter, was shot in the eye by members of the SAP while he was on his way to work in Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 9 July 1985. On 21 July 1985, Mr Vani was detained.

VANSTADEN, Ntsoaki Rosy (47), was shot by IFP supporters in Emdeni South, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 6 April 1991 after an IFP rally nearby. Soweto was tense after clashes between IFP and ANC supporters.

VANTO, Mbuyiselo (41), an ANC member, was shot and injured by named perpetrators associated with a local Crossroads leader on 4 July 1991 in Crossroads, Cape Town. He lost his home in an arson attack on 12 April 1993 during attempts by the same local Crossroads leader to remove Section 2 residents by force.

VANTYU, Petr os, an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

VAPI, Nicholas Mongameli (18), a COSAS activist, died on 3 April 1986, a few days after being assaulted by members of the SAP while he was on his way from Uitenhage, Cape, to a political meeting in Port Elizabeth.

VARA, Lulamile Eric (43), an ANC member, was arrested on 13 February 1963 in Cape Town and sentenced to three years' imprisonment on Robben Island, where he was severely beaten by prison warders and became mentally disturbed. He was served with a banning order upon his release, but he died in hospital three months later.

VARA, Mafasi Agnes (48), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 2 February 1990, the day of the UNBANNING of political organisations.

VARA, Mkiti (28), an ANC member, was killed when his home was burnt down in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, on 18 February 1992, allegedly by supporters of the Lingeletu West Town Council believed to be aided by the SAP. Several other persons died in the attack.

VARA, Stanford (40), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Richmond, Natal, on 2 February 1990, the day of the UNBANNING of political organisations.

VARA, Thobile Cedric (27), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during political conflict in Hillside, Fort Beaufort, Cape, on 16 May 1985.

VARDAS, Anthonio , was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

VASINI, Zibonele William (57), was shot by members of the SADF in intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 11 August 1985.

VATIWE, Thanduxolo (25), had her home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Natal, burnt down during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area in 1993.

VAVA, Siphso Steven , was severely beaten, tortured and imprisoned by members of the Bophuthatswana Police on many occasions between 1992 and 1993 in Madikwe, Bophuthatswana, because of his involvement in political activities. Mr Vava alleges he was recruited as a spy while in police custody.

VAWDA, Yousouf (42), a member of the Nelspruit Civic Association, was detained and held in solitary confinement by named members of the Special Branch in Nelspruit, Tvl, in June 1986 during the state of emergency because he was suspected of being a member of a banned organisation.

VEENENDAAL, Leonard Michael (24), an AWB and CP member, was arrested, assaulted and tortured by named members of the Security Branch in July 1990 in Johannesburg, for his involvement in the activities of the *Orde Boerevolk*. He was released after embarking

on a hunger strike for 76 days. A commission of inquiry into these allegations was ordered by the then State President, FW De Klerk and headed by Lt General Jaap Joubert.

VELA, Patrick Gwebile (24), an ANC supporter, was shot in the back and leg by members of the SAP while attending a mass funeral at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, in April 1986.

VELAKE, Milile Iven (11), was beaten by members of the Ciskei Police on 14 September 1985 in Berlin, Cape. At the time, youths in the area were burning CNIP membership cards to prove their opposition to the Sebe government.

VELAPHI, Mlungisi (aka Mzimkulu Goduka) , an MK operative, was killed with four other operatives by a joint Venda and South African security force team on 25 March 1988 at Mutale River in Venda.

VELAPI, Mlindi Sydney Christian (19), a SPECIAL CONSTABLE, was arrested, interrogated and assaulted by Special Branch members at Ford Centre, Struandale, Port Elizabeth, on 24 September 1987. He was accused of being involved in UDF activities and being in possession of petrol bombs. He was rearrested on 11 February 1988 and forced by a named policeman to sign a form at gunpoint. Having signed the form, he was fired from the police. His family home was set alight by named persons on 24 September 1987.

VELDMAN, Ian Alexander , a member of the SAP, survived an attempt on his life in a shoot-out with APLA operatives at Diepkloof, Tvl, on 30 May 1993. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0050).

VELDSMAN, Alber tus , suffered an attempt on his life when the Lady Grey police station, OFS, was attacked by APLA operatives during January 1992. The perpetrators fired shots and threw a hand grenade at the station. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0057).

VELDSMAN, Patrick Cornelius (33), was shot and injured in Robertson, Cape, on 11 April 1990, when members of the SAP and Riot Squad fired rubber bullets and birdshot into a group of residents attending a community meeting in the civic centre to protest against the lack of facilities in the area.

VELE, Seiphethlo Maria (17), a COSAS member, was shot by members of the SAP on 13 March 1990 in Ikageng, Potchefstroom, Tvl, during attacks on white-owned businesses.

VELELO, Thembinkosi (35), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1994. Mr Velelo attended an ANC gathering at the Sinyaba Ground that coincided with an IFP rally in the area.

VELEM, Selina (18), was severely injured when she was dragged out of a car and stabbed by an ANC supporter in King William's Town, Cape, during February 1994. She was accused of living with a CDF member who, in actual fact, was her brother.

VELI, Ntombizanele (16), was kicked and severely assaulted with a sjambok by members of the CDF while

she was attending the funeral of an ex-Robben Island prisoner in Dimbaza, Ciskei, on 10 September 1985.

VELLEM, Mbulelo, was one of several young men abducted, assaulted and necklaced on 2 February 1987, by a large crowd of residents of Mdantsane township, Ciskei, who accused them of being part of a criminal gang called the 'Killer Boys'. Four were burnt to death while Mr Vellem survived with serious injuries. Twelve perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0049).

VELLEM, Mkuseli, was one of several young men abducted, assaulted and necklaced on 2 February 1987, by a large crowd of residents of Mdantsane township, Ciskei, who accused them of being part of a criminal gang called the 'Killer Boys'. Mr Vellem and three others were burnt to death while one survived with serious injuries. Twelve perpetrators were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0049).

VENA, John Thembisile (29), was severely beaten and tortured by members of the SAP at a time of protests in Aberdeen, Cape, in April 1991.

VENA, May (18), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

VENA, Mkhuseli Wilmoti (33), was sjambokked and severely assaulted by members of the Ciskei Police while he was attending the funeral of an unrest victim in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in September 1985.

VENA, Mxolisi Michael (22), a SEYCO member, was shot in the leg with live ammunition on 1 January 1985 while at a disco in Seymour, Cape. The perpetrator was an intoxicated member of the SAP who started shooting randomly in the hall. At the time, consumer boycotts and marches were frequent in the area.

VENA, Sesman David (35), a PAC supporter, was severely beaten by named supporters of Chief K D Matanzima in Cofimvaba, Transkei, in 1960.

VENA, Stanford Mpumelelo (30), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by named SAP members in Oudtshoorn, Cape, on 17 February 1988. On 14 September 1988, Mr Vena was arrested with other activists and tortured by named members of the SAP at Volmoed Farm, Oudtshoorn.

VENA, Victoria Nondzuzo (46), an ANCWL member, was detained and tortured by members of the SAP in Uitenhage, Cape, on 1 July 1986 during the state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

VENA, Vuyisile (32), was subjected to severe interrogation and deprivation by members of the Transkei Police while he was in detention from 21 September 1985 until January 1986 at the Elliotdale prison, Cape. The police allegedly believed Mr Vena was harbouring MK operatives.

VENA, Zalisile (32), an ANC supporter, was detained by members of the Transkei Police in October 1985 at Idutywa, Transkei. The police allegedly wanted information on the whereabouts of his brother who was an MK operative.

VENGADASAMY, Tyrone Garfield, an ANC supporter, was found dead in Lenasia, Johannesburg, on 11 July

1992 after he been missing for a few days. He had been planning a consumer boycott.

VENTER, (first name not given), was severely injured when the vehicle he was driving detonated a landmine at Stockpoort farm in Ellisras, Tvl, on 4 January 1986. Two people were killed and one was injured in the incident. The landmines were part of a campaign aimed at the SADF and commandos in rural areas and the ANC abandoned the campaign due to a high number of civilian casualties.

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

VENTER, Hermanus Bernadus, a member of the ISU, was shot dead during clashes between police and members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Daveyton, Tvl, on 26 July 1993. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/2001/075).

VENTER, ME, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VENTER, Petrus Albertus, was injured when AWB members detonated an explosive at the taxi rank in Westonaria, Tvl, on 25 April 1994, in an effort to disrupt the electoral process. Five people were killed in the blast. Six AWB members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342). See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

VERHEEM, Johannes Jacobus, was injured when a car bomb, planted by MK operatives, exploded outside the NBS building in Witbank, Tvl, on 24 October 1988. The building was used for commercial purposes, but also housed the Witbank Security Branch offices. Three people were killed and over 20 were injured, mainly civilians. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the bombing (AC/2000/055).

VERMEULEN, H, a member of the SAP, was injured in a limpet mine explosion at the John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg on 4 March 1986. The head of MK's Special Operations Unit was granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

VERTAEDE, (first name not given), suffered severe emotional trauma as a result of an arson attack on Khanya House, the headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, in Pretoria on 12 October 1988. The victims were trapped in the burning building for some time before being rescued. Twelve *Vlakplaas* operatives and seven other Security Branch Headquarters operatives, including senior personnel, were granted amnesty (AC/2000/215).

VERWEY, Julie (29), was arrested in Murraysburg, Cape, on 18 May 1986, and then detained for over four

months under emergency regulations after protests in the area. During his detention at the Murraysburg police station and St Alban's prison in Port Elizabeth, he was severely beaten and tear-gassed by prison warders. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

VESSEL, Gladman Nkosana (18), a COSAS member, was sjambokked and assaulted by members of the Ciskei Police during a student boycott at Lenge, Alice, Ciskei, in September 1985.

VETANI, Mziwethemba Xolile (20), was shot and seriously injured by members of the SAP in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 13 January 1990. He was charged with public violence but was acquitted.

VETMAN, Mabhoti Alfred (20), was one of two youths shot dead by members of the SAP near Crossroads, Cape Town, on 16 October 1985. The incident was a repeat of the 'Trojan Horse' shooting in Athlone the previous day in which security forces concealed in wooden crates on the back of a railways truck opened fire on protesters, killing three youths. See TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN.

VETO, Mbulelo Gideon (15), an ANC supporter, was beaten until he lost consciousness, by a member of the SAP at a police station in Port Alfred, Cape, during August 1986. He suffered severe eye injuries and was taken to a doctor, who allegedly conducted an unsatisfactory examination. He was then forced to make a statement in which he incriminated himself. He was subsequently charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

VETO, Zola Richman (17), was arrested during August 1986 and taken to the local police station in Port Alfred, Cape, where he was severely beaten by a member of the SAP. He was forced to make a statement in which he incriminated himself in acts of petrol-bombing, was charged, convicted and sentenced to four years' imprisonment, of which two years were suspended.

VETYU, Thandabantu Alfred (31), was paralysed when he was shot by members of the SAP in Welkom, OFS, on 1 April 1990, in a clash between police and the residents of Thabong during a consumer boycott.

VEYI, Thembekile (34), a UDF supporter, was killed in Mbekweni, Paarl, Cape, on 26 December 1985, during violent political conflict between UDF and AZAPO supporters. At least two other people were killed that day.

VEZI, Agnes Bashadile (39), an ANC supporter, lost her family home and all its possessions, including all livestock, in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Jolivet, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 11 March 1990. Five days earlier, her son had been killed by Inkatha supporters after attending an ANC meeting in defiance of the local chief's instructions. Her brother had been killed by Inkatha supporters after attending her son's funeral on the day before this attack. The family was forced to flee the area and had not been able to return by the time these statements were recorded.

VEZI, Khulekalwe Smallman (22), an ANC supporter, had his house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

VEZI, Sholiphi Rosta (44), had her house and shop at Eshowe, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in 1993.

VEZI, Sibusiso (3), survived an ambush by Inkatha supporters of the car in which he was travelling in Jolivet, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 March 1990. His father, who had just attended the funeral of his nephew killed by Inkatha supporters four days earlier, was shot dead in the attack. The next day the family was forced to flee the area, and had not been able to return by the time these statements were recorded.

VEZI, Sibusiso Agrippa (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and stoned to death in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 December 1993 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

VEZI, Siphos Chrisentos, and ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Jolivet, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 March 1990, when his car was ambushed on the way back from the funeral of his nephew, who had been killed by Inkatha supporters four days earlier. His three-year-old son survived the attack.

VEZI, Xolani Siphos (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Jolivet, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 March 1990, after attending an ANC meeting in defiance of the local chief's instructions. His uncle was killed by Inkatha supporters four days later, after attending Xolani's funeral, and the family home was destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters the following day.

VEZI, Zitho Ireene (37), an ANC supporter, had her house in Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, burnt down in 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

VIDIMA, Dumisani, a UDF supporter, was abducted from his home and killed by Inkatha supporters at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 12 December 1988 in intensifying political conflict in the area. A few days later, Mr Vidima's family home was destroyed in an arson attack, forcing his mother to flee the area.

VIDIMA, Mshungwini (27), had his home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, attacked and partially destroyed on 25 March 1980 during intense political conflict in the area.

VIDIMA, Tolakele Flora, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, in December 1988. She was forced to flee the area. Before the attack, her son, a UDF supporter, had been abducted and killed by Inkatha supporters.

VEIRA, JJ, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

VLAKAZI, Agnes (48), was assaulted and injured by IFP members because she refused to attend their

meetings at the Bester Location rent office, Durban, in 1988. Her two daughters also sustained injuries in this incident, and her house was burnt down by IFP supporters while she was recovering in hospital.

VILAKAZI, (first name not given), an IFP member, suffered an attempt on his life and damage to his motor vehicle, when he was attacked by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Tokoza, Tvl. SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0243).

VILAKAZI, Abraham (26), was shot dead when the vehicle in which he and nine other young men were travelling was ambushed at Diepdale, near Ermelo, Tvl, on 30 September 1993. The youths were returning from a court appearance in connection with the killing of a local chief when they were attacked, allegedly by the chief's son and other IFP supporters. Four of the ten were killed and three others injured.

VILAKAZI, Bongani, was stabbed to death at Mpopophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 20 November 1991, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His family home was attacked repeatedly between 1990 and 1991.

VILAKAZI, Bonginkosi Isaac (23), an IFP supporter, was killed by IFP supporters on 20 June 1993, following the launch of an ANC branch at Woodford Stadium, near Bergville, Natal. Mr Vilakazi had allegedly attended the launch meeting. See BERGVILLE ATTACK.

VILAKAZI, Bukani (29), a UDF supporter, had her house in KwaDweshula, Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 26 January 1988.

VILAKAZI, Christina, lost her home in an arson attack by alleged IFP supporters during political conflict at Empangeni, Natal, on 22 November 1992. The perpetrators, who also assaulted her during the attack, were allegedly looking for her grandson.

VILAKAZI, Dali Merika (70), had her house set alight in 1991 by a gang calling itself the 'Amakati' in Mpopophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

VILAKAZI, Dudu Elsie (26), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at Kwadimayimane, near Pietermaritzburg, in May 1993.

VILAKAZI, Dumisani Paulos (22), went missing from his home in Katilehong, Tvl, in March 1993. His body was discovered at Germiston mortuary in June 1993. According to the death certificate Mr Vilakazi died of unnatural causes on 12 June 1993. His death occurred during ongoing political conflict on the East Rand.

VILAKAZI, Ernestina (47), an Inkatha supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by UDF supporters in September 1987. She was forced to leave the area.

VILAKAZI, Goli (50), a COSATU member, was hacked to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 30 December 1987.

VILAKAZI, Jabulani Samuel (26), an MK operative, died in police custody in Sasolburg, OFS, on 8 April 1994. It is alleged that he was shot in a staged suicide

to prevent him from revealing information about Security Branch activities. Mr Vilakazi had reportedly been detained and tortured in 1992 in a failed attempt to make him an informer.

VILAKAZI, Jafta (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack by IFP supporters on the house of an MK operative in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 19 April 1992. Five people died in the attack, and three women were raped.

VILAKAZI, Lina Landubase (59), was shot by members of the SAP in Lynville Park near Witbank, Tvl, on 25 June 1985. There were school boycotts in the area at the time.

VILAKAZI, Makhiseni (43), was assaulted, stabbed and shot dead in in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 22 December 1993 by IFP supporters who stopped the car in which he and his sons were travelling home. One son was killed in the attack; the other survived after managing to escape from the boot of the car into which the attackers had put him.

VILAKAZI, Mandla Jef frey (29), had his house in Inanda New Town, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in September 1985. Following the killing of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in Umlazi in August 1985, political violence quickly spread to areas north and south of Durban.

VILAKAZI, Mandlenkosi Matheus (17), an ANC supporter, was seriously assaulted by IFP supporters in Nondweni, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 23 February 1994. He and other ANC youths were trying to flee the township ahead of a planned IFP rally when they were attacked. After being rescued by two Vryheid policemen, Mandlenkosi spent a month in hospital.

VILAKAZI, Matsheni Julius (69), an IFP supporter, had his house in Dumbe, Paulpietersburg, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 17 February 1994, allegedly in retaliation for an assault by IFP supporters on the local ANC leader the previous day.

VILAKAZI, Mazwi, an MK operative, and two others were abducted in Phoenix, Durban, on 18 November 1988 by Port Natal Security Branch operatives. The three were taken to a railway line in Phoenix, told to kneel down and shot dead. Their hands were placed on a limpet mine, which was then detonated to create the impression that they had blown themselves up. Five Port Natal Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander, were granted amnesty (AC/2001/112).

VILAKAZI, Ngicuphile (63), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

VILAKAZI, Nomini Mary (44), was forced to lie down on the ground and was sjambokked 17 times by a named ANC supporter and others in Nelspruit, Tvl, during June 1986. Ms Vilakazi was beaten in the presence of her daughter because she refused to attend a meeting about a consumer boycott in the area.

VILAKAZI, Patrick , was attacked by a member of the IFP during political violence at Davula, Bethal, Tvl, during 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

VILAKAZI, Poppy Mathilda , was shot dead by a member of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, on 21 June 1985.

VILAKAZI, Qedukwazi Cliff ford (23), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 21 September 1989. His body was later burnt.

VILAKAZI, Raymond Bonginkosi (21), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and severely injured when UDF supporters attacked his brother's home in Fredville, near Inchanga, Natal, on 14 February 1988.

VILAKAZI, Robert Gabangani (23), an ANC chairperson, was beaten by named perpetrators in March 1991. In April 1993, he was arrested and tortured by named members of the SAP in Empuluzi, KaNgwane.

VILAKAZI, Sibongile Caroline (19), was raped when a gang calling itself the 'Amakati' attacked her family home in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in 1991. The family was allegedly targeted because her uncle had refused to join a strike at the Sarmcol plant in Mpophomeni. The family home was burnt down.

VILAKAZI, Sibusiso Michael (16), was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Vukukazhe, Volksrust, Tvl, on 10 April 1993 while on a march to commemorate the assassination of SACP leader CHRIS HANI.

VILAKAZI, Simanga , was shot and injured at his wife's night vigil in KwaThema, Tvl, in February 1986. The named member of the SAP responsible for his wife's death, also opened fire on mourners.

VILAKAZI, Siphamandla (24), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. The attack was allegedly motivated by Molefe's refusal to call up men in his area to defend the IFP. An IFP leader was implicated in the attack. Eleven ANC youths were killed and seven injured.

VILAKAZI, Sphiwe , an IFP supporter, was shot dead when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

VILAKAZI, Siphso Innocent (20), was injured when a gang calling itself the 'Amakati' attacked and burnt down his family home in 1991 in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal. The family was allegedly targeted because his uncle refused to join a strike at the Sarmcol plant at Mpophomeni.

VILAKAZI, Solani Nokuthula (24), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

VILAKAZI, Thabini Christian Vusumuzi (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed in political conflict by named KWAZULU POLICE SPECIAL CONSTABLES in Umlazi, Durban, on 1 September 1990.

VILAKAZI, Thamari Maria (59), was beaten and sustained pellet wounds after being shot by members of the SAP in Katilehong, Tvl, in October 1993. Ms Vilakazi and other residents of Sali section, Katilehong, were protesting against the ISU beating a schoolchild in their vehicle.

VILAKAZI, Thembizile Ntoyi (29), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

VILAKAZI, Thulani (20), was assaulted, stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, who stopped the car in which he was travelling home with his father and brother on 22 December 1993. His father also died in the attack. His brother was put into the car boot by the attackers, but managed to escape.

VILAKAZI, Twodays Cecelia (42), an ANC supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1985. Her neighbour's homes were also burnt down in the attack, and one person was killed. In June 1992, Ms Vilakazi was shot and injured, allegedly by the same perpetrators.

VILAKAZI, Victoria Ntombi (28), was shot and injured when members of the SADF searched hostels in Katilehong, Tvl, on 8 April 1994 during the run-up to the first democratic election of 27 April 1994.

VILAKAZI, Wami Enoch (63), a UDF/ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 1 September 1985 in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, at a time of tension and conflict following the SARMCOL STRIKE. Mr Vilakazi was allegedly targeted because he warned people against violence. He moved from the area, and his house was again burnt down by IFP supporters during the SEVEN-DAY WAR near Pietermaritzburg in March 1990.

VILAKAZI, William , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, during a protest march in 1990.

VILAKAZI-TSHABALALA, Desmond Moses , was shot dead by members of the SAP in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 21 June 1976 in the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING.

VILANCULO, Raul Respeito , was stabbed by IFP supporters in Mayfair, Johannesburg, on 26 August 1990. Tension between IFP and ANC supporters resulted in a number of attacks on civilians including attacks on trains, stations and taxi ranks.

VILANE, Sihlangu Jofrey (40), was shot and injured in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 14 April 1990 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

VILJOEN, Frederick Hendrick , was shot and wounded by APLA members in an armed attack on the Sentra Hyperserve supermarket at Wesselsbron, OFS, on 3 July 1993. Five people were killed and four

were wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Six APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/250).

VILJOEN, Jan Adriaan, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

VILJOEN, PA, a Fidelity Guards employee, was shot at but uninjured, when MK operatives conducted an armed robbery of cash trunks being collected by a Fidelity Guards van in Dube, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 5 November 1988. Two of the four guards were injured in the robbery which was intended to acquire funds for the MK unit. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2000/0013).

VILJOEN, Sarah Jane (51), was shot dead by a named member of the Riot Squad in Paarl, Cape, on 9 September 1976. Ms Viljoen was travelling in a taxi through an unrest area during the 1976 student uprisings when she was shot. Three women were shot dead in Paarl that day.

VILJOEN, Susana Catharina, was shot and wounded by APLA members in an armed attack on the Sentra Hyperserve supermarket at Wesselsbron, OFS, on 3 July 1993. Five people were killed and four were wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Six APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/250).

VIMNECEMBE, Andr ew, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

VINGER, Ronald (13), was shot and injured by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Brits, Tvl, on 15 March 1993 while crossing the street to attend the clinic. Police fired rubber bullets and teargas into a crowd gathered at Maboloka police station to protest against harassment by police and soldiers. Ronald was hit in the head, allegedly by a stray bullet. One person was killed and four were seriously injured during the attack.

VININDW A, Violet Nofikile (33), a PAC supporter, was detained in Mqanduli, Transkei, during 1962 for attending an unlawful Poqo meeting. She was convicted on political charges and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Her baby was born in prison without medical supervision. Five months later she was released and placed under house arrest for five years.

VISAGIE, Cleoton Darryl (16), a student activist in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, and a member of the BMW, was detained for 14 days in November 1985 and severely beaten by members of the SAP. He was detained again in May 1987 and was severely tortured at the Ravensmead police station. He experienced further beatings in 1988 for his continued involvement in student protests.

VISAGIE, Dewald Jacobus, a constable in the SAP, sustained shrapnel injuries when armed MK operatives attacked the Wonderboompoort police station, Pretoria,

on 26 December 1981. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/195).

VISAGIE, Getrude (57), an ANC supporter, had her house in Empangeni, Natal, destroyed by IFP supporters on 29 March 1992. She had received death threats a month earlier had left her house to sleep in the hills. When she returned to her home, she found it destroyed.

VISAGIE, Johannes Hendrick, a member of the SAP, was injured by MK operatives while in Edendale Hospital, near Pietermaritzburg, on 4 May 1986. One person was killed and Mr Visagie and three others were injured in crossfire between the operatives and police when the operatives raided the hospital to free a member of their MK unit who was being held there. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

VISSER, Jacobs Raymond (29), a UDF supporter, was beaten in detention by members of the SAP in Willowmore, Cape, on 17 June 1986 allegedly because he was accused of instigating violence in the area.

VISSER, Malcolm, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives opened fire in the Steaks restaurant in Claremont, Cape Town, on 26 December 1992. Five people were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

VLEI, Dan Zamile (31), a UDF supporter, was detained and beaten by members of the SAP during conflict between UDF supporters and the AMAAFRIKA in Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 June 1990.

VOGEL, Clasina Johanna Salomina (37), was severely injured in a bomb blast at Johannesburg station, on 24 July 1964. The named perpetrator, a member of the African Resistance Movement, was sentenced to death. Two people died in the attack.

VOGEL, HPI, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

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

VORSTER, Phillip Franci, a member of the SAP, was shot and wounded by an MK operative who was attempting to escape from a police van in Pietersburg, Tvl, on 12 January 1990. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/081).

VOSTER, Louis (20), was injured when MK operatives attacked an SADF base at Letaba stadium, Nkowa Nkowa, Gazankulu, on 12 April 1990. Five SADF members were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2000/98).

VOYI, Cona Nathaniel (78), had his property damaged in an attack on his home by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Dryharts, Taung, Bophuthatswana, on 6 December 1990 after a meeting at Dryharts Bathlapin tribal office where villagers had summoned chief Jerry Mahura to hear their grievances. When police dispersed the crowd with teargas and sjamboks, people ran and hid in Mr Voyi's house. His wife died in the attack.

VOYIYA, Funeka (30), was shot by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, in October 1985. Ms Voyiya was pregnant at the time.

VRIES, Andries Benjamin (22), was shot by members of the SADF in Toekomsrus, Randfontein, Tvl, on 26 October 1990 during a rent boycott and curfew.

VULONEL, T, was severely injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

VUMA, Seun Joseph, an SAP member, was shot dead by MK operatives at his home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on 16 March 1986. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0257).

VUMAZONKE, Dora, nearly lost her life when her brother's house was set alight by a crowd of youth in Beaufort West, Cape, on 22 August 1985. Ms Vumazonke's brother, a former community COUNCILLOR, was regarded as a collaborator.

VUMAZONKE, Gerald Zolile Bonisile (28), a UDF supporter, died when he was 'necklaced' during political unrest in Port Elizabeth on 11 January 1987.

VUMAZONKE, Mlahlwa (39), was detained in early 1961 and severely assaulted by members of the SAP in Pietermaritzburg during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. He was allegedly detained because he was known to have attended *Nonqulwana* or planning meetings during the uprising.

VUMAZONKE, Olga, nearly lost her life when the house she was in was set alight by a crowd of youth in Beaufort West, Cape, on 22 August 1985. The house belonged to a former community COUNCILLOR who was regarded as a collaborator.

VUMAZONKE, Paulus, nearly lost his life when the house he was in was set alight by a crowd of youth in Beaufort West, Cape, on 22 August 1985. The house belonged to a former community COUNCILLOR who was regarded as a collaborator.

VUMAZONKE, Phindile Ronald (20), was shot by members of the security forces in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 11 August 1976, while watching students burn a liquor store after the SOWETO UPRISING had spread to Cape Town. His right leg was amputated as a result of the injury. Mr Vumazonke later went into exile.

VUMAZONKE, Yogi Euginia 'Mankwali' (50), an ANC supporter, lost her shack in an arson attack in KTC, Cape Town, on 9 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by WITDOEKE vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces.

VUNDLA, Dumazi Themba (63), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ntshidi, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 24 April 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

VUNDLA, Thembinkosi Bongani (30), had his house burnt down in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in March 1994 in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

VUNGA YI, Mhlutshwa, was severely beaten with sjamboks by members of the SAP while in detention in Bizana, Transkei, in 1960 during the PONDOLAND REVOLT. Mr Vungayi subsequently died, allegedly as a result of his injuries.

VUSANI, Alton Nyanisile, was shot dead by members of the CDF on 4 August 1983 near Egerton railway station at Mdantsane, Ciskei, during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

VUSANI, Mgcineni (20), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

VUSO, Mathemba (33), an MK commander, was shot dead by members of the Ciskei Police in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 17 July 1987.

VUTHELA, Nzimeni Johannes (13), was shot and injured at the night vigil for an ANC supporter in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 15 December 1990. More than 20 people were shot in the attack by known perpetrators accompanied by members of the SAP.

VUYOKAZI, Florence Nkolisa (39), had her house burnt down and her possessions stolen by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

WABENA, Jeff Ngxeke (40), an ANC member, was shot dead while he was addressing a meeting at SK Mqhayi High School in Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 10 October 1990.

WALTERS, Stephanus Sebastian, a colonel in the South African Air Force (SAAF), was killed when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the SAAF headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

WALTON, I, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

WAMBI, Fundiswa (14), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, on 21 March 1985 when police opened fire on mourners marching to a funeral. At least 20 people were killed and many injured in the shooting. See LANGA SHOOTINGS.

WANA, Mr, escaped an abduction attempt in East London on 21 May 1993 by Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldiers who allegedly wanted to interrogate him regarding a planned coup in the Transkei. When they did not find Mr Wana at his home, they abducted three people from the house, whom they subsequently shot dead near the Kei River Bridge. A TDF soldier was granted amnesty for the abduction, but refused amnesty for the killing (AC/2000/018).

WANDA, Ncamisile Pretty (22), an Inkatha supporter, had her house petrol-bombed by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in November 1987.

WARD, Reginald W illiam, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their various roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

WARNER, Amanda, a civilian, was injured when APLA operatives opened fire in the Steaks Restaurant in Claremont, Cape Town, on 26 December 1992. Five people were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

WATERMEYER, Xakiwe Monica (24), sustained burn wounds in a petrol bomb attack on the house of a youth organiser during political conflict in Middelburg, Cape, on 18 April 1986.

WATERWITCH, Robert Anthony Basil (20), a UDF activist and an internally trained MK operative, was killed on 23 July 1989, when the explosive device that he was planting outside a public toilet, in Athlone, Cape Town, detonated. A female MK operative also died in the blast. The Commission was unable to make a finding on allegations of security force involvement in their deaths.

WATERWORTH, Lee-Ann, was injured in what became known as the MAGOO'S BAR BOMBING in Durban on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/128).

WATSON, Gloria Roseline, sustained damage to her property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

WATSON, John Lawrence (51), suffered damage to his property in Fouriesburg, OFS, on 14 August 1993, when his farmhouse was attacked with petrol bombs by APLA operatives. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/2001/102).

WAYIZA, Zenzile (14), an ANC supporter, died after being shot through the heart by a named member of the SAP while he was participating in a *toyi-toyi* demonstration in Molteno, Cape, on 27 November 1985.

WEAKLEY, Alistair James, and his brother were shot dead when ANC self-defence Unit (SDU) members opened fire on the vehicle in which they were travelling while on holiday near Port St Johns, Transkei,

on 13 April 1993. Three other passengers survived the attack, which followed the assassination of MK/ANC/SACP leader, Chris Hani. Four SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0249).

WEAKLEY, Glen Pearsall, and his brother were shot dead when ANC self-defence Unit (SDU) members opened fire on the vehicle in which they were travelling while on holiday near Port St Johns, Transkei, on 13 April 1993. Three other passengers survived the attack, which followed the assassination of MK/ANC/SACP leader, Chris Hani. Four SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0249).

WEBER, Karl Andrew (37), was shot when members of APLA carried out an attack on the Highgate Hotel, East London, on 1 May 1993. Five people were killed and several others injured. See APLA ATTACKS.

WEBSTER, David (43), a UDF supporter, was shot dead on 1 May 1989 outside his home in Troyeville, Johannesburg, by a CCB operative. The operative, later convicted of his killing, did not apply for amnesty. A Witwatersrand Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for harassing Dr Webster and others during a political gathering in 1985 (AC/2001/0184).

WEBSTER, Edward Frank (22), was shot, beaten and arrested by members of the SAP in Paarl, Cape, on 9 September 1976, while standing with a group of people during widespread unrest. Three women were shot dead in Paarl that day.

WEIMERS, Chris, was detained and threatened by members of the SAP in Johannesburg, in 1975. Police wanted to know about a new organisation, 'Brotherhood', which had been formed under the Black Consciousness Movement.

WEKENI, Joseph (48), an ANC supporter, was stabbed by a named IFP supporter in Chicken Farm, Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, because he stayed at home during an ANC stayaway during 1990. He died later in hospital.

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

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

WELMAN, Robert, a member of the SAP, was killed when a limpet mine placed by MK operatives exploded at an electricity sub-station in Chamberlain, Jacobs, Durban, on 9 January 1986. Two of his colleagues and two workers were injured. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/108).

WESINYANE, Moses Mathere (20), an ANC supporter, was paralysed and left with a fractured skull and speech problems after being tortured in detention by members of the SAP in Diepkloof prison, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 30 July 1985.

WESSELS (PONOANA), Tandive Rina (42), survived the petrol-bombing of her home by ANC supporters in April 1993, and again in June 1993, in ongoing political conflict in Richmond, Natal.

WESSELS, Johannes Hendrick, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their various roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

WESSELS, S, a lieutenant in the SADF, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

WESSELS, Tandive Rina (42), survived the petrol-bombing of her home by ANC supporters in April 1993 and again in June 1993 in Richmond, Cape. Ms Wessels was targeted for attack as she had broken a consumer boycott in a period of heightened protest activity following the assassination of Chris Hani.

WESTLEY, Helen, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

WESTLEY, Lorraine, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

WEWERS, Saul Jacobus (14), an ANCYL supporter was injured after being beaten by members of the SAP who disrupted a party he was attending in Robertson, Cape, in September 1976. In the wake of the SOWETO UPRISING, there were incidents of stone throwing in Robertson. Saul was later arrested and forced to sign a statement admitting sabotage and as a result he was expelled from school.

WHEELER, Royce Michael (46), was seriously injured when members of APLA carried out an attack on the Highgate Hotel, East London, on 1 May 1993. Five

people were killed and several others injured. See APLA ATTACKS.

WHITE, Kim, was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

WHITFIELD, Deric John (42), was shot dead when members of APLA carried out an attack on the Highgate Hotel, East London, on 1 May 1993. Five people were killed and several others injured. See APLA ATTACKS.

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

WIEHAHN, Geraldine Mathilda (18), was shot and injured by members of the Railway Police in Athlone, Cape Town, on 15 October 1985, in the TROJAN HORSE INCIDENT, CAPE TOWN.

WILDEBEES, Puleng Lina (18), a member of the EAGLES CLUB, was severely beaten when ANC supporters attacked her and five other 'Eagles Club' members in Qhoweng, Reddersburg, OFS, in 1989, allegedly because of their involvement with the club.

WILDEBEES, Tefo William (21), an ANCYL supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the SAP at the Grootvlei police station in Reddersburg, OFS, in May 1990. A boycott was underway at the time, and several youth activists were assaulted and tortured by the police.

WILFRED, Mario Alexandra, a member of the SADF, was shot and wounded when APLA members ambushed a military vehicle, firing on it with automatic weapons, in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 16 December 1986. Two APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/2000/0133).

WILI, Goodboy (16 months), died after inhaling teargas fumes when members of the SAP threw a teargas canister into the shack in which he was sleeping in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 11 August 1985, during intense public unrest in the area.

WILKENS, Kobus, a member of the SAP, was killed when a car bomb exploded outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's court on 20 May 1987. Three other policemen were also killed in the explosion, which took place after a decoy smaller bomb had lured them to the scene. Three other people were injured. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0067).

WILKINSON, Mervin Oupa (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Huhudi, Vryburg, Cape, on 21 October 1989.

WILLEM, Boyce (22), a SAYCO member, was severely harassed by members of the SAP in 1983 in Port Elizabeth, allegedly because of his political activities.

WILLEM, Lawrence Mcebisi (18), was assaulted and killed by members of the SAP and AMAAFRIKA supporters in Khayelitsha, Uitenhage, Cape, on 13 February 1990. The shooting occurred at a meeting between the police and AmaAfrika and UDF supporters to discuss their differences. Mr Willem was hit in the head and died instantly.

WILLEMSE, Johannes (20), an ANC supporter, was detained and severely beaten by members of the Lebowa Police and SAP at Tafelkop, Tvl, during the 1986 state of emergency. Mr Williamse was arrested at a mass meeting so that police could determine if he was on a 'wanted' list of political activists.

WILLIAM, Bonile Johnson (18), a UDF supporter, was stripped naked and had his scrotum crushed in a drawer by members of the SAP on 9 March 1985 at Church Street police station in Uitenhage, Cape. He had assisted in a boycott of local business people and had witnessed the killing of an activist by members of the SAP. He was arrested and severely beaten before being taken to Uitenhage police station where the beatings continued. Later he was charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

WILLIAMS, (first name not given), a member of the SAP, was shot and killed by APLA operatives near Da Gama Textiles, East London, on 28 March 1994. Mr Williams, a member of the Crime Reaction Unit, was shot when police arrived at the scene of an APLA attack on a bus conveying white passengers. See APLA ATTACKS. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2001/271).

WILLIAMS, Abraham (25), was shot and severely injured by members of the SAP on 9 September 1976 in Elsies River, Cape Town, during the SOWETO UPRISING. He was arrested and his injured leg was beaten by police.

WILLIAMS, Abubakr 'Whitey' (19), a UDF supporter and BMW member, was detained on 2 October 1987 and held for six weeks. He was again arrested on 6 January 1988. In both instances he was severely assaulted by named members of a special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT at the Brackenfell and Bishop Lavis police stations, Cape Town.

WILLIAMS, Coline Denise (22), a UDF activist and an internally trained MK operative, was killed on 23 July 1989, when the explosive device that she was planting outside a public toilet, in Athlone, Cape Town, detonated. A fellow MK operative also died in the blast. The Commission was unable to make a finding on allegations of security force involvement in their deaths. Ms Williams had previously been detained for long periods under emergency regulations.

WILLIAMS, Daniel Sicelo (19), a UDF supporter, was arrested on charges of public violence in De Aar, Cape, in April 1985, and severely tortured several times by named and other SAP members. The charges were later withdrawn. Mr Williams then left the country to join the ANC. On his return he was arrested, severely tortured, and detained for many months.

WILLIAMS, David, a private security guard, was shot and killed during a cash-in-transit robbery by APLA operatives at Cleveland, Johannesburg, on 20

September 1991. See APLA ATTACKS. Three APLA members were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0244).

WILLIAMS, Derby Ellen, was injured in a hand grenade explosion on 25 May 1993 in Kimberley, Cape, during an ANC protest march to the Bophuthatswana consulate. Two MK operatives threw a hand grenade at the building which bounced back into the crowd, killing one person and injuring 41 others. Two ANC members were wrongly convicted of the killing. Four MK operatives and ANC members, two of whom denied guilt, were refused amnesty (AC/2000/053 and AC/2000/241).

WILLIAMS, Ernest Ananias, sustained damage to his property in a limpet mine explosion at a bus stop near the Checkers shopping complex in Silverton, Tvl, on 4 July 1986. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/0257).

WILLIAMS, Gr eshna, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

WILLIAMS, Gwyneth (16), an ANC supporter, was detained under emergency regulations and held at CR Swart Square in Durban for an unspecified period in 1986. Members of her family were well-known political activists and were frequently harassed and detained by members of the SAP.

WILLIAMS, Henry 'Barney' (19), was arrested and severely beaten by members of the SAP in 1976 at the Mossel Bay police station, Cape, after extensive unrest and arson attacks in the town. He was later convicted of public violence.

WILLIAMS, Ilan, survived an armed attack by APLA operatives on the Steaks restaurant in Claremont, Cape Town, on 26 December 1992. Five people were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. One APLA member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0103).

WILLIAMS, Mbuyiselo (23), a UDF supporter, was shot at by Inkatha supporters and members of the KwaZULU POLICE at Umlazi, Durban, on 19 April 1990.

WILLIAMS, Michael, was shot by members of the SAP in Tokomsrus, Randfontein, Tvl, on 18 October 1990 during riots in the township after the council disconnected electricity to 124 houses.

WILLIAMS, Moegamat Qasim (Craig) 'Botha' (14), a BMW member, was arrested on 6 January 1988 and was assaulted and tortured at the Brackenfell, Bishop Lavis and Macassar police stations in Cape Town by named members of a special police UNREST INVESTIGATION UNIT. Mr Williams was acquitted of the charges against him. He was later severely assaulted by other BMW members after police had spread a rumour that he was an informer.

WILLIAMS, Mvusi Michael, was tortured in detention by members of the Special Branch members in Port Elizabeth.

WILLIAMS, Noel John (39), a UDF activist in Atlantis, Cape, and member of the local civic association, was detained twice for several weeks in 1985. He was again detained in June 1986 under emergency regulations and held for 17 months. During his detention he was interrogated, held in solitary confinement for long periods and deprived of food. Restriction orders were placed upon him after his release. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

WILLIAMS, Paul Manuel, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

WILLIAMS, Piet (25), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Philipstown, Cape, on 13 April 1990, after he had shouted a political slogan at the police.

WILLIAMS, Teddy Edward Mwase (aka 'Wellington Sejake') (29), an MK member, was incarcerated by members of the ANC security department in 1984. He was held in the Quatro camp and was kicked and beaten. He appeared before a tribunal which found him not guilty of participating in the mutiny. See ANC CAMPS.

WILLIAMS, Tekana Steven (34), an ANC member, was arrested and severely beaten and kicked by SAP members in Worcester, Cape, in 1960, because he was involved in the burning of passes. Then, as a UDF activist, he was detained in 1985 for three months and again in 1986 for ten months at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape, during the state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

WILO, Alfred Mbuyiselo, was abducted by a large group and beaten to death with a *knobkierie* by an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) and street committee member in Evaton, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 25 December 1990. He was then set alight by the large crowd of residents gathered at the scene. Mr Wilo was suspected of involvement in the death of an ANCYL member and other offences in the community. One SDU and street committee member was granted amnesty for the killing (AC/2000/155).

WILSON, Boitemogolo Sylvia (24), was severely sjambokked by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Motswedding, Bophuthatswana, on 21 November 1993 when police charged a protest march held to submit a memorandum of complaint to the local chief.

WILSON, Christina Elizabeth, was injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

WILSON, Cinde, was severely injured when members of MK's 'Dolphin Unit' detonated an explosive in a car near the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court and the adjacent police station, Tvl, on 16 March 1988. Three

people were killed and more than 20 were injured in the blast. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003).

WILSON, Nomvula Maggie 'Nomise' (35), a UDF supporter, was detained twice at Pollsmoor prison in Cape Town, in 1985.

WILSON, PD, was injured when members of MK's Special Operations Unit detonated an explosive in a car outside the SADF Witwatersrand Command headquarters in Johannesburg on 30 July 1987. At least 68 people were injured. Three MK operatives and one UDF supporter linked to MK were granted amnesty for their roles in this attack (AC/2001/0003 and AC/2000/248).

WILSON, S, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

WILSON, SEL, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

WINER, William Stanley (33), a journalist and political activist, was detained in Pretoria and Carolina, Tvl, and in Dundee, Natal, in August and September 1993. In Dundee he was held in solitary confinement for 11 days, and was denied food and medical attention.

WISANI, Mnzeyi, was shot by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1991 during clashes between IFP and ANC supporters after the IFP held a rally at the Sinaba stadium.

WITBOOI, Florence Eunice (35), an ANC and SANCO member, was beaten by members of the SAP in Eersterivier, Cape Town, on 6 July 1993, during a sit-in by residents to protest the lack of water provision and services to a local squatter camp.

WITBOOI, Johannes (14), a UDF supporter, was beaten to death by members of the SAP while in detention at Steytlerville, Cape, on 5 July 1985 during political conflict in the area following the deaths of the CRADOCK FOUR.

WITBOOI, Johannes (35), was stabbed and set alight by named perpetrators in Lingelihle, Cradock, Cape, on 6 September 1986, during a strike and stayaway at his workplace. He was allegedly targeted because he did not heed the stayaway call.

WITBOOI, Neville (17), was arrested on 3 December 1985 in Upington, Cape, and spent long periods in custody while on trial with 25 others known as the UPINGTON 26 after the crowd killing of a member of the MUNICIPAL POLICE. Mr Witbooi was given a suspended sentence, overturned on appeal.

WITBOOI, Nomathamsanqa Elita Shanie (21), a BCM activist, was arrested and beaten by members of the SAP after participating in a protest march in Cradock, Cape, in September 1977. On 5 October 1977, she was kicked and beaten by police members who forced her to make a confession in an arson attack. Later that month, she was stripped naked and locked into a wet police van for five hours. She was convicted and sentenced to four years' imprisonment and released on 28 November 1981.

WITBOOI, Nomawethu V eronica (27), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

WITBOOI, Shadrack Jongikaya (32), was shot dead by members of the BALACLAVA GROUP allegedly linked to the Lingeletu West Town Council on 16 December 1991 in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. The attack was aimed at a local ANC Women's League activist and left three people dead, three wounded and 40 houses burnt.

WITTEVEEN, RW, was injured when MK operatives detonated an explosive in a car outside the South African Air Force (SAAF) headquarters in Church Street, Pretoria, on 20 May 1983. Twenty-one people were killed and 217 injured. The overall commander of MK's Special Operations Unit and two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/2001/003 and AC/2001/023). See CHURCH STREET BOMBING, PRETORIA.

WOJI, Lulamile Henry, was shot dead by members of the SADF during unrest at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 6 November 1980.

WOKONA, Pumla (18), an ANC supporter, was shot on 26 August 1986 in Duncan Village, East London, when members of the SADF randomly opened fire on a crowd demonstrating after Griffiths Mxenge's funeral which had taken place near King William's Town, Cape.

WOLF, Oupa Vincent (16), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP at Thandukhanya, Piet Retief, Tvl, on 30 March 1993 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

WOLFAARDT, Alwyn, an AWB member, was killed by members of the Bophuthatswana Police in Mafikeng, Bophuthatswana, on 11 March 1994. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0239). See BOPHUTHATSWANA INVASION.

WOLFAARDT, Maria Elizabeth Petr onella, was severely injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on patrons at the Crazy Beat Disco in Newcastle, Natal, on 14 February 1994. One person was shot dead and several others were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three APLA operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0016).

WOLFAART, Gerhard Petrus (17), was severely injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on patrons at the Crazy Beat Disco in

Newcastle, Natal, on 14 February 1994. One person was shot dead and several others were injured in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three APLA operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0016).

WONCI, Thembinkosi Michael, a COSAS activist, was killed after being shot in the head by a named SAP member while he was participating in a student meeting at Thamsanqa High School, KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, during 1984. His parents were only informed about his death three weeks later. The magistrate found that the perpetrator was acting in self-defence.

WOOD, Michael John (22), was shot by members of the Riot Police in Athlone, Cape Town, in September 1977, during unrest. He was blinded in one eye.

WOOD, Pauline Elizabeth (40), an ANC supporter, had her home in Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in June 1993.

WOODINGTON, Alfr ed, a NUMSA member, was detained in Benoni, Tvl, in 1988 under emergency regulations. Before this, Mr Woodington and his wife were reportedly continually harassed by members of the Security Police because of their political activities.

WOODINGTON, Norah, a FAWU member, was severely intimidated by members of the Security Police in Benoni, Tvl, in 1986 because of her union membership.

WOODS, Mary (5), received injuries on 23 November 1977 in East London, when she wore a T-shirt that had been impregnated with an acid-based skin irritant, causing a purple skin rash and inflammation of the eyes. The attack on the family took place during the inquest into the death in detention of the Black Consciousness leader, Steve Biko. Her father, Mr Donald Woods, the banned editor of the Daily Dispatch, received a parcel containing two small T-shirts for infants, bearing the image of Steve Biko and purporting to be gifts for the Woods children.

WULANA, Sandile (38), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by AZAPO supporters while sleeping in his caravan in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 13 May 1987.

WULANA, Solomon W otose, an ANC member in Port Elizabeth, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on Robben Island in 1964, for belonging to a banned organisation. He was severely ill-treated and his health was affected.

XABA, Absalom Bhekuyise (43), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in the Matshana area, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1991.

XABA, Alice Zodwa (33), an ANC supporter, had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in June 1993 in political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS. When Ms Xaba's husband returned to the house after fleeing the area with his family, he was shot and killed. Monitors estimated that as many as 200 Bhambayi residents had died violently between May and July 1993.

XABA, Bekezela, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, during political violence in the area in November 1990. Earlier,

he had been attacked at his home by named persons and members of the KwaZULU POLICE, who fired shots and threw teargas cannisters and petrol bombs into the house. His brother was deliberately knocked over by a car the day after that attack.

XABA, Bongive Lillian (41), an IFP supporter, was fatally injured when ANC supporters threw a hand grenade into her home at Loskop, near Estcourt, Natal, on 25 October 1993. Monitors recorded 27 deaths and five injuries in Estcourt that month.

XABA, Brenda Thulisiwe (24), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

XABA, Buyo, was shot dead in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 3 April 1992 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. He was one of six youths killed in the shooting.

XABA, Dumazile Philiphina (42), an ANC supporter, was fatally shot by a named KZP member near a bus stop in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 25 August 1988. The perpetrator said that he killed Ms Xaba because, as an ANC supporter, she was supplying the UDF with arms. The perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

XABA, Dumisani Norman (26), an ANC supporter, left home in Katilehong, Tvl, in 1993 to go to work but never returned. Mr Xaba disappeared during ongoing political conflict in the area.

XABA, Eloff (44), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 2 May 1993.

XABA, Elvis Sipho (34), was stabbed and shot dead on his way home from work by unidentified perpetrators in Tokoza, Tvl, on 3 August 1993 during a period of intense political conflict on the East Rand.

XABA, Emmanuel Kenny Vusi (23), was severely beaten by members of the SAP while in detention in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 27 December 1987.

XABA, Eric Sibusiso (20), a Hammarisdale Youth Congress member, was intimidated by supporters of the IFP and forced to flee his home in Camperdown, near Pietermaritzburg, during political violence in the area on 1 January 1988. He was displaced by the violence, and his mother was later killed.

XABA, Ester Nosipho (45), lost her house in an arson attack on 25 December 1987 in Umzimkulu, Transkei.

XABA, Fana Sifiso (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Natal, on 17 April 1992.

XABA, Fanyana (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead during political violence in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 28 November 1990. He had also been attacked at his home by named persons and members of the KwaZULU POLICE who fired shots and threw teargas cannisters and petrol bombs into the house.

XABA, John Njinga, was killed in a petrol bomb attack on his home in KwaMashu, Durban, by named

perpetrators on 11 April 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

XABA, Joseph Mbonankulu (28), disappeared after accompanying a friend to attend a funeral in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 June 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

XABA, Joseph, was shot dead, by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 3 February 1986 during a time of political tension in the area.

XABA, Khehla, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at a bus terminus in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 5 March 1993.

XABA, Lawrence (31), was shot dead by ANC supporters in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 4 April 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

XABA, Mandla V incent, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, on 1 May 1986 during a May Day stayaway.

XABA, Maria, an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by named persons and members of the KwaZULU POLICE in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, during political violence in the area in November 1990. The arsonists fired shots and threw teargas cannisters and petrol bombs into the house. Her children were injured in this incident.

XABA, Marita, was one of 11 people killed by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

XABA, Mayauza (48), was detained for four years from 25 December 1987 during protests in Umzimkulu, Transkei.

XABA, Mchozo Nathaniel (69), an IFP supporter, had his house and possessions destroyed by ANC supporters in Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, in April 1994. This attack was part of an ANC attempt to drive all IFP supporters out of the area during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

XABA, Moses (17), was found dead in Germiston, Tvl, on 20 December 1993. Mr Xaba had been shot.

XABA, Moster Ntsietsa (22), an SAP member, was abducted by ANC supporters in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 31 December 1993. Mr Xaba was found dead on 3 January 1994. He was allegedly killed because he gave evidence at the inquest into the BOIPATONG MASSACRE.

XABA, Mswaca Ndelevuthiwe, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

XABA, Mthandazo (22), an ANCYL member, was shot by members of the Ciskei Police during political conflict in Whittlesea, Ciskei, in 1992.

XABA, Muzi Watson (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritz-

burg, in August 1992. Two of Mr Xaba's brothers had also been killed in political conflict in Imbali during the previous five years.

XABA, Mzikayifani Austen (31), was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

XABA, Mzomuhle Christopher (29), was shot dead in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 March 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

XABA, Ndoda Anthony (30), an ANC supporter, was tortured by members of the Security Branch in detention at Loop Street police station, Pretoria, in 1963. In 1965, he was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment on Robben Island. Mr Xaba was rearrested in 1975 and sentenced to life imprisonment. Mr Xaba was released from Robben Island in 1990.

XABA, Nkosinathi Salmon (18), a UDF supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP at Empangeni, Natal, on 12 September 1987.

XABA, Noluthando, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993, allegedly in a revenge attack.

XABA, Nomvula Sanna (67), was shot by members of the SAP in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 18 September 1984. At the time, police were reportedly going door-to-door to look for political activists.

XABA, Nonhlanhla Cynthia (16), an Inkatha supporter, lost her home in Richmond, Natal, in an arson attack during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area in 1989.

XABA, Ntombizodwa (3), was shot dead by a UDF supporter in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in a petrol bomb attack on her mother's house in July 1989.

XABA, Philipine Duduzile, was killed by known persons in Camperdown, near Pietermaritzburg, during political violence in the area on 25 August 1988. Her son, who was a SAYCO member, was intimidated by IFP supporters and forced to flee his home on 1 January 1988.

XABA, Robert Mphikeleli (20), was arrested and deprived of food and water by members of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, in 1990.

XABA, Shampiyoni Josiah (54), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in April 1991.

XABA, Sibongiseni Eric (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead when members of the SAP opened fire to disperse protesters during a stayaway in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 April 1990.

XABA, Simon, an ANC supporter, died after being stabbed and beaten by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 24 January 1988.

XABA, Sina, was stabbed to death by named perpetrators in KwaMashu, Durban, on 11 April 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

XABA, Siphephelo Prince (36), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 10 February 1990, the day before Nelson Mandela's release from prison. Mr Xaba's two brothers were both killed in political conflict in Imbali between 1990 and 1992.

XABA, Steven Sandile, a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by an Inkatha supporter, during political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 February 1987. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

XABA, Taku Annah (42), a UDF supporter, had her house burnt down in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area in 1987.

XABA, Thandeka, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993.

XABA, Them bani (51), an ANC supporter, had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Durban in February 1991.

XABA, Them belani, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993.

XABA, Thembi Patience (25), a UDF supporter, had her house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, petrol-bombed in intense local conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in July 1989.

XABA, Thokozile Jenipher (39), a non-partisan, had her home burnt down by unidentified perpetrators at Mbozama, Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in December 1993.

XABA, Thulani Abraham, an ANC member, was shot and killed by an IFP member during political conflict at KwaChappies, Mandini, Natal, on 7 October 1993. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

XABA, Totoli (50), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death and his house set alight by named perpetrators in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 29 November 1990 in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

XABA, Vusi Derrick (21), an ANC supporter, was one of several young people attacked in a house in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, by named persons and members of the KWAZULU POLICE during political violence in November 1990. The attackers fired shots and threw teargas cannisters and petrol bombs into the house. One of the youths was shot. Mr Xaba was deliberately knocked over by a car the following day, and while he was in hospital, his brother was shot dead.

XABA, Walter Dumisani, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the KWAZULU POLICE at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 12 February 1990. Eight people were killed during a march to celebrate Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

XABA, Xolani Hopewell (23), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 14 November 1987, allegedly

because he refused to join Inkatha. Two of Mr Xaba's brothers were also killed in political conflict in Imbali over the next two years.

XABANDLINI, Zuko Gow (28), was arrested and charged with 25 others, known as the UPINGTON 26 after the crowd killing of a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN on 13 November 1985 in Paballelo, Upington, Cape. Mr Xabandlini and 13 others received the death penalty, spending two years on death row before being released on appeal in 1991.

XABANISA, Harriet Nomonde, an ANC supporter, was hacked and stabbed to death by IFP supporters from the Nancefield hostel in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 15 September 1993.

XABENDLINI, Benjamin, an ADM supporter, was severely beaten by ANC supporters during clashes between ANC and ADM supporters in Hewu, Ciskei, on 12 August 1992.

XABENDLINI, Esther Notembile, an ADM supporter, had her house destroyed by ANC supporters during clashes between ANC and ADM supporters in Hewu, Ciskei, on 11 August 1992.

XABENDLINI, Heerboy, an ADM supporter, was severely beaten by ANC supporters during clashes between ANC and ADM supporters in Hewu, Ciskei, on 12 August 1992.

XABENDLINI, L ydia, an ADM supporter, was severely beaten by ANC supporters in during clashes between ANC and ADM supporters in Hewu, Ciskei, on 12 August 1992.

XABENDLINI, Miriam, an ADM supporter, was severely beaten by ANC supporters during clashes between ANC and ADM supporters in Hewu, Ciskei, on 12 August 1992.

XABENDLINI, Pumile Richard, an ADM supporter, died after being severely assaulted with sharp objects by ANC supporters during clashes between ANC and ADM supporters in Hewu, Ciskei, on 12 August 1992.

XAKA, Malixole (22), was severely beaten and kicked by members of the CDF in King William's Town, Cape, on 24 July 1993, allegedly because he was accused of burning down houses belonging to the CDF soldiers.

XAKALA, Tembikile Austin (21), a PAC supporter, was shot and injured by UDF supporters during political conflict in Uitenhage, Cape, in June 1987.

XAKISA, Mntunaye Wellington (34), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in a street in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, on 29 October 1985, allegedly when the perpetrator caught him digging trenches to ambush police vehicles.

XAKWE, Simon (26), a UDF supporter, was severely stabbed by WITDOEKE vigilantes and also shot on 10 June 1986 in Nyanga, Cape Town, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

XALISA, Basil (22), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Graaff-Reinet, Cape, on 12 January 1991. In 1986, he had been detained at Oudtshoorn and at Graaff-Reinet on

suspicion of being involved in arson attacks and public violence, and was tortured while in detention.

XALUV A, Zongezile Matthews (23), was detained in 1985 by members of the SAP during political protests in Somerset East, Cape. He was charged with public violence and stoning a policeman's house, and was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

XAM, Lalala, was severely beaten, allegedly by SADF members, at his home in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 13 March 1992. His mother and brother were also assaulted during the attack and his infant twin siblings were slightly injured when soldiers broke their bedroom window with rifle butts. During April 1992 the SADF 32 Battalion which was deployed in Phola Park as a peacekeeping force was involved in a series of incidents of misconduct including murder, rape and assault, leading Justice Goldstone to recommend that the unit be removed from South African townships.

XAM, Nowezile Flor ence, was severely beaten, shot at and sexually molested, allegedly by members of the SADF, at her home in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 13 March 1992. Her two young sons were also assaulted during the attack and her infant twins were slightly injured when soldiers broke their bedroom window with rifle butts. During April 1992 the SADF 32 Battalion which was deployed in Phola Park as a peacekeeping force, was involved in a series of incidents of misconduct including murder, rape and assault, leading Justice Goldstone to recommend that the unit be removed from South African townships.

XAM, Pungutyana, was severely beaten, allegedly by members of the SADF, at his home in Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, on 13 March 1992. His mother and brother were also assaulted during the attack and his infant twin siblings were slightly injured after soldiers broke their bedroom window with rifle butts. During April 1992 the SADF 32 Battalion which was deployed in Phola Park as a peacekeeping force was involved in a series of incidents of misconduct including murder, rape and assault, leading Justice Goldstone to recommend that the unit be removed from South African townships.

XAPA, Xolani Patrick (18), a COSAS member, was shot, severely injured and blinded by members of the SAP in Cape Town, on 13 April 1993, when police opened fire on people mourning the assassination of Chris Hani.

XATULA, Leo, an MK cadre, was shot dead by named members of the Transkei Police in Bizana, Transkei, on 30 June 1989.

XATULA, Ntombizonke Nancy (53), an ANC member, was detained for 12 days by members of the Transkei Police in Bizana, Transkei, in 1992, during a crackdown on MK and ANC members in the area. She was charged with possession of illegal weapons. After her release, she had to report to the police station twice daily.

XEGO, Malgas (50), was shot in 1987 during political unrest in Port Elizabeth by members of the SAP who were allegedly pursuing another person.

XEGO, September Zikhathile (62), an ANC supporter, was hit with an axe by migrant workers from the hostels in Nyanga, Cape Town, and later shot and injured

by police during political conflict between Nyanga residents and hostel-dwellers in December 1976.

XEGWANA, Lindela Alfred (31), an ANC supporter, was shot by a named member of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, on 10 September 1990 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

XEKELA, Samson (33), was severely wounded when he was shot by members of the SAP in Daveyton, Tvl, on 24 March 1991. Police ordered the crowd to disperse after a meeting called in response to a proposed IFP march during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

XEKETWANA, Eric, a taxi owner, had his home attacked and damaged by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) on 27 October 1991 in New Crossroads, Cape Town. Mr Xeketwana survived the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for this incident (AC/1997/0030).

XHAKA, Xola Matthews (31), a member of the SAP, lost his house in an arson attack on 15 April 1993 in Burgersdorp, Cape, during protests in the area.

XHAKANA, Rubin Shomboto, an ANC member, was beaten by members of the SAP in 1960 at Emdakamfela, near Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

XHALILE, Nomhi Eleanor (57), an ANC member, had her shack burnt down at Cradock, Cape, on 13 September 1992. Her son, who was also an ANC member, was burnt to death in the incident.

XHALILE, Wandile (18), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death in an arson attack in Cradock, Cape, on 13 September 1992.

XHALISA, Simphiwe (21), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict between the 'RED' and 'GREEN' FACTIONS in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1993.

XHAMFU, Ndoysile Albert (20), an MK operative, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Bloemfontein on 21 December 1987. In 1991, the ANC arranged for the body to be exhumed and reburied in Welkom.

XHAMLASHE, Zwelakhe Simon (65), an ANC supporter, was shot and his house was set alight during political conflict in Transkei during 1989.

XHOBABA, Aubrey (1), was stabbed and severely injured when named persons attacked and burnt down his family's home at KwaMgodi, Impendle, Natal, on 5 December 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Five other members of the Xhoba family were severely injured in the attack, and one was killed.

XHOBABA, Bashintshile (55) was stabbed and severely injured when named persons attacked and burnt down her family's home at KwaMgodi, Impendle, Natal, on 5 December 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Five other members of the Xhoba family were severely injured in the attack, and one was killed.

XHOBABA, Khiphlekile Relieth (28), was severely injured when she was stabbed and shot in the arm by named persons who attacked and burnt down her family's

home at KwaMgodi, Impendle, Natal, on 5 December 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Five other members of the Xhoba family were severely injured in the attack, and one was killed.

XHOBABA, Ncishiwe Alvia (17), was stabbed to death by named persons who attacked and burnt down her family's home at KwaMgodi, Impendle, Natal, on 5 December 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Six members of the Xhoba family were severely injured in the attack.

XHOBABA, Nonhlanhla (2), was assaulted and severely injured by named persons who attacked and burnt down her family's home at KwaMgodi, Impendle, Natal, on 5 December 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Five other members of the Xhoba family were severely injured in the attack, and one was killed.

XHOBABA, Singobile (5), was shot and severely injured by named persons who attacked and burnt down her family's home at KwaMgodi, Impendle, Natal, on 5 December 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Five other members of the Xhoba family were severely injured in the attack, and one was killed.

XHOBABA, Winile (14), was shot and severely injured by named persons who attacked and burnt down her family's home at KwaMgodi, Impendle, Natal, on 5 December 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Five other members of the Xhoba family were severely injured in the attack, and one was killed.

XHOBISO, Xola (20), an ANCYL member, was shot by members of the SAP while he was attending a political rally at school in Barkly East, Cape, in November 1989.

XHOLO, Thembisile Martin (22), a UDF activist, was severely beaten and kicked by members of the SAP in Despatch, Cape, on 12 August 1985, allegedly because he mobilised protest actions.

XIMBA, Gane (45), an IFP supporter, lost his four huts in an arson attack in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

XIMBA, Mpiyakhe Mandlenkosi (43), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured in the leg in a taxi in Katlehong, Tvl, on 29 June 1993. The taxi industry became a key locus of conflict during this period. In October 1993 the SAP identified taxi wars as one of the major causes of violence in South Africa.

XIMBA, Muzi, an ANC supporter, was killed in Richmond, Natal, on 20 March 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

XIMBA, Muziwenkosi (34), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot to death by Inkatha supporters in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 15 April 1990. His brother, aged 30, was stabbed and severely injured, allegedly by a local IFP leader, nine months later.

XIMBA, Ndondile (53), was shot dead in Pietermaritzburg on 20 August 1991 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

XIMBA, Ntombhenhle (29), was shot dead when unidentified persons attacked and burnt down her family home in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 March 1993, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. The family was perceived to be supporting the ANC.

XIMBA, Phala Rose (45), had her house burnt down in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 March 1993, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. The family was perceived to be supporting the ANC. Her daughter, aged 29, was shot dead in the same incident.

XIMBA, Sonny Mduduzeni, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 12 July 1992.

XIMBA, Sphamandla Moses (15), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Greytown, Natal, on 26 June 1991.

XIMBA, Themba (16), a UDF supporter, was shot dead in Dindela, Vosloorus, Tvl, on 21 April 1986, allegedly by members of the SADF.

XIMBA, Thembinkosi Mziwakhe Elphus (30), an ANC supporter, was hacked and seriously injured by a named IFP supporter in Greytown, Natal, on 20 January 1991. Mr Ximba is partially paralysed as a result. His older brother had been shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters nine months earlier.

XIMBA, Welcome Siphive (23), a UDF supporter, was tortured by members of the SAP in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 19 August 1986.

XIPU, Lawrence Vuyisile (27), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

XIPU, Nomathandazo (7), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

XIPU, Ntombi Eunice (30), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

XIPU, Thembekile (6), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

XOBE, Sizakele V ictor, an ANC supporter, was killed in Katlehong, Tvl, in November 1990. Mr Sizakele was

arrested by members of the SAP at his home and his mutilated body was found outside Kwesine hostel, an IFP stronghold, later the same day.

XOBOLOLO, Sipiwé Alfr ed, an ANC supporter, was arrested and detained by members of the Transkei Police in Transkei on numerous occasions during 1960.

XOFA, Nozipho Eunice (39), was shot when members of the CDF opened fire on commuters refusing to board buses at Egerton railway station, Mdantsane, Ciskei, on 4 August 1983 during the MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT.

XOKISO, Goodman (17), was shot dead by members of the SAP during unrest in Knysna, Cape, on 16 March 1986. Several youths were wounded in the shooting that took place while youth were burning barricades in the street.

XOLILI, Sam, an MK operative, was shot dead in an ambush at his home in Vosloorus, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SAP, on 7 November 1988. His wife was taken into custody that day and tortured. She spent five months in detention before being charged with illegal possession of ammunition and harbouring 'terrorists'. She was subsequently rearrested and spent three months in solitary confinement.

XOLISILE, Clifton (48), was shot dead in Bekkersdal, near Westonaria, Tvl, in November 1990 during conflict between residents and residents in the ANC-aligned informal settlement.

XOLO, Elizabeth Nano (39), had her home burnt down by unidentified perpetrators at Nkothaneni, Port Shepstone, Natal, during ongoing conflict between local ANC and IFP supporters on 3 March 1994.

XOLO, Landiwe Mambhele (65), an ANC supporter, had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack at KwaXolo, near Ramsgate, Natal, during political conflict in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

XOLO, Nyani, was hacked to death with a panga at Thelawayeka Ward, Paddock, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 October 1990, by an ANC member who believed that Mr Xolo was a gangster aiding the IFP. This was denied by Mr Xolo's family. One ANC member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/103).

XOLO, Safa Vincent (59), had his house in Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down in political conflict by IFP supporters on 31 December 1991.

XOLO, Tanana, was imprisoned for eight years in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

XOLO, Tembisile Esther Makubheka (50), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Ramsgate, Natal, on 10 April 1994, two weeks before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

XOLO, Thembisile Sabaphi (40), an ANC supporter, was forced to leave her home in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in May 1993, following sustained harassment and intimidation by IFP supporters in their attempt to drive ANC supporters from the area.

XOLO, Thumani Eunice Mamdleko (50), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack by named IFP supporters in Alfred, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in August 1992.

XONGO, Ntombizanele Princess (51), an ANC supporter, had her house in Bhambayi, near Kwa-Mashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack in April 1993 in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

XOSENi, Zamani David (22), a UDF supporter, was tortured by members of the SAP while in detention in Aliwal North, Cape, in 1988, allegedly because he supported a consumer boycott in the area.

XULU, Agnes (33), had her house in Gezinsila, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, burnt down in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in 1991.

XULU, Bella , had her home and possessions set alight in an arson attack in Eshowe, Natal, in November 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

XULU, Bongani , an IFP supporter, was one of 13 people burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

XULU, Busisiwe Thombe (40), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in July 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

XULU, Christopher Musa (20), an ANC supporter, had his house and possessions destroyed by a named perpetrator in Umlalazi, KwaZulu, near Mtunzini, Natal, on 2 April 1991. The attack was allegedly carried out on the instruction of the tribal authority, because Mr Xulu was suspected of accommodating MK soldiers in his house.

XULU, Dingindawo , an alleged IFP supporter, had his house in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, destroyed by ANC supporters during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. Thirteen people died in the attack. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

XULU, Dor , an alleged IFP supporter, was one of 13 people burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

XULU, Dumisani , an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Gezinsila, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 1 May 1992. He was carrying an ANC flag in a Workers' Day march when IFP supporters opened fire, killing him and injuring his brother and two others.

XULU, Gcinekile G (57), an ANC supporter, had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 April 1991 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

XULU, Halalisani Samuel (28), an ANC supporter, was shot and fatally injured by IFP supporters in Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 30 June 1991, allegedly because he was not known in the area and was wearing a jersey resembling the ANC flag. He died the following day.

XULU, Jabulani , an alleged IFP supporter, was one of 13 people burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

XULU, Joel Msizi , an ANC supporter, was abducted by IFP supporters while on his way to work in Tongaat, Natal, on 5 December 1993.

XULU, Josephina (54), an IFP supporter, had three rondavels burnt down and the fourth looted at Mabhuyeni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, on 25 and 26 December 1993 respectively. The attack was carried out by IFP supporters, allegedly because Ms Xulu's grandchildren were ANC supporters. No one was injured in the attack, as the family had abandoned their home at night and were sleeping in the open because of the violence in the area.

XULU, Khanyisile Lephina (26), had her home and possessions burnt by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

XULU, Mbongeleni (33), was shot and seriously injured by IFP supporters in Nhlabane, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 May 1994, shortly after the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS, because he was suspected of being an ANC supporter.

XULU, Mkhombiseni Herr on, a UDF supporter and member of the Taylors Halt Youth Congress, was detained under emergency regulations in Pietermaritzburg on 8 May 1988, and tortured by named Security Branch members while in police custody. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

XULU, Mkhosi Lorraine (19), had her house burnt down during November 1993 when IFP supporters carried out several attacks on ANC supporters in the KwaKhoza and Nogobhoza areas, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal. One person was killed and over 40 homes burnt down in these attacks, which were allegedly carried out under the direction of the local chief, an IFP supporter, who wanted to drive ANC supporters out of the area.

XULU, Muzi Thulani , was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

XULU, Mzomonje Phineas (55), was stabbed to death in Inchanga, Natal, on 15 November 1986 during intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

XULU, Neliswe , was one of 13 people burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

XULU, Ngura , an IFP supporter, was shot dead at Cottonlands, Verulam, Natal, on 8 January 1990. He

was one of three Inkatha supporters killed, including the son of a local IFP chairman. Four days later, UDF supporters petrol-bombed the vigil held for the three deceased, killing another 13 people (including nine children). Amnesty applications were received for the killings of 8 January.

XULU, Nicholas (18), a UDF supporter and member of the Taylors Halt Youth Congress, was detained on 8 May 1988, along with four other people including his brother, by the police in Pietermaritzburg, and was tortured in detention. In 1991, Mr Xulu's brother was abducted, allegedly by members of the Security Police, and has never been seen again.

XULU, Nicholas Ngo Bhekithemba , was shot and injured by an Inkatha member during a violent political conflict at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 31 December 1998. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0334).

XULU, Nokukhanya (Khanyisile) Goodness, a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 August 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

XULU, Nqobizwe Anderson (42), an ANC supporter, had his home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, set alight by IFP supporters on 28 February 1994 in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

XULU, Ntombifikile Nora (37), had her home in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, looted and burnt by ANC supporters in November 1990, in intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

XULU, Ruth (61), an Inkatha supporter, had her house set alight by ANC supporters in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid Natal, in November 1989.

XULU, Sibongile Constance Thandeka (41), had her home destroyed in an arson attack in Eshowe, Natal, on 2 April 1994, in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

XULU, Sipho Aubrey (27), an ANC supporter, was shot and fatally wounded in the chest by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 24 May 1992.

XULU, Sipho Brigitte (25), an MK operative, was executed in Pretoria Central prison, Pretoria, on 9 September 1986. Mr Xulu and another MK operative were sentenced to death for the killing of ANC supporter Ben Langa in 1984. The two were instructed to assassinate Mr Langa by an MK commander who was later believed to be a state agent.

XULU, Thabani Percival (24), was beaten and stabbed to death by a named ANC supporter at the Zamani informal settlement, Umlazi, Durban, on 7 December 1993, because he was perceived to be an IFP supporter.

XULU, Thandiwe Pretty (28), an ANC supporter, had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in February 1992.

XULU, Thengiswa Victoria (39), had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, during 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

XULU, Thokozani , had his house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack in Empangeni, Natal, on 17 January 1994 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

XULU, Thuleleni , an IFP supporter, was one of 13 people burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

XULU, Zandile , an IFP supporter, was one of 13 people burnt to death in a petrol bomb attack by UDF supporters in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during a funeral vigil on 12 January 1990. One ANC supporter applied for amnesty, which was refused (AC/1999/0353). See XULU VIGIL ATTACK.

XULU, Zulukabongi Meriga (41), an IFP supporter, had her house at Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, burnt down by named perpetrators, allegedly ANC supporters, in July 1992.

XUZA, Mandla (43), was severely injured when he was stoned by a faction within the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 16 December 1991. Mr Xuza was on his way to a meeting to discuss ANC structures in the area at the time of the attack.

YABO, Sidney (22), was shot and blinded in both eyes by a named SPECIAL CONSTABLE whose home had been stoned in Beaufort West, Cape, on 20 June 1987. Mr Yabo was coming home from a disco when he was shot. After his release from hospital he was arrested and charged with public violence but was acquitted.

YAKA, Mbangomuni (70), an IFP supporter and acting *induna*, was shot dead by another named IFP supporter at Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 6 February 1993 in internal conflict within the organisation.

YALI, Khayaletu (15), was shot by members of the SAP in Lingelihle, Cradock, Cape, on 30 June 1986. At the time, people were singing freedom songs and police were patrolling the area.

YALO, Bikiwe (65), an IFP supporter, had his house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 April 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters three weeks before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

YALOLO-BOOYSEN, Geof frey Yali (22), an ANC supporter and youth activist, was tortured in detention by named members of the SAP in George and Mossel Bay, Cape, in June 1986. Mr Yalolo-Booyesen was again detained and tortured in January 1990.

YAMANI, Nomeyi Nomarket (64), an ANC member, was beaten by members of the CDF at KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 26 December 1991.

YANTA (GEORGE), Mathews Sindile (22), a UDF supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Security Branch in Murraysburg, Cape, in June 1986. He was then held under emergency regulations for three months. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

YANTOLO, Skepi Tom (76), was detained under emergency regulations in June 1985 in Jansenville,

Cape. In detention, he was beaten and tortured by members of the SAP.

YAPHI, Aweni (51), an ANC supporter, lost his house when it was burnt down in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 10 January 1994, during ongoing conflict between residents and a named local Crossroads leader.

YAPHI, Illias (38), a member of a Crossroads committee led by Mr Memani, was one of seven men killed in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 11 April 1983, by supporters of an opposing committee led by Mr Ngxobongwana, during conflict arising from the struggle for housing.

YAPHI, Welile (19), was stabbed to death during political conflict in Boys Town, Crossroads, Cape Town, on 6 June 1992.

YASIN, Ridwaan (23), was shot dead on near the Grand Parade, Cape Town, 7 September 1976. Mr Yasin was reportedly watching police members clash with demonstrators when he was shot.

YAWA, Bonisile Moses (18), suffered a broken jaw when he was severely beaten by named members of the SAP at a police station in Somerset East, Cape, on 5 November 1977. He was accused of influencing other students during a period of riots in the area.

YAWA, Erick, was shot dead by named IFP supporters while attending a night vigil in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 26 March 1991. Fifteen people died in the attack which followed conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

YAWA, Stanley Manqolonke (25), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and stabbed by named perpetrators in Pimville, Soweto, Johannesburg, in August 1990. Hostel-dwellers were coerced into IFP membership when it launched itself as a political party in 1990. As a result, conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers increasingly overlapped political affiliation with ethnic identity.

YAWA, Thembile (23), was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Port Elizabeth in 1976 during a student march protesting against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. See SOWETO UPRISING.

YAWA-NCISANA, Alfred Xolile (25), an ANC supporter, was shot in the head by named members of the SAP at his home in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 1 June 1986, and is blind as a result.

YAYA, Enoch (70), an ANC supporter, lost his home on 9 June 1986 in KTC, Cape Town, in an arson attack by WITDOEKE vigilantes during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

YAYI, Eric Zimasile (25), a UDF supporter, was arrested, beaten and tortured by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth on 8 March 1985. He was later charged and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

YEBE, Lungisile William (50), an ANC supporter, had his house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 10 July 1993. Three people were killed and several houses burnt down on

this day in violent conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

YEKANI, Mzukisi William (aka 'Sicelo') (23), was shot and killed by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katlehong, Tvl, in 1993 or 1994. Mr Yekani and the applicant lived in the same house. The applicant testified that he accidentally shot Mr Yekani through the door of their home, believing that it was members of the ISU knocking and kicking on the door. The SDU member was refused amnesty (AC/1999/0348).

YEKANI, W azina, died after he was assaulted with hammers and 'necklaced' by a member of the UDF-supporting 'Killer Boys' gang on 2 February 1987 in Mdantsane, Ciskei. Twelve perpetrators were convicted and sentenced for the killings. They were refused amnesty (AC/1997/0049).

YEKANI, Zongile (44), a UDF supporter, lost his home and all his possessions in KTC, Cape Town, in June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

YEKELA, Ntabankulu (30), a PAC supporter, was arrested by members of the SAP in Cape Town, in April 1963, and later imprisoned at Robben Island and Pollsmoor prisons. Mr Yekela was subjected to hard labour and severe beatings while in prison.

YEKI, Hillbrow (28), was shot and injured by members of the Riot Police in Nyanga, Cape Town, on 26 December 1976, during political conflict between Nyanga residents and hostel-dwellers in the Christmas 1976 period.

YELANI, David Mbulelo (21), an ANCYL activist, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Izwelethu, Bophuthatswana, in April 1993 during a dispute between the community and the headman over local government elections.

YELANI, Siphon Pleare (31), a off-duty SADF member, was shot and injured as he stood watching a burning car during inter-group conflict in Crossroads, Cape Town, on 28 January 1993, sparked by a named Crossroads leader's attempts to remove certain residents by force.

YENDE, Elson (38), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Emzinoni, near Bethal, Tvl, during the funeral in 1983 of community leader Saul Mkhize who had been killed by a policeman.

YENDE, Joseph (27), an ANC supporter, was beaten, allegedly by members of the SAP accompanied by a named local councillor, in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 7 July 1992. Teargas and shots were fired into the house. Mr Yende's mother and another family member who was an MK operative were killed when a hand grenade exploded during the attack.

YENDE, Matha Phelo (3), was tear-gassed when members of the SAP and a named local councillor raided her home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 7 July 1992. Her grandmother and another family member who was an MK operative were killed when a hand grenade exploded during the raid.

YENDE, Thoko , was stabbed and shot by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers who attacked vehicles trapped at a police roadblock in Tembisa, Tvl, on 31 July 1993. Ms Yende's fiancé and several others died in the attack.

YENGANA, Siphwe (27), a member of the East London Youth Organisation, was severely beaten by members of the SAP on 18 March 1986 at his home in East London during a state of emergency. A town councillor had recently been killed. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

YENGENI, Mayosi Morrison (32), a UDF supporter, was arrested and detained for two years by members of the SAP in 1986 in Port Elizabeth.

YENGENI, Tony Sithembiso (33), an MK operative, was detained in Cape Town on 17 September 1987 and severely tortured by named Western Cape Security Branch operatives. He was held in custody under SECTION 29 for six months, and then for three years while on trial for terrorism. Two members of the Security Branch were granted amnesty for his torture (AC/1999/0027 and AC/1999/028).

YENGWA, Bhekizazi Ernest (26) an IFP supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters at his home in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. The perpetrators had accused him of being an ANC sympathiser. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

YENGWA, Felizwe (50), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by fellow IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS. Days before the attack, the perpetrators had visited his home and accused him of harbouring an ANC supporter.

YENGWA, Khalelani (68), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

YENGWA, Mnje (61), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

YENGWA, Nkosiyo Kuthula Bongani George (54), was shot by Inkatha members in Lamontville, Durban, on 15 September 1985, while trying to douse the flames engulfing his house after a petrol bomb attack during political conflict in the area.

YENGWA, Phumapi (58), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

YENGWA, Zinhle Mukelisiwe (16), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters in Lamontville, Durban, on 15 September 1985.

YENI, Basil Sithembiso 'Venon' (23), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters and members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, on 11 April 1990.

YENI, Gugu Phyllis (29), an ANC supporter, had her home in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack during intensifying conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area in June 1985.

YENI, Thabani Almon (37), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port

Shepstone, Natal, on 12 December 1993.

YIKA, Maxwell Nick (28), an ANC supporter, was beaten, stabbed and shot by IFP supporters before being thrown off a train near Dube station, Tvl, on 13 June 1992. See TRAIN VIOLENCE.

YIKA, Qoshiwe Roselina Norah (37), had her home burnt down by unidentified perpetrators in Katlehong, Tvl, in 1992. Her husband was shot dead outside his supermarket in a separate incident. Both incidents occurred at a time of heightened tension between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents in the area.

YIKA, Saule Zilelo (21), was abducted and then burnt to death by members of the IFP-aligned KHETISI KHESWA GANG in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 18 April 1992 during conflict in the area between IFP supporters from KwaMadala hostel and ANC-supporting residents.

YILIWE, Mzuvo Wages (19), was shot by members of the CDF in Bisho, Ciskei, on 7 September 1992 during an ANC protest march to demand free political activity in Ciskei. Thirty people were killed and 200 people injured in the event which became known as the BISHO MASSACRE. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty for the shooting (AC/2000/122).

YIMBA, Winnie , was abducted, shot and injured by IFP supporters in Dobsonville, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 8 May 1994 while on her way back from a rally at the FNB stadium. The perpetrators allegedly accused her and a friend of being ANC supporters.

YOHANE, Joseph (44), was shot dead during an attack on 5 July 1993 on the Radebe section, Katlehong, Tvl, allegedly carried out by IFP supporters during ongoing political conflict in the area.

YOKWANA, Matse Jacob (68), was arrested in Ashton, Cape, on 15 June 1986, and was held for three months under emergency regulations at Victor Verster prison, Paarl, Cape.

YOLI, Xolani (12), was abducted, along with six other youths, by UDF supporters in Grahamstown, Cape, on 31 October 1986. The youths were all severely assaulted and tortured. One was shot and killed. One UDF supporter was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0247).

YONA, Godfrey Xolile (21), was arrested and charged with 25 others known as the UPINGTON 26 after the crowd killing of a MUNICIPAL POLICEMAN in Pabalello, Upington, Cape, on 13 November 1985. Mr Yona and 13 others received the death penalty, spending two years on death row before his sentence was commuted to a prison term on appeal in 1991. He was later released as a political prisoner.

YONA, Stomberg Xolela (25), died after being run over by a motor vehicle driven by members of the SAP in Grahamstown, Cape, on 3 October 1985. Mr Yona had been attending a night vigil of a friend and was on his way home.

YORK, Flor etta , a civilian, suffered injuries in a random attack on whites by PAC supporters on the Durban beachfront on 9 October 1990. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/2000/144).

YOSE, Lindile Lennox , a member of the SAP, was assaulted and robbed of his firearm by named UDF

supporters on 10 March 1990 in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape. Two UDF supporters were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0280).

YOSE, Mandla Elby (23), was tortured by members of the SAP in 1985 in Somerset East, Cape, when he and others were accused of burning of a beer hall, rent office and some houses after the funeral of a political activist killed by police.

YOSE, Mantunge Prichard Ngculazi (39), a local ANC co-ordinator, was detained for six months from 23 July 1992 and tortured by named and other members of the SAP at Port Shepstone, Natal. Mr Yose was interrogated about weapons believed to have been used in attacks on IFP supporters.

YOUNG, Craig, was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

YOYO, Mfene Simon (43), a PAC supporter, was severely tortured and beaten by members of the SAP in East London on 12 April 1963 while he was under interrogation about PAC activities.

YOYO, Wilby Macebo (33), was severely assaulted and shot in the arm while lying on the ground by members of the SAP in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 23 August 1985. He was standing near a policeman's house, which was being guarded by members of the SAP.

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

ZACA, Joli Bonisile (40), an ANC supporter, had her house at KwaMagoda, Richmond, Natal, burnt down by alleged IFP supporters on 4 March 1991.

ZACA, Mabutho Joseph (32), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named member of the SAP in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 16 June 1990 during conflict between the police and protesters commemorating the Soweto 1976 uprising.

ZACA, Mandla Bethwell (27), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and injured by named and other IFP supporters in Mooi River, Natal, in August 1992.

ZACA, Mlothi Solomon (34), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 29 August 1991 in Mooi River, Natal. The Zaca family had sought refuge at a local college because of political conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers in Bruntville, near Mooi River. They were attacked at the college. His brother was also killed in the attack; three other family members were shot and injured.

ZACA, Muhle Elijah (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters on 29 August 1991 in Mooi River, Natal. The Zaca family had sought refuge at a

local college because of political conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers in Bruntville, near Mooi River. They were attacked at the college. His brother was also killed in the attack; three other family members were shot and injured.

ZACA, Nhlomla, an ANC supporter, was abducted by IFP supporters at Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, on 25 March 1991.

ZACA, Nozihlewe Nella, an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by alleged IFP supporters at Esimozomeni, Richmond, Natal, during political conflict in 1990.

ZACA, Ntombilezi Ireene (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, on 15 March 1991.

ZACA, Phindile Pelegrin, was traumatised when her brothers were killed in her presence in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 29 August 1991. The perpetrators were allegedly IFP supporters.

ZACA, Sonnyboy Ernest (30), an ANC supporter, was severely injured when he was stabbed and beaten by IFP supporters in Mooi River, Natal, in February 1991.

ZACA, Thulani (20), died after being shot in the head with a pellet gun by members of the SAP in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 8 June 1990.

ZADUNGE, Gavu Mkhize, an ANC member, was executed in Pretoria Central prison, Pretoria, in June 1960 for his involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

ZAHELA, Nomthetho Jeanette (32), was severely tortured by members of the SAP while in detention in Somerset East, Cape, during January 1986.

ZAKHE, Khayaletu (22), an AMABUTHO supporter, was detained and assaulted with knobkerries on 8 June 1986 in Fort Glamorgan prison, East London.

ZAKWE, Dumisani, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Richards Bay, Natal, on 4 November 1992.

ZAKWE, Kumakwakhe (31), a COSATU member, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Empangeni, Natal, on 31 August 1991.

ZAKWE, Ntombithini Patience (24), an IFP supporter, had her home in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, petrol-bombed by ANC supporters in March 1992. The attack occurred during conflict between residents of Richmond Farm, an IFP stronghold, and neighbouring KwaMashu, an ANC area.

ZAKWE, Simon Zonke, an Inkatha supporter, was abducted from his home in Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, and stabbed to death by ANC supporters on 30 November 1988.

ZAKWE, Thembinkosi, was shot and injured in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in 1988 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

ZALI, Monde Mendly (23), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 16 June 1986 in Port Elizabeth, during a commemoration of the SOWETO UPRISING.

ZAMA Zwelakhe Albert Mgashiyo (31), an ANC supporter, had his house in Umkomaas, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in 1992.

ZAMA, Ivan Bhekizitha (19), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Bhukulwandle, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 6 November 1992.

ZAMA, Thamsanqa Mata Linock (18), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 25 December 1987.

ZAMBODLA, Mzwadile Leonard (30), a PAC member, was charged with sabotage and executed in Pretoria, on 31 March 1968.

ZAMEKO, Lindiwe Ngabuza (39), an ANC member, had her house at Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in January 1992.

ZAMELA, Nosipho, was 'necklaced' to death by street committee members on 8 December 1985 in Mlungisi, Queenstown, Cape. She was suspected of being an informer at the time of the build-up to the funeral of those killed in the QUEENSTOWN SHOOTINGS. The perpetrators were arrested and charged.

ZAMISA, Bongani Phinkingkani (26), an IFP supporter, was shot dead in Estcourt, Natal, on 9 February 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZAMISA, Ethel Busisive, an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 4 September 1993.

ZAMISA, Ian Phumuza, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM, some of whom are named, at Chesterville, Durban, on 10 December 1983 during conflict over the incorporation of the township into KwaZulu.

ZAMISA, Mandla Lucas (27), an ANC supporter, was abducted from his home in Estcourt, Natal, by AMABUTHO members, and was found dead in the veld on 8 May 1992.

ZAMISA, Mathiya Albert (64), an ANC supporter, had his home damaged in an attack by IFP supporters at Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, on 13 August 1992.

ZAMISA, Mirriam Ncane (29), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZAMISA, Phineas V eni, was burnt to death in an arson attack on his home in Emangwaneni, Bulwer, Natal, on 1 December 1991 by named IFP supporters during political conflict in the area.

ZAMISA, Victor Dumisa (28), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZAMISA, Vusi Nelson (39), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZAMISA, Zandile Benedicta (27), had her house in Emangwaneni, Bulwer, Natal, burnt down by named IFP members on 1 December 1991 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZAMKANA, Nodida Jane (46), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by members of the SAP in her

home in Stutterheim, Cape, in 1986. Police were allegedly trying ascertain the whereabouts of her son.

ZANDILE, Sonwabo, was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Barkly East, Cape, on 16 November 1990.

ZANELO, Msongelwa Michael, an ANC supporter, was shot several times when members of the IFP-aligned BLACK CATS attacked residents in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, on 10 August 1992.

ZANI, Thami (36), an APLA member and former BPC official, was shot dead by Basotho paramilitary force members in March 1985 at Qacha's Nek, Lesotho, close to the Lesotho-Transkei border. Five other APLA members died in this incident, which occurred at a time of increased LLA activity in the area, aimed at destabilising the pro-ANC government of Chief Leabua Jonathan. The Basotho security forces claimed they had mistaken the APLA unit for LLA members. APLA and the LLA were closely connected at the time. Mr Zani was a final-year law student at the National University of Lesotho and acting PAC representative in Lesotho at the time of his death.

ZANQINQI, Hlohlo (29), an IFP supporter, had his home burnt down by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 12 December 1990.

ZANTANT A, Mzimasi Michael (27), was shot dead by members of the SADF at the Soweto bus terminal in Port Elizabeth, on 23 March 1985. He was walking with a friend when he was shot.

ZANTSI, Sonnyboy Willie (15), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP who opened fire on protesters from an unmarked vehicle in Guguletu, Cape Town, on 16 September 1976, during a two-day stayaway in which at least 11 people died.

ZAWANA, Sandile, a member of IKONGO, was seriously assaulted by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

ZAWUKANA, Noluntu (18), a school student and ANC supporter, was arrested in Worcester, Cape, on 27 July 1985. She was taken to an isolated place, beaten and given electric shocks by named and other members of the Security Branch wanting information about an arson attack on a beerhall and truck.

ZAZAYOKWE, Israel Makhosonke (17), was shot dead by a member of the SAP in Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg, in August 1976 in the aftermath of the SOWETO UPRISING.

ZEKANA, Nocawa Dorah (16), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten in detention by members of the SAP in Uitenhage, Cape, on 17 January 1985. Ms Zekana was detained in North End prison, Port Elizabeth for one month.

ZEKEVU, Nobakabonwa (25), was shot by members of the SADF in East London in 1985.

ZEMBA, Bingweni Lena (49), had her house destroyed by supporters of Chief Mahlangu in Goederede near Dennilton, KwaNdebele, in July 1975. Chief Mahlangu supported the proposed INCORPORATION OF Goederede into Lebowa, but many residents resisted INCORPORATION.

ZEMBETHA, Winile Goodman (22), was abducted and severely beaten by AZAPO members in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 4 April 1985.

ZENANE, Victor Charles (13), was shot and severely injured by a named member of the SAP in Prieska, Cape, in June 1986. He was on his way to the shop when police fired teargas at protesters, after which he was shot.

ZENANI, Cor delia, was killed by members of the SAP and of the ANC-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS which had split into two factions at Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 16 December 1990 during a night vigil for an ANC supporter killed earlier by police.

ZENANI, Lingman Mbulelo, was shot dead near his home in Mdantsane, Ciskei, by a named member of the CDF, on 27 September 1992. Members of the community were retaliating for the BISHO MASSACRE by destroying property of Ciskei policemen and soldiers, and the perpetrator was allegedly shooting people at random after discovering his home had been ransacked. Mr Zenani was killed when he tried to reason with the perpetrator.

ZENGETW A, Luleka (31), a PAC member, was stabbed to death by a named ANC member during political conflict in Cala, Transkei, on 17 March 1994.

ZENGETW A, Moses Mnyamezeli (47), had his house and vehicle destroyed by named ANC supporters at Cala, Transkei, on 19 November 1993, after he was accused of collaborating with the police.

ZENGETW A, Ntsikelelo, a PAC member, lost his house in an arson attack by youths at Cala, Transkei, on 17 March 1993. Mr Zengetwa was allegedly suspected of being an informer because his brother was a headman.

ZENZE, Thandi Jabu (25), an Inkatha supporter, had her house and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters in Umlazi, Durban, in February 1990, in political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February.

ZENZILE, David (66), was attacked and had his houses and possessions destroyed by youths in Qawukeni, King William's Town, Cape, in March 1990, allegedly because he was associated with the CNIP and CDF commander, Charles Sebe.

ZENZILE, Ndaphi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the MUNICIPAL POLICE at Old Location, near Molteno, Cape, on 11 April 1987.

ZENZILE, Nomutile (72), was severely beaten by ADM supporters in King William's Town, Cape, in March 1990. Ms Zenzile's husband was thought to be a member of the CNIP.

ZENZILE, Siphelo Isaac, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Knysna, Cape, on 16 March 1986, and is disabled as a result. One person was shot dead and several others injured in the shooting which took place while students and youth were burning barricades in the street.

ZERVAS, Stella (35), was injured when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

ZIBANE, Jabulani Edward (62), was shot by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 January 1990 in intense political conflict in the area.

ZIBANE, Jer ome, an ANC supporter, was targeted for elimination by IFP members at Hlanganani Hall, Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during 1992. One perpetrator in the conspiracy was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

ZIBANE, Jomo John (28), had his property destroyed in an arson attack in Empangeni, Natal, on 9 February 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZIBANE, Matshingelane, was stabbed and shot dead at Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, while on his way to work on 3 May 1989.

ZIBANE, Muzilayise Blessing (62), an ANC supporter, was severely assaulted by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 January 1990.

ZIBANE, Nonhlanhla Babhekile (24), sustained injuries when her house was burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict at Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 June 1990.

ZIBANE, V usumuzi, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 8 January 1990.

ZIBANI, Bokhethile (69), had her home at Mtunzini, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack on 27 November 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

ZIBANI, Dingeni (47), an IFP supporter, was shot dead at Mtunzini, Natal, on 25 April 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

ZIBANI, Freedom Mkhombiseni (20), was shot and injured in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in September 1993, during continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZIBANI, Muzikayise (73), had his house burnt down in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 April 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

ZIBANI, Muziwenkosi, was shot dead in Empangeni, Natal, on 11 March 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

ZIBANI, Thandekile (34), had his house and possessions set alight in Empangeni, Natal, on 27 April 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on the first day of the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZIBANI, Thembani (73), had her house burnt down in Sowanjane, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZIBANI, Thembinkosi (32), an IFP supporter, had his house at Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by a named ANC supporter on 18 February 1993.

ZIBANI, Tude Minah (53), lost her houses in an arson attack in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in April 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZIBANI, Zibambile (65), lost her house in an arson attack in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 3

June 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZIBI, Bucwa Vincent, a UDF supporter, was shot and killed by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Enkunzini, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 October 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

ZIBI, Vuyani Victor (21), an MK operative from Mqanduli, Transkei, was shot dead in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

ZIBONELE, Shweni (40), was severely tortured by SAP members at Godevlei prison in Bloemfontein in June 1960 in connection with his alleged involvement in the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

ZIBULA, Bongani, an IFP supporter, was stabbed to death by a named ANC supporter in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 19 November 1992.

ZIBULA, Dumisani (25), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 8 June 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Mr Zibula was attacked on his way home from a meeting.

ZIEGLER, Grace (27), was detained in Elsie's River, Cape Town, on 15 June 1986, during a church service commemorating the start of the 1976 student uprisings. The entire congregation of 189 people was detained. Ms Ziegler was held under emergency regulations for 27 days at Pollsmoor prison.

ZIGOXO, Fuzile Patrick (20), a COSAS supporter, had his family home burnt down by AZAPO members during political conflict in Port Elizabeth in 1985. Mr Zigoxo was in detention at the time of the attack. His grandmother was injured in the attack. Mr Zigoxo, who subsequently joined MK in exile and was known as Marvin Gasupani, was subsequently shot dead with four others on 3 August 1988 by members of the security forces at Alldays, Tvl.

ZIKALALA, Beauty Busiswe (50), had her home burnt down in Haludu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, in April 1994 in political violence between ANC and IFP supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Ms Zikalala fled the area.

ZIKALALA, Phakokwakhe Farweli (35), an IFP supporter, had his house and possessions set alight by ANC supporters in Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994, a week before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZIKALALA, Sibusiso Governer, was stabbed to death in Katlehong, Tvl, on 11 September 1990 when a group of armed men swept through his street, randomly killing residents and destroying property.

ZIKALALA, Thami Mathews, was killed by Xhosa-speaking men in Katlehong, Germiston, Tvl, on 20 September 1980 during clashes between *Amabhaca* and residents.

ZIKHALI, Bhekumuzi (28), was shot dead in Empangeni, Natal, on 3 September 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

ZIKHALI, Daniel Simon, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ratanda, near Heidelberg, Tvl, on 3 December 1992 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

ZIKHALI, Gabisile Princess (29), had her home and possessions destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

ZIKHALI, Muzi, was shot and injured in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 30 March 1992 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. He was shot while trying to help his brother, who had been shot in the same incident.

ZIKHALI, Sandile (20), was shot and injured in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 30 March 1992 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. His brother was also shot and injured in the incident.

ZIKHALI, Sibongile (58), an Inkatha supporter, had her house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 11 February 1990 by ANC supporters in violent conflict with Inkatha supporters. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

ZIKHUNDLA, Maradebe Bellina (60), had her home in Port Shepstone, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by ANC supporters on 10 April 1991 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

ZIKODE, Buyiswa Josephine (18), was injured when she was run over by members of the SAP in a Hippo while she was returning from a night vigil in Port Elizabeth, on 5 April 1986.

ZIKODE, Mfaniseni, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

ZIKODE, Mzweni Lungisani (17), was stabbed and severely injured when the Zikode family home in Ixopo, Natal, was attacked by IFP supporters in September 1993 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. One family member was killed in the attack and two were injured.

ZIKODE, Thobezweni (22), was stabbed and severely injured when the Zikode family home in Ixopo, Natal, was attacked by IFP supporters, in September 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area. One family member was killed in the attack and two were injured.

ZIKODE, Zibuki Alfred (40), had his house in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict in the area in August 1991.

ZIMA, Emmerenica Benzani (33), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

ZIMANDE, Cyprian (29), an IFP member, was shot dead by ANC supporters at Richmond, Natal, in September 1992. His brother was shot and injured in the incident.

ZIMBA, Mnisi , suffered severe damage to house and property as a result of a car-bomb explosion in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987. See GABORONE CAR BOMB. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation (AC/2000/214).

ZIMMERMAN, P , was one of five people injured when a limpet mine placed by MK operatives exploded at an electricity sub-station in Chamberlain, Jacobs, Durban, on 9 January 1986. One SAP member was fatally wounded. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/108).

ZIMO, Tshokolo Ernest (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Welkom, OFS, on 22 April 1993, during a SCHOOL BOYCOTT, after the killing of Chris Hani.

ZIMU, Bhekinkosi Godfrey (43), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured by ANC supporters in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 June 1991.

ZIMU, Mduduzi (17), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 27 February 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZIMU, Mfanoza Fraser (39), had his three shops and two houses destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters during political conflict in Durban on 31 January 1990.

ZIMU, Phindile (17), was injured on 5 March 1993 when armed IFP supporters opened fire on the taxi in which she was travelling at Nkanyezeni in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, allegedly in a revenge attack for the killing of 6 IFP-aligned pupils on 2 March 1993. Ten pupils were killed and four injured. A further pupil died later. Two perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1998/0012). See TABLE MOUNTAIN BUS ATTACKS.

ZIMU, Phondo Nellie (49), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured in Tokoza, Tvl, on 2 December 1990. Ms Zimu was shot four times, allegedly by Zulu-speaking IFP supporters. Ms Zimu's husband was shot dead and two of her tenants were shot and injured during this incident. Her house was also set alight and damaged. While Ms Zimu was in hospital her possessions were looted from her home. Ms Zimu suffered permanent damage to her hearing as a result of her injuries.

ZIMU, Thulane Petrus (19), an ANC supporter, had his home in Esimbini, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban burnt down by IFP supporters in 1991.

ZIMU, Vukani Rodgers (28), was beaten and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 12 November 1990 during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

ZINCELA, Mzimkhulu Wellington (40), a UDF supporter, was assaulted by named members of the SAP during political conflict in Mtyingizane Street, KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 5 January 1987. He sustained permanent injury to his eyes as a result of the assault.

ZINDELA, Gwentu , an ANC supporter, was imprisoned for two weeks in 1960 and then transferred to Maseru,

Lesotho, where he was detained for three years, during which time he was repeatedly assaulted for his involvement in the Pondoland revolt.

ZINDELA, Janet Poni (47), an ANC supporter, had her home and two rondavels at Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in 1991. Ms Zindela and her family were forced to flee the area.

ZINGAYE, Phumzile (30), an MK operative, was detained in February 1984 in East London, immediately following hospitalisation. On 8 November 1993, Mr Zingaye was shot and injured and had his house destroyed in an attack by members of the Ciskei Police in East London.

ZINGO, Vusi James (20), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, on 1 December 1986 during political conflict in the area.

ZINGXONDO, Ntombizanele Elsie (19), was detained on 17 June 1986 in Knysna, Cape. She was repeatedly interrogated and severely tortured by named members of the SAP. Her torture included the use of electric shocks and having her breasts crushed in a desk drawer. She was held under emergency regulations for one year. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

ZINYOSINI, Mnyenjelwa , was severely beaten by members of the SAP in 1960 in Bizana, Transkei, during the PONDOLAND REVOLT.

ZIQUBU, Bheki Edward (25), a NUSAS member, lost his home when it was burnt down in an arson attack in Tokoza, Tvl, in 1990.

ZIQUBU, Danki Harriet (54), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down in Madadeni, KwaZulu, near Newcastle, Natal, during a school boycott in 1985. Her relative, who was a teacher, had continued teaching when Inkatha youth left the classroom, and was therefore labelled a UDF supporter. Ms Ziqubu was therefore also mistakenly assumed to be a UDF sympathiser.

ZIQUBU, Emmanuel , an IFP supporter, was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING in Tokoza, Tvl, on 13 June 1993, allegedly carried out by ANC supporters.

ZIQUBU, Ethel Thokozile (24), an ANC supporter, survived being shot and stabbed by named IFP supporters during an arson attack on her home in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 3 December 1993. Four people died in the attack.

ZIQUBU, Fikile , was stabbed and injured by Inkatha supporters who attacked her home at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban in June 1988, during intense political conflict in the area. This incident followed an attack on Fikile's brother, and his subsequent disappearance.

ZIQUBU, Isaac Mjele , an Inkatha-aligned Qonda self-protection unit member, was shot dead by members of an Inkatha faction within Qonda at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 October 1989. Mr Ziqubu was allegedly targeted because he had been seen taking injured UDF supporters to hospital.

ZIQUBU, Martha (58), had her house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in June 1988 during intensifying conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. The Ziqubu family

appeared to have been specifically targeted, as this incident was one in a series of attacks on the family.

ZIQUBU, Nonhlanhla Linah (41), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 January 1994 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

ZIQUBU, Phetheni Catherine (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban on 18 October 1989. Ms Ziqubu's husband was killed that same day, allegedly because he had been seen transporting UDF supporters to hospital. About 1000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in political violence in Mpumalanga during 1989, leaving many dead and thousands homeless.

ZIQUBU, Simphiwe Bhekani, was shot dead when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

ZIQUBU, Thembela (6), was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters during an attack on the family home in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 3 December 1993. Three others also died in the attack, which formed part of political conflict in the area.

ZIQUBU, Violet, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in an attack on her home in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 3 December 1993. Four people died in the attack, which formed part of political conflict in the area.

ZITA, Alfred, was one of 11 people killed by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

ZITHA, Bafana Naphtal (18), was detained, beaten and tortured by members of the SAP in Tembisa, Tvl, in 1984.

ZITHA, Buyelem Florence (34), an ANC supporter, had her house in Nkwezela, Bulwer, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 30 May 1993, allegedly because she helped her ANC-supporting relatives who were hiding in the area, and gave them food.

ZITHA, Fani Johannes (42), had his house burnt down at Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 18 July 1990 in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZITHA, John Dayson, was killed when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

ZITHA, Jujwa Alfred (68), had his house burnt down by ANC supporters, one of whom is named, in Nelspruit, Tvl, in June 1986. He was accused of practising witchcraft.

ZITHA, Manzini Robert (22), was shot and injured by a named perpetrator at Matsulu, KaNgwane, on 13 March 1986, during intensifying political conflict in the area.

ZITHA, Mbukeni, an IFP supporter, was shot and injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

ZITHA, Petrus (20), was detained, beaten and tortured in Tembisa, Tvl, in 1984.

ZITHA, Skoriya, an ANC supporter, was beaten by members of the SADF in Nkomazi, Tvl, in June 1986 for no apparent reason.

ZITHA, Vusi, was abducted by Inkatha supporters in Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, in 1988, allegedly because he refused to join Inkatha. He has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

ZITO, Mvuleni William (27), was shot and injured in the head by a named member of the SAP during political conflict in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, on 17 June 1976. Mr Zito was convicted of attempted arson and given a seven-year suspended sentence and an instruction to report to the perpetrator's house twice a week for six months. He suffers from epileptic fits as a result of his injuries.

ZIYAYA, Israel (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 18 August 1988 in KwaNdengezi, Kwazulu, near Pinetown, Natal, in conflict between the AMAVARAVARA and other ANC supporters.

ZOFUKA, Milton, a UDF supporter and street committee member, was detained in Kagiso, Tvl, on 30 October 1986 because of his political involvement. Mr Zofuka was detained for 415 days under emergency regulations and released in March 1988.

ZOKOLO, Shadrack Ntsikelelo, a UDF activist, was killed in KTC squatter camp, Cape Town, on 25 December 1985, after a local community COUNCILLOR had been burnt to death, sparking a series of counter-attacks by vigilantes.

ZOKOZA, Maki Sanders (61), a SANCO and ANC member, was severely beaten by members of the CDF and ADM at Bulembu Airport, near King William's Town, Cape, in June 1992, after he was accused of killing cattle belonging to ADM members. On 2 April 1993, his house was burnt down by ADM supporters in King William's Town, Cape.

ZOKUFA, Noggina Muriel (64), had her house and belongings petrol-bombed in Cradock, Cape, during 1991, allegedly because her husband worked for the government.

ZOKUFA, Sendikho, an ANC supporter, lost his home and vehicles in an arson attack by vigilantes associated with the local town COUNCILLORS in January 1991 in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. At the time the ANC was campaigning against the councillors.

ZOKWE, Ensarah Ndbakazi Mamajola, an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down on 30 April 1990

in Pholile, Matatiele, Natal, by a group of men carrying traditional weapons and allegedly looking for ANC supporters. Nine homes were burnt in the area that day. At the time ANC supporters were also killed in an attempt to prevent the setting up of local ANC branches in the area.

ZOKWE, Mthobeli T rinity , an ANC member from Nqamakwe, Transkei, was shot and injured in an attack by SADF Special Forces operatives on several ANC houses and a block of flats in Maseru, Lesotho, on 9 December 1982. Thirty South Africans and 12 citizens of Lesotho were killed in the midnight attack.

ZOKWE, Obett Makhwenkwe , an ANC supporter, was stabbed and beaten to death by a named perpetrator on 30 April 1990 in Pholile, Matatiele, Natal, by a group of men carrying traditional weapons and allegedly looking for ANC supporters. Nine homes were burnt in the area that day. At the time ANC supporters were also killed in an attempt to prevent the setting up of local ANC branches in the area.

ZOKWE, Silberbeaver Sibhabhalala , an ANC member, died from poisoning while in custody in Nqamakwe, Transkei, during 1964.

ZOKWE, Sithembele (33), an MK operative, was arrested on 11 June 1988 and later shot dead by members of the Transkei Security Branch at Cegcuwana administrative area, Butterworth. Two Transkei Security Branch operatives were refused amnesty for the killing. One of the operatives was also refused amnesty for an earlier attempt on Mr Zokwe's life, on 8 August 1987 (AC/2000/042).

ZOLEKA, Mavis Lolo , an ANC supporter, lost her home in an arson attack by IFP supporters in Swanieville, near Krugersdorp, Tvl on 12 May 1991. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt in retaliation for the expulsion of IFP supporters from Swanieville. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

ZONDANI, Gqebeti (26), was arrested in Retreat, Cape Town, in 1960 and detained for three months in Fort Glamorgan prison, East London, where he was forced to do hard labour, during the 1960 state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

ZONDANI, Mtutulezi James (23), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Port Elizabeth on 17 March 1986 during the 1986 state of emergency. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

ZONDANI, Patrick Mkhusele , was shot dead by members of the SAP in KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, on 13 April 1993 in political unrest following the death of ANC/SACP/MK leader, Chris Hani.

ZONDANI, Zelda (19), was shot and injured by members of the Ciskei Police in Zwelitsha, Ciskei, on 15 November 1985 during the state of emergency. She was participating in a protest march after the alleged killing of students by the police.

ZONDI, Amos (69), a NUMSA member, was severely beaten by Inkatha supporters at his home in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 1

March 1989, because he had participated in the SARMCOL STRIKE at Howick. He died of his injuries in hospital a month later. His son was also severely injured in the attack.

ZONDI, Bekinkosi Ephraim (39), an ANC supporter, had his house in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 27 March 1990, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZONDI, Bernard Zo (42), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mkhazeni, Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 4 September 1992.

ZONDI, Bheji Michion (31), had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 27 March 1990 in Ezibomvini, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZONDI, Bhukumuzu Hamilton (19), was shot and killed by IFP members during political conflict at Greytown, Natal, on 18 July 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0216).

ZONDI, Bongani Doda (18), a UDF supporter, was arrested, assaulted and tortured by named IFP supporters and members of the SAP in Pietermaritzburg in 1988.

ZONDI, Bongani Jabulani Justice , a UDF supporter, died after being stoned and shot by members of the SAP during political conflict in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 13 November 1989. A friend who was attacked with him also died of multiple injuries.

ZONDI, Bongi Mary-Jane (24), an ANC supporter, had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1992. One person was killed and seven homes were burnt down in Bhambayi that month.

ZONDI, Busisiwe Gladys (32), had her house in Pietermaritzburg destroyed on 3 December 1988. She and her family fled the political violence in the area, only to find their house destroyed, allegedly by SAP SPECIAL CONSTABLES, when they came back home.

ZONDI, Busisiwe Monica (47), had her house in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 27 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZONDI, Busisiwe Sylvina (48), had her house at KwaBhidla, near Bulwer, Natal, burnt down in May 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZONDI, Christina Sibongile (49), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZONDI, Datshi Washington (44), an IFP supporter, had his house in Ixopo, Natal, looted and set alight by ANC supporters on 16 June 1993.

ZONDI, Denisia , a UDF sympathiser, was shot and killed by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 September 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

ZONDI, Dumisani Alfred (22), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 5 April 1990. He was one of seven ANC supporters

who were travelling to their homes in Maqongqo when they were abducted by IFP supporters, stabbed and shot dead. One man survived the attack.

ZONDI, Dumisani Henson (21), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured on 7 June 1988 when members of the SAP opened fire on a group of people waiting at a bus stop in KwaPata, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg. Mr Zondi was suspected of having taken part in a stayaway the previous day.

ZONDI, Dumisani , a UDF supporter, was severely injured during an attack by Inkatha supporters at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 September 1989, during ongoing political violence in the area. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

ZONDI, Duze Lawrance (55), a COSATU supporter, was forced to flee his home in Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1985, as a result of repeated intimidation by IFP supporters. Mr Zondi had been dismissed from BTR Sarmcol for participating in a strike. At the time, there was intense local conflict between Inkatha and COSATU/MAWU members following the 1985 SARMCOL STRIKE.

ZONDI, Elliot (54), an ANC councillor, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, on 3 November 1991. Mr Zondi had been involved in the peace process to ease the ongoing political conflict.

ZONDI, Elliot V ikuyise , an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 July 1989.

ZONDI, Emmanuel Mqapheleni Mbhekaphansi (25), was shot and injured on 7 June 1988 when members of the SAP opened fire on a group of people waiting at a bus stop in KwaPata, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg. Mr Zondi was suspected of having taken part in a stayaway the previous day.

ZONDI, Enoch David (61), had his home burnt down by Inkatha supporters at KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZONDI, Fanyana (72), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death when IFP supporters and Caprivi trainees carried out attacks on ANC supporters in Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

ZONDI, Fikile Beauty Masantu (33), a UDF supporter, had her house burnt down in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, by IFP supporters, allegedly in collusion with members of the SAP, on 28 February 1992.

ZONDI, Fikile , was one of 11 people killed by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

ZONDI, Gaduxolo (27), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Edendale, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 8 August 1992 while doing community conflict resolution work in the area.

ZONDI, George (42), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters on 29 March 1990 in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZONDI, Grace Gabengani (38), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters on 25 March 1990 in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZONDI, Helga Mazodwa (22), was injured while fleeing from a group of Inkatha supporters in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZONDI, Hloniphizwe (30), an ANC supporter, was killed in KwaMancinza, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 7 April 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZONDI, Isaac , an alleged IFP supporter, was killed and pushed off a train by ANC members between Germiston and Kempton Park station, Tvl, on 11 November 1993. The perpetrators shot at Mr Zondi and one other person, killing both. See TRAIN VIOLENCE. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the incident (AC/2001/086).

ZONDI, Jabulani , an ANC supporter, was stabbed and left for dead by Inkatha supporters who attacked him at his home in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 1 March 1989, allegedly because his father had participated in the SARMCOL STRIKE at Howick. His father was killed during this attack.

ZONDI, James Mdunyiswa (51), an IFP supporter, was severely beaten, allegedly by other named IFP supporters, in Igobhogobho, near Bulwer, Natal, in April 1992.

ZONDI, Jameson (20), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR in April 1990. Two other family members were killed in the attack, and the family home was burnt down.

ZONDI, Kellina (43), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by a named Inkatha supporter in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in April 1988.

ZONDI, Lungisile (30), had her home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZONDI, Makhosazana Esther (53), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 31 December 1988.

ZONDI, Mamo Emily (60), an ANC supporter, had her house in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by IFP supporters on 1 September 1990.

ZONDI, Mangaliso (60), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in April 1990 in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR. Two other family members were killed in the attack, and the family home was burnt down.

ZONDI, Mangempi , an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 15 August 1991.

ZONDI, Manu Matrina (54), had her house burnt down by unidentified people at Howick, Natal, in 1987, allegedly because her son refused to take part in the SARMCOL STRIKE.

ZONDI, Maphenduka Gabriel (45), an IFP member, was shot dead by unidentified perpetrators near KwaMbiya supermarket, Pietermaritzburg, on 18 February 1989. His colleague was shot and injured in the incident.

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

ZONDI, Martha, a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in April 1990 in KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR. Two other family members were killed in the attack, and the family home was burnt down.

ZONDI, Mbandeni (53), an ANC supporter, was seriously injured on 8 March 1993 when the bus in which she was travelling was ambushed by armed IFP supporters at Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg. Three men and a woman were killed and at least 16 people were injured. The bus was taking 80 ANC supporters to attend the court appearance in Pietermaritzburg of three men implicated in an earlier ambush of a vehicle carrying IFP supporters on 5 March 1993.

ZONDI, Mbazo, an MK operative, was abducted from Mzinga, Natal, by members of the SAP in September 1990 and has not been seen since. He is presumed dead.

ZONDI, Mboneni Pat, was shot dead by members of the Chesterville A-TEAM in Chesterville, Durban, on 29 April 1990.

ZONDI, Mbongeni Henry, was one of four MK operatives shot dead by members of the Port Natal Security Branch during a high speed car chase on Quarry Road, Durban, on 7 September 1986. Three Port Natal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty. They further confessed to planting weapons on the deceased (AC/2000/135).

ZONDI, Mdingi Zephania (35), a UDF supporter, was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Mpumuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 30 January 1988.

ZONDI, Mduduzi, an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by IFP supporters in Smero, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 7 October 1992, while trying to escape from his burning house during political violence.

ZONDI, Menziwa Alson Voyi (36), had his house at Impendle, near Bulwer, Natal, burnt down by a named IFP supporter in mid-1992, because he was perceived to be an ANC supporter. At the time, IFP leaders were allegedly coercing community members to join the party or to leave the area. Those who refused had their homes burnt down.

ZONDI, Meyi Mayvis (54), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo,

Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 20 March 1994.

See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZONDI, Mgonothi (17), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 25 September 1989. Two weeks later, members of the SAP shot and injured his brother.

ZONDI, Mhlophe Micho (41), an ANC supporter, had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in November 1990.

ZONDI, Mjabu (19), a UDF supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 10 September 1987.

ZONDI, Mlindelwa Gibson (24), was shot and injured by members of the SAP during a police raid in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 10 September 1989. He laid charges against the police and was paid a small sum in compensation for his injuries. Two weeks earlier, Inkatha supporters, supported by members of the SAP, had killed his brother.

ZONDI, Mlungisi Kenneth (17), a UDF supporter, was found in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, with severe head wounds on 5 September 1992, during continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. He died in hospital two months later, from complications related to his injuries. A Special Constable has applied for amnesty for Mr Zondi's death. Both his brothers had been killed political conflict during the three years before his death.

ZONDI, Molly (16), was killed in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP- supporting hostel-dwellers, on 29 July 1993 after she was abducted with three friends, repeatedly raped, stabbed, shot and hacked. Her body was dumped behind the hostel.

ZONDI, Mthembeni Richard (24), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 1 July 1987, after police accused him and a friend of attacking Inkatha supporters. His friend was also shot dead.

ZONDI, Mtungoziwa (62), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg on 25 March 1990, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZONDI, Mzikayifani (25), an ANC supporter, was shot and killed when IFP supporters attacked his home in Ixopo, Natal, on 6 March 1992.

ZONDI, Mzikayifani Amon (35), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Greytown, Natal, on 21 November 1992.

ZONDI, Mzomuhle Samson (36), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Wartburg, Natal, on 12 March 1990, following the UNBANNING of political organisations in February.

ZONDI, Ngiteni Eslina (65), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Smero, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 7 October 1992.

ZONDI, Ngitheni Florinah (39), an ANC supporter, had her house in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in March 1990, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZONDI, Nivard, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters when they attacked his home in Caluza,

KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 27 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR. The house was destroyed and the family fled to Imbali.

ZONDI, Nkosinathi Innocent (24), an Inkatha supporter, was killed during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in Njobokazi, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 March 1990.

ZONDI, Nkosiyesizwe, was shot dead on 29 July 1986 when an MK unit attacked the Madeira police station, in Umtata, Transkei. At least eight people were killed in the attack, including policemen, civilians and one of the MK operatives. One MK operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/240).

ZONDI, Nomusa Doris (31), was shot and seriously injured by IFP supporters in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 8 January 1991 in an attempt to coerce her into becoming an IFP member. Ms Zondi is now disabled.

ZONDI, Nonhlanhla Girdle (46), had her home in Mvutshini, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 21 March 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZONDI, Ntombi Esilina (59), had her house burnt down by Inkatha and KWAZULU POLICE members in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 27 November 1989. About 1 000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in the conflict between ANC and IFP supporters that devastated the Mpumalanga area that year, leaving many dead and thousands homeless. About 54 people died between 1 November and 10 December 1989.

ZONDI, Ntombikazi Viola (51), lost her home in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters in April 1990. The attack was allegedly targeted at her children, who were ANC supporters.

ZONDI, Patricia (40), an IFP supporter, had her house in Ecabazini, Ixopo, Natal, set alight by ANC supporters on 16 June 1993.

ZONDI, Paulos Mbube (49), a UDF supporter, had his house destroyed in a petrol-bomb attack by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 September 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

ZONDI, Pearl Lungile (30), had her house in Mbizeni, Ladysmith, Natal, burnt down by UDF supporters in August 1989. The attack was allegedly directed at her husband, who was an Inkatha supporter.

ZONDI, Phethile (52), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in 1991.

ZONDI, Salathiel (63), an ANC supporter, was shot dead and his body was mutilated by named IFP supporters at Ndaleneni, Richmond, Natal, on 23 June 1991. See RICHMOND ATTACKS.

ZONDI, Sam (35), was shot by IFP supporters on 10 December 1992, while sitting in a parked car in Mooi River, Natal, at a time of political conflict. Mr Zondi died on his way to hospital. One other person was shot dead in the attack, and another was shot and injured.

ZONDI, Seleni Sizani (46), lost her house in a petrol bomb attack by alleged members of both Inkatha and the KWAZULU POLICE in Mophela, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, during political conflict on 15 September 1989. Her brother and nephew were killed in the attack. During 1989 about 1000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in the violence that devastated the area, leaving many dead and thousands homeless. Approximately 54 people died in political conflict between November to 10 December 1989.

ZONDI, Sibusiso Emmanuel (26), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 July 1992.

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

ZONDI, Sifiso, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters while attending a night vigil at Koffie Farm, Mariannhill, Pinetown, Natal, on 7 February 1990.

ZONDI, Sihle Brian (16), was killed by Inkatha supporters on 25 March 1990 in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZONDI, Sileni Sizani (46), a UDF supporter, had her house destroyed in a petrol-bomb attack by Inkatha supporters during political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 15 September 1989. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

ZONDI, Simon (61), a COSATU member, was teargassed and stabbed with a sharp instrument by Inkatha supporters, some of whom were named, and SAP and KWAZULU POLICE members in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 10 November 1989. Mr Zondi was involved in the SARMCOL STRIKE, which fuelled political conflict in the area.

ZONDI, Simon Jabulani, a UDF supporter, was shot and killed by Inkatha supporters during political violence at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 April 1990. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

ZONDI, Siphso (34), an ANC supporter, was shot and hacked to death when a named IFP supporter and others attacked his home in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 25 June 1991. Mr Zondi's brother was also killed and his home was burnt down during the attack.

ZONDI, Thembi (17), an IFP supporter, was beaten by a named fellow IFP supporter in Igobhogobho, near Bulwer, Natal, in 1992, allegedly because she was suspected of being an ANC supporter.

ZONDI, Thembisile Annacletta (35), an ANC supporter, was beaten by a named IFP supporter in Gezubuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1990.

ZONDI, Thokozani (42), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1989. About 1000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed

in political violence in Mpumalanga during 1989, leaving many dead and thousands homeless.

ZONDI, Tholakeke Beatrice (26), an IFP supporter, had her house in Makhholweni, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by ANC members in July 1993.

ZONDI, Tozi Constance (55), had her house and possessions set alight by Inkatha supporters in Mpumuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in 1987 during intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

ZONDI, Vusumuzi (21), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters on 4 February 1992, while he was visiting his aunt in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, allegedly because he was thought to be an ANC supporter. Two other youths were killed in the attack.

ZONDI, Wellington Mandlenkosi (52), an ANC supporter, had his house and property destroyed by IFP supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in 1992. Mr Zondi's three sons had all been killed in the course of political conflict in Imbali in the preceding three years.

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

ZONDI, Zanele Phyllis (30), had her house attacked by Inkatha supporters in late March 1990 in Inadi, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZONDI, Zenzele Humphrey (29), an ANC supporter, was shot by members of the SAP and died on 26 August 1991 in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg. Mr Zondi's two brothers had been killed in the course of conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Imbali.

ZONDI, Zithulele (66), was stabbed to death by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 30 December 1988 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

ZONDI, Zithulele Reginald (25), an ANC supporter, was beaten and later shot dead by IFP supporters, some of whom are named, at Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, on 20 February 1993.

ZONDI, Zithulele Sydney (31), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Ntuzuma, near Durban, on 5 August 1992.

ZONDI, Zodwa Eunice (42), had her house in Mpumuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt and badly damaged on 5 February 1989 by named Inkatha supporters, who accused her of being an ANC supporter. Before she and her children escaped, she injured one of her attackers. She was then detained by the SAP for three days, released and told to report to the police station every month. Eight months later, she fled the area.

ZONDO, Abeuter, an IFP supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by ANC supporters, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 17 July 1990.

ZONDO, Anderson Siphwe, was shot by members of the SAP in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 25 March 1986 and subsequently died. Police fired at a group of children during an apparently routine patrol. There had been stayaways in the area at the time of the incident.

ZONDO, Andrew (19), an MK cadre, was executed on 9 September 1986 in a Pretoria prison, after being sentenced to death for the murder of five civilians in the Amanzimtoti shopping centre bomb blast in December 1985. Mr Zondo claimed he had tried to warn the shopping centre about the impending blast. Mr Zondo's alleged accomplice turned state witness. Two other ANC activists were hanged the same day. Members of the Security Branch later applied for amnesty for the murder of two other suspected accomplices in the bomb attack.

ZONDO, Bangifa (48), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZONDO, Bhekizitha Silwayiphi (39), was shot and injured by IFP supporters during political conflict in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 3 November 1993. His house in Bhambayi was burnt down later that month. See 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

ZONDO, Busi Dephney (36), an ANC supporter, was abducted in Nelspruit, Tvl, on 5 July 1993 by members of the SAP who suspected her of involvement in the killing of an IFP-supporting chief.

ZONDO, Funani Joyce (48), an Inkatha supporter, had her home burnt down by ANC supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1989. About 1000 homes in Mpumalanga were badly damaged or destroyed in political violence in 1989, leaving many dead and thousands homeless.

ZONDO, Fungeleni Adelaide (30), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZONDO, Hlengiwe Alita (25), had her house set alight by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZONDO, Ida Sizani (17), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZONDO, Khonzile Maria (61), was severely assaulted by ISU members at her home in Lamontville, Durban, on 3 December 1993, because they suspected that she knew the whereabouts of a hidden arms cache. Her son, an MK operative, had returned from exile and was living in the house.

ZONDO, Khulani Hamilton (15), was shot dead by members of the SAP who opened fire on protesters in an ANC march in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 19 May 1993.

ZONDO, Kuntuza Killer, an ANC supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by KHUMALO GANG members, at a shebeen in Tokoza, Tvl, on 13 December 1992. One

other person was killed and another severely injured in this attack. The attack was apparently in revenge for the shooting earlier that day at the same tavern of a KHUMALO GANG member, allegedly involved in rape and murder.

ZONDO, Magugi Emmanuel (40), an Inkatha supporter, was necklaced by ANC supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 5 February 1990, following the UNBANNING of political organisations three days earlier.

ZONDO, Menzi Patrick (19), a COSAS and SAYCO supporter, was shot by AZAPO supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 5 March 1987 during conflict between student organisations affiliated to the UDF and to AZAPO.

ZONDO, Michael (25), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Evaton, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during protest against high rentals and unrepresentative councillors in the VAAL UPRISING.

ZONDO, Muzi (26), was assaulted by KWAZULU POLICE members at her home in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in June 1987. Police were searching for guns in this UDF-aligned area. Her sister was also assaulted.

ZONDO, Nomakhemesi (76), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZONDO, Nomusa Lydia (21), was assaulted by KWAZULU POLICE members at her home in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in June 1987. Police were searching for guns in this UDF-aligned area. Her sister was also assaulted.

ZONDO, Ntombiyecala (61), had her house in the Ntuze area, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, petrol-bombed on 9 October 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

ZONDO, Patrick Sifiso (29), an MK operative, was severely beaten and assaulted by ISU members in Lamontville, Durban, on 3 December 1993, because they suspected him of having a hidden arms cache. His elderly mother was also beaten in the attack.

ZONDO, Prince Ntshingila (41), an IFP supporter, was stabbed by ANC supporters in KwaThema, Tvl, on 19 July 1990.

ZONDO, Qaphea Blessing, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 12 December 1989.

ZONDO, Rabi Moses (55), had his house burnt down in Evaton, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during the VAAL UPRISING because he was accused of being a police informer.

ZONDO, Sandile, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 March 1990.

ZONDO, Sizani Idah (36), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZONDO, Thanduxolo Patrick (31), a member of an ANC-aligned self-defence unit, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Pioneer Park, near Orlando East,

Soweto, Johannesburg, on 26 July 1993 while trying to save people trapped in a burning shack. Many hostel-dwellers who refused to become IFP members sought refuge in nearby informal settlements but they retained their cultural and political links with the IFP which resulted in conflict within these settlements.

ZONDO, was shot and injured by unidentified persons at Matshana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, when his neighbour's house was attacked during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 5 July 1992.

ZONDO, Winnie (33), a member of the Federation of Transvaal Women, was detained in Moroka, Soweto, Johannesburg, and tortured by members of the SAP to force her to confess to arson and murder during January 1986. Her brother had been killed and an old woman suspected of instigating his death was killed in a revenge attack. After Ms Zondo's alleged confession, her brother and sister were also detained. She was eventually sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and released in April 1991 under the indemnity.

ZONDWAYO, Mahalio Mary (30), was severely beaten by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, during the SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE on 21 March 1960.

ZONKE, Thomas, an ANC supporter, was detained and beaten by members of the SAP in Worcester, Cape, in April 1960, after a night of intensive demonstrations against the Pass Laws.

ZONO, Nobantu (34), a UDF supporter, lost her home and possessions in an arson attack by WITDOEKE vigilantes in KTC, Cape Town, on 9 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. Over 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

ZONO, Simon (19), was shot dead by a named member of the SAP in Noupoot, Cape, on 24 September 1985.

ZONO, Xoliswa Eunice (33), a UDF supporter, was sustained burn injuries when members of the SAP threw a teargas canister at crowds attending a mass funeral in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, on 22 April 1986. Ms Zono was a marshal at the funeral.

ZOTE, Edgar Ngqokweni (29), an ANC underground activist, was beaten and tortured by the helicopter method by named members of the Transkei Police in Umtata, Transkei, on 9 August 1986. Police were allegedly attempting to force him to make a confession. He was detained for five months at Elliotdale prison and transferred to Wellington prison where he was kept for two months. He was released in 1987.

ZOTE, Magcina Xhamela (32), an MK operative, was tortured by members of the Security Police in Ngangelizwe police station, Mqanduli, Transkei, on 5 September 1986, and subsequently detained in Mqanduli prison until February 1987. He was suspected of being involved in an attack on a police station but was released without charge in February 1987. Police confiscated two of his motor vehicles and, after suing for damages, he was paid compensation for one of them.

ZOTHE, Edgar Ngqokweni (18), an ANC supporter, was detained and tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, following an MK attack on the Madeira Street police station, Umtata, on 29 July 1986. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty for the torture (AC/2000/076).

ZOTHE, Magcina, was detained and tortured by members of the Transkei Security Branch in Umtata, Transkei, who believed him to be an ANC supporter. Mr Zothe's detention followed an MK attack on the Madeira Street police station, Umtata, on 29 July 1986. One Transkei Security Branch operative was granted amnesty (AC/2000/076).

ZOTWA, Nomafa Frances (47), an ANC supporter, lost her house in a petrol bomb attack during conflict between ANC and ADM supporters at KwaMasele, near King William's Town, Cape, on 15 October 1992.

ZOZI, Coko Shadrack (48), was shot in both legs by members of the SAP while he was attending the funeral of a victim of violent political conflict in Nemato, Port Alfred, Cape, on 16 November 1984. He was then detained, charged with public violence, convicted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

ZUBA, Christian Mbokothwana, an ANC member, was arrested for his membership of a banned organisation and tortured by SAP members in Cape Town during 1960. He was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment on Robben Island where he was kicked, beaten and subjected to hard labour in the stone quarry. His health was very badly affected.

ZUIDEMAN, R, was shot and injured when APLA operatives threw hand grenades at and opened fire on the congregation of St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, on 25 July 1993. Eleven people were killed and 58 wounded in the attack. See APLA ATTACKS. Three of four APLA members were granted amnesty for the attack. The fourth had his application struck off the roll for failing to attend the amnesty hearing (AC/1998/0018).

ZUKE, Bhekezakhe (44), an ANC supporter, was stabbed by unidentified persons, and died in hospital in Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 October 1992. He was suspected of collaborating with the KwaZulu POLICE, who were colluding with the IFP in the struggle for political supremacy in the region.

ZUKE, Michael Zamokwakhe (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in U Section in Umlazi, Durban, in 1992, in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Several people died and several houses in the Umlazi and Zamani areas were destroyed during this period.

ZUKE, Priscilla Sibongile (22), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Congo Section of Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 13 May 1992.

ZULU, (first name not given), a constable in the SAP, was threatened at gunpoint when MK operatives robbed the Ormonde police station, Johannesburg, on 27 February 1993. No one was injured in the robbery,

which was aimed at acquiring weapons for local self-defence units (SDUs). Two MK operatives were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0325).

ZULU, Abegail Nomalizo (31), had her house in Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 28 July 1993 during continuing political conflict in the area.

ZULU, Agnes (61), had her house set alight by ANC supporters in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in August 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

ZULU, Albertine (52), had her house burnt down in Ntuzi, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in May 1991 in continuing political violence between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZULU, Alfred (33), left home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 12 September 1990 and his body was found the next day with a bullet wound in the heart at the Vosloorus police station. The incident occurred just after the outbreak of violent political conflict on the East Rand in August 1990.

ZULU, Alie, an ANC member, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Katlehong, Tvl, on 7 December 1993. He was one of 11 ANC members killed, nine execution-style, by SDU members in Moleleki section, Katlehong, during conflict between the local ANCYL and SDU members. Thirteen SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/1998/0013).

ZULU, Alton Baba Kamiso (60), was shot and injured at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1994, by IFP supporters who accused him of being an ANC supporter.

ZULU, Amon (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named IFP supporter in Mqolombeni, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 25 April 1991. A group of men arrived at his house and asked him to accompany them to an IFP self-defence training camp. Mr Zulu was found dead in an open field the following day.

ZULU, Amon Benoli (33), an IFP supporter, was shot dead at Mqolombeni Hill, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 26 May 1991, when ANC supporters attacked an IFP camp in the area.

ZULU, Armstrong (15), a UDF supporter, was assaulted and seriously injured by AMABUTHO members who attacked the memorial service for UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in the Umlazi Cinema at Umlazi, Durban, on 8 August 1985. Seventeen people were killed and 20 injured in the attack.

ZULU, Babo Joseph (33), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in KwaZuba, Umkomaas, near Durban, on 16 March 1991.

ZULU, Bafana Gideon (36), had his house burnt down in Nogobhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in November 1993. Nine houses were set alight in the area, allegedly by Inkatha supporters acting under the directions of a local chief who wanted to drive ANC supporters out of the area.

ZULU, Barent (20), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by members of the security forces in Mhluzi, Middelburg, Tvl, on 18 July 1985. Mr Zulu was participating in a school boycott in protest against fellow

'comrades' being held by police at the time of the shooting.

ZULU, Beatrice , was shot dead on 9 May 1992 by ANC supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, because her son was a member of the IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG.

ZULU, Bheki , an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by a named IFP supporter in Sundumbili, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal, on 17 December 1993.

ZULU, Bheki , an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

ZULU, Bhelokwakhe (41), had his house burnt down in Nogobhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, on 6 November 1993. Nine houses were set alight in the area, allegedly by Inkatha supporters acting under the direction of a local chief who wanted to drive ANC supporters out of the area.

ZULU, Bonakele (57), had his house burnt down in November 1993 when IFP supporters carried out several attacks on ANC supporters in the KwaKhoza and Nogobhoza areas, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal. One person was killed. More than 45 homes burnt down, allegedly under the direction of the local IFP-supporting chief who wanted to drive ANC supporters out of the area.

ZULU, Bongekile V inah , sustained injuries in an attack on her home by IFP supporters at Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during 1993. Her husband, an ANC member who was the target of the attack, was killed. Her domestic was injured. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

ZULU, Boxer Moses (17), a UDF supporter, was arrested and then tortured by named Inkatha supporters and members of the SAP between 1986 and 1987 in KwaMashu, Durban.

ZULU, Cebisile Sindisiwe (34), had her house burnt down in November 1993 when IFP supporters carried out several attacks on ANC supporters in the KwaKhoza and Nogobhoza areas, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal. One person was killed. More than 45 homes were burnt down, allegedly under the direction of the local IFP-supporting chief who wanted to drive ANC supporters out of the area.

ZULU, Celani Busisiwe , had her home petrol-bombed in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 7 August 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Her mother was severely beaten in the attack.

ZULU, Clemencia Qondeni (50), an ANC supporter, had her house in Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1993.

ZULU, David Mbuti , left home in Vosloorus, Tvl, on 29 March 1991 and has never been seen since. Efforts by his wife, lawyers and police to trace him have been fruitless. Mr Zulu went missing during violent political conflict in the area, like a number of other East Rand residents.

ZULU, Dlokwakhe (19), was injured when the family house in Ntuzuma, near Durban, was attacked on 3 October 1991 in ongoing local conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

ZULU, Duduzile Gladys (21), had her home in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS during 1993.

ZULU, Dumazile (23), an IFP supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by ANC members, at Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

ZULU, Dumisani Nyambisa , had his home at KwaMfana, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, burnt down in May 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZULU, Edith Celimpilo (46), had her home burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in October 1987 in intensifying conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in the area.

ZULU, Elias (50), had his home petrol-bombed in Odondolo, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 7 November 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZULU, Emeltrudis Sibongile (31), whose husband was an ANC member, had her house at Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by unidentified perpetrators on 6 September 1992, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

ZULU, Emma , an ANC supporter, was burnt to death when her house at Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, was set alight by IFP supporters on 1 June 1991. Her husband was also burnt to death in the incident.

ZULU, Enock Nhlanhla (30), was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

ZULU, Ettie Matilda (71), was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 16 February 1992. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

ZULU, Fano David (39), was shot and injured by IFP supporters in KwaMashu, Durban, on 15 April 1993 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZULU, Fikile , an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 2 August 1992 when armed men wearing balaclavas attacked several homes in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

ZULU, Funani Dina (48), was shot and injured in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 24 April 1990 in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

ZULU, Fuzuyise Sakhile (41), had his home burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZULU, Hendry (22), was shot and injured in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, on 29 July 1990 by IFP-

aligned BLACK CAT gang members in clashes during a rent boycott in the area. On that day gang members were seen walking from Ermelo to Wesselton brandishing pangas.

ZULU, Herbert Mkononzeni (31), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by named IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 19 December 1992.

ZULU, Herbert Nhlanhla Solomon (41), an ANC branch secretary, was shot dead on 29 February 1992 by named IFP supporters who ambushed him while he was driving in the Mahasheni area, near Estcourt, Natal.

ZULU, Jabu Joyce (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZULU, Jabulani, was shot by Inkatha supporters and members of the SAP in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 5 February 1988, allegedly because he did not attend an Inkatha meeting.

ZULU, James Madlala, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Kagiso, Tvl, on 19 August 1990 during violent conflict between residents and hostel-dwellers. Hostel-dwellers were coerced into IFP membership and relations between the two groups became increasingly strained.

ZULU, Johannes (44), was shot dead on 24 August 1993 in Tokoza, Tvl, allegedly by IFP supporters, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

ZULU, Joyce (39), had her house destroyed by IFP supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, in January 1991 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

ZULU, Julia (58), lost her house in an arson attack at Eshowe, Natal, on 23 March 1994, in political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZULU, Khumalo, an ANC supporter, died after being stabbed with cultural weapons and then shot by IFP supporters at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 10 May 1992.

ZULU, Linda Montgomery (31), an ANC supporter, had his house in Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 13 June 1990.

ZULU, Lindiwe Francisca (23), a UDF supporter, was detained at Newcastle, Natal, between June 1986 and March 1987 after being arrested on suspicion of burning down a police assistant's house. While in detention, she was placed in solitary confinement and had to sleep on the floor for six months.

ZULU, Lucy (29), was shot dead in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 24 April 1990, in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters. The family home was burnt down in the attack.

ZULU, Mabathu Enoch (55), a PAC supporter, was imprisoned in October 1988 on Robben Island, Cape Town. He had been charged for his involvement in the killing of a headman in Cofimvaba, Transkei. He was sentenced to death, but was released as a political prisoner in 1991 and granted amnesty in 1992.

ZULU, Madaleni Agnes (47), had her house burnt down by ANC supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban,

on 12 February 1990, in political conflict in the area.

ZULU, Mankankane V eronica (69), an ANC supporter, had her six rondavels in Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in July 1993.

ZULU, Maureen (46), had her house in Pietermaritzburg burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 1 February 1988, in intensifying political conflict in the area.

ZULU, Maxwell, was shot and injured by an IFP member during political conflict at Izingolweni, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 19 May 1991. An amnesty applicant testified that he shot Mr Zulu because he believed him to be an ANC supporter. He was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0339).

ZULU, Mehlakazulu, an employee of Rand Water, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 February 1992. Four people died and eight were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225).

ZULU, Mr (first name not given), was shot and injured by a named IFP supporter on 18 November 1993 when he pursued an attacker who had just shot dead a fellow worker at their place of employment in Maqongqo, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg. The incident occurred during ongoing political conflict in the area.

ZULU, Mthembeni Christopher (25), was shot dead by a named IFP supporter at Port Shepstone, Natal, on 24 March 1994, in political conflict during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. Mr Zulu's father was believed to be an ANC supporter.

ZULU, Muzi Stephane (26), had his house burnt down in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in April 1994 in political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZULU, Muzikayise Khoncwane, was abducted and killed by Inkatha supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 23 March 1990, allegedly because he was friendly with ANC supporters.

ZULU, Myekeni Joseph (45), had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZULU, Mzovukayo Clif ford (24), had his house at Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near Durban, damaged and vandalised in an attack by IFP supporters and members of the KwaZULU POLICE on 4 August 1992. Both his two-year-old daughters were shot in the attack; one died.

ZULU, Mzwanele Protas (20), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by named IFP supporters and members of the KwaZULU POLICE in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 30 March 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZULU, Ndawo Alfr ed, was shot in NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 24 April 1990, in intense conflict between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the area.

ZULU, Nhlanhla (30), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 2 August 1992. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

ZULU, Nhlanhla , was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in 1993, allegedly because he was a member of the Wembezi Crisis Committee, which was perceived to be a threat to KwaZulu officials and the IFP.

ZULU, Nkosinathi Cliff ford (21), was shot dead in an attack on CONTRALESA Chief Molefe's homestead at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. The attack was allegedly motivated by Molefe's refusal to call up men in his area to defend the IFP. An IFP leader was implicated in the attack. Eleven ANC youths were killed and seven injured.

ZULU, Nkosingiphile Bajabulile (30), a UDF supporter, was shot and injured in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 25 November 1989, when unidentified persons attacked UDF supporters after a UDF meeting in the area.

ZULU, Nobahle Gloria (44), had her house burnt down in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, in 1988, allegedly because her husband was a local councillor. Conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters was intensifying in the area at the time.

ZULU, Nomadinyana (63), an ANC supporter, had her house in Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters on 5 May 1991. Political violence in the area claimed the lives of at least 31 people in April and May 1991, and rendered about 200 people homeless.

ZULU, Nomagoli Annie (68), was shot and injured by SPECIAL CONSTABLES who attacked an all-night prayer vigil at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, Pietermaritzburg, on 3 December 1988. See TRUST FEEDS MASSACRE. The station commander at New Hanover police station, who also chaired the local JMC, was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1996/0011).

ZULU, Nomnyango (42), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP members in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 7 April 1991.

ZULU, Nomusa Mildred (32), lost her house at Ixopo, Natal, in an arson attack during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in February 1992.

ZULU, Nomusa Pia (41), was stabbed and severely injured by unidentified attackers in Sinyabusi, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, in December 1992. Four months earlier, her house had been burnt down by IFP supporters in Dokodweni, KwaZulu, near Gingindlovu, Natal, allegedly because of her husband's support for the ANC.

ZULU, Nonhlanhla Thandazile (39), was shot and injured on 2 August 1992 when armed men wearing balaclavas attacked several homes in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. See ESIKHAWINI ATTACKS.

ZULU, Nonhlanhla , an ANCYL member, was shot by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 17 April 1994 while canvassing voters for the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZULU, Ngqamulile D (46), an IFP supporter, had her house burnt down at Haladu, Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 20 April 1994, a week before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS. The homes of several ANC supporters had been burnt down earlier that day.

ZULU, Ntombela Robson (36), had her house in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down during March 1993 in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' AND 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

ZULU, Ntombikayise (18), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Mondlo, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 22 March 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZULU, Ntombo (50), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area in 1992.

ZULU, Ntombo Ellen (43), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Port Shepstone, Natal, in May 1991.

ZULU, Oscar , a member of the Sibongile Civic Association, was detained at Waterval and Newcastle prisons in Natal from June 1986. The Sibongile Civic Association was leading a rates boycott at the time.

ZULU, Penuel , an employee of Rand Water, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 February 1992. Four people died and eight were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225).

ZULU, Peter , was shot dead by ANC supporters in Tembisa, Tvl, on 13 March 1993 because he was a member of the IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG.

ZULU, Phillip , died from multiple wounds in Hillbrow hospital, Johannesburg, after an attack in September 1979.

ZULU, Phuzukwenaba Leonar d (37), an Inkatha supporter, had his house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, set alight on 11 February 1990 in intense political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area. See RICHMOND FARMARSON ATTACKS.

ZULU, Prince Cyril Bonginkosi (28), an ANC supporter, was stabbed by IFP supporters in Durban on 15 February 1992.

ZULU, Prince Petr os, an ANC supporter, was killed in a targeted attack by IFP supporters during political conflict at Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal, during 1993. In the attack his wife and domestic were injured. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/217).

ZULU, Sabbinan Makhosazana , had his house and tuck shop in Empangeni, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters during political conflict in the area in June 1991.

ZULU, Samuel Themba (20), an ANCYL member, was stabbed and severely injured by Inkatha members in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, in April 1990. Mr Zulu was forced to flee from the area.

ZULU, Shabane Zibokwakhe (37), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 15 August 1992.

ZULU, Shadrack Lindela , was interrogated, assaulted and stabbed to death by four members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Nokweja, Ixopo, Natal, on 15 July 1993. Mr Zulu had been an ANC supporter but was suspected of joining the IFP. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/0105).

ZULU, Siboniso Phumlani (32), an ANCYL leader, was shot dead by named members of the KwaZULU POLICE in Umlazi, Durban, on 13 February 1990.

ZULU, Signoria Themban (16), an IFP supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by ANC supporters, in Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992. See NYANGWINI ATTACK.

ZULU, Sikhumbuzo (24), an ANC supporter, was shot and stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters, some of whom are named, in Mlozane, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 13 January 1990.

ZULU, Sindisiwe Ntombi (28), had her house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, in intensifying political conflict during 1985.

ZULU, Sinenhlanhla (21), had his house at Empangeni, Natal, partially burnt down and his belongings stolen in an attack by ANC supporters on 11 February 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

ZULU, Siph David (62), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 6 September 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

ZULU, Sipo Isaac (49), had his house at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, set alight and shot at on 24 April 1990. The intense conflict between the ANC and IFP in the area at that time displaced thousands of people from the area.

ZULU, Sizwe Moses (27), an ANC supporter, was assaulted and detained by the SAP in Ntuze, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 11 April 1990, allegedly because of his support for the ANC. In 1991, Mr Zulu had his house ransacked and his property destroyed in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, by members of the ISU, who were allegedly raiding the house for weapons.

ZULU, Thabane Richard (41), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

ZULU, Thandi Henrieta (53), an ANC supporter, had her house at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 2 February 1992. See EKUTHULENI ATTACKS.

ZULU, Themba Petronella (19), was shot with rubber bullets by members of the SAP in KwaThema, Tvl, on 22 October 1984 during clashes between students and police in the area.

ZULU, Thembane Richard (40), was severely injured when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire with automatic weapons on a passenger bus in Durban on 9 October 1990. Seven people were killed and 27 injured in the attack. See PUTCO BUS ATTACK. Amnesty was granted to two of the three applicants and refused to the leader of the unit (AC/1997/0053).

ZULU, Thembelihle (2), was shot dead by members of the KwaZULU POLICE in Umbumbulu, KwaZulu, near

Durban, on 4 August 1992 during ongoing political conflict in the area.

ZULU, Thembelihle , was raped in Empangeni, Natal, in August 1992 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

ZULU, Thembeni Faith , had her house in Eshowe, Natal, burnt down and her possessions destroyed during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZULU, Thembi , had her home in Nyanini, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, burnt down in October 1993 during ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZULU, Thembinkosi (19), an ANC supporter, was killed in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 24 March 1990, in political conflict between ANC and Inkatha supporters in the area.

ZULU, Thembinkosi Bafana , an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

ZULU, Thembinkosi Enoch (26), was beaten and stabbed by IFP supporters in Ezakheni, KwaZulu, near Ladysmith, Natal, in August 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

ZULU, Thembinkosi Henry , a UDF supporter, had his house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence.

Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

ZULU, Thobile Muriel (19), had her home burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in intensifying political conflict in the area in October 1987.

ZULU, Thoko Beauty , suffered severe ill-treatment and damage to property during the BOIPATONGMASSACRE by IFP supporters in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, on 17 June 1992, which left 45 people dead and 27 seriously injured. Thirteen perpetrators were granted amnesty; a further three applications were refused (AC/2000/209).

ZULU, Thulani (25), an ANC supporter, was burnt to death next to Denver hostel, Johannesburg, on 1 April 1994 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

ZULU, Thulani Manfr ed, lost his house in Eshowe, Natal, in an arson attack on 23 March 1994 during political conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZULU, Thulasizwe Innocent (33), a UDF supporter, was shot and stabbed to death in Umlazi, Durban, in March 1984 in intensifying conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters in the area.

ZULU, Umbuso Errol (23), was beaten up and shot dead by members of the SAP in Dube, Soweto,

Johannesburg, on 2 October 1990 after police found him and two friends in possession of an illegal firearm.

ZULU, Vusi Bhutiza (21), an ANC supporter, had his house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters early in 1991. Both his parents burnt to death in the attack. Subsequently, on 1 June 1991, Mr Zulu was assaulted by members of the SAP and accused of avenging the deaths of his parents.

ZULU, Vusumuzi Petros, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Enseleni, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 10 August 1992 in continuing political conflict in the area.

ZULU, Yanizana Bethah (42), an ANC supporter, had her house at Empangeni, Natal, destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters on 13 April 1992.

ZULU, Zantombazana Beslina (39), had her home in Hopewell, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down in March 1992 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters, allegedly because her son was an active ANC supporter.

ZULU, Zephetheni Alexia (45), lost her house and livestock in an arson attack by IFP supporters during political conflict at Ixopo, Natal, on 22 July 1993.

ZULU, Zimiphi Hlengiwe (23), an Inkatha supporter, had her house burnt down by UDF supporters in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 7 May 1988.

ZUMA, Agnes (42), an Inkatha supporter, was stabbed and her house was set alight by ANC supporters during political conflict in the Zamani settlement, Umlazi, near Durban, on 3 May 1989.

ZUMA, Albert Mandlenkosi (42), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters who attacked his home in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 25 September 1990. Mr Zuma lived in an ANC stronghold. His neighbour was also killed in the attack.

ZUMA, Amos (21), and ANC supporter, had his home in Richmond, Natal, burnt down in April 1992 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZUMA, Andreas Bongji (18), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Meadowlands, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 16 August 1990. After the launch of the IFP in July 1990 and its drive to recruit members on the Rand, cordial relations between residents and hostel-dwellers were replaced with increasing conflict based on ethnicity, residential area and political affiliation.

ZUMA, Anna (55), an ANC member, had her house at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, petrol-bombed by IFP supporters in 1990.

ZUMA, Batsakile (50), an IFP supporter, was shot dead when ANC supporters attacked her home in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993. Seven occupants, including family members and neighbours who had taken shelter at the house because it was fenced, were killed, and three were injured.

ZUMA, Beatrice Makhosazane (33), a UDF supporter, had her home burnt down by Inkatha supporters in March 1990 in KwaZayeka, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZUMA, Bheki (40), an ANC supporter, was stabbed and shot dead by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 20 April 1991.

ZUMA, Bongani Petros (21), an ANC supporter, had his home burnt down by IFP supporters after an IFP rally in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 14 April 1991.

ZUMA, Bonginkosi (27), was burnt to death when his mother's homestead in Inchanga, Natal, was attacked and burnt down by UDF supporters on 27 June 1988. His mother was an IFP supporter.

ZUMA, Bonginkosi Joseph, a UDF supporter, had his house looted and set alight on 6 April 1990 when a group of Inkatha supporters attacked UDF supporters and residents at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in spite of a heavy police and military presence.

Fourteen people were killed and at least 120 homes burnt down. One former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

ZUMA, Busisiwe Catherine (66), had her house burnt down when IFP supporters attacked homes in an ANC stronghold in KwaNxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 25 September 1990. Ms Zuma's son and a neighbour were stabbed and shot to death in the attack.

ZUMA, Charles Bhekamazuma (31), an ANC supporter, had his house in Mahwaqa, near Port Shepstone, Natal, burnt down by named Inkatha supporters on 10 February 1990 in intense conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February.

ZUMA, Christopher (34), was stabbed and injured by IFP supporters who attacked the home of his uncle, an ANC supporter, in Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 23 February 1991. Three family members were killed in the attack.

ZUMA, Collin Sqiro, was injured by a member of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 3 October 1992. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/1998/090).

ZUMA, Dingaan Job (71), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Katlehong, Tvl, on July 31 1993 after the death of a sangoma and IFP member who was killed by a Katlehong self-defence unit. IFP supporters attacked residents at random in retaliation. Mr Zuma was shot dead when police intervened.

ZUMA, Dinguyise Nicholas (40), an ANC supporter, had his house in Etsheni, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 15 March 1990 in intense conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February.

ZUMA, Dudu, was shot and killed by named IFP supporters in Pietermaritzburg during intense political conflict on 26 October 1991. The perpetrators were allegedly looking for Ms Zuma's cousins, who stayed with her, but could not find them. They shot her dead lest she identify them to the police.

ZUMA, Dumazile Mano (35), a UDF supporter, had her house burnt down by named Inkatha supporters at Hambanathi Township, near Stanger, Natal, in April 1985. She was also stoned and injured in the attack.

ZUMA, Ephraim (46), a UDF supporter, was attacked with stones by fellow UDF supporters in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in June 1985, as he returned from work during the SARMCOL STRIKE.

ZUMA, Eric , an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by alleged IFP supporters at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 20 June 1991.

ZUMA, Florence (36), had her house in Howick, Natal, burnt down by Inkatha supporters on 10 July 1990. The previous day her son had died after being beaten by Inkatha supporters. They allegedly believed him to have knowledge of a planned ANC attack on Inkatha supporters.

ZUMA, Jabulani Phillip Zuma (18), was beaten to death by Inkatha supporters in Howick, Natal, on 9 July 1990. The perpetrators allegedly believed him to have knowledge of a planned ANC attack on Inkatha supporters.

ZUMA, Jacob Maxwell Mthokozisi (22), an ANC supporter, was shot and fatally wounded in the head by IFP supporters in Howick, Natal, on 11 January 1991.

ZUMA, Jeremiah (43), an ANC supporter, was killed when SACP supporters threw a hand grenade into his home in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 15 March 1994 in the course of a serious internal feud within the local branch of the ANC-SACP alliance.

ZUMA, John Nkosinathi Fana (20), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, in January 1992 at a time of ongoing tension between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. Police members, who were patrolling the area, allegedly opened fire randomly.

ZUMA, Makholwa Elliot (44), an ANC supporter, had his house in KwaMnyandu, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 28 March 1990, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZUMA, Makhosi Evelina (37), an ANC supporter, was shot and severely injured by named Inkatha supporters in Greytown, Natal, on 5 May 1987.

ZUMA, Maria Nontombi , an IFP supporter, was shot and injured, allegedly by ANC supporters, in Katilehong, Tvl, in 1993. Ms Zuma miscarried three months into her pregnancy as a result of the shooting.

ZUMA, Mbha , an IFP supporter, was shot dead when ANC supporters attacked her home in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993. Seven occupants, including family members and neighbours who had taken shelter at the house because it was fenced, were killed, and three were injured.

ZUMA, Mduduzi Linus (18), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by members of the SADF at Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 18 March 1994.

ZUMA, Michael Siphso (25), an ANC supporter, was shot by Inkatha supporters, at Ashdown, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, on 28 March 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZUMA, Mishack Mdi , was shot dead in KwaMashu, Durban, in October 1993, while in hiding after an arson attack by IFP supporters on his home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban.

ZUMA, Mkheshe Cashina (54), an IFP supporter, escaped a shooting and petrol bomb attack on her house by ANC supporters at Inchanga, Natal, in August 1990.

ZUMA, Mkhululeni Caiphus (44), a UDF supporter, was intimidated and had his home destroyed in an

arson attack by Inkatha supporters in Swayimane, Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg, in April 1991.

ZUMA, Mnuakwa Paulinus (44), was doused in petrol and burnt when named Inkatha supporters attacked the family home in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, in September 1988, allegedly because they were perceived to have UDF sympathies. Two other family members were shot and injured in the attack.

ZUMA, Mshungula Lawrence (62), an ANC supporter, lost his house in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, during 1987.

ZUMA, Mthandeni Emmanuel (19), an ANC supporter, was killed by Inkatha supporters in Engonyameni, near Umlazi, Durban, on 27 January 1988.

ZUMA, Muzinokuthula Jeremiah (24), a UDF supporter, had his house at KwaShange, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down on 28 March 1990, in the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZUMA, Ndabazakhe (60), was shot dead by IFP supporters in Gomane, near Impendle, Natal, on 15 April 1994, a fortnight before the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS, allegedly while trying to prevent the perpetrators from abducting his grandson, an ANC supporter.

ZUMA, Ngezeleni Gertrude (60), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZUMA, Nomakhowe Norah (55), was shot and injured, and had her house petrol-bombed, by IFP supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, on 7 November 1991. Ms Zuma believed the attack to be an attempt to force her exiled son, an ANC supporter, to return home.

ZUMA, Nongilandi Gugu , was shot and stabbed to death by IFP supporters in an attack on a home of ANC supporters at Ngwelezana, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 31 May 1991. Two other family members were killed in the attack, and one was critically injured.

ZUMA, Nontethelelo (9), was shot dead by ANC supporters at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993 during continuing political conflict in the area.

ZUMA, Nora , was stabbed to death by Inkatha supporters in KwaMafunza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in May 1990. Ms Zuma's husband had allegedly clashed with a political leader who had accused him of being a UDF supporter.

ZUMA, Nosihele Viola (25), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZUMA, Ntombi (41), had her house in Georgedale, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down on 7 October 1988 in internal conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters.

ZUMA, Ntombikayise Gladys (42), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Gezibuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, in July 1991. One person was injured and eight houses were set alight when IFP supporters launched an attack on ANC supporters in the area.

ZUMA, Patrick (35), was shot dead by Inkatha supporters at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 1 April 1990, during the SEVEN-DAY WAR.

ZUMA, Paulos Bonginkosi , had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, in February 1993, in ongoing political conflict between the 'RED' and 'GREEN' FACTIONS.

ZUMA, Phineas Thulani (29), was shot and injured by KWAZULU POLICE members, accompanied by a prominent Inkatha supporter, who came to his home in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during 1988, looking for his brother.

ZUMA, Phumele Euginia (31), a UDF supporter, had her home in Mpumuza, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in 1987.

ZUMA, Pintsholi Elias (51), was stabbed to death by IFP supporters in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, on 9 June 1991. See BRUNTVILLE ATTACKS.

ZUMA, Sandile (20), was shot and injured by IFP supporters during political conflict at Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 27 July 1993.

ZUMA, Scebi (18), a UDF supporter, was shot dead during political conflict between Inkatha and UDF supporters in KwaZulu/Natal, during May 1987.

ZUMA, Senzo (19), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 9 August 1991, shortly after a peace meeting.

ZUMA, Siboniso (6), was shot dead by ANC supporters at Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 10 July 1993 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

ZUMA, Sifiso Phillip (32), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by IFP supporters in Umlazi, Durban, on 24 March 1994, in the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZUMA, Thabile (20), was shot dead by members of the SAP in Isipingo, Natal, in a shoot-out between the police and ANC supporters on 22 July 1992. Four others, including her husband, an ANC supporter who was wanted by the police, were also killed in the shoot-out.

ZUMA, Thandeka Dorah (1), was shot and injured when her parents' house in Gezibuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, was attacked by IFP supporters on 11 March 1990. Her twin sister was also shot and injured, and the girls' nanny was shot dead in the attack.

ZUMA, Thandekile Dorah (1), was shot and injured when her parents' house in Gezibuso, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, was attacked by IFP supporters on 11 March 1990. Her twin sister was also shot and injured, and the girls' nanny was shot dead in the attack.

ZUMA, Thembani Doris (32), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Kwa-Nxamalala, KwaZulu, near Pietermaritzburg, during 1990.

ZUMA, Thembekile Annatoria (42), an ANC supporter, had her house in Pietermaritzburg burnt down by named IFP supporters on 4 January 1994.

ZUMA, Tshelubani (50), was shot dead by unidentified persons in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 22 December 1990, allegedly because he was staying in a councillor's house. The house was

also set alight in the attack, which occurred during intense conflict between ANC and IFP supporters.

ZUMA, Ziboyile W innie , had her car set alight alight and house looted by Inkatha supporters during intense political violence in Woodyglen, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 11 February 1990, the same day Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Ten people were killed in the fighting which lasted for a week. See MPUMALANGA ATTACKS. A former IFP member was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

ZUNGA, Emily Mpolai (106), developed breathing problems after her house in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, was tear-gassed by members of the SAP on 3 September 1984 during a stayaway to protest against rent increases in the area.

ZUNGA, Maude Nonhlahlhla , died after teargas was fired into her home by members of the SAP in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Tvl, on 3 September 1984. The incident occurred during a rent boycott and protests against local councillors in the VAAL UPRISING.

ZUNGU, Andretta Lilly (55), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in KwaMbonambi, KwaZulu, near Richards Bay, Natal, on 3 March 1994, during the run-up to the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZUNGU, Angeline Nokuzola (54), an ANC supporter, had her house in Nokweja, Ixopo, Natal, burnt down by IFP supporters in July 1993. One of her sons was shot and killed, and another was shot and injured in the attack.

ZUNGU, Anna Dutshuliwe (53), an ANC supporter, was severely beaten by an IFP supporter in Natal on 3 August 1993.

ZUNGU, Bangani Thandi , had her house destroyed in an arson attack by IFP supporters at NDWEDWE, KwaZulu, near Durban, in January 1991, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

ZUNGU, Bonakele Qondeni (59), had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZUNGU, Boy (36), an ANC supporter, lost his home at Mzimhlope Hostel, Soweto, Johannesburg, in an attack by IFP supporters on 19 August 1990. IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers tried to remove all political opponents from their hostel during intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

ZUNGU, Cynthia Ntombifuthi (22), an ANC supporter, had her house in Molokholo, near Verulam, Natal, looted and vandalised by IFP supporters in March 1993.

ZUNGU, Dankie Makhosonke (39), was shot dead in Empangeni, Natal, on 3 June 1993 during continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area. The family home was burnt down on the same day.

ZUNGU, Dumisani Ernest, an ANC supporter, was shot dead in KwaDlangezwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 September 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZUNGU, Ethel Busisiwe Thandile (40), an Inkatha supporter, had her home in KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack by UDF supporters on 21 August 1989.

ZUNGU, Evens Zikhauleni (41), an IFP supporter, was stabbed and then shot dead by ANC supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 22 December 1993.

ZUNGU, Jabulani, was stabbed to death by UDF supporters on 30 August 1989 in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, during intense political conflict in the area.

ZUNGU, Khulu (27), died when he was stabbed, shot and set alight by named UDF supporters in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, on 6 December 1989. He was allegedly attacked because he refused to take sides in the political conflict.

ZUNGU, Lucky Nhlanhla, was shot dead in Empangeni, Natal, on 25 September 1993 in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZUNGU, Lucky Raphael (21), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named IFP supporters in Nokweja, Ixopo, Natal, in July 1993. His mother's home was burnt down and his brother was shot and injured in the attack.

ZUNGU, Mangalisive Simangele (42), lost her home in Empangeni, Natal, in an arson attack on 3 June 1993. Her husband was shot dead on the same day, in ongoing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZUNGU, Mbongeni Absalom (42), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZUNGU, Mfanomncane (17), was shot dead on 21 January 1993 in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, during ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

ZUNGU, Mhambiseni Jeremiah (52), was killed by IFP supporters at KwaMthethwa, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 6 June 1993 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

ZUNGU, Mholeni Amon (36), an Inkatha supporter, had his house at Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed by ANC supporters on 11 February 1990. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

ZUNGU, Mlungisi Russell (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead by Inkatha supporters in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, on 26 January 1990. Mr Zungu had fled his home in fear of his life, but was killed when he returned home to see his family.

ZUNGU, Moses Siphso, a member of the SAP, was injured when MK operatives opened fire on and threw hand grenades at the Orlando police station in Soweto, Johannesburg, on 2 November 1979. Three MK operatives were granted amnesty for the attack (AC/2000/195).

ZUNGU, Msizi (5), was severely burnt when IFP supporters poured boiling water over him during an attack on his family home in Empangeni, Natal, on 26 March 1992 in ongoing political conflict in the area.

ZUNGU, Mtukabongwa Sikhendle (59), was shot dead in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area during 1993.

ZUNGU, Ngitholiwe (49), had her home in Ndoleni, Richmond, Natal, destroyed on 15 March 1991 in continuing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters

in the area. She and her husband were forced to flee the area.

ZUNGU, Nicholas Thamsanqa Boyi, an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters in Ixopo, Natal, in July 1993, allegedly because he resisted being taken to an IFP training camp.

ZUNGU, Nkosencane Phineas, an IFP supporter, was shot dead when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. Sixteen people were killed and ten were injured in the attack. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack (AC/1999/00225). See TOKOZA ATTACKS.

ZUNGU, Nomsa, had her house at KwaKhoza, KwaZulu, near Eshowe, Natal, burnt down in November 1993 in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

ZUNGU, Ntandoyethu, an MK operative who had returned to South Africa in the early 1980s, disappeared from KwaMashu, Durban, in 1987. His family has not seen or heard from him since, and he is presumed dead.

ZUNGU, Phaphamile Buselaphi (40), had his home in Lindelani, near KwaMashu, Durban, destroyed in an arson attack in ongoing local conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in 1993.

ZUNGU, Phillip (21), was shot dead by members of the SAP on 16 June 1976 on the Orlando highway, Soweto, Johannesburg, during the SOWETO UPRISING.

ZUNGU, Prudence Mphiwe (35), an IFP supporter, had her house in Mevamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, vandalised and set alight by ANC supporters on 22 August 1993. The family fled the area in fear of their lives when their home was destroyed.

ZUNGU, Qinisile Gabazile (39), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZUNGU, Qondeni (57), was killed in Phatheni, Richmond, Natal, on 18 June 1993, during intense political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

ZUNGU, Sabani Jongo, (28), an ANC supporter, had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Sonkombo, Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 16 March 1994. See SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

ZUNGU, Shayizandla Mfaniseni James (37), had his house burnt down at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in intense conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area during 1992.

ZUNGU, Thoko Ntombi (44), a non-partisan, had her home burnt down by unidentified perpetrators at Mombazo, near Shakaville, Natal, in ongoing conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the region in December 1993.

ZUNGU, Thuleleni Joseline (34), an ANC supporter, was stabbed to death by AMASINYORA vigilantes in Bhoboyi, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 5 November 1993.

ZUNGU, T oti, had his home at Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters in ongoing political conflict in January 1991.

ZUNGU, Veronica Vuyelwa (53), had her house near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down on 12 February 1990 in intense political conflict in the area. See RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

ZUNGU, Victor Lungiswa, an ANC supporter, was shot dead by named members of the KWAZULU POLICE in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in February 1993. One of the perpetrators applied for amnesty for his part in the attack.

ZUNGU, Vina Ncedi (27), was on the premises when a limpet mine, planted by MK operatives, exploded during lunchtime at the Wimpy restaurant in Benoni, Tvl, on 30 July 1988. One woman was killed and at least 66 people were injured. Four MK operatives were granted amnesty for the planning and execution of the attack (AC/1999/0294).

ZUNGU, Vokotwaca (55), was shot and injured, and had her house burnt down on 5 April 1994 in Isithebe, KwaZulu, near Mandini, Natal. Nine deaths and seven injuries were recorded in the area that month due to political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters before and during the APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS.

ZUNGU, Yawuza Isaac (36), an IFP supporter, was shot dead by ANC supporters in Mbabe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 20 May 1993.

ZUNGU, Zini, was shot and wounded when ANC security guards opened fire from the ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg, on a crowd of IFP marchers, on 28 March 1994. At least nine marchers were killed and around 100 injured. Ten ANC security guards were granted amnesty (AC/2000/142).

ZUNGU, Zwelakhe (22), had his house in Ongoye, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, burnt down on 27 July 1992 in continuing conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in the area.

ZUZANI, Desmond Lungelo (30), was shot when members of the SAP opened fire on demonstrators in Mossel Bay, Cape, on 5 May 1986. He was detained for three months under emergency regulations upon his discharge from hospital. He was charged with public violence but was acquitted. See POLICE BRUTALITY.

ZWAKALA, Maqhubela Shadrack, a NUMSA member, was shot in the eye in Lebohang, Leandra, Tvl, on 5 May 1987 during conflict between Mpondo- and Sotho-speaking mineworkers.

ZWANE (LEPHUTING), Moko Melita (26), had her house burnt down by a member of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986.

ZWANE, Aaron Mandlenkosi, an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 26 October 1984 in Vosloorus, Tvl, allegedly by members of the SAP as a result of his political involvement in the township.

ZWANE, Aubrey (7), was tear-gassed and shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 November 1992 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area. Both his parents, two siblings and a relative were killed in the attack.

ZWANE, Austin Xolani (19), was shot dead by a named member of the KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) in Lamontville, Durban, in 1990. KZP members were allegedly harassing the community at the time.

ZWANE, Bekayiphi Nelson (24), was shot and wounded in the back, hand and feet in May 1992 in Vosloorus, Tvl, allegedly by members of the security forces, during political conflict in the area.

ZWANE, Bekile Gladys (42), a UDF supporter, had her house in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, burnt down by Inkatha supporters in December 1986. Two of Ms Zwane's sons, both UDF supporters, were killed in political conflict in 1990.

ZWANE, Bhekani Johannes (30), an ANC supporter, was shot dead on 20 January 1990 by SADF members who were patrolling Inanda C Section, near KwaMashu, Durban.

ZWANE, Bheki Patrick, an ANC supporter, was shot and killed by a named Inkatha supporter in Kwa-Makhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 29 April 1990.

ZWANE, Bhekizenso Bhekuyise (44), an IFP supporter, had his house burnt down by ANC supporters in Mavamhlophe, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, on 19 December 1992.

ZWANE, Bongani Jerome (14), was severely beaten by KWAZULU POLICE members in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban in 1986.

ZWANE, Botati Samuel, was stabbed to death and his house was burnt down by a named perpetrator in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 22 April 1986 during tension following clashes between community based civic organisations and local councillors backed by police.

ZWANE, Boy Lucas, was severely assaulted by named members of the SAP at his home in Wattville, Benoni, Tvl, on 1 May 1986 and then detained and severely tortured at Actonville police station. After his release he was dragged behind a police vehicle and left in an empty building. The police were allegedly retaliating for the killing of a policeman by the community.

ZWANE, Busisiwe Alice (18), was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Zwelibanzi, Paulpietersburg, Natal, in ongoing political conflict on 18 November 1993. The gunmen opened fire at a tavern, killing three people and injuring eight, including Ms Zwane and her sister.

ZWANE, Buti Petro (27), was beaten by named perpetrators, allegedly IFP supporters, on 10 October 1993 in Katilehong, Tvl, while returning from the funeral of an ANC supporter.

ZWANE, Charles Bongani (20), an MK operative, was detained repeatedly during 1989 in Protea, Soweto, Johannesburg, because of his political activities.

ZWANE, Dorothy (52), an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 November 1992 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters. Her husband, three children and a young relative were killed in the attack.

ZWANE, Elijah, an ANC supporter, was shot during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters in Soweto, Johannesburg, in May 1992. The family allege that Mr Zwane's life support system was tampered with by a named perpetrator at Baragwanath hospital, Johannesburg, in May 1992 and he died as a result of this. Mr Zwane had been detained several times before his death.

ZWANE, Elizabeth, was severely injured when a bomb, planted by AWWB members, exploded at a taxi rank on the corner of Odendaal and Victoria Streets in

Germiston, Tvl, on the 25 April 1994. Ten people were killed and nine were injured in the blast. Four perpetrators were granted amnesty (AC/1999/0342).

See RIGHT-WING ATTACKS.

ZWANE, Elphas Mbongeni (24), an IFP supporter, was shot by ANC supporters in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, and died in hospital on 5 October 1992. His mother's home was burnt down in the same attack.

ZWANE, Foli, was abducted and severely beaten by alleged security force vigilantes in Leandra, Tvl, in January 1986 during conflict between police and scholars at Impumelelo Combined School.

ZWANE, Getroed Mar gareththa (44), an ANC supporter, lost her house in an arson attack by members of the IFP-aligned TOASTER GANG in Tembisa, Tvl, in June 1993.

ZWANE, Golova Elson (50), lost his home in an arson attack by UDF supporters in Manzini Trust, Hazyview, Tvl, on 5 June 1988.

ZWANE, Gun Solomon (50), had his shop looted and set alight by ANC supporters in Siyathemba, near Balfour, Tvl, on 1 May 1986. There was a stayaway that day in the area to call for it to be declared a public holiday.

ZWANE, Hlome George (45), an ANC supporter, had his house burnt down by Inkatha supporters in Ntshongweni, KwaZulu, near Hammarsdale, Natal, in July 1988.

ZWANE, Jeremiah (20), was tear-gassed and survived an attempted killing by two unidentified perpetrators in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 November 1992. His parents, three siblings and his cousin were killed in the attack during political conflict in the area.

ZWANE, Jerome Bekenkosi (43), was injured when a hand grenade exploded in a bus transporting workers in Heidelberg, Tvl, on 28 September 1992. One person was killed and 13 others were injured in the attack. A labour dispute between striking COSATU-aligned FAWU workers and non-striking IFP-aligned UWUSA workers caused violent conflict from July to December 1992.

ZWANE, Johannes (65), was tear-gassed and shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 11 November 1992 during conflict between ANC and IFP supporters. His wife, three children and a young relative were killed in the attack.

ZWANE, Josiah Zwelakhe (22), an AZAPO supporter, was arrested and detained in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 3 September 1984 during a rent boycott in the area. Prior to his detention he was continually harassed by the Special Branch.

ZWANE, Jwi, a leader of the BLACK CATS, was killed by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in Wesselton, Ermelo, Tvl, in July 1991. Several other people were injured in the incident. Five SDU members were granted amnesty (AC/98/0121).

ZWANE, Khathazile Ivy (64), an IFP supporter, had her house in Wembezi, KwaZulu, near Estcourt, Natal, burnt down by ANC supporters on 5 October 1992. Her son was shot and fatally wounded in the same attack.

ZWANE, Kutshwa Johanna (42), an ANC supporter, was shot by IFP supporters in Daveyton, Tvl, on 15

June 1992.

ZWANE, Lenah Tshidile (61), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 1 March 1990 during conflict between police and the community when police occupied the area.

ZWANE, Linda W illiam, a UDF supporter, was shot dead by named members of the SAP in Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 1 July 1987, after police had accused him and a friend of attacking Inkatha supporters. His friend was also shot dead.

ZWANE, Lindani Steven (19), a UDF supporter, was shot dead near his home in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, on 27 February 1990, allegedly by members of the SAP, who constantly harassed youths affiliated to the ANC. His brother was shot dead two months later, by an IFP supporter.

ZWANE, Lindive Princess (18), lost her home in an arson attack, allegedly carried out by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers, in May 1993 in Katlehong, Tvl, during ongoing political conflict in the area.

ZWANE, Lungie, a Swazi citizen, lost the sight in an eye when the car in which she was travelling was attacked in a night-time ambush by named members of the Eastern Transvaal Security Branch in Mbabane, Swaziland, on 22 May 1987. Three persons were killed in this attack and one other injured.

ZWANE, Mandlenkosi (21), an IFP supporter, was shot dead, allegedly by ANC supporters, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 16 August 1990.

ZWANE, Maureen (18), was shot dead on 4 November 1992 in Sebokeng, Tvl, during violence between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. Both her parents, two siblings and a young relative were killed in the attack.

ZWANE, May Precious (40), an ANC supporter and member of the Wembezi Crisis Committee, was stabbed, beaten and had her house burnt down by IFP supporters in Mahashini, near Estcourt, Natal, on 2 June 1992. The perpetrators tried to enter the hospital in which Ms Zwane was being treated, allegedly in order to kill her. She was transferred to another hospital.

ZWANE, Meli, was attacked by an IFP member during political violence at Wesselsfontein, Eastern Tvl, in 1991. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

ZWANE, Michael Mzikayifani (30), an ANC supporter, had his house destroyed in an arson attack by Inkatha supporters at KwaMashu, Durban, on 2 January 1990.

ZWANE, Mqiniseni Simon (14), was shot and seriously injured by a named Special Branch member in Umlazi, Durban, during political unrest in the area following the killing of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in 1985.

ZWANE, Ncheteka Stello (28), was shot dead by IFP supporters on 17 September 1990 in Vosloorus, Tvl, during clashes between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents.

ZWANE, Nganana Jotham (47), an ANC supporter and community leader, was tortured in detention by members of the SAP in Amsterdam, Tvl, in 1979. Mr Zwane was detained and tortured again in 1980 and 1981.

ZWANE, Njabulo Sbekezelo (3), was severely burnt when his family home was set alight by Inkatha supporters in in KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban, the late 1980s. The Zwane family were UDF supporters.

ZWANE, Ntombifikile Pretty (22), an ANC supporter, had her house in Inanda, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by IFP supporters on 21 February 1991.

ZWANE, Obed (25), was tear-gassed and shot dead in Sebokeng, Tvl, on 4 November 1992 during conflict between IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers and ANC-supporting residents. Both his parents, two siblings and a young relative were killed in the attack.

ZWANE, Patrick Emmanuel , an ANC supporter, was shot dead in Zola, Soweto, Johannesburg, on 27 February 1990 by members of the RASTA GANG, a vigilante group allegedly opposed to the ANC. Mr Zwane was on his way home from an ANC meeting at the time.

ZWANE, Patrick Mandlakayise (28), was shot dead by ANC supporters in KwaNdengezi, KwaZulu, near Pinetown, Natal, on 3 April 1992, in ongoing political conflict in the area.

ZWANE, Philane (10), was killed by a train guard while singing a freedom song in KwaMashu, Durban, on 16 December 1978.

ZWANE, Philisiwe Elsie (28), had her home in Richmond Farm, near KwaMashu, Durban, burnt down by a named ANC supporter on 25 February 1990 in intense political conflict following the UNBANNING of political organisations on 2 February. See also RICHMOND FARM ARSON ATTACKS.

ZWANE, Regina Jabulile (33), an ANC supporter, was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on 27 April 1992 during conflict between IFP and ANC supporters.

ZWANE, Shadrack , an employee of Rand Water, was shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) while he was travelling in a taxi past the informal settlement of Phola Park in Tokoza, Tvl, on 26 February 1992. Four people died and eight were injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty for the attack on the taxi (AC/1999/0225).

ZWANE, Shongani Nonhlanhla (17), was shot and injured by IFP supporters in Zwelibanzi, Paulpietersburg, Natal, on 18 November 1993 during ongoing political conflict in the area. Her sister was also shot and injured.

ZWANE, Sibongile Esther (27), an ANC supporter, was shot, allegedly by IFP supporters and members of the ISU, in Tokoza, Tvl, on 19 April 1994 in political conflict in the run-up to the first democratic election on 27 April 1994.

ZWANE, Sibusiso Bheki Patrick (21), a UDF supporter, was shot dead on 29 April 1990 by a named perpetrator in KwaMakutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. The perpetrator, an IFP member, received a prison sentence and was later denied amnesty for Mr Zwane's killing.

ZWANE, Sipho Gerald (19), was shot dead at a night vigil in Tokoza, Tvl, on 8 October 1993 during political conflict in the area.

ZWANE, Sipho Reginald (48), a UDF supporter and secretary of the Sibongile Civic Association, was detained under emergency regulations in Newcastle, Natal, on 16 June 1986. In detention, Mr Zwane was severely beaten and tortured by members of the Security Branch, allegedly because he was thought to be organising a rates boycott in Sibongile township.

ZWANE, Sipho Russell (26), was shot and injured by members of the SAP in Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, during political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters on 31 March 1990.

ZWANE, Thembi Mavis (32), had her home burnt down by UDF supporters in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, in March 1989 in intensifying political conflict in the area.

ZWANE, Thokozani Alloys , a member of the SAP, was injured when members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) attacked the police station at Nhlalakahle, Greytown, Natal, on 28 October 1991. Mr Zwane's colleague was also injured. One SDU member was granted amnesty (AC/2000/014).

ZWANE, Tony Bongani , was stabbed to death by a named ANC supporter in Umlazi, Durban, on 24 February 1991, allegedly because he was suspected of being a state collaborator.

ZWANE, Viki Robert , a UDF supporter, was shot and injured by Inkatha supporters during intense political conflict at Mpumalanga, KwaZulu, near Durban, on 18 January 1988. One perpetrator was granted amnesty (AC/1999/0332).

ZWANE, Willie Samuel (54), was severely wounded when he was shot twice in the leg in Tembisa, Tvl, on the 17 October 1993 by members of an IFP-aligned vigilante group during ongoing political conflict between ANC and IFP supporters in the area.

ZWANE, Zachariah Himbe , was shot dead in a DRIVE-BY SHOOTING at a *shebeen* in Tembisa, Tvl, on 6 May 1991. The perpetrators were allegedly members of the SAP who were driving a stolen minibus and firing at random.

ZWANE, Zanele , an ANC supporter, was abducted from Umlazi, Durban, by fellow ANC supporters in 1991, allegedly on suspicion of being a collaborator. She has not been seen since and is presumed dead.

ZWANE, Zolile , was injured when Security Branch members detonated an explosive device at the Why Not Club, Vanderbijl Square, Johannesburg, on 21 September 1988. The club was targeted because it was allegedly frequented by ANC supporters. Four members of the Witwatersrand Security Branch, including the divisional commander and his deputy, and one *Vlakplaas* operative were granted amnesty for the operation (AC/2001/046).

ZWANE-NDLOVU, Nomasonto Georgina (39), was shot dead, allegedly by IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers, in Katilehong, Tvl, on 25 May 1993 during political conflict in the area.

ZWELIBANZI, Trayishile Samuel (27), an ANC member, was tortured in detention by named members of the Ciskei Police in June 1984 at Tamara and Zwelitsha police stations, Ciskei, and forced to sign a statement admitting to the murder of a policeman.

ZWELIFILE, Bonakele Bongani (25), was shot dead by members of the SADF during intense public unrest in DUNCAN VILLAGE, East London, on 13 August 1985. The soldiers alleged that Mr Zwelifile had thrown stones at them.

ZWELINZIMA, Lucas Nor man, was shot dead by members of the SAP in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, on 23 March 1990 when police opened fire on an ANC-led march. Nine other people died in the incident.

ZWENI, Douglas Ndakuthini (62), a local COUNCILLOR, was stabbed and stoned to death by UDF supporters in Zolani, Ashton, Cape, on 26 April 1986. Mr Zweni was on night patrol as part of the AMASOLOMZI vigilante group. Four people were charged for the murder but were acquitted.

ZWENI, Ernest, a member of the SAP, was one of two policemen shot and injured by members of an ANC self-defence unit (SDU) in a tavern in Daveyton, Tvl, on 1 August 1993. Two SDU members were refused amnesty (AC/2000/227).

ZWENI, Lebuti (18), an ANC supporter, was shot dead by a named member of the Ciskei Police during protests in Ekuphumleni, Ciskei, on 21 August 1985.

ZWENI, Louis, was shot dead in Tokoza, Tvl, on 22 May 1993 by a group of armed attackers, allegedly IFP supporters, who came into his shop and fired at random, seriously injuring his sister and young cousin. Earlier that day nine people were killed and 69 injured in clashes between ANC supporters, IFP supporters and police. The violence erupted after a group of unidentified gunmen fired at Tokoza hostel during a march organised by the ANC to present a petition at the Alberton police station.

ZWENI, Mpantesa William (45), lost his home in an arson attack by WITDOEKE vigilantes in KTC, Cape Town, on 9 June 1986, during the mass destruction of UDF-supporting squatter camps by the vigilantes, acting with the tacit approval and aid of the security forces. More than 60 people were killed and 20 000 homes destroyed in the attacks.

ZWENI, Xolile Milton (30), a Transkei Defence Force (TDF) soldier, was killed during an ATTEMPTED COUP IN UMTATA, TRANSKEI, on 22 November 1990. Seven TDF soldiers were killed and some 33 wounded. Four of the coup conspirators were granted amnesty. Six *Vlakplaas* operatives were granted amnesty for providing arms for the attempted coup. An SADF Military Intelligence operative who applied for amnesty for his role in supporting the coup later withdrew his application (AC/2000/036; AC/2001/095 and AC/2001/199).

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party	MK	Umkhonto weSizwe (ANC)
ACO	Alexandra Civic Organisation	MUFC	Mandela United Football Club
ADM	African Democratic Movement	NACTU	National Council of Trade Unions
ANC	African National Congress	NECC	National Education Crisis Committee
ANCWL	African National Congress Women's League	NEHAWU	National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League	NOYCO	Noupoort Youth Congress (UDF-aligned)
APLA	Azanian People's Liberation Army (PAC)	NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
ARM	African Resistance Movement	NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
AVF	Afrikaner Volksfront	NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging	OFS	Orange Free State
AYCO	Alexandra Youth Congress (Cape)	PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
AZANLA	Azanian National Liberation Army	PASO	Pan-African Students Organisation
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation	PAYCO	Port Alfred Youth Congress (UDF-aligned)
AZASCO	Azanian Students' Congress	PEBCO	Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation People's Congress
AZASM	Azanian Students' Movement	PEWO	Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation
BAAB	Bantu Affairs Administration Board	PEYCO	Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (UDF-aligned)
BC	Black consciousness	PPP	Progressive People's Party
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement	Putco	The Public Utility Transport Company
BCP	Basotholand Congress Party	PWV	Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging
BLA	Black Local Authorities	SAAF	South African Air Force
BMW	Bonteheuvel Military Wing	SAAWU	South African Allied Workers' Union
BPC	Black People's Convention	SACC	South African Council of Churches
BTR	British Tyre and Rubber	SACCAWU	SA Chemical, Catering and Allied Workers' Union
BWB	Boere Weerstandsbeweging	SACO	Sivukile Action Committee
CAWU	Construction and Allied Workers' Union	SACP	South African Communist Party
CAYCO	Cape Youth Congress	SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions
CCAWUSA	Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA	SADF	South African Defence Force
CCB	Civil Co-operation Bureau	SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers' Union
CDF	Ciskei Defence Force	SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers' Union
CID	Criminal Investigation Division	SANCO	South African National Civics Association
CNIP	Ciskei National Independence Party	SANSCO	South African National Student Congress (formerly AZASO)
Contralesa	Council of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (UDF-aligned)	SAP	South African Police
COSAS	Congress of South African Students	SARHWU	South African Railways and Harbour Workers' Union
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions (UDF-aligned)	SASCO	South African Students' Congress
CP	Conservative Party	SASM	South African Students' Movement
CPC	Coloured Peoples' Congress	SASO	South African Students' Organisation
CRADORA	Cradock Residents' Association	SAYCO	South African Youth Congress (UDF-aligned)
DNP	Dikwankwetla National Party, QwaQwa	SDU	self-defence unit (ANC)
DPSC	Detainees' Parents' Support Committee	SEYCO	Seymour Youth Congress (UDF-aligned)
ECC	End Conscription Campaign	SOSCO	Soweto Students' Congress (UDF-aligned)
ELYCO	East London Youth Congress (UDF-aligned)	SOYCO	Soweto Youth Congress
FAWU	Food and Allied Workers' Union	SPU	self-protection unit (IFP)
FEDTRAW	Federation of Transvaal Women	SRC	Students' Representative Council
GRAYCO	Graaff-Reinet Youth Congress (UDF-aligned)	SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
HOYCO	Hofmeyr Youth Congress (UDF-aligned)	TDF	Transkei Defence Force
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission	TDP	Transkei Democratic Party
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party	Tvl	Transvaal
ISU	Internal Stability Unit	UDF	United Democratic Front
JCA	Jouberton Civic Association	UMTAYCO	Umtata Youth Congress (UDF-aligned)
JMC	Joint Management Centre	UWO	United Women's Organisation
JORAC	Joint Rent Action Committee	UWUSA	United Workers' Union of South Africa (Inkatha-aligned)
KAYCO	Kagiso Youth Congress (UDF-aligned)	UYCO	Uitenhage Youth Congress (UDF-aligned)
KYC	Khutsong Youth Congress (UDF-aligned), (also KHUYOCO)	VTSM	Vaal Triangle Student Movement
KZP	KwaZulu Police	WEBTA	Western Cape Black Taxi Association
LLA	Lesotho Liberation Army	YCW	Young Christian Workers
MACWUSA	Motor and Component Workers' Union of SA		
MAWU	Metal and Allied Workers' Union		

■ Glossary

AK47: an automatic rifle of Soviet origin

Aliwal North shootings : On 22 August 1985, clashes between students and police in Aliwal North, Cape, resulted in the death of at least one person, a student leader and activist. The following day, over 24 people were killed when police, standing on top of a building in Dukathole township, opened fire on protesting youths. Chaos followed in the township with arson attacks and further clashes between youth and police. The shootings were followed by detentions, and in May 1986, 23 people were charged with public violence related to the August 1985 events. Inquests subsequently found nobody criminally liable for the deaths.

AmaAfrika: an anti-UDF vigilante group that grew out of the conflict between UDF and AZAPO supporters in Uitenhage during 1986. It was headed by the Reverend Ebenezer Magina, who had been expelled from AZAPO in Port Elizabeth in January 1986.

Amabhaca: municipal workers who fought against the community in Mhlakeng, Randfontein, Tvl

AmaButho (Eastern Cape): quasi-military UDF formations consisting of both armed soldiers and ordinary civilians, with their own command structures. While neither the UDF nor the ANC controlled these structures directly, they were seen at the time as being broadly in line with the strategy of a 'PEOPLE'S WAR'. They were most active in the 1980s and particularly in areas around the Eastern Cape.

AmaButho (KwaZulu/Natal): Inkatha and IFP supporters organised into a 'community guard force' made up of Inkatha or IFP supporters, controlled by local *indunas* and active in areas around KwaZulu/Natal, particularly during the late 1980s and early 1990s

amaqabane: militant ANC and UDF supporters; also known as 'comrades'

AmaRussians: a state-supported vigilante group opposed to the UDF and ANC. They were supported by the police and were active primarily on the mines in the OFS and on the Rand.

Amasinyora: a gang of Inkatha (later IFP) supporters who, with the backing of the security forces and the KWAZULU POLICE, engaged in vigilante-type activities to counter the UDF and ANC in the Lindelani and KwaMashu areas of Durban, and in some areas on the Natal south coast.

Amasolomzi: an informal group of community 'police' active in crushing local support for the UDF and ANC in the rural Cape towns of Ashton and Zolani in the late 1980s. In a number of violent attacks, the Amasolomzi acted in concert with the police to arrest and assault scores of people, and were themselves victims of counter-attacks by UDF supporters.

Amavaravara: an ANC/UDF-supporting breakaway vigilante group

ANC camps : The ANC established bases in several African countries. The Department of Intelligence and Security (DIS), together with the military headquarters

of MK, had control over residential centres and the Angolan camps, including 'Camp 32' or the Morris Seabelo Rehabilitation Centre (popularly known as 'Quatro'), Panga, Viana and the Nova Catengue camp. Following the SADF bombing of Nova Catengue camp in 1979, there was an atmosphere of paranoia about infiltration by South African agents. A number of ANC members were detained and tortured; some died as a result of assaults and some were executed.

Dissatisfaction in MK training camps in Angola led to mutinies at the Viana and Pango camps during 1984. Both mutinies were put down with loss of lives on both sides. Many MK members were detained in connection with the uprisings, and some were tortured. Two groups of mutineers were tried by military tribunals and seven were executed.

ANC landmine campaign : The ANC's landmine campaign from 1985 to 1987 targeted military patrols in the mainly northern and eastern areas of the Transvaal. A number of civilians – white farmers, their families, and black farm labourers – were killed when these explosives were detonated. The campaign was called off in the light of its high civilian casualty rate.

APLA: Azanian People's Liberation army, military wing of the PAC, formed in 1967

APLA attacks : During the early 1990s, the PAC proclaimed a military strategy of a 'protracted people's war', which involved the infiltration of APLA guerrillas into the country to conduct rural guerrilla warfare. The initial targets of such attacks were members of the security forces and white farmers who were perceived to be the frontline of defence for the former apartheid government.

A 'repossession unit' was also set up, in which APLA cells conducted armed robberies on the instructions of the APLA High Command to raise funds and/or obtain weapons and vehicles to enable APLA to carry out its military strategy. Civilians were killed or injured in many of these robberies.

In 1993, attacks on civilians increased sharply with a series of high-profile attacks by APLA cadres on public places, including restaurants, hotels and bars, in urban areas. These were usually, but not always, places frequented by white civilians. The PAC/APLA claimed that the attacks were not racist in character, but directed against the apartheid government as all whites, according to the PAC, were complicit in the policy of apartheid. The 1993 attack on the St James' Church, Kenilworth, Cape Town, produced the highest number of casualties, with 11 people dead and 58 injured.

April 1994 elections : South Africa's first democratic elections began on 27 April 1994 and continued for three days. In some areas of Natal, polling was extended into a fourth day. The elections brought to a conclusion a four-year process of constitutional negotiations and brought about a dramatic reduction in political conflict and violence around the country. The ANC won 62,6% of the vote, and a Government of National Unity was constituted. The elections were followed by the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as President on 10 May 1994.

askari: a former guerrilla 'turned' or recruited by the security forces

A-Team (Chesterville, Durban): The Chesterville A-Team, a state-sponsored vigilante group composed of Inkatha supporters, was set up by the Security Branch in 1985 in Chesterville, Durban, to counter the activities of the UDF, COSAS and other civic organisations in the area. Political tensions between UDF supporters and members of the Chesterville A-Team frequently resulted in attacks against UDF and ANC supporters.

A-Team (OFS): The A-Team, also known as the 'Phakathis' was a vigilante group set up and headed by a well-known local councillor in the Thabong area of Welkom to counter the activities of the UDF primarily, and in a smaller measure, the ANC. The A-Team carried out a reign of terror in several areas of the province, particularly in Thabong and Parys, under the guise of 'maintaining order'. In at least one case, the A-Team is alleged to have been supported by police and municipal structures.

Attempted coup in Umtata, Transkei: On 22 November 1990, Colonel Craig Duli, a former member of the Transkei military council, led a coup attempt against Bantu Holomisa's Transkei military government with the support of members of the SA security forces. A group of heavily armed men attacked the Transkei Defence Force's Ncise base outside Umtata. By the end of the day, at least 15 men were dead, including Duli himself.

bakkie: a pick-up truck

Balaclava group: During the period 1991 to 1994, men clad in balaclavas undertook ongoing arson, shooting and armed robbery attacks on ordinary residents and ANC supporters in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. Some attacks targeted individuals, others whole communities. Local residents called the attackers 'Balaclavas', although evidence suggests that there were several groups participating in such attacks. The Commission found that persons associated with the Lingeletu West town council, former SPECIAL CONSTABLES, persons involved in the taxi conflicts, and criminal elements all played a role.

bantustan: a homeland or territory – the 'independent' territories of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei (TBVC), and self-governing territories of Lebowa, Gazankulu, KwaZulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele

Bergville attack: On 20 June 1993, IFP supporters attacked ANC supporters during the launch of an ANC branch at Woodford Stadium, near Bergville, Natal. Five ANC supporters were killed. A further eight ANC supporters were killed in attacks on homes following the aborted launch. More than 50 youths were forced to flee the area.

'Bethal 18': In 1977, 86 PAC members were arrested on various charges related to furthering the aims of the PAC and 'fomenting revolution'. Eighteen accused, including PAC leader Zephaniah Mothopeng, were convicted of these charges in 1978. The trial was held in the small rural town of Bethal, Tvl, in order to isolate the accused and reduce media coverage. It was also

held *in camera*. By the time the trial opened, four of those detained in connection with the trial had died in detention. It is alleged that all the accused had been severely tortured while awaiting trial.

Bisho massacre: On 7 September 1992, the ANC, SACP and COSATU organised a march from King William's Town to the Ciskei capital of Bisho to demand free political activity in the homeland and the removal of then military ruler of the Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Protesters had been prohibited by court order from entering Bisho. When part of the crowd tried to gain access to Bisho, Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) troops opened fire, killing 30 people, including one member of the CDF. Approximately 200 people were wounded in the shooting. Two members of the former CDF were refused amnesty.

Black Cats: a gang of IFP-aligned vigilantes that conducted attacks on ANC members, principally in Wesselton and Ermelo, Eastern Transvaal, from 1990 to 1992. The gang, which received military training from Inkatha at the Mkuze camp in KwaZulu Natal in the early 1990s, was supported by certain community councillors, CAPRIVI TRAINEES and members of the SAP.

black spot: black-owned land surrounded by white-owned land

Boipatong massacre: Forty-five people died and 27 others were seriously injured on 17 June 1992 when several hundred IFP-supporting residents of the KwaMadala hostel launched attacks on the Boipatong community, near Vanderbijlpark, Tvl, during a period of escalating violence between the ANC and IFP in the area. Victims included at least nine children, two babies and 17 women, one of whom was pregnant. Residents were raped, hacked, stabbed, shot, beaten and disembowelled. This attack was allegedly planned and carried out with the aid of the police.

'Bongolethu Thre': Three children were shot dead by named members of the SAP in Bongolethu, Outdshoorn, Cape, on 17 June 1985, when the police members concealed themselves inside the home of a policeman who had been attacked, and opened fire on those entering or approaching the house.

Bonteheuwel Military Wing: A semi-formal clandestine group of mainly teenagers and school pupils who engaged in militant protest actions in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town.

Bophuthatswana invasion: On 11 March 1994 hundreds of AWB members drove into Bophuthatswana following a request for assistance from Chief Mangope to help restore control in the homeland in the face of a strike by civil servants demanding that the Mangope government introduce political reforms and adjust to the changing political circumstances in South Africa. Under the leadership of AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, AWB members randomly attacked Mafikeng residents, killing 42 people. Three AWB members were shot dead by members of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force.

Bruntville attacks: Between November 1990 and December 1993, hostilities between IFP-supporting

hostel-dwellers and the mainly ANC-supporting township residents in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, frequently resulted in violent conflict, with lives lost and houses destroyed in arson attacks.

On **8 November 1990**, approximately 1200 hostel-dwellers carried out a pre-dawn attack on Bruntville residents following the killing of an IFP supporter. Residents alleged that the police assisted the attackers and failed to respond to warnings that attacks were imminent. Sixteen residents were killed. Fifteen hundred people fled their homes.

On **10 June 1991**, six people died in two days of fighting when hostel-dwellers attacked local residents. At least five houses of ANC supporters were burnt down, while more than half the population fled the township. On **3 and 4 December 1991**, a large armed group of hostel-dwellers, supported by the security forces, launched two attacks on ANC supporters. Eighteen ANC supporters were killed, and at least a hundred homes were burnt or damaged.

Buffel: (Afrikaans: buffalo) armoured personnel carrier used by SADF and SAP

Caprivi trainees : A state-sponsored paramilitary unit set up to provide the IFP with a covert military capacity. The trainees were given paramilitary training by the SADF in the Caprivi Strip during 1986 and were later deployed in areas around KwaZulu-Natal against the political enemies of the state and Inkatha, namely the UDF and ANC and their allies.

Casspir : police riot-control and combat vehicle

Chamberlain (Jacobs, Durban): the scene of a limpet mine explosion on 9 January 1986, in which a member of the SAP was fatally wounded and two workers and two policemen were injured. The mine, placed by MK operatives, exploded at an electricity sub-station in Chamberlain after an earlier decoy explosion had lured police and workers to the scene. Two MK operatives were granted amnesty for the incident.

Chimora settlement attacks : On 16 January 1992, IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KwaZulu Police (KZP), attacked the ANC-dominated Chimora informal settlement at Umlazi, Durban. Six people, including one KZP member, were killed in the fighting, and several homes were destroyed by fire.

Church Street bombing, Pretoria : On 29 May 1983, MK members detonated an explosive device outside the administrative headquarters of the South African Air Force (SAAF) in Church Street, Pretoria. According to ANC policy, security force personnel and military installations were targeted in a systematic bombing campaign. Twenty-one people were killed and 219 injured in this attack. Eleven of the dead were SAAF employees. Two others were the MK operatives who had executed the attack. The remaining casualties were civilians. Evidence before the Committee revealed that up to 84 of the injured had been SAAF employees. Three MK members were granted amnesty for their roles in the event.

City Rocks shooting : On 26 March 1986, police opened fire on a crowd of people protesting against

police brutality at City Rocks stadium in Winterveld, Bophuthatswana, killing 11 people and injuring many others. In the aftermath, police allegedly assaulted fleeing people, dragged them out of houses and subjected them to severe battering, both at the scene and at GaRankuwa police station.

collaborator : an informer or 'sell-out'; one who agreed to collaborate with the state or security forces
'comrades' : UDF and ANC supporters, civilian and combatant

councillors : Conflict between local councillors and political activists intensified in townships around the country during the 1980s, as pressure mounted on councillors to resign their positions on councils created under the Black Local Authorities Act and without popular support. Councillors who refused to resign risked attacks on their homes, families and business premises.

'Cradock Four' : Four Eastern Cape UDF activists were abducted and assassinated by members of the security police on 27 June 1985 as they drove back to Cradock from a meeting in Port Elizabeth. The four were Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkonto and Fort Calata from Cradock, and Siculo Mhlauli from Oudtshoorn. Before their deaths, all had been frequently detained, tortured and harassed by the police. Their deaths sparked a national outcry and resulted in street protests in many regions across the country.

Delmas treason trial : Twenty-two Transvaal UDF leaders were tried for treason in January 1986. Eleven were convicted in December 1988 and were given sentences from five to 11 years' imprisonment. The Appellate Division overturned the convictions at the end of 1989.

Dikwankwetla National Party (DNP) : ruling party of the QwaQwa homeland administration, headed by Mr Kenneth Mopeli

drive-by shootings : Between January and October 1993, 139 people were killed in drive-by shootings and attacks on taxis in communities across the East Rand. Gunmen opened fire from fast moving cars, often shooting indiscriminately at people. This strategy was adopted by the IFP and other political groupings, and was designed to sow terror in the hearts of communities. Many such attacks were directed at mourners gathered at night vigils. All the shootings were marked by repeated allegations that the police failed to respond to calls for assistance, sometimes allegedly allowing the killers to drive through townships for several hours.

Duncan Village : Violence erupted in Duncan Village, outside East London, following the funeral of slain Durban-based UDF leader Victoria Mxenge in nearby Rayi village on 11 August 1985. Returning mourners carried out arson attacks on various buildings including the rent office, schools, a beerhall, a bottle store and a community centre. That evening, rampaging youths swept through the Ziphunzana area of the township, singing freedom songs. All six community councillors' homes were burnt down and homes of police officers and suspected collaborators were also attacked.

Violence continued on the following days with looting and burning of commercial and delivery vehicles, and running battles between youths and members of the security forces, who resorted to deadly force to restore order in the area, arresting many injured people as they were being treated at a local church aid centre. Five people were dead by 14 August. By 16 August, the toll had risen to 19 people dead and 138 injured.

Eagles Club : a state-sponsored vigilante youth organisation in the OFS, opposed to the UDF and ANC

East Rand violence : From mid-1985 until the early 1990s, East Rand townships experienced some of the most violent conflict ever experienced in the PWV area. TRAIN VIOLENCE, TAXI VIOLENCE, conflict between township residents and HOSTELS, between ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNITS (SDUs) and IFP SELF-PROTECTION UNITS (SPUs) and the activities of the KHUMALO GANG resulted in an unprecedented number of deaths and injuries. Covert operations by security force members also contributed to a general escalation of violence in the region. The security forces repeatedly ignored warnings of impending attacks and frequently refused to become involved in what it termed the 'black-on-black' conflict. They were accused by many of orchestrating and fanning conflict in order to undermine and weaken the recently unbanned ANC.

Ekuthuleni attacks : On 2 February 1992, IFP supporters, allegedly accompanied by members of the KWAZULU POLICE, carried out two attacks on an informal settlement at Ekuthuleni, Umlazi, Durban. Eight people were killed and ten were injured, while more than 120 homes were burnt. More than 50 further homes were burnt down in the days following the attacks.

End Conscription Campaign (ECC) : a group campaigning against the conscription of white males over the age of 17

Eshowe attacks : On 27 November 1993, IFP supporters carried out several attacks in the areas surrounding Eshowe, Natal, allegedly at the instigation of a local IFP-supporting chief who wanted to drive ANC supporters out of the area. Several people were killed there that month, and more than 45 homes were burnt down.

Esikhawini attacks : Victims' statements refer particularly to two incidents at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, in February and August 1992:

On **16 February 1992**, IFP supporters returning in buses from a rally called by tribal chiefs in the area attacked three ANC-dominated hostels and 17 homes at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. At least 12 people were killed and 22 injured in this attack. The ANC claimed that its supporters were attacked in full view of the SAP and KWAZULU POLICE (KZP) by *impis* bussed into the area for the meeting.

On **2 August 1992**, men wearing balaclavas and armed with KZP pump-action shotguns carried out several attacks on homes in Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal. At least 11 people were killed and three injured in the incident, which was thought to have been the work of the Esikhawini hit squad. The

killings took place following a community march to the local KZP police station to protest against the conduct of members of the KZP.

Esikhawini hit squad : A group based at Esikhawini, KwaZulu, near Empangeni, Natal, comprising local IFP officials, senior members of the KWAZULU POLICE, CAPRIVI TRAINEES and other IFP members. The group planned and executed attacks on ANC supporters in the Esikhawini area and in other areas of northern Natal between 1991 and 1993.

Folweni massacre : On 26 July 1992, a group of IFP supporters armed with AK47 rifles attacked several homes in Folweni, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban. Eight people were killed and at least ten seriously injured. The attackers torched eight homes, burning three people to death. The attack coincided with a local stayaway to commemorate the killing of MK operative Sbu Mkhize by police.

Gabor one car bomb : A car bomb exploded in Gaborone, Botswana, on 22 April 1987, killing a woman, her daughter and an infant niece, injuring another family member and causing extensive damage to property. The operation, targeting senior members of MK's Special Operations Unit, was undertaken jointly by the Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches and SADF Special Forces. The head of the Security Branch and four Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branch operatives were granted amnesty for this operation.

Gabor one raid : On 14 June 1985, SADF Special Forces, together with members of the Security branch, launched a cross-border attack ANC targets in Gaborone, Botswana. Twelve people were killed and six wounded in the operation. Among those killed were eight South Africans, two Botswana nationals, a Somali and a Lesotho citizen. The ANC claimed that only five of those killed had links with the organisation.

Gadaffis : a breakaway group from the UDF-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS supported by younger 'comrades'. At least 17 people died in intense political conflict between the Gadaffis and the Zim-zims, another UDF-aligned breakaway faction. Police exploited the divisions between the two factions.

Gazankulu hand grenade attack : On 28 March 1986, foreign soldiers, working under the auspices of the SADF, threw hand grenades into a packed shebeen in Lulekani, Gazankulu, causing an unknown number of deaths and injuries. The Mozambican and Angolan soldiers were allegedly deployed by the SADF to destroy youth activists. The presence of the soldiers in the area caused considerable tension as they were perceived by youth activists to be agents of the state. Youths gathered in the shebeen were strategising about the removal of the foreign mercenaries from the area when the attack took place.

Gengeshe : In April 1992, IFP supporters carried out a series of arson attacks on houses in Gengeshe, Richmond, Natal. Most of the victims identified themselves as ANC supporters. Many of the attacks were described as revenge attacks for the earlier

killing of an IFP supporter; some seemed to be related to an IFP membership recruitment drive. One man was injured and a number of houses were set alight.

Green Berets: A vigilante group composed of members of the ruling Ciskei National Independent Party (CNIP) set up to protect the interests of the party in the early 1970s. In 1974 the Green Berets assaulted Mdantsane commuters during a boycott of the local bus company. In 1977 they re-emerged to target Mdantsane schoolchildren who were boycotting classes in protest over Steve Biko's death in detention. In the 1980s the Ciskei government made available resources and premises for the training and operation of the group to enable it to target all forms of opposition to homeland authorities.

'Guguletu Seven' : On 3 March 1986 seven men aged between 16 and 23 were shot dead in a field at Guguletu, Cape Town. Police claimed that the victims were known 'terrorists' and had been killed during a legitimate anti-terrorist operation. A magistrate at two inquests made the same finding. The Commission's investigation into the incident revealed an extensive cover-up by the security forces involved in the incident. Security Branch members from Cape Town and *Vlakplaas* infiltrated *askaris* into a group of seven activists, planned an ambush of police personnel to lure the youths into a trap, then killed them. Two Security Branch members from *Vlakplaas* were granted amnesty.

helicopter torture: a method of torture in which the victim was cuffed by the ankles and wrists and suspended upside down from a pole between two tables.

Hippo: an armoured personnel carrier used by SADF and SAP

Hlobane Colliery attack : On 6 June 1986, two busloads of Inkatha supporters attacked striking NUM members attending a meeting in the company hall at the Hlobane Colliery, near Vryheid, Natal. Eleven miners were killed and 115 injured.

hostels : Hostels in the provinces of KwaZulu/Natal and the Transvaal, particularly in the PWV (Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging) area, became strongholds of the IFP in the early nineties. They became no-go areas for non-Inkatha residents of adjacent communities. In turn, IFP hostel-dwellers were increasingly alienated in these communities and were frequently attacked by resident youth activists. IFP-supporting hostel-dwellers were, however, responsible for launching several large-scale attacks on adjacent townships and informal settlements in these provinces. The overwhelming majority of victims in these attacks were non-IFP township residents.

iKongo : see PONDOLAND REVOLT

imbizo : a conference called by traditional leaders
Imbokodo (Mbokodo) : an organisation established in 1985 by KwaNdebele's political elite to realise the KwaNdebele government's drive to incorporate the areas of Moutse and Leandra in order to make the homeland a more viable geographic and political entity. Imbokodo

members carried out brutal attacks in which hundreds of ordinary residents were assaulted and killed. These attacks radicalised a previously apolitical population. 'Comrades', in turn, ruthlessly and methodically attacked suspected Imbokodo members and their families. Imbokodo members were therefore both perpetrators and victims of the violence that engulfed and nearly destroyed the homeland from mid-1995 to 1988.

impi: a Zulu regiment

Incorporation of townships into homelands caused conflict between different political parties in various places:

Incorporation of Botshabelo into QwaQwa : From 1986 to 1990, tensions ran high in Botshabelo, a township near Bloemfontein, between residents who opposed incorporation into the QwaQwa homeland and supporters of the ruling Dikwanketla National Party (DNP), which promoted incorporation.

Incorporation of Ekangala and Moutse into KwaNdebele : In order to boost KwaNdebele's viability as an 'independent' state, the South African government planned in 1983 to incorporate these two historically non-Ndebele areas into KwaNdebele.

The tribal authority of Moutse repeatedly warned the apartheid state against incorporation. Their requests were ignored and Moutse became embroiled in violent political conflict during which hundreds of people died or were injured in clashes with the homeland police and with Imbokodo vigilantes.

When the government announced that the nearly 5000 residents of Ekangala, near Bronkhorstspuit, would be incorporated into KwaNdebele, a wave of popular unrest swept through the area. The Ekangala Action Committee (EAC) led a campaign of mass resistance to which the KwaNdebele Police and Imbokodo vigilantes responded with assaults, terror attacks and abductions.

Incorporation of Goederede into Lebowa : In July 1975, supporters of Chief Jack Mphahlele Mahlangu in Goederede, near Dennilton TvI, launched widespread attacks on residents who resisted incorporation into Lebowa.

Incorporation of Hambanathi into KwaZulu : At various times in 1983 to 1985, conflict over incorporation erupted in Hambanathi, near Verulam, Natal, between Inkatha supporters who were pro-incorporation and UDF affiliates, including JORAC (the Joint Rent Action Committee) and the Hambanathi Residents' Association, who opposed incorporation. In one incident in August 1984, two policemen and a prominent member of the Hambanathi Residents' Association were killed, and more than 100 residents were forced to flee the area.

induna: local headman

Inkatha gang (OFS): A vigilante group formed by local councillors to cripple the ANC's campaign to force the resignation of the local council in Rweleleyathunya, Rouxville, OFS, in 1990. Gang members carried out arson attacks on ANC supporters' houses during that year.

Inkatha : the Zulu cultural/ nationalist organisation, which became the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in mid-1990.

Jack Rollers gang : a state-sponsored criminal gang that was used to target political activists in Soweto, Johannesburg, during 1990

Kabasa gang : a vigilante group formed in the Eastern Transvaal in 1986. The gang operated with SAP and SADF support in the Nelspruit and KaNgwane areas of KaNyamazane, Pienaars Trust, Luphisa Trust and Kabokweni, to crush political unrest associated with the 1986 school boycotts in these areas.

Khetisi Kheswa gang : a vigilante group led by Victor Khetisi Kheswa, sometimes referred to as the 'Vaal monster', which began as a criminal gang and later developed links with the IFP. With state support, the gang was implicated in many acts of violence in Sebokeng, Tvl, during 1991. Although acquitted for lack of evidence, the Commission found the Khetisi Kheswa gang to have been responsible for the NANGALEMBE NIGHT VIGIL MASSACRE on 12 January 1991, an attack which precipitated the formation of ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNITS (SDUs) in the Vaal area.

Khotso House bombing : On 1 September 1988, Khotso House, the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the UDF was damaged extensively by explosives set by members of the Security Branch. Twenty-three people were treated for shock. In October, Khanya House, the offices of the South African Bishops' Conference (SACBC) was damaged in an arson and limpet mine attack. Senior security force officers and Security Branch admitted to the Commission that they were ordered by either the then State President or senior members of the government to carry out the attacks.

Khumalo gang : a vigilante group led by the Reverend Mbhekisini Khumalo in Tokoza, on the East Rand. The gang played a significant role in EAST RAND VIOLENCE between 1991 and 1993 and was associated with the murder of key political leaders in the region. ANC members were abducted, assaulted, hacked and shot. Many were killed in targeted killings and shooting sprees. The gang was integrated into the organisational hierarchy of the IFP and executed projects under its leadership and direction.

Khutsong Youth Congress : From 1989, divisions in the UDF-aligned Khutsong Youth Congress gave rise to the emergence of two factions, namely the 'Zimzims' and the 'Gadaffis'. At least seventeen people were killed 'extra-judicially' in conflict following the split. Attacks and counter-attacks between the factions continued. The police in the area took advantage of the conflict, and scores of activists on both sides were detained, tortured and killed.

kitskonstabel: (Afrikaans: 'instant constable'); see SPECIAL CONSTABLES

Koevoet : a police counter-insurgency unit set up in South West Africa in 1979 by members of the SAP Security Branch. It comprised recruits mostly from the local population who were trained as a mobile unit to

gather intelligence, track guerrillas and kill them. Koevoet (Afrikaans for 'crowbar') soon gained a reputation for brutality, largely because of its methods of interrogating and torturing local people and for its heavy-handed presence in the operational areas. In the early to mid-1980s, at the height of its war with SWAPO, Koevoet claimed a kill rate of around 300 to 500 people a year, for which its members were paid a bounty per corpse.

Kutloanong mob attack : Four persons who drove their vehicle into Kutloanong, Odendaalsrus, OFS, on 29 September 1990, were killed in a mob attack led by ANC 'comrades'. The 'comrades' told the Commission that the attack was in response to rumours of an intended attack by vigilantes or right-wingers. The only female victim of the attack was raped, killed and mutilated with an axe. Four applicants were refused amnesty.

KwaKwatsi, Koppies, OFS : On 30 March 1990, members of the SAP opened fire on a crowd of ANC supporters marching to the court in Koppies to protest against the trial of ANCYL members accused of burning down councillors' houses in KwaKwatsi.

KwaMakhutha massacre : On 21 January 1987, 13 people, mostly women and children, were killed when gunmen opened fire with AK47s on the home of UDF activist, Mr Bheki Ntuli, at KwaMakhutha, Amanzimtoti, near Durban. Mr Ntuli was not at home at the time. Twenty people, including the former Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the IFP leader, Mr MZ Khumalo, were acquitted in the Durban Supreme Court in 1996 for their part in an alleged conspiracy between former state structures and the IFP to carry out the attack. Two former IFP members were granted amnesty for their role in *Operation Marion*, in which the SADF MI's Special Tasks provided paramilitary training and support to the IFP in a joint effort to combat the revolutionary threat posed by the ANC.

KwaMashu hostel killings : Seven ANC representatives were abducted from a hostel in KwaMashu, Durban, by IFP supporters on 29 March 1994, after they had gone to the hostel to attend a scheduled peace meeting to resolve differences between KwaMashu residents and hostel-dwellers. Five were killed and two survived. Four IFP supporters, including the chairperson of the IFP hostel branch in KwaMashu, were convicted of the killings.

KwaZulu Police (KZP): The KZP was created in February 1981 and had jurisdiction over the largest and most populous dormitory townships in KwaZulu. From its inception, it displayed an open bias towards Inkatha (later the IFP). Later it contributed to political violence in KwaZulu/Natal by assaulting, shooting and carrying out other unlawful acts against township residents perceived to support the UDF, by failing to intervene to stop attacks carried out by Inkatha against perceived supporters of the UDF, ANC and allied organisations, and by disrupting funerals, memorial services and meetings of non-Inkatha groups.

Langa shootings : On 21 March 1985, members of the SAP in Langa, Uitenhage, Cape, opened fire on mourners marching to the prohibited funeral of four of six youths killed by the police. At least 20 people were killed by police in this incident and many others were injured.

Police patrols had been issued with heavy ammunition following a decision on 14 March to take stronger measures to restore order in a situation of rapidly escalating public unrest, particularly after the killing of the six youths. The police had obtained two orders restricting the funeral of four of the youths, resulting in a confusion over the dates on which the funeral was to be held.

On 21 March 1985, a large group of people from Langa township began to march to KwaNobuhle to attend the funeral. The police blocked the road into the centre of Uitenhage with two armoured vehicles and ordered the crowd to disperse. When the crowd failed to comply immediately, police opened fire, fatally shooting 20 people. At least 27 other people were wounded.

Magabheni attacks : On 26 November 1990, large groups of IFP supporters carried out attacks on ANC supporters in the Magabheni area, KwaZulu, near Durban, allegedly in an attempt to purge the area of ANC supporters. The attacks allegedly followed an instruction issued by a local IFP-supporting chief to 'restore law and order at Magabheni'. Eight people were killed.

Magoo's Bar bombing : On 24 June 1986, MK operatives detonated a car bomb outside the Parade Hotel on the Durban beachfront on 14 June 1986. The explosion killed three women and injured at least 74 other people in the Why Not Bar and adjacent Magoo's Bar. Seven MK operatives were granted amnesty for their roles in the incident.

Makabasa gang : an anti-ANC gang which worked with the police to attack ANC supporters in Alexandra, Johannesburg, around 1986.

Malukazi attacks : Fierce fighting broke out between supporters of Inkatha and the ANC in Malukazi, Umlazi, Durban, on 27 February 1990, following police efforts to disperse a crowd of over 1000 marching students. At least 42 homes were burnt down and up to 200 people rendered homeless.

Mandela United Football Club : The MUFC was established in late 1986 when Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was instrumental in resolving an internal conflict in the Soweto Youth Congress. Youths involved in the conflict set up the football club and moved into the outbuildings of the Mandela home in Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg, and, after this was burnt down, to her home in Diepkloof extension. Allegations of brutality were first levelled against the youths in 1987. Later their behaviour was described by community residents as a 'reign of terror'. Club members, and Ms Madikizela-Mandela herself, were implicated directly or indirectly in a range of incidents, including assaults and abduction and the murder and attempted murder of at least a dozen individuals.

MAWU abduction : Five members of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU) were abducted by Inkatha members at Mpophomeni, KwaZulu, near Howick, Natal, on 5 December 1986. Four of the victims were killed and their bodies burnt. One managed to escape from the vehicle in which he was being held while his colleagues were being taken off and shot. At the time, MAWU members were engaged in intense local conflict with Inkatha supporters and the KwaZulu Police following the 1985 SARMCOL strike. An inquest found nine known Inkatha members responsible for these killings, but no one was charged.

Mdantsane bus boycott : On 18 July 1983, a boycott of the partly government-owned Ciskei Transport Corporation (CTC) buses started in Mdantsane, Ciskei, in protest at an 11 per cent fare increase. The boycott lasted until 15 March 1985, when it was called off at a mass meeting held by the Committee of Ten. During the boycott, members of the Ciskei security forces, backed up by vigilantes, carried out assaults and attacks on commuters to force them to use the buses. On 22 July 1983, five people were shot and wounded by Ciskei security forces at the Fort Jackson railway station. On 3 August, a state of emergency was declared in Mdantsane and a night curfew imposed. Meetings of more than four people were banned and people were prohibited from walking in groups larger than four. The following day Ciskei forces, with orders to stop commuters boarding the trains at all costs, opened fire on commuters at three Mdantsane railway stations. At least six commuters died and many were injured. Two more people were shot dead by Ciskei police within days of the railway station shootings.

Mkambati For est – see PONDOLAND REVOLT

Molefe homestead attack : Eleven ANC youths were killed and seven injured in an attack on the homestead of Chief Molefe at Nqutu, KwaZulu, near Vryheid, Natal, on 7 November 1993. Chief Molefe was part of the Council of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), an organisation of traditional leaders aligned with the UDF and ANC. The attack was allegedly motivated by Molefe's refusal to call up men in his area to defend the IFP. An IFP leader was implicated in the attack.

Motherwell car bomb : Three police officers and an informer were killed when their car was blown up by fellow police officers in Motherwell, outside Port Elizabeth, during 1989, to prevent possible revelations of police involvement in the killing of the CRADOCK FOUR. The blast was initially thought to have been an MK operation, and it was alleged that the ANC had claimed responsibility for it. However, an investigation led to the trial and conviction of senior members of the SAP Security Branch.

Mpumalanga attacks : The Mpumalanga area, near Hammarsdale, Natal, was torn by violent political conflict between UDF and Inkatha supporters from 1986 onwards, after approximately 15 to 20 CAPRIVI TRAINEES were installed as members of the KWAZULU POLICE in the area. The trainees never underwent any

KZP training or followed proper admissions procedures, not even filling in KZP application forms. They were issued with KZP appointment certificates and with official police firearms. Under the guise of being official law enforcement agents, they engaged in large-scale hit squad activity in the area for the next two years, directing their attacks against those perceived to support the UDF and ANC. During 1989 about 1000 homes were badly damaged or destroyed in the violence that devastated Mpumalanga, leaving many dead and thousands homeless. Approximately 54 people died in political conflict between 1 November and 10 December 1989. Violence erupted again in the area in February 1990 following the UNBANNING of political organisations and the release of Nelson Mandela, resulting in the deaths of ten people in seven days, including a member of the SAP.

Mtengwane attack : On 17 October 1991, gunmen armed with AK47 rifles attacked three homes in the IFP-supporting area of Mtengwane, Murchison, near Port Shepstone, Natal. Six IFP supporters and a child were killed in the attacks. An inquest found seven ANC supporters responsible. By September 1996, no one had been charged, and four of the seven suspects were dead.

Municipal Police : The Municipal Police force was created to defend black local authorities in townships across the country and to bolster the security forces' efforts to deal with the climate of 'ungovernability' that had gripped the country in the mid-1980s. Approximately 14 000 Municipal Police officers were recruited, trained and deployed in urban and rural towns across the country where unrest was strongest. They rapidly became associated with violations both on and off duty. Between April 1988 and August 1987, Municipal Police members had been charged with crimes including murder, robbery, assault, theft and rape. Known also as 'greenflies', 'greenbeans' or '*amaTshaka*', the Municipal Police were attached to the local authorities, initially falling under the Department of Constitutional Development. In 1989 they were incorporated into the SAP.

Murchison attacks : two attacks on ANC-supporting families in the Murchison area, near Port Shepstone, Natal, in the first half of 1993:

5 April 1993: Ten ANC supporters were killed and two were injured when hooded attackers carried out a pre-dawn attack on a home in KwaSithole, Murchison, allegedly in an attempt to disrupt the peace process in the area. The attackers threw a hand grenade into the house and opened fire with AK47 and .303 rifles.

20 June 1993: Thirteen ANC supporters, including three children, were killed and two people were injured when hooded gunmen armed with 9 mm and .38 Special pistols attacked three homes at Murchison.

muti: herbal medicine

Mzelemu killings : Nine female members of the ANC-supporting Mzelemu family were stabbed, shot and

stoned to death by named IFP supporters, allegedly on instruction from a local IFP leader, in an attack at their home at Gamalakhe, KwaZulu, near Port Shepstone, Natal, on 2 April 1994. The attackers were armed with KwaZulu POLICE-issue firearms, and destroyed the house in the attack. The family was targeted after one member had addressed mourners at the funeral of an ANC supporter.

Nangalembe night vigil massacre : On 12 January 1991, 45 people were killed by members of the KHETISI KHESWA GANG at a night vigil for ANCYL member Christopher Nangalembe. Gang members had been responsible for killing Mr Nangalembe on 5 January in political conflict that stemmed from the appearance of gang leader Khetisi Kheswa before a 'people's court', which included Mr Nangalembe, at which Kheswa was called to account for the death of a young woman and other crimes. In the attack on the night vigil, gang members opened fire and lobbed hand grenades at the gathered mourners. Eleven gang members, including Khetisi Kheswa, were acquitted of charges relating to the attack, due to lack of evidence. The attack precipitated the formation of ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNITS (SDUs) in the Vaal area.

Ncalu attacks : Intense political fighting broke out between ANC and IFP supporters in Ncalu, Ixopo, Natal, in late June 1992, allegedly sparked by the earlier killing of a woman from the IFP-dominated area of Maweni and the burning of several homes by youths believed to be ANC supporters. More than 100 people fled Ncalu after 20 homes were burnt down.

Ndwedwe election attack : On 12 April 1994, five IFP supporters attacked nine employees of a private company who were delivering IEC election pamphlets in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban. The nine employees were accused of being ANC supporters and were severely tortured. Eight were killed; the survivor was badly injured and took three days to crawl back to safety. One IFP member was convicted for the attack.

Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, saw ongoing violent conflict between supporters of the ANC and the IFP as the struggle for political dominance in KwaZulu/Natal intensified after the unbanning of political organisations in February 1990. Between April 1990 and April 1994, conditions in Ndwedwe were marked by severe intimidation, politically motivated killings and arson attacks by both the ANC and the IFP, forcing families to flee the area in large numbers. See also SONKOMBO ARSON ATTACKS.

February 1994 attacks: Several reports were received of attacks by ANC members on IFP supporters in Ndwedwe in February 1994. About 20 deaths, of both IFP and ANC members, were recorded that month, together with at least 28 incidents of house-burning. Hundreds of people were forced to flee the area, and schools and shops were forced to close.

'necklace' : a car tyre filled with petrol used mainly by UDF supporters to burn political opponents, especially those regarded as collaborators and police informers

Ngquza Hill – see PONDOLAND REVOLT

Nietver diend ambush : In June 1986, a Security Branch agent purporting to be an MK operative recruited ten COSAS for military training. On 26 June 1986, he drove them into an ambush at Nietverdiend near the Botswana border. There they were injected with sedatives and placed in a motor vehicle that was then driven off an embankment. All ten were killed when the vehicle caught alight. Eight operatives from SADF Special Forces, Northern and Western Transvaal Security Branches were granted amnesty for the operation

Njobokazi attack : On 18 March 1990, unknown persons, believed to be UDF supporters, attacked an Inkatha *induna's* house at Njobokazi, MPUMALANGA, KwaZulu, near Durban, with AK47s and grenades. Fifteen people were killed, including two KwaZulu SPECIAL CONSTABLES. Several homes were burnt down.

Nonkulwana : see PONDOLAND REVOLT

Ntlonze massacre : On 12 December 1962, armed Poqo members, on their way to assassinate Chief Kaiser Matanzima in Cofimvaba, Transkei, were intercepted by police. Seven Poqo members were killed in the encounter and three policemen seriously injured.

Ntuli funeral : Gunmen opened fire from a minibus on mourners at the funeral for Sam Ntuli, General Secretary of the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal, on 7 October 1991, at Natalspruit, Vosloorus, Tvl. Twenty people were killed and 26 injured in intense political conflict before and after the funeral. The ANC also claimed that at least four of the 20 mourners killed after Mr Ntuli's funeral had been shot dead by the police. The KHUMALO GANG was linked to both the assassination of Ntuli and to the attack on mourners at his funeral.

Nxele homestead : IFP supporters attacked the Nxele family homestead in Ndalení, Richmond, Natal, on 2 July 1993. The attackers barricaded the houses to prevent any escapes, then hacked and shot family members. Eight people were killed, including two children. The survivors were all seriously injured. The family was allegedly attacked for sheltering ANC refugees.

Nyangwini attack : Eight members of the IFP Youth Brigade were killed at the home of a prominent IFP leader in Nyangwini, Port Shepstone, Natal, on 4 September 1992, in an attack carried out by ten uniformed men armed with AK47 rifles, allegedly ANC members. The Youth Brigade members were waiting for transport to take them to a rally in Ulundi when they were attacked. Two more bodies were found nearby. At least 12 people were injured.

Operation Katzen : In 1986, the SADF set up a clandestine operation to overthrow the existing homeland governments of Ciskei and Transkei and establish a regional resistance movement (*Iliso Lomzi*) to counter the influence of the ANC and UDF in the region. Co-ordinated at Defence Headquarters in Pretoria, Operation Katzen was only partially implemented. Its included a successful jailbreak,

abductions and an abortive attempt to abduct or kill Lennox Sebe.

Operation Zero Zero : Eight young activists were killed and at least seven were injured in explosions involving booby-trapped hand grenades in Duduza, KwaThema and Tsakane, Tvl, on 26 June 1985. The zero-timed grenades had been provided by a *Vlakplaas* operative purporting to be an MK operative. The operation, codenamed 'Zero Zero', had been authorised by the Minister of Law and Order. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the head of the Security Branch and other senior personnel, were granted amnesty for the operation.

Orde Boerevolk: a militant right-wing organisation formed by former security policeman Piet Rudolph

panga : a large knife used as both a tool and a weapon

Pass : a pass book or a *dompas* that every black person over the age of 16 was required to carry, indicating whether they had the right to be in any given area, and for how long.

Peacemakers : In 1980, some parents opposed to the school boycotts in Grahamstown formed a vigilante group called the 'Peacemakers', charged with the task of persuading children to go back to school. The Peacemakers did not succeed in ending the boycott. Instead, there was a violent clash involving students, Peacemakers and police at Andrew Moyake School in Joza, Grahamstown.

Another vigilante group known as the 'Peacemakers' emerged in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, Cape, in 1984 to help the KwaNobuhle Town Council counter popular opposition to its decision to raise rents and service charges. Violence between UDF supporters, the police and the vigilantes escalated between September 1984 and March 1985. The police regarded the Peacemakers as helpful in maintaining law and order and admitted that members of the Peacemakers were acting as informers for the Security Police.

'PEBCO Three': Sipho Hashe, Champion Galela and Qaqawuli Godolozí, members of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO), an affiliate of the UDF, were abducted on 8 May 1985 by members of the Port Elizabeth Security Branch, taken to Post Chalmers and killed. Their bodies were subsequently thrown into the Fish River. *Askaris* from the *Vlakplaas* unit assisted in the operation.

people's war: a popular national rebellion of both trained soldiers and ordinary civilians during the mid- to late 80s. The strategy, promoted by the ANC, involved integrating armed MK combatants with mass organisations inside South African townships, and rendering the townships ungovernable through attacks on the security forces and other representatives of the state.

Phola park : On 8 April 1992, over a hundred residents of Phola Park, Tokoza, Tvl, were severely beaten with rifle-butts by members of the SADF 32 Battalion, in Thokoza, Tvl, after an SADF member was shot and injured in the area. Two women were shot dead and at least four raped during the raid. An investigation by Justice Goldstone concluded that the soldiers had

acted in a manner 'completely inconsistent with the function of a peacekeeping force' and recommended that the unit should not be used for peacekeeping duties anywhere in South Africa.

Piet Retief ambushes : two ambushes by Eastern Transvaal Security Branch and *Vlakplaas* operatives on ANC and MK members near Piet Retief, Tvl, on 8 and 12 June 1988. On 8 June 1988, a *Vlakplaas* operative posing as a taxi driver transported four ANC members to a spot where they were ambushed. Weapons were planted in the vehicle to corroborate the operatives' claim that the four had been killed during a shoot-out. Nine Security Branch operatives, including the commander of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty for the incident.

In a similar incident on 12 June 1988, an Eastern Transvaal member of the SAP, posing as a taxi driver, transported four MK operatives to the ambush site. Fifteen Security Branch operatives, including the divisional commander of Eastern Transvaal and of *Vlakplaas*, were granted amnesty for the incident.

Pirates football club : a vigilante gang that engaged in attacks on UDF supporters in Leandra, Tvl, during 1985

Police brutality : The 1980s and 1990s were characterised by ongoing student protests and boycotts and the repressive and brutal response of the police to those engaging in resistance politics.

Members of the SAP frequently resorted to firepower as a means of crowd control when clashes broke out between police and protesters in public marches, demonstrations and at funerals. Members of the SAP also frequently used assault and torture as a means of extracting information from detainees or punishing detainees for their alleged role in active community politics such as organised boycotts and protest actions. The Commission received many victims' accounts of police brutality, particularly in public order policing situations, and in the course of detention under emergency regulations.

Pollsmoor march : On 28 August 1985, thousands of marchers set off from different points in Cape Town to Pollsmoor prison to demand the release of Nelson Mandela. The marches were violently disrupted by police. Nine people were killed that day, and by the end of the week the death toll had risen to 28. The event helped spark the outbreak of street protests and severe unrest across Cape Town until the end of the year.

Pondoland revolt : The Pondoland revolt, also known as *Nonkulwana*, took place in Pondoland in the eastern Transkei in the late 1950s and early 1960s. It was an extended uprising by Pondoland groups – particularly ANC supporters who referred to themselves as iKongo members – against the imposition of tribal authorities and impending self-government for Transkei.

Numerous incidents of violence took place during 1960, including clashes between security forces and iKongo members, attacks by iKongo members on chiefs and those regarded as collaborating with chiefs

or police, and the destruction of iKongo members' homes by chiefs.

On 6 June 1960, conflict developed between security forces and iKongo members at Ngquza Hill in the Lusikisiki region of Pondoland, when security forces broke up an iKongo meeting. Victims told the Commission that the meeting was tear-gassed from aircraft, after which police on the ground moved in, some of them opening fire, killing at least 11 iKongo members. Immediately after the Ngquza shootings, police rounded up suspects. Family members were also assaulted by police in attempts to track suspects. Legal methods used by the security forces to crush this revolt included the declaration of a state of emergency on 30 November 1960, widespread detentions, criminal prosecutions and banishment of families. Illegal methods included torture in custody (primarily in detention), deaths in custody, apparently due to treatment received, and the use of unnecessary force in public order policing. Mkambati forest was frequently named as a site of torture. This appears to have been a camp with tents in the forest during the 1960s, possibly set up during the Pondoland revolt as a police crisis measure, later becoming an established police station.

Pogo : the military wing of the PAC, established in the early 1960s, later transformed into APLA

Port Shepstone : Between February and May 1991, 65 people were killed and 2000 families displaced from their homes in political violence in the Port Shepstone area.

Putco bus attack : Seven people were killed when members of the *Orde Boerevolk* opened fire on a bus full of black commuters travelling on Duffs Road, Durban, on 9 October 1990. The Committee heard that the attack was in retaliation for an incident which had taken place earlier in the day in which PAC and APLA supporters, wearing PAC T-shirts, had randomly attacked white people on Durban's beachfront, killing one elderly person and injuring several others.

Three members of the *Orde Boerevolk* were convicted for the attack and were sentenced to death on 13 September 1991. This sentence was subsequently commuted to 30 years' imprisonment. The Committee granted amnesty to two of the three applicants.

QIBLA : A movement of pro-PAC Muslims established by Achmat Cassiem in the 1980s with the aim of intensifying Muslim involvement in opposing apartheid.

Queenstown shootings : On 17 November 1985, members of the SAP in Queenstown, Cape, disrupted a residents' meeting at the Nonzwakazi Methodist Church in Mlungisi township, and opened fire. In the ensuing conflict between police and residents, at least 11 people were shot dead and many were severely injured. The dead were buried at a mass funeral in Mlungisi township on 13 December 1985.

Rasta gang : a government-aligned gang active in Zola, Soweto, in 1989

Ratel: (Afrikaans: Cape badger) an armoured vehicle

'Red' and 'Green' factions : Bhambayi: During 1993, competition for resources and political dominance in Bhambayi, near KwaMashu, Durban, led to intense political conflict between the ANC-aligned 'Red' faction and the increasingly IFP-aligned 'Green' faction. The latter was alleged to have the support of members of the ISU. Monitors estimated that as many as 200 Bhambayi residents died violently between May and July 1993. When an IFP branch was launched in the area in August 1993, nine people were killed and 11 injured, and 18 houses were burnt down. About 22 deaths and 19 injuries in 14 incidents were recorded in September 1993. The death toll for the year was more than 300, and hundreds of homes were burnt down.

Richmond attacks : At least 16 people from ANC-supporting families were killed at Ndaleni, Richmond, Natal, between 21 and 23 June 1991 when IFP supporters, allegedly transported by the police, carried out attacks on ANC supporters in the Ndaleni, Magoda, Esimozomeni and Townlands townships of Richmond. Two IFP supporters were granted amnesty for their role in the attacks.

Richmond Farm arson attacks : A series of arson attacks that took place between 11 and 15 February 1990 at Richmond Farm, KwaMashu, Durban, in violent political conflict between UDF supporters and AMASINYORA vigilantes. The Amasinyora launched attacks on two areas in KwaMashu, destroying about 30 homes on the first day, most of them belonging to ANC supporters. ANC supporters retaliated by attacking Siyanda and Richmond Farm. The conflict erupted shortly after the release from prison of Nelson Mandela, and retaliatory attacks between the two groups continued for about six days, setting fire to between 200 and 300 homes. More than ten people were killed, including a member of the KZP. Thousands of residents were forced to flee the area.

right-wing attacks : Prior to February 1990, violations committed by members of right-wing organisations took the form of isolated attacks with a strong racist character.

During the early 1990s, members of right-wing organisations, perceiving themselves to be placed under siege by the process of constitutional negotiations for a democratic dispensation, carried out a large number of attacks aimed at securing the political interests of conservative Afrikaners. Isolated racist attacks on individuals were replaced by mass demonstrations and orchestrated bombing and sabotage campaigns. Between April 1993 and May 1994, right-wing groups engaged in a range of activities to disrupt the negotiations process then underway, and later to destabilise the electoral process. Many of these acts were directed against persons perceived to be supporters and leaders of the ANC, the SACP, the UDF, the PAC and the National Party, and resulted in gross violations of human rights. Violations of a purely racial character were also carried out against black people.

During the pre-election period, the AWB and other right-wing organisations engaged in a bombing campaign with the aim of derailing the electoral process. The objective of these activities was to move towards 'overthrowing' the National Party government and to establish a *Boererepubliek* (Boer republic) and VOLKSTAAT. Public areas such as taxi ranks, bus stops and railway stations were targeted, as were private residential and business premises of those associated with the ANC or the unfolding democratic order. State property was also targeted, especially following the announcement that the Group Areas Act was to be repealed and schools opened to all. A number of formerly 'white' schools were bombed. The campaign involved many acts of sabotage, some of which led to the loss of life.

Rodora roadblock killings : Four people, including two children aged nine and 13, were killed by an AWB gang who set up a roadblock outside Ventersdorp, at the so-called 'Rodora crossing', on 12 December 1993, after being told by their Western Transvaal commander that the 'revolution' was to start that day. According to amnesty applicants, the victims were ordered out of their cars and told to sit on an embankment on the side of the road. They were then questioned as to their political affiliations and particularly asked whether they were members of the ANC. The applicants searched several cars for weapons and assaulted and later shot the occupants of two cars. They cut off an ear of one of the victims to show to their commander, who was not present at the time. Nine members of the AWB, who had been convicted for the killings and attempted killings, applied for amnesty. Amnesty was granted to only one applicant.

Russian gang : see AMARUSSIANS

Sarmcol strike : In 1985, workers at the British Tyre and Rubber (BTR) Sarmcol factory in Mpophomeni, outside Howick, Natal, went on strike in support of demands for the recognition of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU). Management claimed the strike was illegal and, in March 1985, fired all 970 workers. Following an Inkatha rally in the area on 5 December 1986, four prominent MAWU members were abducted and three of them killed (See MAWU ABDUCTIONS.) The killings set in process a lengthy period of political conflict in the area. In March 1998, 13 years after the initial strike, the Appeal Court ruled in favour of the 970 dismissed strikers.

school boycotts : School boycotts originated in the Western Cape in April 1980 and spread to several other regions in South Africa. Grievances initially concerned the standard and quality of education but these grew into wider political protest. Street protests and police actions resulted in widespread violence. In the Cape, police shootings led to over 40 deaths. In the Orange Free State, police made use of force and firepower to break up crowd demonstrations, often resulting in injury and, in some cases, death. In Natal, boycotting pupils in KwaMashu defied Chief Buthelezi's calls to return to school, resulting in

clashes between pupils and Inkatha supporters. These boycotts allegedly led to an increased exodus of youth from the country to join the ANC.

Towards the end of **1985**, the UDF adopted a campaign to make the townships ungovernable. Educational institutions and trade unions became key sites of revolutionary activity. School boycotts and strikes were transformed into scenes of violent conflict and bloodletting. A state of emergency was declared in July and extended in October. It continued until the first democratic election in 1994.

Sebatagomo movement : a resistance organisation aligned to the ANC in the 1960s

section 29 of the Internal Security Act No 74 (1982): a piece of legislation created to allow for indefinite detention for the purposes of interrogation. Detainees were held in solitary confinement. Many detainees were tortured while held under section 29. See STATES OF EMERGENCY.

self-defence units (SDUs) : armed self-defence units set up in the early 1990s by the ANC to protect neighbourhoods

self-protection units (SPUs) : IFP self-protection units trained at Mlaba camp in 1993 and 1994

seven-day war : A week of intense political conflict in the Pietermaritzburg area, which started in a confrontation between UDF and Inkatha supporters when the latter were returning from a Durban rally funded by the Security Police. UDF youths stoned the buses carrying Inkatha supporters on 25 March 1990. Inkatha supporters retaliated by conducting attacks in the wider Edendale and Vulindlela areas near Pietermaritzburg. In the next seven days, Inkatha attacks in these areas escalated, resulting in the deaths of an estimated 200 people and the displacement of over 20 000 people from their homes. Security forces either assisted the attackers or refused to intervene to protect those under threat.

Sharpeville massacre : On 21 March 1960, 69 people died when police opened fire on unarmed marchers protesting against the Pass laws at Sharpeville, Tvl. The march formed part of an anti-Pass campaign organised by the PAC. That same day, a similar march took place in Langa, Cape Town, resulting in three deaths from police shootings. A national state of emergency was declared on 24 March, lasting until 31 August. Nearly 12 000 people were detained. Just over a fortnight after the massacre, the ANC and PAC were banned.

'Sharpeville Six' : On 3 September 1984, six people were charged with the killing of a town councillor in Sharpeville, Tvl. All six were convicted and sentenced to death. Their sentences were commuted after an international outcry.

Shenge vigilante group : an SACP-supporting gang active in Khutsong, Carletonville, Tvl, in 1993

Silverton bank siege : On 25 January 1980, MK operatives held people hostage in a raid on a bank in Silverton, Pretoria. In a shoot-out with the police, three operatives and two civilians were killed.

six-day war : In early 1986, security forces moved into

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

sjambok : a long whip, originally of rhino hide

Sofasonke Par ty : an anti-ANC group backed by Lebowa President Nelson Ramodike. In 1989 Sofasonke members attacked residents of villages around Bushbuckridge, Lebowa, whom they believed to be opposed to the Lebowa government.

Sonkombo arson attacks : A series of arson attacks that took place on 16 and 20 March 1994 and were carried out by IFP supporters, allegedly assisted by members of the KZP, on residents of the isolated ANC stronghold at Sonkombo in Ndwedwe, KwaZulu, near Durban, in the run-up to the April 1994 elections. ANC supporters also attacked the homes of IFP supporters on the same days. Approximately 58 deaths were recorded. Hundreds of refugees, from both sides of the conflict, were evacuated from the area by peace monitors and members of the ISU that month.

Soweto uprising : On 16 June 1976, police opened fire on approximately 10 000 school students in Soweto during a protest against the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools. The shootings provoked extensive unrest and protest throughout Soweto, spreading over the following months to several other regions in South Africa, particularly Cape Town. Around 575 people were killed, 390 in the Transvaal and 137 in the western Cape. Over 2000 people were injured. Arrests, deaths in detention and trials followed the revolt, and the first members of the 'Class of 76' left South Africa for training in armed resistance.

spaza shop: a general supply store, locally-run in urban township and rural areas

Special Constables : Known colloquially as '*kitskon* - *stabels*' (instant constables), '*blue lines*', or '*bloupakke*', Special Constables were recruited from urban and rural areas and were usually unemployed African men with few educational qualifications. Many were illiterate and some had criminal convictions. Training was conducted in September 1986 at the SAP's Koeberg facility outside Cape Town and consisted of a six-week course, later increased to three months. The training was perfunctory and involved only one seven-hour course in riot drill. The training presented the UDF and ANC as the enemy to be suppressed. By the end of the 1980s, approximately 8 000 Special Constables had been recruited, trained and deployed in urban and rural towns across the country where unrest was the strongest. In KwaZulu/Natal they were used to bolster Inkatha in areas around Pietermaritzburg and the Natal Midlands. Special Constables rapidly became associated with numerous violations both on and off duty, and were the subject of several interdicts. They were themselves victims of

attacks by both civilian internal opposition groups and the armed forces of the liberation movements.

states of emer gency: A state of emergency was declared on 20 July 1985 in terms of Section 2(1) of the Public Safety Act of 1953. It affected 36 magisterial districts in the Cape, Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and was extended to eight other areas on 26 October 1985. It was lifted on 7 March 1986 and re-imposed again on 12 June 1986, this time applying to the whole of the country. The state of emergency was re-imposed in June every year until the April 1994 elections.

stokvel: a community-based co-operative savings scheme

Swanieville attacks : On 12 May 1991, approximately 1000 Inkatha hostel residents from Kagiso, Tvl, attacked residents of the neighbouring Swanieville informal settlement in retaliation for the earlier abduction of two hostel-dwellers by Swanieville residents. About 115 shacks were set alight, 27 people were killed and 25 vehicles were burnt. Twelve people were charged with crimes ranging from murder to arson, but were acquitted due to lack of evidence.

Table Mountain bus attacks : A series of public vehicle ambushes in the Table Mountain area, near Pietermaritzburg, in early March 1993.

On **2 March 1993**, masked men wearing army uniforms and armed with AK47 and .303 rifles opened fire on a vehicle carrying IFP supporters from Mboyi to school in Maqongqo in the Table Mountain area. Six pupils were killed and seven others injured. Three of the deceased were children of the local IFP chairman. Three ANC members from the area were arrested and charged. On **5 March 1993**, armed IFP supporters ambushed a taxi in the Table Mountain area, allegedly in retaliation for the killing of the six IFP-supporting pupils on 2 March 1993.

On **8 March 1993**, armed IFP supporters ambushed a bus in Swayimane, Table Mountain area. The bus was taking 80 ANC supporters to attend the court appearance in Pietermaritzburg of three men implicated in the 5 March ambush in the same area. Three men and a woman were killed and at least 16 people injured in the attack on the bus.

Taxi violence : Intense competition between taxi operators for ranking facilities and routes escalated from 1991 and acquired a political character in certain areas of the western Cape and Transvaal. Over 200 lives were lost in attacks on taxis and passengers in 1992 alone. Organisations formed to bring about peace and unity in the taxi industry failed to reach understanding or maintain agreements, and violence continued throughout the 1990s. Certain town councillors and other groups were linked to taxi violence in Cape Town. On the East Rand, taxi associations were perceived to be identified either with the IFP or the ANC.

Three Million gang: A vigilante group, operating with police support, formed to counter the activities of the UDF and the ANC in the Kroonstad area, OFS. They conducted frequent random attacks on perceived

political activists between 1984 and 1993.

Toaster gang : a vigilante group active in Tembisa, Tvl. The gang consisted largely of former 'comrades' expelled from the ANC in Tembisa. Initially, the gang specialised in car hijackings. When the Tembisa community began to mobilise against it, the Toaster gang aligned itself with residents in the IFP-controlled Vusumuzi hostel. Gang members and hostel-dwellers played a significant role in political conflict in Tembisa in 1992 and 1993.

Tokoza attacks : Sixteen people were killed and ten injured when ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) members opened fire on IFP supporters on their way to a meeting at the Tokoza stadium on the East Rand, Tvl, on 8 September 1991. The attack happened on the eve of the signing of the National Peace Accord on the East Rand. Forty-two people died and at least 50 were severely injured in violence that broke out between ANC and IFP supporters in the two days that followed. The attack was initiated by an SDU member acting on the instructions of his commander, who was later found to be a police informer.

toyitoyi: a dance performed during protest marches and demonstrations

train violence : Train violence first emerged in July 1900 with a series of attacks on commuters travelling on the Johannesburg-Soweto line, leaving one person dead and about 30 injured. Between 1990 and 1993, approximately 572 people died in more than 600 incidents of train violence. What started as unplanned group attacks and individual killings became more frequent planned, orchestrated incidents involving large groups of people. Gunmen would open fire from railway station platforms or spray commuters with bullets from inside coaches. Perpetrators of such attacks were intent on causing general terror rather than achieving a clear political objective. Train violence appeared to have been initiated by groups opposed to a democratic transition and the possibility of an ANC-led government. Both IFP members and members of the security forces were implicated in perpetrating attacks.

Trojan Horse incident, Cape T own: On 15 October 1985, members of the South African Railway Police hid in wooden crates on the back of a railway truck and opened fire on a crowd of protesters in Athlone, Cape Town, killing three youths and injuring several others. The operation was planned and implemented by a sub-structure of the regional Joint Management Centre. It was repeated in Crossroads, Cape Town, the following day, killing a further two youths.

Trojan Horse incident, Despatch : On 18 April 1985, a municipal truck loaded with branches drove past the Nomathamsanga Higher Primary School in Despatch, eastern Cape. Scholars were on boycott at the time, but were playing games in the school grounds. The truck was stopped by youth in the street. The driver got out and fired a gun into the air, at which police officers emerged from under the branches and opened fire on the group of youths, hitting six people. Four died and two survived.

Trojan Horse incident, Uitenhage : On 2 May 1985, police members, concealed under a load of cardboard boxes on a municipal truck, opened fire on people gathered at the scene of an accident involving a Hippo (armoured vehicle) in Mabandla Road, KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage. One person was killed.

Trust Feeds massacre : The attack that came to be known as the 'Trust Feeds massacre' was planned by Riot, Security and local policemen and Inkatha members. Members of the SAP and the Riot Unit arrested known UDF supporters at Trust Feeds, New Hanover, near Pietermaritzburg, on 2 December 1988 and then withdrew from the area, leaving UDF-supporting families particularly vulnerable to attack. The next day, 3 December 1988, four SPECIAL CONSTABLES stormed and opened fire on an all-night prayer vigil in a house believed by the perpetrators to be occupied by UDF supporters. Eleven people were killed. None of the victims or survivors were UDF supporters. An SAP member and four Special Constables were convicted for the murders. The Commission granted amnesty to a former SAP captain for his part in planning and executing the attack.

Umbumbulu attack : On 26 October 1991, an ANC supporter carried out a limpet-mine attack on the home of a well-known IFP leader, Mbuzeni Shoji, in the Umbumbulu area, KwaZulu, near Durban. Six people were killed in the attack, which took place during a wedding ceremony.

Umbumbulu massacre : Between 24 December 1985 and 3 January 1986, Inkatha supporters attacked Pondos resident in the KwaMakhutha and Umbumbulu areas of KwaZulu, outside Durban. Pondos were perceived to be supportive of the UDF. Approximately 63 people died and thousands were forced to flee their homes. This massacre was an extension of the violence that followed the killing of UDF leader Victoria Mxenge on 1 August 1985, spreading from Umlazi to neighbouring Umbumbulu.

Umgababa attacks : On 30 and 31 January 1991, ANC supporters in Umgababa, KwaZulu, near Umlazi, Durban, were attacked by IFP supporters from the neighbouring area of Hlanzeni. Eleven people were killed and about 150 houses destroyed in the fighting. Members of the SAP and SADF failed to intervene.

Umkhonto we Sizwe : (Xhosa: 'Spear of the Nation') the military wing of the ANC

Umkomaas bus attack : an attack by members of an ANC SELF-DEFENCE UNIT (SDU) on bus passengers at Umkomaas, near Durban, on 27 April 1992. The attackers, who were targeting residents of an IFP-supporting area, stopped the bus and allowed women, children and non-residents to leave before opening fire on the remaining passengers. Six people were killed and eight others injured. Three ANC SDU members were granted amnesty.

unbanning : On 2 February 1990, President F W de Klerk announced the unbanning of liberation movements and other organisations, the release of political prisoners, the lifting of restrictions on 33

organisations and a moratorium on judicial executions. Nelson Mandela was released from prison on 11 February 1990. Political conflict and violence broke out on both these dates in several areas across the country, but particularly in KwaZulu/Natal between UDF (and ANC) supporters and Inkatha.

Unrest Investigation Unit : During 1986 special police units were established to investigate incidents of violent protest activities. One of the Cape Town units gave specific attention to the ongoing protest activity in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town. The unit was responsible for extensive torture of members of the BONTEHEUWEL MILITARY WING (BMW), whom it suspected of being responsible for attacks on policemen and for other incidents in the area.

'Upington 26' : Twenty-six people were charged with participation in the crowd killing of Municipal Policeman Lucas 'Jetta' Sethwala in Paballelo, Upington, on 13 November 1985. Of the 25 convicted of murder on the basis of common purpose, 14 were sentenced to death. The twenty-sixth person was convicted of attempted murder. The death sentences were later overturned on appeal and most were given prison terms instead. Those serving prison terms were later released as political prisoners.

UWUSA : an Inkatha-dominated trade union

Vaal uprising : a popular revolt in townships around the Vaal Triangle, Tvl, sparked by a rent increase in September 1984. Homes of policemen and councillors were burnt down and residents protested against the increase in public demonstrations and boycotts. Clashes between residents and police led to the deaths of 14 people and the injury of at least eight policemen. In response, the government launched a joint army and police operation, 'Operation Palmiet' to suppress internal unrest in the area. Over the next four months, approximately 142 people died in street battles.

Vark Squad : an anti-UDF gang, supported by the Bophuthatswana government, which conducted attacks on activists in the Oukase community, Bophuthatswana.

Verulam attack : On 12 January 1990, UDF supporters attacked mourners at the funeral vigil for the slain son of the local Inkatha chairman in Cottonlands, Verulam, Durban. Thirteen people, including nine children, were killed in the attack. This was the second UDF attack that month on Inkatha supporters. In an earlier attack, three people were killed, including the son of the local Inkatha chairman.

Victoria Mxenge memorial service attack : A memorial service for slain UDF leader Victoria Mxenge was held in the Umlazi cinema on 8 August 1985. Seventeen people were killed and 20 injured when members of the AMABUTHO, an Inkatha-based 'community guard force', launched an attack on the mourners.

Vlakplaas: a farm near Pretoria used as a base for police hit squads

volkstaat: (Afrikaans; 'nation state') a 'state' or area set aside for Afrikaners to pursue their quest for self-determination

waarkamer. (Afrikaans: 'truth room') a house to which detainees were taken for interrogation and torture

Wit Wolwe. (Afrikaans: 'White Wolves') an ultra-right terrorist group

Witdoeke. Separate vigilante groups in the Cape and in the OFS, both named *Witdoeke* because of the white scarves (*witdoeke*) they wore around their heads or arms.

Cape. During May and June 1986, the *Witdoeke* in Crossroads, Cape Town, were mobilised by their pro-government leader Johnson Ngxobongwana into vigilante attacks on UDF-aligned individuals and areas. More than 66 people were killed in the two attacks and more than 60 000 were left homeless.

OFS. In the OFS, the *Witdoeke* were an informal vigilante group operating with police support.

'Wynber g Seven' : Seven school students were arrested during student protests in Wynberg, Cape Town, in 1985 and were charged and convicted of public violence for which they served prison terms of one to two years. The highly publicised trial drew attention to the thousands of students and youth sentenced to prison terms for public violence, effectively criminalising protest activity.

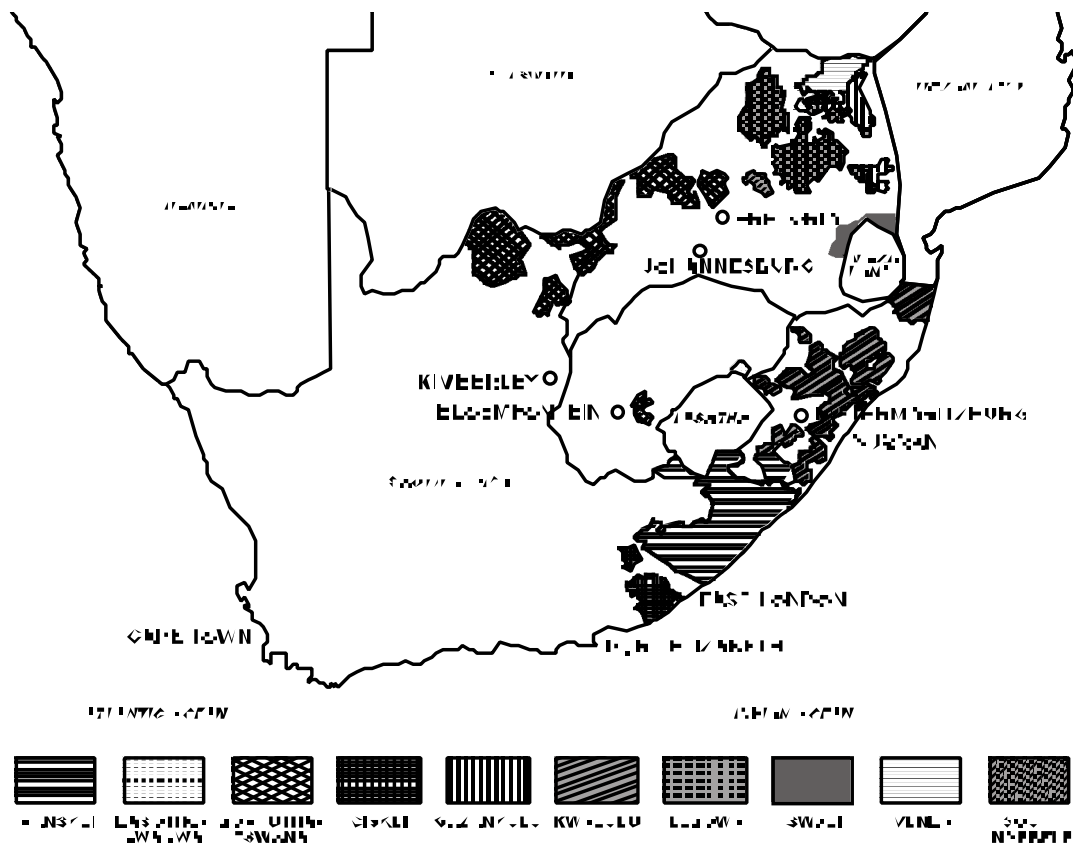
Xulu vigil attack : Thirteen people were killed on 12 January 1990 when UDF and ANC supporters, armed with knives, stones, guns and petrol, petrol-bombed a homestead in Mahlabatini, near Ulundi, KwaZulu/Natal.

The victims, who were allegedly IFP supporters, were attending a night vigil for two family members who had been killed earlier by UDF supporters. Members of the Xulu family were allegedly prominent in Inkatha. Their home was destroyed in the attack, which took place in ongoing political conflict the day after the release of Nelson Mandela. One UDF supporter was refused amnesty on the basis that the offences committed were disproportionate to any political objective.

Zastr on road ambush : Several APLA members ambushed a vehicle in which four people were travelling from Zastron to Sterkspruit on 18 March 1992. The driver of the vehicle was shot dead and one other passenger sustained severe gunshot injuries. The remaining two passengers escaped the ambush unhurt and were able to flee from the scene. The Commission accepted that the PAC and APLA were engaged in the armed struggle and regarded all whites as supporters of the government, and that the ambush had been associated with a political objective. One APLA member was granted amnesty.

Zim-zims : a breakaway group from the UDF-aligned KHUTSONG YOUTH CONGRESS, supported by older activists. At least 17 people died in intense political conflict between the Zim-zims and the Gadaffis, another UDF-aligned breakaway faction. Police exploited the divisions between the two factions.

■ South African Map incorporating black homelands



List of Victims

AARON, Thabo Simon	AUGUST, Sipho Joseph	BANDA, Wonder-Boy Simphiwe Mpo	BELE, Georgina Nomzamo	BHIKITSHA, Litheya Joseph
ABBOTT, Montaigne	AUGUST, Thobeka Joyce	BANE, Saraphina	BELE, Headman Phakamile	BHILA, Stanley Sipho
ABDULWAHAB, Zakier	AUGUST, Thobile Morgan	BANGANI, K	BELE, Nonthimba	BHILUSHO, Mzingisi
ABRAHAM, Nzaliseko Christopher	AUGUSTYN, Joriena Susanna	BANGANI, Kuku Dina	BELE, Nyangilizwe	BHOTO, Buyiswa Patience
ABRAHAMS, Achmat Fardiel	AUGUSTYN, Pieter	BANGANI, Martin	BELEBANE, Templeton Mangaliso	BHUDA, Abram
ABRAHAMS, Annalene Mildred	AZIZ, Haroon Erasheed	BANGANI, Nomatana Dinah	BELELE, Michael Frederick	BHUDA, Government
ABRAHAMS, Ashraf	BAARD, Amos	BANGELA, Sizwe Leon	BELESI, Phumzile Gladwell	BHUDA, Josiah
ABRAHAMS, Derrek	BAARD, Frances Goitsimang	BANGELI, Matongisi Willie	BELING, Neville	BHUDA, Sheelbooi Mhletswa
ABRAHAMS, John	BAARDMAN, Tusetso Henry	BANGILIZWE, Ntombenhlophe	BELLE, Mbulelo Heathcourt	BHUDA, William
ABRAHAMS, Moegsien	BAARTMAN (PEZISA), Watu June	BANGISO, Dambile David	BELLINGAN, Felicity Catherine	BHULOSE, Fephi
ABRAHAMS, Rashid	Audrey	BANGISO, Monwabisi Comfort	BELO, Solomon Pitso	BHULOSE, Gabisile Buselaphi
ABRAHAMS, Toyer	BAARTMAN, Ben Kopi	BANGISO, Sibina	BEMBE, Bhekumzi Erick	BHULOSE, Khonzeni Nomandelu
ACHURST, E. M.	BAARTMAN, Grace	BANI, Nobandla Nontitwetwa Elda	BEME, Zandisile	BHULOSE, Senzeni Ritta
ACKERMAN, David Jacobus	BAARTMAN, Phinda Gladstone	BANKO, Johanne	BEME, Zukiswa Eunice	BHUNDE, Wendy
ACKERMAN, Marita	BAARTMAN, William	BANTOBETSE, Hendry Pico	BENCINI, Irma Efreda	BHUNGANE, Elizabeth Thuku
ACKERMANN, Gerhardus Oliver	BAA5, Jeffrey Tebogo	BANTOM, Butana Stephen	BENKE, Johan David	BHUNKU, Zandise Richard
ADAM, Alfred Mawonga	BAA5, Nielek Maria	BAPELA, Constance Bontle	BENGE, Eliphe Fanigo	BHUNTA, Alfred Funani
ADAMS, Koos	BAA5, Princess Ntombizodwa	BAPELA, Kopeng Obed	BENGE, Mpmuelele	BHUNU, Evelyn Nontungu
ADAMS, Magedien	BAATJIE, Piet Ndasbeni	BAPELA, Matule	BENGE, Nomahubi Sophia	BHUYE
ADAMS, Noel	BAATJIES, Desmond	BARBAS, Pieter Johan	BENGU, Delweyvo Emmanuel	BIBI, Michael
ADAMS, Sandra Joyce	BAATJIES, Lourens Johannes	BARBOSA, Adrianna	BENGU, Ethel	BIEHL, Amy
ADAMS, Zwelinzima Sidwell	BAATJIES, Zolile Eric	BARENDS, Brian Peter	BENGU, Gladwin B.	BIGGARS, Clifford Henry
ADONIS, Jacques Ferdinand	BABA, Khayalethu	BARKER, Chardoline	BENGU, Johannes	BIGGARS, Leslie Adrian
ADONIS, Motalepule Sunnyboy Slovo	BABA, Mbonambi	BARKER, Douglas	BENGU, Maggie Phenayab	BIKISHI, Nonzima Edna
ADONIS, Sandra Noreen	BABE, Keitumetse Yvonne	BARNARD, Frederick Jakobus	BENGU, Ntombikayise Cyprianah	BIKITSHA, Nonzwakazi
ADONIS, Phineus Zenzile	BABUPI, Pule Edward	BARNARDO, Christiaan Ignatius	BENGU, Sifiso Cyril	BIKITSHA, Zwelakhe Oklee
ADRIAANSE, Noel John	BACELA, Lungile	BARNES, C. E.	BENGU, Thembeni	BIKO, Steven Bantu
AFRICANDER, Sipho Victor	BACELA, Sakhiwe Lewis	BARNES, Leslie Alfred	BENJU, Masebule Anthony	BILANKULU, Herman Mandiwana
AFRIKA, Anna	BADAT, Mohamed Saleem	BARON, Roseline	BENTELE, Mandla	BILI, Nozuzile
AFRIKA, Dick	BADELA, Arthur Sipho	BARROW, Bradley	BENYA, Mosecelle	BILL, Mzwandile
AFRIKA, Jan	BADELA, Mzontsundu	BARRY, Brendan	BERA, Ndumiso	BILLIE, Tembinkosi Harold
AFRIKA, Pieter	BADI, Eric Fumanekile	BARTLETT, Mogamat Nurudien	BERENG, Selebaleng Martha	BIMBI, Jan
AGGETT	BADI, Nontsikilelo Jeanet	BARTON, James Allan Petros	BERRANGE, Vernon	BINALE, Cellette
AGGETT, Neil Hudson	BADI, Nowinile Nanyuku	BAS, Samuel	BERRY, Fikile Matywana	BINAS, Mafomane Joseph
ALA, Wazeka Gertrude	BADI, Vuyokazi	BASA, Mhlangabazi	BERRY, Jacob Joseph	BINDER, Margin David
ALBERT, Nombuyiselo Francis	BADIMO, Frans Madimetja	BASE, Phiso Charlie	BESANA, Sibongile	BINGWA, John
ALEXANDER, Tammas Edward	BABAFANTU, Johannes Tata	BASE, Shoni	BESSIE, Buti James	BINTA, Mfenana
ALFRED, Nonthandazo Amelia	BAGLEY, Martin	BASE, Vanish	BEST, Temba Douglas	BISITI, Mthetheli
ALLAM, Ernest	BAHUME, Nation Nkosana	BASHE, Monwabisi Livingstone	BESTER, C. B.	BISWIE, Masayidi Xhagalegusha
ALLAM, Nozipho Adelaide Thamaru	BAHUMI, Stephen Zinkie	BASHE, Mzikayise	BESTER, Reginald Johnny	BITAMKHONO, Nohlanhla Mina
ALLAM, Zukiswa Joyce	BAIKEDI, Keaboka Elijah	BASI, Khanyisile	BETE, Anele Justice	BITTERHOUT, Priscilla Nomakhaya
ALLIE, Abdurahman	BASI, Quentin	BASI, Mdedelwa	BETE, Vuyani Richard	BIXA, Vuyisile Antony
ALLISON, Beverly Meryl	BAKANE, Sekhomothane Frederick	BASI, Michael Mandlenkosi	BETHANIE, Dan	BIYASE, Michael Joy
ALSET, Walter Tisot	BAKARDIEN, Baderoon Ismail	BASI, Mkhanyisela	BEULA, Matu David	BIYASE, Qondeni Morencia
AM, Sandile Alfred	BAKAULI, Mangaliso Wonder	BASI, Phakamisa John	BEULA, Ntembele Matshaya	BIYASE, Sandile Gundaye
AMERICA, Jonathan Maurice	BAKAULI, Nodanile Gertrude	BASI, Xolani Joseph	BEUZANA, Ntombekhaya Beauty	BIYASE, Wando Sikhumbuzo Innocent
AMOD, Felicity	BAKER, Candice Kirsten	BASOPU, Mike Price	BEVU, Zenzile Dan	BIYELA, Abednigo Themba
AMTHENJA, Billy Veli	BAKER, Ruth Jennifer	BASSON, Maria	BEWU, Gilbert Quntswana	BIYELA, Alleta Sthembele
ANDERSON, Cynthia Valerie	BAKER, Yazeed	BASSON, Niklaas	BEZUIDENHOUT, Isaac	BIYELA, Bahlengene
ANDERSON, Gavin	BAKHE, Bongani	BASSON, Shelly Erica	BHALLALA, Marqwa	BIYELA, Bazibile Mildred
ANDERSON, Peter	BAKHSIHANDEGI, Shamam	BARTERMAN, Olga Dagmar	BHAMBULA, Stanford Bhifane	BIYELA, Bheki Themba
ANDERSON, Sapper A.	BALAZZI, Mthavini Langisa	BAZLEY, Brian John	BHAMBULE, Albertina	BIYELA, Bonisiwe Bongokile
ANDREAS, Niklaas	BALATA-MALOBOLA, Lilian Mantha	BATANI, Buti Solati	BHANA, Khayalethu Patrick	BIYELA, Charlie
ANDREWS, Daniel	BALEHI, Monomde Glenda	BATATU, Mzwanele	BHANGOSE, Mthubeni	BIYELA, David
ANDREWS, Levena	BALENMAGO, Kebogile Freda	BATWALI, Hendrik	BHEFIE, Phumzele Lennox	BIYELA, Elizabeth
ANDREWS, Piet September	BAUMOGO, Freda	BATYI, Buyle Patrick	BHEKI, Mazwazwa John	BIYELA, Ethel
ANDREY, Karl	BALOI, Zuka Samuel	BATYI, Nomayeza Nolungile Regina	BHEKUMUZI, Cosmos	BIYELA, Ivy Thandi
ANGLESS, Edwin	BALOSHE, Steve	BATYI, Vuyisile	BHEME, Ncingilwe Castalina	BIYELA, John Qondeni
ANTHONY, Somasundram Manas	BALOVI, Bafana	BATYI, Vuyo	BHENGU, Amon	BIYELA, Joyce Theku
ANTONI, Mxolisi Patrick	BALOVI, Doreen Refiloe	BAUER, C. R. C.	BHENGU, Bafikile Rosta	BIYELA, Lindwe Cynthia
ANTONI, Thembisile	BALOVI, Eddie Simon Shigapi	BAWANA, Noyedwa	BHENGU, Beauty Dumsile	BIYELA, Lucy
ANVARI, Alex	BALOVI, Johannes	BAXTER, Barnard Sydney	BHENGU, Bheki	BIYELA, Mandla Rawlance
ANZILOTTI, G.	BALOVI, Joseph	BAYANA, Christopher Mvumeni	BHENGU, Bheki Johannes	BIYELA, Mbongeni Bethuel
APHANE, Doly Elizabeth	BALOVI, Joyce	BAYES, Peter Johannes	BHENGU, Bhekinkosi	BIYELA, Mildred
APHANE, Karl Maisela	BALOVI, Maphantsi Joseph	BAYISA, Nomayazi Yalwe	BHENGU, Busiswe Maria	BIYELA, Mohlo
APHANE, Matsosale William	BALOVI, Mashavela Jackson	BAYO (MAKHAWULA), Nomakula Maria	BHENGU, David Nyangenzima	BIYELA, Moses Mjabuliseni
APHANE, Tiny	BALOVI, Mashillie Wilson	BAZI, Mvuzo	BHENGU, Hlangiwe Mary-Jane	BIYELA, Msebenzizwame Caphas
APLENI, Mzikayise Isaac	BALOVI, Patrick	BAZI, Noluthando Stella	BHENGU, Hlangiwe Florence	BIYELA, Mshayeni Simon
APLENI, Wellington Sicelo	BALOVI, Resimate Daniel	BAZLEY, Brian John	BHENGU, Jotham	BIYELA, Musavenkosi
APOLISI, Khobonani Vernon	BALOVI, Robert	BAZLEY, Dora Nombulelo	BHENGU, Khangelani	BIYELA, Mzikayise
APPIES, David Pieter	BALOVI, Selina Makao	BEATON, Norman	BHENGU, Madodaneni	BIYELA, Nompumelelo Christine Zodwa
APPIES, Katriona	BALOVI, Solly Solomon	BEBENTSE, Mataone George	BHENGU, Michael Theminkosi	BIYELA, Phihawubani Eunice
APPOLIS, Wandile Christopher	BALOVI, William Willy	BEBETO, Tamara Nomakula	BHENGU, Ningi Yvonne	BIYELA, Phuleni
APPOLIS, Simphiwe	BALOVI, Yuza Mack	BECK, Gregory	BHENGU, Njabulose	BIYELA, Pretty
APRIL, Cecil Patrick	BAM, John Nkunku	BECK, Randolph Alexander	BHENGU, Nominani Netta	BIYELA, Prudence
APRIL, Doreen	BAM, Mlungisi David	BEES, Charlie	BHENGU, Oralia Ntombenhle	BIYELA, Qondeni Maureen
APRIL, Gibson Mxolisi	BAM, Setsibe Pinaar	BEES, Jonny Henry	BHENGU, Philida	BIYELA, Rejoice Thandekile
APRIL, Lindile	BAM, Sipho Noshongqo	BEESLAAR, T.G.	BHENGU, Richard	BIYELA, Richard Zitha
APRIL, Lungephi Cecil	BAMBELO, September Funani	BEESLAAR, George	BHENGU, Sibongile Gloria	BIYELA, Ruth Bongwiwe
APRIL, Ngubeni Stanley	BANGISO, Khayeni Derrick Mtro	BEETON, Henry George	BHENGU, Senzosenkosi	BIYELA, Shongile
APRIL, Ntsundu	BAMBO, Adriano Louis	BEFIE, Kukubele Speelman	BHENGU, Siphelile Brian	BIYELA, Sehlukene
ARANES, Joseph Angelo	BAMBO, Malesela Adam	BEFIE, Halubane Jackson Kelman	BHENGU, Siphwo Winstone	BIYELA, Sibongile Zibuyisize
ARENDS, John Jacobus	BAMBO, Malose Nicolus	BEFIE, Zonke Edward	BHENGU, Sipo Ernest	BIYELA, Sizeni Sibongile
ARENDESE, Aubrey Cecil	BANANE, Botie John	BEKEBEKE, Bereng Barry	BHENGU, Tembani Gertrude	BIYELA, Thandabaziwe
ARNOLD, David	BANDA, [Brother of Simphiwe]	BEKEBEKE, Justice	BHENGU, Thenjiwe Mavis	BIYELA, Themba Mandlakayise
ARRIES, Mina	BANDA, Cynthia	BEKWA, Alfred Emmanuel	BHENGU, Thobelani Goodman	BIYELA, Vusumuzi Mvana
ARRON MKWANAZI, Aaron	BANDA, Fanyana Samuel	BEKWA, Ayanda Pele	BHENGU, Thulani	BIZZELL, John
ASIVA, Zinakile Charles	BANDA, Gungile Emson	BEKWA, Lundi Irvin	BHENGU, Welcome	BIZZELL, Margaret Josephine
ASMAN, Roockea	BANDA, Johannes	BEKWA, Mnanafuthi Wiseman	BHENGU, Zayiyana Muzofikayo	BLAAUW, Andile Philip
ASVAT, Abu-Baker	BANDA, Khingi Edward	BEKWA, Ntombizakhe Constance	BHENGU, Zakhona Doreen	BLAAUW, Buyle Gladstone
ATKINSON, Gary	BANDA, Richard	BEKWA, Thulani Justice	BHENGU, Zinusile Doris	BLAAUW, Miriam
ATSHOSE, Myekeni Given	BANDA, Sello Joseph	BEKWA, Zaisile Langa	BHENTSWANA, Magadzuzela	BLAAUW, Mzwandile Matthews
AUGUST, Felisizwe Lucky		BELAWENI, Sibiya Jeremiah	BHESWA, Nongayi	BLAAUW, Nosioph Patricia

BLAIR, John	BOOI, Roselinah Notembekile Ndokosa	BRODY, Abigail Mary	BUTHELEZI, Christina Thethiwe	CEBEKHULU, Mandlakayise Alson
BLAIR, Michael	BOOI, Simpiwe	BRODY, Shane Ryan	BUTHELEZI, Dudusi	CEBEKHULU, Mathi Pennuel
BLAKE, Michael	BOOI, Sindiphi Stalin	BRONKHORST, Richard	BUTHELEZI, Ernestina Huppepi	CEBEKHULU, Mdimuseni
BLAKE, Stanko	BOOI, Sylvia Mandisa	BROOKS, Alan Keith	BUTHELEZI, Gabangani Tom	CEBEKHULU, Mphile Victoria
BLAYI, Welile Dindala	BOOI, Vuyisani	BROWN, Leonard	BUTHELEZI, Gatsha	CEBEKHULU, Mthethwa Obed
BLEKI, Mntwabukho Oswel	BOOIS, Motshabi Emely	BRUINS-LICH, L.	BUTHELEZI, Henry Ditaba	CEBEKHULU, Ottilia
BLESS, Mnyamezeli	BOOKHOLANE, Thabang Moses	BRUMMER, Shirley Ethne'	BUTHELEZI, Hlaiele Anna	CEBEKHULU, Sifiso Archibald Majobha
BLESS, Raymond Mthetheleli	BOOSMAN, Klaas	BRUNYS, Lea Madlanga	BUTHELEZI, Idah (Freda)	CEBEKHULU, Sifiso Halaaisani
BLOCK, John	BOOTH, E	BRYCE, Gary Duncan	BUTHELEZI, Isabel	CEBEKHULU, Simangele Esther
BLOEM, Trevor	BOOYENS, Dudley Alexander	BUCIBO, Champain Abram	BUTHELEZI, Jabulani Philip	CEBEKHULU, Sithembi Mavis
BLOEM, W. J.	BOOYSE, Jacomina Johanna Thespina	BUCIBO, Joshua Mkhulu	BUTHELEZI, James Dumisani	CEBEKHULU, Thandanani
BLOM, Ernest	BOOYSEN, America Petrus	BUCKLE, J. D.	BUTHELEZI, Jerry Mpongeleni	CEBEKHULU, Thokozile
BLOM, Mgcineni Jackson	BOOYSEN, Edward	BUCKLE, P.	BUTHELEZI, Jonathan	CEBEKHULU, Thomas
BLOM, Sindiswa	BOOYSEN, Grace	BUCKTON, Cedric Henry	BUTHELEZI, Justine Makho	CEBEKHULU, Thula Cyril
BLOSE, Bahlemukile Thembeni	BOOYSEN, Hercules Benjamin	BUKWA, Kwanene Moses	BUTHELEZI, Julia Maki Matise	CEBEKHULU, Zwofa Elsie
BLOSE, Bangizwe	BOOYSEN, Jan H C	BUHALI, Joseph Mshayina	BUTHELEZI, Julia Ntombizanele	CEBEKHULU, Bongosi Bryan
BLOSE, Bongu Jahephi	BOOYSEN, Mbuyiselo Puni	BUKA, Alfred Zakade	BUTHELEZI, Malekgithi Ellen	CEBEKHULU, Harriet
BLOSE, Bukisisani	BOOYSEN, Queenie	BUKHOSINI, Constance Jabulisiwe	BUTHELEZI, Mandhla Douglas	CEBEKHULU, Nkosinathi
BLOSE, Chrisostomos Thamsanqa	BOOYSEN, Vuyisanani Judith	BUKHOSINI, Nomusa N.	BUTHELEZI, Mandla David	CEBEKHULU, Tolwaphi Florence
BLOSE, Florence Lethiwe	BOOYSEN, Zagarias Petrus	BUKHOSINI, Thandwiwe Mirriet	BUTHELEZI, Mduzuzi	CEBEKHULU, Zwofa
BLOSE, Funebona Anthony	BOOYSEN, Zetembele Arnold	BUKOSINI, Zamazulu Eunice	BUTHELEZI, Mduzuzi Zephania	CEBISA, Khoto Stephen
BLOSE, Harry Mafa	BOPALAMO, Maggie Mirriam Chinto	BUKU BUKWANA, Mkhululi	BUTHELEZI, Mfene	CEBISA, Lindinkosi Blessing
BLOSE, Hawukeleni	BOPAPE, Dominic Morokwe	BUKULA, Elias	BUTHELEZI, Mhlo Alfred	CEBISA, Mlungisi
BLOSE, Hleikisile Thandazile	BOPAPE, Mackenzie	BULALA, Mkhusei Wiseman	BUTHELEZI, Mkhombeni	CEBISA, Zolile Andile
BLOSE, Khetheyake John	BOPAPE, Maisha Stanza Johannes	BULO, Tuli Wellington	BUTHELEZI, Mkhulu Joseph	CECANNE, Lawrence Vukile
BLOSE, Lindiwe Vimbephi	BOPAPE, Tsekeria Abner	BULOSE, Bhabhe Zebulon	BUTHELEZI, Mlungisi	CECILS, Jurie
BLOSE, Lungile Joyce	BOQO, Ismael	BULOSE, Bongeni Tholakele	BUTHELEZI, Mshiyeni Alfred	CEDA, Mncedisi Merriman
BLOSE, Mandlenkosi Michael	BOQO, Petrus	BULOSE, Buyelaphi	BUTHELEZI, Msizi	CEKISANI, Buyiswa Margaret
BLOSE, Mantombi	BORENE, Paulina Nese	BULOSE, Fakazile Phakamile	BUTHELEZI, Mthobi Antony	CEKISANI, Moki Jacob Bonisile
BLOSE, Maureen Shiela	BOROKO, Lucas	BULOSE, Gaigqa	BUTHELEZI, Mzwamandla	CEKISO, George
BLOSE, Mayvis	BOROKO, Motlatsi	BULOSE, Lindeni	BUTHELEZI, Nathaniel	CEKISO, Mzwandile
BLOSE, Mfanfikile Jeffrey	BOROKO, Phora Jacob	BULOSE, Makazi Murriel	BUTHELEZI, Nelson	CELE, Abedingo
BLOSE, Mphikayibuyi	BOROKO, Poppie Elizabeth	BULOSE, Msongella Elias	BUTHELEZI, Ngqangqa Jacob	CELE, Abedingo Vilo
BLOSE, Ndabuko	BOS, Sharon Desire	BULOSE, Musakawukho John	BUTHELEZI, Nhlania John	CELE, Adolphus
BLOSE, Nokujaze Cathrine	BOSCH, Zwelinzima Hamilton	BULOSE, Ndu Basisiwe	BUTHELEZI, Nompumelelo Mildred	CELE, Agnes
BLOSE, Nonhlanhla Bellinah	BOSHIGO, Johannes Mosheku	BULOSE, Ngwenzi Gretta	BUTHELEZI, Norah Ntombifuthi	CELE, Alfred Mfanafuthi
BLOSE, Nonkululeko Sindiwe	BOSHIGO, Papi	BULOSE, Siphio	BUTHELEZI, Ntombinkulu Kate	CELE, Amon Simo
BLOSE, Ntombenhle Lindiwe	BOSHOF, Martha	BULOSE, Zombo	BUTHELEZI, Ntombizone Mavis	CELE, Amos
BLOSE, Ntombeyiningi Rene	BOSIAME, Kabelo Harry	BUNGANA, Mcingelwa Peter	BUTHELEZI, Petros Mehlo	CELE, Andreas Njabulo
BLOSE, Ntombhphi	BOSMAN, Amogelang Mirriam	BUNGANE, Phakadile Mbuso	BUTHELEZI, Phakathikhumpepi Ephraim	CELE, Audrey Zimbili Stella
BLOSE, Philiwe Alice	BOSMAN, Mission	BUNGU, Mzuvukile Victor	BUTHELEZI, Princess	CELE, Badanile Benedicta
BLOSE, Phumelaphi Virginia	BOSMAN, Molatshiwa Solomon	BUQA, Daniel Mazizi	BUTHELEZI, Rista Bhekeabathembu	CELE, Bafanyana Naphtal
BLOSE, Ritta	BOSMAN, Mqolisi Gilbert	BURGERS, Raymond	BUTHELEZI, Robert Paulos	CELE, Bandile Caleb
BLOSE, Seli Lettah	BOSMAN, Nzimeni Patric	BURN, Kevin	BUTHELEZI, Roster	CELE, Bangkufu
BLOSE, Sibongile Isabel	BOSMAN, Ohayisile	BURROWS, Ian P.	BUTHELEZI, Samson Punch	CELE, Beatrice Ntombazane
BLOSE, Sitete	BOSS, Tanduxolo	BURT, Henry George	BUTHELEZI, Samuel Bafana	CELE, Bekhukwenza
BLOSE, Siyabonga Justice	BOTA, Hlalatu Theophilus	BURLANI, Thabani	BUTHELEZI, Sibongasone Khubeni	CELE, Besizani Jannet
BLOSE, Thandazile Zikhona	BOTA, Mlandeli	BURWANA, Abel Siphio	BUTHELEZI, Sibongile Prisca	CELE, Bhekabantu Samuel
BLOSE, Thomas Mfanafuthi	BOTA, Zimasile Joseph	BUSAKWE, Kukisina	BUTHELEZI, Sibongile Mintha	CELE, Bhekani Khawleni
BLOSE, Yeye	BOTES, Gert Jacobus	BUSAKWE, Moses Badanile	BUTHELEZI, Sigawu Siphio	CELE, Bhekinkosi Samuel
BLOU, Mzukisi Sidwell	BOTHA, Christofel	BUSAKWE, Mxolisi Patrick	BUTHELEZI, Simon Mandla	CELE, Bhekinkosi Samulek
BLOU, Ndiamafa	BOTHA, Daniel	BUSAKWE, Nosidima Nomvuyo	BUTHELEZI, Siphio	CELE, Bhekiwe Liliosa
BOBE, Mandla	BOTHA, George	BUSAKWE, Wiseman	BUTHELEZI, Siphio Dennis	CELE, Bhekumuzi George
BOBELO, Edward Vuyisile	BOTHA, J. J.	BUSANA, Khopo	BUTHELEZI, Tembeni Isabel	CELE, Bongani Cyril
BOBELO, Mgonezi Henry	BOTHA, J.H.	BUSANE, Bonubakhe Siphio	BUTHELEZI, Themba Alpheus	CELE, Bongani Edwin
BOBOTYANE, Wilson	BOTHA, Neville	BUSANE, Busisiwe	BUTHELEZI, Thembekile Joyce	CELE, Bongani Wilson Machas
BOCKS, Zo - Marius Augustian	BOTHA, Paula	BUSANE, Diphoza Zakithi	BUTHELEZI, Thokozile Joyce	CELE, Bonginkosi
BOBIBA, George	BOTHA, Petrus Frederik	BUSANE, Fotho	BUTHELEZI, Thulani	CELE, Bongiwile Colentia
BOBIBA, Thapelo Jacob	BOTHA, Sandile Izak	BUSANE, Hlambephi	BUTHELEZI, Thulani Vincents	CELE, Bonisile Florence
BODINGTON, Ian Russel	BOTHA, Selwyn	BUSANE, Lungile Ladyfair	BUTHELEZI, Vera	CELE, Busisiwe Alberica
BODLANI, Ndini	BOTHA, Unknown	BUSANE, Mchiki	BUTHELEZI, Victor	CELE, Cabangani Jalile
BOESAK, Allan	BOTHA, Weyers Ivor	BUSANE, Mkhombeni	BUTHELEZI, Vumephi Joyce	CELE, Christopher
BOGACU, Stephen Modisaotsile	BOTHA, Willie	BUSANE, Nosheshe	BUTHELEZI, Vusumuzi Mbusozayo	CELE, Clifton
BOHLAKO, Puleng Emma	BOTHA, Zamikhaya Wilberforce	BUSANE, Ntombenhle Salvation	Stanley	CELE, Cynthia Hlelphi
BOHOLO, Malefatsane William	BOTILE	BUSANE, Ohamukile Themazizi	BUTLER, Shane Geoffrey	CELE, Dan
BOIKANYO, Joseph Mthosi	BOITPE, ilan	BUSANE, Sibongile Shongani	BUTSHWANE, Matshego Phwedora	CELE, David Jabulani
BOIKANYO, Kedineeste Memory	BOTO, Themba	BUSANE, Thandi Muriel	BUWA, Luvuyo John	CELE, Dlamu Amu
BOIKHUTSO, Thokozile	BOTSODERE, Sebezile Jacob	BUSANE, Thoko Flora	BUWA, Nomhle Elsie	CELE, Doris Thembeliphi Maka Eric
BOILANE, Bangiso Petros	BOTTOMAN, Archibald Clement	BUSANE, Thoko Maureen	BUWA, Nonosi	CELE, Dorothy Thabisiwe Thabo
BOINAMO, Goolathle George	Pumelele	BUSANE, Tholakele	BUYA, Nomakhwezi	CELE, Duduzile Aubrey
BOJOSI, Grace	BOTTOMAN, Emily Haciwe	BUSANI, Busisiwe	BUYAP1, James Manka	CELE, Dumisani
BOJOSI, Tshipiso	BOTTOMAN, Mqondeli Wilmot	BUSANI, Daniel	BUYEYE, David	CELE, Duno Jona
BOKABA, Lucas Shemane	BOTTOMAN, Xolile	BUSANI, Juhl Sithembile	BUYS, Attie	CELE, Edmund Thalente
BOKABA, Solomon Monko	BOUWER, C.	BUSANI, Kholwengile Daniel	BUYS, Khethiwe	CELE, Elizabeth Naqhenya
BOKHALE, Buti Herbert	BOUWER, Dawn Meg Manda	BUSANI, Nkhesi Khethiyoni	BUYS, Marshall Cornelius	CELE, Elizabeth Ntombiczi
BOKHATSI, Lelohlonolo Edward	BOUWER, Etienne	BUSANI, Rose	BUZA, Tili Daniel	CELE, Elliot Makhlehleni
BOKOPANE, Tebo Patros	BOVU, David	BUSANI, Sibongile Dolly	BYNEVELDT, Shaun	CELE, Enoch
BOLELWANG, Solly Saul Nukuki	BOVU, Nompumelelo Ruth	BUSANI, Ziphozonke	BYROM, James Vivian	CELE, Eugene Bheki
BOLO, Tobile Jackson	BOWERS, Gordon Edward	BUSANI, Zondwayo	CABE, Thembekile Phillip	CELE, Fana Milton
BOLOFO, Michael Ntjanyana	BOWERS, Maria Elisabeth	BUSHULA, Foli	CABELA, Crisdela Nceya	CELE, Fanyana
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BOLOSHA, Thembele Rowena	BOYI, Guza	BUSIKA, Mthethli Middleton	CAKWE, Nomboniso	CELE, Gertrude Thulisile
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BONAS, Johannes Ngabeni	BREEDT, J.	BUTELE, Sophie	CAMP, Gregory	CELE, Harriet
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BONGANI	BRETT, D	BUTHELEZI, Yonke James	CANDLOVU, Ntabazakhe	CELE, James Oalumuzi
BONGCO, Mjumelelo Washington	BREYTENBACH, W	BUTHELEZI,	CAROLISSEN, Gasant	CELE, Jeanette Ncunco
BONGISILE, Honey Mzimkhulu	BRICKHILL, Jeremy	BUTHELEZI,	CAROLISSEN, Ronald Charles	CELE, Jenneth Thembi
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BONGOZA, Theophilus Ndlovu	BRITS, E. M. M.	BUTHELEZI, Alfred Phillemon	CASEY, Anthony Marc	CELE, Joshua Elias
BONGWE, Joyce Luvuwani	BRITS, Erika	BUTHELEZI, Alison	CASSANRDA, Andriano	CELE, Josiah
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BONTSI, Vulindlela Witbooi	BRITZ, Adeline	BUTHELEZI, Bhekumusa Mdhakamiseni	CAZA, Myekeni Wellington	CELE, Leluter Thoko
BONYANE, Morongwaotsile Pieter	BRITZ, Annie Petronella	BUTHELEZI, Bhekuyise Obert	CEBEKHUKU, Khumbulani Aubrey	CELE, Lena Fezani
BOOI, Andile Adwin	BRITZ, Johanna Maria	BUTHELEZI, Bongani Justice	CEBEKHULU, Bernard Vincent	CELE, Lolozi
BOOI, Bongani	BRITZ, Lazarus	BUTHELEZI, Bonginkosi Remegius	CEBEKHULU, Bongani	CELE, Mabhampe December
BOOI, Edward Vuyisile	BRITZ, Mapule Alice	BUTHELEZI, Bonile Girdle Deli	CEBEKHULU, Gugile Melca	CELE, Mamayi Madrina
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BOOI, Nomvo	BRITZ, Wetton	BUTHELEZI, Busisiwe Ntombi	CEBEKHULU, Linda	CELE, Mandla Gilbert

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 CELE, Mandlenkosi Ntsikelelo
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 CELE, Matilda Vierra Mathi
 CELE, Mbekezeli
 CELE, Minah Thoko
 CELE, Mirriam Ngenzeni
 CELE, Mkhokhele Michael
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 CELE, Msamaniselwa
 CELE, Mtshingiswa Jones
 CELE, Mtshangini Alford
 CELE, Muntzelula Gladness
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 CELE, Musawenkosi Richard
 CELE, Muzi Lucky
 CELE, Mvuseni Michael
 CELE, Mzonjani Albert
 CELE, Nceni Doreen
 CELE, Ncanywe
 CELE, Ndvwangu Petros
 CELE, Ngoneni Mayo
 CELE, Nicholas Ndoda
 CELE, Nico Siculo
 CELE, Nkamezi
 CELE, Nkanyiso Paul
 CELE, Nkosikhona
 CELE, Nkosinathi Humphry
 CELE, Nobangane Ellen
 CELE, Nokupila Alvina
 CELE, Nokuvela Kasmira
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 CELE, Nomathaba Cyndy
 CELE, Nomaza Alzinah
 CELE, Nombuso
 CELE, Nonpumelelo Iris
 CELE, Nonvula Eunice
 CELE, Nonlanhla Evelina
 CELE, Nozimaphla
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 CELE, Ntombi
 CELE, Ntombi Audrey
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 CELE, Ntombintombi Mirriam
 CELE, Ntombizodwa Anna
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 CELE, Patrick Siphio
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 CHAMANE, Sithembiso
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 CHAND, Hajera
 CHAND, Ridwaan
 CHAND, Samsodien
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 CHAPI, Orphan
 CHAPO, Elijah Monyane
 CHARLES, Edward Vuyo
 CHARLES, Elizabeth Notobile
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 CHARLIMAN, Ntoyakhe Tommy
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 CHAUKE, Johannes
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 CHEADOLE, Halton
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 CHIBA, Laloo
 CHIEF DUBE'S SONS, Unknown
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 CHILI, Barbara
 CHILI, Dudu Olive
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 CHILI, Msawenkosi
 CHILI, Mzwandile Bethwell
 CHILI, Pholi
 CHILI, Sibusiso
 CHILI, Simon
 CHILI, Thembase Gladys
 CHILIZA, Balungile Gladness
 CHILIZA, Barnard Makhosonke
 CHILIZA, Bhekekwakhe
 CHILIZA, Bozo Welcome
 CHILIZA, Constance
 CHILIZA, Elizabeth Bazulile
 CHILIZA, Lucy
 CHILIZA, Makaza Lena
 CHILIZA, Marria
 CHILIZA, Moses Boyboy
 CHILIZA, Nomaphuthukeyi
 CHILIZA, Skhumbuzo
 CHILIZA, Themba Sylvirius
 CHILIZA, Tsitsi
 CHILIZA, Zilungile Florence
 CHILLOA, Joas
 CHILOANE, Ananias Philip
 CHILOANE, Anna
 CHILOANE, Caswell
 CHILOANE, Felele Laikie
 CHILOANE, Godwin Tshupo
 CHILOANE, Moeti Lesly
 CHILOANE, Taesto
 CHIN, D G
 CHISANE, Sifiso Obed
 CHITTHABATHWA, Vukile
 CHITSHAWA, Alton
 CHITWAYO, Nomgondiso Annie
 CHIWAYO, Lassy Lekota Lazarus

CHIYA, Buzani Getrude
 CHIYA, David
 CHIYA, Delani Tokozani
 CHIYA, Jabulani
 CHIYA, Nomusa Maureen Manhlumayo
 CHOANE, Abel
 CHOANE, Norman
 CHOLO, Makolobe Kuranta
 CHOLO, Makwena
 CHOLO, Nataniel Disegi
 CHOLO, Rosina Kante
 CHOLO, Tyu Theophilus
 CHOMSA, Sydney Sekwati
 CHONCO, Balephi Erica
 CHONCO, Boy
 CHONCO, Christine
 CHONCO, Debra Thembeke
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 CHONGO, Siwakhile Pauls
 CHRISTIANS, Andrew Saul
 CHRISTIE, Daniel Johannes
 CHANZA, Jacob Matheka
 CHUENE, Victor
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 CHUMA, Nozimo Elsie
 CHUSHELA, Buylile Nguleni
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 CHUTSHELA, Agness
 CIBANE, Patrick Zakhele
 CIBANE, Siponono Raymond
 CIBINANI, S
 CIKOLU, Elizabeth
 CIKWAYO, Babo Caiphas
 CIKWAYO, Mdu Mvaelwa
 CILIZA, Balungile Virginia
 CILIZA, Madiya Florence
 CILIZA, Maliyzeve
 CILIZA, Zithobile Livingstone
 CILIZA, Zwelake Phinas
 CILIZA, Zwebilanzi Alpheus
 CINDI, Eleas Nala Stanley Siphio
 CINDI, Johannes Sepule
 CINDI, Theminkosi Reuben
 CINDI, Trevor Themba
 CINGO, Abraham Thanduxolo
 CINGO, Zazise Zacharia
 CINGWANI, Nomajimi Angelina
 CIRA, Jabulani Dennis
 CIRA, Mthembeni Lucky
 CITWA, Tembisile
 CIYA, Hialebane Medrina
 CIYA, Noqhama
 CLAASEN, Alida Maria
 CLAASEN, Cornelius Nicolaas
 CLAASEN, Jonathan
 CLAASENS, Ann
 CLAASENS, Mike
 CLAASEN, Shadrak Kholisile
 CLARENCE, M.
 CLARENCE, Neville James
 CLARKE, Kenneth Ralph
 CLARKSON, Annik
 CLARKSON, Chris
 CLASSEN, M P G
 CLEMENTSON, Albert
 CLOETE, Lnj
 CLOETE, M. C.
 CLOETE, Petrus Albertus
 CLOETE, Roseline Desiree
 CLUCAS, Clive Winston Quayle
 COCHRANE (BOTES), Belinda
 COCHRANE, Sharon Margaret
 COEKS, M
 COERECIUS, Winston Errol
 COETZE, Cs
 COETZEE, A. J.
 COETZEE, Abraham Christoffel Naude
 COETZEE, Adri
 COETZEE, Daniel Jacobus
 COETZEE, Dirk Johannes
 COETZEE, Dikakiso Emily
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 COETZEE, Otto
 COETZEE, Philippa Maria
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 COGWANE, Maputso Agnes
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 COLE, Bennie
 COLIDIZA, George
 COLIDIZA, Poto Wilfred
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 COLLINS, Dawn

COLLINS, Johnny
 COLLIS, Magdelina
 COLOGU, Siphio
 COLOSSA, Zwebilanzi Daniel
 COMACHO, Fatima Maria Freitas
 COMBRINK, G. Jacobus
 COMBRINK, L. M.
 CONA, Dahwa (Dahlia) Princess
 CONCERT, Anthony Rex
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 CONCO, Zikhumbulele Caleb
 CONSTABLE, Ivor
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 COOPER, Revabalani
 COOPER, Sathasivan
 COPPIN, G. B.
 CORNELIUS, Quentin
 CORRANS, Louise
 COTANI, Lungisile Robert
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 CRANKO, Robin Phillip
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 CRONJE, Elizabeth Maria Susanna
 CRONJE, Francina
 CRONJE, Jacobus
 CRONJE, Pierre
 CRONJE, Pieter
 CROUS, Carel Frederick
 CRUICK, Unknown
 CRUISE, Nicholas James Elvin
 CUBBIT, Jenny
 CULE, Siphwele Elsie
 CULLING, Stanley Johannes
 CULLIS, Unknown
 CUPIDO, Clive Christopher
 CURIEL, Henry
 CURREN, Brian
 CUTSHWA, Weleshia Puleng
 CWAILE, Boingotlo Moses
 CWEEA, William Balekile
 CWELE, Aubrey Mduzizi
 CWELE, Herbert Digaan
 CWELE, Mirriam Thenjwe
 CWELE, Mzawuqalwa Elliot
 CWELE, Nonkululeko Mkhalele
 CWELE, Ntombazanyana Anne
 CWELE, Ntombikhona Theodorah
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 CYSTER, Belinda
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 DA SILVA LO FRADE, Adalberto Maria
 DA SILVA WALTERS, E. L
 DA SOUZA, Colin Mark
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 DADASE, Matoto
 DAHILE, Henry Barnabas Loshe
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 DAKI, Xolisa Lennox Nkonkobe
 DAKI, Xosheni Francis
 DAKISI, Ann Phililemon
 DAKU, Wandile Ponkie
 DAKUSE, Monde
 DALGLEISH, Merlene Carol
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 DALI, Funzani Metha
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 DAMANE, Songezile Zephania
 DAMBANE, Breakfast
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 DAN, Ngozi
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 DANCA, Dumisani Shadrack
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 DANCA, Goodman Nhevu
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 DANISO, Justice Zanoxolo
 DANISO, Noyekhi Monica
 DANKIE, Makhosonke Meshack
 DANSTER, Nceba Enoch
 DANSTER, Xolile Simon
 DANSTER, Songezile Gerald
 DANTILE, Julius Khayalethu Mahbuti
 DARA, Mpmuleli Elias
 DARA, Zisive Agnes
 DARBIES, Simon
 DASTILE, Fikile

DASTILE, James Velile
 DASTILE, Mimi Ntontozanele
 D'ATH, George
 DATHINI, Andile
 DAUMAS, Willington Pusho
 DAVHULA, Namadzwah Phanelu
 DAVID, Mkhusele Michael
 DAVIDS, Anela
 DAVIDS, Muhsin
 DAVIES, Boetie
 DAVIS, Abraham Carel
 DAVIS, David
 DAVIS, Gill
 DAVIS, Mafu Marvin
 DAWETI, Nontobeko Edith
 DAWSON, Collet Debra
 DAY, Mina
 DAYELE, Alfred
 DAYELLI, Jongkhaya
 DAYENI, Mayenzeke Washington
 DAYENI, Veleleni
 DAYI, Agneth Khalelani
 DAYI, Toti
 DAYI, Zukiswa
 DAYILE, Alfred Mncekeli
 DAYILE, Puntzi Mzamo
 DAYIMANI, Zolile Leslie Nteyana
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 DE BEER, Elizabeth
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 DE BRUIN, Arno
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 DE BRUIN, Ivoly
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 DE BRUIN, Marianna Susan
 DE BRUIN, Max
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 DE BRYN, Daniel Jakobus
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 DE CASTRO, Maria Fatima
 DE FREITAS, Jose
 DE JAGER, Carel Willem
 DE JAGER, Jan
 DE JAGER, Myrtle Louisa
 DE JAGER, P. D.
 DE JONG, Daughter (One)
 DE JONG, Daughter (Two)
 DE JONG, Ina
 DE KLERK, Anna Magrieta Susanna
 Jacoba
 DE KLERK, Johanna Elizabeth
 DE KLERK, Nicolaas Johannes Hendrik
 DE KOCK, Felicity (Fazlin)
 DE KOCK, Helena Kroc
 DE KOKER, Abri Jacobus
 DE LA HARPE, Sharon
 DE LEEUW, K. P.
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 DE NYSCHEN, Carla
 DE NYSCHEN, Marie
 DE NYSCHEN, Thea
 DE NYSCHEN, Grizelle
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 DE SOUSA ALVES, M. A.
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 DE WET, Peter
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 DEETLON, David Alan
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 DENGE, Zamilé Den
 DENISA, David Mangaliso
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 DESEMELE, Masinyini Agnes
 DHLADHLA, Jabu Constance
 DHLADHLA, Margaret Busisiwe
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DLUDLA, Mhlaliseni Gerald	DUBE, Mbokode Bhekizwe	DUMELA, Nombulelo Elizabeth	FAAS, Adri	FLEMMER, Charles
DLUDLA, Msawenkosi	DUBE, Mgcineni	DUMEZWEINI, Phikiso	FABA, July Soul	FLEPU, Ntsikelelo Dumgore
DLUDLA, Ntombifuthi	DUBE, Mirriam Khumbuleni	DUMILE, Zolani	FADANA, Buzile	FLETCHER, David Lungdon
DLUDLA, Ntombini	DUBE, Mpkanyisa	DUMISA, Dorothy Nonhlahla	FAPUDI, Rosy Matshidiso	FLOYD, Liz
DLUDLA, Sanele Emmanuel	DUBE, Mgashelwa William	DUMISA, Mandla Cedrick	FAHRENFORT, Craig	FODE, Sobantu Munich
DLUDLA, Thokozani Petros	DUBE, Msizi Harrison	DUMISA, Mxolisi Dumisa (Erasmus Thabani)	FAHRENFORT, Grant	FODO, Sthembele
DLUDLU, Elizabeth	DUBE, Msombuluko	DUNA, Mandile	FAKAZI, David Bano Bekithemba	FOKHWEBE, Amos Mxolisi
DLUDLU, Sipho Jeremiah	DUBE, Mtholeni Zeblon	DUNCAN, A	FAKAZI, Harrison Thobani	FOKOTI, Nombulelo Eunice
DLULISA, Bazamile Anabel	DUBE, Mzungezeni	DUNGA, Mgezi	FAKAZI, Nkosiapha Selnick	FOLEY, Phumelele Duncan
DLULISA, Dilizombondo Petros Mansuet	DUBE, Natalian Nhlanhla	DUNGWANA, Nomakosazana Joyce	FAKAZI, Rosemary Nonhlanhla	FOLDSI, Annah
LUMBA, Mawonga Simon	DUBE, Ngakeni	DUNJWA, Bonisile	FAKO, Klenkie	FOLTSI, Elizabeth Maserame
LUNGWANE, Anna Mildred	DUBE, Ngenzeleni Agnes	DUNJWA, Selby	FAKO, Nonhlanhla Elsie	FOLTSI, Solomon Santi Henry
LUNGWANE, Ndleleni Anthony	DUBE, Nkosinathi Christopher	DUNN, Hitler Mzikayifani	FAKU, Amos Themba	FONK, Thelma Nonzaliseko
LUNGWANE, Xolisile Precious	DUBE, Nombuso Goodness Nonhlanhla	DUNN, James Mervyn	FAKU, Matthews Lindile	FORBES, Ashley
LUNGWANE, Zanele Pretty	DUBE, Nonkanyiso Jennet	DUVENHAGE, Andre	FAKU, Mayford Wele	FORSI, Nomvuyiseko
DOBE, Nomsa Cleopatra	DUBE, Ntontoza Elias	DUVENHAGE, TJ	FAKU, Mhlabuvukile	FORTEWU, Henry
DOBRSKI, Janusz	DUBE, Olphi Ningi	DUZANE, Anton Thulani	FAKU, Phumelele Michael	FORTUIN, Bernard Gordon
DODO, Bernnet Lebelele	DUBE, Pelphi Merry	DUZE, Rosevelt Cheritom Vusumuzi	FAKU, Quenert Kosie	FORTUIN, Anne
DODO, Fanekile	DUBE, Phendu Annah	DWARA, Sindiswa Lynn	FAKU, Sisa	FOUCHE, Justin Youth
DODO, Mteleteli Michael	DUBE, Qomeleni Hellen	DWASHU, Funeke	FAKU, Thembinkosi Amos	FOUR UNKNOWN YOUTHS
DODO, Norman	DUBE, Ralph	DWASHU, Mandla	FAKU, Wilson	FOURIE, D. C.
DODO, Nxumalo	DUBE, Resalia	DWASHU, Nomathamsanga	FAKU, Zola	FOURIE, J.
DODO, Richard "Preacher Man"	DUBE, Siphosonosi Bonginkosi	DWAYISA, Thembinkosi Fanaye	FAKU, Zola	FOURIE, Leonie
DODO, Simon Solani	DUBE, Solomon	DWEBE, Tota Roy	FAKU, Benangwe Anna	FOURIE, Lindy-Anne
DOIDGE, Craig	DUBE, Thambolani Elizabeth	DWEBE, Zanele Daphney	FAKU, Belina Sibongile	FOURIE, Mark Dirk
DOKODA, Danisa Michael	DUBE, Thembinkosi Dennis	DYABOO, Xolile	FAKU, Bongani Wonderboy	FOURIE, Nicolas Cornelius
DOLANA, Suka	DUBE, Theobold Dumisani	DYABUZA, Vuyani Douglas	FAKU, Duma	FOURIE, Petrus Johannes
DOLQ, John Mogaetsi	DUBE, Thulani	DYAFTA, Thobile Livingstone	FAKU, Fanyana Gordon	FOURIE, R. C.
DOMBI, M	DUBE, Veronica Kedibone	DYALVAN, Zonwabele	FAKU, Fanyane Andries	FOURIE, Roelof Johannes J.
DONAGHUE, P	DUBE, Vusumzi Samuel	DYANI, Peter	FAKU, Rodney Rhodah	FOURIE, Unknown
DONCABE, Bhekimp	DUBE, Yvonne	DYANTI, Mzwamadoda Tyhali	FAKU, Sibusiso	FOURIE, Wynand
DONCABE, Elias Omo	DUBE, Zebulon Mfana	DYANTI, Thami Goodenough	FAKU, Thonderboy	FRAIR, L
DONCABE, Thomas Mhlawu Phenduka	DUBE, Zibokwakhe Frederick	DYANTI, Amos Similo	FALAKE, Nontshiki	FRANCE, Thamsanqa Anderson
DONDASHE, Whitley Thozamile Michael	DUBENI, Zola Michael	DYANTI, Angelina Ntombizodwa	FALAKE, Portia	FRANCESCATO, Giovanni
DONDI, Thandinkosi Sidwell	DUBON, Isaac	DYANTI, Basil	FALAKE, Thumeka	FRANCIS, Marie
DONDISA, Maxhlanzima	DUBU, Sifiso Siphwe Blessing	DYANTI, Ernest	FALENI, Nho	FRANKE, P.
DONGWE, Naledi Eugenia	DUBULEKWELE, Brenda	DYANTI, Fuzile Sidwell	FALI, Jerry Moholo	FRANS, Maigobe Jackson
DONLEY, Ernest Nene	DUCROD, Rodney Douglas	DYANTI, Mgonezi Reginald Byte	FALI, Zamuxolo	FRANSCH, Anton
DONYELI, Mgezi	DUDA, Phakamile William	DYANTI, Mpmulele Manityi	FALTEIN, Andile	FRANZEN, Andrew Lategan
DOPKOK, Joy	DUDA, Zwelakhe Eric	DYANTI, Nkholakhe	FALTEIN, Lwazi Voice	FREDIE, Annah
DOS SANTOS ASSUNCAO, Maria Gloria	DUDU, Howard	DYANTI, Nomkhango Phumza	FAMA, Mkululi	FREDERICKS, Hendrik
DOS SANTOS, Debbie	DUDU, Nester	DYANTI, Sandile	FANGA, Benangwe Maydon	FREYSEN, C. A. R.
DOS SANTOS, Maria Irene Nunes	DUDU, Phoswa	DYANTI, Sonwabele	FANAYO, Monwabisi Reginald	FRIDIE, Abdul Karriem
DOUGLAS, Dane Richard	DUDUKETSANG, Kanetsi	DYANTI, Totto	FANEPHU, Jackson Nowathu	FRIEDMAN, Max
DOUGLAS, Njenani	DOUSE, Soyisile	DYANTI, Thanduxolo Lawrence	FANI, Gloria Thoko	FRUEHLICK, Jan
DOUSE, Soyisile	DUKU, Kaizer Nimrod	DYANTI, Winnie	FANI, Mlandelwa	FROMANEM, Willem Stephanus
DOUW-MARTIN, Maria Nozamile	DULCHARAN, Kishorelal	DYANTI, Wendie Leonard	FANI, Mphati Douglas	FULA, Sam Thamsanqa
DULCE, Vuyani	DULI, Craig	DYANTI, Zenzile Ephrite	FANI, Ngeke Moses	FULANI, Aubrey Jacob
DOWNING, Errol	DUMMA, Alexia Ntombazana	DYARVANE, Sonwabiso Linton	FANTE, Mathew	FULANI, Nokuzola Carol-Anne
DOWNING, Vanessa	DUMA, Bakhaleni Mana	DYASI, Ceswel	FANTE, Phyllis Nontutuzelo	FULANI, Rena Ntombexolo
DOYI, Abram Lesley	DUMA, Bongani	DYASI, Cynthia Ncikazi	FANTI, Mzwandile Wilson	FULANI, Vuyani Wesley
DOYISA, David Vusumuzi	DUMA, Bongani Joseph	DYASI, Goodman Mzolisi	FANYANE, Mkganyeng Zebulon	FUMBA, Stanley Mbuzeli
DOYISA, Phucuyise	DUMA, Christopher Veli	DYASI, Lungisile Cheyana	FARISANI, Tshenuwani Simon	FUMBATA, Zwelbangile Jacob
DOYISA, Princess Buyisiwe	DUMA, Filiphah	DYASI, Nonkavulelo Albertinah	FATHA, Nikele	FUMBA, Zeile Marontje
DOYISA, Thoko Patricia	DUMA, Gertrude	DYASI, William Khotsi	FATMAN, Eric Mxolisi	FUNANI, Mthuthuzele Michael
DRAMAT, Anwar	DUMA, Jerome	DYASOPHU, Luthando Nicholas	FATMAN, Eric Mxolisi	FUNANI, Mzingiso
DRIMMEL, Friedrich	DUMA, Joseph Ndodo	DYASOPHU, Madodana	FATYELA, Fuzile	FUNANI, Nokulunga
DRUMMOND, Willem	DUMA, Kenneth Dumsani	DYODA, Temba	FATYELA, Richard Masinda	FUNANI, Oupa Mathew
DUPLESSIS, E. S.	DUMA, Lili Gertrude	DYOMFANA, Andile Addison	FAZZIE, Mzwanele	FUNDA, Simon Ndindi
DUPLESSIS, P. C.	DUMA, Lombo Alson	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FEBANA, Cikizwa Ntsiki Gladys	FUNDO, Boy Zama Lennox
DUPLESSIS, Pieter	DUMA, Mandlakayise Solomon	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FENI, Andile Elvis	FUNDO, Bambilaphi
DUPLESSIS, Willem Petrus	DUMA, Mantombi Premrose	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FENI, Angelina Zanywele	FUNOQ, Cebisa/Singelwa
DUPREEZ, Peter William	DUMA, Mbalekelwa Richard	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FENI, Anna Mingi	FUNOQ, Phindwe Regina
DUPREEZ, C. J.	DUMA, Mduduzi Watson	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FENI, Mphophele Petrus	FURGESON, James
DU TOIT, Afrika Johannes	DUMA, Mfaniswa Mangwazini	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FENI, Patrick	FUSAZA, Tolo Thobile
DU TOIT, C. J.	DUMA, Mthokozisi Christopher	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FERRERA, Henry Shaun	FUTSHANE, Lulama
DU TOIT, David	DUMA, Musa Agrippa	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FERGUSON, Andrew Henry Douglas	FUTYANA, Phumzile William
DU TOIT, E.	DUMA, Nobuhle Sibongile	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FERHELST, Muhammad Farid	FUTYANA, Phumzile William
DUBAZANA, Mduduzi	DUMA, Nojise Constance	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FERRERA (NEE VENTER), Matilda	FYN, Arlene Theresa
DUBAZANA, Sindisive	DUMA, Nonceba Edeline	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	Eleonore	GAANAKGOMO, John Modisaemang
DUBAZANA, Wonderboy Hamilton	DUMA, Nonceba Martha	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FERRERA, Gezine	GAANAKGOMO, Nifine Jonas
DUBE (NHLABATHI), Stanley Lebogang	DUMA, Ntomi Mavis	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FERRERA, Jappie	GAAREKWE, Matlakala Aletta
DUBE, Beatrice	DUMA, Qondeni	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FERRERA, R	GABA, Lazarus
DUBE, Bakizwe Robert	DUMA, Qondeni	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FERRERE, Johannes Petrus	GABA, Morris
DUBE, Boneni Grace	DUMA, Regina Babhekile	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FERRERE, John Marinus	GABA, Syakana
DUBE, Bonisiwe Dorcas	DUMA, Robert	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FESTI, Mzukisi Johannes	GABA, Aaron
DUBE, Dicky	DUMA, Sam	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FESTER, Gertrude Magdalene Nethania	GABELA, Betty
DUBE, Dina Doshana	DUMA, Shadrack	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FESTILE, Nombulelo Joyce	GABELA, Fana
DUBE, Duduzile Lucy	DUMA, Shadrack Thandoxolo Dombi	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FICK, Colleen Esther	GABELA, Gula Joseph
DUBE, Ellie Mncofeni	DUMA, Sibongile Promise	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FICK, Shantel	GABELA, Jameson
DUBE, Emily Fikile	DUMA, Sikhumbuzo	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FIDLER, Jeanne Judith	GABELA, Jethro Bonginkosi
DUBE, Emerald Thanda	DUMA, Sithembile Elica	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FIDLER, Walter	GABELA, Khona
DUBE, Florence Ntombizonke	DUMA, Siyabonga	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FIKANI, Lungile	GABELA, Lindiwe
DUBE, Frank Musa	DUMA, Stinki Nobuhle	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FILANE, Joyce Maesha	GABELA, Martina Thulisiwe
DUBE, George Gladstone Linda	DUMA, Tende	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FILIZWE, Lumalile Ngayi	GABELA, Mooi
DUBE, Gezeph Gladys Mashiyabedla	DUMA, Thabisile The	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FINCA, Xolile Remington	GABELA, Nokwazi
DUBE, Grace	DUMA, Thobile Braveman	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FINGER, Mathew Moeketsi	GABELA, Nompilo
DUBE, Herbert Mduduzi	DUMA, Thulani	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FINI, Dingaan	GABELA, Nozipho Daphney
DUBE, Hleziphi Sylvia	DUMA, Thulani Douglas	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FINI, Phumzile	GABELA, Sibonele Cyril
DUBE, Isaac	DUMA, Zandile	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FINI, Phumzile	GABELA, Siphod Edwin
DUBE, Jephthas	DUMA, Zanele Florinah	DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FINI, Phumzile	GABELA, Skhumbuzo
DUBE, Johanna		DYONASE, Mzemise Maxwell	FINI, Phumzile	GABELA, Thandekile Emgard

GABO, Brenda
 GABOUTLOELOE, Keresepe Patrick
 GABUZA, Abednigo
 GABUZA, Michael Nkosana
 GABUZA, Moses
 GADEBE, Malose William
 GADUKA, Boeang Palmer
 GAENAKGANG, Taeco Elias
 GAGA, Headman Mbuso
 GAGANE, Daniel Rubby Motseothato
 GAGILE, Lahlwe
 GAIKA, Eurice Nomalungelo
 GALANE, John Kontso
 GALAWE, Letshego Patrick
 GALAWENI, John Matatana
 GALAWENI, Notayini Nomangesi
 GALEBOE, Taula Moreo
 GALELA, Champion
 GALELA, Himilton Piyose
 GALELA, Lendiso Richard Ndumo
 GALELA, Zuko
 GALENG, Goathotsemang Hoffman
 GALL, Nondim
 GALLANT, Reuben Selebogo
 GAMA, Kenneth Sibusiso
 GAMA, Mondli Rudolph
 GAMA, Mtonozima Alfred
 GAMA, Nelson Ntethe
 GAMA, Nkosinathi
 GAMA, Nomvula Zonke
 GAMA, Thamsanqa
 GAMA, Thandele Joshua
 GAMBUSHE, Duncan Sbhongiseni
 GAMBUSHE, Ntombile G.
 GAMEDDE, Beauty Delisile
 GAMEDDE, Fana Richard
 GAMEDDE, Isaac Mzikayifani
 GAMEDDE, Nompumelelo
 GAMEDDE, Theminkosi Tetete
 GAMPI, Maxanjana John
 GAMTELA, Nomabulu Princess
 GAMZANA, Qhama
 GAMZANA, Sylvia Nolundi
 GAMZANA, Zongezile John
 GANCA, Siganda Lawrence
 GANDA, Shadrack
 GANGALA, Diliza
 GANGATHELA, Bhalisile Welcome
 GANGATHELE, Daniel
 GANGCA, Monde Heston
 GANGGA, Nommule Virginia
 GANGGA, Patrick Sikhumbuzo
 GANJANA, Solomon Ntobeko Koko
 GANNIN,
 GANTA, Mutana
 GANTA, Vuyiswa Ann
 GANTOLO, Malungisa Big-Boy
 GANYA, Dlevalile John
 GANYA, Siyolo Sisa Lungelo
 GAOBUSE, Olegeng Samuel
 GARNET-BENNET,
 GASA, Beatrice
 GASA, Bonowakhe William
 GASA, Dabukeleni Arosia
 GASA, Daniel Mfanafuthi
 GASA, David Siponono
 GASA, Emmanuel Bongani
 GASA, Goodness Delile
 GASA, Gotiza Anastasia
 GASA, Mahhinni Mabbie
 GASA, Mduduzi Christopher
 GASA, Mzini Elliot
 GASA, Ngidleni
 GASA, Phillip Muzikayise
 GASA, Phumezweni Christoph
 GASA, Sweetness Mana
 GASA, Theminkosi Jonathan
 GASEALAHWE, Lentikile Joseph
 GASEBUK, Monamodi Sylvester
 GASEKOMA, Orateng
 GASELA, Legina
 GASELA, Ntombizanele
 GASELA, Phoyisa
 GASELA, Thamsanqa Francis
 GATITE, John Well
 GAVU, Gugulethu Mzwabantu
 GAVU, Mavis Busisiwe
 GAVU, Bannie Anton
 GAWULA, Buysile
 GAYI, Eric Zimasile
 GAYI, Vuyo Newell
 GAZU, Gugu Clarice
 GAZU, Jacob Themba
 GAZU, Silomo Shadrack
 GAZULA, Nanabezi
 GCABA, Andreas Bhikani
 GCABA, Delani Richard
 GCABA, Gladys Tholakele
 GCABA, Josephina Mamo
 GCABA, Qalokwakhe Simon
 GCABA, Zakhele
 GCABA, Zakhele Jerome
 GCABA, Zebilon Veni
 GCABA, Zibuyile Busisiwe
 GCABASHE, Bheki
 GCABASHE, Mpoloza

GCABASHE, Nokwazi Rose
 GCABASHE, Petros Vusumuzi
 GCABASHE, Sizwe Reginald
 GCADO, Samson Sifo
 GCAGCISO, Thobeka Deborah
 GCABEKA, Lizwi Stanley
 GCANGA, Nospoho
 GCANSA, Solani
 GCAYIYA, Mpendalelwa
 GCINA, Cizikwa Ivy
 GCINA, Sibiya
 GCINISA, Richard
 GCLOTELA, Gcinikhaya Samson
 GCOITYANA, Sakhumzi
 GCOMISA, Khethegiwe Annatoria
 GCOMISA, Mandlakayise
 GCOMISA, Zipathe
 GCWENSA, Alzinah Sizwe
 GCWENSA, Hloniphe Ignatia
 GEABASHE, Vusi Emmanuel
 GEBE, Nobamba
 GECEWA, Nozisa Florence
 GECE, Zukiswa Cynthia
 GEHLING, Sydney
 GELDENDHUY, Abram Harry
 GELDENDHUY, Marina Louis
 GEMA, Mayvis Sibongile
 GENTE, Sandra Glyn
 GENU, Benjamin Bafana
 GEOFFREYS, Timothy Colin
 GEORGE, Andile Gideon
 GEORGE, Bangani Godfrey
 GEORGE, Glastone Andile
 GEORGE, Nontozakhe May
 GEORGE, Samson Kolisani
 GEORGE, Shadrack
 GEORGE, Thembelakhe
 GEORGE, Thozamile
 GERRARD, Marchelle
 GERTSE, Jan
 GETYESIE, David Dayi
 GETYESIE, Luvuyo
 GETYEZA, Mncanyalwa Ernest
 GEYSER, John
 GEZA, Lucky Mishack
 GHOSA, Desiree Veronica
 GIANINI,
 GIBBINGS, Kevin Noil
 GIBBINGS, Kim Patrick
 GIBE, Mongezi Mosset
 GIDDY, B
 GIDIMANA, Fonjana
 GIE, Janet
 GIGABA, Ambrose Thulani
 GIGABA, John
 GIGABA, Kholekile
 GIGABA, Lungu Dominick
 GIGI, Ntomontomo
 GIJA, Vuyisile Victor
 GILJIMA, Mnyamezeli
 GILAU, Gert Cornelius Johannes
 GILBERT, George Oupa
 GINA, Bernard
 GINA, Cebile
 GINETHA, Fikile
 GINA, Fikile
 GINA, John
 GINA, Johnson Myngeni
 GINA, Mibengeza
 GINWIDA, Zodwa
 GINYA, Tebogo Aaron
 GRAY, Gerald Herman
 GIDI, Simon
 GISHI, Elsie Lizwiwe
 GISHI, Jackson
 GIWALA, Theni Louis
 GIWU, Justina
 GIWU, Nomvuzo Grace
 GIYO, Sibidiyela
 GLABA, Nomusa Badingile
 GOBA, Bongani Selby
 GOBA, John
 GOBA, Mzwamandla
 GOBA, Zwiliwe
 GOBINCA, Nonyaniso Trusma
 GOBINCA, Prince Nkosekaya
 GOBIZEMBE, Albertina Nombuyiselo Parnini
 GOBIZEMBE, David Mzwandile
 GOBODO, Gordon
 GOBONA, Mzingaye Joseph
 GODDA, Rose
 GODLIMPI, Robert
 GODOLA, Maqaga Samson
 GODOLA, Xolile Simon Magaga
 GODOLOZI, Qagawuli
 GOGA, Temba
 GOGI, Tiko Juditha
 GOGO, Bongokwakhe Moses
 GOGO, Robert Ntesang
 GOGO, Saraphina
 GOGOLA, Sipo Michael
 GOGWANA, Thozamile Tobile
 GOITSIMANG, Patrick Obley
 GOJE, Nkhasinathi Emmanuel
 GOLA, Thobani

GOLA, Tyhlika Evelyn
 GOLACH, Max
 GOLD, Mckenna
 GOLDBERG, E. B.
 GOLIATH, Patricia Phyllis
 GOLIATH, Shadrack Mzimkhulu
 GOLIATH, Victor
 GOLSCHALK, M. B. E.
 GOM, Mawonga Theodore
 GOMANI, Dorothy Nosisi
 GOMBA, Headman Mthuzuzeli
 GOMBA, Minawa Richard
 GOMBA, Wellington
 GOMES, C. M.
 GOMFA, Aqha Ernest
 GONGEO, Sylvia Ncawae
 GONGQOBA, Fazile Alfred
 GONGWANE, Ntombizanele Mavis
 GONGXCKA, Sydney Zwelakhe
 GONIWE, Danile Thomas
 GONIWE, Fumanekile
 GONIWE, Mabotsheliso Paul
 GONIWE, Matthew
 GONTSHI, Nkhasinathi Alfred
 GONYA, Jongile Welcome
 GOOSEN, M. C.
 GOOSEN, Noelene
 GOOVADIA,
 GOPANE, Caroline
 GQDO, Sifiso
 GQDO, Thulani Percy
 GQDO, Vuyisile Michael
 GORDHAN, Pravin Jannadas
 GORDON, Deniso
 GORDON, Peter Dennis Anthony
 GOREWANG, Isaac Mawele
 GOSENYEGANG, Joseph Thutisite
 GOTYANA, Maratjie Thobile
 GOUWS, Elize
 GOUWS, M. M.
 GOUWS, Mbombo William
 GOUWS, Tarina
 GOVANA, Wellington Mongezi
 GOVENDER, Peter Ramakrishna
 GOWANE, Nomachule Albertina
 GQABI, Joe
 GQABI, Nomathamsanqa Princess
 GQADU, Siphiyo Johannes
 GQAGGA, Nobakabona Ester
 GQAVI, Zolile
 GQENGE, Dupa John
 GQIRANA(NANZE), Nomasomi
 GQIRANA, Mongameli
 GQOBANA, Wani Leon
 GQOBHA, Zoleka Veronica
 GQODI, Nxolo Lovedelia
 GQOLA, Frederick Bafana Makara
 GQOLODASHE, Thobile Cecil
 GQOLOZA, Mndiseli
 GQOZO, Micheal
 GQUBELA, Velile Henry
 GQUBULE, Fundile Lawrence
 GQWABAZA, Liza Edwin
 GQWETANI, Gemjilike
 GQWETHA, Mzamo
 GQWETHA, Sabelo (Phama)
 GRADWELL, Andrew Desmond
 GRANT, D. J.
 GRANT, Esther Esi
 GRANT, John Walter
 GRAY, Beverley
 GRAY, R. J.
 GREAVE, Khanyile Catherine
 GREEF, Stefanie
 GREEN, Erica
 GREGORY, Chaucer Mphiwa
 GREY, Fudusile Ntkelevana
 GRIESEL, Grant
 GRIFFIN, Elsie Sophia
 GRIFFITHS, Thabela Benedict
 GROBBELAAR, A. C.
 GROBBELAAR, Alwyn F
 GROBLER, Hilda
 GROENENWALD, Coenraad Johannes
 GROENENWALD, Fanie
 GROENENWALD, Johanna Marie
 GROENENWALD, Jonathan William
 GROENENWALD,
 GRONDO, Ndoda
 GROOTBOOM, Mxolisi Sydney
 GROOTBOOM, Mzukisi James
 GROOTBOOM, Norman Mabhaso
 GROOTBOOM, Richard Themba
 GROOTBOOM, Rosanne
 GROOTBOOM, Steven Bongani
 GROOTBOOM, Thamsanqa Arthur
 GUBHELA, Bafikile Beauty
 GUDASI, Siphosenkosi
 GUDLE, Sishiqli Miles
 GUGA, Buysile
 GULE, Bonginkosi
 GULE, Irene Madomizana
 GULE, Isaac Magillendoda
 GULE, Joseph
 GULE, Nkhasinathi Emmanuel
 GULE, Petros Mafika

GULUBELA, Themkhaya
 GULWA, Phakamisa Clearance Castor
 GUMA, Mduduzi
 GUMBI, Anna
 GUMBI, Doreen Sarah
 GUMBI, Douglas Vusumuzi
 GUMBI, Gezephi
 GUMBI, Josephine
 GUMBI, Khalelani Doris
 GUMBI, Munto Herbert
 GUMBI, Nkululeko Roderick Zi
 GUMBI, Nokwazi Freida
 GUMBI, Nomacala Rosy
 GUMBI, Ntombizethu Verah
 GUMBI, Peterson Maviyo
 GUMBI, Phumlani Brian
 GUMBI, Sibongile Anna
 GUMBI, Thomas
 GUMBI, Vumani
 GUMBI, Zibusse Jeffrey
 GUMBI, Zidumkazi Pheli Sibusiso
 GUMEDE, Aaron Darcas
 GUMEDE, Abrahams Themba
 GUMEDE, Agrinethu Gugu
 GUMEDE, Alfred Dumile
 GUMEDE, Alvina
 GUMEDE, Anthony George
 GUMEDE, Aron
 GUMEDE, Babongile Ngunda
 GUMEDE, Bafana
 GUMEDE, Bafana Albert
 GUMEDE, Beauty Jabu
 GUMEDE, Bhabha Dennis
 GUMEDE, Bhekani Simon
 GUMEDE, Bhekikile Catherine
 GUMEDE, Bhekifa
 GUMEDE, Bhekisisa Christopher
 GUMEDE, Bhekitshe
 GUMEDE, Bhekizozo
 GUMEDE, Bongani Collen
 GUMEDE, Bongani Sifiso
 GUMEDE, Cyril Thandumasa
 GUMEDE, David Fixon
 GUMEDE, Dinah Thoms
 GUMEDE, Dinwabembona
 Mnyakamelwa
 GUMEDE, Doris
 GUMEDE, Dubha
 GUMEDE, Dumisani Hamilton
 GUMEDE, Erica
 GUMEDE, Gcina Shepherd
 GUMEDE, Gertrude
 GUMEDE, Gleytroux
 GUMEDE, Goudes Duzile
 GUMEDE, Herbert Bheki
 GUMEDE, Hlelani Thembele
 GUMEDE, Hlangeni Baniile
 GUMEDE, Hlangeni Cihl
 GUMEDE, Irene Thandi
 GUMEDE, James
 GUMEDE, Jeanette
 GUMEDE, Jeffrey Siphio
 GUMEDE, Jimson Mfukeni
 GUMEDE, Joseph Khethekyakhe
 GUMEDE, Joyce Jabu
 GUMEDE, Justice Mandla
 GUMEDE, Ketive
 GUMEDE, Khanyile Beatrice
 GUMEDE, Khulekani Cyril
 GUMEDE, Khuphukile Florence
 GUMEDE, Kofi Samuel
 GUMEDE, Leah
 GUMEDE, Leonard Thulasizwe
 GUMEDE, Livingstone Ntsikelelo
 GUMEDE, Malusi
 GUMEDE, Mandlakayise Joe
 GUMEDE, Mandlenkosi
 GUMEDE, Mangalasis
 GUMEDE, Manoz Bukisiwe
 GUMEDE, Maqhawe Gordon
 GUMEDE, Mbango James
 GUMEDE, Mbongani Vincent
 GUMEDE, Mbongeni
 GUMEDE, Mbongeni
 GUMEDE, Mdutse Minah
 GUMEDE, Mduduzi Eric
 GUMEDE, Melita
 GUMEDE, Melusi Cyril
 GUMEDE, Meshack Nhlanhla
 GUMEDE, Mhlushwa
 GUMEDE, Michael
 GUMEDE, Michael
 GUMEDE, Mkhuzeni John
 GUMEDE, Mngqobi
 GUMEDE, Mntukathenjwa Dennis
 GUMEDE, Moses
 GUMEDE, Moses Muzi
 GUMEDE, Mphaheni Elphas
 GUMEDE, Mphakanyiswa Osiash
 GUMEDE, Mphi
 GUMEDE, Mthembeni Bhekukwenza
 GUMEDE, Mthobisi
 GUMEDE, Mtokozo Bhekitshe
 GUMEDE, Mthokozisi
 GUMEDE, Muzikayise Simon

GUMEDE, Mzonjani Michael
 GUMEDE, Mzwelane
 GUMEDE, Nelisile Victoria
 GUMEDE, Nellie
 GUMEDE, Ngoyisa
 GUMEDE, Ngonyama
 GUMEDE, Nkhasinathi
 GUMEDE, Nokuthula
 GUMEDE, Nokuthula
 GUMEDE, Ntokozo Ncholas
 Theminkosi
 GUMEDE, Ntombizethu
 GUMEDE, Ntombizodwa Eunice
 GUMEDE, Nyasile Norah
 GUMEDE, Phikwe
 GUMEDE, Pho
 GUMEDE, Pholi Gladness
 GUMEDE, Priscilla Bizeni
 GUMEDE, Pumepi
 GUMEDE, Qalangan Vitalis
 GUMEDE, Rachel
 GUMEDE, Rebecca
 GUMEDE, Reggie
 GUMEDE, Richard Siyenyuka
 GUMEDE, Sibusiso
 GUMEDE, Sibongile Happiness
 GUMEDE, Sibusiso
 GUMEDE, Sidudla Patricia
 GUMEDE, Sindisile Gumed
 GUMEDE, Sipho
 GUMEDE, Sipho
 GUMEDE, Siyanda David
 GUMEDE, Sunby
 GUMEDE, Sunrise Ntombizethu
 GUMEDE, Thabani
 GUMEDE, Thabile
 GUMEDE, Thali Bonisiwe
 GUMEDE, Thami Ronald
 GUMEDE, Thembi Catherine
 GUMEDE, Thembi Linah
 GUMEDE, Thembi Dapheleni
 GUMEDE, Thokozani Penelope
 GUMEDE, Tholakele Celwe
 GUMEDE, Tholakele Thuliswiwe
 GUMEDE, Thuleleni Mandulu
 GUMEDE, Thulisile
 GUMEDE, Vela Cecil
 GUMEDE, Vusumuzi Ernest
 GUMEDE, Xolani Thokozani
 GUMEDE, Zakhele Wiseman
 GUMEDE, Zandele Zamangasa
 GUMEDE, Ziswe Virginia
 GUMENGE, Welile Wellington
 GUMEQ, Ntombandazo Norah
 GUNGQISA, Henjisi
 GUNGBELE, Nomalungelo
 GUNGULUZA, Hendisani Anderson
 GUNN, Haroon
 GUNN, Shirley Renee
 GUNUZA, Amos
 GUSH, Thembelihle Arnold
 GUSHA, Ella Ntombekhaya
 GUSHA, Siyabulela
 GUYA, Mxolisi Timothy
 GUZANA, Moses Phakamile
 GUZANA, Onward
 GWABE, Mantanbana Sibongile
 GWABE, Annes Msutu
 GWACELA, Priscilla
 GWACELA, Siphio Johannes
 GWADELA, Zibele
 GWADELA, Zingisile
 GWAJUZA, Busani Collin
 GWAJUZA, Doris Agnes
 GWAJUZA, Elizabeth Norah
 GWAJUZA, Emmanuel Bongumusa
 GWAJUZA, Hlangeni
 GWAJUZA, June-Rose Thembisile
 GWAJUZA, Neli
 GWAJUZA, Zinhle
 GWALA, Advice
 GWALA, Babanji Phillimon
 GWALA, Bahlamgamsile
 GWALA, Bhekisigcino Patrick
 GWALA, Bhekithemba
 GWALA, Bhekizazi Alphas
 GWALA, Bongakuphi Hamilton
 GWALA, Bonisile Doris
 GWALA, Dan
 GWALA, Elias Gubane
 GWALA, Elizabeth Ntongolizi
 GWALA, Henry Mduduzi
 GWALA, Jabulani
 GWALA, Josephina
 GWALA, Khatbazile
 GWALA, Linah Mano
 GWALA, Margaret
 GWALA, Mana Constance
 GWALA, Mandlakayise Sixtus
 GWALA, Manquela
 GWALA, Mhlekhona
 GWALA, Micheal
 GWALA, Mshalekwa France
 GWALA, Mnyamama Blackie

GWALA, Moses	HADUBE, Stencellous	HLANGULELA, Sipho	HLONGWA, Mdithumeni Mkhadi	HLOPHE, Savelle Vusumuzi
GWALA, Musawenkosi Silence	HADUBE, Thandokuhle Cyril	HLANGULELA, Thembekile	HLONGWA, Musawenkosi Richard	HLOPHE, Sthembisio Eugene
GWALA, Ngikholiwe Elizabeth	HADUBE, Thembokiso	HLANGUZA, Hlophe	HLONGWA, Ntombele Happygirl	HLOPHE, Thandeka
GWALA, Nkosinathi David	HADUBE, Thula Felix	HLANGUZA, Thembelihle Nomafa	HLONGWA, Pretty	HLOPHE, Thembsile Philda
GWALA, Nkosinathi Emmanuel	HADUBE, Thulisele	HLANJWA, Lelama Joyce	HLONGWA, Shadrack Thamsanga	HLOPHE, Thuthukani John
GWALA, Nomathenisi Dudweyini	HADUBE, Zamani	HLANYANE, Sello Benjamin	HLONGWA, Simon Zwelilingani	HLOPHE, Toloto Christina
GWALA, Petrus	HADUBE, Zwi Boy	HLAPEZULU, Samuel	HLONGWA, Shishingishane	HLOPHE, Victor Jeffrey Wuyu
GWALA, Sarah	HAFFEJEE, Hoozen Mia	HLATSHWAYO, Angelina	HLONGWA, Zibuyile Norah	HLOPHE, Xolani Andile
GWALA, Siphiwe Phillip	HAFFEJEE, Mohamed Saed Hassiam	HLATSHWAYO, Bonginkosi	HLONGWA, Yusi Victor	HLOPHE, Zodwa Lydia
GWALA, Sipho	HAGERTY, Roger Christian	HLATSHWAYO, Bussisive Francina	HLONGWA, Zibuyile Norah	HLOTSE, Keku Edwina
GWALA, Sizwe Moses	HAJANE, Alpheus	HLATSHWAYO, Dewu Amos	HLONGWA, Zwellthemba Wesley	HLUBI, Bekizizwe Conrad
GWALA, Sulani	HAJANE, Frans	HLATSHWAYO, Francis Bheki	HLONGWA, Bekindela Andreas	HLUBI, Bernet
GWALA, Thembekile Sophia	HAJANE, Johannes	HLATSHWAYO, Gibson	HLONGWANA, Leonard Mdutshwa	HLUBI, Bhekizizwe Goodluck
GWALA, Thulani	HAJANE, Leah	HLATSHWAYO, John Mpikayipheli	HLONGWANA, Robert Bennet	HLUBI, Elizabeth
GWALA, Vusi Joseph	HAJANE, Semole	HLATSHWAYO, M. T.	HLONGWANA, Simangele Lephina	HLUBI, Novelle
GWALA, Welton	HALL, Priscilla	HLATSHWAYO, Meggie Celiwe	HLONGWANE - SIBIYA, Sweleni	HLUBI, Pogo Meshack
GWALA, Zakhiwo Ngabuzi	HALOM, Nospipo Portia	HLATSHWAYO, Makhehla Piet	Sibengile	HLUBI, Valerie Qinisile
GWALA, Zikhal	HAMILTON, Weizman /Wiseman	HLATSHWAYO, Mokorane Petrus	HLONGWANE (SIGANGJI), Bonginkosi	HLUNGWANE, Reckson
GWALA, Zintembi	HAMLYN, Michael	HLATSHWAYO, Muziwengani Moses	HLONGWANE, Alfred	HLWELE, Bonisile
GWALA, Zwellibi Alson	HANABE, Euivicha Melrose Nomsa	HLATSHWAYO, Mzwandile Khehla	HLONGWANE, Anthony	HLWELE, Mthuthuzeli Richard
GWAMANDA, Esther	HANABE, Henry	HLATSHWAYO, Sipho	HLONGWANE, Bazothini Lungile	HOARST, Cecilia Dinah Magdalena
GWAMANDA, Khonokwakhe David	HANI, Buyisile Patrick	HLATSHWAYO, Thokozani Nelson	HLONGWANE, Bethuel	HOABANA, George
GWAMANDA, Lucky Jabulani	HANI, Luyanda Matthews	HLATSHWAYO, Victor	HLONGWANE, Billy Ace	HOABANA, Nora Nomonde
GWAMANDA, Nokuzaba Tryphina	HANJANA, Tasi Nehemiah	HLATSWAYO, Bong	HLONGWANE, Bizive Albertina	HOBIYA, Hombasale
GWAMANDA, Selby Bonga	HANS, Gqibile Nicholas	HLATSWAYO, Buti Lucas	(Mahlongwane) Makhosi	HOBIYA, Vuyile Wellington
GWAMBI, Robert Langalakhe	HANS, Kululekile Matthews	HLATSWAYO, Freddie Vusi	HLONGWANE, Bongumusa Ndabitheni	HOBO, Linah Thenjiwe
GWANTSHENI, Blayi	HANS, Ncunyiswa Agatha	HLATSWAYO, John	HLONGWANE, Bonisiwe Lephina	HOBOGWANA, Mongezi Brian
GWAAU, Zolile Alfred	HANSE, Fezile Thomas	HLATSWAYO, Joseph Makhozonke	HLONGWANE, China Gray	HOBSHSE, Nohose Nonceba
GWAXULA, Simon Fezekile	HANSEL, Albin	HLATSWAYO, Mtakati Samuel	HLONGWANE, Christopher	HOBSHSE, Vuyiswa
GWAYI, Adolphus	HANSEN, Elke Martha	HLATSWAYO, Ncabeni Philip	HLONGWANE, D. E.	HOBSHSE, Yunguma Priscilla
GWAYI, Jonas Masosinyi	HANSEN, Michael Edward	HLATSWAYO, Putseletsile Emily	HLONGWANE, David	HOBOYI, Lizo Leonard
GWAYI, Mabel Name	HARBER, Anton	HLATSWAYO, Sifiso	HLONGWANE, Elias	HOFFMAN, Marius
GWAYI, Zwelenkosi Baba	HARDY, Marie Catherine	HLATSWAYO, Siphiwe Victor	HLONGWANE, Fikile Jane	HOFFMAN, Michael Tim
GWAZA, Lindiwe Ntse	HARKER, Gerhard	HLATSWAYO, Themba	HLONGWANE, Getunde Nomawunga	HOFFMAN, Mzayifane Naphtale
GWEBLE, Norrey Evelyn	HARKER, Wesley	HLATSWAYO, Wiseman	HLONGWANE, Hlekiwe Betty	HOGAN, Barbara
GWEBU, Vanrooyen Wilson	HARMANS, Zonwabele Moksom Pele	HLAULI, Mohanuwa Edith (Nani)	HLONGWANE, Innocent Mbuso	HOGAN, Acacia
GWENTSHE, Alcott Skwenene	HARRIS, Abida	HLAZO, Desmond Zolile	HLONGWANE, Innocent Mbuzeni	HOHO, Fana Nelson
GWENTSHE, Mzwandile	HARRIS, John	HLAZO, Mariam Ntobhile	HLONGWANE, Jabulani Mondli	HOHO, Qonda
GWESHA, Wellington Mpuntsu	HARRIS, Lynette Ann	Nongenanganyi	HLONGWANE, Jeslina Qinisile	HOJEM, Mozelle
GWICANA, Vukile	HARRIS, Ronald	HLAZO, Nkosinathi Patrick	HLONGWANE, Johannes Khazamula	HOLLAND, Abraham Johannes
GWILJA, Petros Kimbali	HARTLEY, Sedick	HLAZO, Sandile	HLONGWANE, Madile Aiznah	HONOKO, Daniel Molebatsi
GWILISO, Themba Gerrad	HARTMAN, A.	HLEKANI, Nomalisa Dorris	HLONGWANE, Magwagwa Elias	HOOGAARDT, Spasiena Carolina
GWILIZA, Isaac	HARTZENBERG, Fuad	HLEKWAYO, Bakhokhisile	HLONGWANE, Maria	HOPSHIRE, Roseline Nomhle
GWILIZA, Mawethu	HARVEY, Paula	HLEKWAYO, Cabangile Doris	HLONGWANE, Ningi Promise	HORN, Christo
GWINTSA, Felicia Vuyiswa	HASHE, Sipho	HLEKWAYO, Elizabeth	HLONGWANE, Nkosinathi Phillip	HORN, Cornelia Johanna Aletta
GXABALASHE, Nandipha	HATTAS, Riefaat	HLEKWAYO, Erik Muziwakhe	HLONGWANE, Nokiki	HORN, Nozilio Ellen
GXAUB, Clement Khehlana	HAUWLANA, Mbulelo Steven	HLEKWAYO, Mafomu Thembukwazi	HLONGWANE, Nomshado Dinah	HOSHELA, Sedezama Welliam
GXASHI, Normalwa Victoria	HAYDN, Karl	HLEKWAYO, Mhlangabazi	HLONGWANE, Nomthando Gloria	HOSLETT, D. A.
GXEKWA, Ntombomzi Nopinki	HAYI, Zonisele Brevis	HLEKWAYO, Siphiwe Mpikeni	HLONGWANE, Ntswane Joseph	HOTANE, David
GXEKWA, Ntobeko Aaron	HAYIYA, Gideon Zamiquinga	HLEKWAYO, Thulani	HLONGWANE, Mtobeko Patrick	HOTANE, Onkokame Rebecca
GXEYANE, Goodboy Kenneth	HAYTER, G. B.	HLONGWANE, Ntombi Carinah	HLONGWANE, Ntombi Carinah	HOWE, Ilana
GXDI, Patricia Phumla	HEERS, Katy	HLONGWANE, Paul Hickson	HLONGWANE, Paul Hickson	HUDSON, Thomas
GXOLI, Nonkiso	HEISE, Khabele	HLONGWANE, Phakamani Joseph	HLONGWANE, Phakamani Joseph	HUKFIE, Frederick Emmanuel
GXOTHANI, July Potongwana	HEKA, Nonceba Priscilla	HLONGWANE, Philmy Sanga	HLONGWANE, Philmy Sanga	HUGHES, Ann
GXDWA, Thandolwethu Morris	HEKTOOR, Andries Hector	HLONGWANE, Phumlani Theofried	HLONGWANE, Phumlani Theofried	HUGHES, Pat
GXYIYA, Sindiswa Maria Maxhamela	HEKTOOR, Mienie	HLONGWANE, Preddy Elsie	HLONGWANE, Preddy Elsie	HUGO, Rosy
GXUBANI, Jabulani Wilfred	HELE, Khayaletu	HLONGWANE, Richard	HLONGWANE, Richard	HULSE, Kieth
HAAL, Lerato Virginia	HELES, Vuyani Richard	HLONGWANE, Ruth	HLONGWANE, Samuel	HUMA, Sylvia Mono
HAAS, Tembile Wilmot	HEMPSTEADT, T	HLONGWANE, Sathel	HLONGWANE, Sathel	HUMAN, Dirk Hendrick
HABANA, Sandile Dennis Shabi	HENDRICKS, Patrick	HLONGWANE, Sebenzile Sabhinah	HLONGWANE, Sebenzile Sabhinah	HUMAN, H. S.
HABIYA, Nokuthula Hazel	HENNING, Izak Jacobus	HLONGWANE, Simati Daniel	HLONGWANE, Simati Daniel	HUMAN, Theron
HABIYA, Ntombiyenosi Thandiwe	HENRY, Yazir Mark	HLONGWANE, Sindisiwe	HLONGWANE, Sindisiwe	HUNT, Sarie
HADABE, Bhekithemba Pieteron	HERBST, Abraham Johannes Wiesse	HLONGWANE, Siphiwe Solomon	HLONGWANE, Siphiwe Solomon	HUTCHESON, Andrew
HADUBE, Alias	HERBST, Jacqueline Edna	HLONGWANE, Solomon	HLONGWANE, Solomon	HUTCHESON, Marayana
HADUBE, Anthony	HERCULES, Ebrahim	HLONGWANE, Thami	HLONGWANE, Thami	HUTTER, J. F.
HADUBE, Bekwenze Absolom	HERMANS, Gilbert Thembele	HLONGWANE, Thandi Cicilia	HLONGWANE, Thandi Cicilia	IKANENG, Jeffroy Motsamai
HADUBE, Bettina	HERMANUS, Doris Novakele	HLONGWANE, Thulani Jerome	HLONGWANE, Thulani Jerome	IKANENG, Lerothodi Andrew
HADUBE, Dumisane	HERMANUS, Robert Richard	HLONGWANE, Tryphina Thoko	HLONGWANE, Tryphina Thoko	INDIA, Mongezi Gladstone
HADUBE, Elias	HESHU, Mutsezi Michael	HLONGWANE, Vuyumuzi Richard	HLONGWANE, Vuyumuzi Richard	INDIA, Nomphele
HADUBE, Eugene Mlungisi	HEWUKILE, Deborah Ntembele	HLONGWANE, Walter Sokesibone	HLONGWANE, Walter Sokesibone	IRVING, Mark Robin
HADUBE, Fanny Richard	HEYNES, Eric	HLONGWANE, William	HLONGWANE, William	ISAACS, Abdusalaam
HADUBE, Hamilton	HIBBERT, Ann	HLONGWE, Alfred	HLONGWE, Alfred	ISAACS, Colin
HADUBE, Jabulani Mpikayipheli	HIBBERT, Lisa	HLONGWE, Khethekyakhe	HLONGWE, Khethekyakhe	ISAACS, Faiza
HADUBE, Jabulile Elizabeth	HIBBERT, Robert G	HLONGWE, Mchenjwula	HLONGWE, Mchenjwula	ISAACS, Henry Eric
HADUBE, Joyce Bongumusa	HINA, Eunice Tandiwe	HLONGWE, Stanlely	HLONGWE, Stanlely	ISAACS, Shanaaz
HADUBE, Khalelwa Jeza	HINA, Sipho Fielden	HLONGWE, Sikumumbzo Stanley	HLONGWE, Sikumumbzo Stanley	ISAACS, Beulin
HADUBE, Khulekani	HINI, Nombulelo Reginah	HLONGWE, Mfihlelwa Elliot	HLONGWE, Mfihlelwa Elliot	ISAACS, David
HADUBE, Lancelot Mfanafuthi	HINTSHO, Lennox Lindela	HLONGWE, Zondani	HLONGWE, Zondani	ISHAPIN, Gordon
HADUBE, Makhosi Priscilla	HINTSHO, Lungile Mawethu	HLOPE, Elinah Makho	HLOPE, Elinah Makho	ISSEL, James Victor
HADUBE, Mandlakayise Meshack	HLABAKWE, Patrick	HLONGWE, Alexia Fikelephi	HLONGWE, Alexia Fikelephi	ISSMAN, Irmgard Hertha Maria
HADUBE, Melisiwe Eunice	HLABAKWE, Thabitha Dorcas	HLOPHE, Benzie Sixtonia	HLOPHE, Benzie Sixtonia	ITUMELENG, Thapelo Ishmael
HADUBE, Mirriam	HLABANE, Thenji Vusi	HLOPHE, Bhekizizwe George	HLOPHE, Bhekizizwe George	JABANE, Petros Linda
HADUBE, Mongezi	HLABATHE, Francina Sweetey	HLOPHE, Cosmas Mando	HLOPHE, Cosmas Mando	JABU, Lucky
HADUBE, Moses	HLABATHE, Mxoxiswa	HLOPHE, Dikanele Luyanda	HLOPHE, Dikanele Luyanda	JACA, Nkobe Joseph
HADUBE, Mqanilewa Paulos	HLABISA, Khona Gustina	HLOPHE, Dikwakhwe Eugene	HLOPHE, Dikwakhwe Eugene	JACK, Andile
HADUBE, Musawenkosi Pipi	HLABISA, Mildred	HLOPHE, Doctor Ndodo	HLOPHE, Doctor Ndodo	JACK, Benet Ndyundyu
HADUBE, Mzwandile	HLABISE, Albertina Tate	HLOPHE, Emma Nkhehla	HLOPHE, Emma Nkhehla	JACK, Benjamin Luyanda
HADUBE, Ntombomzi	HLABISO, Tshidiso Moses	HLOPHE, Ennie Mildred	HLOPHE, Ennie Mildred	JACK, Luyiso Roshu
HADUBE, Nomusa Mso	HLAHANE, Madala Steven	HLOPHE, Galus	HLOPHE, Galus	JACK, Mkhusele John
HADUBE, Nozipho Cynthia Mbabe	HLAKANYANA, Monwabisi David	HLOPHE, Isac Nduna	HLOPHE, Isac Nduna	JACK, Mthuthuzeli
HADUBE, Ntokozi Jacky	HLAKOANE, Bessel Basil	HLOPHE, Johannes	HLOPHE, Johannes	JACK, Mziwonke Solomon
HADUBE, Ntombenhle Veronica	HLAKOANE, Lefuma Jonathan	HLOPHE, Justice Bhekisisa	HLOPHE, Justice Bhekisisa	JACK, Ntombenhle Lydia
HADUBE, Patricia Nontuthuzelo	HLALELE, Anna Puleng	HLOPHE, Lillie Ntombizokwenzani	HLOPHE, Lillie Ntombizokwenzani	JACK, Strekkie Mzayifani
HADUBE, Phillip	HLALELE, Israel Mojalefa	HLOPHE, Mavys	HLOPHE, Mavys	JACK, Stutu Weaveman
HADUBE, Phindile	HLALELE, Joseph Frenques	HLOPHE, Mphilekeli Alfred	HLOPHE, Mphilekeli Alfred	JACK, Thembaletu
HADUBE, Promise Philisiwe	HLALELE, Mahlomolo Patrick	HLOPHE, Nhlanihla Fortune	HLOPHE, Nhlanihla Fortune	JACKSON, Kumuswe William
HADUBE, Prudence	HLALELE, Mottlate Peter	HLOPHE, Nokudiwa	HLOPHE, Nokudiwa	JACOB, Khululekile Lucky
HADUBE, Qinsela Addison	HLALELE, Neo Thuloana	HLOPHE, Nokuthula	HLOPHE, Nokuthula	JACOB, Toko Lernard
HADUBE, Reginald Behumazi	HLALELE, Segamorocho Magdalena	HLOPHE, Nomasonito Sibongile	HLOPHE, Nomasonito Sibongile	JACOBS, Allan
HADUBE, Richard	HLALELE, Thabiso Pascali	HLOPHE, Robert	HLOPHE, Robert	JACOBS, Bernard Bonakele
HADUBE, Sandile	HLALETHWA, Hans Ramaphakeng	HLOPHE, Robert Complete	HLOPHE, Robert Complete	JACOBS, David Brasilo
HADUBE, Sibusiso	HLALETHWA, Theophilus Maledu	HLOPHE, Samuel	HLOPHE, Samuel	JACOBS, Fezile Donald Madoda
HADUBE, Shiyinduku Elias	HLAMANDANA, Mjongeni			JACOBS, Fumaneke
HADUBE, Sibongiseni Cyprian	HLANGU, Bahlamkile Ottilia			JACOBS, Gideon Joseph
HADUBE, Siphiwe Alson	HLANGU, Bavelle Florence			JACOBS, Johannes
HADUBE, Siyabonga	HLANGULELA, Joyce Annastasia			JACOBS, Lionel

JACOBS, Mxolisi Johannes	JAXA, Herintan	JONGILE, Landile Andrew	KANAPI, Molahlehi Andries	KGATLANE, Aubrey Matsamai
JACOBS, Nkosomzi Jeffrey	JAXA, Xukusizi Candry	JONNIE, Sicelo Corie	KANGO, Amos Mazizi	KGATLANIE, Tommy Kgosi-mang
JACOBS, Ntombomzi Nancy	JAXA, Xolile	JOOSTE, Davids	KANI, Cameron Dalintetho	KGAU, Karabo Jonas
JACOBS, October	JAYI, Vuyani Eric	JOOSTE, Ursula Amelda	KANUNU, Petros Balekile	KGIBA, Samuel Letholha
JACOBS, Paul	JAYILE, Nokuphila Eunice	JORDAAN, J. L.	KANYE, Ivonne Shive	KGOGADI, Mmaseloaletsa Johanna
JACOBS, Peter	JAYA, Michael Vusumzi	JORDAAN, Puseletso Hilda	KANYILE, Daphne Tandani	KGOGADI, Phuti Manoko
JACOBS, Sarel	JEBE, Martin Xola	JORDAAN, Wayne Henry	KANYILE, Ntombikayise Lucy	KGOGARE, Matsiliso Yvonne
JACOBS, Sebenzile Jackson	JEENAH, Feizul Roshan	JORDAN, Joe Thethinene	KAPA, Reggie	KGOGATHE, Nicodimas Kakadi
JACOBS, Shahied	JEENAH, Sabera	JORDAN, Pallo	KAPP, Cornelius Johannes	KGOGBADI, Andries Bangkange
JACOBS, Thandwiwe Alinah	JEFFERS, Jonathan Joseph	JOSE, Lindile Lennox	KAPU, Mbulelo	KGOGO, Maesela Shams Sinky
JACOBS, Thembekile John	JEFFERY, John Harold	JOSEPH, Grace	KARELSE, Johnny	KGOFELA, Jerry Mojeremane
JACOBSON, NEE PINCUS, Sharon Eve	JEFFRIES, S	JOSEPH, Helen	KARELSE, Simon	KGOGO, Daniel
JACOBSON, Peter Maurice	JEJE, Nokwendisa Priscilla	JOSEPH, Leon Carmel	KARIAMBANE, Dorothy	KGOGOME, Doctor Nakale
JACOBUS, Denis Mark	JEKEGA, Nkosizile Livingstone	JOSEPH, Wesley	KARIEM, Juan Nolan	KGOMO, John
JADA, Lungelo Michael	JEKEDA, Pindile Albert	JOSHUA, Joseph Patrick James	KARIEEM, Khwadi Philip	KGOMO, Khwadi Philip
JADA, Vuyani Ernest	JELA, Nontshizana Mocika	JOSHUA, Mondolozisi Isaac	KARRIEM, Shu-Eib	KGOMO, Kwena Jan
JAFER, Zubeida	JELE, Bafana	JOITINA, Meisie	KASA, Selebalu Sidwell	KGOMO, Kwena William
JAFTA, Benjamin Siphio	JELE, Cypryan Mlungisi	JOYI, Anderson Dalagubhe	KASANA, Mafuzo	KGOMO, Machoene Johannes
JAFTA, Joice Enid Nomvuyo	JELEMSI, Government	JOYI, Mbeki	KASANA, Moffat Mafu	KGOMO, Maifo Frans
JAFTA, Khloive	JELU, Nomatthemba	JOYI, Mnjwenjwe	KASANA, Nomahlubi Veronica	KGOMO, Makgabo
JAFTA, Mangaliso Sabelo	JENGETA, Bongive Grace	JOYI, Mpunzima Apolis	KASANA, Nomasonto Verelene Sonti	KGOMO, Makwena Mosima
JAFTA, Max	JENTE, Mfukuka	JOYI, Nolingene	KATAMZI, Lindela	KGOMO, Maphuti Elisa
JAFTA, Mkosana Alfred	JERLING, Johannes Frederik	JOYI, Twalimfene	KATANA, Siphio Edwin	KGOMO, Mapula Dinah
JAFTA, Naxolo	JEVU, Mawethu	JOYISA, Mavis	KATANE, Diederick Baleseng	KGOMO, Matina Josias
JAGGER, Stella Francis Cynthia	JAGGER, Elizabeth	JOZI, Nomatshawe Amelia	KATI, Nomajipethe Doreen	KGOMO, Mosima
JAGGERS, Barnabas	JEZA, Flomencia	JUDA, Mongezi	KATI, Zamiwonga James	KGOMO, Mosima Nyatsina
JAKADA, Nohlaza Ngakanani	JEZA, Richard	JUJWANA, Ntsikelelo X-Mas	KATYWA, Thobeka	KGOMO, Nare Gedion
JAKKALS, Edwin	JIANE, Lucas Alfred	JULA, Mchithwa	KAU, Jan Debelatsene	KGOMO, Phala Tyus
JAKO, Shumkazi Sarah	JIBA, Mthuthuzeli Alfred	JULIES, Abraham	KAU, Jan Debelatsene	KGOMO, Phelipina Nare Makwena
JAKOBA, Leah	JIKA, Siphio Eliot	JULIES, Michael	KAULELA, Mzamo Louis	KGOMO, Phuti Frans
JAkwE, Mompoti Joseph	JKILE, Moeketsi Johannes	JULY, Bonakele	KAUMA, Mcedisi Johannes	KGOMO, Tshepishi Elias
JALI, Bonginkosi	JKOLO, Thembekile	JULY, Fuzile Petros	KAWA, Zayo Jackson	KGOMONGOE, Linah Duma
JALI, Bongive Betty	JLI, Theminkosi Moses	JULZ, Ntunja	KAWULE, Babesona Lena	KGOPA, Mabona Johannes
JALI, Evangelin Nokuthemba	JLI, Bangumzi	JWAMBI, Lungisa	KAWUSE, Vumani	KGOPANE, Abram Rapule
JALI, Khawulezile Eric	JLI, Dombi Sizeni	JWAMBI, Mgaleku	KAYE, Hendrina Magdelena	KGOPODIMETSE, Thuseomodimo Elias
JALI, Mashu Mathule	JLI, Erasmus Tholomuzi	JWAMBI, Nokwakha	KAZI, Ivan	KGORO, Audrey
JALI, Muzikayise Santon	JLI, Jerome Thandokuhle	JWAMBI, Sisipho	KEANE, Susan-Anne	KGOROEABOGO, Mokolobe John
JALI, Nomajali Ivy	JLI, Joe Joseph	JWAMBI, Thanduxolo	KEARNEY, Gerald Patrick	KGOSIEMANG, Muthosi
JALI, Ntombenhle Elsie	JLI, Lina	JWARA, Modise Matabane	KEARNEY, Helen Blossom	KGOSIETSI, Mohlouwa Jonas
JALI, Phangane	JLI, Ncamokwakhe	JWAXA, Victoria Nombulelo	KEARNS, John Eugene	KGWAHLA, James Mashilo
JALI, Savumase	JLI, Ndeke Sylvica	JWAYI, Thembaletu	KEEBINE, Ntwaetsile Bigshot	KGWAKGWA, Bosinko John
JALI, Sbonigle Clarice	JLI, Nomoja	JWILI, Nobantu Magret	KEELE, Tshediso James	KGWAKGWA, Mmakgape Sophy
JALI, Swesile	JLI, Petros Mzophihlayo	KABAI, Seabata Salman	KEGOENG, Mthoedhi	KGWALE, Mare Simon
JALI, Thengela Nicholas	JLI, Selina	KABANYANE, Unknown	KEIKELANE, Mpe Jonas	KGWASI, Kenehang Esther
JALUBANA, Mantombi Kate	JLI, Simon Manyakazisa	KABELE (GABELE), Sydney Mbongeni	KEITSOP, Jonathan	KGWEDI, Raymond
JALUBANE, Grace Doodle	JLI, Sitibitibi	KABI, Sekoale Elliot	KEKAE, Simon Madimetja	KGWETE, Makgubatlana Frans
JALVAN, Moses Papiros (Papaki)	JLI, Thembisile Zanele	KABINE, Michael	KEKANA, Jim Madimetja	KGWETE, Moraka John
JAM, Mzukisi Daffender	JLI, Winnie Mavis	KABINI, Dube Lina	KEKANA, Kgalebe	KHABA, Ntemi Simon
JAMA, Dudu Miriam	JLI, Zwe State	KABINI, Jacob	KEKANA, Lesiba Jan	KHABA, Ntombizodwa Christina
JAMA, Joyce Thoko	JILINGISI, Maboyi	KABINI, Sam Benzane	KEKANA, Malose Reuben	KHABANYANE, Mavuzo Atwell
JAMA, Lucky Zamokuhle	JILZA, Sithembiso	KADI, Bennet	KEKANA, Matlakala Josephine	KHABINGCA, Aaron Saki
JAMA, Manono Ntombize	JIM, Richard	KADI, Matokelo Selina	KEKANA, Ophilia	KHADI, Mbuyiseli
JAMA, Mbongeni	JIMLONGO, Myoyo Simon	KADI, Letlapa Austin	KEKANA, Paulina Maselepe	KHAHLA, Veronica Nomvula
JAMA, Mina	JINGANA, Lizo Livingstone	KADIAKA, Kadike	KEKANA, Perry	KHAILE, Elizabeth Meme
JAMA, Mkhonjwa	JINGANA, Bekabakubo Paulos	KADIAKA, Matswene Frans	KEKANA, Phatsa Philemon	KHAILE, Mokete
JAMA, Nonhlanhla Viola	JINIKWE, Hilton Vusumzi	KADILE, Sebako Johannes	KEKANA, Thibane Maxwell Silas	KHAILE, Ntlaeng Selina
JAMA, Patric	JININEKA, Mzonke Ben	KADILE, Tsholofetso Daniel	KEKANE, Theodisha Thenjwe	KHAKANA, Buti John
JAMA, Zibonele Elias	JININEKA, Ndaleko	KADINI, Mthuthuzeli	KEKE, B	KHAKHANE, Samson Thabiso
JAMAAAR, Shadrack	JININEKA, Nelson	KADISE, Nkhalang Eveline	KELE, George Molele	KHALA, Nophakamile
JAMAAAR, Veronica	JININEKA, Ziphate	KADISE, Dimakato Kleinbooi	KELEMI, Lesley Desphie	KHALIPHA, Senzangabantu Vusumzi
JAMES, Abet	JIVANE, Isaiha	KAGOLA, Kgape Again	KELEWU, Buyle Robert	KHAMA, Khama Henderson
JAMES, Hlon	JIVANE, Mary Monyadiwe	KAGOLA, Nomatlatila Gladys	KELI, Emily Mkhajie	KHAMBULA, Stitolo Gladys
JAMES, Khayalethu Wellington	JIVANE, Ritta	KAHLA, Mlungisi Atwell	KELLEM, Jongiswisa Witness	KHAMBULE (MKHIZE), Selina Regina
JAMES, Minimzi	JIVANE, Tazi Maria	KAIBE, Ben	KEMP, Johannes Theodoros	KHAMBULE, Babajubhe Christinus
JAMES, Sakhumzi	JIVANE, Unknown	KAIBE, Moses Mohapeloa	KEMP, M	KHAMBULE, Baza
JAMES, Samuel	JIZA, Thobeka Sylvia	KAIZER, Tobias Hendrik Frans	KEMP, Stephanie Sachs	KHAMBULE, Ben November
JAMES, Stanford Mzwandile	JIZANE, Pambili Mzwandile	KAJANE, Cecil Jeffery Kalili	KEMPELE, Vuyisile	KHAMBULE, Edward Mvuyo
JAMES, Themban Jacob	JOAO, Toni	KAKANA, Batseli	KEMPENAR, Aletta Johanna	KHAMBULE, Juliet Khumbekile
JAMESON, Reginald	JOBE, Bonginkosi Hitler	KAKANA, Mathuthi	KENALEMANG, Kelebie Wagon	KHAMBULE, Mbuso (Kubheke)
JAMILE, Bhekezizile	JOBE, Nkosinathi Velaphi	KAKANA, Mpendulo	KENNING, C	KHAMBULE, Nhlankhlan Pius
JANGAISO, John Mbalekelwa	JOBE, Ntunaye	KAKANA, Nororo Lulama	KERAETSWE, Ketsibamang Serurubele	KHAMBULE, Nhlankhlan Josephina
JANKIE, Limakoto Flora	JOBOD, Dalilwonga Justice	KAKANA, Wele Samuel	Agnes	KHAMBULE, Ntombikayise Precious
JANNA, Theminkosi Abednego	JOBOD, Magaret Sibongile	KAKANA, Whewhewi	KERCHHOFF, Peter Campbell	KHAMBULE, Reginald Nkosana
JANSE VAN RENSBURG, Catharina Elizabeth	JOFILE, Lucas	KAKAZA, Andile	KERLEN, J	KHAMBULE, Sibongiseni Bethuel
JANSE VAN RENSBURG, Tarina	JOHANNES, Ben	KAKGALAKANE, Mthoane David	KESWA, Bongani	KHAMBULE, Thobekiso Siso
JANSE VAN VUUREN, A	JOHANNES, Mzoli	KALA, Masuduka	KESWA, Rodney Goba Eleazar	KHAMBULE, Tshelinkosi Amos
JANSEN, Frederick Casper	JOHNSON, Goodman	KALAE, Everitt Sholo	KETANI, Patricia Nontsekelelo	KHAMBULE, Vayo Wilbert
JANSEN, Thomas	JOHNSON, Gugulethu	KALAKE, James Buti	KETHLAPE, Elizabeth Seruto	KHAMBULE, Vusumzi Kethothkwake
JANSEN, Zirkie Bernardus	JOHNSON, Jennifer	KALAKE, Samuel Rasemoko	KETHLAPE, Matshaba-Selina	KHAMBULE, Welkom Khambule
JANTJIE, Tozama Thelma	JOHNSON, Mvula Simon Petros	KALALALA, Posho Rogers	KETHLAPE, Poloko Lucas	KHAMPEPE, Mampho Rosinah
JANTJIES	JOHNSON, Mzimkhulu Stanley	KALAMBOA, Kaloyi	KETSE, Sylvia Vuyelwa	KHAN, Dennis Stanley
JANTJIES, Boy	JOHNSON, Phillip Yung	KALEBE, Koabate Daniel	KETSHABILE, Mogagabi George	KHAN, Gulzar
JANTJIES, Daniso Danny	JOHNSON, Rafeek	KALELE, Lucky Manette	KETSHENGANA, Sigaga Mziwandile	KHANG, Mphafane Jacob
JANTJIES, Hennie	JOHNSON, Thamsanqa Major	KALENI, Vellie Lennox	KETSISE, Moeketsi Moses	KHANG, Tsetisi Benjamin
JANTJIES, Nkholiso Frans	JOHNSON, Vuyiswa Sheila	KALU, Xolani	KELI, Merrian Ntombulelo	KHANGE, Nyadzanga
JANTJIES, Siphio Stanley	JOHNSON, Wana	KALU, Thelie	KELI, Nkholakato Benjamin	KHANG, Zandisile
JANTJIES, Wilfred	JOJI, Ntombha	KALIPA, Luvuyo Calvin	KEVUTE, Kululekile Simon	KHANO, Malcolm
JANTSHI, Siphio Elijah	JOKA, Ngeba Andrew	KALIPA, Patekile Albert	KEVUTI, Yolsiswa Shiywe	KHANTSI, Neo Petros
JANUARIE, Ragel	JOKEZI, Viela Getrude	KALLIPA, Wandile	KEYE, Madoda Jeffrey	KHANTSI, Tselane Sheila
JANUARY, Michael Jacob	JOKEWANA, Walda	KALO, Moris	KEYE, Misive Evelyn	KHANTXILE, Vusi
JANUARY, Mongameli Theophilus	JOKEWENI, Tryphina	KALOLO, Zwelikoile	KGABILENG, Piet Basimane	KHANYA, Tshela Joseph
JANUARY, Nomfanelo	JOLOZA, Nkosiyomzi Christopher	KAMA, Lulama	KGADIMA, Matlou Ramaseela	KHANYASE, Andreas Mboneni
JARA, Silverman Mzondeleli	JOMBILE, Mikiswa	KAMA, Lumile Lindani	KGAFELA, Annah Kwena	KHANYE, Martha Fransina
JARA, Welcome Mtutuzeli	JOMOSE, Xolani	KAMA, Sonwabo	KGAFELA, Joel	KHANYENDE, Thororo Michael
JARDIN, Joao Manuel	JONAS, Frederick Yanda	KAMA, Vusumzi Aron	KGAFELA, Nqope Johanna	KHANYESI, Joyce Babazile
JARDINE, Anthony	JONAS, Magibo Ivan	KAMA, Xolani Eliot	KGAFELA, Oupa	KHANYEZA, Lucky Michael
JAS, Daniel Tahleho	JONAS, Mbulelo Michael	KAMATI, Siphio Given	KGAFELA, Tshophe White	KHANYILE, Absalom Fano
JASKA, Mziwebango Ebenezer	JONAS, Zolile	KAMATI, Thamsanqa	KGAHLE, Maggie	KHANYILE, Bangani Simon
JASS, Percival	JONATHAN, Sihombiso	KAMBULA, Begi Maria Magdelina	KGAKETSANE, Johannes Gogang	KHANYILE, Benedict Bongani
JASSAT, Abdulhay	JONES, Ali	KAMBULA, Michael Mqisile	KGALEMA, Jabu Jacob	KHANYILE, Bhekifa
JAVENS, Guy Cooper	JONES, Johannes	KAMBULE, Thamsanqa David Owen	KGANG, Simon Orapeleng	KHANYILE, Bhekizenzo
JAVENS, Marilyn Blanche	JONES, Nancy Sanuse	KAMTENI, Malakhiwe Joseph	KGAPHOLA, Mmabe Harold	KHANYILE, Bongani
JAWE, Lulamile Shepherd	JONES, Peter Cyril	KAMTENI, Nontente	KGAPHOLA, Petrus Kgagaragara	KHANYILE, Boyi
JAWUKA, Gordon	JONES, Richard William	KANA, Mnonileti Samson	KGASI, Lesiba Ntse	KHANYILE, Busiswe Ellen
	JONGA, Eliot Mbulelo	KANANA, George Ouman	KGASI, Sekano Avonly	KHANYILE, Diezkhaz Wilson

KHUTLEDI, Edith Ngwenono Lucky
KHUTO, Edward Ngwanamkaku
KHUTUWANA, Yvonne
KHUZE, Baba
KHUZWAYO, Beuty
KHUZWAYO, Bhekumzi Phillip
KHUZWAYO, Blessing Sibiso
KHUZWAYO, Bongani
KHUZWAYO, Bongani Innocent
KHUZWAYO, Budlaza Peter
KHUZWAYO, Cebisile Prisca
KHUZWAYO, Chithekile
KHUZWAYO, Cyprian Zibonele
KHUZWAYO, Duduzile
KHUZWAYO, Ellen
KHUZWAYO, Elliot Mkhanyisela
KHUZWAYO, Emanuel Smakade
KHUZWAYO, Emmanuel Norman
KHUZWAYO, Enny Khonazinhle Ntomb
KHUZWAYO, Fandoda Alpheus
KHUZWAYO, Gcinimali Abraham
KHUZWAYO, Hawukile Christinah
KHUZWAYO, Howard Siphio
KHUZWAYO, Iris Busisiwe
KHUZWAYO, Isabella Thandwe
KHUZWAYO, Jerome Thamsanqa
KHUZWAYO, Johnson
KHUZWAYO, Josephina
KHUZWAYO, Khalangani
KHUZWAYO, Kho
KHUZWAYO, Komindi Bethuel
KHUZWAYO, Lindivie Victoria
Mandisa
KHUZWAYO, Lobeleni Mavis
KHUZWAYO, Mandlenkosi Obed
KHUZWAYO, Mazondi
KHUZWAYO, Mbusi
KHUZWAYO, Mgwazenke Joseph
KHUZWAYO, Michael
KHUZWAYO, Musawenkosi Anton
KHUZWAYO, Mxolelwa James
KHUZWAYO, Mzwandile Christopher
KHUZWAYO, Napoleon
KHUZWAYO, Nelisive
KHUZWAYO, Ngenzineni Rejoice
KHUZWAYO, Nhlanhla Victor
KHUZWAYO, Nkosenhle Wiseman
KHUZWAYO, Nokulunga
KHUZWAYO, Nqobile
KHUZWAYO, Ntombayithintwa
KHUZWAYO, Ntombizithintwa Bakesephi
KHUZWAYO, Petronelle Nelisive
KHUZWAYO, Phendukile
KHUZWAYO, Phumulani
KHUZWAYO, Princess Thokalele
KHUZWAYO, Pumapi
KHUZWAYO, Qondeni Tryphina
KHUZWAYO, Rosalia Judith
KHUZWAYO, Rosemary Khanyisile
KHUZWAYO, Salatiel
KHUZWAYO, Senzo Eugene
KHUZWAYO, Sibongile Mavis
KHUZWAYO, Sibongiseni Aubry
KHUZWAYO, Sigana Albert
KHUZWAYO, Simama
KHUZWAYO, Sindisiwe Thuleleni
KHUZWAYO, Siphwyo James
KHUZWAYO, Sphe
KHUZWAYO, Sthembiso
KHUZWAYO, Stomba Lilian
KHUZWAYO, Teressa Ntombifuthi
KHUZWAYO, Theminkosi Enock
KHUZWAYO, Thembisile Agnes
KHUZWAYO, Thokozani
KHUZWAYO, Tobl Annah
KHUZWAYO, Vusumuzi
KHUZWAYO, Vusumuzi Vincent
KHUZWAYO, Welcome Nhlanhla
KHUZWAYO, Winnifred
KHUZWAYO, Zazie
KHUZWAYO, Ziphi Bongekile
KHUZWAYO, Zwi
KHWELA, Balekile
KHWELA, Bhekithemba A
KHWELA, Bonga Dominic Byvone
KHWELA, Jabulani Timothy
KHWELA, Makhosazana Zazi
KHWELA, Mandlakayise Barthemus
KHWELA, Mzwamanka Cyprian
KHWELA, Patricia Themba
KHWELA, Richard Mpuvle
KHWELA, Thamsanqa Pius
KHWELA, Thamsanqa Siphwe
KHWETA, Mzukisi
KHWEZI, Mabila Ju
KIBI, Bheuti John
KIDD ANDERSON, Leonard Brian
KIKA, Mvuleni Christian
KIKI, Theophilus
KILANI, Mbuzeli Robbie Norontose
KILANI, Nomonde Sylvia
KILANI, Tolo Lawrence
KIL, Jerry Simmanga
KILIBANE, Mvuyehla Nicholas
KILREEN, Peggy Shona
KIMBERLEY, Thandisizwe Michael

KIMBILI, Stoto
KING, Dorothy
KING, Gerard Quintin
KING, Gwen
KING, Russel
KINKINI, Luvuyo Stanley
KINKINI, Mngamama Lulamile Patrick
KINKINI, Moxolo
KINKINI, Dondile
KINKINI, Silumko Welcome
KINKINI, Thamsanga Benjamin
KINNEAR, A
KIRSTEN, Rene
KIRSTEN, S. J.
KIRTLEY, Wayne Lawrence
KIVA, Vumisile
KIVITI, Mxolisi Desmond
KLAAS, Buysile Nicholas
KLAAS, Livingstone Pawulezi
KLAAS, Mbuyiseli Sidwell
KLAAS, Phumelo
KLAAS, Sililo Joseph
KLAAS, Thembisile John
KLAAS, Vuyelwa
KLAASEN, Boetman Matanzi
KLAASEN, Johanna Aleta
KLAASEN, Nombulelo Mina
KLAASEN, Andrew Amos
KLAASTE, Aubrey
KLAASTE, Gerald
KLAASTE, Rubin
KLACKERS, Anne Elizabeth
KLEIN, Brenda Marjory
KLEIN, Vuil Peter
KLEINBOOI, David
KLEYN, Cornelia Margareta
KLEYN, S. M.
KLEYNHANS, George Christian
Frederick
KLOPPER, L.
KNAUS, C. E.
KNEG, Alfred
KNOUWDS, Salomon Jacobus
KOAHO, Lalula
KOAHO, Moya Kleinbooi
KOALANE, Tau Felix
KOALI, Allan Khorong Silibalo Bika
Ntshebe
KOAPENG, Johannah Refilwe
KOE, Andile Anton
KOBESSE, Fikile Thomas
KOBESSE, Sandile
KOBOS, Dorothy Mosetsana
KOBOKA, Bubele
KOBOLA, Phaladi Phineas
KOBUS, Eric Ralph Gudman
KOCK, M. M.
KOCK, Paul
KODISANG, Shadrack
KODISANG, Sipho Adam
KOE, Aobakwe Gilbert
KOELMAN, Bernard Richard
KOELMAN, Noma-Elese Niemark
KOEN, Christina Frederika
KOEN, Gabriel Johannes Renier
KOENA, Anna
KOENING, L.
KOFANE, Thulani Walter
KOH, Alison Philip
KOHLE, Conrad Nodile
KOHAKALI, Nontle
KOHU, Qaisile John
KOTENG, Moses Muthupi
KOJANE, Imeleng Ernest
KOKA, Maphutha Frans
KOKI, George
KOKI, Mamokgele Roslyn
KOKOANA, Moseuwa Augustinus
KOKOME, Betty Onini
KOLA, Elizabeth M
KOLA, Khotlolo Lazarus
KOLA, Thomas
KOLE, Mphuti Philip Makirmane
KOLE, Ntati David
KOLISANG, Daniel Khopotso
KOLISANG, Lepelele Petrus
KOLISANG, Teapiso Faith
KOLISI, Mawethu
KOLISI, Mawethu
KOLISI, Sipho Victor
KOLISI, Tatana
KOLISILE, Gampimpi Doctor
KOLITI, Nontle
KOLU, Thomas
KOLUBE, Henry Malapile
KOLUHLA, James Madebe
KOLU, Kenathatha Alice
KOLU, Machaya Phineas
KOLU, Ohtense Richard
KOLU, Sandile
KOLU, Elvis Radmakotso
KOLWANE, Elyot Mosimanegape
KOM, Gladys Norgmoco
KOMANE, Nombuselo
KOMANI, Brian
KOMANI, Nosensi Nocawe
KOMANI, Patricia
KOMANI, Vumile
KOMAPE, Mosima Elisa
KOMAPE, Ntombizodwa Matilda
KOMAPE, Phaka Maphuti
KOMAPE, Phuti Elsie
KOMETSI, Isaac Modikeng
KOMO, Bashintshile
KOMO, Bonakabi
KOMO, Reginald Simanga Wonder
KOMSASI, Sikade Council
KONDILE, Gcinisizwe Kwesi
KONE, Mmbengeni Bernard
KONGLO, Lawrence Thobile
KONILE, Zatonke John
KONING, A. E.
KONTVO, Siphiwo Henry
KONYA, Tom
KONYANE, Ralepheto Jackson
KONYANE, Raphaela Richard
KOOFMAN, Karen
KOPA, Jacob Tontosa
KOPELE, Philemon
KOPELE, Khabirang Hagai
KOPI, Ntobeko
KOPULO, Albert Magayiva
KOPUNG, Paulos Molibolo
KORDOM, Kerneels
KOROTSOANE, Francis Tahleho
KORTMAN, Mable Selloane
KOTA, Mabhuti Zamxolo
KOTA, Mzoli Simon
KOTA, Vuyo
KOTELA, Arnold
KOTELLO, Mathabo Johannes
KOTELLO, Malesela Daniel
KOTO, Andries Dupanyane
KOTO, Nathan
KOTPOE, Moysamaj Albery Zapo
KOTPOE, Phatang Wilfred
KOTOTSI, Mosipili Paulina
KOTSELE, Zwelandle Simon
KOTSELE, Tselane Maria
KOTZEN, Henry
KOWA, Phangwe Irene
KOZA, Baphindile Florinah
KOZA, Kasban
KOZA, Mandla Aaron
KOZA, Prince Mohlophoki
KOZA, Tembani Ntombinkulu
KRAATZ, E. C.
KRAATZ, J.
KRATSHANE, Tswinana Alfred
KRASHU, Mandlenkosi
KRECKIE, Loot Peter
KRECKIE, Rocky Moalusi
KRELE, Khubalo
KRIEK, D. G.
KRIEL, Ashley James
KROEGER, C.
KROLI, Phumzile Samuel
KROMLA, Berno Eric
KROMBERG, Anita Helen
KRUGER, C. S.
KRUGER, Franz Theodor
KRUGER, Johannes Jacobus
KRUGER, Ryan Christopher
KRUGER, Susanna Maria Magdalena
KRUGER, Gary John
KUPE, Mantwa Lydia
KUBAYI, Solomon Muzamane
KUBEKA, MODISE, Abigail Sibongile
KUBEKA, Fakazile Joyce
KUBEKA, Gladys
KUBEKA, Lilian Matshomo
KUBEKA, Mpoto Philemon
KUBEKA, Nkosinathi Wellington
KUBEKA, Zamokwakhe
KUBEKA, Albertina
KUBEKA, Bongani
KUBEKA, Mhondle Bhekithemba
KUBEKA, Dumisani Wilfred
KUBEKA, Elvis
KUBEKA, Fakazi Jerome
KUBEKA, Jeffrey
KUBEKA, Joshua
KUBEKA, Joshua Boy
KUTUMELA, Lesiba David
KUTUMELA, Lucky Makombo
KUTWANA, Seiso William
KUTWANE, Sophie
KUWANA, Nonkululeko Edith
KUZWAYO, Emelina Doreen
KUZWAYO, Matole Philemon
KUZWAYO, Mfomuhle Gideon
KUZWAYO, Ndolozo Maria
KUZWAYO, Tumi
KWANAITE, Kgabo Philipina
KWANE, Martha Nyenye
KWANE, Mohlito Moeketsi
KWANE, William Molefe Hosiah
KWATI, Simanko Frans
KWATI, Amon
KWATINANI, Christopher
KWATINTO, Stokotelo
KWAZA, Minah Baba
KWAZA, Nomkhanyo Victoria
KWAZA, Shadrack
KWEHLA, Matinise Theron
KWELA, Emerald Sandile
KWELA, Jabulani Timothy
KWELA, Phumzile Claudia
KWENA, Matshediso Gloria
KWENAI, Ngwako Johannes
KWENDA, Sifiso Patrick
KWETEPANE, Masoga Philemon
KWEYAMA, Ambrose Bekizwe
KWEYAMA, Bernard
KWEYAMA, Bhekani
KWEYAMA, Bhekintaba Bernard
KWEYAMA, Bhekizitha Johnson
KWEYAMA, Khetukhutha Wiseman
KWEYAMA, Lukhwa Armstrong
KWEYAMA, Mahboyi Isaac
KWEYAMA, Mthethwa Emmanuel
KWEYAMA, Nhlania Vumuneli
KWEYAMA, Ntombiliziphi Grace
KWEYAMA, Richman Zama
KWEYAMA, Sikhumbuzo Cyril
KWEYAMA, Thandeka Rejoice
KWEYAMA, Thembeni Mavis
KWEYAMA, Thembokwakhe James
KWEZI, Ntsikelelo
KWINANA, Alfred
KWINANGA, C.
KWINDA, Tshinanne Daphney
KWINDLA, Joseph Themba
KWIPU, Nonzima Virginia
KWISOMBA, Henry
KYDE, Brian
LABUSCHAGNE, Casper Jeremiah
LABUSCHAGNE, Lynette Vicki
LADIERA, Johnny
LADIERA, Louis Gemes
LADLOKOVA, Mzoli Pilton
LAHNER, Z.
LAKEYI, Meanwell
LALA, Nelson
LALA, Thomazile Solomon
LALI, Zwellitsa
LALLA, Rayman
LAMANI, Edward Madonela
LAMANI, Khizile Headman
LAMANI, Tanga Dhumane
LAMBERT, Joana
LAMBERT, Rob
LAMOLA, Piet Malothegi
LAMPRECHT, Craig
LAMULA, Bongani Petros
LAMULA, Zibonele Johannes
LANDE, Kolisile Christopher
LANDE, Nkosana Alfred
LANDINGWE, Danile Julius
LANDINGWE, Mandla Patrick
LANDINGWE, Wikha Lilly
LANDMAN, Annamaria
LANDU, Vusumuzi Khotsa Patrick
LANGA, Amon
LANGA, Aubrey Thoko
LANGA, Babin
LANGA, Benjamin
LANGA, Bester
LANGA, Bongani
LANGA, Bongani Selby
LANGA, Bonginkosi Aubrey
LANGA, Christine Shirley
LANGA, Diphangaph Marcus Mareka
LANGA, Emmanuel
LANGA, Gilbert Mandlenkosi
LANGA, Jabulani Nkosenye
LANGA, Lerato
LANGA, Lindeni Ivy
LANGA, Lucky Thulani
LANGA, Magekeni Herbert
LANGA, Mbongeni Robert
LANGA, Mfundisi Douglas
LANGA, Michael
LANGA, Michael Ngamula
LANGA, Mvavakshi
LANGA, Mzu Capphas
LANGA, Nkosinathi Emmanuel
LANGA, Ntombulele
LANGA, Phaphamani
LANGA, Phumzile Josephina
LANGA, Sibula Petros
LANGA, Thembeni Reginald
LANGA, Unknown
LANGA, Vukani Melusi
LANGA, Wellington Phungulu
LANGA, Zoleka Rosemary
LANGBOOI, Bulewla
LANGENHOVEN, John Christoffel
LANGFORD, Bernadette Sharon
LANGRIDGE, E.
LAPLEY, Michael Alan
LATA, Petros Kufakwezwe
LATHA, Bangizwe Eric
LATHA, Fakazile Albertina
LATHA, Jemina
LATHA, Lindwe
LATHA, Lindwe Julia
LATHA, Mana Esther
LATHA, Nomvula Jemina
LATHA, Samuel
LATHA, Zamil Dymon
LAUFS, Bernett
LAUFS, Carol
LAW, Stanley
LAWANA, Mzuwukile Maxwell
LAWRENCE, A. G.
LE BRUN, Louis James
LE CLUE, Jenny
LE CLUE, Noel
LE ROUX, A. J.
LE ROUX, Albert Martinus
LE ROUX, Anna Elizabeth Gerendinga
LE ROUX, Jakomima Fransina
LEAF, Kevin
LEAKOHE, Moses Moshweunyane
LEBAKENG, Koena Steven
LEBALLO, Tisetso
LEBATLA, Sisi Emily
LEBESE, Ramokoni Queen
LEBELO, Theophilus Sethe
LEBELWANE, Victor Kabele
LEBEDANA, Stevenson Brown
LEBEPE, Johannes
LEBEREKO, Fish Ben
LEBEREKO, Litsheoane Elizabeth
LEBESE, Mdungwadi J.
LEBET, Watkins
LEBETHE, Karel
LEBETHE, Ramonne Phillip
LEBOGO, Ketetisi Elbon
LEBOGO, Ledile
LEBOGO, Mamoletlo L.
LEBOGO, Maphuti Maria
LEBOGO, Mosima Nelly
LEBOKO, Joseph Lesoana
LEBOKO, Tsietisi
LEBOPU, Puleng Mantha
LEBURU, Naledi Esrael
LEBURU, Tsietisi Ismael
LEBUSO, Sindiswa Winnifred
LECHEKO, Mamoteng Emily
LEDGERWOOD, Timothy John
LEDULA, Shadrack
LEDWABA, Alina Qeto
LEDWABA, Elizabeth Ramatsubane
LEDWABA, Jacob
LEDWABA, Johanna Rakgadi
LEDWABA, Johannes
LEDWABA, Lawrence Mphodisa
LEDWABA, Lesiba Elias
LEDWABA, Lucy Nono
LEDWABA, Masabata Mirriam
LEDWABA, May
LEDWABA, Motswaledi Johannes
LEDWABA, Stanley Moalusi
LEDWABA, Walter
LEE, Samuel
LEEMANS, Ivan
LEEPILOE, Joseph
LEEUW, Libakiso Sinah
LEEUW, Tshidiso Isiah
LEEUWS CHILLO, Elsie Charmaine
LEFAKANE, Tshelha Simon
LEFHEDI, Elias Rangoane
LEFHEDI, Justina
LEFHEDI, Kholi Elias
LEFHEDI, Lekooa Elias
LEFHEDI, Matshediso Johanna
LEFHEDI, Wesi
LEFHEDI, Zacharia
LEFOKA, Tshivhidzo Frank
LEGALAMETLO, Kgofatlase Herbert
LEGARE, Mkhokho Simon
LEGETHO, Adeline Puleng
LEGOABE, Adam Mokotledi
LEGODI, Philip Mahuti
LEGWETE, Maki Francina
LEHOBYE, Malose John
LEHOKO, Samuel Winston
LEHOMO, Doctor Mahodi
LEPHADI, John Modisatsile
LEKABE, Modise Jacob
LEKABE, Thomas Puile
LEKALAKALA, Mkgatsi Letta
LEKALAKALA, Monica Lina
LEKALAKALA, Rasenono Shadrack
LEKALAKALA, Seketa Philip
LEKATSA, Samuel Molefe
LEKHELE, Tosi
LEKGETHISO, Justice
LEKGOTHOANE, Bishop Victor
LEKGWATHE, George
LEKHELE, Samson Mabaki
LEKHESI, Petrus
LEKHULENI, Paulos Mahola
LEKHULENI, Sipho Marcus
LEKOALETSO, Palesa Nthato Aletta
LEKOMA, Nicholas
LEKONENI, Joseph
LEKONE, Cassius
LEKOTE, Sophonia Mpuna
LEKWA, Ezekieli (Zakes)
LEKWAPE, Kgosietsile Paul

LELE, Charles	LETSWALO, Fano Marcus	LOVA, Tendjini	LUTHULI, Nqethembi	MABASO, Hluphekile Ntombizonke
LELEKI, Mxolisi Canwell	LETSWALO, Jane Phumzile	LOVING, Steven Kaumba	LUTHULI, Nicholas Sibhe	MABASO, Jabulise Caroline
LEMAOANE, Puseletso Phillip	LETSWALO, Princess	LOZA, Nkwenkwe Elijah	LUTHULI, Nonhlanhla Sibongile	MABASO, Jacob Hlomela
LEMBEDE, Hzekial Mandla	LETSWALO, Tshabane Samuel	LUBANE, Petros Boy	LUTHULI, Ntombi Annah	MABASO, Jane Makhosazane
LEMBEDE, Saraphina	LEVE, Phikolomzi Bigboy	LUBANYANA, Agnes Phumzile	LUTHULI, Oliphinah Duduzekile	MABASO, Johannes
LEMBETHE, Nompucuko Bongwiwe	LEVUNO, Velile Churchill	LUBANYANA, Mkhosi Isaac	LUTHULI, Penelope Gugulethu	MABASO, Joseph Sibusiso
Bertina	LEVY, Ricardo Shane	LUBBE, S.	LUTHULI, Phayiphile Frans	MABASO, Joyful
LEMBETHE, Tobsie Cabangile	LEWIS, Edith	LUBELWANA, Nceba Robson	LUTHULI, Phendukile Nomusa	MABASO, Khangwayeni Beatrice
LEMBETHE, Vusumuzi	LEWIS, Gavin Melvyn	LUBILANG, Tshvuidi	LUTHULI, Poza	MABASO, Lindiwe Sarah
LEMBETHE, William Phikelela	LEWIS, Wallace	LUBISI, Johnson Ncimibithi	LUTHULI, Pumepi	MABASO, Maqinji Idah
LEMPHANE, Michael Bekuzulu	LIBADA, Tshirongana	LUBISI, Lucky	LUTHULI, Qondeni Mabongwe	MABASO, Mcoyi Clement
LENGANTE, Puleng Jermina	LIBERTY, Eric Robert	LUBISI, Samuel Ovar	LUTHULI, Richard	MABASO, Mgodleni
LENGENE, Moleke Peter	LIEBENBERG, Charles Theodore	LUCAS, Brian	LUTHULI, Rita Gelasia	MABASO, Michael
LENGISI, Sakkie Thobekile	LIEBENBERG, Karen	LUCAS, Cornelius	LUTHULI, Rosemund	MABASO, Mkhali Thulani
LENGOSANE, Hosea Martin Matiwane	LIEBENBERG, M. E.	LUCAS, Jenny	LUTHULI, Sagile Mhlakwempi	MABASO, Mngoma Johannes
LENGS, Nomathamba	LIEBENBERG, Riaan Hendrik	LUCAS, Sydney	LUTHULI, S'Busiso	MABASO, Muzi David
LENGS, Tutu Phillip	LIEBENBERG, Riaan Hendrik	LUCAS, William	LUTHULI, Sibusiso Blessing	MABASO, Muzikawufuna
LENGWATI, Ruben	LIGHT, Mzwandile Eric	LUDKEE, Daniel	LUTHULI, Sifiso	MABASO, Njabulo Joyful
LENGWATI, Thokozile Josephine	LIGHTLE, Isaac Monyeke	LUIDI, Abraham	LUTHULI, Sihle Hector	MABASO, Nkosiyanzi Augustini
LENISA, Pieng Maria	UKOTSI, Joang Johannes	LUIDI, Goodman Dumisani	LUTHULI, Simo Sino Nkomemphophe	MABASO, Noble
LENKOE, James Thabiso	UKOTSI, Thomas	LUDUBE, Mnyamana	LUTHULI, Sipho Sikhumbuzo	MABASO, Nomhlawulo Mary-
LENKOE, Nathaniel Titus	LUIA, Douglas Thembi	LUDZIYA, Magangana	LUTHULI, Siyabonga Wellington	Magdeline Maria
LENONG, Mathew Lithoko	UMAKO, Qondeni Nomusa	LUFUNDO, Catherine Thokozani	LUTHULI, Sizani Jester	MABASO, Nomra
LENONG, Simon	LIMVUMU, Johannes	LUKAS, John Johannes	LUTHULI, Thandi Mayvis	MABASO, Ntombikayise Victoria
LENTO, Jacob	LINDA, Buzani Nomzume	LUKAS, Themba Phenias	LUTHULI, Themba Theofrid	MABASO, Ouma Sarah
LENTESELA, Richard Bushi	LINDA, Cyprian Bhekisigoino	LUKAS, Xolani	LUTHULI, Thembekile	MABASO, Owen Sibiza
LENTSWE, William	LINDA, Ernest Ndoda	LUKE, Mzamo Nelson	LUTHULI, Thembekile	MABASO, Robert
LENTZ, Elwin	LINDA, Falakhe Alfred	LUKHELE, Brian Sipho	LUTHULI, Thembekile	MABASO, Sibongile Constance
LENTZ, Gale	LINDA, Frank Thulani	LUKHELE, Clarence	LUTHULI, Thokozani	MABASO, Sibusiso
LENZI, Nzenzi	LINDA, Kwanele Alfred	LUKHELE, David	LUTHULI, Thokozile Elsie	MABASO, Simphiwe Victor
LEOTLELA, Thapelo Favourate	LINDA, Margaret Nontombi	LUKHELE, Elizabeth Mosawaila	LUTHULI, Thokakele Maria	MABASO, Siphamandla Dumisani
LEPAKU, Molate Violet	LINDA, Nhlantla Thembinokosi	LUKHELE, Isaac Vusi	LUTHULI, Victor	MABASO, Sipho Jeremiah
LEPE, Merriam Leyla	LINDA, Nomashosha Agnes	LUKHELE, Mswaela Elizabeth	LUTHULI, Vika Henry	MABASO, Sizwe
LEPHADI, Ismael	LINDA, Norman Jabuleni	LUKHELE, Dupa	LUTHULI, Wiseman Nkosiinathi	MABASO, Thamsanaga
LEPHADI, Jacob	LINDA, Sindiswe Euginia	LUKHELE, Samaria	LUTHULI, Ziphi Francisca	MABASO, Themba
LEPHADI, Motshelwa Sinah	LINDA, Sipho	LUKHELE, Siphiwe Daniel	LUTHULI, Zithule	MABASO, Thembi Vinty
LEPHEANE, Selokane Louisa	LINDA, Thoko Lephinah	LUKHOSI, Unknown	LUTOLO, Fundisile	MABASO, Thokozani Simon
LEPHOTHE, Sello Michael	LINDA, Unknown	LUKHULENI, Tokie Willie	LUTU, Olga Nomonde	MABASO, Tholinhlantla Blessing
LEPHUTING, Kenneth Velaphi	LINDI, Martin Siculo	LUKREQO, Nonejele	LUTULI, Alzina Mhlophe	MABASO, Thulani Humphrey
LEPITA, Erasmus Lesasa	LINDI, Nzuoko	LUKWE, Mfundo	LUTULI, Jandazile Otilla	MABASO, Thulani Petros
LERABONE, Mamosenyeni Berlina	LINDI, Theresa Nene	LUKWE, Simon	LUTULI, Mzikayise Elphord	MABASO, Vincent Sibusiso
LEROBA, Thabiso Temple	LINDWA, Mgqangathi Shortman	LUMBO, Mandlakayise Singleton	LUTULI, Nomajaji	MABASO, Vusi David
LEROBANE, Bertha	LINGWATE, Noelana	LUMKO, Tasi John	LUTULI, Tili	MABASO, Vusi Jetro
LEROBANE, Mamosenyehi Bellina	LINGS, Aletta Irene	LUMKWANA, Ntombizodwa Miriam	LUTYA, Wiseman Madodomzi	MABASO, Vusumuzi
LERUELE/LEEPD, Makgotle Samuel	LINKS, Lewellyn Neil Cornelius	LUND, Ralph Thomas	LUVATSHA, Themba	MABASO, Xolani Sifiso
LERUMO, Luvuyo Cameron	LINKS, Duane Johnson	LUNDA, Nombuyeselo Marie	LUVUNO, Dennis	MABASO, Zibani Simon
LERUMO, Molatelo Ribone	LIND, Matshediso Neria	LUNGA, Bakhona Eric	LUVUNO, Hlengiwe Yvonne	MABASO-XABA, Fana Alpheus
LERUMO, Nana Nelly	LIPHOKO, David Maluta	LUNGA, Mhlakazi Caswell	LUVUNO, Nomvuyiseko Educate	MABATHOANA SEKADELI, Maria Alix
LERUMO, Nyakallo Godfrey	LIPHOKO, Sophia Matseliso	LUNGU, Fanele Lefleur	UWANA, Mpherson	MABATHOANA, Thabang Paulos
LERUTLA, Moselem Prompane	LIPHOKO, Puseletso Elsie	LUNGU, Willis Emily	UWANA, Nimrod	MABAXA, Yuvani
LESABANE, Mj	LISWOGA, Eileenore Matodizi	LUNWASE, Busisiwe	UWANA, Thomas	MABE, Mmatlou Ramakone
LESABE, Esau Lion Letsatsi	LITLAME, Nthabiseng Germaine	LUPHOKO, Michael Mbuti	UWANA, Xolile Nicholas	MABEBA, Nakeedi Charles
LESACH, Mark Colin	LITLHAKANYANE, Letsieso Eckoo	LURULI, Ntshavheni Abram	UWANE, Joshua	MABEBA, Nakeedi Charles
LESEJANE, Johanna	LITTLE, Kathleen	LUSHABA (NDLOVU), Dumisani Patrick	LWAZINI, Nonthotho	MABEBA, David Mosekiemang
LESENYEHO, Godfrey Teko	LITTLE, William Henry	LUSHABA, Jamani Samson	LYLE, Kerry Anne	MABELANE, Matthews Marvale
LESENYEHO, Trevor Tsepo	LIVINGSTONE, Esau	LUSHABA, Mence	LYNCH, Judy Lynn	MABELANE, Sekomane Samuel
LESETJA, Makgala Maria	LJUTUNG, L	LUSHABA, Njizeni	MAAKA, Makinta Elizabeth	MABELANE, Thokwana Petrus
LESEUYHO, Amelia	LIWANE, Georgina Ma-Umfundisi	LUSHABA, Nonhlanhla	MAAKANA, Macipemele Bennett	MABELE, Boy Solomon
LESHABANE, Johannes Selekgeng	LIWANE, Mzwandile	LUSHABA, Patrick Mfana	MAAKE, Jerome Joseph	MABELE, Boysie Eugene
LESHORO, Mapaseka Rebecca	LIZANI, Nomathamba Sheila	LUSHABA, Rose Phumzile	MAAKE, Jerome Joseph	MABELE, Sithembiso Bongiwe
LESHORO, Lydia Matsoku Marionette	LIZO, Anderson Mpendelo	LUSHABA, Shongiseni Caiphas	MAAKE, Matome David	MABELEBELE, Tumishi John
LESIBA, Berth Rachel	LLALE, Mathodi Diane	LUSHABA, Thamsanaga Madoda	MAAKO, Tumishi	MABELESA, Vusi Samson
LESIBO, Mangoele Isaac	LOAPE, Papike	LUSHABA, Thokozile Josina	MAANS, Ruben	MABENA (MATHEKGA), Phyllis Tabia
LESIGE, Reeves Kenosi	LOBELO, Derrick Boithomo	LUSIKI, Lindile	MAAPE, David Thamelang	MABENA, Ben
LESJO, Johannes Maluse	LOBELO, Francis Ohaletse	LUSIKI, Yoliswa Eurance	MAARMAN, Sophie Nunusi	MABENA, Daniel Mntindwa
LESOTSA, Tidi Charles	LOBESE, Thobinyana Masakhe	LUTHANGO, Tholakele Doreen	MAARMAN, Thembisile Skune	MABENA, Ditshwantsho Rosina
LESOLA, Priscilla Mmadikobe	LOCHENBERG, Nomawisile Ivy	LUTHAYI, Jabulani Christian	MAARTENS, Johannes	MABENA, Goodman Paulus
LESOLE, Mmatheko Anna	LOCHENBURG, Ernest	LUTHILI, Phillip	MAARTENS, Rieta	MABENA, Irene Sylvia
LESOLE, Steven	LOEDWICK, Sydney Edward	LUTHULI, Andreas Madoda	MABAKALA, Jonas	MABENA, James
LESOTHO, Molefi Klaas	LOEWE, Michael Ian	LUTHULI, Azariah	MABALANE, Baba	MABENA, Maria
LESOTHO, Spanki David	LOKWALDENG, Selularo Eva	LUTHULI, Bekile	MABALANE, Frieda	MABENA, Mbulole Esau
LETANTA (RAMAISA), Elizabeth	LOLWE, Shwalakhe	LUTHULI, Bhekizitha N.	MABALEHA, Annah Disebo	MABENA, Mxolisi Abey
Matsiliso	LOLLAN, Arthur Carroll	LUTHULI, Bili Emmanuel	MABALEKA, Joseph Ndodomzi Master	MABENA, Dupa Geelbooi
LETEBELA	LOLLAN, Stanley Basil	LUTHULI, Bonni Christina	MABANDLA, Gxakela	MABENA, Ronny Makhosonke
LETEBELE, Dipupo	LOLO, Lucky Hendrick	LUTHULI, Bongani Mage	MABANGA, Abraham Doctor	MABENA, Salome Mamokete
LETEBELE, Mogomotsi Mummy	LOWANA, Zenzile John	LUTHULI, Bongwe Fortunat	MABANGA, Bhekinkosi Moses	MABENA, Simlindle
LETHELA, Makutoana Patience	LOWANE, Ntomhle Beauty	LUTHULI, Bongokwakhe Norman	MABANGA, Grinace Thambi	MABENA, Sipho Aaron
LETHENA, Mathapelo	LOMBAARD, Casper	LUTHULI, Cabangile	MABANGA, Musawenkosi	MABENA, Timothy Tono
LETHLAKE, Titi Saliel	LOMBARD, E.	LUTHULI, Delaphi Ncengeni	MABANGA, Thengindawu	MABENA, Vusumuzi Paulos
LETLABAKA, Moni Joseph	LOMBARD, Helena	LUTHULI, Dumisani Romanus	MABARA, Christina	MABENE, Sarah
LETLAPE, Blumi Chritina	LOMBARD, Iris	LUTHULI, Eric Langa	MABASA, Aaron Njobeni	MABEO, Seonyana
LETSABA, Andries Khokokoane	LOMBARD, P.L	LUTHULI, Fela Robert	MABASA, Joyinile	MABEO, Tshogofatso
LETSEBE, Noah	LOMBARD, Tsabane	LUTHULI, Fikisewe	MABASA, Matopi	MABHALA, Madoda
LETSELE, George Mampala	LOMBO, Arnold Lolo	LUTHULI, Fortunate Nonhlanhla	MABASA, Mthabeni	MABHANGA, Lucky
LETSHETI, Ndaphulele	LOMBO, Ntombizonke Virginia	LUTHULI, Gamalakhe Elphas	MABASA, Mthabeni	MABHANGA, Makaye
LETSHOLO, Boetie Johannes	LONDON, Wessel	LUTHULI, Gertrude	MABASA, Nomafuze	MABHENA, Nomzamo
LETSHOLONANYA, Elizabeth	LONGO, Gledys	LUTHULI, Gledys	MABASA, Sizani Lindeni	MABHENA, Kinathi
LETSHOLONANYA, Jacob Nothi	LONGWE, Patrick Skobho	LUTHULI, Henry Vika	MABASA, Victor	MABHIDA, Benedict Benjamin
LETSHOLONANYA, Jacob Ramosiko	LONGWE, Sipho Leonard	LUTHULI, Innocent Manqaza	MABASO, Alfred Mhlopheki	MABHIDA, Bonga Michael
LETSHOLONANYA, Maenia Dorothy	LONZI, Thembisile Simon	LUTHULI, Jabhisile	MABASO, Bafana Leonard	MABHIDA, Doda Joseph
LETSHWENI, Charles Letsatsi	LOOTS, Dawn Dudley	LUTHULI, Jabulani Pavis	MABASO, Bhekizenzo Innocent	MABHIDA, Gabisile
LETSE, Augustina Mmapaniki	LOOTS, Pieter Johannes	LUTHULI, Jabulani Rogers	MABASO, Bonginkosi Raphael Gabriel	MABHIDA, Kumakwabo Gubewu
LETSE, Daniel Moarabi	LOTHERING, Dennis David	LUTHULI, James	Mbuyaswe	MABHIDA, Linda Penwell
LETSE, David Tello	LOTSWANE, Clayton	LUTHULI, Johannes Sibongumusa	MABASO, Castro Mandla	MABHIDA, Mandla Jeffrey
LETSE, Mampesa Betsi	LOURENS, Johannes Arnoldus	LUTHULI, Gilikida	MABASO, Christopher Sipho	MABHIDA, Mduzizi Glorious
LETSE, Sanna Puleng	LOURENS, Sunelle Elize	LUTHULI, Lindiwe Thandi	MABASO, Dinah	MABHINCA, Khedamile
LETSE, Steven Tselakhosi	LOUVERDIS, Maria	LUTHULI, Lovejoy Nomusa	MABASO, Dombi Cathrine	MABHOKHWE, Muzunjan Shadrack
LETSIRI, Callion Mokoena	LOW, Billy Boy	LUTHULI, Madoda James	MABASO, Dvane Esina	MABHUDE, Zenzele
LETSOALO, B.	LOW, Daniel	LUTHULI, Mandla Vincent	MABASO, Elizabeth N.	MABIDA, Florentina
LETSOALO, Malenu Raesibe	LOW, Harold Robert Moss	LUTHULI, Mathonto Joyce	MABASO, Ernest Themba	MABIDA, Joseph Doda
LETSOALO, Moshai Joseph	LOW, Lewis Hamilton Thabo	LUTHULI, Mbekeni	MABASO, Francis Khanyiswe	MABIDA, Shieela Sara
LETSOENYO, Tom Ratshabonyana	LOW, Michael Craig	LUTHULI, Mhileni George	MABASO, George Khazumula	MABIDA, Thulani Henry
LETSOHA - MATSHA, Maqeen Joyce	LOW, Mieta	LUTHULI, Mhletwa Azaria	MABASO, Goodman Sibusiso	MABIDJA, Phakamile Harry
LETSOKO, Maleshwane Anna	LOW, Nosisana Celia	LUTHULI, Mshelwa Pieter	Zweibanzi	MABIKA, John Sipho
LETSOKO, Photho Andrew	LOW, September Joseph	LUTHULI, Mudi Irene	MABASO, Gugu Goodness	MABASA, Lungile Nomasonto
LETSWALO, Ernest Mthokozisi	LOW, Whiskey Lulu	LUTHULI, Ndombolizi Sylvia	MABASO, Hlengiwe	MABILA, James Nhliizo

MABILA, Kufa Jamefish	MACINGWANE, Gilbert	MADLALA, Lahlwe Mahluzi	MADWANYA, Themba Melville	MAGOSO, Khipha Protas
MABOHLA, Daniel	MACINGWANE, Ntuli Reginah	MADLALA, Lamani Donatus	MADWE, Thembekile Joyce	MAGOSO, Makhelha
MABILO, Mary	MACKENNA, John	MADLALA, Lephina	MAEMA, Pitso Simon	MAGOSO, Mtshelekwana
MABILO, Peter Lathi	MACULUVE, Andrias	MADLALA, Mabantla Andreas	MAENETJE, Sinyeheno Thomas	MAGOSO, Swelekile Annacletta
MABILO, Marcus Mohlamme	MACUPHE, Theminkosi	MADLALA, Manjilo Manana	MAENETJE, Tshapo Brown Anthony	MAGQAQGA, Enoch Buti
MABINA, Raeseta Lydia	MACWASHE, Sakhile	MADLALA, Matilda	MAEPA, Ntebele Margaret	MAGQAQA, Mabuthi Lawrence
MABINDISA, Caiphus	MADAZDZE,	MADLALA, Mbuyelwa	MAFA, Bantubonke	MAGQI, Danisile
MABITILE, Motlogeloa George	MADAKA, Mbuyiselo	MADLALA, Mduzuzi Eric	MAFA, Ntembeko Oswald	MAGQO, Meteleli Anderson
MABIZELA, Jacob	MADAKA, Tobekile	MADLALA, Mdtshwa	MAFABATHO, Lishobana Piet	MAGQUNTULU, Lulamile
MABOANE, Karabo Jacob	MADALANA, Thozamile Swartbooi	MADALANA, Michael Khanyakwezwe	MAFAFO, Moloko Jarios	MAGUBANE, Amos
MABOCE, Pani Solomon	MADALANA, Bongani	MADALANA, Mikwami Tryphina	MAFALALA, Sibongile Lennox	MAGUBANE, Bheki
MABOEA, Rukhs Amon	MADALANE, Mkhwenkwe	MADALANA, Mzayifani Jacob	MAFANYA, Ntabenkosi Davidson	MAGUBANE, Bhono Stanley
MABOGO, Aifihli Philemon	MADAYI, Nomalanga Eida	MADALANA, Ngenzeni Nkaza	MAFATA, Hahobanoe Daniel	MAGUBANE, Bongane Stephen
MABOHELA, T	MADELA, Gcinumuzi Josiah	MADALANA, Ngwananza	MAFATLE, Simon Thabo	MAGUBANE, Bongani Emmanuel
MABOKANO, Nare France	MADELA, Mabhofu Thomas	MADALALA, Nhlantsha Christian	MAFATSE, Johannes	MAGUBANE, Duke Mzi
MABOKELA, Emma Ramasela	MADELA, Mandibakayisa Victor	MADALANA, Nicholus Siphwe	MAFENGU, Mabhonja Nelson	MAGUBANE, Emma Margaret
MABOKELA, Frans Matsubane	MADELA, Michael Yeka	MADALANA, Nkosi Gladys Masikheshhe	MAFEREKA, Sellaene Paulina	MAGUBANE, Esther Nokulanga
MABOKELA, Makwena Ramakoni	MADELA, Obed Ndoda	MADALANA, Nonithi	MAFFA, Mosima Elizabeth	MAGUBANE, Fana
MABOKELA, Mmamloko Philipus	MADELA, Vusumuzi Samuel	MADALANA, Nomusa Goodness	MAFFODI, Jemima Maphuti	MAGUBANE, Gemu Bonginkosi
MABOKELA, Tlou Isaac	MADHAV, Deepak	MADALANA, Nonhlanhla Daphney	MAFHALA, Phineas	MAGUBANE, Kahla Thamsanqa
MABOKELA, Tlou Maphuti	MADHALLA, Sabeline Judith	MADALANA, Ntuthuko Reginald	MAFIKA, Daniel Morene	MAGUBANE, Mdewla
MABOKOANE, Teboho Abram	MADI, Dikgope Andrew	MADALANA, Nyusiwe	MAFIKA, Lindie Sara Makazibiyile	MAGUBANE, Mhlanganyelwa Andries
MABOLA, Sekoele Aubrey	MADI, Zakhele Marcus	MADALANA, Phineas Thulebona	MAFIKE, Mmanini Martha	MAGUBANE, Ncishekile Kosi I
MABOMBO, David	MADIA, Meisie Gloria	MADALANA, Raymond Fikani	MAFILIKA, Mkanylei Edward	MAGUBANE, Ntando Emmanuel
MABOMBO, Mxolisi James	MADIBA, Alpheus	MADALALA, Sangolize Gennet	MAFLIKA, Violet	MAGUBANE, Ntokozo Purity
MABONA, Boekie April	MADIBA, Cojana Idah	MADALALA, Shongile Lefinah	MAFIRIKA, Tebelo Johannes	MAGUBANE, Ntombiza Sellina
MABONA, Unknown	MADIBA, Doda Joseph	MADALALA, Sielo Michael	MAFOBKOWANE, Letsatsi Elias	MAGUBANE, Nuthane
MABONA, Wilhemina	MADIBA, Gervasia	MADALALA, Sifundo	MAFODI, Chune Maria	MAGUBANE, Peter
MABOPE, Expeditious Mzolis	MADIBA, Nokuthula	MADALALA, Siphiwe	MAFODI, Mmaputhi Maria	MAGUBANE, Sipho
Monwabisi	MADIBA, Ntsikelelo	MADALALA, Sylvia	MAFODI, Phuti Matlou	MAGUBANE, Theminkosi Christopher
MABOTE, Mahlomola Israel	MADIBA, Patrick Phanglifa	MADILALA, Thandiwe Elsie	MAFOLO, Khabonina Naume	MAGUBANE, Wellington Msaivenkosi
MABOTE, Petunia	MADIBA, Thibi Thobela	MADILALA, Thobile Gladness	MAFONGOSI, Gqili Compton	MAGUBANE, Zibonelle Mshkiza
MABOTHA, Johannes	MADIBA, Zolani	MADILALA, Thokozza Norah	MAFORA, Ateji	MAGUBANE, Zwelendile Leonard
MABOTJA, Alpheus	MADIBANA, Maropeng	MADILALA, Thom Mjabulelwa	MAFORA, Mabotse Selephah	MAGUDELE, Mkhosi
MABOTJA, Kgoro William	MADIBANE, Rase Ponapona Johannes	MADILALA, Tolani	MAFOYI, Victor	MAGUDELE, Mandla Alfred
MABOTJA, Leswika Samuel	MADIBO, Stephen	MADILALA, Tuthuma Samson	MAFREKA, Ramphuthing Elias	MAGUA, Mncedi
MABOTJA, Malesela George	MADIDA, Elizabeth	MADILALA, Veliveli Alfred	MAFU, Musa Blessing	MAGUGU, Ntombizone Khol
MABOTJA, Manoko	MADIDA, Timothy	MADILALA, Vusumuzi Cecil	MAFU, Nyamike Chemiston	MAGUGU, Zamekile Selomane
MABOTJA, Phuti Salome	MADILHLABA, Mokgatla Samuel	MADILALA, Vuyani Andreas	MAFU, Previous Mlungisi	MAGUMBINI, Ngombole
MABOTSA, Seemole Mosel	MADIKANE, Carrington Mcoeseleli	MADILALA, Yvonne	MAFU, Sidawa	MAGUTSHWA, Thandiwe
MABOWA, Happy Nkuneng	MADIKANE, Dickson Matholengwe	MADILALA, Zibuyisile	MAFULANE, Frans	MAGWA, Thando Sergeant
MABOWA, Mathabe Willem	MADIKANE, Lennox Mngambi	MADILAMBANA, Reginald Tshisibodo	MAFUMANA, Tolika	MAGWA, Zwelethemba Eric
MABOWELA, Makgabo Seemola	MADIKANE, Louisa Thenjiwe	MADILAVU, Aaron Sibhabhabha	MAFUNA, Pat	MAGWACA, Amanda Eunice Nokwakha
MABOYA, Abel Tsakani	MADIKANE, Nontsikelelo Cynthia	MADILAVU, Alfred Tinisile	MAFUNDI, Wellington	MAGWACA, Popi Michael Yukile
MABOZO, Sheila	MADIKANE, Patrick	MADILAVU, Ngangelizwe Moses	MAFUNDITYALA, Lawrence Mxolisi	MAGWANYANA, Nikho Annah
MABUO, Abie	MADIKANE, Philisile Nomgcobo	MADLE, Richard Sithembiso	MAFUTHA, Ncedani	MAGWAYI, Nzimeni Kidwell
MABUDLE, Nonthandazo	MADIKELA, Bimbo Eustice	MADLITYANE, Valencia Ntombiyakhe	MAFUYA, Godfrey	MAGWAZA, Albert Thanda
MABUKANE, Ndumiso Samuel	MADIKELA, Andile Jiver	MADILIVA, Nomgidi Martha	MAFUYA, Knowlen Lumala	MAGWAZA, Behlitshe
MABUKELA, Josias	MADIKIZELA, Datani	MADILOLO, Nkhlosi Johnson	MAGABAZA, Freeman James	MAGWAZA, Bekinkosi Peter
MABUKELA, Thomas	MADIKIZELA, Gladys Yaleka	MADLONGOLWANA, Gideon	MAGADLA, Mzwandile Michael	MAGWAZA, Bongani Errol
MABULA, Agnes Duma	MADIKIZELA, Gwebityale	MADLOPHA, Bonginkosi Elphasi	MAGADULELA, Makostada	MAGWAZA, Bongkile Anna
MABULA, Zacharie Monyaka	MADIKIZELA, Mbsambi Solomon	MADLOPHA, Celwe Hkamkile	MAGAGA, Zolile	MAGWAZA, Bongepile
MABULANA, Violet Makole	MADIKIZELA, Michel Sipekepeke	MADODDA, Lesley	MAGAGULA, Gibson Lindi	MAGWAZA, Bongumusa Caleb
MABUNDA, Bekhaphi	MADIKIZELA, Milner	MADODA, Velaphi Daniel	MAGAGULA, Jeremiah	MAGWAZA, Cijmpi
MABUNDA, Jonas	MADIKIZELA, Misingwa	MADODO, Augustin	MAGAGULA, Robert Absalom	MAGWAZA, Dumisani
MABUNDA, Ken	MADIKIZELA, Mthethunzima Paulos	MADODO, Ndyovisile Patrick	MAGAGULA, Selina Zolane	MAGWAZA, Dunford Mandlenkosi
MABUNDA, Kobi Owen	MADIKIZELA, Sylvia Noyolo	MADODO, Nontana	MAGAGULA, Thelwell Joseph	MAGWAZA, Edward Bongani
MABUNDA, Stefaans	MADIKIZELA, Wiseman Potiyana	MADODO, Pasika	MAGAGWA, David	MAGWAZA, Elizabeth
MABUNGA, Muziwakhe	MADIKIZELA-MANDELA, Winnie	MADONA, Evelyn	MAGALE, Mahlare Kenneth	MAGWAZA, Ellington Sigudla
MABUSA, Aubrey	Nomzamo	MADONDA, Crescentia Zamisile	MAGAM, Aron	MAGWAZA, Fanyana Mike
MABUSA, Peter	MADILAYI, Gwelani	MADONDA, Maxwell	MAGAMA, John	MAGWAZA, Humphrey Phakade
MABUSE, Koos Bredi	MADINDA, Mxuseli Maxwell	MADONDA, Mthandeni	MAGAMLE, Ganda William	MAGWAZA, Isaac Mandlezulu
MABUSELA, Matsobane Katibe	MADINDA, Ndumiso Daniels	MADONDA, Nthandazo Mirriam	MAGANA, Martin Phello	MAGWAZA, Isaci Siphwe
MABUTHA, Eunice Kedibone	MADINDA, Thenjiwe Queenette	MADONDA, Thombile Gretha	MAGANA, Swane	MAGWAZA, Lillian
MABUTHO, Mhlaba Joseph	MADINDI, George	MADONDO, Antony Ndingehlele	MAGANADISA, Jacob	MAGWAZA, Magqubu Mbongeni
MABUTHO, Walter Charles	MADINDA, Luvuyo Johannes	MADONDO, Dlangamandla Dumisani	MAGANGXA, Moffat Marhanana	MAGWAZA, Manqumu Isaac
MABUYA, Bheki	MADIPERE,	MADONDO, Gibson Petros	MAGANO, Johanna	MAGWAZA, Mildred Sibongile
MABUYANE, Qhathani Stafford	MADISA, Frans Malemeli	MADONDO, Gobo William	MAGAGA, Mongameli Walter	MAGWAZA, Mondli Fano
MABUZA, Bongekile	MADISA, John Mponana	MADONDO, Johanna	MAGAGA, Mzama Goodwill	MAGWAZA, Ntombi Ellen
MABUZA, Henry Dumisani	MADISA, Kiasa Boesman	MADONDO, Lindela Phillip	MAGASELA, Mzimhulu Patrick	MAGWAZA, Nicholas Mbhekiseni
MABUZA, Kenneth Armadu	MADISA, Kleinbooi Makwe	MADONDO, Mandla Wellington	MAGASELA, Ntshado Lillian	MAGWAZA, Nozipho Lillian
MABUZA, Makalele Jacob	MADISA, William Kimbi	MADONDO, Makuphuzi	MAGASELA, Siyabonga Aaron	MAGWAZA, Ntombi Ellen
MABUZA, Melwos Sibangani	MADISHA, Elias	MADONDO, Maxwell	MAGATO, Simon	MAGWAZA, Ntombizodwa Augustina
MABUZA, Moses Majaheni	MADISHA, Fana Phineas	MADONDO, Nontombi	MAGATSELA, Sekoetsi Jim	MAGWAZA, Princess Benzie
MABUZA, Muntukanti Timothy	MADISHA, Mashima Jan	MADONDO, Oupa Ronald	MAGAWANA, Barnabas Mahlati	MAGWAZA, Sebenzile Ziqhelile
MABUZA, Nomsa Nobuhle	MADISONA, Ntombenani Sophie	MADONDO, Phumelele Linet	MAGAWANA, Douglas Khewula	MAGWAZA, Shonangaphi
MABUZA, Obert Sidala	MADISHA, Thapelo Donald Dudu	MADONDO, Sihle Johan	MAGAWANA, Joseph Bora	MAGWAZA, Sikhumbuzo
MABUZA, Queen Gladys	MADITSI, Solomon Tsekere	MADONDO, Siyabonga Wilson	MAGAWANA, Yalivie Martha	MAGWAZA, Soneni Thamboloni
MABUZA, Sibigale	MADITSI, William Nkoane	MADONDO, Thamsanqa Wellington	MAGAWU, Vuyelwa Sophie	MAGWAZA, Tembani
MABUZA, Sidney	MADIYA, Stridom Lagu	MADONDO, Thandi G	MAGAZI, Ngubenyathi Michael	MAGWAZA, Thembisile Thandekile
MABUZA, Sifiso Selby	MADLABETSHA, Bhekisisa	MADONDO, Thandi Zakhona	MAGCABA, Elias Bonginkosi	MAGWAZA, Thokozani Patience
MABUZA, Thulani Solly	MADLALA, Aaron	MADONSELA, Anthony	MAGCABA, Lawrence Sphwe	MAGWAZA, Velephi
MABUZA, Thuli Joyce	MADLALA, Alfred Felendlini	MADONSELA, Jabulani Samson	MAGCABA, Ntombinkulu Lilian	MAGWAZA, Vusumuzi Joseph
MACAMBA, Pascal	MADLALA, Alfred	MADONSELA, Lena Nongsado	MAGCABA, Zisolile Buyelaphi	MAGWAZA, Zabantu Joyce
MACATTES, Justice	MADLALA, Alpheus Mkhawsha	MADONSELA, Molefe	MANGENGELE, Nnuthu Mzwandile	MAGWAZA, Zanelle Angeline
MACESEHANE, Teleni Sarah	MADLALA, Bakazi Minah	MADONSELA, Phili Toto	Rawell	MAGWEBU, Mzwandile Joseph
MACEFADEN, Keith	Mademshlotshi	MADONSELA, Piet Petrus	MANGVEZA, Tamsanga Steven	MAGWENTSHU, Tamba Todit Toto
MACHABA, Peter Thabo	MADLALA, Besinia Leann	MADONSELA, Samuel	MAGEZA, Basil Earnest	MAGXAKI, Monwabisi Eric
MACHABE, Masilo Clement	MADLALA, Bheki	MADONSELA, Shusiso Haine	MAGINGXA, Nomalet Veronica	MAHAMOTSA, Petros Papadi
MACHANE, Kholeka Maggie	MADLALA, Bhekisiza Trueman	MADRABE, Phillip Lesetja	MAGINXA, Baso Win	MAHANJANA, Bhungwayo
MACHEDI, Mpho Jacob	MADLALA, Bilingi Nhlayenza	MADUBEDUBE, Lungelwa	MAGMOED, Shun	MAHANJANA, Dan Gideon
MACHETE, Marupini Alpheus	MADLALA, Bongani Gracious	MADUBELA, Stormont	MAGO, Mthenjwa	MAHAPO, Godfrey
MACHICHE, Jonas Mpati	MADLALA, Bongani Michael	MADUBULA, Baba	MAGODA, Nokoliswa Dolly	MAHAPO, Herman
MACHIMANA, Adolf	MADLALA, Celani Aleya	MADUENYANE, Robert Lepodisi	MAGODIELA, Tsietsi	MAHARAJ, Rajeshwar
MACHIMANE, Ludick	MADLALA, Dumisani Duke	MADULUBE, Nomamfengu Maureen	MAGODLA, Vatala	MAHASA, Matsidiso Jane
MACHOBA, Debra	MADLALA, France Bhekuyise	MADUMA, Motekhi Joseph	MAGOLEGO, Martha Kedibone	MAHAU, Lereng Martin
MACHOBANE, Duke	MADLALA, Ggambi Cecilia	MADUNA, Doctor John	MAGOLEGO, William Mboikana	MAHAYE, Khohlwangifile
MACHOBANE, Frank	MADLALA, Gugu Josinah	MADUNA, Fanyana Reuben	MAGOLOZA, Thobeka	MAHAYE, Ntlowana Busisive
MACHOBANE, Joseph Modise	MADLALA, Jabulile	MADUNA, Jabile Christina	MAGONONGA, William Madimetja	MAHEBELEDZHA, Tshamano Robert
MACHOBANE, Monkeng Lebhang	MADLALA, Jabulile Lucy	MADUNA, Leshula Stephen	MAGOPANE, Tumpu Lodwick	MAHLJANA, Lundi Shadrack
Claudia	MADLALA, John Nelson	MADUNA, Masole Petros	MAGOQOZA, Gertrude	MAHITI, Khayaletu Patrick
MACHOBANE, Mutle	MADLALA, Kati Mastoli	MADUNA, Mokoening Isaac	MAGODQWANA, Siwzonke Cedric	MAHLABA, Albertina Thokozile
MACHOBANE, Sekgonyane John	MADLALA, Kholiwe Sholipi	MADUNA, Mqwisweni Albert	MAGORO, Jeffrey Sikhali	MAHLABA, Bafana
MACHOBANE, Stephina Liketeli	MADLALA, Khona Christina	MADUNA, Vusi	MAGOSHA, Lilian	MAHLABA, Bellina Dolly
MACHONA, Taiheho Hendrik	MADLALA, Khonjwayo	MADUTWANE, Percia Nomp	MAGUSTANE, Dunga Protas	MAHLABA, Bongani Ernest
MACKI, Krakra	MADLALA, Khumbuzile Mildred	MADUWA, Nyamavholisa	MAGOSO, Hlupekile Annie	MAHLABA, Enoch Siph

MAHLABA, James Phineas	MAHLANGU, Peter Mathibela	MAJALISA, Nomhle Patricia	Mshoniswa	MAKHATHINI, Mbhekeni
MAHLABA, Likhohlwa Samuel	MAHLANGU, Peter Sundunza	MAJAMANI, Themba Welcome	MAKATU, Matodzi Annah	MAKHATHINI, Njleshe
MAHLABA, Linda Welcome	MAHLANGU, Petrus	MAJANAGA, Michael Molefi	MAKAU, Lebongang Lucas	MAKHATHINI, Nompumelelo Patricia
MAHLABA, Lungi	MAHLANGU, Phaphelaphi Ncema	MAJAPELO, Francina	MAKAULA, Monwabisi Gladwell	MAKHATHINI, Otto
MAHLABA, Lungi Xolisile	MAHLANGU, Phillip Hlukeni	MAJARA, Mapuleng Anna	MAKAULA, Sindekile	MAKHATHINI, Simon Ubukhosibakhe
MAHLABA, Mahlupha	MAHLANGU, Phillis	MAJENGE, Dladulomo	MAKAYI, Gideon	MAKHATHINI, Siphiwe Prince
MAHLABA, Mahwhidi Lazarus	MAHLANGU, Pielelehi Johnna	MAJENGE, Dumisani	MAKAZA, Michael Mthetheli	MAKHATHINI, Siza
MAHLABA, Mbuyisela Patrick	MAHLANGU, Pondo Jerry	MAJETJA, Tshibishi Daniel	MAKAZA, Samuel James	MAKHATHINI, Skhumbuzo
MAHLABA, Mmakgabo Elias	MAHLANGU, Popi Lena	MAJIEDT, Stefanus (Andrew)	MAKEBE, Ramakhomane Adam Dipepe	MAKHATHINI, Thoko Lizzy
MAHLABA, Nare Piet	MAHLANGU, Rampie Ngene	MAJAJA, Ashington Sizethu	MAKEKE, Michael	MAKHATHINI, Valekile Letia
MAHLABA, Nonhlanhla Prudence	MAHLANGU, Selaki Langa	MAJAJA, Landle Clement	MAKEKA, Mpoti Stephen	MAKHATHINI, Victor Thulani
MAHLABA, Patricia Dolly	MAHLANGU, Senzangakhona James	MAJAJA, Linda	MAKENA, Steven Rakosho	MAKHATHINI, Xolile
MAHLABA, Sabelo Sibusiso Mccwell	MAHLANGU, Senzenjani Reginald	MAJIKAZANA, Zanele Sidwell	MAKER, E	MAKHATHINI, Zanele
MAHLABA, Simangele Gloria	MAHLANGU, Sesana Emma	MAJAJA, Delisile Gama	MAKETLA, Phillemon Nkhalung	MAKHATHINI, Fana Shadrack
MAHLABA, Themba David	MAHLANGU, Sibongile Maria	MAJAJA, Sibusiso	MAKEWU, Mkhwane	MAKHATHINI, Josphina
MAHLABE, Jacob	MAHLANGU, Sikhukhuni	MAJAJA, Dumazile Grace	MAKGAE, Moshe Moses	MAKHATHINI, Sihle
MAHLADISA, Sello Vincent	MAHLANGU, Sikman Johannes	MAJOBELA, Fezile	MAKGAE, Peter	MAKHATHINI, Sipho
MAHLALEA, Moshe Jan	MAHLANGU, Simon	MAJOKA, Magic Msizi	MAKGAJANE, Maria Dimakatso	MAKHATHINI, Vincent Sipho
MAHLALELA, Theminkosi Shadrack	MAHLANGU, Simon Bangani	MAJOLA, Abednego	MAKGAJA, Philip Willie	MAKHAVHU, Milandu Samuel
MAHLAKU, Isaac Tholoana	MAHLANGU, Sipho Andrew	MAJOLA, Andile Simon	MAKGALE, Christopher Ntshimane	MAKHAYA, Daniel
MAHLAKULA, Philimon	MAHLANGU, Solomon	MAJOLA, Bekisisa Lionel	MAKGALE, Robert Bashana	MAKHAYE, Amos
MAHLALA, Nqatvana	MAHLANGU, Solomon Funani	MAJOLA, Bhelikinkosi	MAKGALE, Thulani Malinga	MAKHAYE, Bhelikinkosi C.
MAHLALELA, Annah Lobi	MAHLANGU, Solomon Morake	MAJOLA, Bhekumuzi	MAKGALEMELE, Agnes	MAKHAYE, Bhekumuzi Alfred
MAHLAMBI, Dumisani George	MAHLANGU, Soni David	MAJOLA, Bonakele Octavia	MAKGALEMELE, Isaac	MAKHAYE, Bonginkosi Dennis
MAHLAMBI, Petros	MAHLANGU, Sophie	MAJOLA, Bongani Brian	MAKGALEMELE, Mphapheo Sinah	MAKHAYE, Boy Pui
MAHLAMONYANE, Sobashile	MAHLANGU, Sophy Mncane	MAJOLA, Bongwiwe	MAKGALEMELE, Morakane Anna	MAKHAYE, Busisiwe Phumzile
MAHLAMVU, Douglas	MAHLANGU, Shpila	MAJOLA, Busi	MAKGALEMELE, Potoko Franzar	MAKHAYE, Florence Nelisive
MAHLANGU,	MAHLANGU, Sprinkle John	MAJOLA, Busiswwe Nomusa	MAKGALEMELE, Rebecca	MAKHAYE, Fonika Cerlonia
MAHLANGU, Abram	MAHLANGU, Thembi Sophie	MAJOLA, Cyril Muzikayifani	MAKGALEMELE, William	MAKHAYE, Khulekile Christina
MAHLANGU, Abram Eris	MAHLANGU, Tozi Martha	MAJOLA, Derrick Sunnyboy	MAKGAMATA, Elijah	MAKHAYE, Leonard Fanifani
MAHLANGU, Amos	MAHLANGU, Venile Simon	MAJOLA, Elizabeth Lindwe	MAKGAMATHA, Selekan Elijah	MAKHAYE, Lindwe Minnie
MAHLANGU, Anna Hlamazani	MAHLANGU, Vusi	MAJOLA, Eustace	MAKGANO, Gala	MAKHAYE, Matombi Sophie
MAHLANGU, Anna Vommgibelo	MAHLANGU, Vosumuzi Jeremiah	MAJOLA, Faith Nelisive	MAKGANYA, S.	MAKHAYE, Nhlanhla
MAHLANGU, Aubrey	MAHLANYANA, Andile	MAJOLA, Fatho Thulasizwe	MAKGANYE, Morongwana Snowball	MAKHAYE, Nomasotsha Christina
MAHLANGU, Baphelle Lenah	MAHLANYANA, Thando Paul	MAJOLA, Fourie Robert	MAKGATA, Nixon Nkwane	MAKHAYE, Patrick Prince
MAHLANGU, Bengwabo Daniel	MAHLANZA, Mkhululi	MAJOLA, Joana Anna	MAKGATHO, Edward Tsitsai	MAKHAYE, Sipamo Hezekia
MAHLANGU, Betty	MAHLANZA, Nomfunzo Alberta	MAJOLA, Konzapi Eunice	MAKGATHO, Rufus Ramaboya	MAKHAYE, Thabo
MAHLANGU, Betty Busisiwe	MAHLANZA, Sipho Lington	MAJOLA, Lovey	MAKGATHOLELA, Mpjiana	MAKHAYE, Victoria
MAHLANGU, Betty Soso	MAHLASE, Ipahfrus Mohlaba	MAJOLA, Mayvis	MAKGATI, Mathibe Philemon	MAKHAYELE, Cresentia Cabangile
MAHLANGU, Bhizana Joseph	MAHLASE, Moshiane Dorah	MAJOLA, Meshack Boyi	MAKGETE, L D	MAKHAZA, Nomusa Maria
MAHLANGU, Bkwaphi Martha	MAHLASE, Teme Phineas	MAJOLA, Michael	MAKGOBA, Ramakone Tlou	MAKHAZI, Nhlanhla Joseph
MAHLANGU, Boy Simon	MAHLASELA, Meshbenzi Wellington	MAJOLA, Muntakaziwa	MAKGOBA, Solomon Maputhi	MAKHATHINI, Solomon Motsumi Andrew
MAHLANGU, Busisiwe Dorcus	MAHLATSANE, Ennuel	MAJOLA, Muziweintombi	MAKGOBATLOU, Johannes	MAKHETHA, Gabriella Mamello
MAHLANGU, Christinah Mafiri	MAHLATSE, Vela Russel	MAJOLA, Mzwandile Guy	MAKGOLO, Victor Manase	MAKHETHA, Mantosa Elizabeth
MAHLANGU, Chwili	MAHLATSI, Edward Mohaka	MAJOLA, Nga Simon	MAKGOME, Boy Samuel	MAKHETHA, Ntombi Beatrice
MAHLANGU, Collin	MAHLATSI, Esau Pule	MAJOLA, Nomusa Margaret	MAKGOMOLA, Femi Masidi	MAKHETHA, Tsolo
MAHLANGU, David	MAHLATSI, Lesege Patrice	MAJOLA, Nonkululeko Siphokazi	MAKGOTHI, Henry Gordon	MAKHOBABA, Albert Mthandeni
MAHLANGU, David	MAHLATSI, Martha Tsatsane	MAJOLA, Ntombikabani Lina	MAKGOTLHO, Dikene Joshua	MAKHOBABA, Bafunani Khalelani
MAHLANGU, David Mahgogo	MAHLATSI, Paul	MAJOLA, Ntsozake	MAKHABANE, Petrus	MAKHOBABA, Bhekisisa Robert
MAHLANGU, Dingizana Daniel	MAHLATSI, William Phera	MAJOLA, Pius	MAKGOBA, Solomon Maputhi	MAKHOBABA, Bhekumusa Samson
MAHLANGU, Eleanor Ndhlelendile	MAHLBOLA, Michael	MAJOLA, Pius Bonginkosi	MAKHALEMELE, Goodman	MAKHOBABA, Bongani Albert
MAHLANGU, Elias	MAHLENTLE, Nelson Mandla	MAJOLA, Primrose Thandiwe	MAKHALEMELE, P.	MAKHOBABA, Dina
MAHLANGU, Elijah	MAHLENTLE, Sonwabile	MAJOLA, Samsan Bhekifa	MAKHANYA, Badiniwe	MAKHOBABA, Dingumbuzi
MAHLANGU, Erick Nkosingathi	MAHLUKIHLA, Nomawini Mavis	MAJOLA, Samuel	MAKHANYA, Beauty Lindwe	MAKHOBABA, Dolly
MAHLANGU, Fanie Joseph	MAHLO, Sipho Cyprian	MAJOLA, Thelma Nombulelo	MAKHANYA, Bernard Mlungisi	MAKHOBABA, Faziza Raymond
MAHLANGU, Felani Buffel	MAHLO, Victor	MAJOLA, Themba Howard	MAKHANYA, Bhelikinkosi Malcolm	MAKHOBABA, Gudusa
MAHLANGU, Fikile Patrick	MAHLOBISA, Mbulelo	MAJOLA, Thembeni Giora	MAKHANYA, Busisiwe Mayvis	MAKHOBABA, Junerose Melisive
MAHLANGU, George	MAHLOBO, Bafana Makhafula Cyril	MAJOLA, Thulani Cyril	MAKHANYA, Busisiwe Michal	MAKHOBABA, Nothando Brightness
MAHLANGU, George Bernard	MAHLOKO, Thabang Samuel	MAJOLA, Vusumuzi Johannes	MAKHANYA, Nozisa Selina	MAKHOBABA, Nozisa Selina
MAHLANGU, George Sompeka	MAHLOMOYANE, James Basekgama	MAJOLA, Weh	MAKHANYA, David Babo	MAKHOBABA, Sikutu Leonard
MAHLANGU, Isaac "Ma-Broek"	MAHLOMUZA, Jan	MAJOLA, Yoshuwa Amson	MAKHANYA, Doris	MAKHOBABA, Sipho Eric
MAHLANGU, Jabulani	MAHLOPE, Thembi Brilliant	MAJOLA, Zibindaba Faloyi	MAKHANYA, Dumisani Micheal	MAKHOBABA, Thebisile
MAHLANGU, Jacob	MAHLULO, Mzwakhe Mayford	MAJOLA, Zinsizwa Frederic Mlungisi	MAKHANYA, Fakhazile Khonzephi	MAKHOBELA, Eric
MAHLANGU, Jacob	MAHLULO, Tandsile Collen	MAJOLA, Zithulele Nicholas	MAKHANYA, Fikile Angel	MAKHOBELA, Mphahlele
MAHLANGU, Jan	MAHOAI, Tsebisile John	MAJOLA, Zuki Butomkhulu	MAKHANYA, Goodnight	MAKHOLWA, Witten Mzozima
MAHLANGU, Jan Tata	MAHOBE, Jonas	MAJOLA, Zwani Terrence	MAKHANYA, Ida	MAKHONZA, Patience Manize
MAHLANGU, Jantie	MAHOBO, Hermit	MAJOVA, Mzwandile Watson	MAKHANYA, Madela	MAKHONZA, Phikeleni Florence
MAHLANGU, Jim Msebenzi	MAHOKO, Alfred Motlalenta	MAJOVA, Sambatho	MAKHANYA, Mahlueli	MAKHONZA, Zibuyile Dumeleni
MAHLANGU, Jimmy Mabuti	MAHOKO, David	MAJOZI, Brian	MAKHANYA, Mandisi Percy	MAKHOSI, Mandeth Nomakula
MAHLANGU, Johanna Sesi	MAHOKO, Kaikantswe Selina	MAJOZI, Clergman	MAKHANYA, Margaret	MAKHOTHI, Jingles Kito
MAHLANGU, Johannes	MAHOMED, Ashraf Alie Fakier	MAJOZI, David Mzomuhle	MAKHANYA, Maxwell Jabulani	MAKHUBA, Herbert Bonginkosi
MAHLANGU, Johannes	MAHOMED, Garrat Tony	MAJOZI, Duma	MAKHANYA, Mduduzi	MAKHUBALO, Lumka
MAHLANGU, Kedu Simon	MAHONGA, Jeanette	MAJOZI, Dumisani	MAKHANYA, Menzi Michael	MAKHUBALO, Max Khuboni
MAHLANGU, Koos	MAHUDU, Jim	MAJOZI, Edmond	MAKHANYA, Mlungisi	MAKHUBALO, Oupa
MAHLANGU, Koos Mamekwa	MAHUDU, Mathee Committee	MAJOZI, Elizabeth Ntombi	MAKHANYA, Nakeni Mitta	MAKHUBEDU, David Malaisaha
MAHLANGU, Kortman Shorty	MAHUMAPELO, Solomon	MAJOZI, Fano Mlindeli	MAKHANYA, Nkosingathi Christomas	MAKHUBELA, Arthur
MAHLANGU, Lahle Rosy	MAHUMAPELO, Thebe Clifford	MAJOZI, Funani Beauty	MAKHANYA, Nomhauw Ida	MAKHUBELA, Edward Bongani
MAHLANGU, Legogolating Piet	MAHUNA, Kenneth Thobekile	MAJOZI, Maria Mankhulu	MAKHANYA, Nomusa Janet	MAKHUBELA, Joseph
MAHLANGU, Letty	MAHUNGELA, Lucas Mabhoysana	MAJOZI, Mbizo	MAKHANYA, Norah Ngengzeleni	MAKHUBELA, Joyce
MAHLANGU, Litha Andries	MAHURA, Mathomare Jerry	MAJOZI, Mngicki	MAKHANYA, Ntombi Alzina	MAKHUBELA, Sellinah Mapontsho
MAHLANGU, Lizzy Nazzo	MAHURA, Tuelo Payment	MAJOZI, Ntokozo Make-Peace	MAKHANYA, Ntombi Pauline	MAKHUBELA, Sipho Albert
MAHLANGU, Lucas Sillia	MAIBIRI, Boikanyo Jackson	MAJOZI, Paulous Lucky	MAKHANYA, Petros Bekiziwe	MAKHUBELA, Winnie
MAHLANGU, Magdalena	MAIFAID, Benjamin	MAJOZI, Promise	MAKHANYA, Sifiso Treasure	MAKHUBO, Beatrice Lindwe
MAHLANGU, Martha	MAIFO, Jan Tito	MAJOZI, Sibusiso Edward	MAKHANYA, Sipho Siphiwe	MAKHUBO, Gagaza Morris
MAHLANGU, Martin Patrick	MAIKETISO, Thabo Shadrack	MAJOZI, Simpiwe Patrick	MAKHANYA, Siyabonga	MAKHUBO, Stanley Mzwandile
MAHLANGU, Mbutuni Simon	MAILA, Shadrack Atkins	MAJOZI, Vumazi Christopher	MAKHANYA, Thamsanga Mandla	MAKHUBU, Makomorane Alinda
MAHLANGU, Mbingweni Maria	MAIKALA, Alfred Madoda	MAJOLA, Themba Joseph	MAKHANYA, Thandiwe Rose	MAKHUBU, Ntombulelo Elizabeth
MAHLANGU, Mbuyisela Martha	MAILULA, Solomon Ramavhulani	MAJWEDE, Phillip Libalele	MAKHANYA, Themba Christopher	MAKHUBU, Selby Dumisani
MAHLANGU, Menti Piet	MAILULA, Stone Maribe	MAKA, Johannes	MAKHANYA, Thembeni Anastasia	MAKHUBU, Vusi
MAHLANGU, Mhlupheki Paulus	MAIMANE, Albelina Regina	MAKA, Lydia	MAKHANYA, Virginia Ntombuthano	MAKHUDU, Ishmael Dingaan
MAHLANGU, Mitah Mphahlo	MAIMANE, Sekwati David	MAKANA, Nopikisa Angelina	MAKHANYA, Vusumuzi Gijimani Stanley	MAKHUDU, Zenzile William
MAHLANGU, Mlotlo Johannes	MAIMELA, Kwadishi Frans	MAKAE, Maforong Jacob	MAKHANYA, Zamokwakhe Abednego	MAKHUNGA, James Mtutwendaba
MAHLANGU, Mntungwa Solly	MAIMELA, Lengoi Moses	MAKAFE, Ntombomzi	MAKHAPELA, Cweb Thomas	MAKHUNGA, Sifo Titus
MAHLANGU, Mondlina Lina	MAIMELA, Mogale Judas	MAKAI, Lungile Edward	MAKHAPHLELA, Nomagubu Daphney	MAKHUZA, Fanyana Alfred
MAHLANGU, Moses Moti	MAIMELA, Maki David	MAKAI, Maluse Adam	MAKHASI, Siphiwo Juneth	MAKHUZA, Teboho
MAHLANGU, Motsvalledi Johannes	MAINE, Selinah Nthabiseng	MAKALELA, Robert Matshediso	MAKHATE, Paulina Moreosi	MAKHWASA, Milton Muzikayise
MAHLANGU, Msili Pinkie	MAISA, Sabata Daniel	MAKALUZA, Ellen	MAKHATHINE, Ntosi Jane	MAKI, Thandeka Vovone
MAHLANGU, Nkosingathi Godfrey	MAITSE, John Maki	MAKAMA, Nambono Annie	MAKHATHINI, Abon	MAKI, Thembeke Nocawe
MAHLANGU, Nonfanelize Martha	MAITSE, Petrus Mahlomola	MAKANDA, Ntombentsha Jeanette	MAKHATHINI, Cbus	MAKIBI, Moses
MAHLANGU, Nomajana Sarah	MAITSHOTLO, Thomas Pogisho	MAKAPELA, Zwelandle	MAKHATHINI, Clarice Mhlengi	MAKIBINYANE, Sello Andries
MAHLANGU, Nomqibelo	MAJA, Paul Teboho	MAKASI, Manfred Zolile	MAKHATHINI, Elric	MAKINANA, Fukuta
MAHLANGU, Notina William	MAJAFE, Victor Oupa	MAKASI, Miliya Miriam	MAKHATHINI, Fikile Margaret	MAKINANA, Pesika Vrey
MAHLANGU, Ntshaye Geelbooi	MAJAJA, Mxolisi Alfred	MAKATE, Randolf Maleletsane	MAKHATHINI, Innocent Sibusiso	MAKINANA, William
MAHLANGU, Nyumbambo Cornelius	MAJALAMBA, Mthutuzeli Templeton	MAKATESI, Pumlelele Action	MAKHATHINI, Johan	MAKITLA, Chelane Wilson
MAHLANGU, Pepe Rhoney	MAJALI, Elizabeth Nokhaya Lindwe	MAKHATHINI, Wintombi Bongekile	MAKHATHINI, John Mthokozisi	MAKITLA, David
MAHLANGU, Peter	MAJALI, Zakutlwa	MAKATSHANE, Sampson Sandile	MAKHATHINI, Joseph Bongani	MAKITLA, Morare Christopher

MAKITLA, Ntshengwane Morgan
MAKITLA, Philmon
MAKIWANE, Nolvandle Esther
MAKIWANE, Xola Tennyson
MAKKINK, Jwif
MAKOA, Tselane Joseph
MAKQABA, Getrude
MAKQABA, Vuyani Daniel
MAKOGON, Dimitri Evgenyevich
MAKQABA, Robert Marothi
MAKQKQBA, Ndengezi
MAKOLA, Betty Meisie
MAKOLA, Boy Johannes
MAKOLA, George
MAKOLA, Lazarus
MAKOLA, Morufe Sannie
MAKOLA, Richard
MAKOLA, Thabo Melvern
MAKOLANE, Abraham
MAKOLDI, Phokoyantwa Jack
MAKOLDI, Unknown
MAKOLLO, Elias Machoene
MAKOMMA, Joseph
MAKONGO, Ntombi Evelyn
MAKOPPE, Andrew Maponye
MAKOSO, Mamoletsis Ariscillia
MAKOTI, Kgomotso Alfred
MAKOTOKO, Daniel Thabo
MAKOWANI, Linus Msalala
MAKUA, Abram
MAKUA, Moses
MAKUA, Mphalele Monica
MAKUA, Tabane
MAKUBALO, Nkosiyise Gideon
MAKUBALO, Nyembezi Richard
MAKUBALO, Taruni Terence
MAKULANA, Ntshedzi Emily
MAKULANI, Rorwana William
MAKUMBANE, Thivulawu Norman
MAKUME, Godfrey Ntai
MAKUME, Mokutu Given
MAKUME, Oupa Everest
MAKUME, Thomas Kabelo
MAKUNGA, Duduzile
MAKUNGA, Phumzile
MAKUNYANE, Makhwese David
MAKUPULA, Nosilingi Patricia
MAKUTWANA, Tapela Meshack
MAKUYA, Nyatshisevhe Singo
MAKWAE, Atella Sebelelo
MAKWALA, Christopher Sello
MAKWANA, Elizabeth
MAKWATA, Simon Basayi
MAKWAYIBA, Goliath
MAKWE, Aaron Benson
MAKWELA, Mahule Amos
MAKWENA, Seema
MAKWETHU, Vakele
MAKWETU, Mabandla Clemence
MAKWETU, Mandla Joseph
MALACHI, Matches Edward
MALAKA, Johann Mabulawo
MALAKA, Motimedi Gabriel
MALAKOANE, Amos Bafana
MALAKOANE, Maria
MALAMBILE, Mzukisi Magenisi
MALANI, Jeanne
MALANDA, Eliottina Siziwe
MALANGA, Malusi Ernest
MALANGA, Thulani Albert
MALANGABI, Edwin Mvuleni
MALANGABI, Jane Nomathamsanqa
MALANGENI, Vuyisile Victor
MALATJI, Jerry Marumo
MALATJI, Mavis
MALATJI, Paris Molefi
MALATLHELA, Frans
MALATSI, Jeffrey Moshishi
MALATSI, Tsidiso Selby
MALAZA, Elsie Popana
MALAZA, Hessie Busisiwe
MALAZA, Jabu
MALAZA, Joseph
MALAZA, Kheni Thomas
MALAZA, Veko
MALAZA, Veko
MALEBANE, Achaflani
MALEBE, Jimmy Johannes
MALEBE, Jij
MALEBESE, Sabata Samson
MALEBO, Lorraine Kiekie
MALEBO, Louisa Manku
MALEBO, Sekgopi
MALEDZA, Zaba
MALEETE, Maruping Mishack
MALEFAHLE, Alfred
MALEFAHLO, Makwape
MALEFAHLO, Moseme Solomon
MALEFAHLO, Selele Peter
MALEFAHLO, Simon
MALEFANE, Adam
MALEFANE, Captain Petrus
MALEFATHLO, Solomon Moseme
MALEHO, Puseletso Zephora
MALEKA, Alfred
MALEKA, Anna Thoko

MALEKA, Monge Joubert
MALEKA, Solomon
MALEKA, Tickey
MALEKA, William Madime
MALEKE, Khani Jacob
MALEKO, Dieketseng Andronica
MALELE, Almond
MALELE, Edward Boy
MALEMA, Paulus Leseye
MALEMBE, Nonhlala Eunice
MALEMONI, Modishe Frans
MALEPE, Motshabi Lucas
MALESA, Emmanuel Phaladi
MALETE, Makgabo
MALETE, Wilson Letela
MALETJANE, Modjadji Florah
MALETSANE, Ezekiel
MALEVU, Lettie Mamiki
MALEVU, Ntombi Angelinah
MALEWA, Elizabeth Paulinah
MALGAS, Basi Kimberley
MALGAS, Bethwell
MALGAS, Columbus
MALGAS, Ntombole Evelyn
MALGAS, Noncethakalo Catherine
MALGAS, Nonkululeko Regina
MALGAS, Sinqokwana Ernest
MALGAS, Siphiso
MALGAS, Vuyani Mbuyiselo
MALGAS, Zola Golden
MALHERBE, BRODY, Michelle Anne
MALHERBE, P
MALI, Enoch
MALI, Goodwin Mengxani
MALI, Latiswa Telmina
MALI, Matthews Mayezana
MALIBE, Reuben Mandla
MALIE, Samuel Mokhele
MALIE, Tesko Justinus
MALIEHE, Ben
MALIEHE, Joseph Mahlomola
MALINDI, Agnes
MALINDI, Fanyana Ishmael
MALINDI, Francinah
MALINDI, Gloria Jongiwe
MALINDI, Lydia Mananki
MALINDI, Mkhonto Samson
MALINDI, Zolile
MALINDISA, Jabulile Lina
MALINGA, Belesia
MALINGA, Bhe
MALINGA, Bigboy Godfrey
MALINGA, Bongani
MALINGA, Bongani Sicindezi
MALINGA, Brian Themba
MALINGA, Busisiwe Beauty
MALINGA, Busisiwe Maureen
MALINGA, Dolly Doris
MALINGA, Eunice Zandile
MALINGA, Jabu James
MALINGA, Leonard Mshiyeni
MALINGA, Mami Nontsikolelo
MALINGA, Maxwell Zola
MALINGA, Mbuyiselwa France
MALINGA, Minah Delekile
MALINGA, Mmakgauta Margaret
MALINGA, Mphikeleli Joseph
MALINGA, Msende Michael
MALINGA, Nkosi Amos
MALINGA, Nkositshani Zwelonke Imaan
MALINGA, Ntombizodwa Eugina
MALINGA, Philemon Jabulane
MALINGA, Queen Dorothy
MALINGA, Samuel Julie
MALINGA, Sibusiso Petros
MALINGA, Theodora
MALINGA, Thomas
MALINGA, Zacharia
MALINGA, Zondeleni Ellenour
MALINKI, Unknown
MALISHE, Linah Ntombi
MALISHE, Themba Collin
MALUTI, Leeman
MALUTI, Robert Nana
MALUWA, Oupa Joseph
MALUYANA, Tsotetsi Mapule
MALLESSEN, Harry Rodbard
MALOBA, Elias
MALOBELA, Kamtanjanga Justice
MALOBOLA, Balise Ernest
MALOBOLA, Mabuza
MALOKA, Matlakala Julia
MALOKA, Molefe Abel
MALOKA, Mthokhi Paulus
MALOKE, Charles Tokolo
MALOMA, Sibongile Phumzile
MALOPE, Christian C
MALOPE, Andrew Makanye
MALOPE, Beauty Matshidiso
MALOPE, Edward
MALOPE, Johannes Lekgoa
MALOPE, Millios Toto
MALOPE, Richard
MALOPI,
MALOTATANA, Bukelwa Christina
MALOTO, James

MALU, Vusi Brian
MALUANE, Felixbort Catine
MALUKA, Andries Fana
MALUKA, Paulus
MALULEKA, Charles
MALULEKA, Charlie Ntshimane
MALULEKA, Ephas
MALULEKA, Nonhlala
MALULEKA, Spando Evelyn
MALULEKE, Mqubhakaza Jim
MALULEKE, Patrick Nyiko
MALULEKE, Peter
MALULEKE, Thomas
MALUNDA, Sikwukowu William
MALUNGA, Dianyana
MALUNGA, Mndeni
MALUNGA, Ntombifuthi Purity
MALUNGA, Sibusiso
MALUNGA, Victoria Zanele
MALUNGA, Yengwe Esther
MALUSI, David
MALUSI, Dominic
MALUSI, Lilian Elinah
MALUSI, Mfenana Jackson
MALUSI, Ntoko Serial
MALUSI, Thembele Alfred
MAMA, L
MAMA, Nomtu Virginia
MAMA, Shadric Sindle Lhelhe
MAMANI, Lungisile Matthews
MAMANYUHA, Tshimgango Samuel
MAMARO, Lethole Steve
MAMATELA, Rodney
MANGOAKE, Sekeke Maria
MAMBA, Alan
MAMBA, James
MAMBONA, Mbulaheni Petrus
MAMKELI, Charles Vuyisile
MAMKELI, Nombuyiselo Maria
MAMOGALE, Maralena Januaria
MAMOGALE, William
MAMOROBELA, Sekono Lazarus
MAMOSADI, Gengane John
MAMOTHO, Molelegeng Claudia
MAMPANE,
MAMPANE, Beatrice Puseletso
MAMPANE, Elias Mbopo
MAMPANE, Prince Seakgosing
MAMPPE, Bellington
MAMPHAGA, Mpho Winnet
MANOFOU, Thobeka Elizabeth
MAMPURI, Jacob
MAMPURI, Lillian Buyisiwe
MAMPURI, Lucky Sibusiso
MAMUSA, Amos Madala
MAMZI, Julia Khumbuzile
MANA, Kholekile
MANA, Mthetheli Richard
MANAHA, Kdwandi Lawrence
MANAKA, George Solly
MANAKA, S.
MANAKA, Spokes Selalo
MANAKAZA, Nelson
MANAKE, Alfred
MANALI, Laurence Nceba
MANAMELA, Benjamin
MANAMELA, Kgabo Daniel
MANAMELA, Maphuti Ephraim
MANAMELA, Meisie Raisibe
MANANG, Emily
MANANG, Gertrude
MANANG, Mabelo
MANANG, Mzokisi Wiseman
MANANG, Nzolo Denise
MANANG, Owen Syabulela
MANANG, Vernon Moyisisi
MANOTO, Jacob
MANOTO, Marvin
MANOTO, Mary
MANOTO/ PETE, Beverley
MANOTSI, Oheni Hendrick
MANQA, David Tshikilo
MANQA, Ntsokisi Rebecca
MANGOELE, Bongani
MANGOELE, Cebisile
MANGOELE, Khtiwhe
MANGOANA, Christopher Mlindeli
MANOOLE, Mpiiseni Noel
MANOSE, Fani
MANCAM, Mthobeli
MANCANCENI, Nongwene
MANCANYWA, Indi David
MANCE, Zinukle Annatoria
MANCENJANE, John
MANCHESA, Tefo Timothy
MANCI, Dimanda
MANCI, Gciniphe Saraphina
MANCI, Madrina Nopiwa
MANCI, Medrina
MANDABANA, Moses Siphiso
MANDEKA, Lulame
MANDITA, Nomangwana
MANDLA, Solomon Amos Ndlanga
MANDLAKAPHELI, Norman
MANDLAKAZI, Lolo Beauty
MANDLAZI, David

MANDLEZI, Solomon
MANDLENI, Zimshole
MANELI, Bubele Jeffery
MANELI, Eric Theminkosi
MANELI, Nonzwakazi Iris
MANELI, Nsopho Phiso
MANELI, Simphiwe Sidwell Mpaydo
MANELI, Tandeka Lillian Ntshakaza
MANENTSA, Harry Siphiso
MANENTSA, Moffat
MANENTSA, Spongile
MANGALE, Talitha Kebawetse
MANGALI, Elliot Petse
MANGALI, Xolani Nicholas
MANGANE, Thomas Joshua
MANGANYE, Lucky
MANGANYE, Robson
MANGANYI, Joshua Ntsako Mandela
MANGANYINI, Alfred Nondo
MANGAYI, Stephen
MANGAYI, Steven
MANGAZI, Bonakalisiwe Maggie
MANGAZI, Mandlaka
MANGCANGAZA, Lungile
MANGCATSHA, Milton Ntabusikile
MANGCOLA, Vuyisile John
MANGCWAGULE, Svelinkomo
MANGE, Barbara Priscilla
MANGE, Sibonwe Cypryan
MANGELE, Sibuyisile Sidney
MANGENYA, Phillip Comfort
MANGERA, Mohamed Ahmed
MANGINA, Shumi
MANGOAKE, Tshakishi Phineas
MANGOANE, Fanie Stephen
MANGONA, Mbulolo
MANGOANGWANA, Mpolose Paulos
MANGQIKANA, Right
MANGQOBA, Assistant Malungelo
MANGWANYANA, Bongekile
MANGWEJANE, Morwagaabusi George
MANGWELI, Nkete Welhelmina
MANGWENI, Tsalihuba Thomas
MANI, Andile
MANI, Mohlophegi Daniel
MANI, Motlagomane Johanna
MANI, Thozama Phoebe
MANINJWA, Fikile Eric
MANISI, February
MANJATHI, Boyi
MANJATI, Mcebisi
MANJO, Thamsanqa Gordon
MANKHALENE, Parks
MANKAYI, Arthur
MANKAYI, Benjamin
MANKAYI, Lesley Gcinikhaya
MANKAYI, Passman Stukuna
MANKUMBA, Mason Mlindeli
MANKUNGU, Daniel Manoko
MANKUNGU, Gxiva
MANKUROANE, Beauty Monnye
MANKUROANE, Elizabeth
Mamatchababa
MANKUROANE, John
MANKUROANE, Makhukhwane Emdla
MANKUROANE, Matshediso Monica
MANKUROANE, Morwagaabuse Samuel
MANKUROANE, Ruth
MANONG, Emily
MANONG, Gertrude
MANONG, Mzokisi Wiseman
MANONG, Nzolo Denise
MANONG, Owen Syabulela
MANONG, Vernon Moyisisi
MANOTO, Jacob
MANOTO, Marvin
MANOTO, Mary
MANOTO/ PETE, Beverley
MANOTSI, Oheni Hendrick
MANQA, David Tshikilo
MANQA, Ntsokisi Rebecca
MANGOELE, Bongani
MANGOELE, Cebisile
MANGOELE, Khtiwhe
MANGOANA, Christopher Mlindeli
MANOOLE, Mpiiseni Noel
MANOSE, Fani
MANCAM, Mthobeli
MANCANCENI, Nongwene
MANCANYWA, Indi David
MANCE, Zinukle Annatoria
MANCENJANE, John
MANCHESA, Tefo Timothy
MANCI, Dimanda
MANCI, Gciniphe Saraphina
MANCI, Madrina Nopiwa
MANCI, Medrina
MANDABANA, Moses Siphiso
MANDEKA, Lulame
MANDITA, Nomangwana
MANDLA, Solomon Amos Ndlanga
MANDLAKAPHELI, Norman
MANDLAKAZI, Lolo Beauty
MANDLAZI, David

MANTYI, Paulwilo
MANTYI, Sikhulu Lennox
MANUEL, Moses
MANYAKA, Jan Makgale
MANYAKA, Monnana Abram
MANYAKA, Mosimipha Lucas
MANYAKANYAKA, Nobuzwe Cynthia
MANYAMALALA, Elbin Thandabantu
MANYAMALALA, Simon
MANYAMALALA, Thandabantu Elbin
MANYANGA, Bhekokwakhe
MANYANYA, Buti Simon
MANYASHE, Zilindile
MANYATHI, Fakazile
MANYATHI, Thabo Benedict
MANYEFANA, Thembelani Stanley
MANYELO, Alfred Moloko
MANYELO, Benjamin Mmatlou
MANYELO, Christinah Makwana
MANYELO, Eunice Matsidiso
Mmakwena
MANYELO, Katheko Gavin
MANYELO, Noko Asnat
MANYELO, Winnie
MANYI, Sile Siphio
MANYIKA, Andries
MANYIKA, Maphoti Linah
MANYIKA, Megete Andries
MANYIKA, Sibongile Dinah
MANYISA, Agnes Fazliza
MANYISA, Lovenes
MANYISI, Kufeni Agnes
MANYOBE, Doreen
MANYOKOLE, Rantsoli Joseph
MANYONI, Agnes Zenzile
MANYONI, Fanakhe
MANYONI, Nomatumba Mavis
MANYONI, Ntombigole Maria
MANYONI, Ntombikayise Victoria
MANYONI, Nurse Maria
MANYONI, Sibongile
MANYONTA, Nompumelelo Freda
MANZANA, Mandla James
MANZANA, Mncedi
MANZANA, Mongezi
MANZANA, William
MANZI, Catherine
MANZI, Eric
MANZI, Gladys Hope
MANZI, Martin Moxzolo
MANZI, Miseni Richard
MANZI, Mkoti Nomusa
MANZI, Sabekile Maureen
MANZI, Thembeni Ncamisile
MANZI, Theminkosi Zephania
MANZI, Tholakele Doris
MANZI, Vusumuzi
MANZI, Wellington Zithembele
MANZINI, David Mveane
MANZINI, Dolly Stephen
MANZINI, Edward
MANZINI, Mthombi Flora
MANZIYA, Mthuzilemele Philip
MAOBA, Eijah
MAOBOTE, Moekeitsi Ben
MAOGWE, Mamong Maria
MAOKENG, Abram
MAPALALA, Sifiso
MAPAPI, Nongzile Nomatumba
MAPAPI, Siphiso Michael
MAPASA, Sonabiso Elias
MAPAYA, Molebogo Phineas
MAPEKULA, Nyameko
MAPELA, Mncedisi Holford
MAPELA, Mzukisi Petros
MAPELA, Zimasile Michael
MAPELO, Mmatladi Maria
MAPETU, Mzoli David
MAPHAHA,
MAPHALALA, Alpha Skuko
MAPHALALA, Mantwa Virginia Virsy
MAPHALALA, Sydney
MAPHALALA, Thokozile Lesiah
MAPHALANE, Lennox Thabang
MAPHANGA, Alfred Ganda
MAPHANGA, Bhekizwe Russell
MAPHANGA, Dudu
MAPHANGA, James
MAPHANGA, Leonard George
MAPHANGA, Mabhalane
MAPHANGA, Malope
MAPHANGA, Mondli Patrick
MAPHANGA, Ngazi Albert
MAPHANGA, Okie
MAPHANGA, Sibusiso
MAPHANGA, Silwiyaphi Alfred
MAPHANGA, Sukumani Vitsas
MAPHANGA, Themba Albert
MAPHANGA, Tiny Lydia
MAPHANGA-MKHWANAZI, Kate
MAPHIKE, Daniel Dibete
MAPHIKE, Stephen Pularmeling
MAPHIKI, Zakhele Amos
MAPHIPA, Mzukisi
MAPHISA, Daemane David

MAPHLOGELA, Sene Johannes	MAQHASHALALA, Mantuntu Jackson	MASALA, Edith	MASHABA, Alec	MASHININI, Vincent
MAPHLOGELA, Solomon Madimetja	MAQHULA, Mvulo Peter	MASALA, Nicholas	MASHABA, Ismael	MASHISHI, Fulubi Esau
MAPHOSA, Beauty Sesana	MAQINUKANA, Zandisile Shakespear	MASALESA, Raisibe Albertina	MASHABA, Njabulo Cyril	MASHISHI, Stephen Fani
MAPHOSA, Mathews	MAQOQI, Monwabisi Nathaniel	MASAMANJI, Mlungisi Samuel	MASHABA, Nonhlanhla Pinkie	MASHITA, Chou Johannes
MAPHOSA, Simon Petrus	MAQOQO, Ndolotswana	MASANABO, Felusi Jacob	MASHABA, Skhumbuzo Elvis	MASHITA, Nkoko Moses
MAPHOSA, Vincent Fanyana	MAQOQO, Bongani Leanard	MASANABO, Petros	MASHABA, Solani Princess	MASHITENG, Chueane Johanna
MAPHODHA, Alex	MAQOQO, Mbuyiselo Maxin	MASANABO, Simon Babili	MASHABA, Sweets Johannes	MASHITENG, Kwenia Silas
MAPHUMANE, Hali Petrus	MAQOMA, Nomagabiso Greta	MASANG, Ntombikile Ntali	MASHABA, Willson Fanyane	MASHITENG, Phuti Jermina
MAPHUMULO, Africa Mthokozisi	MAQOMA, Nomalungelo	MASANGANE, Mozi Benjamin	MASHABANE, Jarman Gem	MASHIYA, Oupa George
MAPHUMULO, Agrippa	MAQUEBELA, Wonke Withiel	MASANGO, Aaron	MASHABANE, Solomon Ngungunyane	MASHIYA, Sylvia Monica
MAPHUMULO, Bahambephi	MAQUNGO, Andile	MASANGO, Andile Geoffrey	MASHABATHAKGA, Mbulaheni Thomas	MASHIYA, Tsietisi Dungan
MAPHUMULO, Bhekithemba Eugene	MAQUNGO, Babalwa	MASANGO, Aubrey Benjamin Mzukisi	MASHABELA, Anna Mokgadi	MASHIYANE, Dize Aaron
MAPHUMULO, Bongani	MAQWANE, Andrew Mbuiselo	MASANGO, Bheki Moses	MASHABELA, Hendrick Ramphelare	MASHIYANE, Mhlhlanganiswa Aaron
MAPHUMULO, Bongisive Pretty	MAQWAZIMA, Vukile Simon	MASANGO, David	MASHABELA, Lengal Alpheus	MASHIYANE, Mdwane Elijah
MAPHUMULO, Doto John	MAR, Vuyelwa Cynthia	MASANGO, Dina Jeli	MASHABELA, Marule Kias	MASHONGI, Mpho Desmond
MAPHUMULO, Edward Bonginkosi	MARA, Bafelile Jane	MASANGO, George	MASHABELA, Mogorosi	MASHONGANE, Mamareloana Berenis
MAPHUMULO, Eric Mhlabunzima	MARABA, Daniel Joseph	MASANGO, Herbert Mmindwa	MASHABELA, Petros Patrick	MASHOKWE, Molefi Geoffrey
MAPHUMULO, Fanlo William	MARABA, Thibeli	MASANGO, Johannes	MASHABELA, Sethaba Johannes	MASHONGANE, Ezekiel
MAPHUMULO, Fanyana Amos	MARABE, Maria Lipolelo	MASANGO, Lindi Susana	MASHAKANE, Pletji Wellington	MASHONGANE, Joas Letsepa
MAPHUMULO, Flora	MARAI, Lipota	MASANGO, Mandla Mbhekiseni	MASHALA, Johanna Chueane	MASHONGANE, Matlasele Jacob
MAPHUMULO, Gcina Geoffrey	MARAS, Ezekiel Domongo Matshidiso	MASANGO, Michael Phakama	MASHALA, Manare Seemle	MASHONGANE, Phehelo Samson
MAPHUMULO, Isabel	MARAS, Philmarin Annelize	MASANGO, Mirriam Nomzi	MASHALA, Maphuti Kwena	MASHOPE, Lubenyu Flora
MAPHUMULO, Joyce Sibongile	MARAKALALA, Dikeledi Johannes	MASANGO, Ronnie Buyaphi	MASHALA, Mokou David	MASHUME, Muleli Melvin
MAPHUMULO, Justice Nkosingiphile	MARAKALALA, Josephine Mokgadi	MASANGO, Samuel Dingaan	MASHALA, Ngokao Frans	MASHUMPA, Lucas
MAPHUMULO, Kenneth Nkosiinathi	MARAKALALA, Makgaba Jeanette	MASANGO, Shevula	MASHALA, Ngwako Vincent	MASHWABANA, Wiseman
MAPHUMULO, Khathi Nomusa	MARAKE, Paki George	MASANGO, Wele Archibald	MASHALA, Powishi Moses	MASHYANE, January
MAPHUMULO, Linda Michael	MARAMBA, Zukiswa Hellen	MASANGO, William Velaphe	MASHALANE, David	MASHYANE, Lololo
MAPHUMULO, Liso	MARANANA	MASANGU, Paul	MASHALANE, Maphuti Phineas	MASIA, Joseph
MAPHUMULO, Lulu Dinah	MARANANGA, Pumla Princes	MASE, Sindile Simon	MASHALANE, Mokgadi Johannes	MASIA, Tebello Glodia
MAPHUMULO, Mandla Ophius	MARAWU, Howard S.	MASEBENI, Victor Mlandeli	MASHALANE, Obud Tiou	MASIBA, John Zozman
MAPHUMULO, Mandla Erik	MARAWU, Mzwabantu Jafta	MASEBISE, Zozo Isaac Mzwandile	MASHAMAITTE, Beshman (Jeremiah Monene)	MASIBA, Mlingiswa Justice
MAPHUMULO, Maghikiza Fanisile	MARAYI, Florence Ntombizokhe	MASEBODA, Daniel	MASHAMAITTE, Freddy Makwena	MASIBEKELO, Vincent
MAPHUMULO, Mhlabunzima Joseph	MARCH, David	MASEHLA, Philimon	MASHAMAITTE, Maphuti Stephen	MASIBI, Charles Tsile
MAPHUMULO, Mnedisi	MARCH, Joseph	MASEKO, Aaron Mazithulele	MASHAMAITTE, Nare Elliot	MASIGO, Reginald Kenny
MAPHUMULO, Msawenkosi	MARCH, Phillip	MASEKO, Alfred	MASHAMAITTE, Phuti Andries	MASIJELA, Masile Petrus
MAPHUMULO, Mziseni Shadrack	MARCUS, Lulamile Nelson	MASEKO, Ben	MASHAMAITTE, Phuti Andries	MASIKANE, Bashtatle Mnganti
MAPHUMULO, Mthandeni	MARE, Linus	MASEKO, Bheki Ernest	MASHAMAITTE, Phuti Martinus	MASIKANE, Mlanganisa William
MAPHUMULO, Mzwamandla	MAREDI, Jacob Khomotso	MASEKO, Carlton	MASHAMAITTE, Pitsi David	MASIKANE, Mlendeni Antion
MAPHUMULO, Nakoti	MAREDI, Kgagudi Heseikia	MASEKO, David	MASHANGOANE, David	MASIKANE, Ntombana
MAPHUMULO, Nhlanhla Gerald	MAREMA, Motolo Aron	MASEKO, Edward	MASHAPA, Me	MASIKANE, Patrick Vusi
MAPHUMULO, Nonkantolo Ganephi	MAREMAMA, Kwena Alber	MASEKO, Elizabeth Jabile	MASHAVA, Amos	MASIKANE, Phiswiwe
MAPHUMULO, Nosibhedela	MAREMAME, Makwena Rosina	MASEKO, Elliot Ngcolongcolo	MASHAYA, Ghandi Goodwill	MASIKANE, Philiphu
MAPHUMULO, Ntombi Alzina	MAREMANE, Celia Kgabo	MASEKO, Ezra Emmanuel Msimelolo	MASHAYA, Goodwill Makhosonke	MASIKANE, Vusumuzi Clifford
MAPHUMULO, Penelope Nombuso	MAREMANE, Makoenia	MASEKO, George	MASHAYA, Samson Bafana	MASIKE, Isaac Serame
MAPHUMULO, Pikinisi Ephraim	MAREMANE, Makoenia Joseph	MASEKO, Israel Theminkosi	MASHAYA, Thembeleki Virginia	MASIKE, Mapula Rahab
MAPHUMULO, Primrose Khwezi	MARENENE, Patrick	MASEKO, Jabu	MASHAZI, Jan Mkhombiseni	MASIKE, Pitsi Andries
MAPHUMULO, Prisca	MARETLOANE, Thabang	MASEKO, Jabu Dennis	MASHEGO, Andries	MASIKO, Sarah Nomajamani
MAPHUMULO, Samukelo Ziphozethu	MARETLWA, Kguti	MASEKO, Jeffrey Paulus	MASHEGO, Aubrey Meas	MASILELA, Ben Andrew
MAPHUMULO, Shadrack	MARETLWA, Moses Mowzethemba	MASEKO, Jerome Mlungisi	MASHEGO, Brother	MASILELA, Boo
MAPHUMULO, Sibongile Patricia	MARI, Ndyoisile William	MASEKO, Johannes	MASHEGO, Brother(3)	MASILELA, Boyana Jan
MAPHUMULO, Sibusiso	MARI, Vuyisile	MASEKO, Johannes	MASHEGO, Dan	MASILELA, Jim
MAPHUMULO, Sihle Cyprian	MARIE, Bobby	MASEKO, John	MASHEGO, Martha	MASILELA, Jonas
MAPHUMULO, Skhumbuzo Richard	MARIPA, Susan	MASEKO, Joshua Nsizwa	MASHEGO, Nancy	MASILELA, Joseph
MAPHUMULO, Simon Ohimili	MARIPANE, Ngoakoane Lydia	MASEKO, Kwena Edward	MASHEGO, Sekwayi Barney	MASILELA, Khabonina Leah
MAPHUMULO, Simphiwe Hamilton	MARITE, Tokelo John	MASEKO, Leonard	MASHEGO, Sibangani Shadrack	MASILELA, Lomatshe Lize
MAPHUMULO, Theminkosi	MARITZ, H. S. M.	MASEKO, Lucky Ben	MASHEGO, Steven Subie Boy	MASILELA, Mafele Joana
MAPHUMULO, Thomi Thomas	MARITZ, J. H.	MASEKO, Mamootswa Alice	MASHEGOANE, Selby Matsusa	MASILELA, Manikie
MAPHUMULO, Thwayisa Godfrey	MARKLOE, Martin	MASEKO, Maphuti David	MASHEKANE, Machoene Joas	MASILELA, Madsie Johanna
MAPHUMULO, Unknown	MARKS, Maserekwana Elizabeth	MASEKO, Mathews	MASHELA, Don Siphio	MASILELA, Samuel
MAPHUMULO, Venanea	MAROBELA, Hellen	MASEKO, Mbuti Petrus	MASHELE, Agnes Mimi	MASILELA, Skons Petros
MAPHUMULO, Vusi Wilson	MAROE, Mampatana Salamina	MASEKO, Msongelwa Amos	MASHELE, Calvin Khazamula	MASILELA, Soni Petros
MAPHUMULO, Vusumuzi	MAROEKANE, Anna Ndoti	MASEKO, Nelson Zuzile	MASHELE, George	MASILELA, Sophy
MAPHUMULO, Zanele	MAROSHE, Maahlaola Janet	MASEKO, Ngcolongcolo Elliot	MASHELE, Johannes	MASILELA, Thikoi Jeremiah
MAPHUMULO, Zibuyile Joyce	MAROGA, Lazarus	MASEKO, Nobuhle	MASHELE, Lafas Ronald	MASILELA, Thulani
MAPHUMULO, Zithulela Gilbert	MAROKANE, Bernard	MASEKO, Nomakhosi Selina	MASHELE, Mosabelo Anna	MASILELA, Thulare Boo
MAPHUTHUMA, Mamwele	MAROLA, Andrew Thozamile	MASEKO, Ntamelu Lucas	MASHELE, Murray Elleck	MASILELA, Velaphi
MAPIPA, Desmond Dalwonga	MAROEPE, Ramatanka Evanz	MASEKO, Ramtobizoda Maria	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASILO, Innocentier Tebogoo
MAPISA, Mvumelwano Nicholas	MARTOTI, Kholekile Charles	MASEKO, Patrick Dumisani	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASILO, Jones Selokoeane Pali
MAPISA, Buysile Ryan	MARRAD, Wellington Theminkosi	MASEKO, Philimon	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASILO, Mafele Tsebo
MAPOLISA, Mafeswa	MARTINHS, Brenda	MASEKO, Phillip Nkosiinathi	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASILO, Solomon Mhahuli
MAPOMA, Phuti Lina	MARTIN, Belinda Venice	MASEKO, Rabie	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASILWANE, Eliza
MAPONGWANA, Mhleli Michael	MARTIN, Florence	MASEKO, Sicelo Christopher Lefty	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASIMINI, Ngwebile
MAPONGWANA, Nomsa	MARTIN, Kevin Peter Robert	MASEKO, Siphio Josia	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASIMULA, Jan Masondo
MAPONYA, Andries Itumeleng	MARTIN, Muzi Mongezi	MASEKO, Veli Badnock	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASIMULA, Noyende Paulina
MAPONYA, Japie Kereng	MARTIN, Shaun Norman	MASEKO, Vincent Jabu	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASIMULA, Sithengani Jan
MAPONYA, Peter	MARTIN, Vuyelwa Joyce	MASEKO, Vusumuzi Noah	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINA, Elias
MAPOTELE, Piet	MARTINS, Bongani	MASEKO, Wilson Zwelibanzi	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINA, Hloniphile
MAPOULA, Noko Albert	MARTINS, Bryn Louis Kabelu	MASELELA, Ahy	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINA, Johannes
MAPOULO, Monyane Joseph	MARTINS, Deon	MASELELA, Morris	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINA, Musa Thomas
MAPOULO, Ramkoni Martina	MARTINS, George	MASELELA, Samuel	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINA, Stanley Sandile
MAPUA, Oupa Josiah	MARUBINI, Funzani Joyce	MASELOA, Makgasane Aaron	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINA, Zodwa
MAPUA, Ronald Mosebetsi	MARUFANE, Mildred	MASEMOLA, Alfred Mpho	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINDA, Christopher M
MAPUMULO, Bongokwakhe Hebron	MARULA, Patrick Phetawayo	MASEMOLA, John	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINGA,
MAPUMULE, Cushive	MARUMU, Nidko	MASEMOLA, Phillip Kedibone	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINGA, Benjamin
MAPUMULO, Danisile Amy	MARUMU, Alfred Toko	MASEMOLA, Patricia	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINGA, Bongive
MAPUMULO, Dumallie	MARUMU, Basilius Matlogelwa	MASEMOLA, Phillip	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINGA, Elphas Ndobababantu
MAPUMULO, Gifford Kathana	MARUMU, Elizabeth Lesholobe	MASEMOLA, Samuel	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINGA, Lemmona Mkease
MAPUMULO, Gladness Thoko	MARUMU, James December	MASEMOLA, Thelma Jeannie Molebatsi	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINGA, Mirriam Nomatimti
MAPUMULO, Mandlenkosi	MARUMU, Maki Martha	MASEMOLA, Thelma	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINGA, Ntombi Hilda
MAPUMULO, Nokuphiwa	MARUMU, Maletsatsi	MASEMOLA, Mthunjele Eva	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASINGA, Thozwana
MAPUMULO, Nomlomo	MARUMU, Nwessels Skuta Mahoko	MASENG, Joshua Monnappe Moloi	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASIPHA, Ananias Boksa
MAPUMULO, Siwoti	MARUNGWANA, Lucas Billy-Boy	MASENYA, Grace	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASITHA, Sobane Paulos
MAPUMULO, Siyangoshova	MARUPING, Jacksona Rakoenia	MASERUMULE, Mammeshoana	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASITHA, Tsele Mekia
MAPUMULO, Sizeni	Maruping	Barbara	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASITHI, Nyamkamadi
MAPUTE, Simphiwe Zakariah	MARUTLA, Maphuti	MASETELA, Lucas	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASITHI, Thani William
MAPUTLA, Phadishi Abram	MARWANE, Wilfred Sebongene	MASETI, Agnes	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASIYA, Unknown
MAPUTLA, Selemela Simon	MARWANQANA, Alfred Fikile	MASETI, Catchpole Siegfried Monwab	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASIZA, Gerald
MAQANDA, Themba Abeshai	MARWANQANA, Mzukisi	MASETI, Matthews Poppie	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASOEU, Samuel
MAQANDLA, Dugard Zweledinga	MARWANQANA, Thandiswa	MASETI, Mzwandile	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASOGE, Thlong Justice
MAQEKEZA, Jama Hamilton	MARWEBU, Talente Mirriam	MASETI, Nodiphela Caswell	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASOKANYE, Lizwe
MAQEKEZA, Maziti Attwell Ngubekhaya	MARWEXU, Nosioph Blossom	MASETI, Thandiswa Beatrice	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASOKOAMENG, Norah
MAQETHUKA, Thamsanga	MARX, Getrida	MASETI, Wisky	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASOLA, Jabulane James
MAQETHUKA, Thembi Joyce	MASA, Elizabeth	MASETI, Xolani Michael Boket	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASOLA, Mothomone Ephraim
MAQETHUKA, Yuyo	MASABALALA, Sandra	MASETI, Zkoxisile Mathews	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASOLENG, Pinkie Sidney
MAQEWU, Manthana	MASAKALA, Jamina	MASHA, Mahulu Dorcas	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASOLOKE, Tsetsware Anna
MAQHASHA, Veronica Phumla	MASAKALA, Joshua	MASHA, Patrick Luneng	MASHELE, Ndanduneli Agnes	MASOMBUKA (NEE NKABINI), Ester

Mitshana	MATHE, Sipho Bethuel	MATKINCA, Nomalungelo Lucy	MATSHABA, Nunu Andrew Freddy	MAVUNDLA, Zodwa
MASOMBUKA, Bapalela Johanna	MATHE, Tolakele Juditha	MATKINCA, Patrick Dumile	MATSHAKA, Lukhanyiso Arthur	MAVUSO (DLUNGWANA), Derrick
MASOMBUKA, Elizabeth Namgidi	MATHEBA, Elizabeth Matu	MATKINCA, Siputsu Cameron	MATSHANA, Mantatisa Priscilla	MAVUSO, Ditaba
MASOMBUKA, John Dee	MATHEBE,	MATIMA, Ntshuwa Agnes	MATSHANA, Lazarus Ndebele	MAVUSO, Dumisani Christopher
MASOMBUKA, Josephine Thandi	MATHEBE, Charles Baledi	MATIMA, Solomon Mabusane	MATSHATSHA, Lina Dieketseng	MAVUSO, Henry Mandla
MASOMBUKA, Zanele	MATHEBE, Collert Mohlammie Piet	MATIMA, Telo Johannes	MATSHAWA, Magdaline Nombulelo	MAVUSO, Jacob Jankie
MASON, Penelope	MATHEBE, Daniel Mankuraoane	MATISO, Mbuyiseli Michael	MATSHAYA, Quido Mvikel	MAVUSO, Johannes Vusumuzi
MASONDO, Basil	MATHEBE, Godfrey Matekane	MATISO, Melvin	MATSHAYA, Thabo Bethuel	MAVUSO, Lokufa
MASONDO, Caroline.	MATHEBE, Grand-Daughter (2)	MATISO, Pisi	MATSHAWANA, Mxolisi Macdonald	MAVUSO, Mhlupheki Cornelius
MASONDO, Joseph V	MATHEBE, Grand-Daughter (3)	MATISO, Sithembile	MATSHAYI, Temba	MAVUSO, Nomathemba
MASONDO, Mduzuzi	MATHEBE, Lekwelaire Lydia	MATITI, Zandisile	MATSHKEA, Ketlogetswe Joseph	MAVUSO, Nombuzo
MASONDO, Mpho	MATHEBE, Magaruba	MATIWANA, Hombakazi	MATSHKEA, Gugu	MAVUSO, Saraphina
MASONDO, Ntombi Betina	MATHEBE, Magomothabi	MATIWANA, Nontombi Beauty	MATSHKEKE, Mphangeli	MAVUSO, Selby
MASONDO, Octavia	MATHEBE, Majadihlago Jim	MATHEBE, Tlokele Headman	MATSHKELE, Dan	MAVUSO, Vellie Jeremiah
MASONDO, Robert Muntuyedwa	MATHEBE, Mamosababoe Evelina	MATIWANE, Moswape	MATSHANE, Sogegole John	MAY, Audrey Catherine
MASONDO, Sighiwe Eric	MATHEBE, Moswape	MATIWANE, David Ndumiso	MATSHANE, Nobayeni Lettie	MAWA, Jongile
MASONDO, Zacharia Mhlabunzima	MATHEBE, Matholo	MATIWANE, Lungisa Welcome	MATSHIKI, Milton Chumani Nozulu	MAWELA, Erasmus
MASONDO, Zesizwe	MATHEBE, Maxwell Molefe	MATIWANE, Mafusa	MATSHIKI, Milton Chumani Nozulu	MAWELA, Keke
MASOPA, Manta Christina	MATHEBE, Mmamothalo	MATJEE, Khomotso Lawrence	MATSHIKIZA, James Zwandile	MAWELA, Mhlamukile Simon
MASOPA, Moses Godfrey	MATHEBE, Mmapule Elizabeth	MATJEE, Mmole	MATSHINGA, Abner Vusi	MAWELA, Peter Bigboy
MASOPA, Motsameli Charles	MATHEBE, Mmusi Moses	MATJELA, Motshentshe Jan	MATSHIPA, Maringsile	MAWENI, Hendrick Shima
MASOPA, Nompeli Elinah	MATHEBE, Mmusi Moses	MATJELA, Phillistus Botsetsi Lerutla	MATSHISI, Siphiwo Macdonald Kaiser	MAXAM, Robert
MASOTE, Sheila Segametsi	MATHEBE, Morako	MATJOKANA, Mantshana Herbert	MATSHIVANE, Babekeri Piccanin	MAXAMA, Stewart
MASUDUBELE, Hilda Matshidiso	MATHEBE, Moswape	MATLADISA, Tebogo Bernard	MATSHOBA, Andile	MAY, Aicicia Thembakazi
MASUKU, Alpheus Zakhele	MATHEBE, Nnima	MATLAKALA, Seboge Frans	MATSHOBA, Diliza Benedict	MAY, Audrey Catherine
MASUKU, Cliff	MATHEBE, Norman Chipane	MATLALA, Chana Jacob	MATSHOBA, Fezile Oliver Crommel	MAY, Danile Wilberforce
MASUKU, Clifford	MATHEBE, Paleli	MATLALA, Choenie Solomon	MATSHOBA, Nomathemba Amoree	MAY, Mlandeli Micky Mellowdy
MASUKU, Dumazile	MATHEBE, Philemon	MATLALA, Chuene Salphy	MATSHOBA, Sielo Shepherd	MAY, Simphiwe Hantjie
MASUKU, Edward	MATHEBE, Piet Mohlammie	MATLALA, Comfort	MATSHOBANE, Mandla	MAY, Standford
MASUKU, Ezekiel Oupa	MATHEBE, Queensly Motlatsi	MATLALA, Godfrey Daniel	MATSHOGO, Allen	MAY, Zenzile
MASUKU, Jacob Samuel	MATHEBE, Sarah Matlakalana	MATLALA, Jacob Madisha	MATSHOGO, Stephen	MAY, Zenzile Eric
MASUKU, Khonza Handsome	MATHEBE, Selape Walter	MATLALA, Kgadi Petrus	MATSHONISA, Nxolo	MAYA, John Gert
MASUKU, Madiphoso Esther	MATHEBE, Shipane Ephraim	MATLALA, Lebogang Sunday	MATSHUSA, Maglana	MAYA, Nhlanihla Johannes
MASUKU, Ndumani	MATHEBE, Thokole Gibson	MATLALA, Moleku Flora	MATSHWINYANE, Margaret Stana	MAYABA, Bhekisiza Phillip
MASUKU, Phiwiyinkosi	MATHEBE, Wellington Chipane	MATLALA, Makgabo George	MATSI, Mosima Julia	MAYABA, Henry Mduzuzi
MASUKU, Samson Khophi	MATHEBULA, Christopher	MATLALA, Makopo George	MATSI, Adelaide	MAYABA, Mongameli
MASUKU, Samuel Veli	MATHEBULA, Dumalile Agnes	MATLALA, Mathebe Geoffrey	MATSI, Mosele Sinah	MAYABA, Ntombenengi Albertina
MASUKU, Thabo	MATHEBULA, George	MATLALA, Matlou Alfred	MATSI, Schalk	MAYABA, Unknown
MASUKU, Thembi Emily	MATHEBULA, Isaac	MATLALA, Moloshi Richard	MATSIPE,	MAYAMA, Patrick Mnyamana
MASUKU, Thokozile Pam Rejoice	MATHEBULA, Kenneth Chimane	MATLALA, Morwata Joseph	MATSOBANE, Ninki Maria	MAYANA, Patrick Nounit
MASUKU, Thulani	MATHEBULA, Lenah Makhoakane	MATLALA, Mthokoa Terror	MATSOBANE, Piet	MAYANA, Ndlwile Nounit
MASUKU, Thulani Hansford	MATHEBULA, Lizzy Nkayisi	MATLALA, Mthokoa Terror	MATSOBANE, Thomas	MAYAPI, Pumzile
MASUNYANE, Mathabo Adelina	MATHEBULA, Michael Funfun	MATLALA, Phadishi Erasmus	MATSOBE, Mpedi Richard	MAYAPI, Zornwabele
MASWANGANYI, Alina	MATHEBULA, Nhlanihla Sanele	MATLALA, Phadishi Erasmus	MATSOBE, Mpedi Richard	MAYATI, Dalingubo
MASWANGANYI, Joel	MATHEBULA, Nomadlizi Lettie	MATLALA, Plantina Seemola	MATSOELE, Grace Mantsehe	MAYE, David
MASWANGANYI, Tinyiko Believe John	MATHEBULA, Patrick	MATLALA, Seemole Modjaji	MATSGOE, Philip Philo	MAYEKISO, Amos Mthandeki
MATA, Bungeane Jackson	MATHEBULA, Robert Themba	MATLALENG, Junior	MATSOLO, Luthando Duncan	MAYEKISO, Archie
MATA, Thembisile	MATHEBULA, Samuel	MATLASULELE, Madimetja Peter	MATSOLO, Sabelo	MAYEKISO, Caleb
MATABANE, Peter Itumeleng	MATHEBULA, Thandi Gladys	MATLAWE, Seleko Howard	MATSOLO, Willie Kolisile	MAYEKISO, Mzwandile Shadrack
MATABOGE, Josia Legodi	MATHEBULA, Themba Zobha	MATLABE, Daniel	MATSDOMANE, Solomon	MAYEKISO, David
MATABOGE, Moithethi Isaac	MATHEBULA, Unkown	MATLABE, Daniel	MATSDOMANE, Solomon	MAYELA, Dickson
MATAFENI, Mziwukeli	MATHEBULA, Vincent	MATLABE, Elizabeth Puleng	MATSDOMANE, Solomon	MAYET, Zubeida
MATAKANA, Mtshuzeli	MATHEBULA, Zephania	MATLHAKO, Christopher Tshapo	MATSDONO, Nomathamsanga	MAYEZA, Joseph Banzi
MATAKANE, Laka David	MATHENGELA, Donald Sifiso	MATLHAKOANE, Daniel Thebe	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYEZA, Temba
MATAKU, Sinto Mshanyane	MATHENJWA, Dunsuive	MATLHARE, Isaac Rocks	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYIDUME, Thakatsana
MATANDELA, Dumisani Macbeth	MATHENJWA, Dumingo Sigwili	MATLHARO, Senatlana Thomas	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYISA, Ampie
MATANGOANE, Matshediso Annie	MATHENJWA, Julia Sizani	MATLHARO, Senatlana Thomas	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYISA, Diloni Moses
MATASA, Gertrude	MATHENJWA, Meji Phiuile	MATLOHA, Alfred	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYISA, Josiah Mshayina
MATAU, Sefako Frans	MATHENJWA, Nhlakanipho	MATLOHA, Stephen	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYISA, Mamatshi Lina
MATCHESE, Joseph Mateti	MATHENJWA, Sifiso	MATLOMBE, Christina Mantombi	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYISA, Mmantsheni Daniel
MATCHESE, William	MATHENJWA, Thandukwazi Philip	MATLOTLO, Paulos	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYISA, Mntshini Daniel
MATCHISI, Mxolisi Gladman	MATHEZA, Martha Josephine	MATLOU, Aletta Mamogabi	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYISA, Ntombenengi Albertina
MATEBESI, Kedibone Rebecca	MATHI, Sergeant Joseph	MATLOU, Ezekiel Matsela	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYISELA, Ashley Lungile
MATEEM, Shirley	MATHIBA, Isaac	MATLOU, Lesiba Joseph	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYISELA, Madoda Zephania
MATEGANE, Frans	MATHIBE, Milcent	MATLOU, Magadu David	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYISELA, Mxolisi ishmael
MATEKANE, Handrick Phaladi	MATHIBE, Thembisile Samson	MATLOU, Makgalane Solomon	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYISELA, Victor Sipo
MATELA, Monkane Joseph	MATHIBELA, Bongani Patrick	MATLOU, Mashela Elisa	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYISELA, Zangaza Albert
MATELA, Samuel Serame	MATHIBELA, David Butana	MATLOU, Mediamere Sana	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYOLI, Caroline Nontombi
MATELA, Stephen Sefilira	MATHIBELA, Fantisi Piet	MATLOU, Mediamere Sana	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYOLI, Joseph Monwabisi
MATENDI, Dingane David	MATHIBELA, Kleinbooi	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAYOYO, Itumeleng Isaac
MATENJWA, Keketso Samuel	MATHIBELA, Magidi Feitjee	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZAKA, Mike
MATENJWA, Maghikizana Roster	MATHIBELA, Mali Lena	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZALENI, Luyanda
MATENJWA, Ziphozokhe Patrick	MATHIBELA, Mfanyana Stefans	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZEKA, Bhekizenzo Joseph
MATERA, Monwabisi Zwelcingile	MATHIBELA, Molopo Johannes	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZEKA, Menzi Michael Mndumise
MATETA, Matome Simon	MATHIBELA, Phillip Buti	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Alex
MATETA, Patrick Mphathi Baritane	MATHIBELA, Phomolo Samson	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Ann
MATETA, Phineas	MATHIBELA, Selina	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Antie Sophia
MATETE, Dorothy	MATHIBELA, William	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Bekumzi Elias (Bheki)
MATETE, Moseklemang Meriam	MATHIBELI, Lekhoa Robert	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Betty
MATETE, Phoka Patriot	MATHIKGE, Jacob Molefe	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Bongekile
MATHABA, Elnah	MATHIKWE, Lentikile Ephraim Mohapi	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Bonginkosi Richard
MATHABA, Gordon Theminkosi Gcina	MATHISO, Mbuyiselo James	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Brian Mubulewlo
MATHABA, Livingstone Nhlanihla	MATHISO, Sana Joseph	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Cleopas Fana
MATHABA, Mazono Zesizwe	MATHIZA, Aaron	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Elias Sising
MATHABA, Nicholina	MATHLOMBE, Victoria Ninah	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Elizabeth Titi
MATHABA, Sani Leonard	MATHOBEL, James Bongani	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Ellie Ntombana
MATHABA, Xolani	MATHOBELA, Refiloe Grace	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Funani
MATHABATHA, Paul Maboyi	MATHOMBANE, A.	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Hiakaniaphani Wiseman
MATHABATHA, Modigae Constance	MATHONSI, Isaac Mkombe	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Infern
MATHABATHA, Moleshiwe	MATHONSI, Mqolozela Sipo	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Johannes Veli
MATHABE, Ramasedi David	MATHONSI, Mufumane Bernard	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, John Maphakula
MATHABELA, Bhekizwe Daniel	MATHONSI, Qondeni Cecilia	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	MAZIBUKO, Joseph
MATHABELA, Boy	MATHONSI, Thembelihle Felix	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	
MATHABELA, Evelyn Kemonehlwe	MATHONSI, Winnie Nobuhle	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	
MATHANG, Josia Booi	MATHOPE, Aaron	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	
MATHAWENE, Poding	MATHOPE, Rebecca (Ramajwe)	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	
MATHE, Anthony	MATHOPENG, Mabuti	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	
MATHE, Augustine	MATHUDI, Thys	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	
MATHE, Bhekizitha	MATHULE, Piki Bettie	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	
MATHE, Eunice Shisekile	MATHUSE, George	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	
MATHE, Joseph Alilekile	MATHWASA, Marashu Melfred	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	
MATHE, Mishake	MATHWASA, Petros	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	
MATHE, Musa Mathews	MATI, Mbonengi	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	
MATHE, Petros	MATIBIDI, Phineas Nkagang	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	
MATHE, Reuben Fisokwakhe	MATIDIZA, William	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	
MATHE, Sibongiseni	MATIKINCA, Buzelwa Eunice	MATLOU, Thabedi Mack	MATSDOSO, Masetsho Jeremiah	

MAZIBUKO, Joseph Gugwana
MAZIBUKO, Joseph Mfankadiwala
MAZIBUKO, Joseph Titos
MAZIBUKO, Levis
MAZIBUKO, Lindinkosi Clive
MAZIBUKO, Lita Nombango
MAZIBUKO, Lucia Mampi
MAZIBUKO, Lukas
MAZIBUKO, Mandla
MAZIBUKO, Mangaliso James
MAZIBUKO, Mashinkane Johannes
MAZIBUKO, Maureen Thandi
MAZIBUKO, Maureen Thandi
MAZIBUKO, Mrobert Boy
MAZIBUKO, Mduzisi Sydney
MAZIBUKO, Mgqhele Isak
MAZIBUKO, Mmasesi Lena
MAZIBUKO, Mndwanakazi
MAZIBUKO, Mpiyezwe
MAZIBUKO, Nduzakhe Joseph
MAZIBUKO, Nkosinathi
MAZIBUKO, Nomalanga
MAZIBUKO, Nomusa Anna
MAZIBUKO, Ntombikayise Patricia
MAZIBUKO, Patricia Jabulile
MAZIBUKO, Petros Nqobile
MAZIBUKO, Phumlani
MAZIBUKO, Richard
MAZIBUKO, Robert
MAZIBUKO, Rose Thandi
MAZIBUKO, Sabayi Lina
MAZIBUKO, Sibusiso Abednego
MAZIBUKO, Siphele John
MAZIBUKO, Suzan Elizabeth
MAZIBUKO, Thabeleni
MAZIBUKO, Thandile Gladness
MAZIBUKO, Themba Isalah
MAZIBUKO, Thembi Beauty
MAZIBUKO, Thokozile Samaria
MAZIBUKO, Thulise Kate
MAZIBUKO, Vikinduku Stephen
MAZIBUKO, Vusi Anderson
MAZIBUKO, Vusumuzi Andrias
MAZIBUKO, Zinhle Yvonne
MAZIKO, Princess Mandisa
MAZIYA, Lindiwe Roseline
MAZIYA, Mokabhe Alpheus
MAZIYA, Thandi Elizabeth
MAZIYA, Zwelakhe
MAZYANE, Nozukile
MAZOKWANA, China Gray
MAZOMBA, Boy Charles
MAZOMBA, Sindiswa Flora
MAZUBANE, Lamekhi Mbongiseni
MAZUBANE, Magudeni
MAZUBANE, Mfanuswano
MAZUBANE, Ngwala
MAZUBANE, Thokozile Alice
MAZUBANE, Thomas Sakhiwe
MAZUBANE, Thulani Goodboy
MAZUBANI, Dumephi
MAZULA, Kenneth Mbulelo
MAZUNGULA, Sizwe Douglas
MAZUZA, Phillip Lukhele
MAZWAI, Siphiwo Hamlet
MAZWEEMBE, Luke Storrie
MAZWI, Abednigo Nzimeni
MAZWI, Elliot
MAZABELA, Gladman Mankenke
MBADI, Moses Themba
MBALA, Mthetho Freddie
MBALANE, Matwethu Sheshe
MBALATI, Stranger Jabulani
MBALI, Abegail Nomvuselelo
MBALI, Buziwe
MBALI, Herbert
MBALI, Nozuko Monica
MBALI, Thembeke Eunice
MBALINGONTSI, Vulindlela
MBALI-POTO, Thamsanqa
MBALISO, Banoyi
MBALO, Michael Mfundisi
MBALO, Mini Agnes
MBALLULA, Nobeki Marie
MBALWA, Coster
MBAMBANI, Thobeka Sylvia
MBAMBEZA, Nozmulazana Ellen
MBAMBO, Andrias Mduzisi
MBAMBO, Anna Nomusa
MBAMBO, Bangeni Lingani
MBAMBO, Bantwanyana John
MBAMBO, Bonginkosi Lawrence
MBAMBO, Charles Michael
MBAMBO, Christian Sifiso
MBAMBO, Chwepeshe Khanyile
MBAMBO, Fana Lucky
MBAMBO, Florence
MBAMBO, Jan
MBAMBO, Joel Dumisani
MBAMBO, Kolindi David
MBAMBO, Lindiwe Siyathemba Joyce
MBAMBO, Manti Doris
MBAMBO, Mashiefs
MBAMBO, Math Mayvis
MBAMBO, Mthobeni Alison
MBAMBO, Mqetshulwa Themba

MBAMBO, Musa Matthew
MBAMBO, Mzwethu
MBAMBO, Nani Gertie
MBAMBO, Nhlanhla Rafael
MBAMBO, Nomafa Rose
MBAMBO, Ntombifuthi Mavis Futhi
MBAMBO, Patrick Bhekuyise
MBAMBO, Phumzile Patricia
MBAMBO, Queen Elizabeth
MBAMBO, Sakhile Alpheus
MBAMBO, Simon Sibusiso
MBAMBO, Standela Ambrose
MBAMBO, Thamsanqa Edmund
MBAMBO, Thoko Alice
MBAMBO, Zwakele Patrick
MBANA, Christa Bella Nomzilandkatha
MBANA, Nolesimi Victoria
MBANA, Noncedo
MBANA, Ntsekelelo Alfred
MBANA, Silas Lehlohonolo
MBANA, Sipokazi Thelma
MBANA, Solomon Mbulelo
MBANDA, Thokozile Doris
MBANDLWA, Bhekisisa Professor
MBANDLWA, Themba Christopher
MBANE, Kayaletu Thanksford
MBANGA, Oliver Mongezi
MBANGENI, Khisana Mackenzie
MBANGI, Mnikeli
MBANGI, Nkosana Jeffrey
MBANGSO, Nhlanhla Jerome
MBANGSO, Richard
MBANGSO, Victoria
MBANI, Mqazame Bethwell
MBANJANA, Mziwoxolo
MBANJWA, Alex Madodawonke
MBANJWA, Babazile Sylvia
MBANJWA, Bangumzi Eden
MBANJWA, Bazokwakhe Jerome
MBANJWA, Bheki
MBANJWA, Bhekithemba Cyril
MBANJWA, Bhloshi
MBANJWA, Bongane Maghawe
MBANJWA, Bongani Innocent
MBANJWA, Boselapi Annie
MBANJWA, David Mkhulu
MBANJWA, Dida Malchion
MBANJWA, Dombi Dombi Veronica
MBANJWA, Foli
MBANJWA, Griffiths Shembiso
MBANJWA, Hwulungwe Mandla
MBANJWA, Ieri Mduzisi
MBANJWA, Israel Mncanywa
MBANJWA, Jimbephi Nelson
MBANJWA, Khanyisile
MBANJWA, Khulumele Clarah
MBANJWA, Khwulwase Roselina
MBANJWA, Lindiwe Theodonsia
MBANJWA, Makhawu Johannes
MBANJWA, Mchithwa
MBANJWA, Mduzisi Emmanuel
MBANJWA, Mgedane
MBANJWA, Mhlanganyelwa Gideon
MBANJWA, Mkhulunyelwa
MBANJWA, Mkhuzeni
MBANJWA, Mtungani Richard
MBANJWA, Mpiyezwe Isaac
MBANJWA, Mpolozo
MBANJWA, Mqanjelwa Petros
MBANJWA, Mthokozisi Raphael
MBANJWA, Netiwe
MBANJWA, Nicholus Sibusiso
MBANJWA, Nokwazi Emily
MBANJWA, Nomzanyana
MBANJWA, Ntombifikele Rosemary
MBANJWA, Ntombi Sylvia
MBANJWA, Phezila Sephronia
MBANJWA, Sdindi Hilaria
MBANJWA, Senene
MBANJWA, Sidlabehleli
MBANJWA, Sipo Erastus
MBANJWA, Sizakele Doris
MBANJWA, Sizani Kate
MBANJWA, Sokalezwase Sixtus
MBANJWA, Stembiso Phumlani
MBANJWA, Thandani Africa
MBANJWA, Thandi Winnie
MBANJWA, Theku
MBANJWA, Themba Vincent
MBANJWA, Thobile Matutu
MBANJWA, Thoko Rosemary
MBANJWA, Vika Lucas
MBANJWA, Vovo Dingephi
MBANJWA, Zakhi Milton
MBAQA, Sipho Moses
MBAKSAKHANA, Nomonde
MBATA, Busiswe Elizabeth
MBATA, Dumisani
MBATA, Ester
MBATA, John Fakazi
MBATA, Maria
MBATA, Mzameni Jacksonia
MBATA, Obedia
MBATA, Thenjwe Ennet
MBATA, Thokakele Thembisile
MBATA, Vusi Samson

MBATHA (NEE MIAS), Kohli Liza
MBATHA,
MBATHA,
MBATHA, Abel Mgedi
MBATHA, Adelina Nobelungu
MBATHA, Africa Dumisani
MBATHA, Alex
MBATHA, Alexander Eli
MBATHA, Alois Sibeko
MBATHA, Anna Ncanyana
MBATHA, Archie
MBATHA, Bacimile Bessie
MBATHA, Bernard
MBATHA, Bhekinkosi
MBATHA, Bhekinkosi
MBATHA, Bongani
MBATHA, Bongani Jeremiah
MBATHA, Bongini Besta
MBATHA, Busiswe Merica
MBATHA, Currie Andries
MBATHA, Cyril Sibusiso
MBATHA, Cyril Zakhele
MBATHA, Dinjana Abram
MBATHA, Dudu
MBATHA, Elizabeth Nombuso
MBATHA, Emma
MBATHA, Gawetha
MBATHA, Gibson
MBATHA, Hanyane Anna
MBATHA, Isaac Bhekumusa
MBATHA, Jabu
MBATHA, Joshua Mfana
MBATHA, Kapane Jean
MBATHA, Martin Bhekuyise
MBATHA, Matheus
MBATHA, Mhuheni
MBATHA, Mduzisi William
MBATHA, Melznah Zibuyizile
MBATHA, Mfanuthini Alton
MBATHA, Mhlopheki Jonas
MBATHA, Michael Thulani
MBATHA, Mohloki Jonas
MBATHA, Nani Lucy
MBATHA, Ndayizana Richard
MBATHA, Nonhlanhla
MBATHA, Ntshiyeni Beatrice
MBATHA, Nontombi Muriel
MBATHA, Ntshiyeni Casseluis
MBATHA, Ntuthumbe Elsapina
MBATHA, Paulinah Matsie
MBATHA, Pearl Lucky
MBATHA, Petros Muzikayise
MBATHA, Petrus Fana
MBATHA, Phillip
MBATHA, Popi Nokuthula
MBATHA, Poppie
MBATHA, Samson Bhekuyise
MBATHA, Samuel Ngwane
MBATHA, Sibongile Jenet
MBATHA, Sipho Sabelo
MBATHA, Solomon Sipho
MBATHA, Sylvia
MBATHA, Tabello
MBATHA, Thamsanqa
MBATHA, Thamsanqa Samuel
MBATHA, Thandi
MBATHA, Themba
MBATHA, Themba
MBATHA, Themba Dinah
MBATHA, Thembi Maria
MBATHA, Thembisile Maria
MBATHA, Thulebona
MBATHA, Timothy Mbongeni
MBATHA, Thokozile Rosemary
MBATHA, Virginia Nozothu
MBATHA, Vumi Stanley
MBATHA, Vusi
MBATHA, Vusumuzi Lucas
MBATHA, Vusumuzi Norman
MBATHA, Vuyani Pelvis
MBATHU, Mthetheli Shadrack
MBATHU, Wandile Major
MBATYOTHI, Songezo Papani
MBAVI, Nandipha
MBAVI, Phila Percy
MBAVI, Semuseni Ducard
MBAVI, Suzan Nozozo
MBEBE, Lucas Mduyiswa
MBEDULA, Mbulelo Aaron
MBEDU, Thetephi
MBEJE, Bertha
MBEJE, Bhekuyise
MBEJE, Bongani Nicholas
MBEJE, Bongive
MBEJE, Busiswe Paulina
MBEJE, Dennis Xolani
MBEJE, Elnorah Nokulunga
MBEJE, Eunice Thembisile
MBEJE, Nomsa Constance
MBEJE, Ntombenengi Beatrice
MBEJE, Ntombenengi Ancial
MBEJE, Vincent Bhekani Mpuemele
MBEKA, Nondumiso
MBEKELA, Mxoliswa Christian
MBEKE, Sonwabiso Sydwell
MBEKI, Joseph Molefi

MBEKI, Monwabisi Kwanda
MBEKI, Mretsele
MBEKILE, Mkhokhona
MBEKO, Hlakaniphani John
MBEKO, Mfanuthile
MBEKO, Muzomuhle
MBEKO, Xolani
MBEKUSHE, Sizakele
MBEKWA, Sibunu
MBELE, Andrew Vusi
MBELE, Ben Butana
MBELE, Bette Tomfikile
MBELE, David
MBELE, David
MBELE, Dumisane Cyril
MBELE, Dumisani Cyril
MBELE, Emily Busi Zini
MBELE, Eugene Mlungisi
MBELE, Fikile Bulisile
MBELE, France
MBELE, George Mduzisi
MBELE, Happy Frank
MBELE, Jabulisiwe Shongaziphi
MBELE, Joseph Mduzuzeli
MBELE, Lilian
MBELE, Lucia
MBELE, Mazwi Lynos
MBELE, Mfolwane
MBELE, Mhliel
MBELE, Michael
MBELE, Millicent Zandile
MBELE, Mina Nyane
MBELE, Mkhohisi Wellington
MBELE, Mlungisi Eugene
MBELE, Msongelwa Jeremiah
MBELE, Musa
MBELE, Mzondile Aaron
MBELE, Mzondwase Ivy
MBELE, Nguzimangabemtu
MBELE, Nokuthula Sibongile
MBELE, Ntombemphole Ritta
MBELE, Ntombifikele Elizabeth
MBELE, Ntombifuthi Eunice
MBELE, Nzawu Zolani
MBELE, Ronnie Michael
MBELE, Rose Philiswe
MBELE, Sifiso Mzonjani
MBELE, Shuquwana Jessie
MBELE, Sipho
MBELE, Stoni Clementina
MBELE, Thandeka Cinderella
MBELE, Yukanis Wiseman
MBELE, Vusumuzi Eric
MBELE, Zithulele Solomon
MBELE, Zewilife
MBELEKANA, Mbulelo Archie
MBELU, Bhekuyise Israel
MBELU, Lovey Gideon
MBELU, Percy Mpho
MBEMBE, Nokufuna Vinna
MBENENGE, Simon Simangale
MBENENGE, Thembekile Eric
MBENETO, Matse Wellington
MBENGA, Adam
MBENGE, Phindile Lthehe
MBENGO, Vusumuzi Mzuvelike
MBENGWA, Elias
MBENSE, Eugene Siyabonga
MBENSE, Mduzisi Sydney
MBESE, Ntombisana Regina
MBESI, Esther Nkolosana
MBETE, Mzwandile Mabajane
MBEWANA, Mxolisi Tototo
MBEWE, Collard Mongi
MBEWE, Isaac
MBEWE, Mongezi
MBEWE, Thos Bethuel
MBEWU, Nolungile
MBEWU, Vuyani Edward
MBEWU, Winnie Vuyiswa
MBHALI, Aaron Mandokaza
MBHAMALI, Sigodi
MBHELE, Albert Lungisani
MBHELE, Balungile Donata
MBHELE, Bazisola Augustine
MBHELE, Ben Chumkile
MBHELE, Bhekabantu
MBHELE, Bhekabantu Clement
MBHELE, Boy
MBHELE, David
MBHELE, Dingane
MBHELE, Dumisani Henry
MBHELE, Eugene Mlungisi
MBHELE, Eunah
MBHELE, Florence
MBHELE, Fokazi
MBHELE, Gretta Thandi
MBHELE, Khayelilhe Madiokovu
MBHELE, Lindive Ignatia
MBHELE, Livi David
MBHELE, Livingstone Gabriel
MBHELE, Lynette Leslie
MBHELE, Magdalene Sennie
MBHELE, Mandla Joseph
MBHELE, Mandlenkosi Alois
MBHELE, Meluli

MBHELE, Mfiseni Sibusiso
MBHELE, Mhlabuzina
MBHELE, Mkhombeni James
MBHELE, Mziseni Mazwendoda
MBHELE, Mxolisi Petros
MBHELE, Mzondile Aaron
MBHELE, Nomakhezi Veronica
MBHELE, Nompumelelo Happiness
MBHELE, Ntombikayise Getrude
MBHELE, Oupa Johannes
MBHELE, Phumphi
MBHELE, Purity Thuleleni
MBHELE, Qondeni Evelynah
MBHELE, Qude Anthony
MBHELE, Sibongile Luckett
MBHELE, Sibusiso Justice
MBHELE, Simon
MBHELE, Siphele Lesley
MBHELE, Sizeni
MBHELE, Sonny Serame
MBHELE, Synod Simon
MBHELE, Thamsanqa Jerome
MBHELE, Thezaphi Doris
MBHELE, Thulebona Justice
MBHELE, Velepi Elizabeth
MBHELE, Vimba Wiseman
MBHELE, Xolani
MBHELE, Xolani Richard
MBHELE, Zakhele Elijah
MBHELE, Zodwa
MBHELE, Zonduyise
MBHETE, R
MBHUNDI, Gaphela Anselem
MBHJ, Margaret Ntombicacile
MBIDIDI, Patrick
MBIKO, Ntombizane Annotalia
MBILI, Aaron
MBILI, Bhekani
MBILI, Bonisile Mayvis
MBILI, Charles Meshack
MBILI, Ester Mamdlonkolo
MBILI, Hleziphi Mirriam
MBILI, Isaac Khaleshak
MBILI, Jabula Hemington
MBILI, Kelele Kufakwakhe
MBILI, Kufakwakhe
MBILI, Lindani
MBILI, Lindeni Eunistance
MBILI, Mabhowu Eggie
MBILI, Mabovu Eggie
MBILI, Mampapanana Lillian
MBILI, Mavis
MBILI, Mduzisi Aubrey
MBILI, Nino Elias Ntontoza
MBILI, Nkosiyezwe Zibo
MBILI, Phathowubani Phyllis
MBILI, Qabukani Agnes
MBILI, Richard
MBILI, Richman Zibokwakhe
MBILI, Sihle Maxwell
MBILI, Simon Vela
MBILI, Thandekile
MBILI, Thembekile
MBILI, Thokisane
MBILI, Thoko Sibongile
MBILI, Tohi Beatrice
MBILI, Wellington Bheki Siculo
MBINDA, Mpuemele Ashwell
MBINDA, Philton Mntyvedwa
MBINGO, Christopher
MBINQO, Mpuemele
MBITTY, Muziwa Gladys
MBIWA, Mankwekwe Ben
MBIXANE, Mzwandile
MBIXANE, Nceba Mzimpi
MBIZA, Wines Gpami
MBIZANA, Justice Mfulathelwa
MBIZANE, Sibongiseni Simon
MBIZANI, Bhanoyi
MBIZO, Modi
MBOBO, Lunga Patrick
MBOCHANA, Freddy Zanempi
MBODAMO, Mkhulisi
MBODAMO, Phakamile Welcome
MBODLA, Nkosana
MBODLI, Bheki
MBOEKANE, Madoda Lionel
MBOKAZI, Alzina
MBOKAZI, Esias Dingile
MBOKAZI, Mfanafuthi
MBOKAZI, Mlungisi Wellington
MBOKAZI, Muzikayifani Nicholas
MBOKAZI, Phiwase
MBOKAZI, Zolani Cyprian
MBOKOTA, Mbiza Penstone
MBOKWE, Nonkenyana
MBOLA, Nonkosi Muriel
MBOLEGWA, Mntukani
MBOLEKWA, Betschwana
MBOLEKWA, Zinyanya Raymond
MBOLEKWA, Zita
MBOMA, Masixole
MBOMA, Nosipho
MBOMB, Sililiani Khotsoi Richard
MBONA, Vusumuzi Mkhobeli
MBONAMBI, Beauty

MBONAMBI, Bhekabakubo	MBUTHO, Siyabonga Lawrence	MCHUNU, Oscar Thamduxolo	MDINGI, Leonard Maqhatshu	MDLUI, Elsie Fikile
MBONAMBI, Bhekani Sibusiso	MBUTHO, Titiza Ivy	MCHUNU, Paulos Lucky	MDINGI, Lucky	MDLUI, Gabazile
MBONAMBI, Bongani Ephraim	MBUTHU, Constance Thabile	MCHUNU, Peter Jabulani	MDINGI, Ntombizodwa Gertrude	MDLUI, Hambani Question
MBONAMBI, Bonginkosi Vincent	MBUTHU, Florence T.	MCHUNU, Phendukile Beauty	MDINGI, Yomanga	MDLUI, Joseph
MBONAMBI, Bungu Simon	MBUTHU, Goodness Nonhlanhla Fikile	MCHUNU, Phumelele	MDINISO, Duduzile Paulina	MDLUI, Kisslow
MBONAMBI, Busisiwe Prudence	MBUTHU, Wellington Bafana	MCHUNU, Richard	MDINISO, Mafika David	MDLUI, Margaret
MBONAMBI, Emmanuel	MBUTHUMA, Delive Paulinus	MCHUNU, Samson Mfaniseni	MDISHWA, Zimsele	MDLUI, Marvis Tete
MBONAMBI, Glenrose	MBUTHUMA, Emerencia	MCHUNU, Shadrack Mechack	MDITSHWA, Florence Nomabala	MDLUI, Mazwi Ian
MBONAMBI, Mbongeni	MBUTHUMA, Msongelwa Nicholas	MCHUNU, Simphiwe Nhlanhleni	MDITSHWA, Stanford	MDLUI, Mhlabunzima Michael
MBONAMBI, Mbuseni Mahbalane	MBUTHUMA, Ruth Zizhu	MCHUNU, Siphiwe	MDIYA, Lungisani Nylon	MDLUI, Mnukeni
MBONAMBI, Muziwenhlanhla Gilbert	MBUTHUMA, Simo Percival	MCHUNU, Sithombo Saraphina	MDLADLA, Bhekani Gilbert	MDLUI, Mziwakhe Henry
MBONAMBI, Mzo	MBUTHUMA, Thami Richard	MCHUNU, Sizakele Makhosazane	MDLADLA, Elgius Mbuyisela	MDLUI, Nokwazi
MBONAMBI, Ngila Balungile	MBUTO, Nongephi Elizabeth	MCHUNU, Thandazo Jumama	MDLADLA, Felani Elizabeth	MDLUI, Nompumelelo
MBONAMBI, Nokulunga	MBUTO, Skhumbuzo Moses	MCHUNU, Thandeka Cynthia	MDLADLA, Hlaelani Isabel	MDLUI, Nonhlanhla Thandi
MBONAMBI, Sibusiso Patrick	MBUTWA, Bandiwe Annie	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLADLA, Mondli Kunlana	MDLUI, Peter
MBONAMBI, Sizwe	MBUYAZI, Gladness Nokuphosa	MCHUNU, Thandiwe Regina	MDLADLA, Ntombizake Dora	MDLUI, Regina Mawini
MBONAMBI, Vimba Enoch	MBUYAZI, Johannes Michael	MCHUNU, Themba	MDLADLA, Samson	MDLUI, Samson
MBONAMBI, Vincent Bonginkosi	MBUYAZI, Joseph	MCHUNU, Themba Alpheus	MDLADLA, Sokesimebone	MDLUI, Sebonile
MBONAMBI, Zandile Anna	MBUYAZI, Lucy	MCHUNU, Thembekile	MDLADLA, Stobi Constance	MDLUI, Sibonelo
MBONAMBI, Zwelempi	MBUYAZI, Luntu	MCHUNU, Thembi Irene	MDLADLA, Timothy Roy	MDLUI, Sibusiso Banda
MBONANE, John	MBUYAZI, Madabuli	MCHUNU, Thembisile Gloria Christi	MDLADLA, Vincent Senti	MDLUI, Sibusiso Frank
MBONANE, Lucas Lucky	MBUYAZI, Mzondeni Absalom	MCHUNU, Thenjiwe Maria	MDLADLA, Zibuyile Kinini	MDLUI, Sikhumbuzo
MBONANE, Mgazi Phillip	MBUYAZI, Nelisiwe	MCHUNU, Thulani Dumisane	MDLALA, Linda	MDLUI, Sikhumbuzo Msethenzwa Milton
MBONANE, Pali Sarah	MBUYAZI, Paulos	MCHUNU, Tuku Thembi	MDLALO, Makhosi	MDLUI, Stabile
MBONANI, Mlotshwa David	MBUYAZI, Sibongile Magaret	MCHUNU, Victor	MDLALOSE, Africa	MDLUI, Stembiso
MBONANI, Oupa Josiah	MBUYAZI, Thamsanga	MCHUNU, Victor Julius	MDLALOSE, Amos Mbongiseni	MDLUI, Themba Phineas
MBONANI, Swartbooi Skhangeni	MBUYAZI, Thembinosini Lexhur	MCHUNU, Vincent	MDLALOSE, Anna	MDLUI, Thulani Elias
MBONANI, Themba Tsepo	MBUYAZI, Victor Ntando	MCHUNU, Vincent Mazwi	MDLALOSE, Bheki	MDLUI, Tshapo Ephraim
MBONDE, Siphiwo Headman	MBUYISA, Mapi	MCHUNU, Wiseman Simono	MDLALOSE, Butana Wilmoth	MDLUNGU, Nolubabalo
MBONGO, Mbuyiswa	MBUYISA, Nodolen Joseph	MCHUNU, Wiseman Sipho	MDLALOSE, Caro	MDLUI, Mbuyisela
MBONGO, Mbuyiswa Ezfrose	MBUYISA, Niniza Bernadet	MCHUNU, Zamani	MDLALOSE, Elliot Bhudiza	MDODANA, David Mtutuzeli
MBONGO, Nozillo Jane	MBUYISA, Nozipho Mavis	MCHUNU, Zodwa Margaret	MDLALOSE, Ephrem Maswelindoda	MDODANA, David Mtutuzeli
MBONGO, Victoria	MBUYISA, Sifiso	MCHUNU-NTINGA, Mandiakapheli Richard	MDLALOSE, Fangithini Petros	MDOLO, Kjoel
MBONGGWA, Bongive	MBUYISA, Sibusiso	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Fikile Irene	MDOLUBA, Ntombizandile
MBONGGWA, Emmanuel Bongani	MBUYISA, Siyabonga Elliot	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Frans	MDOLUBA, Ntombizandile
MBONGGWA, Khumbulani	MBUYISA, Welcome Mdayi Dumisani	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Jabulani	MDOLUBA, Sithembiso Sydney
MBONGGWA, Lillian Zodwa	MCAKALO, Zongelwa	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Jabulile Julia	MDUBO, Bazini Ivy Magambushie
MBONGGWA, Melusi	MCAMA, Mombeyana Benard	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Knowledge	MDUBUE, F
MBONGGWA, Ntokozo Joyce	MCAMBI, Gibson Songiseni	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Madoda Simon	MDUDUMA, Amos
MBONGGWA, Phumzile	MCAMBI, Hlaba Anna	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Madoda Simon	MDUDUZI, M
MBONGGWA, Sifiso	MCAMBI, Thulebona Andrias	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Madoda Simon	MDUMO, Thabile Milicent
MBONGGWA, Sihla	MCAMBI, Simon Mzwandile	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Mandlenkosi James	MDUNA, Nomahlubi Prisca
MBONGGWA, Sindiswa	MCAKALA, Daniwe Maggie	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Mashudu Sidumo	MDUNAWA, Gutsi William
MBONGGWA, Siphehle Bonginkosi (Maxwell Bhaqa)	MCANYANA, Ntombenhle Christina	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Mbasobheni	MDUNGE, Fe Patrick
MBONGGWA, Thamsanga	MCATA, Lawrence Mzwanda	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Mhlopeki Robert	MDUNGE, Jabu Roda
MBONGWE, Bongani Fasties	MCBRIDE, Derrick Robert	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Mngobeni	MDUNGE, Malungole
MBONGWE, Bonisiwe Constance	MCBRIDE, Derrick Robert	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Mngobeni	MDUNGE, Mantombi Pauline
MBONGWE, Emmanuel Bongani	MCBRIDE, Dorris Yvonne	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Nana	MDUNGE, Margaret
MBONGWE, Mzusa Eustace	MCCLUNE, Robert Edward	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Ngenzeni Lillian	MDUNGE, Mswenkosi Welcome
MBONGWE, Mzwandile	MCDONALD, Ian	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Nkeziwe Joyce	MDUNGE, Mthandeni Misheck
MBONGWE, Mzwandile	MCDONALD, Nonceba Mary	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Sibongile	MDUNGE, Mthandeni Misheck
MBONGWE, Thembekile Jemina	MCDONALD, Patrick Vusumzi	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Sibongile Candice	MDUNGE, Thandive Verah
MBONISWA, F	MCDONALD, Rhoda Agnes	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Sikhumbuzo Michael	MDUNGE, Thembenkosi Ernest
MBONISWA, Ntombxolo	MCEDI, Vincent Mpho	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Sipho Mzonjani	MDUNGE, Zitshile Thandazile
MBOTHO, Amos	MCELU, Morris Mzimkhulu	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Thamsanga Blessing	MDUNGWANA, Ntombemhlophe Precious
MBOTHO, Bhekezakhe Amos	MCEKWA, Dumiso	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Themba Deon	MDUNGWANE, Tefa Joseph
MBOTHO, Daphney	MCETYWA, Harriet Jabulile	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLALOSE, Tuku	MDUNJANA, Sizive Sylvia
MBOTHO, Dudu Princess	MCGILWA, Patric William	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLAMBUI, Thakatsana	MDUNYELWA, Bukubukwana
MBOTHO, Nyembani Mafolosi	MCHIZA, Fanekaya	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLAMBUI, Bambi	MDUNYELWE, Mholonlwe
MBOTHO, Rose Nombuluko	MCHOLWA, Mthingweva Lizethile	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLANGATHI, Mbalekelwa Thomas	MDUTSHANE, Thembele
MBOTHO, Thobekile Florence	MCHOLWA, Nkwanda	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLANGATHI, Thomas Mbalekelwa	MDUTSHANE, Thembele
Makanomsa	MCHUNU, Andrinah Malithi	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLANGU, Nomfaneleko Nobomvu Julian	MDVESA, Thozama Jennifer
MBOTHO, Vunina Tryphinah	MCHUNU, Baphindile	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLANKOMO, Ligwa Graham	MDYESHA, Thozamile Edward
MBOTHWE, Nomajaji Gladys	MCHUNU, Batembile	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOTWE, Sibusiso Jerome	MCHUNU, Bhekabakubo Joseph	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOTYA, Thembekile Edwin	MCHUNU, Bhekumusi Moses	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOVANE, Jackson	MCHUNU, Bhekumusi Phillip	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOVANE, Mandisa Faith	MCHUNU, Deli	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOVANE, Ntombizakhe Sylvia	MCHUNU, Dumisani Mbingelelwa	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOVANE, Ntombizakhe Vuyisile	MCHUNU, Elizabeth Ntombifuthi	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOVANE, Xolile Anthony	MCHUNU, Elsie	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOYA, Mthobeli Herold	MCHUNU, Felina	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOYA, Vuyisile John	MCHUNU, Goodwill Bheki	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOYANA, Mncedisi Barrington	MCHUNU, Hezekia	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOYANI, M P	MCHUNU, Jonathan Mlungiseni	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOYI, Collen Bhekizwe	MCHUNU, Joseph Mbona	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOYI, Zukisa Howard	MCHUNU, Khetheni Beauty	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOZA, Nomasa Cecilia	MCHUNU, Lindiwe Lilian	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBOZA, Sasiwe Ivy	MCHUNU, Lucky Robert	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBUBE, Ntazi	MCHUNU, Lungi Elizabeth	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBUKWANE, Fortune Duduzile	MCHUNU, Magaga Michael	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULU, Vukani Goodman	MCHUNU, Mandlakayise Elias	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULANA, Kanisile	MCHUNU, Margaret	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULAWA, Eugene Thokozani	MCHUNU, Matika Mabel	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULAWA, Ncikazi Emily	MCHUNU, Mngwenzi D	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULAWA, Nofayini Elsie	MCHUNU, Mthlisani Bernard	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULANI, Zizulele Reginald	MCHUNU, Michael Sipho	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULI, Boyise Innocent	MCHUNU, Mildred	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULI, Dumisani Makukula	MCHUNU, Miriam Bayabulile	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULI, Khanyisile	MCHUNU, Mndeni Christian	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULI, Mayenzeke Michael	MCHUNU, Moses	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULI, Mzwakhe Israel	MCHUNU, Moses	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULI, Nomasa	MCHUNU, Musawenkosi	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULI, Petros Mafika	MCHUNU, Mxolisi Joseph	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBULI, Simon Mbusomoni	MCHUNU, Mzikayise Zebilon	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBUNDU, Nceba Mxolisi	MCHUNU, Nathan	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBUNGE, Thami Stanford	MCHUNU, Ntabayakhe	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBUNGE, Zola Joseph	MCHUNU, Ndleleni	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBUNGELA, Thomas	MCHUNU, Nododo	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBUNGWA, Manthiwa Jeanet	MCHUNU, Nhlanhla Isiah Brian	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBUQE, Xolile Humphrey	MCHUNU, Nkosi Joel	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBUQE, Zwellitsha	MCHUNU, Ntombiwe (Ella)	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBUSI, Nomakhaya Patricia	MCHUNU, Ntombiwe (Ella)	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBUSI, Mafobela	MCHUNU, Ntombiwe (Ella)	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBUTHO, Cecilia Nompumelelo	MCHUNU, Ntombiwe (Ella)	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick
MBUTHO, Khulile Rejoice	MCHUNU, Ntombiwe (Ella)	MCHUNU, Thandive	MDLELENI, Keken Barnabas	MDYOGOLO, Mthandazile Patrick

MEMANI, Caroline Nanzive	MEFEA, Bonisile Dorothy	MGODUKA, Harry	MHLONGO, Buyelaphi Prudence	MHLONGO, Tobias Bhekithemba
MEMANI, Lennox Themba Kokinana	MEFEA, Busisive Constance	MGODUKA, Mbambalala Glen	MHLONGO, Christina	MHLONGO, Vincent Mhlophe
MEMANI, Mzengi Griffiths	MEFEA, Dasi Gertrude	MGODUSO, Dinimvuca	MHLONGO, Cullen Sifiso	MHLONGO, Vusumuzi
MEMANI, Peggy Nontuthuzelo Suzie	MEFEA, Gladys Kathazile	MGODUSO, Vivian Nomhle	MHLONGO, Cynthia Nkosingiphile	MHLONGO, Zakhole
MEMANI, Sebentzile Oliver	MEFEA, Gugwelihe Cynthia Gugu	MGOGDLO, Vuliwe Willie	MHLONGO, David Ntewu	MHLONGO, Zandile
MEMANI, Toti James	MEFEA, Hlalawazi Alois	MGOGDLO, Vumile Amos	MHLONGO, Derrick Mduduzi	MHLONGO, Zenzeleni Doris
MEMANI, Zenzile William	MEFEA, Khombisile Annah	MGOGU, Nonceba	MHLONGO, Dokotela Dokter	MHLONGO, Zibusie Eric
MEMELA, Bernard Jabulani	MEFEA, Londwe Audrey	MGOLOMBANA, Msondezi Isaac	MHLONGO, Dombi Josephina	MHLONYANA, Nomalanga Martha
MEMELA, Bhekani Nelson	MEFEA, Mxolisi Jethro	MGOMEZULU, Sipo	MHLONGO, Dominic	MHLUNGU (MAGUBANE), Jabulise
MEMELA, Castina Sitokulu	MEFEA, Nonhlanhla Goodness	MGONA, David Velele Rues	MHLONGO, Effie	Tryphina
MEMELA, Christophora	MEFEA, Ntombiyemali	MGOOI, Ncedo Paul	MHLONGO, Elizabeth	MHLUNGU, Alton Siphiwe
MEMELA, Daniel Mthungathi	MEFEA, Siphiwe Aubrey	MGQZA, Albert	MHLONGO, Elsie	MHLUNGU, Bekinlanhla Jerome
MEMELA, Helen Lindwe	MEFEA, Siyabonga Innocent	MGABUZANA, Sonwabo	MHLONGO, Emma Mcane	MHLUNGU, Khayelithe
MEMELA, Lucy Nomajamane	MEFEA, Tembikile Kobozi	MGQIBISA (MATHEWS), Mantoni	MHLONGO, Enock Manlenkosi	MHLUNGU, Sabela Smorden
MEMELA, Madoti	MEFEA, Tembani	Mathews	MHLONGO, Fikile Mirriam	MHLUNGU, Sibusiso Ntokozo
MEMELA, Mkhethwa Christopher	MEFEA, Thandekile	MGOLOZANA, Siphiwe	MHLONGO, Fikiswe Sibongile	MHLUNGU, Tryphina
MEMELA, Mkw	MEFEA, Thikabonwa	MGOSINI, Fani David	MHLONGO, Filda Mankanza	MHLWAZI, Bonisive Beauty
MEMELA, Nomathemba Maria	MEFEA, Thobekile Margaret	MGQUBA, Zola	MHLONGO, Gabisile Tolakele	MHLOI, David
MEMELA, Ntombikayise Sylvia	MEFEA, Zandile Precious	MGQWANGI, Gasto Amon	MHLONGO, Gazo Amon	MIAS, Konu Liza
MEMELA, Simo	MEFEA, Zintombi Pumzile	MGUBANE, Peter	MHLONGO, Gettie Mtholozisi	MICALLEF, Stanley Charles Henry
MEMELA, Thabani Brian	MEFEKETHO, Isaac Dumile	MGUBASI, Lulamile Andrew Mziwanelo	MHLONGO, Godfrey Vusi	Anthony Xavier Car
MEMELA, Thabani Patrick	MFENE, Thulisile Cynthia	MGULWA, Marelana Horance	MHLONGO, Grace	MICHAEL, Mzolisio Johannes
MEMELA, Thandi Cecilia	MFENE, Zakhele Mlungisi Edward	MGUNGU, Papani John	MHLONGO, Gugu Saraphina Miryam	MIDDLETON, Edmund Charles
MEMELA, Thandi Ernestina	MFENGU, Titimani Frank	MGUNI, Magcata	MHLONGO, Happy	MIDDLETON, Jean
MEMELA, Thembisile Goodness	MFENGE, Monde Ben	MGUNI, Skhumbuzo	MHLONGO, Isaac Neleri	MIGELS, Mzwandile Verenus
MEMELA, Vusumuzi Lawrence	MFENYANA, Ntombi Johanna	MGUZE, Mduduzi Raphael	MHLONGO, Johannes	MIGGELS, Bonisile Stephanus
MEMELA, Wilson Bambezakhe	MFENYANE, Zacharia Zwelakhe	MGWABA, Bernard	MHLONGO, Johnie	MIHURA, Michael
MEMELA, Zwoda Constance	MFETE, Mametja Selina	MGWABA, Bheki	MHLONGO, Joseph Mithwa	MILANZI, Newton Neverdie
MEMELA, Zwakhe Mdunywisa	MFETI, Phindile	MGWABA, Daniel	MHLONGO, Joseph Mithwa	MILE, Keneloe Mirriam
MEMEZA, George Siphiwe	MFETWA, Mtukenzi	MGWABA, Ndoda Mthembenisi	MHLONGO, Kege Mandlenkosi	MILE, Mottadi Philip
MEMEZA, Zwellidiane Jackson	MFGWANA, Bambilaphi	MGWABA, Richard	MHLONGO, Khulekani Derrick	MILES, Donald Walter
MENATSI, Richard	MFINGWANA, Maju Elias	MGWABA, Vusumuzi Howard	MHLONGO, Khumbulani Sydney	MILES, E. N.
MENDELE, Nowanathi Patricia	MFO, Mcebisi	MGWABA, Zelfred Xolani	MHLONGO, Mahelane Mswenkosi	MILLER, Nomawabo Freda
MENDU, Alison Fikile	MFQBO, Makhenkwake Gokula	MGWADLENI, Eitel Gebisile	MHLONGO, Maitlasela Paul	MIMI, Mankankala Nelsa
MENDU, Mbiyiyana	MFOLZOI, Zoleka	MGWANGOA, Lloyd Phuphu	MHLONGO, Mamiti Fakazile	MINDULLA, Raisibe Francina
MENDU, Ntombile Margaret	MFONO, Masibongwe Kenneth	MGWAXELA, Petrus Boy	MHLONGO, Mandla	MINERS, Eddie
MENDU, Xolani Christian	MFUDI, Jeremia	MGWEBA, Thembekile Moses	MHLONGO, Mandla Emmanuel Masinga	MINI, Noluthando Doreen
MENE, Jongile	MFUKENI, Tokozani Elfrieda	MGWEBA, Viege	MHLONGO, Mandlenkosi	MINI, Nombuyiselo Jane
MENE, Julian Lansa	MFUKO, Msoo Daniel	MGWEJE, Goodman Nceba	MHLONGO, Martin	MINI, Nomkhosi
MENE, Thembele Reginald	MFUKU, Clarence Vusumzi	MGWENGWE, David Mbongeni	MHLONGO, Mbuso	MINI, Vuyisile
MENGQANE, Lindile Johnson	MFULENI, Vuyisile Bethwell Boy	MGWENYA, Sipo Lucky	MHLONGO, Mdali	MINNYANE, Nomasonto Mirriam
MENGQANE, Mzunanani	MFUNDISI, Bafana Martin	MGXOBANE, Vuyani Vincent	MHLONGO, Mduduzi	MINTJE, Mathews Otto
MENTILE, Daniel Wandile Lennox	MFUNDISI, Mpumelelo Spikere	MHALANGU, Maria	MHLONGO, Mduduzi Concert	MINTZ, Sarah
MENTILE, Luvuyo Christopher	MFUNTANE, Mhlazwa	MHAULE, Mayeza Peter	MHLONGO, Mdimisani	MIRAGE, Emily
MENTOOR, Edward Ntsikelelo	MFUNZANA, Mpumelelo Goodman	MHAYA, Dalwonga Notote	MHLONGO, Mdimisani	MIRANDA, Michael
MENTOOR, Sylvester	MFUTWANA, Wilberforce Vuyo	MHKIZE, Alson Bhekisigcino	MHLONGO, Mduduzi	MIRION, Mark Craig
MENYATSI, Tamsana Alfred	MFUYWA, Mtholeni Msolobhana	MHKIZE, Sipo Douglas	MHLONGO, Meshack	MISHOMBO, Ben
MENYATSO, Bullboy Johannes	MFUYWA, Sigwebo	MHLABA, Andries	MHLONGO, Meshack Richard	MITCHELL, Lesley
MENYATSO, Kenneth	MGABI, Monwabisi Atwell Joseph	MHLABA, Emmanuel Denteagni	MHLONGO, Mkhalseni	MITCHLEY, Norman
MENZE, Kenese Andrew	MGABI, Sandile Henry	MHLABA, Mlungiseleli	MHLONGO, Mkhalseni	MITCHLEY, Sandra
MENZE, Makhwazana	MGADI, Donald	MHLABA, Sqogo William	MHLONGO, Mlotlan	MITCHELL, Shaun
MENZE, Mkhululi Hoshman	MGADI, Dubelani Agnes	MHLABA, Thozama Millicent	MHLONGO, Mshayeni	MIVA, Bongamusa
MENZE, Zukile Mopedi	MGADI, Isaac	MHLABANE, Thoko Lindiwe	MHLONGO, Mtenete	MIVA, Dibhizila Gesta
MENZI, Edward Gugwana	MGADI, Makhelwane	MHLABUTHI, Pretty	MHLONGO, Mthinteni Alois	MIVA, Jabulani Godfrey
MENZI, Nokhaya Mina	MGADI, Musawenkosi	MHLAHELE, Simpwe Jerome	MHLONGO, Mantyethu Mphumuze	MIVA, Mamthemba Pumzile
MENZI, Osmen	MGAGA (JOKAZI), Vuyelwa Debra	MHLAKAZA, Fuzile Felias	MHLONGO, Muntu Nqenamuzi	MIVA, Mbhekiswana Ephraim
MENZIWA, Gwebinkundla	MGAGA, Abel Sipo	MHLAMBI, Muziwabantu Prince	MHLONGO, Nathi	MIVA, Mbusiso
MEQABUDI, M.	MGAGA, Thamsanqa	MHLAMBI, Samson Lucky	MHLONGO, Nodokayise Ohovana	MIVA, Mduduzi Aubrey
MERAER, Baile Piet	MGALI, Matenza	MHLAMBISO, Charles	MHLONGO, Ngenzisi	MIVA, Mlungisi
MESHEKI, Nono	MGANDELA, Golden	MHLANA, Mskileli Cornelius	MHLONGO, Nicholas	MIVA, Mpotsane Albert
MESO, Ngoko Joseph	MGANDELA, Thulani Christopher	MHLANGE, Amos Happy	MHLONGO, Nlekezi	MIVA, Msolwa
MESOKO, Thandi Merriam	MGATSHI, Bulelani Sivuyile	MHLANGA, Andries Velaphi	MHLONGO, Nohwagela Thokozile	MIVA, Mthokozisi Johan
METELE, Alfred Toto	MGCEKWA, Motsamai Samuel	MHLANGA, Bafana Johannes	MHLONGO, Nokukhanya Brightness	MIVA, Phillip
METELE, Florida Thembeke	MGCIWA, Benjamin Zilwa	MHLANGA, Brady Sipo	MHLONGO, Nokuthula Gladness	MIVA, Qatisa Alfred
METHULA, Jan	MGCIWA, J.	MHLANGA, Cornelius	MHLONGO, Nokuthemba Grace	MIVA, Simiso Edmund
METHULE, Mfanisibili Jack	MGCIWA, John Hlupekile	MHLANGA, Derrick	MHLONGO, Nomyngano Mahwanga	MIVA, Sithembo Robert
METLAE, Moses	MGCIWA, Lukhile Joseph	MHLANGA, Elizabeth Mduduzi	MHLONGO, Nompumelelo Depheny	MIVA, Sokela
METROVICH, Ivon	MGCIWA, Mpho Julia	MHLANGA, Elmon Mphamba	MHLONGO, Nompumelelo Depheny	MIVA, Themba Selby
METROWICH, Patricia Janet	MGCIWA, Unknown	MHLANGA, Johannes Mfanethu	MHLONGO, Nompumelelo Depheny	MIVA, Thulani
METSHE, Patrick Motsamai	MGCIWANE, Nosebenzile	MHLANGA, Jongilizwe Thanduxolo	MHLONGO, Ntongile	MIVA, Thulani Patric
METSING, Thabo Abraham	MGCIWANE, Nosebenzile	MHLANGA, Makambeni Levit	MHLONGO, Ngqashy	MIVEN, Cypryan Majamu
METSWEMERE, Sello Jacob	MGCIWANE, Mzimkhulu	MHLANGA, Makelane Samuel	MHLONGO, Ntombi	MIVA, Mthetheli Devillers
MEYER, Adriana Johanna Christina	MGEDI, Ephraim Mbongeni	MHLANGA, Marie Thembisile	MHLONGO, Ntombinani	MIZA, Nicholas Mziwanga
MEYER, Clement	MGEDI, Mandla	MHLANGA, Mbululo Anderson	MHLONGO, Ntombini Esina	MIZA, Nkosiyo Christopher
MEYER, J. A. C.	MGENG, Fayedwa	MHLANGA, Moses	MHLONGO, Ntomula	MJACU, Jackson
MEYER, Johannes	MGENG, Grace Tholani	MHLANGA, Njabulo	MHLONGO, Patrick	MJACU, Sandile Joseph
MEYER, Leon Lionel	MGENG, Lindiwe Dorah	MHLANGA, Ntombikile Eunice	MHLONGO, Phillip	MJADA, Noti
MEYER, Susarah Isabella	MGENG, Mama Nellie	MHLANGA, Tsunana Jonas	MHLONGO, Phindile Lephinah	MJADA, Yibanathi Michael
MEYERS, Donne	MGENG, Ntombentsha Tiny	MHLANGA, Zingisile Kidwell	MHLONGO, Precious Themba	MJADU, Lindinkosi Happy
MEYERS, Michael	MGEOANE, Vutane Patrick	MHLANGENI, Oscar Amos	MHLONGO, Prince Ncuncu	MJADU, Nhlanihla Kenneth
MEYI, Johannes Mpiyakhe	MGEXO, Gcinintetho	MHLANGENYAMA, Thembaletu	MHLONGO, Robert	MJADU, Nokwethemba Ntombizakhona
MEYIWA, Bahlakaniphile	MGIBANTAKA, Patrick	MHLANGU, Tynwadi	MHLONGO, Samuel	MJAJA, Venene Mayvis
MEYIWA, Bezile	MGIDI, Abie Soyobi	MHLANTI, Bhekisisa	MHLONGO, Sgongile Ngenisile	MJAJI, Mlungisi Shadrack
MEYIWA, Bhekizwe Million	MGIDI, Adam Boy	MHLAULI, Sicelo	MHLONGO, Selby Mbusiso	MJALI, Oupa Gert
MEYIWA, Constance Zethu	MGIDI, Given	MHLAWULI, Mncedisi Edward	MHLONGO, Saralo Rebecca	MJANDANA, Mamtu
MEYIWA, Dumangene	MGIDI, Jabulani Petros	MHLAWULI, Ncwase Rosey	MHLONGO, Sibusiso Sicelle	MJANYELA, Mncoco
MEYIWA, Fortune Frank Sipo Sandile	MGIDI, Jeffrey Lucas	MHLAWULI, Zibele	MHLONGO, Siculo	MJANYELA, Jackson
MEYIWA, Khombiseni Ntombiyenkosi	MGIDI, Patrick	MHLOLA, Thembani Stanford	MHLONGO, Siculo	MJETHU, Harold Vuyo
MEYIWA, Lamephi Ntombini	MGIDINGO, Leonard	MHLULLA, Mbuliso	MHLONGO, Sipo	MJIJWA, Nimrod Monde
MEYIWA, Mphiwa	MGIDLANA, Melusi	MHLONGO, Adelete	MHLONGO, Sithembo	MJIKELD, July Xwele
MEYIWA, Mzokhetwayo Mcindezela	MGINYWA, Bgiboy Mgcini	MHLONGO, Albertina Totana	MHLONGO, Siza Cyril	MJILA, Nxolo Lindelwa
MEYIWA, Soleni	MGOBHOZI, Busisive Blossom	MHLONGO, Alfred Dabulizwe	MHLONGO, Sizi Catherine	MJILLO, Jumaina
MEYIWA, Zakhona Saraphina	MGOBHOZI, Dumisani Erick	MHLONGO, Anthony Bhoi	MHLONGO, Soli Solomon	MJIVU, Sizwe Witness
MEYJES, Hettie	MGOBHOZI, Lesa	MHLONGO, Ben	MHLONGO, Soto Gladys	MJOBBO, Zandisile Zenith
MEYJES, Martin	MGOBHOZI, Magedlase Ngoneni	MHLONGO, Bheki Richard	MHLONGO, Thandekaya Eric	MJOBBO, Enoch
MFABANA, Nozipho Mabel	MGOBHOZI, Tobias Dumisani	MHLONGO, Bhekinkosi Armstrong	MHLONGO, Themba	MJOKA, Maddoda Lewis
MFACO, Nondumiso Dorothy	MGOBHOZI, Mxolisi	MHLONGO, Bhekisisa Hubert	MHLONGO, Themba Godfrey	MJOKA, Nontobeko Lorraine
MFANEKISO, Ashwell Silva	MGOBHOZI, Mxolisi Sithole Victor	MHLONGO, Bhekokwakhe Richard	MHLONGO, Thembekile	MJOKA, Sylvia Baphindile
MFAXA, Mputza	MGOBHOZI, Sifanelo	MHLONGO, Bitsene Amos	MHLONGO, Thembekile Ntombiso	MJOLA, Nonhlanhla
MFAYELA, Theminkosi Christopher	MGOBHOZI, Busisive Lethiwe	MHLONGO, Bongani Vincent	MHLONGO, Theminkosi Christopher	MJOLI, Bhoko July
MFAYEZA, Diliza Mayford	MGOBHOZI, Khizana	MHLONGO, Bongani Zwelethu	MHLONGO, Theminkosi Joy	MJOLI, Nkosiinathi Musa
MFAYEZA, Mkhonto Kingsworth	MGOBHOZI, Luvuyo Angelus	MHLONGO, Bongokile Patience	MHLONGO, Theminkosi Joy	MJOLI, Nomabisi Esther
MFAYEZA, Thamsanqa Meshack	MGOBHOZI, Nomakhosi Magret	MHLONGO, Boyi Abednigo	MHLONGO, Thokozisa Happiness	MJOLI, Nombuyiselo Alzina
MFAYEZA, Toto Alex	MGOBHOZI, Qwagweni	MHLONGO, Brenda	MHLONGO, Thokozani Richard	MJOLI, Ntsikelelo Eric
MFCANE, Fumekile Wycliff	MGOBHOZI, Thabani Robert	MHLONGO, Busisive Ernestine	MHLONGO, Thokalele Dorah	MJOMO
MFCANE, Sebentzile	MGODELI, Mqabisi Tallman	MHLONGO, Buyaphi	MHLONGO, Tri	MJUZA, Xolile

MJWAHA, Nicholas Xolani Gwando	MKHIZE, Busi Mildred	MKHIZE, Nhlanhla	MKHIZE, Zwe Runneth	MKIZE, Mandlenkosi Dominic
MJWARA, Bazen Agnecia	MKHIZE, Busisiwe	MKHIZE, Nicolas	MKHIZE-MPANZA, Gcinaphi Elizabeth	MKIZE, Muzikayise
MJWARA, Gertrude	MKHIZE, Busisiwe Grace	MKHIZE, Nkosinathi Lenos	MKHIZE-PHOSWA, Vumelani Alvinah	MKIZE, Nkohluleka
MJWARA, Linda Vivian	MKHIZE, Busisiwe Gugu Daphne	MKHIZE, Nkosingiphile Sydney	MKHOKELI, Makhwenkwe	MKIZE, Piet
MJWARA, Thobile Beauty	MKHIZE, Caslina	MKHIZE, Nobuhle Dorothy	MKHOLD, France Z	MKIZE, Primrose Duduzile
MJWARA, Vincent Thulani	MKHIZE, Catherine Hlamkile	MKHIZE, Nokusuka Irene	MKHOLD, Sifiso R	MKIZE, Thulasizwe Cyprian
MK BROWN,	MKHIZE, Collin Cecil Bhekumuzi	MKHIZE, Nokuthula Lungile	MKHONDE, Jabulani Benjamin	MKIZE, Thulebona
MKABALASA, Silumko Leonard	MKHIZE, Conrad N	MKHIZE, Nonnikelo Thembisile	MKHONDWANE, Wilson Mpumelelo	MKIZE, William M
MKABELA, Hendrik Fani	MKHIZE, Duduzile Winnie	MKHIZE, Nonpumelelo	MKHONDWENI, Mzinzi	MKIZE, Zantombi Francisca
MKABELA, Moss	MKHIZE, Dumazile Florah	MKHIZE, Nomsa	MKHONTA, Phillip	MKIZE, Zipate
MKABINDE, Nathi	MKHIZE, Dumezweni Jeffrey	MKHIZE, Nomzinto Esther	MKHONTO, Mukhehli Edward	MKIZWANA, Wilberforce Sandile
MKAUF, Msutu	MKHIZE, Dwa Olive	MKHIZE, Nonhlanhla Florence	MKHONTO, Sparrow	MKOBOSHE, Mteteli Kingwell
MKALPI, Ntombomzi Pretty	MKHIZE, Dwana Michaelina	MKHIZE, Nontombi Daisy	MKHONZA, Amon	MKOMANE, George
MKALPI, Stella Zelfa	MKHIZE, Edgar Sandile	MKHIZE, Norah	MKHONZA, Bafana Andrew	MKOMAZI, Senyegile Monica
MKAMBA, Boby	MKHIZE, Elinah	MKHIZE, Ntandzu Sithelwe	MKHONZA, Bomvana Tryphina	MKONDE, Samali Janet Mavezi
MKAMBA, Thandiwe Primrose	MKHIZE, Emma	MKHIZE, Ntsekezi Pearl	MKHONZA, Christopher Mpanukhona	MKONDE, Goodman Masegeng
MKAMBULU, Dinkile Lilian	MKHIZE, Emmanuel Bonga	MKHIZE, Ntokozo Make-Peace	MKHONZA, Fakazi Birthwell	MKONKO, Ntombekhaya Brenda
MKAMBULE, Thomas Shortie	MKHIZE, Emmanuel Zweithini	MKHIZE, Ntombenhle Nonthandazo	MKHONZA, Joshua David	MKONTO, Sparrow
MKANYISWA, Nontamtheba Gertrude	MKHIZE, Ephraim	MKHIZE, Ntombifike Finest	MKHONZA, Lungisani Justice	MKONYENI, Ntofana Elger
MKATALI, Bukwana	MKHIZE, Ernest Mandlenkosi	MKHIZE, Ntombikayise Elizabeth	MKHONZA, Sibusiso	MKROLA, Nontsikelele Mavis
MKATATSWA, Bennet Madala	MKHIZE, Euclide Muzi	MKHIZE, Ntombinjani Tryphina	MKHULISE, Eugenia Fisan	MKROLA, Patience
MKAZA, Fikile Kenneth	MKHIZE, Family	MKHIZE, Ntuzana Miriam	MKHULISE, Kebi Amos	MKULISI, Nomsbi Elizabeth
MKEFE, Luthaba Nimrod	MKHIZE, Fanana Sixtus	MKHIZE, Nkume Marriet	MKHULISE, MKhehlezi Mthobisi	MKUMATELA, Nako Likhanyile
MKEFE, Nowandile Gladys	MKHIZE, Fano	MKHIZE, Nyasa	MKHULISE, Phindile	MKUSANE, Thembekile John
MKEFE, Vuyiswa Adelaide	MKHIZE, Fihliwe Viera	MKHIZE, Nyosi Mvikelwa	MKHULISI, Sbonile Ritta	MKWANAZI,
MKELENI, Pshesheya Johnson	MKHIZE, Fikelephi	MKHIZE, Obad Sibongiseni	MKHUNGO, Agrippa Themba	MKWANAZI, Alinah Matseliso
Gongwane	MKHIZE, Fikile Crezencia	MKHIZE, Oleria Duduzile	MKHUNGO, Bantu Wellington	MKWANAZI, Colin
MKETI, Irvin Vuyisile	MKHIZE, Flora Bazibile	MKHIZE, Papa Steven	MKHUNGO, Ishmail Fafaza	MKWANAZI, George Mkwana
MKETI, Ntsikelelo Michael	MKHIZE, Florence Fisan	MKHIZE, Patrick	MKHUNGO, Mandlakhe Beauk	MKWANAZI, Henrick Mndakhe
MKETI, Rex Meyisi	MKHIZE, George Sipho	MKHIZE, Paulos Ngweyonyke	MKHUNGO, Mantombi Agnes	MKWANAZI, Mfana Simeon
MKETI, Sophia Nomahubi	MKHIZE, Gladness Ganile	MKHIZE, Phikisive Nyezile	MKHUNGO, Mfana Moses	MKWANAZI, Paulos Serame
MKETI, Trevor Xola Raymond Mvelase	MKHIZE, Gqizo Ntombeziningi	MKHIZE, Phumuzile Irene	MKHUNGO, Mthakathiswa	MKWANAZI, Ohikiza Joyce
MKETI, Valencia Tembisa	MKHIZE, Gqokoleni Mpompo	MKHIZE, Procsia Byisile	MKHUNGO, Shonela Samson	MKWANAZI, Tenjiwe Evelyn
MKABELA, Bongani William	MKHIZE, Gugu Rita	MKHIZE, Puzile Jane	MKHUNGO, Sikeleli Aary	MKWANAZI, Vincent
MKABELA, Joseph	MKHIZE, Happy-Giri Thandazile Vernon	MKHIZE, Raymond Ntokozo	MKHUNGO, Soliwe Catherine	MKWENA, Elijah Mbalekwa
MKABELA, Mandla Metro	MKHIZE, Henry Nkenke	MKHIZE, Richard Mduduzi	Madlamini	MLABA, Albert
MKABELA, Mpaniseni Godfrey	MKHIZE, Hlekisile Paulina	MKHIZE, Rose	MKHUNGO, Vincent Vela	MLABA, Anna Goneni
MKABELA, Sizwe	MKHIZE, Innocent Nhlanhla	MKHIZE, Samson Mzikayise	MKHUNGO, Yumani Maxwell	MLABA, Buti George
MKABELA, Thembelihle Constance	MKHIZE, Irene Nokusuka	MKHIZE, Sarah	MKHUNGO, Zitha Hary	MLABA, Dingizwe Absalom
MKABELA, Wallace	MKHIZE, Jabu Rose	MKHIZE, Sarah Nelisiwe	MKHUNGU, Nozimodo Viola	MLABA, Eric Fanavele
MKABILE, Mzikhaya Dekstad	MKHIZE, Jabulani Edwin	MKHIZE, Sarahine	MKHUNGWANA, Nyameko	MLABA, Kwenzakwakhe Elijah
MKHALANI, Nontetho Meslinah	MKHIZE, Japhet	MKHIZE, Sebenzile Cathrine	MKHUNYA, Balungile Fortunate	MLABA, Mathombi Mbalekwa
MKHALIPHI, Sizani Agnes	MKHIZE, Johannes Makhosemba	MKHIZE, Selby Khehla	MKWANAZI, Amon Bheki	MLABA, Mbosha Haim
MKHALIPHI, Theophilus Maphilisi	MKHIZE, Jovita Qondeni	MKHIZE, Sellina Regina	MKWANAZI, Aslina	MLABA, Moya Joseph
MKHANAZI, Thandazile Evvy	MKHIZE, Joyce Nonthandazo	MKHIZE, Sibusiso	MKWANAZI, Bancamile Mirriam	MLABA, Msinga Petros
MKHANISE, Mzungewza	MKHIZE, Juanna	MKHIZE, Sibusiso Qhubeka	MKWANAZI, Bhekayana Raymond	MLABA, Muziwabantu Edward
MKHASIBE, Petros Sibonelo	MKHIZE, Julius	MKHIZE, Sidumo Vincent	MKWANAZI, Bhekiswe	MLABA, Nhlanhla David
MKHASIBE, Thomas Muzi	MKHIZE, Justice Sipho Mxhegu	MKHIZE, Sifiso Baba Conwell	MKWANAZI, Bonginkosi Lucky	MLABA, Nicholas Mphiva
MKHATHINI, Joe Zephred	MKHIZE, Kenilworth Solomuzi Ronald	MKHIZE, Simphiwe Dennis	MKWANAZI, David Mziwakhe	MLABA, Sindi
MKHATHISWA, Linah	MKHIZE, Khanyisile	MKHIZE, Sipho Bheki	MKWANAZI, David Thamsanqa	MLABA, Sipho Lindelanjani
MKHATHIWA, Engelinah	MKHIZE, Khanyisile Mavis	MKHIZE, Sipho Jen	MKWANAZI, Dikisani Elizabeth	MLABA, Thulani
MKHATSHA, Veleleli Enoch	MKHIZE, Khehla Lucas	MKHIZE, Sipho Joel	MKWANAZI, Elizabeth Yumile	MLABE, Bevelile Eunice
MKHATSHWA, Adam	MKHIZE, Khehla Mashikashika	MKHIZE, Sipho Nicholas	MKWANAZI, Emily Nomvula	MLAHLEKI, Nokuzola
MKHATSHWA, Moses	MKHIZE, Khengane Edmund	MKHIZE, Sipho Wildrod	MKWANAZI, Emmanuel	MLAKALAKA, Nomvuyiso
MKHATSHWA, Smangalis	MKHIZE, Khethekile Vinah	MKHIZE, Sighezema Nicholas	MKWANAZI, Enock	MLALA, Fickson
MKHATSHWA, Tryphinah	MKHIZE, Khiphabanye Jerome	MKHIZE, Sixtus Fanana	MKWANAZI, Fikile Promise	MLAMBO, Beauty Thulisile
MKHATSHWA, Vitah Nakiwe	MKHIZE, Xosi Dora	MKHIZE, Siyabonga Shadrack	MKWANAZI, Grace	MLAMBO, Bernard Sikhumbuzo
MKHATSWA, Bokweni Bethuel	MKHIZE, Kulumile Teresa	MKHIZE, Snenhlanhla	MKWANAZI, Janet Ndala	MLAMBO, Bheki Emmanuel
MKHATSWA, December	MKHIZE, Kwazikwakhe Maqujela	MKHIZE, Stanley Harrison	MKWANAZI, John Muzikayise	MLAMBO, Cyril
MKHATSWA, Jonathan	MKHIZE, Lekaleta Ronald	MKHIZE, Steden	MKWANAZI, Joseph Mcabango	MLAMBO, Doda Laymon
MKHEFE, Ntombentsha Winnifred	MKHIZE, Lindeni Dorah	MKHIZE, Stembiso Mavice	MKWANAZI, Joseph Ngemane	MLAMBO, Ernest Themba
MKHELE, Jabulane	MKHIZE, Linus	MKHIZE, Sylvia Ntombenjani	MKWANAZI, Kateleni Irene	MLAMBO, Gabali
MKHESENG, Willbeloved Xakekile	MKHIZE, Lucky Nhlanhla	MKHIZE, Teaspoon	MKWANAZI, Linah Nonatjie	MLAMBO, Gloria Gcinokuhle
MKHETHWA, Marhoborhobo	MKHIZE, Lungisani	MKHIZE, Thamsanqa	MKWANAZI, Lindiwe Princess	MLAMBO, Jabulani Sibusiso
MKHETSHANE, Funani	MKHIZE, Madoda	MKHIZE, Thandi Cynthia	MKWANAZI, Mazu Nicholas	MLAMBO, Luke Govan
MKHETSHANE, Nopasile	MKHIZE, Magwegwe Wilson	MKHIZE, Theminkosi Conrad	MKWANAZI, Mfaleli Eliam	MLAMBO, Mabelida Christopher
MKHIMISHE,	MKHIZE, Makhosandile Solomon	MKHIZE, Theminkosi Raphael	MKWANAZI, Michael Jabulani	MLAMBO, Mackson Isaiah
MKHIWANE, Michael	MKHIZE, Mandla	MKHIZE, Thenjiwe Gertrude	MKWANAZI, Mlungisi Maichus	MLAMBO, Mandla
MKHIZE, Abadngi	MKHIZE, Mandla	MKHIZE, Thilumu Tryphina	MKWANAZI, Msoleni Enoch	MLAMBO, Mngijeni
MKHIZE, Abadngi Mbhekiseni	MKHIZE, Mandla Nicholas	MKHIZE, Thobekile Gladys	MKWANAZI, Muzizi Jeffrey	MLAMBO, Mkhalekani
MKHIZE, Agnes Ntombizonke	MKHIZE, Mandlakayise Samson	MKHIZE, Thoko	MKWANAZI, Mzweba Bethwell	MLAMBO, Muziwakhe Derrick
MKHIZE, Alfred Bheki	MKHIZE, Mandlekosi Paul	MKHIZE, Thokozani	MKWANAZI, Ncifo	MLAMBO, Ntombeni Willie
MKHIZE, Alfred Zolile	MKHIZE, Mandlindoda Albert	MKHIZE, Tholakele Margaret	MKWANAZI, Ndani	MLAMBO, Phillip Johnson
MKHIZE, Alzina Them bani	MKHIZE, Margaret	MKHIZE, Thulani	MKWANAZI, Nokuthula Khuluwe	MLAMBO, Phivayinkosi Mpiro Sibusiso
MKHIZE, Ambrose	MKHIZE, Mashingane	MKHIZE, Thulani	MKWANAZI, Nolwazi	MLAMBO, Pukupe
MKHIZE, Amos Bhekisizwe	MKHIZE, Maureen	MKHIZE, Thulani Derrick	MKWANAZI, Nombulelo Freida	MLAMBO, Tezane Norah
MKHIZE, Andile Siduduzo Sikhumbuzo	MKHIZE, Maxwell Jabulani	MKHIZE, Thulani Michael	MKWANAZI, Phetiso Jeffrey	MLAMBO, Themba
MKHIZE, Angelina Khuluza	MKHIZE, Mbali	MKHIZE, Thulani Pani	MKWANAZI, Philiangani Margaret	MLAMBO, Zibeke
MKHIZE, Badelise Pretty Theodora	MKHIZE, Mbangomuni Raphael	MKHIZE, Thulani Simon	MKWANAZI, Sam Simon	MLAMBO-THABETHE, Charles
MKHIZE, Bafikile Alter	MKHIZE, Mbhekeni	MKHIZE, Thuledu Frieda	MKWANAZI, Sbonelo	MLAMLA, Mteteli
MKHIZE, Bafunani	MKHIZE, Mboniseni Petros	MKHIZE, Timothy Thulubheke	MKWANAZI, Sindisive Regina	LAMLU, Petukile John
MKHIZE, Bavumile	MKHIZE, Mduduzi Cecil	MKHIZE, Tiniza Petros	MKWANAZI, Sipho Bhekinkosi	MLANDELI, Moses Matsotso
MKHIZE, Beauty Ntombizodwa	MKHIZE, Mduduzi Madoda	MKHIZE, Trial Bongani	MKWANAZI, Sizwe	MLANDELWA, Sijumba
MKHIZE, Bernard Ben	MKHIZE, Mdumazeni	MKHIZE, Vivian Zweihle	MKWANAZI, Thamsanqa Knowledge	MLANGA, David Mfana
MKHIZE, Bhekamakhize Linos	MKHIZE, Mhlomi	MKHIZE, Vuye Elliot	MKWANAZI, Thokozile Priscilla	MLANGA, Thozamile
MKHIZE, Bheki	MKHIZE, Michael	MKHIZE, Vusumuzi Welcome	MKWANAZI, Thoti Francisca	MLANGENI, Agatha
MKHIZE, Bheki Petros	MKHIZE, Michael Mandla	MKHIZE, Welcome Theminkosi	MKWANAZI, Thulani Boy	MLANGENI, Bhekizwe Godfrey
MKHIZE, Bhekithemba Bridgeman	MKHIZE, Michael Mboniseni	MKHIZE, William Spho	MKWANAZI, Thesepang Haward	MLANGENI, Catherine Mamosali
MKHIZE, Bhekizenzo Bongani	MKHIZE, Michael Mfungeneni	MKHIZE, Wiseman	MKWANAZI, Velenkosi	MLANGENI, Elias
MKHIZE, Bhekizenzo Thulani	MKHIZE, Mlungisi	MKHIZE, Zakhele	MKWANAZI, Vincent	MLANGENI, John
MKHIZE, Bhekizitha	MKHIZE, Moses Bhekolkwakhe Khohlozi	MKHIZE, Zakhele Wiseman	MKWANAZI, Zakhele Zacharia	MLANGENI, John Pipana
MKHIZE, Bhekukufa	MKHIZE, Moses Bonginkosi	MKHIZE, Zamsile Boniwe	MKWANAZI, Zamekile Audrey	MLANGENI, Khobonina Maria
MKHIZE, Bhoi Patrick	MKHIZE, Moqoi Maxwell	MKHIZE, Zandile	MKWANAZI, Zanele Pretty	MLANGENI, Mandlenkosi Simon
MKHIZE, Bhumu Sipho	MKHIZE, Msawenkosi	MKHIZE, Zanele Gladys	MKWANE, Zicelele	MLANGENI, Mbopha
MKHIZE, Bonakele Christina	MKHIZE, Muntu	MKHIZE, Zanele Maria	MKWANE, Babajulisele Beatrice	MLANGENI, Mphikeleli Sydney
MKHIZE, Bongani	MKHIZE, Muntukayise	MKHIZE, Zasebmo	MKWANI, Mhlabushtshile Joseph	MLANGENI, Qondophi
MKHIZE, Bongani	MKHIZE, Musa Mfanukhona	MKHIZE, Zazi Joseph	MKWENKWE, Pelelepe	MLANGENI, Sipho Solomon
MKHIZE, Bongani	MKHIZE, Muzikawungewa	MKHIZE, Zazini	MKIZE, Angeline Ntombileza	MLANGENI, Themba
MKHIZE, Bongani Eric	MKHIZE, Muzikayifani Michael	MKHIZE, Zem Petrus	MKIZE, Eugene Boy	MLANGENI, Themba Garnet
MKHIZE, Bongani Hermiton	MKHIZE, Muzomusha	MKHIZE, Zenzile Maphithiza	MKIZE, Fikile Mary-Jane	MLANGENI-MALAKOANE, Maria
MKHIZE, Bongani Vincent	MKHIZE, Muzonjani Justice Magoso	MKHIZE, Zibezwile	MKIZE, Georgina	MLATA, Mshেকে
MKHIZE, Bongani	MKHIZE, Ndelezi Mavis	MKHIZE, Zidwa Andrina	MKIZE, Girlie Thalhita	MLATSHENI, Vuyelwa Vivian
MKHIZE, Bonginkosi	MKHIZE, Ndotakubo	MKHIZE, Zikifile Solomon	MKIZE, John	MLAZI, Patrick
MKHIZE, Bongijwe Princess	MKHIZE, Ndukuzeipi	MKHIZE, Zinngi Lorraine	MKIZE, Khehla	MLEKAZANA, Mxolisi Mandrew
MKHIZE, Bridgeman Musa	MKHIZE, Ngakhal	MKHIZE, Zintombi	MKIZE, Khonysile Brightness	MULO, Mthuthukhile Alfred
	MKHIZE, Nhlamvu Secrete	MKHIZE, Zitobi	MKIZE, Khumbulani Cyprian	MULIWANA, Lungile

MLILWANA, Pumzile Philip
MLILWANA, Vellie Wellington
MLILWANA, Wawi Getrude
MLIMI, Phineas Meken
MLINDI, Mandorya Amos
MLISANA, Sindiswa Elmina
MLUTWA, Themba Reginald Xolo
MLOKOTHI, Jokweni Barret
MLOKOTI, Ellen
MLOKOTI, Sthembisio Christopher
MLOLOMBA, Janet
MLOMO, Bernard Sizathu
MLOMO, Sandi William Anthony
MLOMZALE, Fezile Wilson
MLONO, D
MLONO, Bhekinkosi
MLONO, Bokwe
MLONO, Handsome Lindani
MLONO, Khethokwakhe Meshack
MLONO, Mbekeni Benson
MLONO, Mkhembuzeni Moses
MLONO, Njengabantu Christian
MLONO, Ntondo Wilfred
MLONO, Sbhonginkosi Khulekani
MLONO, Themba Thandumusa
MLONO, Zilathi
MLOGO, Sibusiso
MLOYENI, Timoti Mbuyiselo
MLOYENI, Thoniswa Elsie
MLOTSHWA, Billy Ramington
MLOTSHWA, Daisy
MLOTSHWA, Duma Johannes
MLOTSHWA, Frank Mfankatiwa
MLOTSHWA, Funkekeke Colliam
MLOTSHWA, Khethani Theminkosi
MLOTSHWA, Khonzaphi Queenrose
MLOTSHWA, Peter Tsietzi Dennis
MLOTSHWA, Prince Zamakuthala
MLOTSHWA, Qondeni Julia
MLOTSHWA, Rose Tshidi
MLOTSHWA, Sapoyana
MLOTSHWA, Sibongile Ethel
MLOTSHWA, Thandiwe Margaret
MLOTSHWA, Thokozisi
MLOTSHWA, Tiswa Abion
MLOTSHWA, Vusumuzi David
MLOTSHWA, Wilson
MLOTSWA, Jabu
MLOTSWA, Simon Bhekinkosi
MLOTYWA, Mzivukile Anderson
MLUMBI, Thulani Patrick
MLUNGU, Ledia
MLUNGWANA, Johannes Omecor
MMAKO, Marela Simon
MMAKO, Peter Moleko
MMAKOHA, Swazile Elizabeth
MMAKOLA, Magoshi Doctor
MMAKOU, Monageng Patrick Xoliso
MMALEDIMO, Thomas Tumishi
MMATLADI, Patrick
MMELE, Abram Modige
MMELESI, Elizabeth Sojakgomo
MMELESI, Victor Butemulo
MMESE, Israel
MMETHI, T. I.
MMITSHANE, Norman
MMOGGOBO, Johannes
MMOKWA, Violet Direko
MMOLAWA, Ezekiel Telogo
MMOLEDI, Sonnyboy Jochonia
MMOTHA, Rikana Teliza
MMOTONG, Solomon Mafama
MMULUTSI, Thaini Christinah
MMUSHI, Malatana Elias
MNAMATHA, Vukile
MNAMATHLEI, Steven Zamile
MNAWABE, Vellie Phelapheli
MNCEDI, David Khotsa
MNCEDISI, Kaludi
MNCIBI, Bheki Ephraim
MNCIBI, Charles
MNCIBI, Manyathela
MNCIBI, Roy Bongani
MNCIVE, Nopam
MNCUBE, Abednego
MNCUBE, Khangela Herbert
MNCUBE, Mpheni Emmanuel
MNCUBE, Muzikayise Nicholas
MNCUBE, Mzonjani
MNCUBE, Ntsezi
MNCUBE, Regina
MNCUBE, Sibongile Nomavangeli
MNCUBE, Thulani Abner
MNCULWANE, Matata Gremma
MNCULWANE, Phikile Elizabeth
MNCWABE, Albert
MNCWABE, Bakulumile
MNCWABE, Bekizwe
MNCWABE, Betty Bhekisile
MNCWABE, Bhekani
MNCWABE, Celestina
MNCWABE, Clementina Badidile
MNCWABE, Delisile Witness
MNCWABE, Emmerencia Phezi
MNCWABE, Fana
MNCWABE, Kwenza Ephraim

MNCWABE, Mbukelwa Jerome
MNCWABE, Moses Mzobanzi
MNCWABE, Muzikhona Anton
MNCWABE, Mxolisi Ollie
MNCWABE, Partick Phangubude
MNCWABE, Patricia
MNCWABE, Pheteni Clementia
MNCWABE, Rich Happy Girl
MNCWABE, Sibusiso Donatus
MNCWABE, Sifiso Derrick
MNCWABE, Sifiso Thomas
MNCWABE, Sizakele Florence
MNCWABE, Thofu Chashisive
MNCWABE, Vusumuzi Derrick
MNCWABE, Zephred Mzwakhe
MNCWANGO, Bambalaphi
MNCWANGO, Hlangwe
MNCWANGO, Ntombi
MNCWANGO, Tholake Vothu
MNDABE, Jabulani Michael
MNDABE, Thembuyise Simon
MNDABENI, Babhekile Rejoice
MNDABENI, Fikile Rejoice
MNDABENI, Zebilon Mzikayifani
MNDEBELE, Lucas Rooi
MNDEBELE, Sifundo Comfort
MNDITHI, Walter Mali
MNDUNGE, Nosindio
NMENBE, Nonhlanhla Thandani
MNGADI, Ale Mapeta
MNGADI, Anton Mfano
MNGADI, Bonginkosi Shiyokwakhe
MNGADI, Busisiwe Mavis
MNGADI, Busisiwe Thembisile
MNGADI, Daniel
MNGADI, Duduzile Princess
MNGADI, Eric Siphio
MNGADI, Fisanj Hendretta
MNGADI, Happy
MNGADI, Hector Ntshowe
MNGADI, Herman
MNGADI, Khanyisile Eunice
MNGADI, Lindiwe Sdi
MNGADI, Makazi Ngenzeni
MNGADI, Makhosi Annacletta
MNGADI, Mbuyiseni
MNGADI, Mduduzi Wiseman
MNGADI, Mfundi Phumlani Leonard
MNGADI, Mkhanyiseni Eden
MNGADI, Mkhuzelwa Knowledge
MNGADI, Mindelwa Francis
MNGADI, Mzwakhe Petros
MNGADI, Nhlanihla Innocent
MNGADI, Nikeziwe
MNGADI, Nkosana Prince
MNGADI, Nosifiso Alois
MNGADI, Percy Siza
MNGADI, Peter Bernard
MNGADI, Phyllis Phamamile
MNGADI, Prudence Sibongile
MNGADI, Regina Nontsikelo
MNGADI, Sibusiso Christopher
MNGADI, Sihlangu Johnson
MNGADI, Sihlangu Johnson
MNGADI, Siphio William
MNGADI, Sthembisio Derrick
MNGADI, Tembani
MNGADI, Thamsanqa Ephraim
MNGADI, Trueman Angelicus
MNGADI, Velaghi Dilephi
MNGADI, Vusumuzi Michael
MNGADI, Zakhele Jabulani
MNGAMA, Hluphekile
MNGANGA, Zandile Grace
MNGAZA, Vuyani
MNGCISANE, Sinala
MNGCONGO, Zilibe Ben
MNGENELA, Charity Nokuthula
MNGENELA, Jabulani Reginald
MNGESE, Mzimasi
MNGOMA, Amos
MNGOMA, Bonangani
MNGOMA, Bongekile Joyce
MNGOMA, Cindezile Jabhisile
MNGOMA, Fath Thembisile
MNGOMA, Fikile
MNGOMA, Jabulane
MNGOMA, Khokhani Nomuhle
MNGOMA, Majongosi
MNGOMA, Mhlanguleni Gcinokwakhe
MNGOMA, Mzingelwa Afeus
MNGOMA, Nkosinathi Maxwell
MNGOMA, Nomawethu
MNGOMA, Nombango
MNGOMA, Ntombizana
MNGOMA, Thabo Robert
MNGOMA, Thembeni
MNGOMA, Thokozile Florence
MNGOMA, Tholisile Gladness
MNGOMA, Zibuyisile
MNGOMENI, Tobile Ezekiel
MNGOMEZULU, Aubrey
MNGOMEZULU, Busisiwe Alice
MNGOMEZULU, Dingani Peter
MNGOMEZULU, Gerald
MNGOMEZULU, Jameson Ngoloyi

MNGOMEZULU, Jostinah
MNGOMEZULU, Juli Mackson
MNGOMEZULU, Khayelihle Bhekuyise
MNGOMEZULU, Khulekani Wallace
Nkanyiso
MNGOMEZULU, Khululiwe Bright
MNGOMEZULU, Logudu Leonard
MNGOMEZULU, Mary
MNGOMEZULU, Mavis Thoko
MNGOMEZULU, Mbaji Jameson
MNGOMEZULU, Mfana Futhi
MNGOMEZULU, Mkhetha David
MNGOMEZULU, Nicky
MNGOMEZULU, Ntokozo Lungile
MNGOMEZULU, Ntombizakidhi
MNGOMEZULU, Patience S'Dudla
MNGOMEZULU, Russel
MNGOMEZULU, Sibusiso Thethelela
Edmund
MNGOMEZULU, Siphio Raynold
MNGOMEZULU, Susana Maureen
MNGOMEZULU, Teboho Reginald
MNGOMEZULU, Thandi Maria
MNGOMEZULU, Tholakele Sylvia
MNGOMEZULU, Thoko
MNGONGO, Welelaki
MNGQIBISA, Oefile Samuel
MNGQUSHO, Mthombi Jovuka
MNGQUSHO, Wantuke Khaya
MNGUMI, Jabulani Mbulelani
MNGUMI (NKABINDE), Thoko Joyce
MNGUMI, Ambrose Khohlanafigile
MNGUMI, Bafana Esiaah
MNGUMI, Begene Amos
MNGUMI, Cynthia Thembeke
MNGUMI, Dorris Cinegphi
MNGUMI, Gladys Sizakele
MNGUMI, Gqabazali
MNGUMI, Happy
MNGUMI, Henry Kopori
MNGUMI, Jeannette Hluphekile
MNGUMI, Johanna Lettie
MNGUMI, Johannes Bangumzi
MNGUMI, John Thulazise
MNGUMI, Joseph Ncenge
MNGUMI, Khayelihle
MNGUMI, Loverboy Mduduzi
MNGUMI, Maria Nomngqibelo
MNGUMI, Mbongeni Eric
MNGUMI, Meshack
MNGUMI, Mhlopheki Philemon
MNGUMI, Nkoto
MNGUMI, Nkumbula Mayvis
MNGUMI, Nthabiseng Patricia
MNGUMI, Ntombizodwa Enid
MNGUMI, Orijive Simon
MNGUMI, Sabusile Trace
MNGUMI, Sibongile
MNGUMI, Sibongile Lilian
MNGUMI, Sibongile Sylvia
MNGUMI, Sibusiso
MNGUMI, Siphio
MNGUMI, Sizwe
MNGUMI, Tandatu Seon
MNGUMI, Thembeni
MNGUMI, Thembi Ohamukile
MNGUMI, Thembi Ohamukile
MNGUMI, Tholakele Melta
MNGUMI, Yekuphi
MNGUMI, Yusi
MNGUMI, Zakhe Abram
MNGUMI-MOLEFE, Rachel
Nomthandazo
MNGUNU, Sihle Jabu
MNGWENGWE, Brightman
MNGWENGWE, Dele Zokwenzani
MNGWENGWE, Dennis Fanabonke
MNGWENGWE, Dinwile Mpenpe
MNGWENGWE, Mhlakiseni
MNGWENGWE, Mpanlana
MNGWENGWE, Nkosenyi Thembenkosi
MNGWENGWE, Silvester
MNGWENGWE, Zwelebi Feldkwakhe
MNGWEVU, Goden
MNGWEVU, Sizwe Alfred
MNGXUMA, Nobendiba
MNGXUMA, Ntombi Gilbert
MNKA, Sandile Geoffrey
MNKATHI, Alfred Bangizwe
MNKATHI, Alios Mkhethelwa
MNKATHI, Antony Fana
MNKATHI, Dumazile Gladys
MNKATHI, Elizabeth
MNKATHI, Flomema Nomusa
MNKATHI, Jabulani Henry
MNKATHI, Jeffrey
MNKATHI, Mbalekelwa Champion
MNKATHI, Ntombifuthi Precilia
MNKATHI, Ntombizethu Emily
MNKATHI, Sifiso
MNKATHI, Simon
MNKATHI, Smanqa Felix
MNKATHI, Vika Jeffrey
MNKLELO, Nompucuko Vinoria
MNKINA, Monwabisi Michael
MNISI, Bongive Princess

MNISI, Clement Buti
MNISI, Derrick
MNISI, Isaac
MNISI, Johannes
MNISI, Joseph Besham
MNISI, Labi
MNISI, Lucky Cliford
MNISI, Lucky Lawrence
MNISI, Mantsholo Victor
MNISI, Peer
MNISI, Wiseman Moferefere
MNISI, Zacharia
MNKONYENI, Qondeni Prizer
MNOMIYA, Vellie
MNOMXA, Nyatshela
MNQAYI, Lindelani
MNQAYI, Mary-Jane
MNQAYI, Nkolo
MNQAYI, Patrick Joshua
MNQAYI, Thomas Mpsii
MNQAYI, Wiseman
MNQUSWANA, Mbulelo
MNQOSINI, Nati
MNQWAZI, Vakele
MNTAKA, Bongani Patriot
MNTAKA, Ntombi Elizabeth
MNTAMBO, Bhekani Job
MNTAMBO, Celokuhle Mathews
MNTAMBO, Duncan Thabo
MNTAMBO, Gabangaye Feklowkhwa
MNTAMBO, Jabu Nomusa
MNTAMBO, Jacob Mazinyo
MNTAMBO, Jerome Mashalaze
MNTAMBO, Lina
MNTAMBO, Makosi Mzikayise
MNTAMBO, Nomasonto Harriette
MNTAMBO, Nomzamo Lilian
MNTAMBO, Wiseman Syabonga
MNTOLO, Funizwe Bishop Eliza
MNTU, Richard Thobile
MNTUNGWA, Edward
MNTUNGWA, Fikile
MNTUNGWA, Mlandeni
MNTUNGWA, Mlungu
Bhekamantungwa
MNTUZE, Phinda Vincent
MNTWANA, Winiswa Esther Winana
MNUKWA, Mpoopi
MNWEBA, Wally Ntemi
MNYYAKA, Mazaba Miriet
MNYYAKENI, Absalom
MNYYAKENI, David Basani
MNYYAMANA, Judge Themba
MNYYAMANA, Molefe
MNYYAMANA, Nonceba Glory
MNYYAMANE, Best Mfundisi
MNYYAMEZELI, Nkosana Nowinile
MNYYANDA, Lindelwa Dunu
MNYYANDEKI, Pelose Jane
MNYYANDU (ZITHA), Nelisiwe Gloria
Zamanyandu
MNYYANDU FAMILY
MNYYANDU, Bajingile
MNYYANDU, Bheki Bernard
MNYYANDU, Cijimpi
MNYYANDU, Dumisani Felton
MNYYANDU, Elizabeth Sizakele
MNYYANDU, Fanile Lennox
MNYYANDU, Fikakubuswa
MNYYANDU, Fikile Doreen
MNYYANDU, Gloria Zondeleni
MNYYANDU, Herbert Lanagaletu
MNYYANDU, Herman Vusumuzi
MNYYANDU, Johannes
MNYYANDU, Lungi
MNYYANDU, Madoda
MNYYANDU, Mphikiswa John
MNYYANDU, Muzi Siphive
MNYYANDU, Mpheloni Simon
MNYYANDU, Ntombi Rose
MNYYANDU, Ntonto Ntizoni
MNYYANDU, Sabeni Zondeni
MNYYANDU, Sibusiso
MNYYANDU, Sibusiso Christopher
MNYYANDU, Siphio
MNYYANDU, Siphio Jamros
MNYYANDU, Thandi Nomthandazo
MNYYANDU, Thembenkosi Edum
MNYYANDU, Thokozani Wiseman
MNYYANDU, Thulani
MNYYANDU, Victor Mandlakhe
MNYYANDU, Winnet Mphumleli
MNYYANE, Colenso Ninase
MNYYANGO, Dade Margaret
MNYYANGO, Sibongile
MNYYANI, Hubert Vuyisile
MNYYAPE, Macala
MNYYAPE, Nonkosi No-Tennis
MNYYAPE, Nopencuku Margaret
MNYYAPE, Ntsikilelo
MNYYATHELA, M. S.
MNYYATHLEI, Mbeko Bandla Sizasomzi
MNYYATHLEI, Zandisile Dickson
MNYYAZANA, Thembenkosi Sindiswa
MNYYELE, Mamanyena Sarah

MNYYELE, Mpuમેલેો Isiah
MNYYELE, Thami
MNYYELE, Thamsanqa Harry
MNYEMBAN, Nelson Mnandi
MNYILA, Ntulu
MNYIWAMBE, Amos Mandla
MNYONI, Sibongile Tryphina
MNYUTE, Ndiko John
MNYWABE, George
MOABELO, Grace Kwema
MOABELO, Mamoloko Frans Sebata
MOABELO, Manoko
MOABELO, Mosima
MOABELO, Mosima Johanna
MOABELO, Naku William
MOABI, Elizabeth Keetsemang
MOABI, Maria Thandi
MOABI, Sabata Daniel
MOADIRA, Kenneth Pule
MOAG, Annelin
MOAGI, Latios Mananyana
MOAGI, Sello Winsor
MOALAH, Segoe Petrus
MOALO, Chapman
MOALUSI, David Mathare
MOALUSI, Levy Mokhale
MOATLHODI, Kgosietsile Ezekiel
MOATSHE, Andries
MOATSHE, Jacob Peter
MOATSHE, Jeremiah Ntsitsi
MOATSHE, Leslie Jauris
MOATSHE, Madimetsa Abram
MOBELE, George Bambo
MOBELE, Mariana Somba
MOCHALUBANE, Tselapeli Elias
MOCHANGA, Butinyana Elias
MOCHAWE, Shadrack Mochawe
MOCHE, Kabela Jan Wilfred
MOCHEKO, Alpheus
MOCDANYANE, Moses Gobusamang
MOCUMI, Thabiso John
MODANDA, Skhumbuzo Selby
MODI, Nkosinathi
MODIAGOTLA, David
MODIAGOTLA, Vyonne Maki
MODIKOANE, Lawrence
MODIKOANE, Matome Phillip
MODIKOE, Enoch
MODIMONG, David Mponthi
MODIMONG, Gladys
MODIMONG, Josiah Ramakgole
MODIMONG, Mariam
MODIMONG, Nkale Joyce
MODIMOLA, Makelepe Ephraim
MODIMOLA, Nthwasa Elisa
MODIMOLE, Malose Alpheus
MODIPA, Petros Maketela
MODIPANE,
MODIPANE, Sekoate
MODIPANE, Solomon Difako
MODISAKENG, Israel
MODISANE, Abram Ramatoko
MODISANE, Steven
MODISANGANE, Andries Legkowie
MODISAOTSIKE, Nnyana Jeselinah
MODISAPUDI, Modise Isaac
MODISE, Abel Mthothanka Augustus
MODISE, Daniel
MODISE, Edemodimo
MODISE, Leinatsela Lucas
MODISE, Lucky Joseph
MODISE, Martha Mampono
MODISE, Moggowane Dinah
MODISE, Molathegi Lucas
MODISE, Motlabase Dorah
MODISE, Mthothoqi Merriam
MODISE, Phillip Ramocha
MODISE, Rejoice
MODISE, Seale
MODISE, Simon
MODISE, Ta
MODISE, Thabo Benjamin
MODISELLE, Oupa Meshack
MODISHOA, Peter Mavuso
MODUKANELE, Thos Kenneth
MODUTWANE, Phorgotho Peter
MODUTWANE, Sophia Baratang
MODUTWANE, Zebedia Badirwang
MODERA, William
MOEKANA,
MOEKETSI, Dolly Dimakatso
MOEKETSI, Kwape Mhodsio
MOEKWA, Moses Thami
MOELAJEE, Mansoor
MOELE, Dina Elizabeth
MOELI, Johannes
MOEMA, Isaac
MOENA, Whitney
MOENDA, Athikholi Samson
MOENG, Gideon
MOENI, Fio Alpheus
MOEPI, Sengadi Lucas
MOERANE, Eliazara Jakane
MOERANE, Lenare
MOERANE, Modingwa Edward
MOETI, Aletta

MOETI, Dickson Butinyana
MOETI, Mika Bennet
MOETI, Mmatebisi Aletta
MOETI, Prudence Aleta Mabaruti
MOETLHO, Gaopalelwe Singleboy
MOETSANE, S.
MOETSE, Anderson Ollifre
MOETSE, Lesego Lawrence
MOETSE, Mosimanegepe Lucas
MOFEKENG, Vusumzi Albert
MOFEKETA, Moliat
MOFOKENG, Aaron
MOFOKENG, Aaron Tseko
MOFOKENG, Abram Pone
MOFOKENG, Aina Malefu
MOFOKENG, Christine
MOFOKENG, David
MOFOKENG, Edwin Sonny
MOFOKENG, Elizabeth
MOFOKENG, Ephraim Sello
MOFOKENG, Freddie Pollack Tebogo
MOFOKENG, Jack Thiriso
MOFOKENG, Jacob Monyatheli
MOFOKENG, Jacob Sello
MOFOKENG, Kebareng Maria
MOFOKENG, Kesugiling Elizabeth
MOFOKENG, Kothope Johannes
MOFOKENG, Limakatso Esther
MOFOKENG, Makaya
MOFOKENG, Makaya John
MOFOKENG, Mamothetsi Flora Peggy
MOFOKENG, Marhloesa Maria
MOFOKENG, Mantseleng Elizabeth
Nomzimkhulu
MOFOKENG, Maria
MOFOKENG, Mashome Daniel
MOFOKENG, Maureen
MOFOKENG, Mbongeni
MOFOKENG, Michael Dikotsi
MOFOKENG, Mmathebang Alinah
MOFOKENG, Mooketsi Sylvester
MOFOKENG, Moloi
MOFOKENG, Mshashadu Goodman
MOFOKENG, Nkele
MOFOKENG, Ntondo
MOFOKENG, Oupa Daniel
MOFOKENG, Petrus
MOFOKENG, Piet
MOFOKENG, Plet Mokakatteli
MOFOKENG, Pule James
MOFOKENG, Sebati Miriam
MOFOKENG, Sekolotsa Abram
MOFOKENG, Thabo Jonny
MOFOKENG, Thabo William
MOFOKENG, Tjhetane Makwanyane
Harold
MOFOKENG, Tsietsi Ben
MOFOKENG, Zacharia
MOFOLO, Naomi Khabonina
MOGAADILE, Gaokaiva Tiny
MOGADI, Isaac
MOGADILE, Tiny
MOGADIMA, Simon
MOGAGABE, Aviva Johannes
MOGAGABE, Job Oupa Magale Baby
MOGAGLE, Ephraim Phumuga
MOGALE, Jeffrey
MOGALE, Linda
MOGALE, Mantsha Paulina
MOGALE, Meshack Whiskey
MOGALE, Simon
MOGAMI, Goodman
MOGANEDI, Nkonko Petrus
MOGANEDI, Stephen Ntoampe
MOGANO, Mapelana Orbetini
MOGANO, Mmashipi Aldo
MOGANO, Samuelli Munsho
MOGANO, Silas
MOGAPE, A.
MOGAPI, Jonas
MOGAPI, Keikantsemang Annie
MOGAPI, Molapisi Petrus
MOGAPI, Motsamai Patrick
MOGAPI, Tsego Ben
MOGAPI, Timothy Josia
MOGASHOA, Kwabotso Hendrick
MOGASHOA, Malika Trus
MOGASHOA, Morati Lazarus
MOGASHOA, Thabane Rantho Mpai
MOGATA, Kabai Jan
MOGATHE, Frans
MOGATSHANI, Takadimane Stephen
MOGERI, Knox
MOGETHI, Vusi Alfred
MOGOAI, Mamotuku Pauline
MOGOANENG, Lokishi Lazarus
MOGOBU, Ledile Moloko
MOGODI, Lincoln Lucky
MOGOERANE, Thelle Simon
MOGOHLWANE, Thembeke Ethel
MOGOMOTSI, Betty Mapula
MOGOPODI, Abram Motshikiri
MOGOROSI, Denson Malebogo
MOGOROSI, Malokisa
MOGOROSI, Motlholi Daniel
MOGOROSI, Otumiseng Victor
MOGOROSI, Phuthang Arthur
MOGOROSI, Sanybo Alphaus
MOGOROSI, Tennyson Tebogo
MOGOROSI, Sipho Simon
MOGOSHFE, Peter
MOGOSWANE, Khala Andries
MOGOTSI, Abel Lekhutlile
MOGOTSI, Isaka Thomas
MOGOTSI, Lucas
MOGOTSI, Mthibedi Herman
MOGOTSI, Nchimane Philemon
MOGWENG, Keditteretse James
MOGWENG, Mosweu Lawrence
MOGWENG, Oatweng David
MOHAJANE, Ramorakane Simon
MOHALANWANE, Sello Isaac
MOHALE, Asael Mogeli
MOHALE, Babazi Thulani
MOHALE, Bakile Lazarus Madi
MOHALE, Christopher Letsego
MOHALE, Louis
MOHALE, Magdeline
MOHALE, Mamagotla Pauline
MOHALE, Moses Sabbie
MOHALE, Ngqathatseng Angelina
MOHALE, Oupa Jan
MOHALE, Phetola David
MOHALE, Reuben Phetole
MOHAMED, Abduragmaan
MOHAMED, Letshaba Thomas Abiel
MOHAPI, Botha Paul
MOHAPI, Edgar Nkane
MOHAPI, Eliah
MOHAPI, Jani
MOHAPI, Mapetla Frank
MOHAPI, Mokheseng
MOHAPI, Monyane Kenneth
MOHAPI, Mpolo Annah
MOHAPI, Nobuhle Hilary
MOHAPI, Petrus Mokhobo
MOHAPI, Tebogo
MOHAPI, Tshokolo Patrick
MOHAPI, White Mosoeunyanne
MOHATLE, Mankaheleng
MOHELEPI, Jacob Lehloho
MOHLABAI, Noko Joyce
MOHLABI, Gladys Tsepiso
MOHLABI, Thomas Themba
MOHLALI, Motloang Vitalis
MOHLAHO, Thomas Jonas
MOHLAKOANA, Majoro Nephthali
MOHLAKOANA, Smengele Nomsa
MOHLAKOHLA, Petros Lekheke
MOHLAKOLA, Simakaleng Mkhonose
MOHLALA, Clement
MOHLALO, Clement Vusi
MOHLALA, Evelynah Maria
MOHLALA, Moses Nnete
MOHLALA, Nogo
MOHLAMME, Franse Masehle
MOHLMANYANE, Jeffrey Madimade
MOHLOA, Amos
MOHLANGU, Maria
MOKHUFI, Nelsongweni Maria
MOHLYANANE, Osborn
MOHLBOILL, Lebhang Emanuel
MOHLKOWAND, Nompumelelo
MOHLONI, Siyabonga Goodwill
MOHLOM, Thamsanga Samuel
MOHOHLO, Motlalepule Martha
Gamyane
MOHOKOANE, Jacob Gaseyiswe
MOHOLUNG, Dokotela James
MOHOLOENG, Masalela Esbie
MOHOLOENG, Sello Justice
MOHONO, Evelyn
MOHONTI, Malaki
MOIDI, Elina Nomadlozi
MOILOA, Kgotsiletsile Larius
MOILOA, Manku Rachel
MOILOA, Mankuku Rachel
MOILOA, Mohapi Abram
MOILOA, Motsaile Edwin
MOILOA, Patrick
MOILOA, Petrus Masala
MOILWA, David Mswana
MOILWANYANA, Mmankuku
MOIMA, George
MOITOI, Johanna Meiditje
MOITSHENI, Serame Andries
MOITSHENI, Seemole Tshaisha
MOJA, Ledile
MOJAPI, Gasebonwe Daniel
MOJAKE, Gerson Jacob
MOJALEFA, Pontsho Samuel
MOJAPENLO, Stanley
MOJE, Priscilla Nancy
MOJELA, Bethuel Tlou
MOJELA, P. M.
MOKABA, Florina Tselane
MOKABA, Madimetja Daniel
MOKABA, Maria
MOKABA, Paulina Mantsali
MOKABA, Tjane Ernest
MOKADATLO, Seipata
MOKAKALE, Tlonyane Benjamin
MOKAKE, Monomolehi Evelyn
MOKALE, Sipho Sydney Eugene
MOKALENG, Jacob
MOKANYANE, Mimi
Harekopanalemakgowa
MOKANYANE, Phehello Gregory
MOKATAKA, Abram Boetie
MOKATI, Shakesane Jack Petrus
MOKATI, Tsehi Edward
MOKENA, Malefetsane David
MOKENA, Ngaka
MOKESENG, M
MOKETLHA, Simon
MOKETSEPANE, Khabi Virginia
MOKETSEPANE, Sophie
MOKGABI, Motsamsi Jacob
MOKGABUDI, Montso
MOKGABUDI, Thato Hlufuru
MOKGAMATHE, Steven
MOKGAMPANE, Isaia Rampokeng
MOKGANYE, Evelyn Mampo
MOKGATHLE, Glad
MOKGATLA, Mosala Joseph
MOKGATLANYANE, John Ntoko
MOKGATLE, Zongzeile Ziwewe
MOKGATLHA, Hp
MOKGAUTSI, Thebitsile Frans
MOKGELE, Boikanyo Donald
MOKGETHI, Jerry
MOKGOSU, Ramokone Elizabeth
MOKGHLDA, Mahona Joseph
MOKGHLWA, Kgadi Philemon
MOKGOKLO, Nooi
MOKGONYANA, Phuti Bennet Benny
MOKGONYANE, Manoko Martina
MOKGONYANE, Mokgalo John
MOKGONYE, Evelyn Mampo
MOKGOPHA, Ledile Manare
MOKGOSI, Seteneng Doreen
MOKGOSINYANE, Florence Maditshipi
MOKGOTHO, Jan Thwakga
MOKGOTHU, Tebogo Patrick
MOKGOTLANG, Isaac
MOKGWENG, Kanetani Elizabeth
MOKHACHANE, Mokoena Samuel
MOKHANYANE, Molly
MOKHASHANE, Samuel Nkopane
MOKHATHI, Andries Ramapai
MOKHELE, Isaac Matshidiso
MOKHELE, Mokete Francis
MOKHEMISA, Editor Tsietsi
MOKHESENG, Dickson Lungisa
MOKHESENG, Simon Tsietsi
MOKHETLE, Daniel
MOKHOABANE, Moahlodi Wiilbroad
MOKHOBO, Samson Moiketsi
MOKHOELWA, Paul Samphome
MOKHOMO, Klaas
MOKHONOANA, Soja Phillip
MOKHONWANA, Obad
MOKHOTU, Moleboheng Alice
MOKHOTOSA, Edwin
MOKHOTSOA, Maphontsho Maria
MOKHUFI, Nelson Mpolanga
MOKHUWANE, Motihachi Christopher
MOKO, Themba Joel
MOKOANA, Lucky Nkheldi
MOKOTLE, Eduard Tsileso
MOKOTLE, Lilian Puseletso
MOKOBAKE, George Lulu
MOKOBANE, Tshedisha
MOKOBORI, Itumeleng Simon
MOKOENA, A
MOKOENA, Abel Buti
MOKOENA, Abraham
MOKOENA, Alfred
MOKOENA, Amos Dendeng
MOKOENA, Anna
MOKOENA, Arron
MOKOENA, Aubrey
MOKOENA, Basetsana
MOKOENA, Bussisana Johanna
MOKOENA, Daniel
MOKOENA, David
MOKOENA, Masha Mhlupeki
MOKOENA, Elizabeth
MOKOENA, Elliot
MOKOENA, Erick
MOKOENA, Evelina
MOKOENA, Fanyane Sophonia
MOKOENA, Grace
MOKOENA, Isaac Raditsela
MOKOENA, Jack
MOKOENA, Jan Mojalefa
MOKOENA, Jeremiah
MOKOENA, John
MOKOENA, Joseph Monyane
MOKOENA, Joseph Mooketsi
MOKOENA, Joseph Motsamai
MOKOENA, Julia Mamasole
MOKOENA, Khithi Collins
MOKOENA, Kokoli Emily
MOKOENA, Lolao Samuel
MOKOENA, Lefu
MOKOENA, Lettie
MOKOENA, Life
MOKOENA, Loli Selina
MOKOENA, Lucia Thabitha
MOKOENA, Maleshane Rosina
MOKOENA, Mofatehi David
MOKOENA, Matthews
MOKOENA, Molahleli Joseph
MOKOENA, Monaheng David
MOKOENA, Morake Petrus
MOKOENA, Ndlela Joseph
MOKOENA, Nkosinathi Christopher
MOKOENA, Norman Makhoseni
MOKOENA, Patrick Stefano
MOKOENA, Phakiso Ephraim
MOKOENA, Philemon
MOKOENA, Piccanin Modiane
MOKOENA, Pihlas
MOKOENA, Rebecca Nokuthula
MOKOENA, Regina
MOKOENA, Samuel
MOKOENA, Simms Griffiths
MOKOENA, Sonnyboy
MOKOENA, Tshaleho Ishmael
MOKOENA, Thabile Patricia
MOKOENA, Thabo Andries
MOKOENA, Thabo Isaac
MOKOENA, Thabo Robert
MOKOENA, Thamsanga
MOKOENA, Thandi
MOKOENA, Thomas
MOKOENA, Tadi Alfred
MOKOENA, Tsholeho Michael
MOKOENA, Tsietji Jan
MOKOENA, Wally Khella
MOKOENA, Zanele Attratta
MOKOFANE, James Sello
MOKOISA, Dikgathato Dorcas
MOKOKA, Eva Molebengeng
MOKOLUTLO, Ntiale Richard
MOKOMA, Edward
MOKONE, Daniel Pappie
MOKONE, Elia Margaret
MOKONE, Izakiel
MOKONE, Johannes Rabogadi
MOKONE, Mahlako Emma
MOKONE, Tshabalo Clement
MOKONE, Tshobho Vivian
MOKONI, Nhlantlha Jeremia
MOKONYANA, Nomvula Paula
MOKOPANE, Julie
MOKOTE, George
MOKOTEDI, Hendrick Motsamai
MOKOTEDI, Lerous Petrus
MOKOTEDI, Maria Mabatho
MOKOTEDI, Modisemang Gabriel
Pununu
MOKOTEDI, P.
MOKOTEDI, Selloane Anna
MOKOTEDI, Thabiso Johannes
MOKOTO, Sam Gotsomodimo
MOKOTONG, Jeremiah Matome Enoch
MOKUDUBETE, Thabo Naphtali Rufus
MOKUWE, Sarah Mapule
MOKWALAKWALA, Mokgapa Ephraim
MOKWANA, Philemon
MOKWAYI, Mzwandile Edward
MOKWEISE, Keshlynyane Lydia
MOKWELE, Maphuti Phileto
MOKWELE, Reuben Modipane
MOKWENA, Beaulah Mshiwa
MOKWENA, Bella
MOKWENA, Elin Alina
MOKWENA, Israel William
MOKWENA, Masilo Johannes
MOKWENA, Ngwako Edward
MOKWENA, Robert
MOKWENA, Wilson Kgashane
MOKWENI, Sarah
MOKWENYANA, Tsokolo Jonas
MOLAKENG (MNGUNI), Martha Meisie
MOLAKENG, Johannes Sephara
MOLAKENG, Justinah Vangile
MOLAKENG, Zacharia Samuel
MOLALE, Lawrence Zamilie
MOLALE, Mokosi Michael
MOLALE, Thabiso Stanley
MOLAMU, Montsioa Emma
MOLADA, Makholole Johannes
MOLADLWA, Edwin Butimole
MOLADLWE, Gift
MOLAPI, Meshack Papi
MOLAPISANE, Boiki Michael
MOLAPISANE, Ngubeni Moses
MOLAPISI, Chrispos Myra
MOLAPO, David Motlatleng
MOLAPO, Dube
MOLAPO, Euphemia Dudu
MOLAPO, Komape Davidson
MOLAPO, Matsie Amelia
MOLAPO, Nokuthula Patricia
MOLAPO, Rithon Zondi
MOLAPO, Sekhonyana Ignatius
MOLAPO, Silas
MOLAPO, Tsebang Witness
MOLATSELI, Elias Enoch
MOLATULI, Mmasere Joyce
MOLAUTSI, Mashala Sugar
MOLEBALWA, Sootha Macdonald
MOLEBATS, Daniel
MOLEBATS, Fannie Solomon
MOLEBATS, Norah Gotsimang
MOLEBATS, Tshletgo
MOLEDI, Solomon Ramotsomi
MOLEFABANGWE, Baratang Margaret
MOLEFABANGWE, Botkie Nicholas
MOLEFE, Alpha Mphitseng
MOLEFE, Anna Makgawulo
MOLEFE, Bokang
MOLEFE, Dennis Musa
MOLEFE, Dihoputo
MOLEFE, Elizabeth
MOLEFE, Elphas
MOLEFE, Fanono
MOLEFE, Gerald Mnyamana
MOLEFE, Henry Tseko
MOLEFE, Hlawuta Joshua
MOLEFE, Ikopongel Gladys
MOLEFE, Irish Dineo Maleloha
MOLEFE, Jeffrey Tshelo
MOLEFE, Jele Jerry
MOLEFE, Johannes
MOLEFE, Johannes Mooketsi
MOLEFE, Kerling Flora
MOLEFE, Limakatso Virginia
MOLEFE, Lolo Alusia
MOLEFE, Lucas
MOLEFE, Lutopa Alfred
MOLEFE, Luwesa Johannes
MOLEFE, Mahlomola Lucas
MOLEFE, Majuly Andrinah
MOLEFE, Makabelo
MOLEFE, Makemiso Napie
MOLEFE, Mandla Innocent
MOLEFE, Marks
MOLEFE, Matsbo
MOLEFE, Michael
MOLEFE, Mmabatho Emma
MOLEFE, Molifi Paulus
MOLEFE, Morse Moses
MOLEFE, Mpho
MOLEFE, Mpho Patrick
MOLEFE, Ntabuko David Gordon
MOLEFE, Neuwene Eunice
MOLEFE, Nomusa Joyce
MOLEFE, Nonoti Armstrong
MOLEFE, Ntombifile Pretty
MOLEFE, Ntsing Gertrude
MOLEFE, Ntswarlang
MOLEFE, Paul (Freddy)
MOLEFE, Peiso
MOLEFE, Phakiso
MOLEFE, Phala Nelson
MOLEFE, Philida
MOLEFE, Philemon Mjanyelwa
MOLEFE, Pulelo Jani
MOLEFE, Richard Oupa
MOLEFE, Salatiela
MOLEFE, Shadrack
MOLEFE, Simaki Victoria
MOLEFE, Siphele Ephraim
MOLEFE, Sipho Gordon
MOLEFE, Sison Simon
MOLEFE, Thabang
MOLEFE, Thabo Jephrey
MOLEFE, Tholakele Buhle
MOLEFE, Thomas
MOLEFE, Tsepo
MOLEFE, Tsitsana Elma
MOLEFI, A
MOLEFI, Boikanyo Gerson
MOLEFI, Dimakatso Mary
MOLEFI, Jan
MOLEFI, Osekile Daniel
MOLEFI, Sekgarametso Suzan
MOLEFI, Serame Shadrack
MOLEHE, Mankanone Jonas
MOLEHE, Leepo Lawrence
MOLEKO, Bj Thabo
MOLEKO, Dineo Elizabeth
MOLEKO, Jacob Cyril
MOLEKO, Sannah Senkwele Ntela
MOLEKO, Sompil Filip
MOLEKO, Tebhu
MOLEKO, Victor
MOLEKOA, Charlie Petrus
MOLEKE, Chuene Frans
MOLEKE, Seemole Kposisi Betha
MOLEKEKENG, Bathusi Flavios
MOLELEKI, Jappie Jacob
MOLELEKI, Tumelo
MOLELEKI, Vuitza Sylvia
MOLELEKI, Vuyiswa Miriam
MOLELI, Vuyo Gladman
MOLEMA, Louisa Mamphahlela
MOLEMA, Meshack Moleko
MOLEMA, Michael
MOLEMA, Thomas
MOLEMA, Walter Mpho
MOLEOFE, John Thabo

MOLETE, Florence Makhoedi
 MOLETE, Isaiah
 MOLETE, Jackson
 MOLETE, Lebo
 MOLETE, Mapaseka Adelisa
 MOLETE, Matseleng Mirriam
 MOLETE, Mirriam
 MOLETE, Mitah
 MOLETE, Tsoeu Fabian
 MOLETSA, Ponki Patricia
 MOLETSA, Keboneng Julia
 MOLETSA, Nteke Johannes
 MOLETSA, Peter Pitso
 MOLETSA, Pitso Jeffrey
 MOLETSA, Pule
 MOLEWA, Patricia Malebo
 MOLEWA, Victor Thabo
 MOLOBOLA, Tsietisi Lazarus
 MOLFIE, Thomas
 MOLFIE, Themba
 MOLFIE, Blou Johannes
 MOLFIE, Lucas Modise
 MOLFIE, Tshidiso Abia
 MOLIWA, Seun Jerry
 MOLLO, Moses Rapetsoa
 MOLAOTS, Bafana Clement
 MOLENA, Veltjie
 MOLOI, Aaron Kgosisile
 MOLOI, Andries
 MOLOI, Christopher Dube Matsamai
 MOLOI, Dimakatso Grace
 MOLOI, Eddie Mpho
 MOLOI, Ephus Jacob Motsamai
 MOLOI, Jacob
 MOLOI, Jacob
 MOLOI, Johanna
 MOLOI, Joseph Mtsamai
 MOLOI, Kebane Phineas
 MOLOI, Lelholonolo Lambert Sekenku
 MOLOI, Lenpa Montgomery
 MOLOI, Linda
 MOLOI, Malekha Abram
 MOLOI, Maria Dimakatso
 MOLOI, Maria Makhala
 MOLOI, Maria Meisie
 MOLOI, Meshack Sizwe
 MOLOI, Modiehi Elizabeth
 MOLOI, Motholahlwhe Esaaiah
 MOLOI, Oupa Samuel
 MOLOI, Paulus Lenloa Paulos
 MOLOI, Peter Thabo
 MOLOI, Queen
 MOLOI, Samuel
 MOLOI, Sefako Johannes
 MOLOI, Selina Makakhe
 MOLOI, Solomon
 MOLOI, Thokozile Glenda Yvonne
 MOLOI, Vusumuzi Samuel
 MOLOISANE, Lelholonolo
 MOLOKO, Esthras Tiou Confidence
 MOLOKO, Vermaas Josiah
 MOLOKOANE, Abel Moses
 MOLOKOANE, Barnard Kgasisiwe
 MOLOKOANE, Barney
 MOLOKOANE, Maria Puleng
 MOLOKWANE, Kelebogile Andronica
 MOLOMO, Keresebose Johannes
 MOLOMO, Lesiba William
 MOLOONYANA, Moses Laki
 MOLONGA, George
 MOLONYANA, Rahube Daniel
 MOLOPO, Kaloshi Geelbooi
 MOLOPO, Lucas
 MOLOROSI, Jimmy
 MOLOSE, Mzwabantu
 MOLOSIOA, Bella Joyce
 MOLOSIOA, Taelo Nicodemus
 MOLOSIOA, Tumelo Neville Nicholas
 MOLOTO, David
 MOLOTO, Kitimi Johannes
 MOLOTO, Nganyao Elias
 MOLOTO, Peter Reginald
 MOLOTO, Raisetja
 MOLOTO, Ramakone Mokgadi
 MOLOTSANE, Justinas Oupa
 MOLOTSI, Esther
 MOLOTSI, Frederick Sefike
 MOLOTSI, Irish Pule
 MOLOTSI, Limakatso Anna
 MOLOTSI, Lira Joseph
 MOLOTSI, Ramasoeu Saul
 MOLOWITZ, Jan
 MOLONGWANA, M
 MOLUSI, Kagisho
 MOLUTSI, Selolo Suzan
 MOMOZA, Michael Steem
 MONA, Erick Sihudu
 MONA, Nolungile Belly
 MONAHENG, Bellina Mantoa
 MONAHENG, Christina Makresmesi
 MONAISA, Josiah Rakwana
 MONAKALE, Stephen Lesala
 MONAKALI, Mxolisi Anthony
 MONAKALI, Ntsikelelo Wellington
 MONAKEDI, Frans Makagale
 MONAMA, Samuel Semana
 MONAMETSI, Labius Madimabe Fasco
 MONAMODI, Buki France
 MONAMODI, Lina
 MONAMODI, Sakkie
 MONANI, Zacharia
 MONARENG, Alfred Oupa
 MONARENG, Mantshepieng Sefora
 MONARENG, Martha
 MONARENG, Mpho Mokoni
 MONARENG, Paul
 MONARENG, Thabo Joseph
 MONASE, Petrus Matsidiki
 MONCHO, Bareki Stephen
 MONCHO, Keikantsameng Vivian
 MONCHO, Phineas
 MONCHO, Shadrack
 MONDO, Nozatu Eleanor
 MONDILE, Zamuxolo Louis
 MONDLANE, Gibson
 MONDO, Dumisani
 MONEGI, Molefe Abel
 MONEI, Isaac Diseko
 MONENE, Ramasela Stephina
 MONGALAKI, Jacob Nxoli
 MONGALE, Kerapetse Johannes
 MONGALE, Koketso Edward
 MOREKISA, Thomas Zero
 MONGO, Thozamile Leslie
 MONKHE, Tebogoo Simon
 MONKOE, Thuluki Piet
 MONNAESI, Khumo Hilda
 MONNAKGOTLA, Itumeleng Tiro
 MONNAKGOTLA, Mark Modise
 MONNANA, Iseleng Margaret
 MONNANA, Mmunienang Gladys
 MONNANA, Motlombo Ruth
 MONNANA, Onkemsetse Collen
 MONNANA, Rabusang Blacknambi
 MONNANE, Ramotemedi Lazarus
 MONNAPULA, Michael
 MONNYE, Mholouoa Jacob
 MONO, Gabriel Barend Thabiso
 MONO, Kudumane Daniel
 MONORABANE, Disebo Alicia
 MONOKOANE, Josias Moagi
 MORODU, Tseko George
 MONOKWA, Lomile Lydia
 MONONE, Philemon Nkosana
 MONONE, Thabiso
 MONONYE, Motsumi Moses
 MONOTO, Alina
 MONTSHIMA, Sithunya Michael
 MONTJA, Alpheus
 MONTJA, Makgabo Christina
 MONTJA, Matlou
 MONTJA, Thabo Petrus
 MONTLE, M
 MONTLELENG, Zenzile Simon
 MONTODI, Tebogoo Christopher
 MONTDELI, Abel Tobiasie
 MONTSHIMA, Mbuyiselo Norman
 MONTSHO, Gibert Moleko
 MONTSHO, T
 MONTWEDI, Elizabeth
 MONTWEDI, Ephraim Morwa
 MONTWEDI, Lucky
 MONTWEDI, Martha
 MONTWEDI, Motsei
 MONTWEDI, Thabo
 MONYAI, Dingaan Peter
 MONYAI, Mathson Alfred
 MONYAI, Tatedi Dalpho
 MONYAKALLE, Papo John
 MONYAMANE, Bester
 MONYANE, Amos
 MONYANE, Letsatsi Samuel
 MONYANE, Mathabe Lydia
 MONYE, Lenah
 MONYE, Loosboy
 MONYE, Nananyane Susan
 MONYEBODI, Kwena Johannes
 MONYEBI, Caiphas
 MONYEMORATHO, Moditsha Andries
 MONYPEAO, Daniel Lucas
 MOOBI, Ishmael Maisa
 MOOI (MABEJANA), Trevor Dalinyebo
 MOOI, Gladstone Mlungisi
 MOOI, Marwa Nomathamsanga
 MOOI, Mziwamadoda
 MOOKO, Isaac
 MOOKO, Tshidiso David
 MOONO, Johannes Nkedi
 MOORE, E W
 MOOROSI, Thabo Lucas
 MOOS, Turnell
 MOOSA, Samuel Albert
 MOOTSI, Itumeleng
 MOPE, Motamo
 MOPPE, Barney
 MOPELI, Charles Charles
 MOPELOA, Thabeng Reginald
 MOPHUTHING, Mosoeu Daniel
 MOQHAIE, Mabusane Boy
 MOQHAIE, Thembenie Ida
 MOGHOLISANE, Tshlang Ismael
 MORABA, Joseph
 MORABA, Mathathamula Baldwin
 MORABE, Sello Brian
 MORAI, Motsone
 MORAJANE, Albert
 MORAJANE, Japile Anny
 MORAKA (DIALE), Letoba Caroline
 MORAKA, Kgahludi Bethuel
 MORAKA, Mosai Barnard
 MORAKE, David Sonnyboy
 MORAKE, Kedibone Cynthia
 MORAKE, Patrick Lemphane
 MORAKE, Sello Aziel
 MORAKE, Senzani Mateu
 MORAKE, Zacharia Tili Maeza
 MORAPEDI, Drummond Peter
 MORAPEDI, Mantswe Morgan
 MORARA, Phuti Solomon
 MORARE, Isaac Sakkie
 MORARE, Soteli Nathaniel
 MORATHI, Tsokaek Regina
 MORE, Kau Theophilus
 MOREBODI, Thomas Mmereki
 MOREBUDI, Joseph Sidney
 MOREBUDI, Kenewang Ester
 MOREBUDI, Tumelo Alec
 MOREKI, Simon
 MOREKISI, Motsamai David
 MOREMEDI, Frank
 MOREMEDI, Ramodile Changer
 MOREMI, David Semakaleng
 MOREMI, Edward Makwena
 MOREMI, Hlabana Jeremiah
 MOREMI, Makwena Edward
 MOREMI, Mathadi Christinah
 MOREMI, Raisibe Freddie
 MOREMI, Seemole
 MOREMI, Tsietisi Aaron
 MORESEKAO, David Thupaetse
 MORETI, Daniel Tseneng
 MOREWANE, Kgopotjo Ronald
 MORGET, [Sgt]
 MORIA, Gert Ditabe
 MOROANE, Rammereki John
 MOROBANE, Tlou Dalsen
 MORODU, Lydia
 MORODU, Scheepers
 MOROKE, Isaac
 MOROKE, Johannes Molathegi
 MOROKE, Onkemsetse Elinah
 MOROMODI, Bojani Annikie
 MOROTO, Lucas Matshelle
 MORTEN, Jacobus Johannes
 MORUJI, Monica
 MORUDU, David
 MORUDU, Mitah Tshenolo
 MORUDU, Moses
 MORULANE, Absia
 MORULANE, Petrus
 MORURI, Jacob
 MORURI, Lerato
 MORURI, Manana
 MORURI, Sellinah Masoabi
 MOSA, Moshe Moses
 MOSAE, Phatsoa Andrias
 MOSAKA, Ruben
 MOSAKO, Tekoetsile David
 MOSALA, Masibinyane Joseph
 MOSALA, Michael Samane
 MOSALA, Sello Joel
 MOSALO, Manketseng Mmathebidi
 MOSALO, Mathodi Caroline
 MOSALO, Moagi Peter
 MOSAMO, Lehomo Ben
 MOSANE, Jo Buti
 MOSE, Luyanda Eric
 MOSEBI, Solomon
 MOSEBI, Thabo
 MOSEGEDDI, Moseatsanyane Evelyn
 MOSEHLA, Betty
 MOSEKARE, Oupa
 MOSEKI, Clifford Phiri
 MOSEKI, Michael Sipho
 MOSELAKGOMO, Mokgaetji Masebisa
 MOSELANE, Ngako Jacob Shuffie
 MOSENSA, David
 MOSENSA, Sello Joseph
 MOSENSA, Ponko James
 MOSENSA, Ruth
 MOSES, Neil Michael
 MOSESE, Thandi Lydia
 MOSETLHENG, Evelyn Lethogonolo
 MOSHANE, Moses Phakwe Moleme
 MOSHANE, Zoyisile Given
 MOSHANI, Nontobeko
 MOSHANI, Sabatha
 MOSHANI, Vuyisile William
 MOSHAPA, Teto
 MOSHE, Claudia
 MOSHI, Seemole
 MOSHIMA, Lucia Tlou
 MOSHISHI, Elias
 MOSHOAI, John
 MOSHOBANE, Josephine
 MOSHODI, Maria
 MOSHODI, Paul
 MOSHOBANE, Pebetse Dorah
 MOSHOESHOE, Tsela Gregory
 MOSHOEU, Gabriel Paki
 MOSHOEU, Goitseone Gordon
 MOSHOEU, Johanna
 MOSHOEUNYANE, Elijah
 MOSHOEUNYANE, Gasekgatle Sarah
 MOSHOKE, Benedict Ngokaetsi
 MOSHOLI, Ernest
 MOSHOPE, Flora Luvhengo
 MOSHWETSI, Mosalakae Percival
 MOSHWEU, Ellen Mochudimang
 MOSHWEU, Muthusiemang Elias
 MOSHWEUNYANE, Maje Joseph
 MOSI, Norman Sandile
 MOSIA, George Tsele
 MOSIA, Mirriam Tshidi
 MOSIA, Mokete
 MOSIA, Nthatseng Olga
 MOSIA, Ouboy Joseph
 MOSIAMANE, Tsholane Agnes
 MOSIANE, Gabootwelwe Christopher
 MOSIAPOA, Bebut
 MOSIEA, Tumalo Jonas
 MOSIMA, Abel Dipatla
 MOSIMA, Anna Mmuwaja
 MOSIMA, Moshita Jan
 MOSIMA, Sebetlalo Nelson
 MOSIMANE, Phaki Ezekiel
 MOSIMANE, Piet Ratshono
 MOSIMANE, Seabata Francis
 MOSIMANEOTSILE COGWANE, Godfrey
 MOSIMANYANA, Abung Joyce
 MOSIMANYANA, Binkie Anna
 MOSIMANYANA, Child Of Ntobo Florah
 MOSIMANYANA, Dipuo
 MOSIMANYANA, Mmadolo
 MOSIMANYANA, Ntelo Florah
 MOSIROE, Thabang Augustinus
 MOSITO, Isaac Ike
 MOSIYA, Mishack Christian
 MOSOETS, Benjamin
 MOSOETS, Keriling Benjamin
 MOSOETS, Samuel
 MOSOEU, Janabari Johannes
 MOSOEU, Lazarus John
 MOSOEU, Mogege David
 MOSOEUUNYANE, Diseko Isaac
 MOSOLO, Pule Meshack
 MOSOLOI, Jerry Joseph
 MOSOME, Adolphus Motsemme
 MOSTERT, P. J.
 MOSUE, Solomon
 MOSWANE, Samuel Mthababani
 MOSWEI, Jacobus Moagiemang
 MOTALE, Sibongile Anna
 MOTANG, Alexandra
 MOTASI, Busi
 MOTASI, Richard
 MOTASI, Rita
 MOTAU, Abednigo Botiki Leu
 MOTAU, Josephine
 MOTAU, Peter Sello
 MOTAU, Refilwe Gift
 MOTAU, Tagishe Willie
 MOTAU, Thomas Tommy
 MOTAUENG, Adeline
 MOTAUENG, Diratsagae Winston
 MOTAUENG, Ephraim
 MOTAUENG, Fikile Judith
 MOTAUENG, George Samuel
 MOTAUENG, Hendrick Dupo
 MOTAUENG, Henry Moloanta
 MOTAUENG, Jacob Moganelwa Didae
 MOTAUENG, Joseph Makhekwa
 MOTAUENG, Josephina Mamkwe
 MOTAUENG, Kgomo Alfred
 MOTAUENG, Kotsio Joshua
 MOTAUENG, Lekgotla Ezekiel
 MOTAUENG, Mafeletsane Johannes
 MOTAUENG, Maria
 MOTAUENG, Maria Thabisile
 MOTAUENG, Mikia
 MOTAUENG, Modiemli Elizabeth
 MOTAUENG, Morena Samuel
 MOTAUENG, Ntamakhala Dyke
 MOTAUENG, Petros Motalepula
 MOTAUENG, Philemon
 MOTAUENG, Ruth
 MOTAUENG, Sekonyela Gerald
 MOTAUENG, Sello Pula
 MOTAUENG, Teboho Esia
 MOTAUENG, Thabo Isaac
 MOTAUENG, Tsho David
 MOTAUENG, Tlali Abel
 MOTAUENG, Tseliso Joseph
 MOTAUENG, Victor Sipho
 MOTAEANE, Hellen
 MOTEBELE, Rosina Dikeledi
 MOTELE, Moekeitsi Bethuel
 MOTELE, Pinkie
 MOTELE, Puleng Rosina
 MOTETE, Mholihlaha Phineas
 MOTHA, Dinah Hadebe
 MOTHA, Jan Uystyta
 MOTHA, Janawarie
 MOTHA, Margaret Bhesi
 MOTHA, Meshack
 MOTHA, Mthokozi
 MOTHA, Sindisive Veronica
 MOTHA, Veli Joseph
 MOTHABE, Molathegi Floers
 MOTHAGO, Esrom
 MOTHAKAMA, Sellone Maria
 MOTHANDBAUZO, Nomachule
 MOTHAPA, Fahlara Rebecca
 MOTHAPA, Madiopane Refiloe
 MOTHAPA, P
 MOTHAPA, Piet Makgobathe Andrew
 MOTHAPA, Selepe Amos
 MOTHIBA, France Maboko
 MOTHIBA, Lesiba Maxwell
 MOTHIBE, Frans
 MOTHIBEDI, Johannes Vincent George
 MOTHIBELI, Kok Daniel
 MOTHIBELI, Nkopane Meshack
 MOTHIBELI, Sechake Samuel
 MOTHIBI, Badiri Ephraim
 MOTHIBI, Ezekiel Pendo Mokere
 MOTHIBI, Frans Member
 MOTHIBI, Kgosisile Hendrick
 MOTHIBI, Lucas Mareko
 MOTHIBI, Sylvia Potata
 MOTHIBI, Teboho Samuel
 MOTHIBI, Tm
 MOTHIBINYANE, Bothoile Dorah
 MOTHJDA, Samuel Tsediso
 MOTHOA, Frans Monawa
 MOTHOA, Kleinboy Masenten Yang
 MOTHOA, Mamothusi Rachel
 MOTHOA, Paulos Papa
 MOTHOB, Keletu Emma
 MOTHOB, Molatelo Mary
 MOTHOGANE, Michael Ramohlhane
 MOTHOKOANE, Rebecca
 MOTHOLO, Mapanya Roseta
 MOTHOPENG, Urbanah Bibi
 MOTHOPENG, Zephania Lekoama
 MOTHOP, Paulos
 MOTHOWAGAE, Lerumo Ishmael
 MOTHOWAGAE, Ramotshootswana Bob
 MOTHSWENE, Patricia
 MOTHUNSI, Nkhusi Moses
 MOTHUPI, Abel Makampe
 MOTHUPI, Daniel
 MOTHUPI, George Jordan
 MOTHUPI, Magiseng Abram
 MOTHUPI, Petrus Buti
 MOTHUSI, Sello Paulus
 MOTIANE, M
 MOTIKI, Deborah Zwda
 MOTIKI, Tespo
 MOTINGOE, Joseph Mottsagae
 MOTJEANE, Ceaser
 MOTJEANE, Maud Fikile Lucy
 MOTJEKWANE, Philip
 MOTJOPE, Thato Eunice
 MOTJOTJI, Makalo Charles
 MOTJUAD, Mpho Samuel
 MOTLAFI, Isaac
 MOTLAFI, Manaki Violet
 MOTLAFI, Stephens Khotso
 MOTLALE, Charles Motogelwa
 MOTLALEKGOSI, Mmamooa Martha
 MOTLANA, Nthato
 MOTLATSI, Tahlieho Canaseus
 MOTLATSI, Taylor Malu
 MOTLELENG, Richard Tankiso
 MOTLENG, Mamaseli Mirriam
 MOTLHABANE, Nkohlupheka Daisy
 MOTLHABANE, Pj
 MOTLHABI, Gobuamang Evah
 MOTLHAJWA, Johannes
 MOTLODISI, Alfred
 MOTLOHI, Moses Matumple
 MOTLOHI, Solomon Ramasale
 MOTLOKOA, Abednigo Queen
 MOTLOKOA, Patrick
 MOTLOKWA, Kathodi Alpheus
 MOTLOKWA, Madumetja Simon
 MOTLOUNG (NDLOVU), Phillimon
 MOTLOUNG, M
 MOTLOUNG, Ernest Solomon
 MOTLOUNG, Gerald Meshack
 MOTLOUNG, Isaac Mbuyisane
 MOTLOUNG, Jern
 MOTLOUNG, Lydia Mmatheo
 MOTLOUNG, Makekeke
 MOTLOUNG, Mamafudi Saulina
 MOTLOUNG, Matsikiso
 MOTLOUNG, Molantwa Joseph Mayoyo
 MOTLOUNG, Nkhelele Elizabeth
 MOTLOUNG, Ntetaleng Catherine
 MOTLOUNG, Victoria Penelope
 MOTMANI, Nkosemtu
 MOTOAI, Daniel Mtsamai
 MOTDAI, Maureen Mpho
 MOTONA, Matlou Lulu
 MOTONA, Mosima Gladys
 MOTONA, Tshwenti Johannes
 MOTSA, James Bangu
 MOTSA, Sxoxo
 MOTSAMAI, Gadifile Maria
 MOTSAMAI, Jan Tumelo

MOTSAMAI, Kgashoane Daniel	MPANZA, Richard	MPOSA, Tyuka Johnson	MSELEKU, Ntonto Florina	MSOMI, Bongani
MOTSANANA, Molope Petrus	MPANZA, Sibongile	MPOSELWA, Gwebeletlanzi	MSELEKU, Olvi Bajabulile	MSOMI, Bongani Johnson
MOTSAPI, Michael Motale	MPANZA, Sibongile Qhamukile	MPOSULA, Mohanohe Johannes	MSELEKU, Qondeni Albertina	MSOMI, Bongile Ntombi
MOTSAU, Jacob	MPANZA, Sihle Makhapheni	MPOSULA, Sifiso	MSELEKU, Robert Gagu	MSOMI, Buryilephi Khumbuzile
MOTSE, David	MPANZA, Sizani Christinah	MPOSULA, Sipho Samuel	MSELEKU, Sandile Richman	MSOMI, Clementine
MOTSE, Mary Dikeledi	MPANZA, Sizani Marry	MPOTSA, Jama Isaac	MSELEKU, Sydney	MSOMI, Cornelius Thulisani
MOTSEI, Moses	MPANZA, Stembiso	MPOTULU, Nozipho Edith	MSELEKU, Themba Alfred	MSOMI, Delisile Jermina
MOTSEOLE, Philemon Moeketsi	MPANZA, Thethelela	MPOZA, Lulama Jeremiah	MSHAYISA, Jingqi	MSOMI, Dingeni
MOTSEPE, Godfrey Josiah Moditseng	MPANZA, Thobile	MPUKUNYONI, Ngxolo	MSHENGU, Bonginkosi Matshilo	MSOMI, Duke Welcome
MOTSEPE, Goodwill Linda	MPANZA, Thulani	MPULO, Armstrong Muntovenkosi	MSHENGU, Fanyana Job	MSOMI, Enock Muntu
MOTSEPE, Joseph Philemon	MPANZA, Vikangani Evelyn	MPULO, Happy	MSHENGU, Johannes	MSOMI, Erick Zamokwakhe
MOTSEPE, Ngwato Mannie	MPANZA, Vumile Gladys	MPULO, James George	MSHENGU, Patrick	MSOMI, Fephi Thophi
MOTSEPO, Tseko Joshua	MPANZA, William	MPULO, Mkhophi Petrus	MSHENGU, Theminkosi	MSOMI, Fikelephi Zintombi
MOTSETSI, Tankiso Simon	MPANZA, Zakele Gregory	MPULO, Sifiso Emmanuel	MSHOLE, Edward	MSOMI, Finkie Maria
MOTSEPE, Salmon Monalane	MPAPA, Ernest Thabo	MPULO, Zanele	MSHUBA, Alzina	MSOMI, Gamalakhe Amos
MOTSEPE, Tamporo James	MPAPANE, Mbang	MPULO, Zanele	MSHUBULU, Ntsikelelo Justice	MSOMI, Gcelina Ngcone
MOTSEPE, Mutsu Sonnyboy	MPATANI, Monde	MPULO, Zanele	MSIA, Nkosana Kingsley	MSOMI, Gibson Thulani
MOTSHOLE, David Oupa	MPEDI, Dikeledi Roselia	MPUMLO, Thobekile Sidwell	MSIBE, Jabulani Richard	MSOMI, Hawukile
MOTSHWANEDEI, Moses Serunye	MPEDI, Jacob Malaka	MPUMLUWANA, Nokuzola Priscilla	MSIBI,	MSOMI, Irvine Khangelani
MOTSHWANEDEI, Jacob	MPEDI, Mokonyane Isaac	MPUMLUWANA, Vincent	MSIBI, Ali Alpheus	MSOMI, Israel Khomba
MOTSIRI, Daniel Stephen Nthoesang	MEPELO, Mick Fikile Rufus	MPUNGA, Desmond Manzolvandle	MSIBI, Abaas Frans	MSOMI, Joana Makhosazane
MOTSIRI, Mapule Anna	MEPEANE, Nomvula Anna Sarah	MPUNGPOSE, Bhekinhlahlha Goodluck	MSIBI, Fanlo Goldem	MSOMI, Johanna Boshwive
MOTSIRI, Nthoesang Stephen	MEPE, Vusumuzi France	MPUNGPOSE, Edgar Dumisani	MSIBI, Jabulani Joseph	MSOMI, Joseph
MOTSIRI, Sam	MPEMBA, Jacob	MPUNGPOSE, Themba Richard	MSIBI, Jabulani Sydney	MSOMI, Judith Mthandeni
MOTSISI, Patrick	MPEMBA, Pumulile	MPUNGPOSE, Velisile	MSIBI, Jubilia Jubulile	MSOMI, Khanyisile Clotilda
MOTSITSE, Teboho Jacob	MPETETO, Embrose	MPUNTSHE, Vuyani	MSIBI, Kidibone Johanna	Nokuthokoza
MOTSITSI, Doctor Elliot	MPETA, Ernest Sikhumbuzo	MPUNZANA, Dorah	MSIBI, Mbolawa Michael	MSOMI, Khanyisile Margaret
MOTSITSI, Joseph	MPETA, Michael Makwedini	MPUNZANA, Mdletshe	MSIBI, Michael	MSOMI, Khumbulani
MOTSDALEDI, Elias Mathope	MPETA, Vienne	MPUSHE, Lele	MSIBI, Moffat Siphiwe	MSOMI, Kulumelapi
MOTSDANE, John Lehloholono	MPETE, Dineo Cathrine	MPUSHE, Sidumo Archibold	MSIBI, Msesi Tryphina	MSOMI, Linda Edmund
MOTSDANE, Bhekinyana David	MPETE, Rankwe Kleinbooi	MPUTANA, Matuse	MSIBI, Petros Peta	MSOMI, Luke Richard
MOTSDANE, Emma	MPETSHENI, Boyce	MPYA, Sello George	MSIBI, Richard Jabulani	MSOMI, Lungisani David
MOTSDANE, Jeannette Maletsatsi	MPEVANA, Mandia	MPYANE, Martin Stephen	MSIBI, Sibobo Christina	MSOMI, Makana Darkie
MOTSDANE, Joyce	MPFUNI, Tshinakaho Sophie	MQADI, Duduzile Elsie	MSIBI, Sibuso	MSOMI, Mandlakayise Raphael
MOTSDANE, Mokhifa Petrus	MPHAGA, Mogogudi Buurman	MQADI, Ivy Zanele	MSIBI, Sikhalo	MSOMI, Mandlenkosi Vittalisi
MOTSDANE, Polediso Hubert	MPHAGO, Patrick Thumetjie	MQADI, Lunga	MSIBI, Sipho Selby	MSOMI, Mandlokayise
MOTSDANE, Sello William	MPHAPHELE, Andrew	MQADI, Sifiso Goodman	MSIBI, Sphamandani Stanley	MSOMI, Mangiliza Rose
MOTSDANE, Sibongile Esther	MPHAPHELE, Mkhululi Brian	MQADI, Tolani Eunice	MSIBI, Vusi Hymie	MSOMI, Margaret
MOTSDANE, Virginia	MPHAPHELE, Nkeko	MQADI, Vikinduku	MSIKINYA, Mutuzeli Charles	MSOMI, Matilda Nokukhanya
MOTSDANYANE, Petrus Tshiemane	MPHAPHELE, Pururu Louis Rhee	MQAKAZA, Sibebele	MSIMANG, Fikile Isabel	MSOMI, Matsediso Flora
MOTSDI, Vincent Soke	MPHAPHELE, Steven Strike	MQALANGA, Tukie Joseph	MSIMANG, Noma Barbara	MSOMI, Mbuso Holiness
MOTSOKI, John	MPHAPHELE, Mosehlane	MQAMELO, Mongameli Aubrey Matoto	MSIMANG, Thulani Goodenough	MSOMI, Mbuyiselwa
MOTSOKI, Bella	MPHAKI, Leonard Jacob	MQATHI, Loza Geratina	MSIMANGA, Dadi Saul	MSOMI, Mcushwa Nivard
MOTSOSI, Magdeline Gabaththale	MPHALALA, Kholisile France	MQAYANA, David Zolisele	MSIMANGA, Madlote Anna	MSOMI, Melta Magumbi
MOTSUENYANE, Jocelyn Nomqgibelo	MPHALALA, Sipho Elphas	MQAYANA, Isaac Madodana	MSIMANGA, Maditaba Sylvia	MSOMI, Mfanafuthi Sydney
MOTSUKE, Popedi William	MPHALALE, Maria	MQAYANA, Martha Mannini	MSIMANGA, Mamokete Maria	MSOMI, Mfungenlwa
MOTSUMI, Ephraim Jonas Israel	MPHAMABANE, Bukiswa	MQAYANA, Mpitzele Peter	MSIMANGA, Mzondase Elizabeth	MSOMI, Mgqambi
MOTSUMI, Thapelo Martiens	MPHAMABANI, Nohambile	MQHANA, Msokli	MSIMANGA, Shezi	MSOMI, Mgwenzi
MOTSUSI, Agnes Gabatsoalewe	MPHAMBO, Cosy Irene	MQIKELA, Mlandeli Walter	MSIMANGA, Thomas	MSOMI, Mkhanyiseleni Elphas
MOTSWADIRENG, Molefi William	MPHAMBO, Fanyana Mathews	MQIKELA, Zoleka Constance	MSIMANGO, Baloni Richard	MSOMI, Mkhanyisela Eifas
MOTSWAKHUMO, Mmannyana	MPHANGOMA, Tlida	MQOBONGO, Nonhlopko Maria	MSIMANGO, Bolawane Loraine	MSOMI, Moses Mandla
MOTSWANA, Margaret Mapule	MPHAPHULI, Mphaya Edward	MQOKHLO, Sindiswa Virginia	MSIMANGO, Dress Jack	MSOMI, Mveyehi Evelyn
MOTSWENI, Bitana Emma	MPHEHLA, Thapelo Fanuel	MQOMA, Abel Mpozame	MSIMANGO, Elvis Sibusiso	MSOMI, Nabukukuyisa Janet
MOTUANG, Thandiwe Elizabeth	MPHELE, Lydia	MQOMA, Masesi Josephine	MSIMANGO, Emmanuel Mhlakaniphi	MSOMI, Ndukuzezw
MOTUMI, Israel Lepekola	MPHAKA, Tshelo Isaac	MQOMEZULU, Petrus Mohau	MSIMANGO, Eric Fana	MSOMI, Ngagenseandla
MOUKANGE, Sarah Mantwa	MPHELE, Lydia	MQOMI, Bongani	MSIMANGO, Evelinah Quma	MSOMI, Nhlanihla Michael
MOUMAKWA, Kealeboga Grace	MPHAKWA, Mbongeni Moses	MQONI, Menziwa Voltaire	MSIMANGO, Herbert Zibuse	MSOMI, Nivard
MOUMAKWA, Khutsafalo Elizabeth	MPHIRIME, Aaron Mokhele	MQONIBU, Mzukisi Thomas	MSIMANGO, Jabulani Abraham	MSOMI, Nkosiyangithanda
MOUMAKWA, Moses	MPHITI, Mandlakayise Matu	MQUDLWA, Pietman	MSIMANGO, Jabulani Samul	MSOMI, Nomathekisi
MOVHE, Violet	MPHO, Joel Parara	MQUNSENI, Khuzwayo	MSIMANGO, Joseph Msebe	MSOMI, Nomsa Mildred
MOXHAM, John Arthur	MPHOLE, Ephraim Mosolodi	MQULWANA, Mzuvulive	MSIMANGO, Joseph Sikele	MSOMI, Nomusa
MOYAKE, Daisi Nolesin	MPHOLE, Ishmael	MQUMAKO, Monase Letta	MSIMANGO, Mfundikile Thomas	MSOMI, Ntombe Anastasia
MOYANA, Semangele Getrude	MPHOMANE, Mtuzi Hackington	MQWEBA, Nomachule Glenrose	MSIMANGO, Pauline	MSOMI, Ntomfobike
MOYANE, Bernadette Disibo	MPHOMANE, Tsetsani Daniel	MRALASI, Alwinus Ndidophela	MSIMANGO, Philemon Mjanyelwa	MSOMI, Patience Nokuthula
MOYETKESI, Tukumana John	MPHOTHULO, Joseph	MRASHULA, Jongintlalo	MSIMANGO, Sakia	MSOMI, Paul Sibusiso
MOYENI, Tembani	MPHUTHI, Tseko	MROLA, Simanga Sidwell	MSIMANGO, Thabani Terrence	MSOMI, Petros Bonginkosi
MOYES, Gavin David	MPHUTHI, Samuel	MROLATA, Eunice Boniswa	MSIMANGO, Zenzele Sixtus	MSOMI, Protacia Bafunani
MOYI, Sizakele Ephron	MPHUTHI, Samuel Bafana	MRUKISA, Neliswa	MSIMANGO, Guguletu Innocent	MSOMI, Rosebina
MOYSE, Divan	MPHUTHI, Ntsemeleli	MRUBATA, Petrus Ntsikelelo	MSIZA, Amos	MSOMI, Saclele Estophus
MOYISWA, Siskinkili	MPIKO, Mokhehi	MRULEKANA, Julius	MSIZA, Anna Batanile	MSOMI, Silindile Gontekese Janet
MOYO, Norman Baye	MPILA, Chris Liphinda	MRWEBI, Nkosinathi Eric	MSIZA, Babusani Sophia	MSOMI, Simiso Cyril
MOZELEPA,	MPILA, Sipundla	MS, Gogi Grace	MSIZA, Bettie Bacedeni	MSOMI, Sipho Herbert
MPAHLA, Jomo	MPINDA, Samkela	MSABALA, Allen Darius	MSIZA, Elizabeth Baphelle	MSOMI, Sita Alson
MPAHLA, Mcinjana	MPINDI, Mzwamadoda	MSABALA, Sisibusiswe Lucia	MSIZA, Bettie Bacedeni	MSOMI, Solani
MPAKATHI, Noluthando Sweetness	MPISANE, Siyabonga Ndoda	MSAHILE, Treyer Freda Nidda	MSIZA, Elizabeth Baphelle	MSOMI, Stella Patience
MPALALA, Ncedani Samson	MPISANE, Ten Vincent	MSANE, Bazabile	MSIZA, Goodwill	MSOMI, Steven Mzikayise
MPALWENI, Wellington Mzwakhe	MPISANE, Thembisile Princess	MSANE, Esau Bhekuyise	MSIZA, Johannes Legare	MSOMI, Swelene
MPAMBANE, Khanyiswa	MPISANE, Nzimisi John	MSANE, Nkosi Christopher	MSIZA, Joseph Mshiwa	MSOMI, Tandekile
MPAMBANI, Luvuyo	MPISI, Lincon Sihle	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, Julia	MSOMI, Thandilwe Mayvis
MPANGASE, Mlandeli Andrias	MPISI, Sipho Cypran	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, Mamoropa Leti	MSOMI, Thandwayinisi
MPANGE, Maphele	MPITI, Simiselo	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, Mamphela Daniel	MSOMI, Themane
MPANGELA, Mahlangulise Sellina	MPITSA, Banile Robert	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, Moses Vusumuzi	MSOMI, Themba Frederick
MPANGISO, Nomsa	MPITSA, Mawzi Shredreck	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, Moses Vusumuzi	MSOMI, Thembekele Florah
MPANI, Licence	MPITSA, Joseph	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, Nomsuthu Maria	MSOMI, Thembeni
MPANI, Nobuntu Maud	MPITSA, Rebecca Ndwardi	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, Piet Maphoyisa	MSOMI, Thembi Sellina
MPANTSIRWA, Mcingelwa	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, Solomon	MSOMI, Thembi Mirriam
MPANZA, Bekapi Netha	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, Joya Nomvula	MSOMI, Thokozani Goodenough
MPANZA, Bonginkosi Ephraim	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Thokozile
MPANZA, Bongiwile Lucia	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Thulani Patrick
MPANZA, Boniswe	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Thuthuka Philemon
MPANZA, Busisiwe Beatrice	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Timothy
MPANZA, Dingamandla Aloes	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Tryphina
MPANZA, Joseph	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Velephi
MPANZA, Kwenzokwabo Hezekiel	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Winnie
MPANZA, Madoda	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Zanele Abigail
MPANZA, Margaret Dudu	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Zibuyile Busisiwe
MPANZA, Mathwele Jeconias	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Zothini
MPANZA, Mfano Stephen	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Zothini
MPANZA, Mupumelo	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Zothini
MPANZA, Musa	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Zothini
MPANZA, Nsukwana Wilberforce	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Zothini
MPANZA, Octavia Duduzile	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Zothini
MPANZA, Petros Zakhele	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Zothini
MPANZA, Plus Bheke	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Zothini
MPANZA, Prince Sihle	MPITSA, Taramuka Samson	MSANE, Nkosiinathi	MSIZA, ZWWE, Musawenkosi Cedrick	MSOMI, Zothini

MSUTHU, Litha	MTHEMBU, Charity	MTHEMBU, Thembi Victoria	MTHETHWA, Thulani Alfred	MTIMKA, Noxolo
MSUTHU, Mbulelo	MTHEMBU, Christobel Thuleleni	MTHEMBU, Theminkosi Bernard	MTHETHWA, Thuleleni	MTIMKHULU, Alinah Ntombazana
MSUTHWANA, Xoliswa Msuthwana	MTHEMBU, Diliza Abednego	MTHEMBU, Thenjwaphi	MTHETHWA, Victor Velaphi	MTIMKHULU, Lifa Alwin
MSUTU, Mbulelo	MTHEMBU, Dina	MTHEMBU, Thoko Elizabeth	MTHETHWA, Vivian Mphahlele	MTIMKHULU, Merriet Velephi
MSUTU, Mthunzi Pendlly	MTHEMBU, Ditaba Joseph	MTHEMBU, Thokozane Ronald	MTHETHWA, Vusumuzi Vincent	MTIMKHULU, Petrus
MSUTWANA, Nthunzini Valencia	MTHEMBU, Dlomoyi Simon	MTHEMBU, Thokozani Sydney	MTHETHWA, Welcome Themba	MTIMKHULU, Tladi
MSWANE, Derrick Vusumuzi	MTHEMBU, Dumazile Esther	MTHEMBU, Thokaleke	MTHETHWA, Xolani	MTIMKHULU, Daluxolo Dugmore
MSWANE, Isaac	MTHEMBU, Dumisani	MTHEMBU, Thompolo	MTHETHWA, Xolani	MTIMKHULU, Mvula Malizole
MSWAZI, Alexia	MTHEMBU, Dumisani	MTHEMBU, Thulani Mzikayifani	MTHETHWA, Yithuma	MTIMKHULU, Wandile Richman
MSWELI, Buti Ronald	MTHEMBU, Dumisani Mbongiseni	MTHEMBU, Thulani Petros	MTHETHWA, Zinhle	MTIMMUNE, Zondani Moses
MSWELI, Duduzile Patricia	MTHEMBU, Dumisani Joseph	MTHEMBU, Tsheleni Isabel	MTHETHWA, Zizwe Abednigo	MTINTSO, Thenjive Ethel
MSWELI, Falsendlini	MTHEMBU, Eliakim Makhosi	MTHEMBU, Vusi Innocent	MTHTHVO, Ngenzeni Margaret	MTIRARA, Lubalo
MSWELI, Goodness Makhosazane	MTHEMBU, Elphas	MTHEMBU, Vuyiswa Charity	MTHETO, Nonaza Norah	MTIRARA, Nomsa Olive
MSWELI, Hamilton Bukhosibani	MTHEMBU, Elphas Theminkosi	MTHEMBU, Wilson Themble	MTHTHWA, Mduduzi	MTIVALE, Bushuli Effie
MSWELI, Irene Thandiwile	MTHEMBU, Ernest Mandlakayise	MTHEMBU, Wiseman Mkhuphukeli	MTHTHWA, Mfanoibomvu	MTIVANE, Theminkosi
MSWELI, Josephina	MTHEMBU, Fani Caleb	MTHEMBU, Xolani	MTHTHWA, Phila	MTJALI, Biza
MSWELI, Katsani	MTHEMBU, Francisca	MTHEMBU, Xolani Eric	MTHTHWA, Siphu Hamilton	MTJALI, Bhekumuzi Promise
MSWELI, Khangekile Thembekile	MTHEMBU, Freddie Musa	MTHEMBU, Zandile Maureen	MTIMKHULU, Ambrose	MTJALI, Bongekile Olga
MSWELI, Lucas Pickup	MTHEMBU, Gimbane Johannes	MTHEMBU, Zanyiwé Agness	MTIMKHULU, Caswell Zizwe	MTJALI, Buyephi
MSWELI, Musawenkosi Theminkosi	MTHEMBU, Gini Mitta	MTHEMBU, Zibuyile Jeannet	MTIMKHULU, Elijah Sungwana	MTJALI, Dumisani
MSWELI, Princess Gugu	MTHEMBU, Goodness Qondeni	MTHEMBU, Zinhle Norris	Welcome	MTJALI, Elias
MSWELI, Sibusiso	MTHEMBU, Grace Bambekile	MTHEMBU, Zuziwe Poppy	MTIMKHULU, John Mphakeleli	MTJALI, Ellen
MSWENI, Simon Bongani	MTHEMBU, Grace Zion	MTHTHJANE, Clement Manala	MTIMKHULU, Lefa	MTJALI, Getrude Ntombifikele
MSWESWE, Ganda	MTHEMBU, Inkosi Ngqosi Elphas	MTHTHJO, Mavalini	MTIMKHULU, Ncedumiso Petrus	MTJALI, Hlazi
MTALANE, Amadeus	MTHEMBU, Israel Linduyise	MTHTHJO, Nomadlangathi	MTIMKHULU, Nicodemus Mahleu	MTJALI, Hlengiwe
MTALANE, Gladness Nomusa	MTHEMBU, Jabu Zikhokhile	MTHTHJO, Wibby	MTIMKHULU, Raymond	MTJALI, Kholwaphi Themboni
MTALANE, Makhosazane Annatoria	MTHEMBU, Jackson	MTHTHWA (KHOZA), Shonaphi	MTIMKHULU, Sibanda Phineas	MTJALI, Mafunze
MTALANE, Nobile Ghorla	MTHEMBU, James	Sindisive	MTIMKHULU, Simon	MTJALI, Maphutheho Ethel
MTALANE, Nonhlanhla Doris	MTHEMBU, Jerry	MTHTHWA, Aaron Mxosheni	MTIMKHULU, Thembeni Gladys	MTJALI, Mmiseni
MTALANE, Thoko Saraphina	MTHEMBU, Jimmy Msizeni	MTHTHWA, Agnes "Nene"	MTIMKHULU, Thokozile Maria	MTJALI, Nombulelo Annah
MTAMBO, Bongani Joseph	MTHEMBU, John	MTHTHWA, Amos	MTIMKHULU, Xolisile Thikane	MTJALI, Ntombini
MTAMBO, Boyboy	MTHEMBU, Joseph Russel	MTHTHWA, Babane Derrick	MTIMKHULU, Paul Nkosi	MTJALI, Ntuzini
MTAMBO, Harriet Beatrice	MTHEMBU, Kati Wiseman Mkhuphukeli	MTHTHWA, Beshwara	MTIMKHULU, Siphivho	MTJALI, Philemon
MTAMBO, Lindwe Theodorah	MTHEMBU, Khaya John	MTHTHWA, Bethuel	MTIMMUNE (SKOSANA), Bikwaphi	MTJALI, Philip Mfanalezi
MTAMBO, Zondumuntu Ephraim	MTHEMBU, Khokhi	MTHTHWA, Bhekifika	Martha	MTJALI, Siponyosa Sayitsheni
MTAMO, Khulekile Shadrack	MTHEMBU, Khulisile Aaron	MTHTHWA, Bhekizenze Moses	MTIMMUNE, Aaron Khohliswa	MTJALI, Solekile
MTAMZELI, Sihlanu	MTHEMBU, Kwazikwakhe Mfana	MTHTHWA, Bheko Phillip	MTIMMUNE, Anna Ncema	MTJALI, Thembelihle Lezinah
MTAMZELI, Toto Lumile Albert	MTHEMBU, Lindwe Mavis	MTHTHWA, Bhekuyise	MTIMMUNE, Cassie Pauline	MTJALI, Thembisile
MTBEKWANA, Loli	MTHEMBU, Lindwe Nyembezi Charity	MTHTHWA, Bonga	MTIMMUNE, Freddy	MTJALI, Unknown
MTBESE, Mlungisi	MTHEMBU, Lingsay Bhekukwenza	MTHTHWA, Bongani	MTIMMUNE, Jabulane Johannes	MTJALI, Vitus Funeyakhle
MTBEMBU, Constance Sizakele	MTHEMBU, Lolo Bafanyana	MTHTHWA, Bongani Sindrie	MTIMMUNE, Jeremiah	MTJALI, Vukaphi
MTBEMBU, Dalive	MTHEMBU, Lucky Moffet	MTHTHWA, Bonginkosi Phanga	MTIMMUNE, Lahline Emily	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTBEMBU, Frank	MTHEMBU, Mahboyi Elphas	MTHTHWA, Boniswive	MTIMMUNE, Mgutshwe John	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTBEMBU, Qalokwakhe	MTHEMBU, Makhanyi	MTHTHWA, Brenda Mbalehle	MTIMMUNE, Nana Eva	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTBEMBU, Thoko Grace	MTHEMBU, Makhosi Elakini	MTHTHWA, Canan Kekana	MTIMMUNE, Sarah	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTESHI, Ellen	MTHEMBU, Mandisa Beauty	MTHTHWA, Casheleni	MTIMMUNE, Thoko Sarah	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTETWA, Bertinah	MTHEMBU, Mandla Lenford	MTHTHWA, Chizelubani	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTETWA, Josiah	MTHEMBU, Mano Caleb	MTHTHWA, Dumisani	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTETWA, Makosezwe	MTHEMBU, Manyogotwana	MTHTHWA, Elizabeth	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTETWA, Mandla Joseph	MTHEMBU, Maria	MTHTHWA, Emmanuel	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTETWA, Mandakayise Douglas	MTHEMBU, Mayvis Philipinah	MTHTHWA, Emmanuel Bongani	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTETWA, Manoni Nelisiwe	MTHEMBU, Mavimbiswe Johannes	MTHTHWA, Ephraim Thami	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTETWA, Maria	MTHEMBU, Mbhekini Isaac	MTHTHWA, Ettie	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTETWA, Nodoyi Vincent	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTETWA, Zikhokhile Grace Celiwe	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTETWA, Zwelini John	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTABEL, Manqoba	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTABELA, Bheki Jacky	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTABELA, Enoch Bongikwazi	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTABELA, Philane Innocent	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Bhekise Wallace	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Bhekuyise Percy	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Bonakele	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Bonakele Philipine	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Bongani Innocent	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Bonginkosi Cyril	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Charles Mthokozisi	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, David Themba	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Ephina	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Fikileli Elenia	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Kufakwezwe Enoch	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Melita	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Musawenkosi Elias	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Muzivhenlanhla Petros	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Nkosiathi	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Ntuthuko	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Richard Ambrose	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Thembeni Dulana	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Valid Fano Mlungisi	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTALANE, Wiseman Njabulo	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTAMAZELI, Gama	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTAMANA, Martha Nompumelelo	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEBULE, Ignatius "Gib"	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEKU, Godswill Charles	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBA, Maud Constance Themba	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBI, Zobi Doris	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Abel Patrick	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Agnes Elsie	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Agnes Elsie	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Bafana Alnet	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Balungile Khonzani	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Bayisaphi	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Beatrice Badingile	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Bellina	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Ben	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Bheki	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Bhekisizwe Shadrack	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Bhekisiza	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Bhekisiza Francis	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Bhekizizwe Petros	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Bonakele Ntombivlele	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Bonginkosi Amon	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Bonginkosi Fulathela	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Boxer Joseph	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Boyiboy	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile
MTHEMBU, Catherine Thembisile	MTHEMBU, Mduduzi Smalridge	MTHTHWA, Fekile	MTIMMUNE, Mthabuthinyana Johannes	MTJALI, Zilandile

MTSHWENI, Elias T	MYAMBI, Mankuntswana Alfred	MYBURG, J.Z.M.S.	MZIMELA, Sandile	MZULWINI, Bhekamakhosi S Younger
MTSHWENI, Jacob	MYANDABA, Nontutuzelo Totiyiswa	MYEHA, Myamezelli Nathiel	MZIMELA, Senior	Brother
MTSHWENI, Piet	MYANI, Tetomana	MYEKE, Simon	MZIMELA, Sibani	MZULWINI, Fakekaya Joseph
MTSHWENI, Siponono Anna	MYEKA, Zamani	MYENE, Ambrose Jabulani	MZIMELA, Sikulute	MZULWINI, Hlekiensi Lye
MTSHWEVI, Gijimane Jacob	MVELASE, B	MYENDE, Thandamayende	MZIMELA, Siphwe Ntombenzima	MZULWINI, Mandla Victor
MTSHWENI, Buti Mathews	MVELASE, Elizabeth Ketty Nomkhosi	MYENI, Bonginkosi	MZIMELA, Siph	MZULWINI, Mano Doris
MTSWENI, Dick	MVELASE, Florence	MYENI, Caiphas	MZIMELA, Thandekile Mantombi	MZULWINI, Mfanazane Robert
MTSWENI, Emnah	MVELASE, Joonah Jabulisile	MYENI, Cornelius Simphiwe	MZIMELA, Thembi Mirriam	MZULWINI, Mfano Phillip
MTSWENI, Kenneth Mlawayedwa	MVELASE, John Vorster	MYENI, Dingase	MZIMELA, Thozo Mkhize	MZULWINI, Msavenkosi
MTSWENI, Mbovane France	MVELASE, Mandla Vincent	MYENI, Eunice	MZIMELA, Tokozani	MZULWINI, Thandekile
MTSWENI, Petrus Jabulani	MVELASE, Mthembeni Mfanile	MYENI, Hazel Jabulile	MZIMELA, Velenkosini Siph	MZULWINI, Zodwa Gloria
MTSWENI, Phillip Mfulatshelwa	MVELASE, Nkosikhona	MYENI, King Nunu	MZIMELA, Xolani Meker	MZUZWANA, City
MTSWENI, Piet Mthshlo	MVELASE, Nthabiseng Gladness	MYENI, Mncengani	MZIMKULU, Isaac	MZUZWANA, Zwelinjani Mathews
MTSWENI, Salvation Bakhumbuzile	MVELASE, Petros Fana	MYENI, Nehemia	MZINDLE, Brian Sandile	MZWAKALI, Stafuruse
MTSWENI, Sikhumbuzo Isaac	MVELASE, Sibongile Ntombemhlophe	MYENI, Philani	MZINDLE, Dabuzza	MZUWALI, Zoloto Freeman
MTUJI, Baboyi Joseph	MVELASE, Sibongile Tumisani	MYENI, Remicard	MZINDLE, Elias Sigaga	NABO, Nondubela Nobhalisa
MTULI, Baphikile Generose	MVELASE, Sipho Aubrey	MYENI, Shongile Jabu	MZINDLE, Fanile Carphas	NAIDITSE, Constance Bengbahlago
MTULI, Doris Mano	MVELASE, Thulani Siphamandla	MYENI, Sikhumbuzo Julius	MZINDLE, Gimbi Lujoni	NAGADI, Annah
MTULI, Evelyn	MVELEU, Mamfengu	MYENI, Thandazile	MZINDLE, Jackson Mbekezelwa	NAGE, Maxwell
MTULI, Hlangabeza Nicholas	MVELO, Ethel Nomvuzo	MYENI, Thilili Beatrice	MZINDLE, Mantombi	NAGENG, Bushi Ernest
MTULI, Mfiswa	MVELO, Nkosinathi	MYENI, Xolani	MZINDLE, Maqhawe Michael	NAGI, Poyinda Masokisi
MTUNDEZI, Joseph	MYEMVE, Nkosinathi Milton	MYENI, Zitshayile	Gugulakhe	NAIDQD, Dinan
MTUNGWA (SINDANE), Abegaile N.	MVEZWA, Nomawetsha	MYEZA FAMILY,	MZINDLE, Meslina Duduzile	NAIDQD, Gregory
MTUNGWA, Frances Fana	MVIMBELA, Nati	MYEZA, Bhekisisa Moonlight	MZINDLE, Ntombi Ella	NAIDQD, Indris Elatchinathan
MTUNGWA, Hlangiwe Prudence	MVIMBI, David Mokhethi	MYEZA, Christopher Nhlanhla	MZINDLE, Ntombinkulu Charity	NAIDQD, Kamilla Devi
MTUNGWA, Khongani	MVIMBI, Moses Mvuyo	MYEZA, F.M.	MZINDLE, Sandile	NAIDQD, Murthie
MTUNGWA, Magezane	MVOKO, Khaya Stanley	MYEZA, Maria Joyce	MZINDLE, Sarah Nukwe	NAIDQD, Phyllis Vasendha Ruth
MTUNGWA, Mduduzi Kenneth	MVOKWE, Aphafaras Homela	MYEZA, Mbabazeni Mpiji	MZINDLE, Zenzele Alfred	NAIDQD, Prema
MTUNZI, Moses Tholie	MVOTO, Alven Mtembu	MYEZA, Moonlight Bhekisisa	MZINYANE, Zewlakehe	NAIDQD, Saanthamalir
MTUSI, Dumisani Vincent	MVUBU, Beauty Sizani	MYEZA, Mtholeni	MZINZI, Nancy Verah	NAIDQD, Saadhan
MTUSI, Mzikayise Sixtus	MVUBU, Justice Mziwakhe	MYEZA, Ngoneni Irene	MZINZI, Xolani Maxini	NAIDQD, Shanthavothie
MTUTTA, Manani	MVUBU, Mandla Vincent	MYEZA, Nicholas Mfanukhona	MZIZI, Bayempini	NAIDQD, Surendra
MTUZE, Mbuyiseli Botamani	MVUBU, Mduduzi	MYEZA, Sibongile Elizabeth	MZIZI, Bizani Clementia	NAIK, Kandil Chhanganlal
MTUZELA, Dumisani	MVUBU, Thembeni Esther	MYEZA, Sikosiphil Vincent	MZIZI, Cosmo Mboonwa	NAIR, Audrey
MTVYA, Siyabulela Theo	MVUKA, Philemon, Mxolisi	MYEZA, Sinakahle	MZIZI, Gertduze	NAIR, Narain
MTVISHA, Kumbula Remember	MVUKA, Duduzile Gertie Junior	MYEZA, Victor Vukahye	MZIZI, Mbongeni	NAIR, Rajendra
MTYALI, Jabulani Lucas	MVULA, Mabatho Lydia	MYEZO, Thyayini	MZIZI, Mjanyelwa	NAKA, Bafu Archibald
MTYALI, Zodwa Alleta	MVULANA, Stembele	MYIKO, Zilayile Abegale	MZIZI, Msishi	NAKEDI, Tebogoo
MTYAPHI / MAZONGOLO, Mzwabantu	MVUMBENI, July Vumile	MZALIYA, Winniefreda	MZIZI, Nkosinathi	NAKELE, Bongani
MTYEBI, Stanford Vusumzi	MVUNDLA, Amon Bhekelakhe	MZAMA, Jericho	MZIZI, Nokuthula	NAKELI, Johannes Lefu
MTYHOBILE, Andrew Magcina	MVUNDLA, Busisiwe Mildred	MZAMO, Bubele Benjamin	MZIZI, Philip Dilikile	NAKERDIEN, Zahrah
MTYILBE, Simanga William	MVUNDLA, David Sengen	MZAMO, Nono Margaret	MZIZI, Sandile	NAKO, Mbulelo Boy
MTYINGWANA, Sandiswa Thembele	MVUNDLA, Gwaziwe	MZAMO, Wandase Wanders	MZIZI, Siphive Given	NAKO, Toto Samuel
MTYOBILE, Boyce	MVUNDLA, Lindive (Katshana)	MZATHI, Patric Siph	MZIZE, Albert Bekinkosi	NAKWA, Golide
MTYOBILE, Mary Tebi	MVUNDLA, Lungisile	MZATI, Xolile Gadion Qhega	MZIZE, Alfred Sybruck	NAKWA, Kholisile
MTYOBILE, Rodney Ntu	MVUNDLA, Mantombi Esina	MZATU, Mandlonke Stanford	MZIZE, Annie	NAKWA, Mzayifani Alfred
MUALUSI, Johannes	MVUNDLA, Patrick Sandile	MZAZA, Mncedisi Matthews	MZIZE, Bafana	NAKWA, Vuyisile
MUDAU, Bethuel	MVUNDLA, Robert Mstithwa	MZELEMA, Lena Mashinga	MZIZE, Balungile Claudia	NALA, Andries Xolani
MUDAU, Johannes	MVUNDLA, Sithonga Jacob	MZELEMU, Ambrose Mathayi	MZIZE, Bonakele	NALA, Lillian
MUDAU, Samuel	MVUNDLA, Sylvia Ntuthu	MZELEMU, Bhekuyise	MZIZE, Bonginkosi Aaron	NALA, Zodwa Rachel
MUDAU, Tuvani Frans	MVUNDLA, Thulisiwe Purity	MZELEMU, Cekise Manogwase	MZIZE, Bonginkosi Petros	NALELI, Adam Moselela
MUFHADI, Phuravathu David	MVUNDLE, Georgina Nomxopheko	MZELEMU, Doris Lizi	MZIZE, Bongive	NAMA, Nosisane Colleen
MUGADI, Mamaila Annah	MVUNDLE, Thamsanga	MZELEMU, Eunice Badumile	MZIZE, Busisiwe	NAMANE, Josiah Tseleng
MUGIVHELA, Asivhanga Reuben	MVUNE, Mthiyonke	MZELEMU, Gladys Zibuyile	MZIZE, Dumisani	NAMANE, Klaas Ontsheis
MUGIVHELA, Samuel Tshikhudo	MVUNE, Nzanana Linah	MZELEMU, Gugu Sindri	MZIZE, Gudlunkhonto Derrick	NAMANE, Lucas Sithembiso
MUGWENA, Paul	MVUNI, Flora Ntombikayise	MZELEMU, Hlanganani Stanley	MZIZE, Hlanganisile Christobel	NAMANE, Ramolipa
MUHLAMUNYANA-ZIMBA, Mildred	MVUNI, Lungile Pretty	MZELEMU, Hlangiwe Sylvia	MZIZE, Hlangiwe Christinah	NAMANE, Stephen Kobue
Nomtu	MVUNI, Thamsanga Norman	MZELEMU, Johannes	MZIZE, Jabukisile Gretta	NAMANYANE, Pakiso David
MUKANSI, Mudjadj	MVUNYISWA, Ndlanganyana	MZELEMU, Joyce Phumelele	MZIZE, Joseph	NAMBA, Mlami
MULAMAVU, Tshifhiwa Jeffrey	MVUYANA, Buselaphi Busisiwe	MZELEMU, Khululekile Prudence	MZIZE, Khetivhe	NAMBA, Milibo
MULATEDZI, Ronald	MVUYANA, Busowakhe Nicholas	MZELEMU, Lindiwe Abegail	MZIZE, Kohlwangifile Elias	NAMBA, Toto
MULAUDZI, Humbelani Elwin Tshifhiwa	MVUYANA, Katwa James	MZELEMU, Mandla Joseph	MZIZE, Lungile	NANA, Desmond
MULAUDZI, Mudzunga	MVUYANA, Khetubani Isaac	Qhubugwegwe	MZIZE, Maxwell	NANA, Gladness Mkhize
MULAUDZI, Mulimisi Samson	MVUYANA, Mbuzeni Charlie	MZELEMU, Mathayi	MZIZE, Mbongeni	NANABHAI, Sharish
MULAUDZI, Phanuel	MVUYANA, Mngqiseni Charlie	MZELEMU, Mhlabanzima Johannes	MZIZE, Mfana Elias	NANDI, Nondumiso Leticia
MULEYA, Betty Alilali	MVUYANA, Nkosinamandla	MZELEMU, Mtshegisiwa	MZIZE, Mphendukelwa	NGANGALEMBE, Christopher Mphikeleli
MULHOLLAND, P	MVUYANA, Ntombizakhe	MZELEMU, Ntobuzemi Emmanuel	MZIZE, Ntobisi Walter	NGANGALEMBE, Mbalekelwa Albert
MULLER, Frederick Macclagan	MVUYANA, Orlamo	Blackstone	MZIZE, Neni	NAGPE, Molefi Joel
MULLER, H.I	MVUYANA, Othamukile Velephi	MZELEMU, Ndokuzempzi William	MZIZE, Nontshandaze Elsie	NAGPE, Mphakade, Bonnie Siph
MULLER, Magdelena	MVUYANA, Thakathile	MZELEMU, Noshipo Pretred	MZIZE, Noshipo Thandazo	NAPHI, Hilton Nkxumivile
MULLER, Patrick	MVUYANA, Thembeni Jennet	MZELEMU, Patricia Zithobile	MZIZE, Phumelaphi Dorah	NAPO, Tholi David
MULOBELA, David	MVUYANE, Frieda	MZELEMU, Phelisisile Mildred	MZIZE, Sisonole	NAUDE, Beyers
MULOBELA, Hilda	MVUYANE, Sibongile Evidence	MZELEMU, Phindile Jenent	MZIZE, Sibongiseni Shadrack	NAUDE, C.
MULOBELA, Jeanete Nyoni	MVUYANE, Thakathile	MZELEMU, Princes Thandiwe	MZIZE, Sibongiseni Zamokwakhe	NAWA, Enos
MULOBELA, Sydney	MWALE, Richard Gosebo	MZELEMU, Simon Bhekinkosi	MZIZE, Thandi Gladness	NAYLOR, Anna C
MULOISO, Mantshie Richard	MWALI, Goodman Jabulani	MZELEMU, Siphive Simon	MZIZE, Thandi Wilson	NAYLOR, Samantha
MUNDAU, Antonieta	MWANDLA, Nkosingphile Headwick	MZELEMU, Zithulile	MZIZE, Vusumuzi Douglas	NAZIMA, Siph
MUNGWE, Mandla Abel	MWANDLA, Zamisu	MZIZI, Bethuel Zwellingani	MZIZE, Zebelon Douglas	NAZIMA, Siph Eugene
MUNGWE, Mvimbela	MWANZA, Caroline	MZIBUKO, Bethuel Thulani	MZIZE, Zola Purity	NAZO, Digaan David
MUNGWE, Nkosiyezwane Anthony	MWELASE, Agnes Nolwandle	MZILA, Bheki Martin	MZIZE, Zola Purity	NAZO, Mphivsi David Sigcawu
MUNUALO, Muvhulawa Thomas	MWELASE, Dennis Mzikayifani	MZILA, Sizakele Matthews	MZIZE, Zola Purity	NAZO, Shote Joseph
MUNYAI, Moses	MWELASE, Dumisani Nicholas	MZILA, Makhosazane Eunice	MZILA, Sizakele Matthews	NCACA, Mawethu Selby
MUNYA, Thilawvi Benjamin	MWELASE, Mgcini Emmanuel Dumisani	MZILA, Mfanwela Alphaus	MZILISA, Andile Cecil	NCACA, Xolani Reginald
MUNYANDU, Paulos Mahliwa	MWELASE, Nkosiyezwane Bernadine	MZILA, Thandiwe Sylvia	MZILISA, George	NCALA, Cynthia
MUOFHE, Isaac Tshifhiwa	MWELASE, Ntombikayise Doris	MZILENI, Mandla Boy	MZILISA, Mafengu Leonard	NCALA, Gladness
MURRAY, Mervyn	MWELI, Lucky	MZIMBA, Elizabeth	MZILISA, Mofoketse Agniet	NCALA, Isaac
MUSA, Mzindle	MWELI, Mandla	MZIMBA, Wangile Mirriam	MZILISA, Nkokoze Teto	NCALA, Lucy Nomp
MUSAKU, Michael	MWELI, Phineus Mthenjwa	MZIMELA, Babhekile	MZILISA, Wangile Mirriam	NCALA, Malelelohonolo Annah
MUSANDIWA, Ndawkhulu Elias	MWELI, Ronnie	MZIMELA, Bafana Phillip	MZIMELA, Bhekumzi Maxwell	NCALA, Sihle
MUSI, Zandisile John	MWENDLO, Mildred	MZIMELA, Bhekumzi Maxwell	MZIMELA, Bongani Julius	NCALO, Nokuzola Faith
MUTHELESI	MXABANGELI, Sidwell Fumbatha	MZIMELA, Bongani Julius	MZIMELA, Boy	NCALU, Lungile Johnson
MUTHWA, Bamu Janet	MXAKATO, Kate	MZIMELA, Chester Busisiwe	MZIMELA, Chester Busisiwe	NCAMA, Gilbert John
MUTHWA, Dinga Joshua	MXAKATO, Kemele Kenneth	MZIMELA, Cypryan	MZIMELA, Elsie	NCAMA, Lotshiwe Maggie
MUTHWA, Mildred Duduzile	MXATHULE, Nozibele Maria	MZIMELA, Elsie	MZIMELA, Elsie	Mamchithwa
MUTHWA, Sbonelo	MXENGE, Griffiths Mlungisi	MZIMELA, France Makhende	MZIMELA, Gerald Vana	NCAMA, Tshabethu
MUTIMBA, Nafati Manuel	MXINWA, Simon Mandla	MZIMELA, Mbeheni Phumehlela	MZIMELA, Mbeheni Phumehlela	NCAMANE, Cehlonoholo James
MUTIZWA, Andrew	MXOLI, Banele William	MZIMELA, Mbovane Emmanuel	MZIMELA, Mildred	NCAMLIA, Velile
MUTSI, Siph	MXOLI, Ntsikelelo	MZIMELA, Mbovane Emmanuel	MZIMELA, Mildred	NCANANA, Bhekie
MUTWA, Elias Siph	MXOLI, Vuyane Nojayiti	MZIMELA, Mngunikacandulwa	MZIMELA, Mngunikacandulwa	NCANDA, Jeffrey Kolisive
MUTWA, Francisca	MXOSANA, German Sibusiso	MZIMELA, Mzobanzi Isaac	MZIMELA, Mzobanzi Isaac	NCANDA, Simancamane
MUTWA, Mirriam Thandekile	MXOVULO, Sisonile	MZIMELA, Mzuzile	MZIMELA, Mzuzile	NCANE (SHUSHA), Rose Nqumu
MUTWA, Samson Siph	MXWENGXE, Jamane	MZIMELA, Nkosingphile Mhlongo	MZIMELA, Nkosingphile Mhlongo	NCANE, Jeffery Sandile
MUZOLA, Tendani	MYAKA, Arron	MZIMELA, Nkusi Mhlongi	MZIMELA, Nkusi Mhlongi	NCANE, Khishiwe
MUZWAYINE, Rose-Mary	MYALI, Kazi Evelyn	MZIMELA, Ntsengula Bhekithemba	MZIMELA, Ntsengula Bhekithemba	NCANE, Khusi Florah
MVALA, Mary Mantwa	MYANGENI, Thomas France Forman			NCANE, Mandlakayise Amos Skhova
				NCANE, Medinah Maje
				NCANE, Msakeni Isah

NCANE, Nomusa Beauty
 NCANE, Sipho Petros
 NCANE, Sipho Petros
 NCANI, Busisiwe Rose
 NCANI, Thuleleni Berthina
 NCAPAI, Sisa Mabuya Matshaya
 NCAPAYI, Kenneth
 NCAPAYI, Samson
 NCAPAYI, Tatise William
 NCAYIYANA, Mawani Elizabeth
 NCAYIYANE, Bhekani Petros
 NCZELE, Solomon
 NCEBA, Casswell Richard
 NCEBETSHI, King Vuyisile
 NCEE, Vuyisile Lawrence
 NCENGWA, Hawukile Betty
 NCETZO, Vuyelwa
 NCHABELENG, Peter Mampogoane
 NCHABELENG, Thompson Lejane
 NCHE, Manthibi Rosy
 NCHE, Sabata Abram
 NCIDI, Busisiwe
 NCIKE, Fasina Ntombiyezwe
 NCOBELA, Kohla Conrad
 NCOBELA, Nkosinathi Kenneth
 NCOKAZI, Buyle Lawrence
 NCOKAZI, Mthetheleli
 NCOKO, Mthobi Sydney Stotoloto
 NCKOTO, Toli Samuel
 NCUBE, Bongani Ntelezi
 NCUBE, David
 NCUBE, David Mbangwa
 NCUBE, Dumazweni Joel
 NCUBE, Fano
 NCUBE, Gideon
 NCUBE, Glabi Philemon
 NCUBE, Godo Joseph
 NCUBE, James
 NCUBE, Johannes
 NCUBE, Johnson Dario
 NCUBE, Mannetji (Maniki)
 NCUBE, Manukelana George
 NCUBE, Mary Mamolefe
 NCUBE, Masesi
 NCUBE, Mdu Afrika
 NCUBE, Mvumeni
 NCUBE, Nelson Ntelezi
 NCUBE, Nokuyola Rosemary
 NCUBE, Nomusa
 NCUBE, Nozane
 NCUBE, Patrick Dupa
 NCUBE, Philip Sefiri
 NCUBE, Pinkie Kenneth
 NCUBE, Sifiso Ernest
 NCUBE, Thowthemba Bongani
 NCUBE, Thulani Cyril
 NCUBE, Vusi Martin
 NCUBE, Zinhe Georgina
 NCWANA, Mvelase Victor
 NCWANE, Ambrose Zibindoda
 NCWANE, Evidence Thulise
 NCWANE, Mbongeni Henry
 NCWANE, Menziwa Ezra
 NCWANE, Nete Plastus
 NCWANE, Ntombilezi Jostina
 NCWANE, Phyllis Nokuthula
 NCWANGO, Esau
 NDABA MAVUSO, Selina
 NDABA, Abigail Ndeyayithwa
 NDABA, Amos Mloyelwa
 NDABA, Babolile Tryphina Madlamini
 NDABA, Bheki
 NDABA, Caihus
 NDABA, Celani Johannes
 NDABA, Christopher
 NDABA, Dingiswayo
 NDABA, Elizabeth
 NDABA, Emily
 NDABA, Ethel Sodwa
 NDABA, Eunice Nozizwe
 NDABA, Fikile Bestina
 NDABA, Khona David
 NDABA, Khulumile Thembeni
 NDABA, Libele Jackson
 NDABA, Makhambulu Eunice
 NDABA, Maureen Nozimanga
 NDABA, Mbalekelwa Jamblead
 NDABA, Mtingunga
 NDABA, Mthandeni
 NDABA, Muzi
 NDABA, Ndofo Solomon
 NDABA, Nkonyiso Patrick
 NDABA, Nomahlubi Diagracia
 NDABA, Nombuyiselo Selina
 NDABA, Ntombentsundu Gladys
 NDABA, Ntombizodwa Maureen
 NDABA, Owen Thula
 NDABA, Phetheni Ellen
 NDABA, Samukelisiwe Innocent
 NDABA, Sahule Cyprian
 NDABA, Spheive Obed
 NDABA, Swelababa Idah
 NDABA, Thabiso
 NDABA, Thulani Muzikayise Paul (Jomo)

NDABA, Veli Ephraim
 NDABA, Vusumuzi Petros
 NDABA, Vuyisile Wesley
 NDABAGITHETWA, Joy Vuyani
 NDABAMBI, Bandile
 NDABAMBI, Busisiwe Barbara
 NDABAMBI, Zandisile
 NDABANDABA, Emelina
 NDABANINZI, Duncan
 NDABANKULU, Lucas Mongoafo Peke
 NDABAYIPILI, Ngcwalisile
 NDABAYIPHELI, Vuyiswa Nobongile
 NDABENI, Athenkosi
 NDABENI, Joseph Vondo
 NDABENI, Monwabisi Christopher K.
 NDABENI, Ngqulo
 NDABEZINI, Nomvelo
 NDABEZITHA, Joseph
 NDABUKA, Nongutelo
 NDADANA, Zweledinga
 NDALA, Bangiwe Charles
 NDALA, Boesman
 NDALA, Maibudi George
 NDALA, Obed Mnyaza
 NDALA, Phumzile Beauty
 NDALA, Robert Joel
 NDALA, Sonny Milton
 NDALADA, Kleinbooi Job
 NDALISO, Julia
 NDALISO, Mzimasi
 NDAM, Steven Mbuyiselo
 NDAMANE, Elizabeth Francinah
 NDAMANE, Zakheleni
 NDAMASE, Louisa Nonzwakazi Bias
 NDAMASE, Nondontjenti
 NDAMASE, Sisa
 NDAMASE, Siziwe Des
 NDAMASE, Zamukolo Peacemaker
 NDAMBALE, Wilson Molati
 NDANDANI, Luvuyo Lennox
 NDANDANI, Xola Gradner
 NDANDE, Mamokete
 NDARANA, Zola Wellington
 NDATYANA, Kewu
 NDAMVENI, Theminkosi Amos
 NDAWO, Boyi Zephania
 NDAWO, Johannes
 NDAWO, Mduduzi Ronald
 NDAWONDE, Anton
 NDAWONDE, Bhekumuzi Amos
 NDAWONDE, Falaza Alfred
 NDAWONDE, Nonyaka Gasta
 NDAWONDE, Ntombi Clementina
 NDAWONDE, Sibongiseni
 NDAWONDE, Simon Theminkosi
 NDAWONDE, Victoria
 NDEBELA, Dumisani Bernard
 NDEBELE, Constance Nelisive
 NDEBELE, Ernest Mshiyeni
 NDEBELE, Fanyana Lymon
 NDEBELE, Goodwin
 NDEBELE, Jabulani Phillip
 NDEBELE, Khathazile Alter
 NDEBELE, Lindiwe Bernadette
 NDEBELE, Pretty
 NDEBELE, Sibusiso
 NDEBELE, Thokozani Brian
 NDEBELE, Thomas
 NDEBELU, Khanyisile Doreen
 NDELU, Mbandila
 NDELU, Mhlushekelwa
 NDELU, Musawenkosi William
 NDELU, Nellie Nakelile
 NDELU, Robert Bhoji
 NDEMBU, Andile
 NDESI, Pilla
 NDESI, Sithembale Rodwell
 NDESI, Sithembiso
 NDEVI, Daniel
 NDEVI, Fundile Milton
 NDEVI, Kaya Shephard
 NDEVI, Themba
 NDHLAZI, Nomadjozi
 NDHLUVO, Albert Meshack
 NDHLUVO, Annah Mamppe
 NDHLUVO, Gezani David
 NDHLUVO, Lillian Nthabiseng
 NDHLUVO, Michael Spheive
 NDHLUVO, Phumuwakhe Jan
 NDHLUVO, Sibusisiwe Mabel
 NDHLUVO, Spheive Solomon
 NDHLUVO, Tobias Joseph
 NDIBAZA, Zito Zithulele
 NDIBI, Elvis Slotyi
 NDIKI, Mfundo
 NDIKI, Mzwandile Du Preeze
 NDIKO, Zola Kingsley
 NDIMA, Busisiwe
 NDIMA, Mandlenkosi
 NDIMA, Mfanafuthi Henry
 NDIMA, Mzimkhulu
 NDIMA, Zolisiwe Eric
 NDIMANDE, Baktherhile Thokozile
 NDIMANDE, Bhekizazi
 NDIMANDE, Duduzile Eunice

NDIMANDE, Enoch Kwemzakwakhe
 NDIMANDE, Gilbert Msongwale
 NDIMANDE, Holiden Christinah
 NDIMANDE, Jeremiah
 NDIMANDE, Linda Hawulempi
 NDIMANDE, Mbukeni Lucas
 NDIMANDE, Ntombifuthi Precious
 NDIMANDE, Sisonelo
 NDIMANDE, Sifiso
 NDIMANDE, Smiso Handsome
 NDIMANDE, Thulile
 NDIMANDE, Thulisile
 NDIMANE, Elizabeth Francinah
 NDIMENE, Felix Isaias
 NDINGA, Siphopho
 NDINGANE, Selby Zanemali
 NDINGI, Feloakwakhe
 DININISA, Andile Hubert
 DININISA, Ayanda Steven
 DININISA, Crosby
 DININISA, David
 DININISA, Nomathemba Ivy
 DININISA, Themba Bennet
 DININWA, Nomtisa
 NDISHE, Jerry Msindisi
 NDISILE, Yiva
 NDIYAZE, Cwasha Ambrose
 NDIZA, Dumisani Sabata Gerald
 NDLAKU, Thobile Maxon
 NDIAKUSE, Dumisani
 NDILALO, Kuku Whemina
 NDILALA, Mkwakheni William
 NDILALA, Pat
 NDILALA, Zenze
 NDILAMLENZE, Vusumuzi Alfred
 NDILANGA, Lungisile Selvis
 NDILANGISA, Lindiwe Lucratia
 NDILANGISA, Ruth Thadzie
 NDILANZI, Michael
 NDILANZI, Sydney
 NDILAZI, Michael
 NDILAZI, Stanley Vuyisile
 NDILAZI, Sydney
 NDLEBE, Gabantu
 NDLEBE, Jeanett Nomachule
 NDLEBE, Lefu Samuel
 NDLEBE, Mahlomboka Paulus
 NDLEBE, Michael Mzwandile
 NDLEBENDE, Thyiwe Magdelina
 NDLEKO, Liziwe Victoria
 NDLEKO, Mansizwana Solomon
 NDLELA, Alfred Ncobela
 NDLELA, Bheki
 NDLELA, Cynthia
 NDLELA, David
 NDLELA, Dumisani Bernard
 NDLELA, Eida Gabisile
 NDLELA, Emmanuel Siphoh
 NDLELA, Evmyel
 NDLELA, Jabulani
 NDLELA, Lizo
 NDLELA, Magnificent Mbongiseni
 NDLELA, Mandla Bethuel
 NDLELA, Mondli Elias (Sqopho)
 NDLELA, Moses Mxhegu
 NDLELA, Nokuthula Milcent
 NDLELA, Nokuzola
 NDLELA, Nomaliziwe Rose
 NDLELA, Oedi
 NDLELA, Sindile
 NDLELA, Siphive
 NDLELA, Tshengisile Ethel
 NDLELA, Zandile Rejoice
 NDLELA, Zithulele
 NDLELA, Zwelakhe
 NDLELENI, Luleka Rinnet
 NDLELENI, Nelson Simo
 NDLELENI, Nomataru
 NDLELENI, Nonela Faith
 NDLELENI, Vuyo Gladman Kato
 NDLETYANA, Tanduxolo
 NDLOMO, Nyangayakhe
 NDLONDLO, Lincoln
 NDLOVO (SITHOLE), Dumisani Nicholas
 NDLOVO,
 NDLOVO, Absalom Rapelang
 NDLOVO, Gezani David
 NDLOVO, Albert Hlukananani
 NDLOVO, Albertina
 NDLOVO, Alice
 NDLOVO, Alice Mamshiwa
 NDLOVO, Alphon
 NDLOVO, Andrias Hata-Bothe
 NDLOVO, Babangile
 NDLOVO, Babekile
 NDLOVO, Basanyile Eunice
 NDLOVO, Bazothini
 NDLOVO, Beauty Ntombinkulu
 NDLOVO, Bekamafa
 NDLOVO, Bheki Christopher
 NDLOVO, Bheki Eric
 NDLOVO, Bheki Erick
 NDLOVO, Bheki Naftan
 NDLOVO, Bheki Nicholas
 NDLOVO, Bheki Raphael
 NDLOVO, Bhekisisa Eliot

NDLOVO, Bhekisisa Mabheki Robert
 NDLOVO, Bhekukwenza Raymond
 NDLOVO, Bheni
 NDLOVO, Bongamusa
 NDLOVO, Bongani
 NDLOVO, Bongani
 NDLOVO, Bongani Michael
 NDLOVO, Bongani Vusumuzi
 NDLOVO, Bongani Zephania
 NDLOVO, Busisiwe
 NDLOVO, Busisiwe Elca
 NDLOVO, Christopher Mandlakayise
 NDLOVO, Daniel
 NDLOVO, David
 NDLOVO, December Ephraim
 NDLOVO, Delisile Linah
 NDLOVO, Dorcas Ntombizodwa
 NDLOVO, Doris
 NDLOVO, Doris Sibongile
 NDLOVO, Dumisani Victor
 NDLOVO, Duncan Mosheshi
 NDLOVO, Ellen Myalo
 NDLOVO, Elliot Mphlisis
 NDLOVO, Emmanuel
 NDLOVO, Esi Hildegarde
 NDLOVO, Esther Mabatho
 NDLOVO, Eugolius Trusty
 NDLOVO, Eunice
 NDLOVO, Evelyn
 NDLOVO, Fransina Magadebe
 NDLOVO, Fredica
 NDLOVO, George Themba
 NDLOVO, Givay Cosmos
 NDLOVO, Gladwell Thamsanga
 NDLOVO, Gom Thibantabuni Eunice
 NDLOVO, Hamilton Jabulani
 NDLOVO, Hamilton Vuma
 NDLOVO, Hezekiah
 NDLOVO, Hlabeyakhe Gcinezakhe
 NDLOVO, Hlaelani Regina
 NDLOVO, Hlangiwe
 NDLOVO, Ida
 NDLOVO, Itumeleng Benjamin
 NDLOVO, Ivy Mathotho
 NDLOVO, Jabu Florence
 NDLOVO, Jabulani
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 NDLOVO, Jabulani Clement
 NDLOVO, Jabulile
 NDLOVO, Jabulile Alice
 NDLOVO, Jabulile Khombisile
 NDLOVO, James Nkosinathi
 NDLOVO, James Mshiyeni
 NDLOVO, James Feloakwakhe
 NDLOVO, Japhet Velaphi
 NDLOVO, Jerome Dingizwe
 NDLOVO, Jethro Fanlakhe
 NDLOVO, Johan
 NDLOVO, Johannes
 NDLOVO, Johannes Tani Magebhula
 NDLOVO, Joseph Mduduzi
 NDLOVO, Joshua Hlabashana
 NDLOVO, Jotham Zakhale
 NDLOVO, Jotham Mbongeni
 NDLOVO, Justice
 NDLOVO, Kgofatsile Joel
 NDLOVO, Khanyisani Ian
 NDLOVO, Khili Alpheus
 NDLOVO, Khombaphi Beatrice
 NDLOVO, Khumbuzile
 NDLOVO, Koboza
 NDLOVO, Koshosho
 NDLOVO, Kwazi Wiseman
 NDLOVO, Lephina
 NDLOVO, Linda Benedict
 NDLOVO, Lourencia Nhlanhla
 NDLOVO, Lucas Themba
 NDLOVO, Lungile Fikelephi
 NDLOVO, Makhendana
 NDLOVO, Makoti Primrose
 NDLOVO, Malusi
 NDLOVO, Mandia
 NDLOVO, Mandlenkosi
 NDLOVO, Maphola Collin
 NDLOVO, Margaret Sizakhele
 NDLOVO, Masilitso Malita
 NDLOVO, Masolokohlo Mzonjani
 NDLOVO, Matata
 NDLOVO, Mathombi Gladys
 NDLOVO, Mavis Bagcinile
 NDLOVO, Maxwell Malusi
 NDLOVO, Mbekeni Augustine
 NDLOVO, Mbongeni John
 NDLOVO, Mbongiseni
 NDLOVO, Mduyiswira Robert
 NDLOVO, Mfanelo Landford
 NDLOVO, Mfanyana Adrius
 NDLOVO, Michael
 NDLOVO, Mkhiswaga David
 NDLOVO, Mncane Simeon
 NDLOVO, Mnimuzi Phillip

NDLOVO, Mnyamezeni Upington
 NDLOVO, Molwana
 NDLOVO, Mphikayiphele
 NDLOVO, Muzikayise Charles
 NDLOVO, Muziwendoda
 NDLOVO, Mxolisi Bheki
 NDLOVO, Mzingelwa Elija
 NDLOVO, Ndlanhla
 NDLOVO, Nester
 NDLOVO, Ningi Bella
 NDLOVO, Nkanyiso Reginald
 NDLOVO, Nkosenye Ephraim
 NDLOVO, Nobuhle Pride
 NDLOVO, Nomagesi Ivy
 NDLOVO, Nomakaya Mabel
 NDLOVO, Nomakhosi Nonhlanhla
 NDLOVO, Nombukiso Resina
 NDLOVO, Nombulelo Florence
 NDLOVO, Nomsa Grace
 NDLOVO, Nopumelele Pellegrine
 NDLOVO, Norman
 NDLOVO, Norman Hlabalabale
 NDLOVO, Nozimukuthu Nokuthula
 NDLOVO, Nqobile Mildred
 NDLOVO, Ntokozo Aubrey
 NDLOVO, Ntombikayise
 NDLOVO, Nyawozabantu
 NDLOVO, Pambuyise
 NDLOVO, Paul
 NDLOVO, Pelele Sibengile
 NDLOVO, Petros Mbongeni
 NDLOVO, Philiwe Alzina
 NDLOVO, Pruthunywa
 NDLOVO, Pits Julius
 NDLOVO, Qondeni Beauty
 NDLOVO, Raphael
 NDLOVO, Rash Annaclete
 NDLOVO, Richard Fana
 NDLOVO, Richard Mzomuhle
 NDLOVO, Robert Dingicobele
 NDLOVO, Sabelo Meshack
 NDLOVO, Sarah Obeline
 NDLOVO, Selby
 NDLOVO, Setha Simon
 NDLOVO, Sibusiso
 NDLOVO, Sibusiso Joseph
 NDLOVO, Sibusiso Pius
 NDLOVO, Sibusiso Timothy
 NDLOVO, Sifiso Ephraim
 NDLOVO, Sihlangu Mbula
 NDLOVO, Sindisiwe Hlangiwe
 NDLOVO, Siphoh Bonginkosi
 NDLOVO, Siphoh Elijah
 NDLOVO, Siphoh Elias
 NDLOVO, Siphoh Samuel
 NDLOVO, Siyabonga Sabelo
 NDLOVO, Siyabonga Zamokwakhe
 NDLOVO, Sizeni
 NDLOVO, Skhumbuzo Errol
 NDLOVO, Spheive
 NDLOVO, Surprise
 NDLOVO, Suzan Sisinyane
 NDLOVO, Tenjiwe Mirriam
 NDLOVO, Thandazile
 NDLOVO, Thandwe Minah
 NDLOVO, Thathe Letty
 NDLOVO, Themba Andrews
 NDLOVO, Thembele Flora
 NDLOVO, Thembile Cathren
 NDLOVO, Theminkosini Charles
 NDLOVO, Theminkosi Patrick
 NDLOVO, Thengani Mary Jane
 NDLOVO, Thoko Beatrice
 NDLOVO, Thoko Norah
 NDLOVO, Thokozani Goodman
 NDLOVO, Thomas
 NDLOVO, Thulani Fano
 NDLOVO, Tshengisile Eunice
 NDLOVO, Unknown
 NDLOVO, Unknown
 NDLOVO, Vamhle Lina
 NDLOVO, Velaphi Elman
 NDLOVO, Velaphi William
 NDLOVO, Velaphi
 NDLOVO, Velle Andreas
 NDLOVO, Vincent
 NDLOVO, Vusumuzi
 NDLOVO, Vusumuzi Eugene
 NDLOVO, Vusumuzi William
 NDLOVO, Wiseman
 NDLOVO, Zakithi Mbongeni Michael
 NDLOVO, Zamandlovu Christophine
 NDLOVO, Zandile
 NDLOVO, Zanele Mayvis
 NDLOVO, Zapo Michael
 NDLOVO, Zenzele
 NDLOVO, Zinhe Cecilia
 NDLOVO, Zinhe Eugenia
 NDLOVO, Zinhe Nomusa
 NDLOVO, Zolo
 NDLOVO, Zwelakhe Mazwe
 NDLOVO, Samuel
 NDLOVO, Sifiso
 NDLOVO, Abraham Walter Magama
 NDLOVO, Lucas Johannes
 NDLOVO, Mukhacani Samson

NDORÉ, Nonthandazo Magdeline	NEL, Anton	NGCECE, Makosazana Florence	NGCOBO, Graginah	NGCOBO, Ntulu
NDOKWENI, Anthony Sakhelipe	NEL, G. J.	NGCECE, Moses Nhlanhla	NGCOBO, Green Maseline	NGCOBO, Olive
NDOKWENI, Unknown	NEL, Jan Johannes	NGCECE, Simon Hopimpi	NGCOBO, Henry Mthanzu	NGCOBO, Patrick Bonginkosi
NDOMILE, Siphiwo David	NEL, Jeanne Yolette	NGCECE, Stanley Thulani	NGCOBO, Herbert	NGCOBO, Patrick Nkosingini
NDONDO, Batandwa	NEL, Joachim Martinus	NGCEMU, Bernard Mahawule	NGCOBO, Hloniphile Josephine	NGCOBO, Peggy Fikisive
NDONDO, Mbulelo	NEL, Mlabeni Jacob	NGCEMU, Hloniphile Mthetshiswa	NGCOBO, Hloniphile Sibongile	NGCOBO, Peter
NDONGENI, Paulina Nolungile	NEL, N.	NGCEMU, Fikile Mavis	NGCOBO, Imanuel Gayisani	NGCOBO, Petros Dumisani
NDONGENI, Siphiwe	NEL, Nomvula Margaret	NGCEMU, Lovl Gladys	NGCOBO, Irvin Mlungisi	NGCOBO, Phakamile Mavis
NDONGENI, Siphobowden	NEL, V. A.	NGCEMU, Wiseman Zola	NGCOBO, Isaac	NGCOBO, Phineas Thulasizwe
NDONGENI, Vukile	NEL, W. A.	NGCIPHE, Norman Bantwini	NGCOBO, Isaac	NGCOBO, Phumelel Janet
NDONI, Buysile	NELANI, Mzwanele Melton	NGCIPHE, Vuyani Andries	NGCOBO, Ivy Thembekile	NGCOBO, Phumzile
NDONI, Nontobeko Edith	NELANI, Simon	NGCOBO (SHANDU), Agnes Jabisile	NGCOBO, Jabulile Felicity	NGCOBO, Prince Jabulani
NDOTSHAYISA, Melvin Nkwenkwe	NELANI, Zoyisile William	NGCOBO, Cabangile Margaret	NGCOBO, Johannes Khethokuhle	NGCOBO, Princess Ntombizodwa
NDOTSHAYISA, Norita Regina	NEUSIWE, Xulu	NGCOBO, Aaron Goli	NGCOBO, John Velaphi	NGCOBO, Qhatimpi
NDOU, Fanyisani	NEUSIWE, NDAABENI, C D	NGCOBO, Abgail Gugu	NGCOBO, Joseph Mashinga	NGCOBO, Qili Alfred
NDOU, Makuvhile Andries Budeli	NELUSHI, Matodzi Alphonso	NGCOBO, Adeleide Duduzile	NGCOBO, Kathleen Thandekile Lovel	NGCOBO, Qinisela Hezekia
NDOU, Ratshiwanda Samson	NELUSHI, Mulela Edward	NGCOBO, Alice	NGCOBO, Khombomunye Phineas	NGCOBO, Qondophe
NDOVELA, Gladness Bongu	NEMAUHOLO, Aitheli Michael	NGCOBO, Alpheus Bafanyana	NGCOBO, Khonani Bongive	NGCOBO, Richard Bhekizozo
NDOVELA, Nkoinathi Emmanuel	NEMBDIZANI, Khantsi Willie	NGCOBO, Andile	NGCOBO, Khonzaphi Nomajoli	NGCOBO, Robert Joseph
NDOVELA, Owen Zanini	NEMBULA, Eugene Senzo	NGCOBO, Andrew Sono	NGCOBO, Khonzile	NGCOBO, Rose
NDOVELA, Samuel Njabulo	NEMBULA, Thyibatano	NGCOBO, Anna	NGCOBO, Lilian	NGCOBO, Russell Bongani
NDOVELA, Sibodade	NENE, Andries	NGCOBO, Bahle Florence	NGCOBO, Linda Edward	NGCOBO, Sabukwazi
NDOVELA, Simphiwe Cent	NENE, Bhekinkosi Selby Norman	NGCOBO, Bajabulile Doris	NGCOBO, Lindeni Gladys	NGCOBO, Sakhesini Johnson
NDUDULA, Jeremiah Kolekile	NENE, Bongani Ewert (Magwaza)	NGCOBO, Bawile Bertina	NGCOBO, Lindwe Ignatia	NGCOBO, Samuel Mavivo
NDUDULA, Mongezi Martin	NENE, Clemencia B.	NGCOBO, Balungile	NGCOBO, Lindwe Mita	NGCOBO, Samuel Muduzi
NDUKU, Jonginkomo	NENE, Cliff Siboniso	NGCOBO, Bambeke Qondeni	NGCOBO, Lindwe Regina	NGCOBO, Sanele Innocent
NDUKWANE, Terry	NENE, December Anthony	NGCOBO, Bathini	NGCOBO, Lobi	NGCOBO, Sarah Bongive
NDULI, Nomusa	NENE, Elizabeth Nobuhle	NGCOBO, Baveni Philemon	NGCOBO, Lungi Lucy	NGCOBO, Sibongile Jannet
NDULI, Nsimangwana Khiphani	NENE, Florence Fisan	NGCOBO, Bawinile Gladys Nde	NGCOBO, Lynette Badumazile	NGCOBO, Sebengiphile Robert
NDULI, Ntani	NENE, Henry Wilson Mduduzi	NGCOBO, Beauty Balekile	NGCOBO, Magayise Phillip	NGCOBO, Sebenzile Sylvia
NDULI, Ntombiyezwe	NENE, Jabulile Mildred	NGCOBO, Bee Patrick	NGCOBO, Mamo Doris	NGCOBO, Sekesheni Tembekile
NDULINI, Ntombakuphi	NENE, Johan Ntandoyenkosi	NGCOBO, Bekisisa Elias Petrus	NGCOBO, Mandla Goli	NGCOBO, Selby Mashu
NDULULA, Vuyo Disco	NENE, Mandla Abandingo	NGCOBO, Benedicta Bongekile	NGCOBO, Mandla Michael	NGCOBO, Sibongile Euginia
NDUMBA, Hester Nongaihi	NENE, Mathombi Morah	NGCOBO, Benjamin	NGCOBO, Mandienkosi Hebron	NGCOBO, Sibongile Beauty
NDUMO, Dingelango	NENE, Michael Siphso	NGCOBO, Benjamin	NGCOBO, Mantombi Witness	NGCOBO, Sibongile Gladness
NDUMO, Evelyn	NENE, Mqanqelwa Mathews	NGCOBO, Benjamin Bhekizazi	NGCOBO, Margaret	NGCOBO, Sibongile Octavia
NDUMO, Martha Hapile	NENE, Musawenkosi Frank	NGCOBO, Bhekamafunze Paul	NGCOBO, Mathavona Sistonina	NGCOBO, Sibongiseni Isaac Shezi
NDUMO, Nomusa Doris	NENE, Nomusa Doris	NGCOBO, Bhekani Excelson	NGCOBO, Mazisi Moses	NGCOBO, Sibongiseni Sandile
NDUMO, Siphso Wellington	NENE, Ngenbeni Minah	NGCOBO, Bheki Zephania	NGCOBO, Mbongeni Justine	NGCOBO, Sifiso
NDUMO, Tobi Martha	NENE, Nomusa Rebecca	NGCOBO, Bhekithemba	NGCOBO, Mbongeni	NGCOBO, Sihlangu
NDUNA, Bongani Wilson	NENE, Pius	NGCOBO, Bhekizwe Philemon	NGCOBO, Mboniseni Ngobizwe Patrick	NGCOBO, Siliya Bangiwe
NDUNA, Sifanele Kenneth	NENE, Sibusiso Kenneth	NGCOBO, Bhekukwenza Walter	NGCOBO, Mboniseni Timothy	NGCOBO, Simaku Nesta
NDUNAKAZI, Khadi Elsie	NENE, Siphso	NGCOBO, Bhizeni Idah	NGCOBO, Mbuyiseni Clement	NGCOBO, Simon
NDUNAMVULA, Nelson	NENE, Siphumelele	NGCOBO, Bhulephi Angel	NGCOBO, Mudzali Samuel	NGCOBO, Simon Bekisani
NDUNGANE, Joe Lungile	NENE, Steven	NGCOBO, Bhuilton Alson	NGCOBO, Melisile Barbara	NGCOBO, Singangenkani Alfred
NDUTI, David	NENE, Thandiwe Augustinah	NGCOBO, Bonakele Mavis (Mamsomi)	NGCOBO, Menzi	NGCOBO, Sipho Shadrack
NDWALANA, Sishosanke Gilbert	NENE, Thembeile Annie	NGCOBO, Bonani Idah	NGCOBO, Mhileni	NGCOBO, Sithembo Ndode
NDWALANE, Christopher Fanile	NENE, Vusumuzi Jacob Hezekia	NGCOBO, Bongani	NGCOBO, Michael	NGCOBO, Sithembo Owen
NDWALANE, Irene Love	NENE, Wilson Mduduzi	NGCOBO, Bongani Siphive	NGCOBO, Mkhuliseni Pheneas	NGCOBO, Siyabonga Alpheus
NDWALANE, Ivy Goko	NENE, Zephania Mkhuka	NGCOBO, Bongebani	NGCOBO, Moses	NGCOBO, Siyabonga Armstrong
NDWALANE, Liwa Siyoni	NENGOWELA, Shonisani Maria	NGCOBO, Bonginkosi Cyril Ngcoeni	NGCOBO, Mpande Moses	NGCOBO, Sizwe Albertina
NDWALANE, Momo Wilton	NENGWEKHULU, Mandela Wilson	NGCOBO, Bongive	NGCOBO, Mpayikhe	NGCOBO, Solomon
NDWALANE, Moto	NENTSA, Jacobus	NGCOBO, Bongive Daisy	NGCOBO, Mpayonke	NGCOBO, Solomon Bhekabantu
NDWALANE, Newone	NENTSA, Nomawonga Debrah	NGCOBO, Bonisiwe Anatoria	NGCOBO, Mteryive Zwelini	NGCOBO, Stephen
NDWALANE, Nkomazana	NENTHELELE, Rebecca	NGCOBO, Boyi Petrus	NGCOBO, Mthunzi Sydney	NGCOBO, Sydney
NDWALANE, Patrick Wasazi	NETSHAKHUMA, Takalani Idah	NGCOBO, Bululumuzi Joan	NGCOBO, Muntz Nkosi	NGCOBO, Teni Theodosia
NDWALANE, Richard	NETTLETON, Gavin Edward	NGCOBO, Busisiwe Vimbephi	NGCOBO, Musiwa Christian	NGCOBO, Thami Theophilus
NDWALANE, Salukazi Patricia	NEVILLE, Barry Arthur	NGCOBO, Busisiwe Tengisile	NGCOBO, Muziwakhe	NGCOBO, Thamsanqa
NDWALANE, Thandazile Gretta	NEWBY-FRASER, B	NGCOBO, Busisiwe Zibuyile	NGCOBO, Muziwakhe	NGCOBO, Thandani Israel
NDWANDWE, Beatrice	NEWENYA, Kate Sibongile	NGCOBO, Buyaphi	NGCOBO, Mziyafani	NGCOBO, Thandazi
NDWANDWE, Elphas	NGABINDE, Anna Mmapule	NGCOBO, Buyaphi Eddie	NGCOBO, Mzoneli	NGCOBO, Thandephi Mduduzi
NDWANDWE, Fikile Betty	NGABOM, Mandlakapheli	NGCOBO, Catherine	NGCOBO, Nakeni Beatrice	NGCOBO, Thandive Isabel
NDWANDWE, Fundakwezakhe	NGADIME, Maphara	NGCOBO, Charles Lewis Mandla	NGCOBO, Nandabhele Wilson	NGCOBO, Thandive Maria
NDWANDWE, Mkhonzeni Anthony	NGAKANE, Aaron	NGCOBO, Charles Zenzele	NGCOBO, Ndelelo	NGCOBO, Thandive Thembeile
NDWANDWE, Mzikayifani	NGAKANE, Christina	NGCOBO, Christina	NGCOBO, Ndukyakhe	NGCOBO, Thatheni
NDWANDWE, Mzuthini Obed	NGAKANE, Martha	NGCOBO, Clementine Nomakholidi	NGCOBO, Nelisiwe Gloria	NGCOBO, Themba
NDWANDWE, Phila Portia	NGAKANE, Shaude Saul	NGCOBO, Constance Ntombenye	NGCOBO, Ngasho Agnes	NGCOBO, Themba Mishack
NDWANDWE, Sibusiso Khonise	NGAKI, Galebekile Avery	NGCOBO, Cosmos	NGCOBO, Ngufuzebani Ziningi	NGCOBO, Themba Vitus
NDWANDWE, Simon Thamsanqa	NGAKI, Mboneni Shepherd	NGCOBO, Delani	NGCOBO, Nyitheni Wilhemina	NGCOBO, Thembani Andrina
NDWANDWE, Stanley Sandile	NGALAVU, Sibonile Mphoswa	NGCOBO, Derrick Dumisani	NGCOBO, Ngwekwe	NGCOBO, Thembani Hilda
NDWANYA, Lungile	NGALO, Makhyaya Eugene	NGCOBO, Dikwakhe Arson	NGCOBO, Nhlanhla Godfrey	NGCOBO, Thembani Lilian
NDWAWONDE, Ghini Khanyisile	NGALO, Nkosingani	NGCOBO, Dulephi	NGCOBO, Nhlanhla Lucky	NGCOBO, Thembani Beatrice
Daphney	NGALO, Ntombina	NGCOBO, Doda Moses	NGCOBO, Nhlanhla Mthokozi	NGCOBO, Thembani Janet
NDYALVAN, Mandiso Macdonald	NGALO, William Ntostana	NGCOBO, Dombi Catherine	NGCOBO, Nhlanhla Patrick	NGCOBO, Theminkosi Obed Mguyo
NDYAMARA, Themba	NGALO, Willy	NGCOBO, Donald Siphwe	NGCOBO, Nico Mbongeni	NGCOBO, Theminkosi Wellington
NDYEBI, Andile Witbooi	NGAMLANA, Sicelo Alfred	NGCOBO, Doreen	NGCOBO, Ningi Lawrence	Mauthi
NDZABA, Thandi	NGAMLANA, Xolani Luyanda	NGCOBO, Doris Mathombi	NGCOBO, Nijga Goodman	NGCOBO, Thembeile Margaret
NDZAKAYI, James Mzimkulu	NGAMLANE, Mawethu Chesters	NGCOBO, Duba John	NGCOBO, Nkolasana Agnes	NGCOBO, Thodlana James
NDZAMA, Joyce	NGAMNTWINI, Twelve	NGCOBO, Dudu Evangeline	NGCOBO, Nobuhle Beauty	NGCOBO, Thokozani Iris
NDZAMELA, Ian Ndibulele	NGAMONE, E	NGCOBO, Dumazile	NGCOBO, Nobuhle Winnie	NGCOBO, Thokozile Annie
NDZANDZWE, Loyiso	NGANGE, Fumeka Nobantu	NGCOBO, Dumazile Alescia	NGCOBO, Nokuthula Janne Jannet	NGCOBO, Thokozile Elizabeth
NDZEKU, Freddy	NGANGE, Nombande Nomirri	NGCOBO, Dumazile Busisiwe	NGCOBO, Nokuthula Ntombezincane	NGCOBO, Thokozile Eunice
NDZILANE, Nodana, Mlungisi, Harold	NGATI, Sefako Ishmael	NGCOBO, Dumephi Bertina	NGCOBO, Nomadresi Thenjwe	NGCOBO, Tholakele
NDZIMA, Douglas Mawethu	NGAWU, Davini	NGCOBO, Elias Siphwe	NGCOBO, Nomathemba Winnifred	NGCOBO, Thulani Andreas
NDZIMELA, Naniwe Zofonia	NGCAKA, Ayanda Perez	NGCOBO, Elinah Behikile	NGCOBO, Nomkhase	NGCOBO, Tom Mbulelani
NDZIMELA, Saul Nxamile	NGCAKA, Thembekile	NGCOBO, Elizabeth	NGCOBO, Nontandazo	NGCOBO, Tombalane Evelyn
NDZIMELA, Sithembele Robert	NGCAKA, Jerry Johannes	NGCOBO, Elizabeth	NGCOBO, Nontandazo Iris	NGCOBO, Tozi Mqinini
NDZIMENI, Tembekia Regina	NGCAMU, Abel	NGCOBO, Elizabeth Jima	NGCOBO, Nontandazo Sylvia	NGCOBO, Tshelizwe Moses
NDZISHE, Rennick	NGCAMU, Bhekizitha Victor	NGCOBO, Elizabeth Jima	NGCOBO, Nomusa Teressa	NGCOBO, Tshenisiwe Norah
NDZIWENI, Mtutuzeli Stewart	NGCAMU, Elizabeth Bhebekile	NGCOBO, Ellen Nonacala	NGCOBO, Nomusa Nokuthula	NGCOBO, Velephi Lephinah
NDZOBEBE, Colbert Thamsanqa	NGCAMU, Mathanzima	NGCOBO, Elsie Elizabeth	NGCOBO, Nontuthuzelo Ignancia	NGCOBO, Vunisiile Dombiza
NDZONGWANE, Kolase David	NGCAMU, Muziwamandla Moses	NGCOBO, Ephraim Mqapheleni	NGCOBO, Norah	NGCOBO, Vusi
NDZONYANA, Madodana	NGCAMU, Princess Nomusa	NGCOBO, Ernest Mfana	NGCOBO, Nosizi Anastasia	NGCOBO, Vusumuzi Jotham
NDZUBE, Jackson	NGCAMU, Sibusiso Josias	NGCOBO, Ethel	NGCOBO, Ntombazana Alzina	NGCOBO, Winnie Ntombi
NDZUBE, Ntombi Monica	NGCAMU, Simon Fono	NGCOBO, Fanzi Douglas	NGCOBO, Ntombencane Flomenah	NGCOBO, Wiseman Mdimiseni
NDZULE, Wellington Mxolisi	NGCAMU, Siphso Hlulukwenza	NGCOBO, Felokwakhe	NGCOBO, Ntombenya Rhoda	NGCOBO, Xolisile Mthili
NDZUMU, Kolisile Saul	NGCAMU, Sipho Meshack	NGCOBO, Felumuzi	NGCOBO, Ntombeziningi Angelina	NGCOBO, Yintzi
NDZUNGA, Thembeisa Primrose	NGCAMU, Solomon Siphso	NGCOBO, Florah Joyce	NGCOBO, Ntombifile Lussia	NGCOBO, Z.J.
NDZUNGU, Elvis Ngajuse	NGCAMU, Theodora	NGCOBO, Frank	NGCOBO, Ntombifuthi Aana	NGCOBO, Zakhele
NDZUZU, Lulamile Dani	NGCAMU, Tshosho Alice	NGCOBO, Funani Ida	NGCOBO, Ntombifuthi Mavis	NGCOBO, Zakhona Cynthia
NEBE, Wandile Happyboy	NGCANIA, Lizo	NGCOBO, Gabazile Velephi	NGCOBO, Ntombigith Josephine	NGCOBO, Zama Senzi Jonathan
NEDE, Philemon Nqaba	NGCANIA, Ntombizodwa Victoria	NGCOBO, Galanti Anna	NGCOBO, Ntombikayise Elizabeth	NGCOBO, Zanele
NEELS, Hendrik Petrus	NGCANIA, Xolile Edward	NGCOBO, Galata Gertrude	NGCOBO, Ntombinathi Joyce	NGCOBO, Zenzile Wellington
NEELS, Phillip Peter	NGCANGELA, Abel Ngame	NGCOBO, Gcinifile	NGCOBO, Ntombinkulu Sylvia	NGCOBO, Zenzile
NEER, Dennis Selobhe	NGCANU, Solomon Nkonzo	NGCOBO, Godfrey Thamsanqa	NGCOBO, Ntombizodwa Alvin	NGCOBO, Zenzile Priscilla
NEFOLOVHODWE, Wilfred	NGCAWENI, Mahleka Wilson	NGCOBO, Goodman Sithombe	NGCOBO, Ntombizodwa Victoria	NGCOBO, Ziningi Ziphora

NGCOBO, Zinyezwe Busisiwe	NGIDI, Bekizwe Philip	NGIDI, Zitulise Vezeni	NGUBANE, Beauty	NGWAMBA, Musa
NGCOBO, Zipunepi	NGIDI, Benzelani Emmerencia	NGIDI, Zo	NGUBANE, Bekuyise Amishadai	NGWANANG, Moeketsi Moffat
NGCOBO, Zithulele Selby	NGIDI, Bertina Mcube	NGIDI, Zondani	NGUBANE, Bhekameva Alfred	NGWANDI, Lucky Brian
NGCOBO, Zodwa Docas	NGIDI, Bhekinkosi	NGIDI, Zondeleni Lethiwe	NGUBANE, Bhekunda	NGWANE, Andile Isaac
NGCOBO, Zuzeni Gloria	NGIDI, Bhekisile	NGIDLA, Nkosiyo David	NGUBANE, Bhululu Samuel	NGWANE, Babo Michael
NGCOMU, Thembeni Mavis	NGIDI, Bhekumuzi	NGINGINI, Buyisile Nelson	NGUBANE, Bizani	NGWANE, Bathobile
NGCONGO, Balibele	NGIDI, Bonahele Emily	NGIXI, Nonthandazo Florence	NGUBANE, Bongani Sabelo	NGWANE, Bongani Micheal
NGCONGO, Bruce Sazi	NGIDI, Bonahele Khohlwe	NGKWENG, Raesibe	NGUBANE, Bongyi Sylvia	NGWANE, Bonginkosi
NGCONGO, Christina	NGIDI, Bonelani Babazile	NGOAKO, William	NGUBANE, Busili	NGWANE, Busisive Reginah
NGCONGO, Khangezile Agnes	NGIDI, Bongani Francis	NGOATO, Frank Jabulani	NGUBANE, Concert Zazi	NGWANE, Dennis Bonginkosi
NGCONGO, Kumakwakhe Joseph	NGIDI, Bongkile Abegail	NGOBE, Madoda Elfas	NGUBANE, Daniel Mduzizi	NGWANE, Dolly Tholakele
NGCONGO, Lazarus Mzono	NGIDI, Bongephiwe Happiness	NGOBE, Madiwe Mavis	NGUBANE, Dingizwe Isaac	NGWANE, Gipheth Khulekani
NGCONGO, Lungani Magnificent	NGIDI, Bonisiwe Monica	NGOBENI, Anna	NGUBANE, Doris	NGWANE, Joseph
NGCONGO, Mfungenwa	NGIDI, Bukabani	NGOBENI, Isaac	NGUBANE, Eric	NGWANE, Mhlangi David
NGCONGO, Ntombi Valencia	NGIDI, Bukani Beatrice	NGOBENI, Machuene Meryn	NGUBANE, Ernest Mduzizi	NGWANE, Michael Mzayifane
NGCONGO, Richard Rhee	NGIDI, Bukelaghi Ntombi	NGOBENI, Mageni Selina	NGUBANE, Flora Khosi	NGWANE, Ngibonisiwe Nethwell
NGCONGO, Richard Rhee	NGIDI, Busangani Busisiwe	NGOBENI, Makhanani Elisa	NGUBANE, Frieda	NGWANE, Nonwaniha Doreen
NGCONGO, Sithembiso Patrick Sthe	NGIDI, Busisiwe	NGOBENI, Mittah	NGUBANE, Gilbert	NGWANE, Sibusiso Abraham
NGCONGO, Spihwe Moffat	NGIDI, Busisiwe Gabazile	NGOBENI, Mvula Petrus	NGUBANE, Hawukile	NGWANE, Sizakele Gertrude
NGCONGO, Thamsanqa Brian	NGIDI, Busisiwe Thobekile	NGOBENI, Nyiko Frans	NGUBANE, Jabulile Ntombifuthi	NGWANE, Sqomu
NGCONGO, Winnie	NGIDI, Catherine	NGOBENI, Thomas	NGUBANE, Jabulisiwe Francisca	NGWANE, Thembaliphe! Goodman
NGCONGO, Witness Themba	NGIDI, Cebile Promise	NGOBENI, Veka Pieter	NGUBANE, John Mbuzana	NGWANE, Theminkosi Killer
NGCONGOLD, Hopi Leyland	NGIDI, Cimazile	NGOBESE, Alice Ntombiza	NGUBANE, Joseph Nkankabula	NGWANE, Thulisile Teresa
NGCONGOLD, Nowowo Emily	NGIDI, Dangwana	NGOBESE, Ambros Elliot	NGUBANE, Maggie	NGWANE, Vimbekile Matilda
NGCONGWANE, Siphio Cyprian	NGIDI, David	NGOBESE, Amos Sibusiso	NGUBANE, Makhosazana Rita	NGWANE, Zibukele
NGCOYA, Kheithwe Philipina	NGIDI, Delisile	NGOBESE, Busisiwe	NGUBANE, Maureen	NGWANQA, Xola
NGCOZELA, Tembile Livingstone	NGIDI, Disi Noku Thoba	NGOBESE, Constance	NGUBANE, Mavis	NGWANYA, Constance
NGCUKA, Kwenzekile Wilberforce	NGIDI, Dombi Zondekile	NGOBESE, Duduzile	NGUBANE, Mavis Mkhosazana	NGWAPE, Gideon Legothi
NGCUKA, Mbuyiseli Bethuel	NGIDI, Duduzile	NGOBESE, Eric Sithembiso	NGUBANE, Mxathugo Timothy	NGWAQA, Mxolisi
NGCUKUTA, Kanana Emily	NGIDI, Duduzile Maureen	NGOBESE, Gciliwe Thembisile	NGUBANE, Mctwa	NGWAZI, Balungile Pretty
NGCUME, Thembeni Samuel	NGIDI, Duduzile Zamokwakhe	NGOBESE, Gideon Bafana	NGUBANE, Mgwazeni Daniel	NGWAZI, Better Gugu
NGCUNGCA, Nonthandazo	NGIDI, Dukuza Albert	NGOBESE, Jeanet	NGUBANE, Mildred Ntombi	NGWAZI, Gila Thompson
NGCUWA, Siphio	NGIDI, Emgard Emily	NGOBESE, Kalseni	NGUBANE, Mngosuthu	NGWAZI, Magodusele Fisa
NGCWAANA, Galele	NGIDI, Emmanuel Mondli	NGOBESE, Khetzazakhe Fundi	NGUBANE, Musa Clement	NGWAZI, Makhozi
NGCWEANGA, Mncedisi Virgin	NGIDI, Favourite Tholani	NGOBESE, Malusi Herbert	NGUBANE, Musa Wiseman	NGWAZI, Mbekelwa A
NGECE, Nokuzola Yvonne	NGIDI, Fikelephi	NGOBESE, Mamita	NGUBANE, Muzi Mase	NGWAZI, Phumeladli Florence
NGECE, Noluvuyo	NGIDI, Gladys	NGOBESE, Matilda Temba	NGUBANE, Nonhlaniha Lucy	NGWAZI, Toto Alson
NGECE, Ntombuyiselo Leonorah Ntsiba	NGIDI, Gomengani Cynthia	NGOBESE, Mbongwa Aaron Sabelo	NGUBANE, Ntombenkulu Ignatia	NGWEKAZI, Ndayabayakhe
NGECE, Nosipho Beauty	NGIDI, Gundu	NGOBESE, Mfanekiso	NGUBANE, Ntombifikele Elina	NGWENDU, Ziphelele Aplilard
NGECE, Selby Ngayithini	NGIDI, Hlabeni Tuleleni	NGOBESE, Nnamam	NGUBANE, Ntombimina Lephina	NGWENG, Sarah Joseph
NGEDLE, Maureen	NGIDI, Hilda	NGOBESE, Nkosinathi Lucas	NGUBANE, Ntombinkulu Regina	NGWENYA, Alex Mohlopheni
NGELE, Luwono	NGIDI, Hlanganisile	NGOBESE, Ntombifuthi	NGUBANE, Ntombizanele Eleanor	NGWENYA, Alphas
NGEMA, Alpheus	NGIDI, Iris	NGOBESE, Phethemupi Margaret	NGUBANE, Phillipina Beatrice	NGWENYA, Beauty
NGEMA, Babongile Winnifreda	NGIDI, Jabulani	NGOBESE, Sakha Seaborne	NGUBANE, Chikiza Ntombifikele	NGWENYA, Chris
NGEMA, Blessing Sibusiso	NGIDI, Jabulile Petronela	NGOBESE, Samson Bekifa	NGUBANE, Sandile Bethue	NGWENYA, Delile Dora
NGEMA, Dumolule	NGIDI, Jabulile	NGOBESE, Sibongile Philipinah	NGUBANE, Sandile Victor	NGWENYA, Edwin Thamsanqa
NGEMA, Eric	NGIDI, John Phakathi	NGOBESE, Sicelimpilo Celokwakhe	NGUBANE, Saraphina	NGWENYA, Elizabeth
NGEMA, Fikile Remember	NGIDI, Khanyisile Ngenzeni	NGOBESE, Sithembiso Ernest	NGUBANE, Sayco	NGWENYA, Hilda Topo
NGEMA, Funani	NGIDI, Khethiwe Joyce	NGOBESE, Skhosiphi	NGUBANE, Sidumo Paulinus	NGWENYA, Jeanet
NGEMA, Funokwakhe Jeffrey	NGIDI, Khonzeni	NGOBESE, Theniwe Doreen	NGUBANE, Simon Mzungezwa	NGWENYA, Jobe
NGEMA, Gladys	NGIDI, Khululami John	NGOBESE, Thoko Jeanett	NGUBANE, Siphio Sakhile	NGWENYA, Johannes Rankie
NGEMA, Jabulile Sizani	NGIDI, Kwekalkito	NGOBESE, Velephi Florence	NGUBANE, Sizakele Doreen	NGWENYA, Joyce Shongile
NGEMA, Johannes Mjogo	NGIDI, Lalelani Aqueenas	NGOBESE, Zakhele Samuel	NGUBANE, Sish P.	NGWENYA, Lahliwe Gertrude
NGEMA, Kwaziwakhe Nicholas	NGIDI, Linda John	NGOBESI, Faith Thuli	NGUBANE, Swabe Marry	NGWENYA, Lerato Alphas
NGEMA, Mkhulumeleni	NGIDI, Lindume Nomusa	NGOBI, Ngqobo	NGUBANE, Thandive Florence	NGWENYA, Lindiswa
NGEMA, Muzikawubonwa	NGIDI, Lishi Bonahele	NGODWANA, Nontantombazana Regina	NGUBANE, Themba	NGWENYA, Lolo
NGEMA, Nesta Julia	NGIDI, Lungeleni Agnes	NGOEPF, Kgobe Agnes	NGUBANE, Thembekile Lillios	NGWENYA, Madlimbi Julia
NGEMA, Netelina	NGIDI, Lungiseni N.	NGOEPF, Ledile	NGUBANE, Thembelihle Wilson	NGWENYA, Mafika
NGEMA, Nkosini	NGIDI, Makosazane	NGOEPF, Rabateng David	NGUBANE, Thokozile Neliswe	NGWENYA, Mandla Michael
NGEMA, Nokukhanya	NGIDI, Maninginingi Israel	NGOEPF, Tlou Nelson	NGUBANE, Tholakele Patricia	NGWENYA, Mary Mponeng
NGEMA, Nokwethemba Philile	NGIDI, Manozzi	NGOETJANA, Tlou Elizabeth	NGUBANE, Thulani Derrick	NGWENYA, Milushakela Moses
NGEMA, Nomaweza Elsie	NGIDI, Mantombi	NGOJLO, Nomvuyo Selinah	NGUBANE, Virginia Kholekile	NGWENYA, Mqotwa Japan
NGEMA, Ntombizanze Ntombinkulu	NGIDI, Mantozzi Evelinah	NGOMANA, Xaniseka Robert	NGUBANE, Vivian Happy	NGWENYA, Muziwakhe Boniface
NGEMA, Phillip Mzikayifani	NGIDI, Margaret	NGOMANE, George	NGUBANE, Vusumuzi Joseph	NGWENYA, Mziwakhe (Muzi) Samuel
NGEMA, S.M.	NGIDI, Maria Tozi	NGOMANE, Mattella Dumbisa	NGUBANE, Xolani	NGWENYA, Neliswe
NGEMA, Samson	NGIDI, Mary	NGOMANE, Muziwakhe Macmillan	NGUBANE, Zwilendoda Scion	NGWENYA, Nhlaniha Bernard
NGEMA, Sibani	NGIDI, Masende Jerome	NGOMANE, Samson	NGUBANI, Nofu Bhekokwakhe	NGWENYA, Nkosinathi Emmanuel
NGEMA, Siphio	NGIDI, Mbhekiseni	NGOMANE, Sophie Ntombikayise	NGUBELANGA, Nonsikelelo	NGWENYA, Peter
NGEMA, Siphio Bongani	NGIDI, Mlotjw Mavis	NGOMANE, Mncedisi	NGUBELANGA, Vellie Victor	NGWENYA, Richard
NGEMA, Sisi Joannah	NGIDI, Muntu Frederick	NGONDO, Engeline Nomvuyo	NGUBENI, Amos M	NGWENYA, Samuel
NGEMA, Thandazile	NGIDI, Mzamose Busisiwe	NGONO, Mbulelo Alfred	NGUBENI, Bafana	NGWENYA, Selina
NGEMA, Thembekile	NGIDI, Mzikayifani	NGONO, Miska Nancy	NGUBENI, Evelyn Nomangesi	NGWENYA, Sifiso Freeda
NGEMA, Thembekile Doris	NGIDI, Nkomekizale Siswini	NGONYAMA, Mfano Vitalis	NGUBENI, Gift	NGWENYA, Siphio
NGEMA, Thembisile Qondeni	NGIDI, Nkongo Delisile	NGONYAMA, Siboniso	NGUBENI, Howick	NGWENYA, Siphio John
NGEMA, Thomas	NGIDI, Nkosinathi	NGONYAMA, Siphio Funokwakhe	NGUBENI, Mahotela	NGWENYA, Skhumbuzo
NGEMNTU, Mary Zinyelwa	NGIDI, Nobuqili Thandi	NGOQO, Derrick	NGUBENI, Malefetsane Frank	NGWENYA, Smangalisio Moses
NGEMNTU, Ndoda	NGIDI, Nonisile Busisiwe	NGOQO, Nceba	NGUBENI, Mbuyiswa Isaac	NGWENYA, Sombu Monica
NGENDANE, Selby Themba	NGIDI, Ntombelize Annacleta	NGOTSHA, Andile Arthur	NGUBENI, Mambo Michael	NGWENYA, Thembeni Doris
NGENDANE, Zanoloto Gladman	NGIDI, Ntombelize Annacleta	NGOTSHA, Ntsikelelo	NGUBENI, Mdecaci Lucky	NGWENYA, Thembeni Rosemary
NGEPE, Nontsikelelo	NGIDI, Ntombengaka Ngenzen	NGOYI, Edgar Dumile	NGUBENI, Paul Molaheki	NGWENYA, Theminkosi Alfred
NGESEKI, Mthuthuzeli Use	NGIDI, Ntombizani Elizabeth	NGOZO, Morris Auri	NGUBENI, Siphio Kenneth	NGWENYA, Thethi Emily
NGESI, Makurutu Peter	NGIDI, Ntombizimbili Nomuza	NGQABAYE, Nowawi Linah	NGUBENI, Thandwe Kelly	NGWENYA, Tshodi Julius
NGESI, Msawenkosi Ellery	NGIDI, Ntombizini	NGQAMFANA, Zongezile Patrick	NGUBO, Eliot Msongelwa	NGWENYA, Veli Moses
NGESIMANI, Nontsopo Phillis	NGIDI, Ntombizonke	NGANDU, Ronald Nximi	NGUBO, Fomentia	NGWENYA, Vicente Chuma
NGESMAN, Khwaza Reuben	NGIDI, Phansi	NGGAU, Andile	NGUBO, Judith Nodisa	NGWENYA, Vusumuzi Patrick
NGESMAN, Sigezenga Desmond	NGIDI, Phumaphi Martha	NGGAZO, Ringle	NGUBO, Kennet Nodiso	NGWENYA, Wilson Diani
NGETHE, Nolwazi Mavusi	NGIDI, Princess Phawulana	NGUBANE, Bopfers	NGUBO, Mandikayise Caiphas	NGXUMA, Lillhare Alina
NGETU, Vumile Gladman	NGIDI, Puptekile	NGOENDESHA, Godfrey Mlameli	NGUBO, Mbongeni Paulos	NGWEPE, Ledile
NGEVAYO, Mthetheli Gilbert	NGIDI, Qhamukile Yaluzile	NGOINJANA, Linda Sylvia	NGUBO, Mkhani Bayo	NGWEPE, Mapuma Piet
NGEVAYO, Simpfiwe Desmond	NGIDI, Sanele Sibusiso	NGOQKOMA, Mlami Moses	NGUBO, Nhlaniha Bernard	NGWEPE, Phuti Alpha
NGHONYAMA, Rissimati Joseph	NGIDI, Sebenzani Elizabeth	NGOQKOTYA, Lita Lillian	NGUBO, Nkosinathi	NGWEPE, Tlou Caroline
NGIBA, Dumisani	NGIDI, Sebenzile Kumbuzile	NGOOLA, Loyiso Thibang	NGUBO, Nombuso Maggie	NGWEVENTSHA, Siphio Makhwenkwe
NGIBA, Florence Sizakele	NGIDI, Sibongile	NGQULUNGA, Brian Boy Eliot	NGUBO, Ntombizonke Rita	NGWEVUSHE, Nonzuze
NGIBA, Jane	NGIDI, Sithembiso	NGQULUNGA, M.	NGUBO, Sibusiso Bethuel	NGXABANI, Mandla Aubrey
NGIBA, John	NGIDI, Tbesile Evelyn	NGQULUNGA, Mthetho	NGUBO, Sindile Vincent Sira	NGXABANI, Mzwanda
NGIBA, Khayelihle Phumaphi	NGIDI, Thandekile Irene	NGQULUNGA, Siphamandla	NGUBO, Thembisile Lynnet	NGXABAZI, Monti Lolo
NGIBA, Khela Leonard Vusumuzi	NGIDI, Thembelihle Nester	NGQUMBO, Ben Nzlane	NGUBO, Unknown	NGXATA, Sidumo
NGIBA, Maria	NGIDI, Thobile Eunice	NGQUITYWA, Livingstone Ngenaphi	NGUBO, Victor	NGXITHO, Sixabaxiya
NGIBA, Mfaniseni Muntukabani	NGIDI, Thunywephi	NGQWALA, Zomkhayo Shadrack	NGUBO, Xolani	NGXITHO, Sixabaxiya
NGIBA, Sibongile Purity	NGIDI, Tokozile Margaret	NGQWEMLA, Mncedisi Lawrence	NGUBO, Ziyalile Baqiphile	NGXOKELA, Mzwabantu
NGIBE, Mfana Dugmore	NGIDI, Tusile	NGUBANE,	NGUDLE, Looksmart Khulile	NGXOKO, Zwelihle Zacharia
NGIDI,	NGIDI, Vusumuzi	NGUBANE, Alfred Geni	NGUNA, Andile Nobleman	NGXONGO, Masevu
NGIDI, Abednigo Bhekisisa	NGIDI, Vusumuzi Patrick	NGUBANE, Anna	NGUSE, Roslina Nzihlabo	NGXUKUMA, Fever Sydney
NGIDI, Bacoshile	NGIDI, Zamekile Thulisile	NGUBANE, Anton	NGUTSHANE, Madoda	NGXUKUMA, Sinimni Kenedy
NGIDI, Bawelle Gwiji	NGIDI, Zanelle Josephina	NGUBANE, Arnold Barney Mthokozisi	NGUZO, Kadafuwa	NGXUMA, Kwehlontonga
NGIDI, Beauty Thembi	NGIDI, Zimelakhe Martha	NGUBANE, Bani Gretta	NGWABE, Nonhlanzeko Maggie	NHLABATHE, Mandla

NHLABATHI, Lindiwe Geogina	NKABINDE, Jan Zebulon	NKOMBISA, Monde Matthews	NKOSI, Richard Japie	NKWENYANE, Donald
NHLABATHI, Obed Friday	NKABINDE, Khulamani Lena	NKOMBONI, Simon	NKOSI, Sakhile	NKWINIKA, Theron Mduwazi
NHLABATHI, Thula Alson	NKABINDE, Lalitho Martha	NKOME, Gladys Martha	NKOSI, Samuel	NNETE, Thebeli Jonas
NHLANGULELA, Teressa	NKABINDE, Maruping Job	NKOME, Ruth	NKOSI, Samuel Mshiyeni	NNINA, Lipuo Sophia
NHLANHLA, Petros	NKABINDE, Morris	NKOMO, Delisile Immaculate	NKOSI, S' Bulelo	NOBADULA, Mzukisi Melvin
NHLANHLA, Vusi Meshack (Mabondlolo)	NKABINDE, Nkosinathi	NKOMO, Edwin Vuyani	NKOSI, Shobeni Elizabeth	NOBANGELA, Fuzile Elvis
NHLANZI, Zakele Solomon	NKABINDE, Peter Ngungunyane	NKOMO, Fikil	NKOSI, Sibusiso Tito	NOBATANA, Vuyo Aubrey
NHLAPHO, Ben Mboshwa	NKABINDE, Sarah	NKOMO, Gina Patricia	NKOSI, Simon	NOBAVU, Nontanganyani
NHLAPHO, Khehla Meshack	NKABINDE, Themba Ephraim	NKOMO, Hloniphile Winniefrieda	NKOSI, Simon Duga	NOBBE, Danisile Chris
NHLAPHO, Macelani Shadrack	NKABINDE, Thembisile Rita	NKOMO, Mijxwa	NKOSI, Siph	NOBHOZA, Themba
NHLAPHO, Nobelungu Sannah	NKABINDE, Thomas London	NKOMO, Ngangezinye Medrina	NKOSI, Siph Simeon	NOBIVA, Boy
NHLAPHO, Sipho Paulus	NKABINDE, Thulani Samuel	NKOMO, Nkoseny Jeremiah	NKOSI, Sizakele Emelda	NOBOZA, Thembekile
NHLAPO, Bafana Swartbooi	NKABINDE, Thulisiwe Seddy	NKOMO, Rebecca Duduzile	NKOSI, Solomon Daniel Abel	NODADA, Brian
NHLAPO, Buti Samson	NKABINI, Clifford	NKOMO, Sandile	NKOSI, Teaspoon	NOBKIDA, Mcebisi
NHLAPO, Dillo David	NKABINI, Dikekile Ignancia	NKOMO, Thembanai Athanasia	NKOSI, Thabang Lucas	NOODIPA, Mikayeli (Michael)
NHLAPO, Fanyana	NKABINI, Getrude Thokozile	NKOMO, Thembi Eldah	NKOSI, Thamsanqa Shadrack	NODLUNGU, Aliviah
NHLAPO, Linda	NKABINI, Isaiiah Mfana	NKOMO, Unkwon	NKOSI, Thamsanqa Shadrack	NODOSHA, Maqhlane Solamase
NHLAPO, Lucas Mbalekelwa	NKABINI, Nkosinathi Almon	NKOMPONE, Siph Jackson	NKOSI, Themba David	NODEMDE, Doreen Josephine
NHLAPO, Mpopo James	NKABINI, Sezwesihle Agrippa	NKOMPONE, Tembani Simon	NKOSI, Thembani	NOEFEME, Vuyisile
NHLAPO, Mzwakhe Moses	NKABINI, Snothi Norman	NKONDE, Ambag Paulos	NKOSI, Thembehlile Dumazile	NOGAGA, Leopold
NHLAPO, Mzwakhe Samson	NKABINI, Thokozile Beauty	NKONDE, Solomon Khethomthandayo	NKOSI, Thembinkosi Patrick	NOGAYO, Nowings Engelina
NHLAPO, Nelisile Yvone	NKABINI, Zwelihle Shadrack	NKONTWANA, Bafa	NKOSI, Thomas	NOGKILE, Dinah Vuyiswa
NHLAPO, Nhlanhla Obed	NKADIMENG, Lekgebe Hermans	NKONYANA, Baza Benjamin	NKOSI, Thomas	NOGOBA, Leticia Nomhle
NHLAPO, Sematla Ezekiel	NKADIMENG, Mahudu Vernon	NKONYANA, Samson Themba	NKOSI, Tilly	NOGODUKA, Lungisile
NHLAPO, Velaphi Moses	NKADIMENG, Mefolo Mofosi	NKONYANE, Boyanyane Freddy	NKOSI, Titi Bettina	NOGORHA, Patric Nkosinathi
NHLAPO, Zodwa Ellen	NKADIMENG, Seem Joel	NKONYANE, Noel Tsepo	NKOSI, Virginia Cabangani	NOGQALA, Sidwell Mandithini
NHLEBELA, Marosa Rose	NKALA, Flora Tsyidi	NKONYANE, Sifiso John	NKOSI, Vukani Gibangeni	NOGQUM, Zingewathile
NHLEBEYA, Trilo Aaron	NKALA, Mtholeni Hezekia	NKONYENI, Bheki Patric	NKOSI, Winnifred Notini	NOHENNE, Nonciane Gladys
NHLEBO, Hazezia Ngoyoli	NKALA, Sebenzile Garentine	NKONYENI, Jabu Beauty	NKOSI, Zephania	NOIR, L. C.
NHLEKO, Simanga Clever	NKALA, Velephi Angeline	NKONYENI, Shomo Nkwendisa	NKOSIYANA, Nomanesi	NOJAHOLO, Kulie Evelyn
NHLEKO, Themba	NKALANG, John Bongani	NKONYENI, Wilson Ndindana	NKOSIYANE, Dumasi Douglas	NOJEYEZA, Hilda
NHLENGETHWA, Collen Mandla	NKALI, George Tlali	NKOPANE, Johannes Lesia	NKOSIYANE, Sicele Templeton	NOJHYESA, Vusumuzi Moses
NHLENGETHWA, Enos	NKAMBULE, David	NKOSI, Baisile	NKOSIYANE-MPOPOSHE, Jackson	NOJOKO, Zamuzolo Ntsho
NHLENGETHWA, Mkhuliseni Isaac	NKAMBULE, Gubane Samuel	NKOSI, Abel Mfanafuthi	NKOTA, Amon	NOKEMANA, Mzozole Theophilus
NHLENMAYO, Hamvundla Hester	NKAMBULE, Michael	NKOSI, Abram	NKUKH, Sibusiso Innocent	NOKENI, Edward Dhlayi
NHLMAYO, Hlino Irene	NKAMBULE, Thembisile Eldah	NKOSI, Absalom	NKUKHU, Sibusiso Innocent	NOKERE, Paulus Shaba
NHLMAYO, Khyie Robert	NKANI, Samuel Jomo	NKOSI, Alfred Siph	NKUKHU, Themba Rudolf	NOKHONYA, Nomveliso Francis
NHLMAYO, Koto	NKANI, Simon Zolile	NKOSI, Amos Fani	NKUMANDA, Tshukumani Jeffrey	NOKHONYA, Nzami Gladstone
NHLMAYO, Musi Raymond	NKANYANA, Josias	NKOSI, Bantu Emelina	NKUMBI, Albert Thozamile	NOKIE, Tina Babsie
NHLMAYO, Nomvuyo Sweetness	NKANYEZI, Dalindyabo	NKOSI, Bartholomew Diaz Bongani	NKUMBI, Mziwoxolo Christopher Boy	NOKO, Robert
NHLMAYO, Richard Nomakhosi	NKANYEZI, Falithenjwa Rasta	NKOSI, Bheki	NKUMBI, Nomathamsanqa Charlotte	NOKONYA, Mzwakhe Livingstone
NHLMAYO, Sigqoko Philip	NKANYEZI, William	NKOSI, Bheki Steven	NKUMBI, Thamsanqa Wilam	NOKRAYO, Mbi
NIEMAND, A. M.	NKASAWA, Gideon Lungile	NKOSI, Bhekumusi	NKUME, Thozamile	NOKWINDLA, Khlekile Vincent
NIEUWALDT, Sarah Susanna	NKATANE, Maxwell	NKOSI, Bongane Christophher	NKUMNDA, Masango Nimrod	NOKWINDLA, Veronica Weziwe
NIEUWOUDT, Hermas	NKATE, Isiah Pule	NKOSI, Boyi Abram	NKUNA, Albert Ngwavela	NOLTE, M. C. S.
NIKANI, Nkosana	NKATLO, Pitso	NKOSI, Boyi Fanyana	NKUNA, Joseph Rahob	NOMAJAVA, Yoliswa
NIKELO, Christopher Senzile	NKATSHANE, Esina	NKOSI, Carlton	NKUNA, Richard Mbazima	NOMANDLA, Mbuyiselo John
NIKWE, Fana Steven	NKATSHANE, Nthlodi Onicah	NKOSI, Catherine Delive	NKUNA, Robert	NOMANDLA, Nomajamini Agnes
NIKWE, Mboniseni	NKAWULE, Nkosini	NKOSI, Charles	NKUNA, Ronny	NOMANDLA, Thembele David
NIKWE, Xolani Lawrence	NKAYI, Nomingale Lucia	NKOSI, Cleopas Melina	NKUNA, Selina	NOMAGHIZA, Nxolo Cynthia
NINELA, Margaret Eveline	NKAYI, Phila	NKOSI, Tshikani	NKUNA, Tshikani	NOMATHWETHSHI, Maqethuka Dlamini
NINELA, Margaret Eveline	NKBEZEKWA, Jerry	NKOSI, Daniel Makhosomke	NKUNDELANDE, Fachman Nompumelo	NOMAVUKA, Nofa Owen
NINELA, MABASO, Blessing	NKEHLI, Evelyn	NKOSI, David	NKUNKUMA, Bethuel Thobelani	NOMAXHAI, Wandisile Godfrey
NINI, Buyiswa Lydia	NKEHLI, Thandeka	NKOSI, David Mbaba	NKUPANE, Josias Mkopane	NOMBE, Lungisa
NINI, Lulama	NKEHLI, Zakhele Oogabakubo	NKOSI, David Nicholas	NKUSHUBANA, Edith Nobafo	NOMBEBA, Sibongile Joyce
NINI, Xoliswa Virginia	NKENKANA, Billy Ben	NKOSI, Dickson	NKUTA, Albert Khela	NOMBIRA, Boyboy
NJAKAZI, Mthunzi Velemseni	NKENKE, Bongani	NKOSI, Dingaan Jordan	NKUTA, Obed Ramahlape	NOMBIDA, Zola
NJALO, Mzimkulu Goodman	NKEU, Monkezi Johannes	NKOSI, Dm	NKUTA, Thallitha Rachel	NOMBYANA, Jorge Nesselso
NJAMELA, Felinyaniso Abner	NKEU, Nodazibone Martha	NKOSI, Eric	NKUTANE, Albert	NOMDA, Loyiso Leonard
NJAMELA, Jabulani George	NKEU, Vuyisile Paul	NKOSI, Eric Richard	NKUTHA, Dumisani Stanley	NOMDEMBU, Mvuselelo
NJAMELA, Langalikhanya	NKEU, Zwelanzima George	NKOSI, Ernest	NKUTHA, Harrison Madindwa	NOMEVA, Philipina Thenjive
NJAPA, David	NKGADIMA, David Sekgokgo	NKOSI, Florence Madodo	NKUTHA, Josiah Thami	NOMFETSHELA, Tyileka
NJAPA, Sibongile Mildred	NKGADIMA, Mooke Wilson	NKOSI, Getrude Vertha	NKUTHA, Martha Malefu	NOMGGOWANA, Glinlinda
NJAPA, Twana Gretta	NKGEONG, Matlou Frans	NKOSI, Godfrey Jabulane	NKUTU, Fukutha Jackson	NOMGOJO, Julius Spitipi
NJAPHA, Baphindile Lucy	NKGEMEN, Seemola Mamoloko	NKOSI, Graham	NKUWENG, Sebolishi	NOMGGOKWANA, Brian Miso
NJAPHA, Hlohlampi John	NKGGENA, Mamoloko Grace	NKOSI, Howard	NKWALASE, Luvuyo Lot	NOMKONKO, Siph
NJAPHA, Joana Mano	NKGGENA, Albert Piletjie	NKOSI, Isaac Vusumuzi	NKWAMBA, Matias Matthews	NOMNGANGA, Nkosinathi Alpheus
NJAPHA, Patrick Magabana	NKGGENA, Ledile Machuene	NKOSI, Jacob Sibongo	NKWAMBA, Victor	NOMNGO, Tod Nkwenkwana
NJATO, Ephraim Moegethi	NKGGENA, Mamyagabo Time	NKOSI, James	NKWANA, Doreen	NOMOY, Nontshozo Caroline
NJATO, Nopu	NKGGENA, Mosima Samuel	NKOSI, Joseph	NKWANA, Mashine Joseph	NOMPANDO, Vuyani Lilian
NJENINI, Mzwandile Jeffrey	NKGGENA, Motlalepula Alpheus	NKOSI, Josiah Ephraim	NKWANA, Mhlopi Amos	NOMPONDO, Jongile Joseph
JEYA, Steti	NKGGENA, Nkwata Samuel	NKOSI, Jozi Ephraim	NKWANA, Nakezi Maria	NOMPONDO, Nombuyiselo
NIJIKELANA, Noma Rebecca	NKGGENA, Ramokone	NKOSI, Lazarus Dingindawo	NKWANE, Bafana Fannie	NOMPONDO, Ntombomzi Priscilla
NIJIKELANA, Tetswa Mercy	NKGGENA, Selali Andries	NKOSI, Lessiah	NKWANE, Michael	NOMPULA, Zwelethi Isaac
NJILI, Xola Patrick	NKGWENG, Kemishi Goodright	NKOSI, Lindwe	NKWANYANA, Bahlawulle	NOMPUMA, Thobile
NJILLO, Busaphi	NKGWENG, Kgajudi Caifas	NKOSI, Lucky France	NKWANYANA, Bongekile	NOMPUMELELO, Difiant
NJILLO, Edista	NKGWENG, Kgopishi Phillip	NKOSI, Lucky Siph	NKWANYANA, Dikwakhe	NOMTHULI, Philemon Mzwandile
NJILLO, Ernest Muntu	NKGWENG, Lendile Mamoyahabo	NKOSI, Lungile Lawrence	NKWANYANA, Dudu Gqoza	NOMTWANA, Bhasyisile
NJILLO, Funokwakhe	NKGWENG, Mamolatelid Lidle	NKOSI, Mabendla Azariah	NKWANYANA, Duduzile Doris	NOMVETE, Randiwe Mary
NJILLO, Ntombintombi Getrude	NKGWENG, Mamoyahabo	NKOSI, Mandlane Eric	NKWANYANA, Dumisani Gracious	NONCUNGO, Sajini Welcome
NJISANE, Matshezi Virginia	NKGWENG, Maselelo	NKOSI, Maphindii Portia	NKWANYANA, Elizabeth	NONDABA (NGCUNGAMA), Ernest
NJODO, Constance Thandeka	NKGWENG, Moshaoane	NKOSI, Maria Matshidiso	NKWANYANA, Elliot Muziwendoda	Dingindawo
NJOKO, Busani Alex	NKGWENG, Mosima	NKOSI, Martha	NKWANYANA, Emanuel	NONDABULA, Clement
NJOKO, Khaya Simon	NKGWENG, Mosima Melatelo	NKOSI, Masentsho Popie	NKWANYANA, Enock Mfuneni	NONDABULA, Nonyameko
NJOKO, Lucas Theminkosi	NKGWENG, Nkabane Julia	NKOSI, Mbhekisa Solomon	NKWANYANA, Jabulile	NONDALA, Boyisi
NJOKO, Musawenkosi Phillip	NKGWENG, Nkane	NKOSI, Mboni	NKWANYANA, Khethiwe Fortune	NONDALA, Joseph Mzwamandla
NJOKO, Thobile Olga	NKGWENG, Ntshiji Wilson	NKOSI, Mbuyiseni	NKWANYANA, Mapepe Richard	NONDALA, Lennox
NJOKWENI, Mandla	NKGWENG, Raesie	NKOSI, Mdala	NKWANYANA, Mgingo Dikwakhe	NONDULA, Bongani Israel
NJOKWENI, Meyers	NKGWENG, Sebediela Joas	NKOSI, Moses Enoch	NKWANYANA, Musawenkosi	NONDULA, Nomusa Leticia
NJOLI, Frances Nobom	NKGWENG, Seroto Elliot	NKOSI, Mpojo Friedie	NKWANYANA, Nkosingiphile Fano	NONDUMO, Monde
NJOLI, Princess Nontutuzelo Norhi	NKQANE, Ananias	NKOSI, Mseletshi Witkop	NKWANYANA, Nokwazi Josephine	NONDZUBE, Misiile Devillers
NJOVANE, Precious Nkosiyeti	NKQANE, Gilbert Tebogo	NKOSI, Muzikababa Alpheus	NKWANYANA, Ntombi Wusisi	NONG, Meshack
NJOVA, Nzimene Jeffrey	NKQANE, Keflote Mirriam	NKOSI, Nana Florence	NKWANYANA, Phineas	NONG, Raesie Johana
NJWABULE, Ntsikelelo Patrick	NKOBINDI, Stemere John	NKOSI, Niekeli Jerry	NKWANYANA, Qholobana Bhinkinkosi	NONGAUZA, Velekaya Hofmeyr
NKABALAZA, Nonkululeko Margaret	NKOFUNGA, Mkululi	NKOSI, Nomakauwa Sophia	NKWANYANA, Sebenzile Ngantombi	NONGENA, Daniel Paulos
NKABI, Sima	NKOHLA, Darlington Nkosinathi	NKOSI, Nomsa Virginia	NKWANYANA, Tarduskwenzelwa	NONGENA, Mvulo Johnson
NKABINDE, Albert	NKOHLA, Fungile Livingstone	NKOSI, Nomusa Ethel	NKWANYANA, Teresa	NONGQAYI, Ntombikanya Nthembele
NKABINDE, Alpheus Muziwakhe	NKOHLA, Lulama Vivian	NKOSI, Nondumiso	NKWANYANA, Thulani Vincent	NONGQO, Nondolela Eric
NKABINDE, Annie	NKOHLA, Nomziwakhe Francina	NKOSI, Nonzuza Setty	NKWANYANA, Thulisi Lindeni	NONGUBO, Nyusile
NKABINDE, Constance Veliwe	NKOHLA, Zolisa Elsies	NKOSI, Nyanyekile Norah	Goodness	NONJOLI, Martha Meme
NKABINDE, Dedisi A	NKOKO, Julien	NKOSI, Patricia Bonisiwe	NKWANYANA, Zephania	NONJOLI, Ntombifike
NKABINDE, Eric Sephiwe	NKOKO, Ramokoeni	NKOSI, Peter Bonginkosi	NKWANYANA, Zibusela Bhaku	NONKETHA, Albert Welile
NKABINDE, Fanasi Frans	NKOKAMA, Ntobiyara Francis	NKOSI, Petrus	NKWANYANE, Jamba	NONKONELA, Nomahlebe Angelina
NKABINDE, Hezekiah Sibusiso	NKOMBI, Kholeka	NKOSI, Phillip Nelaphi	NKWENG, Florina Tabudi	NONKONELA, Phumeza
NKABINDE, Hluphekile Letia	NKOMBI, Nkuzola	NKOSI, Phineas	NKWENG, Mosima Jessy	NONKUMBANA, Fakati Simon
NKABINDE, James Mbuyiseni	NKOMBI, Winnifred Zodwa	NKOSI, Prysina Mambundu	NKWENKWE, Nkanyiso	NONKUMBANA, Nontsapho Evelyn

NOMKUMBANA, Thembsa Ethelina	NTAKA, Mfanukile Simon	NTLABA, Taelo Joseph	NTSELE, Jabulani Eric	NTULI, Elliot Celani
NOMKUMBANA, Veliswa Patricia	NTAKA, Yusumuzi	NTLABATHI, Mzikayise	NTSELE, Ndokadeni	NTULI, Endul Jabulani
NONO, Gili	NTAKANA, Bhekinkosi	NTLANGENI, Dumisani David	NTSELE, Noel Maswenkosi	NTULI, Ernestinah Yuyisiwe
NONYOI, Mzukisi Samuel	NTAMANE, Mandla Solomon	NTLANGENI, Xolile	NTSELE, Siza Enon	NTULI, Fikelephi Nelisiwe
NONYOI, Thobeka Joyce	NTAME, Simphiwe Jeffrey	NTLALO, Motlaetsona Petros	NTSELE, Zikoko	NTULI, Fikisiwe Dorah
NONONDELA, Robert	NTANDISE, Mdubeki Johannes	NTLEBI, Zolisa Sydney	NTSELE-DLADLA, Zanele Ellen	NTULI, Filda
NONTAMO, Nondumiso Alice	NTANDO, Merika Wellington	NTLEKI, Diliza Gladman	NTSELE-DLADLA, Zanele Ellen	NTULI, Gloria
NONTENJA, Jongudumo Emmanuel	NTANJANA, Nomvume Nelsie	NTLEKO, Zuzile	NTSELE, Michael Motseki	NTULI, Hleziphi
NONTSHINGA, Headman	NTANTISO, Dumile	NTLHAENG, Thabo Kevin	NTSETHI, Boyise Malusi Colleen	NTULI, Jackson
NONTYI, Makhaya Showers	NTANTISO, Sicelo	NTLHKE, Kefilwe Agnes	NTSETHI, Mpuemele Moses	NTULI, Jacob Nkopane
NONTYI, Patrick Sympathy Phakamile	NTANTISO, Alina	NTLIZIYOMBI, Mzwabantu Wellington	NTSETHI, Nokholele Josina	NTULI, James Phanakusho
NONYAMA, Nonceba Irene	NTANZI, Boneni	NTLIZIYOWANA, Sithembile Richard	NTSETHI, Zacharia Dumile	NTULI, Jeremiah
NONYANE, Johannes Mogomotsi	NTANZI, Bonginkosi Shadrack	NTLOKWANA, Vuyisile	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Joy Gabisile
NONYANE, Sello Alfred	NTANZI, Bukani	NTLONZWE, Nkagela Margaret	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Kage Zakhassa
NONYANE, Thabo Christopher	NTANZI, Bukisile Dubeleni	NTLUMAYO, Nkosiaphi	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Kufakomuzi Joseph
NONYUSA, Ndleleni Januarie Mqwathi	NTANZI, Busisiwe	NTOBELA, John	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Leah
NOOI, Julius Kotsang	NTANZI, Cashephi	NTOBELA, Mandleko Agnes	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Lesiba Joseph
NOOJAY, Zolile	NTANZI, Cunumuzi Saladine	NTOMBANA, David Phathisiwe	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Lucky
NOOHOLI, Nkululeko John	NTANZI, Dokazi	NTOMBELA, Abednigo Bongani	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Makhosi
NORDIEN, Esham Rafeeq	NTANZI, Dumazile	NTOMBELA, Amon Sicelo	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Mandla Annanias
NORDIEN, Esmat	NTANZI, Emmerentina	NTOMBELA, Babane Joseph	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Mandlenkosi Samuel
NOREXE, Joseph	NTANZI, Fakazile	NTOMBELA, Bafo Justice	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Mbali Innocetia
NORMAN, George Yizanemvula	NTANZI, Gcinekile	NTOMBELA, Beauty	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Mbongeni
NORODIEN, Allie Mulla	NTANZI, Gideon	NTOMBELA, Bekithemba Mandlenkosi	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Mbukeni
NORTJE, Henry Sidney Chris	NTANZI, Gugu Khonzeni	NTOMBELA, Beselina Nozidumo	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Mhilo Leonard Jerry
NORUSHE, Bonisile Philemon	NTANZI, Hengani	NTOMBELA, Bongani	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Michael Mark
NORUSHE, Ntomibizowa Elizabeth	NTANZI, Jabu Sibongile	NTOMBELA, Busisiwe Prudence	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Moses Mkhuzwela
NOSIPHWE, Thelma	NTANZI, Jordan Sifiso	NTOMBELA, Buti	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Mseleni
NOTHLE, Thelma	NTANZI, Khephansi Charlie	NTOMBELA, Cashephi Alpha	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Mthandeni
NOTHWALA, Michael	NTANZI, Khonelani	NTOMBELA, Celumasa Siyabonga	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Muntakayise Bhekuyise
NOTUNUNU, James	NTANZI, Mkhetheni Sakhephi	NTOMBELA, Christopher	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Muntuwempe
NOTYHAGI, Gogoshi	NTANZI, Mkhosini Alpheus	NTOMBELA, Debu Gerald	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Muzikayise Isaac
NOTYHAGI, Gogoshi	NTANZI, Mlungisi Terence	NTOMBELA, Dini Alfred	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Muzingeli James
NOVEMBER, Johnson	NTANZI, Moses	NTOMBELA, Duduzile Busisiwe	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Mziawonke Jacob
NOVOLO, Gabriel	NTANZI, Mphahiseni Thulani	NTOMBELA, Dumazengo Elias	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Ncamisile
NOVOLO, Petrus Bushi	NTANZI, Mtepe	NTOMBELA, Emgard	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Nelisiwe
NOVOLO, Reginald Difiedile	NTANZI, Mthembeni Joseph	NTOMBELA, Gabriel	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Ngcebo Shadrack
NOVAK, Wieslaw Stefan	NTANZI, Muzikhona	NTOMBELA, Innocent Bekithemba	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Nkosana Ndokuzakhe
NOZAKUZAKU, Zilindile	NTANZI, Mxolisi Conelious	NTOMBELA, Jabulani Vivian	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Nokuthula
NOZAZA, Agrippa	NTANZI, Mzikayifani Minias	NTOMBELA, Joseph Mhlaliseni	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Nozipho
NOZAZA, Nontsikolelo	NTANZI, Mzogwelo Isaac	NTOMBELA, Kipalipi Johannes	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Paulos
NOZEMBA, Mlindeli	NTANZI, Ndukwambi	NTOMBELA, Kwenya Johannes	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Philip Sikiriki
NOZEWU, Zola	NTANZI, Nkosiathi Emmanuel	NTOMBELA, Mlandeni Eric	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Phiwangomusa Petros
NOZIGWABA, Nozikona	NTANZI, Nokubheka Jabulile	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Piet Maqhawe Mbalekwa
NOABENI, Xoliswa Elizabeth Maxoli	NTANZI, Nokuthula	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Pumela
NOABISA, Yusumuzi Sydney	NTANZI, Nomakosi	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Richard Makhawane
NOAMRA, William	NTANZI, Nomzimba Thembanani	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Rosa Khanyisile Mango
NOANA (BAART), Nokuzola Gloria	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Sakhephi
NOANDU, John	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Sam
NOANDU, Xolile	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Samson Numzeni
NOANGISA, Carus	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Samuel Hambolwakhe
NOAYI, Calvin Sibisiso	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Sazi Johan
NOEME, Bongani Steven	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Sazi Johan
NOENTSWANA, Bhekimphe Sabiso	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Sibongile
NOENTSWANA, Nokuze Ronica	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Sindile Springkaan
NOEZA, Thandi	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Sipho
NOEZU, Muzivukile Seaton	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Sipho Isaac
NOGULUNGA, Nkanikayiphele	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Sizwe Cabangile
NQIDI, Thembsile Nobuhle	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Steven Ntolo
NQIKASHE, Lungisile William	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Sydney Bafana
NQINQHI, Monwabisi Edgar	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Sydney Bafana
NQINDI, Thothololo Albert Pretzy	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Thandekile
NQOI, Moses Makhetheng	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Theodora Maswazi
NQOKO, Dingwe	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Tholakele Goodness
NQOKO, Hekani	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Tholethemba
NQOKO, Mkhethelwa	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Thomas Isaac
NQOKO, Remigia Ntombizini	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Thulisiwe Grace
NQOKO, Seabani	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Totsi Rethi
NQOKOTO, Buyiselo Monster	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Victor
NOONO, Boyce Lucky	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Virginia Joyce Ntombikayise
NOONO, Vuyani	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Vusumuzi Innocent
NOONTSI, Gladys Zanywe	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Willie
NQULO, Mlinikwa	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Xolani
NQUAKHO, Phikesazi Mechell	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zinhle
NQUAKHO, Dlangamandla Thilomu	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NQUAKHO, Hlobozani Dora	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NQUAKHO, Thethani	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NQUJSE, Afrika Lorence	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NQUJSE, Zibonele Edward	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NQWALA, Zamilwe Terrence	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NQWAZI, Thulakile	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NQWELI, Mncedisi Rooi	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NQWENANI, Maphangwana	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NQWENANI, Marikeni	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NSELE, Furizwe	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NSELE, M.C.	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NSELE, Mphile	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NSELE, Thamsanqa Welcome	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NSIBANDE, Albert Mhambi	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NSIBANDE, Jacob Musawenkosi	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NSIBANDE, Joseph Dumisani	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NSIBANDE, Robert Mbongeleni	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NSIMBI, Dotu Phillip	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NSIMBI, Lakopi Phyllis	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NSINDANE, Unknown	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NSUNDU, Yobayo	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NSUNTSHA, Manani Matrana	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NTABENI, Nomonde	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NTABENI, Zwelakhe Alfred	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NTABI, Mahlomola Flory	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NTAKA, Bhekizwe Ewart	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NTAKA, Bongani Cyprian	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NTAKA, Dumisani Mthunzi Shadrack	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NTAKA, Gladness Ntombikile	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford
NTAKA, Hloniphe Princess	NTANZI, Nontobethini Elizabeth	NTOMBELA, Mlumbi Lettie	NTSETHI, Zanele Dumile	NTULI, Zwellibanzi Alford

NXELE, Cebisile Hlengiwe Maria
 NXELE, David
 NXELE, David Zekhyah
 NXELE, Dedisile Lucia
 NXELE, Duduzile Elsie
 NXELE, Dumazile
 NXELE, Dumisani Israel
 NXELE, Elijah Madodeni
 NXELE, Gertrude Thombi
 NXELE, Gugu
 NXELE, Jabu Annie Laura
 NXELE, Jaff Phyllis
 NXELE, Josiah
 NXELE, Khulumeleli
 NXELE, Lilian
 NXELE, Mafoko Hendrieta
 NXELE, Mbongeni
 NXELE, Mbovane Nkosibomvu
 NXELE, Mpetu Dennis
 NXELE, Mzwakhephi Johannes
 NXELE, Nora Thembi
 NXELE, Phata-Phata
 NXELE, Phetheni
 NXELE, Phumlani
 NXELE, Phumlile
 NXELE, Pretty Nompumelelo
 NXELE, Sithembiso Phathezakhle Davidson
 NXELE, Sizwe Wilson
 NXELE, Ziyekile
 NXELEVA, Ntsikelelo Glory
 NXIBA, Thomas
 NXITYWA, Zwelidumile Abel
 NXIWENI, Pumezo George James
 NXKPO, Zwelinson Albert
 NXUMALO, Amnon Thabiso
 NXUMALO, Anthony
 NXUMALO, Arron Muntukayise
 NXUMALO, Bachazile
 NXUMALO, Bafana Mckenzie
 NXUMALO, Bahlekile Jannet
 NXUMALO, Beatrice Thembani
 NXUMALO, Bernard Mholiseni
 NXUMALO, Bhekisisa Elliot
 NXUMALO, Bog Hosiah
 NXUMALO, Bongani Zamani
 NXUMALO, Busisiwe Mantombi
 NXUMALO, Cebolamandwandwe Goodenough
 NXUMALO, Cynthia Duduzile
 NXUMALO, De Edwin
 NXUMALO, Doda
 NXUMALO, Dora Hlobozani
 NXUMALO, Douglas Siphio
 NXUMALO, Dudu Gladys
 NXUMALO, Dumisani Mbozombozo
 NXUMALO, Elizabeth
 NXUMALO, Fani
 NXUMALO, Fana Petros
 NXUMALO, Fanyana Thomas
 NXUMALO, Fortunate
 NXUMALO, Gertrude Maxulu
 NXUMALO, Girlie Lindwe
 NXUMALO, Hendrik Madoka
 NXUMALO, Innocent Zakhela
 NXUMALO, Irene Bathobile
 NXUMALO, Jabulani
 NXUMALO, Jabulani
 NXUMALO, Jabulani Elias
 NXUMALO, Mahlatini Jackson
 NXUMALO, Mangabo Ephraim
 NXUMALO, Mathani
 NXUMALO, Mawewe Memezi
 NXUMALO, Mbongeni Douglas
 NXUMALO, Mbongeni Mathew
 NXUMALO, Mpampu
 NXUMALO, Musa
 NXUMALO, Muziwombuso
 NXUMALO, Naphtal Muziwenkosi
 NXUMALO, Nelson
 NXUMALO, Nkosinathi Emmanuel
 NXUMALO, Nomatumba Adelaide
 NXUMALO, Nombango Evelina
 NXUMALO, Nomusa
 NXUMALO, Nondumiso Jeaneth
 NXUMALO, Nombazana Eggie
 NXUMALO, Patrick Mandla
 NXUMALO, Philisiwe
 NXUMALO, Phindile
 NXUMALO, Ronnie Sihle
 NXUMALO, Rosta
 NXUMALO, Samuel Neocleous
 NXUMALO, Shongile
 NXUMALO, Sebenzile
 NXUMALO, Shongani Rejoice
 NXUMALO, Sifiso Howard Winston (Manyanyatha)
 NXUMALO, Simon
 NXUMALO, Simon Kufakwezwe
 NXUMALO, Siphlele Mxolisi
 NXUMALO, Siphwe
 NXUMALO, Siphio
 NXUMALO, Son-Boy Pius
 NXUMALO, Songelwa Josephina
 NXUMALO, Teyiya Lucky
 NXUMALO, Thangithini Phillipine

NXUMALO, Thembi
 NXUMALO, Victor
 NXUMALO, Yukani Herman
 NXUMALO, Vusumuzi Elton
 NXUMALO, Welcome Bongani
 NXUMALO, Wellington
 NXUMALO, Zakhele
 NXUMALO, Zanele
 NXUMALO, Zanele Rejoice
 NXUSANI, Elizabeth
 NYAKA SIBIYA, Banyatdile Maria
 NYAKA, Isaac Thlogo
 NYAKENI, Mtombi
 NYAKENI, Ntombithula
 NYAKENI, Sikh Phillele
 NYAKENI, Themba
 NYALELA, Elsie Paulina Sesi
 NYALELA, Jackson
 NYALELA, Nonyentse
 NYALENDE, Lawrence Jacey
 NYALUNGA, Frank
 NYALUNGA, J.
 NYALUNGA, Khayaletu
 NYAMAKAZI, Mziwamadoda
 NYAMAMBI, Mvunyelwa
 NYAMANKULU, Jongisizwe
 NYAMANKULU, Songile
 NYAMEKA, Sandile Learnard
 NYAMENDE, Mxolisi Abedingno
 NYAMFU, Lulama Christian
 NYANDLA, Zwelibanzi Velaph
 NYANDENI, Thandi Dorcus
 NYANE, Tina Matsiso
 NYANGA, George Mojanaka
 NYANGANA, Wele Edmund
 NYANGENI, Mzwabantu Eric
 NYANI, Khongozela Elliot
 NYASULU, Vincent Timmy
 NYATHELA, Phindile
 NYATHELA, Siyoyo Alfred
 NYATHI, Andile Kenneth
 NYATHI, Bonga Nyathi
 NYATHI, Constance
 NYATHI, David Mandla
 NYATHI, Jabulani Owen
 NYATHI, Johanna Masana
 NYATHI, Meshack
 NYATHI, Mfanlozi Ernest
 NYATHI, Peter Siphwe
 NYATHI, Sesinyana Lettie
 NYATHI, Themba Enock
 NYATHI, Vusumuzi Johnson
 NYATHIKAZI, Erick Jojo
 NYATI, Petela
 NYATIKAZI, Bekuyise Wilfred
 NYAUZA, Mpyapipeli Norman
 NYAWANE,
 NYAWO, Badingile
 NYAWO, Boni Maxwell
 NYAWO, Boy Erick
 NYAWO, Constance Siphindile
 NYAWO, Dumezweni Muziwenkosi
 NYAWO, Filini Jeremiah
 NYAWO, Hleziphi Jeslina
 NYAWO, Muziwakhe Alfred
 NYAWO, Samson Diya Mfanafuthi
 NYAWO, Samson Musawenkosi
 NYAWO, Themba Clement Nhlalaha
 NYAWO, Thembeleke
 NYAWOSE, Alsina
 NYAWOSE, Baba Ernest
 NYAWOSE, Fana Joshua
 NYAWOSE, Jabu
 NYAWOSE, Mbukelwa Petros
 NYAWOSE, Ntombenhle Rebecca
 NYAWOSE, Mpampu
 NYAWOSE, Robert Mbuyiseni
 NYAWOSE, Sikameko
 NYAWULA, Nkosikhona
 NYAWUZA, Eric Thulani
 NYEKA, John
 NYELELE, Michael
 NYELISO, Malweyi
 NYEMBE, Kanaza
 NYEMBE, Mantomi
 NYEMBE, Vumani
 NYEMBEZI, Constance Nokwanela
 NYEMBEZI, Milise Hallock
 NYENGANE, Ndimphele
 NYIDE, Balungile
 NYIDE, Ernestinah Hlengiwe
 NYIMBANA, Dennis
 NYINGANI, Modo
 NYIRENDA, Jabulani Goodwill
 NYOBO, Kolekile Colbert
 NYOKA, Alegria Kutsaka
 NYOKA, Caiphus
 NYOKA, Dumisani Kenneth
 NYOKA, Makhosana Makhosi
 NYOKA, Makhosi Khaliswe
 NYOKA, Mandlenkosi Bethuel
 NYOKA, Manelisi Lina Lunga
 NYOKA, Sarah
 NYOKA, Sibongile Innah
 NYOKONG, Neria Mjopone
 NYONGWANE, Jabulani

NYONI, Frank
 NYUMBEKA, Nongetheni Gerty
 NYUNDU, Fana Morris
 NYUSWA, Christopher
 NYUSWA, Mavis Hlekani
 NZALA, Jabulani
 NZALA, Mgwabule
 NZAMA, Alison
 NZAMA, Babajulile Gloria
 NZAMA, Bengazi George
 NZAMA, Catherine
 NZAMA, Derrick Musawenkosi
 NZAMA, Domezulu
 NZAMA, Dumisani Elvis
 NZAMA, Elliot
 NZAMA, Ezenchial Simangele
 NZAMA, Gezekile Prudence
 NZAMA, Grace Kwenzakele
 NZAMA, Innocent Thandazani
 NZAMA, Jabulani Andreas
 NZAMA, Juliet Ntombizembi
 NZAMA, Jubile Ivon Dumisile
 NZAMA, Khulani
 NZAMA, Leonard Ntabazini
 NZAMA, Louis Zibonele
 NZAMA, Maphopho Bhekuyise
 NZAMA, Maqhinga John
 NZAMA, Maryane
 NZAMA, Mfaniseni
 NZAMA, Mfanyana Robin
 NZAMA, Mhlelsthwa
 NZAMA, Micheal Zwelisha
 NZAMA, Minganiswa Richard
 NZAMA, Mtonjani Evion
 NZAMA, Mthokozisi Vusumuzi
 NZAMA, Mzomunye Vincent
 NZAMA, Ngakephi Judith
 NZAMA, Ngenzini Florence
 NZAMA, Nodro Petros
 NZAMA, Ntombifuthi
 NZAMA, Percivan Tebogo
 NZAMA, Phillip Lali
 NZAMA, Pius Vusumuzi
 NZAMA, Prince Norbert Nhlanhla
 NZAMA, Sabelo Elliot
 NZAMA, Shongani
 NZAMA, Sibongile Rose
 NZAMA, Sibongiseni Goodlord Linda
 NZAMA, Sifiso
 NZAMA, Simo
 NZAMA, Siphio
 NZAMA, Sithembiso Sonny
 NZAMA, Thuleleni Floreni
 NZAMA, Thuleni Petronella
 NZAMA, Vusumuzi
 NZAMA, Yona Piliswe
 NZAMA, Za Jacolin Nakeni
 NZAMA, Zandile Nelie
 NZAMA, Zanele Nelly
 NZAMA, Zimphi Gladys
 NZAME, Thami
 NZENDIVA, Toto Samuel
 NZIMAKWE, Aubrey Mmcungisi
 NZIMAKWE, Constance Thembekile
 NZIMANDE, Alice Langisa
 NZIMANDE, Alosia Duduzile
 NZIMANDE, Angeline
 NZIMANDE, Anthony
 NZIMANDE, Anton Sibongiseni
 NZIMANDE, Bagcinile Victoria
 NZIMANDE, Banafikile
 NZIMANDE, Beauty Thulile
 NZIMANDE, Bhikani Protus
 NZIMANDE, Bhezu Annanias
 NZIMANDE, Cabangani
 NZIMANDE, Catherine Thembani
 NZIMANDE, Chukwile Florence
 NZIMANDE, Cyprian
 NZIMANDE, Dudu Gladys
 NZIMANDE, Fikile Catherine
 NZIMANDE, Fisani
 NZIMANDE, Florence
 NZIMANDE, Gobile
 NZIMANDE, Ivy
 NZIMANDE, Jennet
 NZIMANDE, John Ndhaku
 NZIMANDE, Khehla Anton
 NZIMANDE, Lawrence Mlungu
 NZIMANDE, Lina
 NZIMANDE, Lindela Raphael
 NZIMANDE, Makhosonke Eliquis
 NZIMANDE, Maray Maggie
 NZIMANDE, Michael Zokwakhe
 NZIMANDE, Mirriam
 NZIMANDE, Mkhombiseni
 NZIMANDE, Mlekeleli
 NZIMANDE, Moses
 NZIMANDE, Mrs
 NZIMANDE, Mshishi Siphwio Johnson
 NZIMANDE, Mzofile
 NZIMANDE, Mzwakhe Moses
 NZIMANDE, Ndadenzima Nyangembi
 NZIMANDE, Nokuphiwa
 NZIMANDE, Raphael
 NZIMANDE, Regina Siziwe

NZIMANDE, Sibomu
 NZIMANDE, Sifiso
 NZIMANDE, Siphwe Eric
 NZIMANDE, Tabolo Samuel
 NZIMANDE, Thakazile Idah
 NZIMANDE, Thamsanqa Ernest
 NZIMANDE, Theminkosi
 NZIMANDE, Unknown Baby
 NZIMANDE, Xolani
 NZIMANDE, Xosheyake Jerome
 NZIMANDE, Yekeleni
 NZIMANDE, Zonzane Christina
 NZIMANDE, Zwe
 NZIMELA, Hlobile Stephen
 NZIMENI, Richard Jim
 NZUKE, Vusumuzi Abednego
 NZULIA, Babra Julia
 NZUNGA, Lerole Paul
 NZUZA, Bhekisiwe
 NZUZA, Bhoyi
 NZUZA, Buhle
 NZUZA, Doris Ntombikayise
 NZUZA, Dorothy Ivy
 NZUZA, Elinah
 NZUZA, Florah Zezi
 NZUZA, Girlie
 NZUZA, Godfrey Mthokozeleni
 NZUZA, Hlengiwe Florence
 NZUZA, I M
 NZUZA, Isaac
 NZUZA, Jabulani
 NZUZA, Khonzaphi Rejoyce
 NZUZA, Khulekani Vusi
 NZUZA, Khulekani Vusi
 NZUZA, Lennox Thlebone
 NZUZA, Lilian Ntombikayise
 NZUZA, Lucky Mfanu
 NZUZA, Mildred Judith
 NZUZA, Mntukutshingwa
 NZUZA, Moses
 NZUZA, Ndoda Robert
 NZUZA, Nessimie
 NZUZA, Nokhuthula
 NZUZA, Nothando Florah
 NZUZA, Ntombikayise Happiness
 NZUZA, Ntombikayise Patricia
 NZUZA, Ntombili Esther
 NZUZA, Patricia Babhekile
 NZUZA, Petros Mzwakhe
 NZUZA, Schuman Raymond
 NZUZA, Simo
 NZUZA, Siphio
 NZUZA, Themba
 NZUZA, Thenjwe
 NZUZA, Thulani Bekingcino
 NZUZA, Thulisi Patricia
 NZUZA, Veluphi
 NZUZA, Zwelabantu Philemon
 NZUZO (KIBI), Nomsinya Grace
 O' REILLY, Welmar
 OCTOBER, Ronald
 ODENDAAAL-MAGWAZA, Marie Fredrika
 ODENDAL,
 ODISITSE, Kewasepe
 ODLER, Sydney
 O'KILL, Richard Oliver Pierce
 O'LAUGHLIN, Bridget
 OLADI, Sidumo Petrus
 OLDJOHN, Victor
 OLDS, C
 OLEG, Karamzim
 OLLEN, Willie Ronny
 OLIFANT, George David
 OLIFANT, Joel
 OLIFANT, Magdalena Elizabeth
 OLIFANT, Shadrack Teko
 OLIFANT, Tshidiso Paulos
 OLIFANT, Violet Ntombifikile (Khono)
 OLIPHANT, Alfred Wellie
 OLIPHANT, Benjamin Tomelotso
 OLIPHANT, Ivan
 OLIPHANT, Lean Olefame
 OLIPHANT, Malebogo Wilfred
 OLIPHANT, Norman Mpumelo
 OLIPHANT, Patricia Xoliswa
 OLIPHANT, Rufus
 OLIPHANT, Vincent Olehile
 OLIVER, L
 OLIVER, John David
 OLIVER, L
 OLIVER, Mervin Govan
 OLIVER, Peter
 OLIVER, Val
 ONIWE, Aubrey
 ONTONG, Paul Etienne
 OOSTENHUIZEN, J.
 OOSTHUIZEN, G. J.
 OOSTHUIZEN, Laurence Cornelius
 OOSTHUIZEN, Patrick Edgar Vernon
 OOSTHUIZEN, Wessel Johannes
 OPPERMAN, J. P.
 OPPERMAN, Karak Jakobus
 OPPERMAN, Reiner Van Jaarsveld
 OPPERMAN, Ryno Johannes
 O'REILLY, W. D.
 ORLYN, Kgotsile Cecil

ORWIN, Gary David
 OSEFENG, Boikie Patrick
 OSMERS, John
 OSS, Andrew
 OTTO, A. P.
 OTTO, Ewette Jauneen
 OZYNSKI, Saul
 PADI, Isaac Butinyana
 PADI, Itumeleng Samuel
 PADI, Refiloe Sarah
 PADIACHY, Hammy Jessica
 PADIACHY, Krishna
 PAGE, Pedro Amandrio
 PAGE, Stephen John
 PAIRANE, Phillip Kadibone
 PAILE, Franciscina Buci
 PAIS, Jose Dos Santos
 PAKA, Johnson
 PAKA, Tonny Khabugheya
 PAKADE, George Sidney
 PAKISI, Raphael
 PALEO, David Sebolai
 PALI, Goolwana Reginald
 PALM,
 PALM, Rolande Lucielle
 PAMA, Elliot Michael
 PAMA, Priscilla
 PANAGOS- CITTON, Roseta Maria
 PANDA, Mzolis Christian
 PANDA, William Wali
 PANDLE, Maggie Nomfusi
 PANGOMSO, Sipho Jackson
 PANKER, A
 PANTSI, Thembani
 PANZISO, Virginia
 PAPA, Reverend Vuyani
 PAPALA, Chobane Samuel
 PAPATHANSPOULES, George
 PAPIYANA, Godfrey Mziwamadoda
 PAPIYANA, Vinyani Kenneth
 PAPO, Piet Lehameze
 PAPU, Benjamin
 PAPU, Velie Wellington
 PARAFINI, Moremi Abram
 PARIKY, Rajeegepal
 PARKIES, Northandazo Virginia
 PARKIES, Tieho Ben
 PASIYA, Masoka
 PATEL, Alec Pedro
 PATEL, Zahied Ebraim
 PATHENI, Velephi Nophiile
 PATLAKI, Willy
 PATRICK, Veron
 PATSA, Vuyani
 PATTENDEN, Angelique
 PAULI, Siculo
 PAULSEN, Lionel
 PAVEL, Vuluev
 PAVIER, James George
 PAVILLION, D
 PAVI, Bukelwa Notargane
 PAVI, Clarence Lucky
 PAVI, Nomathamsanqa Ethel
 PAVI, Nosopho
 PEARCE - MARCON, Adine Leighanne
 PEBANE, Motlatsi Abram
 PEDRO, Niclo
 PEHLUKWAYO, Mirriam Kalelani
 PETERSE, Hendrick Lambert
 PEKBER, Lawrence
 PELLEM, Mthuthuzeli Simon
 PEMBA, Vuyisile Reginald
 PENYA, James Mongadi
 PENYANE, Nelson Mokhine
 PENYANE, Nkululeko Michael
 PENZANA, Mzimkhulu Nimrod
 PEO, Maphuti Joseph
 PEPUI, Earnest Gwede
 PERO, Theodore
 PERRERA, Manuel Amuro
 PETA, Eric Skumbuzo
 PETA, Tom Bomba
 PETA, Vakele Joseph
 PETA, Wonga Horatius
 PETE, Tuli Abram
 PETEGA,
 PETERSEN, Zolisiwe Harret
 PETER, Elijah
 PETER, Lumile Basie
 PETER, Mbulelo Lawrence Toyo
 PETER, Nomboniso Lilian
 PETER, Nomvukatu Topsy
 PETER, Sebenzile Richard Butter
 PETER, Siphio C.
 PETER, Sobantu Percival
 PETER, Walter Martin
 PETER, Wayilese
 PETER, Zola
 PETERS, Dorothy Ethelrede
 PETERS, Sandile Christopher
 PETERSEN, Daniel Johannes
 PETERSEN, Mogamat Shahim
 PETERSEN, Norgan
 PETERSON, Gerarar
 PETERSON, Glyn John
 PETERSON, Hector Zoilie

PETHERIDGE, M. E. G.	PHETJAULENA, Vuyiswa Violet	PHUNGULA, Helia	POSWA, Tholani Florence	QUIN, Jacqueline Anne
PETLELE, Mogapi Abram	PHEULA, Essau Mogolongwane	PHUNGULA, Lawrence Felokwakhe	POSWA, Tshengisile Grace	QUIN, Phoenix
PETLEY, Jared	PHETO, Mongezi Christopher	PHUNGULA, Leonard	POSWA, Valumoya Amon	QUKU, Qulko
PETO, Ronnie	PHETO, Sitsibiso Masenyane	PHUNGULA, Mandlenkosi Eugene	POSWA, Vincent Dali	QULO, Ntokozo Eullen
PETRUS, Andrew Isaac	PHETOANE, Boitumelo Gloria	PHUNGULA, Manti Dorah	POSWA, Vuyani Tiza	QUQU, Glen Lungile
PETRUS, Roland Roy Roux	PHETOE, Kenosi Isaac Abram	PHUNGULA, Mary-Jane Janet	POTELO, Paulos Sehlo	QUMA, Rex Moneli
PETVELLA, L. M.	PHEOTOLO, Kgomotso	PHUNGULA, Maxwell Jabulani	POTGIETER, Andre	QUMBELLO, Mountain
PETWANE, Moseki John	PHEOTO, Mmaditsebe	PHUNGULA, Mbongeni	POTGIETER, C. G.	QUMZA, Patric
PETZER, M.	PHEU, Anele Moses	PHUNGULA, Mcedise Isaac	POTGIETER, P. S. J.	QUNGQU, Nombulelo Thelma
PEU, Chuene Daniel	PHEWA, Alfred Nhlanhla	PHUNGULA, Muziwandile	POTYE, Ndayibapheli Tatamawele	QUNGQUTHO, Telford
PEU, Mamoloko Lina	PHEWA, Amon Vusumuzi	PHUNGULA, Nkosingiphile Emmanuel	POTYO, Mpitzieli Nuclele	QUTSU, Sandile Eric
PEU, Mankopi Heather	PHEWA, Ganishwe	PHUNGULA, Paulos Frans	POYO, Nyaniso Hercules	QWABA, Msetyenzelwa
PEU, Mokgaoti Florah	PHEWA, Lindeni Happy	PHUNGULA, Pius Mandlenkosi	POYO, Sicelo Commando	QWABAZA, Nxolo Gloria
PEU, Raisbe Maphuti	PHEWA, Mpumelelo Christopher	PHUNGULA, Sebenzile Elsie	PRAM, Bongive Cynthia	QWABE, Annastacia Lindani
PEWA, Nhlanhla Adrian	PHEWA, Musa Söhu	PHEWA, Musa Söhu	PRAM, Fozekile Meltan	QWABE, Babani Aaron
PHADI, Jacob Japi	PHEWA, Nomusa Babhekile	PHUNGULA, Thami Emmanuel	PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH	QWABE, Bhekokwakhe Mluka
PHADU, Lesetja William	PHEWA, Sibongile	PHUNGULA, Theminkosi Timothy	LAMONTVILLE	QWABE, Freeman Ndbezhnile
PHADU, Mosima Rosina	PHEWA, Sobho Musa	PHUNGULA, William	PRETORIUS, H. F.	QWABE, Jabulani Jeffrey
PHAGO, Chidi Elias	PHEWA, Sylvia Thembekile	PHUNGULA, Zakhe Rose	PRETORIUS,	QWABE, Leonard Dumisani
PHAGO, Maphuti Johanna	PHEWA, Thokozile Mininja	PHUNGULA, Zamokhule Sibongiseni	PRETORIUS, J. E. A.	QWABE, Nimrod Vukani
PHAGO, Phuti Joel	PHEWA, Wilson Mthembeni	PHUNGULWA, Mzamo Philget	PRETORIUS, Jh	QWABE, Zondeni
PHAHLA, Ben	PHEWE, Rosemary Khanyisile	PHUNGULWA, Siph	PRETORIUS, Johannes Dridick	QWALELA, Boniswa Rosemary
PHAHLADIRAI, Makwena Petrus	PHIKE, Lizzy	PHUNGWAI, David Mutheki	PRETORIUS, Leonie	QWALELA, Rose Bongive
PHAHLAMOHLAKA, Richard	PHIKE, Ntemi Abel	PHUPHANI, Mthuthuzeli Jameson	PRETORIUS, Louis Jacobus	QWAMBE, Godfrey
Mampheko	PHIKE, Pakamisa	PIENNAAR (NEE) ROOS, Cornelia	PRETORIUS, Machiel Andries	QWATEKANA, Ndayabapheli Myekwa
PHAHLAMOHLAKA, Simon	PHILI, Buhlebenkosi Nhlanhla	Gertruida	Stephanus	QWELE, Alfred Zakhele
PHAHLAMOHLAKA, Tseke John	PHILI, Faith Thabile	PIENNAAR, Clifford Lawrence	PRETORIUS, Susanna	QWENYA, Didekile Richard
PHAHLE, George Cecil	PHILI, Woyi Richard	PIENNAAR, David	PRINGANE, Gladys	QWESHA, Horatius Sithonga
PHAHLE, Lindiwe Maud Malaza	PHILLIP, Fikile	PIENNAAR, Kathleen	PRINGANE, Mthozamo Theophilus	RAADOT, Edward
PHAHLE, Livingstone	PHILLIP, Lenad	PIENNAAR, T. D.	PRINS, Andre Peter	RAAL, Peter
PHAJANE, Mosefihane Gilbert	PHILLIPS, Faizel	PIERCE, Adrian	PRINSLOO,	RAATH, P. H. C.
PHAKA, Kyabo Phineas	PHILLIPS, Lance Henry	PIET, Christopher	PRINSLOO, Anna Christina Frederika	RABANWIE, Mpe Lepoko Paul
PHAKA, Nare Johannes	PHILLIPS, Lindiwe	PIETER, Yolviske	PRINSLOO, Anna Maria	RABILAL, Krishna
PHAKA, Vuyisile Andrew	PHILLIPS, Ntsokolo Moses	PIETERSE, Irvin Zavier	PRINSLOO, Ansie	RABOROKO, Mapokane Ester
PHAKADE, Linda Ntombizodidi	PHINDA, Samuel	PIETERSE, Karel	PRINSLOO, L.	RABOTAPI, Dinah Sarah
PHAKALITHA, Tshediso	PHIRI, Atazaxes Adam	PIETERSEN, Alfred Raymond	PRISMON, Nkosi Bekizwe	RABOTAPI, Lineo Patricia
PHAKANI, Beki Jeremia	PHIRI, Crescencia	PIETERSEN, Hennie	PUKWANA, Philius Ntombekhaya	RABOTAPI, Thabeng Samuel
PHAKATHI, Bhekani	PHIRI, Jackie Sandile	PIETERSEN, James	PULE, Anna Mary Rebube	RABOTAPI, Thokoaane John
PHAKATHI, Bukiswa Magadasi	PHIRI, Jacob	PIETERSEN, Vincent	PULE, Dimakatsi Margaret	RACHEL, Edith Marillier
PHAKATHI, Charles	PHIRI, Martha Matlakala	PIKA, April Nose	PULE, Margaret	RADAMBA, Mubvafhi Samuel
PHAKATHI, Gabangani	PHIRI, Mbuyisela Nixon	PIKANI, Alfred	PULE, Monageng Daniel	RADEBE, Edith Marillier
PHAKATHI, Gabisile Doris	PHIRI, Paulus Oupa	PIKASHE, Mphumzi Shadrack	PULE, Monnye Joyce	RADAMBA, GUMBEDE, Nomusa
PHAKATHI, Gqiba	PHIRI, Philiisive Enna	PIKOLI, Mkhulisi Welcome	PULE, Moorosi Ezekiel	Constance
PHAKATHI, Majaji	PHIRI, Ramatsekane Elias	PIKOLI, Zamzolo Lordwyck	PULE, Mothaga Ezekiel	RADEBE, Albert
PHAKATHI, Maphosi	PHIRI, Sampson	PILANE, Kgosietha Johannes	PULE, Nyakono Andronica	RADEBE, Alfred Molefi
PHAKATHI, Makhosazane Patience	PHIRI, Sekhri Mosoeunyana Petrus	PILAPHI, Katsekile	PULE, Pontso Anna	RADEBE, Alison
PHAKATHI, Makhosonke Patrick	PHIRI, Thomas	PILISO, Sibulelo Gladstone	PULE, Sadie	RADEBE, Alpha Bonga
PHAKATHI, Norah Hluleleni	PHIRI, William	PILLAY, Isha	PULE, Simon	RADEBE, Anna
PHAKATHI, Rebecca Thulisile	PHIRI, Wilson Mbuselo	PILLAY, Joshua	PUMELO, Siphio Gift	RADEBE, Anthony Mdeni
PHAKATHI, Siphio Gift Thokozani	PHOFU, Florence Gasta	PILLAY, Linda Diane	PUNGANTSHIE, Magegeni	RADEBE, Bongani Solomon
PHAKATHI, Thule	PHOKO, Makgabo Julia	PILLUSA, Stephens Punko	PUNGULUA, Sithombi Catherine	RADEBE, Buti William
PHAKATHI, Gqiba	PHOKOJO, Motsamai Andrew	PINDISO, Zimamanti	PUNGULWA, Mncedisi Eddie	RADEBE, Celwile (Dudu)
PHAKATI, Philemon	PHOLOTHO, Samuel Moruthane	PINZI, Buka Simon	PUTINI, Gordon Aggrey	RADEBE, Cithkele Eunice
PHAKATI, Prince Simangaliso	PHONGWAKO, Elish Mmutla	PISTOL, Ncinani Edward	PUTINI, Winifred Segametsi	RADEBE, David Zamfana
PHAKISI, David	PHONOSHE, Gushe	PISTOLI, Meledini	PUTINI, Yergan	RADEBE, Doctor
PHAKOAGO, Sam Maoto	PHOOKO, Moferefer	PITA, Zingisa Florence	PUTTICK, Winston Chantler	RADEBE, Dorothy Sophie
PHAKOE, Abel Teboho	PHORA, Mthepa Joyce	PITANA, Buyle Patrick	QABAKA, Mandlenke Sobantu	RADEBE, Elias
PHALA, Aubrey Seabe	PHOSHANE, Tilsho Walter	PITANAE, Ntombekhaya Cinthia Pixie	QALAKU, Spendu Elias	RADEBE, Ephraim Mzwandile
PHALA, Mahwidi John	PHOSISI, Papakwe Daniel	PITIKOE, Mark-Anthony Mosala	QALANYOBE, Nomykha	RADEBE, Graham Sibusiso Boniface
PHALA, Patrick Phaule	PHOSIWA, Mbulaheni Phineas	PITSE, Christopher Linda	QALI, Lennox Sebenzile	RADEBE, Gretta
PHALALI, Ndwamato Edward	PHOSWA (MKHIZE), Tholakele	PITSE, Prince	QAMATA, N.	RADEBE, Ida
PHALANE, Elish Michael	PHOSWA, Anna Bakhethele	PITSI, Richard	QAMBATA, Vaughn Thamsanqa	RADEBE, Isaac Nkululeko
PHALANE, Ronald Themba	PHOSWA, Bheka	PITSO, Arthur Setaba	QANGULE, Nomaciko Prudence Zandile	RADEBE, Itumeleng Innocentia
PHALANE, Sehloho Daniel	PHOSWA, Bhekelakhe Obert	PITSO, Daniel Setsheho	QANKASI, Phelomon Siphio	RADEBE, Jabulani Elvis
PHALANE, Theminkosi Jibillili	PHOSWA, Bongani	PITSO, Johannes	QANYA, Steven	RADEBE, Jabulani Primon
PHALATSE, Irene Esther Mantsadi	PHOSWA, David Ziphathale	PITSO, Manana (Rosta Malehloa)	QATA, Phumasiwe Morrison	RADEBE, James
PHALE, Maria Makgala	PHOSWA, Dinoni S.	PITSO, Mengu Elizabeth	QATANA, Thembekile Henry	RADEBE, James
PHALE, Ronica	PHOSWA, Jabulani Shadrack	PITSO, Rosta Malehloa	QATHANA, Bakhulule Siphithiphithi	RADEBE, Jerry
PHALENG, Madimfatja Johannes	PHOSWA, Jerome	PITSO, Simon Tukies	Walcoco, Jim	RADEBE, Josephine
PHALI, Zabulon Mousa	PHOSWA, Khilela	PITSO, Tebello	QAWATA, Thamsanqa Gilbert	RADEBE, Kherina Maria
PHAMBAHISO, Samani	PHOSWA, Makhosazane	PITSO, Victor Goolathwe	QAWULA, Palele Windvoel	RADEBE, Khesaya
PHANGANE, Florence	PHOSWA, Mangokwana	PITTAWAY, Andrew James	QAYI, Nonight Annie	RADEBE, Lawrence
PHANGWANA, Vuyisile Rogers	PHOSWA, Meshack Bandlehlile	PITYANA, Mxolisi Dalton	QAYI, Sicelo Boyce	RADEBE, Lawrence
PHANTSI, Pulane Adelina	PHOSWA, Mhlawulelwa	PITZER, Karin Anoinette	QAYI, Zongezile	RADEBE, Linda Aaron
PHANYANE, Hadiyo Adelice	PHOSWA, Moses	PLAAITJIE, Unknown	QAYISO, Pierce	RADEBE, Lydia Malefo
PHARASI, Herman Motlalentoa	PHOSWA, Mpisi Moses	PLAAKIE, Moeketsi George	QAZA, Zolile	RADEBE, Manana Janet
PHARATSI, Eric	PHOSWA, Mzwenkosi	PLAAITJIE, Andile Alfred	QEBEYI, Mxolisi Bethwell	RADEBE, Mandlenkosi Steven
PHAROE, Morapedi Moutry	PHOSWA, Niniza Rose	PLAAITJIE, Luthando Patrick	QEA, Wilson Dalihlanya	RADEBE, Martha
PHASHA, Abram Madibeng	PHOSWA, Nohlungane	PLAAITJIE, Napho Boy	QEZU, Xolile Headman	RADEBE, Michael Mvula Jekeje
PHASHA, Thomas	PHOSWA, Paul Sakhumuzi	PLAAITJIE, Nozipho Ruth	QHAMAQOANE, Tabela Peter	RADEBE, Michael Mzwandile
HASHE, Steven	PHOSWA, Phumile Ncamisile	PLAAITJIE, Rammusi Patrick	QHANA, Nomalungisa Miranda	RADEBE, Mongezi
PHASWANA, Khorommbi Josius	PHOSWA, Pickup John	PLAAITJIE, Sydney Themba	QHANOISO, Bylla Mienie	RADEBE, Mosele Andronica
PHASWANA, Ndanganeni Petrus	PHOSWA, Qhoxoza Mzwenkani	PLAAITJIE, Thomas Mokoena	QHAYI, Godfrey Zoyisile	RADEBE, Mzwandile
PHATHADIRA, Mosima	PHOSWA, Simon Mantutu	PLAAITJIE, Wendy	QHENA, Lippo Primrose	RADEBE, Namtungwa Jane
PHATHI, Tseko Jacob	PHOSWA, Soka Amon	PLAAITJIE, Albert Jacques	QHESI, Mandibense	RADEBE, Nelisiwe
PHATLANE, Lucky Joseph	PHOSWA, Thembekile Busisiwe	PLAAITJIE, Andries Pierce	QHINEBE, Emma Evelynah	RADEBE, Nhlanhla
PHATO, Magomokose Stanford	PHOSWA, Thengisi Sylvia	PLAAITJIE, Phillip	QHOBOSHEANE, Teboho Augustine	RADEBE, Nhlanhla Vritale
PHAWE, Legthoi Nape	PHOSWA, Thulebona	PLAAITJIE, Pieter	QHOLE, Mbuzele Joseph	RADEBE, Nkongo Vinesec
PHEO, Solomon Chippa	PHOSWA, Tutu Johan	PLAAITJIE, Pumzile Gladwell	QHINA, Pindile Michael	RADEBE, Nkosinathi
PHELANE, Edward Tshudi	PHOSWA, Zakithi	PLAAITJIE, Thembekile Horatius	QINISELANI, Baqondile	RADEBE, Nomgwago Martha
PHELANE, Morgan Sebata	PHOSWA, Zibonele	PLAAITJIE, Unknown	QINISILE, Siphio Patrick	RADEBE, Nomthandazo Maureen Nozibi
PHELANE, Patrick	PHOSWA, Zondile	PODILE, Leshata Wilson	QITSANA, Joseph Bhazalele	RADEBE, Ntombi Ella
PHELANE, Susan Mosela	PHOTOLO, Boikie	POKOLLO, Nomabulu	QOBOKA, Nelson Makhenkeleza	RADEBE, Ntontso Lilly
PHOKO, Joseph	PHULWANA, Muzila Livingstone	POLE, Malefu Meriam	QOBONGOSHE, Nkululeko Eric	RADEBE, Obusitsoe Isaac
PHOKO, Mokete Lemuel Kidman	PHUMLOMO, Nonhlanhla Monica	POLOKO, Lazarus Keletsetse	QOBOTWANA, Gengelele	RADEBE, Patricia
PHOKONYANE, Modise	PHUMLO, Theodorha	PONNEN, Gangen George	QODASHE, Zukile Sidion	RADEBE, Patrick Pakiso
PHOKU, Moteletsa Paulus Nico	PHUNGOLA, Zwakushivo	PONNEN, Murugas (Mari)	QOGOTA, Zwelifile Bothman	RADEBE, Petrus
PHELANE, Khuduga Hendrick	PHUNGULA (NXUMALO), Flora	PONNEN, Soogawathe	QONGWANA, Selina	RADEBE, Philemon Fiki
PHOLE, France Molefe	PHUNGULA, Bakiphile	PONNEN, Subramoney Mari	QONI, Mandla	RADEBE, Siphongeni
PHOLE, Maphuti	PHUNGULA, Bhekuzumi Petros	PONNEN, Thobani	QOTYOI, George Banzi	RADEBE, Siphongeni Richard
PHENYENKA, Jacob	PHUNGULA, Bongani Raphael	POE, Nthau Jacob	QOTYA, Nomazizi	RADEBE, Sigobongo
PHETHETHA, Nomangali Besta	PHUNGULA, Cromwell Sizwe	POEVANNE, Patrick Pule	QOZA, Siyabulela Theodore	RADEBE, Stefan
PHESI, Vusumuzi	PHUNGULA, Dumisani	POPOSHE, Ndindani Samuel	QUARTERS, Jeff	RADEBE, Steven
PHETHANE, Lelaka Athanasius	PHUNGULA, Dumisani Samuel	POSWA, Bizokwakhe	QUBEKA, Elliot Zithembele	RADEBE, Sydwell Phehella
PHETHLO, Philli	PHUNGULA, Gasta			
PHETJAULEMA, Prudence				

RADEBE, Tamsanqa Wordsworth	RAMMUTLA, Ramadimetja Sanah	RASETHABA, Lydia Matshidi	RWARWA, Mpumelelo Vincent	SARAGE, Muntu Elizabeth
RADEBE, Thulani Sianne	RAMMUTLA, Simon Maphuti	RASETHABA, Phokela Matthews Yasser	RWAYI, Vundilela	SARDHINA, Dionne Winifred
RADEBE, Tobizile Fekie	RAMMUTLA, Tumishi Johannes	RASHILO, Norman	RWEQANA, Andile Andrew	SASA, John Lesiba
RADEBE, Vangile Sarah	RAMMUTLE, Papa	RASMAN, Mcarthur Mphitzeli	RWEXU, Mava Xolela	SASA, Piet
RADEBE, Veli	RAMNCWA, Ngungu Jimcrow	RASMENI, Lena	RYAN, William Henry	SATEGE, Abel Latang
RADEBE, Victor Thulani	RAMNCWANA, Edith Myrtle Thulisiwe	RYKLIFF, Ghalieb	RYKLIFF, Ismael	SATHEGE, Matjebie Samuel
RADEBE, Violet Nozinja	RAMNCWANA, Elias Masebenza	RYKLIFF, Sandle Hurwitz	RYKLIFF, Mqamgat Shafwaan	SATHEKE, Elliot
RADEBE, Winnie Tholo	RAMNCWANA, Luzuko	RASMENI, Solomon Mandlenkosi	RYKLIFF, Zeinab	SATHEKE, Emma Mathodi
RADEBE, Zwelinjani Herold	RAMNCWANA, Velile Willie	RASMENTE, Themba Sonamzi	RYLAND, Peter Lester Malcom	SATHEKE, Nakedi Louis
RADEMEYER, W. E.	RAMNCWANA, Wonga Hipogratris	RASSON, Nkosini Jonathan	SAAIRES, Rojen	SAUGASI, Aletta
RADINGOANE, Selome Johannes	RAMODIKE, Benedict	RASS, Leonard	SABANI, Dumezweni Patrick	SAUL, Thando Amos
RADITHARE, Dennis Tefo	RAMOELETSI, Maria	RATANJEE, Maigan	SABANI, Mncedisi Welcome	SAUL, Themambi
RADITSELA, Andries	RAMOGOGANE, Gaborone George	RATAU, John	SABATANA, Mncedisi Welcome	SAUNDERS, Athol Gerhard Wood
RADIU, Bonisile Edward	RAMOGOGHOLA, Naron	RATEFANE, Remaketsa Jim	SABELA, Debra Baphi	SAUNDERS, Maria Catharina Magrieta
RAJUE, Pam	RAMOGOGA, Betty	RATHABA, Fusi Shadrack	SABELA, Lucky Muzikayise	SAVAGE, Elizabeth Anne
RAJUE, Ray	RAMOGOGA, Jane Foggis	RATHEBONE, M	SABELA, Thoko Regina	SAWONI, Mhnanjwa
RADZILANI, Ndiambane William	RAMOGOGA, Paul	RATHEBE, Betty Johanna	SABELA, Thokozile	SAVED, T
RADZILANI, Vele	RAMOGOGA, Solomon	RATHEBE, Isaac Moeletsi	SABELO, Evelyn	SCHAKAZA, Hleziphi Dorah
RADZUMA, Masekha Samuel	RAMOGOGA, Timothy	RATHEHE, Peter	SABELO, Florence	SCHAEPEERS, Glenda
RAFUBE, Mosito Daniel	RAMOHLE, Johannes Piet	RATHOKOLO, Frans Laye	SABELO, Ian Bongani Smith	SCHAEPEERS, J. C.
RAGAVEN, Chengiah	RAMOKGADI, Beauty	RATHOKOLO, Kwama Solomon	SABELO, Jabulani	SCHAEPEERS, J. N.
RAGOO, Ramola Devi	RAMOKGOGA, Schoeman	RATHOKOLO, Makwena Lydia	SABELO, Jabulani	SCHERMBRUCKER, Gillian
RAGOPHALA, Motloga Andries	RAMOKGOLA, Matome Nelson	RATLADI, Sthembo James	SABELO, Johannes	SCHMIDT, Ronel
RAIKANA, George	RAMOKGOTHOANE, Lejone John	RATLOU, Aubrey Mothusi	SABELO, Sikhumbuzo Aron	SCHOEMAN, Peter Ivan
RAISA, Nontemiso Lucy	RAMOKHABI, Belina	RATLOU, Simon Sello	SABELO, Thuleleni Irene	SCHOEMAN, Pieter
RAJBANSI, Amichand	RAMOKHOASE, Lebetsa Solomon	RATSONA, Ralekoe Oriah	SABELO, Winnington	SCHOLTZ, Francis
RAJJO, Sonny Jaggernath	RAMOKHOASE, Ntele David	RAUBACH, D. M.	SABI, Eddie Simphiwe	SCHOLTZ, Hofmeyer
RAKATE, Israel Kabele	RAMOKHOASE, Oupa Samuel	RAUTENBACH, Y.	SABOSHEGO, Potlako Mokgwadi	SCHOON, Jeanette
RAKHETSI, John Khuwanyana	RAMOKHOASE, Setime William	RAVEL, James	SACCO, Robert	SCHOON, Kathryn
RAKHETSI, Mamathakase Motswepe	RAMOKOBYE, Sello	RAVEL, Jonah Mbengeni	SACHS, Albert Louis	SCHOON, Marius
Belina	RAMOKOENA, Khelha Jacob	RAWANA, Mongameli Austin	SADIKI, Mavhungu Samuel	SCHROEDER, Peter
RAKITLA, Ntheriza Aaron	RAMOKONOPU, Jacob Mzimkhulu	RAWULA, Zukile	SADIKI, Rossel	SCHUITEMA, Berend Willem Franciscus
RAKOGO, Thabiso Isaac	RAMOKONOPU, Ndumane	RAYI, Mzukisi Wilberforce Azisa	SAFERS, Deon Walter	SCHULZ, Steven
RAKOMANE, Daniel Moseste	RAMOKWATEDI, James Butiki	RAYI, Thandile	SAICH, J.	SCHUMANNI, Toni
RAKOSA, Solomon Kgopi	RAMOLLA, Mottolane Kleinbooi	RAZAVI, Riaz	SAJINI, Nonthandazwe Sylvia	SCHWARTZ, Clyde
RAKUDA, David	RAMOLLO, Setabocha Paulus	REASSUME, Joanie	SAKANALA, Pumelele	SEABO, Kenneth Tobogo
RAKWENA, Masilo Ephraim	RAMOLOBENG, Kwena Jaard	REBE, Erick Mxolisi	SAKATI, Xolile Shepherd	SEAKAMELA, Betty Maria
RALANA, Meryman Anele	RAMOLOBENG, Makgabo Magdeline	RENGASAMU, Annamalay	SAKAWULI, Pumelele	SEAKAMELA, Podu Philemon
RALANE, Nomphele Getrude	RAMOLOBENG, Makwena Ramokone	RENGASAMU, Leelavathe	SAKHA, Mazola	SEAKAMELA, Ramokoni Maria
RALEBESE, Mpuse	RAMOLOSO, Majosi John	RENYA, Mantyi	SAKIA, Jeffrey Tumisang	SEAKGOGA, Madibo Shadrack
RALEBITSO, Anthony Samuel	RAMONCHA, Daisy Mamoketibane	RESANT, Mervin	SAKMAN, January Kheadmole	SEAKGWA, Tsotetsi Hendrik
RALEBITSO, Mamapota	RAMONGANE, Monyadisa Suzan	REUBEN MURRAY, Anand	SAKDANE, Keketo Moamali	SEALA, Ramokoni Matlou
RALEBITSO, Rosemary Matumo	RAMONTSA, Tsimini Jacob	RHADEBE, Zandile	SAKU, Xolile Eric	SEAMOHOLO, Modise Simon
RALIVHESA, Muthuphei Jeremiah	RAMOPO, M.	RHANYI, Lukas Obert Thokozani	SALAGAE, Isaac Mthoosole	SEANE, Mark
RAMABULANA, Mehloti Emily	RAMORAKANE, M. P.	RHAPASHA, Alpheus	SALI, George Mncedisi	SEATLE, Mogomotsiemang
RAMADI, Mavhungu Reuben	RAMORULA, Sheki Francina	RHERETAYANE, Abram Vuysile	SALI, John Delekile	SEATLHOLO, Jacob Gaonakala
RAMAGALELA, Ratshilumela Frans	RAMORWAGADI, Edward Gaobusive	RHOMO, Gudlini	SALIE, Shamelah	SEATLHOLO, Setibane Sisky Annah
RAMAHADI, Minah M	RAMOSEPELE, Samuel	RHONOTI, Nogcumzini Ivy	SALIWA, Mvielel Thanduxolo	SEBAE, John
RAMAHESA, Kapano Pin-Pin	RAMOTLETISI, Simon Ntshimong	RHULA, Ben	SALIWA, Mzoli Wellington	SEBAKA, Justice Selelepo
RAMAHUTHA, Henry Biliboy	RAMOTHATA, Goodstuff Moyata	RIBEIRO, Fabian Defu	SALIWA, Ndwavoyake Mnywabe	SEBAKA, Stephen Paulus
RAMAINE, Raphael Refilio	RAMOTHIBA, Mosai Macchene	RIBEIRO, Florence	SALIWA, Zihlelele Ntaneso	SEBAKE, Gossalamang Vironica
RAMAITE, Molosame Stranger	RAMOTHIBE, Bokke Jacob	RICHARDS, Caroline	SALMAN, W. G.	SEBAKELA, Maseditla Lydia
RAMAJWE, Mamatshidiso Rebecca	RAMOTHIBE, Dumazile Patricia	RICHARDS, Mymona	SALMAN, Welile	SEBATE, Boitumelo Pamela
RAMAKABA, Mildred Mandu	RAMOTHIBE, Mapule Sylvia	RICHARDSON, Dorothy	SALMANI, Mzwokolo Leonard	SEBATE, L.
RAMAKABA, Mosioa Nephthaly	RAMOTHIBE, Mavis Ntombizodwa	RICHARDSON, J. M.	SALOOJEE, Rokaya	SEBATTJANE, Matshwene
RAMAKARANE, Caroline	RAMOTO, Matswene Jacob	RIET, Monapula Ishmael	SALOOJEE, Suliman	SEBE, Charles
RAMAKAU, Job Molefi	RAMOTSOMA, Pascal Phindi	RIKABE, Sharon Raymond Lethusang	SALUKAZANA, Benjamin	SEBEI, Moshobottale Lucas
RAMAKAU, Matsoso Paulus	RAMPA, Betta Mapaseka	ROBERTSE, Isu	SALUKAZANA, Jongvuyiso Thabane	SEBEKEDI, Mosa Anthony
RAMAKGOLU, Ramasela Maria	RAMPELE, Thomas	ROBERT, K.	SALUKAZANA, Nomathemba	SEBELE, Lesele Petros Kgosisile
RAMAKOBYE, Sello	RAMPHALILE, Jonas Raboshoanana	ROBERTS, Ben Pakiso	SALUMANI, Thamsanga Edmand	SEBELA, Mthokho David
RAMALEPE, France Ngoako	RAMAPHE, Morapedi Johannes	ROBERTS, Isak	SAM, Benjamin	SEBETE, Sylvester Mokhele
RAMALEPE, Ngoako Chris	RAMPONE, Mahase Pieter	ROBERTS, Molatjhengi Monei Samuel	SAM, Berthuell	SEBIBO, Gordon Mooketsi
RAMALEPE, Reuben Matome	RAMPOTLA, J.	ROBINSON, Dawn	SAM, Dumisani Edwin	SEBOA, Niculus Rabotapi
RAMAN, Boyce	RAMROCK, Johnny	ROBITS, K	SAM, Mhetho Alpheus	SEBOGODI, Lekelole Norah
RAMANGO, Ernest	RANDZILANI, Mberegani Patric	ROBSINI, Maria Nonthandazo	SAM, Simphiwo Mervin	SEBOGODI, Sautweng David
RAMAOKA, Raisibe Meriam	RANGASAMI,	RODE, Limini Petros	SAMBO,	SEBOHODI, Abel
RAMARA, Kolobe Maria	RANGASAMI,	RODGERS, Andrienne Dawn	SAMBO, Johannes Sweet	SEBOKA, Solomon Trueman
RAMARA, Mosima Francina	RANGAZA, Ntsokolo Paul	ROE, M.	SAMBO, Joseph Keane	SEBOLA, Billy Butiki
RAMARA, Ramasela Agent	RANGONGU, Moraka Johannes	ROEIRO, R A C	SAMBO, Joseph	SEBOLA, Anna
RAMARUMO, Jack May	RANGULA, Toto Daniel	ROETS, Magrieta	SAMBO, Sam	SEBOLA, Mphetha Paul
RAMASEGA, Patrick	RANGULE, Siphiwo Simon	ROETS, Nicolaas	SAMBO, Sasso Sozable	SEBOLAI, Percival Modise
RAMASELI, Sehloho	RANI, Isaac Ndazenzela	ROETS, Stephanus	SAMBO, Sibongile Doris	SEBONA, Dimakatso Daniel
RAMASHALA, Lethetsa Sonny	RANKGABO, German	ROETS, Susana Catharina	SAMBO, Sizombi Miriam	SEBONE, Johnny
RAMASHALA, Malesela Paulus	RANTAO, Elvis Mmolo	ROGERS, Richard	SAMBO, Trea Gulap	SEBONI, Mosima Phuti
RAMASHAMOLA, Machabane Theresa	RANTAO, Lydia Mmasethunyha	ROJJI, Fusante Stanley	SAME, Dick	SEBOPA, Thero Lina Sebopa
RAMASHU, S.	RANTAO, Mogatlagkomo	ROLHLAHLA, Nyasile	SAMSON, Xolile	SEBOTHOMA, Andries Matsobane
RAMASIMONG, Florence Minor	RANTAO, Mpho Abram	ROMOKHOASA, Molefi Johannes	SAMUELS, Billy	SEBOTHOMA, P.
RAMASIMONG, George Ramodike	RANTAO, Ntsetsa	RONOTI, Mqawelana Henry	SANA, Wiseman Zitembile	SEBOTSA, Bernard Tefo
Diwiti	RANTAO, Poloko	ROODT, Martin	SANDI, Nontyabamso Medeline	SEBOTSA, Patrick Bobby
RAMASIMONG, Shadrack Matsile	RANTEE, Lefu George	ROOI, Guyboy	SANDILE, Jane Nzukile	SEBUSI, Malitaba Maggie
RAMASOBANE, Jim	RANTIE, Mahomola Solomon	ROOPALL, Sanjay	SANDILE, Nelson Mtutu	SECHA, Tabampe Daniel
RAMATELETSE, Thuso Stephen	RANTIE, Tsietse	ROOS, Corrie	SANGO, Makhosandile David	SEDIBE, Glorius Lefoshe
RAMATHE, Wendy Sizeka	RANTSAILA, Peter	ROOS, Johan	SANGONI, Zolile	SEDIBE, Sareta Sarah
RAMATHIBELA, David Basie	RANTSIEG, Ishmael Mofifi	ROOS, Johannes Jacobus	SANGOTSHA, Buysile Samuel	SEEDINYANE, Nthabiseng Violet
RAMATLO, Jenifer	RANTSIEG, Ishmael Mofifi	ROOS, Marietjie Cornelia	SANGOTSHA, Mxolisi	SEEDUMEDI, Olga
RAMATLOU, Benjamin Sekoboto	RANTSIEG, Solomon Ramonne	ROSENBERG, S. A.	SANGUTU, Sipwe Gerald	SEEDUMEDI-ZINGENI, Boshalala Martha
RAMATSA, Thabo Augustinus	RANUA, Mstvakisi Nancy	ROSENBERG, S. A.	SANGWENI, Doctor	SEDUTLA, Lambert Mangopo
RAMATSIISI, Phineas M	RANUGA, Patizizwe Collin	ROSENKO, Malehana	SANGWENI, Enock Scoreman	SEESIO, John Gaopalelwla
RAMAUBE, Bokgobelo Amos	RANYAOA, Kunyamane Arios	ROSSOUW, Albertus	SANGWENI, Gcinumthetho Evelyn	SEEMA, Charlie Charles Steven
RAMAUBE, Johannes Mashego	RAPETSDO, Mabitheng William	ROSSOUW, Michael Antonie	SANGWENI, Gladys Busta	SEEMA, Edward
RAMAUBE, Nkopeleng Solomon	RAPHADUI, Christina	ROSSOUW, Theunis Johannes	SANGWENI, Kholi Irine	SEEMA, Hilda Kwinatse
RAMEGOE, Martins David	RAPHELA, Fredda Maria	ROUWANA, Tembeka Amanda	SANGWENI, Killeyn Ntuyisise	SEEMA, Machuene Nina
RAMELE, Marcus	RAPHPEHE, Abraham Thabo	ROUSSEAU, Doreen	SANGWENI, Mndila Simon	SEEMA, Malose Kenneth
RAMESEGA, Kenneth Ggori	RAPDO, Nthuru Zipporah	ROXISO, Deliswa Sweetness	SANGWENI, Mfanazana George	SEEMA, Manare Ramasela
RAMESEGA, Kgosishebe James	RAPDO, Simon Ramorwa	ROXO, Makalima Ntlele	SANGWENI, Mhlangeni	SEEMA, Maphuti
RAMETSE, Moroka Edward	RAPUDI, Pieter	RUBUSHE, Betty Nokuthemba	SANGWENI, Moffet Lucky	SEEMA, Maripa Obad
RAMETSI, Mohale Titus	RAPULENG, Ratsie Joseph	RUBUSHE, Lulama	SANGWENI, Nkonkowane Philemon	SEEMA, Matlou Evens
RAMGOBIN, Kush	RAPULENG, Tumelo Lehlohonolo	RUBUSHE, Vusumzi	SANGWENI, Nonjabulo	SEEMA, Rosina
RAMIGO, Dikeledi Euphodia	RAPULENG, Zacharia	RUBUSHE, Wele	SANGWENI, Phakamani Christopher	SEEMA, Seemola
RAMINBO, Dikeledi Euphodia	RAS, Jacob Johannes	RUITER, Ntsonyane Boy	SANGWENI, Sam	SEEMA, Tlou Obad
RAMINBO, Dikeledi Euphodia	RASARHA, Unkonwn	RUITER, Pieter	SANGWENI, Sibongiseni	SEEMA, Vusumuzi Josiah
RAMINBO, Dikeledi Euphodia	RASEALA, Lucas Thupetsi	RUITER, Sandra Nomvuyo	SANGWENI, Zandile Christophollar	SEEMANE, Randolph Moreetseng
RAMINBO, Dikeledi Euphodia	RASEBOTSE, M. A.	RULASHE, Dumile Dimond	SANGWANE, Dumisani	SEEMELA, Elias Kasper
RAMINBO, Dikeledi Euphodia	RASEGO, Ezekiel Lefu	RUSELE, Michael Tully	SANTOS, Bongani	SEFAKO, Andrew
RAMINBO, Dikeledi Euphodia	RASENTOERE, William Thabeng	RWANOANA, Khoyi Mountain	SANUSE, Lulamile	SEFALA, Dileka Reuben
RAMINBO, Dikeledi Euphodia			SAPU, Livingstone Siphelo	

SEFALI, Bassie	SELANI, Sandile	SEROBE, Peter Thulo	SHABANGU, Percy	SHANGE, Mama Sizani
SEFATSA, David	SELANI, Thomas Dimalisile	SEROKOLO, Motshidisi Kate	SHABANGU, Peter	SHANGE, Mazo
SEFATSA, Neo Reginald	SELANI, Zola Alfred	SEROUÉ, Letta Nokidimusi	SHABANGU, Portia Khulumile	SHANGE, Mbuyiselo
SEFATSA, Phelloho Sam	SELATOLE, Mageru Daniel	SERRANO, Maryanne De Olivetra Neto	SHABANGU, Sibongile Nelisiwe	SHANGE, Mkhé Khethiwe
SEFATSA, Rebecca	SELEBALO, Sontaha Johannes	SERUWE, Simon Bushy	SHABANGU, Simanga Elias	SHANGE, Msoiwa
SEFATSA, Reginald	SELEBE, Isaac Butiki	SESELE, Melody	SHABANGU, Vincent Muzivenhlanhla	SHANGE, Mthokozisi Alfred
SEFATSE, George	SELEBOGO, Ephraim	SESHAI, Christopher Mooketsa	SHABANGU, Vusumuzi Emmanuel	SHANGE, Musa Raymond
SEFOKISI, Johannes	SELI, Seraetseng Makidifentse	SESINYI, Dolly Marry	SHADA, Mohau Nicholas	SHANGE, Mxoloni Nicholas
SEFOLO, Harold Sello	Margaret	SESMAN, David	SHAI, Kleinboy Oupa	SHANGE, Mzwandile Wonderboy
SEFOLO, Nelson Sello	SELEKE, Marth	SETABELA, Samuel Molefi	SHAIK, Yunis	SHANGE, Nelie Teressa
SEFULARO, Ntebang Nelly	SELEKE, Phutego	SETEBE, Timu Lawrence	SHALANG, Solomon	SHANGE, Nelisiwe Maggie
SEFULARO, Surprise	SELEKE, Thatayoane	SETEL, Jacob	SHALANGU, Phindwe	SHANGE, Nokhebevu Samson
SEFULU, Mpho Stella	SELELO, Marcus Tihako	SETENÉ, Mpho Rosalina	SHALE (LERATA), Monica Makoeke	SHANGE, Ntombikayise Elizabeth
SEFUME, Aupa Daniel	SELELO, Moses	SETENI, Johnson Dumile	SHALE, Geoffrey Godfrey	SHANGE, Phumzile Elizabeth
SEFUME, Dorothy Dorcas	SELEPE, Douglas	SETENTE, Francis	SHALE, Mooketsi Fahian	SHANGE, Pretty
Mankadimeng	SELEPE, Filippus Matheri	SETHAMBU, J. M.	SHALE, Refiloe Joseph	SHANGE, Prudence Nompumelelo
SEGAGE, Baby	SELEPE, Julian	SETHEBE, Lewis Ndolo	SHAMASE, Shokwakhe	SHANGE, Robert Vusumuzi
SEGAGE, Lindwe	SELEPE, Kalkiso Wilson	SETHLODI, Majeng	SHAMDU, Betty	SHANGE, Roselina Kulhatile
SEGALO, West Eleazer	SELEPE, Malihloa Pascallina	SETHOKGA, Dimakatso Miriam	SHANDU, Shandu	SHANGE, Sarah-Jane
SEGAMI, Ivan	SELEPE, Metsaki Ismael	SETHOKGA, Thalfi Philemon	SHANDU, Bethuel	SHANGE, Sibonelo Professor
SEGANENO, Ezekiel	SELEPE, Moleko Jacob	SETHWALA, Lucas Tshendo	SHANDU, Bhekifa	SHANGE, Sidulla Benzangani
SEGANO, Kgakgamatso David	SELEPE, Nomashiniwe Cecilia	SETI, Gladstone Xolisile	SHANDU, Busangani	SHANGE, Simphiwe
SEGOBODI, Ikageng Elma	SELEPE, Orah Lydia	SETI, Melekile Allan	SHANDU, Caanaan Mbegcu	SHANGE, Sithandwe
SEGOLA, Elisa Dikeledi	SELEPE, Petrus	SETJANE, Mpho David	SHANDU, Celani	SHANGE, Sithembiso
SEGOLE, Ezekiel Mamae	SELEPE, Petrus Mooketsi	SETLAI, Thabo Walter	SHANDU, Fikile	SHANGE, Thembyise Langelakhe
SEGOLE, Kelo Ignatious	SELEPE, Tello Ezekiel	SETLALE, Asaph	SHANDU, Hiaselaphi Agnes	SHANGE, Thulani Ntu
SEGOLE, Samuel	SELEPE, Vusi	SETLE, Martiens	SHANDU, Jabulani Emmanuel	SHANGE, Vivian Thulasiwe
SEGOLODI, Anthony	SELINDA, Anthony Linda	SETLE, Paul Jabulane	SHANDU, Jabulisiwe Emely	SHANGE, Vusumuzi Emmanuel
SEGOTLONG, George Dikeme	SELLEY, Douglas John	SETLHAHUNO, Lazarus Tebogo	SHANDU, Johannes	SHANGE, Wiseman
SEGOTLONG, Regina Motlabaeso	SELLO, Joseph Skate	SETLHODI, Amos	SHANDU, Khumbulani	SHANGE, Zandile Victoria
SEGOTSANE, William	SELLO, Loikeleli Cate	SETLHOKÉ, Gabriel Phemelo	SHANDU, Landa Wilfred	SHANGE, Zanele
SEGRYS (MANUEL), Maria Regina	SELLO, Richard Retshiditswe	SETSHEDI, Modise Daniel	SHANDU, Mafika Zanele	SHAPO, Molefe David
SEGUTYA, Virginia Ntombandazo	SELOLO, Kwena Florina	SETSHEDI, Philemon Matetene	SHANDU, Mbhekeleni	SHAZA, Hlokomani Alfred
SEGWENYANE, John Tladi	SELOLO, Ledile Christina	SEXWALE, Lesetsha Joseph	SHANDU, Nicholas Nkosinathi	SHAZA, Madinane
SEHERI	SELOLO, Makwena	SEXWALE, Tokyo	SHANDU, Nokwazi Josephine	SHAZA, Siph
SEHERI, Mophetse Joshua	SELOLO, Mampedi Welhemina	SEYAYI, Ngangelizwe Joseph	SHANDU, Nozipho	SHAZI, Nompumelelo Eunice
SEHERI, Puleng Daphney	SELOLO, Mashapa Simon	SGOXO, Mazwi Edward	SHANDU, Phumaphi Emalea	SHAZI, Thokozeni
SEHERI, Vernon Sechaba	SELOLO, Matlou Alpheus	SGVAZA, Anna Gugile	SHANDU, Primrose Motloubuthi	SHAZI, Wilson
SEHLABO, Thandiwe Innocentia	SELOLO, Mmakoeana Tshedisa	SHAAN, Danger	SHANDU, Sibongile Gladness	SHEARD, Val
SEHLAKO, Keneiwe Sylvia	SELOLO, Mongau Phidas	SHABALALA, Alosia	SHANDU, Sitrani Stephen	SHEARER, Anna Petronella
SEHLALELO, Mpopi Johannes	SELOLO, Paledi	SHABALALA, Angelina	SHANDU, Sizakele	SHEBI, Bonginkosi Berry
SEHLANE, Lerato Hopewell	SELOLO, Ramakone Lisbeth	SHABALALA, Bhukumusa Donald	SHANDU, Thembeni Agnes	SHELEMBE, Albert Sakhephi
SEHLWANE, Rashibjana Samuel	SELOLO, Sempho Moses	SHABALALA, Bongani David	SHANDU, Tholile	SHELEMBE, Bhukumuzi Roman
SEHOMANE, Elizabeth	SELOLO, Thaketti Theophilus	SHABALALA, David Bhenguse	SHANDU, Thulani Joseph	SHELEMBE, Bongani
SEHUNLELO, Simanyana Moses	SELOLO, Tshikare Ezekiel	SHABALALA, David Vimba	SHANDU, Walter Mansi	SHELEMBE, Doris Dumazile
SEIPEI, Mooketsi James	SELOLO, Tshwene David	SHABALALA, Elijah	SHANDU, Zibuyile	SHELEMBE, Khanyisile Jesina
SEISA, Seisa	SELOMO, Michael	SHABALALA, Emmanuel Abraham	SHANGASE,	SHELEMBE, Majalmane
SEITISHO, Matshidiso John Tshidi	SERLOR, Levy Molefe	Sibusiso	SHANGASE, Aubrey Mandlakoyise	SHELEMBE, Mdubanisi Prince
SEITSHANG, Thomas Kealebetse	SEMANE, Manzowandle Charles	SHABALALA, Ethel Busisiwe	SHANGASE, Bhekowakhe	SHELEMBE, Nelisiwe Irene
SEITSHIRO, Ishmael Mosala	SEMANE, Sexton Sizakele	SHABALALA, Goodness	SHANGASE, Bhekukwakhe	SHELEMBE, Nontkanyiso Lessia
SEITSHIRO, Seuntjie Sonnyboy	SEME, Syabongwa	SHABALALA, Jabulani Innocentia	SHANGASE, Busisiwe Gadeni	SHELEMBE, Phikisizani Alpha
SEJAKE, Godfrey	SEME, Thandazile Agnes	SHABALALA, Jackie Victoria	SHANGASE, Daphney Zehille	SHELEMBE, Rosaline
SEJAKE, Thulo Jeremiah	SEMEKAZI, Ntsikelelo	SHABALALA, Jackson Nkosinathi	SHANGASE, Dingizwe Alson	SHELEMBE, Rosalina
SEJAMOHOLO, James Mosha	SEMELA, Teko Stephen	SHABALALA, Jeffrey Siph	SHANGASE, Dudu	SHELEMBE, Sebentle Doris
SEJANE, Mosala Abel	SEMENO, Joseph Modigatsile	SHABALALA, Joy N	SHANGASE, Fikile	SHELEMBE, Sibekepi Bangizwe
SEJENG, Andreas Morake	SEMETHE, Francis Molefetsane	SHABALALA, Makhosonke	SHANGASE, Garazile Gertrude	SHELEMBE, Soplinah
SEJOSENGO, Annie	SEMI, David	SHABALALA, Makhosonke Solomon	SHANGASE, Hansford	SHELEMBE, Sydney Michael
SEJWE, Kgomoiso Richard	SEMPE, Thabang David	SHABALALA, Maswazini Petros	SHANGASE, Hawukile	SHELEMBE, Thabane Nhlanhla
SEKALEDI, Letshaba Johannes	SENABE, Oupa Freddy	SHABALALA, Mbuso Edmund	SHANGASE, Khalangani	SHELEMBE, Thalhithi
SEKALEDI, Nuku	SENAMELA, Lazarus Matsebe	SHABALALA, Michael Phaseka	SHANGASE, Khethiwe	SHELEMBE, Victor Sicelo
SEKAMOENG, Gloria Kebarelang	SENATLA, Samson	SHABALALA, Mitchell Nongalajelwa	SHANGASE, Margaret	SHELEMBE, Vusumuzi Ezekia
SEKANA, Elsie	SENATLE, Sam Jenny	SHABALALA, Nomlangano Mavis	SHANGASE, Mbhekini Mbulelewa	SHELVEN, K.
SEKATE, Sello Joseph	SENEKAL, Joseph Mathews	SHABALALA, Ntombifikile Happy	SHANGASE, Mkhopheni Ben	SEHMANE, Joseph
SEKATI, Elizabeth Kedibone	SENNELO, Thijs	SHABALALA, Phephezela Johannes	SHANGASE, Moses	SHEMBE, Londa Nsika
SEKATI, Gabriel Mphahlele	SENOKODANE, Glad Elias	SHABALALA, Sebastian Jabulani	SHANGASE, Mthandeni Vincent	SHEMBE, Sikhumbuzo Elphas
SEKATI, Mirriam	SENOKODANE, Kebogile Joyce	SHABALALA, Sibongile Cynthia	SHANGASE, Mubayiwe Vo	SHEI, Nontfundo Priscilla
SEKETE, Toroki George	SENOKODANE, Kharametsa Jacob	SHABALALA, Sibongile France	SHANGASE, Ngazini Buzani	SHEI (DAMINI), Khusu Sukephi
SEKETE, Vincent	SENOKODANE, Mpho Tsietsi Jacob	Makhehla	SHANGASE, Ngonyeni	SHEZI (MTHMKHULU), Thabile Edith
SEKGABI, Sejale Emily	SENOKODANE, Sefularo Walter	SHABALALA, Siboniso	SHANGASE, Nkosikhona	SHEZI (NYANISA), Nojota Lepphi
SEKGABI, Tsiiano Daniel	SENOTSI, Daniel	SHABALALA, Sikhumbuzo Lwazi	SHANGASE, Ntombikula	SHEZI, Anton Mahauw
SEKGALAKANA, Makwena Salome	SENTOEDI, Elias Oupa	SHABALALA, Sindisiwe Rejoice	SHANGASE, Nomvula Goodness	SHEZI, Babazane
SEKGALAKANE, Maphuti Ramokoni	SENYANE, Lydia	SHABALALA, Sipantzu Timothy	SHANGASE, Ntombenjeni Bonangani	SHEZI, Bheki Bonokwakhe
SEKGOBANE, Dyekeetseng	SEOKOLO, Serai Israel	SHABALALA, Smapanga Simon	SHANGASE, Ntombikula	SHEZI, Bhekuyise Ambrose
SEKGOBELA, Samson Mpho	SEOKOLO, Thabang	SHABALALA, Sonto Emily	SHANGASE, Phisiwe Mpomo	SHEZI, Bongani
SEKGWAMA, Mmapula Sarah	SEOKOLO, Thatayoane	SHABALALA, Thesi	SHANGASE, Phindile Josephine	SHEZI, Bongekile Albertina
SEKHAULELO, Matome Cornelius	SEOLWANE, Rosina Mokgadi	SHABALALA, Thobile Venetia	SHANGASE, Phumelaphi Eunice	SHEZI, Bongwe
SEKHELE, Ramasele Freddy	SEOPA, Elizabeth Chuene	SHABALALA, Thokozani	SHANGASE, Phumelaphi Sylvia	SHEZI, Cosmas Sanelle
SEKHENJANA, Saniel Vusumuzi	SEOPA, Mamoloko Jacob	SHABALALA, Veli Samson	SHANGASE, Sibusiso	SHEZI, Delisile
SEKHOBANA, Mafisikana Esmom	SEOPA, Maphuti Abner	SHABALALA, Wendelene Mvosh	SHANGASE, Siphosenkosi Wilson	SHEZI, Denis Nicholas
SEKHOPA, Matabiso Marie	SEOPA, Ramokone Machuene	SHABALALA, Xolani Eddie	SHANGASE, Yvonne Thembekile	SHEZI, Dodo Elphas
SEKHOSANA, Maki Roselynn	SEOPELA, Daniel Sebile	SHABALALA, Yvonne	SHANGASE, Zamaokhe Spongensi	SHEZI, Felumuzi
SEKHUKHUNE, Jan	SEOTHUENG, Kagiso Joseph	SHABANE, Busisiwe Jalta	SHANGASE, Zetha	SHEZI, Gilbert Vusumuzi
SEKHUKHUNE, Kgolane	SEOTHUENG, Kealeboga Liza	SHABANE, Gano	SHANGASE, Zibekile Minah	SHEZI, Goodness Bongekile
SEKHUKHUNE, Mogase Piet	SEPEATAKE, Ngoko Samuel	SHABANE, Maria	SHANGE (NKELE), Mantolwane	SHEZI, Hawukile Ennie
SEKHUKHUNE, Ngwanatsomane Jim	SEPEENAE, Nthabiseng Maria	SHABANE, Nontkanyiso Clemencia	SHANGE,	SHEZI, Isau Siph
SEKHUKHUNI, Godfrey Mogaramedi	SEPENG, Thomas Cecil Daniel	SEPHAKA, Khotsa Joseph	SHANGE, Alpheus Wiseman	SHEZI, Kayikayi Thembinkosi
SEKHUKHUNI, Jan Mashume	SEPHAKA, Khotsa Joseph	SEPHAGO, Michael Majara	SHANGE, Antony	SHEZI, Langelashona
SEKHUKHUNI, Khetsape Philemon	SEPHAYI, Piet Phleu	SEPHALANE, Letta Nkgopoleng	SHANGE, Banellie S' Bongile	SHEZI, Lolo Cornelius
SEKHULA, Seemole Ntsatsa	SEPHALANE, Letta Nkgopoleng	SEPHUSE, Malose Samuel	SHANGE, Basitile	SHEZI, Lucky Jerome
SEKHUTHI, Matshoshi Rosemary	SEPHUSE, Malose Samuel	SEPP, Amos Sampo	SHANGE, Bhikinduna Isaac	SHEZI, Makhosazane Rose
SEKOKOTOANA, Eisa	SEPP, Amos Sampo	SEPOGWANE, Makalabana Freddy	SHANGE, Bhekiwe	SHEZI, Maria
SEKONYANA, Cecilia Matsepe	SEPOGWANE, Makalabana Freddy	SEPOTOKELE, Motuki Richard	SHANGE, Bongani Jeffrey	SHEZI, Maria
SEKONYANA, Francina Mapuleng	SEPOTOKELE, Motuki Richard	SEPOTOKELE, Dulcie Evon	SHANGE, Bongani Petros	SHEZI, Maryrose Hlengiwe
SEKONYANA, Mokete Uria	SEPOTOKELE, Dulcie Evon	SEPOTOKELE, Nontselelelo Ethel	SHANGE, Buisile Precious	SHEZI, Mbongeni Eric
SEKONYANE, Gladys Keitumetse	SEPULU, Zanele Collin	SEQUERA, Randal Peter	SHANGE, Christine Simangole	SHEZI, Mfanufikile Petros
SEKUKUNI, Sello Bennet	SEKANE, Zanele Collin	SERACHE, Nathaniel Mooketsa	SHANGE, Constance Badelle	SHEZI, Mike Makhini
SEKWANE, Maphutho Elizabeth	SEKANE, Nathaniel Mooketsa	SERAPIMIDES, Vangel	SHANGE, Dugeni Bethwell	SHEZI, Mpuemelo Solomon
SEKWEHE, Masilo Abraham	SERAPIMIDES, Vangel	SEREMANE, Timothy Tebogo	SHANGE, Eugene Nkosikhona	SHEZI, Mthuli Nicodemus
SELA, Molahlehi Johannes	SEREMANE, Timothy Tebogo	SERED, Matheo	SHANGE, Fihlwe Emma	SHEZI, Muziwauka Hubert
SELA, Nelson Molefe	SERED, Matheo	SEREPLO, Jan Christmas	SHANGE, Florence Tonnet	SHEZI, Muziwauka
SELA, Dimakatso Petrus	SEREPLO, Jan Christmas	SERETLO, Tlou Julia	SHANGE, Henry Sphikwe	SHEZI, Ncamisile Thokozile
SELA, Thandile	SERETLO, Tlou Julia	SERIBE, Amanda Figa	SHANGE, Isaac Bhekiso	SHEZI, Nhlanihla
SELANI, Maria	SERIBE, Amanda Figa	SEROBE, Lawrence Molati	SHANGE, Khumbuzile Irene	SHEZI, Nkosingiphile Ronald
SELANI, Mbuyiselo Ernest	SEROBE, Lawrence Molati		SHANGE, Lindwe Evelyn	SHEZI, Ntombikayise
SELANI, Mzwandile			SHANGE, Mabutha Richard	SHEZI, Octavia Sibongile

SHEZI, Pauline Sebenzile
 SHEZI, Paulos Mpunyuka
 SHEZI, Petros Sifiso
 SHEZI, Samuel Musa
 SHEZI, Sibongiseni Goodwill
 SHEZI, Sifiso Gerald
 SHEZI, Sibusiso Wiseman
 SHEZI, Sifiso Rudolph
 SHEZI, Silwayiphi Daniel
 SHEZI, Siphwe
 SHEZI, Siphso
 SHEZI, Stanley Mduduzi
 SHEZI, Thandiwe Gladys
 SHEZI, Theminkosi Kayikayi
 SHEZI, Thembisile Picilla
 SHEZI, Thembisile Tryphina
 SHEZI, Thembusise Innocent
 SHEZI, Thoko Lephinah
 SHEZI, Thokozile
 SHEZI, Thomas Mzingisi Beachamp
 SHEZI, Thombo Zibeni
 SHEZI, Thulani Eric
 SHEZI, Vivian Bongani
 SHEZI, Zama David
 SHEZI, Zethulele
 SHEZI, Ziningi Sylvia
 SHEZI, Zipehele Vivian
 SHIBANDA, Mhlaba Solomon
 SHIBE, Jabu Adelaide
 SHIBE, Linda Elphas
 SHIBE, Nomzindo Ida
 SHIBE, Vakushiwe Milton
 SHIBE, Vusi Gunnet
 SHIBUM, Elias
 SHIKITA, Fuzile
 SHIKITA, Zanyokwe
 SHIKOANE, Mokgoma
 SHIKWANE, Hahakuk Magabutlane
 SHILLAW, Craig Anthony
 SHILLOW, Rodger Patrick
 SHINGA, Bheki Bethlehem
 SHINGA, Gilbert Zilolisi
 SHINGA, Meshack
 SHINGA, Nana Michael
 SHINGA, Nkosinathi Dennis
 SHINGA, Themba Abedingo
 SHINGA, Viya Tryphina
 SHINGANGE, Lily Mthembu
 SHINGANGE, Ngabenziswa Thomas
 SHINGANGE, Nwamongozi Samuel
 SHIPALANA, John
 SHIRANDA, David Mikhuba
 SHIVANI, Billy
 SHNGOANE, Samuel Masella
 SHOBA, Bafana Michael
 SHOBA, Mandelwa Michael
 SHOBEDE, Mduduzi Vincent
 SHOBEDE, Ntombizethu Clara
 SHOBEDI, Samson
 SHOKE, Solly Zacharia
 SHOKHWA, Sephora Sanah
 SHOMANE,
 SHOMANG, Labuang Amas
 SHOMOLEKAE, Teboho Philip
 SHONGOANE, Mamotsha Anna
 SHONGOANE, William
 SHONGWANE, Paikie Meshack
 SHONGWE,
 SHONGWE, Aaron Mdutshwa
 SHONGWE, Anna
 SHONGWE, David Bogelo
 SHONGWE, Mahalane Fontwane
 SHONGWE, Madabula
 SHONGWE, Mary Nongazi
 SHONGWE, Michael
 SHONGWE, Mlamuli
 SHONGWE, Mtswelizwe Abram
 SHONGWE, Mxosheni
 SHONGWE, Thandi Josephina
 SHONGWE, Theminkosi
 SHONGWE, Zini
 SHOPE, Mark
 SHOZI, Absalom Boy
 SHOZI, Alfred
 SHOZI, Bacabangeni
 SHOZI, Bhekabakubo Samson
 SHOZI, Busizwe Fortunate
 SHOZI, Clementine
 SHOZI, Doris Nompumelelo
 SHOZI, Grace Bongwiwe
 SHOZI, Hapoleon
 SHOZI, Hlupheni Beauty Dade
 SHOZI, Kwenzekile
 SHOZI, Mandlenkosi David
 SHOZI, Mathosi Busiswe
 SHOZI, Mbuzeni
 SHOZI, Mhlophokazi Mirriam
 SHOZI, Mphiliseni
 SHOZI, Msizi Patrick
 SHOZI, Ntombinkulu Rosemary
 SHOZI, Nzuza Raymond
 SHOZI, Qabukwayo
 SHOZI, Raymond
 SHOZI, Sandile Vincent
 SHOZI, Siboniso
 SHOZI, Sincenge Joseph

SHOZI, Sizani Claudia
 SHOZI, Thandi Happiness
 SHOZI, Thandi Princess
 SHOZI, Theminkosi Oswald
 SHOZI, Tholwapi Mamcunu
 SHOZI, Victoria Duduzile
 SHOZI, Viliza
 SHOZI, Vimbepe
 SHOZI, Vincent
 SHOZI, Vusi Innocent
 SHOZI, Vusumuzi Wiseman
 SHOZI/GUMEDE, Thulani
 SHUBANE, Luckson Hennek
 SHUDE, Busisiwe Margaret
 SHUDE, Mziwa
 SHUDE, Sibonga
 SHUMA, Bella Thembekile
 SHUMA, Musa Patford
 SHUPING, Abel Goitsimodimo
 SHUPING, Abram Botaletse
 SHUPING, Arabia Pueng
 SHUPING, Dibanka Johannes
 SHUPING, Leaoa Paul Daddy
 SHUPING, Moses
 SHUPING, Silence
 SHUSHA, Bongile Asselina
 SHUSHA, Majola
 SHUSHA, Mantwetwe Eric
 SHUSHA, Meshack Thandabantu
 SHUSHA, Thembisile
 SHUSHA, Tutu Mesta
 SHUSHWANA, Vuyisile
 SHWABEDE, Sonosini
 SIAGA, Pule Solomon
 SIBACA, Kenneth
 SIBAM, Ntsikelelo Stanley
 SIBANDA, John
 SIBANDA, Ntombi Sibongile
 SIBANDA, Unknown
 SIBANDE, Busisiwe Agnes
 SIBANDE, Mathews
 SIBANDILE, Aaron Stephen
 SIBANKULLU, Hlalanathi Professor
 SIBANKULLU, Professor
 SIBANYONI, Bentshane Betty
 SIBANYONI, David
 SIBANYONI, Fuduka Sarah
 SIBANYONI, Jabulani
 SIBANYONI, Jonas Ben
 SIBANYONI, Martha Spenye
 SIBANYONI, Mesibanyoni Emnie
 SIBANYONI, Michael Mac
 SIBANYONI, Miti Baadgie
 SIBANYONI, Novalezie Johannah
 SIBANYONI, Paulos
 SIBANYONI, Philip
 SIBANYONI, Roselina
 SIBANYONI, Titi Johannes
 SIBAYA, Jubulile Glowie
 SIBEKO (MTMHMKHULU), Thoko Maria
 SIBEKO, Daniel
 SIBEKO, David Maphumzana
 SIBEKO, Joseph
 SIBEKO, Joseph Vicks
 SIBEKO, Khayelihle
 SIBEKO, Linah Khali
 SIBEKO, Mark Glen
 SIBEKO, Monde Bheki
 SIBEKO, Mjini Amos
 SIBEKO, Nomakhosi Thembisile
 SIBEKO, Paulos Mgaga
 SIBEKO, Thabo Calvin
 SIBEKO, Thabo Reginald
 SIBEKO, Thabo Ronald (Bubu)
 SIBEKO, Thembanani Norah
 SIBEKU, Gladstone Kathazile
 SIBEKU, Nomakula Mirriam
 SIBENGILE, Msondezi Eric
 SIBEVU, Mtutuzeli Norman
 SIBI, Teboho Julius
 SIBIDLA, Twanisi Freena
 SIBILWANE, Pedunka Enos
 SIBINYONI, Popi Lettie
 SIBISI, Alfred
 SIBISI, Alpheus Themba
 SIBISI, Beauty Thandekile
 SIBISI, Bhekinkosi
 SIBISI, Bhekumuzi Simon
 SIBISI, Corat Mngumeli
 SIBISI, Dumisani David
 SIBISI, Jabulani
 SIBISI, Jeremiah
 SIBISI, Jerome Sbhongiseni
 SIBISI, Kehla Joseph
 SIBISI, Khathazile Matriona
 SIBISI, Louisa Bongwiwe
 SIBISI, Mandlakaize Elmond
 SIBISI, Mandlenkosi
 SIBISI, Mhlushwa John
 SIBISI, Michael Bafana
 SIBISI, Montgomery Nyeteli
 SIBISI, Nelson Bheki
 SIBISI, Nontetho Christina
 SIBISI, Phonduka Zepird
 SIBISI, Phumelele Priscilla
 SIBISI, Qimba Mphikeleli

SIBISI, Richard Zibonele
 SIBISI, Sibusiso
 SIBISI, Sibusiso
 SIBISI, Theminkosi Alfred
 SIBISI, Sibusiso Johnson
 SIBISI, Sizani Renikia
 SIBISI, Theminkosi Humphrey
 SIBISI, Timothy Siphso
 SIBISI, Victor Langalakhe
 SIBISI, Viera
 SIBISI, Vusumuzi Ronnie
 SIBISI, Xolani
 SIBIYA, Amos
 SIBIYA, Ausius Samuel
 SIBIYA, Bafana Makhenji
 SIBIYA, Bazini Mecia
 SIBIYA, Beaula Bongwiwe
 SIBIYA, Bezile
 SIBIYA, Bhozi Philisiwe
 SIBIYA, Bongani Michael
 SIBIYA, Busisiwe Virginia
 SIBIYA, Buyiswe
 SIBIYA, Dumisani Themba
 SIBIYA, Ernest Michael
 SIBIYA, Esaw
 SIBIYA, Gertrude Boneni
 SIBIYA, Jubulisiwe Clarence
 SIBIYA, Jack Sipathana
 SIBIYA, Jeffrey
 SIBIYA, Johannes Mokhine
 SIBIYA, Jonga Jacob
 SIBIYA, Joseph Mthembeni
 SIBIYA, Judith
 SIBIYA, Kulana Christopher
 SIBIYA, Mable Sebenzile
 SIBIYA, Mamsy
 SIBIYA, Mandla Shadrack
 SIBIYA, Marriet
 SIBIYA, Micca Mnikwa
 SIBIYA, Mntombikayise Regina
 SIBIYA, Mike Killer Siphosakhe
 SIBIYA, Moeyni
 SIBIYA, Mqondiseni Elias
 SIBIYA, Msizi Edward
 SIBIYA, Musa Bafa
 SIBIYA, Musa Welcome
 SIBIYA, Mwaselenkosi
 SIBIYA, Ndilela Abel
 SIBIYA, Ndweniwe Azaria
 SIBIYA, Nesi Grace
 SIBIYA, Nkosinathi
 SIBIYA, Nokwenziwa
 SIBIYA, Nomakhosazana Patricia
 SIBIYA, Nomusa Rosebud Eulander
 SIBIYA, Ntombiyomthakathi Ennie
 SIBIYA, Ntombizodwa Princess
 SIBIYA, Petros Ngqotho
 SIBIYA, Philisiwe
 SIBIYA, Phineas Sodi Bhekuyise
 SIBIYA, Phumokwakhe Alfred
 SIBIYA, Sibongile Catherine
 SIBIYA, Sibongile Melita
 SIBIYA, Sigqanya Sibusiso
 SIBIYA, Simon John
 SIBIYA, Sithandwa Prince
 SIBIYA, Siwehile
 SIBIYA, Son
 SIBIYA, Swelani
 SIBIYA, Thabitha
 SIBIYA, Themba Simon
 SIBIYA, Themba Vritus
 SIBIYA, Thembisile Elentraute
 SIBIYA, Thokozani
 SIBIYA, Thokozani Elmond
 SIBIYA, Velani Victor
 SIBIYA, William Bheki
 SIBIYA, Xolile
 SIBIYA-MSIMANGA, Lina
 SIBONDE, Buyisile Peter
 SIBOTO, Nozici
 SIBOTO, Papan Raymond Lewyllen
 SIBOTO, Siphso Abiathar
 SIBOZO, Magojom David
 SIBUMBE, John Jabulane Mzayas
 SIBULO, Ntshomela
 SICEKA, Sicelo
 SICTSHE, Felishile
 SICHULO, Walter Mbulawa
 SICKLE, Dairde Michelle
 SIDANDALA, Nomatamba Euphene
 SIDLAYIYA, Christopher Lyanda
 SIDU, Nomazulu Enid
 SIDZUMO, Ashley
 SIDZUMO, Ntombizodwa Margaret
 SIFUKU, Mjoko Jackson
 SIFUMBA, Harold Mvuyo
 SIFUNDA, Tshabi
 SIGABI, Ephraim Xkolisi
 SIGAGAYI, December
 SIGAGAYI, Michael Mangaliso
 SIGAGAYI, Ntobhani Agnes
 SIGAM, Kenneth Mncedisi
 SIGANGA, Mpheni
 SIGASA, Amos Sam

SIGCAWANA, Molose
 SIGEBENGA, Wilson Kwama
 SIGIDI, Dugard
 SIGIDI, Mxakeki Bennet
 SIGUBA, Henry
 SIGUDU, Bulehwa Sylvia
 SIGWEBELA, Zodwa Mirriam
 SIGWEBO, Ngqisile
 SIGWELA, Ezra
 SIGWELA, Lennox Mbuyiseli
 SIGWELA, Monica Nomonde
 SIGWINTA, Motshwa
 SIGWINTA, Zongezile Rinkie
 SIHLABANI, Nomzamo
 SIHLALI, Mafika
 SIHLALI, Fortunate Jubulile
 SIHLANGU, Managale Sarah
 SIKAKANE, Bhekuyise Christopher
 SIKAMA, Jongikhaya
 SIKEMANE, Hendrick Vuyani
 SIKENJANA, Morris
 SIKHAKANE, Celumzi Moses
 SIKHAKHANE, Andrinah Thokozile
 SIKHAKHANE, Basi Kelly
 SIKHAKHANE, Ben
 SIKHAKHANE, Bheki Richard
 SIKHAKHANE, Cornelius Delani
 SIKHAKHANE, Elizabeth Ntombi
 SIKHAKHANE, Geb Gerbar
 SIKHAKHANE, Goodwill Colin 'Neville'
 SIKHAKHANE, Gugu Mandy
 SIKHAKHANE, Henry Mfana
 SIKHAKHANE, James Bhekizizwe
 SIKHAKHANE, Lawrence Themba
 SIKHAKHANE, Manda Caswell
 SIKHAKHANE, Mqondisi Mutseni
 SIKHAKHANE, Mntomuhle
 Ndukushayazi
 SIKHAKHANE, Mthiyakhe Daniel
 SIKHAKHANE, Mzikayise Phillip
 SIKHAKHANE, Nomkhosi Lima
 SIKHAKHANE, Ntombikayise Regina
 SIKHAKHANE, Oscar Khulekani
 SIKHAKHANE, Skafu Busisiwe
 SIKHAKHANE, Theodorah Nomcebo
 SIKHAKHANE, Zithulele Richard
 SIKHAKHANE-RANKIN, Joyce Nomafa
 SIKHEPHE, Mntwenzile
 SIKHOSANA, Elliot
 SIKHOSANA, Manono Mavis
 SIKHOSANA, Themba Daniel
 SIKHOSANA, Thengwani
 SIKHOSANA, Virginia Mpmonto
 SIKHUTSHWA, Merriman Siphso
 SIKHWENI, Justice
 SIKITI, Shoti
 SIKITI, Siphso
 SIKITI, Zuzeka Regina
 SIKO, Emily
 SIKO, Nomakwezi Georgina
 SIKO, Thamsanga John
 SIKO, Zuko Belmont Mech
 SIKOANE, Frans
 SIKOBI, Boyi Joseph
 SIKOBI, Mavis Mksizi
 SIKOBI, Mazabize
 SIKOBI, Ngqakaza
 SIKOBI, Qondeni Irene
 SIKONDE, David Siphso
 SIKOSI, Vusi Patrick
 SIKUMKANI, Wenzise Florence
 SIKUNANA, Tozama Mary
 SIKUTSHWA, Mamanci Tena
 SIKWEPERE, Lucas Baba
 SIKWEYIYA, Mangaliso Wesley
 SIKWEYIYA, Simanga August
 SIKWEYIYA, Sizizno
 SILANGO, Ntombifile Anna
 SILANGWE, Babongile Florence
 SILANGWE, Bhulekwana
 SILANGWE, Mbethwa
 SILANGWE, Mhletywa
 SILBERBAUER, Claire
 SILEKU, Themba Simon
 SILEMA-MALATSI, Johannes Soidaha
 SILINDZA, Wilson
 SILINGA, Wessie
 SILLANDS, Colleen
 SILLANDS, Margaret Elizabeth
 SILO, Dorothy Lulama
 SILO, Novintwemi Violet
 SILOLO, Kwini Elizabeth
 SILOMO, Pikwe Ennie
 SILOTILE, Edy
 SILULWANE, Zukiswa Patricia
 SILUMA, Vusi Samuel
 SILWANYANA, Nomkhumbulo Morina
 SIMA, Fikile Margaret
 SIMA, Gcineni
 SIMA, Gladis Khethevis Masima
 SIMA, Mzuvelike Wiseman
 SIMA, Phindwe Dinah
 SIMA, Vusumuzi
 SIMAMANE, Badingile
 SIMAMANE, Bongwa

SIMAMANE, Nomajongosi Mavis
 SIMAMANE, Nomakhosi Dilili
 SIMAMANE, Phatoakwhe
 SIMAMANE, Qondeni Sylvester
 SIMAMANE, Velaphi
 SIMAMANE, Vusumuzi Moses
 SIMAMANE, Wifendi Poni
 SIMANDLA, Bonisile David
 SIMANGA, Enoch Kadimo
 SIMANGO, Cynthia
 SIMANGO, Khanghela Thomas
 SIMANI, Goodman
 SIMAYILE, Code
 SIMAYILE, David Nkosivumile
 SIMBINE, Jeronimo Vicente
 SIMELA, Namkoni Selinah
 SIMELANE, Allison
 SIMELANE, Bheki
 SIMELANE, Bhekuyise Simon
 SIMELANE, Buti Peter
 SIMELANE, Eunice
 SIMELANE, Gcinwayinkosi Petrus
 SIMELANE, Gwete Enock
 SIMELANE, Jabulani Kom
 SIMELANE, Joe Johannes
 SIMELANE, Johannes Meleni
 SIMELANE, Johannes Zwelibanzi
 SIMELANE, Linah Silukazi
 SIMELANE, Miles Simon
 SIMELANE, Mpmemo Amos
 SIMELANE, Nokuthula Aurelia
 SIMELANE, Nonozana Anna
 SIMELANE, Susiso Carol
 SIMELANE, Simon
 SIMELANE, Solomon
 SIMELANE, Sotini Thembelihle
 SIMELANE, Sydney
 SIMELANE, Thallina Phumzile
 SIMELANE, Theminkosi Vincent
 SIMELANE, Zandi Moses
 SIMININI, Mandla William
 SIMINYA, Mberegini Marcus
 SIMMONS, Bronwin
 SIMONS, Bronwen Bonny
 SIMONS, Vienne
 SIMPSON, James Marren
 SIMPSON, W. M.
 SINAM, Sandile Wellington
 SINAMA, Bhekissia
 SINAMA, Ntshwenca
 SINAYIDA, Mzwabutu Thompson
 SINUBA, Zon Jeremiah
 SINDANE, Bangiswene Emily
 SINDANE, Bhekizitha Jones
 SINDANE, Bonga
 SINDANE, Busisiwe Khasiyile
 SINDANE, Manel Mthshiselwa
 SINDANE, Nomatamba
 SINDANE, Nomngqibelo Sarah
 SINDANE, Piet
 SINDANE, Sibongile Florence
 SINDANE, Sidumo Jeffrey
 SINDANE, Singalela Jeremiah
 SINDANE, Steven
 SINDANE, Thomi Joseph
 SINDANE, Vusumuzi Lawrence
 SINDANE, Manel Mashiselwa
 SINDU, Banzu Elphas
 SINDU, Kati Simon
 SINGQOTO, Alport
 SINGWANE, Thomas Velaphi
 SINXOSHE, Nelson
 SINYEMFU, Luxolile Ben
 SIOBO, Tshibili Eliza
 SIPHIKA, Gladys Mbagem
 SIPHIKA, Mzwandile Ruben
 SIFIKA, Ntamehlo
 SIFIKA, Silo
 SIPOLO, Gwazi
 SIPOYA, Jacob Busang
 SIPOYA, Jarius Mokotedi
 SIPOYA, Samuel Ntsala
 SIPUTA, Lanki
 SIQA, Zetule
 SIQAKAZA, Nombuso
 SIQAZA, Archibald
 SIQAZA, Wessie
 SIQUBETU, Muzile Honey
 SIRA, David Siyapi
 SISHANGE, Msilane Ronel
 SISHANGE, Paul Senyatsot
 SISHI, Bongani John
 SISHI, Buselaphi Xolisi
 SISHI, Feni Eveline
 SISHI, Fundisive Agnethen
 SISHI, Gabisile Margaret
 SISHI, Hlakanipani Agrippah
 SISHI, Jabulani Patrick
 SISHI, Lawrence Nqobizwe
 SISHI, Mangasa
 SISHI, Mkakeni
 SISHI, Mkakeni
 SISHI, Ntombitheni Mamsishi
 SISHI, Sebenzile Esther
 SISHI, Siso Neil Mawwaba
 SISHI, Skhumbuzo Michael

SISHI, Thokozani Otrinah	SITHOLE, Sibusiso Vusumuzi	SKOSANA, Kenneth	SOKHELE, Clement Nkosinathi	STANDER, Magistrate
SISHI, Unknown	SITHOLE, Sicelo Gratian Futhi	SKOSANA, Machi Mariah	SOKHELE, David Dumisani	STANFORD, Robert David Norman
SISHI, Zafika Annacetha	SITHOLE, Simon	SKOSANA, Mafutha David	SOKHELE, France Dennis	STANLEY, Rose
SISHIMANE, Nomathemba Patience	SITHOLE, Siphiwe Patrick	SKOSANA, Mbulawa Amos	SOKHELE, Mondli Alex	STEELE, I. J.
SISULU, Mpumelo	SITHOLE, Siphiwe	SKOSANA, Mbulawa Jonathan	SOKHELE, Mtonywa Simon	STEELE, Richard
SITALI, Msokoli	SITHOLE, Siphiwe	SKOSANA, Mbulelo Benjamin	SOKHELE, Mtonyoni Royal	STEENKAMP, A.
SITETO, Mahuti	SITHOLE, Siphio	SKOSANA, Mhlawulani Jacob	SOKHELE, Simon	STEENKAMP, William
SITHEBE, Christian Bhekuyise	SITHOLE, Sisedewu	SKOSANA, Noah Lucas	SOKHETE, Maphelo	STEIN, Isaiah
SITHEBE, Esther Jabisa	SITHOLE, Sobhuza Lachias	SKOSANA, Nomasonto Angelini	SOKHULLU, Bongumusa Archiles	STELLENBERG, Percy Christiaan
SITHEBE, Muziwakhe Ezard	SITHOLE, Sokhela	SKOSANA, Petrus	SOKHULLU, Ntombiyenkosi Elsie	STEPHANUS, Paul
SITHEBE, Peter	SITHOLE, Steven Sonnyboy	SKOSANA, Phillip David	SOKOVI, Gilbert	STEPHENS, Maureen
SITHEBE, Thamsanqa Tununu	SITHOLE, Sylvasia Bacabangile	SKOSANA, Richard	SOKOVI, Mshicileli Samuel	STEVEN, Thembinokosi Edward
SITHEBE, Zakehe	SITHOLE, Tepana Anna	SKOSANA, Sefako Job	SOKOVI, Sandile Petros	STEVENS, Louis
SITHOLE, Galelelele	SITHOLE, Thabo Emmanuel	SKOSANA, Sello Samuel	SOKUPA, Danjiswa Maggie	STEVENS, Robert
SITHOLE, Gilelele	SITHOLE, Thandi C	SKOSANA, Sphele Richard	SOKUPA, Siumko	STEWART, Clare Veronica
SITHOLE, Alfred Gundu	SITHOLE, Thembe Eric	SKOSANA, Tlali Anna	SOKUPA, Vuyani Victor	STEWART, Sandra Margaret
SITHOLE, Alfred Mfana	SITHOLE, Thembisile Merina	SKOSANA, Veli Johanna	SOKUTU, Innes Mpumelo	STEYN, Annie
SITHOLE, Alfred Mfana	SITHOLE, Thembisile Muriel	SKOSANE, J.	SOKUTU, Lindile Reuben Manowa	STEYN, Avril Rachewell
SITHOLE, Alinah Poppy	SITHOLE, Thobelani	SKOULARIKIS, Dimitrios	SOLANI, Nombuyiselo Gladys	STEYN, P. J.
SITHOLE, Amos Behtemba	SITHOLE, Thoko Rose	SKRISHI, Ngondoo Johnson	SOLANI, Ntsikelelo Wellington	STIENEN, Cornelia
SITHOLE, Arthur	SITHOLE, Thokozile Esther	SKRITSHI, Loyiso Elliot	SOLANI, Vusumuzi Patrick	STIGLINGH, Roeline
SITHOLE, Arthur Mbongeleni	SITHOLE, Vinah	SKRITSHI, Siphio Joseph	SOLLY, Mano Ollifile	STINA, Lungile
SITHOLE, Bafana Petros	SITHOLE, Vinjehweyini	SKUKUKAZI, Lebogang Godfrey	SOLOMON, Alfred Thembisile	STOFLE, Mcebisi Cecil
SITHOLE, Bakhuzi	SITHOLE, Vusumuzi Clobas	SKWATSHA, Million Zwelini	SOLOMON, Arnold	STOK, Ndoma Ndumisa
SITHOLE, Banda Wellington	SITHOLE, Zazi	SKWEYIYA, Sinzizo	SOLOMON, Meshack Tekoetsile	STOKES, S.
SITHOLE, Benjamin Velaphi	SITHOLE, Zenze John	SLABBERT, Petrus Arnold Gerhardus	SOLOMON, Phakamile Nicholas	STOLS, Matthys
SITHOLE, Boas	SITHOLE, Zilungisele Muntukabonwa	SLADE, Cynthia	SOLOMON, Theo Simon	STONA, Moekeetsi Wellington
SITHOLE, Bonginkosi	SITHOLE, Zine Siziphi	SLANGVELDT, Michael	SOLOMONS, Desmond Robert	STONE, Emily Emma
SITHOLE, Bongiwe Olga	SITHOLE, Zithulele	SLANGWE, Skhova	SOLONTSI, Henry Linda	STONE, Khutsahalo Violet
SITHOLE, Boyi	SITHOMO, Mzonzo Siphio	SLATSHA, Mkhululi	SOLWANDLE, December	STOOTMAN, Dumile
SITHOLE, Chashaza Andries	SITIKI, Hambeleni	SLATSHA, Zola	SOLWANDLE, Mongameli Godfrey	STRACHAN, Robert Harold Lundie
SITHOLE, Cusa Johanna	SITOLE, Siphiwe	SLAVERS, Gavin Godfrey	SOMANA, William Zotosile	STREET, Mable
SITHOLE, David Mabuti	SITSHONGAYE, Maxwell	SLLOY, Joz	SOMANA, Wivi	STRYDOM, M.
SITHOLE, Delani Mandlenkosi Shadrack	SITU, Ncedani William	SMAKATHANA, Koos Mntswelwele	SOMAZI, Mthethwa	STRYDOM, Monica Elizabeth
SITHOLE, Dikeledi Paulina	SITYATA, Similo Sizwe Matolweni	SMALBERGER, Johan Philippus	SOMFULA, Moses Ndade	STRYDOM, Wj
SITHOLE, Duduzile Oscar	SIVELA, Nomfazwe Nowinile	SMANGA, Sthembile	SOMTSEWU, Monde	STUART, Joy Elaine
SITHOLE, Enock Jabulani	SIWA, Mangaliso Frank	SMART, Brian Clifford	SOMXO, Tuti	STUBBS, Julian
SITHOLE, Eunice Nonhlanhla	SIWALI, Themba	SMAYILE, Tenjiwe Gladys	SONAMZI, Goli	STUURMAN, Jacob Goli
SITHOLE, Fikephi Gladys	SIWAYI, Meyile Malcomess	SMILES, Benny	SONAMZI, Ncamisile Stanley	STUURMAN, John
SITHOLE, Francis	SIWISA, Nkhola	SMILES, Molebatsi Jerry	SONDEZI, Busisiwe Gladness	STUURMAN, Mlungisi Wilnard
SITHOLE, Frank	SIXHASO, Shadrack	SMIT, A. J.	SONDEZI, Maliteke Catherine	STUURMAN, Nokwanda
SITHOLE, Fredah	SIXSHE, Lungile Selywen	SMIT, Anna	SONDEZI, Thulani Michael	STUURMAN, Sphiso Ivin
SITHOLE, Gidle Ngenzeni	SIXSHE, Siphio Joseph	SMIT, C. J.	SONDYAZI, Samson Boiki	STUURMAN, Xolani Kanneetje
SITHOLE, Gladys	SIYA, Howard	SMIT, Cornelius	SONGELWA, Lionel Mbuyiselo	STWAI, Venvol Cofayishiye
SITHOLE, Gloria	SIYALI, Thamsanqa Eric	SMIT, Nanki Emily	SONGO, Dipuo Jacob	SUKANI, Mbuthuma
SITHOLE, Gratian Futhi	SIYAVELA, Mabhudi Ngamlana	SMITH, David	SONGO, Manhla Samuel	SUKAZI, Alvinha Elizabeth
SITHOLE, Helena Mankehi	SIYO, Nombulelo Lizzie	SMITH, Dennis	SONI, Dumisani Vincent	SUKUDE, Amon Dumisane
SITHOLE, Innocent	SIYOKO, Eliot Sindezama	SMITH, E. P. M.	SONI, Malolo Cyprian	SUKULA, Fundiswa Patricia
SITHOLE, Isaac Isaka	SIYOKO, Eliot Sindezama	SMITH, Elizabeth Maletsatsi Maria	SONI, Siboniscane Lulu	SUKWANA, Mzwamadoda De Villiers
SITHOLE, Jabulani	SIYILO, Mendisi Clifford	SMITH, Helena Dorethea	SONJICA, Sikhumbuzo Macnick	SULKAS, Unknown
SITHOLE, Japheth Ndeyi	SIYONA, Phindile	SMITH, J. M.	SONKVALA, Nkosinathi Eric	SULLABA, Xolela Richard
SITHOLE, Jeremiah Victor	SIYONZANA, Funeka	SMITH, John Bernard	SONO, David	SUMME, Mzwakile Richard
SITHOLE, Joel Jiga	SIYONZANA, Liza	SMITH, Myrtle	SONO, Lolo	SUMMERS, Freddie
SITHOLE, Joseph	SIZANI, Lucas	SMITH, Ndleleni Thompson	SONO, Petrus Salelene	SUNDOZA, Sifiso Stanford
SITHOLE, Joseph	SIZANI, Mkhululi Mvuzo Wages	SMITH, Norman Ned	SONO, Piet	SUNDOZA, Sithembiso Christopher
SITHOLE, Joseph Boy	SIZIBA, Shongile Lydia	SMITH, Ntomboxole Phyllis	SONO, Richard	SUNDOZA, Solomon Mandlenkosi
SITHOLE, Judas Shibabe	SIZIBA, Siphio Boy Edward	SMITH, Oupa Abram	SONO, Solomon	SUTHANE, Mildred Bontenyane
SITHOLE, Klaas Mzaman	SIZILA, Mzwandile Aaron	SMITH, Pule Jordane	SONTSHAKA, Samfumu	SUTHARD, Sheila Veronica
SITHOLE, Lessia (Eliza Maqo)	SIZILA, Nozithandiso Olga Nofezile	SMITH, Rene	SONTUNDU, Nena	SUTHU, Nothozayo
SITHOLE, Lewis	SKPE, Siphio Gideon	SMITH, Sanni Alina	SOPHISEKA, Nomphephe Catherine	SWAARTBOOI, Themba Simon
SITHOLE, Mamo Alexia	SKPE, Vusumuzi September	SMITH, Stephanus Johannes (Fanie)	SOPHISEKA, Philemon	SWANEPOEL, A.
SITHOLE, Mandla	SKPEU, Mongezi	SMITH, Zibuko	SOPHISEKA, Sityasiye Leonard	SWANEPOEL, Arend Jacobus
SITHOLE, Mandlenkosi Shadrack	SKPEU, Zanethemba Benjamin	SNOW, Gillian	SOPOTELA, Andile Tension	SWANEPOEL, D.
SITHOLE, Martha	SKWEU (A.K.A. MPHATHISENI	SNOWY, Unknown	SOPOTELA, Lincoln Jongilzive	SWANEPOEL, J.W
SITHOLE, Meshack Mnganelwa	MNGUNI), Mphathiseni	SNYMAN, W N P.	SOSIBO, Albert	SWANEPOEL, Willem Hendrik
SITHOLE, Mfianiseni Overt	SKUYI, Tshonile	SNYMAN, A. B. G.	SOSIBO, Maxwell Mbhekene	SWART, Basil
SITHOLE, Mhlaba Ernest	SKHAKHANA, Mpilo	SNYMAN, Gilbert Lungile Ncinci	SOSIBO, Nhlaniha Ernest	SWART, Emmie
SITHOLE, Mhlawule Piet	SKHAKHANA, Sibongile Dephney	SNYMAN, Pieter Daniel	SOSIBO, Nkosinathi Emmanuel	SWART, G. M. B.
SITHOLE, Monifa Amos	SKHOSANA, Bessiphi Hendrick	SNYMAN, Siphio Clifford	SOSIBO, Sifiso Enoch	SWART, M. D.
SITHOLE, Moses Ngalo	SKHOSANA, Betty	SOBISO, Vikani Jacobs	SOSIBO, Shili Ronnie	SWART, P.
SITHOLE, Mphani Andreas	SKHOSANA, Ezekiel	SOBOYISE, Nkosinathi Charles	SOSIBO, Sizakele Eropo	SWART, Unknown
SITHOLE, Mpiyoke Johannes	SKHOSANA, Isiah Cetswayo	SOBOYISE, Sityotwa	SOSIBO, Tanana Johannes	SWART, Zanita A.
SITHOLE, Mpotoletso Petros	SKHOSANA, Jappie	SOBOYISE, Zuliswa	SOSIBO, Vukani Jacob	SWARTBOOI, Abraham "Blackie"
SITHOLE, Mpumelo	SKHOSANA, Kleinbooi	SOBUKWE, Robert Mangaliso	SOTETSI, Virginia	SWARTBOOI, Bomwana
SITHOLE, Mthunzi Thabani Basil	SKHOSANA, Mafutha	SOCIA, Timothy	SOTHEINI, Mlungisi	SWARTBOOI, Bushy Voltaire
SITHOLE, Muntuza	SKHOSANA, Mandla	SODI, Mphanyana Bennett	SOTHOANE, Rantsho Nathaniel	SWARTBOOI, Buyelwa Gladys
SITHOLE, Muriel Thembisile	SKHOSANA, Noah Lucas	SODIDI, Siphio	SOTIYA, Kaponsile Alfred	SWARTBOOI, Eric Buyisile
SITHOLE, Mvelase	SKHOSANA, Nomaphogo Beauty	SODISA, Maxekeku Williams	SOTONDOSHE, Thiyekile	SWARTBOOI, Melvin Khayaletu Khaya
SITHOLE, Nataniel	SKHOSANA, Sahlelami Elias	SOGA, William	SOTSHONGANE, Mamlawu Rhoda	SWARTBOOI, Nomathamsanqa Elita
SITHOLE, Ncena Sarah	SKHOSANA, Senzani Samuel	SOGA, Xola	SOTSU, Constance	SWARTBOOI, Nthembile Alfred
SITHOLE, Nkoma Mfaniseni	SKHOSANA, Siphio Solomon	SOGCWAYI, David Mlondolozu	SOTSU, Margaret Lindive	SWARTBOOI, Zola Headman Allman
SITHOLE, Nellie Mdudu	SKHOSANA, Sikhumbuzo Wilson	SOGIBA, Bidekile Limited	SOTSU, Ngxokolo Ernest	SWARTBOOI, Zwelankomo Alfred
SITHOLE, Nelson	SKHOSANA, Sophie Badianle	SOGIBA, Moxolo	SOTSU, Sabata	SWARTLAND, Archie Booi
SITHOLE, Njengabantu	SKHOSANA, Surgeant Frans	SOJEZI, Mbulelo James Cecil	SOTSU, Vusi	SWARTS, F.
SITHOLE, Njengabantu	SKHOSANE, Cistoles Thembinokosi	SOJI, Doris Thandiwe	SOTSU, Vuyane Osborn	SWARTZ, Jonathan
SITHOLE, Nombuso Happiness	SKHOSANA, Monna Philemon	SOJIL, Zmoshile	SOUCHON, Jean Francois Dominique	SWARTZ, Setjelo Andries
SITHOLE, Nonhlanhla	SKHAMBANE, Siphio Joseph	SOJIL, Siphio	SOUTS, Peter Madoda Alfred	SWARTZ, Nicholas
SITHOLE, Nsizwa Albert	SKISAZANA, Hope Themisile	SOKHABASE, Nkuthula Angelina	SOUT, Xolisile Abram	SWARTZ, Zolwela
SITHOLE, Ntjoni Maureen	SKITI, Jackson Mamana	SOKHELA, Bongani	SOVWAZI, Constance Sikelwa	SWELANKOMO, David Mphikelelo
SITHOLE, Ntomibiliza Gertrude	SKOLI, Zama	SOKHELA, Daniel	SOYA, Mthantson Alfred	SWELI, Thembekile Godfrey
SITHOLE, Ntunane Nathan	SKOLO, Ntsikelelo Attwell	SOKHELA, George	SOYA, Seuntjies Msokoli	SWELINDAWO, Nomvuyo Elmina
SITHOLE, Omega Nhlanihla	SKOSANA, Aaron	SOKHELA, James	SOYAMA, Charbet Mpumelo	
SITHOLE, Paulos Mtusi	SKOSANA, Abram	SOKHELA, Mandla Norman	SOYISO, Thembeni	
SITHOLE, Peter	SKOSANA, Badinile Sophie	SOKHELA, Mduduzi Madoda Amos	SPARG, Mark Richard	
SITHOLE, Philisiwe Ellen	SKOSANA, Bandazi Johanna	SOKHELA, Muzi	SPARGS, Jonathan	
SITHOLE, Phindavele	SKOSANA, Christina	SOKHELA, Nelson Thulani	SPARKHAMS, Michael Andries	
SITHOLE, Plumlandi Welcome	SKOSANA, Christinah	SOKHELA, Nomusa Faith	SPEELMAN, Andiswa	
SITHOLE, Romeo	SKOSANA, Diana Velaphi	SOKHELA, Norah	SPIES, Anna Alida Magdalena	
SITHOLE, Ruth Sibongile	SKOSANA, Dini Samson	SOKHELA, Nthile Alice	SPLI, Mkhonzeni	
SITHOLE, Shongile Hilda	SKOSANA, Jabulani Velaphi	SOKHELA, Rosemary Nonhlanhla	SPOGTER, Meizo July	
SITHOLE, Shusiso	SKOSANA, Jacob	SOKHELA, Sizakele Anna	SPOPO, Zuzile Nelson	
SITHOLE, Sengiphelele Petros	SKOSANA, Jeffrey	SOKHELA, Tholani Gertrude	SPIUYT, Weila Beradette	
SITHOLE, Sentanda	SKOSANA, Johanna	SOKHELA, Vincent Phili	STAFELBERG, Cornelius	
SITHOLE, Shadrack Msoolwa	SKOSANA, Johanna Nomthadazo	SOKHELA, Zani Selina	STAMPER, Mziwakhe Godfrey	
SITHOLE, Shelu	SKOSANA, Joyce Nonhlanhla	SOKHELA, Zenzele	STANDER, Janene	
SITHOLE, Sibongile Esilina	SKOSANA, Kall Ernest	SOKHELE, Bethuel Monali		

TAKALI, Siyabonga Maxwell	THAISI, Moramang David	THOMPSON, Glen	TLOU, Hilda	TSHABALALA, Enoch Doctor
TAKALO, Babi Elizabeth	THAISI, Tello Maria	THOMPSON, Leon	TLOU, Jabulani Simon	TSHABALALA, Ethel Sizile
TAKAYI, Nkundila Elliot	THAKANYANE, Monti Sabath	THOMPSON, Robert Patric	TLOU, Khonjwe Peikie	TSHABALALA, Faith Funeka
TALANE, Montgomery Lekgetho	THAKHULI, Selinah Mafotha	THOMSON, Marshen Thandi	TLOU, Mdlopho Johanna	TSHABALALA, Frank
TALANE, Piet Nkgere	THALE, Keitumetse Elizabeth	THOOE, Maria Mathoos	TLOU, Nyokana Poppie	TSHABALALA, Gabisili Wilemina
TALJAARD, Louis Johannes Albertus	THALEDI, Jappie	THOPPI, Nomvula Clara	TLOU, Piet	TSHABALALA, Gertrude
TAMAKO, Banyana Ellen	THAMAE, Lesole David	THORPE, Nawaaldien	TLOU, Rose Dolly	TSHABALALA, Gibi Johannes
TAMBOODALA, Mandlenkosi	THAMAE, Motsamai Charles	THUBANA, Yedu Johannes	TOBELA, Annah	TSHABALALA, Godfrey
Zanemfundo Junior	THAMAGA, Elizabeth Setialeweng	THUBANE, Geelbooi Bangani	TOBEZWENI, Mandla	TSHABALALA, Hahonang Jonas
TAME, Nkululo Isaac	THAMAGA, Mosima Maputhi	THUBE, Limakatso Maria	TOBIAS, Molefi Richard	TSHABALALA, Isaac
TAMLE, Frans Lehloholono	THAMAGA, Nana Martha	THUENISSEN, A. C. E.	TOBILA, Mntube	TSHABALALA, Jabulani William
TANALA, Khanyekekile	THAMAGA, Steward	THUENISSEN, A. C. E.	TOBIN, Derek	TSHABALALA, James Dekantsi
TANANA, Xolile Matthews	THAMAGA, Tshwantshi Jacob	THUHOLO, Eric Moelajira	TOID, Michael Gordon	TSHABALALA, Johannes
TANGANA, Siwive George	THANGAVHULELO, Tshikhakhisa Samuel	THUKUZAYO, Soyiso Shadrack	TOILE, Golden Sidaphi	TSHABALALA, Jonas Khelha
TANTU, Titus	THANGAVHULELO, Moshoni Piet	THULARE, Gregory	TOILE, Victoria	TSHABALALA, Joseph
TANTSI, Koko Ida	THANGO, Duduzile Flora	THULE, Thuleleni	TOHU, Wilfred	TSHABALALA, Joyce Ntombikile
TANTSI, Olga Zoliswa	THANGO, Dumisani Vivienne	THULELA, Sonwabile	TOHLANG, Blandina	TSHABALALA, Khelha Moses
TARENTA, Beauty Nomakhosazana	THANJEKWAYO, Barnabas Nsikelelo	THULO, Emily	TOISE, Mtsushutshisi Christopher	TSHABALALA, Kulunyana David
TANZI, Genla Maria	THANJEKWAYO, Bonginkosi Gabriel	THULO, Martha Mampoke	TOKO, Goodman	TSHABALALA, Lehlolonolo Humphrey
TARENTAAL, Heinrich Marthin	THANJEKWAYO, Mandla Raymtho	THULO, Norah Mpho	TOKO, Monwabisi	TSHABALALA, Martin
TLAWHE (MKWANAZI), April	THANJEKWAYO, Nkosikhona Martin	THUNGO, Babazi Bhekuyise	TOKO, Raymond	TSHABALALA, Mcedisi
Makhwenkwa	THANJEKWAYO, Thabile Beatrice	THUNTULWANA, Nkululeko Simon	TOKOTA, Mzwandile Wellington	TSHABALALA, Mercy
TASANA, Fumankile George	THANTSHA, Frans	THUNYISWA, Evelyn Masego	TOKWE, Nomvana Yvonne	TSHABALALA, Meshack Mkhulu
TASI, Gamalandile	THANTSHI, Bonakele Gert	THUPAEMANG, Gonnammang Jack	TOKWE, Richard	TSHABALALA, Mktshwa Michael
TATI, Zola	THANTSHI, John Mpumalelo	THUSANA, Mhoyi Anon	TOLI, Mlungisi Joseph	TSHABALALA, Mpumi
TATIYA, Vuyani	THARAGA, Leah	THUSI, Abednego Mavivo	TOLI, Mlungisi Joseph	TSHABALALA, Nhlanihla Maria
TATUBANA, David	THATO, Lebongang Henry	THUSI, Dudzile Josephine	TOLI, Dibeile Samuel	TSHABALALA, Nicholas Masango
TAU, Dimakatso Mahae	THATHE, Alfred December	THUSI, Ernest Beku	TOLWANA, Nomvuyo Rebecca	TSHABALALA, Nomacale Sophie
TAU, Matiso Olympia	THATHE, Gerald Babitsane	THUSI, Kehla	TOM, Bhabha Wilres	TSHABALALA, Nompumelelo Rejoice
TAU, Moemo	THATHE, Joseph	THUSI, Maxwell	TOM, Goodman Andile	TSHABALALA, Nomsa Constance
TAU, Moreosi Dorah	THATHE, Moreng Walter Davids	THUSI, Mbeki Ziphred	TOM, Jabulane Lucas	TSHABALALA, Ntomzodwa Lessiah
TAU, Nsise Issei	THATHE, Phokwana Johanna	THUSI, Mkeji Alpheus	TOM, Mkgongozeli Tharborn	TSHABALALA, Peace Mziwakhe
TAUKOBONG, Nnanabo Elizabeth	THATHE, Piet	THUSI, Sandile	TOM, Nofungile Letticia	TSHABALALA, Percy
TAULA, Protas Jabulani	THATHE, Graham Walter	THUSI, Sipho Witness	TOM, Thembekile Matthews	TSHABALALA, Petros
TAUVATSWALA, Jan Lesiba	THECK, Graham Walter	THUSI, Soni	TOM, Themboinkosi	TSHABALALA, Rachel Moreosi
TAWA, Patrick Oupa	THEKISHO, Gaarekwe Surprise	THUSI, Themboinkosi Wiseman	TOM, Velelo Gardner	TSHABALALA, Rosetta Dumazile
TAYI, Wiseman Rotso	THEKISHO, Jakoba Frans	THUSI, Thembyuse	TOM, Vintwemi	TSHABALALA, Samkele
TAYILE, Ncediswa	THEKISHO, Neo Mirriam	THUSINI, John Simphiwe	TOMMY, Zeru Gabriel	TSHABALALA, Samuel
TAYLOR, George Benjamin	THEKISHO, Abram Mothabane	THUTSE, Mamonakane Steven	TOMTOMO, Cornelius	TSHABALALA, Sarah
TAYLOR, Lucia	THEKISHO, Eddie Simon	THUTSHANA, Ndihambile	TOMTALA, Vuyani Isaac	TSHABALALA, Sizakele Maria
TAYO, Mncedi Ambrose	THEKISHO, Job	THUTSHANI, Wilson	TONETALI, G	TSHABALALA, Stanley Mbuso
TECHULU, Mzwandile James	THEKISHO, Michael	THUTSHINI, Phumile Pinky	TONETTI, G	TSHABALALA, Thamsanga Clifford
TEBANANE, Tsimokwane Michael	THEKISHO, John Peter Jabulane	THUTSHINI, Thokozile Jessie	TONGA, Bafana	TSHABALALA, Thandumzi Samuel
TEBEILE, Mkgathi Frans	THELEDI, Jappie	THWALA, Daphney Nozipho	TONGA, Daylakeza	TSHABALALA, Thomas
TEBEKANA, Thamsanga Thomson	THELEDI, Phuti Evelyn	THWALA, Martha Olga	TONGA, Philem William	TSHABALALA, Thulani Lloyd
TEBOGO, Malose Joel	THELEDI, Tshespo	THWALA, Mhlupeki	TONISI, Masibulele Maxwell	TSHABALALA, Vusi
TEFFO, Philemon Madimetja	THELEDI, Wilhemina Mmakutu	THWALA, Mntshini Jacob	TONJENI, Africa Zweletho	TSHABALALA, Vusumuzi Joseph
TEFFU, Jabulani Michael	THEMA, Paulous Teboho	THWALA, Motsamai Cornelius	TONKY, Tina	TSHABALALA, Vuyani
TEFU, Sarah	THEMA, Samuel Isaac	THWALA, Mxolisi	TONKYS, Lulamile James	TSHABANGU, Isiah Doctor
TEKANA, Phanel	THEMA, Eunice	THEMBA, Tamsanga William	TONVELA, Miska	TSHABANGU, James Johannes
TEKANE, Theminkosi	THEMBA, Mosisimanya Joseph	THWALA, Thulani Napoleon	TORA, Mthembuwellington	TSHABANGU, Madzala Jack
TEKANO, Ramotsohe William Moshe	THEMBA, Simon Kgosiemang	THWALA, Zintle	TOSHLO, Ndumiso Timoti	TSHABANGU, Matilda Northmhandzo
TEKETSI, Koadi Emmanuel	THEMBANI, Ndenzile Wilson	THWANE, Samuel Galeboe	TOTA, Tusi David	TSHABE, Theminkosi
TELE, Harry Diphapang	THEMBANE, Brian	THWANI, Mamoruti Johanna	TOTO, Fexie Siphiwo	TSHAKA, Miena Boniswa
TELE, Ramakoloi Johannes	THEMBELA, Zibokokwakhe Jeffrey	THYSE, Jan	TOTOLO, Agnes Quma	TSHAKALA, Solomon Shangani
TEMBANI, Temba	THEMBELI, Mushavho Victor	TIBANE, Rinanga Simon	TOTOLO, Ngaba Samuel	TSHAKAZA, McDonald Mdoyiyana
TEMBE, Mafene Ndlanzi	THENJEKWAYO, Nkosinathi B.	TIBANE, Wilson	TOTOTO, Clifford D	TSHALI, Phumzile Robert
TEMBE, Nomusa	THENJEWAYO, Innocent Nkosinathi	TIFI, Thembsa	TOTOTO, Elliot Mcebisi	TSHANDA, Mdoi
TEMBE, Thandazile	THEODOPOLDS, A	THABUDUGWANE, Mofana Stephen	TOTWANA, Nompumelelo	TSHANGA, Simon Mkuu
TEME, Elsie	THETHO, Mabembe	TIKA, Tandeka Euglet	TOWEEL, H. J.	TSHANGANA, Cifi
TEME, Mantoa Louisa	THETHWAYO, Mthokozisi James	TILE, Siculo Raymond	TOYANA, Andile	TSHANGELA, Jackie
TEME, Matthews Mathloko	THEUNISSEN, H. A.	TILL, Brenda	TOYANA, Nombeke Amelia	TSHANGELA, Mama Fennie
TEMO, Manare Josephina	THEUNISSEN, Lizette	TIMANE, Themba	TOYANA, Zukiswa Carol	TSHANGELA, Theophilus
TENGANI, Johannes Denis	THEUNISSEN, S. D.	TIMBA, Ethel Nomalungelo	TOYI, Velisile Lopy	TSHANGWENI, Alpheus Samuel
TENTENI, Sinawunawu Johnson	THEYS, Christopher Thami	TIMBANE, Mkhotsane	TOYISI, Mzwelwa	TSHARANE, Aile Samuel
TENZA, Eugene Xolisani	TENEM, Mildred	TIMOL, Ahmed Essop	TROJAK, George	TSHAUKE, Timothy Mandla
TENZA, Marrian Vuyani	THEBEDI, Ipeleg Mahae	TINA, Polisa	TROLLIP, Catharina Elizabetha Magrieta	TSHAWE, Nokufa Sophie
TENZA, Thulebona Fortune	THEBEDI, Jerry Dimotana	TINGANA, Nkonkole	TROLLIP, John Rm	TSHAZI, Makwale Shalestica
TERBLANCHE, Steven Frederick	THEBEDI, Tshidi Sinah	TINGANA, Sipo Douglas	TROLLIP, T	TSHAZIBANA, Wellington Mlungisi
TETE, Monwabisi	THEBELA, Thipangang Mathews	TINI, Siyabonga Gideon	TROM, Balisani Jackson	TSHEGARE, Andrew Rasebeela
THABANA, Haku Theodora	THEBELI, Elsie Mantai	TINTO, Christmas Fihla	TROMP, Jan	TSHEGARE, Philemon
THABANCHU, Teresia Masabatha	THEBILIE, Lipata Jimmy	TIRE, Carol Nosi	TRUEBODY, Philip	TSHEGARE, Pula Barry Hercules David
THABANE, Zackia Taka	THIKA, Rapula	TIRO, Abram Onkpopotse	TRUSSELL, Julian Angelo	TSHEHLA, Nkgekgethi John
THABATA, Sisa Mangaliso	THIMULA, Assen Jeremia	TIRO, Mojalela Andrew Stthando	TRUTER, Christopher	TSHEKOESLE, Kagiso James
THABEDE, Baden Josiah	THINANE, Elias Mvulane	TITOTI, Thamsanga Bartholomeu	TSATSANE, Matsie Paulina	TSHELANE, David Baruti
THABELA, Lufuno Philemon	THINDA, Mongisi Sonny Tys	TITUS, Floors Albertus	TSATSI, Maboe	TSHEMESE, Fanisile
THABETHA, Family	THINDA, Toko Koos Mvula	TITUS, Johannes Petrus Hendry	TSATSI, Richard	TSHEMESE, Geelboy Vakele
THABETHE, Agnes	THINDA, Tuys	TITUS, Raymond	TSATSI, Matsobane	TSHEMESE, Kenneth
THABETHE, Bhekile Sibusiso	THIPE, Mogorosi Jacob	TIYA, Agakhan	TSEBSE, Johannes Matsobane	TSHEMESE, Lena
THABETHE, Bongani Petros	THIPE, Petrus	TIYO, Fezile Samuel	TSEHLOANE, Lentsoe Raymond	TSHEMESE, Silingo Simon
THABETHE, Bongekile Gonden	THIPE, Tolamo Paul	TIYO, Moses Banzi	TSEKA, Kofi Lawrence	TSHEMESE, Witness
THABETHE, Ciko Joseph	THIPE, Vincent Johannes Gaolaolwe	TIYU, Zoliswa Florence	TSEKELA, Moreo	TSHENUWANI, Simon
THABETHE, Gladys Matobhi	THIPE, Zacharia Oshupile	TJIANE, Jimmy	TSEKI, Lekhotla Michael	TSHENOI, S.
THABETHE, Lena Zihlale	THITHAZA, Muntuza Sgadlane	TJIANE, Philemon	TSELANA, Ledlie Thabitha	TSHEPE, Ramakoni
THABETHE, Mabutho Caiphas	THIYANA, Lenah Nomvula	TJOYU, Petrus	TSELANE, Baniti David	TSHEPU, Nceba Wellington
THABETHE, Maxwell	THIYANI, Ramatsha Nicholas	TLADI, Basie	TSELE, Rutane Joe	TSHIBANGWENI, Bheungweni
THABETHE, Mduzisi Dennis	THOABALA, Dikeledi Martha	TLADI, Lethula Jacob	TSELE, Child Of Lele Dorah	TSHEZI, Syabulela
THABETHE, Mzimela Absalom	THOANE, Ndhuzane Paulina	THOANI, Johannes	TSELE, Lelo Dorah	TSHEZI, Thombeka
THABETHE, Mzwandile	THOBA, Mzuwukile	THOANI, Nicholas	TSEMANE, James	TSHEZI, Tondo
THABETHE, Ncane Eunice	THOBEDE, Nicholas	THOBEJANE, N.	TSEMBEI, Hawu Philda	TSHEZI, Tozama
THABETHE, Nothami	THOBEJANE, Tsoaledi Daniel	THOBEJANE, N.	TSEMBEYI, Ncamile	TSHIBALO, Johannes Tshivhidzo
THABETHE, Sthembele	THOBELA, Eva Zanele	THOBELA, Joseph	TSENASE, Clement Tsietisi	TSHIBAVHALEMBE, Nkheteni
THABETHE, Thabisile	THOBELA, Joseph	THOBELA, Joseph	TSENOLI, Mosala Andrew Potlaki	Reginald
THABETHE, Vvian Mjabuliswa	THOBELA, Patricia Sonto	THOBELA, Patricia Sonto	TSENOLI, Pule Firkins Pumiks	TSHIBE, Bangilize
THABETHE, Vusi Dick	THOBELA, Vusi Richard	THOBELA, Vusi Richard	TSETSEI, Kiepie Themba	TSHIEAME, Daniel Ramankwane
THABETHE, Zikhono	THOBELA, Zodwa Lephina	THOBELA, Zodwa Lephina	TSEWU, Kwakululek Barry	TSHIKALANGE, Rangwedzi Gilbert
THABO, Mack	THOBI, Douglas	THOBI, Douglas	TSHABA, Lucas	TSHIKANE, Manyele Lucas
THABULEKA, Peter	THOKOANA, Leretholi Ben	THOBI, Douglas	TSHABALALA, Aaron Phikabu	TSHIKHAKHISA, Elsie
THAFENI, March	THOLE, Zandisile Dudana	THOLE, Zandisile Dudana	TSHABALALA, Alfred	TSHIKHUKU, Elmon
THAFENI, Zwelwizana Joseph	THOLE, Ntoli William	THOLE, Ntoli William	TSHABALALA, Anna Buti	TSHIKHUKU, Lungelo Ayliff
THAGAKANE, Thagake Daniel	THOMAS, Charmaine Daisy	THOMAS, Charmaine Daisy	TSHABALALA, Anna Lisebo	TSHIKHUKU, Mosokoli Zfozokne
THAGE, Joseph Masale	THOMAS, Daniel Selwaka	THOMAS, Daniel Selwaka	TSHABALALA, Boy	TSHABALALA, Walter Zipolozne
THAHETSI, Mooketsi Walter	THOMI, Mzimkhulu Simon	THOMI, Mzimkhulu Simon	TSHABALALA, Christina Nomvula	TSHABALALA, Welle Archie
THAISI, Matamo William			TSHABALALA, David Mthengezeni	TSHIKORORO, Ramano Selwyn
				TSHILUMBA, Kanjinga

TSHIPANE, A.	TUROK, Mary	VAN DER LINDE, Julie	VARA, Mafasi Agnes	VILJOEN, Jan Adriaan
TSHIPI, Motsotse Ben	TUSHINI, Mbeshe Ephriam	VAN DER LINGEN, Beverley Jean	VARA, Mkiti	VILJOEN, P.A.
TSHISHONGA, Mbofheni Robert	TUSI, Dumisani	VAN DER LINGEN, Jacobus	VARA, Stanford	VILJOEN, Sarah Jane
TSHITAE, Ntsumbedzeni A.	TUTANI, Freddie Qwantsu	VAN DER LITH, J. P.	VARA, Thobile Cedric	VILJOEN, Susana Catharina
TSHITANGANO, Mmbangiseni	TUTANI, Nombulelo	VAN DER MERWE, A	VARDAS, Anthonio	VIMNECEMBE, Andrew
TSHIVHASE, Samuel Mugivhela	TUTANI, Bekisisa Robert	VAN DER MERWE, Cheryl-Anne	VASINI, Zibonelle William	VINGER, Ronald
TSHO, Mkhize	TUTU, Desmond Mpilo	CHARMAINE	VATIVE, Thanduxolo	VININDWA, Violet Nofikile
TSHO, Zondi	TUTU, Mhlanbunzima	VAN DER MERWE, Deon Dewald	VAVA, Sipho Steven	VISAGIE, Cleotun Darryl
TSHOBA, Abel Piliki	TUTU, Sebenzile De Kok	VAN DER MERWE, Donald	VAWDA, Yousoff	VISAGIE, Dewald Jacobus
TSHOBA, Benjamin Zanephi	TUTU, Thozamin Jerry	VAN DER MERWE, J. M.	VEENENDAAI, Leonard Michael	VISAGIE, Getrude
TSHOBA, Jan	TUTU, Zukile Faithful	VAN DER MERWE, Jacob Gabriel	VELA, Patrick Gwebile	VISAGIE, Johannes Hendrick
TSHOKELA, Gladman Mzwandile	TUTUBALA, Limakatso Elizabeth	VAN DER MERWE, Jakobus Lukas	VELAKE, Milile Even	VISSER, Malcom
TSHOKO, James Buti	TWABIYI, Ntsila	VAN DER MERWE, Martinus Jacobus	VELAPHI, Mlungisideli	VLEI, Dan Zamlie
TSHOKO, Meriam Nomase	TWABU, Siyabulela	VAN DER MERWE, P. T.	VELAPI, Mlindi Sydney Christian	VOGEL, Clasina Johanna Salomina
TSHOLEKA, Mncedisi Coulbert	TWALA, Anna Lesia	VAN DER MERWE, Roelof Petrus	VELDMAN, Ian Alexander	VOGEL, H. P. I.
TSHOLO, Molabang	TWALA, Clement Linda	Gerhardus	VELDSMAN, Albertus	VON WILLIGH, Gideon Relief
TSHONA, Matthews Matiyasi	TSHONA, Dimakatso Sophie	VAN DER MERWE, Wilhelm Johannes	VELDSMAN, Patrick Cornelius	VOSTER, Louis
TSHONA, Vuyisile	TWALA, Elizabeth Genekelo	Jacobus	VELE, Seiphebotho Maria	VOSTER, Philipp Franci
TSHONA, Zonwabele Johnson	TWALA, Elsie	VAN DER SCHYFF, Mogamat Nadeem	VELELO, Theminkosi	VOYI, Cona Nathaniel
TSHONISWA, Phakamile Petrus	TWALA, Esau	VAN DER WALT, Charmaine	VELI, Ntombizanele	VOYIYA, Funeke
TSHOSANE, Mpho Celstina	TWALA, Frans	VAN DER WALT, Estelle	VELLEM, Mbulelo	VRIES, Andries Benjamin
TSHUKANE, Zb	TWALA, Gladys Ntasana	VAN DER WALT, Gert Abram	VELLEM, Mkuseli	VUMA, Seun Joseph
TSHUKU, Abigail Mbimbi	TWALA, Jabu Petrus	VAN DER WALT, Hermanus	VELLEM, Selma Cynthia	VUMAZONKE, Deborah Sarah
TSHUKU, Mncedisi	TWALA, Johnson Sibongiseni	VAN DER WALT, J.	VENA, John Thembisile	VUMAZONKE, Gerald Zolile Bonisile
TSHUKU, Nolundi	TWALA, Lucky	VAN DER WALT, Mathys Johannes	VENA, May	VUMAZONKE, Miahwa
TSHUKU, Nomunquilo	TWALA, Lucky Abram	VAN DER WALT, Paula M	VENA, Mkhusele Wilmoti	VUMAZONKE, Olga
TSHUKU, Nophumzile	TWALA, Mduduzi Christopher	VAN DER WATT, P. J. L.	VENA, Mxolis Michael	VUMAZONKE, Paulus
TSHUKU, Solomon	TWALA, Milton Bhekuyise	VAN DEVENTER, Bettie	VENA, Stanford Mpuumelo	VUMAZONKE, Phindile Ronald
TSHUKUDU, Khumotjele Gladys	TWALA, Mthimkulu	VAN DYK, Amiza Elizabeth	VENA, Victoria Nondzozo	VUMAZONKE, Yogi Euginia
TSHUKUTSWANE, Gloria	TWALA, Mwezi Rodney	VAN DYK, H. C.	VENA, Vuyisile	VUNDLA, Theminkosi Bongonani
TSHUTA, Knowledge Dkhahle	TWALA, Petros	VAN DYK, Otto Bousema	VENA, Zalisile	VUNGAYI, Mkhutswa
TSHUTSHA, Majola	TWALA, Phumzile	VAN ECK, Jacoba	VENGADASAMY, Tyrone Garfield	VUSANI, Alton Nyasile
TSHWAGONG, Motlagomang Jacob	TWALA, Scheletso Anna	VAN ECK, Johannes Frederick	VENTER, Bamed Nicholas	VUSANI, Mgcini
TSHWARI, Thomas	TWALA, Simon Mosotho	VAN ECK, Johannes Frederick (Junior)	VENTER, Friend Of The De Beer S	VUSO, Mathemba
TSHWENI, Nontasi Albert	TWALA, Solomon Bongani	VAN ECK, Michael Ignatius	VENTER, Hermanus Bernardus	VUTHELA, Nzimeni Johannes
TSHWEU, Kleinbooi Oupa	TWALA, Thabo Reuben	VAN ECK, Nelmar	VENTER, M. E.	VUYOKAZI, Florence Nkolisa
TSHWILI, Jongumzi Anderson	TWALO, Gwaza Duckworth	VAN GREUREN, Lester	VENTER, Petrus Albertus	VZLAKAZI, Matsheni Julius
TSIBANE, Michael Lahlekile	TWANA, Khankasholo	VERHEED, Anthony Dexter	VERHEED, Johannes Jacobus	WABENA, Jeff Nygeke
TSIBANI, Johnson	TWETHA, Mbotise Lilian	VAN HEERDEN, Cherie	VERMEULEN, H	WALTERS, Stephanus Sebastian
TSIBANI, Ntombizodwa Beauty	TWETHA, Unknown	VAN HEERDEN, Ferdinand Pretorius	VERTAETE,	WALTON, I
TSIE, Manko Joseph	TWO UNKNOWN POLICE,	VAN HEERDEN, Leon	VERWEY, Julie	WAMBI, Fundiswa
TSIE, Matselane Dikeledi Florina	TWO UNKNOWN SCHOLARS,	VAN HEERDEN, P.	VESSEL, Gladman Nkosana	WANA,
TSIECO, Bathweg Socks	TYAKUME, Dumalisile Sydney	VAN JAARSVELD, Abraham Lourens	VETANI, Mzwehemba Xolile	WANDA, Ncamisile Pretty
TSILI, Blacky Freddie	TYANTI, Zoliswa Phyllis	Daniel	VETMAN, Mahbotti Alfred	WARD, Reginald William
TSILI, Violet	TYANTYALA, Julia Nomvula	VAN JAARSVELD, C. J.	VETO, Mbulelo Gideon	WARNER, Amanda
TSIMILE, Makalo Naphtaly	TYAWA, Penelope Baby	VAN JAARSVELD, Louis Martinus	VETO, Thabo Nobel	WATERMEYER, Xakiwe Monica
TSIMO, Elias	TYAWANA, Xoliswa Cynthia	VAN KERKE, Naomi	VETO, Zola Richman	WATERWITCH, Robert Anthony Basil
TSIPA, Matlou Ernest	TYBOSCH, Monwabisi Wright Wiggett	VAN NIEKERK, Henry Gideon	VEYU, Thandabantu Alfred	WATERWORTH, Lee-Ann
TSIPA, Sobantu	TYEBELA, Vuyisile	VAN NIEKERK, Elsie S	VEYI, Thembekile	WATSON, Gloria Roseline
TSOABISI, Stephen Molefe	TYEKU, Mlendeni Wakeford	VAN NIEKERK, G. D.	VEZI, Agnes Bashadile	WATSON, John Lawrence
TSOALAMI, David Rantsoske	TYWILA, Mbulole Livingstone	VAN NIEKERK, George Richard	VEZI, Khulekhalwe Smallman	WAYZA, Zenzile
TSOAEI, Moses Oupa	TYHOKOLO, Headman	VAN NIEKERK, Gerald	VEZI, Sholight Rosta	WEAKLEY, Aikstair James
TSOAEI, Tankiso Lenah	TYHULU, Christina Nossisi	VAN NIEKERK, Gerold	VEZI, Sibusiso Agrippa	WEAKLEY, Glen Pearsall
TSOARI, Thomas	TYIKI, Robert	VAN NIEKERK, Herbert Jacobus	VEZI, Sipho Christos	WEBER, Karl Andrew
TSOBANE, Zacharia	TYIWA, Kivi William	VAN NIEKERK, Johannes Petrus	VEZI, Xolani Sipho	WEBSTER, David
TSOBILEYO, Nomatise Evelyn	TYIWANE, Alfred Mcimbi	VAN NIEKERK, Sandra Beryl	VEZI, Zitho Irene	WEBSTER, Edward Frank
TSOKA, Magukubjane Muncy	TYIWA, Vuyiswa Ellen	VAN PLETZEN, J. S.	VIDIMA, Dumisani	WEIMERS, Chris
TSOKE, Armstrong Thathi	TYOBOKA, Maggie	VAN RENSBURG,	VIDIMA, Mshungwini	WEKENI, Joseph
TSOKELA, Isaac Laine	TYOKINA,	VAN RENSBURG, Jan Louis	VIDIMA, Tolakele Flora	WELLER, Kevin
TSOKOLUBANE, Malijewe Miriam	TYOKINA, Zodwa	VAN ROOYEN, Christina Francina	VIEIRA, J. J.	WELLER, Robert Brain
TSOKOLUBANE, Thomas Mahlomola	TYUKA, Madodane Zalisile	VAN ROOYEN, Coenraad	VILAKAZI, Abraham	WELMAN, Robert
TSOKU, Ingrid Mmaditau	TYULU, Fotho Albert	VAN ROOYEN, Evelyn Ann	VILAKAZI, Agnes	WESINYANE, Moses Mathere
TSOLO, Motang Jonas Tsole	TYULU, Tamsanqa Abraham "Saku"	VAN ROOYEN, Willem Johannes	VILAKAZI, Bongani	WESSELS (PONDAANA), Tandive Rina
TSOLO, Patrick	TYUMRE, Bonisile	Jacobus	VILAKAZI, Bonginkosi Isaac	WESSELS, Johannes Hendrick
TSOTETSI, Abel	TYUMRE, Violet	VAN SCHALKWYK, J. H.	VILAKAZI, Bukani	WESSELS, S.
TSOTETSI, Anna Mamokete	TYUTHUZA, Mxolis Takana Patrick	VAN SCHALKWYK, Willem Johannes	VILAKAZI, Christina	WESTLEY, Helen
TSOTETSI, Joyce Dibane	TYWABI, Sicelo	VAN STADEN, Cecil Roos Tamsanqa	VILAKAZI, Dalil Merika	WESTLEY, Lorraine
TSOTETSI, Maientse Emmerantia	TYWABI, Tutwana Safdan	VAN TONDER, Andries Johannes	VILAKAZI, Dudu Elsie	WEWERS, Saul Jacobus
TSOTETSI, Maphikele Abel	ULASSI, Rooptail	Jacobus	VILAKAZI, Dumisani Paulos	WHEELER, Royce Michael
TSOTETSI, Mmasolele Christinah	UNKNOWN ANC INDUARDS,	VAN TONDER, Catharina Jacoba	VILAKAZI, Ernestina	WHITE, Kim
TSOTETSI, Mphonyana Meshack	UNKNOWN IFP LEADER,	VAN VUUREN,	VILAKAZI, Goluli	WHITFIELD, Deric John
TSOTETSI, Musoe Jonas	UNKNOWN MUNICIPAL POLICE	VAN VUUREN, Magdeline Mmapholo	VILAKAZI, Jabani Samuel	WHITTING, Juanita Vivienne
TSOTETSI, Nelson	GUARDS,	VAN VUUREN, Michelle	VILAKAZI, Jafta	WIEHAHN, Geraldine Mathilda
TSOTETSI, Oupa Ishmael	UNKNOWN MUNICIPAL POLICE	GUARDS,	VILAKAZI, Lina Landubase	WILDBEES, Puleg Lina
TSOTETSI, Peter	MEMBERS,	VAN WYK, A	VILAKAZI, Makhiseni	WILDBEES, Tefo William
TSOTETSI, Piet Monkey	UNKNOWN POLICEMAN, Sealogo	VAN WYK, Andrew Peter	VILAKAZI, Mandla Jeffrey	WILFRED, Mario Alexandra
TSOTETSI, Saul Andrew	UNKNOWN TRAFFIC OFFICER,	VAN WYK, Barend Konstant	VILAKAZI, Mandlenkosi Matheus	WILI, Goodboy
TSOTETSI, Tumelo Johannes	UNKNOWN VICTIM,	VAN WYK, Edgar	VILAKAZI, Mazwi	WILKENS, Kobus
TSOTETSI, Vusi Steven	UNKNOWN VICTIM,	VAN WYK, Gerbrecht Solomia	VILAKAZI, Ngicuphile	WILKINSON, Mervin Oupa
TSOTS, Ernest	UNKNOWN VICTIM,	VAN WYK, Hendrik Jacobus	VILAKAZI, Nomini Mary	WILLEM, Boyce
TSOTSOT, Nkosemntu Louis	UNKNOWN VICTIM,	VAN WYK, Isabella Magrietha	VILAKAZI, Patrick	WILLEM, Lawrence Mcebisi
TSOTSOTSO, Abel	UNKNOWN Victims	VAN WYK, J	VILAKAZI, Poppy Mathilda	WILLEMSE, Johannes
TSOTSOTSO, Fako Elias	UNKNOWN, Levisa	VAN WYK, J. D.	VILAKAZI, Prieska Nomvula	WILLIAM, Bonile Johnson
TSOTSOTSO, Moorosi Samuel	UNKNOWN, Matsoboshe	VAN WYK, Janetta Adriana	VILAKAZI, Qedukwazi Clifford	WILLIAMS,
TSWABALALA, Unknown	UNKNOWN, Nkanyiso	VAN WYK, Jeremiah Shadrack	VILAKAZI, Raymond Bonginkosi	WILLIAMS, Abraham
TSUENE, Ingrid Magdeline	UNKNOWN, Papie Or Jj	VAN WYK, Johannes Bongzembe	VILAKAZI, Robert Gabangani	WILLIAMS, Abubakar
TSUME, Eugene Howard Mvuyo	UNKNOWN, Person	VAN WYK, Lehodi Mshack	VILAKAZI, Sibongile Caroline	WILLIAMS, Coline Denice
TSWABOLE, Elias	UNKNOWN, Tabane	VAN WYK, Mary Maria	VILAKAZI, Sibusiso Michael	WILLIAMS, Daniel Sicelo
TUBATSI, Daniel	USE, Iva	VAN WYK, Pedro	VILAKAZI, Simanga	WILLIAMS, David
TUGWANA, Gabudhla Jan	UY, Jacobus Stephanus	VAN WYK, Reineke	VILAKAZI, Siphambandla	WILLIAMS, Derby Ellen
TULELO, Vuyiswa	VAAALTYN, Bulwana	VAN WYK, Sarah	VILAKAZI, Siphahlela	WILLIAMS, Ernest Ananias
TUKANI, Thamsanqa Boy	VAKALE, Totswana	VAN WYK, T	VILAKAZI, Sipho Innocent	WILLIAMS, Greshna
TUKANI, Zwelinzima John	VALA, Edward Mandla-Kaise	VAN WYK, Thelma	VILAKAZI, Solani Nkuthula	WILLIAMS, Gwyneth
TUKELA, Shannon Mzimkhulu	VALA, Jeremiah Sipho	VAN WYK, Willem Arie	VILAKAZI, Thabini Christian Vusumuzi	WILLIAMS, Henry
TUKU, Nkosinathi	VALE, Peter	VAN ZYL JONKER, G.	VILAKAZI, Thamari Maria	WILLIAMS, Ilan
TUKU, Thembisile Teddy	VALELA, Thenjewe Patricia	VAN ZYL, J. P.	VILAKAZI, Thembezile Ntuyi	WILLIAMS, Mbuyiselo
TULE, Ngenisile Michael	VALENTIN, Varaksa	VANDA, Ngwenduna	VILAKAZI, Thulani	WILLIAMS, Michaels
TULLUES, H.	VALENTINE, L	VANDA, Pampton Pumelele Cecil	VILAKAZI, Todays Cecelia	WILLIAMS, Moegamat Qasim
TUMENG, Maronko Azael	VALEIN, Bhuya	VANDOIY, Wilson	VILAKAZI, Victoria Ntombi	WILLIAMS, Mvusi Michael
TUMISI, Tebello Jacob	VALTEIN, Pheli Colleen	VANI, Mzvamadoda Eric	VILAKAZI, Wami Enoch	WILLIAMS, Noel John
TUNGATA, Lindikhaya Vuyani	VAN ANTWERPEN, J. V.	VANROOYEN, Festina	VILAKAZI, William	WILLIAMS, Paul Manuel
TURNER, Catherine Anne Cate	VAN ASWEGEN, Darryl Donovan	VANSTADEN, Ntsokai Rosy	VILAKAZI-TSHABALALA, Desmond	WILLIAMS, Piet
TURNER, Hendrick Stephanus	VAN DEN BERG, D.M.	VANSTADEN, Ntsokai Rosy	VILAKAZI, Tshababala, Desmond	WILLIAMS, Tedy Edward
TURNER, Nicole Jean Nicky	VAN DER BANK, Ilze Cornelia	VANTYU, Petros	VILANCULO, Raul Respetto	WILLIAMS, Tekana Steven
TURNER, Richard Albert David	VAN DER BANK, S.	VAN DYK, Nicholas Mongameli	VILANE, Sihlangu Jeffrey	WILD, Alfred Mbuyiselo
TUROK, Ben	VAN DER BERG, Ben	VARA, Lumalie Eric	VILJOEN, Frederick Hendrick	WILSON, Boitemogelo Sylvia

WILSON, Christina Elizabeth	XATULA, Leo	YEBE, Lungisile William	ZIBANE, Matsingelane	ZONDI, Christina Sibongile
WILSON, Cinde	XATULA, Ntombizonke Nancy	YEGANI, Mzukisi William	ZIBANE, Muzikayise Blessing	ZONDI, Datsi Washington
WILSON, Nomvula Maggie	XEGO, Malgas	YEKANI, Wazina	ZIBANE, Nonhlanhla Babhekele	ZONDI, Denisia
WILSON, P D	XEGO, Zikatile September	YEKANI, Zongile	ZIBANE, Them bani	ZONDI, Dumisani
WILSON, S. E.	XEGWANA, Lindela Alfred	YEKELA, Ntabankulu	ZIBANI, Dingeni	ZONDI, Dumisani Alfred
WILSON, S. E. L.	XEKETWANA, Eric	YEKI, Hillbrow N	ZIBANI, Dingeni	ZONDI, Dumisani Henson
WINER, William Stanley	XHAKA, Xola Methews	YELANE, David Mbulelo	ZIBANI, Muzikayise	ZONDI, Duze Lawrence
WISANI, Mzneyi	XHAKANA, Rubin Shomboto	YELANI, Sipho Pleare	ZIBANI, Muzikwenkosi	ZONDI, Elliot Vukuyise
WITBOOI, Eunice Florence	XHALILE, Nomhi Eleanor	YENDE, Eison	ZIBANI, Thandekile	ZONDI, Elliott
WITBOOI, Frikkie	XHALILE, Wandile	YENDE, Joseph	ZIBANI, Theminkosi	ZONDI, Emmanuel Mqapheleni
WITBOOI, Johannes	XHALISA, Simpfiwe	YENDE, Matha Phelo	ZIBANI, Tude Minah	ZONDI, Enoch David
WITBOOI, Johannes	XHAMFU, Ndoysisile Albert	YENDE, Thoko	ZIBANI, Vusumuzi Mfanozi	ZONDI, Fanyana
WITBOOI, Nomawethu Veronica	XHOBDA, Aubrey	YENGANA, Sipiwe	ZIBANI, Zibambile	ZONDI, Fikile
WITBOOI, Shadrack Jongikaya	XHOBDA, Bashintshile	YENGANI, Mzukisi Morrison	ZIBI, Bucwa Vincent	ZONDI, Fikile Beauty Masantu
WITVEEEN, R. W.	XHOBDA, Khiphekhile Relieth	YENGANI, Tony Sithembiso	ZIBI, Vuyani Victor	ZONDI, Gaduxolo Allison
WJLI, Lulamile Henry	XHOBDA, Ncishwi Alvia	YENGWA, Bhekazi Ernest	ZIBONELE, Tshweni	ZONDI, George
WOKONA, Puma	XHOBDA, Nonhlanhla	YENGWA, Felizwe	ZIBULA, Bongani	ZONDI, Grace Gabengani
WOLF, Dupa Vincent	XHOBDA, Singobile	YENGWA, Khalelani	ZIBULA, Dumisani	ZONDI, Helga Mazodwa
WOLFAARDT, Alwyn	XHOBDA, Winile Daphney	YENGWA, Mnje	ZIEGLER, Grace	ZONDI, Hloniphizwe
WOLFAARDT, Gerhard Petrus	XHOBISO, Zola Andries	YENGWA, Nkosiyokuthula	ZIGOXO, Fuzile Patrick	ZONDI, Isaac
WOLFAARDT, Maria Elizabeth	XHOLLA, Thembisile Martin	YENGWA, Phumapi	ZIKALALA, Bheusi Busisiwe	ZONDI, Jabulani Raymond
Petronella	XIMBA, Gane	YENGWA, Zinhle Mukelisiwe	ZIKALALA, Phathokwakhe Fanuel	ZONDI, Jabulani William
WONCI, Theminkosi Michael	XIMBA, Mpiyakhe Mandlenkosi	YENI, Gugu Phyllis	ZIKALALA, Sibusiso Governor	ZONDI, James Mdunyisi
WOOD, Michael John	XIMBA, Muzi	YENI, Thabani Almon	ZIKALALA, Thami Mathews	ZONDI, Jameson
WOOD, Pauline Elizabeth	XIMBA, Muziwenkosi	YENI, Venon Basil	ZIKHALI, Bhekumzi	ZONDI, Kellina
WOODINGTON, Alfred	XIMBA, Nondile	YIKA, Maxwell Nick	ZIKHALI, Daniel Simon	ZONDI, Lungisile Abbey
WOODINGTON, Norah	XIMBA, Phala Rose	YIKA, Qoshiwe Roselina Norah	ZIKHALI, Elliot Muziweniswza	ZONDI, Makhosazana Esther
WOODS, Mary	XIMBA, Sonny Mduduzeni	YIKA, Saule Zilelo	ZIKHALI, Gabisile Princess	ZONDI, Mamo Emily
WULANA, Sandile	XIMBA, Sphamandla Moses	YILWIE, Mvuzo Wages	ZIKHALI, Sandile	ZONDI, Mangaliso
WULANA, Solomon Wotose	XIMBA, Themba	YIMBA, Winnie	ZIKHALI, Sibongile	ZONDI, Mangempi
XABA, Absalom Bhekuyise	XIMBA, Theminkosi Mziwakhe Elphus	YOHANE, Joseph	ZIKHUNDLA, Maradere Bellina	ZONDI, Manu Matrina
XABA, Alice Zodwa	XIMBA, Welcome Sipiwe	YOKWANA, Nodasibone Esina	ZIKODE, Buysisa Josephine	ZONDI, Maphenduka Gabriel
XABA, Bekezele	XIPU, Lawrence	YOLI, Xolani	ZIKODE, Mfanaseni	ZONDI, Maritsha Busisiwe
XABA, Bongowile Lillian	XIPU, Northandazo Mary-Jane	YONA, Godfrey Xolile	ZIKODE, Mavuni Lungisani	ZONDI, Martha
XABA, Brenda Thulisiwe	XIPU, Ntombi Eunice	YONA, Stomberg Xolela	ZIKODE, Thobezweni Zamindawo	ZONDI, Mbandeni
XABA, Buyo	XIPU, Thembilile	YORK, Floretta	ZIKODE, Zibuki Alfred	ZONDI, Mbazzo
XABA, Dumazile Philipina	XOBE, Sizakele Victor	YOSE, Mandla Oswin (Elby)	ZIMA, Emmerenica Benzeni	ZONDI, Mboneni Pat
XABA, Dumisani Norman	XOBOLOLO, Sipwo Alfred	YOSE, Mantengwe Prichard Ngculazi	ZIMBA, Mnisi	ZONDI, Mboneni Henry
XABA, Eloff	XOFA, Nozipho Eunice	YOUNG, Craig George	ZIMMERMAN, Vincent Robert Edward	ZONDI, Mdingi Zephania
XABA, Elvis Sipho	XOLILI, Sam	YOYO, Mfene Simon	ZIMO, Tshokolo Ernest	ZONDI, Mduduzi
XABA, Emmanuel Kenny Vusi	XOLUSILE, Clifton	YOYO, Wilby Macebo	ZIMU (MBANGA), Phondo Nellie	ZONDI, Menziwa Alson
XABA, Eric Sibusiso	XOLO, Elizabeth Nano	YUNG FAH, Kingsley	ZIMU, Bhekinkosi Godfrey	ZONDI, Meyi Mayvis
XABA, Esther Nosipho	XOLO, Landiwe	ZACA, Joli Bonisile	ZIMU, Mduduzi	ZONDI, Mgonothi
XABA, Fano Sifiso	XOLO, Nyani	ZACA, Mabutho Joseph	ZIMU, Mfanoza Fraser	ZONDI, Mhlophle Micho
XABA, Fanyana	XOLO, Safa Vincent	ZACA, Madloa Bethwell	ZIMU, Sphindile	ZONDI, Mlindelwa Gibson
XABA, John Njinga	XOLO, Shonaphi	ZACA, Mloti Solomon	ZIMU, Thulane Petros	ZONDI, Mlungisi Kenneth
XABA, Joseph	XOLO, Tanana	ZACA, Muhle Elijah	ZIMU, Vukani Rodgers	ZONDI, Mntungozwa
XABA, Joseph Mbonankulu	XOLO, Thembisile Sabaphi	ZACA, Nhlomla	ZINCELA, Mzimkhulu Wellington	ZONDI, Molly
XABA, Khehla	XOLO, Thumani Eunice	ZACA, Nozihlele Nella	ZINDELA, Gwento	ZONDI, Mthembeni Richard
XABA, Lawrence	XONGO, Ntombizanele Princess	ZACA, Ntombilezi Irene	ZINDELA, Janet Poni	ZONDI, Mzikayifani
XABA, Mandia Vincent	XOSENI, Zamandi David	ZACA, Phindile Pelegiri	ZINGAVE, Phumtse	ZONDI, Mzikayifani Amon
XABA, Maria	XULU, Agnes Zakithi	ZACA, Sonnyboy Ernest	ZINGO, Vusi James	ZONDI, Mzomuhle Samson
XABA, Marita	XULU, Bella	ZACA, Thulani	ZINGXONDO, Ntombizanele Elsie	ZONDI, Ngiteni Esina
XABA, Mayauza	XULU, Bongani	ZADUNGE, Gavu Mkhize	ZINYO SINI, Mnyenwa	ZONDI, Ngitheni Florinah
XABA, Mchozo Nathaniel	XULU, Busisiwe Thombe	ZAEHLA, Nomthetho Jeanette	ZIOUBU, Bheki Edward	ZONDI, Nivard
XABA, Moses	XULU, Christopher Musa	ZAKHE, Khayalethu	ZIOUBU, Danki Harriet	ZONDI, Nkosinathi Innocent
XABA, Moster Ntsietsa	XULU, Dingindawo	ZAKWE, Dumisani	ZIOUBU, Emmanuel	ZONDI, Nkosiyosizwe
XABA, Mthandazo	XULU, Dor	ZAKWE, Kumakwakhe	ZIOUBU, Ethel Thokozile	ZONDI, Nomusa Doris
XABA, Muzi Watson	XULU, Dumisani	ZAKWE, Ntombithini Patience	ZIOUBU, Fikile	ZONDI, Nonhlanhla Girile
XABA, Mzikayifani Austin	XULU, Gcinikele Gona	ZAKWE, Simon Zonke	ZIOUBU, Isaac Mjele	ZONDI, Ntombi Esina
XABA, Mzomuhle Christopher	XULU, Halalisan Samuel	ZAKWE, Theminkosi	ZIOUBU, Martha	ZONDI, Ntombikazi Viola
XABA, Ndoda Anthony	XULU, Jabulani	ZALI, Monde Mendly	ZIOUBU, Nonhlanhla Linah	ZONDI, Patricia
XABA, Nkosinathi Salmon	XULU, Joel Msizi	ZAMA, Ivan Bhekizitha	ZIOUBU, Pheheni Catherine	ZONDI, Paulos Mbube
XABA, Nomhlangano Zameni	XULU, Josephina	ZAMA, Thamsanqa Mata Linock	ZIOUBU, Simpfiwe Bhekani	ZONDI, Pearl Lungile
XABA, Nomvula Sanna	XULU, Khanyisile Lephina	ZAMA, Zwelakhe Albert	ZIOUBU, Themba	ZONDI, Phehile
XABA, Nswaca Ndelelvuthiwe	XULU, Mhlongeni	ZAMBODLA, Mzwandile Leonard	ZIOUBU, Violet	ZONDI, Salatiele Gwamanda
XABA, Ntombizodwa	XULU, Mkhombiseni Herron	ZAMEKO, Lindwe Ngabaza	ZITA, Alfred	ZONDI, Sam
XABA, Philippine Duduzile	XULU, Mkosi Lorraine	ZAMELA, Nosiopho	ZITHA, Bafana Naphtali	ZONDI, Seleni Sizani
XABA, Robert Mphikeleli	XULU, Muzi Thulani	ZAMISA, Phindile Phikinkani	ZITHA, Buyelele Florence	ZONDI, Selinah
XABA, Shamoyini Josiah	XULU, Mzomnje Phineas	ZAMISA, Ethel Busisiwe	ZITHA, Fani Johanna	ZONDI, Sibusiso Emmanuel
XABA, Sibongiseni Eric	XULU, Ngura	ZAMISA, Ian Phumtse	ZITHA, John Dayson	ZONDI, Sibusiso Shakespeare
XABA, Simon Mzwawukhulewa	XULU, Nicholas	ZAMISA, Madla Lucas	ZITHA, Juwja Alfred	ZONDI, Sifiso Handsome
XABA, Sina	XULU, Nicholas Ngo Bhekithemba	ZAMISA, Mathiya Albert	ZITHA, Manzini Robert	ZONDI, Sihle Brian
XABA, Siphephelo Prince	XULU, Nokukhanya (Khanyisile)	ZAMISA, Miriam Ncane	ZITHA, Mbukeni	ZONDI, Simon
XABA, Steven Sandile	Goodness	ZAMISA, Phineas Veni	ZITHA, Petrus	ZONDI, Simon Jabulani
XABA, Taku Annah	XULU, Ngobizwe Anderson	ZAMISA, Victor Dumisani	ZITHA, Skoriya	ZONDI, Sipho
XABA, Them bani	XULU, Ntombifikele Nora	ZAMISA, Vusi Nelson	ZITHA, Vusi	ZONDI, Thembi
XABA, Thembelani	XULU, Ruth	ZAMISA, Zandile Benedicta	ZITO, Mvuleni William	ZONDI, Thembisile Annacletta
XABA, Thembi Patience	XULU, Sibongile Constance Thandeka	ZAMKANA, Nodida Jane	ZIYAYA, Israel	ZONDI, Thokozi Mamsie
XABA, Thokozile Jenipher	XULU, Sipho Aubrey	ZANDILE, Sonwabo	ZOKHWE, Ansarrah Ndadakazi	ZONDI, Tholakele Beatrice
XABA, Thulani Abraham	XULU, Thabani Percival	ZANTQINI, Hloho	ZOKOLO, Shadrack Mabandila	ZONDI, Tozi Constance
XABA, Totoli Steven	XULU, Thandiwe Pretty	ZANTANTA, Mzimasi Michael	Ntsikelelo	ZONDI, Vusumuzi
XABA, Vusi Derrick	XULU, Thengiswa Victoria	ZANTSI, Sonnyboy Willie	ZOKOZA, Makt Sanders	ZONDI, Wellington Mandlenkozi
XABA, Walter Dumisani	XULU, Thokozani	ZAWANA, Sandile	ZOKUFA, Milton	ZONDI, Zanele Joana
XABA, Xolani Hopewell	XULU, Thuleni	ZAWUKANA, Noluntu	ZOKUFA, Ngocinda Muriel	ZONDI, Zanele Phyllis
XABANISA, Harriet Nomonde	XULU, Zandile	ZAZAYOKWE, Israel Makhosonke	ZOKUFA, Sindiho	ZONDI, Zenzale Humphrey
XABENDLINI, Benjamin	XULU, Zuluabongeni Meriga	ZEKANA, Ncizwa Dorah	ZOKUFA, Thobekile	ZONDI, Zithulele
XABENDLINI, Geelbooi Snunumu	XUZA, Mandla	ZEKEVU, Nobakabonwa	ZOKWE, Obert Makhwenkwe	ZONDI, Zithulele Reginald
XABENDLINI, Lydia Nonzima	YABO, Sidney	ZEMBA, Bingweni Lena	ZOKWE, Silberbeaver Sibhabhalala	ZONDI, Zithulele Sydney
XABENDLINI, Miriam	YAKA, Mbangomuni	ZEMBETHA, Winile Goodman	ZOKWE, Sithembile	ZONDI, Zodwa Eunice
XABENDLINI, Notembile Esther	YALI, Khayalethu Nathaniel	ZENANE, Victor Charles	ZOLEKA, Mavis Lolo	ZONDI, Zondwa
XABENDLINI, Pumile Richard	YALO, Bikiwe	ZENANI, Cordelia	ZONDANI, Gqebeti Editor	ZONDI, Zondwa
XABENDLINI, Zuko Gow	YALOLO-BOOYSEN, Geoffrey Yali	ZENANI, Lingman Mbulelo	ZONDANI, Mthembu James	ZONDI, Anderson Siphwe
XAKA, Malixole	YAMANI, Nomeyi Nomarket	ZENGETHWA, Luyolo Bright	ZONDANI, Patric Mkhusele	ZONDI, Andrew
XAKALA, Tembikile Austin	YANTA, Mathews Sindile	ZENGETHWA (NEE KHETYE), Luleka	ZONDANI, Zekda	ZONDI, Bangifa
XAKEKA, Samson Zolani	YANTOLO, Skepi Tom	ZENGETHWA, Moses Mnyamezeli	ZONDI, Anos	ZONDI, Bhekizitha Silwayiphi
XAKISA, Mntunaye Wellington	YAPHO, Aweni	ZENGETHWA, Ntsikelelo	ZONDI, Bekinkosi Ephraim	ZONDI, Busi Dephney
XAKWE, Simon	YAPHI, Ilias	ZENZE, Setoto Maria	ZONDI, Bernard Zo	ZONDI, Funani Joyce
XALISA, Basil	YAPHI, Welile	ZENZILE, David Deweh	ZONDI, Bheji Michion	ZONDI, Fungeleni Adelaide
XALUVA, Zongezile Matthews	YASIN, Ridwaan	ZENZILE, Ndaphi	ZONDI, Bhekumzu Hamilton	ZONDI, Hlengiwe Alita
XAM, Lalala	YAWA (NICISANA), Alfred	ZENZILE, Nomutle Sisana	ZONDI, Bongani Doda	ZONDI, Idah Sizani
XAM, Nowezile Florence	YAWA, Bonisile Moses	ZENZILE, Sipho Isaac	ZONDI, Bongani Jabulani Justice	ZONDI, Khonzile Maria
XAM, Pungutanya	YAWA, Enck	ZERVAS, Stella	ZONDI, Bongani Mary-Jane	ZONDI, Khulani Hamilton
XAMLASHE, Zwelakhe Simon	YAWA, Thembele	ZIBANE, Jabulani Edward	ZONDI, Busisiwe Gladys	ZONDI, Kuntzua Killer
XAPA, Xolani Patrick	YAWU, Stanley Mangolonke	ZIBANE, Jerome	ZONDI, Busisiwe Monica	ZONDI, Magugi Emmanuel
XARUNI, Nomalizo Magret	YAYA, Enoch	ZIBANE, Jomo John	ZONDI, Busisiwe Sylvia	ZONDI, Mbabazi Enos

ZONDO, Menzi Patric	ZULU, Nonhlanhla	ZUMA, Thandeka Dorah	ZWANE, Sipho Reginald
ZONDO, Michael	ZULU, Nonhlanhla Thandazile	ZUMA, Thandekile Doreen	ZWANE, Sipho Russell
ZONDO, Nomakhemesi	ZULU, Nqamulile Daphney	ZUMA, Thembanani Doris	ZWANE, Thembi Mavis
ZONDO, Nomusa Lydia	ZULU, Ntombela Robson	ZUMA, Thembekile Annatoria	ZWANE, Theodora Bulelwa
ZONDO, Ntombiyecala	ZULU, Ntombi Ellen	ZUMA, Tshelubani	ZWANE, Thokozaani Alloys
ZONDO, Patrick Sifiso	ZULU, Ntombikayise	ZUMA, Ziboyile Winnie	ZWANE, Tony Bongani
ZONDO, Prince Ntshingila	ZULU, Ntombo	ZUNGA, Emily Mpolai	ZWANE, Tseidle Lina
ZONDO, Qaphea Blessing	ZULU, Oscar	ZUNGA, Maude Nonhlahl	ZWANE, Unknown
ZONDO, Rabi Moses	ZULU, Penuel	ZUNGU, Andretta Lilly	ZWANE, Viki Robert
ZONDO, Sandile	ZULU, Petros	ZUNGU, Angelina Nokuzola	ZWANE, Willie Samuel
ZONDO, Sizani Idah	ZULU, Phillip	ZUNGU, Anna Dutshuliwe	ZWANE, Zachariah Himbe
ZONDO, Songelwa Maythel	ZULU, Phuzukwenaba Leonard	ZUNGU, Bangani Thandi	ZWANE, Zanele
ZONDO, Thanduxolo Patrick	ZULU, Prince Cyril Bonginkosi	ZUNGU, Bonakele Qondeni	ZWANE, Zolile
ZONDO, Winnie	ZULU, Sabhinan Makhosazana	ZUNGU, Cynthia Ntombifuthi	ZWANE, Zwelakhe Josiah
ZONWAYO, Mahallo Mary	ZULU, Samuel Themba	ZUNGU, Dumisani Ernest	ZWANE-NDLOVU, Nomasonto Georgina
ZONKE, Thomas	ZULU, Shabane Zibokwakhe	ZUNGU, Ethel Busisiwe Thandile	ZWELIBANZI, Trayshile Samuel
ZONO, Nobantu	ZULU, Shadrack Lindela	ZUNGU, Evens Zikhauleni	ZWELIFILE, Bonakele Bongani
ZONO, Simon	ZULU, Xoliswa Eunice	ZUNGU, Jabulani	ZWELINZIMA, Lucas Norman
ZOTE, Magcina Xhamela	ZULU, Signorita Thembanani	ZUNGU, Khulu	ZWENI, Douglas Ndakuthini
ZOTHE, Edgar Ngqokweni	ZULU, Sikhumbuzo	ZUNGU, Lucky Nhlahl	ZWENI, Ernest
ZOTHE, Magcina	ZULU, Sindisiwe Ntombi	ZUNGU, Lucky Raphael	ZWENI, Lebuti
ZOTWA, Nomafa Frances	ZULU, Simenhlahl P	ZUNGU, Mangalisiwe Simangele	ZWENI, Louis
ZOZI, Coko Shadrack	ZULU, Sipho David	ZUNGU, Mbongeni Absolom	ZWENI, Mpanetsa William
ZUBA, Christian Mbokothwana	ZULU, Sipo Isaac	ZUNGU, Mfanomncane	ZWENI, Xolile Milton
ZUBANI, Bokhethile	ZULU, Sizwe Moses	ZUNGU, Mhambiseni Jeremiah	ZWIDE, Methel Nonzwakazi
ZUIDEMAN, R.	ZULU, Thambane Richard	ZUNGU, Mholeni Amon	
ZUKE, Bhekezakhe	ZULU, Thandi Henrieta	ZUNGU, Mlungisi Russell	
ZUKE, Michael Zamokwakhe	ZULU, Themba Petronella	ZUNGU, Moses Sipho	
ZUKE, Priscilla Spongile	ZULU, Thembelihle	ZUNGU, Mzi	
ZULU,	ZULU, Thembelihle	ZUNGU, Mtukabongwa Sikhendle	
ZULU,	ZULU, Thembeni Faith	ZUNGU, Ngitholwe	
ZULU, Abegail Nomalizo	ZULU, Thembi	ZUNGU, Nicholas Thamsanya Boyi	
ZULU, Agnes	ZULU, Thembinkosi	ZUNGU, Nkosenecane Phineas	
ZULU, Albertine	ZULU, Thembinkosi Bafana	ZUNGU, Nomsa	
ZULU, Alfred	ZULU, Thembinkosi Enock	ZUNGU, Ntandoeyethu	
ZULU, Alie	ZULU, Thembinkosi Henry	ZUNGU, Phaphamile Buselaphi	
ZULU, Alton Baba Kamiso	ZULU, Thobile Muriel	ZUNGU, Phillip	
ZULU, Amon	ZULU, Thoko Beauty	ZUNGU, Prudence Mphiwe	
ZULU, Amon Benoli	ZULU, Thulani	ZUNGU, Qinisile Gabazile	
ZULU, Armstrong	ZULU, Thulasizwe Innocent	ZUNGU, Qondeni	
ZULU, Babo Joseph	ZULU, Umbuso Errol	ZUNGU, Sabani Jongo	
ZULU, Bafana Gideon	ZULU, Vusi Bhutiza	ZUNGU, Shayizandla Mfaniseni James	
ZULU, Barent	ZULU, Vusumuzi Petros	ZUNGU, Thoko Ntombi	
ZULU, Beatrice	ZULU, Yanizana Bethah	ZUNGU, Thuleleni Joseline	
ZULU, Bheki	ZULU, Zantombazana Beslina	ZUNGU, Toti	
ZULU, Bheki	ZULU, Zephetheini Alexia	ZUNGU, Veronica Vuyelwa	
ZULU, Bhekokwakhe Simeon	ZULU, Zephetheini Alexia	ZUNGU, Victor Lungiswa	
ZULU, Bhekumuzi Maxwell	ZULU, Zimphifi Hlengiwe	ZUNGU, Vina Ncedi	
ZULU, Bonakele	ZUMA, Agnes	ZUNGU, Vokotwaca	
ZULU, Bongekile Vinah	ZUMA, Albert Mandlenkosi	ZUNGU, Yawuza Isaac	
ZULU, Boxer Moses	ZUMA, Amos	ZUNGU, Zini	
ZULU, Cebisile Sindisiwe	ZUMA, Andreas Bongci	ZUNGU, Zwelakhe	
ZULU, Celani Busisiwe	ZUMA, Anna	ZUZANI, Desmond Lungelo	
ZULU, Clemencia Qondeni	ZUMA, Batsakile	ZWAKALA, Maqhubela Shadrack	
ZULU, David Mbuti	ZUMA, Beatrice Makhosazane	ZWANE (LEPHUTING), Moko Melita	
ZULU, Dlokwakhe Samson	ZUMA, Bheki	ZWANE, Aaron Mandlenkosi	
ZULU, Duduzile Gladys	ZUMA, Bongani Petros	ZWANE, Aubrey	
ZULU, Dumazile	ZUMA, Bonginkosi	ZWANE, Austin Xolani	
ZULU, Dumisani Nyambisa	ZUMA, Bonginkosi Joseph	ZWANE, Bekayiphi Nelson	
ZULU, Edith Celimpilo	ZUMA, Busisiwe Cathrina	ZWANE, Bekenkosi Jerome	
ZULU, Elias	ZUMA, Charles Bhekamazuma	ZWANE, Bekile Gladys	
ZULU, Emetrudis Sibongile	ZUMA, Colleen	ZWANE, Bhekani Johannes	
ZULU, Emma	ZUMA, Dingaane Job	ZWANE, Bhekizenso Bhekuyise	
ZULU, Enock Nhlahl	ZUMA, Dinguyise Nicholas	ZWANE, Bongani Jerome	
ZULU, Ettie Matilda	ZUMA, Dudu	ZWANE, Botati Samuel	
ZULU, Fano David	ZUMA, Dumazile Mano	ZWANE, Boy Lucas	
ZULU, Fikile	ZUMA, Ephraim	ZWANE, Busisiwe Alice	
ZULU, Funani Dina	ZUMA, Eric	ZWANE, Buti Petro	
ZULU, Fuziyise Sakhile	ZUMA, Fanol Christopher	ZWANE, Charles Bongani	
ZULU, Hendry	ZUMA, Jabulani Phillip	ZWANE, Dorothy	
ZULU, Herbert Mkononzeni	ZUMA, Jacob Maxwell Mthokozisi	ZWANE, Elizabeth	
ZULU, Herbert Nhlahl Solomon	ZUMA, Jeremiah	ZWANE, Elphas Mbongeni	
ZULU, Jabu Joyce	ZUMA, John Nkisinathi Fana	ZWANE, Foli	
ZULU, James Madlala	ZUMA, Makholwa Elliot	ZWANE, Getroed Margarettha	
ZULU, Johannes	ZUMA, Makhosi Evelina	ZWANE, Golova Elson	
ZULU, Joyce Thandi	ZUMA, Maria Nontombi	ZWANE, Gun Solomon	
ZULU, Julia	ZUMA, Mbha	ZWANE, Hlome George	
ZULU, Khumalo	ZUMA, Mduduzi Linus	ZWANE, Jeremiah	
ZULU, Linda Montgomery	ZUMA, Michael Sipho	ZWANE, Johannes	
ZULU, Lindiwe Francisca	ZUMA, Mishack Mdi	ZWANE, Khathazile Ivy	
ZULU, Lucy	ZUMA, Mkeshe Caslina	ZWANE, Kutshwa Johanna	
ZULU, Mabathu Enoch	ZUMA, Mkhululeni Caiphas	ZWANE, Linda William	
ZULU, Madaleni Agnes	ZUMA, Mnukwa Paulinus	ZWANE, Lindani Steven	
ZULU, Manfred	ZUMA, Mshungula Lawrence	ZWANE, Lindiwe Princess	
ZULU, Manfankane	ZUMA, Mthandeni Emmanuel	ZWANE, Mandlenkosi	
ZULU, Maureen	ZUMA, Muzinkuthula Jeremiah	ZWANE, Maureen	
ZULU, Maxwell	ZUMA, Ndabazakhe	ZWANE, May Precious	
ZULU, Mhlaakazulu	ZUMA, Ngezeleni Gertrude	ZWANE, Meli	
ZULU, Mthembeni Christopher	ZUMA, Nomakhowe Norah	ZWANE, Michael Mzikayifani	
ZULU, Muzi Stephane	ZUMA, Nomvula Florence	ZWANE, Mqiniseni Simon	
ZULU, Myekeni Joseph	ZUMA, Nontethelelo	ZWANE, Ncheteke Stelco	
ZULU, Mzikayise Mkoncwani	ZUMA, Nora	ZWANE, Nqanana Jotham	
ZULU, Mzovukayo Clifford	ZUMA, Nosihle Viola	ZWANE, Njabulo Sbekezelo	
ZULU, Mzwanele Protas	ZUMA, Ntombi	ZWANE, Ntombifikile Pretty	
ZULU, Ndawo Alfred	ZUMA, Ntombikayise Gladys	ZWANE, Obed	
ZULU, Nhlahl	ZUMA, Paulos Bonginkosi	ZWANE, Patrick Emmanuel	
ZULU, Nhlahl	ZUMA, Phineas Thulani	ZWANE, Patrick Mandlakayise	
ZULU, Nkisinathi	ZUMA, Phumelele Euginia	ZWANE, Philane	
ZULU, Nkosingiphile Bajabulile	ZUMA, Pintsholi Elias	ZWANE, Philisiwe Elsie	
ZULU, Nobahle Gloria	ZUMA, Sandile	ZWANE, Regina Jabulile	
ZULU, Nomadinyana	ZUMA, Seebi Richman	ZWANE, Shadrack	
ZULU, Nomagoli Annie	ZUMA, Senzo	ZWANE, Shongani Nonhlahl	
ZULU, Nomnyango Esinah Mangcobo	ZUMA, Siboniso	ZWANE, Sibongile Esther	
ZULU, Nomusa Mildred	ZUMA, Sifiso Phillip	ZWANE, Sibusiso Patrick Bheki	
ZULU, Nomusa Pia	ZUMA, Thabile	ZWANE, Sipho Gerald	